GUIDE TO THE NQ18 PAWNEE FILE

[The Pawnee are a Plains tribe of the Caddoan linguistic stock whose traditional territory centered in the valleys of the Loup and Platte Rivers, and along the Republican River, in what became the state of Nebraska. They occupied this area throughout their known history until they moved to a reservation in Indian Territory (later Oklahoma) in 1874-1875 (cf. 11: Wedel, pp. ix, 4). Their population was estimated as around 9 to 10,000 in the early part of the 19th century. Subsequently, their population underwent a steady decline, probably due in large part to warfare and newly introduced diseases. Thus in 1859 they had an estimated population of about 4,000; this dropped to about 2,000 in 1876, and down to 650 in 1900 (cf. 2: Lesser, pp. 3, 31, 40, 122). This population trend was reversed during the first quarter of the 20th century.

Although the Pawnee are generally classified within the Plains culture area, they differed significantly in their mode of life from the classic Plains tribes such as the Arapaho or Cheyenne. The Pawnee were essentially a settled, agricultural people occupying large, relatively permanent, earth-lodge villages. Their staple crops were maize, beans, squash, and pumpkin. The introduction of the horse stimulated a tendency toward a nomadic, buffalo-hunting mode of life, but this remained a definitely secondary pattern. As 6: Linton (p. 3) points out, maize played a much more important part than the buffalo in their ceremonies and mythology.

The Pawnee were divided into four politically independent population groups, each comprised of a variable number of villages. The four main groups, generally called "bands" in the ethnographic literature, are named (1) the Chaui (Tcawi) or Grand (often designated as Panis in the earlier literature); (2) the Kitkehahki or Republican; (3) the Pitahauerat or Tappage; and (4) the Skidi or Wolf (known in the early literature as the Panimaha). Although these bands were politically independent, endogamous units, the Chaui were generally recognized as the leading band, and where situations arose involving relationships between the several bands, or the tribe as a whole, the principal chief of the Chaui acted as spokesman and adviser for the entire tribe (cf. 11: Wedel, p. 3). The Skidi evidently considered themselves as rather distinct from the other three bands, and actually felt closer to the Arikara:

The political structure of the band seems to have been best described for the Skidi. In the early 19th century the Skidi constituted a federation of some 13 villages held together by a governing council of chiefs and a ceremonial organization involving common participation in a ceremonial cycle. Each component village had a chief and presumably some kind of council (cf. 5: Dorsey and Murie, p. 75).

This political structure was integrated with a fairly elaborate ranking system which included a series of class-like hierarchical divisions: at the top was the nobility consisting of chiefs, warriors, priests, and medicine-men; then came the commoners, people without influence or power, who probably constituted less than half the members of a band; and below them came the semi-outcastes, persons who had violated tribal laws or customs, and who lived on the outskirts of the villages. Traditionally there was also a category of slaves, who were often incorporated into the tribe, if they had been captured from other tribes (cf. 5: Dorsey and Murie, p. 111ff).

Fourteen ~~Thirteen~~ sources, all in English, have been processed for this file, but none of these sources constitutes a basic, comprehensive ethnography - nor is such an ethnography available in the extant literature. Probably the closest to this is 14 Weltfish, The Lost Universe ~~(1965), which is being processed~~. Another significant factor which should be considered when evaluating the Pawnee literature is that the main early ethnographers of the Pawnee, namely Fletcher, Dorsey, and Densmore, all used James R. Murie, a member of the Skidi band, as a key informant and assistant or collaborator. And Murie himself has published. Undoubtedly related to this fact is the greater amount of data which seems to be available on the Skidi than on the other bands - five sources (nos. 4 through 9) deal almost entirely with the Skidi, while source no. 3 is based partly on Skidi data.

The earliest source in the file in terms of field date is 10: Smith, by a missionary who observed the Pawnee in 1851. This is a brief article with descriptions of miscellaneous ethnographic topics, but it is important because the data come from the period before major cultural changes occured under White influences. Next comes 13: Morgan, dealing superficially with a few topics such as kinship, burials, and the division of the Pawnee into 4 bands. The third earliest source is 12: Grinnell, dating from the period 1870-1885. He describes a summer buffalo hunt, the role of Pawnee scouts for the U.S. Army, and gives some examples of Pawnee literature and mythology.

At the turn of the century, we have the first major ethnographic work done by Fletcher. She observed the Hako ceremony among the Chaui band, and in 1: Fletcher presents a detailed description of this ceremony, including the songs, dances, rituals, symbolism, and meaning. Fletcher is followed by the collaborative field work of Dorsey and Murie (1903-1907), focusing primarily on the Skidi band. 5: Dorsey and Murie is probably the key source in this file from the standpoint of Pawnee social organization. It includes a description of band, village, and family organization, kinship relations, status and "class" distinctions, the life cycle, and the major crimes and their punishment. A good complementary source is 4: Murie, which deals mainly with associations such as the sacred bundle societies, the medicinemen's societies, and modern ceremonies including the ghost dance and the peyote ritual. Scattered through this source is also a fair amount of data on sociopolitical organization. Four short articles by Linton are based on Dorsey's field notes, each describing a major ceremony among the Skidi (cf. nos. 6-9). 3: Densmore is a thorough analysis of Pawnee songs and music based on data obtained from members of the Skidi and Chaui bands.

2: Lesser is another valuable source based on field work in 1930-1931. It is primarily a description of the Ghost Dance hand game among the Pawnee, but in the first part of the book, Lesser presents an excellent account of Indian-White relations and Pawnee culture history during the 19th century, including the acquisition and cultural significance of the Ghost Dance.

~~Finally,~~ 11: Wedel provides a detailed and thorough study of Pawnee archeology and culture history, including a complete description of early Pawnee material culture based mainly on the artifacts collected. Finally, 14: Weltfish provides background data on Pawnee history and culture, while the bulk of the volume is devoted to a reconstruction of the daily and seasonal round of a group of ~~[illegible]~~ Nebraska Pawnee in the year 1867. The file was processed between 1960 and 1972.]

~~Processed in 1960-1963~~

~~Revised File Guide prepared in 1971~~
by ~~Robert O.~~ Lagacé

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

I

I. THE PAWNEE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

FIRST PERIOD: TO 1833

The Pawnee enter the perspective of American governmental 175*
Indian affairs after the purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 648*
by which their traditional territory, ranging from the Missouri 101 ●
indefinitely westward between the Niobrara River and the Arkansas, 131
became a part of the United States. Lewis and Clarke, on their
explorations of the newly acquired domain, met the Pawnee on the
Platte River in Nebraska in 1804. In 1806, Major Pike visited the
villages of the Kitkahaxki[2] band of Pawnee on the Republican fork 175*
of the Kansas River. But the first government treaties with the 648*
Pawnee were not concluded until 1818. At that time the four bands
were politically independent of each other, and lived apart, and [619]
four separate treaties, embodying the identical articles, were
drawn up at St. Louis. By these treaties the government secured for the American people the peace and friendship of the Pawnee, while the tribes acknowledged the "protection" of the United States. All past acts of hostility were to be mutually forgiven and forgotten, and future violations of the treaty were to be dealt with according to the laws of the United States. These objectives were further defined by the treaty of 1825 at Ft. Atkinson, at which time the government dealt with the Pawnee as one tribal or national unit composed of four federated bands. In this latter treaty the Pawnee acknowledged the supremacy of the United States, and the United States received the Pawnee under their protection. Specifically, the function of this treaty was to establish rules for the trade of the Indians with the whites, and to limit such trade to citizens of the United States. The Pawnee also gave a guaranty in this treaty that they would refrain from selling or trading arms and ammunition to hostile Indian tribes.

---

[1] The historical account which comprises Chapter I, as well as parts of [113]
the second section of Chapter II, and the last section of Chapter III, are
founded on:

[p. 1]

missionaries, Dunbar and Allis, who were first with the tribe from 175*
1835 to 1837, and considered the government estimate too high, 648*
offering 10,000 as approximating the true population more closely. 161
The discrepancies between these various figures are not severe. That 114
of Lewis and Clarke, in spite of the decimation of the Pawnee the
previous year, is probably too low, and may not have been intended
to include all villages of all four bands. The computations of Pike
and Long, based upon three of the four bands, indicates a total of
close to 9,000 for the whole tribe. This last figure represents the
approximate "normal" figure for the Pawnee tribes during the
first period of the Nineteenth Century. There were without doubt
major fluctuations in the numbers of the Pawnee during this
period, and the trend of the tribal population was to diminish
rather than increase. One general consideration, however, can 175*
hardly be open to question. At the opening of the Nineteenth
century, the Pawnee bands together constituted one of the five or 648*
six large Indian tribal groups between the Mississippi River and the 161
Rocky Mountains. They maintained themselves in spite of the 619
hostility of practically every tribe in the region. In their aboriginal 101
state their trade must have been severely limited by tribal feud.
It is unlikely that they had economic dealings of any importance
with tribes other than the Arikara, Mandan and Wichita. All the
major indigenous peoples around them were continually in a state
of conflict with them: the many groups of the Dakota Sioux on the
north and northwest, the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho
to the southwest, the Osage and Kansa to the south and southeast.
Immediately to their east were the Omaha, Ponca and Oto, with
whom a state of partial amity prevailed, born of the fear they had
inspired in these tribes. Later in the century the Pawnee became
close friends of the Omaha and Ponca. The Oto, given opportunity
as the Pawnee declined, assaulted small parties of Pawnee on
occasion, but later became friends of the Pawnee.

In the period which closed with the treaty of 1833 changes were 175*
taking place in the basic conditions of life of the Pawnee which 648*
were only to appear in their fullest effect in later periods. A tide
of white emigration and transcontinental travel began to appear,
moving westward, and swelling with the years. These emigrants
brought white diseases into the midst of the Indian tribes, trampled
their fields, hunted the buffalo for sustenance and pleasure, and
keeping the herds of the plains in constant fear, limited the natural
range and increase of the buffalo. 175*

The diseases which the Pawnee acquired from white contact 648*
included, besides infantile diseases, venereal diseases, small-pox and 164
177

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PAWNEE MUSIC

By Frances Densmore

THE PAWNEE TRIBE

The Pawnee is commonly regarded as the last of the Caddoan 101
Tribes which migrated in a general northeasterly direction at an
early date.[1] When the Siouan Tribes entered the valley of the
Platte River in Nebraska they found the Pawnee already established
in that region. The Pawnee called themselves by a term meaning
"men of men." Their present name was probably given by some
neighboring tribe and derived from *pariki*, meaning a horn, as it
was the Pawnee custom to shave the head except a narrow strip [302]
extending from the forehead to the scalplock and to stiffen this
ridge of hair with grease and paint, curving it upward like a horn.

While in Nebraska the Pawnee lived in earth lodges which were 361
in four permanent groups of villages, each having its geographical
location along the Platte River. The people of each group were a [342]
unit, representing a division of the tribe. The Skidi (Wolf Pawnee) 101
was in the northwest, its people considering themselves related to 619
the Arikara, another Caddoan Tribe living some distance to the
north. The Pitahauerat (Tapage Pawnee) were downstream, the
Kithahki (Republican Pawnee) were upstream, and the Chaui
(Grand Pawnee) were located between the two last named. The 134
soil of the region was dry and rather sandy with rough, broken land
toward the mountains in the west, yet the Pawnee were essentially 241
an agricultural people, cultivating corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins.
Buffalo and other game was abundant in the early days, and the Pawnee 136
were excellent hunters, their hunting expeditions covering a wide 224
area.

The first treaty between the Government of the United States and 648
the Pawnee Indians was made at St. Louis Trading Post in June, 1818.[2]

---

[1] In the classification of the North American races by John W. Powell the Pawnee is classified as one of [414]
the five independent groups of the Caddoan stock. Miss Alice C. Fletcher regards the Pawnee as a confederacy, the divisions or bands of the tribe being treated by her as separate tribes in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p 213. Cf also Linton, Ralph, The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee, The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee, and Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men, compiled chiefly from unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, published as leaflets Nos. 5, 6, and 8, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-23.

[2] Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kappler, ed., vol. ii, pp. 156-159, Washington, 1904.

II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE

The Skidi formed one of the four bands comprising the Pawnee 619
tribe, the others being the Chaui, the Kitkehahki, and the Pitahauirat. 621
[In the manuscript the Skidi are spoken of as a tribe. [101]
However, I have followed more recent usage and substituted the
term band, reserving tribe for the Pawnee as a whole (Lesser, 1933).]
The Skidi, however, considered themselves independent and actually
felt closer to the Arikara than to the other three Pawnee bands.
Politically the Skidi were a federation of villages, of which at least
thirteen are known to have existed, though there were probably
others which have been forgotten. The federation was held together
by a governing council of chiefs and by a ceremonial organization [623]
involving the participation of the band in a round of ceremonies
associated with sacred bundles.

The village was a distinct local group consisting of a cluster of 621
earth-lodges housing the component families. Each village possessed 361
its own fields, whose ownership was allotted among the villagers by 622
the chief, a supposed lineal descendant of the original owner of the 423
sacred bundle of the village. [I am inclined to believe that the chief
allotted the use of the fields rather than their ownership.] On the
death of an individual, his land was re-allotted by the chief. Each
village also had its own burial ground in which were buried only
those belonging to the village.

In principle the village was endogamous. Since the Pawnee 621
moved to Oklahoma the old restriction on marriage has been gradually 582
disappearing. This is due to the fact that the population of [178]
certain villages has dwindled and it is no longer possible for the few
remaining individuals of some villages to obtain mates within their
own village. Even in this breaking down of the system, however,
the old fashion of reckoning descent is maintained. Thus, in the 611
marriage of a man from Big-Elk village with a woman of Little-Elk
village, the children would belong to Big-Elk village. [However,
according to the manuscript, both these villages were extinct by
1907.] An exception to this general rule is at the present time [1907] [184]
under consideration among the Skidi. Mr. Murie's son, now about
of age, properly belongs by the laws of the tribe to the Village-on-the-Hill,
that being the village of his father. His mother, however,
belongs to the Pumpkin-Vine village and her brother, Skidi-Good-Chief,
is the last representative of that village. To prevent the
village from becoming extinct, Skidi-Good-Chief has asked per-

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 5

The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee

(Hall 5, Case 60)

The Pawnee were a tribe of the Caddoan linguistic 101
stock who, in historic times, occupied the valley of the [197]
Platte river in Nebraska. The name Pawnee is prob- [131]
ably derived from *pariki* ("a horn"), a term applied
to them by the neighboring tribes because of their
peculiar method of dressing the hair. They called
themselves Chahiksichahiks ("Men of Men"). They [174]
seem to have come into Nebraska from some region to
the southwest, expelling an earlier population; but this
movement was an ancient one, and the first Siouxian
tribes to enter the Platte valley found the Pawnee
already established.

The region in which the Pawnee lived was high, 133
dry, and rather sandy, with little timber except along
the rivers. On the west, toward the mountains, it was
rough and broken. In early times buffalo and other 221
game were abundant. Although the Pawnee ranged 105
over a large territory in pursuit of the buffalo, they
were not nomads. They spent the greater part of
every year in permanent villages and raised large
crops of corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins. Corn
played a much more important part than the buffalo
in their ceremonies and mythology, and it is evident
that they were an agricultural rather than a hunting
people.

[p. 2 is blank]

Nk10
F451

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1923

LEAFLET NUMBER 8 1/6

Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men

A general description of the Pawnee, with an account of their religious beliefs and social organization, has been given in Leaflet No. 5 of this series. Although geographically a Plains tribe, they differed in several respects from the typical tribes of the region. While the latter were all nomadic hunters, the Pawnee were settled agriculturists, inhabiting permanent towns and subsisting largely on their crops. When on hunting trips, they used the typical skin-covered tent of the plains, but in their towns they built large houses of wood covered with earth. A model of one of these houses is shown in the miniature group illustrating the annual ceremony of the Medicine Men. 101 [171]

The earth lodges of the Pawnee were dome-shaped, about forty feet in diameter and fifteen feet high. The roof was supported by two concentric rows of uprights, the outer row being planted just in front of a ledge, about a foot and a half high, which entirely surrounded the inside of the lodge. The outer posts, which varied in number according to the size of the lodge, were about seven feet high, and were placed about the same distance apart. The inner row of posts stood about half way between the outer wall of the lodge and its center, and were about twelve feet high. They varied in number from four to ten. All the uprights were forked and bore a row of cross beams, which supported rafters extending from the outer uprights to a point 342

PREFACE

The Pawnee have been known to white men since, probably, 1541, 101
and certainly since 1678. They were the most numerous and powerful 648
of the tribes constituting the Caddoan linguistic stock and one of the most important of the entire Plains area. Since the earliest definite historic mention of them they have been resident in Nebraska [131] and the extreme northern portion of Kansas, particularly on the Loup, Platte, and Republican Rivers. As a tribe they were always friendly to the Europeans and later to the Americans, rendering invaluable aid as scouts in the Indian troubles on the Plains during the middle half of the nineteenth century; and that despite the half-hearted and tardy attentions that too often characterized the Government's relations with them.

The tribe has been variously described by early explorers, missionaries, 114
fur traders, Army officers, and travelers, many of whom left very valuable and worth-while accounts concerning them in their native habitat in the Loup and Platte Valleys. In more recent years, on their reservation in Oklahoma, they have been studied by linguists and ethnologists, though much of this material is still unpublished. Of outstanding note among the available treatises in this field is the work of Dunbar in general ethnology, of Dorsey in mythology, of Grinnell in folk-tales, and of Murie in social and political organization. Archeological remains, surprisingly rich and numerous at many of the old village sites formerly occupied by the tribe, have received but little systematic attention up to the present, save for the excellent beginnings made by a few local collectors. Yet it is this latter, long-neglected field of research which must come to be more and more drawn upon for information regarding this fast-vanishing tribe and its native culture.

The primary purpose of this paper, as originally planned, was to 121
present a purely objective preliminary report on the archeology of the Pawnee, drawing together all data at present available and recording it in systematic fashion. More or less inadvertently, the scope was broadened to include a review of the traditions dealing with the origin and early movements of the tribe, as well as a concise summary of the documentary history of the tribe from 1541 to 1876. To this were added brief notes on the environment of the group, and such other significant facts as may be helpful to an understanding of the subject. The social, political, and religious phases

[P. viii contains no text]

197 619 cupying lands on the Red River and to the south, included the closely related Wichita as well as the Waco, Caddo, Kichai, Anadarko, and Tawakoni; there were several smaller groups also, now virtually extinct. Alien linguistic stocks isolated these three Caddoan groups more or less completely from each other. [101] Siouan tribes, namely the Ponca, Omaha, and Dakota, occupied the territory between the Pawnee and the Arikara, while between the Pawnee and the southern Caddoans were still other tribes of diverse linguistic affiliations; Kansa and Osage in the east and Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and other nomadic tribes in the west.

The latest and most radical linguistic amalgamation of speech families north of Mexico is that of Sapir,[7] who reduces the 55 separate stocks of the Powell classification to 6 major groupings. According to Sapir, the Caddoan tribes are linked with the Iroquoian tribes in one subfamily of the greater Hokan-Siouan linguistic stock. Based upon deep-lying structural and morphological parallels, this new classification carries very suggestive and far-reaching implications, certain of which will be touched on hereafter.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME PAWNEE

101 114 [302] The name Pawnee is of somewhat uncertain origin. Dunbar[8] derives it from *pa'-rik-i*, a horn, as an outgrowth of the typical Pawnee mode of dressing the scalp lock. The head of the warrior was shaven except for a small tuft or topknot which was daubed with bison fat and red ochre until stiff enough to stand erect, or curving slightly backward, like a horn. Since this was the most conspicuous feature of the individual it gave rise to the particular designation which ultimately became the name of the tribe. Formerly, according to the same authority, the term included the *Pawnee Picts*, or Wichita, and the Arikara. Arache, Arahei, Arae, Harahey, and Ahuache, names by which the Pawnee "kingdom" was known to the Spanish during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[9] are then probably derivatives from *pa'-rik-i*, assuming this to have been actually the original designation for the tribe. However, as early as 1673 Marquette[10] used the term *Pana;* Valverde[11] speaks of the *Panana* in 1719; and thereafter, at least until the end of the eighteenth century, *Panis* and *Panimaha* are regularly employed in referring to the Pawnee. Just how these names were derived from *pa'-rik-i*, if indeed they ever were, is far from clear, nor does Dunbar show the orthographic and phonetic changes that would have taken place in such a process. The

---

[7] 1929, pp. 138–140; see also Parker, 1916, p. 483.
[8] 1880, a, p. 245. Compare, however, Lesser and Weltfish, 1932, p. 5.
[9] Winship, 1896, pp. 520, 577, 588, 590; Margry Papers, vol. vi, p. 310
[10] 1900, map facing p. 108.
[11] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 185.

term "Pani" was employed by the French during the seventeenth and 101
eighteenth centuries to designate all Indian slaves, regardless of tribal 114
affiliations, perhaps because the majority of such slaves were captives from the tribe known as *Panis*.[12] Conversely, however, it has been suggested that the tribe may have derived its name from the old French term, without its originally having been connected with them at all.[13] The older form, "Pani", survived until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when, largely through the agency of early American explorers, it was superseded by the modern Pawnee, rarely Pawney.[14] Among themselves the people are called *Chahiksi-chahiks*, or "men of men."

NAMES AND GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BANDS

The unit of tribal organization among the Pawnee was the band.[15] 631
There were four of these, each in turn consisting of several subbands 621
and villages. The main bands, which are sufficient for present purposes, were known as the *Chaui* or Grand, the *Kitkehahki* or Republican, the *Pitahauerat* or Tappage, and the *Skidi*, or Wolf, Pawnee. Ordinarily each functioned as an independent unit, retaining charge of its own administrative and other affairs through a hereditary, but often purely nominal, chief, who was assisted in matters of importance by secondary chiefs and a council of the leading men. The Grands were generally recognized as the leading band, and where situations arose involving relationships between the several bands, [643]
or affecting the tribe as a whole, the principal chief of the Grands acted as spokesman and adviser for the entire tribe. The bands were endogamous, and each possessed its own sacred bundles and certain accompanying rituals, besides participatory privileges in various tribal ceremonies. The Skidi appear to have been less closely bound to the other bands than were these to one another, and they may have sprung from a somewhat different ancestry, or else possibly represent an earlier offshoot from the parent stock. In the present discussion the bands will be designated by their anglicized names, with the exception of the Skidi.

HISTORIC HABITAT AND ITS GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

The territory claimed by the Pawnee was bounded on the north 101
by the Niobrara River, on the south by the Arkansas or possibly 131
the Canadian, on the east by the Missouri, and on the west extended rather indefinitely toward the Rockies. Actually, however, it was

---

[12] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 199.

[13] Idem. Compare Lesser and Weltfish, op. cit.

[14] Ashley and Smith, 1918, p. 119.

[15] See Murie, 1914, pp. 549 ff.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101 much more limited. On the west the *Padouca* (Comanche) were
131 firmly established in the forks of the Dismal River,[16] on the shores
of some of the lakes in the sandhill region of the present Cherry
County, Nebr.,[17] and on the upper reaches of the Smoky Hill River[18]
in the present northern Kansas. Between Pawnee and *Padouca*
101 there was incessant warfare, and it is unlikely that the former at
648 any time ventured far beyond the forks of the Platte, save on
131 occasional war or hunting trips. Early in the nineteenth century
the *Padouca* were pushed southward by the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and
Teton Dakota, who formed an equally effective check against westward movements by the Pawnee. On the east the Omaha controlled a large area north of the Platte from Shell Creek to the
mouth of the Niobrara, and south of the Platte the Oto claimed as
theirs the lands lying east of the Big Blue and north of the Big
Nemaha. From the Big Nemaha south to the Kansas River and
west to the Republican the Kansa were in undisputed possession,
and south of this tribe the equally hostile Osage roamed westward
nearly to the great bend of the Arkansas. The actual area over
101 which the Pawnee hunted and exercised chief control was thus a
131 strip, as follows: Commencing with the Niobrara (between its mouth
and Plum Creek) and extending southward to include the Platte
between Shell Creek and the present city of North Platte, thence
into Kansas to include the Smoky Hill drainage between the Republican River and the ninety-ninth meridian, with the western
periphery then swinging westward by south toward the upper
reaches of the Arkansas, while the eastern limit ran toward the
southwestern corner of present Kansas. (See map 1. Compare
361 Strong, 1935, fig. 2.) The permanent villages of the tribe were located in the valleys of the lower Loup and Platte Rivers, and on the
Republican, in the present State of Nebraska; the region to the south
served solely as hunting and wintering grounds, and Pawnee claims
were often disputed or ignored by neighboring tribes.

133 Generally speaking, the region which formerly constituted the Pawnee demesne, as above described, is a high, dry, grass-covered plain, or more accurately, a series of plains interspersed with river valleys. The northern portion, lying within the borders of the present State of Nebraska, includes several thousand square miles of the great loess mantle deposited during or shortly following the Pleistocene glaciation of the region. North of the Platte erosion has progressed sufficiently to produce a hilly and broken topography, consisting of small loess plains and canyons grading into loess-capped hills toward the east. A great wedge of dune lands and sand

---

[16] Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pp. 88, 91. However, compare Grinnell, 1920, p. 260.
[17] Dorsey, J. O., 1886, p. 220.
[18] Margry Papers, vol. vi, pp. 398–448.

With the exception of the Cottonwood Creek village, all of these 172* 121 sites, where definitely located, have been visited by the writer, who was accompanied in all but two instances by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings. Several of the locations were first identified by Mr. Hill many years ago, and through the medium of sample collections he has acquired a first-hand acquaintance with each site that made his assistance invaluable. So far as systematic excavation is concerned, Mr. Hill's activities have been largely confined to the Hill site. The [114] Nebraska Archeological Survey, of which the writer was a member, spent the first 2 weeks in August 1930 in intensive work at the same place, the results of which are included in this paper. Excavations by the Survey at the Burkett and Schuyler sites in 1931 were made subsequent to the writing of this paper. However, certain of these findings have been incorporated here, although the main results await future publication. The only other extended excavations were made by E. E. Blackman, of the Nebraska Historical Society, at the Burkett site, in 1907. For the rest, as already stated, the sites have been visited and their chief features noted, as well as surface collections of specimens wherever available.

SKIDI PAWNEE SITES

The Skidi band, known in early literature as the *Panimaha*, is 101 by some considered to have been the first to occupy the northern 172* habitat. According to their own claim, they were formerly a very powerful and numerous tribe, consisting of four bands, each num- [162] bering 5,000 souls.[34] This number is doubtless excessive, but to quote Grinnell, "There are yet to be seen on the Loup Fork, in Nebraska, innumerable remains of Skidi villages, some of which are very ancient."[35] To date only three sites have been definitely shown to be Skidi, although there is a very strong probability that archeology will bring to light many more of prehistoric age, possibly substantiating the greater antiquity of the Skidi in the area.[36]

PALMER SITE.—This was discovered by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings, 172* in 1922, and has been identified by him as the probable site of the 361 Skidi village reported by Major Sibley in 1811,[37] and subsequently

---

sites are those exhibiting only the pure native cultural traits with no traces whatever of Caucasian contact; they antedate the arrival of the Spanish in 1541. In the above discussion only historic and protohistoric Pawnee sites are considered. Various sites in the last category are discussed in Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, by W. D. Strong, entitled "An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology"; also in Wedel, 1935, pp. 132–237.

[34] Grinnell, 1893, p. 236.

[35] Ibid., p. 239.

[36] All of the sites described are indicated on map 2 which shows their situation relative to the streams and river bluffs. The names are those in general use among local investigators; the numbers are for convenience in use of the map only.

[37] 1927, p. 203.

Genoa site.—After the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee gradually be- 172*
came concentrated in one great, rambling village on the Loup. This
lay about 1½ miles south of Genoa, on a broad, flat plain between 361
Beaver Creek and the Loup.[53] The Skidi occupied the western part
of the village; the other three bands located in what is now the
Genoa Cemetery. A sod wall protected the settlement on the south
and west sides, with the portions nearest Genoa left open. Each
band is said to have had its own burial ground. That of the Grands
was to the south, across the Loup River. The Skidi interred their [764]
dead on bluffs northwest of their village. The Tappage Cemetery
was on a hill in what is now the north edge of Genoa and that of the
Republicans was northeast of the city. All traces of the village have
been obliterated and the cemeteries have suffered extensively at the
hands of vandals. Few objects of native production have been [177]
found, as the Pawnee were very much under the influence of the
Americans at this late date and were rapidly losing their own arts
and industries.

GRAND PAWNEE SITES

The Grand Pawnee are often designated in early literature and 31
on maps prior to 1800 as *Panis*. The main villages of the band were [101]
always on the south bank of the Platte, save for a short period be-
tween 1806 and 1824 (the latter date being approximate), and another
from 1860 to 1875. During both of these periods they were on the
north bank of the Loup, at the Horse Creek and Genoa sites, respec-
tively. Two pure Grand Pawnee locations are recognized, viz, the
Linwood and the Clarks sites; the Plum Creek site was occupied by
members of at least two of the other bands. The Horse Creek site
was dominantly Republican, hence is included in that section.

Linwood site.—This site is located approximately a mile south and 172*
slightly west of the town of Linwood, on the east bank of Skull Creek
3 miles south of the Platte River.[54] It occupies the western portion 361
of an alluvial flat, a small embaymentlike arm of the Platte Valley
extending perhaps three-quarters of a mile up Skull Creek, and is
inclosed on the west, south, and east by high bluffs. Skull Creek, [133]
at least in former times, probably carried water at all seasons of the
year, and immediately below the site an excellent spring provided
water sufficient to meet the domestic needs for a considerable
community.

The site, though extending nearly half a mile continuously along the creek, actually consists of two contiguous sites of very different age. The early phase of occupation, designated on map 2 as 9 A,

---

[53] SW¼ sec. 24 and SE¼ sec. 23, T. 17 N., R. 4 W., Nance County, Nebr.

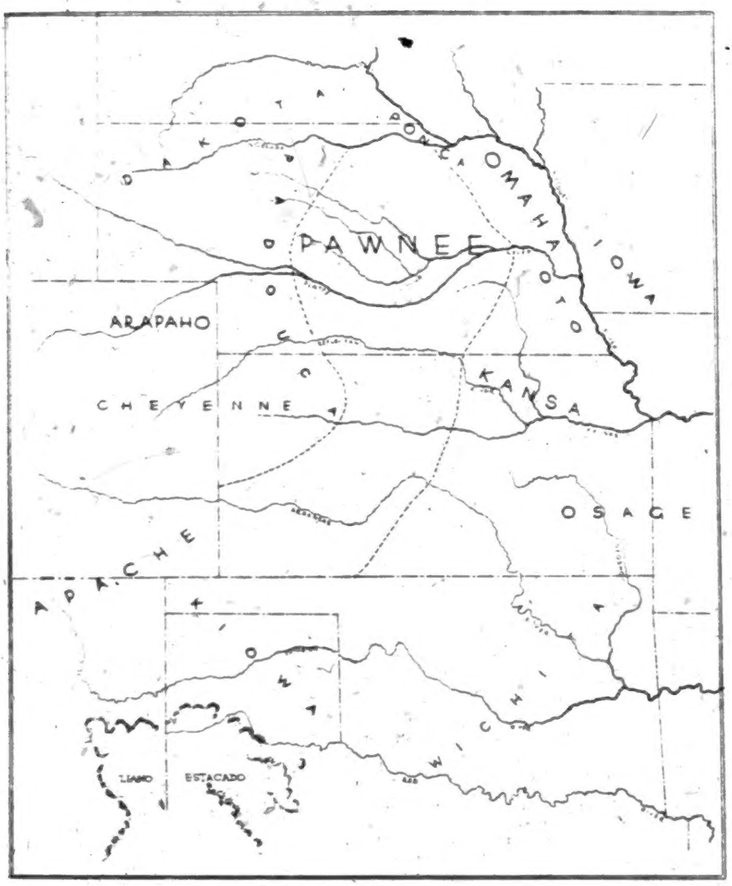
[54] SW¼ sec. 35, T. 17 N., R. 4 E., Butler County, Nebr.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY BULLETIN 112 MAP 1

101
102
131


DAKOTA
PONCA
OMAHA
IOWA
OTO
PAWNEE
ARAPAHO
CHEYENNE
KANSA
OSAGE
APACHE
KIOWA
WICHITA
LLANO ESTACADO

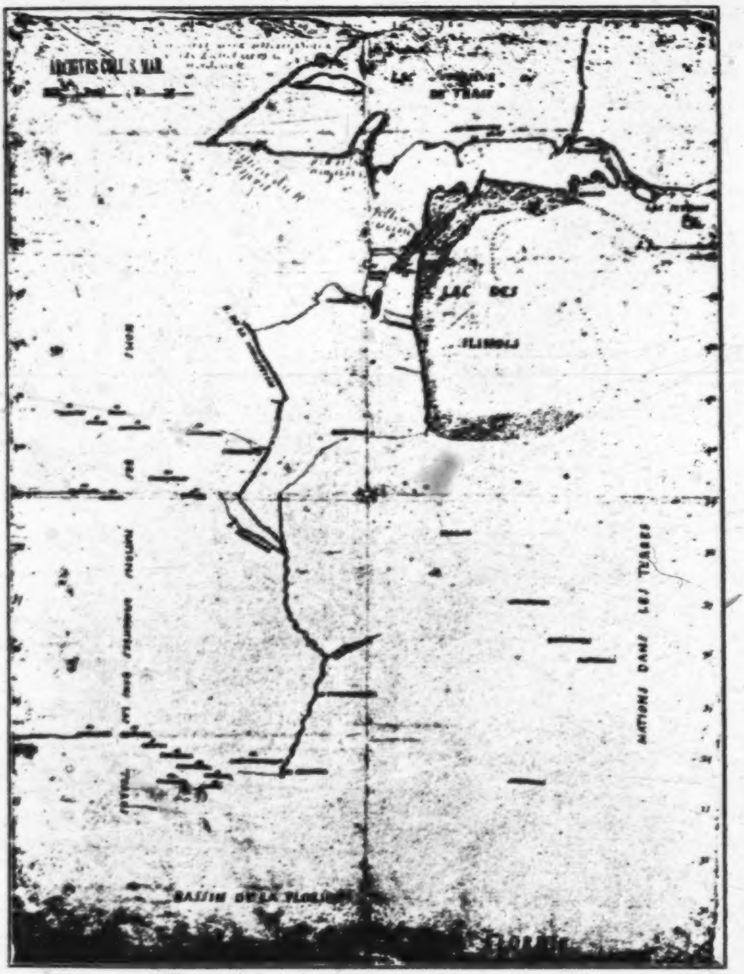
TRIBAL MAP OF THE CENTRAL PLAINS ABOUT 1800.

[End Map 1]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102


LAC
DE TRACY
LAC DES
ILINOIS
NATIONS DANS LES TERRES
BASSIN DE LA FLORIDE

MARQUETTE'S MAP, 1673–74.
From the Jesuit Relations, volume LIX, page 108.

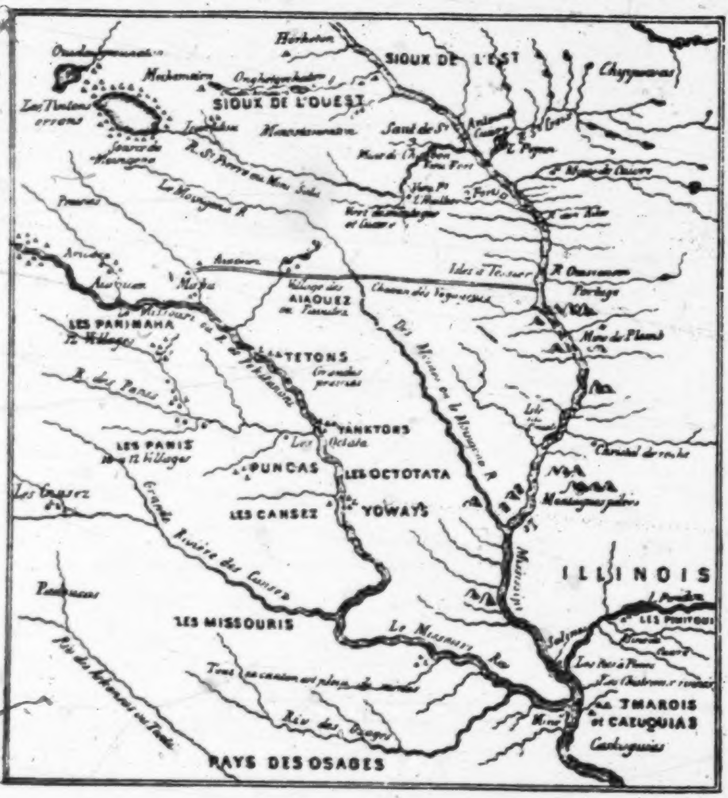
[End MAP 3]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY BULLETIN 112 MAP 4

101
102
131


SIOUX DE L'EST
Chippewas
SIOUX DE L'OUEST
Les Tintons errans
Source de Mouingona
R. St. Pierre ou Mini Sota
Les Mouingona R.
Saut de St. Antoine
Illes a Tesser
R. Ouisconsin
Portage
Village des AIAOUEZ ou Paoutea
Chemin des Voyageurs
LES PANIMAHA 12 Villages
Le Missouri ou R. de Pekitanoni
TETONS
Grandes prairies
R. des Panis
YANKTONS
Les Octata
LES PANIS 12 villages
PUNCAS
LES OCTOTATA
Les Canses
LES CANSEZ
YOWAYS
Des Moines ou la Mouingona R.
Mississipi
Montagnes pelées
ILLINOIS
Grande Riviere des Canses
LES MISSOURIS
Le Missouri Riv.
Riv. des Osages
Riv. des Arkansas ou Tonti
Padoucas
PAYS DES OSAGES
TAMAROIS et CAHOKIAS
Caskaquias
LES PIMITOUI

LE SEUER'S MAP, 1701.

From the South Dakota Historical Collections, volume I, page 40.

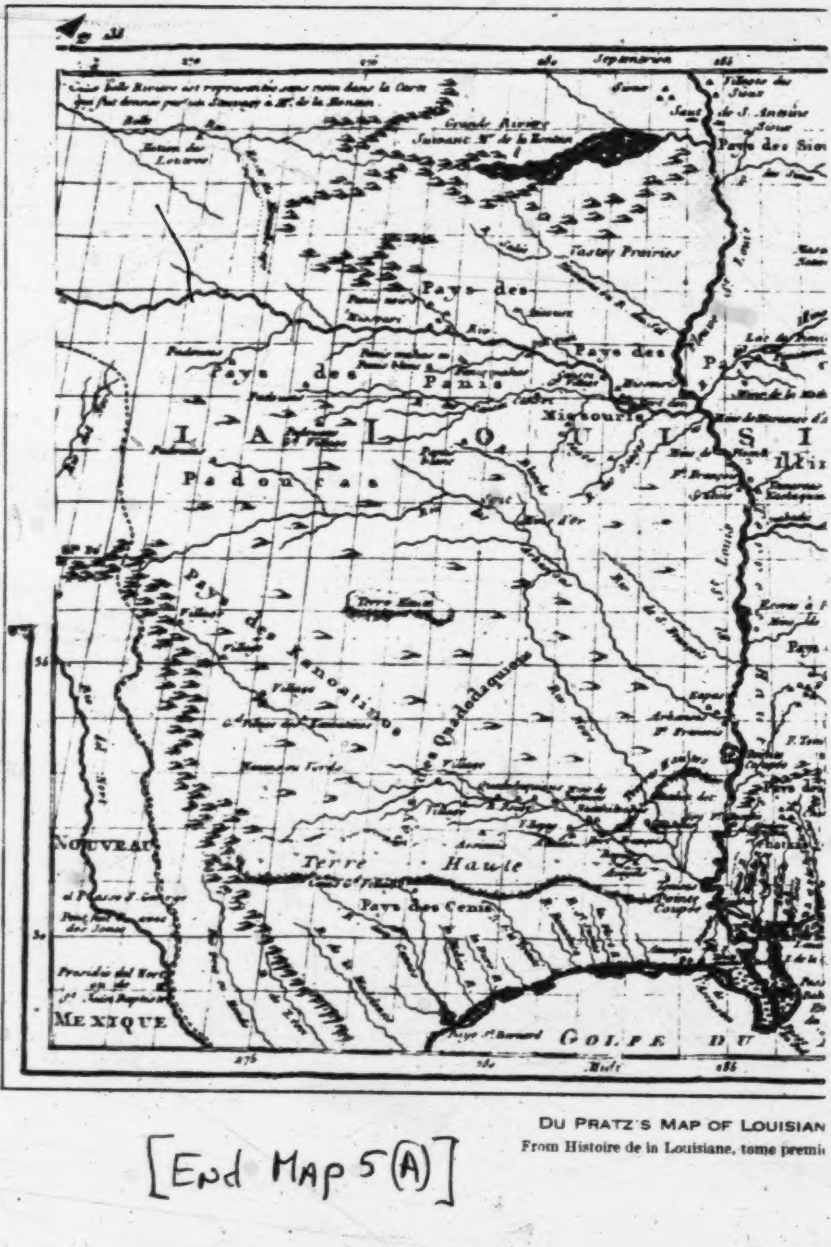
[End Map 4]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
131


Septentrion
Grande Riviere
Vastes Prairies
Pays des
Panis
Pays des
Missouris
L A L O U I S I
Padoucas
Pays des Canoatinno
Terre Haute
Pays des Cenis
NOUVEAU
MEXIQUE
GOLFE DU
Midi

DU PRATZ'S MAP OF LOUISIAN

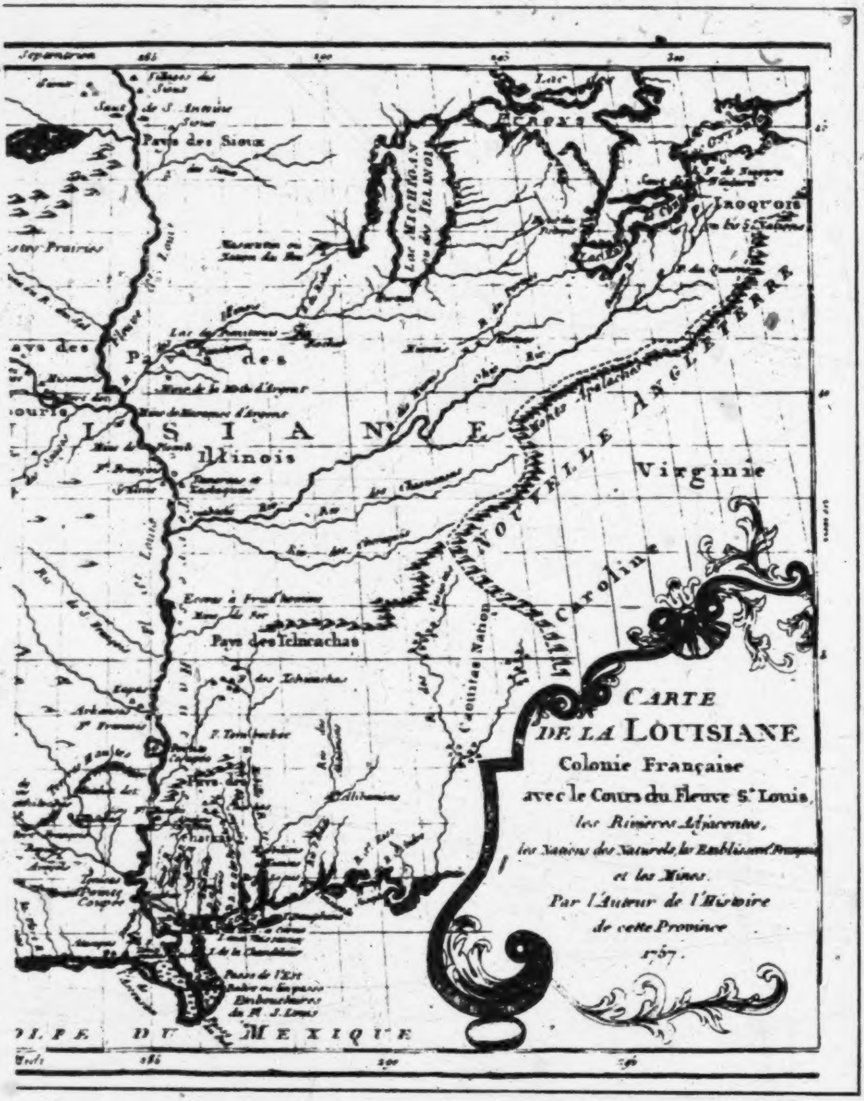
From Histoire de la Louisiane, tome premi

[End MAP 5 (A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
131


Septentrion
Pays des Sioux
Lac Michigan ou des Ilinois
Hurons
Iroquois
Lac Erie
Pays des
Louisiane
Ilinois
Virginie
Nouvelle Angleterre
Monts Apalaches
Caroline
Pays des Tchicachas
Golfe du Mexique
Carte de la Louisiane
Colonie Française
avec le Cours du Fleuve St. Louis,
les Rivieres Adjacentes,
les Nations des Naturels, les Etablissemens François
et les Mines.
Par l'Auteur de l'Histoire
de cette Province
1757.

RATZ'S MAP OF LOUISIANA, 1757.

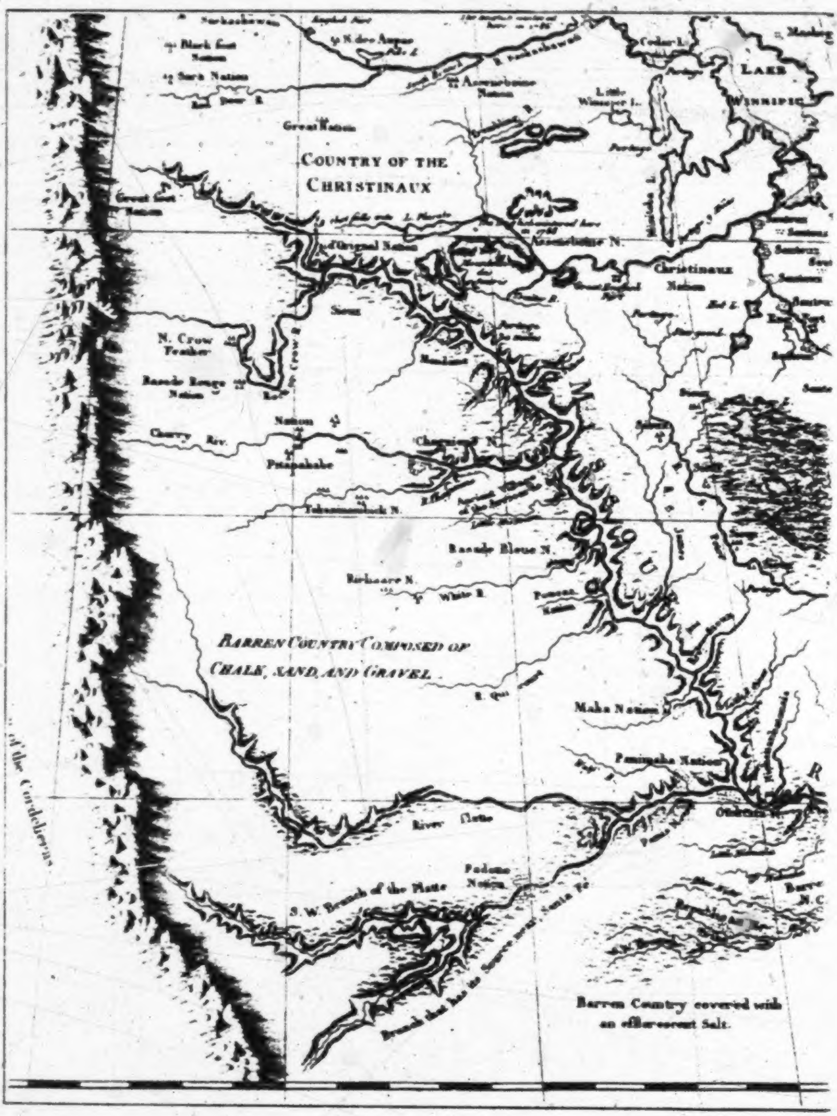
oire de la Louisiane, tome premiere, page 138.

[End Map 5 (B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

● 101
102
131
133


Saskashawan
Black foot Nation
Sura Nation
Great Nation
Assiniboine Nation
Cedar L.
LAKE WINNIPIC
Little Winnipic L.
Portage
COUNTRY OF THE CHRISTINAUX
Great Snake Nation
Assiniboine N.
Christinaux Nation
Sioux
N. Crow Feather
Bacade Rouge Nation
Mandane
Cherry Riv.
Padoucas
Chaguiennes N.
Tchanamowbeck N.
Bacade Bleue N.
Ricareé N.
White R.
Poncas Nation
BARREN COUNTRY COMPOSED OF CHALK, SAND, AND GRAVEL
R. Qui court
Maha Nation
Panimaha Nation
Otoutanta N.
River Platte
Padoucas Nation
S. W. Branch of the Platte
Branch that has its Source towards Santa Fe
Barren Country covered with an efflorescent Salt.
of the Cordelieras
MISSOURI

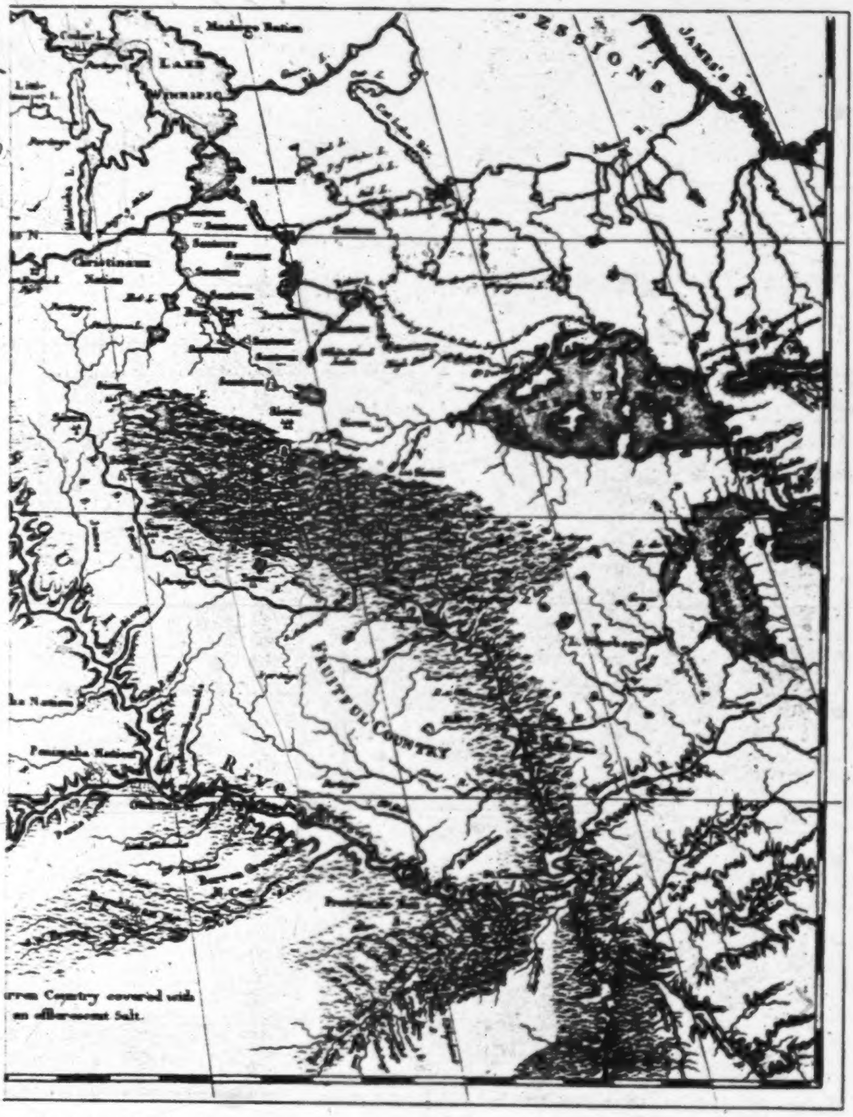
COLLOT'S MAP, 1796.
From a Journey in North America, volume

[End Map 6(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
131
133


Lake Winnipic
Christinaux Nation
Possessions
James's Bay
Fruitful Country
River
Barren Country covered with an efflorescent Salt.

. COLLOT'S MAP, 1796.

ourney in North America, volume I, page 281

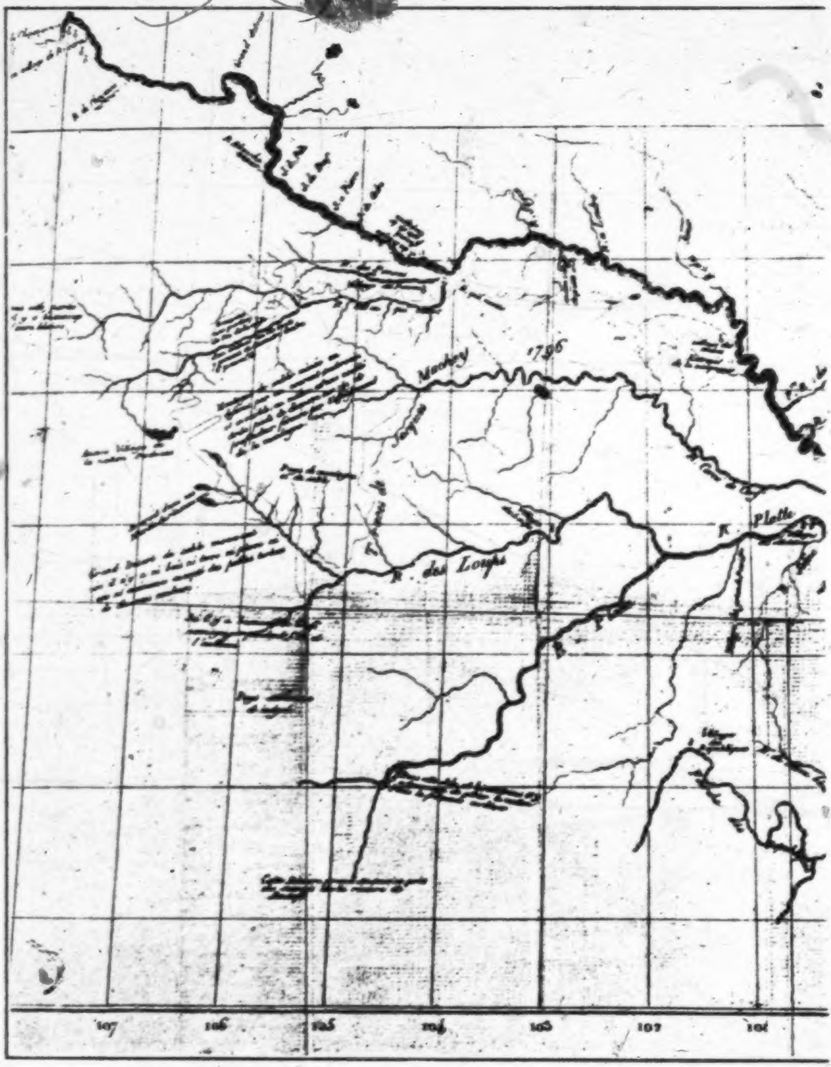
[End Map 6(B)]

11; Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
131
133

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLO

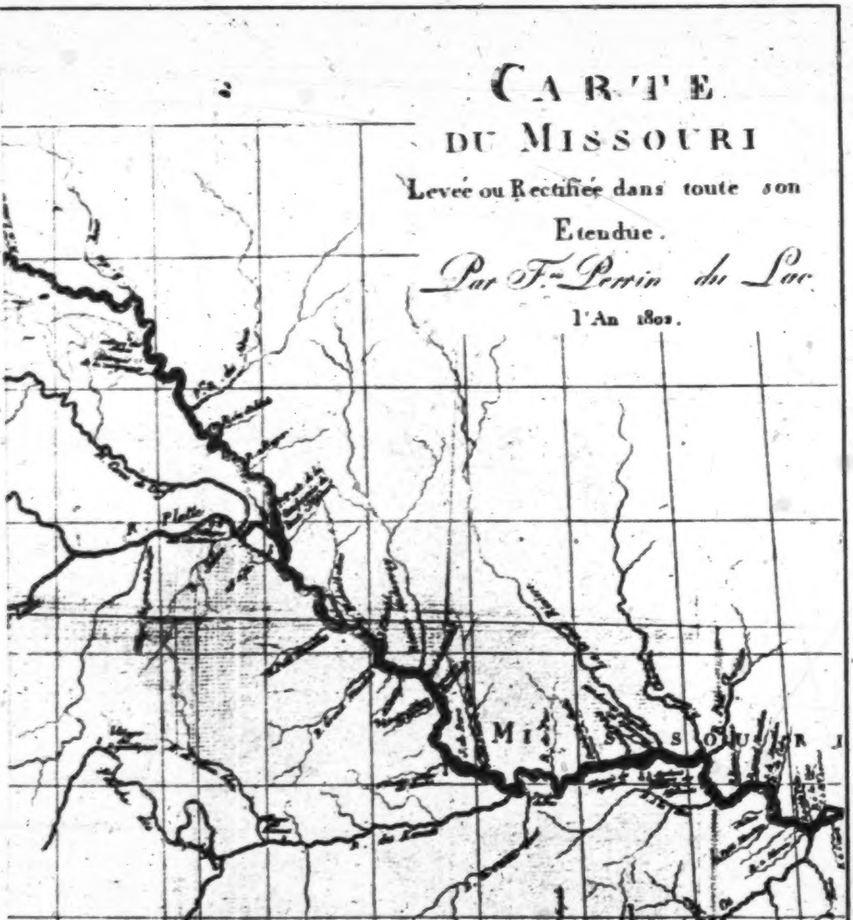

Mackay 1796
R. des Loups
R. Platte
107
106
105
104
103
102
101

DU LAC'S MAP OF THE MISSOU

From Travels through the Two Lou

[End Map 7(A)]

101
102
131
133


CARTE
DU MISSOURI
Levée ou Rectifiée dans toute son
Etendue.
Par F.ois Perrin du Lac.
l'An 1802.
Platte
MISSOURI
102
101
100
99
98
97
96
95

'S MAP OF THE MISSOURI, 1802.
n Travels through the Two Louisianas.

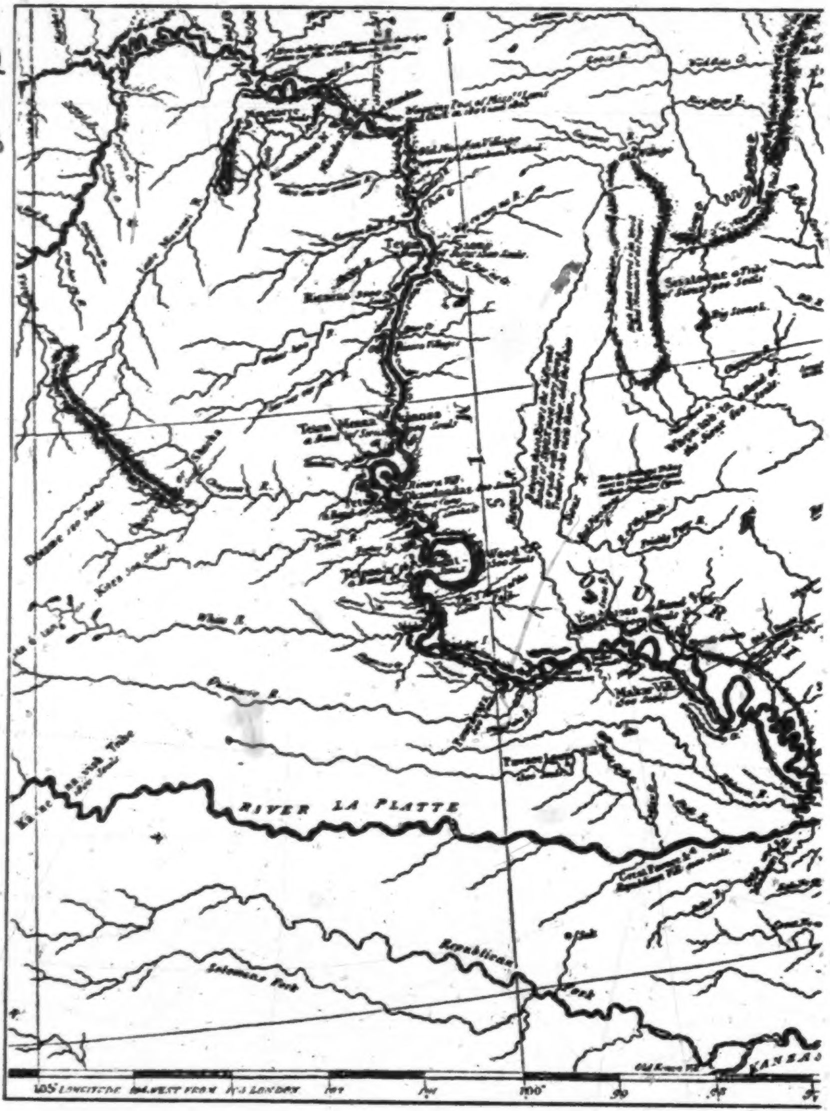
[End Map 7(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
131
133


RIVER LA PLATTE
White R.
Republican Fork
Solomons Fork
KANSAS
100°

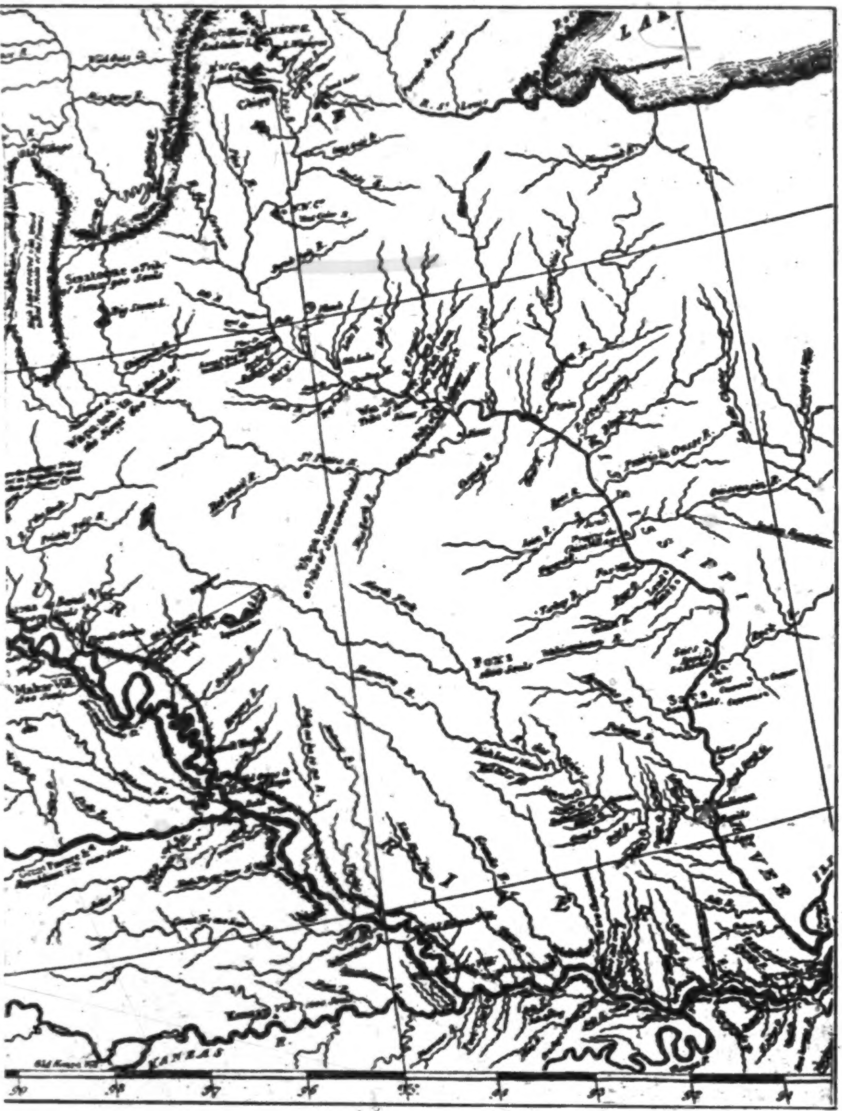
LEWIS AND CLARK'S MAP.
From Travels to the Source of the Missouri

[End Map 8(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BULLETIN 112 MAP 8

101
102
131
133


LAK
SIPPI
Foxes
KANSAS
RIVER

IS AND CLARK'S MAP, 1804.
to the Source of the Missouri River, volume I.

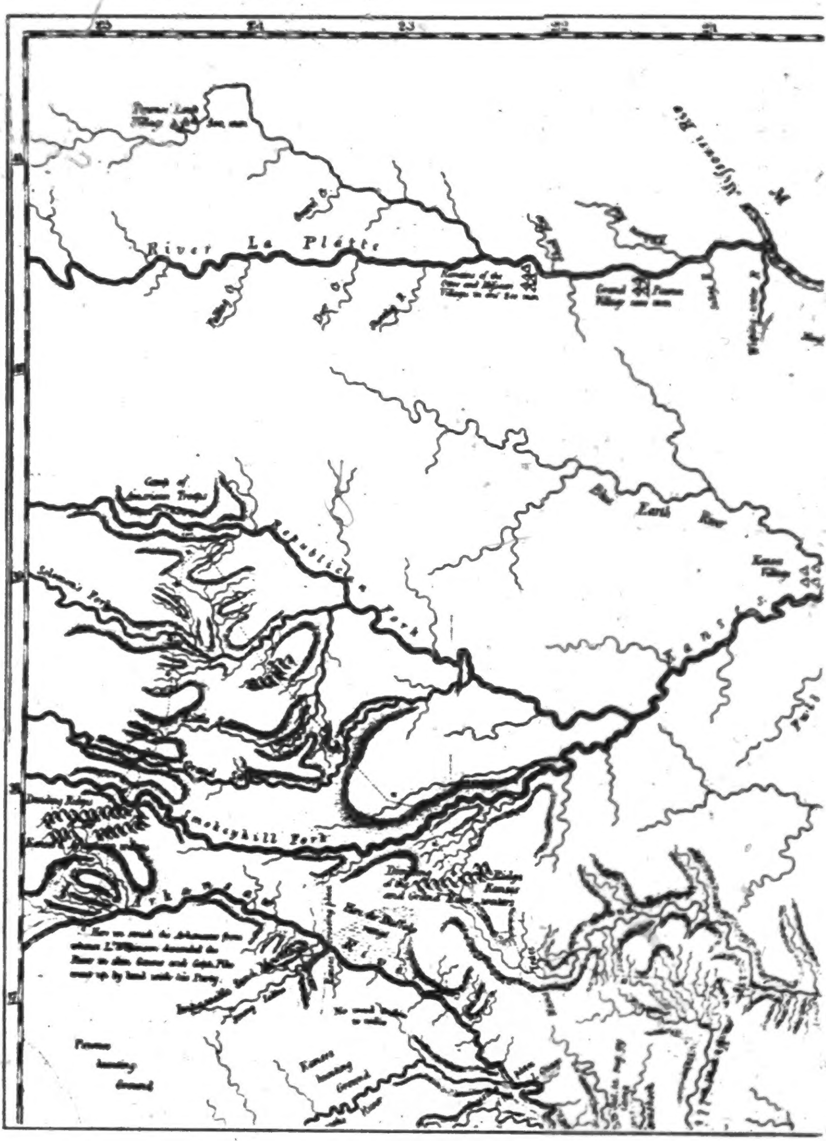
[End Map 8(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

● 101
102
131
133


River La Platte
Missouri Riv
Camp of American Troops
Republican Fork
Smokyhill Fork
Kans Village
Pawnee hunting Ground
Kanses hunting Ground

PIKE'S MAP, 1806.

From An Account of Expeditions to the Sources o

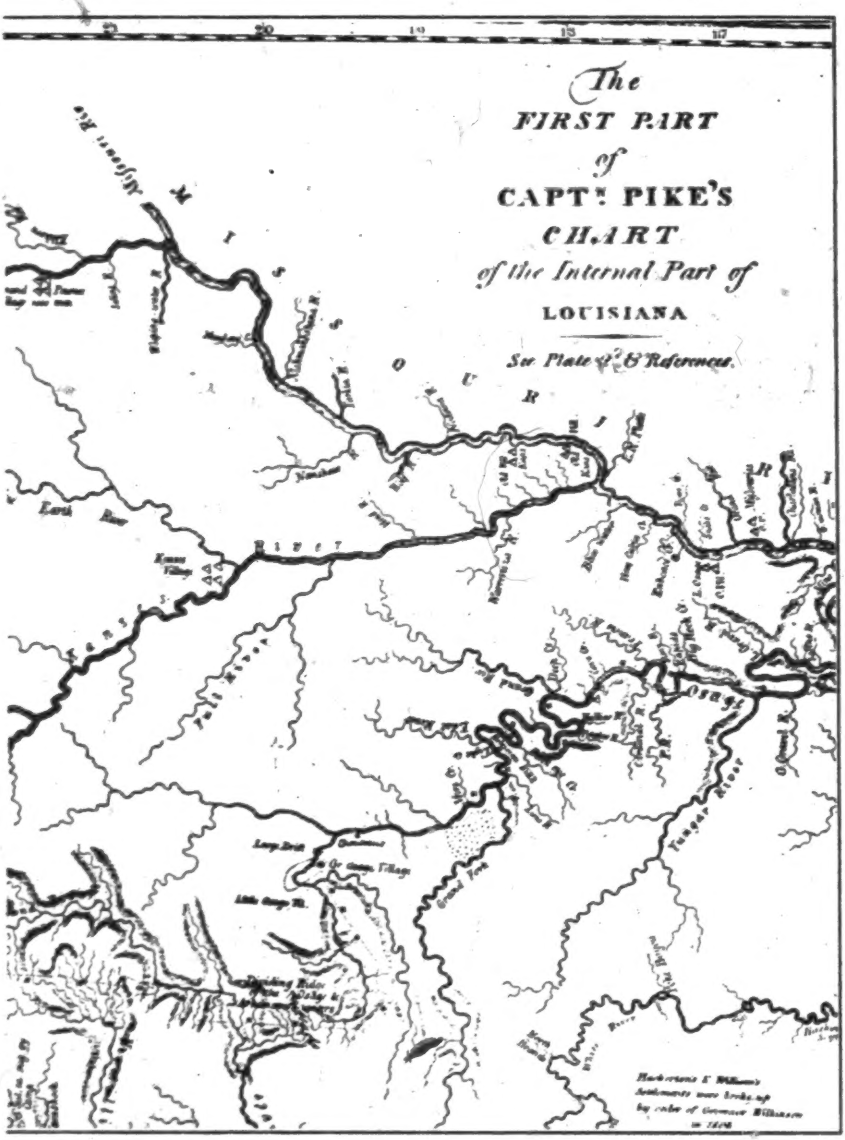
[End Map 9 (A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BULLETIN 112 MAP 9

101
102
131
133


The
FIRST PART
of
CAPT.N PIKE'S
CHART
of the Internal Part of
LOUISIANA
See Plate 9.d & References.
MISSOURI
Missouri R.
Earth River
River
Kansas
Osage
Grand Fork
White River

PIKE'S MAP, 1806.
of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, etc.

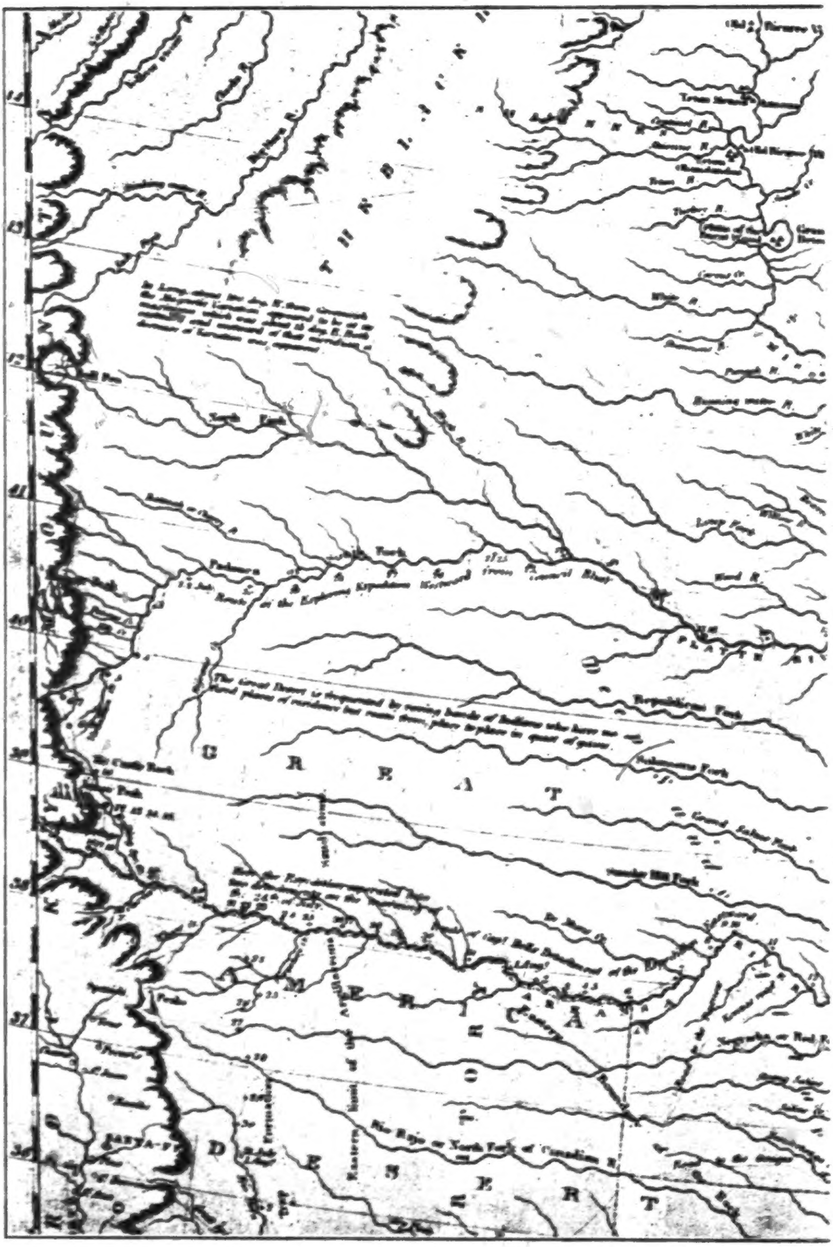
[End Map 9 (B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
131
133


Republican Fork
Solomons Fork
G R E A T
Smoky Hill Fork
A M E R I C A N
D E S E R T
P L A T T E R

LONG'S MAP, 1819.

From Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the

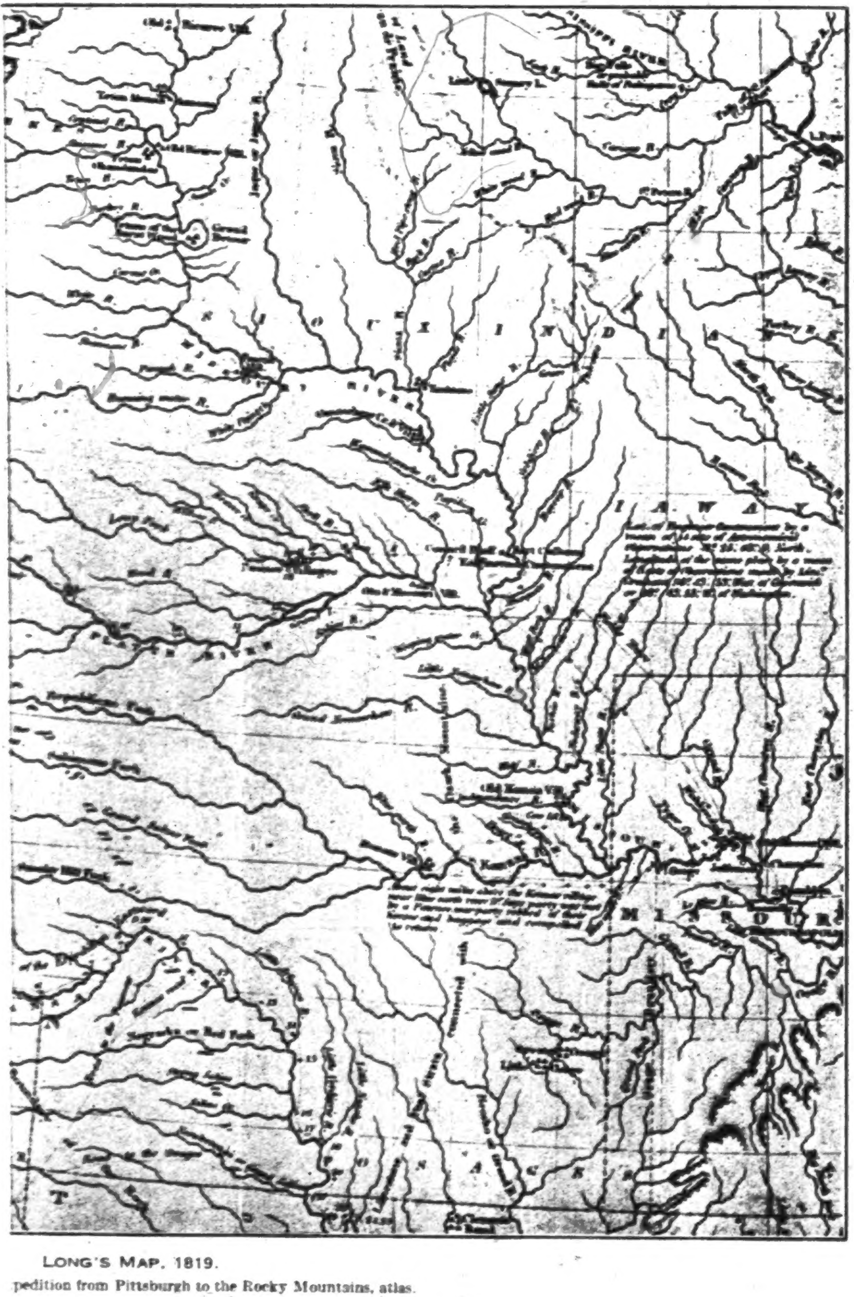
[End Map 1D (A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BULLETIN 112 MAP 10

101
102
131
133



LONG'S MAP, 1819.

pedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, atlas.

[End Map 10(B)]

[p 220 (A)]
[pp 214-219 not processed]

619 11. Alice C. Fletcher renders the native names of the bands: Chaui, Kitkehaki, Pitahauerat or Tapage, and Skidi (article "Pawnee," in *Handbook of American Indians*, F. W. Hodge, ed., Washington, 1910). Clark Wissler (after Powell) places all four bands in the Pawnee type of the Caddoan language family (*The American Indian*, 2nd ed.; New York, 1922, p. 405).

● [101]
[197]

614 12. In *Ancient Society* (pp. 164–65), Morgan says it is doubtful if the Pawnees had gentes (clans), but cites Allis' belief that they did. Apparently they did not, for Alice C. Fletcher discusses their social organization without mentioning clans (Fletcher, *op. cit.*, II, 215).

12 narrator was Mark Evarts, a Pawnee of the Skidi Band, whose childhood
was spent on the reservation in Nebraska from 1861 to 1875, when Pawnee
115 culture was still very much an integral polity and way of life. His personal identity is embodied in the "Boy Otter" as he appears in the following narrative.

101 My relationship with Mark Evarts began casually in the course of my
grammatical researches. Historically there were four political groups of
114 Pawnees known as bands, the Skidi or Wolf Band, the Kitkehaxki or Little-
115 Earth-Lodge Band, the Tsawi or Asking-for-Meat Band and the Pitahawirata or Man-Going-Downstream Band. Each of these traditionally pronounced the language somewhat differently, but it was always known that the major difference was between the Skidi and the other three known collectively as the South Bands because of their former more southern location. From linguistic samples I took of each of the four, the distinctions among the South Bands were not clear enough to identify at that time. Only the Skidi difference was clear. Mark Evarts served as my Skidi informant with Henry Chapman as interpreter in my attempt to find any grammatical and pronunciation distinctions. Evarts' English was broken and so heavily overlaid with a Pawnee accent that it was understandable only with considerable difficulty. As my Pawnee vocabulary improved, we developed a Pawnee-English mode of communication that made the interpreter no longer necessary. As I extended my research into the semantic and cultural background of the language, Evarts became a major resource and ally in my investigations and our work extended over seven years and involved the entire Oklahoma Pawnee community.

114 At this time (1928–1936) Evarts was living with friends and relatives.
His wife and child had died tragically only a few years before, and he had
115 lost his little farm to the bank. The crises that had beset his life as a member of his tribe and times were epic in their proportions; as a man in the decline of his years, he had many questions to ask, and I, as a novice in life's ills and trials, had many questions to ask of him. Many of his questions concerned the white culture and its values, and, as a young anthropologist, mine sought answers through the cross-cultural perspective I hoped to find in studying the Pawnee way. Together we established the language of our common humanity and communicated what we wanted to know about the special character of each other's culture as well as of life in general. It was my purpose to understand the Pawnees as people, not as Indians or as social categories and certainly not as historical antiques.

161 Although in the 1920's only seven hundred Pawnees survived, some
178 Pawnee customs remained among them and at least eight of the older peo-
197 ple spoke no other language than Pawnee. The town of Pawnee, Okla-
homa, was surrounded by the allotted lands of the Pawnees, the lands of
361 each band being located in a different direction. The bands were still
423

000

167 unchecked by a United States torn by Civil War. Then, when the war
175 was over, came the white settlement of their territory and still more con-
648 flicts for the land, the water, and the timber. Finally they could stay there
no longer; they had to leave their homeland, and they moved south.

167 The Pawnees were related by language to a people to the south of
197 them, the Wichita, and they often went visiting, some of them remaining
648 for several years in order to learn new ceremonials which they brought
175 home with them when they returned north. As far back as the 1770's a
contingent of three hundred Pawnees had gone south and settled permanently there. They were very welcome at this time and every inducement was given to make them stay, as the Wichita were already heavily depleted in numbers by disease and enemy attack; the Pawnee group constituted a much-needed reinforcement.

In the summer of 1870, just a hundred years later, a Pawnee chief led a visiting party of three hundred men to the Wichita. After their return, subsequent parties went down in successive years and were made welcome by the Wichitas and other tribes in the area that is now Oklahoma; in 1873, despite many doubts on the part of their chiefs, two-thirds of the Pawnees finally left their Nebraska home and migrated south. By November 1875 the last Pawnee contingent arrived in Oklahoma. Many met their death as a result of the change. Fevers and starvation took such a
[161] heavy toll that by 1879 only 1,440 survived, and, by the U.S. census of 1910, just 633 Pawnees remained alive.

114 The time of my arrival in Oklahoma to do ethnological and linguistic work was 1928, some fifty years after the time the Pawnees had settled there permanently. We did not know then that Pawnee life with its combined settled village life and migratory buffalo hunting was an old way of life on the Plains.

The general opinion among anthropologists was that in the not too distant past earth-lodge peoples such as the Pawnee had formerly lived in the woodland areas east of the Mississippi and, migrating out onto the Plains, had begun to adopt the migratory life of buffalo hunters and were in the process of abandoning their settled ways.

172 Archaeology has since shown us that the combination of migratory and sedentary village life is much older in the Plains than we had thought and that, far from being in transition, the ancestors of the Pawnees had probably followed a similar way of life in Nebraska for nearly seven hundred years. Archaeological remains of earth-lodge villages are found along the Republican, Platte, and Loup rivers, a progressive evolution of the houses from rectangular to round appearing with the passage of time. The houses and the remains of objects and food found in the archaeological settlements show such a clear continuity into historic times that their identification as ancestral Pawnee is well nigh inevitable.

101 In 1867 the four bands into which the Pawnee were politically organ-

ized were concentrated along the banks of Beaver Creek, a northern 101
tributary of the Loup River near the present town of Genoa, Ne-
braska. They had moved to this place in 1859 as a result of their treaty
with the United States Government. Each of the bands had its separate
location, the Skidi villages in the westernmost position and the three
South Bands ranged along the stream to the east about half a mile away.
From west to east they were: Kitkehaxki (Little-Earth-Lodge), Tsawi
(Asking-for-Meat), and Pitahawirata (Man-Going-Downstream, or East).
Each of the bands is said to have comprised a number of villages;
for the three South Bands this cannot be documented. From 1700 on,
when our historical records are clear, the Skidi were the largest of the
four bands and were composed of a number of distinct villages, estimated
between twelve and nineteen. In 1867 the Skidi had four distinct villages, 361
Tuwahukasa (Village-across-a-Ridge), Tuhitspiat (Village-in-the-Bottom-
lands), Tskirirara (Wolf-in-Water), and Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine). [103]
The villages were made up of ten to twelve earth lodges, each a high
spacious dome-shaped building housing thirty to fifty people. Besides
containing thirty to fifty people under one roof, the personnel was likely
to change from season to season after each migration to the buffalo hunt-
ing grounds. The basic Pawnee household was as different from ours as 592
it is possible for a human arrangement to be. And yet it gave personal
satisfaction to its members and within itself produced the whole ma-
terial and social base for an ongoing community. In fact, this is what we
wish our family life would do. Sibling rivalries, partial or total rejection
of child by parent or smothering attention, demands on the child for the
unfulfilled ambitions of the parents, or overprotection because of re-
sented parental hardships, heavy-handed control of parent over child in a
severely restricted social environment—these are ills that are intimately
linked with the very physical arrangements of our present family living.
There are things about Pawnee life that suggest that an enlarged home
environment for our children would improve our lives—a matter to be
considered in the concluding chapter.

Even more startling to me than the contrast in home life was the ques- 626
tion of political control among the Pawnees. They were a well-disci-
plined people, maintaining public order under many trying circumstances. 182
And yet they had none of the power mechanisms that we consider essen-
tial to a well-ordered life. No orders were ever issued. No assignments for
work were ever made nor were over-all plans discussed. There was no
code of rules of conduct nor punishment for infraction. There were no
commandments nor moralizing proverbs. The only instigator of action 796
was the consenting person. In religion, the regular round of ceremonies 182
that followed the seasons was in charge of a priesthood, but no one of
these ceremonies was ever instigated by them. Only when a single 626
person had the call through visions and invited the priesthood to discuss

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-
177 shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological circles
[172] as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
• [101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people
was "Big Knife."

Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
17 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
412 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
324 continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrowshafts
and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sandstone
buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from south-
[316] west Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
[439] Pipestone.

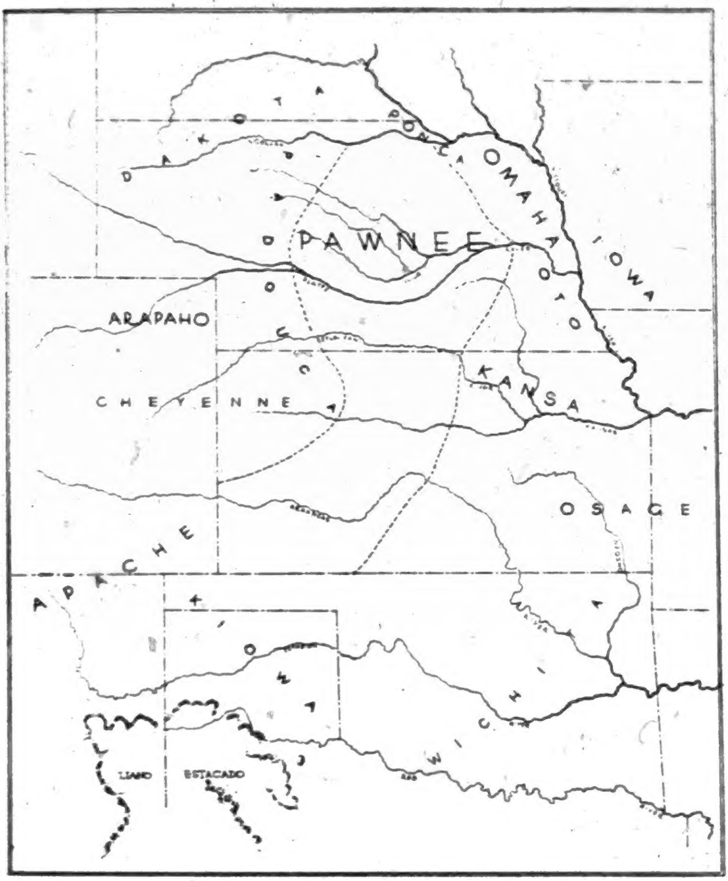
463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal
their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard
electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
796 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
463 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
322 arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the
essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots
from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when
the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was
referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the
pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic
terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
796 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
171 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY BULLETIN 112 MAP 1

101
102
131


DAKOTA
PONCA
OMAHA
IOWA
OTO
PAWNEE
ARAPAHO
CHEYENNE
KANSA
OSAGE
APACHE
KIOWA
WICHITA
LLANO ESTACADO

TRIBAL MAP OF THE CENTRAL PLAINS ABOUT 1800.

[End Map 1]

11: Wedel
102, 131, 133, 172

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Chart of Positions of End Map 2

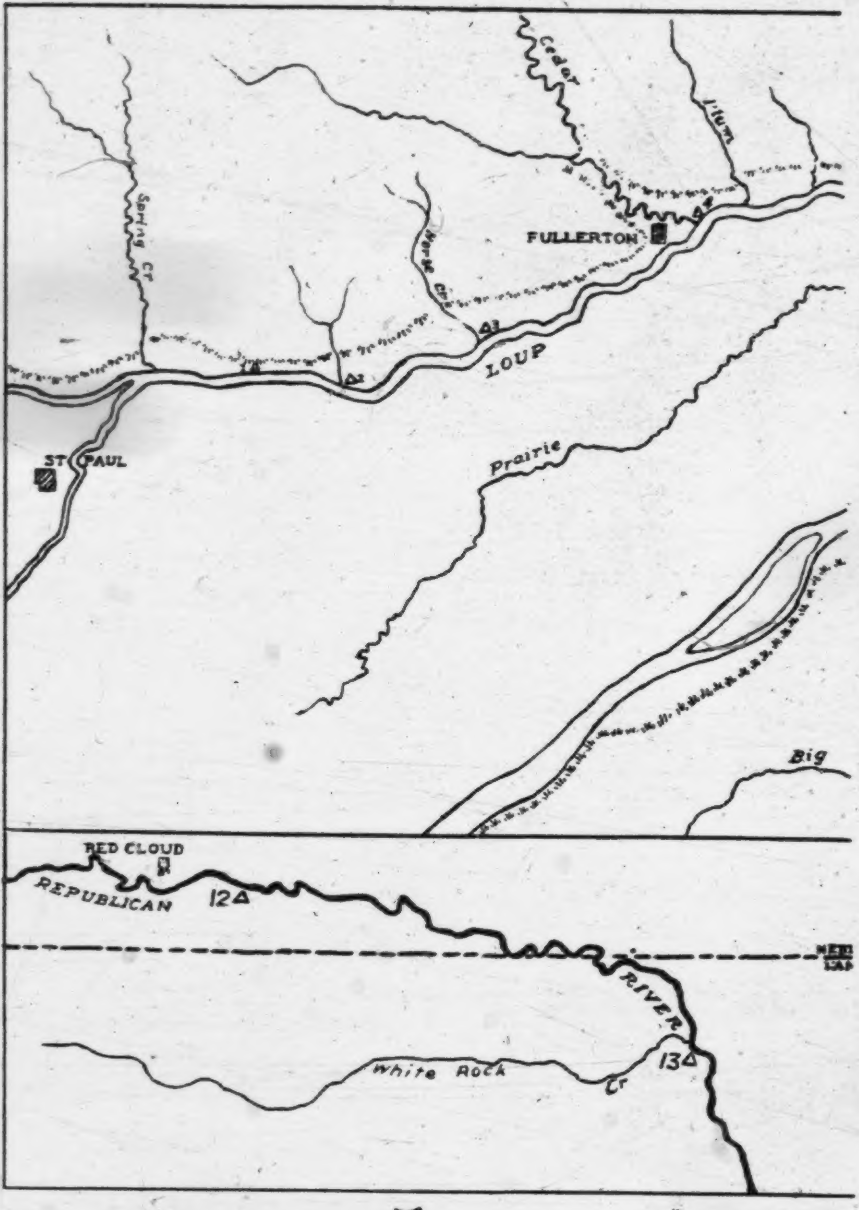
Sec. A	Sec. B	Sec. C	Sec. D	Sec. E

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

102
131
133
172

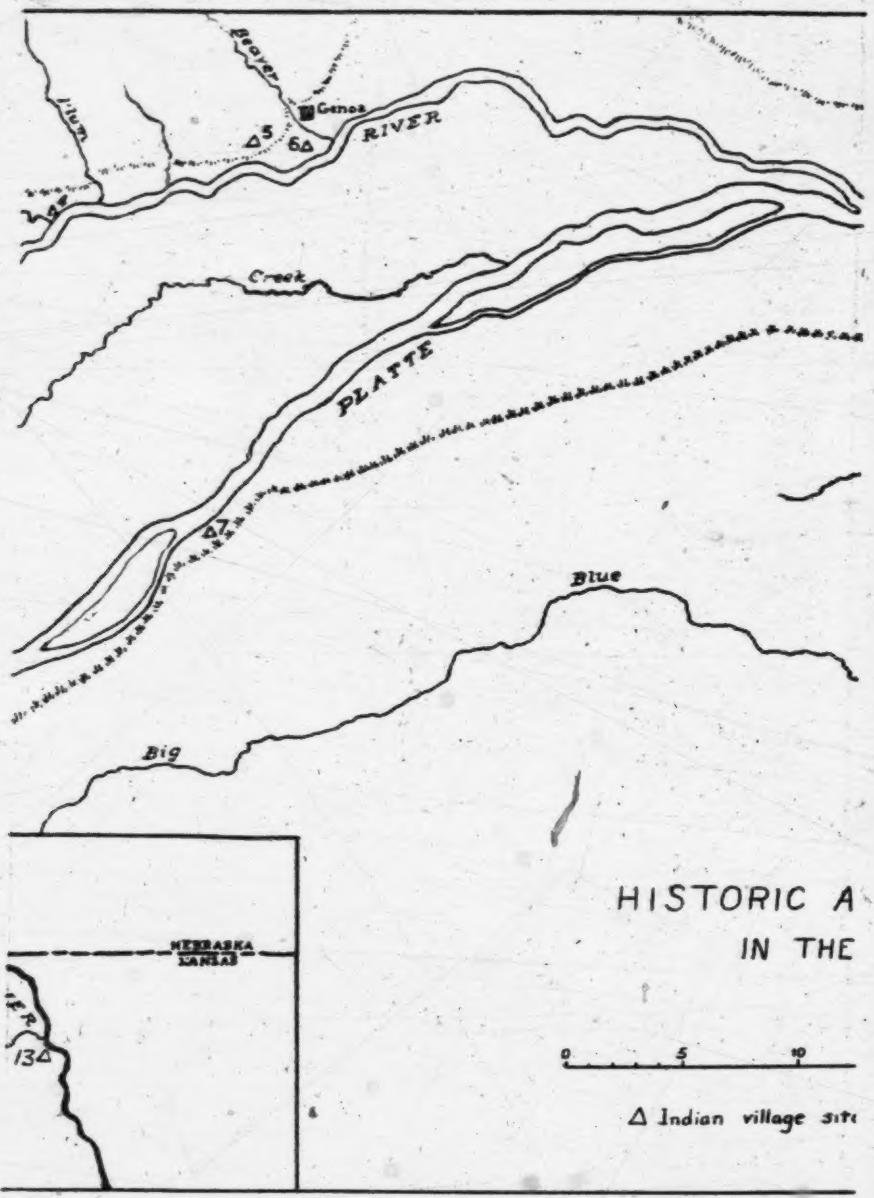

Cedar
Plum
Spring Cr
Horse Cr
FULLERTON
Δ4
Δ3
Δ2
1Δ
LOUP
ST PAUL
Prairie
Big
RED CLOUD
REPUBLICAN
12Δ
NEBR
KAN
RIVER
White Rock Cr
13Δ

[End Map 2(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
131
133
172

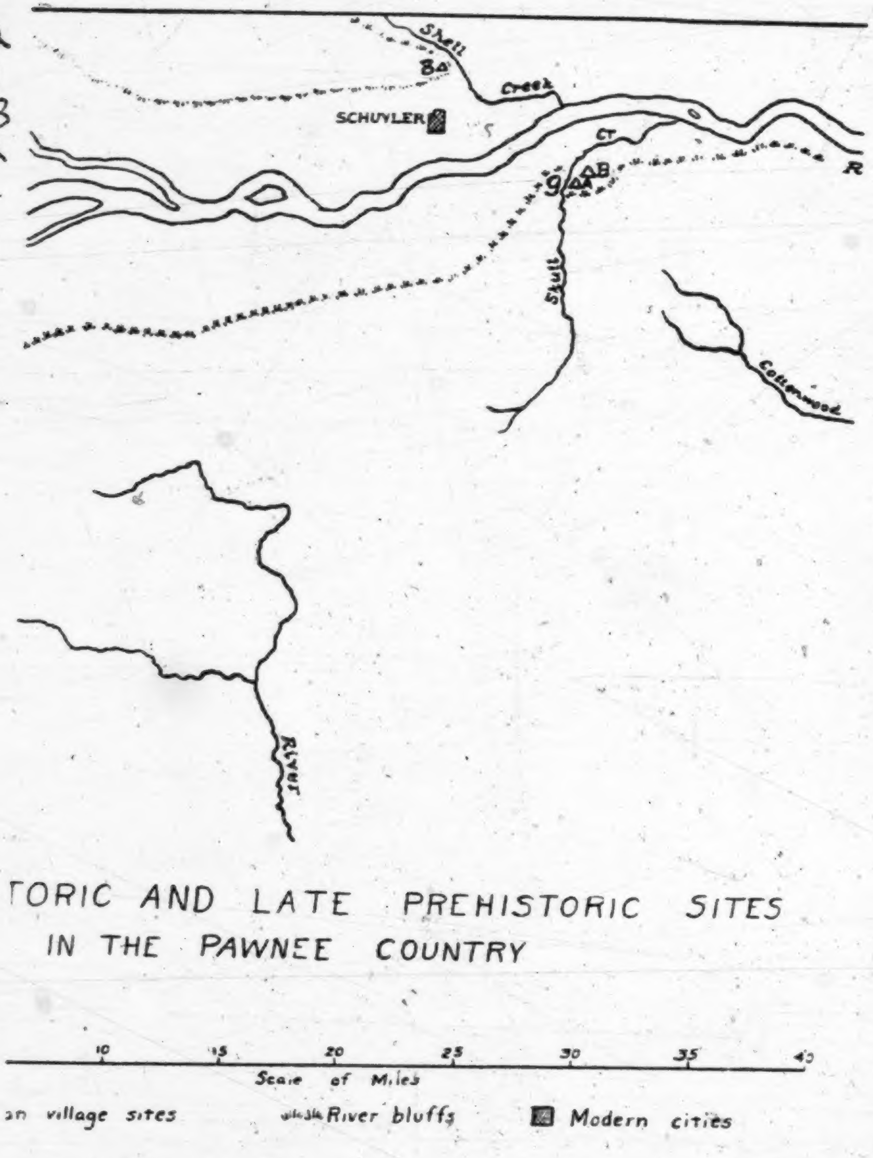

Beaver
Genoa
Loup
5
6
RIVER
Creek
PLATTE
7
Blue
Big
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
ER
13
HISTORIC A
IN THE
0
5
10
Δ Indian village site

HISTORIC AND PROTC

Based on early

[End Map 2(B)]

●102
131
133
172


Shell Creek
8 A
SCHUYLER
Ct
B
9 A A
R
Skull
Cottonwood
River
TORIC AND LATE PREHISTORIC SITES
IN THE PAWNEE COUNTRY
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
Scale of Miles
an village sites
River bluffs
▨ Modern cities

ORIC AND PROTOHISTORIC SITES IN THE NORTHERN PAWNEE AREA.

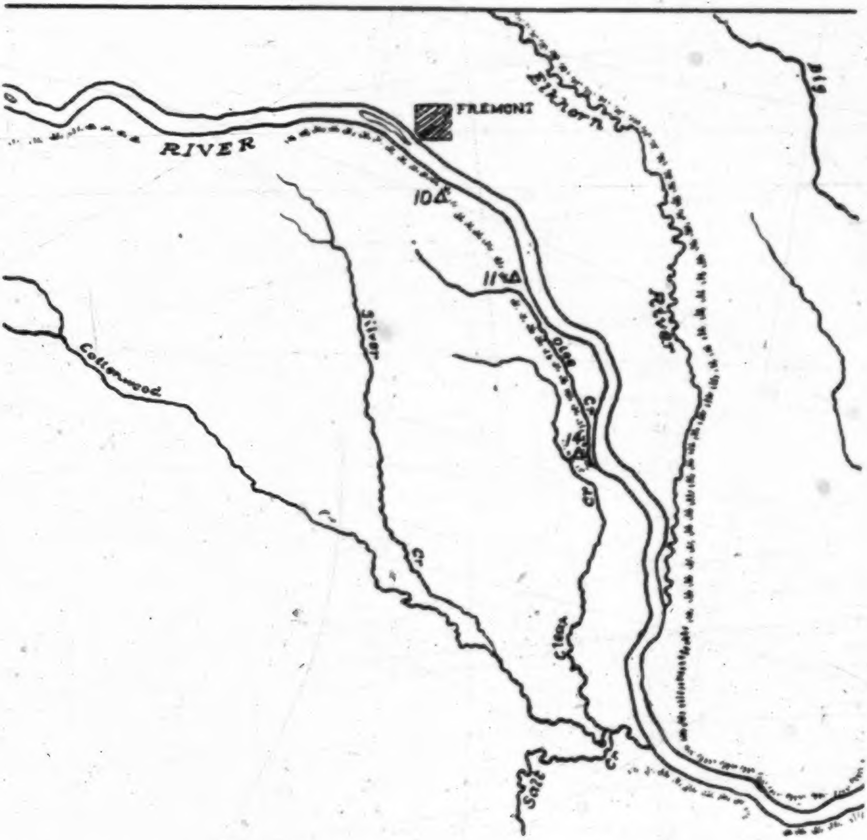
Based on early maps and journals, and on archeological investigations

[End Map 2(C)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
131
133
172


FREMONT
Elkhorn
River
RIVER
Big
10
11
14
Silver
Cr
Cottonwood
Cr
Cr
Clear
Salt

SITES

KEY TO S

Pawnee unless otherw

1. Palmer site
2. Cottonwood Creek site
3. Horse Creek site
4. Fullerton site
5. Burkett site (?)
6. Genoa site
7. Clarks site

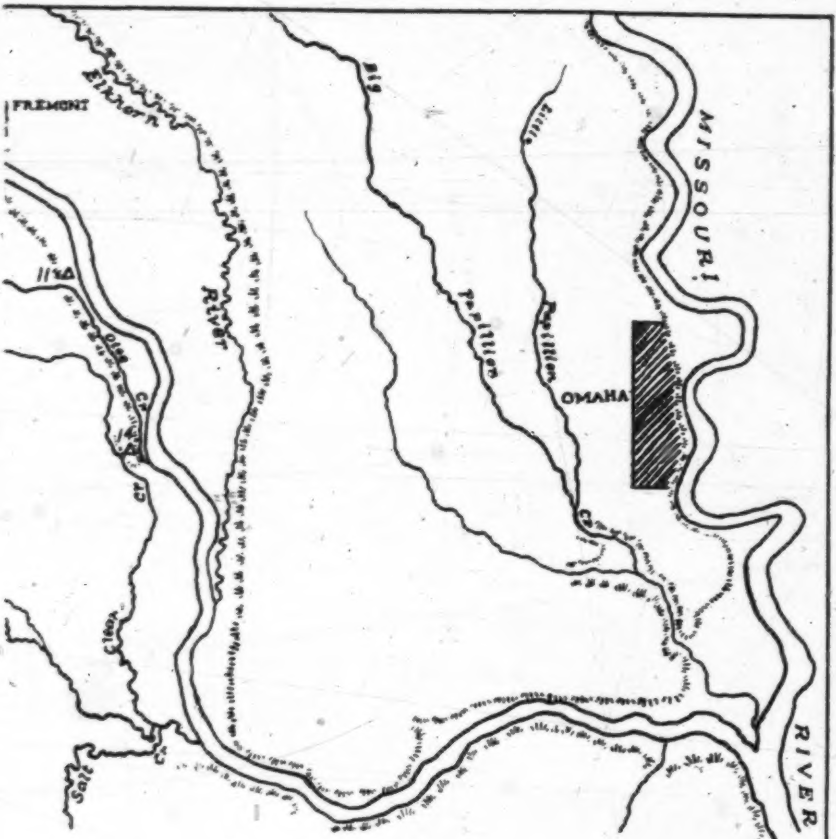
35 40

cities

[End Map 2 (D)]

102
131
133
172

BULLETIN 112 MAP 2


FREMONT
Elkhorn
River
Big
Papillion
Little
Papillion
MISSOURI
OMAHA
11
Otoe
Cr.
14
Cr.
Cedar
Cr.
Salt
Cr.
RIVER

KEY TO SITES

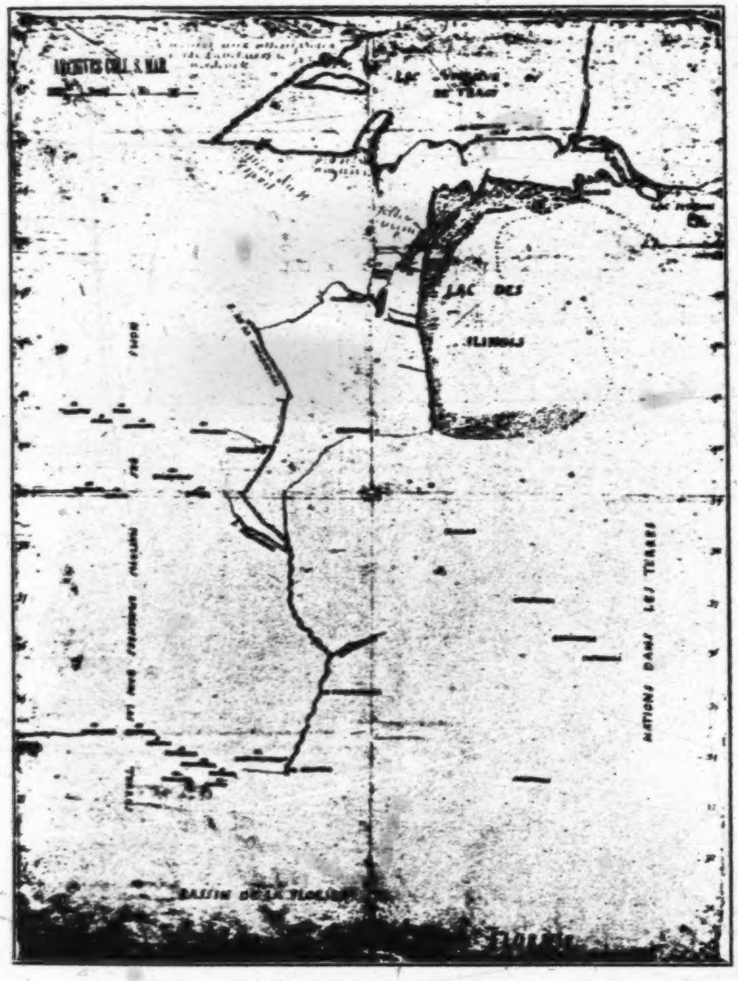
Pawnee unless otherwise indicated

1. Palmer site
2. Cottonwood Creek site
3. Horse Creek site
4. Fullerton site
5. Burkett site (?)
6. Genoa site
7. Clarks site
8. Schuyler site (?)
9. Linwood site
10. McClaine site
11. Leshara site
12. Hill site
13. Kansas Monument site
14. Yutan site (Oto)

[End Map 2(E)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18


LAC ... DE TRACY
LAC DES
ILINOIS
NATIONS DANS LES TERRES
BASSIN DE LA FLORIDE
FLORIDE

MARQUETTE'S MAP, 1673-74.

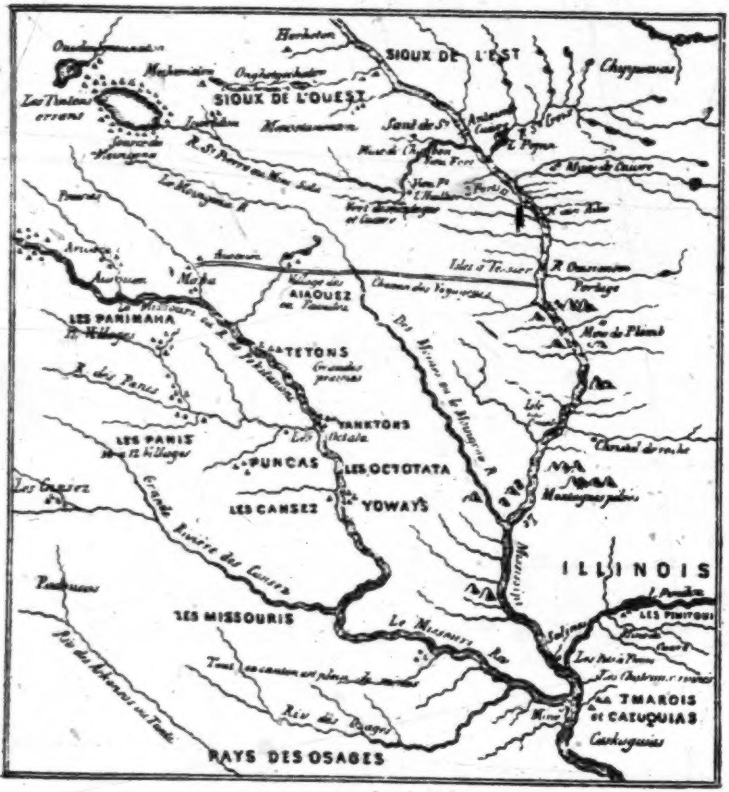
From the Jesuit Relations, volume LIX, page 108.

[End MAP 3]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
● 102
131


SIOUX DE L'EST
Chippeouas
SIOUX DE L'OUEST
Le Missouri
LES PANIMAHA
AIAOUEZ
TETONS
Grandes prairies
YANKTONS
LES PANIS
PUNCAS
LES OCTOTATA
LES CANSEZ
YOWAYS
Grande Rivière des Cansez
ILLINOIS
LES MISSOURIS
LES PINITOUI
TMAROIS ET CAHUQUIAS
Caskoquias
Riv. des Osages
PAYS DES OSAGES

LE SEUER'S MAP, 1701.
From the South Dakota Historical Collections, volume I, page 40.

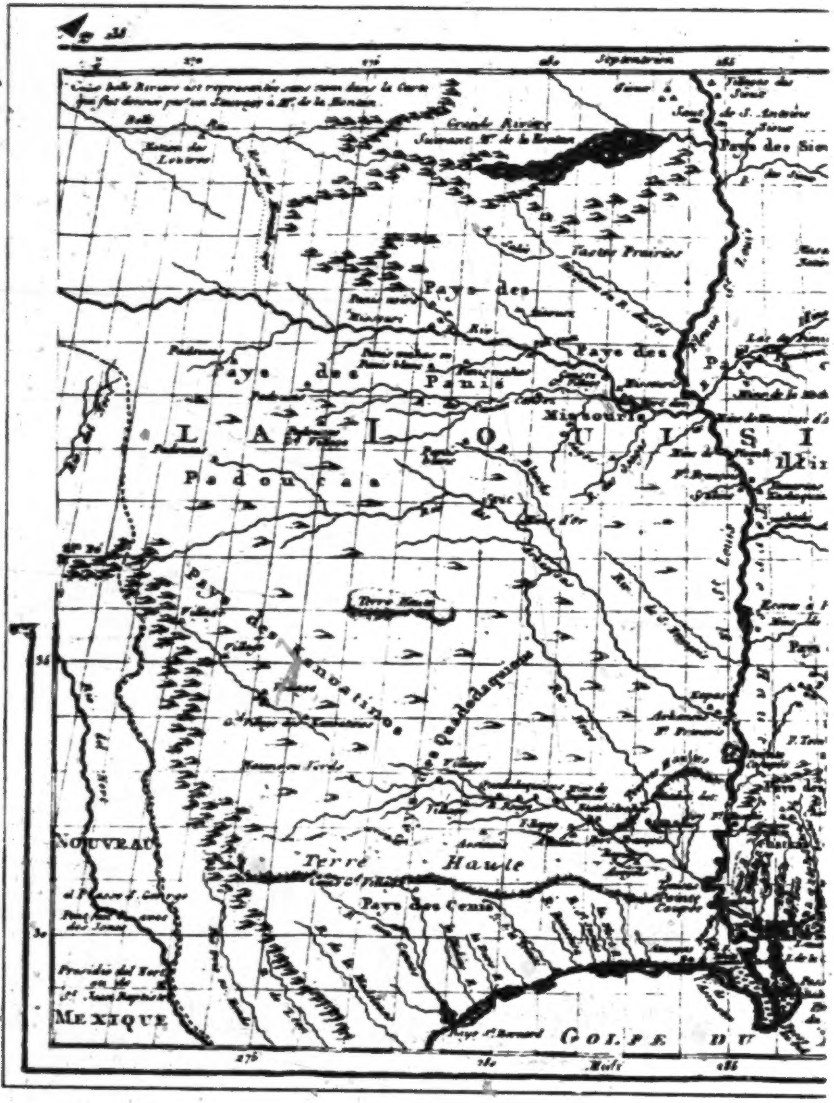
[End Map 4]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
●102
131


Septentrion
Grande Riviere Suivant Mr. de la Hontan
Vastes Prairies
Pays des
Paye des Panis
Padoucas
Missouri
LA LOUISI
Terre Haute
Terre Haute
Pays des Cenis
NOUVEAU
MEXIQUE
GOLFE DU
Midi

DU PRATZ'S MAP OF LOUISIAN

From Histoire de la Louisiane, tome premi

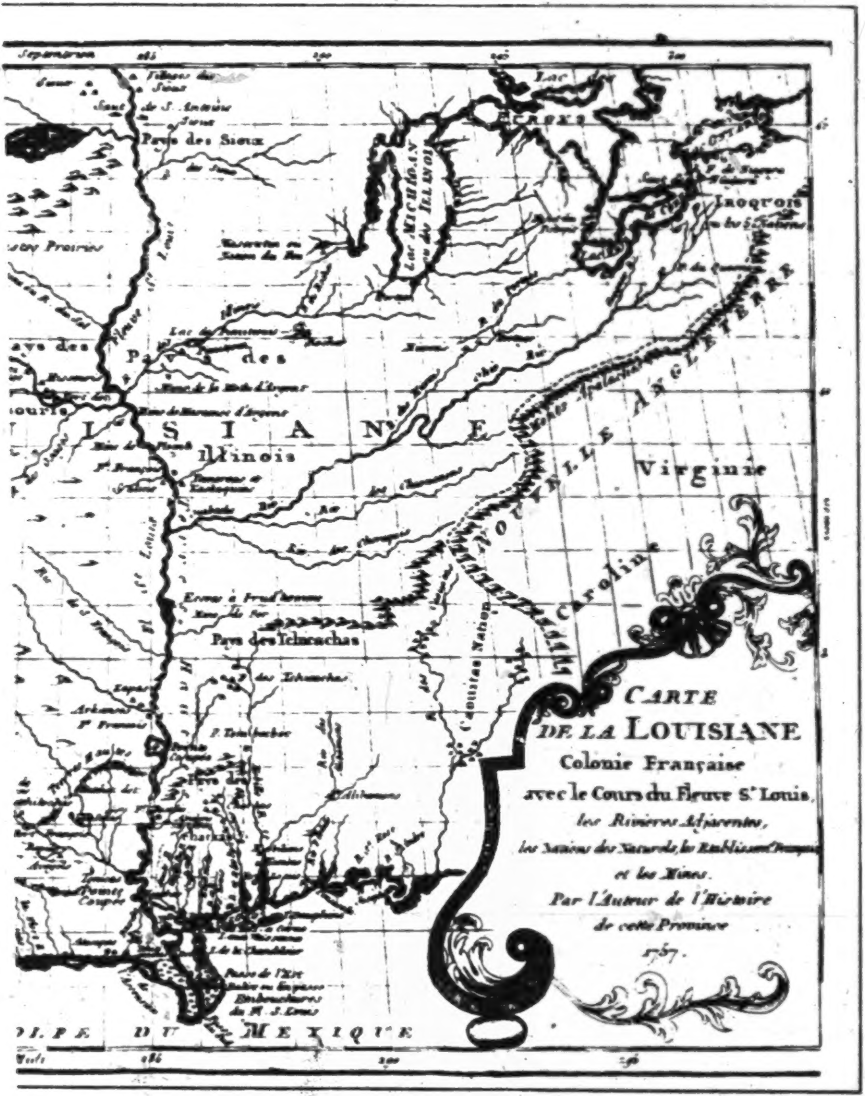
[End Map 5 (A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
●102
131

BULLETIN 112 MAP 5


Pays des Sioux
Lac Michigan ou des Illinois
Iroquois
Pays des
Illinois
Virginie
Caroline
Pays des Tchicachas
Arkansas
Fleuve St. Louis
Monts Apalaches
Golfe du Mexique
Carte de la Louisiane
Colonie Française
avec le Cours du Fleuve St. Louis,
les Rivieres Adjacentes,
les Nations des Naturels, les Etablissemt. François
et les Mines.
Par l'Auteur de l'Histoire
de cette Province
1757.

RATZ'S MAP OF LOUISIANA, 1757.

oire de la Louisiane, tome premiere, page 138.

[End Map 5 (B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

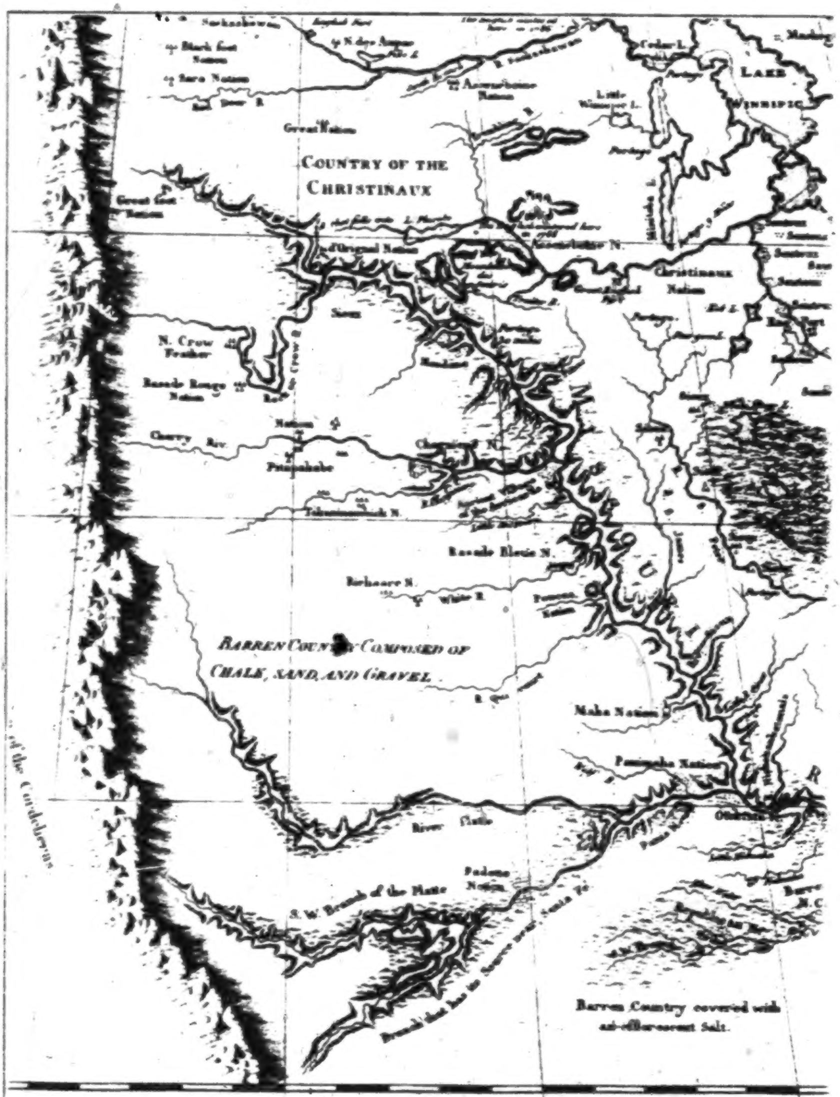
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101

● 102

131

133


Saskashawan
Black foot Nation
Sura Nation
Great Nation
COUNTRY OF THE CHRISTINAUX
Cedar L.
LAKE WINNIPIC
Assenaboine Nation
Little Winnipec L.
Great foot Nation
Assenaboine N.
Christinaux Nation
Sioux
N. Crow Feather
Bawde Rouge Nation
Nation
Cherry Riv.
Ptinpahobe
Tchaouinouhock N.
Bawde Bleue N.
Birhoare N.
White R.
Pawnee Nation
BARREN COUNTRY COMPOSED OF CHALK, SAND, AND GRAVEL
Maha Nation
Panimaha Nation
River Platte
Otheutas
Padous Nation
S. W. Branch of the Platte
Branch that has its Source near Santa Fe
Barren Country covered with nit-efflorescent Salt.
of the Cordeleiras
R

COLLOT'S MAP, 1796.

From a Journey in North America, volume

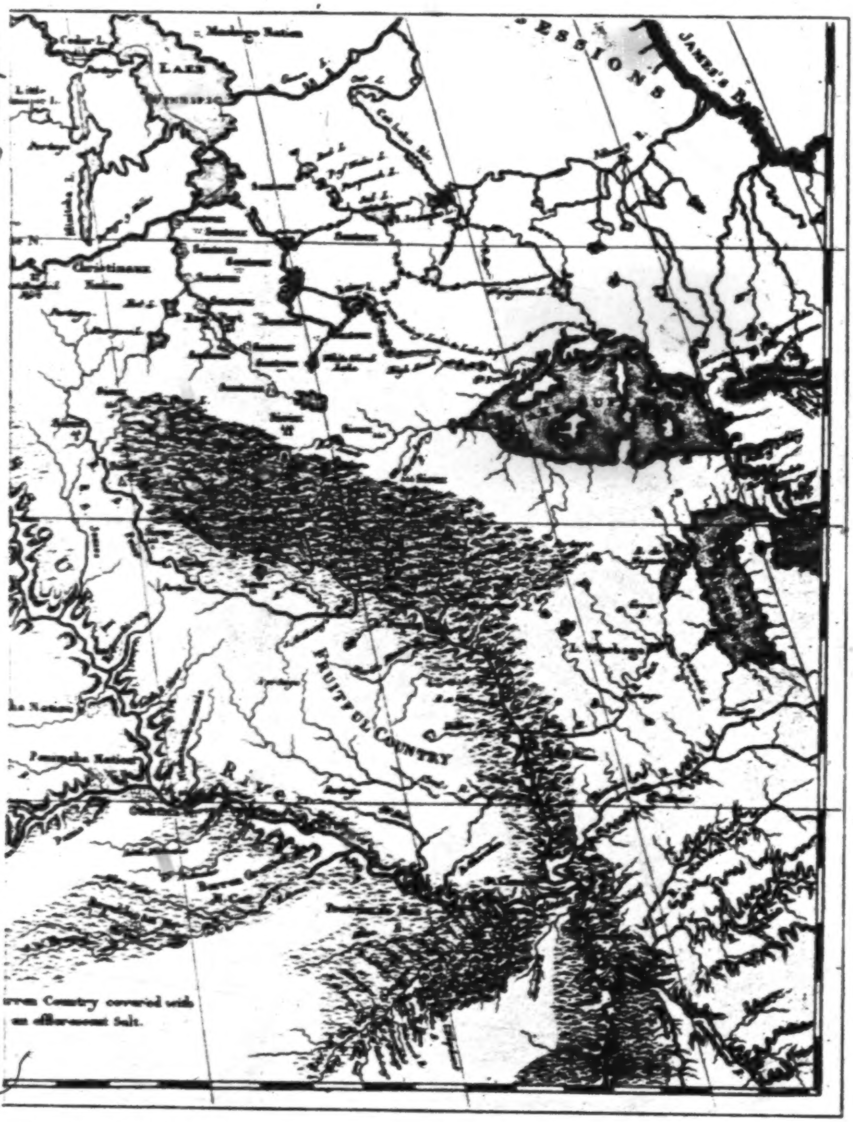
[End Map 6(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
● 102
131
133

BULLETIN 112 MAP 6


LAKE WINNIPEG
Christineaux Nation
ESSIONS
JAMES'S B
FRUITFUL COUNTRY
rren Country covered with
an efflorescent Salt.

COLLOT'S MAP, 1796.

ourney in North America, volume I, page 28.

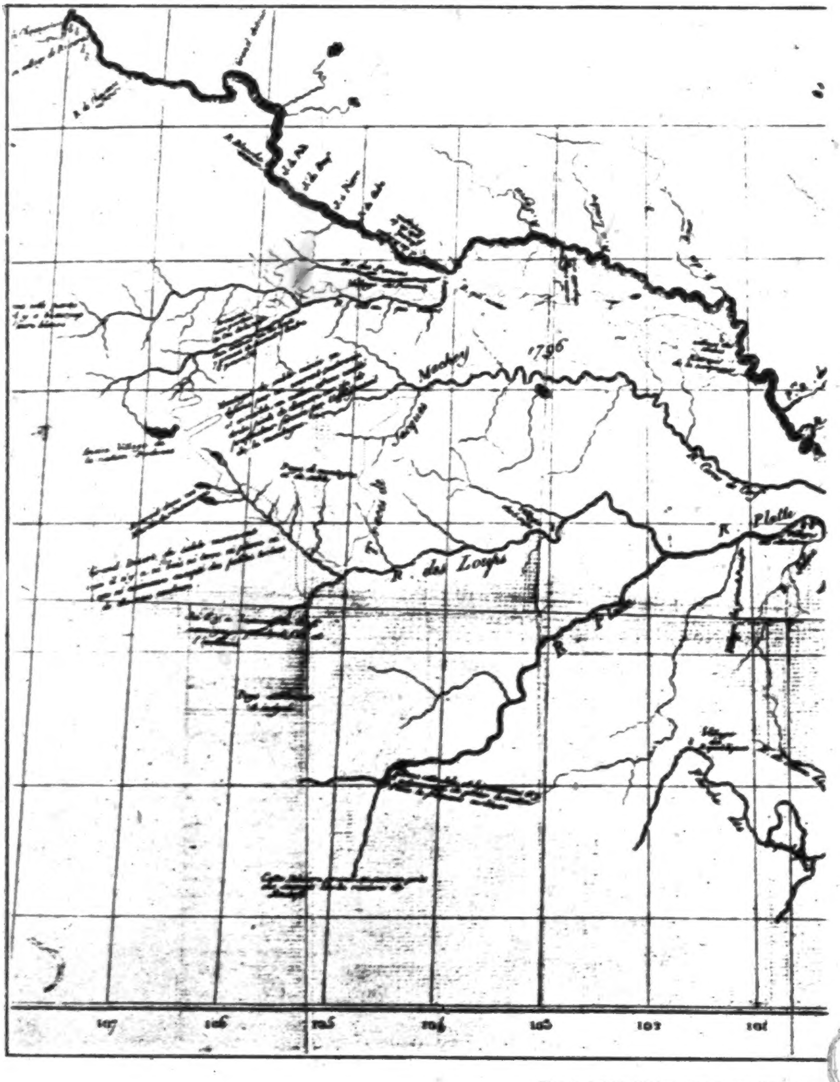
[End Map 6(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
●102
131
133



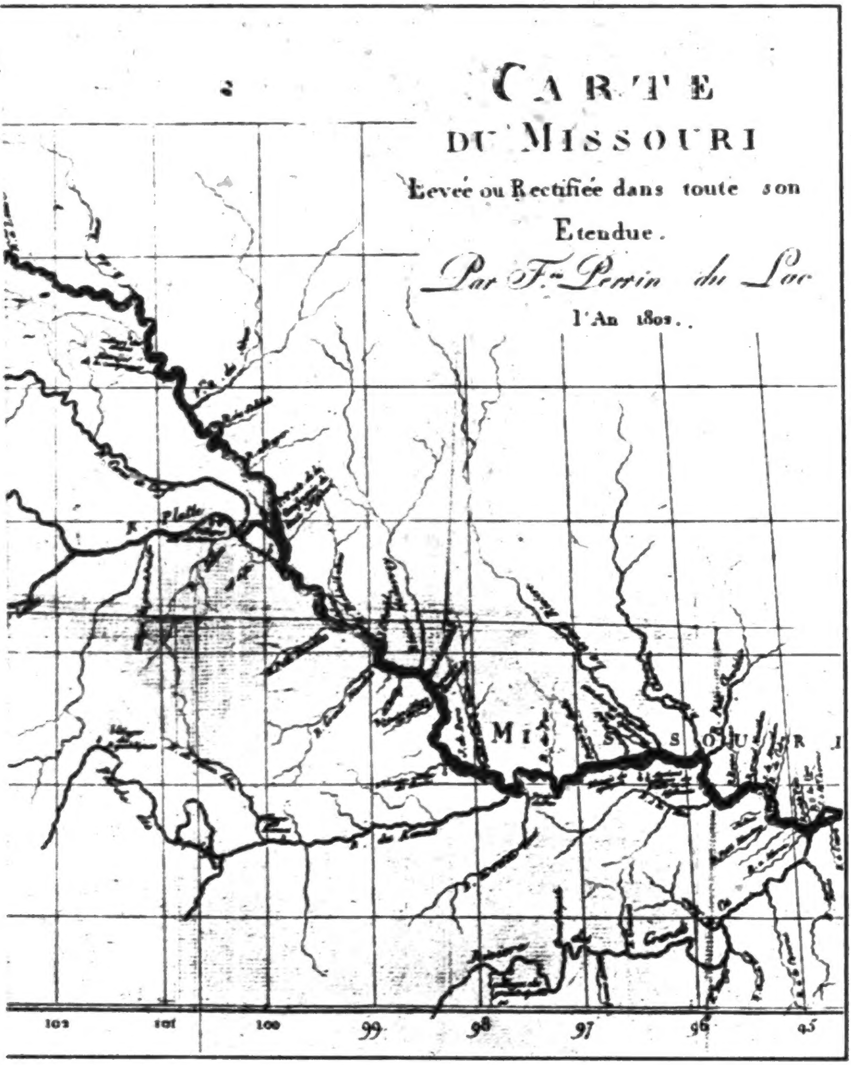
1796
R. Platte
R. des Loups
107
106
105
104
103
102
101

DU LAC'S MAP OF THE MISSOU

From Travels through the Two Lou

[End Map 7(A)]

101
● 102
131
133


CARTE
DU MISSOURI
Levée ou Rectifiée dans toute son
Etendue.
Par F. Perrin du Lac
l'An 1802.
R. Platte
MISSOURI
102
101
100
99
98
97
96
95

'S MAP OF THE MISSOURI, 1802.
Travels through the Two Louisianas.

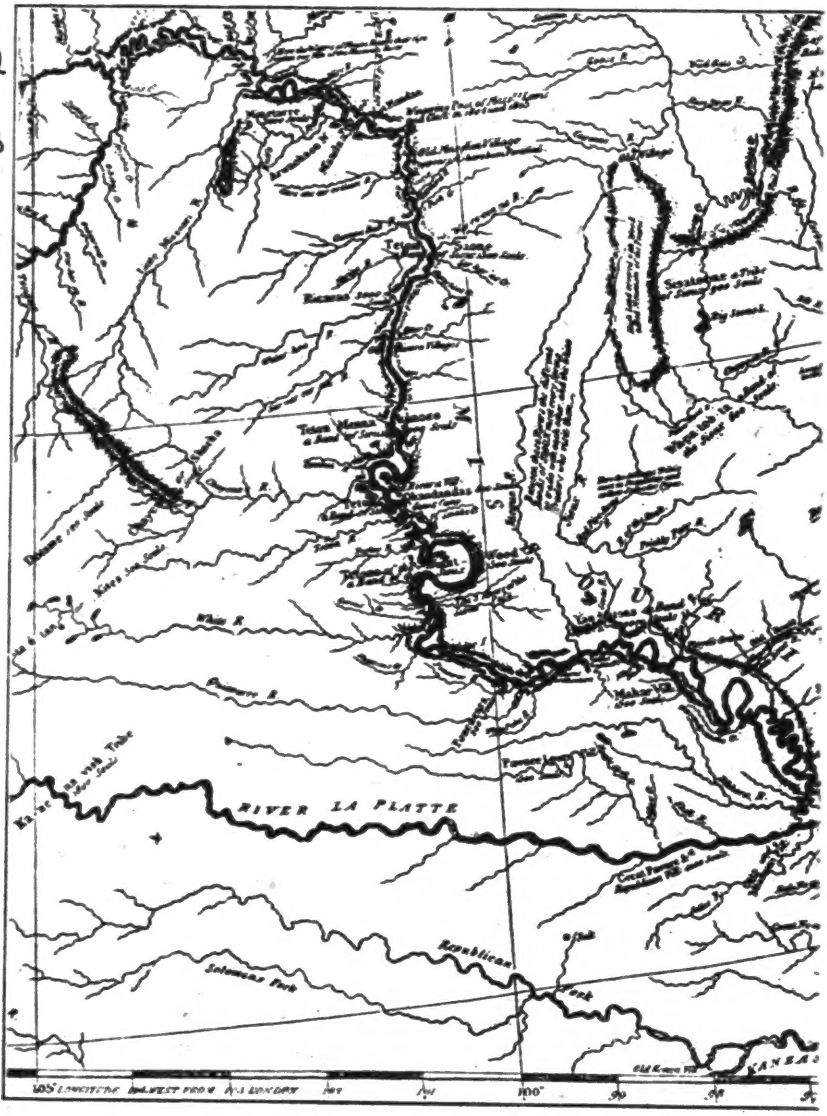
[End MAp 7(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
●102
131
133

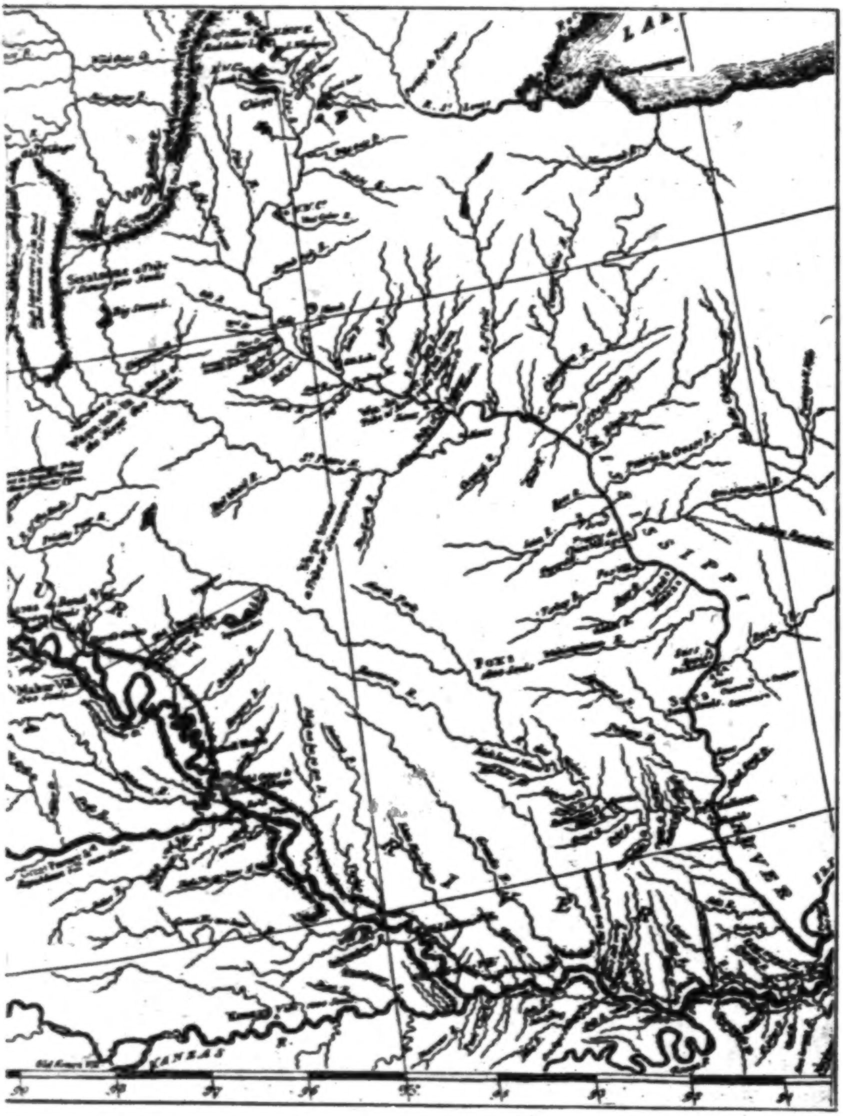

White R.
Pawnee R.
RIVER LA PLATTE
Pawnee Loups
Mahar Vil.
Republican Fork
Solomons Fork
Old Kanse Vil
KANSAS
105° LONGITUDE WEST FROM LONDON
100°

LEWIS AND CLARK'S MAP.
From Travels to the Source of the Missouri

[End Map 8(A)]

101
● 102
131
133

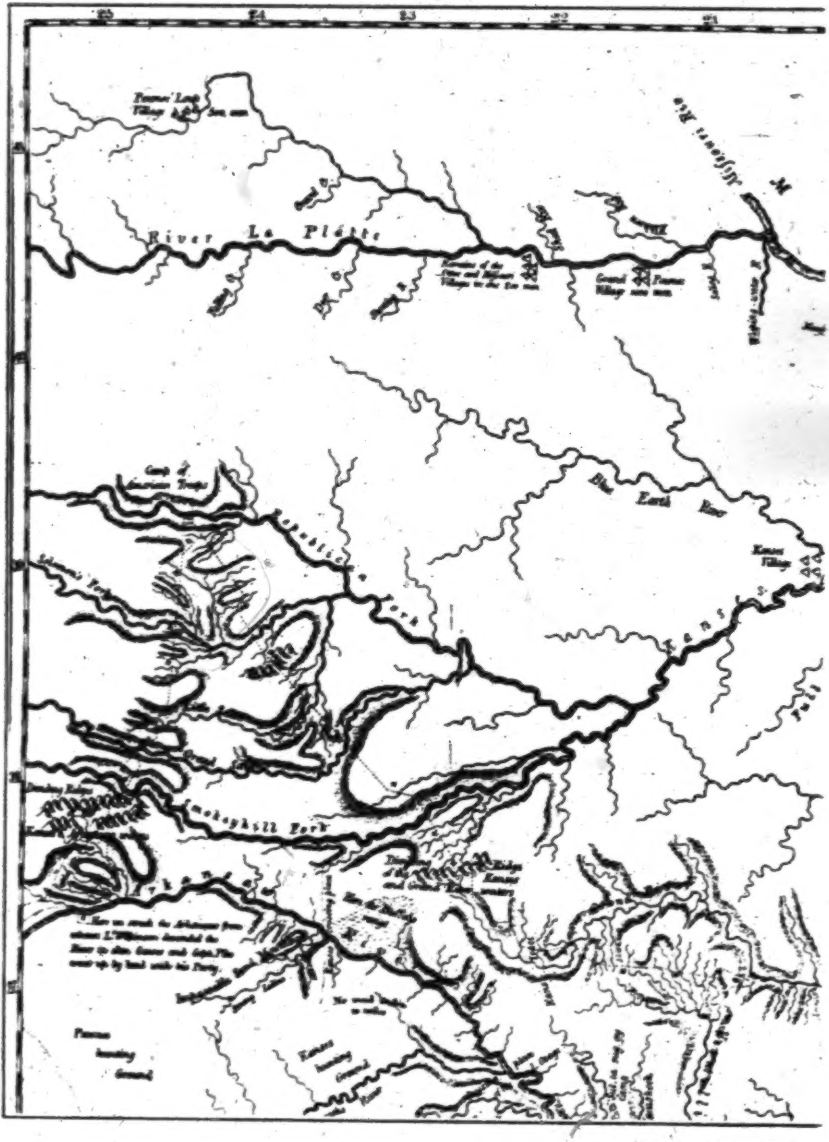
BULLETIN 112 MAP 8


LAK
SIPPI
Fox
KANSAS

VIS AND CLARK'S MAP, 1804.
to the Source of the Missouri River, volume I.

[End Map 8(B)]

101
●102
131
133


Pawnee Loup Village
River La Platte
Grand Pawnee Village
Missouri Riv
Republican Fork
Blue Earth River
Kansas Village
Kansas
Smokyhill Fork
Arkansaw
Pawnee hunting Ground
Kansas hunting Ground

PIKE'S MAP, 1806.
From An Account of Expeditions to the Sources o

[End Map 9 (A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

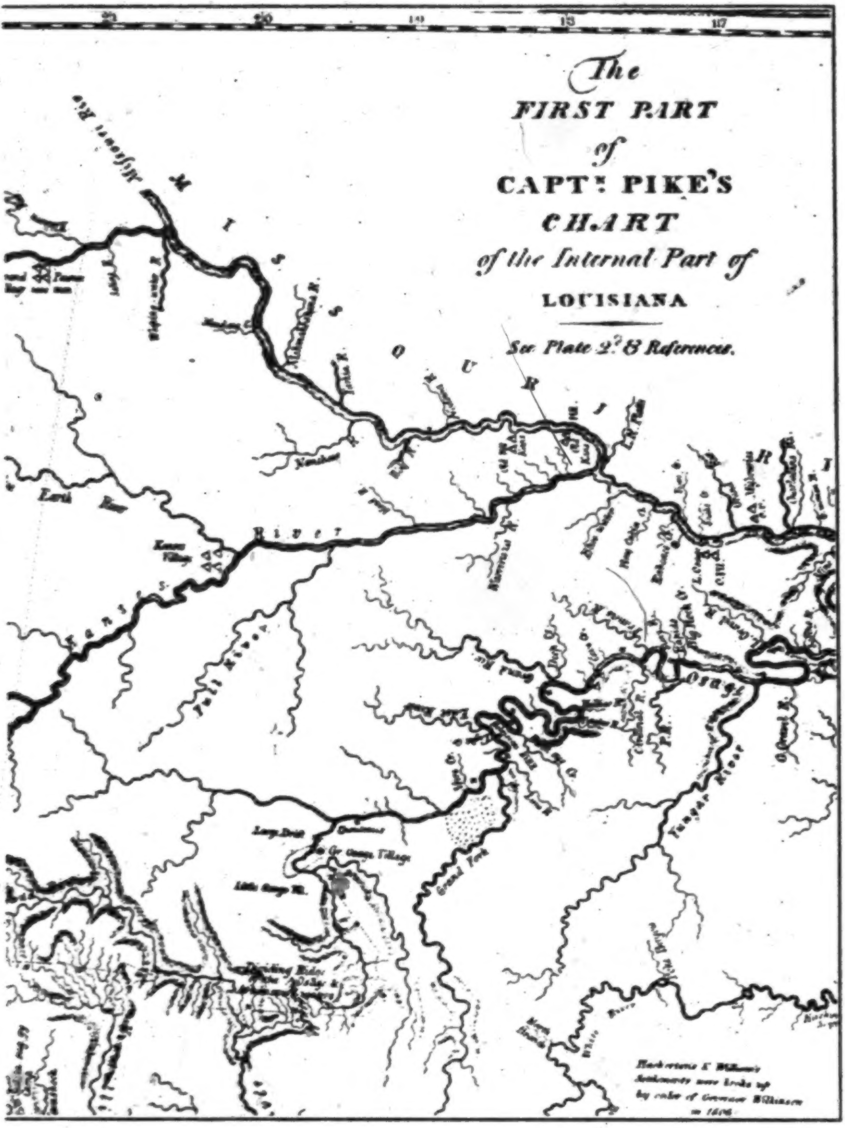
BULLETIN 112 MAP 9

101

● 102

131

133

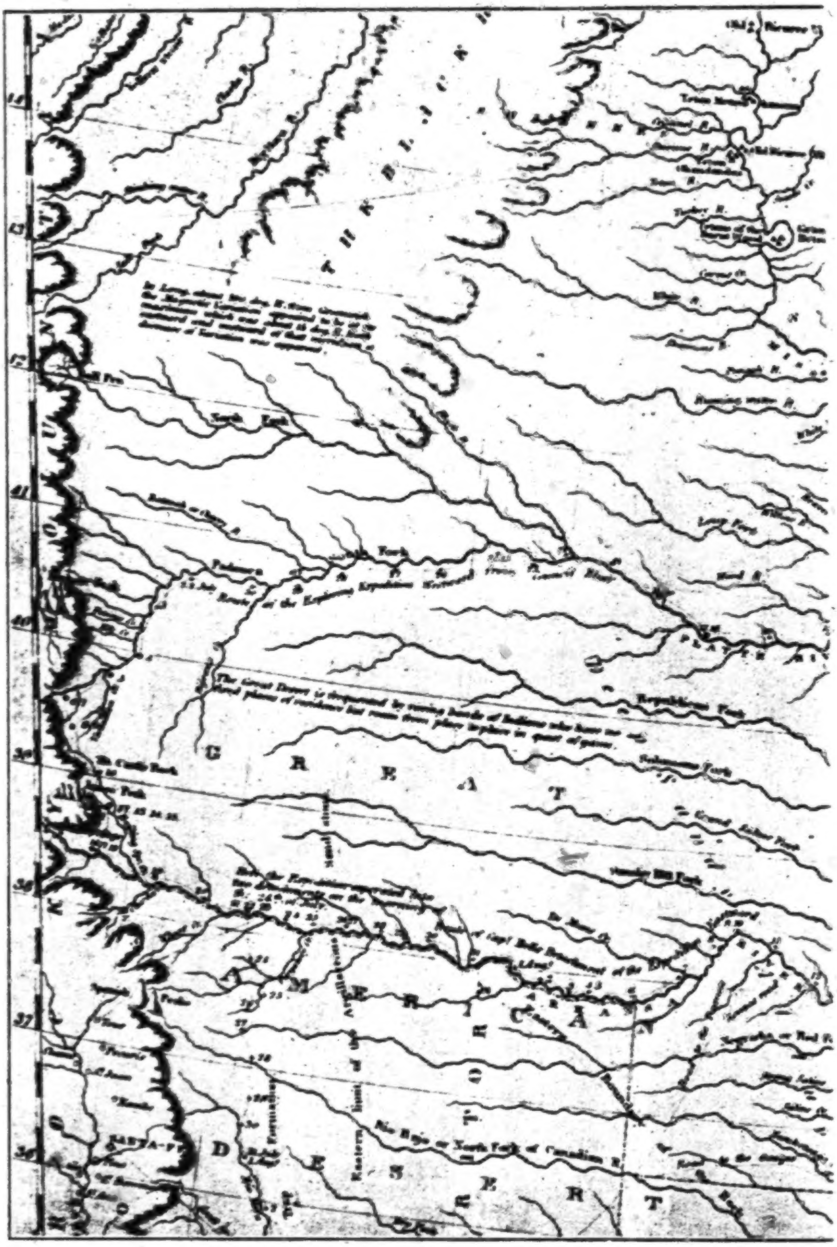

The
FIRST PART
of
CAPTN. PIKE'S
CHART
of the Internal Part of
LOUISIANA
See Plate 2d & References.
21
20
19
18
17
Missouri Riv
M I S S O U R I
Kansas River
Osage
Grand Fork
Tongue River
White River

PIKE'S MAP, 1806.

of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, etc.

[End Map 9 (B)]

101
●102
131
133

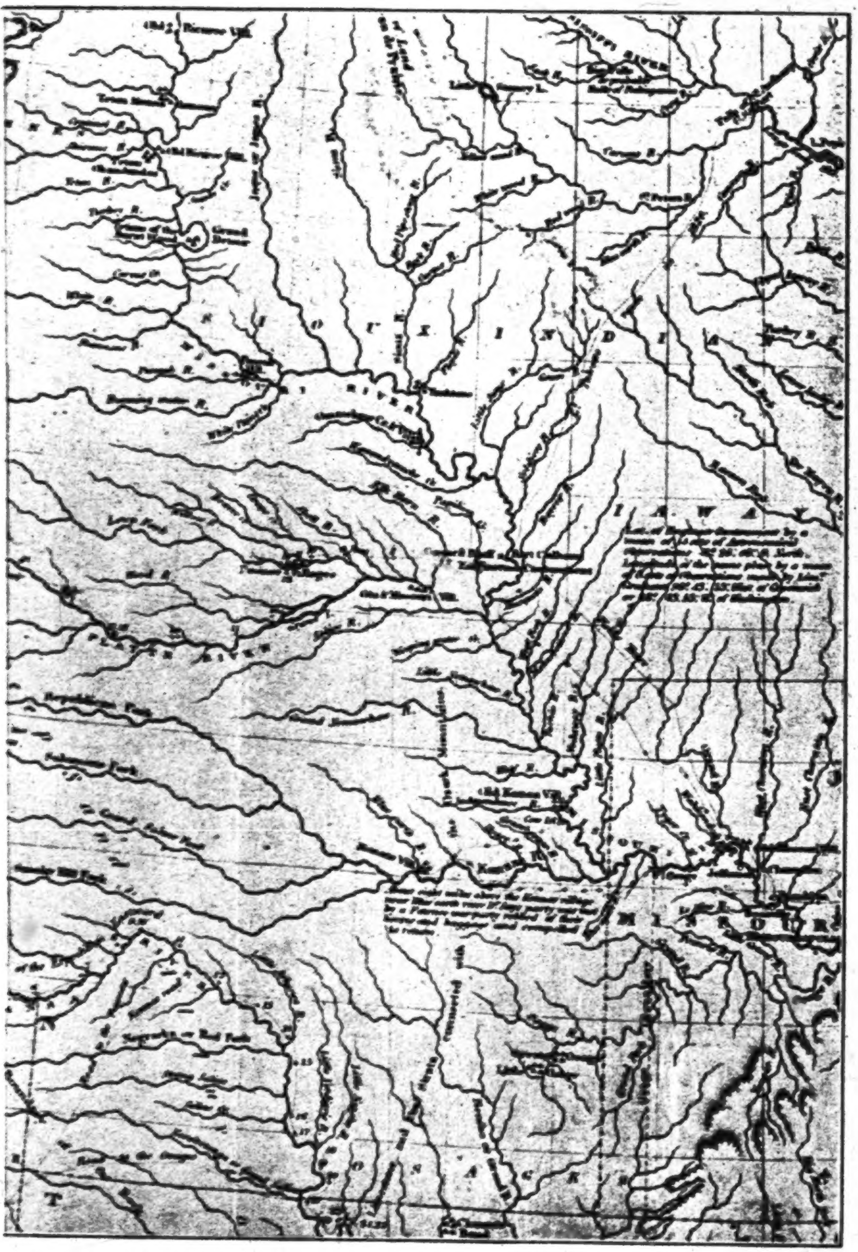

PLATTE R.
Republican Fork
The Great Desert is frequented by roving bands of Indians who have no fixed places of residence but roam from place to place in quest of game.
Solomons Fork
Grand Saline Fork
Smoky Hill Fork
G R E A T
A M E R I C A N
D E S E R T
Rio Raijo or North Fork of Canadian R.
SANTA-FE

LONG'S MAP, 1819.

From Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the

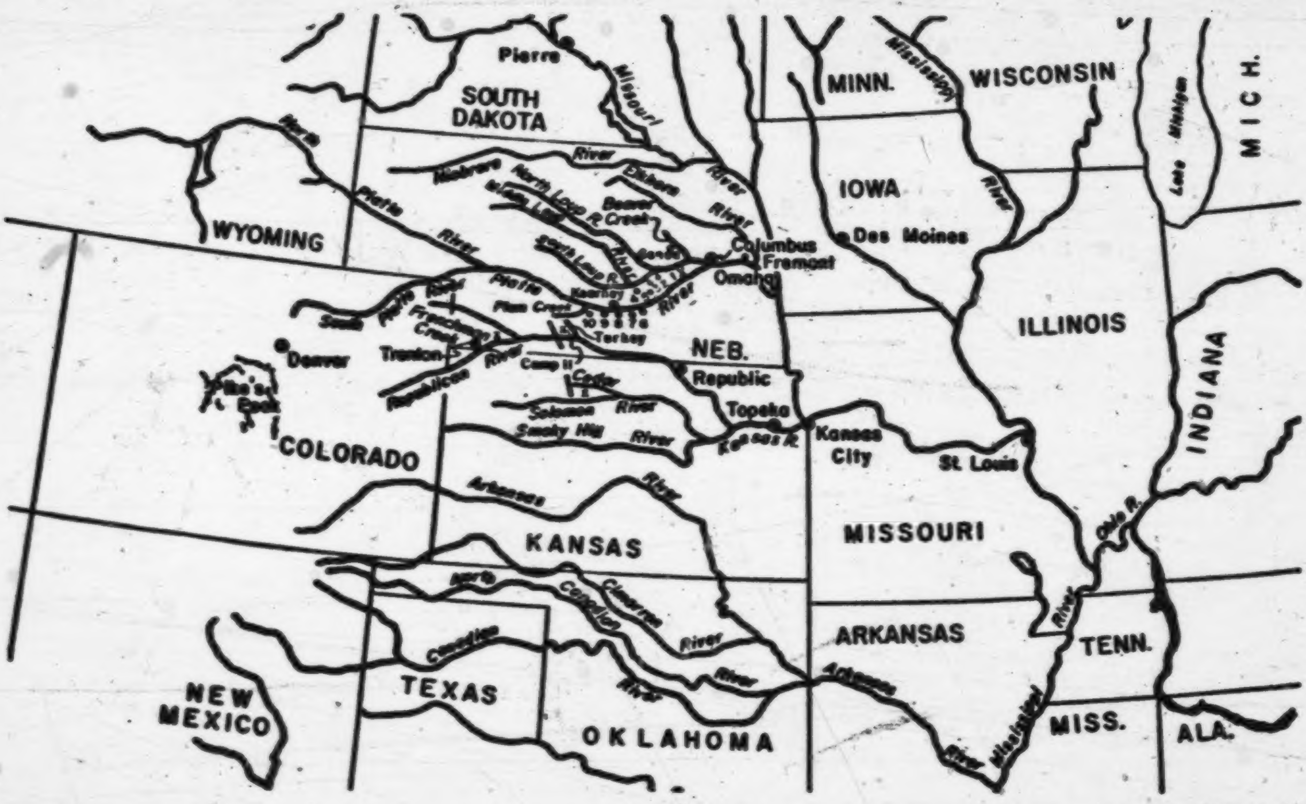
[End Map 1D (A)]

101
●102
131
133


S I O U X
I N D I
I A W A Y
P L A T T E R I V E R
Republican Fork
M I S S O U R I
O S A G E

LONG'S MAP, 1819.
:pedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, atlas.

[End Map 10(B)]


Pierre
SOUTH DAKOTA
Missouri
MINN.
Mississippi
WISCONSIN
MICH.
Lake Michigan
Horse
Niobrara
River
Elkhorn
River
North Loup R.
Middle Loup
Beaver Creek
River
IOWA
Des Moines
River
WYOMING
Platte
River
South Loup R.
Columbus
Fremont
Omaha
Platte
Kearney
River
Plum Creek
10 9 8 7 6
Turkey
South
Platte
River
Frenchman
Creek
Trenton
Denver
Republican
River
Camp II
Cedar
NEB.
Republic
ILLINOIS
Pike's Peak
Solomon
River
Smoky Hill
River
Topeka
Kansas R.
Kansas City
St. Louis
INDIANA
COLORADO
Arkansas
River
KANSAS
MISSOURI
Ohio R.
North
Canadian
Cimarron
River
ARKANSAS
River
TENN.
Canadian
River
River
Arkansas
NEW MEXICO
TEXAS
OKLAHOMA
River
Mississippi
MISS.
ALA.

[Fig. 18-1]

102
224*
484*
361
131

778 come. While all these bundles had their individualities, they had certain ceremonies in common: thus at the sound of the first thunder in spring, [782] the keeper of each bundle must immediately open it with the proper procedure and make an offering of dried buffalo meat to the powers in the west.[1] This offering is burned, but after the ceremony the remaining meat is cooked and served.

As to how far this applied to the other divisions of the Pawnee, cannot 184 be determined for they have not preserved their bundles and rituals to the 778 same extent as have the Skidí. The Chauí are known to have had three bundles, the Pítahauírata, two; but those of the Kit'kaháxki passed out so long ago that no definite number can be enumerated. The rituals of all these bundles were seemingly different from those of the Skidí in that so far as we know they did not have the regular thunder ceremony, but consecrated the bundles to certain animals. It is not known for certain if the sacred ears of corn were kept in these bundles as in those of the Skidí, but there are some reasons for believing that they were.

103 In the Skidí scheme there were thirteen villages, each of which had a bundle:—

361 1 Tu^{h}rikakū^h, center village; the Evening Star bundle.

631 2 Kitkahapaku^{h}tu, old village; the four leading bundles are kept in 778 this village.

3 Tu^{h}hitspiat, stretching out in the bottom lands.

4 Tu^{h}kitskita, village on branch of a river.

5 Tu^{h}wahukasa, village stretching across a hill; the Morningstar bundle. (This bundle was finally divided into two.)

6 Arĭkararikuchu, big antlered elk standing.

7 Arikararikī^h, small antlered elk standing.

8 Tu^{h}huchaku, village in a ravine; the left hand bundle, all use left hands in the ceremony.

9 Tu^{h}warakaku, village in thick timber.

10 Akapaxsawa, skull painted on tipi.

11 Skisa rikus, fish hawk.

12 Stixkautit, black ear of corn.

13 Turawi, part of a village.

631 These thirteen villages were organized or federated under this bundle 778 scheme and so had a common government. The supreme, or original

---

[821] [1] The Evening Star (calf bundle) is the chief power in the west. Four other stars in the west represent the clouds, thunders, lightning, and the winds, or the four leading bundles. These four stars are supposedly sitting in the west, acting as priests. They are sitting there with a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat; also, they are sitting with a hill of corn, the stalks always green, and a place in front of them as the altar.

lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may 611
have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, 421
if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of 778
descent in the village group would arise only as the result of in- 114
frequent inter-village marriages.]

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that 621
one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where 778
it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village 773
it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each 621
village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the 778
ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi 796
villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the 621
villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly 778
had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were 103
extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

62 778 103 agree, nor does Murie's account agree with this manuscript. In his paper on Pawnee Societies, Murie lists a village named Black-Ear-of-Corn. According to the present manuscript this is an alternative term for a bundle called Fools-the-Wolves, belonging to a village of the same name. Also, Murie has a Fish-Hawk village, which according to the manuscript is the bundle of the Village-in-the-Woods (Village-in-Thick-Timber). Finally, he lists one village not mentioned here, its English equivalent being given as Village-on-a-Branch-of-a-River. In place of these last two, this report names the Pumpkin-Vine village and the Wolves-Standing-in-Water village. Murie mentions both of these but states that they were independent and does not include them in his list of the thirteen Skidi villages. His account implies that there were fifteen known Skidi villages in all. Though the present manuscript agrees as to the relative independence of the Pumpkin-Vine and Wolves-Standing-in-Water villages, it lists them as part of the thirteen villages belonging to the Skidi band. It should also be noted that Dorsey (1904, p. xviii) stated that there were nineteen villages; however, he did not give their names and reduced the number to thirteen in a later publication (1907b). There are no other important disagreements between the published statements of Dorsey and Murie and the present notes, except that Murie's Old village is here called the Four-Band village.]

ized were concentrated along the banks of Beaver Creek, a northern 101
tributary of the Loup River near the present town of Genoa, Nebraska.
They had moved to this place in 1859 as a result of their treaty
with the United States Government. Each of the bands had its separate
location, the Skidi villages in the westernmost position and the three
South Bands ranged along the stream to the east about half a mile away.
From west to east they were: Kitkehaxki (Little-Earth-Lodge), Tsawi
(Asking-for-Meat), and Pitahawirata (Man-Going-Downstream, or East).
Each of the bands is said to have comprised a number of villages;
for the three South Bands this cannot be documented. From 1700 on,
when our historical records are clear, the Skidi were the largest of the
four bands and were composed of a number of distinct villages, estimated
between twelve and nineteen. In 1867 the Skidi had four distinct villages, 361
Tuwahukasa (Village-across-a-Ridge), Tuhitspiat (Village-in-the-Bottomlands),
Tskirirara (Wolf-in-Water), and Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine). [103]
The villages were made up of ten to twelve earth lodges, each a high
spacious dome-shaped building housing thirty to fifty people. Besides
containing thirty to fifty people under one roof, the personnel was likely
to change from season to season after each migration to the buffalo hunting
grounds. The basic Pawnee household was as different from ours as 592
it is possible for a human arrangement to be. And yet it gave personal
satisfaction to its members and within itself produced the whole material
and social base for an ongoing community. In fact, this is what we
wish our family life would do. Sibling rivalries, partial or total rejection
of child by parent or smothering attention, demands on the child for the
unfulfilled ambitions of the parents, or overprotection because of resented
parental hardships, heavy-handed control of parent over child in a
severely restricted social environment—these are ills that are intimately
linked with the very physical arrangements of our present family living.
There are things about Pawnee life that suggest that an enlarged home
environment for our children would improve our lives—a matter to be
considered in the concluding chapter.

Even more startling to me than the contrast in home life was the question 626
of political control among the Pawnees. They were a well-disciplined
people, maintaining public order under many trying circumstances. 182
And yet they had none of the power mechanisms that we consider essential
to a well-ordered life. No orders were ever issued. No assignments for
work were ever made nor were over-all plans discussed. There was no
code of rules of conduct nor punishment for infraction. There were no
commandments nor moralizing proverbs. The only instigator of action 796
was the consenting person. In religion, the regular round of ceremonies 182
that followed the seasons was in charge of a priesthood, but no one of
these ceremonies was ever instigated by them. Only when a single 626
person had the call through visions and invited the priesthood to discuss

5

THE WORLD OF A PAWNEE BOY: SPRING 1867

000

The Day Begins in the Earth Lodge—Breakfast Preparations—Seating at the Meal—Daytime Activities of Women—Chiefs' Council—Supper and Evening Conversation—Plan for Deer Hunt the Next Day—End of Day's Activities

In the year 1867, the villages of the Pawnees were strung along the 131
west bank of Beaver Creek. (Beaver Creek flows southeastward into the 361
Loup River that flows east to join the Platte which continues eastward to
the Missouri. In the Skidi village of Pumpkin-Vine was the house of [103] •
Chief Victory Call and his friend Old Bull with their families.)

It was a morning late in March, and the high dome-shaped earth lodges 512
were huddled together in the predawn darkness. On this as on other mornings, [342]
Otter was wakened by the sound of his father's voice saying, "Fire's
made." The dawn had not yet broken, and it was still cold; Otter burrowed
down deeper under his little calfskin cover. He hated to leave the [513]
warmth of his bed that he shared with his grandmother. Just as the dawn
began to break, Victory Call went outside through the long vestibule
that was the entrance to the house to look at the position of the stars and
to see what kind of a day it would be. Meanwhile his wife, White Woman, [252]
had gotten up to prepare breakfast. She would be cooking for twelve people
and an extra guest, and the preparations would take at least an hour.

On both sides of the house along the low circular walls, the people
were still asleep in their beds. There had been a long storytelling session [538]
the night before and Old-Man-That-Chief, who was one of the principal [574]
raconteurs, was too feeble to go home late at night, so a temporary bed [354]
was made for him near the fireplace where the fire was now burning
brightly in the center of the room. High above the fireplace a shaft of

ject has often been that they kept themselves free to take the horses of 726
the enemy and ride them home. They did gain in stealth of approach, 484*
but this is no doubt a secondary explanation of what was probably a 178
survival of older custom. The fact that the men looked for booty or
various kinds of valuables in the places they attacked and carried them 721
home on their backs is indicated in some of the well-known names that 727
were current, such as He-Comes-Carrying-Sitting-Down-from-Time-to- 551
Time-Coming—implying that the things brought home as war trophies
were so heavy that the bearer had to sit down from time to time and rest.
Another such name is He-Brings-Many-Trophies-from-Over-the-Wide-World, or again, He-Comes-Bringing-Them-Down-a-Hill, or still another, He-Comes-Carrying-His-Trophies-Today.

It is clear that the actual pattern of cooperation on the migration and 175
hunt was established long before they had horses and present practices 224*
were adapted but not substantially changed. In 1540 Coronado's expedition 492
met a party of buffalo-hunting Indians on the Plains who were using
the dog travois and carrying dried buffalo meat. Mark Evarts describes 224*
some of the traditions remembered by the Pawnees at the time of our narrative, when they had no horses:

> Near Old Village there was a hill called Calf-Against-Upon-Standing. [103]
> The calf referred to was a certain kind of yellow calf with a long body and the people knew that when they saw him standing on the hill, the herd would be right beyond him. The people would line up on each side and surround the herd and make the buffalo circle about inside. They would kill them and butcher, and carry the meat home on their backs. They had no horses. There was no trade store.
>
> The North Wind was called Lucky Wind because when it blew it [821]
> sent the buffalo. In winter in deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep, and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow, and could readily be killed. This was particularly the case before we hunted with horses.
>
> In summer the buffalo went scattered in small bunches and this was difficult, but in winter they traveled in closer formation when we could also drive them onto the ice.

The Pawnee surround is described by George Bird Grinnell (1925, pp. 249-250):

> Choosing a still day, they would surround a small bunch of buffalo, stretching out in a long line whose extremities would gradually draw together, as the hunters, disguised as wolves, stole from hill to hill around the unconscious prey. When the circle was complete some man would shout and startle the buffalo.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P
648
167
177
175
439
W
175
439
165
177
648
167

3 The Pawnees and other Caddoan peoples were an integral part of European trading plans. The Wichita played the part of middlemen in the trade between the Spaniards in the Southwest and the French to the east along the Mississippi. By 1777 the Wichita were so heavily depleted in numbers by disease and war that the Spanish authorities induced a considerable contingent of Skidi Pawnees to come and live permanently in the territory and join the Wichitas so that they could defend themselves against the tribes to the east who were aligned with the British. The fact that they have "kin" among the Wichita is remembered among the Pawnees today, and gift-giving relations are maintained among them along with formal intergroup visiting. See Weltfish, 1959, pp. 332-333; Hodge, 1912, p. 706.

P
648
177
431
574

W
P
361

3 Both the Pawnees and the Wichitas changed the locations of their villages at intervals of from twelve to fifteen years; this was considered a necessary sanitary measure. The direction of these movements was determined by a variety of social and political causes, but military and trade reasons were the most common ones. My informants gave me a list of the successive Pawnee villages in recent times and the contemporary locations of the Wichita villages. I have added, in parenthesis, Wichita locations cited in Wedel, 1959, pp. 67-68, for approximately these time periods:

P
W
361
.103

Wichita	*Pawnee*
Rio Grande in Texas (Wedel, north fork of Red River, Kiowa County, Oklahoma)	Old Village or Kitkehax-Pakuxtu before 1842
Chickasaw on the Washita River east of Anadarko (Wedel, the Washita drainage, Leeper Creek)	Willows-along-a-Stream or Kitapatuat, near Fullerton, Nebraska 1842–1846
	Hill-in-Water-Sitting or Pahaku, near Fremont, Nebraska 1851
Wichita, Kansas (also Wedel, 1863)	Reservation Village near Genoa, Nebraska October 1859
Anadarko, Oklahoma (also Wedel, 1867)	

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

7

5, 79 James R. Murie, 1914, pp. 550-551, lists the names of thirteen villages, each of which he states had a sacred bundle, excepting the thirteenth, *Turawiu*, which was part of a village. The village names are: 361 103 778 631

1) *Turikaku* (Center Village), Evening Star bundle
2) *Kitkehaxpakuxtu* (Old Village), the four semicardinal direction bundles
3) *Tuhitspiat* (Stretching-Out-in-the-Bottomlands)
4) *Tukitskita* (Village-on-Branch-of-a-River)
5) *Tuwahukasa* (Village-Stretching-across-a-Hill), the Morning Star bundle (This bundle was divided into two!)
6) *Arikararikutsu* (Big-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
7) *Arikarariki* (Small-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
8) *Tuhutsaku* (Village-in-a-Ravine), the left hand bundle (All use left hands in the ceremony.)
9) *Tuwarakaku* (Village-in-Thick-Timber)
10) *Akapaxtsawa* (Buffalo-Skull-Painted-on-Tipi), Black Star bundle
11) *Tskisarikus* (Fish-Hawk) (Bundle buried with White Hawk.)
12) *Tstiks-kaatit* (Black-Ear-of-Corn), meaning corn-black
13) *Turawiu*, part of a village.

These were the known member villages of the Skidi political federation. According to tradition, two villages did not join—Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine) and Tskirirara (Wolf-Standing-in-Water). These two villages survived into the time of our narrative together with only two of the other thirteen, numbers 3 and 5, Tuhitspiat and Tuwahukasa. Tu- is the prefix signifying village or settlement; eight of Murie's thirteen are village names, seven of them beginning with this prefix and indicating a location, the eighth, number 2, meaning Old-Earth-Lodge Village. Four are animal names, and one, a corn name. [193]

5 In the article by Levy and Fallers, 1959, the authors comment on departures from our working model of the "nuclear" or "biological" family, questioning whether it is in fact as basic as we assume. I suggest that our working model of family life stems from the Adam and Eve story and that of the Pawnee from their interpretation of the cosmos and the nature of human life which derives from it. This fundamental difference in our viewpoints does not depend on an ignorance on the part of the Pawnees of the basic fact of physiological paternity. They believed that conception took place as a result of the combination of a male and a female substance similar to egg white in consistency—red in the case of the female and white in that of the male. 114 842

52 The "worm" love song adapted from Dunbar, 1881, p. 745 000

126 that the exactions of Mr Tracy's professional work in the field of music
make it impossible for him to prepare an essay upon the character of
these songs and the light they throw upon the evolution of musical
expression. His familiarity with native songs, growing out of several
years of first-hand research, would render him peculiarly fitted to
speak concerning them.

The songs are commended to the general student of music and particularly to the young composers of our country as offering native themes worthy of musical treatment.

In arranging the material for this paper it has seemed best to group
128 it into two parts. The first contains such introductory explanations
as are essential to the understanding of the ceremony, which is given
without comment in the words of the Ku'rahus, together with his interpretation of the songs and accompanying rites. The second part consists of an analysis of the ceremony and treats of its structure, purpose, and teaching. The translations of the songs aim to convey to the English reader something of their native spirit and meaning.

As the purpose of this record is not primarily linguistic, it has been
●104 judged best not to observe the finer phonetic distinctions in recording
194 native words. The vowels have their continental values, as in *are*,
they, *pique*, *go*, *rule*; ow is used as in how; and û represents oo in good. The consonants p, b, t, d, k, g (always hard), j, s, z, f, v, m, l, r, w, y, h are used approximately as in English, but k and t have been allowed to represent the semisonants (medial between k and g, t and d) as well, and the r has a slight trill. Dh represents th in the, h a guttural breathing (German ch, Spanish j) and hr a surd or breathed r; th is used as in thorn, wh and ch as in which, x as in box, sh as in shall; n indicates that the preceding vowel is nasalized; and h at the end of a syllable indicates that the breath must be heard. When a consonant is doubled it is heard twice or distinctly prolonged. An accent mark is used to indicate [illegible] where it seems necessary.

SPECIAL SIGNS USED IN TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SONGS

104 533 These signs are intended simply as aids to the student in becoming acquainted with the songs. They should be understood as supplementary to the descriptive analysis rather than a part of the musical notation.

+ placed above a note shows that the tone was sung slightly higher than the indicated pitch. In many instances the tones designated by this and the following sign were "unfocused tones," or were tones whose intonation varied in the several renditions of the song. The intonation of these tones was not such as to suggest the intentional use of "fractional intervals" by the singer.

− placed above a note shows that the tone was sung slightly lower than the indicated pitch.

(· placed above a note shows that the tone was prolonged slightly beyond the indicated time. This and the following sign are used only when the deviation from strict time is less than half the time unit of the song and appears to be unimportant. In many instances the duration of the tones thus marked is variable in the several renditions of the song.

·) placed above a note shows that the tone was given slightly less than the indicated time.

┌────┐ placed above a series of notes indicates that these tones constitute a rhythmic unit.

PHONETICS

194 All consonants have the English sounds except that x represents the palatal spirant.

All vowels have the continental sounds except that ă is a obscure.

A͡u (diphthong) is pronounced as *ow* in *how*.

The Pawnees

1880–81 Mr. John B. Dunbar published a most interesting account of 114
this tribe, but his sketch is mainly historical, and does not profess to treat exhaustively of the lives and modes of thought of this people. It is, however, a history of very great importance and value, and in preparing the historical matter which is included in this volume, I have not hesitated to draw on Mr. Dunbar's papers, which must form the basis of any subsequent account of the Pawnees, and which should be read by all who are interested in this people.

I owe much of my interest in and knowledge of the Pawnees to my long intimacy with the late Major Frank North, who from his extended intercourse and close connection with this people—a connection which lasted more than thirty years—was unquestionably better informed about them than any other white man has ever been; and with Capt. L. H. North, his brother, who was for many years associated with Major North in command of the Pawnee Scouts.

In gathering the material here presented I have been assisted also by 115
James R. Murie, a nephew of Comanche Chief; by Ralph J. Weeks, a half-brother of Lone Chief; by Harry Kuhns, by Eagle Chief and Bear Chief, Skidis; by Good Chief and Curly Chief, Kit-ke-hahk-is; by Secret Pipe Chief and Frank White, Chau-is, and by many others of my Pawnee friends, to all of whom my acknowledgments are due.

In the pronunciation of the few Pawnee words used in these 114
stories, the vowel sounds, as nearly as I can give them, are as follows: 104
a as in father, *e* as the *a* in ale, *i* as *e* in cede, *ū* long as *oo* in pool, *ŭ* short as in us, *au* as *ou* in house. These sounds depend somewhat on the letters which follow the vowels, and the spelling does not always conform to the rule laid down. The last two syllables in the word Pita-hau-erat, for example, are pronounced *irăt* or *idot*. The sounds of *d*, *l*, *n* and *r* are difficult to express by English letters; *r* sometimes has its own sound quite distinctly, at others more the sound of *d*; *n* often has a *d* sound, and *l* a sound of *n*. It will be noted that throughout I have used the familiar English word Pawnee instead of the evidently more correct *Pa'-ni*.

Finally I have refrained from commenting on the stories, though 114
there is abundant opportunity for comment.

CULTURAL STATUS AT THE DAWN OF THE GHOST DANCE

By 1892 the aboriginal Pawnee culture of a century earlier had 175*
been profoundly altered. A tribe of villagers, accustomed to living 648*
in earth-lodges and tipis, and to maintaining themselves by digging- 657
stick cultivation of corn, beans and squash, and by hunting the
buffalo, had become a loose aggregate of people, living more or 105 ●
less in families on separate farm tracts, dependent for their main- 177
tenance in part on plow cultivation of the land, and in part on the
philanthropy of their overlords, the United States government.

From a political and social standpoint the Pawnee had been transformed from an independent self-determining nation into a group of families subject to the will of representatives of an alien race. The Pawnee chiefs were chiefs only in name and ancient lineage; what power they had among the Pawnee flowed from a continuing respect for their origins and their conduct. But no directing leadership in the destiny of the tribe was open to the chiefs; they could decide what they wished in council; it must then be submitted to the approval and sanction of the Agent, a representative of another government which ruled them.

The hunt and the warpath were gone, and with them the activities of youth and early manhood, which, in terms of the tradition and beliefs of their race, gave value to the life of a man. The hazard and danger of life as they had lived it before made them energetic, active and self-reliant. He who did not depend upon himself was lost. Now there was always the annuity, the agent, and rations. For women the life had also been radically altered. Their former routine had been a difficult and laborious one, working in the fields, making tent covers and clothing, cooking, and tending the children. But it had been part of a life which had broad and deep meaning as a way of life, in which their function was basic and valuable.

The family relationships which had brought all the people close together in their villages were broken down with the substitution
of frame houses on the farms for the old earth-lodge. In the [516]
earth-lodge a large, extended family lived together; the family line cohered around the women. On the farms the frame house was built for a man as head of a family, and was primarily for the small, limited family group as conceived by the white man.

From a material standpoint the arts and techniques which had been practised for centuries by the people, carried to practical perfection as their form of adjustment to the conditions of the world in which they lived, were broken down by the appearance of

*175
*648
177
657
105

a new set of conditions in which they were no longer necessary or possible.

The extinction of the buffalo and the complete cessation of hunting meant the elimination of all the arts which had centered around the handling of skins. Tipis were no longer necessary; buffalo robes were not as good as blankets; the preparation of skin clothing was a thankless task when the agent issued the appurtenances of the white man for the asking. The technique of using wood for bowls and utensils, for mortar and pestle, for traps and bows and arrows, was passing into oblivion. The working of horn and bone, of which spoons and ladles had been made, was unnecessary in view of the ease with which the white man's pots and pans and utensils could be had. Pottery of clay had already become extinct for lack of use and function.

The beliefs and philosophies of men to be alive must be inherent in and consonant with the way by which men live. When the men no longer hunted the buffalo, when they no longer needed power and invulnerability on the warpath, when the women no longer had to contribute fertility to the fields they planted, the ancient cosmology of the Pawnee was without a reference. The ritual lore of the great sacred bundles of the tribe was handed on less and less: it died with priests who, increasingly subject to death as the mortality of the tribe increased year by year, had neither time nor inspiration to hand it on. The ceremonies, becoming functionless, became extinct.

Once the young men of the tribe joined in many brotherhoods. These societies of men concerned themselves with the activities of manhood in Pawnee life, hunting and war. Each had special powers and functions for aiding in the successful accomplishment of the ends of war and the hunt, powers derived from the greater bundles which came directly from the ruling forces of the world. These societies too became functionless, and as the membership died off, the brotherhoods no longer met to dance and sing.

The chiefs had constituted a brotherhood of their own. When youths became men, and took upon themselves the serious business of maintaining the welfare of the tribe, they could, by demonstrating in their daily behavior their growing wisdom and capacity for leadership, become eligible to sit in the society of the chiefs. The forms of the chief's society ritual was carried on down into the present; much that was of value in the old ethics of the tribe was still explained to the youths even a year ago by the few who had not forgotten. But here again, the paramount functions of the society were gone.

The medicine men of the tribe carried on. The Doctor Dances 175 *
were given year after year; although after 1878 the great Doctor 648 *
Performances through which the medicine men renewed their 177
powers were no longer demonstrated. The function of the doctors
did not disappear; health became a possession more difficult to 105●
secure as the years passed. But against the white man's diseases 657
the folk medicine of the Pawnee doctors proved essentially futile: as did the white man's medicine itself.

With the passing of the greater part of the old ritualism and ceremony, the arts of ceremonial decoration, of making ritual costumes, bear-claw necklaces, otter-skin collars, of painting the body, went with them. The Doctor Dances kept something of the ritual decorative arts alive.

If we turn from this catalog of the decline of aboriginal Pawnee culture what can we see that had come to take its place? Needing the Indian's land for the expansion of the white man, the government was compelled to give the Indian an economy which would be self-sustaining while it confined the tribe in narrower boundaries. It gave the Indian farming. This being seasonal, and subject to the vicissitudes of the elements, it did not mean independence. For a meat supply the Indian did not use his own resources; the government gave him meat. When his crops failed, the government rationed him.

What occupations took the place of the old? The boys learned some manual arts. They could help to build their own houses, to repair their implements; the girls meanwhile learned some sewing, how to wash clothing, how to keep house. All these were essentially mechanical operations; their aesthetic returns are for the most part small. What creative satisfaction was to be had in manual arts, the boys did achieve in harness-making, carpentering, wagon-making, and the like, where they had opportunity to put into practise what they had learned.

The small measure of self-government which the Indians were offered through the Court of Indian Offenses was subject to the paternal control of the Agent and the government: it was concerned after all with the minor legal problems of their life. It helped to revive something of self-determination. ✓

If we turn finally to the intellectual side of Pawnee life we find that practically nothing came to take the place of the old rituals and ceremonies, the old dances and social gatherings, the old traditions and songs. Missionaries had been among the Pawnee [797]
from 1835 to 1837, and again there were missionaries after 1883

*175
*648 With what results? In 1891 even the optimistic reports of the
177 missionaries claimed only thirty-five church members, and twenty
●105 or more years later not over a seventh of the tribe even professed
657 Christianity according to official reports.
797 In 1892, after the best efforts of the Pawnee for over three generations to adjust themselves to living alongside the white man, the tribe had come to a cultural impasse. with nothing to look forward to and nothing to live by.

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 5

The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee

(Hall 5, Case 60)

The Pawnee were a tribe of the Caddoan linguistic 101
stock who, in historic times, occupied the valley of the [197]
Platte river in Nebraska. The name Pawnee is probably [131]
derived from *pariki* ("a horn"), a term applied
to them by the neighboring tribes because of their
peculiar method of dressing the hair. They called
themselves Chahiksichahiks ("Men of Men"). They [174]
seem to have come into Nebraska from some region to
the southwest, expelling an earlier population; but this
movement was an ancient one, and the first Siouxian
tribes to enter the Platte valley found the Pawnee
already established.

The region in which the Pawnee lived was high, 133
dry, and rather sandy, with little timber except along
the rivers. On the west, toward the mountains, it was
rough and broken. In early times buffalo and other 221
game were abundant. Although the Pawnee ranged 105
over a large territory in pursuit of the buffalo, they
were not nomads. They spent the greater part of
every year in permanent villages and raised large
crops of corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins. Corn
played a much more important part than the buffalo
in their ceremonies and mythology, and it is evident
that they were an agricultural rather than a hunting
people.

[p.2 is blank]

NK10
F451

105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee
[171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but
they understood the arts of pottery-making and bas-
291 ket-weaving. During the summer the men usually
wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings
and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins,
leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned
on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe
do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The
302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made
301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced
the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings.
342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth
lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine
Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the
sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or
bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi.
The first three of these were closely related, but the
Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and
considered themselves more closely related to the
Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some dis-
tance to the north. In their settlements along the river,
[361] the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi
being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest
downstream, and the other two bands between. Each
621 band was divided into a number of villages which were
social as well as geographical units. All the members
of a village believed themselves to be descended from
a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made
within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female
[778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) con-
[793] taining sacred objects, and priests who had charge of
the rituals and ceremonies connected with these ob-
622 jects. It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a
council composed of its leading men. If the chief was
a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

*172
764
ings. A wild-cat skull with a copper military button set into each eye socket was taken from a grave at the Hill site; it doubtless represented a fetish. Occasionally rodent skulls, crystals, animal claws and teeth, and similar objects are found close together, as though originally contained in a bag. Catlinite pipes (pl. 8) are sometimes found; pottery is very seldom present.

It is of interest to note that sometimes a skeleton is found minus an arm, a leg, or even a skull, though otherwise well preserved. Such individuals may have been victims of a raid or of some other mishap. Amputation by cutting through the bones seems to be absent.

CONCLUSIONS

*172
● 105
In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to present the available traditional, historical, and archeological evidence bearing on the historic and protohistoric culture of the Pawnee. Here we endeavor to correlate these various lines of evidence, pointing out certain of their wider cultural implications, and attempting to fit the Pawnee into the general scheme of aboriginal American culture. To do so solely on the basis of the material here presented may seem premature, yet the writer is convinced that for the sake of future work these suggested relationships, even if more or less tenuous, should be indicated. Hence we will briefly discuss each of these three major headings in order.

The only point on which all Pawnee migration traditions agree is that the tribe originally lived to the south of its historic habitat, though the exact locality varies somewhat. Dunbar intimates that the ancestral home was with the Wichita on the lower Red River,[80] whence the two tribes moved northward as one people. Grinnell, on the strength of what he regarded as the oldest migration legend of the tribe, postulates "an original home for the Pawnees in Old Mexico, and . . . a possible connection with the so-called 'Pueblo tribes' . . ."[81] The statement recorded by this authority to the effect that the Pawnee formerly dwelt in stone houses in the southwest[82] is hardly to be taken at face value. There is virtually nothing in Pawnee material culture to suggest puebloan influences, and since there was frequent contact between the two groups all through historic times the idea of a former use of stone habitations may be a relatively late and superficial addition to the account. Dorsey[83] carries the tribe back only as far as southeastern Nebraska, near the present site of Nemaha, and his traditions cast relatively little light

on the problem of their southern home. Linguistic and ethnological studies among the southern Caddoan peoples and the fact that the Pawnee were in much closer contact with peoples to the south than with those to the north of the Platte have long since made it a certainty that the ancient habitat of the tribe lay somewhere near the Gulf coast, probably in southern Texas or northeastern Mexico, from where the northeastward movement took place. 172* 105

---

[80] 1880, a, p. 251.
[81] 1893, p. 224.
[82] Ibid.
[83] 1906, p. 8.

The Skidi, we may note here, stood in a somewhat unique relationship to the other three bands. The traditions just reviewed relate primarily to the latter, i. e., to the Grand, Republican, and Tappage divisions, uniformly omitting the Skidi. The latter band claims to have lived always in the Valley of the Loup, where they were created, and, in conjunction with the Arikara, performed the first tribal ceremonies.[94] The Skidi always regarded themselves as more closely related to the Arikara than to the rest of the tribe, and it is possible that the latter at one time may have been under Skidi control. Dunbar presumed that they were descendants of one of the resident tribes conquered by the Pawnee upon their arrival on the Platte.[95] It has been further suggested that they represent the parent stock from which sprang all of the northern Pawnee bands as well as the Arikara.[96] Grinnell alone states that the Skidi were the last to arrive, coming "after the northern migration of the tribes and their settlement in northern Kansas and Nebraska";[97] the other observers state, or at least imply, that they were earlier. Not improbably the Skidi-Arikara group preceded the other bands into the Platte region, established themselves firmly, and came to regard their kindred as intruders when they arrived. Misunderstandings and violent quarrels were not uncommon between the [578] Skidi and Grand Pawnee bands, even in later times, and possibly early punitive expeditions on the part of the latter, supported by the Republicans and Tappages, gave rise to the claims that the Skidi were a conquered tribe.[98] Thus there need not have been a great disparity in the time of arrival between the various divisions.

As to the time of arrival of the Pawnee in the Platte Valley tradition is silent, and there is little to guide us in making even an estimate. On the basis of linguistic studies Dunbar adduced the following:

> The language affords some evidence that their residence in the Valley of the Platte has been of some duration. *O-kut-ut* and *oku-kat* signify strictly *above* and *below* (of a stream), respectively. Now their villages have usually been

---

[94] Dorsey, 1904, p. 12.
[95] 1880, a, p. 252.
[96] Dorsey, 1906, p. 9.
[97] 1893, p. 215.
[98] Dunbar, 1880, a, p. 252.

*172 situated upon the banks of the Platte, the general course of which is from west to east. Hence each of these words has acquired a new meaning, i. e., ● 105 *west* and *east*. So, also Kir-i-ku-ruks-tu, *toward* or *with* the Wiçhitas, has come to mean *south*. Such developments are perfectly natural in the history of a language but require time.[illegible]

Dorsey[1] and Grinnell[2] merely place it at a time long before the coming of the white man. From historical data it appears probable that the tribe was somewhere north of the Kansas River by the time of Coronado's visit in 1541, and by 1673 the location of the Pawnee and neighboring tribes was essentially the same as it was at the opening of the nineteenth century.[3] This, together with the prehistoric and very early historic archeology, so far as it is now known, rather indicates that the Pawnee were firmly established in the Platte and Republican Valleys by the opening of the sixteenth century, and quite possibly long before that time.

*172 174 105 Before leaving the subject of traditions we may briefly speculate on the identity of the peoples who were driven out of the northern valleys by the immigrant Pawnee. Dunbar's theory of a Siouan occupation is scarcely tenable, at least in the light of our present knowledge, since it is generally conceded that Oto, Ponca, and Omaha reached the area after the Pawnee had become permanently settled there. Tradition affords no information whatever, and neither Dorsey nor Grinnell even mention the conquest element. Lewis and Clark speak of the Comanche (Padouca) as having been at an earlier [648] time in the region immediately west of the Pawnee.[4] Between this last tribe and the Pawnee there was ceaseless hostility, the former having a fortified village in the forks of the Dismal River.[5] How long the Padouca were in the region prior to this time there is no way of determining as yet, but it is quite possible that that tribe formerly held lands farther to the east which subsequently were wrested from them by the Pawnee. Continued warfare between the two tribes, even without any general conquest by one or the other, would tend to encourage traditions of great exploits, especially in the event of a particularly successful campaign. Another possibility is that the northward movement of the Pawnee combined with the southward pressure exerted by Shoshonean peoples, such as the Comanche, resulted in the expulsion from the plains of some Athapascan tribe. Thus the Apache and Navaho, who resided generally south of the Comanche, or some people ancestral to them, may have been forced into the southwest some centuries prior to the arrival

---

[illegible] 1880, a, p. 251.

[1] 1906, p. 8.

[2] 1893, p. 215.

[3] Marquette map, 1900, p. 108.

[4] 1815, 35 ff. See Thomas, 1935, for early history of the Apache and Comanche.

[5] Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 88.

of the Spanish. Space limitations forbid a more detailed consideration of this very interesting problem at the present time, but it seems quite plausible that either a southern Shoshonean or Athapascan people preceded the Pawnee in what is now central Nebraska. 172* 174 105

The historic data on the Pawnee reveal two facts of major interest. In the first place there appears to have been a steady diminution in the amount of territory actually occupied by the Pawnee villages. Nearly all of the early maps and narratives by Spanish and French explorers, beginning with Coronado and continuing well into the eighteenth century, refer to the various Pawnee groups as inhabiting a considerable number of villages. That there was frequently exaggeration in their number and size is true, but taken in conjunction with political survivals in the matter of Skidi government as recorded by Murie,[6] together with the fact that subbands within each of the four major bands appear to have been originally separate village units,[7] it seems quite probable that formerly there were a number of separate villages scattered along the Platte, Loup, Republican, Blue, and Smoky Hill Rivers, as well as along the Missouri Valley and tributary streams in southeastern Nebraska and northeastern Kansas. In very early historic times these were for the most part given up, and by 1800 there were apparently only three or four major villages, one on the Republican and the others in the Platte-Loup region. The former was shortly abandoned, so that from 1809 until the final removal to the Indian Territory, the tribe dwelt generally in 2, 3, or 4 large settlements at various points along the lower courses of the Loup and Platte Rivers. This gradual concentration in a single small area was due probably in large part to the encroachment of hostile peoples, notably the Siouan Tribes on the east and north, and Athapascan or Algonkian groups on the west and south. The situation was not wholly unlike that postulated for the pueblo peoples about 1000 A. D.,[8] although it took place, of course, much later and with somewhat different consequences.

Secondly, the introduction of the horse deeply affected the Pawnee, as it did most of the plains tribes. Forays to the Southwest in quest of horses led to increasing contact with tribes there resident, though there seems to have been strikingly little influence on Pawnee material culture from these meetings. More important than this was the tendency toward a nomadic, bison-hunting mode of life made possible by the horse. Hand in hand with this went a decline in the native arts, particularly in ceramics, and an increasing dependence upon the white man's importations. From a sedentary of the tribe's history, instead of a borrowing from the upper Missouri tribes, as Linton's hypothesis would imply. 172* As to the southern origin of the type, it may be stated here that the work of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey on the Republican River during the 174 105 summer of 1930 revealed the presence of prehistoric square houses with round corners, the superstructure of which was borne on a four-post, central foundation. The nature of this framework suggests a type of earth lodge dissimilar in shape from the historic structure of the Pawnee, but strongly reminiscent of certain square earth-covered houses found by Harrington in southwestern Arkansas.[13] Reported remains of more flimsily built structures, possibly grass houses, in the same district, have not been investigated as yet by the Survey. The square earth lodge was unknown in historic times on the plains, hence its earlier occurrence in both northern and southern Caddoan territory is of especial interest. It suggests the possible development of the circular Pawnee lodge from the square or rectangular type, in turn evolved either from the grass house or perhaps from some wattle and daub prototype. If such is the case, then the historic Pawnee dwelling may prove to be a local development from some earlier widespread Caddoan house type rather than a trait borrowed full-blown from the Arikara and Mandan. It is quite probable that the Arikara carried the trait onto the upper Missouri after their separation from the Skidi, but doubtless they secured the idea from their kindred in what is now central Nebraska. The Mandan and Hidatsa, then, and perhaps the other Siouan tribes concerned, may just as probably have received the earth-lodge complex from the Pawnee through the Arikara.[14] Quite possibly they had little or nothing to do with its original diffusion up the Missouri. Further archeological research in southern Nebraska and in Kansas should throw additional light on this very interesting problem of the origin of the Plains earth lodge.

---

[6] 1914, pp. 545 ff.
[7] Grinnell, 1893, pp. 238-239.
[8] Kidder, 1924, pp. 125 ff.

The skin tipi came into very extensive use after the introduction of the horse and the adoption of a more nomadic hunting life, and was supplemented by the dome-shaped brush shelter. Both have been described in the section on house types in this paper, hence need not be reviewed here.

The underground caches or pits for the storage of food and property were a necessary adjunct to all Pawnee villages. They were of the type common all over the plains, though differing in certain details from those of the Mandan and possibly slightly from those in early prehistoric sites within the Pawnee area. Storage pits are reported also for the North Atlantic coast area,[15] and for certain

---

[13] 1920, pp. 256-260. Compare Strong, 1935, p. 276; Wedel, 1935, pp. 172-174.

[14] See Lowie, 1912.

[15] Wissler, 1922, p. 263.

*172 Cayuga sites in central New York.[16] Time and space limitations
forbid a comparative study here of the distribution of the cache pit
174 or a discussion of the structural details of its eastern form. However,
105 the occurrence of the trait in two widely separate areas which exhibit
certain other cultural parallels is at least a suggestive point.

As was pointed out in the discussion of Pawnee ceramics, there is a remarkable resemblance and perhaps a connection between the pottery of this tribe and the typical wares from Iroquoian sites of western New York. The overhanging collar, the hatched triangle motif in rim decoration, and the globular vessel shape are common to both areas, but appear to be absent in the intervening and surrounding cultures. Clay pipes of highly characteristic type later copied in stone were made by the Iroquoian potters, but among the historic Pawnee stone pipes were the rule.

The stonework generally resembles that of adjoining areas, with few distinctive or specialized forms. An exception is found in the arrowpoints. On protohistoric and some historic Pawnee village sites the small, triangular, unnotched points are decidely predominant; stemmed types are rare, at least prior to 1800 or thereabouts. In northeastern and central Kansas, territory formerly under Pawnee and Wichita dominance, these same points are prevalent. Parker mentions similar thin, delicately chipped triangles or arrowpoints of chert as one of the diagnostics of Iroquoian culture.[17] They are also reported from the Ohio Valley, regarded by Parker as the probable route of the northward migration of the New York Iroquois.[18] The type, as such, is by no means rare, but its preponderance over all other forms in Iroquoian and Caddoan areas is rather striking, and possibly represents another link in the chain of traits connecting the two groups. It may be noted also that pitted discoidals and hammerstones are common to both areas. The Puebloan type of metate, though common in central Kansas, was replaced among the Pawnee by flat or slightly hollowed anvil stones; pestles are rare. Parker states that the Iroquois used a flattened muller and a shallow flattened mortar, or meal stone, as well as anvils.[19] The grooved mauls and axes, as well as ungrooved, polished celts, point eastward, but not necessarily beyond Iowa or Missouri. The presence of catlinite obviously indicates northern contacts, probably by trade rather than through actual visits to the pipestone quarries of southern Minnesota.

Objects of bone and horn conform to plains types but differ occasionally from earlier prehistoric cultures of the Pawnee area.

---

[16] Skinner, 1921, pp. 43–46.

[17] 1916, p. 484. See Wedel, 1935, p. 247, for the type in Kansas.

[18] Ibid., pp. 482, 495 ff.

[19] 1916, p. 484.

Shaft straighteners, picks, hide scrapers, fleshing tools, paint brushes, 172*
beaming tools, digging implements, horn spoons, all find their counterparts among the Mandan, Dakota, or other nearby plains tribes. 174
The tubular plume holder and roach spreader are similar to those 105
still used by the Comanche, Omaha, Menominee, and others.

The presence of considerable shellwork is frequently taken as indicative of trade relations with peoples on the Gulf coast, as the molluscan forms now found in the streams of Nebraska differ from those recovered by excavation in old village sites. However, silting up of the rivers due to widespread agricultural development may have resulted in the comparatively recent extinction of species formerly common within the area, so that no very remote source for most of the raw shell need be postulated.

Further connections with the eastern woodlands may be detected in the use of wood for carving vessels. For the most part the pieces are simple in shape, showing no resemblances whatever to Pawnee pottery forms. Shallow platters and deep cups and bowls are the only forms yet recovered. The use of the upright wooden mortar, made by hollowing out one end of a section of log, is strikingly reminiscent of the eastern maize area generally. With the exception of the flat anvil stone, the wooden mortar appears to have been the sole means of grinding corn and seeds, replacing entirely the metate found south of the Kansas River.

In the use of bison hair for weaving cloth may be seen another trait which, while not unusual in the bison area as a whole, was most strongly developed in the lower Mississippi region. Presumably it was a part of the original culture complex carried northward by the tribe in its migrations. Twined weaving appears only in the form of reed matting; it is likewise common to the east, along the Mississippi.[20] Coiled basketry, as reported by Weltfish [21] for the Pawnee, has not been found in archeological remains, nor would it be easy, if such were the case, to determine whether the single rod coil foundation prevailed in early as in recent times.[22] Coiling, however, is a western trait, which probably reached the Pawnee and other Caddoan tribes by diffusion through the southwestern or Great Basin peoples.

With regard to mortuary customs the Pawnee uniformly practiced inhumation. The body was generally partially flexed, but there was no fixed orientation for it and no special side on which it was laid. Early prehistoric sites on the Republican River, which show certain similarities to the Pawnee and may be directly related, are asso-

---

[20] Mason, 1904, p. 231.
[21] 1930, pp. 278–286.
[22] Ibid., pp. 280, 286.

*172 ciated with ossuaries and also with bundle burials, but yield only
limited amounts of material remains, and those mostly fragmentary.
174 This again suggests the southeast as well as the early Iroquoian sites
105 of New York.[33] Ossuary, tree, and scaffold burials were not used
● by the historic Pawnee.

As will have become obvious by this time, the material traits in Pawnee culture were drawn in largest measure from the east and southeast. Kroeber's recent summary statement regarding plains cultures in general applies peculiarly to the Pawnee, viz, that "the Plains traits that have historic depth . . . seem Woodland, and date from the time when such Plains culture as there was constituted a margin at the fringe of a natural area. The forces which infused this marginal culture, like those of the northern and eastern margins, had their heads in the Southeast."[34] These traits were acquired largely during the residence of the tribe in the old Caddoan habitat on the lower Mississippi and adjacent areas to the west. They sprang from the same basic subpattern as did the Iroquoian, Muskhogean, and related cultures of the Eastern Woodland. As Sapir has suggested on linguistic grounds, the early connections appear to have been especially close between Pawnee and Iroquoian peoples. Kroeber also implies this in pointing out the distribution of the matrilineate in the Eastern Woodlands (Iroquoian-Muskhogean) and in the plains (Pawnee-Hidatsa-Crow).[35] Southwestern or puebloan traits, so far as material evidences are concerned, are almost wholly absent, although certain of them penetrated into north central Kansas. In other words, the Pawnee formerly constituted a part of the Southeastern Woodlands culture area in its more western peripheral phase, retaining and disseminating many of the traits thus acquired throughout the period of their northern residence until the final withering of native plains culture before the European conquest.

---

[33] Parker, 1916, p. 492.

[34] 1928, p. 396.

[35] Ibid.

1: Fletcher, Alice C. The Hako: A Pawnee Ceremony. Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 2. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1904.

Pp. 372; 9 plates; 11 text figures

HRAF copy

[This account describes the rituals and songs connected with the Hako ceremony. The participants, costumes, paraphernalia, dances and rites are described in detail and the symbolism and meaning of each ritual is discussed. In addition the texts and music of all the songs are given with explanations and translations. Materials on Pawnee deities and mythology may be found in the discussions of the rites and there are also occasional references to Pawnee conceptions about the universe, meteorological phenomena, and plant and animal species. Fletcher, a pioneer ethnologist, was assisted by James R. Murie. The music was transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. --Analyst]

Field date: 1898-1902
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

2: Lesser, Alexander. The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. 16. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933.

Pp. x, 337; preface; bibliography.

Yale: Nk10 C75 16

[Not processed for the Files: pp. 160-end]

[This source, by a professional anthropologist, is divided into two parts. The first deals with the history of the Pawnee in the nineteenth century, the acquisition of the Ghost Dance by the Pawnee, and the cultural significance of this Ghost Dance to Pawnee society. The second part deals with the Hand Game, played by the Pawnee both prior to and following the advent of the Ghost Dance ceremony, as well as its distribution among other tribes. The detailed analysis of the Hand Game given in sections viii-xii has not been processed for this file.

The source is particularly valuable for its excellent account of Pawnee history and White-Indian relations in the nineteenth century. --Analyst]

Field date: 1930-1931
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1960

3: Densmore, Frances. Pawnee Music. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 93. Washington, D. C. : U. S. Government Printing Office, 1929.

Pp. xviii, 129; 8 plates

HRAF copy

[This source was written by a specialist in the field of American Indian music, and contains an exhaustive and thorough analysis of Pawnee songs and music. A general, well-rounded cultural summary of Pawnee society may be found in the text preceding the section on musical analysis. Information on Pawnee myths and legends as well as examples of literature may also be found in this source. --Analyst]

Field date: 1919-1920
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

4: Murie, James R. Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Volume 11, pp. 543-644. New York, 1914.

18 text figures

Yale: Nk10 Am45e 11

[Murie, a Skidi Pawnee, prepared this discussion of Pawnee societies under the direction of Clark Wissler. Murie collected and wrote down whatever information he could gather on a number of topics. After a preliminary discussion of Pawnee social and ceremonial organization, he proceeds to discuss the bundle societies, private organizations, medicinemen's societies and modern ceremonies, including the ghost dance and the peyote ritual. He closes with a section on miscellaneous. Murie was a primary informant for most of the earlier field workers among the Pawnee. The introduction and conclusions are by the editor of the series, Clark Wissler. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Indigene-5
Processed in 1961

5: Dorsey, George A. and James R. Murie. Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 65-119. Chicago: Field Museum Press, 1940.

Yale: Nk10 F45b 27-28

[This source was compiled by Alexander Spoehr from field notes left unpublished at the death of the authors. Dorsey was an ethnologist, while Murie himself was a Pawnee. The source deals with community organization, kinship and status, the life cycle, and crime. It also contains various random notes about various matters made by the authors. Where the original field notes proved at variance with published data, or were inconsistant, Spoehr indicates this by bracketed notes contained within the text. --Analyst]

Field date: 1903-1907
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist, Indigene-5
Processed in 1961

6: Linton, Ralph. The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee. Field Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Leaflet Number 5, pp. 3-19. Chicago, 1922.

4 plates

Yale: Nk10 F45d v. 1-10

[This source is a summary article of the Pawnee thunder ceremony based on the field notes of George A. Dorsey. Linton begins the description with a summary of Pawnee culture as a background and then goes into the description of the ceremony, which is the opening ceremony of the Pawnee annual ceremonial cycle. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1961

7: Linton, Ralph. The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee. Field Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Leaflet Number 6, pp. 1-18 [pp. 21-38]. Chicago, 1922.

1 plate

Yale: Nk10 F45d v. 1-10

[This source is a summary article, in a popular style, of the sacrifice to the morning star by the Skidi, the northernmost division of the Pawnee. The summary is based upon the field notes of George A. Dorsey and the extant literature. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1961

8: Linton, Ralph. Purification of the Sacred Bundles, a Ceremony of the Pawnee. Field Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Leaflet Number 7, pp. 1-11 [pp. 41-51]. Chicago, 1923.

1 plate

Yale: Nk10 F45d v. 1-10

[This source is a brief summary of the Pawnee bundle purification ceremony. It is based primarily on the field notes of George A. Dorsey. Linton was a noted American anthropologist. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1961

9: Linton, Ralph. Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men. Field Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Leaflet Number 8, pp. 1-20 [pp. 53-72]. Chicago, 1923.

1 plate

Yale: Nk10 F45d v. 1-10

[This source is a summary account of the annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men, compiled from the notes of G. A. Dorsey. It includes a long legend of the origin of the medicine societies. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1961

10: Smith, D. Z. Description of the Manners and Customs of the Pawnee Indians. The Moravian Church Miscellany, Vol. 3, pp. 86-94. Bethlehem: Church of the United Brethren, 1852.

Yale: Mix. M60. M79. v. 3

[This brief article, written by a missionary, contains ethnographic information pertinent to Pawnee society as it existed in the mid-nineteenth century. The source deals with: the Pawnee band or clan, organization villages and localities, language, population, house types, subsistence economy, hospitality, labor, clothing, burial of the dead, and treatment of the aged. This work, when separated from its obvious theological orientation, contains a substantial amount of valuable ethnographic information about a people who have since undergone major cultural change, and at a time in American History when European-Indian culture contacts were relatively minor--Analyst]

Field date: 1851
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1961

11: Wedel, Waldo Rudolph. An Introduction to Pawnee Archeology. Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 112. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1936.

Pp. xii, 122; preface; introduction; 12 end plates; 10 end maps; 12 text figures; bibliography; index

HRAF Copy

[This source, written by an archaeologist is an exhaustive and thorough study of Pawnee archaeology and culture history based primarily on artifacts as collected from the thirteen archaeological sites described in detail in the source, and from the journals and records of early explorers and adventurers to the region. This source is divided into four major parts, the first of which is introductory, the second, dealing in detail with the historical background of the Pawnee, the third with Pawnee archaeology as viewed through the various bits of evidence obtained from the excavation of prehistoric, and early historic sites, and the fourth, the material culture of the early Pawnees as derived from a study of the artifacts themselves. Pages 94-102 contain a summary

111

NQ18 Pawnee--2

11: Wedel, Waldo Rudolph.

of all data presented in the article. --Analyst]

Field date: 1930
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Archaeologist-4, 5
Processed in 1961

12:Grinnell, George Bird. Pawnee, Blackfoot and Cheyenne. New York:
Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961.

Pp. xiii, 301.

Yale: CE99.P3.G79

[Only pp. i-iii, 12-80 dealing with the Pawnees, have been processed for this file.]

[The author has presented in this source a cross-sectional view of three different aspects of Pawnee ethnography, namely that of the summer buffalo hunt in which the author himself was an active participant, the organization of the Pawnees as scouts for the U.S. Army and the role that they played in the Indian wars of the latter part of the 19th century, and finally examples of Pawnee literature and mythology as reflected in their hero stories and folk tales.

The section dealing with Frank North and his Pawnee scouts has been generally marked only for the 648 category, since this type of military organization was not indigenous to the Pawnees, but instead a convenient military

12: Grinnell, George Bird.

division imposed upon them by the U.S. Army.

The author, a natural scientist and early traveler in the American West, first met the Pawnee in 1870 while on a geological expedition with Professor Othniel C. Marsh of Yale University. --Analyst]

Field date: 1870-1885
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Natural Scientist-5
Processed in 1962

13: Morgan, Lewis Henry. The Indian Journals 1859-62, pp. 66, 90, 135-136, 141, 213, 220-221. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1959.

Yale: CE 78 W5 +M6

/The source gives only a few superficial facts regarding Pawnee ethnography, dealing primarily with the division of the Pawnee nation into four bands with their geographical locations, kinship relations, and burials, The latter part of the source discusses some of the then existing abuses and corruption of the Indian Agency System established by the U. S. Government to deal with the Pawnees. --Analyst/

Field Date: 1859-1860, 1862
Analyst: John Beierle

Evalutaion: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1963

14: Weltfish, Gene. The lost universe; with a closing chapter on "The universe regained." New York and London, Basic Books, 1965.

22, 506 p.; 28 text figures; bibliography.

Yale: CE99 P3 W45. DLC: E99.P3.W45. DLC card no.: 64-25277.

[This large volume is the product of a number of years of research among the Pawnee of Oklahoma. It is divided into three main sections: the first provides background data on Pawnee history and culture; the second, the major portion of the books, consists of a series of brief chapters reconstructing daily and seasonal round of a group of Pawnee in Nebraska during the year 1867; the last section is a chapter in which the Pawnee way of life is analyzed to see what lessons it can give to us. The whole volume is probably the best description of Pawnee life and culture available to us. However, the fictionalized, romantic style adopted by the author for the major part of the work makes it difficult for the researcher to be absolutely certain of the data on many points. Therefore, the material in this fictionalized section should be used with caution. The books contains a section on notes, a good bibliography and an index.]

Field dates: 1928-1936, 1954
Analysts: Gilbert Winer, marker
Sigrid Khera, checker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation - Ethnologist - 4, 5
Processed in 1968-1972

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

I

I. THE PAWNEE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

FIRST PERIOD: TO 1833

The Pawnee enter the perspective of American governmental 175*
Indian affairs after the purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 648*
by which their traditional territory, ranging from the Missouri 101
indefinitely westward between the Niobrara River and the Arkansas, 131
became a part of the United States. Lewis and Clarke, on their explorations of the newly acquired domain, met the Pawnee on the Platte River in Nebraska in 1804. In 1806, Major Pike visited the
villages of the Kitkahaxki^x band of Pawnee on the Republican fork 175*
of the Kansas River. But the first government treaties with the 648*
Pawnee were not concluded until 1818. At that time the four bands
were politically independent of each other, and lived apart, and [619]
four separate treaties, embodying the identical articles, were drawn up at St. Louis. By these treaties the government secured for the American people the peace and friendship of the Pawnee, while the tribes acknowledged the "protection" of the United States. All past acts of hostility were to be mutually forgiven and forgotten, and future violations of the treaty were to be dealt with according to the laws of the United States. These objectives were further defined by the treaty of 1825 at Ft. Atkinson, at which time the government dealt with the Pawnee as one tribal or national unit composed of four federated bands. In this latter treaty the Pawnee acknowledged the supremacy of the United States, and the United States received the Pawnee under their protection. Specifically, the function of this treaty was to establish rules for the trade of the Indians with the whites, and to limit such trade to citizens of the United States. The Pawnee also gave a guaranty in this treaty that they would refrain from selling or trading arms and ammunition to hostile Indian tribes.

---

[1] The historical account which comprises Chapter I, as well as parts of [113]
the second section of Chapter II, and the last section of Chapter III, are founded on:

[p. 1]

*175 The first period of Nineteenth Century Pawnee relations with
*648 the white man and the United States government begins with the
first contacts following the Louisiana purchase and ends with the
*175 treaty of 1833. The population of the tribe during this time is
*648 open to dispute, as no accurate figures are available. In 1804,
Lewis and Clarke estimated the tribe at 4,000, but they were un-
161 acquainted with the Pitahawirat*. According to these explorers
114 the tribe had suffered terribly from a smallpox epidemic the previous
731 year which had greatly reduced their numbers. Pike in 1806 gave
a count of 6,223 for the same three bands. Major S. H. Long, who
visited the tribe on his travels in 1819, estimated their number at
6,500, still without knowing the Pitahawirat*. The first government
figure appeared in 1834, just after the treaty of 1833 brought an
agent, Dougherty, in contact with the tribe. He numbered the
Pawnee at 12,500. This figure was carried on the government
records for years, occasionally displaced by the estimate of the

---

● 113 United States. Indian Affairs Office. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington, 1824 to date. The series has been consulted throughout its entire run. Details of importance on the Pawnee begin with the report of 1837. Referred to in footnotes as Annual Reports.

Kappler, C. J. (Compiler). Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties. 2 volumes. Washington, 1903. 57 Congress, First Session. Document 452.

Royce, C. C. Indian Land Cessions in the United States. 18th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology.

I have also consulted:

Dunbar, J. The Pawnee Indians. Magazine of American History. 4: 241—281; 5: 321—385; 8: 734—756.

Grinnell, G. B. Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales.

Irving, J. T. Indian Sketches Taken during a U. S. expedition to make treaties with the Pawnee and other tribes of Indians in 1833. 1838, reprinted 1888.

Murray, C. A. Travels in North America, including a summer residence with the Pawnee tribe of Indians in the remote prairies of the Missouri. 2 volumes. 3rd. revised edition, London, 1854.

Oehler, G. F. and Smith, D. Z. Description of a Journey and visit to the Pawnee Indians. April 22-May 18, 1851. Reprinted from Moravian Church Miscellany of 1851—1852.

Tuttle, Sarah. History of the American Mission to the Pawnee Indians. Boston, 1838.

Williamson, J. W. The Battle of Massacre Canyon. The unfortunate ending of the last buffalo hunt of the Pawnees. Republican Leader, Trenton, Nebraska, 1922.

Where differences on dates and other important data have been encountered, the account presented has taken the information in the reports, year to year, as the final arbiter. All basic concrete data and interpretations are essentially restatements of source material; it has seemed unnecessary to introduce minute footnotes. Interpolated interpretations of the writer are few and obvious.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

AUTHORITIES CITED

113 **Culin, Stewart.** Games of the North American Indians. Twenty-fourth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Washington, 1907.

Densmore, Frances. Chippewa Music. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 45, Washington, 1910.

——— Chippewa Music—II. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 53, Washington, 1913.

——— Teton Sioux Music. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 61, Washington, 1918.

——— Northern Ute Music. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 75, Washington, 1922.

——— Mandan and Hidatsa Music. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 80, Washington, 1923.

——— Papago Music. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 90, Washington, 1929.

Dorsey, George A. How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows. Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644–658, Lancaster, Pa., 1903.

——— Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Soc., vol. viii, Boston and New York, 1904.

——— The Pawnee: Mythology (Part I). Carnegie Inst. Publ. no. 59, Washington, 1906.

Fletcher, Alice C. The Hako: a Pawnee Ceremony. Twenty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, Washington, 1903.

——— [Article] Pawnee. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, pt. 2, pp. 213–216, Washington, 1910.

——— and **La Flesche, Francis.** The Omaha Tribe. Twenty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Washington, 1911.

Helmholtz, H. L. F. The sensations of tone as a physiological basis for the theory of music. Translated by A. J. Ellis. 2d ed., London, 1885.

Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties. vol. i (Laws), vol. ii (Treaties). Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington, 1904.

——— Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the year ending June 30, 1928. Washington, 1928.

James, Edwin. Account of an expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains under the command of Maj. Stephen H. Long, vol. i, Philadelphia, 1823.

La Flesche, Francis. *See* Fletcher, Alice C., and La Flesche.

Linton, Ralph. The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee. Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 5, Chicago, 1922.

——— The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee. Ibid., No. 6.

——— Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men. Ibid., No. 8, 1923.

Lowie, Robert H. Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians. Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. xi, pt. 3, pp. 219–358, New York, 1913.

Mooney, James. The Ghost-dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890. Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pt. 2, Washington, 1897.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buckstaff, R. N.

1927. Stars and constellations of a Pawnee sky map. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 279-285. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Bushnell, D. I., Jr.

1922. Villages of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan tribes west of the Mississippi. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 77. Washington.

1927. Burials of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan tribes west of the Mississippi. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 83. Washington.

Densmore, Francis

1929. Pawnee music. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 93. Washington.

Dorsey, G. A.

1903. How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 644-658. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

1904. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs of the American Folk Lore Society, vol. 8. New York.

1905a. One of the sacred altars of the Pawnee. Congrès International des Américanistes, 13th Session. Easton, Pennsylvania.

1905b. A Pawnee personal medicine shrine. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 496-498. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

1906a. Pawnee war tales. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 8, pp. 337-345. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

1906b. The Pawnee: Mythology. Part I. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication No. 59. Washington.

1907a. The Skidi rite of human sacrifice. Congrès International des Américanistes, 15th Session, Part 2, pp. 65-70. Quebec.

1907b. Social organization of the Skidi Pawnee. Congrès International des Américanistes, 15th Session, Part 2, pp. 71-77. Quebec.

Dunbar, John, and Allis, Samuel

1918. Letters concerning the Presbyterian Mission in the Pawnee country, near Bellevue, Nebraska, 1831-1849. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 14, pp. 570-741. Topeka.

Dunbar, John B.

1880a. The Pawnee Indians: Their history and ethnology. Magazine of American History, vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 241-281.

1880b. The Pawnee Indians: Their habits and customs. Magazine of American History, vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 321-345.

Fletcher, Alice

1899. A Pawnee ritual used when changing a man's name. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 82-97. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

1900. Giving thanks: A Pawnee ceremony. Journal of American Folklore, vol. 13, pp. 261-266.

1902. Star cult among the Pawnee. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 730-736. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

1904. The Hako: A Pawnee ceremony. Bureau of American Ethnology, 22nd Annual Report, Part 2. Washington.

GRINNELL, G. B.

1891a. Two Pawnian tribal names. American Anthropologist, vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 197–199. Washington.

1891b. Marriage among the Pawnees. American Anthropologist, vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 275–281. Washington.

LESSER, ALEXANDER

1930. Levirate and fraternal polyandry among the Pawnee. Man, No. 78, pp. 98–101. London.

1933. The Pawnee ghost dance hand game. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 16. New York.

——, and WELTFISH, GENE

1932. The composition of the Caddoan linguistic stock. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 87, No. 6. Washington.

LINTON, RALPH

1922a. The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Leaflet, No. 5. Chicago.

1922b. The sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Leaflet, No. 6. Chicago.

1923a. Purification of the sacred bundles, a ceremony of the Pawnee. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Leaflet, No. 7. Chicago.

1923b. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Leaflet, No. 8. Chicago.

1926. The origin of the Skidi Pawnee sacrifice to the Morning Star. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 457–466. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

MURIE, J. R.

1914. Pawnee Indian societies. American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. 11, part 8. New York.

PARSONS, E. C.

1929. Ritual parallels in Pueblo and Plains cultures, with a special reference to the Pawnee. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 642–654. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

STRONG, W. D.

1939. An introduction to Nebraska archaeology. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 93, No. 10. Washington.

WEDEL, W. R.

1936. An introduction to Pawnee archaeology. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 112. Washington.

1938. The direct-historical approach to Pawnee archaeology. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 97, No. 7. Washington.

WELTFISH, GENE

1937. Caddoan texts, Pawnee, South Band dialect. Publications of the American Ethnological Society, vol. 17. New York.

WISSLER, CLARK

1917. Comparative study of Pawnee and Blackfoot rituals. Congrès International des Américanistes, 19th Session. Washington.

1920. Sacred bundles of the Pawnees. Natural History, vol. 20, No. 5, pp. 569–571. New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abel, A. H.

1916. A New Lewis and Clark Map. Geographical Review, vol. I, no. 5, pp. 329–345. New York, 1916.

Allis, Samuel.

1887. Forty Years Among the Indians and on the Eastern Borders of Nebraska. Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, vol. II, pp. 133–166. Lincoln, 1887.

Ashley, W. H., and Smith, J. S.

1918. The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822–1829. Edit. by H. C. Dale. Cleveland, 1918.

Bailey, E. H. S.

1902. Great Spirit Spring, Waconda, Mitchell County. University Geological Survey of Kansas, Mineral Waters, vol. VII, pp. 197–200. Topeka, 1902.

Bandelier, A. F.

1890. Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, pt. I, pp. 44–187. Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, No. III. Cambridge, 1890.

1890, a. Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States, Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition, pp. 179–206. Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, No. V. Cambridge, 1890.

1893. The Gilded Man, pp. 223–257. New York, 1893.

Blackman, E. E.

1903. Report of Department of Archaeology. Annual Report of Nebraska State Board of Agriculture for 1902, pp. 294–326. Lincoln, 1903.

1905. Report of Department of Archaeology. Annual Report of Nebraska State Board of Agriculture for 1904, pp. 207–229. Lincoln, 1905.

1906. Archaeological Report for 1905. Annual Report of Nebraska State Board of Agriculture for 1905, pp. 390–400. Fremont, 1906.

1907. Report of the Archaeologist. Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Vol. XV; Series II, vol. X, pp. 323–359. Lincoln, 1907.

Bolton, H. E.

1914. Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768–1780. 2 vols. Cleveland, 1914.

Brower, J. V.

1898. Quivira. Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi, vol. I. St. Paul, 1898.

1899. Harahey. Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi, vol. II. St. Paul, 1899.

Buckstaff, Ralph N.

1927. Stars and Constellations of a Pawnee Sky Map. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 29, no. 2, pp 279–285. Lancaster, 1927.

BUSHNELL, D. I., JR.

1922. Villages of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan Tribes west of the Mississippi. Bulletin 77, Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, 1922.

1927. Burials of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan Tribes West of the Mississippi. Bulletin 83, Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, 1927.

CATLIN, GEORGE.

1841. Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians, vol. 2. New York, 1841.

CHARLEVOIX, PIERRE DE.

1903. Journal of a Voyage to North America. Translated from the letters. Chicago, 1903.

CLAYTON, WILLIAM.

1921. William Clayton's Journal, pp. 74–110. Salt Lake City, 1921.

COLLOT, VICTOR.

1924. A Journey in North America. 2 vols., 1 atlas. Paris, 1826. Translated and reprinted, Firenze, 1924.

COMFORT, A. J.

1873. Indian Mounds near Fort Wadsworth, Dakota Territory. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1871, pp. 389–402. Washington, 1873.

CONNELLEY, W. E.

1918. Notes on the Early Indian Occupancy of the Great Plains. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. XIV, pp. 438–470. Topeka, 1918.

DE SMET, PIERRE-JEAN.

1895. New Indian Sketches. New York, 1895.

1905. Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S. J., 1801–1873, vol. III. pp. 974–988. Edited by H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson. New York, 1905.

DODGE, COL. HENRY.

1860. Journal of Colonel Dodge's Expedition from Fort Gibson to the Pawnee Pict Village (1834). American State Papers, Military Affairs, vol. V, pp. 373–382. Washington, 1860.

1861. Report on the Expedition of Dragoons, under Col. Henry Dodge, to the Rocky Mountains in 1835. American State Papers, Military Affairs, vol. VI, pp. 130–146. Washington, 1861.

DORSEY, GEORGE A.

1903. How the Pawnee Captured the Cheyenne Medicine Arrows. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 644–658. Lancaster, 1903.

1904. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs of the American Folklore Society. New York, 1904.

1905. A Pawnee Personal Medicine Shrine. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 496–498. Lancaster, 1905.

1906. The Pawnee: Mythology (Part I). Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1906.

DORSEY, J. O.

1886. Migrations of Siouan Tribes. American Naturalist, vol. XX, no. 3, pp. 211–222. Philadelphia, 1886.

DU LAC, PERRIN.

1807. Travels through the two Louisianas in 1801, 1802, and 1803, pp. 47–54. London, 1807.

DUNBAR, JOHN, and ALLIS, SAMUEL.

1918. Letters concerning the Presbyterian Mission in the Pawnee Country, near Bellevue, Nebraska, 1831–1849. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. XIV, pp. 570–689 and 690–741, respectively. Topeka, 1918.

DUNBAR JOHN B.

1880, a. The Pawnee Indians: Their History and Ethnology. Magazine of American History, vol. IV, no. 4, pp. 241–281.

1880, b. The Pawnee Indians: Their Habits and Customs. Magazine of American History, vol. V, no. 5, pp. 321–345.

1910. Massacre of the Villazur Expedition by the Pawnees on the Platte, in 1720. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. XI, pp. 397–423. Topeka, 1910.

DU PRATZ, LE PAGE.

1758. Histoire de la Louisiane, tome Premiere, p. 138 and map of Louisiana. Paris, 1758.

FLETCHER, ALICE C.

1899. A Pawnee Ritual used when Changing a Man's Name. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol 1, no. 1, pp. 82–97. Lancaster, 1899.

1902. Star Cult Among the Pawnee. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol 4, no. 4, pp. 730–736. Lancaster, 1902.

1904. The Hako: A Pawnee Ceremony. Twenty-second Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. 2, pp. 5–368. Washington, 1904.

FLETCHER, ALICE C., and LA FLESCHE, FRANCIS.

1911. The Omaha Tribe. Twenty-seventh Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 17–642. Washington, 1911.

FOWKE, GERARD.

1922. Archeological Investigations. Bulletin 76, Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 57–81. Washington, 1922.

FREMONT, J. C.

1845. Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and California in the Years 1843–44. Washington, 1845.

GALLATIN, ALBERT.

1836. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. II. Worcester, 1836.

GILLIS, J. L.

1860. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1860. Document no. 33, pp. 92–95. Washington, 1860.

GREGG, JOSIAH.

1845. Commerce of the Prairies, 2d ed. New York, 1845.

GRINNELL, GEORGE BIRD.

1891. Two Pawnian Tribal Names. American Anthropologist, o. s., vol. IV, no. 2, pp. 197–199. Washington, 1891.

1891. Marriage among the Pawnees. American Anthropologist, o. s., vol. IV, no. 3, pp. 275–281. Washington, 1891.

1893. Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales. New York, 1893.

1913. Some Indian Stream Names. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 330–331. Lancaster, 1913.

1920. Who were the Padouca? American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 248–260. Lancaster, 1920.

Harrington, M. R.

1920. Certain Caddo Sites in Arkansas. Indian Notes and Monographs, Miscellaneous Paper no. 10. Heye Foundation, New York, 1920.

Hayden, F. V.

1862. Contributions to the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley, pp. 345–363. Philadelphia, 1862.

1872. Notes on Indian History, etc. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1867, pp. 411–412. Washington, 1872.

Hennepin, Father Louis.

1903. A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America. Edited by R. G. Thwaites, Chicago, 1903.

Holmes, W. H.

1883. Art in Shell of the Ancient Americans. Second Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 179–297, Washington, 1883.

1903. Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States. Twentieth Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 59–200, Washington, 1903.

Houck, Louis.

1909. Report of the Indian Tribes Who Receive Presents at St. Louis, November 15, 1777. The Spanish Regime in Missouri, vol. 1, pp. 141 ff. Chicago, 1909.

Houghton, F.

1916. Characteristics of Iroquoian Village Sites of Western New York. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 508–520. Lancaster, 1916.

Irving, J. T., Jr.

1835. Indian Sketches. 2 vols. London, 1835.

Kidder, A. V.

1924. An Introduction to the Study of Southwestern Archeology. Published for the Department of Archaeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, by the Yale University Press, New Haven, 1924.

Kroeber, A. L.

1928. Native Culture in the Southwest. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 23, no. 9, pp. 375–398. Berkeley, 1928.

La Salle, Robert.

1927. Nebraska History Magazine, vol. VIII, no. 1, p. 5. Lincoln, 1927.

Lesser, A., and Weltfish, G.

1932. Composition of the Caddoan Linguistic Stock. Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 87, no. 6, Washington, 1932.

Lewis, M., and Clark, W.

1815. Travels to the Source of the Missouri River and across the American Continent to the Pacific Ocean, 1804–1806. 3 vols. London, 1815.

1832. Lewis and Clark's Expedition. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, vol. IV, pp. 705–743. Washington, 1832.

1922. History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark, 1804–1806. 3 vols. American Explorers Series. New York, 1922.

Linton, Ralph.

1922, a. The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee. Anthropological Leaflet of the Field Museum, no. 5. Chicago, 1922.

1922, b. The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee. Anthropological Leaflet of the Field Museum, no. 6. Chicago, 1922.

1923, a. Purification of the Sacred Bundles, a Ceremony of the Pawnee. Anthropological Leaflet of the Field Museum, no. 7. Chicago, 1923.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Linton, Ralph—Continued.

1923, b. Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men. Anthropological Leaflet of the Field Museum, no. 8. Chicago, 1923.

1924. Origin of the Plains Earth Lodge. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 26, pp. 247–257. Lancaster, 1924.

1926. The Origin of the Skidi Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 457–466. Lancaster, 1926.

Long, Maj. S. H.

1823. Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains performed in the years 1819 and 1820. Edwin James edition. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1823.

Lowie, R. H.

1912. Some Problems in the Ethnology of the Crow and Village Indians. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 60–71. Lancaster, 1912.

Luttig, J. C.

1920. Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812–13. St. Louis, 1920.

Margry, Pierre.

1874. Margry Papers. Memoirs et Documents pour servir a L'Histoire des Origines Francaises des Pays d'Outremer. 6 vols. Paris, 1874.

Marquette, Jacques.

1900. Of the first Voyage made by Father Marquette. Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. LIX, pp. 87–163. Edited by R. G. Thwaites. Cleveland, 1900.

Mason, Otis T.

1904. Aboriginal American Basketry. Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1902, pp. 171–548. Washington, 1904.

Morse, Rev. Jedidiah.

1822. A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States, on Indian Affairs, comprising a Narrative of a Tour performed in the summer of 1820. New Haven, 1822.

Murie, J. R.

1914. Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. XI, pt. VIII, pp. 543–644. New York, 1914.

Murray, Charles A.

1839. Travels in North America during the Years 1834, 1835, and 1836, vol. I. New York, 1839.

Oehler, Gottlieb F., and Smith, D. Z.

1851. Description of a Journey and Visit to the Pawnee Indians, April 22–May 18, 1851. The Moravian Church Miscellany, 1851–52.

Parker, A. C.

1916. The Origin of the Iroquois as Suggested by Their Archaeology. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 479–507. Lancaster, 1916.

Parsons, Elsie Clews.

1929. Ritual Parallels in Pueblo and Plains Cultures, with a Special Reference to the Pawnee. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 642–654. Lancaster, 1929.

Pike, Zebulon M.

1810. An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, etc. Philadelphia, 1810.

113 Platt, E. G.

1892. Reminiscences of a Teacher Among the Nebraska Indians, 1843-85. Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, vol. III, pp. 125-143. Fremont, 1892.

1918. Some Experiences as a Teacher Among the Pawnees. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. XIV, pp. 784-794. Topeka, 1918.

Powell, J. W.

1891. Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico. Seventh Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 58-62. Washington, 1891.

Rau, Charles.

1872. Indian Pottery. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1866, pp. 346-355. Washington, 1872.

Roberts, F. H. H., Jr.

1929. Shabik'eshchee Village. Bulletin 92, Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 110-111. Washington, 1929.

Royce, C. C.

1899. Indian Land Cessions in the United States. Eighteenth Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. 2, pp. 521-964. Washington, 1899.

Sapir, E.

1929. Central and North American Languages. Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th ed., vol. V, pp. 138-140. New York, 1929.

Sibley, Major.

1922. "From a journal to the Pawnee and Kansas Villages, undertaken by an officer of the Factory on the Missouri." Louisiana Gazette, May 16, 1812; reprinted in Nebraska Historical Publications, vol. XX, pp. 5-11, Lincoln, 1922.

1927. Extracts from the Diary of Major Sibley. Chronicles of Oklahoma, vol. V, pp 196-218. Oklahoma City, 1927.

Schoolcraft, H. R.

1853. History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, vol. III, pp. 397-402. Philadelphia, 1853.

Skinner, Alanson.

1921. Notes on Iroquois Archaeology. Indian Notes and Monographs, Miscellaneous Paper, no. 18. Heye Foundation, New York, 1921.

1921, a. Material Culture of the Menomini. Indian Notes and Monographs, vol. 20. Mus. Amer. Indian, Heye Foundation.

Strong, William Duncan.

1935. An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology. Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10. Washington, 1935.

Thayer, Gen. J. M.

1907. My very first Visit to the Pawnee Village in 1855. Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society, vol. XV: series II, vol. X, pp. 119-127, Lincoln, 1907

Thoburn, J. B.

1927. An Important Archaeological and Historical Discovery. Chronicles of Oklahoma, vol. V, no. 4, pp. 407-413. Oklahoma City, 1927.

Thomas, A. B.

1935. After Coronado: Spanish Exploration northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1935.

TRUTEAU, JEAN BAPTISTE.

1914. Journal of Jean Baptiste Truteau on the Upper Missouri, Premiere Partie, June 7, 1794–March 26, 1795. American Historical Review, vol. XIX, no. 2, pp. 299–333. New York, 1914.

VILLIERS, BARON MARC DE.

1921. Le Massacre de l'Expedition Espagnole du Missouri (11 Aout 1720). Journal de la Societe des Americanistes de Paris, n. s., vol. XIII, pp. 239–255. Paris, 1921.

VIVIER, FATHER.

1900. The Panismahas in 1750. Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. LXIX, pp. 225–229. Ed. by R. G. Thwaites, Cleveland, 1900.

WEDEL, WALDO R.

1935. Reports on Fieldwork by the Archaeological Survey of the Nebraska State Historical Society, May 1–July 23, 1934. Nebraska History Magazine, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 132–255.

WELTFISH, G.

1930. Coiled Gambling Baskets of the Pawnee and other Plains Tribes. Indian Notes, vol. VIII, no. 3, pp. 277–295. Heye Foundation, New York, 1930.

WHARTON, MAJ. CLIFTON.

1844. A Journal of a March of a Detachment of the 1st Dragoons, to the Pawnee Country, under Major Wharton in August and September, '44. Photostat copy in MSS File of the Nebraska Historical Society. Also in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. XVI, pp. 272–305, Topeka, 1925.

WILL, G. F., and HYDE, GEORGE E.

1917. Corn Among the Indians of the Upper Missouri. St. Louis, 1917.

WILL, G. F., and SPINDEN, H. J.

1906. The Mandans. Peabody Museum Papers, vol. III, no. 4, pp. 79–219, Cambridge, 1906.

WINSHIP, G. P.

1896. The Coronado Expedition. Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. 1, pp. 339–598, Washington, 1896.

WISSLER, CLARK.

1910. Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians. Anthrop. Pap., Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 5, pt. 1. New York, 1910.

1922. The American Indian. 2d ed. Oxford and New York, 1922.

1927. North American Indians of the Plains. Handbook Series No. 1, 3d ed., American Museum of Natural History, New York, 1927.

down in the phonetic alphabet which he acquired in the course of his contact 114
with anthropologists. He divided his recorded texts into single syllables, each 159
comprising a consonant and a vowel and each syllable separated from the next 126
by a hyphen and then placed an English word under each of these syllables. As I have already indicated, the Pawnee language cannot be translated into English in that manner. Any material will suffer some distortion when it is translated from one language to another, but the nuances of religious ideology are even more strongly effected by this process.

Murie's crowning effort to systematize the religion of his people was carried 114
out under the direction and editorship of the late Clark Wissler, curator of 159
anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Together Wissler and Murie produced a voluminous manuscript of some 1560
pages. In view of the recognized inadequacies of Murie's Pawnee transcription 114
and translation, in 1930 Matthew W. Stirling, then Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington, D.C., where the manuscript had been deposited some years before, commissioned me to retranscribe all the Pawnee texts contained there with the help of my Pawnee linguistic informants and
to obtain a linguistically adequate translation. The texts were reviewed with [124]
my informants and translated with the help of my interpreter, Henry Chapman, in 1930–1931 in Pawnee, Oklahoma. The manuscript is now on deposit in the archives of the bureau. It is titled "The Ceremonies of the Pawnee," by James R. Murie, arranged and edited by Clark Wissler, 1921. Phonetic texts revised and translated by Gene Weltfish, 1930–1931.

The second most important source on Pawnee ceremonialism is: "The Hako: 114
A Pawnee Ceremony," by Alice C. Fletcher, assisted by James R. Murie. This 113
was published in the *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. The author, Alice Fletcher, is listed in the publication as Holder of Thaw Fellowship, Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Miss Fletcher was a trained ethnologist who went into the field to work with the Omaha and Ponca Indians in Nebraska in 1881 when she was in her forties. She several times witnessed the ceremony of the peace pipe or calumet among these tribes and others in the area, but as a result of the death of the only man who could furnish her with an authentic account of the ceremony she searched among other tribes and found that an account of a comparable ceremony would be obtainable among the Pawnees. She then went to Oklahoma where she contacted Mr. James Murie and began the work which was done over a period of four years. The term Hako which appears as the title of this work is not the Pawnee name for this ceremony. The term means mouth, *aka'u*, and is the comprehensive term used to designate all the articles that belong to the ceremony. A number of other terms are used for the ceremony itself. The author decided to use this title as a convenient designation that could readily be pronounced by the English reader. The beauty of patterning and the intricacy of the structure of the ceremony are well represented, but the translation of the Pawnee texts is ludicrous. The bulk of the linguistic texts are the words of ritual songs. A great deal of this material consists of rhythmic syllables that have no semantic significance whatever with one or two simple words included among them. Often the successive stanzas consist in a repetition of these rhythmic syllables, the single words being re-

114 placed by one or two others. The author translates these Pawnee texts into • 113 florid mid-Victorian-style English poetry, every meaningless rhythmic syllable receiving her attention with a new flight of fancy. It appears that she must have zealously pressed James R. Murie for translations of each syllable and no doubt liberally interpreted the terms he did give her. On his part, Murie must also have felt the need to press these texts into acceptable English poetry of the period. In any case because of these circumstances, The *Hako* can only be used very critically as a source.

The second anthropologist to work extensively with James R. Murie was George A. Dorsey, who did this work as part of a more ambitious project. [197] Pawnee is one member of a language family, the Caddoan stock, of which there are three other major members—Arikara, Wichita, and Caddo. Dorsey procured mythology from the four different member groups of the Caddoan stock. Dorsey was Curator of Anthropology of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago under whose auspices the work was begun and then continued with the support of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C. He produced two book length publications on the Pawnee, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* ("American Folklore Society Memoirs," Vol. VIII), Boston and New York, 1904, and *The Pawnee, Mythology*, published by the ("Carnegie Institution of Washington Publications," No. 59), Washington, 1906. A body of unpublished material supplied to Dorsey by Murie remains in the archives of the Chicago Museum of Natural History. Subsequent curators at that institution have published from this source.

A series of pamphlets by Ralph Linton: *The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 5), Chicago, 1922; *The Sacrifice to the Morning Star* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 6), Chicago, 1922; *Purification of the Sacred Bundles, A Ceremony of the Pawnee* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 7), Chicago, 1923; *Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 8), Chicago, 1923.

Alexander Spoehr: *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Series," Vol. XXVII, No. 2), Chicago, 1949.

While Murie was working in New York, he prepared under Clark Wissler's direction, *Pawnee Indian Societies* ("American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers," Vol. XI, Part VII), New York, 1914, pp. 545-644. Wissler very generously inhibited his identity from his publication, appearing simply as "the editor." He states that the work "was prepared by James R. Murie, a member of the Skidi division, under the direction of the editor who is in the main responsible for its form and limitations. Mr. Murie's method was to collect and write out in full such information on the several topics as could be secured. These notes were then made the subject of several conferences with the editor during which the present manuscript was prepared." The large manuscript on the ceremonies of the Pawnee as well as the manuscript material in the Chicago Museum of Natural History must have been prepared in a 114 similar fashion. My own work with my informants on the manuscript, "The Ceremonies of the Pawnee," made it possible for me to limit the amount of material I had to gather on the formal aspects of Pawnee religion and ceremony

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

and permitted me to concentrate on the personalities involved and the way they functioned within the pattern. Death claimed James R. Murie before my work began, and I never had the good fortune of meeting him. 114

In the years since the late 1930's I have read a great deal of material on the Pawnees. I visited the archaeological sites, read the literature, and consulted with the outstanding archaeologists in the field. I also worked with historical sources at the Nebraska Historical Society in Lincoln, Nebraska. In addition I have given considerable thought to a number of expanded horizons for our own future that are suggested through a consideration of the Pawnee way of life. I have listed a number of bibliographic items that refer to these different facets of interest, listing them under four categories—archaeological material, ethnology, historical sources, related subjects and theoretical questions. I will not make specific references to my text in connection with these publications as the presentation in this book represents a synthesis of all these sources along with my own. [122]

Archaeology (A) Ethnology (E) History (H) Theoretical Subjects (T) 113

(H) Adams, James Truslow. 1943. *Atlas of American History.* New York: Scribners.

(H) Allis, Samuel. 1887. "Forty Years among the Indians and on the Eastern Borders of Nebraska," *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society,* Vol. 2, 133-196.

(H) ———. 1918. See Dunbar, John B.

(H) *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine.* 1823. Pp. 501-503. Baltimore.

(E) Bogoras, Waldemar. 1902. "The Folklore of Northeastern Asia Compared with That of Northwestern America," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., IV, 577-683.

(E) Benedict, Ruth F. 1923. *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America.* ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," 29.) Lancaster.

(H) Bolton, Herbert E. 1911. "The Jumano Indians in Texas, 1650-1771," *Texas Historical Association Quarterly,* 15, No. 1, 66-84.

(H) ———. 1914. *Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780,* Vol. I. Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company.

(H) ———. 1915. *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century.* ("Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration, University of California Publications in History," Vol. III.) Berkeley.

(H) ———. 1916. *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706.* New York: Scribners.

(H) ———. 1949. *Coronado: Knight of the Pueblos and Plains.* Albuquerque: Whittlesey House and University of New Mexico Press.

113 (H) Branch, Edward Douglas. 1929. *The Hunting of the Buffalo.* New York and London: D. Appleton and Company.

(H) Brebner, John B. 1933. *Explorers of North America, 1492–1806.* London: A. & C. Black, Ltd.

(H) Bruce, Robert. 1932. *The Fighting Norths and Pawnee Scouts.* New York: Privately Printed, 1932.

(E) Buckstaff, Ralph N. 1927. "Stars and Constellations of a Pawnee Sky Map," *American Anthropologist,* 29, 279–285.

(A) Burkitt, Miles C. 1924. *Our Early Ancestors.* Cambridge, Eng.: University Press.

(H) Burton, O. 1935. Communication from O. Burton of Friend, Nebraska, a pioneer, on the Pawnee buffalo-hunting encampment at Turkey Creek. *Nebraska History Magazine,* XVI, No. 2, 81.

(H) Carleton, John Henry. 1943. *The Prairie Logbooks,* "Dragoon Campaigns to the Pawnee Villages in 1844 and to the Rocky Mountains in 1845," ed. Louis Pelzer. Chicago: Caxton Club.

(A) Champe, John L. 1946. *Ash Hollow Cave.* ("University of Nebraska Studies," No. 1.) Lincoln.

(H) Chittenden, H. M., and Richardson, A. T. (eds.) 1905. *Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre Jean de Smet, S.J., 1801–1873.* Vol. III, pp. 974–988. New York: F. P. Harper.

(H) Clark, George Rogers. 1912. *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771–1781.* ("Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library," Vol. VIII, pp. 75-78, 88-89, 303-304.) Springfield.

(A) Cutler, Hugh C. 1957. See Whitaker, Thomas W.

(E) Densmore, Frances. 1929. *Pawnee Music.* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 93.) Washington, D.C.

(H) Dobie, J. Frank. 1952. *The Mustangs.* Boston: Little Brown.

(E) Dorsey, George A. 1904a. *Traditions of the Arikara.* Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.

(E) ———. 1904b. *The Mythology of the Wichita.* Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.

(E) ———. 1905. *Traditions of the Caddo.* Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.

(E) ———. 1906. *The Pawnee, Mythology.* Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.

(H) de Smet, Pierre-Jean. See Chittenden, H. M.

(A) Drucker, Philip, Heizer, Robert F., and Squier, Robert J. 1959. *Excavations at La Venta, Tabasco, 1944.* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 170.) Washington, D.C.

(H) Dunbar, John B. 1881. "The Pawnee Indians," *Magazine of American History,* 8, 738–741.

(H) ———. 1911. Material copied verbatim from a manuscript of Rev. John B. Dunbar. *Nebraska State Historical Society Proceedings and Collections.* Lincoln. Vol. 16, p. 276.

(H) ———, and Allis, Samuel. 1918. *Letters Concerning the Presbyterian Mission in the Pawnee Country near Bellevue, Nebraska, 1831–1849.* ("Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society," XIV, pp. 570-689, 690-741.) Topeka.

(A) Dunlevy, Marion Lucille. 1936. "A Comparison of the Cultural Manifestations of the Burkett and Gray-Wolfe Sites," chapters in *Nebraska Archaeology*, ed. Earl H. Bell, Vol. I, 149-247. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

(E) Ewers, John C. 1955. *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture.* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 159.) Washington, D.C.

(T) Fallers, L. A. 1959. See Levy, M. J., Jr.

(E) Fletcher, Alice C. 1904. "The Hako: A Pawnee Ceremony," *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part 2. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

(A) Forbis, Richard G. 1958. *The Old Woman's Buffalo Jump.* Sixteenth Plains Conference for Archaeology, November 29, 1958, Norman, Oklahoma.

(T) Galbraith, John Kenneth. 1958. *The Affluent Society.* New York: Houghton Mifflin.

(T) ———. 1964. "Economics and the Quality of Life," *Science*, CXLVI, No. 3628, 117-123.

(A) Galinat, Walton C. 1956. See Mangelsdorf, Paul C.

(E) Gilmore, Melvin R. 1919. "Uses of Plants by the Indians of the Missouri River Region," *Thirty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1911–1912*, pp. 43-154. Washington, D.C.

(E) Grinnell, George Bird. 1925. *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales.* New York: Scribners.

(H) Hazen, R. W. 1893. *History of the Pawnee Indians.* Fremont, Nebraska.

(E-H) Hodge, Frederick Webb, ed. 1912. *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico.* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 30, Vol. I, 178-179; Vol. II, 643-644; 706 Tawehash.) Washington, D.C.

(E) Hoffman, W. J. 1891. "The Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibway," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 143-300. Washington.

(E) Hyde, George E. 1917. See Will, George F.

(H) ———. 1951. *Pawnee Indians.* Denver: University of Denver Press.

(H) ———. 1959. "Ancestry of Latakuts Kalahar (Fancy Eagle)" (written by George H. Roberts, annotated by George E. Hyde), *Nebraska History*, 40, No. 1, 47-75.

(H) Inman, Henry. 1897. *The Old Santa Fe Trail.* New York: Macmillan.

• 113 (H) Irving, John Treat, Jr. 1955. *Indian Sketches*, ed. John Francis McDermott. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

(A) Kivett, Marvin F. 1952. *Woodland Sites in Nebraska.* ("Nebraska State Historical Society Publications in Anthropology," No. 1.) Lincoln.

(T) Kohn, Hans. 1961. *The Idea of Nationalism.* New York: Macmillan.

(A) Krieger, Alex. 1947. "The Eastward Extension of Puebloan Datings toward Cultures of the Mississippi Valley," *American Antiquity*, XII, No. 3, Pt. 1, 141-148.

(T) "Landlord to Hire Social Worker to Help His Tenants Live Better," *New York Times*, July 12, 1964, Sec. 8, p. 1:7, 8, p. 6:7.

(T) Lantis, Margaret. 1960. "Vernacular Culture," *American Anthropologist*, 62, No. 3, 292-296.

(E) Lesser, Alexander. 1933. *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Handgame.* ("Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology.") New York.

(T) Levy, M. J., Jr., and Fallers, L. A. 1959. "The Family: Some Comparative Considerations," *American Anthropologist*, 61, No. 4, 647-651.

(E) Linton, Ralph. 1926. "The Origin of the Skidi Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 28, No. 3, 457-466.

(H) Long, Major Stephen H. 1823. Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains performed in the years 1819 and 1820. Edwin James edition, 2 vols. Vol. I, pp. 445-446. A. H. Carey and I. Lea, Philadelphia.

(E) Lowie, Robert H. 1935. *The Crow Indians.* New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.

(E) ———. 1954. *Indians of the Plains.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

(A) MacNeish, Richard C. 1956. See Mangelsdorf, Paul C.

(A) ———. 1957. See Whitaker, Thomas W.

(A) ———. 1964. "Ancient Mesoamerican Civilization," *Science*, 143, No. 3606, 531-534.

(A) Mangelsdorf, Paul C. 1958. "Ancestor of Corn," *Science*, 128, No. 335, 13-15.

(A) ———. 1964. "Domestication of Corn," *Science*, 143, No. 3606, 538-545.

(A) ———, MacNeish, Richard C., and Balinat, Walton C. 1956. *Archaeological Evidence on the Diffusion and Evolution of Maize in Northeastern Mexico* ("Botanical Museum Leaflets 17," No. 5, p. 130.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

(E) Marriott, Alice. n.d. *The Trade Guild of the Southern Cheyenne Women.* ("Oklahoma Anthropological Society Publication.")

(H) Massacre Canyon Number. 1936. *Nebraska History Magazine*, July-September 1935. Lincoln.

(H) McDermott, John Francis, ed. 1940. *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies.* Translated from the French by Albert J. Salvan. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Pp. 221-224, 225.

(H) McKenney, Thomas L., and Hall, James. 1842. *History of the Indian Tribes of North America,* "With Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs." Vol. I, pp. 101-106. Philadelphia: Daniel Rice and James G. Clark.

(T) Merton, Robert C. 1959. *Sociology Today.* New York: Basic Books.

(E) Mooney, James R. 1898. "Calendar History of the Kiowa," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* Part I, 1895–1896. Washington, D.C., pp. 334-335.

(H) Murray, Charles Augustus. 1839. *Travels in North America during the Years 1834, 1835, 1836.* 2 vols. London: R. Bentley.

(H) Nasatir, A. P., ed. 1952. *Before Lewis and Clark.* "Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri 1785–1804." 2 vols. ("St. Louis Historical Documentary Foundation.") St. Louis.

(A) *Newsletter of the Museum of the Plains Indian.* 1959. 3, No. 1. Report of a buffalo jump at Cut Bank Creek site north of Browning, Wyoming. Browning, Montana.

(H) *New York Times.* 1960. Note on the Calendar. January 1.

(H) North, Frank. 1859? *The Adventures of Major Frank North the "White Chief" of the Pawnees,* A Quarter of a Century on the Frontier (the story of his life as told by himself and written by Alfred Sorenson). Manuscript in the Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln.

(H) North, Luther. 1920. Letter from Luther North to A. E. Sheldon, February 9, 1920. Manuscript in Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln.

(H) ———. 1928. Letter from Luther North to George Bird Grinnell, June 1, 1928, from Columbus, Nebraska. Manuscript in Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln.

(H) ———. 1931. Eyewitness account of a Pawnee medicine man's performance involving George Bird Grinnell and Luther North in Oklahoma as told to Pauline Bilon by Luther North. Article in the newspaper, *The Nebraska Farmer,* March 21, 1931.

(H) ———. n.d. Recollections of Luther North, ed. George Bird Grinnell. Manuscript in Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln.

(H) Oehler, Gottlieb F., and Smith, David Z. 1914. *Moravian Church Miscellany of 1851–1852,* p. 19. Description of a journey and visit to the Pawnee Indians who live on the Platte River, tributary of the Missouri, 70 miles from its mouth, April 22–May 18, 1851. New York.

(H) Olson, James C. 1955. *History of Nebraska.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

(E) Parker, Arthur C. 1910. *Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants.* (New York State Museum Bull. 144). Albany.

(E) Parsons, Elsie Clews. 1929. "Ritual Parallels in Pueblo and Plains Cultures with special reference to the Pawnee," *American Anthropologist,* 31, No. 4, 642-654.

(H) Pike, Zebulon Montgomery. 1895. *The Expeditions of Zebulon Mont-*

• 113

gomery Pike, ed. Elliott Coues. Vol. II, pp. 533, 542. New York: F. P. Harper.

(H) Rich, Edson P. 1887. *Slavery in Nebraska* ("Transactions and Reports [Publications] of the Nebraska State Historical Society," Vol. II.) Lincoln.

(H) Roe, Frank G. 1951. *The North American Buffalo.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

(H) ——. 1955. *The Indian and the Horse.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

(H) Roosevelt, Theodore. 1955. *The Hunting and Exploring Adventures of Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. Donald Day. New York: Dail Press.

(H) Ross, Marvin C. 1951. *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller (1837)*, notes by M. C. Ross. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

(H) Sandoz, Mari. 1954. *The Buffalo Hunters.* New York: Hastings House.

(H) Secoy, Frank R. 1953. *Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains.* ("American Ethnological Society Monographs," No. XXI.) New York.

(A) Skinner, Morris F., and Kaisen, Ove C. 1947. *The Fossil Bison of Alaska and Preliminary Revision of the Genus.* (American Museum of Natural History Bull. 89, Article 3, pp. 127-256.) New York.

(E) Spindler, G. D. 1955. *Socio-cultural and Psychological Processes in Menomini Acculturation.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

(A) Smith, Carlyle S. 1949. "Fieldwork in Kansas, 1949," *Plains Archaeological Conference Newsletter*, II, No. 4, 5-6.

(A) ——. 1950. "European Trade Material from the Kansas Monument Site," *Plains Archaeological Conference Newsletter*, 3, No. 1, 2-9.

(A) Smith, E. C. 1950. *Prehistoric Plant Remains from Bat Cave.* ("Bontanical Museum Leaflets 14," No. 3, 157-180. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

(E) Spinden, Herbert J. 1906. See Will, George F.

(E) ——. 1916. See Wissler, Clark.

(A) Strong, William Duncan. 1935. An Introduction to Nebraska Archaeology. ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," 93, No. 10.) Washington, D.C.

(H) *Sunday World Herald of Omaha, Nebraska.* 1957. October 13. A man lost in the sandhills of western Nebraska for three days.

(E) Swanton, John R. 1942. *Source Material on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians.* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 132.) Washington, D.C.

(E) ——. 1946. *The Indians of the Southeastern United States.* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 137.) Washington, D.C.

(A) Thompson, J. Eric. 1956. *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization.* 3rd ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Pp. 171, 225.

(H) Thwaites, R. G. 1748-1846. *Early Western Travels.* Vol. 27, 209-210. Cleveland: A. H. Clark.

(H) Tibbles, Thomas Henry. 1957. *Buckskin and Blanket Days.* (Written in 1905 by Thomas Henry Tibbles.) Garden City: Doubleday and Company Inc.

(H) Tixier, Victor. See McDermott, John Francis, ed.

(H) Turner, Frederick J. 1891. *The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin* "A Study of the Trading Post as an Institution." ("Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science," ninth series, Nos. XI, XII.) Baltimore.

(A) Von Hagen, Victor W. 1958. *The Aztec,* "Man and Tribe." New York: Mentor Books.

(H) Walker, Edwin F. 1953. *World Crops Derived from the Indians.* ("The Southwest Museum Leaflets," No. 17.) Los Angeles.

(E) Wallace, Ernest, and Hoebel, E. A. 1952. *The Comanches.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

(H) Walster, Harlow Leslie. 1956. "George Francis Will 1884–1955, a Biography," *North Dakota History,* 23, No. 1, 4-25.

(A) Watson, Virginia. 1950. *The Optima Focus of the Panhandle Aspect,* "Description and Analysis." ("Bulletin of the Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society," No. 21.) Lubbock, Texas.

(A) Wedel, Waldo. 1936. *Introduction to Pawnee Archaeology.* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 112.) Washington, D.C.

(A) ———. 1938. *The Direct-Historical Approach in Pawnee Archaeology.* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," 97, No. 7.) Washington, D.C.

(A) ———. 1940. *Culture Sequence in the Central Great Plains.* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. 100, 291-352. Washington, D.C.

(A) ———. 1947. "Culture Chronology in the Central Great Plains," *American Antiquity,* XII, No. 3, Part 1, 148-156.

(A) ———. 1949. "Some Provisional Correlations in Missouri Basin Archaeology," *American Antiquity,* XIV, No. 4, Part 1, 328-340.

(A) ———. 1959. An Introduction to Kansas Archaeology. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 174.) Washington, D.C.

(A) Weltfish, Gene. 1930a. "Prehistoric North American Basketry Techniques and Modern Distributions," *American Anthropologist,* vol. 32, 435-495.

(E) ———. 1930b. "Coiled Gambling Baskets of the Pawnee and Other Plains Tribes." *Indian Notes,* VIII, No. 3, 277-295.

(A) ———. 1932. "Problems in the Study of Ancient and Modern Basket-Makers," *American Anthropologist,* XXXIV, 108-117.

(E) ———. 1936. "The Vision Story of Fox Boy, a South Pawnee Text with translation and grammatical analysis," *International Journal of American Linguistics,* IX, No. 1, 44-75.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

• 113 (E) ——. 1937. *Caddoan Texts, Pawnee, South Band Dialect.* ("Publications of the American Ethnological Society," XVII.) New York.

(T) ——. 1956. "The Perspective for Fundamental Research in Anthropology," *The Philosophy of Science*, 23, No. 1, 63-73.

(T) ——. 1958a. "The Linguistic Study of Material Culture," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, XXIV, No. 4, 301-311.

(T) ——. 1958b. "The Anthropologist and the Question of the Fifth Dimension," in *Culture in History* (*Radin Festschrift*), ed. Stanley Diamond. New York: Columbia University Press.

(T) ——. 1959. "The Question of Ethnic Identity, an Ethnohistorical Approach," *Ethnohistory*, 6, No. 4, 321-346.

(T) ——. 1960. "The Ethnic Dimension of Human History: Pattern or Patterns of Culture?" in *Selected Papers, Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, ed. Anthony F. C. Wallace. Philadelphia.

(E) ——, and Lesser, Alexander. 1932. *Composition of the Caddoan Linguistic Stock.* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. 87, No. 6.) Washington, D.C.

(A) Whitaker, Thomas W., Cutler Hugh C., and MacNeish, Richard S. 1957. Curcurbit Materials from Three Caves near Ocampo, Tamaulipas (northeast Mexico). *American Antiquity*, 22, No. 4, 357.

(A) Whorf, Benjamin L. 1929. "The Reign of Huemac." Translated from the Aztec Text of "The Annals of Quauhtitlan." *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 31, 668-670.

(E) Wilson, Gilbert L. 1917. *Agriculture of the Hidatsa Indians.* ("University of Minnesota Studies in the Social Sciences," No. 9.) Minneapolis.

(H) Will, George F. 1930. *Corn for the Northwest.* St. Paul: Webb Book Publishing Company.

(E) ——, and Hyde, George E. 1917. *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* ("Little Histories of North American Indians," No. 5.) St. Louis: William Harvey Miner.

(E) ——, and Spinden, Herbert J. 1906. *The Mandans.* ("Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University," Vol. 3, No. 4.) Cambridge.

(H) Williamson, John, and others. 1915. "Contemporary Report of Massacre by Sioux at Massacre Canyon (near Trenton, Neb.) in 1873," *Nebraska History Magazine*, XVI, No. 3.

(E) Wissler, Clark. 1917. Comparative Study of Pawnee and Blackfoot Rituals. XIX International Congress of Americanists of 1915. Washington, D.C.

(E) ——, 1914. "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 16, No. 1, 1-25.

(E, H) ——. 1936. *Population Changes among the Northern Plains Indians.*

("Yale University Publications in Anthropology," No. 1.) New Haven.

(E) ——, and Spinden, Herbert J. "The Pawnee Human Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *American Museum Journal*, XVI, No. 1. New York: American Museum of Natural History.

(A) Witthoft, John. 1953. "The American Indian as Hunter," *Pennsylvania Game News*, 24, Nos. 2, 3, 4.

(A) Wolf, Alvin W. 1950. "A Study of Lower Loup Pottery." Manuscript. University of Nebraska Laboratory of Anthropology.

(H) Yanovsky, Elias. 1936. *Food Plants of the North American Indians.* ("U. S. Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publications," No. 237.) Washington, D.C.

(T) Zweig, Stefan. 1942. *Amerigo.* Translated by Andrew St. James. New York: Viking Press.

[P. 492 is blank]

THE HAKO: A PAWNEE CEREMONY

By Alice C. Fletcher

PREFACE

In the early eighties of the last century, while pursuing my study 114
of the Omaha tribe, I several times witnessed the ceremony described
in the following pages. Owing to the death of the only man who knew 121
all the rituals, it became impossible to secure a complete record, but as the ceremony was an intertribal one I hoped to make good the loss in some other tribe. From statements made by the Omahas, the Ponkas, and the Dakotas I was led to believe that among the Pawnees this ceremony could be found still, preserved in its entirety. I need not recount the failure of efforts made during some fifteen years to gain the desired information, since at last, in 1898, I found the long-sought opportunity. After four years of work, I am able to present the entire ceremony, as observed in the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

The difficulty of obtaining accurate first-hand information in 123
regard to religious rites and beliefs is so well known that it seems proper to state briefly how I came by my opportunities. An extended and intimate acquaintance in one tribe opens the way in another. The warm friendship of old and leading men of the Omahas became my credentials to other tribes where these leaders were influential; and with the further assistance of Mr Francis LaFlesche, the son of the former head chief of the Omahas, I was able to establish relations of confidence with some of the old and prominent men of the Pawnees.

My experience has shown that no linguistic training will enable a 124
student by himself to accomplish successfully the difficult task of recording and interpreting the rituals of a religious ceremony. He must have a native collaborator, one with a good knowledge of English and well versed in the intricacies of his own tongue, able to explain its "sacred language" and possessing those gifts of mind and character which fit him not only to grasp the ideals of his race but to commend himself to the keepers of the ancient rites. Such a collaborator makes a clear vision of the native mind possible to a student of another race.

PREFACE

Acculturation, though a recent term which has yet to establish itself in dictionary usage, is a useful term for the processes by which aspects or elements of two cultures mingle and merge. Within this broad meaning, however, we should distinguish assimilation as of a separate character. Acculturation may be taken to refer to the ways in which some cultural aspect is taken into a culture and adjusted or fitted to it. This implies some relative cultural equality between the giving and receiving cultures. Assimilation, however, is the process of transforming aspects of a conquered or engulfed culture into a status of relative adjustment to the forms of the ruling culture. The problem of acculturation, when we are considering the American Indians in relation to their adjustment to European culture, is a problem of assimilation. 121

Assimilation and acculturation differ in another important way. In acculturation the cultural groups involved are in an essentially reciprocal relationship. Both give and take. As a result it is a valid problem to consider what is adopted and what not, and the whys and wherefores. In assimilation the tendency is for the ruling cultural group to enforce the adoption of certain externals, in terms of which superficial adjustment seems to be attained. The adopting culture is not in a position to choose. Its forms are often technically so inferior, particularly in material culture, that they tend to be obliterated at once by the technical products of the culture which engulfs them. In addition the ruled are generally ordered to do so and so, and to stop doing so and so. In this situation the only possible reactions are passive acceptance or active resistance and rejection. The study of assimilation of the American Indian must take into consideration the fact that American Indian culture has not met a culture of the same order of complexity or technical advancement, and that in the methods which have been used to assimilate the Indian, neither individually nor collectively as tribal groups were the natives brought into direct contact with our culture as such. They were offered, here and there, certain obvious externals. These externals are relatively superficial in relation to the values and standards of our culture, and could not replace the essential values of American Indian culture which were meanwhile destroyed.

In 1930 and 1931, while engaged in the study of Pawnee and Wichita ethnology in Oklahoma, I found it necessary to control 114
121

114 the recent changes in religion and ritual. In doing so, the story of
121 the renaissance of culture which took place among the Pawnee
under the stimulus of the Ghost Dance was pieced together. In
presenting this material I have described the developments against
the background of Pawnee history since white contact. This serves
121 to bring to light the motivations and influences which were stimul-
ants of change. And in reference to the new forms which developed
I have concentrated on the Ghost Dance hand games, the most
important in terms of the emphasis made by the Pawnee themselves.
The controlled consideration of the games in their changing forms
has made it possible to consider the meaning of processes of change,
and the inevitability of founding ethnological methodology on a
metaphysic of history.

122 The field work among the Pawnee, of which this study is a
specialized part, was carried out under a project supported by the
Columbia Council for Research in the Social Sciences. This manu-
script was in part prepared while I was Fellow of the American
Council of Learned Societies. In addition to published material,
000 I have had the use of unpublished materials of James R. Murie, in
the form of a manuscript by George A. Dorsey and James R. Murie,
which was made available to me through the courtesy of Dr. Dorsey
and Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum of Natural History;
and I was also able to refer to a Bureau of Ethnology manuscript
on the Ceremonies of the Pawnee, by James R. Murie, which was
at the time being linguistically revised by Dr. Gene Weltfish. The
use of these materials proved invaluable, not only for the work
which has resulted in the present study, but also for the consider-
ation of Pawnee religion which I hope to present in another year.

I cannot close these remarks without acknowledging my indebtedness to Professors Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict of Columbia University, who gave me the opportunity to make the field studies on which this work is based. I am also obligated to many Pawnee friends, and particularly to my chief informant, Mark Everts, a rare mind and a hearty friend, and Henry Chapman, whose help was important in this and other work. My wife, Dr. Gene Weltfish, has cooperated with me in countless ways. But most of all, I must express my intellectual obligations to Professors Franz Boas and John Dewey. For many years I have believed their conceptions of method to be basically in harmony, and in my own thought and work I have leaned heavily on their teachings.

October, 1932. Alexander Lesser.

*175 The first period of Nineteenth Century Pawnee relations with
*648 the white man and the United States government begins with the
first contacts following the Louisiana purchase and ends with the
*175 treaty of 1833. The population of the tribe during this time is
*648 open to dispute, as no accurate figures are available. In 1804,
Lewis and Clarke estimated the tribe at 4,000, but they were un-
161 acquainted with the Pitahawirat^{a}. According to these explorers
● 114 the tribe had suffered terribly from a smallpox epidemic the previous
[731] year which had greatly reduced their numbers. Pike in 1806 gave
a count of 6,223 for the same three bands. Major S. H. Long, who
visited the tribe on his travels in 1819, estimated their number at
6,500, still without knowing the Pitahawirat^{a}. The first government
figure appeared in 1834, just after the treaty of 1833 brought an
agent, Dougherty, in contact with the tribe. He numbered the
Pawnee at 12,500. This figure was carried on the government
records for years, occasionally displaced by the estimate of the

113 United States. Indian Affairs Office. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington, 1824 to date. The series has been consulted throughout its entire run. Details of importance on the Pawnee begin with the report of 1837. Referred to in footnotes as Annual Reports.

Kappler, C. J. (Compiler). Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties. 2 volumes. Washington, 1903. 57 Congress, First Session. Document 452.

Royce, C. C. Indian Land Cessions in the United States. 18th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology.

I have also consulted:

Dunbar, J. The Pawnee Indians. Magazine of American History. 4: 241—281; 5: 321—385; 8: 734—756.

Grinnell, G. B. Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales.

Irving, J. T. Indian Sketches Taken during a U. S. expedition to make treaties with the Pawnee and other tribes of Indians in 1833. 1838, reprinted 1888.

Murray, C. A. Travels in North America, including a summer residence with the Pawnee tribe of Indians in the remote prairies of the Missouri. 2 volumes. 3rd. revised edition, London, 1854.

Oehler, G. F. and Smith, D. Z. Description of a Journey and visit to the Pawnee Indians. April 22-May 18, 1851. Reprinted from Moravian Church Miscellany of 1851—1852.

Tuttle, Sarah. History of the American Mission to the Pawnee Indians. Boston, 1838.

Williamson, J. W. The Battle of Massacre Canyon. The unfortunate ending of the last buffalo hunt of the Pawnees. Republican Leader, Trenton, Nebraska, 1922.

Where differences on dates and other important data have been encountered, the account presented has taken the information in the reports, year by year, as the final arbiter. All basic concrete data and interpretations are essentially restatements of source material; it has seemed unnecessary to introduce minute footnotes. Interpolated interpretations of the writer are few and obvious.

missionaries, Dunbar and Allis, who were first with the tribe from 175*
1835 to 1837, and considered the government estimate too high, 648*
offering 10,000 as approximating the true population more closely. 161
The discrepancies between these various figures are not severe. That 114
of Lewis and Clarke, in spite of the decimation of the Pawnee the
previous year, is probably too low, and may not have been intended
to include all villages of all four bands. The computations of Pike
and Long, based upon three of the four bands, indicates a total of
close to 9,000 for the whole tribe. This last figure represents the
approximate "normal" figure for the Pawnee tribes during the
first period of the Nineteenth Century. There were without doubt
major fluctuations in the numbers of the Pawnee during this
period, and the trend of the tribal population was to diminish
rather than increase. One general consideration, however, can 175*
hardly be open to question. At the opening of the Nineteenth 648*
century, the Pawnee bands together constituted one of the five or
six large Indian tribal groups between the Mississippi River and the 161
Rocky Mountains. They maintained themselves in spite of the 619
hostility of practically every tribe in the region. In their aboriginal
state their trade must have been severely limited by tribal feud. 101
It is unlikely that they had economic dealings of any importance
with tribes other than the Arikara, Mandan and Wichita. All the
major indigenous peoples around them were continually in a state
of conflict with them: the many groups of the Dakota Sioux on the
north and northwest, the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho
to the southwest, the Osage and Kansa to the south and southeast.
Immediately to their east were the Omaha, Ponca and Oto, with
whom a state of partial amity prevailed, born of the fear they had
inspired in these tribes. Later in the century the Pawnee became
close friends of the Omaha and Ponca. The Oto, given opportunity
as the Pawnee declined, assaulted small parties of Pawnee on
occasion, but later became friends of the Pawnee.

In the period which closed with the treaty of 1833 changes were 175*
taking place in the basic conditions of life of the Pawnee which 648*
were only to appear in their fullest effect in later periods. A tide
of white emigration and transcontinental travel began to appear,
moving westward, and swelling with the years. These emigrants
brought white diseases into the midst of the Indian tribes, trampled
their fields, hunted the buffalo for sustenance and pleasure, and
keeping the herds of the plains in constant fear, limited the natural
range and increase of the buffalo. 175*

The diseases which the Pawnee acquired from white contact 648*
included, besides infantile diseases, venereal diseases, small-pox and 164
177

life of Plains tribes was considered wild and barbaric by a people 175*
whose culture for centuries had been grounded on an agricultural
economy. To tame and civilize the savage it was necessary to 648*
make them an agricultural people; and this was the more essential in that an agricultural economy would locate the tribes permanently in restricted areas and release wide reaches of land for the uses of the white man.

The Pawnee do not seem to have been in agreement about the removal. While the provisions of the treaty made the lands south of the Platte River ceded by the Pawnee a common hunting ground, still open to them, it confined their villages and farm lands to the north side of the river. Prior to this time the three bands of [619]
Tcawi, Kitkahaxki^{x} and Pitahawirat^{a} had maintained their permanent village settlements south of the Platte, while only the Skiri band resided on the north. The Kitkahaxki^{x} and Pitahawirat^{a} accepted the terms of the treaty and removed, as well as some of the Tcawi, but most of the Tcawi refused to leave their homes on the south side of the river. This main Tcawi village was below the Platte some miles west of the Bellevue settlement on the Missouri River. It was to this group that the other bands removed in 1846.

The exact year of final removal is not certain. In 1839 the bands asked aid in locating their permanent settlements on the north side, inasmuch as the land was to be cultivated according to white methods of farming, and must be suitable for such purposes. By [166]
1841 all the Pawnee who accepted the treaty provision had removed. One large village was built together by the Pitahawirat^{a}, Kitkahaxki^{x}, and those Tcawi who removed. The Skiri are not mentioned as building a new village from which we may infer that they probably continued at their old location.

In the midst of the difficulties attending the removal, the Pawnee 175*
were afflicted again by the smallpox. An epidemic broke out in 731
1838 and did not subside until a year and a half later. It is said to 165
have been communicated to the Pawnee by some Dakota women captured by them in the spring of 1838. Great numbers of children perished in the epidemic, while the mortality rate among the adults was perceptibly lower. Nevertheless the total deaths must have considerably exceeded five hundred in the period of the

---

[1] Dunbar, in Magazine of American History, 4:257, places the Kitkahaxki^{x} 18 miles northwest of the mouth of the Loup River on the north [13]
side of the Loup, and the Pitahawirat^{a} 11 miles above the mouth on the 114]
same side, as early as 1834. I have not found evidence to validate the location of these bands north of the Platte at this early date.

668 seen them dancing in a circle.[1] Nothing authentic and substantiated
177 reached the tribe, however, until the fall of 1891[2] when Frank White came home to the Pawnee after his stay with the Wichita.

The Pawnee tell of White's learning the Ghost Dance among the southern tribes in the following way:

"One time Frank White went over to the Comanche, who were
668 dancing the Ghost Dance. He went inside and sat down on the
177 north side. He ate peyote, a great deal, until he was nearly over-
796 come. He bent his head and covered his eyes. He was a good-looking man who used to wear decorative red twine over his brow.
[276 The Comanche did not know him, and the next morning they asked him who he was, and he said he was a Pawnee. Then he left them
301] and went to the Wichita. He ate peyote there, and watched them dance the Ghost Dance and learned it. Then he came home and brought it to the South Bands. He told them what he had learned."

The period during which Frank White studied the Ghost Dance
668 among the Comanche and the Wichita was in the year following
177 the great Ghost Dance of the fall of 1890, led by Sitting-Bull. The forms of leadership and organization he learned were those preached by Sitting-Bull, and initiated by him personally among the Caddo and Wichita.

Murie has spoken of White's experiences in the south. "Frank White . . . joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream,
[787] the tree, the Messiah and then the village of people.[3] He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in
[533 Pawnee. The first song was as follows[4]:
539]

we	*rihi*	*irasi·ra*
now	place where	yonder you come

wetikuwatu	*rawahe*
now I long for	the {village region

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 630—632 recounts a long narrative of the story which was supposed to have reached the Pawnee in 1890.

[114] [2] Murie, Societies, p. 633, says "in the fall of 1892." This is a misprint or a slip on Murie's part. In the account which follows Murie describes events of a winter and summer which intervene between White's return to the Pawnee and his arrest; White was arrested in 1892. Furthermore, we can date the time White left the Wichita by the fact that he left before the Arapaho delegation arrived in the fall of 1891 with the message from Wovoka, which, in spite of the objections of Sitting-Bull, necessitated a change in the form of the Ghost Dancing.

[3] Murie is doubtless referring here to the narrative of Wovoka's vision as known to the Pawnee which he gives, pp. 630—632.

[4] The form I quote here is a retranscription and retranslation of Murie's printed version, written by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

development of visions in which hand games and many similar 796
sanctions were bestowed took place among the Pawnee. Carrion 668
claims to have brought the inspiration for the hand game ceremonies 787
from the Arapaho. With the liberation of the Pawnee Ghost Dance 177
hand games began a rapid development (see part II).

While Carrion and others contend, as is usual in such cases among American Indian groups, that this difference of doctrine between White and the Arapaho indicated a conscious deception on the part of White, it is clear that no explanation of this kind need be invoked. Actually White's doctrine is much closer to generic Pawnee ideology, according to which the independent free vision of the individual is subordinated to a process of learning from one who knows a ritual, ceremony or performance. That is to say, in the older ancient Pawnee activities, the accepted method of obtaining participation was to receive the right or sanction to do so from those who were in charge of that activity, rather than directly from supernatural powers. In contrast to this, Carrion's doctrine looks a great deal like Plains patterns in general, which would be correct for Arapaho Ghost Dancing. It should be remembered in this connection, first, that White did not learn from Arapaho or other Plains tribes directly, but indirectly through the Wichita, whose ideas on these fundamental points are very close to Pawnee ideas, and second, that Carrion was not a Pawnee, although he lived most of his life among them and spoke a fluent Pawnee.

In a general way, also, the pattern of immediately telling the 668
vision to the leaders and securing their interpretation, is a non-
Pawnee pattern. In older forms, among both Wichita and Pawnee, 177
visions were kept a secret for long, and only in the course of one's
life because of one's behavior did the general public of the tribe 114
become aware that one had supernatural experience. In the Ghost Dance doctrine, the visions had to be told at once to show appreciation for receiving them, and one who didn't tell was not supposed to live long thereafter.

It is not possible to date accurately the time of the reorganization of the Pawnee Ghost Dance to accord with the regular four-day dance forms of the southern tribes. I believe Murie has dated it far too late. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri, which initiated the freeing of the Skiri Ghost Dancing from White's control, took place before White's death in 1893. The first forms of Skiri dancing followed White's forms. On his visit to the Arapaho Carrion had observed both Ghost Dances and hand games as four-day ceremonies. Whether this was responsible for a correction

668 of Pawnee forms, or whether the Wichita taught the Pawnee
177 directly, the four-day ceremony was the formal Ghost Dance
114 among the Pawnee by 1895.

This regular Ghost Dance of the Pawnee was arranged to last
four days. It began the evening of one day, or the late afternoon.
668 Among the South Bands, all arose early in the morning, and faced
184 the sun for a brief period, (during which the smoke offering would
796 be made if the dance was to begin that day); but they did not dance.
Then in the afternoon the people danced from three to midnight.
786 The Skiri say that in their band there was a brief period of dancing
each morning, as well as a longer period of dancing through the
afternoon and evening. Both bands continued the fourth night until
the dawn of the fifth day, bathed and dispersed.

As each song was sung, the circle of dancers, holding hands, moved clockwise through one complete circuit, returning to the original starting point. This is determined by the main singer's position: he begins at the west and finishes at the west (except for the first afternoon song, as above). During the dancing period of the day, the dancers could carry out as many songs as they wished; there was no special number. The singing was initiated and led by the seven crow-feathered singers, and the others joined in. While the dancing went on, some "hypnotizers" would dance inside the circle directly in front of individuals they wished to throw into a trance, using feathers or other objects to focus and fix the eyesight of the subject, thus transfixing them. Usually the subject fell when he or she was touched with the object used. When individuals fell into a trance, they were laid down and the others continued to dance.

668 In these trances, the visionaries followed a general pattern. In
one way or another the subject was guided to the other world,
787 where all the deceased Pawnee were living together in the old way.
796 There some special phase of the life would imprint itself upon the
subject's mind, the playing of games, the hunting of buffalo, war
societies and dances, and the like. When the subject awoke, such
aspects of the trance vision, along with the bird or messenger who
had guided the individual to the beyond, would become the subjects of songs, costuming, and paraphernalia.

The closing song was carried out in a special way. It is the
668 special closing song of all Ghost Dances. As sung to conclude the
796 occasion, it is repeated six times as follows:

1. The leader remains stationary at the west facing east, and
533 leads the singing of the song once: all the dancers keep their places.

2. The leader dances from west to north, singing the song, and

668 that a suggestion of the Wichita was in part responsible for Mrs.
796 Washington's determination to organize the Ghost-Dancing with
533 regular singers while the Wichita were present.

Frank White died in 1893, and he is known to have been alive at the time Mrs. Washington inaugurated these developments, which places the time of the first Seven Eagle Brothers as sometime in late 1892 or early 1893.

As one informant describes Mrs. Washington's activities: "When
668 they used to dance among the South Bands, all would go there,
792 and while the dancing went on, old Mrs. Washington fell in a trance.
796 She found out something about the Seven Brothers, but not
everything right away. Afterwards, every time she fell she would
787 see something about the Seven Brothers.[1] The spirit told her to go ahead and put up the Seven Brothers. She used to have her own cattle. Once when they came home from the dancing, she was told that when she got home she should put up the Seven Brothers at a dance. So she killed her own beef, and put up the dance, and they told her how to go, everything, the smoke and all."

Mrs. Washington put up a special feast. She asked the chiefs and these seven men to be present, as well as others. Each of the seven sat on the south side with the eagle feather given him by Knifechief stuck into the ground before him. Along the north side were congregated the "crow" people, including those who played as "crows" in the hand games, as well as the men who later were organized into the Seven Crows; while along the south side the "eagle" people sat. As yet, however, there was no "crow" organization: the "crows" were merely an amorphous group who played the hand game together, and who had this affiliation because of Ghost Dance experiences.

Mrs. Washington stood at the doorway of the tipi. Up to this time she had been learning. Now she spoke. "Now, I want to tell you what I have in mind. We are going to have a Ghost Dance. A spirit told me to do it. I am going to do it today. These Seven Brothers are going to take the lead for us, and we're going to call them Fathers. Now I want you chiefs to decide when we should begin the dance."

Then the chiefs talked together and decided and one announced,
527 "Let us move the camp and all come together on the third day."
574 This inaugural feast was not a ceremonial affair. After the decision of the chiefs was announced all those present partook of the feast provided by Mrs. Washington; this concluded the occasion

---

[1] This "serial story" form of learning in visions is the sort of thing about Mrs. Washington's claims that Carrion resented; see above.

[114]

796 A song recorded by Effie Blane[1] reports a vision of a boy crying
533 for his mother, and asking from the depths of his sorrow, if his
539 mother is really to return to him:

piraski rawakakawitiku
boy crying sits down
piraski rawakakawitiku
atira kawe rą́ą·hu[2] *atira kawe rą́ą·hu*
mother is she coming now, mother is she coming now?
tiratpą́ri tiratpą́ri
here I roam here I roam.

A little boy is sitting crying,
A little boy is sitting crying,
"Is mother coming now?
Is mother coming now?
Here I wander about, here I wander about."

Two songs recorded by Effie Blane[3] refer to the Crow as the messenger from the beyond. One, without Pawnee text, is given in free translation by Densmore as:

"The crow, we see his likeness moving inside the circle of dancers."

The other song is given in full:

ka·ka ti̦wa·ku ka·ka ti̦wa·ku
Crow he says crow he says,
wétatù·ta (tù) tátù·ta
now I do I do
atira u̦rira·a atira u̦rira·a
Mother whence she comes Mother whence she comes
(Moon) (Moon)

The crow is calling, the crow is calling,
"Now I am active, I am active
In the place whence Mother Moon comes, in the
place whence Mother Moon comes."

---

song.' It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game." (p. 91). The song would not be sung to hand game play, but in the Ghost Dance intervals.

[114]

[1] Densmore, p. 76, no. 47. The explanation which precedes this song in Densmore's account is misconceived, and may refer to another song; a piraski is a boy up to the age of puberty.

[2] This is not the interrogative used in ordinary speech or in text material. I am thus unable to control the form of the question grammatically, but since the substance of the song calls for an interrogative I leave it as it stands and have translated it in that way. The complex we rą́ą·hu would be the declarative form, "now she is coming." G. Weltfish.

[3] Densmore, nos. 50, 51; pp. 79—80.

of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost 668
Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult 787
to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the 178
way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed 182
in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or ceremony was no longer officially in existence: those who had known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine 796
men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear 756
Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this 179
century, it was the revived form, which was studied and recorded.
The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirat[2], the main 764
bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were 796
buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any 756
one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society was lost. At a 787
meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a 178
woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said, "I had

---

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. 114
Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based on work with present-day informants.

The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation: in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

VI.

THE OLD PAWNEE HAND GAME[1]

When the Pawnee lived in Nebraska, and for some time after they removed to Oklahoma, the hand game kept its traditional place in Pawnee life as a gambling game. It was a game for men only, and primarily an adults' game; the women did not participate and were not supposed to come near where the men were playing. The game was conceived as a warpath, and so dramatized: and warpaths for the Pawnee were activities excluding the participation of women. The men's game was usually a contest between two Pawnee bands, in which one would visit the other for the express purpose of playing a hand game and gambling on the result. Small boys, in imitation of their elders, would play hand games and gamble. And in the same way that one Pawnee band visited another to challenge them to play the hand game, men of one Pawnee band would visit a tribe with whom they were on friendly terms for a hand-game contest. For the most part, it was a game for the younger men; maturer men, like chiefs and braves, usually did not gamble. 525 [562] [574] [885]

The three old types of play will be more lucid from short narratives[2]:

THE BOYS' HAND GAME

When small boys played a hand game, it came about as part of their play around the village. Some group of boys would decide to play the way their elders did, and as many or as few as there were, 525 857

---

[1] The old Pawnee gambling hand game has not heretofore been described. Culin, in his monographic treatment of Games of the North American Indians, quotes, p. 276, on Pawnee a passage from G. B. Grinnell, Story of the Indian, p. 27. The description of the method of play in the passage differs fundamentally from that herein reported. Examination shows that the quoted passage is a generalized description by Grinnell of the hand game among Indian tribes of the Plains. No reference suggests that he intended it as a description of play among the Pawnee. Culin was no doubt misled by the fact that, following the passage quoted, Grinnell tells the story of a game between Pawnee and Cheyenne scouts in the army, in which a Cheyenne was caught cheating; but in recounting this episode Grinnell does not describe the form of play. Grinnell was familiar with the game among more than eight tribes, and was probably not overconcerned in a popular treatment with the local tribal variations in play. [114]

[2] As told by Mark Evarts; somewhat edited.

FOREWORD

The previous studies of Indian music [1] have included no tribe in which ceremonialism is so highly developed as among the Pawnee, whose songs are here presented. This research was conducted among members of the Skidi and Chaui Bands near Pawnee, Okla., in 1919 and 1920. Portions of two important ceremonies were witnessed and several gatherings of a ceremonial character were attended during the progress of the work. The ceremonies were those of the Morning Star and the Painting of the Buffalo Skull, the writer being admitted to the Morning Star lodge during the former ceremony and witnessing the Buffalo and Lance dances, which are a part of the latter. The gatherings included hand games, and dances in honor of Pawnee soldiers upon their return from the recent war. 121 [114]

Grateful acknowledgment is made of assistance rendered by interpreters, especially by Mr. James R. Murie, chief of the Skidi Band, who explained many tribal customs and who wrote down and interpreted the words of the songs. The writer also acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. John R. Swanton in standardizing the orthography of the Pawnee words. 115

---

[1] Chippewa Music, Bull. 45; Chippewa Music II, Bull. 53; Teton Sioux Music, Bull. 61; Northern Ute Music, Bull. 75; Mandan and Hidatsa Music, Bull. 80; Papago Music, Bull. 90, Bur. Amer. Ethn.; and Music of the Tule Indians of Panama, Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 77, no. 11.

[p. iv is blank]

[p. v]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PAWNEE MUSIC

By Frances Densmore

THE PAWNEE TRIBE

The Pawnee is commonly regarded as the last of the Caddoan 101
Tribes which migrated in a general northeasterly direction at an
early date.[1] When the Siouan Tribes entered the valley of the
Platte River in Nebraska they found the Pawnee already established
in that region. The Pawnee called themselves by a term meaning
"men of men." Their present name was probably given by some
neighboring tribe and derived from *pariki*, meaning a horn, as it
was the Pawnee custom to shave the head except a narrow strip [302]
extending from the forehead to the scalplock and to stiffen this
ridge of hair with grease and paint, curving it upward like a horn.

While in Nebraska the Pawnee lived in earth lodges which were 361
in four permanent groups of villages, each having its geographical
location along the Platte River. The people of each group were a [342]
unit, representing a division of the tribe. The Skidi (Wolf Pawnee) 101
was in the northwest, its people considering themselves related to 619
the Arikara, another Caddoan Tribe living some distance to the
north. The Pitahauerat (Tapage Pawnee) were downstream, the
Kithahki (Republican Pawnee) were upstream, and the Chaui
(Grand Pawnee) were located between the two last named. The 134
soil of the region was dry and rather sandy with rough, broken land 241
toward the mountains in the west, yet the Pawnee were essentially
an agricultural people, cultivating corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins.
Buffalo and other game was abundant in the early days, and the Pawnee 136
were excellent hunters, their hunting expeditions covering a wide 224
area.

The first treaty between the Government of the United States and 648
the Pawnee Indians was made at St. Louis Trading Post in June, 1818.[2]

---

[1] In the classification of the North American races by John W. Powell the Pawnee is classified as one of [114]
the five independent groups of the Caddoan stock. Miss Alice C. Fletcher regards the Pawnee as a confederacy, the divisions or bands of the tribe being treated by her as separate tribes in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p 213. Cf. also Linton, Ralph, The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee, The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee, and Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men, compiled chiefly from unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, published as leaflets Nos. 5, 6, and 8, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-23.

[2] Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kappler, ed., vol. ii, pp. 156-159, Washington, 1904.

INTRODUCTION.

The following discussion of Pawnee societies was prepared by James R. Murie, a member of the Skidi division, under the direction of the editor who is in the main responsible for its form and limitations. Mr. Murie's method was to collect and write out in full such information on the several topics as could be secured. These notes were then made the subject of several conferences with the editor during which the present manuscript was prepared. It being thus essentially an original contribution, the editor has not considered it necessary to add comments on the previous literature. The important titles on the Pawnee are the three articles by John B. Dunbar in the *Magazine of American History* for 1880–81; *Pawnee Hero Stories* (1893) by George Bird Grinnell; *The Hako* (1894) by Miss Alice C. Fletcher; and two volumes of myths by George A. Dorsey; *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* (1904) and *The Pawnee Mythology* (1906). In all of these except the two first, Mr. Murie was a collaborator. 114 121

While this paper is primarily concerned with societies as treated in the preceding pages, a general outline of the tribal ceremonial scheme is given for perspective, there being no publication to date that treats this subject systematically. This will probably be sufficient to give a general idea of the place and significance of Pawnee societies as parts of their culture complex. 128

The drawings are by Mr. S. Ichikawa from specimens and sketches furnished by the author.

The Editor.

September, 1914.

[p. 544 is blank]

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

signals for the members to dance. All the songs are those of the founder 575
and so entirely unlike those of others. In the last four songs there is great 796
excitement.

The food offering with bowl and spoon is as before stated. The regalia are here the same as before.[1]

General Discussion. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Omaha hethu'- 114
shka certain statements as to origin are made which are inconsistent with 174
the writer's data. In the first place, the Pawnee have always said that the Omaha originally got their society from them, they having been guests at several iruska performances, adopted such of it as they comprehended and later elaborated the procedure into the present form, though some features are certainly Osage contributions. The Dakota first learned the dance from the Omaha, as they state (p. 48), but testify to its Pawnee origin. About fifty years ago Pawnee-Tom visited the Arikara and assisted Enemy-heart to inaugurate the ceremony. Later, Enemy-heart sold the dance to the Crow Indians and then to other tribes. The writer has studied the songs of the dance and finds that everywhere many of them are undoubtedly those of the Pawnee iruska and what is more to the point, bear the general characteristics of all Pawnee songs. The Dakota and Omaha, however, have many original songs of their own, some of which the Pawnee have borrowed. In general, from the data at hand, the writer considers it clear that the origin of the modern form of this dance lies between the Omaha and the Osage, but that it was derived from an older ceremony which the Omaha, and possibly the Osage, borrowed of the Pawnee.

It should be noted that in the Skidi iruska dog flesh is served. Four men 262
wearing the feather belts scout for and capture the kettle. Then they take 796
sticks and take out the dog's head for a leading man to count coup on. A kettle of corn is then brought in and handled in the same manner, except

---

[1] Author's note. While in a trance he saw the dead people dancing the iruska dance [787]
but in a different way from that of the old iruska dance. There were six drummers. The [786]
drum was painted black, the stick had coverings at the ends. There were six stations about the room, three on the north side and three on the south side. The station men had a forked stick stuck in the ground in front of them. There were feathers at the end of each fork and the sticks were wrapped with beads. The northeast stick was covered with black beads; the north stick with light blue beads; the northwest stick with dark blue beads; the southwest stick with yellow beads; the south stick, red; the southeast stick, white. Also he found out or was told there were that many minor gods in the heavens. When these station men get up to dance, all have to rise and dance. There are five sets of songs, ten songs in each set. The tunes are nearly the same as for the old iruska songs. The last ten are ghost dance songs. The last songs are exciting, and the dancers are given to excitement and tremble, falling down as in the ghost dance. The closing speech after the feast differs from the older form. It is as follows: Father is thankful for eating our smoke; father, his child, and the gods are thankful for eating our smoke; sun and moon are both made thankful for eating our smoke; our mother earth is thankful for eating our smoke; our dead relations are thankful for eating our smoke; now we have all smoked and eaten. After this speech, everyone leaves the lodge.

NOTES ON SKIDI PAWNEE SOCIETY

I. INTRODUCTION

From 1903 to 1907, George A. Dorsey, then Curator of Anthropology 122 at Field Museum, received a series of grants from the Carnegie Institution of Washington for ethnological field work among the Caddoan tribes. Much of the investigation was carried on among the Pawnee, during which time James R. Murie was associated with Dorsey. The interest which Murie, himself a Pawnee, took in recording the culture of his people, and his perseverance in collecting the fast-vanishing ethnographic data relating to his tribe, are deserving of special mention. On the basis of the 128 information gathered in the field, Murie and Dorsey commenced 114 the preparation of a monograph entitled "Society and Religion of the Skidi Pawnee," though unfortunately the manuscript was never completed. Murie's later report on Pawnee societies (Murie, 1914) duplicated certain parts of the unfinished memoir, while other details were incorporated in four articles by Ralph Linton on various aspects of Pawnee ceremony and religion (Linton, 1922a, b; 1923a, b). The section of the manuscript dealing with society was very briefly summarized by Dorsey (Dorsey, 1907b) but until now it has not otherwise appeared in print. During the course of its preparation for publication, I found it necessary to make considerable literary revision, but the facts have not been changed. The orthography of the Pawnee words is the same as that used in the manuscript. Editorial comments on various points in the text appear in brackets.

The last decade has seen a revival of interest in the Pawnee. 114 Recent anthropological work has more fully elucidated the history of the tribe, and our perspective has been correspondingly deepened and enriched. However, there remains a lack of published ethnographic data on the Pawnee which seriously handicaps comparison with other Plains tribes and retards the definition of problems relating to Plains Indian social organization. On a purely descriptive level, the present notes are a step toward filling out the incomplete picture. They deal briefly with social groupings such as the band, village, and family; with kinship; the major crimes and their punishment; class distinctions; and the individual life cycle, which is accorded a fuller treatment than the other sections. John B. Dunbar (1880a, b), Fletcher (1899), and Lesser (1930, 1933) have discussed some of these aspects of social organization, but the

[p. 72 is blank]

●114 material included here is valuable as corroborative or as contrasting data that have been gathered independently.

As a study of social organization the present notes are suggestive rather than fully definitive, and point to the need of a more penetrating analysis of the complexities of Pawnee society. Increasing attention is being accorded today to the dynamic aspects of culture in the general Plains area, with a greater focusing of attention on the Woodland affiliations of the Plains tribes, the character of the pre-horse culture, the changes that took place with the introduction of nomadic, bison-hunting life, and the formation of new types of social structures adapted to the environmental conditions of the Plains. Although the Caddoan connections of the Pawnee are well known, a more comprehensive ethnographic knowledge concerning the tribe would do much to establish more definitely its cultural position and early historical relations. Further, as a semi-sedentary people with what Kroeber has called a "horse-bison culture overlay," the Pawnee form a type of group on which more data are desirable, both from the standpoint of examining the effect of the introduction of the horse among the Pawnee proper, and for purposes of comparison with other village tribes and with the more typical Plains groups. Specifically, this report indicates the following aspects of Pawnee social organization as being in need of further clarification: the political and ceremonial basis of the federation of Skidi villages; the economic functions of social groupings such as the band, village, and family, particularly with reference to the sedentary and buffalo-hunting phases of Pawnee life; the system of land tenure; the intricacies of the ceremonial organization; rank and status; and the kinship system and its relation to descent, inheritance, and succession. Fortunately, much of the necessary data has been collected, though they remain in unpublished form.

000 I am indebted to Mr. Clifford C. Gregg, Director of Field Museum, for his sympathetic aid. Also I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Paul S. Martin, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, for his assistance and encouragement and to Dr. Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for his helpful advice during the preparation of the manuscript for publication.

ALEXANDER SPOEHR

61 mission to have young Murie take his place in the ceremonial circuit in the lodge with the understanding that he be made chief on the death of Skidi-Good-Chief, thus continuing the Pumpkin-Vine village in the circuit.

621 582 591 428 778 A marriage outside the village occurred about sixty years ago [sixty years prior to 1907], and, as the result bears directly on the question of descent, the facts are worth quoting. A man of the Pumpkin-Vine village, having obtained the consent of his uncles, married a young woman of the Morning-Star village. He lived with his wife in the Morning-Star village for several years, during which time he made sacrifices to the Morning-Star bundle and learned its ceremony. Then he returned to his own village and took his children with him, the children being considered members of the Pumpkin-Vine village. But while living in the Morning-Star village he was considered to have obtained certain rights in that bundle, and he demanded recognition of these rights. On his return to his own village, the Morning-Star bundle was divided, and he carried part of it to the Pumpkin-Vine village. Thus, there exist today two Morning-Star bundles. The ultimate fate of his half of the Morning-Star bundle is interesting. His children all died except one daughter, who married Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village [Wolves-Standing-in-Water village?], who claims ownership in the bundle today. She came by it in this manner: On the death of the husband—that is, the member of the Pumpkin-Vine village—his widow lived with her daughter's husband; she, as keeper of this Morning-Star bundle, ultimately turned it over to her daughter, whose husband, Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village, learned its ceremony and sacrificed scalps to it and so claimed it. Thus it happens today that the priests of Coyote-in-Water village and the Pumpkin-Vine village have a right to be present when either of the Morning-Star bundles is opened.

611 421 778 114 [This statement that descent in the village group followed the paternal line is in direct contradiction to a later one by Murie. In his report on Pawnee societies (1914), Murie wrote: "... if a man married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village." The contradiction may be due to confusing the inheritance of sacred bundles, which generally followed the paternal line, and descent in a village group, which may well have been maternal. Also, in cases where the inheritance of a sacred bundle was involved, the pattern of descent might have been modified in favor of patri-

lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may 611
have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, 421
if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of 778
descent in the village group would arise only as the result of in- 114
frequent inter-village marriages.]

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that 621
one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where 778
it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village 773
it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each 621
village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the 778
ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi 796
villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the 621
villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly 778
had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were 103
extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

PREFACE

The Pawnee have been known to white men since, probably, 1541, 101
and certainly since 1678. They were the most numerous and powerful 648
of the tribes constituting the Caddoan linguistic stock and one of the most important of the entire Plains area. Since the earliest definite historic mention of them they have been resident in Nebraska [131]
and the extreme northern portion of Kansas, particularly on the Loup, Platte, and Republican Rivers. As a tribe they were always friendly to the Europeans and later to the Americans, rendering invaluable aid as scouts in the Indian troubles on the Plains during the middle half of the nineteenth century; and that despite the half-hearted and tardy attentions that too often characterized the Government's relations with them.

The tribe has been variously described by early explorers, missionaries, 114
fur traders, Army officers, and travelers, many of whom left very valuable and worth-while accounts concerning them in their native habitat in the Loup and Platte Valleys. In more recent years, on their reservation in Oklahoma, they have been studied by linguists and ethnologists, though much of this material is still unpublished. Of outstanding note among the available treatises in this field is the work of Dunbar in general ethnology, of Dorsey in mythology, of Grinnell in folk-tales, and of Murie in social and political organization. Archeological remains, surprisingly rich and numerous at many of the old village sites formerly occupied by the tribe, have received but little systematic attention up to the present, save for the excellent beginnings made by a few local collectors. Yet it is this latter, long-neglected field of research which must come to be more and more drawn upon for information regarding this fast-vanishing tribe and its native culture.

The primary purpose of this paper, as originally planned, was to 121
present a purely objective preliminary report on the archeology of the Pawnee, drawing together all data at present available and recording it in systematic fashion. More or less inadvertently, the scope was broadened to include a review of the traditions dealing with the origin and early movements of the tribe, as well as a concise summary of the documentary history of the tribe from 1541 to 1876. To this were added brief notes on the environment of the group, and such other significant facts as may be helpful to an understanding of the subject. The social, political, and religious phases

[P. Viii contains no TEXT]

121 of Pawnee culture, as well as their general ethnology, have been deliberately avoided, since most of these have been treated at length elsewhere. Finally, correlations have been made with other cultures of adjoining areas with a view to determining as far as possible where the roots of Pawnee culture lie.

114 127 The principal source for the archeological data embodied in this paper is the Hill collection at the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. This collection, gathered over a period of more than 18 years by Mr. A. T. Hill, Hastings business man and director of the Nebraska State Historical Society Museum at Lincoln, is unequaled by any in the field of Pawnee archeology. Most of the specimens were secured from the Hill site, now the property of Mr. Hill, but there is in addition much comparative material from other historic Pawnee and prehistoric sites in central and southern Nebraska. Through the courtesy of Mr. Hill the writer was enabled to spend 2 weeks in a study of these exhibits, at which time the bulk of the information was obtained. The known Pawnee material recovered by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, of which the writer was a member during the summer of 1930, has also been drawn upon. This was secured mainly from the Hill site and corroborates generally the facts reached through study of the Hill collections. Mention should also be made of the excellent collection of surface material in the possession of Mr. Alfred Tichacek, of Linwood, Nebr., all of which comes from the early Pawnee site near that town. On two different occasions access was had to these specimens for study purposes. In addition, small collections made by various amateur collectors and, as far as available, those of the Nebraska Historical Society, were also examined.

The paper, intended as a basic approach to the study of prehistory in the Pawnee area, was originally completed in the spring of 1931. Lack of funds prevented publication at the time, however, and the rapid accumulation of new data from the region has made possible revision from time to time of the sections dealing with archeological details. Final revision was made in November 1935, bringing the paper so far as possible up to date in the light of researches made since its inception. For a review of Pawnee archeology and its relation to other Nebraska cultures, the reader is referred to Dr. W. D. Strong's recent publication (An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology, Smithson. Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, 1935), in part based upon investigations which were coincident with or immediately subsequent to those here described. The results of other and more recent work in the area, dealing primarily with prehistoric sites, will be found in the present writer's reports in the Nebraska History Magazine, vol. 14, no. 3, 1934, and vol. 15, no. 3, 1935. Findings of the Nebraska State Historical Society in historic Pawnee sites at

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Leshara and Blue Springs in the summer of 1935 have not yet been made public, but a hurried examination by the author of the artifacts and records at Lincoln indicates a general agreement with the material on which the present introductory work is based. 114 127

The writer wishes to acknowledge, first of all, his deep indebtedness to Dr. William Duncan Strong, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, formerly professor of anthropology at the University of Nebraska and director of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey (1929–31), who first suggested and outlined the paper, for his constant encouragement, constructive criticism, and assistance all through its preparation. To Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings, are due sincere thanks for his splendid cooperation in the field of Pawnee archeology, and also for invaluable suggestions with regard to the history and ethnogeography of the tribe. Without his assistance the work would have been greatly curtailed in many of its phases. Mr. John L. Champe, of Lincoln, very generously prepared the photostat copies of early maps for use in conjunction with the historical sketch; Mr. Clarence Reckmeyer, of Fremont, contributed helpful information on early Pawnee history; and Mr. C. B. Schultz, of Lincoln, assisted in the preparation of certain of the modern maps. To these individuals, and to those others who at one time or another rendered assistance during the course of the work, grateful acknowledgment is here made. 000

[p. xii is blank]

197 cupying lands on the Red River and to the south, included the
619 closely related Wichita as well as the Waco, Caddo, Kichai, Anadarko, and Tawakoni; there were several smaller groups also, now virtually extinct. Alien linguistic stocks isolated these three Caddoan groups more or less completely from each other. Siouan tribes,
[101] namely the Ponca, Omaha, and Dakota, occupied the territory between the Pawnee and the Arikara, while between the Pawnee and the southern Caddoans were still other tribes of diverse linguistic affiliations; Kansa and Osage in the east and Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and other nomadic tribes in the west.

The latest and most radical linguistic amalgamation of speech families north of Mexico is that of Sapir,[7] who reduces the 55 separate stocks of the Powell classification to 6 major groupings. According to Sapir, the Caddoan tribes are linked with the Iroquoian tribes in one subfamily of the greater Hokan-Siouan linguistic stock. Based upon deep-lying structural and morphological parallels, this new classification carries very suggestive and far-reaching implications, certain of which will be touched on hereafter.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME PAWNEE

101 The name Pawnee is of somewhat uncertain origin. Dunbar[8] de-
● 114 rives it from *pa'-rik-i*, a horn, as an outgrowth of the typical Pawnee mode of dressing the scalp lock. The head of the warrior was shaven
[302] except for a small tuft or topknot which was daubed with bison fat and red ochre until stiff enough to stand erect, or curving slightly backward, like a horn. Since this was the most conspicuous feature of the individual it gave rise to the particular designation which ultimately became the name of the tribe. Formerly, according to the same authority, the term included the *Pawnee Picts*, or Wichita, and the Arikara. Arache, Arahei, Arae, Harahey, and Ahuache, names by which the Pawnee "kingdom" was known to the Spanish during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[9] are then probably derivatives from *pa'-rik-i*, assuming this to have been actually the original designation for the tribe. However, as early as 1673 Marquette[10] used the term *Pana;* Valverde[11] speaks of the *Panana* in 1719; and thereafter, at least until the end of the eighteenth century, *Panis* and *Panimaha* are regularly employed in referring to the Pawnee. Just how these names were derived from *pa'-rik-i*, if indeed they ever were, is far from clear, nor does Dunbar show the orthographic and phonetic changes that would have taken place in such a process. The

---

[7] 1929, pp. 138-140; see also Parker, 1916, p. 483.

[8] 1880, a, p. 245. Compare, however, Lesser and Weltfish, 1932, p. 5.

[9] Winship, 1896, pp. 529, 577, 588, 590; Margry Papers, vol. vi, p. 310

[10] 1900, map facing p. 108.

[11] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 185.

term "Pani" was employed by the French during the seventeenth and 101
eighteenth centuries to designate all Indian slaves, regardless of tribal 114
affiliations, perhaps because the majority of such slaves were captives from the tribe known as *Panis*.[12] Conversely, however, it has been suggested that the tribe may have derived its name from the old French term, without its originally having been connected with them at all.[13] The older form, "Pani", survived until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when, largely through the agency of early American explorers, it was superseded by the modern Pawnee, rarely Pawney.[14] Among themselves the people are called *Chahiksi-chahiks*, or "men of men."

Names and General Organization of the Bands

The unit of tribal organization among the Pawnee was the band.[15] 631
There were four of these, each in turn consisting of several subbands 621
and villages. The main bands, which are sufficient for present purposes, were known as the *Chaui* or Grand, the *Kitkehahki* or Republican, the *Pitahauerat* or Tappage, and the *Skidi*, or Wolf, Pawnee. Ordinarily each functioned as an independent unit, retaining charge of its own administrative and other affairs through a hereditary, but often purely nominal, chief, who was assisted in matters of importance by secondary chiefs and a council of the leading men. The Grands were generally recognized as the leading band, and where situations arose involving relationships between the several bands, [643]
or affecting the tribe as a whole, the principal chief of the Grands acted as spokesman and adviser for the entire tribe. The bands were endogamous, and each possessed its own sacred bundles and certain accompanying rituals, besides participatory privileges in various tribal ceremonies. The Skidi appear to have been less closely bound to the other bands than were these to one another, and they may have sprung from a somewhat different ancestry, or else possibly represent an earlier offshoot from the parent stock. In the present discussion the bands will be designated by their anglicized names, with the exception of the Skidi.

Historic Habitat and Its Geographical Features

The territory claimed by the Pawnee was bounded on the north 101
by the Niobrara River, on the south by the Arkansas or possibly 131
the Canadian, on the east by the Missouri, and on the west extended rather indefinitely toward the Rockies. Actually, however, it was

---

[12] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 199.

[13] Idem. Compare Lesser and Weltfish, op. cit.

[14] Ashley and Smith, 1918, p. 119.

[15] See Murie, 1914, pp. 549 ff.

probably opposite the present station of Clarks, in Polk County. The 175 Republican Band was about 20 miles to the northwest on the Loup,[95] 131 having apparently removed from where Long saw them on the Cottonwood site to the Horse Creek site evacuated by the Grands. The Tappage Band, here mentioned for the first time, was located 11 miles farther up the Loup,[96] and 10 miles beyond were the Skidi.[97] The last three villages were all situated on a high bank immediately overlooking the river. The distances from the Republican to the Tappage and Skidi villages, as here recorded, are too great to be reconciled with known Pawnee sites in that area, consequently later investigators are inclined to regard them as inaccurate, and to suggest that the Tappage village was actually at the Cottonwood Creek site and the Skidi village near by, at or near the location given by Long.[98]

Catlin, about 1835, referred briefly to the Pawnee as living on the Platte 100 miles above its confluence with the Missouri, occupying "four villages, some few miles apart."[99] It is doubtful whether he [114] ever actually saw the villages, and his rather vague report adds little to our knowledge.

In June 1835 Col. Henry Dodge and a detachment of dragoons marched up the right, or south, bank of the Platte en route to the Rocky Mountains. They passed through the Grand Pawnee village after "having marched 80 miles since leaving the Otto village [at Yutan]."[1] The reference here is to the same village as that where Irving visited the band two years earlier. Dodge mentions the other three bands also,[2] but fails to locate their villages, from which we may infer that they were still on the old sites along the Loup and off the route traveled by the dragoons. Of especial interest is the statement that "the Arickaras had been living with the Pawnee [648] Loups all winter, but were scared away previous to our arrival by a lying Kansas ",[3] and the subsequent information that the Arikara had been driven from their habitat on the Missouri by the Sioux.[4] On the expedition's map but one Pawnee village is indicated, and that one opposite the lower end of Grand Island.[5]

Fremont's expedition, while descending the Platte from the Rockies in 1842, halted "at the village of the Grand Pawnee on

---

[95] 1835, vol. II, p. 67.
[96] Ibid., p. 119.
[97] Ibid., p. 125.
[98] A. T. Hill, personal communication.
[99] 1841, vol. II, pp. 24–27.
[1] Dodge, 1861, p. 133; also map no. 654 B.
[2] Idem.
[3] Idem.
[4] Ibid., p. 136.
[5] Grand Island is some 25 miles above Clarks, but Prairie Island, which may have been mistaken for the former, commences just above the site and extends approximately 10 miles upstream.

With the exception of the Cottonwood Creek village, all of these 172*
sites, where definitely located, have been visited by the writer, who 121
was accompanied in all but two instances by Mr. A. T. Hill, of
Hastings. Several of the locations were first identified by Mr. Hill
many years ago, and through the medium of sample collections he
has acquired a first-hand acquaintance with each site that made his
assistance invaluable. So far as systematic excavation is concerned,
Mr. Hill's activities have been largely confined to the Hill site. The
Nebraska Archeological Survey, of which the writer was a member, [114]
spent the first 2 weeks in August 1930 in intensive work at
the same place, the results of which are included in this paper.
Excavations by the Survey at the Burkett and Schuyler sites in 1931
were made subsequent to the writing of this paper. However, certain
of these findings have been incorporated here, although the
main results await future publication. The only other extended
excavations were made by E. E. Blackman, of the Nebraska Historical
Society, at the Burkett site, in 1907. For the rest, as already
stated, the sites have been visited and their chief features noted, as
well as surface collections of specimens wherever available.

SKIDI PAWNEE SITES

The Skidi band, known in early literature as the *Panimaha*, is 101
by some considered to have been the first to occupy the northern 172*
habitat. According to their own claim, they were formerly a very
powerful and numerous tribe, consisting of four bands, each numbering [162]
5,000 souls.[84] This number is doubtless excessive, but to quote
Grinnell, "There are yet to be seen on the Loup Fork, in Nebraska,
innumerable remains of Skidi villages, some of which are very
ancient."[85] To date only three sites have been definitely shown to
be Skidi, although there is a very strong probability that archeology
will bring to light many more of prehistoric age, possibly substantiating
the greater antiquity of the Skidi in the area.[86]

Palmer site.—This was discovered by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings, 172*
in 1922, and has been identified by him as the probable site of the 361
Skidi village reported by Major Sibley in 1811,[87] and subsequently

---

sites are those exhibiting only the pure native cultural traits with no traces whatever of Caucasian contact; they antedate the arrival of the Spanish in 1541. In the above discussion only historic and protohistoric Pawnee sites are considered. Various sites in the last category are discussed in Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, by W. D. Strong, entitled "An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology"; also in Wedel, 1935, pp. 132–237.

[84] Grinnell, 1893, p. 236.

[85] Ibid., p. 239.

[86] All of the sites described are indicated on map 2 which shows their situation relative to the streams and river bluffs. The names are those in general use among local investigators; the numbers are for convenience in use of the map only.

[87] 1927, p. 203.

about the end of the pipe. These devices were presumably for the 172* attachment of a cord, which could be used to lash the pipes firmly 276 onto their stems when in use, or to secure them against loss when carried with the sacred bundles on war and hunting trips. The comb in *d* may have served a similar purpose.

Unusual types are seen in *b*, *g*, and *k*. The first is slightly less than 1½ inches long, straight, and has a very slight taper; it is ornamented with a very well-executed face. The shape is reminiscent of the cloud blower of the pueblo area, though this particular pipe was undoubtedly fitted with a wooden stem; it is not at all typical of our area. As for the other two specimens, *g* and *k*, both have the bowl at right angles to the stem, but are fashioned from plain, subrectangular blocks of stone; *k* bears five notches on the outer side and two on the inner.

The specimens seen in *d* and *j* are also very nicely made and are remarkably symmetrical and well balanced. Added beauty is attained through the use of ornamental combs and keels, as already indicated, but these features appear not to have been very common.

According to Charlevoix,[64] the Pawnee claimed to have received [114] the calumet directly from the sun. From this he concluded that the tribe "paid the sun a more ancient and distinguished worship than the other nations of that part of America, and that they were the first who thought of making the calumet a symbol of alliance." The priority in use here postulated has not yet been demonstrated, but there is a marked similarity between certain of the Pawnee pipes and those from earlier cultures of the area, save that the latter are not ordinarily of catlinite. It is quite possible that the elaborate calumets figured in our series will ultimately be traced back through the sandstone and limestone types of southern Nebraska to an earlier curved form of clay so far known in the State only from the Missouri Valley. These latter, while crude and [171] roughly made, are suggestive of the trumpet-shaped pipes of the Iroquois,[65] to which they may bear a genetic relationship. The long-stemmed clay pipes of the southern Caddoans[66] are apparently lacking in Nebraska, although certain of the short-stemmed "variants" do resemble the pipes of the Pawnee.[67]

WORK IN BONE AND HORN

172*
412
321

AWLS.—These are to be found nearly everywhere in the area but are most common on the prehistoric and protohistoric sites. There is no fixed type, although the majority of specimens appear to have

---

[64] 1903, vol. I, p. 306.

[65] Skinner, 1921, pp. 89–103 and figure 13.

[66] Harrington, 1920, pls. CI and CII.

[67] Ibid., pl. CIV, c.

The border is carved with zigzag lightning symbols. The emblem 172*
of the sun, 5 inches in diameter, with 4 long and 12 short rays, 322
is neatly cut into the upper part of the piece, which is further embellished 854
with brass-headed tacks (Nebr. Hist. Mag., x, 3, 1927, p. 192). It is a most unusual and attractive piece of work and was very likely made by Indian craftsmen. Fragments of other nicely decorated boards have been recovered, but none is sufficiently large to permit a good reconstruction.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Wooden boxes and chests, bound with leather or 172*
metal and studded with large-headed nails, are not uncommon, 322
though always in fragmentary condition. Wooden-backed mirrors, sheaths, and numerous other odds and ends are frequently found, nearly always with rows of nails as ornamental features. The clumsy workmanship probably indicates that most of them were made by the Indians themselves, in imitation of the white man's articles. Occasionally a better piece is recovered, perhaps with a lock or hinge, these being probably imported and trade articles. Pipestems [276]
of light carved wood have been found in a few cases but were too fragmentary for accurate restoration.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

GLASS BEADS.—These were in very extensive use by the Pawnee 172*
after the arrival among them of white traders. Small white, blue, 301
and red beads, of transparent glass, are by far the commonest, especially 439
in graves, while black appears relatively infrequently. Tubular porcelain beads, less than one-half inch long, are also found, though not very plentiful. Large, irregularly shaped blue, red, and colorless beads, mostly translucent, have been regarded as of Indian manufacture because of their crudity (pl. 8, *n*). Samples of these were submitted to M. W. Stirling, of the Smithsonian Institution, for examination and were pronounced by him to be trade material from the Hudson Bay Co., probably via the Missouri.[32] All of these were from the Hill site, abandoned about 1810. There is thus no positive evidence that the Pawnee ever manufactured their own glass beads, though the custom was followed by the Arikara, Mandan, and other upper Missouri River tribes in historic times.[33]

METAL WORK.—Iron and copper become increasingly common with 172*
recency. Iron "squaw" hoes, gun parts, axes, chisels, bridles, stir- 439
rups, knives, and innumerable other odds and ends abound on the 177

---

[32] Letter of Oct. 13, 1930.

[33] Lewis and Clark, 1922, vol. I, p. 238. However, excavation at the Burkett site [114]
in April 1931 yielded a number of turquoise-blue, glass beads of rough manufacture and imperfect glass. According to Dr. W. D. Strong, these are closely similar to a native-made specimen of glass work secured by Dr. Mathew among the Arikara in 1870, now in the National Museum.

depth was 5 feet 6 inches, of which 4 or 5 inches was due to downward creep of the hillside soil subsequent to interment. The burial 172* cavity measured 33 inches east to west by 24 inches north to south; 764 it had been undercut quite noticeably toward the north, so that the contents did not lie directly below the original mouth of the grave. The remains were those of a young child not over 6 or 7 years of age, and were exceptionally well preserved (pl. 11, *d*). The skeleton lay on its right side, with the head toward the east. The feet were folded closely against the buttocks, with the knees partially drawn up toward the body. The right arm lay fully extended just in front of and along the body; the left arm was folded over the pelvis. Immediately in front of the knees was a small gray pot, inverted and empty (pls. 3, *c;* 11, *d*). The only other objects were fragmentary lead rings, two of which lay on either side of the cranium in [301] such a position as to predicate their use as ear pendants.

Bushnell,[69] in discussing Pawnee burial customs, states that "according to Francis La Flesche the bodies were placed in the graves [114] in a sitting position." This statement is wholly at variance with the results of archeological work in the historic sites. Upward of 40 graves have been opened at the Hill site in the past 8 years, yet not one instance of a skeleton in a sitting position has come to light. Similarly the work at the Palmer, Linwood, and other important sites has failed to disclose any verification of La Flesche's statement, and present indications are that so far as the Nebraska Pawnee were concerned interment in a sitting position was uncommon.

As was noted in each of the cases above described, the bodies were usually flexed, wholly or in part, doubtless to conserve space. The bodies were never consistently oriented with reference to any of the cardinal points of the compass, nor were they laid any more frequently on the right side than on the left, or vice versa. Undercutting of the grave, especially toward the north, was quite common; the amount varied with the depth, which was usually between 3 and 6 feet. The soil covering the bodies is generally mottled and mixed with organic material and of a looser texture than that elsewhere.

The bodies were usually wrapped in matting or bark for interment and were always accompanied by mortuary offerings. Shaped stones (pl. 7) from 3 to 6 inches in length are nearly always found in or near the left hand of adult males. The offerings are most commonly found in front of the body if lying on its side, or on the chest if lying face upward. At the Hill site flints and steel, glass beads, lead rings, wooden-backed mirrors, knives, shell gorgets, Spanish, British, and American peace medals, military buttons, cloth, foodstuffs, and innumerable other odds and ends were used as offer-dressing them up to suit the civilized taste. My object in giving these 126 narratives in their present shape is to make a book which shall be true to life, and shall faithfully reflect the Pawnee character, as the story tellers have themselves painted it. In a very few cases I have added some words explaining matters so well understood by those familiar with the Indians as to need no explanation. If these tales have any ethnological value, it will be enhanced by their being given in the precise form in which they were told by those to whom they have been handed down from generation to generation; but quite apart from this is another point which is entitled to consideration.

---

[69] 1927, p. 79.

The entire ignorance concerning Indians, which prevails among the 114 ● general public, can be dispelled only by letting that public understand something of the ways of life of the wild Indian, something of the subjects about which he thinks and talks, as well as of how he looks at these subjects, and what he has to say about them.

The late Mrs. Jackson's charming story, "Ramona," did much to bring the more intelligent class of readers in touch with the Indians, and to awaken sympathy for them by pointing out the unnumbered wrongs perpetrated on this race by the Government. Mrs. Jackson's book was a story, a novel; wonderfully well told and full of truth and feeling; but while it may have been a relation of facts, it did not profess to treat of actual persons. It is looked upon by many readers as a mere romance. It is a book about which I was once asked, skeptically, "Did you ever see any Indians like those?" In the Pawnee stories here set down there is no romance nor coloring. The Indians themselves are talking, and whatever the faults and weak points of these tales—and some of them are sufficiently obvious—they at least give the reader a true conception of Indians as they have actually lived. They are stories of Indians by Indians. There is about them nothing of the white man; and the intelligent person, who is sufficiently interested in the subject to read this book through, will gain from it a new insight into Indian character.

The Indian of Cooper—with his bravery, his endurance, his acuteness, his high qualities of honesty, generosity, courtesy and hospitality —has been laughed at for half a century. Yet every man who has mingled much with the Indians in their homes has known individuals who might have sat for the portraits which Cooper drew of some of

114 his aboriginal heroes. There are good men among Indians, just as among the whites. The prevalent notion of the Indian has been formed from the worst class of this people, the lazy, filthy beggars who haunt the settlements of the West, who to their own vices have added new ones picked up from their surroundings, and who are hopelessly degraded. These are not typical Indians, and it is unjust to judge a whole race from such degenerate specimens. There is still another notion of the Indian fondly cherished by many worthy people, whose sympathies have been wrought upon by the cruelty and injustice with which we have treated this race. These good people look upon all Indians as simple children of nature, who would do no wrong if they had not been contaminated by contact with vicious whites. It is unnecessary to say that this notion of the Indian is also incorrect.

114 The Indian is neither a fiend nor a saint. There are good ones and
181 bad ones. As a rule, perhaps they try to act up to their ideas of what is
right, but the standard of a race of barbarians cannot be the same as
that of a civilized people, and in judging of their character we must
make allowances for this difference. The standard of right and wrong
among civilized people is a growth, the product of the experience of
thousands of years. The Indian races have not been through a like
experience. They have regarded as virtues some things which seem
to us the worst of crimes. The Indian differs from the white man in
education and manner of life, and so, of course, in his modes of
thought. He has not been taught the lesson of self-control, which his
surroundings oblige each civilized man to begin to learn as a child. He
has known until recent times no law save that of strength. He has been
[726] taught that war is the noblest of pursuits—the only one worthy of
man. And that war has consisted in making forays upon his enemies,
taking their possessions, and, if possible, their lives and their scalps. His
warfare consisted in surprises rather than open combat. A scalp taken
[727] was a trophy of victory; and the scalp of a woman was almost as
eagerly sought as that of a brave or of a chief. It was an evidence of
injury inflicted on the enemy. To steal horses from the enemy was
an achievement creditable and also profitable.

721 We commonly speak of the raids of war parties as horse stealing expeditions, but this is wholly misleading, because to the civilized understanding the phrase horse stealing carries with it an idea of dis-

782 Prayers are made to them; sometimes for direct help in time of need,
776 but more often for intercession. Often in the folk-tales it will be seen
that when the blessing asked for is some small thing, a prayer is made to the animals (*Na-hu'rac*), but if the petitioners are asking for some great thing, something which is very difficult to grant, then the prayer is made to "One Above," to "The Ruler," that is, to the Supreme Being.

782 Nothing of importance was ever undertaken without a prayer for
776 help, for success. All the serious undertakings of the year, whose
776 success would affect the general welfare, were preceded by religious
ceremonies, when all the tribe took part, and prayers were made and sacrifices offered to *Ti-ra'-wa;* and in all lesser enterprises, the individuals who were interested humbled themselves and implored the Divine assistance. A party starting off on the warpath prayed for success and made a burnt offering. Prayer and sacrifice always marked the beginning of the feast, and often its end. Success in their undertakings was acknowledged by grateful offerings to the Ruler. The victorious warrior sometimes sacrificed the scalp torn from the head of his enemy, and this was burned with elaborate ceremonies by the High Priest. He who brought back from a foray many horses, gave one to the priest as a thank-offering to the Ruler. One of the well-known Seven Brothers said to me, "It is our aim, after we have been helped, to give thanks."

The feeling of these Indians toward their God is one of humility and reverence. They do not love him, but they look to him for help at all times. The young are exhorted to humble themselves before him, to pray to him, to look to One Above, to ask help from the Ruler. In the stories which are included in this book the allusions constantly made to *Ti-ra'-wa*—the Supreme Power—the prayers offered and the humility and self-abnegation so often expressed, show faith, profound religious feelings, and great elevation of thought.

● 114 Among tribal names of North American Indians, none is more familiar to us than Pawnee; yet of no tribe is less known. Frequent allusions to them occur in the writings of early travelers in the West; but only one satisfactory attempt has been made to write a connected history of this family. In the *Magazine of American History* for

The Pawnees

1880–81 Mr. John B. Dunbar published a most interesting account of 114 this tribe, but his sketch is mainly historical, and does not profess to treat exhaustively of the lives and modes of thought of this people. It is, however, a history of very great importance and value, and in preparing the historical matter which is included in this volume, I have not hesitated to draw on Mr. Dunbar's papers, which must form the basis of any subsequent account of the Pawnees, and which should be read by all who are interested in this people.

I owe much of my interest in and knowledge of the Pawnees to my long intimacy with the late Major Frank North, who from his extended intercourse and close connection with this people—a connection which lasted more than thirty years—was unquestionably better informed about them than any other white man has ever been; and with Capt. L. H. North, his brother, who was for many years associated with Major North in command of the Pawnee Scouts.

In gathering the material here presented I have been assisted also by 115 James R. Murie, a nephew of Comanche Chief; by Ralph J. Weeks, a half-brother of Lone Chief; by Harry Kuhns, by Eagle Chief and Bear Chief, Skidis; by Good Chief and Curly Chief, Kit-ke-hahk-is; by Secret Pipe Chief and Frank White, Chau-is, and by many others of my Pawnee friends, to all of whom my acknowledgments are due.

In the pronunciation of the few Pawnee words used in these 114 stories, the vowel sounds, as nearly as I can give them, are as follows: 104 *a* as in father, *e* as the *a* in ale, *i* as *e* in cede, *ū* long as *oo* in pool, *ŭ* short as in us, *au* as *ou* in house. These sounds depend somewhat on the letters which follow the vowels, and the spelling does not always conform to the rule laid down. The last two syllables in the word Pita-hau-erat, for example, are pronounced *irăt* or *idot*. The sounds of *d*, *l*, *n* and *r* are difficult to express by English letters; *r* sometimes has its own sound quite distinctly, at others more the sound of *d*; *n* often has a *d* sound, and *l* a sound of *n*. It will be noted that throughout I have used the familiar English word Pawnee instead of the evidently more correct *Pa'-ni*.

Finally I have refrained from commenting on the stories, though 114 there is abundant opportunity for comment.

114 I went on to Omaha partly to see as much of the upper Missouri as possible, and partly with hope of finding some Omahas or Pawnees at the village whom I was informed were frequently there. I found a band of [361] Pawnees some thinly encamped near the village and they were over at the boat and squads of them remained about the boat during the day and night. I went down to 124 the encampment, tried to find their interpreter who has the respectable name of John Rogers, but could not find him. Unfortunately for me a theft had been committed the day before by the Shawnees and he for some reason thought best to leave and to keep out of the way. I found a Pawnee who could talk some English and commenced a schedule with him, but I soon found out it would not answer and gave it up, and offered him pay if he would hunt up and bring Rogers to me during the day, which he promised to but did not do.

181 The Pawnees are said to be demoralized as a nation. Their women are universally prostitutes, they all steal and beg and are idle and profligate. This character is given to the nation and not to the few who wander about. How far it is just to the mass of the Pawnees who remain at their village at

[p 66 (A)]
[pp 1-65 not processed]

602 tain that the children of brothers are brothers
and sisters to each other, and that the
children of two sisters are the same, but
about the children of a brother and a sister
I could not ascertain. There is no term for
[601] aunt, therefore a father's sister is a mother,
and probably her son is a brother, but on
this point I could not make any certain
[115] progress. Col. Peter A. Sarpy of St. Marys
told me that the father's sister was a grand
[582] mother, and a man could marry this grand
mother. If there is no aunt, then a woman
has no nephew and niece, and a woman's
brother's son is her grand son. But the
mother's brother is an uncle, and consequently
a man has a nephew and niece. I
think I can nearly write out this system,
but at all events I feel sure Mr. Allis will be
able to do it for me with the aid I shall now
be able to give him.

123 I stayed with this pleasant family which
consists of a mother, two sons and one
grown daughter and also an orphan girl
brought up by them, and the Pawnee woman
besides the Rev. Samuel Allis now absent
as before stated. They refused compensation
for my entertainment, and I left them
Friday morning to return to Mr. Hamilton
at Bellevue, well pleased with my visit: I am
● 114 to write to Mr. Allis on my return, and to
[125] send him a schedule and they say he will
attend to it for me.

I returned about three o'clock, June 8, to Bellevue, and shall remain here until Saturday morning when I go up to Omaha to meet the boat on which I am to return to Rulo, where I shall make a desperate effort for the Blackfoot and the Sheyenne and also try at Omaha again for the Pawnee.

[P90 (B)]

13:Morgan E-5 (1859-1860, 1862) 1959
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

602
● [114] 42. Morgan did not succeed in obtaining the Pawnee system until his field trip of 1862.

[p213]
[pp 142-212 not processed]

12 narrator was Mark [illegible] Pawnee of the Skidi Band, whose childhood
was spent on the res[illegible]n Nebraska from 1861 to 1875, when Pawnee
115 culture was still very much an integral polity and way of life. His personal identity is embodied in the "Boy Otter" as he appears in the following narrative.

101 My relationship with Mark Evarts began casually in the course of my
grammatical researches. Historically there were four political groups of
114 Pawnees known as bands, the Skidi or Wolf Band, the Kitkehaxki or Little-
115 Earth-Lodge Band, the Tsawi or Asking-for-Meat Band and the Pitahawirata or Man-Going-Downstream Band. Each of these traditionally pronounced the language somewhat differently, but it was always known that the major difference was between the Skidi and the other three known collectively as the South Bands because of their former more southern location. From linguistic samples I took of each of the four, the distinctions among the South Bands were not clear enough to identify at that time. Only the Skidi difference was clear. Mark Evarts served as my Skidi informant with Henry Chapman as interpreter in my attempt to find any grammatical and pronunciation distinctions. Evarts' English was broken and so heavily overlaid with a Pawnee accent that it was understandable only with considerable difficulty. As my Pawnee vocabulary improved, we developed a Pawnee-English mode of communication that made the interpreter no longer necessary. As I extended my research into the semantic and cultural background of the language, Evarts became a major resource and ally in my investigations and our work extended over seven years and involved the entire Oklahoma Pawnee community.

114 At this time (1928–1936) Evarts was living with friends and relatives.
His wife and child had died tragically only a few years before, and he had
115 lost his little farm to the bank. The crises that had beset his life as a member of his tribe and times were epic in their proportions; as a man in the decline of his years, he had many questions to ask, and I, as a novice in life's ills and trials, had many questions to ask of him. Many of his questions concerned the white culture and its values, and, as a young anthropologist, mine sought answers through the cross-cultural perspective I hoped to find in studying the Pawnee way. Together we established the language of our common humanity and communicated what we wanted to know about the special character of each other's culture as well as of life in general. It was my purpose to understand the Pawnees as people, not as Indians or as social categories and certainly not as historical antiques.

161 Although in the 1920's only seven hundred Pawnees survived, some
178 Pawnee customs remained among them and at least eight of the older peo-
197 ple spoke no other language than Pawnee. The town of Pawnee, Oklahoma, was surrounded by the allotted lands of the Pawnees, the lands of
361 each band being located in a different direction. The bands were still
423

000

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Preface

The bands were still somewhat socially discrete. The mainstay of the diet was largely the traditional corn, beans, and squash grown on their own farm plots and dried 621
and stored as of old. Beef had taken the place of buffalo meat and was 262
prepared by thin slicing and drying for storage or boiled on feast days. 252
Relationships in kin groups continued, and some of the religious ideology 241
survived. A Doctor Dance Ceremony was performed by the last survivors 771
who possessed the arts and the knowledge involved and brought us some welcome rain after a long dry spell. The question was, "How to give these 796
fragments life and place them in their integral context?" We evolved the 178
plan of utilizing one year of Pawnee life in as much detail as possible, 114
covering the round of the year through the four seasons as reconstructed with the help of the surviving Pawnees. Our plan proved to be an effective means of developing vivid recall in Evarts and the other old Pawnees. For a number of reasons we would think of our year hypothetically as 1867; in that year the Pawnee settlement and round of life was sufficiently integral to serve as a base line for our reconstruction. Some of the other surviving Pawnees were in their late teens and twenties in that year. Evarts supplied a normal thread of events in answer to my prodding questions for the details that seemed to a Pawnee all too obvious and we supplemented and checked this with whomever we thought had relevant knowledge concerning one point or another. Most of the old people had worked with me on linguistics before that time.

It was not possible to reproduce the material in the exact order in which 128
I collected it. I have had to reassort the material somewhat so that it falls into some of our own functional categories and at the same time so that it fits within the seasonal round of the year. Under the pressure of time when my notes were recorded I rendered the Pawnee or Pawnee-English in which it was given into the closest normal English equivalent I could muster. Also, this book was compiled a quarter of a century or more after it was recorded. I have avoided altering the original simple declarative language too radically. In some cases I have retained the original language with very little variation, particularly where it is an incident that had often been recounted among the Pawnees, a very familiar situation, a technical account, a speech, a personality sketch. Such passages are indented from the left margin.

In addition to the informant record, I have checked my account in de- 127
tail with most of the existing material on the Pawnees and in some cases supplemented it from these sources. This is detailed in the Notes and Comments with references correlated with my text. Recently excavated archaeological materials together with eyewitness accounts by contemporary observers of the 1830's and 1840's have overwhelmingly vindicated the accuracy of my Pawnee informants. The most substantial help in this recent phase of the work has been given me by Prof. John L. Champe, author of an important stratigraphic treatment of Nebraska archaeology, *Ash Hol-*

167 unchecked by a United States torn by Civil War. Then, when the war
175 was over, came the white settlement of their territory and still more conflicts
648 for the land, the water, and the timber. Finally they could stay there no longer; they had to leave their homeland, and they moved south.

167 The Pawnees were related by language to a people to the south of them, the Wichita, and they often went visiting, some of them remaining
197 for several years in order to learn new ceremonials which they brought
648 home with them when they returned north. As far back as the 1770's a
175 contingent of three hundred Pawnees had gone south and settled permanently there. They were very welcome at this time and every inducement was given to make them stay, as the Wichita were already heavily depleted in numbers by disease and enemy attack; the Pawnee group constituted a much-needed reinforcement.

In the summer of 1870, just a hundred years later, a Pawnee chief led a visiting party of three hundred men to the Wichita. After their return, subsequent parties went down in successive years and were made welcome by the Wichitas and other tribes in the area that is now Oklahoma; in 1873, despite many doubts on the part of their chiefs, two-thirds of the Pawnees finally left their Nebraska home and migrated south. By November 1875 the last Pawnee contingent arrived in Oklahoma. Many met their death as a result of the change. Fevers and starvation took such a
[161] heavy toll that by 1879 only 1,440 survived, and, by the U.S. census of 1910, just 633 Pawnees remained alive.

114 The time of my arrival in Oklahoma to do ethnological and linguistic work was 1928, some fifty years after the time the Pawnees had settled there permanently. We did not know then that Pawnee life with its combined settled village life and migratory buffalo hunting was an old way of life on the Plains.

The general opinion among anthropologists was that in the not too distant past earth-lodge peoples such as the Pawnee had formerly lived in the woodland areas east of the Mississippi and, migrating out onto the Plains, had begun to adopt the migratory life of buffalo hunters and were in the process of abandoning their settled ways.

172 Archaeology has since shown us that the combination of migratory and sedentary village life is much older in the Plains than we had thought and that, far from being in transition, the ancestors of the Pawnees had probably followed a similar way of life in Nebraska for nearly seven hundred years. Archaeological remains of earth-lodge villages are found along the Republican, Platte, and Loup rivers, a progressive evolution of the houses from rectangular to round appearing with the passage of time. The houses and the remains of objects and food found in the archaeological settlements show such a clear continuity into historic times that their identification as ancestral Pawnee is well nigh inevitable.

101 In 1867 the four bands into which the Pawnee were politically organ-

5, 79 James R. Murie, 1914, pp. 550-551, lists the names of thirteen villages, each of which he states had a sacred bundle, excepting the thirteenth, *Turawiu*, which was part of a village. The village names are: 361 103 778 631

1) *Turikaku* (Center Village), Evening Star bundle
2) *Kitkehaxpakuxtu* (Old Village), the four semicardinal direction bundles
3) *Tuhitspiat* (Stretching-Out-in-the-Bottomlands)
4) *Tukitskita* (Village-on-Branch-of-a-River)
5) *Tuwahukasa* (Village-Stretching-across-a-Hill), the Morning Star bundle (This bundle was divided into two.)
6) *Arikararikutsu* (Big-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
7) *Arikarariki* (Small-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
8) *Tuhutsaku* (Village-in-a-Ravine), the left hand bundle (All use left hands in the ceremony.)
9) *Tuwarakaku* (Village-in-Thick-Timber)
10) *Akapaxtsawa* (Buffalo-Skull-Painted-on-Tipi), Black Star bundle
11) *Tskisarikus* (Fish-Hawk) (Bundle buried with White Hawk.)
12) *Tstiks-kaatit* (Black-Ear-of-Corn), meaning corn-black
13) *Turawiu*, part of a village.

These were the known member villages of the Skidi political federation. According to tradition, two villages did not join—Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine) and Tskirirara (Wolf-Standing-in-Water). These two villages survived into the time of our narrative together with only two of the other thirteen, numbers 3 and 5, Tuhitspiat and Tuwahukasa. Tu- is the prefix signifying village or settlement; eight of Murie's thirteen are village names, [193] seven of them beginning with this prefix and indicating a location, the eighth, number 2, meaning Old-Earth-Lodge Village. Four are animal names, and one, a corn name.

5 In the article by Levy and Fallers, 1959, the authors comment on departures from our working model of the "nuclear" or "biological" family, questioning whether it is in fact as basic as we assume. I suggest that our working model of family life stems from the Adam and Eve story and that of the Pawnee from their interpretation of the cosmos and the nature of human life which derives from it. This fundamental difference in our viewpoints does not depend on an ignorance on the part of the Pawnees of the basic fact of physiological paternity. They believed that conception took place as a result of the combination of a male and a female substance similar to egg white in consistency—red in the case of the female and white in that of the male. 114 842

52 The "worm" love song adapted from Dunbar, 1881, p. 745 000

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Hidatsa NQ14

P
252
262

NOTES AND COMMENTS

65 Pawnee text version of making "beans-inside" bread, Weltfish, 1937, pp. 37-38.

P
342

11, 62 In the settlement near Fremont, Nebraska (Pahaku), the oldest brother of the three, Rotten House, and Sitting Hawk, the second oldest, and Victory Call, the youngest, established a huge earth lodge, 90 feet in diameter with two sets of central pillars, concentrically arranged. In it he assembled a large group of "brothers," most of them doctors.

P
[756]

P
114
797

14-15 The integrity of the account of Pawnee life obtained from informants by the field ethnologist is clearly validated by the account of an eyewitness, the missionary Samuel Allis, 1887, who lived with the Skidi in Old Village more than a hundred years before this record was made. He comments on the efficiency with which the domestic arrangements operate:

P
595

> [H]e lives with her in her father's lodge. It is customary for a young man to marry in a family, and if there is more than one daughter, he takes the oldest and so on as fast as they mature and gives a horse for each additional wife. In this way one sometimes gets as many as six or seven wives. They are like the Mormons in some ways. The oldest wife is "Sister Young" or "Sister Kimball" and so on and is mistress of the lodge. Each woman, however, has her own bundle of meat, corn, etc. and takes her turn in cooking; and the lord sleeps by turns in different parts of the lodge to avoid jealousy. Some of them have their women in different lodges and own a share in each lodge. In this way they fare better. *They have so much system in cooking, dressing robes, cornfields and other work that they get along better than one would suppose.**

H
462
593

This outlook on the fluidity of the division of labor was not confined to the Pawnees. Wolf Chief, an old man of the Hidatsa tribe, a Siouan group of North Dakota, stated in 1910, "In my tribe in old times, some men helped their wives in their gardens. Others did not. Those who did not help their wives talked against those who did saying, 'That man's wife makes him her servant!' And others retorted, 'Look, that man puts all the hard work on his wife!' " "Men were not all alike; some did not like to work in the garden at all, and cared for nothing but to go around visiting or to be off on a hunt. My father Small Ankle liked to garden and often helped his wives. He told me that was the best way to do. 'Whatever you do,' he said, 'help your wife in all things!' He taught me to clean the garden, to help gather the corn, to hoe and to rake. My father said that that man lived best and had plenty to eat who helped his wife. One who did not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

---

* Italics mine.

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.) 000

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244). Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civilizations—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women. 462 251 462 171

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9. 000

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the inside of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within, then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people." 342 772

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'" He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on the contrary they were part of it and went out into it. 796 533 787 821 157 821 721 114 821

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10 feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric examples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp. 172 251

through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, 773
is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who 171
makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his foot- 821
steps being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In
81, 127 Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personi- 773
fied First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the
land.

82 Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906, p. 41. See Bogoras, 1902, p. 667, for wider distribution of this theme.

83, 152, 154-155 Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photo- 821
graph of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He [126]
states (p. 285): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constellations. Astronomical analysis is included in the article.

84, 117 On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 782
1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 209-210; George E. 727
Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*,
Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen, 171
1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month,
"they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were
111 lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western
plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369,
description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden,
117 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz*
representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the
National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan
319 tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must
have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the
Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of
the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the
330 Mexicans . . .'" (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account
of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the annotated footnotes.

84 Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 442-428, claims that after the new 243
corn plant (*kurahus*, priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-fire ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to
a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They [114]
state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of such a ceremony.

97 The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as 243
hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony 825
is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 269, that 171

BIBLIOGRAPHY

114 THE BULK OF THE MATERIAL presented in this book is based on the original field
122 data I collected from Pawnee informants in Oklahoma. It is the only material
on the Pawnees that was gathered with a full knowledge of the nature of the
197 Pawnee language. The Pawnee language cannot be readily translated into English. Structurally it is one of the most complex of the American Indian languages. In place of single discrete words, a structural form known as polysynthesis was developed to an unusual degree. In normal discourse there are long composite word units comprising a wide range of functional elements—verbal, prepositional, adjectival, pronominal, and modal—each capable of a range of modifications, the whole complex being phonetically integrated so that a single word of inseparable elements contains the meaning of a long phrase or sentence in English commonly only translatable into five or six separate English words. Although a single word phrase of this sort may have ten or eleven syllables, it is not possible to assign an equivalent English word under each syllable. The meaning can only be stated as a whole. By careful comparison of a large number of these phrases, it is possible to find the various locations within the phrase that have different functions and to extract elements with generalized meanings. Those interested may refer to my Pawnee text with its grammatical analysis: "The Vision Story of Fox Boy," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, IX No. 1 (1936), 44-75.

114 In the last decade of the nineteenth century, an educated half-blood Pawnee,
James R. Murie, made it his life purpose to present the religious rituals and
159 ceremonies of his people. He carried forward this work under the stimulation and direction of a number of anthropologists, continuing through the first and second decades of the twentieth century. He spanned both cultures—the Pawnee and the American. To some extent this was a major advantage, while in other ways it was an important obstacle to the accomplishment of his true purpose. The most obvious advantage was his direct entrée to the religious leaders of his people. The disadvantage lay in the fact that he had a preconceived idea of how the material should be presented to the American reader and scholar in order to place it before them in the best possible light. There was little need for such a self-conscious effort as Pawnee religion and ceremony would do credit to any people ideologically and aesthetically as a system of thought and practice. Secondly, because Murie had shared in both cultures before he came to the decision to embrace his Pawnee identity, he never fully shared in its systems of belief. In his later years he attempted to obtain a religious vision and to enter more fully into Pawnee religious life, but he failed and remained by
[126] and large a participant observer, not a full participant. His preconceived idea
of the nature of translation, particularly of the interlinear variety, stood in the way of his making an authentic translation of the Pawnee materials he wrote

down in the phonetic alphabet which he acquired in the course of his contact 114
with anthropologists. He divided his recorded texts into single syllables, each 159
comprising a consonant and a vowel and each syllable separated from the next 126
by a hyphen and then placed an English word under each of these syllables. As I have already indicated, the Pawnee language cannot be translated into English in that manner. Any material will suffer some distortion when it is translated from one language to another, but the nuances of religious ideology are even more strongly effected by this process.

Murie's crowning effort to systematize the religion of his people was carried 114
out under the direction and editorship of the late Clark Wissler, curator of 159
anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Together Wissler and Murie produced a voluminous manuscript of some 1560
pages. In view of the recognized inadequacies of Murie's Pawnee transcription 114
and translation, in 1930 Matthew W. Stirling, then Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington, D.C., where the manuscript had been deposited some years before, commissioned me to retranscribe all the Pawnee texts contained there with the help of my Pawnee linguistic informants and
to obtain a linguistically adequate translation. The texts were reviewed with [124]
my informants and translated with the help of my interpreter, Henry Chapman, in 1930–1931 in Pawnee, Oklahoma. The manuscript is now on deposit in the archives of the bureau. It is titled "The Ceremonies of the Pawnee," by James R. Murie, arranged and edited by Clark Wissler, 1921. Phonetic texts revised and translated by Gene Weltfish, 1930–1931.

The second most important source on Pawnee ceremonialism is: "The Hako: 114
A Pawnee Ceremony," by Alice C. Fletcher, assisted by James R. Murie. This 113
was published in the *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. The author, Alice Fletcher, is listed in the publication as Holder of Thaw Fellowship, Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Miss Fletcher was a trained ethnologist who went into the field to work with the Omaha and Ponca Indians in Nebraska in 1881 when she was in her forties. She several times witnessed the ceremony of the peace pipe or calumet among these tribes and others in the area, but as a result of the death of the only man who could furnish her with an authentic account of the ceremony she searched among other tribes and found that an account of a comparable ceremony would be obtainable among the Pawnees. She then went to Oklahoma where she contacted Mr. James Murie and began the work which was done over a period of four years. The term Hako which appears as the title of this work is not the Pawnee name for this ceremony. The term means mouth, *aka'u*, and is the comprehensive term used to designate all the articles that belong to the ceremony. A number of other terms are used for the ceremony itself. The author decided to use this title as a convenient designation that could readily be pronounced by the English reader. The beauty of patterning and the intricacy of the structure of the ceremony are well represented, but the translation of the Pawnee texts is ludicrous. The bulk of the linguistic texts are the words of ritual songs. A great deal of this material consists of rhythmic syllables that have no semantic significance whatever with one or two simple words included among them. Often the successive stanzas consist in a repetition of these rhythmic syllables, the single words being re-

• 114 placed by one or two others. The author translates these Pawnee texts into
113 florid mid-Victorian-style English poetry, every meaningless rhythmic syllable receiving her attention with a new flight of fancy. It appears that she must have zealously pressed James R. Murie for translations of each syllable and no doubt liberally interpreted the terms he did give her. On his part, Murie must also have felt the need to press these texts into acceptable English poetry of the period. In any case because of these circumstances, The *Hako* can only be used very critically as a source.

The second anthropologist to work extensively with James R. Murie was George A. Dorsey, who did this work as part of a more ambitious project. [197] Pawnee is one member of a language family, the Caddoan stock, of which there are three other major members—Arikara, Wichita, and Caddo. Dorsey procured mythology from the four different member groups of the Caddoan stock. Dorsey was Curator of Anthropology of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago under whose auspices the work was begun and then continued with the support of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C. He produced two book length publications on the Pawnee, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* ("American Folklore Society Memoirs," Vol. VIII), Boston and New York, 1904, and *The Pawnee, Mythology*, published by the ("Carnegie Institution of Washington Publications," No. 59), Washington, 1906. A body of unpublished material supplied to Dorsey by Murie remains in the archives of the Chicago Museum of Natural History. Subsequent curators at that institution have published from this source.

A series of pamphlets by Ralph Linton: *The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 5), Chicago, 1922; *The Sacrifice to the Morning Star* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 6), Chicago, 1922; *Purification of the Sacred Bundles, A Ceremony of the Pawnee* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 7), Chicago, 1923; *Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 8), Chicago, 1923.

Alexander Spoehr: *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Series," Vol. XXVII, No. 2), Chicago, 1949.

While Murie was working in New York, he prepared under Clark Wissler's direction, *Pawnee Indian Societies* ("American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers," Vol. XI, Part VII), New York, 1914, pp. 545-644. Wissler very generously inhibited his identity from his publication, appearing simply as "the editor." He states that the work "was prepared by James R. Murie, a member of the Skidi division, under the direction of the editor who is in the main responsible for its form and limitations. Mr. Murie's method was to collect and write out in full such information on the several topics as could be secured. These notes were then made the subject of several conferences with the editor during which the present manuscript was prepared." The large manuscript on the ceremonies of the Pawnee as well as the manuscript material in the Chicago Museum of Natural History must have been prepared in a
114 similar fashion. My own work with my informants on the manuscript, "The Ceremonies of the Pawnee," made it possible for me to limit the amount of material I had to gather on the formal aspects of Pawnee religion and ceremony

and permitted me to concentrate on the personalities involved and the way they functioned within the pattern. Death claimed James R. Murie before my work began, and I never had the good fortune of meeting him. 114

[122] In the years since the late 1930's I have read a great deal of material on the Pawnees. I visited the archaeological sites, read the literature, and consulted with the outstanding archaeologists in the field. I also worked with historical sources at the Nebraska Historical Society in Lincoln, Nebraska. In addition I have given considerable thought to a number of expanded horizons for our own future that are suggested through a consideration of the Pawnee way of life. I have listed a number of bibliographic items that refer to these different facets of interest, listing them under four categories—archaeological material, ethnology, historical sources, related subjects and theoretical questions. I will not make specific references to my text in connection with these publications as the presentation in this book represents a synthesis of all these sources along with my own.

Archaeology (A) Ethnology (E) History (H) Theoretical Subjects (T) 113

(H) Adams, James Truslow. 1943. *Atlas of American History*. New York: Scribners.

(H) Allis, Samuel. 1887. "Forty Years among the Indians and on the Eastern Borders of Nebraska," *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, Vol. 2, 133-196.

(H) ———. 1918. See Dunbar, John B.

(H) *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*. 1823. Pp. 501-503. Baltimore.

(E) Bogoras, Waldemar. 1902. "The Folklore of Northeastern Asia Compared with That of Northwestern America," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., IV, 577-683.

(E) Benedict, Ruth F. 1923. *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America*. ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," 29.) Lancaster.

(H) Bolton, Herbert E. 1911. "The Jumano Indians in Texas, 1650–1771," *Texas Historical Association Quarterly*, 15, No. 1, 66-84.

(H) ———. 1914. *Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768–1780*, Vol. I. Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company.

(H) ———. 1915. *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*. ("Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration, University of California Publications in History," Vol. III.) Berkeley.

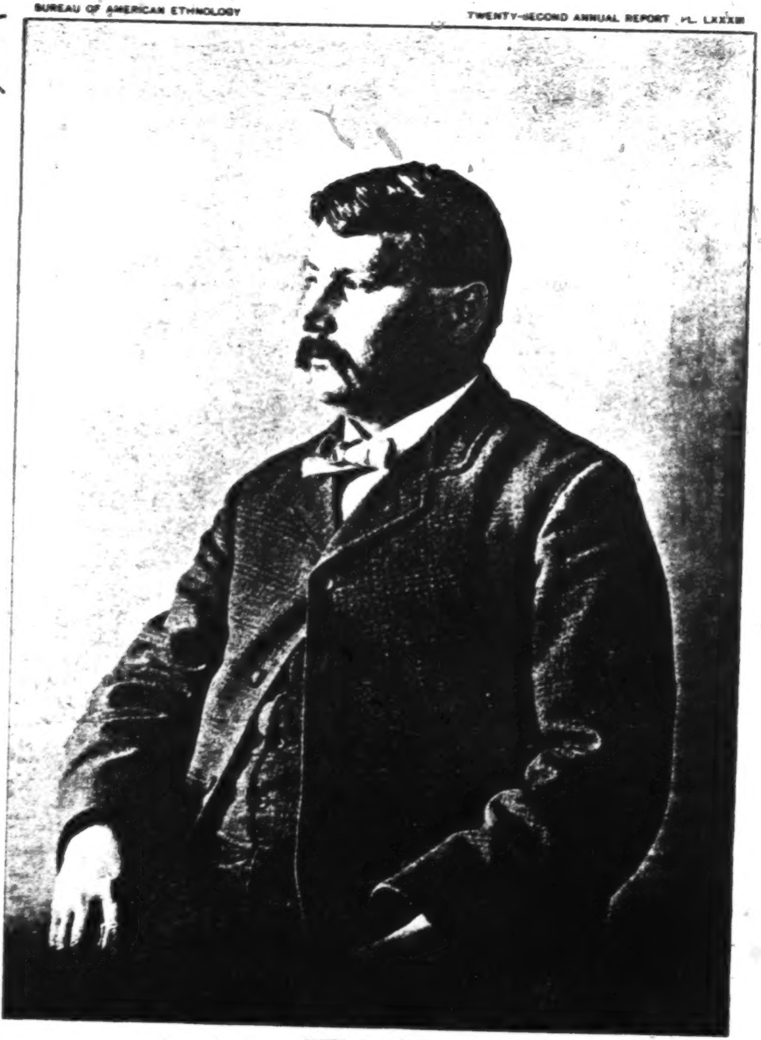
(H) ———. 1916. *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542–1706*. New York: Scribners.

(H) ———. 1949. *Coronado: Knight of the Pueblos and Plains*. Albuquerque: Whittlesey House and University of New Mexico Press.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

d15
142



JAMES R. MURIE

[FACING p. 14]

115 My collaborator in the present work has been Mr James R Murie, an educated Pawnee whom I have known since he was a schoolboy, twenty years ago. Mr Murie has taken up the task of preserving the ancient lore of his people, and he has not spared himself in his labor. How difficult his undertaking has been, and still is, can only be appreciated by those who have attempted to accomplish a similar work. His patience, tact, and unfailing courtesy and kindness have soothed the prejudice and allayed the fears of the old men who hold fast to the faith of their fathers and are the repositories of all that remains of the ancient rites of the tribe.

5

Tahirûssawichi, a full-blood Pawnee, who is the authority for the text and explanation of the ceremony which forms the subject of this paper, officially accompanied the Hako when it was carried by his people to the Omahas. He thus became acquainted with the leading men of that tribe, who were my friends, and this circumstance has favored the successful prosecution of this work. During the fall of 1898 and again in 1900 he and Mr Murie were my guests in Washington; then, and also during my visits to the Pawnees in 1899 and 1901, we were engaged upon the rituals of this ceremony. A final review of the manuscript was made with Mr Murie in the spring of 1902.

Tahirûssawichi is a member of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe and about 70 years of age. He is tall and well made, and preserves much of the vigor of his earlier days. He is mentally alert, quick to observe, possessed of a tenacious memory, and gifted with a genial nature. He enjoys a joke and is always ready with good-fellowship, but he never forgets the dignity of his calling, or fails to observe the conduct befitting his position as the guardian of sacred rites. Although he is childlike and trusting, he has a keen discernment of character and a shrewd common-sense way of looking at men and things. While he is not indifferent to the great changes which have overtaken his people, new conditions have failed to disturb in any way the convictions of his early religious training.

[793] He has struggled to avoid living in a house, and has held to an earth lodge until it has dropped to pieces about him. He said:[a] "I can not live in a white man's house of any kind. The sacred articles committed to my care must be kept in an earth lodge, and in order that I may fulfill my duties toward them and my people, I must live there also, so that as I sit I can stretch out my hand and lay it on Mother Earth." Last fall (1901) I saw how he had propped up a part of the ruins of his lodge so that he might still keep the sacred objects in a primitive dwelling.

When he was in Washington in 1898 he was taken to the Capitol and the Library of Congress. While the vastness and beauty of these structures gave him pleasure, they did not appeal to him, for such

---

[a] See A Pawnee Ritual Used When Changing a Man's Name, American Anthropologist, n. s., v. 1, January, 1899.

buildings he said were unfitted to contain the sacred symbols of the 115
religion of his ancestors, in the service of which he had spent his
long life. He admired at a distance the Washington Monument, and
when he visited it he measured the base, pacing and counting his [804]
steps. Then he stood close to the white shaft and looked up, noting
its great height. After going inside, he was asked which he would
take, the elevator or the stairs, and replied: "I will not go up. The
white man likes to pile up stones, and he may go to the top of them;
I will not. I have ascended the mountains made by Tira'wa."
Equally characteristic was his interview with the Commissioner of
Indian Affairs. When introduced, he said: "I am glad to see you
and to take you by the hand. Many chiefs of my tribe have done so.
I never expected to do it. I came here to talk of the religion of my
fathers, which I follow. You can ask my sister (referring to me)
what I have said."

Tahirŭssawichi had never been east of the Mississippi river until
he came to Washington to engage in the preservation of this rite.
Of the genuineness of his statements there can be no doubt. His
position in the Pawnee tribe is that of a man worthy of respect—one
versed in a knowledge of serious things, whose life has been devoted
to the acquisition and maintenance of certain sacred rites. He is
esteemed as a man of truth—one who has the favor of Tira'wa. He
possesses a knowledge of curative roots, and often attends the sick,
using herbs as medicine. He is the keeper of certain old and sacred
objects, and leads in their attendant ceremonies. His great care in
observing all the details of the intricate ceremony of the Hako is well
known in the tribe, and much good fortune is believed to follow his
leadership in this ceremony. His title is Ku'rahus. This term is [554]
applied to a man of years who has been instructed in the meaning
and use of sacred objects as well as their ceremonies. The word is
sometimes employed as a synonym for a venerable man, one who
commands respect, but throughout this paper it is used in its official
sense—the leader of the ceremony.

It has taken four years of close friendly relations with my kind old
friend to obtain this ceremony in its entirety. Many of its rituals [123]
deal with very sacred subjects, and it has required much patience
in the presentation of reasons why they should be explained to overcome the scruples born of the early training of the Ku'rahus. That
he has finally made this record complete, so that the ceremony as
known among his people can be preserved, is worthy of commendation. His work as it now stands shows Tahirŭssawichi to be broad-minded as well as thoughtful, reverent, and sincere.

Graphophone records were taken of all the songs belonging to this 126
ceremony. The music as here printed has been transcribed from the
cylinders by Mr Edwin S. Tracy and each transcription has been
verified by him from the singing of the Ku'rahus. It is to be regretted

531*
796*

918 See line 917.
919 **Kaksha hosha wiki rira.** See line 917.
920 See line 917.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza tells us that the noise made by the people as they gather together on the morning of the fifth day for the presentation of gifts to the Fathers is like the coming of a great flock of birds. The people move like the birds; they do not come in a straight line to the lodge of the Son, but they come from this side and from that just as the birds gather together in a flock.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

921 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
922 **Wetu kaksha hosha wiki rira.**
wetu, it has.
kaksha, a tumultuous noise.
hosha, flock.
wiki, manner of approach. See line 897.
rira, coming.
923 See line 922.
924 **Kaksha hosha wiki rira.** See line 922.
925 See line 922.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the people approach the lodge they make a great noise. All is bustle; the neighing ponies to be given to the Fathers are brought forward, and the people are calling to one another; there is the singing of songs and the shouts of pleasure; all these sounds mingling make a noise like distant thunder. This stanza refers to this joyous tumult. [152]

Just before I came on to Washington I performed this ceremony, and now as I sit here and tell you about the meaning of this song, I can hear the happy shouts of the people as I heard them some weeks ago. Their voices seemed to come from everywhere! Their hearts were joyful. I am glad, as I remember that day. We are always happy when we are with the Hako. [115] [781]

PART II. THE SIXTEEN CIRCUITS OF THE LODGE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The last act of the last night is the making of four times four circuits of the lodge.

I have told you that the four circuits of the lodge which we have been making are in recognition of the four paths down which the lesser powers descend to man. We have been asking for help from these powers and so we have remembered the paths down which they

1368 hiri! harken.
riru'tsiraru, by reason of, because of. 539*
sira, they took; refers to the leader and to the men who followed and depended on him. 796*
553
sura, possess; to become one's own.
waurux', grasped, as a staff.
para, walked.
raru'tura, refers to that which descended to earth.
tuka'wiut, slantwise.
tari, end, or accomplished mission.
1369 rawa! attend! a call for attention at the moment.
hawa, once more.
urasharu, name.
we, I.
tatki'wati, change.
1370 hiri! harken!
tatux, we used to.
tapakiaho, speak of him.
hawa, once more.
Rarutska'tit, the former name, meaning black-feathered arrow.
hiri! harken!
raro, owner.
rikeha, lying. These words refer to the achievement commemorated by the name about to be thrown away.
ro re, vocables used for euphony and measure.
1371 hiri! harken!
wakoru, now we are.
ratora, all people.
pake'ûsto, speak out and say.
1372 hiri! harken!
akitaro, tribe.
hiwa, in the.
werataweko, prominent.
1373 hiri! harken!
Shaku'ru Wa'rukste, the new name now announced ("Sacred Sun").
hiriwa, in the process of making.
witi, himself.
rakawa'karu, what he is.
ko re, vocables used for euphony and measure.

Closing Remarks of the Ku'rahus

During the days I have been talking with you (the writer) I have been carried back in thought to the time when Estamaza (the father of Francis LaFlesche) came to the Chaui. I met him in this ceremony; he was the Father, and as I have worked here day and night, 115 123

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

115
123
my heart has gone out to you. I have done what has never been done before, I have given you all the songs of this ceremony and explained them to you. I never thought that I, of all my people, should be the one to give this ancient ceremony to be preserved, and I wonder over it as I sit here.

I think over my long life with its many experiences; of the great number of Pawnees who have been with me in war, nearly all of whom have been killed in battle. I have been severely wounded many times—see this scar over my eye. I was with those who went to the Rocky Mountains to the Cheyennes, when so many soldiers were slain that their dead bodies lying there looked like a great blue blanket spread over the ground. When I think of all the people of my own tribe who have died during my lifetime and then of those in other tribes that have fallen by our hands, they are so many they make a vast cover over Mother Earth. I once walked with these prostrate forms. I did not fall but I passed on, wounded sometimes but not to death, until I am here to-day doing this thing, singing these sacred songs into that great pipe (the graphophone) and telling you of these ancient rites of my people. It must be that I have been preserved for this purpose, otherwise I should be lying back there among the dead.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

II.

THE GHOST DANCE AMONG THE PAWNEE.[1]

THE GHOST DANCE: ORIGIN AND SPREAD

The Ghost Dance religion of 1890 arose in the visions of Wovoka, the Paiute Messiah, about 1888, although its roots lie deeper in the past. Wovoka is said to have been a son of Ta'vibo the Paiute prophet of 1870, whose doctrines had been the stimulus of the Ghost Dance which swept through the tribes of northern California in the years from 1871 to 1874. The doctrines of the son do not seem to have differed materially from those of the father.

As a child Wovoka was brought up in a household where he could not fail to be influenced by the practices of the medicine man. He was known as a medicine man for some years before he developed the Ghost Dance doctrine. In January 1889, at the time of a total eclipse of the sun visible in Nevada, Wovoka was sick with a severe fever. He was then about 33 years of age. In the tribe the eclipse caused frantic excitement. "The air was filled with the noise of shouts and wailings and the firing of guns." The people were trying to drive away the monster who was devouring the sun.

Wovoka fell asleep, or "died", and "was taken up into the other world. Here he saw God with all the people who had long ago died engaged in their old time sports and occupations, all happy and forever young. It was a pleasant land and full of game... God told him he must go back and tell his people they must be good and love one another, have no quarreling and live in peace with the whites; that they must work, and not lie and steal; that they must put away the old practices that savored of war; that if they faithfully obeyed his instructions they would at last be reunited with their friends in the other world, where there would be no more death or sickness or old age. He was then given the dance which he was commanded to bring back to his people. By performing

---

[1] Informants: Mark Evarts, Ezra Tilden, Joseph Carrion and Mrs. Goodeagle, all of whom played roles in the Ghost Dance developments among the Pawnee. Published sources consulted: Murie, Societies; Mooney, Ghost Dance; Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. (see bibliography).

[115]

FOREWORD

The previous studies of Indian music [1] have included no tribe in 121
which ceremonialism is so highly developed as among the Pawnee,
whose songs are here presented. This research was conducted among
members of the Skidi and Chaui Bands near Pawnee, Okla., in 1919 [114]
and 1920. Portions of two important ceremonies were witnessed and several gatherings of a ceremonial character were attended during the progress of the work. The ceremonies were those of the Morning Star and the Painting of the Buffalo Skull, the writer being admitted to the Morning Star lodge during the former ceremony and witnessing the Buffalo and Lance dances, which are a part of the latter. The gatherings included hand games, and dances in honor of Pawnee soldiers upon their return from the recent war.

Grateful acknowledgment is made of assistance rendered by interpreters, 115
especially by Mr. James R. Murie, chief of the Skidi Band, who explained many tribal customs and who wrote down and interpreted the words of the songs. The writer also acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. John R. Swanton in standardizing the orthography of the Pawnee words.

---

[1] Chippewa Music, Bull. 45; Chippewa Music II, Bull. 53; Teton Sioux Music, Bull. 61; Northern Ute Music, Bull. 75; Mandan and Hidatsa Music, Bull. 80; Papago Music, Bull. 90, Bur. Amer. Ethn.; and Music of the Tule Indians of Panama, Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 77, no. 11.

[p. iv is blank]

[p. v]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

NAMES OF SINGERS

115
551

Common name	Pawnee name	Translation	Number of songs recorded
Mrs. Wicita Blain (Effie Blain).	Tsastawinahiigat	She led a pony into the ceremony.	25
Wicita Blain [1]	Tutukrawitsu	He overtook the enemy.	20
John Luwak [2]	Laduda desadu	He does everything as a chief.	15
Horse Chief (Spotted Horse Chief).[3]			12
Dog Chief (Simond Adams).			5
Mrs. Mary Murie [4]			3
Fannie Chapman			2
Mark Evarts			2
Mrs. Good Eagle (Nora White).			1
Coming Sun [5]			1
Total			86

---

[1] Died Dec. 20, 1927.

[2] This singer is commonly known as John Rowak, according to the pronunciation of the Skidi Band. He is a chief of the Chaui Band and requested that his name be presented with the letter *L* used by the Chaui. The words of his songs are presented in the form used by the Skidi in order that they may be uniform with the majority of recorded Pawnee songs.

[3] Died June 13, 1923.

[4] Died June 12, 1928.

[5] Died Nov. 18, 1921.

CHARACTERIZATION OF SINGERS

A majority of these songs were recorded by Wicita Blain and his wife, who are members of the Skidi Band and spent their early years in Nebraska, before the removal of the tribe to Oklahoma. Both were afflicted with blindness and, when recording their songs, were led by a granddaughter who acted as interpreter. Mr. Blain recorded songs of the Lance and Buffalo dances which are his by right of inheritance. In the Buffalo dance attended by the writer he led the songs, being seated back of the "altar"; he also took a prominent part in the Lance dance. Mrs. Effie Blain is considered an equally reliable singer of the old songs. 115 [424]

John Luwak (pl. 2, *a*), who recorded many songs, is chief of the Chaui Band and a fine example of the old-time Indian. He speaks practically no English, but is ambitious to accept the best customs of the white man. In accordance with his request, the phonograph [126]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

115
[126]
was taken to his home, at some distance from Pawnee, and a majority of his songs were recorded there, with his niece acting as interpreter.

Dog Chief (pl. 1) is one of the oldest members of the tribe and is highly respected.

Horse Chief is one of the younger men and wears his hair in two long, shining braids. He is one of the leading singers at dances.

Mark Evarts (pl. 2, *b*) is a quiet, conservative member of the tribe. Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*) also is held in high esteem.

Mrs. Mary Murie and Fannie Chapman are known as excellent story tellers.

Coming Sun is a prominent member of the Skidi Band. He asked that his English name be withheld because of the importance of certain material which he had contributed to this work.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

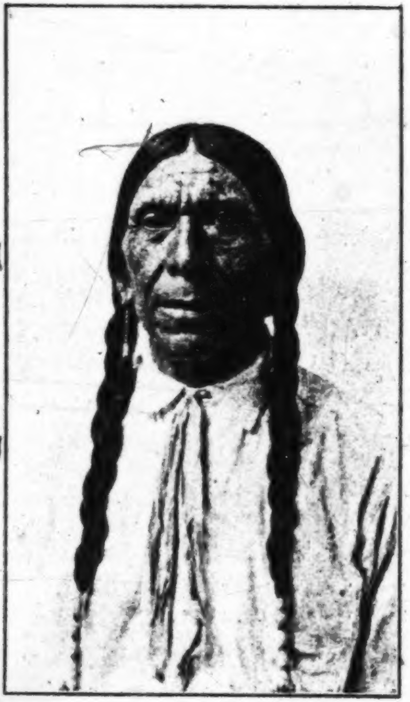
115
142
292
302
293

DOG CHIEF

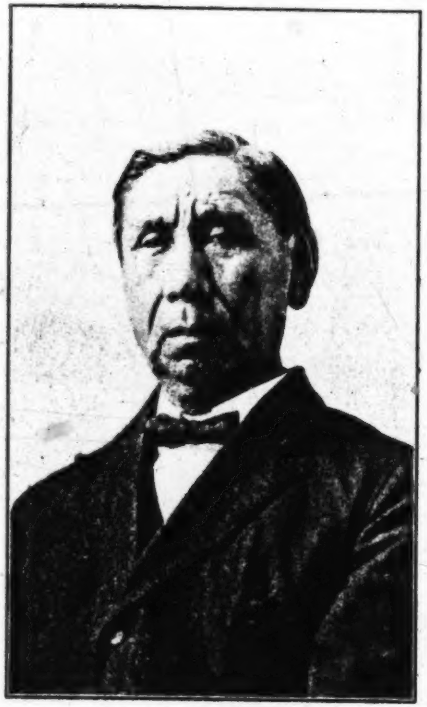
[Facing p. xviii]

115
142
302

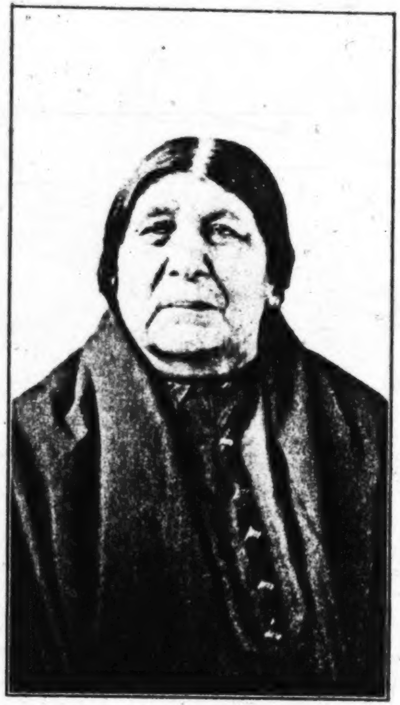
[facing p. 1]



a, John Luwak



b, Mark Evarts



c, Mrs. Good Eagle

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUFFALO DANCE

796 The ceremony of Painting the Buffalo Skull is held every spring by the Chaui Band of Pawnee and is in charge of Mr. Stacy Matlock, a prominent member of that band. The closing events of the ceremony are the Buffalo and Lance dances, which were witnessed by the writer through the courtesy of Mr. Matlock, no other
[246] white person being present. The ceremony and dances were held in a large earth lodge, several miles south of the town of Pawnee. (Pl. 6, *a*, *b*, *c*.) The opening of the lodge was toward the east. At some distance was a framework, probably that of a sweat lodge. (Pl. 7, *b*.) Only members of the Buffalo Society were admitted to
[778] the painting of the skull, but during the Buffalo dance the skull, painted a few days previously, lay on a folded blanket in front of the "altar" which was opposite the entrance. This occasion and the Lance dance held a few days later afforded exceptional opportunities to listen to Pawnee songs, but the semidarkness of the lodge and the solemnity of the occasion precluded the taking of notes upon either the music or the details of the ceremonial dances.

The chief singer at both of these dances was Wicita Blain, a
[424] blind man who received the songs by inheritance. He led the songs
796 which were sung at a certain position back of the altar. At a later
● 115 time he recorded the ceremonial songs here presented, also certain songs of the Bear dance, which is held in equally high esteem by the Pawnee. John Luwak, chief of the Chaui Band, was prominent at the Lance dance and later recorded numerous songs, including those of the Crow Lance Society. (Pl. 2, *a*.)

*533 The following song was led by Mr. Blain at the Buffalo dance attended by the writer and is a very old song concerning Mrs.
173 Blain's uncle, whose name was Naru'dapadi. A great herd of buffalo came to the place where the Indians were encamped and threatened the destruction of the village. Her uncle rode toward them, shouting and firing his gun in an attempt to divert them from their course, but he was caught in the herd. There were buffalo on all sides of him as the herd swept through the camp and across a stream, carrying him with them.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth. These are the tones omitted in the fourth 5-toned scale which is major while the present song is minor in tonality. It is interesting to note that 25 per cent of the intervals are fourths. This interval, in songs of other tribes, has been found to characterize songs associated with motion or connected with animals. The most frequent interval is the whole tone. This song has a compass of 11 tones and contains the fourth below the final tone. Table 4 shows that the final tone is the lowest tone in a majority of the Indian songs under analysis.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Analysis.—This song has a compass of five tones and contains only the tones of the minor triad and second. It is interesting to note that major thirds are more frequent than minor thirds, though the song is minor in tonality. Only one interval larger than a major third occurs in the melody. The time was broken between the renditions of this song. 533*

The five remaining songs of the Bear dance were recorded by Dog Chief (pl. 1), whose father was one of the leading singers at the Bear dance in old times and who therefore has inherited the right to sing these songs. 115 ● 424 533*

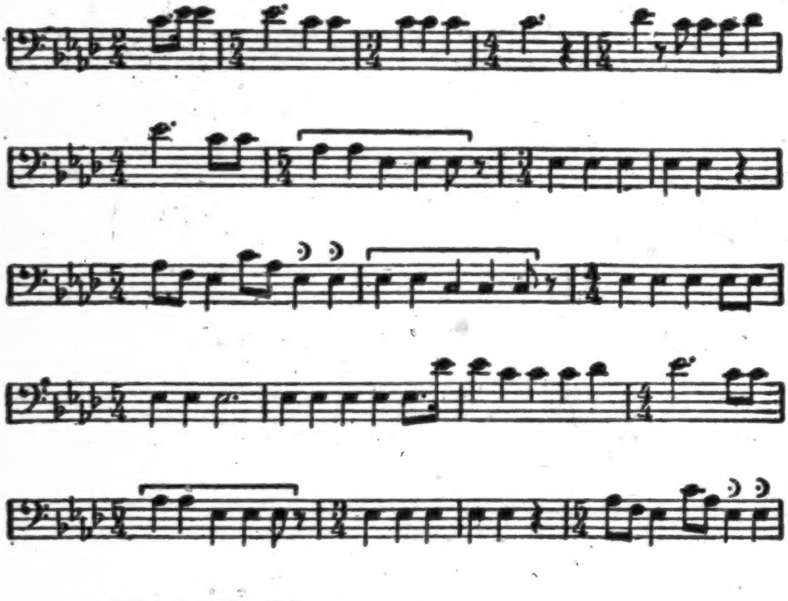
No. 16. "I Am Like a Bear"

(Catalogue No. 1149)

Recorded by Dog Chief

533*

Voice ♩ = 138
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

I am like a bear,
I hold up my hands waiting for the sun to rise.

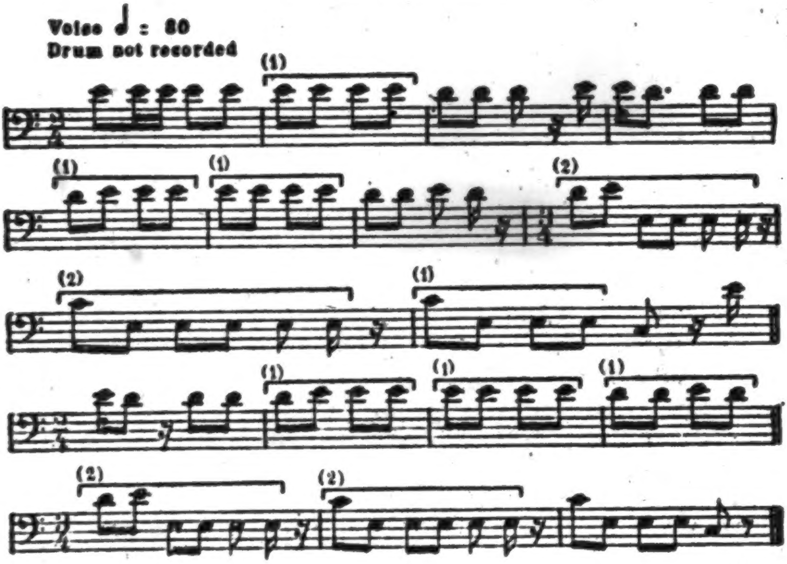
Analysis.—This song is harmonic in structure, the melody being based on the triad A flat–C–E flat, other tones occurring only as passing tones. The rhythmic interest lies in the 5–4 measures and in the

*533 When the man returned with the horse he had captured, the people
[554] saw him running like a bear while the horse was galloping. This was commemorated in the following song.

No. 19. Bear Dance Song (c)

(Catalogue No. 1152)

Recorded by Dog Chief



Analysis.—This melody is peculiar in that about 40 per cent of its progressions are minor sixths or larger intervals. The intonation on these large intervals was fairly correct in all the renditions. The two most prominent tones are D and E, the former appearing as an accented tone in almost half the measures. Attention is directed to the descent of an octave which twice is accomplished in the space of a measure.

[115] The words of the next song were said to mean "I am a brave man.
[124] I am acting like a bear." (The lack of a competent interpreter when Dog Chief's songs were recorded made it impossible to secure a more extended description and translation.)

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
575
[115]

Two songs of the society were recorded by Mark Evarts (pl. 2, *b*), who said that his father was one of its dancers. He said that the ceremony of the Deer Society lasted four days and nights and that this song was sung just before daylight.

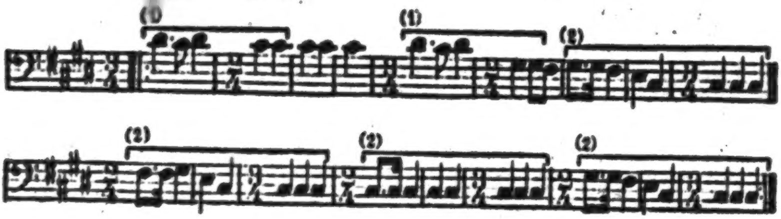
No. 21. "How Near is the Morning?"

(Catalogue No. 1150)

*533

Recorded by MARK EVARTS

Voice ♩ = 120
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

Part 1

The chief speaks to his attendant, saying, "Go out and see how the stars stand.
Tell us how near is the morning."
The attendant returns and says, "It is almost morning."
The chief says to the dancers, "Wake up, men. It is almost morning."

Part 2

The chief speaks to his attendant, saying, "Go out and see how the stars stand.
Tell us how near is the morning."
The attendant returns and says, "The morning star is coming up."
The chief says to the singers, "Change the song. The morning star is rising."

Analysis.—This song consists of two parts, each containing nine measures and ending with the same phrase. This phrase, together with the accented subdominant at the beginning of the second half of the song, gives a plaintive character to the melody. The progressions of the opening measures suggest an inquiry and are marked by consecutive whole tones on the upper tones of the compass. Two rhythmic units occur, the second being an extension of the first. Progression is by a variety of intervals but the major second comprises about three-fifths of the entire number.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

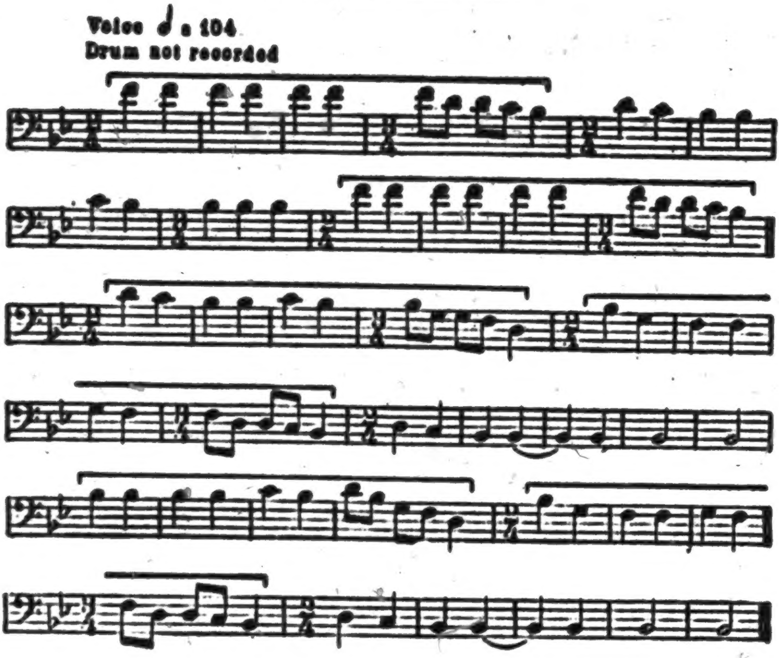
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The use of the following song was not explained. 533*

No. 22. "Spring is Opening"

(Catalogue No. 1160)

Recorded by Mark Evarts



FREE TRANSLATION

Spring is opening,
I can smell the different perfumes of the white weeds used in the dance.

Analysis.—This song is based on the fourth 5-toned scale and has a compass of 12 tones. About two-thirds of the progressions are downward. This proportion of descending intervals is not uncommon in Indian songs, but this melody contains, in several instances, a succession of four descending progressions, which is unusual. Almost the entire song consists of repetitions of the rhythmic unit.

SONG OF THE WHITE LANCE SOCIETY

533*
575
[115]
[302]

The ceremony and dance of this society were witnessed by Mrs. Blain when a child, the ceremony being called Naristaka (*naris*, ceremony; *taka*, white). She stated that the men taking part in the dance had half their bodies painted red and half black, and their position in dancing was such that the side of their bodies painted red was toward the sunrise and that painted black was toward the sunset. Each man held the hands of the men on either side of him, and it

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

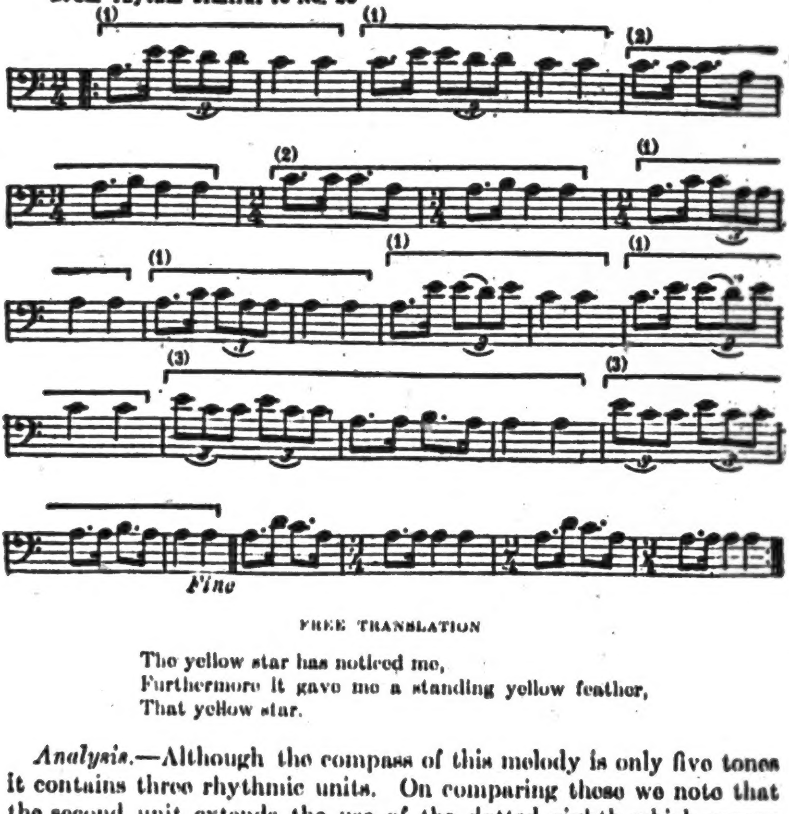
*533

No. 57. "The Yellow Star"

(Catalogue No. 1107)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum ♩ = 84
Drum rhythm similar to No. 26



FREE TRANSLATION

The yellow star has noticed me,
Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather,
That yellow star.

Analysis.—Although the compass of this melody is only five tones it contains three rhythmic units. On comparing these we note that the second unit extends the use of the dotted eighth, which occurs in the first unit, and that the third unit contains the dotted eighth and also the triplet which occurs in the first unit. This thematic development is interesting and somewhat unusual. The rhythm did not vary in the four renditions. The connecting phrase did not occur between the second and third renditions. Progression is chiefly by whole tones and the song is harmonic in structure.

787
*533
● [115]

The man to whom the next song belonged was Running Scout, a man who was very religious and remained in a Ghost dance trance for several days. His friends thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that he had been to the Messiah who told him to "go to the village." Following this instruction, he saw many men

1880–81 Mr. John B. Dunbar published a most interesting account of 114
this tribe, but his sketch is mainly historical, and does not profess to treat exhaustively of the lives and modes of thought of this people. It is, however, a history of very great importance and value, and in preparing the historical matter which is included in this volume, I have not hesitated to draw on Mr. Dunbar's papers, which must form the basis of any subsequent account of the Pawnees, and which should be read by all who are interested in this people.

I owe much of my interest in and knowledge of the Pawnees to my long intimacy with the late Major Frank North, who from his extended intercourse and close connection with this people—a connection which lasted more than thirty years—was unquestionably better informed about them than any other white man has ever been; and with Capt. L. H. North, his brother, who was for many years associated with Major North in command of the Pawnee Scouts.

In gathering the material here presented I have been assisted also by 115
James R. Murie, a nephew of Comanche Chief; by Ralph J. Weeks, a half-brother of Lone Chief; by Harry Kuhns, by Eagle Chief and Bear Chief, Skidis; by Good Chief and Curly Chief, Kit-ke-hahk-is; by Secret Pipe Chief and Frank White, Chau-is, and by many others of my Pawnee friends, to all of whom my acknowledgments are due.

In the pronunciation of the few Pawnee words used in these 114
stories, the vowel sounds, as nearly as I can give them, are as follows: 104
a as in father, *e* as the *a* in ale, *i* as *e* in cede, *ū* long as *oo* in pool, *ŭ* short as in us, *au* as *ou* in house. These sounds depend somewhat on the letters which follow the vowels, and the spelling does not always conform to the rule laid down. The last two syllables in the word Pita-hau-erat, for example, are pronounced *irăt* or *idot*. The sounds of *d*, *l*, *n* and *r* are difficult to express by English letters; *r* sometimes has its own sound quite distinctly, at others more the sound of *d*; *n* often has a *d* sound, and *l* a sound of *n*. It will be noted that throughout I have used the familiar English word Pawnee instead of the evidently more correct *Pa'-ni*.

Finally I have refrained from commenting on the stories, though 114
there is abundant opportunity for comment.

602 tain that the children of brothers are brothers and sisters to each other, and that the
children of two sisters are the same, but
about the children of a brother and a sister
I could not ascertain. There is no term for
[601] aunt, therefore a father's sister is a mother,
and probably her son is a brother, but on
this point I could not make any certain
●[115] progress. Col. Peter A. Sarpy of St. Marys
told me that the father's sister was a grand
[582] mother, and a man could marry this grand
mother. If there is no aunt, then a woman
has no nephew and niece, and a woman's
brother's son is her grand son. But the
mother's brother is an uncle, and consequently a man has a nephew and niece. I
think I can nearly write out this system,
but at all events I feel sure Mr. Allis will be
able to do it for me with the aid I shall now
be able to give him.

123 I stayed with this pleasant family which
consists of a mother, two sons and one
grown daughter and also an orphan girl
brought up by them, and the Pawnee woman
besides the Rev. Samuel Allis now absent
as before stated. They refused compensation for my entertainment, and I left them
Friday morning to return to Mr. Hamilton
at Bellevue, well pleased with my visit: I am
114 to write to Mr. Allis on my return, and to
[125] send him a schedule and they say he will
attend to it for me.

I returned about three o'clock, June 8, to Bellevue, and shall remain here until Saturday morning when I go up to Omaha to meet the boat on which I am to return to Rulo, where I shall make a desperate effort for the Blackfoot and the Sheyenne and also try at Omaha again for the Pawnee.

[P90 (B)]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[p. vii]

THE LOST UNIVERSE

Prologue

000

The Lost Universe *is an account of one year in the life of a six-hundred-year-old American Indian nation that continued its existence within the United States through the Civil War period, retaining its integrity as a nation until it was uprooted and dissolved in 1876.* 121

This is the story as told directly by the citizens who were part of it in those last years and who, in the course of their lives, saw it become a lost universe. 115

Nations are even now in danger of dissolution, but they are not lost. The knowledge and wisdom of the six-hundred-year-old Pawnee nation is one of the unknown building blocks that was built into the nation of the United States. In the Pawnee nation was summarized the knowledge of a continent that reached back nearly twenty thousand years in time to when mankind first discovered the New World. In it is embodied our continuity with human history as it developed in this land. 000

[p. vi is blank]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[p. viii is blank]

PREFACE

THE LOST UNIVERSE was first rediscovered through the language of the Pawnee people. As a research associate of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia in 1928, it was suggested to me by Franz Boas, its chairman, that I undertake a formal study of the Pawnee language, the best preserved member of the then unknown Caddoan language family. After a week's preliminary work with Henry Moses, the only Pawnee member of the One Hundred and One Ranch Circus which was performing in New York at that time, I went to Pawnee, Oklahoma, bearing a letter of introduction to his father, John Moses, dictated in Pawnee phonetics so that I could read it to him since he was monolingual. The next step took me to the Pawnee Indian Agency where I met Walter Keyes, Agency interpreter, who, taking due note of my impecunious condition, commended me to Stacy Matlock, who endowed our science with my first material on the Pawnee language. Following our usual procedure, he dictated myths and tales in the Pawnee language, which I wrote down in the International Phonetic Alphabet and subsequently obtained from him a more or less word-for-word translation, as well as a free English rendering. As the work proceeded, he felt that a more classic form of the language could be obtained from the few surviving monolingual Pawnees; I was able to record similar myths and tales, getting a translation subsequently by reading them back to Henry Chapman, a man who had a remarkable interest and facility in Pawnee and English and who continued as my interpreter and assistant in analyzing the grammatical categories. As a result of this work three pieces were published—a volume of recorded Pawnee texts, *Caddoan Texts, South Band Pawnee Dialect;* an analyzed text and grammatical sketch, "The Vision Story of Fox Boy," in the *International Journal of American Linguistics;* and an article jointly with A. Lesser, "Composition of the Caddoan Linguistic Stock," in the *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections.* This work was supported by the Committee on American Indian Languages of the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D.C. 12

The next step was to record the way of life of the Pawnees of which the language was an instrument, in the interests of semantic analysis; this was undertaken under a grant from the Columbia Council on the Humanities through the Department of Anthropology, the work continuing at Pawnee, Oklahoma, until 1936 at various intervals. The present work represents the main substance of what was gathered for this purpose. The chief [115]

12 narrator was Mark Evarts, a Pawnee of the Skidi Band, whose childhood
was spent on the reservation in Nebraska from 1861 to 1875, when Pawnee
115 culture was still very much an integral polity and way of life. His personal
identity is embodied in the "Boy Otter" as he appears in the following
narrative.

101 My relationship with Mark Evarts began casually in the course of my
grammatical researches. Historically there were four political groups of
114 Pawnees known as bands, the Skidi or Wolf Band, the Kitkehaxki or Little-
115 Earth-Lodge Band, the Tsawi or Asking-for-Meat Band and the Pita-
hawirata or Man-Going-Downstream Band. Each of these traditionally
pronounced the language somewhat differently, but it was always known
that the major difference was between the Skidi and the other three known
collectively as the South Bands because of their former more southern
location. From linguistic samples I took of each of the four, the distinc-
tions among the South Bands were not clear enough to identify at that
time. Only the Skidi difference was clear. Mark Evarts served as my Skidi
informant with Henry Chapman as interpreter in my attempt to find any
grammatical and pronunciation distinctions. Evarts' English was broken
and so heavily overlaid with a Pawnee accent that it was understandable
only with considerable difficulty. As my Pawnee vocabulary improved,
we developed a Pawnee-English mode of communication that made the
interpreter no longer necessary. As I extended my research into the seman-
tic and cultural background of the language, Evarts became a major re-
source and ally in my investigations and our work extended over seven
years and involved the entire Oklahoma Pawnee community.

At this time (1928–1936) Evarts was living with friends and relatives.
114 His wife and child had died tragically only a few years before, and he had
115 lost his little farm to the bank. The crises that had beset his life as a mem-
ber of his tribe and times were epic in their proportions; as a man in the
decline of his years, he had many questions to ask, and I, as a novice in
life's ills and trials, had many questions to ask of him. Many of his ques-
tions concerned the white culture and its values, and, as a young anthro-
pologist, mine sought answers through the cross-cultural perspective I
hoped to find in studying the Pawnee way. Together we established the
language of our common humanity and communicated what we wanted
to know about the special character of each other's culture as well as of
life in general. It was my purpose to understand the Pawnees as people,
not as Indians or as social categories and certainly not as historical an-
tiques.

161 Although in the 1920's only seven hundred Pawnees survived, some
178 Pawnee customs remained among them and at least eight of the older peo-
197 ple spoke no other language than Pawnee. The town of Pawnee, Okla-
homa, was surrounded by the allotted lands of the Pawnees, the lands of
361 each band being located in a different direction. The bands were still
423

000

159 591 Lincoln who was the government blacksmith. They invited Shot Arm and the boy to come and live with them. They stayed there for six years, and then Shot Arm's sister, Woman White Star, invited them to come and live with her. One winter both Shot Arm and the boy were very ill with a high fever. Fox Chief, his older half brother, came and took the boy to live with him. From there the boy moved from one house to the other, sometimes with Misery, then with War Cry and others. Because of his wandering about, he did not know that his father, Shot Arm, had died. [754] The relatives suspected that his death was due to witchcraft by a member of the family of their old rival, Big Doctor. The feeling was so strong that the agent had an autopsy performed, which showed that Shot Arm had died of an old gunshot wound that had affected his lungs. But the [165] Pawnees were not convinced. And neither was Mark Evarts when he told of it in 1928. During the first five years in Oklahoma, 800 Pawnees died.

159 177 Otter's old playmates, David Gillingham and the Coons brothers, had gone to Carlisle School in Pennsylvania and they induced him to come along. After his schooling he worked at harness making in Harrisburg, Newark, and Philadelphia. He experienced such wonders as climbing into the arm of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor and playing baseball for a period with the Cuban Giants, a colored team. While he was with them in the South, he was questioned by the authorities "about the grandfather clause." His right hand was permanently broken in baseball, for in those days they played without benefit of a catcher's mitt. He was very lonesome and went home. As he says,

> When I got home from Carlisle, I had no home. My older brother, Fox Chief, War Cry, and Misery had all died. It was cold weather and Behaille (the interpreter) met me on the road and took me in his buggy and gave me a swig of whisky. He offered me a home at his house where Brave Chief, Frank Leader, and Peter Wood were living.

159 An older woman in Behaille's house befriended him and established a relationship with him. Finally the agency took a hand in his life. The agent said he had made a good record at school and he should settle down. He was trained as a blacksmith and given a position. At last the Riding-In family gave him their daughter, Hannah, in marriage and they set up a farm together and had a daughter. Then Hannah died of tuberculosis and shortly afterward, at the age of twelve, their daughter followed. The farm was lost to the bank as the result of a crop failure and an unpaid loan. This was in 1924. In 1928 this record of old Pawnee life [115] was made with Mark Evarts' help.

[781] When he returned to Pawnee from the east, Mark Evarts had a severe emotional crisis and finally an important religious experience. He re-
000 turned home permanently in 1897–1898. The Pawnee version of the re-

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000

TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

TO THE

SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

1900-1901

J. W. POWELL
DIRECTOR

IN TWO PARTS—PART 2

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1904

[PAGE 1]
[P.2 blank]

800

ACCOMPANYING PAPERS

(CONTINUED)

[P. 3]
[P. 4 blank]

l: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000

THE HAKO: A PAWNEE CEREMONY

BY

ALICE C. FLETCHER
HOLDER OF THAW FELLOWSHIP, PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ASSISTED BY
JAMES R. MURIE

MUSIC TRANSCRIBED BY
EDWIN S. TRACY

[p. 5]
[p. 6 blank]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

CONTENTS

Page
Preface 13
Introduction 17
Name of the ceremony 17
Personnel of the ceremony 18
Requisites of the ceremony and their symbolism 19
Time of the ceremony 23
Scheme of the ceremony 24
The Hako 26
The preparation 26
First division. Initial rites 27
First ritual. Making the Hako 27
Part I. Invoking the powers 27
Part II. Preparing the feathered stems 37
Part III. Painting the ear of corn and preparing the other sacred objects 42
Part IV. Offering of smoke 48
Second ritual. Prefiguring the journey to the Son 49
Third ritual. Sending the messengers 56
Fourth ritual 58
Part I. Vivifying the sacred objects 58
Part II. Mother Corn assumes leadership 59
Part III. The Hako party presented to the powers 61
Second division. The journey 68
Fifth ritual 68
Part I. Mother Corn asserts authority 68
Part II. Songs and ceremonies of the way 73
Part III. Mother Corn reasserts leadership 85
Third division. Entering the village of the Son and consecrating his lodge 89
Sixth ritual 89
Part I. The Son's messenger received 89
Part II. The Hako party enter the village 92
Seventh ritual 93
Part I. Touching and crossing the threshold 93
Part II. Consecrating the lodge 97
Part III. Clothing the Son and offering smoke 101
The ceremony 105
First division. The public ceremony 105
Eighth ritual (first day). The Fathers feed the children 105
Ninth ritual (first night). Invoking the visions 117
Tenth ritual. The Dawn 123
Part I. The birth of Dawn 123
Part II. The Morning Star and the new-born Dawn 128

[p.7]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

600

The Hako—continued. Page
The ceremony—continued.
First division—continued.
Tenth ritual—continued.

Part III. Daylight 131
Part IV. The Children behold the day 132
Eleventh ritual (second day). The male element invoked 134
Part I. Chant to the Sun 134
Part II. Day songs 140
Twelfth ritual (second night). The rites came by a vision 147
Thirteenth ritual (third day). The female element invoked 151
Part I. The sacred feast of Corn 151
Part II. Song to the Earth 151
Part III. Offering of smoke 165
Part IV. Songs of the birds 166
Fourteenth ritual (third night). Invoking the visions of the ancients 176
Second division. The secret ceremonies 180
Fifteenth ritual (fourth night) 183
Part I. The flocking of the birds 183
Part II. The sixteen circuits of the lodge 187
Sixteenth ritual (fifth day, dawn) 201
Part I. Seeking the child 201
Part II. Symbolic inception 204
Part III. Action symbolizing life 209
Seventeenth ritual 218
Part I. Touching the child 218
Part II. Anointing the child 223
Part III. Painting the child 227
Part IV. Putting on the symbols 233
Eighteenth ritual. Fulfilment prefigured 242
Part I. Making the nest 242
Part II. Symbolic fulfilment 244
Part III. Thank offering 246
Third division. The dance of thanks 247
Nineteenth ritual 247
Part I. The call to the Children 247
Part II. The dance and reception of gifts 253
Fourth division. The presentation of the Hako 256
Twentieth ritual 256
Part I. Blessing the child 256
Part II. Presenting the Hako to the Son and thanks to the Children 259
Incidental ceremonies 260
Comforting the child 260
Prayer to avert storms 265
Prayer for the gift of children 267
Changing a man's name 273
Analytical recapitulation 279
Origin and geographic distribution of the ceremony 279
Purpose of the ceremony 280
Structure of the ceremony 281
Rhythmic expression in the ceremony 282

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Analytical recapitulation—continued.

Page
The preparation 288
First division. Initial rites 288
First ritual. Making the Hako 288
Part I. Invoking the powers 288
Part II. Preparing the feathered stems 289
Part III. Painting the ear of corn and preparing the other sacred objects 290
Second ritual. Prefiguring the journey to the Son 292
Third ritual. Sending the messengers 294
Fourth ritual 295
Part I. Vivifying the sacred objects 295
Part II. Mother Corn assumes leadership 296
Part III. The Hako party presented to the powers 297
Second division. The journey 299
Fifth ritual 299
Part I. Mother Corn asserts authority 299
Part II. Songs and ceremonies of the way 301
Part III. Mother Corn reasserts leadership 303
Third division. Entering the village of the Son and consecrating his lodge 308
Sixth ritual 308
Part I. The Son's messenger received 308
Part II. The Hako party enter the village 308
Seventh ritual 309
Part I. Touching and crossing the threshold 309
Part II. Consecrating the lodge 310
Part III. Clothing the Son and offering smoke 312
The ceremony 313
First division. The public ceremony 313
Eighth ritual (first day). The Fathers feed the Children 313
Ninth ritual (first night). Invoking the visions 317
Tenth ritual—The Dawn 320
Part I. The birth of Dawn 320
Part II. The Morning Star and the new-born Dawn 321
Part III. Daylight 324
Part IV. The Children behold the day 324
Eleventh ritual (second day). The male element invoked 325
Part I. Chant to the Sun 325
Part II. Day songs 326
Twelfth ritual (second night). The rites came by a vision 328
Thirteenth ritual (third day). The female element invoked 331
Part I. Sacred feast of Corn 333
Part II. Song to the Earth 334
Part III. Offering of smoke 336
Part IV. Songs of the birds 336
Fourteenth ritual (third night). Invoking the visions of the ancients 337
Second division. The secret ceremonies 339
Fifteenth ritual (fourth night) 339
Part I. The flocking of birds 339
Part II. The sixteen circuits of the lodge 340

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Analytical recapitulation—continued.
The ceremony—continued.
Second division—continued.

Page
Sixteenth ritual (fifth day, dawn) 245
Part I. Seeking the child........ 245
Part II. Symbolic inception........ 248
Part III. Action symbolizing life........ 249
Seventeenth ritual 250
Part I. Touching the child........ 250
Part II. Anointing the child........ 252
Part III. Painting the child........ 253
Part IV. Putting on the symbols........ 255
Eighteenth ritual. Fulfilment prefigured........ 257
Part I. Making the nest 257
Part II. Symbolic fulfilment........ 258
Part III. Thank offering........ 258
Third division. The dance of thanks........ 259
Nineteenth ritual 259
Part I. The call to the Children........ 259
Part II. The dance and reception of gifts........ 260
Fourth division. The presentation of the Hako........ 261
Twentieth ritual 261
Part I. Blessing the child 261
Part II. Presenting the Hako to the Son and thanks to the Children 261
Incidental rituals 262
Comforting the child 262
Prayer to avert storms 264
Prayer for the gift of Children 264
Changing a man's name........ 264
Index 369

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ILLUSTRATIONS

000

Page
PLATE LXXXIII. James R. Murie 14
LXXXIV. The Ku'rahus in ceremonial dress (front view) 26
LXXXV. The Ku'rahus in ceremonial dress (profile view) 26
LXXXVI. "Kawas," the brown feathered stem (female) 38
LXXXVII. The white feathered stem (male) 40
LXXXVIII. "Mother Corn" ... 44
LXXXIX. The rattles 46
XC. The wildcat skin and crotched stick 48
XCI. The feather symbol of Tira'wa 58
FIGURE 171. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the decoration of the feathered stems 36
172. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the second ritual 48
173. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the singing of the first stanza of the song of the fourth ritual, part II 59
174. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the singing of the second stanza of the song of the fourth ritual, part II 62
175. Diagram showing the movements of the principal members of the Father's party during the presentation to the powers 67
176. Diagram of the Son's lodge at the beginning of the public ceremony 105
177. Diagram of the Son's lodge during the sixteenth ritual, part III 210
178. Diagram of the Son's lodge during the seventeenth ritual, part I 214
179. The symbol of Tira'wa 233
180. Diagram showing the positions of the participants in the dance of thanks 248
181. Diagram of the Son's lodge during the presentation of the Hako 257

[p. 11]

[p. 12 blank]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE HAKO: A PAWNEE CEREMONY

By Alice C. Fletcher

PREFACE

In the early eighties of the last century, while pursuing my study of the Omaha tribe, I several times witnessed the ceremony described 114 in the following pages. Owing to the death of the only man who knew all the rituals, it became impossible to secure a complete record, but 121 as the ceremony was an intertribal one I hoped to make good the loss in some other tribe. From statements made by the Omahas, the Ponkas, and the Dakotas I was led to believe that among the Pawnees this ceremony could be found still preserved in its entirety. I need not recount the failure of efforts made during some fifteen years to gain the desired information, since at last, in 1898, I found the long-sought opportunity. After four years of work, I am able to present the entire ceremony, as observed in the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

The difficulty of obtaining accurate first-hand information in 123 regard to religious rites and beliefs is so well known that it seems proper to state briefly how I came by my opportunities. An extended and intimate acquaintance in one tribe opens the way in another. The warm friendship of old and leading men of the Omahas became my credentials to other tribes where these leaders were influential; and with the further assistance of Mr Francis LaFlesche, the son of the former head chief of the Omahas, I was able to establish relations of confidence with some of the old and prominent men of the Pawnees.

My experience has shown that no linguistic training will enable a 124 student by himself to accomplish successfully the difficult task of recording and interpreting the rituals of a religious ceremony. He must have a native collaborator, one with a good knowledge of English and well versed in the intricacies of his own tongue, able to explain its "sacred language" and possessing those gifts of mind and character which fit him not only to grasp the ideals of his race but to commend himself to the keepers of the ancient rites. Such a collaborator makes a clear vision of the native mind possible to a student of another race.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

115
142

JAMES R. MURIE

[FACING p. 14]

115 My collaborator in the present work has been Mr James R Murie, an educated Pawnee whom I have known since he was a schoolboy, twenty years ago. Mr Murie has taken up the task of preserving the ancient lore of his people, and he has not spared himself in his labor. How difficult his undertaking has been, and still is, can only be appreciated by those who have attempted to accomplish a similar work. His patience, tact, and unfailing courtesy and kindness have soothed the prejudice and allayed the fears of the old men who hold fast to the faith of their fathers and are the repositories of all that remains of the ancient rites of the tribe.

Tahirûssawichi, a full-blood Pawnee, who is the authority for the text and explanation of the ceremony which forms the subject of this paper, officially accompanied the Hako when it was carried by his people to the Omahas. He thus became acquainted with the leading men of that tribe, who were my friends, and this circumstance has favored the successful prosecution of this work. During the fall of 1898 and again in 1900 he and Mr Murie were my guests in Washington; then, and also during my visits to the Pawnees in 1899 and 1901, we were engaged upon the rituals of this ceremony. A final review of the manuscript was made with Mr Murie in the spring of 1902.

Tahirûssawichi is a member of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe and about 70 years of age. He is tall and well made, and preserves much of the vigor of his earlier days. He is mentally alert, quick to observe, possessed of a tenacious memory, and gifted with a genial nature. He enjoys a joke and is always ready with good-fellowship, but he never forgets the dignity of his calling, or fails to observe the conduct befitting his position as the guardian of sacred rites. Although he is childlike and trusting, he has a keen discernment of character and a shrewd common-sense way of looking at men and things. While he is not indifferent to the great changes which have overtaken his people, new [illegible] have failed to disturb in any way the convictions of his [illegible] religious training.

He has struggled to avoid [illegible] in a house, and has held to an earth lodge until it has dropped to pieces about him. He said:[a] "I can not [793] live in a white man's house of any kind. The sacred articles committed to my care must be kept in an earth lodge, and in order that I may fulfill my duties toward them and my people, I must live there also, so that as I sit I can stretch out my hand and lay it on Mother Earth." Last fall (1901) I saw how he had propped up a part of the ruins of his lodge so that he might still keep the sacred objects in a primitive dwelling.

When he was in Washington in 1898 he was taken to the Capitol and the Library of Congress. While the vastness and beauty of these structures gave him pleasure, they did not appeal to him, for such

---

[a] See A Pawnee Ritual Used When Changing a Man's Name, American Anthropologist, n. s., v. 1, January, 1899.

buildings he said were unfitted to contain the sacred symbols of the 115
religion of his ancestors, in the service of which he had spent his
long life. He admired at a distance the Washington Monument, and
when he visited it he measured the base, pacing and counting his 804
steps. Then he stood close to the white shaft and looked up, noting
its great height. After going inside, he was asked which he would
take, the elevator or the stairs, and replied: "I will not go up. The
white man likes to pile up stones, and he may go to the top of them;
I will not. I have ascended the mountains made by Tira'wa."
Equally characteristic was his interview with the Commissioner of
Indian Affairs. When introduced, he said: "I am glad to see you
and to take you by the hand. Many chiefs of my tribe have done so.
I never expected to do it. I came here to talk of the religion of my
fathers, which I follow. You can ask my sister (referring to me)
what I have said."

Tahirûssawichi had never been east of the Mississippi river until
he came to Washington to engage in the preservation of this rite.
Of the genuineness of his statements there can be no doubt. His
position in the Pawnee tribe is that of a man worthy of respect—one
versed in a knowledge of serious things, whose life has been devoted
to the acquisition and maintenance of certain sacred rites. He is
esteemed as a man of truth—one who has the favor of Tira'wa. He
possesses a knowledge of curative roots, and often attends the sick,
using herbs as medicine. He is the keeper of certain old and sacred
objects, and leads in their attendant ceremonies. His great care in
observing all the details of the intricate ceremony of the Hakó is well
known in the tribe, and much good fortune is believed to follow his
leadership in this ceremony. His title is Ku'rahus. This term is 554
applied to a man of years who has been instructed in the meaning
and use of sacred objects as well as their ceremonies. The word is
sometimes employed as a synonym for a venerable man, one who
commands respect, but throughout this paper it is used in its official
sense—the leader of the ceremony.

It has taken four years of close friendly relations with my kind old
friend to obtain this ceremony in its entirety. Many of its rituals 123
deal with very sacred subjects, and it has required much patience
in the presentation of reasons why they should be explained to overcome
the scruples born of the early training of the Ku'rahus. That
he has finally made this record complete, so that the ceremony as
known among his people can be preserved, is worthy of commendation.
His work as it now stands shows Tahirûssawichi to be broad-minded
as well as thoughtful, reverent, and sincere.

Graphophone records were taken of all the songs belonging to this 126
ceremony. The music as here printed has been transcribed from the
cylinders by Mr Edwin S. Tracy and each transcription has been
verified by him from the singing of the Ku'rahus. It is to be regretted

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

126 that the exactions of Mr Tracy's professional work in the field of music make it impossible for him to prepare an essay upon the character of these songs and the light they throw upon the evolution of musical expression. His familiarity with native songs, growing out of several years of first-hand research, would render him peculiarly fitted to speak concerning them.

The songs are commended to the general student of music and particularly to the young composers of our country as offering native themes worthy of musical treatment.

In arranging the material for this paper it has seemed best to group
128 it into two parts. The first contains such introductory explanations as are essential to the understanding of the ceremony, which is given without comment in the words of the Ku'rahus, together with his interpretation of the songs and accompanying rites. The second part consists of an analysis of the ceremony and treats of its structure, purpose, and teaching. The translations of the songs aim to convey to the English reader something of their native spirit and meaning.

As the purpose of this record is not primarily linguistic, it has been
104 judged best not to observe the finer phonetic distinctions in recording
194 native words. The vowels have their continental values, as in *are*, *they*, *pique*, *go*, *rule*; ow is used as in how; and ŭ represents oo in good. The consonants p, b, t, d, k, g (always hard), j, s, z, f, v, m, l, r, w, y, h are used approximately as in English, but k and t have been allowed to represent the semisonants (medial between k and g, t and d) as well, and the r has a slight trill. Dh represents th in the, h a guttural breathing (German ch, Spanish j) and hr a surd or breathed r; th is used as in thorn, wh and ch as in which, x as in box, sh as in shall; n indicates that the preceding vowel is nasalized; and h at the end of a syllable indicates that the breath must be heard. When a consonant is doubled it is heard twice or distinctly prolonged. An accent mark is used to indicate stress where it seems necessary.

INTRODUCTION

NAME OF THE CEREMONY

The ceremony is called Skari by the Ku'rahus and by all who have 796* been taught its rites and sacred songs. This word is from ska, hand, ri, many, and refers not merely to the many hands required for the 196 preparation of the sacred articles used in the rites, but also to the culminating ceremony of touching the little child with the hand, which occurs on the morning of the fifth day (sixteenth and seventeenth rituals).

A peculiar expression is used to characterize the consultation which a man who desires to inaugurate this ceremony has with his kindred in reference to their assistance in the undertaking. This consultation is called "touching them." The Ku'rahus explained this expression as being connected with the meaning of the word Skari, many hands, in its double significance already noted.

Although the term Skari is said to be old, its descriptive char- [174] acter seems to be against its acceptance as the original name of the ceremony.

Among the people at large of the Pawnee tribe the ceremony is spoken of as Ruktaraiwarius. This composite word can be analyzed as follows: ruk, from rukkis, wood, or a stick of wood; ta, from tita, hung upon; ra, coming; iwarius, shaking or waving. This descriptive term refers to the two objects peculiar to this ceremony, the two feathered stems which are waved to the rhythm of the songs. The Pawnees who receive those who bring the sacred articles call the ceremony Haktara. The word is composed of hak, from hakkow, translated below; ta, have; ra, coming: haktara, they who have the [171] breathing mouth of wood are coming. The Osages speak of it as "Bringing the drum," and the Omahas as "To sing with."

Hako is a comprehensive term used to designate all the articles which belong to the ceremony. The term is derived from the composite word hakkowpirus, meaning drum. Hakkow is from akow, mouth, with the aspirate prefix h, signifying breath, and the k added to the first syllable represents the word rukkis, wood. Hakkow may then be said to mean a breathing mouth of wood. Pirus means to whip or beat.

Three customs among the Indians can be traced in the composition [194] of this word: first, the peculiarity of pulsating the voice on a note that is sustained over more than one count of the measure, by which [534]

*796 a beating effect is produced; second, the custom of waving the hand
196 to and from the mouth or beating the lips, so as to break a continuous
note or call into a series of sounds or beats; third, the making of
[194 the drum from a section of a tree, hollowed out, with a skin stretched
534] over the open end. From this analysis of the word hakkowpirus we discern that the pulsating voice and the beaten lips were the first means employed to produce an effect which was afterward emphasized in an instrument, the drum (hakkowpirus, the breathing mouth of wood), which was made to give forth a series of sounds by the same device of whipping by the hand.

*[533] In Indian music the rhythm of the drum always follows closely the emotion expressed in the song; it is like a great pulsating voice.

In the term Hako the k of the first syllable in hakkow is dropped for the sake of euphony, and for the same reason the rough sound ow is changed to o. The word Hako carries the idea of the breathing, vibrating tones from the wooden mouth. It is applied to all the articles used in the ceremony, because, according to the explanations of the Ku'rahus, "everything speaks; the eagle, Kawas, speaks; the corn speaks; so we say Hako—the voice of all these things."

*796 In the preparation of the record of the different rites, rituals, and
songs of this ceremony it became necessary to adopt a convenient
126 term which should apply to the ceremony as a whole, including the party inaugurating the ceremony, the rites, the rituals, and the articles used. The term "Hako" has been chosen as best fitted for the purpose. Three considerations influenced the choice: first, the fact that Hako is the native name by which the articles used in the ceremony are spoken of collectively; second, the meaning of the term Hako, as revealed by an analysis of the word and by the explanation given by the Ku'rahus; third, the ease with which this word can be spoken and remembered by the English reader.

Personnel of the Ceremony

*796 Two distinct groups of persons were essential to the performance of
796 this ceremony. These two groups could not belong to the same clan
or gens of a tribe, and they were often of different tribes. One group,
[602] called the Fathers, was composed of the kindred of the man who had
taken the initiative in organizing a party for the performance of the
ceremony. This man was called the Father. His party comprised
[556] from 20 to 100 persons, and represented the well-to-do class in the tribe, the requisites for the ceremony being of such a character that only skillful hunters and thrifty households could supply them. The second group, called the Children, was made up of the relatives of the man chosen by the Father to receive the visiting party of the Fathers. The leader of this group of Children was called the Son. Each of the two groups, as well as the leaders of each group, had peculiar

duties throughout the ceremony. Each had a special place in the lodge, and was the recipient of peculiar benefits supposed to be derived from the ceremony. 796*

The Father was usually a chief, or a man prominent in the tribe, who not only had accumulated property, but had a large following of relatives who could contribute to the store of articles required for these rites. The tribal standing of the Son was always equal to that of the Father. [556 554]

The Father selected a man from among those who had been taught the rites and ritual songs to take charge of the ceremony from beginning to end. Such a man was called Ku'rahus, and to him the entire party was required to yield obedience in every particular. The Ku'rahus chose an assistant, and also took with him a third person, a sort of acolyte, to whom he was teaching the rites.

If the Father was a chief, then he had to invite one other chief to be of his party, to act as substitute whenever he was obliged to be absent from his post of duty. If, however, the Father was not himself a chief, then it became necessary for him to secure the attendance of two chiefs, one to act as substitute for the other, as the constant presence of a chief was required throughout the ceremony. 796* 622

The priest who had charge of the shrine sacred to rain was also of the Father's party. It was his duty to furnish the pipe and conduct the ceremony of offering smoke to Tira'wa. The Father's party also included two doctors, men who had received a knowledge of healing plants, either directly through visions or by initiation into certain rites by which this knowledge was communicated. Each was required to bring an eagle's wing, one the right wing and the other the left. The wing of the eagle is the official mark of a doctor. The Father must also secure a number of singers, whose duty it was to carry the drum and act as a choir to accompany the Ku'rahus, who always led the singing. The rest of the party of the Father was made up of his kindred, with such of his friends as might desire to contribute to the required food and gifts and thus to become entitled to share in the return gifts made to the Fathers by the Children. 796* [793] [791 237] [533]* [602]

The preliminary ceremonies (the first three rituals) took place at the lodge of the Father, and from it the party of the Fathers started on its journey.

REQUISITES OF THE CEREMONY AND THEIR SYMBOLISM

The objects peculiar to this ceremony were two feathered stems about a meter in length, made of ash wood. They were rounded and smoothed, and the pith was burned out to leave an opening for the breath to pass, as through a pipestem. One of these stems was named Raha'katittu, from ra, the, this one; ha=hak, a part of the word hakkow, breathing mouth of wood, the k being dropped for euphony (see translation of hawkowpirus, drum, page 17); katit, dark, 796* 192 778

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

+796 brown, or black; tu=ruru, moving, the change of the *r* to t being for
euphony. The translation of the whole word would be, the breath-
192 ing mouth of wood with the dark moving feathers. The other stem
778 was named Hahak'takaru, from *ru*, the, this one; hak, from hakkow,
breathing mouth of wood; taka, white; ru, from *ruru*, moving or
swaying. The translation of the whole word would be, the breathing mouth of wood with the white moving or waving feathers.

+796 Associated with these two feathered stems, and sharing with them
the prominent place in the rites, was an ear of white corn. In addi-
778 tion there were required two small, round, straight sticks from the plum tree; a crotched stick, also of the plum tree; feathers from the tail of an owl and from the wings and tail of an eagle; two entire wings of an eagle; the heads of two woodpeckers; the head, neck, and breast of two ducks; a wildcat skin; a shell; two wooden bowls; a braid of buffalo hair; a braid of sweet grass; blue, green, and red clay; fat from a deer or buffalo, the animal having been consecrated; the nest of an oriole.

The clays, the fat, and the oriole's nest were furnished by the Ku'rahus. The nest was kept in secret and not allowed to be seen. All the articles except those furnished by the Ku'rahus were provided by the Father. Besides these he had to secure robes, ornamented garments, and regalia for the ceremonial clothing of the Son, his messenger, and his little child; also gifts to be bestowed on the entire party of the Children. He was assisted by contributions from the relatives and friends who had agreed to share with him the responsibilities and the rewards attending this ceremony. Food for the entertainment of the Children as well as for the maintenance of the Fathers during their absence from home had also to be provided.

It was the duty of the Son, the leader of the group called the Children, to provide a spacious lodge wherein the ceremony could take place, and also a proper camping site for all who accompanied the Fathers. He had also to secure the requisite return gifts to be made to the Fathers.

Each of the articles used in the ceremony had a general symbolism well known to the people, but their special significance was peculiar to these rites.

[322 The feathered stem Haha'katittu (plate LXXXVI, page 38) was painted
blue to symbolize the sky, the abode of Tira'wahut, the circle of the
772] lesser powers. A long straight groove running its length was painted
red, the symbol of life. The red groove was the path along which the spirits of the various birds traveled on their way to bring help.

Three split feathers from an eagle's wing were fastened to the stem as to an arrow, to give sure flight to the symbol-freighted stem. On it was tied the fan-shaped pendant of ten feathers from the mature brown or golden eagle. This eagle was called Kawas in the Hako ceremony. It represented the mother and led in certain of the rites. It is this feathered stem that was carried by the Ku'rahus. This eagle

is consecrated to the powers; it soars near their abode and is a medium 796* of communication between them and man.

778 The woodpecker's head was fastened near the mouthpiece end of the feathered stem, the upper mandible turned back over the red crest and painted blue. This treatment of the upper mandible had a double significance. The red crest, which rises when the bird is angry, was here held down; it must not rise. [821] The blue paint represented the clear, cloudless sky. [822] The woodpecker has the favor of the storm gods and can avert from man the disaster of tempest and of lightning. [825] The owl feathers were tied near the middle of the feathered stem. This bird has power to help and protect during the night. Soft blue feathers were fastened around the mouthpiece end. These blue feathers symbolized the clear sky, and it is this end which was always upward toward the abode of the powers.

The other end of the stem was thrust through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck. It was by this end that the feathered stem was held. The duck is familiar with the pathless air and water and is also at home on the land, knowing its streams and springs. It is the unerring guide.

[822] The red and white streamers represented the sun and the moon, day and night. These were made of red cloth and dyed horsehair and white cotton cord, but it is said that formerly soft deerskin strips painted red and twisted hair from the white rabbit were used.

The other feathered stem, Rahak'takaru (plate LXXXVII, page 40), differed from the first feathered stem already described in two particulars, [822] namely, it was painted green, to symbolize the earth, and the fan-shaped pendant was made of seven tail feathers from the white eagle (the young brown or golden eagle; see page 288). This eagle was not consecrated. It represented the male, the father, the warrior, and the defender. This feathered stem was carried by the Ku'rahus's assistant, and it was never allowed to be next to the Children; its place was always on the outside. There, it was explained, it could do no harm, could rouse no contention, but would serve to protect and defend.

I have many times remarked the reverence felt toward the feathered stems. Their sacred character seemed always to be remembered and they were never handled carelessly. During the entire time that I was engaged with Tahirussawichi on this ceremony he never allowed the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid on a chair; they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a decorum that was not once abated. I have seen manifested among the tribes not only reverence toward these sacred symbols, but an affection that was not displayed toward any other objects. Few persons ever spoke to me of them without a brightening of the eyes. "They make us happy," was a common saying. 778

778 They were preserved intact and passed from tribe to tribe as long as they held together, and they were sometimes freshened and

796*

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[178] 778 *796 repaired. This transfer of the feathered stems from tribe to tribe tended to preserve the model unchanged. Sometimes the Son did not care to part with the feathered stems left with him, so when he inaugurated a party and was to be the Father he had a new set made. It was a matter of pride with some not to use again feathered stems that had once seen service.

The ear of white corn (plate LXXXVIII, page 44), called Atira, Mother,[a] represented the fruitfulness of the earth. [772] 822 The tip end was painted blue to represent the dome of the sky, the dwelling place of the powers, and four blue equidistant lines, running halfway down the ear, were the four paths along which the powers descended to minister to man.

The two straight sticks cut from the plum tree were bound to the ear of corn by a braid of buffalo hair. One stick projected above the tip of the ear about a hand's breadth, and the other extended about the same length below the butt; the lower end of this stick was pointed so that it could be thrust into the ground to hold the ear of corn in an upright position. To the other stick was tied a white, downy eagle feather. This feather had a double significance: It represented the high, white clouds that float near the dome of the sky where the powers dwell, thus indicating their presence with the corn. It also stood for the tassel of the cornstalk. The feather here refers to the male principle, the corn to the female. The plum-tree wood was chosen for the sticks because the tree is prolific of fruit. It symbolized a prayer for abundance.

The braid of buffalo hair represented the animal which supplied food and clothing for the people.

The two gourd rattles (plate LXXXIX, page 46) represented the gift of the squash to man and the breast of the mother. Around the middle of each a blue circle was painted from which depended four equidistant lines of the same color. [772] The circle represented the base of the dome of the sky, and the four lines the four paths descending therefrom to earth.

The crotched stick (plate XC, page 48) used to support one end of the feathered stems when they were laid at ceremonial rest was significant of the fork in the tree where the eagle builds its nest. The use of the plum tree for this crotched stick expressed the desire for many young in the nest.

The sacred ointment with which the plum-tree sticks were anointed [237] was made from the fat of the deer or buffalo mixed with red clay. The fat was taken from an animal that had been consecrated through certain prescribed rites which recognized man's dependence upon the powers for the gift of food. Fat symbolized plenty. Ritual songs speak of paths dropping fatness, referring to the trails made by those who carried the dressed meat from the hunting fields to the camp; such

---

[a] The common term for corn, [illegible], was not used in the ceremony.

7

796*

a path would be strewn with drops of fat. Red is the color typical of 778
life. The ointment signified a prayer for abundance and life.

The wildcat skin (plate XC, page 48) served as a covering for these [822]
objects when they were to be wrapped up and it was always spread
on the ground for them to rest on.

The significance of the wildcat in this ceremony is of peculiar interest. 796*
This animal, we are told, never misses his prey, never fails to
attain the object of his pursuit, and accomplishes this end quietly, 778
tactfully, without arousing antagonism. From conversations with the 825
Ku'rahus it became clear that it was these qualities and not the
savageness and stealthly cruelty of the animal that were to be kept
in mind. To be able to accomplish a purpose without offending, without
raising opposition, seems to have been regarded as the special
attribute vouchsafed by Tira'wa to the wildcat. It is because of this
attribute that it was chosen to be always with the sacred objects during 796*
this ceremony. The sacred objects symbolized not only an appeal from
man to certain powers, but the presence of the powers themselves, while 778
the nature of the appeal, a desire for children, long life, and plenty, was
such that the enjoyment of the benefits craved must depend largely
on the successful exercise by man of those qualities which were
regarded as characteristic of the wildcat. So the skin of the wildcat
was the cover of the sacred objects when they were wrapped up; it
was spread on the ground as their guard and support when they were
laid at ceremonial rest, and when they were carried about the lodge
during the ceremony it was borne by the chief, who walked between
the Kurahus and his assistant, each of whom held a feathered stem.

Only a chief could carry the wildcat skin and the ear of corn. Therefore, [622
if the Father was not himself a chief he had to secure the service
of one in order that the wildcat could be borne by a man possessing 482]
the authority of a ruler in the tribe. As the wildcat stood for the
ability to accomplish a purpose with tact and without exciting opposition,
qualities essential to the successful ruler, it would seem that the
imperative association of the wildcat with a chief was intended to convey
the idea that only under the administration of such a man could
the tribe have internal peace and enjoy the abundance and prosperity
represented by Mother Corn.

As every article belonging to the ceremony and the position and
movements of those who conducted the rites had a special significance,
the position given to the wildcat, as explained by the Kurahus,
reveals the mind of the native in regard to this animal, which figures
conspicuously in other rites and ceremonies, and which controls one
of the sacred shrines of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

TIME OF THE CEREMONY

There was no stated time for the performance of the Hako ceremony. 796*
It was not connected with planting or harvesting, hunting, or war, or
any tribal festival. The Ku'rahus said, "We take up the Hako in

#796 the spring when the birds are mating, or in the summer when the birds are nesting and caring for their young, or in the fall when the birds are flocking, but not in the winter when all things are asleep. [782] With the Hako we are praying for the gift of life, of strength, of plenty, and of peace, so we must pray when life is stirring everywhere."

SCHEME OF THE CEREMONY

According to the Ku'rahus, no change in the order of rites or songs was permitted. The reason for this requirement becomes clear when we study the ceremony itself. Its fundamental ideas and teachings, which are among the most important for the welfare of the people, are steadily unfolded from the initial rite to the final act through a long series of observances which are replete with detail and accompanied by nearly one hundred songs, yet all these different parts are so closely articulated that any variation of relationship or any omission would be disastrous to the structure.

The Hako consists of the Preparation and the Ceremony.

The Preparation

First division. Initial rites.
    First ritual. Making the Hako:
        Part I. Invoking the powers.
        Part II. Preparing the feathered stems.
        Part III. Painting the ear of corn and preparing the other sacred objects.
        Part IV. Offering of smoke.
    Second ritual. Prefiguring the journey to the Son.
    Third ritual. Sending the messengers.
    Fourth ritual:
        Part I. Vivifying the sacred objects.
        Part II. Mother Corn assumes leadership.
        Part III. The Hako party presented to the Powers.
Second division. The journey.
    Fifth ritual:
        Part I. Mother Corn asserts authority.
        Part II. Songs and ceremonies of the way.
        Part III. Mother Corn reasserts leadership.
Third division. Entering the village of the Son and consecrating his lodge.
    Sixth ritual:
        Part I. The Son's messenger received.
        Part II. The Hako party enter the village.
    Seventh ritual:
        Part I. Touching and crossing the threshold.
        Part II. Consecrating the lodge.
        Part III. Clothing the Son and offering smoke.

The Ceremony

First division. The public ceremony.
    Eighth ritual (first day). The Fathers feed the Children.
    Ninth ritual (first night). Invoking the visions.
    Tenth ritual. The Dawn:
        Part I. The birth of Dawn.
        Part II. The Morning Star and the new-born Dawn.

First division—continued.
- Tenth ritual. The Dawn—continued.
    - Part III. Daylight.
    - Part IV. The Children behold the day.
- Eleventh ritual (second day). The male element invoked:
    - Part I. Chant to the Sun.
    - Part II. Day songs.
- Twelfth ritual (second night). The rites came by a vision.
- (Tenth ritual. The Dawn. Repeated.)
- Thirteenth ritual (third day). The female element invoked:
    - Part I. The sacred feast of Corn.
    - Part II. Song to the Earth.
    - Part III. Offering of smoke.
    - Part IV. Songs of the birds.
- Fourteenth ritual (third night). Invoking the visions of the ancients.

Second division. The secret ceremonies.
- Fifteenth ritual (fourth night):
    - Part I. The flocking of the birds.
    - Part II. The sixteen circuits of the lodge.
- Sixteenth ritual (fifth day, dawn):
    - Part I. Seeking the child.
    - Part II. Symbolic inception.
    - Part III. Action symbolizing life.
- Seventeenth ritual:
    - Part I. Touching the child.
    - Part II. Anointing the child.
    - Part III. Painting the child.
    - Part IV. Putting on the symbols.
- Eighteenth ritual. Fulfilment prefigured.
    - Part I. Making the nest.
    - Part II. Symbolic fulfilment.
    - Part III. Thank offering.

Third division. The dance of thanks.
- Nineteenth ritual:
    - Part I. The call to the Children.
    - Part II. The dance and reception of gifts.

Fourth division. The presentation of the Hako.
- Twentieth ritual:
    - Part I. Blessing the child.
    - Part II. Presenting the Hako to the Son and thanks to the Children.

There are four rituals which can be interpolated during the progress of the public ceremony, namely:

Incidental Rituals

- Comforting the child.
- Prayer to avert storms.
- Prayer for the gift of children.
- Changing a man's name.

In the following pages the rituals and the explanations are presented as they were given by Tahirŭssawichi. His descriptions are full of detail, with frequent repetitions, but as every article is symbolic and every movement has a meaning, this repetition is essential to an understanding of the ceremony as it appeals to the Pawnee, and it has been deemed best not to change his method or introduce comments.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

90

THE HAKO

THE PREPARATION

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 [782] The ceremony of the Hako is a prayer for children, in order that the tribe may increase and be strong; and also that the people may have long life, enjoy plenty, and be happy and at peace.

The articles that are used in the ceremony can be prepared only under the direction and supervision of a man who has been taught the sacred songs in their sequence and instructed as to their meaning. Such a man is called Ku'rahus, which means a man of years, venerated for his knowledge and experience.

When a man intends to inaugurate a party for the performance of this ceremony, he selects a Ku'rahus to have complete charge of it, and fixes a day when the preliminary rites are to be performed. On [783] that day the Ku'rahus goes into the sweat lodge and there purifies himself. When he has come out of the sweat bath and has cooled off a little, he places sweet grass on a small pile of coals. Then he sits [516] down (on his heels) and draws a robe about himself and the coals, so that the smoke of the sweet grass may reach every part of his body. He then takes a bit of fat which has been preserved from a deer or buffalo consecrated to Tira'wa, and mixes it with red paint and anoints himself. Then he puts on his leggings and moccasins, and a buffalo robe, with the hair outside, tying it about the waist with a rope made of buffalo hair. He fastens a white, downy eagle feather in his scalp lock and goes to the lodge of the man who has inaugurated the party. He takes with him a man as assistant; he is also accompanied by [793] another man, who is learning the songs and the details of the ceremony, preparatory to becoming himself able to conduct this rite, but whose present duty is to minister to the wants of the Ku'rahus.

At the lodge the chiefs and leading men of the village have been assembled, with those who have agreed to be of the party and have contributed the requisite gifts. This lodge has been swept clean and put in order for the occasion. The Ku'rahus takes his seat at the west end of the lodge, facing the east, and before him, spread out on a mat, are the materials for the preparation of the ceremonial articles.

After the Ku'rahus has begun to sing the songs belonging to the act of preparing these articles there must be no coming in or going out of the lodge, and no one can move from his place until this (the first ritual) has been completed. An exception is made in the case of two men who are sent out by the Ku'rahus to cut and bring in two sticks of ash. They go out during the singing of a certain stanza of the first song and must return while another particular stanza of the same song is being sung.

26

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

142
292
301
*796

THE KURAHUS IN CEREMONIAL DRESS

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C.FLETCHER)

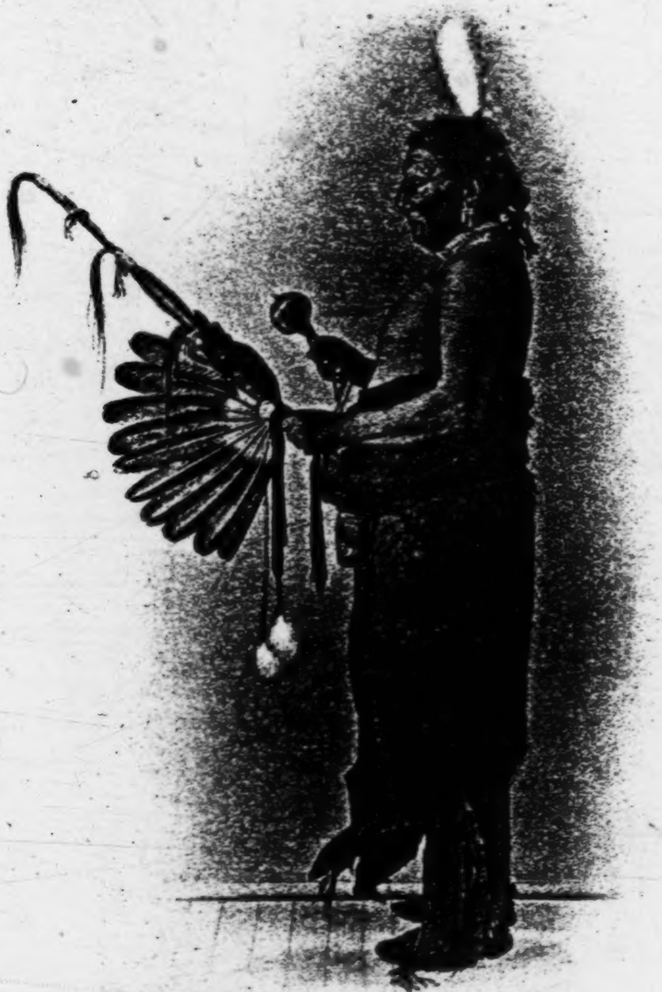
[p.26(A)]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT PL. LXXXV

142
292
301
*796



THE KURAHUS IN CEREMONIAL DRESS
(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C.FLETCHER)

[p.26(B)]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIRST DIVISION. INITIAL RITES

FIRST RITUAL. MAKING THE HAKO

PART I. INVOKING THE POWERS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

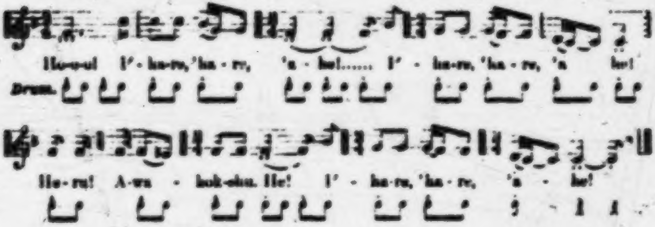
At the creation of the world it was arranged that there should be lesser powers. Tira'wa atius, the mighty power, could not come near to man, could not be seen or felt by him, therefore lesser powers were permitted. They were to mediate between man and Tira'wa. The first song mentions some of these lesser powers in the order in which they come near to man, in the order of their creation. 773 776 539* 796*

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
· = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

539* 796* [533]*


Ho-o-o! I'-ha-re, 'ha-re, 'a-he!...... I'-ha-re, 'ha-re, 'a he!
Drum.
He-ru! A-wa-hok-shu. He! I'-ha-re, 'ha-re, 'a-he!

I

1 Ho-o-o!
2 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
3 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
4 Heru! Awahokshu. He!
5 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

II

6 Ho-o-o!
7 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
8 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
9 Heru! Hotoru. He!
10 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

III

11 Ho-o-o!
12 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
13 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
14 Heru! Shakuru. He!
15 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

IV

16 Ho-o-o!
17 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
18 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
19 Heru! H'Uraru. He!
20 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

V

21 Ho-o-o!
22 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
23 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
24 Heru! Toharu. He!
25 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

VI

26 Ho-o-o!
27 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
28 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
29 Heru! Chaharu. He!
30 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

VII

*539 31 Ho-o-o!
32 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
*796 33 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
34 Heru! Kusharu. He!
35 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

VIII

36 Ho-o-o!
37 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
38 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
39 Heru! H'Akaru. He!
40 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

IX

41 Ho-o-o!
42 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
43 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
44 Heru! Keharu. He!
45 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

X

46 Ho-o-o!
47 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
48 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
49 Heru! Katsharu. He!
50 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

XI

51 Ho-o-o!
52 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
53 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
54 Heru! Kekaru. He!
55 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

XII

56 Ho-o-o!
57 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
58 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
59 Heru! Koritu. He!
60 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

XIII

61 Ho-o-o!
62 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
63 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
64 Heru! Hiwaturu. He!
65 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

Translation of First Stanza

1 Ho-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

2 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

[195] i'hare! an exclamation that conveys the intimation that something is presented to the mind on which one must reflect, must consider its significance and its teaching.

'hare! an abbreviation of the word I'hare.

'ahe! an abbreviation of the word I'hare. The change of the r to h is for greater ease in singing.

3 See line 2.

4 Heru! Awahokshu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverent feeling, as when one is approaching something sacred.

Awahokshu, a composite word; awa is a part of Tira'wa, the supernatural powers, and hokshu means sacred, holy; thus the word Awahokshu means the abode of the supernatural powers, the holy place where they dwell.

he! a part of the exclamation i'hare, the change of the r to an h being for the same reason as the similar change in 'ahe. See line 2.

5 See line 2.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

I'hare is an exclamation, as when one suddenly remembers some- 539*
thing of which he has been unmindful, because other things demanded
his attention. The mind having been recalled to the subject, now 796*
appreciates its importance, gives it complete attention, and becomes absorbed by it. The word means, I remember, I perceive, I give heed.

The repetition of the word as we sing "I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!" indicates that our minds are dwelling upon the subject brought to our attention.

Heru is an exclamation of reverence, in recognition of a place where prayers can be sent and whence help can come to us.

Awahokshu is that place—the place where Tira'wa atius, the mighty 539*
power, dwells. Below are the lesser powers, to whom man can appeal 772
directly, whom he can see and hear and feel, and who can come near
him. Tira'wahut is the great circle in the sky where these lesser 776
powers dwell. They are like deputies or attributes of Tira'wa atius.
The North Star and the Brown Eagle are among these lesser powers. 796*
A number of them are mentioned in this song and in the order in which they come near to man. We begin by calling upon Tira'wa atius, the father of all, but we do not address the power directly; we mention the holy place where the power dwells, Awahokshu, and send our thoughts and our voice there, that our cry may reach those who have the ability to come to us and to help us.

I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe means that our minds are dwelling on our appeal to the powers.

Translation of Second Stanza

6, 7, 8 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.
9 Heru! Hotoru. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.
Hotoru, the Winds, those that stand at the four cardinal points. This term is not used in ordinary speech. It refers to the supernatural powers, the Winds. The common word for wind is utawiu; windy, tihuta.
he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.
10 See the first stanza, line 2.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

I'hare I have explained already. It always means the same, the arresting and fixing of the mind upon a subject of importance.

Heru! Hoturu. He! we exclaim, as we call on Hotoru. Hotoru, the Winds, were the first of the lesser powers to come near to man, so they are the first to be mentioned in this appeal. They are invisible, but they are very strong (efficient); they are from the breath of Tira'wa and they give life to man. They stand at the four directions (cardinal points) and guard the paths that are there, the paths down

*539 which the lesser powers must travel when they descend to bring help
772 to man.

776 In this stanza, we remember the power given by Tira'wa to the
*796 Winds, and we cry to Hotoru to come and give their help to us at this
796 time, to give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako.

I'hare, 'hare 'ahe means, as we sing it this time, that we are reflecting upon Hotoru, we are thinking of all that they bring to man, the breath by which he lives.

The Winds are always near us by night and by day.

Translation of Third Stanza

*539 11, 12, 13 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

14 Heru! Shakuru. He!
*796

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

[195] Shakuru, the Sun. This word is not used in ordinary speech; it refers to the supernatural power, the Sun, in its relation to man. The common term for sun is ti'rasakariki, sun standing.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

15 See the first stanza, line 2. The words in this line have special reference to the mind dwelling seriously upon Shakuru.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Shakuru, the Sun, is the first of the visible powers to be mentioned. [776 821] It is very potent; it gives man health, vitality, and strength. Because of its power to make things grow, Shakuru is sometimes spoken of as atius, father. The Sun comes direct from the mighty power above; that gives it its great potency.

As we sing this stanza, we think of all that the Sun can do for us and we cry to it, to come now and give potentiality to the sacred articles about to be made ready for use in this ceremony.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

16, 17, 18 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

19 Heru! H'Uraru. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

h', the sign of breath; "breathing life."

[195 778] Uraru, the Earth. This term is not used in ordinary speech; the common name for the earth is kahoraru. H'Uraru refers to the supernatural power that belongs to the earth, the power to bring forth.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

20 See the first stanza, line 2. In the last line of the stanza the word I'hare implies reflection: "We reflect on H'Uraru!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

H'Uraru, the Earth, is the lesser power we cry to next. The Earth is 539*
very near to man; we speak of her as Atira, Mother, because she brings 796*
forth. From the Earth we get our food; we lie down on her; we live
and walk on her; we could not exist without her, as we could not breathe [776]
without Hotoru (the Winds) or grow without Shakuru (the Sun).

Mother Earth is very potent to help man and now we cry to her to come near and give potentiality to the sacred articles we are about to prepare.

We reverently reflect upon all that Mother Earth does for us.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

21, 22, 23 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.
24 Heru! Toharu. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.
Toharu, the living covering of the earth, no special form being
indicated; a general term for vegetation, but implying the [778]
supernatural power manifested therein. Katoha'ru, trees.
he! part of i'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.
25 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Toharu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Toharu means all the things that Mother Earth brings forth (all 539*
forms of vegetation); these are many. They are very necessary to 796*
man and they bring him much help. They too are lesser powers, 824
though not so potent as some of the others. From them we get our food; from them comes the grass upon which the animals feed—the animals which supply clothing and food; from them come the trees which are very necessary to us. They have a part in this ceremony.

As we sing we think upon all that Toharu gives us and we cry to this power to come near, for without the help of Toharu some of the sacred articles required for this ceremony could not be obtained.

At this stanza the two men who have been selected to cut the two sticks of ash arise and go out of the lodge to perform this duty. The ash tree has been chosen beforehand, but the two men must cut the sticks when they go out at this time.

We stop between the stanzas of the song that this act may be performed.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

*539 26, 27, 28 See lines 1, 2, 3.

*796 29 Heru! Chaharu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.

[192] Chaharu, Water. This term applies to the supernatural power of the water; it is not used in ordinary speech; the common word for water is kii'tsu.

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See line 4.

30 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Chaharu."

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 623 Chaharu, Water, is one of the lesser powers. Water is very necessary to the life of man and all living things. The Winds, the Sun, the Earth, the Vegetation, and the Water are the five lesser powers through which the life of our bodies is maintained. We cry to Chaharu to come near and give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared.

I told you that these stanzas are in the order of creation. The powers are mentioned in the order in which they come near to man and enable him to live and to keep alive. As we sing we reflect upon our dependence on these lesser powers.

[821] Water is employed only for sacred purposes in this ceremony. It can not be used in any ordinary way from the time we begin the singing of these songs to the end of the entire ceremony. A man can drink water to sustain his life, but he can not touch it for any other purpose. He can not go swimming, nor can he step into water without first performing certain rites. It is difficult to abstain so long from the use of water, but it must be done or we shall suffer punishment for our profanation. We shall have storms, the sky will be filled with clouds, there will be obstructions between us and the place where the powers above dwell—those whom we invoke in this ceremony.

I have known of instances where some of the men of the party sneaked out of the camp during this ceremony, went to a stream and washed, or jumped in and took a swim, and the result was a storm that brought great distress upon the people.

Translation of Seventh Stanza

*539 31, 32, 33 See lines 1, 2, 3.

*796 34 Heru! Kusharu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.

Kusharu, a place set apart for sacred purposes and made holy.

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See line 4.

35 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Kusharu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The first act of a man must be to set apart a place that can be made sacred and holy, that can be consecrated to Tira'wa; a place where a man can be quiet and think—think about the mighty power and the place where the lesser powers dwell; a place where a man can put his sacred articles, those objects which enable him to approach the powers. Kusharu means such a place. 539* 796*

In this stanza we are taught that before a man can build a dwelling he must select a spot and make it sacred and then, about that consecrated spot, he can erect a dwelling where his family can live peaceably. Kusharu represents the place where a man can seek the powers and where the powers can come near to man. Such a place is necessary for all ceremonies. [342] [778]

We are now to set aside a place where we shall put the sacred articles we are to prepare and make it holy. We are not only thinking of the holy place where we shall lay the sacred articles, but we think of all that holy place will mean. It will represent the place where new life will be given.

Translation of Eighth Stanza

36, 37, 38 See lines 1, 2, 3.

39 Heru! H' Akaru. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.

h', the sign of breath, the giving of life.

Akaru, a modified form of akaro, a dwelling place; the earth lodge with its dome-shaped roof is likened to the stretch of land bounded by the horizon and roofed by the dome of the sky.

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See line 4.

40 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on H' Akaru!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza we are told to think of the dwelling place Tira'wa has given to man. Upon this place man must build a lodge in accordance with the rites given to our fathers. It is by the observance of these rites in the building of a lodge that life is given to the dwelling and it is made a place where the lesser powers can come to those who dwell therein. H' Akaru means the giving of life to the dwelling place.

Translation of Ninth Stanza

41, 42, 43 See lines 1, 2, 3.

44 Heru! Keharu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.

Keharu, an enclosure, as a room, having walls and roof, like an earth lodge. The word does not refer to any enclosure or lodge, but is typical in its meaning.

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See line 4.

45 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Keharu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 As we sing this stanza we think of the lodge erected about the holy place in accordance with the rites given to our fathers upon the earth, which Tirawa made to be our dwelling place.

778 In such a lodge this ceremony must take place, and as we sing we ask that the lodge in which we are assembled to prepare the sacred articles may be kept free from all hurtful influences and that the lesser powers which bring life and strength may come near us as we sit within.

We also think of the lodge to which we will go for the further performance of this ceremony, for we desire that the presence of the lesser powers may be there also.

In this ceremony the lodge represents the nest, the place where the young are enclosed. They are protected by the male; the male eagle guards his nest; within its walls there is safety.

Translation of Tenth Stanza

*539 46, 47, 48 See lines 1, 2, 3.

*796 49. Heru! Kataharu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.

Kataharu, part of the word Rikataharu, fireplace. The dropping of the initial syllable, ri, changes the meaning; the word here refers to the place where fire is to be kindled in the sacred manner for the performance of sacred rites.

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See line 4.

50 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Kataharu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 [372] 778 As we sing this stanza we think of the place set apart for the kindling of fire after the manner taught our fathers, by rubbing two sticks together. Fire kindled in this way is sacred; it comes direct from the power granted to Toharu (Vegetation), in answer to man's appeal as he rubs the sticks. The sticks used to make this fire are kept in a shrine.

The sacred fire must come in a place set apart for it. All sacred things must have their place. Kataharu is the place set apart for the sacred fire, where it can come and bring good to man; without it he could hardly live. We make the fire in the center of the lodge, where all within can share in its benefits.

*539 *796 As I told you, the lodge in this ceremony represents the nest where the young are cared for and protected. The male eagle protects the nest, the female eagle broods over it, and there she nourishes her young. As we are asking for the gift of children to bind the people together as one family, so we sing about the fireplace, that fire may come as we prepare the sacred articles.

When we sing this stanza, the two men who were sent out to cut the sticks of ash must return. After they enter they are told to sit on the east side of the fireplace. There they must sit, each man holding his stick. 539* 796*

Translation of Eleventh Stanza

51, 52, 53 See lines 1, 2, 3.
54 Heru! Kekaru. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
Kekaru, glowing coals; that is, the glow of the igniting wood before it bursts into flames.
he! part of I'hare! give heed! See line 4.
55 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Kekaru!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza we rub the sticks to make the sacred fire come, and we think of the lesser power that is making itself seen in the glowing wood.

Translation of Twelfth Stanza

56, 57, 58 See lines 1, 2, 3.
59 Heru! Koritu. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
Koritu, flames.
he! part of I'hare! give heed! See line 4.
60 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Koritu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the flame leaps from the glowing wood it is the word of the fire. The power has come near.

As we sing we think upon Koritu, the word of the fire, and we ask it to enter into and remain with the sacred articles we are about to prepare, for they are to speak.

While we are singing the two men with the two ash sticks hold them over the fire, to warm and straighten them. Then they cut them to the required length, four spans from the thumb to the third finger. Next they peel and scrape the sticks, and remove the pith by boring them through from end to end, so that the breath can pass unobstructed (the boring used to be done with a reed, but now the pith is burned out with a wire). The men next cut a straight groove the entire length of each stick. When all this has been done, the scrapings and every particle of the ash wood are carefully placed on the fire, and as the flames arise the two sticks are passed through the blaze, that the word of the fire may enter and be with them.

The two men, each with a stick, pass from the east, where they have been standing, and take their places one on the north and the

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

other on the south of the Ku'rahus, where he sits in the west, and there these stems are decorated in the manner taught by our fathers (figure 171).

[346]

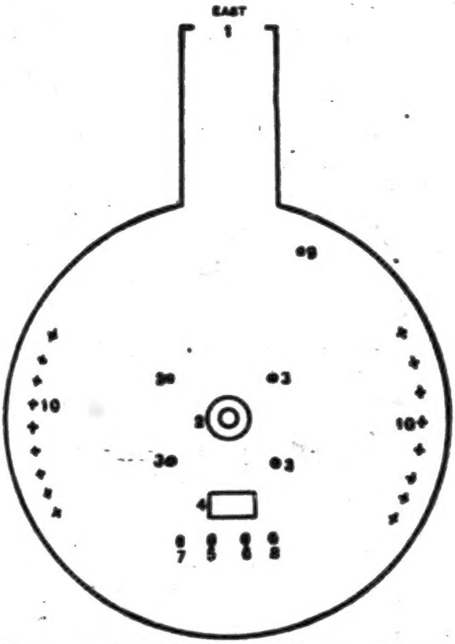


FIG. 171. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the decoration of the feathered stems.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the holy place; 5, the Ku'rahus; 6, his assistant; 7, the man with the blue feathered stem; 8, the man with the green feathered stem; 9, the server; 10, members of the Hako party.

Translation of Thirteenth Stanza

61, 62, 63 See lines 1, 2, 3.

64 **Heru! Hiwaturu. He!**

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.

Hiwaturu, the entranceway to the lodge. Hiwaturu is composed of a part of the words hutturaru, a road, and hiwa, a hollow or depression. The word hiwaturu implies a sunken pathway.

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See line 4.

65 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Hiwaturu."

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We sing of the entranceway of the lodge because it is through this 539* way that man goes to and fro. 796* It is the place made for all to enter into the lodge; through it come those powers which are represented on the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako. Through it come the promises of the Hako, and through it the visions come.

The long passageway represents the days of man's life.

PART II. PREPARING THE FEATHERED STEMS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Before the next song is sung the Ku'rahus prepares the blue paint which is to be put on one of the sticks of ash. [386] The water with which the blue clay is mixed must be taken from a running stream. Water from a spring or well can not be used. Running water represents [823] the continuity of life from one generation to another.

The paint is mixed in a white shell. The shell must be white; it is used because it was once a living thing. It lived in the water; it had no disease or sickness. As we use the shell we ask that disease and sickness may be kept from us and that our life may be long.

Before the people knew anything about vessels they used shells as [173] spoons and to put their food in. Tira'wa gave us the shells and gave them long life and the power to keep away disease and sickness.

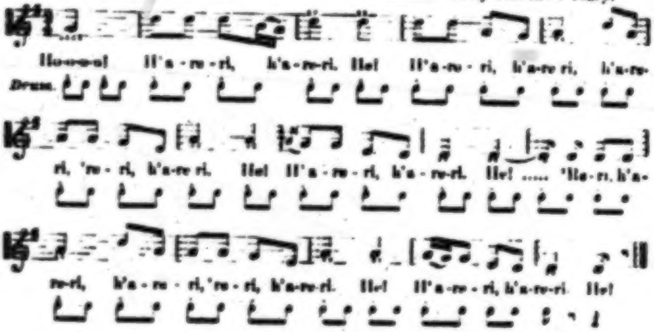
When the Ku'rahus has mixed the blue paint in the shell, he hands it to the man at his left, who is sitting toward the north. This man applies the mixture with his finger to the stick of ash, spreading the paint over its entire length, but being very particular not to let any of it get into the straight groove that runs from one end of the stick to the other, while the following song is sung.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

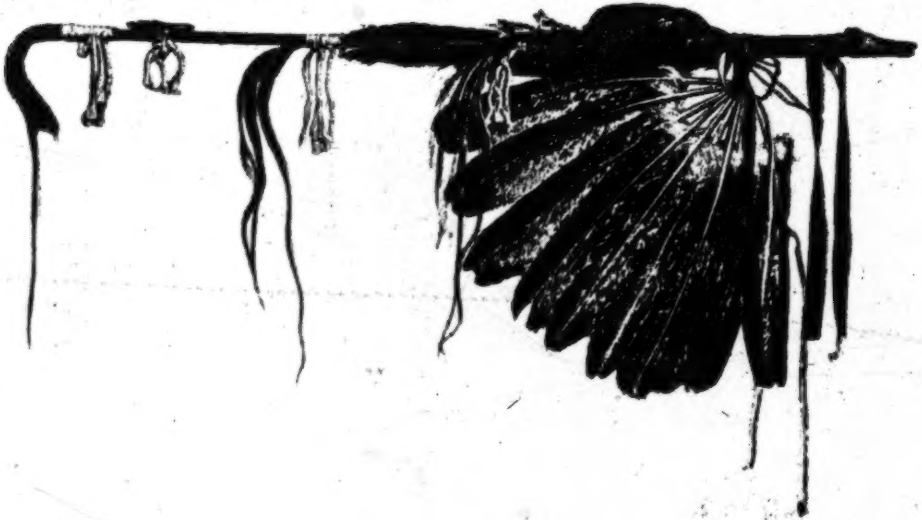
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. [533*]



*796
293
237

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[FACING P. 38]



KAWAS, THE BROWN FEATHERED STEM (FEMALE)

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A. C. FLETCHER)

*539
*796

66 Ho-o-o-o!
67 H'areri, h'areri. He!
68 H'areri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!
69 H'areri, h'areri. He!
70 'Reri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!
71 H'areri, h'areri. He!

Translation

66 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

67 H'areri, h'areri. He!

h', an aspiration, symbolic of a breathing forth, as the giving of breath so that a thing may live.

areri, a part of the word irarihi, a particular place. The change of the h in the final syllable of the word to r when the abbreviation areri is sung is for ease of utterance and euphony.

h'areri. Translated above.

he! a part of the exclamation l'hare! meaning I think upon, I give heed to the significance of the act which accompanies this song. The change of the initial r in the last syllable of the word to an h, making it he, is for euphony.

68 H'areri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!

H'areri, h'areri, h'areri. See line 67.

'reri, a part of the abbreviation areri, translated above.

h'areri. He! See line 67.

69 See line 67.

70 'Reri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He! See lines 67 and 68.

71 See line 67.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Blue is the color of the sky, the dwelling place of Tira'wahut, that great circle of the powers which watch over man. As the man paints the stick blue we sing. We ask as we sing that life be given to this symbol of the dwelling place of Tira'wa.

When the man has completed the painting of the stick he hands it to the Ku'rahus, who has already mixed red clay with water from a running stream in a shell, and he paints the straight groove red. This groove is the path along which the spirits of all the things that are to be put upon this stick of ash may travel as they go forth to give their help during this ceremony. "H'areri" is a prayer that the symbol may have life.

821
822
826

We paint the groove red because the passageway is red through which man's breath comes and goes to give him life. The sun, too, is red, and the groove represents the straight path whereon the sun shines, the path which man must travel if he would live in peace and prosper. The teachings of this ceremony make a straight path along which if a man walks he will receive help from the powers.

When the Ku'rahus has finished painting the groove, he hands the blue stem back to the man on his left, toward the north, who holds it. 539* 796*

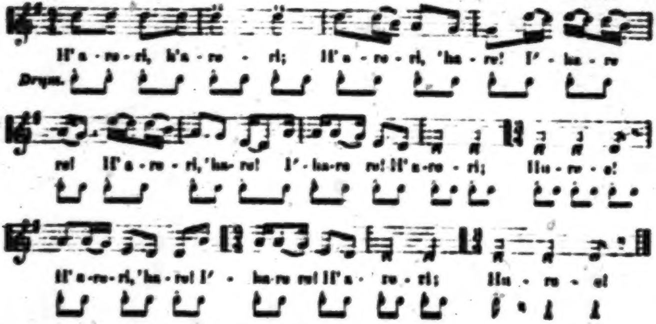
Before singing the second song the Ku'rahus prepares the green paint to be used on the other stick of ash by the man on his right, toward the south. The clay is mixed in a shell with water taken from a running stream. When it is ready for use the Ku'rahus hands it to the man on his right, who, with his finger, rubs the paint over the ash stick, being very careful not to get any of the green color into the groove that runs the length of the stick.

When the man begins to paint the stick green this song is sung.

SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


H'a - re - ri, h'a - re - ri; H'a - re - ri, 'ha - re! I' - ha - re
Drum.
re! H'a - re - ri, 'ha - re! I' - ha - re re! H'a - re - ri; Hu - re - e!
H'a - re - ri, 'ha - re! I' - ha - re re! H'a - re - ri; Hu - re - e!

[533*]

72 H'areri, h'areri;
73 H'areri, 'hare! I hare re!
74 H'areri, 'hare! I'hare re! H'areri;
75 Hure-e!
76 H'areri, 'hare! I'hare re! H'areri;
77 Hure-e!

Translation

72 H'areri, h'areri.

h', an aspiration, a breathing forth. See the second song, line 67.

areri, an abbreviation of the word irarihi, a particular or special place. The change in the last syllable from hi to ri is for euphony.

73 H'areri, 'hare! I'hare re!

h'areri. See lines 72 and 67.

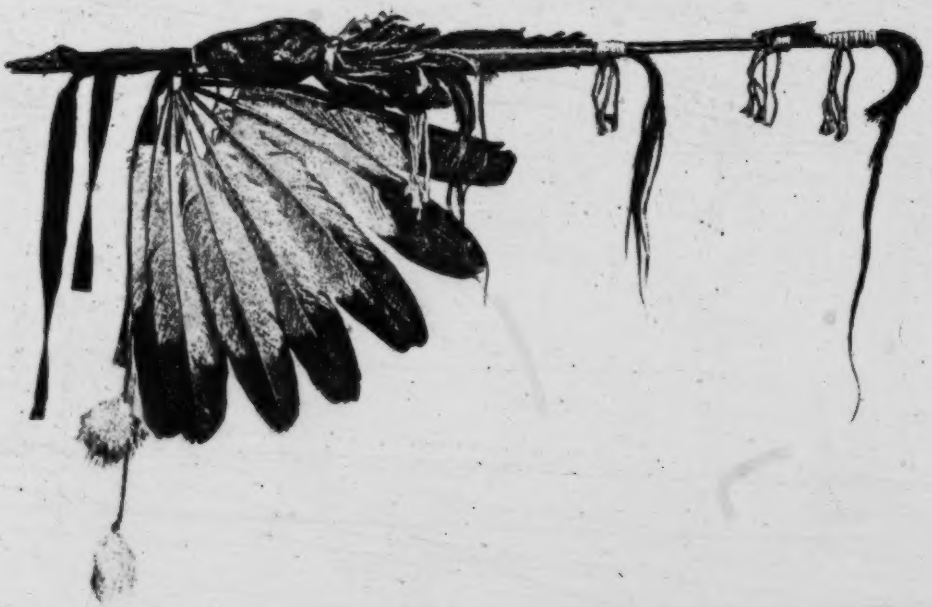
'hare, a part of the word I'hare; an exclamation used to indicate that something of serious import has been presented to the mind and is being reflected upon. See line 2.

I'hare re. Translated above. The doubling of the last syllable is to meet the requirements of the rhythm of the music.

*796
293
2237

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[facing p 240]



THE WHITE FEATHERED STEM (MALE)

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY" BY A C FLETCHER)

#539 74 H'areri, 'hare! I'hare re! H'areri. All the words are translated above. See lines 72 and 73.

#796 75 Hure-e! An abbreviation of the word haurae, coming from above. The vowel changes and prolongation are for greater ease in singing and also for euphony.

76, 77 See lines 74, 75.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[822] The color green represents Toharu (Vegetation), the covering of H'Uraru, Mother Earth. As we sing, we ask that life be breathed into the symbol, that it may have power as we use these sacred articles. "H'areri" is a prayer that living power may be where we place this symbol of the covering of Mother Earth. We remember as we sing that the power of Mother Earth to bring forth comes from above, "Hure-e."

The Ku'rahus paints the groove red in the same way, for the same reason as on the other ash stick, and when he has finished he hands the green stem back to the man on his right, toward the south, who holds it.

The Ku'rahus rubs upon his hands the sacred ointment which has been made by mixing red clay with fat from a deer or buffalo that has been consecrated to Tira'wa. He is now ready to tie the symbolic articles upon the two painted stems.

[381 824 825] He splits long feathers, taken from the wings of an eagle, and glues them to each stem as feathers are glued upon the shaft of an arrow. He uses for this purpose pitch from the pine tree. These wing feathers are to remind us that the eagle flies near to Tira'wa.

About one end of the stem (the mouthpiece) he fastens soft blue feathers, in color like the sky where the powers dwell. He ties a woodpecker's head on the stem near the mouthpiece and turns the upper mandible back upon the red crest. The mandible covers the red crest and keeps it from rising. This shows that the bird may not be angry. The inner side of the mandible, which is exposed by being turned back upon the crest, is painted blue, to show that Tirawa is looking down upon the open bill as the spirit of the bird travels along the red groove to reach the people.

About the middle of the stem the Ku'rahus binds feathers from the owl. The other end of the stem he thrusts through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck, the breast reaching to the owl feathers. The end of the stem protrudes a very little through the bill of the duck, so that the bowl of a pipe could be fitted to it. The duck's head, therefore, is always downward, looking toward the earth and the water.

[825] All the birds on the stems are leaders: the eagle is chief of the day; the owl is chief of the night; the woodpecker is chief of the trees; the duck is chief of the water.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Ku'rahus takes ten feathers from the tail of the brown eagle and prepares them so that they can be tied upon one of the stems. A buckskin thong is run through a hole punctured near the end of the quills and another is threaded through the quills, about the middle of their length, so that upon these two thongs the feathers can be spread like a fan. To the end of the thongs are fastened little balls of white down, taken from inside the thigh of the white male eagle. These balls of down represent the reproductive power. When the fan-like appendage is completed it is tied to the side of the blue-painted stem, so that it can swing when the stem is waved, to simulate the movements of an eagle.

539*
796*
[283]

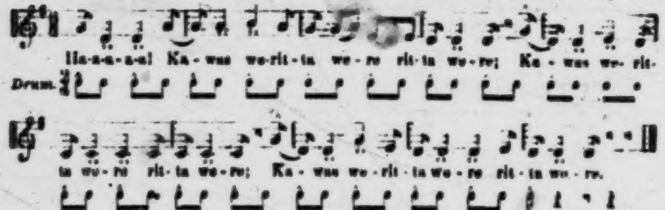
When the Ku'rahus takes from the man on his left, toward the north, the blue-painted stem and attaches to it the fan-like pendant made of the feathers of the brown eagle, we give thanks in our hearts as the following song is sung.

THIRD SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]


Ha-a-a-a-a! Ka - wus we-rit - ta we - re rit - ta we - re; Ka - wus we - rit -
Drum.
ta we - re rit - ta we - re; Ka - wus we - rit - ta we - re rit - ta we - re.

78 Ha-a-a-a!
79 Kawas weritta were ritta were;
80 Kawas weritta were ritta were;
81 Kawas weritta were ritta were.

Translation

78 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation to the song.

79 Kawas weritta were ritta were.

Kawas, the name given to the brown eagle in this ceremony. The common name for this bird is letahkots katit; letahkots, eagle; katit, dark or brown.

[192]

weritta, now hung.

were, at this or that particular time.

ritta, an abbreviated form of weritta, now hung.

were, at this time.

80, 81 See line 79.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796
In this ceremony the brown eagle is called Kawas. This eagle has been made holy by being sacrificed to Tira'wa. Its feathers are tied upon the stem that has been painted blue to represent the sky.

[778
782]
This stem was the first one painted and decorated, because it is female and the leader. It represents the night, the moon, the north, and stands for kindness and helpfulness. It will take care of the people. It is the mother.

Throughout the ceremony the Ku'rahus carries this feathered stem.

After the Kawas stem is prepared the Ku'rahus hands it back to the man on his left, toward the north, to hold while he prepares a pendant of seven tail feathers from the white eagle. Then he takes from the man on his right, toward the south, the stem which had been painted green and ties on it this white-eagle pendant.

No song is sung while this is being done. The white eagle is not holy; it has not been sacrificed to Tira'wa. It has less power than Kawas; it is inclined to war, to hurt some one. It can not lead; it must follow. So the green stem is painted last, and all the decorations are put upon it after the other stem is completed.

This feathered green stem represents the male, the day, the sun, and the south. During the ceremony it is carried by the assistant of the Ku'rahus, whose place is on the right of the Ku'rahus, toward the south.

When we move about the lodge waving the two feathered stems to the rhythm of the song we are singing, Kawas, the brown eagle, is carried next the people, and the white-eagle stem on the farther side, away from the people, where it can do good by defending them and keeping away all harm. If it were carried next the Children it would bring them war and trouble. It is the brown eagle that is always kept near the people and is waved over their heads to bring them the gifts of plenty and of peace.

The red and white streamers tied upon the two stems represent the sun and the moon.

While the Ku'rahus still has the sacred ointment upon his hands he anoints a crotched stick and two straight sticks, all three of which have been carefully scraped and smoothed. These sticks were cut from a plum tree, because this tree is prolific in bearing fruit.

PART III. PAINTING THE EAR OF CORN AND PREPARING THE OTHER SACRED OBJECTS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The Ku'rahus now mixes in a round wooden bowl blue clay with water taken from a running stream and paints with it an ear of white corn, in the way our fathers were taught to do. During this act the following song is sung.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SONG

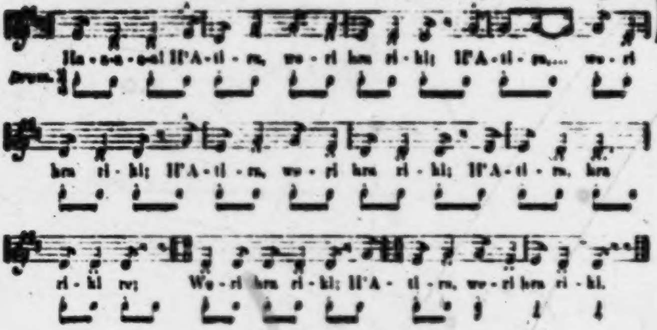
Words and Music

539*
796*

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]


Ha-a-a-a! H'A-ti-ra, we-ri hra ri-ki; H'A-ti-ra,... we-ri
Drum.
hra ri-ki; H'A-ti-ra, we-ri hra ri-ki; H'A-ti-ra, hra
ri-ki re; We-ri hra ri-ki; H'A-ti-ra, we-ri hra ri-ki.

I

82 Ha-a-a-a-a!
83 H'Atira, weri hra riki;
84 H'Atira, weri hra riki;
85 H'Atira, weri hra riki;
86 H'Atira, hra riki re;
87 Weri hra riki;
88 H'Atira, weri hra riki.

II

89 Ha-a-a-a-a!
90 H'Atira, weri ruata;
91 H'Atira, weri ruata;
92 H'Atira, weri ruata;
93 H'Atira, ruata re;
94 Weri ruata;
95 H'Atira, weri ruata.

III

96 Ha-a-a-a-a!
97 H'Atira, weri tukuka;
98 H'Atira, weri tukuka;
99 H'Atira, weri tukuka;
100 H'Atira, tukuka re;
101 Weri tukuka;
102 H'Atira, weri tukuka.

IV

103 Ha-a-a-a-a!
104 H'Atira, weri taiwa;
105 H'Atira, weri taiwa;
106 H'Atira, weri taiwa;
107 H'Atira, taiwa re;
108 Weri taiwa;
109 H'Atira, weri tiawa.

V

110 Ha-a-a-a-a!
111 H'Atira, weri tawawe;
112 H'Atira, weri tawawe;
113 H'Atira, weri tawawe;
114 H'Atira, tawawe re;
115 Weri tawawe;
116 H'Atira, weri tawawe.

VI

117 Ha-a-a-a-a!
118 H'Atira, weri tawitshpa;
119 H'Atira, weri tawitshpa;
120 H'Atira, weri tawitshpa;
121 H'Atira, tawitshpa re;
122 Weri tawitshpa;
123 H'Atira, weri tawitshpa.

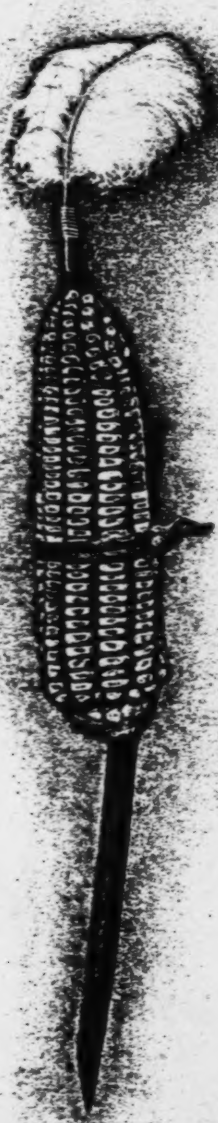
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT PL. LXXXVIII

*796
293
237
243



"MOTHER CORN"

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C.FLETCHER)

[FACING p. 44]

Translation of First Stanza

539
4796

82 Ha-a-a-a! Introduction. An exclamation.

83 H'Atira, weri hra riki.

h', an aspiration, a breathing forth, as the giving of life.

atira, mother.

weri, I am. The singular pronoun refers to the party which is taking the initiative in this ceremony and not merely to the Ku'rahus.

hra, an abbreviated form of the word rararit, to hold.

riki, standing. This word not only refers to the position of the person who holds the ear of corn and to the position of the corn itself, but it indicates the present time, now.

84, 85 See line 83.

86 H'Atira, hra riki re.

h'Atira, hra riki. See line 83.

re, a sign of the plural. This plural sign indicates the impersonation of the ear of corn; h'Atira and Ku'rahus are standing as two persons.

87 Weri hra riki. See line 83.

88 See line 83.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The ear of corn represents the supernatural power that dwells in H'Uraru, the earth which brings forth the food that sustains life; so we speak of the ear of corn as h'Atira, mother breathing forth life.

The power in the earth which enables it to bring forth comes from above; for that reason we paint the ear of corn with blue. Blue is the color of the sky, the dwelling place of Tira'wahut.

[415] The running water with which the blue clay is mixed is put into a round, wooden bowl, not in a shell, as when we painted the stems. The bowl is of wood, taken from the trees, a part of the living covering of Mother Earth, representing the power of Toharu (see explanation of line 24).

The bowl is round, like the dome shape of the sky, and holds the blue paint, which also represents the sky. The bowl is a vessel from which we eat when we have the sacred feast of the corn. Tira'wa taught us how to get the corn.

As we sing the first stanza the Ku'rahus stands in front of the bowl containing the blue paint and holds in his hand, by the butt, h'Atira, the ear of corn.

Translation of Second Stanza

89 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

90 H'Atira, weri ruata.

h'Atira, weri. See line 83.

ruata, flying. Ruata indicates that the ear of corn is moving through the air, not touching the ground; the fact that the ear is in the hand of the Ku'rahus is ignored. Throughout this ceremony the ear of corn is a person.

539*
796*

91, 92 See line 90.

93 H'Atira ruata re. All the words have been translated. See lines 83, 86, and 90.

94 Weri ruata. See lines 83 and 90.

95 See line 90.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the Ku'rahus, holding the ear of corn in his hand by the butt, moves it slowly toward the bowl containing the blue paint.

The bowl and the blue paint represent the blue sky, where the powers above dwell, so we sing that the mother is flying (ruata) toward the heavens to reach these powers.

The spirit of the corn and the spirit of the Ku'rahus are now flying together (see line 86 for translation of the plural sign, re, and its significance).

Translation of Third Stanza

96 See line 82.

97 H'Atira, weri tukuka.

h'Atira, weri. See line 83.

tukuka, now touches, or touching.

98, 99 See line 97.

100 H'Atira, tukuka re. See lines 83, 86, and 97.

101 Weri tukuka. See lines 83 and 97.

102 See line 97.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As this stanza is sung the Ku'rahus dips his finger in the blue paint and touches (tukuka) the ear of corn with it.

This act means that Mother Corn in her flight toward the sky now touches the place where the sky begins.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

103 See line 82.

104 H'Atira, weri taiwa.

h'Atira, weri. See line 83.

taiwa, to rub downward or mark.

105, 106 See line 104.

107 H'Atira taiwa re. See lines 83, 86, and 104.

108 Weri taiwa. See lines 83 and 104.

109 See line 104.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the Ku'rahus marks with his finger four equidistant lines of blue paint on the ear of corn. He begins at the tip of the ear and rubs his finger down (taiwa) about halfway to the butt on the four sides of the ear. 823

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796
534

THE RATTLES

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C.FLETCHER)

[FACING p. 46]

*539 *796 The four blue lines represent the four paths at the four directions (cardinal points), near which the winds stand as guards. Down these paths the powers descend to bring help to man.

[923] The blue paint came down one of these paths, but I was not taught which one.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

110 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
111 H'Atira, weri tawawe.
h'Atira, weri. See line 83.
tawawe, to spread.
112, 113 See line 111.
114 H'Atira tawawe re. See lines 83, 86, and 111.
115 Weri tawawe. See lines 83 and 111.
116 See line 111.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the Ku'rahus spreads (tawawe) with his finger the blue paint over the tip of the ear of corn, to represent the blue dome of the sky, where the powers dwell, above whom is the mighty Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

This act signifies that Mother Corn has reached the abode of Tira'wahut, where she will receive authority to lead in this ceremony.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

117 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
118 H'Atira, weri tawitshpa.
h'Atira, weri. See line 83.
tawitshpa, the attainment of an object; the completion of an undertaking; the end reached.
119, 120 See line 118.
121 H'Atira tawitshpa re. See lines 83, 86, and 118.
122 Weri tawitshpa. See lines 83 and 118.
123 See line 118.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 776 Mother Corn having reached the blue dome where dwells the great circle of powers, Tira'wahut, and having gained what she went for, tawitshpa, authority to lead in the ceremony, she descends to earth by the four paths.

The blue paint having now been put on the ear of corn, this part of the ceremony is completed.

In all that is to follow h'Atira, Mother Corn breathing forth life, is to lead. She came forth from Mother Earth, who knows all places and all that happens among men, so she knows all places and all men, and can direct us where to go when we carry the sacred articles which give plenty and peace.

When we have finished singing this song the Ku'rahus takes one of 796* the plum-tree sticks, which has been anointed with red clay mixed with fat, and ties on it with a thread of sinew a downy eagle feather. [284] This stick is bound to the ear of corn so as to project a hand's breadth above the tip end, letting the downy feather wave above Mother Corn. This feather represents Tira'wa. It is always moving as if breathing.

The Ku'rahus then binds the other plum-tree stick to the corn so that it extends below the butt. When the corn is placed in ceremonial position this end of the stick is thrust in the ground so that the ear will stand upright without touching the earth. Both sticks are bound to the ear of corn by a braided band of hair taken from the head of a buffalo. The braided band signifies the gift of animal food and the provision of skin clothing. (The Skidi band of the Pawnees [184] tie a bit of buffalo wool, such as is shed by the animal in the spring, together with a braid of sweet grass, to the ear of corn.)

The two gourd rattles, which represent the squash given us by Tira'wa, and also the breasts of the mother, are each painted with a blue circle about the middle, with four equidistant lines from the circle to the bottom of the gourd. The circle represents the wall or boundary of the dome of the sky; the four lines are for the four paths at the four directions down which the powers descend. No song is sung while this painting is being done.

All the sacred articles are laid at rest on a wildcat skin when they are not being used ceremonially, and it is a cover for them in which they are all wrapped together at the close of the ceremony. The skin [281] is never tanned, and the ears of the animal, the skin of the head, the feet, and the claws must all be intact.

Tira'wa made the wildcat to live in the forest. He has much skill 773 and ingenuity. The wildcat shows us that we must think, we must 576 use tact, and be shrewd when we set out to do anything. If we 825 wish to approach a person we should not do it bluntly; we should not rush at him; that might offend him so that he would not receive us or the gifts we desired to offer him. The wildcat does not make enemies by rash action. He is observant, quiet, and tactful, and he always gains his end.

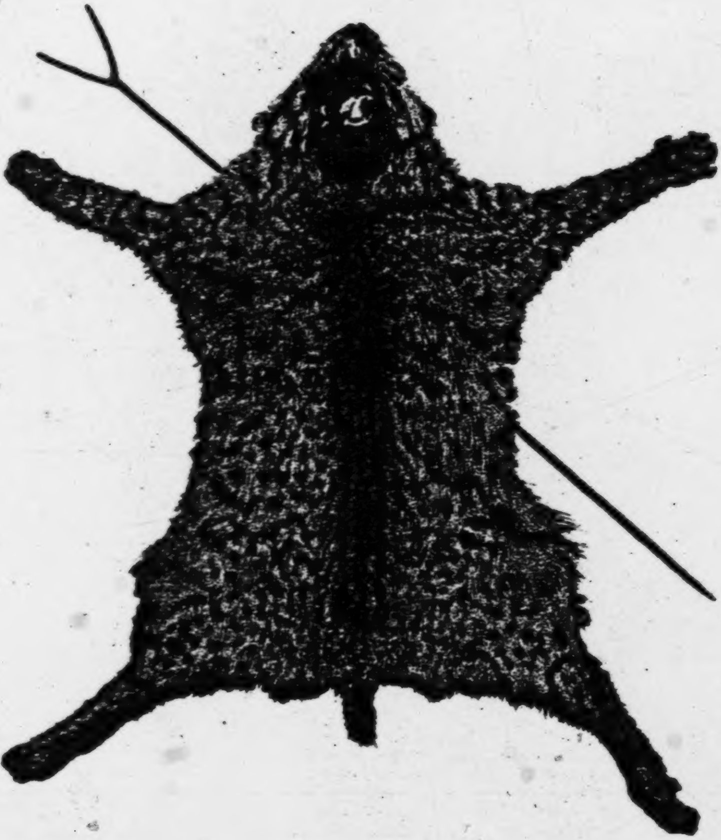
In this ceremony we are to carry the sacred articles to one not of our kindred in order to bind him to us by a sacred and strong tie; we are to ask for him many good gifts, long life, health, and children, and we should receive gifts from him in return. If we would succeed we must learn of the wildcat, and be wise as he is wise.

The wildcat is one of the sacred animals. A man who killed a 825 wildcat could sacrifice it to Tira'wahut. The man who brought such 782 an offering had the right to ask the priest to teach him some of the 794 mysteries that belong to the sacred shrine.

Many years ago two men took the Hako to the Omaha tribe. On the journey one of them killed a wildcat. I said to the man: "I am

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796
293
237



THE WILDCAT SKIN AND CROTCHED STICK ON WHICH
THE TWO FEATHERED STEMS ARE PLACED
WHEN AT CEREMONIAL REST
(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C. FLETCHER)

[FACING P. 48]

782 glad Mother Corn is here leading us, and the wildcat goes with the
Hako." But the man who killed it said: "No, this skin will not go
794 with the Hako! I am going to take it to the priest for sacrifice that
825 I may learn some of the mysteries." But he did wrong and suffered
for it, because that wildcat belonged with the Hako, for it was killed
while we were being led by Mother Corn.

*796 The sacred articles having been completed are now laid at ceremonial rest. The wildcat skin is spread upon the earth in the holy place, which is in the west part of the lodge opposite the entrance, a little way back from the fireplace. The head of the skin is placed toward the east; the crotched plum-tree stick is thrust into the ground close to the head; the two feathered stems are laid in the crotch, the brown-eagle stem first, then the white-eagle stem on the top or outside. The eagle builds its nest in the crotch of a tree, so these eagle-feathered stems are laid in the crotch of the plum-tree stick. The ends which are thrust through the duck's head rest upon the wildcat, and under the wing-like pendants the gourd rattles are placed. Directly in front of the crotched stick stands Mother Corn.

PART IV. OFFERING OF SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The time has now come for the offering of smoke to Tira'wa.

The priest of the Rain shrine must be present with the pipe belong-
793 ing to that shrine and he must conduct the ceremony. After he has
782 filled the pipe with native tobacco the Ku'rahus tells the people that
the time has come to offer smoke to Tira'wa, the father and the giver
of all things. He selects from the company a man to act as pipe
bearer during the ceremony of offering smoke. The pipe bearer must
be one who has made sacrifices at the sacred tents where the shrines
are kept and has been anointed, and who in consequence has been
prospered in his undertakings. The prayers of such a man are
thought to be more acceptable to the powers than those of a man who
has never made sacrifices.

276 In old times men did not smoke for pleasure as they do now, but only in religious ceremonies. The white people have taught the Pawnees to profane the use of tobacco.

778 Each of the sacred shrines of the tribe has a pipe, and its priest
knows the proper order in which the pipe should be offered to Tira'-
793 wahut. I am not a priest, so I do not know the order in which the
Rain pipe is offered, nor can I tell you the ceremony; the knowledge
of that belongs to its priest and not to me.

*796 Up to this point (the conclusion of the ceremony of smoking) all the people present have been obliged to remain quiet in their places; now they are at liberty to move about or to leave the lodge.

C

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SECOND RITUAL. PREFIGURING THE JOURNEY TO THE SON

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

796*
571

Honor is conferred upon a man who leads a Hako party to a distant tribe and there makes a Son, while to the Son help is given from all the powers represented by the sacred objects. Between the Father and the Son and their immediate families a relationship similar to that which exists between kindred is established through this ceremony. It is a sacred relationship, for it is made by the supernatural powers that are with the Hako.

[346]

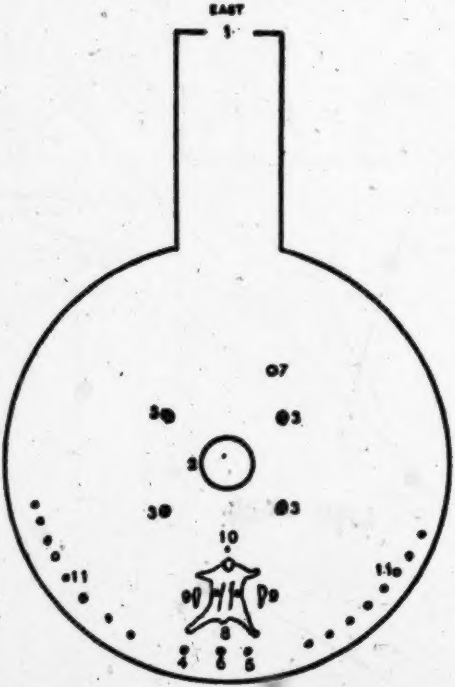


FIG. 172. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the second ritual.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the Ku'rahus; 5, his assistant; 6, the Father (a chief); 7, the server; 8, the wildcat skin, on which are the feathered stems and rattles; 9, the eagle wings; 10, the ear of corn; 11, members of the Hako party.

Mc. Bot. [illegible]
1903

571 *796 623 Because of the sacred and binding character of this relationship, and the gifts brought by it to the Son, namely, long life and many children to make his family strong, the selection of a man to be made a Son is regarded as a serious and important act, one in which the chiefs and the leading men of the Father's tribe must have a voice.

[554] The Son should be a chief or a man who has the respect of the leading men of his tribe, and whom the Father's tribe would be glad to have bound to them by the tie of Son.

While the Father has been gathering the materials necessary for this ceremony, which may have taken him a year or more, he has had some particular person in his mind whom he desired to make a Son. When everything is ready he mentions this particular person to the chiefs and leading men, and when we are gathered together to sing this song we think of this chosen man and we ask the assistance of Mother Corn, and if he is the right person she will lead us to him.

*796 [828] [776] The selection of the Son takes place soon after the preparation of the sacred objects, frequently on the night of the same day. It must always be in the night time, because the spirits can travel best at night. The spirit of the corn and the spirits of the people present in the lodge at this time are to decide who shall be the Son, and Mother Corn is to lead us to him. The same persons are present at this ceremony that were present at the preparation of the Hako.

In the west of the lodge, facing the east, sit the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the Father. Before them are the sacred objects arranged as at ceremonial rest. A little way in front of the crotched stick stands the ear of corn which has been painted in the sacred manner (see figure 172). It is held in position by one of the sticks to which it is tied being thrust into the ground. This ear of corn is the mother, and upon her everyone present must fix his mind.

The singing of the following stanzas occupies most of the night; they do not follow each other quickly, for we must pause after each one.

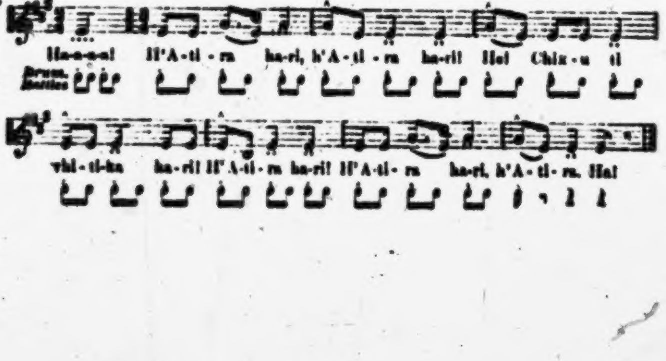
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*533 *539 *796


Ho-o-o-o! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri, h'A-ti-ra ha-ri! Ho! Chix-u ti-chi-ti-ka ha-ri! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri, h'A-ti-ra. Ho!
Drum. Rattles

539*
796*

I

124 Ha-a-a-a!
125 H'Atira hari, h'Atira hari!
126 He! Chixu ti whitika hari!
127 H'Atira hari!
128 H'Atira hari, h'Atira. Ha!

II

129 Ha-a-a-a!
130 H'Atira hari, h'Atira hari!
131 He! Chixu ti uchitika hari!
132 H'Atira hari!
133 H'Atira hari, h'Atira. Ha!

III

134 Ha-a-a-a!
135 H'Atira hari, h'Atira hari!
136 He! Chixu uti hiata hari!
137 H'Atira hari!
138 H'Atira hari, h'Atira. Ha!

IV

139 Ha-a-a-a!
140 H'Atira hari, h'Atira hari!
141 He! Chixu tiẖ whichuru hari!
142 H'Atira hari!
143 H'Atira hari, h'Atira. Ha!

V

144 Ha-a-a-a!
145 H'Atira hari, h'Atira hari!
146 He! Chixu ti whichata hari!
147 H'Atira hari!
148 H'Atira hari, h'Atira. Ha!

VI

149 Ha-a-a-a!
150 H'Atira hari, h'Atira hari!
151 He! Chixu tiẖ itchaẖka wara hari!
152 H'Atira hari!
153 H'Atira hari, h'Atira. Ha!

VII

154 Ha-a-a-a!
155 H'Atira hari, h'Atira hari!
156 He! Chixu ti itwhichata hari!
157 H'Atira hari!
158 H'Atira hari, h'Atira. Ha!

VIII

159 Ha-a-a-a!
160 H'Atira hari, h'Atira hari!
161 He! Chixu ti tokoka hari!
162 H'Atira hari!
163 H'Atira hari, h'Atira. Ha!

Translation of First Stanza

124 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

125 H'Atira hari, h'Atira hari.

h', the sign of an inspiration, a breath, the symbol of giving forth life.

atira, mother. The term is here applied to the ear of corn, the life-giving product of h'Uraru, the Earth.

hari, a part of the word iha'ri, young, the young of animals; also a general term for children.

126 He! Chixu ti whitika hari.

he! an exclamation, as when bidding one to look at something.

chixu, the spirit or mind of a person or thing.

ti, have, in the sense of having done something, accomplished a purpose or carried out a plan.

whitika, converged, come together and united for a given purpose.

hari, part of the word iha'ri, offspring. The word here refers to the Son.

127 H'Atira hari! The words have been translated. See line 125.

128 H'Atira hari, h'Atira. Ha!

h'Atira hari. See line 125.

ha! an exclamation, calling attention.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 As we sing this stanza everyone bends his mind toward the ear of corn, for our spirits (chixu) and the spirit (chixu) of the corn must converge (whitika), must come together and unite for the purpose of finding the Son. The ear of corn is a part of h'Uraru (see line 19), Mother Earth, the mother of all things, so we call the ear of corn Mother Corn; and because she supports our life through food, we speak of her as h'Atira, mother giving forth life.

*539 *796 776 All things live on the earth, Mother Corn knows and can reach all things, can reach all men, so her spirit is to lead our spirits in this search over the earth. When Mother Corn went up to Tira'wahut at the time she was painted (see lines 82 to 123), power was given her to lead the spirits of all things in the air and to command the birds and the animals connected with the Hako. Endowed with power from Tira'wahut above and from h'Uraru (Mother Earth) below, Mother Corn leads and we must follow her, our spirits must follow her spirit. We must fix our minds upon Mother Corn and upon the Son, who is the object of our search. It is a very difficult thing to do. All our spirits must become united as one spirit, and as one spirit we must approach the spirit of Mother Corn. This is a very hard thing to do.

Translation of Second Stanza

*539 *796
129 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
130 H'Atira hari, h'Atira hari.
  h'Atira, Mother breathing forth life. See line 125.
  hari, part of the word iha'ri, offspring, children.
131 He! Chixu ti uchitika hari.
  he! look! behold!
  chixu, spirit of a person or thing.
  ti, have. See line 126.
  uchitika, meditating on; turning over a subject in one's mind and considering it in all its aspects.
  hari, part of iha'ri, young; refers to the Son.
132 H'Atira hari! See line 130.
133 H'Atira hari, h'Atira. Ha! See lines 128, 130.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When we sing this stanza our spirits and the spirit of Mother Corn have come together. Now we are all to meditate. We sit with bowed heads, and Mother Corn sits with bowed head. We are all to think over and consider (uchitika) who shall be the Son.

We must all agree upon the choice, Mother Corn and all.

It is very difficult for all to unite, but we must do so before we can follow Mother Corn where she determines to lead us. It often takes a long time.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

Translation of Third Stanza

134 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
135 H'Atira hari, h'Atira hari.
  H'Atira, mother breathing forth life. See line 123.
  hari, part of the word iha'ri, young; refers to the Son.
136 He! Chixu uti hiata hari.
  he! look! behold!
  chixu, the spirit. See line 126.
  uti, moving.
  hiata, the air. Uti hiata refers to the spirits moving through the air.
  hari, part of iha'ri, young; refers to the Son.
137 H'Atira hari! See line 135.
138 H'Atira hari, h'Atira. Ha! See lines 135, 128.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When we sing this stanza the decision has been made. Mother Corn lifts her head and stands erect. Then she moves through the air (uti hiata), flying on her journey to the Son, and we follow.

It is not the ear of corn that travels through the air, nor do our bodies follow, it is the spirit (chixu) of the corn that moves, and it is our spirits (chixu) that follow, that travel with her to the land of the Son.

The path now opened by the spirit of Mother Corn we, the Fathers, will take, when we in our bodies journey to the Son, but the way must first be opened and the path prepared by the spirit of Mother Corn. This she is about to do.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

139, 140 See lines 134, 135.
141 He! Chixu tih whicharu hari;
  he! look! behold!
  chixu, the spirit of a person or a thing.
  tih, are in the act of.
  whicharu, approaching, drawing near to a place.
  hari, part of iha'ri, children.
142, 143 See lines 127, 128.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sit and sing this stanza our spirits follow the spirit of Mother Corn, and now we are approaching (tih whicharu), drawing near to the village where the Son lives. We see it all (in the spirit) as with Mother Corn we approach the place where the Son dwells.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

*539 144, 145 See lines 124, 125.
*796 146 He! Chixu ti whichata hari.
he! look! behold!
chixu, the spirit of a person or thing.
ti, have, in the sense of having accomplished a purpose or carried out a plan.
whichata, reached one's destination, the end of one's journey.
hari, part of iha'ri, young, children.
147, 148 See lines 127, 128.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza Mother Corn reaches her destination (ti whichata). The journey across the country is now at an end. Mother Corn has opened the way from the tribe of the Fathers to the tribe of the Children. We shall now be able to travel safely along that path, for she has made it straight, she has removed all evil influences from it, so that we shall be happy when we pass over this path she has made.

Here Mother Corn pauses, and we shall pause when we arrive at this place, for it will be here that we shall stop and await the messenger from the Son. He will bring words of welcome and precede us to the lodge set apart for us by the Son.

After a pause we shall follow the spirit of Mother Corn when she enters the village of the Son.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

149, 150 See lines 124, 125.
151 He! Chixu tiḫ itchaḫka wara hari.
he! look! behold!
chixu, the spirit of a person or thing.
tiḫ, are, are in the act of.
itchaḫka; it, a prefix, indicating desire; chaḫka, a part of the word chaḫkahawe, village; itchaḫka, the village one has desired to reach.
wara, walking.
hari, part of iha'ri, children.
152, 153 See lines 127, 128.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the spirit of Mother Corn walks through the village she has desired to reach (tiḫ itchaḫka wara). She opens the way for us through the village to the door of the lodge of the Son. Our spirits, as one spirit, follow hers as she walks among the lodges, seeking the one in which the Son dwells.

As we follow we keep our minds fixed upon Mother Corn and upon the Son to whom we are now drawing near.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

Translation of Seventh Stanza

154, 155 See lines 124, 125.
156 He! Chixu ti itwhichata hari.
he! look! behold!
chixu, the spirit of a person or thing.
ti, have, in the sense of having accomplished a purpose.
itwhichata; it, a prefix indicating desire; whichata, reached one's destination: itwhichata, reached the desired end or object of one's journey.
hari; part of the word iha'ri, young; refers here to the Son.
157, 158 See lines 127, 128.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the spirit of Mother Corn arrives at the lodge of the Son and enters. Our spirits follow her spirit. We have now reached the object of our search and the end of our journey (ti itwhichata hari). The Son does not see us as we stand there; he is sleeping. We fix our minds upon Mother Corn and upon him; we think of the gifts we are to bring him when we come to him with the Hako, the gifts that the birds and the animals that attend these sacred objects will surely bestow upon him—long life, children, and plenty. These gifts will be his, and we shall share in them, for all these good things go with this ceremony.

Translation of Eighth Stanza

159, 160 See lines 124, 125.
161 He! Chixu ti tokoka hari.
he! look! behold!
chixu, the spirit of a person or thing.
ti, have, in the sense of having accomplished.
tokoka, touched, made itself felt.
hari, part of iha'ri, young.
162, 163 See lines 127, 128.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing this stanza the spirit of Mother Corn touches the Son (ti tokoka hari).

We fix our minds upon Mother Corn and upon the Son; if we are in earnest he will respond to her touch. He will not waken, he will not see her, but he will see in a dream that which her touch will bring to him, one of the birds that attend the Hako, for all the spirits of those birds are with Mother Corn and they do her bidding, and he may hear the bird call to him. Then, when he awakens, he will remember his dream, and as he thinks upon it, he will know that he has been chosen to be a Son, and that all the good things that come with the ceremony which will make him a Son are now promised to him.

*539 *796 By touching the Son Mother Corn opened his mind, and prepared the way for our messengers to him, so that he would be willing to receive them, and later to receive us.

Mother Corn has now found the Son; she has made straight and safe the path from our country to his land, and she has made his mind ready to receive us and to carry out his part of this ceremony of the Hako.

THIRD RITUAL. SENDING THE MESSENGERS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 On the day following the night when Mother Corn selected the Son the members of the Father's party brought to his lodge the gifts which they were to take to the Children.

[202] Four men were chosen to carry the message of the Ku'rahus to the Son. They were clothed by the Father with the buffalo robe in the ceremonial manner, and led by him to a place near the entrance of the lodge.

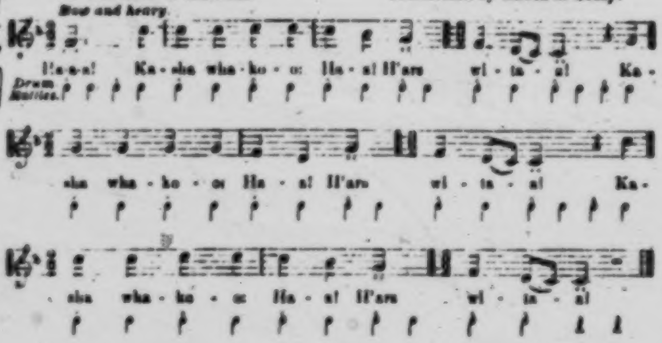
The Ku'rahus gave a little of the sacred native tobacco to the Father, who tied it in a small piece of bladder and returned it to the Ku'rahus, who then addressed to the messengers the first stanza of the following song.

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 112.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*539 *796 *[533]


Slow and heavy
Ha-a-a! Ka-sha wha-ko-o: Ha-a! H'are wi-ta-a! Ka-
Drum Rattles.
sha wha-ko-o: Ha-a! H'are wi-ta-a! Ka-
sha wha-ko-o: Ha-a! H'are wi-ta-a!

I

164 Ha-a-a!
165 Kasha whako-o: Ha-a! H'Are wita-a!
166 Kasha whako-o: Ha-a! H'Are wita-a!
167 Kasha whako-o; Ha-a! H'Are wita-a!

II

168 Ha-a-a!
169 Kasha whako-o: Ha-a! H'Are wita-a;
170 Kasha whako-o: Ha-a! H'Are wita-a;
171 Kasha whako-o: Ha-a! H'Are wita-a.

Translation of First Stanza 539*

164 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation. 796*

165 Kusha whako-o: Ha-a! H'ars wita-a!

kusha, a form of command, referring to an act to be performed at a future time.
whako-o; whako, tell or say; o, vowel prolongation.
ha-a! ha! behold! a, vowel prolongation.
h', a contraction of ha, your.
ars, a contraction of atius, father.
wita-a! wita, he coming; a, vowel prolongation.

166, 167 See line 165.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza is a command to the messengers to say, when they hand the tobacco to the Son, "Behold! Your father is coming!" ("Ha! H'ars wita!")

The stanza is sung four times. At the fourth time the Ku'rahus puts the tobacco into the hand of the leader of the four messengers, who at once leave the lodge and start upon their journey.

Translation of Second Stanza

168 See line 164.

169 Kusha whako-o: Ha-a! H'ars wita-a.

kusha, they will; that is, those that have been commanded will do as they have been directed.
whako-o; whako, tell, say; o, vowel prolongation.
ha-a! ha! behold! a, vowel prolongation.
h', a contraction of ha, your.
ars, a contraction of atius, father.
wita-a, wita, he coming; a, vowel prolongation.

170, 171 See line 169.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

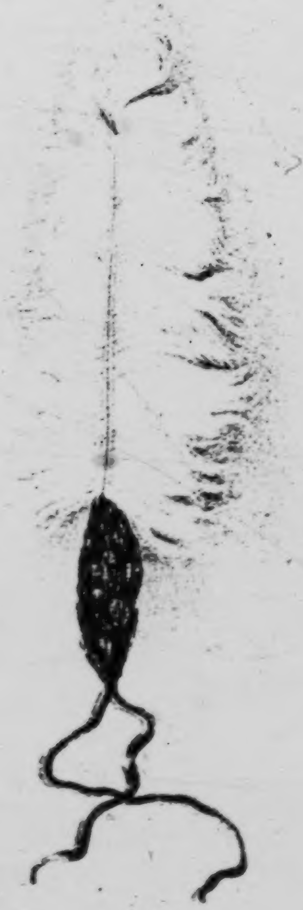
When the messengers are out of sight of the village the Ku'rahus sings the second stanza. It is addressed to the members of the Father's party, who are still sitting in his lodge. It is an authoritative assurance that the messengers will (kusha) fulfil their mission and deliver to the Son the message, "Behold! Your father is coming!"

After the Ku'rahus has sung this second stanza four times, the people disperse to await the return of the messengers, while he and his assistant, or two persons designated by him, must sit with the sacred objects until the four men come back from the Son.

As the Son hears the words of the messengers he will be reminded 539*
of his dream, in which Mother Corn touched him. And as he looks 796*
at the men he will recognize the tribe from which they have come and
will know who has chosen him to be the Son. Then he will call 571
together his relatives and they will talk over the matter. If it is 202
decided to accept the ceremony they will keep the little bundle of

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

4796
237
776



THE FEATHER SYMBOL OF TIRAWA

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C. FLETCHER)

[FACING p. 58]

1; Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

202 *539 *796 tobacco and the messengers will be told to return and say to the Father, "I am ready!"

[571] The messengers start back immediately, and when they are in sight of their village the news of their arrival is proclaimed. Then all the men of the Father's party hasten to his lodge. The Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the Father put on their buffalo robes in the ceremonial manner, with the hair outside, and take their places back of the Hako. The other members of the party range themselves against the wall of the lodge, on either side, and all await the coming of the messengers.

[201] As the four men enter the lodge the people cry, "Nawairi!" ("Thanks!") while the Ku'rahus lifts his hands, palms upward, and then brings them down slowly. This movement means thanks, and the calling down of help from above.

The leader of the messengers, addressing the Ku'rahus, delivers the words sent by the Son, "I am ready!" This closes the ceremony.

FOURTH RITUAL

PART I. VIVIFYING THE SACRED OBJECTS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 When the messengers return from the Son with the words, "I am ready," there is rejoicing in the lodge.

The young men of the Father's party rise and dance. From these dancers two are selected, by the Ku'rahus and the chief, to perform the final dance, which takes place on the morning of the fifth day of the ceremony. The choice of these two dancers is signified by tying on their hair a downy white eagle's feather (see plate XLI). Meanwhile the other members of the party are busy with their final preparations. [431] They tie in packs, ready for transportation, the gifts they are to carry to the Children. The singers make ready the drum, while outside the women are engaged preparing food and other necessaries for the long journey.

The Ku'rahus orders a straight tent pole to be selected and brought to the lodge of the Father.

On the morning of the day the journey is to begin the Ku'rahus rises from his place in the lodge behind the Hako and goes outside. There he ties the sacred objects on the selected tent pole. He puts the two feathered stems near the top—the brown eagle toward the north and the white eagle toward the south—and he spreads out their feather pendants. Below these he fastens the ear of corn, and underneath it the two rattles and, lastly, the wildcat skin. These objects must face the east when the pole is raised. Behind them, so as to ~~face the west~~, the right and left wing of an eagle are fastened and spread out.

The rope of buffalo hair is used to tie these sacred objects to the pole, which is then set up at the entrance of the lodge. Here it stands where the wind of the dawn may breathe upon the Hako and the first rays of the sun strike the sacred objects and give them life.

We do this that Tira'wa and all the lesser powers—the Winds, the Sun, the Earth, and the four at the west which control the storm—may see that all is complete and ready for the ceremony.

796*

[776
821]

It is all done in silence before the day dawns. No song is sung when we put the objects on the pole and raise it nor when we take it down and remove them. We must let them stay up there for some time in order that all the powers may surely see that everything is correct, so the sun is well up when the Ku'rahus goes out to the pole, lowers it, and removes the sacred objects and carries them into the lodge and puts them on the holy place.

Part II. Mother Corn Assumes Leadership

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As I told you before, the Ku'rahus at the beginning of the ceremony anointed himself with the sacred ointment and fastened upon his head

[346]

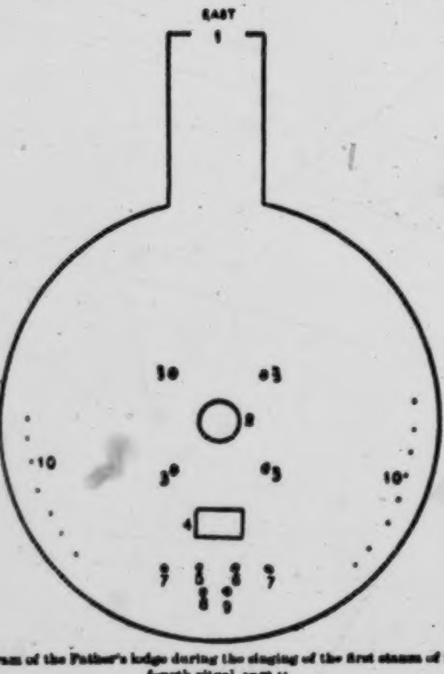


FIG. 172. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the singing of the first stanza of the song of the fourth ritual, part II.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the holy place; 5, the Ku'rahus; 6, his assistant; 7, the bearers of the eagle wings; 8, the Father (a chief); 9, the second chief; 10, members of the Hako party.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904 ——
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796 the downy eagle feather (see plate XCI). Now he takes the rope of buffalo hair with which the sacred objects have been bound to the pole, and with it ties his buffalo robe around his waist. He is now fully dressed for the ceremony, and he stands at the west, back of the holy place.

He anoints with the sacred ointment the face, arms, and body of his assistant, ties a downy eagle feather on his scalp lock, puts a buffalo robe on him in the ceremonial manner and hands him the feathered stem with the white-eagle pendant; then the assistant takes his position behind the holy place, toward the south.

The Ku'rahus next anoints the face of the chief and fastens on
622 his head a small tuft of down taken from under the wing of an eagle.
*796 The chief wears his buffalo robe in the ceremonial manner. The Ku'rahus hands the wildcat skin to the chief, who folds its head about the crotched stick and the butt of the ear of corn, so that the tip to which the downy eagle feather is fastened is well in sight above the head of the cat. The skin hangs down in front of the chief as he holds it with both hands by the neck. He takes his place back of the Ku'rahus.

The second chief, who is to assist the first, is now given the sacred pipe and tobacco bag of the Rain shrine and told to stand behind the Ku'rahus's assistant.

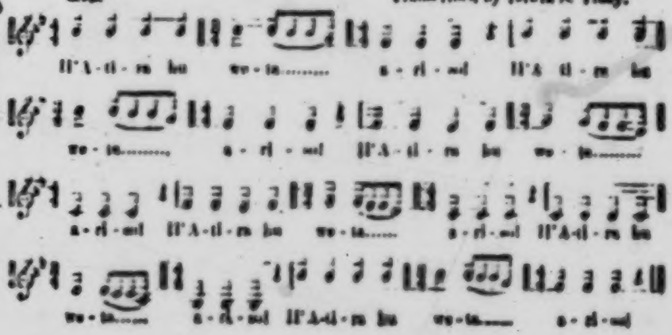
*796 The Ku'rahus hands the eagle wings to the doctors; the one with the left wing stands to the north of the Ku'rahus, and the one with the right wing takes his place to the south of the assistant. Lastly the Ku'rahus takes up for himself the feathered stem with the brown-eagle pendant and then, with the six men all in position (see figure 173), they sing the first stanza of the following song.

SONG

Words and Music

*533
*539
*796

Slow. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


H'A-ti-ra ha we-ta........ a-ri-od H'A-ti-ra ha
we-ta........ a-ri-od H'A-ti-ra ha we-ta........
a-ri-od H'A-ti-ra ha we-ta...... a-ri-od H'A-ti-ra ha
we-ta...... a-ri-od H'A-ti-ra ha we-ta...... a-ri-od

539*
796*

I

172 H'Atira hu weta ariso!
173 H'Atira hu weta ariso!
174 H'Atira hu weta ariso!
175 H'Atira hu weta ariso!
176 H'Atira hu weta ariso!
177 H'Atira hu weta ariso!

II

178 H'Atira hu weti arisut!
179 H'Atira hu weti arisut!
180 H'Atira hu weti arisut!
181 H'Atira hu weti arisut!
182 H'Atira hu weti arisut!
183 H'Atira hu weti arisut!

Translation of First Stanza

172 H'Atira hu weta ariso!

h', the sign of an aspiration; a breath; the symbol of giving life.

atira, mother. The term is here applied to the ear of corn, the representative of Mother Earth.

hu, the same as ha, yonder. The vowel is changed from a to u to give greater euphony in singing by avoiding the repetition of the sound a.

weta, coming toward one, so as to overtake one.

ariso, a living thing that has come from a great distance in time or space.

173-177 See line 172.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza is sung four times. As we sing it the first time the principal chief takes a step with his right foot, which brings him on a line with the Ku'rahus and his assistant. When we sing it a second time he takes a step with his left foot, which leaves him in advance of the line of the Ku'rahus and his assistant. As we sing it a third time he takes a step with his right foot and turns toward the north. When we sing it the fourth time he advances a step with his left foot. He has now passed in front of the Ku'rahus as leader, and faces the north.

As we sing this song we remember that Mother Earth is very old. She is everywhere, she knows all men, she gave (supported) life to our fathers, she gives (supports) life to us, and she will give life to our children.

The ear of corn represents venerable Mother Earth, and also the authority given by the powers above; so, as the chief, holding the ear of corn, takes the four steps that bring him in advance of the Ku'rahus, we sing that Mother breathing forth life and bearing the sign of the powers above is now coming from the far distant past to go before us.

At the close of the fourth repeat the Ku'rahus tells the assistant chief to pass in front and stand at the right hand of the principal

*539 *796 chief. When this is done, the Ku'rahus and his assistant and the two doctors form a line behind the two chiefs; then we sing the following stanza (see figure 174).

[346]

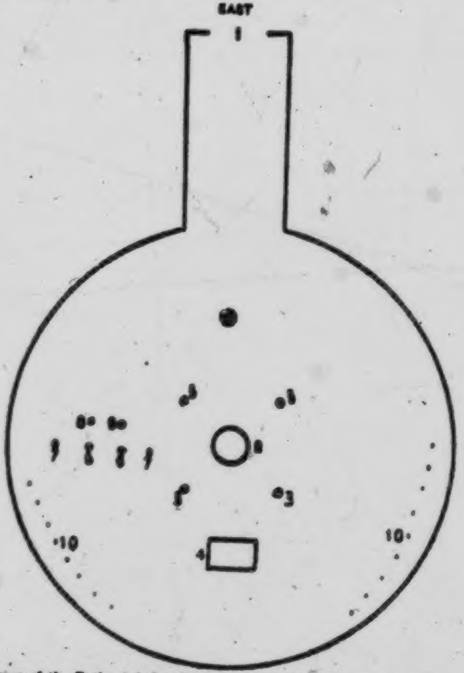


FIG. 174. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the singing of the second stanza of the song of the fourth ritual, part II.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the holy place; 5, the Ku'rahus; 6, his assistant; 7, the bearers of the eagle wings; 8, the Father (a chief); 9, the second chief; 10, members of the Hako party.

Translation of Second Stanza

178 H'Atira hu weti arisut!

h', the sign of breath, of giving forth life.

atira, mother; the term applied to the ear of corn.

hu; ha, yonder; the vowel is changed for euphony.

weti, starting forward. The object which was coming toward one has overtaken the speaker and has started onward before him.

arisut, a living thing that is starting or has started to go a long distance, as into future time or on a long journey.

179-183 See line 178.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*

We sing this stanza four times, taking a step at each repeat, the two chiefs leading with Mother Corn and the sacred pipe.

As we sing we think that Mother breathing forth life, who has come out of the past, has now started to lead us on the journey we are to take and to the fulfilment of our desire that children may be given us, that generations may not fail in the future, and that the tie may be made strong between the Father and the Son.

After this song the six men walk slowly toward the entrance to the lodge, going by the north, and all the others follow.

PART III. THE HAKO PARTY PRESENTED TO THE POWERS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Hako party are all outside of the door of the lodge, the six men stand abreast, the doctor with the left wing of the eagle to the north, on his right the Ku'rahus, then the principal chief, then the second chief, then the Ku'rahus's assistant, and the doctor with the right wing of the eagle at the end of the line toward the south.

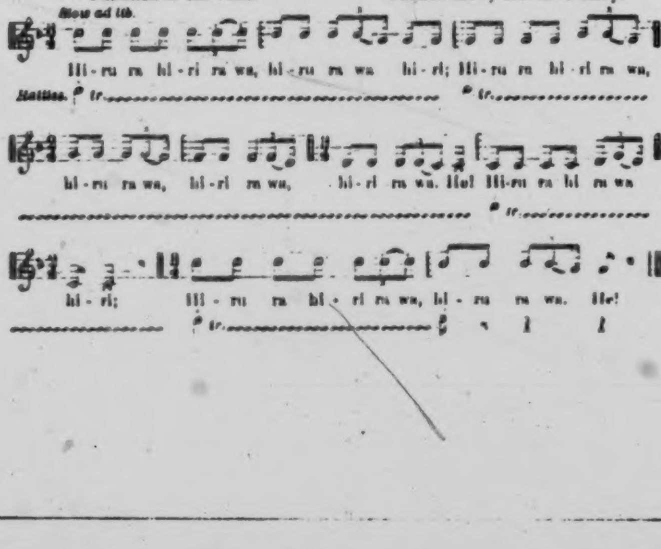
At the word of the Ku'rahus the six men bearing the sacred objects advance abreast toward the east. The men of the Hako party fall in behind and are followed by the women. When all have walked forward a little way, the six men halt and sing the following song.

As the party sings the Ku'rahus lifts and points his feathered stem toward the east; the assistant does the same with his feathered stem; the chief makes the same movement with the wildcat skin, from the head of which protrudes the ear of corn; the second chief offers the stem of the pipe, and the two doctors hold up their eagle wings.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Slow ad lib.
Hi-ru ra hi-ri ra wa, hi-ru ra wa hi-ri; Hi-ru ra hi-ri ra wa,
Rattles. tr.
hi-ru ra wa, hi-ri ra wa, hi-ri ra wa. He! Hi-ru ra hi ra wa
tr.
hi-ri; Hi-ru ra hi-ri ra wa, hi-ru ra wa. He!
tr.

533*

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

184 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa hiri;
185 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa, hiri ra wa, hiri ra wa. He!
186 Hiru ra hi ra wa hiri;
187 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa. He!

Translation

184 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa hiri.

hiru; iru, they yonder; the h is prefixed for euphony and to give ease in singing.

ra, coming.

hiri; iri, they who are far away; the h is prefixed for euphony.

ra, moving, moving this way.

wa, part of the word toware, passing through the air.

hiru, they yonder; the h is for euphony.

ra, coming.

wa, from toware, darting through the air.

hiri, they who are far away; the h is used for euphony.

185 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa, hiri ra wa, hiri ra wa. He!

hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa, hiri ra wa. See line 184.

he! a part of the exclamation i'hare! meaning I think upon and consider the significance of (the act which accompanies the song); the change of the r to h is for euphony.

186 Hiru ra hi ra wa hiri.

hiru ra. See line 184.

hi, part of the word hiri, translated above.

ra wa hiri. See line 184.

187 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa. He! All the words are translated above. See lines 184 and 185.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796
776

This song is addressed to Tira'wa atius. He is the father of all and all things come from him. We pray in our hearts as we sing. We ask Tira'wa to watch over the Ku'rahus, to guide his acts and to guard his words so that he may make no mistake and the ceremony may be complete. From the east the flashes of the eyes of Tira'wa come darting through the air upon us and upon the sacred objects.

We sing this song four times and then take sixteen steps to the east; there we turn and face the west, the people all behind us.

As we stand and look toward the west we remember that it is there that the four lesser powers dwell who were permitted by Tira'wa atius to bring life to man. These powers also control the thunder, the lightning, the storm, and death.

We sing the first stanza of the following song to them eight times.

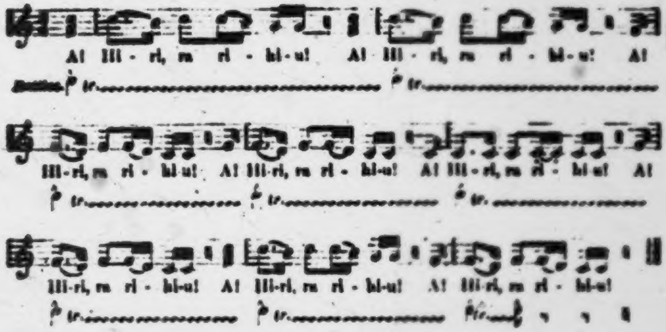
539*
796*
[533*]

SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 42.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


A! Hi - ri, ra ri - hi - u! A! Hi - ri, ra ri - hi - u! A!
Rattles
tr
Hi-ri, ra ri - hi-u! A! Hi-ri, ra ri - hi-u! A! Hi-ri, ra ri - hi-u! A!
Hi-ri, ra ri - hi-u! A! Hi-ri, ra ri - hi-u! A! Hi-ri, ra ri - hi-u!

I

188 A! Hiri, ra rihiu! A! Hiri, ra rihiu!
189 A! Hiri, ra rihiu! A! Hiri, ra rihiu!
190 A! Hiri, ra rihiu!
191 A! Hiri, ra rihiu!
192 A! Hiri, ra rihiu!
193 A! Hiri, ra rihiu!

II

194 H'Uraru ha! Hiri re! H'Uraru ha! Hiri re!
195 H'Uraru ha! Hiri re! H'Uraru ha! Hiri re!
196 H'Uraru ha! Hiri re!
197 H'Uraru ha! Hiri re!
198 H'Uraru ha! Hiri re!
199 H'Uraru ha! Hiri re!

III

200 H'Uraru riri wari! H'Uraru riri wari!
201 H'Uraru riri wari! H'Uraru riri wari!
202 H'Uraru riri wari!
203 H'Uraru riri wari!
204 H'Uraru riri wari!
205 H'Uraru riri wari!

Translation of First Stanza

188 A! Hiri, ra rihiu! A! Hiri, ra rihiu!

a! a part of ha! behold! The exclamation has here a double meaning; the people are to look toward the powers and the powers are called upon to behold the people.

hiri, they far away; an address to the powers. The h is prefixed for euphony.

ra, come.

rihiu; rihi, is the place; u, a vocable to fill out the measure.

189–193. See line 188.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

#796 When we have finished singing the six men take sixteen steps back to the place where the first song was sung as we faced the east. Then they take eight steps toward the south, where they stand facing the south and sing the following stanza, the people being all behind them.

Translation of Second Stanza

#539 194 H'Uraru ha! Hiri re! H'Uraru ha! Hiri re!
#796 H'Uraru, the earth.
ha! behold!
823 hiri, they far away; an address to the powers of the south.
re, are, in the sense of being, living.
195-199 See line 194.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When we sing this stanza we are standing and looking toward the south. That is the place where the sun travels, where the light comes, and the brightness of day.

As we look we ask the powers of the south to give life and increase to us, as well as to the seeds within Mother Earth.

After we have sung this stanza eight times to the powers of the south, we turn and take eight steps toward the entrance of the lodge, to a place just back of where we sang the first song to the east; then eight steps toward the north, all the people following. Here, facing the north, we sing the next stanza.

Translation of Third Stanza

200 H'Uraru riri wari! H'Uraru riri wari!
H'Uraru, the earth.
riri, on.
wari, walking.
201-205 See line 200.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The people are now looking toward the north, the moon, the night, the mother of the day.

We ask the powers of the north, they who can see the path of life, to lead us and make us able to walk, us and our children.

We sing this song eight times to the powers of the north.

Then the six men turn south and take eight steps toward the entrance of the lodge, to a point before the place where we sang the first song to the east; there they turn and face east and walk to the place where they sang to the powers of the west, and there they halt.

To all the powers of the east, west, south, and north we have sung and have presented ourselves. As we walked, we have traced upon

[text continues on p.68]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796*

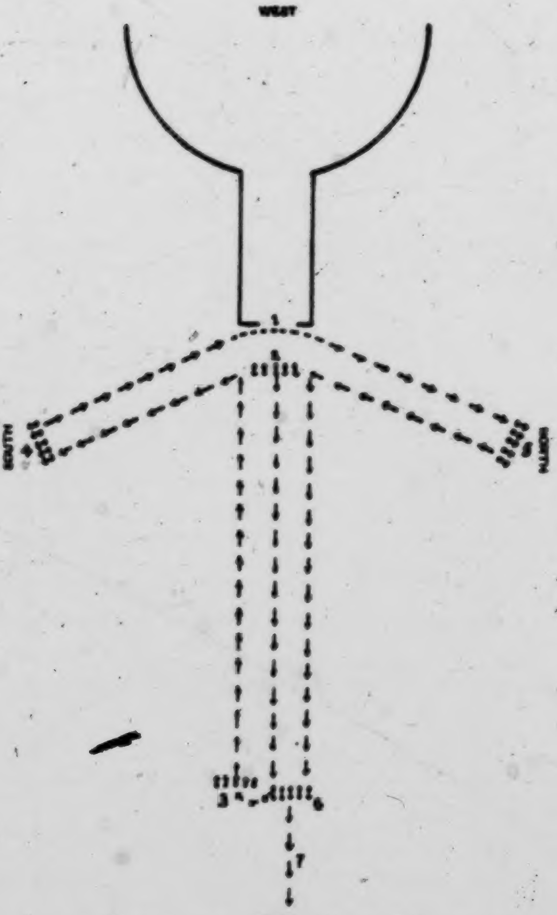


FIG. 179. Diagram showing the movements of the principal members of the Father's party during the presentation to the powers.

1, entrance to the lodge; 2, place where the first song is sung; 3, place where the first stanza of the second song is sung; 4, place where the second stanza of the second song is sung; 5, place where the third stanza of the second song is sung; 6, place where the halt is made after the last sixteen steps; 7, the four steps taken in the presence of the powers.

The dots represent the following persons, beginning at the left: the doctor with the left wing of the eagle, the Ku'rahus, the principal chief (the *Father*, if he is a chief), the second chief, the Ku'rahus's assistant, and the doctor with the right wing of an eagle. The arrows attached to the dots show the direction in which the persons are facing. (By an error, but five dots were drawn, instead of six.) Each of the other arrows represents a step taken by the group, and points in the direction in which it is taken.

*539 the earth the figure of a man. This image that we have traced is *796 from Tira'wa. It has gone around with us, and its feet are where we now stand; its feet are with our feet and will move with them as we now 823 take four steps, bearing the sacred objects, in the presence of all the powers and begin our journey to the land of the Son (see figure 175).

SECOND DIVISION. THE JOURNEY

FIFTH RITUAL

PART I. MOTHER CORN ASSERTS AUTHORITY

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *726 After we have taken the four steps in the presence of all the powers we are ready to begin our journey, but before we start, and while we stand facing the east, we sing the following song:

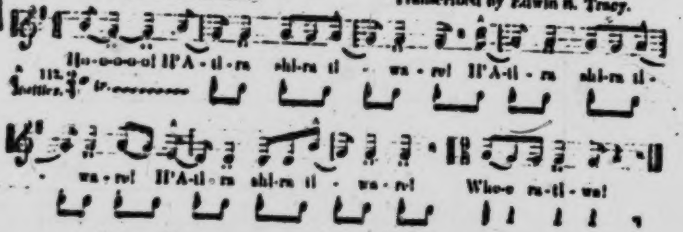
FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 56.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ho-o-o-o-o! H'A - ti - ra shi-ra ti - wa - re! H'A-ti - ra shi-ra ti -
♩ 112. Rattles.
tr.
wa - re! H'A-ti - ra shi-ra ti - wa - re! Who-o ra-ti - wa!

I

206 Ho-o-o-o-o!
207 H'Atira shira tiware!
208 H'Atira shira tiware!
209 H'Atira shira tiware!
210 Who-o ratiwa!

II

211 Ho-o-o-o-o!
212 H'Atira shira tiwara!
213 H'Atira shira tiwara!
214 H'Atira shira tiwara!
215 Weru tihiwa!

Translation of First Stanza

206 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

207 H'Atira shira tiware!

h', an aspiration, symbolic of a breathing forth, as the giving of breath so that a thing may live.

atira, mother. The term is here applied to the ear of corn.

shira, it and me; it refers to the ear of corn, Mother Corn; me refers to the Father's party spoken of or speaking in the singular, as one person.

tiware, walking in a devious or a winding course.

208-209 See line 207.

210 Whe-e ratiwa!

whe, now, at this time.

e, prolongation of the final e in whe.

ratiwa, walking, plural form; that is, Mother Corn and the Father's party are walking as two persons. See the translation of shira (line 207).

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Mother Corn, who led our spirits over the path we are now to travel, leads us again as we walk, in our bodies, over the land.

When we were selecting the Son (second ritual) we had to fix our minds on Mother Corn and make our spirits as one spirit with her. We must do so now, as we are about to start on this journey; we must be as one mind, one person, with Mother Corn (h'Atira shira); we, as one person, must walk with her over the devious, winding path (tiwara) which leads to the land of the Son.

We speak of this path as devious, not merely because we must go over hills and through valleys and wind around gulches to reach the land of the Son, but because we are thinking of the way by which, through the Hako, we can make a man who is not of our blood a Son; a way which has come down to us from our far-away ancestors like a winding path.

Translation of Second Stanza

211 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

212 H'Atira shira tiwara.

h', symbolic of breathing forth.

atira, mother; the term refers to the corn.

shira, it and me; the ear of corn and the party of the Father.

tiwara, walking in a definite path, a straight path.

213, 214 See line 212.

215 Weru tihiwa.

weru, by or according to, indicating order or arrangement.

tihiwa, equal stages; divided into equal lengths, as when marking a line of travel by a number of camps.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza means that Mother Corn will lead us in the path she opened and made safe for us when she went in search of the Son. The path is definite to her, like a straight path, in which we are to journey by equal stages (weru tihiwa). First we are to travel, then we are to camp, then travel, and again camp. This is the way our fathers did, and the knowledge has come down to us from father to son, from father to son, by generations, in equal stages all the way.

After singing the stanza the six men with the Hako move forward and all follow; Mother Corn is leading and breathing forth life.

After we have moved on a little distance, and have left the village

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 behind us so that we can no longer see our homes, we halt and sing
*796 the first stanza of the following song.

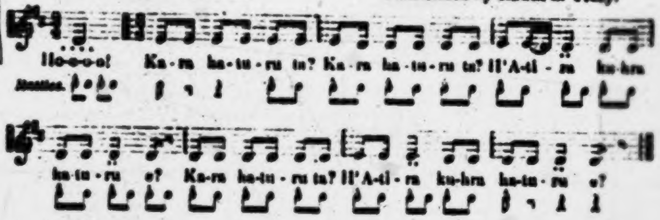
SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 112.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ho-o-o-o!
Ka-ra ha-tu-ru ta? Ka-ra ha-tu-ru ta? H'A-ti-ra ku-hra
Rattles.
ha-tu-ru e? Ka-ra ha-tu-ru ta? H'A-ti-ra ku-hra ha-tu-ru e?

I

216 Ho-o-o-o!
217 Kara haturu ta? Kara haturu ta?
218 H'Atira kuhra haturu e?
219 Kara haturu ta? H'Atira kuhra haturu e?

II

220 Ho-o-o-o!
221 Wiri haturu ta, wiri haturu ta;
222 H'Atira kuhra haturu e;
223 Wiri haturu ta, h'Atira kuhra haturu e.

Translation of First Stanza

216 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

217 Kara haturu ta? Kara haturu ta?

kara, is there? An inquiry.

haturu, path, road, way.

ta, a part of the word ruta, a long stretch, as a long stretch of road or of country. In order to make the words conform to the rhythm of the music the final syllable of haturu is made to serve as the first syllable of the next word (ruta), so only the last syllable, ta, is given.

218 H'Atira kuhra haturu e?

h', symbolic of the breath; a breathing forth.

atira, mother. The term applies to Mother Corn.

kuhra, hers; the owner of.

haturu, path, road, way.

e, the equivalent of ta, a part of ruta. The change from ta to *e* is for euphony.

219 Kara haturu ta? H'Atira kuhra haturu e? All the words are translated above. See lines 217 and 218.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Before us lies a wide pathless stretch of country. We are standing alone and unarmed, facing a land of strangers, and we call upon

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Mother Corn and we ask her: "Is there a path through this long stretch of country before us where we can see nothing? Does your path, the one which you opened for us, wherein is safety, lie here?" 539* 796*

Translation of Second Stanza

220 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
221 Wiri haturu ta, wiri haturu ta.
 wiri, here, at this place; right before one.
 haturu, path, road, way.
 ta, part of the word ruta, a long stretch.
222 See line 218.
223 Wiri haturu ta, h'Atira kuhru haturu e. All the words are translated above. See lines 221 and 218.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

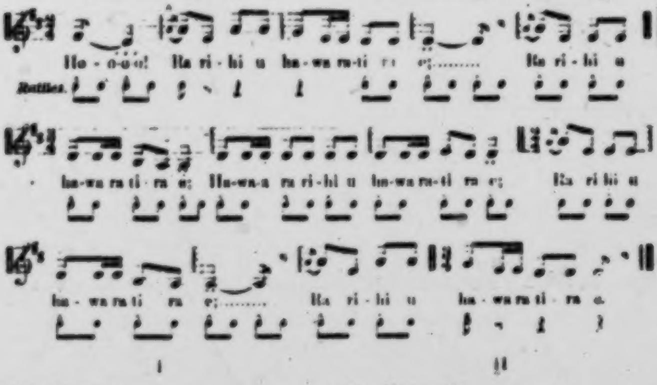
As we stand and sing the second stanza, Mother Corn speaks to us and we are assured in our spirits. She answers our appeal; she says that here, right before us, stretches out the path she has made straight. Then our eyes are opened and we see the way we are to go.

But although we see our way we are not to take the path by ourselves; we must follow Mother Corn; she must lead us, must direct and guide our steps. The next song is to enforce obedience to Mother Corn.

THIRD SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 112.
• Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! Ra ri-hi u ha-wa ra-ti e; Ra ri-hi u
Rattles.
ha-wa ra ti-ra e; Ha-wa-a ra ri-hi u ha-wa ra-ti ra e; Ra ri-hi u
ha-wa ra ti ra e; Ra ri-hi u ha-wa ra ti-ra e.
I
II

[533*]

224 Ho-o-o-o!
225 Ra rihi u hawa ratira e;
226 Ra rihi u hawa ratira e;
227 Hawa-a ra rihi u hawa ratira e;
228 Ra rihi u hawa ratira e;
229 Ra rihi u hawa ratira e.

230 Ho-o-o-o!
231 Ti rihi u hawa ratira e;
232 Ti rihi u hawa ratira e;
233 Hawa-a ti rihi u hawa ratira e;
234 Ti rihi u hawa ratira e;
235 Ti rihi u hawa ratira e.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of First Stanza

*539 224 Hó-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 225 Ra rihi u hawa ratira e.
ra, at a distance; yonder.
rihi, a place; a locality.
u, a particular place.
hawa, whence; from where.
ratira, I came.
e, vowel prolongation to meet the rhymth of the music.
226 See line 225.
227 Hawa-a ra rihi u hawa ratira e.
hawa, whence; from where.
a, vowel prolongation.
ra rihi u hawa ratira e. See line 225.
228, 229 See line 225.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When this song is to be sung, the Ku'rahus bids all the people go in front of him, then he and they all turn and face the west, and look toward the lodge of the Father within which the preliminary ceremonies have been performed, and before the entrance of which the powers have looked on the elevated sacred objects and upon all the people.

In this song Mother Corn is speaking of the place whence she came when she was consecrated according to the rites given to our fathers. She led our fathers and she leads us now, because she was born of Mother Earth and knows all places and all people, and because she has on her the sign (the blue-paint symbol) of having been up to Tira'wahut, where power was given her over all creatures. She also is speaking of the path over which her spirit led our spirits when we were traveling in search of the Son.[a]

Translation of Second Stanza

330 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
331 Ti rihi u hawa ratira e;
ti, this.
rihi u hawa ratira e. See line 225.
332 See line 331.
333 Hawa-a ti rihi u hawa ratira e. See lines 225, 227, and 331.
334, 335 See line 331.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the second stanza, the Ku'rahus points along the path we have already traveled under the leadership of Mother Corn.

This act and the song are to impress upon the people that they are not moving at random, but in a prescribed manner, which the Ku'rahus has been taught and directed to follow; that they are led by Mother Corn authorized by the powers, and to her they must give unquestioning obedience throughout the ceremony. 539* 796*

---

[a] See first ritual, second ritual, and fourth ritual.

After this song the Ku'rahus and the other bearers of the sacred objects turn, and facing the east, pass on in front of the people, who also turn and follow as they go forth on the journey.

The three songs we have just sung are in sequence. Their order can not be changed; they belong to the beginning of the journey, and teach us to obey Mother Corn.

PART II. SONGS AND CEREMONIES OF THE WAY

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The journey we are taking is for a sacred purpose, and as we are led by the supernatural power in Mother Corn we must address with song every object we meet, because Tira'wa is in all things. Everything we come to as we travel can give us help, and send help by us to the Children.

Trees are among the lesser powers, and they are represented on the Hako which we carry, so when we see trees we must sing to them. [824 778]

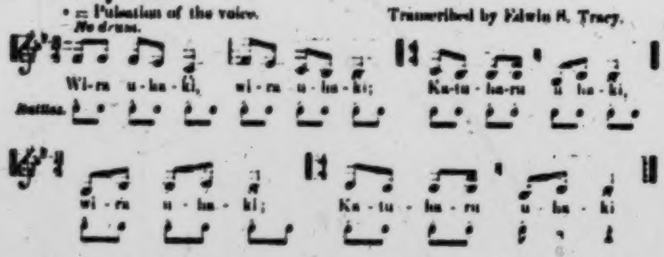
Trees grow along the banks of the streams; we can see them at a distance, like a long line, and we can see the river glistening in the sunlight in its length. We sing to the river, and when we come nearer and see the water and ~~hear~~ it rippling, then we sing to the water, the water that ripples as it runs.

SONG TO THE TREES AND STREAMS

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 112.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Wi-ra u-ha-ki, wi-ra u-ha-ki; Ka-tu-ha-ru u-ha-ki,
Rattles.
wi-ra u-ha-ki; Ka-tu-ha-ru u-ha-ki

[533*]

I

236 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki;
237 Katuharu uhaki, wira uhaki;
238 Katuharu uhaki.

II

239 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki;
240 Kichaharu uhaki, wira uhaki;
241 Kichaharu uhaki.

III

242 Wira wihaku, wira wihaku;
243 Kichaharu wihaku, wira wihaku;
244 Kichaharu wihaku.

Translation

I

*539 *796 236 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki.
wira; wi, a qualifying word meaning that an object is long or stretched out; ra, at a distance, yonder.
uhaki, something that is in a line; a stretch.
237 Katuharu uhaki, wira uhaki.
katuharu, trees, timber, woods.
uhaki, a long line, a stretch.
wira uhaki. See line 236.
238 Katuharu uhaki. See line 237.

II

239 See line 236.
240 Kichaharu uhaki, wira uhaki.
kichaharu, a stream, a river.
uhaki, a long stretch.
wira uhaki. See line 236.
241 Kichaharu uhaki. See line 240.

III

242 Wira wihaku, wira wihaku.
wira, something that is long seen at a distance.
wihaku, rippling.
243 Kichaharu wihaku; wira wiharu.
kichaharu, a stream, a river.
wihaku, rippling.
wira wihaku. See line 242.
244 Kichaharu wihaku. See line 243.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 776 823 In this ceremony water is not used except for sacred purposes. We mix the paint that we use upon the sacred objects with running water. When on our journey we come to a stream of running water we can not step into it to cross it without asking permission of Kawas. Kawas is the mother; she represents the night and the moon, and she can permit us to enter and wade through the stream. So, whenever we come to a river we call upon Kawas to protect us, that our act of passing through the water may not bring punishment, and may not cause the clouds to come between us and the blue dome, the dwelling place of Tira'wa, or break the continuity of life from one generation to another.

The following song is our appeal to Kawas. When we sing the first stanza we enter the stream, the water touches our feet.

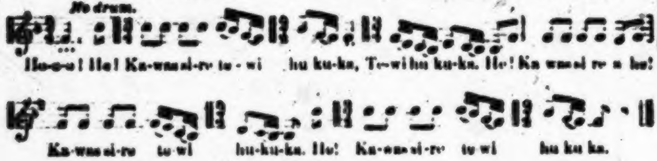
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SONG WHEN CROSSING THE STREAMS

Words and Music

539*
796*
[533*]
776
823

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.
No drum.


Ho-o-o! He! Ka-was si-re te-wi hu ku-ka, Te-wi hu ku-ka. He! Ka was si re a he!
Ka-was si-re te-wi hu-ku-ka. He! Ka-was si-re te-wi hu ku ka.

I

245 Ho-o-o!
246 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.
247 Tewi hukuka.
248 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.
249 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.

II

250 Ho-o-o!
251 He! Kawas sire tewi hariki.
252 Tewi hariki.
253 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hariki.
254 He! Kawas sire tewi hariki.

III

255 Ho-o-o!
256 He! Kawas sire tewi haiwa.
257 Tewi haiwa.
258 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi haiwa.
259 He! Kawas sire tewi haiwa.

IV

260 Ho-o-o!
261 He! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa.
262 Tewi hawitshpa.
263 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas seri tewi hawitshpa.
264 He! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa.

Translation

I

245 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
246 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.
he! a part of the exclamation hiri! give heed! harken!
Kawas; the brown eagle, which in this ceremony represents the feminine principle, the night, the moon.
sire, its; a possessive pronoun referring to Kawas.
tewi, it has; refers to the water.
hukuka, a composite word; hu, from chahuru, water; kuka, to step into, as to put one's feet in the water, to wade.
247 Tewi hukuka.
tewi, it has; the water has touched the feet.
hukuka, step into the water. The feet have stepped into the water.

*539 248 He! Kawas sire a ho! Kawas sire towi hukuka.
*796 he! give heed! harken!
776 Kawas, the mother, the brown eagle.
823 sire, its; refers to the control of the water by Kawas.
a, a vocable used to fill out the measure of the music.
ho! Kawas sire towi hukuka. See line 246.

249 See line 246.

II

250 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

251 He! Kawas sire towi hariki.
he! part of the exclamation hiri! harken! give heed!
Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the female principle.
sire, its.
tewi, it has.
hariki, a composite word; ha, a part of chaharu, water; riki, standing.

252 Tewi hariki.
tewi, it has.
hariki, water standing. Our feet are standing in the water.

253 He! Kawas sire a ho! Kawas sire towi hariki. See lines 248 and 251.

254 See line 251.

III

255 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

256 He! Kawas sire towi haiwa.
he! part of the word hiri! harken! give heed!
Kawas, the brown eagle; the mother, the female principle.
sire, its; refers to Kawas.
tewi, it has.
haiwa, a composite word; ha, part of chaharu, water; iwa, moving in: haiwa, moving in the water.

257 Tewi haiwa. See line 256.

258 He! Kawas sire a ho! Kawas sire towi haiwa. See lines 248 and 256.

259 See line 256.

IV.

260 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

261 He! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa.
he! harken! give heed!
Kawas, the brown eagle; the mother, the female principle.
sire, its; refers to Kawas.
tewi, it has; refers to the water.
hawitshpa, a composite word; ha, part of chaharu, water; witshpa, completed, accomplished a purpose, reached an end. The meaning of the word is that the water has covered the feet.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

262 Towi hawitshpa. See line 261. 539*
263 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire towi hawitshpa. See lines 248 and 261. 796*
264 See line 261. 776
823

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When we sing the second stanza, our feet are standing in the water. When the third stanza is sung, our feet are moving in the water. At the fourth stanza the water covers our feet. So as we sing this song we enter the stream and, under the protection of Kawas, we pass through to the other side.

Every time we come to a stream across which our path lies we must sing this song.

After we have forded the stream we pause at the bank. We are wet with water through which we have just passed, but we must not touch our bodies where we are wet to dry ourselves, for the running water is sacred.

So, we sing the first stanza of the following song and call on the Wind, Hotoru, to come and touch us that we may become dry.

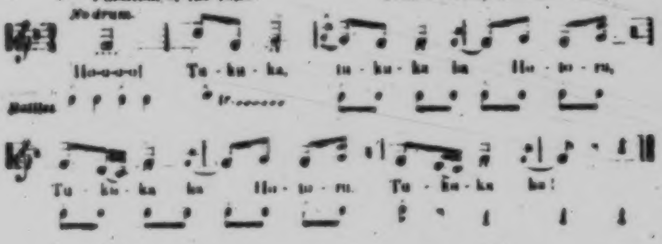
SONG TO THE WIND

Words and Music

539*
796*
[533*]

M. M. ♪ = 132.
⌒ = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! Tu - ku - ka, tu - ku - ka ha Ho - to - ru,
Rattle
Tu - ku - ka ha Ho - to - ru. Tu - ku - ka ha!

I

265 Ho-o-o-o!
266 Tukuka, tukuka ha Hotoru.
267 Tukuka ha Hotoru.
268 Tukuka ha!

II

269 Ho-o-o-o!
270 Taiwa, taiwa ha Hotoru.
271 Taiwa ha Hotoru.
272 Taiwa ha!

III

273 Ho-o-o-o!
274 Tawawe, tawawe he Hotoru.
275 Tawawe he Hotoru.
276 Tawawe he!

IV

277 Ho-o-o-o!
278 Tawitshpa, tawitshpa ha Hotoru.
279 Tawitshpa ha Hotoru.
280 Tawitshpa ha!

Translation

I

*539 265 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 266 Tukuka, tukuka ha Hotoru.

tukuka, touch or touched.

ha, a syllable added to meet the rhythm of the music.

Hotoru, the Wind, the supernatural power.

267 Tukuka ha Hotoru. See line 266.

268 Tukuka ha! See line 266.

II

269 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

270 Taiwa, taiwa ha Hotoru.

taiwa, to touch lightly or brush on the sides of anything.

ha, a syllable added for the sake of rhythm.

Hotoru, the Wind, one of the lesser powers.

271 Taiwa ha Hotoru. See line 270.

272 Taiwa ha! See line 270.

III

273 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

274 Tawawe, tawawe he Hotoru.

tawawe, a creeping touch, felt now here and now there.

he, a syllable added to keep the rhythm of the music.

Hotoru, the Wind, one of the lesser powers.

275 Tawawe he Hotoru. See line 274.

276 Tawawe he! See line 274.

IV

277 See line 265.

278 Tawitshpa, tawitshpa ha Hotoru.

tawitshpa, the completion of an act, the accomplishment of a purpose. Hotoru has completely touched all parts of the body.

ha, a syllable added to fill out the rhythm of the music.

Hotoru, the Wind; one of the lesser powers.

279 Tawitshpa ha Hotoru. See line 278.

280 Tawitshpa ha! See line 278.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the second stanza the Wind brushes lightly the sides of our bodies and our wet legs and feet. With the third stanza the Wind circles about, touching us here and there. When we sing the fourth stanza the Wind completely envelops us, touching all parts of our bodies. Now, we are ready to move forward in safety. No harm will follow our passage of the river and we can pursue our journey.

Whenever, as we travel, we have to cross a river we must sing this song to the Wind to come and dry our bodies before we can continue our journey.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

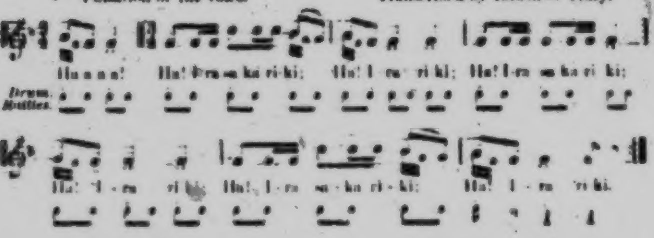
When the spirit of Mother Corn was traveling in search of the Sun (second ritual) she saw buffalo; the first stanza of the following song refers to that time (ira saka riki, an indefinite time in the past). So, when on our journey we come to buffalo trails, or see the herds at a distance, we know that they have been seen before, at this place, by the spirit of Mother Corn, and we sing this song.

SONG TO THE BUFFALO

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 120.
• Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]



I

281 Ha-a-a-a!
282 Ha! Ira saka riki: Ha! Ira riki.
283 Ha! Ira saka riki: Ha! Ira riki;
284 Ha! Ira saka riki: Ha! Ira riki.

II

285 Ha-a-a-a!
286 Ha! Tira saka riki: Ha! Ira wawa;
287 Ha! Tira saka riki: Ha! Ira wawa;
288 Ha! Tira saka riki: Ha! Ira wawa.

Translation

I

281 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
282 Ha! Ira saka riki; Ha! Ira riki.
ha! behold!
ira, a single object in the distance; ra, distant, also means in the past, distant as to time.
saka, part of the word tarasaka, sun.
riki, standing. Saka riki means present time; but, as the words follow ira, the phrase ira saka riki means an indefinite time in the past.
ha! behold! see!
ira, the object seen at an indefinite time in the past.
riki, standing; referring to the object that was seen. Although the object seen is not mentioned by name, it was known to be buffalo.
283, 284 See line 282.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

II

*539 285 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

*796 286 Ha! Tira saka riki; Ha! Ire wawa.

ha! behold!

tira, this.

saka, part of the word tarasaka, sun.

riki, standing. Saka riki means present time. The phrase tira saka riki means a definite time, at this time or moment.

ha! behold! see! look!

ire, many objects at a distance, as many trails with buffalo.

wawa, many walking. The phrase "Ha! Ire wawa" means "Look, where many buffalo walk in many different trails!" This refers to different herds seen at a distance.

287, 288 See line 286.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The second stanza refers to our seeing with our own eyes the buffalo herds walking in many different trails. We sing of this sight and we carry its promise of plenty to the Children.

These stanzas are not now sung upon the journey with the Hako, because the buffalo herds are all gone; but we sing them in the lodge of the Son, in remembrance of the buffalo, the animal Tira'wa gave us for food.

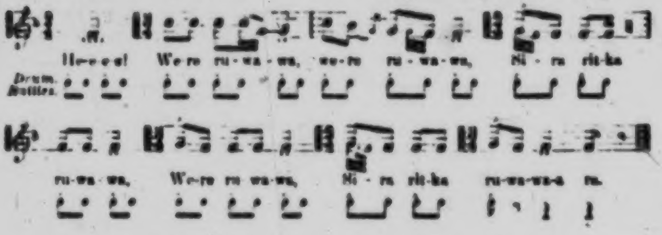
SONG OF THE PROMISE OF THE BUFFALO

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 120.
' = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]



I

289 He-e-e-e!
290 Were ruwawa, were ruwawa,
291 Sira ritka ruwawa,
292 Were ruwawa,
293 Sira ritka ruwawa-a ra.

II

294 He-e-e-e!
295 Wera hara-a, wera hara-a,
296 Taraha-a rahara,
297 Wera hara-a,
298 Taraha-a rahara-a ra.

Translation

539*
796*

I

289 He-e-e-e! An introductory exclamation.

290 Were ruwawa, were ruwawa.
were, they; a number of persons or animals.
ruwawa, running from, as from the place where one is standing or where one is walking.

291 Sira ritka ruwawa.
sira, their.
ritka, dust; the soil raised by the feet in running.
ruwawa, running away from.

292 Were ruwawa. See line 290.

293 Sira ritka ruwawa-a ra.
sira ritka ruwawa. See lines 290, 291.
a ra, vocables used to fill out the rhythm of the music.

II

294 He-e-e-e! An introductory exclamation.

295 Wera hara-a, wera hara-a.
wera, one coming; we, one, it, singular number; ra, coming.
hara-a, a composite word made up of the syllable ha, from the word iha re, the young of animals (the word is also used for offspring, children) and ra, coming. The final a is a vowel prolongation to fill the rhythm of the music.

296 Taraha-a rahara.
taraha, the female buffalo.
a, vowel prolongation because of the rhythm of the music.
rahara, a composite word; ra, from wera, one coming; ha, from iha re, young; ra, coming. The line "Taraha-a rahara" means that the female buffalo and her calf are coming.

297 Wera hara-a. See line 295.

298 Taraha-a rahara-a ra. See lines 293, 296.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we were traveling we sometimes saw a great cloud of dust rising in the distance. When we saw this cloud rolling up from the earth we knew it was caused by a herd of buffalo running away from us toward the land of the Children.

Sometimes a cow and her calf would separate from the herd and come nearer us. We were taught to be mindful of all that we saw upon the journey, for these sights meant the promise of plenty of food for the Children. [787]

We do not sing this song any more as we travel, for now there are no buffalo herds to be seen sending the dust up to the sky as they run. We sing the song in the lodge of the Son, that we may remember the buffalo, and that our children may hear of them. [177]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

When as we travel we come to mountains or hills we sing the following song.

[776
823]

Hills were made by Tira'wa. We ascend hills when we go away alone to pray. From the top of a hill we can look over the country to see if there are enemies in sight or if any danger is near us; we can see if we are to meet friends. The hills help man, so we sing to them.

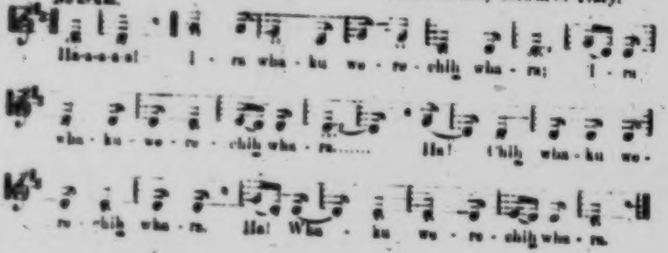
SONG TO THE MOUNTAINS

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 168.
♪ – Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ha-a-a-a-a! I - ra wha - ku we - re - chih wha - ra; I - ra
wha - ku - we - re - chih wha - ra...... Ha! Chih wha - ku we -
re - chih wha - ra. Ha! Wha - ku we - re - chih wha - ra.

I

299 Ha-a-a-a-a!
300 Ira whaku werechih whara:
301 Ira whaku werechih whara.
302 Ha! Chih whaku werechih whara.
303 Ha! Whaku werechih whara.

II

304 Ha-a-a-a-a!
305 Ira whaku werechih katawara:
306 Ira whaku werechih katawara.
307 Ha! Chih katawara chih wara.
308 Ha! Whaku werechih katawara.

III

309 Ha-a-a-a-a!
310 Ira whaku werechih kitta hra:
311 Ira whaku werechih kitta hra.
312 Ha! Chih e werechih kitta hra.
313 Ha! Whaku werechih kitta hra.

IV

314 Ha-a-a-a-a!
315 Ira whaku werechih kitta witit:
316 Ira whaku werechih kitta witit.
317 Ha! Chih werechih kitta witit.
318 Ha! Whaku werechih kitta witit.

Translation

I

299 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

300 Ira whaku werechih whara.
ira, yonder particular and single object.
whaku, an elevation, a mountain, a hill.
werechih, a party, a number of persons.
whara, walking, traveling on foot.

301 See line 300.

302 Ha! Chih whaku werechih whara.
ha! behold!
chih, the last syllable of the word werechih, a party.
whaku werechih whara. See line 300.

303 Ha! Whaku werechih whara. See lines 300, 302.

539*
796*

II

304 **Ha-a-a-a!** An introductory exclamation.
305 **Ira whaku werechih katawara.**
ira, a particular and a single object at a distance.
whaku, a mountain, a hill.
werechih, a group of persons making an organized party.
katawara, climbing as they walk.
306 See line 305.
307 **Ha! Chih katawara chih wara.**
ha! behold!
chih, the last syllable of the word werechih, a company of persons, a party having a common purpose.
katawara, climbing, ascending a mountain or a hill.
chih, part of the word werechih, party.
wara, a part of the word katawara, ascending, climbing.
308 **Ha! Whaku werechih katawara.** See lines 305, 307.

III

309 **Ha-a-a-a!** An introductory exclamation.
310 **Ira whaku werechih kitta hra.**
ira, a particular and single object at a distance.
whaku, a mountain or a hill.
werechih, a party.
kitta, top, as the top of a mountain or hill.
hra, from whara, walking.
311 See line 310.
312 **Ha! Chih e werechih kitta hra.**
ha! behold!
chih, the last syllable of werechih, party.
e, a vocable used to fill out the measure of the music.
werechih, a party, a company of people.
kitta, top; the summit of a mountain or a hill.
hra, from whara, traveling on foot.
313 **Ha! Whaku werechih kitta hra.** See lines 310, 312.

IV

314 **Ha-a-a-a!** An introductory exclamation.
315 **Ira whaku werechih kitta witit.**
ira, yonder particular object.
whaku, mountain or hill.
werechih, an organized group of persons, a party.
kitta, summit, top.
witit, sitting down.
316 See line 315.

5

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 *796

317 **Ha! Chiḩ werechiḩ kitta witit.**
ha! behold!
chiḩ, the last syllable of werechiḩ, a party.
werechiḩ, an organized group of persons, a party.
kitta, summit of a mountain or hill.
witit, to sit down, to rest.
318 **Ha! Whaku werechiḩ kitta witit.** See lines 315, 317.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The first stanza is sung when we who are traveling see in the distance the top of a mountain or hill rising above the horizon. The Ku'rahus calls the attention of the people and bids them look at the mountain that lies in the path before them. We sing the next stanza as we are about to climb the mountain. The third stanza is sung when the party reaches the top of the mountain. While the people are sitting down to rest on the summit we sing the fourth stanza.

As a Hako party does not now go in a direction where there are mountains and hills, they do not sing these songs on the journey. They are generally sung in the lodge of the Son.

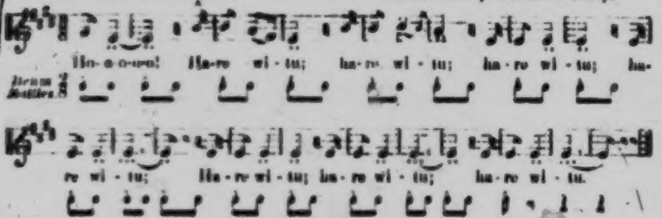
SONG TO THE MESAS

Words and Music

M. M. Melody. ♩= 58.
M. M. Drum. ♪= 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ho-o-o-o-o! Ha-re wi-tu; ha-re wi-tu; ha-re wi-tu; ha-
Drum Rattles
re wi-tu; Ha-re wi-tu; ha-re wi-tu; ha-re wi-tu.

I

319 Ho-o-o-o-o!
320 Hare witu; hare witu; hare witu; hare witu;
321 Hare witu; hare witu; hare witu.

II

322 Ho-o-o-o-o!
323 Ha rha witu; ha rha witu; ha rha witu; ha rha witu;
324 Ha rha witu; ha rha witu; ha rha witu.

III

325 Ho-o-o-o-o!
326 Hare wawe; hare wawe; hare wawe; hare wawe;
327 Hare wawe; hare wawe; hare wawe.

IV

328 Ho-o-o-o-o!
329 Ha rha wawe; ha rha wawe; ha rha wawe; ha rha wawe;
330 Ha rha wawe; ha rha wawe; ha rha wawe.

Translation

539*
796*

I

319 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

320 Hare witu; hare witu; hare witu; hare witu.

hare, yonder, at a short distance.

witu, a mesa, an elevation or hill with a flat top.

321 See line 320.

II

322 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

323 Ha rha witu; ha rha witu; ha rha witu; ha rha witu.

ha, yonder.

rha, beyond this one; meaning that another mesa is seen beyond the one in the foreground.

witu, a mesa.

324 See line 323.

III

325 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

326 Hare wawe; hare wawe; hare wawe.

hare, yonder, at a short distance.

wawe, the ridge or rim of the mesa.

327 See line 326.

IV

328 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

329 Ha rha wawe; ha rha wawe; ha rha wawe; ha rha wawe.

ha, yonder.

rha, beyond this one; that is, the one in the foreground just spoken of.

wawe, the rim or sharp ridge of the mesa.

330 See line 329.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We are told that long ago our fathers used to see the mesas; that on their journeys with the Hako they passed by or over these flat-topped mountains. This song has come down to us from that time. As we have never seen mesas, we do not sing the song on the journey; we sing it in the lodge of the Son, that we may not forget what our fathers saw when they traveled far from where we now dwell. [173]

PART III. MOTHER CORN REASSERTS LEADERSHIP

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The next two songs are in sequence.

When we have reached the borders of the country where the Children dwell we sing the first song. We give an exclamation of thankfulness (Iri!) that we behold the land where they dwell. Mother Corn had passed here when she was seeking the Son (second ritual), and now she has led us to this place.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIRST SONG

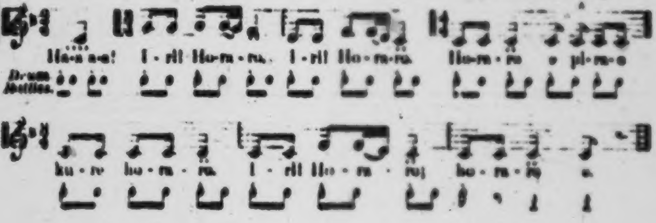
*539
*796

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 60.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]



I

331 Ha-a-a-a!
332 Iri! Horaro. Iri! Horaro.
333 Horaro e pirao kure horaro.
334 Iri! Horaro; horaro e.

II

335 Ha-a-a-a!
336 Weri shu riwa, weri shu riwa wi;
337 Shu riwa wi pirao, shu riwa wi;
338 Weri shu riwa, shu weri wi.

III

339 Ha-a-a-a!
340 Weri huriwa, weri huriwa wi;
341 Huriwa wi pirao, huriwa wi;
342 Weri huriwa, huriwa wi.

Translation

I

331 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
332 Iri! Horaro. Iri! Horaro.
iri! a part of nawairi! an exclamation of thankfulness.
horaro, land, country.
333 Horaro e pirao kure horaro.
horaro, land, country.
e, a vocable used to fill out the measure
pirao, children; a general term.
kure, their.
horaro, country.
334 Iri! Horaro; horaro e. See lines 332, 333.

II

335 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
336 Weri shu riwa, weri shu riwa wi.
weri, here, at this place.
shu, a part of the word ashuro, moccasin.
riwa, an impress, as an imprint made by moccasins on the soft ground.
wi, many.

539*
796*

337 Shu riwa wi pirao, shu riwa wi.
    shu riwa wi. See line 336.
    pira u, children; not necessarily one's offspring.
    shu riwa wi. See line 336.
338 Weri shu riwa, shu weri wi. See line 336.

III

339 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
340 Weri huriwa, weri huriwa wi.
    weri, here.
    huriwa, walking.
    wi, many.
341 Huriwa wi pirao, huriwa wi. See lines 337, 340.
342 Weri huriwa, huriwa wi. See line 340.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we move on and enter the land of the Children we sing, in the second stanza, about their footprints, the marks of their moccasins where they have walked to and fro on the ground.

We may not actually see these marks, but the song represents us as seeing them; Mother Corn has seen them, and she is leading us.

Farther on we sing in the third stanza that we see the Children themselves walking over their land. Mother Corn can see them if we do not; she has been here before; she knows all the people and can reach them all, so she leads us where we can see them walking.

This song represents the Fathers coming to the country where the Son lives.[a] They first see his footprints; then they see him and his kindred, the Children, walking about where they live. So the way is made plain for us and we go forward.

When the village of the Children is in sight the following song is sung. Mother Corn speaks in the first stanza and tells us she has come again to this place. Her spirit had been here before when she came seeking the Son. To-day we have arrived with her at this her destination, and we give thanks to Mother Corn.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

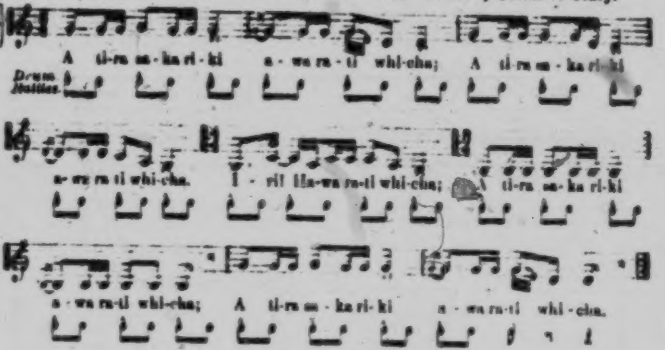
SECOND SONG

Words and Music

*539
*796
[*533]

M. M. ♪ = 112.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


A ti-ra sa-ka ri-ki a-wa ra-ti whi-cha; A ti-ra sa-ka ri-ki
Drum Rattles
a-wa ra-ti whi-cha. I-ri! Ha-wa ra-ti whi-cha; A ti-ra sa-ka ri-ki
a-wa ra-ti whi-cha; A ti-ra sa-ka ri-ki a-wa ra-ti whi-cha.

I

343 A tira saka riki awa rati whicha;
344 A tira saka riki awa rati whicha.
345 Iri! Hawa rati whicha;
346 A tira saka riki awa rati whicha;
347 A tira saka riki awa rati whicha.

II

348 A tira saka riki awa rashihri whicha;
349 A tira saka riki awa rashihri whicha.
350 Iri! Hawa rashihri whicha;
351 A tira saka riki awa rashihri whicha;
352 A tira saka riki awa rashihri whicha.

Translation

I

343 A tira saka riki awa rati whicha.
a, a vowel sound introduced for euphony
tira, this.
saka, part of the word tarasaka, sun.
riki, standing; tira saka riki means this present time, to-day.
awa, again.
rati, a modification of the word itira, I coming.
whicha, arrived.
344 See line 343.
345 Iri! Hawa rati whicha.
iri! thanks! a part of the word na'wairi, thanks, thankful.
hawa, again.
rati, I coming; refers to Mother Corn.
whicha, arrived, reached the point of destination.
346, 347 See line 343.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

II

539*
796*

348 **A tira saka riki awa rashihri whicha.**
a, a vowel sound used for euphony.
tira, this.
saka, sun; part of the word tura saka, sun.
riki, standing. tira saka riki, to-day, this present time.
awa, again.
rashihri, you have brought.
whicha, arrived, come.

349 See line 348.

350 **Iri! Hawa rashihri whicha.**
iri! an exclamation of thanks or thankfulness. A part of the word na'wairi, thanks, it is good.
hawa, again.
rashihri, you have brought.
whicha, arrived.

351, 352 See line 348.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The second stanza says that Mother Corn has arrived, bringing gifts for the Children. These gifts are not only the things in our packs; but they are the promise of long life, of children, of plenty, and of peace. It is for these that the Children will give thanks, and we sing their thanks in this song.

THIRD DIVISION. ENTERING THE VILLAGE OF THE SON AND CONSECRATING HIS LODGE

SIXTH RITUAL

PART I. THE SON'S MESSENGERS RECEIVED

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

796*

[231
431
602]

When the messengers sent by the Fathers (third ritual) turned homeward the Son began his preparations to receive the Hako party. Each of his relatives selected from among his ponies those which he desired to present to the Fathers. The Son chose a messenger as his representative to go out and receive the Hako party when it should arrive within sight of the village. He also selected the little child necessary to the performance of certain rites belonging to the fifth morning of the ceremony. It could be one of his own children or the child of a near relative. Finally, an earth lodge of suitable size was secured, the occupants with all their belongings moving out for the occasion.

In this vacated lodge the ceremony was to be performed and the Fathers were to live day and night, for no member of the Hako party ever separated himself from the sacred objects from the time of starting on the journey until the close of the entire ceremony.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796 [70] Every Pawnee village keeps certain men on the lookout to give notice of the approach of strangers. As soon as the Hako party was recognized one of these men ran with the news to the village. The Son at once dispatched his messenger, bidding him go to the Fathers and say, "I am ready."

As soon as the Fathers discerned the messenger hastening toward them, the Ku'rahus sent two men to meet him and conduct him to the Hako party.

A cushion was placed for him to sit upon and a bowl of buffalo meat was given him. While he ate, the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief, holding the sacred objects, sang the first stanza of this song.

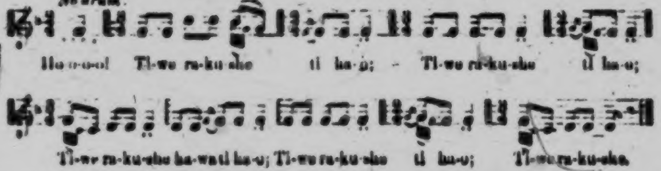
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*539
*796
[*533]


Ho-o-o-o! Ti-we ra-ku-she ti ha-o; Ti-we ra-ku-she ti ha-o;
Ti-we ra-ku-she ha-wa ti ha-o; Ti-we ra-ku-she ti ha-o; Ti-we ra-ku-she.

I

353 Ho-o-o-o!
354 Tiwe rakushe ti hao;
355 Tiwe rakushe ti hao;
356 Tiwe rakushe hawa ti hao;
357 Tiwe rakushe ti hao;
358 Tiwe rakushe.

II

359 Ho-o-o-o!
360 Tiwe riatu ti hao;
361 Tiwe riatu ti hao;
362 Tiwe riatu hawa ti hao;
363 Tiwe riatu ti hao;
364 Tiwe riatu.

Translation of First Stanza

353 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

354 Tiwe rakushe ti hao.
tiwe, here.
rakushe, he sitting.
ti, my.
hao, my own child; my offspring.

355 See line 354.

356 Tiwe rakushe hawa ti hao.
tiwe, here.
rakushe, he sitting.
hawa, again.
ti, my.
hao, my own child.

357 See line 354.

358 Tiwe rakushe. See line 354.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza we speak of the messenger as "my own child" (ti hao), because he represents the Son, to whom we are being led by Mother Corn. Although the man who is the Son is not and can not be of any blood kinship to us, yet by the power of the sacred objects in this ceremony he is to be made as our own child, as our offspring, we are to be bound to him by a tie as unalterable as that which exists between father and son. So we sing, "My own child, my offspring, is sitting here." 539* 796* [571 608]

When we sing "Tiwe rakushe hawa ti hao," we are thinking that our child has again said "I am ready."

Translation of Second Stanza

359 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
360 Tiwe riata ti hao.
  tiwe, here.
  riata, he walking.
  ti, my.
  hao, my own child.
361 See line 360.
362 Tiwe riata hawa ti hao.
  tiwe, here.
  riata, he walking.
  hawa, again.
  ti, my.
  hao, my own child.
363 See line 360.
364 Tiwe riata. See line 360.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The pack containing the clothing provided for this representative of the Son is now opened. After the messenger has finished eating he is dressed in the new clothing. 431 539* 796*

We clothe him because that is an act which marks the care of a father for his child. The garments we put upon him are fine and embroidered; these fine and carefully made garments show that we have been thinking of him, that we regard him highly and wish to do him honor.

After the messenger is clothed he walks toward the village; we follow, walking slowly and singing the second stanza. The words tell that the Son is walking before us and that we again are walking toward the lodge of the Son.

Just before we reach the village we halt and sing the next song.

PART II. THE HAKO PARTY ENTER THE VILLAGE

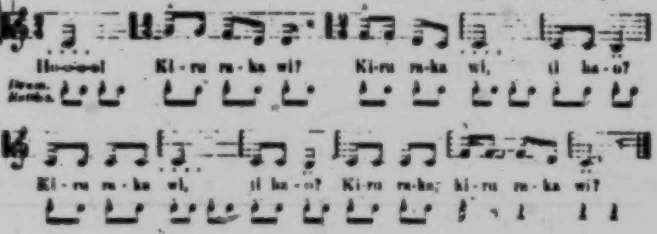
SONG

Words and Music

*539
*796
[*533]

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



I

365 Ho-o-o-o!
366 Kiru raka wi?
367 Kiru raka wi, ti hao?
368 Kiru raka wi, ti hao?
369 Kiru raka, kiru raka wi?

II

370 Ho-o-o-o!
371 Tiwi reka wi!
372 Tiwi reka wi, ti hao!
373 Tiwi reka wi, ti hao!
374 Tiwi reka, tiwi reka wi!

Translation

I

365 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

366 Kiru raka wi?
kiru? where?
raka, a composite word; ra, where; ka, part of akaro, a lodge.
wi, is.

367 Kirü raka wi, ti hao?
kiru raka wi? See line 366.
ti, my.
hao, my own child, my offspring.

368 See line 367.

369 Kiru raka, kiru raka wi? See line 366.

II

370 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

371 Tiwi reka wi!
tiwi, here.
reka, a composite word; re, here; ka, part of akaro, lodge.
wi, is.

372 Tiwi reka wi, ti hao!
tiwi reka wi. See line 371.
ti, my.
hao, my own child, my offspring.

373 See line 372.

374 Tiwi reka, tiwi reka wi! See line 371.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When Mother Corn went in search of the Son (second ritual) she halted at the edge of the village where he lived. As we follow in the path that she opened for us, we must do as she did. So, when we are just outside the village, we halt and sing the first stanza. The words mean, "Where is the lodge of my Son wherein he sits waiting for me?" 539* 796*

By the time we have finished singing, the messenger, who has walked on in advance, has reached and entered the lodge set apart for the ceremony.

When Mother Corn had decided which was the lodge of the Son she made ready to enter the village and go to that lodge (second ritual). Now, we follow her again and sing, as we walk, the second stanza: "Here is the lodge of my Son wherein he sits waiting for me."

When we arrive at the lodge we halt, for we must enter ceremonially.

SEVENTH RITUAL

PART I. TOUCHING AND CROSSING THE THRESHOLD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Son has dispatched his messenger to the Hako party, he, with a few of his near relatives, enters the lodge set apart for the ceremony, there to await the return of his messenger and the coming of the Fathers. 796*

He seats himself at the south side of the lodge near the door. This is the humblest place, and he takes it to show that he is not seeking his own honor. By the choice of him as the Son a very high honor has been bestowed upon him, and his appreciation of this is shown by his taking the seat of the lowliest and not assuming prominence before the people. [554]

When the Hako party arrive at the door of the lodge they halt and await the ceremony of touching and crossing the threshold, for no one can pass into the lodge until this has been performed.

At the doorway the three men stand abreast—the chief with the ear of corn and the wildcat skin between the Ku'rahus and his assistant, each bearing a feathered stem—and behind these stand the two doctors, each with his eagle wing.

The Ku'rahus directs the chief to advance one step and to stand upon the threshold while the first stanza of the next song is sung.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

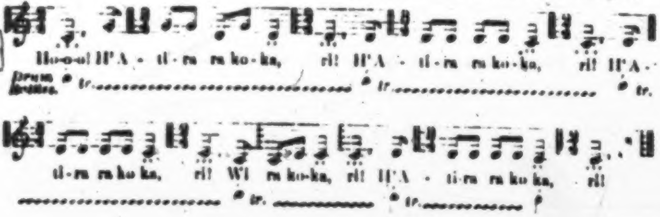
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 58.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*539
*796
[*533]


Ho-o-o! H'A - ti - ra ra ko - ka, ri! H'A - ti - ra ra ko - ka, ri! H'A -
Drum beats.
tr.
ti - ra ra ko ka, ri! Wi ra ko-ka, ri! H'A - ti-ra ra ko ka, ri!
tr.

I		III	
375	Ho-o-o!	387	Ho-o-o!
376	H'Atira ra koka, ri!	388	Kawas i ra koka, ri!
377	H'Atira ra koka, ri!	389	Kawas i ra koka, ri!
378	H'Atira ra koka, ri!	390	Kawas i ra koka, ri!
379	Wi ra koka, ri!	391	Wi ra koka, ri!
380	H'Atira ra koka, ri!	392	Kawas i ra koka, ri!
II		**IV**	
381	Ho-o-o!	393	Ho-o-o!
382	H'Atira ra koka, ri!	394	Kawas i ra koka, ri!
383	H'Atira ra koka, ri!	395	Kawas i ra koka, ri!
384	H'Atira ra koka, ri!	396	Kawas i ra koka, ri!
385	We ra koka, ri!	397	We ra koka, ri!
386	H'Atira ra koka, ri!	398	Kawas i ra koka, ri!

Translation of First Stanza

375 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

376 H'Atira ra koka, ri!

h', a symbol of breath; "breathing forth life."

atira, mother. The term is applied to the ear of corn.

ra, moving, walking.

koka, enter.

ri, part of the word nawairi, an expression of thankfulness, of confidence that all is well.

377, 378 See line 376.

379 Wi ra koka, ri!

wi, now.

ra koka, ri. See line 376.

380 See line 376.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The words of this stanza mean that Mother Corn, breathing life, has come to the entrance. She is now moving there, bringing the promise of life, a promise that makes the heart of man glad, so we give the cry of thankfulness as we sing: "Nawairi!"

539*
796*

This stanza is sung four times, for we are thinking that this promise of life given by Mother Corn is known to the powers of the four directions. These powers give strength and make the promise sure.

When we have finished singing, the Ku'rahus tells the chief to take four steps beyond the threshold within the entrance way. These four steps are in recognition of the same powers.

While the chief stands there we sing the second stanza.

Translation of Second Stanza

381 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
382 H'Atira ra koka, ri!
 h', a symbol of breath: "breathing forth life."
 atira, mother; the term is applied to the ear of corn.
 ra, moving, walking.
 koka, entered.
 ri, part of nawairi, an expression of thankfulness.
383, 384. See line 382.
385 We ra koka, ri!
 we, it has.
 ra koka, ri. See line 382.
386 See line 382.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The words of this stanza mean that Mother Corn has entered the doorway of the lodge, she has walked within the entranceway with her promise of life which makes the heart of man thankful.

Mother Corn has now opened the door of the lodge for the entrance of life, so we give the cry of thankfulness, "Nawairi!"

This stanza is sung four times, and then the Ku'rahus tells the chief to step backward out of the entrance way and to stand two steps behind the Ku'rahus and his assistant, who now advance and stand upon the threshold while the third stanza is sung.

Translation of Third Stanza

387 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
388 Kawas i ra koka, ri!
 Kawas, the name used in this ceremony to designate the brown eagle.
 i, it.
 ra, moving.
 koka, enter.
 ri, part of nawairi, an exclamation of thankfulness.
389, 390 See line 388.
391 Wi ra koka, ri!
 wi, now.
 ra koka, ri. See line 388.
392 See line 388.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796

The words of this stanza mean that Kawas is now moving at the entrance way and is about to enter, carrying the promise of the powers above, a promise which makes the heart of man thankful.

We sing this stanza four times, remembering the powers of the four directions.

Then the Ku'rahus and his assistant advance four steps into the entranceway and pause while the fourth stanza is sung.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

393 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
394 Kawas i ra koka, ri!
 Kawas, the name given to the brown eagle in this ceremony.
 i, it.
 ra, moving.
 koka, entered.
 ri, part of nawairi, an expression of thankfulness.
395, 396 See line 394.
397 We ra koka, ri!
 we, it has.
 ra koka, ri. See line 394.
398 See line 394.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The words of this stanza mean that Kawas has entered the passageway of the lodge bearing the promise that makes the heart thankful—the promise of life from the powers above.

After singing this stanza four times, the Ku'rahus and his assistant step back outside the lodge door and take their places at either side of the chief bearing the ear of corn.

The three together now advance to the threshold, and the Ku'rahus tells the chief to go forward and keep a step in advance. The Ku'rahus and his assistant carrying the feathered stems follow the chief, and behind them walk the two doctors with the eagle wings.

The five men walk slowly and silently down the long entrance way. When the chief reaches the ridge at the inner door of the passageway, he steps over it into the lodge and pauses. Mother Corn is the first to enter the lodge. The Ku'rahus and his assistant follow and take their places, the Ku'rahus on the left of the chief, the assistant on the right. Next the doctors step in; the one with the left wing goes to the left of the Ku'rahus, and the other with the right wing to the right hand of the assistant. The five men, now abreast, walk slowly around the lodge, going by ~~the~~ south, west, and north to the east, while they sing the first stanza of the following song four times. They move in step, keeping ~~close~~ together, the chief with the ear of corn just a little forward of the line. As they sing they sway the feathered stems, the ear of corn, and the eagle wings.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

PART II. CONSECRATING THE LODGE

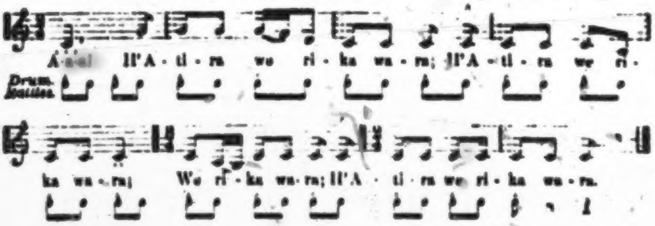
FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 120.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

533*


A-a-a! H'A - ti - ra we ri - ka wa - ra; H'A - ti - ra we ri -
Drum. Rattles.
ka wa - ra; We ri - ka wa - ra; H'A - ti - ra we ri - ka wa - ra.

I

399 A-a-a!
400 H'Atira we rika wara:
401 H'Atira we rika wara:
402 We rika wara:
403 H'Atira we rika wara.

II

404 A-a-a!
405 H'Atira wetiẖ ka wara:
406 H'Atira wetiẖ ka wara:
407 Wetiẖ ka wara:
408 H'Atira wetiẖ ka wara.

Translation

I

399 A-a-a! An introduction to the song.

400 H'Atira we rika wara.

h', a symbol of breath, a breathing forth.

atira, mother; the term refers to the ear of corn.

we, his; refers to the owner of the lodge, the Son.

rika, a composite word, ri, this; ka, part of the word akaro, lodge.

wara, walking.

401 See line 400.

402 We rika wara. See line 400.

403 See line 400.

II

404 A-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

405 H'Atira wetiẖ ka wara.

h', a symbol of breath, a breathing forth.

atira, mother; the term is here applied to the ear of corn.

wetiẖ, it has; an act accomplished.

ka, part of the word akaro, lodge.

wara, walked.

406 See line 405.

407 Wetiẖ ka wara. See line 405.

408 See line 405.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539

*796

The words of the first stanza mean that Mother Corn breathing life is now walking in the lodge. We sing this stanza four times, remembering the four directions where the paths are down which the powers descend to man.

When we have passed entirely around the lodge and reached the east, we begin the second stanza and sing it four times as we make the second circuit around the lodge.

The words tell that Mother Corn has walked within the lodge, bringing the promise of life.

After a short pause at the east the five men turn again toward the south and begin a third circuit of the lodge. This time the chief with the ear of corn falls back into line with the Ku'rahus and his assistant, who bear the feathered stems, and, as they walk, sing the following song:

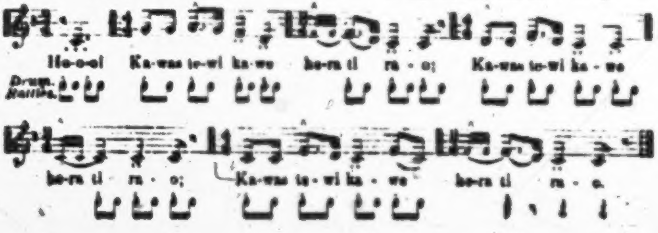
SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.

• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]



I

409 Ho-o-o!
410 Kawas towi kawo hora ti rao;
411 Kawas towi kawo hora ti rao;
412 Kawas towi kawo hora ti rao.

II

413 Ho-o-o!
414 Kawas towi kiro hora ti rao;
415 Kawas towi kiro hora ti rao;
416 Kawas towi kiro hora ti rao.

Translation of First Stanza

409 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

410 Kawas towi kawo hora ti rao.

Kawas, the name given to the brown eagle in this ceremony. Kawas represents the female and the beneficent powers.

towi, hovering, with a slow circling movement.

kawo, a composite word, meaning within the lodge.

hora, my.

ti, possessive pronoun.

rao, part of the word pirao, child.

411, 412 See line 410.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus 539*

796* The words of the first stanza tell us that Kawas is now hovering overhead in the lodge.

825 The eagle soars in the skies and can communicate with the powers that are above; so the eagle represents these powers. As we stand facing the east the white-eagle feathered stem, on the right, toward the south, represents brightness, the light, the day, the sun, and it is the male. It is for defense and is carried on the side farthest from the people. The brown-eagle feathered stem, Kawas, is to the left, toward the north; it represents darkness, the night, the moon, and is the female. Kawas is carried nearest the people. Kawas has the right to make the nest and to seek help from Tira'wa for the Children.

842 Kawas leads in this ceremony, which is to ask for the gift of children, not only that children may be born to us, but that the tie of parent and child may be established between us and those to whom we are bringing these sacred objects, that peace may be between the tribes, and plenty and long life and prosperity. So we sing that Kawas is hovering in the lodge as an eagle hovers over her nest.

This stanza is sung slowly, for the eagle as it hovers is slow in its movements.

Translation of Second Stanza

413 Hooo! An introductory exclamation.
414 Kawas tewi kire hera ti rao.
Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the beneficent powers.
tewi, hovering, moving with a slow, circling movement.
kire, starting to fly.
hera, my.
ti, possessive pronoun.
rao, part of the word pirao, child.
415, 416 See line 414.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

796* We sing the second stanza faster, for now Kawas has stretched her mighty wings and is flying within the lodge, driving away all harmful influences and making the place ready for all the good that is promised to us through this ceremony.

When, on the fourth circuit, the west is reached, we pause and face the east, but we continue to sing until we have repeated this second stanza four times.

As soon as we have reached the west the two doctors with the eagle wings move away, the one with the left wing going by the north and the one with the right wing going toward the south. They raise and lower the wings to simulate the eagle cleaning its nest, flapping and blowing out all impurities. When the doctors meet at the east they

*796 face the open entrance way and flirt the wings toward the opening, as though brushing out something from the lodge. These motions mean that Kawas has now cleared the lodge of all that is bad, of all disease and trouble, and made the place ready for the coming ceremony.

Then the doctors join the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief.

At the west, back of the fire, a space is now set apart and made sacred. Here the wildcat skin is spread and at its head the crotched stick is thrust into the ground; one end of the feathered stems is laid against the crotch, the other upon the skin, and the rattles are placed under the eagle pendants. The wings are laid on the edge of the skin. In front of the wildcat the ear of corn is held in an upright position by one of the sticks to which it is tied being thrust into the ground. The sacred objects are always laid at rest in this position, and are never left alone or unguarded.

The members of the Hako party now enter and place the packs containing the ceremonial gifts at the north side of the lodge. Meanwhile the women of the party are busy pitching tents, for, as only a few of the Hako party remain and live within the lodge, all the other men must camp with their families in a place set apart for them.

The Ku'rahus at this time appoints certain men to attend to special duties.

Some are to bring wood and water and attend to the cooking. They divide themselves into different groups, one for each day of the ceremony, so that the work will be evenly distributed and there will be no confusion or delays.

Others are appointed to fill the pipes for the Children to smoke. To attend to this duty they are required to be always present in the lodge.

Some eight or ten men are chosen to be in readiness to do any work that may be demanded of them. For instance, if the crops of the Children are being planted or gathered, these men are to attend to this work, so that the Children can at all times be present at the ceremony and suffer no loss.

[43] A man is selected to notch a stick as a record of the number of
211] ponies presented to the Fathers and to whom each pony is given.

In this way the labor attendant upon the long ceremony is planned and divided so that nothing will be neglected and there will be no dispute or confusion.

While these appointments are being made the Son dispatches runners to notify the people that the Hako party has arrived and to bid his relatives come to the lodge.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART III. CLOTHING THE SON AND OFFERING SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The Ku'rahus orders that the pack containing the new garments brought for the Son be opened, and he directs the chief to clothe the Son. The embroidered shirt, leggings, and moccasins are then put upon him and he is wrapped in a fine robe. 796* [431]

The Ku'rahus asks the priest of the shrine which controls the rain to take its sacred pipe and direct the Son how to offer tobacco and smoke to Tira'wa. [782 793]

The priest fills the sacred pipe and carries it toward the south, where he sits down beside the Son and instructs him what to do.

The Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief, bearing the sacred objects, follow the priest and halt before the Son.

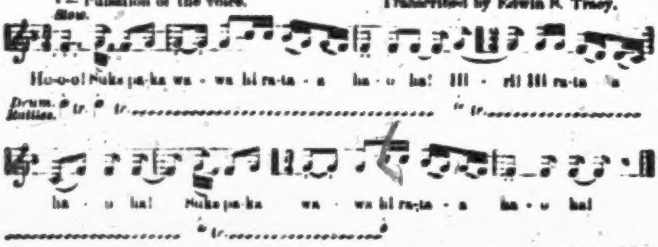
The priest puts the sacred pipe in the hand of the Son, and the first stanza of the following song is sung.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 52. 539*
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

796* [533*]


Son.
Ho-o-o! Suks pa-ka wa - wa hi ra-ta - a ha - o ha! Hi - ri! Hi ra-ta - a
Drum. Rattles.
tr.
ha - o ha! Suks pa-ka wa - wa hi ra-ta - a ha - o ha!

I		II	
417	Ho-o-o!	421	Ho-o-o!
418	Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!	422	Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
419	Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!	423	Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!
420	Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!	424	Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!

Translation of First Stanza

417 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
418 Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
suks, a command; you must.
paka, pako, speak. The change in the last vowel is for euphony.
wawa, part of rawawa, to send something: in this instance, to send the words or thoughts of the prayer.
hi, that person.
rata, my or mine.
a, vowel prolongation.
hao, child; offspring.
ha, a musical vocable used to fill out the measure.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 *796

419 Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!
hiri! an exclamation meaning give heed! harken!
hi rata-a hao ha! See line 418.
420 See line 418.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The words of this stanza are a command to the Son. They are, "Give heed, my child; you must now send your prayers to the powers which dwell above."

This stanza is sung four times.

Then the Son takes a pinch of tobacco from the bowl of the pipe and passes it along the stem and offers it as the priest directs.

[793 778]

There is a certain order to be observed in the offering of tobacco and smoke to the powers above peculiar to each of the sacred shrines, and only the priest or keeper of a shrine knows the order in which the powers which preside over his shrine should be approached. The sacred pipe belonging to the Rain shrine is used in this ceremony, and its priest must direct the Son how to make the offering. I do not know this order; it does not belong to me to know it.

When the pinch of tobacco has been presented to the powers above it is placed upon the earth.

After this act the second stanza is sung.

Translation of Second Stanza

421 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
422 Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
ti, he.
wawaka; wako, spoken; the added wa indicates that he has spoken to those who are at a great distance.
wawa, part of tiwari, traveling from one, and towawa, traveling in many ways, to many different places.
hi, that person.
rata, my or mine.
a, vowel prolongation.
hao, child.
ha, a musical vocable.
423 See line 419.
424 See line 422.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[782]

As the Son offers tobacco in the directions indicated by the priest, he prays to the powers that dwell in these directions. What he says is not audible to us, for it is not intended for us to hear.

The words of this stanza refer to the prayers of the Son.

We are bidden to take heed that the prayers of the Son, who is as our child, have been spoken and have traveled far, going on and on to the different distant places where the great powers abide which watch over the rain.

This stanza is sung four times. 539*

The priest now lights the pipe and the Son smokes, sending little puffs in the directions indicated by the priest. As he smokes we sing the first stanza of the following song. 796*

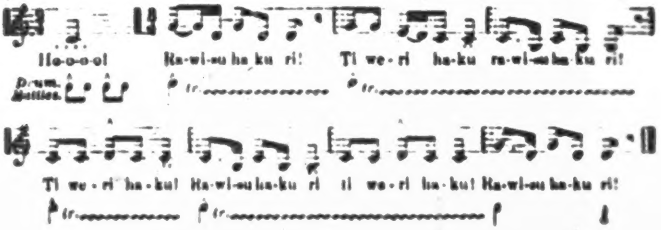
SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 84.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]


Ho-o-o-o!
Ra-wi-su ha ku ri!
Ti we-ri ha-ku ra-wi-su ha-ku ri!
Drum. Rattles.
tr
Ti we-ri ha-ku! Ra-wi-su ha-ku ri ti we-ri ha-ku! Ra-wi-su ha-ku ri!
tr

I

425 Ho-o-o-o!
426 Rawisu haku ri!
427 Ti weri haku rawisu haku ri!
428 Ti weri haku!
429 Rawisu haku ri ti weri haku!
430 Rawisu haku ri!

II

431 Ho-o-o-o!
432 Rawis kaha witshpa!
433 Ti weri witshpa rawis kaha witshpa!
434 Ti weri witshpa!
435 Rawis kaha witshpa ti weri witshpa!
436 Rawis kaha witshpa!

Translation of First Stanza

425 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

426 Rawisu haku ri.
rawisu, smoke.
haku, passes by.
ri, present time.

427 Ti weri haku rawisu haku ri.
ti, it.
weri; we, now; ri, present time.
haku, passes by.
rawisu haku ri. See line 426.

428 Ti weri haku. See line 427.

429 Rawisu haku ri ti weri haku. See lines 426, 427.

430 See line 426.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 The words tell us that the smoke offered by the Son is now passing by, leaving us and going on its way to the different places where the powers dwell that guard the rain.

We sing this stanza four times as the smoke passes by us.

Translation of Second Stanza

431 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
432 Rawis kaha witshpa.
  rawis, part of the word rawisu, smoke.
  kaha, part of the word kaharu, smell, savor, odor.
  witshpa, reached, arrived at, completed.
433 Ti weri witshpa rawis kaha witshpa.
  ti, he or it.
  weri; we, now; ri, is; denotes present time.
  witshpa, has completed, reached, arrived.
  rawis kaha witshpa. See line 432.
434 Ti weri witshpa. See line 433.
435 Rawis kaha witshpa ti weri witshpa. See lines 432, 433.
436 See line 432.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the smoke disappears we sing the second stanza, which tells that the odor of the smoke has reached the abode of the mighty powers and that our offering to them is now completed.

We sing this song four times.

The ceremony of offering smoke over, the priest with the sacred pipe of the Rain shrine, and the Ku'rahus with his assistant and the chief, bearing the sacred objects, return to the west and there, upon the space set apart and made holy, lay them down.

[431] The Son takes off the fine garments with which the Father has clothed him and places them in a pile before a chief of his village, that they may be distributed to the young men of the receiving party—that is, the Children.

The lodge has now been opened by Mother Corn and cleansed of all bad influences by Kawas; the Son, clothed as a child by the Father, has offered prayer and smoke to the powers above; the garments worn during this act have been removed and given away; and now everything is ready for the public ceremony to begin.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE CEREMONY

FIRST DIVISION. THE PUBLIC CEREMONY

EIGHTH RITUAL (FIRST DAY). THE FATHERS FEED THE CHILDREN

796*

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The runners dispatched by the Son deliver their message, and soon men, women, and children, dressed in their best attire, can be seen walking through the village toward the lodge set apart for the ceremony (figure 176).

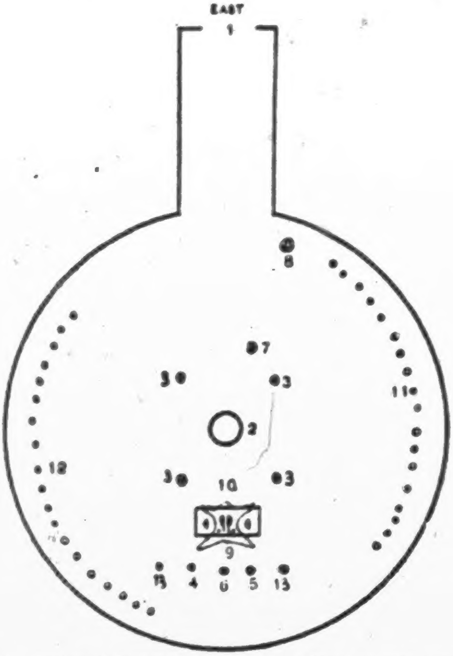


FIG. 176. Diagram of the Son's lodge at the beginning of the public ceremony.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the Ku'rahus; 5, his assistant; 6, the Father (a chief); 7, the server; 8, the Son; 9, the Hako at rest upon the holy place; 10, the ear of corn (should be represented by a dot just below the number); 11, members of the Son's party; 12, members of the Hako party; 13, the bearers of the eagle wings.

As they pass into the lodge they see the Ku'rahus and his assistant with the chief between them sitting behind the Hako at the west.

*796 facing the entrance at the east. They who have brought gifts to the
Fathers go around to the sacred place and lay them down upon the
431 ground between the central fire and the Hako. All gifts are received
*796 silently unless someone brings a present of food; for such an offering
the Ku'rahus gives thanks.

In old days it was not unusual for the Children to bring packs filled with dried buffalo meat; sometimes the packs contained the entire product of a hunt.

*796 When all the Children are gathered within the lodge the Ku'rahus directs that the Hako be taken up. When this is done, the five men stand facing the east. The chief, in the center, holds the wildcat skin and the ear of corn; on his left and toward the north is the Ku'rahus with the brown-eagle feathered stem, and at his left is the doctor with the left wing of the eagle. On the right of the chief and toward the south is the Ku'rahus's assistant holding the white-eagle feathered stem, and at his right the doctor with the right wing of the eagle. The Ku'rahus now addresses the Children:

"Mother Corn has led us to the border of your land. Mother Corn has brought us to your village. Mother Corn has guided us to the entrance of this lodge. Mother Corn has crossed the threshold and entered. The lodge has been swept and made ready for the ceremony. Kawas has flown about the lodge seeking its child, and here he has been found.

"You must all help me by reverent conduct as I try to perform faithfully the rite handed down from our fathers, so that all the promise of good which follows the Hako may come to us here."

No particular form of speech was taught me to be used on this occasion. Every Ku'rahus can choose his own words, but he must at this time tell the people of the sacredness of this ceremony and call upon them to give reverent attention that the rite may go forward to the end and be the means of bringing good to all who take part in it.

By this time those appointed to attend to the cooking have prepared food outside of the lodge. This is now brought in and placed near the fireplace, toward the east.

Before anyone can be served the thoughts of the Fathers and of the Children must be turned toward Tira'wa, the father of all things, so we sing the following song as we carry the Hako around the lodge and wave the feathered stems over the heads of the people.

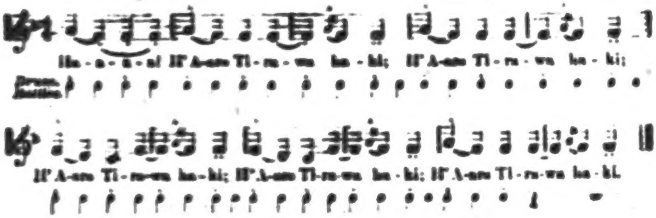
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*

M. M. ♩=120.
• — Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ha - a - a - a! H'A-ars Ti - ra - wa ha - ki; H'A-ars Ti - ra - wa ha - ki;
Drum Rattle
H'A-ars Ti - ra-wa ha - ki; H'A-ars Ti-ra-wa ha - ki; H'A-ars Ti - ra-wa ha - ki.

[533*]

437 Ha-a-a-a!
438 H'Aars Tira wa haki;
439 H'Aars Tira wa haki;
440 H'Aars Tira wa haki;
441 H'Aars Tira wa haki;
442 H'Aars Tira wa haki.

Translation

437 Ha-ā-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
438 H'Aars Tira'wa haki.
h', a part of the word ha, your.
aars, a contraction of the word atius, father.
Tira'wa, the designation of the great power Tira'wa atius, thought to be above all other powers.
haki, many.
439–442 See line 438.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Ku'rahus begins to sing this song he must think what this ceremony is for and be mindful that all the powers that the heavens contain and all the powers that are felt over the earth are now coming near and bending over the Hako. 539* 796* 776

All the powers that are in the heavens and all those that are upon the earth are derived from the mighty power, Tira'wa atius. He[a] is the father of all things visible and invisible. He is the father of all the powers represented by the Hako. He is the father of all the lesser powers, those which can approach man. He is the father of all the people, and perpetuates the life of the tribe through the gift of children. So we sing, your father, meaning the father of all people everywhere, the father of all things that we see and hear and feel.

As we sing the words over and over we think about Tira'wa atius being the father of all things. This and all stanzas are sung four times. 539* 796*

When we have gone entirely around the lodge and have returned

---

[a] The Pawnee pronoun here translated "he" does not in the original indicate sex, nor is it equivalent to "it," as the word relates to a person.

*539
*796

to the west we pause, and start again to make the second circuit, always going by the north, the east, the south, to the west. On this second circuit we sing this song, which must always follow the one we have just sung. Both songs are about Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

These two songs belong to the first two of the first four circuits of the lodge, which are made in the presence of all the Children. We shall sing these same songs twice again; the first time, after the sacred feast of corn and, the second time, when we are beginning the last four circuits of the lodge on the fourth and last night of the ceremony.

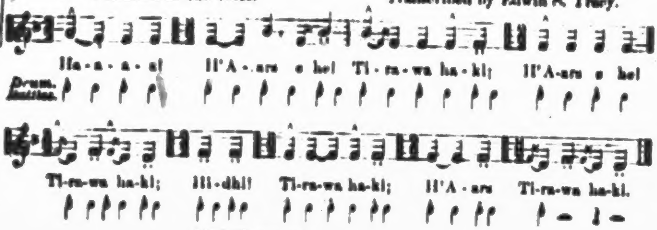
SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 138.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]



443 Ha-a-a-a!
444 H'Aars e he! Tira'wa haki;
445 H'Aars e he! Tira'wa haki;
446 Hidhi! Tira'wa haki;
447 H'Aars Tira'wa haki.

Translation

443 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

444 H'Aars e he! Tira'wa haki.

h', a part of the word "ha", your.

aars, an abbreviation of atius, father.

e, a vocable used to fill out the rhythm.

he! an exclamation indicating that something is brought to one's attention which demands thoughtful consideration.

Tira'wa, a part of Tira'wahut, the dwelling place of the lesser powers, those which can come near to man.

haki, many.

445 See line 444.

446 Hidhi! Tira'wa haki.

hidhi, on high; above, as when one points upward.

Tira'wa, a part of Tira'wahut, the dwelling place of the lesser powers. The word Tira'wa is not the same as in the preceding song and therefore has not the same meaning.

haki, many. The phrase Tira'wa haki in this song refers to the many lesser powers which dwell above.

447 H'Aars Tira'wa haki. See line 444.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*

When we begin this song and sing "H'Aars" (your father), we think of what we have been told in the first song, that Tira'wa atius is the father of all things; that he is the father of all those lesser powers which come to us in our visions and dreams. These lesser powers are many, but Tira'wa atius is the father of them all.

[772]

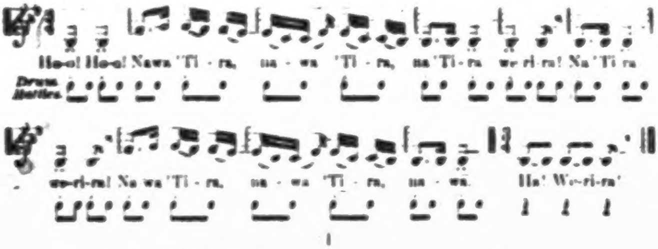
When we sing, "Hihi!" we think that all these powers have their dwelling place on high, Tira'wahut, and that above them all is the abode of Tira'wa atius, their father. It is he who sends help to us by these lesser powers, because they alone can come to us so that we can see and feel them.

When we have reached the west we pause and then begin the third circuit of the lodge. On this round we sing of Mother Corn, she who has led us on our journey, who has entered the lodge of the Son, and is now to walk before the Children with the promise of plenty.

THIRD SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o! Ho-o! Nawa 'Ti - ra, na - wa 'Ti - ra, na 'Ti - ra we-ri-ra! Na 'Ti ra
Drum. Rattles.
we-ri-ra! Na wa 'Ti - ra, na - wa 'Ti - ra, na - wa. Ha! We-ri-ra'

[533*]

I

448 Ho-o! Ho-o!
449 Nawa 'Tira, nawa 'Tira, na 'Tira werira!
450 Na 'Tira werira!
451 Nawa 'Tira, nawa 'Tira, nawa. Ha! Werira'

II

452 Ho-o! Ho-o!
453 Ha wa 'Tira, ha wa 'Tira, ha 'Tira werai!
454 Ha 'Tira werai!
455 Ha wa 'Tira, ha wa 'Tira, ha 'Tira werai!

Translation of First Stanza

448 Ho-o! Ho-o! Introductory exclamations.

449 Nawa 'Tira, nawa 'Tira, na 'Tira werira!

- nawa, now.
- 'tira, part of the word atira, mother. The term refers to the ear of corn.
- na, part of nawa, now.
- 'tira, atira, mother.
- werira, she comes.

*539 450. Na 'tira werira! See line 449.

*796 451 Nawa 'tira, nawa 'tira, nawa. Ha! Werira!
ha! behold! look! For the other words, see line 449.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the first stanza the Fathers speak; they tell the Children to behold Mother Corn, who comes bringing the promise of good gifts. They must fix their eyes and thought upon Mother Corn, who now comes hither. They must give her thanks for all she is bringing to make their hearts glad.

We sing this stanza four times as we go around the lodge.

When we reach the west we pause and then start on the fourth circuit singing the second stanza.

Translation of Second Stanza

452 Ho-o! Ho-o! Introductory exclamations.
453 Ha wa 'Tira, ha wa 'Tira, ha 'Tira werai!
ha, yonder.
wa, part of nawa, now.
'tira, part of atira, mother. Refers to the corn.
ha, yonder.
'tira, atira, mother.
werai, she is coming.
454 Ha 'Tira werai! See line 453.
455 See line 453.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza the Children speak. Yonder Mother Corn is coming. She is bringing good gifts of peace and plenty to make glad our hearts.

The Fathers, they who are carrying the sacred objects, are singing, but if the Children choose they can join in the song as the waving feathered stems are passing by.

When we have sung this stanza four times and have reached the west we have completed the fourth circuit of the lodge.

We sing each stanza four times during one circuit and we must make four circuits of the lodge after we have taken up the Hako and before we can lay them down.

The four circuits of the lodge are made in recognition of the four directions, the four powers at the west and the four sacred objects, the two eagles, the ear of corn, and the wildcat skin.

Up to this time the feathered stems have been simply laid down upon the wildcat skin without ceremony, but now and hereafter during the ceremony, whenever we complete a fourth circuit of the lodge and return to the west, they are laid to rest upon the skin with certain peculiar movements made to the rhythm of song.[a] The songs which belong to this act explain its meaning.

---

[a] In the following pages the places will be indicated where these songs must be sung, but to avoid unnecessary repetition the songs themselves will be omitted.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
776*

The feathered stems represent the eagle; the holy place, where the stems are laid to rest, represents the eagle's nest. A nest is made for the young; the making of a nest in the lodge of the Son by Kawas presages the fulfilment of the promise of children to the Son, as well as the establishment of a close bond, like that of father and son, between the members of two unrelated clans or tribes.

The cat skin lies next to the ground on the holy place; it protects by its skill the nest and all that the nest represents.

Whenever we lay the feathered stems down, after they have been carried four times around the lodge and waved over the heads of the people, they are moved in a way to represent the eagle hovering over her nest and then alighting on her young. These songs and these movements are a prayer for the gift of children, and that the bond between the Father and the Son may be true and strong.

There are four songs for the ceremony of laying down the feathered stems. Each song has two stanzas. We sing two of these songs every time we lay these objects to rest. We sway the stems over the cat skin, dropping them lower and lower, then suddenly we raise them again and finally let them gently down on the nest. The eagle acts in this manner when going to her nest. She does not at once settle down; she flies over it, sweeping lower and lower, then rises to see if all is well, and slowly descends to drop lightly on the nest.

When the young eagles see the mother coming and hear her call, they answer back, they are glad. We are like the young birds in the nest, so we cry "Hiri!" expressing our gratitude to Kawas, who is making her nest with us. We pray in our hearts as we sing.

SONGS FOR LAYING DOWN THE FEATHERED STEMS

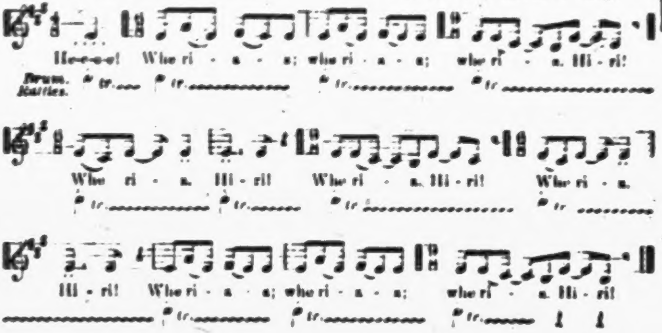
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. [illegible]
• Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]


He-e-e-e! Whe ri - a - a; whe ri - a - a; whe ri - a. Hi - ri!
Drum. Rattles.
tr.
Whe ri - a. Hi - ri! Whe ri - a. Hi - ri! Whe ri - a.
Hi - ri! Whe ri - a - a; whe ri - a - a; whe ri - a. Hi - ri!

*539
*796

I

456 He-e-e-e!
457 Whe ria-a; whe ria-a; whe ria. Hiri!
458 Whe ria. Hiri!
459 Whe ria. Hiri!
460 Whe ria. Hiri!
461 Whe ria-a; whe ria-a; whe ria. Hiri!

II

462 He-e-e-e!
463 Whe ria-a; whe ria-a; whe ria. Hiri!
464 Whe ria. Hiri!
465 Whe ria. Hiri!
466 Whe ria. Hiri!
467 Whe ria-a; whe ria-a; whe ria. Shpetit!

Translation

I

456 He-e-e-e! An introductory exclamation.
457 Whe ria-a; whe ria-a; whe ria-a. Hiri!
whe, now.
ria, flying and circling over something, as a nest.
a, vowel prolongation.
hiri! part of nawairi! thanks! The initial h is added for euphony.
458, 459, 460 Whe ria. Hiri! See line 457.
461 See line 457.

II

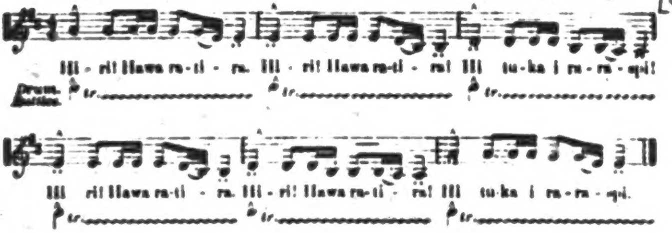
462 He-e-e-e! An introductory exclamation.
463 See line 457.
464, 465, 466 See line 458.
467 Whe ria-a, whe ria-a, whe ria. Shpetit!
whe ria-a, whe ria-a, whe ria. See line 457.
shpetit, to light upon, as on a nest, and sit down upon it.

539*
796*
[533*]

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 108.
ˇ = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Hi - ri! Hawa ra-ti - ra. Hi - ri! Hawa ra-ti - ra! Hi tu-ka i ra-ra-spi!
Drum. Rattles.
tr.
Hi ri! Hawa ra-ti - ra. Hi - ri! Hawa ra-ti - ra! Hi tu-ka i ra-ra-spi.
tr.

I

468 Hiri! Hawa ratira. Hiri! Hawa ratira!
469 Hi tuka i raraspi!
470 Hiri! Hawa ratira. Hiri! Hawa ratira!
471 Hi tuka i raraspi!

II

472 Hiri! Hawa rasdira. Hiri! Hawa rasdira!
473 Hi tuka i rarispi!
474 Hiri! Hawa rasdira. Hiri! Hawa rasdira!
475 Hi tuka i rarispi!

Translation

I

468 Hiri! Hawa ratira. Hiri! Hawa ratira.

hiri! part of nawairi! an exclamation of thanks, gratitude, of confidence that all is well. The initial h is added to iri for euphony and ease in singing.

hawa, again.

ratira, coming.

469 Hi tuka i raraspi.

hi, it; refers to the eagle.

tuka, slantwise.

i, vocable to fill out the measure.

raraspi, very near to alighting, referring to the movements of the eagle, which makes feints of descending upon her nest and then rises again.

470 See line 468.

471 See line 469.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

II

*539
*796

472 Hiri! Hawa rassira. Hiri! Hawa rassira!

hiri! an exclamation of thankfulness. See explanation in line 468.

hawa, again.

rassira, you coming, or returning. Refers to the movements of the eagle. After the feint of alighting she rises and then she returns again preparatory to settling on her nest.

473 Hi tuka i rarispi.

hi, it; refers to the eagle.

tuka, slantwise.

i, vocable used to fill out the measure of the music.

rarispi, has alighted.

474 See line 472.

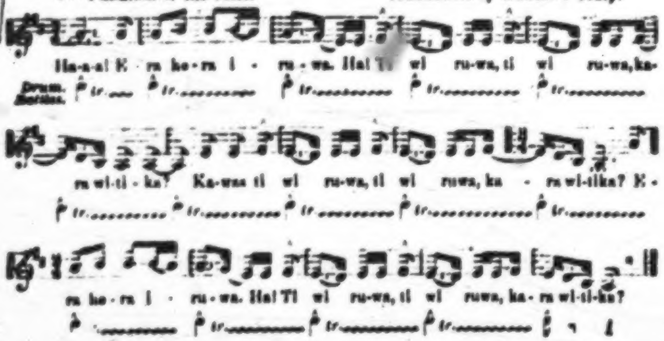
475 See line 473.

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 56.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*633]


Ha-a-a! E - ra he - ra i - ru - wa. Ha! Ti wi ru-wa, ti wi ru-wa, ka-
Drum. Rattles.
tr.
ra wi-ti - ka? Ka-wus ti wi ru-wa, ti wi ruwa, ka - ra wi-tika? E -
ra he - ra i - ru - wa. Ha! Ti wi ru-wa, ti wi ruwa, ka - ra wi-ti-ka?

I

476 Ha-a-a!
477 Era hera iruwa. Ha! Ti wi ruwa, ti wi ruwa, kara witika?
478 Kawus ti wi ruwa, ti wi ruwa, kara witika?
479 Era hera iruwa. Ha! Ti wi ruwa, ti wi ruwa, kara witika?

II

480 Ha-a-a!
481 Era hera eria. Ha! Ti wi ria, ti wi ria, hara witika;
482 Kawus ti wi ria, ti wi ria, hara witika.
483 Era hera eria. Ha! Ti wi ria, ti wi ria, hara witika.

539*
796*

Translation

I

476 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

477 Era hera iruwa. Ha! Ti wi ruwa, ti wi ruwa, kara witika?
era, it coming; refers to the eagle.
hera; era, it coming; the h is added for euphony.
iruwa, one flying this way, toward us one (singular) is flying.
ha! look! behold!
ti, here.
wi, is.
ruwa, flying this way.
kara? has it? a question.
witika, sat down within, or alighted and settled on, its nest.

478 Kawas ti wi ruwa, ti wi ruwa, kara witika?
Kawas, the brown eagle, the leading bird in the ceremony.
ti wi ruwa. See line 477.
kara witika? has it alighted and sat down within its nest?

479 See line 477.

II

480 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

481 Era hera eria. Ha! Ti wi ria, ti wi ria, hara witika.
era, it coming.
hera, a repetition of era, the h being added for euphony.
eria, circling overhead; refers to the movements of the eagle.
ha! look! behold!
ti, here.
wi, is.
ria, a part of the word eria, circling over.
hara, it has.
witika, sat down within, or settled on, its nest.

482 Kawas ti wi ria, ti wi ria, hara witika.
Kawas, the brown eagle, the leading symbolic bird in the ceremony.
ti wi ria, hara witika. See line 481.

483 See line 481.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

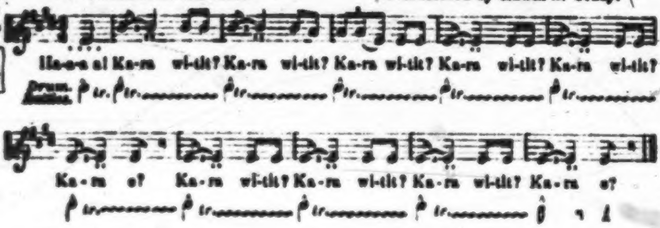
SONG

Words and Music

*539
*796
[*533]

M. M. ♩ = 58.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ha-a-a a! Ka-ra wi-tit? Ka-ra wi-tit? Ka-ra wi-tit? Ka-ra wi-tit? Ka-ra wi-tit?
Drum. Rattles.
tr.
Ka-ra e? Ka-ra wi-tit? Ka-ra wi-tit? Ka-ra wi-tit? Ka-ra e?

484 Ha-a-a-a!
485 Kara witit? Kara witit? Kara witit? Kara witit? Kara witit? Kara e?
486 Kara witit? Kara witit? Kara witit? Kara e?

487 Ha-a-a-a!
488 Hara witit; hara witit; hara witit; hara witit; hara witit; hara e!
489 Hara witit; hara witit; hara witit; hara e!

Translation

I

484 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

485 Kara witit? Kara witit? Kara witit? Kara witit? Kara witit? Kara e?

kara? has it? a question.

witit, sat down or lit upon (its nest). The iteration of the words follow the picture made by the movements of the feathered stems as they are waved now lower and now higher over the eat skin, simulating the eagle as she prepares to alight on her nest.

e, a vocable to fill out the measure of the music.

486 Kara witit? Kara witit? Kara witit? Kara e? See line 485.

II

487 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

488 Hara witit; hara witit; hara witit; hara witit; hara witit; hara e!

hara, it has.

witit, sat down or alighted and settled upon (its nest). The repetition of the words accompanies the movements of the feathered stems as they are waved lower and lower toward the eat skin.

e, a vocable to fill out the measure of the music.

489 Hara witit; hara witit; hara witit; hara e! See line 488.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Hako are at rest, the food which has been standing 796* beside the fire is served by the Fathers to the Children. Certain men are appointed for this task.

It is the duty of a father to provide food for his child, and not to 593 partake himself until the child is satisfied. As we are to simulate the relation of father to child, we prepare a meal for the Children twice 264 and sometimes thrice a day during the continuance of this ceremony. We are obliged to bring much food for this purpose, as the Children are sometimes many, and we have also ourselves to feed.

Where we must travel far to reach the tribe of the Son, the burden 492 of carrying so much food is hard upon our ponies. So much cooking for the Children keeps the women very busy, but they are willing, for 462 the ceremony brings good to them.

After the Children have eaten they rest a while and then go home, returning to the lodge when the sun has set. Before they go they 431 generally make gifts of ponies to the Fathers.

When the Fathers are left alone in the lodge they eat their evening meal.

The Hako throughout this ceremony are never left unattended by night or day. When the Ku'rahus, or his assistant, or the chief needs to leave the lodge, someone is requested to take his place during his absence.

NINTH RITUAL (FIRST NIGHT). INVOKING THE VISIONS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the sun has set and it is dark and the stars are shining, then the Children gather in the lodge. Some, as they come in, will advance 431 to the holy place and there drop a stick; this means the gift of a pony. For every such gift the Ku'rahus returns thanks to the giver.

After all are seated, wood is piled upon the fire, and when the flames leap high the Ku'rahus rises, then his assistant and the chief rise and the Hako are taken up.

The singers carrying the drum follow the Hako bearers as they move slowly around the lodge, singing the following song.

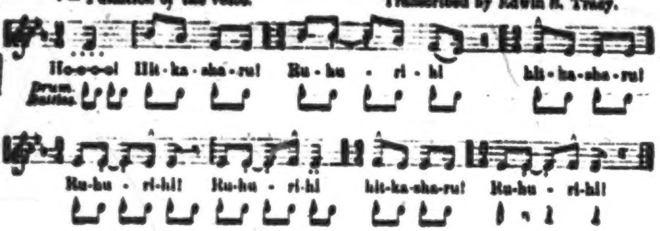
SONG

Words and Music

*539
*796
[*533]

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! Hit-ka-sha-ru! Ru-hu - ri-hi hit-ka-sha-ru!
Drum. Rattles.
Ru-hu - ri-hi! Ru-hu - ri-hi hit-ka-sha-ru! Ru-hu - ri-hi!

I

490 Ho-o-o-o!
491 Hitkasharu!
492 Ruhurihi hitkasharu!
493 Ruhurihi!
494 Ruhurihi hitkasharu!
495 Ruhurihi!

II

496 Ho-o-o-o!
497 Hitkasharu!
498 Weri rawha hitkasharu!
499 Weri rawha!
500 Weri rawha hitkasharu!
501 Weri rawha!

III

502 Ho-o-o-o!
503 Hitkasharu!
504 Weri whicha hitkasharu!
505 Weri whicha!
506 Weri whicha hitkasharu!
507 Weri whicha!

IV

508 Ho-o-o-o!
509 Hitkasharu!
510 We rahruka hitkasharu!
511 We rahruka!
512 We rahruka hitkasharu!
513 We rahruka![a]

V

514 Ho-o-o-o!
515 Hitkasharu!
516 We rakawa hitkasharu!
517 We rakawa!
518 We rakawa hitkasharu!
519 We rakawa!

VI

520 Ho-o-o-o!
521 Hitkasharu!
522 We riteri hitkasharu!
523 We riteri!
524 We riteri hitkasharu!
525 We riteri!

VII

526 Ho-o-o-o!
527 Hitkasharu!
528 We rahwara hitkasharu!
529 We rahwara!
530 We rahwara hitkasharu!
531 We rahwara!

VIII

532 Ho-o-o-o!
533 Hitkasharu!
534 Wera rawhishpa hitkasharu!
535 Wera rawhishpa!
536 Wera rawhishpa hitkasharu!
537 Wera rawhishpa![a]

Translation of First Stanza

490 Ho-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

491 Hitkasharu! A composite term; hit, from hittu, feather; ka, from rotkaharu, night; sharu, visions, dreams. Hittu, feather, refers to the birds represented upon the feathered stems. The term indicates the night visions which attend or belong to these symbolic objects, the feathered stems.

---

[a] Here the Hako are laid at ceremonial rest. See pages 111-116.

492 **Ruhurihi hitkasharu!** 539*
    ruhurihi, a command, a call; "let it be so!" 796*
    hitkasharu. See line 491.

493 **Ruhurihi!** See line 492.

494 See line 492.

495 See line 493.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We sing about the visions which the birds on the feathered stems are to bring to the Children. 539* 796*

Visions come from above, they are sent by Tira'wa atius. The lesser powers come to us in visions. We receive help through the visions. All the promises which attend the Hako will be made good to us in this way. 787

Visions can come most readily at night; spirits travel better at that time. Now when we are met together we, the Fathers, call upon the visions to come to the Children.

The spirits of the birds upon the feathered stems join our spirits in this call to the visions. That is what the words of this stanza mean. We sing it four times as we make the first circuit of the lodge.

When we reach the west we pause.

539* 796*

Translation of Second Stanza

496 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

497 Hitkasharu! The visions that attend the Hako. See line 491.

498 Weri rawha hitkasharu!
    weri, they.
    rawha, are coming.
    hitkasharu, the visions which attend the Hako.

499 Weri rawha! See line 498.

500 See line 498.

501 See line 499.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we go around the lodge the second time we sing this stanza.

The visions have heard the call of the spirits of the birds upon the feathered stems, joined to the call of our spirits, and they are descending by the east from their dwelling place above, and are coming toward the lodge.

We sing "They are coming," and the Children join in the song, as we pass around and wave the feathered stems.

When we reach the west we pause.

[illegible]on of Third Stanza

*539 502 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

503 Hitkasharu! The visions that attend the Hako. See line 491.

*796 504 Weri whicha hitkasharu!

weri, they.

whicha, a part of the word rawhicha, arrived, have arrived.

hitkasharu, the visions which attend the Hako.

505 Weri whicha. See line 504.

506 See line 504.

507 See line 505.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We start on the third circuit of the lodge, singing this stanza. We sing it four times.

The visions have been traveling from the east, whence they descended; they have been passing over the quiet earth, coming nearer and nearer in answer to our call, and at last they reach the door of the lodge. There they pause.

When we reach the west we pause. We are waiting, all the Children are waiting. We are thinking of these visions, of the place where they dwell, of their coming at our call, of all they are to bring to us. They are holy visions.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

508 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

509 Hitkasharu! The visions that attend the Hako. See line 491.

510 We rahruka hitkasharu!

we, a part of the word weri, they.

rahruka, a composite word; rahru, to go through or enter; ka, a part of the word akaro, lodge; the word means entered and passed through the long passageway that leads into the earth lodge.

hitkasharu, the visions that attend the Hako.

511 We rahruka! See line 510.

512 See line 510.

513 See line 511.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We turn toward the north to make the fourth circuit of the lodge, singing this stanza. We sing it four times.

As we sing the visions touch and cross the threshold and then pass down the long passageway leading into the lodge. As we reach the west they have entered the lodge.

Kawas and all the birds have called these visions to bless the Children. The visions have heard, they have traveled far, they have reached the lodge, and now they have entered and are in the presence of the Children. 539* 796*

Kawas now goes to her nest, so we lay the Hako down with the movements and songs which belong to this act,[a] and then we sit down behind the Hako and are quiet.

Perhaps some one of the Children may rise and come to the holy place and there lay down a stick, signifying the gift of a horse to the Fathers in recognition of their having called the visions which are now present. [431]

Translation of Fifth Stanza

514 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
515 Hitkasharu! The visions that attend the Hako. See line 491.
516 We rakawa hitkasharu!
    we, part of weri, they.
    rakawa, walking, moving; conveys the idea of spreading through, pervading the space within the lodge.
    hitkasharu, the visions that attend the Hako.
517 We rakawa! See line 516.
518 See line 516.
519 See line 517.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Near midnight the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief rise and take up the Hako, and we go around the lodge again and sing this stanza four times.

As we walk, the visions walk; they fill all the space within the lodge; they are everywhere, all about us.

When we reach the west we pause.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

520 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
521 Hitkasharu! The visions that attend the Hako. See line 491.
522 We riteri hitkasharu!
    we, a part of the word weri, they.
    riteri, touching in different places, touching here and there.
    hitkasharu, the visions that attend the Hako.
523 We riteri! See line 522.
524 See line 522.
525 See line 523.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we go around the second time we sing the next stanza four times.

The visions which attend the Hako are now touching the Children, touching them here and there and by their touch giving them dreams, which will bring them health, strength, happiness, and all good things.

---

[a] See pages 111-116.

*539
*796

The visions touch all who are in the lodge, so it is a good thing to be there, to be touched by the visions.

At the west we pause.

Translation of Seventh Stanza

526 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
527 Hitkasharu! The visions that attend the Hako. See line 491.
528 We rahwara hitkasharu!
  we, a part of the word weri, they.
  rahwara, walking away, departing.
  hitkasharu, the visions that attend the Hako.
529 We rahwara! See line 528.
530 See line 528.
531 See line 529.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We go around the lodge for the third time and sing this stanza four times.

As we sing, the visions are walking away; they have done what they came to do; they are now leaving the lodge, and when we reach the west the space they had filled is empty.

We pause and we think of the visions going away over the silent earth to ascend to their dwelling place.

Translation of Eighth Stanza

532 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
533 Hitkasharu! The visions that attend the Hako. See line 491.
534 Wera rawhishpa hitkasharu!
  wera, they have.
  rawhishpa, arrived at the place from which the start was made.
  hitkasharu, the visions that attend the Hako.
535 Wera rawhishpa! See line 534.
536 See line 534.
537 See line 535.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Once more, for the fourth time, we go around the lodge singing this stanza four times.

As we sing, the visions ascend to their dwelling place; they have returned whence they came, to their abode in the sky.

When we reach the west we lay the Hako down with the songs and movements which accompany the act.[a] Kawas rests in her nest.

One by one the Children go to their homes, and the dreams brought by the visions which attend the Hako go with them to make their hearts glad.

---

[a] See pages 111-116.

TENTH RITUAL. THE DAWN

PART I. THE BIRTH OF DAWN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the night draws to a close, the Ku'rahus orders the server to lift the skins which hang at the outer and inner doors of the long passageway of the lodge, and to go outside and watch for the first glimmer of light. 796*

The Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief, sitting behind the Hako, where they lie at rest, look toward the east through the open doorway and watch for the first signs of the dawn.

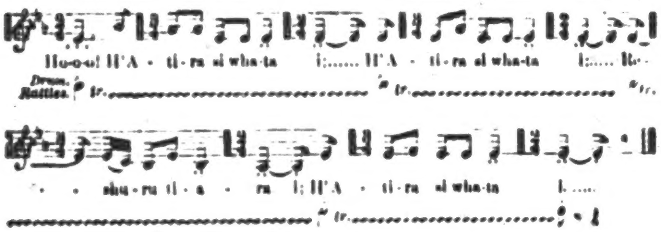
At the first indication of a change, when the air begins to stir, the server comes in with the tidings, and we rise, take up the Hako, and stand at the west, behind the holy place; there, looking toward the east, we sing this song. We sing it slowly and with reverent feeling, for it speaks of the mysterious and powerful act of Tira'wa atius in the birth of Dawn. [781]

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 116. 539*
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. 796*

[533*]


Ho-o-o! H'A - ti-ra si wha-ta i;...... H'A - ti-ra si wha-ta i;..... Re-
Drum. Rattles. tr. tr. tr.
- - shu-ru ti - a - ra i; H'A - ti-ra si wha-ta i.....
tr.

I

538 Ho-o-o!
539 H'Atira si whata i;
540 H'Atira si whata i;
541 Reshuru tiara i;
542 H'Atira si whata i.

II

543 Ho-o-o!
544 H'Atira ta wata i;
545 H'Atira ta wata i;
546 Reshuru tiara i;
547 H'Atira ta wata i.

III

548 Ho-o-o!
549 H'Kawas si whata i;
550 H'Kawas si whata i;
551 Reshuru tiara i;
552 H'Kawas si whata i.

IV

553 Ho-o-o!
554 H'Kawas ta wata i;
555 H'Kawas ta wata i;
556 Reshuru tiara i;
557 H'Kawas ta wata i.

V

558 Ho-o-o!
559 Kawas ti waku ka riki;
560 Kawas ti waku ka riki;
561 Reshuru tiara i;
562 Kawas ti waku ka riki;

VI

563 Ho-o-o!
564 We tatichiri wak ka riki;
565 We tatichiri wak ka riki;
566 Reshuru tiara i;
567 We tatichiri wak ka riki.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

VII

568 Ho-o-o!
569 Pirau si whata i;
570 Pirau si whata i;
571 Reshuru tiara i;
572 Pirau si whata i.

VIII

573 Ho-o-o!
574 Pirau ta wata i;
575 Pirau ta wata i;
576 Reshuru tiara i;
577 Pirau ta wata i.

Translation of First Stanza

538 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

539 H'Atira si whata i.

h', the sign of breath, of breathing forth life.

atira, mother. The term here refers to Mother Earth, represented by the ear of corn.

si, you; singular number, used in addressing a person.

whata, arise, move, stir about. The word is used when making a request or a suggestion, not a command.

i, a part of the word riki, now, the present time.

540 See line 539.

541 Reshuru tiara i.

Reshuru, the Dawn.

tiara, a birth, a transformation, one form proceeding from another.

i, part of the word riki, now, the present time.

542 See line 539.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We call to Mother Earth, who is represented by the ear of corn. She has been asleep and resting during the night. We ask her to awake, to move, to arise, for the signs of the dawn are seen in the east and the breath of the new life is here.

[761] H'Atira means Mother breathing forth life; this life is received from Tira'wa atius with the breath of the new-born Dawn.

Mother Earth is the first to be called to awake, that she may receive the breath of the new day.

Translation of Second Stanza

543 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

544 H'Atira ta wata i.

h', the symbol of breath, life.

atira, mother; refers to the earth.

ta, a personal pronoun referring to atira; she. In the original no sex is indicated; there are no pronouns he or she; ta applies to either sex.

wata, has arisen.

i, a part of the word riki, now, present time.

545 See line 544.

539*
796*

546 Reshuru tiara i.
Reshuru, the Dawn.
tiara, born.
i, a part of riki, now, present time.

547 See line 544.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Mother Earth hears the call; she moves, she awakes, she arises, she feels the breath of the new-born Dawn. The leaves and the grass stir; all things move with the breath of the new day; everywhere life is renewed.

This is very mysterious; we are speaking of something very sacred, although it happens every day.

Translation of Third Stanza

548 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

549 H'Kawas si whata i.
h', the symbol of breath, breathing forth life.
Kawas, the brown eagle, representative of the lesser and beneficient powers above.
si, you; a personal pronoun, singular number.
whata, arise, stir, move about.
i, a part of riki, now, the present time.

550 See line 549.

551 See line 546.

552 See line 549.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We call upon Kawas to awake, to move, to arise. Kawas had been sleeping and resting during the night.

Kawas represents the lesser powers which dwell above, those which are sent by Tira'wa atius to bring us help. All these powers must awake and arise, for the breath of the new life of the Dawn is upon them. 776

The eagle soars where these powers dwell and can communicate with them. The new life of the new day is felt by these powers above as well as by Mother Earth below. 825

Translation of Fourth Stanza

553 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

554 H'Kawas ta wata i.
h', the symbol of breath, life.
Kawas, the brown eagle, representative of the lesser powers above.
ta, a personal pronoun referring to Kawas.
wata, has arisen.
i, a part of the word riki, now, the present time.

555 See line 554.

556 See line 546.

557 See line 554.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796

H'Kawas hears the call and awakes. Now all the powers above wake and stir, and all things below wake and stir; the breath of new life is everywhere. With the signs in the east has come this new life.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

558 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

559 Kawas ti waku ka riki.

- Kawas, the brown eagle, the intermediary as well as the representative of the lesser and beneficent powers above.
- ti, a personal pronoun referring to Kawas, singular number, spoken of.
- waku, speaks.
- ka, a part of the word akaro, lodge; refers to the space within the lodge about the fire. In this instance ka indicated the holy place set apart for the sacred objects.
- riki, standing; the word implies the present time.

560 See line 559.

561 Reshuru tiara i. See line 546.

562 See line 559.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[825]

Kawas, the brown eagle, the messenger of the powers above, now stands within the lodge and speaks. The Ku'rahus hears her voice as she tells him what the signs in the east mean.

[821]

She tells him that Tira'wa atius there moves upon Darkness, the Night, and causes her to bring forth the Dawn. It is the breath of the new-born Dawn, the child of Night and Tira'wa atius, which is felt by all the powers and all things above and below and which gives them new life for the new day.

This is the meaning of this stanza. The words of the song do not tell all that the song means; the meaning has been handed down from our fathers and taught to the Ku'rahus, who may teach it to anyone who is serious-minded and sincerely desires to learn these sacred things.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

563 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

564 We tatichiri wak ka riki.

- we, I.
- tatichiri, understand, have knowledge of the meaning.
- wak, a part of the word waku, speech, to speak.
- ka, a part of akaro, lodge; within the lodge. See line 559.
- riki, standing.

565 See line 564.

566 Reshuru tiara i. See line 546.

567 See line 564.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*
821

In this stanza the Ku'rahus answers Kawas. He tells her that he understands the words she spoke to him when standing there in the lodge, that now he knows the meaning of the signs in the east; that night is the mother of the day, that it is by the power of Tira'wa atius moving on Darkness that she gives birth to the Dawn.

The Dawn is the child of Tira'wa atius. It gives the blessing of life; it comes to awaken man, to awake Mother Earth and all living things that they may receive the life, the breath of the Dawn which is born of the Night by the power of Tira'wa atius.

Our fathers were taught by Kawas and understood what she told them, and what they then learned has been handed down to us.

Translation of Seventh Stanza

568 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

569 Pirau si whata i.

pirau, my son. The term refers to the Son, the person to whom the Father has brought the Hako to establish a bond between the two by means of this ceremony. The Son has remained in the lodge through the night.

si, you.

whata, arise. See line 539.

i, a part of riki; now, present time.

570 See line 569.

571 See line 546.

572 See line 569.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We now call upon the Son, who has been asleep and resting in the lodge, to awake, to move, and to arise, for the east gives signs of the birth of the dawn, whose breath is on all things.

Translation of Eighth Stanza

573 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

574 Pirau ta wata i.

pirau, my son; the term refers to the Son.

ta, a personal pronoun referring to the Son.

wata, has arisen.

i, a part of riki; now.

575 See line 574.

576 See line 546.

577 See line 574.

Explanation of the Ku'rahus

The Son hears the call. He wakes, he moves, he rises, he looks to the east and sees the signs of the dawn.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART II. THE MORNING STAR AND THE NEW-BORN DAWN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796

Now all have risen and have received the breath of the new life just born, all the powers above, all things below. Kawas has stood and spoken in the lodge; the Ku'rahus has heard and understood; the Son is awake and stands with the Ku'rahus awaiting the coming of dawn. The Ku'rahus has sent the server outside the lodge to watch for the morning star. We stand at the west and wait its coming. When it appears he sings the following song:

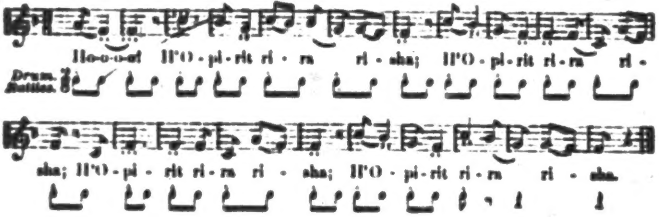
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 132
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ho-o-o-o! H'O - pi - rit ri - ra ri - sha; H'O - pi - rit ri - ra ri -
Drum.
Rattles.
sha; H'O - pi - rit ri - ra ri - sha; H'O - pi - rit ri - ra ri - sha.

I

578 Ho-o-o-o!
579 H'Opirit rira risha;
580 H'Opirit rira risha;
581 H'Opirit rira risha;
582 H'Opirit rira risha.

II

583 Ho-o-o-o!
584 H'Opirit ta ahrisha;
585 H'Opirit ta ahrisha;
586 H'Opirit ta ahrisha;
587 H'Opirit ta ahrisha.

III

588 Ho-o-o-o!
589 Reshuru rira risha;
590 Reshuru rira risha;
591 Reshuru rira risha;
592 Reshuru rira risha.

IV

593 Ho-o-o-o!
594 Reshuru ta ahrisha;
595 Reshuru ta ahrisha;
596 Reshuru ta ahrisha;
597 Reshuru ta ahrisha.

Translation of First Stanza

578 H-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

579 H'Opirit rira risha.

h', the symbol of breath, breathing forth life.

Opirit, the Morning Star.

rira, coming; approaching toward one.

risha, something seen at a great distance; it seems to appear and then to be lost, to disappear. The word conveys the picture of a gradual advance, as from a great distance, where the object was scarcely discernable, to a nearer point of view, but still distant.

580, 581, 582 See line 579.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus 539*

We sing this song slowly with reverent feeling, for we are singing of very sacred things. 796*

The Morning Star is one of the lesser powers. Life and strength and fruitfulness are with the Morning Star. We are reverent toward it. Our fathers performed sacred ceremonies in its honor. 539* 796*

The Morning Star is like a man; he is painted red all over; that is the color of life. He is clad in leggings and a robe is wrapped about him. On his head is a soft downy eagle's feather, painted red. This feather represents the soft, light cloud that is high in the heavens, and the red is the touch of a ray of the coming sun. The soft, downy feather is the symbol of breath and life. 776 821

The star comes from a great distance, too far away for us to see the place where it starts. At first we can hardly see it; we lose sight of it, it is so far off; then we see it again, for it is coming steadily toward us all the time. We watch it approach; it comes nearer and nearer; its light grows brighter and brighter.

This is the meaning of this stanza, and the star comes as we sing it four times.

Translation of Second Stanza 539*

583 H-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

584 H'Opirit ta ahrisha. 796*

h', the symbol of breath, life.

Opirit, the Morning Star.

ta, approaching.

ahrisha, coming still nearer, but at the same time disappearing. The word conveys the picture of the morning star by its increased brilliancy coming nearer, and then fading, disappearing in the light of day.

585, 586, 587 See line 584.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the Morning Star comes still nearer and now we see him standing there in the heavens, a strong man shining brighter and brighter. The soft plume in his hair moves with the breath of the new day, and the ray of the sun touches it with color. As he stands there so bright, he is bringing us strength and new life. 539* 796* 776 821

As we look upon him he grows less bright, he is receding, going back to his dwelling place whence he came. We watch him vanishing, passing out of our sight. He has left with us the gift of life which Tira'wa atius sent him to bestow.

We sing this stanza four times.

Translation of Third Stanza

*539 588 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 589 Reshuru rira risha.

Reshuru, the Dawn.

rira, coming toward one.

risha, something scarcely to be seen because of its distance; it eludes, seems to appear and then to disappear.

590, 591, 592 See line 589.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza we are still standing at the west of the lodge, looking through the long passageway toward the east. Now in the distance we see the Dawn approaching; it is coming, coming along the path of the Morning Star. It is a long path and as the Dawn advances along this path sometimes we catch sight of it and then again we lose it, but all the time it is coming nearer.

[821] The Dawn is new born, its breath has sent new life everywhere, all things stir with the life Tira'wa atius has given this child, his child, whose mother is the Night.

We sing this stanza four times.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

593 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

594 Reshuru ta ahrisha.

Reshuru, the Dawn.

ta, approaching, coming.

ahrisha, coming nearer but only to disappear. The Dawn comes nearer, grows brighter, but disappears in the brighter light of day.

595, 596, 597 See line 594.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we stand, looking through the long passageway of the lodge, watching and singing, we see the Dawn come nearer and nearer; its brightness fills the sky, the shadowy forms on the earth are becoming visible. As we watch, the Dawn, like the Morning Star, recedes. It is following the star, going back to the place whence it came, to its birthplace.

The day is close behind, advancing along the path of the Morning Star and the Dawn, and, as we watch, the Dawn vanishes from our sight.

We sing this song four times.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

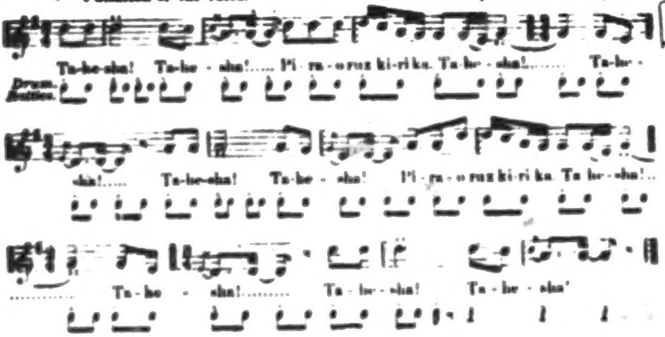
PART III. DAYLIGHT

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ta-he-sha! Ta-he - sha!...... Pi - ra - o rux ki-ri ka. Ta-he - sha!........ Ta-he -
Drum. Rattles.
sha!..... Ta-he-sha! Ta-he - sha! Pi - ra - o rux ki-ri ka. Ta-he - sha!..
.... Ta - he - sha!......... Ta - he - sha! Ta - he - sha!

533*

I

598 Tahesha! Tahesha!
599 Pirao rux kiri ka. Tahesha! Tahesha!
600 Tahesha! Tahesha!
601 Pirao rux kiri ka. Tahesha! Tahesha!
602 Tahesha! Tahesha!

II

603 Ta ira! Ta ira!
604 Ira, ta ira! Heru rera, ta ira!
605 Ta ira! Ta ira!
606 Ira, ta ira! Heru rera, ta ira!
607 Ta ira! Ta ira!

Translation of First Stanza

598 Tahesha! Tahesha!

tahesha, daylight, the light of day, before the sun rises.

599 Pirao rux kiri ka. Tahesha! Tahesha!

pirao, child, son.

rux, let; a command or a bidding, as, let him, or, do this.

kiri, a part of kiriku, eyes.

ka, a part of taka, to come out, to be seen by coming out from under a covering. The meaning of these words becomes clear when the custom of sleeping with the robe over the head is remembered; the Son is bidden to throw the robe off his head and let his eyes be free to behold the day.

513

tahesha, the light of day.

600 See line 598.
601 See line 599.
602 See line 598.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796

We sing this song with loud voices, we are glad. We shout, "Daylight has come! Day is here!" The light is over the earth. As we look out through the door of the lodge we can see the trees, and all things stand out clearly in the light.

We call to the Children, we bid them awake and throw off the robes that covered their heads as they slept and let their eyes look out and behold the light of day, the day that has come, that is here.

This stanza is sung four times

Translation of Second Stanza

603 Ta ira! Ta ira!
    ta, deer, a general term.
    ira, coming into sight.
604 Ira, ta ira; heru rera, ta ira.
    ira, ta ira. See line 603.
    heru, there.
    rera, coming.
605 See line 603.
606 See line 604.
607 See line 603.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Still we sing and shout, "Day is here! Daylight has come!" We tell the Children that all the animals are awake. They come forth from the places where they have been sleeping. The deer leads them. She comes from her cover, bringing her young into the light of day. Our hearts are glad as we sing, "Daylight has come! The light of day is here!"

We sing this stanza four times.

PART IV. THE CHILDREN BEHOLD THE DAY

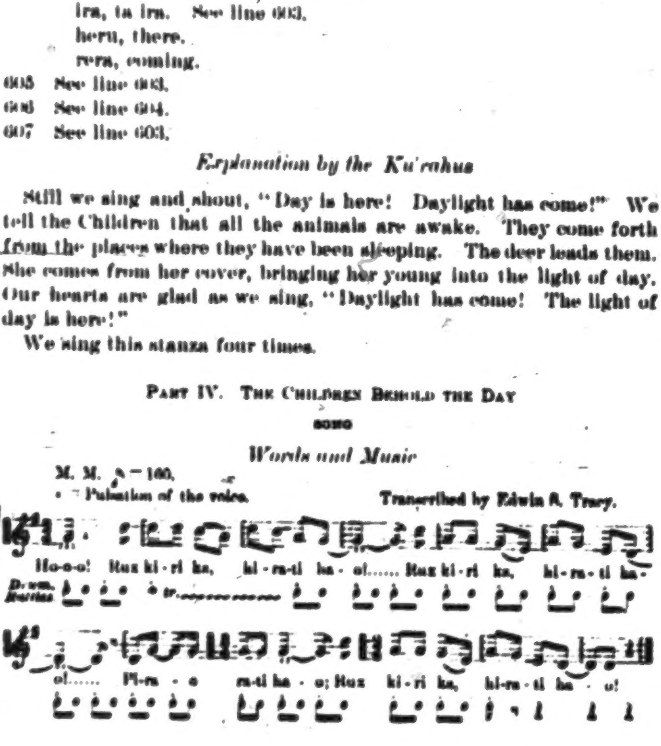
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 100.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ho-o-o! Hux ki-ri ha, hi-ra-ti ha-o!...... Hux ki-ri ha, hi-ra-ti ha-
Drum. Rattles
o!...... Pi-ra-o ra-ti ha-o; Hux ki-ri ha, hi-ra-ti ha-o!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

I

608 Ho-o-o!
609 Rux kiri ka, hirati hao!
610 Rux kiri ka, hirati hao!
611 Pirao rati hao;
612 Rux kiri ka, hirati hao!

II

613 Ho-o-o!
614 Ti kiri ka, hirati hao!
615 Ti kiri ka, hirati hao!
616 Pirao rati hao;
617 Ti kiri ka. Ha! Wita hoha!

Translation of First Stanza

608 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

609 Rux kiri ka, hirati hao!

rux, a command, let him now.

kiri, a part of the word kiriku, eyes.

ka, a part of the word taka, to become visible, to come out.

hirati, my or mine. The common word is kurati; the ku is changed in this ceremony to the aspirate syllable hi, making the word hirati. The idea of breath, as significant of life, is united to desire in the change from ku to hi, in this word meaning my.

hao, offspring, my own child.

610 See line 609.

611 Pirao rati hao.

pirao, child, a general term.

rati, my, mine.

hao, offspring.

612 See line 609.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza the Son (pirao), the man who is not of our kindred, but who through this ceremony is made as our offspring, our own son (hao), is commanded by the Ku'rahus to go forth and arouse the Children, to bid them awake, and open their eyes to behold the light of day.

The Son, who with the Ku'rahus has been watching for the dawn, receives the order and sends his messengers to the lodges of his relatives to arouse them from sleep.

This is done that the Children may be in readiness to come to the lodge before the sun is above the horizon.

This stanza is sung four times.

Translation of Second Stanza

613 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

614 Ti kiri ka, hirati hao!

ti, he.

kiri, a part of the word kiriku, eyes.

ka, a part of the word taka, to become visible, to be seen.

hirati, my or mine. See explanation of the word in line 609.

hao, offspring, my own child.

615 See line 614.

*539 616 Pirao rati hao.
*796 pirao, child, a general term, anybody's child.
rati, a part of the word hirati, my.
hao, my own child.
617 Ti kiri ka. Ha! Wita hesha!
ti kiri ka. See line 614.
ha! behold!
wita, coming.
hesha, a part of the word tahesha, daylight.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While the messengers are going from one lodge to another to awake the people and bid them come to the lodge where the ceremony is being performed, we sing this second stanza.

It tells that the Son, now become as our own offspring, has gone forth to awake the Children, who have heard his call, and now, behold! they come forth to look upon the light of day.

This stanza is sung four times.

ELEVENTH RITUAL (SECOND DAY). THE MALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. CHANT TO THE SUN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 821 On this, the second day of the ceremony, we remember our father the Sun. The sun comes directly from Tira'wa atius, and whoever is touched by the first rays of the sun in the morning receives new life and strength which have been brought straight from the power above. The first rays of the sun are like a young man, they have not yet spent their force or grown old, so, to be touched by them is to receive an accession of strength.

*796 [346] The door of the lodge where the ceremony is performed must face the east, so that the first rays of the sun can enter and reach the Children. I believe that as we sing this song and as the first rays touch the Children they will receive help and strength. I was told by my predecessor that it would be so, and he was taught by those who had received the knowledge from the fathers; therefore I tell the same to the Children. [776 782] All the time I am singing this song I remember the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn; all these were made by Tira'wa atius, and I ask them to give us success and plenty; success in hunting and in war; plenty of food, of children, and of health. The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn, are powerful.

The Children, who have been aroused by the messengers of the Son, gather at the lodge before the sun is up. They must be there when the first ray appears if they would gain its blessing.

As soon as we who are standing at the west of the lodge, looking through the doorway, catch sight of the first ray of the sun on the horizon, we take up the Hako and move by the north to make a first circuit of the lodge, and sing the first verse of this chant.

l: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

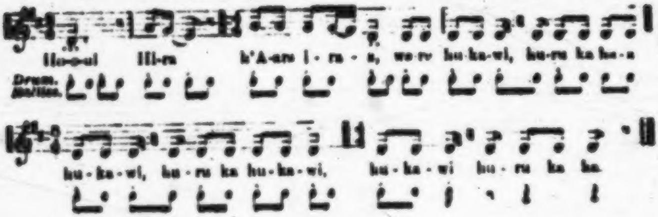
539*
796*

CHANT

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 120.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o! Hi-ra h'A-ars i - ra - a, we-re hu-ka-wi, hu-ru ka ha - a
Drum. Rattles.
hu-ka-wi, hu-ru ka hu-ka-wi, hu-ka-wi hu-ru ka ha.

[533*]

I

618 Ho-o-o!
619 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, huru ka ha-a hukawi, huru ka hukawi,
hukawi huru ka ha.

II

620 Ho-o-o!
621 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta kusi hi-i hukawi, ta kusi hukawi,
hukawi ta kusi hi.

III

622 Ho-o-o!
623 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta wira ka-a hukawi, ta wira hukawi,
hukawi ta wira ha.

IV

624 Ho-o-o!
625 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ka hakidihihi hukawi, ka hakidihihi
hukawi, hukawi ka hakidihihi.

V

626 Ho-o-o!
627 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ka waraha ha hukawi, ka waraha hukawi,
hukawi ka waraha.

VI

628 Ho-o-o!
629 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta wara ka-a hukawi, ta wara hukawi,
hukawi ta wara ha.

VII

630 Ho-o-o!
631 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta riki hi-i hukawi, ta riki hukawi, hukawi
ta riki hi.

VIII

632 Ho-o-o!
633 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta witspa ha-a hukawi, ta witspa hukawi,
hukawi ta witspa ha.

Translation of First Verse

*539 618 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 619 Hira H'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, huru ka ha-a hukawi, huru ka hukawi, hukawi huru ka ha.

hira, will come. The word is ira, the h is added for euphony and greater ease in singing.
h', the symbol of breath, life, breathing forth, giving life.
aars, a contraction of atius, father.
ira, will come.
a, a prolongation of the last syllable of ira.
were, at that time, when, or then.
hukawi, the ray or beam of the sun.
huru, entering.
ka, a part of akaro, lodge. Ka, however, refers to the open space within, around the fireplace, where the people gather, where they sit and pursue their avocations.
ha-a, a prolongation of ka.
hukawi, huru ka hukawi, hukawi huru ka ha. All the words are translated above.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[776 821] We speak of the sun as Father breathing forth life (h'Aars), causing the earth to bring forth, making all things to grow. We think of the sun, which comes direct from Tira'wa atius, the father of life, and his ray (hukawi) as the bearer of this life. (You have seen this ray as it comes through a little hole or crack.) While we sing, this ray enters the door of the lodge to bring strength and power to all within.

We sing this verse four times as we go around the lodge. When we reach the west we pause.

Food, which has been prepared outside the lodge, is now brought in, and the Children are given their morning meal. Then we sing the second verse.

Translation of Second Verse

620 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
621 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta kusi hi-i hukawi, ta kusi hukawi, hukawi ta kusi hi.

hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.
ta, a spot; the word refers to the place where the ray touches and makes a bright spot.
kusi, alights upon, rests upon.
hi, a part of hira, will come. See line 619.
i, a prolongation of the syllable hi.
hukawi, the ray or beam of the sun.
ta kusi hukawi, hukawi ta kusi hi. Translated above.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[821] As the sun rises higher the ray, which is its messenger, alights

upon the edge of the central opening in the roof of the lodge, right over the fireplace. We see the spot (ta), the sign of its touch, and we know that the ray is there. 539* 796*

The fire holds an important place in the lodge; you remember we sang about it when we were preparing the sacred objects (first ritual, first song, line 49). Father Sun is sending life by his messenger to this central place in the lodge. [821] [372]

As we sing we look at the bright spot where the ray has alighted, and we know that life from our father the Sun will come to us by the ray.

We sing this verse four times, and when we have completed the second circuit of the lodge and have reached the west we pause.

Translation of Third Verse

622 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
623 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta wira ka-a hukawi, ta wira hukawi, hukawi ta wira ha.

hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.
ta, the spot, the place that is touched by the ray
wira, climbing down, descending into.
ka, a part of the word akaro, lodge.
a, a vowel prolongation.
hukawi, the ray or beam.
ta wira hukawi, hukawi ta wira. Translated above.
ha, a vocable to fill out the measure.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the sun rises higher we turn toward the north and begin the third circuit of the lodge. The ray is now climbing down into the lodge. We watch the spot where it has alighted. It moves over the edge of the opening above the fireplace and descends into the lodge, and we sing that life from our father the Sun will come to us by his messenger, the ray, which is now climbing down into the space within the lodge where we are gathered together.

We sing this verse four times, and after the third circuit we pause at the west.

Translation of Fourth Verse

624 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
625 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ka hakidhiki hukawi, ka hakidhiki hukawi, hukawi ka hakidhiki.

hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.
ka, a part of the word akaro, lodge, particularly the space within the lodge, about the fire.
hakidhiki, walking, moving about the room, the open space within the lodge.
hukawi, the ray.
ka hakidhiki hukawi, hukawi ka hakidhiki. Translated above.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796

When the spot where the ray has alighted reaches the floor, we turn toward the north and begin the fourth circuit of the lodge.

Now the spot is walking here and there within the lodge, touching different places. We know that the ray will bring strength and power from our father the Sun as it walks within the lodge. Our hearts are glad and thankful as we sing.

When we reach the west the fourth circuit is completed. Then we lay the Hako down upon the holy place and sing the songs which tell what that act means.[a]

The first four verses of this chant are sung in the morning; they follow the movements of the ray. When the spot has reached the floor we stop singing and do not begin again until the afternoon, so that our song can accompany the ray as it leaves the lodge, touches the hills, and finally returns to the sun.

All through the ceremony we must be careful as to the time when we sing the songs, for each has its own time of day. If we do not observe this teaching of our fathers we shall fail to receive the benefits of the ceremony.

Between the two parts other songs can be sung; it will not interfere with this chant to the Sun.

Translation of Fifth Verse

626 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
627 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ka waraha ha hukawi, ka waraha hukawi, hukawi ka waraha.
hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.
ka, a part of the word akaru, lodge, the space within.
waraha, walked here and there, in different parts of the lodge.
ha, a repetition and prolongation of the last syllable of waraha.
hukawi, ka waraha hukawi, hukawi ka waraha. Translated above.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the afternoon when we observe that the spot has moved around the lodge, as the sun has passed over the heavens, we sing the fifth verse. The ray has touched the Children and all of us as it has walked here and there in different parts of the lodge. It has brought strength to us from our father the Sun.

We sing the verse four times as we make the first circuit of the lodge, and we pause when the west is reached.

---

[a] See pages 111-116 for these songs.

539*
796*

Translation of Sixth Verse

628 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
629 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta wara ka-a hukawi, ta wara hukawi, hukawi ta wara ha.
hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.
ta, the spot, the place where the ray touches.
wara, climbing up, ascending.
ka, a part of akaro, lodge, the space within the lodge.
a, a vowel prolongation.
hukawi, ta wara hukawi, hukawi ta wara. Translated above.
ha, a vocable to fill out the measure.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

After a little time we see the spot leave the floor of the lodge and climb up toward the opening over the fireplace, where it had entered in the morning. As we see it climbing up out of the lodge and leaving us we sing this verse four times.

We reach the west at the completion of the second circuit of the lodge, and there we pause.

Translation of Seventh Verse

630 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
631 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta riki hi-i hukawi, ta riki hukawi, hukawi ta riki hi.
hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.
ta, the spot, the place touched by the ray.
riki, standing.
hi, a part of hiri, will come. See above.
i, a vowel prolongation.
hukawi, ta riki hukawi, hukawi ta riki hi. Translated above.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Later, when the sun is sinking in the west, the land is in shadow, only on the top of the hills toward the east can the spot, the sign of the ray's touch, be seen. Then we sing this stanza as we go around the lodge the third time.

The ray of Father Sun, who breathes forth life, is standing on the edge of the hills. We remember that in the morning it had stood on the edge of the opening in the roof of the lodge over the fireplace; now it stands on the edge of the hills that, like the walls of a lodge, inclose the land where the people dwell.

When the third circuit of the lodge is completed we again pause at the west.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of Eighth Verse

*539 632 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 633 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta witspa ha-a hukawi, ta witspa hukawi, hukawi ta witspa ha.

hira h'Aars ira-a; were hukawi. See line 619.

ta, the spot, the place touched by the ray.

witspa, destination, the end of a journey, a completion.

ha-a, a prolongation of the last syllable of witspa.

hukawi, ta witspa hukawi, hukawi ta witspa ha. Translated above.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the spot, the sign of the ray, the messenger of our father the Sun, has left the tops of the hills and passed from our sight, we sing this verse as we make the fourth circuit of the lodge.

We know that the ray which was sent to bring us strength has now gone back to the place whence it came. We are thankful to our father the Sun for that which he has sent us by his ray.

At the west we lay the Hako down to rest and sing the songs which belong to that action.[a]

PART II. DAY SONGS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We sing each stanza of the two following songs four times, and we make four circuits of the lodge, one stanza to a circuit; then we lay the Hako down to rest with songs that belong to that act.[a]

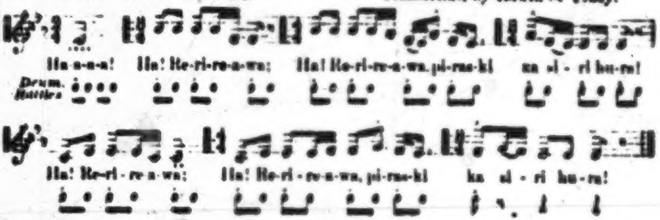
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 112.
• — Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ha-a-a-a! Ha! Re-ri-re-a-wa; Ha! Re-ri-re-a-wa, pi-ras-ki ka si - ri hu-ra!
Drum. Rattles
Ha! Re-ri - re-a-wa; Ha! Re-ri - re-a-wa, pi-ras-ki ka si - ri hu-ra!

I

634 Ha-a-a-a!
635 Ha! Rerireawa; Ha! Rerireawa, piraski ka siri hura!
636 Ha! Rerireawa; Ha! Rerireawa, piraski ka siri hura!

II

637 Ha-a-a-a!
638 Ha! Rerireawa; Ha! Rerireawa, piraski kat tsiri huwa!
639 Ha! Rerireawa; Ha! Rerireawa, piraski kat tsiri huwa!

---

[a] See pages 111-118 for these songs.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of First Stanza

539*
796*

634 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

635 Ha! Rerireawa; Ha! Rerireawa, piraski ka siri hura.

ha! an exclamation directing attention; in this instance, hark: listen!
rerireawa, the sound made by the flapping of wings, as in the alighting of birds.
piraski, boys.
ka, now, a form of command.
siri, you.
hura, come.

636 See line 635.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This song likens the bustle and stir of the Hako party as it comes into the village to the flapping of the wings of a flock of birds as they come to a place and alight. It refers also to the birds represented on the feathered stems—the eagle, the duck, the woodpecker, and the owl. The noise of the wings of these birds is what is meant, for they are moving with the Fathers toward the Children.

In this stanza the Fathers speak: "Hark to the sound of wings! The Hako is here. Now, boys, you are to come forward!" That is, the Children are now to send their gifts of ponies to the Fathers as a return for the promised good brought to them by the Hako. The ponies are always led up to the Fathers by a small boy, the child of the man making the gift. [431]

Translation of Second Stanza

637 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

638 Ha! Rerireawa; Ha! Rerireawa, piraski kat tsiri huwa.

ha! hark! listen!
rerireawa, the sound of the wings of birds as they alight.
piraski, boys.
kat, come, the response to the command ka, come.
tsiri, we.
huwa, go.

639 See line 638.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The second stanza is a response to the call made by the Fathers. The people in the camp say, "Hark! The Hako comes. Now we go to meet the Fathers with our gifts."

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

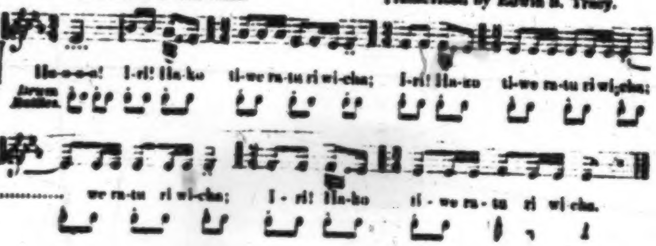
SONG

Words and Music

*539
*796
[*533]

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! I-ri! Ha-ko ti-we ra-tu ri wi-cha; I-ri! Ha-ko ti-we ra-tu ri wi-cha;
Drum Rattles
.... we ra-tu ri wi-cha; I - ri! Ha-ko ti - we ra - tu ri wi-cha.

I

640 Ho-o-o-o!
641 Iri! Hako tiwe ratu ri wicha;
642 Iri! Hako tiwe ratu ri wicha; we ratu ri wicha;
643 Iri! Hako tiwe ratu ri wicha.

II

644 Ho-o-o-o!
645 Iri! Hako tiwe rus kori wicha;
646 Iri! Hako tiwe rus kori wicha; we rus kori wicha;
647 Iri! Hako tiwe rus kori wicha.

Translation of First Stanza

640 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
641 Iri! Hako tiwe ratu ri wicha.
iri! a part of nawairi! an exclamation of thankfulness, of gratitude, of confidence.
Hako, the general term for the symbolic objects peculiar to this ceremony.
tiwe, have.
ratu, to me;
ri, modified from the word tara, to bring.
wicha, reached a destination, arrived.
642 Iri! Hako tiwe ratu ri wicha; we ratu ri wicha.
Iri! Hako tiwe ratu ri wicha. See line 641.
we, a part of the word tiwe, have.
ratu ri wicha. See line 641.
643 See line 641.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the first stanza the Fathers speak. They tell the Children that with the Hako comes the promise of good. For this thanks are given to Mother Corn, who has led us to the Son, and also to the birds upon the Hako, which come from Tira'wa atius and make us father and son. 539* 796*

Translation of Second Stanza

644 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

645 Iri! Hako tiwe *rus* kori wicha.

iri! a part of nawairi! an exclamation of thankfulness.

Hako, the symbolic objects peculiar to this ceremony.

tiwe, have.

rus, a modified form of the word wasu, you.

kori, you bring. The word implies that what you bring is something that is yours, or something over which you have control.

wicha, reached a destination: arrived.

646 Iri! Hako tiwe rus kori wicha, we rus kori wicha.

Iri! Hako tiwe rus kori wicha. See line 645.

we, a part of the word tiwe, have.

rus kori wicha. See line 645.

647 See line 645.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the second stanza the Children respond. They thank the Fathers for bringing the Hako, and they thank all the powers represented on the Hako. Their hearts are glad, for they are to be as sons.

I have explained to you that there are certain songs to be sung at certain times and in a fixed order, but there are not enough of these songs to fill all the time of the ceremony. 539* 796*

It may be that the Children who wish to make presents will ask the Fathers to sing for them, and there are several songs that can be sung at such times. 533*

All songs must be chosen in reference to the time. Songs of the visions can only be sung at night. Songs like the following one of Mother Corn can be sung in the daytime, and in the night after the day when we sing of the earth and have had the sacred corn ceremony, but can not be sung in any other night. None of these extra songs can interrupt those which have a fixed sequence.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

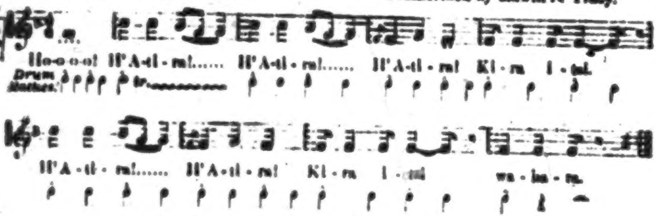
EXTRA DAY SONG

Words and Music

*539
*796
[*533]

M. M. ♩=116.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



Ho-o-o-o! H'A-ti-ra!...... H'A-ti-ra!...... H'A-ti-ra! Ki-ra i-tai.
Drum Rhythm.
H'A-ti-ra!...... H'A-ti-ra! Ki-ra i-tai wa-ha-ra.

I

648 Ho-o-o-o!
649 H'Atira! H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira itai.
650 H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira itai wahara.

II

651 Ho-o-o-o!
652 H'Atira! H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira tatai.
653 H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira tatai wahara.

III

654 Ho-o-o-o!
655 H'Atira! H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira itai.
656 H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira itai wehitshpa.

IV

657 Ho-o-o-o!
658 H'Atira! H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira tatai.
659 H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira tatai wehitshpa.

Translation

I

648 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

649 H'Atira! H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira itai.
h', the symbol of breath, life.
atira, mother. The term refers to the corn.
kira, now, at this time, under these conditions.
itai, let us.

650 H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira itai wahara.
H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira itai. See line 649.
wahara, go.

II

651 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation. 539*

652 H'Atira! H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira tatsi. 796*
h'Atira. See line 649.
kira, now.
tatsi, we are.

653 H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira tatsi wahara.
H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira tatsi. See lines 649, 652.
wahara, go, going.

III

654 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

655 See line 649.

656 H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira itsi wehitshpa.
H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira itsi. See line 649.
wehitshpa, to approach one's destination, the object of one's journey, or the end sought after.

IV

657 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

658 See line 652.

659 H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira tatsi wehitshpa.
H'Atira! H'Atira! Kira tatsi. See lines 649, 652.
wehitshpa, to approach one's destination.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This song is a prayer to Mother Corn to give life and plenty to us all, and to make strong the bond between the Fathers and the Children, by the power granted to her by Tira'wa atius. 539* 782* 796*

In the first stanza we ask Mother Corn, who breathes forth life and gives food to her children, to lead us to the Son.

In the second stanza we sing that she consents, and we start upon our way with our mother.

In the third stanza we ask Mother Corn if we are drawing near to the Son.

In the fourth stanza we see our journey's end; we are approaching our destination, led by her who breathes forth life to her children.

We sing each stanza four times and make four circuits of the lodge as we sing this song; at the west we pause and there lay down the Hako upon the holy place, singing as we do so the songs which belong to that action.[a]

---

[a] See pages 111-138 for these songs.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

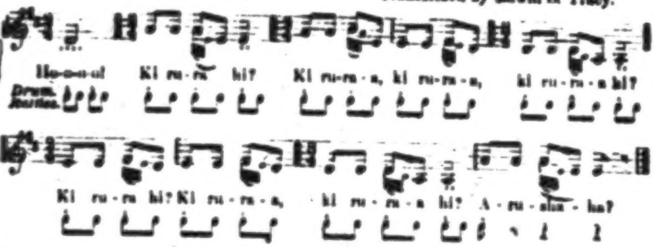
EXTRA DAY SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*539
*796
[*533]


Ho-o-o-o! Ki ru-ra hi? Ki ru-ra-a, ki ru-ra-a, ki ru-ra-a hi?
Drum. Rattles.
Ki ru-ra hi? Ki ru-ra-a, ki ru-ra-a hi? A-ru-sha-ha?

I

660 Ho-o-o-o!
661 Ki rura hi?
662 Ki rura-a, ki rura-a, ki rura-a hi?
663 Ki rura hi?
664 Ki rura-a, ki rura-a hi?
665 Arushaha?

II

666 Ho-o-o-o!
667 Iru ra-a;
668 Iru ra-a, iru ra-a, iru ra-a hi;
669 Iru ra-a;
670 Iru ra-a, iru ra-a hi;
671 Arushaha.

Translation

I

660 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

661 Ki rura hi?
ki? where? a question.
rura, moving, traveling.
hi, a part of the word arushahi, arushaha, horse.

662 Ki rura-a, ki rura-a, ki rura-a hi?
ki rura. See line 661.
a, vowel prolongation.
ki rura-a, ki rura-a hi. See lines 661, 662.

663 See line 661.

664 Ki rura-a, ki rura-a hi? See line 661.

665 Arushaha? Horse.

Translation of Second Stanza

II

666 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

667 Iru ra-a.
iru, yonder moving.
ra, coming this way.
a, vowel prolongation.

668 Iru ra-a, iru ra-a, iru ra-a hi.
Iru ra-a, iru ra-a, iru ra-a. See line 667.
hi, a part of the word arushahi, arushaha, horse.

669 See line 667.

670 Iru ra-a, iru ra-a hi. See lines 667, 668.

671 Arushaha. Horse.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*
[431
554]

It may happen during the ceremony that a young man of the village who is not a relative of the Son may desire to lay up for himself an honor which will help him to advance his social position in the tribe. He mounts a horse, rides to the lodge, and there makes a gift of the animal to the Fathers. On such an occasion this song is sung.

The words are few, but the meaning of the song has been handed down to the Ku'rahus. It is not intended that everyone should know all that these songs imply.

The first stanza means: Whence has he come? Where does he go, he who rides his horse so fast? Who is the man?

The second stanza means: He is coming this way on his horse. He is bringing it to the Fathers; he is in earnest to make them a gift.

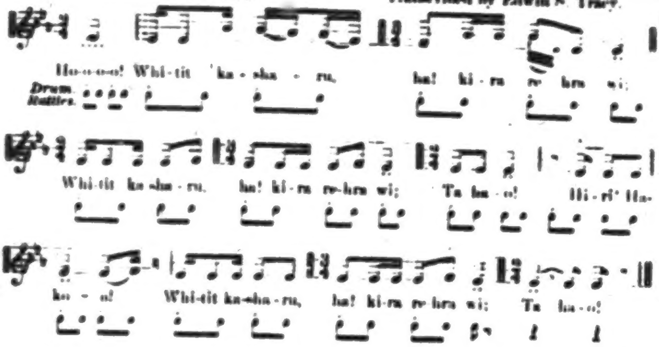
TWELFTH RITUAL (SECOND NIGHT). THE RITES CAME BY A VISION

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
· · Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! Whi-tit ka-sha - ru, ha! ki-ra re-hra wi;
Drum. Rattles.
Whi-tit ka-sha-ru, ha! ki-ra re-hra wi; Ta ha-o! Hi-ri! Ha-
ko - o! Whi-tit ka-sha-ru, ha! ki-ra re-hra wi; Ta ha-o!

[533*]

I

672 Ho-o-o-o!
673 Whitit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
674 Whitit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
675 Ta hao!
676 Hiri! Hako-o!
677 Whitit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
678 Ta hao!

II

679 Ho-o-o-o!
680 Kutit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
681 Kutit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
682 Ta hao!
683 Hiri! Hako-o!
684 Kutit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
685 Ta hao!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of First Stanza

*539 672 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 673 Whitit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi.

whitit, it is believed, it is supposed. The word implies a question with the desire to know the truth of the belief.

kasharu, a composite word; ka, from rotkaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions.

ha! behold!

kira, accomplished or brought to pass.

rehra, I hold standing; present tense.

wi, from wirit, an article swinging. The word tells that the article which the person stands holding is swinging in his hand; this refers to the rhythmic swaying of the feathered stems during the singing of the songs of the ceremony.

674 See line 673.

675 Ta hao!

ta, a part of kutati, my.

hao, offspring; my own child. The term refers to the Son.

676 Hiri! Hako-o!

hiri! give heed; harken.

Hako-o; Hako, the sacred articles of the ceremony; o, vowel prolongation.

677 See line 673.

678 See line 675.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 This stanza asks about the origin of the Hako, about the account which has come down to us that the Hako and its ceremonies were sent by the powers above to our fathers through a vision.

773 787 We have been taught that in a vision our fathers were told how to make the feathered stems, how to use them, how to sway them to the songs, so that they should move like the wings of a bird in its flight. It was in a vision that our fathers were told how they could cause a man who was not their bodily offspring to become a Son, to be bound to them by a tie as strong as the natural tie between father and son.

For this knowledge our fathers gave thanks and we give thanks, for by this ceremony peace and plenty, strength, and all good things come to the people.

Translation of Second Stanza

*539 679 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 680 Kutit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi.

kutit, it is; an assertion. The word gives a definite answer to the implied question in the first word of the first stanza, whitit. The belief, the supposition, is declared to be the truth.

kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi. See line 673.

539*
796*

681 See line 680.
682 See line 675.
683 Hiri! Hako-o! See line 676.
684 See line 680.
685 See line 675.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza tells the Children that it is true that the knowledge of this ceremony was given to our fathers by the powers above through a vision. We speak of the vision as kasharu, because visions are apt to come in the night when all is still; they then descend, pass over the earth, and come to man. 539* 796* 773

This stanza also tells that the man to whom we have brought the Hako is to be made a Son in the way our fathers were directed in the vision. 787

None of the songs of this ceremony can be changed; they must be sung accurately, just as they have been handed down to us, for the words speak of the powers above and their gifts to us, and we must be careful of such words.

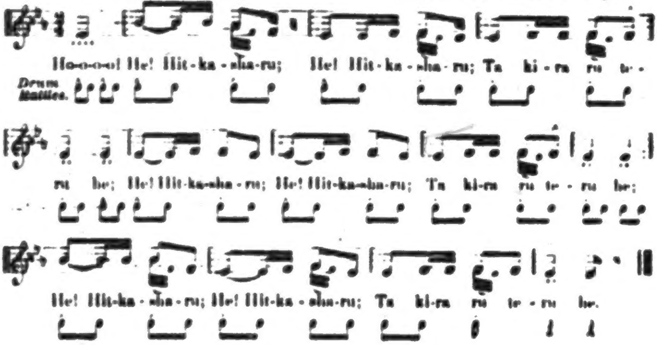
SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 116.
· = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

539*
796*
[533*]


Ho-o-o-o! He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; Ta ki-ra ru te-
Drum Rattles.
ru he; He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; Ta ki-ra ru te-ru he;
He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; Ta ki-ra ru te-ru he.

I

686 Ho-o-o-o!
687 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
688 Ta kira ru teru he;
689 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
690 Ta kira ru teru he;
691 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
692 Ta kira ru teru he.

*539
*796

II

693 Ho-o-o-o!
694 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
695 Ta kira te ra-a he;
696 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
697 Ta kira te ra-a he;
698 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
699 Ta kira te ra-a he.

Translation

I

686 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

687 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu.

he, an exclamation calling attention to a subject or a teaching.

hitkasharu; hit, from hittu, feather, referring to the birds that attend the Hako; ka, part of rotkaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions. This composite word refers to the visions or dreams brought by the birds that are associated with the Hako.

688 Ta kira ru teru he.

ta, verily.
kira, brought to pass.
ru, it, the rite, or ceremony.
teru, is; the entire ceremony with its promises
he, vocable.

689 See line 687.
690 See line 688.
691 See line 687.
692 See line 688.

II

693 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

694 See the first stanza, line 687.

695 Ta kira te ra-a he.

ta, verily.
kira, brought to pass.
te, it; the good promised through the ceremony.
ra-a, is coming.
he, vocable.

696 See line 687.
697 See line 695.
698 See line 687.
699 See line 695.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796
787
823

In this song we are told that verily it is a truth that everything pertaining to this ceremony came through a vision. All the good, all the happiness that comes to those who take part in these rites have been promised in a dream, and the dreams which brought this ceremony and its promises came from the east; they always descend from above by that path.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*
787

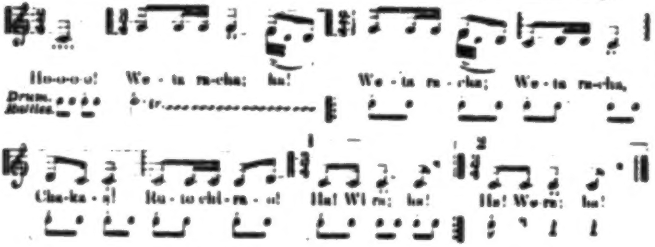
Were it not true that these dreams come to us and bring us all the good things promised our fathers, we should long ago have abandoned the Hako and its ceremony.

This song says to the Children: "As you listen you will have dreams brought you by the birds represented with the Hako. The visions will bring you help; they will bring you happiness. They are coming to you from the east."

SONG TO THE PLEIADES

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! We - ta ra-cha; ha! We - ta ra - cha; We - ta ra-cha,
Drum. Rattles.
Cha-ka - a! Ru - to chi - ra - o! Ha! Wi ra; ha! Ha! We-ra; ha!

539*
796*
[533*]

700 Weta racha; ha!
701 Weta racha; weta racha:
702 Chaka-a!
703 Ruto chirao! Ha! Wira; ha!
704 Weta racha; weta racha:
705 Chaka-a!
706 Ruto chirao! Ha! Wera; ha!

Translation

700 Weta racha, ha!
    weta, coming, advancing.
    racha, rising, moving upward.
    ha! look! behold!
701 Weta racha; weta racha;
    weta racha. See line 700.
702 Chaka-a! The name of the Pleiades.
703 Ruto chirao! Ha! Wira, ha!
    ruto, it is. "It" refers to the coming of the constellation.
    chirao, good, well.
    ha! behold!
    wira, wera, them coming.
    ha! behold!
704 Weta racha; weta racha; See line 700.
705 Chaka-a! See line 702.
706 Ha! Wera; ha! See line 703.

1: Fletcher É-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 821 773 When, during the ceremony of the Hako, the Pleiades appear above the horizon, this song must be sung. If, when the coming of these stars is reported, we should be singing, we must break off at the third stanza and sing this song for the fourth circuit of the lodge.

This song to the Pleiades is to remind the people that Tira'wa has appointed the stars to guide their steps. It is very old and belongs to the time when this ceremony was being made. This is the story to explain its meaning which has been handed down from our fathers:

A man set out upon a journey; he traveled far; then he thought he would return to his own country, so he turned about. He traveled long, yet at night he was always in the same place. He lay down and slept and a vision came. A man spoke to him; he was the leader of the seven stars. He said: "Tira'wa made these seven stars to remain together, and he fixed a path from east to west for them to travel over. He named the seven stars Chaka. If the people will look at these stars they will be guided aright."

When the man awoke he saw the Pleiades rising; he was glad, and he watched the stars travel. Then he turned to the north and reached his own country.

The stars have many things to teach us, and the Pleiades can guide us and teach us how to keep together.

*539 *796 We sing this song four times as we make the circuit of the lodge; then we lay the Hako down to rest upon the holy place and sing the songs which belong to that action.

The following songs can be sung at night after the regular song has been completed, if the Children should call for them:

EXTRA NIGHT SONG

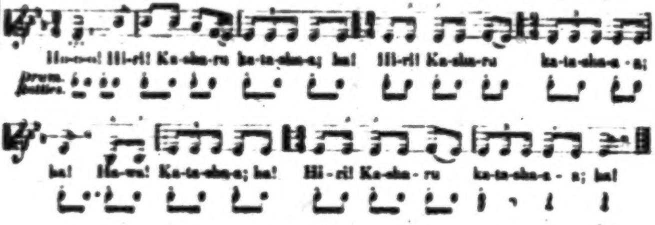
Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 132.

• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Drum. Rattles.
Ho-o-o! Hi-ri! Ka-sha-ru ka-ta-sha-a; ha! Hi-ri! Ka-sha-ru ka-ta-sha-a - a;
ha! Ha-wa! Ka-ta-sha-a; ha! Hi - ri! Ka-sha - ru ka-ta-sha-a - a; ha!

I

707 Ho-o-o!
708 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a; ha!
709 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a-a; ha!
710 Hawa! Katasha-a; ha!
711 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a-a; ha!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

II

712 Ho-o-o!
713 He! Hitkasharu shkatasha-a; ha!
714 He! Hitkasharu shkatasha-a-a; ha!
715 Hawa! Shkatasha-a; ha!
716 He! Hitkasharu shkatasha-a-a; ha!

III

717 Ho-o-o!
718 Hiri! Kasharu katata-a; ha!
719 Hiri! Kasharu katata-a-a; ha!
720 Hari! Katata-a; ha!
721 Hiri! Kasharu katata-a-a; ha!

IV

722 Ho-o-o!
723 He! Hitkasharu shkatata-a; ha!
724 He! Hitkasharu shkatata-a-a; ha!
725 Hari! Shkatata-a; ha!
726 He! Hitkasharu shkatata-a-a; ha!

V

727 Ho-o-o!
728 He! Hitshkasharu kitta sha-a; ha!
729 He! Hitshkasharu kitta sha-a-a; ha!
730 Hari! Kitta sha-a; ha!
731 He! Hitshkasharu kitta sha-a-a; ha!

VI

732 Ho-o-o!
733 He! Hitkasharu shkitta sha-a; ha!
734 He! Hitkasharu shkitta sha-a-a; ha!
735 Hari! Shkitta sha-a; ha!
736 He! Hitkasharu shkitta sha-a-a; ha!

Translation of

I

707 Ho-o-o! An introductory explanation.
708 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a; ha!
hiri! an exclamation, give heed! harken! the word implies reverent feeling.
kasharu; ka, from ratkaharu, night; sharu, vision, dream.
Katasha, the place where the visions dwell.
a, vowel prolongation.
ha! behold!
709 See line 708.
710 Hawa! Katasha-a; ha!
hawa, truly; the word refers to something singular in number.
Katasha-a; ha! See line 708.
711 See line 708.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

II

*539 712 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 713 He! Hitkasharu shkatasha-a; ha!

he! an exclamation calling attention to a subject or teaching.

hitkasharu; hit, from hittu, feather; ka, from rotkaharu, night; sharu, dream, vision; the visions brought by the birds of the Hako.

Shkatasha; sh, a prefix denoting feminine gender; Katasha, the place where the visions dwell when they are at rest.

a, vowel prolongation.

ha! behold!

714 See line 713.

715 Hawa! Shkatasha-a; ha! See lines 710, 713.

716 See line 713.

III

717 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

718 Hiri! Kasharu katata-a; ha.

hiri! harken! give heed!

kasharu, night visions or dreams. See line 708.

katata, climbing.

a, vowel prolongation.

ha! behold!

719 See line 718.

720 Hari! Katata-a; ha!

hari, truly. The word refers to more than one; it is plural.

katata-a; ha! See line 718.

721 See line 718.

IV

722 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

723 He! Hitkasharu shkatata-a; ha!

he! an exclamation calling attention to a teaching.

hitkasharu, feather night dreams. See line 713.

shkatata; sh, feminine prefix; katata, climbing. The word implies that the visions which were climbing were feminine, those which belonged to the brown eagle feathered stem.

a, vowel prolongation.

ha! behold!

724 See line 723.

725 Hari! Shkatata-a; ha!

hari, truly. The word is plural.

shkatata-a; ha! Translated above; see line 723.

726 See line 723.

V

727 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation. 539*

728 He! Hitshkasharu kitta sha-a; ha! 796*

he! an exclamation calling attention to a teaching.

hitshkasharu; hit, from hittu, feather; sh, feminine prefix; ka from rutkaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions. The composite word refers to the visions which pertain to the promises of the Hako ceremony.

kitta, the top; refers to the locality of Katasha, the dwelling place of the visions.

sha, lying down, as to rest.

a, vowel prolongation.

ha! behold!

729 See line 728.

730 Hari! Kitta sha-a; ha!

hari, truly; plural number.

kitta sha-a; ha! See line 728.

731 See line 728.

VI

732 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

733 He! Hitkasharu shkitta sha-a; ha!

he! an exclamation calling attention to a teaching.

hitkasharu, feather night dreams. See line 713.

shkitta, sh, feminine prefix; kitta, the top.

sha, lying down, reposing.

a, vowel prolongation.

ha! behold!

734 See line 733.

735 Hari! Shkitta sha-a; ha! See lines 730, 733.

736 See line 733.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Visions come in the night, for spirits can travel better by night than by day. Visions come from Katasha, the place where they dwell. This place is up in the sky, just below where Tira'wa atius appointed the dwelling place of the lesser powers (eighth ritual, part I, second song). Katasha, the place where the visions dwell, is near the dwelling place of the lesser powers, so they can summon any vision they wish to send to us. When a vision is sent by the powers, it descends and goes to the person designated, who sees the vision and hears what it has to say; then, as day approaches, the vision ascends to its dwelling place, Katasha, and there it lies at rest until it is called again.

539*
796*
787
772

This song tells about Katasha, where the visions dwell. This is its story:

*539 *796 787 773 A holy man who lived long ago, no one knows how long, for there have been many generations since, had a dream. He was taken up to the place where all the visions dwell, those that belong to Kawas, the brown eagle, and those that belong to the white eagle, the male. While he was there the day began to dawn and he saw the visions that had been sent down to earth come climbing up, and he recognized among them some of the visions that had visited him in the past. Then he knew of a truth that all visions of every kind dwell above in Katashá, and that they descend thence to us in the night, and that as the day dawns they ascend, returning to rest in their dwelling place.

The holy man made this song about his dream and told its meaning, and the song and the story have been handed down to us that we might know where visions come from, where they dwell and where they go to when they depart from us.

778 Among the Pawnees there are shrines, in the keeping of certain men, which contain articles that are used in the sacred ceremonies of the different bands of the tribe. These shrines are very old, they were given by the lesser powers to our fathers with a knowledge of their contents and how to use them.

[243] [726] An ear of corn belongs to one of these shrines. It is a peculiar ear. It is white, with perfect and straight lines of kernels, and there is a tassel on its tip. In the fall the priest of the shrine tells the women to look carefully for such ears when they gather their corn, for Tira'wa causes such ears to grow in the fields for the purposes of this shrine and they belong to it. The little tassel on the tip of the ear of corn represents the feather worn on the head of the warrior. The sacred ear of corn is sometimes borrowed from the priest by the leader of a war party. The ear of corn is born of Mother Earth, she knows all places and the acts of all men who walk the earth, so she is a leader.

726 778 Sometimes a young man who proposed going to war would request the following song to be sung. He desired success and wished Mother Corn to lead him. After the Hako ceremony was over he would borrow a sacred ear of corn and put it in a pack which the leader of the war party would sling upon his back. When the party was successful, he would thrust into the ground the stick upon which the ear of corn was tied and as this ear stood before him he would give thanks to it for having led him in safety.

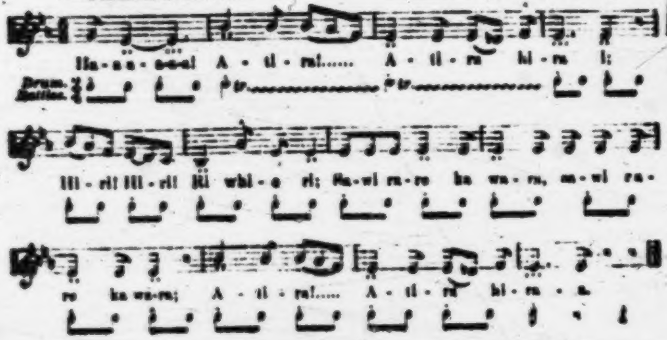
726
539*
796*
[533*]

EXTRA NIGHT SONG

Words and Music

M. M. Melody. ♩= 60.
M. M. Drum. ♩= 120.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ha-a-a-a-a! A-ti-ra!..... A-ti-ra hi-ra i;
Drum. Rattles.
Hi-ri! Hi-ri! Ri whi-c ri; Sa-wi ra-re ka wa-ra, sa-wi ra-
re ka wa-ra; A-ti-ra!..... A-ti-ra hi-ra-a.

I

737 Ha-a-a-a-a!
738 Atira! Atira hira i;
739 Hiri! Hiri! Ri whic ri;
740 Sawi rare ka wara, sawi rare ka wara;
741 Atira! Atira hira-a.

II

742 Ha-a-a-a-a!
743 Hitkasharu, hitkasharu, iri!
744 Hiri! Hiri! Ri rai i;
745 Sawi rare ka wara, sawi rare ka wara;
746 Hitkasharu, hitkasharu, iri!

Translation

I

737 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

738 Atira! Atira hira i.
atira, mother. The term applied to the ear of corn.
hira, coming.
i, it; refers to the corn.

739 Hiri! Hiri! Ri whic ri.
hiri! harken! give heed!
ri, has, possesses.
whic, it, within itself.
ri, has.

740 Sawi rare ka wara, sawi rare ka wara.
sawi, part of asawiu, a trap or snare.
rare, it has a likeness to.
ka, part of akaru, the open space bounded by the horizon.
wara, walking.

*539 741 Atira! Atira hira-a.
*796 Atira! Atira hira. See line 738.
726 a, vowel prolongation.

II

742 Ha-a-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

743 Hitkasharu, Hitkasharu, iri!

hitkasharu, a composite word; hit, from hittu, feather; ka, from rotkaharu, night; sharu, dream. The word refers to dreams brought by the birds that attend the Hako. As the song refers to war, the word refers to the white eagle stem, the male, the warrior, the dream that attends that eagle.

iri! a part of the exclamation nawairi! expressing thankfulness that all is well.

744 Hiri! Hiri! Ri rai i;

hiri! harken! give heed!

ri, has.

rai, coming; in the future.

i, it.

745 Sawi rare ka wara, sawi rare ka wara. See first stanza, line 740.

746 See line 743.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 726 773 There are not many words to this song, but the meaning and the story have been handed down from our fathers.

The first stanza tells of a war party which started out carrying Mother Corn. As the warriors left the village the old men wished them good luck, and said: "Mother Corn will be like a snare to entangle the enemy, so that they will fall easily. Mother Corn will be like a trap into which the enemy will fall and out of which there will be no escape."

The young men started and took a straight course for the enemy's country; they knew the land and they went directly there, but they found nothing. They went to the east, there was nothing. They turned to the west, there was nothing. They traveled to the north, there was nothing. They went to the south, there was nothing. Then they made their way back to the point from which they had started on the border of the enemy's land.

The leader said: "I am worn out, our moccasins are in holes, we are without food, we must turn back. We will return to our home tomorrow."

That night they lay down and slept. The leader placed the pack with the ear of corn under his head, and with a heavy heart he fell asleep.

The second stanza tells that in the night the ear of corn spoke to the leader in a dream and said: "Tira'wa bade me test you, and I

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

/

have been putting you on trial. I am able to bring strength to the 539*
people, the gift of life, and good fortune and success in war. I caused 796*
all your misadventures that I might try your courage. Now, you 726
shall not go home on the morrow. If you should, the people would
say, 'Mother Corn is powerless.' In the morning you must do as I tell
you. You must go toward the southeast; there you will come upon a 773
village where the people have many ponies; these you shall capture
and return safely and in triumph, and learn that I have power to lead
to success."

The leader did as Mother Corn had directed, and everything came to pass as she had said.

This song has no fixed place in the ceremony but it must be sung at night, because the dream came at that time to the warrior.

The next song is about a man to whom Mother Corn came in a dream; 539*
it happened very long ago. The song and the story are very old and 796*
have come down to us from our fathers, who knew this ceremony.

Mother Corn spoke to this man in his dream. We are not told what 773
she said to him, but when he awoke he started out to find the man in whose keeping was a shrine containing the ear of corn. As he walked he met a man and asked him, "Is it far to the lodge where the corn is?" The man pointed to a lodge some distance off and said, "It is within." Then the man who had had the dream walked toward the place. As he entered the lodge he saw a shrine hanging on one of the poles and he asked the keeper if it contained the sacred ear of corn, and he was told that it did. Then he took his pipe and offered smoke and prayer in the presence of the corn; because Mother Corn had appeared to him in a dream and had spoken to him he came to offer her reverence.

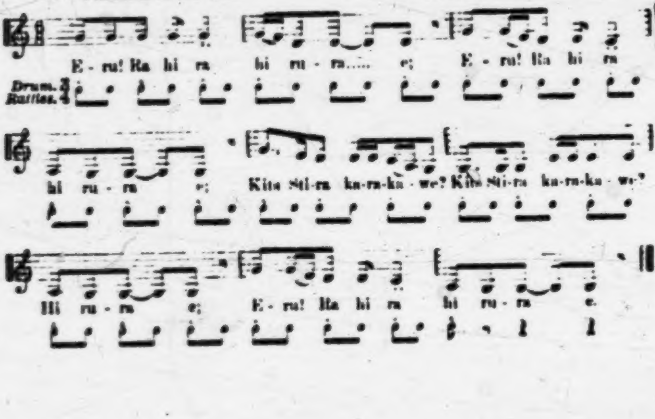
EXTRA NIGHT SONG 539*

Words and Music 796*

M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]


E-ru! Ra hi ra hi ru-ra..... e; E-ru! Ra hi ra
Drum. Rattles.
hi ru-ra e; Kits Sti-ra ka-ra-ka-we? Kits Sti-ra ka-ra-ka-we?
Hi ru-ra e; E-ru! Ra hi ra hi ru-ra e.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

I

747 Eru! Ra hi ra hi rura e;
748 Eru! Ra hi ra hi rura e;
749 Kits Stira karakawe? Kits Stira karakawe? Hi rura e;
750 Eru! Ra hi ra hi rura e.

II

751 Eru! Ra hi ra hi rura e;
752 Eru! Ra hi ra hi rura e;
753 Kits Stira karatawi; kits Stira karatawi; hi rura e;
754 Eru! Ra hi ra hi rura e.

Translation

I

747 Eru! Ra hi ra hi rura e.
eru! an exclamation of reverence.
ra, part of rura, coming.
hi, it.
ra, coming.
hi, it.
rura, coming.
e, vocable.

748 See line 747.

749 Kits Stira karakawe? Kits Stira karakawe? Hi rura e.
kits, an abbreviation of kerits? is it?
stira; s, feminine sign; tira, part of atira, mother; refers to the ear of corn.
karakawe? is it inside?
hi rura e. See line 747.

750 See line 747.

II

751, 752 See the first stanza, line 747.

753 Kits Stira karatawi; kits Stira karatawi; hi rura e.
kits? is it? See the first stanza, line 749.
stira, she who is the mother, the corn. See the first stanza, line 749.
karatawi, it is hung up. Refers to the shrine in which the sacred ear is kept being hung on one of the posts within the lodge of the priest.
hi rura e, translated above. See the first stanza, line 747.

754 See line 747.

Explanation of Ku'rahus

About midnight the Children disperse to their homes and all the members of the Father's party except those who must remain in the

lodge in charge of the Hako go to their tents. Soon all is quiet within 539*
the lodge, the fire burns down to coals and every one sleeps except
the man on guard. He must watch through the night and give warn- 796*
ing of the first sign of a change in the appearance of the east. As soon as this is seen the skins that hang over the doors of the lodge are lifted and the Ku'rahus makes ready to repeat the songs to the Dawn (tenth ritual). We sing these sacred songs at the dawn of the second day, the day when we chant to our father the Sun, and we sing them again at the dawn of the third day, when we sing to our mother the Earth.

THIRTEENTH RITUAL (THIRD DAY). THE FEMALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. THE SACRED FEAST OF CORN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

With the morning sun the Children gather at the lodge to receive 796*
their morning meal given them by the Fathers. Soon afterward the
sacred feast of the Corn takes place. For this feast the Children pre- 252
pare the food in the manner our fathers did. They pound the dried corn in a wooden mortar and boil the coarse meal until it is thoroughly cooked. They do this in their own homes and then carry the food in the kettles in which it has been cooked to the lodge where the
ceremony is being performed, and set them near the fireplace toward [415]
the southeast, where wooden bowls and horn spoons have been provided for the occasion.

When all the company have been seated the Fathers ladle out the 782
food into the bowls. The Ku'rahus takes up a little of the food on
the tip of a spoon, offers it toward the east, flipping a particle toward 796*
the horizon line. He then passes to the north, drops a bit on the rim of the fireplace, and goes to the west, where, facing the east, he lifts the spoon toward the zenith, pauses, waves it to the four quarters and slowly lowers it to the earth and drops a bit on the rim of the fireplace. After this ceremony of offering thanks the filled bowls are placed before the people. Two or more persons take a few spoonfuls from the same bowl, then, hanging the spoons on the edge to prevent their falling into the food, they pass the bowl on to the next group at the left. In this way all the people partake of a common feast.

PART II. SONG TO THE EARTH

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

On the third day of the ceremony it is the duty of the Ku'rahus to 539*
teach the Children concerning h'Uraru, Mother Earth, and of those 796*
773

*796
773

things which she brings forth to sustain the life of the people. The Ku'rahus has received these teachings from older Ku'rahus, who also received them, and so on through generations back to the time when they were revealed to our fathers through a vision from the mysterious powers above. A Ku'rahus must devote his life to learning these songs and their meaning and the ceremonies which accompany them. He must spend much of his time in thinking of these things and in praying to the mighty powers above.

The Ku'rahus speaks to the Children and tells them that Tira'wa atius is the father of all things. Then the feathered stems are taken up and we sing again the song which we sang the first day before the Children had partaken of the food prepared for them by the Fathers. We sang it then remembering Tira'wa atius, the father of all, of whose gift of food we were about to receive. Now we sing it, remembering that he is the father of the sun which sends its ray, and of the earth which brings forth.

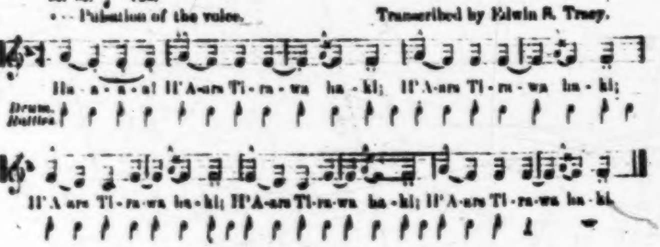
FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 126.
• • • Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*539
*796
[*533]


Ha - a - a - a! H'A-ars Ti - ra - wa ha - ki; H'A-ars Ti - ra - wa ha - ki;
Drum. Rattles.
H'A-ars Ti - ra-wa ha - ki; H'A-ars Ti-ra-wa ha - ki; H'A-ars Ti - ra-wa ha - ki.

755 Ha-a-a-a!
756 H'Aars Tira'wa haki;
757 H'Aars Tira'wa haki;
758 H'Aars Tira'wa haki;
759 H'Aars Tira'wa haki;
760 H'Aars Tira'wa haki.

For translation, see eighth ritual, first song, page 107.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

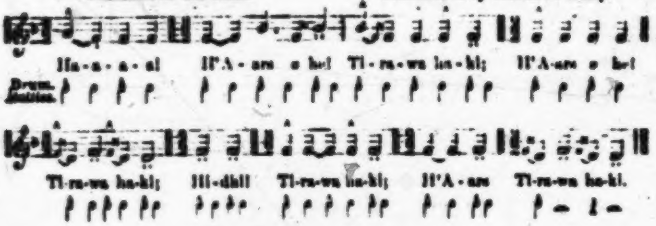
On the second circuit of the lodge we sing the song which follows the first. It tells us that all the lesser powers are from Tira'wa atius, the father of all. As we sing we remember the power given to Mother Earth.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

SECOND SONG

M. M. ♩= 126.
· = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ha-a-a-a!
H'A-ars e he! Ti-ra-wa ha-ki;
H'A-ars e he!
Drum Rattles.
Ti-ra-wa ha-ki;
Hi-dhi!
Ti-ra-wa ha-ki;
H'A-ars
Ti-ra-wa ha-ki.

[533*]

761 Ha-a-a-a!
762 H'Aars e he! Tirawa haki;
763 H'Aars e he! Tirawa haki;
764 Hidhi! Tirawa haki;
765 H'Aars Tirawa haki.

For translation, see eighth ritual, second song, page 108.

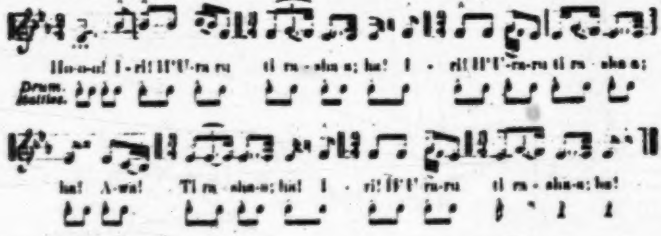
Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Now we begin the song of Mother Earth, making a circuit of the lodge to each of the eight stanzas, but not laying down the Hako at the close of the fourth circuit, nor at the end of the song.

THIRD SONG

Words and Music.

M. M. ♪= 176.
· = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o! I-ri! H'U-ra-ru ti ra-sha-a; ha! I - ri! H'U-ra-ru ti ra-sha-a;
Drum Rattles.
ha! A-wa! Ti ra-sha-a; ha! I - ri! H'U-ra-ru ti ra-sha-a; ha!

[533*]

I

766 Ho-o-o!
767 Iri! H'Uraru ti rasha-a; ha!
768 Iri! H'Uraru ti rasha-a; ha!
769 Awa! Ti rasha-a; ha!
770 Iri! H'Uraru ti rasha-a; ha!

II

771 Ho-o-o!
772 Iri! H'Uraru ko ti sha-a; ha!
773 Iri! H'Uraru ko ti sha-a; ha!
774 Awa! Ko ti sha-a; ha!
775 Iri! H'Uraru ko ti sha-a; ha!

III

776 Ho-o-o!
777 Ka-a kaharu ti rasha-a; ha!
778 Ka-a kaharu ti rasha-a; ha!
779 Awa! Kaharu a; ha!
780 Ka-a kaharu ti rasha-a; ha!

IV

781 Ho-o-o!
782 Ka-a kaharu ko ti sha-a; ha!
783 Ka-a kaharu ko ti sha-a; ha!
784 Awa! Ko ti sha-a; ha!
785 Ka-a kaharu ko ti sha-a; ha!

*539
*796

V

786 Ho-o-o!
787 Iri! Toharu ti rasha-a; ha!
788 Iri! Toharu ti rasha-a; ha!
789 Awa! Ti rasha-a; ha!
790 Iri! Toharu ti rasha-a; ha!

VI

791 Ho-o-o!
792 Iri! Toharu ko ti sha-a; ha!
793 Iri! Toharu ko ti sha-a; ha!
794 Awa! Ko ti sha-a; ha!
795 Iri! Toharu ko ti sha-a; ha!

VII

796 Ho-o-o!
797 Iri! Chaharu ti rasha-a; ha!
798 Iri! Chaharu ti rasha-a; ha!
799 Awa! Ti rasha-a; ha!
800 Iri! Chaharu ti rasha-a; ha!

VIII

801 Ho-o-o!
802 Iri! Chaharu ko ti sha-a; ha!
803 Iri! Chaharu ko ti sha-a; ha!
804 Awa! Ko ti sha-a; ha!
805 Iri! Chaharu ko ti sha-a; ha!

Translation of First Stanza

766 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
767 Iri! H'Uraru ti rasha-a; ha!
iri, a part of nawairi, an expression of thankfulness.
h'Uraru, the Earth, the fruitful Earth.
ti, this here.
rasha, lying.
a, vowel prolongation.
ha! behold.
768 See line 767.
769 Awa! Ti rasha-a; ha!
awa, true, verily.
ti rasha-a; ha! See line 767.
770 See line 767.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the first stanza we sing: "Behold! Here lies Mother Earth, for a truth she lies here to bring forth, and we give thanks that it is so."

Translation of Second Stanza

771 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
772 Iri! H'Uraru ko ti sha-a. Ha!
iri, a part of nawairi, an expression of thankfulness.
h'Uraru, Mother Earth.
ko, I am reminded to think of.
ti, here.
sha, a part of rasha, to lie, lying.
a, vowel prolongation.
ha! behold!
773 See line 772.
774 Awa! Ko ti sha-a; ha!
awa, true, verily.
ko ti sha-a; ha! See line 772.
775 See line 772.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*

In the second stanza the Children respond. They say that now they know of a truth that Tira'wa atius causes Mother Earth to lie here and bring forth, and they give thanks that it is so.

Translation of Third Stanza

776 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
777 Ka-a kaharu ti rasha-a; ha!
- ka, part of akaro, the stretch of land between the horizons.
- a, vowel prolongation.
- kaharu, a cultivated patch, as an aboriginal field of maize.
- ti, here.
- rasha, lying, lies.
- a, vowel prolongation.
- ha! behold!

778 See line 777.
779 Awa! Kaharu a; ha!
- awa, true, verily.
- kaharu, cultivated patches.
- a, vowel prolongation.
- ha! behold!

780 See line 777.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[241]

There are patches here and there over the land which are cultivated by the different families, where seed is put in Mother Earth, and she brings forth corn. In the third stanza we sing of these fields that lie on Mother Earth, where she brings forth corn for food, and bid the Children behold these fields and remember the power of Tira'wa atius with Mother Earth.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

781 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
782 Ka-a kaharu ko ti sha-a; ha!
- ka, part of akaro, the stretch of land between the horizons.
- a, vowel prolongation.
- kaharu, cultivated patches, where the corn is planted.
- ko, I am reminded to think of.
- ti, here.
- sha, part of rasha, lies, lying.
- a, vowel prolongation.
- ha! behold!

783 See line 782.
784 Awa! Ko ti sha-a; ha!
- awa, true, verily.
- ko ti sha-a; ha! See line 782.

785 See line 782.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

?

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796

In the fourth stanza the Children answer that the fruitful fields are brought to mind, and now they are taught about the gifts of the corn from the powers above and Mother Earth.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

786 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
787 Iri! Toharu ti rasha-a; ha!
iri, from nawairi, thankfulness.
toharu, trees, forests.
ti, this here.
rasha, lying.
a, vowel prolongation.
ha! behold!
788 See line 787.
789 Awa! Ti rasha-a; ha!
awa, true, verily.
ti rasha-a; ha! See line 787.
790 See line 787.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the fifth stanza the Fathers give thanks for the trees and forests which lie on Mother Earth, which Tira'wa caused her to bring forth, and tell the Children that truly it is so, and that we give thanks because it is so. From the trees we gain shelter and fire and many other good things.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

791 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
792 Iri! Toharu ko ti sha-a; ha!
iri, from nawairi, thankfulness.
toharu, trees, forests.
ko, I am reminded to think of.
ti, here.
sha, from rasha, lying.
a, vowel prolongation.
ha! behold!
793 See line 792.
794 Awa! Ko ti sha-a; ha!
awa, true, verily.
ko ti sha-a; ha! See line 792.
795 See line 792.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The Children respond in the sixth stanza, and give thanks for the forests that lie on Mother Earth. They remember that Tira'wa atius caused Mother Earth to bring them forth, and they give thanks that it is so.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

Translation of Seventh Stanza

796 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
797 Iri! Chaharu ti rasha-a; ha!
  iri, from nawairi, thankfulness.
  chaharu, rivers, streams, water.
  ti, here.
  rasha, lying.
  a, vowel prolongation.
  ha! behold!
798 See line 797.
799 Awa! Ti rasha-a; ha!
  awa, true, verily.
  ti rasha-a; ha! See line 797.
800 See line 797.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the seventh stanza the Fathers give thanks for the water, the springs, streams, and rivers which flow over Mother Earth. Of a truth she brings them forth by the power of Tira'wa atius. I have told you of the meaning of running water. We give thanks for it and all it promises to us.

Translation of Eighth Stanza

801 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
802 Iri! Chaharu ko ti sha-a; ha!
  iri, from nawairi, thankfulness.
  chaharu, rivers, streams, springs, water.
  ko, I am reminded to think of.
  ti, here.
  sha, from rasha, lying.
  a, vowel prolongation.
  ha! behold!
803 See line 802.
804 Awa! Ko ti sha-a; ha!
  awa, true, verily.
  ko ti sha-a; ha! See line 802.
805 See line 802.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the eighth stanza the Children answer, giving thanks for the water, the springs, the streams, and the rivers that flow over Mother Earth. Of a truth the Children now know that Mother Earth brings them forth by the power of Tira'wa atius. (I did not sing these last two stanzas loud, for if I had done so they would have brought rain. As it is I think it will rain soon.)

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART III. OFFERING OF SMOKE

*539 *796 At the close of the song to Mother Earth the chief spreads the wildcat skin on the holy place and the assistant lays upon it the white feathered stem, resting one end on the crotched stick.

Then the Ku'rahus says: "My Children, your fathers are listening to what I have to say. Yesterday we remembered our father the Sun, today we remember our mother the Earth, and today Tira'wa has appointed that we should learn of those things which have been handed down to us. Tira'wa is now to smoke from the brown-eagle stem, Kawas, the mother, and you are to smoke from it also."

[276] The bowl from the pipe belonging to the Rain shrine is put on the brown-eagle stem and the priest of the shrine fills it and calls on some one to light it. He also directs in what order the smoke shall be offered. I can not remember the order—if I said anything about it I might tell it wrong, for it is not my business to remember it, the priest alone knows it.

*796 After the offering of smoke as directed by the priest, the feathered stem is taken to the Son, who sits near the door, and after he has smoked the pipe is offered to everyone; all the men, women, and children of the Son's party smoke. This is a holy act and gives long life to the people.

When the west is reached, the feathered stem is lifted four times and the ashes are emptied on the edge of the fireplace. The Ku'rahus then hands the feathered stem to his assistant and returns to his seat, where he takes the feathered stem from his assistant, removes the bowl and replaces it upon its own stem. Then he puts the feathered stem beside its mate on the wildcat skin, resting it against the crotched stick.

PART IV. SONGS OF [illegible]

Explanation by the [illegible]

*539 *796 The songs about the birds begin with the egg, so the song of the bird's nest where the eggs are lying is the first to be sung. Then comes the song about the wren, the smallest of birds. After that we sing about the birds that are with the Hako, from the smallest to the largest.

These songs are to teach the people to care for their children, even before they are born. They also teach the people to be happy and thankful. They also explain how the birds came to be upon the feathered stems and why they are able to help the people.

There is no fixed time for these songs to be sung, but they belong to the third day of the ceremony—the day when we sing the song to Mother Earth. Sometimes the songs of the nest and the wren are sung early in the day, as these songs were made in the morning. The song of the owl must be sung toward night.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

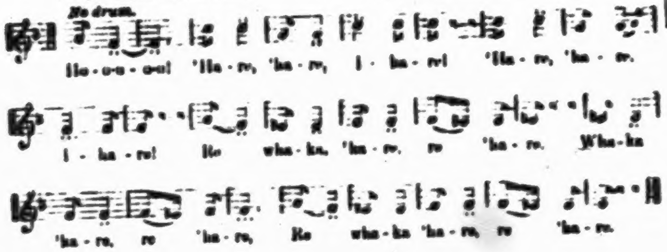
The words of these songs are few, but the story of each has come down to us, so that we know what they mean.

THE SONG OF THE BIRD'S NEST

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 160.
Graphophone sound one fourth lower in pitch.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]


No drum.
Ho - o-o - o-o! 'Ha - re, 'ha - re, I - ha - re! 'Ha - re, 'ha - re.
I - ha - re! Re wha - ka, 'ha - re, re 'ha - re. Wha - ka
'ha - re, re 'ha - re, Re wha - ka 'ha - re, re 'ha - re.

806 Ho-o-o-o-o!
807 'Hare, 'hare, iha're!
808 'Hare, 'hare, iha're!
809 Re whaka 'hare, re 'hare.
810 Whaka 'hare, re 'hare.
811 Re whaka 'hare, re 'hare.

812 Ho-o-o-o-o!
813 'Hare, 'hare, iha're!
814 'Hare, 'hare, iha're!
815 Re whari 'hare, re 'hare.
816 Whari 'hare, re 'hare.
817 Re whari 'hare, re 'hare.

Translation

I

806 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

807 'Hare, 'hare, iha're!

'hare, a part of the word iha're, young, as the young of animals. The term is also applied to children.

iha're, young. The word in the song refers to the young birds as yet unhatched, still in the egg.

808 See line 807.

809 Re whaka 'hare, re 'hare!

re, they.

whaka, wha, part of whako, noise; ka, part of akaro, inclosure, dwelling place; ka refers to the shell of the egg and to the nest in which the eggs lay.

'hare, young.

re 'hare. Translated above.

810 Whaka 'hare, re 'hare. See line 809.

811 See line 809.

II

*539 812 Ho-o-o-o o! An introductory exclamation.
813 'Hare, 'hare, iha're! See line 807.
*796 814 See line 813.
815 Re whari 'hare, re 'hare.
re, they.
whari, moving, walking.
'hare, part of iha're, young.
re 'hare. Translated above.
816 Whari 'hare, re 'hare. See line 815.
817 See line 815.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 773

One day a man whose mind was open to the teaching of the powers wandered on the prairie. As he walked, his eyes upon the ground, he spied a bird's nest hidden in the grass, and arrested his feet just in time to prevent stepping on it. He paused to look at the little nest tucked away so snug and warm, and noted that it held six eggs and that a peeping sound came from some of them. While he watched, one moved and soon a tiny bill pushed through the shell, uttering a shrill cry. At once the parent birds answered and he looked up to see where they were. They were not far off; they were flying about in search of food, chirping the while to each other and now and then calling to the little one in the nest.

The homely scene stirred the heart and the thoughts of the man as he stood there under the clear sky, glancing upward toward the old birds and then down to the helpless young in the nest at his feet. As he looked he thought of his people, who were so often careless and thoughtless of their children's needs, and his mind brooded over the matter. After many days he desired to see the nest again. So he went to the place where he had found it, and there it was as safe as when he left it. But a change had taken place. It was now full to overflowing with little birds, who were stretching their wings, balancing on their little legs and making ready to fly, while the parents with encouraging calls were coaxing the fledglings to venture forth.

"Ah!" said the man, "if my people would only learn of the birds, and, like them, care for their young and provide for their future, homes would be full and happy, and our tribe be strong and prosperous."

When this man became a priest, he told the story of the bird's nest and sang its song; and so it has come down to us from the days of our fathers.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

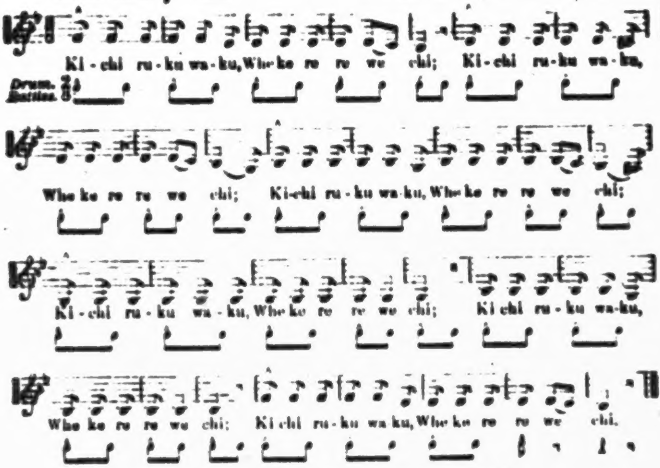
THE SONG OF THE WREN

Words and Music

539*
796*

M. M. Melody. ♩ = 84.
M. M. Drum. ♪ = 108.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]


Ki - chi ru - ku wa - ku, Whe ke re re we chi; Ki - chi ru - ku wa - ku,
Drum. Rattles.
Whe ke re re we chi; Ki-chi ru - ku wa-ku, Whe ke re re we chi;
Ki - chi ru - ku wa - ku, Whe ke re re we chi; Ki chi ru - ku wa-ku,
Whe ke re re we chi; Ki chi ru - ku wa ku, Whe ke re re we chi.

818 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi;
819 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi;
820 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi;
821 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi;
822 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi;
823 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi.

Translation

818 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi.
kichi, so it; but this one.
ruku, sang.
waku, sound from the mouth, speech.
whe ke re re we chi, syllables imitative of the sound of the bird.

819–823. See line 818.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[826]
539*
796*
773

The wren is always spoken of as the laughing bird. It is a very happy little bird, and we have stories about it. Every one likes to hear the wren sing. This song is very old; I do not know how old, how many generations old. There are very few words in the song, but there is a story which has come down with it and which tells its meaning.

A priest went forth in the early dawn. The sky was clear. The grass and wild flowers waved in the breeze that rose as the sun threw

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796
773

its first beams over the earth. Birds of all kinds vied with one another as they sang their joy on that beautiful morning. The priest stood listening. Suddenly, off at one side, he heard a trill that rose higher and clearer than all the rest. He moved toward the place whence the song came that he might see what manner of bird it was that could send farther than all the others its happy, laughing notes. As he came near he beheld a tiny brown bird with open bill, the feathers on its throat rippling with the fervor of its song. It was the wren, the smallest, the least powerful of birds, that seemed to be most glad and to pour out in ringing melody to the rising sun its delight in life.

As the priest looked he thought: "Here is a teaching for my people. Everyone can be happy; even the most insignificant can have his song of thanks."

So he made the story of the wren and sang it; and it has been handed down from that day, a day so long ago that no man can remember the time.

THE SONG OF THE WOODPECKER AND THE TURKEY

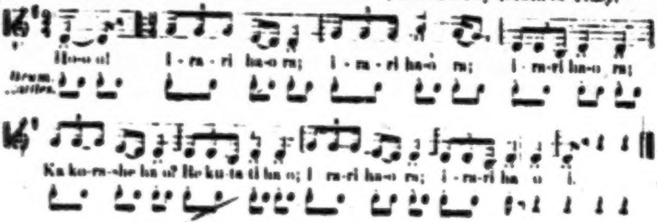
Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 108.

• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*833]
*539
*796


Ho-o-o!
I - ra - ri ha-o ra; I - ra - ri ha-o ra; I - ra-ri ha-o ra;
Drum.
Ka ko-ra-she ha o? Re ku-ta ti ha o; I ra-ri ha-o ra; I - ra-ri ha o i.

824 Ho-o-o!
825 Irari hao ra; Irari hao ra; Irari hao ra;
826 Ka korashe hao? Re kutati hao;
827 Irari hao ra; Irari hao i.

Translation

824 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
825 Irari hao ra; Irari hao ra; Irari hao ra.
Irari, brother.
hao, offspring, child.
ra, coming.
826 Ka korashe hao? Re kutati hao.
ka? is? a question.
korashe, your.
hao, offspring. Is it or are they your offspring?
re, they.
kutati, my or mine.
hao, offspring. They are my offspring.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

827 Irari hao ra; Irari hao i.
Irari hao ra; Irari hao. See line 825.
I, ——.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*
773

We are told that in old times, long, long ago, the feathers of the turkey were used where now the feathers of the brown eagle are placed on the blue feathered stem. In those days the turkey, not the brown eagle, was leader, but, through the mysterious power of the woodpecker, the turkey lost its position. This song refers to the dispute between the woodpecker and the turkey, which resulted in the supplanting of the turkey by the brown eagle.

The words of the song are few, but the story of their meaning has come down to us from the fathers.

Both the turkey and the woodpecker desired to be the protector of the children of the human race, and there was trouble between them on that account. One day the woodpecker was flying about looking for its nest when the turkey chanced that way and the woodpecker called out: "Brother, where are my eggs?"

The woodpecker talked of his eggs, but he meant the children of the people on the earth and the turkey knew that was what he was talking about.

"They are not your eggs (offspring); they are mine," said the woodpecker.

"They are mine to take care of," answered the turkey; "for in my division of life there is great power of productiveness. I have more tail feathers than any other bird and I have more eggs. Wherever I go my young cover the ground."

"True," replied the woodpecker, "but you build your nest on the ground, so that your eggs are in constant danger of being devoured by serpents, and when the eggs hatch the young become a prey to the wolves, the foxes, the weasels; therefore, your number is continually being reduced. Security is the only thing that can insure the continuation of life. I can, therefore, claim with good reason the right to care for the human race. I build my nest in the heart of the tall oak, where my eggs and my young are safe from the creatures that prey upon birds. While I have fewer eggs they hatch in security and the birds live until they die of old age. It is my place to be a protector of the life of men."

The woodpecker prevailed, and the turkey was deposed; for, although the turkey had more children, they did not live; they were killed.

Then the brown eagle was put in the turkey's place, because it was not quarrelsome, but gentle, and cared for its young, and was strong to protect them from harm.

The woodpecker was given an important place on the stem, where it presides over the path along which the help that comes from the

*796 Hako travels—the red path. The woodpecker is wise and careful, 773 and, that it may not get angry and be warlike on the Hako, its upper mandible is turned back over its red crest.

[787] The Hako ceremony was given in a vision, and all these things, such as the dispute between the turkey and the woodpecker, were made known to our fathers in a vision.

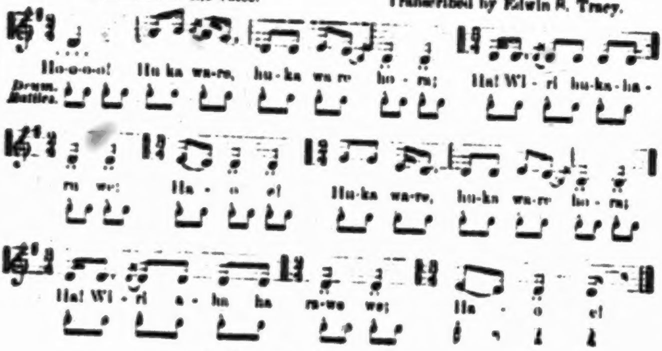
THE SONG OF THE DUCK

Words and Music

*539
*796
[*533]

M. M. ♩ = 104.
⋅ ⋅ Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o!
Hu-ka wa-re, hu-ka wa-re ho - ra;
Ha! Wi - ri hu-ka-ha - ru we;
Ha - o e!
Hu-ka wa-re, hu-ka wa-re ho - ra;
Ha! Wi - ri a - ha ha ra-we we;
Ha - o e!
Drum. Rattles.

828 Ho-o-o-o!
829 Huka ware, huka ware hora;
830 Ha! Wiri hukaharu we;
831 Hao e!
832 Huka ware, huka ware hora;
833 Ha! Wiri aha ha rawe we;
834 Hao e!

Translation

828 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

829 Huka ware, huka ware hora.

huka, a part of the word hukaharu; valley, a valley through which a stream is flowing.

ware, a part of teware, flying.

hora, a part of the word horaru, the earth, the land

830 Ha! Wiri hukaharu we.

ha! behold!

wiri, it is.

hukaharu, a valley through which a stream flows.

we, they; refers to the young of the duck.

831 Hao e!

hao, offspring.

e, vocable.

832 See line 829.

539*
796*

833 Ha! Wiri aha ha rawe we.
ha! wiri; behold! it is.
aha, a part of kiwaharu, a pond, a small body of water.
ha, a part of iha're, young; refers to the young of the duck.
rawe, living in.
we, they.
834 See line 831.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*
773

The words of this song about the duck are few, and if the story had not come down to us from the fathers, we should not know all that the song means.

The duck has great power. The story tells us about this power.

Long ago when the feathered stems were being made, the holy man who was preparing these sacred objects had a dream. In his vision the duck with the green neck appeared and said to him:

"I desire to have a place upon the feathered stem, for I have power to help the Children. This is my power: I lay my eggs near the water and, when the young are hatched, straightway they can swim; the water can not kill them. When they are grown they can go, flying through the air, from one part of the earth to the other. No place is strange to them; they never lose their way; they can travel over the water without harm and reach safely their destination. They can walk upon the land and find the springs and streams. I am an unerring guide. I know all paths below on the earth, and on the water and above in the air. Put me on the feathered stem where it is grasped by the hand, that the Children may take hold of me and not go astray."

When the holy man awoke, he did as the duck had told him, and so to this day we put the duck with the green neck on the feathered stem where it is held by the hand.

This is the meaning of the song.

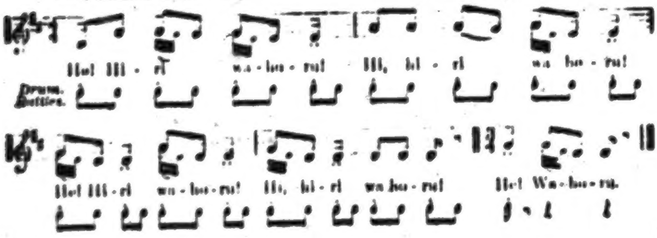
THE SONG OF THE OWL

Words and Music

539*
796*
[533*]

M. M. ♪ = 104.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho! Hi - ri wa - hu - ru! Hi, hi - ri wa hu - ru!
Drum. Rattles.
Ho! Hi - ri wa - hu - ru! Hi, hi - ri wa hu - ru! Ho! Wa - hu - ru.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

835 He! Hiri wahoru! Hi, hiri wahoru!
836 He! Hiri wahoru! Hi, hiri wahoru!
837 He! Wahoru.

Translation

835 He! Hiri wahoru! Hi, hiri wahoru!

he! an exclamation signifying that something has been brought to one's mind that should be reflected on.

hiri; iri, a part of nawairi, an expression of thankfulness, of appreciation of good promised, or of some benefit to be derived; the initial letter h is added for euphony and ease in singing.

wahoru, owl.

hi, the same as hiri, translated above.

836 See line 835.

837 He! Wahoru! See line 835.

[*533]
*539
*796
773

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this song we give thanks to the owl, for it gives us help in the night. We sing it twice; the first time it is sung very slowly; the second time it is sung very fast, as we sing a dance song.

The meaning of the song has come down to us from the fathers; the words tell very little about the song.

To the same holy man to whom the duck came in a vision, the owl spoke in a dream and said:

"Put me upon the feathered stem, for I have power to help the Children. The night season is mine. I wake when others sleep. I can see in the darkness and discern coming danger. The human race must be able to care for its young during the night. The warrior must be alert and ready to protect his home against prowlers in the dark. I have the power to help the people so that they may not forget their young in sleep. I have power to help the people to be watchful against enemies while darkness is on the earth. I have power to help the people to keep awake and perform these ceremonies in the night as well as in the day."

When the holy man awoke, he remembered all that the owl had said to him, and he put the owl's feathers upon the stem, next to the duck. So the people are guided by the duck and kept awake by the owl.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

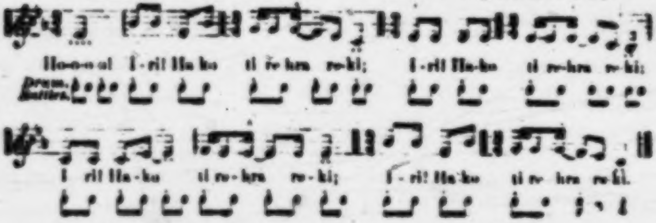
SONG OF THANKFULNESS

Words and Music

539*
796*
[633*]

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! I-ri! Ha-ko ti re-hra re-ki; I-ri! Ha-ko ti re-hra re-ki;
Drum Rattles
I-ri! Ha-ko ti re-hra re-ki; I-ri! Ha-ko ti re-hra re-ki.

I

838 Ho-o-o-o!
839 Iri! Hako ti rehra reki;
840 Iri! Hako ti rehra reki;
841 Iri! Hako ti rehra reki;
842 Iri! Hako ti rehra reki.

II

843 Ho-o-o-o!
844 Iri! Hako ti resstah riki;
845 Iri! Hako ti resstah riki;
846 Iri! Hako ti resstah riki.
847 Iri! Hako ti resstah riki.

Translation of First Stanza

838 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

839 Iri! Hako ti rehra reki.

Iri! a part of the word nawairi, an expression of thankfulness; "It is well!"

Hako, all the symbolic objects peculiar to this ceremony.

ti, me (present time).

rehra, a part of rehrara, I have.

reki; re, pertaining or belonging to me; ki, a part of riki, standing.

840–842 See line 839.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza means that it is well, a cause of thankfulness, that all the birds and all the symbols are here with the Hako and able to bring good. The Fathers now stand with the complete Hako extending to the Children the promised blessings. So we sing: "I stand here before you with the Hako!"

Translation of Second Stanza

843 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

844 Iri! Hako ti resstah riki.

Iri! It is well! An exclamation of thankfulness.

Hako, all the symbolic articles belong to this ceremony.

ti, me (present time).

resstah, you hold.

riki, standing.

845–847 See line 844.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796

In this stanza the Children reply: "It is well for us that you are here with the complete Hako!"

The Fathers sing these words, but they are really from the Children.

FOURTEENTH RITUAL (THIRD NIGHT). INVOKING THE VISIONS OF THE ANCIENTS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[787]

This ceremony was given to our fathers in a vision, and to our fathers the promise was made that dreams bringing happiness would be brought to the Children by the birds that are with the Hako. This promise given to our fathers is always fulfilled; happiness always comes with the Hako, and the Children have visions.

When the ceremony is near the end (the third night) we sing this song, for we remember the visions of our fathers, the holy men to whom was taught this ceremony. We ask that the visions which came to them may come again to us.

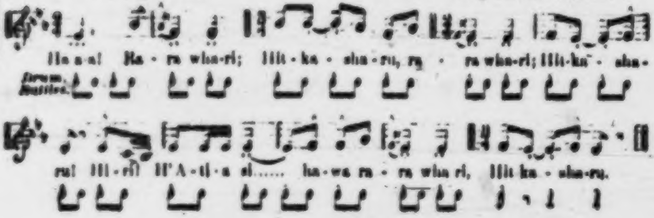
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
•• Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ha-a-a! Ra - ra wha-ri; Hit - ka - sha - ru, ra - ra wha-ri; Hit-ka - sha-
Drum. Rattles.
ru! Hi - ri! H'A - ti - a si...... ha - wa ra - ra wha ri, Hit ka - sha-ru.

I

848 Ha-a-a!
849 Rara whari;
850 Hitkasharu, rara whari;
851 Hitkasharu!
852 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara whari,
853 Hitkasharu.

II

854 Ha-a-a!
855 Rara wha-a;
856 Hitkasharu, rara wha-a;
857 Hitkasharu!
858 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara wha-a,
859 Hitkasharu.

III

860 Ha-a-a!
861 Rara whicha;
862 Hitkasharu, rara whicha;
863 Hitkasharu!
864 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara whicha,
865 Hitkasharu.

IV

866 Ha-a-a!
867 Rara ruka;
868 Hitkasharu, rara ruka;
869 Hitkasharu!
870 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara ruka,
871 Hitkasharu.

539*
796*

V

872 Ha-a-a!
873 Werih kawa;
874 Hitkasharu, werih kawa;
875 Hitkasharu!
876 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa werih kawa.
877 Hitkasharu.

VI

878 Ha-a-a!
879 Werih teri;
880 Hitkasharu, werih teri;
881 Hitkasharu!
882 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa werih teri.
883 Hitkasharu.

VII

884 Ha-a-a!
885 Rarah whara;
886 Hitkasharu, rarah whara;
887 Hitkasharu!
888 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rarah whara.
889 Hitkasharu.

VIII

890 Ha-a-a!
891 Rarah whishpa;
892 Hitkasharu, rarah whishpa;
893 Hitkasharu;
894 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rarah whishpa.
895 Hitkasharu.

Translation of First Stanza

848 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

849 Rara whari.
rara, coming this way, approaching.
whari, walking.

850 Hitkasharu, rara whari.
hitkasharu, a composite word; hit, from hittu, feather; ka, from rotkaharu, night; sharu, dream, vision. The word feather refers to the birds that are with the Hako.
rara whari. See line 849.

851 Hitkasharu. See line 850.

852 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara whari.
hiri! an exclamation telling one to give heed, to harken, and also to be thankful.
h', the sign of breath, breathing, giving life.
atia, a modification of atius, father.
si, part of sidhihi, you are the one.
hawa, again.
rara, coming this way, approaching.
whari, walking.

853 Hitkasharu. See line 850.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza we think of the visions which attend the Hako and we are thankful that these visions, which gave life, success, and plenty to our fathers, are again coming this way to us.

After we have sung this stanza four times and have passed around the lodge and reached the west we pause.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of Second Stanza

*559 854 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

*796 855 Rara wha-a.

rara, coming this way, approaching.

wha-a, coming nearer.

856 Hitkasharu, rara wha-a.

hitkasharu. See the first stanza, line 850.

rara wha-a. See line 855.

857 Hitkasharu. See line 850.

858 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara wha-a. See lines 852 and 855.

859 Hitkasharu. See line 850.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

On the second circuit of the lodge, as we wave the feathered stems, we sing that the visions granted to our fathers are coming nearer and nearer to us and to the Children. We are thankful as we sing.

Four times we repeat this stanza and when we reach the west we pause.

Translation of Third Stanza

860 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

861 Rara whicha.

rara, coming this way, approaching.

whicha, arrived, reached the destination.

862 Hitkasharu, rara whicha. See lines 850 and 861.

863 Hitkasharu. See line 850.

864 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara whicha. See lines 852 and 861.

865 Hitkasharu. See line 850.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The third time we go around the lodge we sing the third stanza four times. It tells that the visions of our fathers have arrived at the lodge door. At the west we pause.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

866 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

867 Rara ruka.

rara, coming this way.

ruka, entered the lodge.

868 Hitkasharu, rara ruka. See lines 850 and 867.

869 Hitkasharu. See line 850.

870 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara ruka. See lines 852 and line 867.

871 Hitkasharu. See line 850.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The visions of our fathers have entered the lodge as we sing the fourth stanza, and our hearts are thankful that they have come.

At the west we pause and lay the Hako down with ceremonial songs and movements. Then we rest a while and are quiet in the presence of the visions.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

872 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
873 Weriẖ kawa.
weriẖ, the owner of the lodge. The Son is regarded as the owner of the lodge in which the ceremony takes place and the word refers to him.
kawa, the open space within the lodge between the fireplace and the couches around the wall. In this space the ceremony takes place.
874 Hitkasharu werih kawa. See lines 850 and 873.
875 Hitkasharu. See line 850.
876 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa werih kawa. See lines 852 and 873.
877 Hitkasharu. See line 850.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

After a time we take up the feathered stems and move around the lodge, singing the fifth stanza.

The Son, into whose lodge the visions of our fathers have now entered, gives thanks in his heart, for he knows that they have come in fulfilment of the promise given generations ago, and that he is recognized by them as a Son.

When we reach the west we pause.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

878 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
879 Werih teri.
werih, the owner of the lodge, the Son.
teri, hovering over.
880 Hitkasharu, weriẖ teri. See lines 850 and 879.
881 Hitkasharu. See line 850.
882 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa werih teri. See lines 852 and 879.
883 Hitkasharu. See line 850.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Again we go around the lodge and sing the sixth stanza. The visions of our fathers, received from the birds of the Hako, are now hovering over the Children in the lodge of the Son. Everyone is thankful as we sing. At the west we pause.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of Seventh Stanza

*539 884 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
*796 885 Irarah whara.
rarah, walking from one.
whara, going away, going from a person or place.
886 Hitkasharu rarah whara. See lines 850 and 885.
887 Hitkasharu. See line 850.
888 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rarah whara. See lines 852 and 885.
889 Hitkasharu. See line 850.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The visions are walking away from us as we sing the seventh stanza. We are thanking them in our hearts as we sing, and while they are leaving the lodge. At the west we pause.

Translation of Eighth Stanza

890 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
891 Rarah whishpa.
rarah, walking from one.
whishpa, arrived at the place from which one started.
892 Hitkasharu rarah whishpa. See lines 850 and 891.
893 Hitkasharu. See line 850.
894 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rarah whishpa. See lines 852 and 891.
895 Hitkasharu. See line 850.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In a little while we start and go again around the lodge and sing the eighth stanza. The visions of our fathers have left the lodge; they are walking away from us, passing over the sleeping earth, and at last they reach their dwelling place, the place from which they descended when they started to come to us. As we think of them we again thank them for coming to us.

At the west we lay the Hako down to rest with the songs and movements belonging to that action.[a]

After singing this song the Children usually rise and go to their homes and the Fathers take a rest during the remainder of the night.

431
*796
There are no ceremonies at the dawn of the fourth day. During the forenoon the Fathers are busy unpacking the various articles they have brought for their final gifts to the Children. They place in a pile the robes, embroidered shirts, leggings, and ornaments.

About noon the food is cooked for the last meal to be given by the Fathers to the Children. After the Fathers have served the food, they put the cooking utensils beside the pile of gifts and then present the heap to the Children and walk out of the lodge, leaving the Children to distribute the gifts among themselves.

---

[a] See pages 111-116.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

There is a very general scattering of the gifts, and songs of thanks are sung by those who receive them. When this ceremony of distribution and acknowledgment is over, the Children return to their several lodges. By this time the afternoon is well advanced. 431 796*

The Fathers now enter the empty lodge and begin preparations for the last night of the ceremony and for the following morning. At this time they partake of their last meal before the close of the ceremony at about noon the next day. 796*

The best dancers in the party are chosen to perform the final dance, which occurs on the morning of the fifth day. The songs which accompany this dance are rehearsed and everything necessary for the closing acts of the ceremony is put in readiness.

If a tent has been used for the ceremony, the Fathers on this afternoon must build around the tent at a little distance from it a wall of saplings and brush, to keep off outsiders and prevent anyone from looking in. If the ceremony takes place in an earth lodge, then both the outer and inner doors are closed, for on this last night no one is allowed to be present but the Fathers, the Son, and his near relatives.

On this night a sixth man is added to the five who carry the sacred objects—the two feathered stems, the ear of Corn wrapped in the wild cat skin, and the two eagle wings. The sixth man has a whistle, made from the wing bone of the eagle, which he blows in rhythm of the songs. The whistle imitates the scream of the eagle over its young. [534] [237]

SECOND DIVISION. THE SECRET CEREMONIES

FIFTEENTH RITUAL (FOURTH NIGHT)

PART I. THE FLOCKING OF THE BIRDS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

At sunset the Fathers call the Children to the lodge. When all have been seated, the Children on the south side, the Fathers on the north, the Ku'rahus, who sits at the west, back of the holy place where the Hako are at rest, addresses the Children in the name of the Fathers. He explains the meaning of the ceremony about to take place, for on this last night and the following morning everything that is done refers to the nest and to the direct promise of Children to the Son, who is also to be bound by a symbolic tie to the Father.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796 When the talk is over the feathered stems are taken up and we sing the following song, which prefigures the joy that is coming to the people.

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 108.

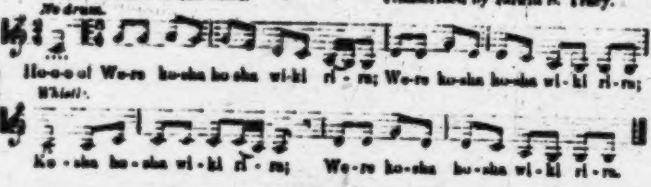
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*539

*796

[*533]


No drum.
Ho-o-o-o! We-re ho-sha ho-sha wi-ki ri-ra; We-re ho-sha ho-sha wi-ki ri-ra;
Whistle.
Ko-sha ho-sha wi-ki ri-ra; We-re ho-sha ho-sha wi-ki ri-ra.

I

896 Ho-o-o-o!
897 Were kosha hosha wiki rira;
898 Were kosha hosha wiki rira;
899 Kosha hosha wiki rira;
900 Were kosha hosha wiki rira.

II

901 Ho-o-o-o!
902 Wera kosha hoshta wiki rira;
903 Wera kosha hoshta wiki rira;
904 Kosha hoshta wiki rira;
905 Wera kosha hoshta wiki rira.

III

906 Ho-o-o-o!
907 Wera kishpa hosha wiki rira;
908 Wera kishpa hosha wiki rira;
909 Kishpa hosha wiki rira;
910 Wera kishpa hosha wiki rira.

IV

911 Ho-o-o-o!
912 Wetu kishpa hoshta wiki rira;
913 Wetu kishpa hoshta wiki rira;
914 Kishpa hoshta wiki rira;
915 Wetu kishpa hoshta wiki rira.

V

916 Ho-o-o-o!
917 Were kaksha hosha wiki rira;
918 Were kaksha hosha wiki rira;
919 Kaksha hosha wiki rira;
920 Were kaksha hosha wiki rira.

VI

921 Ho-o-o-o!
922 Wetu kaksha hosha wiki rira;
923 Wetu kaksha hosha wiki rira;
924 Kaksha hosha wiki rira;
925 Wetu kaksha hosha wiki rira.

Translation of First Stanza

896 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation

897 Were kosha hosha wiki rira.

were, they.

kosha, a flock of birds.

hosha, a composite word; ho, coming; sha, part of kosha, flock.

wiki, a descriptive term indicating the manner of flight; the birds do not move in a straight line or course; they waver from one side to the other, now higher, now lower.

rira, coming.

898 See line 897.

899 Kosha hosha wiki rira. See line 897.

900 See line 897.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*
[825]

In the early spring the birds lay their eggs in their nests, in the summer they rear their young, in the fall all the young ones are grown, the nests are deserted and the birds fly in flocks over the country. One can hear the fluttering of a startled flock, the birds suddenly rise and their wings make a noise like distant thunder. Everywhere the flocks are flying. In the fall it seems as though new life were put into the people as well as into the birds; there is much activity in coming and going.

[534]

This song tells of the flocking of birds. We do not use the drum as we sing it, but we blow the whistle. The whistle is made from the wing bone of an eagle. In this song we are singing of the eagle and the other birds, so we use the whistle.

When the eggs are hatched and the young are grown, the birds flock; the promise of young has been fulfilled. In this song, which we sing toward the close of the ceremony, we are thinking of the fulfilling of the promise given by the Hako, that children will be granted to the people, so that they may be many and strong, and we sing that the great flocks are coming.

Translation of Second Stanza

901 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
902 Wera kosha hoshta wiki rira.
 wera, they yonder; ra gives the idea that the flock is at a distance.
 kosha, flock.
 hoshta, the noise made by the birds in flying and in alighting; hosh, the noise; ta, to alight.
 wiki, descriptive of the manner of flight. See translation of the word in the first stanza, line 897.
 rira, coming.
903 See line 902.
904 Kosha hoshta wiki rira. See line 902.
905 See line 902.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the second stanza we are thinking of the great flocks of birds. The noise of their wings is a mighty noise. As they fly from one tree to another they shake the branches as they alight, and the tree quivers as they rise. The flocks are many and powerful; so, through the promises of the Hako, the people will become many and powerful.

Translation of Third Stanza

*539 906 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 907 Wera kishpa hosha wiki rira.

wera, they yonder.

kishpa, scream (singular number).

hosha; on account of the singular number of the verb kishpa, the word as here used indicates that a bird out of the flock is flying toward the people.

wiki, descriptive of the manner of flight. See line 897.

rira, coming.

908 See line 907.

909 Kishpa hosha wiki rira. See line 907.

910 See line 907.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza we sing that a single bird, an eagle, comes out of the flock and flies toward the people. It is Kawas that comes flying toward us, the messenger of the powers, the bringer of the promises of the Hako. Kawas comes to us as the eagle leaving the flock goes to her young.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

911 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

912 Wetu kishpa hoshta wiki rira.

wetu, it has.

kishpa, screaming noise made by the eagle. As the eagle has come near its cry is likened to a scream.

hoshta, a composite word; hosh, the sound made by the wings of a bird when flying; ta, to alight.

wiki, a word descriptive of the manner of flight. See line 897.

rira, coming.

913 See line 912.

914 Kishpa hoshta wiki rira. See line 912.

915 See line 912.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the mother eagle comes near, flying to her nest, her cries are like screams, so we sing this stanza with the whistle, for now Kawas is coming to us as to her nest. The lodge of the Son is her nest; there she will alight; there she will bring the gift of children. Our hearts are glad and strong as we sing.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

916 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

917 Were kaksha hosha wiki rira.

were, they.

kaksha, a tumultuous noise.

kosha, flock.

wiki, a word descriptive of the manner of approach. See line 897.

rira, coming.

539*
796*

918 See line 917.
919 Kaksha hosha wiki rira. See line 917.
920 See line 917.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza tells us that the noise made by the people as they gather together on the morning of the fifth day for the presentation of gifts to the Fathers is like the coming of a great flock of birds. The people move like the birds; they do not come in a straight line to the lodge of the Son, but they come from this side and from that just as the birds gather together in a flock.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

921 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
922 Wetu kaksha hosha wiki rira.
 wetu, it has.
 kaksha, a tumultuous noise.
 hosha, flock.
 wiki, manner of approach. See line 897.
 rira, coming.
923 See line 922.
924 Kaksha hosha wiki rira. See line 922.
925 See line 922.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the people approach the lodge they make a great noise. All is bustle; the neighing ponies to be given to the Fathers are brought forward, and the people are calling to one another; there is the singing of songs and the shouts of pleasure; all these sounds mingling make a noise like distant thunder. This stanza refers to this joyous tumult. [152]

Just before I came on to Washington I performed this ceremony, and now as I sit here and tell you about the meaning of this song, I can hear the happy shouts of the people as I heard them some weeks ago. Their voices seemed to come from everywhere! Their hearts were joyful. I am glad, as I remember that day. We are always happy when we are with the Hako. [115] [781]

PART II. THE SIXTEEN CIRCUITS OF THE LODGE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The last act of the last night is the making of four times four circuits of the lodge.

I have told you that the four circuits of the lodge which we have been making are in recognition of the four paths down which the lesser powers descend to man. We have been asking for help from these powers and so we have remembered the paths down which they

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 *796 travel to reach us with the gifts we desire. In the four times four circuits we remember all the powers represented in the Hako.

We must begin with the Corn, which comes from our Mother Earth, for she has been the leader ever since the time when she sought the Son and opened the path for us to travel safely to him. She led on our journey to his village; she led as we entered his lodge and during its consecration, and she has led us through all the days and nights of the ceremony. So when we take up the feathered stems ~~and turn~~ to the north to begin the first circuit of this series we sing the following song:

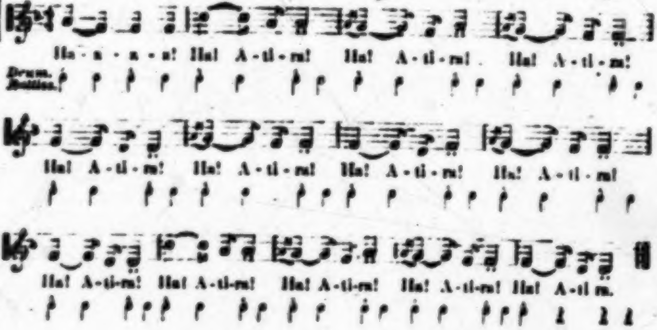
FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩=116.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ha - a - a - a! Ha! A - ti - ra! Ha! A - ti - ra! Ha! A - ti - ra!
Drum. Rattles.
Ha! A - ti - ra! Ha! A - ti - ra! Ha! A - ti - ra! Ha! A - ti - ra!
Ha! A-ti-ra! Ha! A-ti-ra! Ha! A-ti-ra! Ha! A-ti-ra! Ha! A-ti ra.

I

926 Ha-a-a-a!
927 Ha! Atira! Ha! Atira! Ha! Atira! Ha! Atira!
928 Ha! Atira! Ha! Atira! Ha! Atira! Ha! Atira!
929 Ha! Atira! Ha! Atira! Ha! Atira! Ha! Atira.

II

930 Ha-a-a-a!
931 Nawahiri! Nawahiri! Nawahiri! Nawahiri!
932 Nawahiri! Nawahiri! Nawahiri! Nawahiri!
933 Nawahiri! Nawahiri! Nawahiri! Nawahiri!

Translation of First Stanza

926 Ha-a-a-a! An introduction exclamatory.
927 Ha! Atira! Ha! Atira! Ha! Atira! Ha! Atira!
ha! look on! behold!
atira, mother. The term is applied to the ear of corn.
928, 929 See line 927.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*

"Behold Mother Corn!" we sing; and we think and the Children think, as they sing with us, of all that Mother Corn has done, how she sought the Son, led us to him, and now is here with the power of life and plenty.

Four times we sing this first stanza as we make the first circuit of the lodge, moving by the north, east, and south back to the west. After a pause we start upon the second circuit and sing the second stanza.

Translation of Second Stanza

930 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
931 Nawahiri! Nawahiri! Nawahiri! Nawahiri!
nawahiri, a ceremonial term signifying thanks; a recognition that all is well. The usual form is nawairi, but an h is prefixed to the third syllable to give greater ease and euphony in singing.
932, 933 See line 931.

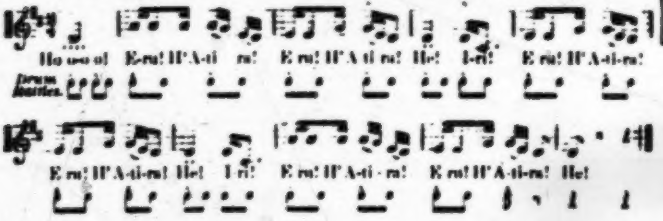
Explanation by the Ku'-rahus

Mother Corn is leading toward the fulfilment of the promises made through the Hako, and as the Children behold her they sing with thankful hearts, "All is well!"

SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! E-ru! H'A-ti-ra! E-ru! H'A-ti-ra! He! I-ri! E-ru! H'A-ti-ra!
Drum beats.
E-ru! H'A-ti-ra! He! I-ri! E-ru! H'A-ti-ra! E-ru! H'A-ti-ra! He!

583*

I

934 Ho-o-o-o!
935 Eru! H'Atira! Eru! H'Atira! He! Iri!
936 Eru! H'Atira! Eru! H'Atira! He! Iri!
937 Eru! H'Atira! Eru! H'Atira! He!

II

938 Ho-o-o-o!
939 Nawa! H'Atira! Nawa! H'Atira! He! Iri!
940 Nawa! H'Atira! Nawa! H'Atira! He! Iri!
941 Nawa! H'Atira! Nawa! H'Atira! He!

Translation of First Stanza

*539 934 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 935 Eru! H'Atira! Eru! H'Atira! He! Iri!

eru! an exclamation of reverence.

h', the symbol of breath, the life-giving power.

atira, mother. The term refers to the ear of corn.

he! a part of i'hare, an exclamation calling on one to reflect upon a subject now brought to mind. See line 1.

iri! a part of nawairi! an exclamation of thanks and of trustfulness.

936 See line 935.

937 Eru! H'Atira! Eru! H'Atira! He! See line 935.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The life of man depends upon the earth (h'Atira). Tira'wa atius works through it. The kernel is planted within Mother Earth and she brings forth the ear of corn, even as children are begotten and born of women.

We sing the first stanza as we make the third circuit of the lodge. We give the cry of reverence (Eru!) to Mother Corn, she who brings the promise of children, of strength, of life, of plenty, and of peace. As we reflect upon her gifts we sing our thanks and bid the Children join us.

When the circuit is complete we pause at the west. Then we turn toward the north and begin the fourth circuit, singing the second stanza.

Translation of Second Stanza

938 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

939 Nawa! H'Atira! Nawa! H'Atira! He! Iri!

nawa, a part of nawairi, a ceremonial word for expressing thanks, confidence, trust.

h', the symbol of breath, life, bringing forth or into.

atira, mother. The term is applied to the ear of corn, representative of Mother Earth.

he! a part of i'hare, an exclamation calling upon one to reflect upon that which is now brought to mind. See line 1.

iri! a part of nawairi! thanks! all is well!

940 See line 939.

941 Nawa! H'Atira! Nawa! H'Atira! He! See line 939.

Explanation of the Ku'rahus

"Nawa! H'Atira!" It is Tira'wa atius who causes Mother Earth to bring forth the corn, who gives fruitfulness to man, who sends the gifts which Mother Corn breathes upon us. As we reflect upon this

539*
796*

we give thanks to Tira'wa, and with the Children sing "Nawa! H'Atira! Nawa! H'Atira! He! Iri!" over and over until we complete the fourth circuit.

In these first four circuits we have remembered the power of Tira'wa atius with Mother Earth; in the next four circuits we shall sing of the eagles.

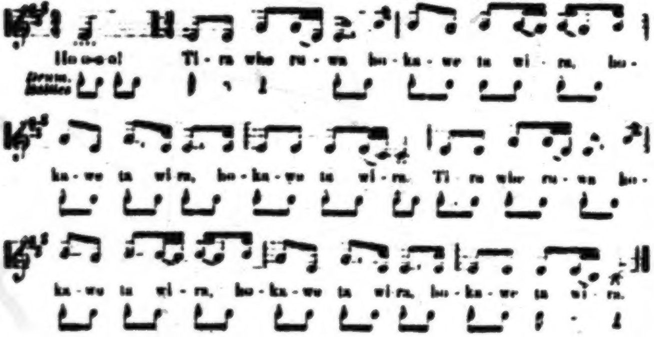
THIRD SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 128.
Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]


Ho-o-o-o!
Drum beats
Ti - ra whe ru - wa ho - ka - we ta wi - ra, ho -
ka - we ta wi - ra, ho - ka - we ta wi - ra. Ti - ra whe ru - wa ho -
ka - we ta wi - ra, ho - ka - we ta wi - ra, ho - ka - we ta wi - ra.

I

942 Ho-o-o-o!
943 Tira whe ruwa hokawe ta wira, hokawe ta wira, hokawe ta wira.
944 Tira whe ruwa hokawe wira, hokawe ta wira, hokawe ta wira

II

945 Ho-o-o-o!
946 Tius we ria kishpa ka wia, kishpa ka wia, kishpa ka wia.
947 Tius we ria kishpa ka wia, kishpa ka wia, kishpa ka wia.

Translation

I

942 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
943 Tira whe ruwa hokawe ta wira, hokawe ta wira, hokawe ta wira.
tira, a part of atira, mother. The term refers to Kawas.
whe, it.
ruwa, flying toward the speaker.
hokawe, shadow.
ta, a part of wita, coming.
wira, it is coming.
944 See line 943.

II

*539 945 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 946 Tias we ria kishpa ka wia, kishpa ka wia, kishpa ka wia.

tias, a part of atius, father. The term refers to the white eagle, the male feathered stem.
we, it.
ria, hovering.
kishpa, the loud cry of the eagle.
ka, a part of akaro, lodge, dwelling place.
wia, coming, moving.
kishpa, the scream of the eagle.
ka, the word has here a double reference, to the lodge, and to the nest. The lodge represents the nest.
wia, moving about, coming.
kishpa, the scream of the eagle.
ka, a part of akaro, lodge. Refers to the nest.
wia, coming.

947 See line 946.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 This song has very few words, but a story goes with it to explain its meaning.

*796 773 One day a man was walking on the prairie; he was thinking, and his eyes were upon the ground. Suddenly he became aware of a shadow flitting over the grass, moving in circles that inclosed his feet. He stood still, wondering what this could mean; then he looked up and beheld a brown eagle flying round and round over his head. As he gazed the bird paused, looked down upon him, then flapped its wings and flew away (first stanza).

Again the man was walking and thinking, when he caught sight of a tall tree about which a great white eagle was flying, around and around as if it were watching over something. As it flew it screamed, making a great noise. It was the father bird guarding its nest (second stanza).

The brown eagle which the man saw was Kawas; where she went when she flew away is told in the next song. The blue-feathered stem, with the brown eagle feathers upon it, is carried next to the Children and waved over their heads, for she is the mother and cares for the young.

The white eagle is the male; the green-feathered stem, with his feathers upon it, is carried upon the outside, for he guards the nest.

The lodge where the Children are (the lodge where the ceremony is being performed) is the nest.

The white eagle which the man saw protecting the nest teaches all men to be brave and vigilant, to guard their children and make safe their home. In token of this duty, the warrior father wears the white eagle feather.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
776*
[773]

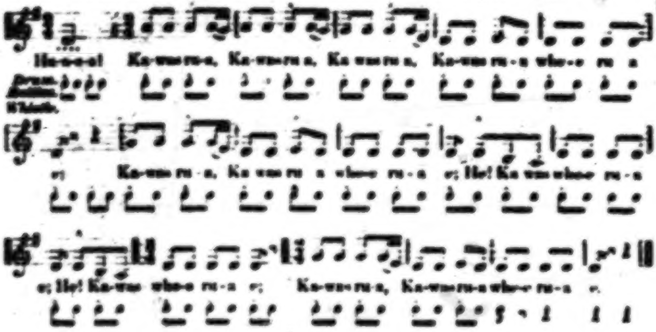
The whistle is used when we sing the second stanza, because the white eagle whistled when he flew around his nest.

FOURTH SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 144.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]


Ha-a-a-a! Ka-was-ru-a, Ka-was-ru-a, Ka-was-ru-a, Ka-was-ru-a whe-e ru-a
Drum
Whistle
e; Ka-was-ru-a, Ka-was-ru-a whe-e ru-a e; He! Ka-was whe-e ru-a
e; He! Ka-was whe-e ru-a e; Ka-was-ru-a, Ka-was-ru-a whe-e ru-a e.

I

948 Ha-a-a-a!
949 Kawas rua, Kawas rua, Kawas rua, Kawas rua whe-e rua e;
950 Kawas rua, Kawas rua whe-e rua e;
951 He! Kawas whe-e rua e; He! Kawas whe-e rua e;
952 Kawas rua, Kawas rua whe-e rua e

II

953 Ha-a-a-a!
954 Kawas tia, Kawas tia, Kawas tia, Kawas tia wheri ria e;
955 Kawas tia, Kawas tia wheri ria e;
956 He! Kawas wheri ria e; He! Kawas wheri ria e;
957 Kawas tia, Kawas tia wheri ria e.

Translation

I

948 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
949 Kawas rua, Kawas rua, Kawas rua, Kawas rua whe-e rua e.
Kawas, the brown eagle, symbol of the feminine powers.
rua, flying toward an object.
whe, it.
e, vowel prolongation.
rua, flying toward.
e, vocable.
950 Kawas rua, Kawas rua whe-e rua e. See line 949.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 951 He! Kawas whe-e rua e; He! Kawas whe-e rua e.
*796 he! a part of I'hare, an exclamation calling one to reflect. See line 1.
Kawas whe-e rua e. See line 949.

952 See line 950.

II

953 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

954 Kawas tia, Kawas tia, Kawas tia, Kawas tia wheri ria e.
Kawas, the brown eagle, the feminine power.
tia, flying overhead.
wheri, it here.
ria, above and very near.
e, vocable.

955 Kawas tia, Kawas tia wheri ria e. See line 954.

956 He! Kawas wheri ria e; Kawas wheri ria e.
he! a part of I'hare, an exclamation calling one to reflect upon a subject. See line 1.
Kawas wheri ria e. See line 954.

957 See line 955.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 773 The story of this song which has come down to us is that when the man saw the shadow on the grass and beheld the brown eagle flying over him, the eagle, recognizing the man, flapped its wings and flew away. The brown eagle was Kawas, the mother bird, and she flew straight to her nest, to her young, who cried out with joy as she came near. We use the whistle when we sing this song because the young eagles scream as the mother returns to them.

When we sing the second stanza we remember that the lodge of the Son is the nest of Kawas, that she is here flying over the heads of the Children, bringing near to them the fulfilment of the promises of the Hako.

The whistle which accompanies this stanza represents the cry of the Children in recognition of the fulfilment which Kawas is bringing. With this song we complete the fourth circuit of the eagles and the eighth circuit of the lodge.

The songs of the next four circuits refer to the rites.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

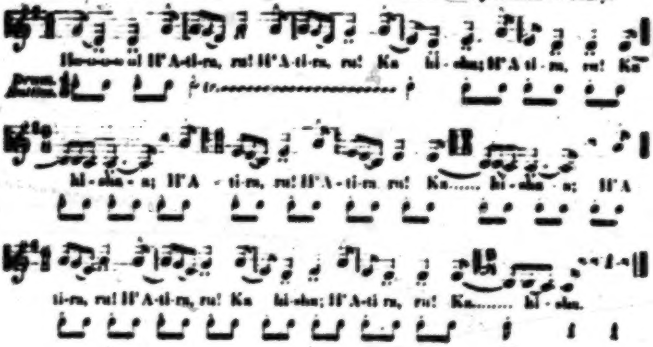
FIFTH SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*

M. M. Melody, ♩ = 60.
M. M. Drum, ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



Ho-o-o-o o! H'A-ti-ra, ru! H'A-ti-ra, ru! Ka hi-sha; H'A-ti-ra, ru! Ka
Drum
hi-sha-a; H'A - ti-ra, ru! H'A-ti-ra ru! Ka...... hi-sha-a; H'A
ti-ra, ru! H'A-ti-ra, ru! Ka hi-sha; H'A-ti-ra, ru! Ka....... hi-sha.

[533*]

958 Ho-o-o-o-o!
959 H'Atira, ru! H'Atira, ru! Ka hisha; H'Atira, ru! Ka hisha-a;
960 H'Atira, ru! H'Atira, ru! Ka hisha-a;
961 H'Atira, ru! H'Atira, ru! Ka hisha; H'Atira, ru! Ka hisha.

II

962 Ho-o-o-o-o!
963 Hra shira ko; hra shira ko, ka hisha; hra shira ko, ka hisha-a;
964 Hra shira ko; hra shira ko, ka hisha-a;
965 Hra shira ko; hra shira ko, ka hisha; hra shira ko, ka hisha.

Translation

I

958 Ho-o-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

959 H'Atira, ru! H'Atira, ru! Ka hisha; H'Atira, ru! Ka hisha-a.

h', the symbol of breath; life-giving.

atira, mother. The term refers to all the feminine powers represented with the Hako.

ru! an exclamation of joy.

ka, a part of akaro, lodge, dwelling place.

hisha, reached, entered.

h'Atira, ru! Translated above.

ka hisha-a. Translated above. The final a is a vowel prolongation.

960 H'Atira, ru! H'Atira, ru! Ka hisha-a. See line 959.

961 See line 959.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

II

*539 962 Ho-o-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.
*796 963 Hra shira ko; hra shira ko; ka hisha; hra shira ko, ka hisha-a.
hra, an abbreviation of harua, you, plural.
shira, came bringing.
ko, a part of Hako.
ka, a part of akaro, lodge, dwelling.
hisha, reached, entered.
964 Hra shira ko; hra shira ko, ka hisha-a. See line 963.
965 See line 963.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the first stanza of this song, the Fathers give the cry of joy that they have entered the lodge of the Son with the Mother breathing forth life.

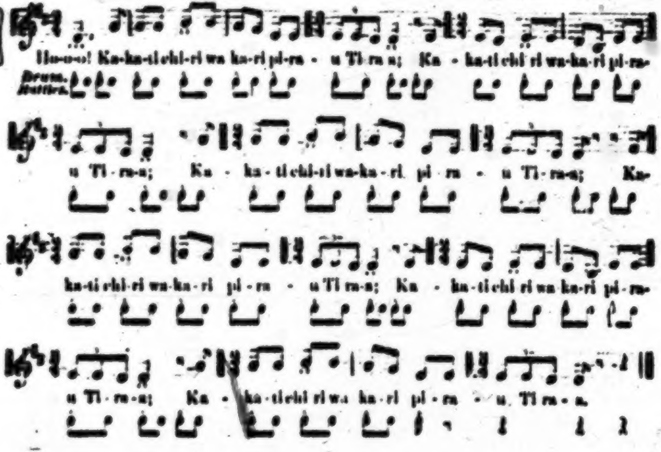
In the second stanza the Children respond: "Truly you have come, bringing the Hako with its gifts and its promises of joy."

SIXTH SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 144.
• Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ho-o-o! Ka-ka-ti-chi-ri wa-ka-ri pi-ra - u Ti-ra-a; Ka - ka-ti-chi-ri wa-ka-ri pi-ra-
Drum. Rattles.
u Ti-ra-a; Ka - ka-ti-chi-ri wa-ka-ri pi-ra - u Ti-ra-a; Ka-
ka-ti-chi-ri wa-ka-ri pi-ra - u Ti-ra-a; Ka - ka-ti-chi-ri wa-ka-ri pi-ra-
u Ti-ra-a; Ka - ka-ti-chi-ri wa-ka-ri pi-ra - u Ti-ra-a.

I

966 Ho-o-o!
967 Kakati chiri wakari pirau Tira'a;
968 Kakati chiri wakari pirau Tira'a;
969 Kakati chiri wakari pirau Tira'a;
970 Kakati chiri wakari pirau Tira'a;
971 Kakati chiri wakari pirau Tira'a;
972 Kakati chiri wakari pirau Tira'a.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

II

973 Wetati chiri wakari pirau ta hao;
974 Wetati chiri wakari pirau ta hao;
975 Wetati chiri wakari pirau ta hao;
976 Wetati chiri wakari pirau ta hao;
977 Wetati chiri wakari pirau ta hao;
978 Wetati chiri wakari pirau ta hao.

Translation

I

966 **Ho-o-o!** An introductory exclamation.

967 **Kakati chiri wakari pirau Tira.**

kakati, I do not.

chiri, a part of titichiri, to know.

wakari, a modified form of wakow, voice, with the plural sign, ri; the word wakari refers to chanted prayers.

pirau, children; a general term.

Tira'a, a modification of Tira'wa, the mighty power.

968-972 See line 967.

II

973 **Wetati chiri wakari pirau ta hao.**

wetati, I now.

chiri, know. See line 967.

wakari, chanted prayers. See line 967.

pirau, children.

ta, my.

hao, offspring; my own son or child.

974-978 See line 973.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

173
796*
539*

The old men who made these songs so long ago thought much upon Tira'wa atius and they prayed to him out on the hills nights and days at a time. They observed all the sacred ceremonies, for they knew that the rites were given to help the people. This Hako ceremony was given by the great power. The old men were careful in teaching its songs to those who were to come after them, and they explained their meaning. I am singing these songs and explaining them just as they were taught me, and as they had been handed down to the Ku'rahus who gave them to me. I did not make them."[a]

This song is very old and this is the story that came with it:

---

[a] The recording of this ceremony occupied several weeks in each of four years, and the reiterations of the Ku'rahus as to the fidelity of his communications were not apparent to him. They were natural expressions of his earnestness and his desire to be faithful. I have deemed it best to follow my original notes, giving these reiterations just as they were made.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

173 *539 *796 Long ago a Ku'rahus went with a Hako party to a distant tribe to make a Son. On the last night of the ceremony he said to the people: "Children, there is a power above which knows all things, all that is coming to pass. I do not know what will happen, but I hope good will come to you. I have prayed that long life and children and plenty may be given to you, but I know not if my prayers are heard or if they will be answered."

He went with the Hako a second time to the same tribe, but he said nothing. He went a third time, but he said nothing. He went the fourth time, and he was then a very old man. On the last night of the ceremony he spoke and said: "Children, I look over you and see the little boys whom I held in my arms when they were painted[a] now grown to manhood. I see that many children have been given to them; I see that your people have prospered and now I know that my prayers for you when I first came with the Hako have been answered. I know and am sure that the great power to which I prayed hears and answers the prayers of a man."

The first stanza refers to the prayer of the Ku'rahus when he first carried the Hako to the Children.

The second stanza speaks of the offspring that had been given to the Children, that he saw when he went the fourth time with the Hako.

We sing these stanzas on the last night of the ceremony, because it was on the last night that the Ku'rahus spoke to the Children. As we sing we remember what he said he had been taught, that Tira'wa atius hears us pray for the Children and will answer our prayers.

*539 *796 We now begin the last four circuits of the lodge. The first song refers to Tira'wa atius, the father of all. The second speaks of the lesser powers, those which can be seen or heard or felt by man.

We have sung these two songs before; the first time was on the first day, when we made the first circuit of the lodge, in the presence of all the Children, before they partook of the food prepared for them (eighth ritual). We sang them a second time on the third day, after the sacred feast of corn, and before we sang to Mother Earth and made the offering of smoke (thirteenth ritual). Now we sing them for the third time, at the close of the fourth and last night. They are our appeal before we begin the secret ceremonies pertaining to the little child.

---

[a] This is a reference to the ceremonies with the little child which take place on the fifth morning.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

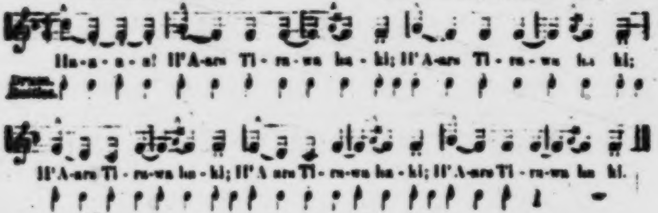
SEVENTH SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*
533*

M. M. ♩= 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ha-a - a - a! H'A-are Ti - ra - wa ha - ki; H'A-are Ti - ra - wa ha ki;
Drum. Rattles.
H'A-are Ti - ra-wa ha - ki; H'A are Ti - ra-wa ha - ki; H'A-are Ti - ra-wa ha ki.

979 Ha-a-a-a!
980 H'Aare Tira'wa haki;
981 H'Aare Tira'wa haki;
982 H'Aare Tira'wa haki;
983 H'Aare Tira'wa haki;
984 H'Aare Tira'wa haki.

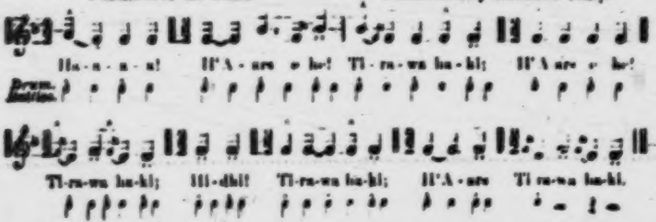
For translation, see eighth ritual, lines 437–442.

EIGHTH SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 126.
• Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ha - a - a - a! H'A - are e he! Ti - ra - wa ha - ki; H'A are e he!
Drum. Rattles.
Ti-ra-wa ha-ki; Hi - hi! Ti-ra-wa ha-ki; H'A - are Ti ra-wa ha-ki.

985 Ha-a-a-a!
986 H'Aare e he! Tira'wa haki;
987 H'Aare e he! Tira'wa haki;
988 Hihi! Tira'wa haki;
989 H'Aare Tira'wa haki.

For translation, see eighth ritual, lines 443–447.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The songs we sing during the last two circuits are the same that we sang when we prepared the Hako (first ritual). The first was when we painted the stem blue, the color of the sky, representing the abode of the powers above. The other was when we painted the stem green, the color of the covering of the fruitful earth. When we sang these songs we called upon the powers to come and give life and potency to the stems, and now we call upon them again asking for the fulfillment of the promises of the Hako.

[782]

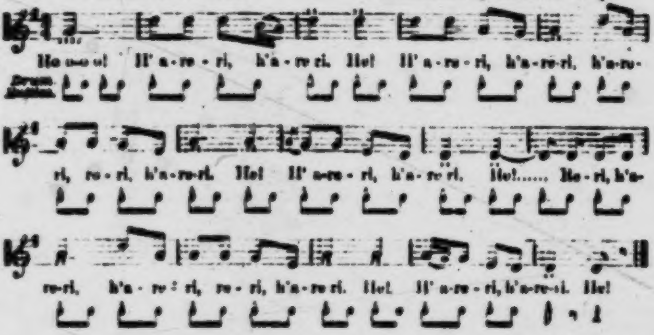
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

NINTH SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 128.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*533
*539
*796


Ho-o-o-o!
H' a-re-ri, h'a-re-ri. He! H' a-re-ri, h'a-re-ri, h'a-re-
ri, re-ri, h'a-re-ri. He! H' a-re-ri, h'a-re-ri. He!...... Re-ri, h'a-
re-ri, h'a-re-ri, re-ri, h'a-re-ri. He! H' a-re-ri, h'a-re-ri. He!
Drum Beats.

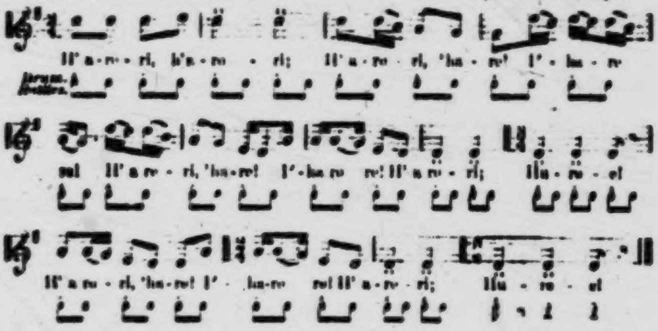
990 Ho-o-o-o!
991 H'areri, h'areri. He!
992 H'areri, h'areri, h'areri, reri, h'areri. He!
993 H'areri, h'areri. He!
994 Reri, h'areri, h'areri, reri, h'areri. He!
995 H'areri, h'areri. He!

For translation, see the first ritual, lines 66–71.

TENTH SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 128.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


H' a-re-ri, h'a-re-ri; H' a-re-ri, 'ha-re! I'-ha-re
re! H' a-re-ri, 'ha-re! I'-ha-re re! H' a-re-ri; Hu-re-e!
H' a-re-ri, 'ha-re! I'-ha-re re! H' a-re-ri; Hu-re-e!
Drum Beats.

539*
796*

996 H'areri, h'areri;
997 H'areri, 'hare! I'hare re!
998 H'areri, 'hare! I'hare re! H'areri;
999 Hure-e!
1000 H'areri, 'hare, I'hare re! H'areri;
1001 Hure-e!

For translation, see the first ritual, lines 72-77.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We have now made four times four circuits of the lodge. In the first four we remembered Mother Earth through the corn. In the second four we sang of the eagles, which are the messengers of the powers above. In the third four we spoke of the prayers we send to Tira'wa through this ceremony. In the last four we lifted our voices to the powers themselves, the mighty power above and all those which are with the Hako.

Four times four means completeness. Now all the forces above and below, male and female, have been remembered and called upon to be with us in the sacred ceremonies which will take place at the dawn. [801]

The night is nearly over when the last circuit is completed; then the Children rise and go home.

SIXTEENTH RITUAL (FIFTH DAY, DAWN)

PART I. SEEKING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

After the Children have gone, the Fathers lie down and wait for the first sign of dawn. They have eaten nothing since they last fed the Children shortly after noon, and they must fast until the close of the ceremony. 796*

At the first sign of dawn the Fathers rise and, preceded by the Ku'rahus with the feathered stems, the chief with the corn and wildcat skin, the doctors with their eagle wings, and the singers with the drum, go forth to the lodge where the family of the Son is living. As they march they sing the following song; the words mean that the Father is now seeking his child.

539*
796*

The child referred to is usually a little son or daughter of the Son, the man who has received the Hako party. Upon this little child we are to put the signs of the promises which Mother Corn and Kawas bring, the promise of children, of increase, of long life, of plenty. The signs of these promises are put upon this little child, but they are not merely for that particular child but for its generation, that the children already born may live, grow in strength, and in their turn increase so that the family and the tribe may continue.

In the absence of a little child of the Son an older person or a mother and her baby may be substituted.

SECOND RITUAL. PREFIGURING THE JOURNEY TO THE SON

*796 622 787 The ceremony of offering the Hako was believed to bring great benefits. As the tie to be formed was a close one and likely to have a bearing on the welfare of two tribes, the selection of the man who was to be the Son was not left exclusively to the Father. His choice had to be submitted to the chiefs of his tribe for their approval. Nor did the matter end here, for the chiefs, seemingly unwilling to assume the entire responsibility of a final decision, threw the confirmation of the selection of the Son upon the supernatural, represented by the ear of corn.

[771] To be able to follow the Pawnee's thought one should keep well in mind the native belief in the reality of an invisible world accessible to man. The Ku'rahus explained that in this rite the spirit of the corn and the spirits of the assembled company must meditate together upon the proposed candidate for the Son, must consider his qualifications and his ability to meet the requirements for a successful issue of the ceremony. He said: "As we meditate we sit with bowed heads, and Mother Corn sits with bowed head." When the decision is reached "Mother Corn lifts her head and stands erect, then she moves through the air on her journey to the Son, and we follow."

In this mystical journey Mother Corn "opens the way" between the land of the Fathers and that of the Children. She does more. She enters the village and passes around among the lodges of the people to that of the selected man. She goes in and touches him while he sleeps. It is the spirit of Mother Corn that touches the spirit of the man in a dream. He does not see her who has touched him, but he sees one of the birds which belong to the feathered stem, the eagle, the owl, the duck, or the woodpecker, for the spirits of these birds are there with the spirit of Mother Corn in the lodge of the sleeping man. If, when he awakes, he is able to recall his dream, it is because Mother Corn has "opened his mind." Therefore when the messengers of the Father's party arrive with the tidings, "Your Father is coming," the dreamer is not taken by surprise, but is ready to respond without unnecessary delay.

*796 622 The old man narrated this symbolic procedure of the ear of corn and its attendant spirits without consciousness that he was saying anything unusual or contrary to ordinary experience. His only comment was, that it was very difficult for the men of the party of the Father so to fix their minds upon the desired end as to secure its accomplishment. He referred to this difficulty several times while explaining the words and meaning of the song. When questioned as to whether the attempt was always successful, he said that when it failed the failure was always due to a lack of earnestness or sincerity on the part of the persons so fixing their minds. By this he did not mean that the men failed because they did not try hard enough to

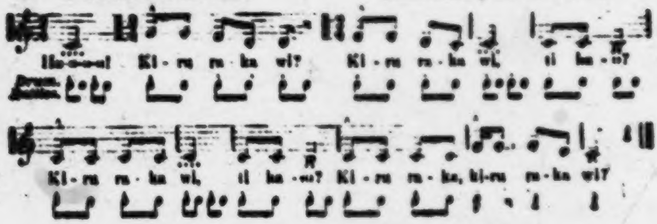
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SECOND SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*
[533*]

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! Ki - ru ra - ka wi? Ki - ru ra - ka wi, ti ha - o?
Drum
Ki - ru ra - ka wi, ti ha - o? Ki - ru ra - ka, ki-ru ra - ka wi?

I

1007 Ho-o-o-o!
1008 Kiru raka wi?
1009 Kiru raka wi, ti hao?
1010 Kiru raka wi, ti hao?
1011 Kiru raka, kiru raka wi?

II

1012 Ho-o-o-o!
1013 Tiwi reka wi!
1014 Tiwi reka wi, ti hao!
1015 Tiwi reka wi, ti hao!
1016 Tiwi reka, tiwi reka wi!

For translation, see the sixth ritual, lines 365-374.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

After singing the first stanza we move on, and when we are near the lodge we pause and sing the second stanza, "Here is the lodge of my Son wherein he sits waiting for me!"

796*

When we are close to the lodge of the Son we halt, and all the party of the Fathers who can not count war honors remain with the two Ku'rahus, the chief, and the singers who carry the drum, for the Hako can not take part in anything that refers to strife or war; its mission is to unite the people in peace.

The Ku'rahus chooses two men, a chief representing the brown eagle and a warrior representing the white eagle, to accompany the warriors as they step stealthily around the lodge, as if to surprise an enemy, and rush in through the entrance way.

The two chosen men go at once to the child and stand beside it, the chief on the right, the warrior on the left, while the warriors gather around the child and count their honors over it, all talking at once. When they have finished, the warrior touches the child on the left shoulder, then turns and faces it and speaks of the good gifts he has received from Tira'wa. His touch means the imparting to the child of that which he has received from Tira'wa. Then the chief touches the child on the right shoulder, turns and faces it and tells of the honor and favor Tira'wa has granted him. His touch means imparting to the child of that granted him by Tira'wa.

The touch of the warrior and the chief, representatives of the white and the brown eagle, signify the approach of the Hako.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART II. SYMBOLIC INCEPTION

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796
*539

Now the Ku'rahus with the feathered stems, the chief with the corn and the wildcat skin, and the singers with the drum, advance to the door of the lodge, enter, and walk down the long passageway into the dwelling. They go around the fire to the west, where the Son and his little child await them.

As we stand before the little child we sing this song (first stanza). We have sung it once before (sixth ritual, part I), at the time when the messenger representing the Son came to us outside the village. We sing it now as we look on the little child who represents the continuation of the life of the Son.

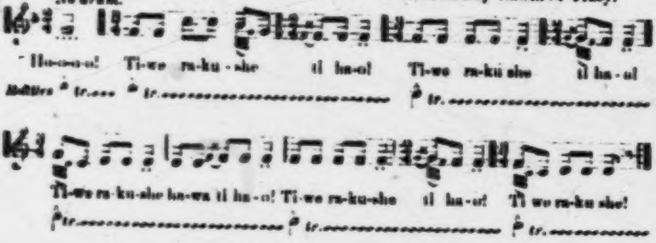
FIRST SONG

Words and Music

[*533]

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! Ti-we ra-ku-she ti ha-o! Ti-we ra-ku-she ti ha-o!
Rattles
tr.
Ti-we ra-ku-she ha-wa ti ha-o! Ti-we ra-ku-she ti ha-o! Ti we ra-ku she!

1017 Ho-o-o-o!
1018 Tiwe rakushe ti hao!
1019 Tiwe rakushe ti hao!
1020 Tiwe rakushe hawa ti hao!
1021 Tiwe rakushe ti hao!
1022 Tiwe rakushe!

For translation, see the sixth ritual, lines 353-358.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The Ku'rahus takes from the hands of the chief the wildcat skin, in which the ear of corn and the crotched plum tree stick are wrapped, and while he holds the ear toward the little child, we sing the song.

We have sung this song once before, at the time the ear of corn was painted (first ritual, part III). The ear of corn represents h'Uraru, Mother Earth who brings forth; the power which causes her to bring forth is from above, and the blue paint represents that power.

We hold the painted ear of corn toward the little child that the powers from above and from below may come near it.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

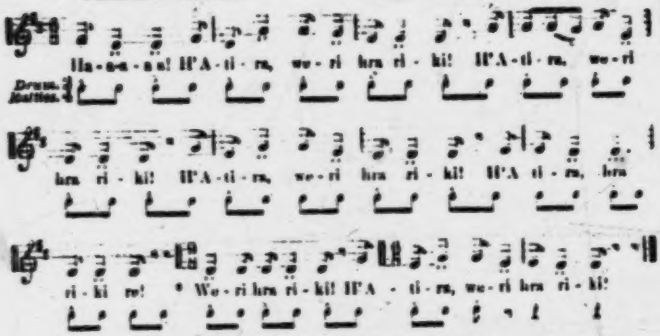
539*
796*
[533*]

SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪=138.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ha-a-a-a-a! H'A-ti-ra, we-ri hra ri-ki! H'A-ti-ra, we-ri
Drum. Rattles.
hra ri-ki! H'A-ti-ra, we-ri hra ri-ki! H'A ti-ra, hra
ri-ki re! * We-ri hra ri-ki! H'A-ti-ra, we-ri hra ri-ki!

I

1023 Ha-a-a-a-a!
1024 H'Atira, weri hra riki!
1025 H'Atira, weri hra riki!
1026 H'Atira, weri hra riki!
1027 H'Atira, hra riki re!
1028 Weri hra riki!
1029 H'Atira, weri hra riki!

II

1030 Ha-a-a-a-a!
1031 H'Atira, weri ruata!
1032 H'Atira, weri ruata!
1033 H'Atira, weri ruata!
1034 H'Atira ruata re!
1035 Weri ruata!
1036 H'Atira, weri ruata!

III

1037 Ha-a-a-a-a!
1038 H'Átira, weri tukuka!
1039 H'Atira, weri tukuka!
1040 H'Atira, weri tukuka!
1041 H'Atira tukuka re!
1042 Weri tukuka!
1043 H'Atira, weri tukuka!

IV

1044 Ha-a-a-a-a!
1045 H'Atira, weri taiwa!
1046 H'Atira, weri taiwa!
1047 H'Atira, weri taiwa!
1048 H'Atira taiwa re!
1049 Weri taiwa!
1050 H'Atira, weri taiwa!

V

1051 Ha-a-a-a-a!
1052 H'Atira, weri tawawe!
1053 H'Atira, weri tawawe!
1054 H'Atira, weri tawawe!
1055 H'Atira, tawawe re!
1056 Weri tawawe!
1057 H'Atira, weri tawawe!

VI

1058 Ha-a-a-a-a!
1059 H'Atira, weri tawitshpa!
1060 H'Atira, weri tawitshpa!
1061 H'Atira, weri tawitshpa!
1062 H'Atira tawitshpa re!
1063 Weri tawitshpa!
1064 H'Atira, weri tawitshpa.

For translation, see the first ritual, lines 82-123.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the second stanza, the Ku'rahus moves the ear of corn, as if it were flying toward the child. I explained this movement when I told you about the painting of the corn (see the first ritual, part III, explanation of second stanza of the song by the Ku'rahus).

*539
*796

While we sing the third stanza, the Ku'rahus touches the little child on the forehead with the ear of corn. The spirit of Mother Corn, with the power of Mother Earth, granted from above, has touched the child.

The touch means the promise of fruitfulness to the child and its generation.

As we sing the fourth stanza, the Ku'rahus strokes the child with the ear of corn, down the front, down the right side, down the back, and then down the left side.

These motions, corresponding to the four lines on the ear of corn, represent the four paths down which the powers descend to man. The four lines stroked upon the little child make the paths and open the way for the descent of the powers upon it. Every side of the child is now open to receive the powers, and as he goes through life, wherever he may be, on every side the powers can have access to him.

As we sing the fifth stanza, the Ku'rahus touches the child here and there with the ear of corn.

This movement signifies that Mother Corn with the powers are spreading over the child and descending upon it.

The sixth stanza tells that it is accomplished; the child is now encompassed by the spirit of Mother Corn and the powers and has received the promise of fruitfulness.

The Ku'rahus hands back to the chief the wildcat skin, inclosing the crotched stick and the ear of corn, and takes the two feathered stems. He wraps the white-eagle feathered stem within the feathers of the brown-eagle stem and, holding with both hands the bundle, he stands before the little child, and, while the first stanza of the following song is sung, he points the stems toward it.

This movement means that the breath of life is turned toward the child. The breath passes through the stem.

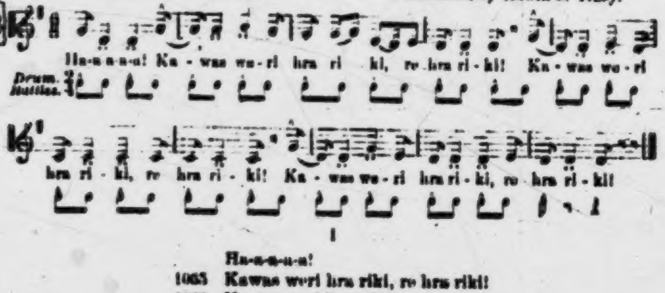
THIRD SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ha-a-a-a! Ka - was we - ri hra ri ki, re hra ri - ki! Ka - was we - ri
Drum. Rattles.
hra ri - ki, re hra ri - ki! Ka - was we - ri hra ri - ki, re hra ri - ki!

I

Ha-a-a-a-a!
1065 Kawas weri hra riki, re hra riki!
1066 Kawas weri hra riki, re hra riki!
1067 Kawas weri hra riki, re hra riki!

539*
796*

II

1068 Ha-a-a-a-a!
1069 Kawas weri ruata, re ruata!
1070 Kawas weri ruata, re ruata!
1071 Kawas weri ruata, re ruata!

III

1072 Ha-a-a-a-a!
1073 Kawas weri tukuka, re tukuka!
1074 Kawas weri tukuka, re tukuka!
1075 Kawas weri tukuka, re tukuka!

IV

1076 Ha-a-a-a-a!
1077 Kawas weri taiwa, re taiwa!
1078 Kawas weri taiwa, re taiwa!
1079 Kawas weri taiwa, re taiwa!

V

1080 Ha-a-a-a-a!
1081 Kawas weri tawawe, re tawawe!
1082 Kawas weri tawawe, re tawawe!
1083 Kawas weri tawawe, re tawawe!

VI

1084 Ha-a-a-a-a!
1085 Kawas weri tawitshpa, re tawitshpa!
1086 Kawas weri tawitshpa, re tawitshpa!
1087 Kawas weri tawitshpa, re tawitshpa!

Translation of First Stanza

1064 **Ha-a-a-a-a!** An introductory exclamation.

1065 **Kawas weri hra riki, re hra riki.**

Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the female forces.

weri, I am. The singular pronoun refers to Hako party, not merely to the Ku'rahus.

hra, a modification of rararit, to hold.

riki, standing, present time.

re, plural sign, indicating the two feathered stems which have been folded together, the united male and female.

hra, holding.

riki, standing, the present time.

1066, 1067 See line 1065.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

Translation of Second Stanza

1068 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
1069 Kawas weri ruata, re ruata.
Kawas, the brown eagle, the female.
weri, I am.
ruata, flying. See line 90.
re, plural sign; the two feathered stems.
ruata, flying.
1070, 1071 See line 1069.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the second stanza the Ku'rahus moves the feathered stems as if they were flying through space toward the child; the united male and female stems are drawing near.

Translation of Third Stanza

1072 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
1073 Kawas weri tukuka, re tukuka.
Kawas, the brown eagle; the female.
were, I am.
tukuka, touching, now touches.
re, plural sign; refers to the two feathered stems.
tukuka, now touches, are now touching.
1074, 1075 See line 1073.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing the third stanza the Ku'rahus touches the little child on the forehead with the united feathered stems. The breath of promised life has now touched the child. That is the meaning of the touch of the feathered stems.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

1076 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
1077 Kawas weri taiwa, re taiwa.
Kawas, the brown eagle; the female.
weri, I am.
taiwa, to rub downward, making a mark.
re, plural; the two feathered stems.
taiwa, making a mark with a downward motion.
1078, 1079 See line 1077.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the fourth stanza the Ku'rahus makes with the united feathered stems the four paths by downward strokes upon the child,

539*
796*

as was done with the ear of corn. These movements mean that all the powers which bring life have access to the child, so that the promise of fruitfulness may be fulfilled.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

1080 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
1081 Kawas weri tawawe, re tawawe.
Kawas, the brown eagle.
weri, I am.
tawawe, to spread.
re, plural; refers to the two feathered stems.
tawawe, to spread.
1082, 1083 See line 1081.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing the fifth stanza the Ku'rahus touches the child here and there with the united feathered stems; this means the spreading over it of the powers represented by the male and female stems.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

1084 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
1085 Kawas weri tawitshpa, re tawitshpa.
Kawas, the brown eagle.
weri, I am.
tawitshpa, a word denoting the accomplishment of a purpose, the attainment of an end.
re, plural; refers to the two united feathered stems.
tawitshpa. Translated above.
1086, 1087 See line 1085.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza means that it is accomplished, that the child has been encompassed by the powers represented by the united stems. It is a promise of procreation.

PART III. ACTION SYMBOLIZING LIFE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

At the close of the song the Ku'rahus, separating the two stems, hands the white-eagle feathered stem to his assistant and retains the brown-eagle stem. The father of the child makes it sit upon the ground. The chief chooses a man to carry the child from the lodge of its father, the Son, back to the lodge where the ceremony of the preceding four days has been performed.

*539
*796

The chosen man takes his position a little distance in front of the child, the Ku'rahus and his assistant stand on each side of the man, facing the child, and the chief, carrying the cat skin and the corn, stands in front, facing the child (figure 177).

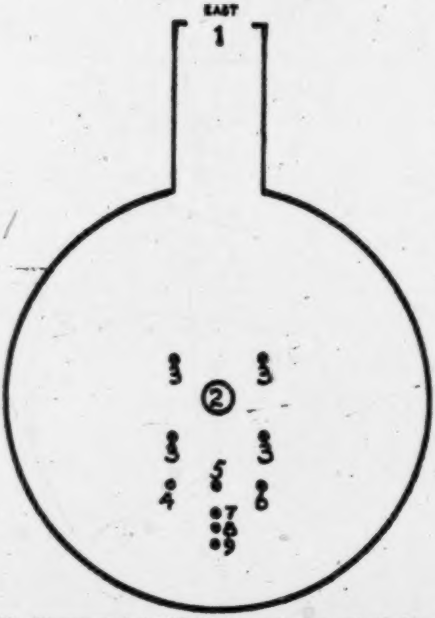


FIG. 177. Diagram of the Son's lodge during the sixteenth ritual, part III.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the Ku'rahus; 5, the *Father* (a chief); 6, the Ku'rahus's assistant; 7, the one chosen to carry the child; 8, the child; 9, the father of the child, the Son.

The following song is then sung in a gentle tone, that the child may be willing to be taken up and carried by a stranger. The words are: "Come and fear not, my child; all is well."

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

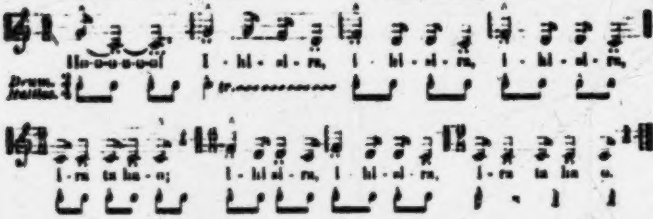
FIRST SONG

[illegible]
796*

Words and Music

M. M. ♩=58.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



Ho-o-o-o-o-o!
I - hi - si - ra, I - hi - si - ra, I - hi - si - ra,
Drum. Rattles.
tr.
I - ra ta ha - o;
I - hi si - ra, I - hi - si - ra,
I - ra ta ha o.

[533*]

1088 Ho-o-o-o-o-o!
1089 Ihisira, ihisira, ihisira, ira ta hao;
1090 Ihisira, ihisira, ira ta hao.

Translation

1088 Ho-o-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

1089 Ihisira, ihisira, ihisira, ira ta hao.

ihisira; isira, come; an invitation to advance. The syllable hi, which follows i, is used to fill out the rhythm of the music and to give a coaxing effect.

ira, a part of the word nawairi, a word implying confidence, among its other meanings; it means here, it is all right, fear not.

ta, a part of the word kutati, my.

hao, child, offspring.

1090 Ihisira, ihisira, ira ta hao. See line 1089.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The man who is to carry the child turns his back toward it and drops upon one knee. The child, lifted to its feet by its father, takes four steps forward, while we, still facing the child, sing this song: "I am ready; come, my child; have no fear!"

The four steps taken by the child represent the progress of life.

C

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SECOND SONG

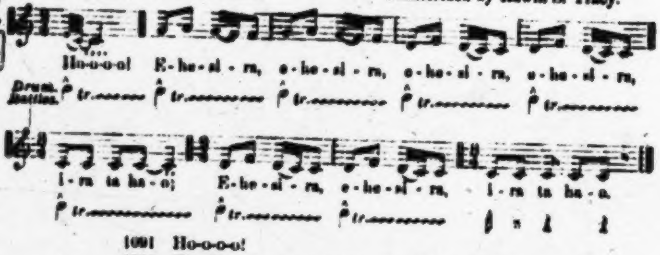
Words and Music

M. M. ♩=58.

• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*539
*796
[*533]


Ho-o-o-o! E-he-si-ra, e-he-si-ra, e-he-si-ra, e-he-si-ra,
Drum. Rattles.
tr.
I-ra ta ha-o; E-he-si-ra, e-he-si-ra, I-ra ta ha-o.

1091 Ho-o-o-o!
1092 Ehesira, ehesira, ehesira, ehesira, ira ta hao;
1093 Ehesira, ehesira, ira ta hao.

Translation

1091 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory explanation.
1092 Ehesira, ehesira, ehesira, ehesira, ira ta hao.

ehesira; esira, come, I am ready for you or to receive you. The syllable he, which follows e, is to fill out the rhythm and the movement of the song.

1093 Ehesira, ehesira, ira ta hao. See line 1092.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The man takes the child upon his back and rises to his feet. The chief steps aside and the man bearing the child moves forward toward the door of the lodge. The Ku'rahus and his assistant and the chief walk behind him, and the rest of the company follow.

As we walk back to the lodge in the early daylight we sing this song: "Behold your father walking with the child!"

THIRD SONG

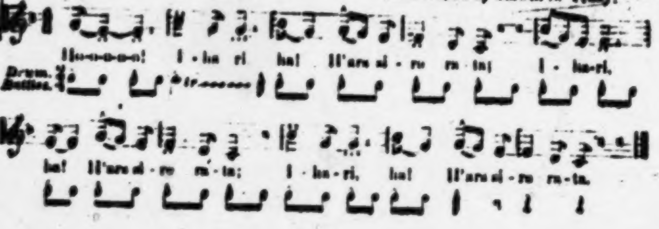
Words and Music

M. M. ♩=56.

• • Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ho-o-o-o-o! I-ha ri ha! H'ars si-re ra ta; I-ha-ri,
Drum. Rattles.
tr.
ha! H'ars si-re ra-ta; I-ha-ri, ha! H'ars si-re ra-ta.

1094 Ho-o-o-o! 539*
1095 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata; 796*
1096 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata;
1097 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata.

Translation

1094 Ho-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.
1095 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata.
ihari, a term for young; it here refers to the little child.
ha! an exclamation, calling attention.
h', an abbreviation of ha, your.
ars, a modification of atius, father.
sire, carrying, refers to the child.
rata, walking with.
1096, 1097. See line 1095.

SEVENTEENTH RITUAL

PART I. TOUCHING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Hako party, led by the man carrying the child, arrived at the lodge, the child was taken to the west, behind the holy place, and set upon the ground, facing the east, and clad in gala dress. 796*

The warriors ranged themselves in a curved line, both ends of which touched the walls of the lodge, thus inclosing a space within which was the holy place, the child, the singers and the drum, the Ku'rahus and his assistant, the chief, the doctors, and an old man selected by the Ku'rahus. The warriors stood close together, letting their robes drop until the lower edge touched the ground, making a screen over which no one could look to see what was taking place within the inclosure.

On the preceding evening, before the Children had gathered within the lodge, the Ku'rahus had sent a young man to fill a vessel from a running stream. The vessel was at once covered closely and put beside the holy place and no one was permitted to even touch it. (In old times pottery vessels made by our women were used. They were shaped small at the bottom, larger in the middle, and smaller again at the neck. The handles on the sides had holes through which sticks could be thrust to lift the vessel from the fire. They were ornamented by lines drawn by a stick in the soft clay.) [323 [531] 462]

The chief now approached the vessel, lifted the cover and poured some of the water into a wooden bowl set aside for this purpose, and put it down before the old man. This man had been chosen because of his long life, and his having received many favors from the powers above, in order that similar gifts might be imparted to the child.

The preparation of the child, which took place within the line of warriors, was concealed from their view by an inner group closely

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

+ 79 surrounding it. The old man sat before the child, a little to the south, the chief (the Father) directly behind it with the cat skin and ear of corn, the doctor with the left eagle wing toward the north, the doctor with the right eagle wing toward the south, and the Ku'rahus with his assistant in front, all facing the child (figure 178).

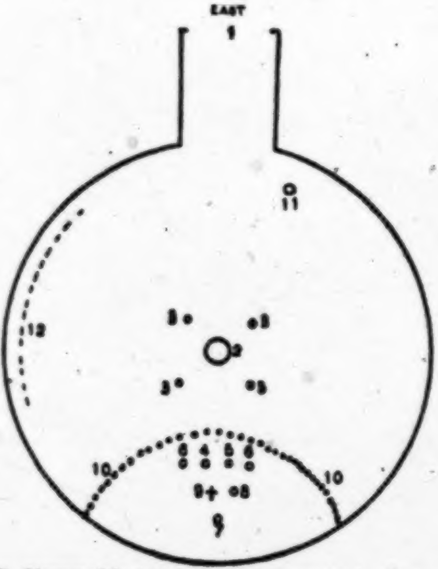


FIG. 178. Diagram of the Son's lodge during the seventeenth ritual, part I.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the Ku'rahus; 5, his assistant; 6, the bearers of the eagle wings; 7, the Father (a chief); 8, the old man who prepares the child; 9, the little child; 10, the line of warriors; 11, the Son, father of the little child; 12, members of the Hako party.

During the singing of the following songs the cat skin with the crotched stick and the ear of corn, the feathered stems, and the eagle wings are waved to its rhythm.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

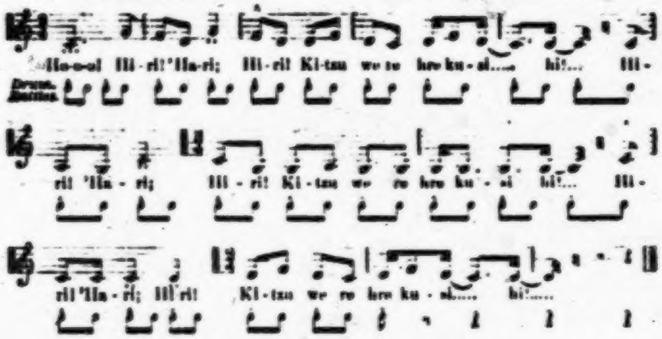
FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 120.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

539*
796*
[533*]


Ho-o-o! Hi-ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! Ki-tsu we re hre ku-si.... hi!... Hi-
Drum. Rattles.
ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! Ki-tsu we re hre ku-si hi!... Hi-
ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! Ki-tsu we re hre ku-si.... hi!....

I

1098 Ho-o-o!
1099 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we re hre kusi hi!
1100 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we re hre kusi hi!
1101 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we re hre kusi hi!

II

1102 Ho-o-o!
1103 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we re ru ata ha!
1104 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we re ru ata ha!
1105 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we re ru ata ha!

III

1106 Ho-o-o!
1107 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we ri tukuka ha!
1108 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we ri tukuka ha!
1109 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we ri tukuka ha!

IV

1110 Ho-o-o!
1111 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we ri ta iwa ha!
1112 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we ri ta iwa ha!
1113 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we ri ta iwa ha!

V

1114 Ho-o-o!
1115 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we ri ta wawe he!
1116 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we ri ta wawe he!
1117 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we ri ta wawe he!

VI

1118 Ho-o-o!
1119 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we ri ta witshpa ha!
1120 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we ri ta witshpa ha!
1121 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsu we ri ta witshpa ha!

Translation of First Stanza

*539 1098 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1099 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitzu we re hre kusi hi!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child, young.
hiri! an exclamation calling to give heed.
kitzu, a modified form of kiitzu, water.
we, now.
re, am.
hre, holding.
kusi, sitting.
hi! part of hiri! give heed! harken!
1100, 1101. See line 1099.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the first stanza the old man takes up the bowl and holds it in both hands.

Water is for sustenance and the maintenance of health; it is one of the great gifts of Tira'wa atius.

[776] The white man speaks of a heavenly Father; we say Tira'wa atius, the Father above, but we do not think of Tira'wa as a person. We think of Tira'wa as in everything, as the power which has arranged and thrown down from above everything that man needs. What the power above, Tira'wa atius, is like, no one knows; no one has been there.

[783] The water is in a bowl shaped like the dome of the sky, because water comes from Tira'wa atius. The little child is to be cleansed and prepared for its future life by the water—sustained and made strong by the water.

Translation of Second Stanza

1102 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1103 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitzu we re ru ata ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part in iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitzu, water.
we, now.
re, am, or is.
ru, it.
ata, flying.
ha! behold!
1104, 1105 See line 1103.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When we sing the second stanza the old man sets the bowl down and dips the finger of his right hand in the water and moves it toward the child. 539* 796*

This means that the water is moving through the air, coming from above toward the child with its gifts.

Translation of Third Stanza

1106 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1107 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitzu we ri tukuka ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitzu, water.
we, now.
ri, it.
tukuka, touching.
ha! behold!
1108, 1109 See line 1107.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the third stanza the old man touches the forehead of the child with the water.

The power of the water has now reached the child.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

1110 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1111 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitzu we ri ta iwa ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitzu, water.
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
iwa, running down.
ha! behold!
1112, 1113 See line 1111.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing the fourth stanza the old man makes certain wet lines on the face of the child. These signify that the sustaining of life through the power of water comes from Tira'wa atius.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

*539 1114 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1115 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitzu we ri ta wawe he!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitzu, water.
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
wawe, spreading over.
he! from hiri! give heed!
1116, 1117 See line 1115.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

During the singing of the fifth stanza the old man touches the face of the child with water here and there so as to make it wet.

This is to signify that the cleansing power of water, which brings health, is from Tira'wa.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

1118 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1119 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitzu we ri ta witshpa ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitzu, water.
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
witshpa, accomplished, completed.
ha! behold!
1120, 1121 See line 1119.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the sixth stanza we sing that it is accomplished, that water has come with all its power from Tira'wa atius to the child.

The old man takes up a brush of stiff grass and holds it while we sing the first stanza of the following song.

SECOND SONG

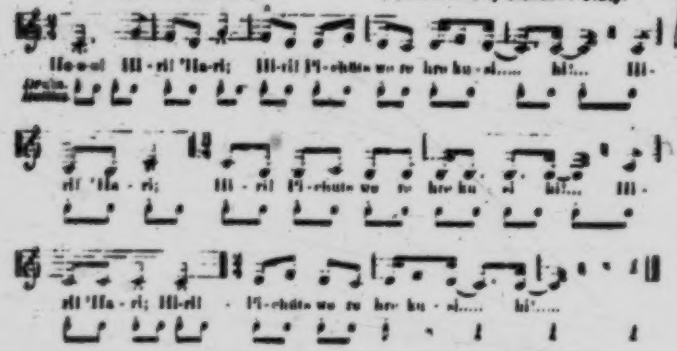
Words and Music

539*
796*

(a) M. M. ♪=126
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]


Ho-o-o! Hi - ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! Pi-chûts we re hre ku - si..... hi!... Hi-
Drum-Rhythm
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi - ri! Pi-chûts we re hre ku si hi!... Hi-
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi-ri! - Pi-chûts we re hre ku - si..... hi!.....

I

1122 Ho-o-o!
1123 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we re hre kusi hi!
1124 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we re hre kusi hi!
1125 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we re hre kusi hi!

II

1126 Ho-o-o!
1127 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we re ru ata ha!
1128 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we re ru ata ha!
1129 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we re ru ata ha!

III

1130 Ho-o-o!
1131 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri tukuka ha!
1132 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri tukuka ha!
1133 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri tukuka ha!

IV

1134 Ho-o-o!
1135 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta iwa ha!
1136 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta iwa ha!
1137 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta iwa ha!

V

1138 Ho-o-o!
1139 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta wawe he!
1140 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta wawe he!
1141 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta wawe he!

VI

1142 Ho-o-o!
1143 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta witshpa ha!
1144 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta witshpa ha!
1145 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta witsh - ha!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of First Stanza

*539 1122 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1123 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we re hre kusi hi!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed.
pichûts, a brush made of stiff grass.
we, now.
re, am.
hre, holding.
kusi, sitting.
hi! part of hiri! give heed! harken!
1124, 1125 See line 1123.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The grass of which the brush is made is gathered during a ceremony belonging to the Rain shrine. It represents Toharu, the living covering of Mother Earth. The power which is in Toharu gives food to man and the animals so that they can live and become strong and able to perform the duties of life. This power represented by the brush of grass is now standing before the little child.

Translation of Second Stanza

1126 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1127 Hari! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we re ru ata ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
pichûts, a brush of grass.
we, now.
re, am or is.
ru, it.
ata, flying.
ha! behold!
1128, 1129 See line 1127.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the second stanza, the old man moves the brush toward the child. This means that the power of Toharu is flying through the air toward the child.

539*
796*

Translation of Third Stanza

1130 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1131 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri tukuka ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of ha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
pichûts, a brush of grass.
we, now.
ri, it.
tukuka, touching.
ha! behold!
1132, 1133 See line 1131.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing the third stanza the old man touches the forehead of the child with the brush of grass. The power of Toharu has reached the child, has come in contact with it to impart the strength that comes from food.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

1134 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1135 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta iwa ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of ha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
pichûts, a brush of grass.
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
iwa, a downward movement.
ha! behold!
1136, 1137 See line 1135.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

During the singing of the fourth stanza the old man makes certain lines upon the face of the child with the brush of grass. These lines mean that the power by which Toharu gives strength through food comes from above, and that man should always remember that when he eats.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of Fifth Stanza

*539 1138 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1139 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta ware ho!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
pichûts, a brush made of grass.
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
ware, spreading over.
ho! from hiri! give heed!
1140, 1141 See line 1139.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza, the old man touches the head of the child and smooths its hair with the brush of grass. In this act the brush prepares the hair for the sacred symbols which are to be put upon it. In this act we are thinking only of the brush and its usefulness, and not of Toharu, as represented by the grass.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

1142 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1143 Hiri! 'Hari, Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta witshpa ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
pichûts, a brush made of grass.
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
witshpa, accomplished; completed.
ha! behold!
1144, 1145 See line 1143.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza we sing that it is accomplished, the power of Toharu has nourished and prepared the child for the ceremonial acts which are now to take place.

Part II. Anointing the Child

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

782 The ointment used in this act of anointing the child is red clay mixed with fat from a deer or buffalo which has been consecrated or set apart at the time it was killed as a sacrifice to Tira'wa. The first animal killed on a hunt belongs to Tira'wa.

539*
796*
[237
415]

The ointment is kept in a kind of bag made of the covering of the animal's heart, dried and prepared for this purpose. (It is said that insects do not attack this skin covering.)

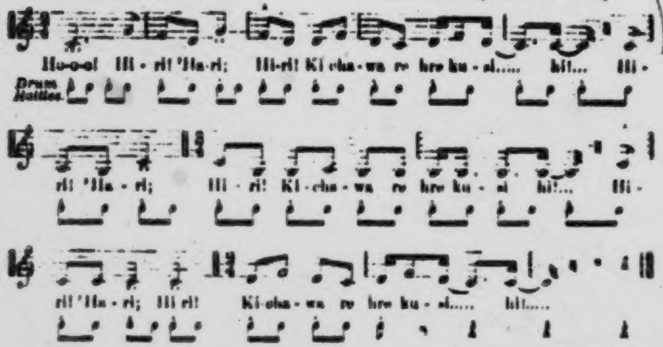
Before anyone can take part in a religious ceremony he must be anointed with this sacred ointment.

SONG

Words and Music

(b) M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o! Hi - ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! Ki-cha-wa re hre ku - si..... hi!... Hi -
Drum Rattles.
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi - ri! Ki - cha - wa re hre ku - si hi!... Hi -
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi ri! Ki-cha-wa re hre ku - si..... hi!.....

[533*]

I

1146 Ho-o-o!
1147 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re hre kusi hi!
1148 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re hre kusi hi!
1149 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re hre kusi hi!

II

1150 Ho-o-o!
1151 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re ru ata ha!
1152 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re ru ata ha!
1153 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re ru ata ha!

III

1154 Ho-o-o!
1155 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri tukuka ha!
1156 Hiri!' Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri tukuka ha!
1157 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri tukuka ha!

IV

1158 Ho-o-o!
1159 Hiri!' Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta iwa ha!
1160 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta iwa ha!
1161 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta iwa ha!

V

1162 Ho-o-o!
1163 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta wawe he!
1164 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta wawe he!
1165 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta wawe he!

*539
*796

VI

1166 Ho-o-o!
1167 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta witshpa ha!
1168 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta witshpa ha!
1169 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta witshpa ha!

Translation of First Stanza

1146 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1147 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re hre kusi hi!

hiri! give heed!

'hari, a part of ha'ri, child.

hiri! give heed!

kichawa; ki, from kitzu, water; chawa, bubbles of fat; the term is applied to the ointment made from the fat of an animal which has been consecrated to Tira'wa. This ointment is used for anointing preparatory to a sacred ceremony.

re, am.

hre, holding.

kusi, sitting.

hi! from hiri! give heed!

1148, 1149 See line 1147.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing the first stanza the old man takes and holds in his hand some of the sacred ointment. The consecrating power which is in the ointment now stands before the child.

Translation of Second Stanza

1150 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1151 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re ru ata ha!

hiri! give heed!

'hare, a part of ha're, child.

hiri! give heed!

kichawa, ointment.

re, is.

ru, it.

ata, flying.

ha! behold!

1152, 1153. See line 1151.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing the second stanza the old man moves the sacred ointment toward the child. This means that the power which is in the ointment is drawing near.

539*
776*

Translation of Third Stanza

1154 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1155 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri tukuka ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kichawa, ointment.
ri, it.
tukuka, touching.
ha! behold!
1156, 1157. See line 1155.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the third stanza the old man touches the forehead of the child with the ointment. This act signifies that the child is singled out from among his fellows and touched for consecration.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

1158 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1159 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta iwa ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kichawa, ointment.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
iwa, downward movement.
ha! behold!
1160, 1161. See line 1159.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this fourth stanza the old man makes the same lines upon the face of the child as he made with the water and the brush of grass. This is in recognition that the life which has been sustained and nourished is now consecrated to Tira'wa atius, the father above, who gives life to all things.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

*539 1162 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1163 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta wawe he!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kichawa, ointment.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
wawa, spreading over.
he! from hiri! give heed!
1164, 1165 See line 1163.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing the fifth stanza, the old man touches the child here and there with the sacred ointment. This means that the strength that is in every part of a man and all that belongs to him must be consecrated to Tira'wa.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

1166 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1167 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta witshpa ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kichawa, ointment.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
witshpa, accomplished, completed.
ha! behold!
1168, 1169 See line 1167.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza we sing that it is accomplished, that the child has been consecrated and made ready for the holy rites, and that we have recognized that all things come from Tira'wa atius, the father above.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART III. PAINTING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*

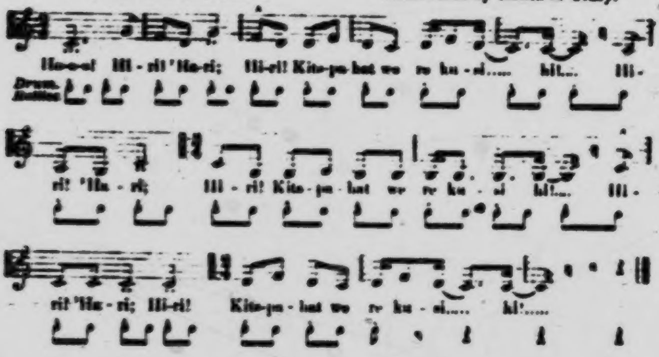
While we sing the first stanza of the following song, the old man takes a shell containing red paint and holds it before the consecrated child.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

(a) M. M. ♪ = 126.
∘ = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



Ho-o-o! Hi - ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! Kits-pa-hat we re ku - si..... hi!... Hi-
Drum-Rattle
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi - ri! Kits - pa - hat we re ku - si hi!... Hi-
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi-ri! Kits-pa - hat we re ku - si..... hi!.....

533*

I

1170 Ho-o-o!
1171 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat we re kusi hi!
1172 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat we re kusi hi!
1173 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat we re kusi hi!

II

1174 Ho-o-o!
1175 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat re ru atu ha!
1176 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat re ru atu ha!
1177 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat re ru atu ha!

III

1178 Ho-o-o!
1179 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat ri tukuka ha!
1180 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat ri tukuka ha!
1181 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat ri tukuka ha!

IV

1182 Ho-o-o!
1183 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat ri ta iwa ha!
1184 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat ri ta iwa ha!
1185 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat ri ta iwa ha!

V

1186 Ho-o-o!
1187 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat ri ta wawe he!
1188 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat ri ta wawe he!
1189 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitsqahat ri ta wawe he!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

VI

1190 Ho-o-o!
1191 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri ta witshpa ha!
1192 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri ta witshpa ha!
1193 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri ta witshpa ha.

Translation of First Stanza

1170 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1171 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat we re kusi hi!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitspahat; kits, from kitsu, water; pahat, red. The term means red paint.
we, now.
re, am.
kusi, sitting.
hi! from hiri! give heed!
1172, 1173 See line 1171.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[386 The Ku'rahus had prepared the paint by mixing red clay with running water. He mixes it rather dry so that what is left can remain in the shell. Only the right half of a shell can be used to hold the paint. You remember what I told you of the shell and why we use it (first ritual, part II). The red clay we use for paint was made by Tira'wa for this purpose.

[822 The paint symbolizes the red clouds of the dawn, the coming of the new day, the rising sun, the vigor of life. The power of the new day, the new life, is now standing before the child.

Translation of Second Stanza

1174 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1175 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat re ru ata ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitspahat, red paint.
re, is.
ru, it.
ata, flying.
ha! behold!
1176, 1177 See line 1175.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

During the singing of the second stanza the old man moves the shell containing the paint toward the child. The vigor of life is coming to the child, flying toward it as through the air, like the coming of dawn.

Translation of Third Stanza

1178 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1179 Hiri, 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri tukuka ha!
hiri! give heed! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! harken! give heed!
kitspahat, red paint.
ri, it.
tukuka, touching.
ha! behold!
1180, 1181 See line 1179.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this third stanza the old man touches the forehead with the red paint. The vigor of life, the power of the touch of the sun, is now on the child.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

1182 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1183 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri ta iwa ha!
hiri! give heed! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! harken!
kitspahat, red paint.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
iwa, downward movement.
ha! behold!
1184, 1185 See line 1183.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing the fourth stanza the old man makes the same lines on the face of the child as those made with the water, the brush of grass, and the ointment. This means that the vigor of life, the power of the touch of the sun, the new life of the dawn, are all from Tira wa atius.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of Fifth Stanza

*539 1186 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1187 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri ta wawe he!
hiri! harken! give heed!
'hari, a part of of iha'ri, child.
hiri! harken!
kitspahat, red paint.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
wawe, spreading over.
he! from hiri! give heed!
1188, 1189 See line 1187.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the fifth stanza the old man touches the child's face here and there, and then spreads the red paint entirely over it. This symbolizes the full radiance of the sun with all its power, giving to the child its vigor of life.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

1190 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1191 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri ta witshpa ha!
hiri! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitspahat, red paint.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
witshpa, accomplished; completed.
ha! behold!
1192, 1193 See line 1191.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We sing in this stanza that it is accomplished, that the child is encompassed by the power which Tira'wa atius has given to the sun and the vigor imparted to its day.

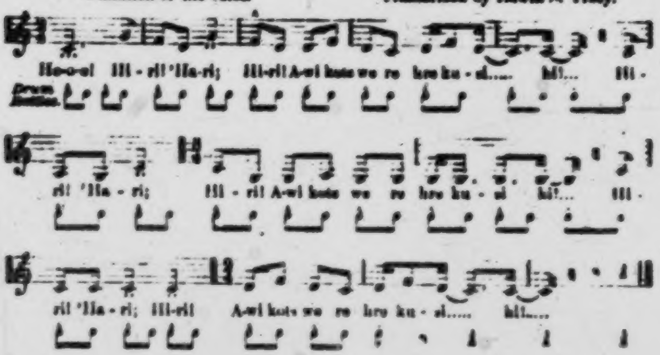
[386] The old man now takes a shell containing blue paint which had been prepared by the Ku'rahus from blue clay and running water, and while we sing the first stanza of the following song he holds it before the child. This is a very sacred act.

SECOND SONG

Words and Music

(d) M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o! Hi - ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! A-wi kots we re hre ku - si.... hi!... Hi -
Drum rhythm
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi - ri! A-wi kots we re hre ku - si hi!... Hi -
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi-ri! A-wi kots we re hre ku - si.... hi!...

539*
796*
[533*]

I

1194 Ho-o-o!
1195 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we re hre kusi hi!
1196 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we re hre kusi hi!
1197 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we re hre kusi hi!

II

1198 Ho-o-o!
1199 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we re ru ata ha!
1200 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we re ru ata ha!
1201 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we re ru ata ha!

III

1202 Ho-o-o!
1203 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri tukuka ha!
1204 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri tukuka ha!
1205 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri tukuka ha!

IV

1206 Ho-o-o!
1207 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta iwa ha!
1208 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta iwa ha!
1209 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta iwa ha!

V

1210 Ho-o-o!
1211 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta wawe he!
1212 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta wawe he!
1213 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta wawe he!

VI

1214 Ho-o-o!
1215 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta witshpa ha!
1216 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta witshpa ha!
1217 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta witshpa ha!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of First Stanza

*539 1194 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1195 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we re hre kusi hi!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! harken!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, a part of rekots, whitish; as a thin cloud through which one can see a tinge of the blue sky beyond. Light blue.
we, now.
re, am.
hre, holding.
kusi, sitting.
hi! from hiri! give heed!
1196, 1197 See line 1195.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[822] Blue represents the sky, the place where Tira'wa atius dwells, and with this blue paint we are to make upon the child a picture of the face of Tira'wa atius. It is a mark of Tira'wa atius' acceptance of the consecrated child and a sign of his presence. The symbol of the dwelling place of Tira'wa atius stands before the child.

Translation of Second Stanza

~~1198 Ho-o-o!~~ An introductory exclamation.
1199 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we re ru ata ha!
hiri! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
re, is.
ru, it.
ata, flying.
ha! behold!
1200, 1201 See line 1199.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing the second stanza the old man moves the shell containing the blue paint toward the child. The blue of the sky where Tira'wa atius dwells is coming near, descending through the air.

Translation of Third Stanza

539*
796*

1202 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1203 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri tukuka ha!
hiri! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
tukuka, touching.
ha! behold!
1204, 1205 See line 1203.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the third stanza the old man touches the forehead with the blue paint. The blue sky has reached the child; its forehead has been touched by the abode of Tira'wa atius.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

1206 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1207 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta iwa ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taakut, to touch.
iwa, downward movement.
ha! behold!
1208, 1209 See line 1207.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing the fourth stanza the old man traces with the blue paint the lines he has made with the water, the brush of grass, the sacred ointment, and the red paint. In these lines we see the face of Tira'wa atius, the giver of life and power to all things (see figure 179).

302
772
796*

The lines forming an arch across the forehead and down each cheek of the child represents the dome of the sky, the abode of Tira'wa atius. The line from the middle of the forehead, the center of the arch, down the ridge of the nose is the breath of Tira'wa atius. It descends from the zenith, passing down the nose to the heart, giving life to the child.

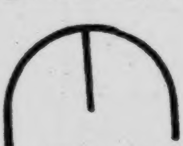


FIG. 179. The symbol of Tira'wa.

*796 The picture of the face of Tira'wa atius is put upon the face of the consecrated child.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

*539 1210 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1211 Hi-ri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta wawe he!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hari! harken!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
wawe, to spread.
he! from hiri! give heed!
1212, 1213 See line 1211.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the fifth stanza the old man touches the lines here and there to make them clear; he can not spread the paint, for he is making a picture.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

1214 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation
1215 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots weri ta witshpa ha!
hiri! harken! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hari! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
witshpa, accomplished; completed.
ha! behold!
1216, 1217 See line 1215.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 In the sixth stanza we sing that it is done, that the face of Tira'wa atius is upon the face of the consecrated child.

821 There is a group of stars overhead which forms a circle (Corona Borealis). This is a circle of chiefs. Tira'wa atius placed them there and directed them to paint their faces with the same lines we have put upon the child, and all who are to be leaders must be so painted.

*539 *796 575 622 From this circle of stars came a society called Raristesharu. All dances (societies) given by Tira'wa atius are called raris tesharu

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

means chief (the te is a modification of le, in the word lesharu, chief). The members of the society Raristesharu are chiefs, and these men are permitted by the star chiefs to paint their faces with the blue lines and to wear the downy feather on the head. The members of this society do not dance and sing; they talk quietly and try to be like the stars.

539*
796*
575
622

I was told that it was from this society that permission was given to paint the child with the blue lines and to put the downy feather upon it.

PART IV. PUTTING ON THE SYMBOLS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The old man now takes a bunch of eagle down, and as we sing the first stanza of the following song he holds it before the child.

539*
796*

FIRST SONG

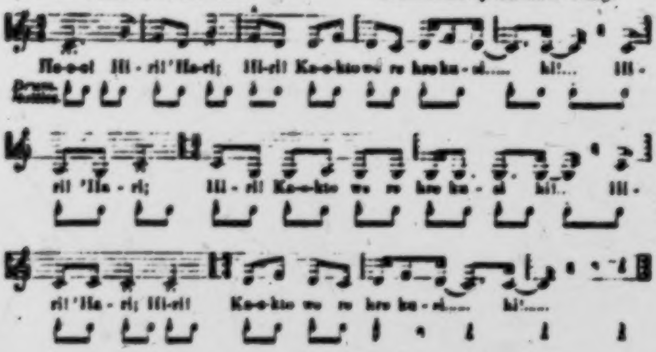
Words and Music

(a) M. M. ♪ = 126.

• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]



Ho-o-o! Hi - ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! Ka-a-ktu we re hre ku - si..... hi!... Hi -
Drum Rhythm
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi - ri! Ka-a-ktu we re hre ku - si hi!.. Hi -
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi-ri! Ka-a-ktu we re hre ku - si..... hi!.....

I

1218 Ho-o-o!
1219 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaaktu we re hre kusi hi!
1220 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaaktu we re hre kusi hi!
1221 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaaktu we re hre kusi hi!

II

1222 Ho-o-o!
1223 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaaktu we re ru ata ha!
1224 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaaktu we re ru ata ha!
1225 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaaktu we re ru ata ha!

III

1226 Ho-o-o!
1227 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaaktu we ri takuka ha!
1228 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaaktu we ri takuka ha!
1229 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaaktu we ri takuka ha!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

IV

1210 Ho-o-o!
1211 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri kittawo ha!
1212 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri kittawo ha!
1213 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri kittawo ha!

V

1214 Ho-o-o!
1215 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri ta witshpa ha!
1216 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri ta witshpa ha!
1217 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri ta witshpa ha!

Translation of First Stanza

1218 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1219 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re hre kusi hi!
hiri! harken.
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kaokto, down from the eagle.
we, now.
re, am.
hre, holding.
kusi, sitting.
hi! from hiri! give heed!
1220, 1221 See line 1219.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[237] The down represents the high, light clouds (cirrus) in the blue of the sky; they are near the abode of Tira'wa atius.

[825] The down is taken from under the wings of the white eagle. The white eagle is the mate of the brown eagle, and the child is the child of Kawas, the brown eagle. The down grew close to the heart of the eagle and moved as the eagle breathed. It represents the breath and life of the white eagle, the father of the child.

Translation of Second Stanza

1222 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1223 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re ru ata ha!
hiri! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kaokto, eagle's down.
we, now.
re, is.
ru, it.
ata, flying.
ha! behold!
1224, 1225 See line 1223.

1: Fletcher III-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*

As we sing the second stanza, the old man moves the down near the child. The soft, white clouds that are near the abode of Tira'wa atius are coming near the head of the child.

Translation of Third Stanza

1226 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1227 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri tukuka ha!
hiri! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kaokto, the down of the eagle.
we, now.
ri, it
tukuka, touching.
ha! behold!
1228, 1229 See line 1227.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza, the old man touches the head of the child with the down. The light clouds have reached the child.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

1230 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1231 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri kittawe he!
hiri! give heed.
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed.
kaokto, eagle's down.
we, now.
ri, it.
kittawe; kit, top; ta, from taokut, to touch; we, a part of tawe, standing; the word means standing on the top of the child's head.
he! from hiri! give heed!
1232, 1233 See line 1231.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing the fourth stanza the old man opens his hand and lets the down fall upon the hair. The soft, white clouds near the abode of Tira'wa atius have dropped and covered the head of the child.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

*539 1234 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1235 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri ta witahpa ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kaokto, eagle's down.
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
witahpa, accomplished.
ha! behold!
1236, 1237 See line 1235.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We sing in the fifth stanza that it is accomplished, the head of the consecrated child now rests in the soft, white clouds which float near the dwelling place of Tira'wa atius.

The Ku'rahus takes from the brown-eagle feathered stem a downy feather and gives it to the old man, who, while we sing the first stanza, holds it before the child.

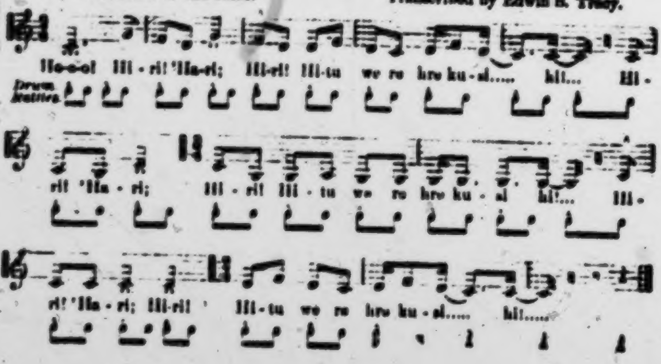
SECOND SONG

Words and Music

(f) M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ho-o-o! Hi - ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! Hi-tu we re hre ku - si..... hi!... Hi -
Drum Rattles
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi - ri! Hi - tu we re hre ku - si hi!... Hi -
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi-ri! Hi - tu we re hre ku - si..... hi!.....

1238 Ho-o-o!
1239 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we re hre kusi hi!
1240 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we re hre kusi hi!
1241 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we re hre kusi hi!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

II

1242 Ho-o-o!
1243 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we re ru ata ha!
1244 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we re ru ata ha!
1245 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we re ru ata ha!

III

1246 Ho-o-o!
1247 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we ri tukuka ha!
1248 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we ri tukuka ha!
1249 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we ri tukuka ha!

IV

1250 Ho-o-o!
1251 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we ri kittawe he!
1252 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we ri kittawe he!
1253 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we ri kittawe he!

V

1254 Ho-o-o!
1255 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we ri ta witshpa ha!
1256 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we ri ta witshpa ha!
1257 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we ri ta witshpa ha!

Translation of First Stanza

1238 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1239 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we re hre kusi hi!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
hitu, feather; a downy, soft feather.
we, now.
re, am.
hre, holding.
kusi, sitting.
hi! from hiri! give heed!
1240, 1241. See line 1239.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The downy, white feather came from the white eagle, the father of the child. Soft, blue feathers were bound around its stem, to which a small buckskin thong was attached, so that the feather could be tied upon the hair of the child. The soft, blue feathers represent the blue sky above the clouds; the white, downy feather itself, which is ever moving, as if it were breathing, represents Tira'wa atius, who dwells beyond the blue sky, which is above the soft, white clouds.

All during the ceremony this feather has been tied upon the brown-eagle feathered stem, close to the owl feathers. It is different from the downy feather worn by the Ku'rahus and his assistant, for at its

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 stem there is a little one, like a small branch, that is to show that the little child is the child of Tira'wa atius.

*796 This double feather now stands before the child.

Translation of Second Stanza

1242 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1243 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we re ru aia ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
hitu, a downy feather.
we, now.
re, is.
ru, it.
aia, flying.
ha! behold!
1244, 1245 See line 1243.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the second stanza the old man moves the feather toward the child's head. The feather representing Tira'wa atius is now flying through the air, coming near the head of the little child.

Translation of Third Stanza

1246 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1247 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we ri tukuka ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
hitu, downy feather.
we, now.
ri, it.
tukuka, touching.
ha! behold!
1248, 1249 See line 1247.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

During the singing of this stanza the old man touches the head of the child with the downy white feather. The symbol of Tira'wa atius has reached the child and rests above the white, downy clouds.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of Fourth Stanza

539*
796*

1250 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1251 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we ri kittawe he!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, child.
hiri! give heed!
hitu, downy feather.
we, now.
ri, it.
kittawe, standing on top (of the child's head).
he! from hiri! give heed!
1252, 1253 See line 1251.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing this fourth stanza, the old man ties the downy feather on the child's hair. Tira'wa atius is now with the little child as the double feather waves over its head.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

1254 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1255 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Hitu we ri ta witshpa ha!
hiri! harken!
'hari, child.
hiri! harken! give heed!
hitu, downy feather.
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
witshpa, accomplished, completed.
ha! behold!
1256, 1257 See line 1255.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Now we sing that all is accomplished. The child has been fully prepared, the sacred symbols put upon it, the powers from above have come, and Tira'wa atius breathes over it.

The child is now told to look into the bowl of water and behold its face. The running water symbolizes the passing on of generations, one following another. The little child looks on the water and sees its own likeness, as it will see that likeness in its children and children's children. The face of Tira'wa atius is there also, giving promise that the life of the child shall go on, as the waters flow over the land.

A black covering is now put over the child's head by the Ku'rahus, that no one may look on the holy symbols. Only Tira'wa looks

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 on them and knows all that they mean. We do not look on them, for they are holy.[a]

*796 The Ku'rahus, handing the bowl of water to the young man who brought it into the lodge, tells him what to do before he throws it away.

The young man with the bowl passes through the circle of warriors and goes by the south to the east, then to the northeast, where he lifts a few drops to that direction and lets them fall on the rim of the fireplace. Then he passes to the northwest and repeats his action. At the west he lifts a few drops to the zenith and lets them fall on the rim of the fireplace. Then he passes on to the southwest, offering the water as before, and then to the southeast, where he repeats his offering. Thence he goes to the inner door of the lodge, where he pauses, then passes through the entrance way, and when he is out under the early morning sky he throws the water toward the east.

[823] This is done because all the rivers flow toward the east.

EIGHTEENTH RITUAL. FULFILMENT PREFIGURED

PART I. MAKING THE NEST

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The old man who has been preparing the child now rises from his position and, stepping to one side, leaves the Ku'rahus and his assistant standing directly in front of the little child.

[534] These two lift the feathered stems and the rattles and wave their arms like the wings of a bird as the following song is sung three times. No drum is used, but the rattles and the whistle accompany the song.

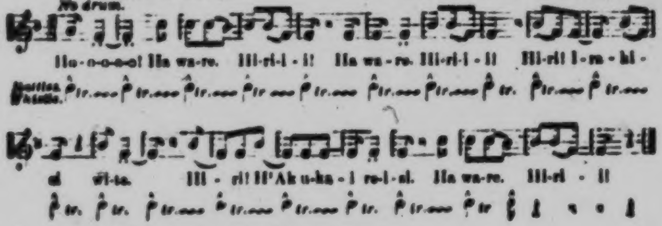
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 192.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*583]


Ho-o-o-o-o! Ha wa-re. Hi-ri-i - i! Ha wa - re. Hi-ri-i - i! Hi-ri! I-ra - hi - si wi-ta. Hi - ri! H'Ak u-ka - i re-i - si. Ha wa-re. Hi-ri - i!
Rattles. Whistle.
tr.

1258 Ho-o-o-o-o!
1259 Ha ware. Hiri-i-i!
1260 Ha ware. Hiri-i-i!
1261 Hiri! Irahisi wito.
1262 Hiri! H'Ak ukai reisi.
1263 Ha ware. Hiri-i!

---

[177] [a] The Ku'rahus did not remember what was formerly used as a covering for the head of the child; latterly it has been a black silk handkerchief.

Translation

539*
796*

1258 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

1259 Ha ware. Hiri-i-i!

ha, yonder.

ware, a part of toware, flying, circling about.

hiri! give heed! harken!

i-i, vowel prolongations.

1260 See line 1259.

1261 Hiri! Irahisi wite.

hiri! give heed! harken!

irahisi, irasi, it is you. The syllable hi is introduced to modify the word so as to conform to the music.

wite, conjecture, surmise.

1262 Hiri! H'Ak ukai reisi.

hiri! give heed! harken!

h'Ak; h', the sign of breath, life; ak, a part of akaro, a dwelling: h'Ak, the stretch of the earth under the dome of the heavens.

ukai, to put in.

reisi, a modification of irasi, it is you.

1263 See line 1259.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

796+

After the third repeat, the Ku'rahus calls out, "Open a way!" and the warriors who form the line separate at the north and at the south, and the brown-eagle feathered stem is carried through the north opening and the white-eagle feathered stem through the south opening. The white eagle then flies back and forth before the line of warriors guarding the brown eagle as she circles the fireplace.

When the Ku'rahus, carrying the brown-eagle feathered stem, reaches the west he pauses, and then goes to the northwest, near the rim of the fireplace, where he makes a circle with the big toe of his left foot and covers the outline with down. Then he passes to the northeast and makes another circle, marking it also with down; then to the southeast, where he makes a third circle, then to the southwest, where he makes the fourth circle. Meanwhile the song is being sung for the fourth time, and the white eagle is still flying back and forth in front of the line of warriors.

[825]

The circle represents a nest, and is drawn by the toe because the eagle builds its nest with its claws. Although we are imitating the bird making its nest, there is another meaning to the action; we are thinking of Tira'wa making the world for the people to live in. If you go on a high hill and look around, you will see the sky touching the earth on every side, and within this circular inclosure the people live. So the circles we have made are not only nests, but they also

*796 represent the circle Tira'wa atius has made for the dwelling place of all the people. The circles also stand for the kinship group, the clan, and the tribe.

The down represents the light clouds near the dwelling place of Tira'wa—the dome of the sky over the dwelling place of the people—and it stands for the protection of Tira'wa. When there is no down to be had, white ashes can be used. I do not know what the ashes mean, but I think they are to make the outline distinct and to represent the white down.

The nests are four, because at the four directions are the paths down which the powers from above descend. The four winds guard these paths and protect the life of man.

After the four nests are made, the feathered stems are laid at rest. The Ku'rahus then takes bits of fat which have been preserved from an animal consecrated to Tira'wa and puts them with some native tobacco into an oriole's nest and hands the nest to the chief, who conceals it in his hands.

[237] The bits of fat represent the droppings that mark the trail made by the hunters as they carry the meat home from the field. This trail is called the path dropping fatness, and means plenty. Fat, therefore, stands for the promise of abundant food.

[773 825] The oriole's nest is used because Tira'wa made this bird build its nest so that no harm could come to it. It hangs high, is skillfully made, and is secure. An eagle's nest may be torn away by a storm, but the oriole's nest sways in the wind and is not hurt.

PART II. SYMBOLIC FULFILMENT

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[482] Now a robe is spread on the ground and the child is placed on it with his feet and legs projecting beyond the edge. Four men are appointed to carry the child. One goes on each side and takes hold of the robe and lifts it; a man at the back of the child steadies it as it is raised and carried, while the fourth man holds another robe over its feet and legs.

The chief and the Ku'rahus precede the child to the circle at the northwest, where it is held over the nest so that its feet rest within the circle. The chief puts his hands under the robe held over the child's legs and drops the oriole's nest within the circle so that the child's feet rest on it. No one but the chief and the Ku'rahus know what is being done beneath the robe. The chief takes up the nest, concealing it from view, and goes to the circle at the northeast, to which the child has also been carried, and in the same way places its feet on it. The same act is repeated at the circles in the southeast and the southwest.

The child represents the young generation, the continuation of life,

and when it is put in the circle it typifies the bird laying its eggs. The child is covered up, for no one knows when a bird lays its eggs or when a new birth takes place; only Tira'wa can know when life is given. The putting of the child's feet in the circle means the giving of new life, the resting of its feet upon the oriole's nest means promised security to the new life, the fat is a promise of plenty of food, and the tobacco is an offering in recognition that all things come from Tira'wa. The entire act means that the clan or tribe of the Son shall increase, that there shall be peace and security, and that the land shall be covered with fatness. This is the promise of Tira'wa through the Hako.

796 ✗

Four times the child is taken around the fire and its feet are placed within the four circles during the singing of the following song, but the nest is used only on the first round.

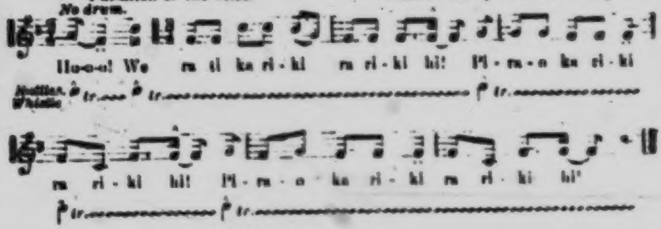
SONG

Words and Music

539 ✗
796 ✗
533 ✗

M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o! We ra ti ka ri - ki ra ri - ki hi! Pi - ra - o ka ri - ki
Rattles. Whistle
tr.
tr.
tr.
ra ri - ki hi! Pi - ra - o ka ri - ki ra ri - ki hi!
tr.
tr.

1264 Ho-o-o!
1265 We ra ti ka riki ra riki hi!
1266 Pirao ka riki ra riki hi!
1267 Pirao ka riki ra riki hi!

Translation

1264 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1265 We ra ti ka riki ra riki hi!
we, now.
ra, is.
ti, he.
ka, from akaro, an inclosure; the space or room within.
riki, standing.
ra, is.
riki, standing.
hi, vowel prolongation.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 1206 Pirao ka riki ra riki hi!
pirao, child.
*796 ka, within.
riki, standing.
ra, is.
riki, standing.
hi, vowel prolongation.
1207 See line 1206.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 At the close of this song and ceremony the child is carried back and seated behind the holy place. The chief stands behind the child, and a feathered stem is laid on each side of it, the brown eagle to the north.

PART III. THANK OFFERING

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Live coals are brought and put on the holy place before the child, and the Ku'rahus cuts bits of consecrated fat and sweet grass and lays them on the coals. All the people silently watch the sweet-smelling smoke as it curls upward. When the smoke is well on its way to Tira'wa, the Ku'rahus, standing at the west, lifts the feathered stems, the wildcat skin, and all the other sacred objects of the Hako and waves them four times through the smoke toward the east, and then lays them down as they were before. When the chief and his assistant have raised the child to its feet, the chief puts his hands in the sweet smoke and passes them over its head, then puts his hands back into the smoke and rubs the child from its shoulders down its arms. Again he puts his hands in the smoke and passes them down the body of the child. For the fourth time he puts his hands in the smoke and strokes the legs of the child to its feet and presses them upon the earth. Then the child is again seated.

Now the Ku'rahus says, "My Children, the offering of sweet smoke is for you." After that the chief and the assistant will put smoke on any of the Children who so desire. This takes some time, for every one of the Children present wishes to have the blessing of the smoke. At length the chief puts the smoke upon himself, and the Ku'rahus and his assistant on themselves, and last of all the two young men who are to perform the final dance bless themselves with the smoke.

The Ku'rahus returns the coals to the fireplace and spreads the ashes over the ground so that nothing will show where they have been. Next he goes to the first circle in the northwest and with his right foot rubs away the outline. He then proceeds to the nest-circle at the northeast and rubs that away, and so on with the other two. The doctors follow, the one with the left wing sweeping away all signs of the nests on the north side of the fireplace, while the doctor with the right wing does the same to those on the south side.

796*

[431]

The chief, the Father of the Hako party, now takes the little child in his arms and, going outside of the lodge, sits down near the door, where he remains during the final dance and the presentation of gifts by the children.

THIRD DIVISION. THE DANCE OF THANKS

NINETEENTH RITUAL

PART I. THE CALL TO THE CHILDREN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Before the entrance to the lodge mats are spread, on which sit those who are to take part in the coming ceremony.

The Ku'rahus and his assistant are directly before the door. At the left of them are two doctors who have not heretofore taken part. They carry their large rattles, and have lent two similar ones to the Ku'rahus and his assistant. They have also lent for this occasion their peculiar drums to the singers. These drums are made of the section of a tree hollowed out by fire, over the open end of which a skin has been stretched and securely tied. The singers are seated in a semicircle about each of the two drums (see figure 180). In front of the Ku'rahus and the singers sits the chief, and before him is the little child. The doctors with the eagle wings are on either side, the one with the left wing toward the north, the one with the right wing toward the south. In front of them are the two dancers. The space within which they are to dance is inclosed on the south by a line of prominent men from the Son's party, and on the north by a line from the Father's. These lines beginning at the lodge end each with a warrior selected by the Ku'rahus for his valorous record. These warriors wear buffalo robes with the hair side out and are girded about the waist with a hair lariat, which is to be used in leading the horses brought as gifts to the Fathers. Beyond these lines of prominent men, who are seated, are gathered the people, those belonging to the tribe of the Son on the south and those of the Hako party on the north.

[534]

The Ku'rahus gives a small tuft of white down to a man whose hands have not been painted with sacred ointment, and directs him where to place it on the head of the chief. The place is on the spot where a baby's skull is open, and you can see it breathe. The white down represents the white clouds which lie near the abode of Tira'wa atius, whence he sends down the breath of life to man. Chiefs were appointed by Tira'wa through the North Star. The tuft of down also signifies that the chief's office is from above.

The two feathered stems, the rattles, the wildcat skin, and the ear of corn are given to the chief to hold.

The two young men who have been selected to dance are stripped to the breechcloth, and red circles are made with the sacred paint on their backs and breasts. The circles are outlined faintly, so as not to

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

x796

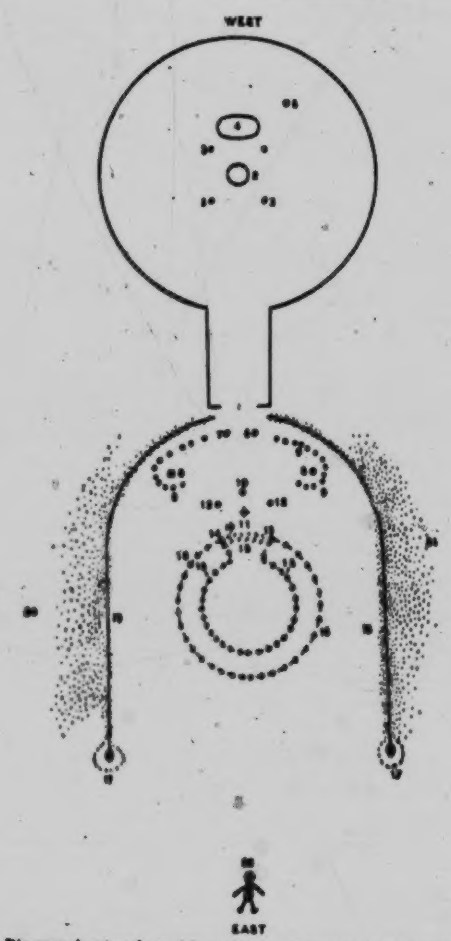


FIG. 180. Diagram showing the positions of the participants in the dance of thanks.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the roof; 4, the holy place; 5, the drum; 6, the Ku'rahus; 7, his assistant; 8, the drums of the doctors; 9, singers; 10, the Father (a chief); 11, the little child; 12, the bearers of the eagle wings; 13, the dancer with the brown-eagle feathered stem; 14, the dancer with the white-eagle feathered stem; 15, the line of the brown-eagle dancer; 16, the line of the white-eagle dancer; 17, warriors who take the ponies off; 18, prominent men of the Hako party; 19, prominent men of the Son's party; 20, members of the Son's tribe, the Children; 21, members of the Hako party; 22, effigy on which war honors are counted.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

attract attention, for they represent the nest and are a part of the secret ceremony. The downy eagle feather which until now has been worn by the Ku'rahus is fastened to the scalp lock of the dancer who is to bear the brown-eagle feathered stem, and the downy feather worn by the assistant is tied to the hair of the dancer who will hold the white-eagle feathered stem. 796*

A man, previously chosen by the Ku'rahus, steps up to the chief and receives from him the two feathered stems and the rattles. He makes the sign of thanks for the honor by passing his hands down the arms of the chief. Then, holding the brown-eagle feathered stem in his right hand, he recounts a successful capture of booty, then tells of a war adventure in which he struck an enemy without receiving any harm. After this he hands the brown-eagle feathered stem and a rattle to the dancer sitting at the north. Holding up the white-eagle feathered stem, he tells of a successful foray, in which he captured ponies, and then of a victory in war, after which he hands the white-eagle feathered stem and a rattle to the dancer sitting at the south and takes his own place in the line of prominent men belonging to the Father's party. [576]

The first song is now sung, to the accompaniment of the large rattles, the doctors' drums, and the whistle.

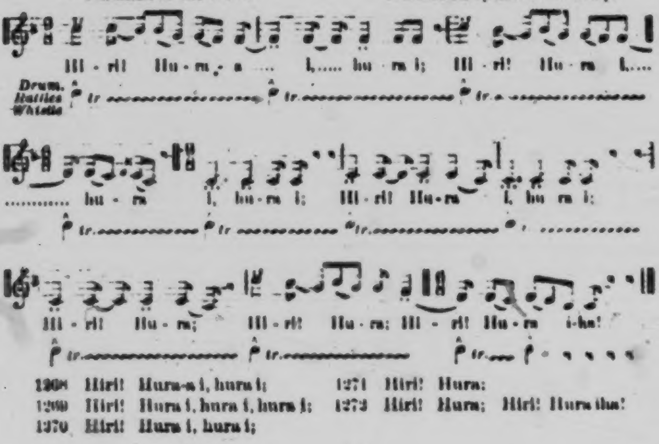
FIRST SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*
[533*]

M. M. ♪ = 152.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Hi - ri! Hu - ra - a ..... i..... hu - ra i; Hi - ri! Hu - ra i.....
Drum, Rattles Whistle
tr
..... hu - ra i, hu - ra i; Hi - ri! Hu - ra i, hu ra i;
Hi - ri! Hu - ra; Hi - ri! Hu - ra; Hi - ri! Hu - ra i-ha!

1268 Hiri! Hura-a i, hura i;
1269 Hiri! Hura i, hura i, hura i;
1270 Hiri! Hura i, hura i;
1271 Hiri! Hura;
1272 Hiri! Hura; Hiri! Hura iha!

Translation

*539 *796

1268 Hiri! Hura-a i, hura i.

hiri! an exclamation calling attention and demanding that heed be given; harken!

hura, let come.

a, vowel prolongation.

i, a part of the word iha're, young, or children.

hura i, let the children come.

1269 Hiri! Hura i, hura i, hura i. See line 1268.

1270 Hiri! Hura i, hura i. See line 1268.

1271 Hiri! Hura. See line 1268.

1272 Hiri! Hura; Hiri! Hura iha!

Hiri! Hura; Hiri! Hura. See line 1268.

iha, a part of the word iha're, children, young.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This song is addressed to the Children that they may know that all is now ready for the reception of their gifts.

The words of the song mean: "Harken! Give attention! Let the Children come!"

The song is sung twice and then we pause; this is to give the Children time to come together.

After a little while we sing the second song.

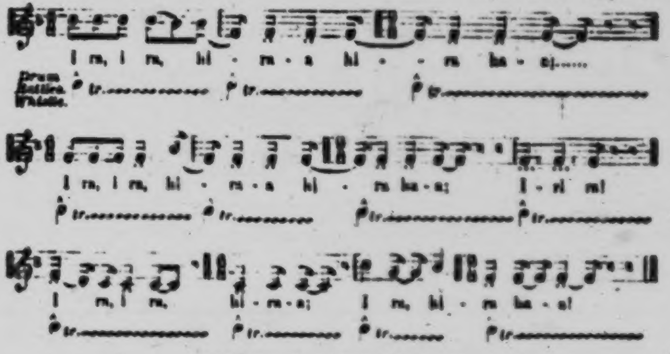
SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 152.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*633]


I ra, i ra, hi - ra - a hi - - ra ha - a;.....
Drum Rattles Whistle.
tr.
I ra, i ra, hi - ra - a hi - ra ha - a; I - ri ra!
tr.
I ra, i ra, hi - ra - a; I ra, hi - ra ha - a!
tr.

1273 I ra, i ra, hira-a hira ha-a;
1274 I ra, i ra, hira-a hira ha-a;
1275 Iri ra!
1276 I ra, i ra, hira-a;
1277 I ra, hira ha-a!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

Translation

1273 I ra, I ra, hira-a hira ha-a.
i, a part of the word iha're, children, young.
ra, come.
hira, when come, when they do come.
a, vowel prolongation.
hira, translated above.
ha, yonder.
a, vowel prolongation.
1274 See line 1273.
1275 Iri ra!
iri, there.
ra, coming.
1276 I ra, I ra, hira-a. See line 1273.
1277 I ra, hira ha-a! See line 1273.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The Children are now gathering; they are moving about on their side (see figure 180), men, women, and children.

The words mean: "When the Children come, they will come from yonder."

Although there is much noise and bustle where the Children are busily preparing, yet this song can be heard by them and they hasten with their preparations.

We sing the song twice.

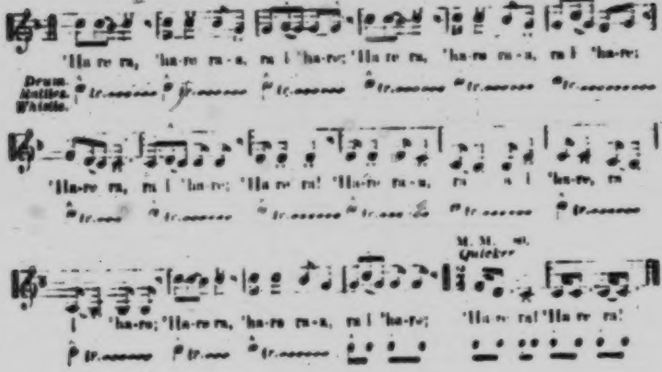
As the people are seen moving toward the place where we are sitting, we sing the next song.

THIRD SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩=56.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


'Ha re ra, 'ha-re ra-a, ra i 'ha-re; 'Ha re ra, 'ha-re ra-a, ra i 'ha-re;
Drum. Rattles. Whistle.
tr.
'Ha-re ra, ra i 'ha-re; 'Ha re ra! 'Ha-re ra-a, ra a i 'ha-re, ra
M. M. =80. Quicker
i 'ha-re; 'Ha-re ra, 'ha-re ra-a, ra i 'ha-re; 'Ha re ra! 'Ha re ra!

[533*]

*539
*796

1278 'Hare ra, 'hare ra-a, ra i 'hare;
1279 'Hare ra, 'hare ra-a, ra i 'hare;
1280 'Hare ra, ra i 'hare;
1281 'Hare ra!
1282 'Hare ra-a, ra-a i 'hare, ra i 'hare;
1283 'Hare ra, 'hare ra-a, ra i 'hare;
1284 'Hare ra! 'Hare ra!

Translation

1278 'Hare ra, 'hare ra-a, ra i 'hare.
'hare, a part of the word iha're, children, young.
ra, coming.
'hare ra. Translated above.
a, vowel prolongation.
ra, come, or coming.
i, a part of the word titako, here, where I am.
'hare, children.
1279 See line 1278.
1280 'Hare ra, ra i hare. See line 1278.
1281 'Hare ra! See line 1278.
1282 'Hare ra-a, ra-a i 'hare, ra i 'hare. See line 1278.
1283 See line 1278.
1284 'Hare ra! 'Hare ra! See line 1278.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The words of this song mean: "The Children are coming, coming here where I am sitting."

At the close of this song a man selected by the Ku'rahus utters a long, loud cry: "Ho-o-o-o-o-o-o!" It is answered by all the Hako party; their shout is broken by the hands beating on the mouth: "Ha-a-a-a-a-a-a!" The drums and rattles sound at the same time.

It is a cry of thanks and of welcome by the Fathers to the Children as they approach bearing gifts.

As soon as the cries cease the Ku'rahus begins one of the dance songs.

Part II. The Dance and Reception of Gifts

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796

[532]

On the fourth night (of the Hako ceremony), while the lodge was being circled sixteen times, some young men, at the direction of the Ku'rahus, went out and made the figure of a man from grass and old garments and fastened it to a small sapling so that it could be made to stand upright. This figure, which has been concealed, is now brought out and set up in front of all the people (see figure 180).

[714]

The men of the tribe of the Children, dressed in their regalia and war bonnets, and painted with the symbols of the society to which they belong, come up with their horses, which are led by one of the owner's little children.

796* little children. Each man stops at the effigy and there, treating the figure as he did his enemy, he acts out a deed of valor and then recounts its story. He does this to honor his child, who is taking the gift of a horse to the Fathers.

As the child approaches, the chief goes toward him with the wildcat skin and the ear of corn; he strokes the child's head with the ear of corn. This movement means thanks for the gift and the invoking of a blessing upon the child.

Meanwhile one of the warriors at the end of the line (see figure 180) comes forward, and with his hair rope leads the horse away and gives it in charge of some one, and the man appointed to keep count makes a record of it.

535 796* These things are all going on at once while the young men are dancing. When the dance song begins the two young men rise, each holding in his left hand, high up over his head, a feathered stem and in his right a rattle. Both start at the same time and as they leap and dance they wave the feathered stems to simulate the flight of the eagle. The dancer with the brown-eagle feathered stem goes from the north around by the south and pauses when he reaches the place where the dancer with the white-eagle feathered stem started, while the latter goes outside the path of the former by the south and pauses when he reaches the place at the north where the dancer bearing the brown-eagle feathered stem had stood. There the two dancers stand until the song is finished, when they cross over and take their own proper places, the brown eagle at the north and the white eagle at the south. Whenever the song is repeated, they rise and dance again in the same manner.

The circle of the white eagle is always outside that of the brown eagle, for the white eagle is the male and its place is outside to defend the female. The brown eagle always moves from the north around to the south and the white eagle goes from the south to the north; the two move in opposite directions so that they may come together; the male and female must conjoin.

There are two dance songs; they both mean the same and there is no order in which they must be sung.

The words mean "Now fly, you eagles, as we give thanks to the Children."

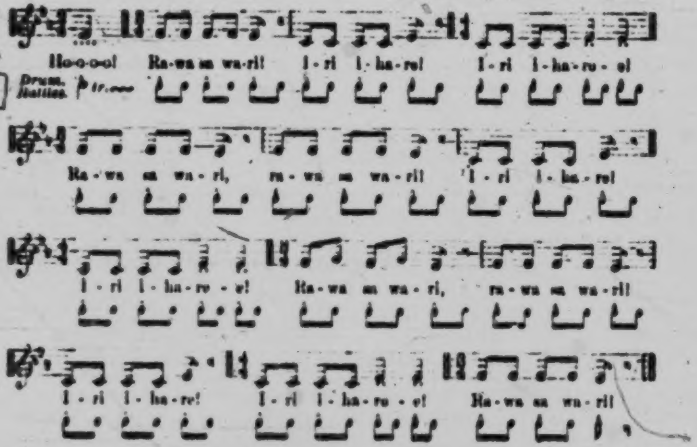
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

DANCE SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 200.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*539
*796
[*533]


Ho-o-o-o!
Ra-wa sa wa-ri!
I - ri I - ha-re!
I - ri I - ha-re - e!
Drum. Rattles.
Ra-wa sa wa-ri,
ra-wa sa wa-ri!
I - ri I - ha-re!
I - ri I - ha-re - e!
Ra-wa sa wa-ri,
ra-wa sa wa-ri!
I - ri I - ha-re!
I - ri I - ha-re - e!
Ra-wa sa wa-ri!

1285 Ho-o-o-o!
1286 Rawa sa wari! Iri ihare! Iri ihare-e!
1287 Rawa sa wari, rawa sa wari! Iri ihare! Iri ihare-e!
1288 Rawa sa wari, rawa sa wari! Iri ihare! Iri ihare-e!
1289 Rawa sa wari!

Translation of Fourth Song

1285 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

1286 Rawa sa wari! Iri ihare! Iri ihare-e!

rawa, now; a signal to start.
~~sa, you~~; refers to the eagles personated by the dancers.
wari, fly.
iri, a part of nawairi, an expression of thankfulness.
ihare, children, young; refers to the Children.
iri, translated above.
ihare, translated above.
-e, vowel prolongation.

1287 Rawa sa wari, rawa sa wari! Iri ihare! Iri ihare-e! See line 1286.

1288 See line 1287.

1289 Rawa sa wari! See line 1286.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

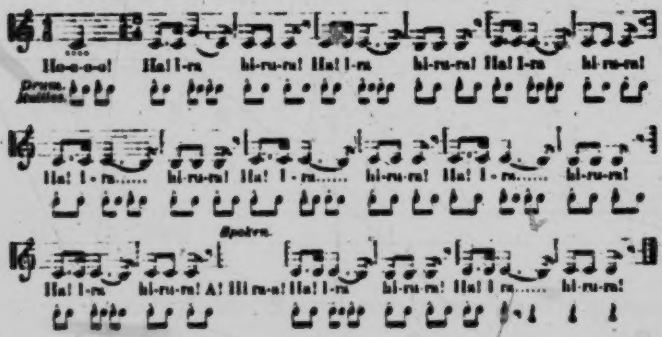
DANCE SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*
[533*]

M. M. ♪ = 200.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o!
Ha! I-ra
hi-ru-ra!
Ha! I-ra
hi-ru-ra!
Ha! I-ra
hi-ru-ra!
Drum. Rattles.
Ha! I-ra......
hi-ru-ra!
Ha! I-ra......
hi-ru-ra!
Ha! I-ra......
hi-ru-ra!
Spoken.
Ha! I-ra
hi-ru-ra!
A! Hi ra-a!
Ha! I-ra
hi-ru-ra!
Ha! I-ra......
hi-ru-ra!

1290 Ho-o-o-o!
1291 Ha! Ira hirura!
1292 Ha! Ira hirura! Ha! Ira hirura!
1293 Ha! Ira hirura! Ha! Ira hirura!
1294 Ha! Ira hirura! Ha! Ira hirura!
1295 A! Hi ra-a!
1296 Ha! Ira hirura! Ha! Ira hirura!

Translation of Fifth Song

1290 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

1291 Ha! Ira hirura!

ha! behold!

ira, coming.

hirura, yonder he is coming (refers to the child bringing a gift).

1292-1294 See line 1291.

1295 A! Hi ra-a!

a! the same as ha! behold!

hi, a part of hirura, yonder he is coming.

ra-a; ra, coming; a, vowel prolongation.

1296 See line 1291.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 If a man of the Father's party desires to count his war honors he steps out in front of the dancers. The men stop and go to their proper places; the song stops and the man tells his deed of valor. At its close the responsive cry is given by the people; then the song begins again and the dance is resumed.

[211] Sometimes one of the Children has not been able to catch the horse he intends to give away. He comes forward with his little child, who carries a small stick and hands it to the chief, who turns it over to the assistant chief, who passes it on to the record keeper. The child is blessed with the corn.

735 *796 At any time during this dance of thanks a poor person can come up to the consecrated child who is sitting in front of the chief and take away the robe that is on it, for the robe has been put on the child as a gift to the poor. When one robe is taken, the assistant chief places another robe on the child, and it often happens that several robes or blankets are given away to the poor in this manner.

*796 [201] After a time one of the chiefs of the tribe of the Son rises and asks if all have made their gifts. This is a signal that the end is near. Finally, some one of the party of the Son rises and says, "Father, you must be tired; end this!" and he makes the sign with his hands which signifies cutting-off, and the dance stops. Sometimes only the sign is made, but generally the words are spoken.

Then the prominent men of the Fathers and of the Children enter the lodge for the final ceremony.

FOURTH DIVISION. PRESENTATION OF THE HAKO

TWENTIETH RITUAL

PART I. BLESSING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

At the close of the dance of thanks the Children scatter in every direction, but the leading men enter the lodge and sit down at the south side. The Son sits either in the middle of the line on the south, or in his proper place just south of the entrance, near the door.

The consecrated child is taken by the chief behind the holy place. The two dancers advance to lay down the feathered stems, one at each side of the little child, the brown-eagle feathered stem toward the north, the white feathered stem toward the south. Then they remove the downy feathers from their hair and give them to the Ku'rahus, who ties them on the feathered stems.

The Ku'rahus then girds the robe about his waist with the hair rope and lifts the brown-eagle feathered stem. His assistant takes up the white-eagle feathered stem, the chief, with the cat skin and the ear of corn, steps between the Ku'rahus and his assistant, and the

I: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

doctors with the eagle wings take their places at either side. The five men stand before the child and sing the following song (see figure 181). 796*

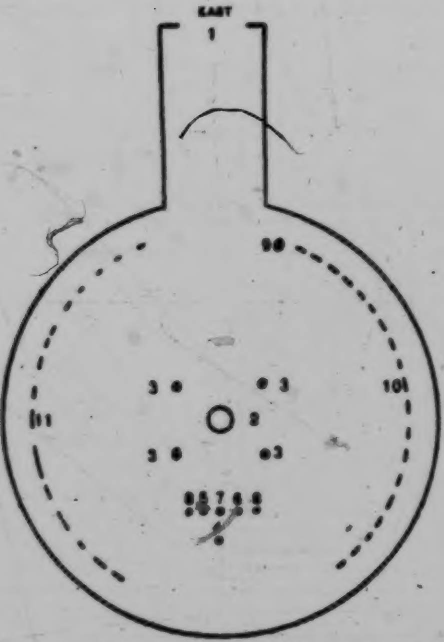

EAST
1
9
10
3
3
2
11
3
3
6 5 7 8 8
4

FIG. 181. Diagram of the Son's lodge during the presentation of the Hako.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the little child; 5, the Ku'rahus; 6, his assistant; 7, the Father (a chief); 8, the bearers of the eagle wings; 9, the Son, father of the little child; 10, leading men of the Son's party; 11, leading men of the Father's party.

SONG

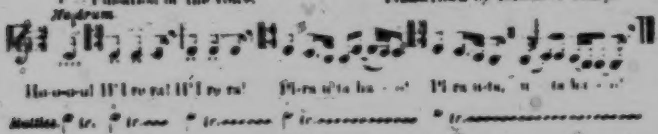
Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 56.

• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

539*


Hayden
Ho-o-o-o! Hi'ri re ra! Hi'ri re ra! Pi-ra u'ta ha - u! Pi ra u-ta, u ta ha - u!
Rattles. tr. tr. tr. tr. tr.

796*
[533*]

1297 Ho-o-o-o!
1298 Hi'ri re ra!
1299 Hi'ri re-ra!
1300 Pira uta hau!
1301 Pira uta, uta hau!

Translation

*539 1297 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation to the song.

*796 1298 H'I re ra!

h', the symbol of breath; breathing forth life.
I, a part of the word Tira'wa, the mighty power above.
re, is.
ra, coming. The word as here used conveys the idea of coming from a great distance.

1299 See line 1298.

1300 Pira uta hao!

pira, a part of the word pirao, child, a general term.
uta, a part of the word kuta, possessed by or belonging to some one other than the speaker.
hao, offspring.

1301 Pira uta, uta hao! See line 1300.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 781 782 When I sing this song I pray to Tira'wa to come down and touch with his breath the symbol of his face and all the other symbols on the little child. I pray with all my spirit that Tira'wa atius will let the child grow up and become strong and find favor in its life.

This is a very solemn act, because we believe that Tira'wa atius, although not seen by us, sends down his breath as we pray, calling on him to come.

As I sing this song here with you I can not help shedding tears. I have never sung it before except as I stood looking upon the little child and praying for it in my heart. There is no little child here, but you are here writing all these things down that they may not be lost and that our children may know what their fathers believed and practiced in this ceremony. So, as I sing, I am calling to Tira'wa atius to send down his breath upon you, to give you strength and long life. I am praying for you with all my spirit.

This song is sung eight times.

*539 *796 As we sing it first we bow above the little child, and make a movement as if to touch it with the feathered stems and the ear of corn. The second time we sing it we again bow low over the child and the chief touches it on the forehead with the ear of corn, while the Ku'rahus and his assistant stroke it on each side with the feathered stems. We then pass to the south, to the right side of the child, and sing for the third and the fourth time. The first time we make the motion of touching the child, the second time the chief touches its head with the ear of corn, and the feathered stems are passed down its sides. Then we go west to the back of the child and there sing for the fifth and sixth times, making the same motions and again touching it. Then we go north, to the left of the child, and sing for the

seventh and eighth times, making the same movements and touches; 539*
and then we return to the front of the child. These movements are 796*
all descending movements; they are following the breath line drawn on the face of the child.

The rattles which belong to the feathered stems are used alone with this song.

The purport of this song is hidden from the people, but this is what it means: All that I have been doing to you, little child, has been a prayer to call down the breath of Tira'wa atius to give you long life and strength and to teach you that you belong to him—that you are his child and not mine.

When we have finished singing the chief steps back, and the Ku'rahus, 796*
taking the two feathered stems, folds the white-eagle within the feathers of the brown-eagle feathered stem and, without singing, goes through the same two movements, the feint and the touch, first on the front of the child, then on its right side, then on the back and then on the left side, after which he spreads the feathered stems, laying the brown-eagle stem to the left and the white-eagle feathered stem to the right of the child.

The chief goes in front of the child and kneels before it. He takes the right leg of the wildcat skin and with the soft hair near its thigh he lightly wipes the blue lines from the child's face, and then the red paint.

He spreads the wildcat skin between the two stems; lays the ear of corn upon it, places the two feathered stems beside the ear of corn, with the crotched stick, the two rattles, the two eagle wings, and the pipe which has been used by the Children. He removes the black covering from the head of the child, takes off the white down and the downy feather, wraps them in the covering, and lays them also on the wildcat skin. He rolls the skin into a bundle, holding it in his arms while he stands before the child and talks to it of the good which will come through this ceremony.

PART II. PRESENTING THE HAKO TO THE SON AND THANKS TO THE CHILDREN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the chief has finished speaking he puts the bundle in the arms of the little child and leads it to its father, the Son, who receives it, and the child runs off to play.

Another bundle, containing the bowl which held the water into which the child looked and other things that have been used, and all the mats on which the people have been sitting, are brought to the Son and presented to him.

The chief, the leader of the Father's party, stands at the doorway with the Son, making the movements of thanks. He strokes the Son's head and arms, and, holding his hands, talks to him. The Ku'rahus

*796 follows and does the same, then the assistant comes, then the two doctors and the prominent men of the Father's party. After thanking the Son they all pass round the south side of the lodge to thank the prominent men of the Son's party; then they return to the north side of the lodge and sit down.

431 *796 After they are seated, the Children express the wish that the distribution of the ponies, waiting without, may be happily accomplished, to which the Fathers reply, "Nawairi!" "Thanks!" The Children now rise and go out of the lodge and leave the Fathers alone during the distribution of the gifts.

[554] [577] The Ku'rahus appoints two influential men to go out and divide the gift of ponies, setting apart a number for the chiefs and the leading men who do not wish to do this for themselves, lest the people think them selfish. Two ponies are for the Ku'rahus; that is his portion ordinarily. If there are a great number of horses he is given more. The chiefs and leading men select from the ponies set apart for them, each man taking one until all the ponies are apportioned. The rest of the party choose from the other ponies, one at a time, the men first and then the women. After this the sticks representing ponies are divided.

All the saddles, bridles, feathers, that may have been on the horses given away are piled on the north side of the lodge. These belong to the Ku'rahus. He keeps what he wants and divides the rest between his assistant, the server, and other members of the party.

*796 When the distribution has been made the Fathers leave the lodge and go to their camp, where they break their long fast and seek some rest. The next day all the party start for home except the chief. He remains to collect the ponies which have not been brought in.

The Son, to whom the Hako has been presented, can give the eagle wings to a doctor or the pipe to a friend, but he must keep for himself [571] the sacred objects of the ceremony. They have brought to him the promise of long life and children, and have established peace and security through a tie as strong as that of kinship.

INCIDENTAL RITUALS

The following four rituals can be sung during the public ceremony whenever they are called for by the Children.

COMFORTING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 424 I have told you before that in order to be instructed in this ceremony, to be taught its songs and their meaning, one must make many gifts, pay a great deal to the Ku'rahus who teaches him. This is our custom, for a man must make sacrifices, must give large presents in payment for what he receives, in order to show that he places a value upon the knowledge he wishes to acquire. I have paid a great deal

to the Ku'rahus who taught me. Besides I had to promise him that I would not give the teachings away, but would hold them as they had been held, teaching them only to those who would pay me. I give these (incidental rituals) to you, so that they may be preserved and kept with all the other songs that belong to the Hako. 424 796*

Long ago there lived a holy man who knew all the songs and the rites of this ceremony, and to him came a vision wherein he was taught how to bring comfort to a little child when, during the ceremony, it cried and could not be pacified. In this vision he was shown what he must do to bring comfort to the little child, and he heard the songs that he must sing. The songs which he heard have been handed down through many generations. 796* 773 787 861

When during the ceremony a child cries and can not be comforted, the mother, or some one sent by her, can approach the Ku'rahus who carries the brown-eagle stem and ask him to come and quiet the child. The Ku'rahus must comply with this request, so he rises and stands before the holy place, takes up the feathered stem and sings this song, which tells the brown eagle, Kawas, that its baby is crying. 796* 861

All the people hear the song and know that help for the child is being asked.

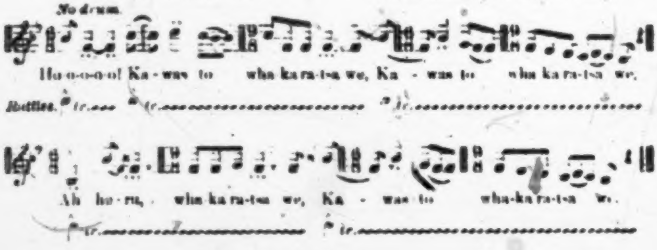
FIRST SONG

Words and Music

539* 796* 861 [533*]

M. M. ♩= 60.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o-o! Ka - was to wha ka ra-tsa we, Ka - was to wha ka ra-tsa we,
Rattles.
tr.
Ah he-ru, wha-ka ra-tsa we, Ka - was to wha-ka ra-tsa we.
tr.

1302 Ho-o-o-o-o!
1303 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.
1304 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.
1305 Ah heru, whaka ratsa we.
1306 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.

Translation

1302 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

1303 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.

Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the feminine principle.
to, its, denoting ownership of the child that is crying.
whaka, voice, noise from the mouth.
ratsa, a high pitch, screaming.
we, personal pronoun; refers to the child.

*539 1304 See line 1303.
*786 1305 Ah heru, whaka ratas we.
ah, yes.
861 heru, truly, verily.
whaka, voice.
ratas, screaming.
we, refers to child.
1306 See line 1303.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The assistant takes up the white-eagle feathered stem, and then he and the Ku'rahus move toward the child, singing this song and waving the feathered stems. They are speaking to the child; they are bidding it cry no more, for its father is coming.

[869] The father is Tira'wa atius, the father of all, the father of all the powers represented with the Hako, of all living things, of all the people. And now this mighty power, the Father, is coming to the little child to bring it comfort. That is why the child is told not to cry, since its father is coming.

These songs are very wonderful.

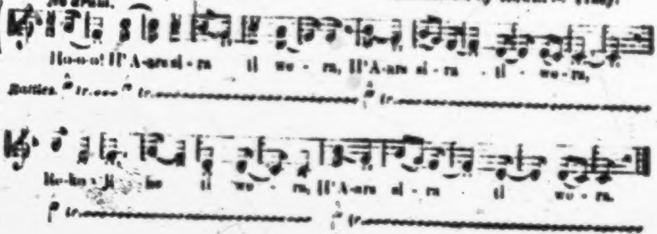
SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 60.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ho-o-o! H'A-ars si-ra ti we-ra, H'A-ars si-ra ti we-ra,
Rattles. tr. tr. tr.
Re-ko-ji he ti we-ra, H'A-ars si-ra ti we-ra.
tr. tr.

1307 Ho-o-o!
1308 H'A-ars sira ti wera.
1309 H'A-ars sira ti wera.
1310 Rekoji he ti wera.
1311 H'A-ars sira ti wera.

Translation

1307 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1308 H'Aars sira ti wera:
h'A-ars; h', an aspiration, the sign of breath; aars, from atius, father: h'Aars, Father breathing forth (life).
sira, is coming.
ti, here.
wera, now coming.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*
861

1309 See line 1308.
1310 Rekoji he ti wera.
rekoji, stop crying.
he, part of the word h'Aars, Father breathing forth (life).
ti, here.
wera, now coming.
1311 See line 1308.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Ku'rahus and his assistant have reached the child they stand before it and sing the first stanza. The white-eagle feathered stem is on the outside; there it is waved to guard the child from all harm. The brown-eagle stem is waved over the little one, and the mother, or whoever is holding it, must place it so that it can see the feathered stem, for the song bids the child look up and see that the mighty power Tira'wa has come, has acknowledged it as the child of the permanent heavens, that place far above even the light fleecy clouds, which is always the same.

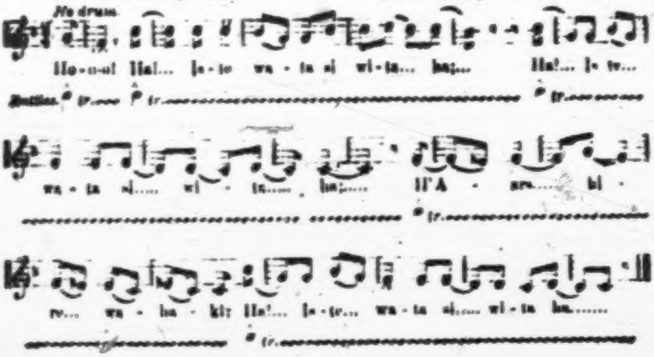
THIRD SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 88.
♩ = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]


Ho-o-o! Ha!... Is-te wa-ta si wi-ta... ha;... Ha!... Is-te...
Rattles.
wa-ta si.... wi-ta.... ha;.... H'A-ars.... hi-
re... wa-ha-ki: Ha!... Is-te... wa-ta si.... wi-ta ha......

I

1312 Ho-o-o!
1313 Ha! Iste wata si wita ha;
1314 Ha! Iste wata si wita ha;
1315 H'A-ars hire wahaki:
1316 Ha! Iste wata si wita ha.

II

1317 Ho-o-o!
1318 We tire wata si wite ha;
1319 We tire wata si wite ha;
1320 He araste he ti waha:
1321 We tire wata si wite ha.

Translation

I

*539 1312 Ho-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

*796 1313 Ha! Iste wata si wita ha.

ha! an exclamation; behold!

861 iste, you (referring to the child).

wata, look upward.

si, they, refers to the powers above.

wita, owner, refers to the child belonging to the power above.

ha, part of the word meaning young, or child.

1314 See line 1313.

1315 H'A-ars, hire wahaki.

h'A-ars, Father breathing forth life.

hire, there, above, meaning Tira'wa.

wahaki, heavens; "the heavens that are always there above the reach of the clouds."

1316 See line 1313.

II

1317 Ho-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

1318 We tire wata si wite ha.

we, he or she, meaning the child.

tire, has, an action performed.

wata, looked.

si, they, refers to the powers above.

wite, the true owner; refers to Tira'wa as the true owner of the child.

ha, part of the word meaning young, child.

1319 See line 1318.

1320 He arste he ti waha.

he, his or her, refers to the child.

arste, a modified form of atius, father.

he, his; refers to Tira'wa.

ti, here, at the present time.

waha, part of the word wahaki, the permanent heavens.

1221 See line 1318.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[869] When the second stanza is sung the little child always stops crying and looks up. It responds to the presence of the mighty power. The song tells the child that it belongs to Tira'wa atius, the father of all, the giver of life, whose dwelling place is far above the clouds in the permanent heavens that never change.

The child smiles and is comforted.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PRAYER TO AVERT STORMS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We like to have the sky clear during the time this ceremony is taking place. We do not like to have clouds come between us and the abode of Tira'wa atius, particularly storm clouds. We feel this way because we do not want anything to intercept the prayers of the Fathers or to hinder the descent of the help that we ask for the Children. If, however, clouds arise and a storm threatens, the Children may request this song to be sung, but the Fathers may not volunteer to sing it. 796* 821

After the request for the song has been made, the following ceremony takes place: The Ku'rahus, with the Kawas feathered stem, his assistant with the white-eagle feathered stem, and the chief with the wildcat skin, in which are the crotched stick, the ear of corn, and the sacred pipe, rise from their seats at the west and pass out of the lodge. When they are outside under the open sky, they face the gathering clouds and sing the first stanza four times. While they sing the song and wave the eagle stems to the rhythm of the music, the chief holds the cat skin up toward the storm clouds. He holds it the same way while we sing the second stanza four times.

The words of these stanzas are few, but their meaning has come down to us with the story of the song.

Long, long ago the woodpecker was told by Tira'wa that the lightning would never strike the tree upon which it had built its nest. The four beings at the west who have control of the thunder and lightning would protect the bird, so that it need never fear the storm. 796* 821 825

The woodpecker which came to the man to whom this ceremony was revealed taught him this song and told him when to sing it. He was to sing it only when the storm threatened; if he sang it at any other time he would bring rain and storm upon the people. 539*

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

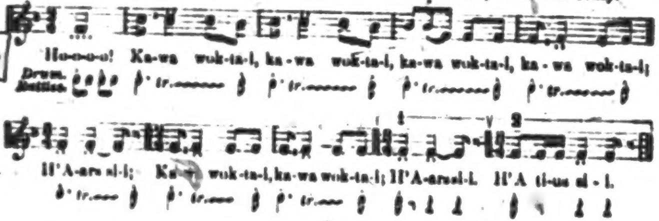
SONG

Words and Music

+539
+796
821
[*533]

M. M. ♩= 63.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! Ka-wa wok-ta-i, ka-wa wok-ta-i, ka-wa wok-ta-i, ka-wa wok-ta-i;
Drum. Rattles.
tr.
H'A-ars si-i; Ka-wa wok-ta-i, ka-wa wok-ta-i; H'A-arsi-i. H'A ti-us si-i.
1
2

I

1322 Ho-o-o-o!
1323 Kawa woktai, kawa woktai, kawa woktai, kawa woktai;
1324 H'A-ars si-i;
1325 Kawa woktai, kawa woktai;
1326 H'A-ars si-i.

II

1327 Ho-o-o-o!
1328 Ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i;
1329 H'A-ars si-i;
1330 Ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i;
1331 H'Atius si-i.

Translation

I

1322 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

1323 Kawa woktai, kawa woktai, kawa woktai, kawa woktai.

kawa; ka, part of katuharu, trees; wa, plural sign; kawa means thick or heavy timber.

woktai; wok, sound or noise; tai, on trees. Woktai, a sound made on the trees. The word refers to the tapping of the woodpecker upon the trees.

1324 H'Aars si-i.

h', contraction of ha, behold.

aars, a modified form of atius, father.

si-i; si, your; i, vowel prolongation.

1325 Kawa woktai, kawa woktai. See line 1323.

1326 See line 1324.

II

1327 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

1328 Ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i.

ti, they; refers to the powers.

wawaki-i; waki, speak; wa, plural sign; final i, vowel prolongation. Wawaki-i, many are speaking.

1329 See line 1324.

1330 Ti wawkai-i, ti wawaki-i. See line 1328.

1331 H'Atius si-i. See line 1324.

Explanation by the Ku′rahus

In the first stanza we call upon the woodpecker, who is busy making a noise, tapping upon the trees in the thick woods, and we ask him to remind his father of the promise that the storm should not come near his nest. 539* 796* 821

The woodpecker is with us on the stem, and the storm is now threatening our nest, the lodge where we are holding the ceremony; so we call on him, the woodpecker, and ask him to remind his father of the promise given. 782

The second stanza tells us that the four beings at the west speak, for when the thunders sound they all speak. These now answer the woodpecker, who has reminded them of their promise when Tira′wa atius, the father of all things, placed the bird and its nest under their protection.

If, after we have sung these stanzas, the clouds part, we know that our prayers have been heard. We all return to the lodge, and the wildcat skin is spread upon the holy place at the west, the crotched stick is put in position, the eagle stems and all the other articles are laid at ceremonial rest. When this has been done the chief takes the sacred pipe and, accompanied by the priest of the shrine containing the objects sacred to the powers of the rain, goes out and makes an offering of smoke. The priest directs the chief where to point the pipestem. By this act of offering smoke we give thanks to the powers, who have heard our prayers and averted the storm.

PRAYER FOR THE GIFT OF CHILDREN

Explanation by the Ku′rahus

This ceremony is very old and has now become obsolete. It is a prayer for the power of procreation. It was never performed except at the request of the Son, and was only in the interest of a man to whom children had not been born. It took place either in the early morning or at night, never during the day. 796* [782] 842

When the request for the ceremony had been made, the Ku′rahus selected a man from among the Fathers whose duty it became to carry the Son and to care for him as a father would care for a little child.

A white buffalo robe was kept for this particular ceremony. After the Son had been lifted on the back of the Father, this white robe was thrown over the two and was held together in front by the Father, as a person would hold his robe if he were carrying a child on his back. As the Father, carrying the Son, moved toward the entrance of the lodge, he was followed by the Ku′rahus and his assistant bearing the feathered stems and the chief with the cat skin and the ear of corn, while the following song was sung.

The words are: "Behold! Your father is walking with his child!" [539*]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

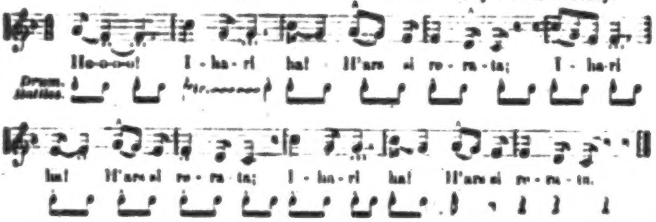
FIRST SONG

Words and Music

*539
*796
842
[*533]

M. M. ♩ = 84.
• — Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! I - ha - ri ha! H'ars si re - ra - ta; I - ha-ri
Drum. Rattles.
ha! H'ars si re - ra - ta; I - ha - ri ha! H'ars si re - ra - ta.

1332 Ho-o-o-o!
1333 Iha'ri ha! H'ars si rerata;
1334 Iha'ri ha! H'ars si rerata;
1335 Iha'ri ha! H'ars si rerata.

Translation

1332 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1333 Iha'ri ha! H'ars si rerata.
iha'ri, a term for offspring or young; refers here to the Son.
ha! behold!
h', an abbreviation of ha, your.
ars, an abbreviation of atius, father.
si, refers to iha'ri, in this instance the Son.
rerata, walking with.
1334, 1335 See line 1333.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Father, with the Son on his back, and the Ku'rahus and his associates had reached the open air and had gone a little distance from the lodge, the Son was taken from the back of the Father. All were now standing under the sky where they could be seen by the powers. The Son represented a little helpless child—the child that he desired the powers to give to him.

As the following song was sung the Father undressed the Son as he would a little child, and while he did so the Son prayed for the gift of children.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

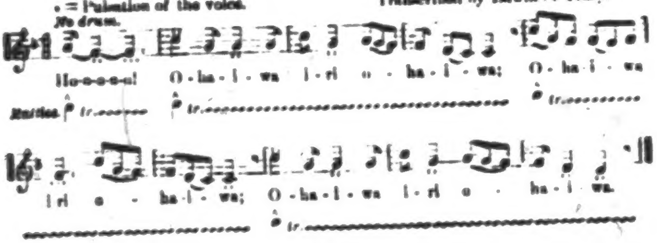
SECOND SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*
842
[533*]

M. M. ♩= 66.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



I		II	
1336	Ho-o-o-o-o!	1340	Ho-o-o-o-o!
1337	Ohaiwa iri ohaiwa;	1341	Okariwa iri okariwa;
1338	Ohaiwa iri ohaiwa;	1342	Okariwa iri okariwa;
1339	Ohaiwa iri ohaiwa.	1343	Okariwa iri okariwa

Translation

I

1336 Ho-o-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

1337 Ohaiwa iri ohaiwa.

ohaiwa, a composite word; the o is taken from okiwaaru, foam; hai is from haiwa, floating; wa is a part of nawa, now.

iri, an expression of thankfulness.

ohaiwa, translated above.

1338, 1339 See line 1337.

II

1340 Ho-o-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

1341 Okariwa iri okariwa.

okariwa, a composite word; oka, breechcloth; kari, male organ (the syllable ka is common to the first and second word); wa, from rakuru, to take off.

iri, an expression of thankfulness.

okariwa, translated above.

1342, 1343 See line 1341.

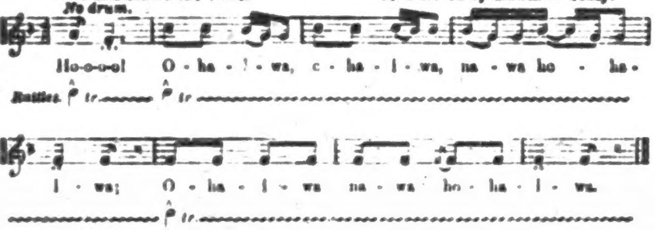
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THIRD SONG

Words and Music

*539
*796
842
[*533]

M. M. ♩= 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


No drum.
Ho-o-o-o! O - ha - i - wa, o - ha - i - wa, na - wa ho - ha -
Rattles. tr tr
i - wa; O - ha - i - wa na - wa ho - ha - i - wa.
tr

I

1344 Ho-o-o-o!
1345 Ohaiwa, ohaiwa, nawa hohaiwa;
1346 Ohaiwa nawa hohaiwa.

II

1347 Ho-o-o-o!
1348 Okariwa iri okariwa okariwa;
1349 Okariwa iri okariwa.

Translation

I

1344 Ho-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.
1345 Ohaiwa, ohaiwa, nawa hohaiwa.
ohaiwa, floating foam. See line 1337.
nawa, now.
hohaiwa, to urinate.
1346 Ohaiwa nawa hohaiwa. See line 1345.

II

1347 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation
1348 Okariwa iri okariwa okariwa.
okariwa, a composite word, translated in line 1341.
iri, an expression of thankfulness.
okariwa. See line 1341.
1349 Okariwa iri okariwa. See line 1341.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

During the singing of the first stanza (third song) the Son obeyed, as a child would do, the directions given him by the Father.

As the second stanza was sung the Father reclothed the Son as he would a little child. The Son was then taken again on the back of the Father to be carried to the lodge.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

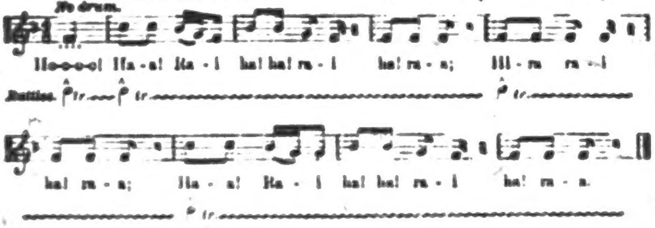
FOURTH SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*
842
[533*]

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! Ha - a! Ra - i ha! ha! ra - i ha! ra - a; Hi - ra ra - i
Rattles.
tr
ha! ra - a; Ha - a! Ra - i ha! ha! ra - i ha! ra - a.
tr

I

1350 Ho-o-o-o!
1351 Ha-a! Rai ha! ha! rai ha! ra-a;
1352 Hira rai ha! ra-a;
1353 Ha-a! Rai ha! ha! rai ha! ra-a.

II

1354 Ho-o-o-o!
1355 Ho-okai ha! hokai ha. ka-a;
1356 Werawane ha! ka-a;
1357 Ho-okai ha! hokai ha! ka-a.

Translation

I

1350 Ho-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

1351 Ha-a! Rai ha! ha! rai ha! ra-a.
ha-a! ha! behold! a, a vowel prolongation to carry the voice.
rai, coming.
ha! ha! behold!
rai, coming.
ha! behold!
ra-a; ra, a part of the word rai, coming; a, vowel prolongation.

1352 Hira rai ha! ra-a;
hira, he coming.
rai, coming.
ha! behold!
ra-a, a part of the word meaning coming.

1353 See line 1351.

II

1354 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

1355 Ho-okai ha! hokai ha! ka-a.
ho-okai; hokai, to enter; the vowel o is prolonged to carry the voice while singing.
ha! behold!
hokai, to enter, or entering.
ha! behold!
ka-a, a part of the word hokai, entering.

I: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 *796 842

1356 Werawane ha! ka-a.
werawane, spreading out the arms.
ha! behold!
ka-a, part of the word hokai, entering.

1357 See line 1355.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the Father and the Son, wrapped in the white robe, turned toward the lodge, the Ku'rahus and his associates followed, and as they walked they sang the first stanza.

The words are, "Behold! He is coming! The Son is coming!"

At the door of the lodge they sang (second stanza), "Behold! He is entering!" With the word "werawane," the Father spread out his arms, loosening the white robe, but still holding it by the edges, while the Son slipped to the ground and returned to his place in the lodge, the place he had left at the beginning of the ceremony.

CHANGING A MAN'S NAME

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 553

If any man of the Son's party had achieved success in war, and his achievements had been acknowledged by the people, he could request the Son to have the ceremony of changing his name performed.

This act could take place in the afternoon of the fourth day. The Son would make the request known to the Father, the chief, who passed it on to the Ku'rahus.

If the Hako ceremony was held in an earth lodge, the Ku'rahus, accompanied by the Father and the Son, went outside and ascended the roof; there, standing before the people gathered below, the Ku'rahus recited in a loud voice the ritual used when changing a man's name.

If the Hako ceremony had been held in a tent, a semicircular inclosure was made with saplings and there, under the open sky, in the presence of all the people, the ritual was given and the name was changed.

Pawnee Text

1358 Hiri! Waku rarata sharu witi rarawa-a kiru sharu reru ki tawi rahwi-rahriso tira kahho ri wiri.

1359 Hiri! Raru ki tawi rahwi rahriso rao ti shira rutu rahwitsa pari uea ru ri re.

1360 Hiri! Ka ru ki tawi rahwi rahriso rao ti shire ra ki tawa uea ru.

1361 Hiri! Kiru tsirara: rasa rûsaq pakara ra witsa, pari: hiri! ti ruta; hiri! ti rakuse tararawa hut, tiri.

1362 Hiri! Kiru tsirara: rasa rûsaa pakara ra wits pari; hiri! ti ruta; hiri! Tira wa, ha! tiri.

1363 Hiri! Kiru tsirara: sira waku ri kata iwa hut; hiri! ti ruta; hiri! ti'ra usa tararawa hut, tiri.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

1364 **Hiri!** **Riru tziraru; sira waku rari sut; hiri! ti ruta; hiri! Tira wa. ha! tiri.** 539*

1365 **Hiri!** **Riru tziraru; Rarari tu, kuta wi'tixautta.**

Raki ris taka ta wi'tixautta. 796*

Raki ris tarukûx pa, raru tura taka wiut tari.

1366 **Hiri!** **Riru tziraru; ruri Papapi chus taka wi tixautta.** 553

Ruri Papapi chus tarukûx pa raru tura taka wiut tari.

1367 **Hiri!** **Riru tziraru; ruchix kuso ho riraka ta kûx satu. Kaha riwisiri, ku katit tiki; kaha riwisiri, ku paha'ti tiki; kaha riwisiri, ku raka ta tiki; kaha riwisiri, ku taka tiki.**

1368 **Hiri!** **Riru tziraru; sira suru waurux para, raru tura taka wiut tari**

1369 **Rawa!** **Hawa ûrasharu we tatki wati.**

1370 **Hiri!** **Tatux tajakiaho, hawa. Rarutska tit! Hiri! Raro rikcha re re.**

1371 **Hiri!** **Wakoru ratora pake ûsto.**

1372 **Hiri!** **Akitaro hiwa werataweko.**

1373 **Hiri!** **Shaku ru Wa rukste. Hiriwa witi rakawa karu ko re.**

Translation

1358 **hiri!** an exclamation, harken! give heed!

waku'raruta, it came to pass a long time ago.

sharu, part of a rasha'ru, name.

witi, they.

rarawa-a, discarded, had done with, threw away.

kiru, ancient.

sharu, from kûsharu, a certain place known only by tradition.

reru, it came about, or it was.

ki'tawi, from ki, through, and ta wi, them.

rahwi'rahriso, a title. This title was bestowed through certain ceremonies connected with one of the shrines. The man who had received this title was qualified to act as a leader, to have charge of a war expedition. [564 726]

tira, they.

kahho, a wide expanse; kah conveys the picture that this expanse is spanned, as by a roof; ho suggests an inclosed space, as a dwelling; kahho calls up the idea that the earth is a vast abode, roofed by the heavens, where dwell the powers.

ri'wiri, walking; the persons spoken of as walking are not present. Rara wari is to travel, walking, like warriors, and the word in the text refers to such walking, to the rahwi'rahriso and the men under his leadership walking the wide earth beneath the arching sky.

1359 **hiri!** harken! give heed!

raru, a company, or a number of persons.

ki'tawi, through them. See same word in line 1358.

rahwi'rahriso, the leader. See translation in line 1358.

ra'o, a victory song. This class of songs could be composed and sung for the first time by a leader. They might afterward be sung by his followers and by other persons. [533*]

ti, part of tira, they.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796
553

shira, from shire'ra, brought. The re is eliminated for euphony.

rutu'rahwitz, overtake.

pari, walking; singular number, present tense.

uss'ru, a place wherein an event took place or something occurred. Both the locality and the occurrence are known only by tradition and the tradition is preserved in song.

I re, singing vocables.

1300 hiri! harken.

ra'ru, a number of persons. The word as here used refers both to the leader and his men and to the people of their village.

ki'tawi, through them. The word has here a double reference similar to the preceding one.

rahwi'rahrisu, the leader.

rao, victory song.

ti, they. An abbreviated form of tira, they.

shire'ra, brought.

ki'tawa, from kit, the top; ta, coming; wa, part of waku, hill. Ki'tawa conveys the picture of the returning men singing their victory song as they reach the top of the hill near their village.

uss'ru; the word here means that the victory song commemorated the event at the time when the leader instituted the custom of changing the name.

1301 hiri! harken!

riru'tziraru, by reason of, by means of, because of. The word has a wide significance and force throughout the ritual.

rasa, the man stood.

rûxsa, he said or did.

pakara'ra, a loud call or chant, sending the voice to a great distance.

witz, from tawitz'sa, to reach or arrive.

pari, traveling. These five words tell of a religious rite performed by the leader. The first two refer to his going to a solitary place to fast and pray, seeking help and favor from the powers above; the last three describe his voice, bearing his petition, traveling on and on, striving to reach the abode of Tira'wa.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'ruta, special or assigned places, referring to the places where the lesser powers dwell, these having been assigned by Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'rakûse, sitting; present tense, plural number.

tararawa'hut, the sky or heavens. It implies a circle, a great distance, and the dwelling place of the lesser powers, those which can come near to man and be seen or heard or felt by him.

tiri, above, up there, as if the locality were designated by pointing upward. 539*

1362 hiri! harken! 796*

riru'tziraru, by reason of, because of.

rasa, the man stood. 553

rûxsa, did.

pakara'ra, send voice to a distance.

witz, reached.

pari, traveling.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'ruta, the abodes of the lesser powers.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

Tira'wa, Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

ha! an exclamation of awe.

tiri, above all; refers to Tira'wa atius being above all the powers.

1363 hiri! harken!

riru'tziraru, by reason of.

sira, they took.

waku, they said.

ri'kata, received.

iwa'hut, from iwa, to hand over or pass on to the one next, and tira'wahut, the circle above where the lesser powers are. Iwa'hut means handed or passed around the circle.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'ruta, abodes of the lesser powers.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'rakûse, sitting.

tirarawa'hut, the circle above of the lesser powers.

tiri, up above.

1364 hiri! harken!

riru'tziraru, because of, by reason of.

sira, they took.

waku, they said.

rari'sut, gave consent, granted.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'ruta, abodes of the lesser powers.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

Tira'wa, Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

ha! an exclamation of awe.

tiri, above all.

1365 hiri! harken!

riru'tziraru, by reason of, in consequence of.

Rarari'tu, an old term for Winds. It also means heavy storm clouds. Rari'tu, a cyclone. The word in the text has a double significance. It stands for the Winds, the lesser power, and for the summoning by this lesser power, the Winds, of the storm clouds, their messengers in the west. [821]

*539
*79.6
583

kata, rising up, climbing up.
wi'tixsutta, reached there (whence the summons came).
Raki'ris, Thunders, plural form.
taka'ta, ascending, advancing.
wi'tixsutta, reached a given place.
Raki'ris, Thunders.
tarukûx'pa, an action concluded.
raru'tura, from raru, at that, and tura, ground. The word means that at the conclusion of the action (here understood) they, the Thunders, descended to the earth.
tuka'wiut, slantwise.
tari, the end of a mission or an action.

1366 hiri! harken!
riru'tziraru, by means of, or by the agency of.
ruri, at that time.
Papapi'chus, Lightning; papa, zigzag; pichus, darting, flashing.
taka, within, inclosed.
wi'tixsutta, reached there.
ruri, at that time.
Papapi'chus, Lightning.
tarukûx'pa, an action concluded.
raru'tura, and then they descended to earth. See translation of this word in line 1365.
tuka'wiut, slantwise.
tari, the end of their mission.

1367 hiri! harken!
riru'tziraru, by means of, by reason of.
ruchix, they did.
kusu'iu, flock.
riraka'ta, in front of.
kûx'sata, from side to side, as when ranging a path.
kaha'riwisiri, swallows.
ku, breast.
katit, black.
tiki, they were.
kaha'riwisiri, swallows.
ku, breast.
pahu'ti, red.
tiki, they were.
kaha'riwisiri, swallows.
ku, breast.
raka'ta, yellow.
tiki, they were.
kaha'riwisiri, swallows.
ku, breast.
taka, white.
tiki, they were.

1368 hiri! harken. 539*
riru'tziraru, by reason of, because of.
sira, they took; refers to the leader and to the men who followed and depended on him. 796*
sura, possess; to become one's own. 553
waurux', grasped, as a staff.
para, walked.
raru'tura, refers to that which descended to earth.
tuka'wiut, slantwise.
tari, end, or accomplished mission.
1369 rawa! attend! a call for attention at the moment.
hawa, once more.
urasharu, name.
we, I.
taki'wati, change.
1370 hiri! harken!
tatux, we used to.
tapakiaho, speak of him.
hawa, once more.
Rarutska'tit, the former name, meaning black-feathered arrow.
hiri! harken!
raro, owner.
rikeha, lying. These words refer to the achievement commemorated by the name about to be thrown away.
ro re, vocables used for euphony and measure.
1371 hiri! harken!
wakoru, now we are.
ratora, all people.
pake'ûsto, speak out and say.
1372 hiri! harken!
akitaro, tribe.
hiwa, in the.
werataweko, prominent.
1373 hiri! harken!
Shaku'ru Wa'rukste, the new name now announced ("Sacred Sun").
hiriwa, in the process of making.
witi, himself.
rakawa'karu, what he is.
ko re, vocables used for euphony and measure.

Closing Remarks of the Ku'rahus

During the days I have been talking with you (the writer) I have been carried back in thought to the time when Estamaza (the father of Francis LaFlesche) came to the Chaui. I met him in this ceremony; he was the Father, and as I have worked here day and night, 115 123

115 123 my heart has gone out to you. I have done what has never been done before, I have given you all the songs of this ceremony and explained them to you. I never thought that I, of all my people, should be the one to give this ancient ceremony to be preserved, and I wonder over it as I sit here.

I think over my long life with its many experiences; of the great number of Pawnees who have been with me in war, nearly all of whom have been killed in battle. I have been severely wounded many times—see this scar over my eye. I was with those who went to the Rocky Mountains to the Cheyennes, when so many soldiers were slain that their dead bodies lying there looked like a great blue blanket spread over the ground. When I think of all the people of my own tribe who have died during my lifetime and then of those in other tribes that have fallen by our hands, they are so many they make a vast cover over Mother Earth. I once walked with these prostrate forms. I did not fall but I passed on, wounded sometimes but not to death, until I am here to-day doing this thing, singing these sacred songs into that great pipe (the graphophone) and telling you of these ancient rites of my people. It must be that I have been preserved for this purpose, otherwise I should be lying back there among the dead.

ANALYTICAL RECAPITULATION

ORIGIN AND GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE CEREMONY

171 796* Where the Hako ceremony originated and through how many generations it has come down to the present time it may be impossible ever to determine. Even a partial knowledge of its geographic distribution upon our continent would demand an archeologic and historical research too extended to be attempted at this time. However, a few facts may be stated.

171 175 From the Journal of Marquette, giving an account of his voyage of discovery in 1672, it is learned that the sacred symbols, the feathered stems, were held in honor by tribes belonging to the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan linguistic stocks dwelling in the Mississippi valley from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas.

Marquette calls the feathered stem a "calumet" and his description of its ceremony, which he saw among the Illinois, due allowance being made for his lack of intimate acquaintance with native religious customs, indicates that the ceremony as he saw it over two hundred years ago in a tribe that no longer exists differs little from the same ceremony as observed within the last twenty years in the Omaha tribe. He says of this "calumet" that it is "the most mysterious thing in the world. The scepters of our kings are not so much respected, for the Indians have such a reverence for it that one may call it the god of peace and war, and the arbiter of life and death. . . . One with this calumet may venture among his enemies, and in the hottest battles they lay down their arms before the sacred pipe. The Illinois presented me with one of them which was very useful to us in our voyage."

[174] That the feathered stem was recognized over so large a part of the great Mississippi valley and among so many tribes differing in language and customs indicates considerable antiquity for its rites, as much time would have been required for so wide an acceptance and practice of the ceremony.

174 796* As observed among the Pawnees, there is evidence not only that the ceremony is old, but that it has been built upon still older foundations, and has been modified in the process of time to adapt it to changed conditions of environment. For example, the substitution of the buffalo for the deer and the transference of songs, as that formally sung to the mesa while on the journey, which is now sung within the lodge.

174 *796 The leadership accorded to the corn indicates that an earlier form of the ceremony is to be sought among a people dependent upon agriculture, and the peculiar treatment of water would seem to have arisen in a semi-arid region. Again, the development in the purpose of the ceremony from the simple longing for offspring to the larger desire of establishing intertribal relationships was most likely to have taken place among peoples whose settled mode of life had fostered an appreciation of the benefits to be derived from peace and security.

Efforts to spread this ceremony among tribes less sedentary than those of the Mexican plateau and the Southwest may, on the one hand, have been prompted by prudential reasons, while on the other hand its adoption and promulgation over the wide territory occupied by the so-called hunting tribes marks the growth of political ideas and gives a higher place to these tribes in the line of social development than has usually been accorded them.

PURPOSE OF THE CEREMONY

*796 842 571 The purpose of this ceremony was twofold: first, to benefit certain individuals by bringing to them the promise of children, long life, and plenty; second, to affect the social relations of those who took part in it, by establishing a bond between two distinct groups of persons, belonging to different clans, gentes, or tribes, which was to insure between them friendship and peace.

In every tribe where the ceremony was known this twofold purpose was recognized, and by no tribal variation in the details of the rite was it lost sight of or obscured.

[174] From a study of this ceremony it seems probable that its original instigation was a desire for offspring, that the clan or kinship group might increase in number and strength and be perpetuated through the continuous birth of children.

[772] The ceremonial forms here used to express this desire were undoubtedly borrowed from earlier ceremonies through which the people had been familiarized with certain symbols and rites representing the creative powers. Thus, the male and female cosmic forces, symbolized in greater or less detail by day and night, sun and moon, the heavens and the earth, are found in the Hako ceremony.

772 *796 The eagle and the ear of corn also represent in general the male and female forces, but each is specialized in a manner peculiar to these rites. There are two eagles; the white, representing the male, the father, the defender; and the brown, representing the female, the mother, the nestmaker (see pages 288, 289). In the treatment of these eagles the dual forces are still further represented. The feathers of the white or male eagle are hung upon a stem painted green to symbolize the earth, the female principle; while those of the brown or female eagle are hung upon the stem painted blue to symbolize the heavens, the

male principle. The same treatment of the corn is observed. The ear of corn, which is born of Mother Earth, is symbolically painted to represent a living contact with the heavens. 772 796*

These symbolic articles thus treated are peculiar to this ceremony and essential to its rites. They express with unmistakable clearness the original instigating desire for children.

The second purpose of this ceremony, that of establishing a bond between two distinct groups of persons belonging to different clans, gentes, or tribes, which should insure between them friendship and peace, was probably an outgrowth of the first purpose and may have been based upon tribal experience in the practice of exogamy. 571 648 796*

In a tribe composed of clans or gentes, where exogamy prevailed, two factors tended to promote peace and security among the people, namely, children born to parents representing two distinct political groups, and rites which recognized a common dependence upon the supernatural and were obligatory upon all.

With the growth of social ideas the thought seems to have arisen that ties might be made between two tribes differing from and even competing with each other, through a device which should simulate those influences which had proved so effective within the tribe. The Father, representing one tribe, was the incentive force; he inaugurated the Hako party. The tie was made by a ceremony in which the feminine principle, represented by the corn and Kawas, was the dominant factor. Through this mother element life was given and a bond was established between the Father and a Son of another tribe. It is remarkable how close to the model this device of an artificial tie has been made to correspond.

Apart from the social and religious significance of the ceremony, it became a means of exchange of commodities between tribes. The garments, regalia, and other presents brought by the Fathers to the Children were taken by the latter to some other tribe, when they in turn became the Fathers. Thus manufactures peculiar to one tribe were often spread over a wide territory, and the handicraft of one region became known to different sections of the country. 182 439 796*

STRUCTURE OF THE CEREMONY

The perpetuation and distribution of a ceremony is dependent upon its structure, its symbolism, and its purpose. Its parts must be so coordinated as to make it possible to keep the rite intact during oral transmission, while its symbolism must appeal to common beliefs and its purpose to common desires. 796*

Examining the ceremony of the Hako, we find it to possess these requisites. Its purpose awoke a response in every human heart, its symbolism appealed to the people wherever corn ripened and eagles flew; and though its structure was elaborate, it was built upon a sim-

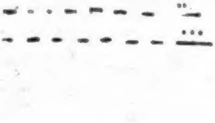
*796 ple plan. It is made up of many rituals, each complete in itself, but all so related to each other as to form an unbroken sequence from the beginning of the rites to their end. Each ritual contains one general thought, which is elaborated by songs and attendant acts. These songs and acts are so closely related to the central thought that one helps to keep the other in mind; moreover, the thought embodied in one ritual leads so directly to the thought contained in the next that they form a sequence that, in the mind of the Pawnee, can not logically be broken, and thus the preservation of the entirety of the ceremony is insured.

[153] The compact structure of the Hako ceremony bears testimony to the mental grasp of the people who formulated it. As we note the balancing of the various parts, and the steady progression from the opening song of the first ritual to the closing prayer in the twentieth, and recall the fact that the ceremony was constructed without the steadying force of the written record, we are impressed, on the one hand, by the intellectual power displayed in the construction, and, on the other, by the sharply defined beliefs fundamental to the ceremony.

RHYTHMIC EXPRESSION IN THE CEREMONY

*533 *796 When we examine the songs which accompany every ceremonial act we find that the thought to be expressed has determined the rhythm, which, in its turn, has controlled both words and music and fixed as well the time or duration of the notes. The unit of time is marked by pulsations of the voice or by drum beats, and the words are found bent by elisions or stretched by added vocables to make them conform to the musical measure.

Rhythm dominates the rendition, which is always exact, no liberties being taken for the purpose of musical expression, in our sense of the term. Any such treatment would so blur the song to the native ear as to destroy its character. A further use of rhythm is manifest in the number of the musical phrases and stanzas. These are found to correspond to the number of ceremonial motions used to indicate the powers which are being addressed. By close examination this peculiarity will be apparent, but in order to facilitate an understanding the words of each musical phrase have been printed as a separate line, so that the eye can easily catch the rhythmic form. As a further help, a diagram has been prepared to show the relative time values of notes, the exceptional accents, and the voice pulsations of each musical phrase. To illustrate, take the first song:



The unit of time is an eighth note, represented by a short dash, -; a quarter note is represented by a longer dash, two beats, —; a three-eighths note by a still longer dash, three beats, , and so on. The dots indicate the number of voice pulsations given to a tone while it is held. Where there is emphasis it is marked on the diagram by the accent sign ´. 796* 533*

A rhythmic rendition, which aims not only to convey the literal meaning but to embody the elucidations of the Ku'rahus as well, has been made. Its words have been so chosen that the lines shall conform to the rhythm of the corresponding phrases of the song. This rendition is for the purpose of presenting to the eye and the ear of the English reader the song as it appeals to the Pawnee who has been instructed in the rite. [128]

The variety of rhythmic forms in the songs of the rituals offers interesting material for the study of the relation of the musical phrase to the development of metrical language. The movements which accompany each song and act of the ceremony give further testimony to the fundamental character of rhythm.

In the following analysis the scheme of the ceremony will be closely observed.

THE PREPARATION

First Division. Initial Rites

FIRST RITUAL. MAKING THE HAKO

Part I. Invoking the Powers

The ceremony of the Hako, we are told by the Ku'rahus, is a prayer for offspring. It opens with a song which recalls the creation of man, the gifts bestowed on him by Tira'wa atius through the powers, and the establishment of rites by which he can appeal to the powers. The content of the song prefigures the fulfilment of man's desire for the reproduction of his life, and the orderly approach by which he should make his desire known. Such a prefiguring seems to be essential at the opening of a ceremony to give it a supernatural warrant. 796* 842 539* 782

The preparation of the Hako constitutes the opening ritual, the first song of which is an appeal to the lesser powers in the order of their coming near to man from the holy place, Awahokshu (first song, line 4). They are said to descend by the four paths at the four cardinal points (line 5), and the ceremonial motions indicating these quarters are an indirect way of mentioning the powers. Each stanza of the appeal, falling into four musical phrases, suggests this fourfold symbol. 782 796* 539* [533*]

The appeal is in the form of a litany, each stanza beginning with a call to "give heed," and closing with the response that heed has been given. The climax in both words and music is reached in the third phrase, which is a direct invocation of one of the powers. [533*]

In this song we meet exclamations characteristic of many others of
*533 the ceremony. These exclamations express the emotions evoked in
*796 the progress of the [illegible]. Few words are used, their iteration making
the memorizing of the song easier than if the emotion had been
fully elaborated in many different words. This apparent poverty of
expression, which may in part be accounted for by the necessity of
oral transmission, has not prevented metrical forms throughout the
ceremony; with one exception, the songs are rhythmic. In the present
instance the repetition of the exclamation I'hare! extended
through the musical phrase by the echoing of its syllables, conveys
*533 even to the eye of a stranger the meaning as given by the Ku'rahus
*539 in his explanation of line 2. "The repetition of the word as we sing
I'hare, 'hare, 'aheo indicates that our minds are dwelling upon the
*796 subject brought to our attention."

This opening song is in two parts. One refers to the powers, the other to the inauguration of rites through which man can turn toward these powers.

Six stanzas belong to the first part, suggesting the six symbolic
motions, indicating the four directions, the above, and the below.
The first stanza is an appeal to Tira'wa; its form is noteworthy when
viewed in connection with the opening stanza of the second part.
Tira'wa is not addressed directly, but the mind is turned to his place
of abode, Awahokshu, as to a definite locality where prayer should
be sent, whence help may come. The fixing of the mind upon a holy
place serves as a precedent for the establishment of a holy place,
776 Kusharu (stanza VII), where man is to think of Tira'wa, and where
rites in accordance with his thought are to be performed. The
*796 order in which the powers are addressed in these first six stanzas
*539 reveals something of the Pawnee's idea of man's relation to the supernatural.
First, the holy place, the abode of Tira'wa, the father of all,
is addressed; second, Hoturu, the invisible Wind, the bearer or giver
of breath; third, Chakaru, the Sun, the father of strength; fourth,
H'Uraru, the Earth, the mother, the conserver of life; fifth, Toharu,
Vegetation, the giver of food; sixth, Chaharu, Water, the giver of
drink.

*539 Starting from the abode of the central power, Tira'wa, designated
*796 in the first stanza, the lesser powers bring to man first breath, next
vitality or strength, then the ability to conserve and use that strength,
773 and, finally, they give him food and drink to sustain his life. The
776 physical man stands forth in these first six stanzas as the result of
the gifts of the powers.

[*533] The second part of the song is in seven stanzas. The number suggests
the seven symbolic motions, indicating the four directions, the
*796 above, the below, and the center, the ego.

The first stanza of the second part (VII) calls the people to "give
*539 heed" to Kusharu, the place set apart for sacred purposes. Concern-

ing this the Ku'rahus says: "The first act of a man must be to set apart a place that can be made holy and consecrated to Tira'wa, a place where a man can be quiet and think about the mighty power." As the first part opens with the mention of Awahokshu, the holy place, the abode of Tira'wa, whence life is given to men by the intermediary powers, so the second part begins by indicating that man should set apart a holy place whence his thoughts can ascend to the powers which gave him life. The fixing of the sacred place made a center from which man's daily life could be set in order, and made the inauguration of rites possible—rites which served as a common bond to hold the community together. In the next stanza (VIII) the term h'Akaru is used. H' is the sign of breath, of the giving of life; akaru is a modification of akaro, a dwelling place. The change from ro to ru indicates that the word is typical rather than special. h'Akaru conveys the idea of an abode of life, a place where life (h', breath) can be received. The progression noted in the first part is here recalled; the power first mentioned after the holy place, Awahokshu, was Hotoru, the Wind, the giver of breath. The next stanza (IX) speaks of Keharu, an inclosure, the actual dwelling to be erected for the protection of life. Keharu seems to correspond to the male element which, in the first part, is represented by the Sun, the father, the giver of strength, and we find that throughout this ceremony the position of the feathered stem, representing the male, is upon the outside, where it acts as guard and protector, a wall of defense to the interior of the lodge, with its fireplace, which represents the nest (see line 44). The fireplace, Kataharu, is next mentioned (X). This is the center, where the life within the lodge is conserved; it represents the female principle. This stanza corresponds to the fourth of the first part, where h'Uraru, Mother Earth, is invoked. In the two following stanzas, Keharu, the glowing coals (XI), and Koritu, the flames, the word of the fire (XII), refer directly to the act of making fire by friction, a ceremony which seems to underlie most, if not all, aboriginal rites through which man appeals to the powers for the means of sustaining life, food, and drink (stanzas V and VI).

539*
796*

[192]

[772]

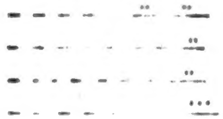
The first six stanzas of the second part seem to be a reflex of the six composing the first part. In the first part physical life is created, in the second part psychical life is recognized. By the institution of rites a way is opened through which man turns toward the powers which created him. In the seventh stanza of the second part (XIII), the passageway is spoken of. This passageway represents the ego, the path wherein man passes to and fro as he lives his individual and communal life.

The structure of this song is notable when taken by itself, but it becomes more remarkable when the scope of the ceremony is considered. It will then be seen that this opening song foreshadows the movement and purpose of the entire ceremony.

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

[*533]
*539
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

I

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Oh, holy place above!
We heed as unto thee we call.

II

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Hotoru, giver of breath!
We heed as unto thee we call.

III

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Shakuru, father of strength!
We heed as unto thee we call.

IV

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, h'Uraru, mother of all!
We heed as unto thee we call.

V

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Toharu, giver of food!
We heed as unto thee we call.

VI

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Chaharu, giver of drink!
We heed as unto thee we call.

VII

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Kusharu, sacred to rites!
We heed as unto thee we call.

---

[a] See the music on page 67.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

VIII

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, h'Akaru, abode of life!
We heed as unto thee we call.

539*
796*

IX

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Keharu, wall of defense!
We heed as unto thee we call.

X

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Kataharu, center within!
We heed as unto thee we call.

XI

We heed as unto thee we call.
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Kokaru, promise of fire!
We heed as unto thee we call.

XII

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Koritu, word of the fire!
We heed as unto thee we call.

XIII

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Hiwaturu, emblem of days!
We heed as unto thee we call.

Part II. Preparing the Feathered Stems

796*
973

The first thing to be made is the feathered stem carried by the Ku'rahus. It represents the female element; it leads in the ceremony. Other sacred rites among the Pawnees explain this leadership as based upon the belief that life first took form through the female; "She was the first and the leader."

The stem is painted blue with blue clay mixed with running water. The running water, we are told, represents the continuation of life by generation following generation. The color is the symbol of the sky, the dwelling place of the powers.

533*
539*
796*

The song which accompanies the act of painting is in five musical phrases, suggesting the five motions symbolic of the four directions and the above. The exclamation he! (a part of h'are! give heed!), at the close of each phrase, bears out this interpretation.

The iterated words h'areri (h', breath; areri, a particular place) tell that the thoughts of the singers are fixed on the giving of life by

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 the powers above, whose presence is symbolized by the blue paint now put upon the stem.

*539 Each stanza of all the songs throughout this ceremony is sung four *796 times. The Ku'rahus tells us that this is in recognition of the four paths at the four cardinal points, down which the powers descend, and that it is also an indirect recognition of the powers themselves.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Rendition

Take we now the blue paint,
Touch with it the stem, putting on the sacred symbol,
Emblem of the clear sky,
Where dwell the gods, who, descending, bring us good gifts,
Gifts of life and plenty.

*796 The feathered stem carried by the Ku'rahus's assistant represents the male element. It is painted green, the color symbolizing Toharu, the living covering of Mother Earth. The key to the symbolism lies in the abbreviated word huresc, "coming from above." It conveys the idea that the power by which Mother Earth brings forth her green covering, Toharu, comes from the power above, Tira'wa atius.

The fan-shaped pendant hung upon the green stem is made of seven feathers from the young brown eagle, spoken of by the Ku'rahus as the white eagle. These are the feathers worn by warriors, and the bird is the war eagle, the fighter, the defender, the protector.

The combining of the male and female forces on each of the leading requisites of the ceremony, the feathered stems and the ear of corn, has already been noticed.

*533 The song which is sung as the stem is painted green is in six musical *796 phrases, corresponding to the six ceremonial motions: the four directions, the above, and the below.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

[b] Music on page [illegible].

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

Rhythmic Rendition

Take we now the green paint,
Touch with it the stem, the mated stem,
Putting on the emblem, the sacred and living symbol,
Mother earth.
From above descending, bountiful blessings on thee,
Mother earth.

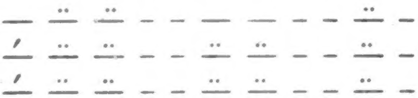
The fan-like appendage of ten brown mottled feathers from the mature brown eagle are here tied upon the blue stem. This eagle is called Kawas; it represents the mother. She is the bearer of life from above and shares with the corn the leadership throughout the ceremony. 796* 815

It is noticeable that the eagle receives the gifts it bears to man through the lesser powers and not directly from Tira'wa atius. Birds are not powers, but messengers, intermediaries between the lesser powers and man. A glimpse is here obtained of the order which natural forces and objects take in the mind of the Pawnee.

The song of this act is in three phrases. The number three is not symbolized by ceremonial motions; throughout the ceremony songs accompanying acts which do not imply a direct appeal to the powers above fall into three musical phrases. 533* 796*

THIRD SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

Oh, Kawas, come, with wings outspread in sunny skies!
Oh, Kawas, come, and bring us peace, thy gentle peace!
Oh, Kawas, come, and give new life to us who pray!

[539*]

PART III. PAINTING THE EAR OF CORN AND PREPARING THE OTHER SACRED OBJECTS.

The putting of a peculiar design in blue paint on the ear of corn is replete with symbolism. The ear of corn not only represents a life-sustaining product of the earth, but the omniscience which the earth is believed to possess. This omniscience, predicated of the ear of corn, constituted one of its qualifications to act as leader. The Ku'rahus says (line 118): "Mother Earth knows all places and all that happens among men; therefore the corn which comes from her must lead, must direct us where to go." 796*

The painting of the ear of corn represents the securing of its credentials as leader. The blue paint used on this occasion is not put into a shell, as it was when the stems were colored, but into a wooden bowl. The shape of the bowl, an inverted dome, typifies the arching sky, the blue paint its color (see the explanation of line 83). The design put on the ear of corn signifies its journey to the abode of the powers and its return, with their sanction, as leader.

---

[a] Music on page 41.

*796 774 It is difficult to follow the Pawnee's thought in the words and accompanying act of this song unless it is remembered that he regards the spirit of man, animals, and all other things as able to travel about independent of the body. Moreover, that he conceives it possible for a number of persons so to unite as to think and act as one spirit.

*539 *796 192 In the song Mother, Atira, is the term applied to the ear of corn as the representative of Mother Earth. This word is preceded by the aspirate, h', significant of the breath, the giving forth of life. h'Atira not only refers to the sustaining of life by food, but also carries the idea that, as leader, the corn bears life-giving power.

The word weri, I am, does not mean the man who paints the corn, but the converted spirits of the Hako party, which are spoken of in the singular, as though they were one spirit. The use of the plural sign re a little later on in the stanza (line 86) implies the personification of the ear of corn; its spirit is standing with the spirit of the Hako party. These two spirits move together throughout this drama of the consecration of the ear of corn as leader.

*539 *796 In the next stanza the two spirits are flying through the air. There is no incongruity in this procedure; the already mentioned belief relative to spirits makes it rational. In like manner, the color of the paint can hold within it the spirit of the abode of the powers.

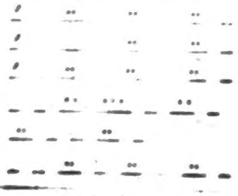
*533 *539 *796 The different stages in the progress of the ear of corn on its journey to the abode of the powers are depicted in the different stanzas of the song. In the first, she stands; in the second, she flies; in the third, she touches the boundary of the sky, "where it begins"; in the fourth, she ascends; in the fifth, she reaches the dome, her destination; in the sixth, she descends, the purpose of the journey having been accomplished.

The music is divided into six phrases; six stanzas record the stages of the journey; the number suggests the six ceremonial motions typifying the four directions, the above, and the below.

It would seem from the acts accompanying this song that the ear of corn went up to the abode of the powers by the four paths at the four cardinal points, down which we are told the powers descend, as the lines representing these paths were drawn on the ear before the blue paint was spread over its tip to represent the dome of the sky.

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



---

[a] Music on page 63.

Rhythmic Rendition

539*
796*

I

Tira'wa, harken! Mighty one,
Above us in blue, silent sky!
We standing wait thy bidding here.
The Mother Corn standing waits,
Waits to serve thee here;
The Mother Corn stands waiting here.

II

Tira'wa, harken! Mighty one,
Above us in blue, silent sky!
We flying seek thy dwelling there.
The Mother Corn flying goes
Up to seek thee there;
The Mother Corn goes flying up.

III

Tira'wa, harken! Mighty one,
Above us in blue, silent sky!
We touch upon thy country now.
The Mother Corn touches there
On the border land;
The Mother Corn is touching there.

IV

Tira'wa, harken! Mighty one,
Above us in blue, silent sky!
The path we reach leads up to thee.
The Mother Corn enters there,
Upward takes her way;
The Mother Corn ascends to thee.

V

Tira'wa, harken! Mighty one,
Above us in blue, silent sky!
Behold! We in thy dwelling stand.
The Mother Corn, standing there,
Leader she is made;
The Mother Corn is leader made.

VI

Tira'wa, harken! Mighty one,
Above us in blue, silent sky!
The downward path we take again.
The Mother Corn, leading us,
Doth thy symbol bear;
The Mother Corn with power leads.

SECOND RITUAL. PREFIGURING THE JOURNEY TO THE SON

*796 The ceremony of offering the Hako was believed to bring great
622 benefits. As the tie to be formed was a close one and likely to have
787 a bearing on the welfare of two tribes, the selection of the man who
was to be the Son was not left exclusively to the Father. His choice had to be submitted to the chiefs of his tribe for their approval. Nor did the matter end here, for the chiefs, seemingly unwilling to assume the entire responsibility of a final decision, threw the confirmation of the selection of the Son upon the supernatural, represented by the ear of corn.

[771] To be able to follow the Pawnee's thought one should keep well in mind the native belief in the reality of an invisible world accessible to man. The Ku'rahus explained that in this rite the spirit of the corn and the spirits of the assembled company must meditate together upon the proposed candidate for the Son, must consider his qualifications and his ability to meet the requirements for a successful issue of the ceremony. He said: "As we meditate we sit with bowed heads, and Mother Corn sits with bowed head." When the decision is reached "Mother Corn lifts her head and stands erect, then she moves through the air on her journey to the Son, and we follow."

In this mystical journey Mother Corn "opens the way" between the land of the Fathers and that of the Children. She does more. She enters the village and passes around among the lodges of the people to that of the selected man. She goes in and touches him while he sleeps. It is the spirit of Mother Corn that touches the spirit of the man in a dream. He does not see her who has touched him, but he sees one of the birds which belong to the feathered stem, the eagle, the owl, the duck, or the woodpecker, for the spirits of these birds are there with the spirit of Mother Corn in the lodge of the sleeping man. If, when he awakes, he is able to recall his dream, it is because Mother Corn has "opened his mind." Therefore when the messengers of the Father's party arrive with the tidings, "Your Father is coming," the dreamer is not taken by surprise, but is ready to respond without unnecessary delay.

*796 The old man narrated this symbolic procedure of the ear of corn
622 and its attendant spirits without consciousness that he was saying
anything unusual or contrary to ordinary experience. His only comment was, that it was very difficult for the men of the party of the Father so to fix their minds upon the desired end as to secure its accomplishment. He referred to this difficulty several times while explaining the words and meaning of the song. When questioned as to whether the attempt was always successful, he said that when it failed the failure was always due to a lack of earnestness or sincerity on the part of the persons so fixing their minds. By this he did not mean that the men failed because they did not try hard enough to

keep their attention upon the desired object, but that there was in 796*
their character something which prevented them from effectually exerting their will power. He evidently had no doubt as to the reasonableness of the procedure. To him it was entirely logical.

The journey prefigured by this flight of Mother Corn, afterward 533*
actually taken by the party of the Father, has its special songs. 539*
Several of them refer directly to this traveling of the spirit of Mother 796*
Corn.

The song of this ritual is in two parts, each with four stanzas. The first part relates to finding the Son, "opening the way" to him. The second deals with the Son, preparing him to receive the Father, "opening his mind."

The stanzas are in four musical phrases corresponding to the four paths down which the lesser powers descend to man. Each closes with the exclamation ha! calling attention, as to an invisible presence.

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way! 539*
Lo! As we draw near, let our souls touch thine 796*
While we pray thee:
Children give to us! Mother Corn, hear!

II

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! Our heads we bow, while our souls touch thine;
Then as one mind
Make the choice of Son. Mother Corn, hear!

III

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! With head erect Mother stands, and then
Moves she through air
On her mission bent. Mother Corn, hear!

IV

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! Now over hills, over streams, we go
Taking our way
Toward the Children's land. Mother Corn, hear!

---

[a] Music on page [illegible]

V

*539 *796
Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! Our journey's end now is near, we look
O'er the strange land,
Seeking Children there! Mother Corn, hear!

VI

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! Our eyes behold where they dwell. In their
Village we walk,
Seeking there the Son. Mother Corn, hear!

VII

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! His lodge we find, through the door we pass.
Sleeping he lies,
Knows not we are there. Mother Corn, hear!

VIII

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! Now at her touch comes a dream; then a
Bird calls, "My Son!"
While his soul responds. Mother Corn, hear!

THIRD RITUAL. SENDING THE MESSENGERS

*796 [602 202] The four messengers were selected informally by the Father from among his near relatives. They were generally young men, lithe and strong of limb, and able to make a long journey quickly. The distance to be traveled varied from a few miles to a hundred or more, and as they must carry all their provisions, it became necessary for them to get over the ground as rapidly as possible.

The formal appointment of these messengers took place in the lodge of the Father, in the presence of the sacred objects spread at ceremonial rest.

[602] When the messengers arrived at the lodge of the Son, he sent for his kindred and consulted with them. Only a recent death in his family or some catastrophe which deprived him of his property would be accepted as sufficient excuse for his not receiving the Hako party. If he accepted the tobacco he would bid the messengers return to the Father and say, "I am ready." [431] In either case he must make gifts to the messengers in recognition of the proffered honor.

The homeward journey was made as quickly as possible, for during the absence of the messengers nothing could be done. As soon, however, as the returning young men were discerned on the prairie the village was astir, and the men of the Father's party, with the Ku'rahus, assembled at his lodge to receive them ceremonially and to hear their tidings.

The messenger dispatched on such errands was called Rawiska'raraharu, One who walks carrying the tobacco.

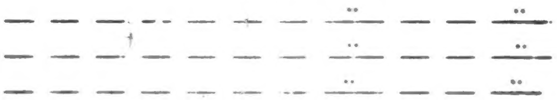
*533 *539 *796 The music of the song of this ritual is in three phrases. Like other songs in this ceremony having the same number, it accompanies acts

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

which do not directly appeal to the supernatural. The first stanza is 533*
addressed to the messengers; the second to the Father's party within 539*
the lodge. 796*

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

I

I bid you travel o'er the land to the Son, 539*
And with you take these words of mine unto him: 796*
"Behold! Your Father comes to you speedily."

II

We wait their journey o'er the land to the Son,
When they will give these words of mine unto him:
'Behold! Your Father comes to you speedily."

FOURTH RITUAL

PART I. VIVIFYING THE SACRED OBJECTS

These first four rituals are in sequence and deal with the peculiar preparations required for the ceremony. In the first ritual the sacred articles are prepared; in the second ritual the Son is selected; in the third ritual the Father notifies the Son, who responds; and in the fourth ritual the sacred articles are vivified and assume leadership. In these preparations the supernatural powers bear a leading part. At the very beginning, in the first song of the first ritual, their presence is invoked, and in the fourth ritual, after man's preparations for the ceremony are completed, they accept his work. 796*

The first, second, and third rituals took place in the lodge of the Father, where the sacred objects were guarded day and night by the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief, or by persons appointed to act as their substitutes. In the fourth ritual the objects were for the first time taken outside the lodge, under the open sky, where the final act of their preparation took place. They were tied upon a pole and elevated in the early dawn, that they might be vivified by the powers and acknowledged as their representatives.

The order in which these sacred objects were tied upon the pole indicates their relative significance in this ceremony. The two feathered stems were placed near the top, because they typify the powers of the upper world. But they also represent the male and female elements, therefore the male stem was placed toward the south—the light, the day, the sun; and the female stem toward the north—the darkness, the night, the moon. Beneath the feathered stems were the rattles and the ear of corn, representing the living covering of 796* 823

---

[a] Music on page 56.

*796 the earth, and below those was the wildcat skin. These typify the powers of the lower world.

823 All these articles were tied on the pole so as to face the east. We are told in the song of the ninth ritual that down the path at the east came the powers that are potent in this rite.

Behind these objects, toward the west, where dwell the powers which influence the life of man and control disaster and death, were bound the right and left wing of an eagle. These wings were spread *796 as though supporting the sacred objects, as the wings sustain the body of a bird in the air. Throughout the ceremony the position of the two eagle wings, both when on the pole and when borne at each end of the line of men, serves to unify the different sacred objects into the similitude of a winged body. This unification does not, however, interfere with the separate functions of each article or with the character of its symbols.

The dawn ritual throws light on the significance of the elevation of the sacred objects under the open sky before the break of day. Before this act, these objects had lain at rest; but after it, when they had been vivified by the wind and the sun, they at once became active and thenceforth they led the people throughout the ceremony.

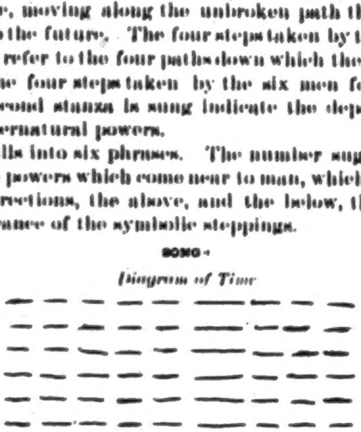
PART II. MOTHER CORN ASSUMES LEADERSHIP

This activity is manifest in the song of part II, where the ear of corn passes to the front and assumes the position of leader. The ceremonial steps taken by the chief, as he carries this representative of Mother Earth with her life-sustaining force, dramatically represent the corn as advancing out of the past (from behind the Ku'rahus with his symbolic feathered stem), coming into the present (beside him), and then going on before, moving along the unbroken path that stretches out of the past into the future. The four steps taken by the chief bearing the ear of corn refer to the four paths down which the powers descend to man, and the four steps taken by the six men following Mother Corn as the second stanza is sung indicate the dependence of man upon these supernatural powers.

*533 This song falls into six phrases. The number suggests the recog-
*539 nition of all the powers which come near to man, which are represented
*796 by the four directions, the above, and the below, thus bearing out the full significance of the symbolic steppings.

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



[a] Music on page 81.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Mother with the life-giving power now comes, 539*
Stepping out of far distant days she comes, 796*
Days wherein to our fathers gave she food;
As to them, so now unto us she gives,
Thus she will to our children faithful be.
Mother with the life-giving power now comes!

II

Mother with the life-giving power is here,
Stepping out of far distant days she comes.
Now she forward moves, leading as we walk
Toward the future, where blessings she will give,
Gifts for which we have prayed granting to us.
Mother with the life-giving power is here!

PART III. THE HAKO PARTY PRESENTED TO THE POWERS

The recognition of man's dependence on the supernatural is still 796* further emphasized by the peculiar dramatic movements which accompany the songs after the Hako party for the first time as a body passes outside of the lodge, within which all the preceding ceremonies have taken place.

The sacred objects, which under the open sky had been vivified and 796* acknowledged by the supernatural powers, now lead the party along certain lines defined by their symbolically numbered steps to face the 823 localities where these powers were believed to dwell. First the east was faced and the powers there were addressed; then the west; next the south; and then the north. At each of these points the sacred objects were elevated, while the people invoked the powers to "behold" (to recognize and accept) those who were about to perform the ceremony. When each of the four cardinal points had been addressed and the 796* leader had completed the ceremonial steps, the outline of a man had been traced upon the ground. Concerning this outline the Ku'rahus explained that it "is the image from Tira'wa." "Its feet are where we now stand, its feet are with our feet."

This figure would seem to represent a visible answer to the ceremonial appeal of the people and to indicate a willingness of the supernatural powers to grant their presence throughout the coming ceremony. This interpretation of the tracing is borne out by the words of the Ku'rahus when he says that "it will move with our feet as we now, bearing the sacred objects, take four steps in the presence of all the powers, and begin our journey to the land of the Son."

The song addressed to the east is in four musical phrases while 533* the songs to the west, south, and north are in six musical phrases. The 796* four-phrase song is sung to Tira'wa atius, the father of all things and it is noticeable that all the songs throughout the ceremony which specially address this power are in a four phrase rhythm. When —

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 the other powers are addressed, those at the four directions, the above, and the below, a six-phrase rhythm is used.

*796 The number of the repeats and phrases of the songs seems also to be connected with the ceremonial steps, which are in groups of four, eight, and sixteen. The number sixteen is said by the Ku'rahus to represent completeness.

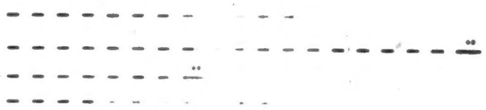
[801]

[826 According to native measurement, the height of a man is equal to the stretch of his arms. Looking at the diagram of the figure stepped upon the ground, we note that sixteen steps give the spread of the arms and the same number of steps marks the length of the man. This bears out the statement of the Ku'rahus that sixteen, or four times four, represents completeness.

804]

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

*539 Look on us as here we are standing, raising our voices!
*796 Look on us as here we, presenting, lift now these emblems that are so holy up to thy gaze!
Swift, a flash from out of the heavens
Falls on us as here we are standing, looking at thee.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

*533

*796

Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 Look down, West gods,[c] look upon us! We gaze afar on your dwelling.
*796 Look down while here we are standing, look down upon us, ye mighty!
Ye thunder gods, now behold us!
Ye lightning gods, now behold us!
Ye that bring life, now behold us!
Ye that bring death, now behold us!

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].
[b] Music on page [illegible].
[c] Gods, meaning powers, is used solely on account of the rhythm.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

II

Look down, South gods, look upon us! We gaze afar on your dwelling. 539*
Look down while here we are standing, look down upon us, ye mighty! 796*
Ye daylight gods, now behold us!
Ye sunshine gods, now behold us!
Ye increase gods, now behold us!
Ye plenty gods, now behold us!

III

Look down, North gods, look upon us! We gaze afar on your dwelling.
Look down while here we are standing, look down upon us, ye mighty!
Ye darkness gods, now behold us!
Ye moonlight gods, now behold us!
Ye that direct, now behold us!
Ye that discern, now behold us!

The structure of the first division of the Preparation, initial rites, is worthy of notice. Each of its four rituals is complete in itself, but the symbols, rhythms, and movements of all are closely connected, forming a drama of two worlds. The four rituals are a compact whole, from the opening appeal in the first song of the first ritual to the culmination in the fourth ritual, from the appeal to the powers in the order of creation for their presence to the answer of this appeal made visible by the rhythmic ceremonial steps, in the form of the symbolic presence whose "feet will move with" the feet of the suppliants as they journey to the land of the Son. 533* 539* 796*

SECOND DIVISION. THE JOURNEY

FIFTH RITUAL

PART I. MOTHER CORN ASSERTS AUTHORITY

The three songs of the first part of the fifth ritual have a fixed sequence, and relate to the supernatural leadership of the ear of corn.

The first refers to the second ritual, where the spirits of those assembled in the lodge became as one spirit and joined the spirit of Mother Corn in her search for the Son (see explanation by the Ku'rahus, fifth ritual, first song). The journey then prefigured is now about to begin. The Father's party are again enjoined to become as one spirit, and as one spirit to follow Mother Corn over "the devious way."

FIRST SONG[a]

The first song, like that of the second ritual, is in four musical phrases. Both refer to the four paths down which the lesser powers descend. 533* 796*

Diagram of Time

---

[a] Music on page [illegible]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

Rhythmic Rendition

I

The Mother leads and we follow on,
Her devious pathway before us lies.
She leads us as were our fathers led
Down through the ages.

II

The Mother leads and we follow on,
Her pathway straight, where a stage each day
We forward walk, as our fathers walked
Down through the ages.

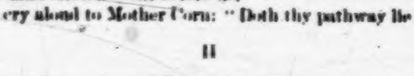
When the familiar landmarks about the village had disappeared in the distance and the people looked over the wide stretch of country, the dangers of the journey were naturally suggested, so that the first stanza of the second song is an appeal to Mother Corn, asking her whether a safe path lies before them. The second stanza gives her assuring answer, that the path does lie straight before them.

This song, being one of procedure only, is in three phrases.

[*533]

SECOND SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



Rythmic Rendition

I

Looking o'er the prairie, naught our eyes discern there,
Wide the land stretches out before us;
Then we cry aloud to Mother Corn: "Doth thy pathway lie here?"

II

Heeding now our crying, while our eyes she opens,
Mother Corn moveth out before us
On the lonely prairie, where we see straight the pathway lies there!

In the third song, Mother Corn reminds the people of the supernatural leadership bestowed on her by the powers above in the distant past, and now renewed in the ceremonies which have just taken place.

[*533]

This song, referring directly to the powers above, is in five musical phrases, suggesting the motions toward the four directions and the above.

---

[a] Music on page 30.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THIRD SONG[1]

533*
796*

Diagram of Time

Rythmic Rendition

I

539*
796*

Hark! She speaks, and quickly we turn to her.
Looking toward the west to the spot where we
Passed 'neath the eyes of gods; and now do we heed her words:
"Yonder is the place in the distant west
Whence I have come out of the past to you."

II

"Born of the earth and touched by the deep blue sky,
Have I chosen been by the gods to lead.
You are to hear my voice and follow my strict commands,
As your fathers did in the days gone by.
Thence come I to open your pathway here."

These three songs, the first part of the fifth ritual, seem to have been disciplinary in their influence. They tended to restrain the individual from self-seeking by placing over the party a supernatural leader, on whom all minds must be fixed and to whom all must give obedience. Thus, from the very outset, an authority was established against which none dared rebel. [626]

PART II. SONGS AND CEREMONIES OF THE WAY

796*
484

The Hako party was an impressive sight as it journeyed over the country. It could never be mistaken for an ordinary group of hunters, warriors, or travelers. At the head of the long procession, sufficiently in advance to be distinguished from the others, walked three men the Ku'rahus, holding before him the brown-eagle feathered stem, on his right the chief, grasping with both hands the wildcat skin and Mother Corn, and at his left the assistant Ku'rahus, bearing the white-eagle feathered stem. These three men wore buffalo robes with the hair outside. On their heads was the white downy feather of their office and their faces were anointed with the sacred ointment and red paint. They bore the sacred objects forward steadily and silently, looking neither to the right nor left, believing that they were under supernatural guidance. Behind them walked the doctors with their insignia, the eagle wings; then the singers with the drum, and behind them the

---

[1] Music on page [illegible]

*796 men and women of the party with the ponies laden with gifts and
needed supplies of food.

Over the wide prairie for miles and miles this order was preserved
day after day until the journey came to an end. If from some dis-
[726] tant vantage point a war party should descry the procession, the
leader would silently turn his men that they might not meet the Hako
party, for the feathered stems are mightier than the warrior; before
them he must lay down his weapon, forget his anger, and be at peace.

771 No object met on the journey to the Son presented its ordinary
aspect to the Hako party. Everything seen was regarded as a mani-
*796 festation of the supernatural powers under whose favor this ceremony
484 was to take place; hence the trees, the streams, the mountains, the
buffalo were each addressed in song. This attitude toward nature is
strikingly brought out in the two songs, which are in sequence, sung
at the crossing of a stream.

484 Throughout this ceremony water is treated as one of the lesser
771 powers. It is employed only for sacred purposes, and is never used in
*796 the ordinary way. To profane water would bring punishment upon
the whole party (see the first ritual, line 29), and consequently when
823 a stream ran across a line of travel no person could step into it as he
commonly would do. A halt was called and the Ku'rahus led in the
singing of the song in which Kawas is asked to grant the party permis-
[773] sion to ford the stream. According to Pawnee rituals, water at the
creation was given to the woman, so Kawas, representing the mother,
could grant permission. The request is embodied in four stanzas.
*[539] In the first the water touches the feet; in the second the feet stand in
the water; in the third the feet move in the water; in the fourth the
water covers the feet (note the resemblance of entering the stream to
entering the lodge, seventh ritual, part 1).

771 After the stream was crossed the people halted on the bank to sing
*539 the song to the wind, led by the Ku'rahus. It also is in four stanzas.
*796 The wind is called upon to come and dry the water which the people
may not irreverently touch. In the first stanza the wind touches the
821 people; in the second it lightly brushes their bodies; in the third it
484 circles about them; in the fourth it envelops them. Thus the wind,
one of the lesser powers, comes between the people and the penalty
incurred by profanely touching water.

*539 In these ceremonies the people were constantly reminded that they
771 were in the presence of the unseen powers manifested to them in the
natural objects met upon the journey. To those initiated into the
*796 inner meaning of the rite, the appeal at the crossing of the stream to
Kawas (the feminine element) and to the wind (typical of the breath
of life) was connected with the symbolism of running water, explained
in the seventh ritual as representing the giving of life from genera-
tion to generation.

*539 The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth songs originally belonged to
*796 the journey, but we are told the buffalo are no longer seen; neither

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

are the mountains or the mesas; so these songs are now sung in the lodge and only that the objects seen by past generations may be remembered. 539* 796*

There are no present means of ascertaining whether the songs here given comprise all that were used by the Pawnees on the journey; they are all that had been taught the Ku'rahus who is the authority for this record of the Hako ceremony.

SONG TO THE TREES AND STREAMS[a]

533* 796*

Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Dark against the sky yonder distant line 539*
Lies before us. Trees we see, long the line of trees, 796*
Bending, swaying in the breeze.

II

Bright with flashing light yonder distant line
Runs before us, swiftly runs, swift the river runs,
Winding, flowing o'er the land.

III

Hark! Oh hark! A sound, yonder distant sound
Comes to greet us, singing comes, soft the river's song,
Rippling gently 'neath the trees.

SONG WHEN CROSSING THE STREAMS[b]

533* 796*

Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Behold, upon the river's brink we stand! 539*
River we must cross;
Oh Kawas, come! To thee we call. Oh come, and thy permission give 796*
Into the stream to wade and forward go.

---

[a] Music on page 73.

[b] Music on page 73.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

II

*539
*796

Behold, the water touches now our feet!
River we must cross;
Oh Kawas, hear! To thee we call. Oh come, and thy permission give
On through the stream to pass and forward go.

III

Behold, our feet now in the water move!
River we must cross;
Oh Kawas, heed! To thee we call. Oh come, and thy permission give
On through the stream to pass and forward go.

IV

Behold, the water covers now our feet!
River we must cross;
Oh Kawas, hear! To thee we call. Oh come, and thy permission give
On through the stream to pass and forward go.

SONG TO THE WIND[a]

Diagram of Time

[*533]

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Hither, Winds, come to us, touch where water
O'er us flowed when we waded;
Come, Oh Winds, come!

II

Now the Winds come to us, touch where water
O'er us flowed when we waded;
Now the Winds come.

III

Here and there touch the Winds where the water
O'er us flowed when we waded;
Now the Winds touch.

IV

Lo! The Winds round us sweep where water
O'er us flowed. Safe now are we,
By the Winds safe.

SONG TO THE BUFFALO[b]

Diagram of Time

[*533]

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

[b] Music on page 78.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Rhythmic Rendition

I

When to prepare us a pathway Mother Corn sped
Far in her search for the Son, passing this place,
Lo! She beheld buffalo in many herds here. 539* 796*

II

Now, as we walk in the pathway Mother Corn made,
Looking on all that she saw, passing this place,
Lo! We behold buffalo and many trails here.

SONG OF THE PROMISE OF THE BUFFALO[a]

Diagram of Time

533* 796*

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Clouds of dust arise, rolling up from earth,
Spreading onward; herds are there,
Speeding on before,
Going straight where we must journey. 539* 796*

II

What are those we see moving in the dust?
This way coming from the herd;
Buffalo and calf!
Food they promise for the Children.

SONG TO THE MOUNTAINS[b]

Diagram of Time

533* 796*

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Mountains loom upon the path we take;
Yonder peak now rises sharp and clear;
Behold! It stands with its head uplifted.
Thither go we, since our way lies there. 539* 796*

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

[b] Music on page [illegible].

II

*539
*796

Mountains loom upon the path we take;
Yonder peak now rises sharp and clear;
Behold! We climb, drawing near its summit;
Steeper grows the way and slow our steps.

III

Mountains loom upon the path we take;
Yonder peak that rises sharp and clear,
Behold us now on its head uplifted;
Planting there our feet, we stand secure.

IV

Mountains loom upon the path we take;
Yonder peak that rose so sharp and clear,
Behold us now on its head uplifted;
Resting there at last, we sing our song.

SONG TO THE MESA[a]

Diagram of Time

[*533]

Rhythmic Rendition

I

The mesa see; its flat top like a straight line cuts across the sky;
It blocks our path, and we must climb, the mesa climb.

II

More mesas see; their flat tops rise against the sky, they bar our path;
We reach their base, and we must climb, the mesas climb.

III

The mesa's side we now ascend, the sharp ridge pass, its flat top reach;
There lies our path that we must take, and forward go.

IV

The mesas rise around us still, their flat tops cut across the sky;
They block our way, yet still we climb, the mesas climb.

PART III. MOTHER CORN REASSERTS LEADERSHIP

The next two songs are in sequence and refer to the mystical journey and leadership of Mother Corn. They return to the theme of part I of this ritual.

[626] Upon the journey the people had been led to appeal to different objects as manifestations of the supernatural powers, but now that the journey was nearing its end the maintenance of discipline required that the people should be reminded that Mother Corn was leading and that to her they were still to render undivided obedience.

The first song was sung at the border of the land of the Son.

---

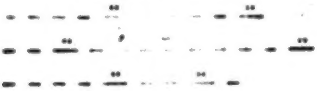
[a] Music on page 84.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

533*
796*



Rhythmic Rendition

I

539*
796*

Here we give our thanks, led by Mother Corn,
As our eyes dwell upon the borders of the land
Where dwell the Children we are seeking.

II

Now we travel on, led by Mother Corn.
Soon our eyes catch the print of footsteps on the ground,
Made by the Children we are seeking.

III

Still we travel on, led by Mother Corn.
Now our eyes look on people walking to and fro;
They the Children are we are seeking.

When the village where the ceremony was to take place was clearly in sight the second song was sung.

796*

At the close of the song the sacred objects were laid at rest. This was the first time during daylight, since the journey began, that they had been so placed. They had always been in the hands of the Ku'rahus and his assistants, who walked at the head of the long procession as it moved over the country.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

533*
796*

Rhythmic Rendition

I

539*
796*

Here is the place where I came, seeking to find the Son;
Here have I led you again, here is our journey's end.
Thanks we give unto the Mother Corn!
Here is the place where she came, seeking to find the Son;
Here she has led us again, here is our journey's end.

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

[b] Music on page [illegible].

II

*539
*796
Here to this place have we come, bringing the Son our gifts,
All of the gifts that go forth bearing the promised help.
Thanks he'll give as he sees, Mother Corn.
All of the gifts that we bring, bring to his village here;
Here, where you led, Mother Corn; here, where our journey ends.

THIRD DIVISION. ENTERING THE VILLAGE OF THE SON AND CONSECRATING HIS LODGE

SIXTH RITUAL

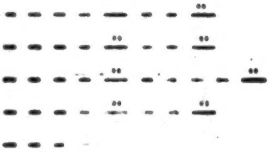
PART I. THE SON'S MESSENGER RECEIVED

*796 The messenger dispatched by the Son to the Hako party, which was now camped outside the village, was received as a son. He was met, conducted to the tent of the Father, where food was offered him, and he was clad in gala garments. The first song accompanied these acts, which, the K 'rahus explained, represented "the care of a father for his child."

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

[*533]



Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539
*796
Now our eyes look on him who is here;
He is as the Son we have sought;
He brings again tidings from the Son:
"Father, come to me, here I sit,
Waiting here for thee."

II

Now our eyes look on him who is clad
As befits the Son we have sought;
He, arising, walks; follow we his steps,
Moving slowly on toward the Son,
Where he waiting sits.

PART II. THE HAKO PARTY ENTER THE VILLAGE

*796 Led by the Son's messenger, the party moved to the edge of the village, where a halt was made, in order to conform to the movements of Mother Corn in her mystical journey (second ritual). "We must do as she did," says the Ku'rahus.

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

After singing the first stanza, the party entered the village and passed on to the lodge pointed out to them by the messenger, where they again halted and sang the second stanza. 796*

These songs are repeated in the sixteenth ritual, when the child is sought.

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

533*
796*

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Where is he, the Son? 539*
Where his dwelling place that I seek? 796*
Which can be his lodge, where he sits
Silent, waiting, waiting there for me?

II

Here is he, the Son,
Here is his dwelling place that I seek;
This is here his lodge, where he sits
Silent, waiting, waiting here for me.

SEVENTH RITUAL. THE CONSECRATION OF THE LODGE

PART I. TOUCHING AND CROSSING THE THRESHOLD

The ceremony at the door of the lodge is another instance of the prefiguration of an act. The chief, with the cat skin and the ear of corn, advanced, and during the singing of the first stanza of the following song stepped on the threshold and touched but did not cross it. 796*

The stanzas, which are in five musical phrases, were sung four times in remembrance of the path at the four directions, down which Tira'wa atius sends, by the lesser powers, the gifts promised through this ceremony.

While the second stanza was being sung, the chief crossed the threshold, and, in recognition of the powers and to represent the progression of a long life, took the four ceremonial steps, which are sometimes spoken of as reaching and crossing the four hills.

Thus the way into the lodge was opened by Mother Corn, assisted by the tact of the wild cat carried by the chief (see page 23), so that the direct representatives of the powers above, the feathered stems, might enter.

The chief retired two steps behind the Ku'rahus, outside the lodge door. The Ku'rahus and his assistant, carrying the feathered stems,

---

[a] Music on page [illegible]

F

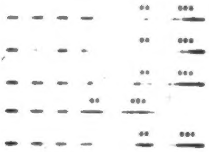
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796 advanced and repeated in the same order the movements made by the chief. Meanwhile the third and fourth stanzas were sung. At the close the two men retired and took their places beside the chief.

SONG[a]

*533
*796

Diagram of Time.



Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539
*796

Sent down by powers on high,
She bears a promise most sure;
The Mother Corn breathes forth life,
On threshold She stands
Of my Son's dwelling. All's well!

II

Sent down by powers on high,
She bears a promise most sure;
The Mother Corn breathes forth life,
The threshold crosses
Of my Son's dwelling. All's well!

III

Sent down by powers on high,
She bears a promise most sure;
Now Kawas brings new life,
On threshold She stands here
Of my Son's dwelling. All's well!

IV

Sent down by powers on high,
She bears a promise most sure—
Now Kawas, bringing new life,
The threshold crosses
Of my Son's dwelling. All's well!

PART II. CONSECRATING THE LODGE

*796 When the Hako entered the long passageway the wildcat skin and the ear of corn were carried a few steps in advance of the feathered stems, thus being the first to enter the large circular room. This relative position of the corn was maintained during the first two circuits around the lodge, Mother Corn "opening the way."

[*533] The stanzas of the song are in four musical phrases, and each

---

[a] Music on page 94.

stanza is sung four times in recognition of the four directions, for Mother Corn is breathing forth within the lodge the gift of life brought down from Tira'wa atius by the lesser powers. 533* 796*

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Rendition

I

The Mother Corn, with breath of life, 539*
Now enters into my Son's lodge; 796*
There she walks within;
With breath of life walks Mother Corn.

II

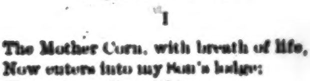
The Mother Corn, with breath of life,
Now circles she within the lodge,
Walking round within;
With breath of life walks Mother Corn.

Now the wildcat skin and the ear of corn are taken back into line with the feathered stems, and Kawas becomes the leader. The first stanza of the song accompanying the third and fourth circuits of the lodge speaks of her hovering as over a nest. In the second she flies about, cleansing her nest of all impurities by the flapping of her wings. Meanwhile the two doctors with their eagle wings also simulate the cleansing of the nest, sweeping out of the lodge all harmful influences.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

533* 796*



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Kawas, bearing new life, entereth this dwelling, 539*
Comes as to her own nest, on her spread pinions; 796*
There so gently she hovers over these her Children.

II

Kawas, bearing new life, flieth through this dwelling,
All the lodge she cleanses, with her wings sweeping,
Making clear the place, sweeping out the harm and danger.

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

[b] Music on page [illegible].

PART III. CLOTHING THE SON AND OFFERING SMOKE

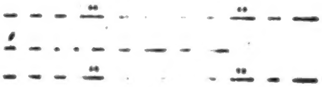
*796 The lodge having been made ready as a nest within which life might be given and made secure, the Father performed his first act of recognition and responsibility. He put upon the Son the garments he had previously prepared for the purpose. When clad in the finely embroidered clothing, the Son was told to make the offering of smoke to Tira'wa atius, as a prayer for the consecration of the new-born relationship.

571
782
286

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539
*796

My son, now heed, attend to the command I give to you:
Oh, speak to the gods list'ning[c] above us!
Oh, let your prayers ascend to the mighty ones on high!

II

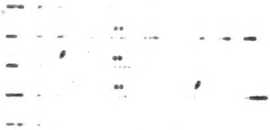
My son obeys. His voice is now trav'ling far, speeding on;
It goes to the list'ning gods above us;
There will his prayer be heard by the mighty ones on high.

*796 The ceremony of offering smoke was conducted by a priest, who instructed the Son as to the order in which the stem of the pipe and the smoke must be offered to the various directions. Meanwhile the Fathers with the Hako stood before the Son singing this song, which voiced their participation in the offering.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

See the smoke pass by!
Rising high above, follows where his voice
Sped, intent to reach
Where the gods[c] abide in the deep blue sky.
See the smoke pass by!

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].
[b] Music on page [illegible].
[c] The word gods, meaning powers, is used because of the rhythm.

See the smoke ascend! 539* 796*
Now the odor mounts, follows where his voice
Sped, intent to reach
Where the gods[a] abide. There the odor pleads,
Pleads to gain us help.

796* In the first ritual of the Preparation, when the making of the Hako had been completed, the Father had offered smoke to Tira'wa atius, the father of all, the giver of life. It was a prayer for the fulfilment of the ceremony about to be inaugurated. Now when the lodge had been made ready as a nest, smoke was offered by the Son, who was to be the recipient of the gifts promised by Tira'wa through the ceremony. This act of the Son, performed at the request of the Father, bringing the two together before Tira'wa atius, closed the first division of the Hako ceremony.

THE CEREMONY

FIRST DIVISION. THE PUBLIC CEREMONY

EIGHTH RITUAL (FIRST DAY). THE FATHERS FEED THE CHILDREN

Heretofore the rites of preparation had been in the presence of the Hako party, the Son, and his immediate kindred, but after the offering of smoke the heralds were commanded to summon the people to the lodge. Anyone could now come in and join the party of the Son in the making of gifts, and share in the general benefits of the ceremony.

When the messenger of the Son had come to the Fathers, outside the village, he had been fed, as a paternal act, and now, when the people, representing the Children, were gathered within the lodge, the Father's first act was to place food before them. While it was yet standing beside the fire, the sacred objects were taken up from their place at the west and carried four times around the lodge. The songs which accompanied these circuits were for the instruction of the people, teaching them to remember the powers before partaking [533* of their gifts. The first, an appeal to Tira'wa atius, is in five musical 539*] phrases, suggesting the five motions symbolic of the four directions and the above. It was sung four times.

FIRST SONG[b] 533* 796*

Diagram of Time

---

[a] Gods, meaning powers, is used because of the rhythm.

[b] Music on page [illegible].

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

Rhythmic Rendition

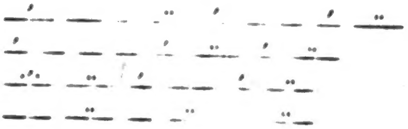
Father, unto thee we cry!
Father thou of gods[a] and men;
Father thou of all we hear;
Father thou of all we see—
Father, unto thee we cry!

The second song refers to the lesser powers only, they who can approach man, bringing him help derived from Tira'wa atius. Their symbols are the four motions, indicating the four paths at the cardinal points down which they descend. The song is in four musical phrases; it was given four times.

[*533]

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

Father, thou above, father of the gods,[a]
They who can come near and touch us,
Do thou bid them bring us help.
Help we need. Father, hear us!

The third song refers to Mother Corn, who leads in all the opening ceremonies. She is an intermediary between the lesser powers and man, and as she now walks before the Children, bearing the promise of peace and plenty, they give her thanks.

[*533]

THIRD SONG[c]

Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Rendition

I

See! The Mother Corn comes hither, making all hearts glad!
Making all hearts glad!
Give her thanks, she brings a blessing; now, behold! she is here!

II

Yonder Mother Corn is coming, coming unto us!
Coming unto us!
Peace and plenty she is bringing; now, behold! she is here!

---

[a] The word gods, meaning powers, is used solely on account of the rhythm.
[b] Music on page [illegible].
[c] Music on page [illegible].

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The purpose of the ceremony, in the carrying out of which the male and female elements were so fully symbolized, was kept continually before the people. 796*

The lodge was divided, the north half was female, the south was 796*
male; the north was night and the south was day. The brown-eagle
feathered stem, Kawas, when at rest in the holy place, lay toward the 823
north, and the white-eagle feathered stem, the male, was toward the
south.

When the feathered stems were waved over the heads of the people to the rhythm of the songs, as they moved from the west by the north, east, and south, to the west again, Kawas, the mother, was carried next to the Children, and the white-eagle feathered stem was borne on the outside, as the defender.

Each time the sacred objects were taken up four circuits were made. 796*
These, we are told, were in recognition of the four paths; they also signified the four powers which were active at the creation of man, and they represented the two eagles, the ear of corn, and the wildcat. This multiplication of symbols is not uncommon. In this instance they all refer to the gift of life, the birth of children. Down the four paths came the lesser powers; four of these were instrumental in placing man upon the earth; and the four ceremonial articles are the bearers of the promise of unfailing generations.

During each circuit a stanza was sung four times. At the end of [533*]
the fourth circuit "the symbol of completion," four times four, had been given in song.

While the lodge in general referred to the nest, the holy place at the west, back of the fire, was its special representative. There the Hako were laid at ceremonial rest after each four circuits of the lodge. From the beginning of the public ceremony this act was always accompanied by songs and movements expressive of its meaning.

The songs are in groups of two. The first in each group relates to 539*
the eagle flying toward her nest, the young birds crying out at her
approach. Their welcoming cry is signified by the song, and the fly- 796*
ing of the eagle by the movements of the feathered stems. The second song refers to the alighting of the bird upon its nest. At the close of the second stanza the stems were leaned upon the crotched stick, their feather pendants resting upon the cat skin, thus symbolizing the mother bird settled down upon her nest.

The songs of these two groups are repeated a great many times 533*
during the progress of the ceremony, for after every fourth circuit of 796*
the lodge the feathered stems must be laid at rest and the act accompanied by one group of these songs, according to the choice of the Ku'rahus.

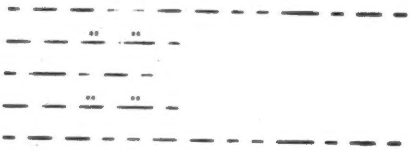
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SONGS FOR LAYING DOWN THE FEATHERED STEMS

SONG[a]

+533
+796

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

I

+539
+796

See where she comes to her little ones lying so snugly and safely the nest in!
Hark! She is calling; hear her.
List as her nestlings make answer;
See how she gently hovers.
Happy our hearts as we look on her hovering over her nestlings so gently.

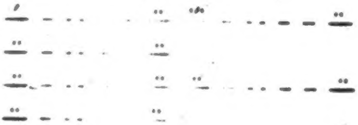
II

See where she comes to her little ones lying so snugly and safely the nest in!
Hark! She is calling; hear her.
List as her nestlings answer;
See her alighting gently.
Happy our hearts as we see her alighting there over her nestlings so gently.

SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

[+533]



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Loud, loud the young eagles cry, cry, seeing their mother come;
Flies she to them slantwise, flies;
Then over the nest she hangs, there hovering, stays her flight;
Thanks, thanks as we look we give.

II

Thanks, thanks, from our hearts we give, thanks give as we watch the bird
As she to them slantwise flies;
Then over her nest she drops; there, folding her wings, she rests,
Rests safely within her nest.

---

[a] Music on page 111.

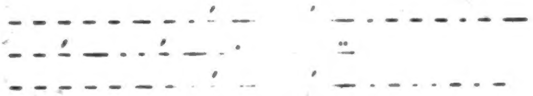
[b] Music on page 112.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

533*
796*



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Behold! An eagle now approaches; sedately flying, her course straight winging to us she is coming;
'Tis Kawas we are watching, 'tis Kawas coming to seek here her nest.
Behold her ever nearer flying, still nearer coming, her young ones calling her. Will she alight?

539*
796*

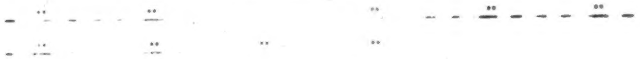
II

Behold! An eagle now is circling, is widely circling above us, winging her way to her nestlings;
'Tis Kawas we are watching, 'tis Kawas coming to seek here her nest.
Behold her ever nearer circling, still nearer circling, her young ones calling her there to alight.

SONG[b]

[533*]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Now she soareth, Kawas soareth, leaves her nestlings, flies above them; will she leave them, leave her young?
Far she gazes, sees no danger, then contented she descends.

II

Slow she falleth, Kawas falleth, wings outspreading, hovers o'er them, o'er her nestlings, o'er her young;
Long she hovers, then, descending, on her nestlings she alights.

When the Hako had been laid at rest the Fathers served the food, which had been waiting by the fire, to the children. At the conclusion of the meal the Children dispersed to their homes, and the first day's ceremony came to an end. 796*

NINTH RITUAL (FIRST NIGHT). INVOKING THE VISIONS

The gathering of the Children, the four circuits of the lodge by the Hako, and the partaking of food provided by the Fathers were introductory to the opening of the ceremony proper, which took place on the first night.

---

[a] Music on page 114.

[b] Music on page 116.

*796 [171] The stars were shining when the Children were again seated in the lodge. The wood was piled upon the fire, and as the flames leaped high, the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief arose from behind the holy place and took up the Hako. Among the Omahas this act was accompanied by a song referring to the eagle rising from its nest, which the movements of the feathered stems vividly pictured. The Pawnees had no such songs, and the Hako were taken up without any symbolic movements.

787 In the song belonging to this first night, the visions that "attend the Hako" were invoked.

*796 According to the explanations of the Ku'rahus, these visions resembled dreams, inasmuch as they often came during sleep, but they also appeared when the dreamer was awake. They might be called revelations, which served either to strengthen a purpose or to suggest means by which a plan could be carried out to insure success to some cherished project. Through such visions, we are told, the manner of procedure of the ceremony had been taught and its details prefigured, details which were afterward carefully followed so as to conform to what was regarded as a supernaturally given model.

*539 787 *796 The birds, the animals, and the products of the earth represented on the Hako communicated with man by visions. In the song of invocation these visions are personified. They hear the summons in their dwelling place above; they descend and pass over the quiet earth, making their way to the door of the lodge, where they pause; they cross the threshold and "walk within"; they move around and fill the space, touching all the people; this accomplished, they "walk away" and ascend to their abode on high.

We note that the visions follow the same sequence of movements that the Hako party followed in entering the lodge; they pause at the door, then enter and "walk within"; they move about and touch the people in prefiguration of the bestowal of gifts promised through the ceremony.

[*533] This song was quite impressive, sung as the writer heard it by a hundred or more voices. The Ku'rahus and his assistants, as they moved around the lodge, were followed by the choir, singers bearing the drum, and the song was taken up by all the people—men, women, and children—until the lodge vibrated with the sonorous melody. At the close of the fourth stanza the Hako were laid at rest with the songs belonging to that act; the eagle had gone to her nest, leaving the space clear for the mystic visitors, the visions, who now walked within the lodge. After a time the Hako were again taken up and the last four stanzas were sung; then the eagle once more alighted upon her nest, the visions had departed, they had "touched" the Children, and, as the Ku'rahus said, "the people could now go home to have pleasant dreams."

*796 781 The face of the old man was radiant as he explained this song and

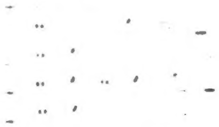
dwelt upon the happiness brought to all by the touch of the visions which attend the Hako. This song and all others which belong to the night season he would sing and talk about only in the evening, never during the day.

796*
781

SONG[a]

533*
796*

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

539*
796*

I

Holy visions!
Hither come, we pray you, come unto us,
Bringing with you joy;
Come, Oh come to us, holy visions,
Bringing with you joy.

II

Holy visions!
Near are they approaching, near to us here,
Bringing with them joy;
Nearer still they come—holy visions—
Bringing with them joy.

III

Holy visions!
Lo! Before the doorway pause they, waiting,
Bearing gifts of joy;
Pausing there they wait—holy visions—
Bearing gifts of joy.

IV

Holy visions!
Now they cross the threshold, gliding softly
Toward the space within;
Softly gliding on—holy visions—
Toward the space within.

V

Holy visions!
They the lodge are filling with their presence,
Fraught with hope and peace;
Filling all the lodge—holy visions
Fraught with hope and peace.

VI

Holy visions!
Now they touch the children, gently touch them,
Giving dreams of joy;
Gently touch each one—holy visions—
Giving dreams of joy.

---

[a] Music on page 118.

VII

*539
*796
Holy visions!
Ended now their mission, pass they outward,
Yet they leave us joy;
Pass they all from us—holy visions—
Yet they leave us joy.

VIII

Holy visions!
They, the sky ascending, reach their dwelling;
There they rest above;
They their dwelling reach—holy visions—
There they rest above.

TENTH RITUAL. THE DAWN

PART I. THE BIRTH OF DAWN

*796 The opening ceremonies began after dark and continued until past midnight. At their close the Children and the Fathers retired to their tents, but the Son remained at his post near the inner door of the lodge, while the Ku'rahus and his assistants watched from behind the holy place, where the Hako lay at rest. The fire burned to embers, the noise of the camp died slowly away, and darkness and silence settled down within the lodge.

It was a long watch, but at length the Ku'rahus bade his server lift the skins, hanging at the inner and the outer door of the long passageway, and stand outside to report when the gray hue was seen in the
*539 east. When the voice of the server was heard proclaiming the sign
*796 of dawn, the Ku'rahus and his assistants rose, and as they stood behind the holy place, facing the open door, they sang the first song
[533 in this drama of the mystic birth of Day. It was sung "slowly and
781] with reverent feeling, for it speaks of the mysterious act of Tira'wa atius in the birth of dawn," said the Ku'rahus; "it is something very sacred, although it happens every day."

In the first stanza, the Earth, h'Atira (h', breath; atira, mother), Mother breathing forth life, is called on to awake, that she may receive fresh power of life to be given with the new day. In the second, h'Atira responds, she wakens from the sleep of night.

In the next stanza, h'Kawas (h', breath; Kawas, as the representative of the upper powers), the life-breathing powers above, are called to awake and receive fresh life through the new-born Day. In the fourth stanza, h'Kawas, awakening from sleep, responds. All the forces below and above have now been called, they are awake and ready to receive the gift of the new life.

*539 In the fifth stanza, Kawas, the mother, the leader in this ceremony,
*796 stands up and speaks from her nest. She explains to the Ku'rahus that day is born of night by the power of Tira'wa, that it is the breath
821 of this new-born child, the Dawn, which gives fresh life to all things

below and to all things above. The Ku'rahus replies, in the sixth stanza, that now he understands the meaning of the signs of the east, where Tira'wa, moving on Darkness, causes her to bring forth the Day, whose breath, awakening man and all things, gives them new life. 539* 796* 821

In the seventh stanza the Ku'rahus turns to the Son, bidding him awake to receive the breath of the new day. In the eighth the Son awakes, and with the Ku'rahus watches the coming of Dawn.

This opening song of eight stanzas is in two parts: the first relates to the male and female forces, the above and below, awaking to receive a fresh influx of power from the breath of the new-born Day. In the second, the meaning of the signs in the east is revealed to the Ku'rahus by the mother, Kawas. With the assurance that new life is to be given, he awakes the Son, that he may receive the promise from the new-born child of Night. 539* 796*

The second song is in two parts. In the first the Morning Star, representative of Tira'wa atius, the father, is discerned slowly advancing from the far distance, the birthplace of Dawn. The light is dim, and as the people look it is gone; then they catch sight of it again, steadily approaching, growing brighter and brighter until, in the second stanza, it stands resplendent as a man girded with the strength of youth, the breath of life stirring the downy feather upon his head, symbol of Tira'wa atius, already rosy with the touch of the advancing sun. As they gaze, he slowly recedes and vanishes from their sight.

In the third stanza, along the path opened by the Morning Star, the representative of the Father, comes the new-born Dawn, dim at first and difficult to discern, but ever advancing, coming nearer and nearer, its breath stirring all things with life newly given from Tira'wa atius, the father of all. In the fourth stanza the sky is filled with the brightness of dawn; then the Dawn recedes and vanishes in the light of day.

The third song opens with the shout, "Day is here!" The light is everywhere and all things are clearly seen. The Son is called to lift his head and behold the light.

In the second stanza, the glad shout, "Day is here!" calls from their coverts the animals, led by the deer, bringing her young into the light of day. All creatures are now alert and moving about; the new Day has given new life.

In the fourth song the Ku'rahus bids the Son awaken the Children. In the second stanza the Children arise, and, as they step out under the glowing sky, they, too, are touched by the breath of the new-born Day.

The four songs represent four movements or parts of this ritual: (1) The awakening of the forces; (2) the approach of the new-born Dawn; (3) the stir of life among the creatures; (4) the touch of the breath of Dawn upon the Children. The sixteen stanzas make the symbol of completeness.

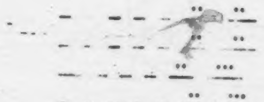
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796 Such is the drama of the dawn as it appeared to the instructed Pawnee. The explanation of the Ku'rahus has given us a view of its imagery and meaning from the center of the circle, rather than from the outer edge, which otherwise would have been our only point of view. Seen as the Ku'rahus shows it to us, through its words and music, its simplicity, beauty, and reverent feeling can not fail to appeal to everyone who has watched the silent majesty of the dawn.

SONG*

[*533]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

I

Awake, Oh Mother, from sleep!
Awake! The night is far spent;
The signs of dawn are now seen
In east, whence cometh new life.

II

The Mother wakens from sleep;
She wakes, for night is far spent;
The signs of dawn are now seen
In east, whence cometh new life.

III

Awake, Oh Kawas, from sleep!
Awake! The night is far spent;
The signs of dawn are now seen
In east, whence cometh new life.

IV

Now Kawas wakens from sleep,
Awakes, for night is far spent;
The signs of dawn are now seen
In east, whence cometh new life.

V

Then Kawas stands and speaks forth:
"A child from Night is now born;
Tira'wa, father on high,
On Darkness moving, brings Dawn."

VI

I understand now, I know
A child from Night has been born;
Tira'wa, father on high,
On Darkness moving, brings Dawn.

---

* Music on page 151.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

VII

Oh Son, awaken from sleep!
Awake! The night is far spent;
The signs of dawn are now seen
In east, whence cometh new life.

539*
796*

VIII

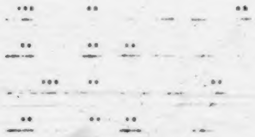
The Son awakens from sleep;
He wakes, for night is far spent;
The signs of dawn are now seen
In east, whence cometh new life.

PART II. THE MORNING STAR AND THE NEW-BORN DAWN

SONG[a]

[533*]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Oh Morning Star, for thee we watch!
Dimly comes thy light from distant skies;
We see thee, then lost art thou.
Morning Star, thou bringest life to us.

II

Oh Morning Star, thy form we see!
Clad in shining garments dost thou come,
Thy plume touched with rosy light.
Morning Star, thou now art vanishing.

III

Oh youthful Dawn, for thee we watch!
Dimly comes thy light from distant skies;
We see thee, then lost art thou.
Youthful Dawn, thou bringest life to us.

IV

Oh youthful Dawn, we see thee come!
Brighter grows thy glowing light
As near, nearer thou dost come.
Youthful Dawn, thou now art vanishing.

---

[a] Music on page 128.

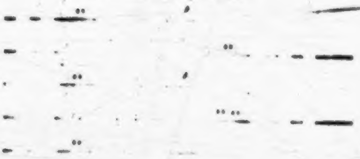
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART III. DAYLIGHT

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539
*796

Day is here! Day is here, is here!
Arise, my son, lift thine eyes. Day is here! Day is here, is here!
Day is here! Day is here, is here!
Look up, my son, and see the day. Day is here! Day is here, is here!
Day is here! Day is here, is here!

II

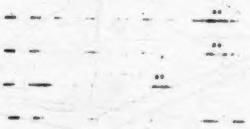
Lo, the deer! Lo, the deer, the deer
Comes from her covert of the night! Day is here! Day is here, is here!
Lo, the deer! Lo, the deer, the deer!
All creatures wake and see the light. Day is here! Day is here, is here!
Day is here! Day is here, is here!

PART IV. THE CHILDREN BEHOLD THE DAY

SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

[*533]



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Arise, my son, and follow my command;
Go to the Children, bid them all awake,
Bid them look where day now breaks;
Go, send them forth into the light of day.

II

The son arose and followed these commands;
He bade the Children all awake, arise;
He bade them look where day now breaks;
He sent them forth into the light of day.

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

[b] Music on page [illegible].

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ELEVENTH RITUAL (SECOND DAY). THE MALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. CHANT TO THE SUN

539*
796*
[821]

The chant to the Sun, the recognition of the male principle, took place the second day. It was in two parts, the first sung during the morning hours, and the second in the late afternoon and at sunset.

The first ray of the morning sun comes, we are told, "direct from Tira'wa" and is "like a man" untouched by weakness or age. It is particularly powerful, and can impart strength to whomsoever it reaches, therefore the advent of the first ray of the sun was watched with eagerness.

In the chant the ray is spoken of as if it were a bird; it alights and climbs in and out of the lodge (akaro). This term is used with double significance, for the earthly abode, the wide stretch from horizon to horizon, and for the lodge, erected for the protection of the family—the nest.

In the first verse of the chant, the ray enters the door and goes through the long passageway into the lodge. The passageway typifies the individual life, the career of a man (first ritual, part I, stanza XIII). In the seventh ritual the Hako touches the threshold, crosses it, and takes within the passageway the four steps symbolic of length of days. In the ninth ritual, the Visions halt at the door and then go through the passageway to reach and touch the Children; and now the ray, coming directly from above, enters as did the Hako and the Visions, bringing vitality and strength to the Son.

The ray comes from h'Ars (h', breath; ars, a contraction of atius, father), the father of breath; it is the bearer of breath from the Sun, the intermediary which received this gift of vitality and strength from Tira'wa atius (first ritual, part I, stanzas I and II).

After the Son had been touched by the ray, which entered through the long passageway, the Fathers gave the Children their morning meal, which had been prepared outside the lodge and brought within during the first verse.

At the conclusion of the meal the chant was resumed. The second verse speaks of the ray alighting on the edge of the central opening in the roof of the lodge, over the fireplace. The fireplace was feminine, and represented the protected center where life was conserved (first ritual, stanza X). The alighting of the ray over that center refers to the coming of the father bird to its nest.

In the third verse the ray climbs down, and in the fourth verse reaches the floor of the lodge and walks within the open space to touch the Children, bringing them the gift of vitality.

At the close of this verse the Hako were laid at rest with ceremonial movements and song.

The last four verses of the chant were sung late in the afternoon. In the fifth verse the ray has walked around the lodge and touched

*539
*796

all within; in the sixth it climbs up and out, and in the seventh it rests upon the top of the hills that stand as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people. In the eighth verse the ray returns to the sun, having accomplished its task.

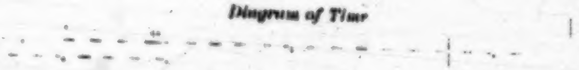
This is the only song in the ceremony which is in the form of a chant.

CHANT[a]

PART II. DAY SONGS

Diagram of Time

[*533]



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Now behold; hither comes the ray of our father Sun; it cometh over all the land,
passeth in the lodge, us to touch, and give us strength.

II

Now behold, where alights the ray of our father Sun; it touches lightly on the rim,
the place above the fire, whence the smoke ascends on high.

III

Now behold; softly creeps the ray of our father Sun; now o'er the rim it creeps
to us, climbs down within the lodge; climbing down, it comes to us.

IV

Now behold; nearer comes the ray of our father Sun; it reaches now the floor and
moves within the open space, walking there, the lodge about.[b]

V

Now behold where has passed the ray of our father Sun; around the lodge the ray
has passed and left its blessing there, touching us, each one of us.

VI

Now behold; softly climbs the ray of our father Sun; it upward climbs, and o'er
the rim it passes from the place whence the smoke ascends on high.

VII

Now behold on the hills the ray of our father Sun; it lingers there as loath to go,
while all the plain is dark. Now has gone the ray from us.

VIII

Now behold; lost to us the ray of our father Sun; beyond our sight the ray has
gone, returning to the place whence it came to bring us strength.

Between the fifth and sixth verses of the chant two songs had place. The first compares the noise and bustle of the coming of the Hako party to the alighting of a flock of birds. The significance of a flock is given in the fifteenth ritual.

In the first stanza of the second song the Father expresses his thankfulness for the good he is permitted to bear. In the second stanza the Son responds with thanks for the coming of the Hako.

---

[a] Music on page 125.

[b] Here the Hako are laid at rest.

539*
796*

These are the only songs belonging to the ritual of the second day, but, if the Children desire, they can ask for one of the extra songs which can be sung in the daytime only. Such a request must be accompanied by a gift.

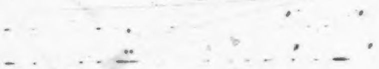
The first extra song is a request to Mother Corn that she will lead the Father to the Son. The song is in four stanzas. In the first Mother Corn is asked to lead; in the second she consents; in the third the Father asks if they are near; in the fourth the end of the journey is discerned.

The second extra song refers to a young man who mounts his horse and makes his way toward the lodge to offer the animal as a gift to the Fathers. Such an act gives to a man honor and recognition among his people.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

[533*]



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Hark, the sound of their wings! Mighty birds are here now alighting, bearing promised good.
Hark, the sound of their wings! Surely the Hako is coming. Children, forward bring your gifts.

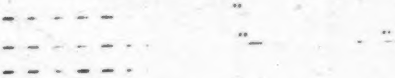
II

Hark, the sound of their wings! Mighty birds are here now alighting, bearing promised good.
Hark, the sound of their wings! See! The Hako has come. We children forward bring our gifts.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

[533*]



Rhythmic Rendition

I

We are thankful, thankful that now we are here
With the Hako, bearing its bountiful gifts. As a son you will be,
By the Hako bound unto us as a Son.

II

I am thankful, thankful that now you are here
With the Hako, bearing its bountiful gifts. As a son I will be,
By the Hako bound unto you as a Son.

---

[a] Music on page 161.

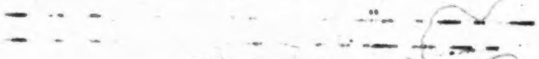
[b] Music on page 162.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

EXTRA DAY SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539
*796

Let us seek him, led by her who breathes forth life. Seeking the Son
With the Mother, Mother Corn, seeking the Son let us go.

II

Now we travel, led by her who breathes forth life. Seeking the Son
With the Mother, Mother Corn, seeking the Son now we go.

III

May we find him, led by her who breathes forth life. Grant we find him,
With our Mother, Mother Corn, grant we may find, find the Son.

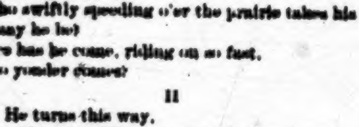
IV

We are near him, led by her who breathes forth life. Nearer we come;
Now our Mother, Mother Corn, answers our prayer. He is here.

EXTRA DAY SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

[*533]



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Look where yonder rides
One who swiftly speeding o'er the prairie takes his way!
Who may he be?
Whence has he come, riding on so fast,
He who yonder comes?

II

Look! He turns this way.
He who rides so swiftly o'er the prairie turns this way
Hither comes he;
With a purpose brave within his heart
Rides he straightway here.

TWELFTH RITUAL (SECOND NIGHT). THE RITES CAME BY A VISION.

In the ritual of this second night the supernatural origin of the ceremony is asserted, that its promises may be more fully depended upon.

---

[a] Music on page 144.

[b] Music on page 145.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

In the first song of the ritual the question is asked if the rite by which a Father could bind to himself a Son was prefigured in a vision? The affirmative answer is given in the second stanza. 539* 796*

The second song has the same theme, and reiterates that, verily, all knowledge of the rite was given through the vision which, the Ku'rahus stated, came down by the east. The second stanza implies the promise that similar visions from the same direction will descend to the Children.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

[533*]

Rhythmic Rendition

Was it, we ask, in dreams that the Fathers saw
Clearly the Hako, wherewith I make you now
As my son,
My own begotten?
Was it in dreams they learned how to make you thus
My offspring?

Truly, in dreams it was that the Fathers saw
Clearly the Hako, wherewith I make you now
As my son,
My own begotten.
Truly, in dreams they learned how to make you thus
My offspring.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

[533*]

Rhythmic Rendition

This is the teaching, this is the word sent
Down to us from our fathers:
All of the wise words, all of the good gifts,
Brought unto you as a Son.
Verily, through a dream all of these things,
All, by the east descended.

---

[a] Music on page 147.

[b] Music on page 149.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

This is the teaching, this is the word sent
Down to us from our fathers:
All of the wise words, all of the good gifts,
Now brought to you as my Son,
Verily, as of old, all of these things,
All, by the east descended.

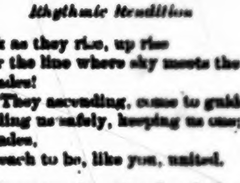
*539 *796 821 The song addressed to the Pleiades held a peculiar place in the ceremony. It had to be substituted for the last stanza of any song which was being sung when the constellation was reported as rising above the horizon. This right to set aside the stanza of a regular song preceding the act of laying down the Hako seems to bear out the explanation of the Ku'rahus, that the song to the Pleiades belonged "to the time when the ceremony was being made," and would imply that it was part of a ceremony from which the Hako drew authority.

"Tira'wa," the Ku'rahus said, "appointed the stars to guide their steps." The Pleiades not only guided but taught the people, as by an object lesson, "to remain together." The song would seem to have [174] been received in some locality to the south of the dwelling place of the Pawnees, since the man who obtained it "turned to the north and reached his country." This song is one among many indications that earlier forms of the Hako ceremony will probably be found among the people of the Mexican plateau.

SONG TO THE PLEIADES[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

Look as they rise, up rise
Over the line where sky meets the earth;
Pleiades!
Lo! They ascending, come to guide us,
Leading us safely, keeping us one;
Pleiades,
Us teach to be, like you, united.

431 *533 *796 The songs which belong to the rituals of the night did not fill up the entire time, and extra songs could therefore be requested by the Children, provided a gift was made when the song was called for. A man would step up to the holy place, lay there a small stick, representing the gift of a horse, and say, "Father, sing for us!"

---

[a] Music on page 181.

From the first extra song we learn that the visions had a dwelling place called "Katasha," located just below the abode of the lesser powers. The visions could be summoned by these powers from Katasha and dispatched upon a mission. After its accomplishment, the visions returned to their dwelling place to "lie at rest" until again summoned by the powers. According to the Ku'rahus, visions were not transitory, called into being for some special occasion and then ceasing to exist, but they were of an enduring nature, retaining an identity by which they could be recognized by one whom they had visited. This differentiates the vision from the dream, which would seem to be the memory of a vision which came while one slept. Waking visions are not spoken of as dreams. 539* 787

The Pawnees locate more or less definitely the powers which can affect man. In the above, far beyond the light, fleecy clouds, where no man has been or can see, dwells Tira'wa atius, the father of all, the giver of life and breath; in a circle below are the lesser powers, like a great council; beneath them is Katasha, the abode of the visions. The birds, the animals, and plants are intermediaries between man and the powers above and the powers below in the earth; they bring him the life and strength which is drawn by the powers from Tira'wa atius. Such is the outline, but the details are complex, no one power or intermediary being fixed or unchangeable in function or character. 776 772

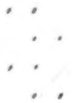
The second extra song, as explained by the Ku'rahus, seems to point out that disaster is sometimes disciplinary and necessary to the strengthening of a man's purpose. 539* 796* [731]

The third extra song teaches that when one dreams of Mother Corn one should go to a shrine where the sacred corn is kept and there offer smoke to the power which sent the corn to him in his dream.

EXTRA NIGHT SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

533* 796*



Rhythmic Rendition

I

<

Give heed! We tell of Katasha holy. 539* 796*
Whence the dreams come down, when draweth the night time near;
Near the gods[b] is their dwelling.
They who watch o'er men; all silently come they down.

---

[a] Music on page 181.

[b] Gods, meaning powers, is used on account of the rhythm only.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

II

*539
*796

Give heed! The bird of whom we are telling
Sends the dreams to us, when draweth the night time near;
Kawas, she that is sending
Holy visions, bringing, silently bringing peace.

III

Give heed! The birds of whom we are telling
Climb with dreams to us, when draweth the night time near;
Down the path they are climbing;
Where the gods to men are traveling come they down.

IV

They climb, these birds; a dream each is bearing;
Bear they dreams to us, when draweth the night time near;
Kawas—she that is sending
Down the birds with dreams; so faithful the Hako birds!

V

Then back they speed, the birds that were bringing
Down the dreams that come when draweth the night time near;
Birds and dreams are ascending
Where the gods are dwelling, watching there over men.

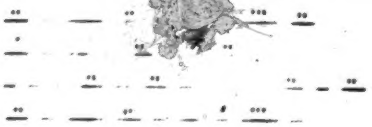
VI

Now this we know in truth—where are resting
Dreams that come to us when draweth the night time near;
True it is that he did see them,
In a vision saw he Katasha, where they dwell.

EXTRA NIGHT SONG*

Diagram of Time

[*533]



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Mother Corn! Mother Corn! We pray thee,
Be our leader, *foes entrapping!*
Trusting in thee, we wander far, yet we see no foe;
Food is gone, hope is dead within us.

II

Then in dreams Mother Corn spoke to me:
"I will lead you, *foes entrapping!*
"Testing your courage, far have I let you go astray;
"Rise, my child, follow me to vict'ry!"

---

* Music on page 187.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

EXTRA NIGHT SONG[a]

Diagram of Time 533* 796*

Rhythmic Rendition

I

As I lay sleeping, as I lay dreaming, 539* 796*
Out of the distance came one advancing
One whom I ne'er had seen before, but when her voice addressed me, straightway I knew her—
Lo! 'Twas our Mother, she whom we know.

II

I rose from sleeping, my dream rememb'ring
Her words I pondered, words of our mother,
Then I asked of each one I met, Tell me, how far may her shrine be? When I found it
Sweet smoke I offered unto our Mother.

THIRTEENTH RITUAL (THIRD DAY). THE FEMALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. THE SACRED FEAST OF CORN

On the morning of the third day the ritual of the Dawn was repeated. The Children gathered at the lodge before sunrise and their morning meal was given them by the Fathers. 796*

On the preceding day the masculine principle, the sun, had been "remembered." On this day the feminine, the earth, was to be honored.

The ceremonies began by the sacred feast of Corn. It followed closely upon the morning meal and was wholly ceremonial and communal in form, the people taking a spoonful from bowls that were passed around the lodge from one group to another. [264]

The corn was provided and prepared by the Children, they who were to be the recipients of the good promised by the Hako and prefigured by this act—the gift of plenty that they were to receive. [431]

PART II. SONG TO THE EARTH

The song to the Earth followed the rite. Its responsive liturgical form calls to mind the song which opens the first ritual. Its theme is similar. As the ceremony proceeds, its purpose, the perpetuation of the clan or tribe by the gift of children, is brought more and more clearly to light. [533* 539*]

---

[a] Music on page 150.

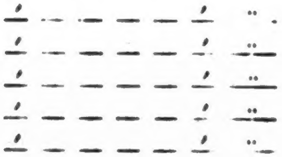
*539
*796

The two songs which precede the song to the earth were sung at the opening of the public ceremony (eighth ritual); they fix the mind upon the teaching that all power is derived from the great unseen force, Tira'wa atius. The power of the fructifying ray of Father Sun and the power of Mother Earth to bring forth, the ability to generate life and to conserve it, come from Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

[*533]



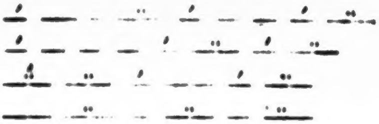
Rhythmic Rendition

Father, unto thee we cry;
Father thou of gods[b] and men;
Father thou of all we hear;
Father thou of all we see;
Father, unto thee we cry.

SECOND SONG[c]

Diagram of Time

[*533]



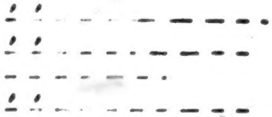
Rhythmic Rendition

Father! Thou above, father of the gods,[b]
They who can come near and touch us,
Do thou bid them bring us help.
Help we need. Father, hear us!

THIRD SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

[*533]



---

[a] Music on page 162.
[b] The word gods, meaning powers, is used solely on account of the rhythm.
[c] Music on page 163.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Rhythmic Rendition

I

539*
796*

Behold! Our Mother Earth is lying here.
Behold! She giveth of her fruitfulness.
Truly, her power gives she us.
Give thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here.

II

We think of Mother Earth who lieth here;
We know she giveth of her fruitfulness.
Truly, her power gives she us.
Our thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here!

III

Behold on Mother Earth the growing fields!
Behold the promise of her fruitfulness!
Truly, her power gives she us.
Give thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here.

IV

We see on Mother Earth the growing fields;
We see the promise of their fruitfulness.
Truly, her power gives she us.
Our thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here!

V

Behold on Mother Earth the spreading trees!
Behold the promise of her fruitfulness!
Truly, her power gives she us.
Give thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here.

VI

We see on Mother Earth the spreading trees;
We see the promise of her fruitfulness.
Truly, her power gives she us.
Our thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here!

VII

Behold on Mother Earth the running streams!
Behold the promise of her fruitfulness!
Truly, her power gives she us.
Give thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here.

VIII

We see on Mother Earth the running streams;
We see the promise of her fruitfulness.
Truly, her power gives she us.
Our thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART III. OFFERING OF SMOKE

*796 This teaching is further accentuated by the offering of smoke which follows the song. The feathered stem, Kawas, the mother, is used as the pipestem for this purpose. The offering of smoke is the closest [276 782] and most sacred form of direct communication with the great unseen power.

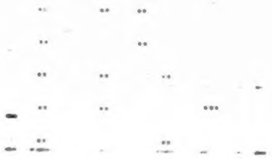
PART IV. SONGS OF THE BIRDS

*539 *796 [593] In the songs of the birds, which close the day, the people are instructed in their parental duties. They must take upon themselves the care of providing for their children, even before they are born; they are to be cheerful and thankful for all they receive; they are to guide and protect their families, to be watchful and faithful in storm and in sunshine, by day and by night. By following these teachings they will receive in full measure, in completeness, the gifts of the Hako.

*533 *796 The diagram of time of each of the six songs of the birds is here given in the order of the text, but no rhythmical rendition has been made, as the story elaborates the meaning of each song.

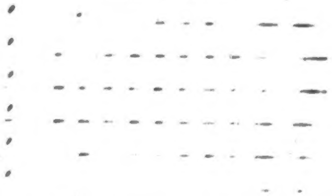
THE SONG OF THE BIRD'S NEST[a]

Diagram of Time



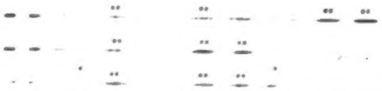
THE SONG OF THE WREN[b]

Diagram of Time



THE SONG OF THE TURKEY AND THE WOODPECKER[c]

Diagram of Time



---

[a] Music on page 169.

[b] Music on page 171.

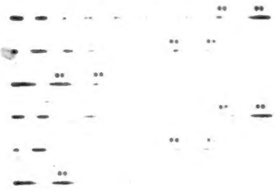
[c] Music on page 173.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE SONG OF THE DUCK[a]

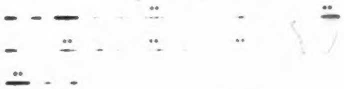
Diagram of Time

533*
796*



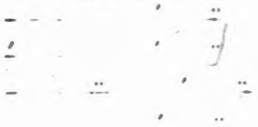
THE SONG OF THE OWL[b]

Diagram of Time



THE SONG OF THANKFULNESS[c]

Diagram of Time



FOURTEENTH RITUAL (THIRD NIGHT). INVOKING THE VISIONS OF THE ANCIENTS

539*
796*

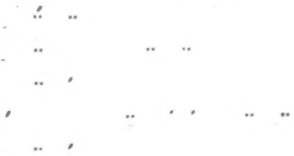
On the third night the visions which in the distant past had taught this ceremony to the fathers were called upon and asked to come from their abode on high, to enter the lodge and recognize the man who was to be made a Son.

The song was an appeal for supernatural sanction of the rites which had taken place and of those which were to follow. With this song the public ceremony came to an end.

SONG[d]

Diagram of Time

533*
796*



---

[a] Music on page 174. [b] Music on page 175. [c] Music on page 177. [d] Music on page 178.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Rythmic Rendition

I

*539
*796

Oh, come hither,
Holy dreams—Our fathers knew them—
Hither come to us!
Thanks we give unto them. They our message will hear,
Calling them to come.

II

This way come they,
Holy dreams—Our fathers knew them—
Come they now this way.
Thanks we give unto them. Coming now, they draw near,
Coming now this way.

III

They come nearer,
Holy dreams—Our fathers knew them—
Come they now this way.
Thanks we give unto them. On the threshold stand they,
Holy visions stand.

IV

Now they enter,
Holy dreams—Our fathers knew them—
Enter now the lodge.
Thanks we give unto them. Enter they the lodge now,
Enter now the lodge.

V

The Son they see,
Holy dreams—Our fathers knew them—
See him now within.
Thanks we give unto them. Entered now, they see him,
See the Son within.

VI

Now they hover,
Holy dreams—Our fathers knew them—
Hover us above.
Thanks we give unto them. Pausing here above us,
Hover they above.

VII

Now depart they,
Holy dreams—Our fathers knew them—
Now they go away.
Thanks we give unto them. They are passing from us,
Going from the lodge.

VIII

Above rest they,
Holy dreams—Our fathers knew them—
Rest they now above.
Thanks we give unto them. Where they rest we send thanks,
Thanks send far above.

SECOND DIVISION. THE SECRET CEREMONIES

FIFTEENTH RITUAL (FOURTH NIGHT)

PART I. THE FLOCKING OF THE BIRDS

The last meal given by the Fathers was eaten by the Children during the forenoon of the fourth day. Afterward gifts were presented to the Children and they went to their homes. 796*

The afternoon was occupied in preparation for the approaching secret ceremonies, which began at sunset and at which no one could be present but the Fathers, the Son, and his near relatives—those primarily concerned in the promises of the Hako.

These ceremonies opened with a song suggesting the fulfilment of the promises and the joy of the people. Again we note the use of prefiguration at the beginning of a rite. 539* 796*

This song—the flocking of birds—is in three groups of two stanzas each.

The first group speaks of the flock, the old birds, with their young now grown, moving about with strength and power, shaking the trees by their numbers as they alight and rise; so shall the people increase and be powerful by their numbers.

The second group speaks of Kawas as bringing from the powers the gift of this increase. She comes as a special messenger. Leaving the flock she flies direct to the people, as the eagle flies straight to its nest. The lodge of the Son is her nest, and she is coming to fulfil the promise of increase.

The third group deals with the rejoicing of the people over the promise received through this ceremony. The joyful noise which they make as they bring their thank offerings to the Fathers is like that of a great flock of birds.

The song not only pictures the increased power which is to come to the people through the Hako; it also refers to the immediate joyous influence of the ceremony on the people, in the happiness and gratitude felt in the giving and receiving of the required gifts.

The realistic whistle, made from the wing bone of the eagle, used to accompany the songs of these secret ceremonies, emphasizes the prophetic assurances of Kawas. [534]

SONG[a] 533* 796*

Diagram of Time

---

[a] Music on page 184.

Rhythmic Rendition

I

All around the birds in flocks are flying;
Dipping, rising, circling, see them coming.
See, many birds are flocking here,
All about us now together coming.

II

Yonder are the birds in flocks come flying;
Dipping, rising, circling, see them gather.
Loud is the sound their winging makes,
Rushing come they on the trees alighting!

III

From the flock an eagle now comes flying;
Dipping, rising, circling, comes she hither.
Loud screams the eagle, flying swift,
As an eagle flies, her nestlings seeking.

IV

It is Kawas coming, Kawas flying;
Dipping, rising, circling, she advances.
See! Nearer comes she, nearer comes.
Now, alighted, she her nest is making.

V

Yonder people like the birds are flocking,
See them circling, this side, that side coming.
Loud is the sound their moving makes,
As together come they, onward come they.

VI

Toward the lodge where sits the Son they hasten,
Bringing forward gifts with joyful shouting.
Hark! Now they like the eagle scream,
Glad of heart, as when her nest she seeth.

PART II. THE SIXTEEN CIRCUITS OF THE LODGE

After the song the Hako were laid at rest with ceremonial song and movement. When they were next taken up it was to make the final circuits of the lodge, sixteen in number, symbolic of completion.

The songs which accompanied these circuits are in four groups, and in them are summed up the teaching and the promises of the ceremony.

The two songs of the first group refer to Mother Corn, she who had opened the way and led to the Son, breathing forth the power of Mother Earth in life, food, and plenty. Thanks and reverence are given to her.

In the two songs of the second group the eagle, Kawas, comes to the Son. Her shadow, passing over him, attracts his attention and

539*
796*

he watches her and her mate as they guard and cherish their young in the nest. Then he learns that his lodge is the nest; that the powers above, through the eagle, are sending him the promise of life that shall fill his nest and make strong the people.

The two songs of the third group refer to the Hako with its promises. The second song records the prayer of an old Ku'rahus and its fulfilment, and gives the assurance that Tira'wa answers the prayer of man made through the Hako ceremony.

The four songs of the fourth group had all been previously sung. The first two were given at the opening of the public ceremony, and again at the close of the sacred feast of Corn. They were now repeated, that the thoughts of the people might be turned toward Tira'wa atius, the father of all things, the giver of life, and to his messengers to man, the lesser powers. The third and fourth songs had been sung in the first ritual, when the feathered stems were painted to symbolize the powers above and the powers below, the male and female forces, which make for the perpetuation of all living forms.

The secret ceremonies contain the heart of the rite, its vital center. In the sequence of songs through which this center was approached we note a reflex of the order of the ceremony itself, a turning back from the external leadership of the corn and of Kawas to the silent prayer of the Ku'rahus, the appeal to Tira'wa atius as symbolically present.

At the close of the last circuit of the lodge the Hako were laid at rest with ceremonial song and movement for the last time. Midnight had passed, and the Children went to their homes, leaving the Fathers alone in the lodge to watch for the dawn.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

[533*]

Rythmic Rendition

I

Look on her! She who sought far and near for a Son!
Look on her! She who led from afar unto you!
Look on her, Mother Corn, breathing life on us all!

II

Thanks we give unto her who came here for a Son!
Thanks we give unto her who has led us to you!
Thanks we give, Mother Corn, breathing life on us all!

---

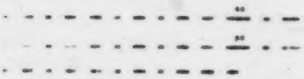
[a] Music on page [illegible].

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SECOND SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rythmic Rendition

I

*539
*796

Rev'rent our hearts turn unto the one who brings to us
Long life and children, peace, and the gifts of strength and food.
Rev'rent our hearts turn unto our Mother Corn!

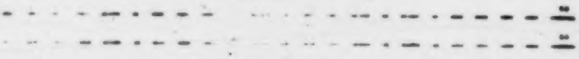
II

Rev'rent our hearts turn unto the source whence come to us
Long life and children, peace, and the gifts of strength and food,
Gifts from Tira'wa, sent through our Mother Corn.

THIRD SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

[*533]



Rythmic Rendition

I

O'er the prairie flits in ever widening circles the shadow of a bird about me as I walk;
Upward turn my eyes, Kawas looks upon me, she turns with flapping wings and far away she flies.

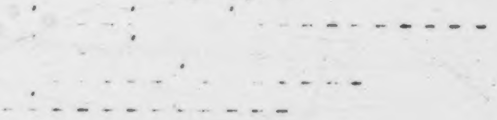
II

Round about a tree in ever widening circles an eagle flies, alertly watching o'er his nest;
Loudly whistles he, a challenge sending far, o'er the country wide it echoes, there defying foes.

FOURTH SONG[c]

Diagram of Time

[*533]



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Kawas flying where her nestlings now are crying; loudly cry they when they hear her wings;
Kawas flying, cry her children, as they hear her come.
'Tis Kawas who now homeward comes! 'Tis Kawas who now homeward comes!
Quickly flying as she hears her young ones in the nest.

---

[a] Music on page [illegible]. [b] Music on page [illegible]. [c] Music on page [illegible].

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

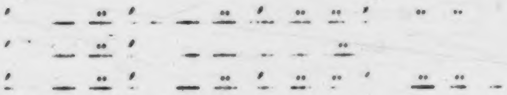
II

Kawas flying, o'er us flying, we her nestlings cry for joy as now we see her come:
Kawas flying! Glad our hearts as now we see her come.
'Tis Kawas brings to us good gifts! 'Tis Kawas brings to us good gifts!
Kawas brings gifts to us; we, like her nestlings, cry.

539*
796*

FIFTH SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



[533*]

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Atira comes, she brings you life, she gives you joy; to her give thanks as she draws near.
Now in the lodge before our eyes Atira moves;
Look upon her who brings you life, who gives you joy. Oh, offer thanks to Mother Corn!

II

The Hako comes within the lodge, it walks within; let us give thanks as it draws near.
Now in the lodge with Mother Corn the Hako moves;
Thanks do we give for all the joy it brings to us, the children here, from realms above.

SIXTH SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

533*
796*

Rhythmic Rendition

I

I know not if the voice of man can reach to the sky;
I know not if the mighty one will hear as I pray;
I know not if the gifts I ask will all granted be,
I know not if the word of old we truly can hear;
I know not what will come to pass in our future days;
I hope that only good will come, my children, to you.

539*
796*

[a] Music on page 165. [b] Music on page 166.

II

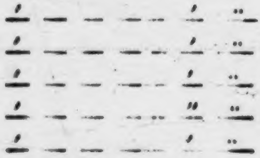
*539
*796

I now know that the voice of man can reach to the sky;
I now know that the mighty one has heard as I prayed;
I now know that the gifts I asked have all granted been;
I now know that the word of old we truly have heard;
I now know that Tira'wa harkens unto man's prayer;
I know that only good has come, my children, to you.

SEVENTH SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

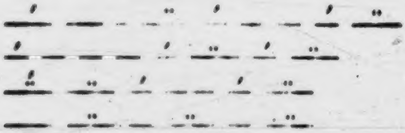
*539
*796

Father, unto thee we cry!
Father thou of gods and men;
Father thou of all we hear;
Father thou of all we see.
Father, unto thee we cry!

EIGHTH SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

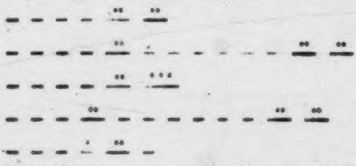
*539
*796

Father! Thou above, father of the gods,
They who can come near and touch us;
Do thou bid them bring us help.
Help we need; Father, hear us!

NINTH SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

[b] Music on page [illegible].

Rhythmic Rendition

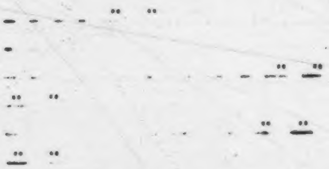
Take we now the blue paint,
Touch with it the stem, putting on the sacred symbol.
Emblem of the clear sky,
Where dwell the gods, who, descending, bring us good gifts,
Gifts of life and plenty.

539*
796*

TENTH SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

[533*]



Rhythmic Rendition

Take we now the green paint,
Touch with it the stem, the mated stem;
Putting on the emblem, the sacred and living symbol.
Mother Earth,
From above descending, bountiful blessing on thee.
Mother Earth!

SIXTEENTH RITUAL (FIFTH DAY, DAWN)

PART I. SEEKING THE CHILD

At the first sign of dawn the Ku'rahus and his assistants, with the principal men of the Hako party, started for the lodge of the Son, there to seek his child and perform certain rites symbolic of birth. It is to be noted that these rites took place at the same hour as the singing of the Dawn ritual, which celebrated the mysterious birth of day.

They sang the first song of the ritual as they started, but when they were nearing their destination they repeated the song they had sung when they were about to enter the village of the Son (sixth ritual, second song).

The repetition of songs sung in the earlier part of the ceremony had the effect of tying back the later acts to those which were preparatory in character, and tended to consolidate the entire ceremony. When this song was sung for the first time the Father was seeking the Son, to whom he was bringing promises of good; when it was sung the second time the Father was seeking the child of the Son, that on it the promises brought might be fulfilled.

Of this part of the ceremony not only every detail, with its special meaning, but the function of each article used had been prefigured.

---

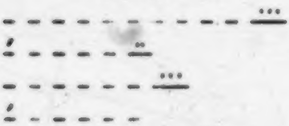
[a] Music on page [illegible].

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*796
*533



Rhythmic Rendition

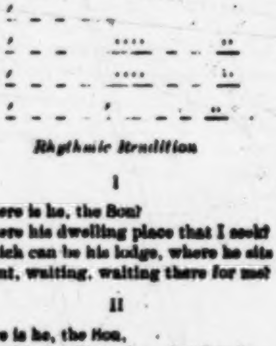
*539
*796

With the dawn will I seek, seek my child,
Among the Children seek
One the gods[b] shall here make;
My offspring, my own child.

SECOND SONG[c]

Diagram of Time

[*533]



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Where is he, the Son?
Where his dwelling place that I seek?
Which can be his lodge, where he sits
Silent, waiting, waiting there for me?

II

Here is he, the Son,
Here his dwelling place that I seek;
This here is his lodge where he sits
Silent, waiting, waiting here for me.

PART II. SYMBOLIC INCEPTION

*796 The warriors—the male element—were the first to enter the lodge, in warlike fashion, as if to capture and hold it securely. The child was first touched by the representative of Kawas, that it might be given endurance; then it was touched by the chief, that it might be wise. After the warriors had performed their part, the Ku'rahus entered singing the song which had been sung when the messenger representing the Son was received outside the village (sixth ritual, first song). At that time he looked upon one who was to lead him to the Son; now he is looking upon the child which represents the continuation of the life of the Son.

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

[b] The word is used because of the rhythm.

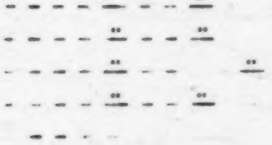
[c] See sixth ritual; music on page [illegible].

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

533*
796*



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Now our eyes look on him who is here;
He is as the Son we have sought;
He brings us again tidings of the Son:
"Father, come to me, here I sit
Waiting here for thee."

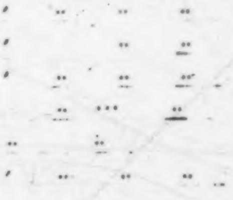
539*
796*

The Ku'rahus first touched the child with the ear of corn (second song), singing the same song as when the ear of corn made its mysterious journey to the sky and received its authority to lead in the ceremony (first ritual, fifth song). The power granted at that time was for this ultimate purpose, to make the paths and open the way for the child to receive the gift of fruitfulness. 796*

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

533*
796*



Rhythmic Rendition

I

539*
796*

Tira wa, harken! Mighty one
Above us in blue, silent sky!
We standing wait thy bidding here;
The Mother Corn standing waits,
Waits to serve thee here;
The Mother Corn stands waiting here.

---

[a] See sixth ritual. Music on page [illegible].

[b] Music on page [illegible].

*539
*796

II

Tira'wa, harken! Mighty one
Above us in blue, silent sky!
We flying seek thy dwelling there;
The Mother Corn flying goes
Up to seek thee there;
The Mother Corn goes flying up.

III

Tira'wa, harken! Mighty one
Above us in blue, silent sky!
We touch upon thy country fair;
The Mother Corn touches there
Upon the border land;
The Mother Corn is touching there.

IV

Tira'wa, harken! Mighty one
Above us in blue, silent sky!
The path we reach leads up to thee;
The Mother Corn enters there,
Upward takes her way;
The Mother Corn to thee ascends.

V

Tira'wa, harken! Mighty one
Above us in blue, silent sky!
Behold! We in thy dwelling stand;
The Mother Corn, standing there,
Leader now is made;
The Mother Corn is leader made.

VI

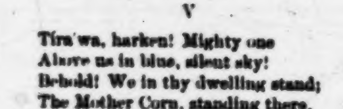
Tira'wa, harken! Mighty one
Above us in blue, silent sky!
The downward path we take again;
The Mother Corn, leading us,
Doth thy symbol bear;
The Mother Corn with power leads.

*796 Then the Ku'rahus united the two feathered stems, the male and the female (third song), and with them touched the child, following with the gift of procreation the paths opened by the corn.

THIRD SONG[a]

[*533]

Diagram of Time



---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Here stand we while upon Tira wa now we wait; 539*

Here Kawas stands, her mate with her is standing here; 796*

They both are standing, waiting, bringing gifts with them.

II

We flying are, as on Tira wa now we wait;

Here Kawas flies, her mate with her is flying here;

They both are flying, flying with the gifts they bring.

III

We touching are, as on Tira wa now we wait;

Now Kawas and her mate the child so gently touch;

Its forehead touch they, there they gently touch the child.

IV

We op'ning are, as on Tira wa now we wait

The four straight paths upon the child we open here,

Where soon descending from on high shall flow new life.

V

We spreading are, as on Tira wa now we wait;

Here Kawas spreads, her mate with her is spreading here;

New life and power, the gifts that they are bringing here.

VI

We finished are, as on Tira wa now we wait;

The task of Kawas with her mate accomplished is,

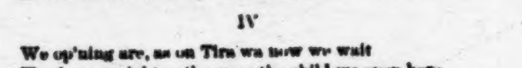
And all the work they came to do is finished now.

PART III. ACTION SYMBOLIZING LIFE

The child, surrounded by the creative forces, is urged to move, to arise as the first song is sung.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



[533*]

Rhythmic Rendition

I am ready; come to me now, fearing nothing; come now to me here!
Little one, come, come to me here; fearing nothing, come!

Then it was made to take four steps, symbolic of life, of long life, during the singing of the second song.

In the symbolizing, within the lodge of the Son, of the gift of birth 796+
by the power of the Hako, brought thither by the Father, we get a 571
glimpse of the means by which the tie between the two unrelated men, 608

---

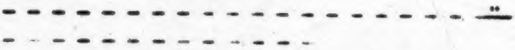
[a] Music on page 211.

*796 571 608 the Father and the Son, was supposed to be formed; namely, the life of the Son was perpetuated through the gift of fruitfulness to his child, supernaturally bestowed by the Hako; consequently the Father who brought the Hako became symbolically the father of the future progeny of the Son.

SECOND SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533 *796



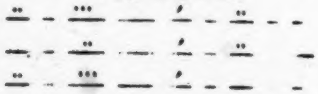
Rhythmic Rendition

[*539] Stepping forward is my child, he forward steps, the four steps takes and enters into life;
Forward stepping, four steps taking, enters into life.

The child was taken upon the back of one of the party and led the way to the ceremonial lodge, followed by the Ku'rahus and all the rest singing the third song.

THIRD SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

*539 *796

Here we go singing, looking on the child
Borne in his father's arms, he leading us;
Follow we singing, looking on the child.

SEVENTEENTH RITUAL

PART I. TOUCHING THE CHILD

*796 On reaching the lodge the child was seated at the holy place and surrounded by the Ku'rahus and his assistants with the Hako, and guarded by a wall of warriors, while an old man prepared it for the further reception of the promised gifts.

On the preceding night water had been taken from a stream; this water was now put into a bowl. Every detail of this act was symbolic. The time when the water was obtained was night, the mother of day; running water symbolized the continuity of life, one generation following another; the bowl which held the water resembled in its shape the dome of the sky, the abode of the powers which bestowed life.

The child was touched with the water upon the head and face, an invisible outline being made, which afterward was to become distinct. This first touching with water, one of the lesser powers, was to cleanse and give strength.

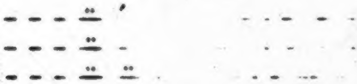
---

[a] Music on page 312.

The song (first) which accompanied this act is in three musical phrases and six stanzas. Again the symbolism of number, already noted, is suggested. 533* 796*

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here; 539*
Behold, my child! waiting here to bring the gift of strength to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water waits to bring to you gift of strength 796*

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here;
Behold, my child! flying here to bring the gift of strength to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water flies to bring to you gift of strength.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here;
Behold, my child! touching here your head, to bring the gift of strength.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water, touching, brings to you gift of strength.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who now follows here;
Behold, my child! Now the paths it follows, paths where the gods descend.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water down the four straight paths brings its gift.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is spreading here;
Behold my child! cleansing you, and spreading o'er you gift of strength.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water spreading over you gift of strength.

VI

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has brought you strength.
Behold, my child! strength you have and finished is the task.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water now has brought to you gift of strength.

Following the outline made by the water, the head and face of the child were next touched with grass, the representative of Toharu, the verdant covering of the earth. 796* [533*]

The song (second) sung during this act is in the rhythm of the first.

In these two acts we note that "the order in which the powers come near to man," shown in the opening song of the first ritual, is observed in this rite. In that opening song, after the Winds, the Sun, and the Earth had brought life to man, food and drink were given that his 773 796*

---

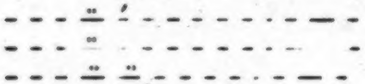
[a] Music on page [illegible].

773 life might be sustained. So, after the symbolic birth in the lodge of the Son, the child was touched by water and the product of the earth, *796 that it might receive from them sustaining power.

SECOND SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here;
Behold, my child! waiting here to bring the gift of food to you.
*796 Give heed, my child. Look! Grass now waits to bring to you gift of food.

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here;
Behold, my child! flying here to bring the gift of food to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass now flies to bring to you gift of food.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here;
Behold, my child! touching here your head to bring the gift of food.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass now touching brings to you gift of food.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who now follows here.
Behold, my child! Now it follows the paths where the gods descend.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass now down the four straight paths brings its gift.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is spreading here;
Behold, my child! spreading plenty o'er you, promised gift of food.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass is spreading o'er you gift of food.

VI

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has brought you food.
Behold, my child! Food you have received, and finished is the task.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass has now here brought you the gift of food.

PART II. ANOINTING THE CHILD

The order of the opening song is followed still further in the anointing of the child.

The seventh stanza of the opening song speaks of Kusharu, the holy place, set apart for the observance of rites. The Ku'rahus explained that "the first act of a man" must be to set apart such a place, "where new life could be given." Following this order, the child was anointed and by this act of consecration set apart as the center of the rites which were to follow.

The song of this act follows the rhythm of the two preceding.

---

[a] Music on page 210.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SONG [a]

533*
796*

Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here.
Behold, my child! waiting now to fit and set you here apart.
Give heed, my child. Look! Sacred ointment now is here come to you.

539*
796*

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here.
Behold, my child! flying here to make a consecrated child.
Give heed, my child. Look! Ointment flies to consecrate you, my child.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here.
Behold, my child! touching here your head, as consecrating you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Sacred ointment touches upon your head.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who now follows here.
Behold, my child! Now the paths it follows, paths where the gods descend.
Give heed, my child. Look! Ointment down the four straight paths comes to you.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is spreading here.
Behold, my child! Sacred ointment, spreading, consecrates you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Sacred ointment over you spreads its power.

VI

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has holy made.
Behold, my child! You are set apart, and finished is the task.
Give heed, my child. Look! Sacred ointment now has set you apart.

Part III. Painting the Child

796*

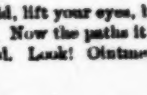
The red paint put on the child's head and face symbolized the dawn, the rising sun. The color was spread over the entire face to [illegible] "the full radiance of the sun," "giving to the child its vigor [illegible]fe."

The song and the rest of the songs of this ritual are in the same rhythm as the preceding.

533*
796*

SONG [b]

Diagram of Time



---

[a] Music on page 281.

[b] Music on page 287.

Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here,
Behold, my child! waiting here to bring the gift of life to you.
*796 Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint waits, the vigor of life to bring.

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here,
Behold, my child! flying here to bring the gift of life to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint flies, the vigor of life to bring.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here,
Behold, my child! touching here your head to bring the gift of life.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint touches, the vigor of life to bring.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who now follows here,
Behold, my child! Now the path it follows, paths where gods descend.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint follows, vigor of life to bring.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is spreading here,
Behold, my child! over you is spread the glowing gift of life.
Give heed, my child. See! Red paint brings the vigor of life to you.

VI

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has brought you life,
Behold, my child! Life you have received and finished is the task.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint leaves the vigor of life with you.

*796 The next act was the painting of the child's face with blue, the color of the sky, the abode of Tira'wa atius.

302 531 The design outlined by the water, the grass, the ointment, and the red paint was now clearly seen—an arch, crossing the forehead and resting on the cheeks, from the middle of which a line was drawn downward on the nose. This design was said to "picture the face of Tira'wa." The arch was the dome of the sky, his abode; the line, falling from the zenith, was the breath of Tira'wa descending on the child, meeting its breath.

[622 821] We are told that this design came from the constellation Corona Borealis and was the insignia of a chief, as he who leads does so by the authority of Tira'wa and must bear his sign on the face. In this ceremony this design, taken in connection with the symbols next placed on the child, seems to represent the presence of the power, "the father of all things."

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

533*
796*

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here. 539*
Behold, my child! waiting here to make the sign of him above.
Give heed, my child. Look! Blue paint waits to bring to you sign of him 796*

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here.
Behold, my child! flying here to make the sign of him above.
Give heed, my child. Look! Blue paint flies to bring to you sign of him.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here.
Behold, my child! touching here to make the sign of him above.
Give heed, my child. Look! Blue paint touches, bringing you sign of him.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who now follows here.
Behold, my child! tracing here the arching dome, his dwelling place.
Give heed, my child. Look! Blue paint makes the line of the breath of life.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is spreading here.
Behold, my child! spreading on your face the sacred lines of blue.
Give heed, my child. Look! Sacred now the picture the blue paint makes.

VI

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has brought the sign.
Behold, my child! brought to you the sign. Accomplished now the task.
Give heed, my child. Look! Blue paint now has left with you sign of him.

PART IV. PUTTING ON THE SYMBOLS

Eagle down was next put upon the head of the child. The down was taken from under the wing, "close to the heart" of "the white eagle, the father of the child," so representing the eagle's "breath and life." It also typified the high, light clouds, and when the child's head was covered with it the Ku'rahus said: "The head of the consecrated child now rests in the soft white clouds which float near the dwelling place of Tira'wa atius." 796*

It is noticeable that the song of this act has five stanzas, indicating the five motions, the four directions and the above. 533*
796*

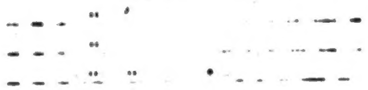
---

[a] Music on page 291

FIRST SONG[a]

*533
*796

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here,
Behold, my child! waiting here to bring the sign of clouds above.
*796 Give heed, my child. Look! Down of eagle waits with the sign of clouds.

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here,
Behold, my child! flying here to bring the sign of clouds to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Down of eagle flies with the sign of clouds.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here,
Behold, my child! touching here your head to bring the sign of clouds.
Give heed, my child. Look! Down of eagle touches and brings the clouds.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is dropping here,
Behold, my child! drops on you the sign of fleecy clouds above.
Give heed, my child. Look! Sacred symbol dropping upon your head.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has laid on you,
Behold, my child! sign of fleecy clouds that near Tira'wa float.
Give heed, my child. Look! Rests on you sign of the clouds above.

*796 With the following song a white downy feather was tied on the head of the child. The Ku'rahus said: "This feather, which is ever moving, as if it were breathing, represents Tira'wa, who dwells beyond the blue sky which is above the soft white clouds."

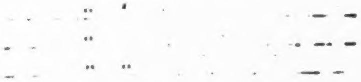
This feather was double; it had a little plume like a branch, to stand for the child. The larger feather symbolized Tira'wa.

The song has five stanzas like the preceding.

*533
*796

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here,
Behold, my child! waiting here to bring the last great gift to you.
*796 Give heed, my child. Look! Waits to bring the emblem the Father sends.

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

[b] Music on page [illegible].

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here. 539*
Behold, my child! flying here to bring the last great gift to you. 796*
Give heed, my child. Look! Flies to bring the emblem the Father sends.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching you.
Behold, my child! with the last great gift touching now your head;
Give heed, my child. Look! Touches with the emblem the Father sends.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is placing here.
Behold, my child! on your head is placing now the sonship sign;
Give heed, my child. Look! Placing there the emblem the Father sends.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has left on you.
Behold, my child! left on you Tira'wa's breathing feather sign.
Give heed, my child. Look! On you rests the emblem the Father sent.

When the child was thus decorated, it was told to look at the reflection of its face in the bowl of water. To quote the words of the Ku'rahus: "The little child looks upon the water and sees its own likeness, as it will see that likeness in its children and children's children. The face of Tira'wa is there also, giving promise that the life of the child shall go on, as the water flows over the land." 796*

After this prophetic view, a black covering was put over the child's head. The symbols were not for the people to see; they were holy and belonged only to the powers.

In the final disposition of the water remaining in the bowl there is a hint of other and older rites, fragments of which appear in the Hako ceremony.

EIGHTEENTH RITUAL. FULFILMENT PREFIGURED

PART I. MAKING THE NEST

During the singing of the next song the movements of the feathered stems simulated the flight of eagles. The white eagle passed through the line of warriors by the south, the masculine side of the lodge, and the brown eagle by the north, the feminine side. The white eagle flew back and forth in front of the warriors, enacting the protecting duty of the male, while the brown eagle flew to the fireplace and made a circle, a nest, at each of the four directions.

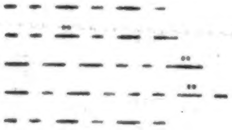
The location of these four nests, corresponding to the four paths, indicated a desire that the powers might descend on them. This desire was also manifested by the outlining of the circles with down, the symbol of the high clouds "which float near the abode of Tira'wa." The bits of fat dropped within the circles were not only a prayer for plenty, but also a promise that the prayer would be granted. The

*796 oriole's nest represented security. The four circles around the fire as made by the Ku'rahus carrying the brown-feathered stem pictured to the Pawnees the promise of children, the gifts of plenty and of peace from the powers above.

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

Behold where two eagles come forth!
Now they soar high over head;
See where one flies, watching flies, guarding he
His mate who has gone to her nest, dropping there;
'Tis Kawas who brings there new life.

PART II. SYMBOLIC FULFILMENT

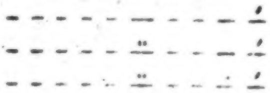
*796 The little child was put within each of these prophetic circles, its feet touching the nest and the promised plenty. Four times it was taken around the fireplace and each time it touched the four circles. The child was covered during the act of putting its feet in the nest. This act symbolized the birth of children, a mystery to man, as "only Tira'wa could know when generation would take place."

This simulated fulfilment of the promise of the Hako completed the sequence of acts in the drama of birth.

SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

Within the nest the child rests its little feet,
Awaiting there the gift sent by gods above;
Descending there to him comes the promised life.

PART III. THANK OFFERING

*796
782

The offering of sweet smoke followed immediately. As the smoke ascended all the articles of the Hako were waved through it, the child was touched with it, and all the people passed their hands through it. The sweet smoke offering was given that the powers above might know that the ceremony had been carried out in accordance with the teachings given to the fathers in the visions. Its odor reached the abode of Tira'wa, bearing the touch of all faithful participants in the rite. 796* 782

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

[b] Music on page [illegible].

After the offering of smoke all traces of the nests were obliterated, the coals used for the offering of smoke were returned to the fire, and the lodge once more was open to all the people.

THIRD DIVISION. THE DANCE OF THANKS

NINETEENTH RITUAL

PART I. THE CALL TO THE CHILDREN

The purpose of the rite was recognized by the important place given to children in this part of the ceremony. The ponies presented to the Fathers were each lead up by a little child; the acting out of a man's warlike deeds was to honor his child, and the little child with the black covering upon its head and the picture of Tira'wa upon its face received, with the chief, the gifts as they were presented. 796*

In every instance the child was the tie between the two groups, the Fathers and the Children.

FIRST SONG[a]

533*
796*

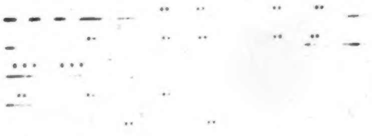
Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Rendition

Harken! List! We are calling you. Come! Come! Children, come! [539*]
Come! We're ready and waiting, your Father's waiting. Come! Children, come!
Hear us calling, calling you! Children, come!
Children, come! Come hither!
Harken! List as we call you, call to the Children to come.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time



---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

[b] Music on page [illegible]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

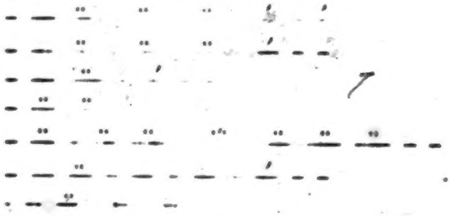
Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796
Ready and waiting, we call you, loud we call you, loudly call;
"Come to us, Children," call we loudly, call we long: Oh, come!
Come! Come! Come!
Hear us calling, calling, Children! Oh, come!
Hear us calling, come to us here! Come!

THIRD SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796
Look, where they come, see them, see them, young ones and old ones!
Look! Here they come, this way, that way flocking together.
Hither they come, shouting like eagles,
Shouting come.
Joyous, happy, gladly come they, gaily coming, coming hither.
See where they come, flocking like birds, shouting like eagles
As they come to the Fathers.

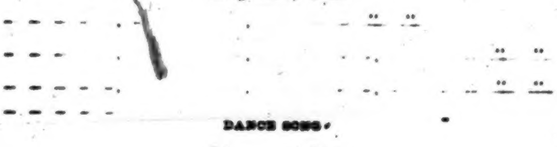
PART II. THE DANCE AND THE RECEPTION OF GIFTS

*796
535
The two young men as they danced waved high above their heads the feathered stems and simulated by their movements the flying and sporting of birds. The lightness and beauty of this final dance can never be forgotten by one who has been so fortunate as to see it well executed.

DANCE SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



DANCE SONG[c]

Diagram of Time

---

[a] Music on p. [illegible]. [b] Music on p. [illegible]. [c] Music on p. [illegible].

FOURTH DIVISION. PRESENTATION OF THE HAKO

TWENTIETH RITUAL

PART I. BLESSING THE CHILD

At the close of the dance and the reception of gifts by the Fathers, the little child was again taken to the holy place and once more touched with the Hako upon all sides, from the east, the south, the west, and the north. 796*

The song accompanying these movements was "a prayer to call down the breath of Tira'wa" upon the child that had been consecrated. [782]

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time 533* 796*

.. ..

.. ..

Rythmic Rendition 539* 796*

Breathe on him!
Breathe on him!
Life thou alone canst give to him.
Long life, we pray, Oh Father, give unto him!

PART II. PRESENTING THE HAKO TO THE SON AND THANKS TO THE CHILDREN

796*

The Father (the chief) then removed the emblems from the face of the child, using for the purpose the fur of the wildcat, and took the covering and the symbols from its head. These with the Hako he rolled together within the wildcat skin and placed the bundle in the arms of the child.

The Hako, which had been the medium of bringing the promises, was carried by the recipient of these promises, the little child, to its father, the Son, who received them from the hands of his offspring.

The tie had now been formed, and the little child was released from its symbolic duties and ran out into the sunlight to join its playmates. Within the lodge the Fathers thanked the Children, and the people departed to their daily avocations.

While the various articles of the Hako were generally scattered at the close of the ceremony, the two feathered stems were preserved intact and frequently passed from tribe to tribe as long as they held together. Sometimes the Son was unwilling to part with those presented him, so, when he inaugurated a party, he had a new set made with the proper ceremony. At all times and under all conditions the feathered stems were never handled carelessly, but were treated with respect and their sacred character was remembered. During the entire time Tahi'rûssawichi was engaged upon this ceremony he never allowed 778 796* [437]

---

[a] Music on p. 376.

778 the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid upon a chair;
*796 they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a
decorum that was not once abated.

*796 The Hako ceremony seems to have been peculiarly adapted to
776 impress the mind of the people and to win their confidence and affec-
182 tion. It was picturesque, varied in movement, and communal in
feeling. Its songs were rhythmic and attractive, and frequently
[*533] choral in form, particularly those belonging to the public ceremony,
where all, young and old, joined in the melody as the feathered stems
were swayed over their heads when the Ku'rahus and his assistants
made the circuits of the lodge.

The teachings of the public ceremony were general in character.
[593 They emphasized, on the one hand, man's dependence on the super-
natural for all the gifts of life, and on the other hand, his dependence
771] on the family tie for the gifts of peace and happiness. The specific
teachings were reserved for the Son. These began in the ritual to
the Dawn (tenth ritual) on the morning of the second and third days,
which prefigured the secret ceremonies of the fifth morning, when the
bond of the family relation was extended beyond blood kinship through
the symbolic rites which recognized the common source of life in
Tira'wa atius.

[178] Looking over the entire ceremony, it is interesting to note how older
rites have had their share in the development of the Hako, and how
the trend of thought among the native seers has borne them toward a
conception of the brotherhood of man, a conception recognized as the
noblest known to the human family.

INCIDENTAL RITUALS

COMFORTING THE CHILD

*539 The incidental rituals could be called for and given during the
public ceremony.

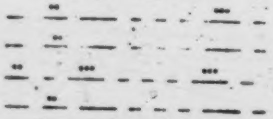
*796 The three songs which belong to the first ritual have a common
[*533] musical motive, but this motive is treated differently in each song
so as to conform to the movement of the ceremony.

The appeal of the parents to the Ku'rahus is in the first song passed
on to Kawas. It is sung by the Ku'rahus at the holy place as he
waves the brown-eagle feathered stem. The words are in the nature
of a prayer, the music has the swing of a lullaby.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

[*533]



---

[a] Music on p. [illegible].

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Rhythmic Rendition

Kawas, harken: thy baby is crying!
It grieveth, wailing and weeping and crying so sore.
Ah! It cries, crieth so sorely;
Kawas, hasten, thy little one cryeth so sore.

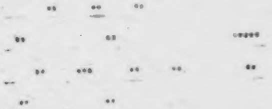
539*
796*

The second song was sung as the Ku'rahus and his assistant walked toward the child. In the music one hears the coming of Tira'wa in the footsteps of his creatures, both great and small.

SECOND SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

[533*]



Rhythmic Rendition

Father cometh, now he cometh;
See him, little one; hark! his footsteps!
With him, and coming are the eagles,
All are coming now to thee.

The third song is sung as the brown-eagle feathered stem is waved over the little child, who "looks up and smiles."

533*
796*

The caressing, almost playful, rhythm of the music twines about the religious feeling expressed in the words like the arms of an infant about the neck of its thougtful, reverent parent.

THIRD SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Look, my child, who is coming unto you;
Look up, my little one, now your trouble goes away, away;
Look! Above you flies one who guards you,
Whose presence brings you joy. Now your sorrow has departed.

539*
796*

II

Ah, you look! See the eagles flying over you.
From up above they come, from the clear blue sky where Father dwells;
They to you this peace-bringing solace give.
A happy little child now is smiling here light-hearted.

---

[a] Music on page 362.

[b] Music on page [illegible].

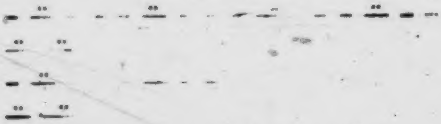
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PRAYER TO AVERT STORMS

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

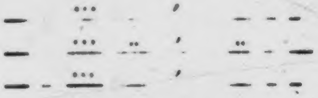
*533
*796



PRAYER FOR THE GIFT OF CHILDREN

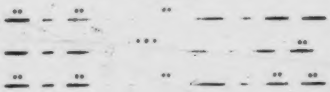
FIRST SONG[b]

Diagram of Time and Rhythm



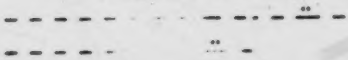
SECOND SONG[c]

Diagram of Time



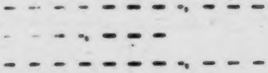
THIRD SONG[d]

Diagram of Time



FOURTH SONG[e]

Diagram of Time



CHANGING A MAN'S NAME

[126] Before the graphophone record was taken the Ku'rahus engaged in silent prayer, after which he entoned the ritual. Rather a high pitch
*533 was taken for the recital, probably from habit, as the ritual was
*796 always given in the hearing of a multitude.

The words were separated into syllables. Sometimes an entire word
[195] or parts of two words were represented by a single syllable, and each syllable in the ritual was uttered as though it were a complete word.

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].
[b] Music on page [illegible].
[c] Music on page [illegible].
[d] Music on page [illegible].
[e] Music on page [illegible].

124 195 196 Mr Murie spent three days in the translation and study of the ritual, assisted by the Ku'rahus, who explained many points that were somewhat obscure, owing to elisions, the employment of a single word as a mnemonic to call up the picture of a complicated action, and the forcing of words to a different application from that of ordinary speech—a not uncommon occurrence in rituals. The latter carefully watched the work lest mistakes should be made, remarking that the ritual "speaks of the powers above, of whom man should be careful what he says."

181 555 553 761 829 There is one aspect of the ritual, essential to its understanding, that was carefully explained by the Ku'rahus, and the substance of many conversations on the subject follows. A man's life is an onward movement. If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the help of the powers his life will "climb up." Here the Ku'rahus made a gesture indicating a line slanting upward; then he arrested the movement and, still holding his hand where he had stopped, went on to say that as a man is climbing up he does something that marks a place in his life where the powers have given him the opportunity to express in acts his peculiar endowments, so this place, this act, forms a stage in his career, and he takes a new name to indicate that he is on a level different from that which he occupied previously. Some men, he said, can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level, and he illustrated his words by moving his hands horizontally. Men having power to advance, climb step by step, and here again he made his idea plain by a gesture picturing a slant, then a level, a slant, and a level. In this connection he called attention to the words, in line 1359, "rutu'rahwitz pari," "to overtake walking," saying that the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life an upper level, such a one as these ancient men spoken of in the ritual had reached, where they threw away the names by which they had been known before. "Rutu'rahwitz pari," is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by the doing of like deeds.

553 555 796* Three facts connected with the Pawnee custom of taking a new name should be stated:

First. A man was permitted to take a name only after the performance of an act indicative of ability or strength of character.

Second. The name had to be assumed openly before the people to whom the act it commemorated was known.

Third. It was necessary that it should be announced in connection with such a ritual as that here given.

These facts indicate (1) that a man's name stood for what he had shown himself to be in the light of his actions; (2) that this was recognized by his tribesmen; and (3) that it was proclaimed by one having in charge the mediatory rites through which man could be approached by the supernatural.

553
*796
The ritual is in three parts. The first gives a brief narration of the institution of the custom of changing the name in consequence of some new achievement. The second shows how the man was enabled to accomplish this act. It began with his lonely vigil and fast, when he cried to the powers for help. The scene then shifts to the circle of the lesser powers, who, in council, deliberate on the petition which makes its way to them and gains their consent. Then the Winds summon the messengers, and these, gathering at the lesser powers' command, are sent to earth to the man crying in lonely places, to grant his desire. This part closes with a few vivid words which set forth that only by the favor and help of the powers had the man been able to do the deed. The third deals with the man's names, the one to be discarded and the one now to be assumed.

128
*539
*796
[182
195]
This dramatic poem is in a rhythmic form impossible to reproduce in English; neither is a literal translation adequate to convey its meaning, since a single word sometimes represents a complex action, to the understanding of which a knowledge of the customs and beliefs of the tribe is essential. The terseness of expression was also intended to close the meaning to the uninitiated, keeping it sacred from the common people. Although the form of the following rhythmic rendition could not be determined as heretofore by musical phrases, the English version contains nothing which is not in the original text explained and amplified by the Ku'rahus.

Rhythmic Rendition of Pawnee Text

*539
*796

1358 Harken! 'Twas thus it came to pass:
In ancient days, a Leader and his men
Walked this wide earth, man's vast abode
Roofed by the heavens, where dwell the gods.[a]
They reached a place, the spot no man can tell,
Faced dangers dread, and vanquished them:
Then, standing as if born anew to life,
Each warrior threw away the name
That had been his ere yet these deeds were done.

1359 Harken! The Leader and his men
Made there the Vict'ry Song, and set the mark
Ye must o'ertake, if ye would be like them!

1360 Harken! The Leader and his men
Turned then toward home. Their Vict'ry Song
Proclaimed them near; the village rose,
Looked toward the hill, where on the top
Stood the brave men singing their Song,
Heralding thus the favor of the gods
By which they had surpassed all former deeds,
Made new their claim to be accounted men.

---

[a] Gods, meaning powers, is used solely on account of the rhythm.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

1861 Harken! And whence, think ye, was borne
Unto these men courage to dare,
Strength to endure hardship and war?
Mark well my words, as I reveal
How the gods help man's feebleness.
The Leader of these warriors was a man
Given to prayer. Oft he went forth
Seeking a place no one could find,
There would he stand, and lift his voice
Fraught with desire, that he might be
Invincible, a bulwark 'gainst all foes
Threat'ning his tribe, causing them fear.
Nighttime and day this cry sped on,
Traveling far, seeking to reach—
Harken! Those places far above-
Harken! Within the circle vast
Where sit the gods, watching o'er men.

1862 Harken! This poor man's prayer went on,
Speeding afar into the blue
Heavens above, reached there the place—
Harken! Where dwell the lesser gods—
Harken! And great Tira'wa, mightier than all!

1863 Harken! It was because a god
Received this prayer, considered it,
Favored its plea, and passed it on
To him whose place was next, in that grand ring,
Who, in his turn received the prayer,
Considered it, and sent it on
Harken! Around that circle vast—
Harken! Where sit the gods above.

1864 Harken! And thus it was the prayer
Sent by this man won the consent
Of all the gods. For each god in his place
Speaks out his thought, grants or rejects
Man's suppliant cry, asking for help;
But none can act until the Council grand
Comes to accord, thinks as one mind,
Has but one will, all must obey.
Harken! The Council gave consent
Harken! And great Tira'wa, mightier than all.

1865 Harken! To make their purpose known,
Succor and aid freely to give,
Heralds were called, called by the Winds;
Then in the west uprose the Clouds
Heavy and black, laden with storm.
Slowly they climbed, dark'ning the skies;
While close on every side the Thunders marched
On their dread way, 'till all were come
To where the gods in stately Council sat
Waiting for them. Then, bade them go
Back to the earth, carrying aid
To him whose prayer had reached their circle vast.
This mandate given, the Thunders turned toward earth,
Taking their course slantwise the sky.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

1866 Harken! Another followed hard—
Lightning broke forth out of the Cloud,
Zigzag and dart, cleaving their way
Slantwise to earth, their goal to reach.

1867 Harken! For these two were not all
That hastened to proclaim the gods' behest;
Swift on their wings, Swallows in flocks
Swept in advance, ranging the path,
Black breasts and red, yellow, and white,
Flying about, clearing the way
For those who bore the message of the gods
Granting the man courage to dare,
Strength to endure, power to stand
Invincible, a bulwark 'gainst all foes.

1868 Harken! 'Twas thus it came to pass:
The Leader grasped the help sent by the gods;
Henceforth he walked steadfast and strong,
Leading his men through dangers drear,
Knowing that naught could strike at him
To whom the gods had promised victory.

1869 Attend! Once more I change his name!

1870 Harken! Riruts katit, it was
We used to call him by, a name he won
Long days ago, marking an act
Well done by him, but now passed by.

1871 Harken! To-day all men shall say—

1872 Harken! His act has lifted him
Where all his tribe behold a man
1873 Clothed with new fame, strong in new strength,
Gained by his deeds, blessed by the gods.

Harken! Shaku ru Wa rukste shall he be called.

I: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

INDEX

Page
Alphabet used in record of Hako ceremony . . . 16
Ash wood, use of, in Hako ceremony . . . 19
Atira, use of name, in Hako ceremony . . . 44
Awahokshu, the holy place . . . 283
Bath, sweat, of Kurahus . . . 26
Birds, regard for, in Hako ceremony . . . 23
  treatment of . . . 35
Bird's nest, symbolism of . . . 170
Blue, symbolism of, in Hako ceremony . . . 20 23, 39, 44
Bowl, wooden, symbolism of . . . 44, 290, 330
  use of . . . 20, 42
Buffalo, fat of, use of in Hako ceremony . . . 20
  hair of, symbolism of . . . 22, 47
    use of . . . 20
    use of rope of . . . 26
  robe of, use of . . . 26
  symbolism of, in Hako ceremony . . . 60, 81
Chaui band of Pawnee tribe, obtaining of record of Hako ceremony from . . . 13
Chief, sacred objects in Hako ceremony carried by . . . 43
Child, rite of anointing the . . . 233 236
  rite of blessing the . . . 236 250
  rite of cleansing the, with water . . . 216 218, 351
  rite of painting the . . . 227 234
  rite of placing the, in the nest . . . 244, 265
  rite of putting the symbols on the . . . 235 242
  rite of sucking the . . . 206 241, 345
  rite of touching the . . . 211 222, 348
  thank offering for the . . . 260
  symbolism of, in Hako ceremony . . . 306
Children, feeding of, by fathers . . . 105 117
  selection and duties of . . . 18, 19
Clay, colored, use of, in Hako ceremony . . . 20
  See Paint.
Corn, ear of, function of, in Hako ceremony . . . 46
    journey to the sun by . . . 50 56
    leadership of, assertion of . . . 49 73, 85 90, 290, 344, 346
    leadership of, assumption of . . . 50
    meaning of design painted on . . . 44 46
    painting of . . . 42 46, 290, 300
    plate representing . . . 44
    sacred . . . 156
    symbolism of . . . 22, 23, 44, 290
    use of . . . 20
  sacred feast of . . . 161, 331
Corona borealis . . . 234
Dakota Indians, information from, regarding Hako ceremony among the Pawnees . . . 13
Dance, ceremonial Hako, before departure . . . 143
  Hako . . . 253, 280
    of thanks, diagram of positions in . . . 258
      performance of . . . 247 256, 346
      selection of dancers for . . . 18
Dancers in the Hako ceremony . . . 247, 290
Dawn, consideration of, in Hako ceremony . . . 26
  Pawnee conception of . . . 124, 125, 320, 321
Day, child of Night and Tirawa . . . 125
  representation of, in Hako ceremony . . . 23
  symbolism of, in Hako ceremony . . . 42
Deer, fat of, use of, in Hako ceremony . . . 20
  skin of, use of, in Hako ceremony . . . 21
Doctors, part taken by, in Hako ceremony . . . 19
Down, eagle, symbolism of . . . 41, 251, 267
Dreams, relation of, to visions, in Pawnee philosophy . . . 121, 122
Drums, ceremonial, of the Hako . . . 167
Duck, heads, necks, and breasts of, use of, in Hako ceremony . . . 20
  symbolism of . . . 21, 40, 175
Dwelling, treatment of, in Hako ceremony . . . 33, 34
Eagle, breast feather of, symbolism of . . . 22, 47
    use of, in Hako ceremony . . . 20, 38
  brown, identity of . . . 20
    symbolism of . . . 20, 21, 42 171, 196, 330
    treatment of, in Hako ceremony . . . 29
  down of, symbolism of . . . 41 250 267
  feathers of, use of, in Hako ceremony . . . 20
  golden. See Eagle, brown; Eagle, white
  symbolism of, in Hako ceremony . . . 40, 90, 106
  treatment of, in Hako ceremony . . . 111 117
  white, identity of . . . 21
    symbolism of . . . 21, 192, 278
  wings of, use of, in Hako ceremony . . . 19, 34
Earth, regard for, in Hako ceremony . . . 26
  representation of . . . 21, 72
  treatment of . . . 30 31, 44, 66
Fat, symbolism of . . . 23, 261
  use of . . . 20, 28
Father, articles furnished by, in Hako ceremony . . . 20
  ceremonial dress of . . . 18
  lodge of, diagrams of, during ritual . . . 36, 40, 56 67
    rituals of Hako ceremony taking place at . . . 19, 26

[p. 369]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

080

Page

Father, preparation of, for the journey to the son 60
  requirements and duties of 18, 19, 20
Fathers, feeding of children by 105-117, 213-217
  gift of ponies to 260
  gifts to, by outsiders 147, 257
  selection and duties of 18, 19
Feathered stem, blue, painting of 37-39, 287
    symbolism of 42, 99
  brown-eagle. *See* Feathered stem, blue.
  decoration of 37-42
  green, painting of 39, 40, 290
    symbolism of 42, 99
  preparation of sticks for 35
  songs for laying down 111-117
  symbolism of 111
  white-eagle. *See* Feathered stem, green.
Feathered stems, construction and symbolism of 20, 21, 283-291
  names of 19, 20
  plates representing 39, 40
  reverence of many tribes for 21, 279
  transfer of, from tribe to tribe 20, 21, 281
Female force, invocation of 233-236
  symbols of 42, 288, 290, 293
Fire, treatment of, in Hako ceremony 34, 35
Fireplace, treatment of, in Hako ceremony 34
Fletcher, Alice C., paper on the Hako, a Pawnee ceremony, by 1-368
Four, symbolism of, in Hako ceremony 48, 64, 76, 107, 293, 315
Four times four, symbolism of 298
Four times four circuits of the lodge 107, 231, 240, 241
Gifts, bringing of, by children 108, 117, 121
  distribution and acknowledgment of Hako 163
  final, of fathers to children 162
  presentation of, to the fathers 251-256, 280
Grass, brush of, symbolism of 230, 252
  sweet, use of, in Hako ceremony 20, 28
Green, symbolism of 21, 41, 290
Hako, meaning and use of the name 17, 18
  Pawnee ceremony of, paper by A. C. Fletcher on 1-368
  presentation of, to the son 238-240, 241, 242
  supernatural origin of 140, 150, 288
  the making of 37-48, 283-291
Hako ceremony, antiquity and wide prevalence of 279, 280
  arrangement of paper on 16
  diagram of the son's lodge during 165
  diagram showing movements of father's party during 47
  exchange of commodities through 281
  harmonious structure of 282
  initial rites of 37-48, 283-291
  meaning of 26, 28
  names of 17, 18
  origin of 279, 280
  personnel of 18, 19
  preparation for 20-46
  preparation of, scheme of 24
  public ceremony of 165-195, 213-230
Hako ceremony, purpose of 49, 50, 280, 287
  rendition and explanation of, by the Kurahus 20
  requisites of 19-23
  rhythmic expression in 282, 283
  sacred objects of, care of 103
    vivification of 26, 50, 286, 288
  scheme of 24-26
  secret rites of 195-217, 230-250
  symbolism of 20-22, 280, 281, 283, 288
  time of 23, 24
  unvarying sequence of 282
  work of, division of, among members of Hako party 160
Holy place, treatment of, in Hako ceremony 32, 33
Horsehair, use of, in Hako ceremony 21
Kawas, regard for, in Hako ceremony 74, 286
  See Eagle, brown; Feathered stem, blue.
Kurahus, articles furnished by, in Hako ceremony 20
  ceremony and dress of 26, 58, 59, 60, 256
  duties of 19, 20
  gifts to 260
  meaning of title 15
  preparation for Hako ceremony by 20
  preparations of, for journey to the son 59, 60
Kusharu, a sacred place 294
La Flesche, Francis, aid rendered to author of paper on the Hako ceremony by 13
Lodge, entrance way to, treatment of, in Hako ceremony 26, 27
  the father's, diagrams of 59, 62
  the son's, consecration of 209-211
    diagram of, before taking the child 210
      during the preparation of the child 214
      during presentation of the Hako 237
  treatment of, in Hako ceremony 28, 34
Male force, invocation of 235
  symbolism of 34, 235
  symbols of 34, 42, 289, 290
Marquette, the feathered stem called a calumet by 279
Moon, representation of, in Hako ceremony 21, 42
  symbolism of, in Hako ceremony 42
Murie, James R., aid rendered to author of paper on the Hako ceremony by 14
Name, changing one's, Pawnee custom of 272, 285
  rite of 272-278
Nest, oriole's, treatment of, in Hako ceremony 20
  use of 20
  rite of making the 243-244, 287, 288
  symbolism of 24, 243-245, 288
  treatment of 111
Night, representation of, in Hako ceremony 21
  symbolism of 42
North, symbolism of 42

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Page
North star, treatment of, in Hako ceremony 39
Ointment, composition of, for anointing the child 222
sacred, used in Hako ceremony 22, 39
Omaha Indians, influence of, among Pawnees 18
statement of, regarding Hako ceremony among the Pawnees 18
witnessing of Hako ceremony among 18
Oriole, nest of, use of, in Hako ceremony 39
Owl, feathers of, use of, in Hako ceremony 40
symbolism of 21, 40, 176
Paint, blue, origin of 46
symbolism of 232
use of, in Hako ceremony 37, 42
red, symbolism of 238, 253
use of, in Hako ceremony 39
Pawnee Indians, paper on the Hako ceremony observed among 1-368
Phonetics. *See* Alphabet.
Pipe, use of, in Hako ceremony 40
Pipestems, use of, in Hako ceremony 19, 20
Plum wood, use of, in Hako ceremony 20
symbolism of 37, 42
Ponka Indians, report of, on Hako ceremony among the Pawnees 18
Powers, abode of 29
lesser, function of 27
Pawnee idea of 293, 294, 295
manner of descent of, to man 28
presentation of Hako party to 65, 66, 287-290
diagram of movements made during 67
symbolic signs in recognition of 68, 103, 286, 290
Rabbit, hair of, use of, in Hako ceremony 21
Rain, conjuring 167
Rain shrine, pipe of, use of 101-104
priest of, duties of 19, 48
part played by, in Hako ceremony 101-104
Raristesharu society 234, 235
Rattles, gourd, plate representing 46
symbolism of 22, 47
Ray, the sun's first strengthening power of 39, 134, 235
Red, symbolism of, in Hako ceremony 20, 23, 38
Robes, gift of, to the poor 256
Shell, symbolism of, in Hako ceremony 37
use of, in Hako ceremony 39
Skidi band of Pawnee tribe, peculiarities of Hako as made by 47
Sky, representation of, in . ako ceremony 24, 37
Smoke, offering of 48, 101-104, 240, 312, 328, 350, 359
for longevity 108
Son, articles furnished by 39
choice of, in Hako ceremony 49-55, 292
clothing of 101
duties of, in Hako ceremony 81
Son, journey to 49-55, 293, 298
lodge of, consecration of 97, 103, 304, 313
entrance of Hako party into 93, 98, 300, 310
songs sung in 60, 61, 64, 65
messenger of, clothing the 89, 91, 298
messengers sent by Hako party to 56, 87, 294, 296
prefiguration of journey to 49, 55, 292
reception of the message by the 294
requirements and duties of 18, 19
sending of messengers to 56, 58
village of, arrival of Hako party at 87, 299
entrance of Hako party into 92, 93, 300
Song acknowledging that Tirawa answers prayer 106, 107, 343
asking the way of the ear of corn 70, 330
at the crossing of streams 73, 203, 304
enjoining the Hako party to follow the ear of corn 69, 330
extra, acknowledging the gift of a pony 140
invoking the earth to give plenty 144
of the abode of visions 126, 331, 332
of the consecrated ear of corn 150, 190, 333
of a talismanic ear of corn 157, 337
Hako dance, of gifts 255
of thanks 254
incidental, to avert a threatening storm 298
in praise of lesser powers 160, 161, 189, 314, 334, 341
invoking visions 118, 329, 330
invoking the visions of the ancients 178, 179, 338
of anointing the child 220, 221, 353
of appeal of the son to the powers 101, 312
of approaching the son's village under the leadership of the ear of corn 86, 337
of blessing the child 257, 361
of blue paint for the feathered stem 37, 39, 241, 296, 345
of carrying the child 212, 213, 350
of cleansing and strengthening the child with water 215, 351
of coaxing the child 211, 349
of dawn 123, 124, 322
of daylight 131, 324
of dreams of Hako coming from the east 109, 320, 330
of earth 163, 335
of finding the son 50, 51, 293, 294
of gratitude for Hako in the sixteen circuits of the lodge 195, 343
of gratitude in the sixteen circuits of the lodge 189
of gratitude of the children for Hako 142, 327
of green paint for the feathered stem 39, 240, 301, 290, 345
of greeting to the son 90, 304, 306, 307
of greeting to the son's messengers 91, 308
of making the nest 202, 358

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

600

Page
Song of painting the ear of corn........ [illegible]
of painting the child with blue paint. [illegible]
of painting the child with red paint. [illegible]
of praise to Tirawa before feeding the children.. [illegible]
of putting eagle down on the child. [illegible]
of seeking the child.................. [illegible]
of seeking the son's lodge.... [illegible]
of sending the messengers.......... [illegible]
of thanks for Hako..................... 177
of the arrival at the son's village... [illegible]
of the ascent of the ear of corn..... [illegible]
of the bird's nest..................... [illegible]
of the brown eagle covering her young.................... [illegible]
of the brown eagle entering the son's lodge.................. [illegible]
of the brown eagle flying to her nest. 114,[illegible]
of the brown eagle in the sixteen circuits of the lodge..... [illegible]
of the call to the children ..... [illegible]
of the child in the nest .... [illegible]
of the child taking the symbolic steps.......................... [illegible]
of the coming of the children .. [illegible]
of the dark.......................... 174
of the eagle hovering over the nest. 111, 112,[illegible]
of the eaglets crying to the mother bird....................... [illegible]
of the ear of corn asserting authority.................... 71,[illegible]
of the ear of corn entering the son's lodge.................. [illegible]
of the ear of corn resuming leadership................... [illegible]
of the flocking of birds .... [illegible]
of the gathering of the children .... [illegible]
of the owl .... 173,[illegible]
of the promise of buffalo .... [illegible]
of the smoke offering of the sun. [illegible]
of the son's lodge .... [illegible]
of the vision of Hako .... [illegible]
of the white eagle in the sixteen circuits of the lodge......... [illegible]
of the woodpecker and the turkey. 173
of the wren 171
of touching the child with the brush of grass...................... [illegible]
of touching the child with the feathered stems........ [illegible]
of tying the eagle's feather on the child......................... [illegible]
on feathering the feathered stem 41,[illegible]
summoning the children to send gifts........................... [illegible]
to awaken the children .... 132,[illegible]
to the buffalo .... 79,[illegible]
to the ear of corn before feeding the children................. [illegible]
to the ear of corn in the sixteen circuits of the lodge............ [illegible]
Song to the lesser powers........ [illegible]
to the moon......................... [illegible]
to the morning star .... [illegible]
to the mountains.................... [illegible]
to the Pleiades...................... 131,[illegible]
to the powers........................ [illegible]
to the sun........................... [illegible]
to the wind........................... 77,[illegible]
to Tirawa before setting out ..... [illegible]
to trees and streams .... 73,[illegible]
Songs, incidental, on changing a man's name.............. [illegible]
to quiet the child.............. [illegible]
South, symbolism of, in Hako ceremony............................ [illegible]
Spirit, Pawnee belief concerning....... [illegible]
Pawnee conception of............. [illegible]
Steps, four symbolic...................... [illegible]
Sun, representation of, in Hako ceremony............................ [illegible]
symbolism of, in Hako ceremony.. [illegible]
treatment of, in Hako ceremony .. [illegible]
Sweat lodge, use of, in Hako ceremony. [illegible]
Tahirussawichi, Hako ceremony as given and explained by..... [illegible]
sketch of.............................. 14,[illegible]
Tirawa, abode of .... [illegible]
belief in answer to prayer by ...... [illegible]
father of all .... [illegible]
mediation between man and ...... [illegible]
Pawnee ideas concerning .... 107,[illegible]
symbol of .... [illegible]
diagram of the .... [illegible]
tracing of image of................ [illegible]
Tobacco, offering of, to the powers .... [illegible]
use of, in Hako ceremony ..... [illegible]
Tuhaara, the living covering of the earth.............................. [illegible]
Tracy, Edwin S., transcription of Hako music by......................... [illegible]
Vegetation, treatment of, in Hako ceremony.......................... [illegible]
Visions, abode of .... [illegible]
invocation of .... 117 [illegible]
Pawnee beliefs concerning .... 110,[illegible]
Water, running, use of, in Hako ceremony .... [illegible]
symbolism of .... [illegible]
treatment of, in Hako ceremony ... [illegible]
Whistle, making of, of eagle's wing bone............................... 145,[illegible]
use of, to imitate eagle's scream.... [illegible]
Wild-cat, skin of, plate representing.... [illegible]
symbolism of, in Hako ceremony......................... 47,[illegible]
use of, in Hako ceremony......... [illegible]
symbolism of, in Hako ceremony... [illegible],111
Wind, regard for, in Hako ceremony .. [illegible]
treatment of .... [illegible]
Woodpecker, head of, used in Hako ceremony........................ [illegible]
symbolism of .... [illegible]
Wren, symbolism of .... [illegible]

1: Fletcher
533

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[Materials on music connected with the Hako ceremony will be found in category 116, pp. 18-364.]

1: Fletcher
539

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[Texts of Pawnee songs will be found in category 116, pp. 27-46, 50-58, 60-66, 68-104, 107-116, 118-82, 184-213, 215-243, 245-46, 249-52, 254-55, 257-59, 261-277, 283-291, 293-363.]

1:Fletcher
796

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[For information on the Hako ceremony, see category 116, pp. 12-277, 279-368.--Analyst]

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[P. i]

000

Columbia University Contributions
to Anthropology

Volume XVI

THE PAWNEE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME

BY

ALEXANDER LESSER

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[P. ii not processed]
[P. iii]

THE PAWNEE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME

ooo

A STUDY OF CULTURAL CHANGE

BY
ALEXANDER LESSER

[Title Page]

NEW YORK
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
1933

PRINTED IN GERMANY
J. J. AUGUSTIN, GLÜCKSTADT AND HAMBURG.

[P. V]

000

TO

FRANZ BOAS

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[P. VII]
[P. VI not processed]

TABLE OF CONTENTS

000

I

Pages
Preface IX
I. The Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century 1
First Period. To 1833 1
Second Period. 1833 to 1857 6
Third Period. 1857 to 1876. 16
Fourth Period. 1876 to 1892. 33
Cultural Status at the Dawn of the Ghost Dance 49
II. The Ghost Dance among the Pawnee 53
The Ghost Dance, Origin and Spread 53
Doctrine and Early History of the Pawnee Ghost Dance 59
Forms of White's South Band Ghost Dance 68
Conflict of Doctrine: Reorganization of Ceremony 75
First Forms of the Skiri Ghost Dance 81
The Seven Eagle Brothers 83
Personal Experiences of Mark Everts 93
The Seven Crows and after 97
Ghost Dance Songs 100
III. Cultural Significance of the Ghost Dance 105
Bundles and Bundle Rituals 106
Revivals of Societies 112
Revivals of Games 116
New Cultural Forms 117
The Pawnee at the Turn of the Century 119

II

IV. The Hand Game. Distribution and Character 124
V. Play of the Pawnee Hand Game 131
VI. The Old Pawnee Hand Game 139
The Boy's Hand Game 139
The Inter-Band Game 141
Characteristics of the Old Game 146
The Inter-Tribal Hand Game 148
VII. The Ghost Dance Hand Game 155
VIII. Analysis of the Ghost Dance Hand Game 160
Order of Events 160
Ownership and Affiliation 163
Paraphernalia 170
Altar Arrangements 173

Pages
Official Arrangements 174
The Smoke Offering 179
Putting the Counters in Play 209
Play of the Game 210
Activities of the Game Intervals 215
Food Offering and Service 220
Comparison of Food Offering and Smoke Offering ... 228
Speeches at Hand Games 230
Ghost Dance Practices at Hand Games 231
IX. The South Band Hand Games 233
Joseph Carrion 233
Tom Morgan 236
White Elk 239
John Brown 242
Annie Eustace 242
X. The Skiri Hand Games 246
Mrs. Goodeagle 246
Goodeagle 257
Mrs. Washington 263
Skiri Jake 263
George Beaver 263
Mark Rudder 267
John Moses I 271
Boychief's mother 274
Emmett Pierson. I, II 274, 287
Lonechief 287
Barclay White 288
Boychief 290
Tom Yellowhorse 296
John Moses II 305
Charley Allen 307
Irene Goodeagle 308
XI. Contrast of the Old Hand Game and the Ghost Dance Hand Game 309
Persistence of Traits 309
Loss of Traits 312
Accretion of Traits 313
XII. History and Significance of the Ghost Dance Hand Game 322
Distribution of the Ghost Dance Hand Game 322
The Pawnee Hand Game Development 326
Significance of the Hand Game Development 328
Conclusion 329
Bibliography 338

PREFACE

Acculturation, though a recent term which has yet to establish itself in dictionary usage, is a useful term for the processes by which aspects or elements of two cultures mingle and merge. Within this broad meaning, however, we should distinguish assimilation as of a separate character. Acculturation may be taken to refer to the ways in which some cultural aspect is taken into a culture and adjusted or fitted to it. This implies some relative cultural equality between the giving and receiving cultures. Assimilation, however, is the process of transforming aspects of a conquered or engulfed culture into a status of relative adjustment to the forms of the ruling culture. The problem of acculturation, when we are considering the American Indians in relation to their adjustment to European culture, is a problem of assimilation. 121

Assimilation and acculturation differ in another important way. In acculturation the cultural groups involved are in an essentially reciprocal relationship. Both give and take. As a result it is a valid problem to consider what is adopted and what not, and the whys and wherefores. In assimilation the tendency is for the ruling cultural group to enforce the adoption of certain externals, in terms of which superficial adjustment seems to be attained. The adopting culture is not in a position to choose. Its forms are often technically so inferior, particularly in material culture, that they tend to be obliterated at once by the technical products of the culture which engulfs them. In addition the ruled are generally ordered to do so and so, and to stop doing so and so. In this situation the only possible reactions are passive acceptance or active resistance and rejection. The study of assimilation of the American Indian must take into consideration the fact that American Indian culture has not met a culture of the same order of complexity or technical advancement, and that in the methods which have been used to assimilate the Indian, neither individually nor collectively as tribal groups were the natives brought into direct contact with our culture as such. They were offered, here and there, certain obvious externals. These externals are relatively superficial in relation to the values and standards of our culture, and could not replace the essential values of American Indian culture which were meanwhile destroyed.

In 1930 and 1931, while engaged in the study of Pawnee and Wichita ethnology in Oklahoma, I found it necessary to control 114 121

114 the recent changes in religion and ritual. In doing so, the story of
121 the renaissance of culture which took place among the Pawnee
under the stimulus of the Ghost Dance was pieced together. In
presenting this material I have described the developments against
the background of Pawnee history since white contact. This serves
121 to bring to light the motivations and influences which were stimulants
of change. And in reference to the new forms which developed
I have concentrated on the Ghost Dance hand games, the most
important in terms of the emphasis made by the Pawnee themselves.
The controlled consideration of the games in their changing forms
has made it possible to consider the meaning of processes of change,
and the inevitability of founding ethnological methodology on a
metaphysic of history.

122 The field work among the Pawnee, of which this study is a
specialized part, was carried out under a project supported by the
Columbia Council for Research in the Social Sciences. This manuscript
was in part prepared while I was Fellow of the American
Council of Learned Societies. In addition to published material,
000 I have had the use of unpublished materials of James R. Murie, in
the form of a manuscript by George A. Dorsey and James R. Murie,
which was made available to me through the courtesy of Dr. Dorsey
and Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum of Natural History;
and I was also able to refer to a Bureau of Ethnology manuscript
on the Ceremonies of the Pawnee, by James R. Murie, which was
at the time being linguistically revised by Dr. Gene Weltfish. The
use of these materials proved invaluable, not only for the work
which has resulted in the present study, but also for the consideration
of Pawnee religion which I hope to present in another year.

I cannot close these remarks without acknowledging my indebtedness
to Professors Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict of Columbia
University, who gave me the opportunity to make the field studies
on which this work is based. I am also obligated to many Pawnee
friends, and particularly to my chief informant, Mark Everts, a
rare mind and a hearty friend, and Henry Chapman, whose help
was important in this and other work. My wife, Dr. Gene Weltfish,
has cooperated with me in countless ways. But most of all, I must
express my intellectual obligations to Professors Franz Boas and
John Dewey. For many years I have believed their conceptions
of method to be basically in harmony, and in my own thought and
work I have leaned heavily on their teachings.

October, 1932. Alexander Lesser.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

I

I. THE PAWNEE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

FIRST PERIOD: TO 1833

The Pawnee enter the perspective of American governmental 175*
Indian affairs after the purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 648*
by which their traditional territory, ranging from the Missouri 101
indefinitely westward between the Niobrara River and the Arkansas, 131
became a part of the United States. Lewis and Clarke, on their
explorations of the newly acquired domain, met the Pawnee on the
Platte River in Nebraska in 1804. In 1806, Major Pike visited the
villages of the Kitkahaxkiˣ band of Pawnee on the Republican fork 175*
of the Kansas River. But the first government treaties with the 648*
Pawnee were not concluded until 1818. At that time the four bands
were politically independent of each other, and lived apart, and [619]
four separate treaties, embodying the identical articles, were
drawn up at St. Louis. By these treaties the government secured
for the American people the peace and friendship of the Pawnee,
while the tribes acknowledged the "protection" of the United
States. All past acts of hostility were to be mutually forgiven and
forgotten, and future violations of the treaty were to be dealt with
according to the laws of the United States. These objectives were
further defined by the treaty of 1825 at Ft. Atkinson, at which
time the government dealt with the Pawnee as one tribal or national
unit composed of four federated bands. In this latter treaty the
Pawnee acknowledged the supremacy of the United States, and
the United States received the Pawnee under their protection.
Specifically, the function of this treaty was to establish rules for
the trade of the Indians with the whites, and to limit such trade to
citizens of the United States. The Pawnee also gave a guaranty in
this treaty that they would refrain from selling or trading arms
and ammunition to hostile Indian tribes.

---

[1] The historical account which comprises Chapter I, as well as parts of [113]
the second section of Chapter II, and the last section of Chapter III, are
founded on:

*175 The first period of Nineteenth Century Pawnee relations with
*648 the white man and the United States government begins with the
first contacts following the Louisiana purchase and ends with the
*175 treaty of 1833. The population of the tribe during this time is
*648 open to dispute, as no accurate figures are available. In 1804,
Lewis and Clarke estimated the tribe at 4,000, but they were un-
161 acquainted with the Pitahawirat*. According to these explorers
114 the tribe had suffered terribly from a smallpox epidemic the previous
[73] year which had greatly reduced their numbers. Pike in 1806 gave
a count of 6,223 for the same three bands. Major S. H. Long, who visited the tribe on his travels in 1819, estimated their number at 6,500, still without knowing the Pitahawirat*. The first government figure appeared in 1834, just after the treaty of 1833 brought an agent, Dougherty, in contact with the tribe. He numbered the Pawnee at 12,500. This figure was carried on the government records for years, occasionally displaced by the estimate of the

---

113 United States. Indian Affairs Office. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington, 1824 to date. The series has been consulted throughout its entire run. Details of importance on the Pawnee begin with the report of 1837. Referred to in footnotes as Annual Reports.

Kappler, C. J. (Compiler). Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties. 2 volumes. Washington, 1903. 57 Congress, First Session. Document 452.

Royce, C. C. Indian Land Cessions in the United States. 18th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology.

I have also consulted:

Dunbar, J. The Pawnee Indians. Magazine of American History. 4: 241—281; 5: 321—385; 8: 734—756.

Grinnell, G. B. Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales.

Irving, J. T. Indian Sketches Taken during a U. S. expedition to make treaties with the Pawnee and other tribes of Indians in 1833. 1838, reprinted 1888.

Murray, C. A. Travels in North America, including a summer residence with the Pawnee tribe of Indians in the remote prairies of the Missouri. 2 volumes. 3rd. revised edition, London, 1854.

Oehler, G. F. and Smith, D. Z. Description of a Journey and visit to the Pawnee Indians. April 22-May 18, 1851. Reprinted from Moravian Church Miscellany of 1851—1852.

Tuttle, Sarah. History of the American Mission to the Pawnee Indians. Boston, 1838.

Williamson, J. W. The Battle of Massacre Canyon. The unfortunate ending of the last buffalo hunt of the Pawnees. Republican Leader, Trenton, Nebraska, 1922.

Where differences on dates and other important data have been encountered, the account presented has taken the information in the reports, year by year, as the final arbiter. All basic concrete data and interpretations are essentially restatements of source material; it has seemed unnecessary to introduce minute footnotes. Interpolated interpretations of the writer are few and obvious.

missionaries, Dunbar and Allis, who were first with the tribe from 175*
1835 to 1837, and considered the government estimate too high, 648*
offering 10,000 as approximating the true population more closely. 161
The discrepancies between these various figures are not severe. That 114
of Lewis and Clarke, in spite of the decimation of the Pawnee the
previous year, is probably too low, and may not have been intended
to include all villages of all four bands. The computations of Pike
and Long, based upon three of the four bands, indicates a total of
close to 9,000 for the whole tribe. This last figure represents the
approximate "normal" figure for the Pawnee tribes during the
first period of the Nineteenth Century. There were without doubt
major fluctuations in the numbers of the Pawnee during this
period, and the trend of the tribal population was to diminish
rather than increase. One general consideration, however, can 175*
hardly be open to question. At the opening of the Nineteenth 648*
century, the Pawnee bands together constituted one of the five or
six large Indian tribal groups between the Mississippi River and the 161
Rocky Mountains. They maintained themselves in spite of the 619
hostility of practically every tribe in the region. In their aboriginal 101
state their trade must have been severely limited by tribal feud.
It is unlikely that they had economic dealings of any importance
with tribes other than the Arikara, Mandan and Wichita. All the
major indigenous peoples around them were continually in a state
of conflict with them: the many groups of the Dakota Sioux on the
north and northwest, the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho
to the southwest, the Osage and Kansa to the south and southeast.
Immediately to their east were the Omaha, Ponca and Oto, with
whom a state of partial amity prevailed, born of the fear they had
inspired in these tribes. Later in the century the Pawnee became
close friends of the Omaha and Ponca. The Oto, given opportunity
as the Pawnee declined, assaulted small parties of Pawnee on
occasion, but later became friends of the Pawnee.

In the period which closed with the treaty of 1833 changes were 175*
taking place in the basic conditions of life of the Pawnee which 648*
were only to appear in their fullest effect in later periods. A tide
of white emigration and transcontinental travel began to appear,
moving westward, and swelling with the years. These emigrants
brought white diseases into the midst of the Indian tribes, trampled
their fields, hunted the buffalo for sustenance and pleasure, and
keeping the herds of the plains in constant fear, limited the natural
range and increase of the buffalo. 175*

The diseases which the Pawnee acquired from white contact 648*
included, besides infantile diseases, venereal diseases, small-pox and 164
177

*175
*648 cholera. The small-pox was particularly deadly. It had already
164 afflicted the tribe in 1803, and in 1825 a serious epidemic again
177 broke out, with great mortality. Small-pox in the years 1829 to 1833 was so serious in the Indian population, that the government spent large sums annually for vaccination among the Indians who were already "wards" of the government. This did not include the Pawnee, as yet only "peaceful friends".

The white emigration was not the only condition which began to
*175 effect the gradual extinction of the great buffalo herds of the western
*648 plains. Traders came in, ready to barter white goods for hides and
136 skins, and the normal Indian use of the buffalo herds was increased. Finally the Indian population of the plains was suddenly enlarged by the United States policy of removing Indian tribes from east of the Mississippi to the west, and settling them among the indigenous tribes. This policy of removal was designed to eliminate the friction between the tribes in the east and the white settlers of their localities, as well as to avoid abuse of Indian rights by State governments. In addition, of course, their lands were wanted east of the Mississippi by white people. These removals were not an inconsiderable shift of population. By 1836, 51,327 Indians of eastern tribes had already emigrated, and 30,950 were waiting to remove, a total of over 81,000. Government calculations of the same period placed the indigenous population of the region from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains at 231,806, so that the actual increase by removals was an addition of 35 per cent to the population of the plains. The Plains tribes lived primarily by hunting the buffalo, while on the eastern fringe of the Plains the village tribes, of which the Pawnee were one, combined hunting in the summer and winter, with the cultivation of corn, beans and squash. This increase of the Indian population effected the food supply in two ways: greater demands were made upon the animal resources of the region, and the free range of the vast herds of buffalo began to be more and more restricted. This closing in of the populations around the buffalo range, by Indian removals, white settlement and white emigration, prevented the natural maintenance of the herds, and as the herds became increasingly smaller, the pressure of the surrounding populations increased as hunters came further and further into the buffalo range to find herds. All of these factors, the demands of a larger Indian population, the requirements of trade, the use of the buffalo by the emigrants, and the interference with the wide range of the herds, were cumulative, interdependent and interactive, and beginning in this period, continued until in the latter part of the century the buffalo was practically extinct.

The increase of population and the decrease of the herds led 175*
to greater conflict between the native tribes west of the Mississippi 648*
for control of the hunting range. Tribes traditionally hostile to
one another met oftener on the more restricted hunting grounds,
had more frequently to penetrate each other's terrain after the
vanishing herds, and became increasingly resentful of intrusions
and trespass. Tribal warfare became bloodier with the years. The
Pawnee, always at odds with their neighbors, found themselves in
this period increasingly attacked. They had dominated one of the
richest parts of the buffalo range; now they resented and resisted
the incursions of their ancient enemies. There is little doubt that 175*
the Pawnee suffered a heavy mortality in these years through death 648*
in battle, although we have few records of their encounters. But 165
in 1832 they suffered a major defeat at the hands of the Comanche
on the Arkansas River, involving sufficient slaughter to have been
retold and reported. It is a fair estimate that the death rate in
Plains warfare in the years from 1820 to 1850 was from four to
five times the rate of mortality in the 18th Century.

In the process of removing the Indian tribes of the east across 175*
the Mississippi, the government was not overcareful to consider the 648*
territorial rights of the indigenous peoples of the Plains. After
tribes had been removed and settled in western locations, their
eastern lands ceded to the United States and already overrun by
settlers, it was discovered that the removed tribe was being rapidly
exterminated by its neighbors, the indigenous tribes of the region.
Such was the case with the Delaware who were located west of the
Missouri, between the Kansas River and the Platte, only to find
themselves involved in continuous and bloody warfare with their
neighbors, particularly the Pawnee, then dominant in the region.
It was to remedy this condition that the Commissioner of Indian
Affairs went to the Pawnee in 1833, and there at the Teawi village
on the south side of the Platte River, drew up the treaty of 1833.

The short-sighted policies of the United States government in its dealings with the Indians is aptly illustrated by this whole affair. To get the eastern Indians out of the way of American citizens, they were removed westward, persuaded that the government could assure them agreeable living conditions in the western territorial regions as yet under the direct control of the federal government. In the west, however, in most cases the government had merely treaties of peace and friendship with the indigenous tribes, and had acquired no right to settle other Indian groups on tribal lands. When the emigrant tribes were settled in the west, conflicts inevitably followed. The Pawnee, finding their lands en-

*175 croached upon and their hunting territories trespassed upon by *648 new invaders from east of the Mississippi, actively defended their rights. When large numbers were killed in these conflicts between the emigrant Indians and the indigenous peoples, and between indigenous peoples who found their hunting grounds crowded and narrow, the government was compelled to interfere to stop the slaughter, ostensibly in order to protect their wards, the "removed" Indians, but actually in order to safeguard the whole policy of removal, since with the unsettled conditions and continous conflict west of the Mississippi it was impossible to carry forward the emigration of the eastern Indians still in the way of the white man. The only course to follow was to secure large cessions of land from the indigenous tribes, on which the government could then locate the emigrant tribes.

SECOND PERIOD: 1833 TO 1857

The second period of Pawnee history in the 19th century begins with the treaty of 1833, and closes with the treaty of 1857. By the treaty of 1833, the Pawnee ceded land in return for compensation, but were left an independent people; with the treaty of 1857 they relinquished all their lands to the United States, abrogated their freedom, and became wards of the government. The period of twenty-four years from 1833 to 1857 falls naturally into two parts: the Pawnee removal to the north side of the Platte, and their attempt there to develop agricultural settlements, which terminated in 1846 with their retreat to the south side of the Platte River; and the residence of the Pawnee on the south side of the Platte, in violation of their treaty agreement, which continued until execution of the provisions of the treaty of 1857.

The treaty of 1833 was the second step in governmental procedure with the Indian tribes. From treaties of peace and friendship and amicable trade, the government had advanced to one of acquisition. By it the tribe was restricted within narrower boundaries in return for a consideration. The Pawnee ceded and relinquished all right to their lands south of the Platte River, a provision which they were to rue for years to come. In return for this cession they were to receive an annuity of $4,600 for a period of twelve years, to be given regularly stated amounts of agricultural implements, and to be supplied with blacksmiths, demonstration farmers, mills and a school.

Instruction in farming was intended to civilize the Indian and so to open the continent to white settlement. The nomadic hunting

life of Plains tribes was considered wild and barbaric by a people 175*
whose culture for centuries had been grounded on an agricultural
economy. To tame and civilize the savage it was necessary to 648*
make them an agricultural people; and this was the more essential in that an agricultural economy would locate the tribes permanently in restricted areas and release wide reaches of land for the uses of the white man.

The Pawnee do not seem to have been in agreement about the removal. While the provisions of the treaty made the lands south of the Platte River ceded by the Pawnee a common hunting ground, still open to them, it confined their villages and farm lands to the
north side of the river. Prior to this time the three bands of [619]
Tcawi, Kitkahaxki^{x} and Pitahawirat^{a} had maintained their permanent village settlements south of the Platte, while only the Skiri band resided on the north. The Kitkahaxki^{x} and Pitahawirat^{a} accepted the terms of the treaty and removed, as well as some of the Tcawi, but most of the Tcawi refused to leave their homes on the south side of the river. This main Tcawi village was below the Platte some miles west of the Bellevue settlement on the Missouri River. It was to this group that the other bands removed in 1846.

The exact year of final removal is not certain. In 1839 the bands asked aid in locating their permanent settlements on the north side, inasmuch as the land was to be cultivated according to white
methods of farming, and must be suitable for such purposes. By [166]
1841 all the Pawnee who accepted the treaty provision had removed. One large village was built together by the Pitahawirat^{a}, Kitkahaxki^{x}, and those Tcawi who removed. The Skiri are not mentioned as building a new village from which we may infer that they probably continued at their old location.

In the midst of the difficulties attending the removal, the Pawnee 175*
were afflicted again by the smallpox. An epidemic broke out in 731
1838 and did not subside until a year and a half later. It is said to 165
have been communicated to the Pawnee by some Dakota women captured by them in the spring of 1838. Great numbers of children perished in the epidemic, while the mortality rate among the adults was perceptibly lower. Nevertheless the total deaths must have considerably exceeded five hundred in the period of the

---

[1] Dunbar, in Magazine of American History, 4: 257, places the Kitkahaxki^{x} 18 miles northwest of the mouth of the Loup River on the north side of the Loup, and the Pitahawirat^{a} 11 miles above the mouth on the same side, as early as 1834. I have not found evidence to validate the location of these bands north of the Platte at this early date. [13
114]

*175 epidemic, in view of the census figure reached by Dunbar and Allis
731 in the summer of 1840 of 6,787, exclusive of some detachments of
165 the tribe then absent, who could at most bring the total to 7,500.

With the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs
*175 by act of Congress in 1834, an agency was established for dealings
*648 with the Oto and Missouri, Ponca, Omaha, and Pawnee tribes,
located for many years at Council Bluffs. An agent does not seem
to have taken active charge of the affairs of these tribes until 1836.

*175 Missionaries had worked among the Pawnee for about two years
*648 just prior to the removal of the South Bands. Dunbar was among
the Tcawi, Allis with the Skiri, and Satterlee with the Kitkahaxki*.
797 Satterlee was murdered in 1837 by a white trader, but Dunbar and
Allis helped the bands locate their settlements, and accompanied
them in the removal. At the time of the removal a location was
chosen on Plum Creek for the site of the government establishment
and a mission; but on account of the disturbances caused by
Sioux raids, execution of the plan was delayed until 1844.

With the removal north of the Platte, resident farmers settled
[657] with the Pawnee, and Samuel Allis was appointed government
teacher and opened a school. Nevertheless, the period from 1841
to 1847 was one of breakdown and chaos in Pawnee life, rather
than progress.

*175 Once on the north side of the Platte, the Pawnee were exposed
*648 more than ever before to remorseless attacks of the Dakota who
had been increasing in numbers and boldness for some time. This
constant threat hung over every month of the year.

*175 The intention of the government in sending farmers among the
Pawnee was to teach them plough agriculture. Their old methods
*648 of digging-stick cultivation while they had yielded relatively
177 large crops had never been sufficiently productive to permit the
241 Pawnee to rely completely on their fields. In the summer, observers
reported, they succeeded in raising but little more corn, beans and
squash than they consumed by the time the cold weather set in.
Occasionally their crops were more plentiful but any drought
threatened to leave them without a subsistence minimum.

The farmers were indefatigable in breaking up virgin soil for cultivation. The school teacher, finding it impossible to carry out any genuine instruction the first years, joined in, and helped with the agriculture. All reports indicate that the Pawnee themselves showed commendable zeal in their efforts to learn and gave promise of becoming successful farmers more rapidly than other tribes. Nevertheless the farming operations; in the long run, were a failure. The Pawnee did not take to productive farming. The

reason is not far to seek. Successful farming required the working 175*
of isolated plots, and meant the scattering of the people over the 648*
land. This was to court death at the hands of the Sioux raiding and 177
attacking parties. To keep the people together in the village. 241
united against an assault, was their only safety.

"From the exposed position of the Pawnee they are compelled to guard their women while engaged in cultivating their corn, digging roots and collecting wood, yet with all their vigilance there is scarcely a month that passes (unless in the extremity of winter) that some of their people do not fall to the tomahawk of their enemies."[1] On June 27, 1843, the Sioux attacked the South Band village killing sixty-seven Pawnee, wounding twenty-six, many of whom later died. They burned twenty of the forty-one lodges in the village. They captured nearly four hundred horses. From March to August of the same year sixty-nine Pawnee while away from the village met their death at the hands of war parties, making a death total of one hundred thirty-six in one short season. From the standpoint of the government's policy the worst phase of the Sioux attack of June was that it fell primarily upon that part of the Pawnee, who, loyal to the plans and purposes of the United States government, were assembled around the agency location learning to become tillers of the soil.

This disaster stayed the rest of the Pawnee who had held back 175*
from farming, but were on the verge of taking it up. The govern- 648*
ment officials wrote that all hope of civilizing the Pawnee through farming must be given up unless the people received protection from the Sioux. Reports had come that the Sioux vowed a war of extermination against their traditional foe, the Pawnee. The Pawnee asked arms and ammunition to protect themselves, and remuneration for their losses. According to their treaty arrangements, they were to have had twenty-five guns with suitable ammunition in their villages, in the hands of the government farmers, to be used in self-defense, but these had never been turned over to the farmers. By treaty they were not to retaliate upon their enemies. Without suffering through retaliation, the Sioux became bolder with each year. The agent wrote in September of 1843, that the Pawnee had decided to persevere at their new locations in spite of their misfortunes.

In the following year there were further Sioux attacks, and the Superintendent at St. Louis commented that the Pawnee lost a great number, and had at hand but one gun and an old pistol for

---

[1] Supt. Harvey, writing from St. Louis, Sept. 10, 1845. Annual Report of 1844—45.

*175
*648

defense. As a result of such raids, when the Pawnee left for the summer or winter buffalo hunts, every man, woman and child would go along for safety. The fields and farms were left deserted and the crops untended. It was on such an occasion in the summer of 1846 while the tribe was away hunting that the Sioux came down upon the village. The white people hid the Pawnee school children in cellars while the Sioux were destroying the village, then evacuated the place with the children and crossed the Platte to Bellevue. When the Pawnee returned from the hunt to their village they found it burned to the ground, and they too crossed the Platte to the south side and joined their kinsmen there who had never accepted removal across the Platte.

During this same period, prior to the retreat across the Platte, it was not alone in their villages that the Pawnee were annoyed by Sioux raids. On the hunt they found their hunting territories more crowded than ever before, the buffalo herds scarcer and smaller, and the Sioux war parties larger and bolder. Often their hunt became a battle and they returned to their villages almost empty-handed. It was during this time that the slaughter to which the buffalo herds were subjected by the tide of emigration and travel across the plains was beginning to have a telling effect.

By 1847, with the Pawnee again settled on the south side of the Platte River, it was apparent that all the government objectives had failed. The farming demonstrations were a failure, the school had accomplished little more than to assist in farm work, missionaries could do little, and the tribe was again placed squarely in the way of the white movement of western emigration.[1]

---

[1] The viewpoint taken herein by the writer is that the Pawnee were entitled to the protection of the United States government against the Sioux, and that by failing to provide such protection the government failed to carry out its treaty obligations. This is not only the viewpoint of the Pawnee, but also the conception of the matter revealed in the reports of all the agents and superintendents who were in charge of the Pawnee during this period; and there can be no question that it was an indispensable measure if the government was to succeed in its policy of education and civilization.

John Dunbar, writing in the Magazine of American History, for April, 1880 (volume 4, p. 255), states: "The treaty of 1833 contains no direct provision that the United States should protect the Pawnees from the Dakotas on the north, and the Comanches and other tribes on the south. But unfortunately the Pawnees distinctly understood that this was the case, i. e., that so long as they did not molest other tribes, such tribes should not be allowed to trouble them. Accordingly for several years they scrupulously refrained from any aggressive hostilities, though meantime suffering severely from their various enemies. It was only after a final declaration from the Government in 1848 that it had no intention to protect them that they at last attempted to reassert their prestige..."

The Pawnee school was continued at Bellevue. Some reading was taught the children, and the girls learned to sew. The schooling was out of touch with the needs of Pawnee life, and under the hazardous physical and economic conditions very little could be hoped for from its instruction to a handful of children. The pupils for some time were dependent on the generosity of the teacher for sustenance, since after the retreat to the south of the Platte government farming operations were suspended. 175* 648* 657

Let us consider what basis the Pawnee had for an expectation of protection, and why the officials of the Indian service agreed with them. 175- 648-

The treaty of 1825 reads in part (italics mine):

"For the purpose of perpetuating the friendship which has heretofore existed, as also to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension, as it respects trade and friendship...

"Article I. It is admitted by the Pawnee tribe of Indians, that they reside within the territorial limits of the United States, acknowledge their supremacy, and *claim their protection.*

"Article II. The United States agree to receive the Pawnee tribe of Indians into their friendship, and *under their protection,* and to extend to them, from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient, and seem just and proper to the President of the United States."

In the treaty of 1833 we find (italics mine):

"Article IX. The Pawnee nation renew their assurance of friendship for the white men, their fidelity to the United States, and their desire for peace with all neighboring tribes of red men. The Pawnee nation therefore agree not to molest or injure the person or property of any white citizen of the United States, wherever found, *nor to make war upon any tribe with whom said Pawnee nation now are, or may be, at peace; but should any difficulty arise between said nation and any other tribe, they agree to refer the matter in dispute to such arbiter as the President shall appoint to settle the same.*

"Article XII. In case the Pawnee nation will remain at home during the year, and give the protection specified, the United States agree to place twenty-five guns, with suitable ammunition, in the hands of the farmers of each village, to be used in case of an attack from hostile bands."

These provisions seem adequate guarantee of some kind of protection against their enemies. It is true that the provision of article IX above refers to those tribes with whom the Pawnee are at peace. From the Pawnee standpoint they are at peace when no aggressive attacks and counter attacks are going on, and it would be a shoddy avoidance of the issue if the government contended that since the Dakota and Comanche were traditional enemies the provision did not apply. It should be again noted that the guns referred to in article XII were never furnished the Pawnee villages. Here again there is a legal loophole, since the provisions of the article imply that the government is not bound by it unless the Pawnee give up their buffalo hunting. But they would certainly have been a sorry spectacle without buffalo during this period, when at least three-fourths of their food supply came from the hunt, as well as their major requirements in robes and tent covers, and while the government agricultural scheme failed and the government supplied practically no food.

It has also been suggested, relative to the Sioux conflicts of this period,

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

* 175
* 648

The position of the Pawnee on the south of the Platte was directly on the transcontinental route to Oregon. During the period from 1841—1847, the Pawnee group who remained in their old haunts had become a considerable annoyance to white travel. With the whole tribe after 1847 in the way of emigrant movements the situation forced itself upon the attention of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who took cognizance of the necessity of establishing military garrisons in the region to prevent the Sioux from terrorizing the northern plains. The intention was to recolonize the Pawnee north of the Platte after affording them such protection. Other tribes were to be removed southward, and with the Pawnees

that the account herein overemphasizes the destructiveness of the warfare, inasmuch as the type pattern of culture in the Plains, which the Pawnee shared, made warfare the great game of life for men. This criticism requires comment from several points of view.

In the first place, Plains warfare as carried on by the Sioux in the latter half of the Nineteenth Century was not the typical pattern of Plains warfare. Typically, a warparty consisted of a handful of youths to raid primarily to secure horses, and to achieve renown. Killing and securing scalps was often subordinated to touching the enemy in the midst of the enemy village and escaping unharmed, or to stealing ponies out of the enemy village unharmed and even undetected. The Sioux developed war expeditions on a much larger scale, and intended virtual extermination of the Pawnee, something quite different from the "war game" of the Plains.

In the second place, recent archaeological evidence, as uncovered by W. D. Strong[1], has demonstrated that the Pawnee, and probably the other "village" tribes of the Plains, had been horticultural people in the region for centuries before the incursion of the Plains hunting peoples, and the typical development of Plains warfare and buffalo hunting. From this standpoint the combination of hunting and horticulture by the village tribes must be considered an adjustment of horticultural peoples to the changing conditions of life around them (Strong); and it may be doubted if the adjustment brought economic security. With the decline of horticulture among the Pawnee as the demands of warfare and hunting increased, we find in the nineteenth century that even a successful crop was not on a large enough scale to secure a supply of corn, beans and squash ample to supply the tribe during a subsequent period of failure on the hunt or on the land. It may also be doubted whether the Plains war-psychology was ever the core of Pawnee culture, as it was of the typical Plains tribes.

In the third place, the account of these years is not based on a reading-in of Sioux destructiveness. It reproduces merely the comment, made year after year, in the government reports, of a succession of agents, superintendents, teachers, farmers and missionaries, — men who were eyewitnesses of the assaults and their effects upon Pawnee life and assimilation. Whatever judgment be passed upon the Pawnee for not maintaining themselves as a warlike people, the fact that the Sioux raids were the chief cause of Pawnee failure during this period cannot be doubted on the basis of the historical records which are available.

[1] Strong, Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology.

north, and the Sioux restrained from coming south of the Platte, it was hoped that a wide and safe passage could be opened for the Oregon emigrants. 175 x 648*

In how far even the theory of civilizing the Indians through agriculture dominated government policy may be judged from the statements of the Commissioner in his annual report for 1848. The Superintendent of the Central Superintendency, located at St. Louis, had recommended the necessity of providing the Indian tribes of the prairie with suitable land for agricultural purposes, where these tribes had none of their own. This was Superintendent T. H. Harvey, who, judging from his reports, was sincere in his efforts to carry out the professed governmental Indian policy. He contended that the buffalo were approaching extinction, and that plans should be made in advance of that event for settling the tribes as farmers on lands suitable for farming. This policy according to the Commissioner, was contrary to his own recommendations "of procuring and keeping open these lands [viz. good agricultural lands] for the egress and expansion of our own population." He was of the opinion that the Indian tribes would gradually move westward after the disappearing buffalo, and so keep out of the white man's way.

The annuities of the treaty of 1833 had run out their term by 1845; and the aid to Pawnee agriculture by supplying implements, farmers and mills was subject to the Pawnee locating north of the Platte. As a result, in the period from 1847 to 1857 the tribe was practically without government aid. In 1848 at Fort Childs, the United States government purchased Grand Island from the Pawnee for $ 2000 in merchandise, which was of incidental aid to a tribe numbering over 4,000. The acquisition of Grand Island was part of the program for the establishment of military posts on the route to Oregon.

[657] [797] While the school was maintained at Bellevue as a nucleus for future operations, all other civilizing activities in the tribe were practically suspended. Even the missionaries gave up, because of the hazard. South of the Platte the Pawnee claimed the land was unproductive with their methods of planting corn, and there was no available timber for building lodges. The three bands who had been north of the Platte professed in the fall of 1848 their willingness to return there, if the Teawi who had been living alone south of the Platte were made to accompany them so as to increase their military strength for defense against Sioux assaults.

[657] [731] The government purchased some corn for the Pawnee in the summer of 1848, but that fall they were in a miserable condition. their crops having failed because of drought.

*175 their crops having failed because of drought. Apparently the tribe
*648 was not successful in their winter hunt, since we find that in June
of 1849, agent John Barrow found two hundred aged and infirm
[888] Pawnee, left behind when the tribe went on the summer hunt,
starving around the agency. Cholera had broken out among them
*175 and before it subsided, eighty-four were dead. When the bands
*648 returned from the hunt, he found that the rest of the tribe had also
been decimated by cholera while away, a condition brought on by
731 their lack of proper nourishment. His estimate, after talking the
165 matter over with the chiefs of the tribe, was that no less than 259 men
and 900 women and children had fallen victims of cholera while the
tribe had been away; making a total of 1234 deaths that summer from
the epidemic. Barrow seems to have been astoundingly callous.
He reports the Pawnee deaths and their condition quite objectively,
and treats as incidental that in the midst of their other
misfortunes, the Oto, spurred by white traders who gave them
guns, had attacked the Pawnee and killed eleven. The Oto shrewdly
claimed that their Great White Father had told them to protect
and assist the whites, and Barrow reports that he assured the Oto
that if their story was true — to the effect that the white traders
*175 had been robbed by the Pawnee — their Great Father would
*648 forgive them.

In spite of this disastrous season which wiped out a fourth of
[735] the tribe, the Pawnee had made a successful hunt, but without a
harvest upon their return to the village, they would soon again be
destitute.

[657] The Pawnee school was disbanded in 1851 when the treaty
arrangements for a term of schooling ran out. Samuel Allis,
making his final report, admits his failure, but remarks, "I still
consider the Pawnee an interesting tribe, capable of great improvement
could they be protected from their enemies and brought
under proper subjection themselves."

*175 Pawnee conditions of life gradually became worse. The tide
*648 of emigration increased, and between 1847 and 1859, was literally
735 "pouring through and into the very midst of their corn fields, their
villages and their hunting grounds," referring to the tribes of
the Council Bluff Agency, the Oto, the Omaha and the Pawnee.
The Pawnee along with these other tribes were forced into a position
where they became more and more anxious to make some further
trade of land with the white man in return for a guaranteed sustenance.
This was reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
year after year. The advisability of carrying out the third step in
the government program for dealing with Indian tribes, the pur-

chase of their lands, and the settlement of the tribe on a limited 175*
reservation, was clear. This was the surest method of avoiding the 648*
increasing conflict between the starving Indians and the white
settlers and emigrants. Driven by necessity, the proud American 735
Indian had become a petty thief and beggar along the highways.
Nevertheless governmental inactivity seems to have prevented
action until 1853, when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs visited
many of the western tribes and executed treaties with them. The
Pawnee, however, were avoided at this time although their needs,
as reported to the authorities, were as great as those of other tribes.
In fact, it appears that to an observer on the spot, James Gatewood,
agent at the Council Bluffs Agency, writing October 16, 1853, "these
Indians (the Pawnee) have suffered perhaps more than any single
tribe by emigration. All of the roads on the north side of Nebraska
River pass through their country, and on the south side of that
river pass through their hunting ground; and more of their wood
and grass are consumed and more game run off, than there is
from the bands of any other nation, and yet they receive no compensation;
whilst others that suffer much less in that way are
liberally compensated..."

In the same year the Pawnee were reported destitute. Their [161]
numbers had been reduced to fifty per cent of their former strength
in four years. Responsible for this great mortality were the relentless [165
assaults of the Dakota and Cheyenne; and disease, a major small-
pox epidemic in 1852 again decimating the tribe. In 1854 the 731]
Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended the tribes of
Nebraska to the attention of the government. He considered it
"very important that arrangements be made as soon as practicable
with the Pawnee and Ponca Indians... by which their limits may
be restricted and defined, and their assaults upon emigrants...
terminated." He further pointed out that "the roads on the principal
routes to the Pacific Coast have become very important
thoroughfares. Thousands of emigrants and many merchants who
with their property to the amount of several millions in value pass
annually over the plains are entitled to the protection of the
government."

While the government was still inactive the Pawnee suffered
further heavy losses. One of the major disasters occurred when [731]
in 1854 a party of 113 Pawnee were cut off and surrounded by an
overwhelming force of Cheyenne and Kiowa and killed almost to
a man.

In 1856 the Pawnee were thoroughly depressed. They were not
able to cultivate successfully where they were south of the Platte. [241]
white settlers being all about them.

*175 *648 735 white settlers being all about them. The whites were encroaching on their lands north of the Platte. The buffalo was scarce. Disease had reduced them to a handful. Their pleas to the government to make some arrangement for their future were unanswered. At intervals they did not have the representation of an agent. Samuel Allis wrote on behalf of the Pawnee to the Superintedent at St. Louis. The document credits him with being "interpreter", but there was no official status to such a position among the Pawnee at that time. The truth is there was neither agent, nor missionary, nor teacher, nor farmer, among the Pawnee officially, and that Allis, faithful to the people among whom he had worked, took the matter into his own hands. He wrote that the whites were settling close around the Pawnee and using up their timber, and that the Pawnee deeply resented the government purchase from the Omaha of lands along the Platte River from Shell Creek to Beaver Creek, which had from ancient times been Pawnee territory. He advised that they be met in council the next spring.

THIRD PERIOD: 1857 TO 1876

*175 *648 The treaty which was drawn up with the Pawnee on September 24 of the following year at Table Creek in Nebraska Territory, ushered in the third period of Pawnee history in the 19th Century, which closes with the removal of the tribe from Nebraska to Oklahoma
[166] in 1874 to 1876. During this period the Pawnee were again settled north of the Platte River, this time on a reservation, as wards of the government.

*175 *648 657 This treaty was the third step in governmental Indian procedure. The conditions initiated by the original treaties of "peace and friendship", and the first cessions of land, had now brought results favorable to the needs of the white men. The treaty of 1857 ended the independence of the Pawnee forever. They yielded their roving freedom, ceded their lands, and acknowledged in the treaty their "dependence" on the United States. These things they did willingly enough: they had been petitioning the government for years to effect such an arrangement. But it was a willingness born of desperation, born of the necessity of extricating themselves from a network of conditions which made existence well nigh impossible. By the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee admitted their cultural and economic defeat, and resigned themselves to the inevitable guardianship of the government. The provisions of the treaty were many and detailed; its major objective is rendered, however, in the first two articles. Article one provides that the Pawnee cede all their lands to the United States government, retaining a reservation thirty miles by fifteen at the Loup Fork of the Platte River, or at any other location in their traditional range more suitable as a permanent home, and remove to it within a year. Article two provides that the United States government pay the Pawnee for their lands $ 40,000 yearly for five years, and $ 30,000 yearly in perpetuity thereafter, subject to commutation by the President. Other articles provide for two manual labor schools to be provided by the government, blacksmith shops, farming implements, grain and lumber mills, and laborers. The Pawnee agreed to send their children between the ages of seven and eighteen to school nine months of the year. 175 * 648 * 657

In this treaty the Pawnee inserted some provisions of their own. By article nine, they saw to it that half-breeds were provided for, whether they wished to live with the tribe, or with the white men. By article ten, they asked that the United States government share with them in the payment of $ 2,000 to Samuel Allis, as a recompense for his good services to the tribe. In their last smallpox epidemic he had vaccinated 2,000 and saved their lives; and when they were starving they appropriated his property and used it as their own. By article eleven, the Pawnee asked that a chief and four braves who had guided an American army expedition against the Cheyenne and nearly lost their lives returning alone to the tribe be compensated by the United States government with $ 100 each, or a horse worth $ 100.

According to the terms of the treaty the Pawnee were to make a final selection of their reservation and remove to it within one year of the date of ratification by the United States Senate, until which time the tribe was to remain unmolested in the villages south of the Platte. Ratification took place March 31, 1858. By the fall of that year the Pawnee "were almost entirely surrounded by settlers, a majority of whom, as the more worthy settlers have testified, are less civilized than the Indians."[1] By 1859 the Pawnee had accepted the reservation for which they had originally asked, the territory embracing both banks of the Loup fork of the Platte River, and had removed to it. It was a fertile land, which it was expected would by proper cultivation make them in a few years independent of buffalo hunting. On their reserve the Pawnee were free from the increasing pressure of the white occupation, their eastern boundary being the only point accessible to white settlements. [131]

---

[1] Agent W. W. Dennison, writing September 22, 1858, from the Council Bluff Agency. Annual Reports, 1857—1858.

*175 *648 657 The whole tribe removed, abandoning their old settlements, ready to attempt to build a new home above the Platte, but not without misgiving. The Dakota tribes now outnumbered them eight or nine to one. The "Indians appeared to consent reluctantly to a settlement upon their reservation, returning with gloomy foreboding to the country where in days past they had lost in battle many of their sages and warriors. They appeared satisfied, however, after an assurance from their agent that they should receive the protection guaranteed in the late treaty."[1]

In the period from the Pawnee settlement on reservation sites in 1859 to 1873, when the question of removing the tribe to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma became immediate, the major effort of the government was directed toward accustoming the tribe to a farming life. The policy initiated by the reservation system was to eventuate in locating individual families on individual farms, to be allotted in severalty. Since this was not practicable until the Pawnee men had learned the white man's methods of cultivation, no immediate attempt was made to survey allotments. Instead, the government initiated farming among the Pawnee by locating a government or agency farm close to the school and agency buildings. This was worked and managed principally by government farmers sent for that purpose, who made periodic reports to the agents and superintendent. On this farm the Pawnee men and boys who were willing to learn were persuaded to labor, and it was expected that they would then be anxious to locate farms of their own and work them.

*175 *648 657 241 [626] During the whole period the Pawnee also continued to cultivate and plant corn, beans and squash, after their traditional methods. This agricultural work was done by the women. In the old way of life, the men did the hunting and fighting, the women the planting, the skinwork and the housework. Since working the land was women's work, it was not to be expected that the Pawnee men would take to farming eagerly. Those young men and boys who did were taunted continually by others.

The activities of the government farm on the Pawnee reservation were initiated as soon as possible after the removal. In 1860 a grist and saw mill to be run by steam was erected, and a corn granary nearly completed, to be used for storing the produce of the farm. The work was continually interrupted by attacks of the Dakota. A farmer was on hand and raised one hundred and sixty acres of corn, oats and wheat. The same year, the Pawnee women

---

[1] Superintendent of the Central Superintendency, writing in 1859. Annual report, 1858—1859.

cultivated eight hundred acres of corn, beans and squash in their 175*
old manner. The farmer duplicated his effort in 1861, but not until 648*
the summer of 1862 did he give any actual instruction to the Pawnee 241
in farming. That year the agency farm crops and the Pawnee native 657
crops both suffered from a grasshopper pestilence. It was planned
that summer to proceed as rapidly as possible to break up enough
land for cultivation, so that the head of each Pawnee family could
take over a plot and learn by actively operating it.

In 1863 the government farmers had ploughed up for this purpose
725 acres. Meanwhile the native women had a bountiful crop,
for the first time in years a surplus. In 1864 and 1865 the government
demonstration proved a failure: drought and severe grasshopper
pestilences destroyed the greater part of the crop. But the
Pawnee crop of corn, beans and squash was much less affected in
these years. In 1867 the government farm consisted of 114 acres
in corn, wheat, oats and potatoes, while the Pawnee had 1000 acres
under cultivation, mostly in corn, with patches of beans and squash.
That year saw a bountiful crop all round, with so large a surplus
for the Pawnee that they gave food to the Ponca, whose crop had
failed, sold a considerable amount, and still retained a store. The
following year misfortune visited the whole land in the form of a [731]
grasshopper plague of such severity as had never been known.
"They came in a cloud so thick as to obscure the sun." They left
not a green thing.

In spite of the fact that the government farming demonstration
was not strikingly successful during these years, the Pawnee were
becoming increasingly conscious of the gradual disappearance of
the buffalo, and the need for basing their economic life on a sure
agricultural supply. They observed the value and usefulness of
wagons, plows, mowing machinery and the like, and in 1868 began
to request that large sums of their annuity payment be spent for
the purchase of such things. Part of the annuity was being paid to
them in merchandise. Inasmuch as no attempt was made to send
the people what they specifically needed, a great part of the goods
annuity was waste; the Pawnee would sell off most of it to traders [439]
for things they needed more, losing considerably in the exchange.
The agents pointed out that along with their purchase of agricultural
implements, wagons and harness, the Pawnee from 1865 on
were asking for cooking stoves and household articles, and began
to take an interest in houses.

Building on the reservation had not been active. In addition 175*
to the farm buildings erected in 1860, a number of buildings were 648*
taken over which had been erected by the Mormons during their 657
342

*175 two year stay in the region on their movement westward. A brick
*648 school building planned in 1860 was finally in service in 1862.
657 By 1867 the agency structures included eight frame houses and three log houses. But throughout this period and until the removal
342 to Oklahoma practically no Pawnee family lived in a house. All still used the traditional earth lodge and the tipi. The only exceptions seem to have been the children who lived at the school and the Pawnee who were employed at or around the agency and lived in agency buildings.

*175 Considerable blundering handicapped the use of the mills on
177 the reservation. Hardly a year had passed after the installation of a steam grist and saw mill in 1862 before it was noticed that wood,
*648 the only fuel available, was scarce, and that most of the timber of the region was being eaten up by the mill. Recommendations that it be changed to one run by water power, which was available three-fourths of a mile from the agency, were made over a period of years. Finally in 1869 and 1870 a mill dam and raceway were installed at Pawnee expense, the tribe appropriating $ 7000 of their annuity funds for the purpose and themselves doing the labor. Unfortunately the spring and summer floods of the region had not been considered. The Beaver River overflowed so frequently in the next two years, ruining the dam and raceway, that by 1873 the decision had been reached to abandon the attempt to use water power, and substitute wind power.

*175 Civilization of the tribe by means of education in farm life
177 was accompanied during these years by demonstration in certain useful manual arts and by an attempt at schooling. Blacksmith
*648 and tinsmith shops were set up on the reservation and equipped by
657 the government. The government furnished the blacksmiths, but in order to teach the Pawnee, the strikers were Pawnee youths, employed at fair pay. From this period on, the interest of government policy became increasingly centered on teaching trades to the Indian, and a constant attempt was made to employ Pawnee apprentices in all the government or agency managed activities. The blacksmith and tinsmith shops were flooded with work by the Pawnee, more than they could handle.

The first school on the Pawnee reservation was established and began functioning July 16, 1862. The teacher with the agent's help succeeded in persuading parents of sixteen children, eight boys and eight girls, to send them to school. They were supplied with suitable clothes. The boys were taught some farming and mechanical pursuits, the girls instructed in varied household duties. Both were instructed in reading. The first reports indicated that the Pawnee

children were quick and eager to learn, and the results promising. 175*
By the next year, the chief handicap to the education of the girls 177
began to come to attention. In the old traditional way of life girls 648*
were married off by their parents when about fourteen or fifteen. 657
Family considerations were usually paramount and neither the [584]
girl nor the boy was officially consulted. Now the teacher found
that girls of fourteen were being taken away from the school to be
married. The agent was in no position to enforce the compulsory
education which was stipulated in the treaty of 1857, since the
government had as yet provided meager and inadequate facilities
for schooling, with a handful of children at school out of a population
including many hundreds of school age.

The boys meanwhile were getting ahead. For the first time, in 1863, the school teacher was able to clip off their scalp locks without their attempting to conceal the change under hats. The boys were learning manual arts, were enjoying the work and activity and were unashamed to be seen at labor by older and conservative tribesmen.

The third year of the school, 1864, was an unfortunate one. Epidemics of measles and diptheria broke out in the school, and [165] carried off a number of children. The children seem to have offered little resistance to these diseases and those who recovered were low in vitality for some time, and subject to other ailments. The school teacher found himself handicapped by the fact that parents began taking away from school the children who had been there since its inception. While he was able to secure others to take their places, the impetus of the instruction was lost, and work would have to start over again from the beginning. Health conditions were better in 1865, when new buildings were put to use, and the crowding avoided. The school attendance was only twenty-two, but agent and teacher subscribed to a program of raising it to at least a hundred, a number for which facilities were now adequate. In 1865 the staff consisted of six. The political changes of agency control were however interfering with the work of instruction, and the teacher advised the government to take the school out of politics by having the instruction turned over to a missionary board. Two school buildings were in use after 1867, with attendance increased to sixty-eight and two teachers of the Episcopal denomination in charge.

175*
With these government activities leading the Pawnee away 177
from their old customs, why is it that by 1872 the whole program 648*
had essentially failed? No allotments had been made. The tribe
still clung to its village life. The people lived in earth-lodges,

*175 177 *648 several families to a lodge. Their basic agriculture was still the native cultivation of corn, beans and squash, though here and there a man could be seen using his own plow. They were still dependent upon the buffalo to a great extent.

It is easy to put this Pawnee conservatism down to "cultural lag", and to speak of the slow transformation that takes place in cultural impact. It is tempting to claim that what we have here is a conflict between two basically divergent systems of economy. But these concepts introduce no intelligible determinants; they merely replace the descriptive facts with verbal phrases. What evidence we have indicates that the Pawnee attitude at this period was favorable to the principal part of the government program. The Pawnee chiefs and leaders are reported eager to have the tribe settle down to a farming life, and many of the chiefs led the way, themselves working lands with the plow. The rank and file were convinced that white methods of cultivation gave a larger yield. All knew that buffalo hunts were more difficult and hazardous each year, and are said to have been aware that the buffalo were rapidly becoming extinct. Adults and children alike are reported alert and intelligent, quick to learn, anxious to master mechanical arts and the agricultural technique. Of a conflict between economic ideologies of individual enterprise and communal effort there is no sign. There is no indication that the government was concerned with how individual Pawnee cooperated with one another in farming or how they distributed the produce. Individual skill and enterprise were not unfamiliar to Pawnee men. Warfare and the hunt emphasized these very traits, and renown in Pawnee life was individual renown.

To understand such problems of cultural assimilation and adjustment as concerns us in this period of Pawnee life we must consider the actual conditions and determinants as we find them. Were the conditions of life on the Pawnee reservation favorable to their transformation into peaceful farmers? The answer to this question is no. Quite apart from any natural disinclination of the people to break up village life, or of the men to take up a kind of activity which in earlier generations was women's work, throughout this period remorseless and continous attacks by Sioux made the defense of their lives the first consideration of the Pawnee.

*175 *648 The Pawnee were hardly established in their new reservation homes before they again felt the Sioux cloud hanging over their lives. In 1860 Dakota war parties, accompanied by Cheyenne and Arapaho, attacked the Pawnee on the Pawnee reservation, on April 10, May 19 and May 21, June 22, July 5 and July 11, Sep-

175*
648*

tember 1 and September 14. "In these several attacks they killed thirteen Pawnee, wounded many others, carried off over thirty horses, and burned over sixty lodges, all on the reservation where the faith of the government is pledged by treaty for their protection. These lodges, if built by white people, would be attended with great expense."[1] The attacks of September occurred while United States troops were on the reservation. All the activities of the year were continually interrupted by this stream of assaults. Military authorities recommended that a block house be built, which they claimed with one large gun and a handful of men could permanently put a stop to these raids.

In 1862 the Dakota attacked the villages early in June and on August 27; in each attack sixteen Pawnee were killed or wounded. In May 1863 the Brulé Dakota attacked, and returned in larger numbers on June 22 of the same year. On the latter occasion several Pawnee women working in the fields within a few yards of the agent's residence were killed and scalped. A company of Nebraska cavalry drove the Sioux off.

By the fall of 1863 the Pawnee were living in a continual state of alarm. Sioux scouts were seen lurking on the reservation, and at times when the Pawnee did not see them, reports reached them that they were close at hand. The Pawnee could not be induced to go into their fields to work, because of the danger. When the tribe left for the buffalo hunt, not one could be induced to remain behind to attend to the farm.[2]

The Pawnee were not alone in suffering heavily from the Dakota war parties. To the north their kinsmen the Arikara, along with the Mandan and Hidatsa of the Fort Berthold Agency, were at this very time holding council, sending messages to the government asking protection and redress. They had lost heavily in numbers, had lost thousands of horses, and repeatedly their corn fields had been burnt. Failing to get government aid, the Arikara wrote to the Pawnee asking the whole tribe to move north and join them; and the Mandan asked the Winnebago to move to the North Dakota country. The Indian councils had decided that their only resource lay in numbers, and with the Pawnee and Arikara, along with the Mandan, Hidatsa and Winnebago on one reservation, they felt competent to cope with the numbers of the Sioux. The Pawnee however declined to join them. In 1832 the Arikara had lived with

---

[1] J. L. Gillis, from Pawnee Agency, October, 1860. Annual Report, 1859—60.

[2] B. F. Lushbaugh, agent, Pawnee agency, Sept. 21, 1863. Annual Report, 1862—63.

*175 *648 the Pawnee for a brief period and disagreements had resulted; and from a Pawnee standpoint the Ft. Berthold country was if anything more exposed to Sioux assault than the Pawnee reservation in Nebraska.

*175 *648 224 The Pawnee summer and winter buffalo hunts were hampered and obstructed during this time by the Dakota. The summer of 1859, at the time of their removal to the Nebraska reservation, they were driven from their hunting fields by superior numbers of Brulè and Oglalla Dakota, and left in want of adequate meat provisions. Nevertheless, during the following years, with the farming and agricultural activities of the Pawnee and the government farmers on the reservation yielding less than a maintenance, the buffalo hunt was of necessity the great reliance of the Pawnee for adequate sustenance, The Pawnee persevered, going regularly on fall and winter hunts. The herds were smaller and further away, and the journey to the distant hunting grounds hazardous. When they overtook the herds, as in the summer of 1864, they were likely to be driven from the hunting grounds by superior forces of the Dakota.

Some protection was afforded the Pawnee on several occasions from 1865 on. Accompanied on their summer hunt in 1865 by a squad of soldiers, they were unusually successful. The tribe killed and secured the hides and meat of 1600 buffalo, antelope, elk and deer, on a hunt of fifty days duration which brought them back to their reservation villages the ninth of August. Throughout the year a company of cavalry was stationed at the Pawnee agency, and there were no Sioux attacks in 1865. Crops were plentiful, and a feeling of security spread. The winter hunt of 1865 was a success, and again in the summer of 1866 the Pawnee were successful on a buffalo hunt from July 6 to August 25.

*175 *648 The Pawnee Scouts were organized in 1864 under Major Frank North for a year of service, but their term had expired and they were mustered out of service (later to be reorganized) after the campaigns of 1865. This, with the removal of troops from the Pawnee Agency, left the tribe without guns or protection, and in early May a raid was made upon the agency in which eighteen horses were stolen. Up to this time, it was often impossible for the government officials to determine accurately what hostile bands were responsible for the attacks. On this occasion one horse which was too weak to run rapidly was shot with an arrow which proved to be Dakota.

*175 *648 224 Raids interrupted cultivation in 1866 and 1867, and on the hunts in the winter of 1866 and the summer of 1867 the Pawnee were

annoyed by the Dakota. On July 19, 1867 the Pawnee left for 175*
the hunting grounds in company with the Omaha and Ponca. 648*
They intended to remain out hunting until near the end of September.
The Dakota were in the hunting territory in large numbers, 224
but did not offer to meet the Pawnee in open battle. They kept under cover until the Pawnee had made a surround, and as soon as the men were scattered out over the hunting field chasing the buffalo, the Sioux appeared, fell upon small parties of Pawnee hunters in different quarters of the field, and attacked the Pawnee camp. The Pawnee returned to the camp to defend their families, and after hours of fighting drove back the Dakota. In this way the day was spent in fighting, and the meat of the slain buffalo spoiled before it could be secured. Repeatedly this performance was carried out by the Dakota, and although the Pawnee and their allies found large herds, they secured little meat. Six Pawnee and two Ponca were slain in these encounters, and the tribes finally became discouraged at the continuous annoyance of these attacks, abandoned the hunt, and returned to their reservations with what they had.

The Union Pacific Railroad crossed the state of Nebraska at 175*
this time, and by railroad and highway the tide of emigration to 648*
the west was bringing settlers to all the watercourses in the buffalo country, cutting off the buffalo herds from their natural watering-places and limiting their range. The Pawnee observed these conditions when they went hunting, and were aware of the pending inevitable abandonment of the chase.

The Pawnee Scouts were reorganized under Major North in 1867, 175*
and cooperated with the United States Army forces in policing 648*
the line of the Union Pacific Railroad and in campaigning against 701
hostile Indian tribes. Pawnee readily chose such service because the tribe considered itself an ally of the United States. But there were also strong cultural and economic incentives. The youths exchanged a life of relative inactivity on the reservation, with an insecure food supply, for the active life of a frontier soldier, which more nearly resembled the warrior life of old, and which offered regular rations and good pay. While the campaigns against the Dakota and other hostile Indian tribes were in progress, the Pawnee in the summer of 1869 were persuaded by military authorities to forego their usual hunt. The officials feared that the armies who ranged the buffalo country in pursuit of hostile Indians might mistake the Pawnee for the enemy.

In spite of the army campaigns the Pawnee suffered in 1870 175*
from raids by small Dakota war parties, which stole a number of 648*

*175 horses, and killed six Pawnee. An attempt was begun in this year
*648 to bring about a treaty of peace between the Pawnee and the Dakota
tribes. Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, however, chiefs of bands of Teton Dakota, contended that they could not enforce peace unless all the Dakota bands came to agreement. By the following year it was clear that the overtures made to these chiefs were a failure. There were so many large bands of nomadic Sioux that concerted action was difficult to obtain. Five Pawnee were killed on the Pawnee reservation in 1871 by war parties from Spotted Tail's band.

*175 By this time the practicability of cultivating individual farms,
according to report, had impressed itself upon the leaders of the
*648 Pawnee people, but they expressed themselves as unable to consent
177 to disruption of village life while the threat of death at the hands
of marauding war parties continued. Agents, superintendents and investigating officials concurred in believing that the Pawnee could readily be transformed into peaceful farmers if security was assured them. In 1872 a new instrument for the defense of the Pawnee was utilized, the telegraph service. The agents of the Dakota bands cooperated with other officials of the government service in sending warnings whenever they had reason to believe that war parties had left to plunder neighboring tribes. As a result no successful raid was made upon the Pawnee reservation in 1872. Two war parties of Dakota started for the reservation; the first found the season too early for pasturing their ponies and gave up the expedition, while the second was overhauled by United States cavalry and turned from its purpose of attacking the Pawnee only to fall upon the Ponca on their reservation, run off stock, and kill a Ponca medicine man. The Pawnee agency had been informed of each of these raids in advance by telegraph and the entire Pawnee tribe had been on guard and in readiness. This was a method useful in saving the Pawnee from sudden and unexpected death while on their reservation, but during the suspense, while they awaited an expected attack, their energies were paralyzed, and they could not make an effort to carry on their labors. And the telegraph service was not available to them when on the hunt, as they were soon to find out.

*175 The success of the various government agencies in preventing
Dakota attacks in 1872 was but a lull in the storm. Accompanied
*648 by officials on their summer hunt in 1872, the Pawnee were successful.
While on the hunt they ranged for weeks with the Brulé Sioux camped often as close as eight or ten miles away, and although each tribe was aware of the other's presence, neither molested the

other. By the winter of 1872 it was felt on the Pawnee reservation and in the surrounding country that the worst was over. 175* 648*

"A feeling of perfect security pervades the whole community for many miles around, and the citizens who were clamorous for the removal of the Indians from the State are now satisfied that they shall remain . . ."[1]

This feeling of security was shaken by a Sioux attack upon the Pawnee winter hunt of 1872—73, in which on January 10, 1873 one Pawnee was killed and 100 horses captured. All thought of security was shattered in the summer of 1873 by what took place in Massacre Canyon, Hitchcock County, Nebraska, which took its name from the event.

A Pawnee hunting party left the reservation on the second of July, 1873, with full permission from government officials for the hunt, and accompanied by a white man. Its numbers have been variously placed at 700 including 350 men; 400, including 250 men; and 300. Significant about these figures is the fact that the "security" of the previous year had so lulled the Pawnee that on this occasion we find only a small part of the tribe organized for the hunt. If danger were expected, it is likely that, as in days past, the whole tribe would have organized, in order to present a united front to their common enemy. Most of the men were armed merely [411 with bows and arrows, but here and there warriors carried muzzle-loading rifles or carbines. 197] The intention of the party was to hunt in the valley of the Republican River. They were unusually successful and had found several herds and made killings, when they started back toward the reservation with their hundreds of pack horses loaded with meat. On August 4 rumors reached them through white men that Dakota scouts were spying upon them, and that large war parties were not far off. It is said that the Pawnee chiefs put little credence in these reports, claiming that they were intended only to scare the Pawnee out of the country so that the white man could have the hunting grounds to himself. On the morning of August 5 a buffalo scout sighted a large herd, and the Pawnee hunters rode for the herd, and were scattered out making their kills when word spread that the Sioux were coming. The numbers of the attacking party have been placed at 600 warriors and at 1200 to 1500 warriors, but the latter is undoubtedly too large a figure. They were Oglalla and Brulé Dakotas, said to have been under Chief Snow Flake. The surprise of the Pawnee was so complete that Sky-Chief, in charge of the Pawnee hunting party,

---

[1] Agent J. M. Troth, from the Pawnee Agency, September, 1872. Annual Report, 1871—72.

*175 was killed while in the act of skinning a buffalo. The Pawnee
*648 rallied and made a brief stand, but finding themselves outnumbered three or four to one, attempted a retreat through a narrow canyon, their women and children fleeing before them. It was apparently while the press of the retreat was forcing its way through this canyon to the river that the worst episodes of the massacre took place. The Dakota warriors rode past the retreat on both sides firing at the Pawnee.

The Pawnee escaped complete annihilation when their retreat reached the river and there came upon United States cavalry. The tribal party refused, however, to return after the wounded and the buffalo meat. Overcome with grief the Pawnee camped that night to mourn the dead, and returned in scattered groups to the reservation, broken, depressed and empty-handed.

The mortality in the massacre was great. The figures available are open to dispute. The official agency report placed the dead at 69, with a dozen wounded; Dunbar records the total as 86; while Williamson, the white man in charge of the hunting party, claims a total of 156 casualties[1].

The government took cognizance of the severity of the conflict between the Dakota and the Pawnee following the massacre of 1873. Negotiations were begun with the Dakota looking toward the abrogation of their right to hunt south of the Niobrara River. When by their treaty of 1867 the Dakota relinquished all claim to lands south of the Niobrara, they retained the right to hunt in that territory. In 1874, the bands of the Red Cloud Agency were offered $ 25,000 to forego that hunting right forever. This would obviate conflict with hunting parties of the Pawnee and other tribes then located in Nebraska, and also confine them in the north out of the way of white emigrants and settlers. An agreement was drawn with these Dakota bands June 23, 1875, by which they relinquished their hunting rights south of the Niobrara River. By this time the Pawnee had taken matters into their own hands.

From the Pawnee standpoint the massacre of 1873 ended all indecision and hesitation. It brought forcibly to the native mind the necessity of taking measures of their own to preserve their very lives.

*175 In the fall of 1873, within weeks of the return of the remnants
*648 of the hunting party which had escaped death in the massacre, a
167 group of Pawnee families evacuated their homes and travelled

---

[1] J. W. Williamson. The Battle of Massacre Canyon. This account was written from memory years after the event, and is doubtless colored by romantic exaggerations.

southward to Indian Territory. They had a long-standing invitation 175* from their kinsmen the Wichita, which they now took advantage 648* of. Thirty lodges of families, numbering about 300 individuals went; most of these were members of the Kitkahaxki* band. 167 They were received heartily by the Wichita, and settled themselves among the Wichita on the Wichita reservation. Through the leader of this party an invitation was extended to the rest of the Pawnee still in Nebraska to remove to Indian Territory and settle with the Wichita. Reports sent back were glowing with the promise of the land in the south, and the Pawnee in Nebraska, accustomed to struggling against drought and the grasshopper pestilence to secure a crop, believed that the country in the south offered not only a haven from extermination at the hands of the Sioux, but a life of plenty.

This migration of part of the Pawnee was not only conceived by the people themselves, but was undertaken and carried out in spite of the remonstrances and objections of their agent and other officials. Once they were settled with the Wichita, however, there was nothing for the government officials to do but to accept the situation. Since they could not compel them to return to Nebraska, they were "allowed to remain". They drew rations at the Wichita agency along with the tribes located there, and joined the Wichita in farming.

In Nebraska the government gave the Pawnee partial indemnification 175* for the losses sustained in the massacre by expending $ 9,000 for cattle and supplies, 648* with which aid the bands in the north were made comfortable during the winter of 1873. 241 The desire to move to Indian Territory was not as yet general that winter: the promise of the south had not yet reached them. The tribe in council, assuming that they were to continue to struggle in Nebraska, asked that $ 10,000 of their annuity be spent the next year for agricultural implements and labor. In the spring of 1874, the agency officials made a herculean effort on their behalf. The government farmers broke 350 acres for the Pawnee to farm, while the Pawnee cultivated 1,000 acres on their own behalf; in addition the agency farm of 315 acres was planted, and the school farm of 25 acres, a total of 1,690 acres in cultivation. [461] The Pawnee were said that year to show a greater willingness to labor than ever before. Unfortunately, the prospects of a fine crop were destroyed by [731] drought, Colorado beetles and grasshoppers, and the harvest yielded only 1,400 bushels of wheat, less than half a crop, and a few beets and potatoes. By fall the destitution of the people was great, and [735] the officials reported to the government that aid must be given them.

*175
*648
167

It was this complete failure of their best efforts in Nebraska, while they were receiving word from their kinsmen of the plenty of the Indian Territory, that spread the desire to remove southward among them like a fever. The Pawnee made it plain to the officials in charge that they could live in Nebraska no longer, and that they would remove with or without permission immediately. They refused to consider waiting until the government could carry out official arrangements. The tribe asked that their lands in Nebraska be sold for the best price they would bring, and the funds used to locate them on suitable lands in the Indian Territory. The white settlers around them, realizing the rich harvest in land for settlement that the removal of the Pawnee promised, spurred them on, and argued to the agent that they failed to see why, in view of the desire of the Pawnee to remove, the government did not let them go.

The Pawnee were excited, and emergency measures were taken. October 10, 1874, Barclay White, the Superintendent of the Northern Superintendency in which the Pawnee Agency was then located, William Burgess, the Pawnee agent, and other officials held a council with the Pawnee to discuss their wish to remove. The Department of Indian Affairs had drawn up a plan, practically equivalent to a new treaty, which the Pawnee in council considered for two days, accepted and signed. The tribe was not altogether satisfied with the provisions, but it was more important to them to manage the removal expeditiously.

In accordance with the government plan, the vanguard of the Pawnee tribe, consisting of the abler men and leaders, left Nebraska shortly thereafter, proceeding to the Wichita agency in Indian Territory, where they arrived in December. The main contingent of the tribe migrated a month later accompanied by agency employees. The agent, Burgess, had left Nebraska with his son in November, and examined different portions of the Indian Territory available for reservation settlements. The rest of the tribe, to the number of some four hundred, consisting of the aged and infirm, and small children, were left at the old reservation in Nebraska, and were only to be removed after the tribe had chosen its new reservation in the Indian Territory, removed to it, and made some beginning in the erection of their new homes.

Burgess reached the Wichita reservation early in January of 1875, before the main body of the tribe had arrived. He waited until the two parties, the pioneer group and the general tribal contingent, were reunited at the Wichita Agency. With a delegation of forty he left for the northern part of the territory to allow the Pawnee to inspect for themselves the land to be turned over to

them as a reservation. The tract chosen was south of the Osage 175*
Agency and north of the Sauk and Fox reservation in the forks of 648*
the Cimarron and Arkansas Rivers. The Pawnee agreed upon the 167
location, finding the land apparently a fertile and hospitable home. In late June of the same year the main body of the Pawnee removed from the Wichita reservation to this new location, leaving a body of 374 Pawnee with the Wichita to harvest the Pawnee crop from the fields planted by the Pawnee that spring on Wichita land.

In Nebraska during 1875 the Pawnee remnant who were left behind consisted of that part of the tribe who were least able to defend themselves against attack. A company of infantry from Omaha were stationed at the old Pawnee Agency at Genoa in Nebraska during the spring and summer to protect them. With the summer well advanced, and no untoward events having occurred or being anticipated, they were withdrawn. On August 23 the wife of Eagle Chief was shot and killed while she was drying corn in the early morning. Marauding white men or Indians were suspected. Again on the morning of August 30, a raid was made at sunrise by party of fourteen Indians on fleet horses. Unable to capture a small herd of horses, they shot the Pawnee boy who was herding them. The Pawnee men available made an unsuccessful pursuit, and from that day until the removal of this last remnant of the Pawnee guarded the village by day and night. These were parting blows of the Pawnee enemy. This last contingent of the Pawnee were removed with all their movable effects by wagons and teams in November of 1875. After the harvest on the Wichita reservation that year, the Pawnee who had remained behind a few months also moved to the new reservation in northern
Indian Territory, and by the spring of 1876 the entire tribe, which [161]
then numbered 2,026, were collected together and settled on the new reservation south of the Arkansas River.

The most striking characteristic of this entire period from the 175*
treaty of 1857 to the removal, completed in 1875, aside from the 648*
failure of the government program for transforming the tribe into
individual families of farmers, is the steady and rapid decrease 161
in Pawnee numbers. There is reason to believe that the Pawnee population for the four bands was close to 4,000 when they removed to their reservation north of the Platte River in 1859. The census of 1861 listed them at 3,414, from which total their numbers fell steadily to 2,026 in 1876, when they were together again in Okla-
homa. The official report for the year 1875 to 1876 recorded 95 175*
births and 150 deaths. This is some indication of the steady de- 648*
crease. This decrease is to be accounted for by two continuous factors, 165

*175 *648 165 the mortality inflicted upon the Pawnee by the Dakota and other hostile tribes, and the continuous inroads which diseases, particularly pulmonary diseases, were making upon the tribe. The mortality in warfare is only partly represented by the recorded incidents mentioned herein; the worst phase of the continuous marauding strife was the annihilation here and there from time to time of small parties of Pawnee cut off away from the reservation, or on the hunt, for whom no accounting has been made. In the removal itself there is reason to believe that many perished; all the separate contingents of the tribe were removed in the late fall and winter months over open country in wagons and on horseback. Not the least of the Pawnee difficulties was the sudden change of climatic conditions from Nebraska to Oklahoma, which was to have its effect upon the health of the tribe for some years.

*175 *648 The removal of the Pawnee to Oklahoma was carried out by the tribe and the Department of Indian Affairs before legal arrangements could be made. Expenses incurred were met as best they could be by executive order and appropriation. A bill had been introduced in Congress in 1875, but in the press of the closing days of the session no action on it was taken. It was not until the spring of 1876, when the tribe was together in Oklahoma, that Congressional action for the sale of the Pawnee reservation in Nebraska and for the appropriation of an advance against the proceeds of that sale was obtained. These provisions were included with the stipulations for the purchase and authorization of the new reservation in Indian Territory, in the Act of the Forty-Fourth Congress, First Session, April 10, 1876, "an act to authorize the sale of the Pawnee Reservation."

With the decline of Pawnee numbers in Nebraska before the removal and the increasing pressure of white settlers demanding land, the Department of Indian Affairs had concluded an agreement with the Pawnee in 1872 by which the tribe accepted the Congressional authorization of the sale of 50,000 acres of surplus land of their reservation, taken from that part lying south of the Loup Fork. This act was repealed by that of 1876, which provided for the sale of the entire reservation. After due advertisement the land was to be sold in separate tracts of 160 acres for not less than $ 2.50 an acre. Meanwhile the government appropriated $ 300,000 for use by the Pawnee, to be reimbursed to the United States Treasury from the sale of the Nebraska Reservation. Half of this sum was to be used to settle claims for expenditures involved in the removal and maintenance of the Pawnee up to the date of the act, the other half for necessary expenditures on behalf of the tribe until they could become self-sustaining in Indian Territory. The reports of agents and superintendents during the period of the removal were to the effect that the entire movement had been carried out under the supervision of agency employees on their regular government salaries, and without major expenses of any kind, which makes this handsome provision by Congress seem rather startling.

175*
648*

The income from the sale of the Nebraska lands was also to be used in part for the purchase of the lands forming the Pawnee Reservation in Indian Territory. The new reservation consisted of 283,020 acres of land, of which about four-fifths was Cherokee land, in accordance with the Cherokee Treaty of 1866, and the other fifth Creek land ceded to the United States by the Creek treaty of June 14, 1866. The Cherokee were to be paid not more than seventy-five cents an acre by the Pawnee; while the United States agreed to accept thirty cents an acre for the land formerly held by the Creek.

The Pawnee lands in Nebraska with improvements thereon were appraised by special government officials in 1877 at $ 761,800.21. Their sale took place in the years following, although some plots for which payment was not made as required had to be resold as late as 1890. The balance in favor of the Pawnee from the sale, after the government had been reimbursed for its advance and the cost of the new reservation had been deducted, was placed to the credit of the Pawnee tribe in the books of the United States Treasury. On this, their first trust fund, the Pawnee were to receive interest at five per cent, payable per capita, semi-annually.

FOURTH PERIOD: 1876 TO 1892

The fourth period of Pawnee history in the Nineteenth Century begins with their settlement on the reservation in Indian Territory, and closes with the break-up of their reservation and allotment of lands in severalty to them in 1892, the year in which the Pawnee took up the Ghost Dance.

175*
648*
657
177

The government program during this period of Pawnee life was a continuation and gradual expansion of the plans and policies attempted in Nebraska. To civilize the tribe and adjust them to citizenship they were to be made farmers, cultivating individual tracts of land which they fenced and on which they lived in frame houses. They were to be stimulated to labor in the white man's way, in lumbering, carpentry, freight-hauling, and other pursuits. They were to be made self-sustaining by means of cattle-herding and the cultivation

*175 of fruit trees, in addition to farming. Education in the rudiments
*648 of common schooling, along with training in manual arts, was
177 combined later with an effort to stimulate self government. Finally
a persistent campaign was instituted against forms of the old
657 Pawnee life which were considered barbaric and detrimental to their new life as citizens; their unsanitary mode of life, the methods of the medicine men, their polygamous marriage customs, their wasteful mourning customs, their Indian clothing, their religious dances and ceremonies, their indolent social gatherings for dancing and gambling, their intemperate feasting.

The major objective of the government, however, was directed toward the division of the tribal lands into tracts held in severalty, which would introduce individual property ownership and inheritance, and break down the communal forms of life around which centered, from the white man's standpoint, the barbaric tribal customs which barred the Indian from an imperceptible and gradual absorption into the white population of the United States.

*175 The government program could not be initiated upon the arrival
*648 of the Pawnee. They came in several contingents during winter
months to a territory uninhabited and still virgin to the plow. The
177 first Pawnee to arrive, including by arrangement the strongest men
361 and women, taking new heart with the possibilities of peaceful and
secure life in their new home, began at once to build their settlement
657 close to the agency location on Black Bear Creek. Accustomed still to the tipi and the earth-lodge, the former for temporary shelter on the march and the hunt, the latter for more permanent habitations, they built villages in their old way. The first winters were difficult, the Pawnee suffering severely from exposure, after their long migration, and from the changed climatic conditions. The building of frame houses with government aid and direction was contingent on the settling of individual families on individual tracts of land, a condition which could not be met immediately upon arrival.

*175 It was essential to begin cultivation at once. Large sums had
*648 been expended to provision the tribe during the years of removal,
241 and they had to become self-sustaining soon. Government farmers
began the agency farm. The bands chose the locations in which they
657 would settle, and as rapidly as possible the government farmers broke land for them to cultivate.

The Pawnee camped around the agency until land was ready for them. Two bands removed to land broken for them in 1877; the other two the following spring. By the summer of 1888 all were cultivating their lands.

[361] As they removed, the bands transferred their village encampments
to their separate tracts.

to their separate tracts. The land broken for each band was but 175*
a small part of their sector; it was neither large enough nor so 648*
situated as to make practicable a division of it into individual
tracts for family groups. Each band therefore began to farm the 241
band tract cooperatively. In theory each man did his share of the 657
work and each took his share of the harvest. The band lived to- [476]
gether on the tract, and their encampments rapidly became per-
manent villages of tipis and earth-lodges.

This redevelopment of village life, instituted by the Pawnee as an 175*
adjustment to the conditions of their settlement in Indian Territory, 648*
and intentionally overlooked by agency officials, who considered it a
temporary expedient, was to continue for some years. To the 178
Pawnee it was a satisfactory adjustment, approximating as it did 657
their accustomed way of life. In these villages something of the
old tribal life continued; the chiefs, priests and medicine men
functioned, the old social gatherings and ceremonies were possible.

The produce of the band farms, together with that at the agency, 175*
constituted the basic food supply of the Pawnee. For years this 648*
was inadequate and insecure; the people suffered greatly for lack
of food, and some of the mortalities of the period were due to 262
starvation and malnutrition. The principle crop was corn, supple- 241
mented by some beans and squash, and increasing cultivation of
wheat, oats, potatoes and other vegetables. Most of the farms were
in the bottom lands and along the streams, and yet the usual
hazards of cultivation caused crop failures a number of times. The [132]
country in which the Pawnee had settled is in a belt which is
subject to periodic hot, dry summers, when rain is at a premium.
Droughts were severe in 1880, 1887, and 1890. On occasion bugs [731]
destroyed much of the crop, while once, in 1885, a terrific hailstorm
broke the stand of grain. Crop failures left the Pawnee dependent [657]
on government aid, in the form of rations, or food purchased for
them with money from their annuity funds.

For a meat supply the Pawnee had to depend primarily on 175*
government rations. The first winter the Pawnee were together in
Oklahoma, that of 1875 to 1876, the tribe attempted a buffalo hunt, 648*
but the herds were too remote to be reached with the limited 657
preparations the Pawnee were able to make. While the buffalo
were reported on the plains in considerable numbers the next 224
summer, only occasional buffalo were captured by straggling 262
parties of Pawnee. In a few years the tribe was persuaded to
forego the hunt; they talked of it the winter of 1878, but did not go.
From this time on we hear of no buffalo hunting. The organized
tribal hunt was a thing of the past.

*175 The meat rations supplied the Pawnee by the government were
until 1880 delivered on the hoof, and the Indians, gathered round
*648 the agency to receive their oxen, would turn the day into one of
657 carnage and slaughter, killing and dressing their own beeves. The
"oxy kill 'em day," as this was known to the Indian service, ended
in 1880 after which the rations were turned over to the tribe in the
form of dressed meat.

*175 Not more than one-third of the Pawnee reservation was suitable
*648 for farming, but there was a great deal of good pasture land.
Cows and calves were issued to the Pawnee in 1878, and received
657 such good care that with the Indians asking for cattle the govern-
233 ment made an attempt to develop stock-raising. In the summer
of 1880 four hundred head of two-year-old heifers and bulls were
brought from northern Texas and distributed among the Pawnee.
[731] The tribe hailed their coming with delight. Unfortunately a scourge
carried off many oxen the first winter. The Pawnee were not yet
free of their hunting complex. When they wanted meat, they
killed cattle, and finding that traders would buy the hides, so
many were slaughtered that by 1882 only a few head of the cattle
issued to the tribe remained. Stock-raising by the Pawnee was
admittedly a failure.

[245 A great need in the food supply was fresh fruit, for want of
262] which various ailments afflicted the Pawnee. To obviate this fruit
trees were bought and small orchards planted on the reservation,
but they did not flourish.

*175 The food rations, supplies, and implements distributed to the
*648 tribe had to be shipped to the reservation by freighting from the
657 nearest railroad point. At first this was at Coffeyville, Kansas,
a distance of one hundred miles; the route went northward through
[489] the Osage Agency. Later there was a shipping point at Arkansas
City, a distance of seventy miles. The agent turned the freighting
over to the Pawnee, who handled it with wagons and teams on
their own responsibility.

x175 As conditions on the reservation became more settled, the govern-
x648 ment farm program was renewed. A major provision of the Con-
gressional Act of 1876 which established the Pawnee reservation
657 applied to allotments in severalty. Each head of a family, or
241 single person over 21 years of age, who so desired, was to be allotted
423 160 acres of land. Certificates were to be issued by the Commission-
er of Indian Affairs recognizing the individual ownership of such
tracts. An allotee occupying and cultivating his land for five
successive years, who had at least twenty-five acres fenced and in
crop, was to be entitled to receive a patent in fee simple for his

175*
allotment, inalienable for fifteen years thereafter. In this way the 648*
Indians were to be transformed gradually into individual holders of 657
land. 241

Enterprising Pawnee, young and progressive, had taken over 423
individual farm lands as soon as these could be surveyed and made available for them. For such families frame houses were erected on their allotments, the agency carpenter managing the work, assisted by the Pawnee. This development was sluggish before 1880, owing partly to indolent management on the part of the agents. Families who chose tracts of land often camped for long periods near them in tipis, before the surveying and alloting could be done, and aid given them in house-building. By 1881 only forty such houses had been built and occupied by Pawnee families; and the
allotments seem not to have been officially registered. 175*

The main body of the tribe, however, continued to reside in the 648*
band villages. Once established in villages the Pawnee were loath 657
to break up their social life for a life on scattered farms. The agents $\boxed{361}$
found stubborn resistance to their program of change. From the official standpoint village life was the center of stability for the old barbaric customs. Polygamous marriage, gambling, inveterate dancing and indolence, superstitious awe of the medicine men, were aspects of Pawnee life which could not be eliminated unless the villages were broken up. The conditions of band farming which were natural to the Pawnee were obnoxious from the white standpoint. In the native view the chief controlled the farm in the interest of the general welfare, and all shared its produce according to need. In the agent's view the chief was an exploiter, and under his rule indolence flourished and individual initiative was submerged. The indolent and lazy, supported by the labor of others, could hang out around the agency waiting for the distribution of rations and goods, and money payments.

While after 1881 the agents were making a concentrated drive 175*
to get the Pawnee on individual allotments, there seem to have been 648*
two extreme parties in the tribe, a radically progressive group who 657
were in favor of separate farms and homes, and the conservative
majority content with band village life. The chiefs, priests and 621
medicine men of the tribe seem to have been in the main opposed to a change to individualized farming. The government agents claimed their obstructionism was born of a desire to maintain their own power and influence, which would fade with the people scattered in isolated homes. But it was more than this. The Pawnee had been accustomed to sedentary village life as far back as tradition could go. Recent archaeological evidence indicates that they had been

+175 +648 657 621 a basically horticultural people in the plains of North America even before the buffalo hunting era.[1] The whole round of life, with its conceptual and religious meanings, was to the Pawnee bound up with group life in a village. Their ceremonies were village rituals in intent and action; their dances called for gatherings on a large scale. In opposing a destruction of the village communities, the chiefs were supporting traditional Pawnee values. In addition, it must not be forgotten that even after the settlement of the Pawnee on a Nebraska reservation in 1859 the tribe had been permitted to continue the old village organization. To be sure, it was not in line with government policy that they did so, but because, as we have seen, the government failed to give the tribe protection and did not dare to scatter the people and render them defenceless. Nevertheless, the effect was the same. The Pawnee were not opposed to farming. They were proud in 1884 of their independence of government aid, of their ownership of horses, cattle and farming implements. What was good and useful to a productive and happy life was not lost on the Pawnee. But their past experience inclined them to the belief that reservation life, based on farming, could be carried on successfully without the break-up of their villages. In dealing with such village tribes as the pueblo peoples, the United States government did not destroy the village organization and settlements; as a result, much of value and significance in their ancient culture has continued into the present among the Southwestern Indians. The implication here is that the Pawnee chiefs were right; and that in the case of their tribe the government was attempting a more violent and rapid change than was good for their cultural health.

+175 *648 657 In 1880 there were only a few individual farms held by Pawnee. The government reapers and mowers were used on these as well as on the band farms. The band farms were still cooperatively planted and worked. In 1882 the concerted drive of the officials persuaded a number of enterprising families to locate. With a family on an allotted tract, the agent proceeded to build a frame
[342] house for them. The Indians hewed logs and brought them to the saw-mill. The government carpenter directed the work of erecting the house, with Pawnee men assisting. The latter did a good share of the work, and as time went by put up their own houses. From 1886 on, all the frame houses built on the Pawnee reservation are reported to have been erected by the Pawnee themselves.

[313] Until 1884 there was a scarcity of timber and cut wood for building, and many families camped on allotments. Those who

---

[1] W. D. Strong. Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology.

were comfortably settled in homes on individual plots remained 175*
on them and worked them faithfully. Living in houses, they were 648*
soon asking for tables and chairs and bedsteads. Ponies being their 657
chief form of property, the homesteaders would offer ponies for [422]
cooking stoves and culinary implements. Some exchanged ponies
for hogs. A great change was coming into Pawnee life.

The chiefs, priests and medicine men stubbornly opposed the
change. Their resistance was strengthened by lax and inefficient [622
methods of government officials. Agents were political appointees, 756]
subject to the changing winds of political control. In the eight-year period from 1876 to 1884 seven agents were successively in charge of the Pawnee. The indications are that often they were lax and indolent, occasionally viciously dishonest. The great suffering for lack of adequate provisions in the early years was in part a result of such maladministration. In 1883 supervision became worse, when the independent Pawnee agency was merged into a combined agency for the Ponca, Pawnee and Oto (later to include the Tonkawa), which was located at Ponca City, many miles from the Pawnee Reservation. Only one or two days of the week could be spent with the Pawnee. The agency fell into disrepair, and procrastination ruled in the affairs of the Pawnee.

On the positive side there were the younger progressive spirits among the Pawnee themselves, who worked untiringly to persuade the people to adjust themselves to new conditions. They found opposition not only in their own ranks, but among white people in the Territory, who, sympathetic to Indian ideas, urged the Pawnee here and there to resist allotments.

The Skiri were the most progressive of the four bands. By 1887 175*
a great many families were located on farms distributed all over the 648*
reservation, and a large proportion of these were Skiri. By 1890 177
most of the Skiri lived on their own farms, furnished their houses 621
and dressed like white people, and spoke English in ordinary 657
intercourse. The Tcawi ran them a close second. Of the other bands, while most were on allotted tracts, there were still many earth-lodges in evidence, and only those who were being educated in the schools were dressing and acting like white people. The Pitahawirat[a] proved most conservative and resisted change longest.

By the close of the decade the chiefs had accepted the inevitable. 175*
They blocked the agent in some minor measures, but for the most 648*
part expressed themselves eager to see the people educated and
civilized. Officials were able to report that the tribe was anxious to 657
have an allotting officer come to the reservation to register their 177
individual tracts and issue certificates: the people were puzzled

*175
*648 and uneasy about their legal rights as to leasing after allotment, and
667 as to whether they would be subject to taxation, but it was felt
177 they could easily be reassured.

The greatest discouragement and check upon programs of a
*175 progressive nature, from the years of removal on, was the physical
*648 unsoundness of the Pawnee tribe. In 1876, after the removal, the
Pawnee numbered 2,026; in 1892 at the close of this period, the
164 census listed 750. This tremendous decline, amounting to 62 per
161 cent in a period of sixteen years, was the result of many interacting
causes. Laboring under a blight of diseases and ill health, with the
pride of their stock dying at an inexplicable rate, and all more or
less weakened and ailing, a hopelessness came into Pawnee life
from which there was no escape. This hopelessness and despair
[178] caused a deterioration of their home life, indicated by officials'
reference to "filthy habits" and an "indifference to the condition
of body or clothing." Their ancient medical lore was of no avail:
their ancient gods had apparently deserted them. It is to be marvelled
at that something of their old spirit and energy remained,
and that they accomplished what they did in Indian Territory.

The white man's diseases had attacked them in the north.
Pulmonary and venereal diseases in particular had vitiated
their ancient stamina. But in the north the people were in a
climate and a region to which the native constitution was adjusted
from centuries of inhabitation. Until the white man came
the people lived a free outdoor life. They were active. Sedentary
[221] as their way of life made them, the tribe roamed abroad on the
hunt five months of the year; at home they were in the field and
the open. The population of the region was not heavy; they had
[166] unpolluted streams and springs. They moved their villages at
intervals of about eight years, avoiding pestilence.

The Nebraska country was relatively high, and the climate dry.
In the removal the people came into a more fertile but humid
country. Malarial fevers began to afflict them. In the winter of
1876, their first in Oklahoma, fevers, combined with other illnesses,
if we are to believe the recorded figures, amounted to a plague.
From 2,026 in 1876 the tribe declined in one year to 1,521![1] The
manner of their removal involved long and continuous exposure,
*175 and the conditions of life upon their arrival were unhealthy and
*648 hazardous. Grinnell reports the condition in which their great
701 friends, Major Frank North and his brother Luther, the organizers
of the Pawnee scouts, found them in 1876 in Indian Territory. The

---

[1] Further and continuous declines the succeeding years indicate that no part of the tribe was accidentally omitted in the 1877 census.

brothers North had come to enlist a company of one hundred 175*
scouts, "They were without food, without clothing, without arms 648*
and without horses. Their sole covering consisted of cotton sheets, 701
which afforded no protection against cold and wet."[1] Every able-bodied man wanted to answer North's call. Every man who could wanted to get away from homes buried in suffering and disease, and to change the monotonous, restricted, and inactive life of the reservation for an active life in the army. Many who were not taken by North marched after his force on foot as far as Arkansas City, hoping to persuade him to enlist them.

Settled in camps of earth-lodges and tipis, with an inadequate 175*
food supply, insufficient clothing and no medical attention, ineffi- 648*
cient and impotent officials remained satisfied for years to report 657
the mortality and ascribe it to filthy habits of life, and the climate. 164
Occasionally we hear that the people had poor protection from the weather, and that in addition to tuberculosis, pneumonia carried off a number.

A slight but temporary improvement in health took place in 1880 when for a season the food supply was adequate. The old [262]
men of the tribe said it was the first time in their lives that they had all the potatoes and vegetables they could eat. The people that fall looked well-nourished for the first time: the children fat and healthy.

The houses built for the Pawnee, and by the Pawnee under government instruction, made no sanitary provisions: as late as 1880 there were few if any outhouses, and luckily so, as the doctor commented, since the Pawnee without guidance were likely to construct them without vaults. As the people became settled in separate homes, the absence of suitable drinking water became a [312]
fertile source of disease. There were no wells; they used water from springs or creeks; they were not taught care in handling their water supply, and never cleaned out the springs. Even at the reservation school conditions for some years were bad.

In the reports, a doctor is first heard of in the tribe in 1881, but there are no indications of active medical aid until 1883. Then he began to teach them how to sink wells, and watch their water supply. He attributed fatalities in pneumonia cases to treatment by the native medicine men, and from this time forth there was a constant strife between the code of the medicine man and that of the agency physician. The diseases afflicting the tribe were ascribed to inherent taints, constitutional weakness, and inbreeding. It was not until 1897 that a Doctor Driesbach recognized that

---

[1] Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales, p. 390.

*175 Pawnee medicine men did effect relief and cures in many cases, and
*648 that the sure way to bring the tribe to faith in white man's medicine
657 was to prove its superiority. We may judge from this the
efficiency of much of the treatment afforded the Pawnee for years.

164 In 1890 Dr. Phillips ascribed some part of Pawnee ailments to the
fact that at feasts many gorged themselves and then lay dormant
for two or three days, tending to derange the proper functioning
of the digestive system. The Pawnee habits of eating went back
to a time when an active, roving life made heavy eating a necessity.
Without the hunt, without warfare, the men were confined, inactive
[462] and indolent. Farming was not yet an adequate substitute.
Without skinworking, and the activities of camp life and the
march, the women were limited to housework and household duties.
The change of daily routine was severe and called for a difficult
constitutional adjustment.

582 The question of inbreeding deserves brief comment. Pawnee
marriage customs did involve the mating of kin at a certain
621 distance removed. In their old life, families who were the proud
possessers of sacred and esoteric lore attempted to retain control
of these things by regulating intermarriage. The bands had been
for the most part endogamous, and intermarriage with other tribes
[162] was infrequent. On the average a band numbered no more than
2,500. The inbreeding, however, seems not to have had ill effects
until inheritable weaknesses of a major sort were among the tribe.

*175 As the years passed, the Pawnee came to look to the government
physicians more and more for help when sick. Their medicine men
*648 were unable to cope with the illnesses which afflicted them. In a
657 few outstanding cases, such as the use of quinine for malarial
fevers, the white man's medicine had "power."

The educational program was neither more efficient nor more
*175 successful for many years than the development of farms and homes.
*648 The Pawnee Industrial Boarding School on the Pawnee Reservation
657 in Nebraska suspended operations at the time of removal. The
871 funds saved were applied to the erection of a new brick school
building on the Oklahoma reservation. This was not in operation
until several years after the tribe located in Indian Territory. Its
facilities were severely inadequate. Not more than one-fourth of
the Pawnee children of school age could be accomodated. As
a result, officials were not able to enforce treaty provisions; they
could not compel continuous attendance even of those registered
for schooling, since they could not provide facilities. There was
a move to organize a day school, which would not only make
provision for fifty additional pupils, but would obviate the objection

and antagonisms of parents who did not want their children continually away from the family hearth. 175* Sanitary conditions in the 648* school buildings were not the best. Bathrooms and adequate 657 dormitory facilities to avoid crowding were not available until the 871 summer of 1889. Dr. Phillips in his report of that year stated that he expected these changes to reduce sickness at the school.

The aim of instruction in the reservation school was to give the children a background which would bring them closer to the conditions of life in white communities. The boys were taught manual arts and farming, the girls housekeeping and sewing; both groups learned to read. The instruction in industrial arts was for some time not very efficient, an agent commenting in 1881 that the school was only nominally "industrial." The schooling of the 581 girls was impeded by the tribal practice of marrying them off young, at which time they would be withdrawn from school.

The general educational program of the Department of Indian Affairs began to be broadened in 1879 with the establishment of the Carlisle School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. This was the first non-reservation school for Indians. Lieut. R. H. Pratt of the United States Army, when in charge of Indian prisoners of war exiled in Florida, conceived that education was a better method of handling them than imprisonment. At the same time, it would not do to return them to their reservations. As an experiment a number were sent to Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia, a school originally established for Negro education. The trial was so successful that Pratt was able to persuade the government to establish under his charge a school for Indians exclusively. The objective in organizing non-reservation schools was to divorce Indian children completely for a term of years from the ways of life of the parental generation; it was hoped that many could in this way be persuaded to take up life in white communities altogether, and that those who did return to the reservations would become leaders in the movement to civilize their peoples. The course at Carlisle ran from three to four years. It gave practical training in the manual arts, and common schooling as far as the high school grade. In addition, the "outing" system was adopted early, by which for one term of each school year a boy or girl boarded with and worked for a white family in the east. Many became self-supporting while at school, with small bank accounts of savings. Following the example of Carlisle, other non-reservation Indian schools were soon established, Chilocco and Haskell.

Thirteen Pawnee were enrolled at Carlisle the year it was opened; a few years later the number had increased to nineteen, including

*175 thirteen boys and six girls. Pawnee boys took work in carpentering,
*648 wagon-making, harness-making, tailoring, shoemaking, printing
657 and farming. The girls learned sewing, laundry-work and house-
871 work. In addition boys and girls had classes in regular school subjects. Thirteen Pawnee went to Chilocco when that institution opened in 1884; and later Pawnee were entered at Haskell. By 1880 between the non-reservation schools and the schools on the Pawnee reservation, most of the Pawnee of school age were in attendance at some government institution.

*175 The schools were successful in teaching the Pawnee to read and
*648 use English, and Carlisle and Chilocco were particularly successful
159 in teaching vocational trades and every-day manners. The outlet
657 for a Pawnee to practice a trade was however, not apparent. Pratt,
871 in charge of Carlisle, did all he could to induce Carlisle graduates to remain in the East and live and work among white people. A few Indians did so, including several Pawnee. The case of Mark Evarts is typical. Successfully trained as a harness-maker, and without close relatives at home, he worked some years at his trade in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. A man gifted in adjusting himself to alien ways, he lived successfully in the East. But in the end it was apparent to him that his life with white people was at best a makeshift, an apology for being an Indian. He returned home to his people, and the consciousness of his past and his fate overcame him. All the promises he had sincerely given to Pratt, a great friend of his, failed to stem the tide of fellow-feeling which surged over him back on the reservation. A Ghost Dance vision reconverted him, he immersed himself in Indian ways, recalled the teachings of his childhood, and became again a Pawnee. Those who returned to the reservation immediately upon graduation from Carlisle were even more rapidly drawn back into the mood of Indian life. Man does not live by bread alone, and the best that the government could claim it had given the Indian by education, was a means of making a living.

*175 The government did not fail to apprehend that in the change
of life from old Indian ways to the white man's civilization, the
*648 activities which of old had made the Indian men and women
657 self-reliant and resolute were taken from them. The people no longer depended on the chiefs and leaders, and these on themselves: both looked to the agent for guidance and direction. The Indians neither made their own way of life, nor managed their own affairs. From cultural maturity as Pawnee they were reduced to cultural infancy as civilized men.

To counteract this tendency, however, there was only the weight

of the government program to make the Pawnee self-maintaining 175*
farmers, to induce them to labor at manual pursuits, building their 648*
own houses, repairing their own implements, wagons and harness, 657
and to give them the management of the freighting of their own
supplies. In the later years a measure of self-government was in- [698]
troduced in the form of the Court of Indian Offenses.

Under the reservation system the only governmental authority 175*
was that of the Department of Indian Affairs, which, through the 648*
Department of the Interior, was part of the executive branch of 657
the United States government. Laws and acts of Congress prescrib- 698
ed the manner in which the Department and its agencies were run, but for ordinary legal purposes on the reservation the agent in charge was sole arbiter. As soon as practicable a Court of Indian Offenses, by means of which the Indians adjudicated their own affairs, was instituted on an Indian reservation. Up to 1887 the tribes of the Pawnee agency, including the Pawnee, Ponca, Oto and the Tonkawa, preferred to bring their troubles to the agent and accept his decision as final. In 1889 the Pawnee asked that a court of their own be established, and this was done December 1 of that year. The court was composed of three Pawnee judges, who sat the 3rd and 23rd of each month to hear cases on file. The proceedings were written down by a clerk. When the case had been heard each judge gave his decision, and the agreement of two carried. In the first year it functioned, the Pawnee Court of Indian Offenses tried twenty-four cases. These involved the settlement of Indian estates, the adjustment of debts, destruction of property, drunkenness and divorce. The Court continued to function until 1893 when the Pawnee, with the breaking up of their reservation became citizens of the United States and subject to Territorial Law.
Along with the Court and its jurisdiction went the organization [625]
of the Indian Police. Earlier, in Nebraska, a force of Pawnee had at intervals policed the tribe. At first they were subject to the will of the chiefs, later they were directly responsible to the agent. In Oklahoma the force of eight policemen was responsible for the arrest and handling of those who came before the Court of Indian Offenses. Judges and policemen were paid small salaries by the government.

The disintegration of the old Pawnee culture which took place 175*
in the period from 1876 to 1892 was in part a correlative of the 648*
change in their economic and material life: in part however it was 178
stimulated by direct government attack upon specific customs and
ways. 622

Of their social and political life the power and control of the 657

*175 chiefs, priests and medicine men, and the customs of marriage and
*648 divorce, were directly opposed by officials. That the chiefs were
finally losing power was not however, a result either of the official
178 opposition, or altogether of the breaking up of the band villages; it
622 flowed more directly from the gradual introduction of individualized
657 property control. The traditional native view of a chief was that
he was the "father" of his people, who must see to the well-being
of every individual in the tribe. To do so the chief had to be able
to control a larger quantity of property than the average individual
in order to give and help wherever it was necessary. This he accomplished
through his individual prowess on the war path and the hunt.
But in addition, tribespeople who valued him as chief and leader
contributed to his resources in order to aid him to maintain himself
and succor his people. Individual ownership of homes and farms
not only made individuals materially independent of the chief and
tribe, but reduced the chief to a property equality with his tribespeople,
making it impossible for him to continue the customs of
paternal generosity which tradition commended to him. Without
being able to give to and help the poor and distraught, the chief
not only lost respect and self-respect, but he was unable to prove
his supernatural right to leadership, or that fortune was with him,
that the powers of the universe were on his side, and through him
were guiding the people.

The agents did not understand this. They felt merely that the
chief had power to command so long as the people lived clustered
together around him. They expressed in their reports the hope
that recognition of chiefs by the Department of Indian Affairs
would become a memory.

*175 The polygynous marriage customs of the Pawnee, based primarily
*648 on the sororate or marriage of younger sisters of the wife, were not
657 interfered with up to 1881. Along with the way in which marriage
595 was arranged by the parents without consulting the young people,
and the ceremony itself, involving a transfer of horses and other
property. Pawnee polygyny was, however, consistently considered
reprehensible by officials. Polygyny as well as first marriages in-
[582] volved girls who were very young, often fourteen or fifteen. These
were withdrawn from school at once, and as it was impossible to
carry out an educational program which would send girls of such
a tender age into the tribal life as civilizing influences, the practice
of marrying them so young destroyed the efficiency of the school
[586] as an instrument of civilization. Divorce by mutual consent was a
custom of the Pawnee, which involved a looseness of marital relations
from the white standpoint.

Marriage customs were attacked in two ways: legally and ethically. 175*
Toward the close of this period the government program called 648*
for an attempt on the part of officials of the Indian service to insist 657
upon civil marriage under the laws of the United States, to oppose 581
wife-purchase and the marriage of the young girls, to register
civilly the marriages of those living together in accordance with old
customs, and to oppose easy separation and divorce. Since the individual men and women were becoming possessors of private property
in the form of land, houses, stock and implements, by controlling
the inheritance of estates in terms of the white man's law, and
refusing to recognize "wives" not legally married, the program
began to have an effect. After 1883 missionaries of the Home [797]
Missionary Society and the Methodist Episcopal Church worked
in the tribe, and developed a small congregation of church members.
The missionary influence was brought to bear against the Pawnee marriage usages from a moral angle. The agent cooperated with the missionaries in persuading the Pawnee to go through a Christian marriage ceremony as well as to secure a legal certificate. By 1890 officials claimed in their reports that the Pawnee were regularly seeking the missionary to perform the marriage ceremony for them: that by prompt action they had prevented all cases which came to their attention of "selling girls for ponies": and that while polygyny had not been stamped out, there were no new cases of a wife being taken where the man already had a wife. A final claim was that divorces were unknown, or rare, which is to be doubted.

The dancing, gambling and feasting to which the tribe was 175*
addicted were marked out as dissipations contributing to indolence. 648*
and the agent by the most active measures at his command attempted 657
to prevent social gatherings for such purposes as much as possible. 796
In June 1891 the agent was surprised that the tribe assembled for
a dance (probably a ceremony): he ordered it stopped at once and
told the people to go to their homes and attend to their work. He
could not however enforce his commands, and while some did go,
most remained and carried out the dance. Such social affairs kept
the people away from their farms for long periods, and the crops
were neglected. In the old days the Pawnee methods of cultivation [805
were adjusted to their calendric rituals, and by June, when the 227]
time for the hunt and summer ceremonies came, the crops were
"laid by": the tribe was not yet adjusted to intensive cultivation,
involving constant care.

The conflict with the Pawnee medicine men was long and diffi- 175*
cult. The government was determined to destroy their power 648*
over the people, and to persuade the Pawnee to depend on the 657
756

*175 agency physician. Unfortunately, except in a small part of the
*648 cases, the physician was notoriously unsuccessful in combating the
diseases which were decimating the tribe; certainly he seemed no
657 more successful than the native medicine man. The physician's
756 services, paid for by government salary, were free to the people who sought his aid, while the native medicine man was paid in property by the patients he cured. Considering the medicine men charlatans and fakers, who deceived and befuddled the people, the officials regarded the customary compensation as extortion. But in spite of official antagonism the tribe was not drawn altogether
[796] away from their doctors: the Doctor Dances continued to be demonstrated, constituting practically the only major religious ceremonies which were demonstrated; and as late as 1888 an agent reported that the Pawnee "still have more confidence in their medicine men than the Queen of England has in McKenzie."

*175 From a material standpoint, the close of this period found the
*648 Pawnee in a condition of partial adjustment to the new order, and relative prosperity. Most of the people were scattered on their
657 farms, and doing well; they were accumulating stock around them. Between their government funds and their produce the tribe was practically self-sustaining.

In 1890 Grinnell described conditions upon the reservation: "As we came in sight of Black Bear Creek, I was surprised to see what looked like good farm houses dotting the distant bottom. . . . Most well-to-do. . . Pawnees live in houses as good as those of many a New England land owner, and . . . better than those inhabited by new settlers in the farther West. Many . . . have considerable farms under fence, a barn, a garden in which vegetables are raised, and a peach orchard . . . By far the greater number wear civilized clothing, ride in wagons, and send their children to the agency school . . .[1]"

If their material life was at last approaching peace and security for the handful of Pawnee (759 in 1892) who had survived the long history of disasters, plagues and abuse, to what are we to attribute the revulsion against conditions which expressed itself in 1892 in the Ghost Dance? Before considering this aspect of the history of Pawnee acculturation, which will concern us in the next chapter, let us turn briefly to a recapitulation of the status of Pawnee culture in 1892.

---

[1] Grinnell, Pawnee Hero-Stories and Folk-Tales, pp. 400—401.

CULTURAL STATUS AT THE DAWN OF THE GHOST DANCE

By 1892 the aboriginal Pawnee culture of a century earlier had been profoundly altered. A tribe of villagers, accustomed to living in earth-lodges and tipis, and to maintaining themselves by digging-stick cultivation of corn, beans and squash, and by hunting the buffalo, had become a loose aggregate of people, living more or less in families on separate farm tracts, dependent for their maintenance in part on plow cultivation of the land, and in part on the philanthropy of their overlords, the United States government. 175* 648* 657 105 177

From a political and social standpoint the Pawnee had been transformed from an independent self-determining nation into a group of families subject to the will of representatives of an alien race. The Pawnee chiefs were chiefs only in name and ancient lineage; what power they had among the Pawnee flowed from a continuing respect for their origins and their conduct. But no directing leadership in the destiny of the tribe was open to the chiefs; they could decide what they wished in council; it must then be submitted to the approval and sanction of the Agent, a representative of another government which ruled them.

The hunt and the warpath were gone, and with them the activities of youth and early manhood, which, in terms of the tradition and beliefs of their race, gave value to the life of a man. The hazard and danger of life as they had lived it before made them energetic, active and self-reliant. He who did not depend upon himself was lost. Now there was always the annuity, the agent, and rations. For women the life had also been radically altered. Their former routine had been a difficult and laborious one, working in the fields, making tent covers and clothing, cooking, and tending the children. But it had been part of a life which had broad and deep meaning as a way of life, in which their function was basic and valuable.

The family relationships which had brought all the people close together in their villages were broken down with the substitution of frame houses on the farms for the old earth-lodge. In the earth-lodge a large, extended family lived together; the family line cohered around the women. On the farms the frame house was built for a man as head of a family, and was primarily for the small, limited family group as conceived by the white man. [596]

From a material standpoint the arts and techniques which had been practised for centuries by the people, carried to practical perfection as their form of adjustment to the conditions of the world in which they lived, were broken down by the appearance of

*175
*648
177
657
105

a new set of conditions in which they were no longer necessary or possible.

The extinction of the buffalo and the complete cessation of hunting meant the elimination of all the arts which had centered around the handling of skins. Tipis were no longer necessary; buffalo robes were not as good as blankets; the preparation of skin clothing was a thankless task when the agent issued the appurtenances of the white man for the asking. The technique of using wood for bowls and utensils, for mortar and pestle, for traps and bows and arrows, was passing into oblivion. The working of horn and bone, of which spoons and ladles had been made, was unnecessary in view of the ease with which the white man's pots and pans and utensils could be had. Pottery of clay had already become extinct for lack of use and function.

The beliefs and philosophies of men to be alive must be inherent in and consonant with the way by which men live. When the men no longer hunted the buffalo, when they no longer needed power and invulnerability on the warpath, when the women no longer had to contribute fertility to the fields they planted, the ancient cosmology of the Pawnee was without a reference. The ritual lore of the great sacred bundles of the tribe was handed on less and less: it died with priests who, increasingly subject to death as the mortality of the tribe increased year by year, had neither time nor inspiration to hand it on. The ceremonies, becoming functionless, became extinct.

Once the young men of the tribe joined in many brotherhoods. These societies of men concerned themselves with the activities of manhood in Pawnee life, hunting and war. Each had special powers and functions for aiding in the successful accomplishment of the ends of war and the hunt, powers derived from the greater bundles which came directly from the ruling forces of the world. These societies too became functionless, and as the membership died off, the brotherhoods no longer met to dance and sing.

The chiefs had constituted a brotherhood of their own. When youths became men, and took upon themselves the serious business of maintaining the welfare of the tribe, they could, by demonstrating in their daily behavior their growing wisdom and capacity for leadership, become eligible to sit in the society of the chiefs. The forms of the chief's society ritual was carried on down into the present; much that was of value in the old ethics of the tribe was still explained to the youths even a year ago by the few who had not forgotten. But here again, the paramount functions of the society were gone.

The medicine men of the tribe carried on. The Doctor Dances 175 *
were given year after year; although after 1878 the great Doctor 648 *
Performances through which the medicine men renewed their 177
powers were no longer demonstrated. The function of the doctors
did not disappear; health became a possession more difficult to 105
secure as the years passed. But against the white man's diseases 657
the folk medicine of the Pawnee doctors proved essentially futile;
as did the white man's medicine itself.

With the passing of the greater part of the old ritualism and ceremony, the arts of ceremonial decoration, of making ritual costumes, bear-claw necklaces, otter-skin collars, of painting the body, went with them. The Doctor Dances kept something of the ritual decorative arts alive.

If we turn from this catalog of the decline of aboriginal Pawnee culture what can we see that had come to take its place? Needing the Indian's land for the expansion of the white man, the government was compelled to give the Indian an economy which would be self-sustaining while it confined the tribe in narrower boundaries. It gave the Indian farming. This being seasonal, and subject to the vicissitudes of the elements, it did not mean independence. For a meat supply the Indian did not use his own resources; the government gave him meat. When his crops failed, the government rationed him.

What occupations took the place of the old? The boys learned some manual arts. They could help to build their own houses, to repair their implements; the girls meanwhile learned some sewing, how to wash clothing, how to keep house. All these were essentially mechanical operations; their aesthetic returns are for the most part small. What creative satisfaction was to be had in manual arts, the boys did achieve in harness-making, carpentering, wagon-making, and the like, where they had opportunity to put into practise what they had learned.

The small measure of self-government which the Indians were offered through the Court of Indian Offenses was subject to the paternal control of the Agent and the government; it was concerned after all with the minor legal problems of their life. It helped to revive something of self-determination.

If we turn finally to the intellectual side of Pawnee life we find that practically nothing came to take the place of the old rituals and ceremonies, the old dances and social gatherings, the old
traditions and songs. Missionaries had been among the Pawnee [797]
from 1835 to 1837, and again there were missionaries after 1883

*175
*648 With what results? In 1891 even the optimistic reports of the
177 missionaries claimed only thirty-five church members, and twenty
105 or more years later not over a seventh of the tribe even professed
657 Christianity according to official reports.
797 In 1892, after the best efforts of the Pawnee for over three generations to adjust themselves to living alongside the white man, the tribe had come to a cultural impasse, with nothing to look forward to and nothing to live by.

II.

THE GHOST DANCE AMONG THE PAWNEE.[1]

THE GHOST DANCE: ORIGIN AND SPREAD

The Ghost Dance religion of 1890 arose in the visions of Wovoka, 000 the Paiute Messiah, about 1888, although its roots lie deeper in the past. Wovoka is said to have been a son of Ta'vibo the Paiute prophet of 1870, whose doctrines had been the stimulus of the Ghost Dance which swept through the tribes of northern California in the years from 1871 to 1874. The doctrines of the son do not seem to have differed materially from those of the father.

As a child Wovoka was brought up in a household where he could not fail to be influenced by the practices of the medicine man. He was known as a medicine man for some years before he developed the Ghost Dance doctrine. In January 1889, at the time of a total eclipse of the sun visible in Nevada, Wovoka was sick with a severe fever. He was then about 33 years of age. In the tribe the eclipse caused frantic excitement. "The air was filled with the noise of shouts and wailings and the firing of guns." The people were trying to drive away the monster who was devouring the sun.

Wovoka fell asleep, or "died", and "was taken up into the other world. Here he saw God with all the people who had long ago died engaged in their old time sports and occupations, all happy and forever young. It was a pleasant land and full of game... God told him he must go back and tell his people they must be good and love one another, have no quarreling and live in peace with the whites; that they must work, and not lie and steal; that they must put away the old practices that savored of war; that if they faithfully obeyed his instructions they would at last be reunited with their friends in the other world, where there would be no more death or sickness or old age. He was then given the dance which he was commanded to bring back to his people. By performing

---

[1] Informants: Mark Evarts, Ezra Tilden, Joseph Carrion and Mrs. Goodeagle, all of whom played roles in the Ghost Dance developments among the Pawnee. Published sources consulted: Murie, Societies; Mooney, Ghost Dance; Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. (see bibliography). [115]

000 this dance at intervals, for five successive days each time, they would secure this happiness to themselves and hasten the event. Finally God gave him control over the elements so that he could make it rain or snow or be dry at will, and appointed him his deputy to take charge of affairs in the west... He then returned to earth, and he began to preach as he was directed, convincing the people by exercising the wonderful powers that he had given him."[1]

Wovoka had "five songs for making it rain, the first of which brings on a mist or cloud, the second a snowfall, the third a shower, and the fourth a hard rain or storm, while when he sings the fifth song, the weather again becomes clear."[2]

The first dancing among the Paiute involved no trances. But the people of the various Nevada reservations made their own interpretations of Wovoka's purpose and doctrine; they spread the word that Christ himself had come, and that people should dance. Wovoka never claimed to be the Son of God; he sincerely believed he was a prophet with a divine revelation to impart.

The doctrine initiated by Wovoka spread with startling rapidity. Conditions of communication among the Indian tribes were not what they had been aboriginally. A great many of the younger men who had been away to government schools returned with a knowledge of reading and writing, and having made firm friendships with boys of other tribes while at school, corresponded at intervals with them. By letter as well as by word of mouth the news spread that the Messiah had come.

The first spread of the Ghost Dance was from the Paiute of the Walker River reservation to their neighbors immediately around them: the scattered bands of Paiute in Nevada and Oregon, the Washo living alongside them, the Bannock, Ute and Gosiute, and the Shoshoni of the Fort Hall reservation in Idaho. From this central Rocky Mountain region the religion spread in three general directions: to some of the tribes north and south of the nucleus formed by the Paiute and their immediate neighbors; into the northern Plains; and into the southern Plains.

In 1889 the Ghost Dance was taken up almost simultaneously by the eastern neighbors of the Paiute: the Bannock, Shoshoni, Gosiute and Ute. To the north it reached the Pit River Indians in northern California in 1890. Mohave delegates came in 1890 to investigate reports which had reached them from the southern Paiute and through them the Ghost Dance penetrated southward to the Walapai, the Chemehuevi, and the Havasupai of Cataract

---

[1] Mooney, 771—772.
[2] Ibid. 772—773.

Canyon, reaching the Mission Indians in southern California in 1891.

In the spread of the Ghost Dance into the Plains, the Bannock and Shoshoni Indians of the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho were instrumental. It was a Bannock Indian from Ft. Hall who early in 1889 visited the Shoshoni and northern Arapaho of the Wind River reservation in Wyoming bearing the news of the doctrine. That very summer these tribes sent delegates to find the Messiah in Mason Valley and learn the facts, and on the return of the delegation that fall the tribes of the Wind River reservation began the Ghost Dance.

The Arapaho and Shoshoni of Wind River now became in turn the transmitters of the Ghost Dance doctrine to the tribes of the northern Plains. A Gros Ventre from the Ft. Belknap agency was a visitor among the Arapaho, when in 1889 the delegates returned from their journey to see the Messiah. He heard the news and took it home with him to the Gros Ventre and Assiniboin on the Ft. Belknap reservation. In the fall of the same year northern Cheyenne from Montana, and Teton and Yankton Dakota[1] came to Wind River to verify among the Arapaho and Shoshoni the reports which had reached them of a Messiah and a resurrection. Some of the Cheyenne returned home at once with their report, but a number, accompanied by several Shoshoni and Arapaho continued westward with the Dakota. They left the Wind River reservation in November 1889, proceeding to the Fort Hall reservation in Idaho where they found the Bannock and Shoshoni dancing. Continuing their journey to visit the Messiah himself, all the Indians with whom they came in contact from the Fort Hall reservation until they reached Wovoka at Walker Lake were dancing the Ghost Dance. Several Shoshoni and Bannock from Fort Hall joined the party; they went by railroad to Pyramid Lake, Nevada, and thence by wagon to Mason Valley.

In the early spring of 1890 Porcupine and his northern Cheyenne companions had returned to the tribe on the Tongue River reservation in Montana, bringing the news.

Dakota Sioux had been along on the journey; the news had first reached the Oglala division of the Teton Dakota at Pine Ridge reservation in 1889. As a result of the pilgrimage the doctrine penetrated to the Sioux at the Ft. Peck reservation in Montana, and at the Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Lower Brulé, Pine Ridge, and Rosebud reservations in North and South Dakota. It swept like wildfire through the Teton and Yankton Dakota; 20,000 of the Dakota became active in Ghost Dancing.

---

[1] Miss Ella Deloria tells me that Yankton Dakota did not take up the Ghost Dance. Mooney refers broadly to "Sioux of the Dakotas", failing to distinguish Yankton and Yanktonai participation in the movement and leaving open the implication that all took part.

It was not long after the northern Arapaho and Shoshoni of the Wind River reservation had visited Wovoka in the summer of 1889 that the doctrine began to penetrate the tribes of the southern Plains. Letters from their kinsmen in the north told the southern Arapaho and Cheyenne in Oklahoma in the summer of 1889 what was going on. A delegate from the southern Arapaho was at Wind River agency when the pilgrims of the northern tribes had returned from Nevada to report. He joined the Ghost Dance there, and returned in April 1890 to the Arapaho and Cheyenne of Oklahoma. He inaugurated the dance among these tribes, becoming a leading prophet, Black Coyote. The Cheyenne of Oklahoma then sent their own delegates to visit their northern kinsmen; these returned with a favorable report, and the southern Cheyenne took up the dance the summer of 1890.

That fall saw the great development of the Ghost Dance in the southern Plains. Sitting-Bull, prophet of the Ghost Dance among the northern Arapaho, came to Oklahoma to instruct the tribes there in the doctrine and the forms of the dance. A great dance was held in September on the South Canadian River, near the Darlington Agency. There were present, besides the southern Cheyenne and Arapaho, the Caddo, the Wichita, Kiowa and Kiowa Apache. The second day of the dance, Sitting-Bull carried out his promise to show the people great things, by putting many dancers into hypnotic trances, the first time this was known in the Ghost Dance of the southern Plains. Sitting-Bull was at this time instrumental in persuading the southern Cheyenne and Arapaho to sign an agreement with the government by which they relinquished much of their reservation land for payment. He told them that they needed the money, and that the Messiah would soon restore the land to them. In spite of the failure by this time of a number of prophecies of the time when the resurrection and change would occur, the dance continued to spread.

After the great dance of September 1890 the Caddo, Delaware, Wichita, Kitsai, Kiowa, Kiowa Apache and Comanche took up the movement. Sitting-Bull visited the Caddo personally in December 1890, and, after instructing them by means of the sign language, "gave the feather" to the seven chosen as leaders of the Caddo Ghost Dance. At first the Caddo used Arapaho songs; then developed their own. The Delaware danced with them.

The Wichita and Kitsai first took over the dance from the Caddo. 600 But in February, 1891, Sitting Bull was again in Oklahoma. He came to visit the Wichita and inducted the seven Wichita leaders ceremonially into office.

The same month a Kiowa who had been to visit Wovoka had returned, and as word spread that he had important news for all the tribes, a great council was held February 19, 1891 at Anadarko. Apiatan, the Kiowa, had a discouraging report to communicate. He faced the great multitude and told them that the reports of the great powers of the Messiah were false. The Messiah did not speak all languages, but only Paiute; he was not omniscient, for he had asked Apiatan who he was and why he had come: and he had no scars on his hands and feet, so he was not Christ. Wovoka had refused to call spirits of Apiatan's deceased relatives into their presence, saying he could not do so. By this time the Messiah was astounded at the forces he had set in motion. The Sioux Ghost Dance disasters of 1890 to 1891 were blamed on him. He told Apiatan that the Sioux had twisted everything up; he told him to go home to his people and tell them to stop dancing.

Sitting-Bull was present, and rose to answer. He told the people again what Wovoka had said to him the year before. Apiatan replied that it was not true: that Sitting-Bull was deceiving the people for mercenary gain. Sitting-Bull replied that the many horses he had received had not been asked for; and that those who had lost faith and wished them back could come and receive them.

This adverse report stopped the Kiowa from dancing for a time. They revived the Ghost Dance in 1894. But the other tribes who heard the report, including the Kiowa Apache, refused to believe it. They said Apiatan had been bought by the government to deceive the Indians in this way. They continued dancing. Apiatan received a medal from President Harrison.

In 1891 Frank White, a Pawnee Indian, was among the southern 177 Oklahoma tribes who were Ghost Dancing: he participated in dances 668 among the Comanche and Wichita, learned the doctrine, and observed the early forms in which the dancing was at that time organized according to the instruction of Sitting-Bull, the northern Arapaho. In the late summer of 1891 he returned north to the Pawnee.

The Cheyenne and Arapaho became the most inspired leaders of 600 the movement in the south. They sent several delegations to visit Wovoka. One of these, in the fall of 1891 brought back a message from Wovoka which had been written down by a delegate in broken English. I quote part of Mooney's version[1]:

---

[1] Mooney, p. 781.

5*

"When you get home you must make a dance to continue five days. Dance four successive nights, and the last night keep up the dance until the morning of the fifth day, when all must bathe in the river and then disperse to their homes. You must all do in the same way...

"When your friends die you must not cry. You must not hurt anybody or do harm to anyone. You must not fight. Do right always. It will give you satisfaction in life...

"Do not tell the white people about this. Jesus is now upon earth. He appears like a cloud. The dead are all alive again. I do not know when they will be here; maybe this fall or in the spring. When the time comes there will be no more sickness and everyone will be young again.

"Do not refuse to work for the whites and do not make any trouble with them until you leave them. When the earth shakes do not be afraid. It will not hurt you.

"I want you to dance every six weeks. Make a feast at the dance and have food that everybody may eat. Then bathe in the water. That is all. You will receive good words again from me some time. Do not tell lies."

Up to the time of this direct communication the tribes in the southern plains had been holding one-day Ghost Dances at irregular intervals. The Cheyenne, Arapaho, Wichita and Caddo thereafter adopted the new rule, organizing five-day dances at intervals of six weeks, in accordance with the instructions of the Messiah.

Delegates from the Cheyenne and Arapaho of Oklahoma brought the Ghost Dance directly to the Ponca, the Oto and Missouri, the Iowa and Kansa.

The rapidity with which the Ghost Dance spread from the Paiute center through the plateau and into the plains was in part due to the increased rapidity and ease of communication. Such a speedy diffusion could not have happened under aboriginal conditions. But the full explanation lies deeper. Those tribes who accepted the doctrine at once were, like the Pawnee whom we are especially considering, at a cultural impasse. Those tribes who rejected the doctrine were either in an aboriginal state in which the values of their old life still to a certain extent functioned, or they were under the influence of specific religions brought to them by missionaries, or, as in the case of the Navaho and Osage, they were well off materially, and did not feel the need of the new doctrine. In 1870 a Ghost Dance movement, stemming from the doctrines of Wovoka's father, had spread with an almost equal rapidity through Californian tribes. The dance of 1890 did not affect those tribes. Conversely the movement of 1870 did not penetrate the Plains. Kroeber has suggested that in 1870 the Plains tribes had not been reduced to such a state of cultural decay as to make them susceptible to revivalistic doctrine, while the Californian tribes had been overrun some years before in the gold rush and by 1870 their old culture had been destroyed. Kroeber also considers that the experiences of the Californian peoples in 1870 to 1874 made them impassive to a second wave of similar doctrine.[1] 000

The doctrines of Wovoka as revealed in what he told Mooney of his vision experiences, and in the message he gave the Cheyenne and Arapaho, are clearly doctrines of peace. In only one region where the Ghost Dance was taken up was this aspect forgotten. The western Dakota, from of old militaristic in their antagonism to the whites and the changes taking place in their lives, accustomed to taking an active and resistant part, transformed the doctrine from one of peaceful faith and hope, into one of war. The rapport with the supernatural achieved in the dance was not only a guarantee of eventual participation in the new resurrected life, but it gave invulnerability in battle. The attitude of the Sioux culminated in blunders on the part of American army men, and brought on the conflicts of 1880 to 1891 and the Massacre at Wounded Knee. The Sioux troubles made government officials suspicious of Ghost Dancing wherever it occurred, and it was put down with all the force agents could muster, in order to prevent anticipated bloody revolt. Elsewhere, however, the doctrine remained one of peace, a simple hope that a change was coming which would give the Indians back their land, their buffalo and their old life. The message and vision of Wovoka emphasized that in the new life disease and death would be no more, an aspiration full of hope to a people like the Pawnee, who for generations had been undergoing the worst ravages of disease with their loved and venerated ones dying all about them.

DOCTRINE AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE PAWNEE GHOST DANCE

As early as 1890 rumors had reached the Pawnee of a Messiah 177
who had appeared to an Indian somewhere in the mountains. 668
He was supposed to have visited the dead people, and to have

---

[1] Kroeber, A. L. Handbook of the Indians of California. p. 869.

668 177 seen them dancing in a circle.[1] Nothing authentic and substantiated reached the tribe, however, until the fall of 1891[2] when Frank White came home to the Pawnee after his stay with the Wichita.

The Pawnee tell of White's learning the Ghost Dance among the southern tribes in the following way:

668 177 796 [276 301] "One time Frank White went over to the Comanche, who were dancing the Ghost Dance. He went inside and sat down on the north side. He ate peyote, a great deal, until he was nearly overcome. He bent his head and covered his eyes. He was a good-looking man who used to wear decorative red twine over his brow. The Comanche did not know him, and the next morning they asked him who he was, and he said he was a Pawnee. Then he left them and went to the Wichita. He ate peyote there, and watched them dance the Ghost Dance and learned it. Then he came home and brought it to the South Bands. He told them what he had learned."

668 177 The period during which Frank White studied the Ghost Dance among the Comanche and the Wichita was in the year following the great Ghost Dance of the fall of 1890, led by Sitting-Bull. The forms of leadership and organization he learned were those preached by Sitting-Bull, and initiated by him personally among the Caddo and Wichita.

[787] [533 539] Murie has spoken of White's experiences in the south. "Frank White... joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream, the tree, the Messiah and then the village of people.[3] He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in Pawnee. The first song was as follows[4]:

we	*rịhi*	*irasi·ra*
now	place where	yonder you come
	wetịkuwatu	*rụwahe*
	now I long for	the {village region

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 630—632 recounts a long narrative of the story which was supposed to have reached the Pawnee in 1890.

[114] [2] Murie, Societies, p. 633, says "in the fall of 1892." This is a misprint or a slip on Murie's part. In the account which follows Murie describes events of a winter and summer which intervene between White's return to the Pawnee and his arrest; White was arrested in 1892. Furthermore, we can date the time White left the Wichita by the fact that he left before the Arapaho delegation arrived in the fall of 1891 with the message from Wovoka, which, in spite of the objections of Sitting-Bull, necessitated a change in the form of the Ghost Dancing.

[3] Murie is doubtless referring here to the narrative of Wovoka's vision as known to the Pawnee which he gives, pp. 630—632.

[4] The form I quote here is a retranscription and retranslation of Murie's printed version, written by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

668 177

we	*rįhi*	*irasi·r*[illegible]	
a	*tsiksu*	*wétatu·ta*	*hi i*
and	{mind spirit	now I do	

[533 539]

The place whence you come.
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come.
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxkiˣ. When he returned home to the Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours." 668 177 792 794

When Frank White instituted regular dances, these were among the South Bands; the Skiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits took possession of them and fell. White had great power over them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change. [152 786]

Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna- 668 177 [792] 796 794 [302]

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

668 ment. When all were dressed and painted for the dance, White and
177 his singers came out onto the open space east of the sacred tipi,
and formed the gathering into a circle. All joined hands, and with
794, White and his singers leading in the songs, they danced round and
796 round. Others rushed over to the dance ground to join in. Many
shook and fell. White and his leaders put others into trances, and
great excitement prevailed.

In the evening they stopped to eat, and then continued dancing
[787] until late at night. From time to time those who fell would get
up and tell what they had seen. Each had a message from the
other world, and had learned songs. These visions became sanctions not only for special developments of the Ghost Dance, and of the hand games, but also for important revivals of old aspects of Pawnee life, which before this had ceased to function.

One evening all the Pawnee were gathered together where the South Band people lived. White was conducting the ceremonies. It was a fine clear evening, near sunset, with clouds across the sky in the west. The clouds in the sky across the west were like people sitting in a row. White told the people, "Now if you all come out here in the open where there is no timber, you can plainly see the people in the west. Those are the dead people. They are all waiting there. Now you see them. Pretty soon now the high wind will come and all the white people on earth will be blown away. Those (here he referred to Behaile, Dorf Carian, Harry Coons, James Murie, Rice, Pepan—all half breeds), such as they are the wind will pick up too, even if they are half breeds, because they don't believe in this dance. These believe in the white man's church. The wind will throw them against the heavy trees and crush them. The people who believe will be saved, because when the wind blows the white people away, they will all be left standing here. Those who believe will be shaken and fall down, and after they arise and open their eyes there will be no white people here. The buffalo will be here: everything will be just as it was before the white people came, and all our deceased folk, our fathers, our mothers, our grandfathers and our grandmothers, will be here with us."

All the people stood and watched these clouds in the west. All the people believed it, except a few. When the clouds were gone they all went home.

One young man lay in a trance all night. White wanted all
[787] the people to hear his story, so in the evening of the next day, he
ordered all the people onto a hill. There they stood in line facing

668
west,[1] and the young man sat down facing them with the crier 177
by his side. He said,

"When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a 794
spirit. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who 796
wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away 787
from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, 'My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people.' I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me and said, 'My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing.' So we went on and there in the center of the village our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return, and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying on the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw."[2]

---

[1] This is the ceremonial arrangement followed later in smoking and opening the dance; see below.

[2] Murie, p. 634. This is the tradition of the way in which the smoke offering was introduced into Pawnee Ghost Dance arrangements.

In the vision two minor points are worth calling attention to. The dead blessed the young man in the Pawnee way when they blew their breath upon him. The closing statement, "this is the end," etc. follows the Pawnee literary form of myths and stories.

More significant is the suggestion of Christ as "leading the people," [622]
an identification of Christ with chieftainship, which concept determined important ritual aspects of the Pawnee Ghost Dance and Ghost Dance hand games.

668 This young man was blessed by the people, and they also took
177 a blessing from him. But when they touched him many fell or
794 trembled. "After this four men were selected to smoke to the
796 dead people."[1]

Murie also tells the interesting story of an unbeliever.

"A woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, 'That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth.' Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to
[625] act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit.
[783] The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right."[2]

Dancing was sporadic during the Winter of 1891, but gradually the dances followed each other in rapid succession. With few exceptions by 1892 the Pawnee were under White's influence and control. The situation forced itself upon official attention early in that year. "In February 1892 the Pawnee commenced what is known as a 'Ghost Dance', dancing in a circle, falling down in
[786] a trance, and after some hours they awake and profess to have seen their dead friends. About two-thirds of the tribe seemed at this time to be possessed of the idea of the second coming of Christ, to destroy all the whites and to bring back the buffalo and the wild game."[3]

On account of the coming end of the world, and the uselessness of continuing work in the face of the expected changes which would bring back old times and the deceased relatives of the living, all those who became convinced of the Ghost Dance doctrine stopped work. Many left their plows in the field standing just as they had been in the midst of their work cultivating their corn.

648 As soon as the agent in charge of the Pawnee received word at
668 the agency in Ponca City that the Pawnee were Ghost-Dancing, he wrote to the clerk in charge at the Pawnee agency to put a stop
794 to the dancing immediately. "But the Indians seemed defiant and aggressive and it seemed at this time that trouble might be anticipated. Knowing that all religious fanatics are persistent and determined, I at once went to Pawnee and visited the camp of the so-called prophet Frank White, and after talking with him

---

[1] Murie op. cit.

[2] Murie, p. 635.

[3] Agent Wood in Annual Reports, 1891—92.

and ascertaining his views, I told him he was an impostor and I 668
wanted him at once to leave the reservation never to return. The 648
next morning 200 Indians came to the agency and demanded a 774
council. They were painted in high colors and seemed aggressive and defiant. After the arrival of an interpreter I opened the council in a two hours' talk on the coming of Christ and the true Messiah and the false Messiah as professed by them, and I plainly told them that the dance could not be tolerated and would not be; that this government would last and assert her power, and that they should be obedient to the law and be good Indians, return to their homes and cultivate their farms and raise something to eat. After they had spoken professing loyalty to the government and obedience to the law, they broke the council and returned to their homes."[1]

Although the effort to put a stop to Ghost Dancing continued, and officials would seek out meetings and try to break them up, the Pawnee were nevertheless gathering in secret to dance.

"At one camp about five miles east of the agency they decided one night to Ghost Dance. Word spread among the Indian folk and they gathered in numbers at the camp. There was one old man, George Esau, who had a great loud voice. The people were dancing in the moonlight. At night the echo goes a long way. When he cried out it could be heard clear over at the agency. One Indian who lived a mile north of town came on horseback to tell them. He said Esau's voice could be heard away over toward the west. 'The police may come; they can hear him.' Whenever they tried to quiet Esau he became worse, and his voice louder, and the people became afraid of him. Then they let him alone and stopped dancing, because they didn't want the agents to find out."[2]

It was in the midst of this year of excitement in the life of the 657
Pawnee that the government had elected to carry out a further
step in its program of civilizing the Pawnee and turning them into 668
citizens. The plan was to complete the allotment of tracts in severalty among the Pawnee. Those who had already chosen plots and were living on them and cultivating the land were to be confirmed in their possession. All others must take them out. The Pawnee who had not as yet chosen to farm individual tracts were of course those who were most strongly opposed to the program. Furthermore the plan laid before the tribe involved the sale of their surplus lands after the Pawnee were provided with allotments per capita, and the opening of these lands to settlement by

---

[1] Agent D. J. M. Wood, in Annual Report, 1891—1892.

[2] Informant's narrative.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

657
668 white people. This meant essentially the final break-up of reservation life.

The commissioners to draw up the agreement with the Pawnee for the allotment of lands in severalty and the sale of surplus acreage was due the agency. It was at this time that the agent was compelled to take further steps to stop the Ghost Dancing.

The agent reported on the episode as follows: "In about two weeks thereafter news again reached me of the renewal of the Ghost Dance. I procured the assistance of a deputy United States marshal and he went to Pawnee and arrested the supposed prophet Frank White, and took him to Guthrie, Oklahoma, before a United States Commissioner, and he was held over until district court for inciting Indians to an insurrection, and remanded to jail to await his trial before the district court. In about ten days I received a telegram that a writ of habeas corpus had been issued and the hearing was the next day. I at once went to Guthrie and was at the hearing when Judge Green, chief justice of Oklahoma, gave him a good strong talk, telling him of the danger of indulging in such things, and released him. He went back to the reservation, and there has not been a Ghost Dance since. All is prosperous and serene at Pawnee. . ."[1]

The Pawnee recall the arrest as taking place at the time of trouble over the question of allotments. Officials spread the word in the tribe that if they took out allotments they could dance all they wanted to, and no one would interfere with them. This of course was a reference to the fact that the program which the government wanted to carry out would break up the reservation, and make the Pawnee individual land holders subject to the laws of the United States and the Territory in which they lived, in which event the agent would no longer have executive power to control them. This argument for taking out allotments had weight with many, and contributed to their final acquiescence.

To keep the Pawnee quiet for a while, they say the agent had [625] White arrested. A United States marshall and three Indian policemen, recalled as Harry Coons, John Morris and Jim Murie, arrested White, and it was understood by the Pawnee he was being taken to Red Rock. The Pawnee decided to fight to get the Prophet back. David Akapakis and some others took the lead and organized a party of men who got their guns and were going to fight. They gathered at the railroad station to take him away from the marshall. Said an informant, "The agent sent a telegram to a fort which was among the Cheyenne, and when the train came in a lot of soldiers got off. There were too many soldiers so the Pawnee couldn't fight. The marshall took White away and the Indians went home." 657 668

---

[1] Annual Report, 1891—92.

It was while White was away under arrest that most of the Pawnee who had been opposed were persuaded so choose allotments. They wanted to continue the Ghost Dance, and having been told they could dance if they took allotments, they did so. It must be remembered that in dividing up their land, and selling a good part of it, the Pawnee were doing something which was opposed to the faith and doctrine of the Ghost Dance. On the other hand, for those who were strong in their faith, the act was meaningless, since the change which would destroy the white man would restore them their lands in their aboriginal state.

Frank White was held ten or twelve days, and brought back. According to Murie, after White's release, the Messiah himself did what he could to develop the Ghost Dance movement along less militant lines. "To do this he magnified the Christian elements." 648 657

In pursuance of the government land program, a special allotting agent, with clerical assistants, came to the Pawnee agency in the summer of 1892. After the completion of their work, during which a total of 797 allotments in severalty were drawn up, the United States Commissioners came, empowered to treat with the Pawnee for the sale of their surplus lands. On November 23, 1892 they completed their agreement with the Pawnee. By it the allotments were confirmed; 840 acres were reserved for the school, agency, cemetery and religious purposes; and the residue of their reservation, 169, 320 acres, was purchased to be thrown open to settlement. In compensation for their lands the government paid the Pawnee an advance of $ 80,000 to be distributed per capita upon the ratification of the agreement by act of Congress; and agreed to continue their perpetual annuity of $ 30,000 a year, thenceforth to be issued entirely in money.[1] The balance of the return from the sale of their Oklahoma lands was to be deposited in the United States Treasury as a trust fund to the credit of the Pawnee tribe, to draw interest at 5 per cent annually, which interest was to be distributed per capita.

The agreement was ratified March 3, 1893; and that year the lands ceded by the Pawnee were thrown open to white settlement. In selecting tracts for allotments the Pawnee had naturally been guided by the quality of the land. As a result the lands ceded and opened to white settlement were scattered all over what had been the Pawnee reservation, and before the year was out the tribe found

---

[1] Up to this time the annuity was half money, half goods and supplies.

648 657 white settlers in among them and on all sides of them. Almost at once a town sprang up near the agency, the present Pawnee.

641 648 The Pawnee soon found that their legal status had changed; the agent no longer had executive power to control their acts and behavior. The people were now free citizens of the United States. The white people who settled among them and were anxious to do business with a tribe whose income, between their down payment, annuity, and interests, was $ 177,000 in 1893, were quick to tell them so. Then came the lease system for the Indian farm lands. But that is another story. What concerns us here is the effect of this change of status upon the Ghost Dance among the Pawnee.

648 668 177 At first, in 1893, the agent believed that by his prompt measures with Frank White the year before, he had stamped out the Ghost Dance. He wrote in his report, July 15, 1893: "This dance has almost disappeared... There is some religious enthusiasm in which they indulge and makes them more tractable and easy to manage, as they say they must do right under all circumstances." The agent felt that the tribe was well satisfied with their allotments, and was prosperous and united.

We, however, can note that this religious enthusiasm was none other than the Ghost Dance, in view of the ethical maxims quoted by the agent, but that from the official standpoint the movement had lost its militancy. By the following year, however, the agent himself was aware that Ghost Dances were being held regularly; that the Indians flouted his loss of authority, which they were now fully cognizant of. From this time forth until the turn of the century, the reports indicate that the agents were doing all in their power by moral suasion to keep the Indians from Ghost Dancing; but the religion continued none the less. At the turn of the century the form in which it flourished was the four-day Ghost Dance hand game ceremony, rather than the Ghost Dance proper.

FORMS OF WHITE'S SOUTH BAND GHOST DANCE

668 796 177 When White first brought the Ghost Dance to the Pawnee he organized the dancing simply. He taught some of the songs to a few singers, gathered the people together in a large conical tipi for face-painting, and led the dancing outside this tipi, aided by his singers.

Soon he had organized the dancing more ritually. He selected seven singers, after the pattern initiated by Sitting-Bull among the Caddo and Wichita, and these became a fixed organization for South Band Ghost Dancing. There is some disagreement among

contemporary Pawnee informants as to who the originals singers 668
were. According to Joseph Carrion, they were, in the order of their 796
selection and importance, Whitehorse (Pitahawirat^{a}), Sam Cover 177
(Skiri), Ezra Tilden (Skiri), Tom Yellowhorse (Skiri), Henry Shooter (Kitkahaxki^{x}), Brigham Young (Teawi), and Jim Keys (Skiri). In addition, however, Carrion corrects himself by agreeing with other informants that Joseph Long was the first of these "crows" selected. Mark Evarts believes that all the original singers belonged to the South Bands, and claims that the first four, after White himself, were Joseph Long, Rubin Wilson, Lester Pratt and White Elk, none of whom are Skiri. The presence of Skiri men in the group of main singers should however be anticipated because all the bands joined in the Ghost Dance under White's leadership. Also, when the Skiri later organized and led their own Ghost Dancing, the singers who were selected by the Skiri to take charge were men who knew the songs because of their earlier participation in the South Band Ghost Dancing, hence some Skiris must have belonged to the original group of singers. The men actually selected to form the organizations of the Seven Eagles and Seven Crows (see below) included several who are mentioned in this list of Carrion's. Those whom Knifechief and Mrs. Washington selected were chosen because they knew the songs.

In addition to face paintings, the early Ghost Dance forms [302
included the use of feathers as hair ornaments. Two types were 301]
prominent, eagle feathers and crow feathers. These birds were used
because of a definite symbolism which attached to them. Both [825]
birds were conceived to fly high and far, and to see and know many things. The Pawnee have always thought of the crow as a bird which finds what it seeks. Hence the crow can help people find what is lost lost beliefs, lost ways of life.

In trance visions of the Ghost Dance, the visionary usually found 668
himself associated either with the eagle or the crow, and thereafter 787
wore the feather of one or the other. White wore eagle feathers,
and when he constituted the seven men as the official singers, he 796
gave them special crow feathers to wear. White did not himself lead the singing after this, but acted as general director, dancing in the center of the circle and putting subjects into trances.

A story is told of how White and Joseph Long were put to a
test in early Ghost Dance days. There was a woman who went to 668
Camp Creek. On the way she lost a strap with which she was going 796
to bind up a load of wood. She wanted to find out if it was true that 825
crows could find things, so she went to the tipi of the leaders and told them about her lost strap. Frank White said, "All right, sit

668 down." Joseph Long had crow feathers. He put them on his head.
796 Then he got up like a crow, and danced around the tipi. Imitating
825 the crow, he danced his way outside and went along the path by
which the woman had gone through the timber, and found the
strap. He picked it up and brought it back into the tipi, and the
woman took her strap.

The relation of this crow-concept to the Ghost Dancing is direct. The crow feather (as also the eagle) is one of the objects used by leaders, as they dance inside the circle, for hypnotizing subjects. It is moved back and forth directly before the eyes of the subject. It helps the dancer to fall into a trance, and this means that it helps the subject to see or find his lost relatives. In the trance-vision itself the bird may guide the visionary to his dear ones. In the same way the old Indian customs, the dances, the songs, the rituals, are found among the deceased people, or recovered in trance visions which are induced in part through the instrumentality of the birds.

In this early use of eagle and crow, those who learned about one or the other bird wore a feather of that bird. There was no organization or orientation of these except for White's seven crow singers. But there came to be felt an opposition between crow and eagle, analogous to the actions of the birds themselves, and this was carried over into the sides of the hand game arrangements. The opposition involved the question of which was abler or luckier in finding things.

668 For the Ghost Dance, White arranged to have a large cleared
796 dancing ground. West of this was set up a special tipi. Herein
[346] White gathered the people, particularly the leaders. Those who
gathered inside the tent were only men. The old men sat near the
[554] eastern entranceway on both sides, with the chiefs next to them
to the west, and then the braves[1]; while other men present sat
about anywhere. White himself would sit with his seven crow
leaders at the west facing east. The only sacred objects kept on a
[778] covering at the western altar-place were the feathers and paints
of the leaders, and several pipes (two or four). Two men were
selected by White and the chiefs to act as tarutsius ("fire-tenders")
and at the same time as policemen. They carried long sticks to
whip the dogs with, driving them away from the dance ground
while the dancing went on. They also controlled the dancers.
[276] After all the men had gathered, a smoke offering initiated the
performance. White gave pipes to two or four chiefs and told them
step by step what to do. The performance could begin either in the

---

[1] These are generic Pawnee patterns.

late afternoon or in the morning, and the smoke offering differed 668
according to which time of day it was. 776

In the arrangement for the time near sundown, the two chiefs 276
carrying the pipes lead the way out of the tipi and all the others
follow. Outside, the chiefs stand at the east of the clearing, facing
west. Behind them the men form a long flat arc facing west, with
White and his seven leaders in the center. The announcer cries
out to the people at large that the singing will commence as soon [202]
as the smoking is over.

(First Phase[1]) Each of the two chiefs holds the pipe slantwise 668
toward the west, offering it, not by holding it aloft, but by holding 776
it just in front of him. Both proceed simultaneously. After offering 782
the pipe west, each walks clockwise around the clearing, carrying 276
the pipe, and after reaching the same point at the east, stops there, offers a pinch of tobacco upward to heaven, and one westward, placing each on the ground. (Lighting the Pipe) Then each again makes a clockwise circuit, stopping at a point east of northeast, where squatting with the pipe in mouth and its bowl toward the east the pipe is lit by means of a brand which is brought forward by anyone for this purpose. (Second Phase; first mode) Each arises, puffing the pipe, and returns to the east, where facing west, he puffs four times upward to heaven and four times to the west, (Second Phase; third mode) then carries the pipe through a clockwise circuit and takes it to whoever is standing at the extreme northern end of the arc-like row of men. Standing in front of this man the smoker puts the pipe to the man's lips without releasing the bowl. Then the smoker proceeds in turn to allow each man to puff the pipe, moving from north to south down the arc of men. (Third Phase) After all in the line have puffed, the smoker takes the pipe and carries it through a clockwise circuit, coming to the east of the clearing in front of the line of men. Here he faces west, loosens the ashes in the pipe-bowl with a tamper, offering ashes once upward to heaven, then emptying some, and again to the west, emptying the rest of the bowl contents on the ground before him. (Fourth Phase) Holding the empty pipe in his left hand, the smoker touches the right hand to the ashes on the ground, then runs the right hand up the pipe from bowl to mouthpiece while the stem is directed heavenward. He repeats this motion with the left hand, and again with the right and the left, making four motions. Then the smoker makes four similar motions while he directs the pipe toward the west. (Self-Blessing) Holding the pipe,

---

[1] Parenthetical divisions into phases, etc. refer to the analysis of the smoke offering in Chapter 8, see especially pp. 186—207.

668 mouthpiece upward and bowl inward toward the body, he takes
782 it in his left hand and runs his right hand up it from bowl to mouth-
796 piece, opening the palm upward and outward toward heaven, then
places the hand on the right side of his head and runs his palm down
276 the head and side and leg to the instep which is pressed against the
ground. This motion is then made with the left hand for the left side etc. while the right hand holds the pipe, and repeated once again with the right and once again with the left, making four motions. Then the smoker turns and returns the pipe to another chief in the line of men, who receives it with an *arm blessing*.[1] When the offerings have been completed, the pipes are taken inside the tipi and replaced on the altar-space at the west.

Now the arc-like line at the west closes around the clearing to
form a circle of dancers, and women who have not up to this point
[533 participated join the circle. They may, however, sing two songs
535] before forming a circle of dancers, and these are special ghost-
dance songs which are never danced to. Then the dancing begins from the east, facing west, circling clockwise.

668 Before describing the movements of the dancers, attention must
782 be called to the form of the smoke offering which would be made
796 if the dance were to begin in the morning.

If the dancing is to begin with a smoke-offering in the morning
276 the orientations for the smoke would be reversed. That is, the
823 arc-line of leaders and men would form around White on the west,
facing east; the smoker would begin all his circuits from the west, and the motions with the pipe which he made slantwise to the west, while he stood at the east side of the clearing and faced west, would become motions slantwise to the east which he would make standing at the west of the clearing and facing east. Finally the pipes would be handed along the line of leaders and men from south to north, instead of from north to south.

This shift of direction also changes the position for starting the dance, which is now at the point directly west, facing east. Here White stands and leads, and the circle proceeds clockwise. This is the generic position for beginning Ghost Dancing and singing, and even if the evening orientations are followed, only the first song begins at the east facing west; it then ends at the west, facing east, and all subsequent songs begin at the west.

It will be seen at once that the whole smoking ritual involves two basic orientation concepts: upward and either slantwise to the west or slantwise to the east. The upward offering is to Tirawahat* or the expanse of the heavens; the other is to the sun, according to

[1] See chapter 8, p. 209.

his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, 668
therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. 782
An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time, 796
the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins
at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would 276
be adopted. 823

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to
Tirawahat[a] must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering;
that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to [775]
be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on
one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance, and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is
thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The
sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his [776]
marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus, while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering 668
for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" 796
is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived
by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the 177
dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream 182
of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

---

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old
cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and [591]
Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

668 identified with this background. The cross has always been used
796 by the Pawnee as a star symbol. On the ancient star-map of the
177 Pawnee, which was part of the Black Star bundle,[1] all the stars
182 are indicated by small crosses, rather than by dots or five-pointed figures. Hence to a Pawnee it is natural to conceive the cross-scaffold as involving a star-reference. To this scaffold Christ as a holy untainted man who has been honored (the maiden must be virginal and while she lives among the Pawnee is honored) is nailed, with his arms outstretched, as a sacrifice (from the Pawnee viewpoint). With both Christ's crucifixion and the Morning Star Sacrifice Ceremony oriented from the west, there comes about a broadening of the western orientation to include not only the Evening Star ideas of earlier times, but as well the conception of Christ as the Father and Shepherd of the people in the other world, the Chief in the beyond.

The meaning of the final self-blessing is simple and direct. One had offered tobacco and smoke to specific powers, and one concludes by reaffirming one's desire and hope of continued and long contact with the earth, Mother Earth. Thus one presses the body to the ground firmly as a request for long life.

Murie has pointed out that the Pawnee Ghost Dance ceremony as first organized by White, "seems to have been largely original with White and far from identical with the Ghost Dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true Ghost Dance."[2] This reference is to the fact that in the vision pattern suggested by White there were seen by the visionary in order a stream, a tree (usually cedar), the Messiah or Christ himself, then a village of people, and upon approaching the village the people were seen to be dancing, playing games, etc. In addition White brought the undeveloped forms of the Wichita Ghost Dance; there were one day dances, or dances from early afternoon through to the next dawn. White had borrowed the concept of seven leaders for the dance from the Wichita organization as instituted by Sitting-Bull. Murie remarks further, "Some years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct."[2]

The information I have is that Wichita were in part responsible for the changed conception of the dance, inasmuch as visitors from

---

[1] See Buckstaff, R. N., 279ff., which includes a reproduction of the map. The original is in the Field Museum of Natural History.

[2] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

that tribe were present among the Pawnee when the Skiri Brother- 668
hoods were conceived; the Wichita seem to have brought to the 796
Pawnee the change to a Ghost Dance every six weeks for four
nights, continuing the last night until the dawn of the fifth day. 177
This they had adopted in accordance with the change among the 182
Cheyenne, Arapaho, Caddo and Wichita, after the message from
the Messiah was received. At the same time, a conflict of doctrine
over the teachings of White, which culminated in a new conception
of the significance of the Ghost Dance brought directly from the
major Arapaho prophets by Pawnee delegations, seems to have
contributed to the release of the Pawnee Ghost Dance from White's
exclusive control. This doctrinal change occurred before Frank
White's death in 1893.

In the early days after the dancing for the day was over, the people as a whole broke apart and went home, or went to their own tipis. But White, his seven co-leaders, and some of the chiefs would reenter the leading tipi. There they were served food. Before eating, a simple corn offering was made; corn was offered to Tirawahat^{a} and placed on the ground; then motions of blessing were made with the horn spoon over the altar objects.

After this feast, someone would begin to talk about his trance
experiences. He would tell what he saw, and then sing songs which
he had learned in his trance. In this way songs were added to the [533]
repertoire, and gradually the Wichita and Arapaho songs became
only a minor phase (save for the closing song) of the Pawnee
Ghost Dance songs.

CONFLICT OF DOCTRINE; REORGANIZATION OF CEREMONY

According to the conception of the Ghost Dance which Frank 668
White brought among the Pawnee, Frank White himself was the 796
sole authentic prophet of the dance and doctrine, and it was 792
necessary for all sanctions to come through Frank White as inter-
mediary. Those who had visions in trances reported the content
and character to White, and in terms of his interpretation and
permission made use of the vision. Feathers to wear in the hair,
paints for the face, special symbolisms of dress, and the like, were
possible only with White's approval. If a dancer wished to use
a face painting, in accordance with his trance experiences, he had [431]
first to go to White and pay him for the privilege, or in any case,
to offer him gifts. Individuals who had learned about the Ghost
Dance in visions, and felt authorized to put on a dance, could do so
only after conferring with White. He would teach the visionary

668 what to do, and received compensation for his instruction. Ordi-
796 narily his instruction seems to have amounted to interpretation, to
a suggestion that the visionary do as all had seen White himself do,
792 with some explanation of the details. White would also counsel the visionary to tell the people in general what he had seen and learned. But even in such a case, according to reports, when a dance was put on by another, White's seven crow singers had to be invited to lead the singing and dancing, whether it was held among the Skiri or South Bands.

Gifts and money were lavished upon White: a small face painting often earned him five dollars; feathers and sanctions of various kinds brought him other money. Many people were jealous, or resented White's attitude, called him a liar and began to disbelieve him and say he was deceiving the people.

At the same time, White's conduct was not exemplary. It must be remembered that priests, chiefs, medicine men, and in fact all individuals who had claims to sacred office or inspiration in connection with old Pawnee ways of life, lived up to accepted Pawnee ethical standards of conduct.

As one informant describes White's behavior: "All this time
[276] White drank peyote, which made him wise. At the same time he
used to drink whiskey. Whiskey and peyote do not mix, they cannot go together. That's what killed him.

"One time they were going to have a doctor dance north of town and when they were ready to begin, someone said, 'we can't start until the Messiah comes'—they considered White a great prophet, and called him Father and Messiah. Finally they saw him coming, hardly able to walk, supported on each side by a man holding his arm. Someone said, 'why, he's drunk,' but they whispered around, 'we can't say anything about it anyhow, because he's the Messiah.' They used to lavish gifts upon him, and finally they gave him the prettiest girl in the tribe to marry."

It was not long before revolt against White and his tactics took definite form. This reaction is in part to be explained by White's misbehavior, in part by jealousy of the way in which he was getting rich, and in part also by a sincere desire on the part of some to get more out of the dancing in a religious sense.

According to Joseph Carrion, White and he had been friends for
668 a long time; in fact Frank White at one time married Joe's sister-
177 in-law, which in terms of Pawnee kinship put them on strong
[607] grounds of familiarity. Joe Carrion danced along with Frank
White for almost a year. In Joe's own words, "Frank White told me that I was going where I could find out something for myself

about the dance." Carrion, along with John Moses, Jim Keys, 668
Brigham Young and Henry Minthorn went to see Sitting Bull the 177
Arapaho. This was late in 1892, and they stayed there two months.

Carrion told Sitting Bull his story. Sitting Bull got a permit
from his agent to Ghost Dance for two days. The Arapaho painted
the Pawnee visitors with a rainbow around the forehead, a crow [302
on the right cheek (because, says Carrion, "a crow finds everything
he looks for, and when one is under the crow influence one can 825]
almost read minds"), and an eagle on the left cheek (which also
represents a bird that flies high above everything, sees all and
finds things).

That night in the Ghost Dancing among the Arapaho Joe
Carrion was overcome and fell unconscious on his back. "I saw a
big circle of people above." He awoke about two o'clock at night
after lying there for five hours. When he woke up, he found there
was a drum beside his head; an old man came over and asked him
what he had seen. "Nothing," he said; he didn't want to tell. The
old man told him, "you must tell." "I got up and said, 'I don't
believe it.' Then he hit a gourd against the ground, and I fell over
again. I got up and still said, 'I don't believe it,' so he hit the
gourd on the ground and again I fell over. The way he could do
this to me convinced me, and when I got up I believed it all. Then
I told him what I had seen. He said it was true. The next day
the Arapaho were told they would have to stop the Ghost Dancing. 796

"Two days afterward a boy came with hand game sticks, bringing 668
one round to each tent. He told everybody that there was to be 177
a big hand game at a certain place. It was to last four days, with [785]
a Squaw dance afterwards." 524

The man in charge of the hand game told Carrion to get certain [302]
things for himself. He told him that he must fast four days and
nights. Carrion wore only a g-string, and painted his body yellow.
He neither ate nor drank.

During the playing of the game, he often got thirsty and would be about to take a drink, when someone would remind him that he must not. He was chosen to serve the food, but he was not supposed to partake of it. He also would pass the bucket of water around. The smell of the food helped him, seemed to satisfy his hunger a little. The first night he felt weak and wanted to cry. "They told me to go ahead and cry, that this was the same as going to church."

At sunrise he stood outside the tent and prayed. 796

"The fourth day I went onto a hill. Behind me there was 668
someone sitting in the grass. I looked at the sun and saw things 787
177

796 668 787 177 in it. I saw the sun whirling round, and I saw crows flying around the sun, and flying over me. I saw an eagle feather in the whirling sun. Then I saw a black sun streaked with white inside coming towards me, and as it came I fell over. I stood up and saw a buffalo bull stick his head out of the sun. Just before sundown I saw Jesus standing in the west in the sun with one hand extended toward me.

"Someone came and told me I was wanted in the tent. There Sitting-Bull's nephew[1] spoke to me and told me I had made good. [788] He dropped water into my mouth four times with an eagle feather to cool my thick, dry tongue. Then he told me to take three swallows of water. He gave me sweet corn gruel to eat, and told me not to eat any more that night, but to eat a hearty breakfast in the morning."

At this time the old man questioned Carrion in detail about what he had seen, and Carrion told him about the circle of people, the birds and the man standing with his hand extended as if he were handing Carrion something. This, according to Carrion, the Arapaho interpreted as a gift of the hand game. The circle of people were the players, the man held in his hand the hand game sticks. The crow and eagle feathers belonged to the players, the clusters of feathers to the guessers.

Shortly after this the Pawnee came home. None of the others had visions among the Arapaho, says Carrion, because none of the others went through a four-day fast.

When Joe got home, crowds gathered around and wanted to know what he had found out, and if the Ghost Dance was true. Joe told the Pawnee that Frank White had taken something which did not belong to him and brought it over, and that White couldn't give them blessings and things to use, but that they had to get everything for themselves.

According to Carrion, this message which he brought home from the Arapaho introduced a different perspective into Pawnee Ghost Dancing. Before this people danced, but their experiences in the dancing did not give them sanction to carry out the dancing as leaders on their own account. White taught that only he could sanction them to do anything, and that they must pay him for the right. Now the people tried to find out things for themselves in trance-visions, and they did. It was after this that an extreme

---

[1] Sitting-Bull's nephew was the leader of this four day hand game among the Arapaho. Apparently he had derived it in trance visions experienced in the Arapaho Ghost-Dancing under the leadership of Sitting-Bull, and his visions had been sanctioned by the interpretations of Sitting-Bull.

development of visions in which hand games and many similar 796
sanctions were bestowed took place among the Pawnee. Carrion 668
claims to have brought the inspiration for the hand game ceremonies 787
from the Arapaho. With the liberation of the Pawnee Ghost Dance 177
hand games began a rapid development (see part II).

While Carrion and others contend, as is usual in such cases among American Indian groups, that this difference of doctrine between White and the Arapaho indicated a conscious deception on the part of White, it is clear that no explanation of this kind need be invoked. Actually White's doctrine is much closer to generic Pawnee ideology, according to which the independent free vision of the individual is subordinated to a process of learning from one who knows a ritual, ceremony or performance. That is to say, in the older ancient Pawnee activities, the accepted method of obtaining participation was to receive the right or sanction to do so from those who were in charge of that activity, rather than directly from supernatural powers. In contrast to this, Carrion's doctrine looks a great deal like Plains patterns in general, which would be correct for Arapaho Ghost Dancing. It should be remembered in this connection, first, that White did not learn from Arapaho or other Plains tribes directly, but indirectly through the Wichita, whose ideas on these fundamental points are very close to Pawnee ideas, and second, that Carrion was not a Pawnee, although he lived most of his life among them and spoke a fluent Pawnee.

In a general way, also, the pattern of immediately telling the 668
vision to the leaders and securing their interpretation is a non-
Pawnee pattern. In older forms, among both Wichita and Pawnee, 177
visions were kept a secret for long, and only in the course of one's 114
life because of one's behavior did the general public of the tribe become aware that one had supernatural experience. In the Ghost Dance doctrine, the visions had to be told at once to show appreciation for receiving them, and one who didn't tell was not supposed to live long thereafter.

It is not possible to date accurately the time of the reorganization of the Pawnee Ghost Dance to accord with the regular four-day dance forms of the southern tribes. I believe Murie has dated it far too late. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri, which initiated the freeing of the Skiri Ghost Dancing from White's control, took place before White's death in 1893. The first forms of Skiri dancing followed White's forms. On his visit to the Arapaho Carrion had observed both Ghost Dances and hand games as four-day ceremonies. Whether this was responsible for a correction

668 of Pawnee forms, or whether the Wichita taught the Pawnee
177 directly, the four-day ceremony was the formal Ghost Dance
114 among the Pawnee by 1895.

This regular Ghost Dance of the Pawnee was arranged to last
four days. It began the evening of one day, or the late afternoon.
668 Among the South Bands, all arose early in the morning, and faced
184 the sun for a brief period, (during which the smoke offering would
796 be made if the dance was to begin that day); but they did not dance.
Then in the afternoon the people danced from three to midnight.
786 The Skiri say that in their band there was a brief period of dancing
each morning, as well as a longer period of dancing through the
afternoon and evening. Both bands continued the fourth night until
the dawn of the fifth day, bathed and dispersed.

As each song was sung, the circle of dancers, holding hands, moved clockwise through one complete circuit, returning to the original starting point. This is determined by the main singer's position: he begins at the west and finishes at the west (except for the first afternoon song, as above). During the dancing period of the day, the dancers could carry out as many songs as they wished; there was no special number. The singing was initiated and led by the seven crow-feathered singers, and the others joined in. While the dancing went on, some "hypnotizers" would dance inside the circle directly in front of individuals they wished to throw into a trance, using feathers or other objects to focus and fix the eyesight of the subject, thus transfixing them. Usually the subject fell when he or she was touched with the object used. When individuals fell into a trance, they were laid down and the others continued to dance.

668 In these trances, the visionaries followed a general pattern. In
one way or another the subject was guided to the other world,
787 where all the deceased Pawnee were living together in the old way.
796 There some special phase of the life would imprint itself upon the
subject's mind, the playing of games, the hunting of buffalo, war
societies and dances, and the like. When the subject awoke, such
aspects of the trance vision, along with the bird or messenger who
had guided the individual to the beyond, would become the subjects of songs, costuming, and paraphernalia.

The closing song was carried out in a special way. It is the
668 special closing song of all Ghost Dances. As sung to conclude the
796 occasion, it is repeated six times as follows:

1. The leader remains stationary at the west facing east, and
533 leads the singing of the song once; all the dancers keep their places.

2. The leader dances from west to north, singing the song, and

stops at the north facing south; the rest of the circle dance through 668
an equivalent part of the circuit. 796

3. The leader repeats the song, while the whole circle of dancers 533
moves through another quadrant, the leader finishing at the east, facing west.

4. A third quadrant is similarly completed with the leader at the south facing north.

5. The fourth quadrant is completed when the leader is once more in his original position at the west facing east.

6. All now step back a few paces, widening the circle, and as they sing the circle closes in again. Throughout this singing the leader maintains his orientation at the west, and each dancer his or her relative position in the circle. Now, as the song finishes with the circle narrowed to its original dimensions, all break their handclasps, and shake off the blankets they wear, and the dance is over. The closing in of the circle during this last song signifies the coming together of the people, and the shaking out of the blankets expresses their desire to shake off them the bad ways, the new ways, the white man's ways.

The closing song is the Arapaho song as given by Mooney[1]. [177]

FIRST FORMS OF THE SKIRI GHOST DANCE

792
As we have seen, Frank White brought the Ghost Dance to the 668
South Bands primarily, being himself a Kitkahaxki^{x}. When a Skiri 177
wished to hold a dance among the Skiri proper, he was in the same position as any individual among the South Bands who felt he had the right to do so. [424] The Skiri had to get sanction from White, and to invite White and his leaders to come over to initiate and lead the dancing.

After the visit of the five Pawnee to Sitting-Bull, the Arapaho, a change came over the Pawnee attitude toward the general Ghost Dance doctrine. The whole religious movement was liberated from the domination of White. An individual's own conscience and experience was the individual's guide to what he could and could not do, to what sanctions he had obtained supernaturally. It became unnecessary to pay White for rights, and the only checks upon the number of prophets who began to appear among the Pawnee with messages from the deceased were the natural ones: the force of character and the temperament of the claimant: the

---

[1] Mooney, pp. 1011—1012, no. 73. Note that this song was used as the closing song after the return of the delegation of Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne in the fall of 1891.

792 668 reputation and esteem in which he or she was held by the tribes- 177 people, the abilities of the prophet as a leader, hypnotizer, organizer; and the experiences which were undergone by the layman under the leadership and influence of the prophet.

Those who are remembered as the chief visionaries of the period in which the Ghost-Dance was taken up by the Skiri are Mrs. Washington, Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle, and Mrs. Cover. There were others, of course. Chiefly, Mrs. Washington was responsible for the inauguration of independent Skiri Ghost-Dances. She had many trance-visions, and often told very complex stories of the images and events which took place in them, so [787] complex in fact that there were Pawnee who doubted her, partly because of their own vision experiences, which seemed to them different in kind (psychologically); partly because of jealousy of the constantly increasing part she was playing in the tribal developments.

668 Carrion speaks of Mrs. Washington as a fraud. He says that she made up a lot of stuff, and was a false prophet trying to win 792 the people's worship. His reasons for the attitude are interesting. 787 He claims that in a vision (as he has experienced such) you see merely one simple image or thing, not a complex array; and that if you add to what you see, that is wrong. He contends that Mrs. Washington had trance-vision after trance-vision, and kept on learning details of performances in her visions, like a serial story. This is impossible, he says, because going back to those who give you things in visions and asking for more, is imposing on them; and it is for such conduct that people lose their lives.

In truth, Carrion's attitude indicates a temperamental difference between him and Mrs. Washington, as well as difference in the quality of his imagination. Carrion was not subject to trances often, Mrs. Washington was; his mind did not experience much detail in the few cases in which he had visions, while Mrs. Washington did. Obviously, the quality of the individual's mind will appear in the content and character of his visions as well as in his waking life, which is well illustrated by the vision experience of Mark Evarts in relation to the Ghost Dance, given below; Mark Evarts is a man whose mind is rich in content. But the native concept of the vision is more or less fixed and absolute, not one which accepts the relativity of the vision to the subject; hence, in terms of one visionary's experiences, those of another may often seem fraudulent.

184 The early independent Ghost Dances of the Skiri were carried out 668 in terms of the usual forms and patterns of White's South Band 796 Ghost Dancing. There was the same form of the circle, the same orientation of the official or sacred tent, and the same pattern of

the smoke offering. Those who had crow or eagle feathers from 184
the Ghost Dance wore them, and usually a group of seven singers 668
led the singing. These were men who knew the Ghost Dance songs. 796
But at first there was no official organization of singers, policemen and the like. Each occasion was organized in the usual patterns, according to immediate needs. The first phase of the organization of Skiri Ghost Dances concerns the official constitution of a fixed group of singers, the Seven Eagle Brothers.

THE SEVEN EAGLE BROTHERS

As with many cultural formalizations, the Seven Eagle Brothers 668
were not institutionalized by revolutionary act or decree, but by 796
gradual changes. There were first of all a great many people who 533
considered themselves "eagles" and a great many who considered themselves "crows". Among the Skiri there were in each of these classes men who were gifted as singers and leaders, whose knowledge of the ways of the Ghost Dance had grown through continuous and regular experience and participation. Seven singers were the number usually employed, following White's pattern, and by habitual practice there was general acceptance of certain men as naturally more proficient for the function. In other words the men who were chosen as the official Seven Eagle Brothers were probably seven main singers for the Skiri by custom and practice before the group was institutionalized as a brotherhood.

Knifechief is recalled as the man who first expressed the general attitude toward these seven men. At a hand game he selected them formally to be the main singers. Knifechief went to the place each one occupied in the hand game circle and told him to rise and follow him. Then he led the selected man around a circuit of the fireplace, and seated him in his new position in a row on the south side toward the west. The seven in their order were, according to Ezra Tilden[1]: Sam Cover, Emmett Pierson, Walter Keys (the senior), Tom Yellowhorse, Ezra Tilden, Leadingfox, and Harry Sergeant. These seven, when they were seated in a row on the south side, led the singing for the hand game.

Mrs. Washington was officially responsible for the organization of these seven as the Seven Eagle Brothers of the Skiri Ghost Dance. The first occasion on which Mrs. Washington managed a large Ghost Dance among the Skiri was one which occurred when many Wichita had come to visit the Pawnee; and it said by some

---

[1] Ezra Tilden and Tom Yellowhorse are the only ones of the seven still living.

668 796 533 that a suggestion of the Wichita was in part responsible for Mrs. Washington's determination to organize the Ghost-Dancing with regular singers while the Wichita were present.

Frank White died in 1893, and he is known to have been alive at the time Mrs. Washington inaugurated these developments, which places the time of the first Seven Eagle Brothers as sometime in late 1892 or early 1893.

As one informant describes Mrs. Washington's activities: "When 668 792 796 787 they used to dance among the South Bands, all would go there, and while the dancing went on, old Mrs. Washington fell in a trance. She found out something about the Seven Brothers, but not everything right away. Afterwards, every time she fell she would see something about the Seven Brothers.[1] The spirit told her to go ahead and put up the Seven Brothers. She used to have her own cattle. Once when they came home from the dancing, she was told that when she got home she should put up the Seven Brothers at a dance. So she killed her own beef, and put up the dance, and they told her how to go, everything, the smoke and all."

Mrs. Washington put up a special feast. She asked the chiefs and these seven men to be present, as well as others. Each of the seven sat on the south side with the eagle feather given him by Knifechief stuck into the ground before him. Along the north side were congregated the "crow" people, including those who played as "crows" in the hand games, as well as the men who later were organized into the Seven Crows; while along the south side the "eagle" people sat. As yet, however, there was no "crow" organization: the "crows" were merely an amorphous group who played the hand game together, and who had this affiliation because of Ghost Dance experiences.

Mrs. Washington stood at the doorway of the tipi. Up to this time she had been learning. Now she spoke. "Now, I want to tell you what I have in mind. We are going to have a Ghost Dance. A spirit told me to do it. I am going to do it today. These Seven Brothers are going to take the lead for us, and we're going to call them Fathers. Now I want you chiefs to decide when we should begin the dance."

527 Then the chiefs talked together and decided and one announced, "Let us move the camp and all come together on the third day."

574 This inaugural feast was not a ceremonial affair. After the decision of the chiefs was announced all those present partook of the feast provided by Mrs. Washington; this concluded the occasion

---

[114] [1] This "serial story" form of learning in visions is the sort of thing about Mrs. Washington's claims that Carrion resented; see above.

527
574
for most. Some sat about a while longer, however, and sang Ghost Dance songs.

This introductory or inaugural feast at which a decision is made as to the time for a regular ceremony, is a fundamental Pawnee pattern. Such feasts precede the actual performance of doctor dances and ceremonies, society gatherings and performances, and many other ritual activities. In all such cases the pattern is the same. An individual man or woman "puts up" the feast for the gathering, and obtains as a result certain definite rights of proprietorship over the actual ceremonial occasion which is to follow[1]: [424] This "host" invites leading men such as chiefs to be present, and requests selected ones to come to a decision as to the time for the performance itself.

After this feast-gathering had broken up, the people got ready for the actual dance. Three days were allowed for moving into camp because the people lived scattered over a large area, and had to come in wagons and on horseback. They needed time to arrange things at home so they could be absent for more than a week, to pack, and to come. After all had gathered, at least three more days intervened before the dance proper began, so that the preparation of food, wood, and all other necessary things could be finished. Once it is begun, the dance must not be interrupted by such labors.

Mrs. Washington must be the first to move officially into camp. The chief who finally set the date for the gathering inquired if she was ready, and after she had said yes, and moved her tent, others would begin to follow her into the camping place.

For the dance the tipis and tents were set up in a half circle 361
from south to north around the west. There was no special order 796
of tipis. In the center a space thirty to forty feet in diameter was 668
cleared of grass. Here the dancing began, but as more and more people joined in and the circle of dancers expanded, it would be pushed back beyond the edge of the cleared space onto the grass. The cleared space alone, however, was considered the sacred dancing ground.

One large tipi was set up west of the cleared ground at a distance [346] of thirty feet, its doorway facing east. This was the tent used by the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Washington and other leaders.

---

[1] Neither vision nor vow is essential in all cases to give an individual the right to "put up" a ritual affair. It is sufficient in most cases among the Pawnee that an individual wants to do so, either because he or she wants to secure thereby whatever benefits in health, luck and prosperity accrue from the performance (and particularly to the one who has "put it up") or because he or she wants to see the ritual demonstrated and learn something about it, or both.

796 When each house-group had ready its quota of wood, meat and
668 all else necessary, everything was in order and the dance could
782 begin.

276 A sacred smoke offering opened the dance. If the people wished to begin dancing on an evening, the usual form was to hold the smoke ceremony, then dance a little, perhaps ten songs, and adjourn until morning. At the continuation of the dancing in the morning no smoke offering would be made; but if dancing were begun for the first time in the morning, a preliminary offering was necessary.

Inside the main tipi were the Seven Brothers seated on the south side. Four chiefs were selected to carry pipes and make a smoke
[301] offering. These came out of the tent leading the way, followed by the Seven Brothers, each wearing an eagle feather in his hair. They were directed by Knifechief. This was the first occasion on which the Skiri Ghost Dancers saw the Seven Eagle Brothers as an organization.

796 Outside, the arrangement in relation to the clearing followed the
668 form already described for White's South Band Ghost-Dancing.
554 The Seven Brothers were in the center of an arc-like line of men
823 which stood at the east of the clearing facing west (for an evening smoke-offering). In front of this line stood the four chiefs with pipes, also facing west. While the Seven Brothers were in the center of the line, Sam Cover who was No. 1 Eagle Brother was not in the center of the seven, but at the south end of the seven; the others followed in the order given above, from south to north; this was the order of their selection. The significance of this arrangement is that now there was no main one who must be in the center—all were equal. In the row of men four chiefs took special places: two south of the Seven Brothers and two north.

796 Each of the four smokers had a special function. Their arrange-
668 ment was from south to north as they faced west: Number 1
782 smoker at the south end of the row of four smoked to heaven;
823 number 2 to the west (Christ); number 3 to the east (position of the
276 rising sun); and number 4 at the north end of the row of four smokers, to the south, the noon sun.

The four smokers proceeded with their movements simultaneously. Number 1 took the filled pipe, (phase 1[1]) walked through a half circuit clockwise to the west where he faced east and offered a pinch of tobacco upward, placing it on the ground; (lighting the pipe) then he continued clockwise to the northeast, where he squatted toward the east, holding the pipe in his mouth. Here it was lit from a brand brought forward by another. (Phase 2; first

---

[1] See Chapter 8, pp. 186— 207.

mode) He rose puffing the pipe and walked clockwise around the 796
clearing stopping again at the west facing east, where he offered
four puffs upward to heaven, and four downward to the earth. 668
(Phase 2; third mode) Then he walked clockwise until he neared the 782
row of men on the east of the clearing, when he went to the man 823
who was at the extreme northern end of the row and offered him
the pipe to smoke. This he did without releasing the pipe, holding 276
the bowl in his right hand, the offered pipestem in his left. The man accepting the pipe to smoke merely puts his two hands around the mouthpiece of the pipe and holds it to his lips, drawing a puff. Then the smoke-offerer moved along southward to the second man in the row to whom he offered the pipe to puff, and so on down the row to the extreme south end of it. (Phase 3) The smoker then made a half-circuit clockwise to the west of the clearing, where he tamped the ashes loose (the pipe was now out) and offered ashes twice upward to heaven, emptying some each time on the ground, and again offered some ashes twice downward to the earth, finally depositing the last of the ashes from the bowl on the ground. (Phase 4) Now as he stood at the west, he held the empty pipe with the mouthpiece pointing upward, touched the ashes on the ground with his right hand, and ran his right hand up the pipe, from bowl to mouthpiece, opening his palm upward and outward toward heaven; he repeated this action with his left hand, holding the pipe in the same position with his right, then repeated it once more with his right hand and once more with his left, making four motions upward to heaven. Then he pointed the mouthpiece of the pipe slightly slantwise downward toward the earth, and made four similar motions toward the earth, each time touching the ashes on the ground before running his hand along the pipestem. He had now finished the smoke offering. (Self-Blessing; return of pipe) He walked with the pipe around the clearing clockwise until he reached a point just in front of the chief at the left (south) of Sam Cover, the Number 1 Brother. He stood in front of this chief, and a little to the south, faced the chief, and made the motions of *self blessing*.[1]

Number 2 smoker (Phase 1) meanwhile made a half-circuit clockwise until he reached the west, where he faced *west*, offered tobacco slantwise to the west, and downward to the ground, placing a pinch from the pipe-bowl each time on the ground. (lighting the pipe) came clockwise to the position at the northeast where the pipe is lit, (phase 2; first mode) continued clockwise until he again reached the west, where facing west he then smoked four puffs slantwise to the west and four downward to the ground. (Phase 2; second

---

[1] See chapter 8, pp. 207—209.

796 mode) Then he walked clockwise until he came to the row of men
668 east of the clearing: he offered the lit pipe to the man at the extreme
782 northern end of the row, and to each man in the row southward
823 until he reached the man at the extreme south end of the row.
276 (Phase 3) Then he took the pipe, which was out, clockwise to the
west of the clearing, where facing west he offered ashes twice
slantwise to the west, and twice to the earth. (Phase 4) He then made four hand-motions to the west and four to the earth, (self-blessing and return of pipe) came clockwise around the clearing until he stood in front of the chief at the right (north) of Harry Sergeant, number seven of the Seven Brothers; here he made the motions of self-blessing, and then returned the empty pipe to this chief, who received it with a blessing.

Number three smoker followed an analogous procedure. The unique character of his smoke appears in the following: the position at which he stopped to make offerings of tobacco (phase 1), offerings of smoke (phase 2: first mode), offerings of ashes (phase 3), and motions of blessing (phase 4), was at the *east* of the clearing, facing *east;* he there held the pipe slantwise to the east, and slantwise downward to the ground, and made offerings to the position of the rising sun and to the earth; he offered his pipe down the row of men from north to south as the others had done. He made the motions of self-blessing in front of the chief to the left (south) of the chief to whom the Number 1 smoker returned the number 1 pipe (that is, the second man to the left or south of Sam Cover, the number 1 Brother) and returned the pipe to this chief.

Number Four smoker proceeded analogously. The place of his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes and motions was at the *south* of the clearing, facing *south.* He returned the pipe to the chief right (north) of the chief to whom the number 2 smoker returned the number 2 pipe (the second man to the right or north of Harry Sergeant, the number seven Brother).

In carrying out these simultaneous offerings there was no collision of the smokers: similar actions, such as offering the pipes to the row of men, were done in the order of the smokers. Before the number one smoker returned to make his self-blessing and give the pipe back to the chief, the number four smoker had completed his offering of the pipe to the men in the line.

After the smokers had all finished, they returned to their places in front of the row of men. Each pipe was now returned to the man who had made a smoke offering with it, and as Sam Cover began to sing a Ghost Dance song, these smokers took the pipes back into the tipi. Inside this main tipi or sacred tent, a covering had been

spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes 796
were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the
altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the 668
altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at 782
the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while 823
the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not 276
participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that 184
described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity.
These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke- 276
offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: 782
upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset 823
and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly 184
interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion 771
in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of 778
Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

---

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven
and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette [177]
by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by [988]
flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

771
778 South Bands there are ancient bundles which each possess a group of functions that among the Skiri are differentiated and associated with separate bundles.

668 After the smoke offering, Sam Cover led the Seven Brothers in
796 singing one or two Ghost Dance songs, without any dancing. Then
the line closed around the clearing to form a circle of dancers,
782 women came to join in, and the regular dancing began. Usually
[533] on a first evening of Ghost Dancing, only ten or twenty songs were
sung. After the closing song, the general public would break up,
each group of people returning to the family tipi. The Seven
Brothers, the four chiefs who smoked, other chiefs, Mrs. Goodeagle,
Mrs. Cover, Mrs. Washington, and some individuals who were
special leaders, gathered in the main tipi of the dance. Here two
old men acted as tarutsius, fire-tenders and servers. Food was
brought in and set out in buckets at the east of the tipi near the
door. Sam Cover then made an offering with corn before the
group ate. It was a simple offering: He took some of the corn in
his hands, stood behind the collected food and made inclusive arm
motions (to indicate that this food was offered on behalf of all the
food being partaken of), then came clockwise to the west of the
fireplace where he raised the corn aloft to heaven and then placed
it on the ground before him. He pressed it into the ground, rubbed
his hands together and made four motions upward to heaven with
both hands, touching his fingers to the corn on the ground before
each motion. Then he made four similar motions towards the
earth; blessed himself, walked through a circuit to his own place on
the south, and sat down. All present said "Nawa" and then the
food was served. The tarutsius must serve the food in a special
[554] order: first the chiefs at the west (the four smokers), then the seven
brothers on the south, then old men who are seated on both sides
of the entrance-way at the east, then all others present, serving
them from west to east down both sides of the tipi.[1]

At this gathering the order and time of the events of the next
668 morning were announced.

796 The next morning dancing began before sunrise. Two or three of the Seven Brothers went out onto the dance grounds, stood at the west facing east, and sang several Ghost Dance songs. As the people awoke and heard these they came out hurriedly to join in. As soon as four or five came, including women, all began to dance around clockwise. Gradually as the people gathered, the circle expanded. An old man walked around crying out to the people

---

[1] There is for every Pawnee ceremony an *order* in which those present are served; see chapter 8, pp. 220—229.

to come and join the dancing. Some chiefs walked around the 668 circle of dancers carrying pipes in their folded arms, but no smoke 796 offering was made. Should the singers pause for a rest, pipes (but [276] not these sacred pipes) were often smoked non-ceremonially.

After ten or twenty songs, the people ended the dancing with the finishing song, and returned to their tipis for breakfast. When [203] they stopped the old man crier went through the camp calling out to the people to be ready to dance about one o'clock.

At one o'clock the dancers reassembled. The Seven Brothers took their places at the west side of the clearing, in order, each with special face-painting and wearing his eagle feather. Sam Cover led the singing, and the dancing began at the west, circling clockwise. Sam Cover and Emmet Pierson, the number 2 Brother, carried leather rattles which they shook in time to the dancing.

The dancing continued until about five in the afternoon, or just before sundown. The evening meal was prepared by women while the dancing went on, so that everything was ready when the finishing song concluded the dancing for the day.

After the dancing, the people gathered in the space between the cleared dance ground and the sacred tipi to the west of it. The Seven Brothers sat down on the east side of this space, facing west (this would of course be west of the cleared ground), while the chiefs sat on the west side facing east. In this way the chiefs and the seven brothers faced each other across this cleared space. The people gathered around the sides forming more or less of a circle. One chief was selected to talk. He said:

"We have all come together today to worship God. Now you [537 must try to think what you are here for. Now the ground is open, 539] there is nothing in the way (i. e. it is outdoors). God can look straight down upon us. Here's the sunlight over us, he's the one who knows all about it, and he knows also what you think about; you can't ever hide it. Now we are going to eat." 782

The main tarutsius now came forward. This chief gave the 668 tarutsius a horn spoon which he had been holding while he spoke. 796 In the center of the space around which the people had gathered [415] the food had been set out in buckets. The tarutsius received the spoon. (Filling the spoon[1]) He walked clockwise around, passing behind the food and around it, then with the spoon took some corn from the buckets, made a clockwise circuit and passed outside of the circle of people between the Seventh Brother (who is at the north end of the seated row of Seven Brothers) and the people at his right. (First Phase[1]) Outside the circle the tarutsius walked clock-

[1] See Chapter 8; the Food Offering and Service, pp. 220—228.

668
796 wise around the sacred dance ground (not the space around which the people are gathered) which was now vacant, and came to the
782 west of it where he stopped facing east. At this point his back was to the back of the Seven seated Brothers. Here he offered corn upward to heaven, then bent down and pushed some off the spoon onto the ground, then turned to the west to which he offered the spoon of corn slantwise, then pushed some more off onto the ground, and finally placed the rest on the ground as an offering to the earth. (Second phase; first mode[1]) He then put the spoon on the ground beside him, and touching and pressing the corn into the earth, made three sets of motions with his hands and arms: four upward to heaven, four westward, and four to the earth. (Self-blessing; return of spoon[1]) Then he picked up the spoon and went through the motions of the final self-blessing with it, pressing his feet firmly to the ground. With the spoon he turned and reentered the circle of people between the First Brother (who is at the south end of the row of seven seated brothers) and those at his left, walked through a half circuit clockwise until he faced the chiefs sitting at the west, and returned the spoon to the chief who had given it to him. All the people say, "Nawa."

668 The food was then served. A number of men were selected to do
796 the serving, some serving the chiefs, others the Seven Brothers, and still others the people in general. The chiefs must be served
[264 first, and then the Seven Brothers, and then the public at large.
554] After all had eaten the dishes were put away. The people might come back and dance on the dance-ground until the sun had fully set. They stopped finally at full sundown. Many of the people did not camp on the grounds and had to go home for the night. Others had to look out for their horses.

In this way the people danced at the encampment for four days, and the last day they continued dancing all night. As individuals had trance visions, they would begin to wear different feathers and paints according to what they saw; and at later Ghost Dances would bring out these Ghost Dance things and use them.

[513] After the entire dance was over, the people generally slept a full day. Later they might decide to hold a hand game. In these early Ghost Dance times among the Skiri, a hand game could only be held after a full Ghost Dance had been carried out. Later hand games were interspersed in the Ghost Dancing.

Such were the ceremonial forms of the first Ghost Dancing among the Skiri proper.

792 Although Mrs. Washington was in this way responsible for the
668 first organization of the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Goodeagle came to
796
787

792

be known as the Mother of the Seven Brothers. This was because 668
she clothed them according to directions which she received in a 796
Ghost Dance vision. 787

Mrs. Goodeagle saw two eagles in her vision, a white one and a black one. The black eagle did not speak to her. The white eagle told her to put up a feast and dress the Seven Brothers.
She did so. She gave each of the seven a special shirt, and a white [292]
sheet to wear. At the back of the head on the sheet two black ribbons were stitched, so that they hung down for about two feet in the back. All the seven were dressed alike.

Then later someone else fell into a trance and told afterward that Mrs. Goodeagle was the Mother of the Seven Brothers, and that the people must call her that. So all the Skiri considered her the Mother of the Seven Brothers.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF MARK EVARTS

In 1897 or 1898, Mark Evarts came home.[1] He had been away 159
a number of years, first at the Carlisle school, and then working as a harness maker in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. When he got to Oklahoma, the ghost dancing had been flourishing both among the South Bands and among the Skiri. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri was already existent. Mark was not unacquainted with the Ghost Dance. He had heard about it at the time it began to spread among the tribes. He had made a brief visit home at the height of the excitement. But the rest of his story after his arrival in Oklahoma is best told in Mark's own words:

"I told them I did not believe it. I said, 'You can't make me believe it.' Because I was educated and because the white man taught me that the Indians were superstitious. But the white man didn't look at himself and see how superstitious he was.

"One day the Pawnee were all going up to the Oto. After a lot of them had gone, a fellow named Sam Thomson said to me, 'Mark, let's go up to where the Oto are camped now.' We went north to a place about seven miles south of Red Rock. We got there in the evening. We looked into the timber, and there on the other side of the creek we saw the smoke from the encampment. We didn't know where to eat and spend the night, but we found two old ladies in one tipi and we went in there. We asked them if we could sleep there, and stay around during the camping. While I was there I heard someone say, 'this tipi is a special hand

---

[1] Mark had been home on a visit in 1893.

159 game tipi'. Of course at that time I didn't care about that, but they talked about it.

"One morning I took my horse out and tied him where there was good grass. I looked about me, and looked up at the sky, and all at once felt as if I had swallowed something. I felt sorry for myself. I said, 'Here I am. I have no father, no mother, no home,' and then all at once something struck me. I thought that there was nothing good in this world. I let the horse go and didn't bother with him. On the north side there was a big hill. I climbed it and facing west I began to cry. I was sorry for myself. I was alone. Sorrow came all over me. All day I stayed there, until sundown, with nothing to eat or drink. About at nightfall I fell asleep there.

"The next morning I started to cry again, fasting there. I stayed there about three days and nights with nothing to eat and drink, but at the same time I never felt hungry. On the fourth day, in the morning, I felt like sleeping. Everyone in the camp knew I was up there. I went to lie down with my head on my hands.

"Just after I went to sleep I heard someone call me. He said,
159 'Now look at the south,' and not very far off I saw a badger. He
1767 said, 'Now if you want to do that, take the citizen's clothes off.
You have to have different clothes.' While I looked at him, it was as if I took my clothes off and put them in a hole in the ground. And someone said, 'now put your Indian clothes on and then you do that.' Just as I heard that I awoke, and again I began to cry. About noon I felt as if I must sleep again. I could hardly stand up. I went to lie down on my back, with my head towards the east. All at once I fell asleep. I saw someone standing way up above me in the sky, and I was with him. He faced the north, and I stood at his left side. He said, 'now look way down there. Here you are, and there you are lying, down there.' I looked down and saw myself lying there with my mouth open. Near my head there was some bird. The bird walked around close to my head, bobbing its tail up and down. It had a white feather at each side of its tail. Finally I saw it go right into my mouth. I lay there like a log. I could see it go down inside, and could tell when it got down to the stomach. This one told me, 'go down and kick your feet'. I kicked my feet, and I woke up. Then I began to cry again. As the sun went down, I found my eyes were very tired. When the sun was pretty near down I was looking west. I could see the sun whirl around and around,[1] and once in a while white spots came off it as it whirled, and then green. Then it seemed to be coming toward me, then it seemed to be going away again. At half sunset, over the grass you

---

[1] Mark's gesture at this point indicated a clockwise motion.

could see the shadows coming. Some one said to me, 'now right there, you see the sun there. Right there, that's what's going to hurt you, the shadow of the grass.' The shadows began to twist over like fishhooks, and were sharp. 'That's the people's talk. They'll use bad words on you, and tell you you're crazy and call you names. Let them talk all they want to, don't mind them. It isn't yours, it's mine. When they curse you, they curse me.'

"Just before it got dark, as I was standing and crying, I looked east, and right there in the bottom I saw an owl fly up along the grass, with white on each side of the tail. He flew around and around as it got dark, and finally into a hollow a short distance off. As he disappeared into the darkness of the hollow, I heard three doctors singing. Each one had a gourd rattle. They were coming up toward me. There was no one there I could see, but still I heard them coming toward me as it grew darker. I was looking in the other direction, but my mind was behind me: I knew they were coming. When they were about halfway, they changed the song into a humming, saying, 'I'll kill you. H-hm, h-hm, h-hm, I'll kill you.' They had something to hit the ground with. I made up my mind that I didn't care if they killed me. Let them. I wasn't afraid. I was a man.

"I used to think I was a brave man at that time, but I wasn't either. I found out that time. All at once it came into my mind that it was the scalped man coming. I looked out of the corner of my eye and could see him coming close. I looked around and could see he had a club he was raising over my head to strike me and kill me. I thought, 'let him go ahead'. I was looking upward, and it felt as if something was taken out of my mouth, and another thing put in. The brave one was taken out, and the coward put in. Then I ran off.

"That night these men were after me all night. They chased me around. They chased me pretty near to Ponca City. I couldn't get back to the camp, because they would turn and bar my way. Just about at the time the moon came up, they changed into the night crow. It came close to me calling 'ka, ka, ka,' and I had to run again. When I came to one place, there were seven horses, all white. He said, 'When you chase them round, the last one, if you get it, it's yours.' But I was tired. It was near morning, and I was very tired. I wanted to sleep. Just as I would be about to fall asleep, these horses would come up. It was the seven of the dipper that go around the North Star. Then morning came. I woke, and there was nothing wrong with me. I came home. When I went back to the place on the hill where I had been standing, my aunt was there, waiting to take me home.

159 [302] "After that I had to join the Ghost Dance. I used to paint my face with yellow and two blue streaks across each cheek.

[787] "The reason this made me feel the Ghost Dance was true, was because it all began with my father and my mother, and they were both dead. That's why—because they were ghosts—that we call it the Ghost Dance, and that I had to go and join it. After this I believed it was all true."

After his vision, Mark Evarts was sick for some time, and did not begin to dance with the Ghost Dancers at once. He lived some time alone at Osage City.

Once he was on his way back to Pawnee when he met the Pawnee camped at Skeedee. Mark Rudder and others were there. They told him it was a good thing he had come, because they were going to make feathers for the Crows.

159 524 Mark Rudder organized and led a brief hand game that night. People from the town heard about the game and came out, swelling the crowd. Rudder avoided the ceremonial complications of the game: it was played for enjoyment, and people who joined in sat as they pleased.

159 787 It was a full moonlit night. The game was played in a tent, and after each game they went outside to dance. The moon was in the southeast. "Louis Behaile was touched, he got shaky, all at once he cried. He stood crying with his hands up toward the moon. After we came back inside the tent, he told it. 'I felt something in my mind, when we went out. It seemed I was going to see something. It's coming. We went out. When we were dancing around, all at once I looked up at the moon, and the moon looked down and saw me and laughed at me. That's why I cried.'"

159 At the hand game Rudder told all the men to come the next morning. "We've got something to do here. We've got the crow feathers and the cedar. We're going to make feathers for the Crows, for each one of you. And those who are outsiders, if you want me to make them for you, you come and I can do it. We're going to take a whole week to camp here. We're going to make these feathers."

The place at which they were meeting belonged to Jonathan Eastace. Jonathan told Mark Evarts to stay right at the camp, and unsaddle his horse. So Mark stayed there. At that time Mark Evarts had nothing to do, and usually lived at Rush Roberts' farm.

159 301 The next morning, the men came about ten o'clock to Rudder's tent. His tent faced east. Inside, Rudder sat at the west, with a wooden cross set up behind him, and a small pile of crow feathers

159 301 in front of him on a spread. Rudder set one man to work preparing cedar sticks, another to work preparing the horn ends of the feathers so they could be attached to the sticks with sinew. Still another was called and told to get sinew ready for use as thong. While the work proceeded the other men present told stories. One man said that he heard the crows calling "ka-ka-ka," and understood what they meant, so he came to the camp and there sure enough he found them all working on the crow feathers. The others laughed. The men preparing the things took their time. They were working at it all day. When dinner came in the evening, Mark Rudder had all the things wrapped up and put aside. The work was finished the next day.

[239] [283] Only wing and tail feathers of the crow were used. Four feathers, either from the wing or tail, were attached to the stick. Each man present was asked which kind of feathers he wanted put on his. The sinew was soaked in a bowl of water to soften it for use. The head end of the cedar stick was spread or thickened so that when the feathers were tied on they spread outward. Across the top of the sticks indentations were made in the form of a cross and when these crow sticks are used ceremonially and set in the ground, the ends of this cross must point in the cardinal directions. Red paint was put in the grooves of the cross. The feathers were bound onto the sticks while the sinew was wet, after which the sticks with the feathers attached were hung out in the wind to dry. The sinew tightened in drying. Each man who wanted a crow stick came forward and took one.

THE SEVEN CROWS AND AFTER

668 796 Mark Rudder was thus instrumental in developing the decoration and recognition of Crows. As yet, however, there was no official organization among the Crows, similar to the Seven Brothers of the Eagles.

668 796 787 Once when they were Ghost Dancing near the north round house, a young woman "got the shakes" and fell. When she recovered, she sat there crying. The old man crier went to her and blessed her. Then he asked her if she had something to say. She said, "Yes. When I fell, I went down a road leading west and saw a big hill across my way, and the road went up the hill. I went up that hill. When I got on top of the hill I looked down below on the other side. There was a big camp there. As I went down the hill I saw a man coming out of that camp. He met me before I got to the camp, and told me to stop, not to come any further. I

668 796 787 stopped. He stood right there in the road. He said, 'Now my girl, I came to meet you here. I'm the one who told you to come. We are dancing over here. We know you folks are dancing over there and I want you to tell them to have Seven Brothers of the Crows just as well as the Eagles. Now when you go back you can tell them. Sometimes when the Seven Eagles are tired singing, you have to turn over the singing to the Crows to help out. That's why I say you should have Seven Crows. One more thing: When you have the Seven Eagles sing, you must put one woman between each two Eagle brothers, because when they sing the women must sing too. And you must do the same way with the Seven Crows.' I wanted to turn my head to look around, and as I did that, I woke up, and got up."

668 796 In accordance with this vision, Mark Rudder as the main Crow selected six to join with him as the Seven Crows. Five of the Skiri selected were: John Moses, Jonathan Eustace, George Beaver, Yellowcalf, White Fox. Mark Evarts himself became one of the Seven Crows later, succeeding one man who died.[1]

After that when they held the Ghost Dancing, the Seven Eagles were put on one side (the south), the Seven Crows on the other side (the north). Still later, someone had a trance vision and saw that it should be done the same way in the hand games.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, Mrs. Cover was made the Mother of the Seven Crows by analogy with the Mother of the Seven Brothers organization. Mark Rudder selected her. She was not chosen as the result of a vision, or because she clothed the Crows.[2]

Thus the ground plan arrangements finally became among the Skiri: A central clearing for the dancing; a special Ghost Dance tipi due west of it; a sacred tipi south of the cleared ground for the [346] Seven Eagle Brothers; and a sacred tipi north of the clearing for the Seven Crow Brothers. Certain alignments of the games were later determined by these orientations (see for example, Boy Chief's game).

---

[1] John Moses and Mark Evarts are the only ones still living.

[2] A dream of Mrs. Cover's of this general period illustrates certain con- [787] cepts of the Pawnee Ghost Dance:

"She dreamed she saw Christ standing at the west, facing east. Before him were many little children. At the extreme south was Emmet Pierson and other chiefs, at the extreme north were Mark Evarts, Eaglechief and others. A voice spoke, saying, 'As you see those standing, these are the ones to take care of Christ's children, his people.'"

[622 177] The Pawnee speak of a chief as a "father" to all his tribespeople, and here this idea has been interwoven with Christian beliefs.

668 796 The smoke offering of the Skiri Ghost-Dance was not altered by this new organization. Only the Seven Eagle Brothers participated directly. The Seven Crows organization was an alternative one, to assist in the singing. After a day of Ghost Dancing, Sam Cover, the leader of the Seven Eagles, might officially turn over to the Seven Crows the singing and leadership of the dancing for the following day. With the Crows leading, the formal positions for beginning and ending the songs and dancing remained the same.

Every day after the dancing, the people gathered outside for the formal food offering and blessing before eating (see above). The chiefs talked. The arrangement outside was the same as that previously described, except that now instead of the Seven Eagle Brothers on the east facing west, the two organizations were seated together, the Seven Eagles south of the mid-point, the Seven Crows just north of it, making a row of fourteen seated side by side.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, the form of Skiri Ghost-Dancing passed through only minor alterations; so far as memory of informants goes, it remained constant—constant at least while the Ghost-Dancing was a serious belief and practise of the Pawnee.

668 796 525 With the alternative organizations of Seven Brothers and Seven Crows for the Ghost-Dance singing, in the event that both groups of singers were tired at the end of a day of dancing, and neither was anxious to take over the leadership the next morning, a custom of playing a hand game to decide who would carry the burden the next day tended to develop. In the central leading tent in the evening, the Ghost Dance leaders and the two organizations ate together, with the Seven Crows on the north side, the Seven Eagles on the south. Here in the talk which accompanied the meal, the members of the two brotherhoods might challenge each other to play a hand game that night. The losers would get up early and begin the dancing; the winners could sleep late.

668 796 Each formal occasion of four-days' Ghost-Dancing was in general charge of one man, and was "put up" in the main by one woman. After a woman had offered to put the dance up, the chiefs gathered and selected one man to be in charge. This man's job was to handle all matters which came up during the entire period of dancing, a hard task and a great risk, because whatever happened while the dance was in progress was credited to the one in charge for blame or praise. If there was good luck, people spoke well of him; and if there was bad luck, people agreed it was his fault.[1] [777]

---

[1] Such responsibility of the leader is true for all Pawnee ceremonial venture. The method of having someone, usually a woman "put up" the

668 Mark Evarts led several times, and says that whenever he had
796 the lead he had good luck. One time a baby was born while the
dance was in progress—that was good luck. Tobacco was being
777 ceremonially prepared to be handed to Mark for making a smoke
offering. While they were praying that good luck might go with
[276 the tobacco, a grandchild of Linford Smith's was born. So all
782] present thanked God, and hoped it would be that way throughout
the dancing.

While these developments were taking place among the Skiri,
[184] the Ghost Dancing of the South Bands continued to follow the
formal arrangements which had been instituted by Frank White.
As members of the organization of seven singers which had been
developed by White died, new members were selected to take their
places. The smoke offering was not altered.

668 Murie, in discussing Pawnee ceremonial Ghost Dance forms,
states[1]:

796 "In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take
[484] instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they
learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies.
[346] According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set
up near the center of the camp as the temple... The modern Ghost
Dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off
center toward the north or south side according to the place of the
host..."

The arrangement of which Murie speaks, in terms of which the leading tent was on the north or south according to the place of the host, refers to Ghost Dance hand games, rather than Ghost Dances proper: for in the hand games, as will be described below, one side (either north or south, viz., either Crow or Eagle) is "host" and in charge.

GHOST DANCE SONGS[2]

796 The songs "dreamed" or secured in visions in the Ghost Dance
ranged over all the subjects that could naturally come to mind.
533 Some emphasized aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine, viz., that
in the other world all was as in former days, that the Christ was

---

affair, viz., supply the bulk of the meat and other food necessary, as well as the method of selecting one man to be in charge, are general Pawnee patterns.

[1] Murie, p. 636.

[2] The song texts of this section have been retranscribed and retranslated from the Densmore versions by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

coming, that there would be a reunion with the departed, that a 796
great change was coming. Others embodied the memory of societies 533
of former days, the gift of paraphernalia, or of hand games. No attempt has been made to transcribe songs for this study; a few representative songs are available from Densmore and Murie.

Frank White's first Ghost Dance song has already been given. 796
The free rendering:

533
539

"The place whence you come
Now I am longing for.

"The place whence you come
Now I am ever-mindful of."

[787]
refers to the land of the departed from which a messenger came in White's vision.

A song of Roaming Chief recorded by Densmore from the version of Effie Blaine, reports a Ghost Dance trance vision of Roaming
Chief.[1] The reference is to the coming of Christ, and the feeling [177]
among the people that all was to be well.

ra a (hi i i a) he i ra a (hi i i a)
he comes yonder he comes!

he ra (i hi i a) he ra (a e ee)
he comes! he comes!

heru (u u) kitu tixwa̮kiá·hu
then all they are saying

ri̮hi weturahe
here now it is good!

ra a (hi i) i ra a (hi i i a)
he comes yonder he comes

hera (i) hera hera
he comes! he comes! he comes!

He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming!
And so all the people say
All is well here now.
He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming! He is coming!

---

[1] Densmore, Pawnee Music, song no. 66, p. 92. "A Ghost Dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he cried as he sang this

796 A song recorded by Effie Blane[1] reports a vision of a boy crying
533 for his mother, and asking from the depths of his sorrow, if his
539 mother is really to return to him:

piraski *rawakukawitiku*
boy crying sits down
piraski *rawakukawitiku*
atira *kawe rą́à·hu*[2] *atira kawe rą́à·hu*
mother is she coming now, mother is she coming now?
tiratpą́ri *tiratpą́rį*
here I roam here I roam.

A little boy is sitting crying,
A little boy is sitting crying,
"Is mother coming now?
Is mother coming now?
Here I wander about, here I wander about."

Two songs recorded by Effie Blane[3] refer to the Crow as the messenger from the beyond. One, without Pawnee text, is given in free translation by Densmore as:

"The crow, we see his likeness moving inside the circle of dancers."

The other song is given in full:

ka·ka *ti̥wa·ku* *ka·ka* *ti̥wa·ku*
Crow he says crow he says,
wétatù·ta *(tu)* *tátù·ta*
now I do I do
atira *i̥rira·a* *atira* *i̥rira·a*
Mother whence she comes Mother whence she comes
(Moon) (Moon)

The crow is calling, the crow is calling,
"Now I am active, I am active
In the place whence Mother Moon comes, in the place whence Mother Moon comes."

---

song.' It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game." (p. 91). The song would not be sung to hand game play, but in the Ghost Dance intervals.

[114] [1] Densmore, p. 76, no. 47. The explanation which precedes this song in Densmore's account is misconceived, and may refer to another song; a piraski is a boy up to the age of puberty.

[2] This is not the interrogative used in ordinary speech or in text material. I am thus unable to control the form of the question grammatically, but since the substance of the song calls for an interrogative I leave it as it stands and have translated it in that way. The complex *we rą́à·hu* would be the declarative form, "now she is coming." G. Weltfish.

[3] Densmore, nos. 50, 51; pp. 79—80.

The song embodies the relationship of the crow to the Moon 796 from which the bird's power comes, and indicates also that the 533 Moon is the night overseer of things on earth, reporting them in 539 the beyond. The crow is telling the people on earth of the activities in the land of the departed.

The song was based on a Ghost Dance vision of Effie Blane herself. Used at a hand game it was probably not sung to the play of the game.

Several songs reflect the vision of old societies, and their subsequent revival (See Chapter III—Revivals of Societies).

A song recorded by Wichita Blane[1] reports a vision in which [177 Christ gave the Young Dog Dance society pipe (probably) to the 787] visionary:

we ra a (i ya)
now he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (hi a)
See! yonder he comes See! yonder he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (ho hi a)

he tiwerịhaktsa
(Emphasis) here now it stick lies!

atias pirạu kura (u)
father child his

kurạha·kuˣ tikuha·ku'
his own stick he to me stick gives

i ra a
Yonder he comes.

Now he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming.
This stick that is lying here,
The son of the father
His own stick he gave to me.
Yonder he is coming.

A song recorded by Effie Blane belonged to Running Scout and referred (probably) to the revival of the Wolf Society. Of this song, Densmore writes: Running Scout "was very religious and [787] remained in a Ghost Dance trance for several days. His friends

---

[1] Densmore, no. 59, p. 86.

796
533 thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that
539 he had been to the Messiah who told him to 'go to the village.'
Following this instruction, he saw many men dancing. Some had
[787] fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypnotizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always
[237] wore a fox skin in the Ghost Dance. The skin was not made into
[293] a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder.
[198] He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing."[1]

1— *ịrịhe we ιụrut*
so here now stop!
1— "
1— "

2— *kịwaku rirạraxra*
fox (es) they have them

1— *ịrịhe we ιsụrat*
so here now stop!
1— "

Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
They are holding fox skins
Here now you must stop!
Here non you must stop!

Densmore in one case records a free translation of a song without text[2]:

"The yellow star has noticed me,
Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather,
That yellow star."

[787] The reference is apparently to one of the old star powers and reflects the gift of an ornament of "power" in a Ghost Dance vision.

[727] A song without texts used at victory dances was "'in the style of the Lance dance songs'... The words mean, 'They are coming yonder, the men who belong to the Lance Society (Tirupa)[3].'" The reference here is to the resurrection of the membership of the old Fighting Lance Society (tirupahe), and to the revival which took place in the Ghost Dance years.[4]

---

[1] Densmore, pp. 84—85, no. 58.
[2] Densmore, p. 84, no. 57.
[3] Densmore, p. 68.
[4] See Chapter III, Revivals of Societies, pp. 112—115.

III.

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GHOST DANCE

In 1892, as we saw in Chapter I, the United States government 668
program of assimilation had reduced the Pawnee to a cultural
impasse. Their old life was gone, and nothing adequate had been
given them in its place. The Ghost Dance doctrine which reached
the tribe in 1892 brought hope into Pawnee life. It promised the
coming of a new and restored Indian earth, on which the white man
would be no more, on which the buffalo would roam again, and
the Indian peoples live in peace and plenty. According to the
prophecy of the doctrine the change was destined, and did not
depend on the voluntary intervention of the Indian. Faith in the
doctrine and message of the new religion was, however, an essential
condition to participation in the benefits of the new order. The
activities of the Ghost Dance were modes of converting the unbe-
liever, and of reinforcing the conviction of the faithful. The first 668
tenet was to dance. The feet of the dancers pounding the earth 796
was symptomatic of the rumblings of the earth which presaged
the change. In the beyond, the message declared, they too were
dancing, and to dance here in the same way was an augury of the
coming reunion. A second tenet prescribed the casting aside of the
white man's ways as an expression of faith. To put aside white
clothing, white labor, and white customs, was in still another way
to participate with the people dancing in the beyond, and to dem-
onstrate concretely one's conviction that these things of the
white man's were of the passing present, soon to be swept away. 668
A third tenet concerned the visions and the seeking of them. These 787
visions were moments of intercommunication between those here 796
on earth and their deceased kinsmen in the beyond. To secure them
was to prove one's strength of faith. In attaining them one saw
the people in the other world alive and well and happy; one saw
and foresaw the new earth that was to be. These visions reinforced
the tenet which prescribed a casting aside of the white man's ways,
for in the land of the departed the old ways of life went on still
as they had in former years on earth. To do as one's kinsmen were

668 787 796 doing in the beyond meant not alone to put aside the alien customs of European culture, but actively to take up again the native ways of the Indian. The Pawnee turned back to the past for values and satisfactions lacking in the present.

178 The revival of Pawnee culture which began to materialize in the years of the Ghost Dance went back for its material primarily to three sources in the old culture: the bundles and bundle rituals, the societies, and the games. The general attempt to resuscitate the aboriginal forms, supplemented and fortified by the inspirations and mandates of the visions, resulted in three types of cultural rebirth. The activities of old ceremony, performance and play were fostered; the paraphernalia were put in order, renewed, and recreated; and concepts from the old context were enshrined in symbols and facsimiles which were carried in the dance and integrated in new cultural forms.

BUNDLES AND BUNDLE RITUALS

778 796 178 The principal bundles of the Pawnee in aboriginal times were the sacred bundles,[1] often spoken of as village or band bundles, and the medicine men's bundles. The former were predominantly concerned with cosmological powers and references; the latter with the animate forms of the earth, the waters and the air (animals and trees, fish and water-creatures, birds). By 1892 sacred bundle ritual demonstrations had practically ceased; of the medicine [756] men's ceremonies, the great doctor performances of the fall had ceased in 1878, but the Doctor Dances of the spring and summer continued at irregular intervals, and such medicine men's ceremonies as the Buffalo Dance were also carried out on occasion, while the Bear Dance had died out. Resuscitation of the old bundle [764] rituals was the most difficult problem of revival and could not be fully met: a good part of the sacred rituals and paraphernalia had been buried in the grave with their final priests. There were two modes or types of occasion on which bundles were opened in aboriginal times: to demonstrate the ritual, and to renew or repair the bundle parts and contents. There is little evidence that the Pawnee succeeded in actively rehabilitating the ceremonies of the sacred bundles, but they did succeed in reconstructing the medicine men's

---

[1] I avoid any attempt to here catalog or describe the many bundles of the four Pawnee bands, which would of necessity be lengthy and for the most part irrelevant. The interested reader may consult Murie, Societies, pp. 549—556.

778

Bear Dance, and a number of sacred bundles were opened and an 796
attempt made to put them in physical order. 178

The bundles and bundle rituals were esoteric possessions and
knowledge, controlled by individuals. As such their inheritance and [424]
transmission followed traditional modes, and according to the
orthodox old Pawnee doctrine no revival of extinct forms was
possible. The sanction of the Ghost Dance doctrines and visions
was in definite conflict with old customs of transmission, and came
to predominate.

In the traditional view, the knowledge and learning of an individual 778
had to be handed down by actual instruction of the young. 793
This was somewhat different for the two kinds of bundles, typified
by the sacred bundles (with which the society bundles can be 424
associated, as essentially derivative), and the medicine men's 622
bundles. For the sacred bundle type the offices of ownership and 869
priesthood were independent: A chief owned the bundle physically,
and his wife took care of it. He did not necessarily know the ritual
lore of the bundle. A priest controlled the ritual, demonstrated it
on the proper occasions, and advised the owner of his bundle
obligations. The physical bundle was ordinarily inherited directly
in the male line. The ritual knowledge, however, was transmitted
by the priest to his successor by means of instruction over many
years. The priest usually taught a close relative (not necessarily
in the male line exclusively) because of the desire to hand on his
learning in his own family line. But lacking close kin of suitable
temperament, the priest taught whom he pleased. For the medicine
men's type of bundle, ownership and priesthood centered in the
same individual. The doctor himself was owner of the physical
bundle, and of its associated teachings, and officiated as his own
demonstrating "priest" on ritual occasions. In the course of his
life he taught a man to be his successor, and gradually turned over
the ritual functions to him. The successor was usually a close [602]
relative, such as a "son" or "nephew", etc., but here too the
medicine man was at liberty to instruct whom he would, and on
occasion chose more distant relatives when near relations proved
unwilling to attend seriously to the learning of the traditional
material.

Ordinarily a man taught his successor largely by demonstration. 778
That is, the apprentice took part in the actual demonstrations of 793
the ritual (and the curing of the doctor) watching what went on.
In the course of the procedure the master explained the detail.
As the teacher found his pupil mastering phases of the activity,
he turned over to the pupil such parts as were understood. In

778 this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course
793 of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher
lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that
as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that
[828] when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the
old and learned always held back something until they were ready
to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught
his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on
his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told
him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When
[764 upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part
of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by
428] the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased
medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest,
a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance:
the physical bundle survived, though it might be less
and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained
182 as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through
178 cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through
the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of
the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid
increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was
in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals,
which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction
rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there
was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young
men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase
of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their
time: and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an
early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode
of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of
424 private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost
793 through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no
sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who
attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

182 The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance
visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would
178 "see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision
668 then became a command upon himself and others around him to
787 carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life
could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost 668
Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult 787
to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the 178
way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed 182
in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or ceremony was no longer officially in existence: those who had known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine 796
men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear 756
Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this 178
century, it was the revived form which was studied and recorded.
The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirat[a], the main [764]
bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were 796
buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any 756
one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society [illegible] lost. At a 787
meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a
woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said, "I had 178

---

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. [114]
Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based on work with present-day informants.

The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat" band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation: in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

178
796 a vision. I saw Bear Chief wearing the bear robe over his shoulders
756 and the bear claw neckpiece around his neck. He was painted with
787 yellow earthen clay, and had black streaks from each eye down the
face. He said, 'My sister, Father (bear) and Mother (cedar-tree) have not had any smoke for many years. We (dead people) are watching for our people to have the ceremony. The people think the ceremony is lost. It is not, for one of the Bear men who knows the ceremony is still with you. I ask that you tell the people so that they can have the ceremony, for it is time.' I woke up and the last few days have been crying to think that I should be the one to tell you. I have a cow which you can have so you can have the ceremony."[1]

178 "The leaders of the Bear ceremony each in their turn arose, went
to the woman and blessed her... They said, 'My sister, this is
756 very hard. None of us know the ceremony, but Father (bear) and
796 Mother (cedar-tree) will plan a way themselves so we can have the
ceremony...

"Some days later the members of the Bear society met and compared their knowledge of the ceremony. When all had spoken a man named Big Star... questioned the others as to their knowledge of the ceremony. He found that none in the meeting knew the ceremony. So he said, 'Brothers, this is hard. You see I am paralyzed, and I could not sit and carry the ceremony out. If you will all agree I will try it. Before we do anything we must select men to be the leaders. You and I know that there are some men here who are descendants of deceased men who were leaders in the Bear Society...' So he selected... Little Warchief... Little Sun..., Good Buffalo..., and Roaming Chief..."

(These men were then ceremonially inducted into office. Big Star then seated himself with these leaders at the altar, and made arrangements to collect among the people the ceremonial utensils, etc. for a set of things needed to carry out the ceremony).

"When all the others had gone out, Big Star told the four men to watch as he carried on the ceremony, that he would carry on the ceremony for them. He also told that Tirawahat^{a} had planned through the woman for them to have the ceremony, so he was
178 willing to carry the ceremony on for them without pay; that in
756 olden times men paid to learn the secrets of the Bear ceremony,
796 especially in going after Mother Cedar-tree: that he himself did not
424 purchase the right to carry the ceremony on, but that Bear Chief
who was the last man to know the ceremony had given him the

---

[1] Indicating that the one whose vision caused the revival felt obligated at the same time to put up the ceremony.

right to sit near him and watch; that Bear Chief took pity on him 178
and taught him the ceremony and songs without pay. He then
told them to go to their homes, that on the morrow when they 756
entered the lodge each one was to take his seat. They were then 796
dismissed with the exception of Little Warchief. [424]

"When they were alone Big Star questioned Little Warchief about the songs and asked if he knew them. Little Warchief said, 'Yes, I know the songs.' Big Star was glad of this for although he could carry on the ceremony, he was afraid that he would not be able to sing the cedar-tree songs."

(Later at the preliminary feast to set the date of the ceremony). "when all were in, Big Star said, 'You, who are sitting at the altar and those of you at the stations, old men and chiefs. Today we sit in this lodge as men of the Bear Society. We are gathered together here, through Woman Yellow Corn, who had a vision of one of our departed relatives, who asked that we have this ceremony, that Father and Mother might receive our smoke..."

The medicine men's activities which had not ceased, such as the Doctor Dances and the Buffalo Dance, took a new lease on life as a result of the Ghost Dance impetus. The people attended and participated enthusiastically, and young men began again to learn the doctors' ways.

It is probable that reconstructions of sacred bundle ceremonies 178
were attempted, but we have unfortunately no record. The main 778
effort of revival, as regards the sacred bundles, was directed toward 793
bringing to the attention of the people the bundles still in the
possession of the Pawnee, (viz., neither buried nor sold), and to
open these in order to renew the contents. I do not know with
how many bundles this was attempted. The procedure of renewal
was also ritually and physically difficult. In the old days the main
priests took charge, and the necessary materials were made available in advance. In Oklahoma neither priests nor materials were available. Mark Evarts described for me the events which took place in 1903 when an attempt was made to renew the tuhutsaku or Left-handed bundle. I quote a few passages:

Frank Leader was the main priest, assisted by Running Scout, Goodeagle, Knifechief (the elder), and John Box. When the bundle was lying open on the altar, Leader spoke:

"Now what you see here, it's a long time since we opened it. Now this here sweet grass," (picking it up), "it's been here a long time. That's what they used to light pipes many years ago. Now these things before me that I have, God put them before us. What

---

¹ Referring to the Ghost Dance prophecy of a coming change.

178 you see here our old grandfathers had their hands on, but this old
778 woman," — referring to Gillingham's mother —, "when no one's
793 around she ought to untie it; bugs are spoiling some of these things.
It isn't like it used to be a while back. We could untie the bundles every year, sometimes twice a year; now everything has kind of rotted. Now today we've untied it all. God himself looks down on this here. It is his will that things are changing on earth.[1] I don't know. I only have what I see here, but there used to be an old man, a priest, who sat here, and when he opened the bundle he would cry over it. I can't do anything. I have nothing to change these things. Now this bird where the head is coming off, I can't sew it with sinew; it will tear. It must be sewn with thread. The only way I have to do is to grease the things and make smoke. I can't go through it as they used to a long time ago."

Although the reconstruction of extinct ceremony, and the renewal of partially disintegrated bundles, proved extremely difficult, the attempt was made. At the same time the cosmological references and type paraphernalia of old bundles were recalled to serve as source material for conceptions and objects integrated in other cultural forms. Thus we find ideas from the old forms of ceremonialism, from the Evening Star bundle, the human sacrifice of the Morning Star bundle, and the Calumet ritual, interwoven with Ghost Dance thought in such developments as the Ghost Dance ceremonial forms and the Ghost Dance hand games; and replicas of old sacred objects appeared at hand game altars, symbolising the references of visions to the old bundles and ceremonies. (See Chapters II, VIII, IX, X, XI).

REVIVALS OF SOCIETIES

178 The old societies were a major type of revivals during the Ghost
595 Dance period. There is evidence for a revival in one form or another of the raris arusa (Horse Society), hatuxka ("Those coming behind"... Crow Lance Society), raris skirixki (Wolf Society), tirupahe (Fighting lances), asitsakahuru (Crazy Dog Dancers), raris kaka (Crow Society), pakspahukasas (Roached Heads), asakipiriru (Young Dog Dancers), raris arika (Horn Society or Horn Dance), and pitararis iruska (the old War Dance)[1].

---

[1] I have limited myself in this discussion to the facts of revival; the society forms, ceremonial smoking, performances, etc., will be discussed elsewhere. For some description of the old form of these societies, see Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, pp. 561, 570, 577, 578, 579, 581, 582, 616, 608. (Page references follow the order of the societies as listed above).

178 575 778

These old societies were concerned primarily with war and hunting, and, becoming functionless, had practically ceased their activities by 1892. Each society was controlled by a bundle, from which the powers necessary to the activities of the members were derived, and which in turn derived its powers from greater sources in the major sacred bundles. A full and complete revival of a society would have meant a recreation of the structure of membership, in some cases involving hereditary seating plans, the renewal of the society paraphernalia, the carrying out of the society performances preliminary to regular seasonal activities of its members, and the war path and hunt itself. Some of these societies were entrusted with the policing of the organized hunt. Hence a complete revival could not be accomplished. But a number of societies were reconstructed to a point just short of completion. These were the Horse Society, the Young Dog Dance, the Horn Dance, the Crazy Dog Dance, the Roached Heads, the hatuxka, and possibly the old War Dance. No reconstruction of the membership arrangements was attempted, but led by men who had been connected with a society in former times, leaderships were instituted, singers were taught the old songs, and the dance performances of the society were carried out more or less exactly. Where old paraphernalia was available a renewal ceremony for its physical repair was attempted; while in some cases replicas of the old sacred objects of a society were made. My informants had witnessed regular participations of revival forms of the Horn Dance, Roached Heads, Crazy Dog Dance, Young Dog Dance,[1] Horse Society and old War Dance in the great gathering of bundles for Emmet Pierson's hand game. (See Chapter X). At this game the altars of these societies were [534] arranged generically: each had one or more pipes and drums, and lances and other sacred objects were set out before the altar. The dancing to society songs in the game intervals required that the drum of the society be moved to the regular drum position, the hand game drum being moved aside.

178 575 786

My informants recalled witnessing in the Ghost Dance period, four or five performances of the Crazy Dog Dance, performances of the Horse Society, the Wolf Society, the Roached Heads and the Young Dog Dancers. In Nebraska days, since these societies were for men only, and for masculine functions, such performances could only be participated in by men and by men who were members. The Oklahoma revivals in terms of the Ghost Dance, were on behalf of all the people, and all who wished joined in dancing to

---

[1] A song recorded by Densmore reports a Ghost Dance vision in which the Young Dog Dance pipe was given. See Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

178 the songs, whether specially costumed or not. I am told that on
575 occasion even women were known to join the dancing.

The Crazy Dog Dancers was revived before 1895 by Skiri Tom, 796 one of the survivors of the old organization. The original membership had been practically annihilated in Nebraska days while on the warpath against the Sioux; the misfortune was so great that a few members who survived hesitated to reorganize. Skiri Tom made Charley Box his main singer, with George Beaver to assist him; White Fox was also a singer. Skiri Tom reconstructed objects closely like the old paraphernalia, a crow-feathered dogwood lance, a pipe, drums and rattles. In the revival dance performances, the [292] dancers were not naked, as in former times, although Skiri Tom himself is said to have worn only a loose jock which exposed the genitals from the rear and caused laughter among the women. [577] Nudity in the old days was a sign of recklessness; those who courted death in war could be bold and foolhardy in the dance. Skiri Tom died about 1906 or 1907; his paraphernalia were buried with him, and the performance of the Crazy Dog Dancers ceased with his death. The songs, however, are still used.

The Roached Heads, originally a Skiri society, was revived on behalf of the tribe under the leadership of George Washington; a performance witnessed was held inside Washington's lodge; the north side was in control.

A performance of the Skiri Wolf Society,[1] witnessed by men and women about 1900, was a departure from its original forms. In aboriginal times this society never danced in the villages either before or after the hunt; on the war path itself, the war party leader organized the performance. As a result, and contrary to the forms of the other societies, no women participated as singers at Wolf Society performances, while in 1900 women singers were employed.

Murie has described the revival of the Horn Dance (raris arika).[2] The society was revived in a modernized form in 1893. "It took [787] its form from the dreams of a woman..." In consecutive dreams she was told how to get an eagle skin, to make the crook crow-feathered lance, and the drum. "The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle

---

[1] The revival may have been led by Running Scout. A song recorded by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 85, reports a vision of Running Scout which probably refers to the Wolf Society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

[2] Murie, Societies, pp. 623, 638.

178
feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her 575
face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff 796
who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one Horn
Dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals.
The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat [782]
and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this
woman." (1914).

The Horse Society (raris arusa) was revived early, probably by
Frank Leader. Murie describes at length a ceremony for renewing
the society lances held May 23, 1902.[1] The paraphernalia included [293]
two lances, four rattles, four hand drums, and a red pipestone bowl [778]
with tubular dogwood stem, the stem incised with black bands to [276]
resemble trachea markings.[2]

Of certain societies we cannot be sure that the revival was extensive. All the societies mentioned were used as sources for the content of Ghost Dance visions, and the visionaries made facsimiles of old society objects which they carried in the dance. When the visions were as well bestowals of special rituals, such as hand games, the society objects became part of the bundle and altar. The Crow Lance Society (hatuxka) was revived in this way by Mark Rudder; a lance was placed at the altar, and a brief dance led by Rudder opened the game occasion (See Chapter X). The Society of Crows (raris kaka), a derivative of the hatuxka of aboriginal times, was independently revived by George Beaver, and it is probable that paraphernalia made by him were integrated with his game set.[3] Fancy Eagle is credited with the making of a hand drum which was associated with the old Fighting Lances (tirupahe[4]) and used in hand games.

In addition to the use of paraphernalia, songs of these revived [533]
societies were used in the intervals of the hand game ceremonies. It
is also probable that the use of drums in the hand game ceremonies
was based on old society forms.

---

[1] Murie, Societies 561ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 567, p. 566 fig. 5. Two hand drums in the Field Museum (F M 79368—1,2) are probably those of Leader; the face bears in red a representation of the raris arusa sheathed lance with its sets of fringed feathers.

[3] F M 73962 is the revival lance; it is not encased in buckskin. F M 79364 and 79365 are hand drums decorated with Ghost Dance symbols, which are said to have been used for the raris kaka by Beaver.

[4] F M 71934. Reference is made by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 68 to a song which apparently concerns the revival of this society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

REVIVALS OF GAMES

524 The games[1] most important in the old social life of the Pawnee
526 were for men the large hoop and pole game, the hand game,[2] and
the moccasin game[3]: for the women, the stick dice game, the plum seed dice game, shinny and double-ball. Boys played at the hand game of the men among themselves[2], and played a boys' form of the hoop and pole game; girls played the womens' games.

668 All three revival phases took place with the games, paralleling
178 the ritual revivals. The activities were renewed, viz., the games
524 were again played, and played with renewed enthusiasm; the
paraphernalia were renewed and reconstructed in that game sets began to be made again in the old way: such were essential for the hoop and pole games, the plum seed and stick dice games, shinny and doubleball: and lastly the games becoming vision sources, sets of paraphernalia were ceremonialized: On the one hand such
[796 developments as the ritual hand games took place, and on the
other game objects like shinny balls, hoops, etc. were used as
787] vision embodiments and symbols, carried in the dance and employed
to induce visions in others. (See Chapter II)

In these revivals of old forms, we see that those forms were stressed which were most overt and apparent in the old culture: games basically, the non-esoteric activities of the societies (songs and performances) next, and the bundle activities least of all. This weighting follows the probabilities, in terms of the degree to which the old activities were shared by all the people in aboriginal life: those which were common and familiar possessions of the people were readily remembered and revived, while those calling for special traditional learning were difficult to recapture.

221 When individuals in Ghost Dance trances were transported
796 to the other world they came there upon villages of Pawnee living
668 as they had of old. The whole concept of the doctrine being an
178 awakening or renewal, the type of life most often visualized in the
trances was the tribal life of the early spring and early summer. In aboriginal days the spring was a season of reawakening. With the first thunder came the opening of the great bundles and the chanting of the creation ritual. This ushered in the spring activities of the people. With the passing of winter, and the renewal

---

[1] For descriptions of these games consult Culin, Games, pp. 274, 409, 463, 625, 657.

[2] See Chapters V, VI.

[3] The moccasin game was played by the Pawnee, instead of the hand game, with Central Algonquian tribes.

of life in the waters and upon earth, the villages were plunged into 221
a round of activities. The young men got ready to go on the warpath, 796
and all their moccasins, garments and weapons had to be put in 668
order. The women made the moccasins, and helped them in other
ways to prepare. Meanwhile the games had begun among children 178
and adults. As the time neared for the departure of the war parties, the great war society dances and performances were held. A visitor to the villages at this season would have been directly impressed with three phases of the outdoor scene: the work of individuals, in view here and there; the games; and the spectacular and colorful dances of the warriors before their departure. These aspects of Pawnee life, being old and familiar, dominated the imagery of the Ghost Dance visions.

NEW CULTURAL FORMS

The Ghost Dance proved not only a force for cultural revival, 178
but with a return to the past as an inspirational source and guide, 796
and vision sanctions as immediate drives, the doctrine was an impetus to cultural development. Several noteworthy forms are on record. The Ghost Dance ceremonial forms themselves have already been described. The rapid development of the many Ghost Dance hand game ceremonies were the most striking development and reintegration of the old and new; these form the subject of the
entire second part of this study and need not concern us here. In [276
addition the development of the modern iruska, or new war dance, 431]
among all four bands, a form of social gathering for feasting and gift-giving; and the spread of the peyote ritual, began at this period.[1]

---

[1] An anecdote told by Murie (Ceremonies of the Pawnee, in press, Bureau of Ethnology) indicates in a lighter vein, the freedom to make ritual changes which came with the Ghost Dance doctrine, and the occasional results. "It is said that in 1893, the husband of the Skull bundle keeper, a rather
young man, took a notion he would shell the corn for the people and distribute it in a new way. He gathered some men, shelled the ear of corn from [787
the bundle, and distributed it himself. The people remonstrated, but he told 688]
them he had had a vision and was going to do just as he was told. In June he started to Wichita Mountains. When he got about 35 miles south of Pawnee (it was very hot and dry; the dust was about five inches thick) his wagon broke down and he had to stay there several days, but at last got his wheels repaired and started out again. Travelling was very hard. The old woman who was keeper of the Skull Bundle, struck him on the back and said, 'You will shell corn, will you. See what you have done.' That year the crops burned up, it was so hot."

178 According to Murie's[1] account the modern Skiri iruska was taken over from the Oglala Sioux, but went back to a form of the Omaha 796 grass dance. It began to appear among the Pawnee in 1897, and 177 was fully organized by Eagle Chief in 1911. An independent development of the iruska took place among the Kitkahaxki^x. "About 1894 while the Ghost Dance was still intense a man named Sitting Bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and led it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the [778 hands of Little-Sun, one of the leading singers. According to this ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the 534] ritual as in the case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-Sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-Fly-High, also a pupil of Sitting-Bear." An independent development of the modern iruska took place among the Tcawi under the leadership of Roaming-Chief,[2] and thence spread to the Pitahawirat^a.[3]

Murie has described how the peyote ritual reaching the Pawnee 668 in 1890 was stimulated by the Ghost Dance excitement; and how 796 some forms of the peyote worship were like Ghost Dance forms.[4] Frank White, the great Pawnee Ghost Dance prophet, was also 276 a peyote devotee (See Chapter 11). Murie adds, "it may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the Ghost Dance excitement. One of his individual [787] doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore."[5] This indicates the extent to which the effort to bring back cultural aspects buried and forgotten was a definite part of the Ghost Dance doctrine.

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 624—625, 628. Cf. for a description of the forms of these rituals, pp. 624—630.

[2] Several shields in the Field Museum, depicting warriors' visions of Ghost Dance times are associated with the development of the modern iruska. F M 71844, and F M 59527 (two shields). One of the latter was identified as probably belonging to Roaming-Chief.

[3] The story of gradual changes in the form of Pawnee visiting party arrangements, associated with the modern iruska development, is a complex tale on its own account, and is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

[4] Murie, Societies, p. 636—637.

[5] ibid. p. 638.

THE PAWNEE AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

I have gathered the detailed evidence on the cultural revivals 178
and developments from 1892 on in this summary form, in order to
emphasize the reality of the Ghost Dance period as a time of 175
Pawnee renaissance. Like greater cultural movements of this kind, it was a turning backward to the past, an attempt to resurrect, preserve and copy the ancient records. From them a new and revitalized cultural movement flowed. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of Pawnee destiny, several conditions combined to destroy this movement, and as the faith was overthrown, the revivals disappeared and activity based on the new forms in part waned. As a result, we cannot today fully reconstruct the movement of changes or prove the full extent to which the old culture began to revive. I believe the evidence presented is indicative, but only a part of what contemporary recording would have offered.

A cultural renaissance to be effective must be in the hands of a free people, and the directions of its flow must be relatively unimpeded. It was impossible in Oklahoma after 1892 to bring back the old material conditions of life of the Indian; his vision that the buffalo, the old habitations and old landscape would reappear was a mirage. This alone would perhaps have only checked the movement, and turned it in other directions. But the Pawnee were not a people with an independent destiny. Until 1893, they were so many cultural children fathered by the paternal solicitude of the agent and the government; after 1893 the Pawnee were so many unassimilated citizens of the United States.

In 1893, with the allotment of their lands in severalty, the surplus 648
lands of the Pawnee were thrown open to settlement by the white
man. The town of Pawnee sprang up almost at once in their 657
very midst. The choice of allotments had not been controlled so 175
as to maintain the reservation lines, and when the unallotted surplus lands became the homes of white men, the Pawnee found themselves side by side with white men for the first time in their history. The allotment in severalty made the Pawnee individual land owners; they were transformed from full wards of the government into citizens subject to the laws of the United States and the Territory in which they lived. As such the Agent no longer had absolute control over them; he could persuade and he could withhold annuity money to help reinforce his suggestions, but he could neither command nor enforce his orders.

The Pawnee found their new freedom much to their liking. For one thing, there was no authority which could compel them to

175

648 stop the Ghost Dance. For another, they found themselves well
657 off financially, with the white settlers among them eager to deal
with them. In the town of Pawnee some were able in spite of
[273] preventive measures to get drunk at will, at which times as the
agent observed, they would proclaim aloud their rights as citizens
of the United States.

The allotment of lands had been made per capita. 797 allotments were recorded. A fair estimate would place the 797 as including about 160 families, and 160 to 200 would probably total the number of able-bodied men available for farming. As each family of five members controlled 800 acres of allotted land, it was impossible for the government to expect that the full acreage would be cultivated by the Pawnee men. At the same time the new status of the people left the government with no financial obligations toward the tribe except the permanent annuity, and the payment of interest on trust funds. The Pawnee had to become self-supporting, and if they could not win their sustenance from their own lands, the lands must be put to work for them. As landowners they were allowed to lease large parts of their allotted lands to white farmers and cattlemen: in theory every able-bodied man was to retain a plot of forty acres worked by himself.

The lease system grew by leaps and bounds. At first the lands
429 rented by the year at twenty-five cents an acre for grazing land
648 to one dollar for farming land. The Pawnee land was one fourth
657 rich bottom land, one fourth hilly and rough land, and about one
175 half level upland. The Pawnee reserve was suited to corn and fruit,
and in 1897 a trial of cotton was begun. The farm lands continued to rise in rental value. The leases provided for improvements on the land as well as the money rental, and as unplowed land was broken it became more valuable. Rental values rose by 1905 to $ 4.50 an acre for the best farm land. The leasing began in 1894; in 1895 there were 97 leases of Pawnee allotment land and the number increased year by year. At first the payment of lease money was made directly to the Indian, or was paid by the lessee to the agent and by the latter turned over to the Pawnee lessor at once; later as the government found the Indians squandering their money as fast as they received it, the money was kept on deposit for the Pawnee by the agent and drawn on as needed.

There were two reasons for the rapid increase of the lease system: the white man wanted to lease the land from the Indian, because it was profitable land, and at a low rental. The Indian wanted to lease the land to the white man because it brought him money without a kind of labor which was disagreeable to him, especially

at the time of the Ghost Dance faith. As time went by Indians 648
and white farmers resorted to various subterfuges to get around 557
the ruling that certain lands they held could not be leased. The 427
Indian would claim that he was employing a white man and 175
intended to pay him, but when harvest time came, instead of the
Indian paying the white farmer money, the white farmer gave the
Indian a part of the crop.

The immediate results of the lease system were two-fold: on
the one hand, for the first time in their lives the Pawnee had plenty
of money; on the other hand, they had to make no effort at all to
support themselves. In 1897 the Pawnee leases brought an income [434]
of $ 12,114.95. In 1900 the income of the tribe from their annuity
($ 30,000), interest on their two trust funds (from the sale of the
Nebraska reservation; and from the sale of the surplus Oklahoma
lands); and leases, was over $ 75,000. In that year the population [161]
had dwindled to 650, so that the per capita income was about [511]
$ 116 or the income of the average family of five close to $ 600
annually, a substantial and adequate income in 1900 on the Oklahoma
frontier.

Year by year the Pawnee labored less and less on their own lands; 175
in 1904 their self-maintenance was 42 per cent from their annuity 461
and interests, 43 per cent from leases, and 15 per cent from "labor
in civilized pursuits." By 1899 the agents had fully realized the 657
extent of the blunder which had been made: they were aware that
the Pawnee could not be made to labor when he had all he needed
without it, and pointed out in their reports that white men would
have acted in the same way.

Along with the disappearance of all demands upon them to be
self-reliant and self-maintaining, the Pawnee were stripped of their
last outlets for self management. Leases were made not by the [427]
Indian but by the agent; lease money was paid not to the Indian
but to the agent. All that the Indian had to do was to draw his
income. At the same time with the change of status to citizens, [698
the function of the Court of Indian Offenses vanished, and the
court was abolished April 21, 1894; the Indian police were disbanded 625]
in October of the same year.

Temporarily with their increased income, the living conditions 175
of the Pawnee improved: they ate better, they dressed better, and 511
they lived better. But the idleness which had come to them 161
was in keeping with their desire during these years to congregate
in encampments for Ghost Dances and other performances, so that
they leased their houses with their lands and made shift to live
here or there as the occasion demanded. During these years there

175 was a constant fall of the population. From 797 at the time of the
511 allotments in severalty the Pawnee were reduced to 633 in 1904.
161 The decrease was steady. The diseases which had persisted in the
tribe continued to take their toll during these years. Doctors
ascribed failure to control them to their inheritability, to the
conditions of continual exposure incident to camp life and continual
[256] dancing, and to the pernicious influence and control of the
Pawnee medicine men who as a result of the Ghost Dance revival
had regained their status with the people.

175 The Pawnee not only did not have to work to live, but were in
a position to pay white men to do their necessary work for them.
46 They paid high prices, and their money went as fast as it came.
178 Their funds were augmented from time to time by the sale of
inherited allotment lands.

The conditions of idleness only served to reinforce the revival
of the old cultural forms. The Pawnee disliked isolation most of
all, and gladly leased their scattered allotments, coming together
for a continual round of Ghost Dances, performances, games, and
hand game ceremonies. Stripped of their last vestige of responsibility,
with no activities that were meaningful or satisfying save
these old and new forms of Indian life, they turned to these with
a kind of desperation. The experiences of these years, even while
[762] the Ghost Dance brought some hope into their lives, caused a
number of young men to commit suicide. Eight suicides were
recorded in the period from 1892 to 1898. They were reported as
occasioned by slight causes, and were traced to the "pernicious
influence of the Ghost Dance."

The indolence of the Pawnee became such that in the early years of the century the officials and missionaries began to plead for a change of program. They held that the only solution possible was to throw the Indians on their own resources entirely. Some agents developed the suggestion that at least those Pawnee men who could manage their own affairs should be allowed to lease their own lands and receive the payments themselves. This movement to take away entirely the guidance and control of the agency resulted later (after 1916) in issuing many titles in fee simple to Indians, often without their consent.

Under these conditions, at the turn of the century, the cultural revival of the Pawnee was doomed. It could not take roots in any soil: it was based on no firm way of life. It gradually passed, leaving the Indians still with an empty life, living off the funds which came from the government, and the payments of white far-

mers who leased their land. But those forms of life which had 175
arisen in answer to their need for social gatherings remained. The 178
modern iruska, with its large scale intertribal visiting parties, the 461
peyote ritual, and the hand games. Later still the modern pow-
wow was to arise to draw the Indians of the entire state into a
continual round of visiting. To the continuing hand game ceremonies,
the major intellectual product of the Ghost Dance years, we can
now turn to see in what way they were formed, and what needs
they filled.

II

IV.

THE HAND GAME. DISTRIBUTION AND CHARACTER

668 525 In this part I have traced the changes in the Pawnee hand game which were functions of the Ghost Dance revival and the renaissance of culture. As a preliminary, this chapter sketches the place of the hand game in the aboriginal culture of North America. It was part of a wide distribution of guessing games, and the principles of chance play involved in the hand games may well have been basic to the principles of chance involved in other forms of guessing games. The consideration herein is not exhaustive: while a new treatment and re-classification of American Indian games seems called for by modern study, such a discussion, amplifying and correcting Culin,[1] must be intensive, and is necessarily irrelevant to the present theme.

525 The hand game is one of the guessing games of the North American Indians. These games, along with dice games, were, according to Culin, the only games of chance played by the American Indians. The guessing games present considerable variety: differences in objectives of play, paraphernalia used, forms of play, methods of concealment, methods of scoring, type and form of accompanying music, and ritualisation, are widespread. This variability in the guessing games is if anything increased by the errors and misunderstandings of early travelers on whose accounts Culin had to depend for information from some regions. In some cases modern information has superseded the early accounts; in others the cultures are extinct, and confusions must repain.

525 171 The guessing games of North American Indians have a contiguous and continuous distribution throughout certain regions of the continent. Guessing games are absent throughout the cultures of the arctic and sub-arctic regions: the Eskimo, the Athapascan peoples of Alaska and northwestern Canada, and the Algonquian peoples of northeastern Canada, the Hudson Bay region and Maine.

---

[1] Culin, Games.

[p. 124]

These games are also absent throughout the southeastern United States. Conversely, in one or another form, guessing games are present throughout the Northwest Coast, California, the Plateau, the Great Basin, the Southwest, the Plains, and in the Eastern Woodlands from the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence southward to the edges of southeastern culture. This contiguous distribution of the presence and absence of guessing games implies historical relations of one or another sort. Such a major development of guessing games is unknown from other primitive regions of the world, so that the American Indian guessing games must be considered an indigenous development.

This does not mean that the guessing games must have had a unit origin in time and space and then diffused over the continent. Any guessing game is a complex combination of themes which have no necessary or inherent relation to one another; for example, a method of scoring points won, and the associated guessing objective by which points are won; the objects used in play, as sticks, discs, bones, and the associated method of scoring; the fact and form of musical accompaniment, and the associated type of play. The exact historical understanding of the development of the guessing games must be based upon a consideration of these independent themes, in their special distributions, and the elaboration and integration which they have undergone in special complexes. I shall not attempt this here.

Culin has considered the guessing games under four heads: stick games, hand games, the four stick game, and the hidden-ball game. This classification is not thorough. While it is true that the four-stick game is undoubtedly a unit form which has developed out of the background of guessing games, the hidden-ball game, as Spier has argued,[1] has two typical forms which we have no reason to identify. The stick games appear in several variant forms, which could be considered as different from one another as the two types of hidden-ball game, or the hand game and the hidden-ball game.

The four stick game has a limited and localized distribution. It occurs among contiguous tribes of northeastern California, western Nevada, and Oregon. In this game four sticks consisting of two pairs of like sticks are arranged in a serial order under a basket tray or blanket, and the opposition must guess the arrangement. There are six possible arrangements, of which four are identical with the four possible arrangements of the hiding counters in a four-hand hand game. Among the Klamath Dorsey reports

---

[1] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 351.

525
171

that the two additional positions are ruled out of the scoring.[1] These are the positions in which the similars lie paired. This indicates that these positions are actually additional and not fully integrated in the game.

Of the hidden-ball game, the northern type is the moccasin game. This is played by Algonquian tribes of the Eastern Woodlands and Great Lakes, by the Iroquois, and by several Plains Siouan tribes. An object is concealed under one of four moccasins, the opposition having to locate or avoid it. Scoring methods are variable. The essential chance is a one-out-of-four, which is identical with the chance of full success in a four-hand hand game, or the four stick game of the Klamath.

The southern type of hidden-ball game is the canute or reed game of the Pueblo region. Eliminating special variations, the type is played by all the pueblo tribes, the southern Athapascans, the Yuman tribes of Arizona, the Pima, the Papago and the Ute. A small round object is hidden in one of four receptacles or places — these being other than moccasins — and the opposition attempts either to locate or avoid the hidden object, or to locate it on a particular guess. Among most pueblo tribes four reed tubes are used as places of concealment; the Hopi variation is a tubular shaped cup instead of a reed. At Zuni and among several of the Rio Grande pueblos the reeds are further concealed in mounds; while the Hano, Pima and Papago fill their tubes or cups with sand. The Yumans bury the object in one of four heaps of sand. An anomalous form is used by the Navaho, who conceal the object in one of four moccasins and then bury the moccasins in sand; suggesting, as remarked by Spier,[2] a combination of the southern and northern types of hidden-ball game. In general, locating the concealed object on the first guess is associated with the use of mounds of sand, while the reed game proper employs the principle of locating the hidden object on the third guess, with which is associated a complicated manner of scoring.

The two most widely distributed guessing games are the stick games and the hand games. The stick games are absent in the entire southern region of guessing games, that is, among Caddoans and Kiowans of the Plains, all groups of the Southwest, all Shoshoneans (including the entire region of the Great Basin), and southern California. This confines the stick games to the Northwest Coast, northern and central California, the Plateau, and a sporadic belt of occurrences through the Plains and the Eastern Woodlands to the Algonquians of the New England Coast.

---

[1] Culin, Games, p. 329.

[2] op. cit.

The most typical developments of the stick games occur on the Northwest Coast, in northern California, and in the Plateau region. Two types are distinguishable here on the basis of the paraphernalia of play; while the principle of play is the same. On the Northwest Coast, among the Interior Salish, the Athapascans of California, the Klamath, and sporadically in northern California (as well as among the Teton Dakota of the Plains), a varying number of sticks among which is included an ace is divided into two parts, and the opponent guesses to locate or avoid the ace. Centering among the Coast Salish, but occurring also among the Klickitat, Chinook and Makah, is a variant in which the sets consist of ten wooden discs, one of which is an ace. The pack is divided while concealed under shredded cedar bark, and the guesser tries to choose the ace.

Variants of the stick games which occur in California, the Plains and the Eastern Woodlands, include one very general form in which an odd number of sticks is divided into two packs, and the opposition guesses for the odd number, the even number, or optionally even or odd. Other variants involve the guessing of the exact number of sticks in a bunch, or special manners of guessing chance distributions.

The basic principle of play of the typical stick games, the western stick and disc games, and the odd or even game, is a choice between two alternatives, some form of hiding or concealment (large numbers of sticks in the odd or even form being a method of concealment) being a preliminary.

The hand games proper are those which employ the hands as places in which an object to be guessed for is concealed. Such games are absent east of the Mississippi, among the pueblo and Athapascan peoples of the Southwest, and among most of the Algonquian tribes who play either the moccasin or stick game. Hand games occur in the Plains, throughout the Great Basin, California, the Plateau and the Northwest Coast. Hand games to the exclusion of other guessing games are played by all Shoshonean peoples save the Paiute of Pyramid Lake (who share with their Washo neighbors the four-stick game), and the Hopi (who like other pueblo groups play the reed game); by Caddoans; by Kiowans; by several Algonquian and Siouan tribes of the Plains; by the Kutenai; and by all Shahaptians except the Klickitat. Except for the development of the Ghost Dance ceremonial hand games, whose distribution is considered in Chapter XII, the hand game, wherever played, is a gambling game.

Reported information on the hand game, particularly the early material used by Culin, is especially weak in failing to distinguish two types of play. When an individual plays a hand game, he

525
171

hides a counter in one hand, or he hides two different counters one in each hand, and his opponent guesses for the hidden counter, or a given one of the two differing counters. As soon as more than two individual opponents play the game becomes more complicated. Typically, two players of one side each hide one counter or two differing counters, and opposing players guess the distribution. Probably both forms of play occur side by side in many more tribes than we have on record, the former for individual play, the latter for team play.

Some variants should be mentioned. Among some Californian tribes play is side against side, four players composing each side, but the guessing is individual player against opposing individual, as they sit; this form is consistent with the patterns for betting, which elsewhere even with team play, is individual against individual. Occasionally, as among one Pomo group, two players hide counters but the opposing guesser may optionally try to locate the whole distribution or the separate arrangement of either opponent's hands; this optional manner seems intermediate between two-hand and four-hand forms. The Achomawi, Haida and some others use one counter, and the opposition guesses in which hand (usually of four) it is located. Among some tribes one counter is passed along the players of a side (number not clearly stated) and opponents must locate the counter as to player, or hand. Among Yuman peoples, each member of a side conceals a counter, and the guesser tries for the whole distribution at once (apparently the sides usually consist of four members), and the guessing continues only for those unlocated. These variants, based on Culin, are local developments, and probably specializations of the hand game theme.

The type forms are the two-hand and four-hand manners of play already mentioned. In the two-hand form whether one counter or two is concealed the principle is the same; and in the four-hand form whether two counters or four are concealed the principle is the same. In the first case, the chance is one out of two, in the second one out of four (for a perfect guess). It is probable that the Plains method of play for the four-hand form, in which, if the guesser locates the counter of one opponent only, his side loses one tally and he continues to guess only for the counter not found, would prove more widespread if better information were available.

The early data used by Culin emphasizes predominantly the two-hand form. Later information on hand games of the Plains, Basin, California and the Plateau, of Kroeber, Lowie, Wissler, Spier, Gunther, Dorsey and others, as well as Powers' early material on California, in most cases reverses the emphasis, describing

primarily the four-hand form. This form, being more complicated, undoubtedly confused the casual observer of earlier days. As a result we cannot be sure of independent distributions of the two forms, or the distribution of their coexistence. What Gunther states for the Klallam, "... they play with two bones, guessing for the marked one. Occasionally in a big game four bones are put into play, being held by two people,"[1] is likely to be an option much more widespread in the Plains, California, the Basin and the Plateau than our records show. Culin's data indicates a definite emphasis upon the two-hand form among tribes of the North Pacific Coast, and Boas has confirmed this.[2] The material sets of bones to hide catalogued by Culin, are for the most part of four bones, two pairs of similars, suggesting the four-hand form as the mode; nor does the occurrence of sets of two bones rule out the four-hand form, in view of the manner of giving each player one bone.

Before discussing the problem offered by the principles of play of the hand games and guessing games, some important characteristics of the distributions should be noted. No American Indian tribe plays all four types of guessing game. Four tribes play three games: The Klamath, Achomawi and Washo, play the local four stick game as well as the stick and hand games; and the Plains Cree play the stick game, the hand game and the moccasin game. With such rare exceptions, the American Indian tribes who play guessing games play at most two variants. The overlapping in the Eastern Woodlands is between the moccasin and stick games; in the Plains either between the moccasin and stick games or the stick and hand games, not between the hand and moccasin games[3]; while the main overlapping occurs in the Northwest Coast area, the Plateau and California, where stick and hand games occur side by side.

The stick games involve typically the chance principle of one out of two; the moccasin game, the reed game, and the four stick game,[4] involve a one out of four chance for a perfect guess. Hand games may involve either: two-hand hand games offer the one-of-two chance principle, four-hand hand games the one-of-four chance principle. The overlappings of the game distributions, except for the Northwest Coast and sporadic cases elsewhere, are

---

[1] Gunther, Klallam, p. 274.

[2] In conversation.

[3] In some cases, tribes of the Plains whose native game was the hand game played the moccasin game when opposed to tribes more accustomed to the moccasin game. (Pawnee).

[4] I assume here that the limitation of positions of the Paiute four stick game (Culin, 334) or of tallying for only four positions by the Klamath (Culin, 329) are typical of the four-stick game.

525
171

primarily between a two-alternative game and a four-alternative game. This suggests that as regards the chance principles involved the stick games may be related to the two-hand hand game, and the moccasin, reed and four stick games to the four-hand hand game. An individual hand game must be a two-alternative game. As soon as a four-chance principle game is required four hands are necessary. To utilize the same principle for individual play, the objects must be objectified (four-stick game) or the receptacles objectified (moccasin and reed games).

In terms then of the principles of chance involved, the guessing games of the American Indians are probably differing developments of associations of other themes to the two chance themes which appear in the hand games. These two chance themes, the two alternative and four alternative manners, might be considered in terms of limited possibilities to be accidentally re-invented principles if our distribution showed a reasonably chance occurrence of the one-out-of-three or one-out-of-five principles. Two cases are on record suggesting a one-out-of-three chance: Meeker and Prescott report that the Oglala and Santee Dakota used three moccasins in the moccasin game: Meeker makes optional the use of two, three or four moccasins by the Oglala; Prescott describes three as the Santee norm. Prescott's statement is disputed by the reports of Neill and Riggs, who both state that four moccasins are the number used.[1] In addition to these statements, Catlin describes the Iowa as using three or four moccasins.[2] These are the only cases in which a one out of three chance is mentioned, and it seems at best an option. Five alternatives do not occur. These facts support the theory that the two-alternative and four-alternative chance themes have usurped the development of Indian guessing games because of the two-hand and four-hand forms of the hand game.

This theory concerns only the principles of chance involved in the play of the games. Such associated themes as paraphernalia, forms of scoring, [illegible]al accompaniment, etc., must be considered separately before statements relative to the total game complexes as such can be made. Furthermore, some specialized developments call for special explanation: the third-guess manner of the Pueblo reed game, associated with elaborate scoring devices, may have to be considered in relation to sources quite different from those of the general North American guessing game development. Such detailed problems require a more relevant place for discussion.

The Pawnee hand game, described in the next chapter, is primarily of the four-hand form, and belongs to the central area of distribution of the hand games, the Plains and the Basin.

[1] Culin, 364–365.

[2] ibid., 366.

V.

PLAY OF THE PAWNEE HAND GAME

To understand the changes which make up the history of the Pawnee hand game, as considered in this study, it is essential that the skeleton of the game play itself be clearly understood. Only in this way can the ritualization which occurred in ghost dance times be visualized against the old game background. The game itself is interesting on its own account. In actual play it has its own excitements and exhilarations, and the pleasure of winning and annoyance of losing can be readily shared by an outsider who participates for a short time. 525

The Game Sets: Culin catalogs hand game sets in various museums.[1] The Pawnee and Wichita sets pictured and described by him are all Ghost Dance hand game sets, not sets used for the early gambling game. Pawnee sets always consist of eight sticks used as *tally sticks* with which to keep score, and two special bones or die, used as *counters* in hiding. [668 796]

Sides and Officials: In the playing of the game, two sides oppose each other; any number of players may be joined to either side, even numbers being immaterial. They are definitely immaterial in the Ghost Dance hand games where the affiliation of the individual in the Ghost Dance determines on which side that individual plays. In the old men's gambling game even numbers as regards the players were also immaterial, the visitors or guests always being considerably outnumbered by their hosts; but since in placing wagers individuals bet with individuals, the numbers of those who wagered was the same for both sides. When the boys played and chose sides, the sides were usually more or less even in numbers. The two sides form two halves of a circle, the head end being either at the west or at the north. In all Ghost Dance hand games but one it is at the west; in that one it is at the north. In the old hand game the orientation of the sides was determined by the direction from which the guests or visitors came, with the head end always either west or north. At this head end sit two tallyers, who are the leaders of their respective sides, usually with two 525 668

---

[1] Culin, p. 276ff.

525 668 [276] assistants. These leaders are called *rixkut*^{s}. Leadership is important in both the old games and the Ghost Dance games. In the old game the main leader of the visiting side is the man who comes bringing the pipe. In Ghost Dance games there are always four individuals behind the altar, following the generic ceremonial pattern of the Pawnee. The two inner ones — next the east-west line, or the north-south line in the one case — are the main leaders, the two outer men being their assistants. These tallyers keep the score with the tally sticks. The leader of each side selects one player to do the guessing for that side.

[276] *Putting the counters in play:* There are preliminaries to the actual playing of the game proper: in the old games, the smoking of the pipe brought by the leader of the visiting party, the betting, and often a special dance by the visitors; in the ghost dance hand games, the smoke offering, the selection of the guessers, and usually an old dance song sung by the drummers of the host side. The leader of each side selects a guesser for that side by arising, going to one player and giving him a counter.

When the game proper is ready to begin the two guessers arise and face each other across the head end of the arena, each on his side of the midline. Each has one counter. The guesser of the host side puts his hands behind his back while he conceals the counter in one hand, then brings both clenched hands forward and moves them in rhythm while his opponent guesses. Then whatever the outcome, the opponent hides his counter and the first guesses. Calling the guesser of the host side A, and that of the guest side B, there are now four possibilities:

1) A found B's counter and B failed to find A's. In this case they are won by A who puts them in play on his side.

2) A failed to find B's counter and B found A's. In this case they are won by B, who puts them in play on his side.

3) A found B's counter and B found A's counter. In this case the procedure is repeated, until possibility 1) or 2) as above is realized, with the exception noted below.

4) A failed to find B's counter and B failed to find A's counter. In this case the procedure is repeated, until possibility 1) or 2) as above is realized, with the exception noted below.

If either possibility 3) or possibility 4), as above, occurs four times in succession, it is customary for the guessers to yield their office to two others, who try all over again.[1]

---

[1] In one Skiri Ghost Dance hand game, that of George Beaver, it is said that no change made after four misguesses, but the procedure continued until one guesser had won both counters.

When in this way, the guesser of one side has won both counters, he takes them to two players—usually two seated side by side—of his side and gives one to each. These two players conceal the counters, and the opposing guesser comes across the arena to locate them.

525
668

The Play: The two counters when won by the guesser of one side are given to two players of that side, one to each. Each player conceals the counter given to him in one hand so that there is no evidence from his closed fists in which hand it is held. Usually the counter is concealed while the hands are held behind the back, or for a woman, under the skirt. The players who have the counters then bring their fists forward and shake their clenched hands back and forth before the guesser of the opposing side, who stands at a little distance, watching their movements and trying to add to mere chance some significant slip or move which may reveal to him which hand to choose.

In making a choice, with two counters concealed each one in either of two hands, there are four possible combinations: the two outer hands, the two inner hands, the two right hands of the hiders, and the two left hands of the hiders. There are special motions used by the guessers to indicate which of these possibilities is chosen.

To indicate the two outer hands, the guesser spreads his arms slightly outward to the sides, *or* raises both hands with erect thumbs and points the thumbs outward from his body, *or* raises the right hand with the thumb and index finger spread. To indicate the inner hands the guesser extends the right arm as if slicing between the players with the open right hand. To indicate the two right hands of the players, the guesser motions with his own right hand leftwards, *or* raises his right hand with index finger erect. To guess the two left hands of the players, the guesser motions with his own right hand to the right, *or* raises his right hand with index and third finger erect.

As soon as the guesser's choice has been indicated in one of the above ways, the players who hold the counters open the indicated hands so that all may see whether or not the guess has been successful. The player may if he wishes when the guess has been unsuccessful also open the hand containing the counter.

There are three possible results of the guess:

1) The guesser is fully successful if with his single guess he has chosen the two hands in which the two counters are concealed. In this case he wins the counters for his own side. Neither side scores points. The guesser who has won the counters takes them

525 668 across the arena to two players of his side, and the opposing guesser must now come across to try to find them.

2) The guesser is completely unsuccessful if his guess has indicated the two empty hands. In this case the players holding the counters score two points for their side, which are recorded by the keeper of the tally sticks for that side. Usually the guesser of the side in possession of the counters stands near the play, and, otherwise inactive, he indicates to the tallyer at the head end whether one or two points have been scored by holding up his right hand with index finger erect, or with index and third finger erect. In the excitement of play, other players of the side scoring points who are close to the play usually also indicate to the tallyer what has happened, and many shout "asku", one, or "pitku", two, as well. If the side holding the counters scores two points, the same two players conceal the counters again, and the guesser of the opposing side must try his luck again.

3) The third possibility is that the guesser locates one counter, and misses the other. In this case the side holding the counters scores one point (for the one not found). Then the successful player whose counter was not indicated hides again, while the unsuccessful player awaits the outcome. The guesser now has only to indicate which hand the one counter is concealed in, and has a one out of two chance. If he finds this one counter, he has now won both for his own side, and takes them across the arena to two players of his side. No further points are scored. If, on the other hand, the guesser fails to find this single counter in play, the side holding the counters scores another single point. Now both players (the same two) hide again, including the one who lost the first time, and the other who has twice scored single points. With both hiding again the guesser must try his luck once more with all the possibilities open.

525 533 668 *The Musical Accompaniment:* Besides the special songs which are sung before the game proper begins, and the songs sung in the intervals between the games, hand game songs are sung to the actual play of the game. The side holding and hiding the counters sings continuously while the counters remain in their possession. As soon as the guesser has won both, the song ceases abruptly, while the opposing side begins as abruptly to sing. In the old Pawnee hand game the clapping of hands was the only instrumental accompaniment. In the Ghost Dance hand games, drums are used. The songs in the intervals are sung by the side which has just won the game.

525
668

Scoring: As will be seen from the account of the game *in play* points are scored by the side in possession of the counters when the guesser of the opposing side fails to find the counters. Success in guessing does not score points but wins possession of the counters.

The record of the scoring is kept with the eight tally sticks which lie at the head end (altar end) before the two leaders. In the old hand games these eight sticks are in one heap between the tallyers or leaders; in the Ghost Dance hand games, four are bunched in front of the leader of each side. When his side scores a point, the tallyer takes one of the sticks and places it before him in a separate group, until the eight sticks have all been put in scoring play by having been won by one side or the other. Thus in the old hand game the tallyer would take sticks from the bunch of eight lying between the leaders; while in the Ghost Dance hand game he would take sticks first from the bunch of four not in play lying before his opponent, and then from the bunch of four not in play lying before himself. After the sticks are all in scoring play, a point is recorded for one side by taking one of the sticks already won or scored by the other side and adding it to the "score" bunch of the first side.

A hypothetical illustration of scoring will make the method clearer:

1) ////////
A B

2) //// ////
A B

1) represents the arrangement of tally sticks before scoring occurs in the old handgames. 2) represents the same in the Ghost Dance hand games.

If A's side scores two points the respective arrangements are:

1) // //////
A B

2) // //// //
A B

If B then scores two points:

1) // //// //
A B

2) // // // //
A B

are the respective arrangements. Then should B again score let us say one point:

525
668

1) // /// ///
A B
2) // / // ///
A B

illustrate the way the tally sticks would lie.

Now suppose that A scores three points. The resultant arrangements:

1) ///// ///
A B
2) ///// ///
A B

show that the original groups of sticks in both cases are now all in play. From this point on the scoring consists merely of moving the number of sticks won from one side to the other until as a result of the run of play all the eight sticks cluster on one side or the other. Thus at the point represented above, if one side or the other were lucky enough to run out the game in one turn, A's side would need three points in a row to do so, B's side five.

The only difficulty in following the method of scoring is that it must be remembered that all the tally sticks must have been put in scoring play by having been once won by either side, before accumulating all the sticks wins the game. This is obvious in the case of arrangement 1) of the old hand game where the sticks lie in one bunch between the tallyers. Here if both sides have already scored points the side which is running out first scores by winning the sticks not as yet in play, and then the sticks already won by the opponent. In the Ghost Dance games where each leader has four sticks before him, these belong only ceremonially, as it were, to his side, and have no reference to the scoring of the game. They must be put in scoring play in the same way that the eight bunched sticks are in the old game. Thus when one side wins four sticks in its first turn, all eight are in front of the tallyer of that side, but only four have been put in scoring play. These lie in a separate bunch, and the side must win in addition the four sticks which lie in front of their own leader, but which are not yet in scoring play, before the game has been won. If in these Ghost Dance games each side has already scored, a side running out tallies sticks in the following order: first, those before the opponent not yet in scoring play, then those before the side's own leader not in scoring play, then those which the opponent has scored.

After winning a game: A hand game occasion, whether in the old form or the Ghost Dance form, is never ended by merely winning

a game. To use an analogy, one of these games is like a "rubber" 525
in bridge. In the old game, such "rubber" games are played until 668
the possessions that one side can bet are exhausted, or until, because it is late, all agree to stop. In the Ghost Dance games, special arrangements of the number of "rubber" games to be played are made beforehand. Some of the Ghost Dance hand games have a fixed number of games to be played, usually seven, and regardless of the final outcome, viz., whether one side has won four, the other three, or one side has won all seven, the usual custom is to cease playing when the seven games have been finished. Other Ghost Dance hand games have variant methods which are optional, such as to play "even up" a certain number, which means that one side must win so many *more* games than the other. [533

When one game has been won, there is an interval during which 535]
dancing and singing takes place, led by the winning side.

After this a second game begins. For this second game, the guesser of the winning side retains his office, while the guesser of the losing side, by giving another player of his side the counter, inducts him into office as guesser for the side. So that in *putting the counters in play* for a second or later game, there will always be one guesser who participated in the previous game—the guesser of the side which has won—and one new guesser for the other side.

After the counters have been put in play in a second game or later, the players to whom they are first given by the guesser who wins both, are, in the Ghost Dance hand games, those whose turn it is to play.

Taking Turns to Play: In the old games there is essentially no formal method of taking turns. As will be detailed below, the main object being to win actual stakes which are valuable, the counters are given to hide to players who are thought to be lucky or especially able in deceiving the guesser. These will be any two chosen by the guesser, regardless of what positions they are seated in. That is, the individuals may be next each other, or widely separated in the row of players. But, after such individuals have had a turn, and have lost the counters, the custom would be for the guesser, when he had rewon the counters from players of the opposing side, to give them to hide to two other players of his side.

In the Ghost Dance hand games the whole routine is formalized. For each hand game there is an order in which the players seated around the arena take turns. This order may or may not differ from one game to another. The most general form is for the players to take turns as they are seated from the head end to the doorway, 525 thus usually from west to east. The counters are always given, in such a case, to two players sitting alongside each other.

668 Each player who is given a counter to hide has a continuous turn until he and his partner have finally lost the counters. Then when they are rewon by the guesser of that side, they are given to the next two players in order. This method of allowing continuous turns overrides the interval between games. Thus not only is the guesser of the winning side retained, but the first time in the second game that he gives the counters to two players of his side, he gives them to the two players who "ran out" the previous game, and whose turn was not over, but was interrupted by the winning of the game. On the other hand, on the side which has just lost the game, the first two players to hide are the next two to those who last played.

VI.

THE OLD PAWNEE HAND GAME[1]

When the Pawnee lived in Nebraska, and for some time after 525 they removed to Oklahoma, the hand game kept its traditional place in Pawnee life as a gambling game. It was a game for men only, and primarily an adults' game; the women did not participate [562] and were not supposed to come near where the men were playing. The game was conceived as a warpath, and so dramatized: and warpaths for the Pawnee were activities excluding the participation of women. The men's game was usually a contest between two [574] Pawnee bands, in which one would visit the other for the express purpose of playing a hand game and gambling on the result. Small boys, in imitation of their elders, would play hand games and gamble. And in the same way that one Pawnee band visited another to challenge them to play the hand game, men of one Pawnee band would visit a tribe with whom they were on friendly terms for a hand-game contest. For the most part, it was a game [885] for the younger men; maturer men, like chiefs and braves, usually did not gamble.

The three old types of play will be more lucid from short narratives[2]:

THE BOYS' HAND GAME

When small boys played a hand game, it came about as part of 525 their play around the village. Some group of boys would decide to 857 play the way their elders did, and as many or as few as there were,

---

[1] The old Pawnee gambling hand game has not heretofore been described. Culin, in his monographic treatment of Games of the North American Indians, quotes, p. 276, on Pawnee a passage from G. B. Grinnell, Story of the Indian, p. 27. The description of the method of play in the passage differs fundamentally from that herein reported. Examination shows that [114] the quoted passage is a generalized description by Grinnell of the hand game among Indian tribes of the Plains. No reference suggests that he intended it as a description of play among the Pawnee. Culin was no doubt misled by the fact that, following the passage quoted, Grinnell tells the story of a game between Pawnee and Cheyenne scouts in the army, in which a Cheyenne was caught cheating; but in recounting this episode Grinnell does not describe the form of play. Grinnell was familiar with the game among more than eight tribes, and was probably not overconcerned in a popular treatment with the local tribal variations in play.

[2] As told by Mark Evarts; somewhat edited.

[p. 139]

525 they would go off somewhat from the village and choose sides.
857 Someone of them would find sticks and break up eight sticks to
make a tally set, and would make two little rings of willow to use as the counters to hide. Some of the boys would steal wood from the woodpiles in the lodges or around the tipis, and build a fire where the boys had decided to play.

When they had the place ready and the fire going, each boy would make up his own mind which side he would be on, so long as the division came out evenly; and each side selected its own leader. To the boys it made no difference what the orientation of their arrangements were; if the sides were north of the fire and south of the fire, or east of the fire and west of it, made little difference to them. Usually they had the scorekeepers at the west, in imitation of their elders. The boys would bet anything they had, such as things they wore, betting on the outcome of the individual games, and would go on playing games as long as a losing side had anything they could put up against the winnings of their opponents. They picked their guessers and decided for themselves which side should guess first. In the play of the game, they followed out the game as given above, playing it and scoring it the usual way. They kept no order in giving the willow rings to players to hide, giving them as much as possible to boys who were known to be good hiders and quick and adept at deception. Their principal object was to win the game, on the outcome of which they had wagered shirts, rings and other things that could not well be spared.

525 The boys sang songs to the play of the game, and accompanied
the singing with hand-clapping. The side which held the willow-
533 rings did the singing and hand-clapping, using it to confuse the
857 guesser. The songs were boys' songs essentially, that they had made up at one time or another, or that they had learned from other boys, although when possible they learned and used adult songs. They were often coarse and always more or less funny. Such refrains as the following are typical:

"My grandmother's out of joint" etc. (referring to her knee).

"My grandmother fell—she raised a cloud of dust", etc.

[831] "Hurry up grandma and come, come quick we want to win."

"The balls swing round, swing round," etc. (referring to the
[603] testicles).

The songs indicate the license in speech and action between boys and their grandmothers, which accurately reflects the family conditions.

525 The boys who held the willow-rings to hide would motion with
857 their hands back and forth; they made efforts to deceive as well

as confuse, and it seems likely, that, as in the adults' game, the 525
hidden rings were shifted back and forth from hand to hand as 857
adeptly as possible. Often the boys would fight over the play of
the game. The guesser particularly had to be bold and fearless,
because even when he won the willow-rings, those who held them 156
would often refuse to give them up. Then he had to fight for them.

THE INTER-BAND GAME

The men's game as played by Pawnee bands against each other 525
is illustrated by the following narrative of a game played in 619
Oklahoma in early days by the Kitkahaxkiˣ against the Skiri.

A Kitkahaxkiˣ man who wanted to go to play the Skiri, asked a friend to join him as assistant leader, and got together a party of Kitkahaxkiˣ youths. Mark Evarts, a Skiri, was then a boy at school, and a friend of the Kitkahaxkiˣ organizer. This man asked Mark to join the party so Mark started off with the Kitkahaxkiˣ. As he passed under the windows of the girls' dormitory building, a girl leaned out and called, "Where are you going, Mark?" He answered, "We're going to play a hand game, give me something to take along," whereat she threw down a shawl of hers for him to take along to bet with. Each member of the party carried a supply of articles to wager. The leader carried a pipe.

The leader spoke of their going saying, "Well, we're going on the warpath to play the Skiri a hand game."

When they got to the Skiri village, the village crier came out and asked, "What is it?" The Kithahaxkiˣ leader, carrying the pipe, replied, "We've come on the warpath for the hand game." At that the old crier ran back and began calling out through the encampment, "there's a party from the west have come to our Skiri camp on the warpath for the hand game. Now boys get the wood and pile it up right here." Boys began to haul wood and heap it up in one place outdoors. A crowd of Skiri gathered around the visiting party. Knifechief, as the Skiri leader, took the Kitkahaxkiˣ leader and two or three others home to supper. Other members of the party were taken into other lodges to eat. While they were eating, a large fire was started outside on the game ground. Soon the announcer could be heard outside calling, "Come on everybody."

They form two halves of a circle. The Kitkahaxkiˣ sit in a semi-circle on the west side of the fire, from north to south, the Skiri on the east side from north to south. The two leaders of their sides sit at the north with the eight tally sticks in one bunch between them. All the Skiri players are seated. (Fig. 1) They are the home players. They outnumber the visiting challengers. Skiri

525 chiefs, warriors and braves stand around to watch the game; they
619 do not play. An important Skiri chief may come to look on, may
sit at a distance and smoke calmly. By his presence he expresses his
interest in the welfare and doings of his people. Some Skiri players,
perhaps the leader, leave the circle to sit beside him and smoke
with him, to show their appreciation of his presence.

The Kitkahaxki^x leader has the pipe in his hand. All who are
going to play have found their places. Women come and stand
[562] at a little distance to look on. They must not sit down or join
the circle. They never play the hand game.

The fire forms a long narrow line between the sides, fifteen feet long from north to south, only two to three feet wide (see Fig. 1) At the south ends of the lines are two men who function as tarutsius, "fire tenders."

Now the players place their bets. Blankets, shirts, vests, horses are waged on the outcome. Each bets against a friendly enemy of the other side, individual against individual. The two articles are tied together, making one bundle. The bundles are thrown down in one heap before the leaders. The winning side will carry off the whole pile of plunder, and each winning player takes from it his individual stake and his winning.

The leader of the Kitkahaxki^x party begins to speak.

"Brother, I thought of coming to see you for the hand game.
619 Well, my brother, we are here. I've brought this pipe for you.
525 I want you to accept it to smoke."

276 He rises. He takes the filled pipe to the fire and lights it with
788 a brand. He draws a few puffs himself, then, standing before
Knifechief, the Skiri leader in the game, gives him the pipe to
smoke without releasing it, then takes it to his left and lets the
assistant leader on the Kitkahaxki^x side take a few puffs. Then
he carries it back to Knifechief, gives it to him, and sits down in
his own place.

Knifechief smokes and then passes the pipe to the Skiri at his left, and from him it is passed on down the Skiri side from north to south. Each one smokes and passes it on. By the time it reaches the tarutsius of the Skiri side it is likely to be smoked out. This smoke is a gift of the Kitkahaxki^x to the Skiri. Except for the two Kitkahaxki^x leaders, no Kitkahaxki^x smoke, only the Skiri.

When the pipe has reached the Skiri tarutsius, the Kitkahaxki^x
leader arises, walks around the east side of the fire and receives
the pipe back from him. He carries it with him around west of the
fire, and stops north of the fire where facing south, he loosens the
[782] ashes with a pipe tamper, and twice raises the pipe bowl upward,

276
525
619
788

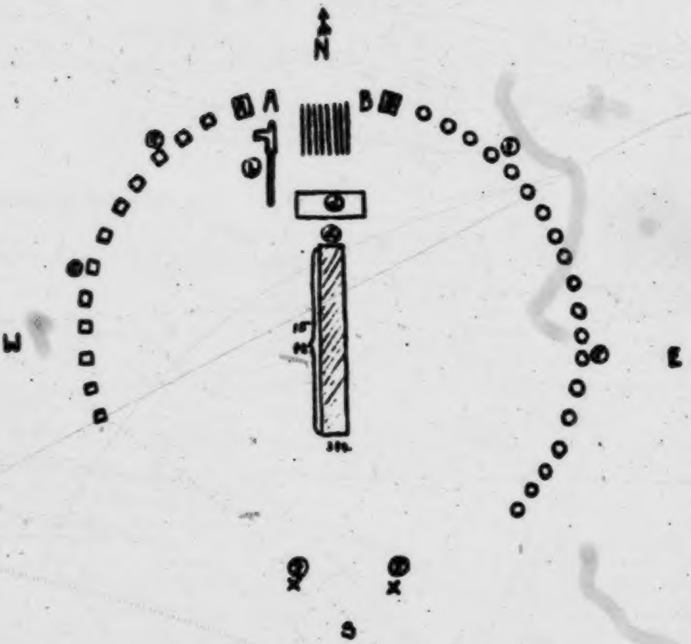


Figure 1. Plan of Game between Kitkahaxki^x^ and Skiri

A - Kitkahaxki^x^ leader, [A] - Kitkahaxki^x^ assistant
B - Skiri leader [B] - Skiri assistant
a - long fire
b - Kitkahaxki^x^ pipe in position after smoking
c - tally sticks
d - position of stakes
[e] - Kitkahaxki^x^ men (guests)
[f] - Skiri men (hosts)
g x - ťarutaius (fire-tenders)

[782]

an offering to heaven, each time emptying some of the ashes on the ground before the fire; then he loosens the ashes a third time and deposits all that remains on the ground, an offering to the earth. Without further motions or gestures he takes the pipe with him to his place and sits down. He now places the pipe on the ground before him, mouthpiece pointing south, bowl turned to the west (see figure 1). He can put the pipe on the ground because now it is empty. Up to the time he began the smoking he had to carry the pipe and hold it in his arms.

The set used by the Skiri consists of eight dogwood sticks and two white bones; these are not decorated in any special way. The Skiri leader Knifechief now announces: 525 619

525 614 "All right now, let's go ahead." Knifechief gets up and gives one bone to a Skiri man; the Kitkahaxkiˣ leader rises and gives one to a Kitkahaxkiˣ man. In this way the two are selected as guessers for their respective sides.

Now all the players begin to sing and yell. The two guessers are on their feet facing each other. The Skiri hides the bone first, the Kitkahaxkiˣ must guess first. The one who wins them gives them out to hide to any two players on his side regardless of where they sit. He picks them because they are clever at hiding the bones, at deceiving the guessers, at confusing them by shifting the bone almost invisibly from one hand to another. The guesser watches closely. He notes the gestures with the hands and arms, the body movements; he watches eyes for a hint.

As soon as one guesser has won the two bones he takes them to his side of the fire to two players. His opponent crosses into enemy territory to follow the trail and find them. His side is quiet now, [516 825] while the players of the side hiding the bones are all singing and clapping hands. Some are yelling to frighten the guesser. Others make gestures to confuse him. The hiders imitate some animal in their body movements and the positions of their clenched hands.

He wins them back. At once his side begins to yell with their [201 533] hands over their mouths, he-e-e-e- in a high loud voice. Then they begin to sing. Old hand game songs, songs caricaturing things and people, funny songs, coarse songs.

To follow the trail of the bones when they are won and carried across to the other side is to trail the enemy. The guesser searches for tracks. A player on the hiding side goes to the fire for handfuls [789] of cold ashes from the fire's edge. He sprinkles it like falling snow. He calls aloud, "The snow covers up the tracks now, you cannot see them."

Thus after an enemy raid in late fall when men started after the retreating warparty to regain captured horses the falling snow obliterated the trail. To the Pawnee the little dramatic act has similar power to obliterate the unseen trail of the bones from hand to hand, to blind the guesser. The guesser shields his eyes with his hand and peers through the falling ashes to see the tracks.

In time to the clapping of hands and the rhythm of singing, the [825] hiders and all the players of that side move their arms and bodies back and forth, back and forth. When they hide some imitate crows, some deer, some buffalo, some turkeys.

The Skiri win the first game. Their side carries off the stakes.

525 553 619 Now the Skiri begin to sing Crazy Dog dance songs, songs of reckless bravery, self-abandonment on the warpath. Men careless

of death sang such songs before they set out for the country of the 525
enemy, sang such songs before they went into battle, before they 533
broke into the enemy camp. Knifechief gets up to dance. He 619
dances the steps of the Crazy Dog Dance. It is his place to dance
first, he is a brave man and the leader. Others join him from the 525
Skiri side. They do not dance out in the circle, but standing at 535
their places. Knifechief carries a stick in his hand. 619

As the dancing ends, all the Skiri yell, he-he-he-he-e-e-e-, hitting [201]
their hands on their mouths. Knifechief speaks.

"I can remember when I was in the army and we chased the 525
Cheyenne. We chased them out of their camp. They ran and left 619
their blankets behind. I took the blankets away from them."

Knifechief sits down.

"Well, bet some more."

The Skiri who have won stakes bring back their winnings. The Kitkahaxki^x have to bet other things against what they have lost. The Kitkahaxki^x leader bets his blanket, a squaw cloth with one side red and the other black. All the Kitkahaxki^x bet again. They have come to play the hand game and have a lot of stuff with them to bet. The bets pile up again. The betting is even, man against man, and the pile comes out even.

The guesser who won for the Skiri plays again. The Kitkahaxki^x choose a new man to try his luck against the victor.

Again the Skiri win and carry off the stakes.

The Skiri sing Crazy Dog Dance songs. Knifechief dances. He [533]
calls, "We charged again and chased out the Cheyenne, and they [727]
left everything behind, tents and horses, and we carried them away.
And a pair of leggings I took away from them."

He is recalling victory in battle and the garnering of the spoils. He is gloating over the victory in the game. The game is a battle; the Skiri have carried off the plunder.

Knifechief sits down.

The bets are laid for a third game. The Kitkahaxki^x leader says, "I'm going to bet a beef." He puts up a beef against the squaw cloth Knifechief has just won from him. All bet again.

The game begins. Again the Skiri are winning.

All this while Mark has been standing on the Skiri side. They have given him no place to sit and play.

The guesser for the Kitkahaxki^x in the third game is a friend of his. He calls out to Mark, "Come over here." He asks him to sit on the Kitkahaxki^x side next to him. Mark walks around through the north outside the circle of players and sits down.

The Kitkahaxki^x are losing again. The Skiri have won six

525 points: only two sticks are left in the center. The Kitkahaxkiˣ
guesser calls out to the leader of his side, "I want him to guess
619 now." He shows them Mark. He says, "You're a good boy;
everything you do is lucky. Go ahead."

The Skiri begin to yell. The Kitkahaxkiˣ pat Mark on the back and wish him luck.

[789] Mark arises. He goes to the fire and leans forward over it. He
touches the ashes and rubs his hands together. He touches fire
to his eyes to warm them and make him see clearly. He watches
the guessers. He chooses quickly. He finds the bones.

Now the Skiri are trying to confuse him. They yell. They want him to put up the shawl he has with him. He tells them he doesn't have to now. He goes on guessing against the Skiri man who has won two games. The Kitkahaxkiˣ players begin to come to life. They win the game.

[533] Now the Kitkahaxkiˣ sing the Crazy Dog Dance songs. The
Skiri are silent. The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader gets up to dance. He tells
how he went on a warpath and captured many horses. This time
the Kitkahaxkiˣ have carried off the spoils.

There is a fourth game. The bets are laid again. The Skiri choose a new guesser. Mark is against him now and wins again.

The games are even. The Kitkahaxkiˣ have won back their losings. They decide to stop now. It is late. The Kitkahaxkiˣ go home.

Later the Skiri set upon Mark because he played with the
Kitkahaxkiˣ and won for them. For a long time he couldn't go
[578] near the Skiri camp. They would get hold of him and scold him
angrily. Mark says he joined the Kitkahaxkiˣ side because the
man who asked him was a friend of his, and because the Skiri did
not give him a place and ask him to join in.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OLD GAME

525 Competitions like the above between the bands of the Pawnee
533 were played in this way in the old days. Women never played.
The games were always outdoors. The songs sung were old type
hand game songs. They were coarse but not about women. One ran:

"They're bathing in the water now...
They're bathing in the water now..."

All would laugh because of the reference to washing, bringing up a picture of one scrubbing himself all over and around the loins.

525 Those who hid, many of them, imitated animals. Some of these
825 imitations:
536

Crow: Each hand clasped with index finger erect. The arms are 525
bent so that the hands are held out about shoulder high like wings. 825
The player calls ka-ka-ka like the crow while he motions with his 536
hands back and forth like flapping wings.

Turkey: Right hand clasped, index finger extended, is brought to forehead to imitate the beak; left hand with index finger out is placed behind like tail. The player calls tut-tut-tut like a turkey.

Deer: The hands clasped palm side down, held bent at wrists about waist high, imitating the forefeet; the index fingers are curled down; the arms are moved alternately, gracefully and slowly, forward and back. No sound.

Buffalo calf: Two hands tight shut in fists with thumbs erect: the bottoms of the fists are set to the sides of the head above the ears, the head bent forward, the thumbs moved like little horns, slight motions. The calf makes no noise unless caught, then "br-r-r-rrr."

Buffalo: The two hands clenched at the sides of the head as for calf, but the index fingers erect for larger horns: the head is moved slowly around to one side and another as the animal peers this way and that.

These animal imitations are by some wholly in fun. But those who use a certain imitation usually retain it throughout the play of hand games, and are known as such and such an animal player. And there are some among the players who have the right to characterizations because of their knowledge and power. In the hand game above described, one man who imitated the deer was a deer performer in the Doctor Dance.

The structure of the old hand game comes out clearly in the 525
above narration. The play of the game has been detailed heretofore.
Points of significance:

The games were always played outdoors. [562]

Women never participated.

The long fire outdoors with each side in a semi-circle.

The leaders as tallyers at the head end.

The tally sticks in one heap between them.

The betting.

The selection of hiders in any orders.

The attempts to trick and deceive.

The singing of old hand game songs for the play accompanied only [533]
by handclapping, without instruments.

The Crazy Dog Dance between the games, danced by the winning [535]
side, the winning leader counting a coup.

The animal imitations. [536]

525 The host side starting the play, the guest side initiating the guessing.

The visitors bringing a pipe smoked only by the hosts.

As to the alignment of the sides:

525 621 619 823 There is no such thing in these games as hereditary or traditional sides.[1] The Kitkahaxkiˣ came from the west and occupied the west half of the circle, the head end being at the north. Original geographical band arrangements in Oklahoma may be indicated as follows:

N
Skiri
W Tcawi E
Kitkahaxkiˣ
Pitahawiratᵃ
S

These geographical positions would determine the arrangement of the hand game play. A division into east and west sides meant the head end was the north; a division into north and south sides meant the head end was the west. Pitahawiratᵃ against Kitkahaxkiˣ would put the Kitkahaxkiˣ on the north, the Pitahawiratᵃ on the south, with the leaders and tally sticks at the west. The other bands would have divisions into east and west sides with the leaders and sticks at the north.

In Nebraska the arrangement also follows geographical locations, but these were different:

N
W Skiri Kitkahaxkiˣ Tcawi Pitahawiratᵃ E
S

In Nebraska all games would have an east-west division of sides with the head end at the north. A game played in Nebraska between the same two bands as above, the Kitkahaxkiˣ visiting the Skiri would put the Skiri on the west, the Kitkahaxkiˣ on the east (the exact opposite of what was played in Oklahoma) with the tally sticks and leaders at the north.

Such were the arrangements and characteristics of games played by one Pawnee band against another.

THE INTER-TRIBAL HAND GAME

525 648 574 In earlier days, before the Pawnee were removed to Oklahoma, and for some time thereafter, the hand game was a contest, not only between the bands ofthe Pawnee, but a contest played by any

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

Pawnee group against another tribe with whom they were friends 525
traditionally, or with whom they had recently established friendly 648
relations. Among those with whom the hand game was played by the 574
Skiri Pawnee in relatively recent times, one informant remembers participating in games with the Osage, Ponca and Omaha, Oto, Kiowa, and Arapaho. Friendly gaming relations are remembered with the Sac and Fox, but with them the moccasin game was played, not the hand game. The following narrative of a game between the Skiri Pawnee and the Kiowa, played in Oklahoma many years ago, probably before 1880, will make the procedure clear:

The story is told by Mark Evarts.

One time a large party of Skiri Pawnee were on a buffalo hunt. They were led by Bowchief. While they were out hunting, they came near to the place where the Kiowa were encamped, and went over to visit them. It was not an anticipated visit, so that the traditional forms of visiting were not involved.[1] The chief of the Kiowa was Bigbow.[2] Bowchief of the Skiri Pawnee and Bigbow of the Kiowa were friends.[3]

At the Kiowa encampment, the Skiri Pawnee danced their Crazy Dog Dance, led by Bowchief on horseback. He was the only mounted Skiri in the dance.[4] After the performance, the Kiowa gave [431]
the Pawnee buffalo meat and buffalo hides.[5] Then the Pawnee left with these gifts and came home.

Two days later, in the afternoon, the Pawnee saw a party of Kiowa coming to visit them. They were received in friendly fashion, and they danced the Kiowa Crazy Dog Dance for the Pawnee. This time Bigbow led the dance, mounted. He was the only Kiowa on horseback. Bigbow, in the dance, called aloud his
exploits on old warpaths. After the dance the Pawnee gave the [431]
Kiowa calico and corn.[5] Then the Kiowa went home. The Pawnee hunters who had visited the Kiowa were all men. The Kiowa who returned the visit were mostly men: a few had wives with them.

---

[1] The traditional forms would have required sending a gift of tobacco in advance, and other formalities.

[2] otakáyot in Evarts' rendition of his Kiowa name.

[3] Inter-tribal friendship was a definite formalized relationship in former [572]
times. It was of paramount importance, as through interlocking friendships tribes traditionally hostile to each other were drawn into peaceful relations.

[4] It is said that in the old form of the Crazy Dog Dance, a man mounted [554]
indicated thereby that he had captured horses on a warpath.

[5] This giving away after the dancing is similar to the old forms of intertribal [703]
visiting of friends, at which lavish giving away was done. In the above case the formal arrangements preceding the visits seem to have been omitted because it was a chance meeting.

525 While the Kiowa were visiting the Pawnee, some Skiri youths
574 thought of visiting the Kiowa to play a hand game against them.
648 They decided to go over to challenge the Kiowa the day after the
Kiowa went home. Mark was with them and became exited about the anticipated hand game. His father was sick, but he paid very little attention because his head was full of the hand game and he wanted to go.

The Kiowa were then camping about two miles from the Pawnee. Late in the afternoon, the day after the Kiowa had gone, Mark saw men gathering at the edge of camp. They were ready to go; they had bundles of things with them to bet. When Mark stepped out
[593] of the lodge, these youths motioned to him to come on. So he
forgot all about how sick his father was inside, and went. He persuaded himself that his father wasn't very sick anyhow.

The whole party went on foot, carrying their stakes. There were twenty-five or thirty in the group. They took no horses to ride because all who were going wanted to play, which would leave no one to take care of the horses. Some mean fellows among the Kiowa might steal some. And if they had horses with them they might be tempted to wager them and lose the horses.[1]

After dark they reached the Kiowa camp. They were directed to the chief's tent. Knifechief, leading the Skiri party, carried a pipe, already filled with tobacco. Knifechief and a few others went into the chief's tipi. From outside Mark heard a Kiowa in the tipi call, "hakahi"—"all right, that's good."

This was in December. It was very cold, and outside the men waiting wanted to get into tents to warm up. David Gillingham, Mark's chum, went with Mark into one tent. A Kiowa man sitting at the west called out a welcome, hakahi. From the south side, where she had been sitting, his wife rose and spread a blanket for the two visitors on the north side of the tipi close up to the west
[276 where the Kiowa was sitting. She put two pillows on it. David
and Mark sat down there. The Kiowa filled a black pipe and gave
788] it to David to smoke. Mark nudged David and whispered to him
that he should not make any gestures with the pipe. Both knew that the Kiowa had special ways and motions in using their pipes; Mark was afraid David would try them and make a mistake. He knew David was a great show-off. The Kiowa pipe-smoking was very complicated. David nudged Mark back and told him to keep quiet. David wanted to show off, so he made some motions
[481] with the pipe, imitating Kiowa motions he had seen somewhere.

---

[726] [1] Incidentally, the Pawnee warparty always travelled on foot, with the object of returning riding captured horses.

The Kiowa watched him with astonishment. Then David handed 525
the pipe to Mark, who took it and smoked it quietly and without 648
ceremony. When it was handed back to the Kiowa he made several 574
gestures with it before he put it down. Then his wife picked up
a bowl of pounded meat which was on the south side, brought it
over and placed it before them. Mark tried to make David talk
to their Kiowa host in sign language to keep David's hands busy.
Meanwhile Mark ate as fast as he could. Then the woman took a
kettle, put dried meat and fat in it, and hung it over the fire
suspended from a horizontal bar across two forked uprights.

When the meat was cooked the boys were given meat and fat to eat, and soup to drink. David told Mark not to eat so fast. While they were eating and drinking, outside a Kiowa was heard shouting. When he heard the announcement, their Kiowa host grunted. He

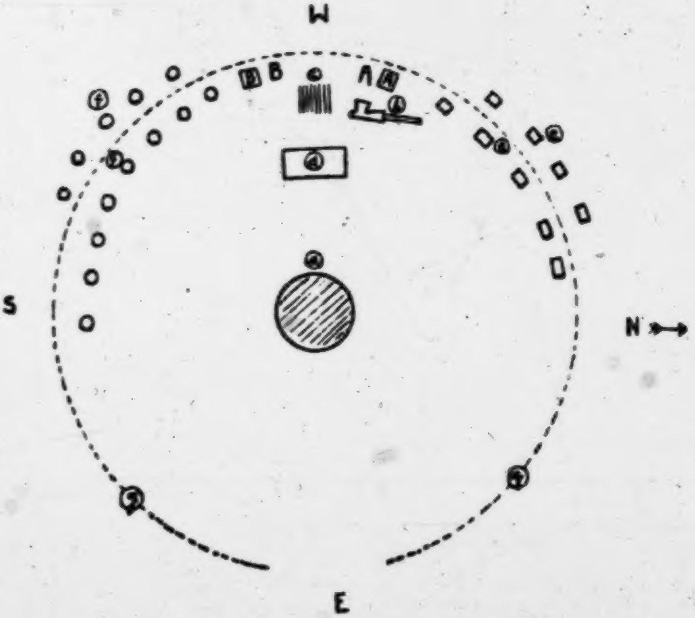


Figure 2. Plan of Game between Skiri and Kiowa

A - Skiri leader and assistant
B - Kiowa leader and assistant
a - round fire
b - Skiri pipe in position after smoking

c - tally sticks
d - position of stakes
e - Skiri men (guests)
f - Kiowa men (hosts)
g - outlines of tipi

525 574 648 told the boys in sign language that the man outside, the crier, had announced that the Pawnee were here and had come on the warpath for the hand game; that they had come bringing a pipe. The crier had said too that as it was getting late, the people had better come at once, women and all, for the hand game. It was to be played inside the big tent of the Kiowa chief.

When they had eaten enough, the Kiowa told the boys to take [431] with them the meat that was left. By signs he said that if they felt hungry later, they would have it to eat. He gave them a pointed stick, and showed them how to stick it into the meat and so carry [482] it. He said, "I'm in a hurry now, I want to get a place there to sit." All three went over to the chief's tipi. The tent was big, but the crowd was so large that there was not room enough inside for all, so the bottom of the tent cover was rolled up all around, and those who couldn't get in settled themselves around outside. Many had to sit outside this way in the cold. If such a large crowd had been anticipated, the hand game would have been played in the open around a huge fire, but it was too late to gather enough wood to build such a big fire.

The Pawnee were sitting around the north side of the tipi, inside and out, Knifechief, as the leader, sitting at the west. The Kiowa sat around the south side, with the Kiowa chief at the west next to Knifechief. In the middle was a large round fire. The Skiri [823] Pawnee were on the north because the tribe was camped north of the Kiowa and had come south to play.

The game began at once. There was no pipe smoking. The Kiowa chief had received the pipe when Knifechief had entered his tent upon arriving.

Between the leaders at the west are the tally sticks. Alongside them lies the Pawnee pipe, now empty, pointing to the north.

The betting begins, of vests, shirts, blankets, anything of value. Each man bets against one of the other side; the two things are tied together; the bundles are heaped at the west before the leaders. In the excitement of the game, the cold is forgotten, even by those who must squat outside. The first guessers are chosen and play begins.

When they hide the bones, the Kiowa sing old hand game songs, accompanied by the beating of one hand drum. When the Pawnee have the bones, they sing their old hand game songs. They clap their hands; they do not beat a drum.

The Pawnee won the first game and took the stakes. Then they sang one Crazy Dog Dance song. Two Pawnee danced. One told of a war exploit, "Once when I was in the army,[1] we charged the

---

[1] Referring to an episode while a Pawnee scout with the U. S. army.

Cheyenne camp early in the morning, and they fled. When I got into the Cheyenne camp I took blankets and other things away from them." The Pawnee sing and dance only one song, because it is late and cold, and the Pawnee have a long way to go to return home after the game. They want to hurry, and play quickly. Should the Kiowa win a game, they would dance their Crazy Dog Dance to the songs of their society and their leader would rise to recite an exploit, holding the Pawnee pipe. But the Pawnee when they dance, do not carry the pipe they have brought.[1] On this occasion, the Kiowa did not win, and had no chance to dance carrying the pipe. 525 574 648

Wagers were made for a second game, the Kiowa betting against their losings. Again the Pawnee won. Again they sang a Crazy Dog Dance song, and another Pawnee recited a war exploit.

In the third game Knifechief rose and sprinkled ashes to hide the tracks, and the Kiowa guesser searched for the trail.

The Pawnee won three straight games, and that was all they played. There was no fighting over the bones in these games; that was only the way that small boys played.

Knifechief rose. He said, "Now my brother, I beat you. That's all. We're going home." All the Skiri took up their winnings and started for home.

While the game had been going on, Mark and David had found time to eat up the meat they had received so that no one could ask for some. They managed to finish it by the time the game was over.

On the way home, one of the Skiri who was a friend of Mark's gave him a pair of leggings he had just won. Mark says that because of the good fortune of the Pawnee that night he believed the Pawnee would always have good luck in hand games, but subsequently he found out he had been mistaken. In later games they often lost. [572 431]

---

[1] Carrying the pipe while counting coup was correct only if the reciter had carried a pipe at the time of the exploit. This meant essentially that he had been the leader of a war party. If the exploit had occurred when no pipe was carried, he could count coup, but without holding the pipe. In the above narrative the special significance of the distinction drawn between the right of the Kiowa leader to carry the pipe, and the Pawnee lack of that right, is that it represents dramatically the fact that for generations past, as a result of their treaties, which the Pawnee held sacred, few if any war parties had been sent out ceremonially by the Pawnee. War exploits during the Nineteenth Century were limited essentially to defensive tactics, or to fighting as members of the United States army (see Chapter I). [703 [554 [727 721]

525 The essentials of this game follow those of the inter-band Pawnee
648 hand games. Interesting is the fact of the arrangements on sides
574 according to geographical locations. In playing Osage, Arapaho,
823 Ponca and Omaha, as well as Kiowa, the games were usually held in tipis, though they could be held outdoors if the crowd was large. They were played around a round fire. Instruments were not used by the Pawnee for game-singing, but tribes opposing them followed their own custom. When the Skiri played the Osage, the Skiri were on the south, the Osage on the north; when the Skiri played the Arapaho, the Skiri were on the north, the Arapaho on the south; when the Skiri played the Ponca, the Skiri were on the north, the Ponca on the south. The Osage in the game in question came from the north to the Skiri. The Skiri went to the Arapaho going north – the Skiri camp was south of the Arapaho camp, hence my informant feels the aligument was in error, and that there must have been a special reason for it. Once the Skiri, on their way north to Arkansas City, met the Ponca for a hand game. They had stopped to camp south of Ponca City. The Ponca were all around them, but the particular party which came to play gathered to the southwest of the Pawnee camp, and came from that direction; hence they were placed on the south side.

VII.

THE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME

The old gambling hand game of the Pawnee, along with other 525
games, dances and social affairs, had gone the way of the rest of 178
Pawnee aboriginal culture by 1892. Occasionally games were
played, but the old life which began with early spring and included 668
one round of work and play that ended with the winter, was no
more. The Ghost Dance, with its doctrine of a return of the old
Indian life, and its mandate to stimulate that return by actively
reviving whatever could be recalled, amounted to a partial renaissance
of Pawnee culture. We can judge what was lacking most in
Pawnee life before the Ghost Dance by considering some of the
revivals. Memories of the societies and brotherhoods with their
dances and songs were recaptured in reconstructions of the old
paraphernalia, and the singing again of the old songs. But games [171]
were preeminent, as they were also among the Arapaho. The joy
of play had gone from Pawnee life before this. All was somber and
hopeless, full of death, disease and constant frustration. Of these
game revivals the most notable was the hand game.

The game was revived first as a game. This is apparently the 668
significance of the constant iteration by informants that Tom 525
Morgan's game was not a ceremonial one originally, was the first
of them all, and did not come in response to a vision. The Arapaho 177
suggestion of a ceremonialized game combining Ghost Dance ideas
of the deceased playing in the beyond, with the game play, reached
the Pawnee.

Once the games were begun, whether it was by Morgan or by 668
Carrion, by direct inspiration or through borrowing from the 525
Arapaho, the idea of learning Ghost Dance hand games in visions
spread like wildfire and the games sprang up like mushrooms. This
radical development by individuals only came after the movement
to dethrone Frank White as the sole prophet of the Pawnee Ghost
Dance. As late as 1930 I was able to list twenty-two individual
game developments of the Pawnee. No doubt, if all the facts were
known, there were many more. For a game to persist after it was 668
once created, the owner had to be well thought of by his people, 525
so that someone would "put it up"; and the public had to believe 787

[p. 155]

668 in the supernatural sanction of the game. Many games were
525 probably demonstrated briefly and then forgotten.

The Pawnee developed an interesting check upon the validity
787 of these Ghost Dance hand game revelations. They knew that any one could make up the game with sticks, altar arrangements, smoke offerings, and special complexities. For this reason the people were especially interested in watching the play of a game the *second* time it was demonstrated by the owner. Their contention was that if the game was just made up the owner would not be able to repeat his own arrangements accurately, while if the vision was a true one he would always remember his ways, could in fact never forget them.

The game visions were supposed to give full directions to the visionary as to the details of the game. This included the essentials of the ritual aspects, as offerings, and ceremonial arrangements, the character of the hand game set, the way to play the game. Each composite of these things constituted a set of teachings similar to the ritual lore of a bundle owner in former times, and the paraphernalia used in demonstrating the game constituted a bundle.

The Ghost Dance hand game was a ceremony, not a gambling game, and as such the elements of gambling of the earlier game were
[777] eliminated. But the concept of luck involved in the play of the
game was carried along with a changed meaning; it may have been in fact the use of luck as an omen which stimulated the rapid growth and widespread playing of these games.

525 Gambling for the Pawnee, as doubtless for most primitive peoples,
777 is associated with feeling of the existence of luck as a definite quality of the world. To win in a gambling game is to win not only the stakes: to win is to get a vote of confidence, a promise that the gods are on your side. The immediate benefit of the victory is of course the spoils. But beyond these immediate stakes there are greater stakes which have been won. You cannot know, you cannot guess what ultimate benefits of fortune will accrue. But you have assurance that *luck* is on your side. You must await the outcome of events and see what happens. Something good, something lucky and fortunate, is bound to happen to you. When
668 it does, that is because you won when you gambled. The need for
525 luck is everpresent because of the precariousness of life. This need
777 was acutely felt in Ghost Dance times. It was because luck was
787 against the Indian that the white man was conquering. The Ghost Dance doctrine was a promise that fortune was to be on the other side. Now in addition one needed luck to be with the winning side. To be assured of the ultimate change of the Ghost Dance one needed

668

the luck of visions; and to be assured that one would be saved when the great destruction came, one had to be in touch with the controlling influences of the spirit world, which could be had only through visions. 525 777 787

In the early games, as we saw, the men who played imitated various birds and animals as they played. The belief is that birds and animals play hand games too, even as men. In the Ghost Dance two birds were preeminently the choice of the dancers, the eagle and the crow, because of the known characteristic traits of these birds—their wide, far-flung flights, on which they saw the world below them and everything that went on in it. When you were influenced to fall into a trance because of either of these birds, or when in your trance either of these birds was your guide and helper to find lost relatives and lost ways of life, you became associated with that bird. When in the hand game you played as a "crow" or an "eagle", you played to find out which was luckier, which held promise of the greater good fortune. In the early Ghost Dance hand game days it is said by all that the losers cried desolately and the winners were jubilant. As there never were material stakes for a Ghost Dance hand game, clearly it was nothing won. Bad luck or good luck had been discovered as one's portion. To lose was an ill omen. 668 525 825 777

An incident by Mark Evarts illustrates the foregoing: 668

Once at a Ghost Dance game played by Mrs. Washington, Mark held the counter in his left hand. The guesser indicated that hand as his choice, when, as quickly as it was guessed, it seemed to pass to his right hand, and there it was. This, according to Mark, was a sign of good fortune. A while later Mark was given Ridingin's daughter to marry. Goodeagle, the girl's grandfather, told the people at the time Mark was married to the girl, that he had had Mark in mind for a long time. Mark feels that this was what his hand game luck forbode. He considers this connection of the events reinforced by an experience which had occurred to him some time before he played in this hand game of Mrs. Washington's. One time when he was near a creek with a large clump of cottonwoods, an eagle came circling, looked at Mark and went off again. "Now Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle represent two eagles," says Mark, "and that may have been the time they thought about me and considered me." Thus the experience with the eagle is reinterpreted in the light of hand game luck and the good fortune which followed it. 525 777 [825]

An interesting aspect of the above experience is that Mark considered the fact that the counter changed hands miraculous. Not from Mark did I ever learn that in the old game changing the

668 counter from hand to hand in this way was a regular form of
525 deception and part of the game. Other informants told me about
777 this old method of play after I had recorded Mark's experience, and
only then did I become aware that in terms of Ghost Dance hand
game ethics Mark had cheated, unconsciously falling into the habits
[577] of play he had been used to in his boyhood.

The concept of luck associated with hand game play was broadened conceptually in the Ghost Dance. Winning was a sign of greater faith, and since the coming change could be attained through faith alone, losing was a bitter dose indeed. It marked one as a disbeliever, a sinner, an unfortunate who could not be saved.

121 In the chapters[1] which follow I have considered the Ghost Dance
hand games in two ways. In the first discussion the material
526 facts of the games have been used to define the generic aspects of
668 game rituals and ceremonies, and to bring out the significance of the
various parts in order to consider in a later discussion the contrast with the old game and the meaning of the changes. In other chapters the details of the individual games are presented so far as known, in a form which makes them at once comparable with the analysis which precedes. In this way repetitions have been reduced to a minimum.

The order in which the games are presented, especially those of the Skiri, is an attempt at something of a chronology.

128 The exact order is of course impossible to determine at this date.
525 Many were developed well-nigh simultaneously. If the owners of
old games are interviewed each is likely to contend for the priority
668 of his or her own game. But certain games are known to be very
old, certain others to be very recent. In addition special traits of the individual games place them in one or another of relative periods of time, before which they could not have used certain forms, and after which they must have. In short, on the basis of internal evidence as well as tradition a fairly sure chronology of the games *as groups* had been obtained. The question of priority within the groups is problematical.

There are first of all the games of the South Bands. Of these I have heard of only five: Joseph Carrion's, Tom Morgan's, White Elk's, Charley Brown's (this and White Elk's are collaborative), and Annie Eustace's. Tom Morgan's game as we saw was probably a nonceremonial one, which he altered to suit the new fashion, while Carrion's was the game he learned among the Arapaho. These two are then definitely older than the White Elk-Brown game, and that of Annie Eustace, for both of the latter were developed *as* Ghost Dance hand games.

[1] [not processed. -Analyst]

128
525
668

Of the seventeen Skiri games known to me at least by name, nine fall into an early period. These are the games belonging to Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Goodeagle, Goodeagle, George Beaver, Mark Rudder, John Moses (old form), Skidi Jake, Boychief's mother, and Pierson. Of these I know nothing of the proper place for Beaver's, Skiri Jake's and Goodeagle's games. Mrs. Goodeagle gave the order of the other six as: her own, Mrs. Washington, Rudder, Moses, Boychief's mother and Pierson. Her statement is probably correct as regards the subsequence of Rudder,[1] Moses and Boychief's mother, but as regards the priority of Mrs. Goodeagle's game over that of Mrs. Washington, there can be much question, in view of the part Mrs. Washington played in the Ghost Dance itself, and the general feeling among the Pawnee that there was considerable jealousy between the two women.

Subsequent to this early period, in a general middle period, after Pierson's game, come games of Emmet Pierson and Lonechief (collaborative), Barclay White (from Mrs. Washington), Boychief (from his mother), and Tom Yellowhorse. The Pierson-Lonechief games are definitely placed as just after the earliest developments. White's and Boychief's games follow Pierson's in time, inasmuch as these games were inherited, and their former owners were alive and or active at the time when Emmet Pierson derived his game; while that of Yellowhorse, perhaps the most played game today among the Pawnee, is said to have followed after Pierson's.

Finally we can be reasonably certain that four other games fall in a late to recent period: a second one of Pierson's, a new or changed game of John Moses, a game of Charley Allen's and one of Irene Goodeagle (made for her by her grandmother). The last was made up in the last few years. The Moses and Allen games followed their conversion to the Baptist Church of recent years, and Pierson's second game just preceded that time; it was a simplification of his older game.

While the exact order of these games is not of paramount importance, some conception of their relative order is, because there were gradual changes introduced in the Ghost-Dance hand games throughout the period of their creation, and these changes tell an interesting story.

---

[1] Tom Yellowhorse considers Mark Rudder's game earliest of the Skiri Ghost Dance hand games.

[pp. 160 ff. not processed]

[For information on Pawnee relations with neighboring tribes and early American settlers, see category 116, pp. 1-52--Analyst.]

2: Lesser
794
796
668
177

[For information on the origin, development and spread of the Ghost Dance ceremony to the various tribes of Western United States, see category 116, pp. 53-59. --Analyst]

[For information on the history of the Pawnee nation, see category 116, pp. 1-52. --Analyst]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 93

[Title Page]

PAWNEE MUSIC

BY

FRANCES DENSMORE

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1929

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. - - - Price 90 cents (cloth)

080

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Smithsonian Institution,
Bureau of American Ethnology,
Washington, D. C., April 16, 1929.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit the accompanying manuscript, entitled "Pawnee Music," by Miss Frances Densmore, and to recommend its publication as a bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Very respectfully yours,

M. W. Stirling,
Chief.

Dr. Charles G. Abbot,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

[p. ii is blank]

[p. iii]

FOREWORD

The previous studies of Indian music[1] have included no tribe in 121 which ceremonialism is so highly developed as among the Pawnee, whose songs are here presented. This research was conducted among members of the Skidi and Chaui Bands near Pawnee, Okla., in 1919 [114] and 1920. Portions of two important ceremonies were witnessed and several gatherings of a ceremonial character were attended during the progress of the work. The ceremonies were those of the Morning Star and the Painting of the Buffalo Skull, the writer being admitted to the Morning Star lodge during the former ceremony and witnessing the Buffalo and Lance dances, which are a part of the latter. The gatherings included hand games, and dances in honor of Pawnee soldiers upon their return from the recent war.

Grateful acknowledgment is made of assistance rendered by interpreters, 115 especially by Mr. James R. Murie, chief of the Skidi Band, who explained many tribal customs and who wrote down and interpreted the words of the songs. The writer also acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. John R. Swanton in standardizing the orthography of the Pawnee words.

---

[1] Chippewa Music, Bull. 45; Chippewa Music II, Bull. 53; Teton Sioux Music, Bull. 61; Northern Ute Music, Bull. 75; Mandan and Hidatsa Music, Bull. 80; Papago Music, Bull. 90, Bur. Amer. Ethn.; and Music of the Tule Indians of Panama, Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 77, no. 11.

[p. iv is blank]

[p. v]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

CONTENTS

List of songs .... Page
    Arranged in order of serial numbers XI
    Arranged in order of catalogue numbers XI
Special signs used in transcriptions of songs XIII
Phonetics XVI
Names of singers XVI
Characterization of singers XVII
The Pawnee Tribe XVII
Comparison of Pawnee songs with Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago songs 1
    Melodic analysis 7
    Rhythmic analysis 7
    Descriptive analysis 13
Morning Star ceremony 14
Buffalo dance 18
Lance dance 24
Bear dance 36
Songs of the Deer Society 37
Song of the White Lance Society 47
Songs of the Raven Lance Society 49
Songs of the Kitsita Society 51
Songs of the Wolf Society 53
War songs 56
Hand game songs 59
Ghost dance songs 60
Man Chief's songs 78
Roaming Chief's songs 86
Songs of affection 91
Myths and folk tales 93
    Story of the gambler 97
    Story of Coyote and the turkeys 98
    Story of Nuri and his brother 102
    Story of the little rattlesnake 103
Unclassified songs 107
Melodic analysis 108
Rhythmic analysis 120
Authorities cited 124
Index 126
.... 127

[p. vi is blank]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

800

ILLUSTRATIONS

Page
PLATE 1. Dog Chief xviii
2. *a*, John Luwak; *b*, Mark Evarts; *c*, Mrs. Good Eagle xviii
3. *a*, *b*, Landscape south of Pawnee, Okla.; *c*, Landscape north of Pawnee, Okla 2
4. *a*, "Buffalo wallow" on private ranch near Pawnee, Okla; *b*, Buffalo grazing on private ranch near Pawnee, Okla 2
5. *a*, Sacred bundle; *b*, Tipi in which Morning Star ceremony was held 24
6. *a*, Exterior of earth lodge in which Buffalo and Lance dances were held; *b*, Entrance to earth lodge in which Buffalo and Lance dances were held; *c*, Interior of ceremonial earth lodge, showing "altar" 24
7. *a*, Miniature group of Pawnee Thunder ceremony exhibited in Field Museum of Natural History; *b*, Framework (probably sweat lodge) near ceremonial earth lodge; *c*, Structure in which victory dances and hand games were held 68
8. Costumes. *a*, War leader; *b*, Bear medicine man; *c*, Woman's Ghost dance dress; *d*, Dancer wearing "crow" dance bustle 68

[p. viii is blank]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

LIST OF SONGS

1. ARRANGED IN ORDER OF SERIAL NUMBERS

odd

SONGS CONNECTED WITH CEREMONIES

Serial No.		Catalogue No.	Page.
1.	Song of Morning Star	1162	20
2.	"The herd passes through the village"	1114	25
3.	"The buffalo and the crow"	1116	27
4.	"My dear father the buffalo"	1112	28
5.	"Yonder the smoke was standing"	1109	30
6.	"The woman imitates the buffalo"	1110	31
7.	"The buffalo are coming"	1115	32
8.	"The waves of dust"	1113	33
9.	"Unreal the buffalo is standing"	1111	35
10.	"The band of the dead is coming"	1091	36
11.	"Mother is coming"	1117	37
12.	"The bear is pointing at the sun"	1119	38
13.	"A woman stands among the trees"	1118	40
14.	"The horse is shouting"	1120	41
15.	"I was lost in the timber"	1121	42
16.	"I am like a bear"	1149	43
17.	Bear dance song (a)	1153	44
18.	Bear dance song (b)	1150	45
19.	Bear dance song (c)	1152	46
20.	Bear dance song (d)	1151	47

SONGS OF THE DEER SOCIETY

21.	"How near is the morning?"	1159	48
22.	"Spring is opening"	1160	49

SONG OF THE WHITE LANCE SOCIETY

23.	"Old age is painful"	1078	50

SONGS OF THE RAVEN LANCE SOCIETY

24.	"Beloved emblem"	1133	52
25.	Raven Lance Society song	1083	53

SONGS OF THE KITSITA SOCIETY

26.	"The Lance dancers"	1124	54
27.	Lance dance song (a)	1081	55
28.	Lance dance song (b)	1093	56

SONGS OF THE WOLF SOCIETY

29.	"The white fox"	1103	57
30.	"It is mine, this country wide"	1106	58

[p. x is blank]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

War Songs

OBD

	Catalogue No.	Page.
31. Song concerning Iron Shirt	1108	60
32. Eagle Chief's war song	1128	61
33. "The thunder spoke quietly"	1086	61
34. "He comes"	1125	63
35. "A woman welcomes the warriors"	1104	64
36. Song for returned Pawnee soldiers	1134	66
37. Brown Bear's song	1085	68
38. Women's war song	1082	68

Hand Game and Ghost Dance Songs

39. Blue Hawk's hand game song	1137	71
40. Hand game guessing song (a)	1138	71
41. Hand game guessing song (b)	1139	72
42. Hand game guessing song (c)	1140	73
43. Hand game guessing song (d)	1141	73
44. Hand game guessing song (e)	1142	74
45. Hand game guessing song (f)	1143	75
46. Hand game guessing song (g)	1144	75
47. "I hear the sound of a child crying"	1098	76
48. Hand game song concerning a little boy	1097	77
49. "You came near finding them"	1095	78
50. "The crow"	1087	79
51. Song concerning Mother Moon	1084	80
52. Song concerning an open grave	1094	81
53. Ghost dance song (a)	1145	81
54. Ghost dance song (b)	1146	82
55. Ghost dance song (c)	1147	82
56. Ghost dance song (d)	1148	83
57. "The yellow star"	1107	84
58. Running Scout's Ghost dance song	1088	85
59. Song concerning the Ghost dance	1102	86

Man Chief's Songs

60. "I am exalted among the people"	1123	87
61. "The heavens are speaking"	1122	88
62. "O expanse of the heavens"	1129	89
63. "Power is in the heavens"	1130	90
64. "Our hearts are set in the heavens"	1080	90
65. Man Chief's song	1131	91

Roaming Chief's Songs

66. "It is good where we are now"	1090	92
67. "My trust is in Mother Corn"	1089	93

Songs of Affection

68. Song of affection (a)	1136	94
69. Song of affection (b)	1135	95
70. Song of a warrior's wife	1100	96
71. "Other girls are as pretty as she"	1101	97

Songs Connected with Folk Tales

		Catalogue No.	Page.
72.	Folk tale song (a)	1157	100
73.	Folk tale song (b)	1158	102
74.	Song of Coyote	1154	103
75.	Song of the strange little boy	1155	104
76.	Song as the boys flew away	1156	106
77.	The little rattlesnake	1077	108

Unclassified Songs

78.	"You need not fear the horse"	1079	109
79.	A poor man's prayer	1127	110
80.	"Everything will be right"	1161	111
81.	"The message of a star"	1126	112
82.	Song to comfort a child's grief	1105	113
83.	Mother's song for a dead baby	1099	113
84.	Song received from a dead relative	1132	114
85.	"Father gave me a pipe"	1092	115
86.	Mad Chief mourns for his grandson	1096	119

2. Arranged in Order of Catalogue Numbers

Catalogue No.	Title of song	Name of singer	Serial No.	Page
1077	The little rattlesnake	Mrs. Blain	77	108
1078	"Old age is painful"	do	23	50
1079	"You need not fear the horse"	do	78	109
1080	"Our hearts are set in the heavens"	do	64	90
1081	Lance dance song (a)	do	27	55
1082	Women's war song	do	38	68
1083	Raven Lance Society song	do	25	53
1084	Song concerning Mother Moon	do	51	80
1085	Brown Bear's song	do	37	68
1086	"The thunder spoke quietly"	do	33	61
1087	"The crow"	do	50	79
1088	Running Scout's Ghost dance song	do	58	85
1089	"My trust is in Mother Corn"	do	67	93
1090	"It is good where we are now"	do	66	92
1091	"The band of the dead is coming"	do	10	36
1092	"Father gave me a pipe"	do	85	115
1093	Lance dance song (b)	do	28	56
1094	Song concerning an open grave	do	52	81
1095	"You came near finding them"	do	49	78
1096	Mad Chief mourns for his grandson	do	86	119
1097	Hand game song concerning a little boy.	do	48	77
1098	"I hear the sound of a child crying"	do	47	76
1099	Mother's song for a dead baby	do	83	113
1100	Song of a warrior's wife	do	70	96
1101	"Other girls are as pretty as she"	do	71	97
1102	Song concerning the Ghost dance	Mr. Blain	59	86
1103	"The white fox"	do	29	57

2. ARRANGED IN ORDER OF CATALOGUE NUMBERS—Continued

Catalogue No.	Title of song	Name of singer	Serial No.	Page
1104	"A woman welcomes the warriors"	Mr. Blain	35	64
1105	Song to comfort a child's grief	do	82	113
1106	"It is mine, this country wide"	do	30	58
1107	"The yellow star"	do	57	84
1108	Song concerning Iron Shirt	do	31	60
1109	"Yonder the smoke was standing"	do	5	30
1110	"The woman imitates the buffalo"	do	6	31
1111	"Unreal the buffalo is standing"	do	9	35
1112	"My dear father the buffalo"	do	4	28
1113	"The waves of dust"	do	8	33
1114	"The herd passes through the village"	do	2	25
1115	"The buffalo are coming"	do	7	32
1116	"The buffalo and the crow"	do	3	27
1117	"Mother is coming"	do	11	37
1118	"A woman stands among the trees"	do	13	40
1119	"The bear is pointing at the sun"	do	12	38
1120	"The horse is shouting"	do	14	41
1121	"I was lost in the timber"	do	15	42
1122	"The heavens are speaking"	John Luwak	61	88
1123	"I am exalted among the people"	do	60	87
1124	"The Lance dancers"	do	26	54
1125	"He comes"	do	34	63
1126	"The message of a star"	do	81	112
1127	A poor man's prayer	do	79	110
1128	Eagle Chief's war song	do	32	61
1129	"O expanse of the heavens"	do	62	89
1130	"Power is in the heavens"	do	63	90
1131	Man Chief's song	do	65	91
1132	Song received from a dead relative	do	84	114
1133	"Beloved emblem"	do	24	52
1134	Song for returned Pawnee soldiers	do	36	66
1135	Song of affection (b)	do	69	95
1136	Song of affection (a)	do	68	94
1137	Blue Hawk's hand game song	Horse Chief	39	71
1138	Hand game guessing song (a)	do	40	71
1139	Hand game guessing song (b)	do	41	72
1140	Hand game guessing song (c)	do	42	73
1141	Hand game guessing song (d)	do	43	73
1142	Hand game guessing song (e)	do	44	74
1143	Hand game guessing song (f)	do	45	75
1144	Hand game guessing song (g)	do	46	75
1145	Ghost dance song (a)	do	53	81
1146	Ghost dance song (b)	do	54	82
1147	Ghost dance song (c)	do	55	82
1148	Ghost dance song (d)	do	56	83
1149	"I am like a bear"	Dog Chief	16	43
1150	Bear dance song (b)	do	18	45
1151	Bear dance song (d)	do	20	47

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

2. ARRANGED IN ORDER OF CATALOGUE NUMBERS—Continued

000

Catalogue No.	Title of song	Name of singer	Serial No.	Page
1152	Bear dance song (c)	Dog Chief	19	46
1153	Bear dance song (a)	do	17	44
1154	Song of Coyote	Mrs. Mary Murie	74	103
1155	Song of the strange little boy	do	75	104
1156	Song as the boys flew away	do	76	106
1157	Folk tale song (a)	Fannie Chapman	72	100
1158	Folk tale song (b)	do	73	102
1159	"How near is the morning?"	Mark Evarts	21	48
1160	"Spring is opening"	do	22	49
1161	"Everything will be right"	Mrs. Good Eagle	80	111
1162	Song of Morning Star	Coming Sun	1	20

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SPECIAL SIGNS USED IN TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SONGS

104 533 These signs are intended simply as aids to the student in becoming acquainted with the songs. They should be understood as supplementary to the descriptive analysis rather than a part of the musical notation.

+ placed above a note shows that the tone was sung slightly higher than the indicated pitch. In many instances the tones designated by this and the following sign were "unfocused tones," or were tones whose intonation varied in the several renditions of the song. The intonation of these tones was not such as to suggest the intentional use of "fractional intervals" by the singer.

− placed above a note shows that the tone was sung slightly lower than the indicated pitch.

(· placed above a note shows that the tone was prolonged slightly beyond the indicated time. This and the following sign are used only when the deviation from strict time is less than half the time unit of the song and appears to be unimportant. In many instances the duration of the tones thus marked is variable in the several renditions of the song.

·) placed above a note shows that the tone was given slightly less than the indicated time.

⌈‾‾‾‾‾⌉ placed above a series of notes indicates that these tones constitute a rhythmic unit.

PHONETICS

194 All consonants have the English sounds except that x represents the palatal spirant.

All vowels have the continental sounds except that ᴀ is a obscure.

ᴀ͡u (diphthong) is pronounced as *ow* in *how*.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

NAMES OF SINGERS

Common name	Pawnee name	Translation	Number of songs recorded
Mrs. Wicita Blain (Effie Blain).	Tsastawinahiigat	She led a pony into the ceremony.	25
Wicita Blain [1]	Tutukrawitsu	He overtook the enemy.	20
John Luwak [2]	Laduda desadu	He does everything as a chief.	15
Horse Chief (Spotted Horse Chief).[3]			12
Dog Chief (Simond Adams).			5
Mrs. Mary Murie [4]			3
Fannie Chapman			2
Mark Evarts			2
Mrs. Good Eagle (Nora White).			1
Coming Sun [5]			1
Total			86

115
551

---

[1] Died Dec. 20, 1927.

[2] This singer is commonly known as John Rowak, according to the pronunciation of the Skidi Band. He is a chief of the Chaui Band and requested that his name be presented with the letter *L* used by the Chaui. The words of his songs are presented in the form used by the Skidi in order that they may be uniform with the majority of recorded Pawnee songs.

[3] Died June 12, 1923.

[4] Died June 12, 1928.

[5] Died Nov. 18, 1921.

CHARACTERIZATION OF SINGERS

A majority of these songs were recorded by Wicita Blain and his wife, who are members of the Skidi Band and spent their early years in Nebraska, before the removal of the tribe to Oklahoma. Both were afflicted with blindness and, when recording their songs, were led by a granddaughter who acted as interpreter. Mr. Blain recorded songs of the Lance and Buffalo dances which are his by right of inheritance. In the Buffalo dance attended by the writer he led the songs, being seated back of the "altar"; he also took a prominent part in the Lance dance. Mrs. Effie Blain is considered an equally reliable singer of the old songs. 115 [424]

John Luwak (pl. 2, *a*), who recorded many songs, is chief of the Chaui Band and a fine example of the old-time Indian. He speaks practically no English, but is ambitious to accept the best customs of the white man. In accordance with his request, the phonograph [126]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

115
142
292
302
293

DOG CHIEF

[Facing p. xviii]

was taken to his home, at some distance from Pawnee, and a majority of his songs were recorded there, with his niece acting as interpreter.

Dog Chief (pl. 1) is one of the oldest members of the tribe and is highly respected.

Horse Chief is one of the younger men and wears his hair in two long, shining braids. He is one of the leading singers at dances.

Mark Evarts (pl. 2, *b*) is a quiet, conservative member of the tribe. Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*) also is held in high esteem.

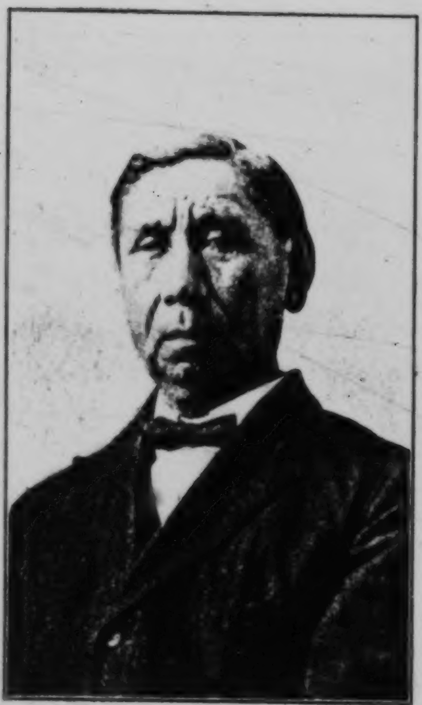
Mrs. Mary Murie and Fannie Chapman are known as excellent story tellers.

Coming Sun is a prominent member of the Skidi Band. He asked that his English name be withheld because of the importance of certain material which he had contributed to this work.

115
142
302

[facing p. 1]

a, John Luwak



b, Mark Evarts

c, Mrs. Good Eagle

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PAWNEE MUSIC

By Frances Densmore

THE PAWNEE TRIBE

The Pawnee is commonly regarded as the last of the Caddoan 101
Tribes which migrated in a general northeasterly direction at an
early date.[1] When the Siouan Tribes entered the valley of the
Platte River in Nebraska they found the Pawnee already established
in that region. The Pawnee called themselves by a term meaning
"men of men." Their present name was probably given by some
neighboring tribe and derived from *pariki*, meaning a horn, as it
was the Pawnee custom to shave the head except a narrow strip [302]
extending from the forehead to the scalplock and to stiffen this
ridge of hair with grease and paint, curving it upward like a horn.

While in Nebraska the Pawnee lived in earth lodges which were 361
in four permanent groups of villages, each having its geographical
location along the Platte River. The people of each group were a [342]
unit, representing a division of the tribe. The Skidi (Wolf Pawnee) 101
was in the northwest, its people considering themselves related to 619
the Arikara, another Caddoan Tribe living some distance to the
north. The Pitahaucrat (Tapage Pawnee) were downstream, the
Kithahki (Republican Pawnee) were upstream, and the Chaui
(Grand Pawnee) were located between the two last named. The 134
soil of the region was dry and rather sandy with rough, broken land 241
toward the mountains in the west, yet the Pawnee were essentially
an agricultural people, cultivating corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins.
Buffalo and other game was abundant in the early days, and the Pawnee 136
were excellent hunters, their hunting expeditions covering a wide 224
area.

The first treaty between the Government of the United States and 648
the Pawnee Indians was made at St. Louis Trading Post in June, 1818.[2]

---

[1] In the classification of the North American races by John W. Powell the Pawnee is classified as one of [114]
the five independent groups of the Caddoan stock. Miss Alice C. Fletcher regards the Pawnee as a confederacy, the divisions or bands of the tribe being treated by her as separate tribes in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p 213. Cf. also Linton, Ralph, The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee, The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee, and Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men, compiled chiefly from unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, published as leaflets Nos. 5, 6, and 8, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-23.

[2] Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kappler, ed., vol. II, pp. 156-158, Washington, 1904.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

133
137

a, Landscape south of Pawnee, Okla.

b, Landscape south of Pawnee, Okla.

c, Landscape north of Pawnee, Okla.

[facing p.2]

648 At that time a separate treaty was made with each band of Pawnee, designated as Grand, Noisy, Republic, and Marhar, the treaties being respectively on June 18, 19, 20, and 22. Peace was then concluded with all tribes of the region which had been disturbed by the war of 1812. A treaty with the Pawnee Tribe was made at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs, September 30, 1825, its purpose being "to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension."[3] By the treaty of October 9, 1833, the Pawnee ceded to the United States "all the land lying south of the Platt River."[4] A reservation in Nebraska was provided for the Pawnee who remained in that State until 1876, the sale of their reservation in Nebraska being approved on June 5 of that year. The setting apart of a reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) was approved April 10, 1876. The Pawnee were removed to that reservation and "each head of a family or single person over 21 years of age residing upon said reserve, who shall so elect," was entitled to receive an allotment of 160 acres of land.[5] In a table compiled by the Office of Indian Affairs in 1908 it is stated that "112,859.84 acres were allotted to 821 [Pawnee] Indians, 840 acres reserved for school, agency, and cemetery purposes, and the residue of 169,320 acres was opened to settlement," the agreement being ratified by act of March 3, 1893.[6]

161 The number of Pawnee in 1702 was estimated by Iberville at 2,000 families. In 1838 they numbered about 10,000 persons, but the [164] opening of a principal emigrant trail directly through the country in the forties introduced disease and dissipation and left the people less [177] able to defend themselves against their enemies, the Sioux.[7] They decreased in numbers and in 1928 the Pawnee population was 2,766.[8]

133 The reservation of the Pawnee is beautifully diversified, with many streams and tracts of woods. There are outcroppings of stone in the region south of the town of Pawnee (pl. 3, *a*, *b*) while north of the town [136] are broad, smooth fields. (Pl. 3, *c*.) On a private ranch near Pawnee a picturesque herd of buffalo was seen near a "buffalo wallow." (Pl. 4, *a*, *b*.)

342 The earth lodge of the Pawnee was about 40 feet in diameter and 15 feet high, and was occupied by several related families, each having [592] its appointed space along the wall. "At the west side of the lodge a [778] space was always reserved, which was considered sacred, and was called *wikaru* (place-for-the-wonderful-things), this being the name which is applied to the garden of the Evening Star, where the corn is always ripening and where are stored many parflêches of buffalo

---

[3] Ibid., pp. 258-260.
[4] Ibid., pp. 416-418.
[5] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 160-161.
[6] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 213.
[7] Ibid., p. 216.
[8] Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the year 1928, p. 58.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

133

a, "Buffalo wallow" on private ranch near Pawnee, Okla.

133
136

b, Buffalo grazing on private ranch near Pawnee, Okla.

[facing p. 3]

meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance 342
of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and [778]
suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and
other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the
altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, [554
the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, 513]
which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two
below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a
"skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending
upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward
to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This
framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow
rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was
protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered
roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when [484]
a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially
anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family
usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer
abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was
made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered
with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four 619
bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary
chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had 621
also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its [778
priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with 793]
those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and
symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a
medium of communication was believed to be opened between the
people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and
prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the 621
head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced 622
by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus 624
or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the
Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were
the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council 623
was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands,
and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of
the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a 691
man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family. 591

---

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. xv, New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756 The medicine men claimed to have received their power from
supernatural sources and were organized into numerous societies.
Linton states that "The function of the medicine men's ceremonies
was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease
from the village, and, by means of their sleight-of-hand performances,
convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural
powers attributed to them."[10]

771 According to Miss Fletcher their "religious ceremonies were connected
with the cosmic forces and the heavenly bodies. The dominating
[776 power was Tirawa, generally spoken of as 'father.' The
heavenly bodies, the winds, thunder, lightning, and rain were his
821] messengers. . . . The mythology of the Pawnee is remarkably
rich in symbolism and poetic fancy, and their religious system is
elaborate and cogent. The secret societies, of which there were
[575] several in each tribe, were connected with the belief in supernatural
animals. The functions of these societies were to call the game, to
heal diseases, and to give occult powers. Their rites were elaborate
[921] and their ceremonies dramatic."[11] Next in power to Tirawa was
776 Evening Star, regarded as a woman, and below her was Morning
Star, a warrior who drove the other stars before him across the sky.
[773] The child of these two deities was the first human being. In the west,
Evening Star had a beautiful garden with fields of ripening corn and
many buffalo, and from this garden sprang all the streams of life.

[823] Next in rank to Evening Star and Morning Star were the gods
of the four world-quarters who supported the heavens and who
stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, these
being the sacred directions of the Pawnee. Dorsey states that
"next to these gods in rank are the three gods of the north, supreme
among whom is the North-Star, Karariwari (One-who-does-not-
[821] move). Associated with him are Hutukawahar (Wind-ready-to-give)
and Hikus (Breath). The North-Star is . . . symbolic of
the chief . . . while his assistants, equally beneficent, sent the
buffalo and the breath of life."[12] Below these in turn were Sun and
Moon, from whose union sprang the second human being on the
[773] earth. This daughter, marrying the son of Morning Star and
Evening Star, produced the human race.

The lesser gods of the heavens included Star of the South and Big-black-meteoric-star, who was the god of the medicine men. There were also earth gods organized into four lodges, each with its leaders and messengers, these gods being the special patrons of warriors and medicine men.

---

[10] Linton, Ralph. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men, Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 8, Chicago, 1923, pp. 19, 20.

[11] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

[12] Dorsey, op. cit., p. 212.

It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band 778
were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" [621]
belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor [614]
by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging
to the several bands there were two bundles which were the [619
property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one 422]
or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most
sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one
was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning
Star, while the other symbolized the female element, or Evening
Star. These ears of corn were shelled and given to the people as
seed corn at the first ceremony in the spring. Next in importance [237]
were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin
symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be
awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet
grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies,
tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained
other articles, and the skins of birds other than those
mentioned. [611]

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary 422
keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the 428
owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped 778
in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on 621
the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always 778
placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning
Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent
paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from
those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey considers
the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to [171]
the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine
bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. 778
The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in 796
the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl.
7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by
a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony
the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the
freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances
there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not
fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the [793]
people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization
of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

---

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Simms, Director of the Field Museum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 8).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 some form of offering or sacrifice. In addition to these were the
796 ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine men. The number and elaborateness of the ceremonies show the Pawnee to have
[174] been, in the old times, a ceremonial people among whom symbolism was highly developed.[14] Only a portion of this rich ceremonialism is considered in the present work.

276 Peyote is used extensively among the Pawnee at the present time,
*533 but the subject was not studied nor its songs recorded. The writer listened to several of the songs, which were simple and appeared to be modern melodies.

---

[14] Cf. Fletcher, Alice C., The Hako, a Pawnee Ceremony. Twenty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, Washington, 1903.

533*
171

COMPARISON OF PAWNEE SONGS WITH CHIPPEWA, SIOUX, UTE, MANDAN, HIDATSA, AND PAPAGO SONGS

MELODIC ANALYSIS

TABLE 1.—TONALITY

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Major tonality	520	*53*	33	*38*	553	*51*
Minor tonality	424	*42*	39	*46*	463	*43*
Both major and minor	5	------	1	*1*	6	------
Third lacking	26	*2*	12	*14*	38	*4*
Irregular [1]	12	*1*	1	*1*	13	*1*
Total	987	------	86	------	1,073	------

[1] Songs are thus classified if they are "pure melody without tonality," the tones not having an apparent relation to a keynote. In such songs the tones appear to be arranged with reference to intervals rather than with reference to a keynote, many being based on successive intervals of a fourth.

TABLE 2.—FIRST NOTE OF SONG—ITS RELATION TO KEYNOTE

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Beginning on the—						
Fourteenth	1	------	------	------	1	------
Thirteenth	4	------	1	*1*	5	------
Twelfth	143	*10*	7	*8*	150	*14*
Eleventh	14	*1*	1	*1*	15	*1*
Tenth	55	*6*	14	*16*	69	*6*
Ninth	28	*3*	4	*5*	32	*3*
Octave	199	*20*	17	*20*	216	*20*
Seventh	16	*2*	------	------	16	*1*
Sixth	34	*3*	1	*1*	35	*3*
Fifth	264	*30*	21	*24*	285	*26*
Fourth	17	*2*	2	*2*	19	*2*
Third	82	*8*	4	*5*	86	*8*
Second	22	*2*	2	*2*	24	*2*
Keynote	96	*10*	11	*13*	107	*10*
Irregular	12	*1*	1	*1*	13	*1*
Total	987	------	86	------	1,073	------

3; Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
171

TABLE 3.—LAST NOTE OF SONG—ITS RELATION TO KEYNOTE

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Ending on the—						
Sixth	1				1	
Fifth	327	*33*	21	*24*	348	*32*
Third	112	*10*	2	*1*	114	*11*
Keynote	535	*54*	62	*72*	597	*56*
Irregular	12	*1*	1	*1*	13	*1*
Total	987		86		1,073	

TABLE 4.—LAST NOTE OF SONG—ITS RELATION TO COMPASS

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Songs in which final note is—						
Lowest in song	733	*74*	68	*78*	801	*75*
Highest in song	1				1	
Immediately preceded by—						
Fifth below	1				1	
Fourth below	23	*2*	2	*2*	25	*2*
Major third below	7				7	
Minor third below	28	*3*	1	*1*	29	*3*
Whole tone below	19	*2*	2	*2*	21	*2*
Semitone below	7		2	*2*	9	
Immediately preceded by a lower tone and containing tones lower than final tone	168	*17*	11	*10*	179	*16*
Total	987		86		1,073	

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533*
171

TABLE 5.—NUMBER OF TONES COMPRISED IN COMPASS OF SONG

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Seventeen tones	3	-----	4	5	7	-----
Fifteen tones	1	-----	-----	-----	1	-----
Fourteen tones	15	2	-----	-----	15	1
Thirteen tones	54	5	4	5	58	5
Twelve tones	171	18	10	11	181	17
Eleven tones	82	8	8	9	90	8
Ten tones	111	10	12	14	123	11
Nine tones	103	10	5	6	108	10
Eight tones	284	30	19	22	303	27
Seven tones	62	6	3	3	65	6
Six tones	56	6	7	8	63	6
Five tones	36	4	12	14	48	5
Four tones	6	-----	1	1	7	-----
Three tones	3	-----	1	1	4	-----
Total	987	-----	86	-----	1,073	-----

TABLE 6.—TONE MATERIAL

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
First 5-toned scale[1]	13	1	5	6	18	1
Second 5-toned scale	99	10	7	8	106	10
Fourth 5-toned scale	227	20	8	9	235	22
Fifth 5-toned scale	2	-----	-----	-----	2	-----
Major triad	13	1	1	-----	14	1
Major triad and one other tone	119	14	4	-----	123	20
Minor triad	4	-----	-----	-----	4	-----
Minor triad and one other tone	86	9	10	11	96	9
Octave complete	58	6	4	5	62	5
Octave complete except seventh	93	9	8	9	101	9
Octave complete except seventh and one other tone	93	9	14	16	107	10

[1] The 5-toned scales mentioned in this table are the 5 pentatonic scales according to Helmholtz, described by him as follows: "1. The first scale, without third or seventh. . . . To the second scale, without second or sixth, belong most Scotch airs which have a minor character. . . The third scale, without third and sixth . . . To the fourth scale, without fourth or seventh, belong most Scotch airs which have the character of a major mode. The fifth scale, without second and fifth." (Helmholtz, H. L., The Sensations of Tone, London, 1885, pp. 260, 261.)

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
171

TABLE 6.—TONE MATERIAL—Continued

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Octave complete except sixth	38	*4*	2	*2*	40	*3*
Octave complete except sixth and one other tone	15	*1*	4	*5*	19	*1*
Octave complete except fifth and one other tone	1	------	--------	------	1	------
Octave complete except fourth	26	*3*	5	*6*	31	*3*
Octave complete except fourth and one other tone	10	*1*	--------	------	10	*1*
Octave complete except third	5	------	--------	------	5	------
Octave complete except second	27	*3*	--------	------	27	*3*
Other combinations of tone	58	*6*	14	*16*	72	*6*
Total	987	------	86	------	1,073	------

TABLE 7.—ACCIDENTALS

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Songs containing—						
No accidentals	822	*85*	78	*92*	900	*84*
Seventh raised a semitone	22	*2*	3	*3*	25	*2*
Sixth raised a semitone	17	*1*	--------	------	17	*1*
Fourth raised a semitone	20	*2*	2	*2*	22	*2*
Third raised a semitone	3	------	--------	------	3	------
Third lowered a semitone	2	------	--------	------	2	------
Other combinations of tone	89	*9*	2	*2*	91	*9*
Irregular	12	*1*	1	*1*	13	*1*
Total	987	------	86	------	1,073	------

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533*
171

TABLE 8.—STRUCTURE

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Melodic	594	*60*	48	*56*	642	*60*
Melodic with harmonic framework	197	*20*	15	*17*	212	*20*
Harmonic	184	*19*	22	*25*	206	*19*
Irregular	12	*1*	1	*1*	13	*1*
Total	987	------	86	------	1,073	------

TABLE 9.—FIRST PROGRESSION—DOWNWARD AND UPWARD

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Downward	608	*61*	62	*71*	670	*62*
Upward	379	*38*	24	*28*	403	*38*
Total	987	------	86	------	1,073	------

TABLE 10.—TOTAL NUMBER OF PROGRESSIONS—DOWNWARD AND UPWARD

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Downward	16,848	*63*	1,393	*64*	18,241	*63*
Upward	9,929	*37*	786	*36*	10,715	*37*
Total	26,777	------	2,179	------	28,956	------

TABLE 11.—INTERVALS IN DOWNWARD PROGRESSION

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Interval of a—						
Twelfth	1	------	------	------	1	------
Ninth	1	------	------	------	1	------
Octave	2	------	2	------	4	------
Seventh	2	------	4	------	6	------
Major sixth	13	------	4	------	17	------
Minor sixth	20	------	10	*1*	30	------
Fifth	138	------	12	*1*	150	------

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
171

TABLE 11.—INTERVALS IN DOWNWARD PROGRESSION—Continued

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Interval of a—Continued.						
Fourth	1, 761	*10*	158	*11*	1, 919	*11*
Major third	1, 651	*10*	139	*10*	1, 790	*10*
Minor third	5, 099	*30*	322	*24*	5, 421	*30*
Augmented second	8	......	....	......	8	......
Major second	7, 553	*46*	635	*45*	8, 188	*45*
Minor second	599	*3*	107	*7*	706	*3*
Total	16, 848	......	1, 393	......	18, 241	......

TABLE 12.—INTERVALS IN UPWARD PROGRESSION

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Interval of a—						
Fourteenth	1	......	....	......	1	......
Twelfth	17	......	....	......	17	......
Eleventh	4	......	1	......	5	......
Tenth	14	......	2	......	16	......
Ninth	15	......	2	......	17	......
Octave	136	*1*	19	*2*	155	*1*
Seventh	40	......	2	......	42	......
Major sixth	122	*1*	16	*2*	138	*1*
Minor sixth	82	*1*	20	*3*	102	*1*
Fifth	645	*6*	65	*8*	710	*7*
Fourth	1, 686	*17*	112	*14*	1, 798	*17*
Major third	1, 068	*10*	74	*9*	1, 142	*10*
Minor third	2, 489	*25*	119	*14*	2, 608	*24*
Major second	3, 267	*33*	286	*37*	3, 553	*33*
Minor second	343	*3*	68	*9*	411	*4*
Total	9, 929	......	786	......	10, 715	......

TABLE 13—AVERAGE NUMBER OF SEMITONES IN AN INTERVAL

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Number of songs	987	......	86	......	1, 073	......
Number of intervals	26, 777	......	2, 179	......	28, 956	......
Number of semitones	82, 664	......	6, 856	......	89, 520	......
Average number of semitones in an interval	3. 08	......	3. 18	......	3. 26	......

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533*
171

RHYTHMIC ANALYSIS

TABLE 14.—PART OF MEASURE ON WHICH SONG BEGINS

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Beginning on unaccented part of measure	354	*36*	42	*50*	396	*37*
Beginning on accented part of measure	591	*60*	44	*50*	635	*58*
Transcribed in outline	42	*4*			42	*4*
Total	987		86		1,073	

TABLE 15.—RHYTHM (METER) OF FIRST MEASURE

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
First measure in—						
2-4 time	539	*54*	54	*63*	593	*55*
3-4 time	356	*36*	28		384	*37*
4-4 time	9	*1*			9	*1*
5-4 time	13	*1*	2		15	*1*
6-4 time	1				1	
7-4 time	2				2	
3-8 time	7				7	
4-8 time	6				6	
5-8 time	8		1		9	
6-8 time	1				1	
7-8 time	1				1	
2-2 time	2		1		3	
Transcribed in outline	42	*4*			42	*4*
Total	987		86		1,073	

TABLE 16.—CHANGE OF TIME (MEASURE LENGTHS)

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Songs containing no change of time	134	*10*	22	*26*	156	*14*
Songs containing a change of time	811	*84*	64	*74*	875	*81*
Transcribed in outline	42	*4*			42	*4*
Total	987		86		1,073	

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
171

TABLE 17.—RHYTHMIC UNIT

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Songs containing—						
No rhythmic unit	305	*30*	13	*15*	318	*30*
One rhythmic unit	524	*53*	40	*46*	564	*52*
Two rhythmic units	96	*10*	26	*30*	122	*11*
Three rhythmic units	13	*1*	7	*8*	20	*2*
Four rhythmic units	5	------	------	------	5	------
Five rhythmic units	2	------	------	------	2	------
Transcribed in outline	42	*4*	------	------	42	*4*
Total	987	------	86	------	1,073	------

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

TABLE 1.—The distinctive structure of Pawnee songs is shown in this table. The percentage of songs with minor tonality is 46. This is higher than in any tribe under anaylsis except the Sioux, which has 60 per cent of its songs in minor tonality. The percentage of songs lacking the third above the keynote is 14, contrasted with 10 per cent in the Papago and 1 in the other tribes. One song is classified as irregular, and one as both major and minor in tonality.

TABLE 2.—The highest percentages of initial tones are on the tenth, octave, fifth, and keynote, showing that the fundamental and its simplest overtones are used for the framework of a majority of the melodies. The percentage of songs beginning on the tenth is 16, while the highest in any other tribe (the Sioux) is 10 per cent. In the songs beginning on the octave this tribe shows the same percentage as the total of 987 songs previously analyzed, while in those beginning on the fifth the percentage is considerably below that tabulation. Only 5 per cent of the songs begin on the third, while the total number shows 8 per cent beginning on that tone, but the percentage beginning on the keynote is 13, contrasted with 10 in the other tribes. Pawnee songs therefore differ from tribes previously analyzed in having a much higher percentage beginning on the tenth and the keynote, and a lower percentage beginning on the fifth and third, while having the same percentage beginning on the octave.

TABLE 3.—A preference for the keynote is shown in this, as in the preceding table, the percentage ending on the keynote being 72 while in the tribes previously analyzed it is only 54. Similarly, an avoidance of the third is shown in the ending of 1 per cent of the songs on

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533*
171

that tone while the total of songs from other tribes shows 10 per cent ending on that tone.

Table 4.—The difference between the songs in various tribes is clearly shown in this table. In the Pawnee songs 78 per cent end on the lowest tone of the compass, while in the Papago group 90 per cent contain tones lower than the final tone. The Papago resemble the Chippewa and Sioux, which have respectively 90 and 88 per cent ending on the lowest tone of the compass.

Table 5.—In the compass of the songs we again see a feeling for the overtones of a fundamental, the highest percentage being those having a compass of 12, 10, 8, and 5 tones. The percentage having a range of an octave is smaller than in any tribe except the Chippewa, while the percentage with a compass of 5 tones is 14, the largest in any tribe under present consideration. This is approached only by the Mandan and Hidatsa, with 8 per cent.

Table 6.—The major and minor 5-toned scales are not favored by the Pawnee, only 23 per cent of their songs being based on these scales, while in the 987 songs previously analyzed 31 per cent are based on these scales. Five of these songs are on the first 5-toned scale which omits the third and seventh tones of the diatonic octave. The Pawnee avoid the use of the complete octave, showing only 5 per cent of such songs, while the entire number of other songs show 6 per cent. It is, however, interesting to note that 38 per cent of the Pawnee songs contain the octave lacking one or two tones, while the combined songs of other tribes show only 30 per cent of such melodies. Thus it is shown that the Pawnee have a smaller percentage of songs on the 5-toned scales and the complete octave, and a much larger percentage containing six or seven tones. This suggests a less primitive form of music than that based on 5-toned scales.

Table 7.—The percentage of songs without accidentals is larger than in any other tribe under analysis except the Ute, which contains 96 per cent of such melodies. The most frequent accidental is the seventh raised a semitone, this occurring in three songs which are minor in tonality.

Talbe 8.—In structure we find the harmonic songs higher in percentage than in any tribe except [illegible] Mandan and Hidatsa, which comprise 30 per cent of such songs. The Pawnee comprise 25 per cent. This shows a less primitive structure in Pawnee than in the other songs under analysis, a majority of which are melodic in structure.

Table 9.—The percentage of songs beginning with a downward progression is considerably higher than in any other tribe under analysis. The percentage in Pawnee is 71, while in the Papago songs it is only 37, and in the Mandan and Hidatsa songs it is 51 per cent.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
171

TABLE 10.—The percentage of descending and ascending intervals is almost the same in the Pawnee as in the combined Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago songs, the percentage in the combined tribes being 63 in descending and 37 in ascending intervals, while the Pawnee contain 64 per cent descending and 36 per cent ascending intervals. This, like the preceding table, shows the descending trend of Pawnee songs. A different trend is shown in the Papago songs, which contain 59 per cent descending and 41 per cent ascending intervals.

TABLES 11 AND 12.—A peculiarity of Pawnee songs is shown in the relatively small percentage of minor thirds, these being 24 per cent in descending and 14 per cent in ascending progression, contrasted with 30 and 25 per cent in the combined songs of other tribes. The Pawnee, more than other tribes, use the interval of a fifth which constitutes 1 per cent of the descending and 8 per cent of the ascending intervals but which, in the combined other tribes, constitutes less than 1 per cent of the descending and 6 per cent of the ascending intervals. The fourth occurs with about the same frequency in Pawnee as in the other tribes but the percentage of whole tones is 45 in descending and 37 in ascending order, contrasted with 46 per cent in descending and only 33 per cent in ascending order. The percentage of semitones (both ascending and descending) is 10 in the Pawnee and only 6 in the other tribes under analysis.

TABLE 13.—The average number of semitones in an interval is slightly larger than in the Ute, which was 3.14 semitones, and considerably larger than in the combined songs under analysis, which is 3.08 semitones. The average interval is still approximately a minor third, and contains 3.18 semitones.

TABLE 14.—In all the tribes previously studied a majority of the songs have begun on the accented part of the measure. The Pawnee songs are evenly divided in this respect, half beginning on the accented and half on the unaccented part of the measure.

TABLE 15.—The Pawnee resemble the other tribes under observation in preferring to begin their songs in 2–4 time rather than in triple or other meter. The Papago songs show 66 per cent and the Ute and Pawnee each 62 per cent beginning in double time. In other tribes the percentage of songs beginning in 2–4 time is smaller.

TABLE 16.—In the percentage of songs containing no change of time the Pawnee is higher than any other tribe under analysis, showing 26 per cent. The nearest approach to this is the Chippewa with 23 per cent and the lowest is the Papago with only 9 per cent. The Chippewa Tribe has probably been in contact with the music of the white race more than any other analyzed tribe except the Pawnee, and a modification is clearly shown in the retaining of one measure-length throughout so large a proportion of the songs.

533*
171

TABLE 17.—A developed rhythmic structure is shown in the high percentage of songs containing two rhythmic units, this being 30 per cent in the Pawnee and only 10 per cent in the combined songs of other tribes. The songs with three rhythmic units constitute 8 per cent in the Pawnee and 1 per cent in the songs of other tribes. The percentage of Pawnee songs with one rhythmic unit is considerably lower than in the combined tribes and that of the songs with no rhythmic unit is only half the percentage in the larger group.

The comparative table showing the rhythm of the drum has been discontinued, as the purpose of this analysis seems to have been accomplished. The analysis of Pawnee songs according to this basis is shown on page 125. This data and the comparative table of drum rhythms in Bulletin 80, pages 25-26, show that the Indians under observation prefer an even drumbeat, each stroke uniform in stress and corresponding to sixteenth, eighth, quarter, or half notes of the song. In some tribes there have been instances of elaborate drumbeats, but no trace of this was found among the Pawnee, either in recorded songs or in the performances heard at gatherings. This is in accordance with other evidence that the music of the Pawnee has been modified by the establishing of a more settled mode of life or, perhaps, by hearing the music of the white race. The Yuma and Cocopa, in contrast to these tribes, use elaborate rhythms of drum and rattle. [177]

Other tables which have been discontinued are those showing the keynote of the song and the metronome tempo of voice and drum. These were last used in the analysis of 710 songs in Northern Ute Music, Bulletin 75, pages 42 and 48-51. The result of the analysis was summarized in Mandan and Hidatsa Music, Bulletin 80, page 15.

SUMMARY

From the foregoing it appears that Pawnee songs resemble those of the Ute more closely than those of other tribes. Occasional resemblances are noted between the Pawnee and Chippewa, as well as between the Pawnee and Sioux, Mandan, and Hidatsa, but the Pawnee songs differ widely from those of the Papago who live on the Mexican border, a portion of the tribe still residing in Mexico.

The statement has been made in a previous paragraph that certain results of the Pawnee analyses suggest the influence of a settled mode of life or a contact with the music of civilization. This should not be understood to mean that the form of all the songs has been changed. This work contains many songs that undoubtedly have come down for many generations and there is no reason to think they were not sung correctly, but there are also songs of more recent origin, recorded

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
171
in order that the music of the entire tribe may be represented. All these songs are combined in the analyses and the latter class, to some extent, affects the total numbers.

An important point, made evident in this comparative analysis, is the individuality of Pawnee music. It is distinct, in its entirety, from the songs of other tribes, though bearing a resemblance to one tribe or another in separate characteristics. The study of Indian music by an established system of analysis shows there are characteristics that are common to Indian songs of various tribes and different from the music of the white race, and also characteristics which distinguish the songs of one tribe from those of another. Among the former is the change of measure-lengths found in many Indian songs and the downward trend of the melody. The latter are indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. A characteristic of Pawnee music that evades, to some extent, the tabulated analysis, is its simplicity of both melody and rhythm. This can only be appreciated by a study of the melodies themselves. Pawnee music is the plainest of any thus far recorded in its rhythmic divisions and general content. This characteristic of the group may, however, be due to the absence of songs used in treating the sick, which are usually songs of complicated rhythms.

MORNING STAR CEREMONY

778
796
A sacred bundle of the Skidi Pawnee was associated with Morning Star and its ceremony was held in the early spring, having for its object the securing of good crops in the coming season. It was the writer's privilege to see the Morning Star bundle in the house of the woman who was its keeper, and also to see its contents exposed in the ceremony. The bundle, in accordance with custom, was hung on the west wall of its owner's house, and with it were hung four large gourds, symbolizing the four deities who were the special guardians of Evening Star and also representing the breasts of the two women in the west, Evening Star and Moon.[15]

[776]

773
[424
551]
The legend from which the Morning Star ceremony arose was related by Coming Sun, whose grandfather was a high priest in the Morning Star village and who received his name by inheritance from this ancestor. With Coming Sun's narrative is combined a limited number of details mentioned by Linton in "Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee."

As already stated, Morning Star ruled in the east and Evening Star in the west. All the stars west of the Milky Way were feminine and those to the east were masculine, but the most powerful were Morning Star and Evening Star. Sun was with the former and Moon was a companion of the latter. One after another the eastern stars came to court the stars in the west, in order that man might be placed on the earth. Moon welcomed them and walked with them toward the west, but as soon as they came in sight of the village she caused the ground to open so the man fell through and was killed. At last Morning Star resolved to go and woo the great Evening Star, taking his little brother along to carry his pack. Thus, according to Coming Sun, a small star always appears near and slightly below the morning star in the spring, representing the little brother. Linton, however, states that Morning Star was accompanied by Sun, who carried a sacred bundle with a war club. 773

---

[15] Cf. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 53-55.

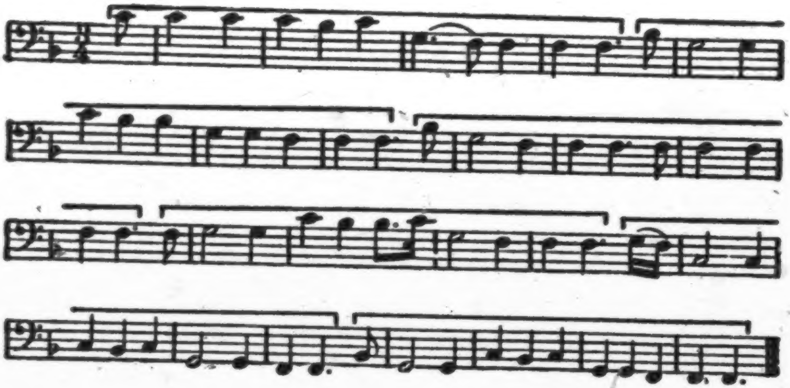
Ten obstacles were encountered by Morning Star and his companion, the first five being difficulties of travel, such as sharp flints and sword grass beneath their feet, and the last five being animals which attacked them, including the mountain lion, wildcat, buffalo, and bear. All these were placed in their way by Moon, who thought she could conquer them as she had conquered the others. But Morning Star carried a ball encased in such a manner that when he threw it the casing broke and it became a ball of fire. When throwing the ball he sang the following song, which was said to be [533*] one of the principal songs in the ceremony. Linton states that Morning Star struck the ground with his war club, closing the cracks made by Moon for his destruction, and that he sang a song with substantially the same words recorded by Coming Sun.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

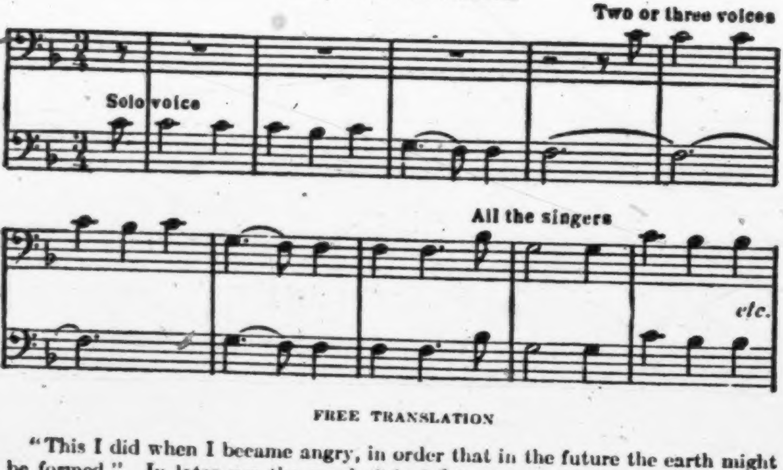
No. 1. Song of Morning Star (Catalogue No. 1162)

Sung by Coming Sun

*533
773



Manner of rendition



FREE TRANSLATION

"This I did when I became angry, in order that in the future the earth might be formed." In later use the words "And I imitate this power" were added, referring to the persons using the song.

*533 [126 779] *Analysis.*—This song was considered too sacred for phonographic recording and was orally taught to the writer by Coming Sun. For this reason the metronome time is not indicated. The manner of singing this and other ceremonial songs is indicated in the transcription, one voice singing the opening phrase, and holding a low tone while two or three voices repeat the opening phrase, after which all the voices proceed in unison. This melody is an example of interval formation. The only tones are F, G, B flat, and C, and the principal progressions

are whole tones between B flat and C, and between F and G. A 533
similar melodic form occurs in Nos. 5 and 53. This song is transcribed
with the signature of the key of F and classified with songs lacking the
third above the keynote. The repetitions of the rhythmic unit are
six in number and comprise the entire melody. Slight differences
in the note values of the rhythmic unit occur in the latter part of
the song.

The tenth obstacle was not encountered by Morning Star until after 773
he entered the lodge of Evening Star. The obstacle was a snake, but
he overcame it, as he had overcome the others, by means of the ball of
fire and the song.

Evening Star saw that his power was greater than hers, but she de-
termined to hold him aloof as long as possible. Finally she insisted
that he make provision for the child that should be born; she even [854]
required him to provide perfumed water for bathing the child and a
cradle board in which it should be placed. On the hoop, or arch, of [531]
this cradle board was painted a morning star and the lightnings, this
custom being followed by the Pawnee at the present time. Evening
Star also required him to plant a tree in front of the lodge so that the
mocking birds might nest there and sing to the child. From this union
a daughter was born. She came down to earth and wandered about
in fear. As she was running hither and thither she met a boy, the
child of Sun and Moon, and these two became the ancestors of the
human race.

Morning Star made a bundle and placed in it various articles con- 778
nected with the obstacles he had overcome on his westward journey. 773
He left this bundle with Evening Star and for that reason a woman has
always been the keeper of the sacred bundle. Other articles have
been added from time to time and will be noted in this paper.

It is said that Evening Star required a human sacrifice as her reward. 796
This sacrifice must be a pure and beautiful maiden and she demanded 773
that the sacrifice be repeated annually. Long ago, Morning Star 782
sometimes appeared to a man in a dream and told him to secure a
maiden for this sacrifice. According to Linton, a man who had this [787]
vision went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received
the warrior's costume and the sacred objects kept for such an ex- 796
pedition. Other warriors joined him and, preliminary to the expedi- 782
tion, they enacted the journey of the Morning Star, and sang the
song with which he overcame the obstacles placed in his way.
(Cf. Song No. 1.) When the ceremony ended it was almost time for
the Morning Star to rise and the leader went outside the lodge and
addressed an invocation to him. After dancing furiously around their
fire and offering a last prayer to Morning Star the warriors started
forth and captured a maiden from the enemy. Returning, they gave

796 her into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village until the
782 time for her sacrifice. She was treated in a ceremonial manner but
kept in ignorance of her fate. At the appointed time her body was
[302 painted, half red and half black, and she was tied to a scaffold and
417] shot through the heart with an arrow. It was said that the braided
thong used to bind the girl to the scaffold is now in the Morning
Star bundle.

173 Tradition states that on one occasion the intended victim was
rescued. On the night preceding her execution she was seated beside
782 some tall sunflowers. A young chief came through the tall weeds and
796 stole her away, putting her on his horse and taking her to Fort Leavenworth,
whence she was returned to her own people. She died within
three months, having been anointed for death with the sacred ointment
of red paint powder and buffalo fat. This occurred about the
year 1818. The man who rescued the intended victim was a warrior
of distinction and through his influence the custom was discontinued.
The ritual of the sacrifice is still rendered but no actual sacrifice has
taken place since that date.

796 Coming Sun, who sings the ceremonial songs, said that sometimes,
[782] during the Morning Star ceremony he stops and says "Listen," and
the people hear a woman's voice singing the songs above his head.

The Morning Star ceremony was held by the Skidi Band near Pawnee, Okla., on April 17, 1920. This ceremony formerly lasted four days and nights, ending when the morning star appeared in the east, but at the present time it is concluded in one day. On this occasion the writer had the honor of entering the lodge, through the courtesy of Coming Sun. It is said that only one other white person, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, has entered the lodge during the ceremony and seen the contents of the sacred bundle.

The ceremony was held in a tipi erected for the occasion in a quiet
[346] spot near the house of the keeper of the bundle, north of Pawnee.
This tipi had been used in the Ghost dance and was decorated with
Ghost dance symbols. (Pl. 5, *b*.) The adjacent landscape is shown in
Plate 3, *c*. The ceremony began at about 9 a. m. and continued until
4 p. m., the writer sitting outside the tipi except for the brief time
she was permitted to enter. Thus the entire songs of the ceremony
were heard, as well as the prayers and rituals, though only the principal
song was obtained. At the proper time Coming Sun, who
was in charge of the ceremony, sent a messenger to summon the
writer and she entered the lodge, passing to the right and standing
near the bundle, before which she laid gifts of calico, tobacco, and
[534] money. Coming Sun was seated back of the bundle, directly opposite
the entrance, and held one of the sacred gourd rattles. Two
796 men at either side of him held similar rattles. In front of the men
778 at Coming Sun's left and next the sacred bundle was a belt decorated

with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of 796
"song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The 778
outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread
on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a
pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native
tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of
corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip
inclined toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and
the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a
white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws [825]
of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal [821]
is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason
the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In [854]
accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her
arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She [201]
then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between
the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial
lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies [302]
were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder
mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire
was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was [372]
intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was 796
served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful
of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung [415]
on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled
in the usual manner. [262]

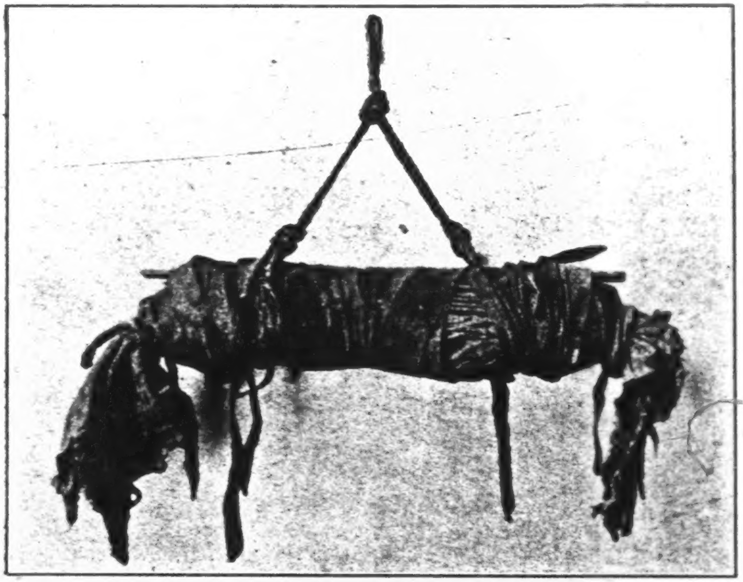
The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning 796
Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and
were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening 778
Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle 173
and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side.
The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge
of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however,
forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close
the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured
four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black.
The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star
and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards
the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe
secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It
is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to
have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow [411]
is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

---

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

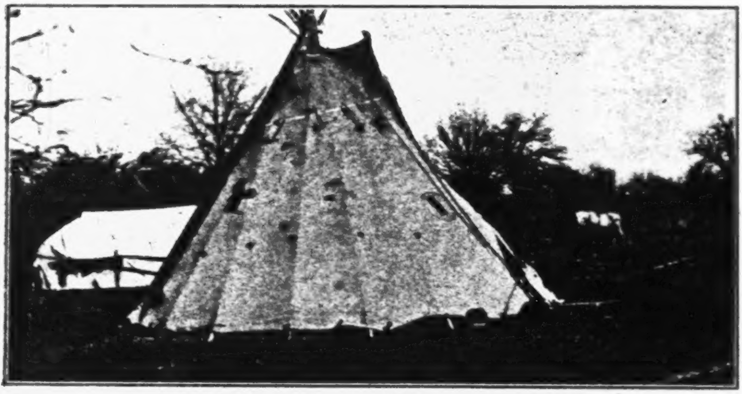
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778
284



a, Sacred bundle

346
532
231



b, Tipi in which Morning Star ceremony was held

[Facing p. 24]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUFFALO DANCE

796 The ceremony of Painting the Buffalo Skull is held every spring by the Chaui Band of Pawnee and is in charge of Mr. Stacy Matlock, a prominent member of that band. The closing events of the ceremony are the Buffalo and Lance dances, which were witnessed by the writer through the courtesy of Mr. Matlock, no other [346] white person being present. The ceremony and dances were held in a large earth lodge, several miles south of the town of Pawnee. (Pl. 6, *a*, *b*, *c*.) The opening of the lodge was toward the east. At some distance was a framework, probably that of a sweat lodge. (Pl. 7, *b*.) Only members of the Buffalo Society were admitted to [778] the painting of the skull, but during the Buffalo dance the skull, painted a few days previously, lay on a folded blanket in front of the "altar" which was opposite the entrance. This occasion and the Lance dance held a few days later afforded exceptional opportunities to listen to Pawnee songs, but the semidarkness of the lodge and the solemnity of the occasion precluded the taking of notes upon either the music or the details of the ceremonial dances.

The chief singer at both of these dances was Wicita Blain, a [424] blind man who received the songs by inheritance. He led the songs 796 which were sung at a certain position back of the altar. At a later 115 time he recorded the ceremonial songs here presented, also certain songs of the Bear dance, which is held in equally high esteem by the Pawnee. John Luwak, chief of the Chaui Band, was prominent at the Lance dance and later recorded numerous songs, including those of the Crow Lance Society. (Pl. 2, *a*.)

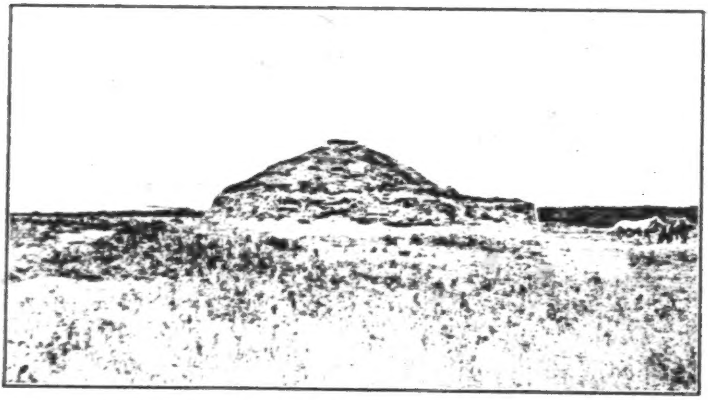
*533 The following song was led by Mr. Blain at the Buffalo dance attended by the writer and is a very old song concerning Mrs. 173 Blain's uncle, whose name was Naru'dapadi. A great herd of buffalo came to the place where the Indians were encamped and threatened the destruction of the village. Her uncle rode toward them, shouting and firing his gun in an attempt to divert them from their course, but he was caught in the herd. There were buffalo on all sides of him as the herd swept through the camp and across a stream, carrying him with them.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth. These are the tones omitted in the fourth 5-toned scale which is major while the present song is minor in tonality. It is interesting to note that 25 per cent of the intervals are fourths. This interval, in songs of other tribes, has been found to characterize songs associated with motion or connected with animals. The most frequent interval is the whole tone. This song has a compass of 11 tones and contains the fourth below the final tone. Table 4 shows that the final tone is the lowest tone in a majority of the Indian songs under analysis.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

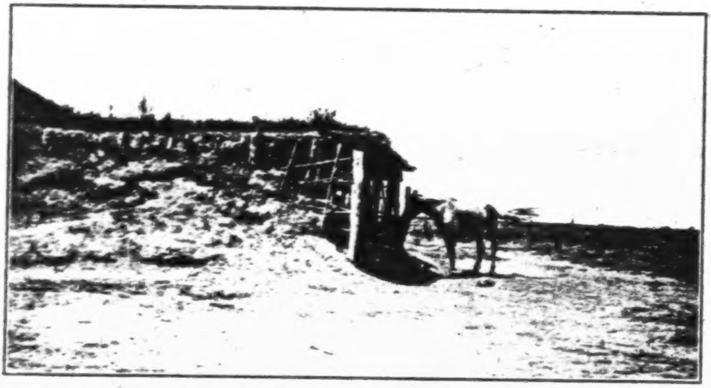
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

346



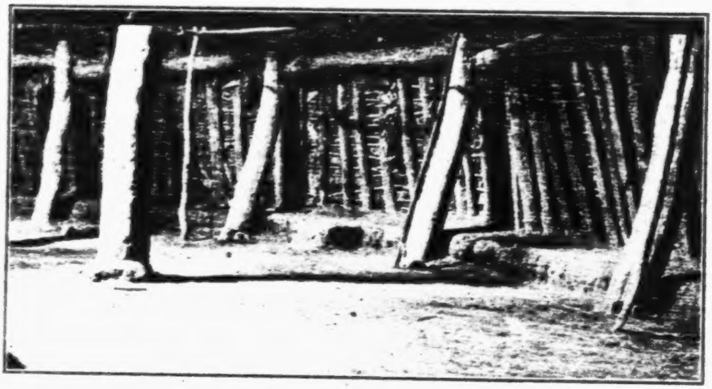
a, Exterior of earth lodge in which Buffalo and Lance dances were held

346
231



b, Entrance to earth lodge in which Buffalo and Lance dances were held

346
778



c. Interior of ceremonial earth lodge, showing "altar"

[facing p. 25]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

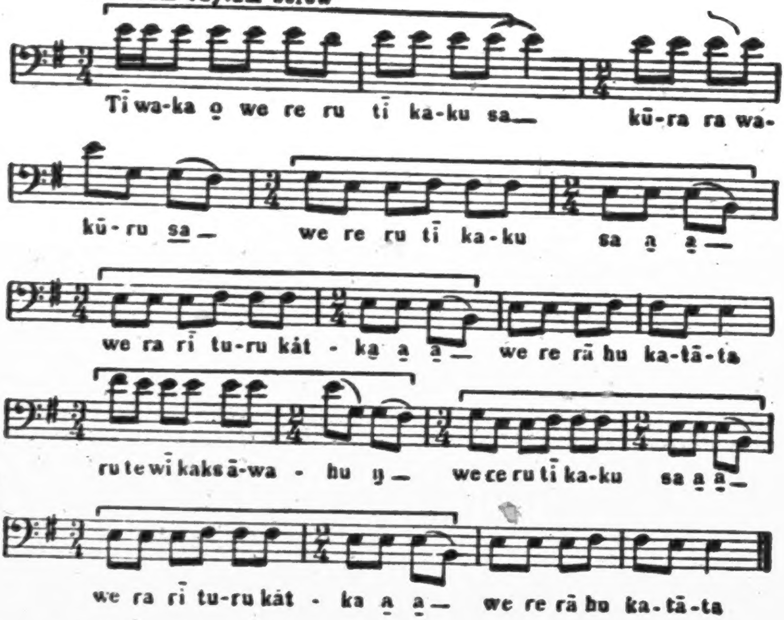
533*

No. 2. "The Herd Passes Through the Village"

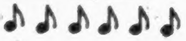
(Catalogue No. 1114)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 88
Drum ♩ = 120
See drum-rhythm below


Tī wa-ka o we re ru tī ka-ku sa— kū-ra ra wa-
kū-ru sa— we re ru tī ka-ku sa a a—
we ra rī tu-ru kát - ka a a— we re rā hu ka-tā-ta
ru te wī kaks ā-wa - hu u— we ce ru tī ka-ku sa a a—
we ra rī tu-ru kát - ka a a— we re rā hu ka-tā-ta

Drum-rhythm



Tī	waka	we	re	ru	tī	kaku	sa
He	said	now	it	do	it	sit among	come
kūra	ra	wakūru					
his	have	sayings					
we	ra	rī	turu	kátka			
now	have	it	village	cut across			
we	re	rā	hu	katāta	ru	te	
now	they	have	stream	crossed	do	it	
wī	kaks	āwahu					
fly	shout	here and there					

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said,
Now it (the man) sits among them (the buffalo),
These are his sayings,
Now it sits among them as they come,
Now they have passed through the village,
Now they have crossed the stream,
It flies above them here and there, shouting and calling.

3; Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 [773] The next is considered one of the most valuable of the Buffalo dance songs. It was said to be concerning a buffalo and a crow. The buffalo heard the call of the crow and looked around thinking it might be an enemy, but he was not afraid of the crow.

Analysis.—The change of metric unit from a quarter to an eighth note is clear in all renditions of this song, the time being maintained with special regularity in the 5-8 and 7-8 measures. The first phase is introductory in character, and the dotted eighth notes at the beginning of the third and fourth measures give an effect of vigor to the opening of the song. No rhythmic unit occurs, the changes in measure-lengths giving variety to the rhythm. There is a wide variety of intervals, including a major sixth and a fifth as well as fourths, major and minor thirds and major seconds. The song contains the tones of the fourth 5-toned scale.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

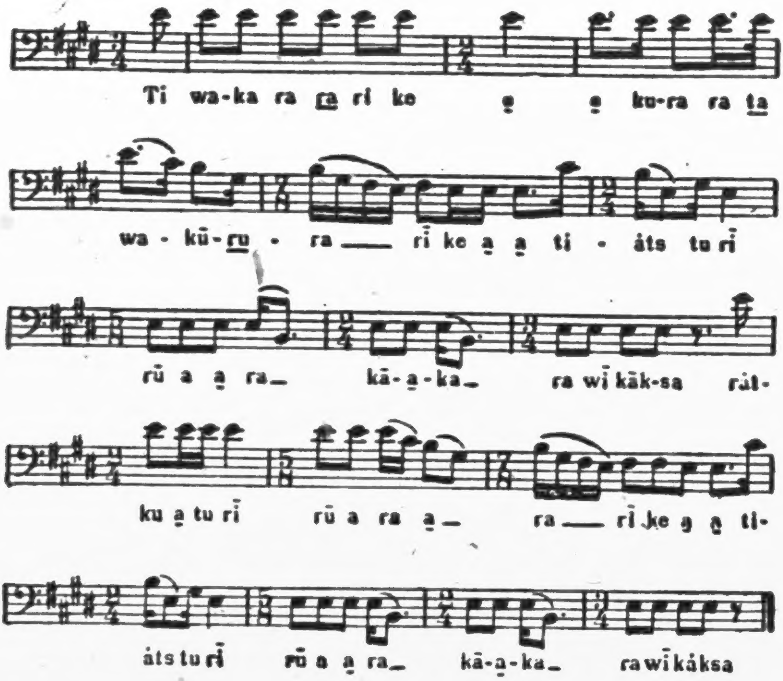
No. 3. "The Buffalo and the Crow"

(Catalogue No. 1116)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

533*

Voice ♩= 84 (♪= 168)
Drum ♩= 84
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Ti wa-ka ra ra ri ke e e ku-ra ra ta
wa - kū-ru - ra — ri ke a a ti - äts tu ri
rū a a ra— kā-a-ka— ra wi kāk-sa rät-
ku a tu ri rū a ra a— ra — ri ke a a ti-
äts tu ri rū a a ra— kā-a-ka— rawikāksa

Ti	waka	ra	ri	ke	kūra	ra	wakūra
He	said	yonder	it	stands	his	have	sayings
tiäts [17]	tu	ri	rū	a	ra	kāka	ra
father	did	it	afraid			crow	did
wi	kāksa	rätku	tu	ri	rū	a	ra
flying	shouting	not real	did	it	afraid		

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said, yonder it stands,
These are his sayings, yonder it stands,
Father (buffalo) was startled,
The crow was flying and shouting but he was not frightened,
He was standing,
Father was startled but not frightened.

---

[17] Tiäts is similar to atiäs and ätsi, occurring in other songs.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
[773]

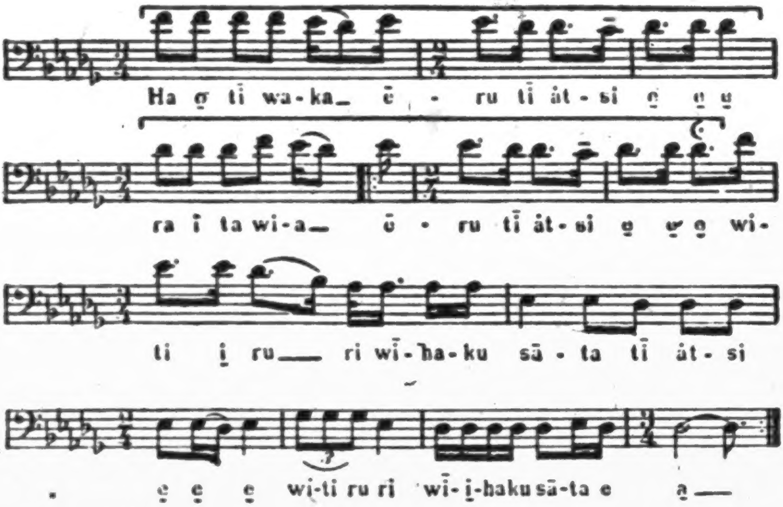
In the herd was a very old buffalo. He had been lying down and when he tried to rise he fell down again. He was too old and heavy to get up. The next song is concerning this buffalo.

No. 4. "My Dear Father the Buffalo"

(Catalogue No. 1112)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 76
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 132 Changing in fourth measure to 𝅗𝅥 = 76
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Ha e ti wa-ka_ ē - ru tī àt-si e e e
ra ī ta wi-a_ ē - ru tī àt-si e e e wi-
ti i ru_ ri wī-ha-ku sā - ta tī àt-si
e e e wi-ti ru ri wi-i-haku sā-ta e a_

Ha	ti	waka	ēru	tī	àtsi[18]	ra	ī
Listen	it	said	dear	my	father	have	him
ta	wia	ēru	tī	àtsi	witi		
do	tell about	dear	my	father	is		
ru	ri	wihaku	sāta	tī	àtsi		
doing		heavy	going on	my	father		

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said,
My dear father (the buffalo),
This is what I was told about it,
He is heavy, he goes on (if he falls he can not rise),
My father (the buffalo).

---

[18] Similar to atiás and tiâta, occurring in other songs.

Analysis.—This song was recorded on two phonographic cylinders, the only difference in the renditions being in the opening phrase. The second renditions were the clearer and the transcription is from that group. The song opens with a three-measure phrase which is designated as a rhythmic unit. This is repeated, and is followed by two phrases in a different rhythm which bring the song to a satisfactory close. Although the song has a compass of 10 tones the largest interval is a fourth. About two-thirds of the progressions are whole tones. The melody contains all the tones of the octave. 533* [126]

An abrupt change in the tempo of the drumbeat occurs in the fourth measure. Other Buffalo and Bear dance songs containing a similar change are Nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. After this change the drum and voice apparently have the same metric unit but do not always coincide. The metric unit of an Indian's musical performance often contains variations too small to be indicated. Thus in the present instance it can not be said that the drum consistently follows or precedes the voice. The general tempo of each is measured by the metronome and it can only be stated that they do not exactly coincide throughout the renditions of the song.

This and the three songs next following were inherited by the singer from his grandfather and his father. The name of the former was Tida'kawidik (House-full-of-people) and the name of the latter was Kiwi'kude' epaku (Buffalo-fighting). In this song the singer's grandfather is represented as driving the buffalo in the hunt. It was said that he "rode a white horse and frightened the buffalo for other men to shoot." 533* 424 224 773

Analysis.—The change of tempo in the drum is similar to that described with the song next preceding. The drum and voice rarely coincide except on the word *wia*, wherever it occurs. The drumbeat at the close of the song is as follows: The drum ceases after the first stroke on the final syllable of *wia* and begins rapidly at the close of the last measure, continuing in that tempo until the voice begins the repetition of the song. There is no uniformity in the space of time between the renditions of the song. The only tones occurring in this song are D, E, G, and A, and its melodic form resembles that of No. 1. Except for an ascending ninth the only intervals are fourths and whole tones, the latter comprising more than three-fourths of the progressions. The rhythmic unit is long and occupies only a portion of the song. 533*

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

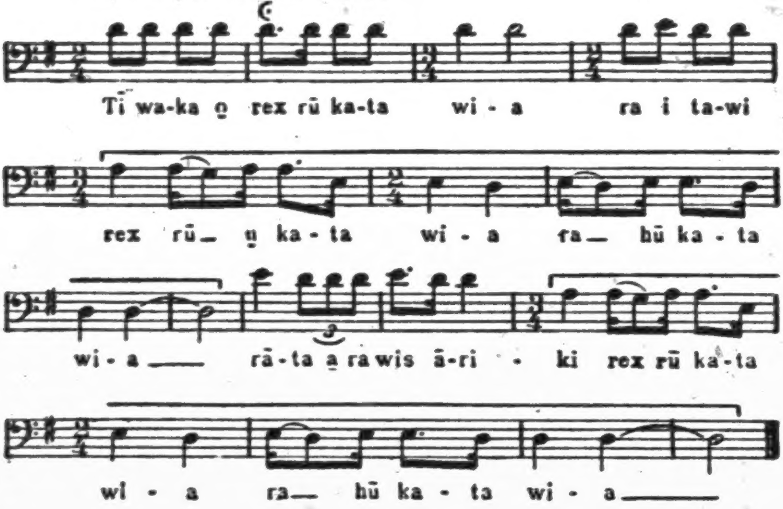
No. 5. "Yonder the Smoke Was Standing"

*533

(Catalogue No. 1109)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 116
Drum ♩ = 132 Changing to ♩ = 116
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Ti wa-ka o̱ rex rū ka-ta wi - a ra i ta-wi
rex rū_ u̱ ka - ta wi - a ra_ hū ka - ta
wi - a___ rā - ta a̱ ra wis ā-ri - ki rex rū ka-ta
wi - a ra_ hū ka - ta wi - a___

Ti	waka	rex	rū	kata	wia	ra	i
He	said	him	did	line	coming	have	him

tawi	rex	rū	kata	wia	ra	hū
tell about	him	did	line	coming	have	do

kata	wia	rāta	ra	wis	āriki
line	coming	yonder	have	smoke	standing

rex	rū	kata	wia	ra	hū	kata	wia
him	did	line	coming	have	do	line	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

He said, the man was coming along the line,
This is what I was told about it,
He was coming along the line,
Yonder the smoke was standing here and there,
He was coming along the line.

[773
224]

The information concerning the next song is incomplete. It was said the woman who imitated the buffalo was shot through the back but not killed; that she lived a long time afterwards, left Nebraska with the Pawnee Tribe and died in Oklahoma; but the reason for her action is not indicated.

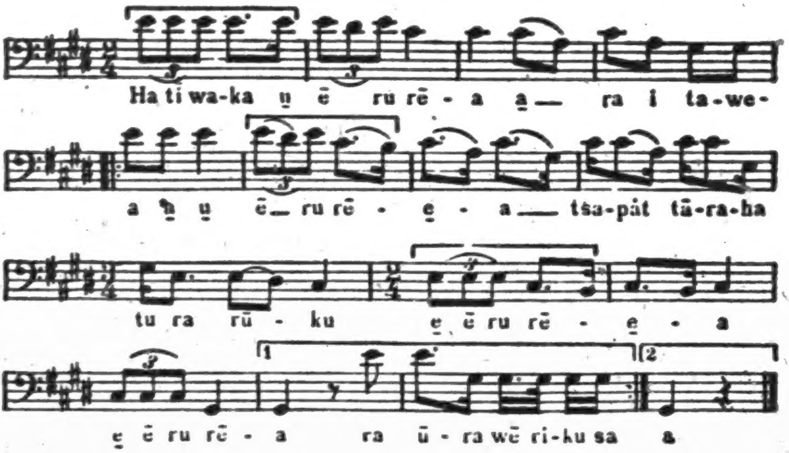
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 6. "The Woman Imitates the Buffalo"

(Catalogue No. 1110) 533*

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 80
Drum ♩ = 144 Changing to ♩ = 80
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 3


Ha ti wa-ka u ē ru rē - a a— ra i ta-we-
a h u ē— ru rē - e - a — tsa-pat tā-ra-ha
tu ra rū - ku e ē ru rē - e - a
e ē ru rē - a ra ū - ra wē ri-ku sa a
1
2

Ha	tī	waka	ē	ru	rēa	ra	i
Listen	he	said	yonder	there	her coming	do have	him
tawea	ē	ru	rēa	tsapat	tārha		
tell about it	yonder	there	her coming	woman	buffalo		
tu	ra	rūku	ē	ru	rēa		
his	have	imitate	yonder	there	her coming		
ra	ūra	wē	riku	sa			
have	walk	stopping		coming			

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said, yonder she is coming,
This is what I was told about it, yonder she is coming,
The woman imitates the buffalo, yonder she is coming,
She walks, then stops and walks again,
Yonder she is coming.

Analysis.—This melody contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth. It progresses by an unusual variety of intervals, including minor sixths, fourths, major and minor thirds, and major and minor seconds. In structure it is harmonic. It is interesting to note the manner in which the rhythmic unit influences the rhythm of the entire song, although it occurs only three times. There is no change of measure length until near the close of the song, when a triple measure is introduced in a particularly effective manner. The tempo of the drum changes in the fourth measure, as described in No. 4. The four renditions of this song are uniform in every respect.

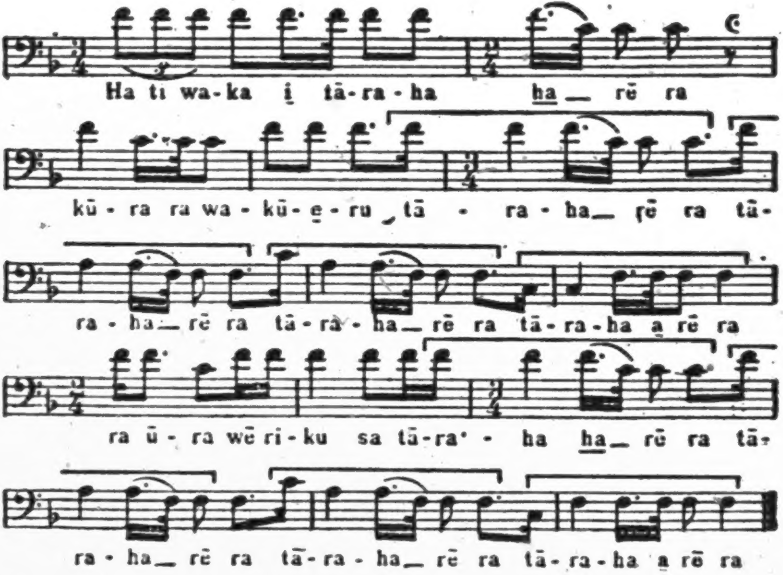
*533 [773 787] The next song is concerning a dream of buffalo by the singer's grandfather. He was in his lodge when he saw an animal approaching. In the distance he thought it was a horse, but when it came nearer he saw that it was a buffalo. That night he dreamed of a horse that turned into a buffalo and told him of many good things that would happen to him.

No. 7. "The Buffalo Are Coming"

(Catalogue No. 1115)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 96
Drum ♩ = 138 Changing to ♩ = 96
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Ha ti wa-ka i tā-ra-ha ha rē ra
kū-ra ra wa-kū-e-ru tā - ra-ha rē ra tā-
ra-ha rē ra tā-ra-ha rē ra tā-ra-ha a rē ra
ra ū-ra wē ri-ku sa tā-ra- ha ha rē ra tā-
ra-ha rē ra tā-ra-ha rē ra tā-ra-ha a rē ra

Ha	ti	waka	tāraha	rē	ra	kūra
Listen	he	said	buffalo	yonder	coming	his
ra	wakūru	ra	ūra	wē	riku	sa
have	sayings	walking	have	do	stand	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said, yonder the buffalo are coming,
These are his sayings, yonder the buffalo are coming,
They walk, they stand, they are coming,
Yonder the buffalo are coming.

Analysis.—This song is harmonic in structure and has a compass of 11 tones. The intervals are unusually large, only six being smaller than a fourth. It has been noted that the interval of a fourth appears

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

to characterize songs associated with animals and with motion. This interval comprises 14 of the 25 progressions in this song. The final tone is preceded by a fourth lower, as in No. 2. A rhythmic unit occurs several times and the characteristic count division of the unit occurs in the *opening portion of the* song. 533*

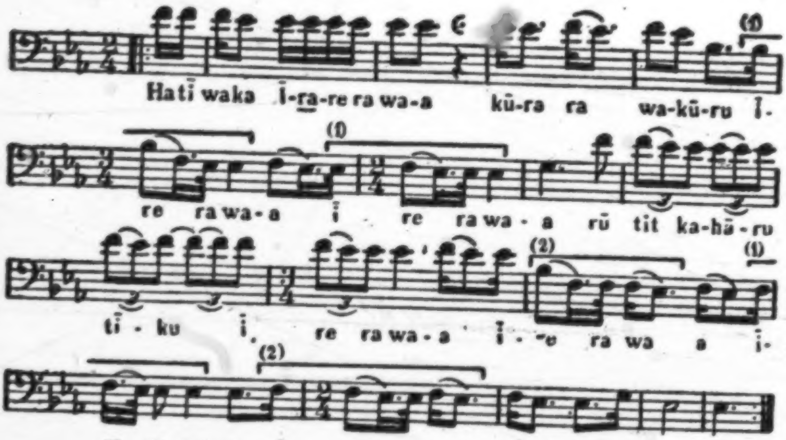
Long ago an old man named Nara'dudesa'ru had a dream and in his dream he saw a cloud of dust rolling along the ground. He sat and looked at the dust a long time until late in the afternoon. Then it looked like a crowd of people, but after the dust storm had passed he saw a great herd of buffalo. [787 773]

No. 8. "The Waves of Dust"

(Catalogue No. 1113)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 76
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 120
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Ha ti waka ī-ra-re ra wa-a kū-ra ra wa-kū-ru ī-
re ra wa-a ī re ra wa-a rū tit ka-hā-ru
tī-ku ī re ra wa-a ī-e ra wa a ī-
re ra wa-a rū te a rax wī-wa-ri hū-sa a
(1)
(2)

Ha	ti	waka	ire	ra	waa [19]	kūra	ra
Listen	he	said	there	have do	coming	his	have
wakūru	ire	ra	waa	rū	tit	kahāru	
sayings	there	have	coming	did	dust	earth	
tīku	ire	ra	waa	rūte	rax		
wave downward	there	have	coming	do	them		
wiwari	hūsa						
wallow	marked place						

---

[19] This word signifies a great mass in motion.

[192]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
These are his sayings,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
The waves of dust roll downward,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
They mark the place of the buffalo wallow.

Analysis.—This melody contains only the tones E flat, F and B flat, except G which occurs as next to the last note. This occurrence of G, however, makes possible the classification of the song as major in tonality. The song has a compass of 9 tones and its progressions consist of 28 whole tones and 7 larger intervals. The opening portion of the song suggests a chant and is followed by a rest. This is succeeded by a 3-measure phrase with a clear-cut rhythm and a descending trend of 9 tones. After a repetition of the rhythmic unit the song returns to the whole tone progressions on the highest tones of the compass. This phrase is followed by a second rhythmic unit. In several renditions the portions of the song resembling a chant were sung softly, the singer changing to a loud tone at the beginning of the rhythmic phrases. The drumbeat was in the same tempo throughout this song, differing from other ceremonial songs in which the drumbeat was rapid in the opening measures.

*537 787 773

The next song is also concerning a dream of buffalo. The herd was scattered and a man was watching them. One of the buffalo lay down. The man wondered why the buffalo had lain down. That night he dreamed about the buffalo, who said that he had "taken pity" on the man. The buffalo promised the man that he would live to old age and be able to foretell events a long time before they came to pass.

*533

Analysis.—This song is unusual in containing no interval of a whole tone. It contains 30 progressions, 12 of which are semitones and 11 are minor thirds. The transcription is from the first rendition, the tempo of the drum changing abruptly on the fourth measure as in certain other songs of this group. The tempo of the voice increased during the latter portion of the rendition and in the subsequent renditions. Such hastening of the tempo is not customary among Indians and was probably due to agitation on the part of the singer, who was totally blind. The rhythmic unit is not distinctive but occurred several times.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

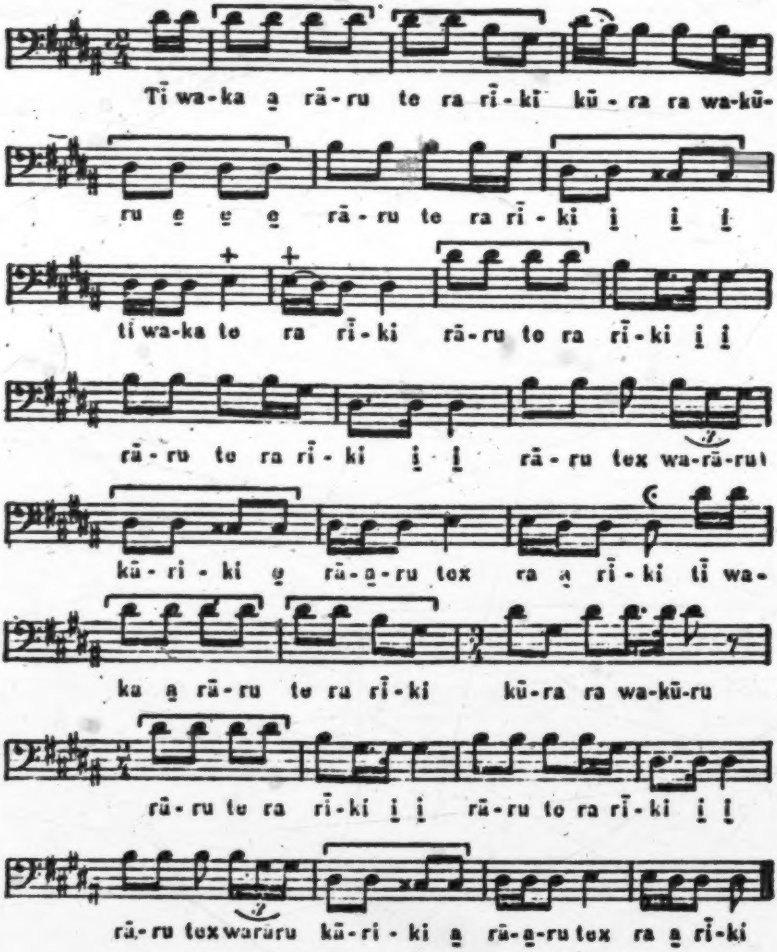
533*

No. 9. "Unreal the Buffalo is Standing"

(Catalogue No. 1111)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum ♩ = 138 changing to ♩ = 76
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Tī wa-ka a̱ rā-ru te ra rī-kī kū-ra ra wa-kū-
ru e̱ e̱ e̱ rā-ru te ra rī-ki i̱ i̱ i̱
+ +
ti wa-ka te ra rī-ki rā-ru te ra rī-ki i̱ i̱
rā-ru te ra rī-ki i̱ i̱ rā-ru tex wa-rā-ru
kū-ri-ki e̱ rā-a̱-ru tex ra a̱ rī-ki tī wa-
ka a̱ rā-ru te ra rī-ki kū-ra ra wa-kū-ru
rā-ru te ra rī-ki i̱ i̱ rā-ru te ra rī-ki i̱ i̱
rā-ru tex wa-rā-ru kū-ri-ki a̱ rā-a̱-ru tex ra a̱ rī-ki

Ti	waka	rāru	te	ra	riki	kūra
He	said	not real	it	have	standing	his
ra	wakūru	rāru	te	ra	riki	
have	sayings	not real	it	have	standing	
rāru	tex	warāru	kāriki			
not real	his	open space	standing			

3:'Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533

FREE TRANSLATION

He said, unreal the buffalo is standing,
These are his sayings,
Unreal the buffalo is standing,
Unreal he stands in the open space,
Unreal he is standing.

LANCE DANCE

796
*533
[424]

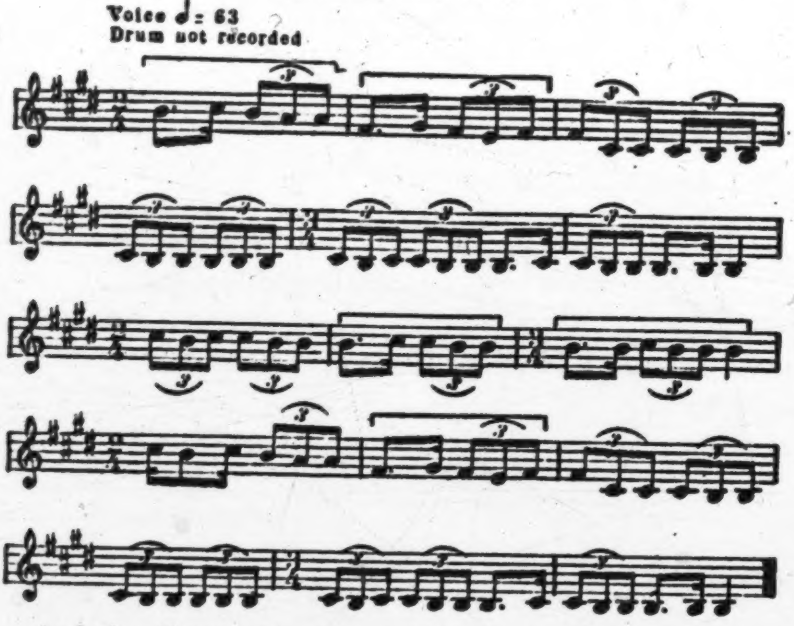
At a certain point in the Lance dance witnessed by the writer the decorated lances were carried around the lodge and the following song was sung. This constituted one of the most impressive portions of the ceremony. The song is very old and belonged to a woman who had two sons, the song being sung whenever they danced. The woman lived to be so old that she could not stand erect but she "was always singing this song while she was cooking or working." The words mean "Father, the band of the dead is coming." The woman who recorded the song was blind.

No. 10. "The Band of the Dead Is Coming"

(Catalogue No. 1091)

Recorded by Effie Blain

*533



Analysis.—Exactness in the repetition of an Indian song is shown in the renditions of this melody. Eight renditions were recorded without a break in the time except that the final tone was sometimes prolonged to the value of three quarter notes. In each rendition the

song was sung twice. The connective phrase occurred between the second and third, and the fourth and fifth renditions. The song has a compass of nine tones, and progresses by whole tones except for three other intervals which occur only in downward progression. 533*

BEAR DANCE

There was no opportunity to witness this dance, and its details were not made a subject of inquiry. Ten songs of the dance were recorded, the first five by a member of the Chaui Band and the last five by a member of the Skidi Band. These two groups of songs are strikingly different in musical character. [123 126]

The next song was sung when all the participants in the Bear dance were seated. "Mother" was said to refer to the moon, and there was said to be a similar song containing the word "Father." A young man received this song in a dream, while mourning for his parents who had died. He saw a woman coming toward him, and said, "Mother is coming." The woman said," You have seen me, now you must learn this song." The young man learned the song, lived a long time afterwards, and took part in the Bear dance. When the song is used ceremonially there are six "stops" or verses, the general meaning of which is as follows: 533* 773 787 533*

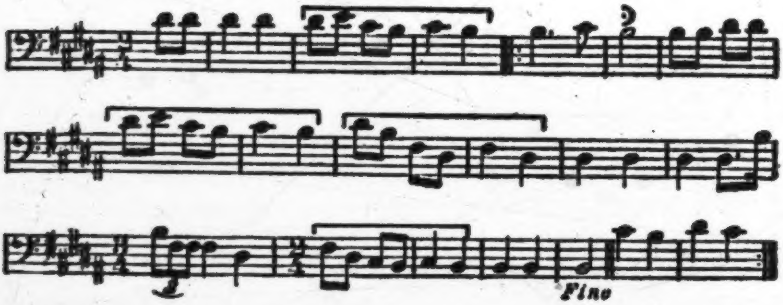
1. "Mother is coming."
2. The young man, devotional by nature, imagines that he is still mourning for his parents.
3. "Mother stands yonder."
4. The young man says, "Mother, standing in the sky, I want you to take pity on me."
5. "Mother now ends" (stands still).
6. "I will now say, I mean the mother who alone stands forever in the sky" (the moon).

No. 11. "Mother is Coming"

Recorded by Wicita Blain

(Catalogue No. 1117)

Voice ♩ = 126
Drum ♩ = 138, changing to ♩ = 126
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 3



*533 *Analysis.*—All the tones of the octave except the sixth and seventh occur in this song, which has a compass of 11 tones and is melodic in structure. It begins on next to the highest tone of the compass and ends on the lowest, which is the keynote. The rhythm is energetic and the phrases with continuously descending trend are somewhat unusual. The change in the tempo of the drum has been described in connection with other songs of this group.

773
825
*533 In the next song we have an expression of the belief that a bear derives his "medicine power" from the sun and that the center of that power is in his palms. He stands facing the dawn in order that the first rays of the sun may strike his paws, upheld for the purpose. In this manner he renews his power from the sun. (Cf. Song 16.)

An old man named Lata'piū, long ago, fell asleep, and when he awoke he saw a strange sight. The sun was rising and a bear was pointing at the sunrise. The old man made this song about his vision and whenever he saw the sunrise he sang the song. Ever since that time the song has been used in the Bear dance.

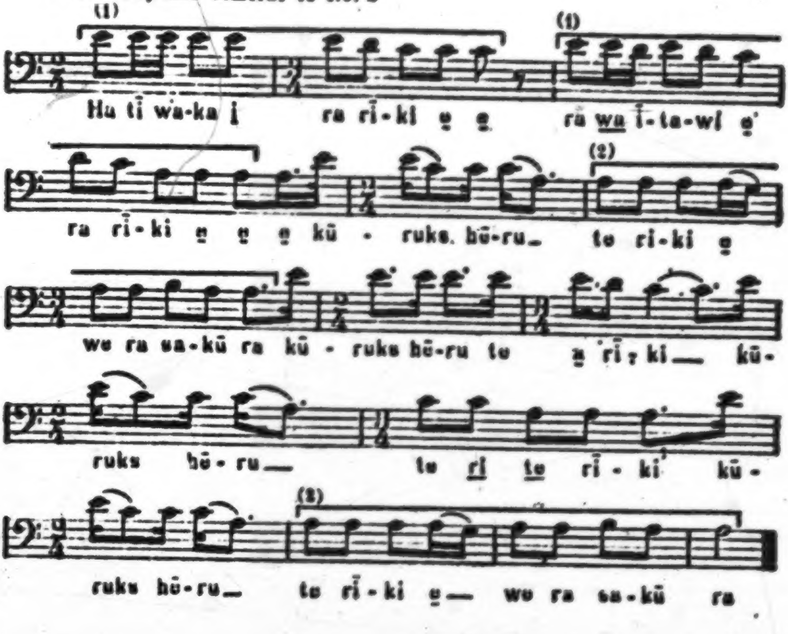
*533

No. 12. "The Bear is Pointing at the Sun"

(Catalogue No. 1110)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 76
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 132 Changing to 𝅗𝅥 = 76
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


(1)
(1)
Hu tī wa-ka i ra rī-ki e̱ e̱ ra wa ī-ta-wi e̱'
(2)
ra rī-ki e̱ e̱ e̱ kū - ruks. hū-ru_ te rī-ki e̱
we ra sa-kū ra kū - ruks hū-ru te a̱ rī, ki__ kū-
ruks hū-ru__ te ri te rī-ki kū-
(2)
ruks hū-ru__ te rī-ki e̱__ we ra sa-kū ra

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Ha	ti	waka	ra	[illegible]	ra	itawi	ra	riki	533*
Listen	he	said	have	[illegible]	have	telling	have	stand	

kūruks	hōru	te	riki	we	ra
bear	yonder	it	stands	now	have

sakū	ra
sun	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said; he (the bear) stands,
I am telling this, yonder the bear stands,
It faces the east just before the sun appears,
Yonder the bear stands,
Now the sun is coming.

Analysis.—In this song we note the simplicity of rhythm which characterizes this entire group. A variety of progression occurs, though the major second comprises almost half the entire number of intervals. The song is minor in tonality, has a compass of six tones, and contains all the tones of the octave except the seventh. Two rhythmic units occur, the second reversing the count divisions of the first in its opening measure. The repetition of the first unit is not exact, as a third count is added to the first measure. The rhythm is particularly clear throughout the renditions. More than half the intervals are whole tones.

For a long time the Pawnee have called the cedar tree "mother," 824
a custom which had its origin in the dream of a man who saw a cedar 787
tree and thought it was "like a woman." He said, "This tree is made 533*
to look the same in winter and summer, and to stand up so nicely. The leaves of other trees fall but this tree is always green." This strange woman-tree made a noise like a bear and the song is used in the Bear dance.

Analysis.—This melody contains the tones of the second 5-toned 533*
scale and is characterized by a descending trend. The tempo of the drum begins to decrease in the fourth and fifth measures but the drum and voice do not fully coincide until the last part of the song. Minor thirds and major seconds comprise 23 of the 30 progressions, 5 of the remaining intervals being fourths. The song is melodic in structure and has a compass of 11 tones.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

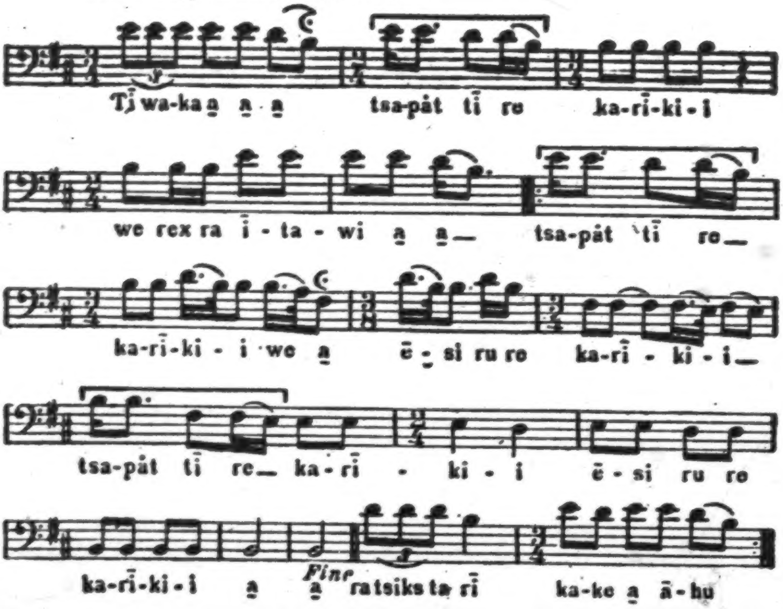
No. 13. "A Woman Stands Among the Trees"

*533

(Catalogue No. 1118)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 76 (♪ = 152)
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 116 Changing to 𝅗𝅥 = 76
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Tī wa-ka a̱ a̱ - a̱ tsa-pât tī re ka-rī-ki-i
we rex ra ī - ta - wi a̱ a̱— tsa-pât 'tī re—
ka-rī-ki - i we a̱ ē - si ru re ka-rī - ki - i—
tsa-pât tī re— ka-rī - ki - i ē - si ru re
ka-rī-ki-i a̱ a̱ Fine ratsiks ta̱ rī ka-ke a̱ ā-hu

Tī	waka	tsapât	tī	re	karīkii
He	said	woman	is	here	standing (among trees)

we	rex	ra	ītawi	ēsi	ru	re
now	I	have	mentioning	loudly	does	she

karīkii	ra	tsiks	ta	rī	kake
standing	have	spirit	have	do	grunting

āhu
shouting

FREE TRANSLATION

He said, a woman is here standing among the trees,
Now I am telling it,
A woman is here standing among the trees,
Loudly does she stand among the trees,
From where her spirit dwells she grunts (like a bear).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

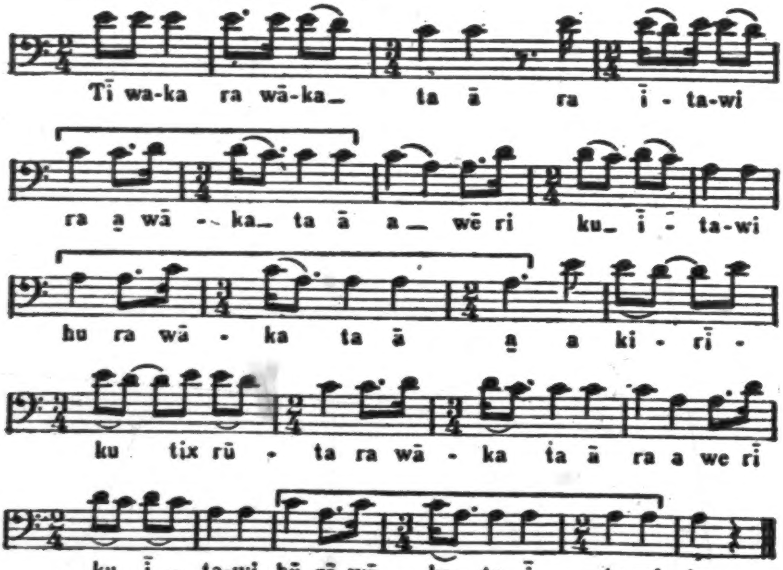
Many years ago the Pawnee fought the Sioux, killing many. 648
Among the Pawnee warriors was a man named Nada'kutade (Eagle 173
Chief), father-in-law of the man who recorded the following song. 533*
Eagle Chief owned this song and sang it in the Bear dance. The fight [424]
with the Sioux was said to have taken place in a part of the country which was thickly wooded, the battle resulting in a victory for the Pawnee.

No. 14. "The Horse is Shouting"

(Catalogue No. 1120) 533*

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 120
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 138 Changing to 𝅗𝅥 = 120
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Tī wa-ka ra wā-ka_ ta ā ra ī - ta-wi
ra a wā -- ka_ ta ā a_ wē ri ku_ ī - ta-wi
hu ra wā - ka ta ā a a ki - rī -
ku tix rū - ta ra wā - ka ta ā ra a we rī
ku ī - ta-wi hū rā wā - ka ta ī - ta-wi hu

Tī	waka	ra	wāka	ta	ā	ra	Itawi
He	said	have	shouting	going	on	have	telling

a	wē	ri	ku	Itawi	hū	a	kiriku	tix	rūta
about	now	it		mentioning	do	and	something	he	did

rā	wāka	ta	ā	ra
have	shouting	going	on	have

a	we	ri	ku	Itawi	hū
about	now	it		mentioning	do

FREE TRANSLATION

He said, the horse is shouting,
I am telling it, the horse is shouting,
Now I am telling it,
The horse is shouting at something he did.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 *Analysis.*—This song has a compass of only five tones and contains the tones of the minor triad and fourth. In structure it is melodic. The form of the melody is peculiar, the first seven measures containing the descent from E to A and the next two measures being framed on the descent from D to A. This structure is repeated and the song closes with three measures on the descent from C to A. Only four intervals larger than a minor third occur in the song. The gradual decrease in the tempo of the drum is similar to that in the song next preceding.

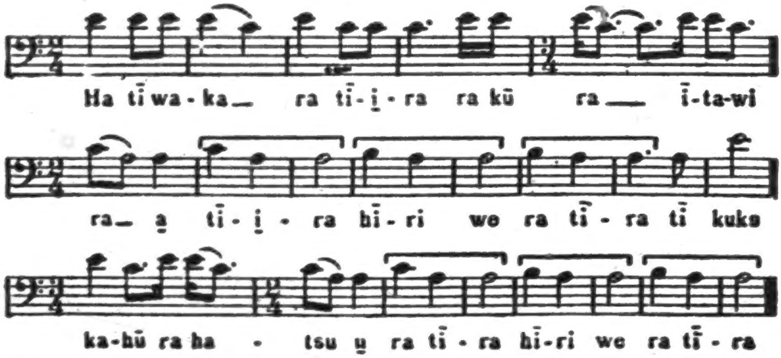
887 481 787 *533 [424] The singer said that when he was a young man living in Nebraska he saw a very old man who used a cane. Even with this aid he could scarcely walk. This old man had a dream in which he ascended a high hill and sat down. The clouds were below him and he saw rain falling from the clouds; he also saw about 40 white horses and drove them; the white horses were probably the shapes assumed by the clouds in his dream. The following song belonged to this old man but was not related to the foregoing dream. It was sung in the Bear dance.

No. 15. "I Was Lost in the Timber"

(Catalogue No. 1121)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

*533 **Voice** ♩ = 138
Drum ♩ = 144, changing to ♩ = 138
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Ha tī wa-ka— ra tī-i-ra ra kū ra— ī-ta-wi
ra— a tī-i-ra hi-ri we ra tī-ra tī kuks
ka-hū ra ha - tsu u ra tī-ra hī-ri we ra tī-ra

Ha	tī	waka	ra	tira	ra	kū	ra
Listen	he	said	do	I come	do	did	have

Itawi	hiri	wo	ra	tira	tī	kuks
mentioning	place	now	do	I come	I	was

kahū	ra	hatsu
timber	have	lost

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said, I come,
He told this to me,
I came to a place where I was lost in the timber,
I came to the place,
Now I come.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Analysis.—This song has a compass of five tones and contains only the tones of the minor triad and second. It is interesting to note that major thirds are more frequent than minor thirds, though the song is minor in tonality. Only one interval larger than a major third occurs in the melody. The time was broken between the renditions of this song. 533*

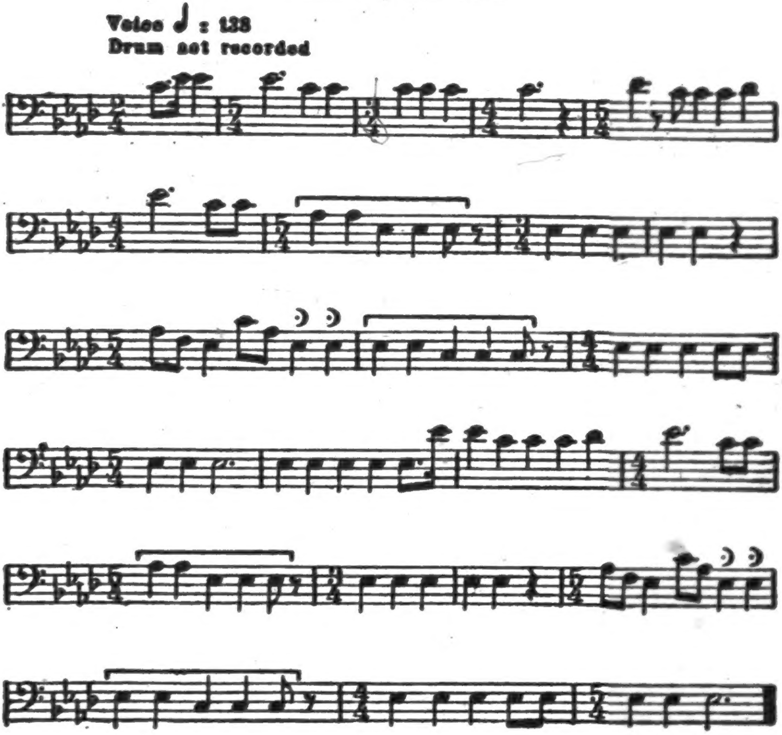
The five remaining songs of the Bear dance were recorded by Dog Chief (pl. 1), whose father was one of the leading singers at the Bear dance in old times and who therefore has inherited the right to sing these songs. 115 424 533*

No. 16. "I Am Like a Bear"

(Catalogue No. 1149)

Recorded by Dog Chief

533*



FREE TRANSLATION

I am like a bear,
I hold up my hands waiting for the sun to rise.

Analysis.—This song is harmonic in structure, the melody being based on the triad A flat–C–E flat, other tones occurring only as passing tones. The rhythmic interest lies in the 5–4 measures and in the

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 fact that in two instances they alternate with 2-4, 3-4, and 4-4 measures in a somewhat irregular manner. The time was steadily maintained, the two renditions differing only in the time values of the first measure, which were changed to conform to the words of a second verse. The song is major in tonality but about 40 per cent of the intervals are minor thirds.

726 *533 [554] In describing the next song Dog Chief said that his father took part in the war against the Sioux and chased a member of that tribe who held a shield over his back as a protection. Dog Chief's father killed the Sioux and captured his horse, this song commemorating his deed of valor.

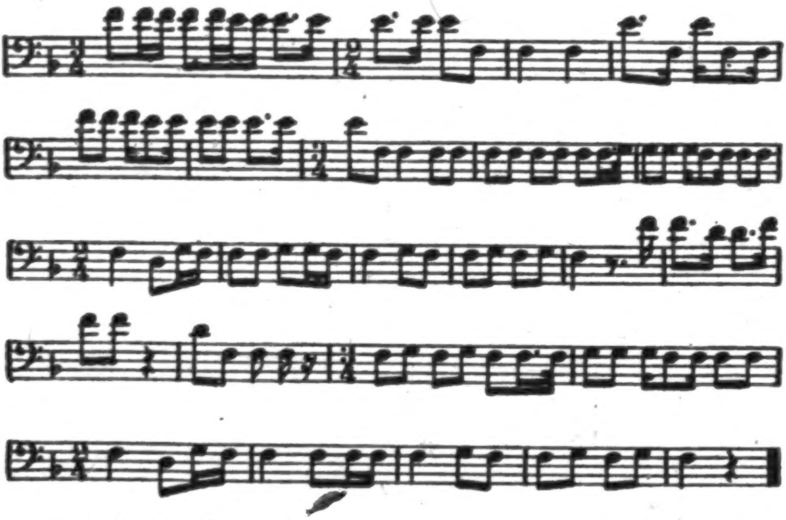
No. 17. Bear Dance Song (a)

(Catalogue No. 1153)

Recorded by Dog Chief

*533

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—In this, as in other instances of very peculiar songs, the test of the song is in the ability of the singer to repeat it accurately. The several renditions of this song were uniform in every respect. The rhythm has a general effect of determination but contains no unit nor even a characteristic phrase. Twenty-five of the 41 intervals are whole tones. The interval of a seventh occurs six times and was sung with good intonation. The song contains only the tones D, F sharp, and G sharp and has a compass of 10 tones.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The words of the following song (not translated) state that Dog Chief took horns like those of a buffalo and put them on the horse he had captured.

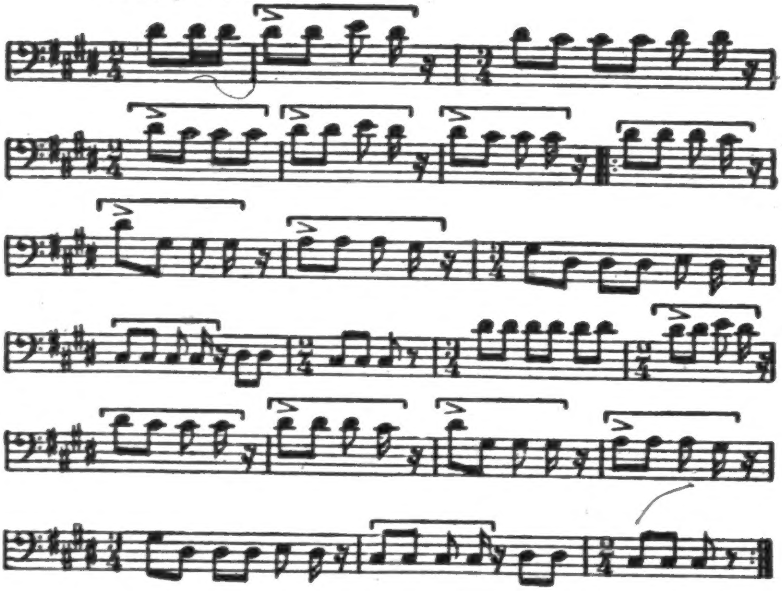
533*
554
825

No. 18. Bear Dance Song (b)

(Catalogue No. 1150)

Recorded by Dog Chief

Voice ♩ = 92
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—With the exception of two descending fifths and two descending fourths all the progressions in this song are whole tones and semitones. The first seven measures begin with the same tone, which is also the initial tone in five consecutive measures later in the song. This is next to the highest in the compass. A majority of the melody is on the tones C sharp, D sharp, and E, a few measures being on the tones G sharp and A. Thus the formation of the melody is seen to be based on intervals rather than on a scale or key. The rhythm is accurately repeated in the three renditions. The rhythmic unit is short and the rhythm of the song as a whole is "swung" by the triple measures occurring as measures 2, 9, 12, 18, and 19. It is interesting to note the irregular time spaces at which these triple measures occur. This shows that the rhythm of the entire song is an entity and offers a contrast to songs that consist of three or more distinct periods, each containing the same number of measures.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

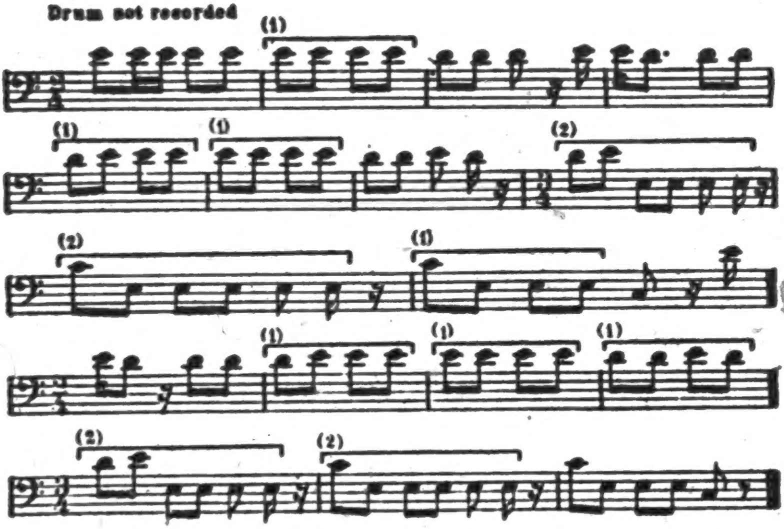
*533
[554] When the man returned with the horse he had captured, the people saw him running like a bear while the horse was galloping. This was commemorated in the following song.

No. 19. Bear Dance Song (c)

(Catalogue No. 1152)

Recorded by Dog Chief

Voice ♩ = 80
Drum not recorded



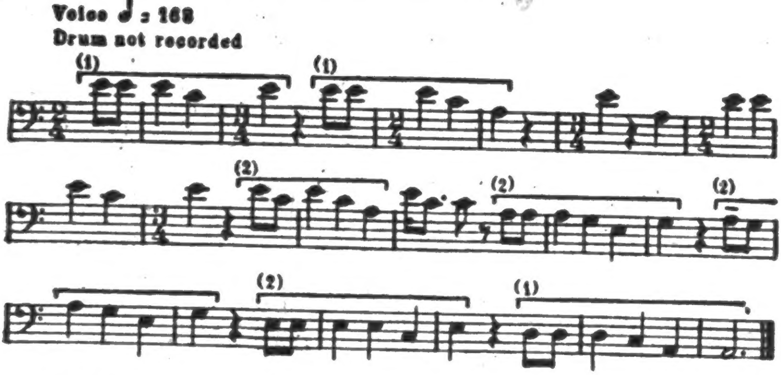
Analysis.—This melody is peculiar in that about 40 per cent of its progressions are minor sixths or larger intervals. The intonation on these large intervals was fairly correct in all the renditions. The two most prominent tones are D and E, the former appearing as an accented tone in almost half the measures. Attention is directed to the descent of an octave which twice is accomplished in the space of a measure.

[115]
[124] The words of the next song were said to mean "I am a brave man. I am acting like a bear." (The lack of a competent interpreter when Dog Chief's songs were recorded made it impossible to secure a more extended description and translation.)

No. 28. Bear Dance Song (d)

(Catalogue No. 1151) 533*

Recorded by Dog Chief



Analysis.—This song is clearly harmonic in feeling, though three measures in the latter part of the song begin with nonharmonic tones. It has a compass of 12 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is chiefly by major and minor thirds. Two rhythmic units occur, and a comparison of these units forms the principal interest of the rhythm. Rests occur at the end of each phrase and after a detached tone in the fifth measure. These rests were clearly given in both renditions of the song.

SONGS OF THE DEER SOCIETY

533*

The Wichita Indians are said to have originated this society, which 575
has been discontinued for many years. The dance of the society was [787]
held in the autumn when the corn was ripe, and its purpose was "to
find out whether a man would be killed when going on the warpath."
The dances took place in an earth lodge. A custom of the society,
described by James R. Murie, appears to have been a testing of the
powers of its members. Mr. Murie said, "These men drank mescal,
putting about half a bean in a kettle of water. After drinking it they [276]
fell unconscious. An attendant then ran the jaw of a garfish along
the man's spine and if he recovered consciousness he was not considered
fitted to belong to the society. Members of this society had power [825]
over snakes and their dance was allied to that of the Mokis.[a] Each [171]
dancer carried a fox skin and held in his mouth a plain bone or reed
whistle on which he blew as he danced." There were four singers, [534]
each carrying a bow in one hand and a gourd rattle in the other.

[a] [i.e., Hopi. - Analyst]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
575
[115]

Two songs of the society were recorded by Mark Evarts (pl. 2, *b*), who said that his father was one of its dancers. He said that the ceremony of the Deer Society lasted four days and nights and that this song was sung just before daylight.

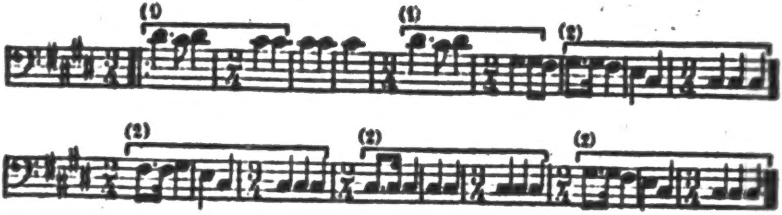
No. 21. "How Near is the Morning?"

(Catalogue No. 1150)

*533

Recorded by Mark Evarts

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 130
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

Part 1

The chief speaks to his attendant, saying, "Go out and see how the stars stand. Tell us how near is the morning."
The attendant returns and says, "It is almost morning."
The chief says to the dancers, "Wake up, men. It is almost morning."

Part 2

The chief speaks to his attendant, saying, "Go out and see how the stars stand. Tell us how near is the morning."
The attendant returns and says, "The morning star is coming up."
The chief says to the singers, "Change the song. The morning star is rising."

Analysis.—This song consists of two parts, each containing nine measures and ending with the same phrase. This phrase, together with the accented subdominant at the beginning of the second half of the song, gives a plaintive character to the melody. The progressions of the opening measures suggest an inquiry and are marked by consecutive whole tones on the upper tones of the compass. Two rhythmic units occur, the second being an extension of the first. Progression is by a variety of intervals but the major second comprises about three-fifths of the entire number.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

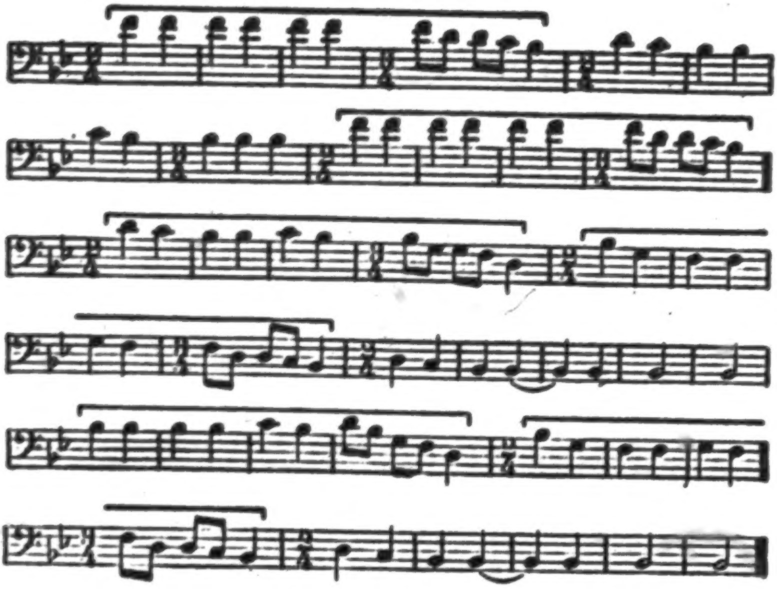
The use of the following song was not explained. 533*

No. 22. "Spring is Opening"

(Catalogue No. 1160)

Recorded by Mark Evarts

Voice ♩ = 104
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

Spring is opening,
I can smell the different perfumes of the white weeds used in the dance.

Analysis.—This song is based on the fourth 5-toned scale and has a compass of 12 tones. About two-thirds of the progressions are downward. This proportion of descending intervals is not uncommon in Indian songs, but this melody contains, in several instances, a succession of four descending progressions, which is unusual. Almost the entire song consists of repetitions of the rhythmic unit.

SONG OF THE WHITE LANCE SOCIETY

533*
575
[115]
[302]

The ceremony and dance of this society were witnessed by Mrs. Blain when a child, the ceremony being called Naristaka (*naris*, ceremony; *taka*, white). She stated that the men taking part in the dance had half their bodies painted red and half black, and their position in dancing was such that the side of their bodies painted red was toward the sunrise and that painted black was toward the sunset. Each man held the hands of the men on either side of him, and it

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
575
was required that they keep hold of each other's hands during the entire dance. "Thus if they came to a tree as they danced they could not loose their hands but must stand there and dance."

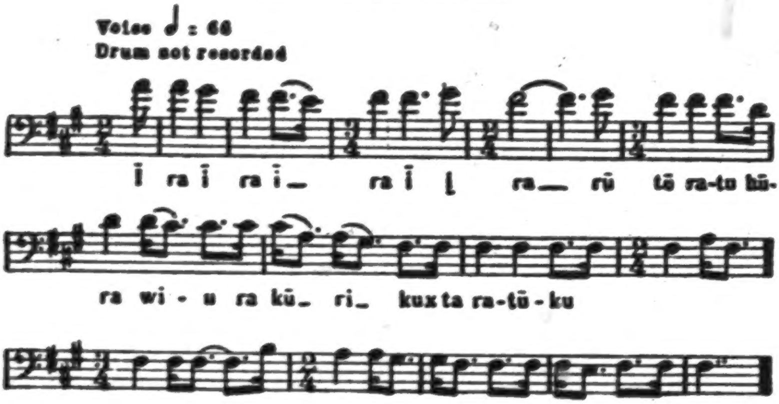
*533
888
[761]
726
The general idea of the next song is that it is better to die bravely when young than to live to an enfeebled old age. In this, as in other Pawnee war songs, we see a light estimate upon the value of life as compared to success in war. The song belonged originally to a brave man who lived to an advanced age. When this was sung in a dance he rose and told the young men that it was a painful thing to live to be so old. The song was also sung by men in a battle, this being the last song they sang "when they were all tired out and so nearly beaten that even their hair was disheveled." It was further stated that "sometimes when men were having this dance an enemy attacked the village. This was the song they sang as they drove the enemy [727] away." The song was also used in the scalp dances that followed the return of a successful war party.

*533

No. 23. "Old Age is Painful"

(Catalogue No. 1078)

Recorded by Effie Blain


Voice ♩ = 66
Drum not recorded
Ī ra ī ra ī— ra ī ĩ ra— rū tĕ ra-tu hū-
ra wi - u ra kū— ri— kux ta ra-tū - ku

I	ra	rū	tĕ	ratu	hūra	wiu
He	comes	it	does	hurt	earth	stick

ra	kū	ri	kux	ta	ratūku
have	do	it	pick up	it	becomes painful

FREE TRANSLATION

He comes.
It hurts to use a cane.
It becomes painful to pick it up.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Analysis.—Four renditions were recorded. The first and second 533*
renditions were interrupted by the shrill cries given by women
in a war dance, the interruptions occurring in the eighth measure of
the first and the ninth measure of the second rendition. After the
second rendition the singer spoke several sentences rapidly and after
the third rendition she repeated the shrill cries. The third and fourth
renditions were sung without interruption. The foregoing is an
interesting example of the performance of this class of songs. The
tempo is slow and the melody is marked by a steadily descending
trend. The song is harmonic in structure, contains all the tones of
the octave, and has a compass of 11 tones.

SONGS OF THE RAVEN LANCE SOCIETY

[171]

The custom of the Pawnee concerning the raven lance (*kakutsaa*) 411
was similar to that of the Mandan.[70] A warrior who carried this lance 726
into battle and planted it in the ground was obliged to defend its 778
position with his life. If he were killed, his comrades brought back
the lance. By the Pawnee informant the lance was described as a
staff wrapped with otter hide and having a crook at the upper end. [237]
It was decorated with eagle feathers and bore the body of a raven,
commonly designated as a crow.

The dance of the Raven Lance Society was said to be "almost like 533*
that in which the dancers painted half their bodies red and half 575
black," referring to the White Lance Society. The original owner of [302]
this dance lived to extreme old age and, as he had no children, he 173
gave the dance to a young man who was one of his nearest relatives. 726
One day the people said, "Some Indians are coming to attack us."
The young man who had received the dance took his raven lance, [431]
mounted his pony, and went to get the old man. They rode together on the pony to a place near the fight and then went forward on foot, but the old man could not go as fast as the warriors. The old man called, "I am still coming," and the young man came back and helped him forward. The aged man was proud to see that the young man to whom he had given his dance was among the leaders in the fight. The enemy shot and killed the young man, and the lance was brought back with his body. Then the old man sang this song. In the manner of recording the song there was a wailing which was said to be "the old man crying because the young man had been killed and he had no more relatives," yet he loved the lance and all that it symbolized. He died soon afterwards and, as he was too old to give the dance to anyone else, the Pawnee do not have the dance at the present time.

---

[70] Cf. Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 48 and 49, including "Song to the Raven"; also Lowie, Societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, pp. 313-314.

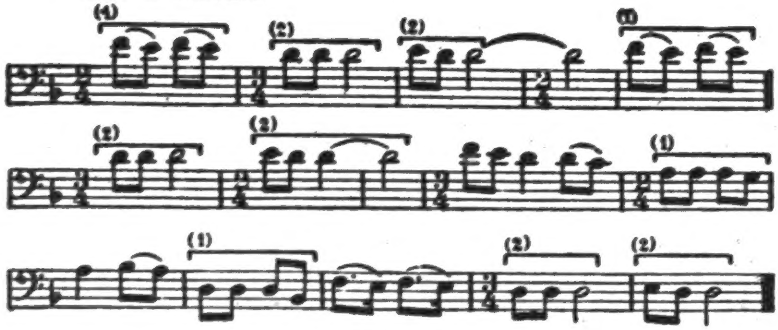
No. 24. "Beloved Emblem"

*533

(Catalogue No. 1133)

Recorded by JOHN LUWAK

Voice ♩ = 66
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

(An exclamation of endearment)
Beloved emblem, they are carrying it forward,
Beloved emblem, they are bringing it back.

Analysis.—This is a plaintive melody with a compass of 12 tones. The first tone is the highest in the compass and the trend of the melody is steadily downward to the final tone, which is the lowest in the compass. If this song were transcribed in accordance with the pitch of the phonograph record it would have a signature of six sharps. For convenience of observation it is presented with a signature of one flat, changing the key from D sharp minor to D minor. Songs with a similar change of signature are Nos. 29, 30, 36, 39, 51, 52, 62, and 85.

[424
729

The next song belonged to the singer's father and was his war song.

Analysis.—This song has a compass of 12 tones and contains all the tones of the octave. The third occurs only twice, both occurrences being as short unaccented tones in the first half of the song. The intervals which characterize the song are the major second as an interval of progression and the fourth and fifth as portions of the framework of the melody. Thus the first six measures are based on the descending fifth C to F, followed by B flat to F; the next four measures are on the descending fifth G to C, and the song closes with the intervals C to F and B flat to F in the lower octave. The major second constitutes about 83 per cent of the entire number of intervals. The tempo was well sustained but the intonation was not steady. Six renditions were recorded with no break in the time

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

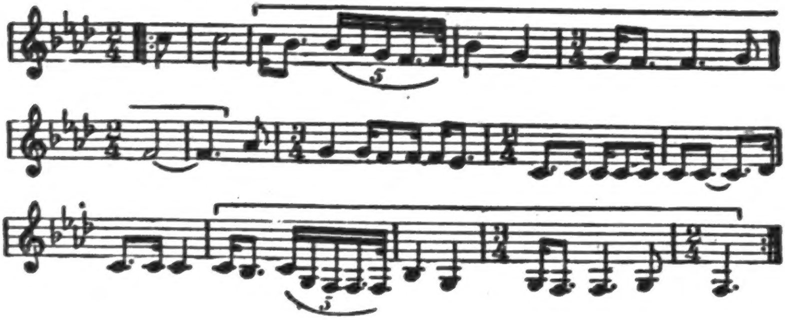
except between the second and third when a sentence was spoken rapidly. It is in accordance with Indian custom to interject rapid sentences between renditions of a war song, or even to interrupt a song with spoken words, the subject being that of the song. 533*

No. 25. Crow Lance Society Song

(Catalogue No. 1083)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

If I did anything great in battle I would be a crow (member of the Crow Society).

SONGS OF THE KITSITA SOCIETY

533*
575
173

The identity of this society is not fully established. Those taking part in the dance were painted as in the White Lance Society and "held their lives in such light esteem as to be called unreal." In describing this song the singer said that long ago there was a woman who had only one child, a boy, who grew up to be a handsome young man. The first dance he saw was that of the Kitsita and he said to his mother, "I like that dance; I wish I could be in it." His mother said, "No, my son, the dancers are acting like certain animals that have only a short time to live and that is why I do not want you to dance with them."

Analysis.—Two rhythmic units occur in this song, their repetitions comprising the entire melody. The first rhythmic unit is transcribed in a 5-count measure as the secondary accent varies, in some instances the third, and in others the fourth count of the group being slightly accented. In some renditions the tempo is slightly hastened at the opening of the second rhythmic unit. This song contains a larger variety of intervals than a majority of the Indian songs which have been analyzed, although more than half the progressions are whole tones. 533*

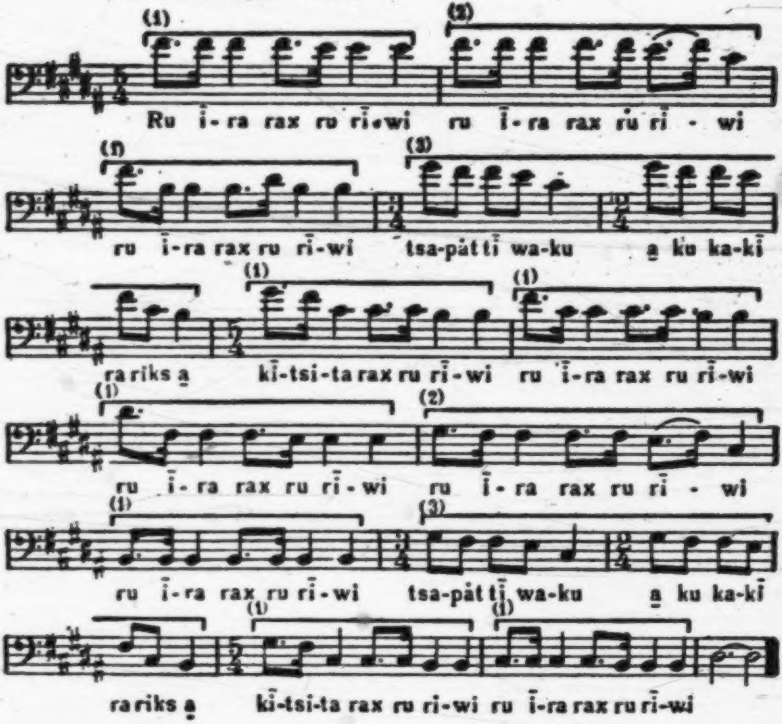
*533

No. 26. "The Lance Dancers"

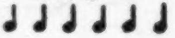
(Catalogue No. 1124)

Recorded by JOHN LUWAK

Voice ♩ = 144
Drum ♩ = 144
See Drum-rhythm below


(1) (2)
Ru i-ra rax ru ri-wi ru i-ra rax ru ri - wi
(1) (3)
ru i-ra rax ru ri-wi tsa-pát ti wa-ku a ku ka-ki
(1) (1)
ra riks a ki-tsi-ta rax ru ri-wi ru i-ra rax ru ri-wi
(1) (2)
ru i-ra rax ru ri-wi ru i-ra rax ru ri - wi
(1) (3)
ru i-ra rax ru ri-wi tsa-pát ti wa-ku a ku ka-ki
(1) (1)
ra riks a ki-tsi-ta rax ru ri-wi ru i-ra rax ru ri-wi

Drum-rhythm



Ru	There
Ira	them
rax	have
ru	there
riwi	walking
tsapát	woman
ti	she
waku	said
ku	there
kaki	no
ra	have
riks	not real
kitsita	lance dancers
rax	them
ru	there
riwi	walking

FREE TRANSLATION

There they are walking, a woman said,
You see them but they are not real,
They are the Lance dancers.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

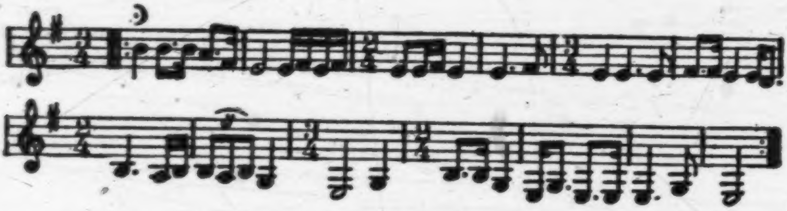
An informant said that the song next following was sung "when men made up their minds that it was no matter if they were killed." The tradition concerning this song was related by the singer as follows: The Pawnee were on the buffalo hunt and were climbing a hill in search of the herd. One family had a little boy with them and while they were climbing the hill another tribe overtook them and killed the little boy's father. When the Pawnee had run away from the other tribe they began to kill buffalo. The little boy was very happy about the hunt, not realizing that his father was dead. The child's mother wept and said, "Little boy, you are glad because they are killing buffalo but your father is dead and there is no one to bring us meat as he used to do." She sang this song, the words being those that she had spoken to the little boy. 533* [761]

No. 27. Lance Dance Song (a)

(Catalogue No. 1081) 533*

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 58
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This song, like No. 23, was interrupted by shrill cries. In the second rendition these cries were given at the beginning of the fifth measure. Afterwards the singer resumed the tempo and rhythm of the song. Such cries were also given between the third and fourth renditions. The song has a compass of 12 tones and progresses only by whole tones and major and minor thirds.

The next song was composed by a man who dreamed that he "heard some one crying and singing at the same time." [787]

Analysis.—This melody is minor in tonality and is characterized by an effect of deep sadness. The two rhythmic units differ only in the division of the last count. Attention is directed to the change of accent in the seventh measure, the final tone of the rhythmic unit falling on an accented instead of an unaccented count. This change represents the break in rhythm which frequently occurs just after the middle of an Indian song. The signature of the key of B is used in the transcription of this melody, although the third above that tone does not occur. The song is classified as lacking the third.

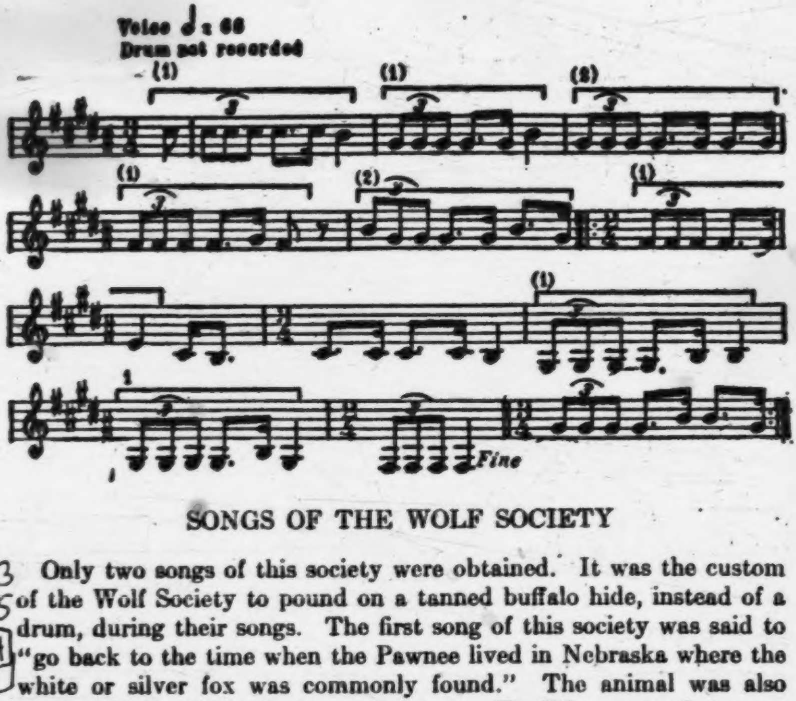
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 Except for an ascending fourth the song progresses entirely by major seconds and minor thirds.

No. 23. Lance Dance Song (b)

(Catalogue No. 1093)

Recorded by Effie Blain



SONGS OF THE WOLF SOCIETY

*533 575 [534] [281] Only two songs of this society were obtained. It was the custom of the Wolf Society to pound on a tanned buffalo hide, instead of a drum, during their songs. The first song of this society was said to "go back to the time when the Pawnee lived in Nebraska where the white or silver fox was commonly found." The animal was also designated as a kit fox by James R. Murie. Tradition states that a war party found a white fox singing this song.[21]

*533 *Analysis.*—The distinction between the tones transcribed as A natural and A flat was clearly given in all the renditions and the song is classified as both major and minor in tonality. The song is unusual in its initial progression of an octave and in its compass of two octaves, the lowest tones being sung with clearness. About two-thirds of the progressions are whole and half tones, the latter producing a peculiar wailing effect.

---

[21] Cf. Teton Sioux Music, p. 183, in which a man is taught a song by a wolf. The same work relates instances in which wolves appeared to warriors.

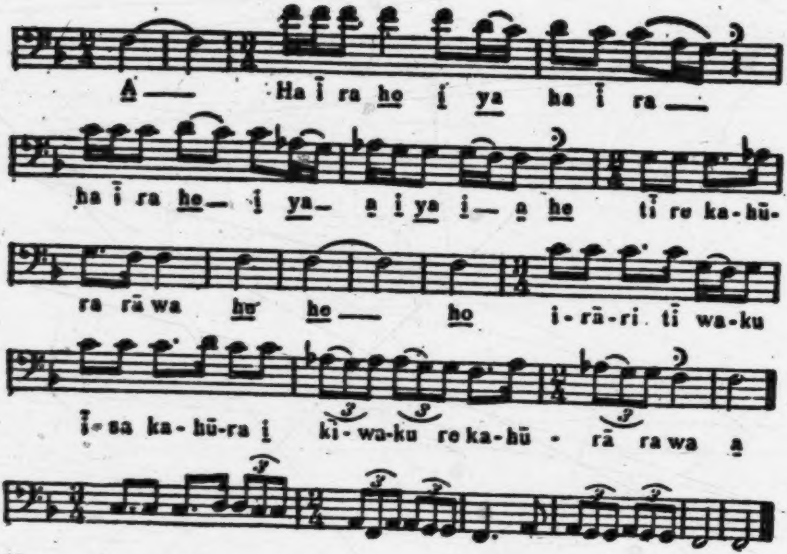
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 29. "The White Fox"

(Catalogue No. 1103) 533*

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 60
Drum not recorded


A—— Ha ī ra ho ī ya ha ī ra——
ha ī ra he— ī ya— a ī ya ī— a he tī re ka-hū-
ra rā wa ho ho—— ho ī-rā-ri tī wa-ku
ī-sa ka-hū-ra ī kī-wa-ku re ka-hū - rā ra wa a
3 3 3

Ha	I	ra	tI	re	kahūra	rā
Yonder	it	comes	this	then	the expanse of earth	has

wa	irāri	tI	waku	Isa	kahūra
width	my brother	he	spoke	behold	the expanse

kIwaku	re	kahūra	rā	wa
the white foxes	they	the expanse of earth	has	width

FREE TRANSLATION

Yonder it comes.
The expanse of earth is wide,
My brother the fox spoke and said,
"Behold and see the wideness of the earth,
The white foxes know the earth is wide."

The second Wolf Society song was said to belong to an old man who lived many years ago. In explanation it was said, "Before the people had horses they traveled on foot and often became tired out from walking." The old man to whom this song belonged said "Tirawa gave us this land to walk upon and he gave us the light. I can see my way, but I am so tired that I can go no farther." According to Mr. Murie this song might be sung in reference to any unfor-

[575
424]
[173]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

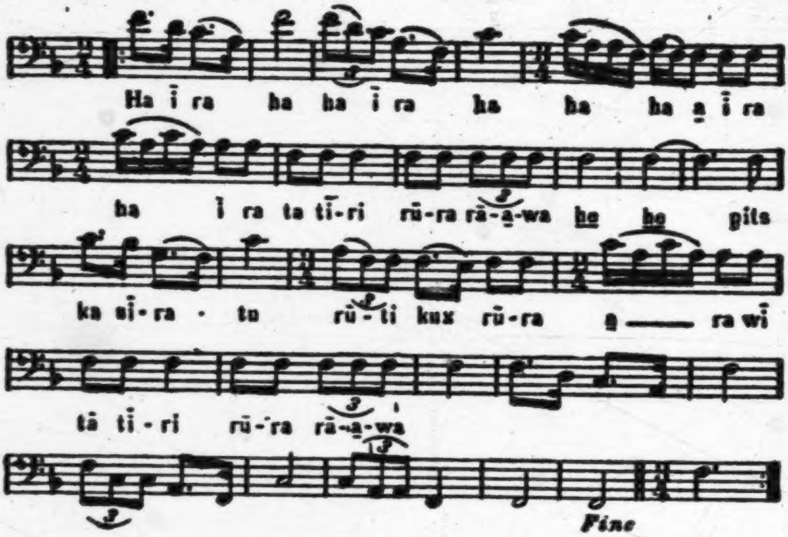
+533 tunate circumstance or occurrence. Another song of the days before the Pawnee obtained horses is No. 78, entitled "You Need not Fear the Horse."

No. 30. "It Is Mine, This Country Wide"

(Catalogue No. 1106)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 80
Drum not recorded


Ha i ra ha ha i ra ha ha ha a i ra
ha i ra ta ti-ri rū-ra rā-a-wa he he pits
ka si-ra · tu rū-ti kux rū-ra a —— ra wi
tā ti-ri rū-ra rā-a-wa
3
Fine

Ha	I	ra	ha	tā	tiri	rūra	rāwa
Yonder	there	coming	yonder	I	mine	land	wide

pits	ka	siratu	rūti	kux	rūra
hateful	consider	hurtful	did	my	land

ra	wi	ta	tiri	rūra	rāwa
strangely	became	I	mine	land	wide

FREE TRANSLATION

Yonder they are coming,
Although strange misfortunes have befallen me,
Yet it is mine, this country wide.

Analysis.—This song, like the song next preceding, has the unusual compass of two octaves. It is harmonic in structure and contains the tones of the fourth 5-toned scale. No rhythmic unit occurs in the song, which progresses by an unusual variety of intervals. The fifth occurs six times, which is an unusual prominence of that interval.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

WAR SONGS

Three classes of war songs are here presented and comprise a 533* song concerning a conquered warrior of the Cheyenne Tribe, several songs of Pawnee warriors, and songs which were sung at two gatherings of the tribe attended by the writer, these gatherings being in honor of Pawnee soldiers who had recently returned from the World War.

The first song commemorates a well-known event in Pawnee 175 history. About the year 1852 the Cheyenne and Arapaho returned from Washington, where they had gone to make a treaty with the 648 Government of the United States. Among them was a Cheyenne of great reputation named Touching Cloud, who, because of the incident to be related, was afterwards known among the Pawnee as [Iron Shirt. This man had in his employ a Mexican who could cut 714 round disks from the thin frying pans used at that time. Touching 177] Cloud had these disks sewed on a shirt and cap, the pieces overlapping as in old-world armor. Soon after the return of the treaty party, the Cheyenne attacked the Pawnee, who were hunting buffalo. Touching Cloud felt so secure that he rode directly among the Pawnee. His arms were so stiffened by the metal disks on his sleeves that he could use no weapon except a sword but he used this so effectively that he and his party drove the Pawnee back to their village. The Pawnee were unable to explain the fearlessness of this man and talked of it among themselves. In the village was a young man named Carrying-the-shield who had not gone with the hunters. He listened to what they said and remembered something told him by his father, who was keeper of a sacred bundle. His father had [778] four sons and gave them four sacred arrows, each a different color. The arrow received by Carrying-the-shield was red. In giving the arrow his father said, "Use this arrow when you are in great danger and it will save your life." So Carrying-the-shield took the arrow and a bow, went out and met a party of Pawnee retreating with the Cheyenne in pursuit. The retreating party opened and let him through. Touching Cloud made ready to attack him but the youth shot him in the eye with the red arrow and he fell from his horse. The Pawnee "counted coup" on his body and found that he wore, [226 concealed beneath his outer raiment, the metal-covered shirt made 554] for him by the Mexican. Therefore he was known as Iron Shirt among the Pawnee.

Analysis.—An ascending tenth occurs in this song, representing 533* an ascent from the lowest to almost the highest tone of the compass. The rhythmic unit is interesting and of frequent occurrence. The song is major in tonality and the most frequent interval is a major third.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

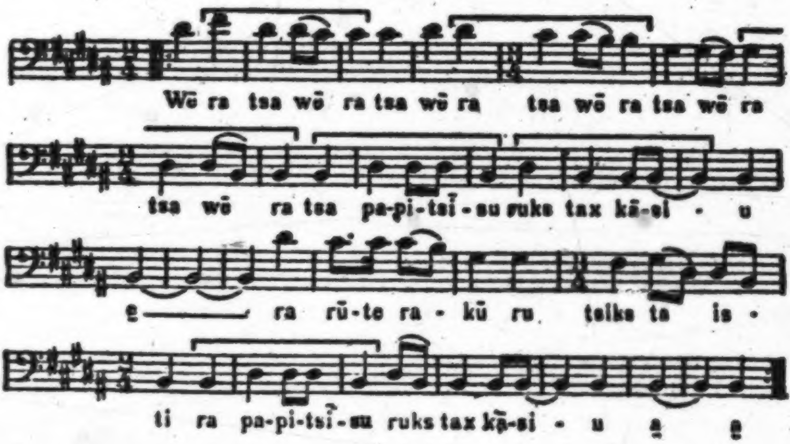
*533

No. 31. Song Concerning Iron Shirt

(Catalogue No. 1108)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 108
Drum ♩ = 126
Drum rhythm similar to No. 28


Wō ra tsa wō ra tsa wō ra tsa wō ra tsa wō ra
tsa wō ra tsa pa-pi-tsī-su ruks tax kā-si - u
e ——— ra rū-te ra - kū ru tsiks ta is -
ti ra pa-pi-tsī-su ruks tax kā-si - u e e

Wō	ra	tsa	papitsisu	ruks	tax
Now	yonder	lie	metal	did	have
kāsiu	ra	rūte	rakū	ru	
shirt on	have	is	sitting, put one side	have	
tsiks	ta	isti	ra	papitsisu	
him	have	protection	have	metal	
ruks	tax	kāsiu			
did	have	shirt on			

FREE TRANSLATION

Now he lies yonder.
He who has on a metal shirt.
The protection in which he trusted is set aside.

622 424 *533 Three generations of Pawnee chiefs bore the name of Eagle Shield and the song next following was said to have belonged to the chief of the first generation. The day after he returned from a war expedition he mounted his best horse and rode around the camp singing this song. The words mean "I wonder how long I am to live in this world." In explanation it was said the old warrior was wondering what his fate might be when he again took the warpath.

*533 *Analysis*.—This song comprises four periods, the rhythmic unit occurring in the first three while the last period opens with the same count division as the rhythmic unit but changes to a succession of eighth notes. No change of measure length occurs in the song.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

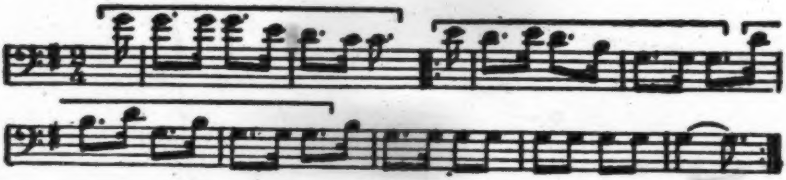
Drum and voice are in the same tempo and coincide on the first of each count. Three renditions were recorded and show no points of difference. 533*

No. 32. Eagle Chief's War Song

(Catalogue No. 1128)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 66
Drum ♩ = 66
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



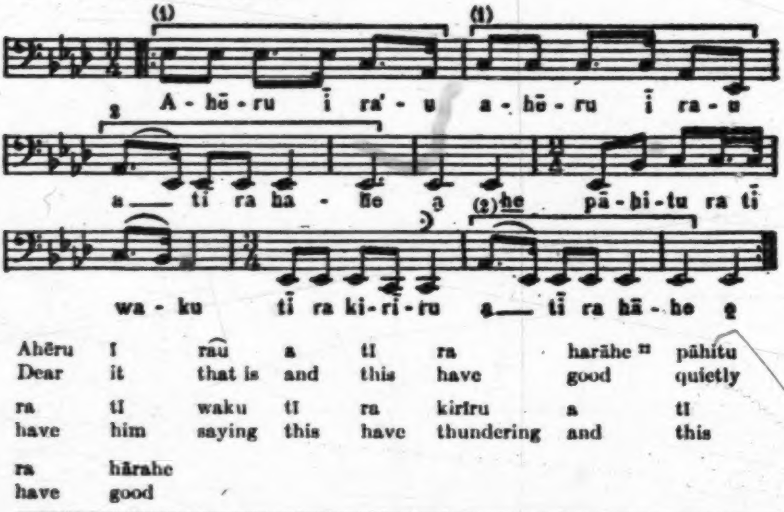
A certain young man was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke to him slowly and said, "Do not be afraid, your father is coming." He heard the thunder sing the following song, learned it, and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. 821 787 533*

No. 33. "The Thunder Spoke Quietly"

(Catalogue No. 1080) 533*

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 63
Drum not recorded


(1)
(1)
A - hē - ru ī ra' - u a - hē - ru ī ra - u
3
a — ti ra ha - he a (2)he pā - hi - tu ra tī
wa - ku tī ra ki - ri - ru a — tī ra hā - he e

Ahēru	ī	rau	a	tī	ra	harāhe [22]	pāhitu
Dear	it	that is	and	this	have	good	quietly
ra	tī	waku	tī	ra	kirīru	a	tī
have	him	saying	this	have	thundering	and	this
ra	hārahe						
have	good						

---

[22] The second syllable of this word was omitted by the singer.

FREE TRANSLATION

*533

Beloved, it is good,
He is saying quietly,
The thunder, it is good.

Analysis.—The tempo of this song was slightly *rubato*, but the accents were clearly given. A portion of the song lies above the fundamental tone and a portion below it, which is somewhat unusual in Pawnee songs, although occurring frequently in the songs of certain other tribes. Progression is by a wide variety of intervals, one-third of which are intervals of a fourth. The song is minor in tonality and contains only the tones of the minor triad and second.

575 *533 In explanation of the following song it was said that long ago there was a society called *Iruska Vira͡u* (or *Pira͡u*), translated "children of the Iruska." Members of this society did everything contrariwise. Thus in a fight they would not fire at the enemy unless commanded *not* to do so.[23] The song next following was said to be a song of that society and was recorded by the chief of the Chaui Band. The same melody with different words was used by the Skidi Band, the words of their version stating that a young man was told in a dream that he *533 would be killed the next day, but felt no fear. John Luwak (pl. 2, *a*), 775 who recorded the song, said it was his own war-dance song, explaining the words as follows: "A dead person wanted a certain warrior to do [424] right, so he said to him, 'If anyone is kind-hearted and good to the poor he is made a chief and has a great name. When he dies we in [622] the spirit land are glad and want to go and meet him because he was kind and good.'"

*533 *Analysis.*—Attention is directed to the rhythmic form of this song and a comparison of the rhythmic units. The song opens with a rather long phrase, which is repeated. The following tones represent a repetition of the rhythmic unit, but a second unit is introduced and continues to the end of the song. This is shorter and livelier than the first, though bearing some resemblance to it. The song is harmonic in structure and contains the tones of the second 5-toned scale. Only three intervals occur which are larger than a minor third. The tempo of the drum is slightly faster than that of the voice, this appearing in all renditions of the song.

---

[23] Cf. Teton Sioux Music, p. 157, concerning the Heyoka Kaga (Fool impersonation).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

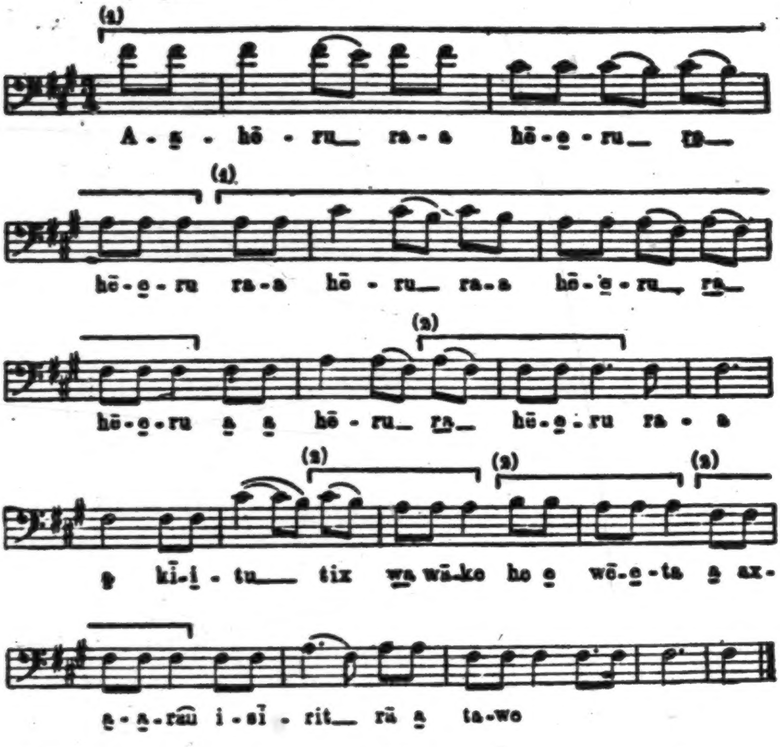
No. 34. "He Comes"

(Catalogue No. 1125)

533*

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum ♩ = 100
Drum-Rhythm similar to No. 26


(1)
A - e̱ - hē - ru ra - a hē - e̱ - ru ra
(1)
hē - e̱ - ru ra - a hē - ru ra - a hē - e̱ - ru ra̱
(2)
hē - e̱ - ru a̱ a̱ hē - ru ra̱ hē - e̱ - ru ra - a
(2) (2) (2)
e̱ ki-i̱ - tu tix wa̱ wā-ko he e̱ wē - e̱ - ta a̱ ax-
a̱ - a̱ - râu i - sī - rit rā a̱ ta-wo

Ahēru	raa	hēru	kītu	tix	wāke
Dear	come	dear	all	them	spoke
he	wēta	axrâu	isīrit	rā	tawe
here	is coming	he is	openly	have	amongst

FREE TRANSLATION

Beloved, come beloved, all of them spoke,
All of them spoke,
It is openly known that he did these things.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

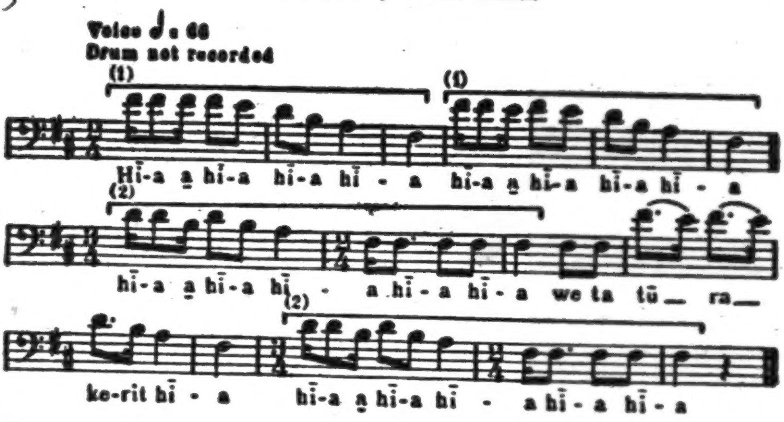
727 A woman's pleasure at the return of victorious warriors is expressed
*533 in the following song which was sung at the Scalp dances. Among the Pawnee, as in other tribes, the scalps of slain warriors were carried in the victory dance.

No. 25. "A Woman Welcomes the Warriors"

(Catalogue No. 1104)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

*533


Voice ♩ = 66
Drum not recorded
(1)
(1)
Hi-a a hi-a hi-a hi - a hi-a a hi-a hi-a hi - a
(2)
hi-a a hi-a hi - a hi-a hi - a we ta tū — ra —
(2)
ke-rit hi - a hi-a a hi-a hi - a hi - a hi - a

His	we	ta	tū	ra	kerit
A woman's exclamation of surprise	now	I	you	have	seen

TRANSLATION

Ah, now I have seen you.

Analysis.—This song contains two phrases designated as rhythmic units, each of which comprises three measures. The first phrase consists entirely of descending intervals and has a compass of an octave. The second phrase begins with the same count division as the first and comprises almost three measures, but it differs from the first phrase in containing one ascending interval and having a compass of only six tones. These rhythmic phrases were accurately given in all the renditions. The melody tones are those of the fourth 5-toned scale.

701 Two dances of historic interest to the Pawnee were held in honor
727 of members of the tribe who had served in the World War. These dances were held on June 6 and 7, 1919, and were attended by the writer. The place of the gatherings was a large wooden structure, north of Pawnee and located among the members of the Skidi Band.
346 (Pl. 7, c.) It was six-sided, with a dirt floor, and had an entrance toward the east which resembled the covered entrance to the earth lodge.

The first gathering was attended by about 200 Indians and the 701 building was closely packed at the second gathering, those unable 727 to gain admission being crowded around the windows and door.

The Pawnee Tribe was represented in the United States Army by 40 young men, all except one of whom returned in full health and vigor. One of the Pawnee soldiers died from disease in France. None were wounded, although many saw hard service at the front. Several were with the Rainbow Division, and on one occasion when there was a call for volunteers for dangerous service four Pawnee stepped forward and were accepted. One of these men brought back a German helmet as a trophy and his mother carried it in the victory dance as a scalp was carried in former times. The helmet was fastened to a pole at the top of which a captured knife was fastened like the point of a lance. A Pawnee said: "While the boys [782] were away we prayed for their safe return. We did this at every public gathering and it looks as though our prayers had been answered."

The dance on June 6 was the rejoicing of the tribe and that on 727 the day following was more formal, being attended by many white 533* persons from the town of Pawnee. At the first dance the soldiers were honored by their families and friends, especially by the women, about 45 of whom were in the circle. It was a time of general rejoicing, sometimes three persons being on their feet at the same time, singing, narrating some incident, or giving a gift. Old war songs were sung with new words appropriate to the occasion. For example, one man had composed words which mentioned airplanes and submarines, these words being sung to an old tune. A woman had composed two similar songs, and, crossing the circle, she stood in front of the chief (James R. Murie) and sang them alone, without the drum. Throughout the entire afternoon there were frequent [201] repetitions of the shrill, quavering cry with which the Indian women express pleasure or approval.

Two of the most interesting songs heard on this occasion had their 533* origin in two dreams by John Luwak. The melody of the two was 787 the same, but the words referred to different dreams. Luwak, 727 who speaks no English, said that his friends translated to him the newspaper accounts of the war and that he "felt badly that our boys must cross the ocean and suffer so much." [782] So he prayed daily to Tirawa, saying, "Help our boys over there, so they will all come back strong and let me live to see them again." One night he fell asleep, after such a prayer, and "in his sleep someone told him that it would not be long before he would see the Pawnee boys again." He dreamed, and in his dream he saw thousands of white people and heard them sing this song. They were very happy and were dancing and waving flags; even the oldest people were dancing.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 He had never seen white people behave in this manner, and it sur-
787 prised him greatly. A few days later he heard of the signing of the
armistice and the scenes of its celebration. The next night he
727 dreamed again, and in his dream he saw a circle of Indians dancing
and heard them sing the same melody. In the middle of the dance circle was a tall pole, and on top of it was a skull. Two white women stood near him watching the dance, and one of them pointed to the skull, saying, "Look, I wonder what that can be." When he awoke he thought perhaps the skull indicated that many of the enemy had been killed but later he interpreted the skull as representing a helmet. As already mentioned, a helmet was carried in the victory dance.

Soon after these dreams there was a gathering of the Pawnee at the earth lodge and Luwak rose, told his dreams, and sang the song, which was readily learned by the people and sung at subsequent gatherings prior to the return of the soldiers. The words heard in his first dream are those presented with the transcription. The words with his second dream were addressed to the skull: "At this, whoever you may have belonged to, you are now hung on a pole." The words of the song when sung at the victory dance were connected with events of the recent war.

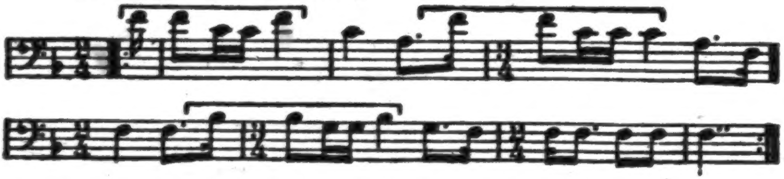
*533
727

No. 36. Song for Returned Pawnee Soldiers

(Catalogue No. 1134)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum ♩ = 76
Drum rhythm similar to No. 2



FREE TRANSLATION

You are coming.
You are the ones for whom I am looking

Analysis.—The frequency of the fourth characterizes this song, which contains only the tones of the major triad and fourth. It is a vigorous melody, progressing freely within its compass of an octave.

727 The dance on the second day (June 7) was opened ceremonially,
[276] a pipe being lighted with a coal from the central fire and smoked by
the chief and the men seated near him. Many gifts were bestowed
[431] upon the returned soldiers, among these gifts being two white horses
led into the dance lodge by women.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

led into the dance lodge by women. Some of the young men were in 727
the full costume of Indian warriors, others were in civilian clothing, [177]
and Lawrence Murie wore the khaki uniform in which he had served
with the artillery at the front. The young soldier who directed the [411]
dancing carried a sword which had belonged to one of his ancestors.
The principal dance was the grass dance, followed by the war dance. [535
The former is common to all the tribes of the northern plains, extending
even to the Kutenai. According to Miss Fletcher, the dance 171]
originally was connected with the Hethushka Society of the Omaha,
a society whose object was "to stimulate an heroic spirit among the
people and to keep alive the memory of historic and valorous acts."[24]

A touching event in the second day's gathering was the expression 765
of sympathy for the parents of the young man who died in France. 727
They stood before the assembly while the chief and other leading
men talked to them. The speaker placed his hands on the man's [201]
head, drawing them down the man's arms to his hands; he also held
the man's hands closely in his own as he talked to him in a tender,
earnest manner.

Numerous speeches were made, and the occasion was marked by 727
dignity as well as rejoicing. The young soldiers appeared to be in excellent health, were friendly toward all, and made a good impression upon the white people who attended the gathering.

The song next following was sung by the women on the second day 533*
of the victory dance. It is an "honor song" and belonged to an old 727
man named Brown Bear (*guruks*, bear; *narahata*, brown), who died
not long ago. At a war dance he used to rise and sing this song [424]
without the drum, and "when he sang everybody cried." The custom of weeping and even wailing aloud at public gatherings has not been noted in tribes previously studied. The words of the song meant, "Nobody knows when the world will end." The informant added, "The old man used to say 'there is one person who knows when the world will end.' "

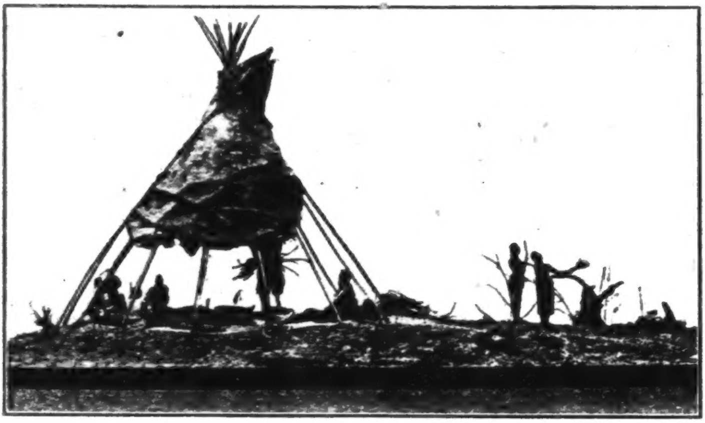
Analysis.—This is one of the "crying songs," and the sliding tone, 533*
especially in measures 7, 8, 13, and 14, is impossible to transcribe. The time was well maintained throughout the song. Attention is directed to a comparison of the count-divisions in the two rhythmic units and in the fifth and sixth measures from the close of the song. All the tones of the octave occur in the melody which progresses by a wide variety of intervals.

---

[24] Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, Twenty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 459.

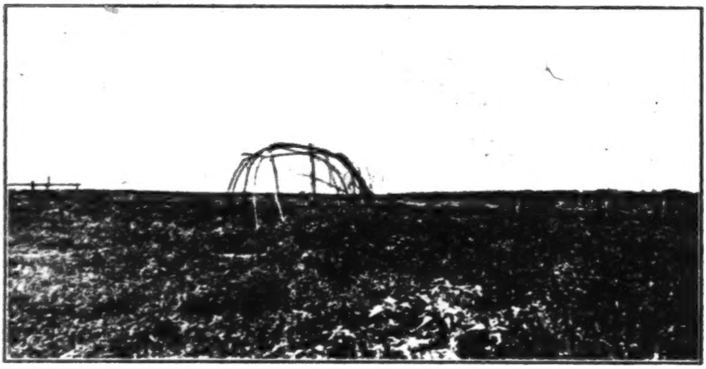
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

342



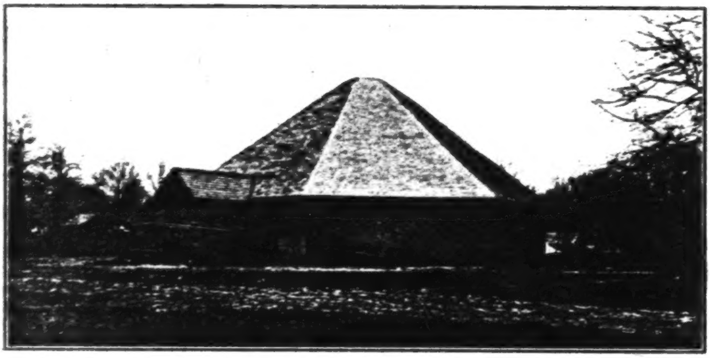
a, Miniature group of Pawnee Thunder ceremony exhibited in Field Museum of Natural History

343



b, Framework (probably sweat lodge) near ceremonial earth lodge

345



c, Structure in which victory dances and hand games were held

[Facing p. 68]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

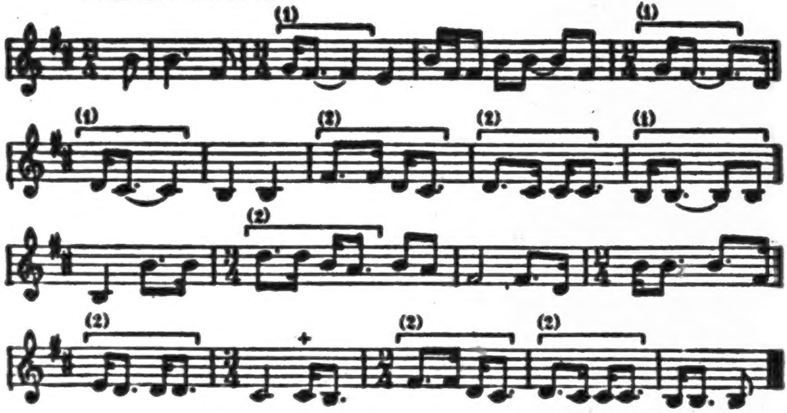
No. 37. Brown Bear's Song

(Catalogue No. 1085)

Recorded by Effie Blain

*533

Voice ♩= 60
Drum not recorded



727
*533

The next song was also sung by the women at the victory dance and was said to be "in the style of the Lance dance songs." It is a woman's song and would be sung by a woman whose husband or son was on the warpath. She would also sing it at the dance held after their return. The words mean, "They are coming yonder, the men who belong to the Lance Society (*Tirupa*)." Among the other songs used at this time was one which belonged to Roaming Chief and appears as No. 67 in the present work.

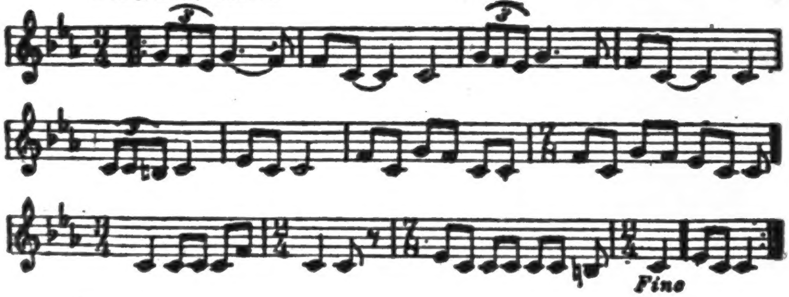
*533

No. 38. Women's War Song

(Catalogue No. 1082)

Recorded by Effie Blain

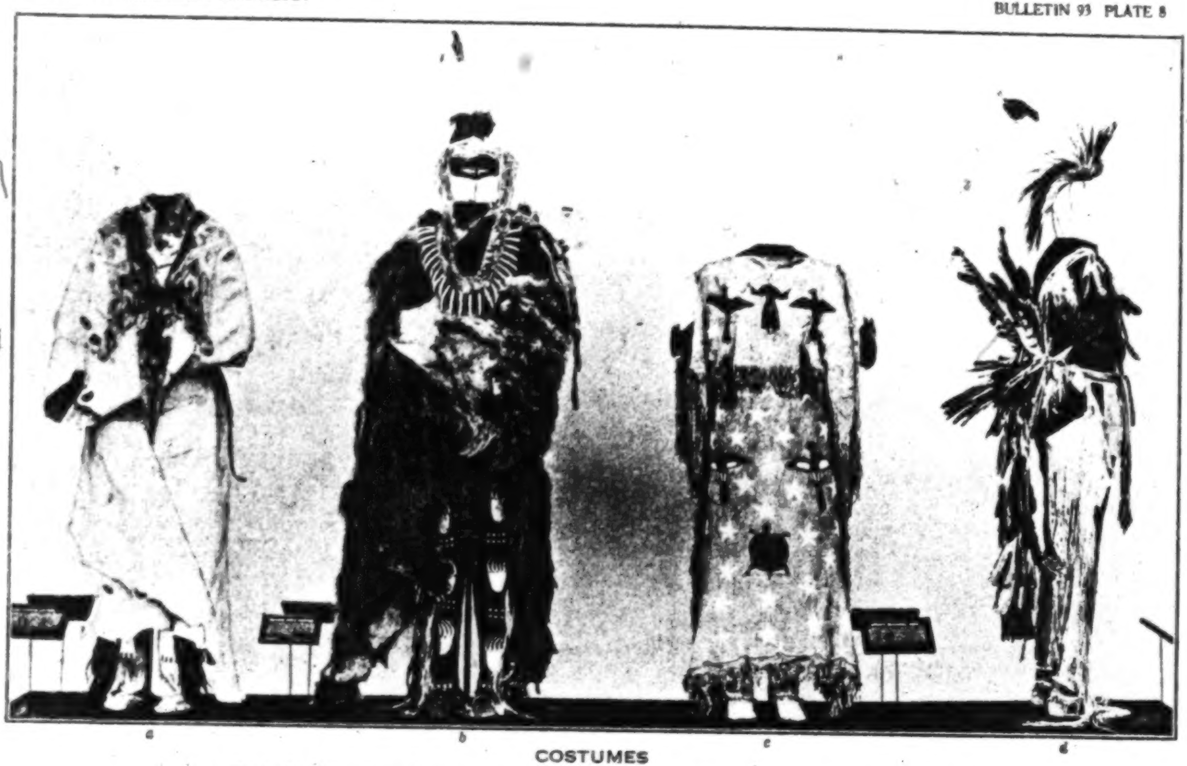
Voice ♩= 63 (♪= 126)
Drum not recorded



292
301
532
237

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[Facing p. 69]



COSTUMES

a, War leader; *b*, bear medicine man; *c*, woman's Ghost dance dress; *d*, dancer wearing "crow" dance bustle.
Exhibited in Field Museum of Natural History

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Analysis.—Four renditions of this song were recorded without a break in the time. This is interesting because of the 7-8 measures which were always sung in correct time. The transcription is from the first rendition. The only differences were that in the later renditions the seventh measure was omitted and the first tone in the next to the last measure was sung as C instead of E. Such differences are slight but are important to observe in a study of Indian music. The keynote is more prominent in this song than in a majority of the songs under analysis, this tone occurring in every measure except the first. Nine of the 32 intervals are fourths, which is an unusually large proportion of this interval. The melody tones are those of the second 5-toned scale. A downward sliding of the voice, impossible to transcribe, occurred at the end of the first and third measures. 533*

HAND GAME SONGS

On two occasions the writer had the privilege of attending a hand game of the Pawnee held in the same lodge where the victory dances for returned soldiers had been held. (Pl. 7, *c*.) The first of these games was in 1919 and the second in the following year. The number of Indians in attendance was more than 200. In former times this game was played only by men and the objects hidden were short sticks, but at the present time both men and women take part in the game, hiding small balls, slightly larger than bullets. The man holding the balls moves his hands above his head, puts them behind his back, and does everything possible to mystify and confuse his opponent, while the songs grow more excited as the moment for making the guess approaches. Ghost dance songs are sung in the dancing which takes place at intervals during the game. The balls are hidden by players of one side until the opponents have made five correct guesses in succession. 524 533* 796

The games are often of long duration, the first game attended by the writer continuing about six hours. This game was opened in a ceremonial manner by James R. Murie, chief of the Skidi Band, who also recorded the guesses by means of decorated sticks. Seven feathered sticks were placed upright in the ground before him,[25] and this was said to be "as in the Ghost dance."[26] The woman who "gave the dance" stood in the center of the lodge and appointed

---

[25] Two sets of such sticks are illustrated by Culin, each set consisting of eight sticks. In one set these are 17 inches long, four painted yellow and four painted blue, and all feathered like arrows. In the other set each stick bears a little hoop at its end, decorated with feathers. The same authority illustrates a set of four hiding sticks, 1¾ inches long, marked in pairs alike, one pair with six notches on one side and one notch on the other side, and the other pair with an incised cross on each side of the sticks. (Culin, Stewart, Games of the North American Indians, Twenty-fourth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 274, 275, Washington, 1907.)

[26] The number seven is particularly sacred in the Ghost dance. Thus there were seven Ghost dance leaders, wearing sacred crow feathers as emblems of their leadership. [801]

524 those who should lead the two opposing sides. These in turn selected
*533 those who should hide the balls. It was customary to give the balls to persons sitting next each other, the guesser indicating by a gesture
796 whether he (or she) believed the balls to be in the two outer hands, the two inner, or one outer and one inner hand. The writer was invited to sit beside a member of the tribe and join in the game, attempting to hide the balls in the manner of the Indians.

An unfortunate though not unusual circumstance took place in
[152] the dances which occurred during this game. The woman who gave the hand game was afflicted with what was termed a "Ghost dance fit."[27] She staggered and moaned in a pitiful manner but did not fall to the ground. Several persons went to her aid and restored her in the manner peculiar to the Ghost dance.[28]

The second hand game attended by the writer took place on April 16, 1921, and was given by Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*), who recorded Song No. 80. This was said to be her hand game, not only
[787] because she gave the invitations and provided the feast, but because certain features of the game, as played that day, had been revealed to her in a dream. The symbolism of certain articles used in that game was not made known to the singers and perhaps is known only to herself. The game was held in the same 6-sided lodge as the former hand game and the victory dances. (Pl. 7, *c*.) As on the former occasion, Mr. Murie opened the game in a ceremonial manner. The doors were closed and a filled pipe was offered to the earth and the sky. Mrs. Good Eagle was a dignified hostess, standing in the center of the lodge and appointing those who should lead the two sides of players. After the game the doors were again closed and a tiny portion of each sort of food was ceremonially offered and then laid beside the fire space, opposite the door. A bountiful
[264] feast was then served. According to Indian custom, each person provided his own utensils and the food was served in large containers. The writer shared in the feast.

*533 Eight of the songs used at this game, during the hiding of the balls, were later recorded by Horse Chief, a prominent singer at the drum. In some of these songs there were no words and in others the words are obsolete, the singer repeating them but having no knowledge of their meaning.

---

[27] The woman undoubtedly suffered from the early stages of what, in the Ghost dance, would have been a trance. Mooney states that he "was able to note all the stages of the phenomenon . . . through the staggering, the rigidity, the unconsciousness, and back again to wakefulness. On two occasions my partner in the dance, each time a woman, came under the influence and I was thus enabled to note the very first nervous tremor of her hand and mark it as it increased in violence until she broke away and staggered toward the medicine man within the circle. Young women are usually the first to be affected, then older women, and lastly men." (Mooney, James, The Ghost Dance Religion, Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 923, Washington, 1896.)

[28] The "Shaker religion" has been introduced among the Indians at Neah Bay, Wash., and at a gathering in that village the writer saw a woman afflicted in a manner similar to the "Ghost dance fit." A slave woman went to her, stroked her arms and head, and gradually quieted her.

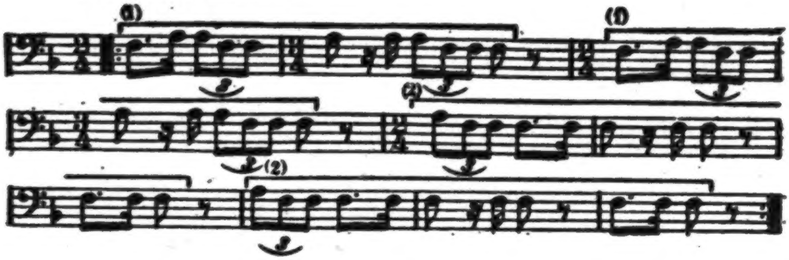
The first song of this group belonged to Blue Hawk. When he gave a game this was always sung at the first "hiding." 533* [42.4]

No. 39. Blue Hawk's Hand Game Song

(Catalogue No. 1137)

Recorded by Horse Chief

Voice ♩ = 108
Drum ~~not recorded~~.



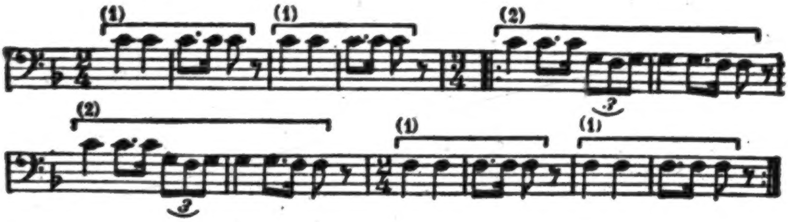
Analysis.—This is an interesting example of a song with scanty melodic material and well-developed rhythm. Only two tones occur in the melody, a fundamental and its major third. The song contains, however, four phrases, the first and second having one rhythmic unit and the third and fourth another rhythmic unit. These did not vary in the renditions of the song. It will be noted that the first two phrases each contains two measures. The rests occurring in these phrases were clearly given. It is interesting to note that the first unit contains a triplet of eighth notes on the second count and the second unit contains such a triplet on the first count. The first unit contains a change of time, while the measure lengths are uniform in the second rhythmic unit.

No. 40. Hand Game Guessing Song (a)

(Catalogue No. 1138)

Recorded by Horse Chief

Voice ♩ = 108
Drum not recorded

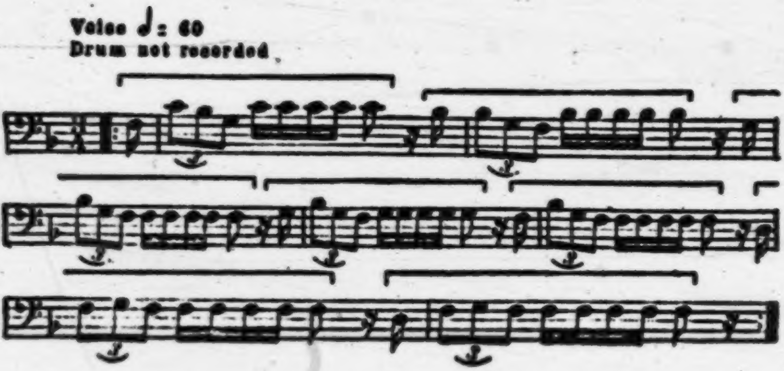


Analysis.—This song, as transcribed, is composed of three periods, each of which contains two phrases, but the latter part is repeated, *533 making five phrases in a complete rendition. Two such complete renditions were recorded and show no differences. On the quarter notes of the first rhythmic unit there was a pulsation of the voice which can not be indicated by notation. This peculiarity was noted in other songs recorded by the same singer. It is interesting to note that a dotted eighth occurs on the accented count of the first unit and on the unaccented count of the second unit. The most prominent tones are F and C, and the song is transcribed as being in the key of F, although the third above that tone does not occur in the melody.

No. 41. Hand Game Guessing Song (b)

(Catalogue No. 1120)

Recorded by Horse Chief



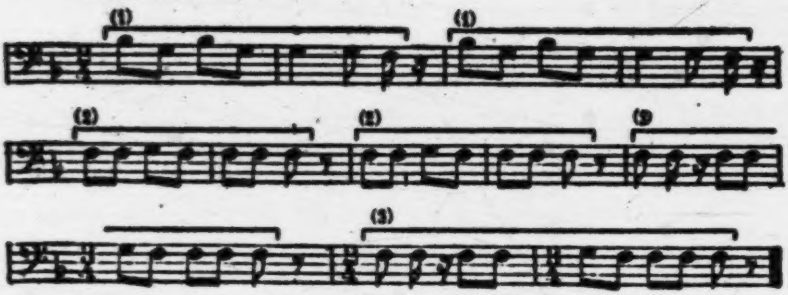
Analysis.—Eight renditions of this song were recorded and, except in a very few instances, the sixteenth notes were given with distinctness. No words were sung and the tones were separated by the [194] peculiar action of throat and tongue that characterizes the tone production of the Indians. The keynote appears to be F and, as the third and seventh above that tone do not appear, the song is classified as based on the first 5-toned scale. The descending fourth is a prominent interval in the framework of the melody, occurring as C to G, B flat to F, and G to D.

No. 42. Hand Game Guessing Song (c)

(Catalogue No. 1140) 533*

Recorded by Horse Chief

Voice ♩= 104
Drum not recorded



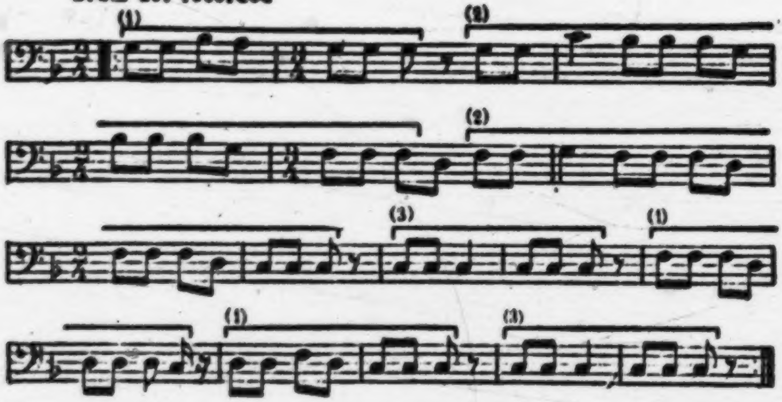
Analysis.—This song comprises three periods, each with a rhythmic unit occurring twice. There is less resemblance between these units than in many other songs. Attention is directed to the rest in the first measure of the third unit which adds interest to the melody. The only tones occurring in the song are F, G, and B flat, and the song is classified in the key of F, with the third lacking.

No. 43. Hand Game Guessing Song (d)

(Catalogue No. 1141)

Recorded by Horse Chief

Voice ♩= 96
Drum not recorded



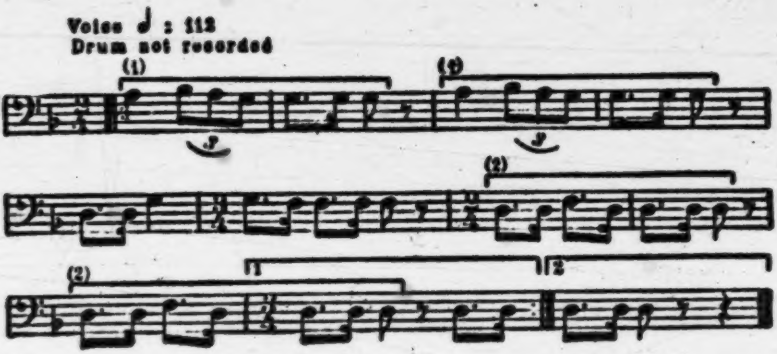
Analysis.—The prominence of F and C in this song suggests F as its keynote, although A occurs only once, as an unaccented tone

*533 in the first measure. In this, as in many other Indian songs, the classification according to a keynote is for convenience in grouping the material and does not indicate that the song is in an established key. The minor third D–F is prominent in the latter portion of the song. Three rhythmic units occur but do not appear in consecutive order as in No. 42. The first and third units are alike except for the last tone of the first measure, this difference being maintained in every instance. The principal interval is the minor third, which comprises four-fifths of the progressions.

No. 44. Hand Game Guessing Song (e)

(Catalogue No. 1142)

Recorded by Horse Chief



Analysis.—The framework of this melody consists of two minor thirds, these being G–B flat and D–F. The first of these minor intervals comprises the first four measures of the song, with two occurrences of the rhythmic unit. This is followed by two measures that may be considered connective, and the song closes with four measures on the second named interval with a different rhythm than that of the first phrase. The melody tones are those of the second 5-toned scale and the downward progressions comprise two-thirds of the entire number. This is a proportion of descending intervals frequently noted in Indian songs.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

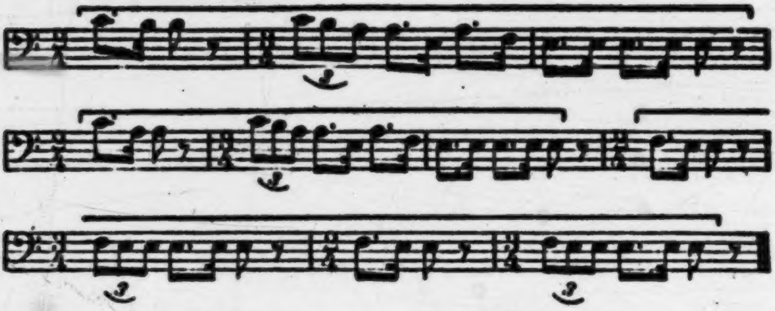
533*

No. 45. Hand Game Guessing Song (f)

(Catalogue No. 1143)

Recorded by Horse Chief

Voice ♩ = 96
Drum not recorded



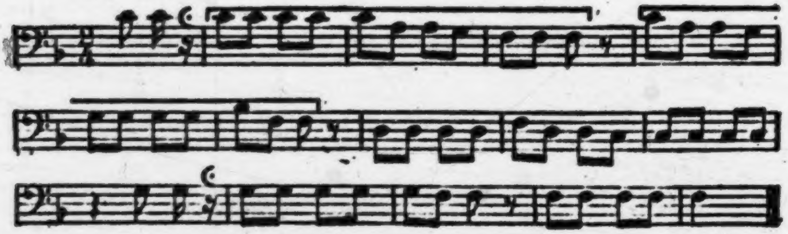
Analysis.—The rhythm of this song is pleasing and the rhythmic unit comprises three measures. The song consists of three repetitions of this unit, the repetitions being exact in the two renditions of the song. The intonation was uncertain, as more than half the intervals are semitones which are difficult for an Indian to sing. The fourth and seventh tones of the octave are lacking as in the fourth 5-toned scale, but the song is minor in tonality.

No. 46. Hand Game Guessing Song (g)

(Catalogue No. 1144)

Recorded by Horse Chief

Voice ♩ = 100
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This song affords an example of what has been termed the influence of a rhythmic unit on that portion of the song in which it does not occur. This song comprises four periods. The first and second are repetitions of a rhythmic unit, the third differs from the unit on the last count, and the fourth, though beginning like the first period, contains one phrase like the ending of the rhythmic

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 unit and another which resembles it but is not exactly like any other phrase in the song. The rhythm was identical in all the renditions. The melody is less interesting than the rhythm, the first half being based on the interval of a fifth (F to C) and the last half on a fourth (D to G), with F as the principal tone of the song.

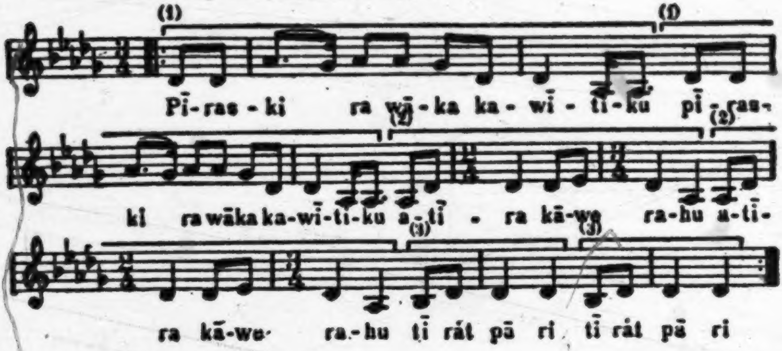
775
765 The following song was also sung while the game was in progress. In explanation it was said, "This song belonged to a man who died long ago. He had one daughter and she died. The old man cried every day but at last, one night, he heard a cry in the woods. It was his daughter, who said, 'Father, I am in heaven.' Afterwards he did not cry any more."

No. 47. "I Hear the Sound of a Child Crying"

(Catalogue No. 1098)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 92
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 92
Drum rhythm similar to No. 2


(1)
(1)
Pi-ras - ki ra wā-ka ka - wi - ti-ku pi - ras-
(2)
(2)
ki ra wāka ka-wi-ti-ku a - ti - ra kā-we ra-hu a-ti-
(3)
(3)
ra kā-we ra-hu tī rát pā ri tī rát pā ri

Piraski	ra	wāka	kawitiku	atira	kāwe
Child	have	sound	crying	mother	is she
rahu	tī	rát	pā	ri	
coming	here	I do	walk	around	

FREE TRANSLATION

I hear the sound of a child crying "Is my mother coming?
Here I walk around."

Analysis.—This melody is broadly outlined by the intervals of a fifth (D flat–A flat) and a fourth (A flat–D flat). The interval of a major third does not occur and almost one-third of the intervals are fourths. The song contains three rhythmic units occurring consecutively as in No. 42. The first unit is the longest, the second is shorter and bears no resemblance to it, and the third is still shorter, resembling the second unit. Drum and voice are in the same tempo. 533*

Long ago, when the Pawnee "used to go traveling," they stopped at night to rest and frequently played the hand game. Among them was a little boy, too young to play, who loved to watch the game. He was so little that he wore no clothing. As soon as night came this little boy ran to get wood and made a big fire so that everyone would come and play the hand game. He did not even want to eat he was so anxious for them to play. The men made this song about the little boy and sang it as they played the game. 524 [484] 533*

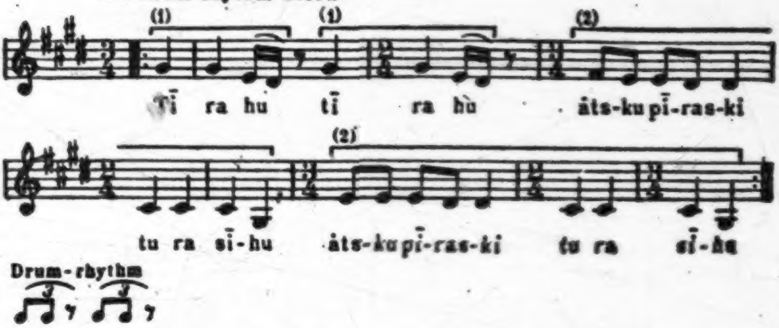
No. 48. Hand Game Song Concerning a Little Boy

533*

(Catalogue No. 1097)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 108
Drum ♩ = 112
See drum-rhythm below


(1)
(1)
(2)
Tī ra hu tī ra hu âts-ku pī-ras-ki
tu ra sī-hu
(2)
âts-ku pī-ras-ki tu ra sī-hu
Drum-rhythm
3
3

Tī	ra	hu	âtsku	pīraski	tu	ra	sīhu
This	have	coming	one	boy	do	have	running

FREE TRANSLATION

They (the men) are coming,
One boy is running.

Analysis.—Ten renditions of this song were recorded with no break in the time except a pause for breath between the eighth and ninth renditions. It is interesting to note that the drum is slightly faster than the voice, maintaining this tempo in all the renditions. Part of the song is above and part is below the keynote. Two rhythmic units occur, the second being much longer than the first. The song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the seventh. The descent at the close of the first and second measures was given with a sliding of the voice which can not be represented in musical notation.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

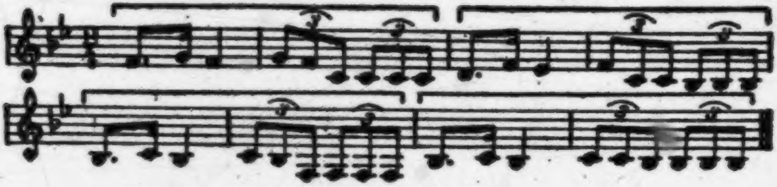
*533 The next song was said to have come down from a time when only men played the hand game.

No. 49. "You Came Near Finding Them"

(Catalogue No. 1095)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—The rhythm of this song is characteristic of the physical movements of persons playing the hand game. It is a rhythm that suggests alternation and the swaying of the players from side to side. There is also an energy in the ascending approach to the first count of each measure. The tones are those of the first 5-toned scale which omits the third and seventh tones of the octave and is always a particularly free melodic form. No change of measure length occurs and the song consists entirely of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. The song contains 11 ascending and 10 descending progressions, two of each being the interval of a fourth.

A song of Roaming Chief (No. 66) was also sung at a hand game.

GHOST DANCE SONGS

668
177
78L
[181]
The Pawnee are deeply religious by nature and received the Ghost dance with sympathy. According to Mooney "The Ghost dance was brought to the Pawnee . . . by delegates from the Arapaho and Cheyenne in the west. The doctrine made slow progress for some time, but by February, 1892, the majority of the Pawnee were dancing in confident expectation of the speedy coming of the Messiah and the buffalo. Of all these tribes the Pawnee took most interest in the new doctrine, becoming as much devoted to the Ghost dance as the Arapaho themselves." [29] A woman's Ghost dance dress is shown in Plate 8, *c*; also other costumes. [292]

668
177
*533
Ghost dance songs were recorded but the dance did not form a subject of study by the present writer. As stated, certain Ghost

---

[29] Mooney, James, op. cit., p. 902.

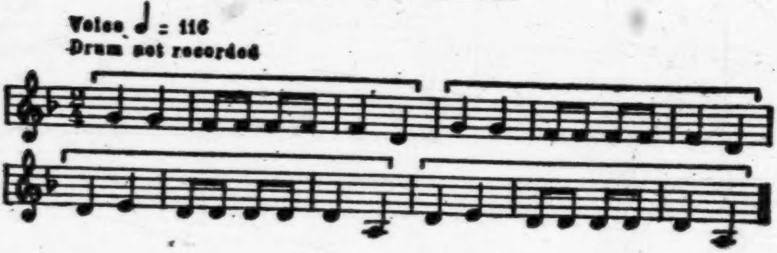
dance songs were sung in the dances at hand games while others were 668
not used in that manner. 177

The hypnotic phase which the hand game has in common with the 533*
Ghost dance is indicated in the following song which was sung at the Ghost dance and also at the hand game. In old times the game and its accompanying dances were held on the prairie instead of inside a lodge. A portion of the people were called "crows," and the woman who recorded this song said that she "belonged on the crow side of the circle." At intervals these people gave the caw of the crow and [201]
imitated that bird in their dancing. (This was done in the dance connected with the hand game attended by the writer.) It is said that under the hypnotic influence of the occasion, the dancers sometimes saw a crow inside the dance circle, no one except themselves being [787]
able to see it. The singer said that she "dreamed" this song when she was a young girl.

533*

No. 58. "The Crow"

Recorded by Effie Blain (Catalogue No. 1087)



FREE TRANSLATION

The crow, we see his likeness moving inside the circle of dancers.

Analysis.—The first two phrases of this song are based on a descending fourth and the last two phrases on a descending fifth, the repetition of these phrases comprising the entire melody. As in the preceding song, there is no change of measure length and the rhythm suggests the motion of the players. The song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the sixth and seventh.

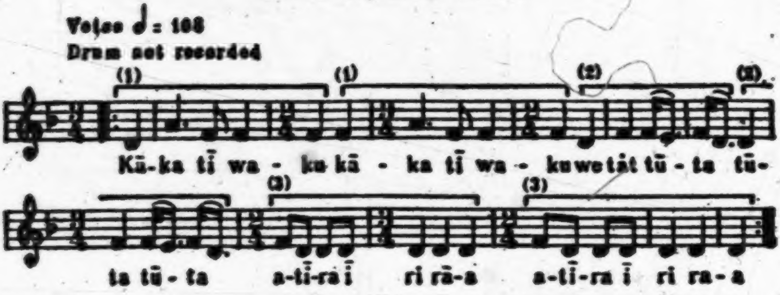
The crow which sometimes appeared in the Ghost dance might 668
speak of taking the dancer to Mother Moon or to the Ghost dance 787
messiah. The following song was "dreamed" by the woman record- 533*
ing it, who said she might sing it either at a hand game or a Ghost dance.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 51. Song Concerning Mother Moon

(Catalogue No. 1084)

*533 Recorded by Effie Blain



Voice ♩ = 108
Drum not recorded
(1)
(1)
(2)
(2)
(3)
(3)
Kū-ka tī wa - ku kā - ka tī wa - kuwe tāt tū - ta tū-
ta tū - ta a-tī-ra ī ri rā-a a-tī-ra ī ri ra - a

Kāka	tī	waku	we	tāt	tūta
Crow	it	spoke	now	I	do

atīra	ī	ri	rāa
mother	there	place	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

The crow spoke and said, "Now I am coming to where my mother is."

Analysis.—Although this song contains three rhythmic divisions the rhythm should be studied as a whole. This song does not afford an example of thematic treatment but of carrying a rhythmic feeling from the beginning to the end of a melody. The first and second units begin with an ascending progression to an accentuated tone. It is an emphatic melody, in accordance with its words. Attention is directed to the entrance of the third rhythmic unit and the count which precedes it. The first occurrence of the second rhythmic unit shows this as an accented tone, but in this occurrence it is unaccented and leads to the strong phrases that close the song. The melodic material consists of the minor triad and second, and the song is harmonic in structure.

787 The next was said to be a "true song" of a boy who is now dead. He once dreamed that he was in a grave and seemed unable to free *533 himself from this impression. Whenever this song was sung it [158] "threw the boy into a Ghost dance fit." The words are translated, "Here is the hole, right here." The song was sung at a hand game or a Ghost dance.

*533 *Analysis.*—This is a peculiar melody, not only in its use of rests but in its melodic form. Each of the two rhythmic units begins with a descent and ends with an ascending progression of a whole tone, giving rather a plaintive effect. The tone material is that of the second 5-toned scale and the song is harmonic in structure.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

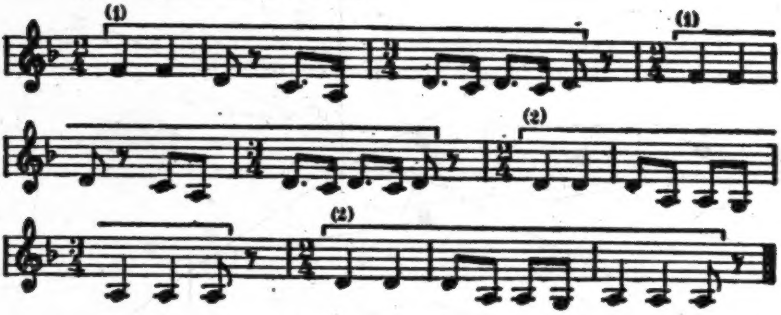
About one-fifth of the intervals are fourths, which is a large proportion of this interval to occur in a song that is not associated with motion. It has been noted that the fourth is especially prominent in songs connected with animals and with motion of any sort. 533*

No. 52. Song Concerning an Open Grave

(Catalogue No. 1094)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 112
Drum ♩ = 112
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 3



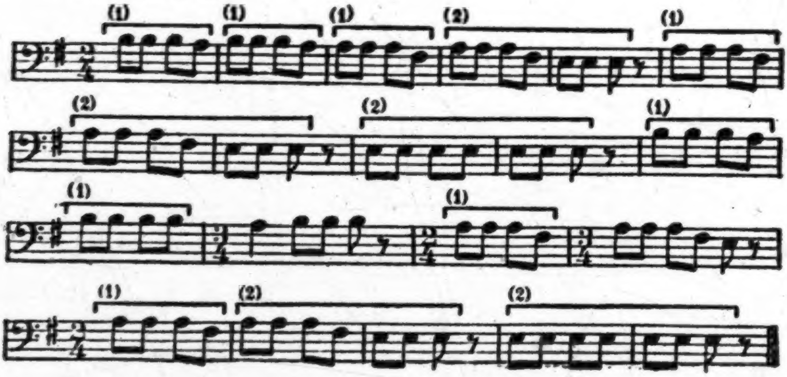
The four songs next following were also said to be Ghost dance songs, used in the dances incident to a hand game.

No. 53. Ghost Dance Song (a)

(Catalogue No. 1145)

Recorded by Horse Chief

Voice ♩ = 96
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—The rhythmic units of this song are simple, the second being a duplicate of the first with the addition of a closing measure.

7

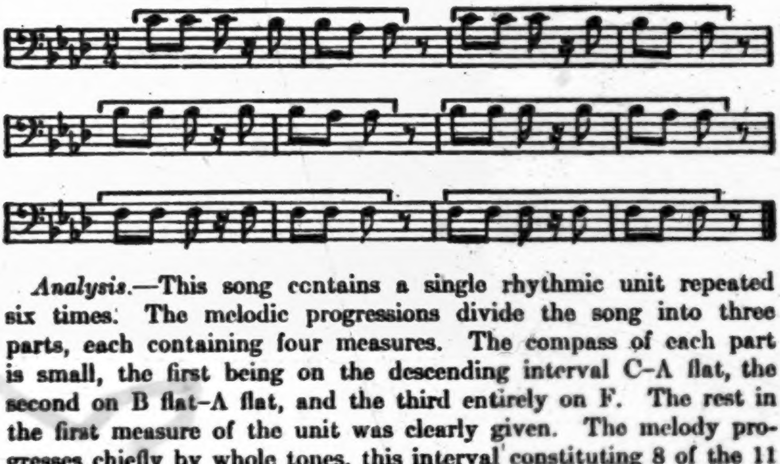
+533 The song comprises four periods of five measures each, the first and third being based on the descending fifth B–E, and the second and last on the descending fourth A–E. Thus it appears that E is the fundamental tone, but the third above that tone does not occur in the song. The progressions consist of 12 minor thirds and the same number of major seconds, the remaining intervals consisting of two ascending fourths and one ascending fifth.

No. 54. Ghost Dance Song (b)

(Catalogue No. 1146)

Recorded by Horse Chief

Voice ♩ = 88
Drum not recorded



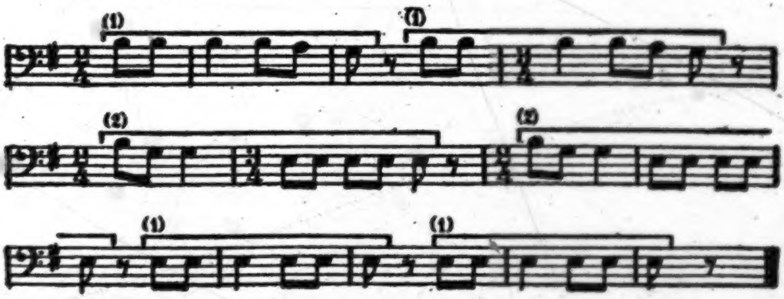
Analysis.—This song contains a single rhythmic unit repeated six times. The melodic progressions divide the song into three parts, each containing four measures. The compass of each part is small, the first being on the descending interval C–A flat, the second on B flat–A flat, and the third entirely on F. The rest in the first measure of the unit was clearly given. The melody progresses chiefly by whole tones, this interval constituting 8 of the 11 intervals. The melodic material consists of the minor triad and fourth.

No. 55. Ghost Dance Song (c)

(Catalogue No. 1147)

Recorded by Horse Chief

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—The only accented tones in this song are the keynote and fifth. 533* The song comprises three periods, the first and last having the same rhythmic unit and the second period having a longer unit with a change of time. The interest and force of the song lie in the second rhythmic unit which contains a triple measure. The first rhythmic unit begins on an unaccented tone and the second begins on an accented tone. This peculiarity occurs also in two songs of the hand game (Nos. 43 and 47). The song contains eight descending and only three ascending intervals.

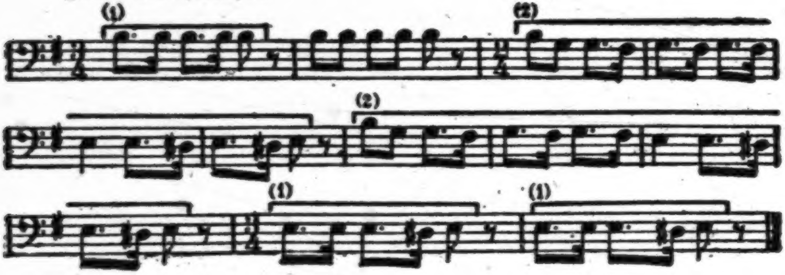
No. 56. Ghost Dance Song (d)

(Catalogue No. 1148)

Recorded by Horse Chief

Voice ♩ = 96

Drum not recorded



Analysis.—In this song we feel the pathos of the Ghost dance. More than four-fifths of the intervals are semitones which occur only between F sharp and G, and D sharp and E. Rests occur with some frequency and were given uniformly in all the renditions. It is interesting to compare the close of the first rhythmic unit with that of the second which contains the same count division with a different accent.

This and the succeeding song were not used in the hand game. 787 The singer said that he composed this song when waking from a 533* trance in the Ghost dance. He dreamed of a yellow star which came to him and said, "I am the star which you see in the sky at night." [524] The star was in the form of a woman holding in her hand an eagle feather painted yellow. She gave him the feather, saying, "All the stars in the sky are people." A dream of the yellow star was induced by watching the star when in a Ghost dance trance. The favor of "yellow star" was greatly desired as she does not appear to many [786] dancers, but she gives to her favored friends the right to wear a yellow eagle feather upright in their hair and to use it in hypnotizing other dancers. If such a feather is used under a false pretense no results can be obtained.

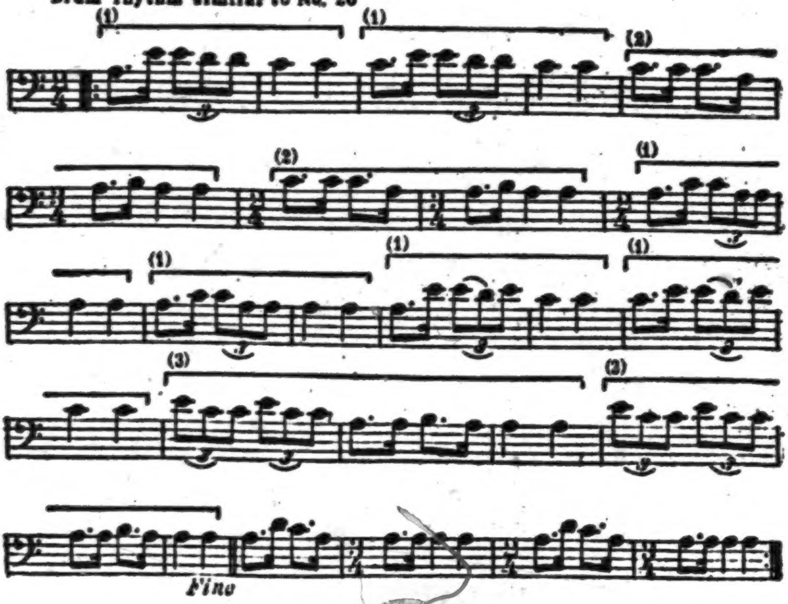
*533

No. 57. "The Yellow Star"

(Catalogue No. 1107)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum ♩ = 84
Drum rhythm similar to No. 26



FREE TR[illegible]ION

The yellow star has notic[illegible]
Furthermore it gave me [illegible]anding yellow feather,
That yellow star.

Analysis.—Although the compass of this melody is only five tones it contains three rhythmic units. On comparing these we note that the second unit extends the use of the dotted eighth, which occurs in the first unit, and that the third unit contains the dotted eighth and also the triplet which occurs in the first unit. This thematic development is interesting and somewhat unusual. The rhythm did not vary in the four renditions. The connecting phrase did not occur between the second and third renditions. Progression is chiefly by whole tones and the song is harmonic in structure.

787
*533
[115]
The man to whom the next song belonged was Running Scout, a man who was very religious and remained in a Ghost dance trance for several days. His friends thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that he had been to the Messiah who told him to "go to the village." Following this instruction, he saw many men

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used 787 fox skins in hypnotizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running 533* Scout always wore a fox skin in the Ghost dance. The skin was not [292] made into a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder. He also gave the call of the fox while he was [201] dancing.

No. 58. Running Scout's Ghost Dance Song

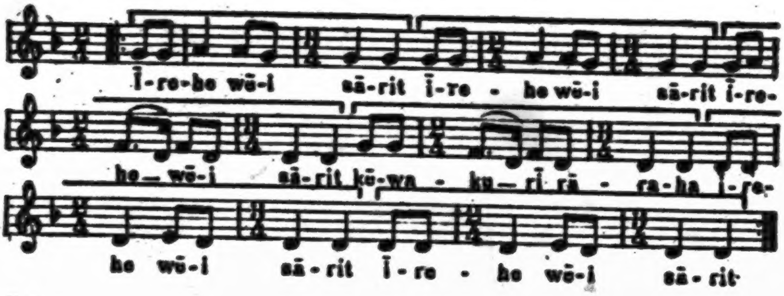
(Catalogue No. 1088)

Recorded by Effie Blain

533*

Voice ♩ = 96

Drum not recorded



Ī-re-he wē-i sā-rit Ī-re - he wē-i sā-rit Ī-re-
he - wē-i sā-rit kō-wa - ku - rī rā - ra-ha Ī-re-
he wē-i sā - rit Ī - re - he wē-i sā - rit

Ireho	wēi	sārit	kōwaku	rī	rāraha
Now there	they	are	fox	they	have

Analysis.—This song, like others of the hand game and Ghost dance, consists of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. In this instance there are two units, the second occurring only in the middle part of the song. It is interesting to compare the third measure from the beginning with the second measure from the close, the ascent to the accented tone in the first instance expressing a certain restlessness while the second phrase is more restful. This song contains the minor triad and fourth and progresses chiefly by whole tones.

The final song of this group is concerning the Ghost dance and, [575 according to Mr. Murie, was sung in the Young Dog Society. The 668 words "the father's child" refer to the messiah whose coming was 796] expected in the Ghost dance.

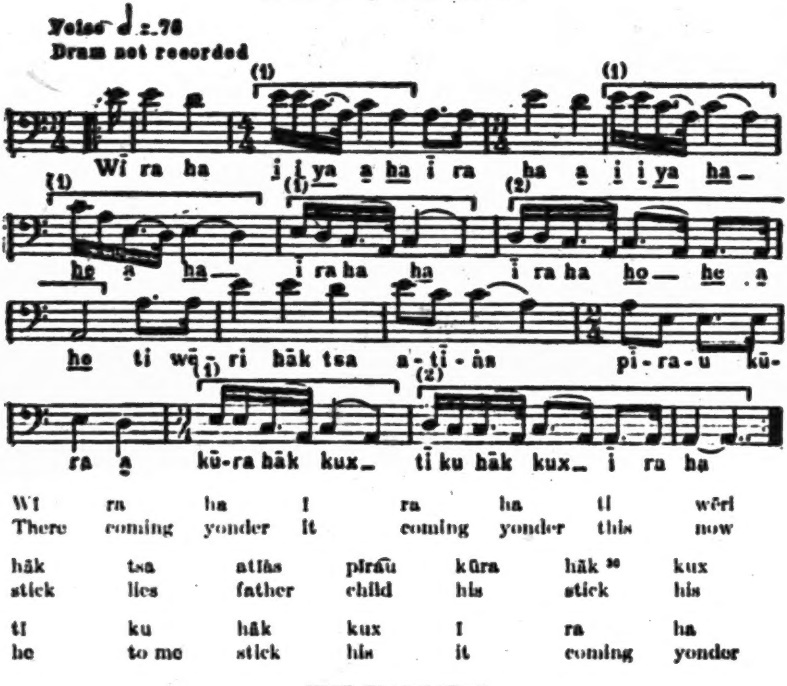
Analysis.—The three renditions of this song are alike in every respect except that the intonation on D in the upper octave is variable, occasionally being sung almost as D sharp. The time was maintained steadily and the renditions were separated by

+533 shrill cries. The song comprises two periods, the first containing eight and the second containing seven measures. Two rhythmic units occur, the second being an extension of the first. The song has a compass of 12 tones, which is somewhat unusual in Pawnee songs.

No. 59. Song Concerning the Ghost Dance

(Catalogue No. 1102)

Recorded by Wicita Blain


Voice ♩ = 76
Drum not recorded
(1)
(1)
Wi ra ha i i ya a ha ī ra ha a i i ya ha-
(1)
(1)
(2)
he a ha- ī ra ha ha ī ra ha ho- he a
he ti wē-ri hăk tsa a-tī-ăs pi-ra-u kū-
(1)
(2)
ra a kū-ra hăk kux- tī ku hăk kux- ī ra ha

Wi	ra	ha	i	ra	ha	ti	wēri
There	coming	yonder	it	coming	yonder	this	now
hăk	tsa	atiăs	pirāu	kūra	hăk[30]	kux	
stick	lies	father	child	his	stick	his	
ti	ku	hăk	kux	i	ra	ha	
he	to me	stick	his	it	coming	yonder	

FREE TRANSLATION

There it is lying yonder, this stick lying here,
The father's own child gave it to me,
It is coming yonder.

MAN CHIEF'S SONGS

The singer spoke with deep affection of Man Chief, to whom many [643] songs were attributed. According to the singer, Man Chief was chief of the four bands of Pawnee and died in 1858 at the age of 74 years. Concerning the next song it was said, "When we first elected Man Chief as chief he thanked God, and then he sang this song."

---

[30] The last letter of this word was omitted by the singer.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

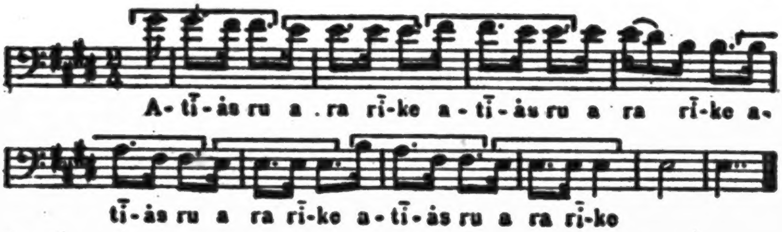
The words with the repetition of the melody were: "My father himself, through him I am exalted (made prominent) among the people." 533*

No. 60. "I am Exalted Among the People"

(Catalogue No. 1123)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 60
Drum not recorded


A-tī-às ru a ra rī-ke a-tī-às ru a ra rī-ke a-
tī-às ru a ra rī-ke a-tī-às ru a ra rī-ke

Atiàs	ru	a	ra	rike
Father	yonder	is said	to have	stood

Analysis.—This song is unique in containing only two ascending progressions. It has a compass of 10 tones and contains all the tones of the octave except the sixth. Attention is directed to the fourth measure, which is the only one not containing the rhythmic unit. This measure, by its slight difference from the rhythmic unit, swings the rhythm of the entire song and avoids the monotony that would follow if the rhythmic unit were continuously repeated. Progression is chiefly by whole tones.

Man Chief received numerous songs in dreams. The first song is a war dance of the Iruska, it being said that the "spirits told him about this dance, which is different from an ordinary war dance." This society corresponds to the Hethúshka of the Omaha, a society of distinguished warriors. Before recording this song Luwak recorded the following sentences: "The song which I am about to sing belonged to Man Chief. When he became a chief he used to go out into the storm and stand first in one place and then in another. He heard Tirawa speak through the clouds. He knew the heavens were the ruling power and prayed for his people." While speaking, he beat the drum in the same tempo as in the song which followed. 787 533*

Analysis.—The man who recorded this song had recently taken part in a ceremony which lasted several days and was hoarse from singing on that occasion. To this may be attributed a lack of accuracy in the repetitions of his song. Transcription is from the last renditions, in which the intonation was clearest. The song has a 533*

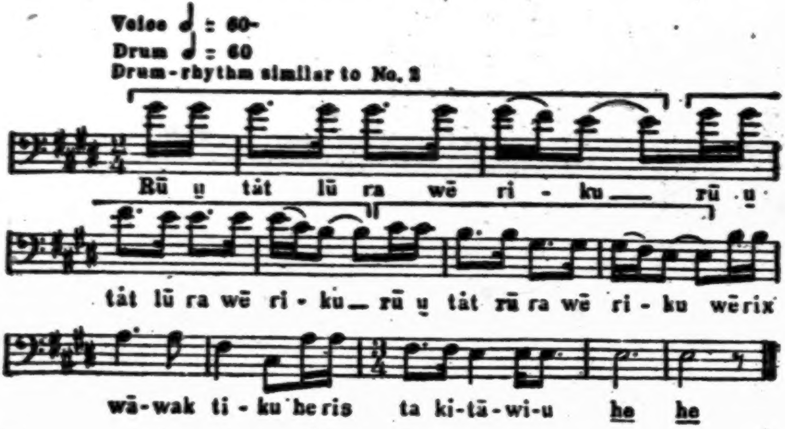
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ13 Pawnee NQ18

*533 compass of 10 tones, beginning on the highest and ending on the lowest tone of the compass. After descending to the lowest tone with repetitions of the rhythmic unit the melody ascends to the fifth and again descends to the lowest tone, this time in a different rhythm. The whole tone comprises two-thirds of the progressions.

No. 61. "The Heavens Are Speaking"

(Catalogue No. 1122)

Recorded by John Luwak


Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 60
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 60
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2
Rū u tāt lū ra wē ri - ku rū u
tāt lū ra wē ri - ku rū u tāt rū ra wē ri - ku wērix
wā-wak ti - ku he ris ta ki-tā-wi-u he he

Rū	tāt	lū	ra	wē	riku	wē	rix
Did	I	did	have	around	stands	now	they

wāwak	tiku	he	ris	ta	kitāwiu
speaking	they are	now	you	have	ruling power

(In repetitions of the song)

Nihuksu	tāt	titska	witasi	kitāwiu
Only	I	one mind	then	ruling power

he	rix	ti	rus	ta	kawāhāt
now	they	this	you	have	heavens

FREE TRANSLATION

I stood here, I stood there,
The clouds are speaking,
I say, "You are the ruling power,
I do not understand, I only know what I am told,
You are the ruling power, you are now speaking,
This power is yours, O heavens."

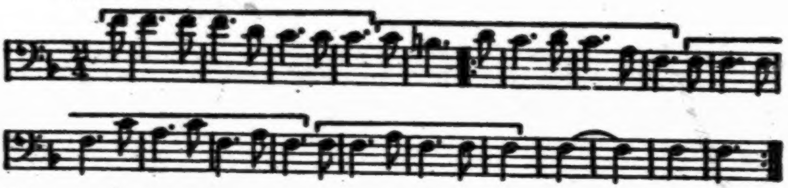
The next song contains the same idea of the "ruling power in the heavens." 533*

No. 62. "O Expanse of the Heavens"

(Catalogue No. 1129)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 104
Drum not recorded



Iri	hawa	wi	tas	ta	kitawi	ras
There	almost always	are	you	have	powers (or leaders)	you

ta	kāwaha	ki	wē	tas	ta	kitawi
have	heavens	expand	are	you	have	powers

FREE TRANSLATION

I believe that in you, O heavens, dwell the ruling powers.

Analysis.—This song is major in tonality and contains one accidental, the fourth raised a semitone. The rhythm presents an unusual monotony as the only count-divisions, except in the final measures, are dotted quarter notes followed by eighth notes. The song has a compass of an octave and progresses by a variety of intervals.

The song next following was used as an old war dance.

It was the custom of the young men, in former times, to make 885
known that they had arrived at an age of realization and had "put 533*
their trust in the heavens." James R. Murie said that he, as a young man, went around the village singing this song with other young men, so that all the people might hear and know they had assumed the attitude of men toward life. It is an Iruska but not a dancing song [424]
and belonged to Man Chief.

Analysis.—With a range of 10 tones this song contains the tone 533*
material of the second 5-toned scale. As in several other songs with large compass, it begins on the highest tone of its compass and ends on the lowest. The song consists of four periods, the third differing slightly from the others in rhythm, a form which occurs frequently in the simpler songs of the Indians.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

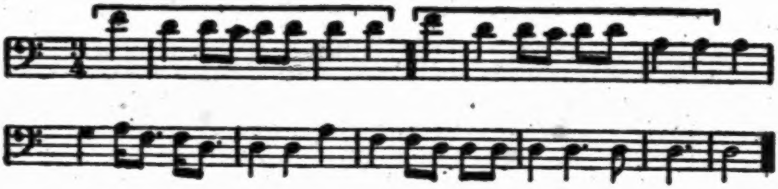
*533

No. 63. "Power is in the Heavens"

(Catalogue No. 1130)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 104
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 126
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 26



FREE TRANSLATION

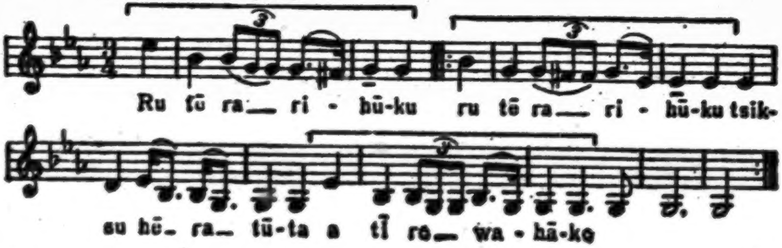
My spirit rests in the belief that power is in the heavens.

No. 64. "Our Hearts Are Set in the Heavens"

(Catalogue No. 1080)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 84
Drum not recorded


Ru tū ra— ri - hū-ku ru tē ra— ri - hū-ku tsik-
su hē- ra— tū-ta a tī ro— wa - hā-ke

Ru	tō	ra	rihūku	tsiksu	hō	ra
There	is	have	only	spirit	or	have
tūta	a	tī	re	wahāke		
upon	and	this	have	expanse of the heavens		

FREE TRANSLATION

It is there that our hearts are set,
In the expanse of the heavens.

Analysis.—In rhythmic form this song is like the song next preceding, the third period containing a change of rhythm. The song contains 12 descending and 6 ascending progressions, a proportion which occurs so frequently in Indian songs that it may be said to be characteristic. In all renditions the second tone is sharped, which introduces the interval of a semitone, and was sung with distinctness. 533* The song contains no change of measure lengths and has a compass of 13 tones, beginning on the highest and ending on the lowest tone of this compass.

The final song belonging to Man Chief is similar to those already [424] presented, though the words are not translated.

No. 65. Man Chief's Song

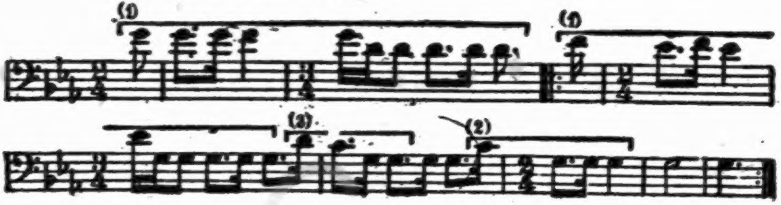
(Catalogue No. 1131)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 63

Drum ♩ = 63

Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Analysis.—The rhythmic form of this song is interesting and complete. The song contains two rhythmic units, the second being the opening phrase of the first unit and occurring at the close of the song. In structure the song is harmonic. It is minor in tonality, has a compass of an octave, and progresses by a variety of intervals, those occurring most frequently being the fourth and the major second.

ROAMING CHIEF'S SONGS

787
622
533*

The two songs next following belonged to a comparatively recent chief of the Chaui Band. The grief of his wife at the death of a daughter is mentioned in connection with her song (No. 83). Roaming Chief was hereditary chief of this band and was a nephew of the famous Pitalesaru, who was appointed chief of the confederated bands of the Pawnee by the Government of the United States. [643 648]

It was said that "Tirawa had pity on Roaming Chief" and that, during a Ghost dance, he fell in a trance. Visions appeared to him in this trance, the present song referring to such an experience. A Ghost dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he "cried as he sang this song." It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game.

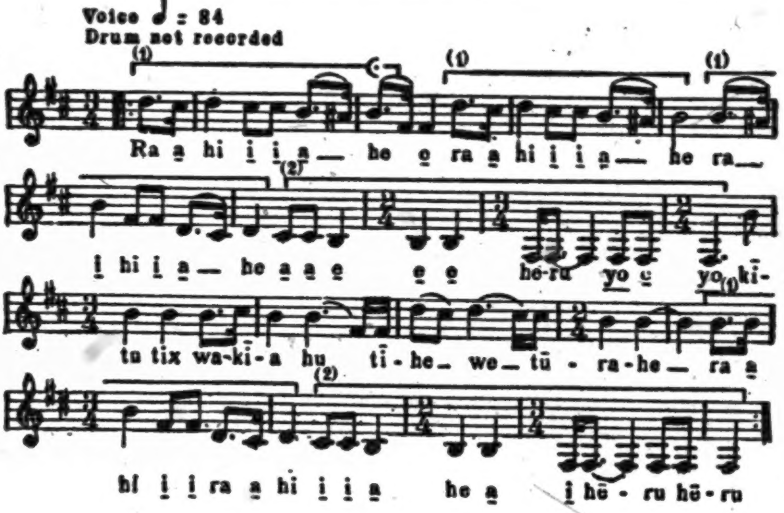
Analysis.—This song is in a form already noted, the third period 533* being in rhythm different from that of the first, second, and fourth. The compass is 13 tones and more than half the progressions are

*533 whole tones and semitones. The seventh is sharped in every occurrence, this accidental being of particular interest in a song with minor tonality. The song contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth.

No. 66. "It Is Good Where We Are Now"

(Catalogue No. 1090)

Recorded by Effie Blain


Voice ♩ = 84
Drum not recorded
(1)
(1)
(1)
(2)
(1)
(2)
Ra a hi i i a— he e ra a hi i i a— he ra—
i hi i a— he a a e e e he-ru yo e yo ki-
tu tix wa-ki-a hu tī-he— we— tū - ra-he— ra a
hi i i ra a hi i i a he a i hē - ru hē - ru

Ra	hi	he	hēru	kītu	tix	wakia
Yonder	there	they	come	are	they	saying
ahu	tīhe	we	tūrahe	hi	he	hēru
	over here	now	good	there	they	come

FREE TRANSLATION

There they come yonder,
They are saying "It is good over here
where we are now."
There they come.

535
796
727
Roaming Chief sang the following song at the Pipe dance and it was sung at the Victory dance attended by the writer. It was said that "Mother Corn was carried on the warpath to give victory and was also used in the Pipe dance." The words are freely translated, "My whole trust is in Mother Corn."

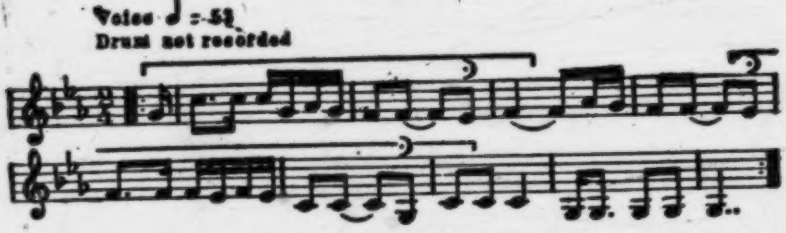
Analysis.—The tempo of this song was slow and somewhat *rubato*, a slight prolonging of certain tones being indicated in the transcription. In some of the renditions the time values in the third

measure were changed to conform to different words but the duration 533*
of the measure remained the same. The song contains 19 intervals,
10 of which are whole tones and 5 are fourths.

No. 67. "My Trust is in Mother Corn"

(Catalogue No. 1089)

Recorded by John Luwak



SONGS OF AFFECTION

533*

Songs rising from deep affection and respect were occasionally 554
sung by Indians in the old times, and might be concerning persons 593
who had been married for many years. The distinction between these
and the modern "love song" is clearly drawn by the Indians and is
evident from the words of the songs. The Sioux said that in old
times they had a few songs concerning a man's qualification to wed, [581]
this being determined by his success in war or on the buffalo hunt.[21]
Otter Woman, an aged widow of the Mandan Tribe, recorded songs
of loneliness for her husband, and two very old songs expressing a
gentle longing. These were sung by young girls when at work in the
gardens and are as delicate as the little plants which they tended so
carefully.[22] The cause of the change from these songs of respectful
affection to the modern "love song" is found in the general change
from primitive customs.

In former times the marriages of young people were either arranged 584
by the parents or subject to parental approval. A period of transi- 533*
tion began when the young people refused to recognize parental author-
ity in the matter of their affections. This led to clandestine meetings.
A few songs of this period were recorded among the Sioux, one con-
taining the words "If you are truthful, come. Walks Visibly (woman's
name) has said this."[23] The words of modern Indian love songs 533*
usually express a lack of respect for women, and often boast of fas- 832
cinations and conquests. They are connected with intoxication and are [273]
sung by young men of no standing among their own people. Many

---

[21] Teton Sioux Music, p. 370.
[22] Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 54-67.
[23] Teton Sioux Music, p. 510.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 such songs have been recorded among the Chippewa and Menominee. The development of this class of songs among the Pawnee is considered in a subsequent paragraph.

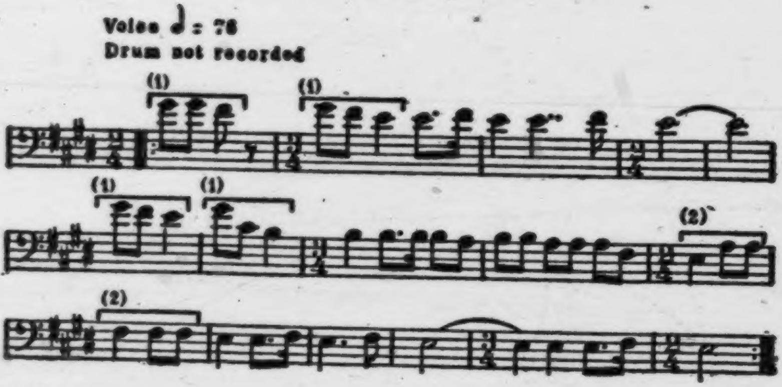
*533 Three of the old songs of affection were obtained among the
584 Pawnee, the first two being recorded by John Luwak, chief of the
593 Chaui Band, while his wife assisted with the information. As already stated, the marriages were formerly arranged by the parents and "the fathers usually took charge of the matter." It was further said that "the marriages always turned out happily as the old people knew better than the young people and understood which boys and girls would get along the best." Mrs. Luwak, wife of the singer, said that her marriage was arranged by her parents and that at first she "cried every day," but she indicated with some shyness that the marriage had resulted happily.

*533 The following is the song of a man who is going to war. He
[593] addresses his wife, saying, "When I die do not cry unless you really loved me, but if you love me you will cry and you will not remarry soon after I die."

No. 68. Song of Affection (a)

(Catalogue No. 1136)

Recorded by John Luwak



Analysis.—The third tone in this song was followed by a downward *glissando* of about a tone which is impossible to transcribe. It is interesting to note that the count divisions of the first unit are reversed in the second unit, a thematic treatment showing the intelligence of the Indian musician. The song is major in tonality, has a compass of 10 tones, and about 80 per cent of the progressions are major seconds. Three renditions were recorded without a break in the time.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

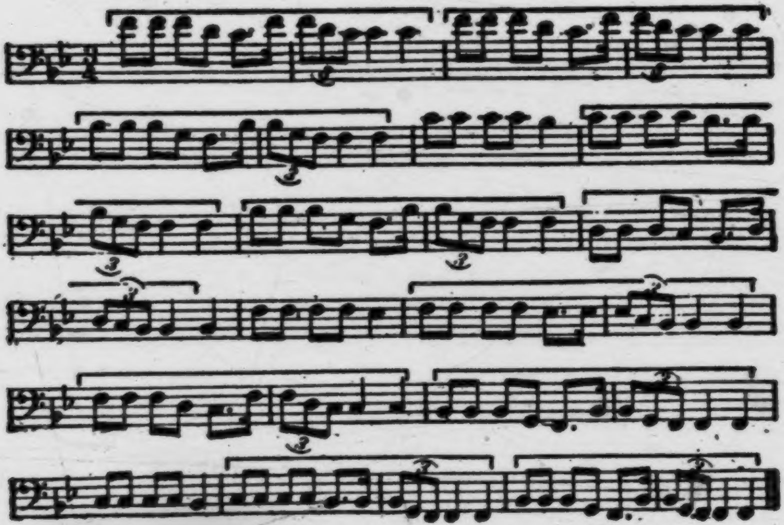
In explanation of the next song it was said, "There was once a married couple. One day the wife said to her husband, 'I love you very much and if you should die I would cry every day.' This was the first time that either had admitted an affection for the other." 533* [593]

No. 69. Song of Affection (b)

(Catalogue No. 1135)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 138
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—The present song is unusual in that the intonation on single phrases was good while the transition from one phrase to another was uncertain in intonation. This may have been due to the compass of two octaves, the rapid tempo, and the agitation in the mind of the singer. The rhythmic unit is simple and its repetitions comprise practically the entire song. In every rendition there was a pause after the sixth measure, followed by a repetition of these six measures, and a continuance without a break in the time. All the tones of the octave except the seventh are present in this remarkable melody.

There is deep pathos in the next song and its history. A woman composed this song while her husband was on the warpath. She died during his absence, but her friends had learned the song. When her husband returned they sang the song and told him its story. He learned the song. 533* 593

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

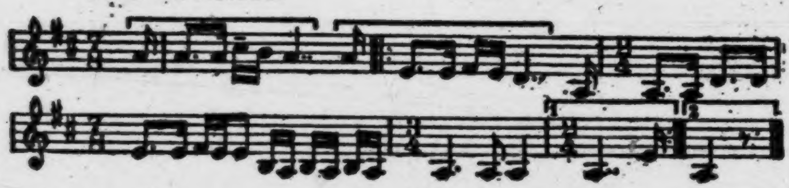
No. 76. Song of a Warrior's Wife

*533
593

(Catalogue No. 1100)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♪ = 144 (♩ = 72)
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

I wonder where he is sitting.
That person who comes and sits in my tipi.

Analysis.—In all renditions of this song the 7-8 and 3-4 measures were sung in exact time. Except for one minor third the melody progresses entirely by fourths and major seconds. It has a compass of 10 tones and contains the entire octave except the fourth.

*533 Mr. James R. Murie and other old members of the tribe said that love songs, in the white man's use of that term, were unknown 832 among the better class of Pawnee in the early days. According to 565 Mr. Murie, there were four classes of Pawnee, the lowest being 177 considered outcasts by the remainder of the tribe. These people camped near towns and worked for white people, from whom they 562 obtained whisky. This class of Pawnee sang what were termed [124] "crazy people's songs," which were associated with "love charms" and evil influences. No effort was made to secure examples of these songs. A change from the former attitude toward women, however, is shown in the following song which was said to be very old. It is not of so low a character as the "crazy people's songs," neither does it represent the high standard of life indicated in the former [837] songs of this group. A girl married a man for whom she did not care and it would appear that, instead of adapting himself to the situation, he sought consolation elsewhere.

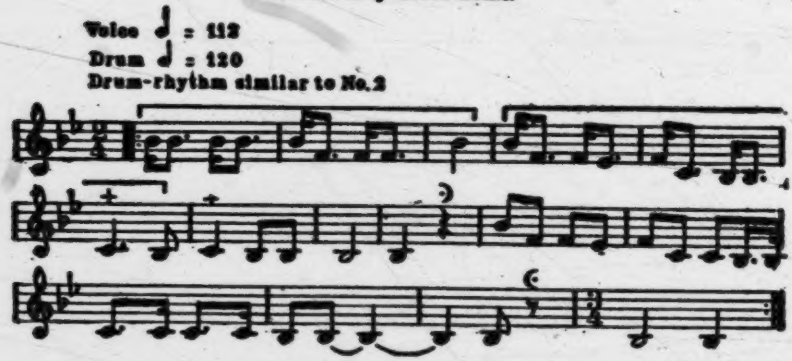
*533 *Analysis.*—This melody consists of two parts, the first of which contains the rhythmic unit. The second part begins with a succession of eighth notes, followed by a measure which preserves the count divisions of the rhythmic unit. The count divisions throughout the song were sung with special clearness. The song is transcribed as having B flat for its keynote but the third above that tone does not occur. Except for an ascending octave the only in-

tervals are fourths and major seconds. Drum and voice are different in tempo, each being maintained with regularity. 533*

No. 71. "Other Girls Are as Pretty as She"

(Catalogue No. 1101)

Recorded by Effie Blain



A modern love song (not transcribed) was translated as follows: "That lady loves me. I bet she is thinking of me." It was said to be the song of a man already married who wanted the person mentioned in the song to elope with him. 533* 832

Songs of this class were preceded by the syllable *ee-ee* on a low tone in imitation of a flute. The informant said "the flute was courting medicine of a bad kind." [534]

MYTHS AND FOLK TALES

The Pawnee possessed many stories pertaining to the origin of sacred bundles and the doings of mythological persons. Concerning such stories Doctor Dorsey states: "These tales, as a rule, are told only during ceremonies, especially during the intermissions or pauses in the ceremony which occur from time to time between rites, or during resting periods in the chanting of a long ritual. During such intermissions anyone of those present may ask the priests for such a tale. Especially is it the privilege of the one who has made the ceremony possible, by providing the food for the sacrifice and feast, to ask that such a tale be related. These tales may also, under certain circumstances, be told outside the ceremonial lodge . . . and the chief object in relating them is to furnish instruction."[34] Such stories gradually passed into current knowledge and were told as folk tales by any member of the tribe without mention of their religious significance. 773 538

---

[34] Dorsey, The Pawnee: Mythology (Pt. 1), Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publ. No. 59, Washington, 1906.

773 The first three stories of the following group are versions of old
538 legends connected with the mythology of the tribe, while the fourth
539 story in the group appears to be an ordinary folk tale. It differs
from the others in that the entire narrative was sung. (Cf. Rudimentary Songs, Northern Ute music, pp. 200–205.)

539 In the first story we find an interesting resemblance to a story recorded in southern Arizona.[34]

STORY OF THE GAMBLER

RELATED BY FANNIE CHAPMAN

In a certain village were two young boys. They were good-looking lads and wore their hair long on the right side of the head. One day the younger boy thought he would go to another village in the woods. When he came near this village he saw the smoke of a tipi that stood by itself among the willows. He went there and stood outside the entrance.

In this tipi lived an old woman and her three granddaughters. The old woman told the youngest girl to go outside and see if anyone was there. The girl saw the strange lad and returned, saying, "O grandmother, there is a good-looking young man outside." The old woman went to speak with him and said, "You had better go to some village where the people have more money. We are very poor." But the lad replied, "No. I came here and this is where I belong." The old woman said, "Well, come in," and the boy entered the tipi. Later the old woman said, "You had better go away for the chief of our band is very unkind to strangers. You must watch, for Long-nose (Coyote) will come before daylight to see if anyone is here. He will see you and tell the chief, who will ask you to breakfast. If he offers you dry pumpkin do not eat it, nor corn, nor mush. Bring it home with you."

Before daylight, as the old woman had predicted, Coyote came to see if anyone was in the tipi. The old woman said, "See my grandson, how good-looking he is. He ought to go where the big men are." Coyote ran at once to the chief and said, "O chief, there is a good looking young man down at the old woman's tipi. When you kill him he will be the leader of your heads." (Referring to a row of the heads of men killed by the chief that had been put in his tipi.) The chief said, "Run down to the old woman's tipi and bring the young man. I want to feast him." Coyote ran as fast as he could. The old woman saw him coming and again told the young man not to eat anything but to bring the food home. Coyote said to the young man, "You certainly are good-looking." When the chief saw the young man he said, "I sent for you to eat with me," and offered him dry

---

[34] Story of the Gambler, Papago Music, Bull. 90, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 39–54. Cf. also Dorsey, op. cit., pp. 185–191.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

pumpkin, corn, mush, and other food. The lad replied, "O grandfather, I am full; I have had my breakfast; I will take this home to my grandmother." Coyote went with him and waited while the old woman emptied and washed the bowls. Then Coyote took the bowls back to the chief. After the boy refused to eat the food, the chief wanted him to play the "stick game."[38] He refused at first but finally he said that he would play in two days, saying he must wait because he was so tired. The chief said, "Choose a day and we will play." The boy went home and told the old woman that he was to play the stick game with the chief. She said, "O my boy, you did wrong to consent. You saw those heads in the chief's tent. He will kill you and all our people." 539

Before daylight on the day of the game Coyote opened the old woman's door and said, "The chief is at the place for the game, he is waiting for you." The boy replied, "I will go when I am ready." Later they began to play the stick game. The boy had people on his side and also a bird-man (bird turned into a man), who watched everything. Coyote watched everything on the chief's side. The boy had nothing to wager so he bet the people who were on his side, and at last he was obliged to bet himself. The old chief won, so the people on the chief's side killed all the people on the boy's side. They even killed the boy. Then they cut off all the heads and put them up with the other heads in the chief's lodge.

While this was happening the elder of the two boys, mentioned at the beginning of this story, grew uneasy about his brother. He determined to find him and traced him to the village, then he went home, got his bow and arrows, and went to the old woman's tipi. The old woman did as before, sending the same girl to see if anyone were outside. The girl returned and said, "It looks as though that good-looking boy had come to life." The old woman invited him into the tent but said as before, "O my grandson, why do you come

---

[38] In the story of "Blood-clot boy," Doctor Dorsey described the boy as making a ring of ash stick which he wound with a string made of boiled buffalo hide so that it looked like a spider's web. The grandmother rolled the ring and the boy shot it with arrows and killed buffalo. The same authority states that "The ring and javelin game . . . was originally played for the direct purpose of calling the buffalo. . . . The two sticks represent young buffalo bulls which turned into the gaming sticks, leaving first full instructions as to how they were to be treated, how the game was to be played, how the songs were to be sung, and how they were to be anointed with the buffalo fat. The ring, according to the story, was originally a buffalo cow." (Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 84, 344.) [526]

Maj. Stephen H. Long witnessed the playing of this game and described it as follows: "The instruments used are a small hoop about 6 inches in diameter, which is usually wound with thongs of leather, and a pole 5 or 6 feet long, on the larger end of which a limb is left to project about 6 inches. . . . The game is played upon a smooth beaten path, at one end of which the gamester commences, and running at full speed, he first rolls from him the hoop, then discharges after it the pole, which slides along the path pursuing the hoop until both stop together, at the distance of about 30 yards from the place whence they were thrown. After throwing them from him the gamester continues his pace and the Indian, the hoop, and the pole arrive at the end of the path about the same time. The effort appears to be to place the end of the pole either in the ring, or as near as possible, and we could perceive that those casts were considered best when the ring was caught by the hook at the end of the pole." (James, Edwin, Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains under command of Maj. Stephen H. Long, Vol. I, p. 444. Philadelphia, 1823.)

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 here. You ought to go where the rich people are." He replied as his brother had done, "No, I want to be here." They were so poor that they gave him only one bean from those they had gathered. At night the old woman said as before, "O my grandson, I wish you would go away. Go somewhere else or go home, for someone will come early in the morning to look all around the place."

Everything happened exactly as before. Coyote came, found the young man, and took him to the chief, who offered him food. The young man replied, as his brother had done, that he was not hungry, and he took the food home. The chief asked him to play the stick game and he said that he was too tired to play that day. It was decided that they would play in a few days. The boy went home and said to his grandmother, "I am going to play the stick game with the chief. To-morrow I want you to clean up the house and put everything one side, then I want you all to go into the woods. Do not try to look into the house until I call you." Then he asked, "Is there any place around here where the people used to kill buffalo?" She replied, "Yes, over there by the hill."

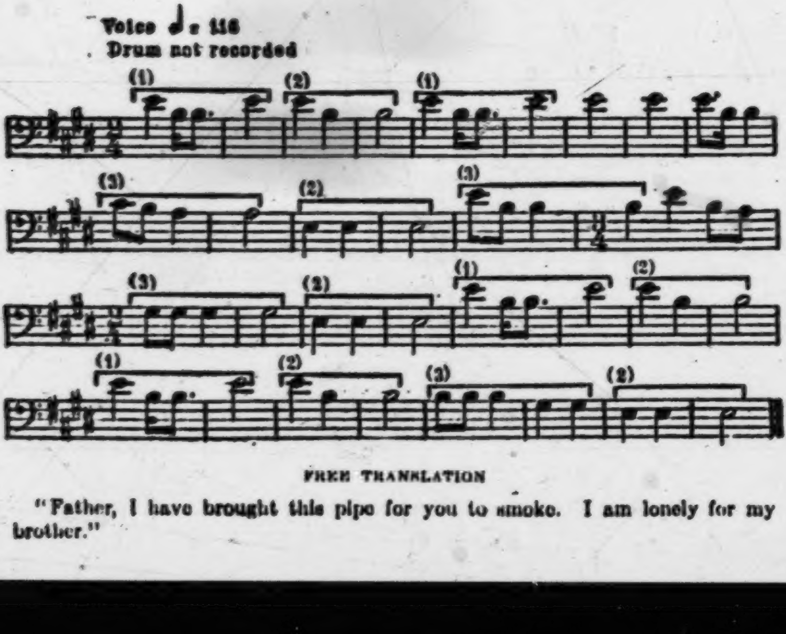
After they had gone the young man took the pipe out of the sacred bundle that the old woman kept. Before daylight he filled the pipe and went toward the place where they used to kill the buffalo. When he reached the place he found many buffalo bones. He held the stem of the pipe down toward the buffalo bones and sang the following
+533 song.

539

No. 72. Folk Tale Song (a)

(Catalogue No. 1157)

Recorded by Fannie Chapman



FREE TRANSLATION

"Father, I have brought this pipe for you to smoke. I am lonely for my brother."

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Analysis.—The interval of a fourth constitutes 68 per cent of the intervals in this song, which is an unusually large proportion of this interval. The song is harmonic in structure and contains the complete octave except the second and seventh. The rhythmic structure is interesting as the three rhythmic units occur in somewhat irregular order. 533* 537

As the young man sang this song the bones came to life and made a noise like a great many buffalo. He said, "Now, fathers, grandfathers and grandmothers, I want you to pity me. That is why I sang." They replied, "All right." Then a middle-aged buffalo with shining horns came toward him and said, "I will be the first to help you. We know about that wicked chief and what he has been doing." The buffalo threw himself down and when he got up he shook himself. Where he had been lying the boy saw a game stick. The buffalo said, "Take that stick." A young buffalo did the same and gave the boy another stick. Then a young buffalo cow did the same and when she arose the boy saw a game ring which she told him to use. The boy brought the two sticks and the ring home with him and hung them beside the sacred bundle. On the day of the game he told his grandmother that he would send someone for the sticks and the ring but did not want anyone to be at home when the messenger came. 539

In the morning Coyote came as before and said that all was ready for the game. Everything was the same as when the younger man played, the chief having Coyote and the man having the bird-man on his side. They began to play and the chief won as before. The boy had no goods so he bet the people, as his brother had done. The chief said, "Now you have bet all the people, you ought to bet yourself." The young man said "All right." Then his stick struck the chief's stick and broke it in two. The young man said, "Thanks. Now I will not be killed." The chief said, "Perhaps you have some gaming sticks somewhere." The man said, "Yes," and sent Coyote to get them, adding, "They are common sticks, lying on the floor." Coyote went to the old woman's lodge, opened the door and heard a noise as of many buffalo. He was frightened and ran back. The chief sent another messenger, who brought the same report. Then the boy sent the bird-man, who brought the sticks and the ring. They did not make any noise when he entered the lodge for they knew he was the right person.

The boy played with the sticks and had good luck. He won back all the people, and the chief's leg was broken. Then the boy sang this song.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

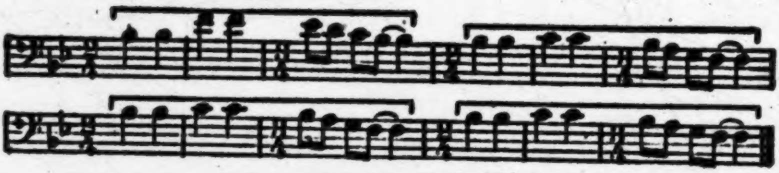
*533
539

No. 73. Folk Tale Song (b)

Recorded by Fannie Chapman

(Catalogue No. 1158)

Voice ♩ = 132
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

"You are a good gambler. They say you are a good gambler. Get up and play."

Analysis.—This song comprises four periods, the rhythm being the same in each. The descent of the voice at the close of each phrase was somewhat *glissando* but kept the intervals with reasonable distinctness. The song is melodic in structure and contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth.

539 They played again and the chief said, "Throw the sticks toward the east." They threw the sticks toward the east and the boy's stick went through the hoop and went on and on, and finally it turned into a buffalo. As soon as the chief's people saw the stick turn into a buffalo they began to cry, but the boy's people began to rejoice.

The young man asked, "Where is my brother's head?" They told him. He asked, "Where are his bones?" They told him this also. Then he laid his brother's bones in order on the ground, with the head at one end. Then he stood below his brother's foot and kicked the foot, saying, "Why are you sleeping so long?" His brother arose and said, "Yes, I have been asleep a long time," and smoothed his hair.

They killed the chief where the game had been played and they killed all the chief's people.

Then the two brothers returned to their own village.

Story of Coyote and the Turkeys[37]

RELATED BY MRS. MARY MURIE

There was a village and a man who used to run around by himself. He was Coyote. He went and sat on a hill looking down and he saw a big flock of turkeys. He was hungry, as coyotes always are, and he thought, "I am going to get one of them." So he went down. The turkeys nudged each other and said, "There comes a thief. He looks hungry. We must look out for him. He is tricky." 537 They all said that. Coyote said to the turkeys, "Grandchildren, let us have a little game." The turkeys said, "What kind of a game are we going to have?" Coyote said, "Well, don't let us have a game, let us have a dance." The turkeys said, "All right, let us have a dance."

---

[37] Cf. "Coyote and the turkeys," Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 265. Also story of Wenabojo and the ducks, Chippewa Music, p. 206. Although there is a similarity in these stories of the Pawnee and Chippewa there is no resemblance in the song which was sung in connection with the story.

[171]

Coyote looked at the turkeys. Some were big, fat ones. He selected about six of the biggest and fattest and said, "You must stand in front." Then he arranged two rows back of them. Then he said, "I have a song. While you dance you must close your eyes. When I begin to sing you must all close your eyes." He kept his eyes open and he saw one turkey with its eyes open. He said, "Close your eyes, you are looking at me." He sang again, and after a while he saw they all had their eyes shut. He had a club in his hand but he kept on singing. The turkeys all had their eyes shut and he killed all in the front row. The rest flew away before he could kill them. Then he said that he would have a feast for his wives and his children. He said, "Turkeys have not much sense."

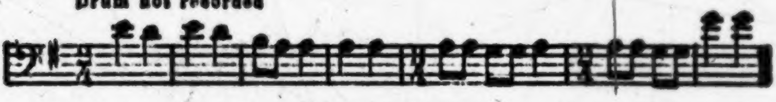
No. 74. Song of Coyote

533*

(Catalogue No. 1184)

Recorded by Mary Murie 539

Voice ♩ = 100
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

Put your heads down, move your hips as you dance

Analysis.—The rhythm of this song is continuous from the first measure to the last, and is especially interesting in the latter portion. Attention is directed to the effective use of a triple measure followed by a double measure at the close of the melody. The tones occurring in the song are G and A, D and E, occurring in whole-toned progressions. The last two notes were sung to the syllables "tut, tut," supposed to represent the cry of the turkeys.

The narrator of the next story said that it did not originate with the Pawnee and she thought that it came from the Omaha in Nebraska. 537 [177]

STORY OF NURI AND HIS BROTHER

RELATED BY MRS. MARY MURIE

There was a man so jealous of his wife that he determined to take her away from the village. He told her to pack everything and they would go. They took plenty of dried meat, pounded meat, corn, and all kinds of food, and left the village. When night came

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 they camped. They were far from any people and her husband said they would stay in that place. He was a good hunter and killed deer, turkeys, and other game. After a while they made an earth lodge to live in. Every morning the man put plenty of meat beside the fire, brought some water, and told his wife to stay in the lodge until his return. He was gone until night.

In time his wife bore a child and named it Nuri. Indeed she bore twin boys, but her husband did not notice the second child and buried it with the afterbirth. The second child crawled out of the ground and lived with the animals, but his mother never knew. Her husband told her, as before, that she must stay in the lodge. He said that he had seen some bad people prowling about. One day, when the man was away, these bad people came to the lodge. His wife was sitting beside the fire and the baby was asleep when she heard a sound and looked toward the door. Seven men entered the lodge and said, "Give us something to eat. We know that you have plenty of food." She did not reply but pointed to the meat that was cooking on sticks around the fire. They ate it all and went away. After they had gone she exclaimed, "Those horrid men ate all my meat." One heard it and said to the others, "She called us names." So they all went into the lodge and killed her. They did not see the baby but they carried the woman's body to their camp and devoured it. When the man came home he looked for his wife, and seeing the tracks he knew the wicked people had taken her. The man grieved greatly for his wife.

By this time the baby was old enough to walk and talk. Every morning before the man went to hunt he fixed the meat ready to cook and told the little boy to play inside the lodge. One day he went away as usual, after fixing the meat, and the little boy thought, "I will go outside. I never have seen what it is like out there." He went out and saw a little boy coming toward him. The boy was about his own size and was singing the following song.

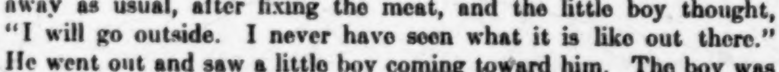
+533
539

No. 75. Song of the Strange Little Boy

(Catalogue No. 1155)

Recorded by Mary Murie

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum not recorded
Irregular in tonality



Analysis.—This song is classified as irregular in tonality. The only progressions are whole tones and fourths, and the sequence of tones can scarcely be said to suggest a keynote. Both the melody and rhythm are simple and childish.

The strange boy (who was his brother) said, "Nuri, you are having a good time with your father but I am here with my grandmothers, the wood rats. Your father is my father too. I have plenty of wild grapes and cherries but I do not have any meat to eat." Nuri said, "Come into the lodge and I will give you some." The strange boy sniffed the air and asked, "Is your father here?" "No," said Nuri. The strange boy went into the lodge and played until it was time for their father to return. Then he ran away, saying, "Forget, forget," so that Nuri would not tell their father. This child was a "wonder boy" and he came every day until both boys were quite grown. One day he failed to say "Forget" when he went away. As the boy and his father were eating their supper Nuri said, "Father, I want to tell you something. There is a little boy who comes every day to play with me while you are away." The man said to himself, "I will try to catch the boy." So one morning he hid instead of going away. The wonder boy came as usual, singing the same little song. He stopped and sniffed the air, saying to Nuri, "Your father is here." "No," said Nuri, "Perhaps you smell his blanket." "It is certainly he," said the boy, and ran away. The father determined to catch the boy by a trick and told Nuri how to tie a thong around his brother's scalplock. In the struggle that ensued the wonder-boy's scalplock was torn from his head and held by the thong. The father kept the scalplock gave the boys a good supper, and told them to stay in the lodge.

Nuri obeyed his father, but as time passed, his brother continually tried to lead him into danger. When Nuri objected his brother would say, "Give me my hair and I will go back to my grandmothers." Then Nuri would yield, but the boys always returned in safety. One day they brought snake rattles and hung them on the door of the lodge. Another day they went to a place where a boat was moored. If anyone went in this boat it upset, threw the people into the water, and then returned to its place by the shore. The wonder boy wanted to go in the boat but Nuri objected. The boy said as before, "Then you must give me my hair and I will go back to my grandmothers." Nuri yielded and they went in the boat, which soon began tipping endwise and sidewise. "Do as I do," cried the wonder-boy, moving his arms and making a noise like a wild goose. Nuri imitated him and the boys flew away. Before leaving the boat they sang the following song.

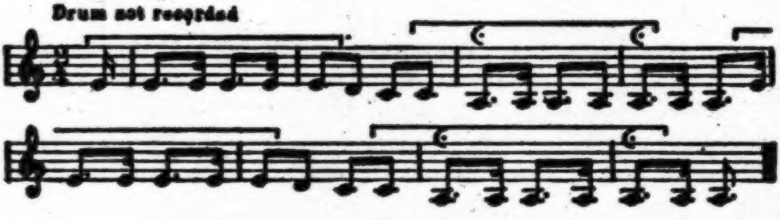
No. 76. Song as the Boys Flew Away

(Catalogue No. 1156)

*533
539

Recorded by Mary Murie

Voice ♩ = 69
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

Nuri, do this and we will turn into geese. We will not drown.

Analysis.—No ascending progressions occur in this melody, which contains the tones of the fourth 5-toned scale. It is harmonic in structure and has a rhythmic unit. Although the melody is short it has an interesting and characteristic rhythm.

539 After they flew away the boat returned to the landing.

Then the wonder boy wanted to go where the people lived who killed his mother. These people lived in straw huts and when they saw the boys they said, "These boys are fat; we will have a good feast." The wonder boy heard them talking. They called to the boys and said, "Come in soon, we will have the feast ready," and aside they said, "The boys have no sense." Nuri was afraid but his brother said, "Do not cry. We will destroy them. If we do not they will kill us." The boys went into the lodge and saw a kettle full of boiling water. The wonder boy said, "Do as I do." Then both boys jumped on the edge of the kettle and upset it. The boiling water fell on the people but the boys flew out of the lodge like burned leaves. The people fought and killed one another, thinking they were killing the boys, and the lodge burned up. These people had long sharp bones at the points of their elbows and heels and on the back of their heads. When they were dead the boys took off three or four of these points. The wonder boy said, "Let us take these home for father to use in sewing moccasins."

This frightened the father and that night he made up his mind to run away and leave the boys. The wonder boy knew that his father would do this but Nuri cried the next morning, when his father had gone. The brother said, "Father has left us but we will search until we find him." So the boys started to find their father. At first they saw no trace, and whenever they met a snake, a bear, or even a little bug the wonder boy would ask, "Have you seen my father?"

They replied "No." After the boys had traveled a long time the brother said to Nuri, "Are you tired?" Nuri said that he was tired, and his brother summoned a tiger (mountain lion?) and both boys rode on his back. When they had traveled a long way farther they came to a village and asked, "Have you seen our father?" The people replied, "Yes, we saw him going north." The boys traveled all that night but could not find him. The brother said, "Let us kill all the people in every village." Nuri cried, but yielded. The wonder boy said, "Nuri, do this." The boys turned their heads from side to side and they rattled. They said to the people, "If you see us you will die, and if you do not see us you will die." The people fell over and died, one after another. Then the boys looked all through the village but could not find their father. At the third village they found that their father had been killed by the people. Nuri cried but his brother said, "I would not cry. He left us to starve." They found their father's body and took it away to a high hill. They cut two willow poles, two cottonwood, two elm, and two walnut poles, and four cedar posts about as long as the height of a man. They worked all day doing this, and took them on the hill. Then they laid them crosswise in a pile with sweet grass underneath and put their father's body on top of the pile. The wonder boy said, "Father, we used to love you but now we are going to burn you up and the smoke will ascend to Tirawa; but, father, you are not dead forever, and some day we will see you again."

Story of the Little Rattlesnake

This story differs from the preceding in that the entire narrative was sung, a typical portion of the melody being transcribed. The story was as follows: In the place where the rattlesnakes lived there was a little rattlesnake who cried because he wanted his rattle to make a noise. He said to his father, "I do not see why I don't rattle. I am just like my brothers and sisters but their rattles rattle while mine does not." His father said, "You are not old enough. When you are as big as your brothers and sisters your rattle will rattle like theirs."

The little snake cried so hard that at last they "made medicine" for him so that his rattle would rattle. Then he wanted to rattle it all the time.

The little snake said to his father, "Tell me how a chief's daughter looks. I want to bite her foot." His father said, "A chief's daughter is very neat in her dress. Those who are not the daughters of chiefs are very careless. You can tell the difference in that way."

The snakes' house was located on a road along which the Pawnee used to travel. The oldest snake said, "Father, my little brother

539 rattles all the time. The Pawnee will hear him and kill us all. Make him stop." But the little snake kept on. He even went beside the road and rattled his rattle very loud.

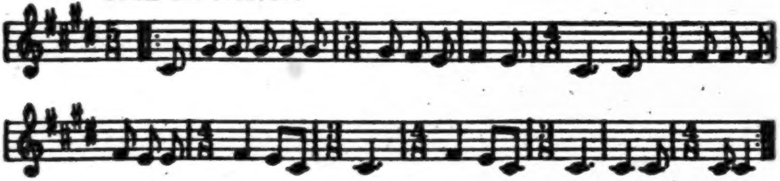
One day a girl came along the road and the little snake thought she was a chief's daughter. He bit her foot and she turned quickly and crushed his head. The other snakes found him and the brother said, "Father, didn't I tell you that one of us would be killed? There is my little brother with his head smashed." That is the end of the story.

No. 77. The Little Rattlesnake

(Catalogue No. 1077)

*533 Recorded by Effie Blain

539 Voice ♪ = 152
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—Six renditions of this song were recorded and the time values in all were as indicated in the transcription. The principal progression in the song is F sharp–E, followed by C sharp. Thus the tone material is practically the minor third and fourth, although the fifth occurs in the opening measure. The song begins and ends on the same tone, which is somewhat unusual in Indian songs.

UNCLASSIFIED SONGS

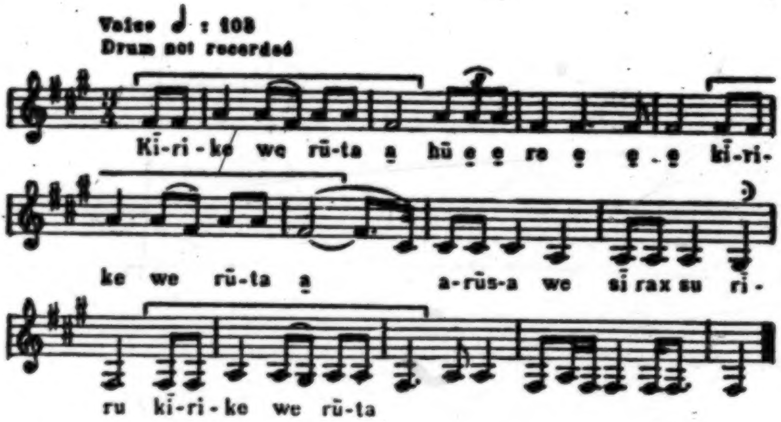
773 When the Pawnee first saw a horse they were frightened. Some
ran away and others said, "I wonder what he is dragging behind
231 him" (referring to his tail). A great crowd of people was looking
825 at the horse. At last someone said, "Why are you afraid of this
animal. He is very useful. He can carry you and your packs.
You can get on him and he will take you from place to place so that
you can kill game." Ever since that time the Pawnee have owned
horses, and found that horses could work for them.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 78. "You Need Not Fear the Horse"

(Catalogue No. 1079) 533*

Recorded by Effie Blain


Voice ♩ = 108
Drum not recorded
Ki-ri-ke we rū-ta a hū e e re e e-e ki-ri-
ke we rū-ta a a-rūs-a we si rax su ri-
ru ki-ri-ke we rū-ta

Kirike	we	rūta	hū	re	kirike
What	now these	coming	yonder	these	what
we	rūta	arūsa	we	si	rax
now these	coming	horse	now these	it	you
su	riru	kirike	we	rūta	
it	afraid	what	now these	coming	

FREE TRANSLATION

What are those that come?
Those yonder, what are those that come?
The horse, you fear it,
What are those that come?

Analysis.—No change of measure length occurs in this song and the count divisions are chiefly quarter and eighth notes. The rhythmic unit is well defined and the six renditions are uniform in every respect. The minor triad and second constitute the tone material, and four-fifths of the intervals are minor thirds.

A man once volunteered to follow a war party and had gone only about halfway to the place of fighting when he met the warriors returning. He was one of the poorest men in all the four bands of the Pawnee. Passing through a deserted camp of his people he saw, by the circles of buffalo skulls, that offerings had been made to 533* 782 556

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 Tirawa. He therefore prayed that Tirawa would help him get
782 a horse so that he could kill some buffalo. His prayer was answered,
556 and he became a very rich man. This is the song in which he offered his prayer.

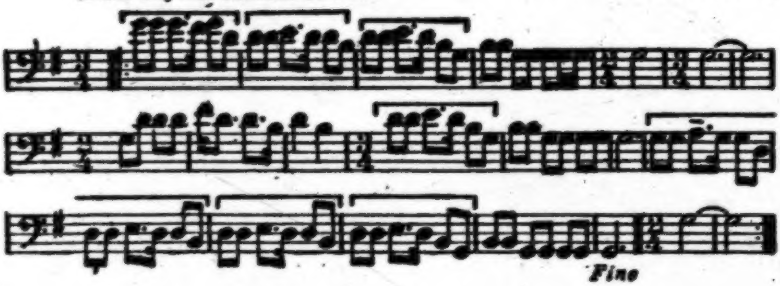
*533

No. 79. A Poor Man's Prayer

(Catalogue No. 1127)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 58
Drum ♩ = 58
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Analysis.—A compass of two octaves characterizes this song, although only two of its intervals are larger than a major third. The lowest tone was distinctly sung. Two-thirds of the progressions are downward and the rhythmic unit is continued throughout the melody. The rhythm was steadily maintained in the three renditions but there was some variance in the intonation.

*533
787 Only one song was recorded by Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*), who was hostess at a hand game attended by the writer. In explanation of the song she said, "I was sick and lay with my face toward the east. As I lay there I saw a man with his face whitened with clay, wearing a robe and leggings of buffalo hide. He was walking toward the west and singing this song. When I heard it I knew that I would get well."

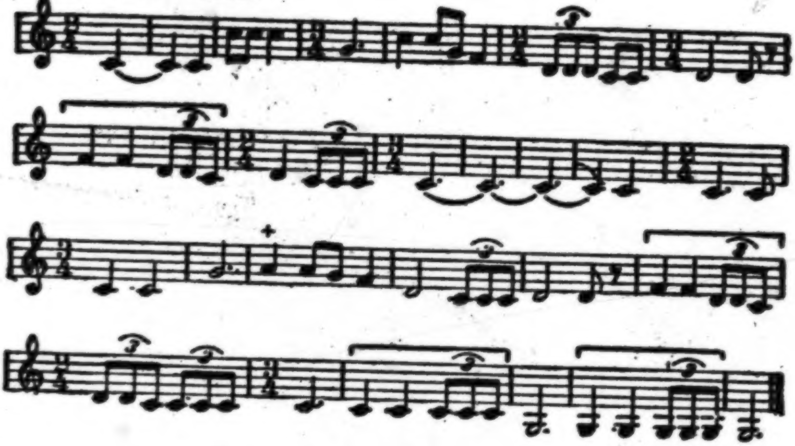
*533 *Analysis.*—The ascending octave at the beginning of this song was given accurately in all the renditions. The octave forms the boundary of the melody except for the lower tone at the close, and C is regarded as the keynote, although the third above that tone does not occur. The sustained tones were the same duration in all the renditions. It is interesting to note that these tones usually contain an uneven number of counts. The same has been noted in prolonged tones occurring in songs of this and other tribes.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 80. "Everything Will Be Right"

Recorded by Mrs. Good Eagle (Catalogue No. 1161) 533*

Voice ♩ = 100
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

I was thinking, and I knew that everything would be right.

In explanation of the following song the singer said, "What I am going to tell you is not a dream, for I saw it in broad daylight. A star spoke to me and said, "Look at me; I am the one who takes pity on you and gives you good health. Tonight, when you go home, look toward the west. You will see two bright stars. I am the one to the north. I am the one who helps you. When you sing this song you must think of me." Then the star said, "You are not praying enough but I am helping you. I gave you everything you needed, why do you neglect your prayers?" The singer said that ever since that time he had prayed morning and night. 533* 787

Analysis.—The first seven measures of this song begin on the same tone, the melody descending a fourth or a third during the measure and returning to the initial tone. The remainder of the song contains only the tones of the major triad. Three different phrases are repeated but can scarcely be considered units of rhythm. The upward and downward progressions are almost equal in number. This is the more interesting as the general trend of the melody is downward. 533*

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

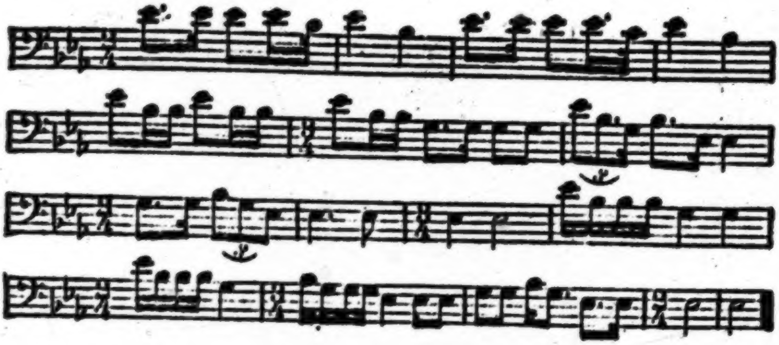
No. 81. "The Message of a Star"

(Catalogue No. 1126)

Recorded by JOHN LUWAK

*533

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum ♩ = 76
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 26



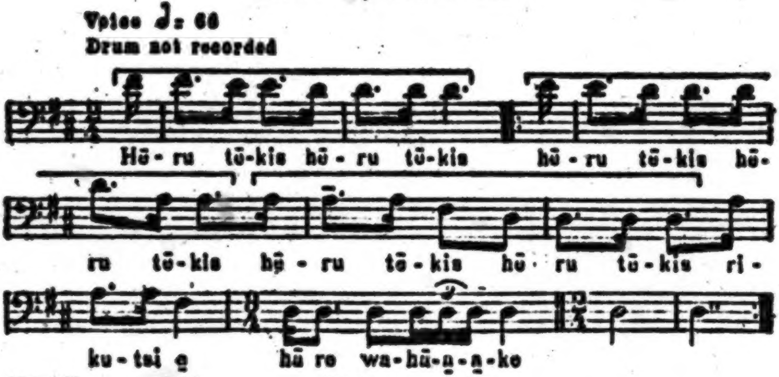
*533 765 The singer who recorded the next song spent his childhood in Nebraska, before the Pawnee moved to Oklahoma. His mother died when he was 3 years old and he grieved a long time for her. His father sang this song to comfort him and said, "We can do nothing when a person dies; we can only pray. Perhaps some day you will be a man and have children around you." When he grew [424] up his father, who was still living, taught him the song and told him of its early use. He made it into a war dance and it is known as his song.

*533 *Analysis.*—This is one of the songs in which the Indians "cry as they sing," making the intonation unsteady in a portion of the melody. In this instance the first three and last three measures were sung with good intonation but a *glissando* was used on the descending progressions in the fourth and fifth measures. In some of the renditions this was exaggerated and produced a wailing effect. The song is characterized by a large compass and a descending trend.

No. 82. Song to Comfort a Child's Grief

(Catalogue No. 1105) 533*

Recorded by Wicita Blain


Voice ♩= 60
Drum not recorded
Hŭ - ru tŭ-kis hŭ - ru tŭ-kis hŭ - ru tŭ-kis hŭ-
ru tŭ-kis hŭ - ru tŭ - kis hŭ · ru tŭ-kis ri-
ku - tsi e hŭ re wa-hŭ-a-a-ko

Ahŭru[28]	tŭkis	rikŭtsi	hŭ	re
Dear	child	stop crying	yonder	there
wahŭko				
heavens				

FREE TRANSLATION

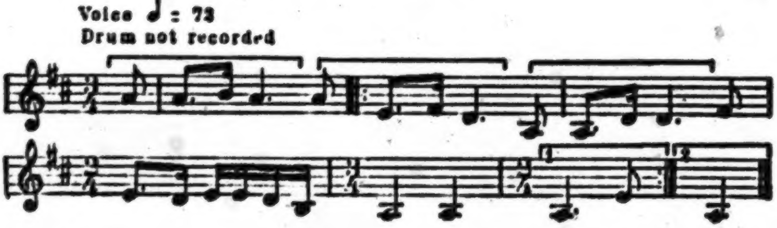
My dear child, stop crying,
Yonder there, in the expanse of the heavens, is where power dwells.

The next song belonged to the first wife of Roaming Chief, who was a close friend of the singer. She had a little girl who died when about 8 months old. Although she had several other children she grieved for this baby and sang the following song about it. The woman's name was Curuk'siwa. [565 4x4]

No. 83. Mother's Song for a Dead Baby

(Catalogue No. 1009)

Recorded by Effie Blain


Voice ♩= 72
Drum not recorded

Analysis.—This melody is exceedingly simple in both melody and rhythm. The rhythmic unit occurs three times, followed by a phrase which begins like the rhythmic unit but changes to a descending

---

[28] The first syllable of this word was omitted by the singer.

3; Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 wail in which the tones transcribed E-D-B are clearly discernible but are connected by a *glissando*. The melody tones are those of the fourth five-toned scale and the repeated portion, as in many Indian songs, begins with the second phrase.

*533 787 A certain man had a dream and in that dream one of his dead relatives appeared and said, "I have come back into this world. You see me." At the same time he heard and learned the following song. When the man awoke he remembered the song and understood what it meant. He dreamed a second time, and the same dead relative appeared, saying, "Remember when we pass from the old earth we pass to a new earth where we are now." The two songs were recorded and the melodies found to be the same. The words of the first were translated, "I am coming," and the words of the second were, "Yonder, whence I came, our relatives are walking."

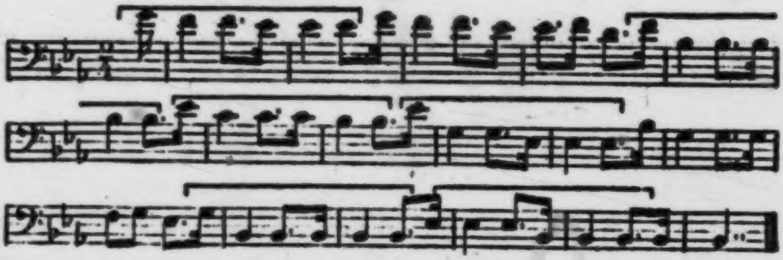
*533

No. 84. Song Received from a Dead Relative

(Catalogue No. 1132)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 116
Drum ♩ = 116
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 26



Analysis.—The chief interest of this song lies in the two phrases which do not contain the rhythmic unit. The first of these phrases is the more energetic, and both bear a resemblance to the unit. The song has a compass of 10 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is by an unusually large variety of intervals but the whole tone is the interval of most frequent occurrence.

[424 [622 535] The next song belongs to a very old woman named Ciltha'rureĕs whose father was a chief. The singers at the drum sometimes start this song so that she can dance. It was formerly used in a "dance of the chiefs" in which the daughters of chiefs took part.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

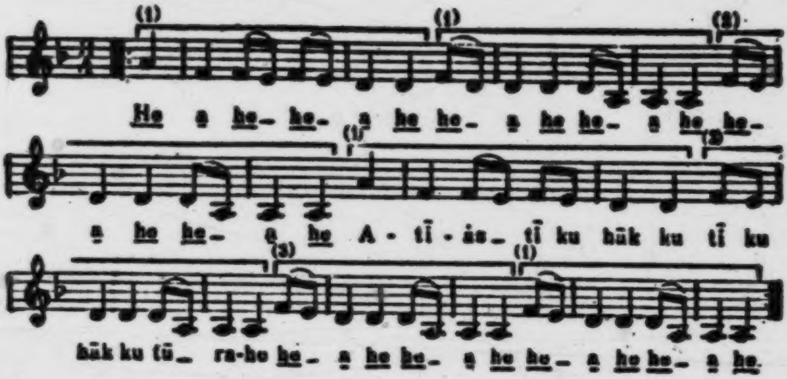
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 85. "Father Gave Me a Pipe"

(Catalogue No. 1092) 533*

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 104
Drum not recorded


(1)
(1)
(2)
He a he- he- a he he- a he he- a he he-
(1)
(2)
a he he- a he A - tī - às - tī ku hāk ku tī ku
(3)
(1)
hāk ku tū- ra-ho he- a he he- a he he- a he he- a he.

He a he		atiàs	tī		ku	hāk[a]
Exclamation		father	he		me	pipe
ku	tī	ku	hāk	ku	tū	raho
gave	he	me	pipe	gave	is	good

FREE TRANSLATION

Father is good,
He gave me a pipe,
He is good.

Analysis.—A comparison of the three rhythmic units occurring in this song will show that the differences are slight, yet they are sufficient to give variety to the rhythm. The song has a range of an octave and contains only the tones of the minor triad and second. It is harmonic in structure and progresses chiefly by whole tones.

Mr. Murie said that the story concerning the following song was recently told him by John Luwak: A man and his wife had one child, a daughter, who had many admirers. Sirirut Kawi (Pushed Forward) entered the lodge early one morning, after the manner of young men courting a maiden. The man said to his wife, "Did you notice that young man?" 584 539

He came again, and then the woman said to her husband, "The young man is handsome, he comes of a good family, he has plenty of horses and his arms are strong so that he would be good to support us." When he came the third time they told him to wait for his answer until the girl's relatives could discuss the matter. So they called their

---

[a] The last letter of this word was elided with the next word by the singer.

584 relatives together, the mother's relatives being seated on the south
539 and the father's on the north side of the lodge. The father's relatives
left the decision with the mother's relatives, who decided that the girl
should be allowed to marry the young man. Many presents were
[431] distributed. The young man's relatives gave presents, and the young
man gave a fine horse to the father and mother of the girl. The next
day the old man gave the horse to his wife. There were buffalo robes
and many valuable articles among the presents.

539 All went well for a time, and then the young man began to beat his
593 wife and abuse her. The girl's mother begged her father to interfere,
but he refused to do so. She said, "You claim to be a brave man; why
do you not make our son-in-law stop beating his wife?"

He said, "Do you remember one beautiful morning when you said the young man was handsome, that he came of good family, had many horses, and his arms were strong?"

"Yes."

"Do you remember that my relatives sat on the north and yours on the south side of the lodge, and that my relatives left the decision to yours?"

"Yes."

"So your people sold our daughter to that man. We have no right to interfere with his property. He gave the ponies. He gave a fine pony to us. Didn't I give you that pony?"

"Yes."

"Get a kettle. Put it on the fire and put water in it." She did so.

[415 "Now take your parflêche bag and put the finest of your dried meat
in the pot. When the soup is done you must bring me some in a
251] wooden bowl."

When she brought the soup he told her to sit beside him and eat. As they ate he said, "What nice fat! What fine meat this is! Who got it for you?"

"Our son-in-law."

"You like the meat that our son-in-law brings us? He punishes our daughter for her own good. He does not want her to run around the camp foolishly. He wants her to be a good cook and to look after things in the lodge."

Then the woman stopped finding fault with her son-in-law.

The young man was well liked by the chiefs. They asked him to
join their societies and later he became a chief. He and his wife
had one child, a boy. This little boy liked to stay with his grand-
father, who told him stories. His grandfather was Saritsaris (Mad
[264 Chief), a brave man of the Chaui Band. The little boy cooled his
grandfather's mush or soup by swinging the dish back and forth,
867] then he set it before the old man.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

When the little boy was about half-grown he heard that a war 539
party was to start. He told his mother that he wanted to go, and
he wanted her and his grandmother to make him some moccasins.
He also wanted arrows, a bow and a quiver, and all the equipment
of a warrior. When the old man heard this he called the boy and
said, "Do you realize what you are doing?" 787

"Yes, I am grown to be a man."

"Do you have dreams at night?" 539

"Yes."

"Can you relate some of them?"

"Yes."

"Tell one to me."

"In my dream I was with a war party. I found myself coming toward home through deep snow."

"That is enough," said the old man. "You can go."

The women had sent the boy to his grandfather, thinking he
would keep him at home, and they were greatly surprised to learn
that the grandfather had told the boy to go with the warriors. It
was fall when the war party started. As winter was coming near
it was noised through the camp that all the war party had been
killed and the people began to mourn. The women of this family 765
mourned exceedingly and cut their flesh with knives, but the old
man sat and laughed at them, or smoked his pipe. This went on 152
for about 10 days. Then his wife said, "You did not care for our 304
grandchild," and his daughter said, "Why do you not mourn?"
The old man said to his wife, "You remember that you turned the
boy over to me when he wanted to go to war. You made moccasins
for him and filled his quiver with arrows. I questioned him and
found that he had had a dream in which he was returning alone
through deep snow. That dream will come true. He is coming
home, so I want you all to stop mourning."

They would not believe him, but one day, after a snow, some people going out from the village met the young man returning. He said, "All the warriors were killed except myself."

The man rode back and cried through the village, "Sarītsaris' grandchild is coming through the deep snow."

Everyone in the lodge was excited, except the old man. He did not rush out to meet his grandson. The women urged him to go, but he said, "He is coming; never mind."

When the young man entered the lodge his grandfather said, "Sit
on my knees." The old man passed his hands downward over the 201
young man's head and body in the tribal manner of "blessing," and 782
said, "I believed in your dream and now you are here."

Then he told him to sit yonder and said, "I ask you—when attacked, 539
did you hide in a ravine? When you were a little boy and cooled my

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 mush I told you that I never wanted to hear that your body was found in a ravine. I said that if you must be killed, let it be on a hilltop, fighting in the open. I told you not to run away. Did you fight the enemy? Is it possible that you had gone on an errand and on your return found the fight going on and ran home instead of joining your comrades? I told you always to tell the truth. Don't lie to me now. Tell me the truth."

The young man said, "This will tell the story," and he exposed his arm, which was raw and sore from wrist to elbow, where the bowstring had stung him. The boy said, "I did not even throw away my buffalo robe. I fought until night and then they let me alone."

The old man said, "Now your name shall be Sirirut Kawi, the same as your father's. If you had been killed I would not have shed a tear, for I urged you to go on the warpath."

So the young man lived with his grandfather until the next summer, when the village was attacked by the enemy. The young man went out and was killed. The news was brought into the village and the old man heard it. He took his robe of bear skin, threw it over his shoulder, and went about the camp telling how kind the young man was to the old and sick. Returning home, he said, "You waved the bowl of mush to cool it. I shall miss you."

+533 People said his heart was like a stone until he sang this song. Then he wept. In the first portion of the words he sings about himself and
539 his pride in his grandson, and in the latter portion he sings about the young man.

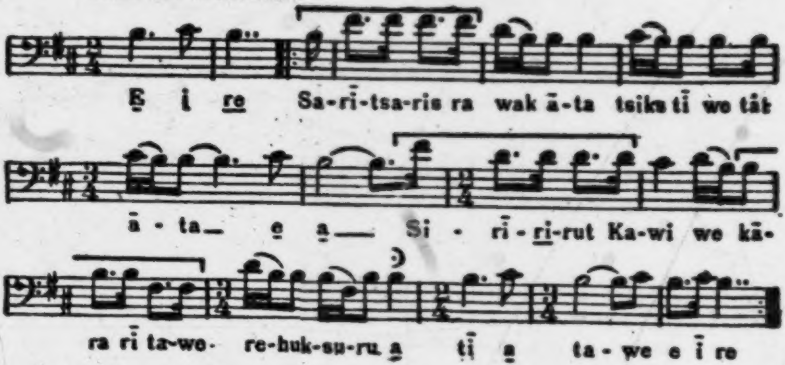
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 86. Mad Chief Mourns for His Grandson

(Catalogue No. 1096) 533*
539

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum not recorded


E i re Sa-ri-tsa-ris ra wak ā-ta tsiks tī we tāt
ā - ta e a Si - rī - ri-rut Ka-wi we kā-
ra rī ta-we re-huk-su-ru a tī a ta - we e ī re

Saritsaris	ra	wak	āta	
Mad Chief	have	sing	walking	
tsiks [58]	tī	we	tāt	āta
spirit	glad	now	I am	walking
Sirirut Kawi		we	kāra	
Pushed Forward (young man's name)		now	not have	
rī	tawe	rehuksuru	tī	tawe
him	among	of his image	him	among
e	ī	re		
yonder	he	comes		

FREE TRANSLATION

Mad Chief sings as he walks, his spirit is glad as he walks.
Pushed Forward is no longer among us, yet we seem to see him;
Yonder he comes.

Analysis. This melody lies partly above and partly below the keynote, a melodic form occurring less frequently among the Pawnee than in certain other tribes. The song begins and ends on the same tone and is based on the minor triad and second. It is minor in tonality and almost two-thirds of the intervals are whole tones. 533*

---

[58] The full form of the word is *tsiksu*.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

MELODIC ANALYSIS

TABLE 1.—TONALITY

*533

	Serial numbers of songs	Number	Per cent
Major tonality	3, 4, 7, 8,10, 11, 16, 19, 22, 26, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 39, 43, 46, 60, 61, 62, 64, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84.	33	38
Minor tonality	2, 6, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 33, 34, 37, 38, 44, 45, 48, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 63, 65, 66, 67, 76, 77, 78, 85, 86.	39	46
Both major and minor	29 (same keynote)	1	1
Third lacking	1, 5, 28, 40, 41, 42, 47, 49, 53, 71, 80	12	14
Irregular [1]	75	1	1
Total		86	

TABLE 2.—FIRST NOTE OF SONG—ITS RELATION TO KEYNOTE

	Serial numbers of songs	Number	Per cent
Beginning on the—			
Thirteenth	66	1	1
Twelfth	1, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27, 59	7	8
Eleventh	13	1	1
Tenth	4, 6, 11, 17, 19, 23, 24, 31, 60, 61, 63, 68, 82, 84	14	16
Ninth	8, 12, 21, 28	4	5
Octave	2, 3, 7, 10, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 62, 69, 71, 72, 78, 79, 81	17	20
Sixth	74	1	1
Fifth	5, 9, 12, 14, 15, 33, 38, 40, 46, 48, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 64, 65, 67, 70, 83, 85.	21	24
Fourth	42, 50	2	2
Third	16, 45, 52, 76	4	5
Second	43, 44	2	2
Keynote	29, 39, 41, 47, 51, 57, 58, 73, 77, 80, 86	11	13
Irregular	75	1	1
Total		86	

TABLE 3.—LAST NOTE OF SONG—ITS RELATION TO KEYNOTE

	Serial numbers of songs	Number	Per cent
Ending on the—			
Fifth	5, 6, 9, 16, 28, 33, 43, 45, 48, 50, 52, 58, 65, 66, 67, 70, 73, 80, 83, 84, 85.	21	24
Third	17, 64	2	2
Keynote	1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 49, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 68, 69, 71, 72, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 86.	62	72
Irregular	75	1	1
Total		86	

---

[1] A song is thus classified if the tones do not have an apparent relation to a keynote.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

TABLE 4.—LAST NOTE OF SONG—ITS RELATION TO COMPASS OF SONG

533*

	Serial numbers of songs	Number	Per cent
Songs in which final tone is—			
Lowest tone in song	1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85.	68	79
Immediately preceded by—			
Fourth below	2, 7	2	2
Minor third below	41	1	1
Whole tone below	12, 23	2	2
Semitone below	38, 56	2	2
Minor third below, with minor third below in a previous measure.	16	1	1
Minor third below, with fourth below in a previous measure.	47	1	1
Whole tone below, with a whole tone below in a previous measure.	82	1	1
Songs containing—			
An octave below the final tone.	74	1	1
A fourth below the final tone.	2, 48, 86	3	3
A major third below the final tone.	24, 33	3	3
A minor third below the final tone.	17	1	1
A semitone below the final tone.	9	1	1
Total		86	

TABLE 5.—NUMBER OF TONES COMPRISED IN COMPASS OF SONG

	Serial numbers of songs	Number	Per cent
Compass of—			
Seventeen tones	29, 30, 69, 79	4	5
Thirteen tones	6, 28, 64, 66	4	5
Twelve tones	1, 20, 22, 24, 25, 27, 26, 31, 59, 84,	10	11
Eleven tones	2, 3, 7, 11, 13, 23, 67, 80	8	9
Ten tones	4, 16, 17, 18, 33, 60, 61, 63, 68, 70, 78, 82	12	14
Nine tones	5, 8, 9, 10, 21,	5	6
Eight tones	19, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 47, 48, 50, 62, 65, 71, 72, 73, 74, 81, 83, 85, 86.	19	22
Seven tones	41, 43, 52	3	3
Six tones	12, 38, 44. 45, 49, 56, 75	7	8
Five tones	14, 15, 40, 46, 51, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 76, 77	12	14
Four tones	42	1	1
Three tones	39	1	1
Total		86	

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533

TABLE 6.—TONE MATERIAL

	Serial numbers of songs	Number	Per cent
First 5-toned scale	28, 41, 47, 49, 80	5	6
Second 5-toned scale	13, 20, 34, 38, 44, 52, 63	7	8
Fourth 5-toned scale	3, 22, 30, 31, 35, 61, 83, 84	8	9
Major triad	7	1	1
Major triad and sixth	81	1	1
Major triad and fourth	36	1	1
Major triad and second	8, 76	2	2
Minor triad and fourth	14, 58, 59, 77	4	5
Minor triad and second	15, 33, 51, 78, 85, 86	6	7
Octave complete	4, 23, 25, 37	4	5
Octave complete except seventh	10, 12, 26, 27, 43, 46, 68, 69	8	9
Octave complete except seventh and sixth	11, 21, 48, 50, 57, 65, 82	7	8
Octave complete except seventh and fourth.[1]	45	1	1
Octave complete except seventh and second	9, 16, 32, 62, 67, 72	6	7
Octave complete except sixth	56, 60	2	2
Octave complete except sixth and fourth	2, 18, 64, 66	4	5
Octave complete except fourth	6, 24, 70, 73, 79	5	6
First, third, fourth, and fifth tones	54, 55	2	2
First, second, fourth, and fifth tones	1, 53, 71	3	3
First, second, fifth, and sixth tones	5, 74	2	2
Other combinations of tones	17, 19, 39, 40, 42	5	6
Both major and minor (same keynote)	29	1	1
Irregular	75	1	1
Total		86	

---

[1] This song is minor in tonality. The fourth and seventh are the omitted scale degrees in the fourth 5-toned scale, but in that scale the third and sixth above the keynote are major intervals, constituting a scale that is major in tonality.

TABLE 7.—ACCIDENTALS

	Serial numbers of songs	Number	Per cent
Songs containing—			
No accidentals	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86.	78	90
Seventh raised a semitone.	38, 56, 66	3	3
Fourth raised a semitone.	9, 62	2	2
Second raised a semitone.	64	1	1
Major and minor (same keynote)	29	1	1
Irregular	75	1	1
Total		86	

533x

TABLE 8.—STRUCTURE

	Serial numbers of songs	Number	Per cent
Melodic	1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 53, 54, 58, 60, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 77, 80, 83, 84.	48	56
Melodic with harmonic framework.	2, 12, 15, 20, 22, 27, 36, 48, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 82, 86	15	18
Harmonic	3, 6, 7, 16, 23, 30, 32, 33, 34, 39, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 65, 72, 76, 78, 79, 81, 85.	22	26
Irregular		1	1
Total		86	

TABLE 9.—FIRST PROGRESSION—DOWNWARD AND UPWARD

	Serial numbers of songs	Number	Per cent
Downward	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 42, 45, 46, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 71, 72, 74, 76, 77, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85.	62	71
Upward	5, 10, 11, 16, 18, 29, 31, 39, 41, 43, 44, 47, 49, 51, 57, 58, 67, 70, 73, 75, 78, 80, 83, 86.	24	28
Total		86	

TABLE 10.—TOTAL NUMBER OF PROGRESSIONS—DOWNWARD AND UPWARD

	Number	Per cent
Downward	1,393	64
Upward	786	36
Total	2,179	

TABLE 11.—INTERVALS IN DOWNWARD PROGRESSION

	Number	Per cent
Intervals of an—		
Octave	2	
Seventh	4	
Major sixth	4	
Minor sixth	10	1
Fifth	12	1
Fourth	158	11
Major third	139	10
Minor third	322	24
Major second	635	46
Minor second	107	7
Total	1,393	

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533

TABLE 12.—INTERVALS IN UPWARD PROGRESSION

	Number	Per cent
Intervals of an—		
Eleventh	1	
Tenth	2	
Ninth	2	
Octave	10	1
Seventh	2	
Major sixth	16	2
Minor sixth	26	3
Fifth	60	8
Fourth	112	14
Major third	74	9
Minor third	110	14
Major second	286	37
Minor second	66	9
Total	780	

TABLE 13.—AVERAGE NUMBER OF SEMITONES IN AN INTERVAL

Number of songs	86
Number of intervals	2,179
Number of semitones	6,886
Average number of semitones in an interval	3.16

RHYTHMIC ANALYSIS

TABLE 14.—PART OF MEASURE ON WHICH SONG BEGINS

	Serial numbers of songs	Number	Per cent
Beginning on unaccented part of measure.	1, 3, 8, 9, 11, 16, 20, 23, 25, 28, 32, 34, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 51, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 75, 76, 77, 78, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86.	42	50
Beginning on accented part of measure.	2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 79, 80, 81.	44	50
Total		86	

TABLE 15.—RHYTHM (METER) OF FIRST MEASURE

	Serial numbers of songs	Number	Per cent
First measure in—			
2-4 time	5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 65, 67, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 80, 81, 82, 86.	54	63
3-4 time	1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 13, 17, 21, 27, 28, 33, 34, 38, 41, 47, 48, 51, 56, 59, 63, 64, 66, 69, 78, 79, 83, 84, 85.	28	33
5-4 time	16, 26	2	2
5-8 time	77	1	1
7-8 time	70	1	1
Total		86	

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533*

TABLE 16.—CHANGE OF TIME (MEASURE-LENGTHS)

	Serial numbers of songs	Number	Per cent
Songs containing no change of time.	1, 9, 32, 34, 41, 46, 49, 50, 54, 60, 62, 63, 64, 67, 69, 71, 72, 75, 76, 78, 84, 85.	22	26
Songs containing a change of time.	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 65, 66, 68, 70, 73, 74, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 86.	64	74
Total		86	

TABLE 17.—RHYTHMIC UNIT OF SONG

	Serial numbers of songs	Number	Per cent
Songs containing—			
No rhythmic unit	2, 3, 16, 17, 23, 27, 29, 30, 31, 36, 74, 77, 81	13	15
One rhythmic unit	4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 25, 32, 39, 41, 45, 46, 49, 50, 54, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 67, 69, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 86.	40	46
Two rhythmic units	1, 8, 12, 20, 21, 22, 24, 28, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 44, 47, 48, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 65, 66, 68.	26	30
Three rhythmic units	26, 42, 43, 51, 57, 72, 85	7	8
Total		86	

TABLE 18.—RHYTHM OF DRUM[1]

	Serial numbers of songs	Number	Per cent
Eighth notes uniformly accented.	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 32, 36, 47, 52, 61, 65, 71, 79	21	24
Quarter notes uniformly accented.	26, 31, 34, 57, 63, 69, 81, 84	8	9
Each beat followed by an unaccented beat corresponding to the second count of a triplet.	48	1	
Drum not recorded	1, 10, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 62, 64, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 85, 86.	56	65
Total		86	

---

[1] This table is not carried forward in the cumulative analyses. See p. 17.

AUTHORITIES CITED

113 **Culin, Stewart.** Games of the North American Indians. Twenty-fourth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Washington, 1907.

Densmore, Frances. Chippewa Music. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 45, Washington, 1910.

——— Chippewa Music—II. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 53, Washington, 1913.

——— Teton Sioux Music. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 61, Washington, 1918.

——— Northern Ute Music. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 75, Washington, 1922.

——— Mandan and Hidatsa Music. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 80, Washington, 1923.

——— Papago Music. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 90, Washington, 1929.

Dorsey, George A. How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows. Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644–658, Lancaster, Pa., 1903.

——— Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Soc., vol. viii, Boston and New York, 1904.

——— The Pawnee: Mythology (Part I). Carnegie Inst. Publ. no. 59, Washington, 1906.

Fletcher, Alice C. The Hako: a Pawnee Ceremony. Twenty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, Washington, 1903.

——— [Article] Pawnee. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, pt. 2, pp. 213–216, Washington, 1910.

——— and **La Flesche, Francis.** The Omaha Tribe. Twenty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Washington, 1911.

Helmholtz, H. L. F. The sensations of tone as a physiological basis for the theory of music. Translated by A. J. Ellis. 2d ed., London, 1885.

Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties. vol. i (Laws), vol. ii (Treaties). Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington, 1904.

——— Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the year ending June 30, 1928. Washington, 1928.

James, Edwin. Account of an expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains under the command of Maj. Stephen H. Long, vol. i, Philadelphia, 1823.

La Flesche, Francis. *See* Fletcher, Alice C., and La Flesche.

Linton, Ralph. The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee. Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 5, Chicago, 1922.

——— The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee. Ibid., No. 6.

——— Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men. Ibid., No. 8, 1923.

Lowie, Robert H. Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians. Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. xi, pt. 3, pp. 219–358, New York, 1913.

Mooney, James. The Ghost-dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890. Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pt. 2, Washington, 1897.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

INDEX

Page

- Adams, Simond. *See* Dog Chief.
- Affection, songs of — 93–97
- Analysis, descriptive, of songs — 14–17
- Bear, medicine power of — 38
- Bear dance, songs of — 37–47
- Beliefs—
  - concerning flute — 97
  - concerning sacred bundle — 5
  - concerning the bear — 38
- Blain, Effie (Mrs. Wicita)—
  - a singer — xvii
  - characterization of — xvii
- Blain, Wicita—
  - a singer — xvii
  - characterization of — xvii
  - songs led by — 24
- Brown Bear, song belonging to — 67
- Buffalo dance — 24–35
- Bundle, sacred. *See* Sacred bundle.
- Carrying-the-shield, story concerning — 59
- Ceremonies—
  - general discussion of — 5–6
  - of Painting the Buffalo Skull — 24
  - of the Morning Star — 18–23
- Chapman, Fannie—
  - a singer — xvii
  - characterization of — xviii
  - story related by — 98
- Chaui Band—
  - habitat of — 1
  - research among members of — v
- Cheyenne arrow, tradition concerning — 23
- Chippewa songs, resemblance of, to Pawnee — 17
- Ciha'ruree̥s, song belonging to — 114
- Cocopa, reference to music of — 17
- Coming Sun—
  - a singer — xvii
  - ceremony conducted by — 22–23
  - characterization of — xviii
  - legend related by — 18
  - song taught by — 20

Page COD

- Corn—
  - symbolic use of — 5
  - *see also* Mother Corn.
- Coyote and the turkeys, story of — 102–103
- Cradle board, custom concerning — 21
- Crying songs, use of — 67
- Customs—
  - concerning cradle board — 21
  - concerning lance — 51
  - concerning marriage — 93–94
  - concerning mescal drinking — 47
  - concerning young men — 89
  - mourning — 117
  - of weeping at gatherings — 67
- Dance—
  - Bear — 37–47
  - Buffalo — 24–35
  - Ghost — 78–80
  - Lance — 36
  - of the Chiefs, reference to — 114
  - of the Deer society — 47
  - of the Kitsita society — 53
  - of the Raven Lance society — 51
  - of the White Lance society — 49–50
  - to celebrate return of World War soldiers — 64–66
  - Victory — 64–69
- Deer Society, songs of — 47–49
- Descent, matrilineal — 3
- Dog Chief—
  - a singer — xvii
  - characterization of — xviii
  - songs recorded by — 43–47
- Dorsey George A.—
  - game described by — 99
  - quoted on folk tales — 97–98
- Dreams—
  - customs derived from — 39
  - songs originating in — 32, 33, 34, 37, 61, 65, 66, 70, 83
- Eagle Chief, mention of — 41
- Eagle feather, worn in hair — 83
- Eagle Shield, song belonging to — 60–61
- Earth lodge, described — 2–3

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Page

08D **Evarts, Mark**—
  a singer xvii
  characterization of xviii
  songs recorded by 48, 49
Feather, worn in hair 83
Fletcher, Miss Alice C., cited 67
Flute, belief concerning 97
Folk tales and myths 97–108
Gambler, story of the 98–102
Games. *See* **Hand game.**
Ghost dance—
  sacred number in 69
  songs of 69, 78–86
Ghost dance fit, described 70
Ghost dance religion, progress of 78
Good Eagle, Mrs.—
  a singer xvii
  characterization of xviii
  song explained by 110
Gourds, symbolic use of 18
Grand Pawnee—
  habitat of 1
  treaty with 2
Grass dance, common to many tribes 67
Habitat, of the Pawnee 1
Habitations, of the Pawnee 2-3
Hand game—
  described 69–70
  hypnotic phase of 79
  played at night 77
  songs belonging to 69–78
Hethushka society, of the Omaha 67, 87
Hidatsa songs, resemblance of, to Pawnee 17
Horse, story concerning 108
Horse Chief—
  a singer xvii
  characterization of xviii
Iron Shirt, story concerning 59
Iruska, society called 62
Kithahki Band, habitat of 1
Kitsita society, songs of 53–56
Lance, custom concerning 36, 51
Lance dance, song of 36
Legends—
  ceremony derived from 18
  connected with Pawnee mythology 98
  of Morning Star 18–22

Page

Life, value placed upon 50, 53, 55
Lodge. *See* **Earth lodge.**
Long, Maj. Steven H., game described by 99
Love songs, modern Indian 93–94, 96, 97
Luwak, John—
  a singer xvii
  characterization of xvii
  dreams described by 65–66
  mention of 24
  song explained and recorded by 111–112
  war-dance song of 62
Mad Chief's grandson, story of 116–118
Man Chief—
  brief account of 86
  prayers of 87
  songs belonging to 86–91
Mandan songs, resemblance of, to Pawnee 17
Marhar Band, treaty with 2
Marriage customs 93–94, 115–116
Matlock, Stacy, in charge of ceremony 24
Medicine men, function of 4
Mescal, drinking of 47
Morning Star ceremony 18–23
Mother corn, reference to 5, 23, 92
Mourning custom 117
Murie, James R.—
  acknowledgment to v
  cited 50, 57
  custom described by 47
  mention of 69
  quoted on classes of Pawnee 96
Murie, Lawrence, mention of 67
Murie, Mrs. Mary—
  a singer xvii
  characterization of xviii
  story related by 103
Mythology, Pawnee—
  gods of 4
  legends connected with 98
Myths and folk tales 97–108
Noisy Band, treaty with 2
Nuri and his brother, story of 103–107
Omaha tribe, mention of 67, 87
Organization of the Pawnee—
  social 3
  tribal 3

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000

Page

Otter Woman, songs recorded by 93
Papago songs, widely different from Pawnee 17
Pawnee tribe—
  classification of 1
  habitat of 1
  habitations of 2-3
  meaning of name 1
  mythology of 4
  population 2
  social organization of 3
  treaties with 1-2
  tribal organization of 3
Phonetics xvi
Pipe dance, mention of 92
Pitahauerat Band, habitat of 1
Pitalesaru, mention of 91
Population of the Pawnee 2
Rainbow Division, Pawnees with 65
Rattlesnake, little, story of 107-108
Raven Lance Society, songs 51-53
Religion, Ghost dance, among the Pawnee 78
Religious ceremonies of the Pawnee 4
Republic Pawnee, treaty with 2
Republican Pawnee, habitat of 1
Reservation, Pawnee—
  described 2
  removal to 2
Roaming Chief—
  brief account of 91
  song of wife of 113
Running Scout, hypnotic trance of 84-85
Sacred Bundle—
  belief concerning 5
  contents of 5, 23
  place of 5, 18
  woman keeper of 21
Sacred number 69
Sacrifice, human, story of 21-22
Scalps, carried in victory dance 64
Seven, the sacred number 69
Shaker religion, introduced among Indians 70
Signs, used in transcriptions of songs xvi
Simms, J. C., acknowledgment to 6

Page

Singers—
  characterization of xvii
  names of xvii
Sioux songs, resemblance of, to Pawnee 17
Sirikut Kawi, story of 115-118
Skidi Band—
  habitat of 1
  research among members of v
Social organization 3
Societies, secret, functions of 4
Soldiers, World War, dances in honor of 64-69
Songs, Pawnee—
  characteristics of 18
  compared with others 7-14
  influences affecting 17
  inheritance of 29, 43
  lists of xi-xv
  sacred character of 20
Spotted Horse Chief. *See* Horse Chief.
Stick game, described 99
Story—
  of Coyote and the turkeys 102-103
  of Nuri and his brother 103-107
Swanton, John R., acknowledgment to v
Tapage Pawnee, habitat of 1
Touching Cloud, story concerning 59
Tradition of the Cheyenne arrow 23
Treaties, with the Pawnee 1-2
Turkeys, story about 102-103
U. S. Army, Pawnees in 65
Ute songs, resemblance of, to Pawnee 17
Victory dances 64-69
War songs 50-69
White, Nora. *See* Good Eagle, Mrs.
White Lance Society, song of 49-51
Wichita Indians, society originated by 47
Wolf Pawnee, habitat of 1
Wolf Society, songs of 50-58
Women—
  attitude toward 93, 96
  See also Marriage customs.
Women's songs 67, 68
Young Dog Society, song of 85
Yuma, reference to music of 17

3: Densmore
533, 539

Pawnee NQ18

[For information on Pawnee music, songs and texts, see category 116, pp. 6-21, 24-97, 100-104, 106, 108-115, and 118-125--Analyst]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

odd

OF THE

American Museum of Natural History.

Vol. XI, Part VII.

PAWNEE INDIAN SOCIETIES.

BY

JAMES R. MURIE.

NEW YORK:
Published by Order of the Trustees.
1914.

[title page]

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PAWNEE INDIAN SOCIETIES.

By James R. Murie.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

INTRODUCTION.

The following discussion of Pawnee societies was prepared by James R. 114
Murie, a member of the Skidi division, under the direction of the editor
who is in the main responsible for its form and limitations. Mr. Murie's 121
method was to collect and write out in full such information on the several
topics as could be secured. These notes were then made the subject of several
conferences with the editor during which the present manuscript was
prepared. It being thus essentially an original contribution, the editor
has not considered it necessary to add comments on the previous literature.
The important titles on the Pawnee are the three articles by John B. Dunbar
in the *Magazine of American History* for 1880-81; *Pawnee Hero Stories*
(1893) by George Bird Grinnell; *The Hako* (1894) by Miss Alice C. Fletcher;
and two volumes of myths by George A. Dorsey; *Traditions of the Skidi
Pawnee* (1904) and *The Pawnee Mythology* (1906). In all of these except the
two first, Mr. Murie was a collaborator.

While this paper is primarily concerned with societies as treated in the 128
preceding pages, a general outline of the tribal ceremonial scheme is given
for perspective, there being no publication to date that treats this subject
systematically. This will probably be sufficient to give a general idea of
the place and significance of Pawnee societies as parts of their culture complex.

The drawings are by Mr. S. Ichikawa from specimens and sketches furnished by the author.

The Editor.

September, 1914.

[p. 544 is blank]

4: Murie 1-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

CONTENTS.

Page.

600 INTRODUCTION . . . 545
- THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PAWNEE . . . 549
  - The Bundle Scheme . . . 549
  - The Society of Chiefs . . . 556
  - The Soldiers or Police . . . 557
  - The Buffalo Hunt . . . 557
- THE BUNDLE SOCIETIES . . . 558
  - The Two Lance Society . . . 561
  - The Skidi Red Lance Society . . . 567
  - The Red Lance Society . . . 569
  - The Thunderbird Lance . . . 570
  - The Crow Lance . . . 570
  - The Brave Raven Society . . . 573
  - The Fighting Lance . . . 576
  - The Wolf Lance . . . 577
  - The Black Heads . . . 577
  - The Knife Lance . . . 578
- PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS . . . 579
  - The Crazy Horse Society . . . 579
  - Children of the Iruska . . . 580
  - The Wonderful Ravens . . . 581
  - The Big Horse Society . . . 581
  - Society of Crows . . . 581
  - The Roached Heads . . . 582
  - Young Dog Society . . . 582
  - The Mischievous Society . . . 588
  - The Organized War Party . . . 595
  - The Woman's Society . . . 598
- MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES . . . 600
  - The Twenty-Day Ceremony . . . 601
  - The Bear Society . . . 604
  - Buffalo Doctors . . . 604
  - The Deer Society . . . 605
  - Blood Doctors . . . 608
  - The Iruska . . . 608
  - The One Horn Dance . . . 616
- MODERN CEREMONIES . . . 624
  - The Modern Iruska . . . 624
    - The Skidi Iruska . . . 624
    - The Kit'kaháxki Iruska . . . 628
    - The Chaui Iruska . . . 628
    - General Discussion . . . 629
  - ✓ The Ghost Dance . . . 630
  - The Peyote . . . 636
  - The One Horn Dance . . . 638

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PAGE.
MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS 639
Animal Guardians 639
Black Moccasins 639
Calling the Buffalo 639
Camp Circle 639
Chiefs and Medicinemen 639
Coups 640
Eagle Dance 640
Exchange of Wives 640
Hunting Ceremonies 640
Love Medicine 640
No-Flight Idea 640
Painted-Tipis 640
Sex Taboo 640
Smoking 640
Sun Dance 641
Tiny Bags of Medicine 641
Tobacco Planting 641
Witches 641
CONCLUSION 642

ILLUSTRATIONS.

TEXT FIGURES.

1. Diagram showing the Seats of the Priests and their Village Bundles in the Four-pole Ceremony 552
2. Diagram of the earthwork Enclosure for the Four-pole Ceremony . . . 553
3. Lance for the Two Lence Society 562
4. Arrangement of the Food Bowls in the Two Lance Ceremony. . . . 565
5. Pipe for the Two Lance Society 566
6. The Skidi Red Society Lance 568
7. The Red Lance 568
8. Rattle for the Skidi Red Lance 569
9. The Crow Lance 572
10. The Brave Raven Lance 574
11. Bustle for the Raven Braves 575
12. The Fighting Lance 576
13. The Wolf Lance 576
14. The Black Head Lance 578
15. The Knife Lance 578
16. Diagram of the Buffalo Doctors' Ceremony 606
17. Diagram of the Deer Society Ceremony 607
18. Diagram of the Skidi Iruska Society 626

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PAWNEE.

The Pawnee formerly lived along the Platte River in what is now Nebraska. They were composed of four independent tribes, the Skidí, Chauí,[1] Kit'kaháxki, and Pítahauírata. Of these, the Skidí was the largest and in most respects the leading tribe. In language, it differs slightly from the other three tribes which have one and the same dialect. The Skidí were composed of thirteen villages, or bands. The Pítahauírata were in two villages, the Kawarakis and Pitahauirat. The Chauí and Kit'kaháxki were each single villages.

These villages, or bands, were the social units but seemingly placed no rigid restrictions upon marriage. A man got his place in a village through his mother. The women never left the village in which they were born, but if a man married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village. In fact, the villages were in principle endogamous, for a man could not marry outside except with the consent of his village as represented by the governing officials, who usually opposed such unions on the ground that the strength of the village would be depleted.

The Bundle Scheme.

The basis of the social and political organization of the Skidí is their 778
peculiar sacred bundle scheme, the detailed discussion of which does not fall within the scope of this paper. Hence, we shall but briefly note its general outline. The name for a sacred bundle is chúharipiru (chuhuru, rainstorm; ripiru, wrapped up), but sometimes it is spoken of as atira (mother), referring in this case to two ears of corn kept in each bundle and symbolically spoken of as the mother of the people. The reference to rain [821]
is due to the conception that the important powers of the world reside in the west, the home of the thunderers, from whence the powers of the bundles come.

---

[1] The Chauí were known to the French as the Grand Pawnee and their chief as le grand chef. [175] The Skidí all lived on the north side of the Platte in Nebraska while the other three divisions were to the south. In the Journal of La Vérendrye, 1743, the lodge of the Grand Chief is mentioned, which incidentally enables us to locate the route of this explorer. In aboriginal days the Skidí seem to have been noted as cultivators of corn and have traditions of visits from distant tribes to replenish their stock of seed. Even the Comanche made such visits. According to Murie, the Skidí villages were often called the Awahi (Harahey) and when Coronado reached the Wichita they were naturally referred to as the leading people of the country.— Ed.

[p. 548 is blank]

778 come. While all these bundles had their individualities, they had certain ceremonies in common: thus at the sound of the first thunder in spring, [782] the keeper of each bundle must immediately open it with the proper procedure and make an offering of dried buffalo meat to the powers in the west.[1] This offering is burned, but after the ceremony the remaining meat is cooked and served.

184 778 As to how far this applied to the other divisions of the Pawnee, cannot be determined for they have not preserved their bundles and rituals to the same extent as have the Skidí. The Chauí are known to have had three bundles, the Pítahauírata, two; but those of the Kit'kaháxki passed out so long ago that no definite number can be enumerated. The rituals of all these bundles were seemingly different from those of the Skidí in that so far as we know they did not have the regular thunder ceremony, but consecrated the bundles to certain animals. It is not known for certain if the sacred ears of corn were kept in these bundles as in those of the Skidí, but there are some reasons for believing that they were.

103 361 631 778 In the Skidí scheme there were thirteen villages, each of which had a bundle:—

1 Tu^{h}rikaku^{h}, center village; the Evening Star bundle.

2 Kitkahapaku^{h}tu, old village; the four leading bundles are kept in this village.

3 Tu^{h}hitspiat, stretching out in the bottom lands.

4 Tu^{h}kitskita, village on branch of a river.

5 Tu^{h}wahukasa, village stretching across a hill; the Morningstar bundle. (This bundle was finally divided into two.)

6 Aríkararikuchu, big antlered elk standing.

7 Arikarariki^{h}, small antlered elk standing.

8 Tu^{h}huchaku, village in a ravine; the left hand bundle, all use left hands in the ceremony.

9 Tu^{h}warakaku, village in thick timber.

10 Akapaxsawa, skull painted on tipi.

11 Skisa rikus, fish hawk.

12 Stixkautit, black ear of corn.

13 Turawi, part of a village.

631 778 These thirteen villages were organized or federated under this bundle scheme and so had a common government. The supreme, or original

---

[821] [1] The Evening Star (calf bundle) is the chief power in the west. Four other stars in the west represent the clouds, thunders, lightning, and the winds, or the four leading bundles. These four stars are supposedly sitting in the west, acting as priests. They are sitting there with a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat; also, they are sitting with a hill of corn, the stalks always green, and a place in front of them as the altar.

authority resided in the evening star bundle[1] of the center village, but at 631
the time of the federation of these villages, powers were delegated to four 778
special or main bundles which in turn served as the basis of the governing power. These were:—

1. The Yellow Tipi, or Yellow Star bundle, pertaining to the powers of the Northwest (akarúkata, yellow tipi).

2. The Mother-born-again, or White Star bundle, the powers of the Southwest (atíratatariwáta, mother born again).

3. The Leading Cornstalk, or Red Star bundle, the power of the Southeast (skawá^{x}ha kitáwi, literally, a lucky woman as leader, but refers to a corn symbol).

4. The Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, or the bundle "with a round thing tied on" pertains to the Northeast (riwiruchaku, round thing on).

To this list may be added the Human Skull bundle and the North Star bundle. These bundles may be said to be general in the sense that they are attached to no particular village but minister to the Skidí at large.

There were, however, two independent Skidí villages that refused to enter the federation. These were the Squash Vine village (pahukstatu) and Wolf-standing-in-water village (skirirara). Each of these villages had a bundle, but little in common with the ritual scheme of the federated villages.

The federation of the thirteen villages is represented and formalized in a 346
ceremony known as the four-pole ceremony. For this a circular embank- 631
ment was thrown up with an opening to the east. Out in front of this 796
entrance was a small mound of earth taken from the fire pit and inside at the west a raised altar platform. Around the inside of the ring of earth was a screen of green branches set up in the ground. Arranged around the fireplace were four poles bearing a tuft of branches at the top; a white pole of cottonwood, a red of box elder, a black of elm, and a yellow of willow. In the ceremony the bundles enumerated above and their keepers had fixed positions according to their rank and the geographical relations of the respective villages. As will be noted in the diagram most of the bundles are upon the north side of the enclosure, these lived on the north side of the Loupe River, the others upon the south side. The positions of the priests of the bundles are shown in the diagram and in the ceremony the bundles are opened before them in order (Fig. 1).

631
The leading bundles are associated with the four poles, according to the 778
colors as stated in their enumeration. These bundles, poles, colors, etc., 796

---

[1] The Evening Star, or red calf bundle (arípahat, red calf) may be called upon in time of need to supplement the powers of a leading bundle. Because of this relation to the four leading bundles it is sometimes called rakatira (lay across them).

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

631 778 796 represent the powers in the four quarters of the world and also stand for spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but in no fixed order, the season a bundle represents being determined by the order of the ceremony.

631 773 A brief abstract of the mythical account of the inauguration of this federation may make the foregoing clearer:—

[778]
[796]

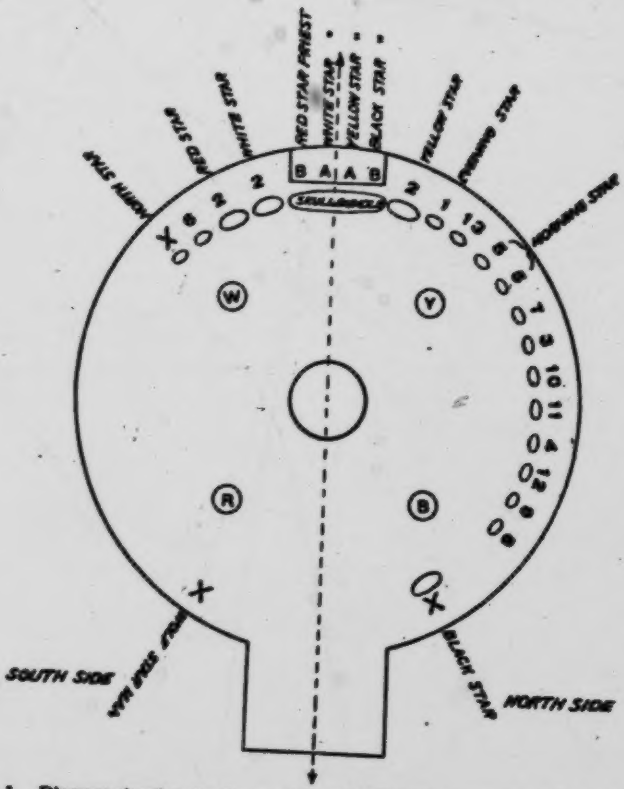
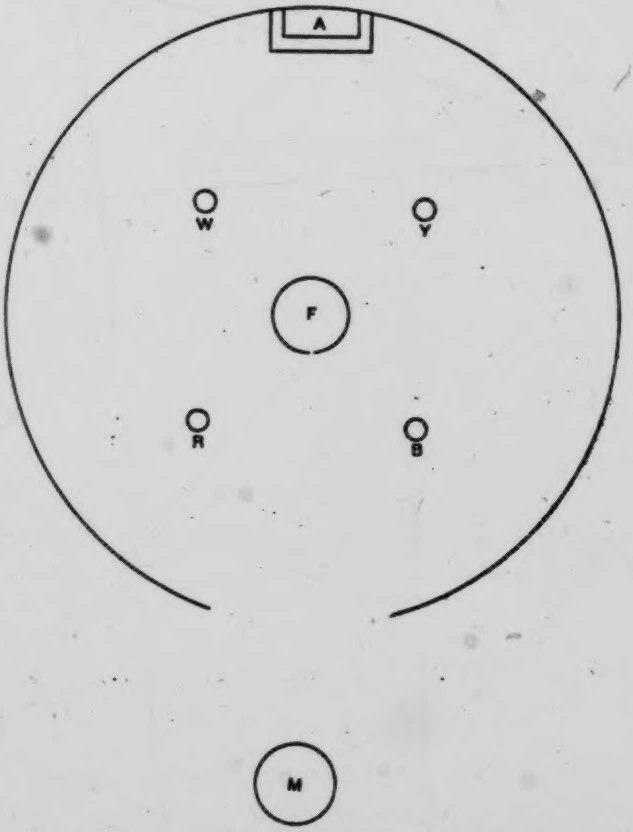

NORTH STAR
RED STAR
WHITE STAR
RED STAR PRIEST
WHITE STAR
YELLOW STAR
BLACK STAR
YELLOW STAR
EVENING STAR
MORNING STAR
B A A B
SKULL BUNDLE
2
2
2
6
X
2
1
13
5
6
7
3
10
11
4
12
9
8
W
Y
R
B
X
X
SOUTH SIDE
SOUTH STAR
BLACK STAR
NORTH SIDE

Fig. 1. Diagram showing the Seats of Priests and their Village Bundles, in the Four-pole Ceremony. The numerals are from the table of villages in the text. The places of the four main bundles and the special bundles are designated by their respective names.

Evening Star (Venus) is the keeper of the firesticks which she received when she married Morning Star (Mars). He was the ruling spirit to the east of the milky way. Evening Star was a beautiful woman and very powerful. She was opposed to the creation of the earth and man and had overcome all the stars seeking her in marriage. Supporting her were four great powers, or stars, the Bear, Panther, Wildcat, and Wolf. There was also a great serpent group of stars. Morning Star

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

overcame all of these in turn. Thus, he secured Evening Star. Then follows the 631
familiar vanquishing of vaginal teeth. In course of time, a daughter was born.
The earth was then created for the home of this child. The Sun and Moon became 773
parents of a boy and he also was placed upon the earth.



[346]
[778]
[796]

Fig. 2. Diagram of the earthwork Enclosure for the Four-pole Ceremony: A, altar for the buffalo skull; W, white pole (cottonwood); Y, yellow pole (willow); R, red pole (box alder); B, black pole (elm); F, fire pit; M, earth taken from the fire pit. During the ceremony a screen of green branches is set up inside the embankment. The poles are young trees trimmed to a few branches at the top. The seats and positions of bundles were as shown in Fig. 1.

After many years when the people were numerous, Morning Star demanded a human sacrifice as a return for his trials. Evening Star gave one man and woman directions for making the Yellow Calf bundle. Then Evening Star told him that there were many people scattered over the earth and that he should call them to-

631 773 gether. So Errand Man was sent out. From each village came the people with their sacred bundle. Errand Man told the chief that upon Elkhorn River he found a village of earth-lodges covered with squash vines in which a bundle ceremony was going on in consequence of which they refused to come. Also on Looking Glass Creek he came to a village where the people had just performed a ceremony to call the buffalo and as the buffalo were at hand, they could not accept the invitation. Most of the buffalo were killed upon the ice which during the day was covered with water. The wolves stood around the carcasses and many were caught by the feet as the ice formed at night. So these two villages did not take part in the general bundle ceremony and were known as the Squash Vine and Wolf-standing-in-the-water.

Those who had assembled now performed the four-pole ceremony. The keeper of the bundle and his priest occupied their regular seats at the back of the lodge and as the bundles of other villages arrived those from the north took seats on that side and those from the south upon the other. The village of the host was then called Center Village.

622 631 The special federation of these Skidi villages necessitated a governing organization different from that of the other divisions. The governing body was a society of chiefs, twelve or more in number. It seems that in principle there was to be one chief for each village bundle, though as such he had nothing to do with the bundle. When the chiefs society met in a lodge they took their seats in the same order as indicated in the diagram of the four-pole ceremony, but the bundles were not brought into the lodge. [202] Two errand men were members and sat by the door.[1] The chiefs were of equal rank and inherited their office. However, there was some selection, for the elderly men filled vacancies from those directly descended from chiefs. All the chiefs taken together constituted the tribal council of the Skidi.

631 793 The chiefs are, however, not the highest authority, that distinction belonging to the priests of the four main bundles. Their office is hereditary; each priest selects an assistant from his near relatives who thus becomes qualified to become priest in turn. In rotation the four leading priests take over the responsibility for the welfare of the people for one year, counting from the first thunder in the spring until fall. This chief priest is the highest authority; he is the source of final appeal and to him all acts of the 224 631 778 793 council of chiefs must be referred. The buffalo hunt in particular must be regulated according to the ritual of the bundle whose priest happens to be in charge. As noted above, the Red Calf bundle is superior to the leading bundles, but its priest cannot exercise authority except he be

---

[1] As noted above, two villages refused to join in the federation. Later, they were taken in and their chiefs were given seats in the vacant place on the south side of the lodge, but they were not permitted to enter the four-pole ceremony.

officially called upon to assume it. As previously noted, there was a curious 224
arrangement in that the keeper of the bundle could be endowed with 631
the power of all four bundles. This we do not fully understand, but 778
in case buffalo should fail, owing to the weak powers of the chief priest, 793
special ceremonies would be performed to pool, or unite, the powers of the
four main bundles by temporarily merging their power into the ritual of the
Red Calf bundle. This bundle alone contains firesticks; its keeper builds
the council fire, and in the old Skidi scheme of villages it belonged to the
central village. Its keeper must also be present at the ceremonies of the
other four bundles, and in a way he alone can call the whole tribe together.
Yet, it is only in times of great trial, that he by special ceremonies becomes
the chief priest. It is only when the four leading bundles fail to provide
buffalo and the people are starving that the chiefs beg the priest whose
bundle is then leader to call upon the calf bundle to lead. The priest gives
his consent. Then he fills the sacred pipe with native tobacco and hands [276]
the pipe to his chief who goes to the tipi of the calf bundle priest. When
the chief enters the tipi he walks to the priest who offers the pipe to him and
explains why he has done so. The priest, knowing the wants of the people,
receives the pipe. The chief thanks him; lights his pipe and waits. When
the chief receives the pipe he returns to the other priests' lodge and returns
the pipe, telling him that the other priest had received the pipe. The priest
and people are glad. Then the ceremony of transferring power is carried
out. It is the belief that the buffalo will then come dashing into the village.

The priests of the four leading bundles and the priest of the Red Calf 793
bundle are thus seen to be important personages. While each of the other bundles has its priest, his function is quite secondary; in fact, he is little more than a custodian, providing the meat and corn necessary to the ceremony. The principle of operation is that the ceremony for each bundle is conducted by one of the five leading priests, i. e., the priest of the Red Calf bundle must always be present, and the conductor is either he or one of the four leading priests, as the ritual may require. Normally all five are expected to be present. There is a partial exception in the Morning Star bundle for in this case the conductor of the ceremony was a special official of the village, not its keeper, but even he was under obligation to call in the calf bundle priest who alone knew the creation rituals, and the two leading rituals for all bundles. In short, with the exception just cited, the calf bundle priest was required to know the ritual of each bundle and if need be conduct each ceremony; the four leading priests were to a less degree required to do the same.

In this connection, it may be noted that the custodianship of a bundle is in the hands of the woman. She cares for it at all times and knows some

793 of the important features of the ritual; yet in all ceremonies except that of
the four-pole, she is barred from so much as looking inside while the bundle
is open. All the men and boys are at liberty to come in and sit with the
bundles at their respective villages.[1]

Finally, it may be noted that there is a chief for each village bundle
622 (counting the four leading bundles as one) and he is theoretically at least
793 the custodian, but there is another man in his village who is the keeper of
the ritual, or the priest. He conducts the ceremonies. In last resort, he is
superior to the chief, especially the priests of the calf bundle and the four
leading bundles. Hence, a chief is chief by virtue of his being the custodian of a bundle. This is why the society of chiefs has its seats in the same
order as the priests in the four-pole ceremony. It also makes clear the
significance of the initial statement that the bundle scheme of the Skidi is
the basis of their political and social organization. Likewise, while it is
true that the chiefs are all of equal rank, the chief of the four-bundle village
who by the way, is attached to the yellow-tipi bundle, sits at the head as
may be seen from the diagram for the four-pole ceremony, and so is the leading, or, head chief. He is master of ceremonies, but the chief occupying the
seat of Big Black Meteoric Star is the one to conduct all the ritualistic parts
of the ceremony.

THE SOCIETY OF CHIEFS.

Among the Pitahauirata there was a special organization of chiefs,
622 which had its less formal counterparts among the other divisions. The first
575 part of the society's ceremony is held privately by the members, or chiefs;
i. e., those now holding office and men who have descended from deceased
chiefs. The membership is strictly hereditary. In the ceremony the leader,
[292] or head chief, must wear an old style beaver hat with a red plume. The hat
is covered with a dark neck cloth such as was formerly worn by sailors. The
meetings are secret and we have no data; but after these ceremonies the
women descended from chiefs were called into the lodge. Each woman has
to part her hair and tie it back, painting the part red. Woven sashes are
[301] worn over the shoulders and wound around for a belt. Many strands of
beads are worn around the neck. The men all have the roached hair and
wear feathers through the roach, but the young men wear down feathers
[237] only. Some wear leggings bordered with scalplocks and eagle feathers, and
black moccasins. Each man and woman carries the skin of an eagle. In
arranging the places for the women, a line of two abreast is formed: first
[602] the two leading men, behind them their sisters or nearest female relatives;

---

[184] [1] Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, the regulations are the same, except that
men must pay a fee to the priests for witnessing a bundle ceremony.

then two men, and again two of their female relatives, and so on to the end of 622 575
the line. Before the procession left the lodge two large strong young men
were caught in the village, brought in, and the water drums strapped on [602]
their backs with one pack strap across the forehead and one across the [482]
breast. They then marched out dancing and singing. In leaving the lodge, the procession circles the fire four times and when outside of the door again circles four times. They then march back into the lodge and the women file out and go home, while the men take their seats. The drum bearers are relieved of their burden and sent out, but later they receive a portion of the meat from the feast. After the feast the society disbands.

This society seems to be based upon the bundle of the Pitahaufrata
village, which is probable considering that chiefs are the leading members. [302]
The chiefs painted red with black rings around the face; if yellow, a green
circle: these are the two paintings.

The Soldiers or Police.

Each chief selects one elderly warrior as his personal aid and advisor. 625
Only those who have reached a certain high grade of distinction can serve in this capacity. As a body, these aids were known as the braves, rahikuchu. There is thus one brave for each village and he selects three men to act as police under his direction (raripakusu, fighting for order). These are strong and aggressive men. Their function was purely that of village and camp police. Their only badge of office was a special form of club for which in recent years a sword was substituted. The braves and police
served for life, unless dismissed for cause. It should be noted, however [224]
that these police had nothing whatever to do with the buffalo hunt.

The Buffalo Hunt.

The general buffalo hunt at whatever season of the year was under the 224
direction of the priest of the leading bundle which happened at that time 575
to be in charge. Preparatory to the hunt a ceremony was held, with the chiefs present, in which the hunt was planned. The priest selected one of the bundle societies to act as soldiers for the hunt. The regular police still exercised their powers in the camp, but the enforcement of all regulations for the hunt and its conduct were in the hands of the selected society. The
appointment was for the hunt only. A special lodge was set up for the [346]
soldiers in the east part of the camp, near the center were the lodges of the chiefs society and of the priest. The methods of punishment employed by the soldiers were the same as among other tribes.

THE BUNDLE SOCIETIES.

575 The organizations here discussed differed from the others in that they were regarded as more powerful and in some manner directly connected with or sanctioned by the leading bundles. Membership in all was for life. One could be a member of all of them at the same time. There were no distinctions of age, a man being eligible at any time. The four leaders of each society exercised the right of election of members, though their own places were hereditary, or self-elective. It was also customary for all members to be succeeded at death by a relative. The number of members was not fixed and so the leaders kept watch over the young men to note candidates of promise. Such of these as showed signs of greatness were invited to become candidates. Also the young men of the villages on their part watched the results and prestige of the lance societies and sought membership in the most successful one. A solemn ceremony of installation was performed in which they were subject to tests. If one failed, he was ejected and forever disqualified. For one thing, the candidate must dance about the village an entire day, bearing the lance; should he fall from exhaustion or give up from fatigue, he could not proceed to membership, even though he inherited the place.

The number and distribution of these societies is given in the table. As indicated, their public functions vary, two exclusively for hunting, six for war, and two for either. In time of need the chief may call upon one or more of the war societies to lead in the line of battle or to support the regular camp police in domestic troubles. When setting out upon a buffalo hunt the priest in charge appoints one of the hunting societies to take entire charge of the hunt. So far as we know the priest was free to choose, but practically the choice was restricted to one or two organizations.[1] Although it is the public function and the bundle sanction that distinguishes these societies from the others, the Pawnee do not regard such as the reasons for their existence. They look upon them as clubs or fraternal organizations for the pleasure and elevation of their own members. In a way, they were for war, but this seems due to their having many active brave men among them whose paramount individual interests were war.

In their public performances the societies danced once about the village, pausing before the doors of leading men. This dance was always performed after dressing their lances and after their appointment as police, and thus preceded each general buffalo hunt.

---

[1] For an emergency appointment of the young dog society, see p. 587.

After the thunder ceremonies for the bundles and when the grass began to grow, all societies held the ceremonies of renewing lances. In this the lances are made new, the old ones being discarded. In general, four men are appointed to get the materials and make up the lances. When completed, a smoke-offering ceremony is performed to dedicate the lances, which are spoken of as "fathers." This ceremony is followed by a feast. The next day they assemble for the dance, put on their regalia, take up the lances, select the bearers for them, and choose a chief to carry the pipe. The dancing then goes on and finally the chief with the pipe, followed by the lance bearers and members, goes out and all form a circle in front of the lodge to dance. Then they go about the village or camp dancing before the lodges of prominent persons to receive presents. After their return to the lodge the lances are put away upon a pole and stood outside by the door. In the ceremony the people are admonished that these lances are to guard over all and so everyone must feel it his duty to protect the lances, though it is expected that the members of the societies give special care to them. Also, they are told that these lances are to bring the buffalo and to protect the people. After four days the feathers are taken from the lance shafts and wrapped up.

LIST OF BUNDLE SOCIETIES.

	Skidi	Chaui	Pitahauirata	Kit'kahahki	Squash Vine	Wolf-standing-in-water
Horse society (raris arusa) (h)	×	×	–	–	–	–
Society of Reds (raris pahat) (h)	–	×	×	×	–	–
Society of Brave Raven Lance (raris tarahaksu) (w&h)	×	×	–	–	–	–
Black Heads (pakskatit) (w&h)	–	–	–	×	–	–
Society of Reds (raris pahat) (w)	×	–	–	–	–	×
Thunderbird Society (raris kuhat) (w)	×	–	–	–	×	–
Those Coming Behind (ʰatuʰka) (w)	×	×	×	×	–	–
Fighting Lance (tirupahe) (w)	–	×	×	×	–	–
Knife-Lance (kichita) (w)	–	–	–	–	–	×
Wolf society (raris skiri) (w)	–	–	–	–	–	×

In later times a general horseback parade around the camp was made by all the societies jointly, after the renewing ceremonies in the spring.

575 These were highly decorative and spectacular affairs, but seem to lack ceremonial elements.

The society appointed as soldiers dress up their lances and prepare a horse to bear them. The keepers of the lances always led in the journeys of the camp on the hunt and set up the lances at the places where the soldier lodge was to be. Here they are kept and any person in the camp can take them up when going out to look for buffalo. When going out to take the buffalo, the lance bearers lead and hold the line by the lances, no one being supposed to go in advance. When buffalo are surrounded the lance bearers act as the chief police, see that a fair division of the meat is made, settle disputes, etc. Then while butchering is going on the lance bearers go up to a hill and watch for enemies and are the last to come into camp.

The lances of the bundle societies were the leading ones and of them the crow lances were the last to be renewed and were in a way the highest in [726] rank. When going into battle, bearers of this special lance, must be the very last to retreat. The same is true in counting coup, they must wait until all are through. All the lance bearers must be at the front and may plant their lances in the ground far out in advance; this is a signal for all the members to rally around the standard and stand fast.

[721] The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids but only used to repel or meet a general attack. [616] The seats of members were fixed and arranged around the lodge in two halves, the north and south sides. This corresponds in a way to the bundle scheme as demonstrated in Fig. 1. New members were given seats according to the side of their village bundle. This, of course, applies to the Skidi; the other divisions assigned new members to a side according to the places of their respective ancestors.

[616] The north side conducts, or leads, in the winter ceremonies; the south, the summer. The organization of each side is: a leader or chief, two drummers and singers, one lance bearer, and one errand man, or doorkeeper. There is also a herald who in outdoor ceremonies is mounted. Thus, for a society as a whole the number of officers is double the above.

575 796 When winter approaches, the societies hold a special ceremony by which the lances are stripped and the dressings wrapped up to remain until the renewing ceremony of the following spring. At the renewing ceremony the old lances are first reassembled but permanently retired when the new ones have been installed. They are not destroyed but kept to place in the graves of great warriors.

575 726 When the lance is planted before the enemy, the bearer knows that he must stand fast, he cannot take it up except to advance it toward the enemy. Hence, the planting of the lance is really the "no flight" obligation. If, however, the lance is in danger, another member may take it up and carry it out. The bearer may then retire.

THE TWO LANCE SOCIETY.

The following is an account of the ceremonies accompanying the renewal of the lances as observed by the writer, for the raris arusa, literally horse society, but which we shall call the two lance. 575

On May 23, 1902, the Skidi men were called to the tipi of Known-the-leader where the new lances were to be made to replace the old ones which were to pass away with the winter. This was the time for lances to be made because Tirawahat had sent rains upon the earth. The two lances were to be given new life so they might watch over and care for the people. In olden times two brave men were selected by the chief to carry these lances. These were the soldiers who were always obeyed by everyone, for the priest had sanctified and the gods breathed upon them.

The men entered the lodge which faced the east and seated themselves in a circle. Four priests who were drummers sat in the west. Known-the-leader, who acted as high priest, sat at the north. The two chiefs sat one to the north and one to the south of the drummers. Young-hawk whose father had formerly been a lance bearer was at the left of the chief while at his right sat Big-crow whose father had also been a lance carrier. The two men seated on either side of the priests were the lance bearers. Lone-chief, who owned the chief's pipe, sat on the south side and led the dance. Two errand men sat opposite each other at the north and south of the entrance, Skidi-man at the north and Good-eagle at the south.

Known-the-leader addressed the two assistants: "You two go to my lodge and bring the old lances, the four hand drums, and the four buffalo hoof rattles." They brought these and placed them before the singers. Then Skidi-man was sent for the sacred pipe which he placed crosswise in front of the drummers. The old lance staves were brought and set up near a pole that had been staked in the ground and tied, one on the north and one on the south side of the staked pole. Everything being in readiness, Known-the-leader said, "Drummers, chiefs, young and old men, we are about to renew the lances. You may wonder why we change. We have had the old ones many years, but I have dreamed that we must again replace them." [787]

Formerly, it was customary that the lances be kept until the priest dreamed that they be changed. This is the myth given for the lances:— 539

Before the creation, the stars were human beings. Certain of them were given great powers. Tirawahat gave stars the power to create all things. When the earth was created, the stars agreed to send Paruxti (the wonder being) to the earth, to see if it were ready to be peopled. The stars held a council, but forgot to invite Fools-wolves (star). (Whenever this star comes up, the wolves howl because they think it is the morningstar.) 575

Paruxti was sent to the earth in the form of a long-haired giant. He was daubed all over with the sacred red paint. He wore large moccasins with the hair inside and big flaps. Over his shoulders he wore a buffalo robe which covered him completely. Around his waist was tied a buffalo hair rope with several pendant loops at the back which represented rain.

The council caused a thunderstorm which was followed by a rainbow. This they broke in two, placing one half in front and the other behind the giant as a companion. The north star and the south star each furnished a man to carry the

539 rainbow. The evening star provided a bag. The council discussed what these
575 people should take with them. Morningstar said: "I will supply a sacred bundle and I wish eveningstar to contribute someone to carry it and four men to care for it."

[293]
[411]
[778]

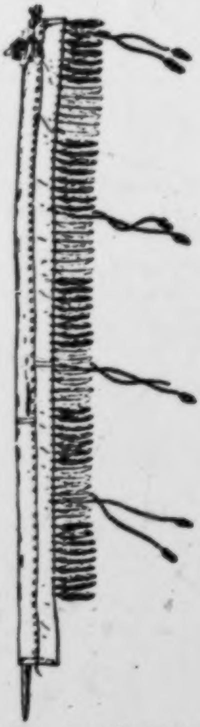


Fig. 3 (50.1-7101). Lance for the Two Lance Society, one of two. The cloth is red, the feathers white (goose) and black (crow). The pendant feathers are crow and the tuft at the top, owl. Length, 2.387 m.

Eveningstar brought an ear of corn which was transformed into a girl, the bearer of the bundle. First the four men were put into the bag, then the girl with the bundle, then people, and finally, the two lance men. The bag was tied so the man could carry it on his back.

It was now time for Paruxti to visit the earth. Eveningstar commanded the four powers in the west, clouds formed, lightning and thunder were placed into the clouds. Paruxti was placed upon the clouds and the wind slowly blew them along towards the earth. Soon the clouds rested on the earth and Paruxti stood upon it. He went towards the east leaving footprints so the gods knew he was on his way.

One time when he was tired and lonesome he remembered what the gods had told him about the bag. He sat down near a stream, placed the bag in front of himself, and opened it. First the two lance bearers, carrying the lances, jumped out. They stopped some distance off, one standing at the south and one at the north side. Soon people sprang out and took their places behind the two lance men. Then came the girl with the sacred bundle on her back. Behind her the four men walked abreast.

The two lance men lead the people to some level ground. They stuck the lances into the ground while the rest of the people put up their tipis. The first one was set up facing east, for the bundle girl and the old men. The bundle was hung up inside the tipi on the west wall. The girl sat beneath it. Two of the old men sat on the north and two on the south side of the tipi. Throughout the village all was bustle and confusion. The boys, young men, and old men were playing with their sticks and rings. For the boys the ring was small and the sticks had two hooks on one end. The sticks used by the older men were hooked at one end and had two cross bars while the ring was smaller than that used by the young boys. The oldest men played with large rings and straight sticks. The women sat in circles and played a game with plum seeds and a basket while others played shafts.

Messengers were sent through the village to call out the men to look for game. The runners notified the people that they had seen many buffalo. The men went out to hunt them and returned with the meat. The first buffalo killed was taken to the holy tipi.

They stayed at this place four days when the holy being told the four old men that it was time to move. Camp was broken and everyone returned to the bag, the two lance bearers last of all.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Again Paruxti went on his way. Several times he opened the bag, camp was 539
pitched. He rested only when the bag was opened. He had traveled far to the east
and had returned by the north. 575

Fools-wolves, the wolf star, had seen Paruxti on his journey and said, "I will undo what the others wish to do. I will send a being to the earth who will ruin what the others have accomplished." He put a wolf on the earth who became hungry and ran hither and thither until he discovered the tracks of Paruxti which he followed. The wonderful being who had become tired and sleepy, lay down. As he lay there, the wolf came up to him and noticed the bag. He thought, "There must be something to eat in the bag. I will take it away and open it and find something to eat." He dragged it to some prairie where there was neither water nor timber and untied it.

The two lance men jumped out first. Wolf was frightened and jumped sidewise. Soon people came out of the bag and he heard them say that they were going to camp and get something to eat. The two lance men selected a camping place and as usual stuck their lances into the ground. The people played their games, but found no buffalo. The men shouted: "Something is wrong. Our wonderful being must be in an ill humor. Take him something to eat."

Some men carried dried meat to the wolf which he ate. The people marveled at this and did not know what to make of it. The wolf was brought to camp and given a place in the tipi where the wonderful man sat. Just as they were about to burn incense in his honor someone shouted, "Our wonderful being is coming over the hills, crying. Watch the being in our tipi, for he is not our wonderful being." The wolf tried to get away, but the people surrounded the tipi and killed him.

The four men then burned some incense before the wonderful being and anointed him with red ointment, buffalo fat mixed with red earth. All the people were gathered around the tipi and the wonderful being asked what had become of the wolf. They replied, "We killed it." Then Paruxti said, "Bring it and skin it. When the skin is dry, put it on the bundle where it must remain. You will always be known as the skiri (Skidi) or wolf people. Because you killed the first animal on earth you will die too. The gods in the heavens intended that you live forever. You will always have the lances. Those who carry them will be soldiers."

Known-the-leader sent the assistant on the north side to the morningstar bundle 575
tipi for owl feathers which are kept in this bundle and to the left hand bundle tipi for
the crow feathers kept in that bundle. When these were brought, the assistant
called for one crow feather and one white goose feather from each of the other tipis. [237]
These were brought in and piled up in front of the singers by young boys. Near the
feathers were placed two strips of red cloth about sixteen inches wide together with
buckskin, sinew, and an awl. Two men were selected to procure cedar poles for the [824]
lances. Cedar was used because the cedar tree "has life all the time."

When the men arose, Known-the-leader took up one of the drums. The other
drummers each took up the drum in front. They sang a song relating to the search [533]
for timber. After they sang four times, the drums were set down. Then the men
went out with axes to cut the trees. Before actually cutting the poles four cutting
motions were made. When the poles were brought in they were placed one at each
side of the tipi where the young men sat. They started to cut down the pole, one [313]
man on each side, and when these were tired, others took their places. When the
poles were cut and smoothed down they were placed crosswise in front of the drums.

The cloth was given to the men on either side who sewed it with buckskin string.

575 One end was lapped over enough to allow the poles to be passed through. In the middle, the cloth was slashed enough to allow for the bearer's hand. Feathers were also placed before the men who were sewing. They took five crow feathers that were equal in length and cut the quills at the ends. When these were ready one of the men made perforations in the cloth with a sharp stick beginning at the top. Then [237] he placed the quill ends of the feathers in the perforations and tied them with sinew. Five swan feathers were attached in the same way. This was done for the full length of the strip, five crow feathers alternating with five swan feathers.

The men on the north side must complete their cloth first, for the north star [821] watches and cares for them, giving them life and feeding them. The people on the south side worked slowly for the south star is the home of the dead. The owl feathers are bunched together and tied at the top of the cloth because they represent the north star who watches over all at night. Owls care for people while they sleep. In olden [825] times, the owls used to warn the people when the enemy was prowling around the camp. The crow feathers were attached first because crows are always the first to find food and they used to help the people to find buffalo. The swan feathers represent those of the thunderbird which is near Tirawahat, the heavens. If an enemy [821] were on the point of attacking the people, thunderstorms would come up and save them. The red cloth signified bloodshed during war. During battle, if the lance bearer stuck the lance into the ground, it was incumbent upon the people to defend the emblem.

After the cloth was ready, the poles were passed through the flaps, tied to a pole, and stuck in the ground, one at the north and the other at the south side, in front of the drummers.

Now, Known-the-leader said: "Knife-chief, Brave-chief, Running-fox, Young-hawk, old men, and young men, our fathers (the lances) are now complete. Our father, the owl is sitting at the top of the pole. The crow and swan feathers are attached. The lances are complete and have taken life. Let us hasten to notify the gods in the heavens that we have completed these emblems that were given to our people long ago to be carried on the buffalo hunt that there should be order. These insignia were to be carried in battle; in peace they were hung on a pole. The buffalo have disappeared, we no longer fight our enemies, peace rules. The gods know this. They will bless us and give us long life. They will bless our fields so that we may have an abundance of food. It is now time to offer smoke to the gods to show that we remember them. I select Knife-chief to offer smoke to the gods in the heavens. Knife-chief will now rise and take the pipe I have filled."

Knife-chief rose and took the pipe which belongs in a sacred bundle. It is very 276 old; the bowl is large; the stem smooth and round and represents the windpipe 575 through which the prayers of the people pass. Knife-chief walked around the fireplace with the pipe, beginning at the south. At the northeast he stopped and the south assistant lighted the pipe with a burning coal. He then walked around the fireplace by the west and then south with the lighted pipe and stopped successively at the south and north entrances and blew smoke in those directions. He next halted at the fireplace and blew smoke on its rim towards the northeast and the northwest. West of the fireplace he stopped and blew smoke southwest and southeast. Then he passed north and stopped at the west facing east. He blew smoke east, west, and then east again. Then he directed smoke towards the heavens; three times to the north, once to the south, faced about and blew smoke west. He turned again and blew towards the ground and the drums.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The pipe was passed to those on the north and the south sides, each person taking 276
four whiffs. Knife-chief then strewed the ashes from the pipebowl west of the fireplace and facing west passed his hands over the pipestem, then over his own body, 575
and handed the pipe to Known-the-leader who said, "Nawa." All the rest of the people said, "Nawa." This ended the first smoke ceremony.

Known-the-leader again addressed the assemblage: "Men, old men, and young men, another smoke offering is near. Our fathers are completed and stand before us.

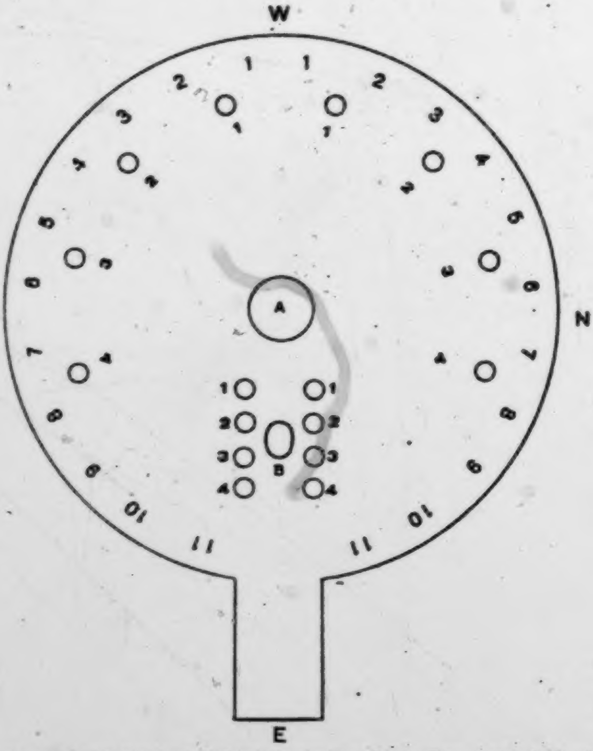


Fig. 4. Arrangement of the Food Bowls in the Two Lance Ceremony: A, fireplace; B, kettle of cooked maize; 1–11, the seats of members; 1–4, the serving bowls in position and as served. This order is followed in most ceremonies.

We must offer them smoke. I have filled this pipe. I have selected Brave-chief to carry on the smoke for he took part in war parties when these two lances were carried."

Brave-chief rose and took up the pipe. In the meantime, Known-the-leader's assistants took up the drums. At this point a song was sung about father owl, one [533]
about father crow, one about the thunderbirds, while the last related to the lances.

276
575
Brave-chief walked around the fireplace, stopped at the west facing east, and pointed the pipestem upward. At the same time he took some tobacco from the bowl, raised it, gradually lowered his hand, and finally placed the tobacco in the rim of the fireplace. Then he again pointed the pipe to the rim of the fireplace and placed a pinch of tobacco on it. The first offering was in honor of Tirawahat, the second in honor of the earth. He sat at the northeast of the fireplace. Now the assistant on the north placed a coal on the bowl of the pipe and returned to his place.

Brave-chief walked around the fireplace by the north and stood west of it. Four times he blew smoke to the heavens and four times to the rim of the fireplace. Then he directed smoke upwards towards the north and south lances. He passed around the fireplace by the south, east, and north, and offered the pipe to Known-the-leader who smoked four times; then he moved around by the north, east, and south to the west and Knife-chief smoked four times. The north and south assistants also smoked. Brave-chief emptied the ashes from the pipe west of the fireplace. He touched them with his right hand, made an upward pass, and then touched them with his left hand. Then he walked to the north lance and passed his right hand twice upward over the pipestem and with his left hand touched the ashes and passed it over the stem of the pipe. This was repeated before the south lance.

Finally he stood in front of the singers passing his hand over the pipestem and then over his own body. He returned the pipe to Known-the-leader who said "Nawa" which was repeated by all those present. This ended the smoking ceremony.

Now food was placed east of the fireplace. There was one kettle of corn, a pot of meat, bread, and coffee. The corn was placed near the entrance. Known-the-leader said: "Old men and young men, the corn was given our women by Tirawahat. We were told to offer it to the gods. I select Knife-chief to make the offering, then we will partake of the food."

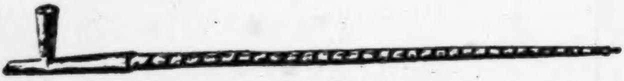


Fig. 5. Pipe for the Two Lance Society. The bowl is of red stone, the stem round, marked with black bands to represent a trachea, which it symbolizes.

Known-the-leader gave Knife-chief a buffalo horn spoon with which he ladled out the corn into eight wooden bowls placed there by the two assistants. He placed a spoonful at a time alternately in the north and south bowls until they were all filled. He walked west by the north and standing west of the fireplace raised a spoonful of corn towards the heavens gradually lowering it and finally placing some corn on the rim of the fireplace. Before placing the remainder of the corn he made a pass towards the west with the spoon and then gave it to the south assistant. Four times he placed his hands on the corn on the fireplace and raised them towards the heavens. He walked to the north lance and passed his hands four times upwards on it and then repeated the same motions with the south lance. Then he passed his hands over the drums. Stepping backward and standing erect he passed his hands over his head and then over his body.

Knife-chief took the spoon from the assistant and gave it to Known-the-leader who as he received it said "Nawa" which everyone repeated after him. Then he took up the first bowl on the north side and placed it before the two men on the north

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

side and the one on the south side in front of the south men. Then he placed the 276
second bowl from both the north and south sides before the third and fourth men on
either side and so on until all the bowls were in front of them and then they ate. 575
The bowls were passed down towards the entrance and what remained was the
share of the two assistants. When the corn was all eaten the assistants gathered
up the bowls and put them away. Then the meat, bread, and coffee were passed
without any ceremony.

Known-the-leader said, "Men, old men, and young men, our fathers are now complete. Tomorrow we will have the dance. We have made the smoke offering to the gods and they will be thankful. We have also offered our corn to the gods and they will watch over us.[1] We will now prepare to leave this tipi. We have eaten and smoked."

This ends the ceremony for the making of the lances.

The regalia are two lances, four rattles, and four hand drums (Fig. 3). 575
There is also a special pipe as shown in the sketch, Fig. 5. The four singers [293]
wore foxskin caps and painted their faces white, marking down with the
fingers. The members have no fixed painting, being permitted to follow [302]
their fancy. Formerly, they danced nude and carried weapons at their
pleasure. The mode of dancing through the village and conducting the
buffalo hunt has been described, these procedures being the same for each
society.

As noted in the table the Chauí also had this society, though with them it was of minor importance. There were also small differences in the arrangement of the feathers on the lance.

THE SKIDÍ RED LANCE SOCIETY.

The rarîspahat, red lance or otter lance society among the Skidí had two
lances as shown in the sketch. Here the one for the north side of the lodge
was wrapped with dark otter fur, the one for the south side with reddish [293]
fur. The leader had a pipe, there were four rattles and four hand drums.
The renewing of the lances and other ceremonies were as described for the
bundle societies in general. This society does not occur elsewhere except
in the Wolf-standing-in-water village, but here there is but one lance and
the stone on the bowstring is wanting. There were probably important
differences in the ritual but there are no data available.

This society was almost never called upon to act as hunting police, but [721]
was often called upon to lead in war. It will be noted that the lances, in
contrast to those of the preceding, carry real spear points. Their power

---

[1] The smoke and food offerings have practically the same form in all ceremonies.

575 was supposed to give protection in battles. The otter wrapped on the pole could also be used to call upon the powers to send rain to the earth. The two stones on the strings of the lances are to symbolise two powers or stars in the east on each side of the sun, the white for the one on the north side of the sun and the red for the one on the south side. By this, the members of the society know that they are under the protection of the two powers in the sky. If the people have a battle and win, the scalps and other trophies [727] are given to this society which then conducts the victory dance, carrying the lances in the dance. As the dance proceeds the women take charge, even carrying the lances. The only men remaining in the dance are the four drummers

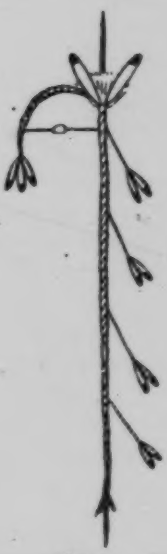


Fig. 6.

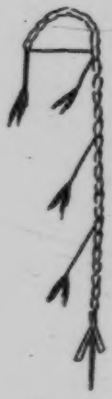


Fig. 7.

[411] Fig. 6. The Skidi Red Society Lance. The war point is of iron rising from a tuft of owl feathers between a tuft of eagle feathers. On the string to the crook is a red stone. The pendant feathers are eagle. The shaft is wrapped with otter fur; dark for the north side lance, reddish for the south. The grip is wrapped with bear gut.

[237] Fig. 7. The Red Lance. The shaft is wrapped with swanskin, a buffalo tail at the tip of the crook and also hung from strings at the sides; the grip of one lance is wrapped with red strouding and the other with black. These are the colors of the south and north sides respectively.

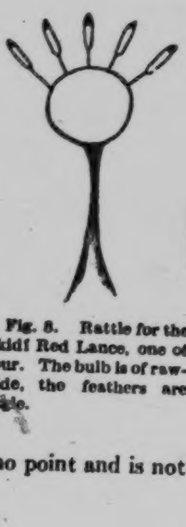
575
625
224 Perhaps the most important point is that this society is chosen to act as police of a military procedure, or man hunt, in the same way as the preceding society was chosen for the buffalo hunt. When the camp moves

out to the buffalo hunt, this society having renewed its lances, takes them 224
out on a horse as previously noted. They are thus ready for the society to 575
act in case of attack. In such a case, if the regular bearers are not present, 625
any member or anyone in fact, is expected to lay hold and act as bearer. To facilitate this, the lances are placed against a pole outside the society tent. If, however, a bearer fails to put in an appearance or shirks his duty in any way he can be reprimanded or even expelled. The volunteer bearer will be permitted to dance with the lance in future ceremonies, in contrast to the preceding society where only the descendants of lance bearers were allowed to enter the dance. As stated, the lances were expected always to head the line in battle.

As winter approached these lances were dismantled and put away until 575
the renewing ceremony of spring. Each member makes it his business to hunt for an otter and when one is caught takes it to the leader who skins it with a special ceremony. His wife then dresses the skin and cares for it until the time for renewing the lance in the spring.

THE RED LANCE SOCIETY.

Among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kit'kaháxki divisions there were organizations known as the raris pahat, but differing from the Skidí society of that name. The two lances were wrapped with swans' down. These societies were all considered as derived from and sanctioned by the bundle of the Pítahauírata. This bundle controlled the ceremonies in that division and hence all but the public dancing in the camp was secret. Only the descendants of chiefs could be members. In the two sides of the organization, the chiefs sat upon the north side and the warriors upon the south. The lance for the north side was trimmed in black feathers, that for the south in white. The members painted in corresponding colors in the dance, but carried such weapons as they chose. When dancing, a rattle bearer faces the lance bearer of the opposite side and in the evolutions they pass each other. Water drums are used and in the dance around the village two boys are appointed to bear these upon their backs. The pipe of the society was originally that belonging to the bundle, but later a special pipe was provided.



[534]

[362]
[535]

Fig. 8. Rattle for the Skidí Red Lance, one of four. The bulb is of rawhide, the feathers are eagle.

It will be noted that the lance of this society bears no point and is not

575 for war. In fact, this is the society that is called upon to police the buffalo hunt and in this capacity the members conduct themselves as described above. As an organization it is the counterpart of the Skidi two lance society.

THE THUNDERBIRD LANCE.

The raris kuhat, or thunderbird lance society is found among the Skidi and the Squash Vine people. The following account is from data supplied by the Skidi.

[825] In winter the members procure the thunderbird (in this case the swan, though outsiders are led to believe it to be the eagle) which is skinned by the leader as in the case of the preceding society. The feathers are plucked, leaving the down upon the skin, and with this the lance is wrapped at the renewing ceremony in the spring. This society is never called upon to act [721] as police in the buffalo hunt, but for leadership and defense in war; in this respect whatever was said of the preceding society, applies equally well [821] [823] here. The point of the lance is of flint stone because this stone is believed to be related to the thunders since it is said that such will be found wherever the lightning strikes. Thus, this stone lance head symbolizes the power to strike down a person before he is aware of danger.

As stated before, the trophies of victory may be turned over to this society that they may inaugurate the victory dance and as it progresses, the whole is turned over to the women. In former times, it was the custom for the sexes to mingle freely without restraint and during the dance.

In the Squash Vine village the lances were wrapped with loonskin instead of swan and loon heads were placed on the end of the curved top; also some loon feathers. On the sinew string were soft down feathers. Four old men were taken in to recount the deeds of the members.

THE CROW LANCE.

The hatu^{h}ka society was found among each of the four divisions but not in the independent villages. It was everywhere the same, except that the [184] peculiar feature of tying the members together was practised by the Skidi alone. In all cases this society was the last to renew in the spring, disband in the winter, to leave the line of battle, to follow the camp, etc.

The following account applies particularly to the Skidi: —

> 575 773 The name usually given this society is hatu^{h}ka (those coming behind), so named because of their peculiar custom of marching at the extreme rear of the tribal procession. The society is said to have been handed down by the crows but in reality

was derived from blackbirds, the kind that feed around grazing horses and buffalo. 575
A long time ago a hunter was walking along a ravine. Presently he heard war cries 773
and shouting. He was badly scared and ran, but the cries still pursued him. Becoming tired, he took his stand, bow in hand, for the enemy seemed near, singing and shouting. Finally, they came up. He heard one division going on one side of him, another on the opposite side, and stood ready to shoot down the first man to appear. But as they passed by he saw only flocks of crows, blackbirds, and packs of wolves. He saw no human beings among them. Yet he sat down and watched because he felt sure that they were human and that they had a lance among them.

He noticed that the birds came together as also did the wolves. The birds flew upward in a circle and then took a position resembling a lance, so the man thought. Then he fell asleep and dreamed of a blackbird. In his dream the blackbird told him that all that had happened was merely a test of his bravery. At first, he had appeared cowardly, but finally proved his courage. The birds and animals had decided to give him a lance with which he could originate the hatu^{h}ka society. The birds would teach him the songs, but there would be no dancing. The lance was to be of ash, hooked at the end, and wrapped with the tanned skin of a bull calf. Crow feathers which the birds would give him were to be attached at intervals, while the whole was to be daubed with white clay. The blackbird said that the man would obtain a medicine root for the use of the society. When painting, only soot was to be used. Thus, in his dream he was taught all the details of the regalia and practices of the hatu^{h}ka society.

When the man awoke he proceeded to the place where he had seen a tall weed which he took to be the medicine promised him. Here he gathered up the crow feathers which he took home. He did not tell the people of his vision on the plains. Instead, he wrapped the feathers and the medicine root in a piece of tanned buffalo hide which he tied to one of the lodge poles on the inside. At night he filled his pipe; first he gave a whiff to Tirawahat, a few whiffs to the birds, and then smoked nonceremonially.

That night he dreamed again. He saw a line of singing men all daubed with soot. They were strung along a buffalo rope drawn through their belts. When he awoke he sang a peculiar song which aroused the curiosity of the other people. Again and again he dreamed of the same men and each time learned a new song. One time he sat in his lodge singing the songs he had learned and was joined by another man who learned them from him. They in turn were joined by others from time to time.

When quite a number knew the songs, the man told them his dream experiences and announced his intention of organizing the society about which he had dreamed. He told them it would be difficult, as evidenced by the songs they already knew; that bravery was necessary; that they should know no fear of death; and that
they were to act as protectors of the tribe. In their ceremonies, two rattles were [534]
to be used. Drums were not permitted. Each member had a quiver with bow and arrows slung over his shoulder.

The society owned a buffalo hide rope. Each member was compelled to provide 575
a crow feather for the lance so that it would have a claim upon his bravery. The lance had to be covered with tanned buffalo calf skin.

The members of the society did not act as soldiers. Instead they were strung together in battle and marched in the rear of the tribe on all occasions.

While on a buffalo hunt they procured all the necessary paraphernalia. On their return to the village the new members met at the originator's lodge to sing the songs

575 and select men to make the lance and the rope. Soon other young men joined them and they too had to go through all the preliminaries before they could be strung along the rope. When a new member was initiated, he was strung with the old ones, each member wearing his quiver, bow and arrows over his right shoulder. At first there were but few members and consequently few feathers on the lance. These were attached only to the hook.

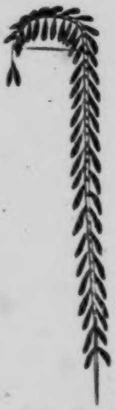


Fig. 9. The Crow Lance. The shaft is wrapped with buffalo skin to which crow feathers are fastened.

[789]

They all sang their songs and during a certain time when they were taking young men into their society they imitated an attack upon the enemy. Those who were cowardly usually stood still during these maneuvers because of the chafing rope. Then the proceedings were halted and the cowardly one sent out of the lodge. During their meetings, one day was set aside on which the society paraded through the village.

The lance was tied to a tent pole and set outside of the lodge until the day of the parade through the village. The night before, all the members gathered in the lodge and sang their songs. Then the leader gave each member a portion of the medicine root telling him that it would make him brave. He taught them to chew the medicine root and mix it with the soot and daub it over their bodies, particularly their faces. This medicine was to protect them from bullets and arrows.

Now, everything was in readiness. Early the next morning the members mixed the medicine root and soot, daubing it first on their faces and then their bodies. Then each man placed his quiver over his right shoulder. They stood abreast and the buffalo skin rope was passed through each man's belt. The rope was fastened around the waists of the men at either end of the line. When all their preparations had been completed, they commenced their songs, meanwhile performing various evolutions during which the rope tightened and wound itself around the singers.

Any member who gave signs of discomfort or pain was dismissed, but those who disregarded their suffering remained. After this, they stood in line facing east. Then they marched out of the lodge, the leader stopping at the south side followed by the others all facing east. The lance bearer was about a yard in advance of the others. After singing four songs while standing in this position, they proceeded. They gave no heed to any obstacles in their path. If they happened to come to a mud-lodge they halted and sang until the relatives (aunts) of the men singing would come out and spread buffalo robes under the feet of their kin. They did not move until one of the women came forward and said: "Men move to one side; I will give you dried meat and a pot of corn." Then they would turn aside and continue through the village, stopping only at the lodges of chiefs.

On their return to their own lodge the rope was taken off and they all took their respective places. The leader filled a pipe, lighted it with a live coal and blew smoke four times towards the lance which was staked in front of the singers. Twice he blew smoke downward and twice upward. Then he placed the ashes near the lance and passed his hands up and down over it twice and sat down.

Two assistants then brought in kettles of food and placed them between the entrance and the fireplace. The leader now gave them permission to eat. He rose,

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

575 dipped a horn spoon into the corn and placed the food near the lance. He made four passes with his hands towards the lance, then he placed the corn upon the rim of the fireplace, on the west side. He then took a piece of fat to the pile of corn, placed the fat on the corn, greased his hands and then made four passes over the lance with his hands. Then he handed the horn spoon to one of the men, who said, "Nawa." They ate and were dismissed.

[726] During the buffalo hunt it was customary for this society to follow at the rear of the procession. These men were once overtaken by the enemy. Their first act was to string the buffalo rope through their belts and thus they fought. When one of their number was killed, he was dragged around as the others fought. Eventually they were all killed. The society was never again reorganized.

[787] Once a man had a lance made as he wished to start the society again. A young man took it and went to hunt buffalo. He was attacked by the enemy, killed, and the lance taken away from him. Since then, the lance was never made and was considered an evil omen.

THE BRAVE RAVEN SOCIETY.

[224] [852] This is the important society among the Chauí and seems to have had a double function in that its emblem could lead the hunt as well as the line of battle. Among the Skidí it was a minor organization. The origin of this society is an integral part of the ritual for the leading Chauí bundle of which the head chief is the keeper but not the priest. This bundle is in two parts, or two bundles. The main bundle contained the ceremonial objects and was directly associated with the ritual; the secondary bundle contained the skins and feathers of birds. When a boy kills his first bird with an arrow, he naturally runs with it to his father. The father may then take his boy by the hand and lead him to the priest of the bundle, to whom the dead bird is presented. The priest thanks the boy and blesses him, after which the father and son go home.

After formally notifying the chief, or keeper of the bundle, the priest prepares the skin of the bird and puts it up to dry for four days. Then he takes it in and ceremoniously places it in the bundle, taking care to be able to identify it later.

During the autumn hunt the leader of the brave society notifies the members that the time has come for the gathering of sinew and the reserving of dried meat for the lance-renewing ceremony in the spring. Twelve volunteers are secured for this service. Each kills a buffalo and removes the sinew from the shoulders and back which is then dried and carefully packed away.

575 Now, during the hunt, the father of the boy killing the bird, may recall the incident and vow to consecrate a buffalo in the name of his son. Accordingly, when the buffalo is killed, he butchers, and packs it on the horse according to the requirements of the ritual. He leads the horse home, places the rope in the boy's hand and again conducts him to the priest. The father announces his errand and delivers the meat. The priest then performs the proper ceremony.

Some time during the winter the keeper of the lance goes out and cuts an ash stick for the new lance. This he works down to the proper form and puts up in the lodge to season.

Now, the father of the boy may ask for a crow feather, upon which the boy sets out and either kills a crow or finds a feather. His father directs him to take it to the priest. The latter again opens the secondary bundle and ties the feather to the boy's birdskin offering. This accumulation of crow feathers may continue for several years.

As the time for renewing the lances approaches, the twelve men collecting sinew are called into the leader's lodge, and arrangements for the ceremony made. The next day the lodge is cleared out and the store of sinew and dried meat brought in. Twelve additional members are called to assist. All are seated in the regular order. After certain preliminaries, the leader explains that the sinew cord for the lance is to be made. He then takes up sinew and proceeds to roll a cord upon his thigh. As it increases in length the ends are taken by his neighbors who twist in turn and so on until both ends of the line are reached. There is now one long cord passing entirely round the lodge. When completed the errand men stretch it about the lodge posts to dry.

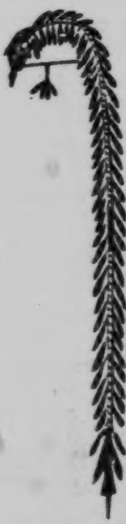


Fig. 10. The Brave Raven Lance. At the end of the crook is the skin of a crow, the beak hanging down. All the feathers are crow.

[283]

Next the leader calls for the crow feather. Then each member who has crow feathers in the bundle brings them in and also those that have been placed there by their sons. All these feathers are placed upon a mat before the leader. Then the two errand men take down the sinew cord and make it into a coil. The leader takes the coil and gives one end of the cord to his left hand and the others to his right hand neighbor, and so the ends are passed along, unwinding the cord. Then the leader lectures, stating that there are three main things in life, to consecrate an eagle, a scalp, and a buffalo, that following such acts one will be anointed by the priest, that

when one ties his feather to the cord, he is binding up his future, for each 575 must tie his own, if it is poorly done and drops off, so will be his career. In addition this lecture is usually a general sermon upon the ethical ideals of [867] the society. Each man should add one feather for each time he helped dress the lance, or for each year of his membership. Each feather symbolically represented a part of the owner's life which he tied, or joined, to the fortunes of the lance.

In tying a feather, each member is permitted to use but three knots. The leader ties first and then each member in succession on the two sides. [284] The two errand men are last, holding the ends; these they return to the leader and then take up the ends once more, thus making a four-strand cord. This is placed outside upon a pole and food is brought in for a feast.

On the third day the cord is taken down and the ceremonial dressing of the new lance performed. The new staff is brought in and set up before the leader, who at the proper time ties one end of the cord to the tip of the staff and winds it on spirally, covering almost the entire length. All this time the old lance has been standing before the leader, but now it is dismantled and disposed of as before stated. The new one is then set up in its place and properly installed. The day's proceedings are again closed by a feast.

The most spectacular part of the ceremony occurs on the fourth day. During the night the lance is supported upon a pole as before. Early in the morning the members assemble. The leader paints his entire body [302] with soot and marks down with the fingers. He then takes up the feather bustle, or belt, stating that [[illegible]2] this thing is to be shown to the powers in the heavens and that no enemy may enter, he must circle the [789] village with it; also that his running through the village will drive away sickness, improve the corn crop, and increase the buffalo. After this lecture, two men begin to sing and beat upon the water drums, the leader dances circling the fire four times, then passes out at the door. Once outside he runs north until outside the village, then runs around until by a spiral course he is again brought back to the door, thus traversing all parts of the village. As he enters, he gives three crow calls, two men spring up, catch him, take the lance and put him in his seat.

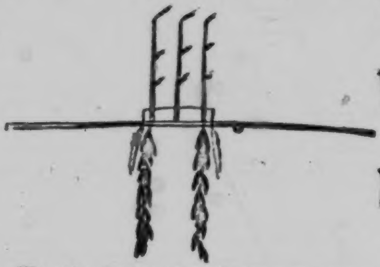


Fig. 11. Bustle for the Raven Braves. The uprights are sticks wrapped with porcupine quills and tufted with horse hair. The belt is of buffalo hide and bears a few sleigh bells. The pendants are wolf tails and strings of crow feathers.

535
575
[302] All this time the members have been singing in the lodge but now they paint black also and prepare such arms as they wish to carry. The chief of the village then enters with the pipe from the bundle and starts the dance. First they are lead outside where they dance before their own lodge, then passing out at the north side march around the village once. Then they come into the village and dance before the lodges of the leading men. (As before, two boys are brought in to carry the water drum.) In each case the host comes out with a pipe which is passed to the lance bearer and the singers, but no presents are given. Finally, they dance before their own lodge and enter. A feast and certain smoke offerings to the lance close the ceremony.

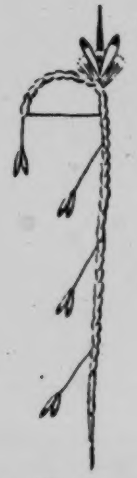


Fig. 12.

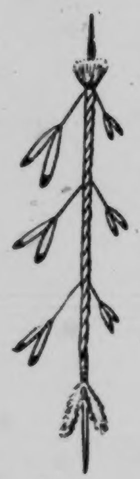


Fig. 13.

[411] Fig. 12. The Fighting Lance. The point is of iron, nested in owl and eagle feathers; the shaft wrapped with swanskin, small eagle feathers hang at the sides. The grip of the south side lance is of red strouding; that of the north, of black.

Fig. 13. The Wolf Lance. The point is of iron, the shaft wrapped with wolfskin, a bunch of owl feathers at the top, large and small eagle feathers at the sides, the grip near the lower end and two wolf tails below. Two of these are carried.

575
[648] As this was the leading society of the Chauí and the United States formally recognised the Chauí chief as the head of all the Pawnee, it came to have a certain precedence in all functions.

THE FIGHTING LANCE.

The tirupahe society is found among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kit'kaháxki. It is a war society as may be seen by its pointed lance.

The lance for the north side was black and for the south, white. There were 575
two rattle bearers who stood and danced as in the preceding. There were
four singers and two water drums. Their war duties were as previously
stated. This society was composed of chiefs and warriors, on different sides. [701]
At stated times, the members demonstrated their deeds, trophies, and war
medicines.

It seems that there were three bundles in the Pítahauírata division at
one time and the three feathers on the lance are supposed to be one for each. [778]
The members were members of the chiefs society, warriors and men who had
consecrated eagles; hence the small eagle feathers are put on the lance.
In the consecrating of eagles the heads are strung through the nose with
sinew, all the members having gone through this ceremony; hence the string
here symbolizes the consecration but it is not known if the hooked part of
the lance is the eagle's head. The pipe of this society is borrowed from the
warrior's bundle.

So far as known, the organizations in the three divisions were identical.

THE WOLF LANCE.

The rarisits skiri^{h}ki^{h} (society of wolves) was peculiar to the Wolf-
standing-in-water village. There were two lances, four flat hand drums
painted white, four singers wearing caps of wolfskin like roaches, four rattles
(two for each side). All members painted white. The pipe bearer who sat [302]
in front of the four singers painted red, however. The lance bearers sat
among the dancers, but the lances rested against the lodge posts. There
was no regular dance evolution, each one going as he pleased. The old men [535]
and one messenger were on each side.

There were two war shields covered with wolfskin for each side. For
each shield there was a bearer. It was a war organization and differed
from the others in that as an organization it could go to war. The lances [701]
were left at home, however. So far as known they never acted as police
of the hunt, but the members seem to have had the right to take the lances
of the hunting society and scout for buffalo.

The lodge of this society had its door toward the west instead of east. [345]

THE BLACK HEADS.

The pakskatit society was peculiar to the Kit'kaháxki division. They [224]
seem to have been important for they could act both as police of the buffalo
hunt and in the line of battle. While there were two sides as before, there [701]

575 was but one lance wrapped with swanskin. Each member wore a large tuft of crow feathers, hence the name. There were no rattles, but two water drums, four singers, and pipe men. The members painted white.

The Knife Lance.

The kichita was found among the Chauf, Pītahauīrata, and the Kit'-kaháxki. Its function was on the line of battle ~~and not~~ concerned with the hunt. There were two lances as shown in the drawing, decorated with cloth. The colored sections were reversed in order on the second lance. In painting the north side men were black and the south, red. There were four rattles, fringed with crow and swan feathers, four hand drums, and four singers. In the dance, two rattle bearers faced the lance bearers with the usual evolutions, while the other pair of rattle bearers stayed with the singers. In membership the chiefs constituted one side and warriors the other.

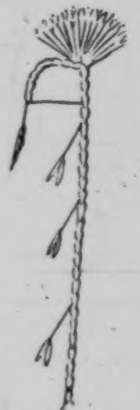


Fig. 14.

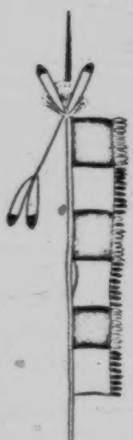


Fig. 15.

[411] Fig. 14. The Black Head Lance. The shaft is wrapped with swanskin, a crown of raven feathers, a buffalo tail at the end of the crook, crow feathers at the sides, bear gut grip at the bottom. The headgear of the society is similar to the crown above.

Fig. 15. The Knife Lance. The point is of iron nested in owl and eagle wing feathers, the shaft is trimmed with alternating squares of red and black strouding, a fringe of crow feathers to the red sections, goose feathers to the black; two eagle tail feathers hang from the top. The only difference in the two lances is that the order of colors is reversed in the second. Red was the color for the south side, black for the north.

PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS.

These organizations may be said to have been rivals or imitators of the recognized or authorized societies. In the villages were at all times many 575 ambitious men unable to attain membership in the regular organizations. When a man felt he had a call to organize a new society, i. e., had the necessary visions or dreams, he had no difficulty in securing a following. Naturally, these organizations have no public functions nor official recognitions; yet in time of need they might render service that would give them social [554] prestige. As individuals, or even as volunteer organizations, they could carry their standards to the line of battle and win renown. In many cases, however, they were short-lived, since it was only the personality and enthusiasm of the leaders that held them together. A great misfortune or disaster was almost certain to end the organization.

The tabulated list gives the names and distribution of all the organizations for which data are available. No doubt there were others that have been forgotten.

	Skidi	Chaui	Pitahauirata	Kitkahahki
Crazy Dog (asichakahuru)	×	×	×	×
Children of Iruska (iruska ipirau)	×	–	–	–
Wonderful Ravens (kaka waruxti)	×	×	×	×
Big Horse (raris aruskutchu)	–	×	–	–
Crows (raris kaka)	×	–	–	×
Roached Heads (pakspa hukasa)	×	–	–	–
Young Dog (asa kipiriru)	×	–	–	×
The Circumcised	–	×	–	–

THE CRAZY DOG SOCIETY.

A society found in all divisions was the asichakahuru, or crazy dog society. The members were men of any age. In organization they had the usual north and south sides. There were four singers or drummers,

575 two for each side. The pipe-man is the chief, but there is another man who
is charged with directing the ritual. All members carry ring-shaped rattles,
and certain members carry short lances bearing feathers. As to the number
of these lances, we have no data. The members danced nude and tied
[292] a string to the foreskin to the end of which feathers were attached. (See
Catlin's drawings of the Okipa.) On this account they were sometimes
called the "tied-penis society." It is said that in battle some of the members
[726] would take a stake and a rope, plant the stake before the enemy and
tie the penis string to the rope. They were forbidden to release themselves
and must then stand fast until released.

As to adornment and body painting each man did as he chose. Four hand drums were used.

There were no renewal ceremonies but this society would usually dance
[535] in public after the bundle societies had made their appearance. In dancing
they formed in front of their lodge in a circle. There were two mounted
men to call out their own deeds and encourage others ~~to do likewise~~. In
one part of the dance the horsemen ride among the dancers back and forth
(p. 387). Also, there were two whip men, carrying green switches with which
to whip up the dancers. If a member enters the ceremony wearing clothes
[292] he is set upon by these whip bearers and his clothes torn to pieces. Only
the members who captured a blanket or cut the covering from a captured
bundle, could take a hand in this. However, if a member has been in a
battle and saved his robe, he may carry it folded under his arm.

[888] In the dance a dancer may remove his moccasins and put them on an old
needy bystander.

*CHILDREN OF THE IRUSKA.

In this organization there were but six or seven members. They carried quivers full of arrows which were very highly prized, so when an arrow was shot they went to hunt it. They were known as saaro, youths.

They did things by contraries. If a woman said, "Do not get water,"
[524] they went after it. They were given to playing the wheel game and because
of their peculiarities no one played with them. If an enemy attacked the
village, the members would continue to play the wheel game and pay no
attention to the fighting. If a person came up and said, "Do not go out to
[302] fight," they rushed out at once. They were always painted black as if
ready to fight. On the head each wore the skin of a blackbird. The
society is said to have been handed down by this bird. The leader so
appointed by the bird went through the camp and selected boys who seemed
queer, or even insane. These he organized into a society.

They did not go into a fight until they were told not to; then they simply shot their arrows toward the enemy without taking much aim and then went to get them; or in other words, an idiotic performance. At all times of their lives they did things in reverse order. They never married or had anything to do with women. Whenever strange or mysterious animals were reported which were feared by other people, they would try to kill them. It is said that the society became extinct by all being killed in a battle except one, who afterwards disappeared. There are, however, several different stories as to how they were destroyed. 575

THE WONDERFUL RAVENS.

This society of the kaka waruxti, or wonderful ravens, had two undressed lances except for a crowskin hanging near the point. All members, except the pipe-bearer, had the skins of crows upon their backs. All painted black. The founder got the ritual and powers from a raven. There were four singers but no rattle bearers. Their chief function was to be ready for war; they wore the crow because this bird is known to be wary and hence it was believed that the society could foretell attacks. When attacks were predicted the society placed their lances outside against a pole. This was a public warning that precautions should be taken. [302] [825] [787]

The society had a brief existence, as most of them were once killed in battle, the remnants failing to reorganize.

THE BIG HORSE SOCIETY.

Among the Chauí there was once an organization known as raris aruskutchu, big horse society. Many of the members bore plain long sticks and all wore caps of foxskin and painted themselves white. There were no drums, but eight singers who beat upon a piece of rawhide with sticks instead of drums. The society was for war, but took the warpath for private forays and never acted as soldiers in any capacity. They became extinct by the loss of most of their members in an engagement. [302]

SOCIETY OF CROWS.

The raris kaka, society of crows, was a lance society. They had two lances with war points and at four places on the shaft a string bearing crow feathers was tied. The members painted black but only on the joints of the body. [302]

575 They had ceremonies in the spring to get their regalia ready for war. There was one old man in the order who wore a special cap made of crowskin. [103] Members who had counted just one coup could wear a horizontal feather through the scalplock; for the second coup another feather in the same direction but from the opposite side; three coups, one crow feather upright; four coups, four feathers fixed on a small pointed stick, and stuck in the head. If one took but part of a scalp, he split one of the feathers half way; if a whole scalp, the whole feather was split. For each scalp taken a feather was split.

As the number of coups and scalps increased, feathers were added to a string and hung on the head. They also painted hands and other deed marks on their bodies.

This organization also had a brief existence, becoming extinct through losses in battle.

THE ROACHED HEADS.

The pakspahukasa, or roached heads, were peculiar to the Skidi. They [302] were also known as the fox society. They had a peculiar hair cut in that the hair on the back of the head was cut off, leaving only the roach on the top. All must wear coats of blue or red strouding cloth, feathers on the seams of shoulders and sleeves. They wore buckskin leggings and any kind of dress moccasins. All had small rattles, decorated with strands of different colored ribbons. No fixed form of face painting was used. Some of them wore beaded caps. Four hand drums were used, two red and two white. This was a war society and the songs refer to disregard of death.

YOUNG DOG SOCIETY.

539 575 Among the Skidi there was a society known as the asa kipi riru, or young dogs. The story of their origin is as follows: —

When the Skidi village was west of Fullerton, Nebraska, an old man lived there alone in his mud-lodge. He was very fond of the old dogs which the Skidi had used as pack animals. They lived with him and shared his food. During the buffalo hunt the dogs carried things for him. One time after returning from the hunt some puppies were born. The man was pleased, for he had no children. Every day he made a fresh bed for them and fed them.

The rest of the people remarked on his care of the dogs. One night, some boys planned to kill the old dog and steal the young ones. The next day they watched and finally caught the old dog outside the village and killed it. During the night they stole some of the puppies, but left four males. The following day, the man searched for the mother and the puppies but in vain. He fed the others as well as he could and sat sadly at his fireplace.

539
575

As he sat there, a boy he did not know came in and said, "Some boys killed your dog." After feeding the dogs the next day, he went to hunt for their mother. He found the body and buried it. On his return he made a bed for the young ones near his own and fed and cared for them as though they were his own children. They began to grow and the man was very happy.

One night he dreamed that the mother dog had advised him to go away from his own people. He decided to move and went south to the Platte River where he camped. He hunted every day and on his return his first care was to feed the dogs. After a time he moved on, camping at different places. Meanwhile the dogs grew up.

In camp one night the man heard singing from afar and took it to be an approaching enemy. The song was unfamiliar and it appeared as if several people were singing. He rose and went to the puppies, but they had disappeared. He went back to his bed and lay down afraid to move. He lay still for a long time listening, when the singing suddenly ceased at the entrance to his lodge. When all was quiet he crawled over to look for the dogs and found them. After this, when he heard the singing during the night he was not disturbed for he knew it was his puppies that were singing. Several nights the singing was repeated so the man soon learned the song which was an imitation of a dog howling: Ha-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-o ha-oa hey-i-i a-a hi-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-a-ha-o-a hoa hi-i-i-i. At the close of the song each time the dogs would return to the lodge. The man then returned to the village.

Soon after this, the people left the village and went on a hunt. Each time they made camp the singing was heard during the night. The people wondered who sang, for the song was unknown to them. This occurred every night until they returned to their village.

As soon as the man and his wife entered their lodge they swept it and made a bed for the dogs. For a time no singing was heard, but one night it recommenced and as it came nearer and nearer it seemed as if there were more men. The singing seemed to be right in the lodge passing around the fireplace.

The man rose and made a fire. He saw a circle of men standing around it, all covered with red paint. Some of them had rawhide ropes around their shoulders. The man returned to his bed. The singers began again; this time they were dancing, keeping time to the song. After some time they passed out of the lodge. The fire died down and the dogs returned to the lodge whining.

The man slept again and dreamed of the dancers just as he had seen them earlier in the night. Some stooped over and circled around, whining in imitation of dogs as they danced. At the end of the dance one of the men who seemed to be the leader said, "My father, you have been good to us and our people (the dogs). They have decided to give you a new dance. For the next three days you must have the lodge swept for we will continue the dance until the third night. We have already danced one night. You must borrow the four water drums from the medicinemen and place them at the altar. It is to your advantage to watch us and listen carefully." Then the man in his dream saw the men transformed into dogs which surrounded him, licking his mouth and nose. This frightened him.

Early the next day the man and his wife swept the lodge for all the dogs had left it. He placed some branches of cedar on the fire for incense. The dogs' beds were swept and cleaned. Towards evening the man procured the water drums from the medicineman and placed them at the altar. Everything was now in readiness. In the evening the man told his wife to take dried meat from the parfleches, cut it, and let it boil in the kettle on the fire. Then he told her to lie on her bed while he sat at the fire smoking.

539
575
During the day the dogs had disappeared but when darkness fell the man heard the singing again. At first it seemed outside the village, then it came closer, and finally stopped at the doorway. The man sat on his bed. The singers filed in and sat in a circle around the fireplace. Now, four old men entered and sat in front of the drums. One of them said, "Old men dogs at the altar and young dogs around the fireplace, we will now sing and dance." The old men drummed and sang and the others danced. The dancers were daubed all over with red paint. The man watched the dancers who were fine-looking men and learned the songs. They danced until the fire burned down and then quietly left the lodge. This was the second night they danced.

The man filled and lighted his pipe and before he smoked, blew smoke four times each to the skies, to Tirawahat, and to the altar. The dogs now came in whining and went to bed. The man knew when they returned and emptied his pipe and went to bed. As soon as he closed his eyes he fell into a trance and saw an old man standing near his bed. He wore no clothes but was painted all over with red paint. The old man said to him, "My son, I will take you to a far country and show you the father of the dog family. It is through him that the whole dog family has pity for you because of your kindness to the dogs. Come with me."

The man thought that he rose and walked out of the lodge with the stranger. They seemed to be traveling in space over a wide river. When they landed he saw that he was in a strange land. They arrived at a mud-lodge and the stranger told the man that they were about to enter the lodge of Tirawahat. He told him to notice everything and that certain things would be given him. They entered and he immediately noticed a large fire in the center of the lodge. West of the fireplace was a dark object, a large golden eagle, from which came sparks of fire. On its right sat a large dog. The two men sat down at the south side of the lodge. The eagle said, "My son, you are now with us. I sent for you that I might pity you. You have been kind to the dog family and I sent for you that you might see the dog that watches over all dogs. It will now speak to you."

The dog sat in the shadow but the man could see he was reddish. The dog said, "The young dogs of your village have prayed that I give you a new dance and that I make you a great warrior among your people because of your kindness to them. Dogs receive no smoke offering from the people. I gave power to the dogs to have pity upon you. I will make you great among your people. When you return to them tell them that you saw me and that I have taken pity on you. Watch my people and do as they do and we will give you power. Now return to your people.

At this point the man awoke. It was morning. He made a fire and noticed that the dogs had left the lodge. After he and his wife had eaten they swept the lodge and the man went out to where the young men were playing. There he saw two poor orphans whom he invited to his house. He gave them places near the fire and told them that he wished them to make his home their home. They were glad.

The young men were each given a place on either side of the entrance for they were to be assistants. During the day other well-to-do young men visited the lodge, but they were not allowed to stay there. Brave warriors also came, but the man would not admit them.

In the evening the young men were told to bring wood and keep up the fire so it would dimly light the lodge. When all was quiet throughout the village singing was heard outside of it. Young and old men went outside of their lodges to listen.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

At the man's lodge the singing ceased. Then they heard the drumming and everyone 539
gathered around the lodge to watch. The singers and dancers took their places.
The fire burned low, lighting the lodge but dimly so the dancers could not be plainly 575
seen.

The two assistants sat on either side of the entrance. When the drumming began the dancers arose and danced around the fireplace imitating dogs. Some circled around and whined. The dancing and singing continued until the fire burned out. Then the man told the spectators that the dance was over. When he was alone the man sat at the altar, filled his pipe, lighted it, and blew smoke four times to the skies, to the father dog, to the ground, to the dogs on earth. Then he smoked until the dogs returned to the lodge. He emptied the pipe and lay down at the altar, while the two assistants slept at the entrance.

Again he fell into a trance and saw the dancers and singers in their places. Between the entrance and the fireplace was a pot of meat. Each man took some grease from the pot and went to the altar where he received red paint from the leader. They mixed the grease and paint and daubed it over their bodies. Each man had a short buffalo rawhide rope painted red around his neck.

The leader addressed the men: "My children, young dogs, I have given you the paint for your bodies when you are ready to dance. When in battle you must use this paint for your bodies." The dog men were addressed in this manner for the benefit of the man so he could do the same for the men who would become members of the society.

Again the leader spoke: "My son, tomorrow is our last night with you. You must take one of your young dogs and kill it, scorch and clean it and put it in the kettle on the fire. Watch us and do as we do when you start the dance among your people."

The man awoke and found one of his dogs standing near him, whining. The dog stayed at the altar until daylight when he went out. The man followed and saw him sit and look at the sun which the man also did. They returned to the lodge and sat down at the altar. The boys rose and made a fire while the man smoked. Then he lay down with the dog at his head. He fell asleep and dreamed of a strange looking man who said, "My son, the dogs are all my children. See, I am painted red all over. I am the sun. Do as the dogs tell you. I am watching over you. I will give you power so that you will come out unscathed even from the hardest battle."

The man woke, looked around, and then fell asleep again and dreamed of the dog that was lying near him. The dog was transformed into a fine looking man and said "Father you have been good to us; you have fed us well; you gave us a good place to sleep. You mourned with us when our mother was killed. All this time we cried to the heavens where our father is and now he has taken pity upon us. He has given us power to give you a new dance. You must watch us and do as we tell you. Today you must kill me for I was selected to be with you and your people always. Place the flesh in a kettle and boil it. The singers and dancers will use the grease for mixing with the red paint. After the dance the singers give the meat to onlookers who eat it. Tomorrow all the singers and dancers will go away from here but there will be others to take our places. When you are ready to kill me take a rawhide rope and a pestle used in pounding corn and let the two boys go with you. They will make a loop in the middle of the rope and each will pull as hard as he can. Then you can strike me on the head. My brains will scatter and blood will flow, but I will not be killed. I will stagger around until I am able to run. I will teach you this trick so you can try it on

539 one of the boys in the medicine lodge and everyone will know that you received power from the dogs. Now rise and clean the lodge for father sun is high up."

575 The man awoke and saw the dog. He ate and ordered the boy to sweep the lodge with fresh bunches of hyssops. Only one dog was left. During the day the chief of the tribe visited the lodge to learn what was happening. The man did not tell. The chief wished his son to join but the man refused. The chief departed. The man took the rawhide rope and the pounder, and went out of the lodge with the two boys, the dog following. They stopped at some timber west of the village. The two assistants put the dog's head through the noose and pulled while the man struck it on the head. They could see the blood and brains ooze out, but the dog staggered about and after a while ran around. He put the dog's head through the loop again and faced him south with the boys on either side. The man filled his pipe and blew smoke four times to the father dog above, to the dog, and finally laid his pipe on the ground. Then he told the boys to pull on the rope again and he struck the dog on the head, killing it. The man gathered the foam from the dog's mouth, and placed it upon his nose and mouth, his head and his body. The dog fell with its head toward the south. They skinned it, cut up the meat placed it in the hide, and carried it to the lodge. The meat was put in a large kettle on the fire; the hide near where the dogs' bed used to be. Now the lodge was put in order for the events of the night.

In the evening, the two assistants let the fire die down. As usual, singing was heard outside the lodge. It came nearer and nearer and the singers stopped at the entrance and then filed in, the four singers in the lead. They took their places behind the drums. The others sat around the fireplace. The assistants made a fire and the drumming and singing was begun, the men around the fire dancing as before. The dancers stood in place while the drummers sang a certain song. The leader of the singers now began to dance, circling one of the dancers. Then the man jumped up and danced with the singer. Spectators began to crowd in.

The singer danced up to the dancer on the south side pretending to place something on his neck. A great shout arose and the singer danced backward. When he danced forward the fourth time he threw a string with a whistle attached around the man's head. The dancers shouted again and the singer threw a bunch of owl feathers on his head. Then he threw a rope painted red and about four feet long around the man's neck. All this was a reminder of how the dog was killed. Later, a red sash was used in place of the rope.

The singer returned to his place behind his drum while the others danced. At the close of the dancing, the leading singer addressed the men: "My son, you shall do these in your dancing. When the string is put around the neck of a new dancer you shall receive him into your dance. No matter how high a man stands among his people, if the string and whistle fall to the ground you shall send him out of the lodge. While we are singing the dancers may dance around the fireplace and take a piece of meat from the kettle and give it to the spectators who may divide it among themselves." After the meat was distributed the spectators were asked to leave.

The leading singer then asked the man to fill his pipe, light it, and stand west of the fireplace and blow smoke four times to father dog in the heavens, to the sun, to the entrance, and to the drums. Then he emptied the ashes on the rim of the fireplace. He was also told to place the dog skin at the altar when it was tanned and to blow smoke to it. Then he gave him the whistle with the string, the owl feathers, and the rope. The leading singer said, "We will now sing. All rise and dance toward the entrance and go where you wish. We have now taught him everything."

They drummed, sang, and danced around the fireplace out of the lodge. The 539
singing and drumming gradually ceased and when the fire was made there was no 575
one left in the lodge. After this the man often dreamed and found that the dance
was given to poor people, especially the poor boys of the village.

After the final dance, all the dogs disappeared. Every night the man and the two boys sang and other young men came in and assisted. When quite a number of young men knew the songs the man told them to come the next night and bring with them their quivers, bows and arrows, and moccasins. Among the young men who wished to join was a chief's son. He told them that they would go to the enemy's camp that night. They all agreed to go with him.

That night he wrapped up the dog skin, the string and whistle, the owl feathers, and the rope and placed them on his back. As they started off they sang the first song the man had heard the dog men singing. They sang four times and then went on their way. For several days they continued when some of the young men began to show signs of weariness. Then the man gave them a root to chew to revive them. When the chief's son became tired the man paid no attention to him. Finally, he turned back.

At length they came to the enemy's camp. The man put on his regalia and went to the camp. He captured some ponies on which they returned home. When they arrived the people said the young dog people were good travelers.

After this at night the young men met to sing the dog songs. When 575
the man heard them, he would have the two boys build a fire and the young men would come in and sing. One time, on their return to the village from a buffalo hunt some of the young men told the man that they each had a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat and they wished to dance. The man did not reply but consulted his two assistants who said: "Buffalo meat is good, but first we must get a reddish dog." One young man said, "My people have one, I can get it."

The dance was started and all the young men who danced and received
the string and whistle became members. This society became very impor- [177]
tant and when the Arikara joined the Skidi they saw the dance. Among [535]
the Arikara was one man who knew the sun dance. He met the leader of
the young dogs and they exchanged dances. The Skidi joined the two and
had the young dog sun dance three times. All the dancers had to be cut
and suspended three times.

This society became a great power among the people. One time during 224
a buffalo hunt the people were attacked by the Sioux and the soldiers were 575
all killed and the crow lance taken from them. The tribe was left without 625
police so the chiefs (not the priests) selected the dog society to act as police
on the hunt. Their old men cried through the village telling the people to [648]
keep quiet and not to drum or sing. The men were not permitted to hunt
at any distance nor were guns to be shot. The women were not to chop
wood but were to gather dry limbs. One night a man came to the village

224 with buffalo meat. He had consecrated it and taken it to one of the minor
575 bundles and that night the priests had a bundle ceremony. The dog soldiers
625 went into the lodge, took the meat, cut it up and gave it to the dogs. The owner of the meat was taken out and whipped and his gun broken. He became angry and drew his knife. They all attacked him and hurt him badly. After this occurred, the dog soldiers were dismissed and the lance men were again the tribal police.

554 The dog society was so important not only because the members were
575 good warriors, but great medicinemen. None of them were cowards, they were all brave men.

The Mischievous Society.

539 An organization generally known as the mischievous society, but also as the circumcised, once existed among the Chauí.

575 Many years ago when the Chauí were alone, two young men were always running around during the night, playing bad tricks upon anyone they met. At this time the people wore no clothing, especially the boys. In the winter time the boys wore a bull calf hide, if they were well-to-do; but if they were poor they wore half a bull hide, their moccasins and leggings. They had neither shirt nor covering for their privates.

In a village of mud-lodges there happened to be one mud-lodge that was empty for all the people who lived in it had died. These two mischievous boys made their home in this lodge. People, especially the young men, were afraid to go near this lodge in the night for it was said that ghosts dwelt there. These two young men frightened people when they came near the lodge by making strange noises, whistling, and throwing mud at them.

In the daytime they watched the young men in the village and when they saw certain ones who seemed fearless they invited them to meet them in the empty mud-lodge. When they spoke of the mud-lodge, those who were cowards would refuse to go, but those who were brave accepted the invitation. These meetings were held in the winter time when the people lived in mud-lodges, for in the summer time they lived in tipis away from the village. When these young men met they would plan to send out young men to scare those who were prowling through the village during the night. The two leading boys appeared as if circumcised and invited to their meetings only those of similar appearance.

In their meetings in the deserted lodge they would do all sorts of mischievous and obscene things. When on a buffalo hunt in the winter time they would get together and make a grass lodge in which to hold their

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

meetings. The boys in the village heard of their meetings and doings and many were anxious to join. When the people returned to their permanent village, the boys again held their meetings in their lodge. During the day the two leading young men would play with the boys of the village and whenever they observed one of circumcised appearance they would ask him to come to their meetings. Thus the society grew until they had many of the boys in the village. Every night they met in the lodge, each bringing a little dried buffalo meat and some parched corn, so that when their meeting was over they would have something to eat. 539 575

At last they became so numerous that one night in their meeting they talked of going on the warpath. (These boys never stole anything in the camp but kept others from stealing.) While they were discussing their war project, the boy who acted as a watcher announced that a young boy out there wanted to come to their meeting. The two leaders asked if he was of their kind, the answer was "no." Then the other boy was told to tell the boy to come to the lodge in the daytime.

The two leading boys now dismissed the others. When they were alone they began to plan for their altar. At last they agreed to have two long poles, about seven feet long and about one foot around. One end was to be forked, but the prongs trimmed off close, the whole shaped to serve as a phallus. When completed, both symbolic poles were blackened in the fire. After the altar had been arranged they considered how they could increase the membership and how young men wishing to join could be artificially circumcised. One of the eligible young men volunteered that his condition was due to accidental contact with the juice of the milkweed, causing a sore by which the foreskin was removed. This suggestion was adopted as part of future initiations.

The next day the two leaders entered the lodge each bearing a bunch of fresh milkweed. Here they sat down. Soon the other members came in. One of them was told to watch outside. When the candidate came to the lodge he was told to enter. When inside he was seized, thrown down upon the ground, and held while the two leaders applied the milkweed juice. He was then turned loose. He was told to sit among them and when tired to go home but that he must tell no one what had happened to him. This kind of work was carried on until there were many boys sick from the inflammation. People wondered why there were so many boys sick. The boys were not really sick but as they were naked in those days they did not want to go out and be seen in their condition.

Now the boys got the poles and prepared them as the two leaders wished. When completed they were placed at the altar in the lodge. They extended east and west, the head part toward the east. The leaders made clay pipes

539 575 and baked them. The stems were of ash. During their meetings the leaders filled their pipes with native tobacco and offered smoke to the poles. Then they would send other young men out to frighten people who were prowling around in the night. When the boys returned to the lodge, before they told what they had done, they passed their hands over the poles and offered thanks for their help. Then they sat down between the poles and told their story. All would laugh.

Several years afterwards these boys had grown to be young men and began to talk about going upon the warpath in earnest. While they were planning one day an alarm was given: the enemy were coming to attack their village. The boys were all in their lodge. They were told to remain there until ordered to go out. Some wanted to run out for they wished to get their bows and arrows, but the two leaders would not let them go. The leaders took some grass from the lodge and burned it to make soot. They told the boys to do likewise. After they were all smeared with the soot, they were told to get their bows and arrows and join them. When the boys returned to the lodge with their bow and arrows, the two leading men took up the two black poles and ran to the battlefield. The line of ~~men~~ was extended clear along the battle front. Most of the men were massed at each end of the line. So these boys selected the center as their place. The two with the poles stood in the center, but the members scattered out. When the enemy attacked the boys, the leaders told their followers to shoot to kill. When one of the boys killed an enemy, one of the pole bearers would run forward and strike him with the pole and then return to his place. In this the two pole bearers alternated. Through the heroism of these boys the enemy was finally driven away and pursued by the mounted men.

The boys returned to their lodge for they were afoot and could not follow the enemy. When all the men had returned to the village, each one told what he had done in the battle. Some told of the strange-looking people in the center of the battle line and all wondered who they were, for all the lances known to the people were in the battle. The boys were careful and never spoke of their doings. Some men said that they saw one of the boys carrying an odd looking pole, but the people could not find out who the boys ~~were~~.

Some time after the battle, when all the victory dances were over, the boys met in their lodge. When all the young boys were seated around the fireplace, the leader said, "Brothers, we are in our own lodge. I have something to say to you and if what I say is good, I want to know. You can all see how men go on the warpath for five or six months to return with many ponies and perhaps several scalps waving upon their poles. The

539
575

people turn out to see them come in. The victorious party comes over the hills as if they were attacking the enemy. Chiefs and brave men go out to meet them. Women stand on the outskirts of the village giving their war cry. When the men are near the village we see their faces are smeared with charred grass, their lips white with clay. The black faces signify that they have traveled in the night and faced dangers; their white lips, that they were hungry for many days and finally came upon the enemy, conquered them, and captured their ponies. You have looked upon the leader who carried the sacred things upon his back. Chiefs and brave men honored him. I know all of you would like to be in his place. I know I would. Boys we can do the same. We have been meeting here night after night. We now have two poles to lead us into the enemy's country. I have it in my heart to lead you. If we die at the hands of the enemy it will be well. Some of you boys are better off than the rest of us, for you have grandfathers and fathers who tell you that it is better to die at the hands of the enemy than to die of sickness in the village and be put under mother earth and have dirt rest upon you. Who of you are willing to go with me?"

Each boy said, "I will go with you." The leader was glad and said, "Brothers when you go to your homes, let your sisters or grandmothers make you four pairs of moccasins and when they are completed let them fill them with parched corn or pemmican. Those of you who have neither sisters nor grandmothers go to your nearest of kin among the women and ask them for a piece of tanned buffalo hide, some sinew, and bring them to this lodge and make your own moccasins. Do not steal these things, but ask for them. We will make preparations for the next four days and on the fifth night we will start for the enemy's country."

Soon after this talk by their leader, the boys went to their homes. Most of them were orphans and it was hard to get anything from other people. The two leaders were orphans, they had no relatives or friends. They did not try to get anything from anybody. They sat in their lodge and made two small sticks to represent the two larger ones, so they could carry these sticks upon their backs. When the boys returned to the lodge the next day, some had more hide than they needed and some had several pairs of moccasins and they gave the leaders what they did not need.

The third night the boys met in their lodge, each brought his moccasins and other things he thought he might need. The leaders saw that each boy was provided with moccasins and provisions. Some of them had more and they willingly gave to others who had none. Now the leader said, "Brothers you can hang up your bundles upon the walls and then go to your homes or to your friends and get you a knife, some arrows and a bow. Bring the things to the lodge at night and we will get ready to start. You may now go home."

539 575 At night the boys came into the lodge with things they needed. When all were in, the leader told each boy to take a bunch of grass and place it in his belt. When this was done he told them all to paint their faces with burnt grass. Then the leader said, "Brothers, we are seated here as warriors. We are about to go on the warpath. Tonight after all is quiet, we will go through the village. We will enter every lodge and sing our songs. When we stop singing them one of the boys must light the grass, then all must take their breech cloths off and dance in the light, naked. We will do this so that when we go on the warpath if we are not successful we will not return. In case the enemy attack us, we will fight until everyone is killed. As soon as we have marched through the village, all must come to this lodge for we are to start from here. If anyone returns to his lodge he cannot go with us. We will now march through the village."

The two leaders led the young men and as they entered the lodge, they stood in a circle around the fireplace and sang. When they stopped singing, one of the boys went to the fireplace where there were coals and lit the grass. The boys all took their coverings off and the women jeered at them. When the fire died out they went to another lodge. After they had visited every lodge they returned to their own. When all were seated, the leader told the boys that he was pleased for now the tribe knew that all the boys were circumcised.

[831] The leader filled his pipe and offered four whiffs to the two large phallic poles and four whiffs to the two small ones which he was to take with him. As he offered smoke to the two large poles he said, "Fathers, we are about to go upon the warpath, we are to leave you in this lodge, but make us brave that we may conquer our enemy and make it easy for us to capture his ponies." Then he dumped the ashes at the ends of the poles. He wrapped the two small poles and the pipe in a coonskin, for he had dreamed that he was like a coon and had to get a coonskin to protect them. He tied the bundle on his back. Then he told the other leader to rise. Both stood at the altar. Then they told the other boys to take up their bundles and rise. They left the lodge and marched around the village by the north and west until they stood directly south of the village. Here they sang their songs, shouted, and ran towards the south. When they were some distance from the village, they squatted down and waited until daylight. The leader did not miss any of the boys and was glad Now they marched on again.

One night the leader selected four boys to act as scouts. It was to be the duty of these boys to go out before daylight and see what was in the country. They were to report again before daylight. In the night they were also to look over the country and report to the leaders. One day the scouts came in and reported seeing fourteen or more tipis and many ponies.

The leader now selected a thick timbered country. Here they cleared off 539
the ground, made a fireplace, and built a big fire. The leader made an altar
and placed the two sticks on it. He offered his smoke. Then it was time 575
to have their mischievous doings which they kept up until dawn. The leader gave one of the sticks to the other leader and they started for the village. They stopped once and the leader selected seven boys to round up the ponies while the others attacked the village. Then they started. The seven men went to where the ponies were. The others surrounded the village. A shout went up, women and children ran out of the village, but the men were killed and scalped. The seven boys drove the ponies from the village. With scalps hung upon their belts the boys ran into tipis taking things that were of value. The enemy had run into the timber, but were now rallying so the boys ran to where the others were driving the ponies. Each boy caught a pony, mounted, and ran away. Two days and two nights, they journeyed north until they came to thick timbered country where they halted. When they jumped off their ponies, they were so sore they could hardly walk. Some of the young men were now sent out to get buffalo. When the meat was brought they all began to roast it for they were hungry. The boys with the scalps cut poles and hung the scalps upon them to dry. They all lay down and slept.

The next morning they were up at dawn and after eating some of the meat again took up their journey. So they kept on only stopping at night until they were near the village. Then they decorated themselves with soot for they had no other paint. Now they got upon their ponies and rode to a high hill. Here they began to sing and yell until the village turned out and wondered who they were. Presently a messenger was sent out to meet them. When the messenger was near the leader shouted to him, "Tell the people the mischievous boys are coming with many ponies." The messenger went to the village and shouted, "The mischievous boys are coming with many ponies." The village turned out. The chief was among them. The leader gave one pony to the chief. The young men entered the village, their parents and friends meeting them.

Several times they went on the warpath and each time they were successful. As time went on some of the young men married and raised families. On a buffalo hunt these young men having fine horses were able to kill their own buffalo meat, so they were well provided for. Sometimes they feasted the poor in the village, then feasted the old people, and at last they feasted the chiefs. These young men killed buffalo and consecrated the meat, so now they became great men. In battle they were brave.

One of the leaders was riding near the place where they were to camp when they saw boys playing the javelin game. They rode up and looked on.

539 575 The people were building their tipis. They called a young man and told him to go to the chief and tell him to place mats on the ground to have his ceremony. The chief, when notified, told the women to spread mats in a circle upon the ground. His soldier being there, the chief told him to call four other men. While the soldier was gone, the chief took the bustle, a spear, tomahawk, shield, and a war-bonnet and placed them on the mat. Then he brought out two water drums. As soon as the men came, two of them sat down by the drums, took up the drumsticks and began to sing. The chief himself was the first to take up the bustle and tied it around his waist. He now took up his bow and arrows; then he squatted down upon the ground; then he began to grunt, his head and shoulders shaking to keep time with the drumming. Finally, he arose and danced. When the singing ceased, the chief spoke in a loud voice, "I speak of a certain place I killed an eagle. I consecrated the eagle and that same year I killed an enemy, took his scalp, and consecrated the scalps to the gods in the heavens, and the gods received my smoke." Again he said, "I speak of a certain place I killed a wildcat and consecrated it and that same year I went upon the warpath and captured ponies. I was successful and when I returned to the village, I took one pony and gave it to the priest." Again he shouted, "I speak of a certain place. I killed a raccoon. I consecrated it to the gods in the heavens. That same year I went on the warpath and I captured many ponies. Upon my return to the village, I gave four horses to different men. To the men who want me to do this I have spoken. The gods in the heavens have heard me. They will make the path straight for you to do likewise." He then untied the bustle and threw it on the ground when the next man took and went through the same evolutions with it relating his deeds. Each man took up the bustle and told of his deeds.

Then the leading mischievous man came into the ring with two horses, eight robes, and two parfleches of meat. One parfleche was opened, the meat cut up and given to men, women, and children, who were looking on. The other parfleche was opened and the chiefs ate the meat. Then the presents were divided among the chiefs.

When the people returned to the village the mischievous men met in their lodge. The leader took up the poles, stood up and said, "Brothers, we all now have families, have attained places among our people and are respected. Our meetings must end. I now put these sticks into the fire. I ask that each of you join some of the societies and always be brave. My friend and I will join the brave lance people. You are all now released and we will not meet here again. This is all." They left the lodge and each went to his home.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE ORGANIZED WAR PARTY.

There was a fixed ritual for the control of a war party, which when 701
organized for a foray was for the time being a kind of wolf society (araris
taka, society of the white wolf). Its mythological basis is quite funda- 721
mental, being that part of the creation myth in which a wolf pursued man 726
and deceived him. In any event, the god of war is a mythical wolf and it
was directed that a wolfskin should always be placed at the top of a bundle [776]
and that the Skidi were to be the wolf people, as the name implies. Hence, to become a real warrior one must follow the ways of the wolf. One who does so can go to the keeper of a bundle and borrow the war clothing therein together with the pipe. The wolfskin remains in the bundle, but the objects he takes away carry with them the power of the wolf. By their association with the bundle, these war clothes represent the powers of the west and when the borrower is so clothed these powers are with him. He can now organize and lead a war party, but he himself must not imitate the wolf, that is left to his followers. Thus, they become like the wolf first placed upon the earth and may have power to steal upon the enemy and get away without being discovered.

Before setting out upon a foray a ceremony is held in the village in which 726
as in all else the borrower of the regalia from the bundle is the leader. An
altar is made and the bundle from which the regalia are to be borrowed is [778]
brought in and placed before the leader. Upon it is the wolfskin and in the minds of the warriors the wolf is present and, hence, always with them upon the way. A buffalo skull rests upon the altar.

The war regalia of the bundle are usually a pipe, a collar, a lariat rope, a hawkskin, an ear of corn (Mother Corn), some red paint, down feathers, and a leader's feathers.

As the bundle is present there must be a north and south side and two leaders. On the march they go abreast with the others behind in order of their rank. A four-day ceremony follows, before setting out. On the way, their organization is for each side, or line: a leader, two scouts, two soldiers, the warriors, and the inexperienced assistants. The four scouts are really charged with the responsibility of the movement and may be said to be in command (see p. 55) though the leaders stand for the highest authority.
They scout about in the early hours of the day and at all times on the
journey. Their signals are made as wolf cries. When a scout has anything [201]
to report, he tells it privately to the leader of his side. At the proper time the leader announces the import of the report in a formal ritualistic manner. They never approach or in fact go anywhere in a direct line, but follow an

726 ever-changing course. The members of the party paint their faces and robes heavily with white clay, which is the war paint of the Pawnee and symbolizes the wolf. The scouts also wear two white eagle feathers in the hair so set as to resemble the ears of the wolf.

Thus when one looked over the crest of a hill, he would appear as a wolf. Wolfskin caps were often worn by these scouts to heighten the illusion. Since in course of time other Indians knew the wolf cry signals, different animals were imitated according to orders of the leader.

When the enemy has been located, the leaders conduct the party into a thicket and hold a ceremony. The inexperienced members of the party (youths) gather the wood and act as servants. One young man goes out to cut the drumsticks, these he rolls up in his robe and with wolf cries runs into camp, placing the sticks before those who are to be singers. The rolled up robe he also places there for them to beat upon. A small circular altar is made by clearing the sod and exposing fresh earth. The ear of corn, the otterskin collar, the pipe and the hawkskin taken from the bundle at the start, are placed in position. All then arrange themselves in two sides as in the regular ceremony. One goes out and hunts up a buffalo skull which also has a place upon the altar. The ceremony is opened with the regular smoke offering. The leader sends one to cut a number of small sticks, at least one for each member of the party. With these sticks, offerings are to be made for which each member brought certain trinkets. These offerings are formally dedicated to all the powers of the earth, sky, etc. Each ties his present to a stick and plants it at the altar. The offerings for the powers above are set up vertically and the others in corresponding positions. The drumsticks are then taken up for beating upon a robe and singing and dancing follow. The four soldiers drive out the dancers and keep them dancing around the fire.

The songs are largely derisive of those who stayed at home. The members also sing of their sweethearts. [533] All these songs have a peculiar rhythm and end with wolf calls, from which they take the name of wolf songs (see vol. 7, 267). On the journey no one is permitted to speak of home and relations with women, lest he lose heart.

At the close a council is held to develop the plan of action. Thus, it is decided as to whether they will simply run off horses by stealth, or make an attack. If the enemy seems numerous, the former is most desirable. In this case a few men are selected to go for the horses while the others wait. Usually the scouts and the soldiers are sent on this mission, temporary soldiers being appointed to hold the men in camp. The scouts endeavor to drive out the horses toward the main body who catch what they can and mounting, drive off at high speed. The leader rides ahead, the others hold

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

the flanks of the loose horses while the scouts and soldiers bring up the rear. 726 They ride almost continuously for three days, or until exhaustion, and then camp in a sheltered place. Some hunt, others guard the horses. When 727 the first buffalo meat is brought in an altar is made, as before stated, and the regular smoke offering performed. Two men are then chosen by the leader to divide the spoils. They divide the horses according to the ranks of the members, inexperienced men getting but one horse. After the [553] division the name-changing ceremony is performed for the young men on their first war party.

After sufficient rest, they set out for home. As they approach their village they set the grass afire at intervals so that their people may know [201] that a war party is returning. When near the village they paint their faces black or dot over with black the white paint of the warpath. When in sight they signal the result of the expedition and are met by the chiefs who triumphantly conduct them into the village. Feasting and jollifying then follow. If coups have been counted or scalps taken, a victory dance will be held.

After an interval the leader of the party calls the members together and 575 any of those formerly in a party who now constitute a kind of society of the wolves. The altar is again constructed and the ceremony performed. 727 Two of the captured horses are brought out and loaded with presents, the objects from the bundle are also placed there and the horses lead to the keeper of the bundle where they are received by the priest. They are then returned to the bundle and the keeper goes at once to the place of ceremony; he stands by the altar and gives them his blessing.

On the warpath a man may vow to give one horse to the mother corn, in which case a horse is given to the keeper of the main bundle, who also gives his blessing.

With these acts the true wolf dance begins. In the dance all the young men may join, who hope to go out with the next war party and as they dance the old men sit around and ridicule their ardor. With this ceremony and the return of the sacred objects to the bundle, the war party ceases to exist.

It seems that those who have taken part in such a foray constitute a kind of wolf society which at various and sundry times conducts dances in the village in which all boys and young men may join. The object is to give practice in the songs and ritualistic parts of the ceremonies necessary to [534] the warpath. In these dances pieces of rawhide were used for drums.

THE WOMAN'S SOCIETY.

575
727

With one possible exception there seem to have been no associations for women. We have even no data as to anything like the associations of quill workers (p. 79). In the preceding we have noted the victory dance of the women which may, perhaps, have had a crude organization, but there was an association of single women, old maids, and widows, to whose organization captives of war were presented. Their regalia were ludicrous. Their mock war-bonnets were made of corn husks instead of feathers; their bows were the poorest of sticks; their lances were of weed stalks adorned with husks; and their shields, hoops covered with cloth and husks. Some of them carried hollow stems of the wild sunflower, through which they blew dust into the air. One woman acts as chief, her badge being a large clam shell on the breast.

When captives were taken, they were turned over to this organization. The ceremonies were public dancing and the torture of the prisoner. All this may be made clearer by the following narrative: —

The Pawnee had set out on one of their summer buffalo hunts. Only a few old and sickly people remained in the villages. On the third day of their march they reached the Loupe. The main body crossed and pitched camp among the hills, but far behind were a few stragglers and a group of boys playing the hoop game. The latter stopped at the river to finish a game before crossing. Here they were discovered by a Dakota war party and surprised. They scattered out for cover, but a few got away with their horses and crossing the river fled toward the camp of the main body. The whole Dakota party crossed in hot pursuit and were thus led into a trap for the Pawnee in camp had seen the signals and the whole armed body dashed to the rescue. Many of the Dakota were killed in the running fight that followed.

When the pursuing Pawnee returned they went over the field to count the dead and collect the spoils. As they were going along one of the Dakota arose and looked about in a bewildered manner; he had only been stunned by the fall of his horse. He was seized and taken to camp. According to custom he was taken to the chief for instructions. He consulted with the society of braves, then in charge of the camp, and it was decided to turn him over to the women's society. A messenger was sent to inform the leader of this organization. She at once called in the members, who proceeded to the chief's tipi, marched the prisoner out to the south of the camp where they bound him to a tree.

The women then returned to the lodge of their leader to prepare their regalia. When all was ready they danced through the village and paraded to the place of torture. Then, as was the custom, they kindled a large fire in front of the prisoner and prepared for a four-day ceremony. Every indignity was offered the unfortunate prisoner. Old women would urinate in bowls and force him to drink. Others would take up coals of fire and touch him here and there.

On the third day the chief's wife took her little girl out to see the tortures. While they were there an old woman came up with a bundle. She took out a large piece of

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dried back fat. This she heated in the fire until hot and while other women held the prisoner she spread it on his back. The little girl was overcome at the sight and began to scream. Her mother took her home but she cried and refused to be comforted. Finally, the chief asked the cause of this crying and was informed. He coaxed and threatened without result for the child declared that she would continue to scream until the prisoner was turned loose. The chief said that could not be done and so the child continued to wail. The people gathered in and gradually developed sympathy for the child. So the chief called in the braves, but they declared themselves powerless. Then he called in the chiefs and the soldiers to discuss the matter. The sentiment of the camp was now aroused, so four soldiers were sent out to order the women's society to disband. They then conducted the prisoner to the council lodge and seated him there. 575 727

The chief then sent for his daughter, who had stopped crying. He stated that they had with some difficulty granted her wish and that now she must get water for the prisoner. Accordingly she brought water and held the bowl for him to drink. Then the chief ordered her to get a large bowl of water and some buffalo wool and when these were brought to wash the man's wounds. Then buffalo fat mixed with red earth was given her to rub over him. 727

Now, said the chief, since you would have this man released, you must feed him. So dried meat and fat were brought. Some of the fat she handed to the man to eat, while she cooked the dried meat. When ready she set the food before him, placed four small bits of meat in his mouth and then signed for him to eat. When he had finished, she set a bowl of water for him to wash. The chief then gave her permission to withdraw.

Then the chief sent for his horses. He ordered his best horse prepared for riding and loaded with baggage for the journey. Next he brought out clothing and dressed the man in his own fine clothes, even his ceremonial leggings, shirt, and moccasins. Finally, the girl brought a new robe and wrapped it around the man. The chief then addressed the Dakota: "You are to go home. You are a free man. All these things we give you. My daughter here saved your life. She alone did it. Now go to your people and tell them of her deeds."

Four soldiers were called in to escort the Dakota beyond the range of the Pawnee. but some revengeful young man attacked him. Far across the Loupe they sent him on his way. He reached home safely.

Some three years later the Pawnee were surprised to receive a visit from their enemies, the Dakota. It was a very large party that came to the chief's lodge, the leader asked for the girl who saved the life of a Dakota. Then they knew him. The chief took him into his own lodge and the others were quartered in the village.

The Pawnee entertained their guests well. On the last day they gave the iruska dance for their visitors. The Dakota entered into the dance. He was naked; on his body were painted red spots to show his burns and many prints of hands since he had been held by many of the Pawnee. He addressed the Pawnee, explaining that he had come to see his daughter once more, she who had saved his life, that his own people did not believe his story; hence he brought them that they might see for themselves. In return the Pawnee vouched for the narrative.

Many times during his life this Dakota visited the Pawnee and he labored unceasingly to bring about a permanent peace between them and his people. [648]

MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

756
796
The medicinemen of the Pawnee were members of several permanent organizations. Once a year, late in the summer, each tribal division held a grand medicine ceremony lasting twenty days or more which though in many respects a tribal affair had a permanent organization. Its leaders were assumed to be the grand masters of shamanism and to know the secrets of all other societies. At another time during the season the doctor's dance is held, a general one-day ceremony for which there is also an organization. Independent of these ceremonies were a number of societies composed of one or two great medicinemen, a few students and a considerable number of attached members who took part in the dancing, but were not otherwise acquainted with the secrets. These organizations usually held ceremonies twice a year, early in the spring and late in the autumn. These were ritualistic ceremonies, the underlying conception of which seems to be the purification and the renewing of the powers resident in the sacred objects belonging to their craft. The Skidi maintained two large earth-lodges, one in the east and one in the west for these ceremonies and it is these lodges that were popularly known as the grand medicine lodges. The one in the west seems to have been the original lodge and the one most often used.

At the sound of the first thunder in spring, the members of the medicine societies like the keepers of bundles, take out all their regalia and implements, purify them in a smudge of sweetgrass and perform a prescribed ceremony. The next day the regular ceremony begins. The altar in the medicine lodge is prepared and in front of it are set up the two sacred loons, facing east. Two wooden bowls are filled with blue earth and soot, with which the members paint. As in other ceremonies, the seats are in two sides, with the leaders and all other officers paired. Each side has a buffalo rawhide to beat upon and about a dozen gourd rattles are at hand for the use of the dancers. There are also two water drums.

The first ceremonies are dances to the mythical water monster. The leader for the north side opens, then the leader for the south, and so on in turn around the circle. As this proceeds, people may enter and make offerings of property to the loons at the altar and also make presents to individual dancers.

Then the regular Pawnee smoke offering is made. Each medicineman then in turn brings a filled pipe to the altar and makes the offering. A herald then goes out and invites all who had given presents (only men who

have consecrated buffalo or performed certain deeds can smoke at any time) 756 to come with their pipes. All who wish, enter in turn and offer their pipes. As these offering ceremonies are in reality prayers, this is regarded as the 796 best time to plead for success in all things and this is also the motive in bringing in property and presents.

Another period of singing and dancing closes the ceremony, after which the medicinemen divide the presents. Kettles of corn are brought in and the bowls for the feast. The leaders fill the bowls for their sides and make a special offering before the bowls are passed. Meat is then brought in and handled in a similar manner.

A somewhat similar ceremony is held in the autumn but this time in a circular shelter of green boughs suggesting the sun dance enclosure of the Dakota.

While the medicinemen's societies were not recognized as such in the twenty-day ceremony, they were sure to have among their members famous medicinemen who would set up their booths in the lodge. Usually one of these was the leader of a society and around him the members would gather and assist in staging his tricks. The members of a society were really students from whose ranks the leading places were filled in times of need.

MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

[184]

	Skidi	Chaui	Pitahauirata	Kit'kahaxki	Squash Vine
Twenty-day Ceremony (tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand)	×	×	×	×	×
Doctor Dance (kurau)	×	×	×	×	–
Bear Society (pitararis kuruks)	×	×	×	×	–
Buffalo Doctors (kura taraha)	×	×	–	–	–
Deer Society (raris ta)	×	×	×	×	–
Blood Doctors (kura patu)	×	–	–	–	–
Iruska Society (pitararis iruska)	×	–	×	–	–
One Horn Dance (raris arika)	×	×	×	×	×

THE TWENTY-DAY CEREMONY.

Once a year, late in the summer, each division had a grand medicine ceremony. This lasted from twenty to thirty days and was an intense

756 affair. This is not the time to go into a detailed account of it, but the following general sketch of the procedure seems necessary.

796 The native name for the ceremony is tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand, but we shall for convenience speak of it as the twenty-day ceremony, as in fact it is often called by the Pawnee themselves. It is found among all the divisions, but seems to have originated with the Squash Vine village, to whose medicinemen alone certain parts of the ritual were known. From the originators it passed to the Skidi and then to the other divisions. The twenty-day ceremony proper is given in the early autumn after all the bundle ceremonies have been performed, the corn harvested, etc. At the proper time the lodge is cleared and the altar arranged as before. After certain preliminary ceremonies, it is in order for each medicineman to build a booth [343] of green willows in the lodge. They proceed ceremonially to a thicket where each gathers his willows, with which they march back and then construct their booths.

It may be stated that each medicineman sets up a booth for himself, but if he has attached to him one or more younger men in the capacity of students, these assist. Each booth, therefore, really represents a group of men. Further, all the people of the village to which a given medicineman belongs may at times enter, take seats around the booth, and offer assistance. In this way the whole people may be said to participate.

Among the Skidi there is a special feature since they are not content with
184 merely dancing to the mythical water monster, but construct his image
532 encircling the fireplace. In this all the medicinemen's groups take shares.
756 The head is begun on the south side of the door. The mouth is open, with
778 teeth of willow. The head is covered with buffalo skin. There are two
796 long "feelers" decorated with bands of bright colors. On the crown of the head is a large erect plume of down feathers. The body of the monster is formed of bowed willows, plastered over with mud. The tail is at the north side of the door and is forked like that of a fish.

The fireplace is cleared out and a large turtle modeled there, his head toward the altar. A new fireplace is then made on his back. While the water monster was peculiar to the Skidi the following were found among all divisions. A tree was cut and brought in with a ceremony almost identical with that found in the sun dances of other tribes. The Skidi plant the tree (a cedar) in the forked tail of the monster, the others put it (a cottonwood) at the altar. A life-sized woman is built up of clay, dressed in regular costume and set up on the south side of the lodge. A large figure of a man is cut from rawhide and placed upon a pole above the lodge. Numerous small human figures are cut from rawhide, strung upon cords and stretched about overhead in the lodge. All these objects are highly symbolic: thus, the fire

is the sun; the mud woman, the moon; the large rawhide image, the 184
morningstar; the many small images, stars. 532

All this construction was part of the ritual and so controlled by a definite 756 778
program. When everything was in place, a general dedication ceremony 796
followed in connection with which is a spectacular march through the village
in two lines, according to their sides. In front, two men carry the sacred 756
animals from the altar, dancing. (For the Skidí, two loons are used, for 796
the other divisions, two beavers.) All medicinemen are supposed to derive
their powers from living creatures and their booths are spoken of as animal
lodges. In this procession each man costumes himself so as to represent
his animal mentor, often in very realistic fashion. There were also a few [522]
clowns dressed like wolves.

After the tour of the village, the procession enters the lodge and holds a secret ceremony upon which we have no data. Those on the outside hear a great uproar and a riot of hideous noises, while clouds of white dust rise from the smoke hole. When all is quiet again, the door is opened. The leader then performs a ceremony in which he sprinkles water about to consecrate the lodge.

It is then in order for the various medicinemen to demonstrate their animal powers. This is the time when remarkable feats of juggling were performed; thus it is told that stalks of corn were made to grow up and mature in a moment, likewise plums and cherries, the bear men tore out a man's liver and ate it, after which he rose unharmed, and so on, in bewildering variety.

Finally, a certain number of days were given to ceremonial visits to the sacred bundles, each in turn, where certain ceremonies were performed.

At the end the animal powers and images are taken down and carried to a stream or lake. Here they are heaped up in the water something like a beaver's house and the mud woman placed on top.[1]

Places or booths in this ceremony were assigned by the leaders. A man having set himself up as a medicineman would apply for a place. He would be assigned one provisionally and at the proper time called upon to demonstrate; if he failed to carry his trick through successfully he was ejected, but otherwise given a permanent seat. As may be anticipated from the foregoing, medicinemen were trained and not made suddenly through dreams or visions. It is true that such experience counted for much, but the usual way to become a medicineman was to succeed one's teacher at his death. Thus, it is clear that the seats in the twenty-day ceremony were practically fixed in form and number.

---

[1] It may be significant that the animal painted tipis of the Blackfoot and Dakota were [171]
always disposed of by sinking in water and that many ceremonial objects among the Arikara,
Hidatsa, and Mandan were similarly treated.— Ed.

THE BEAR SOCIETY.

756 Among the very highest of shamans and doctors were the bear men. Among their regalia were four bearskins, a grizzly, cinnamon, the large [301] black bear, and the small black bear. There were also four bear-claw necklaces. Eight rawhide rattles were used. Preparatory to a ceremony two piles of cedar brush were placed in the lodge, one for each side. When the members have assembled a sprig is given to each, set up before his seat, and carried in the dance. The sprig is carried home, the leaves stripped and the [789] wood cast into the fire. The leaves are placed in a bag and used for ceremonial smudges; thus if a thunderstorm threatens, a smudge is made to protect the lodge.

When called to a ceremony, the members enter, take their seats and place [302] their professional bundles in front. Then they paint. One set of men paints red, one white, and another a kind of pink. All make black eye marks, a diagonal line from the inner corner of the eye down across the cheek. If feathers are worn in the hair, they are of the same color as the face.

When all are ready, the leader designates two men from each side, to wear the bearskins. These were worn merely as robes, the head on one side, the tail on the other. Sometimes two small boys are selected to dance with [53] very small bearskins. Four water drums are used; these are passed, or moved around the circle at intervals. While the songs are rendered, the members dance around the fireplace and during the intervals walk around the fire, or mill like bears.

At the feast which follows the kettle of corn is brought in and as in all ceremonies is set upon the median line of the lodge between the door and the fire. (Fig. 4). Eight bowls are placed around it in a circle, those in [264] the north half going to that side in order, etc. After the corn is served, the kettle of meat is brought in and served in a similar manner. Thus each side eats in four groups. No one is permitted to use a knife while eating. After the feast each makes up his bundle and departs.

While all the divisions seem to have had a bear society, its full ritual was in the keeping of the Skidi organization.

BUFFALO DOCTORS.

Another important society found among the Skidi and Chaui is known as [778] kura taraha, buffalo doctors. On their altar is a buffalo skull, one half white, one half red; also a wand with seven eagle feathers, at the top a tiny bag of native tobacco and four strings of blue beads hanging down. The

dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in 756
their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry
rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow [534]
mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes. [386]

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws.
The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the [293]
lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in [778]
black. There were no feathers or other decorations.

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished
old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature [888]
of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times.

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

THE DEER SOCIETY.

The raris ta, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual 276
seems to be in keeping of the Skidi organizations. The fundamental ele- 756
ments of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer (ta), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamental is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls unconscious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed jaw of a gar fish; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once for all.

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may
be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the [789]
leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced

756 are placed in a pile and later given to the donor of the blanket. Other shamanistic feats may occur, but seem to be individual and entirely optional.

[276] As in other societies of this class the members bring their professional bundles to the ceremony and display their contents. The regalia peculiar to the society are large whistles, to symbolize the elk, and foxskins carried by the neck when dancing. A few members wear braided buffalo hide ropes into which feathers are woven and some carry wings of birds.

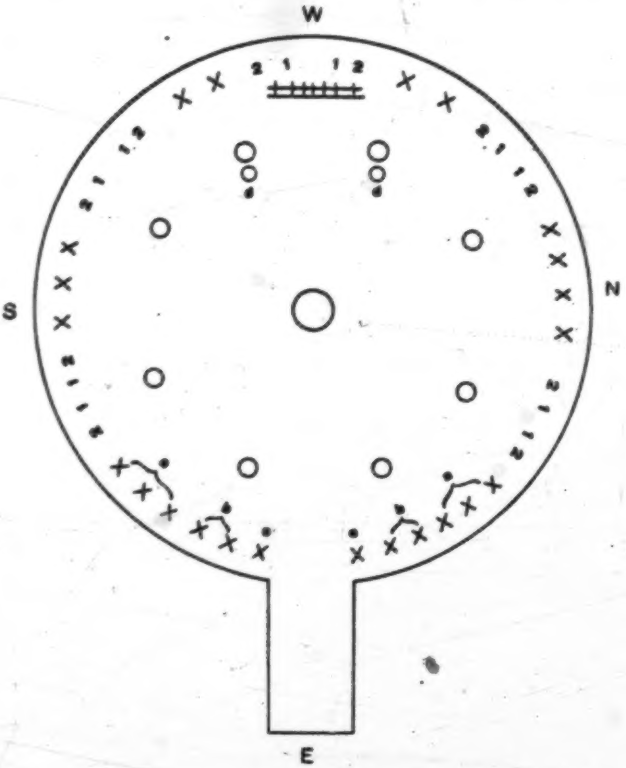


Fig. 16. Diagram of the Buffalo Doctors' Ceremony: a, Chiefs; b, old men; c, errand men; d, place of the drums when not in use. The leaders of the ceremony sit at the west but on each side are two pairs of alternate leaders to whom the drums are shifted as the ritual requires.

The order of seating is shown in Fig. 17. It differs slightly from the preceding for the leaders sit, not at the west of the door as is usual, but on the

south side. The seats west of the door are occupied by chiefs who are paired 756 according to the two sides of the lodge. In front of the permanent leaders are laid four bows and four gourd rattles, the latter painted white. These bows and rattles are shifted at intervals to the alternating groups of leaders as previously described.

The regular ceremony is held once a year when the wild sage plant reaches a certain stage of maturity. This plant is spread thickly around the lodge [824] and used in the incense offerings.

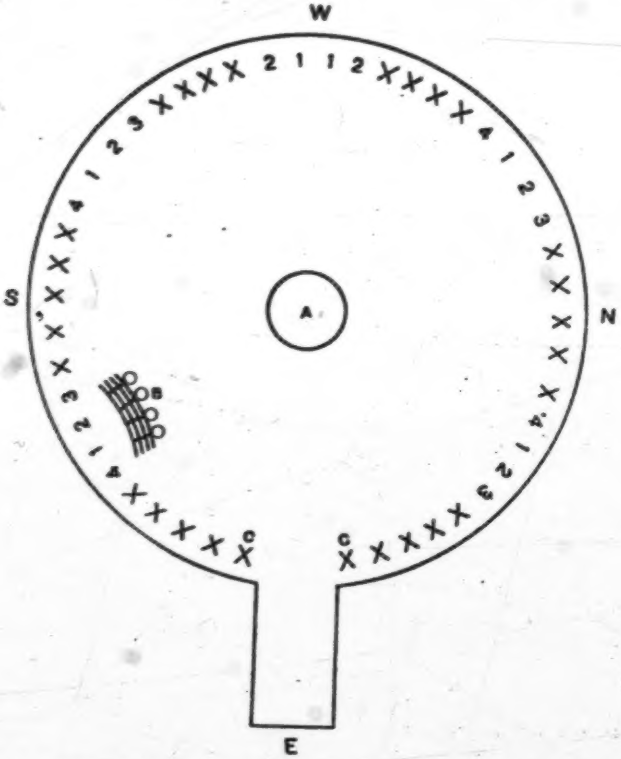


Fig. 17. Diagram of the Deer Society Ceremony: A, fireplace; B, four bows upon which rest four rattles for the leaders; C, errand men. The unusual feature of this ceremony is the place of the leaders and their order of rank; as the ritual proceeds B is shifted to the other four numbered places on the south side, then across and down the north side. At the west 1-2, 1-2 are hereditary chiefs from villages of the respective sides.

It is of interest to note that the members of this society are renowned

756 snake doctors, though demonstrations are seldom made in the regular cere-
monies. The members claim absolute immunity from rattlesnake bites and
[825] complete power over the reptile himself. They will seize any snake they
meet and handle it without fear. No wands or instruments are used,
nothing but the hands. The writer has frequently observed snakes handled
in this way. According to reports they are able to cure all suffering from
snake bites.

BLOOD DOCTORS.

There was formerly a group of medicinemen known as kura patu (blood doctors). They were, however, considered as otter men, or an otter society. They seem to have been composed of five groups of dancers, each marching through the camp separately. Women accompanied them, bearing wooden bowls and spoons on their backs. In this manner the five groups proceeded independently to the lodge of the two leaders of the ceremonies where an altar had been prepared. When a group reached the lodge they paused and sang; the leaders on the inside then sang and danced, bearing otterskins in their right hands. After the dance the two leaders came out to receive the guests in their arms.

[789] The chief feature of a ceremony was the shamanistic vomiting of a red
liquid like blood. This was collected in bowls and used to paint the bodies
and otterskins of those present.

THE IRUSKA.

There was a very powerful medicine society among the Chauĭ known as
the pitararis iruska. However, the Pĭtahauĭrata division was also repre-
[184] sented in this society, they having the south side and the Chauĭ the north.
The Skidĭ had the same ceremony except that they used dog meat in the
kettle instead of buffalo. Also, the Skidĭ did not have the two forms of
painting, only one, painted black at the joints. The purpose of the dance
was to show the power of the members to extinguish the life in the fire, hence
the name. Among the Skidĭ at least, the term iruska has a symbolic or
double meaning. The idea is literally "the fire is in me" and the symbolic
meaning is that "I can extinguish the life in the fire," or can overcome the
[752] powers of other medicines. The members of the society were doctors for
they treated burns.

Originally, the society consisted of leaders of various animal medicine
539 societies. Among the members was one who was not a medicineman until
756 he had a curious experience. The story follows:—

539
756

The man in question, Crow-feather, was very peculiar. He never took part in ceremonies; he never consecrated buffalo to propitiate the gods. Every night he went out in the hills, gazed at the sky, wondering at the powers there. When he was sleepy he lay down near the altar in his lodge. Before daylight, he went out into the hills again and sat facing the east. When the sun was high in the heavens he returned home.

One afternoon, when he went out and sat on a high hill overlooking the cornfields, he noticed black smoke rising. At dusk, the smoke was still rising. This caused him to wonder for he knew the people should be home at that time.

He went where he had seen the smoke rising and found some strange people sitting round the fire, laughing at one another as they roasted corn. When the corn husks burned, one of the men tore them off holding the corn until his hands burned. They all laughed at this. The man watched them for some time. When anyone dropped the hot corn, the others laughed and cried, "He is not an iruska." After a time, they sang four songs, repeating each four times. The men then played with the fire with their bare hands. Crow-feather soon learned the songs.

One of the men who acted as a servant saw Crow-feather looking on outside the circle. He arose and whispered to a man sitting at the west who appeared to be the leader. The servant asked Crow-feather to come within the circle and told him he would learn something from them. He was asked to remove his buffalo robe and other clothing and enter the circle, naked. He sat on the north side of the fire.

The leader said to him, "Brother, you have been wandering over the hills for some time. We heard your cries and were sad and agreed to pity you and give you a new dance. You will call this dance, iruska (fire inside of all things). Before we impart our secrets you must pass through something difficult. If you do we will teach you our secrets and you will know what fire is."

A bucket of water rested on the fire. The men now began to sing while four of them rose and danced, holding corn husks in their right hands. They danced around the fire toward the bucket of water. They pretended to be attacking an enemy. Finally, they dipped the corn husks into the boiling water and swung them against Crow-feather, scalding him. When the people noticed that he paid no attention to his burns, they shouted, trying to frighten him that way. This too was of no avail. They seized him and held him over the fire. He screamed but they held him and rolled him on the hot coals. After a time he ceased his clamor for he no longer felt the pain. Finally, they took him back to his place.

Another song was sung and all the men around the fire attacked it, now charging it and now retreating. During the third charge, Crow-feather noticed that the screaming and grunting was as of birds and animals. At the fourth charge, he saw that the dancers were imitating animals and birds. As they moved hastily toward the fire he saw each one drop something into it. They turned quickly: some flew away in the shape of eagles, turkeys, and crows, and others ran away as deer, wolves, and dogs. The remainder ran to the pile of burned corn and disappeared.

By this time, the fire was almost burned out. Crow-feather gathered some dry willows and rekindled it. One man stood where the singers had been, and said, "Brother, you must now return to your home. Take four ears of burned corn with the husks on. Tomorrow you must go to the hill where you sat so often. The people you saw here will come and explain what happened to you tonight. Now, go."

He went home. That night he did not sleep well but dreamed of fire. He wrapped up the four burnt ears of corn and placed them on the lodge wall. The

539 next day he went to his usual place on the hill and sat facing east. For a long time he waited there. He knew he had been among strange beings for there were blisters
756 all over his body. While he sat there he heard crows calling, eagles screaming, and turkeys gobbling; wolves howled, dogs barked, and he heard the rattle of deer hoofs. He paid no attention to these sounds, but presently he heard someone walking. The steps came nearer and stopped behind him. He did not look up, but a voice said, "Brother, I came for you, follow me." He rose, turned around; and saw ahead of him a man whom he followed. He was lead through a ravine to a steep bank where they entered. Here the same people he had seen the day before were seated around a fire, singing. Nothing was said but he was given a seat at the south, near the fireplace.

The four men who had tortured him before rose and each took corn husks from a wooden bowl. They danced toward him and struck him on the back with the husks. Then they replaced them in the wooden bowl. Before dancing toward him again they dipped their hands into the contents of the bowl. They moved their hands toward him but failed to touch him. At this point the singing ceased and they asked him to rise. The four men led him to the bowl and rubbed the contents over his head, ears, nose, mouth, and feet. They put his hands into the mixture and he held them there a while. Then they led him back to his place south of the fireplace. Screaming and shouting, he was gradually pushed toward the fire. Finally, they put him on the fire and when they took him off painted him with red paint mixed with roots. Then he was given a place within the circle.

In the evening the dance was repeated, Crow-feather joining the others. When all was over the dancers disappeared in the form of birds and animals. One man only, the leader of the dance, remained. He asked Crow-feather to sit near him and said, "Brother I am a human being. This is my home. I cannot go among our people, for I have no scalplock. Some time ago our people were attacked and on the retreat I was thrown by my pony and stunned. When I revived my scalplock was gone. I had been scalped by the enemy. When I looked around I saw sitting about me, crows, eagles, wolves, and dogs. At night, the wolves lay near me. I wandered over the prairies for I knew I could not return to my people. I dreamed of the birds and animals and decided to try to follow the wolves. I was led to this cave and here the birds and animals came and taught me mysterious things. I stay here and procure my food from our people at night when they are asleep."

"When the birds had taught me they wished me to return home and teach our people what I had learned. When I told them I could not return because I lost my scalplock they said they would give me a headdress which was even more important than a scalplock.

The deer furnished the hair for weaving; the turkey, feathers from his breast to edge the deer hair (also the roots for dyeing it); and the eagle a single feather for the center of the headdress. The bone spreader for the hair I was told to get from the shoulder blade of a deer. They told me to get a two-inch shank bone to set on this. The eagle feather was to be passed through this and tied to the scalplock. When I had procured the materials for the headdress I was ready to make it but did not know how to proceed. I slept and in a vision, saw myself preparing the headdress. The next day I knew how to make it. When it was completed, with the strings on the bones and eagle feathers, I found I could not wear it, I had no scalplock. The animals were distressed at this. They met again and gave me materials for a belt: deerskin, crow feathers, and a wolf tail. I made this. Now I will give them to you to take home."

He went to the altar and took from the wall the headdress and the bustle. The 539
belt consisted of a strip of deerskin to the middle of which were fastened three sticks
about two feet long and decorated with deer hair. At each end of the opposite side 756
hung two sets of crow feathers with wolf tails between each two feathers.

He gave these to Crow-feather with instructions to take them home and return the next day with his pipe and tobacco. When he returned to his lodge the people asked where he had been, but he did not reply. When his mother offered him food, he asked for a piece of tanned hide in which he placed the bustle and headdress and tied the bundle to the lodge wall.

Early the next morning, he returned to the cave where the man awaited him and said, "Fill the pipe and let us smoke." After they had smoked and the ashes were thrown away, the stranger said, "During your wanderings and peculiar behavior I was with you. I caused you to wander; I like your ways. The men in your village are attentive to women. You are not and for that reason I liked you. Those who wish to learn this dance must avoid women. If married men are to take part in a dance where fire is attacked, they must have no intercourse with their wives for thirty [834] days. They must bathe every morning and evening. Now, I will show you the herbs and roots you must rub on your body when you dance; also the kind of wood you are to use in your fire. The wood and roots are brothers, that is, the roots rubbed on the body make anyone impervious to fire."

They walked on the prairie and finally the man said, "Place four pinches of tobacco on the plant before digging the root." After this he had the privilege of digging as many plants as he wished for they had received tobacco. They returned to the cave and cut up the roots. In the meantime, the stranger instructed him in the performance of the dance. After the roots were dried, they were pounded up, mixed, and placed in a buckskin bag. He said, "This is the way you must prepare the medicine." Before the root is rubbed on the body, it should be put in a wooden bowl filled with water in which four live coals have been placed. Dip some of this up with a small buffalo horn spoon and put it in a wooden bowl and it is ready for use. If an enemy should attack your village do not mix the medicine in a bowl, chew some of the root, take it in your hands, and rub them on a kettle that is covered with soot and then rub the soot on your joints. You will have no fear of the enemy's fire. If anyone is burned by fire or scalded, chew some of the root and place it upon the affected part and the cure will be immediate. After a time the medicine may be mixed in a bowl and the burnt part bathed with the concoction. After the wound has dried, you must kill a dog, mix the grease from the dog's body with the medicine and apply it to the wound. This will hasten the cure. If a man be wounded in battle, he must chew the root and bathe the wound with a mixture of roots and charcoal. After this the mixture of root and grease should be applied. This is all I can do for you now, but come to me once in a while. I will always be with you. You may now take what I have given you and return to your people."

Crow-feather went home. The next day he returned to the cave and found the man sitting near the fire. He thanked him for what he had done. He gave him presents and said "Brother, I brought these things for you have done a great thing for me." The mysterious man thanked him.

Crow-feather went home. Several days later he determined to see whether the medicinemen understood the fire. He built a sweat lodge of eighteen willow poles. From the hill he brought back limestone which he

539 placed near the entrance to the sweat lodge. In the center he built a fireplace. He put the stones in the fire. When the stones were red hot he 756 sent a messenger to invite eight medicinemen. Buffalo robes were spread over the lodge. When the medicineman arrived he greeted each one saying, "Nawa", and asked him to be seated.

When everyone had arrived, he addressed them, saying, "Brothers, I have made a sweat lodge. The stones are red hot. I sent for you that you may go into the sweat lodge with me. I will cover the sweat lodge with tanned hides and buffalo robes." He covered the lodge and told the men to take off their clothes; he took his off and went into the sweat lodge.. He appointed one man as assistant who now carried the hot stones into the lodge and put them on the fireplace. When everything was ready he said, "Brothers, I invited you into this sweat lodge for I have heard of your wonderful doings in the medicine lodge. I brought the timber which now stands over you; I gathered up our grandfathers who were seated upon mother earth and now they are ready to blow their hot breath upon us. The water is before us. We are seated in a dark place. Each of you prepare yourselves, for no one must leave because of the heat. We are now imitating animals and birds."

Each man took his medicine from his belt and chewed it. The owner of the sweat lodge chewed some root and spat four times on the stones, causing a bluish flame to spring up. Then he said, "Brothers, everything is ready. Our grandfathers (the stones) are now ready to listen to us." Every man held out his hands toward the stones and prayed. After the prayers, the owner dipped up water with a wooden ladle and poured it on the stones four times. He told them to wave the bunches of wild sage which they held in their hands. Some of the men enjoyed the heat while others appeared to be in pain. Those who had not applied any medicine suffered most. The owner of the lodge sang and when he stopped, the men who disliked the heat crawled out of the lodge, only four men remaining.

When all was over the owner of the sweat lodge told the four men that he had selected them as singers for a new dance. After they had dressed and eaten he sent them home.

The people began to hold medicine ceremonies during which sleight-of-hand tricks were performed. One night the crow imitators performed. They built a fire and put a large stone on it. When it was red hot they put it on the ground and each man stood on the stone. When all the medicine performances were over Crow-feather brought together men he knew who understood fire and taught them fire songs.

In the winter the people hunted buffalo. When they were near the buffalo he invited the four men he had selected for singers and told them

he wished one of them to kill a male buffalo whose flesh would be dried and used in a new dance. The man chosen killed the buffalo and the meat was brought to Crow-feather's tipi where it was dried and stored in a parfleche. When they returned to the village, he invited the four singers who came and sat around the fireplace. He said, "Brothers, I have invited you to my tipi. We are going to have a new dance. Before we begin, bring your medicine bags here. Each man must have before him his root for overpowering fire."

They brought their bags and set them down. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, you are about to learn my secret. I must see what medicine you have for overcoming fire. When I have seen your medicine I will show you mine." He showed his root. Some picked up live coals after applying the medicine to their hands. One man chewed the root, took up a coal with his teeth and lit another man's pipe. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, I am glad. I know you understand the medicine you have. You will help me. I can do as you have done. I will show you my medicine to prove I am not deceiving you." He put a root on the ground, went to the opposite side of the tipi and put a stick with coals on the ground; the root began to move around the fireplace until it stopped at the fire stick. The men were astonished and called the root, "Medicine walking around the fireplace." He put the medicine back in his bag and asked the men to return to his lodge in the evening so he could teach them some songs.

In the evening, they sat at the altar where there were four water drums. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, we are to have a new dance, a medicineman's dance, and not a war dance. I have decided that a chief shall lead us so the smoke ceremony may be held before the dance. Now, we will prepare. For thirty days we must not go near our women. We must take a bath in the creek every day and clean our finger nails. That is all. We will get the drums now and sing."

They sang forty times, ten sets of songs for each time. They were told to announce the dance and its requirements to the village.

After thirty days Crow-feather had his tipi prepared, all its furnishings were moved out. Two poor boys, Blue-bird and White-fox, were selected as assistants. White-fox made a fire for the new dance. The boys sat near the entrance and Crow-feather sat at the altar. The bustle and headdress hung from posts. When he had smoked, he said, "Blue-bird and White-fox, each of you take a pony and bring a lot of dry willows and some cottonwood. I will also send six women for wood." They did as they were told. The wood was placed inside the lodge on either side of the entrance.

Blue-bird was sent for Pitaraysare (Man-chief) and White-fox invited the other singers. The chief sat on the north side near the singers. Crow-feathers said, "Singers, I invited our chief to be with us so he can always

539
756
partake of our food. Chief, I ask you to lead in the ceremony we are about to have. We need a leader who is keeper of a sacred bundle who can bring the pipe and hold the smoke ceremony. Take pity on me and bring your pipe this evening so the gods may receive the smoke, for it is from the heavens that we have the knowledge of roots and herbs."

The chief replied, "I will do as you wish. I am thankful to be with you and witness what is about to take place. The sacred bundle belongs to the people, for the gods gave us the bundle with the pipe so we could offer them smoke in our ceremonies."

Crow-feather passed his hands over the chief's head and hands, thanked him and said, "Singers and assistants, the chief has consented to bring the sacred pipe. He will be our leader in everything. He will lead us and carry the sacred pipe when we dance through the village. He will not take part in our fire performance. I will teach him our secrets so that he may know what to do if he is requested to do something with the fire." The chief was glad and thanked Crow-feather who told the men to go home and return in the evening.

When Crow-feather and his two assistants were alone he asked them to cover the entrance of the lodge with a skin tent. Then they partook of their evening meal. The chief returned with the sacred pipe and he was given a place to the north of the singers. The pipe was placed in front of the singers who sat at the altar. The assistants built a fire. Crow-feather sat near the singers, and asked how many were prepared to join them. There were sixteen in all, so they could sit in four groups of four each. The assistants were sent for the candidates who were to wait outside and for two of the soldiers who were to remain outside and warn off any intruders.

Crow-feather said, "Singers and other members of the iruska society, we must now begin our ceremony. The chief will fill his pipe and offer smoke to the gods in the heavens." The chief filled the pipe, gave it to the north assistant who took it to the leading singer who said, "Now, iruska, the gods in the heavens will receive the smoke. We will ask our chief to make the smoke offering." The chief rose, went to the altar, and received the pipe from the leading singer. He walked to the east, holding the pipe bowl in his left hand. When half way to the entrance and fireplace he stopped, took a pinch of tobacco from the bowl, raised it toward the east, and placed the tobacco on the ground. He walked west by way of the north and stood near the fireplace, facing east, took some tobacco from the bowl, and offered it to the skies, to tirawahat. Then he placed the tobacco on the rim of the fireplace. He repeated this for each direction. The chief walked northeast of the fireplace by way of the south and sat down. The south assistant placed a coal on the pipe bowl. The chief walked to the

east with the pipe and took four whiffs blowing the smoke toward the east. 539
Then he stood west of the fireplace, faced east, blew smoke once each to the 756
heavens, to the north, and south, and four times to the west, and emptied the ashes on the rim of the fireplace. He gave the pipe to the leading singer who said, "Nawa."

Then the candidates were received one by one. The first one who came was told to bathe in the preparation made ready by Crow-feather. When he was ready, he was taken to the fireplace and forcibly placed on the fire. If he had blisters, it was proof that he had not complied with the rule of cleanliness for thirty days. Then he was put on the fire again to cure his blisters. If any candidate proved cowardly he was immediately turned out of the mud-lodge. When all had been initiated, the singers drummed and sang and all the new members danced. The two soldiers entered the lodge for outsiders were now admitted.

They danced until forty songs were sung. After each ten songs they stopped to smoke. After the forty songs the spectators went away. The members remained behind and Crow-feather said, "You who have gone through the fire may now smear your bodies with soot. You are not now afraid of the fire nor of an enemy. Those who wish to remain may do so, the others may come early tomorrow." The chief and the two soldiers went away. The next morning they all swam in the creek and on their return to the lodge were given their proper positions in the ceremony. The four singers were to be leaders. The chief was to be their leader. He was to carry the pipe when the people went through the village to dance at the most important places. Those at the northwest were to be painted yellow; those at the northeast with white clay; those at the south, dark red; and those at the northwest with black soot. The singers were to be painted with soot at their joints.

When everyone was painted and all was ready, the leader of the ceremony said, "Singers, iruska, and chief, we will now go through the smoking ceremony." The chief made the smoke offering and Crow-feathers said, "Now we will begin our dance; the assistants may make a big fire, cut the dried meat and have the brass kettle ready." When everything was prepared he put a new knife in the bottom of the kettle, added water and then the meat. Then the soldiers were called in.

The leader of the singers said, "Chief, soldiers, those of you at stations, and iruska. Something is now at hand. We will begin to sing and all dance. Watch Crow-feather and do as he does. The spectators came in. Crow-feather was the only one who had the bustle and headdress; the others were simply painted. When the singers had sung the third set of songs the assistants made a big fire. They hung the kettle over it. When the last

539 set of songs was sung the dancers attacked the fire. Finally, Crow-feather
danced up to the kettle which was full of boiling soup and took a piece of
756 meat out with his bare hands. He gave it to one of the spectators who
burned his hands with it. The rest of the members also did this. At
length the dancers dipped bunches of corn husks into the kettle and whipped
each other with them but did not burn. The dancing ended when the fire
went out.

This was the first ceremony of this kind. After the dance Crow-feather said, "You must now make the headdresses and bustles. Some day we will give a public dance when all must bring spears, bows and arrows, war clubs, and shields so that you can imitate the attack on an enemy in your dance. It shall be known as iruska (fire inside of you). The red headdress represents fire, the black hair fringe represents smoke.[1] This will not be a social dance, neither will the members act as soldiers for the chiefs. We shall be known as medicinemen."

THE ONE HORN DANCE.

535
756 The members of the one horn dance (raris arika) were young men eligible
to go to war. For the dance, the regalia of all the societies were gathered:
721 the war clubs from the sacred bundles, spears, war shields, bows and arrows.
During the ceremony they called upon Pahukatawa (Hills along the banks of
a river) to help them kill or count coup on the enemy. Women were not
[783] admitted for Pahukatawa directed them to bar women for fear some would
be unclean.

The dance was held only when Pahukatawa ordered it and then only
[533] before an attack by the enemy. The songs imitated the bellowing of buffalo.
Each dancer seemed possessed with the spirit of a particular animal which he
imitated. The dancers wore their war regalia. Those who had war-bonnets had to fasten a whole buffalo horn on the right side of the bonnet. Each
dancer was painted according to the dreams of visions he had experienced.
[302] Those representing crows painted with charcoal or soot; jack-rabbits painted
with white earthen clay; buffalo were smeared over the mouth and nose
with buffalo urine mud; those with bear spirits were painted with red or
yellow which represented the sun for the bears sought power from the sun.

---

[1] The headdress is the imitation of fire, the red for the blaze, the black hair for smoke. The feather represents the iruska man who understands the fire. He is standing in the fire or has placed the fire about his whole body. The headdress represents the fireplace, the bone tube the medicine, and the feather, the man himself standing in the center of the fireplace. According to tradition, man came from an ear of corn and corn has life and life is fire. The original word for iruska is iriaka (singular), iruska (plural), they are inside fire. The wood used for the iruska fire was cottonwood and willows.

They had one large drum which was made according to the directions of 534
Pahukatawa. Several men cut down a large water willow tree which was 721
split into several pieces. The best piece was planed down then bent over
and fastened together with sinew. Four flints were tied inside the drum. 756
The head was covered with buffalo hide and sewed with a rawhide string. When dried it was painted black, the rim red, and four buffalo skulls were marked on the sides.

There were four regular singers and two assistants. Any of the singers [533]
was permitted to dance.

This war dance was held to teach the men how to act during battle and 721
to remind them that there was a being who watched over them and gave 756
them courage.

The origin myth is as follows: —

One day when the Skidi' lived in their old village in Nebraska, seven men went 539
out hunting toward the west. After a few days they came to a willow-covered 721
ravine where they camped. Before sunrise the next morning the youngest among 756
the hunters went up in the hills. As he came to the top of a hill he saw the enemy approaching. Instead of running towards camp he ran towards some heavy timber. The enemy followed. As the young man was afoot they soon overtook and surrounded him. He fought until all his arrows were gone and then they killed him.

The other hunters remained in the ravine and when the enemy left went to the place where the young man had been killed. They found arrows stuck in the ground and long poles scattered about. The young man's body seemed missing, but finally they found it cut up and strewn over the ground. They gathered up the pieces and laid him out. They went home and told the people how the young man had been killed. All the village started out to bury the young man. When they arrived at the scene of the fight they found the arrows and poles but not a sign of the young man. They camped here for several days and searched for the man's bones, but in vain. They continued to the west to hunt buffalo.

Several years passed and the incident was forgotten. One winter evening when the people were living in their mud-lodges some men who were singing round the village noticed flashes of light here and there. They took this to be a warning that the enemy was coming to attack them.

Finally the village quieted down. One man only could not sleep. As he lay awake he heard a sound like rattling buffalo hoofs. The sound came into the lodge and then stopped. As he watched and listened, the man felt first a cold wind and then warm wind against his face and someone whispered: "My brother, I am here. I am the one who was killed a few years ago. I am not dead. I am alive. When I was killed and my body was cut up and pieced together again, the powers in the heavens, on the earth and beneath it, pitied me. They caused all the birds and animals to congregate and make me live again. They promised to return the parts of me they had eaten. Everything but my brains was returned. An eagle and a buffalo bull wished to give me life so they suggested that the thunderbirds (swans) give me their down for brains. You see I cannot speak well for I have no brains. I am everything. When the lights appeared they saw me. I am part of the winds."

"Before sunrise tomorrow you must go to the hills where I will meet you. Fill

539 your pipe and let me smoke. Do not fill it with sumach leaves but with tobacco
721 mixed with shavings from an old pipestem. When you light the pipe, hand it to me
756 saying 'Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa.' I will take it and smoke. You will know me as Pahukatawa. Now prepare the smoke for me."

The man took an old pipestem from a sacred bundle and scraped it. He mixed the shavings with tobacco, filled the pipe, lighted it and handing it to the mysterious man said, "Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." All this took place in the dark. The man could see no one, he heard only the whispering. When he passed the pipe someone took it and began to smoke. His visitor took a few whiffs and whispered, "Take the pipe, it is empty. Fill it again and let me smoke." He refilled the pipe and after drawing on it a few times returned it and said, "Brother the smoke is good. Be sure to meet me in the hills tomorrow before sunrise. I chose you, for I like your spirit. I will come to speak to you often. You must have my smoke ready."

He heard buffalo hoofs rattle and could almost see a buffalo walk out of the lodge. Before sunrise the man went out to the hills. He climbed one hill and as he was going down another he came to a deep ravine. He heard a strange cry and as he looked towards the ravine saw a mountain lion ready to spring. He ran back and in a deeper canyon saw a grizzly tearing up the ground. He was frightened and as he looked about for a means of escape, canyon and bear disappeared, and a man stood before him, laughing. The man said, "Brother, why are you frightened? Didn't I ask you to meet me here? That mountain lion was I, so was the bear. Because you were afraid of these animals you will not receive their power. Go home and return tomorrow before sunrise."

The stranger disappeared and the man went home and slept throughout the day. In the evening he filled his pipe and standing outside, west of his lodge, he blew smoke four times to the west and said "Brother, Pahukatawa, I offer you this smoke, do not forget me. Pity me and I will do as you wish." He emptied the ashes from his pipe and went inside the lodge. At dawn he went west into the hills. When he had passed he heard strange sounds which he took to be shouting. The enemy was attacking him; he tried to hide, but could not. The leader carried a pole hung with human scalps. He was frightened and ran. Before him stood the man he had seen the day before. The stranger scolded him and told him that he was the leader of the supposed enemy and intended to endow him with bravery in battle, with power to take scalps and count coups.

Then he told the man to go into the ravine. When he arrived, he saw a buffalo bull charging him. He was not frightened this time. When the bull came close and was about to run him down he closed his eyes, when he opened them, the stranger stood there, wearing a buffalo robe and buckskin leggings. He carried a whole eagle on his back and in his right hand held a staff six feet long upon which was tied eagle down.

The stranger said, "Brother, you have chosen well. I will give you these things. You are to be neither a warrior nor a chief, but a prophet among your people. Repeat to them what I tell you. I have great power from the gods in the heavens and on the earth. I was brought to life again that I might save my people from starvation and from their enemies. If the people see flashes of light around the village tell them they must be quiet. Tell them I am near, and that I bring a message to them for their good. You receive my power as the sun rises. From now on you will be known as Coming-sun. Take these things to your home and I will tell you more about them."

The man disappeared but left the regalia on the ground.[1]

---

[1] For a different version see Grinnell, (b), 143.

The same day, Coming-sun invited Big-eagle, the chief of the village, to 539
eat with him. Then he detailed all that had happened from the time of
the first flashes of light. The chief examined the bundle of regalia and sent 721
a crier through the village to tell the people not to fear the flashing light for 756
it was Pahukatawa who was killed long ago. Some believed and some
doubted the truth of this.

At night Pahukatawa came to Coming-sun and smoked with him and said, "I know our people do not believe you and me, but the time will come when they will." Then Pahukatawa disappeared. He visited Coming-sun now and then and told him that he could not live with the people because he had no brain, but would come when they needed him.

From that time flashes of light were a signal that Pahukatawa was near which was followed the next day by news of an approaching enemy. The people recognized the power of the lights. When Coming-sun heard the buffalo in his lodge he prepared the pipe in the usual way and passed it saying, "Take the pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." After he had smoked, he said, "Brother, I came a long way. I have been among our enemies. All the different tribes have received and smoked the war pipe from the Sioux. They will make war upon us. I have come to tell you so you can warn the people. They intend to wipe us out and burn our village. Tell the people I am coming into this lodge tomorrow. Every keeper of a sacred bundle must bring some native tobacco from it to this lodge. The gods in the heavens and your friends who have passed away wish this tobacco. Be sure that the people bring the tobacco."

The next day Coming-sun told Big-eagle what Pahukatawa had ordered. He sent a crier through the village with the announcement. During the day Coming-sun's lodge was prepared, the beds were removed. In the evening, Coming-sun, Big-eagle, and the crier sat in the lodge, smoking. A fire burned in the fireplace. Then Coming-sun heard a whisper, "Tell the cryer to go to each bundle keeper and ask him to bring tobacco to the lodge where Pahukatawa is waiting."

Soon the men began to come in with their tobacco which they placed in front of the altar which was west of the fireplace. The lodge faced east. When all the tobacco was brought in, it made a large pile extending north and south across the lodge. Spectators soon began to crowd into Coming-sun's lodge for they had heard Pahukatawa was there. They could not see him, but when the fire burned low they saw him in the form of a buffalo sitting down, as an eagle, and for an instant as a man.

Coming-sun said, "Pahukatawa says that it is now that the gods in the heavens and our dead relatives receive the tobacco. He says I must distribute it." Coming-sun sat behind the tobacco and threw it about, but it

539
721
756
did not fall on the ground. When the tobacco was scattered, he sat at the altar and said, "Pahukatawa says the gods are pleased with the tobacco." Coming-sun told the people that Pahukatawa had told him about a new society and dance, the one horn dance. The people wondered how Pahukatawa would leave the lodge. He knew what they were thinking about and whispered to Coming-sun. "Tell the people that Pahukatawa will leave now, and wishes them to come back in the morning and stay in the lodge all day and plan for the new ceremony." Then Coming-sun said, "Watch Pahukatawa leave us." They watched but instead of a man they saw a buffalo bull rise, shake itself, and disappear. Then they saw where the tobacco had spread. A whirlwind came up, passed through the lodge, and disappeared. The people knew he had gone and left the lodge. Coming-sun and Big-eagle remained behind.

In the afternoon they sent for men proficient in drum-making who were told to obtain timber and buffalo bull hides for constructing the drums. Weeping willow timber was split and planed; the hides were cut in circles and sewed with buffalo sinew. In the evening the drum was still incomplete. The men went to their respective lodges for food.

Coming-sun and Big-eagle sat at the altar. Chiefs and important men made their way to the lodge for they were convinced as to what they had seen. Coming-sun felt cold and warm winds and told Big-eagle that Pahukatawa was with them. Coming-sun prepared his pipe and said, "Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." In reply, he heard a whispered "Rawa rawa" (now, now). Someone took the pipe and both men heard the smoke inhaled. Then the pipe was returned. Pahukatawa whispered to Coming-sun that the enemy was approaching. He ordered that in the next three days the people join in building a high embankment around the village. On the fourth night Pahukatawa promised to return. Every man was to be prepared with plenty of arrows, bows, and spears for the dance to be held the next day. Then Pahukatawa disappeared in the form of a whirlwind.

Big-eagle said, "All those here present must help build the earthworks and prepare the bows, arrows, and spears." The next day the people did as they were bidden. At night, Coming-sun and Big-eagle sat in the lodge surrounded by a lot of men. When the drum was ready they taught them the song.

Towards evening of the fourth day Coming-sun told Big-eagle to have the men drive their ponies into camp and decorate their fast horses and then go to Coming-sun's lodge with all the regalia they used in battle. Women were not permitted to enter the lodge. The drum was placed near the altar and behind it sat Coming-sun and Big-eagle. A large fire was built. Then

Pahukatawa entered the lodge and the pipe was offered him as before. He 539
whispered, "I have come from the enemy's camp which is very near. 721
They will be here tomorrow and we must be ready to meet them. They are 756
very numerous. I will sit before the singers and you two. I will whisper to you what to say to the people. You will see me in many forms. When I am in human form I will sit near you and talk to you. When the men come in have the singers sit around the drum and tell the men to prepare themselves as if they were going into battle. Tell them to wear their quivers over their shoulders but to carry their bows and arrows in their hands. All the men who are to dance must carry their weapons. They are now coming in and I must make myself visible to them for many still doubt me. They do not believe I am here."

Big-eagle saw Pahukatawa in the form of a buffalo, then as an eagle, a wolf, and finally as a man. Those who had known him when he was alive said, "It is he." When everything was ready, the drummers began to sing peculiar songs which the others soon learned. In dancing, they imitated animals, then the drum would be beaten and the men would raise their weapons and charge and then continue the dance.

Pahukatawa whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the men to jump up and down and circle the lodge as they dance. Shake the earth for they will receive strength from it. As he dances each man must decide what to do to the enemy the next day. At the end of each song one man should address me and say, 'Pahukatawa, I wish to kill so many; I wish to count so many coups, or take so many scalps.' If I can grant their wishes, I will do so."

After each dance some man stopped and made his request to Pahukatawa, who whispered to Coming-sun, "What he wishes to do, he will do." One young man said, "Pahukatawa I wish to kill nine men. When I attack the tenth man, I wish to be seriously wounded, but wish to recover." Pahukatawa said, "That young man has no faith in me, but what he says will come true." Coming-sun told the men they must not ask to be wounded or killed. The dance continued throughout the night. One feeble old man arose and said, "Pahukatawa, I am old. I have been a great man in my day. I am glad you are with us. I want to count coup once more. Before I die I wish to strike twelve men for I wish to be leader of the party. I want to capture the thirteenth man so that I can bring him home for the women to mock. Pahukatawa whispered, "Tell the man all that he has said will come true."

Towards dawn when the men were resting and smoking, Pahukatawa, whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the people our enemies are up now and are decorating themselves and their horses. I must go now. I will let the people see me before I disappear. I will go to our enemies. I will watch

539 them and when they start I will appear on yonder hills as a buffalo. When
they are ready to attack your village, I will cause the rain to fall so their
721 weapons will be wet. Do not fear them I will be near you. After you see
756 the cloud, I will appear as a wolf and then get behind the breastworks and
defend your women and children."

Then they danced again and Pahukatawa disappeared. Big-eagle dismissed the men and bade them prepare for the attack. As the sun rose someone shouted, "A buffalo is coming over the hills." Then the people knew that Pahukatawa's prophecy was being fulfilled. A small black cloud appeared in the west and a wolf was seen in the hills. Then the people ran to the breastworks. They saw the enemy approaching over the hills from every direction. They charged right into the village but the men shot and killed many of the enemy until their bowstrings were broken and their arrow-heads loose and then they retreated. The men rode after them with their ponies. Each one acted as he had wished during the dance.

The feeble old man was in the battle. When he killed a man he counted coup on him. He rode along until he came up to a man who seemed defiant. The old man waved his hand at him and he threw away his weapons. The old man jumped off his horse and threw the man to the ground with his face downward. He stood on his back, caught his right arm, pulled it out of its socket, and did the same with the left. Then he stood him up, tied a rope round his waist, and led the captive home. As he approached the village he met some old women singing the victory songs. The man threw the rope to them and said, "Take him, you braves, and do as you please with him. He was the leader of the war party."

The old woman took the prisoner. Men came in groups singing victory songs and told of daring deeds; some came with scalps tied to poles and some with scalps under their belts. Women dances, scalp dances, and victory dances were held for many days. The last dance was one by the women acting as men. Women were at liberty to go with any man and men with any woman.

After resting, the men gathered in Coming-sun's lodge and they held the dance during which Pahukatawa appeared at the altar. He whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the men they must keep this dance. They must dance whenever they see fire flashing round their village. The fire is a warning that the enemy is near. In the dance every man must wear a cap with one horn on the right side. Tell them I cannot always be with them, but they must do as I tell them." The men offered tobacco and smoke to Pahukatawa and thanked him for saving the people.

The dance was kept up for a long time, until the light flashes were seen no more. The dance was continued only by brave men and chiefs. After

539 721 756

Coming-sun died, Pahukatawa selected another man to talk to. One night this man refused because he was sleepy. To another man Pahukatawa said that he would go away never to return; that he would stay in the north as one of the minor gods in the heavens. He said he would help the people when they called on him.

535 721 756 166

Since the Pawnee came to Oklahoma they have revived this dance (p. 638). The drum is the same as the old one. At the altar is a whole eagle and in front of it a crooked crow lance. When the ceremony was revived a woman claimed to have seen flashes of light. The dance is still given by the Skidi Pawnee. There is also a pair of leggings which was given to Coming-sun. They have a ceremony known as the warrior's ceremony. This one horn dance was copied by the other three bands, but lacked the power of Pahukatawa. It was a religious dance in which they took part to defend their villages from the enemy.

MODERN CEREMONIES.

527 Among the northern Plains tribes there are a number of associations for
social dancing and entertainment. Such seem to be wanting among the
796 Pawnee, as the following pages will show, but certain more or less serious
ceremonies are now made the occasion for considerable social enjoyment.
The widely diffused Omaha, or grass dance, forms of the ghost dance, and
of the peyote almost exhaust the list of modern ceremonies. We heard of
no women's guilds or clubs and no dances of any kind save those mentioned
above.

THE MODERN IRUSKA.

175

177 The well-known Omaha, or grass dance, is generally known among the
Pawnee as a variation of their own iruska (p. 608), though in its present
648 form it was introduced through Oglala influence.
796 *The Skidi Iruska.* In 1887 three Pawnee Skidi men went to visit the
Oglala Indians. Arriving there, they were entertained by Young-man-afraid-of-his-horses and were feasted throughout the village for several days. On the last day an iruska dance was held for their benefit. The Sioux gathered in a large round house built for dancing. The drum was carried in and the dancers filed in. The Sioux began to sing and the Pawnee noted that the songs were different from their own. However, they danced with the Sioux and received many presents, moccasins, pipes, and beaded objects. The Sioux singers asked the Pawnee to sing some of their songs which the Pawnee did. The Sioux were pleased with the Pawnee singing and gave them more presents.

When the three Pawnee men returned to their home they began to teach other young men the Sioux songs they had learned. One day some Skidi young men came together and Knife-chief told them about the Sioux dance. The old Pawnee iruska dancers never used sleigh bells upon their bodies; but did use them around the drum. The Sioux dancers also wore ornamental clothes while the Pawnee did not. All the Pawnee dancers wore was the headgear and the bustles. The Sioux bustle was also different.

175 Knife-chief had a bass drum brought in and began to teach the Sioux
575 songs. Those who were not singing, danced, but they did not know how
796 to keep time. After the singing, the dance society was organized. Knife-
chief was the drum keeper and leader of the singers. Then two chiefs were

selected to be leaders on the south side and two for the north side. On each 175
side of these two men the dancers were to be seated. At each end of the 575
row of dancers was to sit a whip man. The rules adopted for the dance were 796
those of the Sioux.

This dance became popular, for every time they had it men and women gave presents to one another. It was kept up until Knife-chief died when his widow took charge of the drum. When her son was old enough he took over the drum and for several years was its keeper. On one occasion a dance was promised on New Year's day, but the boy refused to let the people have the drum. They borrowed another drum and had the dance anyhow. After the dance they discovered that the boy had given the drum to a man who belongs to another village.

In the spring of 1911 Eagle-chief called some young men together and 575
told them he wanted to organize a new iruska dance. This was agreed to
by all. Money was collected to buy a new bass drum and sleigh bells. 796
Four chiefs were selected as leaders in the dance: Coming-sun and Sun-chief for the north side, and Struck-enemy and Lone-chief for the south side. Coming-sun now became the leader in the ceremony preceding the dance. He selected six singers: Yellow-horse, Dog-chief, Only-a-chief, Young-cedar-tree, Little-sun, and Young-good-chief. Next he selected the two whip men who were to have charge of all things. Then he selected two chiefs for the dancers on each side: the south side one to wear the bonnet, the north side one to carry the tomahawk. He next selected a man to carry the whistle and then four women to assist in singing: Food-giver, Woman-young-chief, Woman-yellow-corn, and Woman-cedar-tree.

Coming-sun then told the people they would hold a dance the next day and asked each woman to cook something for the feast. The next day people gathered in the round house. The chiefs and dancers sat in their proper places, the whip men sitting at each end. The drum was placed north of the entrance, the singers taking their places around it, the women singers behind the male singers. The visitors sat behind the dancers, the women behind them. The four old men sat at the ends of the visitors' rows. Coming-sun selected one of the dancers to sit outside to keep back spectators.

Coming-sun asked the south side whip man to take some live coals and place them east of the fireplace. Then the whip man was told to go to Coming-sun who gave him a handful of dried cedar leaves. He was then told to place the cedar upon the live coals. Coming-sun then gave the whip man the pipes and passed them through the smoke four times and then handed them back to Coming-sun. Then the whip man was told to take the drum and pass it through the smoke four times and return it to its place.

Next the chiefs one by one went to the smoke and passed through it; then

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

575 the dancers, first one from the north side, then the south side, and so on.
796 Then the women went to the smoke. When all had gone through the smoke, Coming-sun told the south whip man to return the coals to the fireplace.

276 When this was done, Coming-sun spoke as follows: "Singers, chiefs, old
575 men, and iruska, notice my speech and actions for hereafter we shall say
796

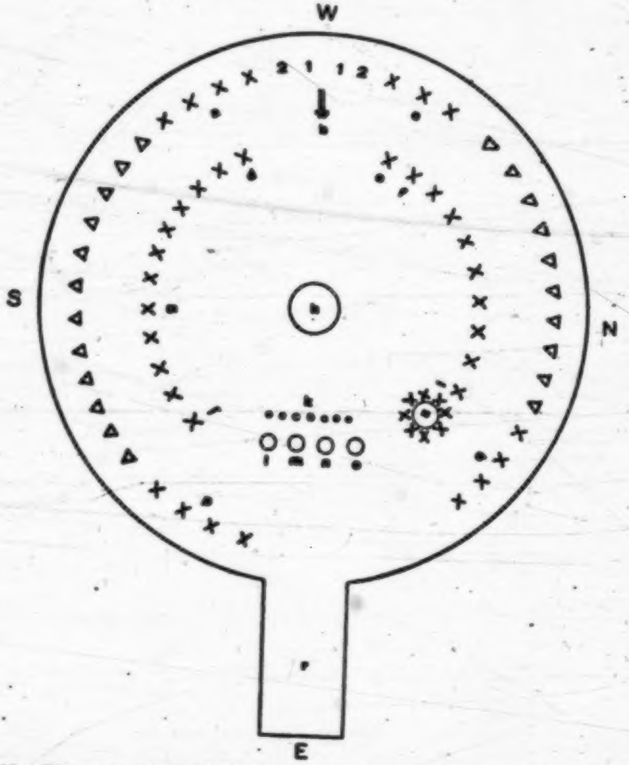


Fig. 18. Diagram of the Skidi Iruska Society. The crosses represent the seats of men, triangles those of women. a and c, visitors of note; b, the pipe; d, the bonnet wearer; e, sword bearer; f, tomahawk bearer; g, whistle bearer; h, fireplace; i, j, whip bearers; k, bowls of cooked maize; l, o, platters of bread; m, kettle of meat; n, coffee urn; p, q, old men; r, entrance way to the lodge; s, drum and drummers. 1–2, 1–2 are the leaders for the two sides.

and do as I am about to do. Above all things, Tirawahat gave the pipe to our people that he might receive smoke from them. We have the pipes here at the altar. They are filled with native tobacco. It is now time for Tirawahat to receive our smoke. As you see the men I select go through

the smoke ceremony, so will it be done in all our iruska dances, for I have 276
whispered to the men who shall offer the smoke. I now select Sun-chief 575
to offer the smoke. He will now rise and take the pipe."

Sun-chief arose and took the pipe from Coming-sun. Then he went 796
around the fireplace and stood to the west. He took a pinch of tobacco from the pipe, raised up his hand and gradually lowered it to the rim of the fireplace where he placed the tobacco. Next he went northeast by the south and east of the fireplace and squatted down. The south side whip man went to the fireplace, took a live coal and placed it upon the bowl of the pipe. When the pipe was lit, Sun-chief arose and went west of the fireplace, here he stood facing east and gave four whiffs of smoke to the skies; then four whiffs to mother earth. Then he dumped the ashes from the bowl of the pipe and passed his hands over the pipestem toward the skies, twice with his right hand and twice with his left hand. He passed his hands upon the pipestem to the rim of the fireplace, twice with his right and twice with his left hand. Then he turned towards the west and walked to Coming-sun and handed him the pipe. Coming-sun said, "Rawa"; all repeated "Rawa." The second pipe was given to Lone-chief of the south side and the same ceremony gone through.

When the smoke ceremony was over the outside man came in and permitted those outside to come in. 575 Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old 796
men, and iruska, we are about to dance. You dancers must be careful with the things you are wearing for if you drop anything, one of those old men will have to take it up and tell of his deeds. Then you must pay. Each man who has a song must dance when his song is sung and must give a small present to some old man or woman. We will have five sets of songs, ten in [533]
each set. Everyone must dance. Anyone receiving a present must say, 'rawa iruska.' After each ten songs we will smoke and rest."

So the singers began their songs. Every time the whip men rose everyone had to dance.

After the dance, Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, this is now our iruska dance. Visiting parties, if they wish, may tie tobacco upon the drum, then the keeper of the drum must notify the leaders, who [535]
will plan a dance to give presents to visitors. This is now a popular dance among the Pawnee for at these dances people give presents to one another [431]
and there is a general good time for all.[1]

---

[1] This form of the iruska was originated by the writer who may be said to be entirely responsible for the organization. He knew very little of the procedure among the Dakota but was fairly familiar with the form of the Osage. From the latter he took his main ideas and the various officers with their respective duties. Also like the Osage he adopted strict rules for conducting the dance. Yet the maneuvers and serious parts of the ceremony were all taken from bundle rituals of the Pawnee.— Ed. [177]

175 575 796 *The Kit'kaháxki Iruska.* About 1894 while the ghost dance was still intense a man named Sitting-bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and lead it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the hands of Little-sun, one of the leading singers. According to this ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-fly-high, also a pupil of Sitting-bear.

575 796 In the Kit'kaháxki society there were four chiefs, as among the Skidí. The dancers are on both sides, north and south. At the south side entrance there are four chiefs and four pipes. Next to the chiefs on the north side are two old men. The director of the ceremony sits near the pipes and his assistant, or the whip man, by his side. The singers sit around the drum. [533] Unlike the Skidí when they have sung a set of songs, all smoke receiving no smoke from the chiefs. The songs go in sets of ten.

At a certain point in the ceremony all rise and stand in a circle with the chiefs holding pipes in the center. Then with songs the smoke offerings are made. This is similar to the preceding. After the offering the pipes are delivered to the pipe keepers. In the two last dances everybody takes part and makes them as violent as possible. The ending is as in the preceding. The food is brought in as before. A man and woman are now selected to make the corn offering. The woman receives a small wooden bowl with a horn spoon, she is the donor of the food. The movement to the kettle is different, the man dips out the food into the bowl held by the women. A little from every kettle is taken. Then they go to the west side of the fireplace. The man and woman here offer the food as before. The bowl and spoon are returned to the keeper, while the whip man selects men to hand out the food as before. The head chief at the south side recites part of the ritual and announces the close of the ceremony.

The regalia are the same as for the preceding. The songs and procedures are, however, quite original.

The Chauí Iruska. During the ghost dance excitement Roaming-chief began to dream songs and a form of the modern iruska ritual. Later, he started the organization which spread to the Pítahauírata. Unlike the other iruska societies the drum is set at the west end, or head of the lodge, the old original Pawnee form. The drumsticks are beaded and bear feathers on the end. [293] One chief on each side, some of them have short sticks covered with beads and decked with feathers. The sticks for the two sides are of different colors. There are four of these sticks, and hooked at the end, on the north side; three on the south. No whip man. The smoke ceremony here is before the singing. The staff men rise and hold them as

signals for the members to dance. All the songs are those of the founder 575
and so entirely unlike those of others. In the last four songs there is great 796
excitement.

The food offering with bowl and spoon is as before stated. The regalia are here the same as before.[1]

General Discussion. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Omaha hethu'- 114
shka certain statements as to origin are made which are inconsistent with 174
the writer's data. In the first place, the Pawnee have always said that the Omaha originally got their society from them, they having been guests at several iruska performances, adopted such of it as they comprehended and later elaborated the procedure into the present form, though some features are certainly Osage contributions. The Dakota first learned the dance from the Omaha, as they state (p. 48), but testify to its Pawnee origin. About fifty years ago Pawnee-Tom visited the Arikara and assisted Enemy-heart to inaugurate the ceremony. Later, Enemy-heart sold the dance to the Crow Indians and then to other tribes. The writer has studied the songs of the dance and finds that everywhere many of them are undoubtedly those of the Pawnee iruska and what is more to the point, bear the general characteristics of all Pawnee songs. The Dakota and Omaha, however, have many original songs of their own, some of which the Pawnee have borrowed. In general, from the data at hand, the writer considers it clear that the origin of the modern form of this dance lies between the Omaha and the Osage, but that it was derived from an older ceremony which the Omaha, and possibly the Osage, borrowed of the Pawnee.

It should be noted that in the Skidi iruska dog flesh is served. Four men 262
wearing the feather belts scout for and capture the kettle. Then they take 796
sticks and take out the dog's head for a leading man to count coup on. A kettle of corn is then brought in and handled in the same manner, except

---

[1] Author's note. While in a trance he saw the dead people dancing the iruska dance [787]
but in a different way from that of the old iruska dance. There were six drummers. The drum was painted black, the stick had coverings at the ends. There were six stations about [786]
the room, three on the north side and three on the south side. The station men had a forked stick stuck in the ground in front of them. There were feathers at the end of each fork and the sticks were wrapped with beads. The northeast stick was covered with black beads; the north stick with light blue beads; the northwest stick with dark blue beads; the southwest stick with yellow beads; the south stick, red; the southeast stick, white. Also he found out or was told there were that many minor gods in the heavens. When these station men get up to dance, all have to rise and dance. There are five sets of songs, ten songs in each set. The tunes are nearly the same as for the old iruska songs. The last ten are ghost dance songs. The last songs are exciting, and the dancers are given to excitement and tremble, falling down as in the ghost dance. The closing speech after the feast differs from the older form. It is as follows: Father is thankful for eating our smoke; father, his child, and the gods are thankful for eating our smoke; sun and moon are both made thankful for eating our smoke; our mother earth is thankful for eating our smoke; our dead relations are thankful for eating our smoke; now we have all smoked and eaten. After this speech, everyone leaves the lodge.

262 that spoons are carried instead of sticks. Among the other divisions of
796 the Pawnee, buffalo meat was used with a less formal procedure. The
Skidi form of feast is now found among many tribes.

The whip bearers are probably of Omaha or Osage origin for in that tribe
174 they are the police officers of a ceremony. The bearing of a sword is probably
177 due to Pawnee influence, at least it was original with them. Once when at
648 Washington, D. C., each Pawnee chief was presented with a sword for his
aid (p. 557) which thenceforth became the badge of office. Some of the aids
796 carried their swords to battle and counted coup with them. Later, the Pawnee scouts in the United States service carried swords and when discharged those who had struck enemies retained them. Now in the iruska all having struck enemies with tomahawks could demonstrate in the dance; so the bearers of swords came to have the same privileges.

THE GHOST DANCE.

According to the Pawnee, the ghost dance religion first came to the
668 Arapaho, thence to the Cheyenne, the Kiowa and Comanche and finally
796 to the Wichita.

787 In 1890 it was rumored among the Pawnee that a Messiah had appeared to an Indian somewhere in the mountains and that all the dead Indian people would return to the earth. The story was that a Paiute Indian had died and was taken up to the top of a high mountain and laid out. After he had lain there four days, he revived and came down from the mountain. He told his people that while he was on the mountain his spirit had traveled in a strange and beautiful country; that on his journey he crossed a small stream of clear water and came to a cedar tree where he saw handkerchiefs of every color and all sorts of feathers. At the base of the tree he saw several pipes and different kinds of paint. He took a white cotton handkerchief and some of the red earth. He went on and as he neared a mound he saw someone standing there, clad in white and purple robes. This person had long hair, parted in the middle. He held out his hands to show the cuts in them, but did not look up. The man saw that he was the Messiah, the white man's Jesus, the son of the Father in the Heavens. The man noted by his manner that he wanted him to pass by for he did not speak, so he passed on his left and went on. Presently he saw in a valley an Indian village, extending along the whole bottom.

As he neared the village of tipis he noticed a man approaching. When they met he found the man was his father who embraced him and took him into the village. On the outskirts of the village he saw men playing javelin

games. The old men were playing with the big hoops and sticks; the boys 668
with rings and sticks. He also saw some women playing with baskets and 796
plum seeds and others playing with staves. He could not understand the
speech of these people. When the two came to a tipi they entered and there 787
the dead man saw his dead relatives, mothers, aunts, uncles, brothers, and sisters. The old people sitting near the entrance, he was told, were his grandparents. He was given food and after eating he was told to watch the people who were dancing.

His father took him to the dancing ground. When they arrived, he saw the people dancing in a circle. The dancers were all painted and each wore feathers. Finally, he joined in the dance and learned some of their songs. While dancing he saw people acting queerly and seemingly possessed with a spirit. There were seven singers and two men with long poles acted as soldiers, but took no part in the dancing. Some men inside the ring ran from one person to another finally downing some of the people. These were mesmerizing one another. One man came to him, blew his breath upon his breast, embraced him, and finally blew his breath into his mouth, at which the newcomer fell into a trance. He arose quickly, however, and joined in the dance. He danced a long time until the man who had hypnotized him took him to one side and said, "Brother, you are now possessed with our power. You must return to your people and start this dance among them. Tell them you have seen the Messiah, the Son of the Father in the Heavens. He is leading us to your people. They must dance so they will also receive the power you now possess. We know you are living. Whatever you saw at the tree is yours. Give the red earth you find in the mountains to your people, let them paint their faces before they dance. Tell them of the Messiah and let them mourn as you now see these people do. We mourn for you and your people must mourn also. When you have started this dance among your people you will be able to come to us any time and we will teach you more about our ways. People will come to you from all over the country and you must tell them what you now see. This religion is for Indian people. The spirit will be sent to you. You must now return to your people."

The man then revived and went down from the mountain to his people. Night overtook him as he reached a valley. As he was going through some bulrushes trying to find a bed, he saw someone coming towards him on a mule. He saw that it was the same Messiah he had seen while in a trance. This time the one on the mule said, "My son, what you saw is all true. Tell your people, that I sent you, that my spirit will be with them." Then he disappeared. The man then made a bed of rushes and lay down. The next morning he arose and went on to his home.

668
796
The people were frightened by his return, but when he told his story they rejoiced. Four days after he told them to prepare for a dance. When they were all standing around in a circle, with hands joined, he told his story. Then he began to sing and all moved around in a circle and began to have queer feelings, shivering all through their bodies. When the prophet shouted, some of the weaker ones fell into a trance. Sometimes when he waved the cotton handkerchief at some of them they would go down while others danced on. Some who began to mourn, cried out, holding their hands towards the skies and cried and cried; seemingly they could not stop crying.

This dance was carried on by the Paiute in Nevada until a northern Indian came to visit them. The story is told that this northern Indian had lost his child and was wandering over the country when he finally came to the dance and there was able to see his lost child through the prophet, Jack Wilson. He also saw their strange doings and got the story from Jack Wilson, who claimed that he knew beforehand that he was coming. This northern Indian returned to his people and told them about the new religion. He claimed that he himself had seen the Messiah in the mountains, that he also had seen his own dead relatives, that the Messiah had talked to him and that through the Messiah he had seen the dead people. So a party of four men, Badger, a Sioux, Sitting-bull, a Northern Arapaho, and two others went to Nevada to visit the prophet.

When these men arrived at Walker Lake, they found Jack Wilson and his Indians dancing. They made him some presents and asked to see the Messiah and their dead relatives to which Wilson replied, "Go and dance with my people and you will see all you want to see." These men joined in the dance. In a few days they too fell into a trance and saw the Messiah and their dead relatives.

These four men then went north to their homes; Badger, the Sioux went to the Standing Rock Agency and started the dance. Sitting-bull, instead of going to his own people, the Northern Arapaho, came into Oklahoma. This was about 1890. Here he started the ghost dance among the Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne. Soon the news spread among the Wichita, Kiowa, and Comanche. At this time a young Pawnee Indian, Frank White, living among the Wichita, joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream, the tree, the Messiah, and then the village of people. He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in Pawnee. The first song was as follows: —

539
668
796

Wey rey hey iri ai ra.
Now you are coming.

Weyti ku wa tura wa hey.
I am longing for the village (kingdom).

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Wey ri hey iri si ra. 539
Now you are coming. 668
796

A sicks u wey ta tu ta hi i.
And now I place my spirit upon you.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-bull. 668 796

In the fall of 1892, Frank White came among the Pawnee and told his story to a few of his friends. He selected a few young men to whom he taught some of his own songs and also some Arapaho songs. As soon as they could sing a few songs they went to a camp to dance. There were about five singers, four women, and three boys. They selected a space east of the camp and started to dance. Whenever the prophet shouted, the dancers dropped to the ground in a trance. Some of the dancers began to mourn and others shook all over, for a mysterious spirit took possession of them. Then they danced a short time. The prophet told them of his experiences. He told the people that if they made up their minds to dance and see the Messiah, and their dead relatives, they would fall and see them; that the principal thing in the dance was to mourn and be humble in spirit. He then sent them home.

The next day, the people told of the dance they had and how they trembled and fell. The chiefs of the different bands took it up and set a day for the people to make their camp circle on Camp Creek. When the people had made camp, the chiefs met in council and invited the prophet. They asked that he start a dance and tell the people about the new religion. The prophet consented. A special tipi was set up for the prophet where he was to stay with the singers. The next day the prophet sent two of the singers through the camp to get some paint of all colors from each tipi. This paint was taken to the prophet who gave orders that all who wanted to dance must come into the tipi and have their faces painted. Each Indian now took presents to the tipi and was then painted. The singers painted their faces. Everybody was ready. The prophet went out of the lodge, the others following. They came to an open space where the prophet and singers joined hands and stood in a circle and sang. The people in the village came out of their tipis and ran to the circle. Some did not get into the ring for the unknown spirit took possession of them and stopped them. They raised their hands to the skies and began to cry. In the ring the dancers began to tremble; some seemed crazy. When the prophet went to them, they fell to the ground. Late in the evening they quit dancing, and then feasted.

668 786 796 After they had eaten they danced again until ten o'clock. Men and women returned to their tipis, mourning and crying and having shaking fits. About five o'clock they began to dance again. This time there were about four men and three women who seemed to be trembling badly. They ran around the camp crying, "I do not want you, go away from me." About the third day, one of the women fell and lay on the ground about five minutes and then sat up. She began to cry and finally her crying turned into a song. One man went to her and she told what she had seen while she lay on the ground. The fourth day a young man fell and lay upon the ground all night. When he came to, he ran to the prophet's tipi and told what he had seen. The prophet ordered that all the people go upon a hill and hear the young man tell his story. This was about eight o'clock in the evening. When all the people were on the hill, standing in a line facing west, the young man was told to sit down in front of them, the village crier went and sat beside him. The young man told the following story:

> 668 786 787 796 When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I felt a queer sensation passing through my body. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, "My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people." I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me, and said, "My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing." So we went on and there in the center of the village, our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying upon the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw.

668 786 796 The people went to him and as each person took hold of his hand, he either fell or began to tremble. After this four men were selected to smoke to the dead people. After the smoke everyone began to cry. Then the prophet and the new prophet ran around among the people throwing them

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914/NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

down upon the ground. After the excitement they all went back to camp
and danced until ten o'clock that night. The next morning all joined the 668
dance again. This time a woman entered the ring and began to act as if 786
crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and 796
strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, "That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth." Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit. The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right.

While the Wichita had been indifferent to the teachings of White, the 668
Pawnee soon became enthusiasts. White went first to the Pitahaurata
village and began his ceremonies, where at once a few had the trances. As 796
the news spread, the chiefs of all the Pawnee villages met to see demonstrations and discuss the movement. Two days were given over to dancing. The first camp was broken up by a fire, a tipi catching fire ignited the grass and destroyed much property; but undismayed a new camp was formed. Many persons went into trances, while many were alarmed at the intensity of the phenomenon. White then demonstrated his power by putting bystanders into trances by touching them. Finally he closed the demonstration by a spectacular race. Taking his position in the center, the converts around in a circle, he caused them to fall at will.

After this, practically the whole of the Pawnee were under White's influence. Dances were almost continuous during the winter and the following summer. Infatuated with the belief in the immediate destruction
of the world, they planted no crops and threw away their property. Natur-
ally, they became sullen and disobedient to their Agent, resulting in the [648]
arrest of White by United States marshals.

This excited the Indians greatly and almost caused hostilities. In the meantime the Oto had taken up the Pawnee dance and also threatened to go on the warpath. Owing to the skill of their Agent, the Pawnee were quieted and White released. He himself did what he could to develop the movement into a less militant religion. To do this he magnified the Chris-
tian elements. There was opposition for a time for all the old Pawnee [756]
medicinemen took the trances as forms of the powers formerly exercised by the animal lodges (p. 602) and began a vigorous revival, each setting himself up as a prophet and seeking to outdo the others. White died in 1893, after which the strength and unity of the religion quickly disappeared among the many rival prophets.

This Pawnee ceremony seems to have been largely original with White

668 and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring
tribes. It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the
796 fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after
White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony.
[177] According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances
could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days.
There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair
and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions
of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now
[346] regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula,
a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple.
[361] Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost
dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center
toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise,
the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical
[787] belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed
out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost
dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog
[524] dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the iruska. Some time after 1904
the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a
devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated.
The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general
fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for
these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their
hereditary sides of north and south.

THE PEYOTE.

About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned
276 something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the
794 buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they
practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho
taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued
a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to
him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and
[177] gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian
conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked
with Christ.

with Christ. Under this new leadership the membership increased. The 276
Oto carried the ceremony to the Omaha. Among the Pawnee the cult is 794
found chiefly among the Pítahaurata where this new form originated; later, it found a following among the Chauí and then among the Kit'kaháxki with a few scattering adherents among the Skidí.

Naturally, this new leader introduced some original features. A special 276
form of painted tipi was used, somewhat like that for the ghost dance. 794
Certain changes were made in the rattle and the form of the drum. There
is also an elaborate altar and the circle is divided into the usual north and 796
south sides.

Among the special ceremonies is one for the water bearer. At midnight one is sent to get water from the stream. As he is under the influence of the drug he may fall into the water and drown, so special songs are sung during his absence to guard him. When he enters with the pail, it is purified in a cedar smudge, an offering made and then passed for drinking.

At dawn as the sun appears, the ritual is interrupted long enough to sing a special set of songs. While this is going on, the door curtain is raised so that the first rays of the sun may strike the altar. At the close of this special ceremony the ritual is resumed where left off.

The last songs of the ritual refer to Christ. The final song is repeated five times after which each member in turn prays to God.

A woman then enters with water, parched corn, and candy. She and the food are purified in a cedar smudge, then she retires. First the water is passed, then the corn, and finally the candy, circulating in this order until all is consumed.

The members now sit in their places and talk over their experiences. The objects used in the ceremony are gathered up and put away. The leader closes the meeting at noon with a lecture, or sermon, on ethical matters, speaking especially against the use of alcohol. Some Pawnee leaders refuse membership to all using alcoholic drinks.

At noon the members are invited out to dine by some leading man. When seated the leader takes up a pitcher of water and prays to God. Then he fills a glass and taking a sip passes it around the circle in true church fashion. Then they eat without ceremony.

After the meal the members again assemble in the peyote tipi, but this is an informal gathering where they discuss freely their faith and practise singing such songs as desired.

In the evening they depart. As each one leaves, he stands by the fireplace, holds aloft his hand and prays aloud. Then he shakes hands around the circle, pauses at the door to hold up his hand and perform certain other symbolic gestures, then passes out. So with all in turn, the leader being the last to go.

276 The peyote tipi is dismantled the next day and the camp broken.

794 It may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the ghost dance excitement. One of his individual doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may
796 acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore.

THE ONE HORN DANCE.

178 Among the Skidi there is a modernized form of the one horn dance (p. 623) organized about 1893. It took its form from the dreams of a woman.
796 The man who spoke to her in the dream ran away as a buffalo. She went out at sunrise and saw a ring come down from the sun. Little by little she dreamed the songs and taught her husband. Finally, an eagle came to her in a dream and she was ordered to get an eagle. This she did. Again she dreamed of a crooked crow-feathered stick, this was made. Then a drum was made.

The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one horn dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly responsible. 776 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of consecrating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were ceremonial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies. 292 796

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires. 224

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed. 361

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social intercourse. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.) 622 756 782 [565] [773]

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

622 756 778 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

554 726 *Coups.* The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular importance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have consecrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pítahauírata division, but we have no data upon it.

756 837 *Exchange of Wives.* According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice. Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicine-man in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

224 [223] *Hunting Ceremonies.* There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 838 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

726 *No-flight Idea.* A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

842 532 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

834 *Sex Taboo.* Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

276 *Smoking.* A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

were so qualified. Women were not permitted to smoke at all, though our informant remembers seeing two or three old women smoke, they being doctors. 276 [562]

Sun Dance. According to the Pawnee belief the sun dance was given to the Plains tribes by the Arikara. In ancient times the Gros Ventre intermarried with them and so first got the ceremony. It may be noted that in the four-pole ceremony (p. 551) and again in the twenty-day ceremony, the bringing in of the tree is in the main identical with the regular sun dance form. The torture feature reached the Pawnee through the Arikara. A member of the young dog society once exchanged rituals with an Arikara sun dancer and for a time this was a part of the dog society ritual (p. 587). There is a report, however, of a very old dance in which they gazed at the sun, but without the torture. 796

Tiny Bags of Medicine. All regalia of a serious nature and especially objects carried to war were made powerful by the presence of tiny bags of medicine. The contents were vegetable, chiefly roots. Roots were chewed and spit over men to make them brave, virtuous, healthy, etc. In fact, most all powers come through knowledge of the uses of plants. 789

Tobacco Planting. There was no special ceremony for planting or gathering tobacco. There is a saying that this was unnecessary for since tirawahat gave it to the Pawnee direct, he himself watches over it, so all that is needed is to plant the seed; but that other tribes got it from them or other Indians and so must use the powers of ceremonies to make it grow. 249

Witches. There may have been a witch society for there is a tale as to how a chief destroyed such an organization. In brief, he watched at his son's grave and first heard cries of owls, then people approaching. As they were uncovering the corpse, he seized one man, the others fled. The prisoner he threatened with death unless he explained all the secrets of the medicine so that he himself could become a member. This was done. The young man had been killed by them partly through jealousy but chiefly to secure fat from his heart to put in their witch bundles. Their chief powers were owls and yellow-hammers. They had killed the young man by magically shooting an owl's claw and a yellow-hammer's feather into his heart. When the chief had learned all the rites and the names of the members, he killed his informant. He cut him open, took the fat and part of the ribs home. The meat he cooked. While it was boiling, he sent for his soldiers and a few trusted men and gave them instructions. Then he sent for the members of the witch society (five or more including a woman) whom he feasted upon the flesh of their associate, but at a signal they were struck down by the soldiers. Their bodies and bundles were burned to put an end to witches. 754

CONCLUSION.

616

It is interesting to summarize and systematize the concrete data presented by Mr. Murie. While as stated, the bundle scheme of the Pawnee is the foundation upon which their social and ceremonial organization rests, the most fundamental conception seems to be the division of the people into north and south sides, or winter and summer people. Individuals belong permanently to the sides of their mothers. When games are played, the line-up is according to this hereditary division. In all ceremonies the seats of the winter people are in the north half of the circle and those of the summer people in the south half. Officers and functions in ceremonies are duplicated and the leadership shifts from one side to the other according to the season of the year. Even the modern borrowed ceremonies of the peyote and the ghost dance are organized in this way and it may be safely assumed that any general gathering of the Pawnee no matter what the purpose, will seat itself by sides.

We have noted the asymmetry of the division, for we find by far the greater number of villages on the north side. All societies exercised care to select an equal number of members from each side so that asymmetry would not appear in the order of seating in the lodge. Again, in games the number of players on each side was made equal. Thus, the few villages on the south side had a large representation in all ceremonies.

It would be interesting to consider the origin of this very suggestive social cleavage, but we fear it is indeterminable. According to the tradition this line-up occurred when the Skidi federation was formed by the inauguration of the four-pole ceremony and was merely a matter of geography. This may be, but the fundamental character of the division leads one to suspect that it is much older than the federation. It has also its parallels among the Omaha [1] and neighboring tribes where all the gentes are given fixed places in the two segments of a tribal circle. If, however, the Skidi borrowed this Siouan scheme it is clearly possible that in its inauguration the Loup River should have been taken as marking off the two sides; but then how comes it that in all ceremonies the concepts of this dual division are found? It seems much more likely that if the federation was formed in the traditional manner, it took on the dual divisions as a matter of course since they occurred in all ceremonies.

---

[1] Fletcher and La Flesche, 134.

In case of the Pawnee, we may note the fine example of pattern phenomena 575
manifest in the adjustment of all kinds of ceremonies, original or 616
borrowed, to this scheme of two sides and alternate leadership.[1] Based
upon this fundamental pattern are two distinct patterns of organization: the 756
lance-bearing societies and medicinemen's associations. From the preceding 796
concrete accounts it is clear that all of the lance organizations must have been constructed or adjusted to the plan of some one parent society. The same may be said of the medicinemen's associations. We have commented upon the apparent dual division of chiefs and medicinemen (p. 639), the bundle scheme being the province of the former and to which the medicinemen were individually subject, but professionally formed a second half for social control. This duality is seen in the organization of all bundles and related societies under the four-pole ceremony and in like manner the organization of the medicinemen under the twenty-day ceremony. Here again is clearly a similarity of pattern in the coordination schemes for two groups of activities.

Another important conception of the Pawnee is the bundle sanction. 631
Thus, as keeper of the village bundle the chief rules by a kind of "divine
right," the highest exponent of which is the priest of the bundle, or the 778
keeper of the ritual. The hunt and the raising of grain were each guarded over and governed by virtue of bundle rituals. A lance society performed no public function except under the sanction of one of the bundles. Furthermore, the federation itself was based upon superior or leading bundles, from which the chiefs and priests derived their authority. One must suspect that the conception of a bundle sanction was so fundamental with the Pawnee, that the first step toward a federation was of necessity the creation of a series of superior bundles.

In keeping with the foregoing conceptions is the hereditary system. 611
Chiefs, priests, members of societies, etc. serve for life and endeavor to qualify some of their brothers and nephews to succeed them. In most organizations there were certain tests applied to the candidate for the ejection of the theoretically unfit, but these first chances were given to those whose brothers or uncles had been admitted to membership; likewise the priests of bundles must be those competent to perform the ritual, but here again the preference was given to maternal relatives. The important position of chief, or official keeper of the village bundle, was regarded as strictly hereditary to the next of kin, though incompetents were encouraged to decline the honor in favor of the next heir.

---

[1] A kind of dual leadership is found in many societies of the Oglala and Blackfoot, as [171]
shown in the preceding pages, but without any ceremonial associations or counterparts in other ceremonies, from which we infer that it reached these tribes as an objective part of a borrowed system.

796 If one considers the conceptions that underlie the preceding ceremonials, it seems that the leading categories are the consecration of animals, especially the buffalo, the buffalo hunting rituals, the various procedures with corn, the ceremonies of the warpath and shamanistic feats. The most distinctive are the last, their variety and complexity probably exceeding those of any other tribe, features which must have made a deep impression upon their neighbors and given the Pawnee great cultural prestige.

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

NOTES ON SKIDI PAWNEE SOCIETY

000

BY

GEORGE A. DORSEY

FORMERLY CURATOR, DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

AND

JAMES R. MURIE

PREPARED FOR PUBLICATION

BY

ALEXANDER SPOEHR

ASSISTANT CURATOR, AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

[Title Page]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES
FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
VOLUME 27, NUMBER 2
SEPTEMBER 18, 1940

PUBLICATION 479

[P.65]

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

CONTENTS

PAGE
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS . . . . 69 out
FOREWORD, by *Paul S. Martin* 71
I. INTRODUCTION, by *Alexander Spoehr* 73
II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE 75
III. THE LODGE 79
  Family Customs 79
IV. KINSHIP 83
  Kinship Terminology 83
  Polygyny 84
  Levirate 85
  Polyandry 85
  Adoption 85
  Clans 86
V. THE INDIVIDUAL 87
  Periods of Life 87
  Birth 88
  Names 92
  Childhood and Adolescence 93
  Marriage 97
  Divorce 101
  Death 101
  Miscellaneous Notes on Behavior 107
VI. CRIME AND PUNISHMENT 109
  Murder 109
  Rape 109
  Adultery 109
  Theft 109
VII. CLASS DISTINCTIONS 111
  Chiefs 111
  Priests 114
  Medicine-Men 115
  The Common People 115
BIBLIOGRAPHY 117
INDEX 119

[P. 66 is blank]

000

TEXT FIGURE

26. Disposition of beds in two Skidi Pawnee earth lodges . . . 81

[p.68 is blank]

FOREWORD

A program of scientific research has not reached a successful 000
conclusion until the results obtained are made available in the
literature of the profession. Publication thereby becomes an im-
portant factor in the progress of any field of knowledge. However,
in anthropology as elsewhere, a manuscript containing valuable
data may remain unpublished after the death of its author. In
the past few years Field Museum has published two such manu-
scripts: that of Edward H. Thompson on the High Priest's Grave
at Chichen Itza, prepared for publication by J. Eric Thompson;
and Berthold Laufer's work on the origin and spread of the potato,
prepared by C. Martin Wilbur.

The present report by George A. Dorsey and James R. Murie 122
on the Skidi Pawnee, edited by Alexander Spoehr, is an addition
to this list. The funds enabling the authors to undertake the
necessary field research were originally made available by the
Carnegie Institution of Washington, to which acknowledgment is
here made for its ready co-operation in granting the right of publica-
tion to Field Museum.

PAUL S. MARTIN

[p.70 is blank]

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

NOTES ON SKIDI PAWNEE SOCIETY

I. INTRODUCTION

From 1903 to 1907, George A. Dorsey, then Curator of Anthro- 122
pology at Field Museum, received a series of grants from the
Carnegie Institution of Washington for ethnological field work
among the Caddoan tribes. Much of the investigation was carried
on among the Pawnee, during which time James R. Murie was
associated with Dorsey. The interest which Murie, himself a
Pawnee, took in recording the culture of his people, and his persever-
ance in collecting the fast-vanishing ethnographic data relating to
his tribe, are deserving of special mention. On the basis of the 128
information gathered in the field, Murie and Dorsey commenced 114
the preparation of a monograph entitled "Society and Religion of
the Skidi Pawnee," though unfortunately the manuscript was never
completed. Murie's later report on Pawnee societies (Murie, 1914)
duplicated certain parts of the unfinished memoir, while other
details were incorporated in four articles by Ralph Linton on various
aspects of Pawnee ceremony and religion (Linton, 1922a, b; 1923a, b).
The section of the manuscript dealing with society was very briefly
summarized by Dorsey (Dorsey, 1907b) but until now it has not
otherwise appeared in print. During the course of its preparation
for publication, I found it necessary to make considerable literary
revision, but the facts have not been changed. The orthography
of the Pawnee words is the same as that used in the manuscript.
Editorial comments on various points in the text appear in brackets.

The last decade has seen a revival of interest in the Pawnee. 114
Recent anthropological work has more fully elucidated the history
of the tribe, and our perspective has been correspondingly deepened
and enriched. However, there remains a lack of published ethno-
graphic data on the Pawnee which seriously handicaps comparison
with other Plains tribes and retards the definition of problems
relating to Plains Indian social organization. On a purely descrip-
tive level, the present notes are a step toward filling out the incom-
plete picture. They deal briefly with social groupings such as the
band, village, and family; with kinship; the major crimes and their
punishment; class distinctions; and the individual life cycle, which
is accorded a fuller treatment than the other sections. John B.
Dunbar (1880a, b), Fletcher (1899), and Lesser (1930, 1933) have
discussed some of these aspects of social organization, but the

[p. 72 is blank]

114 material included here is valuable as corroborative or as contrasting data that have been gathered independently.

As a study of social organization the present notes are suggestive rather than fully definitive, and point to the need of a more penetrating analysis of the complexities of Pawnee society. Increasing attention is being accorded today to the dynamic aspects of culture in the general Plains area, with a greater focusing of attention on the Woodland affiliations of the Plains tribes, the character of the pre-horse culture, the changes that took place with the introduction of nomadic, bison-hunting life, and the formation of new types of social structures adapted to the environmental conditions of the Plains. Although the Caddoan connections of the Pawnee are well known, a more comprehensive ethnographic knowledge concerning the tribe would do much to establish more definitely its cultural position and early historical relations. Further, as a semi-sedentary people with what Kroeber has called a "horse-bison culture overlay," the Pawnee form a type of group on which more data are desirable, both from the standpoint of examining the effect of the introduction of the horse among the Pawnee proper, and for purposes of comparison with other village tribes and with the more typical Plains groups. Specifically, this report indicates the following aspects of Pawnee social organization as being in need of further clarification: the political and ceremonial basis of the federation of Skidi villages; the economic functions of social groupings such as the band, village, and family, particularly with reference to the sedentary and buffalo-hunting phases of Pawnee life; the system of land tenure; the intricacies of the ceremonial organization; rank and status; and the kinship system and its relation to descent, inheritance, and succession. Fortunately, much of the necessary data has been collected, though they remain in unpublished form.

I am indebted to Mr. Clifford C. Gregg, Director of Field Museum, for his sympathetic aid. Also I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Paul S. Martin, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, for his assistance and encouragement and to Dr. Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for his helpful advice during the preparation of the manuscript for publication.

ALEXANDE[illegible] SPOEHR

II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE

The Skidi formed one of the four bands comprising the Pawnee 619
tribe, the others being the Chaui, the Kitkehahki, and the Pitahauirat. 621
[In the manuscript the Skidi are spoken of as a tribe. [101]
However, I have followed more recent usage and substituted the
term band, reserving tribe for the Pawnee as a whole (Lesser, 1933).]
The Skidi, however, considered themselves independent and actually
felt closer to the Arikara than to the other three Pawnee bands.
Politically the Skidi were a federation of villages, of which at least
thirteen are known to have existed, though there were probably
others which have been forgotten. The federation was held together
by a governing council of chiefs and by a ceremonial organization [623]
involving the participation of the band in a round of ceremonies
associated with sacred bundles.

The village was a distinct local group consisting of a cluster of 621
earth-lodges housing the component families. Each village possessed 361
its own fields, whose ownership was allotted among the villagers by 622
the chief, a supposed lineal descendant of the original owner of the 423
sacred bundle of the village. [I am inclined to believe that the chief
allotted the use of the fields rather than their ownership.] On the
death of an individual, his land was re-allotted by the chief. Each
village also had its own burial ground in which were buried only
those belonging to the village.

In principle the village was endogamous. Since the Pawnee 621
moved to Oklahoma the old restriction on marriage has been gradually 582
disappearing. This is due to the fact that the population of [178]
certain villages has dwindled and it is no longer possible for the few
remaining individuals of some villages to obtain mates within their
own village. Even in this breaking down of the system, however,
the old fashion of reckoning descent is maintained. Thus, in the 611
marriage of a man from Big-Elk village with a woman of Little-Elk
village, the children would belong to Big-Elk village. [However,
according to the manuscript, both these villages were extinct by
1907.] An exception to this general rule is at the present time [1907] [184]
under consideration among the Skidi. Mr. Murie's son, now about
of age, properly belongs by the laws of the tribe to the Village-on-the-Hill,
that being the village of his father. His mother, however,
belongs to the Pumpkin-Vine village and her brother, Skidi-Good-Chief,
is the last representative of that village. To prevent the
village from becoming extinct, Skidi-Good-Chief has asked per-

611 mission to have young Murie take his place in the ceremonial circuit in the lodge with the understanding that he be made chief on the death of Skidi-Good-Chief, thus continuing the Pumpkin-Vine village in the circuit.

621 A marriage outside the village occurred about sixty years ago
582 [sixty years prior to 1907], and, as the result bears directly on the
591 question of descent, the facts are worth quoting. A man of the
428 Pumpkin-Vine village, having obtained the consent of his uncles,
778 married a young woman of the Morning-Star village. He lived with his wife in the Morning-Star village for several years, during which time he made sacrifices to the Morning-Star bundle and learned its ceremony. Then he returned to his own village and took his children with him, the children being considered members of the Pumpkin-Vine village. But while living in the Morning-Star village he was considered to have obtained certain rights in that bundle, and he demanded recognition of these rights. On his return to his own village, the Morning-Star bundle was divided, and he carried part of it to the Pumpkin-Vine village. Thus, there exist today two Morning-Star bundles. The ultimate fate of his half of the Morning-Star bundle is interesting. His children all died except one daughter, who married Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village [Wolves-Standing-in-Water village?], who claims ownership in the bundle today. She came by it in this manner: On the death of the husband—that is, the member of the Pumpkin-Vine village—his widow lived with her daughter's husband; she, as keeper of this Morning-Star bundle, ultimately turned it over to her daughter, whose husband, Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village, learned its ceremony and sacrificed scalps to it and so claimed it. Thus it happens today that the priests of Coyote-in-Water village and the Pumpkin-Vine village have a right to be present when either of the Morning-Star bundles is opened.

611 [This statement that descent in the village group followed the
421 paternal line is in direct contradiction to a later one by Murie. In
778 his report on Pawnee societies (1914), Murie wrote: "... if a man
114 married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village." The contradiction may be due to confusing the inheritance of sacred bundles, which generally followed the paternal line, and descent in a village group, which may well have been maternal. Also, in cases where the inheritance of a sacred bundle was involved, the pattern of descent might have been modified in favor of patri-

lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may 611
have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, 421
if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of 778
descent in the village group would arise only as the result of in- 114
frequent inter-village marriages.]

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that 621
one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where 778
it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village 773
it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each 621
village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the 778
ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi 796
villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the 621
villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly 798
had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were 103
extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

62 [agree, nor does Murie's account agree with this manuscript. In
778 his paper on Pawnee Societies, Murie lists a village named Black-
103 Ear-of-Corn. According to the present manuscript this is an
alternative term for a bundle called Fools-the-Wolves, belonging to a village of the same name. Also, Murie has a Fish-Hawk village, which according to the manuscript is the bundle of the Village-in-the-Woods (Village-in-Thick-Timber). Finally, he lists one village not mentioned here, its English equivalent being given as Village-on-a-Branch-of-a-River. In place of these last two, this report names the Pumpkin-Vine village and the Wolves-Standing-in-Water village. Murie mentions both of these but states that they were independent and does not include them in his list of the thirteen Skidi villages. His account implies that there were fifteen known Skidi villages in all. Though the present manuscript agrees as to the relative independence of the Pumpkin-Vine and Wolves-Standing-in-Water villages, it lists them as part of the thirteen villages belonging to the Skidi band. It should also be noted that Dorsey (1904, p. xviii) stated that there were nineteen villages; however, he did not give their names and reduced the number to thirteen in a later publication (1907b). There are no other important disagreements between the published statements of Dorsey and Murie and the present notes, except that Murie's Old village is here called the Four-Band village.]

III. THE LODGE

The size of the Skidi lodge varied according to the number of 342
families residing in it. Although an individual family composed of 592
a man, his wife or wives, and their children, might be the sole
occupants, often more than one family lived in a single lodge and
there apparently was no definite rule regarding the number of
residents and consequently the size of the lodge itself. The latter
might contain two beds for a small family or might be spacious [352]
enough to accommodate as many as eighteen beds for several families.
Also, chiefs' lodges and those of priests and medicine-men were of [346]
exceptional size, for they were often required to accommodate a
ceremonial gathering.

The construction and interior arrangements of the Pawnee earth 352
lodge have been briefly described in a previous report (Dorsey, 1904).
At the west was the altar, around the north and south sides were
the beds, and at the east, on either side of the doorway, were cache
holes, corn mills, sweathouses, and piles of firewood. The beds
were supported by two upright forked posts on the inner side; these
were connected by a hewn timber placed in the forks and from this
crosspiece short poles extended to the wall or banquette. Over this
frame was placed a mattress of young willows netted together and
covered by buffalo robes and pillows. Usually the children had
their beds nearest the altar, and the grandparents those closest the [592]
door; the parents reserved those in the middle area. In case a man [513]
had more than one wife living in his lodge, each wife had a bed of [595]
her own [Fig. 26]. [Lesser (1930) has diagramed the usual disposition
of the family according to their beds. The accompanying diagrams
furnished by Mr. Murie are of interest, however, for so far as I can
determine they represent actual cases. Unfortunately, the exact
relationships of the individuals referred to is not always clear.]

In the summer the people moved out of the lodge and slept 513
under an arbor. Each individual family made its own arbor, or all 342
the families together built a single large one for their joint use. 592
[This was in addition to the tipi, and a grass-like structure sometimes
used when on the march.]

FAMILY CUSTOMS

On rising in the morning the entire family visited a near-by 512
creek or river to bathe. In olden times all were early risers, and in [515]
the spring and autumn the men and women usually repaired at once

512 to the fields after the early morning swim. They returned to the
lodge at about eleven o'clock for the first meal, the other meal being
around five in the afternoon. Men and women sat apart at meal-
264 times, the former being together in the west of the lodge and the
women sitting east of the fireplace. Any food out of the ordinary,
[562] such as melons in season, was given to the men first. As a rule the
children ate by themselves near the women and had to be content
with what remained after their parents had finished. Where several
[252] families occupied a single lodge, each family in turn cooked for the
others in the lodge. [The separation of the sexes at mealtimes is
not entirely clear. The manuscript also contains the following
statement: "The food was prepared in large quantities and divided
among the families, each receiving a wooden bowl, and each member
[412] of the family eating from this bowl by means of an individual sheep-
horn spoon."]

262 Corn was generally eaten mixed with beans, or sometimes boiled
784 with the tops of milkweed. In the winter, the nests of ground
rats were hunted and robbed of their stores of ground beans. Although most animals were eaten, especially the buffalo and deer, the Pawnee eschewed the meat of the wolf, coyote, otter, wildcat, and mountain lion. Certain other food restrictions also prevailed. Fish was prohibited to chiefs and medicine-men. The tender meat about the buffalo's anus was a prized delicacy of the old people, but tabooed for children, as the violation of this restriction would bring them failure in after years when they attempted raids on enemy villages. Nor were young men and girls supposed to eat the stomach of the buffalo cow. To do so would cause the former to receive many wounds on the warpath, while a girl ran the risk of falling in a hole and injuring her leg, if, in later life, she doubted the faithfulness of her husband and followed him to the lodge of another woman to whom she suspected he was paying improper attention.

224 When any of the men were away on a buffalo hunt, certain
784 restrictions on conduct were imposed on those who remained at
home. The lodge must be kept clean, especially the part about
the altar. Just before mealtimes sacrifices of corn must be made
to the skull on the altar. No menstruating woman could approach
[841] the skull, as it would anger the buffalo spirit that resided in the skull
and cause the buffalo to elude the hunters. The people at home
must always talk as though the hunters were having great success.
Especially they should speak of consecrating buffalo sacrifices to

342
352
592

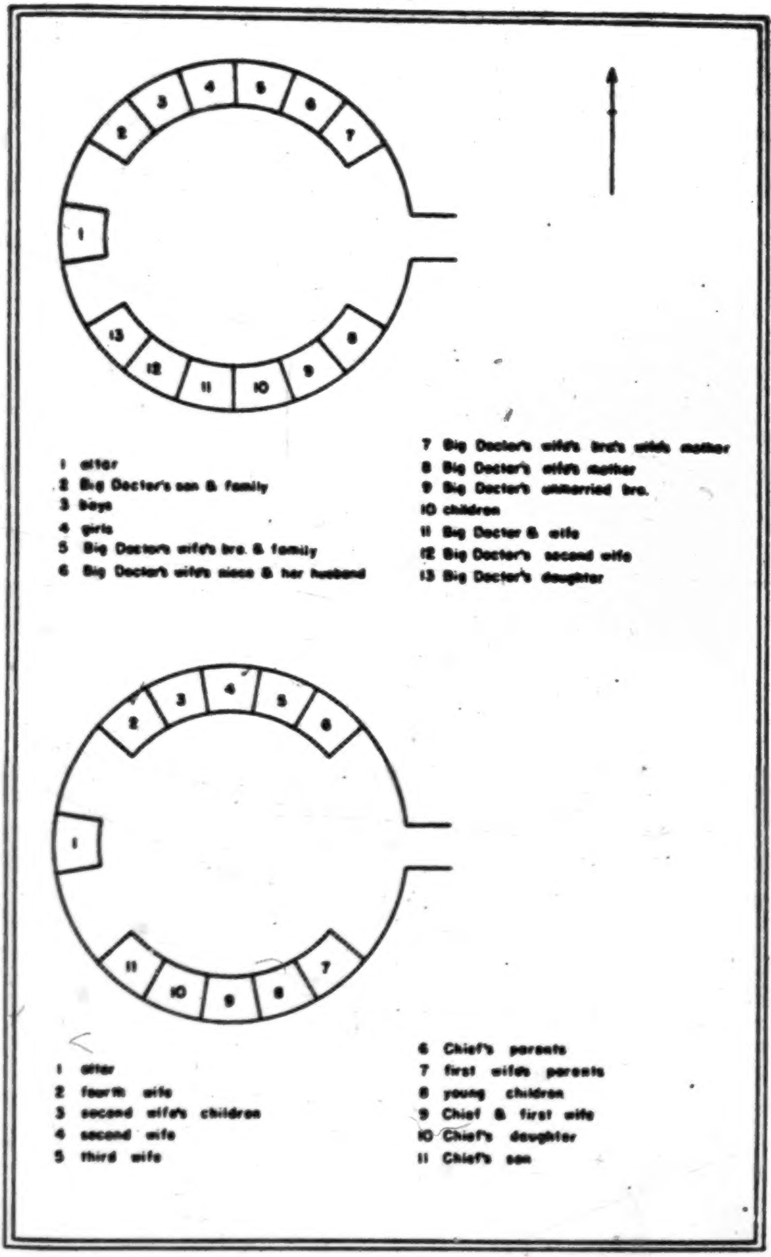

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
1 altar
2 Big Doctor's son & family
3 boys
4 girls
5 Big Doctor's wife's bro. & family
6 Big Doctor's wife's niece & her husband
7 Big Doctor's wife's bro's wife's mother
8 Big Doctor's wife's mother
9 Big Doctor's unmarried bro.
10 children
11 Big Doctor & wife
12 Big Doctor's second wife
13 Big Doctor's daughter
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
1 altar
2 fourth wife
3 second wife's children
4 second wife
5 third wife
6 Chief's parents
7 first wife's parents
8 young children
9 Chief & first wife
10 Chief's daughter
11 Chief's son

FIG. 26. Disposition of beds in two Skidi Pawnee earth lodges.

224 the deities, for a sacrificed buffalo is reborn, and the buffalo, liking
784 this, would approach nearer and nearer. In the absence of the
hunting party dried buffalo meat could not be roasted, as the odor
[825] of the roasting meat would reach the animals and they might be
frightened. However, the meat could be prepared by boiling.

428 In the inheritance of personal property, a woman theoretically
562 had no rights. As a matter of fact, however, she was generally
considered to be the owner of the lodge, the tipi, and her tools
and utensils. Children did not inherit personal property such as
robes, blankets, ponies, and saddle trappings, all of which were
supposed to belong to the brother, though they were usually claimed
by the sons of the deceased's sister.

IV. KINSHIP

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The Skidi recognized ten primary forms of blood relationship. 601, [793] These were conceived as having divine origin, for it is claimed that Tirawa said that a woman shall have a grandmother, a mother, a grandchild, a sister, and a child; and a man shall have a grandfather, a father, an uncle, a nephew, and a brother.

There follows a table of relationship terms:

MALE SPEAKER

Skidi term	Descriptive term
atias	father
	father's brother
	father's father's father
	mother's mother's father
	father's sister's son
atira	mother
	mother's sister
	father's brother's wife
	father's sister
	father's sister's daughter
	father's father's mother
atipat	father's father
	father's sister's husband
	mother's sister's husband
	mother's mother's husband
atika	mother's mother
	father's mother
tiwasiriks	mother's brother
irari	brother
	father's brother's son
	mother's sister's son
itahi	sister
	father's brother's daughter
	mother's sister's daughter
tiwat	sister's son
	sister's daughter
pirao	son
	daughter
	brother's son
	brother's daughter
	mother's brother's son
	mother's brother's daughter
ruktiki	son's son
	son's daughter
	daughter's son
	daughter's daughter
	sister's son's son
	sister's son's daughter
	sister's daughter's son
	sister's daughter's daughter

Skidi term	Descriptive term
ratirutako	wife wife's sister brother's wife mother's brother's wife
tatukak	wife's mother wife's father wife's brother
kustawixsu	sister's husband daughter's husband sister's daughter's husband
skurus	son's wife sister's son's wife

The usage is the same for women except for the following terms:

FEMALE SPEAKER

irasti	brother father's brother's son mother's sister's son
irari	mother's sister's daughter
pirao	sister's son sister's daughter brother's son's son brother's son's daughter brother's daughter's son brother's daughter's daughter
skurus	brother's wife mother's brother's wife
rikoktako	husband sister's husband

Among the Skidi an eldest child was called *tirariktis;* a second, *nawira;* and the youngest, *kawita.* A half-brother and half-sister were called *irari* and *itahi.*

[The range of the terminological system is not described beyond what is given in the table. The system is a Crow type similar to the other Pawnee bands. For notes on kinship behavior see pages 88–108.]

POLYGYNY

595 As a rule, polygyny was practiced only when a man married into a family of sisters. The girl's parents would be willing to see him marry the remaining girls as they came of age, providing that he had shown himself thoroughly able to support a family. When a [585] man married sisters, the formal wedding ceremony was performed only at the first marriage.

The greatest number of wives remembered by the Skidi as belonging to one man is eight; these were four sisters in two families.

A chief or a great and successful warrior occasionally married more than one wife, not sisters. Such an exception to the custom of marrying sisters only was very rare.

LEVIRATE

Formerly a man married his brother's widow, but this could be 587
done only by a younger brother. This form of levirate also prevailed
in other Pawnee bands.

POLYANDRY

There were two customs which led to a condition of temporary 595
polyandry. In the first place, a boy on reaching the age of puberty 604
became in practice a second husband of his mother's brother's wife,
which relationship might continue for several years. It has been
noted that a man called his mother's brother's wife his wife. In
the second place, a younger brother often maintained the position
of husband to his brother's wife. It was the custom for a younger 595
brother to make his home with an elder married brother, in which 607
case the elder brother might permit the former to have sexual
relations with his wife. However, this was not a definite regular
practice, but was decided in individual cases by the nature of the
friendly feeling existing between two brothers; it was necessary both
that the older brother should give his consent and that the younger
brother should feel that the maintenance of such a relationship to
his brother's wife would not cause a feeling of jealousy to arise on
the part of his brother. This peculiar relationship was reflected in [601]
the kinship terminology, for a man used the same term for his
brother's wife as for his own. The counterpart of this custom did
not hold for sisters, as a girl did not leave her parents' lodge to make
her home with her married sister until it was time to become the
wife of her sister's husband. [For a more complete description of
Pawnee polygamy, see Lesser, 1930.]

ADOPTION

Among the Skidi it was not uncommon for a family to assume 597
the responsibility or control of some poor boy or girl, but without
the child in question being formally adopted—that is, it obtained
no rights of a legal nature in the family.

However, the formal adoption of a child was by no means rare. Generally it came about through a man's losing a favorite son or daughter by death, and through his taking a fancy to another child, bearing a strong resemblance to the one he had lost. A bereaved father, after making up his mind that he would like to adopt the child, carefully washed and arrayed himself in new costume and went to the lodge where the child lived that he wished to adopt. There he clothed the child in new moccasins and leggings that he had

597 brought with him. He might repeat the visit several times. Meeting with no objection from the child's parents, who understood the nature of his visits, he told them of his desire and with their consent took the child to his own home. Thereafter it had all the rights and privileges of the man's dead child, but might visit its real parents at any time.

CLANS

614 No trace of clans was found.

V. THE INDIVIDUAL

According to Pawnee standards, a successful life depended not 181
only on the inheritance of an elevated social position, but also on 554
individual initiative. From the beginning, a man looked upon his 461
life's career as a contest whose outcome depended upon his own efforts. Success was a matter of industry, of honesty in dealing with other members of his society, of zeal in the hunt and upon the warpath, and of maintaining satisfactory relations with the deities. He had to work and fight constantly in this life for whatever he obtained.

Likewise, a woman must keep her lodge clean, and be honest, industrious in the fields, successful in the rearing of a family, and careful to observe the restrictions imposed on her conduct. In return for this, her days would be comfortable, the birth of her children would be without pain, and a definite place would await her in the life after death.

Periods of Life

The Skidi recognized five distinct periods or epochs in the life 888
history of an individual of either sex. For the male these periods 884
were as follows: (1) *Pirau.* This means "child," or more properly, 858
"baby," carried no distinction of sex, and was applicable only to a child during the nursing period. (2) *Piruski*, "boy." This term covered the period from the termination of childhood to the age of puberty. The word *pisiks*, "covered up" (closed-foreskin), was also used as a nickname for a boy of this period, referring to the fact that he had not yet had connection with women. (3) *Pitisutki.* This term was applied to a boy after he had reached the age of puberty but had not yet married, and means "grown or straight up." (4) *Pita.* This referred to the period after marriage until old age, and is the general term for "man." (5) *Kurahus*, meaning "old man," was applicable to that period of a man's life when he no longer took active part in the hunt or went out with the warriors.

The corresponding names for the female were: (1) *Pirau.* (2) *Tcoraki*, "girl." (3) *Tcoras.* This corresponded to the third period of the man; that is, the period after reaching puberty and extending up to marriage. (4) *Tcapat*, "woman" (blood-from-delivery), especially referred to the fact that she had given birth. (5) *Tcostit* applied to all women after the menopause.

BIRTH

843 The first signs of pregnancy were received with rejoicing by the
married couple and their families, who at once began preparing
suitable presents for the child. During this period certain restrictions
were placed upon the expectant mother and her husband. One of
the most important of these prohibited the husband from killing
or looking at animals other than the red deer, the flesh of which
[825] only his wife was permitted to eat. If the man killed a deer, he
jumped over it twice from right to left and twice from left to right,
and then scattered a handful of dust over the animal; otherwise
the child would be influenced by the deer. If he killed or looked
at other animals, they would cause the child's appearance to be like
that of an animal.

843 This restriction is illustrated by the following two tales. Once,
538 the husband of a pregnant woman was trapping beaver and otter.
One day the man killed an otter, took it home, and skinned it in
825 the presence of his wife, so that the woman saw all that he did.
When she gave birth, the child was part otter and part human,
and died soon after. At another time a man went hunting during
his wife's pregnancy. He found a badger, shot it through the eye,
and took the skin home, showing it to his wife and relating the
circumstances of how he got it. Though she tried to prevent his
telling about it and tried not to see the skin, her child was born blind.

843 During pregnancy the wife was forbidden the use of any form
of knife in the preparation and cutting of food, for to do so would
sever the umbilical cord and cause the child to bleed to death.
The husband was also careful in the care of his ponies and kept
away from those that were lariated. Should he become entangled
[825] in the lariat the child would be strangled or injured in the delivery.
A pregnant woman refrained from drinking with a horn spoon or
[415] from a small earthenware vessel which was used as a dipper, as she
would drink in the sound supposed to reside in the utensil. The
noise would enter the embryo's ears and the child would be born
[827] deaf. In other words, practically all forms of congenital deformity
843 were ascribed to the violation of restrictions imposed during preg-
538 nancy. Even twins were supposed to owe their origin to the fact
[845] that in ancient mythological times a woman seduced a man, he
believing her to be a woman of whom he was very fond. When
they had lain together in the timber beyond the village, she jumped
up and laughed at him. In her shadow he saw her ears move and
looking closer saw a deer running away. The man in vain tried to

kill her, and after he had followed her a long distance she changed 843 herself back into a woman. They lived together for several years. 538 In the meantime it was thought that the man had been killed. Finally she accompanied him to his village as his wife, where she gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl. They grew up and took their proper places in the village. At first the deer wife disliked living in the village and often tried to run away, but afterwards she became reconciled and gave birth to other twins. Thereafter her descendants in the female line always gave birth to twins, and from this woman are supposed to be descended all the twins ever born among the Skidi.

Finally, it may be noted that no pregnant woman could come 843 near the ceremonial contests where the medicine-men threw their 784 medicine "arrows" at each other. Ordinarily she might be a very powerful medicine-woman and be able to protect herself from the "arrows" of her opponents, but during this period her thought and mind were on her child and consequently she could not ward off the "arrows," which would fly to her and kill her.

On the first indication of labor the husband left the lodge and 844 did not return to his wife for four days, as his presence during this time was thought to increase the difficulty of birth. The husband continued to observe the restrictions on his conduct, such as abstention from hunting, which were in force during the period of pregnancy. Also he unbraided his hair and wore it loose, for it was believed [302] that Tirawa wore his hair in this manner when he was creating [773] the universe.

With the approach of labor the wife herself selected an old woman, who was usually a medicine-woman or the keeper of a sacred bundle, to be midwife. The latter came, bringing her medicine bag and a wooden bowl in which to wash the child. Sometimes the bowl was covered with representations of a dog, goose, deer, or some other animal, so that when the child grew up it would possess the magic power of the animal depicted. On arriving at the lodge, the midwife brought in some fresh earth and spread it upon the floor. Over this she put a thick covering of soft grass. The flow of blood following delivery could thereby be absorbed by the earth and grass and the whole easily removed. Next several parfleches were piled for a head-rest, and the pregnant woman was laid in the place prepared for her.

With the beginning of labor the mother was given some medicine by the midwife and told that it would relieve her and make for an easy birth. Should the woman give birth before the arrival of

844 the midwife, it was said that the child was afraid of her and so
hurried and was born before she came. On the other hand, if the
birth were delayed and the confined woman in great pain, it was the
duty of her relatives to send for one or two other women to assist
the midwife. These helped in trying to hasten the birth. If they
failed, the medicine-men were called. The latter came into the lodge
755 with gourd rattles and sang their medicine songs. Then they gave
medicine to the woman. If it was time for her to give birth, it was
thought that delivery would speedily follow; if it was not time,
she would at least be relieved.

In delivery the woman usually rested on her knees, leaning
forward on a stick brought for that purpose by the midwife. Those
of high rank, belonging to the Four-Band village, were always
permitted to use a short round stake from the Northeast, or Big
778 Black Meteoric-Star bundle, on which was fastened a buffalo scalp
821 containing a chart of the constellations, and which was supposed
to have the effect of making delivery exceedingly easy.

When the child was born, the midwife cut the umbilical cord,
465 using a new knife given her as part of her pay. She rubbed ashes
upon the cord until it shrank, then she twisted it around upon the
child's navel, and tied a string around it. Contrary to the custom
much in vogue among the Plains Indians, the mother retained the
cord, wrapping it in a buckskin in a work-box; it was buried with
her and never given to the child.

846 The midwife then washed the infant with warm water and dried
854 it with buffalo wool, wrapped it in a blanket, and placed it on a
553 cradleboard. Next she bestowed a name upon the baby and gave
it to the mother's relatives. The afterbirth she disposed of in the
following manner: placing it on a bunch of grass, and wrapping it
in a piece of tanned buffalo-hide, she carried it outside into the woods.
There she put it on a tree, saying: "I place this afterbirth upon you,
that the animals may not eat it, nor the birds. You stand here
firmly; let this child that I have attended grow up without sickness
to be a man (or woman)." Next she said to the afterbirth: "I place
you securely upon this tree, so that nothing will touch you, and so
that you will turn into dust. If the mother who is sick yonder
should give birth to another, make the delivery easy." The midwife
then returned to the lodge.

After the dried cord broke off from the child's navel, the baby
was washed in the little wooden bowl and turned over to the mother.
The old woman who had acted as midwife combed and braided the

mother's hair, while the husband also braided his. If the midwife's 846
services were no longer required she was given a gift, usually consisting
of a bowl of corn, dried pumpkins, and perhaps a parfleche [431]
of meat.

Should a woman die in childbirth or shortly thereafter, the death 844
was generally ascribed to the violation on the woman's part of one [784]
of the taboos, especially the drinking of water, which was prohibited 847
from the first labor pains until four days after delivery. Children
were never killed in case the mother died in childbirth. Infanticide
seems not to have been practiced by the Skidi, and in fact all inquiries
upon this point elicited astonishment that such a thing could be
imagined possible. If the mother had died while giving birth, the
child was taken care of by its grandmothers, generally the maternal
grandmother.

Stillbirth was also considered to be the result of the mother's 845
infraction of some rule restricting her conduct during pregnancy.
In such cases the child was interred in the burial ground of the [553]
parents' village, though it was never given a name.

In olden times, at the first signs of pregnancy of the wife, the 854
grandmothers notified the wife's relatives to prepare an elm baby-board
and the husband's a board of cottonwood. After the child 846
had been born and was about to be laid on the baby-board for the 852
first time, a wildcat's skin was placed on the board and the child
wrapped in clothing and put upon the skin. The midwife said:
"I place you upon this board; (if a boy) you shall grow up to make
many meat offerings to the gods; (if a girl) you shall grow up to
increase, so that your children will do many things for the gods."
The wildcat's skin was then wrapped around the child. This was
equivalent to saying, "I wrap the child with the heavens," for the
hide represented the sky and stars. At the time of this little ceremony
the lodge was filled with both father's and mother's relatives, who
had brought with them robes, ear-rings, and other presents of all [431]
sorts for the child. Friends were also happy over the birth and came,
bringing additional gifts. The young couple was especially pleased
if the old women took the baby in their arms, for they believed it
would increase the child's chance of reaching old age and being
blessed with offspring. A few days later, the gifts brought by
friends and relatives were given away, usually to poor women who
had had many children and grandchildren. Thus the parents
expressed their own desire for sons and daughters.

Although the Skidi medicine-men claimed to be able to cause 847
abortion by the use of roots, it was not attempted by married

847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair
842 was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could
831 not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should
any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would
753 become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names, if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years.
[729] As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with
[789] scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner. This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after marriage, an individual was given another name by the father. This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath,
553 our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands
159 of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best
horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man
538 between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die. After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home. When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

and thought that I was dead but found afterwards that I was only 726
asleep. In my sleep, I saw a buffalo bull sitting by the water's 553
edge waving his tongue in the water. As I went up to him I saw 159
that he was watching me. He spoke to me and said: 'My son, you 538
are wounded, but you are not going to die; I shall take care of you.' When I regained consciousness, I was feeling sick. I wanted to vomit. I vomited a lump of white stuff. The medicine-men cut it open, and there was a piece of strouding inside it. This was a piece that had been shot into me from my breech cloth. I soon became well. Then I took the name of Buffalo-waving-its-Mouth-in-Water."

"There was a young man who had never been on the warpath, but was always making fun of other young men who came back from the warpath without any ponies or scalps. This young man made up his mind one day that he would go on the warpath. So he sat down in his lodge and invited a few of his friends. He told them that he was thinking about going on the warpath, and if they wanted to go he would like to go with them. The young men all said they would go. The young man kept the others in his lodge all day and all night. Just before sunrise they started out. They travelled far and a little before noon they stopped in a hollow, and the young man selected scouts and sent them out. The scouts came back and reported that there was a war-party close by, that the men were holding some kind of a council, and that their ponies were not very close. The young man gave instructions for every one to get ready. They walked along the ravines until they came to the ponies, which they captured and mounted. Then they attacked the enemy while they were holding council. The boys killed several of the enemy and drove the others away, came back and took scalps, and then returned home. They set the prairies afire, took the charred grass and put it upon their faces and bodies. They were received by the people and the boy told the old men that he had
taken a scalp, which he wanted to offer to the gods, and that he [782]
wanted his name changed. So the scalp was offered to the gods,
and his name was changed to Noon, for he said: 'By noon time I [551]
had captured the enemy's ponies, killed several men, and taken
their scalps, so I shall be known as Noon-Day Man.'"

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

The usual period of nursing was about three years; if a woman 853
nursed a child for a longer time other women would make fun of
her. Children were told by their mothers to bury their milk teeth, 854
856

854 as rapidly as they were shed, just underneath the ground within the
856 lodge on the south side, and to say to a tooth as they buried it:
"Make my other teeth grow quickly."

861
855 The early training of the child was largely in the hands of the
[603] grandmothers, who took it upon themselves to give instruction in
[867] tribal and family ethics. They assumed the right to enforce their
injunctions and commands by blows or by the use of the whip, and
it is claimed that in former times, before the Skidi had been modified
through contact with white men, the rearing of children was very
strict and they were often scolded and severely punished by the
father, mother, or grandparents. Aside from the deference young
children were supposed to pay adults, they were taught to show
respect for their parents by not molesting them, to remain silent
when older people were talking, to refrain from approaching too
closely the altar in the earth lodge, and carefully to avoid making
a disturbance about the scenes of ceremonies. During this period
867 an older sister might assist in correcting the child. As a boy grew
868 older he was given technical instruction by his grandfathers in the
making of bows and arrows, in the playing of games, etc. Girls
[603] were taught by their grandmothers to prepare food, to dress hides,
and to do the work which fell to the lot of women. This early training
was often supplemented by the telling of myths containing some
moral precept. For example, the child was told not to steal, the
point being especially illustrated by the tale of the boy who stole
his sister's seed corn, and, because he grew angry for being scolded,
turned into an eagle. This particular story also has reference to
the respect and affection with which siblings were taught to regard
one another. Brotherly love was specially emphasized. Boys were
told that in later years they should love their brothers even more
than their wives, for there is a well-known saying among the Skidi
[765] that at a man's death his brother will mutilate himself with grief
and his sister cut her hair and mourn sincerely, but his wife will simulate tears by spitting in her hands, while she peeps through her fingers looking for another husband. [Also stated elsewhere as: "Brother and sister will mutilate themselves, but your wife will never throw a piece of her vulva in your grave."] Love and respect of parents were also emphasized as something to be maintained throughout life and never neglected, for the duties of parents to children and children to parents never ended.

855 Although the training of children was primarily under the immediate direction of the parents and grandparents, certain other

relatives were intimately concerned. The mother's brother paid much attention to the education of his sister's sons and daughters, in which, indeed, he took perhaps as much interest as their father. On the paternal side the children had what were known as children's rights in the father's sister's lodge. These were similar to the claims which children had upon parents, but in a sense entailed even deeper obligations, for though the children might be cast out of their parents' lodge, they could still claim food and shelter in the lodge of the father's sister. Next it should be noted that the father's sister's husband became the teacher and in some degree the guardian of his wife's brother's daughter, instructing her and looking after her interests. On the death of his wife, he might marry the girl, or even her daughters if she already had a husband. 855 855 604

It was not learned that there was any special custom observed when a girl reached her first menses, which usually occurred during her twelfth or thirteenth year. No recognition of the fact was made by the family or the tribe other than her mother or grandmother, unless she happened to be the daughter of the keeper of a sacred bundle. In this case the girl was removed to a little house, known as "place-sitting-with-blood," where she remained during her menstrual period with her grandmother. The girl neither bathed nor combed her hair and was not allowed to eat fresh meat, her food consisting chiefly of corn and pemmican brought by her mother. At the end of the period the grandmother took the girl to a creek, where they both bathed; the latter was then clothed with a new dress and was further purified by wrapping a blanket about herself and standing in the smoke rising from smoldering cedar leaves. Thereafter the grandmother took care of her in the same manner at each period of menstruation. When the girl married, she continued the custom but no one assisted her. The observance of this period was so far as possible always kept secret. 841 [881]

A menstruating woman was considered unclean, and the chief restriction placed against her was that she should in no way come in contact with the sacred bundles nor approach the objects contained in them. This restriction prohibited her from appearing at sacred bundle ceremonies. The reason seems to be based on the theory that the bundles and all objects of a religious nature carried with them their own odor, which was that of sweet grass. This odor was not only acceptable and pleasing, but it was essentially a non-human odor. The odor of the menstrual flow was considered a distinctly human odor and the presence of such a human charac- 784 841

784 teristic at a bundle ceremony would distract the attention of the
841 supernatural beings. If a menstruating woman were near a bundle
spread out as an altar, the supernatural power supposed to reside in the objects on the altar would disappear; the corn mother would be corn mother no longer but simply an ear of corn, the bird messenger between the deities and man would become simply a bird skin, and so on. The odor of blood was pleasing to the gods, but not this kind of blood, which was associated with human passion. If a menstruating woman should go into a ceremony of the medicine-men, the strong human odor would cause the power of the medicine-men to leave them, and they would fail in their sleight of hand. The lodge where the ceremony was being held was for the time being an animal's lodge; it was full of animal power, over which each medicine-man was striving to make himself master. In this attempt he would fail should a menstruating woman be present, for she would cause him to become essentially human. What animal power he had would quickly desert him.

881 The custom in vogue when a girl reached puberty has been noted.
882 When a boy reached this stage, there was no formal ceremony to
607 mark the event. He was, however, taken in charge by his mother's
836 brother's wife. From this time until his marriage, he maintained
sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately after having had intercourse with this woman. When her real husband was off hunting or on the warpath, the youth continued marital relations with her. Thus it might happen that for four or
[595] five years a woman would have an additional "husband," or possibly three or four, with a temporary state of polyandry thereby prevailing.
[834] No such custom as this existed for girls, as they were supposed to remain virgins until marriage.

882 Up to this time the boy went naked, except for a blanket or robe
291 in cold weather. From then on he wore leggings, and otherwise dressed as a man.

857 A further word should be said as to the relationship of the sexes. Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents.
836 Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this

early intimacy would ultimately end in a marriage according to the 836
rites of the tribe, but the girl was not allowed to exercise much choice [582]
in the selection of a husband.

Occasionally it happened that a boy and girl eluded the vigilance
of the parents and lay together. If detected, this was at once
checked. Should the girl become pregnant as a result of their union,
and should the girl's relatives be predisposed to the boy and think
him likely to become a good husband, he was asked to marry her.
The relatives of the young man gathered together and sent presents [584]
of ponies, robes, blankets, and other things to the girl's parents, and
the two young people were married. If the boy was not considered 836
suitable, however, two men were sent to his lodge and he was severely 684
beaten, and on rare occasions died as a result of the punishment. 578
During the beating, tribal custom decreed that the boy's relatives
must not defend him. The young man's parents sometimes tried
to heal the breach between the two families by offering presents
to the parents of the injured girl. If the girl's relatives refused to
accept the boy for a son-in-law, they attempted to secure a husband
for her, which was often a matter of great difficulty. Sometimes the
girl refused to tell the name of the boy who had seduced her and was
driven from her own lodge, in which case she generally went to the
boy's lodge and tried to live there; if they drove her out, she might [548]
be forced to live on the outskirts of the village as a prostitute. Often
if a boy knew that he was about to be held responsible for betraying a
girl he would run away, especially to follow a war party. Occasionally [721]
a couple, realizing their union would displease their relatives,
eloped to some other village. The illicit sexual relations of young
people often resulted in family disputes and conflicts involving most
of the relatives on both sides.

MARRIAGE

Marriage among the Skidi was not entered into lightly or at an 581
early age. The marriage tie was said to be enduring and faithfulness
was expected and demanded. Skidi villages tended to be endogamous 582
and a man married a woman of his own village, to whom he was
not related by close ties of blood. Marriage with a first cousin was
forbidden and marriage with a second cousin, though tolerated,
was not considered proper.

Courtship as we understand it did not play a very important 584
part in marriages among the higher class of Skidi. In fact, no friendship
that might have been formed between a young couple ever
resulted in legal marriage unless the proper relatives of both sides

584 favored the match, and opportunities for young people of different sexes to come together were often made as difficult as possible by the parents. Not only did the young man and woman as a rule play but a secondary part in their marriage arrangements, but also the girl's parents had little to say as to whether or not a prospective suitor should be accepted. The decision in the matter rested entirely with the girl's mother's brother. Should the girl have no uncle, or should he not be available, the question was decided by her brothers or her grandfathers. On the other side, the prospective husband also played a rather insignificant part in the selection of his mate, nor did his father have anything to say. The choice of the young man's wife was decided by his mother's brother. Thus his maternal uncle or uncles selected the wife, made application for her, and arranged the marriage with her maternal uncles. If a young man was not pleased with the girl chosen for him he often ran away from home to escape the marriage, remaining away for one or two years. As for the girl, her opinion carried little weight and she was not in a position to help herself. If she were disinclined to accept the decision of her mother's brother, her mother endeavored to persuade her to do so.

584
582 No uncle in a prominent Skidi family would select as a wife for his nephew any girl who bore a bad reputation for immodesty or lack of chastity. Rather, she should be known for her honesty and ability to work. Girls were not often married before twenty-two years of age, though when a man married several sisters in a family, those after the first one might be chosen when they were sixteen years old. A young man was not considered fit for marriage until he had reached maturity, killed buffalo, gone on at least one war expedition, and shown success in capturing ponies. After he had fulfilled these requirements, his uncle would inform him that it was time he should marry and that he had selected a wife for him; or the young man would tell his uncle of his readiness for marriage and that he favored a certain young woman, in which case the uncle, if he had no objection, would endeavor to arrange the marriage.

585
[554] The wedding ceremony itself was very formal among the more prominent families, such as those of chiefs and priests, though among people of inferior social standing it was largely a matter of convenience and much of the formality was dispensed with. The following account furnishes an example of the formal wedding service. When the preliminaries had been arranged, the young man and his mother's brother sent for the priest of the sacred bundle of their village. On being notified, the priest and his oldest errand man went

to the lodge of the young man. In the ceremony to follow, these two represented the Morning-Star and his younger brother. When they were seated in the lodge the priest told the young man to throw away his calf-skin robe and don one of buffalo hide [a mature buffalo?]. Then the priest, followed by the young man and the errand man, walked through the village to the girl's lodge; when the people saw them they realized a marriage was about to take place. On arriving at their destination, the three men entered the lodge and sat down near the entrance. As soon as the girl's parents saw them, they knew the purpose of the visit. If there were several girls in the family, it was the duty of some old woman in the lodge to ask the priest which one was desired. He whispered his answer to the old woman, and if their visit was apparently well received, he left the lodge with his two companions.

When they had gone, the relatives of the girl were sent for. They sat in a circle in the lodge; the pipe from the bundle was taken down and passed from one to another while the relatives discussed whether or not the young man should have the girl. Each man took the pipe and spoke his mind as to the young man's character and ability. If he was known to be a good hunter, had been on the warpath, and had captured ponies, he was generally favored. If it were agreed that he should have the girl, the pipe was handed to the one who first spoke in favor of the marriage and he was told to light the pipe when the priest and the young man returned for the fourth time.

Three times the priest, the errand man, and the youth came to the girl's lodge and sat at the entrance. Each time no one spoke to them. A fourth time they came to the lodge and when they were seated they were given a pipe to smoke. They also saw that the girl's uncles, brothers, and grandfathers had come in. The priest, the prospective groom, and the errand man then rose and returned to the young man's lodge. Next the father of the girl said, "Go to our son-in-law," whereupon the uncle went to him and his companions with the word that the formal proposal had been accepted. All three returned to the girl's lodge with the uncle. As they entered they saw two buffalo robes spread out, with three pillows upon them. The priest thanked the girl's people, for he knew they were willing. They sat down. Then the girl's uncle or the one who had been chosen for the office took a pipe, lighted it, went to the fireplace, and stood to the west of it. He gave one puff to the sky to Tirawa. Next, he walked to the old priest sitting by the young man and, offering him the pipe, said: "Smoke, you shall have the girl. Take pity on us.

585 We are poor." The priest took the pipe, smoked, and passed it to the boy and errand man, each of whom took it in turn. The uncle received the pipe again, sat down, and smoked. Then he addressed the priest: "We hope that the young man will be good to the girl. He is now to be married; we hope that he will always be ready to support the family he has come to join." The priest answered, and thanked the men for giving their consent to the marriage. He said: "You have taken pity on me: I have nothing in return to give you." Then they rose. The priest put the pillows to one side, took one of the buffalo robes, and put it on, keeping it as his pay. The errand man took the other robe for himself. The two of them and the youth left and went to the latter's lodge, where the boy's relatives were gathered, sitting in a circle. They had brought presents of ponies, buffalo 431 robes, bows and arrows and quivers, or anything they wished to give. The priest and the errand man led the ponies with the presents packed upon them to the girl's lodge, where the mother and grandmother met them and received the gifts. These were distributed among the male relatives of the girl, one pony being reserved for the use of her father. The greater the number of gifts, the greater was the honor shown to the bride. The young man did not go to the girl's lodge until sent for by her parents. When they asked for him, he came, and on entering the lodge found that a buffalo robe had been spread, with two cushions upon it. He was told to sit on one cushion, the girl on the other. Food was placed before them and they ate together. There they remained for the rest of the day, and that night the marriage was consummated. This brought the ceremony to an end.

606 A man was supposed to accord his father-in-law and mother-in-law the same treatment that characterized his behavior towards his own parents. His wife's parents likewise were supposed to treat him with the same affection they showed to their own son. A man spoke of both his father-in-law and mother-in-law and his wife's brothers as *tatukak*, which means that he sits in their lodge. As has been 593 noted, he addressed his wife's sisters as he did his wife. He was never to be angry with her, for it was through two women, the Evening Star and the Moon, that man received buffalo and corn; should he treat his wife meanly, these two deities would withhold the buffalo and the rain, and famine would ensue. [The manuscript also contains the following more realistic statement: "A man had the right to whip his wife without fear of intervention unless he should show undue cruelty without good cause, in which case the wife's relatives would be likely to interfere.]

On his marriage the husband lived with his wife in her parents' 591
lodge until such time as he had proved himself capable of protecting and 885
providing for his own family. At that time the parents of the two united in making him a tipi. The man then took the first opportunity of going on the warpath, during which time he placed his wife and children, if any, under the care of his own parents. Thereafter he and his family lived in their lodge, except when upon the hunt, when he used his own tipi. As soon as the man became a good warrior, medicine- 342
man, or priest, or as soon as his father's lodge became crowded, the two families of the couple came together to build them a lodge, one family constructing the north half and the other the south half. On the completion of the lodge the husband himself fashioned the altar, while he and his wife together constructed the fireplace.

DIVORCE

It was said that divorce was formerly rare among the Skidi. If 586
on the wedding night the husband found his bride was not a virgin, he could leave her at once. Also, should a wife prove unfaithful, the husband effected a divorce merely by leaving the lodge. The wife's relatives, however, might prepare a feast and invite him to partake of it. If he accepted, it was equivalent to remarriage. Barrenness on the part of the woman ("her spring has gone dry") was not considered grounds for divorce.

If the husband committed adultery, his mother-in-law or the wife's grandmother could order him out of the lodge, in which case he was obliged to depart. The man who was lazy or an incompetent provider could also be driven out. In both cases the children remained with the wife.

DEATH

We may first consider the Skidi conception of the soul. All 775
living beings have souls, which are closely associated with the wind. [774]
After death those of some people ascend to the heavens and become stars. The souls of others, including those who die of disease or die cowardly in battle, travel the dusty Milky-Way to the village of the spirits in the south. The souls of warriors who die bravely on the battlefield and of those who die in sacrifice travel a bloody 4
trail to the village of the warriors. Anyone who tries to make the human sacrifice and fails, or does not perform the rite correctly, becomes burning flint under the feet of the Morning Star. The souls of chiefs and priests travel a road of flowers until they come to the guardian spirit who influenced them upon earth. On this road

775 they also encounter a golden eagle seated upon a mound, its eyes giving off sparks of fire. By some this eagle is thought to be Tirawa. The eagle directs the soul along the proper road, and as it approaches the spirit-village that is its destination, if it is time for it to enter, it is not stopped. If its possessor did not lead a good life, however, it may be directed back to earth and given another chance. The souls of medicine-men wander over the land visiting the lodges of animals and eventually reach the spirit-village of the medicinemen. Before entering, they must undergo a sweat bath and be sprinkled with fine dust.

774 775 According to one informant, souls are like small stars. At death, the soul goes off the way a cloud comes up and disappears, or the way a wind blows up and dies down. The souls of people who have been seen by the Star of Disease and who have as a result died of illness are taken by the South Star to his home in the south. The disposition of all other souls is determined by the Morning Star, who decides whether they shall be restored to life, taken with him to the east, or sent to the south. And it is the Morning Star's importance in this matter that caused the Skidi to bury their dead with the head toward the east.

764 As a rule, the preparation of the body for burial began immediately after death, and the burial followed within two or three hours.

The preparation of the body varied according to the rank and position of the deceased. When a man of importance was about [766] to die he was carefully dressed in his best costume. Immediately after death, the body was painted with sacred red ointment by a priest engaged specially for the purpose. By this paint the man's friends in the spirit land would know that he had been well taken care of on this earth. The red ointment gave the rough and emaciated skin a smooth and healthy appearance. The body was now considered holy, for a corpse without the red paint was looked upon as dust and could not enter the land of the spirits. (Relative to this belief see Dorsey, 1904, pp. 69 ff.) The dead man was next wrapped in his buffalo robe. Should he have been a member of a society possessing ceremonial paraphernalia, as, for example, the Dog Soldiers, his feathers, whistles, rattles, etc., would be placed with him, and his face painted according to the style employed by his society. In the case of other societies the body would be prepared in a similarly appropriate manner.

[888] The preparation of the bodies of those who died in extremely old age was similar to the method given above.

The recognition of the death of friends or relatives was marked 765
among the Skidi by certain mourning customs, more or less formal in their nature.

In case a man or woman died of old age there was no mourning 766
feast, and the formal period of mourning lasted only during the day 765
of the burial. At this time all the members of the band assembled 888
and each placed his hands upon the body of the deceased, thus expressing the hope that he too might reach an old age.

Should a man of middle age die a natural death, it was considered 766
a disgrace. There was no feast or formal mourning on the part 765
of the tribe or the relatives. Such a natural death was thought to be caused by the Black Wind from the south and was an indication that the man's life was useless.

If a chief of any prominence died, the whole band mourned for several months. However, if his death occurred early in the spring, just before the great ceremonies were to begin, the mourning could be concluded at the end of four days. This was brought about by a priest, who formally asked one of the chiefs when they might have the mourning feast; the latter set it at the fifth day after death, in order that spring ceremonies of such great importance should not be delayed and thus to prevent hardship and possibly famine from visiting the band. On the fifth day the chiefs visited the lodge of the deceased, the first man to enter acting as spokesman. He told the widow to sweep the lodge; then he spread mats and pillows, and asked the family to leave. The latter made the lodge ready, placing the deceased's medals, clothing, and other personal effects northeast of the entrance, whereupon they left and sat outside. When the chiefs had all arrived and had arranged themselves in a circle, the son of the dead chief entered and said: "Chiefs, it is now time that we cease to mourn for my father. We have placed his belongings for you and tied his ponies outside." The son then retired from the lodge. The spokesman addressed the chiefs, reminding them of the good qualities of the deceased. Other chiefs followed with eulogistic speeches. When these were concluded, the spokesman lit a pipe and selected one of those present to offer smoke to the earth in honor of the dead man. The chief selected took the pipe, and standing northeast of the fireplace, blew four puffs to the earth. Addressing the earth, he said: "Chief, you have gone from us; you have returned to mother earth; you have travelled on the road leading to the village of our people. On your journey turn back. Speak to us who are yet living, and say: 'May all good gifts which

766 might have come to me had I lived be given to my people, for I
765 need such gifts no more.' " He then emptied the ashes from the pipe upon the ground, passing his hand down the stem toward the earth four times. After this he walked around the lodge and handed the pipe, stem downward, to the spokesman. The latter thanked him, as did all present. An errand man was sent to the creek for water. The spokesman distributed the robes and presents among the chiefs. The errand man, having returned with the water, was told to call the family of the dead chief; they entered the lodge and sat in a line north of the entrance. The spokesman poured water into a wooden bowl and handed it to the mourner who sat at the west end of the line. This man then washed his face for the first time since the burial of the chief, and the other mourners washed their faces in turn. The errand man took the bowl and washed the semi-circular line of mourning paint from the spokesman's face, whereupon the latter placed water in front of the chiefs, who washed a little of the clay from each other's faces. The bowl was returned to the mourners, each of whom was given a sip of water from a dipper. The errand man then gave each chief a drink from the same bowl. Next the feast was brought in and placed west of the fireplace. The spokesman put meat in a bowl and gave a small piece to each of the mourners to eat. He returned to his place, and the errand man divided the meat among the others present, all of whom had fasted since the burial of the chief. After the feast was over the spokesman gave another address, and the ceremony came to an end. It should be borne in mind that this was a band ceremony involving all Skidi, irrespective of village affiliations.

The same ceremony was performed on the death of a medicine-man, the medicine-men participating and not the chiefs. Also the same ceremony was used for a warrior of prominence.

765 The death of a poor man was marked by mourning and fasting on the part of the family only. This lasted for three days, at the end of which time it was the duty of one of the chiefs to "wipe the family's tears away." He asked his wife to prepare food, especially meat, and told her to take it to the lodge of the mourners. No invitations were extended for this feast, but spectators, particularly friends of the family, might be present. The family of the deceased sat north of the entrance, while the spectators sat around the fireplace. The chief entered the lodge and addressed the family, telling them that it was time to stop mourning. His errand man brought him a bowl of water, after which the chief washed the face

of each mourner, asking that he cease crying. The chief gave each 765
one a little food to break the fast. The remainder of the food was next divided, though nothing was distributed among the spectators; however, at the end of the feast they thanked the chief for his services.

Certain observances were obligatory for widows and widowers. 765
A woman who had lost her husband was supposed to observe carefully 768
a mourning period of at least a year, and in case he had been a man of prominence she might prolong this to two years. During this time she lived with her own people or she might stay in the lodge of her husband's parents. In the latter case it was understood that
at the termination of the mourning period she would become the wife [587]
of her deceased husband's younger brother or the wife of his sister's
son. Until that time she was supposed to remain chaste. A childless [834]
widow invariably returned to her parents' lodge, but following the 768
mourning period she could remarry in the manner just noted or 587
she could marry an outsider. However, in the latter instance she would not be considered as desirable as at the time she first married and the gifts to her relatives would be less. Thus if ten ponies were presented at her first marriage only one or two would be paid when she married again.

Widowers were supposed to mourn for their wives at least two 765
years, and sometimes mourned three. Many never remarried. 768
Very often when a widower did not seek another spouse he was 587
urged by his relatives to remarry, and they expressed their desire by offering to furnish the presents necessary to secure a second wife. As a rule, although a widower mourned for the usual period, he did not consider marrying again until he had gone on the warpath, taken scalps, and captured ponies. This was a somewhat formal way of terminating mourning and making himself eligible for remarriage.

It remains to record certain other observances connected with 765
burial and mourning customs. As a rule, the close friends of the deceased performed some act of bodily mutilation immediately after or just before the burial, the men slashing their arms, breasts, or legs with knives and the women cutting their hair. Hair thus cut was at once burned, for fear that the Morning Star would see it upon the grave and claim the victim as his own sacrifice. For the same reason horse's hair cut off during burial services was also burned.

On the burial of a warrior killed in battle his close friends and 721
relatives seized the first opportunity to visit enemy country 765

72 \and obtain a scalp. This was carried home to the village on a pole, and
765 scalp dances were inaugurated. The scalp was consecrated to one
[782] of the deities of the heavens, and the man who had taken it wrapped
a piece of it in a small buckskin sack with tobacco. This was tied to a long stick representing an arrow and thrust into the grave. Another small piece of the scalp was burned upon the grave.

551 The name of a dead person could not be mentioned during the
765 mourning period. If anyone mentioned the name of an individual who had been killed in war, it was thought that he would probably suffer the same fate as the person killed.

764 Reference has been made to the fact that personal belongings
778 were buried with the dead. However, there were certain exceptions
821 to this practice. Personal war bundles containing meteorites or
any objects supposed to have had their origin in the heavens were not buried. This was in accordance with the belief that these objects belonged in the heavens and not in the ground. Hence, when an individual possessing such objects died, and if the relatives did not want them, the bundle was unwrapped and the objects were placed on a high hill, whence they returned to the heavens. Such objects were supposed to be the children of stars, watched over by them, and it was believed that when people had no further use for these "children," they would return to their parents in the sky. Also, if a medicine-man died during the time he was giving instruction to his son, his medicine bundle was retained for the boy's use when he became of age.

764 A further illustration of the burial of belongings with the dead
778 is contained in the following incident. A Skidi chief's daughter
died. The father had received calumet pipe sticks from the Chaui band, and his daughter had participated in the ceremony accompanying the gift. Her death followed shortly after the ceremony and was attributed to the belief that the ceremony had not been properly performed. Consequently, over her grave her father placed the pipe sticks, oriole's nest, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, and tobacco bag that comprised the special objects used in the ceremony. That year drought prevailed, the crops withered, buffalo could not be found, and the Skidi were forced to depend on their cache reserves. The Chaui priest who had originally brought the pipe sticks visited the Skidi, and with the chief to whom he had presented them, went to the grave, removed the ceremonial objects, wrapped them in a bundle, and taking the earth from over the body, placed the bundle next to it. He then re-filled the grave. Shortly after, there

came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui 764
priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was 778
very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of 572
friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particu- 888
larly to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally 759
claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age. They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the 562
priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the 834
Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until [291]
well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the [515]
lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no [521]
subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

834 freedom. [I doubt that this was so between all persons of opposite sex—especially not brothers and sisters.] This does not imply that there was no sense of morality or convention. One of the greatest reproaches that could be heaped upon a man was to speak of him as *tihakakits*, which meant that the saliva ran down his face and implied that he lacked decency and did not treat women with respect.

836 548 Chastity, particularly among unmarried women, was held in high esteem. At the outskirts of every village were widows or girls who had been driven from home on account of immorality and who lived as prostitutes.

838 So far as was determined, but a single berdache has been known among the Pawnee for many years. Such an individual was said to have the ways of a woman and was supposed to have been influenced by the moon.

828 156 The lazy man was the slow one, the man who, as a boy, never carried water, packed corn, took the ponies to water, gathered wood for the fire, or ran away with a war party. Such a one was despised.

The coward was the one afraid to go on the warpath. He was always hanging around camp and never went out on the high hills at night for power because he was afraid of ghosts, as the burying grounds were generally on hills.

The stingy man was the sort who, when it was his wife's turn to provide food for the occupants of the lodge, put on the fire a tiny pot of meat only sufficient for himself.

The liar was one who always deceived people. He constantly came in with false news of having seen buffalo near-by. He gave false alarms when sent out as a scout. He was generally a coward as well, for he never, if he could help it, went out in front when in the presence of the enemy; yet he was always the first to return home and boast of his deeds in the fight. Should he lie four times about having seen buffalo his word was forever after doubted and he was despised and no attention paid to him. His joints got large and he became a cripple. When the Skidi saw a man whose joints were swollen with arthritis they said that it was the penalty he paid for having been a liar.

158 Insane and crazy persons in old times were not known as such; at any rate it is not remembered that they existed. A woman was said to be "mixed up," "her spirit is not straight," when she was under the influence of love medicine and powerless to control herself.

VI. CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

In general the punishment of crime was in the hands of the one aggrieved or of his family. 681

MURDER

The slaying without due provocation of an individual in a personal encounter was avenged by the dead man's relatives, who usually inflicted fatal wounds upon the murderer. If the murderer's family thought that the murder had been committed with just cause they might defend him, in which case a general feud between the two families might ensue. In slaying a murderer, the avenging group made no attempt to employ the same weapon or use it in the same manner as had the murderer. It was enough that he should be killed. Apparently one of the worst crimes one could commit was causing a man's death by shooting a magic "arrow" into his body. 682 [754]

RAPE

Occupying a high place among crimes was that of rape, which did not depend upon consent or lack of consent but upon the age of the girl. The offender was generally punished by being cut with knives, pounded with clubs, and then driven from the tribe as an outcast. In cases of rape it was a rule that the family of the accused should not attempt to shield him from punishment. 684

ADULTERY

A less serious crime was that of adultery, punishment for which was inflicted largely because one had stolen something not belonging to him. It was said: "No matter how brave a man may be, he is not brave when his property (wife) is stolen"; that is, no matter how great his self-restraint and control, spoken of as bravery, he always punished such a crime. Here also there was no attempt on the part of his family or friends to come to his rescue. A severer form of adultery was that in which a man went outside his own village, in which case he might be punished both by the family of the woman in the village where the crime had been committed, and by his own village. He was driven out until he had consecrated many animals, gone on the warpath, taken scalps and offered them to the deities, and waited for the New Fire Ceremony to be held.

THEFT

A thief was one who stole from the members of his own band. 685
[The manuscript is not clear as to whether it was considered per-

685 missible to steal from another Pawnee band.] Such a person was whipped or beaten by the aggrieved. It is said that those of the [565] upper class did not desire to steal, while those of the lower class were restrained by fear of detection. Occasionally women of the lower classes robbed the corn fields. Poor people, especially those who did not own ponies and hence were handicapped in the buffalo chase, sometimes would find a dead buffalo with the arrow which had killed the animal. They would remove the arrow, shoot it off a long distance, and insert their own. When the one who had killed the buffalo returned to claim his property his mark of ownership had [432] been destroyed. All arrows bore special property signs, being marked either with distinctive paints or by the arrangement of the feathers. It is said, however, that it was not easy to steal a buffalo in this manner, for it usually fell on the side where it had been struck by the arrow of the slayer[?]. The end of the arrow would be broken off and it would be difficult to extract.

To steal from another tribe was in no way contrary to prevailing ethics, though the one who stole ponies was supposed to use them to assist him in getting buffalo and scalps to sacrifice to the deities.

VII. CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Although Pawnee mythology abounds in tales of the poor boy 554
who achieved success, it appears that the rank of an individual was 565
determined to a large extent by the social position of his immediate ancestors. At any rate, certain classes of society were recognized and membership in these was to a certain degree hereditary. [In the manuscript the terms "caste" and "class" are both used indiscriminately. I have used "class" throughout.] This was especially true of the highest in rank, though they might be deposed for cause, and though a child born of poor parents of low rank might through his own efforts become a tribal chief. Before enumerating the specific classes in Skidi society, one should note that all positions and all rank were conceived as having supernatural origin. In fact, the higher of these were divinely instituted and instructions given the first holders as to their duties and prerogatives. Theoretically, Skidi society was divided into two great divisions: those who made war and protected the village from human enemies; and those who by sacred and supernatural means protected the village from disease, famine, and pestilence. To these two general divisions might be added a third class consisting of poor people who did not possess rank, power, influence, or any considerable amount of property. The real distinction as made by the Skidi, however, was that of the nobility as contrasted with the common people, one's position in one or the other divisions being, as already noted, largely a matter of ancestry. But it may be repeated that there was no tribal law that would prohibit the son of a poor man from becoming a chief, and, on the other hand, it was possible for the son of a chief to become an outcast, for the individual was judged by his own actions.

In the nobility were to be found the leaders in the material 554
affairs of the band—the chiefs, braves, and warriors; those who 565
looked out for the larger religious interests—the priests; and those 793
who kept the band free from sickness and drove out disease—the 622
medicine-men. The duties of these three groups were quite separate 759
and distinct. Occasionally, however, one individual might at the 756
same time be chief, priest, and medicine-man.

CHIEFS

The chiefs of the Skidi were thirty-one in number. Of these 622
thirty-one the representative of each village, who was the owner of 565
the sacred bundle of that village, was chief by heredity, and trans-

622 mitted his authority along with his bundle to his eldest son. These
565 hereditary chiefs, representing each of the villages, selected from
among the leading warriors and those of high rank a sufficient number to make up the thirty-one. [The manuscript also contains a note that the chiefs' council could reject the son of a deceased chief if it did not consider him worthy. Also, if the dead chief left no offspring, the bundle was supposed to descend to the next oldest brother or nearest male kin; the brother married the chief's widow.]

The eldest son of a chief theoretically inherited his father's position, and if he proved worthy was duly made chief on reaching the proper age. At this time the chief's bundle (North-Star bundle) was opened and a ceremony held. So far as known, the ritual accompanying the ceremony has not been sung for more than thirty years, and there is no Skidi living today (1907) who knows it.

It has been mentioned that the hereditary chiefs could invite men who had proved themselves worthy and make them chiefs. When this course was decided upon, the chiefs invited the one selected to the lodge four times. He declined the first three times, but on the fourth invitation went to the lodge, bringing with him ponies and parfleches of meat, which he presented to the chiefs. He was then made chief, but did not have his face painted, and his sons were not considered chiefs.

The son of a chief other than the eldest, or indeed any man, might make four deer holy and offer them to the four chiefs of the Four-Band village. With the consent of the other hereditary chiefs they then asked the candidate to the lodge and offered him a pipe to smoke, after which he could sit in the chief's council. [Presumably he did not have the rank of a chief, however.]

622 During council the chiefs were supposed to sit cross-legged in
[516] an erect attitude, never in a lounging position. The mark of office
623 was a red-painted face with a blue semi-circular line extending from
531 in front of each ear and passing over the forehead, and a symbol on
302 the forehead representing the so-called Turkey's Foot constellation.
565 An eagle feather was worn in the hair, while ordinarily the costume
consisted of leggings fringed with eagle feathers and human hair from scalps, and a buffalo-skin robe on which were depicted stars, the sun, or war scenes.

622 Perhaps the most important characteristic of a chief was that
[728] he was a peace-maker and guardian of the village rather than a
538 warrior; there are many incidents in the myths expressing the idea
565 that a man who has often been on the warpath becomes imbued with

the desire to take scalps and capture ponies and is no longer fit to be 622
chief. In the words of my informant: "Tirawa, after having created 538
people, gave them their bundles and said to the chief: 'You are to be 565
like me; you are to have many people to look after; you are to be guardian of the people on earth and the beings of the heavens will do your bidding.'" The custom did not prevail among the Skidi of making the chief an offering of food when on the hunt. He was obliged to look after himself, and could not claim more than the share which he himself or those riding his horses had won in the chase.

Like other societies, that of the chiefs had two errand men whose 624
duty it was to look after the fire, prepare and distribute meat, and 565
light the pyre for the smoke offerings. In his own village each chief also had at his command two errand men who performed similar duties.

In addition to the hereditary chief, each village had one or more *nahikuts*, or braves, whose number was usually four but varied according to the size of the village. The duty of these men was that of servants of the chiefs; they followed their directions, preserved order, helped in carrying out the laws of the band, and assisted in the preparation of the ceremonies. Their badge of office was a war-club or tomahawk. They held office for life. They were also considered as servants of the Morning Star, and like the other warriors of each village obtained their power directly from him or from some animal or spirit under the guidance of the Morning Star.

Another high-ranking class were the *narawiraris*, or warriors. These men had reached this position by their own efforts. They had made a certain number of sacrifices and thus won a victory over the powers of the heavens. They were eligible to election as chiefs and had the right to sit near the priest in ceremonies. When going on 624
the warpath, such men had the privilege of wearing the sacred warrior's 565
costume of the warrior's bundle. The position of warrior was 778
said to have been created in the beginning, at which time the warrior was given five things—the otter skin, the hawk skin, the leg of an eagle, the eagle feather, and the sacred red paint made from red earth and buffalo fat. In using these objects, he was to attach the eagle leg to his belt, wear the eagle feather, and put the otter skin over his head, the hawk skin on his right shoulder, and the paint on his
face. In painting his face he was to make three dots above his nose [302]
in the center of his forehead, to represent the claw of the eagle's foot. [531]
He was to use the black otter because it was from the water, was

684 very swift, and symbolized the dangerous cyclone coming from the
565 clouds. The hawk skin was used because the hawk was made to be
778 powerful and killed its prey with its wings, which were symbolic of
a war club. [The hawk kills its prey with its knuckles rather than its wings.]

PRIESTS

793 As the chief gave the people instruction and advice in worldly
565 matters, so the priest, who controlled the ritual attached to the
sacred village bundle, kept the society en rapport with the supernatural. The priestly class among the Skidi comprised the most learned men of the tribe. They were required to have prodigious
[151] memories and were said to swallow every song. In addition to those sung at ceremonies, the priests recited rituals of instruction for the changing of names, and others having to do with agriculture, the hunt, and the warpath. They served as go-betweens in weddings, and in general played a great part in the social life of the village. Inasmuch as the office of priest required above all an extraordinarily retentive memory and a deeply religious attitude of mind, the priests often encouraged young men possessing these qualifications to become their pupils and ultimately admitted the students to the priestly class. The priest's life was shortened or lengthened in accordance with the sacrifices he made and by his zeal in guarding the esoteric knowledge entrusted to him. For him to speak of the secrets of the altar trivially or on ordinary occasions was to shorten his life.

Associated with the priests were errand men and criers. The latter were old men who had spent a great part of their lives in the performance of sacrifices and who were entitled to announce ceremonies and recite rituals of instruction, particularly those referring to creation, through the village. Their share of the ceremonial feasts was great and in proportion to the honor in which they were held. For a child to mock them or to imitate their intonation or to treat them with disrespect was to incur a severe beating from the parents. The errand men, two in each lodge, stationed on the north and south sides by the entrance, assisted in the ceremonies by building the fire and replenishing it, acting as messengers for the priests in summoning the participants of a ceremony, and so forth. Like the priests and criers, they also received a share of the feast which might be distributed at the conclusion of a ceremony.

MEDICINE-MEN

Like the chief and the priest, the medicine-man held a position 791
of honor among the Skidi. His office was supposed to have been 756
created by Tirawa immediately after he had instituted the office of 565
chief, at which time Tirawa said: "I shall give you (chief) a com- [773]
panion who will understand certain beings who command all the
spirits of the earth. He shall learn from them the different curative [538]
powers, and shall be your equal, but he will not command, for it
will be his duty to wait on the sick." At this time Tirawa gave the
medicine-man the blue clay he wore over his body during ceremonies,
the wing of a black eagle to be used in his left hand, and a gourd [778].
rattle to be held in his right.

The medicine-men derived their powers from supernatural beings who were usually identified with animals. At birth a child came under the influence of a supernatural being—a particular star shining especially bright—who was supposed to manifest himself later in the child's life. Usually this manifestation occurred when the child fell ill, at which time medicine-men were sent for. When the right one appeared, he could cure the child, for he possessed the power from an animal which in turn had received its power from the star noted above. Thus the child was made aware of the particular animal guardian which was to influence his career. When he grew to be a young man he might become a medicine-man through a supernatural experience during which power was given him directly by his guardian, or, as was more common, he applied for instruction to some medicine-man who had received power from the same guardian. With the latter's consent, the young man became his pupil, paying for the knowledge received. [Further details regarding medicine-men have been published by Linton, 1923b.]

In many ways the medicine-men ingratiated themselves with the people. One of the best examples occurred during the fall performance of the great ceremony of the Skidi medicine-men. On the first night they visited all the village lodges containing sacred altars, and on the following night made a general tour of the village offering their services free of charge.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

This group probably represented less than one-half the members 554
of the band. They were distinguished by the fact that they were 565
without influence or power, their lodges were smaller and not so
completely furnished, they had few or no ponies, and were often the [736]
objects of charity.

554 objects of charity. On the outskirts of the village were those who
565 made up the lowest class of Skidi society and who were spoken of as
"those who live in the woods." They were near outcasts, having
violated tribal laws and customs. It may be noted here that as the
Skidi came in closer contact with white civilization the band was
too often judged from the actions of members of this last class. As
[736] white towns grew up in the vicinity these people found it easier to
become hangers-on of the town than to attempt to force their way
into a better position in Indian society.

567 [A few remarks are also accorded the treatment of slaves. "Slaves —that is, individuals captured in war—were rarely killed or mistreated. They generally served as helpers of the errand men for the captor (chief?) in his lodge, where they were received. Many incidents are related of slaves showing their fidelity to the Pawnee, and finally being considered as members of the tribe and marrying into it."]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BUCKSTAFF, R. N.

1927. Stars and constellations of a Pawnee sky map. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 279-285. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

BUSHNELL, D. I., JR.

1922. Villages of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan tribes west of the Mississippi. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 77. Washington.

1927. Burials of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan tribes west of the Mississippi. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 83. Washington.

DENSMORE, FRANCIS

1929. Pawnee music. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 93. Washington.

DORSEY, G. A.

1903. How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 644-658. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

1904. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs of the American Folk Lore Society, vol. 8. New York.

1905a. One of the sacred altars of the Pawnee. Congrès International des Américanistes, 13th Session. Easton, Pennsylvania.

1905b. A Pawnee personal medicine shrine. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 496-498. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

1906a. Pawnee war tales. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 8, pp. 337-345. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

1906b. The Pawnee: Mythology. Part I. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication No. 59. Washington.

1907a. The Skidi rite of human sacrifice. Congrès International des Américanistes, 15th Session, Part 2, pp. 65-70. Quebec.

1907b. Social organization of the Skidi Pawnee. Congrès International des Américanistes, 15th Session, Part 2, pp. 71-77. Quebec.

DUNBAR, JOHN, and ALLIS, SAMUEL

1918. Letters concerning the Presbyterian Mission in the Pawnee country, near Bellevue, Nebraska, 1831-1849. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 14, pp. 570-741. Topeka.

DUNBAR, JOHN B.

1880a. The Pawnee Indians: Their history and ethnology. Magazine of American History, vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 241-281.

1880b. The Pawnee Indians: Their habits and customs. Magazine of American History, vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 321-345.

FLETCHER, ALICE

1899. A Pawnee ritual used when changing a man's name. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 82-97. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

1900. Giving thanks: A Pawnee ceremony. Journal of American Folklore, vol. 13, pp. 261-266.

1902. Star cult among the Pawnee. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 730-736. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

1904. The Hako: A Pawnee ceremony. Bureau of American Ethnology, 22nd Annual Report, Part 2. Washington.

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

GRINNELL, G. B.

1891a. Two Pawnian tribal names. American Anthropologist, vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 197–199. Washington.

1891b. Marriage among the Pawnees. American Anthropologist, vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 275–281. Washington.

LESSER, ALEXANDER

1930. Levirate and fraternal polyandry among the Pawnee. Man, No. 78, pp. 98–101. London.

1933. The Pawnee ghost dance hand game. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 16. New York.

——, and WELTFISH, GENE

1932. The composition of the Caddoan linguistic stock. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 87, No. 6. Washington.

LINTON, RALPH

1922a. The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Leaflet, No. 5. Chicago.

1922b. The sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Leaflet, No. 6. Chicago.

1923a. Purification of the sacred bundles, a ceremony of the Pawnee. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Leaflet, No. 7. Chicago.

1923b. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Leaflet, No. 8. Chicago.

1926. The origin of the Skidi Pawnee sacrifice to the Morning Star. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 457–466. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

MURIE, J. R.

1914. Pawnee Indian societies. American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. 11, part 8. New York.

PARSONS, E. C.

1929. Ritual parallels in Pueblo and Plains cultures, with a special reference to the Pawnee. American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 642–654. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

STRONG, W. D.

1939. An introduction to Nebraska archaeology. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 93, No. 10. Washington.

WEDEL, W. R.

1936. An introduction to Pawnee archaeology. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 112. Washington.

1938. The direct-historical approach to Pawnee archaeology. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 97, No. 7. Washington.

WELTFISH, GENE

1937. Caddoan texts, Pawnee, South Band dialect. Publications of the American Ethnological Society, vol. 17. New York.

WISSLER, CLARK

1917. Comparative study of Pawnee and Blackfoot rituals. Congrès International des Américanistes, 19th Session. Washington.

1920. Sacred bundles of the Pawnees. Natural History, vol. 20, No. 5, pp. 569–571. New York.

INDEX

000

Abortion, 91
Adoption, 85–86
Adultery, 109
Arbors, 79
Arikara, 75
Avunculate, 95, 98

Band organization, 75
Berdache, 108
Birth, 87, 88–92; care of new-born child, 90; death of mother during, 91; disposal of after-birth, 90, of umbilical cord, 90; position of mother during delivery, 90; still-birth, 91
Buffalo hunt, 80–81, 98, 110
Bundles, sacred, 76–78, 90, 95–96, 106, 112
Braves (*nahikuts*), 113

Caddoan tribes, 73, 74
Carnegie Institution of Washington, 71, 73
Caste, 111
Chastity, 98, 105, 108
Chiefs, 84, 103–104, 111–114; characteristics of, 112–113; costume of, 112; council of, 112; errand men of, 113; hereditary, 111–112; mark of office of, 112; number of, 111–112
Children, 87, 93, 94–95; nursing period of, 87, 93; training of, 94–95
Clans, 86
Classes, social, 111–116; common people, 111, 115–116; nobility, 111
Cowardice, 108
Cradleboard, 90, 91
Criers, 114
Crime, 109–110

Death, 91, 101–107; burial customs, 102; of chief, 103–104; conception of the soul, 101–102; of medicine-man, 104; of middle-aged man, 103; mourning, 103–105; mutilation of mourners, 105; of poor man, 104–105; of old people, 103; personal property buried with dead, 106–107
Descent, 75–76
Divorce, 101

Endogamy, 75, 97
Errand men, 98–100, 113, 114, 116

Facial painting, 102, 112, 113
Family customs, 79–82
Folklore, 88, 89, 94, 113, 115; food restrictions during pregnancy, 88; medicine-men, 115; origin of chieftainship, 113; origin of twins, 88–89; use in education, 94
Food, 80; taboos, 80
Friendship, 107

Inheritance, 76, 82, 112
Insanity, 108

Kinship terminology, 83–84
Kroeber, A. L., 74

Laziness, 108
Lesser, Alexander, 75, 85
Levirate, 85
Liars, 108
Lodge, 79–80, 101; altar, 80; beds, 79; construction, 79, 101; size, 79

Marriage, 76, 87, 92, 97–101; age at, 98; ceremony, 98–100; courtship, 97–98; degree of relationship permitted in, 97; requirements for, 98; residence, 101; treatment of spouse, 100
Medicine-men, 87, 89, 90, 92, 96, 104, 106, 107, 115
Menopause, 87
Menstruation, 95–96
Midwives, 89–91, 107
Morning-Star, 76, 99, 101–102, 105, 113
Murder, 109

Names, personal, 90, 92–93, 106; occasion for changing, 92–93

Old age, 87, 107
Outcasts, 116

Pawnee bands, 75
Periods of life, 87
Plains, problems in ethnology of, 74
Polyandry, 85, 96
Polygyny, 84
Pregnancy, 88–89
Priests, 98–100, 107, 114; errand men for, 114; respect for, 107
Prostitutes, 97
Puberty, 87, 95–96

Rape, 109

Scalping, 93, 105–106
Sex relations, 96, 97, 100, 107
Sioux, 92
Skidi-Good-Chief, 75–76
Slaves, 116
Succession, 112

Theft, 94, 109–110
Tipi, 79, 101
Tirawa, 89, 99, 113, 115
Twins, origin of, 88–89

Village, 75–77

War, 87, 92–93, 105
Warriors (*narawiraris*), 113
Women, social position of, 107

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

LIBRA

THE THUNDER CEREMONY OF THE PAWNEE

000

BY

RALPH LINTON

Assistant Curator of North American Ethnology

[title page]

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

CHICAGO

1922

VK10
F45a
.5

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

142
302

FOX, A SKIDI PAWNEE.

[facing p. 1]

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE PLAINS INDIANS

(Hall 5)

PREFACE

The Field Museum's collection illustrating the life 000 of the Indians of the Great Plains is one of the best and most extensive in this country. Much of the material has been obtained directly from the tribes through research of museum officials and others employed by the institution, among whom Mr. S. C. Simms, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, Mr. James Mooney, and Mr. H. R. Voth deserve especial mention. The collections have been further enriched by purchases and particularly by numerous gifts of Mr. Edward E. Ayer, a trustee of the institution, who has always taken a profound interest in this phase of the museum's activities.

The exhibits are especially rich in objects used by (2) the Indians in connection with their religious observances, and several miniature groups have been prepared showing the manner in which the Pawnee, one of the Plains tribes, performed their most important ceremonies. A proper understanding of the significance of such ceremonial objects is impossible without some knowledge of the religious concepts and observances of the tribes represented. The present series of leaflets is designed to give this necessary background by presenting the facts in a simple and popular form. Much of the information contained in them has already been published in various scientific publications; but the descriptions of the Pawnee ceremonies have not previously been published, and it is hoped that they may prove of interest to the scientist, as well as the lay reader.

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 5

The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee

(Hall 5, Case 60)

The Pawnee were a tribe of the Caddoan linguistic 101
stock who, in historic times, occupied the valley of the [197]
Platte river in Nebraska. The name Pawnee is prob- [131]
ably derived from *pariki* ("a horn"), a term applied
to them by the neighboring tribes because of their
peculiar method of dressing the hair. They called
themselves Chahiksichahiks ("Men of Men"). They [174]
seem to have come into Nebraska from some region to
the southwest, expelling an earlier population; but this
movement was an ancient one, and the first Siouxian
tribes to enter the Platte valley found the Pawnee
already established.

The region in which the Pawnee lived was high, 133
dry, and rather sandy, with little timber except along
the rivers. On the west, toward the mountains, it was
rough and broken. In early times buffalo and other 221
game were abundant. Although the Pawnee ranged 105
over a large territory in pursuit of the buffalo, they
were not nomads. They spent the greater part of
every year in permanent villages and raised large
crops of corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins. Corn
played a much more important part than the buffalo
in their ceremonies and mythology, and it is evident
that they were an agricultural rather than a hunting
people.

[p. 2 is blank]

NK10
F451

105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee
[171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but
they understood the arts of pottery-making and basket-weaving.
291 During the summer the men usually
wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings
and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins,
leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned
on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe
do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The
302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made
301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced
the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings.
342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth
lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine
Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the
sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or
bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi.
The first three of these were closely related, but the
Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and
considered themselves more closely related to the
Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some distance
to the north. In their settlements along the river,
[361] the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi
being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest
downstream, and the other two bands between. Each
621 band was divided into a number of villages which were
social as well as geographical units. All the members
of a village believed themselves to be descended from
a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made
within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female
[778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) con-
[793] taining sacred objects, and priests who had charge of
the rituals and ceremonies connected with these ob-
622 jects. It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a
council composed of its leading men. If the chief was
a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

authority, settled all difficulties, and preserved order. 622
He was expected to give freely, and was usually surrounded by dependents. His orders were enforced by 624
four men, called Nahikuts, who stood next to him in social position. Below these ranked the Kurahus or priests, who performed the ceremonies. Of still lower rank were the Kurau or medicine-men and the Narawiraris or warriors, while at the bottom of the scale came the remainder of the village.

The villages composing each band were held to- 631
gether by their religious ceremonies, in which each village had its place and share, and by the council, composed of the chiefs of all the villages. The tribe was similarly united, its council being made up of the councils of the bands. In the meetings of these councils rules of precedence and decorum were rigidly observed. No one could speak who was not entitled to a seat, although a few privileged men were permitted to be present as spectators.

The religion of the Pawnee seems, in certain re- 776
spects, to have reached a higher development than that of any of the other Plains tribes. In their pantheon Tirawa reigned supreme. To him the lesser gods of heaven and earth, as well as the people themselves, acknowledged authority. Tirawa ruled from his position above the clouds, and both created and governed the universe by means of commands executed by the lesser gods, who were subject to him. He was conceived of as a purely spiritual being, and was not identified with any object or natural phenomenon. Next in rank to Tirawa and his wife, the Vault of Heaven, stood the Evening Star, Tcuperikata. She maintained a garden in the west in which there were fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from which sprang all streams of life. Even the Sun renewed his fire nightly at her lodge. Through her four assistants, Wind, Cloud, Lightning, and Thunder, she

776 transmitted the mandates of Tirawa to the people upon earth. From her union with the god of next rank, the Morning Star, Opirikata, sprang the first being upon earth.

The Morning Star seems to have been a personification of the Male, as the Evening Star was of the female principle. He was conceived of as a warrior who drove the other stars before him from the sky. It was [782] to him that the Skidi band offered a human sacrifice.

Next in rank to the Evening and Morning Stars were the gods of the four world-quarters, who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest, and supported the heavens. To them Tirawa gave the task of dividing up the earth into the divisions which we find at present. Next in rank to these were the three gods of the north,—the North Star, who presided over the council of the stars, and who gave the ceremony for the creation of chiefs to men; the North Wind, who sent men the buffalo, and Hikus, who gave the breath of life. Below these in turn were the Sun and Moon, from whose union had sprung the second being on earth who, mating with the offspring of the Morning and Evening Stars, produced the human race.

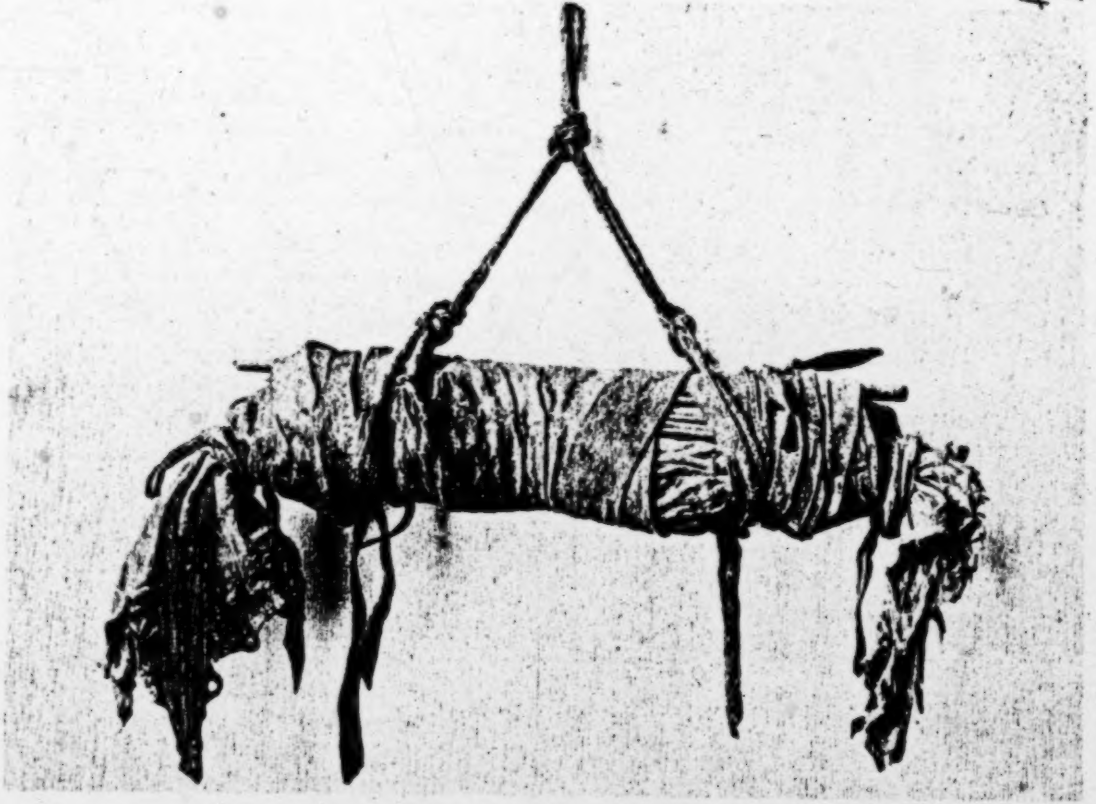
There were a number of minor heavenly gods,—the second Morning Star, who assisted the Morning Star, the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who was the special god of medicine-men, the Star of the South, who stood at the southern end of the Milky Way and received the spirits of the dead, Skiritiuhuts ("Fool-Wolf"), who felt slighted in the councils of the gods, and, who, in revenge, introduced death into the world, and several others.

The greater part of the heavenly gods were iden- [778 361] tified with stars. The sacred bundle of each village was believed to have been given to its ancestor by one of these heavenly beings; and when the villages of the

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778
284

[Facing p. 7]



A SACRED BUNDLE OF THE PAWNEE.

band assembled for ceremonies, they arranged them- [778
selves according to the positions of their guardian 361]
stars in the heavens. 776

Only less powerful than the gods of the heavens were the gods of the earth. These were for the most part identified with animals in the same way that the heavenly gods were identified with stars. The earthly gods were organized into four lodges each of which had its leaders and its messengers, who served as intermediaries between the earthly gods and men. In these lodges they gathered in council to make or mar the fortunes of men, and to them favored mortals were taken to be instructed in the mysteries of earthcraft. The earthly gods were the special patrons of medicine-men and warriors.

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were 796
numerous and varied. They may be divided into two main classes,—ceremonies, which were in charge of societies whose members had certain secrets in common, and ceremonies which were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe. To the first class belong the ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine-men. To the second class belong those which had to do with the welfare of the people.

Practically all the ceremonies of the second class 796
centered about collections of sacred objects, called by 778
the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were two additional bundles which were the property of the whole tribe. The objects in the bundles varied, but had a general similarity, each bundle containing at least one pipe, tobacco, paints, the skins of certain birds, and the Mother-Corn. The last consisted of two ears of corn, which were the most sacred objects in the bundle. When not in use, the objects were wrapped in a buffalo hide and hung from the wall of the lodge. In connec-

796 tion with the bundle there were certain taboos which
778 were rigidly enforced.

The ceremonies connected with the sacred bundles seem to fall into three divisions,—those ceremonies which were the common property of all the bundles and taken together formed the tribal ceremonial year; those ceremonies which were the property of the village bundles, and were open primarily to members of the village, and those ceremonies relating to the two bundles which were the property of the tribe as a whole. The rituals of the bundle-ceremonies were the property of certain priests, but members of the village or tribe who assisted in the performance of the ceremony had a right to know at least part of the meaning of the ritual.

All the ceremonies connected with sacred bundles seem to have had as their underlying idea a repetition, either through ritual or dramatization, of acts performed by supernatural beings during the mythologic age. As a rule, the ritual predominated, the dramatization playing only a minor part. The ritual was a formal method of restating the acts of the supernatural beings, and served the double purpose of redirecting their attention toward the people and of reminding the people of the deeds done for them by the gods. In this way the relationship between men and the supernatural world was renewed; and the gods, pleased with the attention bestowed upon them, continued their protection over the people. Coupled with practically all the ceremonies there was some form of offering or sacrifice, this idea reaching its climax in the Skidi sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning Star.

The bundles and their accompanying ceremonies collectively regulated and made provision for all the necessities of life during the year. All the bundle-ceremonies were held during the spring, summer, or

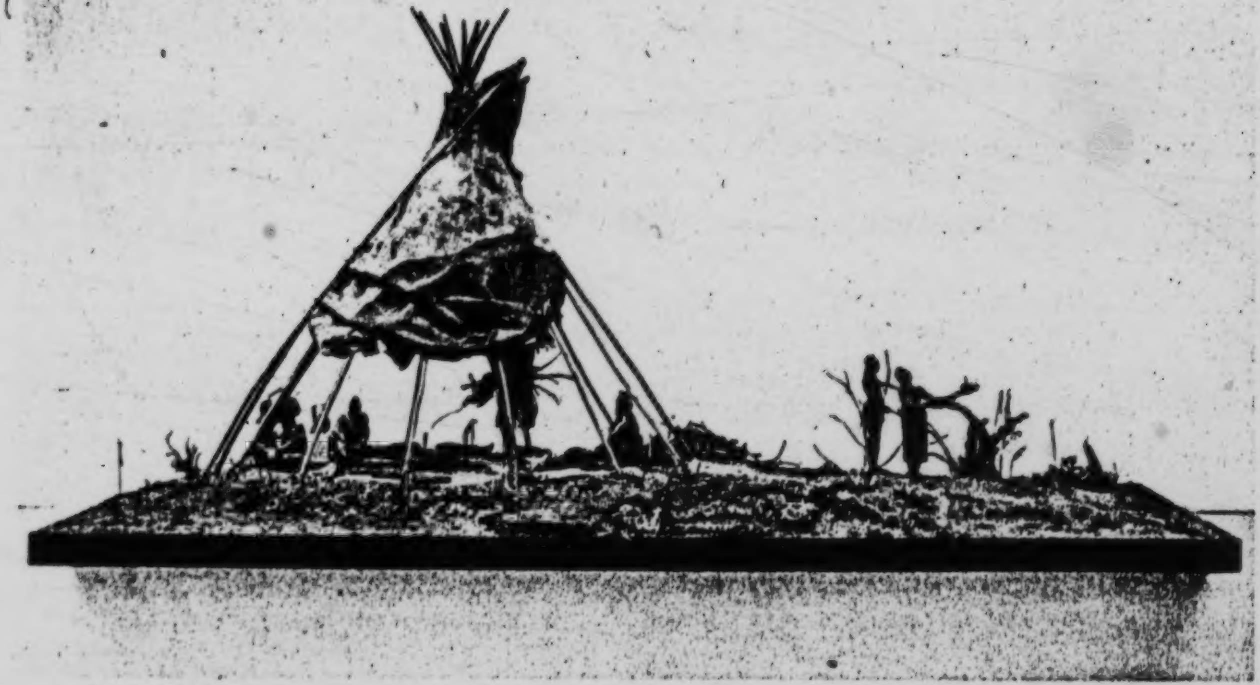
6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

autumn. In winter the gods were thought to have [778]
withdrawn from the earth. The first thunder in the 796
spring was thought to be a notification that they had [821]
once more turned their attention to it, and the people at once held a ceremony of welcome,—the Thunder Ceremony. This ceremony ushered in the ceremonial year, and was followed in regular order by a number of others. First came the ceremony called Paruxti, 241
by which the deity of that name was supposed to be 796
called to earth, and at which sacred corn was shelled and given to the people for seed corn. Immediately after this followed the ceremony, called the Planting of the Corn. When the first shoots of the new crop had appeared, a ceremony called Going After the Plant was performed. In the autumn there was a Harvest Ceremony, followed by the ceremony known as the Making of New Mother Corn, at which the Mother-Corn in all the bundles was renewed. In addition to these seasonal ceremonies there were a number of others whose time was not fixed.

The so-called Thunder Ceremony ushered in the 796
ceremonial year. Although neither the most important or the most elaborate of the Pawnee ceremonies, it was, more than any other, at the bottom of their ceremonial life. It paved the way for the ceremonies of agriculture and the rites for the calling of the buffalo. It promoted the well-being of the tribe, and was efficacious in driving back the malignant being of the southwest, the bringer of disease. It instructed the people as to their duties and privileges in their relationship to the deities, and finally it afforded many opportunities for direct communication with the deities themselves in a number of rites of sacrifice which formed an intrinsic part of the ceremony as a whole.

The first thunder in the spring was thought to be 776
the voice of Paruxti, a deity who was the messenger of 796
821

[Facing p. 10]



MINIATURE GROUP IN FIELD MUSEUM, SHOWING THE THUNDER CEREMONY.

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796

776 Tirawa and combined in himself the essence of the
796 four servants of the Evening Star,—Wind, Cloud,
[821] Lightning, and Thunder. He passed over the land in a storm, and as he spoke, the earth awakened, and life was kindled anew. Returning to his lodge in the west, he kindled new fire and offered smoke to the great heavenly gods, thereby informing them that he had visited the earth, and that all was well. The gods then turned their attention earthward, and prepared to receive the prayers and offerings of men.

796 As soon as the thunder had been heard, the priests of the Four Direction bundles assembled and prepared for the ceremony, which was held even if the tribe were away from their permanent villages on the hunt. Going to the lodge where the Aripahut bundle was kept, they took it down, and, when they were seated, the chief priest opened it and spread out the sacred objects. He then took up the rattles which had been fastened to the bundle, and giving them to the four other priests, said, "Priests, Tirawa has spoken. We must now sing the songs that were given to us with this bundle. It is a long time since we sang them, and we will make some mistakes, but Tirawa will help
533 us with the ceremony." Shaking their rattles as an
[539] accompaniment, they then sang,—
796

First Song.

"They sang this song above, they have spoken.
They have put new life into the earth.
Paruxti speaks through the clouds,
And the power has entered Mother Earth.
The earth has received the powers from above."

This verse was repeated 56 times, a single word being changed at each singing. At the end of the singing the priests made four grunting sounds, symbolizing the noise of the thunder in the four world-quarters, and laid down their rattles. After each of the songs of the ritual this was repeated, and after

each song they smoked, and rested for a time before beginning the next. 533 796

After finishing the first song, they sang the following songs in order, repeating each ten times with the change of a single word each time,—

533
539
796

Second Song.

"It is you who speak, you who stand in the west.
Let them now take possession of the earth.
Let them now have the sacred bundle containing the wonderful things."

Third Song.

"The clouds looking like many tipis are coming from the west.
The clouds shall touch the earth and the earth shall receive power from Paruxti."

Fourth Song.

"The earth shook.
It was Paruxti's power that made the earth shake.
It is the earth that is shaken by the wonderful power of Paruxti."

Fifth Song.

"The power is now hidden in the earth.
The power is now hidden in the earth.
The earth now possesses the power.
Paruxti's power is the power in the earth."

At the completion of the songs there was a pause, and then the chief priest said, "It is now time for us to make a sacrifice of a heart and a tongue to Tirawa."

During the singing one of the priest's assistants had gone into the timber, and cut a number of slender willow wands. He gave these to one of the men participating in the ceremony, who stripped them of their bark, cut them into arrow lengths, and passed them to a second man who painted them red. The second man passed them to a third, who attached a little sack of tobacco to each and passed them to a fourth, who attached two strings of blue beads. The fourth man passed them to a fifth, who tied on pieces cut from scalps, kept in the bundle for that purpose. When the wands had been prepared, the man who had 796

796 painted them went to a buffalo skull, placed north of the fireplace, and painted it with designs symbolizing the garden of the Evening Star. While this was going on, one of the priests took a dried buffalo heart and tongue, and cut each in nine pieces, arranging the pieces in nine little piles, in a row.

When these preparations were finished, the chief priest said,—"Chiefs sitting around in a circle, this offering is to be made to Tirawa, our father in the heavens, who made all things for himself. He it was who gave us the sacred things here before us. He is listening to us. We are sitting, as he told us to sit. We are doing, as he told us to do. Now we shall make the first offering to Tirawa." The priest of the Yellow Calf bundle then went to the chief priest, and was dressed by him in the buffalo robe which had been around the bundle. The sacred pipe from the bundle had previously been decorated and filled, and this was now given to the priest of the Yellow Calf bundle, together with one of the piles of dry meat and one of the decorated wands. With these he passed out of the lodge followed by an assistant (errand man), who bore a live coal from the fireplace in a bunch of grass. The earth taken from the fireplace of the lodge had been piled up in a small mound outside the entrance, which faced the east. Beyond this mound the two kindled a small fire, the fuel for which had been laid ready. On this fire they placed the dried meat, and thrust the wand into the ground between it and the mound. As they did this, they, and the priests within the lodge,
533 sang,—
796
[539]

"Smoke for the Above is wavering.
The wonderful smoke is wavering.
Smoke for the Above is being eaten.
The wonderful smoke is being eaten."

The meaning of this song is that when the offering is first placed on the fire, the smoke hesitates and

wavers, but soon it begins to ascend straight upward, a sign that it is being drawn into the mouth of Paruxti and eaten. 796 [533]

The errand man then made a circuit of the fire, and standing on the northeast blew puffs of smoke from the sacred pipe to the four world-quarters. Then he lifted the pipe slowly toward the sky, and lowering it, poured the tobacco from it upon the fire. This completed the first sacrifice, and both re-entered the lodge, and resumed their seats in the circle.

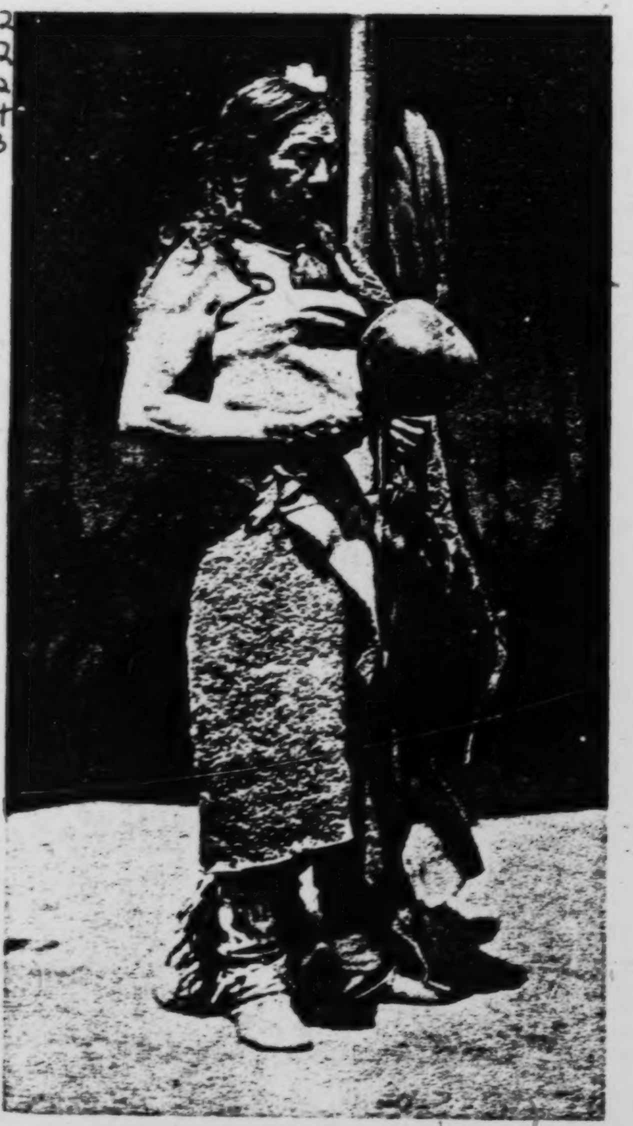
The chief priest then said, "Priests, this offering is now to be made to the god who presided over the other gods, when the council was held, deciding what the people should have, and what they should not have. This offering of meat and a wonderful stick are to be made to the god in the east, who will bless us, and who rules us aright, so that our people will be under the special care of this god." This god was the Morning Star. The same priest, who had made the first sacrifice, then took the offering out of the lodge, and placed the meat upon the fire where the offering to Tirawa had been made, thrusting the wand into the ground to the east of it.

When this priest and his errand man had returned, the materials for the third offering were prepared, and the chief priest said, "This offering is to be made to the Evening Star, the mother who has made all things. She has a garden in the west, where corn is green, and where the ear of corn is the leader of all men, where there is a bundle of dried meat, and where all good things of life exist. The errand man and this priest will make the offering, and the gods will look down upon the errand men. These gods will help the errand men. They will make our fields green. They will loosen some bundles of meat and cover the land with buffalo." The priest and his er-

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

142
292
302
534
793



A PAWNEE PRIEST IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME.

[facing p. 14]

796 rand man then left the lodge, and kindling a fire to the west of the lodge, made the sacrifice.

The fourth sacrifice was then prepared, and the chief priest said, "Now, priests, young men, and you chiefs who watch over your people, this offering is to be made to the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who stands behind the other stars, and who is gladdened by the offerings which we now make to him. He will send the lesser gods to drive away disease which may approach our camp." This offering was placed to the east of the lodge, with those to Tirawa and the Morning Star.

For the fifth sacrifice the priest said, "Chiefs, young men and priests, you who preside over the people, we are to make this offering to the northeast god (North Star), who watches over the people in the north. He is especially gladdened by this offering, and he will look down upon us. Especially will he look down upon us leaders, come to us, and give us knowledge to rule over the people, and we will be happy. Take the offering. Carry it to the north, and place it in the north."

For the sixth sacrifice the priest said, "Now, chiefs, priests, and young men, you who are to receive this bundle upon your breasts, take this bundle into your arms. Through you this bundle was made leader. When the errand men called upon certain gods, and especially the North Wind, to send buffalo, he received our gifts and prayers, and came to us, bringing the buffalo with him. Through his kindness we killed many buffalo, and from them we are making offerings to the gods in the heavens, so in our offerings we must not forget the North Wind."

The speech for the seventh sacrifice was as follows: "Now priests, young men, and chiefs, this offering is to be made to Ready-to-Give. The son of Ready-to-Give stands there. He it was who, when on earth, taught us to keep our villages clean so that disease would not enter them. It was he who came to warn our people of the approach of the enemy. He assists his father in sending buffalo. [Ready-to-Give was one of the titles of the North Wind.] He assists the warriors to capture ponies. When we are near the village of the enemy, ponies come out on account of his power. He is called Pahokatawa." 796

The speech for the eighth sacrifice was, "Priests, we are about to make an offering to him who was made by Tirawa, and who stands and gives us light. We are to make this offering to the Sun, Sakura, to make him glad. In return for this gladness he will take care of our people so that we shall be happy." This sacrifice was placed on the south side of the lodge.

The speech for the ninth sacrifice was, "Priests, chiefs, young men, this offering is to be made to the one that stands in the night. When she sees this offering, she will be made glad. In return she will look down upon us, and the people will increase. She will look down upon the land, and everything will be green. Through her all things shall multiply. The fruits along the streams and everything put into the ground will grow, so that our people will have plenty to eat. This offering is to be made to the Moon." This offering was also placed on the south of the lodge, just east of that for the Sun. At its completion the priest and errand man re-entered the lodge, and were given the tenth sacrifice, which consisted of an unpainted wand to which were tied a bag of tobacco, beads, and a scalp. The chief priest said, "This last offering will now be made to the Buffalo Father who stays in the tipi with his wonderful spear, who dwells in the skull sitting there. The spirit of the buffalo skull shall whisper to the buffalo in the west so that they will start eastward toward our village, and we shall have plenty of buffalo.

796 The women and children shall have plenty to eat, and we shall all be happy." The priest who had made the last sacrifice then placed the wand by the buffalo skull. This completed the sacrifice portion of the ceremony.

When the sacrifices had all been made, the chief priest took up a pipe filled with tobacco and, holding it in his left hand, said, "Priests, chiefs, young men and old men, we have been singing of what the gods did when they first created all things. We are now about to sing about the only being who visits the earth and brings his power to us from the gods in heaven. This power is Paruxti's. It is a long time since we sang the songs about Paruxti, but we shall do the best
533 we can." He told the priests to take up their rattles,
539 and then all sang the last ritual of the ceremony. This
796 ritual was in three parts. The first part symbolized Paruxti's visit to earth; the second, his hunting of the buffalo; and the third, his return from the hunt. The first part was repeated seventy times; the second, thirty-four times; and the third, seventy-four times. At each repetition there was a change in a single word or phrase, the change being of a sort to indicate progression. The first part runs thus:—

> "Getting ready to come, yonder he sits down,
> The Wonderful Being, my dear father,
> Yonder." (Grunting in imitation of thunder.)

At the first repetition, the phrase "yonder he sits down," in the first line, was changed to "He is now sitting down;" at the second repetition, to "He is now seated;" at the third, to "He moves," and so forth. As the song went on, he was said to rise, to look around, to walk, to leave his lodge, to think of coming to the earth, to begin his journey, to travel over hills and bottom lands, to cross rivers, to reach the village, to walk through it, to cross the country, and finally to seat himself in his lodge once more.

The second part of the ritual was identical with 533
the first part, except that a new series of changes were 539
substituted for the phrase, "Yonder he sits down." 796
The third part was like the first and second parts, except that the first line of the first verse was changed to, "Now he is returning." In the succeeding verses, this was changed to indicate his passage over the country, his return to his lodge, his lighting of his pipe, and his offering of smoke to the heavenly gods.

When the whole of this long ritual had been sung, 796
the priests laid their rattles down gently, and all were silent for a time. Then the chief priest said, "We have sung about Paruxti with his power, who has touched the earth, the timber, and the streams of water. He has gone through our fields, and has walked through our villages, and has returned to his lodge in the heavens above. We will now offer the smoke, offering to the different gods in the ceremonies." A man then rose, and taking the sacred pipe used in the sacrifices, made an offering of smoke to the gods. The errand man then made a small fire of sweet grass in the lodge, to the southwest, kindling it with coals from the fireplace. Another man then took the objects from the sacred bundle one by one, and passed them through the fragrant smoke, returning them to their proper places. After this the participants in the ceremony came one at a time and bathed their bodies in the smoke, the chief priest coming last. When he had incensed himself, the chief priest left the lodge and stood in front of it, facing the east. The errand man thereupon extinguished the fire, and obliterated all traces of where it had been.

During the latter part of the ritual, women had 533
brought in kettles of corn and other food for the par- 796
ticipants. As soon as the chief priest knew that the fire of sweet grass had been extinguished, he sang a

533 ritual to inform the gods that these good people were 796 providing for those who had made offerings to them, and were therefore entitled to their help. He sang,—

[539] "I come! Now we raise our voices for Mother-Corn.
Mother-Born-Again.
Mother-Corn-who-carries-them-through-obstacles.
It is our father who sits in the pathway to receive prayers.
Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.
Yonder the Wonderful Being dwells in the heavens.
Yonder their father dwells in the heavens, where the thunders are to be heard.
Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.
Yonder in the heavens stands Ready-to-Give.
Mother-Corn's kettles are filled with corn brought by a child.
Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.
Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.
It is through him that I walk around the circle of the village and call upon the gods to look down upon this boy.
I come!"

As he sang, he made the circuit of the village, repeating the song over and over, and finally returned 796 to the lodge where the ceremony had been held. He entered and sat down, and then said, "Let us, priests, chiefs, young and old men, know that this ceremony is now ended. It is now the time to tell stories and to [264] eat." The corn, which had been brought in cooked, was dished out in a prescribed way, and the meat was cooked over the fire by one of the errand men. When it was done, it was divided among the priests, who ate a little, but saved the greater part to take away with them. Small portions of the corn, and of the meat and fat, were offered to the gods.

When all had eaten, the chief priest said, "Priests, we have now gone through the ceremony that was given to us by Paruxti. A young boy wished to see this ceremony. It is for that reason that you, priests, entered this lodge, and sit upright in a circle in the lodge, sitting in the places of the gods; that you sit upright, as they do, sitting close together. You sit in their places, and we offer stories and rituals that they

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

recited in the ancient times of the former priests, who long ago sat in the places where you now sit. Now, priests, the time is approaching, as we sit in this lodge, for us to move; but before we move, I rise to say that by all the offerings we have made while sitting in this lodge the gods have been made glad, the gods who stand in the heavens. The offerings were made to them, and they received those offerings. Well then, we shall see which one of these gods will send good gifts to the people, and because of this ceremony will take pity on us. It is time for us to hasten and rise. Priests, we must now hasten to rise......Now, priests, we are going to rise. We are going to walk toward the entrance belonging to Mother-Corn, Mother-of-the-Dawn, Mother-Sunset-Yellow. Now, priests, we rise! We walk toward the entrance, belonging to Mother-Corn. Rise! Priests!" 796

At the last word all rose simultaneously and passed out of the lodge, and the ceremony was completed.

The description of this ceremony has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, formerly curator of the Department of Anthropology in this Museum.

RALPH LINTON

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

LIBRARY

The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee

BY

ODD

RALPH LINTON
Assistant Curator of North American Ethnology

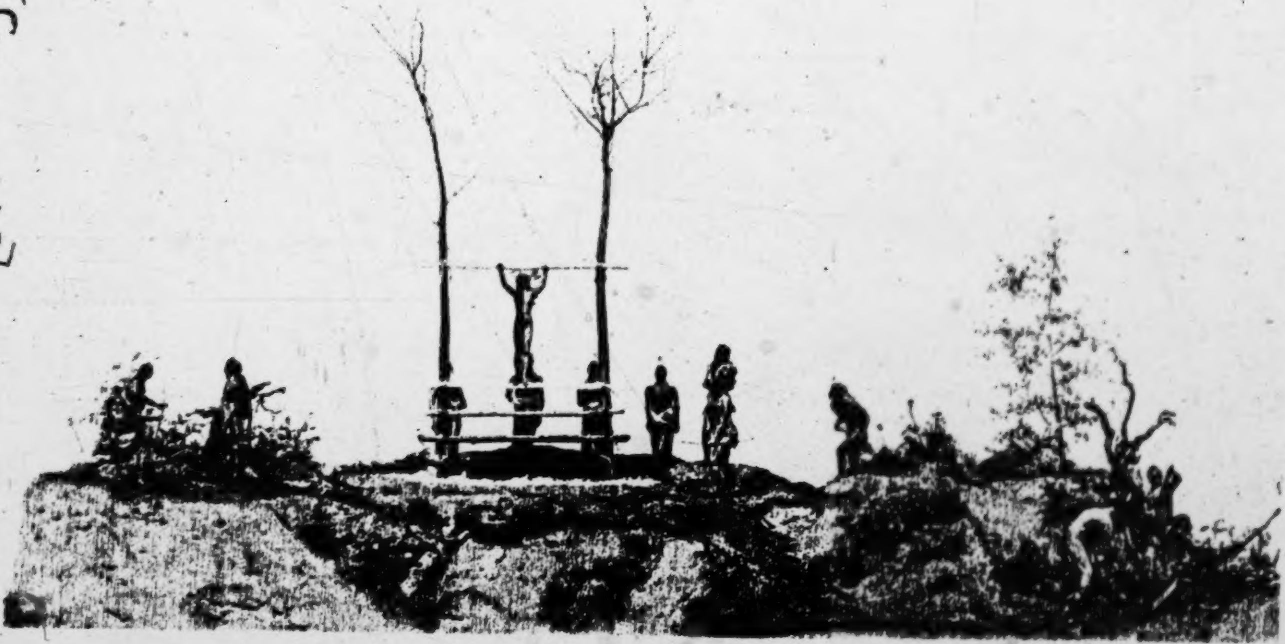
[title page]

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
CHICAGO
1922

Nk10
F45d
v.6

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796



MINIATURE GROUP SHOWING THE MORNING STAR SACRIFICE.

[Facing p. 1 [a]]

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 6

The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee

The religion of the Pawnee was, in some ways, 776 more highly developed than that of any of the other Plains tribes. At the head of their pantheon stood Tirawa, the creator of the universe, who seems to have been conceived of as a purely spiritual being. Below him there were a great number of gods of varying importance who were divided into two great classes, those of the earth and those of the heavens. The former were inferior in rank to the heavenly gods, and were the special guardians of individuals and secret societies. They were, for the most part, identified with animals. The latter were the guardians and helpers of the people as a whole and were, with a few exceptions, identified with stars. The most important of the heavenly gods were the Morning and Evening Stars, who represented respectively the male and female principle. The first being on earth was believed to have sprung from their union. A fuller account of Pawnee mythology will be found in Leaflet 5 "The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee."

The ceremonial side of Pawnee religion showed an 778 equally high development. The worship of the heavenly 796 gods centered around collections of sacred objects called by the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were others which were the property of the tribe as a whole. It was believed that each bundle had been given to the people in ancient times by one of the heavenly beings,

NKK
F451
v.6

778 and therefore constituted a link between the people
796 and its divine giver. In the ceremonies connected with these bundles two ideas were basic,—one the idea of a sacrifice or offering, and the other that of a repetition, either through dramatization or ritual, of the acts performed by the divine giver. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star combined both ideas to an unusual degree.

175 The Morning Star sacrifice was performed only
782 by the Skidi band of the Pawnee. There seems good
796 evidence that it was carried out somewhat unwillingly, and that the officiating priests always found it a sore trial. Its performance was considered a religious duty, and this ceremony must not be confused with the torturing of captives as practised by several of the eastern tribes. The opposition to the sacrifice within the tribe itself increased until in about 1818 a young man, named Petahlayshahrho, rescued the victim in dramatic fashion, untying her from the scaffold at the moment of sacrifice and riding away with her. When safe, he gave her a horse, and sent her back to her own people. He then returned and declared that human sacrifices must cease. As he was a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which according to the Pawnee system gave him the hereditary right to succeed his uncle, many strong men in the tribe
[178] supported his action. After this time, the ritual of the sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter, but no actual sacrifices are known to have taken place.

796 The actual time of the performance of the sacrifice is not fully known, but it seems to have been made in the late spring or summer of years when Mars was
[787] morning star. It was usually made as the result of
[821] a dream or vision in which the Morning Star appeared
to some warrior and demanded it, but it might also be

made as a result of some sign in the star itself, as when 796
it appeared especially bright, or in years when there 787
was a comet in the sky. It might also be performed 821
without any direct intervention of the Morning Star, if some warrior had captured a suitable victim.

In this ceremony there was, coupled with the idea 796
of sacrifice, an attempt to repeat the acts performed by the Morning Star in ancient times. These acts are recorded in a number of myths, not always consistent, of which the following is a good example:—

LEGEND

A long time ago Tirawa made the stars and gave 539
them great power. He gave most of his power to the 773
Morning star, who had a younger brother, the Sun. The Morning Star helped the Sun to have light. When Tirawa placed the stars in the heavens, they were just like human beings. In the east he placed those stars which were like men and gave the Morning Star and the Sun rule over them. In the west he placed those which were like women, with the Evening Star and the Moon as their rulers. Each had their village in the heavens, and the eastern stars knew that the western stars were women. After awhile some of the eastern stars sought the western stars in marriage. When the women stars saw a man star coming, they would tell the Moon, and she would go out to meet him. She would ask him why he came, and he would say, "I come to marry one of the women." She would answer, "That is what we want, come with me." They would walk together till they came in sight of the village. Then the Moon would stop and make a motion, and the ground would open so that the man star fell through and was killed. At last the Morning Star decided to go. He took with him his younger brother, the Sun, who carried upon his back a sacred bundle with a war club. As they traveled, the Morning Star went before

539 the Sun just as he still does. After a while they came
773 within sight of the Evening Star village. They sat down and placed the sacred bundle in front of them. From where they sat, they could see the women stars playing all sorts of games outside their village. After a while the Moon came to them as she had come to the others. She asked, "Why do you come here?" The Morning Star said, "It is now time that we mingle and become one people. It is not right for part of us to be on the west and part on the east side." She said, "Good. I am glad you came and brought that bundle which you have in front of you. My thoughts are about that bundle." She invited them to come to the village, and they rose and followed. When they had gone a little way, she stopped them, and the Morning Star saw that the ground under them was cracking. The Moon called to them, "Come on! Are you afraid?" The Morning Star answered, "No. I am determined to have you." He took the war club from his younger brother and sang:—

"I become myself when I become angry.
With the war club I strike the earth.
I strike the ground and undo the power of the Moon."

Then he struck the ground, and the cracks closed up, and it became firm. The Moon cried, "These are powerful men. They have destroyed my mother." By her mother she meant the power which was her own. Her powers had been given her by the Evening Star.

After the first obstacle, they went on until they came to a bed of flints too sharp to be walked over, then to a thick wood of locust trees, then to a place where it was very hot, then to a bed of cactus, then to a long stretch of sword grass. At each of these obstacles the Morning Star sang his song and struck the ground with his war club so that the obstacle disappeared. When they had passed these dangers, they

came to magic animals which attacked them, first 539
snakes, then water animals, then buffalo, and last 773
bears. Each of these in turn the Morning Star killed with his club. Then the Moon had no more powers left, and the Morning Star and the Sun entered the village of the women stars. The Morning Star married the Evening Star, and the Sun married the Moon. They took them back to their own village. After a time a child was born to each couple, and these children were placed on earth. They married, and from them sprang the human race.

The Moon put all these obstacles in the way of the Morning Star, because she did not want the people on earth, in after times, to live forever. All these obstacles were sicknesses and troubles which would be brought down upon the people. But the Morning Star and the Sun can give power to men to destroy these ills just as they themselves destroyed the obstacles.

It has already been said that the sacrifice was most 787
commonly made as a result of a dream or vision in 796
which the Morning Star demanded it. Immediately on waking in the morning, the man who had had the dream went outside his lodge and began crying and mourning, his cries gradually becoming a song. He [533]
sang:— [539]

"When he comes.
When he comes.
Father, I am seeking for you."

By this song he let the people know that he had seen the Morning Star in a vision.

It is said that the man who had had the vision 721
sometimes did not obey the Morning Star, but more 796
often he could neither sleep nor rest until he had captured a maiden for sacrifices. As soon as possible after the vision he went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received from him the warrior's cos-

721 796 tume and sacred objects kept in the bundle for such expeditions. Many warriors usually volunteered to go with him, for it was thought that the object of the expedition insured its success.

726 796 When the party had assembled, they set out for the country of the enemy, sending scouts constantly in advance. [782] If they killed any game on the way, they offered part of it to the Morning Star to remind him that they were on his business. The leader carried the [778] sacred objects from the Morning Star bundle on his back.

When the scouts returned with word that they had found an enemy village, the party retired to some sheltered place and prepared for a ceremony. A circle was cleared, and a fireplace excavated as for a lodge. The leader then opened his pack and put on the sacred warrior's costume, and laid out the other objects to the west of the fireplace. A fire was kindled, and smoke [533] offered to the heavenly gods. All then sang a song symbolizing the overcoming of the Evening Star by the Morning Star and how, from their union, a girl was born. In the course of this song the leader rose and circled the fireplace, acting in pantomime the journey of the Morning Star. At its conclusion he passed out of the circle, and standing facing the east addressed [782] the Morning Star as follows: "I am praying to you as you directed, and we are seeking a sacrifice as you wished. I ask you to show yourself." In answer to [821] this prayer the star was thought to shine with brighter light. The leader then addressed his party thus:—

"Warriors, young men, we are now sitting in a place dedicated to the Morning Star. We are about to sing the song that the Morning Star himself sang when he was in search of a woman, who put obstacles in his way. I want you all to dance with all your might and to be brave. Whoever shall be so lucky as to catch

the girl must call her Opirikuts as he touches her. 726
Others must move away and not touch her. The life 796
of anyone who touches her afterward will be in danger.
Everyone must now dance toward the center. Let the
fire be like the enemy."

All then sang a song symbolizing the obstacles [533
overcome by the Morning Star, the refrain being, "This [539
is the way I did when I became angry." A red-painted
stick like those used in the Thunder Ceremony had
meanwhile been prepared, and this was now offered to
the Morning Star by the leader with the words, "See, [782
I offer you only this stick with tobacco. It is all I have.
Help me to obtain a real sacrifice."

By the end of this ceremony it was almost time for
the Morning Star to rise, and the leader went outside
the circle to the east and addressed a long invocation to
him. He then returned, and all put on their war paint
and ornaments. A fourth song was then sung in which [533
four of the great heavenly spirits were called upon to [539
give the warriors their powers. As they sang, the [535
warriors danced around the fire, leaping upward and
giving their war cries, while the leader ran about encouraging them to dance harder. At the end of the
dance the leader made a last prayer to the Morning
Star, and all set out for the village.

The war party surrounded the village quietly. The leader, who at this time was considered a personification of the Morning Star, took his post to the east, with his back to the village, while a second man took his place at the southeast, and was directed to howl like a wolf, as soon as the Morning Star rose. As soon as his call was heard, the leader turned toward the village, and the attack began from all sides. The first man to capture a young woman touched her and called out, "I pronounce you Opirikuts." As soon as this was done, the attackers drew off and started toward home.

727 796 782 The word Opirikuts was both a dedication and a curse. As applied to the destined sacrifice, it was the former, and protected her from any mistreatment. From the moment it was pronounced she was sacred to the Morning Star, and any one touching her would die as from an infection. She was turned over by her captor to the leader and the man who had howled like a wolf, who represented respectively the Morning Star and another star called Fools-the-Wolves. These men were responsible for her until the arrival of the party at the home village.

When the party had arrived at the Pawnee camp, the girl was given into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village. Several months sometimes intervened between the time of her capture and that of the sacrifice, and during this time she was well fed and made as happy and comfortable as possible. It was forbidden, however, to give her any new clothing, as the giver would thereby become Opirikuts also and die. She was fed with a bowl and spoon kept in the Morning Star bundle for the purpose, and no one else might use these. If a man deliberately broke one of these taboos and died, he was thought to have taken the girl's place as a sacrifice, and she was released and sent back to her own people. If she escaped, it was thought a sign that the Morning Star had rejected her, and she was not pursued.

796 When the proper season for the sacrifice had arrived, the chief of the Morning Star village had all the furniture removed from the interior of his lodge and sent two errand men to summon the participants in the ceremony. The priest of the village came, bringing his sacred bundle, and spread out its contents on the west of the lodge to form an altar. With him came his assistant, usually a relative, who would succeed to the office on his death. These men seated themselves be-

hind the altar. The girl, who was constantly attended by a guardian, was brought in and seated on the south side of the lodge. The chief of the village took his place on the southwest, with the leader of the war party on his left, while the man who had actually captured the girl sat on the northeast. 796

The priest built two little fires of sweet grass, one to the east, and the other to the west of the fireplace. The girl was taken to the eastern fire, undressed, and her body bathed in the smoke. Her guardian then painted her whole body red and dressed her in a black skirt and robe which were kept in the sacred bundle between sacrifices. The man who had captured the girl then went to the altar, and was dressed by the priest in another costume, also kept in the bundle. He was given black leggings and moccasins, his face and hair were painted red, and a fan-shaped head-dress of twelve eagle feathers was attached to his hair in such a way that it stood out straight over the back of his head at right angles to his body. This was the costume in which the Morning Star usually appeared in visions, and with its assumption the captor seems to have become a personification of that deity. 727 782 796 [302] [302] [776] [787]

After these ceremonies had been performed, the captor left the lodge and passed through the village, entering every lodge and warning those who were to take part in the ceremony to come to the chief's lodge. Each family gave him a little red and black paint and certain other objects which were needed in the ceremony. When he had completed the circuit, he returned to the chief's lodge, and errand men were sent out to invite the chiefs and priests of all the villages to come to the ceremony. The Pawnee village was a social as well as a geographical unit. Several villages might live together. Each of the priests and chiefs had his prescribed place in the circle, while the space 796 [361] [621]

796 behind them was packed with spectators. So great was the eagerness of the people to see the ceremony that many of them tore holes in the roof and walls of the lodge, leaving it a complete wreck.

793 796 When all the invited guests had taken their places, the chief priest told the priests of the Four Direction bundles to go into the woods and bring back four thick [824] poles about twelve feet long. The priest of the northeast was to bring an elm; he of the northwest, a box elder; he of the southwest, a cottonwood; and he of the 796 southeast, a willow. When they had returned, the four poles were laid on the fireplace with their ends together so that they formed a cross whose arms pointed to the four directions. The poles had to be long enough to last for the entire four days of the ceremony, and as they burned, they were pushed in toward the center, the cross being always maintained.

The ceremonies which followed are not fully known, but they consisted of many songs and dances, with feasting, and continued for three days and nights. [786] During this time, and for the three days after the slaying of the sacrifice, the ordinary rules of conduct were set aside, and the priests announced to the people that if any man approached any woman during this period, she was to go with him willingly, that the tribe might increase.

727 782 796 Toward morning of each night, the representative of the northeast village danced around the fireplace, and taking the pole brought by the priest of that direction, pointed its glowing end toward the girl's body. This was repeated by the representative of the other directions in turn, but the girl's body was never touched with the brand. Indeed, the girl was treated with the greatest respect and consideration throughout the ceremony. She was told that the entire performance was given in her honor, and everything was done to lull

her suspicions and keep her in a pleasant frame of mind. 727 782 796

717 782 796 On the afternoon of the fourth day, the chief priest selected four men from the Four Band village to secure the materials for the scaffold. Under the direction of the leader of the war party which had captured the girl, they went to the nearest thick timber and searched until they found a hackberry tree near the center of the grove. At this tree they made an offering of smoke to the gods, and then went northeast from it to find an [824] elm, northwest to find a box elder, southwest to find a cotton wood, and southeast to find a willow. These were to serve for the lower cross-bars of the scaffold. They then went east until they found an elm and a cottonwood large enough to be used as uprights. Finally, they went west and cut a willow to serve as the top cross-bar.

[533] When the men had departed to search for the timber, the priests sang a song describing their actions. At its conclusion the chief priest sent the two chiefs of the Morning Star village, accompanied by a warrior, to select the site of the scaffold. This had to be some place near the village which had, to the east of it, a depression or ravine large enough to conceal several men. When the chiefs had made their choice, the warrior accompanying them gave his war-cry. An errand man had been stationed outside the lodge to listen for this, and as soon as he heard and reported it, the priest of the Skull bundle ran to the place, bearing the sacred bow and two arrows. The two chiefs had stationed themselves at the points where the uprights of the scaffold were to stand, and the priest shot an arrow into the ground in front of each of them, thus marking the place where the hole was to be dug. Between these arrows four priests then dug away the soil to a depth of about a foot, making a rectangular pit ap-

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

417 proximately the size of the wrapper of a sacred bundle
782 when fully unfolded. The floor of the excavation was
796 then covered with white, downy feathers. This pit was called *kusaru*, and represented the garden which the Evening Star kept in the west, or, according to another account, the reproductive organs of the Evening Star. The white feathers with which it was lined symbolized the milk of women and animals and the juice of young corn. After the pit had been completed, the holes for the uprights of the scaffold were dug by two young girls.

While the digging was going on, the party sent after the timbers had returned. The two uprights of the scaffold were first erected, then each cross-bar was tied on by a warrior from the village of the direction which it represented. Before tying it, the warrior would recount some deed. One would say, "I made a sacrifice of meat and carried it to the priest on my back. After the ceremony was performed, the priest whispered to me, 'You, young man, have brought meat here by means of the pack string. You will have an opportunity before the summer is over to lasso a pony in the enemy's country. The gods now know you. Do not fear to go on the war path.' I went. We found a village, and others became afraid and ran. I went east by myself and found the enemy's horses. I went among them and found one with an eagle-wing fan tied to its tail. I captured it and rode home. Since then I have made many sacrifices." The top cross-bar was tied by two men each of whom had made a sacrifice, but these did not recount any adventures in war.

It is probable that the scaffold was also painted at this time, although the ceremonies connected with the painting are not remembered. The two uprights were painted red and black, the former symbolizing
[822] day, and the latter, night. The lowest cross-bar was

black, and symbolized the northeast; and its animal 417
guardian, the bear. The second was red, symboliz- 782
ing the southeast and the wolf. The third was yellow, 796
symbolizing the northwest and the mountain lion; and 822
the fourth white, symbolizing the southwest and the wildcat. The top cross-bar represented the west, and was painted blue or black and white, symbolizing clouds and rain.

By the time the scaffold was completed, it was 796
about sunset, and the people dispersed. All spectators 773
were sent out of the lodge, and the door was closed. The chief priest then drew upon the floor of the lodge four circles, one for each of the world quarters, and outlined them with white downy feathers. Each of these circles represented a region penetrated by the Morning Star in his search for the Evening Star and also the magic animal which he had overcome there. The white feathers symbolized the foam about their
mouths when they attacked him. When the circles had [533]
been made, the spectators were re-admitted, and the [535]
priests sang a song descriptive of the journey of the Morning Star, while the chief priest danced around the lodge with a war club, destroying the circles one by one. When the song was finished, he straightened up and said, "Chiefs, priests, warriors, old men, I have destroyed the regions once controlled by the mysterious woman who wanted darkness forever. These animals were under her control, when the Morning Star traveled in darkness looking for her. She placed an obstacle in the southeast, which was controlled by the wolf. The Morning Star destroyed this obstacle, but preserved the mysterious animal. He continued his journey, traveled to the southwest, and again met an obstacle which he destroyed, but preserved the animal, a wildcat. He continued his journey, and when he came to the northwest, he again met an obstacle. He des-

796 troyed it, but preserved the animal, a mountain lion. 773 He went on to the northeast, and again destroyed an obstacle, but preserved its guardian, the bear. In the center of the earth in darkness he found the woman, conquered her, touched her with his war club, and turned her into the earth. The Morning Star then called the mysterious animals to him and said, "You beings are now under my control. Stand in the places where I found you, and watch over the people who shall be placed upon the earth and guard them. All powers you have you shall keep. You shall exist as long as the earth lasts. You are now placed as upright posts so that you will always hold up the heavens. Priests, chiefs, warriors, old men, I have this night followed the journey of the Morning Star. We will not forget these beings which he placed in the four directions, for he promised that they should partake of all offerings which the people made to the heavens. Let us begin singing the songs given to us by Mother White Star in the west (the Evening Star)."

533 When the chief priest had finished his speech, all 796 began to sing the prescribed songs, resting and smok- 782 ing informally after each. Like most ceremonial songs, these were long, with many repetitions, and were often [211] obscure in meaning. As each song was finished, a tally stick, taken from a bunch kept in the sacred bundle, was laid down. The idea underlying this part of the ritual seems to have been that the girl at first belonged to the people and to the world of human affairs, but that, as each song was sung, she became more removed from them until, when the last tally was laid down, she had been won from the people, like a prize in a game, and belonged to the gods.

The singing usually lasted until about two hours 717 before dawn. A priest then climbed on the roof of the 782 lodge and announced to the people that the girl was 796

about to be prepared for the sacrifice, and that it was 727
time for everyone to set out for the scaffold. The chief 782
priest undressed the girl, went through the motions of 796
washing her and combing her hair, and painted the [302]
right half of her body red and the left half black. Her [292]
skirt was then replaced, black moccasins were put on her feet, and a black robe fastened around her shoulders. Lastly a head-dress of twelve black-tipped eagle feathers, arranged like a fan, was fastened on her head.

When the girl had been dressed, all resumed their [533]
seats and sang another song at the conclusion of which she was told to rise; and two men, chosen to lead her to the scaffold, came forward and placed thongs around her wrists. All then passed out of the lodge, with the girl in the lead and the priests following behind chanting.

The rate at which the procession moved toward the scaffold depended largely upon the disposition of the girl. Everything was done to conceal the truth from her, and force was not used unless absolutely necessary. If she mounted the scaffold of her own free [787]
will, it was considered an especially auspicious omen. The procession was timed to reach the scaffold a few minutes before the Morning Star rose, so that the men who tied her to it could complete their work and leave her alone when the star appeared.

While the girl was being tied to the scaffold, the men chosen for the last rites had assembled in the ravine to the east of it, where they were concealed from her view. A small fire was kindled there, and they prepared their paraphernalia. At the moment the Morning Star appeared, two men came forward bearing firebrands. They were dressed as priests, and had owl skins hung from their necks, showing that they represented the messengers of the Morning Star.

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

727 They took their places on either side of the girl, and
782 with their brands touched her lightly in the groin and
796 armpit. They then returned to the ravine, and a third man ran out, carrying the bow from the Skull bundle and a sacred arrow made for the sacrifice. As he came, he gave his war cry, and the people called to him and encouraged him as though he was attacking an enemy. Coming close to the girl, he sent his arrow through her heart, and ran back to the ravine. This part was usually taken by the man who had captured her. A fourth man then came forward with the club from the Morning Star bundle and struck the girl on the head.

A fire had been kindled to the southeast of the scaffold, and as soon as the girl was dead, her guardian came forward with a flint knife, and her captor with the dried heart and tongue of a buffalo. The guardian mounted the scaffold and cut open the body, while the captor held the meat below and caught the blood. The guardian thrust his hand into the thoracic cavity and painted his face with the blood. Sometimes
[266] he is said to have removed her liver and given it to the members of the Bear Medicine Society, who cut it into small pieces and ate it to acquire magical powers. The blood-soaked meat was burned on the fire near the scaffold as an offering to all the gods.

When these rites had been performed, the men among the spectators gave their war cries and crowded forward to shoot arrows into the body. It was thought desirable that as many arrows should be shot as there were males in the tribe, and boys too young to draw a bow were helped by their fathers or mothers. When each man had shot his arrow, the spectators dispersed and returned to the villages where feasting and dancing continued for three days.

782 The priests, the guardian, and those intimately
796

connected with the ceremony remained at the scaffold. 782
When the crowd had gone, the guardian removed the 796
arrows from the body one by one and handed them to
an assistant who divided them into four bundles and
laid these bundles northeast, northwest, southeast,
and southwest of the fireplace. The body was then
taken down and carried a short distance to the
east of the scaffold, where it was laid face down. The
sacred arrow was drawn from its heart and laid upon
it. All then returned to the village, and the place was [766]
avoided for some time.

It was believed that the soul of the girl left her 775
body at the moment she was struck with the club and 782
went straight to Tirawa, who sent it to the Morning
Star. The Morning Star clothed it with flint from his
fireplace in the dawn and placed it among the stars in
the heavens. Her body was thought to be not like ordinary bodies. Even after her death it possessed life.
Things would be born from it, and the earth would be
fertilized by it.

The sacrifice as a whole must be considered as a 773
dramatization of the overcoming of the Evening Star 782
by the Morning Star and their subsequent connection, 796
from which sprang all life on earth. The girl upon
the scaffold seems to have been conceived of as a personification or embodiment of the Evening Star surrounded by her powers. When she was overcome, the
life of the earth was renewed, insuring universal fertility and increase.

Human sacrifices were rare among the North 171
American Indians. The practice is known to have 782
existed among the Natchez, who lived in the present
state of Mississippi, and possibly in Arizona and New
Mexico. In Mexico, on the other hand, the idea was
highly developed, and under the Aztec rule large numbers of victims were immolated every year. It may be

171 significant that several of the practices and concepts
782 connected with the Pawnee sacrifice find Mexican parallels. Early Aztec manuscripts show victims fastened to scaffolds like that used by the Pawnee and shot to death with arrows. In both places the body of the victim was cut open, and the blood offered. The idea that the sacrifice was more acceptable if the victim mounted the scaffold willingly was common to both, together with the still more striking idea that the victim was a personification of a deity. Among the Aztecs this concept reached its highest development, the victim in at least one ceremony being treated as a god for a year before his sacrifice. Finally, in both places there seem to have been astronomical beliefs connected with the sacrifices.

000 This account has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey and from articles by several other authors.

RALPH LINTON

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

MAY 5 1923
LIBRARY

Purification of the Sacred Bundles, a Ceremony of the Pawnee

0bb

BY

RALPH LINTON

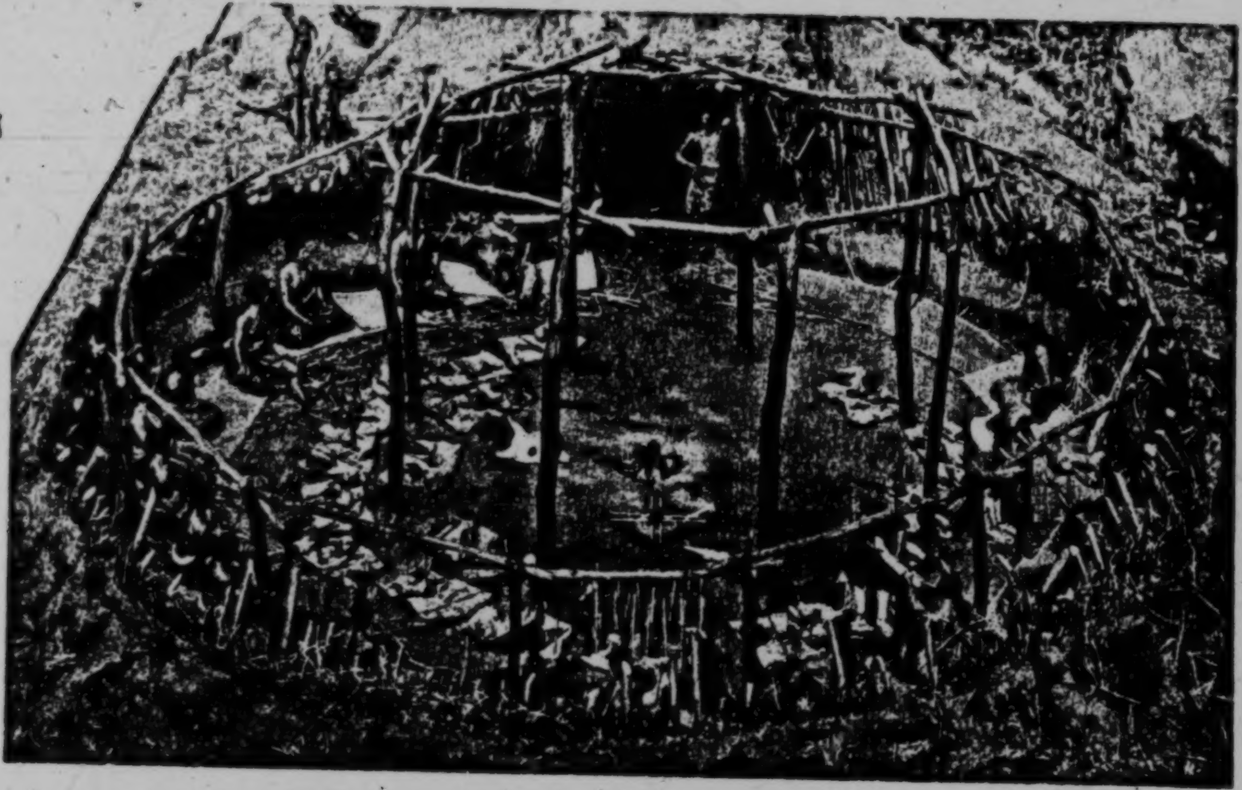
Assistant Curator of North American Ethnology

[title page]

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
CHICAGO
1923

1k10
-451
-7

[facing p. 1(41)]



PURIFICATION OF THE SACRED BUNDLES, PAWNEE.
MINIATURE GROUP IN CASE 50, HALL 5.

796

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[p. 1]

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1923

LEAFLET NUMBER 7

Purification of the Sacred Bundles, a Ceremony of the Pawnee

796 The religious beliefs of the Pawnee, which seem, in some ways, to have been on a higher plane than those of the other Plains tribes, have been described in Leaflet 5 of this series, under the title "The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee." At the head of their pantheon stood Tirawa, a purely spiritual being, who was not identified with any animal, object, or natural phenomenon. Below him there were a great number of gods of lesser rank who were divided into two great classes,—the gods of the heavens and the gods of the earth. The former were, for the most part, identified with the stars, the Evening Star holding the highest place, with the Morning Star second. The former was an embodiment of all the female, the latter of all the male, attributes. The gods of the earth were, for the most part, identified with animals, and their rank was less rigidly fixed. Of the two groups the heavenly gods were the more important, and were considered the guardians of the people as a whole, while the earthly gods were more especially the guardians of individuals and secret societies.

778 The ceremonies held in honor of the heavenly gods centered around collections of sacred objects called by the whites sacred bundles or medicine bundles. The Skidi Pawnee called them *chuhraraperu,* meaning

NK10
F45

778 "rains-wrapped-up." The tribe was divided into a 621 number of villages all of whose members traced their (611) descent in the female line from a single ancestor. Each 778 of these villages possessed a sacred bundle, while there were two others which were considered the property of the tribe as a whole. The Four Direction village had four sacred bundles one of which was sacred to each of the cardinal points. These points were, to [823] the Pawnee, southwest, southeast, northwest, and northeast. The sacred bundle of each village was believed to have been given to its first ancestor by one of the heavenly beings, and constituted a link between 778 its members and the divine donor. From their traditions the "gift" seems to have consisted rather in explicit directions for its making than in an actual presentation of the objects. The bundles were inherited [422] in the female line so that their owners were always [428] women. Their keepers, and the priests who performed their ceremonies, were, on the other hand, men.

All the village bundles contained much the same objects. The most important of these were one or two ears of corn, which were called Mother-Corn and were believed to give life to the bundle. They were shelled in the spring and distributed for seed, being replaced at harvest time. When the Mother-Corn consisted of two ears, one of these was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element or Morning Star, while the other symbolized the female element or Evening Star. Next in importance to the Mother-Corn were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls. The hawk sym- [825] bolized a warrior; the owl, a chief, because it was always awake and watchful. The owl seems to have also symbolized the watchfulness of Tirawa, the supreme being. One or more scalps, taken from slain enemies, were found in every bundle. Pieces cut from them were used in various ceremonies, and they had to be renewed from time to time. Four skins, each of

which contained red, black, and white paint in little 778 buckskin pouches; sweet grass, a pipe and native tobacco, and the penis bone of a racoon, were also placed in each bundle, all these objects being used in the ceremonies. The sweet grass was burned as incense, and the bone was attached to a stick and used as a fork to remove meat from the pot. Some bundles contained additional objects.

When the bundle was not in use, all these articles were done up in an inner and an outer wrapper of buffalo hide and tied with a rope of plaited buffalo-hair. To the outside of the bundle were attached the stems of one or more pipes whose bowls were in the bundle, a few arrows captured from the enemy, and some other objects. The arrows were used as fire pokers and pipe tampers during the ceremonies. In [276 ceremonial smoking it was forbidden to press down 782] the tobacco in the pipe with the finger lest the gods should think that the smoker offered himself to them with the tobacco. Associated with each bundle, and often fastened to it, there were four large gourd rattles of special form. These symbolized the four dieties who were the special guardians of the Evening Star, and also represented the breasts of the two divine women in the west,—the Evening Star and the Moon.

Except at the time of ceremonies, the sacred bundle was hung up on the west side of its keeper's lodge, above the buffalo skull which was always placed there. When so hung, it was likened by the Pawnee to a dead man in his grave. The spirit lived in it, but slept. Even when opened, the bundle continued asleep until the Mother-Corn had been placed in it. It then came to life, and during the ceremony the corn and the other objects represented, individually and collectively, supernatural beings. These beliefs of the Pawnee differ [171] considerably from those held by most of the other tribes who used sacred bundles; and Dr. G. A. Dorsey

171 has concluded that the village bundles of the Pawnee
778 are more nearly comparable to the elaborate altars of
the Southwestern Indians than to the medicine bundles
of the northern Plains tribes and Central Algonkins.

778 It seems probable that there was originally a special
796 ceremony connected with each bundle. There were additional ceremonies, such as that held when the first
thunder was heard in the spring, which might be performed with several bundles in turn, and there were a
few rites in which all the bundles participated. The
[783] purification of the sacred bundles belonged to the last
class.

778 The purification ceremony was held in the spring
783 and again in the autumn, before the tribe left their
permanent villages for the buffalo hunt. It has already been said that the Four Direction village had four sacred bundles. These took the lead in successive years. When the chiefs had decided upon the date for departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the bundle which was leader in that year. He sent his errand man to summon the priests of the other three bundles. These came to his lodge, bringing their bundles with them. As they entered, they beat their bundles, then crossed to the west side of the lodge, and seated themselves with their bundles in front of them on the ground. The errand man was then sent to summon the keepers of all the other village bundles, directing them to bring their bundles and also mats, pillows, and food-bowls. When these arrived at the lodge, they took designated places around it, spreading their mats on the ground and hanging their bundles, unopened, on the wall behind them.

783 When all had arrived, one of the four priests went
through the village announcing the beginning of the
ceremony and calling on the people to bring gifts to
[782] Mother-Corn. These gifts consisted of a robe, moccasins, a hair cord, to be used as a girdle, and dried meat

and fat. The articles of clothing had to be new and 783
unused, and the meat that of buffalo which had been 782
dedicated to the gods at the time they were killed. The
gifts could only be presented by men who were in
favor with the gods. If the priests accepted them
from men who were evil in their lives or negligent in
their religious duties, the gods would be offended and
refuse to send the buffalo. Before taking a gift to the [302]
lodge, a man painted himself red, so that all the
people might know his errand; and, when the gift
had been accepted, two messengers went through the
village, thanking him publicly.

The priests and bundle keepers remained in the 783
lodge for three days and nights, sleeping in their designated
places. No ceremonies seem to have been performed
during this period, and they passed the time in
talk and in feasting on the food which was brought to
them. No women were allowed to enter the lodge during [562]
the whole time of the ceremony.

On the morning of the fourth day the priests of the Four Direction bundles rose very early and dug a rectangular pit to the west of the fire-place, between it and the permanent altar of the lodge. The buffalo skull, which at ordinary times stood on this altar, was removed and placed north of the fire-place. The earth from the excavation was taken outside the lodge and piled in a mound before the door. When the pit was finished, the priests carpeted it with white downy feathers. This pit seems to have corresponded to the pit dug below the scaffold at the time of the human sacrifice to the Morning Star and, like it, represented the Evening Star's garden in the west, the source of all earthly fertility and increase.

When the pit had been completed, the priests directed 778
the keepers of the various bundles to open them 783
and take out the Mother-Corn. A sacred stick, kept
in the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, was set up

778 just east of the pit. The keeper of that bundle then 783 brought the Mother-Corn from it and placed it in the pit, thrusting the stick to which the male ear was attached into the earth so that it stood upright and leaning the other ear against its base. The keepers of the other bundles then came forward in turn and did the same. A wooden bowl filled with water was then placed to the east of the pit, between it and the fire-place. A clam shell was laid in the bowl, and a turtle, supported by a framework of sticks, was placed upon it. To the northeast and northwest of the bowl [825] were laid the heads and necks of loons, to the southeast the head and neck of a swan, and to the southwest a gar fish. The meaning of these objects is not perfectly understood. The bowl seems to have represented earth and water; the turtle, fire and also one of the important earthly gods. The loons and swan represented earthly gods, guardians of medicine men; and the gar fish, the great sea monster which first gave the medicine men's ceremony to human beings.

After these objects had been arranged, the chief priest selected four men to sit at the northeast, northwest, southeast and southwest corners of the bowl. The sacred stick from the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, and a star chart, kept in a bag attached to that bundle, were taken outside and placed on the mound in front of the doorway. The priest then took four smooth stones from the same bundle and gave one to each of the four men. These stones were extremely sacred, and were believed to have been given to the people at the beginning of the world. They were provided [482] with withe handles so that they could be carried without touching them. When they had been distributed, the priest said, "It is now time for these men to go outside and look at the heavens and over the earth. They will take with them these four stones, which were given to our people when the earth was

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

created." Turning to the men, he told them to rise and go out of the lodge. When they had risen, he went to the man who stood on the northeast and gave him the sacred pipe from the bundle which was the leader in that year and a strip of dried buffalo fat about one foot long and four inches wide. After this the men passed out of the lodge, while the priests sang a song describing their looking at the heavens and earth. 778 783

The four men seated themselves around the mound of earth taken from the pit in the same positions they had occupied around the bowl in the lodge. An errand man then kindled a small fire to the east of the mound, and the man who sat on the northeast placed the dried fat upon it. As soon as the grease began to run out, the other three men caught some of it in their hands and greased their hands and faces. They also greased the sacred stones and passed them through the smoke. When this had been done, the fat was removed from the fire, and all four smoked the sacred pipe, passing it from one to another. At the conclusion of the smoking, the pipe was laid on the mound, and all stood up slowly, looking at the sky in all directions. They then picked up the fat, the pipe, and the sacred stones, and re-entered the lodge.

While the men were outside, the priests had sung a series of songs, but ceased singing as they entered. The man from the northeast, who was the leader of the four, went to the bowl of water, picked up the bird's head which lay northeast of the bowl, dipped its bill in the water, and drank from it. He then pressed it first to his right and then to his left breast, and replaced it on the ground. He took up the turtle and did the same with it, except that he pressed it against his abdomen instead of his breast. When he had finished, he stood a short distance away on the west, and the other three men came from their respective directions and went through the same performance. After this [533]

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

783 rite, they seated themselves in their original places, 778 and the priest said, "Priests, the men whom we have sent out to look about have returned. They will tell us what they have seen." The man on the northeast rose and announced, "We went out before daylight. We found the buffalo; so many of them that they have almost drunk the river dry." The others rose in turn and gave the same answer.

The chief priest then called some famous warrior and gave him the sacred pipe which the men had used, and gave the strip of fat to a chief. These passed around the interior of the lodge, first on the north, and then on the south side, offering first the pipe and then the fat to each of the keepers in turn. All reached for the pipe at once, trying to get as many hands on it as possible. They did the same with the fat, clutching it as if starving and trying to tear off pieces. This sym- [777] bolized their eagerness to kill buffalo, and the tighter a man grasped the pipe, and the more fat he succeeded in tearing off, the better would be his success on the hunt.

When the pipe and fat had completed their circuit, they were placed on the altar. The priest then called the chief of the whole band to the altar and invested him with the robe, rope, and moccasins which had been provided as gifts to Mother-Corn. The sacred pipe was placed in his hands, and the priest announced, "Priests and men, this man will take us to the river." All the keepers then went to the pit and took from it the Mother-Corn belonging to their respective bundles.

While this was going on, men had entered the lodge and seated themselves in front of the bundles belonging to their respective villages. The star chart was brought in from outside and given to a warrior belonging to the village of the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle. Three other men were given quivers belonging to other sacred bundles. These four seated themselves,

one behind the other, near the entrance of the lodge, the 778
man with the star chart being in the lead. The various 783
objects in the bundles were then distributed to the men from their villages. The chief of the band, in his ceremonial costume, left the lodge, and began to muster the small boys of the tribe outside. All who were old enough to take part were expected to be present, and in performing this duty the chief was supposed to show his watchfulness over the people.

During the distribution of the sacred objects the [533]
priests had been shaking their rattles and singing. Three songs were sung, and when they reached a certain word in the fourth, the man who carried the star chart jumped up and ran toward the river, closely followed by the men with the quivers. All the others followed them, with much crowding and fighting at the doorway. The priests and the keepers of the bundles remained behind. The men raced to the river bank, and there lined up in four ranks. Anyone who overtook the runner with the star chart snatched it from him, the idea being to carry it to the stream in the least possible time. At the river bank it was returned to its original bearer. The man with the star chart, and those with the quivers, stood in the center of the front rank, with the men who carried the Mother-Corn on either side. Behind them stood the men with the owl and hawk skins from the bundles, and behind these in turn the bearers of the less important objects. The last rank was made up of small boys, who carried racoon bones and arrows. When all had taken their places, the ranks opened in the center, and the chief came through, carrying the sacred pipe. He waded down into the water and went through the motions of bathing the pipe four times, although he did not wet it. He then pretended to wash first his right and then his left hand, and finally dipped his right hand in the water and touched it to his mouth,

778 nose, and forehead, and then drew it down his face. 783 These movements were repeated four times, with the right and left hands alternately. When he had done this, he came up out of the water, passed through the ranks, and took his place behind the rearmost, with his face toward the village. The men of the first rank then waded down into the stream and went through the same performance with the sacred objects they carried. They then passed through the other ranks and took their place behind the chief. The other two ranks did the same. When all had finished, the chief led them back to the village. As they entered it, the small boys dispersed, but the men continued on to the ceremonial lodge, where they returned the objects they carried to the keepers of the bundles and put on their robes, which they had left behind during the race. They then returned to their own lodges.

All the women who were bundle owners had ground corn during the preceding night and made mush. [262] This mush had been brought to the lodge and given to the chief priest early in the morning, before the commencement of the ceremonies just described. He now offered a little of it to the gods and distributed the rest to the priests and keepers. They ate, and then tied their sacred bundles, took up their mats, pillows, and bowls, and returned to their own lodges.

783 After they had left the ceremonial lodge, a crier went through the town, telling the people to clean their lodges and the streets of their villages and carry the filth away. When this had been done, the priests who had taken part in the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood outside it, shaking his gourd rattle and singing. All the people assembled and ran a race down to the river. When they reached [515] it, the priests waded in, came out at once, and went to the sweat lodge, where they took a steam bath. The

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

rest of the village, men, women and children, remained 783
at the river, swimming and playing in the water.

Ceremonies of general purification were important 171
among the settled agricultural tribes of the southeastern and southwestern United States. Among these tribes they were usually associated with the making of new fire, a feature which seems to have been lacking in the Pawnee ceremony. The account of this ceremony has 000
been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey.

RALPH LINTON

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

MAY 5 1923
LIBRARY

Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men

000

BY

RALPH LINTON

Assistant Curator of North American Ethnology

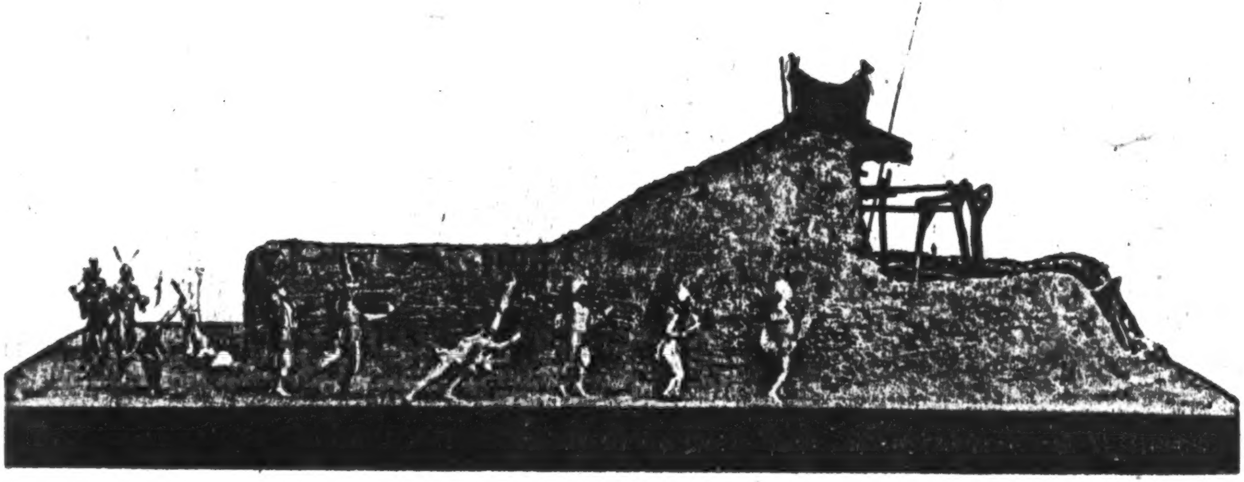
[title page]

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
CHICAGO
1923

535

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[Facing p. 1 (53)]



DANCE OF THE MEDICINE MEN, PAWNEE.
MINIATURE GROUP IN CASE 49, HALL 5.

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1923

LEAFLET NUMBER 8

1

Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men

A general description of the Pawnee, with an account of their religious beliefs and social organization, 101
has been given in Leaflet No. 5 of this series. Although geographically a Plains tribe, they differed in several respects from the typical tribes of the region. While the latter were all nomadic hunters, the Pawnee were settled agriculturists, inhabiting permanent towns and subsisting largely on their crops. When on hunting [171]
trips, they used the typical skin-covered tent of the plains, but in their towns they built large houses of wood covered with earth. A model of one of these houses is shown in the miniature group illustrating the annual ceremony of the Medicine Men.

The earth lodges of the Pawnee were dome-shaped, 342
about forty-feet in diameter and fifteen feet high. The roof was supported by two concentric rows of uprights, the outer row being planted just in front of a ledge, about a foot and a half high, which entirely surrounded the inside of the lodge. The outer posts, which varied in number according to the size of the lodge, were about seven feet high, and were placed about the same distance apart. The inner row of posts stood about half way between the outer wall of the lodge and its center, and were about twelve feet high. They varied in number from four to ten. All the uprights were forked and bore a row of cross beams, which supported rafters extending from the outer uprights to a point

342 just over the center of the lodge, where an opening about two feet in diameter was left as a smoke-hole. Long willow rods, closely spaced, were laid transversely over the rafters, and these in turn were covered with a thick layer of bunch grass. The sides of the lodge were built of timbers whose lower ends were planted in a trench, while their upper ends leaned against the cross beams of the outer uprights. The whole lodge was then covered with earth and sod.

The entrance was protected by a covered way, built like the lodge, which extended out from it. In all but one of the Skidi villages this entrance faced the [354] east. In the center of the floor there was a circular fire-pit surrounded by a slight embankment. At the west side of the lodge, opposite the entrance, a space [778] was always reserved. This space was called *wiharu*, the garden of the Evening Star, and was considered sacred. In it a buffalo skull was placed, facing the entrance, and above it the sacred bundles and other religious paraphernalia of the family were hung. 352 Around the north and south sides of the lodges, sleeping platforms were built. These platforms were made of poles whose inner ends rested on the earth ledge, while their outer ends were supported by forked posts and [513] beams. Over the poles were laid willow mats, coarse rush mats, and lastly tanned buffalo-skins. Each bed was screened off from those adjoining by willow mats. A lodge of ordinary size would have from eight to ten beds on a side. Those next the altar, which were considered most honorable, were occupied by the older children. Next were the beds of the aunts and uncles, then those of the parents, and lastly those of the old [592] people. As many as ten families, all related by blood, sometimes occupied a single house. The sleeping platforms and other furniture were removed when the lodge was to be used for ceremonies, and are not shown in the miniature group.

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were of 796
two sorts, ceremonies which centered around the sacred 756
bundles and were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe, and ceremonies which were performed by societies whose members had some secret in common. In the ceremonies of the first class, the most important of which have been described in Leaflets 5-7, an appeal was made primarily to the great heavenly deities. In the ceremonies of the second class, the appeal was made to the less powerful, but more intimate earthly gods who were believed to have bestowed power upon the performers. Among the ceremonies of the second class, those of the medicine men were the most important.

In every Indian tribe there were a number of per- 756
sons, called medicine men by the whites, who were regarded as the possessors of supernatural powers which enabled them to recognize and cure disease. They were believed to have received their powers from some supernatural being either as a direct gift or as the result of instruction by some person who had received such powers. Although they frequently employed sleight of hand and other trickery to impress the uninitiated, many of them believed that they really possessed the powers attributed to them, and performed their ceremonies in good faith. In some cases they combined the functions of a shaman or priest with that of a healer, and thus exercised great influence over the people. In most of the populous tribes they were organized into guilds or societies.

Among the Pawnee, the medicine men ranked [554]
socially next to the chiefs and priests. They usually
wore a distinctive costume consisting of a buffalo robe [292]
with the hair out, a bear's-claw necklace, and a cap of
beaver skin. They also wore charms or amulets con- 751
sisting of the tail and claws of the wild cat, badger, or 756
bear, bear's ears, miniature pipes, and downy feathers,

[751] attached to a bandoleer of beads or seeds. Instead of
756 the bandoleer a gaming ring containing charms was sometimes worn on the arm. Each medicine man had a bag, generally made from the skin of an animal tanned whole, in which he kept his roots, paints, white clay, and other objects used in working his cures. The latter varied with the individual, but usually consisted of deer tails, the leg bones and claws of eagles, human bones, dried fingers, and very often the maw stone of a buffalo. The last was greatly valued, as it was supposed to contain the life or soul of the buffalo. The medicine men's bags with their contents were usually handed down from father to son, or were given to a newly initiated medicine man by his instructor.

755 The methods used to work cures varied with the nature of the disease and the customs of the medicine man. Diseases of unknown origin and those ascribed to witchcraft could only be treated by some one who could work a counter spell. Such diseases were usually eradicated by sucking a feather, small stone, blood, or some other object from the patient, singing and the shaking of a rattle being part of the performance. The object sucked out was always thrown into the fire and consumed so that the seat or cause of the trouble could not enter again into the patient or into
756 any one else. All medicine men knew more or less of
[278] roots and herbs, which they administered as teas or in powdered form. The pay of the medicine man, which was given him when his services were no longer required, varied with the wealth of the patient. It sometimes consisted of buffalo robes and parfleches of dried meat, but was more often a sack of corn or a few strands of dried, braided pumpkins. He was paid even when he failed to work a cure.

756 The supernatural beings from whom the Pawnee
776 medicine men derived their powers were, for the most part, identified with animals. Not all animals were

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

able or willing to confer power, and there are some 756
indications that all those recognized as guardians were 776
related to one or another of the four supernatural
beings in the west, the messengers of the Evening Star.
It was believed that every man passed at birth under
the influence of some supernatural being. No one
knew who this guardian was, but he would manifest
himself later in the man's career. He was usually
discovered when the man fell sick during childhood.
Medicine men were sent for, and the guardian of the
one who was to be able to make the cure was thereby
shown to be the guardian of the child. If, on reaching
manhood, the boy desired to become a medicine man,
he would seek to acquire powers from his guardian.

The powers conferred by the supernatural beings 756
were of three sorts, power to cure the sick, power to [776]
perform feats of magic, and power of a third sort, [789]
called *pikawiu*, for which there is no equivalent in
English. Of these, the curative power was considered
by far the most important. The ability to perform
feats of magic was simply a tangible evidence that the
medicine man possessed the knowledge which would
enable him to cure the sick. The third sort of power
resembled hypnotism in some of its manifestations.
By it the medicine man was enabled to subjugate the
will of another to his own and to render his patient
passive during ceremonies so that his power could go
to the soul of the patient and remove the evil influence
which was at the root of the disease. The *pikawiu*
power was also likened to an arrow or bullet in its ability
to cut off life. Medicine men could throw this power
into an enemy as one would shoot an arrow, and the
individual attacked in this way was helpless until
some other medicine man, who understood the power,
exercised his magic to draw it out. Among the Pawnee 754
there was a class of men and women, not true medicine
men, who possessed this power and used it for evil

754 purposes. Their guardians were certain animals which
[776] were conceived of as having evil spirits. They were
[565] recruited from the lower classes in the tribe, and were
feared and disliked by the better element. Like the
medicine men, they were organized into a society, but
nothing is known of their ceremonies.

756 The Pawnee medicine men were organized into a
number of societies which were united by certain
secrets which they had in common. In addition to
these secrets, which were known to all medicine men,
but concealed from the rest of the tribe, each society
and even each member had individual secrets. The
oldest of these societies was that of the Pumpkin Vine
village all of whose members were said to have originally
been medicine men. Its members derived their
powers from a number of different guardians. In the
other medicine societies, which were organized at a
later date, all the members derived their powers from
the same guardian. A man might become a medicine
man as the result of a supernatural experience during
which powers were conferred upon him directly by his
guardian. Such experiences were sought through long
[787] continued prayer and fasting. More commonly, when
a man desired to become a medicine man and had determined
his guardian, he applied to some medicine
man who had derived his powers from that being, and
asked for instruction. If the medicine man believed
him to be sincere and was willing to accept the gifts
which he offered in payment, he received him as a pupil
and, at the next meeting of the medicine lodge, took
him into the lodge with him and instructed him. The
lodge sometimes continued in session two months; and
[837] during this time, as part payment, the medicine man
exercised the rights of a husband toward his pupil's
wife. Often a medicine man would have several pupils
whose wives would remain with him in his booth in
the medicine lodge. He might instruct them also if he

wished, and in this way the women learned his secrets 756
and became able themselves to practice medicine. The origin of the medicine societies is described in the following legend:—

"Once there was a man who lived alone, and did 539
not mingle with the rest of the tribe. One night he 773
had a wonderful dream. He dreamed that he stood on the bank of a wide river, and that a water monster came to the surface and spoke to him. He was so much impressed by this dream that he decided to seek for the river. He had several pairs of moccasins made, filled them with dried meat and parched corn, and started out, traveling eastward. He traveled for many days until he came to a great stream of water which he called Kits-ta-rux-ti ('the Wonderful River'). He stood upon the bank looking down, and all at once the water monster he had seen in his dream rose to the surface. It was very large and long. On its head was hair of many colors, and around its mouth were many-colored feelers. It did not speak to him, but dived, and the man leaped into the river after it. He found himself in a lodge of animals. Beside the altar were an owl and a beaver, while all the other animals sat around in a circle. Near the entrance were two ponds and by each of these two big geese. In the west of the lodge sat a woman. The water monster which had led him to the lodge of the animals lay to the south of the entrance, and acted as spokesman for the other animals. He said, 'My son, I come to you from the Big Waters. I was sent to you by Tirawa to instruct you and to tell these animals to instruct you in their mysteries. When you go home, tell your people to make an image of me and lay it in the lodge as I am now lying. The fireplace you see is not a fireplace, but a wonderful turtle. The woman sitting in the west is not a woman, but a thing of clay. She is a witch woman. The geese that stand by the ponds, when they flap their wings, make a noise

539 773 that can be heard in the heavens. Their noise wakens the gods to a remembrance of their promise to pity mankind and give them power.'

"When the water monster had told the man these things, the other animals came forward one by one, and also taught him their mysteries. When all had finished, the water monster told the man to go home and build a lodge like the lodge he was then in. He was to live in this lodge alone, and the water monster would come to him in his dreams and tell him what to do next. The man left the animals' lodge and went home. He built himself a lodge of willows, and in it he made an image of the water monster. The image was complete except for one thing. The monster had something white on its head, and the man did not know what to use for this. In the night the monster came to him in a dream and told him that he must go upon a high hill and catch eagles. He was to dig a pit three or four feet deep and cover it with branches. He must then kill several rabbits, skin them, and lay them on the branches. He was then to crawl into the hole and wait there until an eagle came down to seize the rabbits.

"The man did all this and he was crouching in the hole when he heard a noise like the wind. He looked up through the branches and saw it was an eagle flying down to get the rabbits. When it settled and began to eat, the man slipped his hand between the branches and grasped its legs. He drew it down into the pit and wrung its neck, then straightened the branches and waited for another. After a time a second came, and he killed that also. Then he carried them home and stuck their downy white feathers on the head of the image with blue mud. The image was thus completed.

"Every night after this the man slept in the lodge with the image and had dreams of the monster. In these dreams the monster told him how the cere-

monies of the medicine lodge were to be performed. At 539
last it told him to prepare for another journey. He 773
must go east again, but to a different place, and there the animals would give him many things. The next day the man set out and went east until he came to the place where Freemont, Nebraska, now is. There he camped on the high bank of the Platte River.

"There was an island in the river, and the man saw, as soon as it was dark, that sparks of fire were coming up from it. He heard mysterious noises of drumming, singing and shouting, and then the rhythm of a dance. In the water he could see fish swimming about with fire in their mouths. He watched and listened for a long time, then he fell asleep. The island was another lodge of the animals, and when he awakened, he found himself inside. In the lodge he saw the beaver, the owl, the otter, the ermine, the bear, the buffalo, the wolf, the mountain lion, the wild cat, and all sorts of birds. He stayed with them for many days, and they taught him more mysteries. At last they told him to go to a nearby hill where they had cleared a site for a medicine lodge. The deer led him from the animals' lodge and put him safe on the dry land. When he came to the place for the medicine lodge, he found everything ready. All the animals had cleared away the grass. The badgers had dug the holes for the posts, the beavers had cut them down and peeled them, and the bears and mountain lions had carried them up the hill. The animals helped him to raise the framework and told him how to lay on the willows and grass and cover the whole with earth. They then told him to return to his village and to tell the chiefs to bring the people to the new place, which had been selected for them by the animals.

"When the man arrived at the village, he sent some one to ask the chiefs to come to his lodge. When they had entered it, he told them that he had a mes-

539 sage for them from the animals. They were to bring
723 the village to the new place. The man told what the animals had done for him, and how they had built a new kind of house, and wanted the people to live in houses of this sort and keep in them the sacred things which they would give them. Before the animals made this house, the Skidi did not know how to build earth lodges. The chiefs listened to him and were glad. They said they would obey the animals.

"That night the man dreamed that, before the tribe set out for their new home, they must tear down the walls of his willow lodge and take the image of the monster and set both up in the river, just as they had been set up on dry land. By this they would show the animals in the water that they were trying to do as they had been told. When they had done this, they broke camp and moved down the river to the new place. They made their camp just to the east of the lodge the animals had built. All the people helped him to finish it in the way the animals had told him. When it was completed, he burned sweet grass in it to make it a sweet-smelling place.

"That night there were great noises heard in the island which was close to the village. The man waited in the new lodge, and the animals came and told him what to do next. They said that opposite the entrance of the lodge was to be the holy place. He was to dig a fire place and model around it a turtle with its head toward the east, its tail toward the west, and its legs toward the four world quarters. He was to make another image of the monster and lay it with its head and tail near the entrance and its body running around the lodge. He was also to make an image of the witch woman, like that he had seen in the first animals' lodge, and place it in the west. Lastly he was to tell the people to kill different kinds of birds and hang their skins from the posts of the lodge. The people helped

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539
773

him to do all these things. When the lodge was ready, he went down to the river and waited until night. The animals took him into their lodge once more, and there he saw the loon standing in front of the altar and several loon skins lying at one side. The animals gave these to him and told him how they were to be set up, and taught him certain songs he was to sing.

"The man lived alone in the lodge for a long time. The animals came to him from the river at night and took him around over the country, showing him the different roots and herbs and telling him their uses. After a while he invited a few other men to come to his lodge and instructed them in the mysteries which had been taught him by the animals. In this way they also became medicine men. They stayed in the lodge, and whenever they went out, they painted themselves with blue clay and put eagle-down on their heads. Two of their number were selected as messengers and servants. One of these wore the skin of the magpie, and the other that of a muskrat for the magpie and muskrat were the errand men of the animals' lodge.

"In the autumn, when the crops had been gathered, and many buffalo had been killed, these first medicine men invited other men of the tribe to come to the lodge and learn the mysteries. These men were told to leave the village, purify themselves, and fast for four days. When they came to the medicine lodge, the man who had built it sang a song and recited a ritual, and then told them to go to the river bottom and cut young willows and cotton woods. One man he sent to the east to cut a cedar tree. They brought the trees to the lodge and with the willows and cottonwoods they made little lodges around the inside of the large building. The cedar tree was set up to the north of the entrance, and a little lodge of cedar bows was built on the south side. When the lodges were finished, the leader of the medicine men called a man from each lodge to him and

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 gave him the skin of the animal which was to be the 773 guardian of that lodge. The men stayed in the little lodges, fasting and singing until they fell from exhaustion, and went to sleep. When this happened, the leader took the skin of the animal to whose lodge the man belonged and laid it on him. This animal would tell the man in a dream what he was to do. When he awoke, he would tell his dream and would find that he could do this thing.

"After this had gone on for some time, the leader selected a night to have the mysterious dance. Before they commenced, he stood in front of the altar of loon skins, given him by the animals, and called the men to him one by one. He embraced each and breathed into his mouth. Then he went and sat by the altar. He had taught them a song, and now each man put on the skin of his guardian animal and began to sing this song and dance. At a certain place in the song every one of them fell to the ground as if shot. When the song was ended one of the men got up. He saw something lying beside him that looked like a small oval fragment of clear ice. Each of the other men found a thing of the same sort beside him, and all of them laid these things in a line on the west of the fire place. The leader told them that these things had been given to them by the animals. They must swallow them, and then they would have the power to hypnotize and influence the people. They did this and returned to their small lodges.

"They stayed in the big lodge for several days more, trying their powers and doing all sorts of sleight of hand. When the last day of the ceremony came, they all dressed up according to the animal that was their guardian. They went out and marched around the lodge once, with two men carrying loon skins from the altar in the lead. Then they entered the lodge again and crowded around the fire place, stamping to

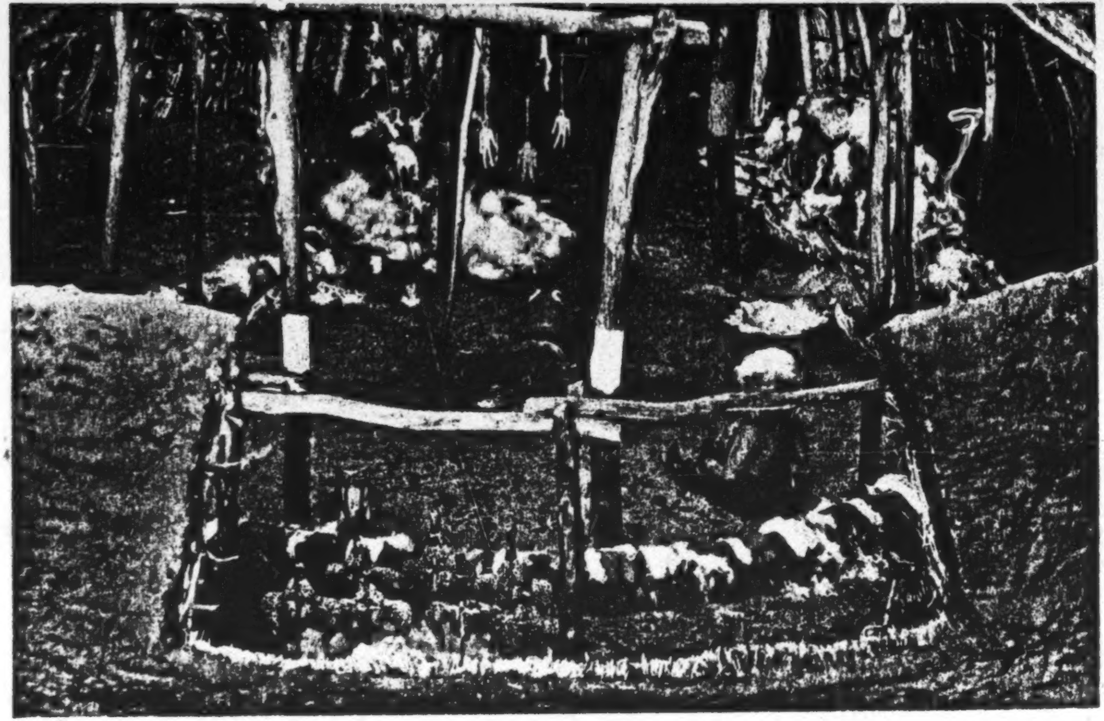
9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

awaken the turtle. Then they passed out of the lodge, 539
dancing, and each man imitating his guardian animal. 773
As they went, they did all sorts of sleight of hand so that the people could see they had magic powers. When they had shown their powers to the people, they entered the lodge once more and sang songs and imitated the cries of their guardians. They made a great commotion so that the people outside could see ashes flying up through the smoke-hole. That night they did more sleight of hand tricks in the lodge, and sang and worked magic until about two o'clock in the morning. Then they tore down the little lodges and carried them and the images of the water monster and witch woman down to the river. As they went along, they shouted and sang and hypnotized one another. They threw the mysterious things that gave them hypnotizing power into one another, and the men who were struck fell down as if shot. The rest of the village looked on, and were mystified by the wonderful things they did. When they came to the river, they put the little lodges and the images in the water in the positions they had had in the big lodge.

"When they had returned to the medicine lodge, the leader told them that they were to hold dances in the winter and spring and after the first thunder, but they were not to show their powers or do sleight of hand at these times. The great dance was to be in the fall, and then they would do sleight of hand, and work magic of all sorts and renew their powers. He told them to go back to their families and build themselves earth lodges like the medicine lodge. He went on living alone in the medicine lodge.

"The people lived in that place for a long time, and every fall they built new images in the medicine lodge and had their ceremonies. Each time the ceremonies lasted two or three months. Other men found other animals who gave them powers; and when the lodge

[Facing p. 14 (66)]



INTERIOR OF MEDICINE LODGE, PAWNEE.

MINIATURE GROUP IN CASE 49, HALL 5.

346

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 773 was in session, they would come in and ask the medicine men to help them, and they would give them a place in the lodge. In this way the society grew. People from other bands also heard about it and came begging to learn the mysteries. The medicine men taught them, and they went back to their own people and started other medicine lodges."

756 796 The ceremonies of the historic medicine lodge agreed in a general way with those last described in the legendary account of its origin, but there were several features not mentioned in the story just given. The preparations for the great fall ceremony were begun while the people were still on the spring buffalo hunt. At this time the leading medicine men selected two members of the society to make two bows and four arrows. When these were completed, they were given to two other medicine men with instructions for one to kill a bull and the other a cow. The animals had to be killed with a single arrow, but it is said that because of the magic powers of the arrows the hunters never failed to do this. [532 778] The bull's hide was to be used to cover the head of the water-monster image, the cow's hide to cloth the figure of the witch woman. Two more buffalo, also a bull and a cow, were then killed in the same way, the hide of the former being saved to make an image of the Morning Star, and that of the latter, to make nine small images which represented the important heavenly gods. [778] When the buffalo had been killed, the bows and arrows were returned to the leading medicine men who placed them among their sacred objects.

On the return from the hunt, the four leading medicine men went to the medicine lodge and ordered [342 346] that it be cleared for the ceremony. The same lodge seems to have been used for the ceremony year after year, but was occupied as a dwelling between ceremonies.

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

monies. All the beds and other furniture were carried 756
out by the women, and the floor swept. When this had 796
been done, the medicine men seated themselves in front of the lodge altar and sent their errand men to notify the other members of the society. After these had arrived and taken their places, the leaders went to each of them in turn and directed them, in a whisper, to [785]
prepare for the ceremony by a four-day fast. Each man, when he received this notification, returned to his own lodge, took his medicine bag, and left the village to spend that time in solitary fasting and prayer. At the expiration of the fast they bathed in the river and returned to the medicine lodge, where each took his appointed place.

The following morning, all the members of the society went to the river bottom to cut willows and cotton woods for the small booths which were to be built inside the large lodge. When they reached the timber, one of the two leading medicine men prayed and offered smoke to the heavenly gods, while the other, after he had finished, paid the same honors to the earthly gods. When this had been done, the timbers were cut and carried back to the main lodge, and the booths built.

The next morning the image of the water monster 756
was made, the leaders assigning to different men the 778
task of getting the things needed and making the 796
different parts. This image was nearly sixty feet in 532
length and encircled the lodge, with its head and tail on either side of the entrance. The framework was made of pieces of ashwood lashed together with sinew. Over these a layer of grass was laid, and the whole covered with mud which was smoothed and painted in different colors. The mouth of the figure was so large that a man could crawl into it, and was provided with pointed teeth, also of ashwood. On each side of the mouth, long, slender willow-rods were stuck to represent

756 feelers. The head was covered with a black-dyed
778 buffalo robe and painted and decorated with downy
796 feathers. The image of the turtle, in the center of
532 which was the fire place, and that of the witch woman, were made the next day. The woman's image consisted of a willow frame covered with grass and surfaced with clay. The features were modeled, and the eyes were made with pumpkin seeds blackened in the center. A buffalo scalp was placed on the head, and to this were attached long braids of human hair which hung down to the knees. The figure was dressed in a buffalo robe.

756 When the images had been made, a ceremony was
796 held by which each of the medicine men received power from either the monster or the witch woman. Some chose one, and some the other. On the day following, they went to cut the cedar tree which was to be placed just inside the entrance. When they found a suitable tree, they formed a circle around it, prayed to it, made presents to it of robes and other things, and finally took power from it. When this had been done, they cut it down. As it fell, they began to hypnotize each other and work sleight of hand. They then picked it up and carried it back to the village singing. As they neared the village, a second party of medicine men came out to meet them, and began to hypnotize them and try to drive them back. The party with the tree were more powerful, and gradually drove the others back to the edge of the village. There the tree was laid down, and all the people came and threw offerings on it. These offerings were gathered up, and were finally given to the medicine men. The tree was then taken to the lodge and set up, and its branches were covered with white
[532] downy feathers. That night they made the images of
[778] the Morning Star and the heavenly gods. These were flat pieces of hide, cut in the outline of a man. The image of the Morning Star was fastened to a long pole

and raised above the smoke-hole just before the star rose. The other images were fastened to the tops of the main posts or on a cord running across the upper part of the lodge. [532] [778] 756 796

It is uncertain at what stage in the ceremony the altar of loon skins was set up, but it seems to have been after the various images had been made. The sticks bearing the skins were thrust in the ground on the west side of the lodge, and the space between them sprinkled with water and then covered with downy feathers. When this had been done, the leader of the medicine men raised his face to the sky and cried, "Father, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, now stand on the altar. Give us plenty of rain this summer." Then dropping his voice to a whisper and bowing down to the ground, he said, "Mother Earth, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, are now upon you. Let our crops grow so that we may be fed." When he had done this, he went outside the lodge and called upon all the gods to give power to the loons so that they, in turn, could give power to the people.

At dawn of the day following that on which the last of the images had been made and set up, the various medicine men dressed themselves to represent their guardian animals and marched, in order of the importance of their guardians, around the outside of the lodge and then around the inside. They did this four times, dancing and imitating the cries and actions of their guardians. They then held a feast in the lodge. That night they once more marched out in procession and visited all the lodges which contained sacred bundles, dancing in each. When they had returned to the medicine lodge, the leaders selected certain medicine men to go through the village once more, visit every lodge, and report if any one was sick. When

756 the report had been made, other men were sent to
796 cure them.

The next morning, a number of women were summoned to the medicine lodge and told to go into the timber and get loads of wood. When they returned with their burdens, they were brought into the lodge, fed, and instructed in some of the mysteries. Then they returned to their homes. In the afternoon the medicine men once more dressed to imitate their guardians and came out of the lodge, dancing and per-
[789] forming various sleight of hand tricks. The favorite
trick seems to have been to thrust long rods down their throats. They repeated the outside performance four times. That evening they built a great fire inside the lodge and invited all the people to an exhibition of sleight of hand. These performances were repeated every night for a month or more, and it was during this time that new medicine men were initiated.

756 When a man desired to join the medicine lodge, he told his relatives and friends, and they helped him to gather property of all sorts. When he had enough, he went to the lodge, taking the gifts with him, and approached the man from whom he wanted to learn the mysteries. He passed his hands over the man's head and arms and said, "Medicine man, I am poor. I stand before you a poor man wanting to learn the mysteries you possess. Look upon these gifts which I have brought you." When he had done this, he presented the medicine man with a filled pipe. If the latter was willing to teach him, he accepted the pipe and took the young man into his booth with him.

756 At the conclusion of the ceremonies, the booths
796 and images were removed from the lodge, carried down into the bed of the river and placed in the shallow water in the same relative positions they had

756 796 occupied in the lodge. As the procession went down to the river, the medicine men mesmerized one another, and performed sleight of hand. It was customary, before the witch woman's image was placed in the water, for some woman among the bystanders to remove all her clothing and ornaments and place them upon it. When this ceremony was finished, they returned to the medicine lodge, offered smoke to the animal gods, and sprinkled the floor of the lodge with water to cleanse it and free it from the powers that had been summoned there during the ceremony. After the lodge had been purified in this way, the medicine men held a feast and returned to their homes. The two medicine men to whom the altar belonged remained behind to take it down and roll the various objects up in the bundle in which they were kept between ceremonies. This completed the ceremony, and the owners of the lodge were free to live in it as before.

522 796 In addition to the serious performers in the medicine men's ceremonies there were certain men, called *kitscoa*, who acted as clowns. They wore masks made from corn husks, rawhide, wood, and feathers, dressed grotesquely, and daubed their bodies with mud. It seems to have been their duty to perform strange antics during the ceremonies to amuse the people, and particularly to imitate in a mocking spirit the serious acts of the others. They were said to represent hairy dwarfs or supernatural beings who had mysterious ways and of whom the people were afraid. Similar clowns play an important part in the ceremonies of some of the Pueblo tribes. [171]

756 796 The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight of hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers at-

756 tributed to them. The ceremonies also possessed cer-
796 tain social functions, for the spectators included women and children as well as men.

000 This account has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey.

RALPH LINTON

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE

H

MORAVIAN

CHURCH MISCELLANY.

[Title Page]

VOLUME III.

BETHLEHEM;
PUBLISHED (MONTHLY) FOR THE CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN.
Apply to "The Editor of the Moravian Church Miscellany," at Bethlehem; — Also: to Rev.
David Bigler, No. 632 Houston st. New York, and to Rev. E. Rondthaler, No. 76
Race st. Philadelphia; or at the Brethren's Establishments at Nazareth,
Lititz, Lancaster, etc., Pennsylvania; and Salem, N. Carolina.
1852.

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Manners and Customs of the Pawnee Indians.

(By Br. D. E. Smith.)

619 643 BANDS OR CLANS.—All the Indian tribes are subdivided into bands or clans. The *Pawnees* have among them four distinct bands, viz: the Loups (pronounced *Loos,*) the Republicans, the Topages, (Tuppays,) and the Grand Pawnees. Each band has at its head a Chief, among whom, however, the Chief of the Grand Pawnees, Asseruregarrigu, is considered the Principal Chief of the whole tribe.

131 VILLAGES, LOCALITIES, FORMER MISSIONARIES, &c.—The Pawnees live in two villages at present, both on the South side of the Platte or Nebraska river. The lower village lies about 50 miles from Bellevue, and about 10 or 15 miles above the mouth of the Elkhorn river, the first important tributary of the Platte from the North; and the upper village is situated about 20 or 25 miles above the lower, nearly opposite the mouth of the Loup Fork of the Platte, the next branch of any consequence above the Elkhorn. 361 Both villages are situated on eminences, so that the approach of an enemy can easily be observed, and a sharp lookout is constantly kept in order to guard against any sudden surprise from a hostile force. Sentinels are constantly posted on all the surrounding 648 726 heights, who can immediately by signs, known among the Indians, transmit intelligence in case of impending danger. During the night, sentinels are constantly perched upon the tops of the lodges, to guard against any unexpected nocturnal attack.—When we were on our return, and remained over night at the Loup village, a report, probably a false alarm, had reached there during the day, that a large war-party of Sioux had lately been seen near the head waters of the Elkhorn river. During the night the sentinels were as usual posted upon the lodges, a little more noisy, however, than generally, yelling to one another and singing, nearly the whole night. Upon our inquiring why the sentinels made so much noise, we were informed, that it was to let the Sioux know, should they be near, that they might not expect to find them off their guard.

Thus it will be observed, that a certain kind of military organization is constantly kept up at each village, rendered necessary by their wars with their enemies. This unpleasant state of things 000 can only be removed through the benign influence of the Gospel, when "they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they *learn* war any more. But they shall sit

every man under his vine and fig-tree; and *none* shall make them 000
afraid." Mic. 4. 3, 4.

As hinted in a note in a previous communication, (see February 131
Miscellany, p. 62.) the Pawnee villages are not located on their 648
own land. Formerly the land on both sides of the Platte river belonged to them. But about the year 1835 they concluded a treaty with the United States, in which they ceded to the latter all their territory on the South side of the river. Their villages were then situated about 150 miles further up the Platte on the North side. The missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. were then residing with them, their mission stations being situated in the vicinity 797
of these villages. When the Pawnees were at their homes, which is only four or five months of the year, (the remaining months [221]
being consumed on their summer and fall hunts) the missionaries were engaged in teaching such of their children as could be induced to attend school, and in instructing the people in the truths of religion, as well as they could according to their limited knowledge of the language. About six years ago, the powerful Sioux made 648
repeated incursions into the Pawnee country, and the strength of 797
the latter being very much weakened by their frequent wars with their enemies, they were obliged to succomb, and at length forced to leave their former location on the North side of the Platte, and to remove to the South side, nearer to the white settlements on the Missouri river. The missionaries too found it unsafe to remain, and it was thought advisable to suspend their missionary operations among them. Mr. and Mrs. Allis (See August Misc. 1851, pp. 221, 222, and also February Misc. 1852, p. 64.) are remnants of this noble band of missionaries, and, still cherishing the desire, that these benighted but very interesting people might be enlightened by the gospel, have, while their fellow-laborers have long ago left for other fields of usefulness, still lingered behind,—and toiled on, amidst many self-denials, privations, and discouragements, in doing whatever lay in their power for the good of these Indians. Lately the government has established Fort Kearney, not far distant from their former villages, which, it is hoped, will be a security against future incursions, and prove a safeguard, when our mission will once be established among them.

LANGUAGE.—The Pawnee language is said to be altogether different from the languages of the surrounding prairie tribes. The 197
Otoes, the Ioways, the Osages, the Kanzas or Caws, the Omahaws, the Puncaws, etc., seem all to speak dialects of the same language, the Dakota; while the Pawnee language seems, by its great difference, to point back to the earliest periods of the residence of the Indians in this country, when a disruption may have taken place, that formed them into a distinct nation.

POPULATION, LODGES, etc.—The lower village consists of about 361
161

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

361 80 lodges, with a population of nearly 2,500; and in the upper
161 village there are between 140 and 150 lodges, the population amounting perhaps to 3,500. On approaching a village, the lodges have the appearance of so many small hillocks, of a conical form, huddled up together in the closest possible manner, with only narrow passages between for walking, and the rest of the space filled up by pens, formed of stakes, for confining their ponies during the night, to guard them from being suddenly taken off by a warlike party of another tribe.

342 The Pawnee lodges are of a circular form, large and spacious in the interior; many of them being 50 feet in diameter. Three and sometimes four circular rows of forked trunks of trees are placed upright, at appropriate distances from each other. The row nearest the centre consists of only four such upright timbers, about 15 or 20 feet high, while the crotches in the more exterior rows are shorter and more numerous, in proportion as the circumference is greater. These forks or crotches support thick cross-beams, upon which a frame of long poles is laid, extending from the ground at the outer circumference of the lodge to the top, leaving only an opening at the apex, of about four feet in diameter, to answer the double purpose of letting in the light, and letting out the smoke. Upon the frame work of poles, willow osiers are laid, and the whole is then covered with prairie sod from 12 to 18 inches thick. Immediately below the opening above, a hole is sunk in the centre for the fire-place, common to all the residents of the
[592] lodge. From five to ten families, generally related together, have a common occupancy of one lodge, governed by a head man, who may be styled the lodge chief. Around the circumference of the
352 lodge are recesses for sleeping, partitioned off for each family, resembling the berths on board of steamboats, many of which are screened in front and on the sides by willow-twigs laid above each other, tied fast to a frame, which, partly with the reddish bark on, and partly white from having the bark taken off, exhibit considerable taste in those who wrought them. When thus ornamented with twigs, a small opening about two by three feet is left in front to admit the occupants. The bottom of the berth is raised about two feet above the ground by means of large hewn sills, overlaid by thick willow twigs, which are then covered with buffalo-robes.
[342] The entrance of the lodge is always on the East side, protected by a passage, closed above and on the sides, of about 15 feet in length,—the door being a large buffalo robe, or several sewed together, hanging before the inner entrance. On the side opposite to the door of each lodge, a recess is reserved, for depositing the skull of a buffalo, surmounted by shields, quivers of arrows, spears, bows, skins, feathers, etc., used fur hunting, for medicinal, or religious purposes, as the case may require. In the interme-

In the intermediate space between the recesses and the fireplace, mats, about 352
three by five feet, made of rushes, are laid, at convenient distances, 285
for seats; while an extra supply of them, rolled up, and set aside at different places in the lodge, are reserved for extraordinary occasions, as for instance councils or feasts.

SUBSISTENCE.—What the *seal* is to the Greenlander, the *buffalo* is to the Pawnees and other Prairie Indians; and many of 262 825
their songs, in which reference is made to the buffalo, show that this animal is held in high estimation among them. It will no doubt be a difficult undertaking to wean them from an occupation, which is at the same time a gratifying and exciting sport to them, and which imparts to an individual who distinguishes himself in its pursuit, a character of high standing among his tribe. The great scarcity of the buffalo, however, of late years, since the immense emigration to the far west, has pinched them with want and hunger, and it is evident that they cannot subsist much longer by depending mainly upon this animal as heretofore. This circumstance, though calling forth our warmest sympathies in behalf of their wretched condition, may perhaps be the means, in the hands of an Allwise Providence, of shaking that tenacity and attachment so strongly developed in the Indian character, for long cherished customs, and making them more pliable in adopting the arts of civilization. Their attention must soon be directed to agriculture and the raising of stock, or they must starve.—

While on the hunt, in the buffalo country, the Pawnees generally have a good supply of fresh meat to subsist on. That portion 251
of their meat which is intended to be jerked, in order to take home [262]
with them, they cut into narrow slips, and dry it over the fire, without any salt, where, by the action of the smoke and sun, it soon dries. Several slips are then plaited together, when it is put away into a skin, and reserved for future use. The reason why no salt is added, is probably, first, because it is a scarce article, and secondly, because anything that is salted and dried, imbibes moisture in damp weather, and sooner becomes rancid, than meat dried without salt.

Besides the buffalo, as their main subsistence, they raise some 241
corn, beans, and pumpkins. As they use no other agricultural implements than hoes, their fields are not very extensive. For 262
suitable spots of cultivation they generally select the mouth of a ravine or any spot where, by the washing of the rains, the ground has become loose and mellow, and consequently the sod may more easily be extirpated than in the prairies generally, where the gronnd can only be prepared by turning the thick sod by means of a large prairie plough, and three or four yoke of oxen.—

Their fields are not enclosed by fences, or any other kind of 241
protection. Having no other stock but horses, which are con- 231

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

and Customs of the Pawnees

241 stantly herded and watched during the day time, and shut up in
[231] enclosures in the village during the night, fences are unnecessary. While absent from their homes, their fields are subject to depredations from prairie wolves and deer, which however no ordinary fence could restrain.—Because these poor people have no other agricultural implements than hoes, the spots which they are obliged to select for fields, are often at great distances from each other,
241 and frequently from five to eight miles from their village. When
721 abroad, to prepare and plant them in the spring, and gather the corn in the fall, they are often exposed to attacks of their enemies. While the husband is watching from some neighboring eminence to guard against the stealthy approach of any hostile force, the wive is engaged in the labor of the field. With fear and trembling their field-labor is thus performed, and many a one, while so employed, is suddenly fallen upon and killed by a marauding party of enemies.

241 When we visited them, they particularly requested us, "to beg
648 their Great Father, the President, that he should be so kind and again break up some ground for them, as he had done in former years, that they might be able to plant more corn." We have brought in the petition of these destitute people before the proper Department at Washington, and it is greatly to be desired that our benevolent Government may do something for them in their wretched state.

721 As has already been remarked, they were in an almost starving
731 condition, when we visited them. The hunt had proved unsuccessful, so that in the lower village they had no meat whatever, and had to depend upon the little corn that they had raised the preceding year. In the upper village they were also in a miserable condition, for, though they had yet a little dried buffalo-meat, the Sioux had during their absence on the hunt, destroyed their village, (their present lodges had been rebuilt since their return,) and carried off a portion of their corn, burnt another portion, and thus very little remained concealed in the "caches," which are made in their lodges.*

---

251 * A *cache* is a term common among traders and hunters, to designate a hiding-place for provisions and effects. It is derived from the French word *cacher*, to conceal, and originated among the early colonists of Canada and Louisiana; but the secret depository which it designates was in use among the aboriginals long before the intrusion of the white men. It is, in fact, the only mode that migratory hordes have of preserving their valuables from robbery, during their long absences from their villages or accustomed haunts, on hunting expeditions, or during the vicissitudes of war. The utmost skill and caution are required to render their places of concealment invisible to the lynx eye of an Indian. The first care is to seek out a proper situation, which is generally some dry low bank of clay, on the margin of a water course. As soon as the precise spot is pitched upon, blankets, saddle clothes, and other

574 609 **Hospitality.**—The Indian has always been renowned for his hospitality. This trait of character is noticeable among all the tribes. Thus the Pawnees too, though in actual want themselves, showed their good will towards us, by preparing for us the best they could afford. One chief placed before us, besides dried buffalo meat, a small dish of marrow, which by them is considered a great delicacy.—

462 562 **Labor.**—The more enlightened a people has become through the benign influence of religion, and the cultivation of the arts and sciences, the more the weaker sex attains to that rank in society, which the Creator intended for them; but the more debased and sunk in heathenism a Nation lies, the more is woman enslaved, and held in subjection. So among the Pawnees too, the men are the lords, who, while they themselves are not disposed to do any work, and generally consider it a shame to labor, direct the women, as inferior beings, how everything must be done.—The females, besides attending to the housework, generally incumbent upon their sex, are obliged to cut and carry all the fire-wood; pre-

---

251 coverings, are spread over the surrounding grass and bushes, to prevent foot-tracks, or any other derangement; and as few hands as possible are employed. A circle of about two feet in diameter is then nicely cut in the sod, which is carefully removed, with the loose soil immediately beneath it, and laid aside in a place where it will be safe from anything that may change its appearance. The uncovered area is then digged perpendicularly to the depth of about three feet, and is then gradually widened so as to form a conical chamber of six or seven feet deep. The whole of the earth displaced by this process, being of a different color from that on the surface, is handed up in a vessel, and heaped into a skin or cloth, in which it is conveyed to the stream and thrown into the midst of the current, that it may be entirely carried off. Should the cache not be formed in the vicinity of a stream, the earth thus thrown up is carried to a distance, and scattered in such a manner as not to leave the minutest trace. The cave being formed, is well lined with dry grass, bark, sticks, and poles, and occasionally a dried hide. The property intended to be hidden is then laid in, after having been well aired: a hide is spread over it, and dried grass, brush, and stones, thrown in, and trampled down until the pit is filled to the neck. The loose soil, which had been put aside, is then brought, and rammed down firmly, to prevent its caving in, and is frequently sprinkled with water, to destroy the scent, lest the wolves and bears should be attracted to the place, and root up the concealed treasure. When the neck of the cache is nearly level with the surrounding surface, the sod is again fitted in with the utmost exactness, and any bushes, stocks, or stones, that may have originally been about the spot, are restored to their former places. The blankets and other coverings are then removed from the surrounding herbage: all tracks are obliterated: the grass is gently raised by the hand to its natural position, and the minutest chip or straw is scrupulously gleaned up and thrown into the stream. After all is done, the place is abandoned for the night, and, if all be right next morning, is not visited again, until there be a necessity for re-opening the cache. Four men are sufficient in this way, te conceal the amount of three tons weight of provisions or merchandize, in the course of two days.—*Washington Irving's Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains.*

462 pare the fields for cultivation with their hoes, plant the corn, weed
562 it, and finally, when ripe, gather it in; and take care of the horses
of their lords, when not used by them.

The most difficult labor, however, that falls to their lot, is the
462 erecting of their lodges. As the upper village had been burnt by
562 their enemies during their absence, the labor of rebuilding of
course devolved upon the poor women, and in the course of about
342 two months, when we visited them, they had completed nearly
150 lodges. When we observed, that the nearest timber to the
site of the village was two or three miles off, and that they have
[482] no beasts of burden, but that all the building material, much of
which is very heavy, was carried so great a distance on the shoulders
of the women, it seemed almost incredible to us. We noticed
even girls of 12 or 14 years bearing baskets on their backs,
filled with wet turf, to cover or repair their lodges, which must
have been very heavy. Thus early the females are trained to
[868] carry burdens, (either at home, or while travelling,) which inures
them to hardships, but at the same time deforms them, rendering
them low and bent in stature, and pitiable objects to the beholder.
While the men, trained to no work whatever, are erect, tall, and
[142] well-proportioned in their form, and almost feminine in their features,
the women are short and low, with stooping gait, downcast
looks, harsh features, and hair dishevelled; and dirty, ragged, and
filthy in their appearance. Such is a picture of heathenism!
000 Have we not cause to be grateful for the benign influence of the
gospel upon our land, so that we are elevated far above such a
miserable state of heathenism? Unto the Lord be all the praise!

Though it is generally a feature among heathen nations, that it
462 is considered a shame for the men to labor, while all the work devolves
562 upon the females, still the Pawnees seem not altogether indisposed
to be instructed. Mr. Sharpee, who has been acquainted
with them and other Indians in these parts for nearly 20 years,
told us, that the Pawnee men were unlike those of other tribes,
since they were willing to lay hold of a plough, or any other farming
utensil, and only the instruction was wanting to make them
industrious. Mr. Allis too, who has been acquainted with them
for the last 20 years, and has lived among them a great portion of
this period, informed us, that when the missionaries were formerly
living among them, several of the Pawnees had already commenced
the use of the plough. The good beginning was, however,
interrupted by their missionaries having to leave them.

DRESS.—The dress of the men consists in nothing but a small
291 piece of cloth, fastened around their middle. This, we observed,
was generally the only covering they had on, when in their lodges.
When abroad, they had a buffalo robe or blanket wrapped around
them. The females are more decently clothed than the men

Description of The Manners

Their dress consists of leggings, generally made of scarlet cloth; 291
over which a piece of blue or brown woollen cloth is tied around
the waist, the ends lapping over each other, and extending a little
below the knees. The upper dress consists of a shirt or short
gown, made of calico, reaching to the middle. Over the whole a
blanket or robe is slung, above which, on the back, may frequently [854]
be discovered the black sparkling eyes of a little "papoose"
peering forth.

Intoxicating drink.—It is somewhat remarkable, that the 273
Pawnees are not so fond of "fire water," as other tribes, who are
fast dwindling away from the demoralizing and debasing effects of
intoxicating drink. Nothing, perhaps, has aided more in diminishing
the population of different Indian tribes, than spirituous
liquors. To the missionary, it is always gratifying and encouraging
to observe, when a tribe takes a bold stand against the introduction
of this destructive poison. The Pawnees allow none to
be brought into their villages.

Burying their dead.—On the highest mounds in the prairie, 764
we often observed little hillocks of earth, which we were informed,
were the places of sepulture of their chiefs and others of their
tribe. A tall bush was frequently stuck in the ground, to designate
the spot. We were also informed, that among the Pawnees, 888
and other wild tribes, the cruel practice prevails, when they are
on their hunt, and their old people get so feeble, that they can no
longer accompany them, of leaving them behind, and even burying
them alive.—In allusion to this fact, Mr. Allis, pointing to
their old and feeble chief, addressed the other chiefs as follows:
"I have learned, that you intend to put aside your old chief, because
he is now feeble and sickly, and perhaps you will even think
of burying him, when he can no longer follow you; but I want
you to take care of him. He has been like a father to you. When
he was yet strong, you know his kettle was always over the fire
with plenty. He has always been a friend of the whites, and you
ought to esteem him for the services he has rendered your nation,
and not to bury him before he is dead."

More might be added, to show the wretchedness of their present 000
state, but we should fear to become too tedious. Sufficient,
however, has been said, to prove, that these poor people need the
assistance of missionaries to better them in their outward condition.
But, when we consider their spiritual destitution,—their ignorance,
darkness, and superstition,—

Shall WE whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall WE to men benighted
The lamp of life deny!"

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

"Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord, shall be saved." But "how shall they call on him, in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?" (Rom. 10. 13, 14.) In the face of all difficulties, let us not be deterred from bringing the glad tidings of Salvation to these benighted savages; thereby perhaps paving the way for still more extensive operations among the aborigines of our country; and thus, by breaking unto them the bread of life, proving the means of repairing, in part, the numberless wrongs inflicted upon this poor abject race, by people who call themselves christians.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 112

AN INTRODUCTION TO PAWNEE ARCHEOLOGY

BY

WALDO RUDOLPH WEDEL

PROPERTY OF
Human Relations Area Files, Inc.

[Title Page]

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1936

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. - - - - - - Price [illegible] cents

11; Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Smithsonian Institution,
Bureau of American Ethnology,
Washington, D. C., July 1, 1935.

Sir: I have the honor to submit the accompanying manuscript, entitled "An Introduction to Pawnee Archeology", by Waldo Rudolph Wedel, and to recommend that it be published as a bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Very respectfully yours,

M. W. Stirling, *Chief.*

Dr. C. G. Abbot,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

[P. ii contains no text]

CONTENTS

Page

- Preface IX
- Introduction 1
  - Linguistic affiliations of the Pawnee 1
  - Origin of the name Pawnee 2
  - Names and general organization of the bands 3
  - Historic habitat and its geographical features 3
- Historical background 7
  - Traditions 7
  - Documentary history 9
- Archeology 23
  - Historic village sites 23
    - Skidi Pawnee sites 25
      - Palmer site 25
      - Fullerton site 27
      - McClaine site 28
      - Genoa site 29
    - Grand Pawnee sites 29
      - Linwood site 29
      - Clarks site 31
      - Plum Creek site 32
    - Republican Pawnee sites 32
      - Kansas Monument site 33
      - Hill site 34
      - Horse Creek site 36
      - Cottonwood Creek site 37
  - Protohistoric sites 38
    - Schuyler site 39
    - Burkett site 40
- Material culture 42
  - Habitations 43
    - Earth lodge 43
    - Tipi; other types of shelter 50
  - Caches 52
  - Earthworks 54
  - Horse corrals 55
  - Foods: agriculture 57
  - Ceramics 62
  - Work in stone 74
    - Manos and metates 74
    - Anvil stones 75
    - Arrowpoints 75
    - Scrapers 76
    - Rubbing stones 76
    - Discoidal hammerstones 76
    - Pecking stones 76

[p. iv contains no text]

Material culture—Continued.

Work in stone—Continued.

Page

Balls 77
Grooved mauls and axes 77
Celts 78
Incised tablets ("molds") 78
Drills 79
Pestle 79
Crystals 79
"Whetstones" 79
Shaft polishers 80
Pipes 80
Work in bone and horn 81
Awls 81
Shaft straighteners 82
Picks 82
Hide scrapers 82
Paint brushes 82
Hide tanners 83
Beaming tools 83
Digging tools 83
Fleshing tools 84
Plume holders 84
Roach spreader 85
Chipping implements 85
Teeth 85
Corn shellers 86
Horn spoons 86
Work in shell 86
Clamshells 86
Tubular beads 86
Work in wood 87
Mortars 87
Bowls 88
Platters 88
Cradle board 88
Miscellaneous 89
Miscellaneous objects 89
Glass beads 89
Metal work 89
Weaving and textiles 90
Cloth and cordage 90
Matting 90
Basketry 91
Mortuary customs 91
Conclusions 94
Bibliography 103
Index 111
Explanation of plates 121

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

1. Modern Pawnee earth lodge and excavated historic house site.
2. Vegetable material and textiles from the Hill site (historic Pawnee).
3. Historic Pawnee vessels from various sites.
4. Complete vessels, probably Pawnee.
5. Pawnee type rim sherds from various historic sites.
6. Selected rim sherds from Burkett site (protohistoric Pawnee).
7. Stonework from Hill site (historic Pawnee).
8. Pipes and mortuary offerings, various sites (historic Pawnee).
9. Bonework from historic Pawnee sites.
10. Bone tools from historic Pawnee sites.
11. Pawnee burials (historic sites).
12. Metal trade material from the Hill site (historic Pawnee).

MAPS

1. Tribal map of the Central Plains about 1800.
2. Historic and protohistoric sites in the northern Pawnee area. Based on early maps and journals, and on archeological investigations.
3. Marquette's map, 1673–74. From the Jesuit Relations, volume LIX, page 108.
4. LeSeuer's map, 1701. From the South Dakota Historical Collections, volume I, page 49.
5. Du Pratz's map of Louisiana, 1757. From Histoire de la Louisiane, tome premiere, page 138.
6. Collot's map, 1796. From a Journey in North America, volume 1, page 281.
7. Du Lac's map of the Missouri, 1802. From Travels Through the Two Louisianas.
8. Lewis and Clark's map, 1804. From Travels to the Source of the Missouri River, volume 1.
9. Pike's map, 1806. From An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, etc.
10. Long's map, 1819. From Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, atlas.

TEXT FIGURES

Page
1. Cross section of a Pawnee earth lodge showing interior arrangement of posts and beams 44
2. Ground plan of historic Pawnee earth lodge, house 1, Hill site 47
3. Ground plan of historic Pawnee earth lodge, Hill site 49
4. Ground plan of historic Pawnee earth lodge, Hill site 50
5. Cross section of cache 1, Hill site 52
6. Plan of horse corral (?), Hill site 56
7. Rim types characteristic of Pawnee pottery 67
8. Incised rim designs of Pawnee type 68
9. Incised tablets ("molds") of stone from the Hill site (Hill collection) 78
10. Incised tablets ("molds"), Linwood site 79
11. Tubular bone object, probably a plume holder, from Hill site (Hill collection) 84
12. Roach spreader from Hill site (Hill collection) 85

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PREFACE

The Pawnee have been known to white men since, probably, 1541, and certainly since 1673. They were the most numerous and powerful of the tribes constituting the Caddoan linguistic stock and one of the most important of the entire Plains area. Since the earliest definite historic mention of them they have been resident in Nebraska and the extreme northern portion of Kansas, particularly on the Loup, Platte, and Republican Rivers. As a tribe they were always friendly to the Europeans and later to the Americans, rendering invaluable aid as scouts in the Indian troubles on the Plains during the middle half of the nineteenth century; and that despite the half-hearted and tardy attentions that too often characterized the Government's relations with them. 101 648 [131]

The tribe has been variously described by early explorers, missionaries, fur traders, Army officers, and travelers, many of whom left very valuable and worth-while accounts concerning them in their native habitat in the Loup and Platte Valleys. In more recent years, on their reservation in Oklahoma, they have been studied by linguists and ethnologists, though much of this material is still unpublished. Of outstanding note among the available treatises in this field is the work of Dunbar in general ethnology, of Dorsey in mythology, of Grinnell in folk-tales, and of Murie in social and political organization. Archeological remains, surprisingly rich and numerous at many of the old village sites formerly occupied by the tribe, have received but little systematic attention up to the present, save for the excellent beginnings made by a few local collectors. Yet it is this latter, long-neglected field of research which must come to be more and more drawn upon for information regarding this fast-vanishing tribe and its native culture. 114

The primary purpose of this paper, as originally planned, was to present a purely objective preliminary report on the archeology of the Pawnee, drawing together all data at present available and recording it in systematic fashion. More or less inadvertently, the scope was broadened to include a review of the traditions dealing with the origin and early movements of the tribe, as well as a concise summary of the documentary history of the tribe from 1541 to 1876. To this were added brief notes on the environment of the group, and such other significant facts as may be helpful to an understanding of the subject. The social, political, and religious phases 121

[P. viii contains no TEXT]

121 of Pawnee culture, as well as their general ethnology, have been deliberately avoided, since most of these have been treated at length elsewhere. Finally, correlations have been made with other cultures of adjoining areas with a view to determining as far as possible where the roots of Pawnee culture lie.

114 The principal source for the archeological data embodied in this 127 paper is the Hill collection at the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. This collection, gathered over a period of more than 18 years by Mr. A. T. Hill, Hastings business man and director of the Nebraska State Historical Society Museum at Lincoln, is unequaled by any in the field of Pawnee archeology. Most of the specimens were secured from the Hill site, now the property of Mr. Hill, but there is in addition much comparative material from other historic Pawnee and prehistoric sites in central and southern Nebraska. Through the courtesy of Mr. Hill the writer was enabled to spend 2 weeks in a study of these exhibits, at which time the bulk of the information was obtained. The known Pawnee material recovered by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, of which the writer was a member during the summer of 1930, has also been drawn upon. This was secured mainly from the Hill site and corroborates generally the facts reached through study of the Hill collections. Mention should also be made of the excellent collection of surface material in the possession of Mr. Alfred Tichacek, of Linwood, Nebr., all of which comes from the early Pawnee site near that town. On two different occasions access was had to these specimens for study purposes. In addition, small collections made by various amateur collectors and, as far as available, those of the Nebraska Historical Society, were also examined.

The paper, intended as a basic approach to the study of prehistory in the Pawnee area, was originally completed in the spring of 1931. Lack of funds prevented publication at the time, however, and the rapid accumulation of new data from the region has made possible revision from time to time of the sections dealing with archeological details. Final revision was made in November 1935, bringing the paper so far as possible up to date in the light of researches made since its inception. For a review of Pawnee archeology and its relation to other Nebraska cultures, the reader is referred to Dr. W. D. Strong's recent publication (An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology, Smithson. Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, 1935), in part based upon investigations which were coincident with or immediately subsequent to those here described. The results of other and more recent work in the area, dealing primarily with prehistoric sites, will be found in the present writer's reports in the Nebraska History Magazine, vol. 14, no. 3, 1934, and vol. 15, no. 3, 1935. Findings of the Nebraska State Historical Society in historic Pawnee sites at

Leshara and Blue Springs in the summer of 1935 have not yet been 114
made public, but a hurried examination by the author of the artifacts 127
and records at Lincoln indicates a general agreement with the material on which the present introductory work is based.

The writer wishes to acknowledge, first of all, his deep indebtedness to Dr. William Duncan Strong, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, formerly professor of anthropology at the University of Nebraska and director of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey (1929-31), who first suggested and outlined the paper, for his constant encouragement, constructive criticism, and assistance all through its preparation. To Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings, are due sincere thanks for his splendid cooperation in the field of Pawnee archeology, and also for invaluable suggestions with regard to the history and ethnogeography of the tribe. Without his assistance the work would have been greatly curtailed in many of its phases. Mr. John L. Champe, of Lincoln, very generously prepared the photostat copies of early maps for use in conjunction with the historical sketch; Mr. Clarence Reckmeyer, of Fremont, contributed helpful information on early Pawnee history; and Mr. C. B. Schultz, of Lincoln, assisted in the preparation of certain of the modern maps. To these individuals, and to those others who at one time or another rendered assistance during the course of the work, grateful acknowledgment is here made. 000

[p. xii is blank]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

AN INTRODUCTION TO PAWNEE ARCHEOLOGY

By Waldo Rudolph Wedel

INTRODUCTION

Linguistic Affiliations of the Pawnee

Since actual linguistic relationship is a sure index of former historical contacts between peoples, it will be of value first to briefly review the results of this line of research as applied to the Pawnee. 197 619 Lewis and Clark, to whom we are indebted for the earliest attempt to trace Pawnee speech relationship, divide them into 4 bands, 3 of which resided on the Platte, while the fourth had established itself on the Red River;[1] of the Arikara they state that "they were originally colonies of Pawnees."[2] The first linguist to classify the Pawnee was Albert Gallatin, who in 1836,[3] and again in 1853,[4] classified the Pawnee and Arikara together as the Pawnee linguistic stock, but did not include the fourth tribe mentioned by Lewis and Clark. Later, Hayden,[5] on the basis of linguistic researches among the tribes of the upper Missouri River, likewise included the Arikara as members of the Pawnee group. Unlike Gallatin, however, he took cognizance of the work of Lewis and Clark, treating the fourth or Red River band as the "Huecos" and "Witchitas." The Caddo, Kichai, and other southern tribes were not included with the Pawnee in these earlier classifications.

The next general classification of North American languages, made under the direction of Maj. J. W. Powell,[6] has stood for nearly 50 years. Under this grouping the various Pawnee bands or tribes were included in the Caddoan linguistic stock which was subdivided into three regional subfamilies. The Arikara of the upper Missouri (most closely related to the Skidi Band of the Pawnee) represented the northern division. The middle group consisted of the four bands collectively known as "Pawnee." The southern division, oc-

---

[1] 1815, vol. i, p. 45.
[2] Ibid., p. 142.
[3] 1836, vol. ii, pp. 128, 306.
[4] Schoolcraft, 1853, vol. iii, p. 402.
[5] 1862, p. 345.
[6] 1891, pp. 58–62.

197 cupying lands on the Red River and to the south, included the
619 closely related Wichita as well as the Waco, Caddo, Kichai, Ana-
darko, and Tawakoni; there were several smaller groups also, now
virtually extinct. Alien linguistic stocks isolated these three Caddoan
groups more or less completely from each other. Siouan tribes,
[101] namely the Ponca, Omaha, and Dakota, occupied the territory between the Pawnee and the Arikara, while between the Pawnee and the southern Caddoans were still other tribes of diverse linguistic affiliations; Kansa and Osage in the east and Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and other nomadic tribes in the west.

The latest and most radical linguistic amalgamation of speech families north of Mexico is that of Sapir,[7] who reduces the 55 separate stocks of the Powell classification to 6 major groupings. According to Sapir, the Caddoan tribes are linked with the Iroquoian tribes in one subfamily of the greater Hokan-Siouan linguistic stock. Based upon deep-lying structural and morphological parallels, this new classification carries very suggestive and far-reaching implications, certain of which will be touched on hereafter.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME PAWNEE

101 The name Pawnee is of somewhat uncertain origin. Dunbar[8] de-
114 rives it from *pa'-rik-i*, a horn, as an outgrowth of the typical Pawnee
mode of dressing the scalp lock. The head of the warrior was shaven
[302] except for a small tuft or topknot which was daubed with bison fat and red ochre until stiff enough to stand erect, or curving slightly backward, like a horn. Since this was the most conspicuous feature of the individual it gave rise to the particular designation which ultimately became the name of the tribe. Formerly, according to the same authority, the term included the *Pawnee Picts*, or Wichita, and the Arikara. Arache, Arahei, Arae, Harahey, and Ahuache, names by which the Pawnee "kingdom" was known to the Spanish during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[9] are then probably derivatives from *pa'-rik-i*, assuming this to have been actually the original designation for the tribe. However, as early as 1673 Marquette[10] used the term *Pana;* Valverde[11] speaks of the *Panana* in 1719; and thereafter, at least until the end of the eighteenth century, *Panis* and *Panimaha* are regularly employed in referring to the Pawnee. Just how these names were derived from *pa'-rik-i*, if indeed they ever were, is far from clear, nor does Dunbar show the orthographic and phonetic changes that would have taken place in such a process. The

---

[7] 1929, pp. 138–140; see also Parker, 1916, p. 483.

[8] 1880, a, p. 245. Compare, however, Lesser and Weltfish, 1932, p. 5.

[9] Winship, 1896, pp. 529, 577, 588, 590; Margry Papers, vol. vi, p. 310

[10] 1900, map facing p. 108.

[11] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 185.

term "Pani" was employed by the French during the seventeenth and 101
eighteenth centuries to designate all Indian slaves, regardless of tribal 114
affiliations, perhaps because the majority of such slaves were captives from the tribe known as *Panis*.[12] Conversely, however, it has been suggested that the tribe may have derived its name from the old French term, without its originally having been connected with them at all.[13] The older form, "Pani", survived until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when, largely through the agency of early American explorers, it was superseded by the modern Pawnee, rarely Pawney.[14] Among themselves the people are called *Chahiksi-chahiks*, or "men of men."

NAMES AND GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BANDS

The unit of tribal organization among the Pawnee was the band.[15] 631
There were four of these, each in turn consisting of several subbands 621
and villages. The main bands, which are sufficient for present purposes, were known as the *Chaui* or Grand, the *Kitkehahki* or Republican, the *Pitahauerat* or Tappage, and the *Skidi*, or Wolf, Pawnee. Ordinarily each functioned as an independent unit, retaining charge of its own administrative and other affairs through a hereditary, but often purely nominal, chief, who was assisted in matters of importance by secondary chiefs and a council of the leading men. The Grands were generally recognized as the leading band, and where situations arose involving relationships between the several bands, [643]
or affecting the tribe as a whole, the principal chief of the Grands acted as spokesman and adviser for the entire tribe. The bands were endogamous, and each possessed its own sacred bundles and certain accompanying rituals, besides participatory privileges in various tribal ceremonies. The Skidi appear to have been less closely bound to the other bands than were these to one another, and they may have sprung from a somewhat different ancestry, or else possibly represent an earlier offshoot from the parent stock. In the present discussion the bands will be designated by their anglicized names, with the exception of the Skidi.

HISTORIC HABITAT AND ITS GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

The territory claimed by the Pawnee was bounded on the north 101
by the Niobrara River, on the south by the Arkansas or possibly 131
the Canadian, on the east by the Missouri, and on the west extended rather indefinitely toward the Rockies. Actually, however, it was

---

[12] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 199.

[13] Idem. Compare Lesser and Weltfish, op. cit.

[14] Ashley and Smith, 1918, p. 119.

[15] See Murie, 1914, pp. 549 ff.

101 much more limited. On the west the *Padouca* (Comanche) were
131 firmly established in the forks of the Dismal River,[16] on the shores
of some of the lakes in the sandhill region of the present Cherry
County, Nebr.,[17] antl on the upper reaches of the Smoky Hill River[18]
in the present northern Kansas. Between Pawnee and *Padouca*
101 there was incessant warfare, and it is unlikely that the former at
648 any time ventured far beyond the forks of the Platte, save on
131 occasional war or hunting trips. Early in the nineteenth century
the *Padouca* were pushed southward by the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and
Teton Dakota, who formed an equally effective check against westward
movements by the Pawnee. On the east the Omaha controlled
a large area north of the Platte from Shell Creek to the
mouth of the Niobrara, and south of the Platte the Oto claimed as
theirs the lands lying east of the Big Blue and north of the Big
Nemaha. From the Big Nemaha south to the Kansas River and
west to the Republican the Kansa were in undisputed possession,
and south of this tribe the equally hostile Osage roamed westward
nearly to the great bend of the Arkansas. The actual area over
101 which the Pawnee hunted and exercised chief control was thus a
131 strip, as follows: Commencing with the Niobrara (between its mouth
and Plum Creek) and extending southward to include the Platte
between Shell Creek and the present city of North Platte, thence
into Kansas to include the Smoky Hill drainage between the Republican
River and the ninety-ninth meridian, with the western
periphery then swinging westward by south toward the upper
reaches of the Arkansas, while the eastern limit ran toward the
southwestern corner of present Kansas. (See map 1. Compare
[361] Strong, 1935, fig. 2.) The permanent villages of the tribe were located
in the valleys of the lower Loup and Platte Rivers, and on the
Republican, in the present State of Nebraska; the region to the south
served solely as hunting and wintering grounds, and Pawnee claims
were often disputed or ignored by neighboring tribes.

133 Generally speaking, the region which formerly constituted the Pawnee demesne, as above described, is a high, dry, grass-covered plain, or more accurately, a series of plains interspersed with river valleys. The northern portion, lying within the borders of the present State of Nebraska, includes several thousand square miles of the great loess mantle deposited during or shortly following the Pleistocene glaciation of the region. North of the Platte erosion has progressed sufficiently to produce a hilly and broken topography, consisting of small loess plains and canyons grading into loess-capped hills toward the east. A great wedge of dune lands and sand

---

[16] Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pp. 88, 91. However, compare Grinnell, 1920, p. 260.
[17] Dorsey, J. O., 1886, p. 220.
[18] Margry Papers, vol. vi, pp. 398–448.

hills, representing the eastward extension of the Sandhill province 133 of central Nebraska, covers much of the territory north of the Platte, especially the northern and western parts. The Loup, tributary to the Platte, with its North, Middle, and South Forks, augmented by the Dismal and Calamus Rivers, effects the drainage. These streams all have their sources in the sand hills and are characterized by a steady, abundant flow of excellent water, relatively deep valleys, and scant fringes of timber. Between the Platte and the Republican Rivers lies the high, monotonously flat loess plain of southern Nebraska, but little modified by erosion save where the margins have been deeply incised by short creeks tributary to larger bordering rivers. The Blue River, on the east, is the only stream of any size between the Platte and the Republican. South of the Republican the terrain becomes rather more uniform. A succession of broad grassy upland divides, trending generally west-east, and separating valleys of the Solomon, Saline, Smoky Hill, and Arkansas Rivers, are the principal physiographic features, culminating in the flat, featureless plains of western and southern Kansas.

As everywhere on the great plains, grasses are, or were formerly, 137 the dominant plant forms in the Pawnee area. Trees were almost universally absent on the uplands, and at least as late as 1833 the Platte and Loup Valleys were almost devoid of timber, save on some of the larger islands.[19] In the Republican Valley and also in the Smoky Hill drainage, however, timber was more abundant. Cottonwood, several species of willow, burr oak, and elm dominated the more immediate river banks and islands, while less commonly black walnut, honey locust, hackberry, boxelder, ash, and red cedar were encountered. For the most part the tree forms represented the westward extension of the forests of Missouri, following up the valleys especially of streams draining through the Kansas River into the Missouri, and interfingering with the prairie uplands more typical of the western plains. Chokecherries, wild plums, grapes, and wild black cherries grew plentifully along the smaller streams and creeks, and wild potatoes, turnips, and turkey peas flourished in the sandy valleys of the Platte, Loup, and Republican Rivers. All of the last-named plants provided important articles of diet. Of game there 136 was also ample variety. Herds of bison wandered northward beyond the Platte, becoming more plentiful to the west and south, and [262] their meat, next to maize, formed the main food staple. Beaver formerly abounded in the Elkhorn, Republican, Smoky Hill, and other wooded streams, and, along with elk, deer, bear, wolves, and [439 wildcat, in early historic times formed the basis for a traffic in 281] peltries amounting to thousands of dollars annually, to say nothing of their value as food sources.

---

[19] Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 10; also Long, 1823, vol. I, p. 446.

136 of their value as food sources. Smaller animals, such as rabbits, opossum, raccoon, and squirrel, were also to be had. Ducks, geese, and other waterfowl were plentiful and fish abounded in most of the streams.

133 All of the major streams carry water the year round, although the Platte during the summer months becomes largely a subterranean river above its junction with the Loup. With the exception of those in the sand hills, the streams flow characteristically in broad, flat alluvial valleys, from 3 to 15 miles wide, and bordered by bluffs up to 250 feet in height. The historic villages were apparently all [361] located in the large river valleys rather than on the small tributary creeks; only the chase, war forays, or migrations seem to have led village tribes such as the Pawnee out upon the interfluvial areas.

778 823 825 It may be noted here that the "sacred places" of the Pawnee, where the *Nahu'rac*, or miraculously endowed animals, met in council, were all associated with the streams. There were five of these, according to Grinnell.[20] One was "at *Pa-hŭk'*, on the south side of the Platte River, opposite the town of Fremont, in Nebraska. The word *Pa-hŭk'* means 'hill island.' Another animal home is under an island in the Platte River, near the town of Central City. It is called by the Pawnee *La-la-wa-koh-ti-to*, meaning 'dark island.' The third of these sacred places is on the Loup Fork, opposite the mouth of the Cedar River, and under a high white cut bank. It is called *Ah-ka-wit-akol*, 'white bank.' Another is on the Solomon River, *Kitz-a-witz-ŭk*, 'water on a bank'; it is called *Pa'howa* sometimes. This is a mound, shaped like a dirt lodge. At the top of the mound, in the middle, is a round hole, in which, down below, [782] can be seen water. At certain times the people gather there and throw into this hole their offerings to *Ti-ra'-wa*, blankets and robes, blue beads, tobacco, eagle feathers, and moccasins. Sometimes, when they are gathered there, the water rises to the top of the hole and flows out, running down the side of the mound into the river. Then the mothers take their little children and sprinkle the water over them and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* to bless them. The water running out of the hole often carries with it the offerings, and the ground is covered with the old rotten things that have been thrown in. [This clearly refers to the mineral spring now known as Waconda, or Great Spirit, Springs, situated 2½ miles southeast of Cawker City, Mitchell County, Kans.[21]] The fifth place is a hard, smooth, flinty rock, sticking up out of the ground. They call it *Pa-hŭr'*, 'hill that points the way.' In the side of the hill there is a great hole where the *Nahu'rac* hold councils. This hill is in Kansas and can be

---

[20] 1893, p. 358.

[21] Bailey, 1902, pp. 197-200.

seen from the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad. It is known 778 823
to the whites as Guide Rock."[22] 825

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

TRADITIONS

Pawnee history, as herein discussed, consists of two major periods 175 or divisions: First, the period of legend and tradition, which is concerned primarily with the origin and migrations of the tribe in a dim and distant past; and secondly, the period of recorded history, beginning in 1541, with the first contact between Europeans and Pawnee, and continuing down to 1876, the date of final removal of the tribe from its home on the Loup and its confinement on a reservation in the then Indian Territory. For information on the first period the traditions recorded by Dunbar, Dorsey, and Grinnell are our main source, hence are here briefly reviewed; and for the later period, the accounts of European and American explorers and travelers are drawn up in chronological sequence, particularly as relates to the location of the villages of the different bands.

The ancient habitat of the Pawnee, prior to their occupation of the 173 Platte and Loup Valleys, lay traditionally to the south or southwest. Dunbar,[23] whose authority on this point is generally accepted, states that the traditions of the Grand, Republican, and Tappage bands "coincide in stating that the Pawnee migrated to the Platte River region from the south, and secured possession of it by conquest."[24]

This is partially corroborated by a Wichita legend, according to which the "primitive home" of the two tribes, Pawnee and Wichita, was "upon the Red River, below the mouth of the Washita",[25] in eastern Oklahoma or Arkansas, whence they wandered northward together. The same authority says relative to the Skidi that the "traditions of the other three bands are very positive in affirming that they are the remnant of a once separate tribe that has been subdued and incorporated into the Pawnee family";[26] the Otos, Poncas, and Omahas were conquered at the same time.[27]

Dorsey[28] traces three of the bands back to a single ancestral tribe, called the *Kawarahkis*, which dwelt near the confluence of the Little Nemaha with the Missouri in the southeastern corner of the present

---

[22] According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the "hill that points the way" is actually about 3 miles north of the Kansas-Nebraska line, on the south side of the Republican River, directly south of the town of Guide Rock, Webster County, Nebr.

[23] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, pp. 251 ff.

[24] Ibid., p. 251.

[25] Idem.

[26] Ibid., p. 253.

[27] Ibid. p. 252.

[28] Dorsey, G. A., 1906, p. 8.

173 State of Nebraska. In course of time this tribe split up into bands and became scattered; the Grands proceeded northward to establish themselves on the Platte, while the Republicans moved westward to the Republican River, where Pike visited them in 1806. At a much later date, but apparently early in the nineteenth century, the remnants of the *Kawarahkis*, now known as the Pitahauerat or Tappage band, also removed to the northwest, to settle between the Grands and the Republicans, the latter band having meanwhile shifted its place of residence from the Republican River to the Loup. The Skidi and Arikara were formerly a single tribe,[29] according to this investigator; and he concludes this phase of his discussion with the pertinent observation that "there is some reason for believing that these three bands (i. e., the Grand, Republican, and Tappage) represent offshoots of the original Skidi through the single band of the *Kawarahkis*."[30]

Grinnell[31] records two traditions, both of especial value because of the relative completeness with which they are carried out as compared with most of the other accounts. The first of these, unknown to any save the very old men of the tribe, relates that the Pawnee migrated long ago from a home in the southwest, where they once lived in stone houses. The Wichita were associated with them at the time and the people pushed northward and eastward as far as the Missouri River, where they stopped for a time and tilled the soil.[32] The Skidi version[33] traces the movement from "far in the southwest, away beyond the Rio Grande," northward past the Wichita Mountains, across the Arkansas River, to "the Mississippi River where the Missouri runs into it." Temporary halts were made near the Wichita Mountains and on the Arkansas to prepare fields and raise corn.

The second tradition was much more generally known to the Pawnee, young as well as old, and is possibly the more recent.[34] It points to a southeastern origin, probably somewhere in the region of the present Missouri or Arkansas, whence the people migrated northward to hunt for bison. In the course of their wanderings they reached the region of the Platte and Republican Rivers, and, being attracted by the fertility of the soil, the abundance of game, and the generally pleasant environment, established themselves permanently. The Wichitas were a part of the Pawnee tribe at the commencement of the northward trek, but left the Pawnee somewhere in southern or southeastern Kansas, and went their own way, mostly southward, sometimes at peace with their kinsfolk but as often bitterly at war with them.[35] Grinnell points out further that "the traditions of both Skidi and Pawnee speak of a time when they lived in a country where grows the cane which the white men use for fishing poles",[36] presumably an allusion to the canebrakes of the lower Mississippi Valley. 173

---

[29] Dorsey, G. A., 1906, p. 8.
[30] Ibid., p. 9.
[31] 1893, pp. 223-231.
[32] Ibid., p. 224.
[33] Ibid., p. 225.
[34] Ibid., p. 225.

Such, briefly outlined, are the major facts which tradition offers toward the reconstruction of the story of the Pawnee prior to the advent of Europeans. The harmonization of these legends, where at variance with one another or with orthodox theories, and their interpretation, will not be attempted until after the presentation of the archeological data, when certain interesting correlations may be suggested.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

Turning now from the realm of tradition to that of actual history, 175 we find that the earliest historic reference to the Pawnee occurs in the journals of Coronado's expedition to the Great Plains in 1541. According to Castañeda, the Spaniards found at the pueblo of Cicuye (Pecos) "an Indian slave, a native of the country toward Florida", to whom they gave the appellation of the "Turk, because he looked like one."[37] Under the guidance of the Turk, and accompanied by "another native of Quivira . . . a painted [tattooed?] Indian named Ysopete",[38] Spanish conquistadores marched by a devious route to the prairies of central Kansas in their fruitless quest for the fabled riches of Quivira. The exact location of Quivira will probably never be satisfactorily determined, but Bandelier's conclusions appear at present as the most plausible and hence are here tentatively accepted.[39] To resume the narrative, then, as related by Jaramillo, Coronado halted on or near "a river, with more water and more inhabitants than the others [the Kansas?]", and from this point, the northernmost reached by him as it was also "the end of Quibira",[40] he ordered the "governor of Harahey and Quibira" to present himself for a council. The chief, Tatarrax by name, appeared with 200 naked warriors, who carried bows, "and some sort of things on their heads",[41] the latter an allusion, perhaps, to the *pariki*, or peculiar mode of dressing the scalp lock employed by the Pawnee. The expedition penetrated no farther northward, but Coronado was in-

---

[35] 1893, p. 226.

[36] Ibid., p. 228.

[37] Winship, 1896, p. 482.

[38] Ibid., p. 505; an interesting observation, in view of the fact that the old name for the Wichita, "Pawnee Picts," was derived from their custom of "picturing" or tattooing the body.

[39] 1890, pt. I, pp. 44, 170; 1893, pp. 235-239.

[40] Winship, 1896, p. 500.

[41] Ibid.

175 formed that the kingdom or province of Harahey, Arache, or Arahei lay next beyond Quivira, and that the "Rio del Espiritu Santo"[48] flowed through that province. This, like other surrounding provinces, was reported as being thickly populated, but little information is given as to the customs of the inhabitants. It is interesting, as well as rather suggestive, to note that beyond Quivira were two large villages known as Tareque and Arae, "with straw houses at Tareque, and at Arae some of straw and some of skins."[49] The possible significance of this latter statement will be brought out later.

Following the ill-starred Coronado expedition came a series of vaguely recorded and semimythical explorations. Juan de Oñate in 1599 and Saldivar in 1618 led parties northward and eastward from Santa Fe, both reaching Quivira. Hostility on the part of the *Escanjaques* (Kansa or Osage?), however, forced the premature retreat of both expeditions. Oñate is reputed to have reached the thirty-ninth or fortieth parallel, the latter forming the present boundary between Kansas and Nebraska, but records for these explorations are so fragmentary and uncertain as to be of no great value. Neither mentions Harahey or the Pawnees. Much more graphically described is the expedition of Don Penalosa, governor of New Mexico, in 1662, which was formerly supposed to have penetrated as far as the junction of the Loup and Platte Rivers in east central Nebraska. Penalosa wrote eloquently of the wonderful prairies and magnificent forests traversed, and vividly pictured the great city of the Quiviras, many miles in extent, with thousands of wood and timber dwellings up to four stories high, and numberless inhabitants. The narrative is now generally discredited as a synthesis of the reports brought back by previous explorers, to which Penalosa, drawing upon his experiences in the Southwest, appended such details as were necessary to complete the picture and impress the contemporary world. Penalosa probably at no time ventured very far into what is now Kansas, nor is it likely that he actually met the Pawnee.

Disheartened by the continual lack of success in the search for the mines of Quivira, fully occupied with retaining her grasp on the pueblos of Cibola, and impoverished by internal mismanagement, Spain at length abandoned, or rather suspended, her imperialistic endeavors toward the northeast. In the meantime, France was slowly extending the bounds of her possessions westward and southward from Canada, and more important still, northward from French Louisiana. French fur traders and trappers were established perhaps as early as the middle of the seventeenth century

---

[48] Winship, 1896, pp. 529, 590. See Lesser and Weltfish, 1932, pp. 8-9.
[49] Ibid., p. 577.

175

among many tribes of the Missouri Valley, and missionaries and adventurers were but little behind.

The earliest reference to the Pawnee, beyond the disputed Coronado narratives, is by the Jesuit priest, Marquette. This observer never visited the tribe, nor is it anywhere mentioned in his journals. On his map, however, prepared in 1673,[44] the *Pana* (Pawnee) are located northwest of the *Otontanta* (Oto), east of the *Pahotet* (Iowa) and some distance north of the Kansa (map 3). Unfortunately, Marquette omitted the Missouri River and its major tributaries; but if these be superimposed on his map, the relative position of these various tribes corresponds generally with their later historic habitat. It will be noted also that on the map a part of the *Paniassa* (Wichita) are west and north of the Kansa tribe, presumably in what is now northern Kansas. This is rather farther to the north than the habitat generally accorded the Wichita, and, if correct, may not be wholly valueless in tracing out the former relationships of that tribe to the Pawnee.

The La Salle brothers were the first to specifically mention the Pawnee tribe in their writings. In 1682 Robert La Salle wrote of—

> the Pana Nation who lives more than 200 leagues to the west, on one of the branches of the Mississippi, and lives there in two villages, one near the other. They are neighbors and allies of the Gattacka [Kiowa-Apache] and Manrhoat [Kiowa], who are to the south of their villages and who sell them horses which they steal apparently from the Spaniards of New Mexico.[45]

[492]

Since it is not certain whether this was written while La Salle was on the upper or on the lower Mississippi, there is a possibility that it refers to the southern *Pana*, or *Paniouassa*—i. e., the Wichita.[46] Three years later, in 1685, Nicholas La Salle wrote during a descent of the Mississippi:

> We camped near the mouth of a river which falls into the Mississippi. It is called the river of the Missouris. The river comes from the northwest, and is thickly settled from what the savages say. The Panis are on this river very far from its mouth.[47]

Father Louis Hennepin, writing in 1687, located the *Panimaha* (Skidi) on several navigable tributaries of the Missouri. At that time they had "but one Captain and twenty-two villages, the least of which contains two hundred Cabbins."[48] He also speaks of "the Paneassa [Wichita], the Pana [Pawnee proper], the Panaloga [Comanche], and the Metotantes [Oto], each of which is as considerable as the Panimaha." Hennepin did not visit these tribes in

---

[44] Marquette, 1900, p. 108.

[45] Translated from the Margry Papers, vol. ii, p. 201-202.

[46] Cf. Du Tisne, in Margry Papers, vol. vi, p. 311.

[47] La Salle, 1927, p. 5.

[48] Hennepin, 1903, vol. ii, p. 443.

175 person, hence there is in all probability a considerable exaggeration in all of his figures and estimates.

Le Seuer's map [49] of the Missouri and upper Mississippi Valleys, published in 1701 (map 4), credits the *Panimahas* with 12 villages scattered along a branch (the Loup) of the river of the Panis—i. e., the Platte. Farther down this branch are 10 or 12 villages of the *Panis*. The Arikara are indicated as a separate group farther up the Missouri.[50] Le Seuer never visited the Pawnee, nor did he ever publish any accounts concerning them, the map being his sole contribution to their history.

In 1720 came another Spanish gesture toward the coveted regions to the northeast of Santa Fe—the event that has given rise to the "Spanish Caravan" myth. Throughout much of the seventeenth century the Pawnee had been known to the New Mexican settlements, in consequence of plundering and horse-stealing forays against which the Spanish were not altogether successful. The situation became acute when Valverde, on a punitive expedition against the Ute and Comanche in 1719, heard that the French were present among the *Panana* (Pawnee) villages on the Rio de Jesus María (the Platte), 70 leagues (190 miles) north of Quartelejo,[51] in the present Scott County, Kans. Accordingly, in the following summer a force of some fifty Spaniards, augmented by a body of Indian allies, was dispatched under the brave but inexperienced Villazur to visit the Pawnee villages. Villazur's was not a punitive expedition, nor was it an attempt at colonization; it was simply a reconnaissance and an attempt to determine the status of the French among the Pawnee. The party left Sante Fe on June 14, 1720, and less than three months later, on September 6, one of the soldiers of the expedition, Felipe Tamariz, returned to that post with the report that the entire command had been annihilated in a surprise attack by the Indians upon the Spanish camp near the Pawnee villages, with all of the equipment and horses falling into the hands of the attackers, and only a bare handful, perhaps five or six, of the Spaniards escaping with their lives.[52] The journal, which after 1573 was required of every Spanish exploring expedition, was most unfortunately lost, but it is definitely known that Villazur touched at Jicarilla, 40 leagues (110 miles) north of Santa Fe, and at Quartelejo,[53] where he secured his Indian auxiliaries. Thereafter the route is almost wholly a matter of speculation. Bandelier held that the massacre took place on

---

[49] South Dakota Hist. Coll., vol. i, p. 40, 1902.

[50] Cf. Will and Spinden, 1906, pp. 94–96.

[51] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 185.

[52] Ibid., p. 194.

[53] Ibid., p. 196.

August 16, on the south fork of the Platte River, in the vicinity of the present city of North Platte, Nebr., admitting, however, that it may have occurred much farther down that stream, near its confluence with the Missouri.[54]

Villiers, on the basis of a translation of a single leaf from the journal of the ill-fated expedition, found after the battle by the Indians and turned over to French authorities at Kaskaskia, Ill., is of the opinion that the correct location is on the south bank of the Platte River, immediately below the mouth of the Loup River,[55] near the present city of Columbus, Nebr. On this leaf is recorded the march of the expedition from the 7th to the 10th of August, frequent allusions being made to the "Panane" (Pawnee), whose trails were the route followed and whose villages were seen on the last day, and Villiers presumes that the massacre occurred on the following day—that is, on August 11, at the location specified above. However, the geographical data given are so general that the location is at best only tentative, and should be regarded as such. At any rate, by November 1720, news of the massacre had reached Kaskaskia,[56] through the Indians, who appeared at that post with various trophies of the victory. The Pawnee, Oto, or Missouri, or a combination of these three tribes,[57] probably aided by some Frenchmen[58] equipped with muskets, appear to have been responsible for the massacre, and Villiers' location has at least this to commend it, viz, that all of these tribes dwelt on the lower Platte in historic times, and are not known to have occupied villages as far west as the forks of the Platte. The allusion to trails followed by the expedition further supports this view, as the Pawnee are known to have had regular routes southward from the Loup across the Platte near Kearney, Nebr., to their hunting grounds on the Smoky Hill and Arkansas Rivers. Presumably the villages of the Pawnee at the time were situated on the Loup River, with the other two tribes below them on the Platte. Swords, thought by some to be relics of this expedition, have been found in the vicinity, but their identity is open to question. Certain it is that the blow materially reduced Spain's prestige on the plains, as it doubtless emboldened the tribes of the Platte to raid more extensively toward the Spanish Provinces. It was more than 80 years before another Spanish army, this time under Malgares,[59] ventured to the Pawnee towns, and by that time France was enjoying to the full the trade and friendship of the tribe.

---

[54] Bandelier, 1890, a, pp. 197–202; see also Thomas, in Hist. Mag., vol. VII, no. 3, 1924, pp. 68–81.

[55] Villiers, 1921, p. 255. See Thomas, 1935, for important new data on this expedition.

[56] Ibid., p. 250; also Margry Papers, vol. VI, pp. 386–387.

[57] Villiers, 1921, p. 240.

[58] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 203.

[59] Pike, 1810, pp. 145, 149, 227, and App. to pt. II, pp. 23–24.

175 Almost coeval with the Villazur massacre were the explorations of Du Tisné and De la Harpe, both in 1719. Neither of the two ever actually came in contact with the Pawnee of the north, but Du Tisné wrote that "by the Missouri River one is able to go to the country of the Panimahas, whom other nations call Ahuachis, and from there to that of the Padoukas. . . ."[60] La Harpe[61] locates the *Panis* 40 leagues southwest of the Osage village, and while some regard this as a typographical error for northwest, it is equally possible that the reference is to the southern Pawnee or Wichita.

Two years later, in 1721, Pierre de Charlevoix visited the upper Missouri and Mississippi Valleys and prepared a lengthy account of his experiences. A single brief allusion, based upon hearsay, states that "the *Panis*, a nation settled on the banks of the Missouri, . . . extended themselves a good way toward New Mexico. . . ."[62]

Various terse allusions to the Pawnee are to be found for the next few decades, mostly recorded in letters to Louisiana or to St. Louis.[63] Du Pratz, on his map of 1757,[64] locates the *Panis* between the Cansez and Missouri Rivers, the latter being represented as flowing eastward in about the place actually occupied by the Platte (App., map 5). Du Pratz never visited this particular area, hence his map is geographically inaccurate and somewhat confusing. In 1770, however, appeared a noteworthy document. In that year Mezieres reported that "the Taouaiches nation [the Wichita] has been joined recently by another numerous tribe from the Missouri, namely the Panis-maha.[65] Three years later it was reported that this band of *Panimaha*, or Ouacee, numbered 600 warriors.[66] Bolton locates this group of *Panimaha*, after 1772, on the Red River in the vicinity of the present Marietta, Okla.[67] The estimate of 600 warriors is possibly much too high, but it appears to indicate the secession and permanent southward removal of a considerable body of the Skidi. The causes for this move are not fully known, but apparently there had been some difficulties with the French.[68]

In 1777, under the title "Report of the Indian Tribes who Receive Presents at St. Louis",[69] occurs the first really instructive information on the Pawnee, or at least on two of the bands. The population, enemies, and occupations are given, and the names of the chiefs appear. The *Panis*, five or six hundred warriors strong, are located

---

[60] Translated from the Margry Papers, vol. vi, p. 310.

[61] Margry Papers, vol. vi, p. 311.

[62] 1903, vol. i, p. 306.

[63] Margry Papers, vol. vi, pp. 382–492.

[64] 1758, vol. i, p. 138.

[65] Bolton, 1914, vol. i, p. 202.

[66] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 90.

[67] Ibid., map in vol. i.

[68] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 90.

[69] Houck, 1908, vol. i, p. 141.

"about 15 leagues from the Hotos [Oto] Tribe, on a small stream branching off from the Plata River." [70] This is in all probability one of the twin sites at Linwood, on Skull Creek near the Platte, and was presumably a Grand site. The other band, called *La Republica*, resided "about 110 (leagues) from the Misury [Missouri] River on the shores of the Cances River, and about 40 or 50 leagues from the village of the tribe of that name [at the mouth of the Blue River] by land." [71] The latter reference is of especial interest as preceding by nearly 20 years the date generally accepted as the earliest for the Republican Band of the Pawnee.[72] By the "Cances" here is meant the Republican River.

In the summer of 1794 Jean Baptiste Truteau led a merchandising expedition up the Missouri from St. Louis, bound for the Mandan villages. His journal [73] contains brief allusions to the various Pawnee villages, none of which he ever saw. The *Octata* [Oto] were located at the time 12 leagues up the Platte from its confluence with the Missouri; 25 leagues farther up the same stream was the village of the "grands panis"; and 30 leagues above them, on a tributary of the Platte (doubtless the Loup), were the "panis mahas."[74] There is some uncertainty as to just what stream was the habitat of the Republican Band, due to an unfortunate omission, but under the designation of "panis republicains" Truteau locates them 10 leagues above the "Canses",[75] whose village was 80 leagues from the Missouri on the Kansas River. The Republicans were probably on the Republican River, but very likely were rather more than 10 leagues from the Kansa village.

Two years later (1796) Victor Collot was sent from New Orleans on a military reconnaissance of the Mississippi and Missouri Valleys, penetrating to the mouth of the Osage River. Though a portion of his records were lost, he secured data on tribes far beyond those actually visited by himself. His geography is somewhat at fault, but the map (map 6) shows the Republican Nation on what is without question the Republican River. The "Great Panis" are 12 or 13 leagues above the village of the "Otoktata Nation" [76] at the confluence of the Platte and Missouri and the *Panimaha* are situated at the mouth of the Loup.[77] Inasmuch as Collot was never actually among the Pawnee, but secured his information on them and on their locale through other travelers, his observations are only approximately correct, though probably in a general way fairly reliable.

---

[70] Houck, 1909, vol. 1, p. 144.
[71] Ibid., p. 143.
[72] Powell, 1891, p. 60; see also Lewis and Clark, 1832, p. 709.
[73] 1914 contains part 1 only.
[74] Ibid., p. 306.
[75] Ibid., p. 303.
[76] 1924, vol. 1, p. 281.
[77] Idem.

175 John Evans, a Welshman in the employ of the Missouri Co., prepared in 1795 or 1796 a map of the Missouri River from near its mouth to the Mandan villages.[78] This is thought to be the map sent by Jefferson to Captain Lewis before the Lewis and Clark expedition set out in 1804, and is now in the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington. On it is indicated what must be the Oto village near the present town of Yutan, and farther up the Platte, but on the same (south) side of the river just below the mouth of a small creek from the south, is another village, doubtless the present Linwood site. The tribal affinity of neither village is indicated, but the upper site can safely be regarded as Pawnee by inference from earlier and later maps and reports. A village of the *Panis* is also shown just above the mouth of the Niobrara River, and another immediately below the mouth of the Cheyenne River, both presumably Arikara. No Republican or Skidi locations are given.

The final chapter in French exploration on the Missouri was written by Perrin du Lac from 1801 to 1803. In the spring of 1802, according to his narrative,[79] he undertook a journey from St. Louis to the mouth of the White River in the present South Dakota, including a visit to the *Great Panis* 3 days journey up the Platte from the *Otoes*, then probably at the Yutan site. Du Lac's map, probably based upon information supplied by Jacques Mackay, a fur trader, locates the *Grands Panis* on the south bank of the Platte immediately below the mouth of a small tributary (Skull Creek, probably), the *Loups* or *Skidi* some distance up the Loup on the left bank and the village of the *Republiques*, with whom the Grands were at war, on the north bank of the Republican some distance above the point where it turns to flow abruptly southward into the present Kansas (map 7). To all appearances these were approximately the same locations recorded by observers for the next quarter century, as will be pointed out later.

The acquisition of the Louisiana Territory by the United States in 1803 marked the opening of a new era in western development. Almost the first move made by Jefferson after the transfer was to dispatch two major expeditions for a thorough exploration and description of the newly added territory, and on the heels of these came colonization and vast economic changes. The ethnographic observations made by Lewis and Clark, Pike, and the other officers who followed them at intervals of a few years, as well as the work of missionaries and travelers, afford a fascinating panorama of aboriginal life in the Missouri Valley region just prior to its overshadowing and decline before the influence of expanding modern American civilization.

---

[78] Abel, A. H., 1916, p. 344.
[79] 1807, pp. 50–54.

First of the major expeditions was that of Lewis and Clark from 1804 to 1806. 175 While on their way up the Missouri in July 1804 these explorers, encamped some 10 miles above the mouth of the Platte, made the following observations:[30] The Otos were located 30 miles up the Platte on the south bank of the stream; 5 leagues above them on the same side of the stream was the principal band of Pawnee, and 90 miles distant on the Wolf (Loup) fork of the Platte were the Pawnee Loups. The Republican Band had recently migrated from the Republican River to join the principal, or Grand, Pawnee, hence the map (map 8) shows no Pawnee on that stream. In another report[31] the same authors locate the *Panias* proper, 1,600 strong, 30 leagues up the Platte; the *Loups*, self-styled the "*Skee-e-ree*", on the Loup River 36 leagues from its mouth; and the Republicans were associated with the first band, probably at the present Linwood site. The Skidi village on the Loup was perhaps north of what is now Palmer, in Nance County, Nebr., or at least in that general locality.

In the summer of 1806 Lt. Zebulon M. Pike visited the village of 175 the Republican Pawnee while en route to the headwaters of the 131 Arkansas. This village, so far as can be determined from Pike's map (map 9) and his notes on the adjacent physiography,[32] was located on the south bank of the Republican River in what is now Webster County, Nebr., and was doubtless occupied by a different portion of the Republican Band than the party which Lewis and Clark reported previously as having rejoined the Grands. The Grand Pawnees and the Skidi were in about the same locations as given by Lewis and Clark; the former on the Platte, the latter on the Loup. Pike did not venture north of the Republican village, hence there are one or two minor errors in his map showing the villages on the Platte, particularly where he locates the Oto and Missouri village as above that of the Grand Pawnee.

By 1811 marked changes had taken place in the location of several of the Pawnee villages. According to Major Sibley,[33] an officer of the Missouri Co., both Grand and Republican Pawnee had abandoned their old villages and were establishing one jointly in an "elevated < level prairie" on the north bank of the Otto (Loup) fork of the Platte, about 120 miles northwest of the Kansa village at the mouth of the Blue River in Kansas. The Skidi were 10 miles farther upstream. The mileage given is probably somewhat short, and from

---

[30] 1815, vol. I, pp. 35 f.

[31] 1832, pp. 708–709.

[32] Pike, 1810, pp. 141–149; App. to pt. II, pp. 14–15; also Wilkinson, in App. to pt. II, pp. 23–24. This location agrees with Coues' original interpretation of Pike's notes and tallies with those of Nebraska investigators, but is at variance with the opinions of certain Kansas historians. The evidence leading to the present author's conclusion will be presented later. See also Nebraska History Mag., vol. X, 3, 1927, for arguments on both sides.

[33] 1927, pp. 200–203; also Louisiana Gazette, May 16, 1812.

175 131 comparison with subsequent accounts it appears that the villages were then in the present Nance County, Nebr., the Grand-Republican village at the mouth of Horse Creek, and the Skidi village due north of Palmer.

The journal of Maj. S. H. Long's expedition,[84] in 1819, gives very explicit information on the Pawnee. Proceeding up the Loup after crossing Beaver Creek, and 4 miles farther on the Creek of Souls (now Council Creek), the party encamped on "a small creek (now Plum Creek), 11 miles distant from the village of the Grand Pawnees."[85] Evidently this refers to the village at the mouth of Horse Creek. The Republicans had withdrawn from the band and were in a separate village 4 miles above the Grand Pawnee,[86] presumably at the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. Three miles farther upstream, and like the other villages on the immediate bank of the river, were the Skidi,[87] at the site north of the present Palmer. The three villages occupied "about 10 miles in length of the fertile valley of the Wolf [Loup] River. The surface is wholly naked of timber, rising gradually to the river hills, which are broad and low, and from a mile to a mile and a half distant."[88] Throughout, the narrative is sufficiently clear to make the accurate relocation of the villages possible to one familiar with the region described (map 10).

Reports by the Rev. Jedidiah Morse[89] in 1822 and by Captain Ashley[90] in 1824 indicate that the villages of the tribe were still in about the same location at that date. According to Ashley it was 15 miles south to the Platte from the villages[91] and "Plumb Point", a few miles west of the present Kearney, was the customary crossing place of the Pawnee "on their route to the wintering grounds on the Arkansas River."[92]

[648] In 1833 Commissioner Ellsworth negotiated a treaty with the Pawnee whereby the tribe ceded to the United States all lands claimed by it lying south of the Platte River. He was accompanied by J. T. Irving, who recorded unofficially many details of the visit to the villages.[93] The Grand Pawnee had abandoned the Horse Creek site where they had been visited by Long and had established their village "at the foot of a long range of hills (and) within about 50 yards of the Platte",[94] on the right bank of the stream. This was

---

[84] 1823, vol. i.
[85] Ibid., p. 435.
[86] Ibid., pp. 354, 440.
[87] Ibid., p. 354.
[88] Ibid., p. 446.
[89] 1822, pp. 237-238.
[90] 1918, p. 118.
[91] Idem.
[92] Idem.
[93] 1835, vol. ii.
[94] Ibid., p. 16.

probably opposite the present station of Clarks, in Polk County. The 175
Republican Band was about 20 miles to the northwest on the Loup,[95] 131
having apparently removed from where Long saw them on the Cottonwood site to the Horse Creek site evacuated by the Grands. The Tappage Band, here mentioned for the first time, was located 11 miles farther up the Loup,[96] and 10 miles beyond were the Skidi.[97] The last three villages were all situated on a high bank immediately overlooking the river. The distances from the Republican to the Tappage and Skidi villages, as here recorded, are too great to be reconciled with known Pawnee sites in that area, consequently later investigators are inclined to regard them as inaccurate, and to suggest that the Tappage village was actually at the Cottonwood Creek site and the Skidi village near by, at or near the location given by Long.[98]

Catlin, about 1835, referred briefly to the Pawnee as living on the Platte 100 miles above its confluence with the Missouri, occupying "four villages, some few miles apart."[99] It is doubtful whether he [114] ever actually saw the villages, and his rather vague report adds little to our knowledge.

In June 1835 Col. Henry Dodge and a detachment of dragoons marched up the right, or south, bank of the Platte en route to the Rocky Mountains. They passed through the Grand Pawnee village after "having marched 80 miles since leaving the Otto village [at Yutan]."[1] The reference here is to the same village as that where Irving visited the band two years earlier. Dodge mentions the other three bands also,[2] but fails to locate their villages, from which we may infer that they were still on the old sites along the Loup and off the route traveled by the dragoons. Of especial interest is the statement that "the Arickaras had been living with the Pawnee [648] Loups all winter, but were scared away previous to our arrival by a lying Kansas",[3] and the subsequent information that the Arikara had been driven from their habitat on the Missouri by the Sioux.[4] On the expedition's map but one Pawnee village is indicated, and that one opposite the lower end of Grand Island.[5]

Fremont's expedition, while descending the Platte from the Rockies in 1842, halted "at the village of the Grand Pawnee on

---

[95] 1835, vol. II, p. 67.
[96] Ibid., p. 119.
[97] Ibid., p. 125.
[98] A. T. Hill, personal communication.
[99] 1841, vol. II, pp. 24–27.
[1] Dodge, 1861, p. 133; also map no. 654 B.
[2] Idem.
[3] Idem.
[4] Ibid., p. 136.
[5] Grand Island is some 25 miles above Clarks, but Prairie Island, which may have been mistaken for the former, commences just above the site and extends approximately 10 miles upstream.

175 the right bank of the river, about 30 miles above the mouth of the
Loup Fork."[7] At about the same time Gregg[8] states that the
131 principal village of the tribe was on the Loup Fork of the Platte,
probably on the basis of reports by traders and others.

A second detachment of dragoons, Major Wharton in command, visited the Pawnee villages in 1844. A council was held in the Grand village, located "at the point of a projecting ridge", or "headland",[9] on the right bank of the Platte. A few miles upstream was a village of the Republican band, the site of which has never been specifically determined.[10] The villages on the Loup were for the most part abandoned by this time, the Skidi and Tappage having also removed to new locations,[11] farther down the Loup.

The movements of the various bands from 1835 to 1845 are perhaps best recorded in the letters of John Dunbar,[12] Presbyterian missionary who attached himself to the Grand band and was later in charge of the Plum Creek (now Council Creek) mission station. Thus, in 1835, the village of the Grand Pawnee was situated "on the south side of the River Platte, about 120 miles from the mouth of the stream . . . (and) . . . about 30 rods from the water's edge."[13] The following spring he visited the village of the Republican and Tappage bands, 25 miles from that of the Grands, "on a high bluff on the north side of the Loup Fork about 30 miles above its junction with the Platte." Four miles above was the Little Republican village, and 3 miles farther still were the Skidi,[14] both on high steep bluffs overlooking the Loup. By 1839 the Republicans were split into four groups, with their main village "on the south side of the Platte, a short distance above the village of the Grand Pawnees",[15] where, it will be recalled, Wharton also reported them in 1844. By the autumn of 1842 the Tappage, together with many Grands and Republicans, had established "a village of 41 lodges" about a mile from the Plum Creek (now Council Creek) mission, and shortly the Skidi settled 3 miles above on the immediate river
bank at the mouth of Willow (Cedar) Creek, about 2 miles east
175 of the present town of Fullerton.[16] On June 27, 1843, a Dakota raid
131 on the lower village culminated disastrously for the Pawnee and
648 they sought the security of the main Grand village south of the

---

[7] 1845, p. 78.
[8] 1845, vol. II, p. 300.
[9] 1844, p. 20.
[10] Ibid., p. 29.
[11] Ibid., p. 30.
[12] 1918, pp. 570-689.
[13] Ibid., p. 509.
[14] Ibid., pp. 617-618. These three villages are now known as Horse Creek, Cottonwood, and Palmer sites, respectively. See also Long's location of villages in 1819.
[15] Ibid., pp. 637, 640.
[16] Ibid., pp. 648, 656-660.

Platte.[17] A few months later, however, the fugitives removed again 175 to the Loup, this time to join the Skidi 4 miles from the mission, and 131 in 1844 they were fortifying this village by means of a ditch and 648 turf wall, besides requesting two hundred guns from the government agent for protection against the dreaded Dakota.[18] By the end of the year the greater part of the tribe was settled on the north bank of the Loup,[19] and in 1846, after the hostility of the Sioux and the increasing discontent of the Pawnee had necessitated the abandonment of the mission, Dunbar alludes to "thieves and robbers" south of the Platte in contrast to "Pawnees who have removed north of the Platte".[20] Most of the difficulties experienced by emigrant trains on the Mormon and Oregon Trails through this region, at least after about 1847, were due to the activities of the renegade Pawnee who insisted upon remaining south of the Platte River on lands no longer their own.

Confirmation of this situation is seen in the journal of William 175 Clayton, written in 1847, as accurate as it is interesting. Clayton was 131 with the first party of Mormons to travel over this trail, and his observations on the Pawnee, though not extensive, afford a good check on some of the other reports. The party proceeded up the left bank of the Loup, all distances being computed from the recorded revolutions of the wagon wheels. Thus, at a distance of about 25 miles west of Shell Creek was seen the first village, of skins, on the south side of the Loup[21] about 5 or 6 miles west of and across the river from the present city of Columbus. Four miles southwest of the old mission, just above the ford across the Loup, was the ruin of the old Skidi village of some two hundred lodges.[22] Accurate as the account generally is, Clayton, singularly enough, fails to mention the sizable Cedar Creek which falls into the Loup just above the site. The abandonment of this location, to which after 1846 had moved virtually all [648] of the bands, came about as the result of its having been burned twice by the Sioux while the tribe was absent on hunts.[23] The encampment on the lower Loup represented the greater portion of the homeless and discouraged residents of this village. After fording the Loup the party continued on up its right bank, and Clayton records two ruined Indian villages seen on the high north bank, one at 10, the other at 17, miles above the ford.[24] Though on the opposite side of the river, he described the tumble-down lodges, the directions

---

[17] At the village visited by Dodge, Wharton, et al.—i. e., opposite Clarks.

[18] Ibid., p. 663.

[19] Ibid., p. 671.

[20] Ibid., pp. 685 ff.

[21] 1921, pp. 84–87.

[22] Ibid., p. 95 ff.

[23] Ibid., p. 95.

[24] Ibid., p. 106.

175 131 of the entrances, and the indications of former cultivated fields as plainly visible. That these two ruins were those of the Horse Creek and Cottonwood sites, which Dunbar found inhabited in 1836 and which were apparently not abandoned until 1842, there can be no reasonable doubt.

Father De Smet in 1847[25] recorded the Pawnee Nation as divided into four tribes, with their villages on the Platte, or Nebraska, River, and its branches, approximately 150 miles from the Missouri. His best contribution on the tribe is a graphic account of the Morning-Star human sacrifice of the Skidi.[26]

In 1851 Gottlieb Oehler and David Smith, two Moravian missionaries, made a hurried trip to the villages of the Pawnee, now but two in number, and both on the south side of the Platte. The lower village was located on a high bluff overlooking the valley 10 or 15 miles above the mouth of the Elkhorn,[27] probably at the site about 3 miles due south of Fremont. Twenty-five miles upstream, but on the valley bottom, was the other village, generally identified with the later site at Linwood. The traditional arrangement of the villages of the bands,[28] whereby the Skidi were always farthest toward the west, was apparently disregarded here, as the information, though rather vague, suggests that the Skidi were at the lower, or easternmost, site.[29] General Thayer, who held a council with the Pawnee at this village in 1855, locates it "on the south and west side of the Platte River on a very high point a few miles this side (south) of where the town of Fremont had just commenced a settlement."[30] A granite monument now marks the spot where Thayer's council was convened, on the edge of a high bluff overlooking the Platte bottoms.

175 648 Increasing friction between white settlers and the discontented Pawnee led to the treaty of Table Creek in 1857, whereby the tribe gave up the claim to lands lying north of the Platte and was assigned to a reservation 30 miles long by 15 wide, lying along both sides of the Loup.[31] Some difficulty was experienced in persuading the Pawnee to return to this region, but they finally did so with the understanding that the Government was to provide protection against the Dakota. Two villages, or what really amounted to one large scattering village, were established about a mile and a half south of Genoa, on a broad flat plain between Beaver Creek and the Loup River. Three of the bands settled in one village, on ground now occupied by the Genoa Cemetery; the Skidi were about a half mile farther west.

---

[25] 1905, vol. III., p. 974.
[26] Ibid., pp. 976–988.
[27] 1851, pp. 25–27.
[28] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, p. 257.
[29] Oehler and Smith, 1851, pp. 21, 25.
[30] 1907, p. 121.
[31] Royce, 1899, p. 816.

The promised protection was soon withdrawn, however, and by 1860 175
the Pawnee were again suffering from the harassment of their relentless foes, the Dakota.[22] In addition, the encroachments of the whites 648
from the east and south led to endless bickering and ill feeling between the two races. In 1870 a party of Republican Pawnee visited the Wichita Reservation in Indian Territory, meeting with a kindly reception, and on their return north agitation was begun within the tribe as well as from without for removal to the Territory. A crushing defeat by Teton and Oglala Dakota, while a portion of the Pawnee Tribe was engaged in their last buffalo hunt near what is now Trenton, in southwestern Nebraska, almost unnerved the remainder of the Pawnee, and in 1876, by common consent, the reservation was exchanged for lands in Indian Territory. The southward trek had actually begun nearly 2 years earlier, so that by late 1874 or 1875 the movement was practically consummated. The former reservation became Nance County, Nebr., and the once powerful Pawnee had passed forever from the territory they had for centuries known as their own.

ARCHEOLOGY

HISTORIC VILLAGE SITES

Ancient village sites, almost always attributed locally to the 172*
Pawnee, are to be found on virtually every stream of any consequence in eastern and southern Nebraska. These remains are especially 131
numerous along the north bank of the Loup below St. Paul, on the Platte between Prairie Island and Ashland, and on the Republican throughout its entire length in Nebraska, including also a short stretch of the latter stream in northern Kansas. Within historic times the permanent villages of the Pawnee were located in the lower Loup and Platte Valleys and on the Republican both north and south of the Kansas-Nebraska line, so that in all probability many of the so-called "Pawnee sites" in the area will ultimately prove to be correctly designated. However, in view of the fact that archeology here is still in the nascent stage, with little or no material from the vast majority of such sites, it is absurd to label as Pawnee all Indian remains found in the region. The specific tribal name should be applied only to sites known by documentary references or through careful archeological investigation to have been occupied by the Pawnee; any other sites should be differently and distinctively designated.

The characteristic form of habitation of the Pawnee when in their 172*
permanent villages was the earth lodge, of which a detailed description will be given later. Here it may be pointed out that the lodge 342

---

[22] Gillis, 1899, pp. 93-95.

*172 342 consisted of a main framework of timbers and posts, supporting a thatch of grass and, finally, a covering of turf, erected over a shallow, circular, saucerlike excavation; the entrance projected from one side, usually but not always the southeast or east. When such a structure was abandoned and the continual vigilance required for its upkeep removed, the outer shell of earth was soon washed off and deposited about the base of the wall, while the timbers might remain standing for years before rotting away. Thus, there would result in course of time a raised ring of soil, indicating the periphery of the erstwhile lodge; within this ring was a depression somewhat lower than the normal ground surface outside. Prior to the breaking up of the bottom lands along the rivers these lodge circles were to be seen on every Pawnee site of the past century. Where subterranean caches or "Indian cellars" occur the soil within them has often settled to such an extent that the mouth is revealed as a small circular depression. These occur both inside and outside the [712] lodge circles. Defensive walls were constructed around nearly every historic village, but with few exceptions these have now been wholly obliterated. Long cultivation obviously tends to destroy all traces of either lodge circles or earthworks, though very shallow depressions and slight elevations may persist for a number of years. Frequently, even after repeated plowing, the sites of the lodges are still clearly indicated by sherds, charred wood, burned earth, bones, and similar detrital material, which litters each particular spot formerly occupied by a dwelling. The contrast between these circular discolored areas and the surrounding natural soil is especially marked after the site has been freshly plowed.

*172 121 In the following discussion 13 Pawnee sites, grouped according to their band affiliations, will be briefly described. Ten of these have been identified with villages recorded by the various American explorers after 1800. Another, the Kansas Monument site, probably dates just prior to that year and, while not specifically documented, is unquestionably of rather late historic date. The other two sites were occupied approximately contemporaneously, and are post-Columbian; they have, however, never been placed with any degree of accuracy in the historical scheme, hence are designated as protohistoric.[33]

---

[33] In conformity to the system of nomenclature suggested at the first Plains Archeological Conference held at Vermillion, S. Dak., on Aug. 31–Sept. 1, 1931, village sites in the Pawnee area have been tentatively divided into three sequential groups, viz, the historic, the protohistoric, and the prehistoric. Historic sites are those which have been quite definitely identified with villages visited or reported by American and European explorers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—i. e., between 1775 and 1874. Protohistoric sites are those dating from the very beginning of the European conquest; they show traces of trade relations with white men, bear strong basic cultural resemblances to the historic villages, but were never specifically documented; and in point of time they fall between the years 1540 and 1775. Prehistoric

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

With the exception of the Cottonwood Creek village, all of these 172* sites, where definitely located, have been visited by the writer, who 121 was accompanied in all but two instances by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings. Several of the locations were first identified by Mr. Hill many years ago, and through the medium of sample collections he has acquired a first-hand acquaintance with each site that made his assistance invaluable. So far as systematic excavation is concerned, Mr. Hill's activities have been largely confined to the Hill site. The Nebraska Archeological Survey, of which the writer was a member, [114] spent the first 2 weeks in August 1930 in intensive work at the same place, the results of which are included in this paper. Excavations by the Survey at the Burkett and Schuyler sites in 1931 were made subsequent to the writing of this paper. However, certain of these findings have been incorporated here, although the main results await future publication. The only other extended excavations were made by E. E. Blackman, of the Nebraska Historical Society, at the Burkett site, in 1907. For the rest, as already stated, the sites have been visited and their chief features noted, as well as surface collections of specimens wherever available.

SKIDI PAWNEE SITES

The Skidi band, known in early literature as the *Panimaha*, is 101 by some considered to have been the first to occupy the northern 172* habitat. According to their own claim, they were formerly a very powerful and numerous tribe, consisting of four bands, each numbering [162] 5,000 souls.[84] This number is doubtless excessive, but to quote Grinnell, "There are yet to be seen on the Loup Fork, in Nebraska, innumerable remains of Skidi villages, some of which are very ancient."[85] To date only three sites have been definitely shown to be Skidi, although there is a very strong probability that archeology will bring to light many more of prehistoric age, possibly substantiating the greater antiquity of the Skidi in the area.[86]

PALMER SITE.—This was discovered by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings, 172* in 1922, and has been identified by him as the probable site of the 361 Skidi village reported by Major Sibley in 1811,[87] and subsequently

---

sites are those exhibiting only the pure native cultural traits with no traces whatever of Caucasian contact; they antedate the arrival of the Spanish in 1541. In the above discussion only historic and protohistoric Pawnee sites are considered. Various sites in the last category are discussed in Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, by W. D. Strong, entitled "An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology"; also in Wedel, 1935, pp. 132–237.

[84] Grinnell, 1893, p. 238.

[85] Ibid., p. 239.

[86] All of the sites described are indicated on map 2 which shows their situation relative to the streams and river bluffs. The names are those in general use among local investigators; the numbers are for convenience in use of the map only.

[87] 1927, p. 203.

/

*172 361 visited by Long (1820),[38] Morse (1820),[39] Irving (1833),[40] and Dunbar (1836).[41] It is located 4 miles north and slightly more than a mile west of the town of Palmer, on the north side of the Loup River,[42] and occupies a high flat plain, or second bottoms, about 30 feet above and immediately overlooking the stream. The site has been under cultivation for many years, but along the edge of the bank next the river is an unbroken strip 30 yards wide by 200 long, containing 10 well-preserved lodge circles. The village covered a much larger area, however, extending some distance back from the river to include perhaps 15 acres or more.[43] Flints, arrowpoints (mostly triangular), bits of clamshell, bones, and potsherds are scattered over the area, while the plow brings to the surface bits of charcoal, lumps of wood ashes, burned stones and clay, iron hoes, axes, parts of guns, and various other vestiges of former occupation. Plowing also reveals the sites of many additional lodges, in the form of large circles of dark, discolored soil, permeated with detrital material. Two short gullies cut into the site from the bank of the river appear to have served a dual purpose, primarily perhaps as refuse dumps and secondarily as a convenient means of gaining access to the river's edge, the bank elsewhere being too abrupt for easy descent. The accumulation of rubbish in the west midden is reported to extend down to bedrock, with a depth of more than 5 feet. A deposit of such depth, occurring as it does in an area where middens are absent or ill-defined, not only indicates a long period of occupancy but promises interesting stratigraphic possibilities.

The lodge circles which have so far escaped destruction by the plow vary in diameter from 27 to 48 feet, approximately. The center varies from 1 to nearly 3 feet lower than the crest of the ring, which is in turn about a foot higher than the surface of the surrounding ground. Formerly there is said to have been a great circle over 200 feet across in the center of the site, but this has been obliterated. Scattered among these circles, and in one or two instances within them, are smaller depressions from 2 to 4 feet across, where the soil has settled within subterranean caches. From each circle is a raised extension roughly equal in length to the radius of the circle, indicating the position of the former entrance. Contrary to certain generalizations, these do not all face the east, nearly half being toward the west and most of the others to the southeast.

---

[38] 1823, vol. i, p. 354.

[39] 1822, p. 238.

[40] 1835, vol. ii, p. 125.

[41] 1918, pp. 617–618.

[42] SE. ¼ sec. 12, T. 15 N., R. 9 W., in Howard County, Nebr.

[43] In 1820, according to Morse (op. cit.), the village contained 120 lodges; in 1836 Dunbar (op. cit.) found only 70.

To the north of the village site, perhaps a half mile from the river, 172* are three prominent hills, the summit of each being covered with 764 burials. These have been repeatedly dug into by local "relic hunters" and much valuable material thoughtlessly destroyed in the quest for medals, pots, and the like. A county highway crosses the central hill, and nearly every widening of the road or deepening of the side ditches has resulted in the exposure of graves. At the time of the writer's visit to the site in 1930 Mr. A. T. Hill located in one of the ditches the grave of a young child. From this was taken a very well-preserved skeleton, a small complete vessel, and other articles, to be treated at length in another portion of this paper. Most of the burials found have been accompanied by glass beads, lead rings, [177] and other objects indicative of white contact. However, pre-Caucasian graves should be diligently sought as the site appears to have been early historic and may strike back into the late prehistoric.

Fullerton site.—This site, first settled by the Skidi in 1842[44] 172* and abandoned by them in 1846 or soon thereafter because of Dakota 361 raids,[45] is situated on the north bank of the Loup River, immediately below the mouth of the Cedar, about 2 miles east and a half mile north of the town of Fullerton.[46] It, too, occupies a bench some 30 feet high, with the river flowing immediately at the base. Clayton's description of the site, written in 1847 while the Mormon emigrants were crossing the Loup at this point, sums up the situation very nicely:

> This village is situated on the north bank of the Loup Fork of the Nebraska or Platte River, about 4 miles southwest of the mission station on Plumb Creek [now Council Creek] and 138 miles from Winter Quarters [at Florence, Nebr.] .... On the east and west of the village is a beautiful level beach of prairie extending many miles, and to the ridge of bluffs which run east and west touching within a mile of the village [on the north]. On the top of the bluffs can be seen a number of Indian graves. To the northwest about a mile distant, and at the foot of the bluffs, is an extensive cornfield, the stalks still standing. On the south [i. e., across the Loup] is a beautiful view of the nice level prairie extending to the main branch of the Platte, the timber on the banks can be faintly, but plainly seen. ... The village occupies a space of about 40 acres of land and is mostly enclosed by a ditch about 5 feet wide and a bank inside the ditch about 4 feet high, running from the bank of the river around the village till it again strikes the bank, and when perfect has formed a good fortification. A number of lodges are built outside the ditch on the east end on account of want of room inside when the bands from the other village joined them. The village is composed of about 200 houses or lodges [of which but one remained intact] ....[47]

---

[44] Dunbar, 1918, pp. 648, 654.

[45] Clayton, 1921, p. 95.

[46] NE. ¼ sec. 7, T. 16 N., R. 5 W., in Nance County, Nebr.

[47] 1921, pp. 96–97.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*172 Most of the site has long been under cultivation, and there are but few remaining traces of the lodge circles; no evidence whatever exists of the surrounding wall. Bits of shell, bone, stones, flints, and some sherds are found, together with iron hoes, gun parts, knives, and other evidences of white trade. Plowing reveals the presence of many otherwise undiscernible house sites. The shortness of occupancy of the village precludes probability of much material remaining on the house floors. However, a systematic search of caches and graves, if such could be found, might be more profitably pursued.

*172 361 After the abandonment of the Fullerton village the Skidi appear to have wandered slowly down the Loup. For a time they resided on the south bank of that stream, on an unidentified location about 5 or 6 miles west of the present town of Columbus. Since this village consisted largely of skin lodges,[48] it is hardly probable that it will ever be definitely located; it may not have been occupied more than a few months.

[131] At any rate, by 1851 the band was established on the south bank of the Platte, about 10 miles above the mouth of the Elkhorn River at the McClaine site.[49] They were still here in 1855,[50] and probably did not leave until their final removal to the reservation on the Loup.

McClaine site.—This, the spot where Oehler and Smith in 1851 and Thayer in 1855 visited the Skidi, lies 3 miles south of Fremont, on the southwest bank of the Platte.[51] It occupies some 30 or 40 acres on a high, commanding cliff. It was formerly enclosed by a sod wall, or rampart, but this has long since been obliterated along with surface signs of lodges. A road skirts the edge of the bluff, cutting through a house site and several caches. One of the latter was opened by the writer in the fall of 1930, and from it were taken a few sherds, a scissors blade, the tooth of a horse, and a badly rusted triangular file. The house site showed little of interest in the cursory examination accorded it; it had obviously burned down, and the floor was remarkably destitute of artifacts. Material remains are scarce over the entire site, and but seldom consist of objects of genuine aboriginal cast.

Five miles downstream, to the southeast, is the Leshara site,[52] which is probably nothing more than an overflow from the village at the McClaine site. Early settlers state that groups of earth lodges were formerly scattered over the whole length of valley between the two, making a single, straggling community.

---

[48] Clayton, 1921, pp. 83–87.

[49] Oehler and Smith, 1851, p. 25.

[50] Thayer, 1907, p. 121.

[51] SE¼ of NE¼ sec. 2, T. 16 N., R. 8 E., Saunders County, Nebr.

[52] Blackman, 1903, p. 296.

Genoa site.—After the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee gradually be- 172*
came concentrated in one great, rambling village on the Loup. This
lay about 1½ miles south of Genoa, on a broad, flat plain between 361
Beaver Creek and the Loup.[63] The Skidi occupied the western part
of the village; the other three bands located in what is now the
Genoa Cemetery. A sod wall protected the settlement on the south
and west sides, with the portions nearest Genoa left open. Each
band is said to have had its own burial ground. That of the Grands
was to the south, across the Loup River. The Skidi interred their [764]
dead on bluffs northwest of their village. The Tappage Cemetery
was on a hill in what is now the north edge of Genoa and that of the
Republicans was northeast of the city. All traces of the village have
been obliterated and the cemeteries have suffered extensively at the
hands of vandals. Few objects of native production have been [177]
found, as the Pawnee were very much under the influence of the
Americans at this late date and were rapidly losing their own arts
and industries.

GRAND PAWNEE SITES

The Grand Pawnee are often designated in early literature and 131
on maps prior to 1800 as *Panis*. The main villages of the band were [101]
always on the south bank of the Platte, save for a short period between 1806 and 1824 (the latter date being approximate), and another from 1860 to 1875. During both of these periods they were on the north bank of the Loup, at the Horse Creek and Genoa sites, respectively. Two pure Grand Pawnee locations are recognized, viz, the Linwood and the Clarks sites; the Plum Creek site was occupied by members of at least two of the other bands. The Horse Creek site was dominantly Republican, hence is included in that section.

Linwood site.—This site is located approximately a mile south and 172*
slightly west of the town of Linwood, on the east bank of Skull Creek 361
3 miles south of the Platte River.[64] It occupies the western portion
of an alluvial flat, a small embaymentlike arm of the Platte Valley
extending perhaps three-quarters of a mile up Skull Creek, and is
inclosed on the west, south, and east by high bluffs. Skull Creek, [133]
at least in former times, probably carried water at all seasons of the year, and immediately below the site an excellent spring provided water sufficient to meet the domestic needs for a considerable community.

The site, though extending nearly half a mile continuously along the creek, actually consists of two contiguous sites of very different age. The early phase of occupation, designated on map 2 as 9 A,

---

[63] SW¼ sec. 24 and SE¼ sec. 23, T. 17 N., R. 4 W., Nance County, Nebr.

[64] SW¼ sec. 35, T. 17 N., R. 4 E., Butler County, Nebr.

*172 comprises the southwestern portion. It includes some 18 or 20 acres of ground, on a gently sloping tongue of land skirted on the west and 361 north sides by the creek, and rising toward the south to a burial hill perhaps 200 yards distant. The larger part of this site has been farmed for years, but a small unbroken tract of pasture still contains a few lodge circles and caches. Near the center of the old village is a great circle, some 90 feet or more across, but quite shallow, perhaps the remains of an unroofed ceremonial lodge. Nearby and lying at right angles to the slope of the land are traces of a linear excavation upward of 50 yards long, strongly suggesting an artificially leveled gaming ground or race course. Little excavation has been done on this site, save for lamentable looting in the hilltop burial ground, but an extraordinarily fine collection of surface material has been made by Mr. Alfred Tichacek, owner of the farm, and additional specimens are to be found in abundance after each plowing. According to Mr. Tichacek, all of the material from this area is definitely pre-Caucasian, glass beads, metal, iron hoes, and other evidences of white contact being absent alike from the burials and from the village site, whereas pottery and stonework of probable Pawnee origin are very abundant.[35]

The late phase at the Linwood site (9 B on map 2) falls late within the historic period. The village at that time was on the flat immediately northeast of the older site and about 20 feet below the bench on which the latter stood. According to J. B. Tichacek, who homesteaded the land in 1871, "a sod wall nearly 3 feet high enclosed 40 acres which was thickly covered with lodge circles . . . the village contained over a thousand circles . . ."[36] Today all vestiges of lodges and wall have been obliterated, but pieces of cedar house posts, iron arrowpoints, hoes, gun parts, and the like are annually plowed out, while from the graves on the hills to the southeast come glass beads, metal ornaments, and kindred evidences of white contact. On the lower slope of the burial hill is another great raised circle of earth, similar to the one previously described from the early site, but with the north quadrant cut away by the road. Several short, inconspicuous linear tumuli may be seen some distance west of the circle. Nearby a deeply worn trail may be seen descending the burial hill in the direction of the village site; a similar trail is also discernible between the older cemetery and village about 200 yards farther west.

---

[35] Since the above was written the Nebraska Archaeological Survey has had the opportunity of excavating at this very promising site. The work included the uncovering of two lodge sites, one partially superimposed upon the other, but both of the usual historic Pawnee type and showing very little difference in age; the opening of one grave containing a flexed child burial; and considerable surface survey work over the area after heavy rains. Contrary to local expectations, however, some trade material was secured, including iron hoes and axes, fragments of a copper kettle, bits of brass, and glass. While there is probably a prehistoric or protohistoric phase of occupancy here, it would appear that the site was more or less continuously occupied, at least by small bands, throughout the later historic period. General conclusions reached as a result of the work were that the village was definitely of Pawnee origin, was very probably inhabited about the year 1800, and may date, in part, from a much earlier period. A full discussion of the investigations awaits a later report.

[36] Blackman, 1907, p. 329.

The later village here was doubtless the one visited by Oehler and Smith in 1851, while the locations given for the Grand Pawnee by Le Seuer, Collot, Du Lac, and Lewis and Clark also appear to fit the general locality. The scarcity of Caucasian material on the early site suggests that it was occupied during the latter part of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, and may have been the village visited or reported by these last-named explorers.

CLARKS SITE.—Three miles southeast of Clarks, on the right bank of the Platte, is the site occupied by the Grand Pawnee village from approximately 1820 to 1845.[57] At this point the river flows in a northeasterly direction, skirting the right-hand bluffs so closely that the second bottoms form only a narrow flat bench less than half a mile wide. About 3 miles below the site the line of bluffs swings abruptly to the east and the bottoms widen to 5 or 6 miles. To one approaching across these bottoms the angle of the bluffs gives very much the effect of a promontory or headland, which is readily seen from a distance of 10 miles or more.[58]

The site occupies some 30 acres or more, all at present under cultivation save for a 50-foot strip along the edge of the bench. Six or seven small house depressions, none over 30 feet across, and a dozen or so caches are the only visible remains, although charred house posts are not infrequently plowed out. Sherds, flints, and bone tools are singularly scarce, but iron hoes, gun parts, and other trade ware is rather plentiful. In the graves which cover the hilltops behind the site the same paucity of aboriginal material occurs, while glass beads, metal rings, and the like are correspondingly more numerous. Evidently the Pawnee here were already very strongly under the influence of the white man's culture and had abandoned many elements of their own.

The site was burned by the Delawares in 1832, during the absence of the Pawnee on their summer hunt, but was rebuilt by 1833, at the time of Irving's[59] visit. It was also visited by Major Wharton in 1844, who noted among other things the appearance of regularly posted sentries on some of the elevated points both above and below the village.[60] Inasmuch as the village was burned there is a possibility that careful search would reveal well-stocked caches in some of the

---

[57] SW¼ sec. 17, T. 14 N., R. 4 W., Polk County, Nebr.

[58] Wharton, 1844, p. 20.

[59] Irving, 1835, vol. ii, p. 10.

[60] Wharton, 1844, p. 21.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*172 lodges. The burial grounds have been looted to only a limited extent. However, the lateness of occupancy makes it seem improbable that
361 the site would repay detailed investigation as it falls entirely within the historic period and presents few of the true native traits of the Pawnee.

Plum Creek site.—Approximately coincident with the establishment of the Skidi village at the mouth of the Cedar, as previously noted, the greater portion of the Grands, with the Republican and Tappage bands, jointly took up their residence 8 miles farther down the Loup, also on the north bank of the stream, and within a mile
[197] of the Presbyterian mission station on Plum Creek.[61] The spot where the mission formerly stood has been recently located on the west bank of the present Council Creek, perhaps 200 yards below the point where the latter leaves the bluffs. The Pawnee site has not been definitely determined, but since it was visible from the mission, and only a mile distant,[62] it would appear that the site is to be sought just north of the Union Pacific Railroad about 8 miles southwest of Genoa. There is here a slight bench, all under cultivation, on which the village was probably located. Since the site was occupied for but a few years it is doubtful whether there remains much village detritus. This, together with the very limited search that has been made, probably accounts for the uncertainty regarding its location, and also renders it unlikely that the site possesses much of real archeological value.

REPUBLICAN PAWNEE SITES

175 The Republican Pawnee, an offshoot of the Grands, first appear in literature in 1777 as one of the tribes receiving presents at the Spanish post of St. Louis.[63] Their habitat even at that early date was the Republican Valley, which they abandoned during the first decade of the nineteenth century for a more secure location with the Grands on the Platte and Loup Rivers.[64] It is extremely doubtful
[648] whether this band, as such, ever resided much farther south than the valley of the Republican, as its history is one of continual warfare with the hostile Kansa on the Kansas and lower Republican Rivers. After 1812 they were nearly always intimately associated with the parent band of Grand Pawnee, and during much of the time they
*172 occupied the same village. At least two and possibly three sites
361 may be regarded as predominantly Republican Pawnee, although others were used from time to time in conjunction with other bands.

---

[61] Now known as "Council Creek," the names of the two streams having been reversed since that time. "The next stream west of the Beaver is Plum Creek, on which was the mission station."—Platt, E. G., 1892, p. 131.

[62] Dunbar, 1918, pp. 648, 656.

[63] Houck, 1909, vol. 1, p. 142.

[64] Lewis and Clark, 1833, p. 709; Long, 1823, vol. 1, p. 449.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Kansas Monument site.—This site is located 1½ miles west and 1 mile south of Republic, Kans., on the south bank of the Republican River.[66] It derives its name from a granite shaft erected on the spot in 1901 by the State of Kansas "to mark the site of the Pawnee Republic, where Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike caused the Spanish flag to be lowered and the flag of the United States to be raised, September 29, 1806." The land has been set aside permanently as a State park. (72)* 361 /

The site occupies an area of less than 10 acres on a high promontory, about 200 yards from the river's edge. Midway between the river and the village site, in a deep gully, is a good spring; another formerly existed in a draw to the east. There are no hills near the site, since the village is situated on the bluffs themselves; the river sweeps by directly at the base of the declivity, there being no first bottoms. The site has never been broken, except a narrow strip along the south edge. Twenty-five lodge circles, from 8 to 15 paces in diameter, are scattered irregularly about. Some of them are nearly contiguous, but in most cases they are from 10 to 30 feet apart. They average 18 inches in depth, are well defined, and show clearly the position of the former entrances. Among the lodge circles are scattered caches, 15 or 18 of which are clearly discernible. Along the northwest site is an old rampart perhaps 150 yards long. One of the lodge circles occurs outside the wall, along with several caches. The burial ground appears to be some 200 yards northwest of the fortification wall, about the heads of some of the ravines. 312

Systematic investigation of this splendid site has never been undertaken, but many finds of surface material have been made. Sherds and quartzite scrapers of true Pawnee type occur, along with metal hoes, bridle bits, spurs, iron pots, and other evidence of commercial intercourse with white traders. The site is obviously historic and may be safely referred to the Republican band. That it is the site visited by Pike in 1806 seems highly improbable, as it tallies in nowise with the journals and map of the expedition. Lewis and Clark reported in 1802 that the Republicans had joined the Grands on the Platte, driven thither by the recurring attacks of the Kansa. Yet 2 years later Pike visited a village of 1,700 Republicans on the Republican River. By 1811 the entire band was on the Loup, at the Horse Creek site. Probably the Kansas Monument site was occupied contemporaneously with that visited by Pike, but being nearer the Kansa territory was subjected to more attacks, and hence was the first abandoned. The village seen by Pike was occupied for some years longer, but the expansion of the Kansa at last forced them to give up also and remove to the Loup. The abandonment of the site in Kansas would then antedate 1802. 162

---

[66] NE¼ sec. 3, T. 2 S., R. 5 W., Republic County, Kans.

At present the entire site is under cultivation, which after more than forty years has obliterated all surface traces. Mr. George De Witt, who now farms the place, states that "when his father, who homesteaded the land in 1872, broke the land it was covered with lodge rings, fortification walls, caches, and the like. They gathered great numbers of stone mauls, axes, war clubs, and such like, threw them in the holes and plowed over them. . . . The land was literally covered with such relics of Indian life."[29] Subsequently, curio hunters have picked over the surface so thoroughly that the detritus usually found in abundance on old sites is comparatively scarce. However, every plowing reveals the presence of nearly a hundred lodge sites as discolored areas, and, as will be shown later, some of these well repay careful excavation. Caches are common and readily found, though usually these prove to be rather barren.

The cemeteries have been extensively worked by Mr. Hill and others, and in most cases they show clear evidences of white contact. Glass beads and metal work are common as mortuary offerings, and also in the ornamentation of clothing and the body. The discussion of specific features of the site will be deferred until a later section.

There can be little doubt that this was the Pawnee village visited by Pike in the summer of 1806; it coincides in every respect with both the descriptions in the journal and the map of the expedition. According to his map, Pike approached the village from the southeast, crossing en route the Smoky Hill, Grand and Little Saline, and Solomon Rivers. Since he erroneously represents both the Grand Saline and the Solomon as emptying into the Republican, it follows that he must have crossed them some distance above their mouths. Had the village been located at the Kansas Monument site the last 25 miles of the route would have lain immediately along the Republican itself, the Saline and Solomon Rivers would have been left far to the west, and Pike would have indicated them correctly as affluents of the Smoky Hill instead of as tributaries of the Republican. The village, furthermore, is located at a considerable distance above the point where the Republican swings toward the south, which is precisely the case at the Hill site; at the Kansas site, on the other hand, the eye can easily follow the tree-fringed course of the river for miles almost due south, a glaring inconsistency so far as the map is concerned.

As regards the site itself there are further substantiating factors. For example, the Kansas site is on top of the only "hills" within miles, the land to the south being flat and unbroken, whereas Lieutenant Wilkinson states that—

---

[29] Nebraska History Magazine, vol. x, no. 3, 1927, p. 163.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*172 361 There is unfortunately little or no information available on the Pawnee in Kansas, despite the fact that additional sites should be present on the Republican River, and probably also on the Blue.[66] Blackman[67] reports a site in Kansas about 3 miles south of Hardy, Nebr., which occupied an eminence about a mile from the Republican River, at "Big Spring"; lodge circles were visible here in 1860. Two miles to the west was another old ruin, not described.[68] According to J. B. Dunbar:

> In 1848 the remains of a considerable village were plainly discernible near where Wolf River empties into the Missouri in northeastern Kansas. The Iowas . . . assigned these remains . . . to the Pawnees.[69]

Efforts to verify this identification have been unsuccessful. In 1836 the Tappages pointed out to Mr. Dunbar some of their old villages on the Smoky Hill River in western Kansas.[70] Undoubtedly many other sites remain to be discovered and investigated in this area, and probably very significant early locations will also come to light as investigation progresses.

Hill site.—Seven miles east and 2 miles south of Red Cloud, on the south bank of the Republican River,[71] is the probable site of the Republican Pawnee village visited by Pike in 1806. Though known to local residents for many years, it was first identified by A. T. Hill in 1923. The land was subsequently purchased by Mr. Hill, through whose efforts a large collection of excellent material has been recovered from house sites, caches, and graves. Some two weeks were spent here in intensive excavation by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey in the summer of 1930.

The site occupies some 25 acres of flat, second-bottom land about 400 yards from the river. The first bottom, or flood plain, is perhaps 30 feet lower, beginning immediately at the north edge of the site, and may have been used for agricultural purposes. On either side of the site—that is, to the east and west—a small creek issues from the bluffs and pursues an uncertain, meandering course across the flats. An excellent spring immediately above the village formerly insured a steady supply of running water in the creek on the west side. Immediately south of the village site is a prominent hill more than 100 feet high, its summit utilized extensively for burial of the dead. Farther west are two more eminences which served a like purpose.

---

[66] Hayden, 1872, p. 411.

[67] 1907, p. 349.

[68] Ibid., p. 350.

[69] 1880, a, p. 250. J. O. Dorsey, 1886, map 3, locates an Iowa site near the mouth of this same Wolf River. Compare Strong, 1935, p. 244.

[70] Ibid., p. 260.

[71] NW¼ sec. 13, T. 1 N., R. 10 W., Webster County, Nebr.

*172
361

> About midday we reached the summit of a lofty chain of ridges. . . . We moved on about a mile farther, and having gained the summit of a considerable hill, we discovered the village directly at its base.[73]

This statement describes exactly the topography immediately to the south of the Hill site; the "considerable hill" is the principal burial hill previously described. The expedition established its camp "on the opposite bank of the Republican fork of the Kansas River, on a commanding hill",[74] but subsequently "moved down onto the prairie hill, about three-fourths of a mile nearer the village . . . upon a beautiful eminence, from whence we had a view of the town."[75] Directly across the river from the Hill site, about 1½ miles distant, is a high, bald hill, with a narrow, steep-sided tongue projecting toward the south. On this tongue or promontory, from which the Hill site is clearly visible, are nine small depressions, which it has been suggested were used as rifle pits by Pike's troops.

Graves on the central burial hill have yielded Spanish, English, and French medals, as well as buttons and gold braid from military uniforms. One Spanish medal dates 1797, bearing the likeness of Charles IV; an English medal, with the figure of George III, dates from 1762; an American medal is identical in type with those issued by the Government after 1801;[76] a military button bears the raised figure "1", the battalion number of Pike's infantry.[77] Taking all of these finds and others which cannot be mentioned here into consideration, and combining the archeological, historical, and geographic factors, one is forced to the conclusion that the Hill site is in all probability the scene of Pike's visit to the Pawnee in 1806.

HORSE CREEK SITE.—The Horse Creek site was discovered by Mr. E. E. Blackman in 1902 and was regarded by him as a Skidi site.[78] Actually, it appears to have been founded by the Grands and part of the Republicans about 1810,[79] to have been a pure Grand Pawnee site in 1820,[80] to have become a Republican site shortly after that date,[81] which it remained until its abandonment in 1842.[82] Clayton in 1847 speaks of "remains of an old village or Indian fort", 10 miles above the Fullerton village, referring doubtless to this site.[83]

---

[73] Pike, 1810, App. to pt. II, p. 22.
[74] Ibid., p. 23.
[75] Pike, 1810, p. 144.
[76] Nebraska History Magazine vol. x, no. 3, 1927, p. 187.
[77] Ibid., p. 166; Pike, 1810, p. 204.
[78] 1903, p. 297.
[79] Sibley, 1927, p. 202.
[80] Long, 1823, vol. I, p. 350.
[81] Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 57.
[82] Dunbar, 1918, p. 648.
[83] 1921, p. 105.

The site is located 9 miles southwest of Fullerton, on the north bank of the Loup immediately below the mouth of Horse Creek.[illegible] It occupies a high flat bench, at the base of which flows the river; the bluffs are nearly 2 miles distant, to the north. Upward of 40 acres are included in the site, all under cultivation save a small area at the east end. Near the mouth of Horse Creek, at the west edge of the site, five large shallow lodge depressions can be seen; others occur along a deep gully a short distance to the north. A quarter of a mile farther east are the remnants of a system of earthworks. On the edge of the bench is a rectangular enclosure 60 yards long by 25 yards wide, the long axis paralleling the stream; the side next the river appears to have been open. There is a large spring at the foot of the bench, about 30 feet lower than the enclosure, and separated from it by a steep declivity. Ten yards from the northwest corner of the same enclosure commences another low wall, running due north about 30 yards, then swinging slightly to the west for another 50 yards or more, where it ends abruptly. From near the southwest corner another wall runs 60 yards west by north, terminating at the edge of a broken field. Formerly this rampart is said to have continued in the same direction for several hundred yards, finally swinging back toward the south to form a defensive wall along the entire north side of the village. The lodge sites are scattered thickly over the entire area enclosed by the wall and the river, although surface traces have been almost entirely obliterated. The gully on the west, already mentioned, has cut through one house site, hence is apparently fairly recent, at least in its upper portion. On the small, uncultivated tongues of land projecting from the bench riverward are a number of caches; a few have been rifled. The burial ground has not been located, but skeletons have been uncovered just east of the site along the margins of several ravines, and also to the west on the banks of Horse Creek. The bluffs to the north might repay investigation also, though somewhat remote from the village.

Comparatively little digging has been done at this site, even by "relic" hunters, and there is still ample opportunity for securing valuable information by careful research. However, since the site is entirely historic, it will be necessary to locate the burials and house sites of the earlier period in order to obtain a view of Pawnee culture here prior to the predominance of white culture.

Cottonwood Creek site.—This site is located on the north bank of the Loup River, 4 miles north and 2 miles east of Palmer.[illegible] It

---

[illegible] NW¼ sec. 3, T. 15 N., R. 7 W., Nance County, Nebr.

[illegible] NE¼ sec. 15, T. 15 N., R. 8 W., Nance County, Nebr.

*172 361 was reported as a Republican village in 1820,[86] as Tappage in 1833,[87] and again as Republican in 1836;[88] it was abandoned about 1842,[89] and was seen as a ruin by Clayton in 1847.[90]

The site is now practically obliterated and is very difficult to find. It lies on a low bench a short distance north of the river, just east of the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. According to J. F. Forbes,[91] who homesteaded in the vicinity in 1884, the remains of an old Indian village were plainly visible at that time and consisted of a sod wall enclosing some 50 lodge circles. In all, approximately 20 acres were covered by the site. Metal artifacts are quite common; sherds and stone objects rather less so. The location of the burial ground is uncertain, but it is probably either along the bank of the river or on the bluffs a mile to the north. The site has never received much attention, so far as actual excavation is concerned, hence it is impossible to say whether any worth-while material remains on the house floors or in the caches.

Four miles above the Clarks site on the bluffs east of the Platte there is a small pit, 10 or 12 feet across, representing either the site of a sentry outpost or an eagle trap. Perhaps 200 yards to the north a tongue projects from the line of bluffs; its summit has yielded a number of Indian burials. There is no trace of a village nearby, although the bottoms between the cemetery and the river provide an ideal location. Dunbar wrote in 1839 that the Republicans had mostly removed from the Loup Valley and had "settled on the south side of the Platte, a short distance above the village of the Grand Pawnees."[92] In 1844 Wharton, on his visit to the village of the Grands, reported "another of the Pawnee Republics a few miles above."[93] The lack of success that has attended every effort to locate the exact site must be attributed in large measure to the sandy, shifting nature of the soil at this point, which, combined with cultivation, has effectively removed all surface indications. Doubtless it was somewhere on the bottoms near the burial ground, as this is the general locality to which reference is made in the accounts cited.

PROTOHISTORIC SITES

172 To this class are at present assigned two ruins in the Pawnee area which, while showing definite traits suggesting this tribe, cannot be historically identified with it. Both of these are unquestionably post-Columbian, as is indicated by the presence of iron and glass objects, but they are either very early or else were occupied during one or another of the periods when white exploration was at a low ebb, as for example prior to 1800. Other sites, definitely prehistoric, are far more numerous, but fall outside the scope of the present paper. 172

---

[86] Long, 1823, vol. I, p. 440; Morse, 1822, p. 238.
[87] Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 119.
[88] Dunbar, 1918, p. 617.
[89] Ibid., p. 648.
[90] 1921, p. 106.
[91] From an unpublished manuscript by A. M. Brooking.
[92] 1918, p. 637.
[93] 1844, p. 29.

Schuyler site.—This is located 2 miles north of Schuyler and about half a mile south of Shell Creek.[64] It occupies a considerable area on a high promontory at the eastern extremity of the divide separating the Platte and Shell Creek Valleys. The main portion of the site lies immediately east of State highway 15, but sherd areas occur more or less continuously for nearly 2 miles along the north edge of the plateaulike divide overlooking Shell Creek. The highway cuts through several house sites and a considerable number of caches. Most of the caches have been pilfered by tourists and others, but examination of two that had escaped vandalism resulted in the recovery of a good collection of sherds. The floors of the house sites, now 12 to 20 inches underground, are likewise covered with fragments of broken pottery, and the fields nearby have been noted for some years as a prolific spot for "relics." Bits of copper and iron have been found in the fields on the surface and one small fragment of metal was taken from a house site. In general, however, Caucasian material is comparatively rare, and is very far surpassed quantitatively by good aboriginal artifacts. The burial ground has not been located, but it is probably either along the edge of the divide or on the higher bluffs a mile farther north.

The abundance of aboriginal remains on this site makes it appear likely that valuable data could be secured through careful excavation. The site antedates the early historic phase at Linwood, but designs on many of the sherds already show the tendencies which later became dominant and fixed. An excellent opportunity is thus afforded of tracing Pawnee relationships through this culture to some one o[illegible]rehistoric cultures of the area. Preliminary excavations have been [illegible]ade [illegible] the Schuyler site; there has been some superficial digging in the caches along the roadside. The best material apparently lies below the level reached by the plow, and so will be safe from destruction for some time to come.[65]

---

[64] SW¼ sec. 32, T. 18 N., R. 3 E., Colfax County, Nebr.

[65] According to tradition, the Omaha, at a time when horses were scarce, attacked a palisaded Pawnee village a half day's journey from Maple Creek.—Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 406. The Schuyler site is about 8 miles from Maple Creek, a fair half day's trip afoot, and may have been the village attacked. The Nebraska Archaeological Survey spent about 4 weeks in intensive excavation at this place in the summer of 1931. The results have not yet been thoroughly digested, but certain outstanding characteristics were noted, as follows: The village is large and loosely arranged, with no traces of defensive walls; houses are quite large, varying from 32 to 50 feet in diameter, with four central posts and an east entrance; a few burials in cache pits are flexed or 175

*172 **Burkett site.**—This site is located 4 miles southwest of Genoa, on a lofty tableland a mile north of the Loup River.[66] It commands a magnificent view of some 50 miles of the Loup Valley, while 12 or 15 miles to the south may be seen the fringe of trees marking the course of the Platte. North of the site the land becomes more broken, finally giving way to the valley of the Beaver, 3 or 4 miles distant. On the east and south the land drops away irregularly to the Loup River bottoms, 150 feet below, with a ridge somewhat lower than the main tableland running generally east and west just south of the site. The Loup is at present the nearest source of water, but at the time of occupancy there were doubtless springs in some of the gullies immediately below the site on the south, as the river is too distant and the descent too rugged to have made it a practicable water supply.

2 The site, first recorded by Hayden,[67] consists of some 80 acres, thickly sprinkled with low mounds. In the summer of 1930, while the area was in corn, 20 mounds were counted, probably about a third of the number originally present. The largest are less than 2 feet in height, with a diameter of 50 to 60 feet; Blackman, in 1907, reported some of the mounds as 4 feet high and 100 feet across.[68] The surface of each of the larger mounds is thickly strewn with fragments of broken pottery, flints, animal bones, arrowpoints, and the like, and in many cases similar detrital areas undoubtedly mark the location of former mounds. On the northwestern part of the site are lower, often well-nigh invisible mounds, on whose surface there is much less material, and that consisting largely of pottery fragments.

With the exception of Blackman's limited excavations in 1907,[69] very little systematic work has been done in the site, but a few general statements can be made. The large mounds are to all appearances rubbish heaps, as the sherds, broken and discarded flints, cast-off bone awls, scapula digging tools, ornaments, small end scrapers,

---

semiflexed, with few or no mortuary offerings; the ceramic complex is very elaborate, with striking similarities to the Arikara-Mandan complex; the general level of the material culture is far above that of the historic Pawnee. A future report will deal with these points in more detail.

[66] SE¼ sec. 20, T. 17 N., R. 4 W., Nance County, Nebr.

[67] 1872, p. 412.

[68] 1907, p. 339.

[69] Ibid., pp. 339–344. The results of excavation at this site by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey in May 1931 were not available when the above was written. Three mounds excavated proved to be refuse heaps, while the one house uncovered was a round earth lodge suggesting early Pawnee origin. From evidence secured at this time an approximate date of 1600–1700 for the house was reached. Subsequently, in July of the same year, the Survey opened another house of similar type, with four central posts and an east entrance. Two additional mounds were examined, one of them very rich in sherds, but both obviously middens. Traces of sheet copper and very pale blue glass beads were secured, but no horse remains. Ceramically the site is very similar to that at Schuyler, and the two are doubtlessly closely related both temporally and ethnically. A detailed discussion of this work must await a later publication.

and similar artifacts are intermingled freely with lenses of ash, charcoal, and floor sweepings, to the very bottom of the mounds. No fireplaces have yet been found beneath any of the mounds, despite Blackman's statement that they "often show the hut ring well defined on the outer edge, with a slight elevation in the center, showing that but little refuse had been placed there."[1] It was his opinion that the mounds represented kitchen middens thrown up within older lodge rings, and he concluded that "The whole village must have been of grass houses or houses covered with skins and erected on the level, as the outer circle of earth is so small that it cannot represent more than a low banking around the base of the house."[2]

The small mounds on the west and northwest, where tested, are remarkably devoid internally of the usual débris, sherds and flints occurring but sparingly beneath the surface. One was trenched by Mr. Hill and the writer in the summer of 1930, revealing a few sherds and flint chips intermixed with disturbed soil to a depth of 12 inches; a few grains of charred corn and some elk teeth occurred also. At 12 inches a rather sharply defined, even line, with frequent lenses of ash and burned clay, appeared to mark the base of the mound. Below was clean gray soil, undisturbed. The ash lenses were not observed above the base line, in contrast to the composition of the larger refuse mounds. No traces of anything suggesting a fireplace were found, although the line alluded to closely resembled a floor. As the trench was only 1 foot wide and 6 feet long, and not through the center of the mound, a hearth, if such were present, could very easily have been missed. Some months later a small party from the Nebraska Archaeological Survey ran a narrow trench through a very low mound about 70 feet southwest of a rich midden and found a similar dark line at a depth of 10 inches; charred weed stalks, osiers, and grass were very abundant, covering the "floor" to a depth of 2 inches or more. A very few sherds were recovered, principally near the bottom. From these and other observations it appears unlikely that the lesser mounds were refuse dumps. Insufficient work has as yet been done in most of the site, but it may at least be suggested that some of the lower tumuli are house sites interspersed among the middens. Whether, as has been suggested, they indicate aeolian accumulations about the remains of fallen grass lodges, or are merely the remnants of poorly constructed earth lodges in a transitional phase, perhaps, from the grass house, is a speculation not as yet to be answered with finality. It may be stated, however, that as a rule the mounds do not mark the location of

---

[1] 1907, p. 343.

[2] Ibid., p. 344.

*172 houses, and that these will probably have to be sought elsewhere between the mounds.

The site is one of the richest in Nebraska from the standpoint of material culture, rivaled only by the Schuyler site. During the past 40 years or more scores of small triangular arrowpoints, beautifully made, and seldom more than an inch and a half long have come from the surfaces of the mounds. Less common, but also very plentiful, are short planoconvex or small end scrapers, seldom found on historic Pawnee sites, and the so-called "Harahey" or four-edged flint knife. Far more common than even the stonework, however, is the pottery, which for excellence and variety is unsurpassed in the Pawnee area. The design motifs, though involving only a few basic elements, are extremely varied, with incised decoration on the body not uncommon. Among the historic Pawnee the potter's art had stagnated and become highly standardized as to type by 1800, but there is no suggestion of senile uniformity at this site. Complete vessels have never been found, but probably only await the discovery of the burial ground. More detailed treatment of the artifacts from this very significant site will be given later. The foregoing description serves to illustrate summarily an early culture in the area, of which the present-day Pawnee disclaim all knowledge.[9]

MATERIAL CULTURE

Any discussion of material culture which is based largely or entirely upon archeological material is obviously more or less onesided. Of all the articles in daily use by a people there are always many which are by nature perishable, such as clothing, matting, basketry, and most objects of wood; all of these tend to decay readily when abandoned to the elements, and usually leave no traces. Especially is this the case when the villages were situated in the open in a climatic zone where aridity is conspicuously absent. Here the rains of summer and the melting snow of winter percolate slowly through the protecting mantle of soils and tend to obliterate and disintegrate all but the most imperishable of remains. Consequently there are left only objects of stone, bone, shell, and clay, with an occasional fragment of textile preserved by charring. These, then, are the traits which receive the major emphasis, and are the best known. Thus our data on these phases of Pawnee culture are sufficiently complete to give us a reasonably accurate basis from which to work back into the unknown prehistory of the tribe. But there exists, nevertheless, a great void in the picture which will perhaps never be entirely filled, for in the Pawnee area there are no caves or rock shelters where things of a perishable nature might have been preserved. A study of the large Pawnee ethnological collections in eastern museums will help in this regard but is outside the province of this report. 172*

---

[9] Blackman, 1907, p. 344. According to Hayden, 1872, p. 411, no Pawnee Indian then living knew of the occupancy of this site, though an old chief, 30 years before, had told a missionary that his tribe dwelt there before his birth.

In the present treatment the major portion of the data have been drawn from the Hill collection at the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. The majority of the specimens were taken from the Hill site near Red Cloud. Small series from most of the other villages are also represented, furnishing valuable if limited comparative material. During the summer of 1930 the Nebraska Archaeological Survey secured a small, carefully excavated collection from the Hill site, corroborating for the most part the conclusions drawn from the larger collection. At Linwood the collection of surface material made by Mr. Alfred Tichacek at the early historic village site on his farm afforded a good representation from the early Pawnee culture on its eastern margin. The Nebraska Historical Society collections, where documented, were also of value. Wherever possible, the findings of archeology have been correlated with the accounts of early explorers so as to secure a final check on all material.

HABITATIONS

The Pawnee, in common with other semisedentary tribes of the Missouri Valley and eastern plains area, used two and possibly three very distinct types of dwellings. In their permanent villages, occupied 4 or 5 months of each year, the familiar communal earth lodge was characteristic. Periodically, however, usually twice each year, the entire community abandoned the village to hunt bison, and at such times recourse was had to the skin tipi so typical of the nomadic tribes of the plains. Both types are superficially like those of neighboring tribes, but because of certain distinctive features in each it will be well to discuss them in some detail. A recent Pawnee earth lodge in Oklahoma appears in plate 1, *a*, while an idealized cross-section of such an earth lodge, with four center posts, appears in figure 1. In regard to the latter sketch it should be noted that the extreme outer (i. e., third) row of posts do not appear to have been driven into the ground, for in none of the following excavations were traces of them observed. 172* 342 [221]

EARTH LODGE.—Of the various early descriptions of the Pawnee earth lodge,[4] or *akkaros*,[5] that contained in Clayton's journal[6] is perhaps the most complete. It was written in 1847, among the

---

[4] Pike, 1810, App. to pt. II, p. 15; see also Bushnell, 1922, pp. 155–167.

[5] De Smet, 1905, vol. III, p. 974.

[6] Clayton, 1921, pp. 97–99.

+172 ruins of the Skidi village on the Loup at the mouth of the Cedar, and describes the only lodge left undamaged when the Dakota
342 burned the village during the absence of the Pawnee on their summer hunt. Clayton wrote as follows:

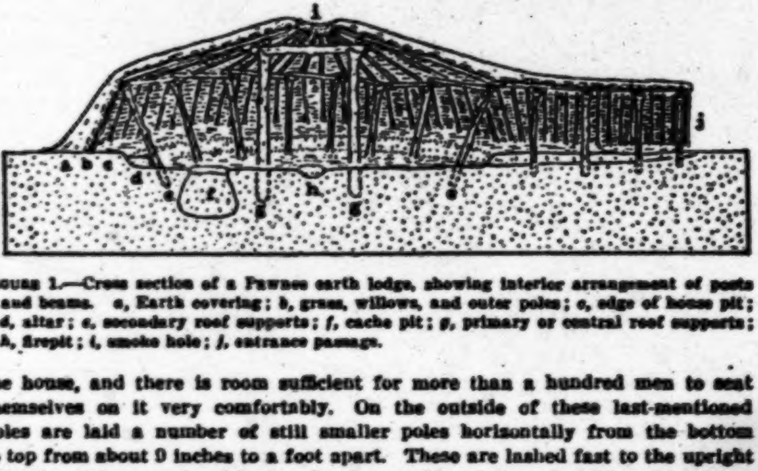


FIGURE 1.—Cross section of a Pawnee earth lodge, showing interior arrangement of posts and beams. *a*, Earth covering; *b*, grass, willows, and outer poles; *c*, edge of house pit; *d*, altar; *e*, secondary roof supports; *f*, cache pit; *g*, primary or central roof supports; *h*, firepit; *i*, smoke hole; *j*, entrance passage.

> In the first place, the earth is dug out a little, slanting to the depth of about 18 inches in the form of a perfect circle about 44 feet in diameter. This forms the floor of the dwelling. Then there are 17 crotch posts let into the floor in a direction slanting outward so that the top of the crotch is about perpendicular with the outside of the circle, the foot being set about 18 or 20 inches from the base of the circle. In the crotches poles are laid across from crotch to crotch, and are sufficiently high for the tallest man to stand upright under them. At the distance of 18 or 20 inches from the outside of the circle are many smaller poles let into the surface of the ground, on an average of about a foot apart and leaning inward so that the top of the poles rest on the crosspieces which are supported by the crotches. The space between the foot of these poles and the edge of the circle forms a bench for seats entirely around the house, and there is room sufficient for more than a hundred men to seat themselves on it very comfortably. On the outside of these last-mentioned poles are laid a number of still smaller poles horizontally from the bottom to top from about 9 inches to a foot apart. These are lashed fast to the upright poles by strings made of bark. On the outside of these is laid a thick layer of long prairie grass and occasionally lashed through to the upright poles also. The whole is then covered with earth about 2 feet in thickness at the bottom and gradually thinner toward the top. This forms an enclosure when completed around the whole area about 7 feet high, a place being left sufficiently large for the door. The next process is to place erect 10 upright poles or crotches, very stout, being about a foot in diameter, about 7 feet nearer the center of the circle than the first crotches. These are set perpendicular, deep in the ground and also arranged at about equal distances from each other, and form a strong foundation which is the design and use to which they are appropriated. On the top of these pillars are also horizontal poles laid strong and firm, the top of the pillars being about 11 or 12 feet above the floor. Long small poles are then laid from the outside horizontal poles over the inner ones and sufficiently long to meet at the top within about 2 feet of each other, forming a hole for the smoke from the fire to ascend through. These long poles are laid pretty close together all around the build-

ing, and across them smaller ones are lashed with bark as in the first instance, only they are much closer together. The operation of lashing on a layer of long grass and finally covering the whole with earth completes the roof of the building. The door or entrance is a long porch formed by placing in the earth four upright posts or crotches far enough apart to extend outwards from the circle, about 18 or 20 feet. There are four upright crotches on each side of the porch and in the crotches poles are laid horizontally as in the other parts of the building. The process of lashing sticks across, then a thick coat of long grass, and lastly a stout coat of earth is the same as the other parts of the building. The roof of the porch is flat and is about 7 feet high and 6 feet wide. The porch is dug down about half as deep as the main building, making a short step at the mouth of the porch and another at the entrance into the house. The fire has been made in the center of the house directly under the hole in the roof. 172* 342

At the farther side of the building, exactly opposite the porch, is a projection of sod left about a foot from the outside of the circle which is said to have been the seat of the chief, and over which hung his medicine bag and other implements.

The crotches are arranged so that there is a free passage into the center of the hall from the porch, one standing on each side of the entrance about 6 feet apart and the others appear to be arranged from them. The smaller houses have not so many pillars as this one. Some have 8 in the center and 16 outside the circle. Others have 4 in the center and 10 outside. The entrances are also smaller in proportion, but all are constructed on the same principle. It looks a little singular to note that nearly all the entrances to these lodges front to the southeast, except in one or two instances where they front in other directions for lack of room. It is probable that this is done to avoid the effects of the severe cold northwest winds so prevalent in winter.

The interpretation placed by Clayton upon certain features inside the lodge as regards their function is, of course, open to question, as his experience with Indians in general and the Pawnee in particular amounted to virtually nothing. However, in the matter of structural details his description leaves little to be desired, being without doubt the best ever written by an eyewitness.

The best account of the arrangement of a lodge interior is that by Dunbar,[7] written in 1835, during his sojourn as a missionary at the Grand Pawnee village on the Clarks site. 172* 342 352

Within these buildings the earth is beat down hard and forms the floor. In the center a circular place is dug about 8 inches deep and 3 feet in diameter. This is the fireplace. The earth that is taken from it is spatted down around it and forms the hearth. Near the fireplace a stake is firmly fixed in the earth in an inclined position and serves all the purposes of a crane. Mats made of rushes are spread down round the fire on which they sit. Back next the walls are the sleeping apartments. A framework is raised about 2 feet from the floor; on this are placed small rods, interwoven with slips of elm bark. On these rods a rush mat is spread. At proper distances partitions are set up, composed of small willow rods interwoven with slips of bark. In front of these apartments, either a partition of willow rods is erected, or rush mats are hung up as curtains. But this is not always the case. In some lodges

---

[7] 1918, p. 600; see also Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 86.

> *172 the simple platform alone is to be seen without either partitions or curtains.
> 342 In others there is not even the platform, and the inmates sleep on the ground.
> In these lodges several families frequently live together. I believe there are
> 352 as many as three different families in the lodge where I stop. Each family has
> [592] its particular portion of the dwelling, and the furniture of each is kept separate.

*172 During the summer of 1930 a Pawnee lodge circle was completely
excavated by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey party at the Hill
342 site near Red Cloud. In measurements, interior arrangement of posts, and other details it coincided remarkably with the lodge described by Clayton, thus affording an interesting and unusual opportunity for comparison.

The lodge in which excavations were carried on was in the southeastern part of the village, lying at the base of a gentle slope which culminated in the principal burial hill 400 yards distant. When cleared it proved to be not quite circular in outline. It measured 46 feet from north to south by 44 feet 6 inches from east to west. The floor near the periphery lay 12 to 20 inches beneath the adjoining ground surface, deepest at the south side, and sloped very slightly toward the center. At the outer edge it curved sharply upward to form a vertical wall, or bench, as described by Clayton. The floor was somewhat rough, but generally well packed and hard, and like the vertical wall showed the effects of baking to a depth of nearly a half inch. No difficulty was experienced in tracing out the original excavation, once the cultivated topsoil had been removed.

Eighteen postholes were ranged about the periphery of the floor, 3 feet 6 inches inside the house wall. They were from 5 to 7 feet apart, i. e., far enough to permit an adult to lie at full length between them. Each was 6 to 8 inches in diameter, about 2 feet in depth, and slanted inward toward the bottom instead of descending vertically; the posts had very clearly leaned toward the edge of the pit. Two short sections of charred post were found on the south side, in situ;[8] otherwise, only decayed wood and light, loose dirt filled each hole.

Eight large postholes formed an inner circle about 8 or 10 feet inside the outer row. The distance from hole to hole averaged 7 feet, with two intervals of double length where posts were normally to be expected. Three additional posts were set triangularly within this circle, 15 feet apart. The posts in the central group were all much heavier than those in the outer circle, the holes averaging 10 to 12 inches in diameter, about 2 feet in depth, and descending vertically, indicating that the posts stood upright (pl. I, *b*; figs. 1, 2). 172* 3/2

---

[8] This wood was submitted to Mr. E. W. Haury of Gila Pueblo, Globe, Ariz., for a comparison of the growth rings with those of trees in the pueblo area. The specimens proved, however, to be those "of some fast-growing tree whose seasonal rings (are) not strongly marked," and could not be correlated with the southwestern dendrochronology.—Personal communication from E. W. Haury, Jan. 16, 1931.

Some difficulty was entailed in locating the doorway, even after a trench had been dug about the east, south, and west sides of the house in hopes of cutting through the passage. It was at first thought to lie near cache D, where 2 extra postholes occurred 5 feet apart and just outside the regular outer circle of posts. This anomalous configuration suggested strongly the reinforced inner end of the covered passageway, but the most persistent search failed to reveal any further traces in support of the hypothesis. As finally determined, the entrance was toward the south; it was 7 feet wide at the inner end, 4 feet at the outer, and could be traced for about 12 feet. On either side were 4 poles, from 3 to 6 inches in diameter. The floor was streaked with ashes and sweepings and was quite hard; it lay several inches beneath the surrounding ground surface.

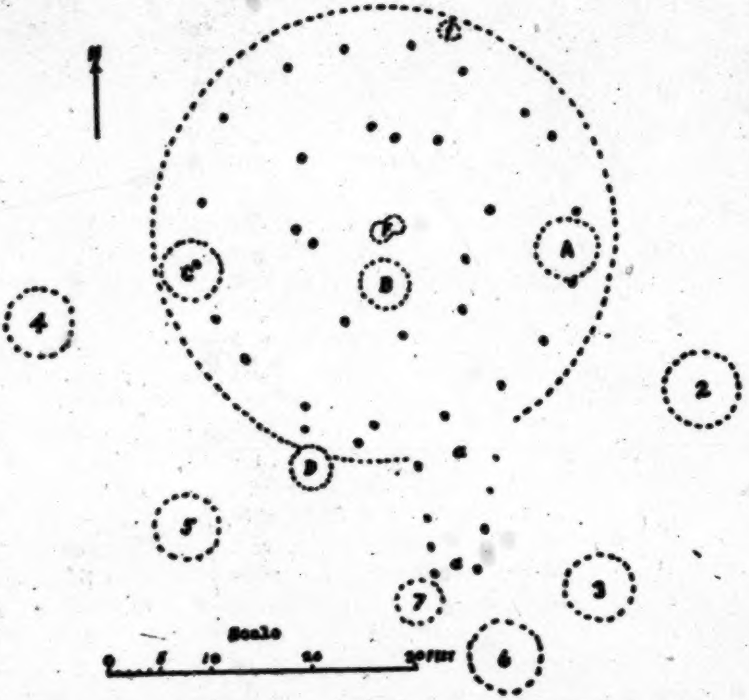


FIGURE 2.—Ground plan of historic Pawnee earth lodge, house 1, Hill site. *ea*, Entrance passage; *ABCD*, interior caches; *F*, main firepit; *f*, shrine firepit (?); 2–7, exterior caches; dots indicate postholes and broken line is edge of housepit.

*172 354 The main fireplace lay just north of the center. It measured 4 feet by 2 feet, with the long axis northeast-southwest. Wood ashes to a depth of 3 or 4 inches still occupied the depression, while the brick-red fire-baked clay beneath was nearly 10 inches thick in places and almost as hard as rock. No traces were noted of the cooking crane beside the fireplace, as mentioned by Dunbar.

Eighteen feet to the north and slightly east was a second fireplace, lying between the outer row of postholes and the edge of the excavation. It measured approximately 12 inches in diameter and contained a 2-inch bed of ashes. Beneath the ashes was red, baked earth nearly 4 inches deep. From the size of the fireplace, as well as from its proximity to the inflammable wall of the lodge, it would appear that small fires only could be built therein; at the same time the depth to which baking had penetrated indicated the presence of many hot fires or else a fairly continuous one.

A point worthy of note arises in connection with the two fireplaces. A line drawn to bisect both hearths cuts the outer house wall just over cache D, and would constitute thus the diameter of the lodge. More significant still, it would be the midline for an entrance whose inner end fell at the peculiar arrangement of postholes previously mentioned, near cache D. The large central fireplace was probably for domestic purposes; the smaller may have been for ceremonial uses exclusively. The altar, referred to in Clayton's description as the "seat of the chief", was not noted, though the smaller fireplace appeared to be on a very slight rise in the floor. If the latter was actually the shrine hearth, as seems probable, then the possibility presents itself that the entrance may have originally been more toward the southwest in line with the fireplaces, or at least that such was the plan of the builders. Later, for some unknown reason, a new entrance was constructed. As will be seen from the ground plan, the doorway, as at last determined, in no way aligns with the two fireplaces, nor does it give unobstructed access to the central fireplace, as would the other situation.

*172 Four interior subfloor caches were opened. They were of the usual Pawnee type, bell-shaped, and for the most part were not especially rich. Cache A was 5 feet wide at the mouth, 6 feet across the floor, and 2 feet deep. Cache C was slightly more than 3 feet deep, approximately 4 feet across the top, and nearly 7 feet wide at the floor. Cache B was 5 feet wide and 2 feet deep; D was rather smaller. Sherds, animal bones, some flints, and a little iron work were taken from these, including one iron spear point, but for the most part they had been divested of everything valuable before final abandonment of the house.

Of interior furnishings and artifacts but little remained. Three feet west of the smaller fireplace a pocket was found beneath the

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

floor next the wall; it contained 10 large unworked Unio shells. 172* Six feet north of cache C, on the west side of the house, were uncovered the charred remains of a rush mat. Though in a rather fragmentary state, [285] it measured nearly 3 feet long by 15 inches wide, and, as will be brought out presently, consisted of a sort of twined work. It lay on the floor between the outer row of postholes and the house wall, and in all probability once represented a part of the sleeping paraphernalia in one of the curtained-off compartments next the wall. The matting lay next to a row of 3 small holes, each about 3 inches in diameter and the same distance apart; 2 holes slightly larger lay about 4 feet and 6 feet, respectively, farther to the north, in line with the outer circle of postholes. Somewhat similar secondary poleholes were noted near cache D, always near the outer wall. [342] Their purpose is unknown, though they may have served some end in connection with the sleeping platforms.

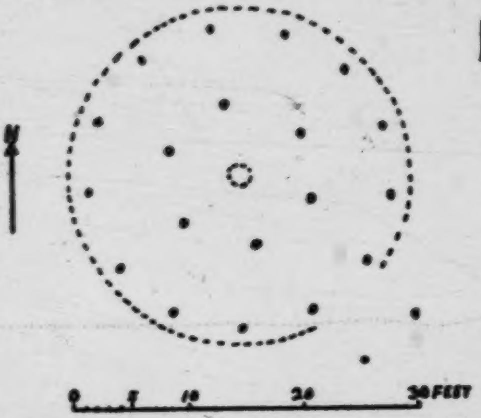


FIGURE 3.—Ground plan of historic Pawnee earth lodge, Hill site.

Nothing was found to indicate the situation of the family shrine, save for the second fireplace; even the altar, if present, was so obscure as to have passed unnoticed. Little else was to be expected, as the sacred character of the objects would render it extremely unlikely that they would have been left behind, with the possible exception of the ubiquitous bison skull.

Two earth lodge sites were excavated at this same village by Mr. 172* A. T. Hill, prior to the work of the Survey. In general, they cor- 342 roborated the ground plans and general findings of the later investigations, but appear to have been somewhat better laid out.

The first house (fig. 3) was 30 feet in diameter and its floor lay 16 inches below the ground surface. There were 13 posts in the outer circle, set at 7-foot intervals. The central group numbered 6 posts, also about 7 feet apart. All of the posts averaged from 6 to 10 inches in diameter and were sunken 12 to 15 inches into the floor. An 18-inch fireplace occupied the center, but no altar could be located. The doorway was to the southeast, and it will be noted that there were no posts between its inner end and the fireplace, to which access was

172 readily had by one entering the lodge. Very few artifacts were found on the floor and no subfloor caches were located.

342 The second circle (fig. 4) was larger, measuring 36 feet in diameter and about 18 inches deep. The outer row of posts included 16; the inner group, 8. The fireplace, 30 inches across, was in the center, and to the northwest between the two circles of posts was a cache 4 feet 6 inches in diameter by 6 feet deep. The entrance was toward the southeast, and at its inner end may be seen a configuration of two extra posts strikingly similar to that found in the southwest portion of the house opened by the Survey. Exactly opposite the entrance, and in line with the fireplace and cache, was an earth platform or altar 13 inches high, occupying the full space between two posts. The posts were about 6 feet 6 inches apart, and from those of the inner to those of the outer row the distance was 10 feet. As in the other house, there were no posts between the door and the fireplace, so that from the end of the passageway to the altar at the rear wall there was a clear vista. Potsherds, bones, flints, burned charcoal, and some metal were found. The entire plans and laying out of the two circles were very nicely done and bespeak a rather high quality of architectural precision and symmetry.

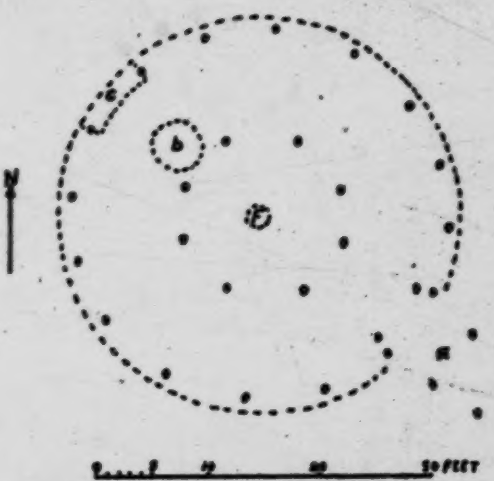


FIGURE 4.—Ground plan of historic Pawnee earth lodge, Hill site. a, Entrance passage; b, interior cache; c, raised platform altar; F, firepit.

342 [173] TIPI; OTHER TYPES OF SHELTER.—According to Skidi traditions, the band dwelt originally in skin tipis,[9] later adopting the earth lodge. The tipi has been very well described by Dunbar.[10] It measured approximately 18 feet in diameter at the base. Three poles, 16 feet or more in length, were set up in tripodal fashion and lashed together near the top by a long cord. Other poles, to the number of 12 or 15, were then successively set up against the first three so as to form a circle; they too were fastened securely at the top by means of the

---

[9] Dorsey, G. A., 1904, p. 14.

[10] 1918, p. 603.

cord. The cover, of thinly scraped translucent bison skins, was then 342
tied to one end of a long pole, by means of which it was carried
about and over the framework, and the two ends fastened together
with pins or cord. A smoke vent was left at the top; it could be
opened or closed at will by proper manipulation of the pole to which
the cover was attached. The entrance, usually toward the east, was
merely an opening at the bottom where the overlapping ends of the
tent cover were left unfastened; it was about 3 feet high and could
be closed by means of a bearskin flap. The furniture was piled 352
against the back of the tipi; rush mats were spread over the floor;
the fireplace and cooking crane occupied the center, immediately
below the smoke vent. When the camp moved the tent poles were
fastened together at one end across the horses' backs and permitted 492
to trail behind the pack animals; sometimes they served secondarily
the uses of the travois. The skin covers were commonly painted;
they were used as pack covers during the travels of the village.

Murray, who accompanied the Pawnee on their hunt in the summer of 1835, describes a different type of summer shelter.[11] This was constructed as follows:

> They . . . arrange all their bales, saddles, etc., in a semicircular form, and pile them from 2 to 3 feet high. Around the exterior of these they drive into the ground 8 or 10 curved willow rods, from 2 to 3 feet distant from each other, but all firmly bound by leather thongs to four large, upright poles, that form the front of the lodge, and along which run transverse willow rods, to which the extremities of the curved ones are fastened. When the frame, or skeleton, is thus finished, they stretch the cover (made of buffalo hides, sewed together) tight over the whole, leaving an aperture for entrance and egress in the center of the front; and in fine weather, the whole front open.
>
> . . . the dimensions vary according to the number and wealth of the families
> residing therein; in some tents I have observed the front consisting of 6 or 8
> upright poles to which were fixed more skins for additional shelter or shade. 352
> On the grass, in the interior, are spread mats, made by the squaws from reeds,
> and skins of buffalo or bear.

Each individual had his own particular portion of this shelter; the medicine bundle was suspended from the center, and in front of the door was a skin shield bearing the crest of the chief.

According to Dorsey,[12] the skin tipi and heraldic devices were used 554
largely by the richer families, while the poor contented themselves
with the dome-shaped brush shelter. The same authority mentions
the use of a ramada-like drying platform and summer shelter, open 343
at the sides and flat-roofed; it was used in connection with the earth
lodge.

---

[11] Murray, 1839, pp. 199–200.

[12] 1904, p. 16.

CACHES

*172 343 In common with most tribes of the central and northern Great Plains who depended to a greater or lesser degree upon the fruits of the chase, as well as upon the cultivation of maize, the Pawnee made very extensive use of the subterranean storage pit or cache. Every village was characterized by numbers of these structures, both between the earth lodges and inside them. They appear not to have been associated with the tipi settlements, nor were the Pawnee in the habit of caching the results of each day's hunting wherever night overtook them. Nevertheless the cache must be regarded as highly characteristic of Pawnee culture, particularly in connection with the food complex and the permanent village.

Eleven caches were opened by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey party at the Hill site in 1930. Four of these were indoors, beneath the floor of the lodge previously described. Six were found just outside about 15 feet from the outer edge of the floor, on the east, south, and west sides; they were discovered as a result of the trench dug about the house in search of the entrance. The eleventh cache was about 100 yards northeast of the house; its presence was revealed through the settling of the earth within and its consequent cracking away from the cache wall on all sides. These caches, though variable in size, nearly all conformed to the usual Pawnee type in other respects, hence may be taken as illustrative of the type at large.

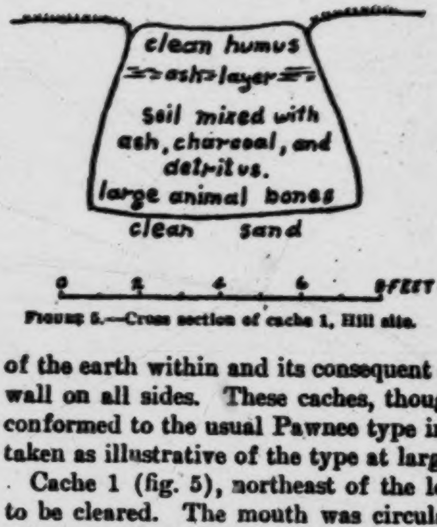


FIGURE 5.—Cross section of cache 1, Hill site.

Cache 1 (fig. 5), northeast of the lodge excavation, was the first to be cleared. The mouth was circular, with a diameter of 4 feet 7 inches. The sides had been undercut smoothly all around, so that the floor measured 6 feet 4 inches in diameter. The depth of the pit was 4 feet 6 inches. The floor was of clean white sand, covered with bark, and was depressed some 3 inches at the center. A collar of rich black soil, 4 inches wide and 8 inches thick, encircled the interior 15 inches below the mouth; its significance is not known.

The contents of the cache included little save discarded material. The soil was heavily impregnated with charcoal, ashes, and similar organic material. Animal bones, particularly those of the dog, horse, and bison, were abundant; the large leg joints of the latter were common in every cache opened. Iron and copper were present, mostly in small pieces; blue and white glass beads were scattered through the fill. Most of the bones were found on or near the floor, especially about the edges next the wall; very few of them were charred or showed any indications of having been cooked.

In general, the foregoing suffices to illustrate the average cache and its contents. There exist, of course, great individual variations, as for example, in size. Thus, cache 6 measured 5 feet across the mouth, slightly over 5 feet in depth, and 7 feet 4 inches across the bottom; cache 5 was 5 feet wide at the top, 4 feet 9 inches deep, and 7 feet in diameter at the bottom. Others have been reported of much greater size; one 11 feet in depth by nearly 10 feet across the bottom is said to have been opened in the early village site at Linwood. All are of the usual bell shape, however, with smooth, beaten walls curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, and a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered, floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site.

Smaller caches sometimes took a different form, especially if shallow. Thus, cache 3 was some 4 feet in diameter and 3 feet in depth, but was bowl-shaped; i. e., diminished in size toward the bottom. Cache B was 5 feet across and 2 feet deep, with almost vertical walls. Such small, shallow pits are, however, rather unusual, the majority resembling quite closely cache 1, as above described.

Cache 5 was of more than ordinary interest. At a depth of 3 feet was encountered a false floor, consisting of 6 or 8 inches of clean sand covered with bark. The space above contained large masses of what appeared to be corn meal. Beneath the false floor the soil was mixed with bones, ashes, and other detritus, but no artifacts. Bark covered the true floor also.

None of the caches were found to contain side pockets, as reported by Will and Spinden from the Mandan,[18] nor were any two of them ever found connected. The walls frequently showed the tool marks of the original excavators. They appear never to have been artificially hardened, as by burning of brush in them, though some were apparently beaten to a compact smoothness.

Most of the caches were not very prolific. Immediately below the zone reached by the plow a layer of fine wood ash was usually found, presumably as a protective measure against percolating dampness. Sherds, fragments of stonework, bits of metal, and above all, animal bones, were invariably scattered all through the fill. Occasionally, though, good artifacts were brought to light. Thus, in cache 2 were found a number of beaming tools made from bison ribs; from caches 3 and 4 were taken two well-made lance heads of iron;

---

[18] 1906, pp. 157-158.

*172 cache 7 yielded three excellent digging tools made from bison scapulae; and cache 5, as already indicated, contained corn meal or some 343 similar ground cereal. Much richer pits are, of course, sometimes found. One opened by Mr. A. M. Brooking, of the Hastings Museum, in an old village east of Genoa, yielded 10 scapula digging tools, bone awls, 5 bone knives, 2 grooved hammers, 2 elkhorn shaft-straighteners, many large mollusk shells filled with yellow and red paint, and 13 small mollusk shells in matched pairs.[14] Such finds are, however, the exception rather than the rule, and many disappointingly sterile caches are encountered for every one that yields worth-while returns.

[488 251] Normally the caches were used for the storage and concealment of surplus corn and household furniture, particularly during the periods when the tribe was absent from its villages on the seasonal bison hunts. When earth had been thrown in on top of the contents and the opening sodded over the location of the cache was perfectly hidden from any stranger. Generally they were emptied when the family permanently removed, and all usable articles were carried away. Occasionally the owner never returned to claim his goods, perhaps because of forgetfulness as to the exact location, death, or from some other cause; or attacks by hostiles compelled flight too precipitate to permit emptying of the caches. In such cases the investigator may be better rewarded with pottery, flint and bone tools, ornaments, foodstuffs, and the like.

[727 765] Caches occasionally serve a secondary purpose as places of interment. In June 1843, when the Dakota raided the Pawnee village near the Plum Creek mission, with such disastrous results for the latter tribe,[15] the terrified survivors threw the bodies of the dead into the caches,[16] covered them hastily with earth, and then fled to their kindred, the Grand Pawnee, south of the Platte. Such a function was, of course, purely accidental and was wholly foreign to the original purpose which the structure was intended to serve.

EARTHWORKS

172 712 Walls of circumvallation were constructed about practically every Pawnee village of the nineteenth century. Sixty years ago, according to early settlers, these were still plainly to be seen on many of the old sites, but with cultivation they have shared the fate of other remains and become rare indeed. Leveling of these old fortification walls was one of the first steps in breaking the land; hence their obliteration has been woefully complete. In fact the only remaining system of earthworks is that at the Horse Creek village, which was 172 discussed in connection with that site. The rectangular enclosure 712 may have been a horse corral, though that appears improbable. The entire arrangement of walls is such as to suggest a fairly elaborate system of defensive works, quite in keeping with the size of the village.

---

[14] Brooking, A. M., unpublished manuscript.

[15] Dunbar, 1918, p. 656. Occurrences similar to the above probably account for the "burials of Morning Star Sacrifice victims" occasionally reported in the press.

[16] Allis, 1887, p. 155.

Palisaded walls were not used by the Pawnee, due probably to the scarcity of suitable timber.[17] The defenses consisted simply of an earth or sod embankment 3 or 4 feet high, immediately in front of which was a ditch 3 feet in depth and 5 feet or so wide.[18] The assailants were thus hampered in storming the wall by having to cross the moat in front of it; the defenders fought from the protection of the wall. How much actual good such defenses did it is difficult to say, as the Dakota, Kansa, and other hostiles contented themselves with sudden raids and horse-stealing forays, seldom if ever venturing to attack the Pawnee behind their breastworks.

The two great circles at the Linwood village are actually low earthworks, there being nothing to indicate that they were excavated. Each ring is about 90 feet in diameter; it is raised 8 inches or so above the surrounding ground surface and has a width of 2 feet or thereabouts. There is a gap in the east side of one, which appears also to have a small pit north of the center and a low mound just outside the gap. The purpose of these circles is obscure; probably they represent roofless ceremonial structures of some kind, perhaps for the Four-pole ceremony.[18a]

Two short parallel sections of wall may also be seen a short distance west of the easternmost of these big rings at Linwood. Each is 15 or 20 feet long, running north to south, and is but a few inches high.

There are no true temple, burial, or other artificial tumuli known in the Pawnee area.

Horse Corrals

The Pawnee in late historic times were heavily dependent upon the 172* horse for transportation, particularly when on a hunt. Just how 231 early they adopted the horse it is difficult to say. In 1682 La Salle 175 wrote that the *Pana* purchased horses from the *Gattacka* and *Manrhoat*, who in turn obtained them from the Spanish settlements in New Mexico.[19] In 1719 La Harpe visited two *Pani* villages west of the Arkansas in the present State of Oklahoma and counted 300

---

[17] Cf. Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 406. This refers merely to a fortified village rather than to a true palisade.

[18] Clayton, 1921, p. 96.

[18a] Murie, 1914, p. 551 and fig. 2.

[19] Margry Papers, vol. ii, p. 201.

*172 231 175 horses in them.[20] La Salle possibly, and La Harpe probably, referred to the *Pawnee Picts*, or Wichita, rather than to the Pawnee proper. Bandelier, however, states that the Pawnee were well and unfavorably known to the Spanish through much of the seventeenth century,[21] and in all probability their raiding propensities had made them familiar with the horse quite as early as La Salle's time. At any rate, by 1800 every village on the Platte and Loup Rivers possessed several thousand animals, and their use had become an integral part of Pawnee culture.

*172 231 417 According to early accounts the horses were pastured during the day in great droves on the grassy bottoms and were tended by young boys. At night, as a precautionary measure against predatory Dakota raiders, they were brought into the village and placed in corrals among the lodges. According to Clayton,[22] there was a pen in conjunction with each lodge; they were constructed of small, closely set upright poles, bound together by crosspieces. Most of the enclosures were square, but a few were circular; the gate was merely a few poles laid across a gap on one side. Morse [23] states that there was a circular pen adjacent to each dwelling.

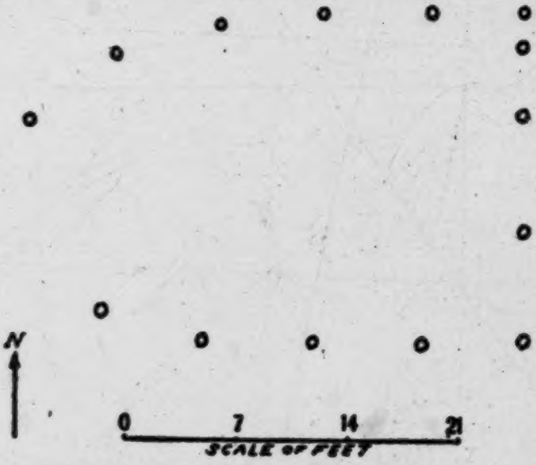


FIGURE 6.—Plan of horse corral (?), Hill site.

*172 417 Several years ago, during the course of excavations at the Hill site, Mr. A. T. Hill uncovered remains of a somewhat unique character (fig. 6). At a depth of 10 inches was encountered a very hard-packed stratum some 4 inches thick which was traced over an oblong area some 33 feet east to west by 21 feet in width. The edge was marked by a row of 15 postholes, normally 10 to 18 inches deep, about 7 feet apart, and each from 4 to 7 inches in diameter; bits of charred wood occurred at each hole and also between them. The east end was square; at the west end was a 12-foot gap where one

---

[20] Margry Papers, vol. II, p. 310.
[21] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 185. Compare Thomas, 1935, pp. 172 and 277 (note 144).
[22] 1921, p. 100.
[23] 1822, p. 240.

post had very obviously been omitted. There were no inside post- 172*
holes, nor was there any fireplace, and the usual debris found in a 417
lodge site was conspicuously absent. The situation was low, unsuited for a dwelling, yet the hard-packed soil had effectively resisted the action of water draining into the hollow in times of heavy rain. There was quite clearly no roof, nor is there anything to suggest a house pit such as occurs as a foundation for every lodge. From all appearances, therefore, it would seem that the structure was a stock corral, with its entrance toward the west. Transverse poles were doubtless lashed from post to post, and the gate closed by means of movable cross poles. This reconstruction is confirmed by the occurrence of charcoal almost exclusively about or between the post holes. Such a corral, though unlike that described by Clayton, would be entirely practicable, and where timber was scarce would also be highly advisable.

FOODS: AGRICULTURE

The food complex of the Pawnee centered about two staples, viz, 172*
maize and the bison. Since the two were very nearly equally 262
stressed, though conducive to wholly dissimilar habits of life, they were directly responsible for many of the varied elements of Pawnee culture. Thus they made the people alternately roving hunters and settled agriculturists, and led, correspondingly, to the use of two entirely distinct house types, of the cache, and of numerous other traits. It was to this combination of hunting with horticultural life that much of the richness of Pawnee culture is due.

The Pawnee were essentially a corn-growing people. Corn was 172*
their Mother; it figured in their rituals and in their mythology, 243
even more prominently than did the bison. Two ears of corn went
into the sacred bundles of the tribe, and were renewed annually.[26] [778]
The most important ceremonies, including the sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning Star by the Skidi, were directed as much toward securing a bountiful corn crop as toward success on the bison hunt.

The cornfields were of necessity small, seldom including more than an acre or so. They were usually situated at the mouth of a ravine or in similar spots where the soil was loose and fertile. Owing to the primitive nature of the tools used, the prairie bottomlands with their heavy turf were impractical, consequently, the women were often compelled to go as far as 5 and 8 miles from the
village to find a suitable plot of ground.[27] Occasionally the fields [417]
were protected by a wicker fence,[28] but as a rule they were left open, the women remaining to guard them during the daytime while

the horses were at large.

---

[26] Dorsey, G. A., 1904, p. 20; Linton, 1923, a, p. 2.

[27] Irving, 1835, vol. ii, p. 27; Oehler and Smith, 1851, p. 29.

[28] Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 447.

*172 the horses were at large. The corn was planted in hills and was
243 cultivated by means of a hoe made from the scapula of bison; it was
usually hoed twice each year. Artificial fertilizers seem to have
[242 been unknown, and irrigation was likewise never practiced.

312] According to Mrs. E. G. Platt, missionary to the tribe on the Loup, "corn known among all the Indians as Pawnee corn, was a great rarity to us, and its luxuriant growth a great marvel, ears 16 and 18 inches long being not uncommon."[27] Most of the charred cobs recovered by Mr. A. T. Hill from caches and graves at the Hill site are much smaller than this, seldom over 4 inches in length and not much thicker than a man's thumb; they exhibit usually from 8 to 12 or 14 rows of kernels. In general, where cobs have been taken from Pawnee sites, the smaller size seems to prevail to the exclusion of larger specimens. Charred kernels have also been recovered from graves at the Hill site; a few are shown in plate 2, *e*.

*172 In addition to maize, the Pawnee cultivated beans, pumpkins, and squash.[28] Seeds of the latter have been recovered by excavation,
244 and definitely identified. Beans have not yet been found and the varieties utilized are not positively known.

*172 Corn was gathered while still green; it was then boiled, cut from the cob, dried, placed in leather bags, and stored in caches for future
251 use. In times of prosperity it was cooked in bison fat. Pumpkins
[252] were cut into strips, dried in the sun, and then often woven into mats for convenient transportation.[29] When setting forth on their semiannual hunt they took along "several sacks of sweet corn and beans, dry corn for mush, (and) dried pumpkins."[30]

*172 Of uncultivated vegetal foods the wild potato appears to have been in most common use. These tubers grew plentifully in the sand
222 of the Platte and Loup Valleys; they were dug up, boiled, peeled,
262 dried, and cooked with dried pumpkins. They were usually taken
[251] along on the hunting trips. The wild potato, as such, is mentioned frequently but with what plant it is to be identified cannot be certainly stated. Long[31] says:

> We saw among them the Pomme blanche . . . which is the root of the *Psoralea esculenta*. It is eaten either boiled or roasted, and somewhat resembles the sweet potato.

Possibly, though not necessarily, this has reference to the wild potato of other writers.[32]

---

[27] 1892, p. 129.
[28] Allis, 1887, p. 140.
[29] Long, 1823, vol. I, p. 447.
[30] Allis, 1887, p. 144.
[31] 1823, vol. I, p. 447.
[32] Allis, 1887, pp. 140, 144; Platt, Mrs. E. G., 1892, p. 129.

Other important plant foods were the turkey pea, wild plum, wild cherry, Jerusalem artichoke, and the chokecherry. Of these all save the first have been found in the Hill site and have been definitely identified as to species. Others were probably used from time to time, but no record of them has survived, either archeological or documentary. 172* 222 262

Eight species of plants have been found represented at the Hill site.[83] 172* 824

Brauneria angustifolia or *Echinacea angustifolia*.
Wild plum (*Prunus americana*).
Flint corn (*Zea mays*).
Hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*).
Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*).
Wild potato (*Apios tuberosa*).
Bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*).
Chenopodium sp. (apparently *Chenopodium nutalliae*).

To these we may add 10 species as given by Dunbar.[84]

Wild potato (*Ipomoea pandurata*).
Wild turnip (*Arisaema triphyllum*).
Pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*).
Ground bean (*Apios tuberosa*).
Cucumber root (*Medeola virginica*).
Artichoke (*Helianthus doronicoides*).
Ground plum (*Astragalus caryocarpus*).
Umbels of milkweed (*Asclepias* [illegible]*rnuti*).
Mushroom (sp. unidentified).
Sand cherry (sp. not given).

The complete report on botanical specimens from the Hill site, as identified by Dr. Gilmore, is as follows:

No. 1. Five small pieces of the root of *Brauneria angustifolia* (*Echinacea angustifolia*). The root of this was very highly esteemed by the Pawnee and other tribes within its range, for numerous medicinal uses, especially as a remedy for the bite of rattlesnakes. [752]

No. 2. Four pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*). The wild plum was highly valued for food use, and was eaten in considerable quantities fresh and uncooked, and was cooked for sauce. It was also preserved for winter use by drying. [251]

No. 3. Six charred grains of flint corn.

No. 4. A number of pits of hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*). The sugary fruits of hackberry were eaten from hand with pleasure by all, and especially by children. They were also reduced to pulp with a stone hammer, and the resulting paste was used as a flavoring in cooking meat. [263]

No. 5. One pit of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), and four small, spherical insect galls, apparently the galls which were common on the prairie rose (*Rosa pratincola*).

---

[83] From the Hill collection, Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. The specimens were identified by Dr. M. R. Gilmore of the University of Michigan. Letter of Apr. 10, 1931 (see also pl. 2, *a-c*).

[84] 1880, b, pp. 823–824.

*172 The chokecherry was greatly esteemed for food. It was cooked as a sauce
824 while fresh, and also reduced to pulp with a stone hammer, and this paste
was shaped into cakes and dried to preserve for winter use, somewhat in the
[251] manner of the dried prune paste of Bulgaria and Serbia.

The insect galls of the wild rose were supposed to possess medicinal value.

No. 6. Two tubers of *Apios tuberosa*. Apios tubers were highly valued as a food vegetable by tribes throughout the extensive range of this plant over all eastern North America. It was mentioned by Beverly and other writers of the English colony of Virginia, under the name "Openauk", which is a corruption of the name of the tubers in the language of one of the tribes of Algonkian stock in that region. Later, after the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) had been introduced into North America, readers of these early writings erroneously construed them to refer to the potato. Hence arose the myth of potatoes having been grown by Indians of Virginia.

Peter Kalm, a Swedish botanist, in his visit to North America, mentions the common use of these tubers by the colonists of New Sweden (New Jersey) as they had learned from their Indian neighbors.

When the French Jesuit missionaries saw the Indians in New France (Quebec) harvesting these wild tubers they noticed their characteristic growth in long strings like a string of beads, hence they called them *les racines des chapelets*, "rosary roots."

When the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) was first introduced to the people of the Dakota Nation, they compared them to the tubers of Apios, which was one of their important native food plants. The Dakota name of Apios, which is *blo*, was applied to the potato, and finally was completely transferred to it, so that now in common Dakota use the word *blo* signifies potato.

No. 7. A number of seeds of the Bush Summer Squash (*Cucurbita pepo* of the *melopepo* type). This type of cucurbit was of coextensive distribution with corn in the aboriginal agriculture of North America. In later prehistoric and historic cultures, many tribes possessed *Cucurbita maxima* (Winter Squash), *Cucurbita pepo* (Pumpkin) and *Cucurbita pepo melopepo* (Summer Squash), but in earlier prehistoric cultures *Cucurbita maxima* and *C. pepo* might be lacking, [while] it appears that *C. pepo melopepo* was not lacking in any cultures which possessed corn and beans.

No. 8. A small quantity of seeds of a chenopodiaceous plant, apparently *Chenopodium* sp. But these seeds are much larger than the seeds of any native Chenopodium of that region. The seeds of most species of chenopodiaceous plants indigenous in the region are 1 mm or less in diameter, but these are 3 mm in diameter. In the Journal of the Washington Academy of Science, volume VIII, no. 15, September 1918, W. E. Safford describes under the title "Chenopodium nuttaliae, a Food Plant of the Aztecs", a chenopodium which is cultivated in Mexico as a food grain. The seeds of our specimen more nearly agree with this description and illustrations of *Chenopodium nutalliae* Safford, sp. nov., than with the seeds of any chenopodiaceous plant now growing in the region where these specimens were found. The puzzling and interesting question arises: How came these seeds here? Were they cultivated by
[484] the Pawnees at that time? Were they of direct importation from Mexico?
It is well known that the Pawnee made expeditions into Mexico in historic time, well on into the nineteenth century. Did they bring seeds of cultivated plants thence, and was this Aztec crop plant introduced by Pawnee farmers into their farming operations in Nebraska?

White men who traveled among the Pawnee have mentioned their cultivated crops, but only corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins, those already familiar to these white men in their own homes. It may well be that here was another

> crop unknown to these white men and unnoticed by them. Even cultivated 172*
> sunflowers, common as they were to Pawnee agriculture, were scarcely mentioned 224
> or not mentioned at all in accounts by these white men. Another crop, still less known to white men, might easily have escaped notice entirely. If they saw fields of it growing, they probably, not being acquainted with it, considered them to be old neglected fields "gone to weeds."

While maize and other vegetable products provided the bulk of 172*
the diet, animal food was also very generally used. Of particular 262
importance was the bison, hunted not for its flesh alone, but also 237
for the hide, hair, sinew, horns, and even the hoofs. Archeologically, the bones of this animal are by far the commonest in Pawnee sites, and byproducts, such as horn spoons and haircloth, are by no means unknown. Further, the dire straits into which the tribe was thrown by failure to find the herds shows very clearly how heavily the Pawnee leaned upon the bison economically, even with their fields of maize.

Two great tribal hunts were staged each year by the Pawnee, a 172*
practice followed also by the Oto, Omaha, Kansa, Osage, and other 224
neighboring tribes of similar cultural status. Immediately after 221
the second hoeing of the corn, which took place about the middle of June, the entire tribe departed on the summer hunt, returning in September to harvest the corn and other crops. Toward the end of October, after the corn had been cached, they set out on the winter hunt, the Skidi moving westward to the forks of the Platte, while the other bands proceeded southward to the Arkansas.[35] Early in April they returned to the permanent villages in time for the corn planting. The favorite hunting grounds lay in what is now western Kansas, between the Republican and Arkansas Rivers, necessitating a trek of from 400 to 900 miles on each hunt.[36] An additional incentive for the long winter hunt appears to have been the need of finding sufficient forage for the horses.[37]

The meat was eaten fresh whenever possible, every hunt being a 172*
period of heavy feasting. Great quantities of meat were cut into 262
strips and dried in the sun to form "jerky." This was later eaten 224
raw or else was cooked with corn and beans into a sort of stew or 252
thick soup. The tongue and heart of the bison were usually sacrificed to the spirits. Long says that the tallow was also used, particularly in cookery. According to Allis,[38] "The most delicious dish with them is the young taken from the buffalo they kill."

Among the other animals commonly used as food, Allis[39] names elk, deer, bear, beaver, otter, raccoon, and badger. The jaws and

---

[35] Ashley and Smith, 1918, pp. 119–121.
[36] Dunbar, 1880, b, pp. 327–328.
[37] Long, 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.
[38] 1887, p. 140.
[39] Ibid.

C

*172 262

teeth of both elk and deer occur rather commonly in caches, as do those of beaver and badger. Dogs were sometimes eaten, though some of the canine teeth and maxillae found in excavation may be those of wolves or coyotes. Remains of small mammals, such as rabbit and squirrel, are fairly common. Fish appear to have been used but little, as their bones are seldom present in the refuse-filled caches.

The excavations of the Nebraska Archeological Survey at the Hill site yielded bones of the following animals, most of which were doubtless used for food:[40]

[825]

Dog (*Canis familiaris*).
Wildcat (*Lynx rufus*.)
Bison (*Bison bison*).
Pronghorn antelope (*Antilocapra americana*).
White-tail deer (*Odocoileus virginianus macrourus*).
Horse (*Equus caballus*).
Rodentia (sp. unidentified).

CERAMICS

*172 323

Singularly enough, in spite of the considerable amount of literature pertaining to the Pawnee, there is very little extant in regard to their pottery making. Dunbar[41] states that the women "made rude pottery of sand and a certain kind of clay, which after being burned was quite serviceable." According to information gathered by Comfort[42] from the old men, the Sisseton and Wahpeton Dakota secured their pottery from the Pawnee and Omaha. Yet none of the early explorers or missionaries, some of whom spent months and even years with the tribe and must have had ample opportunity to observe the trait, have left any detailed description of either the processes or the appearances of the completed wares.

Fortunately we have the account given by Grinnell which runs as follows:

> Years ago, on the sites of abandoned Pawnee villages, on the Loup Fork and on the Platte, fragments of pottery used to be found among the debris of the fallen lodges. The manufacture of this pottery was no doubt abandoned long ago, and has probably not been practiced to any considerable extent since they met the whites. A man about 50 years of age stated to me that he had never seen these pots in use, but that his grandmother had told him that in her days they made and used them. He said that they were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mold. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone they mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of the proper consistency they smeared it over the rounded mold, which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and

---

[40] For the identification of skeletal material the writer is indebted to Mr. Paul O. McGrew, of the Department of Paleontology, University of Nebraska.

[41] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, p. 279.

[42] 1873, p. 401.

172*
323

> smooth on the outside, they took a small, sharp stone, and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mold and burned it in the fire, and while it was baking, "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it hard as iron." This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they boiled food of all kinds. Mr. Dunbar informs me that these pots were also made in later times within a framework of willow twigs. The clay, made very stiff, was smeared on this frame, the inside being repeatedly smoothed with the moistened hand, and but little attention being given to the appearance of the outside. After they had been sun-dried, such pots were baked without removing the frame, which burned away in the fire, leaving the marks of the twigs visible on the outside of the pot."[illegible]

The above description of tempering and the use of grease and boiled corn fit in with the appearance of known Pawnee pottery. The use of a wooden mold seems more problematical, while Dunbar's statement concerning the use of a woven willow twig form stands by itself. So far, no traces of this last process have been observed on known Pawnee ceramics.

While the Pawnee were doubtless among the first of the tribes of [177] the Missouri Valley to adopt the copper and iron vessels of the white man in preference to their own earthenware, yet the abundance of sherds on many of the historic sites indicates that the native products were manufactured until well into the last century.

Data for the present discussion of Pawnee pottery have been drawn very largely from the Hill collection at the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. This collection includes 4 vessels, 2 complete and 2 restored (pl. 3), a large number of sherds from the Hill site, and sample series from nearly all identified Pawnee villages on the Loup River. The excellent sherd collection of Mr. Alfred Tichacek, from the early site at Linwood, was studied on two different occasions; it consists principally of pieces turned up in plowing, but is unmistakably Pawnee. A selected series of sherds was secured by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey during the excavations at the Hill site, in addition to a small, broken bowl. The large vessel, plate 4, *a*, is the property of the Nebraska Historical Society. Finally, a number of small private sherd collections, for the most part surface material from various sites, have been available; these have been checked wherever possible through personal observations at the villages concerned.

Save for the superiority of the art in early times, quantitatively as well as qualitatively, and its decline with recency, there is a general uniformity in all Pawnee ware that makes it impossible to distinguish the product of one band from that of another. Accordingly we shall treat the remains in their totality, and through a combina-

---

[illegible] Grinnell, 1893, pp. 255–256.

*772 tion of all studied material from the various sites endeavor to determine the nature of Pawnee ceramics.

323 The two vessels from the Skidi site north of Palmer, shown in plate 3, *a* and *c*, are the only whole pieces of unquestionable Pawnee provenience yet found. The first, *a*, was dug out of the Loup River bank at the south edge of the village; it is 4½ inches high, 4⅞ inches across at the point of greatest diameter, and has an orifice 2½ inches wide. It is light brown or buff in color with fine hard paste and a partially smoothed surface finish. The walls are rather thin, but the rounded bottom is thickened sufficiently to make the piece return automatically to its proper upright position whenever it is laid on one side. The shoulder and the simple, direct neck are rather unusual in Pawnee pottery. Four vertically placed loop handles are luted to the vessel just beneath the lip; each has two vertical incisions, which give it a "three-finger" effect. Decoration consists of small indentations made by a blunt round tool held obliquely to the surface, this motif occurring on the lip and also just below it on the outside of the neck. A very crude and incomplete hatched design is incised into the upper body, just above the shoulder. Everything considered, it is one of the best of all Pawnee pieces, though it fails to illustrate certain of the fundamental diagnostics of the ware.

The second pot (pl. 3, *c*) was taken from the grave opened by Mr. A. T. Hill and the writer immediately north of the Palmer village (pl. 11, *d*). It stands 4½ inches high, is a trifle more in maximum diameter, and the mouth is 3 inches across. In color it is dark gray, with a clouded appearance. The paste is dark, moderately fine, with sand tempering, and the surface is rough, with very slight ridges running from rim to bottom. The body is globular, with a uniform curvature from rim to rim in cross section. The rim is vertical, and its lower edge is slightly thickened so as to overhang the body a very little; in width it measures about three-fourths of an inch. The lower edge of the rim is extended at regular intervals to form rather inconspicuous tabs, six in all. Only the rim is ornamented; the motif is simple, consisting of groups of parallel diagonally incised lines, those in each group being oblique to those of the next; the arrangement is based upon the position of the tabs, as will be obvious from a study of the illustration.

From the Hill site, occupied solely by the Republican Pawnee, come the two restored specimens in plate 3, *b* and *d*. The former is 3¾ inches in height, 2⅛ inches across the mouth, and has a diameter at the shoulder of 3¼ inches. It is a very dark gray, with fine paste sparingly tempered with small sand particles; the surface is somewhat uneven. The bottom, which is reconstructed, is flattened somewhat, and there is a sharp shoulder giving way to a constricted neck. The rim is about five-eighths of an inch wide, slightly concave, and has a sharp outward-curving lower edge. Actually the neck and rim proper are continuous, being broken only by the collar forming the lower edge of the rim. Incised lines apparently covered the rim and neck; they show no particular patterning.

The fourth vessel, shown as *d*, is also largely a restoration, but is not as open to doubt as is *b*. The original fragments were found in a house site; they include a portion of the rim and enough of the body to give a reasonably close approximation as to the correct curve of the lower part. The piece is 7 inches tall, 5 inches across the mouth, and the body reaches a maximum diameter of slightly over 6 inches. It is made of light buff finely ground clay with grit tempering; the surface is chalky to the touch but is not polished. The bottom is round, on the same curve as the body in general; there is a very slight incurve immediately below the rim. The rim is 2¼ inches wide, with the characteristic collarlike thickness at the lower edge. The decoration, consisting of triangles filled in with parallel lines in oblique groups, is an extremely common Pawnee motif; it occurs here on both rim and upper body. This form is quite common, to judge from sherd collections, though few of the fragments show any evidences of use in culinary pursuits.

Two other complete or nearly complete pots found in the heart of the Pawnee area are shown in plate 4; both are the property of the Nebraska Historical Society. The larger specimen, *a*, was dug up some 15 or 18 years ago on Prairie Creek near Archer, Nebr., and shows very nicely the outstanding characteristics of Pawnee ware. It stands 9 inches high, with a maximum diameter of 7¾ inches; the orifice is somewhat irregular, averaging 5 inches across. The body is not quite globular, having a subconical bottom that renders the vessel unstable when set on a flat surface; the neck is constricted. The paste is fine, dark gray in color, hard, and is tempered with angular bits of granite and sand. The surface is gray, clouded with black, and is well polished; the black areas are shiny, as though the result of firing after application of a grease coating. The walls are about one-fourth inch thick, increasing to one-half inch at the bottom. The rim is about 1½ inches wide, of the modified collar type, and bears the herringbone design. Four loop handles, each 1 inch wide, extend from the lower edge of the collar to the upper body; tabs, also four in number, alternate with them. Small indentations, averaging four to the inch, occur on the lip, which is square. On the shoulder and upper body is a 3½-inch zone of decoration, consisting of the ubiquitous triangle motif filled in with subparallel lines, those of each figure oblique to the next. The piece is well made and despite the uncertainty attending its discovery can hardly be anything else than Pawnee.

*772 323 The other vessel, *b*, is rather more questionable. It was found in Cedar River, near Fullerton, having apparently been washed down the stream from a cave-in higher up. However, since there are Pawnee camps and old village sites for some distance up this river, the piece is tentatively assigned to that tribe. It is 5¾ inches high, 5⅞ inches in greatest diameter, and has a slightly flaring mouth 4 inches across. The body is very nicely shaped, having an even curvature from shoulder to shoulder, in profile; the bottom is round. The paste is gray, fine, and tempered with grit. The surface is irregular but well polished and very dark gray. The rim flares slightly outward; it is about three-fourths inch wide, and is decorated by a series of pinched-up nodes at ½-inch intervals along the lower edge. The lip is narrow but bears small diagonal incisions all around. The walls are unusually thin, averaging little more than one-eighth inch. There is no body ornamentation.

Technologically considered, Pawnee ceramics may be divided at present into two major wares, both presumably hand-molded from lumps of clay.[44] The more common type is characterized by a very fine, smooth, even-textured paste, which fractures saccharoidally, and is very slightly friable on a freshly broken face. In color it varies from light buff to very dark gray, the lighter tones probably the result of prolonged firing. Tempering is usually of fine sand, sparingly used, but crushed granite, fine white siliceous material, and possibly mica were also employed; ground shell appears to be uniformly absent. The ware is generally quite hard and does not tend to flake off readily.

Surfaces are usually rough, often ridged (paddle-marked?), but the irregularities have been somewhat subdued by rubbing while the clay was still moist; all are slightly gritty or chalky to the touch. Slip was never applied, nor is there any indication whatever of glazing; even a lustrous polish is rarely attained. Some of the sherds show tiny flecks of mica all over the surface; this feature appears to be particularly prominent in pottery from the earlier sites on the Loup River and is probably due primarily to environmental factors.

Shapes were few and simple. As illustrated by the whole vessels previously described, the most common was a small or medium sized globular pot, round bottomed, with a more or less constricted neck and a rather characteristic rim. Ladles, bowls, mugs, platters, and
[415] high-necked forms do not appear, nor do there seem to have been many very large vessels. Sherd studies bear out these generalizations for practically all sites, but there is a possibility that some of the earlier villages may ultimately yield a somewhat greater variety in forms.

---

[44] Wissler, 1922, p. 69.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

A noteworthy diagnostic for this type of Pawnee ware is the 172* collarlike rim. It varies in width from 1 to 3 inches, is nearly or quite vertical on the inside, and tends to increase gradually in thick- 323 ness from the lip to its lower edge. The resultant effect is that of an overhanging collar (fig. 7, *a*). A modification of this type is shown in *b*; the rim is here of the same thickness as the body, but is slightly concave, and its lower edge is formed by a simple outward bending of the wall of the vessel. Occasionally the thickened lower edge of the rim is elaborated into tabs or protuberances, 4, 6, 8, or 12 in number (pl. 3, *c*). These are generally plain and unperforated, but where eight or more occur, alternate tabs are often extended downward to the body of the vessel to form broad loop handles (pl. 4, *a*). The simple, direct rim is also found, though not commonly in the class of ware here under discussion.

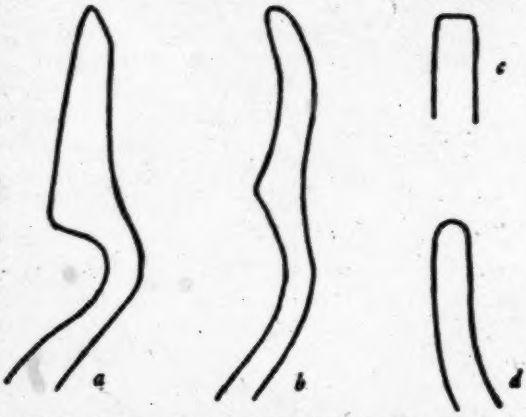


FIGURE 7.—Rim types characteristic of Pawnee pottery.

The distribution of this particular form of collared rim is of considerable interest and may be briefly mentioned at this point. It is found on sherds from early prehistoric cultures of the Republican Valley in southern Nebraska, but there the rims are seldom more than 1 or 1½ inches wide and bear a somewhat more varied style of ornamentation. It does not occur along the Missouri River 171 in eastern Nebraska, is virtually unknown in Kansas, and is not mentioned as a trait of Mandan ceramics.[45] When we turn to the Iro- 172* quois area of New York and Pennsylvania, however, the character- 323 istic Iroquoian rim is startingly similar to that of the Pawnee pieces.[46] The latter tribe, it is true, never made vessel mouths square in outline, whereas the former often did so. But in the matter of an overhanging, collar-like rim, thinnest at the lip and thickest at the lower edge, the two areas are virtually identical. Tabs are not infrequently found on Iroquois rims also.[47] Decoration shows further similarities, as will be evident presently. The parallels thus existent between Pawnee and Iroquois wares seem too close to be purely for-

---

[45] Will and Spinden, 1906, pp. 173–179 (see, however, pl. 39, *1*; also pl. 40, *a*).

[46] Holmes, 1903, p. 160; Parker, 1916, pp. 485–487; Skinner, 1921, pp. 55, 89; 141–179.

[47] Holmes, 1903, p. 160, pl. CXLIV, *d*.

171 *172 323 tuitous and may well be indicative of some sort of former cultural and geographic connection between the two complexes.

*172 323 531 In the matter of decoration Pawnee pottery is characterized by great uniformity and simplicity. The patterns are generally applied to the face of the rim, less commonly to the upper body. All ornamentation is incised. The commonest motifs are basically triangular. A line is drawn diagonally across the rim from lip to collar and back to lip, entirely about the vessel, and the triangles thus formed are filled in with hachuring. The hatched lines in any group are usually parallel to one side of the triangle rather than to the lip; also they are oblique to those of the adjacent figures (fig. 8, *a*). A slight modification consists of a series of chevrons produced by filling in the triangles with V-shaped figures of progressive size (*b*). The herringbone design ranks second in abundance. It is usually applied continuously around the rim, with the points toward the left in perhaps 75 percent of the sherds so ornamented. A third motif consists simply in diagonal parallel lines across the rim (*d*). All of these designs are used on the rim, but where body ornamentation occurs it is almost invariably in the hatched triangle pattern first described (fig. 8, *a;* pl. 3, *d*). The neatness and accuracy of the work varies greatly, but there is little modification of design (pls. 3–5). Cord marking has never yet been found on rims of Pawnee vessels, but nearly obliterated traces sometimes occur on the body.

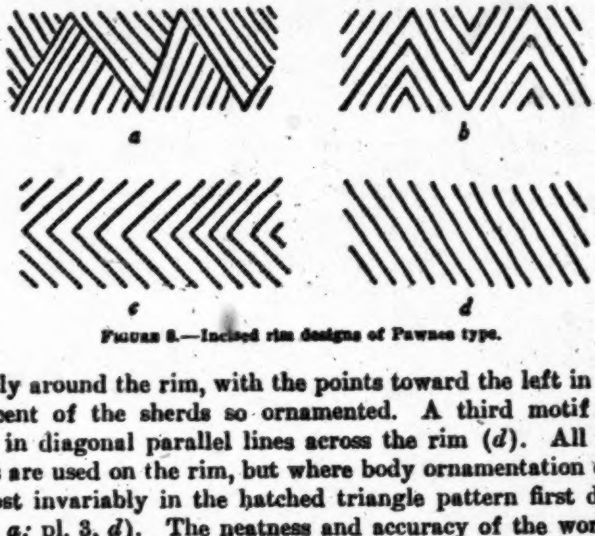


FIGURE 8.—Incised rim designs of Pawnee type.

Lips of vessels are very commonly ornamented, in addition to the rim proper. This involves the use of small indented elements repeated all about the lip, or if the latter be too sharp and narrow, of short diagonal incisions inside and just below the edge. This characteristic of small, repeated indentations closely set all along the lip is very common also on earlier wares of the Pawnee area, particularly along the Loup and Republican Rivers; but it is seldom found on the pottery of the Missouri Valley in eastern Nebraska.

171
172*
323
531

Parker, in describing rim decoration of the Iroquois of New York, says that the "collar is frequently decorated by a series of triangles within which have been drawn lines close together and parallel with one side of the triangle. These triangles contrast with one another as the parallel lines slant obliquely, either right or left, in the adjacent space."[48] Many of the vessels and rim sherds illustrated by Holmes[49] and Skinner[50] bear like or similar designs, sometimes made with cords but usually by simple incising. In Nebraska this motif appears also in earlier cultures west of the Missouri River, but is almost, if not quite, always associated with the collared rim. Curvilinear figures are absent alike in Iroquoian and Pawnee decorative art, and in keeping with the generally more simple character of their work the Pawnee never used the human face or figure as a part of their ornamentative products. But even allowing for the greater complexity and elaboration of Iroquoian pottery decoration, there is obviously a basic similarity in the most common motifs of the two groups that is highly suggestive, particularly in view of the likenesses in rim form noted above.

172*
323

The second major type of Pawnee ware differs markedly from that just described and is in most respects much inferior to it. The paste apparently contains much iron and, according to the intensity of the firing process, varies in color from light yellowish gray to a bright orange-red. It is characteristically very finely ground, hard, and tends to fracture in flakes. Tempering is of very fine sand, so sparingly used that it can often be detected only with the aid of a good lens.

Surface finish is invariably very rough and poorly executed. The rubbing stone was never used, and as a result the walls of vessels are of very uneven thickness. Occasionally the fingerprints of the potter can be detected in the depressions. In thickness the walls vary from three-eighths inch up; those of the preceding type are seldom more than one-fourth or at most three-eighths inch thick. The ware tends to crack along the midline of the walls, as though the inner and outer surfaces have been expanded or contracted unequally. The tendency of these pieces to crack is so marked as to lead one to the conclusion that they were either not dried thoroughly before firing or else that the baking process was very improperly carried out.

The only vessel shape so far determined for this ware is a rather deep bowl, 4 or 5 inches in diameter, about 3 inches deep, and having a direct undecorated rim (fig. 7, *c*, *d*). No fragments of pots

---

[48] Parker, 1916, p. 486.
[49] Holmes, 1903, pl. CXLV, *a–d*, CXLIX, *f–g*; and figures.
[50] Skinner, 1921, pls. XII, XIII, XXVI, XXVIII–XXXII and figure 38.

*P72 have yet been found, nor is there a single trace of the ornamental collared rim described for the preceding ware. (See Strong, 1935, 323 pl. 1, *h*.)

The most interesting feature of this pottery is a thick, deep-red coloring matter with which the interiors of vessels are invariably covered; it is very rarely applied to the exterior also. This coating consists of red ocher, applied after the baking of the vessel, and in nearly all cases can be readily rubbed off. In this respect it resembles the "fugitive red" wash found on Late Basket Maker bowls of the southwestern United States.[81] It differs, however, from the latter in being much thicker and generally restricted to bowl interiors. A similar wash has been noted, but not very fully described, on some Mandan pottery from North and South Dakota.[82] It occurs also on earlier prehistoric wares of the Pawnee area, along with the collar type of rim, but is not found in eastern Nebraska save where Pawnee influences are recognizable. Apparently it increased in later historic times, as earlier sites have yielded a much smaller number of such sherds. This may be due to the lack of adequate research in the latter, however. Du Pratz found the Natchez coating their pottery with red ocher which caused it "to become red after the burning."[83] This refers to a slip rather than to an impermanent wash, and apparently represents a different technique from that followed by the historic Pawnee.[84]

[531] Aside from the interior application of ocher, little effort was made to decorate this pottery. Paddle marking, where applied to the body, was usually so carelessly done as to have little artistic value. Incised and modeled ornamentation were not employed. The vessels may have been purely ceremonial in purpose, perhaps serving primarily as receptacles for small articles; possibly they were used for mixing paint.

The Pawnee ceramicists seldom extended their efforts beyond the realm of utilitarian pot-making. Very few figurines are found, though one or two crude representations of horses or other quadrupeds have been picked up at the Hill site by Mr. A. T. Hill. Disk beads, made by grinding sherds to a circular shape and then piercing them, have been found at the Schuyler and Burkett sites, but nowhere else; they obviously are no indication of the potter's skill. Thickened perforated circular objects, resembling spindle whorls and especially made, are not uncommon near St. Paul on the Loup, but there is nothing to indicate that they were of Pawnee origin. Modeled clay pipes have not yet been found in the historic Pawnee sites of the region; judging from the occurrence of stone pipes

---

[81] Roberts, 1929, pp. 110–111.

[82] Will and Spinden, 1906, p. 174.

[83] Du Pratz, 1758, vol. I, p. 124.

[84] 1929, p. 166.

172*
323

in various prehistoric sites, stone was apparently used from very early times. This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that along the Missouri River in eastern Nebraska clay pipes of curved and elbow type are the rule. The Mandans also used pottery pipes in addition to those of stone.[85]

The foregoing résumé of Pawnee pottery, though in its finer details based almost entirely upon collections from the Hill and Linwood sites, is substantiated by the sherds available from the other historic villages. Careful research may yet develop local differences, although the fact that Pawnee pottery making was generally on the decline precludes the probability of any very radical variations within the tribe during the historic period. However, certain of the early sites show a far more varied and elaborate ceramic complex than that just treated, hence merit a few generalizations at this point.

Considered from the standpoint of ceramic excellence at large, the Burkett site stands foremost in the Pawnee area and probably in Nebraska generally. As was noted in the description of the site, sherds are by far the most abundant remains, in spite of the fact that "relic" hunters have made it a favorite hunting ground for many years. As early as 1867 Hayden commented upon the great quantities of pottery fragments and stonework here, assigning them to the early Pawnee.[86] Thirty years later sherds collected from this site by Hayden were described and illustrated by Holmes, who mentions them as coming from "a Pawnee village site on Beaver Creek, Nebr."[87]

The paste of this pottery is usually gray. It is not infrequently fired to a light brown on the surfaces, and in some of the better pieces it is light tan throughout. It is rather sparingly tempered with sand, or in a few instances with crushed granite. Dark firing clouds may be noted on many of the pieces. Surface finish is but little superior to that of the better grade of Pawnee ware. However, on some of the lighter sherds may be noted a pseudoslip. This appears to have been produced by rubbing the vessel while the clay was still quite moist, thus bringing the finer particles to the surface and securing a smooth, nicely polished finish. This pseudoslip is usually tan or reddish brown in color, very seldom black. Occasionally vessel interiors are painted with impermanent red ochre, similar to that found in later Pawnee pieces.

No unbroken vessels have yet been recovered from this site. To judge from the sherds the prevalent form appears to have been a globular pot of rather small to medium size, with a direct or narrow

---

[85] Will and Spinden, 1906, p. 118.
[86] 1872, p. 412.
[87] 1903, pp. 199-200, pl. CLXXVII.

*172

323

collared rim and very often with several loop handles at regular intervals about the neck.[illegible] The last feature is much more pronounced than in the case of historic Pawnee pottery and is strongly reminiscent of pots from western Tennessee and Arkansas,[illegible] and to a somewhat lesser degree of the Missouri River wares of eastern Nebraska.

An analysis of 191 rim sherds collected from this site by the writer and others of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey yielded the following results. Of the total of 191 rims, 133 were plain and direct, with little or no thickening and no decoration on the rim proper; 93 of these, however, were ornamented on the lip by means of small diagonal indentations, minutely incised herringbone or other motifs, or with impressions made by holding a blunt instrument oblique with the surface. In a few instances this decoration extended down inside the vessel for one-fourth to three-fourths inch. Incised rims numbered 36, all but 4 of which bore lip decoration similar to that above described. Thickening of the rim to produce a collar effect occurred on 23 pieces, but less than half of these were anywhere near as pronounced as the Pawnee type; all bore incised decoration and only two showed no lip incisions. Loop handles or traces of them were found on 20 fragments, or slightly more than 10 percent of the total. Practically all of the latter, however, were ornamented, whereas the typical Pawnee handle is plain.

A series of selected rim sherds from this site is shown in plate 6, all but four of them with handles; a similar group, with nearly identical sherds, is illustrated by Holmes.[illegible] While representing the better class of wares rather than the more numerous, these show all of the common design motifs as well as the types of handles. Certain of the designs are nearly identical with the typical Pawnee motifs of historic times (pl. 6, *b*, *h*, *j*, *l*; cf. pl. 5), whereas others remind one of prehistoric cultures of the Republican Valley of southern Nebraska (pl. 6, *k*, *p*, *q*, *r*); all bear indentations about the lip. A very limited amount of relief work also occurs (pl. 6, *d*, *j*).

Body ornamentation appears to have been more common than on Pawnee vessels. Paddle marks, very often partially obliterated, are rather common; incised linear motifs are likewise abundant. There are a few traces of curvilinear and circular elements, as well as sug-

---

[illegible] See Holmes, 1903, p. 109. In the light of specimens recovered by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey from this site, it may be pointed out that Holmes' reconstruction of vessel forms is remarkably accurate. Several restorable pots are characterized by small or large globular bodies, narrow necks, and two or more loop handles in opposed series about the mouth. Fragments of a multiple-necked, flat-bodied vessel of canteen form were also found.

[illegible] Holmes, 1903, pl. XII; Harrington, 1920, pls. LXI–LXIII.

[illegible] 1903, pl. CLXXVII.

172*
323

gestions of the "fern frond", all of which are absent from historic wares of the region. The most common patterns consist simply of groups of parallel lines and strokes surrounded by other similar groups, triangular or otherwise, in which the units are at a different angle. Always, however, the work is very tastefully executed, and most of the decorated pieces are very attractive.

Holmes also figures a roughly made pottery pipestem from this site.[61] Such objects are relatively unusual, however, and in spite of their skill in pottery making the aboriginal occupants seem to have done very little along other lines of ceramic endeavor.

The Schuyler site, apparently a connecting link between the well-known historic Pawnee culture and that of the Burkett type, is nowhere very well represented ceramically.[62] From the specimens available in small surface collections, however, it is possible to give at least the major facts relative to it.

The paste of this ware is usually gray, sometimes lighter on the surfaces. It is quite fine, hard, and is tempered with crushed granite or sand. The surface is rather rough, but as in the case of the Burkett ware, the necks, handles, and other conspicuous parts have often been especially smoothed to receive the decoration. In a few pieces a good degree of smoothness is attained, but it very seldom equals the pseudoslip of earlier types.

Vessel shapes are not known, but probably did not differ greatly from the preceding. Globular handled pots are the only pieces of which traces have so far been found.

A selected series of 194 potsherds, all collected from the surface of the site, yielded the following results upon analysis. Rim fragments numbered 117, body pieces 77, and whole or fragmentary handles 24. Of the 117 rim sherds, 53 (45 percent) were simple and direct in form with no decoration on the rim proper, but 37 of these in turn bore finely incised and indented lip ornamentation. Rims bearing regular patterns numbered 24, all but 2 with decorated lips; in two instances the patterns extended nearly an inch down the inside of the rim. Collar rims, foreshadowing the later Pawnee type, occurred in 20 specimens; they were mostly rather narrow and all were incised. Loop handles were present on 24 of the rim pieces, or 20 percent. Of the total number of rim pieces, 79 (68 percent) show lip designs. The motifs are quite similar to those from the Burkett site, but show a slightly more pronounced similarity to Pawnee ware.

Body decoration is also present. Of the 77 more or less selected body sherds available, 40 are plain and undecorated, 29 are incised,

---

[61] Op. cit., p. 199.

[62] As previously noted, large collections were subsequently made here during the University of Nebraska Archaeological Survey excavations of 1931.

*172 6 are paddle marked, and 2 bear a heavy coating of red ochre on the
interior. The patterns are simple and for the most part not to be
323 distinguished from those of the Burkett ware, save perhaps in their
greater simplicity. Curvilinear elements have not yet been found.
This, together with the presence of ochre pigment on some of the
pieces, is reminiscent of Pawnee ware.

Circular objects made by grinding down sherds to a disk shape and then perforating them are found at the Schuyler site. They vary in diameter from five-eighths to 1⅓ inches and probably represent beads, gaming disks, or ornaments; they are too small and light to have served as spindle whorls. None of the later historic Pawnee sites has yet yielded similar specimens.

To summarize: Pawnee pottery in historic times was often crude and unfinished, suggesting ceramic decadence. The earlier sites, however, show a progressive increase in complexity and variety of wares in inverse ratio to the amount of Caucasian influence to be noted in each. Thus, the Schuyler site, where only traces of Caucasian contact have been found, surpasses the later historic sites in the grade of pottery encountered, while the still earlier but also protohistoric Burkett site excels both in this regard. Reasons have already been given for regarding both of the above sites as closely related to the Pawnee culture of historic times. Logically one might expect a decline in ceramic activity following the acquisition of the horse and the impetus thus given to a more wandering hunting life. The introduction of metal utensils would have the same effect, and the observed decadence of historic Pawnee pottery is in line with this conclusion.

171 More surprising is the resemblance noted between the ceramic art
*172 of the Pawnee and that of the Iroquois of New York. So striking
is this resemblance in matters of rim form and designs that some sort
323 of a basic relation between these two historically isolated groups is
suggested. The prehistoric Pawnee-like cultures in south central
Nebraska show these same tendencies and an interesting possibility of
earlier southeastern connections between the two peoples is thus
indicated. The pottery of the prehistoric rectangular earth lodges
along the Missouri River in eastern Nebraska, however, is quite
different from that of the Pawnee and shows little resemblance to
any known Iroquoian ware.

WORK IN STONE[63]

*172 MANOS AND METATES.— Metates are very uncommon at any of the
412 Pawnee sites, though rectangular manos are sometimes found. A

---

[63] Based largely upon the Hill collection, Hastings (Nebr.) Museum, and information supplied by Mr. A. T. Hill.

slab of dark sandstone 3 inches thick, 11 inches long, and 9 inches wide, shaped like a horseshoe with one square edge, was taken from a cache at the Hill site; the surfaces are well-worn and slightly hollowed, apparently as a result of much grinding. A smaller, somewhat similar specimen is from the Skidi site near Palmer. Manos are rectangular in form, resembling quite closely those found in the pueblo area of the Southwest. 172* 412

The scarcity of metates at Pawnee villages is rather remarkable as they are abundant in central and northeastern Kansas and occur in prehistoric cultures of the Republican Valley in southern Nebraska. Those from Kansas are often very large and deeply worn, whereas the Republican Valley specimens are smaller and flat.

ANVIL STONES.—These are very common everywhere in the historic Pawnee villages. They are irregular bowlders of granite, quartzite, or other tough crystalline rock up to 10 pounds in weight. One or two faces are usually cupped, sometimes as much as half an inch, and give clear indication of having been subjected to much abrasion. Occasionally discarded mauls and hammerstones were similarly treated.

The abundance of anvil stones, as contrasted to the scarcity of metates, suggests that the Pawnee may have pulverized dried meat, seeds, and berries by pounding rather than by grinding. In such a case the anvil stone was probably set in a sort of rawhide "pannier" and the food substance placed on it to be crushed with a stone-headed pounder. This was the method followed by the Dakota, who in some instances at least used anvils almost identical to those of the Pawnee.

ARROWPOINTS.—On the more recent sites arrowpoints are not common. Notched points are typical; they vary up to 2 inches in length, are rather slender, made usually of reddish-brown or brown chert, and in rare instances have a notch in the base. An unusually fine point from a grave at the Hill site is made of translucent white quartzite; it is 2½ inches long, 1 inch wide at the base, which is concave, and has a single pair of notches. It is thin and well made and may have been used as a talisman or for some similar nonutilitarian purpose. 172* 411

Triangular unnotched points appear to be the rule at the earlier sites. They are seldom more than 1¼ inches long or more than five-eighths of an inch wide, quite thin, and are generally of good workmanship; the material is gray or brown chert. This type exclusively is found at the Burkett site; it predominates in the early phase at Linwood and at Schuyler, is fairly plentiful at the Palmer site, but becomes comparatively scarce at other historic Pawnee villages. It also occurs plentifully in protohistoric villages in Rice,

*172 411 McPherson, and Harvey Counties, Kans., and along the Kansas and Missouri Rivers in northeastern Kansas.

*172 412 SCRAPERS.—The typical Pawnee scraper is roughly elliptical in shape, usually with one side more or less straight. It measures from 3 to 5 inches in width, 2 to 3 inches in depth, and is thick and heavy. It is chipped to a rough edge around three sides; the fourth is left blunt for grasping with the hand. For the most part these are of dark quartzite or sandstone but show relatively few signs of wear. They were probably used primarily for rough scraping of hides; universally present on Pawnee sites, they are rare in protohistoric and absent from prehistoric cultures of the area. (Strong, 1935, pl. 1, *a*, *d*.)

Keeled or plano-convex scrapers are found but rarely, save on early sites. A few large, rather coarse specimens, 3 inches or so in length, have come from the Hill site. Small, nicely made end scrapers of the planoconvex type are very plentiful on the Burkett site, where they are usually made of brown chert. They appear to be associated quite closely with the triangular unnotched points, with which they occur at Linwood, Schuyler, and Palmer; and, like them they decrease in later historic times.

RUBBING STONES.—These are usually flat, round stones, such as occur everywhere in the Republican, Platte, and Loup Rivers. They measure up to 5 inches in diameter by nearly 2 inches thick and were generally used without any retouching. A few specimens have been worked into discoidal form by pecking about the edges and appear also to have been secondarily smoothed and reworked on one or both faces. They were probably used in rubbing down hides; more rarely perhaps in grinding raw food materials.

DISCOIDAL HAMMERSTONES.—These are nearly always of quartz or some hard crystalline rock. They are from 3 to 4 inches in diameter and 1½ to 2 inches thick. The two faces are flat, while the edges are square with them. Many specimens are pitted in the center of each side, as though intended to be held between the thumb and forefinger for hammering with the edge. In a few cases the entire surface is slightly cupped. Sometimes the stones are somewhat elongated; in others, the edge is rounded instead of square with the faces. Discoidals are especially common at the Burkett site, where they are often much smaller than those of later date.

PECKING STONES.—Pecking stones are small granite, quartzite, or diorite pebbles, sometimes of discoidal form but more often elongate. They are usually 3 inches or less in length, with the ends much battered and abraded. Small, flat, circular pebbles are similarly worn about the edges. They were probably used in finer stone chipping, as, for example, to put grooves on stone axes and the like, and are found on all sites.

172 *
412

BALLS.—Stone balls are artificially shaped out of granite or quartzitic material and occur naturally as small quartz pebbles. The shaped balls are from 1 to 2½ inches in diameter and generally are perfectly round; occasionally they are slightly flattened. They are not polished and generally show the dimpled texture of the fine secondary pecking. Their use is not known; they may have been for gaming or ceremonial purposes. In size and appearance, however, they suggest those used as heads for clubs, and it is possible that they were employed in meat pounding or in warfare, or possibly in stone boiling.

Natural quartz pebbles which show little evidence of retouching have also been found. They are usually whitish or pink in color, translucent, and about as large as a pigeon egg. One or two are highly polished, as though carried in a bag for a considerable time, but none were used as pecking stones. These, like the shaped balls, usually come from graves; they were probably fetishes.

Natural discoidals of iron pyrites, 2 inches in diameter, 1 inch thick in the center, and very heavy, have been found at the Hill and Linwood sites. They occur in pairs, with quartz crystals and other odds and ends, and were doubtless valuable talismans. Their use for fire making has not been reported from the area but may have occurred.

GROOVED MAULS AND AXES.—While fairly common, grooved mauls are generally of inferior workmanship with very few perfect specimens. For the most part they are irregularly shaped bowlders of granite or chert, somewhat smoothed and slightly grooved about the center for hafting. Very few required much modification and none appear to have been polished or even carefully smoothed by grinding. In weight they vary from 2 pounds or less to as much as 8 or 10 pounds. All bear abundant evidences of heavy battering and fragmentary pieces have usually been split lengthwise.

Two unusually fine mauls in the Hastings Museum may be noted here; one comes from the Hill site, the other from the Skidi village north of Palmer. The two are nearly identical in form and size, are perfect, and exhibit very good workmanship. They are of grayish crystalline stone, each about 4½ inches in diameter in the middle and tapering slightly to either face; the two faces are flat, measuring about 4 inches across. The length from face to face is 5 inches, with a well-worn groove about the middle. They weigh 4½ and 4¾ pounds, respectively, and have a finely dimpled surface texture; no effort has been made to grind or polish either implement.

Grooved axes are much less common than mauls. Several have been found at the early Linwood site, according to local residents, and include both chipped and polished specimens. The former are of chert, coarsely chipped, triangular in shape, and have only

*172 412 slight though obvious traces of a groove. The polished axes appear to be of the straight-backed, three-quarter groove type, nicely polished, and made of diorite or other dark material. Most of the latter have fairly long blades, similar to the grooved axes from Iowa, and are not unlike the fine specimens from the middle Gila area of southern Arizona.

CELTS.—Celts, either chipped or polished, are rarely found. Two specimens have been secured at the Palmer site and several others from the early village at Linwood. Chipped celts are usually somewhat almond-shaped, and made of yellowish-brown chert; they are seldom over 4 inches in length, with one side nearly flat, the other slightly convex. Polished celts are similar to those from the eastern United States generally. They vary in length from 2 to 5 inches, in width from 1½ to 3 inches, and are oval in cross section. The width is greatest at the blade and tends to taper toward the opposite end; the butt is generally rounded and in several instances appears to have been used as a pecking stone. Black diorite or other porphyritic materials were used for this type of celt, and invariably they have been well ground down and polished. A few small hematite celts have been found at the Linwood site, whence have come most of the polished celts as well.

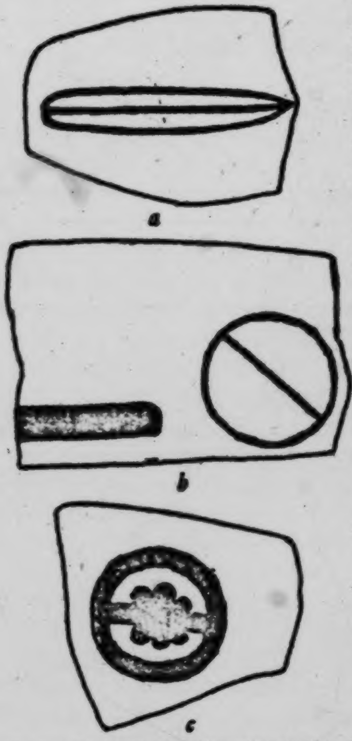


FIGURE 9.—Incised tablets ("molds") of stone from the Hill site (Hill collection).

The apparent concentration of this type of tool at the eastern edge of the Pawnee area, and in the early sites particularly, suggests that the tribe was formerly in much closer and more direct contact with tribes east of the Missouri and farther to the southeast. Save as paint, hematite occurs very rarely in Nebraska as a working material for primitive man, and to the historic Pawnee at least was apparently almost unknown.

*172 324 INCISED TABLETS ("MOLDS").—This comprises a group of stone objects of unknown function. They are small flat slabs of limestone, shale, or some hard red rock, apparently catlinite. Into the

surfaces have been cut various designs, for the most part of simple geometric character. The lines are deeply incised and give a very sharp, clear-cut cast of the various figures. The work may have been purely decorative in nature but there is a possibility that the incised slabs were used as molds. Heavy lead rings with three or more parallel flutings or ribs are one of the most common of grave finds (pl. 12, *g*); they are nearly identical with the cast obtainable from the mold represented by figure 9, *a*. Similarly, belt buckles could be easily cast by the use of the other molds figured, the shaded lines representing depressions and incisions (fig. 9, *b*, *c*). All of these designs are on specimens from the Hill site but far more elaborate and involved motifs cut into polished red stone occur at the early Linwood village (fig. 10). None of the stones, however, show the effect of heat, as would be expected if they had been subjected to treatment with molten metals, hence they may be merely decorated tablets. They have been found in graves as well as on the surface about village locations. (See Strong, 1935, p. 286.)

172*
324

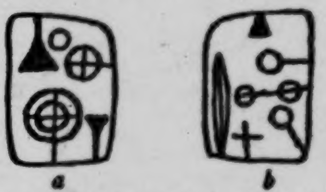


FIGURE 10.—Incised tablets ("molds"), Linwood site.

DRILLS.—Small T-shaped flint drills occur but rarely on the later Pawnee sites. They are usually less than 1½ inches in length, the transverse portion being slightly concave. A few simple drills of straight elongate form are also found.

172*
412

PESTLE.—A single pestle has been recovered from the Skidi site near Palmer. It is of black gneissoid material, 12 inches long, 3 inches in greatest diameter and tapering to slightly less than 2 inches at the other extremity. The large end is much abraded and battered but otherwise the specimen is well worn, highly polished, and very nicely shaped. It represents a surface find.

CRYSTALS.—Two small quartz crystals, each about 1½ inches long with a yellowish, semitranslucent cast, were recovered at the Hill site. They are natural pebbles, unmodified, but have a smooth, worn appearance as though from long carrying in a pouch or cloth. They presumably represent fetishes.

778

"**WHETSTONES.**"—These are always found as grave offerings and have been associated with the left hand of more than 80 percent of the adult male skeletons found at the Hill site. They are from 2 to 6 inches long and up to an inch wide. In cross section they are square, rectangular, and oval. A few are worn on the flat surfaces, as though from use as a whetstone, but the majority are merely shaped and slightly smoothed. They are of various materials, but usually of limestone, schist, or sandstone. It is doubtful whether

172*
764
324

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*172 most of the stones were intended for utilitarian purposes, and they
324 may very well have been made for funerary or other ceremonial func-
764 tions expressly (pl. 7, *a–m*).

Shaft polishers.—These are always of dark brown, medium coarse
*172 sandstone, and are of one uniform type. They occur in pairs (pl.
412 7, *n*, *t*) and vary in length from 4 to 7½ inches. Almost invariably they are of the "nail-buffer" type, with a single longitudinal groove. Specimens with two grooves are absent, as are those with transverse grooves. All of the specimens figured are from the Hill site and are of unusually fine shape and workmanship; they have been used to only a slight extent but the grooves are nicely marked. Similar smoothers are found at most other sites and are in fact exceedingly widespread over the plains and adjoining areas.

*172 Pipes.—Stone pipes are the rule on all Pawnee village sites, with catlinite the most common material. The specimens figured (pl. 8,
276 *a–k*) are from the Hill village on the Republican, with the exception of *h* and *i*, both of which are from the Burkett site. With two exceptions they are made of catlinite or some similar polished red stone; *a* is of gray, fine-grained material, and *g* is of coarse, friable red sandstone. In form they are nearly always of the elbow type, with the bowl at right angles to the stem, and commonly the stem is extended a short distance beyond the bowl. All were probably fitted with detachable stems of carved wood or reed, of which obviously few traces have survived.

The two large specimens in the center of the illustration, *e* and *f*, are of unusually fine workmanship, particularly as regards *f*. This pipe is 4¾ inches long with a bowl 1⅞ inches high by 1 inch square at the top; the bowl is still caked from much use. The effigy is about 2 inches long. The other pipe is a trifle shorter, but also has a square-topped bowl. According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the square bowl was indicative of chieftainship on the part of the owner, whereas the round-bowled pipes were the property of the medicine men and priests. The effigy pipe, *f*, was found with the remains of a child, over which lay the outspread skeleton of an eagle; *g* was in the same grave.

The tiny pipe, *i*, in the bottom row, is 1 inch long and has a squarish bowl with scalloped rim. Such small pipes are still highly prized by the older men of the Pawnee Tribe, and may hark back to the days when tobacco was used in very small quantities only in their ceremonies, instead of being smoked for pleasure. Two or three puffs would suffice to burn up all of the tobacco that would go into such a bowl.

Immediately in front of the bowl of this small pipe, i. e., nearest the smoker, may be seen a tiny vertical projection, which is pierced. The keel of *j* is similarly perforated and *h* has a deep groove cut

172*
276

about the end of the pipe. These devices were presumably for the attachment of a cord, which could be used to lash the pipes firmly onto their stems when in use, or to secure them against loss when carried with the sacred bundles on war and hunting trips. The comb in *d* may have served a similar purpose.

Unusual types are seen in *b*, *g*, and *k*. The first is slightly less than 1½ inches long, straight, and has a very slight taper; it is ornamented with a very well-executed face. The shape is reminiscent of the cloud blower of the pueblo area, though this particular pipe was undoubtedly fitted with a wooden stem; it is not at all typical of our area. As for the other two specimens, *g* and *k*, both have the bowl at right angles to the stem, but are fashioned from plain, subrectangular blocks of stone; *k* bears five notches on the outer side and two on the inner.

The specimens seen in *d* and *j* are also very nicely made and are remarkably symmetrical and well balanced. Added beauty is attained through the use of ornamental combs and keels, as already indicated, but these features appear not to have been very common.

[114]

According to Charlevoix,[64] the Pawnee claimed to have received the calumet directly from the sun. From this he concluded that the tribe "paid the sun a more ancient and distinguished worship than the other nations of that part of America, and that they were the first who thought of making the calumet a symbol of alliance." The priority in use here postulated has not yet been demonstrated, but there is a marked similarity between certain of the Pawnee pipes and those from earlier cultures of the area, save that the latter are not ordinarily of catlinite. It is quite possible that the elaborate calumets figured in our series will ultimately be traced back through the sandstone and limestone types of southern Nebraska to an earlier curved form of clay so far known in the State only from the Missouri Valley. These latter, while crude and roughly made, are suggestive of the trumpet-shaped pipes of the Iroquois,[65] to which they may bear a genetic relationship. The long-stemmed clay pipes of the southern Caddoans[66] are apparently lacking in Nebraska, although certain of the short-stemmed "variants" do resemble the pipes of the Pawnee.[67]

[171]

WORK IN BONE AND HORN

172*
412
321

AWLS.—These are to be found nearly everywhere in the area but are most common on the prehistoric and protohistoric sites. There is no fixed type, although the majority of specimens appear to have

---

[64] 1903, vol. 1, p. 306.
[65] Skinner, 1921, pp. 80–103 and figure 13.
[66] Harrington, 1920, pls. CI and CII.
[67] Ibid., pl. CIV, *e*.

*172 been made of whole bones, with the joints constituting the butts
412 (pl. 9, *e*). Extremely long awls are not found, but there is never-
theless a considerable variation in their length and massiveness.
321 Relatively few are made out of splinters, nor are they as a rule
ground down to a perfectly round shape.

SHAFT STRAIGHTENERS.—Sections of bison and elk rib from 3 to 9 inches long were pierced by one or more small, perfectly round holes about three-eighths inch in diameter; in nearly every specimen the edges of the holes are well worn as by abrasion (pl. 9, *d*). These implements were presumably for straightening thin sticks, such as arrow shafts; they may also have served as gauges to assist in securing uniformity in the size of the shaft. Similar objects are found in the Mandan area[66] as well as in the prehistoric earth lodges of eastern and southern Nebraska, though commonly replaced in the latter areas by elk or deer antler; the latter type is almost never found in historic Pawnee sites.

PICKS.—The largest picks, possibly used as digging tools, were made of the ulnae of the bison, the upper end forming a very convenient hand grip. The specimen illustrated (pl. 9, *a*) is 12½ inches long and is much worn about the point. Smaller picks were of deer horn, readily made by simply cutting off a suitable tine. Those here illustrated (pl. 9, *c*) are each 7 inches long and still bear the marks of the tools used in cutting them off; the points are much worn down by long use.

HIDE SCRAPERS.—The typical adze-like scraper of the buffalo hunting tribes was also used by the historic Pawnee. It consists of heavy elk antler, with a straight handle some 10 inches in length, and a short, wedge-shaped extension at right angles to one end (pl. 9, *f*). Formerly blades of chipped stone were lashed to the inner or under side of the handle, but later this was replaced by iron. The specimen here shown is 12 inches long, with a diameter of 1⅝ inches; it is from the Hill site. Earlier cultures of the Republican and Loup Valleys have so far yielded none of these tools, suggesting that the type was of late prehistoric or early historic origin, at least among the Pawnee.

PAINT BRUSHES.—These were made from the cancellous inner portions of large bones and joints. They are thin, flat, often more or less wedge-like in form. One side is brought to a thin, fairly sharp edge, as though for making fine lines; the remaining three sides are broader. All of the specimens figured (pl. 9, *g-n*) are from graves at the Hill site and the majority of them still bear quantities of unused red, green, or yellow coloring matter in the interstices of the bone. They were probably used for painting the face and body, as for ceremonial purposes; the porosity of the bone acted as a sort of reservoir to hold quantities of paint, while broad or fine lines could be secured through proper manipulation of the tool. Similar brushes were reported by Will and Spinden from the Mandan area;[69] they occur in protohistoric sites but have not been found in prehistoric cultures of the Pawnee region. 172* 412 321

---

[66] Will and Spinden, 1906, p. 170.

HIDE TANNERS (?).—This term is tentatively employed to designate a group of objects made by cutting off the end of a large bison or other bone, through the spongy portion of the joint (pl. 9, *b*). Sometimes they are simply hemispheres prepared by trimming from the ball of such a joint. The spongy under side is usually much worn, with small sand grains firmly embedded in the interstices. Very often the bone is permeated, especially on its under side, by some sort of animal matter, grease, or similar substance. The tool was obviously used for rubbing, and it is quite probable that in the process of tanning hides some such implement was utilized for working animal brains and other dressing substances into the fresh skins. Skinner reports a similar find from a Cayuga grave near Scipio, N. Y., but as the specimen appears to be partially drilled he was inclined to regard it as an ornament.[70] Those from the Pawnee area are never perforated and their use as ornaments is questionable.

BEAMING TOOLS.—Several of these tools were secured from cache 2 at the Hill site by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey in the summer of 1930. They consist simply of the long ribs of the bison with the broad end trimmed to a convenient size for grasping; all were of this one uniform type. According to Wissler,[71] they were used in the preparation of buckskin; the skin was placed over a rounded tree section or log and scraped thin with a beaming tool. The latter was grasped at both ends and was manipulated in the same manner as a drawshave, the motion being toward the operator. This particular type has not as yet been found in prehistoric cultures in Nebraska and does not appear to be especially common at any of the historic villages, though, on account of its unworked appearance, it is easily overlooked. (See Strong, 1935, pl. 1, fig. 2, *b*.)

DIGGING TOOLS.—The characteristic digging tool and hoe of the Plains area was the bison scapula (pl. 10, *a–d*), which was practically the only type used by the Pawnee. They were made by trimming the scapula to a square or rounded spade-like blade at one end and usually cutting off the joint end to provide a round butt. Of those illustrated, *a* and *b* are typical Pawnee, with the square blade; they come from the Hill and Palmer sites, respectively. The other two, *c* and *d*, are from a cache some 3 miles east of Genoa, Nebr.,

---

[69] Will and Spinden, 1906, p. 171.

[70] Skinner, 1921, p. 74. See also Wissler, 1910, p. 70.

[71] 1927, p. 64. According to Dr. W. D. Strong the beaming tool is used primarily for dehairing the hide among the Naskapi Indians of Labrador.

*172
321
412

and while probably of Pawnee make are much less typical of the culture, as the spade-like type has never yet been found in the known Pawnee sites. In size they vary considerably; *a* is 14 inches long by 7 inches wide, *b* is 11 inches by 6 inches, *d* is 15 inches long by slightly less than 6 inches. In all cases the ridges on the reverse side have been cut off, mostly very roughly, and all show signs of much wear. They are also found in earlier sites along the Republican, Loup, and Platte Valleys, and are by no means confined to the Pawnee.

FLESHING TOOLS.—These were made from the metapodial bones of the bison, deer, or elk, and are mostly of good workmanship. They are gouge-shaped, with the butt formed of the natural joint, and the working end is almost invariably provided with tiny notches to give a finely toothed edge (pl. 10, *e–k*). Occasionally they were pierced by a small hole near the working edge, doubtless for insertion of a thong which was looped over the wrist for added security in operation. In length they vary from 6 to 9 inches, but in all other respects they are highly uniform. When in use they were held in the hand like a pick or dagger, and were drawn toward the operator; as indicated by the name, they were used in removing clinging flesh and fat from hides prior to tanning them. The specimens illustrated are from the following sites: *e*, *j*, and *k* from Palmer, *f* and *g* from the Hill site, *h* and *i* from Clarks. They have been found so far only in post-Columbian Pawnee sites, in Nebraska at least, never in prehistoric cultures of the area. They represent, however, a type very widespread throughout Canada and in parts of the United States east of the Rockies.[72] Archeologically, they have been reported from the Mandans,[73] and identical specimens in the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum are from shell heaps in the vicinity of Tarpon Springs on the west coast of Florida.

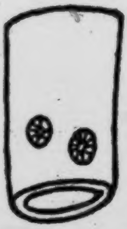


FIGURE 11.—Tubular bone object, probably a plume holder, from Hill site (Hill collection).

PLUME HOLDERS.—These are short, cylindrical sections of animal bone, not more than 1¾ inches long, with four conical perforations near one end (fig. 11). They are well polished and are represented by specimens in various stages of manufacture.

According to information secured by Mr. A. T. Hill from old Pawnees, these objects were used as plume holders in the headdresses. They were lashed, by means of the perforations, to a thin plate of bone about 2 inches wide by 4 or 5 inches long, bent so as to fit the top of the head longitudinally. Plumes were then set into the cylinders, which held them upright; a single plume and plume holder were used by each indi-

---

[72] Wissler, 1927, p. 64.

[73] Will and Spinden, 1906, p. 169.

vidual, as a part of the deer-tail headdress. Similar devices are 172*
used by the Dakota and other Plains tribes. One complete specimen 321
and a few in various degrees of completion have been recovered, all 412
from the Hill site. They are in the Hill collection at the Hastings Museum.

ROACH SPREADER.—This piece, from the Hill site, is carved of thin [301]
bone or antler and is about 5 inches long (fig. 12). It bears several rows of tiny pits filled with red pigment and is pierced by 8 small holes, 5 of them at the round end. It was undoubtedly used to spread the deer's hair crest or roach sometimes worn as a headdress by the men; the 5 holes at the smaller end were for attachment of a plume holder of the type above described. In 1933 the present writer saw similar objects in use near Walters, Okla., among the Comanche, who claimed to have borrowed the idea from the Pawnee or Osage (cf. Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pl. 55 (Omaha); and Skinner, 1921, a, p. 113 and fig. 2 (Menominee)).

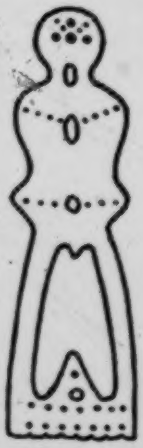


FIGURE 12.—Roach spreader from Hill site (Hill collection). [171]

CHIPPING IMPLEMENTS.—Deer-horn flakers are relatively scarce in Pawnee sites but were very common in earlier times. They are from 4 to 6 inches in length, less than an inch in diameter, and are slightly curved. Usually they appear to have been cut from the basal portion of the antler and are very much worn; the end is commonly nicked and cut, as by small flakes of flint. They occur commonly in eastern Nebraska and have been reported from south-central Missouri (Pulaski County)[74] as well as from Cayuga, Seneca, and Neutral sites in New York.[75]

In addition to the foregoing type there is one made by cutting a semicircular piece diagonally out of a heavy leg bone of bison or elk. These pieces fit the fingers very conveniently, are much worn, and usually are deeply scored about the edges and at either extremity. They are quite abundant at all sites, but are not usually regarded as of any consequence by amateur collectors.

TEETH.—A number of teeth have been found on the surface at the 172+
old Skidi village north of Palmer as well as in caches at the Hill site. A single specimen, presumably the canine tooth of a bear, has [301]
a perforated root for suspension; otherwise all are unmodified.

---

[74] Fowke, 1922, pl. 35.

[75] Skinner, 1921, p. 92.

*172 Molar teeth of bison and elk are also very common, but were not worked for ornamental uses.

CORN SHELLERS.—A rather common find in caches is either half of the lower jaw of a deer, wolf, or some similar animal, in which the teeth have been very much worn down on one side. The jawbone also frequently shows signs of much friction and wear. There is a possibility that these objects were grasped in the hand and used to scrape the corn from the cob in preparing it for cooking. None of the early writers mention this as a method, but it is entirely [171] feasible, and has been reported for the Iroquois (Parker, N. Y. State Mus. Bull. 117, p. 544, 1907).

*172 415 321 HORN SPOONS.—Bison horn was commonly used in making ladle-like spoons, by the simple expedient of cutting the horn in two lengthwise and then trimming off the edges of each piece; sometimes the small end was pierced as for suspension. Irving records them as being used by each individual,[76] and they are not infrequently found in graves, though their thinness renders them rather perishable. No mountain sheep horn has been found as yet, probably due to the presence of hostile tribes between the Pawnee and the range of that animal.

WORK IN SHELL

CLAMSHELLS.—Large Unio shells are fairly common in Pawnee villages, both as surface finds and in the graves and houses; a cache of about a dozen was found in the north edge of the lodge excavated by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, as has been previously mentioned. Two species of shells from this site have been identified by Dr. Frank C. Baker of the University of Illinois. They are *Proptera alata megaptera* (Raf.) and *Lampsilis ventricosa occidens* (Lea). Generally these shells are unworked, but a few are notched as though for attachment of a handle; incised or carved specimens are extremely rare. They are commonly found in graves and caches with paint materials in them, and probably served principally as receptacles. [412] A few show pronounced wear on the edges and were apparently used as digging or scraping tools.

301 Ornaments of historic Pawnee workmanship, so far as the archeological record is concerned, seem rarely to have been made of shell.

*172 321 TUBULAR BEADS (?).—A rather interesting class of shell objects is illustrated in plate 8, *m*. They are long white cylinders, very often tapering slightly toward the ends, and are perforated longitudinally. In length they vary; the upper two in the illustration are 4½ inches long, while the shortest is less than 3 inches; they average from one-fourth to three-eighths inch in diameter. Usually they are covered

---

[76] 1835, vol. II, p. 13.

with a rusty coating, readily removed, and some are rather badly 172*
weathered; all are soft and chalky in texture. Sometimes, as in the 301
second specimen from the bottom (pl. 8, *m*), they are unperforated 321
but have a groove about one end. They were probably made from the columella of the conch or from some very thick-walled bivalve. They occur as grave finds, always in pairs, and are nearly always found one on each side of the head; doubtless their purpose was for ear or hair ornamentation.

Identical objects are described by Holmes[77] as common on the Pacific coast, where they were made "from the thick valves of the *Pachydesma crassatelloides* or the *Amiantis callosa*." As to their use, the same observer says, "They were probably used as beads for the neck and as pendant ornaments for the ears. The longer specimens may have been worn in the nose. It is also said that beads of this class were used as money."[78] A specimen 4½ inches long in the Dinsmore collection at the University of Kansas Museum probably comes from an early historic Kansa village on the Missouri.
For the most part the workmanship and drilling of those from the [177
Pawnee area are so perfect that there is a strong possibility of their
being trade pieces from the whites rather than of actual aboriginal 439]
manufacture. They do not occur in prehistoric cultures of Nebraska, so far as known at present.

A string of small tubular shell beads, each three-eighths inch long by less than one-eighth inch in diameter, are the only approach to "wampum" yet found; they are from a historic grave. Irving, in describing the appearance of the Republican Pawnee chief in 1833, states that "a long string of wampum, the only ornament he ever wore, hung from his neck . . ."[79] Disk shell beads are altogether absent in Pawnee sites, although prehistoric ossuaries in southern Nebraska have yielded thousands of them. In general, beads and shell work of any kind represent a very minor phase in Pawnee culture, in historic times at least.

WORK IN WOOD

MORTARS.—A large wooden mortar from a grave at the Hill site 172*
is the sole representative of this class of utensil. It is made from a 412
section of tree or log, standing 14 inches high, and is between 9 and 322
10 inches in diameter. The grinding cavity in the top is 6½ inches deep by 8½ inches in diameter and is encircled by a square lip. The mortar stands on three legs, each about 2 inches high, and the under side is much worn by long use. No pestle was found with it. While

---

[77] 1883, p. 226.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 120.

*172 in a somewhat fragmentary condition when found, it has been quite
322 accurately restored by Mr. Hill, and all of the features, such as the
412 legs and the cavity, were reconstructed on the basis of pieces that
clearly showed the original shape.

Though scarce in an archeological way, these mortars were apparently in common use in historic times. According to Irving,[60] they were hollowed out "by kindling a fire upon the top of a block of wood, into which it gradually sinks itself, until it forms a sort of bowl." They were usually of about the size above described or slightly larger, and were used for grinding corn, "by using a billet of wood as a pestle".[61] From this report it would appear that the wooden mortar was used in place of the stone metate, which is further indicated by the almost total absence of the latter; the perishable nature of the wood accounts for the rarity of mortars of that material.

*172 BOWLS.—Three of these have been recovered from graves at the
Hill site and are almost complete. One specimen is 8 inches in dia-
322 meter, 2½ inches deep, and a half inch in thickness, with a sharp
415 lip; one side is continued up an inch or so higher and prolonged into a sort of unperforated lug or tab. Another vessel is 5½ inches across, 2½ inches deep, and three-eighths inch thick, with a rounded lip. The third is deeper and more like a mug; it measures 4 inches in diameter, 3 inches in minimum and 5 inches in maximum depth, with a flat bottom. On the highest side is an ear; the walls are quite thin and the lip flares outward somewhat. None of the pieces shows the concentric growth rings, thus suggesting that they were made by steaming and bending into shape slabs from the side rather than from the cross section of the tree.

Fragments of small, thin-walled wooden vessels were recovered from burial 3 at the Hill site by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, but were inadequate for a proper reconstruction.

PLATTERS.—The one example so far found is 11 inches in diameter, less than an inch deep, and has a thickness of a half inch or thereabouts. The edge is round and shows much wear, as in fact does the vessel in general. It tends to crack in a somewhat parallel fashion entirely across the width, rather than radially from the center, suggesting that it is made of a slab from the side of a tree. It was found in a grave at the Hill site.

*172 CRADLE BOARD (?).—Few whole or even nearly complete cradle
322 boards have been recovered. The finest specimen, which may or may
854 not be correctly designated, was found in a grave at the Hill site. It
measures 30 inches long by 11 inches wide, with a 1¼-inch border.

---

[60] 1835, vol. II, p. 83.

[61] Ibid.

The border is carved with zigzag lightning symbols. The emblem 172*
of the sun, 5 inches in diameter, with 4 long and 12 short rays, 322
is neatly cut into the upper part of the piece, which is further embellished with brass-headed tacks (Nebr. Hist. Mag., x, 3, 1927, p. 192). 854
It is a most unusual and attractive piece of work and was very likely made by Indian craftsmen. Fragments of other nicely decorated boards have been recovered, but none is sufficiently large to permit a good reconstruction.

Miscellaneous.—Wooden boxes and chests, bound with leather or 172*
metal and studded with large-headed nails, are not uncommon, 322
though always in fragmentary condition. Wooden-backed mirrors, sheaths, and numerous other odds and ends are frequently found, nearly always with rows of nails as ornamental features. The clumsy workmanship probably indicates that most of them were made by the Indians themselves, in imitation of the white man's articles. Occasionally a better piece is recovered, perhaps with a lock or hinge, these being probably imported and trade articles. Pipestems [276]
of light carved wood have been found in a few cases but were too fragmentary for accurate restoration.

Miscellaneous Objects

Glass beads.—These were in very extensive use by the Pawnee 172*
after the arrival among them of white traders. Small white, blue, 301
and red beads, of transparent glass, are by far the commonest, especially in graves, while black appears relatively infrequently. Tubular porcelain beads, less than one-half inch long, are also found, though not very plentiful. Large, irregularly shaped blue, red, and colorless beads, mostly translucent, have been regarded as of Indian manufacture because of their crudity (pl. 8, *n*). Samples of these were submitted to M. W. Stirling, of the Smithsonian Institution, for examination and were pronounced by him to be trade material from the Hudson Bay Co., probably via the Missouri.[32] All of these were from the Hill site, abandoned about 1810. There is thus no positive evidence that the Pawnee ever manufactured their own glass beads, though the custom was followed by the Arikara, Mandan, and other upper Missouri River tribes in historic times.[33] 439

Metal work.—Iron and copper become increasingly common with 172*
recency. Iron "squaw" hoes, gun parts, axes, chisels, bridles, stir- 439
rups, knives, and innumerable other odds and ends abound on the 177

---

[32] Letter of Oct. 13, 1930.

[33] Lewis and Clark, 1922, vol. 1, p. 238. However, excavation at the Burkett site in April 1931 yielded a number of turquoise-blue, glass beads of rough manufacture and imperfect glass. According to Dr. W. D. Strong, these are closely similar to a native-made specimen of glass work secured by Dr. Mathew among the Arikara in 1870, now in the National Museum. [114]

*172 later sites (pl. 12). The hoes were often cut up and the material
439 remade into arrowpoints, scrapers, and similar objects. Gun barrels
177 appear to have been likewise used as tent pins, stakes, and the like. Fluted lead rings are very common, though they may be of native casting. Coincident with the increase in metal goods there is a marked decline, quantitatively and qualitatively, in native products, such as pottery and stone work, and since the former are less durable the later sites are rather barren. Despite the Caucasian influences to which the Pawnee were subjected from very early times, however, they retained enough of their aboriginal material culture to furnish a fairly accurate picture of their pre-Columbian mode of life and to make possible the tracing of their culture back to its less well-defined antecedents.

WEAVING AND TEXTILES

*172 CLOTH AND CORDAGE.—The only fiber woven by the Pawnee appears
to have been the hair of the bison. Fragments of cloth made of
286 this material and short pieces of cordage are occasionally taken from the graves (pl. 2, *g*, *i*), though none of the early observers seem to record the trait. The cloth is made of a moderately heavy 2-ply closely twisted yarn, each member of which in turn consists of a number of rather loosely spun fibers. There is no uniformity of weave, however; in the same piece may be found twilled or diagonal (over two under two) weaving and checkerwork (over and under). The cloth is fairly heavy, soft, and flexible; in color it varies from brown-black to black. It was used presumably for robes and winter clothing.

The yarn sometimes occurs in short, rope-like masses, of 10 or 12 cords twisted together but not braided (pl. 2, *h*). Whether these are indeed fragments of rope or merely skeins of yarn conveniently arranged for storing is uncertain. However, the low tensile strength of the material, and especially the readiness with which the "ropes" tend to untwist and become further weakened, argues against their use where strains were likely to occur. Braided ropes of bison hair have not come to light, although they may have been manufactured.

Spindle whorls, if used, were probably of wood or other perishable material, as none have yet been found.

*172 MATTING.—Pieces of rush matting were recovered by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey at the Hill site, mostly as a body wrapping
285 in burial 3. Remains of a charred mat were also found on the west side of the lodge circle, as previously described. Additional fragments have been collected by Mr. A. T. Hill. All of the specimens are made of some narrow-leaved grass or rush, possibly cattail, and are in simple twined weaving (pl. 2, *j*–*l*). Each warp ele-

ment consists of two or more members twisted together into a thick, rounded cord; the space between warp elements is generally about 1 inch. The weft consists of rushes, used in pairs; these make a half turn on each other between every two warp elements, one member passing on either side of the warp. The manner of treating the edges is not known; they may have been finished in selvage, but there is nothing to indicate that such was the case. 172* 285

Mats, according to Dunbar,[84] were used on the floors of the lodge, on the beds, and as curtains in front of and between the sleeping compartments. They were also used for wrapping the bodies of the deceased for interment, as has been indicated above. [764]

BASKETRY.—Coiled baskets were made by the Pawnee, according to Weltfish,[85] but no traces of basketry have so far come to light in excavation. The foundation of the coil consisted of a single element made by splitting willow or cottonwood twigs radially into three segments, which were then used with the apex upward. Willow or elm splints supplied the sewing element. Viewed from the inside of the basket, the coiling was in a clockwise spiral. The stitches did not interlock. The usual form of basket appears to have been a shallow, flat-bottomed bowl, with flaring lips.[86] Scanty but unmistakable evidences of coiled basketry of a high order of workmanship have come from the prehistoric Missouri River earth lodges of Nebraska, in the form of impressions on lumps of clay, but the historic Pawnee sites have not yet shown the trait. (Strong, 1935, pl. 16, *f*.)

MORTUARY CUSTOMS

In disposing of their dead the Pawnee practiced inhumation exclusively, at least within historic times. For the most part the rituals and general procedure were similar to those of their semisedentary neighbors, such as the Omaha, Oto, Ponca, and Kansa.[87] The graves were almost invariably on the highest hills near each village; if the hills were more than a mile or so distant interment was sometimes along the edges of ravines or the immediate banks of streams nearer the village. Low tumuli were raised over the remains.[88] These have since been entirely obliterated, so that there is at present nothing whatever in the way of surface indications to mark the graves. Where two or more bands occupied the same village, each appears to have had its own cemetery. The burial customs of all of the bands were, however, identical, hence will be 172* 764 [171]

---

[84] 1918, p. 690.

[85] 1930, pp. 277–286.

[86] Ibid., p. 286.

[87] Long, 1823, vol. ii, pp. 281–282.

[88] Ibid., p. 281; Irving, 1835, vol. ii, p. 102; Oehler and Smith, 1851, p. 31; Clayton, 1921, p. 96; Bushnell, 1927, pl. 36.

*172 764 collectively treated as a tribal trait. For the most part information comes from the Hill site, and is based primarily upon the researches of Mr. A. T. Hill and of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey.

Three graves were opened by the survey party at the Hill site, in August 1930, all on the west slope of the main burial hill south of the village. Burial 1 was that of a very young child. It lay at a depth of 3 feet, in a small, ill-defined grave. The bones were so badly decayed that the orientation of the body was not determined. A single broken iron ring, a metal disk, and a tiny catlinite pipe with one notch on the stem were the sole offerings. [301 276]

Burial 2 (pl. 11, *c*) was that of a subadolescent about 10 or 12 years old and was in very good condition. The grave was 3 feet 6 inches deep, 4 feet long, and some 18 inches wide. The skeleton lay on its left side, the feet drawn up toward the buttocks, and the knees and arms extended toward the front; the head was to the north. Immediately at the back of the cranium lay a half-cylindrical iron vessel with a small spout, apparently an army canteen of early nineteenth century type (pl. 12, *a*). Lumps of red ochre were found about the waist and to a lesser extent near the feet. All traces of clothing had long since disappeared, save for a quantity of colored glass beads about the feet, which probably came from moccasins. [301]

Burial 3 (pl. 11, *a*, *b*) was the richest of the group. It was that of a small child, poorly preserved. The grave was 4 feet deep, 34 inches long, and 18 inches wide. The skull, rather badly broken, lay to the south; the rest of the skeleton was too fragmentary to yield any clues as to the arrangement of the body and limbs. The body had been completely wrapped in twined reed matting and then covered with bark. Over the whole, in disorderly fashion, lay several broken slats of worked wood about 2¼ inches wide and less than a half inch thick; the longest measured 17 inches, another 9 inches, the latter with two holes near one unbroken end. All of the wood was painted a dark purple and was very nicely smoothed; it was probably the framework of a cradle board. Near the middle of the body were a number of glass beads, apparently from a beaded belt or shirt front. The soil about the feet was literally impregnated with more beads, mostly white, blue, and red, doubtless from the decayed moccasins. Several heavy lead rings about three-eighths of an inch wide, a broken shell or bone gorget, and small fragments of other shell trinkets complete the list of funerary offerings. [301]

A week after the operations just described the writer opened a grave discovered by Mr. A. T. Hill at the Palmer site. The grave was about a quarter of a mile due north of the village near the summit of one of the principal burial hills and had been revealed in cross section by recent deepening of a roadside ditch. The total

depth was 5 feet 6 inches, of which 4 or 5 inches was due to downward creep of the hillside soil subsequent to interment. The burial cavity measured 33 inches east to west by 24 inches north to south; it had been undercut quite noticeably toward the north, so that the contents did not lie directly below the original mouth of the grave. The remains were those of a young child not over 6 or 7 years of age, and were exceptionally well preserved (pl. 11, *d*). The skeleton lay on its right side, with the head toward the east. The feet were folded closely against the buttocks, with the knees partially drawn up toward the body. The right arm lay fully extended just in front of and along the body; the left arm was folded over the pelvis. Immediately in front of the knees was a small gray pot, inverted and empty (pls. 3, *c;* 11, *d*). The only other objects were fragmentary lead rings, two of which lay on either side of the cranium in such a position as to predicate their use as ear pendants. 172* 764 [301]

Bushnell,[60] in discussing Pawnee burial customs, states that "according to Francis La Flesche the bodies were placed in the graves in a sitting position." This statement is wholly at variance with the results of archeological work in the historic sites. Upward of 40 graves have been opened at the Hill site in the past 8 years, yet not one instance of a skeleton in a sitting position has come to light. Similarly the work at the Palmer, Linwood, and other important sites has failed to disclose any verification of La Flesche's statement, and present indications are that so far as the Nebraska Pawnee were concerned interment in a sitting position was uncommon. [114]

As was noted in each of the cases above described, the bodies were usually flexed, wholly or in part, doubtless to conserve space. The bodies were never consistently oriented with reference to any of the cardinal points of the compass, nor were they laid any more frequently on the right side than on the left, or vice versa. Undercutting of the grave, especially toward the north, was quite common; the amount varied with the depth, which was usually between 3 and 6 feet. The soil covering the bodies is generally mottled and mixed with organic material and of a looser texture than that elsewhere.

The bodies were usually wrapped in matting or bark for interment and were always accompanied by mortuary offerings. Shaped stones (pl. 7) from 3 to 6 inches in length are nearly always found in or near the left hand of adult males. The offerings are most commonly found in front of the body if lying on its side, or on the chest if lying face upward. At the Hill site flints and steel, glass beads, lead rings, wooden-backed mirrors, knives, shell gorgets, Spanish, British, and American peace medals, military buttons, cloth, foodstuffs, and innumerable other odds and ends were used as offer-

---

[60] 1927, p. 79.

*172 764 ings. A wild-cat skull with a copper military button set into each eye socket was taken from a grave at the Hill site; it doubtless represented a fetish. Occasionally rodent skulls, crystals, animal claws and teeth, and similar objects are found close together, as though originally contained in a bag. Catlinite pipes (pl. 8) are sometimes found; pottery is very seldom present.

It is of interest to note that sometimes a skeleton is found minus an arm, a leg, or even a skull, though otherwise well preserved. Such individuals may have been victims of a raid or of some other mishap. Amputation by cutting through the bones seems to be absent.

CONCLUSIONS

*172 105 In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to present the available traditional, historical, and archeological evidence bearing on the historic and protohistoric culture of the Pawnee. Here we endeavor to correlate these various lines of evidence, pointing out certain of their wider cultural implications, and attempting to fit the Pawnee into the general scheme of aboriginal American culture. To do so solely on the basis of the material here presented may seem premature, yet the writer is convinced that for the sake of future work these suggested relationships, even if more or less tenuous, should be indicated. Hence we will briefly discuss each of these three major headings in order.

The only point on which all Pawnee migration traditions agree is that the tribe originally lived to the south of its historic habitat, though the exact locality varies somewhat. Dunbar intimates that the ancestral home was with the Wichita on the lower Red River,[90] whence the two tribes moved northward as one people. Grinnell, on the strength of what he regarded as the oldest migration legend of the tribe, postulates "an original home for the Pawnees in Old Mexico, and . . . a possible connection with the so-called 'Pueblo tribes' . . ."[91] The statement recorded by this authority to the effect that the Pawnee formerly dwelt in stone houses in the southwest[92] is hardly to be taken at face value. There is virtually nothing in Pawnee material culture to suggest puebloan influences, and since there was frequent contact between the two groups all through historic times the idea of a former use of stone habitations may be a relatively late and superficial addition to the account. Dorsey[93] carries the tribe back only as far as southeastern Nebraska, near the present site of Nemaha, and his traditions cast relatively little light

on the problem of their southern home. Linguistic and ethnological studies among the southern Caddoan peoples and the fact that the Pawnee were in much closer contact with peoples to the south than with those to the north of the Platte have long since made it a certainty that the ancient habitat of the tribe lay somewhere near the Gulf coast, probably in southern Texas or northeastern Mexico, from where the northeastward movement took place. 172* 105

---

[90] 1880, a, p. 251.
[91] 1893, p. 224.
[92] Ibid.
[93] 1906, p. 8.

The Skidi, we may note here, stood in a somewhat unique relationship to the other three bands. The traditions just reviewed relate primarily to the latter, i. e., to the Grand, Republican, and Tappage divisions, uniformly omitting the Skidi. The latter band claims to have lived always in the Valley of the Loup, where they were created, and, in conjunction with the Arikara, performed the first tribal ceremonies.[64] The Skidi always regarded themselves as more closely related to the Arikara than to the rest of the tribe, and it is possible that the latter at one time may have been under Skidi control. Dunbar presumed that they were descendants of one of the resident tribes conquered by the Pawnee upon their arrival on the Platte.[65] It has been further suggested that they represent the parent stock from which sprang all of the northern Pawnee bands as well as the Arikara.[66] Grinnell alone states that the Skidi were the last to arrive, coming "after the northern migration of the tribes and their settlement in northern Kansas and Nebraska";[67] the other observers state, or at least imply, that they were earlier. Not improbably the Skidi-Arikara group preceded the other bands into the Platte region, established themselves firmly, and came to regard their kindred as intruders when they arrived. Misunderstandings and violent quarrels were not uncommon between the Skidi and Grand Pawnee bands, even in later times, and possibly early punitive expeditions on the part of the latter, supported by the Republicans and Tappages, gave rise to the claims that the Skidi were a conquered tribe.[68] Thus there need not have been a great disparity in the time of arrival between the various divisions. [578]

As to the time of arrival of the Pawnee in the Platte Valley tradition is silent, and there is little to guide us in making even an estimate. On the basis of linguistic studies Dunbar adduced the following:

> The language affords some evidence that their residence in the Valley of the Platte has been of some duration. *O-kut-ut* and *oku-kat* signify strictly *above* and *below* (of a stream), respectively. Now their villages have usually been

---

[64] Dorsey, 1904, p. 13.
[65] 1880, a, p. 252.
[66] Dorsey, 1906, p. 9.
[67] 1893, p. 215.
[68] Dunbar, 1880, a, p. 252.

*172 105 situated upon the banks of the Platte, the general course of which is from west to east. Hence each of these words has acquired a new meaning, i. e., *west* and *east*. So, also Kir-i-ku-ruks-tu, *toward* or *with* the Wichitas, has come to mean *south*. Such developments are perfectly natural in the history of a language but require time.[89]

Dorsey[1] and Grinnell[2] merely place it at a time long before the coming of the white man. From historical data it appears probable that the tribe was somewhere north of the Kansas River by the time of Coronado's visit in 1541, and by 1673 the location of the Pawnee and neighboring tribes was essentially the same as it was at the opening of the nineteenth century.[3] This, together with the prehistoric and very early historic archeology, so far as it is now known, rather indicates that the Pawnee were firmly established in the Platte and Republican Valleys by the opening of the sixteenth century, and quite possibly long before that time.

*172 174 105 Before leaving the subject of traditions we may briefly speculate on the identity of the peoples who were driven out of the northern valleys by the immigrant Pawnee. Dunbar's theory of a Siouan occupation is scarcely tenable, at least in the light of our present knowledge, since it is generally conceded that Oto, Ponca, and Omaha reached the area after the Pawnee had become permanently settled there. Tradition affords no information whatever, and neither Dorsey nor Grinnell even mention the conquest element. Lewis and Clark speak of the Comanche (Padouca) as having been at an earlier [648] time in the region immediately west of the Pawnee.[4] Between this last tribe and the Pawnee there was ceaseless hostility, the former having a fortified village in the forks of the Dismal River.[5] How long the Padouca were in the region prior to this time there is no way of determining as yet, but it is quite possible that that tribe formerly held lands farther to the east which subsequently were wrested from them by the Pawnee. Continued warfare between the two tribes, even without any general conquest by one or the other, would tend to encourage traditions of great exploits, especially in the event of a particularly successful campaign. Another possibility is that the northward movement of the Pawnee combined with the southward pressure exerted by Shoshonean peoples, such as the Comanche, resulted in the expulsion from the plains of some Athapascan tribe. Thus the Apache and Navaho, who resided generally south of the Comanche, or some people ancestral to them, may have been forced into the southwest some centuries prior to the arrival

---

[89] 1880, a, p. 251.
[1] 1906, p. 8.
[2] 1893, p. 215.
[3] Marquette map, 1900, p. 108.
[4] 1815, 35 ff. See Thomas, 1935, for early history of the Apache and Comanche.
[5] Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 88.

of the Spanish. Space limitations forbid a more detailed considera- 172*
tion of this very interesting problem at the present time, but it 174
seems quite plausible that either a southern Shoshonean or Athapas-
can people preceded the Pawnee in what is now central Nebraska. 105

The historic data on the Pawnee reveal two facts of major interest. In the first place there appears to have been a steady diminution in the amount of territory actually occupied by the Pawnee villages. Nearly all of the early maps and narratives by Spanish and French explorers, beginning with Coronado and continuing well into the eighteenth century, refer to the various Pawnee groups as inhabiting a considerable number of villages. That there was frequently exaggeration in their number and size is true, but taken in conjunction with political survivals in the matter of Skidi government as recorded by Murie,[6] together with the fact that subbands within each of the four major bands appear to have been originally separate village units,[7] it seems quite probable that formerly there were a number of separate villages scattered along the Platte, Loup, Republican, Blue, and Smoky Hill Rivers, as well as along the Missouri Valley and tributary streams in southeastern Nebraska and northeastern Kansas. In very early historic times these were for the most part given up, and by 1800 there were apparently only three or four major villages, one on the Republican and the others in the Platte-Loup region. The former was shortly abandoned, so that from 1809 until the final removal to the Indian Territory, the tribe dwelt generally in 2, 3, or 4 large settlements at various points along the lower courses of the Loup and Platte Rivers. This gradual concentration in a single small area was due probably in large part to the encroachment of hostile peoples, notably the Siouan Tribes on the east and north, and Athapascan or Algonkian groups on the west and south. The situation was not wholly unlike that postulated for the pueblo peoples about 1000 A. D.,[8] although it took place, of course, much later and with somewhat different consequences.

Secondly, the introduction of the horse deeply affected the Pawnee, as it did most of the plains tribes. Forays to the Southwest in quest of horses led to increasing contact with tribes there resident, though there seems to have been strikingly little influence on Pawnee material culture from these meetings. More important than this was the tendency toward a nomadic, bison-hunting mode of life made possible by the horse. Hand in hand with this went a decline in the native arts, particularly in ceramics, and an increasing dependence upon the white man's importations. From a sedentary

---

[6] 1914, pp. 545 ff.

[7] Grinnell, 1893, pp. 236-239.

[8] Kidder, 1924, pp. 125 ff.

*172
174

tribe the Pawnee became one in which the chase and maize culture shared almost equally. In general, while the adoption of the horse added new traits to the general pattern it was also a potent factor in the final submergence of Pawnee culture which ensued in the closing years of their residence in Nebraska.

The Pawnee made use regularly of three general types of habitation, depending upon the season and the attendant mode of life. The typical form, universally employed in their permanent villages, was the circular, dome-shaped earth lodge, housing from 10 to 40 or more persons. In its most essential features it did not differ greatly from the lodges of the Kansa, Oto, Omaha, and other neighboring tribes. According to Linton,[9] however, there was one rather significant distinction, viz, the greater variability in number of the central roof supports used by the Pawnee as compared to the earth lodges of the Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa. The latter consistently used four posts, whereas the historic Pawnee, as has been previously noted, had from 4 to as high as 11; only 4, however, figured in the Pawnee ceremonies connected with the earth lodge. From these facts Linton concludes that the ancestral type is most closely approximated in the lodges of the Arikara and their immediate neighbors, who had standardized the number of central posts, whereas the Pawnee had adopted the trait at a time so recent that this feature had not yet become fixed.[10] He further suggests the origin of the type on the lower Mississippi, presumably as a development from the southern thatched house, whence "it seems to have been carried northward by tribal movements rather than solely by diffusion, the Arikara and possibly the Mandan being the principal agents."[11]

The hypothesis outlined above is open to serious question. In the first place, the nonuniformity of Pawnee houses with regard to the number of central posts may indicate not immaturity of the trait but rather maturity or even senility, accompanied by a strong tendency on the part of the housebuilders toward breaking away from the old ceremonial number. Recent excavations by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey in very early historic (but prehorse culture) sites on the Loup River in east-central Nebraska apparently indicate that four posts were commonly used in houses of the earlier period, as a central group. The greater freedom in this respect in later times may then have been correlative with other transformations which took place in the later culture of the historic Pawnee. The fact that the Pawnee "never referred to more than four (central posts) in their ceremonies"[12] is probably a survival from the earlier phases

---

[9] 1924, pp. 247–248.
[10] Ibid., p. 248.
[11] Ibid., pp. 256–257; cf., however, Lewis, 1912, p. 60.
[12] Ibid., p. 248, from unpublished notes of G. A. Dorsey.

172x
174
105

of the tribe's history, instead of a borrowing from the upper Missouri tribes, as Linton's hypothesis would imply. As to the southern origin of the type, it may be stated here that the work of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey on the Republican River during the summer of 1930 revealed the presence of prehistoric square houses with round corners, the superstructure of which was borne on a four-post, central foundation. The nature of this framework suggests a type of earth lodge dissimilar in shape from the historic structure of the Pawnee, but strongly reminiscent of certain square earth-covered houses found by Harrington in southwestern Arkansas.[13] Reported remains of more flimsily built structures, possibly grass houses, in the same district, have not been investigated as yet by the Survey. The square earth lodge was unknown in historic times on the plains, hence its earlier occurrence in both northern and southern Caddoan territory is of especial interest. It suggests the possible development of the circular Pawnee lodge from the square or rectangular type, in turn evolved either from the grass house or perhaps from some wattle and daub prototype. If such is the case, then the historic Pawnee dwelling may prove to be a local development from some earlier widespread Caddoan house type rather than a trait borrowed full-blown from the Arikara and Mandan. It is quite probable that the Arikara carried the trait onto the upper Missouri after their separation from the Skidi, but doubtless they secured the idea from their kindred in what is now central Nebraska. The Mandan and Hidatsa, then, and perhaps the other Siouan tribes concerned, may just as probably have received the earth-lodge complex from the Pawnee through the Arikara.[14] Quite possibly they had little or nothing to do with its original diffusion up the Missouri. Further archeological research in southern Nebraska and in Kansas should throw additional light on this very interesting problem of the origin of the Plains earth lodge.

The skin tipi came into very extensive use after the introduction of the horse and the adoption of a more nomadic hunting life, and was supplemented by the dome-shaped brush shelter. Both have been described in the section on house types in this paper, hence need not be reviewed here.

The underground caches or pits for the storage of food and property were a necessary adjunct to all Pawnee villages. They were of the type common all over the plains, though differing in certain details from those of the Mandan and possibly slightly from those in early prehistoric sites within the Pawnee area. Storage pits are reported also for the North Atlantic coast area,[15] and for certain

---

[13] 1920, pp. 256–260. Compare Strong, 1935, p. 276; Wedel, 1935, pp. 172–174.
[14] See Lowie, 1912.
[15] Wissler, 1922, p. 263.

*172 Cayuga sites in central New York.[16] Time and space limitations
forbid a comparative study here of the distribution of the cache pit
174 or a discussion of the structural details of its eastern form. However,
105 the occurrence of the trait in two widely separate areas which exhibit
certain other cultural parallels is at least a suggestive point.

As was pointed out in the discussion of Pawnee ceramics, there is a remarkable resemblance and perhaps a connection between the pottery of this tribe and the typical wares from Iroquoian sites of western New York. The overhanging collar, the hatched triangle motif in rim decoration, and the globular vessel shape are common to both areas, but appear to be absent in the intervening and surrounding cultures. Clay pipes of highly characteristic type later copied in stone were made by the Iroquoian potters, but among the historic Pawnee stone pipes were the rule.

The stonework generally resembles that of adjoining areas, with few distinctive or specialized forms. An exception is found in the arrowpoints. On protohistoric and some historic Pawnee village sites the small, triangular, unnotched points are decidely predominant; stemmed types are rare, at least prior to 1800 or thereabouts. In northeastern and central Kansas, territory formerly under Pawnee and Wichita dominance, these same points are prevalent. Parker mentions similar thin, delicately chipped triangles or arrowpoints of chert as one of the diagnostics of Iroquoian culture.[17] They are also reported from the Ohio Valley, regarded by Parker as the probable route of the northward migration of the New York Iroquois.[18] The type, as such, is by no means rare, but its preponderance over all other forms in Iroquoian and Caddoan areas is rather striking, and possibly represents another link in the chain of traits connecting the two groups. It may be noted also that pitted discoidals and hammerstones are common to both areas. The Puebloan type of metate, though common in central Kansas, was replaced among the Pawnee by flat or slightly hollowed anvil stones; pestles are rare. Parker states that the Iroquois used a flattened muller and a shallow flattened mortar, or meal stone, as well as anvils.[19] The grooved mauls and axes, as well as ungrooved, polished celts, point eastward, but not necessarily beyond Iowa or Missouri. The presence of catlinite obviously indicates northern contacts, probably by trade rather than through actual visits to the pipestone quarries of southern Minnesota.

Objects of bone and horn conform to plains types but differ occasionally from earlier prehistoric cultures of the Pawnee area.

---

[16] Skinner, 1921, pp. 43-46.

[17] 1916, p. 484. See Wedel, 1935, p. 247, for the type in Kansas.

[18] Ibid., pp. 482, 495 ff.

[19] 1916, p. 484.

Shaft straighteners, picks, hide scrapers, fleshing tools, paint brushes, 172*
beaming tools, digging implements, horn spoons, all find their coun-
terparts among the Mandan, Dakota, or other nearby plains tribes. 174
The tubular plume holder and roach spreader are similar to those 105
still used by the Comanche, Omaha, Menominee, and others.

The presence of considerable shellwork is frequently taken as indicative of trade relations with peoples on the Gulf coast, as the molluscan forms now found in the streams of Nebraska differ from those recovered by excavation in old village sites. However, silting up of the rivers due to widespread agricultural development may have resulted in the comparatively recent extinction of species formerly common within the area, so that no very remote source for most of the raw shell need be postulated.

Further connections with the eastern woodlands may be detected in the use of wood for carving vessels. For the most part the pieces are simple in shape, showing no resemblances whatever to Pawnee pottery forms. Shallow platters and deep cups and bowls are the only forms yet recovered. The use of the upright wooden mortar, made by hollowing out one end of a section of log, is strikingly reminiscent of the eastern maize area generally. With the exception of the flat anvil stone, the wooden mortar appears to have been the sole means of grinding corn and seeds, replacing entirely the metate found south of the Kansas River.

In the use of bison hair for weaving cloth may be seen another trait which, while not unusual in the bison area as a whole, was most strongly developed in the lower Mississippi region. Presumably it was a part of the original culture complex carried northward by the tribe in its migrations. Twined weaving appears only in the form of reed matting; it is likewise common to the east, along the Mississippi.[20] Coiled basketry, as reported by Weltfish [21] for the Pawnee, has not been found in archeological remains, nor would it be easy, if such were the case, to determine whether the single rod coil foundation prevailed in early as in recent times.[22] Coiling, however, is a western trait, which probably reached the Pawnee and other Caddoan tribes by diffusion through the southwestern or Great Basin peoples.

With regard to mortuary customs the Pawnee uniformly practiced inhumation. The body was generally partially flexed, but there was no fixed orientation for it and no special side on which it was laid. Early prehistoric sites on the Republican River, which show certain similarities to the Pawnee and may be directly related, are asso-

---

[20] Mason, 1904, p. 231.

[21] 1930, pp. 278-286.

[22] Ibid., pp. 280, 286.

*172 ciated with ossuaries and also with bundle burials, but yield only limited amounts of material remains, and those mostly fragmentary. 174 This again suggests the southeast as well as the early Iroquoian sites 105 of New York.[33] Ossuary, tree, and scaffold burials were not used by the historic Pawnee.

As will have become obvious by this time, the material traits in Pawnee culture were drawn in largest measure from the east and southeast. Kroeber's recent summary statement regarding plains cultures in general applies peculiarly to the Pawnee, viz, that "the Plains traits that have historic depth . . . seem Woodland, and date from the time when such Plains culture as there was constituted a margin at the fringe of a natural area. The forces which infused this marginal culture, like those of the northern and eastern margins, had their heads in the Southeast."[34] These traits were acquired largely during the residence of the tribe in the old Caddoan habitat on the lower Mississippi and adjacent areas to the west. They sprang from the same basic subpattern as did the Iroquoian, Muskhogean, and related cultures of the Eastern Woodland. As Sapir has suggested on linguistic grounds, the early connections appear to have been especially close between Pawnee and Iroquoian peoples. Kroeber also implies this in pointing out the distribution of the matrilineate in the Eastern Woodlands (Iroquoian-Muskhogean) and in the plains (Pawnee-Hidatsa-Crow).[35] Southwestern or puebloan traits, so far as material evidences are concerned, are almost wholly absent, although certain of them penetrated into north central Kansas. In other words, the Pawnee formerly constituted a part of the Southeastern Woodlands culture area in its more western peripheral phase, retaining and disseminating many of the traits thus acquired throughout the period of their northern residence until the final withering of native plains culture before the European conquest.

---

[33] Parker, 1916, p. 492.

[34] 1928, p. 396.

[35] Ibid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abel, A. H.

1916. A New Lewis and Clark Map. Geographical Review, vol. I, no. 5, pp. 329-345. New York, 1916.

Allis, Samuel.

1887. Forty Years Among the Indians and on the Eastern Borders of Nebraska. Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, vol. II, pp. 133-166. Lincoln, 1887.

Ashley, W. H., and Smith, J. S.

1918. The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829. Edit. by H. C. Dale. Cleveland, 1918.

Bailey, E. H. S.

1902. Great Spirit Spring, Waconda, Mitchell County. University Geological Survey of Kansas, Mineral Waters, vol. VII, pp. 197-200. Topeka, 1902.

Bandelier, A. F.

1890. Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, pt. I, pp. 44-187. Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, No. III. Cambridge, 1890.

1890, a. Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States, Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition, pp. 179-206. Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, No. V. Cambridge, 1890.

1893. The Gilded Man, pp. 229-257. New York, 1893.

Blackman, E. E.

1903. Report of Department of Archaeology. Annual Report of Nebraska State Board of Agriculture for 1902, pp. 294-326. Lincoln, 1903.

1905. Report of Department of Archaeology. Annual Report of Nebraska State Board of Agriculture for 1904, pp. 207-229. Lincoln, 1905.

1906. Archaeological Report for 1905. Annual Report of Nebraska State Board of Agriculture for 1905, pp. 390-400. Fremont, 1906.

1907. Report of the Archaeologist. Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Vol. XV; Series II, vol. X, pp. 323-359. Lincoln, 1907.

Bolton, H. E.

1914. Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780. 2 vols. Cleveland, 1914.

Brower, J. V.

1898. Quivira. Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi, vol. I. St. Paul, 1898.

1899. Harahey. Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi, vol. II. St. Paul, 1899.

Buckstaff, Ralph N.

1927. Stars and Constellations of a Pawnee Sky Map. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 29, no. 2, pp 279-285. Lancaster, 1927.

113 **Bushnell, D. I., Jr.**

1922. Villages of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan Tribes west of the Mississippi. Bulletin 77, Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, 1922.

1927. Burials of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan Tribes West of the Mississippi. Bulletin 83, Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, 1927.

Catlin, George.

1841. Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians, vol. 2. New York, 1841.

Charlevoix, Pierre de.

1908. Journal of a Voyage to North America. Translated from the letters. Chicago, 1908.

Clayton, William.

1921. William Clayton's Journal, pp. 74–110. Salt Lake City, 1921.

Collot, Victor.

1924. A Journey in North America. 2 vols., 1 atlas. Paris, 1826. Translated and reprinted, Firenze, 1924.

Comfort, A. J.

1873. Indian Mounds near Fort Wadsworth, Dakota Territory. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1871, pp. 389–402. Washington, 1873.

Connelley, W. E.

1918. Notes on the Early Indian Occupancy of the Great Plains. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. XIV, pp. 438–470. Topeka, 1918.

De Smet, Pierre-Jean.

1895. New Indian Sketches. New York, 1895.

1905. Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S. J., 1801–1873, vol. III. pp. 974–988. Edited by H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson. New York, 1905.

Dodge, Col. Henry.

1860. Journal of Colonel Dodge's Expedition from Fort Gibson to the Pawnee Pict Village (1834). American State Papers, Military Affairs, vol. V, pp. 373–382. Washington, 1860.

1861. Report on the Expedition of Dragoons, under Col. Henry Dodge, to the Rocky Mountains in 1835. American State Papers, Military Affairs, vol. VI, pp. 130–146. Washington, 1861.

Dorsey, George A.

1903. How the Pawnee Captured the Cheyenne Medicine Arrows. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 644–658. Lancaster, 1903.

1904. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs of the American Folklore Society. New York, 1904.

1905. A Pawnee Personal Medicine Shrine. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 496–498. Lancaster, 1905.

1906. The Pawnee: Mythology (Part I). Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1906.

Dorsey, J. O.

1886. Migrations of Siouan Tribes. American Naturalist, vol. XX, no. 3, pp. 211–222. Philadelphia, 1886.

Du Lac, Perrin.

1807. Travels through the two Louisianas in 1801, 1802, and 1803, pp. 47–54. London, 1807.

DUNBAR, JOHN, and ALLIS, SAMUEL.
1918. Letters concerning the Presbyterian Mission in the Pawnee Country, near Bellevue, Nebraska, 1831–1849. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. XIV, pp. 570–689 and 690–741, respectively. Topeka, 1918.

DUNBAR JOHN B.
1880, a. The Pawnee Indians: Their History and Ethnology. Magazine of American History, vol. IV, no. 4, pp. 241–281.
1880, b. The Pawnee Indians: Their Habits and Customs. Magazine of American History, vol. V, no. 5, pp. 321–345.
1910. Massacre of the Villazur Expedition by the Pawnees on the Platte, in 1720. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. XI, pp. 397–423. Topeka, 1910.

DU PRATZ, LE PAGE.
1758. Histoire de la Louisiane, tome Premiere, p. 138 and map of Louisiana. Paris, 1758.

FLETCHER, ALICE C.
1899. A Pawnee Ritual used when Changing a Man's Name. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol 1, no. 1, pp. 82–97. Lancaster, 1899.
1902. Star Cult Among the Pawnee. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol 4, no. 4, pp. 730–736. Lancaster, 1902.
1904. The Hako: A Pawnee Ceremony. Twenty-second Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. 2, pp. 5–368. Washington, 1904.

FLETCHER, ALICE C., and LA FLESCHE, FRANCIS.
1911. The Omaha Tribe. Twenty-seventh Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 17–642. Washington, 1911.

FOWKE, GERARD.
1922. Archeological Investigations. Bulletin 76, Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 57–81. Washington, 1922.

FREMONT, J. C.
1845. Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and California in the Years 1843–44. Washington, 1845.

GALLATIN, ALBERT.
1836. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. II. Worcester, 1836.

GILLIS, J. L.
1860. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1860. Document no. 33, pp. 92–95. Washington, 1860.

GREGG, JOSIAH.
1845. Commerce of the Prairies, 2d ed. New York, 1845.

GRINNELL, GEORGE BIRD.
1891. Two Pawnian Tribal Names. American Anthropologist, o. s., vol. IV, no. 2, pp. 197–199. Washington, 1891.
1891. Marriage among the Pawnees. American Anthropologist, o. s., vol. IV, no. 3, pp. 275–281. Washington, 1891.
1893. Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales. New York, 1893.
1913. Some Indian Stream Names. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 330–331. Lancaster, 1913.
1920. Who were the Padouca? American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 248–260. Lancaster, 1920.

113

Harrington, M. R.
1920. Certain Caddo Sites in Arkansas. Indian Notes and Monographs, Miscellaneous Paper no. 10. Heye Foundation, New York, 1920.

Hayden, F. V.
1862. Contributions to the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley, pp. 345–363. Philadelphia, 1862.
1872. Notes on Indian History, etc. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1867, pp. 411–412. Washington, 1872.

Hennepin, Father Louis.
1903. A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America. Edited by R. G. Thwaites, Chicago, 1903.

Holmes, W. H.
1883. Art in Shell of the Ancient Americans. Second Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 179–207, Washington, 1883.
1903. Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States. Twentieth Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 50–200, Washington, 1903.

Houck, Louis.
1909. Report of the Indian Tribes Who Receive Presents at St. Louis, November 15, 1777. The Spanish Regime in Missouri, vol. I, pp. 141 ff. Chicago, 1909.

Houghton, F.
1916. Characteristics of Iroquoian Village Sites of Western New York. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 508–520. Lancaster, 1916.

Irving, J. T., Jr.
1835. Indian Sketches. 2 vols. London, 1835.

Kidder, A. V.
1924. An Introduction to the Study of Southwestern Archeology. Published for the Department of Archaeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, by the Yale University Press, New Haven, 1924.

Kroeber, A. L.
1928. Native Culture in the Southwest. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 23, no. 9, pp. 375–398. Berkeley, 1928.

La Salle, Robert.
1927. Nebraska History Magazine, vol. VIII, no. 1, p. 5. Lincoln, 1927.

Lesser, A., and Weltfish, G.
1932. Composition of the Caddoan Linguistic Stock. Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 87, no. 6, Washington, 1932.

Lewis, M., and Clark, W.
1815. Travels to the Source of the Missouri River and across the American Continent to the Pacific Ocean, 1804–1806. 3 vols. London, 1815.
1832. Lewis and Clark's Expedition. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, vol. IV, pp. 705–743. Washington, 1832.
1922. History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark, 1804–1806. 3 vols. American Explorers Series. New York, 1922.

Linton, Ralph.
1922, a. The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee. Anthropological Leaflet of the Field Museum, no. 5. Chicago, 1922.
1922, b. The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee. Anthropological Leaflet of the Field Museum, no. 6. Chicago, 1922.
1923, a. Purification of the Sacred Bundles, a Ceremony of the Pawnee. Anthropological Leaflet of the Field Museum, no. 7. Chicago, 1923.

Linton, Ralph—Continued.
1923, b. Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men. Anthropological Leaflet of the Field Museum, no. 8. Chicago, 1923.
1924. Origin of the Plains Earth Lodge. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 26, pp. 247–257. Lancaster, 1924.
1926. The Origin of the Skidi Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 457–466. Lancaster, 1926.

Long, Maj. S. H.
1823. Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains performed in the years 1819 and 1820. Edwin James edition. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1823.

Lowie, R. H.
1912. Some Problems in the Ethnology of the Crow and Village Indians. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 60–71. Lancaster, 1912.

Luttig, J. C.
1920. Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812–13. St. Louis, 1920.

Margry, Pierre.
1874. Margry Papers. Memoirs et Documents pour servir a L'Histoire des Origines Francaises des Pays d'Outremer. 6 vols. Paris, 1874.

Marquette, Jacques.
1900. Of the first Voyage made by Father Marquette. Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. LIX, pp. 87–163. Edited by R. G. Thwaites. Cleveland, 1900.

Mason, Otis T.
1904. Aboriginal American Basketry. Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1902, pp. 171–548. Washington, 1904.

Morse, Rev. Jedidiah.
1822. A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States, on Indian Affairs, comprising a Narrative of a Tour performed in the summer of 1820. New Haven, 1822.

Murie, J. R.
1914. Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. XI, pt. VIII, pp. 543–644. New York, 1914.

Murray, Charles A.
1839. Travels in North America during the Years 1834, 1835, and 1836, vol. I. New York, 1839.

Oehler, Gottlieb F., and Smith, D. Z.
1851. Description of a Journey and Visit to the Pawnee Indians, April 22–May 18, 1851. The Moravian Church Miscellany, 1851–52.

Parker, A. C.
1916. The Origin of the Iroquois as Suggested by Their Archaeology. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 479–507. Lancaster, 1916.

Parsons, Elsie Clews.
1929. Ritual Parallels in Pueblo and Plains Cultures, with a Special Reference to the Pawnee. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 642–654. Lancaster, 1929.

Pike, Zebulon M.
1810. An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, etc. Philadelphia, 1810.

113 Platt, E. G.

1892. Reminiscences of a Teacher Among the Nebraska Indians, 1843–85. Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, vol. III, pp. 125–143. Fremont, 1892.

1918. Some Experiences as a Teacher Among the Pawnees. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. XIV, pp. 784–794. Topeka, 1918.

Powell, J. W.

1891. Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico. Seventh Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 58–62. Washington, 1891.

Rau, Charles.

1872. Indian Pottery. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1866, pp. 346–355. Washington, 1872.

Roberts, F. H. H., Jr.

1929. Shabik'eshchee Village. Bulletin 92, Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 110–111. Washington, 1929.

Royce, C. C.

1899. Indian Land Cessions in the United States. Eighteenth Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. 2, pp. 521–964. Washington, 1899.

Sapir, E.

1929. Central and North American Languages. Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th ed., vol. V, pp. 138–140. New York, 1929.

Sibley, Major.

1922. "From a journal to the Pawnee and Kansas Villages, undertaken by an officer of the Factory on the Missouri." Louisiana Gazette, May 16, 1812; reprinted in Nebraska Historical Publications, vol. XX, pp. 5–11, Lincoln, 1922.

1927. Extracts from the Diary of Major Sibley. Chronicles of Oklahoma, vol. V, pp 196–218. Oklahoma City, 1927.

Schoolcraft, H. R.

1853. History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, vol. III, pp. 397–402. Philadelphia, 1853.

Skinner, Alanson.

1921. Notes on Iroquois Archaeology. Indian Notes and Monographs, Miscellaneous Paper, no. 18. Heye Foundation, New York, 1921.

1921, a. Material Culture of the Menomini. Indian Notes and Monographs, vol. 20. Mus. Amer. Indian, Heye Foundation.

Strong, William Duncan.

1935. An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology. Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10. Washington, 1935.

Thayer, Gen. J. M.

1907. My very first Visit to the Pawnee Village in 1855. Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society, vol. XV: series II, vol. X, pp. 119–127, Lincoln, 1907

Thoburn, J. B.

1927. An Important Archaeological and Historical Discovery. Chronicles of Oklahoma, vol. V, no. 4, pp. 407–413. Oklahoma City, 1927.

Thomas, A. B.

1935. After Coronado: Spanish Exploration northeast of New Mexico, 1696–1727. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1935.

113

TRUTEAU, JEAN BAPTISTE.
1914. Journal of Jean Baptiste Truteau on the Upper Missouri, Premiere Partie, June 7, 1794–March 26, 1795. American Historical Review, vol. XIX, no. 2, pp. 299–333. New York, 1914.

VILLIERS, BARON MARC DE.
1921. Le Massacre de l'Expedition Espagnole du Missouri (11 Aout 1720). Journal de la Societe des Americanistes de Paris, n. s., vol. XIII, pp. 239–255. Paris, 1921.

VIVIER, FATHER.
1900. The Panismahas in 1750. Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. LXIX, pp. 225–229. Ed. by R. G. Thwaites, Cleveland, 1900.

WEDEL, WALDO R.
1935. Reports on Fieldwork by the Archaeological Survey of the Nebraska State Historical Society, May 1–July 23, 1934. Nebraska History Magazine, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 132–255.

WELTFISH, G.
1930. Coiled Gambling Baskets of the Pawnee and other Plains Tribes. Indian Notes, vol. VIII, no. 3, pp. 277–295. Heye Foundation, New York, 1930.

WHARTON, MAJ. CLIFTON.
1844. A Journal of a March of a Detachment of the 1st Dragoons, to the Pawnee Country, under Major Wharton in August and September, '44. Photostat copy in MSS File of the Nebraska Historical Society. Also in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. XVI, pp. 272–305, Topeka, 1925.

WILL, G. F., and HYDE, GEORGE E.
1917. Corn Among the Indians of the Upper Missouri. St. Louis, 1917.

WILL, G. F., and SPINDEN, H. J.
1906. The Mandans. Peabody Museum Papers, vol. III, no. 4, pp. 79–219, Cambridge, 1906.

WINSHIP, G. P.
1896. The Coronado Expedition. Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. 1, pp. 339–598, Washington, 1896.

WISSLER, CLARK.
1910. Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians. Anthrop. Pap., Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 5, pt. 1. New York, 1910.
1922. The American Indian. 2d ed. Oxford and New York, 1922.
1927. North American Indians of the Plains. Handbook Series No. 1, 3d ed., American Museum of Natural History, New York, 1927.

INDEX

080

Page
ABEL, A. H., cited 16
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS xi
AGRICULTURE, Pawnee 57-62
AHUACHIS, a synonym of Panimaha 14
AKKAROS, a name for earth lodge 43
ALLIS, SAMUEL, cited 54, 58
ALTAR, situation of, in lodge 50
ANADARKO, classification of 2
ANVIL STONES, description of 75
APIOS TUBEROSA, use of, as food 60
ARACHE, synonym of Harahey 10
ARAE, habitations of 10
ARAHEI, synonym of Harahey 10
ARAPAHO, territory occupied by 2, 4
ARCHEOLOGICAL DATA, sources of x
ARICARA, located by Le Seuer 12
  See also ARIKARA.
ARIKARA:
  beads made by 89
  classification of 1
  Dorsey's theory concerning 8
  included in Pawnee 2
  mention of lodges of 98, 99
  relations of, with the Pawnee Loups 19
  relationship of, to Skidi 95
ARROWPOINTS:
  conclusions regarding 100
  discussion of 75-76
  from the Burkett site 42
ARTIFACTS:
  effect of climate on 42
  from the Burkett site 42
  See also BASKETRY; BONEWORK; POTTERY; STONEWORK; TEXTILES.
ASHLEY, CAPTAIN, Pawnee villages located by 18
ASHLEY, W. H., and SMITH, J. S., cited 3, 61
ATHAPASCAN TRIBES, possibilities regarding 96-97
AWLS, BONE, description of 81-82

Page
AXES AND MAULS, grooved, description of 77-78
BAILEY, E. H. S., cited 6
BAKER, FRANK C., shells identified by 86
BALLS, STONE, discussion of 77
BANDELIER, A. F., cited 2, 12-13, 56
BASKET MAKER POTTERY, reference to 70
BASKETRY:
  conclusions regarding 101
  of the Pawnee 91
BEADS:
  disk shell, absence of 87
  glass, origin of 89
  place of, in Pawnee culture 87
  tubular 86-87
BEAMING TOOLS, discussion of 83
BEDS. *See* PLATFORMS.
BISON, importance of, to Pawnee 61
BISON MEAT, manner of using 61
BLACKMAN, E. E.:
  cited 28, 30, 34, 40, 41, 42
  mention of work of 25, 36, 40
BOLTON, H. E.:
  cited 14
  Panimaha located by 14
BONEWORK:
  conclusions regarding 100-101
  discussion of 81-86
BOWLS:
  pottery 69
  wooden 88
BRAUNERIA ANGUSTIFOLIA, medicinal use of 59
BROOKING, A. M.:
  reference to 38, 54
  unusual find of 54
BUFFALO. *See* BISON.
BURIALS:
  at Genoa site 29
  at Hill site 92
  at Palmer site 27
  Hill site, yields from 36

[P. 110 contains no text]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Burials—Continued. Page
- in caches ... 54
- orientation in ... 93
- position in ... 93
- *See also* Graves; Mortuary Customs.

Burkett site:
- artifacts from ... 42
- description of ... 40–42
- location of ... 40
- reference to ... 25
- type of arrowpoints from ... 75

Bushnell, D. I., Jr., cited ... 91, 93

Caches:
- conclusions regarding ... 99–100
- contents of ... 53–54
- dead placed in ... 54
- description of ... 52–54
- excavation of ... 48
- shape of ... 53
- use of ... 52, 54

Caddoan stock:
- classification of ... 1, 2
- divisions of ... 1

Calumet, Pawnee claim regarding ... 81

Catlin, George, Pawnee mentioned by ... 19

Caves, absence of, in Pawnee area ... 43

Cayuga grave, specimen from ... 83

Cayuga sites, flakers found at ... 85

Cedar River, description of vessel from ... 66

Celtis occidentalis, use of ... 59

Celts:
- description of ... 78
- scarcity of ... 78

Champe, John L., acknowledgment to ... xi

Charlevoix, Pierre de:
- cited ... 81
- Pawnee located by ... 14

Chaui, a Pawnee band ... 8

Chenopodium sp., discussion of origin of seeds of ... 60–61

Cheyenne, territory occupied by ... 2, 4

Chipping implements, description of ... 85

Chokecherry, use of ... 60

Cicuye, mention of ... 9

Clamshells, occurrence of ... 86

Clarks site: Page
- artifacts from ... 84
- description of ... 31–32
- description of lodge at ... 45–46
- location of ... 31
- remains in vicinity of ... 38

Clayton, William:
- cited ... 27, 28, 36, 38, 43, 45, 55, 56
- observations of, on the Pawnee ... 21–22

Cloth and cordage, description of ... 90

Collot, Victor, reconnaissance by ... 15

Comanche:
- location of ... 4
- mention of, by Hennepin ... 11
- reference to headdress of ... 85
- relations of, with Pawnee ... 96

Comfort, A. J., information secured by ... 62

Corn:
- ceremonial use of ... 57
- cultivation of ... 57–58
- preservation of ... 58
- size of ... 58

Corn shellers, possible use of ... 86

Coronado, expedition of ... 9–10

Corrals, horse, description of ... 55–57

Cottonwood Creek site:
- description of ... 38
- identification of ... 20
- location of ... 37
- mention of ... 25
- occupants of ... 38

Council Creek, mission located on ... 32

Cradle board, supposed, description of ... 88–89

Crystals, from Hill site ... 70

Culture, material, of the Pawnee ... 42–94

Dakota:
- Pawnee harassed by ... 20, 23, 44, 55
- territory occupied by ... 2

Decoration:
- of Pawnee pottery ... 68–69, 72–73, 73–74
- of stone pipes ... 81

Delawares, Pawnee village burned by ... 21

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Page

De Smet, Pierre-Jean:
  cited, 43
  Pawnee divisions recorded by, 22
De Witt, George, site described by, 35
Digging tools, description of, 83–84
Dinsmore collection, reference to, 87
Dodge, Henry, Pawnee village visited by, 19
Dogs, use of, as food, 62
Dorsey, G. A.:
  cited, 7, 50, 57, 94, 95, 96, 98
  traditions recorded by, 7
  work of, IX
Dorsey, J. O., cited, 4, 34
Drills, scarcity of, 79
Dunbar, John B.:
  cited, 2, 7, 21, 22, 25, 27, 32, 34, 36, 38, 45, 54, 61, 62, 63, 91, 94, 95, 96.
  Pawnee movements recorded by, 20
  traditions recorded by, 7
  work of, IX, 7
Du Pratz, Le Page:
  cited, 70
  map of, 14
  Pawnee on map of, 14
Du Tisne, quoted on the Pawnee, 14
Earth lodge:
  conclusions drawn from, 98–100
  construction of, 43–45
  development of, 90
  excavation of, 46–50
  interior arrangement of, 45–46
  ruins of, 24
  seasonal use of, 43
  tipi followed by, 50
Earthworks, 54–55
Echinacea angustifolia, medicinal use of, 59
Effigy pipe, remains associated with, 80
Ellsworth, Commissioner, treaty negotiated by, 18
Escanjaques, mention of, 10
Evans, John, map prepared by, 16
Fetishes, of crystals, 79

Page

Figurines, scarcity of, 70
Fireplaces, separate uses for, 48
Flakers, description of, 85
Fleshing tools, description of, 84
Fletcher and La Flesche, cited, 4, 39, 55, 85, 96
Food, Pawnee:
  animal, 5–6, 61–62
  vegetable, 5, 57–61
Forbes, J. F., information furnished by, 38
Fortifications:
  against the Dakota, 21
  of old sites, 54–55
Fowke, Gerard, cited, 85
Fremont's expedition, Grand Pawnee village located by, 19–20
Fullerton site:
  Clayton's description of, 27
  location of, 27
Gallatin, Albert, cited, 1
Game, of the Pawnee country, 5–6, 61–62
Gattacka, synonym of Kiowa-Apache, 11
Genoa site:
  description of, 29
  location of, 29
Gillis, J. L., cited, 23
Gilmore, M. R., specimens identified by, 59
Grand Island, location of, 19
Grand Pawnee:
  earth lodge of, 45–46
  located by Lewis and Clark, 17
  located by Pike, 17
  position of, among Pawnee, 3
  village sites of, 29–32
  See also Grands; Grands Panis.
Grand Pawnee village:
  change in position of, 17, 18
  situation of, 20
Grands:
  location of, 8
  migration of, 8
  theory concerning, 8
Grands Panis:
  located by Perrin du Lac, 16
  location of, 15

Page

GRAVES:
- Cayuga, specimen from ---- 83
- location of ---- 91
- *See also* BURIALS; MORTUARY CUSTOMS.

GREAT PANIS. *See* GRAND PAWNEE.

GREAT SPIRIT SPRING, identified as "sacred place" of the Pawnee ---- 6

GREGG, JOSIAH, Grand Pawnee village located by ---- 20

GRINNELL, GEORGE BIRD:
- cited ---- 4, 25, 63, 94, 95, 96, 97
- quoted on Pawnee pottery ---- 62-63
- traditions recorded by ---- 7, 8

GUIDE ROCK, identified as "sacred place" of the Pawnee ---- 6

HABITAT, PAWNEE:
- animal life of ---- 5-6
- boundaries of ---- 3
- geographical features of ---- 4-5
- plant life of ---- 5

HABITATIONS:
- conclusions drawn from ---- 98-99
- discussion of ---- 23-24, 43-51
- of the Burkett site ---- 41
- *See also* EARTH LODGE; TIPI; SHELTER.

HACKBERRY, use of ---- 50

HAIRDRESSING, of the Pawnee ---- 2, 9, 84, 85

HAMMERSTONES, discoidal, description of ---- 76

HARAHEY, reference to ---- 10

HARRINGTON, M. R., cited ---- 70, 72, 81, 99

HASTINGS MUSEUM, mention of ---- 84, 85

HAURY, E. W., information furnished by ---- 46

HAYDEN, F. V., cited ---- 1, 34, 40, 42

HEADDRESS. *See* PLUME HOLDER; ROACH SPREADER.

HENNEPIN, FATHER LOUIS, tribes located by ---- 11

HERALDIC DEVICES, use of ---- 51

HIDATSA, lodges of ---- 98, 99

HILL, A. T.:
- acknowledgment to ---- xi
- archeological collection of ---- x, 34
- archeological work of ---- 25, 27, 34, 35, 41, 49, 58, 88, 90, 92
- information furnished by ---- 80, 84

Page

HILL COLLECTION:
- data drawn from ---- 43, 74
- pottery in ---- 63

HILL SITE:
- artifacts from ---- 43, 64-65, 83, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90
- description of ---- 34-36
- excavations at ---- 25, 46-50, 75, 93, 94
- location of ---- 34

HISTORY, PAWNEE:
- documentary ---- 9-23
- legendary ---- 7-9

HOKAN-SIOUAN STOCK, mention of ---- 2

HOLMES, W. H.:
- cited ---- 67, 69, 71, 72, 73, 87
- reconstruction of pottery by ---- 72

HORN, artifacts of ---- 81-86

HORSE CREEK SITE:
- description of ---- 37
- discovery of ---- 36
- identification of ---- 20
- location of ---- 37
- occupants of ---- 36

HORSES:
- corrals for ---- 55-57
- effect of introduction of ---- 97-98
- importance of, to Pawnee ---- 55-56

HOTOS, a synonym of Oto ---- 15

HOUCK, LOUIS, cited ---- 14, 32

HUDSON BAY CO., mention of ---- 89

HUECOS, linguistic classification of ---- 1

HUNTING CUSTOMS ---- 61
- *See also* GAME.

HUNTING GROUNDS, location of ---- 61

IMPLEMENTS. *See* ARROWPOINTS; BONEWORK; STONEWORK.

IOWAS, remains identified by ---- 34

IROQUOIAN CULTURE, resemblances of, to Pawnee ---- 100

IROQUOIAN POTTERY, similarities of, to Pawnee ---- 67-68

IROQUOIS, corn shellers used by ---- 86

IRVING, J. T., JR.:
- cited ---- 5, 26, 31, 36, 38, 45, 57, 87, 91
- information recorded by ---- 18

JARAMILLO, cited ---- 9

JEFFERSON, PRESIDENT, expeditions dispatched by ---- 16

JICARILLA, reached by Villazur ---- 12

KALM, PETER, mention of ---- 60

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Page

- Kansa:
  - mention of lodges of 98
  - Pawnee relations with 82
  - raids of, on the Pawnee 55
  - territory occupied by 2, 4
- Kansas Monument site:
  - approximate date of 24
  - discussion of 33-34
  - location of 33
- Kaskaskia, Ill., mention of 13
- Kawarahkis:
  - division of, into bands 7-8
  - dwelling place of 7
- Kichai, classification of 1, 2
- Kidder, A. V., cited 97
- Kiowa:
  - relations of, with Pawnee 11
  - territory occupied by 2
- Kiowa-Apache, relations of, with Pawnee 11
- Kitkehahki, a band of the Pawnee 3
- Kroeber, A. L., cited 102
- La Flesche, Francis, unverified statement of 93
  - *See also* Fletcher and La Flesche.
- La Harpe:
  - cited 55, 56
  - Pawnee located by 14
- La Republica Band, location of 15
  - *See also* Republican Pawnee.
- La Salle, Nicholas, Pawnee mentioned by 11
- La Salle, Robert:
  - cited 55, 56
  - Pawnee mentioned by 11
- Land cession, by Pawnee 22
- Language, conclusions based on 95-96
- Legends. *See* Migration Traditions.
- Le Sueur:
  - Arikara located by 12
  - Panimaha located by 12
- Leshara site, brief account of 28
- Lesser and Weltfish, cited 2, 10
- Lewis and Clark, cited 1, 15, 32, 33, 89, 96
- Lewis and Clark Expedition:
  - reference to 16
  - tribes located by 17
- Linton, Ralph, cited 98, 99

Page

- Linwood site:
  - arrowpoints of 75
  - description of 29-31
  - earthworks at 55
  - location of 29
  - reference to work at 93
- Little Republican village, location of 29
- Lodge. *See* Earth lodge.
- Long, S. H., cited 26, 36, 38, 57, 58, 61, 91
- Long's Expedition, Pawnee villages located by 18
- Loups:
  - located by Perrin du Lac 16
  - name of, for themselves 17
  - *See also* Skidi.
- Lowie, R. H., cited 99
- Maize. *See* Corn.
- Malgares, mention of expedition of 18
- Mandan:
  - beads made by 89
  - expedition to villages of 15
  - mention of lodges of 98, 99
  - reference to caches of 53
  - reference to pottery of 67, 70
  - tools used by 84
- Manos, occurrence of 74-75
- Manrhoat, synonym of Kiowa 11
- Marquette, Jacques:
  - cited 2
  - Pawnee first mentioned by 11
- Mason, O. T., cited 101
- Mats, use of 45, 91, 93
- Matting, description of 90-91
- Mauls and axes, grooved, discussion of 77-78
- McClaine site:
  - description of 28
  - location of 28
- McGrew, Paul O., acknowledgment to 62
- Metal work, abundance of, on sites 89-90
- Metates, scarcity of 74, 75
- Metotantes, synonym for Oto 11
- Mezieres, cited 14
- Migration traditions:
  - conclusions regarding 94-97
  - of the Pawnee 7-9
  - of the Skidi 8
  - of the Wichita 7, 8

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Page

000 Missouri Indian, reference to 13
Missouri village, error in location of 17
Morning Star ceremony, reference to 22, 57
Morse, Jedidiah:
  cited 26, 56
  Pawnee villages located by 18
Mortars, wooden, description of 87–88
Mortuary customs:
  conclusions regarding 101–102
  discussion of 91–94
  See also Burials; Mortuary offerings.
Mortuary offerings 79–80, 93–94
Mounds, discussion of 40–42
Murie, J. R.:
  cited 3, 55, 97
  work of IX
Murray, C. A., cited 51
Naskapi Indians, tool used by 83
Natchez pottery, reference to 70
Nebraska Archaeological Survey, mention of work of x, 30, 34, 39, 40, 43, 46, 52, 63, 72, 83, 88, 90, 92, 98
Nebraska Historical Society, mention of x, 25, 43, 63, 65
Neutral sites, flakers found at 85
Oetata, a synonym of Oto 15
Oehler, Gottlieb, visit of, to the Pawnee 22
Oehler, G. F., and Smith, D. Z., cited 22, 28, 91
Offerings:
  mortuary 79–80, 93–94
  to Ti-ra'-wa 6
Omaha:
  area controlled by 4
  mention of lodges of 98
  mention of pottery of 62
  subjugation of 7
  territory occupied by 2
Oñate, Juan de, expedition led by 10
Ornamentation. *See* Decoration.
Ornaments, shell, scarcity of 86
Osage:
  reference to 85
  territory occupied by 2, 4

Oto:
Page
  land claimed by 4
  location of 15, 16, 17
  mention of, by Hennepin 11
  mention of lodges of 98
  reference to 13
  subjugation of 7
Otoktata Nation, location of 15
Otontanta, synonym of Oto 11
Padouca:
  forced migration of 4
  location of 4
Padoukas, reference to, by Du Tisne 14
Pahotet, synonym of Iowa 11
Paint brushes, description of 82–83
Palisades, lack of 55
Palmer site:
  arrowpoints of 75
  artifacts from 75, 83, 84
  description of 25–27
  grave opened at 92–93
  identification of 20
  location of 26
  mention of work at 93
  pottery from 64
Pana, a name for the Pawnee 2, 11
Panana, a name for the Pawnee 2
Paneassa, synonym of Wichita 11
Pani, use of the term 3
  See also Panis.
Panias:
  location of 17
  population of 17
Paniassa, a synonym of Wichita 11
Panimaha:
  a name for the Pawnee 2
  early name of the Skidi 25
  estimate of warriors of 14
  location of 12, 14, 15
  mentioned by Du Tisne 14
Paniouassa, synonym of Wichita 11
Panis:
  a name for the Pawnee 2, 3
  early name of the Grand Pawnee 29
  location of 14–15
Panismaha:
  location of 15
  Taouaiches joined by 14

Page

PANOLOGA, synonym for Comanche 11
PARKER, A. C., cited 67, 69, 86, 100, 102
PAWNEE:
  area actually controlled by 4
  authorities on ix
  brief account of ix
  earliest reference to 11
  emigrants troubled by 21
  first instructive information on 14
  lands ceded by 22
  linguistic classification of 1
  location of 11, 14
  main bands of 3
  mention of, by Hennepin 11
  migration legend of 8-9
  movements of 20-22
  name of, for themselves 3
  origin of the name 2-3
  original home of 94-95
  reference to 13
  relations of, with Gattacka and Manrhoat 55
  tribes surrounding 4
  See also PANIAS; PANIMAHA; PANIS; PANISMAHA.
PAWNEE CULTURE, conclusions regarding 94-102
PAWNEE LOUPS, located by Lewis and Clark 17
PAWNEE PICTS, a synonym of Wichita 2
PAWNEE POTTERY, resemblance of, to Iroquois 81
PAWNEE TERRITORY:
  ceded by treaty 22
  various names for 2
PAWNEE VILLAGES:
  changes in location of 17-18, 20-21
  classification of sites of 24-25
  harassed by the Dakota 20, 21, 23, 44, 55
  location of 4, 12, 13, 16, 20, 21-22, 97
  traditional arrangement of 22
PECKING STONES, description of 76
PECOS, mention of 9
PENALOSA, DON, expedition of 10
PERRIN DU LAC, journey of 16

Page

PESTLE, STONE, from Skidi site 79 ooo.
PICKS, description of 82
PIKE, ZEBULON M.:
  cited 13, 17, 36, 43
  mention of 33
  visit of, to Pawnee country 17, 33, 35
PIPES:
  clay, of the Iroquois 100
  of the Mandan 71
  of the Pawnee 70-71
  stone, description of 80-81
PIPESTEMS, of wood or reed 80, 89
PITAHAUERAT, a band of Pawnee 3
  See also TAPPAGE BAND.
PLAINS ARCHEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE, reference to 24
PLANTS. *See* FOOD, VEGETABLE.
PLATFORMS, SLEEPING, in Pawnee lodge 45-46
PLATT, E. G., quoted on Pawnee corn 58
PLATTER, WOODEN, description of 88
PLUM CREEK SITE:
  location of 82
  occupants of 29, 32
  PLUM, WILD, use of 59
PLUME HOLDER, use of 84-85
PONCAS:
  subjugation of 7
  territory occupied by 2
POTATO (SOLANUM TUBEROSUM), introduction of, to Indians 60
POTATO, WILD, use of 58
POTTERY:
  Burkett site, excellence of 42
  composition of 66, 69, 71, 73
  conclusions regarding 74, 100
  discussion of 62-74
  method used in manufacture of 62-63
  rims of 67-68, 69-70
  shapes of 66, 69-70
  similarities in, to Iroquois 67-68, 74
  surface finish of 66, 69
  types of 66, 69, 70
POWELL, J. W.:
  cited 15
  classification of languages by 1

000

Page

- Prairie Creek, vessel from 65
- Prairie Island, location of 19
- Prunus americana, use of 59
- Prunus virginiana, use of 59-60
- Pumpkins, method of preserving 58
- Quartelejo, reached by Villazur 12
- Quivira, search for 9
- Reckmeyer, Clarence, acknowledgment to xi
- Republican Band. *See* Republican Pawnee.
- Republican Pawnee:
  - a Pawnee division 3
  - change in position of 8, 17, 19
  - first record of 32
  - location of 8, 15, 17, 20, 32
  - movements of 8, 17, 33
  - pottery of 64-65
  - relations of, with Grand Pawnee 32, 33
  - theory concerning 8
  - village sites of 33-38
- Republican Valley, characteristic of pottery of 67
- Republican village, search for site of 33
- Republicans. *See* Republican Pawnee.
- Republiques, located by Perrin du Lac 16
- Reservation, Pawnee:
  - establishment of 22
  - exchange of 23
- Rims, pottery:
  - description of 67-69
  - sherds of, analyzed 72
- Roach spreader:
  - illustration of 85
  - use of 85
- Roberts, F. H. H., Jr., cited 70
- Rock shelters, absence of, in Pawnee area 43
- Rosa pratincola, medicinal use of 59-60
- Royce, C. C., cited 22
- Rubbing stones, description of 76
- Ruins, of Pawnee villages 21-22
- "Sacred places", Pawnee, location of 6
- Sacrifice:
  - human, reference to 22, 57
  - of bison meat 61

Page

- Saldivar, expedition led by 10
- Sapir, E.:
  - cited 102
  - stocks classified by 2
- Schoolcraft, H. R., cited 1
- Schultz, C. B., acknowledgment to xi
- Schuyler site:
  - arrow points of 75
  - description of 39
  - location of 39
  - mention of 25
  - pottery from 73-74
- Scrapers:
  - antler 82
  - stone 76
- Seneca sites, flakers found at 85
- Shaft polishers, description of 80
- Shaft straighteners, description of 83
- Shellwork:
  - conclusions regarding 101
  - discussion of 86-87
- Shelter, summer, construction of 51
- Shrines, mention of 40
- Sibley, Major, cited 17, 25, 36
- Siouan tribes, arrival of, in Pawnee territory 96
  - *See also* Dakota.
- Sisseton, mention of 62
- Sites. *See* Village sites.
- Skeletal material, comment on 94
  - *See also* Burials.
- Skidi:
  - a Pawnee band 3
  - description of lodge of 44-45
  - Dorsey's theory concerning 8
  - location of 11, 17, 20
  - migration tradition of 8
  - population of 25
  - reference to human sacrifice of 22, 57
  - relations of, with Grand Pawnee 95
  - southward migration of 14
  - village sites of 25-29
  - *See also* Loups.
- Skidi band, relationship of, to other bands 95

Page

Skidi village:
  position of 17–18, 19, 20
  pottery from 64
  traditional situation of 22
Skin lodges, Skidi village of 28
  See also Tipi.
Skinner, Alanson, cited 67, 69, 81, 83, 85, 100
Skull Creek, village site on 29
Sleeping, arrangements for, in Pawnee lodge 45–46
Smith, David, visit of, to the Pawnee 22
Smoky Hill River, villages on 34
Social organization. *See* Tribal organization.
Spoons, horn, description of 86
Squash:
  seed of, in excavations 58
  varieties of 60
Stirling, M. W., beads identified by 80
Stonework:
  conclusions drawn from 100
  discussion of 74–81
Storage pits. *See* Caches.
Streams of the Pawnee country 6
Strong, William Duncan:
  acknowledgment to xi
  cited .... 2[illegible], 70, 76, 83, 89, 91, 99
  reference to work of x
Tablets, incised, description of 79
Tamariz, Felipe, report brought by 12
Tanning, tool used in 83
Taouaiches, joined by Panismaha 14
Tappage band:
  a Pawnee division 3
  location of 8, 20
  migration of 8
  situation of village of 19
  theory concerning 8
Tappages, village sites located by 34
Tarequè, habitations of 10
Tarpon Springs, Fla., specimens from 84
Tatarrax, mention of 9
Tattooing, name derived from 9
Tawakoni, classification of 2
Teeth, animal, sites showing 85–86
Teton Dakota, territory held by 4

Page

Textiles and weaving:
  conclusions regarding 101
  discussion of 90–91
Thayer, J. M.:
  cited 28
  council held by 22
Thomas, A. B., cited 13
Tichacek, Alfred:
  collection of .... x, 30, 43, 63
  Linwood site described by 30
Tipi:
  description of 50–51
  increase in use of 99
  skin, seasonal use of 43
  succeeded by earth lodge 50
Ti-ra'-wa, offerings to 6
Traditions. *See* Migration traditions.
Trails of the Pawnee 13
Treaty of Table Creek 22
Tribal organization of the Pawnee 3
Truteau, Jean Baptiste, expedition of 15
Tumuli:
  absence of 55
  obliteration of 91
Turk, the, reference to 9
Valverde:
  cited 2
  mention of expedition of 12
Village sites:
  classification of 24–25
  historic 23–38
  Pawnee, in Kansas 34
  protohistoric 38–42
  Skidi Pawnee 25–29
Villazur, expedition of 12
Villiers, Baron Marc de, cited 13
Waco, linguistic classification of 2
Waconda Spring, identified as "sacred place" 6
Wahpeton Dakota, mention of 62
Wampum, nearest approach to 87
Weaving and textiles:
  conclusions regarding 101
  discussion of 90–91
Wedel, Waldo R., cited 99
Wharton, Maj. Clifton:
  cited 31, 38
  Grand Pawnee village located by 20

Page

080

WHETSTONES:
- as grave offerings 79
- materials used for 79
- use of 80

WICHITA:
- included in Pawnee 2
- linguistic classification of 1, 2
- location of 11
- mention of 11
- migration legends of 7, 8–9
- relations of, with Pawnee 8–9

Page

WILKINSON, LIEUTENANT, cited 17, 35–36

000

WILL, G. F., AND SPINDEN, H. J., cited 12, 53, 67, 70, 71, 83, 84

WINSHIP, G. P., cited 2, 9

WISSLER, CLARK, cited 66, 83, 84, 99

WOLF PAWNEE, a Pawnee division 8

WOODWORKING:
- conclusions regarding 101
- discussion of 87–89

YSOPETE, mention of 9

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate 1.—Pawnee earth lodge and house site. *a*, earth lodge near Pawnee, Okla., in 1905. Photo by Nebraska Historical Society. *b*, general appearance of lodge floor, house 1, Hill site; diameter 44 feet, depth 16 inches. The center has been excavated slightly below the floor level. 342 172

Plate 2.—Vegetal material and textiles from the Hill site. *a*, tubers of *Apios tuberosa; b*, seeds of bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*); *c*, pits of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*); *d*, pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*); *e*, grains of charred flint corn (*Zea mays*); *f*, charred corncobs; *g*, *i*, fragments of bison-hair textile; *h*, hank or rope of bison hair; *j–l*, rush matting. 172 137 28

Plate 3.—Pawnee vessels from various sites. *a* and *c* are from Palmer site; *a* is 4½ inches high and 4⅞ inches in maximum diameter; *c* is 4⅛ inches high by 4⅞ inches in diameter; *b* and *d* are from the Hill site, both restored; *b* is 3¾ inches by 3¼ inches across; *d* is 7 inches tall and 6 inches in diameter. 173 415

Plate 4.—Complete vessels, probably Pawnee. *a* is 9 inches tall and 7¾ inches in diameter and shows all of the best diagnostics for Pawnee ware in both form and ornamentation; found on Prairie Creek, near Archer, Nebr. *b* is 5¾ inches high by 5⅛ inches across; found in the Cedar River, near Fullerton, Nebr., and is of uncertain origin. Nebraska Historical Society collections. 172 415 531

Plate 5.—Pawnee type rim sherds from various historic sites. *a–f*, Hill site; *g*, Horse Creek; *h–n*, Palmer site. *b*, *d–f*, *i*, *k*, illustrate the typical rim design; *a*, *h*, *l*, *n*, show the herringbone motif, second in abundance. Nearly all have lip indentations. 172 531

Plate 6.—Selected rim sherds from Burkett site. All bear lip indentations. Note similarity of *b*, *h*, *j*, *l*, to historic Pawnee motifs (preceding plate). Handles occur on all but *h*, *j*, *l*, *n*.

Plate 7.—Stonework from Hill site. *a–m* are from graves, one being nearly always in or near the left hand of every adult male skeleton. *a*, *f* 2½ inches long; *j* is 5½ inches long. *n–t* are arrowshaft buffers, of dark-brown coarse sandstone. In *p*, *q*, *r* are shown three perfectly matched pairs, each as found; they measure 4½, 7½, and 5 inches in length, respectively. 172 324

Plate 8.—Pipes and mortuary offerings, various sites. *h*, *i* are from Burkett site; all others from Hill site. They are made of catlinite or some other fine-grained red stone; *a* is of gray material, *g* of coarse red sandstone. *f* is 4¾ inches long with a square-topped bowl 1⅞ inches tall; found with a child burial. *i* is less than 1 inch long. Note straight specimen of cloudblower type, *b*; also perforated keel in *j*, groove about outer end of *h*, and small loop on top of *i*, for attachment of a thong. *l*, gray sandstone pipe, 2⅝ inches tall by 1⅝ inches long. *m*, perforated or grooved shell objects probably worn as ear or hair ornaments; longest pair 4½ inches long and three-eighths inch in diameter. *n*, blue glass trade beads, probably obtained from Hudson Bay Company; they are about the size of a pea, very crude, and blue, red, or transparent in color. 172 276 301 532

p

172 PLATE 9.—Bonework from historic Pawnee sites. *a* is a 12½-inch pick made
of the ulna of a bison; *b*, hide-tanning tool; *c*, two small picks made of deer
321 antler, each about 7 inches long; *d*, arrowshaft straighteners made of bison
412 rib; *e*, bone awls; *f*, hide scraper of elk horn, 12 inches long. *g–n*, bone paint
brushes cut from joints of bison and other large animals; none measures more
than 2 inches in greatest dimensions. *f*, is from the Palmer site; the other
specimens are from the Hill site.

PLATE 10.—Bone tools from historic Pawnee sites. *a–d*, digging tools made from bison scapulae. *a*, from the Hill site, measures 14 inches by 7 inches and was originally square-bladed; *b*, from the Palmer site, is 11 inches long and 6 inches wide; *c* and *d* are from a cache east of Genoa, *d* measuring 15 inches by 6 inches. *e–k*, fleshing tools; *e* and *k* are each 9 inches long, *i* is 6½ inches, and all are finely notched on the edges. Note perforation in *j* for passage of a thong about the wrist of the operator. *e*, *j*, and *k* from Palmer site; *f*, *g*, Hill site; *h*, *i*, Clarks site.

172 PLATE 11.—Pawnee burials. *a*, burial 3, Hill site, showing fragments of
broken cradle board (?) and rush matting which covered remains; *b*, burial 3,
764 Hill site, after removal of covering; *c*, burial 2, Hill site, showing old powder
canister or canteen back of head; *d*, burial at the Palmer site, with a complete pot as the sole mortuary offering.

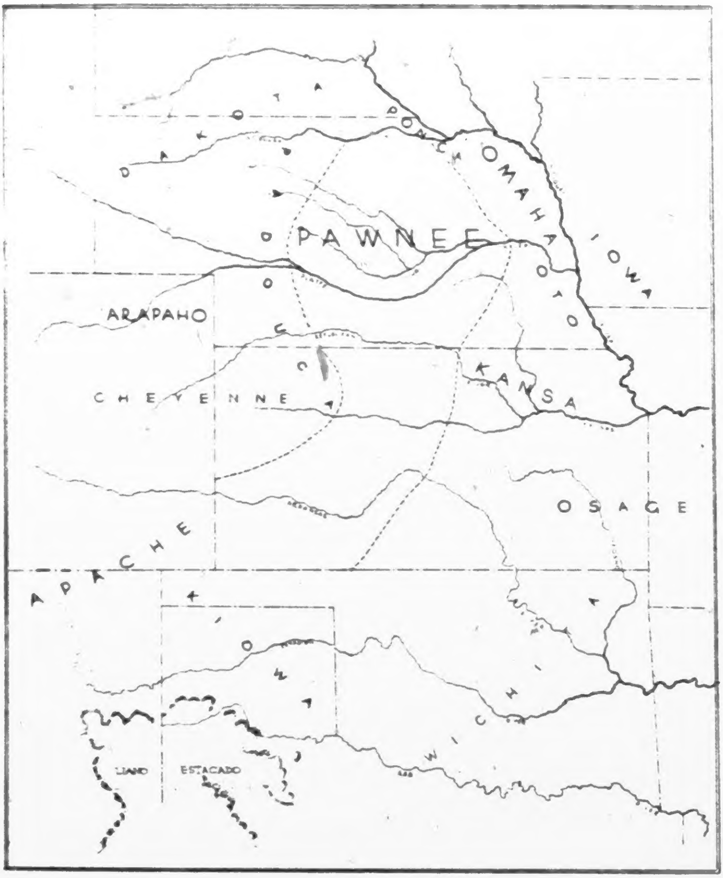
PLATE 12.—Metal trade material from the Hill site. Historic Pawnee.
172 *a*, army canteen of early nineteenth century type from burial 2 (see p. 92 and
177 pl. 11, *c*); *b*, *e*, iron lance heads from caches; *c*, hammer from flintlock; *d*,
411 bridle bit; *f*, arrowpoints cut from iron hoe blades; *g*, three lead rings (see pp.
79 and 92); *h*, lead pistol ball; *i*, piece of gun barrel; *j*, belt buckle; *k*, small
412 chisel; *l*, *frizel* from flintlock; *m*, iron hoe of type usually found on historic
Pawnee sites, this specimen with remains of charred wooden handle still visible
in the socket.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY BULLETIN 112 MAP 1

101
102
131


DAKOTA
PONCA
OMAHA
IOWA
PAWNEE
OTO
ARAPAHO
CHEYENNE
KANSA
OSAGE
APACHE
KIOWA
WICHITA
LLANO ESTACADO

TRIBAL MAP OF THE CENTRAL PLAINS ABOUT 1800.

[End Map 1.]

11: Wedel
102, 131, 133, 172

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Chart of Positions of End Map 2

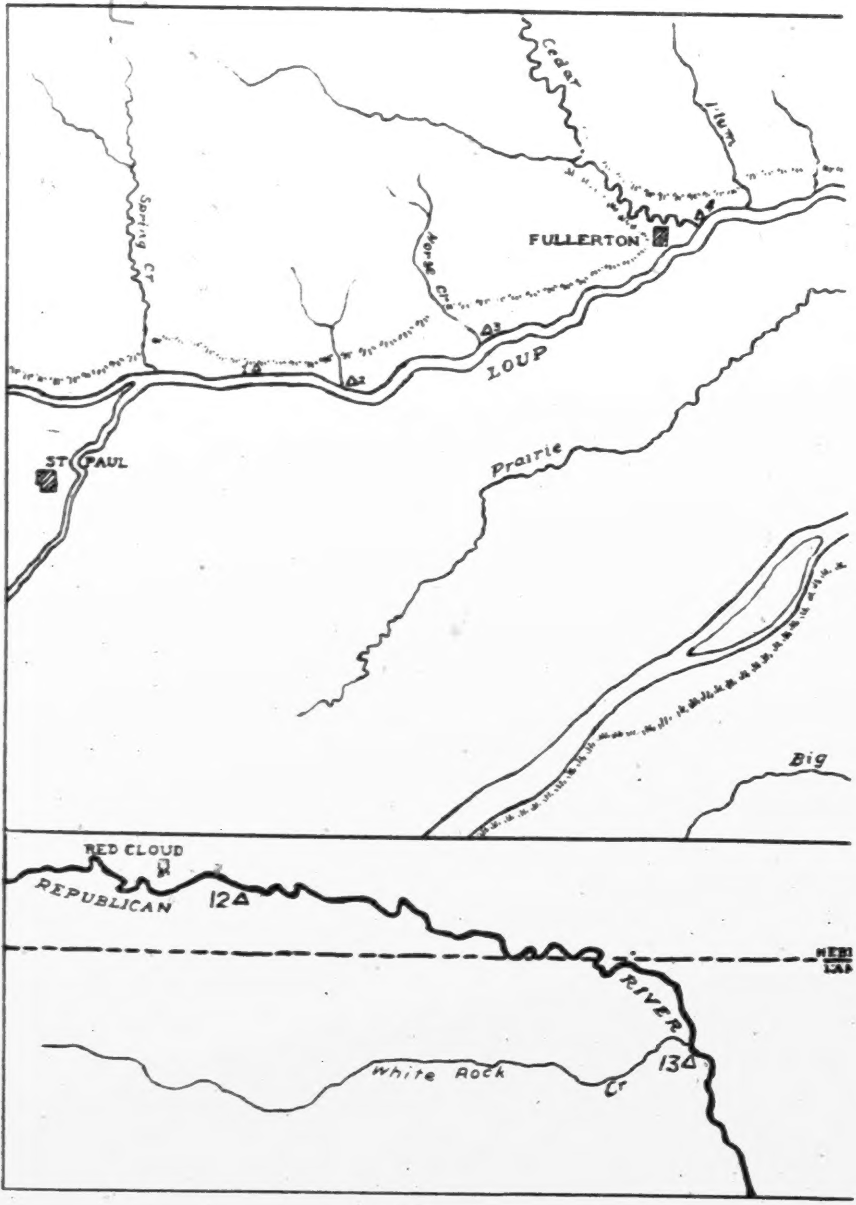
Sec. A	Sec. B	Sec. C	Sec. D	Sec. E

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

102
131
133
172

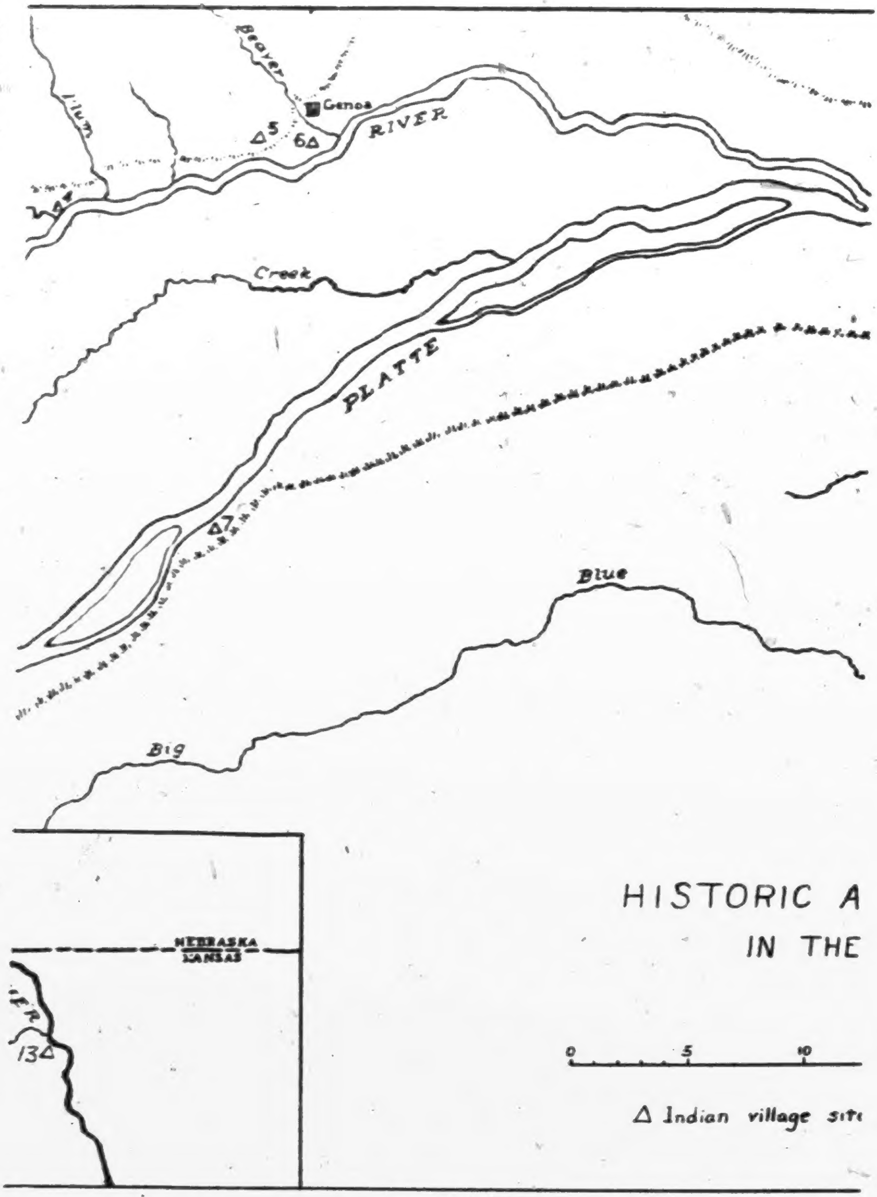

Cedar
Plum
Spring Cr
Horse Cr
FULLERTON
4
3
1
2
LOUP
ST. PAUL
Prairie
Big
RED CLOUD
REPUBLICAN
12
RIVER
White Rock Cr
13

[End Map 2(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
131
133
172


Beaver
Genoa
Δ5
6Δ
RIVER
Creek
PLATTE
Δ7
Blue
Big
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
ER
13Δ
HISTORIC A
IN THE
0
5
10
Δ Indian village sit

HISTORIC AND PROT

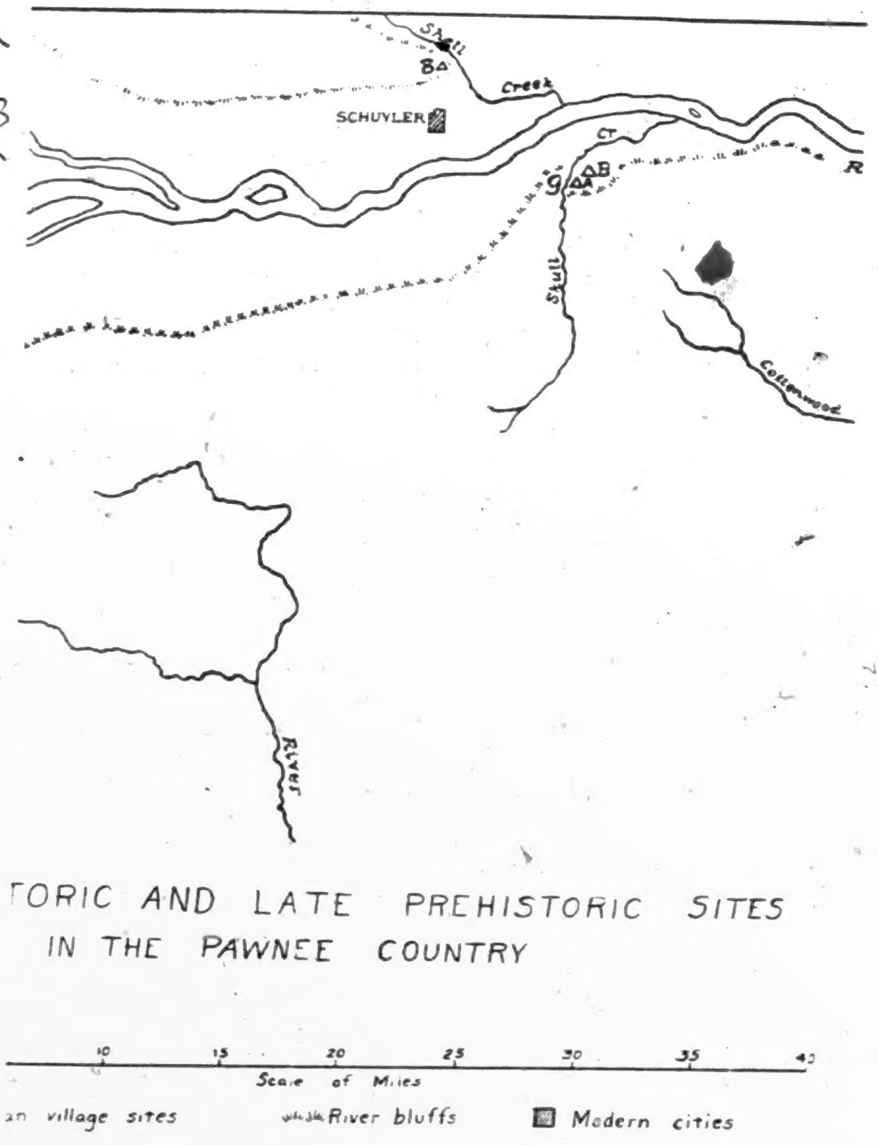
Based on early

[End Map 2(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
131
133
172


Skull
Creek
8
SCHUYLER
Cr
B
9
R
Skull
Cottonwood
River
TORIC AND LATE PREHISTORIC SITES
IN THE PAWNEE COUNTRY
10
15
20
25
30
35
4
Scale of Miles
an village sites
River bluffs
▨ Modern cities

ORIC AND PROTOHISTORIC SITES IN THE NORTHERN PAWNEE AREA.

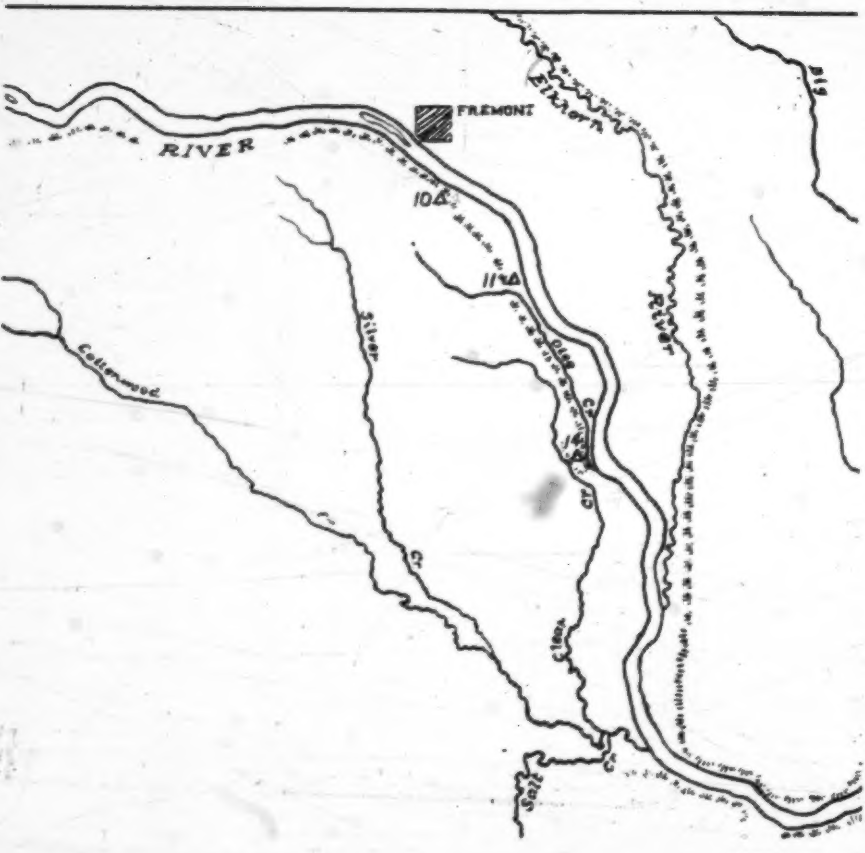
Based on early maps and journals, and on archeological investigations

[End Map 2(C)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
131
133
172


FREMONT
RIVER
Elkhorn
River
Big
10
11
14
Cottonwood
Silver
Cr
Clear
Cr
Salt

KEY TO S

Pawnee unless otherw

1. Palmer site
2. Cottonwood Creek site
3. Horse Creek site
4. Fullerton site
5. Burkett site (?)
6. Genoa site
7. Clarks site

SITES

35 40

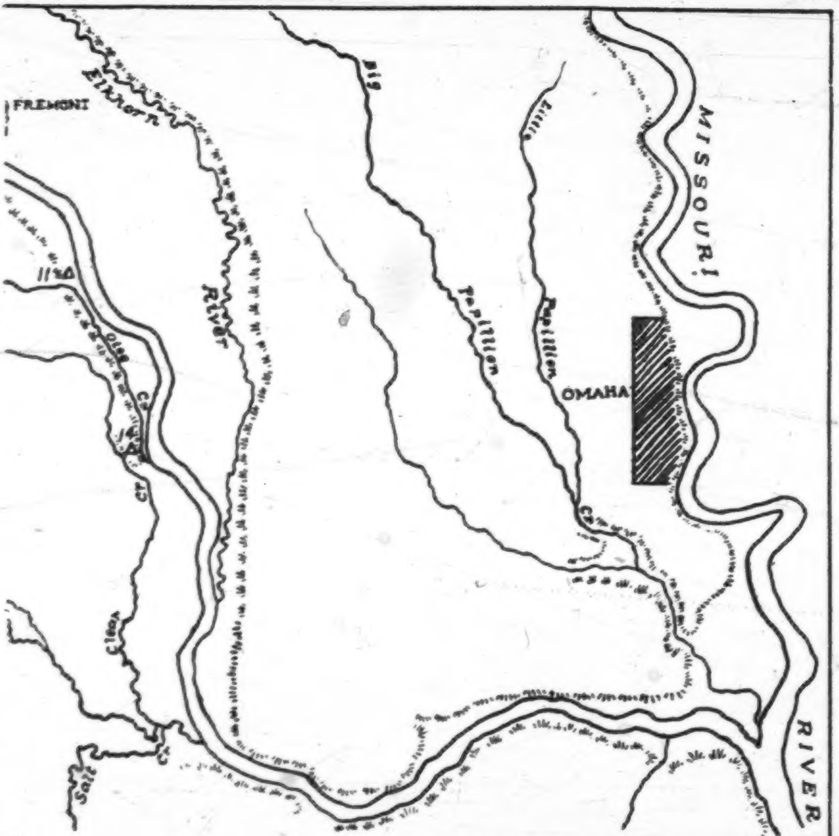
cities

[End Map 2 (D)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
131
133
172


FREMONT
Elkhorn
Big
Little
MISSOURI
River
Papillion
Papillion
OMAHA
11
Otoe
Cr.
14
Cr.
Clear
Cr.
Cr.
Salt
RIVER

KEY TO SITES

Pawnee unless otherwise indicated

1. Palmer site
2. Cottonwood Creek site
3. Horse Creek site
4. Fullerton site
5. Burkett site (?)
6. Genoa site
7. Clarks site
8. Schuyler site (?)
9 Linwood site
10. McClaine site
11. Leshara site
12. Hill site
13. Kansas Monument site
14. Yutan site (Oto)

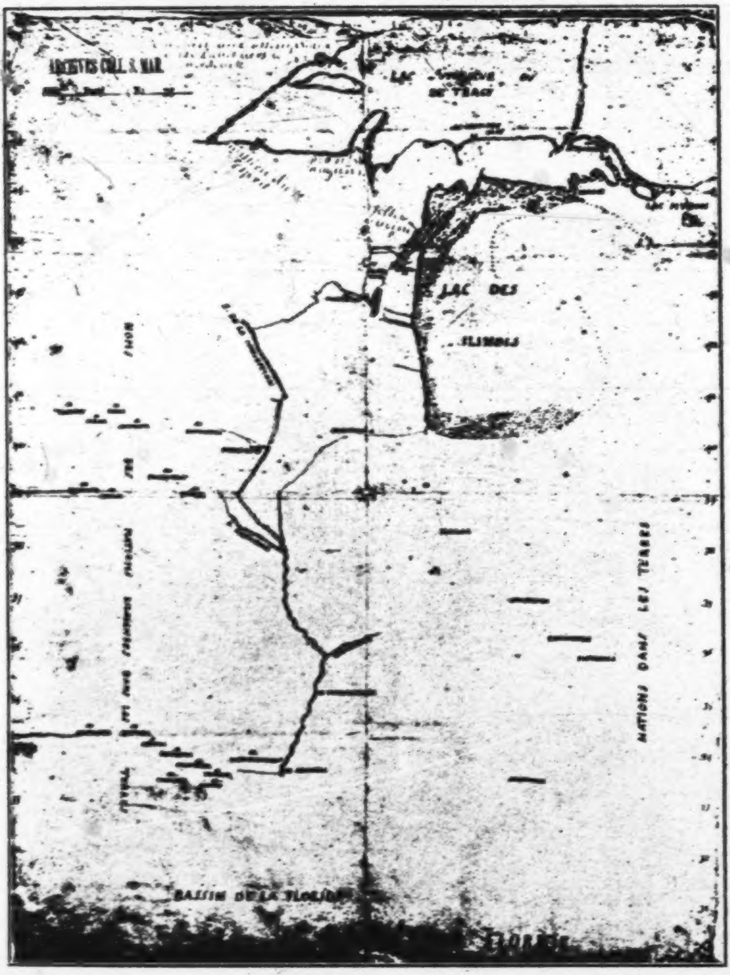
[End Map 2(E)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY   BULLETIN 112 MAP 3


ARCHIVIS COLL. S. MAR.
LAC DES ILINOIS
NATIONS DANS LES TERRES
BASSIN DE LA FLORIDE
FLORIDE

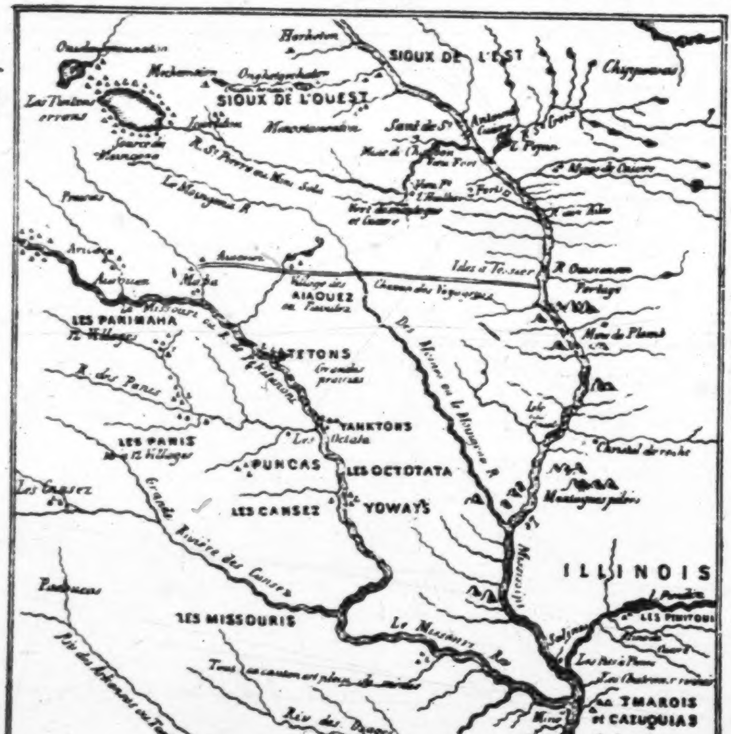
MARQUETTE'S MAP, 1673–74.
From the Jesuit Relations, volume LIX, page 108.

[End Map 3]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
131


SIOUX DE L'EST
Chippoways
SIOUX DE L'OUEST
Sault de St Antoine
R. St Pierre ou Mini Sota
Village des AIAOUEZ
LES PARIMAHA 12 Villages
TETONS
R. des Panis
YANKTONS
LES PANIS 12 Villages
PUNCAS
LES OCTOTATA
Les Canses
LES CANSEZ
YOWAYS
ILLINOIS
LES MISSOURIS
Grande Rivière des Canses
Le Missouri
Mississipi
TAMAROIS et CATUQUIAS
PAYS DES OSAGES

LE SEUER'S MAP, 1701.

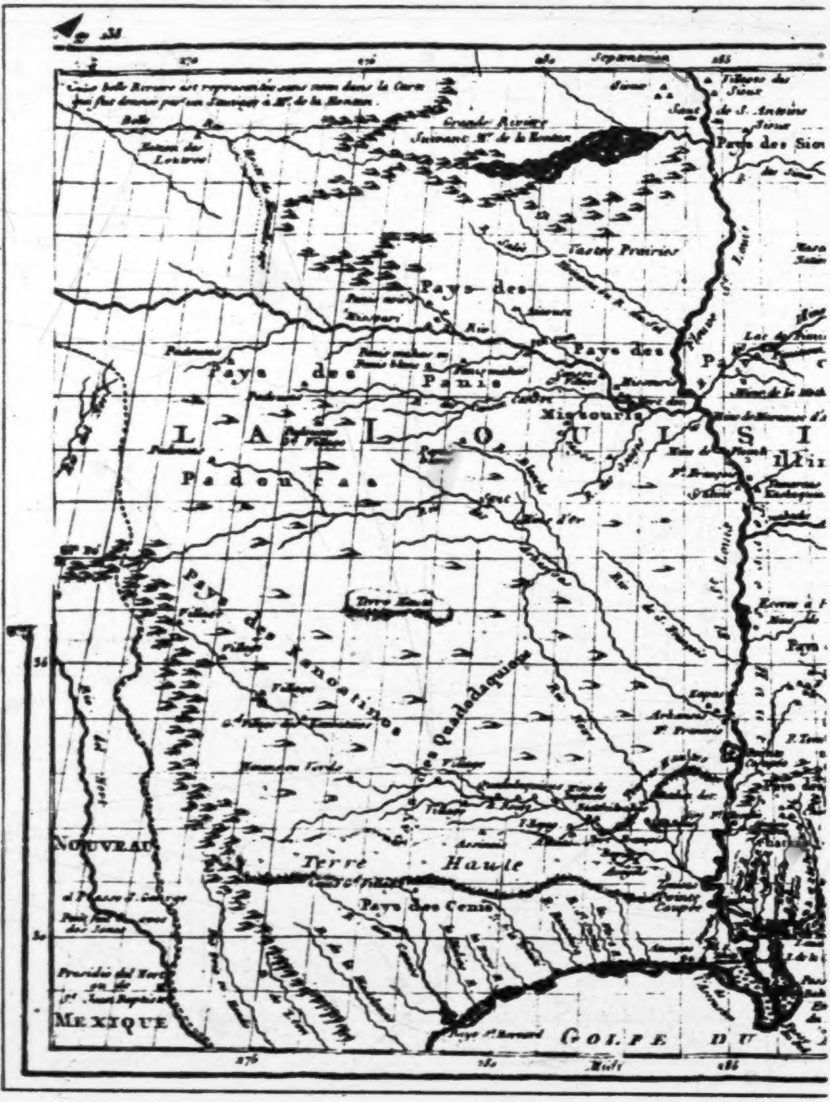
From the South Dakota Historical Collections, volume I, page 49.

[End Map 4]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
131


Paÿs des Sioux
Grande Riviere Suivant Mr. de la Hontan
Vastes Prairies
Pays des Panis
Padoucas
L A L O U I S I
Missouris
Pays des Canocatinos
Terre Haute
Terre Haute
Pays des Cenis
Nouveau
Mexique
Golfe du

DU PRATZ'S MAP OF LOUISIAN

From Histoire de la Louisiane, tome premi

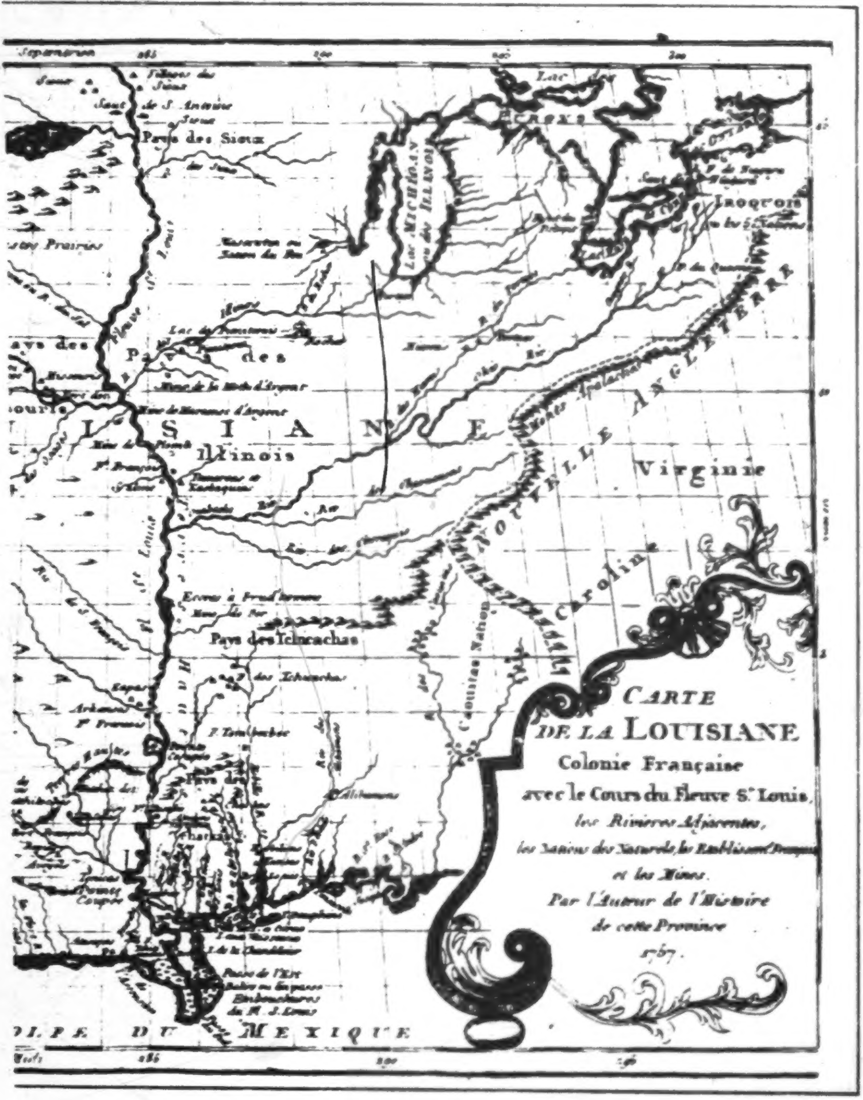
[End Map 5 (A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BULLETIN 112 MAP 5

101
102
131


Pays des Sioux
Lac Michigan ou des Illinois
Iroquois
Pays des
Missouris
Louisiane
Illinois
Nouvelle Angleterre
Virginie
Caroline
Pays des Tchicachas
Golfe du Mexique
Carte de la Louisiane
Colonie Française
avec le Cours du Fleuve St. Louis,
les Rivieres Adjacentes,
les Nations des Naturels, les Etablissemts François
et les Mines.
Par l'Auteur de l'Histoire
de cette Province
1757.

RATZ'S MAP OF LOUISIANA, 1757.

oire de la Louisiane, tome premiere, page 138.

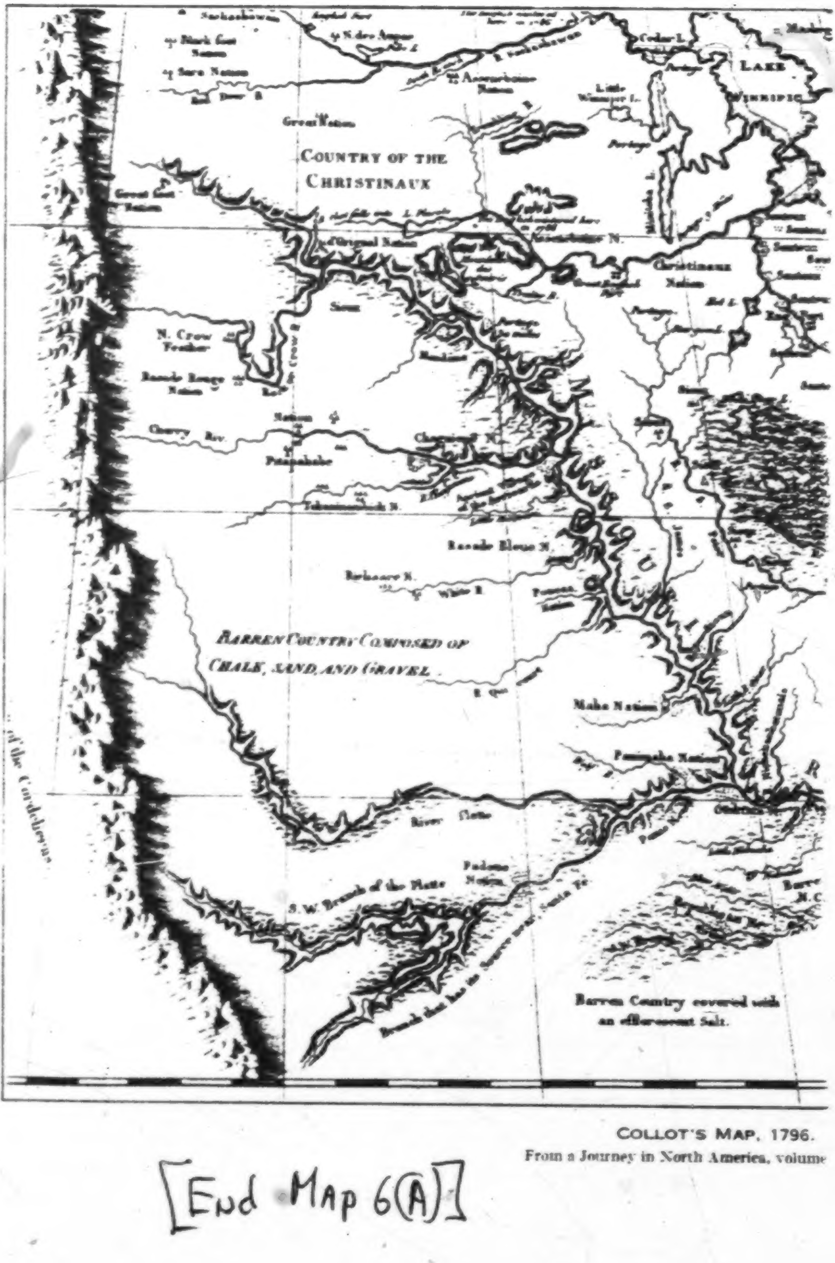
[End Map 5(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
131
133


Saskashawan
Black foot Nation
Sura Nation
Red Deer R.
Great Nation
COUNTRY OF THE CHRISTINAUX
Cedar L.
LAKE WINNIPIC
Little Winnipic L.
Portage
Assiniboine Nation
Manitoba L.
Christinaux Nation
Siou
N. Crow Feather
Racade Rouge Nation
Cherry Rev.
Nation
Pitapahato
Racade Bleue N.
White R.
BARREN COUNTRY COMPOSED OF CHALK, SAND, AND GRAVEL
Maha Nation
Panimaha Nation
River Platte
Padouca Nation
S.W. Branch of the Platte
Branch that has its Source near Santa Fe
Barren Country covered with an efflorescent Salt.
of the Cordelieras
R

COLLOT'S MAP, 1796.
From a Journey in North America, volume

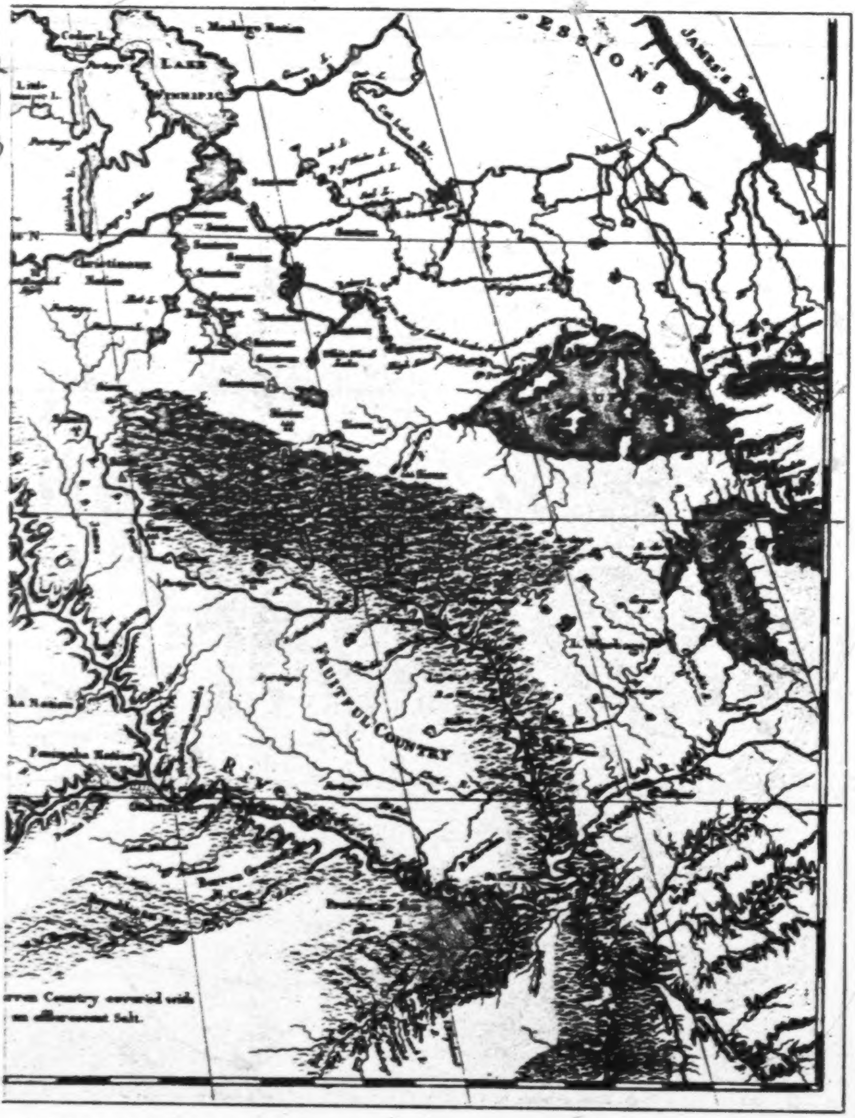
[End Map 6(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BULLETIN 112 MAP 6

101
102
131
133



ESSIONS
JAMES'S B
LAKE
WINNIPIC
Christinaux Nation
FRUITFUL COUNTRY
River
arren Country covered with
an efflorescent Salt.

COLLOT'S MAP, 1796.

ourney in North America, volume I, page 281.

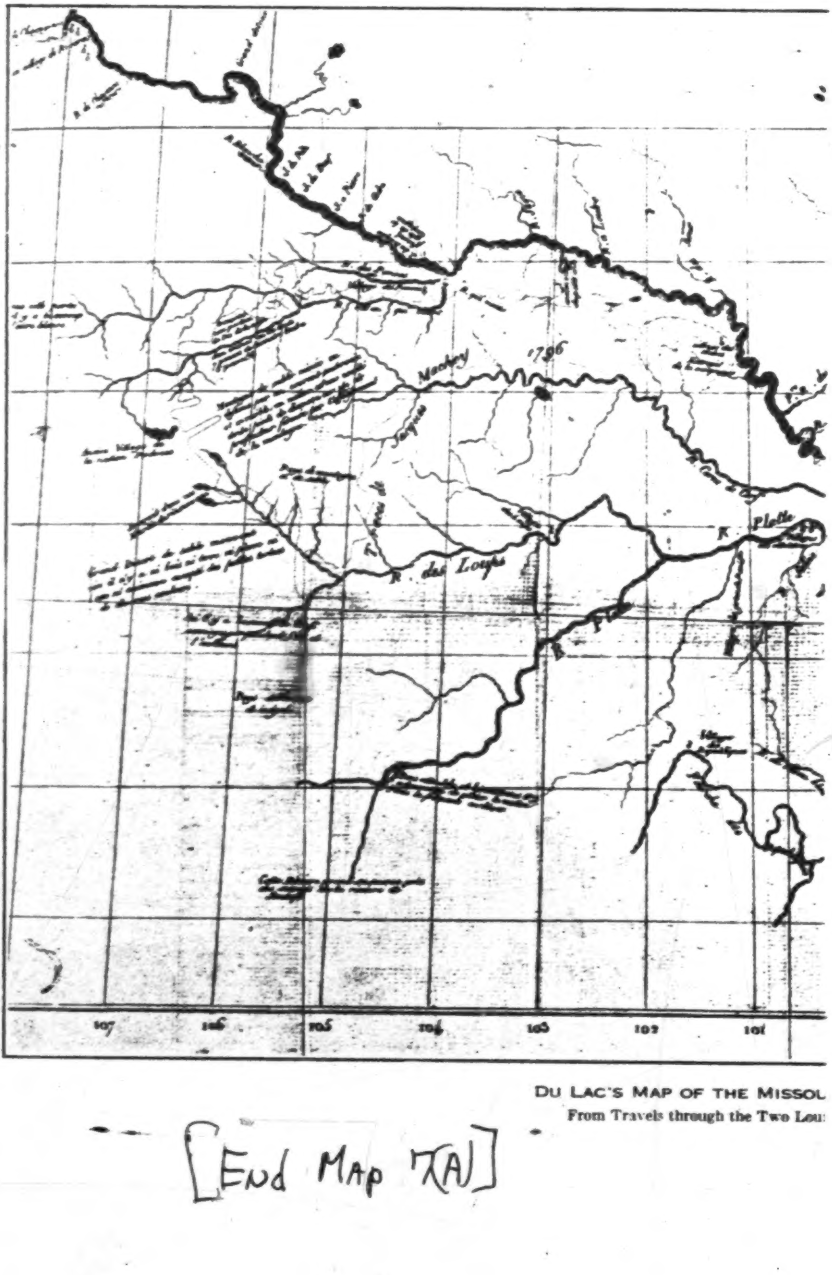
[End Map 6(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
131
133


1796
Mackay
R. des Loups
R. Platte
107
106
105
104
103
102
101

DU LAC'S MAP OF THE MISSOU

From Travels through the Two Lou

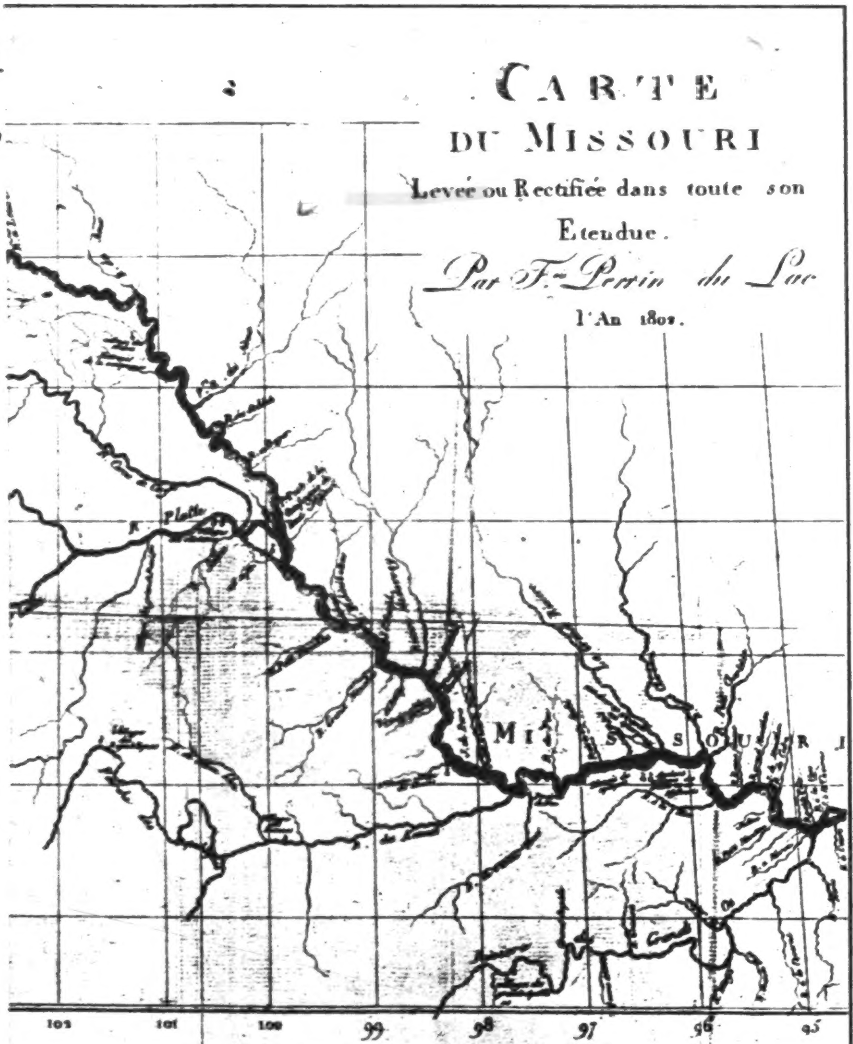
[End Map 7(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BULLETIN 112 MAP 7

101
102
131
133


CARTE
DU MISSOURI
Levée ou Rectifiée dans toute son Etendue.
Par F. Perrin du Lac
l'An 1802.
R. Platte
MISSOURI
102
101
100
99
98
97
96
95

C'S MAP OF THE MISSOURI, 1802.
n Travels through the Two Louisianas...

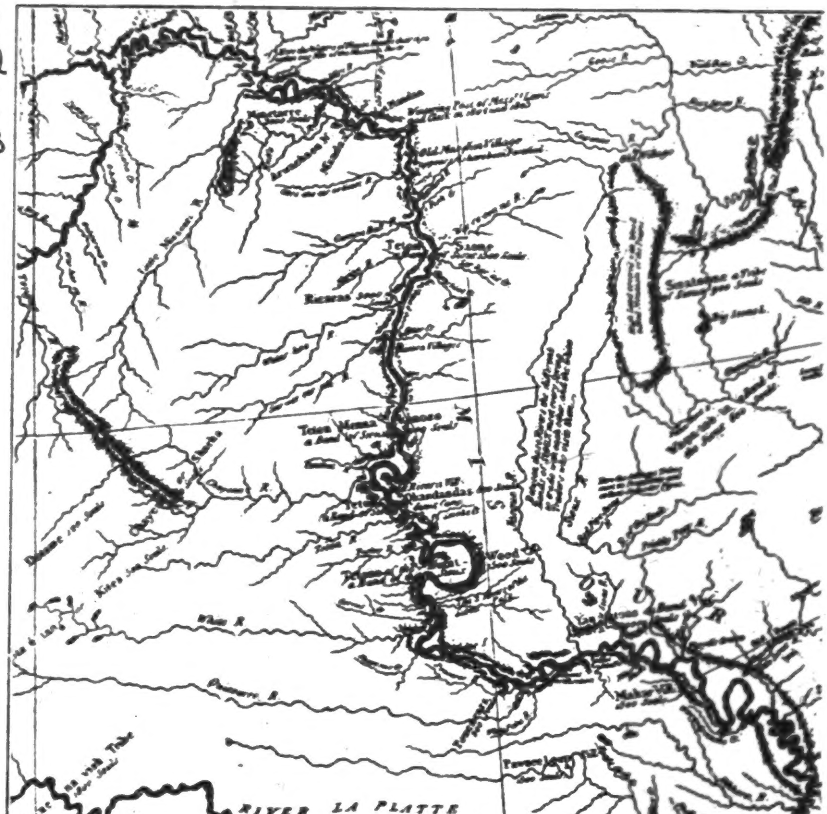
[End Map 7(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
131
133


RIVER LA PLATTE
Republican Fork
Solomons Fork
KANSAS
Pawnee R.
White R.
105 LONGITUDE WEST FROM LONDON
100°

LEWIS AND CLARK'S MAP.
From Travels to the Source of the Missouri

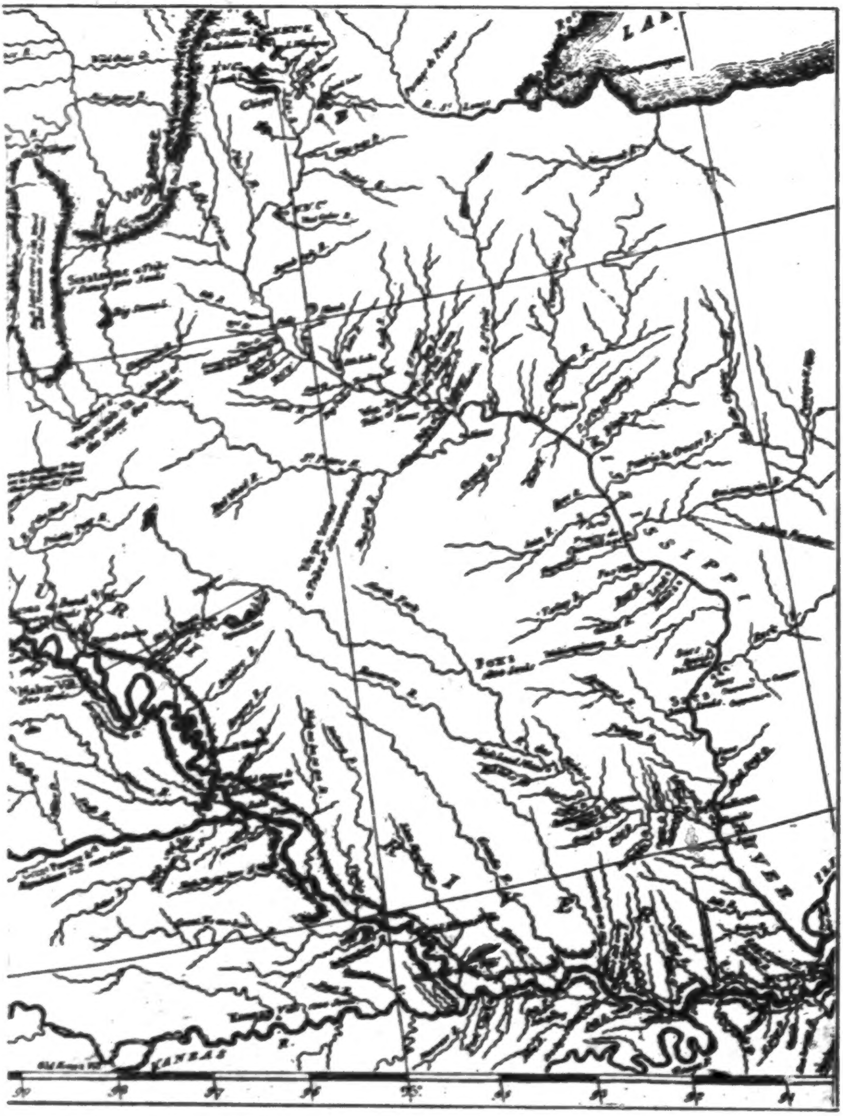
[End Map 8(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BULLETIN 112 MAP 8

101
102
131
133


LA
SSIPPI
Fox
RIVER
KANSAS
R.
99
98
97
96
95
94
93
92
91

VIS AND CLARK'S MAP, 1804.

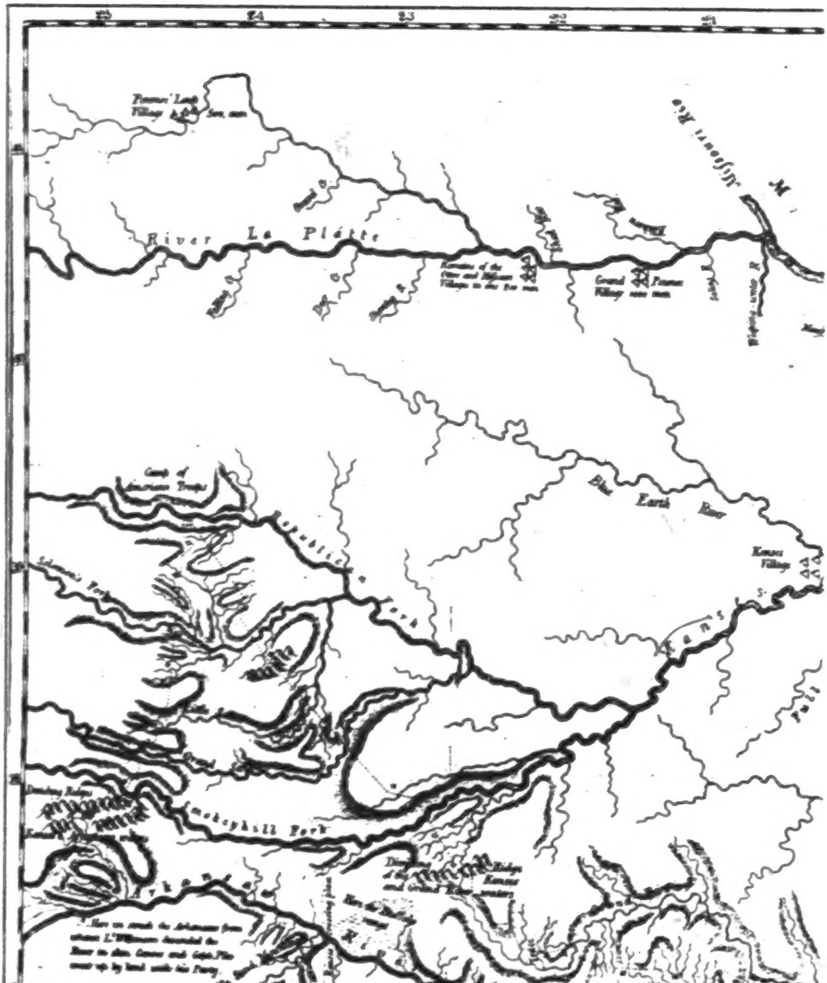
to the Source of the Missouri River, volume I.

[End Map 8(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
131
133


25
24
23
22
21
Pawnee Loup Village
Missouri Riv
River La Platte
Grand Pawnee Village
Camp of American Troops
Blue Earth River
Kansas Village
Republican Fork
Kans s R
Smokyhill Fork
Pawnee hunting Ground
Kansas hunting Ground

PIKE'S MAP, 1806.

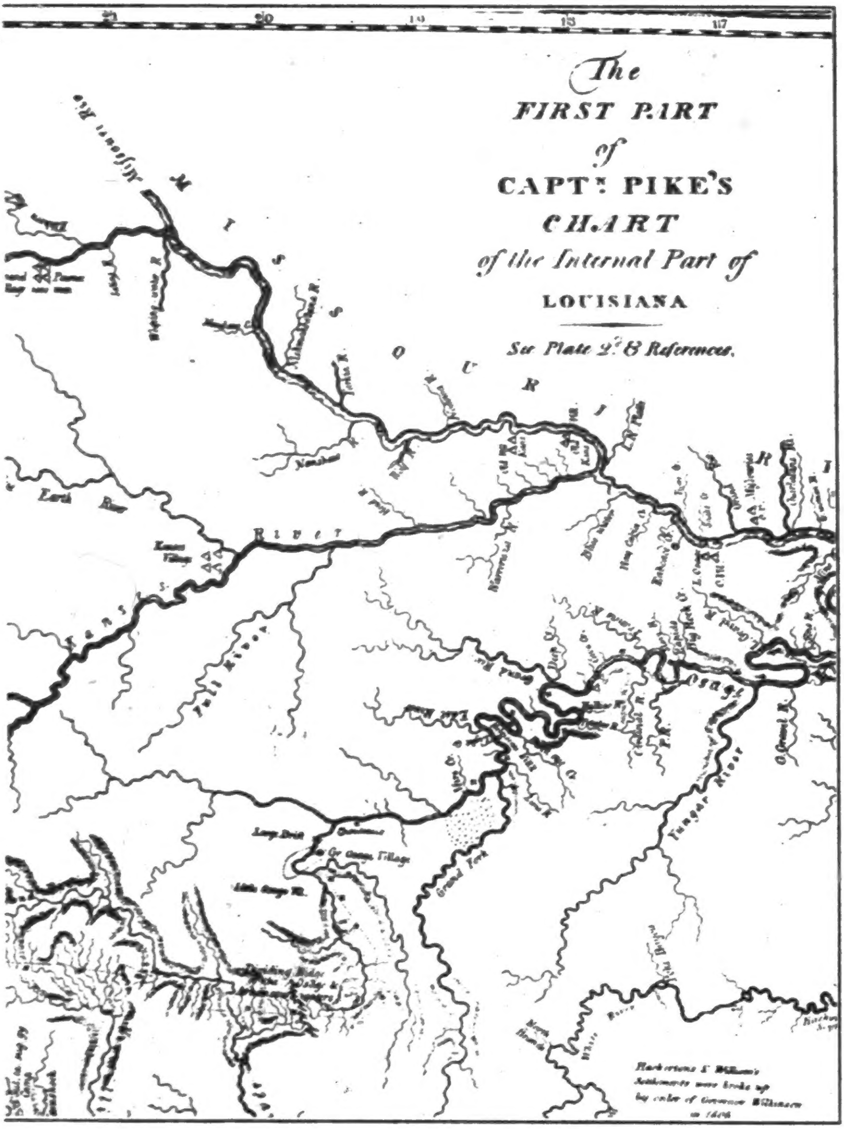
From An Account of Expeditions to the Sources o

[End Map 9 (A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
131
133


The
FIRST PART
of
CAPT.N PIKE'S
CHART
of the Internal Part of
LOUISIANA
See Plate 2d & References.
MISSOURI
Missouri River
Kansas River
Kanses Village
Earth River
Nemahaw
Osage
Osage River
Grand Fork
Tungar River
Great Osage Village
Hackerstons & Wilkinson's Settlements were broke up by order of Governor Wilkinson in 1806

PIKE'S MAP, 1806.

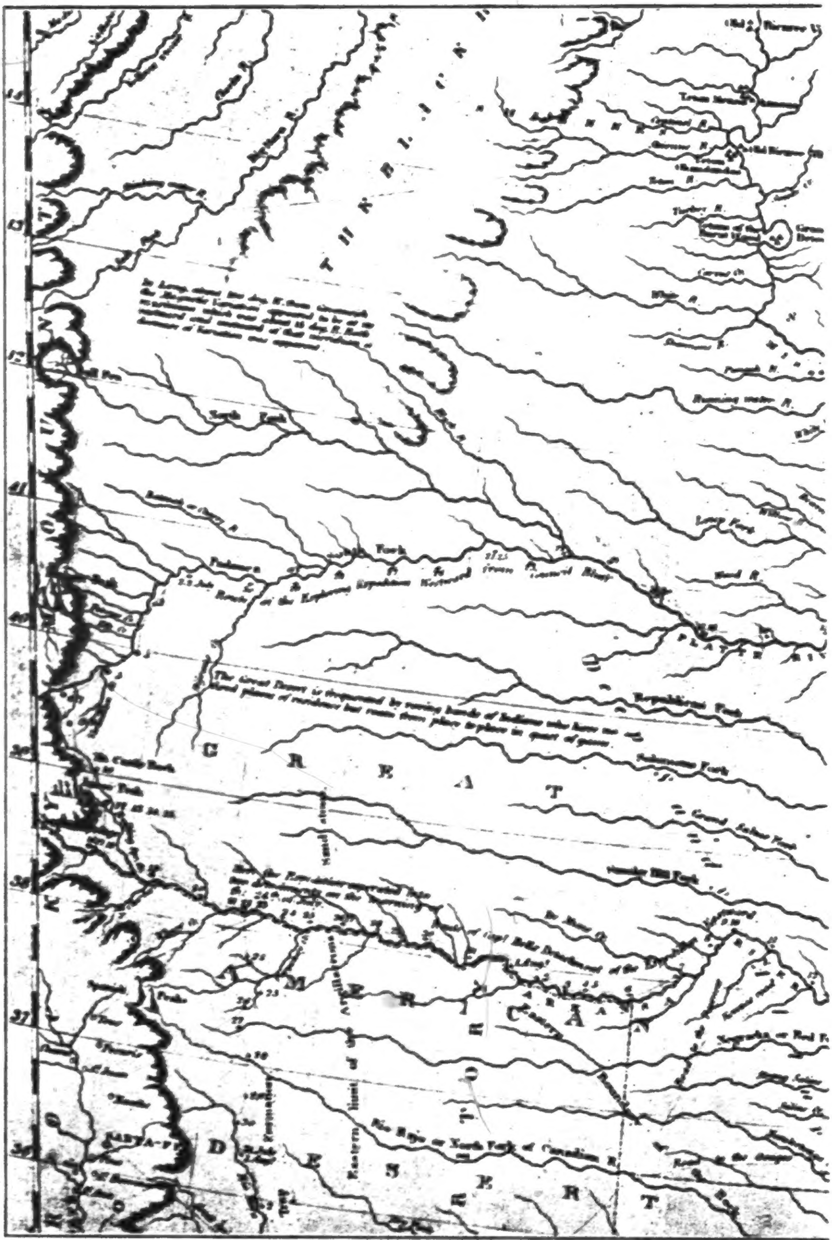
of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, etc.

[End Map 9 (B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
131
133

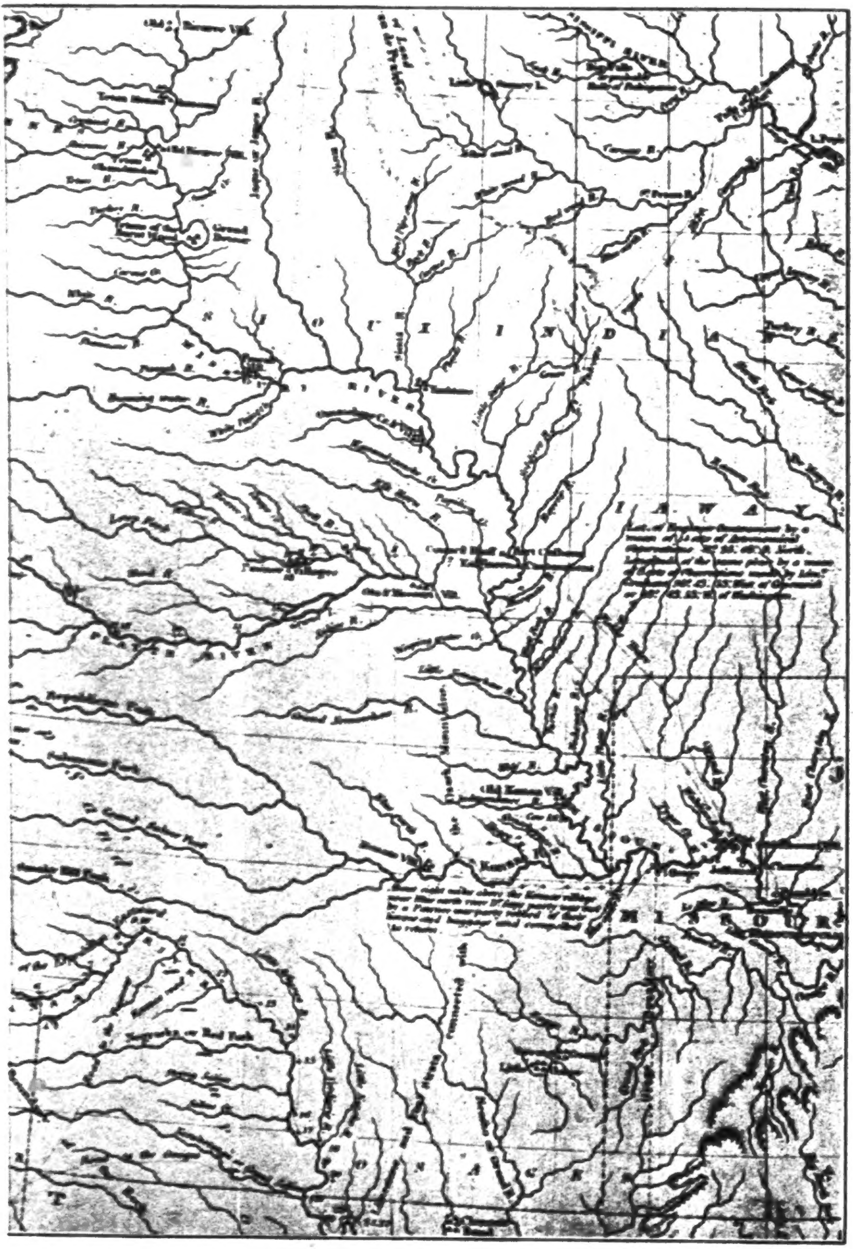

GREAT
AMERICAN
DESERT
PLATTE RIVER
Republican Fork
Grand Saline Fork
Loup Fork
SANTA-FE

LONG'S MAP, 1819.

From Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the

[End Map 10 (A)]

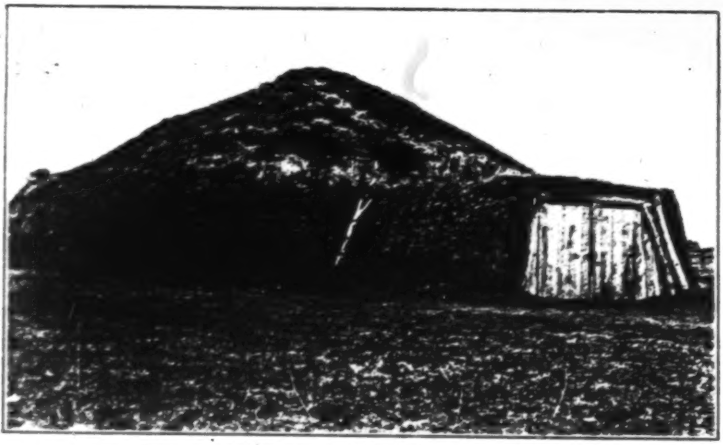
101
102
131
133


PLATTE RIVER
I A W A Y
M I S S O U R I

LONG'S MAP, 1819.
pedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, atlas.

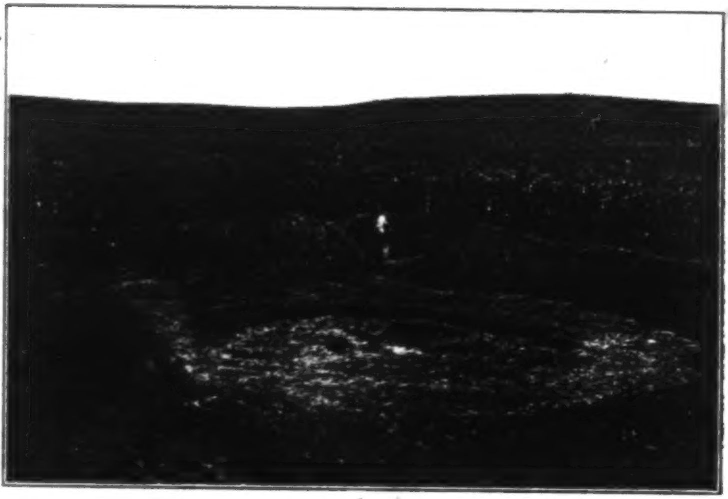
[End Map 10 (B)]

342



a

342
172



b

MODERN PAWNEE EARTH LODGE AND EXCAVATED HISTORIC HOUSE SITE.

[End Plate 1]

[37]

[38]

172

[End Plate 2]

f
b
c
e
a
i
l
h
k
g
j

VEGETABLE MATERIAL AND TEXTILES FROM THE HILL SITE (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

11: Wedel A-4,5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

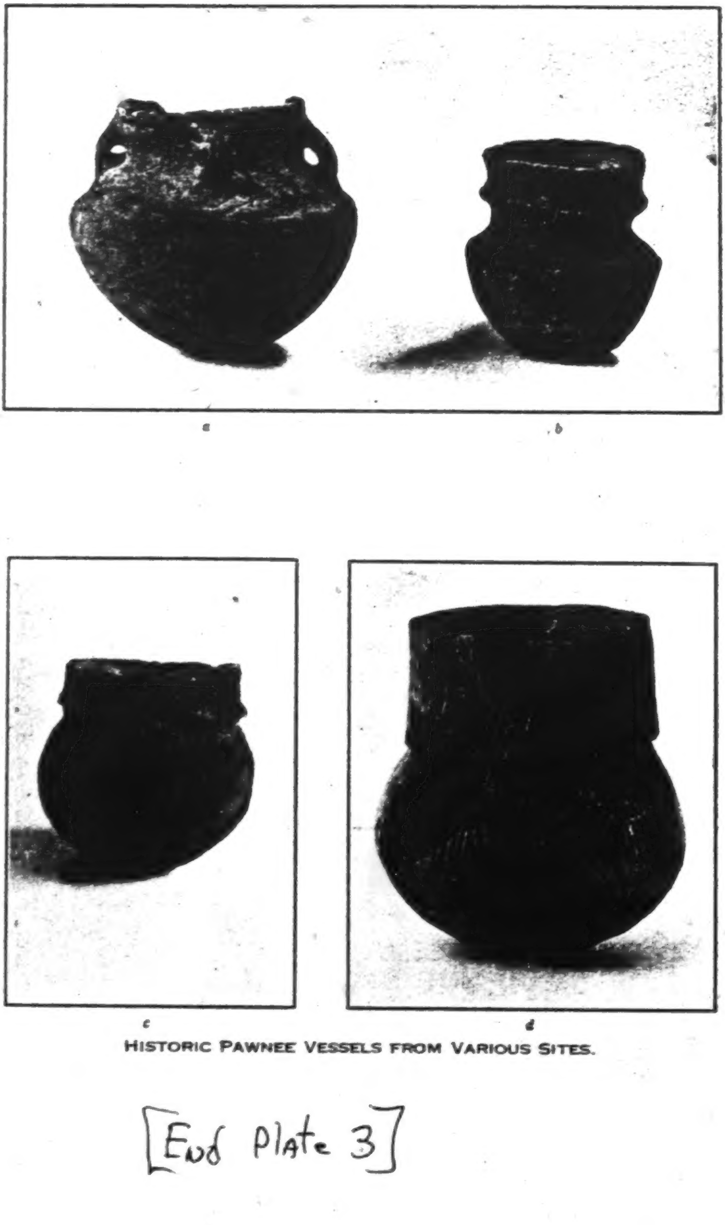
11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY BULLETIN 112 PLATE 3

172
415

[531]



a b

c d

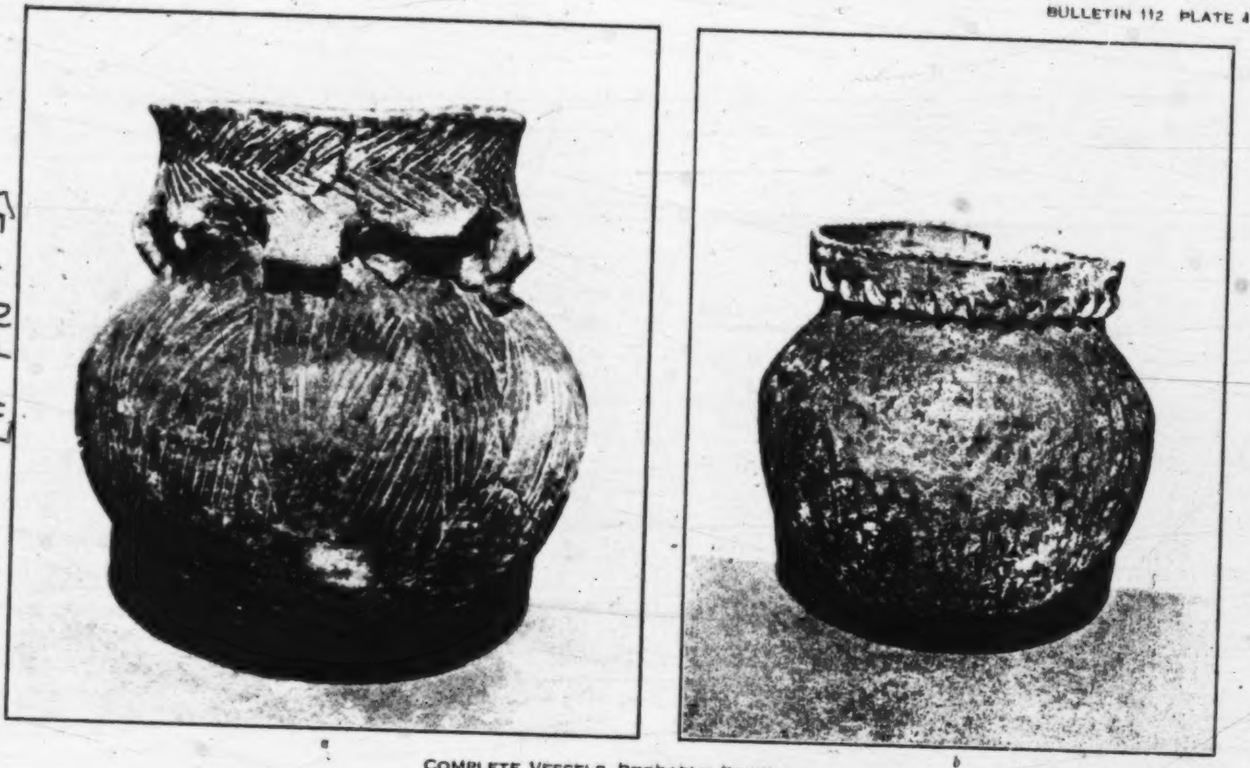
HISTORIC PAWNEE VESSELS FROM VARIOUS SITES.

[End Plate 3]

172
415
531

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[End Plate 4]

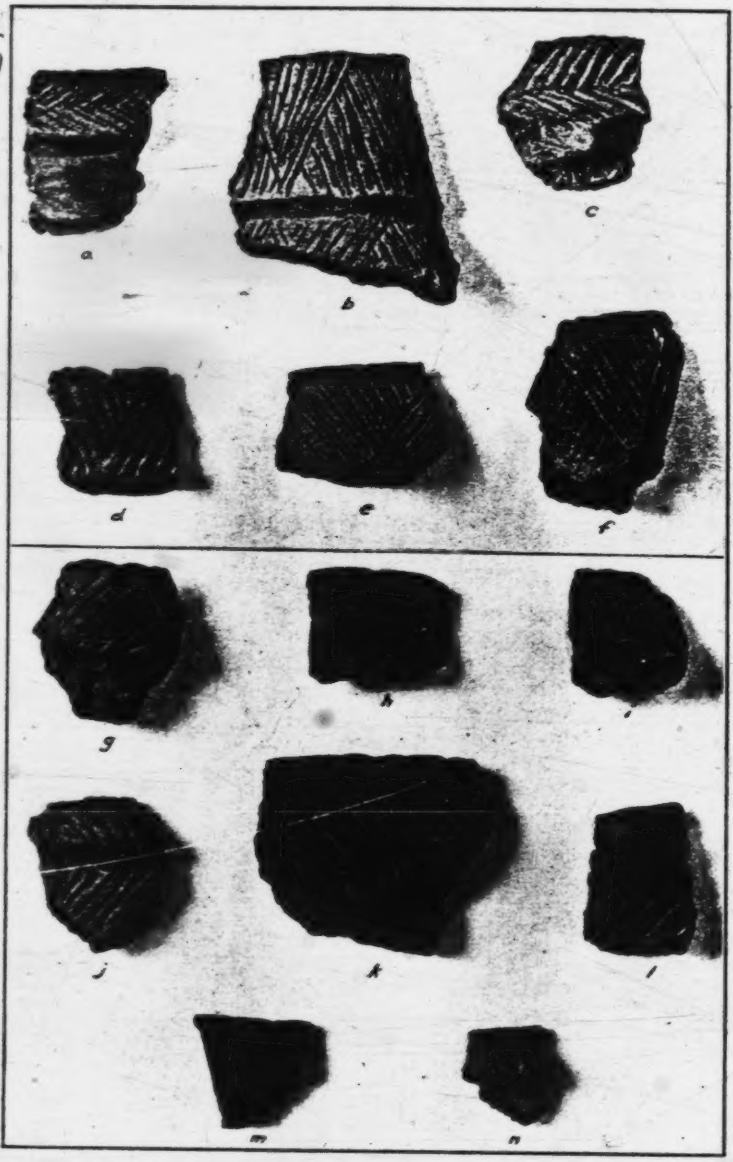


COMPLETE VESSELS, PROBABLY PAWNEE.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

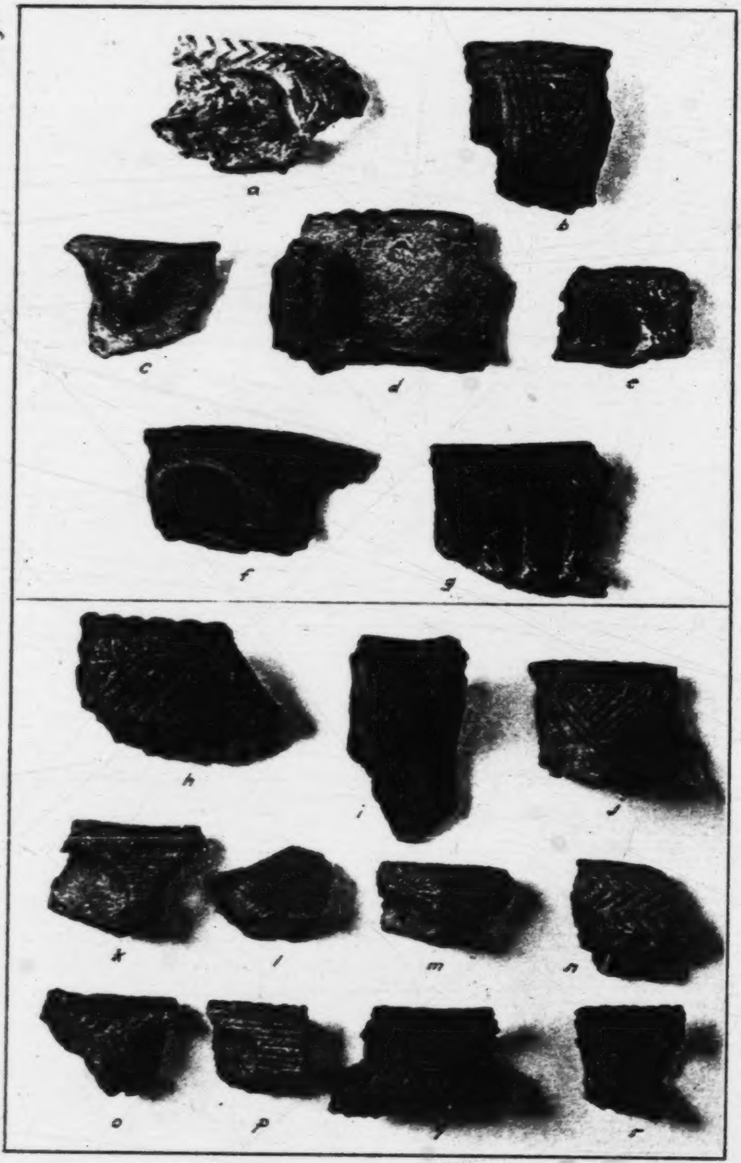
172
531



PAWNEE TYPE RIM SHERDS FROM VARIOUS HISTORIC SITES.

[End Plate 5]

172
531


a
b
c
d
e
f
g
h
i
j
k
l
m
n
o
p
q
r

SELECTED RIM SHERDS FROM BURKETT SITE (PROTOHISTORIC PAWNEE).

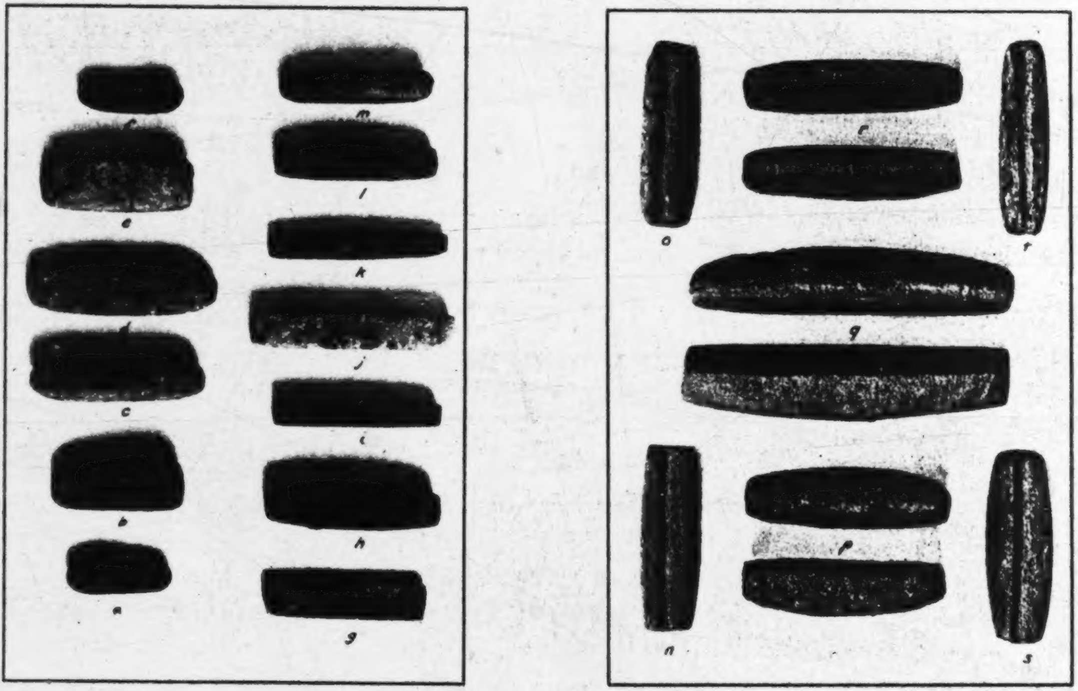
[End Plate 6]

172
324

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

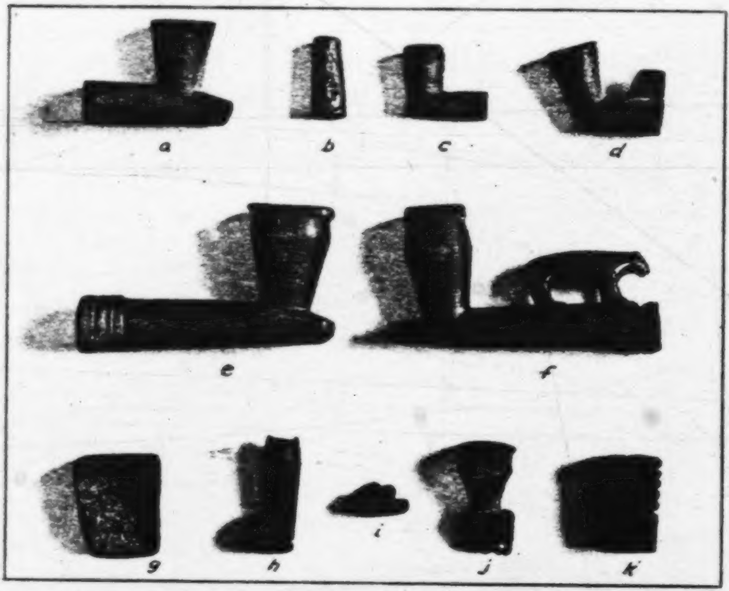
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

End Plate 7

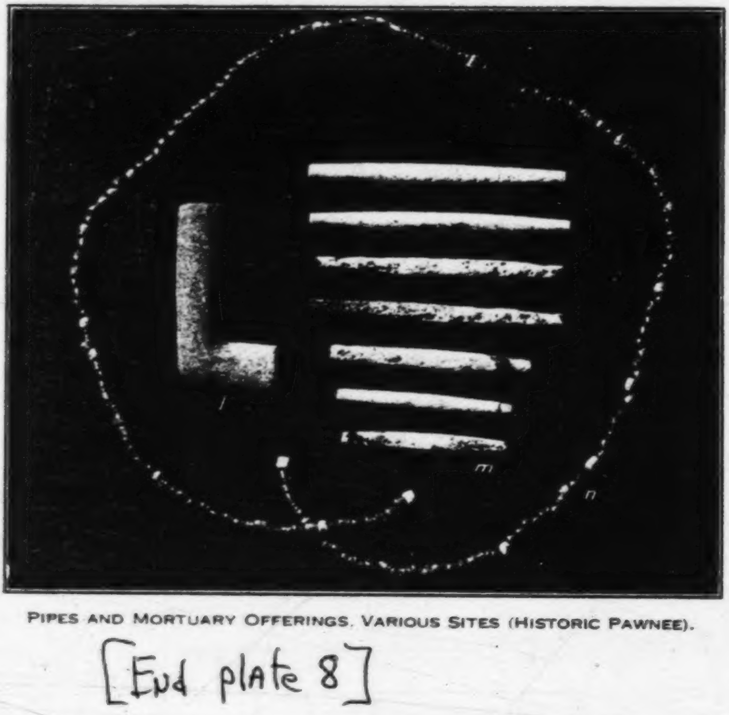

f
m
e
l
k
d
j
c
i
b
h
a
g
o
r
r
q
n
p
s

STONEWORK FROM HILL SITE (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

172
276
532
764



172
276
301



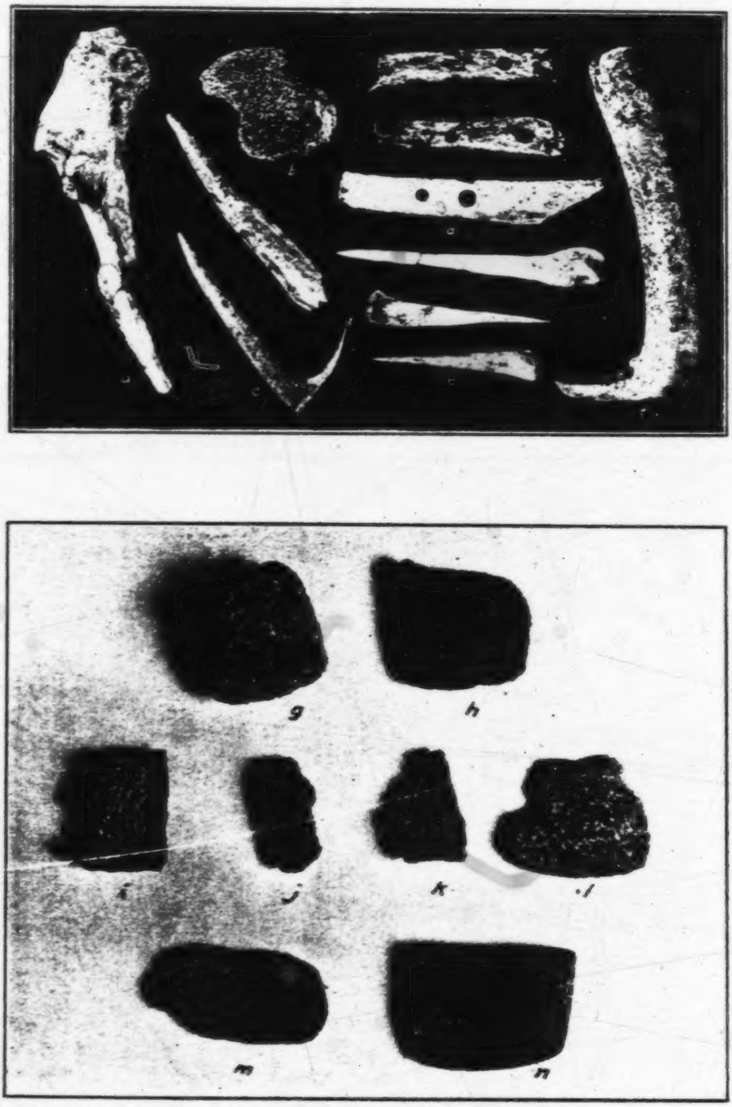
PIPES AND MORTUARY OFFERINGS, VARIOUS SITES (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

[End plate 8]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
321
412



BONEWORK FROM HISTORIC PAWNEE SITES.

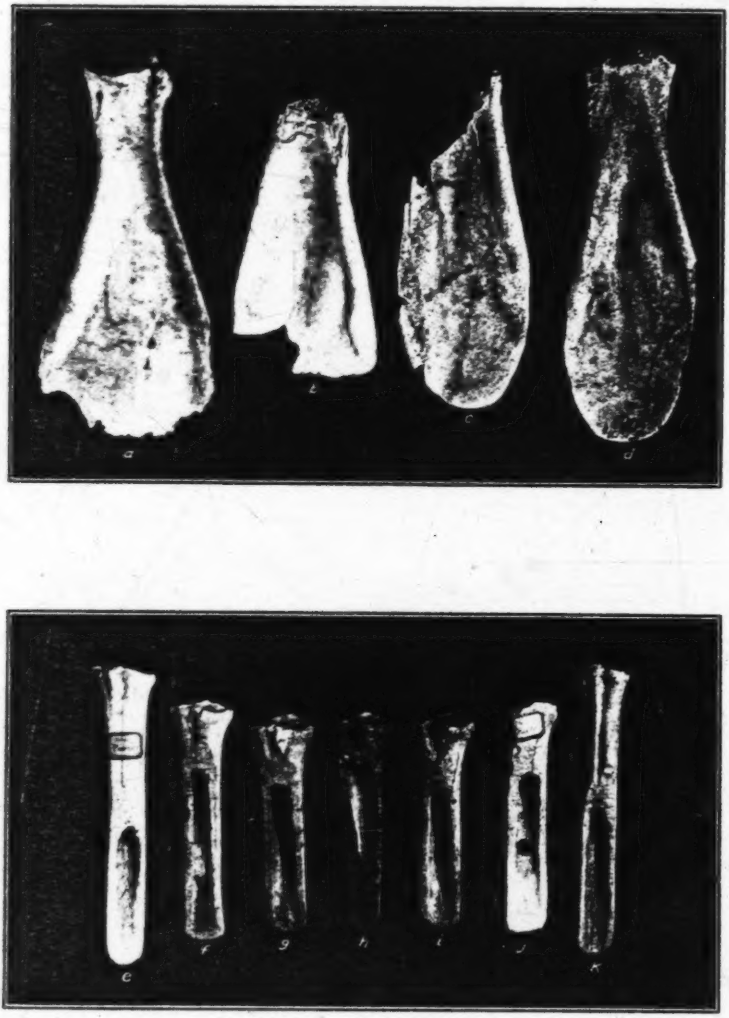
[End Plate 9]

k

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
321
412



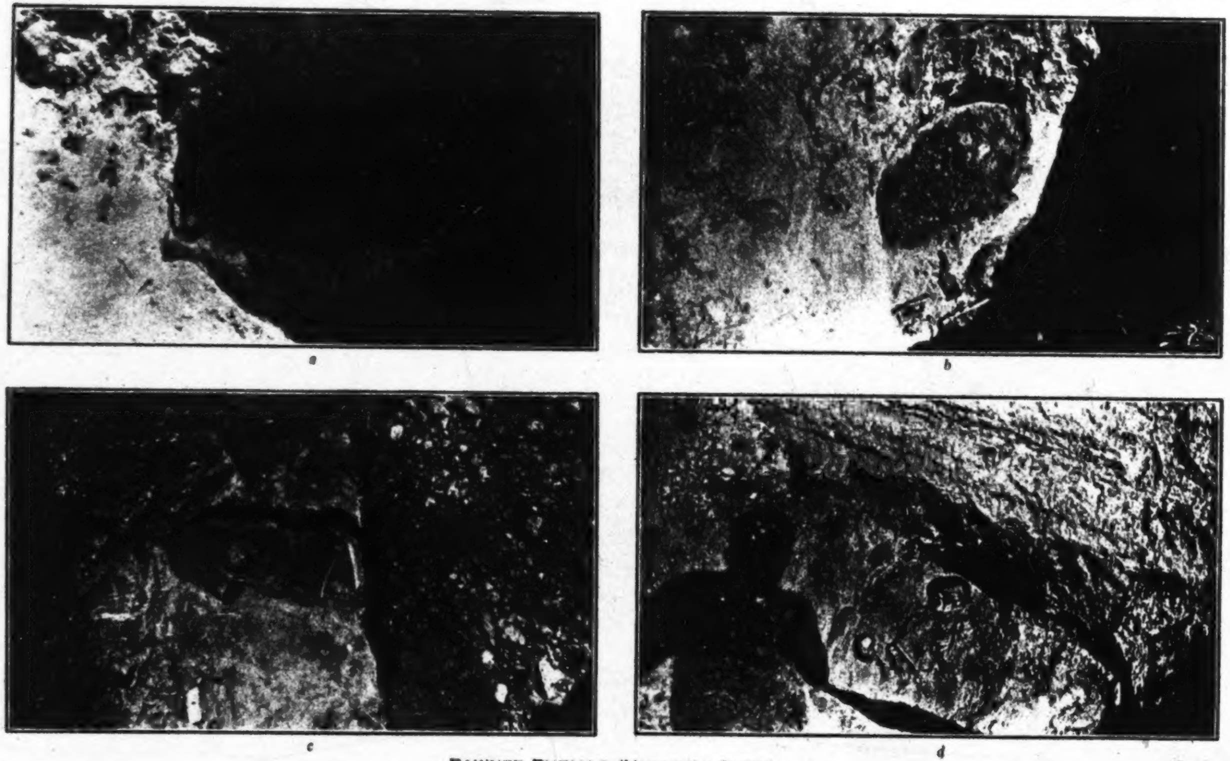
BONE TOOLS FROM HISTORIC PAWNEE SITES.

[End Plate 10]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[End Plate 11]


a b c d

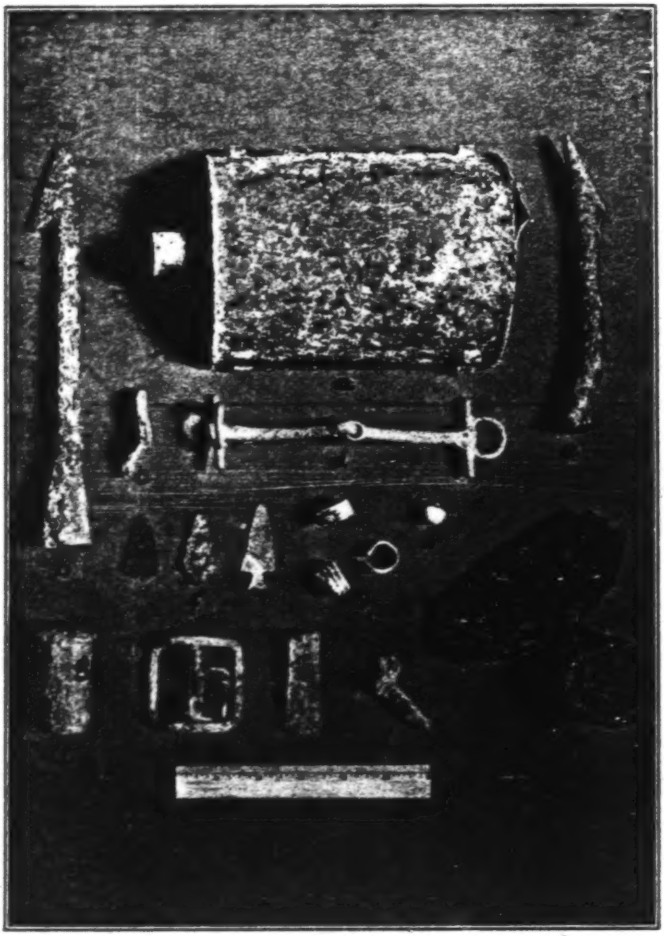
PAWNEE BURIALS (HISTORIC SITES).

172
764

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
177
411
412



METAL TRADE MATERIAL FROM THE HILL SITE (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

[End Plate 12]

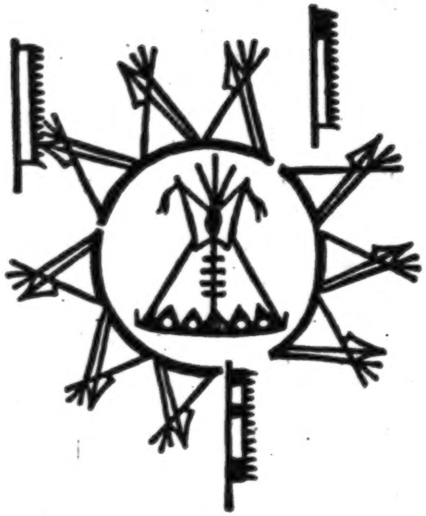
[For a resume of Pawnee archeology, see category 116, pp. 23-102. --Analyst]

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PAWNEE, BLACKFOOT AND CHEYENNE

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885) 1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PAWNEE,



Selected and with an introduction by
DEE BROWN

BLACKFOOT AND CHEYENNE

History and Folklore of the Plains
from the writings of

GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
New York

[P. iii]
[PP. iv–Xiii not processed]

A SUMMER HUNT

NOTES ON THE PAWNEES

224 It was in the month of July, 1872. The Pawnees were preparing to
796 start on their semi-annual buffalo hunt, and only the last religious rites
[221] remained to be performed before the nation should leave the village
for the buffalo range.

"*Eh, idadi, whoop,*" came from without the lodge; and as I replied, "*Ehya, whoop,*" the sturdy figure of *Le-ta-kats-ta'-ka* appeared in the doorway.

"*Lau, idad, tŭt-tū-ta-rik ti-rah-rĕk*—Come, brother, they are going to dance," he said, and then he turned and went out.

I rose from the pile of robes on which I had been dozing, and, after rolling them up, strolled out after him. The village seemed deserted, but off toward the medicine lodge, which stood upon its outskirts, I could see a throng of Indians; and a low murmur of voices and of footsteps, the hum which always accompanies any large assemblage, was borne to my ears on the evening breeze. The cere-

[PP. 1-11 not Processed]

monies, which comprised the consecration of the buffalo staves and 224
the buffalo dance, were about to begin. The great dirt lodge was 796
crowded. I pushed my way through the throng of women and boys, who made up the outer circle of spectators, and soon found myself among the men, who made way for me, until I reached a position from which I could see all that was going on within the circle about which they stood.

For several days the priests and the doctors had been preparing for this solemn religious ceremonial. They had fasted long; earnest prayers had been made to *Ti-ra´-wa*, and sacrifices had been offered. [782
Now the twelve buffalo skulls had been arranged on the ground in a 785]
half-circle, and near them stood the chiefs and doctors, reverently holding in their hands the buffalo staves and sacred bows and arrows, and other implements of the chase. For a little while they stood silent, with bowed heads, but presently one and then another began to murmur their petitions to *A-ti-us Ti-ra´-wa*, the Spirit Father. At first their voices were low and mumbling, but gradually they became more earnest and lifted their eyes toward heaven. It was impossible to distinguish what each one said, but now and then disjointed sentences reached me. "Father, you are the Ruler—We are poor—Take pity on us—Send us plenty of buffalo, plenty of fat cows—Father, we are your children—help the people—send us plenty of meat so that we may be strong, and our bodies may increase and our flesh grow hard —Father, you see us, listen." As they prayed they moved their hands backward and forward over the implements which they held, and at length reverently deposited them on the ground within the line of buffalo skulls, and then stepped back, still continuing their prayers.

It was a touching sight to witness these men calling upon their God for help. All of them had passed middle life, and some were gray-haired, blind and tottering; but they prayed with a fervor and earnestness that compelled respect. They threw their souls into their prayers, and as a son might entreat his earthly father for some great gift, so they plead with *Ti-ra´-wa*. Their bodies quivered with emotion, and great drops of sweat stood upon their brows. They were thoroughly sincere.

After the last of the articles had been placed upon the ground, their voices grew lower and at length died away. A moment later a

224 drum sounded, and a dozen or twenty young warriors sprang into the
796 circle and began the buffalo dance. This was kept up without intermission for three days, and as soon as it was over, the tribe moved out of the village on the hunt.

224 From the village on the Loup, we traveled southward; for in those days the region between the Platte and the Smoky rivers swarmed with buffalo. With the Pawnees were a few Poncas, Omahas and Otoes, so that there were about four thousand Indians in the camp.
[221] It was the summer hunt of the tribe. Twice each year the agent permitted them to visit the buffalo range. The meat which they killed
[251 and dried on these hunts, the corn and squashes which they grew
511] on their farms, and the small annuities received from the Government, were all they had to subsist on from season to season. Thus the occasion was one of importance to the Indians. Perhaps only the older heads among them fully appreciated its economic interest; but for all it was a holiday time; a temporary escape from confinement.
[512 Life on the reservation was monotonous. There was nothing to do
521] except to sit in the sun and smoke, and tell stories of the former glories of the nation; of successful fights with the Sioux and Cheyennes, and of horse stealing expeditions, from which the heroes had returned with great herds of ponies and much glory. Now, for a little while, they returned to the old free life of earlier years, when the land had been all their own, and they had wandered at will over the broad expanse of the rolling prairie. Now, for a time, it was as it had been before the cornfields of the white man had begun to dot their river bottoms, before the sound of his rifle had made wild their game, before the locomotive's whistle had shrieked through the still, hot summer air. Half a year's provision was now to be secured. The comfort—almost the existence—of the tribe for the next six months depended on the accumulation of an abundant supply of dried buffalo meat, and no precaution was omitted to make the hunt successful. It would not do to permit each individual to hunt independently. Indiscriminate buffalo running by six or eight hundred men scattered over the prairie, each one working for himself alone, would result in the killing of some few buffalo, but would terrify and drive away all the others in the neighborhood. This matter was too important to be trusted to chance. The hunting was systematized.

The Pawnees

The government of the hunt was intrusted to the Pawnee soldiers. 224 These were twenty-four warriors of mature age, not so old as to be 625 unfitted for active work, yet with the fires of early youth somewhat tempered by years of experience; men whose judgment and discretion could at all times be relied on. These soldiers acted under the chiefs, but the practical guidance of the hunt was wholly in their hands. They determined the direction and length of each day's march, and the spot for camping. They selected the young men who should act as scouts, and arranged all the details of the approach and the charge when a herd of buffalo was discovered large enough to call for a general surround. All the men were under their control, and amenable to their discipline. They did not hesitate to exercise their authority, nor to severely punish any one who committed an act by which the success of the hunt might be imperilled.

The scouts sent out by the soldiers were chosen from among the 224 younger men. They acted merely as spies, their office was to find the buffalo. They moved rapidly along, far in advance of the marching column, and from the tops of the highest hills carefully scanned the country before them in search of buffalo. If a herd was discerned, they were not to show themselves, nor in any way to alarm it. Having found the game, their duty was to observe its movement, learn where it was likely to be for the next few hours, and then to report as quickly as possible to the camp. The soldiers then determined what action should be taken. If the news was received late in the day, and the buffalo were at some distance, the camp would probably be moved as near as practicable to where the herd was feeding, and the chase would take place in the early morning. If, on the other hand, the scouts found the herd in the morning, the men would start off at once for the surround, leaving the women to follow, and make camp as near as possible to where the dead buffalo lay.

Day after day we traveled southward, crossing the Platte River, and then the Republican about due south of the present flourishing town of Kearney. South of the Platte a few scattering buffalo were found, but no large herds had been met with—nothing that called for a surround. At length we camped one night on the Beaver, a small affluent of the Republican, emptying into it from the south.

With the gray dawn of morning, the camp, as usual, is astir. By

224 With the grey dawn of morning, the camp, as usual, is astir. By
484 the time our little party have turned out of our blankets, some of
the Indians have already finished eating, and are catching up their
[462] horses and preparing to ride off over the bluffs, leaving the squaws
to take down the lodges, pack the ponies, and pursue the designated
line of march. Before we are ready to "pull out," most of the ponies
have been packed, and a long, irregular line of Indians is creeping
across the level valley, and beginning to wind up the face of the
bluffs. The procession moves slowly, proceeding at a walk. Most
of those who remain with the column are on foot, the squaws lead-
ing the ponies, and many of the men, wrapped in their blankets,
and with only their bows and arrows on their backs, walking briskly
[735] over the prairie, a little to one side. These last are the poorer Indians
—those who have but few horses. They travel on foot, letting their
horses run without burdens, so that they may be fresh and strong,
whenever they shall be needed for running the buffalo.

224 Side by side, at the head of the column, walk eight men who carry
771 the buffalo staves. These are slender spruce poles, like a short lodge-
484 pole, wrapped with blue and red cloth, and elaborately ornamented
with bead work, and with the feathers of hawks, and of the war
eagle. These sticks are carried by men selected by the chiefs and
doctors in private council, and are religiously guarded. Upon the care
of these emblems, and the respect paid to them, depends, in a great
measure, the success of the hunt. While borne before the moving
column, no one is permitted to cross the line of march in front of
them.

224 Close behind the staff bearers follow a number of the principal
484 men of the tribe; the head chief, old *Pi'ta Le-shar*, and a dozen or
[622] fifteen sub-chiefs or head men, all mounted on superb horses. Be-
hind them comes the camp at large, a fantastically mingled multitude,
marching without any appearance of order. Here most of the in-
dividuals are women, young girls and children, for the men who
accompany the camp usually march singly, or by twos and threes, a
little apart from the mob. Most of those rich enough in horses to
be able to ride at all times, are scattered over the prairie for miles
in every direction, picking up the small bands of buffalo, which have
been passed by the scouts as not large enough to call for a general
surround. The hunters are careful, however, not to follow too close

upon the advance line, whose movements they can readily observe 224 484
upon the bare bluffs far ahead of them.

At the time of which I am writing, the Pawnees had no wagons, 492 all their possessions being transported on pack horses. The Indian pack 484 pony is apt to be old and sedate, requiring no special guidance nor 224 control. A strip of rawhide, knotted about the lower jaw, serves as a bridle, and is either tied up to the saddle or held in the rider's hand. In packing the animals a bundle of lodge-poles is tied on either side of the saddle, one end projecting forward toward the horse's head, the other dragging on the ground behind. This is the *travois*. Cross poles are often tied between these two dragging bundles, and on these are carried packages of meat and robes. Often, too, on a robe stretched between them, a sick or wounded Indian, unable to ride, is transported. The lodge-poles having been fastened to the saddle, the lodge is folded up and placed on it between them, and blankets, robes, and other articles are piled on top of this, until the horse has on its back what appears to be about as much as it can carry. The pack is then lashed firmly in position, and pots, buckets and other utensils are tied about it wherever there is room.

On top of the load so arranged one or two women, or three or four children, clamber and settle themselves comfortably there, and the old horse is turned loose. Each rider carries in her hand a whip, with which she strikes the horse at every step, not cruelly at all, but just from force of habit. If the pack is low, so that her feet reach down to the animal's sides, she keeps up also a constant drumming on his ribs with her heels. The old horse pays not the slightest attention to any of these demonstrations of impatience, but plods steadily along at a quiet walk, his eyes half closed and his ears nodding at each step. If the riders are women, each one holds a child or two in her arms, or on her back, or perhaps the baby board is hung over the end of a lodge-pole, and swings free. If the living load consists of children, they have in their arms a lot of puppies; for puppies occupy with relation to the small Indian girls the place which dolls hold among the [231] white children. Many of the pack animals are mares with young colts, and these last, instead of following quietly at their mothers' heels, range here and there, sometimes before and sometimes behind their dams. They are thus constantly getting lost in the crowd, and

492 then they charge backward and forward in wild affright, neighing
484 shrilly, until they have again found their proper place in the line of
224 march. Many of the yearling colts have very small and light packs
tied on their backs, while the two-year-olds are often ridden by the
tiniest of Indian boys, who are now giving them their first lesson in
weight-carrying. Loose horses of all ages roam about at will, and
their continual cries mingle with the barking of dogs, the calls of
women and the yells of boys, and make an unceasing noise.

484 The boys are boiling over with animal spirits, and, like their civil-
224 ized brothers of the same age, are continually running about, chas-
[857] ing each other, wrestling, shooting arrows and playing games, of
which the familiar stick game seems the favorite.

Whenever the column draws near any cover, which may shelter game, such as a few bushes in a ravine, or the fringe of low willows along some little watercourse, the younger men and boys scatter out and surround it. They beat it in the most thorough manner, and any game which it contains is driven out on the prairie, surrounded and killed. The appearance even of a jackass rabbit throws the boys into a fever of excitement, and causes them to shriek and yell as if in a frenzy.

All the morning I rode with the Indians, either at the head of the
column, chatting as best I could with *Pi'ta Le-shar* and other chiefs,
or falling back and riding among the women and children, whom
224 I never tired of watching. Frequently during the day I saw at a dis-
tance, on the prairie, small bunches of buffalo in full flight, hotly
pursued by dark-skinned riders, and occasionally two or three men
would ride up to the marching columns with heavy loads of freshly-
killed meat. The quick-heaving, wet flanks of the ponies told a story
of sharp, rapid chases, and their tossing heads and eager, excited looks
showed how much interest they took in the hunt.

224 The report of firearms was seldom heard. Most of the Indians
411 hunted with the primitive weapon of their forefathers—the bow and
arrow. For buffalo running an arrow is nearly as effective as lead.
The power of the bow in expert hands is tremendous. Riding within
half a dozen yards of the victim's side, the practiced bowman
will drive the dart so far through the body of the buffalo that its
shaft may project a foot or more from the opposite side—some-

times indeed may pass quite through. Besides, the bow can be used 224 very rapidly and accurately. I have seen an Indian take a sheaf of 4-11 six arrows in his hand, and discharge them at a mark more rapidly and with more certainty of hitting his target than I could fire the six barrels of a revolver.

It was nearly noon, and I was riding along at the head of the 224 column. I had but one horse, and did not care to wear him out by chasing around over the prairie, preferring to save him for some great effort. We were traveling along a smooth divide between two sets of ravines, which ran off, one to the east and the other to the west. *Pi'ta Le-shar* had just informed me by signs that we should make camp about two miles further on, by a stream whose course we could trace from where we then were. Suddenly, without the slightest warning, the huge dark bodies of half a dozen buffalo sprang into view, rising out of a ravine on our left not a hundred yards distant. When they saw the multitude before them, they stopped and stared at us.

They were too close for me to resist the temptation to pursue. As I lifted the reins from my pony's neck and bent forward, the little animal sprang into a sharp gallop toward the game, and as he did so I saw half a dozen Indians shoot out from the column and follow me. The buffalo wheeled, and in an instant were out of sight, but when I reached the edge of the bank down which they had plunged, I could see through the cloud of dust, which they left behind them, their uncouth forms dashing down the ravine. My nimble pony, as eager for the race as his rider, hurled himself down the steep pitch, and sped along the narrow broken bed of the gully. I could feel that sometimes he would lengthen his stride to leap wide ditches, where the water from some side ravine had cut away the ground, but I never knew of these until they were passed. My eyes were fixed on the fleeing herd; my ears were intent on the pursuing horsemen. Close behind me I could hear the quick pounding of many hoofs, and could feel that one of the horses, nearer than the rest, was steadily drawing up to me—but I was gaining on the buffalo. Already the confused rumble of their hoof-beats almost drowned those of the horses behind me, and the air was full of the dust and small pebbles thrown up by their hurrying feet. But they

224 were still ahead of me, and the gulch was so narrow that I could not shoot. The leading horseman drew nearer and nearer, and was now almost at my side. I could see the lean head and long, slim neck of his pony under my right arm, and could hear the rider speak to his horse and urge him forward in the race. My horse did his best, but the other had the most speed. He shot by me, and a moment later was alongside the last buffalo.

As he passed me the young Indian made a laughing gesture of triumph, slipped an arrow on his bowstring, and drew it to its head; but just as he was about to let it fly, his horse, which was but a colt, took fright at the huge animal which it had overtaken, and shied violently to the right, almost unseating its rider. At the same moment the buffalo swerved a little to the left, and thus lost a few feet. Truly, the race is not always to the swift. As I passed the Indian, I could not restrain a little whoop of satisfaction, and then swinging my rifle around, I fired. The buffalo fell in its stride, tossing up a mightly cloud of the soft yellow earth, and my pony ran by him fifty yards before he could be checked. Then I turned and rode back to look at the game. The other Indians had passed me like a whirlwind, and, close at the heels of the herd, had swept around a point of bluff and out of sight. Only my rival remained, and he was excitedly arguing with his horse. The logic of a whip-handle, applied with vigor about the creature's ears, convinced it that it must approach the dead buffalo; and then the rider dismounting, and passing his lariat about the animal's horns, drew the pony's head to within a few feet of the terrifying mass, and fastened the rope. When he had accomplished this, he grinned pleasantly at me, and I responded in kind, and in dumb show transferred to him all my right and title in the dead buffalo. At this he smiled still more cheerfully, and set to work "butchering."

The animal was a superb specimen, just entering his prime, and was fat, round and sleek. His horns were symmetrically curved and beautifully polished. Not a scratch marred their shining surfaces, nor a splinter was frayed from their sharp points. The sweeping black beard was long and full, and the thick curls upon his hump and massive shoulders were soft and deep, while the short hair of his sides and hips was smooth as the coat of a horse. His size was enormous. It seemed that he would have turned the scale at quite 224 two thousand pounds. Certainly his weight exceeded that of both the fifteen-hand ponies that stood beside him.

A few moments later, I was again in the saddle, and riding on along the course taken by the remaining buffalo, for I was anxious to see what had become of them. On rounding the point of the bluff, where I had last seen them, my curiosity was satisfied. The valley here widened out until it was perhaps sixty yards across, and on either side rose vertical bluffs of yellow chalk to a height of forty feet. Scattered about over the little plain, lay half a dozen buffalo, over each of which bent one or two Indians busily plying the knife. At the foot of the bluff at one side of the valley stood four or five others, looking at a cow, perched on a narrow shelf ten feet below the top. I shall never understand how that animal reached the position it occupied. There was evidently no way of getting to it except by jumping up from below, which was obviously impossible —or down from above, which seemed out of the question. The shelf was so short that the animal could move neither backward nor forward, and was just wide enough for it to stand on. As I rode up and joined the little group below it, the head and shoulders of a middle-aged Indian appeared over the top of the bluff, above the cow. He lay down flat on his breast, and holding in both hands an old-fashioned muzzle-loading pistol, attempted to shoot the cow from above, but his old arm would not go off. He snapped it half a dozen times, and then, discouraged, called out something to us below. One of the boys turned to me, and said very slowly and distinctly, "He say, you shoot." I therefore dismounted, and fired at the cow, which responded by shaking her head angrily, and whisking her short tail. Another call came from the old fellow on top of the bluff, and the young man said to me, "He say, you hit her; right spot." A moment later, the cow bent forward and fell on her knees, and the Indian above dropped down on her back.

Turning my horse's head in the direction from which I had come, I rode up through a side ravine on to the high prairie. A mile away I could see the column of marching Indians, plodding along at their old slow pace. Here and there, over the rolling hills, dark forms were visible, some of them in rapid motion, others apparently stationary.

224 Often it was impossible to determine whether these figures were horsemen or buffalo, but sometimes, far away, I could see a mimic chase in which pursuer and pursued appeared no larger than ants.

857 As I came up with the Indians, they were just descending into
223 the stream bottom, where camp was to be made. The small boys
484 had, as usual, dispersed themselves over the valley and among the underbrush. Many of the squaws, leaving the ponies and packs to their sister-wives or children, were hurrying up or down the stream to gather wood. Already the leading ponies were being relieved of their loads. Suddenly, from the mouth of a little ravine coming down into the stream bottom, rose a chorus of shrill yelps and shrieks from childish throats, and a gang of wild turkeys were seen, running rapidly through the high grass toward the hills. A moment later, with a loud *quit-quit* of alarm, they took wing, but not before several of their number had fallen before the missiles of the boys. Most of them went up or down the creek, but one inexperienced bird took its course directly over our heads.

223 Those who have seen the Indian only on dress parade, talk of his
[152] stolidity, impassiveness, and his marvelous control over his countenance and his emotions. This demeanor he can and does assume,
[609] and when he is with white men, or among strangers, he is usually all that he has been pictured; but take him by himself, and he expresses his feelings with as little restraint as a child. So it was now. No grave chief, nor battle-scarred warrior, nor mighty worker of *ti-war'-uks-ti* (magic) was too dignified to express his interest at the appearance of this great bird sailing laboriously along, thirty or forty feet above him. It was as if the turkey had flown over a great company of schoolboys, and the utter abandonment of the excited multitude, the entire absence of restraint, the perfect naturalness of the expression of feeling, had in them something very delightful and infectious. Every Indian, who held in his hand anything that was light enough to throw, hurled it at the bird, and a cloud of whips, sticks, hatchets, fleshers, and arrows, rose to meet it as it passed along. One missile knocked from its tail a few long feathers, which drifted slowly down on the heads of the people. It kept on, but before it had passed beyond the long line of Indians extending back over the

plain, its strength became exhausted, it came to the ground, and 223
was at once dispatched by those nearest to it.

Almost before the turkey's fate had been decided, many of the 484
lodges had been pitched, and now the slender gray columns from a hundred camp-fires began to climb up through the still air toward the blue above. The women were hard at work cooking, or spreading out freshly killed robes, or putting up drying scaffolds, while the [462]
men lounged in the shade and smoked or chatted. Our wagon was halted at one side of the camp, and the tired horses and mules were stripped of saddles and harness, and picketed near at hand. The Indian pack ponies were collected and driven off on the upland in charge of several boys.

We had invitations to eat meat at several lodges that day. Usually 574
we did not accept these freely proffered hospitalities, because we had no means of returning them, but one of these invitations came from a particular friend, and to-day we broke through our rule. We feasted on roast ribs, *ka'wis*, and dried meat, and really had a delightful time. It was about three o'clock when we finished the meal, and we were lounging about the lodge, smoking and chatting, in lazy after-dinner fashion, when we were startled by a series of yells and shouts, among which I distinguished the words "*Cha'-ra-rat wa-ta'* 648
—The Sioux are coming." Our Indian companions snatched up their 721
arms, and rushed out of the lodge, and we were not slow in following. "*Sūks-e-kitta-wit wis-kūts*—Get on your horses quick," shouted our host. The camp was in a state of wild excitement. Naked men were running to their horses, and jerking their lariats from the picket pins, sprang on their backs and rode hard for the hills; while women and boys rushed about, catching horses, and bringing them in among the lodges, where they were securely fastened. Less than a mile away, we saw the horse herd dashing along at top speed, and a little to one side of it a horseman riding in circles, and waving his blanket before him. It was evident that the Sioux were trying to run off the herd. We ran as hard as we could to the wagon, caught up rifles and cartridge belts, and buckling on the latter as we ran, kept on to the horses. There was no time to saddle up. We looped the ropes around their jaws, sprang on their naked backs, and were off. As

648 721 we rode up on the prairie, the herd of ponies thundered by, and swept down the bluffs to the camp. The rolling expanse before us was dotted with Indians, each one urging forward his horse to its utmost speed. Many of them were already a long way in advance, and were passing over the furthest high bluff, which seemed to rise up and meet the sky. Hard as we might push our ponies, there was little hope that we would be in time to have any hand in the encounter—if one took place—between the Pawnees and their hereditary foes.

We kept on until we reached the crest of the high bluff. From here we could see far off over the plain, dozens of black dots strung out after one another. Nearer at hand, other Indians, whose steeds, like ours, had proved too slow for the swift pursuit, were riding back toward us, showing in their faces the disappointment which they felt at being left behind. With these we turned about, and rode toward the camp. Among them was one of the herd boys, for the moment a hero, who had to repeat his story again and again. He had been sitting on top of a hill, not far from the horses, when he discovered several Sioux stealing toward them through a ravine. Signaling his comrades, they succeeded in getting the herd in motion before the robbers had approached very close to them. Eight of the slowest horses had dropped behind during the flight, and had no doubt fallen into the hands of the enemy.

One by one, the Indians came straggling back to camp during the afternoon and evening, but it was not until late that night that the main body of the pursuers came in. They had ten extra horses, two of which they had taken in turn from the Sioux. They had no scalps, however, for they had been unable to overtake the enemy.

Long we sat that night by the fire in *Pi'ta Le-shar's* lodge, talking over the exciting event of the afternoon; and as we rose to go to our wagons, and said good night, the old man, who had been silently gazing into the coals for some time, looked up at me and smiled, saying, "*Wa-ti-hes ti-kōt-it ti-ra-hah*—To-morrow we will kill buffalo."

224 When we turned out of our blankets the next morning, a heavy mist hung over the prairie. This was unfortunate, for so long as the fog lasted it would be impossible for the scouts to see far enough to discover the buffalo. The first few hours of the march were un-

eventful. Once or twice the huge bodies of a small band of buffalo 224 loomed up through the white mist about us, their size and shape greatly exaggerated and distorted by its deceptive effect. As the sun climbed toward the zenith, the air grew brighter, and by mid-day the fog had risen from the ground, and though still clinging in white cottony wreaths about the tops of the higher bluffs near us, we now could see for quite a long distance over the prairie. A little later the sun burst forth, and the sky became clear. Soon after noon we went into camp.

We had but just begun our dinner, when a runner was seen coming at full gallop down the bluffs. It was one of the scouts. He dashed through the village, and did not check his pony's speed until he had reached old *Pĭ'ta Le-shar's* lodge. Here he stopped, and bending from his horse spoke a few words very earnestly, gesticulating and pointing back over the prairie in the direction whence he had come. As he rode on and past us, he called out, "*Te-co'di tŭt-tu-ta-rik ti-ra-hah*—I saw many buffalo," and we shouted back to him, "*Tŭ-ra-heh*—It is good."

At once the women began to take down the lodges and pack the ponies. Buffalo had been discovered about fifteen miles to the southwest, and orders had been issued to move the village to the creek on which they were feeding, while the men should go on at once and make the surround. Our teamster, to whom the Indians had already, from his occupation, given the name "Jackass Chief," was directed to move with the camp; and leaving everything save guns and ammunition belts in the wagon, we joined the crowd of men who were riding out of the village.

The scene that we now beheld was such as might have been witnessed here a hundred years ago. It is one that can never be seen again. Here were eight hundred warriors, stark naked, and mounted on naked animals. A strip of rawhide, or a lariat, knotted about the [492] lower jaw, was all their horses' furniture. Among all these men there was not a gun nor a pistol, nor any indication that they had ever met with the white men. For the moment they had put aside whatever they had learned of civilization. Their bows and arrows they held in their hands. Armed with these ancestral weapons, they had become once more the simple children of the plains, about to slay the

224 wild cattle that *Ti-ra'-wa* had given them for food. Here was barbarism pure and simple. Here was nature.

A brief halt was made on the upper prairie, until all the riders had come up, and then, at a moderate gallop, we set off. A few yards in [625] advance rode the twenty-four soldiers, at first curbing in their spirited little steeds, till the horses' chins almost touched their chests, and occasionally, by a simple motion of the hand, waving back some impetuous boy, who pressed too close upon them. Many of the Indians led a spare horse, still riding the one that had carried them through the day. Often two men would be seen mounted on the same animal, the one behind having the lariats of two led horses wound about his arm. Here and there a man, with his arm over the horse's neck, would run along on foot by the side of the animal which was to serve him in the charge.

As we proceeded, the pace became gradually a little more rapid. The horses went along easily and without effort. Each naked Indian seemed a part of his steed, and rose and fell with it in the rhythmic swing of its stride. The plain was peopled with Centaurs. Out over each horse's croup floated the long black hair of his rider, spread out on the wings of the breeze. Gradually the slow gallop became a fast one. The flanks of the horses showed here and there patches of wet, which glistened in the slanting rays of the westering sun. Eight, ten, a dozen miles had been left behind us, and we were approaching the top of a high bluff, when the signal was given to halt. In a moment every man was off his horse, but not a pony of them all showed any sign of distress, nor gave any evidence of the work he had done, except by his wet flanks and his slightly accelerated breathing. Two or three of the soldiers rode up nearly to the top of the hill, dismounted and then peered over, and a moment later, at another signal, all mounted and the swift gallop began again. Over the ridge we passed, down the smooth slope, and across a wide level plain, where the prairie dogs and the owls and the rattlesnakes had their home. Through the dog town we hurried on thundering hoofs, no doubt amazing the dogs, and perhaps even arousing some slight interest in the sluggish, stupid snakes. Bad places these to ride through at such a pace, for a little carelessness on your horse's part might cost him a broken leg and you an ugly tumble. But no one took much thought

of dog town or horse or possible accident, for the minds of all were upon the next high ridge, behind which we felt sure that the buffalo would be found.

And so it proved. Just before reaching it we were again halted. Two of the soldiers reconnoitered, and then signaled that the buffalo were in sight. The tired horses were now turned loose and the extra ones mounted. As we rode slowly up over the ridge, we saw spread out before us a wide valley black with buffalo. Two miles away, on the other side, rose steep ragged bluffs, up which the clumsy buffalo would make but slow progress, while the ponies could run there nearly as fast as on level ground. It was the very place that would have been chosen for a surround.

At least a thousand buffalo were lying down in the midst of this amphitheater. Here and there, away from the main herd on the lower hills, were old bulls, singly and by twos and threes, some of them quietly chewing the cud, others sullenly pawing up the dust or grinding their battered horns into the yellow dirt of the hillsides. Not the slightest notice was taken of us as we rode down the slope at a pace that was almost a run, but still held in check by the soldiers. The order for the charge had not yet been given. Our line was now much more extended than it had been; each man pres[illegible] far forward as he dared, and those on either flank being so f[illegible]ead of the center that they were almost on a line with the soldiers. We had covered perhaps half the distance between the hilltop and the buffalo, when some of the outlying bulls seemed to observe us, and after looking for a moment or two, these started in rapid flight. This attracted the attention of the herd, and when we were yet half a mile from them, they took the alarm. At once all were on their feet. For a moment they gazed bewildered at the dark line that was sweeping toward them, and then, down went every huge head and up flew every little tail, and the herd was off in a headlong stampede for the opposite hills. As they sprang to their feet, the oldest man of the soldiers, who was riding in the center of the line, turned back toward us, and uttered a shrill *Loo'-ah!* It was the word we had waited for.

Like an arrow from a bow each horse darted forward. Now all restraint was removed, and each man might do his best. What had been only a wild gallop became a mad race. Each rider hoped to be the first

224 to reach the top of the opposite ridge, and to turn the buffalo back into the valley, so that the surround might be completely successful. How swift those little ponies were, and how admirably the Indians managed to get out of them all their speed! I had not gone much more than halfway across the valley when I saw the leading Indians pass the head of the herd, and begin to turn the buffalo. This was the first object of the chase, for in a stampede, the cows and young are always in the lead, the bulls bringing up the rear. This position is not taken from chivalric motives on the part of the males, but simply because they cannot run so fast as their wives and children. Bulls are never killed when cows and heifers can be had.

Back came the herd, and I soon found myself in the midst of a throng of buffalo, horses and Indians. There was no yelling nor shouting on the part of the men, but their stern set faces, and the fierce gleam of their eyes, told of the fires of excitement that were burning within them. Three or four times my rifle spoke out, and to some purpose; and one shot, placed too far back, drew on me a quick savage charge from a vicious young cow. My pony, while a good cattle horse, was new at buffalo running, and his deliberation in the matter of dodging caused me an anxious second or two, as I saw the cow's head sweep close to his flank. It was far more interesting to watch the scene than to take part in it, and I soon rode to a little knoll from which I could overlook the whole plain. Many brown bodies lay stretched upon the ground, and many more were dashing here and there, closely attended by relentless pursuers. It was sad to see so much death, but the people must have food, and none of this meat would be wasted.

Before I turned my horse's head toward the camp, the broad disk of the setting sun had rested on the tops of the western bluffs, and tipped their crests with fire. His horizontal beams lit up with a picturesque redness the dusky forms which moved about over the valley. Up the ravines and over the hills were stringing long lines of squaws, leading patient ponies, whose backs were piled high with dark dripping meat, and with soft shaggy skins. Late into the night the work continued and the loads kept coming into the camp. About the flickering fires in and before the lodges there was feasting and merriment. Marrow bones
[252] were tossed among the red embers, calf's head was baked in the hot earth, fat ribs were roasted, *ka'-wis* boiled, and *boudins* eaten raw.

With laughter and singing and story telling and dance the night wore away. 224

Over the plain where the buffalo had fallen, the gray wolf was prowling, and, with the coyote, the fox and the badger, tore at the [136] bones of the slain. When day came, the golden eagle and the buzzard perched upon the naked red skeletons, and took their toll. And far away to the southward, a few frightened buffalo, some of which had arrows sticking in their sore sides, were cropping the short grass of the prairie.

FRANK NORTH AND HIS SCOUTS

PANI LE-SHAR AND HIS SCOUTS

No ACCOUNT of the Pawnees' warfare would give any just impression 648 of their prowess if it omitted to mention *Pa'-ni Le-shar* and the forces which he commanded. The Pawnee Scouts, under the gallant and able leadership of Frank North, did splendid service against hostile Indians. They saved hundreds of lives and millions of dollars' worth of property, and in their campaign wiped out in blood the memory of many an injury done to their race by the Sioux, the Cheyennes, the Arapahoes and the Kiowas.

Frank North was born in Ohio, March 10, 1840. When about fifteen years of age he accompanied his family westward to Council Bluffs, and a little later across the Missouri River into Nebraska. At about this time, his father, who was a surveyor, was lost in a snowstorm, and the responsibility of caring for his family fell in large measure on the boy. Soon after this he obtained employment as clerk in the trader's store at the Pawnee agency, and thus made the acquaintance of the tribe. His strong character early brought him to the notice of their principal men, and almost before attaining manhood he had become a person of influence in the councils of the Pawnee Nation.

Pawnee, Blackfoot and Cheyenne

648 In the year 1864 Frank North was authorized to enlist a company of Pawnee scouts to be employed against the bands of hostile Indians, whose depredations were at that time becoming very troublesome. The command was organized that autumn, and did some service along the old emigrant trail. It was not until the summer of 1865, however, that it saw any serious fighting. In that year General Connor of California commanded a large expedition to the Powder River country, and the Pawnee scouts accompanied him and rendered brilliant service.

Later, during the building of the Union Pacific Railway, the depredations of the hostile Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahoes became so serious along the line of the road that the Government authorized Mr. North to enlist a battalion of scouts from the Pawnee Nation, and offered him the command with the rank of major. Several companies of these scouts were so enlisted, and for years the battalion did good service on the plains and in the mountains in Nebraska, Kansas and Wyoming, serving under Generals Auger, Emory, Carr, Royal, Mackenzie and Crook, some of the most successful Indian fighters in that Department. The Pawnee scouts were everywhere, and at all times brave men, good soldiers and victorious warriors. The amount of property saved to the Government, the settlers and the railroad through the efforts of Major North's command can scarcely be computed. In all his service of almost constant fighting, extending over a period of more than ten years, he never lost a man on the battle field, and this caused him to be regarded by the Pawnees as divinely favored.

It is impossible within the limits of a few pages to give even a sketch of the services performed by Frank North and his scouts. Two or three isolated episodes in his career will show something of the constant danger and hardship of the life he led, and of the courage, coolness and determination of the leader and his men.

Such an episode, memorable alike for its danger, the completeness of the victory gained, and the fact that it won for him the title by which he was ever after known among the Pawnees, marked his first campaign. It was in the Powder River country, and Captain North had started with a detachment of his scouts in pursuit of a party of Indians, whose trail he had found. For some weeks his men had been hard worked; and at this time their horses were so jaded that although they had come within sight of the Cheyennes, they were unable to overtake them and force them to a fight. Captain North, who was mounted on a fresh horse, rode far ahead of his men, who were constantly falling further and further behind. At length, realizing the futility of continuing the pursuit, North dismounted, fired a parting shot at the Indians, and was about to ride back toward camp, when the fleeing Cheyennes, about twenty-five in number, turned and charged him. He then discovered that he had outridden all his men. Not one of them was in sight. Hastily dismounting, he prepared to receive the enemy, and firing as they advanced, killed one. The rest sheered off, and rode out of rifle shot, and then formed again for another charge. Feeling for a cartridge to reload his rifle, North made the startling discovery that he had but three left, all the others having been lost during his rapid ride. He found, too, that his horse had been wounded by a ball from the Cheyennes, and was in no condition for running; indeed, it could not be ridden. His situation seemed well nigh hopeless, but he prepared to make the best of it, by retreating on foot, leading his wounded horse as a shelter, from behind which to fight. When the Cheyennes charged him he would face about, raise his gun to his shoulder, as if about to fire, and the Indians, who had already tasted the quality of his lead, would drop down behind their horses, and sheer off, never coming so close to him as to make it necessary for him to use one of his precious cartridges. After a long weary walk of twelve or fifteen miles, during which his moccasin-shod feet were cruelly lacerated by the thorns of the cactus, over which he walked, his pursuers left him, and he reached his command in safety. No sooner had he arrived at the camp than, taking a fresh horse and ordering out a well-mounted detachment of his men, he set out in pursuit of the enemy. All that afternoon they rode hard, and when night fell, dismounting a couple of Pawnees to follow the trail on foot, the pursuit was still kept up. Just after daylight, as they rode out into a little park in the mountains, a tiny column of blue smoke rising from a clump of cottonwood trees showed where the hostiles were camped. The Pawnees rode steadily forward in double file in military fashion; and the Cheyennes, supposing that they were white soldiers, jumped on their horses and rode out onto the open hillside where they formed a line of battle to meet the enemy. The Pawnees rode quietly onward until they were quite near the Cheyennes, and then loud and clear

648 their ringing war whoop broke out upon the morning air. When the Cheyennes heard this war-cry, which told them that the attacking party were Pawnees, their hearts became like water, and they turned and fled. Already, however, seven of their number had fallen before the Pawnee bullets, and the fresher horses of the Pawnees easily overtook the tired ones ridden by the pursued. Of that party of Cheyennes not one escaped, and with twenty-seven scalps, and all the plunder, the victorious Pawnees returned that afternoon to their command.

Among the captured property were thirty-five horses and mules, some of which had been taken from a party of fifteen soldiers, killed to a man by these Cheyennes but a few days before; there were also the scalps of these soldiers, and wearing apparel belonging to white women and children, which justified the belief that they had recently massacred a party of emigrants.

[727 55] It was on the occasion of the scalp dance which followed this victory, and when the Scouts were changing their names, as was the custom after a successful encounter with the enemy, that the Pawnees gave to Major North the title *Pa'-ni Le-shar* (Chief of the Pawnees), a name which has been borne by only one other white man, General John C. Fremont, the Pathfinder.

The story of the killing of Tall Bull, and the fight with Turkey Leg's band of Sioux, illustrate the readiness and the daring of Major North in battle. Tall Bull was a chief who commanded a large village of renegade Sioux and Cheyennes, who had given great trouble by their depredations. Major North, with his Pawnees and some white United States troops, had been looking for this village for some time, and at length succeeded in surprising it near Summit Springs. The village was captured in the charge and many of the hostiles killed. Others fled or concealed themselves in the ravines and washouts, which seamed the prairie, and made a desperate fight. The Pawnees were scattered about in little parties, killing the Indians thus concealed, when Major North and his brother came riding rapidly along, side by side, over the open prairie. They had approached within fifty or sixty yards of a narrow steep-walled ravine, of the existence of which they were ignorant, when an Indian raised his head above its side and fired. The ball whistled between the heads of the two riders; Major North threw up his hands and reeled in the saddle as if about to fall, and the

Indian's head disappeared from sight. Springing from his horse, the 648 Major handed his bridle rein to his brother and directed him to ride away at a gallop. The tramp of the two horses sounded more and more faintly on the hard ground, and the Indian, thinking that the whites were riding off, raised his head to note the effect of his shot. North's rifle was already leveled at the spot where the head had disappeared, and as the black hair came into view the finger pressed the trigger more and more closely, and as the eyes appeared above the ground, a ball pierced the brain of Tall Bull. A hundred yards up the ravine was found his war pony, stabbed to the heart, and by it sat his squaw, awaiting with Indian patience whatever fate might come to her.

During one of the summer hunts, on which Major North accompanied the Pawnees, they were one day scattered out over the prairie running buffalo, when all at once North heard the whistle of rifle balls and saw the dirt thrown up about his horse by the bullets. He called to a Pawnee near him to tell those boys to be more careful about shooting. The Pawnee looked in the direction from which the balls were coming, and after an instant called back, "They are Sioux, you had better run." It was a large party of Sioux under the Chief Turkey Leg.

North and the Pawnee rode for the bluffs near at hand, and before reaching them were joined by C. D. Morse, his brother-in-law, and half a dozen Pawnees. The little party was surrounded by the Sioux and took refuge in a shallow washout at the head of a ravine, where they were somewhat sheltered from the enemy's fire by the sunflower stalks and the low edges of the bank. Their horses were at once killed, and the Sioux, who were numerous, became very bold, charging up to the edge of the washout, and shooting down into it.

They were led by an Indian, apparently of some importance, who was conspicuous by a large American flag which he carried. This man was constantly exhorting his men, and would lead them part way on the charge, turning off, however, before coming within range of the washout, where North and his brother-in-law, with the seven Pawnees, were lying concealed. After each charge he would ride to the top of a hill near at hand, and make a speech to his warriors. It occurred to Major North that if he could kill the man who carried the flag the other Sioux might lose some of their courage. As they were

648 retiring from a charge, therefore, he crept cautiously down the ravine, concealed by the long grass which grew in its bed, until he had come within rifle range of the hill from which the leader was making his speech, and by a careful shot killed him and regained the shelter of the washout without injury.

Disheartened by the fall of their leader, the Sioux made no further attempt to kill the besieged company, but after a little desultory long-range firing drew off, so that North and his little party regained the main village in safety.

The Pawnee Scouts were last called out in 1876, when General Mackenzie fought the hostile Cheyennes in the Powder River country; and, led by Major North and his brother, they made that famous charge on the village which inflicted on the hostiles the crushing blow from which they never recovered. How *Pa'-ni Le-shar* held his men under fire that day, when the bullets were raining on them from the hillsides, was told in a letter written to me by a participant in the fight. "For cool bravery," it ran, "he beats anything that you ever saw. Why, at one time we were under such hot fire that even our scouts wanted to run, and to tell you the truth, I felt sort of that way myself; but Frank just straightened himself up on the old black horse and said, very quietly, 'The first one of *my* men that runs I will kill.' They didn't run."

ovr If the full story of Major North's life were written it would constitute a history of the Indian wars in Nebraska and Wyoming from 1860 to 1876—a history so complete that there would be little left to add to it. Wherever the hostile Indians were worst there Frank North was to be found at the head of his Pawnee Scouts, doing the hardest of the fighting, and accomplishing work that could have been done by no other body of men.

From his long service in the army Major North was known to all officers who have ever been stationed in the field where his operations were conducted, and by all of them he was admired and respected. He was closely connected with the growth of the State of Nebraska. Several times he represented Platte county in the Legislature, and the strength and uprightness of his character won the confidence of all who knew him. He died at his home in Columbus, Nebraska, March 14, 1885, aged forty-five years.

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

His was a singularly lovable nature. If the stronger manly points of his character inspired respect and admiration, not less did his gentleness and consideration for others win the deepest affection. He was modest almost to diffidence, and it was with difficulty that he could be induced to speak of his own heroic achievements. And yet his face told the story of the power within the man. 000

The secret of Major North's success in commanding the Pawnees, who loved him as much as they respected him, lay in the unvarying firmness, justice, patience and kindness with which he treated them. He never demanded anything unreasonable of them, but when he gave an order, even though obedience involved great peril, or appeared to mean certain death, it was a command that must be carried out. He was their commander, but at the same time their brother and friend. Above all, he was their leader. In going into battle he never said to them, "Go," but always "Come on." It is little wonder, then, that the devotion felt for him by all the Pawnee Nation, and especially by the men who had served under him in battle, was as steadfast as it was touching.

THE PAWNEES AND THEIR STORIES

Once the Pawnees were a great people. They were very numerous. 181
They were undisputed masters of a vast territory. They had everything that heart could wish. Their corn and their buffalo gave them food, clothing and shelter; they had weapons for war and for the chase. They roamed over the country without let or hindrance. In peace they were light-hearted and contented; in war cunning, fierce and successful. Their name was a terror to their enemies. This was in the past. Now they are few in number, poor, a prey to disease, a vanishing race.

My acquaintance with the tribe began in 1870. From that time to 123
the present I have had frequent intercourse with them; have lived in their villages; and been with them on their buffalo hunts. During the

123 weeks and months spent in camp and village, I have listened to many stories of Pawnee heroes and to folk-tales of the miraculous doings of the olden time. In my intercourse with the tribe, extending over a period of nearly twenty years, I have been deeply impressed by the high qualities of the Pawnee character; and the more familiar I have become with this people, the more strongly have I felt that a permanent record should be made of the tales which reflect that character. Unless thus collected now, much of this lore must inevitably be forgotten.

161 For the Pawnees are passing away. When I first joined them on their buffalo hunts from their old home on the Loup Fork in Nebraska, the tribe numbered three thousand; last March in the Indian Territory I
178 found but eight hundred. And more rapidly than the dwindling of the people are their traditions lapsing from memory under the changed conditions of the tribe's life. The lore, which sprang up as an indigenous growth of the wide-stretching prairie and the wilderness where the wild Pawnee warrior hunted free, finds scanty nurture in the uncongenial soil of fields tilled by Pawnee followers of the plow. With the new modes of living come new views of life, new motives, new sympathies—in a word, civilization. To earn a living by toil, to wrest subsistence from the earth, this is the problem confronting the Pawnees to-day, the task which is engaging the sinew and purpose of the tribe. In the transition stage, the memory of the old days, of old manners and rites and ceremonies and of old heroes, is with the elders of the race, those ancient braves whose lives bridge the past and the present.
126 When I visited the Agency last March, it was to write down from the lips of these old men such material as I could collect. When they shall die much of the unwritten lore will perish too, for with them will cease that sympathetic and perfect credence, which alone gives to folk-lore vitality and lastingness. What is written in this volume then belongs distinctly to the wild Indian.

The task that I have set for myself is that of a recorder. No attempt has been made to give a literary color to the hero stories and folk-tales here written out. I have scrupulously avoided putting into them anything of my own. The stories are told to the reader as they were told to me. They are not elaborated. I have tried to show how Indians think and speak, rather than to make their stories more entertaining by

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dressing them up to suit the civilized taste. My object in giving these 126 narratives in their present shape is to make a book which shall be true to life, and shall faithfully reflect the Pawnee character, as the story tellers have themselves painted it. In a very few cases I have added some words explaining matters so well understood by those familiar with the Indians as to need no explanation. If these tales have any ethnological value, it will be enhanced by their being given in the precise form in which they were told by those to whom they have been handed down from generation to generation; but quite apart from this is another point which is entitled to consideration.

The entire ignorance concerning Indians, which prevails among the 114 general public, can be dispelled only by letting that public understand something of the ways of life of the wild Indian, something of the subjects about which he thinks and talks, as well as of how he looks at these subjects, and what he has to say about them.

The late Mrs. Jackson's charming story, "Ramona," did much to bring the more intelligent class of readers in touch with the Indians, and to awaken sympathy for them by pointing out the unnumbered wrongs perpetrated on this race by the Government. Mrs. Jackson's book was a story, a novel; wonderfully well told and full of truth and feeling; but while it may have been a relation of facts, it did not profess to treat of actual persons. It is looked upon by many readers as a mere romance. It is a book about which I was once asked, skeptically, "Did you ever see any Indians like those?" In the Pawnee stories here set down there is no romance nor coloring. The Indians themselves are talking, and whatever the faults and weak points of these tales—and some of them are sufficiently obvious—they at least give the reader a true conception of Indians as they have actually lived. They are stories of Indians by Indians. There is about them nothing of the white man; and the intelligent person, who is sufficiently interested in the subject to read this book through, will gain from it a new insight into Indian character.

The Indian of Cooper—with his bravery, his endurance, his acuteness, his high qualities of honesty, generosity, courtesy and hospitality—has been laughed at for half a century. Yet every man who has mingled much with the Indians in their homes has known individuals who might have sat for the portraits which Cooper drew of some of

114 his aboriginal heroes. There are good men among Indians, just as among the whites. The prevalent notion of the Indian has been formed from the worst class of this people, the lazy, filthy beggars who haunt the settlements of the West, who to their own vices have added new ones picked up from their surroundings, and who are hopelessly degraded. These are not typical Indians, and it is unjust to judge a whole race from such degenerate specimens. There is still another notion of the Indian fondly cherished by many worthy people, whose sympathies have been wrought upon by the cruelty and injustice with which we have treated this race. These good people look upon all Indians as simple children of nature, who would do no wrong if they had not been contaminated by contact with vicious whites. It is unnecessary to say that this notion of the Indian is also incorrect.

114 The Indian is neither a fiend nor a saint. There are good ones and
181 bad ones. As a rule, perhaps they try to act up to their ideas of what is
right, but the standard of a race of barbarians cannot be the same as
that of a civilized people, and in judging of their character we must
make allowances for this difference. The standard of right and wrong
among civilized people is a growth, the product of the experience of
thousands of years. The Indian races have not been through a like
experience. They have regarded as virtues some things which seem
to us the worst of crimes. The Indian differs from the white man in
education and manner of life, and so, of course, in his modes of
thought. He has not been taught the lesson of self-control, which his
surroundings oblige each civilized man to begin to learn as a child. He
has known until recent times no law save that of strength. He has been
[726] taught that war is the noblest of pursuits—the only one worthy of
man. And that war has consisted in making forays upon his enemies,
taking their possessions, and, if possible, their lives and their scalps. His
warfare consisted in surprises rather than open combat. A scalp taken
[727] was a trophy of victory; and the scalp of a woman was almost as
eagerly sought as that of a brave or of a chief. It was an evidence of
injury inflicted on the enemy. To steal horses from the enemy was
an achievement creditable and also profitable.

721 We commonly speak of the raids of war parties as horse stealing expeditions, but this is wholly misleading, because to the civilized understanding the phrase horse stealing carries with it an idea of dis-

honesty. No such meaning attaches to the Indian equivalent of this 721
phrase. They take horses by stratagem or secretly, by the usual, and to
them legitimate, methods of warfare. To speak of their stealing horses,
using that verb in the sense which we commonly give it, would be
like saying that an army stole the cannon which it captured in an engagement
with the enemy. Captured horses were the legitimate spoils [556]
of war. The wealth of the Indians was in their horses. They had no
fortified places, no ships of war, no cannon, no works of art. Their
only valuable possessions were their horses. These were the only
property that could be carried off. Therefore, when an expedition was
made against a hostile tribe, scalps and horses were naturally its object.
Horses, being their only valuable possessions, constituted their 436
medium of exchange, so far as they had any. Did a man wish to 231
purchase an ornament, or an article of dress which took his fancy,
he gave a horse for it. If he bought a wife he paid for her in horses. [583]
The most valuable present that could be made was a good horse; and
horses were often given by the well-to-do to their friends and relations
who had been sick or unfortunate. On the other hand, when, as was
sometimes the case, a conquered tribe was condemned to pay a war [728]
indemnity, they paid it in horses. It is related that when the Skidi
broke their treaty with the other bands, and were afterward conquered
by them, they were obligated to pay such a fine.

This view of Indian warfare being understood, the motive of the 538
hero stories here given, and of many of the folk-tales, becomes plain.

The Pawnees are essentially a religious people. They worship 771
Ti-ra'-wa, who is in and of everything. Unlike many of the Indian 776
tribes of the West, they do not adore any material thing. They regard
certain places as sacred, but these are so only because blessed by the
Divine presence. The Pawnee Deity is not personified. He is intangible,
quite as much so as the God of the Christians. The sacred character of
Ti-ra'-wa extends to animal nature. The fishes which swim in the
rivers, the birds of the air and the beasts which roam over the prairie,
have sometimes intelligence, knowledge and power far beyond those
of man. But they are not gods. Their miraculous attributes are given
them by the Ruler, whose servants they are, and who often makes
them the medium of his communications to man. They are his messengers—his
angels—and their powers are always used for good.

782 Prayers are made to them; sometimes for direct help in time of need,
776 but more often for intercession. Often in the folk-tales it will be seen that when the blessing asked for is some small thing, a prayer is made to the animals (*Na-hu'rac*), but if the petitioners are asking for some great thing, something which is very difficult to grant, then the prayer is made to "One Above," to "The Ruler," that is, to the Supreme Being.

782 Nothing of importance was ever undertaken without a prayer for
776 help, for success. All the serious undertakings of the year, whose
776 success would affect the general welfare, were preceded by religious ceremonies, when all the tribe took part, and prayers were made and sacrifices offered to *Ti-ra'-wa;* and in all lesser enterprises, the individuals who were interested humbled themselves and implored the Divine assistance. A party starting off on the warpath prayed for success and made a burnt offering. Prayer and sacrifice always marked the beginning of the feast, and often its end. Success in their undertakings was acknowledged by grateful offerings to the Ruler. The victorious warrior sometimes sacrificed the scalp torn from the head of his enemy, and this was burned with elaborate ceremonies by the High Priest. He who brought back from a foray many horses, gave one to the priest as a thank-offering to the Ruler. One of the well-known Seven Brothers said to me, "It is our aim, after we have been helped, to give thanks."

The feeling of these Indians toward their God is one of humility and reverence. They do not love him, but they look to him for help at all times. The young are exhorted to humble themselves before him, to pray to him, to look to One Above, to ask help from the Ruler. In the stories which are included in this book the allusions constantly made to *Ti-ra'-wa*—the Supreme Power—the prayers offered and the humility and self-abnegation so often expressed, show faith, profound religious feelings, and great elevation of thought.

114 Among tribal names of North American Indians, none is more familiar to us than Pawnee; yet of no tribe is less known. Frequent allusions to them occur in the writings of early travelers in the West; but only one satisfactory attempt has been made to write a connected history of this family. In the *Magazine of American History* for

The Pawnees

1880–81 Mr. John B. Dunbar published a most interesting account of 114
this tribe, but his sketch is mainly historical, and does not profess to treat exhaustively of the lives and modes of thought of this people. It is, however, a history of very great importance and value, and in preparing the historical matter which is included in this volume, I have not hesitated to draw on Mr. Dunbar's papers, which must form the basis of any subsequent account of the Pawnees, and which should be read by all who are interested in this people.

I owe much of my interest in and knowledge of the Pawnees to my long intimacy with the late Major Frank North, who from his extended intercourse and close connection with this people—a connection which lasted more than thirty years—was unquestionably better informed about them than any other white man has ever been; and with Capt. L. H. North, his brother, who was for many years associated with Major North in command of the Pawnee Scouts.

In gathering the material here presented I have been assisted also by 115
James R. Murie, a nephew of Comanche Chief; by Ralph J. Weeks, a half-brother of Lone Chief; by Harry Kuhns, by Eagle Chief and Bear Chief, Skidis; by Good Chief and Curly Chief, Kit-ke-hahk-is; by Secret Pipe Chief and Frank White, Chau-is, and by many others of my Pawnee friends, to all of whom my acknowledgments are due.

In the pronunciation of the few Pawnee words used in these 174
stories, the vowel sounds, as nearly as I can give them, are as follows: 104
a as in father, *e* as the *a* in ale, *i* as *e* in cede, *ū* long as *oo* in pool, *ŭ* short as in us, *au* as *ou* in house. These sounds depend somewhat on the letters which follow the vowels, and the spelling does not always conform to the rule laid down. The last two syllables in the word Pita-hau-erat, for example, are pronounced *irăt* or *idot*. The sounds of *d*, *l*, *n* and *r* are difficult to express by English letters; *r* sometimes has its own sound quite distinctly, at others more the sound of *d*; *n* often has a *d* sound, and *l* a sound of *n*. It will be noted that throughout I have used the familiar English word Pawnee instead of the evidently more correct *Pa′-ni*.

Finally I have refrained from commenting on the stories, though 114
there is abundant opportunity for comment.

HERO STORIES

COMANCHE CHIEF, THE PEACE-MAKER

I

x
539 Many years ago there lived in the Ski'-di village a young man, about
538 sixteen years old. His name was *Kut-a'wi-kutz* (the hawk). At this
[302] time the Pawnees wore their hair in the ancient fashion, cut as the
Osages wear theirs; the whole head was shaved except a roach running back from the forehead beyond the scalp lock.

A war party went off to the south and he joined them as a servant. They went a long way and a long way, traveling far, but they got no horses and came back. Afterward another party started off on the warpath, and he went with it. They traveled many days, going to the southwest, and at length they came to a camp, and hid themselves to wait until it was dark. It was a camp of the Comanches.

When night had come they all went into the camp to steal horses. This young man went to a lodge near which stood three horses, two spotted horses and one gray. They were tied near the door of the lodge, and from this he thought they must be fast, for the Indians usually tie up their best horses close to the lodge door, where they will be under their eyes as much as possible. He went to the lodge to cut the ropes, and just as he was about to do so he thought he heard some one inside. He stepped up close to the lodge, and looked in through a little opening between the door and the lodge, and saw a small fire burning, and on the other side of the fire was sitting a young girl, combing her long hair. The young man looked around the lodge to see who else was there, and saw only an old man and an old woman, and the firemaker. He cut the ropes of the two spotted horses standing outside, led the horses out of the camp, and met his companion. To him he said, "Now, brother, you take these horses and go to the hill

where we were hiding to-day, and wait for me there. I have seen 539x another fine spotted horse that I want to get; I will go back for it and 538 will meet you before morning at that place."

He went back, as if to get the spotted horse, but returned to the lodge where the girl was. He went all around it, and looked at it carefully. He saw that there were feathers on the lodge, and rows of animals hoofs hanging down the sides, which rattled in the wind, and to one of the lodge-poles was tied a buffalo tail, which hung down. Then he went back to the door and looked in at the girl again. She had braided her hair and was sitting there by the fire. He stayed there a long time that night looking at her. Toward morning he went to look for his companion. When he met him he told him that some one had taken the spotted horse before he got to it; he could not find it. When the party all met next morning, they found that they had taken a lot of horses, and they started north to go home. They reached the Pawnee village, and every one was glad of their success.

After this, whenever this young man saw anything that was nice or pretty, such as medals, ear-rings, finger rings for women, beadwork [301] leggings, bracelets, necklaces, wampum, beads—things that the Comanches did not have—he would give a pony for it. For one year he went on like this, gathering together these pretty things. When the year had gone by he had no horses left; he had given them all away to get these presents. He packed all these things up in a bundle, and then spoke one night to his friend, saying, "I intend to go off on the war-path again, and I would like to have you go with me; we two will go alone." His friend agreed to go.

II

Before the time came to start, other young men heard of it, and several joined them. There were eight of them in all. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* was the leader. He told his young men that they were going to a certain place where he knew there were lots of spotted horses to steal. They started out on foot. After traveling many days, they came to the place where the camp had been at the time he saw the girl. There was now no camp there.

They went on further, and at length came to a camp and hid them-

*539 selves. When night came the leader told his men to remain where they
538 were hiding, and he would go into the camp and see if there were any horses to take. He went through all the camp looking for the lodge in which he had seen the girl, but he did not find it. Then he went back to where the young men were hiding, and told them that this was not the camp they were looking for; that they did not have here the spotted horses that they wanted. In the camp of the year before there had been many spotted horses.

The young men did not understand this, and some of them did not like to leave this camp without taking any horses, but he was the leader and they did as he said. They left that camp and went on further.

After traveling some days they came to another camp, and hid themselves near it. When night came on *Kut-a'wi-kutz* said to his young men, "You stay here where you are hiding, and I will go into this camp and see if it is the one we are looking for." He went through the camp but did not find the lodge he sought. He returned to the hiding place, and told the party there that this was not the camp they were looking for, that the spotted horses were not there. They left the camp and went on.

When they had come close to the mountains they saw another camp. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* went into this camp alone, and when he had been through it, he went back to his party and told them that this was the camp they had been looking for. Then he sent the young men into the camp to steal horses, and he put on his fine leggings and moccasins that he had in his bundle, and painted himself and went with them. He took a horse and his friend took one. They met outside the village. He told his friend to get on his own horse and lead the other, and with the rest of the party to go off east from the camp to a certain place, and there to wait for him. "I have seen," he said, "another fine horse that I like, and I wish to go back and get it."

His friend looked sorrowfully at him and said, "Why are you all dressed up like this, and why is your face painted? What are you doing or what is in your mind? Perhaps you intend to do some great thing to-night that you do not want me, your friend, to know about. I have seen for a long time that you are hiding something from me."

Kut-a'wi-kutz caught his friend in his arms and hugged him and

kissed him and said, "You are my friend; who is so near to me as you 539x
are? Go on as I have said, and if it turns out well I will tell you all. 538
I will catch up with you before very long."

His friend said, "No, I will stay with you. I will not go on. I love you as a brother, and I will stay with you, and if you are going to do some great thing I will die with you."

When *Kut-a'wi-kutz* found that his friend was resolved to remain with him, he yielded and told him his secret. He said to him, "My brother, when we were on the warpath a year ago, and I took those two spotted horses, I heard a little noise in the lodge by which they were tied. I looked in and I saw there a girl sitting by the fire combing her hair. She was very pretty. When I took the spotted horses away, I could not put that girl out of my mind. I remembered her. Brother, when we went back home that girl was constantly in my mind. I could not forget her. I came this time on purpose to get her, even if it shall cost me my life. She is in this camp, and I have found the lodge where she lives."

His friend said, "My brother, whatever you say shall be done. I stay with you. You go into the camp. I will take the horses and go to that high rocky hill east of the camp, and will hide the horses there. When you are in the village I will be up in one of the trees on the top of the hill, looking down on the camp. If I hear shooting and see lots of people running to the lodge I will know that you are killed, and I will kill myself. I will not go home alone. If I do not see you by noon, I will kill myself."

Kut-a'wi-kutz said, "It is good. If I am successful I will go up there after you, and take you down into the camp."

They parted. The friend hid the horses and went up on the hill. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* went into the camp.

III

It was now the middle of the night. When he came to the lodge, he saw there was a fire in it. He did not go in at once; he wanted the fire to go out. He stayed around the lodge, and gradually the fire died down. It was dark. He went into the lodge. He was painted and finely dressed, and had his bundle with him. He took his moccasins off and

x539 his leggings, and hung them up over the girl's bed; then strings of
538 beads, then five or six medals, bracelets, ear-bobs, beaded leggings, everything he had—his shirt. He took his blanket, and spread it over the bed where the girl was lying, stepped over the bed, and crept under his own blanket, and lay down by her side.

When he lay down she woke up, and found that there was some one lying by her, and she spoke to him, but he did not answer. He could not understand her, for he did not know Comanche. She talked for a long time, but he did not speak. Then she began to feel of him, and when she put her hands on his head—*Pi-ta'-da*—Pawnee—an enemy! Then she raised herself up, took a handful of grass from under the bed, spread the fire and put the grass on it. The fire blazed up and she saw him. Then she sprang up and took the top blanket, which was his, off the bed, and put it about her, and sat by the fire. She called her father and said, "Father get up; there is a man here."

The old man got up, and got his pipe and began smoking. This old man was the Head Chief of the Comanches. He called the servant, and told him to make a fire. The girl got up and went over to where her mother was lying and called her. The mother got up; and they all sat by the fire.

The old man smoked for a long time. Every now and then he would look at the bed to see who it could be that was lying there, and then he would look at all the things hanging up over the bed—at the medals and other things. He did not know what they were for, and he wondered. At length the old man told the servant to go and call the chiefs of the tribe, and tell them to come to his lodge.

Presently the chiefs came in one by one and sat down. When they had come there was still one brave who ought to have come that was not there. His name was Skin Shirt; the father wanted him. He sent for him three times. He sent word back to the chief to go on with the council, and that he would agree to whatever they decided. The fourth time he was sent for he came, and took a seat by the chief, the girl's father. This brave spoke to *Kut-a'wi-kutz*, and told him to get up, and take a seat among them. He did so. The girl was sitting on the other side of the fire. When he got up, he had to take the blanket that was left, which was the girl's. He put it around him, and sat down among them.

When the chiefs came in, there was among them a Pawnee who had 539x
been captured long ago and adopted by the Comanches, and was now 538
himself a chief; he talked with *Kut-a'wi-kutz* and interpreted for him, telling him everything that was said as each one spoke.

After the young man had seated himself, the chief filled his pipe, and gave the pipe to his brave to decide what should be done with this enemy. The brave took the pipe, but he did not wish to decide, so he did not light it, but passed it on to another chief to decide. He passed it on to another, and he to another, and so it went until the pipe came back to the Head Chief. When he got it again, he asked *Kut-a'wi-kutz*, "Why have you come here this night and lain down in my lodge, you who are an enemy to my people? And why have you hung up in the lodge all these strange things which we see here? I do not understand it, and I wish to know your reasons."

The boy said to him, "A long time ago I came south on the warpath to steal horses. I traveled until I came to your camp. I saw three horses tied outside a lodge, two spotted horses and a gray. While I was cutting one of the ropes, I heard a little noise inside the lodge, and pushing aside the door I looked in, and saw that girl combing her hair. I stole the two spotted horses, and took them out of the camp, and gave them to a friend of mine, and came back to your lodge, and kept looking at the girl. I stayed there until she went to bed. For a long year I have been buying presents; beads and many other things, for I had made up my mind that I would go after this girl. I came down here to find her. I have been to where you were camped last year, and to two other camps that I discovered. She was not in these and I left them, and came on until I found the right camp. This is the fourth place. Now I am here. I made up my mind to do this thing, and if her relations do not like it they can do as they please. I would be happy to die on her account."

When he had spoken the old chief laughed. He said: "Those two spotted horses that you stole I did not care much about. The gray horse was the best one of the three, and you left him. I was glad that you did not take him. He was the best of all." Then for a little while there was silence in the lodge.

Then the chief, the girl's father, began to talk again; he said, "If I wanted to decide what should be done with this man, I would decide

x539 right now, but here is my brave, Skin Shirt, I want him to decide. If
538 I were to decide, it would be against this man, but he has my daughter's blanket on, and she has his, and I do not want to decide. I pass the pipe to my brave, and want him to light it."

The brave said, "I want this chief next to me to decide," and he passed him the pipe, and so it went on around the circle until it came to the Head Chief again. He was just about to take it and decide the question, when they heard outside the lodge the noise made by some one coming, shouting and laughing; then the door was pushed aside and an old man came in, and as he passed the door he stumbled and fell on his knees. It was the girl's grandfather. He had been outside the lodge, listening.

The pipe was passed to the chief, and he gave it again to his brave to decide. While the brave was sitting there, holding the pipe, the old grandfather said, "Give me the pipe; if you men cannot decide, let me do it. In my time we did not do things this way. I never passed the pipe; I could always decide for myself."

Then Skin Shirt passed him the pipe, and he lit it and smoked. Then he said, "I do not wish to condemn to death a man who is wearing my granddaughter's blanket." The interpreter began to tell *Kut-a'wi-kutz* that the old man was going to decide in his favor, and that when he got through speaking he must get up and pass his hands over him, and thank him for taking pity on him, and so to all the others. The old man continued, "Now, chiefs, do not think hardly of what I am going to say, nor be dissatisfied with my decision. I am old. I have heard in my time that there is a tribe up north that is raising from the ground something that is long and white, and something that is round; and that these things are good to eat. Now, chiefs, before I die, I want to eat of these things, and I want my granddaughter to go and take her seat by this man, and for them to be man and wife. Since I was young we have been enemies, but now I want the two tribes to come together, join hands and be friends." And so it was decided.

The young man got up and passed his hands over the old man, and over the brave, and passed around the circle and blessed them all. The Pawnee, who was interpreter, now told him to get up, and get a medal and put it on the brave, and then another and put it on the chief, and so on until all the presents were gone. And he did so, and put on them

the medals, and ear-rings, and strings of beads, and breast-plates of wampum, until each had something. And these things were new to them, and they felt proud to be wearing them, and thought how nice they looked. 539ˣ 538

IV

By this time it was daylight, and it had got noised abroad through the camp that there was a Pawnee at the Head Chief's lodge, and all the people gathered there. They called out, "Bring him out; we want him out here." They crowded about the lodge, all the people, the old men and the women and the young men, so many that at last they pushed the lodge down. They shouted: "Let us have the Pawnee. Last night they stole many horses from us." The chiefs and braves got around the Pawnee, and kept the Comanches off from him, and protected him from the people. The Cheyennes were camped close by, near the hill southeast of the Comanches, and they, too, had heard that the Comanches had a Pawnee in the camp. They came over, and rode about in the crowd to try and get the Pawnee, and they rode over a Comanche or two, and knocked them down. So Skin Shirt got his bow and arrows, and jumped on his horse, and rode out and drove the Cheyennes away back to their camp again.

The Cheyennes saw that the Comanches did not want the Pawnee killed, so they sent a message inviting him over to a feast with them, intending to kill him, but Skin Shirt told them that he was married into the tribe. While the Cheyennes were parading round the Comanche camp, they were shooting off their guns in the air, just to make a noise. Now, the young Pawnee on the hill, who was watching the camp to see what would happen to his friend, saw the crowd and heard the shooting, and made up his mind that *Kut-a'wi-kutz* had been killed. So he took his knife, and put the handle against a tree and the point against his breast, and put his arms around the tree and hugged it, and the knife blade passed through his heart and he fell down and died.

In the afternoon when all the excitement had quieted down, the Cheyennes came over again to the Comanche camp, and invited the Pawnee and his wife to go to their village, and visit with them. Then x539 538 Skin Shirt said, "All right, we will go." Three chiefs of the Comanches went ahead, the Pawnee followed with his wife, and Skin Shirt went behind. They went to the Cheyenne camp. The Cheyennes received them and made a great feast for them, and gave the Pawnee many horses. Then they went back to the Comanche camp. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* never went up to the hill until the next morning. Then he went, singing the song he had told his friend he would sing. He called to him, but there was no reply. He called again. It was all silent. He looked for his friend, and at last he found him there dead at the foot of the tree.

V

Kut-a'wi-kutz then stayed with the Comanches. The Cheyennes came north and east, and the Comanches went on west, nearer to the mountains. While the Pawnee was with the Comanches, they had [648] several wars with the Utes, Lipans and Tonkaways. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* proved himself a brave man, and, as the son-in-law of the chief, he soon gained great influence, and was himself made a chief.

After some years the old man, his wife's grandfather, told the Pawnee that he thought it was time that he should eat some of those things that he had long wanted to eat that grew up north; that he was getting pretty old now. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* said, "It is time. We will go." So he had his horses packed, and with his immediate family and the old man, started north toward the Pawnee country. At this time he was called *Kut-a'wi-kutz-u si-ti'-da-rit*, which means "See! The Hawk." When going into battle he would ride straight out to strike his enemy, and the Comanches who were looking at him would say, "See! The Hawk." So that became his name.

They traveled a long time until they came to the Pawnee ground. As they were traveling along, they came to a field where were growing corn, beans and squashes. The Pawnee said to the old man, "Grandfather, look at that field. There are the things that you have desired to eat." He got off his horse and went into the field, and pulled some corn, some beans and some squashes, and took them to the old man, and gave them to him. The old man supposed they were to be eaten

just as they were, and he tried to bite the squashes. This made the 539x
Pawnee laugh. When they came to the village, the Pawnees were very 538
glad to see him who had been lost long ago. He told the people that he had brought these Indians to eat of the corn and other things; that they were his kinsfolk. He told them, too, about the young man who had killed himself. His relations went out into the fields, and gathered corn and beans and squashes, and cooked them for the Comanches.

They stayed there a long time at the Pawnee village. When they were getting ready to return, the Pawnees dried their corn, and gave a great deal of it to the Comanches, packing many horses with it for the Indians at home. Then the Comanches started south again, and some of the Pawnee young men, relations of *Kut-a'wi-kutz,* joined him, and went back with them. After they had returned to the Comanche camp, the old grandfather died, happy because he had eaten the things he wanted to eat.

Soon after this, *Kut-a'wi-kutz* started back to the Pawnee village, and some young men of the Comanches joined him. Some time after reaching the village he went south again, accompanied by some young Pawnees, but leaving most of the Comanches behind. He had arranged with the chiefs of the Pawnees that they should journey south, meet the Comanches on the plains and make peace. When he reached the Comanches, the whole village started north to visit the Pawnees, and met them on their way south. When they met, the two tribes made friends, smoked together, ate together, became friends.

After they had camped together for some time, some Comanches stayed in the Pawnee camp, and some Pawnees in the Comanche camp. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* was called by the Pawnees Comanche Chief. He would have remained with the Comanches, but when he went back with them his wife fell sick. The Comanche doctors could not help her, and he wanted to take her north to see the Pawnee doctors, but the Comanches would not let him. They kept him there, and his wife died. Then he was angry, for he thought if he had taken her north her life might have been saved.

So he left the Comanches, and went and lived with the Pawnees, and was known among them always as Comanche Chief, the Peace-Maker, because he made peace between the Pawnees and Comanches. He was

x539 chief of the Ski'-di band, and a progressive man of modern times. He
538 sent his children East to school at Carlisle, Pa.

Comanche Chief died September 9th, 1888.

THE PRISONERS OF COURT HOUSE ROCK

x539 Court House Rock is a high, square-shaped bluff, or butte, on the
538 North Platte River. It is composed of a hard, yellowish clay, which is
133 but slowly eroded by the weather, though soft enough to be cut readily with a knife. On all sides except one, this rock or butte is nearly or quite vertical, and its sides, smoothed and polished by the wind and the rain, offer no projecting points, to serve as foot or hand holds for one who might wish to climb up or down. On one side there is a way by which an active man may reach the summit, where he finds a flat tableland of moderate extent.

x539 A number of years ago a war party of Skidi, who were camped
538 near Court House Rock, were surprised by a party of Sioux. There were many of them, and they drove the Skidi back, and at length these were obliged to climb the steep side of Court House Rock. The Sioux dared not follow them up on to the rock, but guarded the only place where it was possible to come down, and camped all around the rock below to starve the Skidi out. The Skidi had nothing to eat nor to drink, and suffered terribly from hunger and still more from thirst. The leader of the party suffered most of any, for he thought that he would surely lose all his men. He felt that this was the worst of all. He must not only die, but must also be disgraced, because under his leadership the young men of his party had been lost. He used to go off at night, apart from the others, and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* for help; for some way to save his party.

[717] One night while he was praying, something spoke to him, and said, "Look hard for a place where you may get down from this rock, and so save both your men and yourself." He kept on praying that night,

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

and when day came, he looked all along the edge of the rock for a 539x
place where it might be possible to get down. At last he found near 538
the edge of the cliff a point of the soft clay rock sticking up above the level of the rest. The side of the rock below it was straight up and down, and smooth. At night he took his knife, and began to cut about the base of this point of rock, and night after night he kept at this until he had cut away the base of the point, so that it was no larger around than a man's body. Then he secretly took all the lariats that the party had, and tied them together, and let them down, and found that his rope was long enough to reach the ground. He put the rope around the point, and made a loop in it for his feet, and slowly let himself down to the ground. He got there safely, and then climbed back again. The next night he called his men about him, and told them how it was, and that they might all be saved. Then he ordered the youngest and least important man of the party to let himself down, and after him the next youngest, and so on, up to the more important men, and last of all the leader's turn came. He let himself down, and they all crept through the Sioux camp and escaped.

They never knew how long the Sioux stayed there watching the rock. Probably until they thought that the Skidi had all starved to death.

FOLK TALES

THE DUN HORSE

I

Many years ago, there lived in the Pawnee tribe an old woman and 539x
her grandson, a boy about sixteen years old. These people had no rela- 773
tions and were very poor. They were so poor that they were despised by the rest of the tribe. They had nothing of their own; and always, after the village started to move the camp from one place to another,

x539 these two would stay behind the rest, to look over the old camp, and
773 pick up anything that the other Indians had thrown away, as worn out or useless. In this way they would sometimes get pieces of robes, worn out moccasins with holes in them, and bits of meat.

Now, it happened one day, after the tribe had moved away from the camp, that this old woman and her boy were following along the trail behind the rest, when they came to a miserable old worn out dun horse, which they supposed had been abandoned by some Indians. He was thin and exhausted, was blind of one eye, had a bad sore back, and one of his forelegs was very much swollen. In fact, he was so worthless that none of the Pawnees had been willing to take the trouble to try to drive him along with them. But when the old woman and her boy came along, the boy said, "Come now, we will take this old horse, for we can make him carry our pack." So the old woman put her pack on the horse, and drove him along, but he limped and could only go very slowly.

II

The tribe moved up on the North Platte, until they came to Court House Rock. The two poor Indians followed them, and camped with the others. One day while they were here, the young men who had been sent out to look for buffalo, came hurrying into camp and told the chiefs that a large herd of buffalo were near, and that among them was a spotted calf.

The Head Chief of the Pawnees had a very beautiful daughter, and when he heard about the spotted calf, he ordered his old crier to go about through the village, and call out that the man who killed the spotted calf should have his daughter for his wife. For a spotted robe is *ti-war'-uks-ti*—big medicine.

The buffalo were feeding about four miles from the village, and the chiefs decided that the charge should be made from there. In this way, the man who had the fastest horse would be the most likely to kill the calf. Then all the warriors and the young men picked out their best and fastest horses, and made ready to start. Among those who prepared for the charge was the poor boy on the old dun horse. But when they saw him, all the rich young braves on their fast horses pointed

at him, and said, "Oh, see; there is the horse that is going to catch the 539x
spotted calf"; and they laughed at him, so that the poor boy was 773
ashamed, and rode off to one side of the crowd, where he could not hear their jokes and laughter.

When he had ridden off some little way, the horse stopped, and turned his head round, and spoke to the boy. He said, "Take me down to the creek, and plaster me all over with mud. Cover my head and neck and body and legs." When the boy heard the horse speak, he was afraid; but he did as he was told. Then the horse said, "Now mount, but do not ride back to the warriors, who laugh at you because you have such a poor horse. Stay right here, until the word is given to charge." So the boy stayed there.

And presently all the fine horses were drawn up in line and pranced about, and were so eager to go that their riders could hardly hold them in; and at last the old crier gave the word, "*Loo-ah*"—Go! Then the Pawnees all leaned forward on their horses and yelled, and away they went. Suddenly, away off to the right, was seen the old dun horse. He did not seem to run. He seemed to sail along like a bird. He passed all the fastest horses, and in a moment he was among the buffalo. First he picked out the spotted calf, and charging up alongside of it, *U-ra-rish!* straight flew the arrow. The calf fell. The boy drew another arrow, and killed a fat cow that was running by. Then he dismounted and began to skin the calf, before any of the other warriors had come up. But when the rider got off the old dun horse, how changed he was! He pranced about and would hardly stand still near the dead buffalo. His back was all right again; his legs were well and fine; and both his eyes were clear and bright.

The boy skinned the calf and the cow that he had killed, and then he packed all the meat on the horse, and put the spotted robe on top of the load, and started back to the camp on foot, leading the dun horse. But even with this heavy load the horse pranced all the time, and was scared at everything he saw. On the way to camp, one of the rich young chiefs of the tribe rode up by the boy, and offered him twelve good horses for the spotted robe, so that he could marry the Head Chief's beautiful daughter; but the boy laughed at him and would not sell the robe.

Now, while the boy walked to the camp leading the dun horse, most

539 of the warriors rode back, and one of those that came first to the
773 village, went to the old woman, and said to her, "Your grandson has killed the spotted calf." And the old woman said, "Why do you come to tell me this? You ought to be ashamed to make fun of my boy, because he is poor." The warrior said, "What I have told you is true," and then he rode away. After a little while another brave rode up to the old woman, and said to her, "Your grandson has killed the spotted calf." Then the old woman began to cry, she felt so badly because every one made fun of her boy, because he was poor.

Pretty soon the boy came along, leading the horse up to the lodge where he and his grandmother lived. It was a little lodge, just big enough for two, and was made of old pieces of skin that the old woman had picked up, and was tied together with strings of rawhide and sinew. It was the meanest and worst lodge in the village. When the old woman saw her boy leading the dun horse with the load of meat and the robes on it, she was very much surprised. The boy said to her, "Here, I have brought you plenty of meat to eat, and here is a robe, that you may have for yourself. Take the meat off the horse." Then the old woman laughed, for her heart was glad. But when she went to take the meat from the horse's back, he snorted and jumped about, and acted like a wild horse. The old woman looked at him in wonder, and could hardly believe that it was the same horse. So the boy had to take off the meat, for the horse would not let the old woman come near him.

III

That night the horse spoke again to the boy and said, "*Wa-ti-hes Chah'-ra-rat wa-ta.* To-morrow the Sioux are coming—a large war party. They will attack the village, and you will have a great battle. Now, when the Sioux are drawn up in line of battle, and are all ready to fight, you jump on to me, and ride as hard as you can, right into the middle of the Sioux, and up to their Head Chief, their greatest warrior, and count *coup*[1] on him, and kill him, and then ride back. Do this four times, and count *coup* on four of the bravest Sioux, and

---

[1] An explanation of this term is found on p. 111.

kill them, but don't go again. If you go the fifth time, may be you 539x
will be killed, or else you will lose me. *La-ku'-ta-chix*—remember." So 773
the boy promised.

The next day it happened as the horse had said, and the Sioux came down and formed in line of battle. Then the boy took his bow and arrows, and jumped on the dun horse, and charged into the midst of them. And when the Sioux saw that he was going to strike their Head Chief, they all shot their arrows at him, and the arrows flew so thickly across each other that they darkened the sky, but none of them hit the boy. And he counted *coup* on the Chief, and killed him, and then rode back. After that he charged again among the Sioux, where they were gathered thickest, and counted *coup* on their bravest warrior, and killed him. And then twice more, until he had gone four times as the horse had told him.

But the Sioux and the Pawnees kept on fighting, and the boy stood around and watched the battle. And at last he said to himself, "I have been four times and have killed four Sioux, and I am all right, I am not hurt anywhere; why may I not go again?" So he jumped on the dun horse, and charged again. But when he got among the Sioux, one Sioux warrior drew an arrow and shot. The arrow struck the dun horse behind the forelegs and pierced him through. And the horse fell down dead. But the boy jumped off, and fought his way through the Sioux, and ran away as fast as he could to the Pawnees. Now, as soon as the horse was killed, the Sioux said to each other, "This horse was like a man. He was brave. He was not like a horse." And they took their knives and hatchets, and hacked the dun horse and gashed his flesh, and cut him into small pieces.

The Pawnees and Sioux fought all day long, but toward night the Sioux broke and fled.

IV

The boy felt very badly that he had lost his horse; and, after the fight was over, he went out from the village to where it had taken place, to mourn for his horse. He went to the spot where the horse lay, and gathered up all the pieces of flesh, which the Sioux had

x539 cut off, and the legs and the hoofs, and put them all together in a pile.
773 Then he went off to the top of a hill near by, and sat down and drew his robe over his head, and began to mourn for his horse.

As he sat there, he heard a great wind storm coming up, and it passed over him with a loud rushing sound, and after the wind came a rain. The boy looked down from where he sat to the pile of flesh and bones, which was all that was left of his horse, and he could just see it through the rain. And the rain passed by, and his heart was very heavy, and he kept on mourning.

And pretty soon came another rushing wind, and after it a rain; and as he looked through the driving rain toward the spot where the pieces lay, he thought that they seemed to come together and take shape, and that the pile looked like a horse lying down, but he could not see well for the thick rain.

After this, came a third storm like the others; and now when he looked toward the horse he thought he saw its tail move from side to side two or three times, and that it lifted its head from the ground. The boy was afraid, and wanted to run away, but he stayed.

And as he waited, there came another storm. And while the rain fell, looking through the rain, the boy saw the horse raise himself up on his forelegs and look about. Then the dun horse stood up.

V

The boy left the place where he had been sitting on the hilltop, and went down to him. When the boy had come near to him, the horse spoke and said, "You have seen how it has been this day; and from this you may know how it will be after this. But *Ti-ra'-wa* has been good, and has let me come back to you. After this, do what I tell you; not any more, not any less." Then the horse said, "Now lead me off, far away from the camp, behind that big hill, and leave me there to-night, and in the morning come for me;" and the boy did as he was told.

And when he went for the horse in the morning, he found with him a beautiful white gelding, much more handsome than any horse in the tribe. That night the dun horse told the boy to take him again to the place behind the big hill, and to come for him the next

morning; and when the boy went for him again, he found with him 539x
a beautiful black gelding. And so for ten nights, he left the horse 773
among the hills, and each morning he found a different colored horse, a bay, a roan, a gray, a blue, a spotted horse, and all of them finer than any horses that the Pawnees had ever had in their tribe before.

Now the boy was rich, and he married the beautiful daughter of the Head Chief, and when he became older, he was made Head Chief himself. He had many children by his beautiful wife, and one day when his oldest boy died, he wrapped him in the spotted calf robe and buried him in it. He always took good care of his old grandmother, and kept her in his own lodge until she died. The dun horse was never ridden except at feasts, and when they were going to have a doctors' dance, but he was always led about with the Chief, wherever he went. The horse lived in the village for many years, until he became very old. And at last he died.

THE BEAR MAN

There was once a young boy, who, when he was playing with his fellows, used often to imitate the ways of a bear, and to pretend that he was one. The boys did not know much about bears. They only knew that there were such animals.

Now, it had happened that before this boy was born his mother had been left alone at home, for his father had gone on the warpath toward the enemy, and this was about five or six months before the babe would be born. As the man was going on the warpath, he came upon a little bear cub, very small, whose mother had gone away; and he caught it. He did not want to kill it because it was so young and helpless. It seemed to him like a little child. It looked up to him, and cried after him, because it knew no better; and he hated to kill it or to leave it there. After he had thought about this for a while, he put a string around its neck and tied some medicine smoking stuff, Indian tobacco, to it, and said, "*Pi-rau'*—child you are a *Nahu'rac;*

x539 *Ti-ra'-wa* made you, and takes care of you. He will look after you,
773 but I put these things about your neck to show that I have good
feelings toward you. I hope that when my child is born, the *Nahu'rac* will take care of him, and see that he grows up a good man, and I hope that *Ti-ra'-wa* will take care of you and of mine." He looked at the little bear for quite a long time, and talked to it, and then he went on his way.

When he returned to the village from his warpath, he told his wife about the little bear, and how he had looked at it and talked to it.

x539 When his child was born it had all the ways of a bear. So it is
773 among the Pawnees. A woman, before her child is born, must not
843 look hard at any animal, for the child may be like it. There was a woman in the Kit-ke-hahk'-i band, who caught a rabbit, and, because it was gentle and soft, she took it up in her hands and held it before her face and petted it, and when her child was born it had a split nose, like a rabbit. This man is still alive.

x539 This boy, who was like a bear, as he grew up, had still more the
773 ways of a bear. Often he would go off by himself, and try to pray to the bear, because he felt like a bear. He used to say, in a joking way, to the other young men, that he could make himself a bear.

After he had come to be a man, he started out once on the warpath with a party of about thirty-five others. He was the leader of the party. They went away up on the Running Water, and before they had come to any village, they were discovered by Sioux. The enemy pursued them, and surrounded them, and fought with them. The Pawnees were overpowered, their enemies were so many, and all were killed.

The country where this took place is rocky, and much cedar grows there. Many bears lived there. The battle was fought in the morning; and the Pawnees were all killed in a hollow. Right after the fight, in the afternoon, two bears came traveling along by this place. When they came to the spot where the Pawnees had been killed, they found one of the bodies, and the she bear recognized it as that of the boy who was like a bear. She called to the he bear, and said, "Here is the man that was very good to us. He often sacrificed smokes to us, and every time he ate he used always to take a piece of food and give it to us, saying, 'Here is something for you to eat. Eat this.'

Here is the one that always imitated us, and sung about us, and talked 539x
about us. Can you do anything for him?" The he bear said, "I fear I 773
cannot do it. I have not the power, but I will try. I can do anything if the sun is shining. I seem to have more power when the sun is shining on me." That day it was cloudy and cold and snowing. Every now and then the clouds would pass, and the sun come out for a little while, and then the clouds would cover it up again.

The man was all cut up, pretty nearly hacked in small pieces, for he was the bravest of all. The two bears gathered up the pieces of the man, and put them together, and then the he bear lay down and took the man on his breast, and the she bear lay on top of it to warm the body. They worked over it with their medicine, and every now and then the he bear would cry out, and say, "*A-ti'-us*—Father, help me. I wish the sun was shining." After a while the dead body grew warm, and then began to breathe a little. It was still all cut up, but it began to have life. Pretty soon the man began to move, and to come to life, and then he became conscious and had life.

When he came to himself and opened his eyes he was in the presence of two bears. The he bear spoke to him, and said, "It is not through me that you are living. It was the she bear who asked for help for you, and had you brought back to life. Now, you are not yet whole and well. You must come away with us, and live with us for a time, until your wounds are healed." The bears took him away with them. But the man was very weak, and every now and then, as they were going along, he would faint and fall down; but still they would help him up and support him; and they took him along with them, until they came to a cave in the rocks among the cedars, which was their home. When he entered the cave, he found there their young ones that they had left behind when they started out.

The man was all cut up and gashed. He had also been scalped, and had no hair on his head. He lived with the bears until he was quite healed of his wounds, and also had come to understand all their ways. The two old bears taught him everything that they knew. The he bear said to him, "None of all the beings and animals that roam over the country are as great and as wise as the bears. No animal is equal to us. When we get hungry, we go out and kill something and eat it. I did not make the wisdom that I have. I am an animal, and

x
539
773 I look to one above. He made me, and he made me to be great. I am made to live here and to be great, but still there will be an end to my days, just as with all of us that *Ti-ra'-wa* has created upon this earth. I am going to make you a great man; but you must not deceive yourself. You must not think that I am great, or can do great things of myself. You must always look up above for the giver of all power. You shall be great in war and great in wealth.

"Now you are well, and I shall take you back to your home, and after this I want you to imitate us. This shall be a part of your greatness. I shall look after you. I shall give to you a part of myself. If I am killed, you shall be killed. If I grow old, you shall be old.

"I want you to look at one of the trees that *Ti-ra'-wa* made in this earth, and place your dependence on it. *Ti-ra'-wa* made this tree (pointing to a cedar). It never gets old. It is always green and young. Take notice of this tree, and always have it with you; and when you are in the lodge and it thunders and lightens, throw some of it on the fire and let the smoke rise. Hold that fast."

The he bear took the skin of a bear, and made a cap for him, to hide his naked skull. His wounds were now all healed, and he was well and strong. The man's people had nearly forgotten him, it had been so long ago, and they had supposed that the whole party had been killed.

Soon after this the he bear said, "Now we will take that journey." They started, and went to the village, and waited near it till it was night. Then the bear said to him, "Go into the village, and tell your father that you are here. Then get for me a piece of buffalo meat, and a blue bead, and some Indian tobacco, and some sweet smelling clay."

The man went into the village, and his father was very much surprised, and very glad to see him again. He got the presents, and brought them to the bear, and gave them to him, and the bear talked to him.

When they were about to part, the bear came up to him, and put his arms about him, and hugged him, and put his mouth against the man's mouth, and said, "As the fur that I am in has touched you it will make you great, and this will be a blessing to you." His paws were around the man's shoulders, and he drew them down his arms, until they came to his hands, and he held them, and said, "As my hands, have touched your hands, they are made great, not to fear

anything. I have rubbed my hands down over you, so that you shall 539x
be as tough as I am. Because my mouth has touched your mouth you 773
shall be made wise." Then he left him, and went away.

So this man was the greatest of all warriors, and was brave. He was like a bear. He originated the bear dance which still exists among the tribe of Pawnees. He came to be an old man, and at last died of old age. I suspect the old bear died at the same time.

THE BOY WHO WAS SACRIFICED

THERE was a time, far back, when some people thought that it was 539x
good to sacrifice to *Ti-ra'-wa* whatever they had that was most 773
precious to them. The sacrifice of the animal, the burnt offering, has 782
always been made by all the Pawnees; that is one of the things handed down from the ruler. It is very old. The Skidi have always performed the sacrifice of the captive. Each one of these is sacred and solemn, but it is not like giving up something that belongs to you, and that you love. It is a sacrifice, but it does not cost much.

Many years ago, in the Skidi village on the Loup, there lived a man, who believed that if he sacrificed his son to *Ti-ra'-wa*, it would be a blessing to him. He thought that if he did this thing, perhaps *Ti-ra'-wa* would speak to him face to face, and that he could talk to him just as two people would talk to one another, and that in this way would learn many things that other people did not understand. His child was a nice boy about ten years old, strong, growing up well, and the man loved him. It made him feel badly to think of killing him. He meditated long about this, but the more he thought about it, the more he believed that this sacrifice would please *Ti-ra'-wa*. There were many things that he wanted to understand, and to do; and he thought if he gave up his son, these good things would come to him. So he resolved to make the sacrifice.

One morning he started out from the village, and took the boy with him. They went over to the Platte. When they got to the river,

x539 as they were walking along, the man took his knife from its sheath,
773 and caught the boy by the shoulder, and stabbed him quickly, and
782 cut him open. When the boy was dead, he threw the body into the river, and then went back to the village. When he got there, he went into his lodge and sat down. After a time he said to his wife, "Where is the boy?" The woman said, "He went out with you, when you went over to see the horses." The man answered, "No; I went out to where the horses are feeding, and looked at them, but he did not go with me."

x539 The man went out, and looked for the boy all through the village,
773 but he could not find him. At night when the boy did not come home, they began to get frightened, and for two days they hunted for the boy, and at last they got the old crier to call out for him from the top of the lodge, and ask if any one had seen him, but none of the people knew what had become of the boy. Now the mother was mourning, and the father pretended to feel very badly. They could not find the boy; and soon after this the tribe started on the summer hunt, and the father and mother went with them. The village made a good hunt, killing plenty of buffalo, and made much dried meat.

After the boy had been thrown into the river, he floated down with the current, sometimes turning over and over in the swift water, and sometimes grounding for a little while on a sand bar, and then being floated off again, and being carried further down. At length he came near to the place where the whirlpool is, under the bluff at *Pa-bŭk'*, where is the lodge of the *Nahu'rac*. There were two buzzards sitting on the bluff, just above this place, and as they sat there, one of them stretched out his neck and looked up the river, and after he had looked, he said to the other, "I see a body." Then both the buzzards flew down to where the boy was floating in the water, and got down under him, and raised him on their backs, and lifted him up out of the water, and flew up to the bluff, carrying the boy on their backs, and placed him on the ground on top of the bluff over the big cave, which is the home of the *Nahu'rac*. In this lodge were all kinds of animals, and all kinds of birds. There were bears, and mountain lions, and buffalo, and elk, and beaver, and otter, and deer; all kinds of animals, great and small, and all kinds of birds.

There is a little bird, smaller than a pigeon. Its back is blue, and 539x
its breast white, and its head is spotted. It flies swiftly over the water, 773
and when it sees a fish, it dives down into the water to catch it. This
bird is a servant or a messenger for the *Nahu'rac*. Such a bird came [825]
flying by just as the buzzards put the body on the ground, and he stopped and looked at it. When he saw how it was—for he knew all that had happened—he flew down into the lodge and told the *Nahu'rac* about the boy. The bird said, "There is a boy up here on the hill. He is dead, and he is poor, and I want to have him brought to life again." Then he told the *Nahu'rac* all the things that had happened. When the messenger bird had done speaking, the *Nahu'rac* earnestly counselled together for a long time to decide what should be done, and each one made a speech, giving his opinion about the matter, but they could not make up their minds what ought to be done.

The little bird was coaxing the *Nahu'rac*, and saying, "Come, now, we want to save his life." But the *Nahu'rac* could not decide. At last the chief of the *Nahu'rac* said, "No, messenger, we cannot decide this here. You will have to go to the other council lodges, and see what they say about it." The bird said, "I am going," and flew swiftly out of the lodge and up the river, till he came to the *Nahu'rac* lodge near the Lone Tree. When he got there, he told them all about the boy, and said that the council at *Pa-hūk'* could not decide what should be done. The *Nahu'rac* here talked, and at last they said, "We cannot decide. The council at *Pa-hūk'* must decide." Then the bird went to the lodge on the Loup, and the *Nahu'rac* there said that they could not decide. Then he went to *Kitz-a-witz-ūk*, and to *Pa-hūr'*; and at each place the *Nahu'rac* considered and talked about it, and then said, "We cannot decide what shall be done. The council at *Pa-hūk'* must decide for themselves."

At last, after he had visited all the council lodges of the *Nahu'rac*, the bird flew swiftly back to the lodge at *Pa-hūk'*, and told them there what the animals at the other lodges had said. In the council of the *Nahu'rac* at *Pa-hūk'*, there were four chiefs, who sat there as judges to determine such matters as this, after they had all been talked over, and to decide what should be done. When the messenger bird came back, and told the *Nahu'rac* what the other councils had said, these judges considered for a time, and then spoke together, and at length

X539 the chief of the judges said to the bird, "Now, messenger, we have 773 concluded that we will not decide this question ourselves. You decide it, and say what shall be done."

The messenger was not long in deciding. He did not hesitate. He said, "I want this boy brought back to life." Then all the *Nahu'rac* stood up, and went to where the boy lay, and stood around him and prayed, and at last the boy breathed once, and then after a little while he breathed again, and at last he came to life and sat up. He looked about and saw all these animals standing around him, and he wondered. He said to himself, "Why, my father stabbed me, and killed me, and now here I am among this great crowd of animals. What does this mean?" He was surprised.

The *Nahu'rac* all went back into the lodge, and took the boy with them. When all were seated in the lodge, the four judges talked to each other, and the chief one stood up, and said, "Now, my people, we have brought this boy back to life, but he is poor, and we must do something for him. Let us teach him all we know, and make him one of us." Then the *Nahu'rac* all made a noise. They were glad. Then they began to sing and they danced. They taught the boy all their secrets, and all their ways. They taught him how to cut a man open and cure him again, and how to shoot an arrow through a man and then cure him, and how to cut a man's tongue out and then to put it back, and how to make well a broken leg, and many other things. After they had done all these things, they said to the boy, "Now we have brought you back to life, and have taught you all these things, so that you are one of us. Now you must stop with us one season. Your people have gone off on the summer hunt. You must stay with us until the autumn. Then you can go back to your people." So the boy stayed with the *Nahu'rac* in their lodge.

At length the Skidi had returned from the hunt with plenty of dried meat. Soon after this, the *Nahu'rac* said one day to the boy, "Your people have got back from the hunt. Now you can go back to the village. Go back and get a lot of nice dried meat, and bring it back to us here, and we will have a feast."

The boy went home to the village. He got there in the night, and went to his father's lodge, and went in. There was a little fire burning in the lodge. It was nearly out, and gave only a little light, but he knew the place where his mother slept. He went up to her, and put 539x out his hand and touched her, and pushed her a little. She awoke, 773 and sat up and looked at him, and he said, "I've come back." When she saw him, and heard him speak, she was very much surprised, and her heart was glad to see her boy again. She called to his father, and he woke up. When he saw the boy he was afraid, for he thought it was a ghost. The boy told them nothing of what had happened, or where he had been. He just said, "I have come back again."

In the morning all the people were surprised to hear that he had come back, and to see him, and they stood around looking at him, and asking him questions, but he said nothing. The next day the people still questioned him, and at last the boy said, "I have been all summer with friends, with people who have been good to me. I should like to take them a present of some nice dried meat, so that we can have a feast." The people said that this was good. They picked out four strong horses, and loaded them with dried meat, the nicest pieces. The boy's father gave some of it, and all the other people brought pieces and put them on the horses, until they had big loads. They sent two young men with the boy, to help him load and drive the horses, and they started to go to the *Nahu'rac* lodge at *Pa-hūk'*.

When they had come pretty near the place, the boy sent the young men back to the village, and he went on alone, driving the pack-horses before him. When he reached the home of the *Nahu'rac*, he unloaded the horses, and turned them loose, and then went into the lodge. When he went in, and when the *Nahu'rac* saw him, they all made a hissing noise. They were glad to see him. The boy brought into the lodge all the dried meat, and they had a great feast. After the feast they had a doctors' dance, and the boy was made a doctor, and again was taught all that the *Nahu'rac* knew. After that he could do many wonderful things. He could sometimes go to a man that had been dead for a day, and then bring him back to life.

No one ever knew what the father had done, for the boy never told any one. He knew that he could never have learned all these wonderful things unless his father had sacrificed him.

THE SNAKE BROTHER

539 One time, long ago, a big party of Pawnees went on the warpath
773 down to the south. They could find no enemies anywhere, and they went a long way south. In this party were two brothers, poor boys, and one day as they were traveling along, apart from the others, in a piece of woods where it was very thick, they got lost. When they found that they were lost, they tried to go back to the camp, but they could not find the others, and at last gave up looking for them and started to go back north to their home. They had no food with them, and were looking about for something to kill, so that they might eat. As they were going along, they came upon a dead buffalo that had been killed some time, and there was nothing of it left but the bones, so they took some of the marrow bones, and carried them along with them, until they made a camp.

Not far beyond here they stopped to rest. There was a tree growing near where they stopped, and as they looked up into it, they saw a squirrel run up the tree. One of the brothers caught up his bow and arrows, and the other said, "Oh, kill him, kill him, quick." The boy shot and killed it, and they skinned it, and roasted it over the fire. While they were cooking it the elder brother said, "I wonder if it is good to eat the marrow and the squirrel together." The younger said, "No, it is not good to do so. This is not real meat." The elder thought the two kinds of food would be good together, and they disputed about this for some time. The elder brother kept coaxing the younger to eat the squirrel and the marrow together, but the younger said, "Oh, brother, I do not like to do this. To me it does not seem good. But if you wish to do it, why don't you?" The elder said, "I think I will do so"; and he did so, taking a bite of squirrel, and then a bite of marrow. He said, "It is nice, you had better take some." But the younger brother would not. He ate only the marrow. After they had eaten they did not go on further, but slept there.

About the middle of the night, the elder brother felt a noise in his 539x feet, and he sat up and felt of his legs and feet, and he found that 773 his feet were stuck together, and were beginning to get round, like a snake, and had a rattle on the end of them, and that his legs were round and like the tail of a great big rattlesnake. He reached over, and put his hands on his brother, and shook him, and said to him, "Get up. There is something the matter with me." The younger brother woke up, and felt of his brother, and found how it was; as if he was changing into a snake, beginning at his feet. When he saw this he felt very badly. Then the older brother began to talk to the younger, and to give him good advice, for he felt very sad.

He said, "Now I am going to die, and leave my young brother here alone on this prairie. He is so young, he will not be able to find his way home, and he must die, too. Surely this has happened because I ate the marrow and the squirrel together." While he was talking, the change had moved up to his waist.

After a little while he got more hopeful, and he said, "Now, brother, I know that you will get home safely. I will protect you. I know that I am going to be a snake, and I shall stay right here. You see that hole," and he pointed to a hole in the bank. "When I have changed into a snake, take me in your arms, and carry me over to that hole. I am going to stay there forever. That will be my home, for that is the house of the snakes. When you go back home, you must tell our father and mother how it was, and whenever you want to go on the warpath, take a big party and come down this way, and come right here, to this very place, and you will see me, for I shall be here. Now, brother, when you go back home, some time after you have reached home, I want you to come back all alone; come right here. You know what I told you; do not be afraid of me. I believe this was to happen to me, and I could not help it. After you have once come all alone, then the second time you may bring some others with you, but the first time come alone." So he talked to his brother, and as he spoke the change kept going on. While it was moving up his body, until it got to his head, he was still like a man in his mind, but all his body was like a great big snake. Then he spoke to his brother, and said, "Now, brother, cover up my head with the robe, and after a little while take it off again." The younger brother did

x539 as he was told, and when, after a while, he took the robe off, there
773 he saw an immense snake's head as broad as his two hands. The elder brother had completely changed into a snake.

The young man took the snake in his arms, and carried him over to the hole, and put him on the ground by it. He felt very sad to go away and leave his brother here. Before he started, he spoke good words to the snake, and said, "Now, brother, I am going home, and I ask you to take pity on me, and to protect me. I do not know the country I am going through, and you must take care of me. Do not forget the promises you have made me." After he had spoken he did not wait to see the snake go into the hole, but started on his journey, and went off toward his home.

When he reached the village, he told all these things to his father and his mother. He said to all his relations, "Do not mourn for him. He is alive and he is well. The only trouble is, that he is in the shape of a snake." After he had been home ten days, he told his mother to make for him five pairs of moccasins, that he was going on the warpath for himself. His mother did so, and he stuffed them full of parched corn, and took a little sack of pounded buffalo meat on his back, and started back to see his brother.

It took him seven days' fast traveling to get to where he left the snake. When he had come near the place, he saw there the hole where he had left his brother. He went up close to the hole and began to speak. He said, "Brother, I am here. I have come on the warpath, and I am here to see you. You told me to come, and to come alone. I have done what you bade me, and am here. Now, brother, remember to keep your promises. I want to see you this afternoon."

He stood there a little while, and then there began in the hole a rattling and a rustling and scraping noise, and presently dust began to roll out, and then out of the hole came this great big snake, which was his brother. First came out this great snake, and after him many other large ones came out, and crept all about, but the great snake, his brother, lay just outside the hole. The boy went up to the big snake and took it in his arms, and hugged it, and spoke to it, and the snake put out its tongue, as if it were kissing him. Then the boy put it down on the ground, and all the other snakes came back, and went in the hole, and after them all, last, the big snake went in the hole.

C

539x 773 Then the boy left this place, and went on a little further, and about sunset he came to a little creek, and here he lay down and slept. In the night he dreamed of his brother, who spoke to him and said, "Now, brother, I am glad that you have come down to see me, as I told you to. And now I say to you, be brave. Have courage. To-morrow morning when you awake, dress yourself up as if you were going to fight. Paint your face, put feathers in your head, make yourself ready to fight."

The next morning the boy woke up, and as the snake had told him in the dream, so he did. He painted his face and tied feathers in his head, and dressed himself up for the fight. Then he started on. Pretty soon he came to a little hill, and as he looked over it, he saw people coming toward him; people and many horses. He thought they were Sioux, and when he saw them, he went back a little, to find a place where he could hide. He went back to the little creek where he had slept, and there he sat down in the brush. When he had hidden himself in the brush, he waited; and the people came straight toward where he had hidden himself, and camped just below where he was. After a little while he raised himself up and looked at them, and saw only two persons, and presently he saw that one of them was a woman. He watched for a long time, looking about to see if there were any more, but he could see only these two. Then he considered what he should do. While he was thinking, it came to him what the snake brother had said to him in the night, and then he knew what to do.

He crept slowly along through the brush toward their camp, and when he got close to them, about twenty yards distant, he raised up his head and looked. He saw the woman cooking, and there were hanging on a little tree the man's bow and arrows and shield and spear, but the man he could not see. He was lying down asleep somewhere near by. The boy waited and watched. He was excited, and his heart was pounding against his ribs. After a little while, the woman left the fire and walked away toward the horses. Perhaps her husband had said to her, "The horses are going off, you had better go and turn them back." When she went toward the horses, the boy was going to run up to the man and kill him, but before doing so he changed his mind; for he thought, "If I kill him, perhaps the woman will get

X539
773 on a horse, and ride away, driving the other horses with her." So he waited until the woman had come back. When she had returned to the fire, he ran up toward her, and she heard him coming, and ran to wake her husband; but just as she got to him, the boy was by her side. He shot two arrows into the man and killed him and counted
[127] *coup* on him, and captured the woman. He took the whole scalp of his enemy's head.

Then he took the woman and went down to where the horses were, and they got on two of them, and rode back to where his brother, the snake, lived, driving the horses before them. Just before they got to the hole, the boy took his lariat and caught a nice spotted horse and a mule, and tied them up to the tree, and called up the woman, and tied her up against the tree as tight as he could tie her. When he had done this, he went up to the hole and began to talk. He said, "Oh, my brother, I see now that what you have promised me comes true. I did what you told me. Now here are these two animals and the woman; I give them to you for being good to me. They are yours. I am glad for what you have done for me this day." When he had finished saying this he spoke again, saying, "Now, brother, I want to see you once more. I am going off, and I want to see you before I go." After a little while he heard again the rattling sound in the hole, and saw the dust coming out of it, and then his brother came out of the hole, and then afterward the smaller snakes; and these all went down to the tree and climbed up into it. The tree was thick with them. Then the boy did as he had done before. He went close to the hole, and took his brother up in his arms and hugged him, and the great snake thrust out his tongue, as if kissing him. Then the boy spoke again and said, "Now, brother, I am going away, and I give you these two animals and this woman to keep. They are yours." Then he started for his home, and after a long time he arrived at the village.

After a time, he determined to start off again on the warpath, and this time he took a party with him. He had told the whole tribe what had happened, and how his brother had protected and helped him; and he said to those warriors who were going with him, "Let each one of you take a present with you for my brother; some beads or eagle

feathers or some tobacco as an offering, so that he may help you." 539x
They started south to go to the place where his brother lived. When 773
they got there the young man said to the others, "Now you must, each one of you, give something to my brother. Call him by his kin name, and ask him to help you, and to make you successful; and leave the things before the hole." They did as he said, and when they had made their presents, they went by. They saw nothing, for the brother did not call out the great snake.

Two or three days after they had passed the place, they found a camp of Sioux and took a lot of horses and killed some of the enemy. Then they went back, and when they came to the snake's home, they took a horse and led it up near the hole and killed it, and gave it to him, and left the scalps at the mouth of the hole as presents to him. When they reached the village, there was great joy and a good time. They had all kinds of dances, for they were glad that the war party had killed some Sioux.

After that another war party started out, and the brother said to them, "Go straight to my brother, and make him a present, and ask him to give you good luck, and you will be successful." And it happened as he had said.

The brother was always fortunate in war. He became a chief and was very rich, having many horses. Ever after that time, when he took the lead of a war party, all the poor men would come and say, "I want to go with you." They knew that his brother was a snake, and would give him good luck.

O'RE-KA-RAHR

A LONG time ago, as the tribe were on their summer hunt, a man and his wife got to quarreling. They had a child, a boy about ten months old. It was while they were traveling along, going from one camp to another, that they began to quarrel. At length the wife became

x539 very angry, and threw the baby to the man saying, "You take that
773 baby. It belongs to you, for it is a man child. I am not going to
nurse it for you any longer." Then she went away.

The man took the child and carried it along with him. He felt very badly, both on his own account and on account of his child. He was so unhappy that he almost wanted to kill himself. He was so poor-minded because it was a disgrace that he, being a man, should be obliged to take care of his child until it was grown up, and he had no female relatives to whom he could turn it over to be reared. So he was very unhappy, and determined to leave the tribe and wander off alone, far from his people.

He did so. He carried the child on his back, as a woman does. When it cried for its mother's milk, he had none to give it. He could only cry with it. He hated to kill the child, or to leave it behind to die on the prairie. He wandered off to the south. He traveled on for a time, until he came near to where the buffalo were. By this time, the child had changed from a very fat baby to a very thin one, because it had not been nursed. When he got to the buffalo, he killed a cow, and took its udder, and while it was fresh he let the child suck it, until it became sour. Then he killed another cow, and did the same thing. In every way he did the best he could to nourish the child. Sometimes he would get a slice of meat, and half cook it, and let the child suck the juice. The child began to improve, and to get a little stronger. In this way he supported it for quite a long time, and it did pretty well, and at last it got used to this food, and became strong and well. By this time he had gone a long way.

At length he found that the child could sit up alone. Then he began to give it all sorts of playthings, so that it could amuse itself. First he made for it a little bow and some arrows, and taught it how to use them. He made other things for the child to play with, and at last it got to be contented playing alone. Then the father would leave the child for a few minutes, and go off a little way, perhaps to the top of a hill near by, to look off over the country, but he would look back at the child every few steps to see that it was all right. When he would come back he would find the child safe, playing, well contented. After a while he got so that he would leave it for about an hour, and when he came back, find it safe and contented, playing. By this time the child had begun to walk. Finally 539ˣ the father went off once for half a day, and when he came back, 773 he found the child playing about safe. It did not seem to mind much about the father being absent. About this time he killed a buffalo cow, and made some dried meat, and put it in a certain place, and told the child when it was hungry to go there and get a piece.

He now went off and was gone a whole day, and when he came back at night the child was safe. Finally he made his preparations and went off to stay over night, and be gone two days. He did so, and when he came back, the boy was asleep. A second time he went away and was absent for two days, going quite a long distance. When he came back he found that the child was painted with white clay. The father thought this was strange. He said to himself, "Something must have come and talked to my child, and is taking care of him while I am gone."

When he came back the third time after a two days' journey, he found that the child had about his neck a string of *pa'hut*. The fourth long journey he took lasted three days, and when he returned, he found his boy still wearing this same string of beads, and with a feather tied in his head. Now his father knew that something was looking after his child while he was away, and when he went off, he would pray for the child. He would say, "*No'-a*, whatever it is that is taking pity on my child, also take pity on me."

The child had now grown so large that it could talk with him, and one day it said, "Father, you go away, and you be gone for four days; I will be all right here. When you come back you will find me safe."

The man went. He started to go way down south, to be gone for four days. After he had been gone two days and two nights, he saw a signal smoke and went toward it. As he raised up his head and peeped over a hill before crossing it, he saw, far off, a lot of people and horses coming toward the river which lay between him and them. He lay on the hill a long time, watching to see where they would camp. When they had made camp, he went into a ravine, and crept down close to the camp, until he could see that it was just one lodge, and that about it were a whole herd of horses. He waited until evening, and then went over to the lodge. It was after dark when he went. The lodge was all surrounded by horses; everywhere nothing but horses, there were so

x539 many. He crept close to the lodge, and looked in through an opening
773 by the door, and saw lying down opposite the door a great big man, and on either side a woman; only three persons in all. As he looked at these persons, he thought he recognized one of the women. He kept looking at her, and at last he remembered who she was, and that she had been captured long ago from the Pawnees. Her people were still living. The man was a Comanche.

While the Pawnee was watching, the man inside the lodge asked for something, and the captive woman stood up to go out of the lodge, and the Pawnee stepped to one side, out of sight. The woman came out into the darkness, and went out among the horses. The Pawnee stepped up behind her very softly, and put his hand on her shoulder, and said to her in Pawnee, "Friend, do you belong to my tribe?" The woman started to scream, but he put his hand on her mouth, and said to her, "Be quiet. Keep still. Do not call out." She answered him, "Yes, I belong to your tribe." Then she said in a very low voice that shook, for she was afraid, "Do you belong to my tribe?" The man said, "Yes." Then he asked her, "Who is that other woman that I see in the lodge?" She answered him, "She also belongs to our tribe, and is a prisoner." Then the man said, "You just wait and keep still. I am going to kill that man." The woman said, "That is good. That is good. This man is the biggest man of all the Comanches. He has come first to this place, and all the rest of the Comanches are coming here to meet him. I am glad that my people are living, and that I am going back to see them once more. Do not fail to kill him. I will tell the other woman to be ready, that our friend is here, and we will wait and watch."

When the woman went into the lodge, she whispered to the other woman, and said, "Be ready. A friend who belongs to our tribe is here. Take your hatchet, and be prepared to help to kill our husband."

The two women waited, and the Pawnee made ready to shoot the Comanche with his bow and arrow. The woman had said to him, "Push aside the door a little and be ready." He made a little bit of an opening by the door, just big enough to let an arrow pass through, and when the time came he let it go. *U'-ra-rīsh!* the arrow flew straight, and pierced the Comanche through the heart. So he died, and the Pawnee counted *coup* on him and took his scalp.

The women felt so glad to meet a friend that they put their arms

around the man and patted him. They were going back home to see 539x
their relations. They asked him, "How many of you are here?" He 773
answered, "I am alone." They were surprised.

They took down the lodge, and packed everything on the horses, and drove off the herd, leaving the dead body of the enemy in the camp. All night they traveled, and all the next day; and as they were going, he told them how it came about that he was alone. They told him that there were about three hundred head of horses in the herd that they had with them. When they had come pretty close to where he had left the child, he told them about the boy being there all alone; and the women just ran their horses to get to the boy; whichever got there first, he should be hers. When they came to the boy, they took him in their arms and petted him, and took him as their own.

Now the father was no longer sad. He had recovered two captured women, had killed his enemy, and had taken a lot of horses.

They went on, and traveled far, and at length, one night, they came to the Pawnee tribe, and camped with them. The horses just surrounded the lodge, you could just see the top of it over their backs. The next morning all the people wondered who these strangers could be. They found out that the man and child, who were lost, had returned, and with them two women, captured long ago by the Comanches. So there was great joy in the tribe. Then the man gave his relations many horses. In those days the Pawnees had not many horses, and it seems that this man brought good luck in horses to the tribe. Ever since that time they have had many horses. The mother of the child came to see it, she was so glad it was alive, but she was whipped out of the lodge.

The child grew to be a man, and was wealthy. After he had grown up, he told his father that ever since he could remember anything, a buck deer had talked to him, and taken care of him; that it had saved them, and brought them good fortune. In order that the *O're-ka-rahr* might be remembered, he established a dance, called the deer dance, which has been kept up to this day.

Many wonderful things happened to this same young man. Once he went on a war party against the Cheyennes, and stole some horses from them. The Cheyennes followed and overtook them, and they had a great fight. The first man killed was this young man. He was

*539 very brave, and the Cheyennes cut him up into small pieces, but that 773 night it lightened and thundered and rained, and soon after the storm was over, the young man came walking into camp alive. He was all scarred over, where he had been cut up, but he had come to life because the deer had looked after him. He lived long to show the scars of the battles he had been through.

THE GHOST BRIDE

*539 773 775 In a place where we used to have a village, a young woman died just before the tribe started on the hunt. When she died they dressed her up in her finest clothes, and buried her, and soon after this the tribe started on the hunt.

A party of young men had gone off to visit another tribe, and they did not get back until after this girl had died and the tribe had left the village. Most of this party did not go back to the village, but met the tribe and went with them on the hunt. Among the young men who had been away was one who had loved this girl who had died. He went back alone to the village. It was empty and silent, but before he reached it, he could see, far off, some one sitting on top of a lodge. When he came near, he saw that it was the girl he loved. He did not know that she had died, and he wondered to see her there alone, for the time was coming when he would be her husband and she his wife. When she saw him coming, she came down from the top of the lodge and went inside. When he came close to her, he spoke and said, "Why are you here alone in the village?" She answered him, "They have gone off on the hunt. I was sulky with my relations, and they went off and left me behind." The man wanted her now to be his wife, but the girl said to him, "No, not yet, but later we will be married." She said to him, "You must not be afraid. To-night there will be dances here; the ghosts will dance." This is an old custom of the Pawnees. When they danced they used to go from one lodge to another, singing, dancing and hallooing. So now, when the tribe had

gone and the village was deserted, the ghosts did this. He could hear 539^x them coming along the empty streets, and going from one lodge to 773 another. They came into the lodge where he was, and danced about, 775 and whooped and sang, and sometimes they almost touched him, and he came pretty near being scared.

The next day, the young man persuaded the girl to go on with him, and follow the tribe, to join it on the hunt. They started to travel together, and she promised him that she would surely be his wife, but not until the time came. They overtook the tribe; but before they got to the camp, the girl stopped. She said, "Now we have arrived, but you must go first to the village, and prepare a place for me. Where I sleep, let it be behind a curtain. For four days and four nights I must remain behind this curtain. Do not speak of me. Do not mention my name to any one."

The young man left her there and went into the camp. When he got to his lodge, he told a woman, one of his relations, to go out to a certain place and bring in a woman, who was waiting there for him. His relative asked him, "Who is the woman?" And to avoid speaking her name, he told who were her father and mother. His relation, in surprise, said, "It cannot be that girl, for she died some days before we started on the hunt."

When the woman went to look for the girl she could not find her. The girl had disappeared. The young man had disobeyed her, and had told who she was. She had told him that she must stay behind a curtain for four days, and that no one must know who she was. Instead of doing what she had said, he told who she was, and the girl disappeared because she was a ghost. If he had obeyed the girl, she would have lived a second time upon earth. That same night this young man died in sleep.

Then the people were convinced that there must be a life after this one.

HOW THE DEER LOST HIS GALL

x539 773 A LONG time ago, the deer and the antelope met upon the prairie. At that time both of them had dew-claws, and both had galls. After they had talked for a little while, each one of them began to boast about how fast he could run. Each one, the deer and the antelope, claimed that he could run faster than any other animal, and at length they became very angry in their dispute, and determined that they would have a race.

They staked their galls on the race, and it was run on the prairie. The antelope ran the faster, and won, and took the deer's gall. The deer felt very badly that he had lost it, and he seemed so miserable that the antelope felt sorry for him, and to cheer him up, he took off his dew-claws and gave them to him.

Since that time the deer has had no gall, and the antelope no dew-claws.

x539 773 171 NOTE.—A story somewhat similar to this is current among the Blackfeet tribes of the northern country. In this tale the antelope won the deer's gall, as in the Pawnee story. Then the deer said, "You have won, but that race was not a fair one, for it was over the prairie alone. We ought to run another race in the timber to decide which is really the faster." They agreed to run this second race, and on it they bet their dew-claws. The deer ran the faster through the thick timber and over the logs, and beat the antelope, and took his dew-claws. Since then the antelope has had no dew-claws, and the deer no gall.

12: Grinnell
539

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[For the English texts of a number of Pawnee folk-tales and myths, see category 116, pp. 42-80.]

13: Morgan E-5 (1859-1860, 1862) 1959 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[Title Page]

LEWIS HENRY MORGAN

THE INDIAN JOURNALS

1859-62

Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press

114 I went on to Omaha partly to see as much of the upper Missouri as possible, and partly with hope of finding some Omahas or Pawnees at the village whom I was informed were frequently there. I found a band of
[361] Pawnees some thinly encamped near the village and they were over at the boat and squads of them remained about the boat during the day and night. I went down to
124 the encampment, tried to find their interpreter who has the respectable name of John Rogers, but could not find him. Unfortunately for me a theft had been committed the day before by the Shawnees and he for some reason thought best to leave and to keep out of the way. I found a Pawnee who could talk some English and commenced a schedule with him, but I soon found out it would not answer and gave it up, and offered him pay if he would hunt up and bring Rogers to me during the day, which he promised to but did not do.

181 The Pawnees are said to be demoralized as a nation. Their women are universally prostitutes, they all steal and beg and are idle and profligate. This character is given to the nation and not to the few who wander about. How far it is just to the mass of the Pawnees who remain at their village at

[p 66 (A)]
[pp 1-65 not processed]

181 home I cannot say, but I should think it must [be] too strongly expressed. The specimens I saw at Omaha were of a low, vile [548] and filthy order. The women were all prostitutes and diseased, some of them clearly. I saw men offer to sell the use of their women for a paltry compensation, which fact [182] proves the entire completeness of the demoralization of this portion of the band.

[p. 66 (B)]

[p 90 (A)]
[pp 67 - 89 not processed]

Pawnee System of Relationship

602 On the return of Mrs. Allis and her son we made an attempt at the Pawnee, and could not complete it even with the aid of the Pawnee woman.[42] But I was able to ascer-

[42] [see Cat. 116 p 213 - Analyst]

602 tain that the children of brothers are brothers and sisters to each other, and that the
children of two sisters are the same, but
about the children of a brother and a sister
I could not ascertain. There is no term for
[601] aunt, therefore a father's sister is a mother,
and probably her son is a brother, but on
this point I could not make any certain
[115] progress. Col. Peter A. Sarpy of St. Marys
told me that the father's sister was a grand
[582] mother, and a man could marry this grand
mother. If there is no aunt, then a woman
has no nephew and niece, and a woman's
brother's son is her grand son. But the
mother's brother is an uncle, and consequently a man has a nephew and niece. I
think I can nearly write out this system,
but at all events I feel sure Mr. Allis will be
able to do it for me with the aid I shall now
be able to give him.

123 I stayed with this pleasant family which
consists of a mother, two sons and one
grown daughter and also an orphan girl
brought up by them, and the Pawnee woman
besides the Rev. Samuel Allis now absent
as before stated. They refused compensation for my entertainment, and I left them
Friday morning to return to Mr. Hamilton
at Bellevue, well pleased with my visit: I am
114 to write to Mr. Allis on my return, and to
[125] send him a schedule and they say he will
attend to it for me.

I returned about three o'clock, June 8, to Bellevue, and shall remain here until Saturday morning when I go up to Omaha to meet the boat on which I am to return to Rulo, where I shall make a desperate effort for the Blackfoot and the Sheyenne and also try at Omaha again for the Pawnee.

[p90 (B)]

[p 135]
[pp 91-134 not processed]

The Pawnees

619 199 131 The Pawnees are divided into four principal bands: the Grand Pawnees (Cha-we), the Republican Pawnees (Kit-ka), the Tappa Pawnees (Pe-ta-ha-we-rat). These speak the same dialect. And the Pawnee Loups, Skee-de (Wolf), who speak a different dialect.[11] All these now reside on the Pawnee Reservation. The Pawnee Picts [Wichita] live near the country of the Osages. Mr. Allis knows nothing about them. The Arikarees speak a dialect of the same language. [Arikara and Wichita were Caddoan-speaking tribes.] 619 131 The Pawnees told Mr. Allis that they had lived from time immemorial on the Platt, the Nemaha, Salt Creek, on the North, or Republican, fork of the Kansas.

[11] [see cat. 116, #220 (A) - Analyst.]

619 131 They do not claim to have lived on the Missouri. They claim once to have owned all the land west of the Missouri from the Platt to the Kansas. The Loups went off from the principal band and went south of the Osage River where they remained for many years. The Republican Pawnees once occupied the Republican fork of the Kansas. They do not know where they came from. They say that there are the sites of [361] their villages still known to them on the Nemaha, Salt Creek, and on the Platt and Republican fork of the Kansas. The Keeches, so-called by the Pawnees, who now live in the west end of the Indian territory somewhere, are cognate. They live near the Pawnee Picts, south of the Osages and the Comanches.

Tribes [Clans]

614 He [Allis] thinks they are divided into tribes.[12] The marks which he has seen on their robes and lodges are the Eagle, Bear, Beaver, Owl, Buffalo, Deer. The son succeeds the father as chief. He was unable to give me any information upon this question. 764 He never saw but one burial. They excavated a grave or trench and then dug an opening in the side large enough to insert the body under the undisturbed earth, laid it in horizontally, covered it with a mat, and deposited by its side a number of articles, filled up the trench and raised a mound over it.

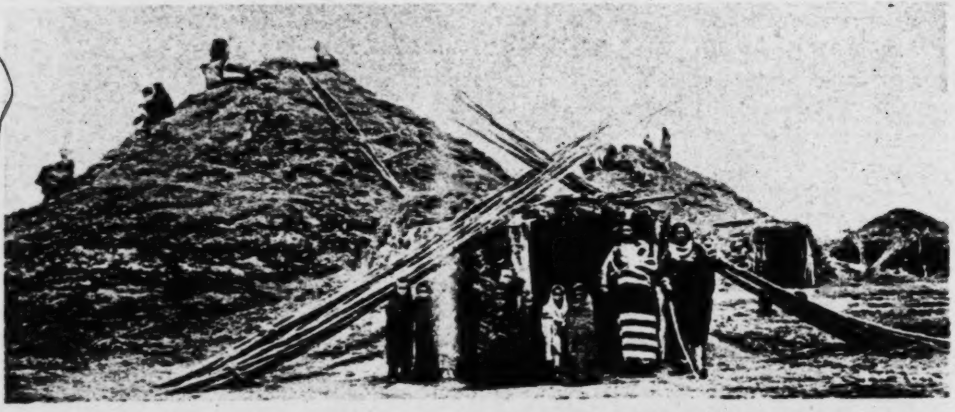
Pawnee Matting

285 He [Allis] showed me a specimen of their work in a floor matting made of a species of rush. It was coarse but strong, about two or three yards wide and five yards long. It was stitched or woven on bark threads and very creditable work. With instruction in the art of manufacturing and with reeds of a supe-

[P 136 (A)]

12 [see cat . 116 p 220 (A) - Analyst]

13:Morgan E-5 (1859-1860, 1862) 1959
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18



Pawnee earth lodges. This photograph, by the admirable pioneer photographer William H. Jackson, was taken in the Pawnee village at Loup Fork, Nebraska, 1869-70. The variety of housing adopted by the various Indian tribes seems to have interested Morgan.

342

[p 136 (B)]

285 rior quality they might produce an article
which would have commercial value. Among
461 all our Indian nations the industry of the
woman is proverbial, and if it could be encouraged in the direction of domestic manufactures, the products of which were purchased by government factors at such prices as would reimburse the money an incalculable benefit would be conferred upon them.
000 The women would then support the whole of them. And after a time the men would unite with them in the labor. I talked with Mr. Allis about the Agency system as at present organized, and its results.

Indian Agency System

648 Mr. Allis agreed with me that the Agency
657 System was a failure. His observation confirmed mine that many of them are dishonest, some incompetent, and but a few really useful. He is not at all satisfied with Mr. De Pau[?][13] the present agent of the Pawnees. He says he has sold the crops raised on the Indian farm, which ought to have been distributed among the Pawnees; that he has hired out the threshing machine, purchased

[p136 (C)]

[13] [see cat. 116, p 220(B)-ANALYST]

648 657 by a former agent, to white settlers at different places, and that finally a team became frightened while drawing it, and ran away with it and pretty much destroyed it. He says the Pawnees are annoyed by the settlers, and that the licensed trader system is not well managed. He thinks there should be two, and but two, traders licensed, that the Indians may have the benefit of competition, and that a better system would be one something like that of the army settlers. He said he could not get the agency. He did not try as he knew it was impossible. It was a political race as usual between several applicants.

771 About the religious system of the Pawnees—he knew but little as he had never studied the subject. It was an element worship with medicine and conjuration. They have no term for Devil, and are very superstitious. For want of time I could not take it up further.

[p 136 (D)]

[p 141 (A)]
[pp 137-140 not processed]

648 657 The licensed trader of the Pawnees is aboard. I saw him several times at St. Jo. He is about 25. The Pawnee annuity is $20,000 cash, and $20,000 in goods. This year they received but $15,000. He said he sold them in goods last winter $12,000. Their annuity was paid to them in the Spring. Thus he received the greater part of the money. He said he got his pay at the time the Pawnees received theirs. That it would not do to let the money go into their hands, as in that case he would not get his pay. He took it of course as the Iowa trader did, above described.

Pawnee Farm

The Pawnees have a farm of 1000 acres cultivated by the agent. He understood $20,000 per annum was allowed to the agent to expend upon this farm, $5,000 quarterly. This seems large. He said the crops were distributed among the Pawnees. [Rev. Samuel] Allis said the agent sold the last year's crop. I understand the agent[30] of the Paw-

[30] [See category 116, p. 221--Analyst]

648 nees is now in some trouble with the Gov-
657 ernment. No doubt like most of the agen-
cies, this of the Pawnees is conducted iniq-
uitously.

[p 141 (B)]

13:Morgan E-5 (1859-1860, 1862) 1959
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

602
[114] 42. Morgan did not succeed in obtaining the Pawnee system until his field trip of 1862.

[p 213]
[pp 142 - 212 not processed]

[p 220 (A)]
[pp 214-219 not processed]

619 11. Alice C. Fletcher renders the native names of the bands: Chaui, Kitkehaki, Pitahauerat or Tapage, and Skidi (article "Pawnee," in *Handbook of American Indians*, F. W. Hodge, ed., Washington, 1910). Clark Wissler (after Powell) places all four bands in the Pawnee type of the Caddoan language family (*The American Indian*, 2nd ed.; New York, 1922, p. 405).

[10]
[19]

614 12. In *Ancient Society* (pp. 164–65), Morgan says it is doubtful if the Pawnees had gentes (clans), but cites Allis' belief that they did. Apparently they did not, for Alice C. Fletcher discusses their social organization without mentioning clans (Fletcher, *op. cit.*, II, 215).

648
657 13. Benjamin F. Lushbaugh, Indian agent, prepared the report for the Pawnee Agency, Nebraska Territory, for 1862 (*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1862*, pp. 266–68).

~[P 220 (B)]

648
657 30. Benjamin F. Lushbaugh was the agent for the Pawnee in 1862. He has some account of his farming activities in his report for that year. A special farmer, Chas. H. Whaley, assumed his duties on the reserve on July 1, 1862 (*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1862*, pp. 266–68).

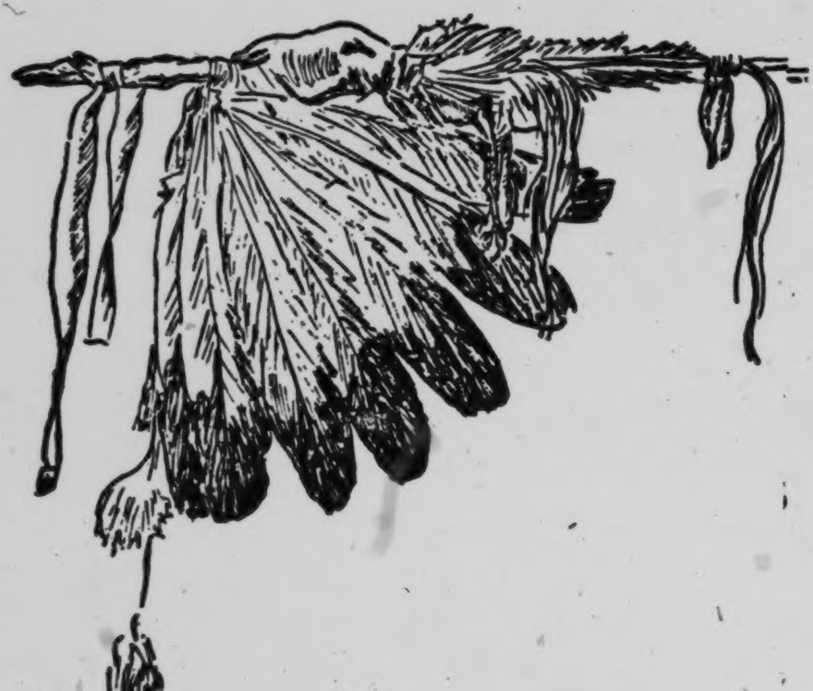
[p221]
[pp 222-233 not processed]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[p.i is blank]

[p.ii]

∞ THE LOST



[title page I]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[p.iii]

000

UNIVERSE

with a closing chapter on "The Universe Regained"

GENE WELTFISH

BASIC BOOKS, INC., PUBLISHERS

New York London

[title page 2]

000

McClintock

CE99
P3
W45

Copyright © 1965 by Basic Books, Inc., Publishers

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 64-25277
Manufactured in the United States of America
Designed by Loretta Li

TO NEIL, EVAN, ANN, AND DES
AND THEIR NEW *Mundus Novus.*

ded

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[p. vii]

THE LOST UNIVERSE

Prologue

000

The Lost Universe *is an account of one year in the life of a six-hundred-year-old American Indian nation that continued its existence within the United States through the Civil War period, retaining its integrity as a nation until it was uprooted and dissolved in 1876.* 121

This is the story as told directly by the citizens who were part of it in those last years and who, in the course of their lives, saw it become a lost universe. 115

Nations are even now in danger of dissolution, but they are not lost. The knowledge and wisdom of the six-hundred-year-old Pawnee nation is one of the unknown building blocks that was built into the nation of the United States. In the Pawnee nation was summarized the knowledge of a continent that reached back nearly twenty thousand years in time to when mankind first discovered the New World. In it is embodied our continuity with human history as it developed in this land. 000

[p. vi is blank]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[p. viii is blank]

PREFACE

THE LOST UNIVERSE was first rediscovered through the language of the Pawnee people. As a research associate of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia in 1928, it was suggested to me by Franz Boas, its chairman, that I undertake a formal study of the Pawnee language, the best preserved member of the then unknown Caddoan language family. After a week's preliminary work with Henry Moses, the only Pawnee member of the One Hundred and One Ranch Circus which was performing in New York at that time, I went to Pawnee, Oklahoma, bearing a letter of introduction to his father, John Moses, dictated in Pawnee phonetics so that I could read it to him since he was monolingual. The next step took me to the Pawnee Indian Agency where I met Walter Keyes, Agency interpreter, who, taking due note of my impecunious condition, commended me to Stacy Matlock, who endowed our science with my first material on the Pawnee language. Following our usual procedure, he dictated myths and tales in the Pawnee language, which I wrote down in the International Phonetic Alphabet and subsequently obtained from him a more or less word-for-word translation, as well as a free English rendering. As the work proceeded, he felt that a more classic form of the language could be obtained from the few surviving monolingual Pawnees; I was able to record similar myths and tales, getting a translation subsequently by reading them back to Henry Chapman, a man who had a remarkable interest and facility in Pawnee and English and who continued as my interpreter and assistant in analyzing the grammatical categories. As a result of this work three pieces were published—a volume of recorded Pawnee texts, *Caddoan Texts, South Band Pawnee Dialect;* an analyzed text and grammatical sketch, "The Vision Story of Fox Boy," in the *International Journal of American Linguistics;* and an article jointly with A. Lesser, "Composition of the Caddoan Linguistic Stock," in the *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections.* This work was supported by the Committee on American Indian Languages of the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D.C. 12

The next step was to record the way of life of the Pawnees of which the language was an instrument, in the interests of semantic analysis; this was undertaken under a grant from the Columbia Council on the Humanities through the Department of Anthropology, the work continuing at Pawnee, Oklahoma, until 1936 at various intervals. The present work represents the main substance of what was gathered for this purpose. The chief [115]

12 narrator was Mark Evarts, a Pawnee of the Skidi Band, whose childhood
was spent on the reservation in Nebraska from 1861 to 1875, when Pawnee
115 culture was still very much an integral polity and way of life. His personal
identity is embodied in the "Boy Otter" as he appears in the following
narrative.

101 My relationship with Mark Evarts began casually in the course of my
grammatical researches. Historically there were four political groups of
114 Pawnees known as bands, the Skidi or Wolf Band, the Kitkehaxki or Little-
115 Earth-Lodge Band, the Tsawi or Asking-for-Meat Band and the Pitahawirata
or Man-Going-Downstream Band. Each of these traditionally
pronounced the language somewhat differently, but it was always known
that the major difference was between the Skidi and the other three known
collectively as the South Bands because of their former more southern
location. From linguistic samples I took of each of the four, the distinctions
among the South Bands were not clear enough to identify at that
time. Only the Skidi difference was clear. Mark Evarts served as my Skidi
informant with Henry Chapman as interpreter in my attempt to find any
grammatical and pronunciation distinctions. Evarts' English was broken
and so heavily overlaid with a Pawnee accent that it was understandable
only with considerable difficulty. As my Pawnee vocabulary improved,
we developed a Pawnee-English mode of communication that made the
interpreter no longer necessary. As I extended my research into the semantic
and cultural background of the language, Evarts became a major resource
and ally in my investigations and our work extended over seven
years and involved the entire Oklahoma Pawnee community.

114 At this time (1928–1936) Evarts was living with friends and relatives.
His wife and child had died tragically only a few years before, and he had
115 lost his little farm to the bank. The crises that had beset his life as a member
of his tribe and times were epic in their proportions; as a man in the
decline of his years, he had many questions to ask, and I, as a novice in
life's ills and trials, had many questions to ask of him. Many of his questions
concerned the white culture and its values, and, as a young anthropologist,
mine sought answers through the cross-cultural perspective I
hoped to find in studying the Pawnee way. Together we established the
language of our common humanity and communicated what we wanted
to know about the special character of each other's culture as well as of
life in general. It was my purpose to understand the Pawnees as people,
not as Indians or as social categories and certainly not as historical antiques.

161 Although in the 1920's only seven hundred Pawnees survived, some
178 Pawnee customs remained among them and at least eight of the older people
197 spoke no other language than Pawnee. The town of Pawnee, Oklahoma,
was surrounded by the allotted lands of the Pawnees, the lands of
361 each band being located in a different direction. The bands were still
423

000

The bands were still somewhat socially discrete. The mainstay of the diet was largely the traditional 621
corn, beans, and squash grown on their own farm plots and dried 262
and stored as of old. Beef had taken the place of buffalo meat and was
prepared by thin slicing and drying for storage or boiled on feast days. 252
Relationships in kin groups continued, and some of the religious ideology 241
survived. A Doctor Dance Ceremony was performed by the last survivors 771
who possessed the arts and the knowledge involved and brought us some
welcome rain after a long dry spell. The question was, "How to give these 796
fragments life and place them in their integral context?" We evolved the 178
plan of utilizing one year of Pawnee life in as much detail as possible, 114
covering the round of the year through the four seasons as reconstructed with the help of the surviving Pawnees. Our plan proved to be an effective means of developing vivid recall in Evarts and the other old Pawnees. For a number of reasons we would think of our year hypothetically as 1867; in that year the Pawnee settlement and round of life was sufficiently integral to serve as a base line for our reconstruction. Some of the other surviving Pawnees were in their late teens and twenties in that year. Evarts supplied a normal thread of events in answer to my prodding questions for the details that seemed to a Pawnee all too obvious and we supplemented and checked this with whomever we thought had relevant knowledge concerning one point or another. Most of the old people had worked with me on linguistics before that time.

It was not possible to reproduce the material in the exact order in which 128
I collected it. I have had to reassort the material somewhat so that it falls into some of our own functional categories and at the same time so that it fits within the seasonal round of the year. Under the pressure of time when my notes were recorded I rendered the Pawnee or Pawnee-English in which it was given into the closest normal English equivalent I could muster. Also, this book was compiled a quarter of a century or more after it was recorded. I have avoided altering the original simple declarative language too radically. In some cases I have retained the original language with very little variation, particularly where it is an incident that had often been recounted among the Pawnees, a very familiar situation, a technical account, a speech, a personality sketch. Such passages are indented from the left margin.

In addition to the informant record, I have checked my account in de- 127
tail with most of the existing material on the Pawnees and in some cases supplemented it from these sources. This is detailed in the Notes and Comments with references correlated with my text. Recently excavated archaeological materials together with eyewitness accounts by contemporary observers of the 1830's and 1840's have overwhelmingly vindicated the accuracy of my Pawnee informants. The most substantial help in this recent phase of the work has been given me by Prof. John L. Champe, author of an important stratigraphic treatment of Nebraska archaeology, *Ash Hol-*

127 *low Cave.* As chairman of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Nebraska, he welcomed me to his laboratory where I worked from 1954 to 1958; during this period he gave unstintingly of his time and knowledge, going over my material and taking me to many of the archaeological sites where the Pawnees and their predecessors are known to have lived. He and his wife, Flavia Waters Champe, most generously welcomed me to their home during that time. I also acknowledge with profound thanks the unfailing help and support of my former student and now colleague in the science, Carol King Rachlin.

I received substantial help at all times from the staff of the Nebraska State Historical Society—Mr. Marvin Kivett, Director, Dr. W. D. Aeschbacher, Dr. Donald Danker, Dr. White; Prof. James C. Olson of the History Department of the University of Nebraska; Virginia Faulkner of the University of Nebraska Press; and Mari Sandoz and her sister Flora, who entertained me at the ancestral home and made me really understand the value and the beauty of the Nebraska sandhills. I have also been aided and abetted by the Missouri River Basin Surveys group of the Smithsonian Institution in Lincoln, under the direction of Dr. Robert Stephenson, one of whose Missouri River excavations I was privileged to visit and there enjoyed his cordial hospitality. My friend Mrs. Rella Looney of the Oklahoma Historical Society was most helpful to me during my stay in Oklahoma City recently.

In 1954 I had the opportunity to visit the Pawnee again. My return was gladdened by the hospitality of Blanche Matlock, her daughter, Bessie (now Mrs. Delbert Horse Chief), and the grown-up grandchildren of my now departed first informant and mentor, Stacy Matlock; Walter Keyes, his wife Norah, and their daughter, Alma, who had married Basil Chapman, son of my interpreter, Henry Chapman (recently deceased); and my friends, Andrew and Eulah Eschelman, together with her sister, Pauline Murie, one of my close personal friends now living in Wichita, Kansas, and the Echohawk family. I was also welcomed by Mrs. George Roberts and Dolly Moore and, on a subsequent visit, Mr. Henry Roberts, Chief of the Pawnee Council, and his wife. My return to Pawnee was a deeply moving experience because of the profound effect my work there has had on my life and the warmth with which I was received into the community.

During the years after 1932 I received a great deal of support from my colleagues in anthropology. The late Prof. William Duncan Strong, who did pioneering work in Nebraska archaeology, was a constant source of psychological and intellectual support in his unfailing interest over the years. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Prof. Charles Wagley of Columbia for his many years of active interest and encouragement. In this connection also I wish to thank Dr. Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., recently retired Director, Bureau of American Ethnology.

122 From 1958 to 1960, as a Fellow of the Bollingen Foundation, I have

been the recipient of a grant that made the writing of this book possible; I would like particularly to mention Miss Nancy Russ and Mrs. M. Curtis Ritter of that organization. To my sister, Florence Goldin, Director and Vice President of the Grey Advertising Company, I want to express my gratitude and deep appreciation for support far beyond the call of sisterhood in all ways, including financial when it became necessary.

During the summer of 1963 I have had substantial assistance in rearranging the manuscript from my colleague at Fairleigh Dickinson University, Prof. Andrew H. Drummond, talented producer and dramatist.

Madison, New Jersey
October 1964

GENE WELTFISH

**14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18**

CONTENTS

[p. xiv is blank]

000

PROLOGUE vii

PREFACE ix

1 THE LOST UNIVERSE 1
2 PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: I 10
3 PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: II 20
4 PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: III 52
5 THE WORLD OF A PAWNEE BOY: SPRING 1867 61
6 A DEER HUNT 76
7 THE SPRING AWAKENING 79
8 REPAIRING THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE 88
9 THE PLANTING OF THE CROPS 95
10 THE CAPTIVE GIRL SACRIFICE 106
11 VARIETIES OF CORN, BEANS, AND SQUASH 119
12 CLOSING EPISODE OF PLANTING PERIOD 124
13 CEREMONIAL PREPARATIONS FOR SUMMER BUFFALO HUNT 130
14 PRACTICAL PREPARATIONS FOR THE BUFFALO HUNT 137
15 THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY 151
16 FINAL PREPARATIONS IN THE VILLAGE 157
17 THE RENDEZVOUS CAMP 163
18 THE MIGRATION TO THE BUFFALO HUNTING GROUNDS 171
19 COMMON CAMPING ROUTINES 178
20 HUNTING THE FIRST BUFFALO AND BUTCHERING IT 181
21 CROSSING THE RIVER AND THE RETURN OF THE HUNTERS 187
22 THE RETURN OF THE HUNTERS AND THE BANQUETS OF BUFFALO MEAT 190

23 The Tenth Encampment 196
24 Camp 11—At the Buffalo Hunting Grounds 201
25 The First Main Hunt Episode 204
26 The Meeting in the Council Tent 208
27 Preserving the Meat and Processing the Hides 213
28 The Fourth Major Attack on the Herd 223
29 The Additional Hunting Episodes 226
30 The Return Home from the Hunt 233
31 Harvest Time in the Village 238
32 The Ceremonial Observance of the Harvest 254
33 The House Reestablished and the Food Stored 263
34 Preparation for the Grand Opera 272
35 Organizing the Earth Lodge for the Ceremonial Performance—Rehearsals and Construction Work 281
36 The Women Get Wood for the Doctors 290
37 The Big Doctor Performance 293
38 The First Big Dance 302
39 The Dance of the Scalped Ones 305
40 Breaches of the Doctors' Rules 307
41 The Closing Episode of the Doctors' Grand Opera 310
42 Dismantling the Ceremonial Doctor Lodge 314
43 The Deer Dance 318
44 Sorcery 332
45 The Doctors Cure the Boy Otter 347
46 A Time for Storytelling and for Leisure 352
47 Equipment and Industrial Manufactures 361
48 The Process of Making Leather and Furs 367
49 The Construction of the Tent Cover 379
50 Objects of Wood for the Home 382
51 Things of Wood Made by the Men 389

52 OBJECTS MADE FOR RECREATION 397
53 PRODUCTS OF REEDS AND GRASS 403
54 THE WINTER BUFFALO HUNT 409
55 ARRANGING THE ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP 412
56 PLANS AND PROVISIONS FOR THE HUNT 415
57 THE JOURNEY TO THE HUNTING GROUNDS 419
58 CAMP 6 ON GRAND ISLAND 421
59 THE POINTED SKIN TIPI 424
60 PROCESSING THE MEAT 429
61 THE COUNCIL TENT 430
62 THE MAIN HUNT 434
63 THE RETURN FROM THE HUNT 441
64 POSTSCRIPT INTO THE PRESENT 444
65 THE UNIVERSE REGAINED 448

NOTES AND COMMENTS 462
BIBLIOGRAPHY 480
INDEX 493

[p. xviii is blank]

ODD

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE 3-1. Genealogical kinship table showing Mother's Brother's and Father's Sister's lines. 22-23
FIGURE 5-1. Groundplan of the house where the boy, Otter, lived. 62
FIGURE 5-2. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. 71
FIGURE 8-1. Architect's plan of a Pawnee earth lodge. 89
FIGURE 9-1. Representation of face painting symbolizing the vault of the heavens and the breath of Heaven. 98
FIGURE 10-1. Association of symbolisms for the four semicardinal directions. 112
FIGURE 10-2. *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing scaffold sacrifice 117
FIGURE 11-1. Seven varieties of squash and pumpkin. 120
FIGURE 11-2. Eight varieties of beans. 121
FIGURE 16-1. The small sack, *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack." 160
FIGURE 17-1. Pawnee plan of encampment while on the hunt. 166
FIGURE 17-2. Curve-roofed summer tent. 167
FIGURE 18-1. Approximate campsites of the Pawnee summer hunt in Nebraska. 173
FIGURE 19-1. The method of folding the tent skin. 180
FIGURE 26-1. The whip or warclub, *tahipirus-tax karax-kitawa*, "whip-teeth-upon it," carried by the "Hunt Police." 210
FIGURE 27-1. The manner of folding dried buffalo steak from along the backbone, *kisatsu*. 214
FIGURE 27-2. A cosmic design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat. 215
FIGURE 27-3. A design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat. 216

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000

FIGURE 27-4. The manner of cutting and setting out portions of dried buffalo meat at a feast. 220

FIGURE 30-1. The pattern of a skin knapsack, *tsat-katus*, "package-flat." 234

FIGURE 43-1. The first form of the Deer Dance, *Raris-ta*, "dance-deer." 322

FIGURE 43-2. The developed form of the Deer Dance. 324

FIGURE 48-1. The pattern of a woman's skin shirt. 374

FIGURE 50-1. Buffalo-horn spoon for ordinary use. 384

FIGURE 51-1. A simple bow of ashwood and a sinew-backed bow. 390

FIGURE 51-2. A pipe made by Brave Horse. 394

FIGURE 59-1. Erecting the framework of the pointed tipi. 425

FIGURE 65-1. The family-oriented house. 454

[pp. xxi – xxii contain no textual material]

1

THE LOST UNIVERSE

000

Modern Problems and Their Relationship to Older Cultures—Archaeological Sites on the Great Plains—Early Recorded History of the Earth-Lodge Peoples—Results of European Settlement of the Land—the Basic Household of the Pawnee—Political Control and Social Organization—Religious Life—the Significance of This Study for Our Own Future Outlook

No ONE KNOWS what our future will be. Shattered are the bounds of our safe universe where the earth met the sky on the horizon and infinity lay beyond, where the rock was the solid foundation of our experience, and where now the particle of a ten billionth of a second will splinter beyond our foreseeing and whirl itself into unknown oblivion. In all things the outer bounds of our lives are broken—in the universe and in the home; in the family and in the nation; in the region and in the uni-nation. Are there more people beyond our planet? In the past people have come from other continents and destroyed many local worlds. When the European invader set out from his continent to explore the oceans, he too broke the secure images of life of the peoples he met and overwhelmed. Fearfully we can imagine that advanced peoples live on the planets, and they may come to us.

But this is not all of our concern. Our problems are more intimate and immediate. What will be the shape of the home and family of the future? What kinds of occupation will people have when machines activate machines? How do we find our way into tomorrow?

It has long been man's custom to look into the past to find a way into the future, but the anthropologist has brought a new dimension to our thinking by exploring the culture worlds of other peoples. This is a delicate task, and it takes a special kind of listening. The wholly different

000 image of life possessed by another people can be acquired only with patience and understanding, for as we do comprehend a different perspective on human experience, one by one our most cherished beliefs of what is basic to humanity are challenged, and we feel at a loss in the face of a need for new horizons.

What can there be of current interest in the life of an American Indian people who lived their way and were overwhelmed by time and events? Their way of life is very different from our own and bears little resemblance to ours even in its fundamentals, and by that very token it opens up a new world of human possibilities that we need to ponder before we can come back to our own problems with a fresh outlook.

172 During the past twelve years nearly a million and a half dollars has been spent by the United States Government on a special archaeological project whose purpose is to investigate man's life on the Plains. Forty archaeologists are working in the Missouri River Basin trying to uncover the remains of old Indian villages along the river banks. They go about their work with a special urgency, for soon the flood waters of the river, caught up by the new dam, will cover the area altogether, and the ancient history of man's conquest of the Great Plains will be lost.

The archaeological sites are lonely places high along the river banks, but once they were teeming with life. Clusters of circular embankments mark the places where high domed earth lodges formed a Plains-Indian village. In the bottoms close to the river were the fields of corn, beans, and squash, each patch carefully tended by the women and their little daughters. Toward evening the men would be coming home with the deer or the elk they had killed, and later their friends would come in to share the feast. The big storage pit outside the house was full of a year's supply of dried vegetables and the dried meat of the buffaloes they had killed during the last summer's hunting expedition. The dried kernels of corn were simmering in the clay pot that hung over the fire, and the family would eat its meal quickly before the guests arrived. When the guests came for the feast of deer meat, they would talk about the three-day tribal harvest ceremony and how much dried buffalo meat would be available for the large banquets they would have. They would talk of the enemies they repulsed, and now in the deserted quiet of the place the archaeologist was gathering up the broken potsherds, the charred kernels of corn, the chipped stone arrowheads, the stone pipe bowl. All these things he carefully catalogued and photographed with a record of just how each thing was found in the ground, and he shipped them back to the museum where they would be kept for further study.

175 From historical records we know that in the 1700's when our record for this area begins, there were Indians living there in earth-lodge villages, some of whose tribal names we can identify. Is it possible that from their modern survivors we can glean some fragments of remem-

bered custom and old ways of life? Today the ethnologist is hard put to 175
get very much that is significant. Even with the opening of the present
century, most of these peoples had so long ago been decimated by disease and war that memory of their past life was extremely fragmentary. Along with whatever fragments of custom were recorded then, the archaeologist must use the written testimony of the chance traveler and trader to give life to his findings.

In the 1700's when the trade and travel records were written, the Missouri River was a main artery of European-Indian trade. Commercial companies centered in St. Louis maintained regular contact with trade centers up the river, and in the 1800's steamboats plied their way upstream with goods and guns to exchange for furs. Trade centers for exchange were an ancient tradition of American Indian life, and now they eagerly made their way to the trade centers of the European where new goods and materials could be gotten. But the price was dear. For besides the new goods, there came new and fatal diseases—measles, smallpox, cholera, and a variety of fevers—wiping out hundreds and even thousands of people at one blow. Whole tribes that had lived in the region for hundreds of years were wiped out or left in such a fragmentary condition that they joined with other tribes and lost the knowledge of their past identity.

The Pawnees who lived outside the mainstream of commercial traffic 131
were less affected than the others by this holocaust. They lived along the 161
outlying tributaries of the Missouri—the Loup, the Platte, and the Re-
publican—that flow eastward across the present State of Nebraska and 175
join the Missouri at their eastern ends. It was only in the 1830's, when
the Pawnees were living in the western part of their territory at what
they refer to as Old Village, that the direct effects of the many historic
pressures of the time began to bear down on them. At that time they [221]
numbered about 12,000 and were living a well-integrated native life of a
sedentary Plains people such as the archaeological remains indicate—
planting crops and hunting buffalo in alternate seasons. Then disease be- [731]
gan to do its terrible work, and the large bands of refugee Siouan peoples
(some 30,000 strong), pushing in from the east, attacked them with in- [648]
creasing furor in order to gain their territory and their hunting grounds.
Finally the Pawnees began to move eastward along the river courses to be 167
nearer the centers of civilization, and by 1859, by agreement with the 175
United States Government, they moved onto a reservation near the pres-
ent town of Genoa, Nebraska. By this time their numbers were reduced 648
to 3,400, but they still retained their old social forms and independent [161]
polity and a traditional rhythm of life throughout the year. Added to
their problems had been the full force of westward migration of the expanding United States—the Oregon Trail, Mormon Trail, and Gold Rush along the Platte, and, from 1861 on, a crescendo of Sioux attacks

167 unchecked by a United States torn by Civil War. Then, when the war
175 was over, came the white settlement of their territory and still more conflicts
648 for the land, the water, and the timber. Finally they could stay there
no longer; they had to leave their homeland, and they moved south.

The Pawnees were related by language to a people to the south of
167 them, the Wichita, and they often went visiting, some of them remaining
197 for several years in order to learn new ceremonials which they brought
648 home with them when they returned north. As far back as the 1770's a
175 contingent of three hundred Pawnees had gone south and settled permanently there. They were very welcome at this time and every inducement was given to make them stay, as the Wichita were already heavily depleted in numbers by disease and enemy attack; the Pawnee group constituted a much-needed reinforcement.

In the summer of 1870, just a hundred years later, a Pawnee chief led a visiting party of three hundred men to the Wichita. After their return, subsequent parties went down in successive years and were made welcome by the Wichitas and other tribes in the area that is now Oklahoma; in 1873, despite many doubts on the part of their chiefs, two-thirds of the Pawnees finally left their Nebraska home and migrated south. By November 1875 the last Pawnee contingent arrived in Oklahoma. Many met their death as a result of the change. Fevers and starvation took such a
[161] heavy toll that by 1879 only 1,440 survived, and, by the U.S. census of 1910, just 633 Pawnees remained alive.

114 The time of my arrival in Oklahoma to do ethnological and linguistic work was 1928, some fifty years after the time the Pawnees had settled there permanently. We did not know then that Pawnee life with its combined settled village life and migratory buffalo hunting was an old way of life on the Plains.

The general opinion among anthropologists was that in the not too distant past earth-lodge peoples such as the Pawnee had formerly lived in the woodland areas east of the Mississippi and, migrating out onto the Plains, had begun to adopt the migratory life of buffalo hunters and were in the process of abandoning their settled ways.

172 Archaeology has since shown us that the combination of migratory and sedentary village life is much older in the Plains than we had thought and that, far from being in transition, the ancestors of the Pawnees had probably followed a similar way of life in Nebraska for nearly seven hundred years. Archaeological remains of earth-lodge villages are found along the Republican, Platte, and Loup rivers, a progressive evolution of the houses from rectangular to round appearing with the passage of time. The houses and the remains of objects and food found in the archaeological settlements show such a clear continuity into historic times that their identification as ancestral Pawnee is well nigh inevitable.

101 In 1867 the four bands into which the Pawnee were politically organ-

ized were concentrated along the banks of Beaver Creek, a northern 101
tributary of the Loup River near the present town of Genoa, Nebraska.
They had moved to this place in 1859 as a result of their treaty
with the United States Government. Each of the bands had its separate
location, the Skidi villages in the westernmost position and the three
South Bands ranged along the stream to the east about half a mile away.
From west to east they were: Kitkehaxki (Little-Earth-Lodge), Tsawi
(Asking-for-Meat), and Pitahawirata (Man-Going-Downstream, or East).
Each of the bands is said to have comprised a number of villages;
for the three South Bands this cannot be documented. From 1700 on,
when our historical records are clear, the Skidi were the largest of the
four bands and were composed of a number of distinct villages, estimated
between twelve and nineteen. In 1867 the Skidi had four distinct villages, 361
Tuwahukasa (Village-across-a-Ridge), Tuhitspiat (Village-in-the-Bottomlands),
Tskirirara (Wolf-in-Water), and Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine). [103]
The villages were made up of ten to twelve earth lodges, each a high
spacious dome-shaped building housing thirty to fifty people. Besides
containing thirty to fifty people under one roof, the personnel was likely
to change from season to season after each migration to the buffalo hunting
grounds. The basic Pawnee household was as different from ours as 592
it is possible for a human arrangement to be. And yet it gave personal
satisfaction to its members and within itself produced the whole material
and social base for an ongoing community. In fact, this is what we
wish our family life would do. Sibling rivalries, partial or total rejection
of child by parent or smothering attention, demands on the child for the
unfulfilled ambitions of the parents, or overprotection because of resented
parental hardships, heavy-handed control of parent over child in a
severely restricted social environment—these are ills that are intimately
linked with the very physical arrangements of our present family living.
There are things about Pawnee life that suggest that an enlarged home
environment for our children would improve our lives—a matter to be
considered in the concluding chapter.

Even more startling to me than the contrast in home life was the question 626
of political control among the Pawnees. They were a well-disciplined
people, maintaining public order under many trying circumstances. 182
And yet they had none of the power mechanisms that we consider essential
to a well-ordered life. No orders were ever issued. No assignments for
work were ever made nor were over-all plans discussed. There was no
code of rules of conduct nor punishment for infraction. There were no
commandments nor moralizing proverbs. The only instigator of action 796
was the consenting person. In religion, the regular round of ceremonies 182
that followed the seasons was in charge of a priesthood, but no one of
these ceremonies was ever instigated by them. Only when a single 626
person had the call through visions and invited the priesthood to discuss

796 it with him, pledging his support in food and goods, would the ceremony ever be performed. In all his work, both public and private, the Pawnee 182 moved on a totally voluntary basis. Whatever social forms existed were carried within the consciousness of the people, not by others who were in 626 a position to make demands. As I talked to the old men and women I realized that this is what we wish for but do not have. As they described the coordination of their households, I repeatedly asked when they got together and laid the plan they were apparently carrying through and in what exact terms they discussed it. The answer was always, "They didn't discuss it at all. They don't talk about it. It goes along just as it happens to work out."

For example, sentinels were always needed to man the outposts and 626 keep watch for the enemy who might be lurking nearby ready to attack 701 the villages, or in the process of sneaking up on them. Sentinels were neither assigned nor called for by anyone. A number of young men who were friends would be talking together and one would mention that this was about the time the enemy would be attacking. Then one of them would remark, "I think I'll go up to the sentry post early tomorrow morning." Another would say, "I think I'll do that too." Then several others would chime in and word would get around, and other young men would also turn up long before dawn at the different sentry posts. The 592 household coordinated itself in precisely the same way. A remark by one 626 person brought a complementary remark from another, and the plans seemed to shape themselves.

Time after time I tried to find a case of orders given, and there was 626 none. Gradually I began to realize that democracy is a very personal thing which, like charity, begins at home. Basically it means not being coerced and having no need to coerce anyone else. The Pawnee learned this way of living in the earliest beginnings of his life. In the detailed events of everyday living as a child, he began his development as a disciplined and free man or as a woman who felt her dignity and her independence to be inviolate. I was often confronted with the feeling that they expected of me a kind of independence and decisiveness that was not considered becoming to a woman in our society. Men and women expected the same clear and well-defined reaction from me, and among themselves it was evident that it was their accustomed mode of interacting.

622 The Pawnees had chiefs, but these were the focus of consensus, not the wielders of power. There was no over-all chief of all the Pawnees. 619 The two major political groupings among the Pawnees were the Skidi and the South Bands, distinguished by a slight difference in the pronunciation of the Pawnee language. The main subdivisions within these groupings were villages and households. The village numbered from three 621 hundred to five hundred people in ten to fifteen households. The real

The real
administrative officials of the Pawnees were the chiefs of the villages. All 621
people within a village considered themselves kin, and the chiefs were 622
conceived as heads of extended families rather than as superimposed government officials. Although the chieftainship was hereditary in certain families, the individuals selected to fill the post were chosen for their humility and sagacity. An aggressive temperament was considered a bar-
rier to the office. There were definite implicit mechanisms for village 619
coordination and interband cooperation, often by means of emissaries
sent between the households of chiefs to express their combined opinions 626
and to learn the wishes of the other parties. Public opinion and consensus were always well estimated. No official conceived that an arbitrary decision was feasible or desirable.

The difference in our expectations is shown in the words of Fray Fran- 171
cisco Casañas de Jesus Maria, first missionary to the Caddo-Hasinai, a related tribe to the Pawnees, in 1691 (Swanton, 1942, pp. 170-171):

> These allied tribes do not have one person to govern them (as with us a kingdom is accustomed to have a ruler whom we call king.) They have only a *xinesi*. He usually has a subordinate who gathers together four or five tribes who consent to live together and to form a province or kingdom, as it might be called—and a very large one too, if all these tribes had one person to rule over them. But such a head they have not, and I, therefore, infer that this province in New Spain is called "Teijias" [Friend]—which really expresses just what they are because each tribe is a friend to all the others—cannot be called a kingdom.

And Robert Lowie says in *The Crow Indians* (1935, p.5):

> How shall we conceive the ancient chief?—a good "valiant" man. He was neither a ruler nor a judge and in general had no power over life and death —he decided when and where his followers should move and pitch camp.

As I studied Pawnee life I often asked myself how far the power 000
mechanisms that characterize our present social life are really indispensable. In our theory of democracy we express a profound desire for the kind of voluntarism that the Pawnee practiced. It is not easily described, for it is implicit in the individual personalities of the people themselves. Their personality pattern only too readily eludes us, and only by attention to minute detail can we come to understand its special quality.

And yet, although very different in all other details, Pawnee life, like 221
our own, was strongly molded by the four seasons. Each of the seasons had its special program of activities that, taken together, made a complete and consistent pattern. The spring and fall of the year were the times of planting and harvesting the crops of corn, beans, and squash. During these two seasons the Pawnees lived in their earth-lodge villages that

221 were ranged along the bank of Beaver Creek. During the summer and again in winter, the whole tribe left their villages behind and set out on a long expedition to the southwestern part of the state where large herds of buffalo followed their accustomed paths of migration. Several thousand men, women, and children with their horses and dogs were lined up for miles as they followed the river courses on their journey south and west, carrying tents, utensils, and other paraphernalia and a quantity of dried vegetables for their food. They killed some thousands of buffalo on each of these expeditions, drying the meat and packaging it to take home to their villages. While they were in the villages, they manufactured everything they needed both for household life and for their life on the march.

796 But the thing that made life most worthwhile to the Pawnees was their
elaborate round of ceremonies. This was based on a complex philosophy
of the creation of the universe and of man and of their ongoing nature.
The ceremonies were considered as the means for keeping the cosmic
order in its course and the continuance of the earth and its life processes.
796 No ceremony could be conducted without a feast of boiled buffalo meat,
and a large part of the meat that was gotten on the tribal buffalo hunts
262 was used for this purpose. Rehearsals for the ceremonies, the preparation
of costumes and ceremonial objects, and the performance of the ceremonies themselves occupied a large part of the time, attention, and skill of the men, and from the household itself the women contributed not only the dried meat that they had prepared, but also boiled corn, corn bread, and other vegetable dishes for entertaining during rehearsals and for the feasts.

796 The ceremonies were more than religious observances. They were the whole focus of Pawnee aesthetic life, particularly in the performing arts. The pageantry and the costuming, the dances and the miming were developed for beauty as well as for religious significance. They were opera and ballet, and the songs were appreciated for their technical and aesthetic value and were sung on many occasions throughout the year just for the pleasure of singing or hearing them. Laughter and enjoyment as well as religious fervor were common experiences of the spectators during the performances, and the performers tried to get a good audience and to please them.

172 The same Plains region that brought terrible hardships to our settlers,
provided a rich life for the Pawnees. Their way of life on the Plains goes
back to a very old tradition. Archaeologically we have reason to believe
175 they were in the same area from about A.D. 1250. They appear in written
history in 1540 when Coronado and his Spaniards were trying to expand
their territory northward from the Southwest. Marquette, exploring the
Mississippi for the French in 1672, carried the calumet down the river as
a pipe of peace, a custom attested by other tribes to have been originated

175 [782] by the Pawnees. The Pawnee custom of sacrificing a captive maiden to their god of war, the Morning Star, captured the attention of the people of the eastern United States and Washington in 1820 through reports of a young Pawnee hero, Man Chief, who risked his life to rescue a Sioux girl from the sacrificial scaffold in defiance of the Pawnee priesthood and the other participants in the ceremony. Echoes of Aztec customs that appeared in the ceremony and in other phases of their religion made people wonder how the Pawnees had come to make their home in the northern Plains or in what manner they could have received such customs. In the 1840's as main trails going westward cut directly across their territory, the Pawnee name became a feared byword to the settlers going west.

To many people today the word Pawnee suggests Plains Indian life. 121 They were indeed a people of our Plains, but the nature of their life was very different from the common stereotype of a Plains Indian. They were not the horse-riding, settler-hounding people that we think of as the typical Plains Indian. In the following account the Pawnee will appear in very human terms in the context of organized tribal life. We hope this more realistic setting will dispel some of our static preconceptions and open up new possibilities for change in our point of view about these early American settlers.

But beyond this primary goal, this study has a more general value for us. The portrayal of Pawnee life through the most ordinary situations has thrown into sharp contrast the major qualitative differences in their life-ways which fit none of our familiar stereotypes. As a human mode, it is a New World life and a new and unfamiliar dimension in the human spectrum. Cultural contact with the European and adoption of some of his ways did not change its essential character as even now American Indian groups persist in being not European. It is this persistent patterning that makes this account of Pawnee life an important resource as a control case in our search for a science of society. If we make an effort to enter it sincerely so that we see it whole, we can look at our own life with new eyes and be better able to perceive new paths to our own tomorrow to become the New World people that we really are.

I shall first introduce a number of Pawnee individuals who lived more than a hundred years ago in a Nebraska Pawnee village and the various life circumstances in which they were involved. Then I will place them within a household in that village and tell in full detail how they worked, played and worshipped together over the course of an entire year. Finally I will relate what became of them at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, after their village life ended. I will finish my account with a possible life pattern for our own future that my Pawnee studies have helped me to develop.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

2

PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: I

General Introduction—the Pawnee Outlook on Reality—the Meaning of Courage—the Household of the Pawnee—Marriage and Interpersonal Relations—the Village

I WRITE NOW of the personal arrangements of the Pawnee not so much as a means of reconstructing our past history but rather as a contribution to our future. Ours is a time when new nations have been born and old nations must be reborn. Within each nation the people have shared a common self-image, compounded of their evident material circumstances and the elaborate rationalizations of their administrative sector. Our present form of nationalism is a new social form hardly two centuries old. It is dependent on an art and science of communication unparalleled in man's history. Through this medium, our individual hopes and aspirations have been cast in a common mold to an unprecedented degree. In this country we speak of individualism and individuality as our most precious contribution to the human mode. At the same time, manufacturing standardization has placed us in a mass-designed material environment to an extent that no people has ever experienced. And as for our thoughts, I need only mention the mass media. In effect, we are free to think when we are not assailed by mass-designed thoughts.

Two centuries ago Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Swiss expatriate in France, had a premonition of this mechanization and mercantilization of the human personality in a growing mercantilist society. He pleaded for a return—return to the land, return to the woods—in effect saying, "Stop, look, and listen!" But who could then stop the march of humanity toward the material well-being for which it had ever been striving?

The communications revolution in Europe had opened up the New World of available land and resources for the taking—that is, to those that had power to take it. The European, with an atavistic feudal mentality, found the people that inhabited the land no problem. The Spaniard found them a convenient work force, the north European, an obstacle. Through whichever view, the life of the people was forfeit: in the first case through disregard of their dignity and humanity; in the second, through exile and extermination. When it became convenient, we spirited others from their own continent across the ocean. At this date, the revolution of the underdog resounds in our streets, and we are compelled to review all our values. We have no choice. The future American dream must grasp realities that are not yet here.

For this task, neither instant wisdom nor instant answers are available. The mind and the spirit is called on to make a new kind of effort. In common parlance we speak of "stretching our imagination." Whoever of us has knowledge or science must bring it to bear on this problem with which we are so urgently confronted at this time. It is through an understanding of a widely divergent human mode—another world view—that I ask you to begin our quest for a new individuality—a new self-sufficient independent personality, capable of resisting mass thoughts and mass things and of following its own star, of shaping its own hopes and aspirations.

This personality must be self-sufficient but not self-enclosed, for without a free and dynamic interaction with other people it can only dry up and wither away. Such a personality cannot grow in a relationship of dominance and submission. Genuine equality is its only environment. It cannot grow under pressure or the personal war we so blandly call competition. We need no longer hold lengthy debates on whether human equality is possible. It is being fought for now, and it will be won. Our society will change accordingly, and for the first time we will have, not theoretical, but *de facto* democracy. What kind of society will that be?

In addition to the renaissance of the human personality within the general social context, another major aspect of our lives has changed. Historically, society has moved step by step from a food-gathering economy to a hunting economy, and, with the death of the large animals at the end of the Ice Age, to an economy based on plants and agriculture. Then man again mastered his environment and produced his plant food so well that he had time to manufacture more and more of what he wanted, and industrial manufacture became the central theme of his economy. With industrial production came its twin brother, universal exchange—mercantilism. Now we have come to another major turning point in human history, "the point of no return for everybody," that is,

000 automation (*Life*, July 19, 1963). Referred to as "sudden" in the magazine article, it should surely not be sudden to most of us. With the advantage of a clear consciousness of a long past and its major changes, we must accept change and move intelligently into the future. We must prepare for our new needs in a new society by opening to the light of questioning even our most basic institutions—the family, the home, modes and institutions of work, the character of administration, and our whole evaluation of everyday human experience. The Pawnee way is one of thousands of ways of life that mankind has developed. As a springboard for a reexamination of our own way of life it has the advantage of being so different from our own, and in fact from the whole patterning of Eurasiatic civilization, that a study of its ways and social interactions helps us to throw into sharp relief our most widely accepted hypotheses on the nature of "the basic human character" and to test whether some of these assumptions are in reality universal human nature or rather limited modes of learned behavior that we have developed for needs that are now becoming obsolete.

812 772 In its very essence, the Pawnee outlook on reality differs from our own. For us the material aspect is primary. On a second level of discourse, we place observed events; on a third level, which we count still less sure, is the "human factor"; and finally furthest removed from solid reality is the realm of ideas. In the Pawnee estimate of the world around him, the primary level of reality is thought. In our own story of creation, the deity shaped man out of clay, but the Pawnee deity—Vault-of-the-Heavens—began the process of creation with thoughts and so created the universe and the stars, and they in turn were to create man in their own image. When a Pawnee individual wanted to organize his life goals, he looked within himself in his thinking and was blessed by Heaven with [829] a vision. In the Pawnee context, the *thinking* man was the essential human being. The universe continued its seasonal round only when man willed it through his thought of Heaven and its creative power. In creating man, Heaven had also created the moving force of the universe. In this order of things, events were an adjunct of *human* ongoing, and all the nonliving things were a fluid manifestation of the universal life process. A thing manufactured was a manifestation of a very personal skill, and a thing used was equally personal. The skill of the priest who kept the universe in motion and that of the arrowshaft maker had an analogous quality which was inherent in the person himself, and both were considered as dedicated public professions. For both living and nonliving things in the time of the creation, there were always two storms—one to build the empty structure and one for its continuity. This estimate of the nature of reality is almost the complete reverse of our own and is one of the many 577 ways in which the Pawnee outlook contrasts rather sharply with ours.

539 As another contrast in values between the Pawnee and ourselves I

would offer a story in the realm of human affairs. In attempting to translate from the Pawnee language in which much of this account was first obtained, we stopped to consider the word "courage." In order to give an example of what the Pawnee meant by courage, Mark Evarts told the following story: 577 539

> A man became aware that a certain person was making slanderous remarks about him in many quarters. This distressed and irritated him deeply. One day he came to a decision as to what he would do. He had a wagon and a horse, and he painted his wagon and decorated his horse and then dressed himself up in his very best, painted his face, dressed his hair, put feathers in his hair, and then set out for the home of the slanderer. When he arrived he called out, "So and so, I want you to come out. I have something to show you." In the light of his actions, the slanderer hesitated to come out. But finally he made his appearance at the entryway of his lodge. Now the man he had slandered took him by the hand and said, "Do you see this horse and wagon?" "Yes," he replied with increasing trepidation. "Well, I give them to you," said his victim, and then departed. Needless to say, he never talked about him again.

"This," said Mark Evarts, "is a man of courage; that was the only horse and wagon he had."

Our first reaction to this story is one of rejection. How can one possibly call this an act of courage? Let us look at this action through Pawnee eyes. For one thing, by his action, the victim had cleared the society of a disruptive social element that could have grown into a more general network of hostilities and polluted the whole social climate so that they might no longer defend themselves effectively from outside attack nor coordinate their efforts for their mutual survival. It took real courage, from the Pawnee point of view, for a man to curb his anger and to make a material sacrifice as well. How different from our reaction which would lead a man to plant his fist forcibly into the face of the slanderer or perhaps counter with a more devious plan to get back at his opponent. The obvious result must necessarily be a continuation and augmentation of the social irritant. 577 626

This instance does not stand alone. In recent years the Fox Indians of Tama, Iowa, told a story about the Pawnees in a similar vein. It was customary for the young men to set out on the warpath in the fall or late summer. A young Fox warrior selected the Pawnees as the object of his attack. He made a rich haul and so decided to repeat his performance the next year. Then he went again a third time. This was decidedly against the recognized code according to which he should have distrib- 577 727

577 727 uted his favors more broadly. Now on the fourth occasion, the Pawnees lay in wait in their village and sure enough the young Fox warrior stealthily crept into the encampment ready to collect and run. This time the Pawnees were lying in wait for him, and they seized him and took him to the tent of the head chief. There the young warrior trembled within himself, prepared for the worst. One by one, the Pawnees began to remove his garments as the chief had ordered. Then they painted up his face, put on a new loincloth, a new shirt, new leggings, and new moccasins and loaded him with additional goods saying, "You have favored us three times already, now go home and don't come back for a while." As the Fox report, he never did return to the Pawnees. In fact, was there anything worse that a people could do to an attacking enemy soldier?

592 512 462 Let us now look at the household of the Pawnee—his home life. Most earth lodges housed from thirty to fifty people. The lodge was a production workshop in which, with few exceptions, everything required for use was produced, including the collection and processing of raw materials. A substantial part of this work was done by the women. The house was conceived as being divided into two duplicate halves—the north sector and the south sector—each of which carried out the essential household functions in alternation. [264] There were two main meals a day, for example, the one being provided by the north side, the other by the south side, both serving all. In operation this meant that the woman who cooked the meal had raised all the vegetables in her own gardens, had dried and preserved them and kept them in her storage pit, and that all the meat she served was dried and packed by her on the buffalo hunt, carried back to the village (formerly on her back or by the dogs she raised), and also stored in the pit. In the past, the clay pot she cooked in would have been made by her (now a brass kettle from the trade store), and she was still making the large buffalo-horn ladle with which she served, the wooden mortar and pestle in which the mush was pounded, and for her "side" alone the wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons in which the food was served, the rush mats on which the people sat, and all the clothing they wore. Every day, morning or evening, she would serve twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty people a meal.

264 571 The way in which the morning and evening meal was allocated to one or the other "side" was a clear example of the characteristic Pawnee mode of personal interaction. There was no prearranged schedule at all as to which side would take the morning, which the evening meal. This was determined on each individual occasion by the inclinations of the principals most directly involved. From our point of view a plan would be made and the people fitted into it—from the Pawnee view, the plan emerged from the feelings of the people. This difference of approach is so basic that I feel impelled to stress it particularly. The Pawnee indi-

vidual embraced responsibility; he had no inclination to shirk it. In a 264
sense, the rhythm of Pawnee work life was like a ballet, whereas ours is 571
like a prison lockstep: "You must, you must, you must get to work!"

The day's routine in our Pawnee household began when either Victory 512
Call or Old Bull happened to awaken; this depended on which one 592
decided to get out of bed first. Or else White Woman or Queen Woman might be the first to awaken, and then she would remind her husband that it was morning. From the time one or the other of the two men got out of bed, the day's program was set; the others simply followed the initial cue. When the man had gotten out of his bed he went outside and inspected the horizon and the stars, came in and kindled the fire, and said, "Fire's made." His senior wife then got up and started the breakfast. As observed by one of the contemporary missionaries in 1837, the rest followed with precision. The minor cycles of household operation were also conducted in a similar mode. Someone felt impelled to take care of a needed task and mentioned it and volunteers were forthcoming without further ado. Pressure and compulsion are implicit in our attitude toward work; voluntarism was the Pawnee way.

The functions of the women in the earth lodge were subdivided 462
roughly according to age. The north and south quarters of the circum- 562
ference of the house were each subdivided into three "stations." The
central one of these (due north and due south) was the core position 592
and it was occupied by the mature women of the lodge. They furnished
the main provisions and directed the necessary work. At the inner or 561
western station on each side was the place of the immature girls and newly married young women. The outer or eastern station on each side was for the old women, symbolically on the way out and physically nearest to the exit (or entryway) of the lodge. Most commonly each of these stations was occupied by several women who carried out its special functions jointly.

The details of the function of the central station have been mentioned 855
above in connection with general household operations. The other two 603
stations supplemented it in very different ways. At the east stations for
the old women, the children past the age of infancy were cared for, the 887
old women being referred to by the children as "grandmothers," regard- 592
less of the actual biological kinship. The children slept in the beds with their "grandmothers" and shared a bowl of food with them at meals. Grandma saw that they were warm and well fed and tried to help them in every way. She was a permissive, familiar, kind person to whom the child could always appeal. Between grandma and grandchild there was neither formality nor constraint. Jokes were made about a boy saying, "Look how close he sticks to his grandma; he wants to marry her!" or "There
he goes always running to his grandma." Besides child care, the grand- 887
mother would give a good deal of assistance to "the senior women of the 592

887 house." She supplemented their supplies of vegetables from her own garden
592 from time to time, saying, "Daughter, cook this for our supper."
She would also have a small private stock of dried meat that she had gotten
by helping with its preparation during the hunt season, and she would
also offer this at various times when it seemed a good idea. Again there
was no regular schedule for this, nor any amount that was standard.
Grandma already rendered considerable services to the house and was
considered entitled to her "keep." She also gave substantive help with
skin working, sewing, getting firewood, special manufacturing, and so on.

462 The young women and girls at the west stations did minor household
tasks, but had a far more significant contribution to make to its ongoing.
592 They were there to please and care for a capable man who would protect
883 the people in the lodge, provide them with fresh meat by his almost daily
hunting expeditions for deer, elk, or antelope, participate in the tribal
buffalo hunts in the summer and winter each year so that they would all
have dried buffalo meat, and carry on the official interrelationships with
the community outside the household, including those with the village
officials.

582 An influential and capable man might be given one of these girls in
marriage with the understanding that her younger sisters would also be
given to him when they came of age. If he were adjudged too old, the
family was unlikely to agree to these further marriages. In the case of Old
Bull, the family of his junior wife, Clear Day, was unwilling to give him
her younger sister on this account. Fifteen years was considered a suitable
age for marriage in a girl, and eighteen for a boy. However, the probability
is remote that the couple would be of these ages respectively. First
marriages for both a boy and a girl were almost always of a "May–September"
type. A boy of eighteen was considered altogether incapable of
playing a suitable married role in a household. A man contracted a marriage
583 in terms of services he could render to the family of the girl that he
591 married. Normally he was expected to come to live in her household and
"take care of them," i.e., render them major services.

601 The son-in-law, i.e., the man married into a household, was known as
kustawixtsu," the one that is sitting among [us]." The man on his part
606 referred to his in-laws as *tatutkaku*, "I sit inside for you," that is, "I am in
the house for your benefit." The reward he receives is his wife whom he
calls *tatiraktaku*, "I own her," and she in turn refers to her husband as
tikuktaku, "he owns me." These terms are not normally used under informal
circumstances, the couple addressing each other by the common
term for spouse, *raku*, or if they are on particularly pleasant terms, the
man calls his wife *tsustit*, "old lady," and she refers to her husband as
kurahus, "old man."

58 Because of the services required on both sides, a young man would
have little alternative but to marry a capable older woman, and a young

58 girl who was in no position to carry the responsibilities of a mature woman would normally marry a mature man. The situation finally reversed itself when, after a marriage to an older man, the woman attains maturity and the competence to maintain a household. She is now in a position to choose a handsome young man as a second husband. The young man on his part finally gains maturity at the age of forty and can sue for the hand of a young girl of fifteen and join a household where his capabilities will be appreciated. The father and father's brothers of the girl will look around for such a person for their daughter and will be glad to entertain his suit. In fact, as a young girl gained her maturity, numbers of such men would sue for her hand. The "fathers" might have some scruples about the suitors that already had a wife, chiefly because of the ill feeling it might generate between the households involved. But a man was not compelled to limit his marital relations to one woman or to one household so long as he could fulfill his obligations, i.e., provide meat for all through his exceptional talents as a hunter and horses and other luxury goods through his special ability as a warrior that could bring home booty. There was thus a certain fluidity about the marriage situation, although some marriages did last for many years.

583 A proper marriage was arranged with considerable formality, with special acts and mutual gift-giving on the part of both families. The element that determined the most binding unions was a substantial gift of horses to the girl's family by the suitor. The amount of the gift was a mark of the esteem in which the bride was held, and, even in the 1920's, one old woman mentioned with pride from time to time that six horses were given for her. As a woman got older, a marriage involved less and less property consideration, although a man suing for the hand of a woman in her prime would be likely to give a horse to her brother or a relative who stood in an analogous relationship as a mark of his respect for her and an earnest of good faith with her family. Everyone felt that an informal liaison without some family arrangements was bound to be a passing thing.

851 848 [834] A man's obligations to his children were to some extent independent of these considerations. The Pawnees were very literal about fatherhood. For a child to be accepted in the community with any decent status, its physiological father must be known. In any given month from one menstrual period to the next, a woman had to confine her sexual activities to one man only, and when she was aware through the cessation of menstruation that she had conceived, she was required to notify the man and point out on what occasion of intercourse together the child was conceived. The man was then obligated, until the child reached full maturity of eighteen or more, to provide it with fresh meat in whatever household it might be residing and in other ways to be concerned with its well-being. A woman who departed from this iron-clad rule was unable to

851 convince a man of his physiological paternity, and her child would then be a social outcast. It would be known as *pira-paru*, "hidden child,"
848 since the mother would be ashamed and try to hide it when her brothers came to visit. The child would be subject to many insults and humiliations throughout its life. In these terms, whatever the sentiments of the parents for each other, the child always had a legal right to the care of both its parents, clearly identified as its physical progenitors. Children were normally cared for by their grandmothers, and it was quite possible that various fortunes placed the child in one household with its grandmother, its mother in another household, and the father in still another. The obligations for support, however, remained incumbent on both parents.

593 The household as a working group of coordinated members was precisely organized, and each household had the same general structure.
221 However, twice a year when the tribe set out on its semiannual buffalo hunts, the household work group fragmented itself into many smaller groupings, which reassorted themselves so that an able hunter became the nucleus of each new composite grouping. When they returned to the village the households did not necessarily reassemble with the same personnel as before. This was entirely optional, and there were many reasons why people might decide to join a different household group than the one they had been with before leaving. However, it was not too hard to establish a working household on this basis even twice a year, since the pattern of operation was the same everywhere. The three duplicate stations on the north and south sides of the lodge with their full complement of the young, mature, and old women was a frame into which any individual woman could fit herself in whatever household she entered with little loss of efficiency, since her duties were so clearly defined once she selected the category to which she belonged. And a child with a grandmother to care for it could fit in anywhere. Young men led a more transient existence. They were likely to congregate at different times in one lodge or another, and a bed would be made for them by putting down a mat between the central pillars and providing it with the necessary skin bedding. Old men also moved about rather freely, staying overnight in various households whenever they were detained late of an evening telling stories or participating in a ceremony. As for the mature man, his married-in household was not considered his "true" home. In his married-in household he was an outsider with formal obligations, which sometimes tended to weigh rather heavily on him. Then he would go where his home really was—that of his sisters and his mother, where they would gladly feed him and take care of him and where he could relax
621 and feel like a child. When this happened, his wife understood, and she
622 knew he would be back after a few days.

821 The only stable and fixed unit of Pawnee life was the village with
778

three hundred to five hundred people and from ten to twelve households. 621
The village community centered around the chief who had his sanction 622
through a vision from Heaven. Every person within the village was also
under the tutelage of a given star, and the chief held the sacred bundle 821
that represented the supernatural story of its origin and gave the village 778
its continuity. In these terms, all the people in the village were considered as a kindred, but their specific cosmic derivation gave them differing social ranks. According to their star affiliations, some were born as 821
chiefs, some as braves, and some as commoners; their social functions in
the community were thus relatively preordained. When a chiefly infant 554
was born to two high-ranking parents, he was wrapped in a wildcat skin, 565
symbolizing the heavens with its panoply of stars and planets. When he married, the priest and his senior errand man impersonated the Morning Star and the sun respectively. High-ranking chiefly families provided the administrators, whereas the families of braves—the next in rank—provided the executive officers. The commoners, known collectively as *akitaru* "the tribe or people," were often reminded by their officials that only their support made it possible to carry out the responsibilities of high office. However, one's life was not entirely cast in this mold. A chief 554
or brave might never be considered worthy of the office, or he himself 565
might not feel capable of dedicating himself to its responsibilities, while a commoner could rise high in the social scale and acquire considerable wealth by becoming a successful doctor and earning high fees from his grateful patients. Some people of commoner rank had little use for prestige positions and would say, "I don't care to be a noted person." Another group would prefer a carefree life of adventure. They would go out on long scouting expeditions, roaming about the country and exploring to see what they could find. They were helpful to anyone in the village who needed them, without considering it beneath their dignity to perform any menial task and gave away what they had rather freely. Such men were referred to as "boys" on the grounds that they were like boys, having no care for accumulating anything or for providing for the morrow. They were regarded with affection and sometimes rose to the rank of brave in recognition of their long public service.

3

PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: II

000

Marriage Arrangements—Chart of Kin Genealogical Structure—Personal Relationships among Kin—Individual Aspirations Expressed in Names—Brief Sketches of Eleven Pawnee Lives—the Kin System Not a Constricting Mold but a Fluid System for the Individual Personality

Marriage and Kin

621 [582] ACCORDING TO PAWNEE theory, all marriages should be made within one's own village, for to marry outside would be considered a poor risk, contrary to the cosmic plan. The sacred bundle and its ritual epitomized the special heavenly order under which the villagers lived, and an outsider would have no place within this order. As a result, the village was in fact a large extended family, geographically localized.

582 However, within this general family connection the lines as to whom one could and could not marry were very sharply drawn. The careful identification of the physiological father as well as of the mother was an important aspect of this plan. The kinship system was designed to avoid the marriage or sexual involvement of close blood relatives. Marriages of parents and children, brothers and sisters, both half- and full-sisters and brothers, were definitely excluded. Beyond this rather universal type of incest ruling, there were other principles which governed these relationships among the Pawnees. 611 The family was primarily matrilineal—that is, the mother's family was regarded as one's very own family, while that of the father and his relatives was considered a different order of relationship.

593 604 As I have already pointed out, a man always had a home in his sister's

household, even though his marriage might lead him to take up residence 593
elsewhere. For this reason, according to Pawnee ideas, the brother owed
his sister a special lifelong debt. In recognition of his indebtedness, when 604
the sister had a son, she might send him to live in her brother's married-in
household when he was about ten years old. There his maternal uncle
would teach him whatever he needed to know in life, and as he reached
adolescence he would receive his first sex instruction from one of his
uncle's wives. If his uncle had several wives, the boy might extend his
attentions to the others from time to time. The term for maternal nephew [601]
was *tiwat* and maternal uncle, *tiwatciriks*, super- or real-*tiwat*.

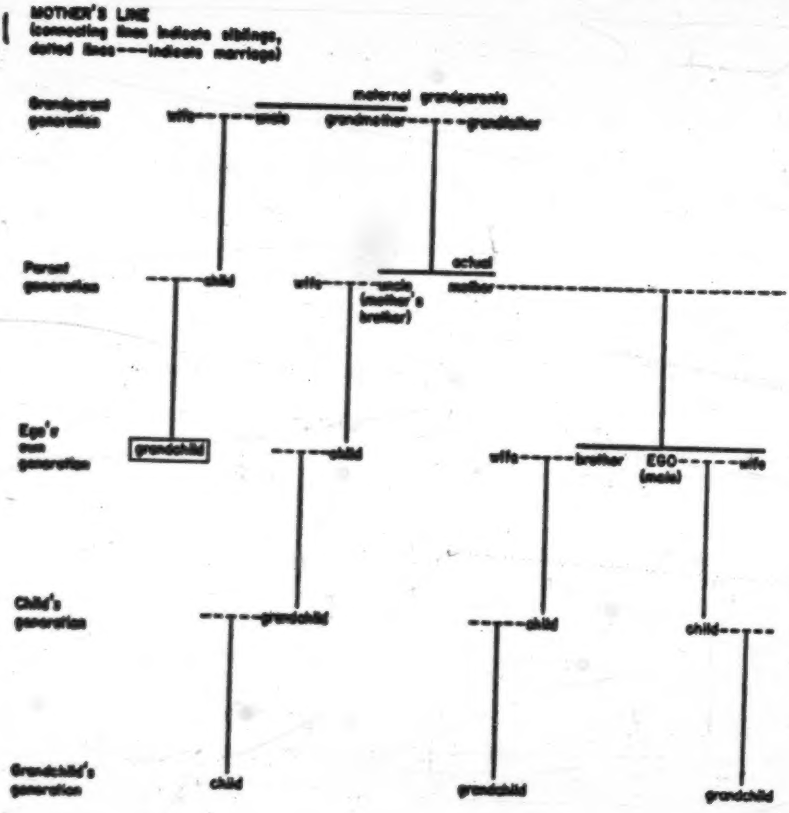
Another basic Pawnee family pattern concerning the man, was the 593
identification of a whole group of brothers. Through the rule of primo-
geniture the oldest brother inherited all the family property and as senior [428]
member of the group was responsible for the well-being of all his
younger brothers. A younger brother who availed himself of the sexual
favors of his older brother's wife upon occasion was not considered out
of order, and theoretically the older brother should act like a gentleman,
paying no attention and making no mention of it. This ideal, however, 596
was not always realized. It was fairly usual form for two or more broth-
ers to set up a joint household, sharing their wives and their property. 601
The children addressed them all as fathers and mothers and they in turn
addressed all the children as their own. A similar but not identical condi-
tion might exist among a group of sisters married to the same man, the
children addressing all the sisters as mother. A group of brothers would
address each other as *irari*, and the same term was used among a group of
sisters. But across the line of sex different terms that were more precise
were used: a man's sister was referred to as *itahi* and a woman's brother,
as *iratsti*. Under the difficult conditions of Pawnee life, a child gained
considerable security from this multiple parenthood. As the Pawnees
phrased it: "We think a child should not be too closely bound to its own
mother, for should she have to be away or should she die, it would
break the child's heart."

As each person was introduced into a child's life, the child was given 867
an idea of how to act toward that person. One of the ways in which this
was conveyed was through the kin term by which the child was in-
structed to address the newcomer. Along with the term of address, a
style of conduct was indicated so that the child received a code of man-
ners as he came in contact with one after another of his normal associates.

As the depth of the relationship merits, the Pawnee child was taught to 593
treat his mother with profound respect. The term *atira*, "my mother," [601]
carried with it a high degree of reverence among the Pawnees. However,
the mode of acting toward a mother was far more formal than it is or-
dinarily in our society. The mother was concerned at all times for her
child. She provided for him and instructed him in how to act in his own

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24]

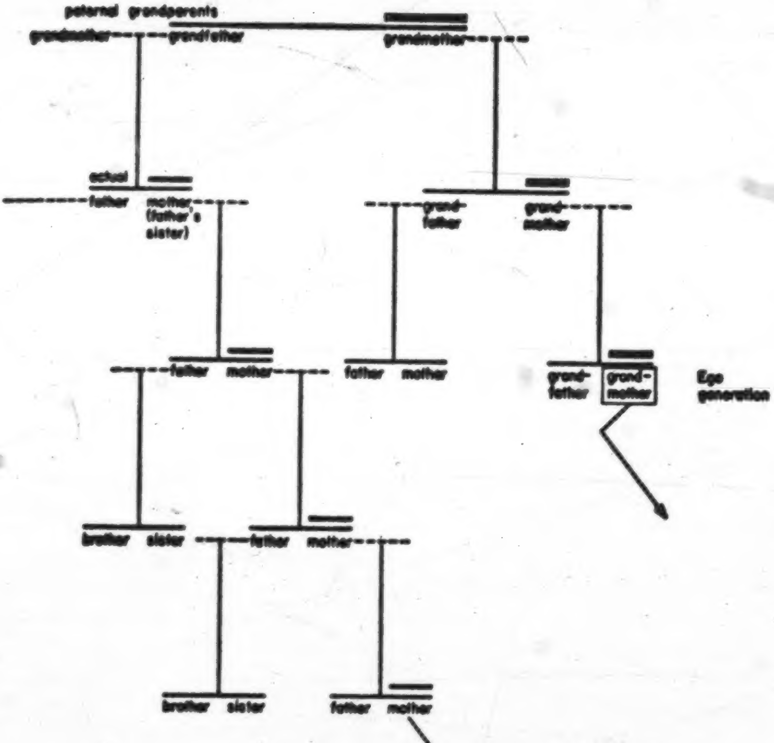
601


MOTHER'S LINE
(connecting lines indicate siblings,
dotted lines---indicate marriage)
Grandparent generation
maternal grandparents
wife
uncle
grandmother
grandfather
Parent generation
child
wife
uncle (mother's brother)
actual mother
Ego's own generation
grandchild
child
wife
brother
EGO (male)
wife
Child's generation
grandchild
child
child
Grandchild's generation
child
grandchild
grandchild

Ego has a grandchild relationship in his own generation through a collateral line of his maternal grandmother, that is, through the descendants of her brother.

Figure 3-1. Genealogical kinship table showing Mother's Brother's and Father's Sister's lines. Ego has grandparent-grandchild categories in his own generation through descent from the brothers and sisters of his grandparents. These could provide him with marriage partners.

FATHER'S LINE


paternal grandparents
grandmother
grandfather
grandmother
actual
father
mother
(father's
sister)
grand-
father
grand-
mother
father
mother
father
mother
grand-
father
grand-
mother
Ego
generation
brother
sister
father
mother
brother
sister
father
mother

Ego has a grandparent relation in his own generation through a collateral line of his paternal grandfather, that is, through the descendants of his grandfather's sister.

593 life and in social situations, but there was no easygoing informality. A mother was a mainstay for life, but one did not bother her with petty problems. When the child was weaned, he was given over to the care of
603 his grandmother where he enjoyed a relationship of intimacy, warmth, and informality that made it easy for him to appeal to her for any want he might have, however petty or apparently foolish.

602 In terms of the conduct associated with them, these two kin relationships, the one to *atira*, "my mother," and the other to *atika*, "my grand-
601 mother," stood at opposite poles. These two kinds of relationship might be called a *respect* relationship and a *joking* relationship respectively. The one type of conduct was designed to preclude any kind of sexual involvement or marriage, while the joking relationship implied the possibility of physical familiarity, including sexual relations. This is not to say that a boy was likely to become sexually involved with his own grandmother, but the term was also applied to other relatives in the kin network, in which case sex relations were permissible and marriage (when the individuals were not otherwise attached) was positively encouraged.

604 A network of kin relationships extended throughout the village for every individual member. The number of actual kin terms employed was
601 very limited, but under each kin term a number of relatives of varying degrees of biological closeness were included. The term, *atira*, "my mother," applied not only to own mother and mother's immediate sisters, but also to the sisters of the father as a mark of special respect. This attitude and the kin term, *atira*, was applied not only to the sisters of the father, but to their daughters, i.e., the daughters of the paternal aunt, and in turn to their daughters as well, going down the generations as long as the relationship could be traced. The object of the extension of the mother term to these women in the father's line was to preclude any possibility of sex relations or marriage with them. At the same time these women reciprocated by answering to this term, *atira*, with the term for child, *piirau*, and treating these individuals as a mother would, but to an exaggerated degree. A person entering the household of a paternal aunt or her female descendants would be welcomed at once with exclamations of concern; he would be spoken of as child, or even as baby, and offered food and care. The person would be given to understand that "they have a home here." One was very careful to limit one's visits to these relatives. You were bound to be quite circumspect, for should you admire something in the house or even show some interest in it, you might well receive it as a gift as a mark of their regard.

593 The relationship with the father was also highly formalized, involv-
ing special concern and instruction in right conduct and maintenance,
[261] particularly providing fresh meat and dried buffalo meat which were
[601] considered necessary for energy and growth. Strictly speaking, the fa-
[604]

ther and his family were not *own* family as that of the mother was. The 593
mother's sisters were completely identified with the mother, and there
was little difference in the attitude toward them. The mother's brother, 604
tiwatciriks, was an even more familiar person, who was theoretically 601
ready to share whatever he had with his nephew, *tiwat*. The boy might enter the household into which his maternal uncle was married from the age of ten and assume the role of apprentice husband and eventually, when he came of age, of junior husband. He called his uncle's wives "wife" and the children of his uncle *piirau*, "my child." After adolescence, he might in fact be the physiological father of one or the other of them. On the other hand, some of his uncle's children might be older than he; he would still call them *piirau*, and they in turn would address him as *atias*, "my father," the same as their own father. Thus it might very well happen that a man in his twenties would call a boy of ten, *atias*, "my father," and the boy would call him *piirau*, "my child." Such an age reversal might also happen in the father's sister's line, where a grown man would address a little girl as *atira*, "my mother," and the little girl would call the man *piirau*, "my child." In the first case, the grown man would be expressing his respect for his father, and even more particularly for his father's sister in his treatment of her son. In this role, the boy was in a superior position and addressed the man as "child." The second case would involve the women and girls in the father's sister's line directly. At bottom, both these situations had their basis in the unequal relationship between a sister and a brother, as the brother was the taker while the sister with whom he always had a home was the provider. He owed her nothing in return, but he accorded her great respect, and his children followed suit. They demonstrated their respect by applying to their paternal aunt the most revered term they knew, *atira*, "my mother," and carried it to all her female descendants. The boys in this line they called *atias*, "my father." In this case these terms were used to express not age or parenthood, but respect. The factor of age did not enter the relationship; a small boy might call a grown man, *piirau*, "my child," the man addressing the boy as *atias*, "my father."

Wherever the grandfather term *atipat* was applied or extended, it was 601
a relaxed relationship. Familiar joshing, poking fun, and manhandling
were in order. When a girl addressed a man by this term, sex relations 602
were a possibility, and, if the circumstances were right, marriage was fa- 603
vored. In this mode, during the intermissions in the *Awari* or Groundbreaking Ceremony in the spring just before planting, virgins received advice on their prospective sex life from warriors whom they addressed as *atipat*, "grandfather," the girls in turn being addressed as *raktiki*, "grandchild." Under any circumstances other than the joking kin cate- 576
gory, the Pawnees scrupulously avoided any reference to the physical person or to intimate relations. To transgress this prohibition would be regarded as a personal insult that could be classed as almost criminal.

000 regarded as a personal insult that could be classed as almost criminal.
602 Even within the joking category, they were very careful not to go too
far. Account was taken of the respective personalities involved—some
people being considered too sensitive to take "strong" joking while oth-
603 ers with more hardy spirits being treated somewhat more roughly. A not
uncommon tactic of an actual grandfather was to take his grandson out
of bed of a cold morning and dump him into the water or into the snow.
This was intended to harden him, and no one else would be in a position
to do such a thing. The boy on his part could be somewhat rough with
grandpa as well, though an actual grandparent was unlikely to receive
such physical manhandling, since regard for age was never wholly out of
the picture. At formal meals and official feasts, during the actual eating
of the meal, relaxed conversation was in order, and this usually took the
form of one of the prominent men's teasing the other, whom he ad-
dressed through a kinship classification as "grandpa." The humor was
partly in the fact that they were of similar age and status. In this climate
of feeling toward the grandparents, the marriage of a young man or
woman to an older person was more congenial emotionally than it would
be to us. Among the Pawnees, intimacy and grandparent were constantly
associated, while the attitudes toward the parents were diametrically op-
593 posed. There was a similar prohibition among brothers and sisters, and
since there were no strangers as possible marriage partners, the direction
602 of marriage and sex interests was only too clearly pointed toward the
classificatory grandparent group. The mastery of kin behavior was in-
dispensable to the Pawnee, and he kept refining its nuances for his inter-
personal relationships throughout his life.

601 The actual number of kin terms involved, except for the relationships
by marriage, were limited to thirteen essential ones (see tables 3-1 and
3-2). Their application to other categories appears in the genealogical chart of standard kinship relations of a male (see Figure 3-1). This covers own generation and two generations above (parent and grandparent) and two below (child and grandchild)—five generations in all that the Pawnees regarded as the essential ones to consider. Beyond these generations, parents and child terms were again used, i.e., in the great-grandparent and great-grandchild categories. There is a clear logic of reciprocity in the kin terms—that is, anybody who calls someone father is called child by that person and vice versa, anyone who calls a person sister is called in return sister or brother as the case may be, grandparent answers with the term grandchild, and so on.

The form of the Pawnee kinship structure has a direct relevance to our theory of how society evolved. In its crudest form and as rather popularly held, the theory is that man began as a food-gathering group with more or less promiscuous interrelationships of the people and no real social form. According to this construct, when garden culture later

TABLE 3-1. *The Essential Pawnee Kin Terms Except for the Relationships by Marriage* 601

1.	*atira*	my mother
2.	*atias*	my father
3.	*irari*	sibling of the same sex, viz., brother to brother, or sister to sister
4.	*iratsti*	brother, woman speaking
5.	*itaxri*	sister, man speaking (Skidi dialect, *itabi*)
6.	*piira'u*	child
7.	*tiki*	son
8.	*tsuat*	daughter
9.	*tiwat*	nephew or niece, viz., child of a man's sister
10.	*tiwat-ciriks*	uncle, mother's brother, meaning the super-*tiwat*
11.	*atika*	my grandmother
12.	*atipat*	my grandfather
13.	*rak-tiki*	grandchild, viz., son's child.

The parent and grandparent terms are different from the others in that each has three variants. They contain a ROOT and also a possessive pronoun. Thus:

ati-AS	my father	*ati*-RA	my mother
as-AS	your father	A'*as*	your mother
is-AS-*ti*	his father	*i*'A-*sti*	his mother
ati-PAT	my grandfather	*ati*-KA	my grandmother
a-PAT	your grandfather	*a*-KA	your grandmother
i-PAK-*ti*	his grandfather	*i*-KA-*ri*	his grandmother

Normally people did not indicate that a woman was their biological mother as distinct from her sisters, nor the woman that the child was biologically hers within this grouping, but under exceptional circumstances it could be said that a mother was *irata'u*, "my very own," and that a child was *kutatixra'a*, "my very own child."

---

became man's way of life, the woman, being the gardener, acquired considerable social power. As an economy depending on herds of domestic animals came into being, the men took power and held the women in check, insisting on a recognition of their individual paternity of their children and therefore on monogamy on the part of the woman. The Pawnee situation casts some doubt on a literal interpretation of this theory. The Pawnee women do cultivate the gardens, run and maintain the house. They can hardly be said to be politically dominant. Kin closeness is considered greater in the mother's line than in the father's, but the incest taboo covers both. One cannot maintain that the political position of the men can be equated with that of the Roman patriarch who had power of life and death over the permanent members of his household, which included captive slaves and the immediate members of his family. Nei-

592
611

TABLE 3-2. *Pawnee Kin Terms for Relationships through Marriage*

601 The kin terms by marriage involved verbal roots and were specifically descriptive of certain functions. They had pronominal elements attached and often varied with the specific meaning of the phrase:

kus-tawex-tsu	sitting-among-the one who	said of a *son-in-law*
tat-ut-ka-ku	I-for you-inside-sit	said by a son-in-law about *the men of his wife's family*, signifying that the son-in-law is at the service of his wife's family
tatira-ktaku	I her-own	*my wife*, husband speaking
ti-ku-ktaku	He me-owns	*my husband*, wife speaking
raku	A term used reciprocally between husband and wife in direct address—*spouse*	

If husband and wife are on good terms, they call each other:

tsustit	old lady	*wife*
kurahus	old man	*husband*
tskurus	is for all female in-laws, used by both men and women in speaking of them. It is unlikely to be used alone outside a verbal context. For example, *ti-kut-tskurus, she-to me-is female in law*, etc.	

562 ther can one reverse this idea and say the women are the real power, and
therefore we have a matriarchate. In point of fact, neither one is domi-
611 nant, but rather the position of men and women among the Pawnees is decidedly more balanced than in our society. Physiological paternity is known, but this does not lead to a double standard with monogamy enforced for the women. The household is not a power structure of women but a plan for the organization of work, with the personnel being very fluid. One could argue that this was a society in an intermediate stage between matriarchy and patriarchy. No one can deny that change must necessarily occur, even in Pawnee society—or in any other for that matter. But the direction this change will take is less likely to depend on the internal conditions than on the larger forces that impinge on it from outside. One can make a broad leap into the realm of speculation and think of the possibility that had the European not arrived on the scene, the

Pawnees might have improved their horticulture to such a degree that 562 they would have made important advances in industry and thus developed a much more widespread pattern of trade. What the division of la- 611 bor would have been and the status of different occupational groups in the light of their implicit attitudes can only be conjectured. There is no assurance at all that they would have developed one group as dominant over the others or a permanent power structure of the Old World type. As much as 20,000 years may separate the bulk of New World population from the Old, and the Old World social formulas need not have appeared among them at all. Athough the buffalo have been domesticated in individual instances, suggesting that they may be domesticable, there is no certainty that the North American Indians would have domesticated them. And even had that been the case, it does not mean that the men would have developed the kind of dominant position over women that characterizes most of Old World culture, nor even that empires of the Ghengis Khan type would have appeared. In the light of the development of urban concentrations in Peru, Mexico, and Central America, as the economy became more complex and as a consequence the population more concentrated, urbanlike centers were very likely to occur. Both Mexican and Peruvian native political administrations as we know them from the period of contact were conquest organizations. Conquest need not have been the path of the Pawnee. In fact, intergroup alliance that has gained fame in connection with the League of the Iroquois was characteristic not only of the Pawnee but of the other Caddoan peoples extending all the way south to Texas and the Gulf and north to Dakota.

In the major division of labor between men and women, a man did not 562 feel threatened because he acquired skills possessed by women. On the contrary, it was considered incumbent on the Pawnee man to be a "good Pawnee cook," and men were perfectly adept at slicing and drying meat, shelling corn, and other skills. In the 1930's during the period of my fieldwork in Oklahoma, the men offered to demonstrate for me and, when I looked dubious, they reassured me saying that, after all, they often had to do these things when they were far away on the warpath or on exploring expeditions. While I was in Oklahoma I observed that the men often lent a hand to the women, without the slightest self-consciousness, and if the woman didn't happen to be home when they came in they tended to get right on with the necessary mealtime preparations and attention to the children. Neither the man nor the woman felt threatened or in a position of blurring the sex lines by this procedure. From their point of view it was a matter of acquired skills, not sex. Al- 838 though homosexuals or lesbians were rare, these relationships were not regarded as a serious social anomaly but as a personal inclination which the Pawnees thought people had a right to have. With their reaction to their primary division of labor, there is no certainty that as greater

562 specialization of labor developed, the Pawnees would have developed a
social hierarchy of occupations of which India is a supreme example.

It is all too easy, having analyzed a social structure, to give it a certain
602 rigidity and permanence that it does not have among the people them-
selves. Definite as the Pawnee kinship system may seem, in operation it
permitted a wide area of alternative behavior for the individual.

The question of kin lines came up in a substantive way whenever a
582 marriage was being arranged. As this involved the acquisition of property
602 by some of the relatives and the establishment of social contacts for
others, there was always a certain variation in the individual interests. The
first question asked in relation to the proposed marriage was whether
the partners were so closely related that there was too great biological
closeness. If it was decided by the assembled father's brothers that they
were definitely outside the incest group, then the degree of distance
would be discussed. One man who favored the marriage for his own per-
sonal reasons would say, "As I see it, they can be reckoned child and
grandchild, and, although the relationship is a close one through the
mother's line, it is a good thing for marriages to be kept within the
family, as they will share each other's interests." Another, not in favor of
the match for his own reasons would state, "True, they are child and
grandchild through the mother's line, but it's a disadvantage for mar-
riages to be made too closely within the kin grouping, as any quarrel
between the couple will quickly spread to the whole kindred. I think so
and so who is more distantly related would be more desirable on this
account." Then someone else might counter with, "Well, while one
might say the couple are related through the mother's line in such and
such a manner, from another point of view, looking further back, there is
still another kin category that should take precedence, and I think they
are not so closely related that this latter argument should be involved."
And so it continued until they came to terms. But these terms were by
no means fixed by what the outsider might consider *the* rules.

602 Another common occasion where the kinship factor came up was at
the time of the tribal hunts. While they were on the march, there was an
592 attempt to improve one's connection in a better household or in a more
advantageous position, and a request to join such a household when they
got home was backed up with a genealogical discussion as to how close
the kinship was to an important member of the desired household through
various alternative kin lines.

602 And finally it was also possible to disown one's relatives, no matter
how close they might be. Long-standing hostilities might grow up over
time and finally give rise to coldness between even the closest kin. A kin
tie, in order to be effective, had to be validated in a number of ways or it
602 might in fact lapse. The most elementary condition was the use of the kin
601 term as a greeting. This could be done with more or less enthusiasm or

affection, denoting how far one could count on the tie. The use of the 602
kin word on meeting might simply be withheld altogether—an absolute 601
disclaimer of the relationship.

A second cue as to how valuable a person considered a given kin tie 604
could be taken from the manner in which the typical kin behavior was carried out. In the joking grandfather–grandchild type of behavior, the jokes might be mean, sarcastic, or mildly jocular, but if the person showed no reaction at all it was most damaging to the relationship. Careless behavior within the "respect" categories would simply be taken as a personal insult, but no response whatever to the other person that should have a kin status, canceled the relationship entirely as a personal bond.

There were no normal interpersonal relations among the Pawnees that 602
did not carry with them a kin designation. People with whom one 608
dealt as equals had to be placed in some kin category; lack of such a relation could only imply slave or enemy status. In the various trade or gift exchange ceremonials that were conducted between tribes or bands, a whole kin structure was built up so that they could communicate on a peaceful level. The most notable example was the Calumet or Peace Pipe Ceremony, in which the visiting trade party represented Fathers, while the ones they visited were designated their Children. Many of the ceremonial acts were designed to carry out this idea. There was no way of communicating with peaceful strangers unless they were fitted into the kin structure, and it is for this reason that the President of the United States is referred to as the Great White Father and that white friends are adopted into the tribe.

A third aspect of kin reactivity was the exchange of gifts and this 159
too was an index of cordiality or lack of it between two kinsmen. It 593
sometimes happened that a distant relative was so warmly cultivated 602
that the relationship took on a degree of intimacy that was considerably [431]
greater than would ordinarily be implied in the genetic tie. Such a case happened with the mother of the boy Otter, White Woman. As was customary, Otter's maternal uncles—his mother's brothers—were frequent visitors to the household. Uncle War Cry and his younger brothers High Noon and Noted Fox would come in often to meals. Uncle War Cry was head brave of the Skidi, and he would often linger to smoke and talk with Victory Call. Uncle War Cry was solicitous for Otter's welfare at all times, and the boy was welcome to his uncle's home at any time. Whenever they passed each other in the village, Uncle War Cry would call out to him, "*Nawa tiwat,*" and Otter would reply with "*Nawa tiwat-ciriks.*" The same was true of the other two uncles.

From time to time something would happen that puzzled the boy very much. Two men in particular would insist on greeting him in the same terms as his own uncles, saying, "*Nawa tiwat,*" and they came up to him and stated that they were his *real* uncles and that his mother was mean

159 as she was not willing to have them to the house as she should. However,
the boy kept his counsel until one day when it came to the attention of
593 his mother. Then she said in a strongly hostile voice, "They're mean.
602 They're no brothers of mine!"

A considerable time passed before the boy found out what had actually occurred. He found out that the men who had approached him were actually his mother's brothers, while his supposedly close uncles, whom he thought were the closest of kin, were in fact relatives classified from a more distant genetic line. The story went back to White Woman's childhood and this is what had happened:

White Woman's father was old Chief Butcher Knife, a prominent Skidi chief. The term Butcher Knife was a contemporary euphemism for American and his real name was Chief Bald Head—in Pawnee, *risaxpaks-katsis*. The old chief had two wives of similar age who were not related to each other. White Woman's mother had two girls and a boy, while the other woman had three boys. Once the Poncas came on a raid and White Woman's younger brother was killed. The sons of the other wife remained alive. (These were the men that had accosted Otter and who should have counted as brothers to White Woman.) There must have been bitter rivalry between these two wives of old Chief Butcher Knife, for White Woman carried her anger toward her half-brothers all her life, refusing to acknowledge the relationship, and sought among her more distant kindred for men she wanted to recognize as her brothers in their stead. Mark Evarts summarized her feelings on this as follows:

> The old chief thought more of the boys than of the girls. My mother couldn't get anything. The old man would give it all to the boys even though he was a chief (implying that a chief should be above such favoritism). The girls were hurried off to school in Iowa while the boys were allowed to remain at home. Perhaps the old man had in mind that the boys would go on the warpath when they grew up and bring him horses, while the girls would stay close to their mother and do as she wished. My mother must have felt hurt by the way her father, old Chief Butcher Knife, acted.

But, time passed and things went better with White Woman. Victory Call, a man with considerable resources and ability, after the death of his first wife, had married White Woman's older sister. When she died, Victory Call married White Woman, and they established a new household on the reservation near Genoa and their fortunes prospered. She had a young son who was growing up and a prominent place in the community. Now she felt it was her turn to get retribution for the special privileges that her half-brothers had enjoyed in their father's household. She would deny the relationship, shut them out of her house, and wel-

come as brothers a group of men that were so classified in a more 159
distant kin line. 593

> These were kin on the mother's side—perhaps further back through 602 the old ladies—but *not on the father's side*. The three that were adopted as uncles were of our own village of Pumpkin-Vine. White Woman called them *iratsti*, "brother," and they called her *itahi*, "sister." They acted like real brothers to her.

There was still another "uncle" who was welcome to their household. 159
His name was Buffalo-Leader, *taraha-kitawiu*. He had been adopted into 597
the family as a surrogate for the brother that was killed by the Poncas. After the raid, White Woman and her sister mourned deeply for the death of their brother. Once White Woman took particular notice of a young man in the village, remarking to her mother that he looked like their own brother that was killed. Then the two mothers (i.e., co-wives of the old chief) invited the young man to the house for a special dinner, giving him a gift and caressing him in blessing. He was given to understand that they wanted him to come to the house at any time and be a brother to White Woman. If he didn't come for a while, the mothers would give him a gentle reminder saying, "You can come over any time." Now that White Woman had a substantial position and a household of her own, he came often and enjoyed her hospitality.

Kin categories, therefore, did not guarantee a fixed relationship. They 602
could only be valid if they were recognized by both parties. This recog- 571
nition could be of a more or less enthusiastic kind. As with us, poor relations might be treated with a shade less enthusiasm than those of greater wealth or status. Then there were other factors such as degree of common interest or personal liking. One could follow a minimal interpretation of the pattern in order to preserve "the decencies" without actually disowning the people concerned.

Added to the factors of wealth and personal congeniality was the mat- 602
ter of hereditary status and family honor which was at times a very 593
important element in the behavior of relatives toward one another. Broth- 554
ers in particular were called on to preserve the reputation of the family. Since the Pawnees were especially sensitive on this point, brothers avoided going about together as much as possible, for should one be personally challenged or humiliated, the other would be bound to fight, and the conflict might spread to the several families concerned. On the other hand, if the other brother were not around, the two parties might be able to work out some way so that the incident could be passed over. Even after they had established themselves in different households, brothers were very careful to preserve appearances on behalf of the family. A man noticing that his brother's family did not have enough horses to go

602 on the tribal buffalo hunt in the style to which they were accustomed would tactfully indicate that he had an extra horse that he could make 593 available for the forthcoming hunting expedition.

554 If a man's supply of tobacco got too low for the necessary social entertaining that he felt he should carry on, he would ask his brother rather than an outsider in order to keep the matter within the family. A man who noticed his brother appearing in a worn-out buffalo robe or blanket would immediately send him a good one, for it would not do for anyone [578] to get the idea that the family was not prosperous. A term of great contempt among the Pawnee was poor, *kapakis*. The worst insult one could hurl at a man was to call him *ruti-kapakis-kawitat*, "the one who is-poor-ragged." As the final insult one might say *kapakis-kuut*, "poor-dead," or in our way of saying it, "dead-poor." Respect for seniority among a 593 group of brothers was preserved throughout life. The oldest brother 561 continued to be the surrogate for the entire family, and the cadet members would make particularly sure that their senior brother made a good appearance. Their personal conduct toward him always continued to be respectful. Even after Victory Call had achieved an important status apart from his older brother Sitting Hawk, he still respected his brother's seniority rights. As senior brother, Sitting Hawk would sometimes come to Victory Call's house and say, "Tomorrow at dawn we'll go hunting. We'll go in this and this direction." Or Sitting Hawk would feel free to ask Victory Call to go far out and find him some medicinal plants for his doctoring practice. He would say to Victory Call, "Before the birds eat it up, I want you to go way over there and get me so and so weed so that I'll have enough for this winter." As a man of prominence in the community, he had plenty of people who would willingly do this for him, but in this case he wanted to keep his medical secrets in the family, and he knew he could trust his brother not to reveal them or use them without his sanction. It was the part of a good father to instill these attitudes in his sons while they were young. For example, if the younger of two brothers had six horses and the elder only one, it would be proper for the younger man to put all seven horses together and say to his older brother, "Brother, take your choice." Original disagreements between parents might lead brothers to quarrel all their lives. It was generally felt that parents should be watchful of growing hostilities among their children and try to 595 remedy the situation before it was too late. In the plural marriage situation there was special danger of this as a co-wife who felt her husband preferred the other woman and her children would set the children against each other as had happened in the case of White Woman and her half-brothers. About their sister, a father would say to his sons, "You boys must take care of your sister. She's a girl and when she grows up she's going to take care of you." And this was indeed the case, for sister's house was a permanent home.

The boy was also taught that his paternal aunt whom he called *atira*, "my mother," would also give him a home. If the relationship were good he would come to her house and say, "*Tatiriraka*, I have a home here," and he could request a permanent or a temporary home with these relatives. He might remark, "*Atira*, I'm hungry," or "mother, I'm tired. I want a place to sleep here." The brothers of these women were called *atias*, "my father," but no fatherly conduct was expected of them as they were married into different households. Formal behavior such as characterized the relation between father and son was the only thing expected of them. The husbands of these kindly paternal aunts were called *atipat*, "grandpa," possibly to denote their unfailing benevolence toward the "child" to match that of their wives. Periodically, while the individuals in this relationship were still children, they would be invited to the house and "grandpa" would feast them on some delicacies that he had bought at the trade store, joking with them all the while. 604 [574]

The boy Otter enjoyed such a place in the home of Eagle Chief. The three wives of Eagle Chief were sisters to Victory Call, who often went there to relax and to enjoy their hospitality. Otter called these women, *atira* and he called Eagle Chief *atipat*. Eagle Chief would decide upon occasion to entertain four or five children who were in this relation to him as a courtesy to his wives and incidentally as a good public relations gesture for himself, for a chief had to maintain the good will of his constituency. He would go to the trade store and get some favorite foods such as dried prunes, flour, sugar, and coffee and then would send his wives to invite the children. The children sat lined up in a row and Eagle Chief began to tease them. He said, "Look at that fellow. He has two heads. See how he's looking all around the room to see what he can find." Then he would speak to the girls, "Look at that girl painting her face. Is that my paint?" Or he would say to his wives, "Don't give this fellow too many prunes. I think I'll eat them myself this evening." The women would answer with mock hostility, "Well, it's *theirs*. You bought it for *them* to eat." "Say," Eagle Chief would continue, "this fellow eats too fast." "Let them eat!" said the women. "The way you go on, the children might choke. Say, let them eat. Now children don't listen to him!" If they had a piece of fried bread left from the feast the children would try to carry it home to their mothers, but most of the time the older children would grab it as they went through the village. 602 574 [439] [857]

The joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild was an important social resource. At a family meal where they should have light and cheerful conversation, they would prod a small boy into teasing his "grandpa." If no grandfather were available, they would indicate to the boy that he ought to pay more attention to his brother's wife—the "brother" usually being a quite distant blood relative and an older man. Otter was in such a relationship with Old Bull and they called 603 602

603 each other *irari*, "brother." Old Bull teased Otter referring to his younger
602 wife, Clear Day, and she would always play along. The relation between
nephews and maternal uncles was also considered analogous to that of
604 brothers. As the Pawnees stated it, "They would love each other like own
brothers and give things to each other." Gift giving was a special factor
431 in this relationship, and many kinds of mutual help, especially the teaching
of skills. After they had moved to Oklahoma and Otter was a young
man, he was favored with a nice gift by two boys who called him uncle.
One of the boys had cut wheat for Eagle Chief and received $3.00 for his
work. He said to Otter, "Uncle, I was working for Eagle Chief binding
wheat and he gave me this three dollars. I want to give it to you." The
relationship went back to the old earth lodge in Nebraska when the boys
were very small. They were the sons of Queen Woman, the older wife of
Old Bull, and Otter used to call her *itabi*, "sister," through a distant kin tie.
The boys, accordingly, were his nephews or *tiwat*, and Otter had taught
them how to make arrows when they were out on the hunt and other
skills. Now, long after in Oklahoma, they were expressing their gratitude.
This happened in the presence of the actual mother's brother of the
boys, the agency interpreter, Deteyr, but there was no resentment at all
on his part, for he had been less able to function as uncle to the boys than
Otter. It was considered normal that this should be recognized.

574 In close relationships, failure to visit once in a while was considered
a personal slight. White Woman would complain to Victory Call that
while he often went to visit his older brother, Sitting Hawk, his brother
did not return the courtesy. She would say, "He never comes here.
Why go over there so much?" And so the casual visiting between the two
brothers stopped. On one of the rare occasions when Sitting Hawk did
come to visit, White Woman would caustically remark after he had gone,
"What happened that he came to visit us today. I guess we can expect
some cosmic event like rain or snow to mark the occasion. A man should
come in once in a while just to say, 'brother.'" White Woman on her
607 part avoided visiting Sitting Hawk's wives. Ordinarily the wives of
574 brothers should be close companions. But when Victory Call was invited
431 over there and the usual invitation was extended to include his wife,
White Woman would refuse to go on the grounds that Sitting Hawk's
wives were given to gossip, something she didn't care to engage in. As a
result these women did not visit her either. Nevertheless, they would
regularly send each other gifts. They would send and receive from each
other moccasins, a blanket, or some dried buffalo meat. This showed that
there was good will between them but simply a personal disinclination
to go visiting.

574 An invitation to visit a household was always given through a relative.
The person issuing the invitation would come to the house and seek
out his relative there and suggest that he bring along his wife, his son,

his nephew, etc., as the case might be. A man would feel free to issue the 574
invitation if he had gotten some meat by hunting or bought some supplies
at the trade store. Otherwise the invitation would come from the
woman, since she would be providing the food. However, when guests 574
came in at the husband's invitation in order to transact some business
or political affairs, the husband had the right to ask the wife to cook 431
something for his guests. If one were simply to "drop in" on a relative without a business reason or an invitation, it would appear as a hint that you wanted a gift or some other service. In order to forestall this impression, one came bringing a gift, opening the visit with the presentation and thus making it appear as the ostensible reason for the visit. The nature and value of the gift was to some extent an index of the regard the donor felt for the recipient.

On the whole, kin ties called forth strong emotions, especially in the 602
presence of a stranger. Where strangers and kin were involved, kin
loyalty aroused immediate reactions and was very strong. Outside the kin 609
group it was assumed that people must be mean, unreliable, and treacherous.
The household and immediate kin was the closest unit and the village
pretty much the outer limit. Intervillage ties did exist, however, and 628
occasionally intervillage marriages. As the population began to dwindle 582
in the last years in Nebraska, such intermarriages became more frequent
than heretofore.

Personal Names and Aspirations

A person was never addressed by his personal name; a kin term was 551
always used. This served to indicate the expected behavior and, through [601]
the mode of its use, the nuances that could be expected within the category. A personal name among the Pawnees was of an entirely different character from our own. It was an honorary title of an extremely personal nature. The significance of the personal name was stated by a priest (see Fletcher, 1904, p. 365) as follows:

> A man's life is an onward movement. . . . If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the help of the powers, his life will "climb up." . . . Some men can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level. Men having power to advance, climb step by step. . . . the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life, an upper level—such a one as reached by the ancient men who are spoken of in the (name-changing) ritual, who threw away the names by which they had been known before (because of new and higher achievements). *Ru-tur-a-witz-pari*, "in a direction-he is actively-moving-to a point or goal-traveling"; this is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by doing like deeds.

551 The personal name was an act of self-recognition for a goal one had set oneself and achieved. One sponsored a special ceremony by making a donation of food to the priests, and in the course of the ceremony one's new name was publicly announced. But the substance of the name was strictly private and reserved to oneself. The name was cited only on the most formal occasions and from the name itself it was not possible to deduce its private significance. A person who had achieved such a name could lovingly bestow it on a son or a daughter in a ritual, or a son might give his name to his mother and then set out to earn a new and still more important one. Each of the people in the household of Old Bull and Victory Call had such a name, and while we cannot reconstruct the esoteric circumstances, a few facts about their lives gives a sense of their significance.

551 Victory Call was known for short as *Riwahut*, but his full name was *Siti-riwahut*, meaning "they are making the high trilling sound for vic-
622 tory." This sound was made by the women as the victorious warrior re-
159 turned to the village. Publicly and socially Victory Call had made an important place for himself in the tribe. He was a younger son of a prominent Skidi chief of Old Village, Chief Big Eagle. His older brother Sitting Hawk (*Pia-tiwitit*, "hawk-he-sits-down") held the senior position in the family and occupied the family seat in the chiefs' council. As a cadet member of the family, Victory Call had to earn his social position in the community, and he had succeeded very well. People in the community said of him that he had almost surpassed his older brother by his achievements. Through his prowess in war and hunting, he had been able to entertain the chiefs and influential men at a number of formal banquets, and he had given them gifts of horses. In recognition of his deeds he was accorded one of the vacant seats in the chiefs' council, where he now sat regularly and had a voice in all administrative decisions for the band and tribe. He played the role of chief very well. He was considerate of people and concerned for their welfare. He was known to have entertained old people from time to time and to treat them with consideration and generosity. At one time when he had had a successful deer hunt, he sent Horse Rider to invite a number of old people, and when they were seated around the lodge he personally served them the deer meat and made sure that each had a generous portion. After the meal, as was customary, the guests began to talk and one old man expressed the sentiments of all when he said, "We thank you for having us here for dinner today. It is my wish to you that you will live to see your grandchildren grow up and do you honor, and that your great grandchildren will play about your feet." This was not to be, but perhaps he has gained a different kind of immortality through his son Otter
159 and through the stories he told of their life.

575 794 The most creative and socially significant achievement of Victory Call

was in the field of religion. It was he who built up the cult of the Deer 159
Dance (*Raris-ta*, "dance-deer"). Taking it over from his predecessor who
had obtained it by studying among the Wichita to the south, Victory 575
Call was largely responsible for its reorganization into the Pawnee reli- 794
gious style and for the wide popularity it enjoyed at that time. He had built it up to such a degree that it posed a serious challenge to the monopoly of the long-established Doctor Association, where heretofore all the medicine cults had been organized. The association was under the leadership of Big Doctor and Sitting Hawk; Victory Call's older brother had a prominent place in it as leader of the Bear Cult. The rivalry between Big Doctor and Victory Call was bitter as some young men began to move over from the association to join the Deer Dance. In his dying moments in the 1860's, Victory Call saw a vision of Big Doctor upon whose sorcery he blamed his sickness and his death. The cult lasted under new leadership for a while, but after the tribe got to Oklahoma in 1876, its popularity continued to decline, while the Doctor Association maintained its vigor some time longer. Victory Call was also a skilled rattle- [424]
snake doctor and he was able to make a trade with his brother Sitting Hawk for knowledge of the Bear Cult in return for Rattlesnake knowledge. Victory Call's retainer, Horse Rider, had come to serve him in his household in the hope that Victory Call might give him a place in the Deer Dance and perhaps share other cult knowledge with him.

Victory Call had a friend, Chief's Road (*raru-hatur-risaru*, "the one that 159
is-road-chief"), whose name implied that he was going on the road
which he hoped would lead to chieftainship. Chief's Road had no heredi- 557
tary social status, but he was ambitious for administrative advancement. 572
He hoped that if Victory Call gained first place in the chiefs' council, he would appoint him his official brave. This was possible as when a chief retired or died, the new chief did not carry over the former incumbent, but appointed his own brave to assist him. Chief's Road was an excellent arrowshaft maker and supplied Victory Call with all his needs. On the other hand, he was not too good at acquiring horses, and Victory Call often helped him out by giving him some of their wood and other household needs that were more easily acquired when one had horses for transportation. He had built his house immediately adjoining Victory Call's lodge, and there were generally friendly relations between the two households; their children played together.

As a provider for his family, Victory Call was an accomplished hunter, 159
both of individual big game and as a leading member of the tribal buffalo
hunt. He also managed to make some extra cash by trapping beaver. He 622
had some income from gifts he received for his religious activities and he maintained a modest herd of four or five horses. He was a good and able husband and father, inclined at times to be somewhat solemn and a little pompous, though not overbearing. He was about sixty years old at the

159 622 time of our narrative in 1867. White Woman was his third wife and considerably younger than he. He had a grown son, Fox Chief (*kiwakurisa'a*), by his first wife. Fox Chief was a young man in his twenties and lived most of the time in the home of Eagle Chief, where he was a close companion of Eagle Chief's son, Man Chief. After the death of his first wife, Victory Call had married the older sister of White Woman and then at her death he married White Woman. Besides his boy Otter, he and White Woman were raising an infant they had adopted—the daughter of one of the wives of Leading Chief, head chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. The chief believed that the baby was not his own but that of his younger brother, and when it was born he took the infant by the legs and was about to dash its head against a tree, when Victory Call rescued the baby and brought it home. When she was very small, White Woman kept her in her bed, but after she could walk she displaced Otter in grandma's bed. A small bed was built underneath grandma's bed for Otter so that she could watch them both. Sometimes they would put the baby on his back, and he was told to go off and play and to take good care of his sister. Otter addressed his father at all times as *atias*, "my father," and his father called him, *piirau*, "child."

159 593 White Woman, *Ts-taka*, "woman-white," was apparently so called because of the lightness of her complexion and the suspicion that she had some European ancestry. Being considerably younger than her husband, she was very conscious of her responsibilities and of the importance of their social position. Victory Call was always pointing out to her what her duties were. He would say, "I have to go off. If the Poncas come here with a gift of tobacco, take it and try to feed them." Or, "You have brothers and they might come to the house and perhaps they will be hungry. So don't go off anywhere because you ought to take care of them. If outsiders from other tribes come visiting bringing horses and tobacco, take it!" White Woman was so diligent in her duties that when her brother Uncle War Cry came to visit he would ask her why she didn't go out once in a while and get some air instead of sitting around the house all the time. Then she would retort, "I'd like to go, but who would be here to meet you fellows when you came? If I went out, they would just have to call me back when you arrived. That's the reason for my staying home all the time!" White Woman tended to be conservative in her social relations, and she was mindful of the common Pawnee observation that "A woman who stays at home never gossips, but just goes about her own business." She sent gifts to the appropriate relatives but made a habit of keeping her distance personally.

Her little boy Otter had a high regard for his mother, but their relations were quite formal. She would caution him, "Before you go out to play, go get something to eat and don't ask anyone for the food they have. Don't call anyone bad names like 'you hungry thing' or say 'you're

poor.' That isn't nice. Anyone you play with you can bring in here to eat with you, and then you can go out and play again." At other times she would say, "You ought to be good like your father and take care of old people that are helpless." As he was leaving the house in the morning she would say to him, "Live well (*tsikstit, rakuwari*), well, go about!" When he returned she would say, "You look tired. You must have played hard. Look at your face." The boy would answer, "*Atira* (my mother) I am tired."

Horse Rider, retainer or *tarutsuhus* to Victory Call, was a young man in his late twenties. His name, *T-ur-akikita*, "he-his-riding," means "riding someone else's horse," signifying that it was a horse he had captured from the enemy. Victory Call was glad to have Horse Rider serving him since his own son Fox Chief, who would normally help him with the horses and other strenuous tasks, was away serving as a U.S. Scout with Major North. He was imaginative as well as socially ambitious in wanting to enter the new and growing Deer Dance Cult. One gathers that he was a good-natured, active young man. He had not yet made his mark in life, and he had married a woman considerably older than himself, whose grown daughter by a former marriage was married to a man employed at the agency. His wife, No Corn, had two other adolescent daughters who were away at school. No Corn was badly crippled with arthritis, but they had been married for some time and there was a close personal attachment between them. Horse Rider went to considerable lengths to compensate in extra services for No Corn's inability to contribute substantially to the work of the house.

> He was willing to do anything. His wife was crippled and helpless. He would do the things she ought to do. She had to stay home all the time and when the other women of the household came in from the fields and stretched out tired on their beds they would remark, "Soon we're going to cook, but we have no water!" Horse Rider immediately picked up two buckets and got some, and sometimes he had to go two or three times before they had enough. When he got back he set the buckets down, saying "hi'ya," because his arms were tired but then he would give water to everyone that was sitting on the beds and even to the little boys. At night he carried me through the village to wherever I wanted to go.

Horse Rider was warmly fond of the boy. Otter called him grandfather, and Horse Rider would tease him about his attachment to his grandmother. Horse Rider was related to White Woman who called him *atias*, through her father's sister's line, and thus Otter called him grandfather. Later in Oklahoma, when both his parents had died, Horse Rider and No Corn were very kind to Otter and gave him a home.

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

159 593 No Corn, wife of Horse Rider, had as her formal name *Tstabari-tsa'iwari*, "the kettle-she asks for something to put into it," that is, "she tries to borrow some corn or other food to cook." The name refers to an incident that is too obscure to be inferred from the name alone. She was a mature woman of good family, related to Victory Call through his father's sister's line, and he addressed her as *atira*. As a consequence, Otter called her *atika*, "my grandmother," but he knew better than to try to joke with her in a grandmotherly way. Her arthritis caused her a great deal of suffering. As Otter tells it,

> It was considered only right for No Corn to have a good disposition since she was helpless. She was able to do the cooking although she couldn't stand up. She made herself useful in any way she could, lest someone remark that she was cranky since she was a cripple. For example, she might see White Woman measuring Victory Call's feet for moccasins. Then she would say, "Let me do that. You have something else to do." Then White Woman would give her the awl, sinew, rawhide, and other materials and she would make the moccasins. Or when they were out on the hunt, she would say, "Pile all the dishes right here. I can wash them." She would watch and do any little task she could for anyone in the house. But even so, her son or daughter would sometimes say, "You're a cripple. You can't do anything. You ought to be good." Then she would get angry and cover up her head. The daughter would say, "Mother, you mustn't do that." "Well, you folks are the cause of it. You are the ones that make me cranky." "Oh mother, we try to talk nicely to you, but you always get angry so easily." She couldn't help the fact that she was cranky.

159 593 726 Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, grandmother of the boy Yellow Calf, was a historic character among the Pawnee. She was famous for her heroic defense of the village when it was under attack by the Poncas. This was a time when she was well in her fifties and the tribe was living at Pa-ha-ku near Fremont, Nebraska. Her name commemorates her deed. It was *Ts-tarahux-tu*, "woman-caused them-hurt," signifying that she had caused the enemy to grieve because of those she had killed and put to flight. This is how the story was told:

> Once when we were living in the village of Pahaku, near Fremont, the Poncas, perhaps mingled with Sioux, came on the warpath to attack the Pawnee village. They had hay in their pockets and were ready to set fire to the village. When the men saw how heavily outnumbered they were, they stayed inside the houses and resigned themselves to their fate, expecting to be burned up. As the enemy kept approaching, this old lady decided to do something about it. She was more than fifty then—an old

lady. She rubbed some soot from the brass kettle and smeared it across 159
her eyes (signifying defiance of any danger, and particularly of fire). 593
She twisted her hair into a knot on the front right side of her head, put
on a loin cloth, and with a war club in her hand she went out to face the 726
enemy saying, "We've got to do *something*. You men just sitting here doing nothing!" This got the men excited and they said, "Just look at that old lady! We've got to go out and fight." Then they all ran outside. The old lady had nothing but a club in her hand, while the Poncas and all the men had their bows and arrows. She killed one of the Poncas right next to the house and sure enough his pockets were stuffed with hay all ready to burn down their houses. Because of her bravery, she could say and do anything as she had saved everyone's life and she felt she could do what a man did any time and she was free to say whatever came to her mind. Right after the battle, she came upon Feeling Bear who had been shot in the leg. "That's good, you should protect the people," she said. "Your mother and father are still living and you're young yet." But then Feeling Bear began to cry and sob and she said to him, "You're nothing but a baby. You don't belong out here at all. Only men should be out here fighting!" Then three old ladies came along and said to her, "Let's see that dead Ponca you killed." At that very moment Whitey came walking along with a stick in his hand that he had used to defend himself. The Old Lady calls him grandchild and they all began to tease him. "Turn that Ponca over," they said. But try as he would, the corpse slipped back and he jumped away. Then, giving it a hard push, he fell right on top of it. The old ladies began to laugh, and he ran away as fast as he could. He said that long after, he could still see that Ponca right before his eyes at night. The body was not buried, but was left in the open.

Long afterward when they were talking it over with the Poncas, and they were reviewing the incidents of the battle, the Poncas said, "When we saw that old man, we thought he was the bravest man we had ever seen and that's what held us back." Then the Pawnees told them that it was a woman. When braves were jealous of their wives, they would sometimes beat them up and then Grieves-the-Enemy would come along and say to them in her full deep voice, "Fine brave men you are! Your place is out beating up the Poncas. They came here to burn up our whole village. We women do you no harm. It's the Poncas you should be out fighting with."

The only men to whom she spoke politely were the chiefs. A chief 159
would never beat his wife no matter how he felt. This would be against 593
the whole code of chieftainship, and if he thought he could not control
his emotions, he would not accept the office in the first place. When he 622
was asked, he had to seriously consider whether his character was good enough. He must be generous and good and, if he weren't, he would re-

159 fuse the call saying, "I'm a drunkard and have many other faults. I can't
be a chief." To other men, Grieves-the-Enemy was gruff, even to priests,
593 but not to the chiefs. Even her grown son, she ordered about. She would
622 send him off to get a bucket of water and he would feel obliged to do as
she said. Not that she was "mannish" in any way. She wasn't. Among
the Skidis this old lady was a person of note.

159 She was raising her grandson, Yellow Calf, whose mother had died and
whose father, High Noon, had married into another household. She con-
603 tributed many invaluable services to the household, and she and Otter's
grandma liked each other and cooperated well together.

Otter's grandmother was Old-Lady-Chase-the-Enemy. Her name, *Ts-*
[551] *ak-ta-hira'as*, "woman-them-chased-ahead," i.e., "chase the enemy ahead
of the line of battle," was given to her by her brave sons in honor of
a gallant war deed they had performed, chasing the enemy way ahead of
the line of battle. All six of them were killed in battle by the Poncas, and
she would think sadly of their death, "If my sons had lived they would
have taken care of me." "But," said Otter, "in our household we didn't
think of her as a burden. She was my own grandma who used to take care
of me and we took care of her." Otter's grandmother was a very old woman.
In fact, she was his great-great-grandmother, once removed. She was the
sister of White Woman's own great-grandmother and accordingly, White
Woman called her *atira*, and she was thus a grandmother to Otter. He would
call her *atika*, "grandmother," having no consciousness that in fact she
[582] was two generations beyond his mother's mother. Marriage at the age of
fourteen or fifteen for girls made it quite feasible to be a great-great-
grandmother between the ages of sixty-five and seventy. She may have
been seventy-five at the time. Being in the mother's line, she was consid-
ered a particularly close relative. That she was a satisfactory grandmother
to Otter there can be no doubt. When they walked out together, people
would say to her, "That's your husband. He always watches his wife. They
can't be parted." And Otter would retort, "Well I have to watch her. She
might run away!"

Otter said the following of his grandmother:

> Grandma was left-handed and they would sometimes speak of her as *Tskusaski*, "Lefty-woman." She would do everything for me—grease my feet when they chapped and cracked, get me food at night. I wouldn't bother others to do these things. She would do anything in the way of work. She was very saving as she knew how hard it was to get anything. She wasted nothing as she felt hard times might come some time. I guess she was like some white women who don't waste anything, putting everything into the kettle. She would cook anything and make it taste good—turkey feet and some field corn that she had made into hominy—she

would just put these together and it would be a good soup when you 159
had nothing else to eat. We like to eat however it tastes, but we cer-
tainly like to eat a well-cooked dish. In the spring my grandmother went 603
out and collected wild turnips and things to save up for the winter. She never went dancing. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy had a very different personality from my grandmother. She was not at all bashful like my grandmother, who was very good at doing all sorts of things, but didn't do much talking. The reason my grandmother was bashful in this way was because she was humble and sad on account of the death of her sons in the battles with the Poncas.

The little boy Yellow Calf, grandson of Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, 159
was six or seven years old and the constant companion of Otter. His
name *Ari-pahat*, "calf-red," referred not to a red color, but to a tawny 551
yellow. The name had an important sacred reference—the calfskin wrap- 602
ping around the Evening Star bundle, and it must have been given to him in the course of a ceremony to which his family contributed. His father, High Noon, was the middle one of White Woman's three brothers who always came to the house. Otter called High Noon *tiwatciriks*, "uncle," and as the nephew, Otter called Yellow Calf *piirau*, "child." High Noon sent meat to the house on behalf of his son. Otter describes him in the following terms:

> Yellow Calf was a bit livelier than me. We played together. He wanted to fight sometimes but I didn't want to. He wasn't rough though. When we got to Oklahoma we separated, and we never did get together again.
>
> His family was unfortunate for even when they succeeded in getting horses, the horses died. But afterward Yellow Calf had good luck. First he married an old lady who had no relatives of her own and he inherited all her land. Then when he married a younger woman, his wife got some land of her own. They had many daughters, all of whom married and went all over to live. When he died, he left a large family.

The occasion of Yellow Calf's first marriage is an interesting story. 159
When he was about eighteen, Yellow Calf was seized with hysteria. He 756
imagined he saw a kind of Pawnee Lorelei—a little deer called *tatatsiks*
that turned into a woman. The family did all they could to cure him [158]
but everything they tried was in vain. Then a medicine woman of about [776]
fifty said she could cure him, providing they could get married (Old Lady Tsitawa—see pp. 294-295, 305). They did marry and the cure was successful, and Yellow Calf prospered after that. Otter's mother White Woman remarked at the time that it was a pity Yellow Calf's mother wasn't alive when he was having all that trouble or she could have told

159 756 him to jump into the water and stay under, and when he came out, some deer hair would have come up out of his throat and he would have been well at once. The lesson was not lost on Otter, though he seems never to have needed it.

[762] The case of the old medicine woman is also of interest. Her son, a boy of fourteen, had recently committed suicide. He had resented her second husband and finally shot himself. Otter's older brother Fox Chief had taken the occasion to point out to him that suicide solved nothing and that all the boy had accomplished was to leave his mother all alone.

159 555 Old Bull was the leading man of the south half of the house. He was a man of good-natured jocularity, about fifty years old. He was a highly skilled buffalo hunter and on occasion he was known to outrun a buffalo. His full name was *Hikuts-tarus*, "Old Buffalo Bull"—"Scabby" or "Itchy." He was a man of good family who had begun life with a number of advantages. His father was a prominent chief, and he was sitting in his family's hereditary seat in the chiefs' council. In his boyhood he had struck up a friendship with a poor boy named Small who was serving in a chief's household. The poor boy had a vision and he had chosen to share it with his wealthy friend, Old Bull (see pp. 322-335). Then, while he was out tending the horses of his wealthy patron, Small was killed by the Sioux and Old Bull continued with Small's teachings and rose to prominence in the Doctor Association. He was currently a leader of the Deer Cult of that body. Not only his skill as a buffalo hunter, but his rise in the medical profession were notable personal achievements.

159 554 592 Old Bull and Victory Call had a kin relationship that went back to past family history. It was usual for every prominent man, particularly among the important chiefs and doctors, to draw around him numbers of young men who would come to live in his house and serve him in various ways as apprentices or dependents. 159 554 602 Chief Big Eagle was such a man with a large household in Old Village in 1838. He had three sons of his own of whom the oldest was *kax-kuutu*, "Rotten-House," the second Sitting Hawk, and the third, Victory Call. Among the other young men who were in the house it was always possible to find some kin line that would make them brothers to the children of their host. Old Bull's father was one of these young men and he had called Victory Call, *irari*, "brother." Now that they were settled together in a common household, Old Bull properly addressed Victory Call as *atias*, "my father," since Old Bull's father had been counted as Victory Call's brother. Accordingly, Victory Call addressed Old Bull as *piirau*, "my child." Otter, who also called Victory Call father and was called by him *piirau*, was as a brother to Old Bull, Old Bull assuming the role of older brother to the boy. As younger brother, Otter would wait until his older brother Old Bull ad-

dressed him before presuming to open any conversation with him, and 159
Old Bull on his part was bound to take the initiative in instructing 554
the boy. Old Bull, referring to his younger wife Clear Day, would say
to Otter, "This is our wife. Call her *tsustit* (old lady). Say to her, 602
'I'm starving. Get me something to eat.'" The young woman would answer, "What have you been doing that you're hungry?" Then Old Bull prompted him, "Tell her, 'Well, I've been playing.'" Then the woman answered, "That's all you're good for." A certain amount of teasing went back and forth from time to time after that. Then when Otter got older, he was again prompted by Old Bull to ask his younger wife to cook for him and she would reply, "Well, I have no water. I can't cook if I don't have any. Take two buckets and get me some. If you take only one, one of your arms will get long." "Well I could change about," the boy would answer in all innocence. "No you can't, you must take both at the same time." When he got back, water had splashed all over him from both buckets and Clear Day would say, "That's good. You got water. Don't ask me to cook if you have no water around." Old Bull would praise him then and say, "I have a smart little brother. He can carry the water," and the wife would add, "That's a good little boy after all. He brought the water." Old Bull would also express big-brotherly concern for him in another way. He would ask, "Well, who were you playing with?" "I played with so and so," Otter would answer. "That's good. Just play with those children and with no one else. I don't want you to play with those other boys. They're mean." "We played with the girls. They made a horse of me in our play," Otter related. Even though Otter's older brother Fox Chief was staying in another household the extended kinship system gave the boy the opportunity to learn the rules in his own home while he was small. Later this knowledge would stand him in good stead.

Clear Day, the younger wife of Old Bull, whose name in Pawnee was *Ts-takur-riwax*, "woman-day-clear," was inclined to be the "sporty" type, laughing and joking all the time and spending a good deal of her time out gambling. Her disposition was in marked contrast to the other women of the lodge. Old Bull had married her after he had been married to Queen Woman for quite a while. She was not from their own Pumpkin-Vine Village but from Village-in-the-Bottomlands, and Old Bull had married her because "she had taken his fancy." When the Pawnees moved from Fremont to the reservation village near Genoa, Old Bull brought in Clear Day's mother, Blue Calico, to take up the grandmother place in the new earth lodge that he and Victory Call had established. Clear Day
was an assiduous player of the plum-seed game. This was the most [525]
popular gambling game of the women, played with plum-seed dice tossed in a round coiled basket. The betting was always heavy and the

159 habitual gambler was likely to lose her blouse, her shawl, or her earrings.
554 A man who noticed a crowd of women playing together like that would
have to move along and mind his own business.
602

525 Clear Day had her own basket and plum seed dice with which to play the game—tossing up the marked plum seeds in the tray basket. Even when she herself didn't think of going out to gamble, the others would come in and get her. She would go out early in the morning and come back late in the evening, betting whatever she had, i.e., calico, a necklace, or her earrings. Old Bull didn't get angry. He was a chief and it wouldn't have been right for him to express any strong disapproval of his wife.

Sometimes a man whose wife was out gambling would get angry because he got hungry. When the woman came home feeling badly because she had lost, there would be trouble. She would say to her husband, "It was because of you. You were thinking about your hunger and then I lost the game." She gave no thought to her home—only to her playing. Sometimes she would win a nice piece of calico so that she could make her husband a new shirt. Then the reaction at home would be quite different. The husband would say, "That's good. But don't go so often. You might lose your luck." But try as she would to obey her husband's injunction, she would be caught up in it eventually. When the gamblers came around, she would make some excuse and say, "No, I have such and such to do. Why don't you go and ask so and so?" But eventually the other gamblers knew she would succumb. That was the way of Clear Day, Old Bull's younger wife. She was an habitual gambler.

159 Clear Day had two little daughters with Old Bull. The youngest was a
very small child and was in the care of Clear Day's mother, Blue Calico.
513 The older girl, New Queen, was five or six years old and had a bed of
593 her own near the west on the south side of the lodge, adjacent to that of Clear Day. This was in anticipation of the time when the little girl would be fifteen and old enough to marry and her husband would join the household. It was considered desirable to give a little girl a bed of her own as soon as possible. With a little boy it was quite different. He might sleep with his grandmother until he was ten and then have a bed made for him between the central houseposts near the fireplace.

159 Queen Woman, senior wife of Old Bull, was of an entirely different
595 temperament from Clear Day. Her name in Pawnee was *Ts-taru-riʔu*,
"woman-merely-by herself," signifying "one does something great by
[551] oneself, single-handed." One translation was "self-made queen," signifying that although not born a queen or woman of chief's rank, her social accomplishments were so creditable that she deserved this high

rank. Her marriage to Old Bull was apparently a case of a more mature 159 woman taking a younger man for her second husband. Her children 595 by her first marriage were growing up and were off at school, and she had started a second family with Old Bull. With him she had two small boys, one three years old and one still younger. She carried the whole responsibility for the household since the gambling habits of the younger wife left her with very little help. Blue Calico, the mother of the younger wife tried to compensate for this situation by being especially helpful to Queen Woman, giving her extra supplies to cook for all of them and a great deal of extra help "beyond the call of duty." Queen Woman was of French-Pawnee extraction, the French ancestor being relatively recent as reflected in her rather light complexion and mixed features. She was related to the family of the interpreter, Frank Deteyr, who was killed by the Sioux in the fall of 1861. She was quiet 159 and conservative in her social approach and sometimes Old Bull would 521 jokingly remark, "Why don't you talk once in a while?" "Well," she replied quite literally, "I have nothing to say." Most Pawnee women countered such remarks with a more lively retort. Her character was described in the following terms:

> She just went about her work. If other women came to visit, they would tell her stories about what was going on, but she would never repeat them. She never went out except to get a bucket of water with White Woman. People said of her, "She's a nice woman. She doesn't say much or gossip about anyone. You might tell her something but she doesn't repeat it or make any remarks about it." The two wives got along nicely together. Queen Woman never did any gambling herself, and she never made any remarks to Clear Day about her gambling.

Old Lady Blue Calico was the mother of Old Bull's younger wife 159 Clear Day and grandmother of the south half of the house. The Paw- 592 nee name of Blue Calico was *Ts-tapit-tarius*, "woman-bought goods-blue," referring probably to a time when her uncle was portioning out a government allotment of goods or the spoils of a profitable trading expedition of his own and gave her a particularly nice piece of blue calico in the process.

Her personality was more lively than Grandma Chase-the-Enemy 159 but less so than the rough and ready Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy. 574 Her joking remarks and her general activity were a little more conspicuous than Otter's quieter grandmother. 592 Blue Calico always went off to the Village-in-the-Bottomlands where she had come from to visit a special old lady friend there. The two old women on the north side had their own friends in Pumpkin-Vine Village. If Blue Calico wanted to

159 go off and gather wild turnips, she went with some other old lady
574 from Bottomlands Village. Only if it were necessary once in a while,
would the three old ladies of the lodge go together to get a little wood
592 for fuel.

[887] Old ladies were great ones for visiting one another and talking over old times—about when they were young and when they got married, prepared buffalo robes and many other such reminiscences. Whenever Blue Calico came back from a visit to her own village, she would come in with stories of what was going on there. "That man went hunting and didn't bring home anything," she would say, or, "He brought some game—a deer."

156 Contrary to a common conception of tribal life, the personal inter-
571 relationships of the Pawnee were not fixed within a kin mold. For ex-
ample, there was a marked difference in temperament between the two
602 wives of Old Bull, Queen Woman, the senior one, and Clear Day, the younger of the two. Two factors combined to make the approach to Otter of these two women different. Through a relatively distant kin line, the older wife Queen Woman counted as a sister, *itahi*, to Otter and accordingly their relationship was formal. As noted above (page 36), Queen Woman's two little boys regarded Otter as a mother's brother, *tiwatciriks*, and he treated them as nephew, *tiwat*. Under these conditions, the kind of joking Otter was encouraged to carry on with Clear Day was not in order. On the other hand, Queen Woman had another role as wife of Old Bull and consequently "wife" to Otter. Two conflicting roles presented themselves and the sister role was chosen. The likelihood is that this was an adjustment to Queen Woman's conservative temperament which tipped the balance in favor of the more formal of the two possible kinship categories. When people used to marry almost exclusively within the village, the wife of an uncle or of a brother was bound to be some sort of relative to the younger boy. This was apparently conveniently forgotten or raised as the circumstances happened to warrant.

Neither personal relations nor the personnel of the household were cramped within a fixed kin structure. The individual personality was not trimmed down to fit the kin structure, but the structure was used to realize the individual personality. The Pawnee social structure was written into no statute book, nor did it have the status of doctrine, and there was no chain of command to enforce it. Therefore it was not frozen and clamped onto the people, but carried implicitly by them to serve them as they saw fit. No built-in guilt, acting as a surrogate for dominant power, forced them to narrow the scope of their personal lives. They were socially creative in every personal interrelationship they had. The
602 world was raw and their life was hard, but it was also freer than ours.
626 No religious or supernatural sanction enforced the social forms. The only

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

possible penalty for transgression of kinship forms was adverse public opinion. This was a very important deterrent, but it was of a quite different quality from religious, military, or political sanctions, for it was within the network of the contemporary community, not in a specialized sector of it, and it was therefore possible for a person to cope with it in the course of daily living. Pawnee life was certainly not a Utopia. The time and the place in which it existed could allow no such hope, but in its freedom from dominance it had something we now can afford and don't know how to take. 602 626

4

PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: III

000

Personal Relationships beyond Kin Ties—Love between Men and Women—Friendships of Girls to Girls, Women to Women, Boys to Boys, and Men to Men—Friendly Interband Kicking Match—the Pawnee Personality Compared with Our Own—Our Loneliness

5

Love and Friendship

831 572 [602] THE EMOTIONAL LIFE of the Pawnee was not channeled exclusively through kinship categories, but the concepts of love and friendship for their own sake were well recognized. They had a song that stated: "If even worms are inclined to be in love with one another, how can we expect people not to do so?" The statement was starkly simple and left the implication to be understood. It said:

539 831

tsasiri pirus	Even worms
be	(Pause indicating a comma)
witi-tirak-tap-piribuu	each other-they them-love.

Their love songs were also in a similar vein, nakedly literal and entirely free of metaphor.

A man sings:

1.	*tsepat tiwakubu*	Woman she is saying,
2.	*wetatatsiksta*	Now I love you.

3.	*aririt kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you) 539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tibi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely confined 562
to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the household
routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [684]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so preoccupied 885
with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friendship 525
as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to develop
"cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi [887]
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521
[797]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

571 521 [551] and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque grouping and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for a tall, slender person, *asu-katu-bas-tawiu* ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of a shoe string), or *karastiat* ("I will not go out"); *kusatsua* ("it will rain"). In reply, *A* ("well"), *uksawatsatsua* ("even if it were to rain"), *kaiit* ("salt"); *karas* ("are you?").

857 858 867 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not [601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term [551] of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey, etc.

883 572 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the [726] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous occasions.

533 [726] Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching. Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting, and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar, [539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

sirawari i	They two who are traveling, 533
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a	Alone, they two who are traveling, 539
tsapat-i witiwaku	A young woman, it is said that she says:
sikatasiwaktiks-a	I wonder if they two are true (to each other).
tskara, siraawari-i-a-a-a-a	

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their 883
parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not uncommonly 572
grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, 554
a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally
from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46-50) 539
of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of 883
wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the 572
son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys 554
liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all, while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys
a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to induce [829]
boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some historical [867]
basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the mature 571
Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured 574
within the house even when only two were sitting together. First
there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the [782]
pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversation [276]
or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a [521]
woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

571 plan was applied to any larger gathering as well as to more casual encoun-
574 ters. The seating was aways according to relative social status and the
[521] right of priority in conversation was always determined by rank. There
[554] was little room for simple, spontaneous, social contact in the life of a
mature man. Except for the intimacies of marriage, there was no opportunity for easy conversation between mature men and women either. Missionary Dunbar (1881, pp. 745-746) describes the conduct of the men:

> 571 [The Pawnees] were . . . among themselves very sociable. With the men
> 574 there was apt to be perhaps, an excess of formality in their formal gather-
> 517 ings, but this is a natural consequence of their oft-recurring feasts and councils. It was quite common for several men in the evening to meet in some house where tobacco was to be had, and there sit smoking and recounting their exploits. One of the party kept up a monotonous thumping upon a drum. Another would dance for a while, make a speech, and sit down. Another would follow with the same role, etc. At certain seasons such gatherings were of nightly occurrence, lasting usually well-nigh till daylight.
>
> 571 Akin to this trait of storytelling, was their delight in discussion. They
> 537 were extravagantly fond of debating what might be termed questions of
> 623 general principle, often exhibiting considerable tact in their manner of sustaining an argument. Their principal efforts of this kind were reserved for public occasions, such as councils. It was impossible to attend a tribal council where any important matter was pending and not be impressed with the power and cogency of their eloquence. The reputation of being
> [554] an orator was coveted, and a man, when once recognized as such, was sure to wield great influence. An orator when addressing a council upon a question in which he was thoroughly interested, seemed to appreciate fully the dignity of his position, and identifying himself with the cause he advocated, and addressing himself directly to the person he was attempting to answer or convince, his speech would become vividly dramatic.

Tribal Fun and Games

609 Theoretically, friendships were best formed within one's own village
621 for beyond that was a kind of social "No-Man's Land." Sometimes,
[572] however, the wall of suspicion broke down, as in one story we heard related:

> 609 The members of the different bands didn't like each other as a rule.
> 621 We would say, "Don't bother with them (referring to people of another
> 539 village or band), they're mean."
>
> But some nice evening the Man-Going-Downstream Band and the Meat-Beggars would join the Little-Earth-Lodge Band and the children

> of the Skidi villages of Village-across-a-Ridge and Pumpkin-Vine 609
> would join the Wolf-in-Water and Bottomland Village, and they 621
> would play rough and kick one another. 539

The location of the four bands was along the west side of Beaver 621
Creek and the Skidi were in the westernmost position, the other three 361
bands about half a mile away to the east. While according to past tradition, they always lived south of the Skidi and were referred to generally as "South Bands," they were now actually located to the east:

> "The Skidi chief would sit on a high bluff and the Eastward (*tu-* 621
> *hawit*, "Settlement-east" chiefs sat on a bluff near their home and they 524
> would watch the boys. They said, "When we were boys we used to play like that and kick."
>
> It would begin in the evening when the boys would call out, *hu-hu-hu*. Then the boys would hear and come outside. Folks would say to the small boys, "Don't go there, you'll get hurt," but some would steal out and join the fight anyway. When one side would be chased back, the older people would laugh and say, "Go back again. . . ."
>
> When it got darker the little boys were told to go back and run home because the big boys were going to fight now—the sixteen-to-eighteen-year-olds. Then in the moonlight sometimes, the men of about thirty years old would fight, and then afterward the old men forty and over. The men would take blankets from one another and kick one another, but afterward they had to return the blankets.
>
> This game was never played with the Skidi villages alone opposing one another, only between the Skidi Band as one party and the South Bands as the other. They never kicked hard—just for fun. If the South Band boys met the Skidi boys, there was always a kicking contest."

A similar game is reported between different divisions of the Comanches. [171]

The Pawnee Person

There is no simple formula for describing the intricate logic of the 156
Pawnee people's lives. One thing is clear—that no one is caught within the social code. Against the backdrop of his natural environment, each individual stands as his own person. The Old World design for the human personality does not apply to this New World Man. The Pawnee 156
child was born into a community from the beginning, and he never ac- 772
quired the notion that he was closed in "within four walls." He was lit- 829
erally trained to feel that the world around him was his home—*kahuraru*,

156 772 829 the universe, meaning literally the inside land, and that his house was a small model of it. The infinite cosmos was his constant source of strength and his ultimate progenitor, and there was no reason why he should hesitate to set out alone and explore the wide world, even though years should pass before he returned. Not only was he not confined within four 156 walls but he was not closed in with a permanent group of people. The special concern of his mother did not mean that he was so closely embedded with her emotionally that he was not able to move about.

155 593 602 Other people also were clearly concerned with him in a variety of ways. There was no mistaking the constant concern of Old Bull for the boy, Otter, in the earth lodge. And as for his grandmother, this was of course patently clear. There was no mistaking the affection felt for him by Horse Rider. Even from the earliest time the Pawnee knew there were differences in kinds of affection. He knew he should go to his grandmother for intimate care but he also looked up to his mother as his provider and protector. His father he regarded in the same way wherever he might be, and, as we saw (p. 41), his mother had pointed out to him that he should emulate his father. Otter's Uncle War Cry and his other uncles came to the house and again showed affectionate concern, and one winter when he broke his leg his uncle stayed home and nursed and protected him. He knew very early that he "had a home" in the house of Eagle Chief which had been literally demonstrated to him in special feasts and visits. His older half-brother Fox Chief was there for him even though not in the house. The breakup of the household and travel on the hunt did not dismay him, even when his grandmother stayed behind one winter, for his community traveled with him. This [867] bringing of the community's concern to the child's attention from an early age was deliberately carried out.

601 602 The wide application of the kin terms gave the family relationships a much wider reference. It made him realize that there were shades of closeness with his immediate kin and that many varying factors determined this just as they did in his outside attachments. The case of his mother's half-brothers was a graphic example. He found out that, in the last analysis, one made one's own relationships with people and that none was absolutely given.

000 The intensified family togetherness of our present society stands in sharp contrast to these arrangements. The very physical plant of our family household fosters this intensity. Within this century, the apartment or family dwelling has become more and more isolated. In the past ten years, the isolation has become absolute and we have become the loneliest people that ever existed. Mechanical elevators, mechanical shopping, mechanical transportation, and other mechanical devices preclude almost all casual social contacts. At the same time, within the apartment or household the sexes are thrown together in an incest-breeding welter of

physical familiarity. Simultaneously a demand is made for personal detachment, so that we require intensive psychological reorganization to heal us from the ordeal of our childhood. This emotional turmoil is implanted so early that we are convinced it is inevitable. In the outside world a further kind of isolation has been set up. We have developed a series of age shelves so that each age becomes a segregated universe of its own. We must desegregate the ages and remingle as persons. There can be no complementarity of experience in such a plan. Retirement is now a shelf for social discard, while the younger age levels are left to their conformities and magnified rivalries. Individuality can be too costly if it does not have a flexible society within which to operate. It is our task to design such a society.

It is not easy for us to perceive the wide gap in kind between Pawnee society and our own, and yet in the face of all the terrible events of the past and the pressure to destroy his personality, surely it must mean something that the American Indian has maintained his identity among us. It was 20,000 years ago in the latter part of the Ice Age that the buffalo hunters of the Old and New Worlds parted company. What communication they might have maintained over the Bering Strait or even the wide Pacific could have been only a trickle compared with the maximum cultural osmosis of Old World peoples. Thus unwittingly the American Indian has furnished us with our major control case in the study of human society and the processes of its growth.

Historically, the control of masses of people has been an important element in the building of Old World civilization. For millennia, people have been grouped into ruling classes and ruled masses. Setting aside the practice of applauding this approach to human affairs as an advance in history and therefore a human benefit, the emergence of mechanization in its most refined form, i.e., automation, has made this social device obsolescent. But we cannot readily free ourselves of this habitual approach to the human being. It is therefore important for us to find a model of a human being who has never been pressed into a mass mold, no matter how different his physical setting may have been from ours. The Pawnee Indian is such a person. For our present and future society, we will need to develop a society composed entirely of creative individual personalities, and for this it is important that we look carefully into the detailed circumstances of the life of a Pawnee individual and study his actions and reactions within them.

The fact that Old World civilization for several millennia has been based on masses of people reflects itself in our view of the individual as a function of the statistical average. The process of statistical generalization involves a disregarding of the very characteristics that make a man an individual, i.e., his uniqueness. Therefore, no matter how objectively the statistical average is compiled, it becomes impossible to rederive the

000 individual from the statistical norm, even when some distribution of the selected traits is given. The Amerindian who has never been subject to mass organization in the North American setting preserved an understanding of the individual personality as the keystone of society rather than as a function of it. His society is therefore fluid and creative, albeit within limited technical resources, rather than inhibiting of the person as an integral entity. He does not require doctrine in order to develop formal social structures, and the structures he does develop are currently functional rather than frozen.

It does not matter what sort of empires the North American Indians would or would not have developed had the European not disrupted his society. What does matter is that in examining his society as a total functioning social organism we have a contrast situation through which we can throw into relief our most stubbornly held social biases.

181
185 Although the Pawnee home is at opposite poles to our own, there are suggestions to be derived from it that can be applied concretely to our own mode of living. Within the home, the Pawnee has personal and social mobility and a diverse circle of contacts; within his kindred he has a wide latitude of personal interrelationships. His aspirations are his own. He sets his own goal, which is his personal secret. His aspiration is not to surpass someone else, but to go beyond his own past achievements. He gives himself a name to serve social notice on people that he is on his way. Love and friendship, though less stable than kin, are also honored.

000 I think I have given enough detail of Pawnee life to show that it was in no sense a Utopia. The struggle for survival and for the maintenance of personal dignity was great. Leaving aside the survival question, the challenge to the individual to develop himself was much greater than our own, for it was not only an avowed, but a literal purpose in life. For those individuals who are concerned that the transition from a mercantilist to a humanist society which we are now perforce making will leave the human being without incentives and challenges, Pawnee life should serve to dispel his doubts. A society built on the basis of the objective of personal fulfillment will not be a lazy or an insipid society. It will be full of strength and dynamic movement. Today for the most part the intellectual and the artist carries this mode. For the future it will belong to us all, for everyone has something to contribute to such a society by the very fact that individuals are different. We need no prima donnas—only people as they are. As a social scientist I owe a tremendous debt to the Pawnees for the fidelity with which they have communicated their culture to me, for it has given me an abiding faith in the individual human being. I hope that this account will be studied and similar value be derived by others. In concluding this work I will outline some of my personal projections for our society that I have derived as a result of the years during which Pawnee life has been part of my thinking.

5

THE WORLD OF A PAWNEE BOY: SPRING 1867

000

The Day Begins in the Earth Lodge—Breakfast Preparations—Seating at the Meal—Daytime Activities of Women—Chiefs' Council—Supper and Evening Conversation—Plan for Deer Hunt the Next Day—End of Day's Activities

In the year 1867, the villages of the Pawnees were strung along the 131
west bank of Beaver Creek. (Beaver Creek flows southeastward into the 361
Loup River that flows east to join the Platte which continues eastward to
the Missouri. In the Skidi village of Pumpkin-Vine was the house of [103]
Chief Victory Call and his friend Old Bull with their families.)

It was a morning late in March, and the high dome-shaped earth lodges 512
were huddled together in the predawn darkness. On this as on other mornings, [342]
Otter was wakened by the sound of his father's voice saying, "Fire's
made." The dawn had not yet broken, and it was still cold; Otter burrowed
down deeper under his little calfskin cover. He hated to leave the [513]
warmth of his bed that he shared with his grandmother. Just as the dawn
began to break, Victory Call went outside through the long vestibule
that was the entrance to the house to look at the position of the stars and
to see what kind of a day it would be. Meanwhile his wife, White Woman, [252]
had gotten up to prepare breakfast. She would be cooking for twelve people
and an extra guest, and the preparations would take at least an hour.

On both sides of the house along the low circular walls, the people
were still asleep in their beds. There had been a long storytelling session [538]
the night before and Old-Man-That-Chief, who was one of the principal [574]
raconteurs, was too feeble to go home late at night, so a temporary bed [354]
was made for him near the fireplace where the fire was now burning
brightly in the center of the room. High above the fireplace a shaft of

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

512 (354) light came in through the smokehole and, as the day broke, the long radial ribs of the slanting roof stood out clearly like the frame of a huge umbrella, reaching out from the central ring at the top to the edge of the low circular wall.

342
35

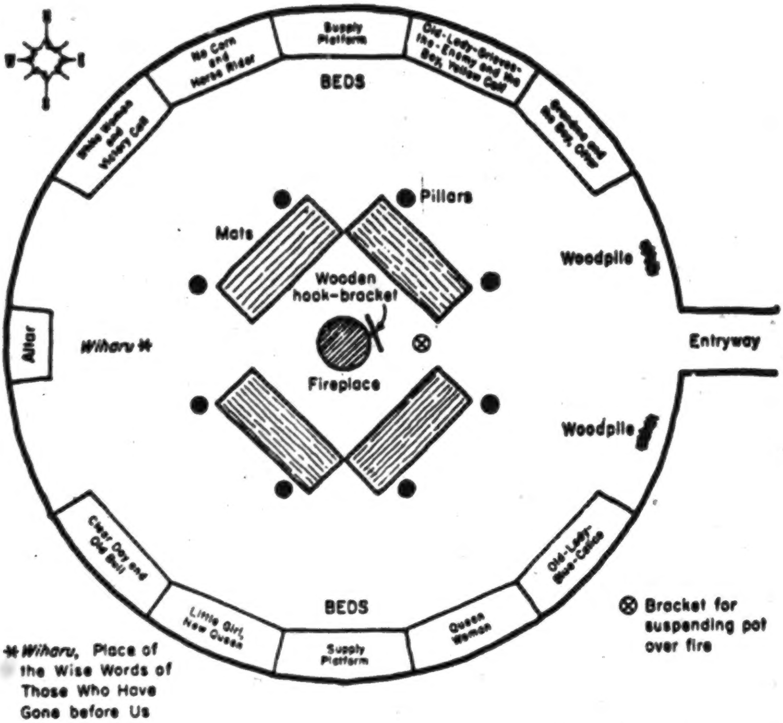

N
W
E
S
No Corn and Horse Rider
Supply Platform
Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy and the Boy, Yellow Calf
White Woman and Victory Call
BEDS
Grandma and the Boy, Otter
Pillars
Mats
Woodpile
Wooden hook-bracket
Altar
Wiharu ⌘
Fireplace
Entryway
Woodpile
Clear Day and Old Bull
Old-Lady-Blue-Calico
BEDS
Little Girl, New Queen
Supply Platform
Queen Woman
⊗ Bracket for suspending pot over fire
⌘ Wiharu, Place of the Wise Words of Those Who Have Gone before Us

FIGURE 5-1. Groundplan of the house where the boy, Otter, lived with his father, Victory Call, and his mother, White Woman.

342 352 353 About halfway between the fireplace and the walls stood a series of stout pillars made of whole tree trunks with the bark removed, forked at the top and connected together by crosspieces so that they gave support to the heavy slanting roof. The tall pillars made a convenient division between the sleeping quarters around the outer edge of the circle and the eating and living quarters around the central fireplace. Here near the fireplace the earthen floor was covered with large reed mats where they sat, using pillars as a backrest.

352 353 Around the outside, each bed platform was divided from the other by a series of skin curtains that hung at the head and foot of each bed; a reed

screen stood in front of the beds of the mature women to give them pri- 352
vacy. The series of beds was interrupted by an open platform at each side 353
to store current food supplies and household articles.

The long vestibule that gave entrance to the house projected outward 342
from the eastern side of the circular walls. Inside, on both sides of the 353
door to the house, was a working area in each of which a woodpile was braced against the walls. The rear or western wall of the house was the sacred area, the beds being ranged along the north and south walls. There were five platforms along each wall, the middle one for supplies and the four others fitted out as beds.

The boy, Otter, and his grandmother were sleeping on the north side 513
of the house in the easternmost bed nearest the entranceway. The sec- 353
ond bed next to theirs was occupied by another little boy, Yellow Calf, 592
and his grandmother, Grieves-the-Enemy. Then came the supply platform for the north side and beyond that the bed of Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn. Horse Rider was an assistant to Otter's father, Victory Call, a prominent chief and religious leader. Victory Call and White Woman had the bed that was in the place of honor near the west.

Along the south wall of the house was another family. The head of that family was Old Bull, friend and associate of Victory Call and also a chief and religious leader. He occupied the west bed with his younger wife, Clear Day, and the next bed was occupied by the little girl, New Queen, their daughter. Then came the supply platform for the south side, and beyond that the bed of Queen Woman, Old Bull's senior wife with her little boy of three, and finally the easternmost bed on the south side for the grandmother, Blue Calico, who was the mother of the younger wife, Clear Day, and had the youngest child sleeping with her.

Everyone in the house knew his appointed place and where he could go 353
and where he could not go. In the sacred area at the west was an earthen 778
platform with a buffalo skull resting on it and above it hung a long, skin-wrapped bundle containing their most sacred objects, including two specially bred ears of corn. Between the fireplace and the buffalo altar, there was a sacred spot that was invisible—the *wi-haru*, "the place where the wise words of those who have gone before us are resting." Rather than step over this place in order to pass from one side of the house to the other, everyone walked around the entire house by way of the east. When the heads of the household sat down to rest or when they entertained important guests, it was near the west that they sat and no one would want to pass in front of them.

The house was a microcosm of the universe and as one was at home in- 342
side, one was also at home in the outside world. For the dome of the sky 772
was the high-arching roof of the universe and the horizon all around was the circular wall of the cosmic house. Through the roof of the house the star gods poured down their strength from their appropriate directions in

342 772 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman, Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself. Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on earth.

342 772 353 84 The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive powers. The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the youngest women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located, the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being "inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe, ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

776 342 [823] [782] The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that they would be readily received.

361 342 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear consciousness of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed, the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy. 342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke [354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cook- [252] ing breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

252 262 [251] White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the drawstring of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

double handfuls of dried kernels were the product of eight ears of roasted 252
corn. She needed nearly twice that amount for their breakfast. Other dried 262
foods might be added. These were always washed first before including them. Dried beans, dried strips of pumpkin, or dried strips of the inner lining of the buffalo stomach or intestine, made a welcome addition and improved the flavor of the soup.

Sometimes large thin sheets of dried buffalo meat and a sheet of fat were cut up into portions and boiled to make a strong soup for their breakfast. The individual portions of meat were seven inches long and varied from 3 to 6 inches wide.

The rest of the meal consisted of a bread course and some hot black coffee boiled with sugar. Sometimes the soup was served instead.

When they had it in the house, wheat flour from the trade store was made into "grease bread" fried in a pan in lard. This was a good deal quicker and easier to make than bread made from home-made corn flour. Each person should have a whole piece of grease bread and any leftover pieces were torn in half and given to the most important men. A handful of wheat flour made two round pieces of bread. White Woman mixed the flour with baking powder and a little salt in a wooden bowl, and after the ingredients were well mixed she added a little warm water to make a dough. If there was no baking powder, White Woman used ashes instead. Now she took a lump of dough and rested it on a piece of hide placed against her thigh, slapping it with her palm and turning it round and round until it was the right size. She put it in a pan with some lard and leaned it against the rim of the fireplace on some glowing coals, tilting the pan so that the bread was exposed to the heat of the fire. As each round disc was done she set it aside on a piece of tanned hide until they were ready to eat their meal.

Sometimes she made bread out of corn flour baked in ashes. Beans might also be mixed with it. The dried kernels were pounded fine with a heavy pestle in a wooden mortar. Meanwhile the beans had boiled, and after the water was discarded they were mixed well with the flour. Enough warm water was added to make a batter, then the ashes were parted and the batter poured in and spread to make a large cake about 3 feet long by 1 foot wide. The dough was covered with ashes, coals, and earth and allowed to bake. It was tested by exposing a small part of the ash layer and striking it to see if the bread underneath was solid. Then the bread was turned over and allowed to bake on the other side. When it was done, the ashes were brushed off and it was washed with a little warm water, then wrapped in a skin and set aside to cool. Sometimes slices of cold cornmeal mush were served instead of a bread dish; the kernels being pounded and boiled the night before so that the mush would be solidified by morning. Sometimes they would simply eat hot cornmeal mush for breakfast.

272 After the other foods were ready, the coffee was cooked in a bucket with sugar to be served later in small bowls. This was a task that No Corn was likely to undertake. She would mix a handful of ground coffee with a handful of sugar and boil them together with water in the bucket. The meal would be finished off with sweet coffee served hot and black.

512 [522] While all these preparations were going on, the people began to get up one by one and sit down in their places around the fire. Now only the boys were still in bed. Grandma warmed her hands over the fire, went over to the bed, put them on Otter's warm nose and "took it off" remarking to Old Bull, "Here's his nose." Then she offered it all around to the assembled company. Sometimes it was his ears that she offered instead. With things about done, Victory Call said, "Boys, breakfast is ready, you can go to bed again later if you want to."

264 [412] [415] White Woman removed the bucket of corn from the fire and put eleven bowls around it to serve the family. The grandmother–grandchild pairs each got a bowl together and everyone else got a bowl for himself. With each bowl there was a buffalo-horn spoon and two spoons in the bowl for grandma and grandchild. White Woman, who was sitting east and slightly north of the fireplace, dished out the corn with a large buffalo-horn spoon 8 inches long with a bowl that was 4½ inches across and 1½ inches deep. A ladleful or one and a half ladles of corn along with the liquor was a serving, the grandmother–grandchild bowls receiving an extra large portion. For feasts, large wooden ladles were used for serving.

264 554 592 [579] [888] The order in which the members of the household sat at their meal was pretty much in the position of their beds. Old Bull sat at the southwest and Victory Call at the northwest position. Ordinarily a man's senior wife sat next to him, and his junior wives sat beyond. Old Bull and his wives sat in this order, but White Woman had moved down to the east end of the north side so that she could do the serving. The grandmothers and their grandchildren sat at the east end. Old-Man-That-Chief, although a guest, took up the southeast position of humility, for he was old and nearly blind. The bowls were passed around to the people from hand to hand, unless the circle was too large, in which case a young woman would be asked to do the serving. The men were served first in order of importance, the "guest side" always being given priority. In this instance the order was Old Bull, Victory Call, Old-Man-That-Chief, Horse Rider, Queen Woman, the senior wife, then Clear Day, the junior wife, Blue Calico, the grandmother, on the south side; then the women on the north—No Corn, Yellow Calf and his Grandma, Otter and his Grandma, and finally White Woman herself.

264 782 Before they began their meal, White Woman made an offering of corn at the west. She took some kernels of corn in a spoon from Victory Call's bowl and offered them to the nose of the buffalo skull that rested on

the altar there. Out of delicacy, she did not offer corn to the sacred ears in 264
the bundle; if they had had buffalo meat she would have offered it there 782
but not to the buffalo skull.

Now the meal began, and it was proper that they have light conversa- 264
tion while eating. Their conversation turned to getting water for the 521
household and wood for fuel, the care of the horses, and the food pit. White Woman remarked to Clear Day, who was sitting on the other side of the fireplace, "After breakfast, let's take two kettles and get some water." The other women talked about opening up the food pit and sorting out the good corn from the rotten and about exposing dry meat to the wind and sun. Victory Call talked to Horse Rider, who was sitting at his left, about the horses. He said, "Right up near where the horses are you might find some mushrooms and milkweed so that the women can cook the tops." Then the women chimed in, "I wish you could get some milkweed. That's good mixed with corn." Then Victory Call spoke of the horses: "If there's a good runner among them, get on him and give him some exercise so that we can train him as a buffalo horse. You must look around meanwhile and see if you see some deer tracks. We might go hunting. In the evening take the horses to a safe hiding place and hobble them so that the Sioux won't steal them. Look way off in all directions and if you see anyone lurking about bring them right home and put them in the corral. They won't starve for one night. In the morning we'll turn them loose and they can make up for it." "All right, I'll look around," said Horse Rider, "I'll be home late." Victory Call had some further reminders for him. He asked him if he had any parched corn with salt so that the horses would get thirsty and drink. He also reminded him that he should wet the sides of the horses and then they would rub themselves on the grass and shed their old hair. This was a necessary precaution, as they had no curry comb. Horse Rider actually knew all this, but he listened respectfully.

The meal now over, White Woman cleaned up the dishes and started 264
out with Clear Day to get the water. It was a mile to Beaver Creek, and it 512
was necessary to go at least twice a day to get water for the household. 312
Horse Rider usually helped by making at least one of these trips. The 482
two women now set out with two buckets hanging on a seven-foot-long stick which rested on their right shoulders, one woman walking in front and one behind, with the buckets between. The stick, ordinarily used as a digging iron, had one end fire-hardened and sharpened to a point, the other end being forked. At this time after breakfast and especially just before eating supper, many people were walking toward the creek for the same purpose.

Horse Rider left the lodge to take care of the horses, and Old Bull and 512
Victory Call remained seated in their place, smoking their pipe and con- 462
tinuing their conversation. The old ladies who were left behind looked [887]

512 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder.
462 When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter,
887 I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next
meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar.
Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Vic-
313 tory Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were
484 to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful sup-
623 ply of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the im-
[726] mediate neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more
to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itiner-
ary and provide military protection against the constantly lurking en-
emy. The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite
you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you
when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up
and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the
chiefs had gathered there.

512 The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the
252 household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver
262 Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buf-
falo meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They
[237] made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

[415] The main business of the women of the household that day was to give
512 the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing
251 the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and
for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold,
356 and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep
the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in;
besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of
the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for
[192] food pit, *tahaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women
all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be com-
pleted between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left
open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the
old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make
a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then
we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly
and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large
skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had
to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy
spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes
they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all.
[476] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

dies, and as they were busily working an old neighbor woman came by 512
and offered to help them. "You've got a lot of corn to attend to there." 251
"Yes I do," said White Woman. Although there were some general standard 356
varieties, each woman had her own special breeds of corn and of the 476
other crops. As she sat down to join them, the old lady remarked, "I [241]
don't have seeds like that!" indicating that she would be very glad to have some. They cleaned and winnowed the seeds for several hours, working diligently together. Finally the other women went in to prepare the supper, and White Woman remained outside with the old neighbor woman to finish up the work. When they called out to announce that supper was ready, White Woman called back that she and her friend would be in later and to please set something aside for them. Meanwhile she had indicated to the old woman that she wanted her to stay and that they would eat later. As they filled each sack, White Woman put aside a little pile of each kind of corn and other seeds, remarking that she was going to give her some seeds and that she might go home and get herself a sack to hold them. When the woman returned she pointed to the piles of seeds and said, "This is yours. Tie it here. I'm going to put corn of another color on top. Do you have anything to tie it with?" "No, I'll use my garters," said the old woman. Then White Woman said, "Let's put the bag back in the pit," and climbed down into it, using a tree trunk with branch stubs as a ladder. When she got to the bottom, the old woman handed her the large skin bag that contained all the smaller bags of the different kinds of corn and beans. White Woman punched it down to settle the load and came up out of the pit and began to close it up. First she covered everything with a skin cover, then a layer of thatch grass, then she wedged some sticks across the opening into the side walls, then another layer of thatch grass and then earth that she trampled down hard to keep out the rain and to conceal the place of opening. "Let's go eat now," said White Woman. Inside they sat down and ate the food that had been set aside for them, while the others, particularly the older women, sat by to converse with their guest. "How are the folks in your lodge?" they asked, "Oh, they're all right," said the old woman. Meanwhile, White Woman was feeling very friendly toward the old woman for helping her out, and as they sat there she noticed that the old woman's moccasins
were worn out. She had a nice piece of black-dyed tanned skin that was [292]
ordinarily used for holiday moccasins, and she said, "I'm going to give you a piece of black-dyed skin so that you can make yourself some moccasins." "Oh, I thank you, I thank you. Oh, daughter, thanks. You have taken pity on me. I'll wear it. Now I've got to go, daughter." When the old woman left, the rest of the people in the lodge would say, "That old lady is always good, always trying to help other people out." When the old lady got back to her own lodge she reported where she had been all afternoon and that she had received a big bag of corn and her dinner besides.

000 sides. "Oh, you got good pay," they said. Then she added the news about
512 the gift of black tanned skin, and her husband teased her and said, "Let's
476 see that. Just right to make me a pair. You can patch up yours."

522 Back at the lodge, the old ladies said they were tired and went to bed,
512 and White Woman waited for her husband to come home.

While the women were busy with the minor household work and the
623 storage pit, Old Bull and Victory Call had been at a meeting of the Skidi chiefs at the home of Eagle Chief. There were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages—chiefs, subchiefs, and their attendant braves. Eagle Chief yielded his place at the west to the two most important guests and took the southeast position. At the southwest was Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge and in the northwest position, Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. The subchiefs and braves of each of these chiefs sat next to them in a line extending toward the east. At the southeast position, sat Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village with his subchiefs and braves extending inward toward the west along the side of the lodge. On the north side in a symmetrical arrangement was Chief Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village sitting in the northeast position with his subchiefs and braves extending inward along the northside. (See Figure 5-2 for the positions of representatives at the council meeting.)

623 Eagle Chief was the first to address the company, stating the purpose
722 for which he had called them together: "The Sioux are likely to come around any time. Don't each go individually to get wood. We must all go at a stated time when we can have our scouts on the lookout and bring in enough wood to be piled up while the planting is begun, that is at least four days' supply." Discussion from the others present followed, and then Eagle Chief announced that they would have another meeting in about two weeks or more to discuss the matter of clearing the fields in preparation for planting. He now turned over the conduct of the meeting to the chiefs at the west, and Lone Chief took charge, stating that if anyone had anything to say about the business at hand they should do so at this time as they were to have a feast and then talk of other matters.
623 After everyone had spoken his mind they waited two or three minutes
574 and then Lone Chief said, "Now we are going to eat." At the entrance
[624] near the east were the two errand men of both presiding chiefs at the west, and they had prepared the food and were ready to serve. The bowls were piled up near the kettle in which the food had been boiling, and, while one of the men dished it out, the other served. He carried two
[554] bowls to the west, one for each of the presiding chiefs. Then he returned to the east, carried the next bowl to the next chief on the south side, then returned to the east and gave the next bowl to the next chief to the north side, and so on in alternation, one by one on each side. Then the braves were served, one on the south, one on the north, until everyone had received his food, whereupon the errand men served each other.

623
342
35
554

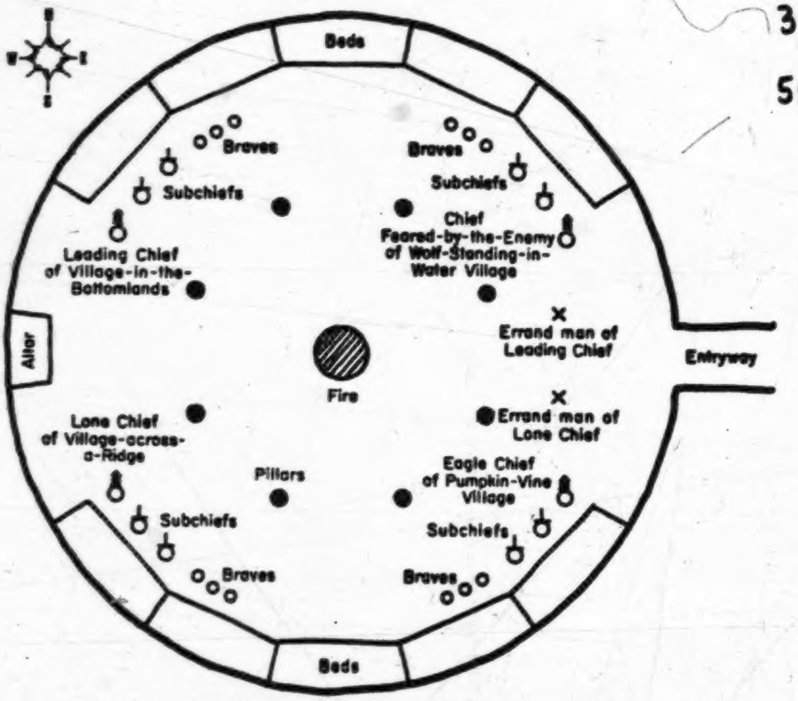

N
W
E
S
Beds
Braves
Subchiefs
Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands
Braves
Subchiefs
Chief Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village
Altar
Fire
Errand man of Leading Chief
Entryway
Errand man of Lone Chief
Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
Pillars
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Braves
Braves
Beds

FIGURE 5-2. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. Mats are placed in the outer circuit against the beds to accommodate larger numbers. Of the supposed twelve villages that formed the Skidi Federation in the past, four villages remained in 1867. Villages must have combined as their numbers were decimated. The original twelve sacred village bundles remained, and some of the subchiefs probably represented these assimilated villages. [631] [778]

This was the time for joking "so that everyone could laugh during the 623
meal." The jokes were of a somewhat slapstick variety as they wanted 574
to be sure that no one's feelings were hurt in any way. Ordinarily, while 522
the social relationship with one's parents was quite formal and restrained, [593]
the relationship with the grandparents was in sharp contrast. It was a [603]
relationship of lively familiarity. Physical handling was rough-and-tumble,
a grandfather sometimes pulling his grandson out of bed of a cold morning and dumping him in the snow to harden him; jokes were often leveled
at the grandchild and answered in kind. The mode of kin reckoning often [601]
involved an extension of the immediate kin terms to more distant blood [602]
relatives, and it worked out so that people of similar ages might address

623 574 522 [601] [602]

each other by the kin terms of grandfather and grandchild—thereby permitting a great deal of free-wheeling slapstick behavior. This was incongruous because of the social position of some of the individuals involved and was considered quite humorous. Eagle Chief addressed Lone Chief as grandson in this way, and he would say, "That's the laziest fellow I ever saw. He sleeps till mid-morning every day. I wish I were at his house. I'd throw him in the water." This evoked considerable laughter because of the incongruity of the situation, and, now that the South Side had made its joke, it was the turn of somebody on the north side. It was decorum to wait a few minutes, and then Leading Chief at the northwest took up the thread and said, "Look at that fellow over there," pointing to someone on the north side. "When I went out with my horses, I saw his horses standing there in a terrible condition. They were turning round and round with flies all over them and they must have been thirsty." (It was the work of the young boys to take care of the horses.) The man on the north side against whom the joke was leveled replied with, "I always hobble my horses, but he took my lariat and unhobbled them. That's the fellow who unhobbled my horses!" During the actual meeting, women were not present, but now the women of the lodge began to return and they too would join in the jokes with the men who happened to stand to them in the appropriate relationship.

623 574

This was the end of the meeting, and Leading Chief of Bottomlands Village sitting at the northwest presided over the closing. He said, "Now we are to get wood. Some of you, Lone Chief in particular (object of the last joke), must be in a hurry to go tend their horses. Any who wish can stay and tell stories, but now we have eaten [and the meeting is at an end]." Everyone said *nawa* and most of them rose and left the lodge. A few lingered. Enough extra boiled buffalo meat was usually portioned out at such a feast so that everyone had a substantial piece to take home to the family. Food from a chiefs' council was thought to have the special virtue of conveying a blessing of plenty to the women and children, and some of the men were eager to get home and share what they had with their wives and children. It was for this reason that they had been requested to bring their own bowls when they were invited that morning.

623 203 722 313

The decisions reached by the chiefs at their councils were always announced to the people soon after the meeting was over. One old man for each village with a somewhat resounding voice usually acted as the village crier. He would stand on the roof of his earth lodge between the smokehole and the entrance passageway facing east and call out:

"Day after tomorrow, we're all going for wood—the whole bunch of us. You young men—after breakfast take your bow and arrows. Go up on a high hill and be on the lookout to picket for Sioux or any other kind of danger. Women have to fix up their packstraps and everyone should

sharpen up his axe, fix up the ropes, borrow a horse to haul the wood if 623
you need one. If two or three lodges are going afoot together, they must 203
keep in line so that we know where you are." (Those with horses were in 722
less danger and might go in any order.) There was another thing he 313
warned them against—that is, taking young girls along. They were just
the ones the Sioux would be trying to capture, and the old man remarked,
they weren't really strong enough to carry wood anyway! Another dan-
ger was a magical one. The spirits of men who had been scalped by an [775]
enemy were very much feared. They were thought to lurk all around,
trying to capture women or steal whatever else they could get their hands
on. So the old man cautioned, "If a woman hasn't kept up, the line must
wait for her until she arrives. She might be captured by one of the
scalped men. This is the time you have to look out for that."

When the young men heard the crier's announcement, five or six of 722
them would gather together at a favorite rendezvous and say, "Let's go
together with our bows and arrows real early before the others and stay
up there until everyone comes home." According to their plan, on the ap-
pointed morning they would go out before the others and disburse over
the area to see whether the enemy was lurking about. They would leave
the villages about 7:30 in the morning and stay out all day.

The chiefs' meeting had come to an end that afternoon while it was 574
still full daylight. Old Bull had gone off to tend his horses. Victory Call, 521
having nothing in particular to do since he had Horse Rider to help him,
wandered over to the gaming grounds where some of the men were clus-
tered about making their bets on the outcome of the hoop and spear
game, while others were just watching on the sidelines. Victory Call sat
down at some distance from the game and two of the spectators came to
join him. The man who sat down at his left filled up his pipe and offered [276]
it to Victory Call, lighting it for him. Victory Call offered the mouth-
piece upward for the first puff to the cosmic powers in the heavens say- [782]
ing, "Greetings, all of you spread out up there." Then he offered the
mouthpiece to the earth and said, "Greetings, my mother." Now he took
two puffs on the pipe and began to share it with the men on each side of
him in the alternation: first to the right, then himself, then to the left, and
so on. When the pipe was smoked out, Victory Call was feeling in a genial mood. He made a special arrangement of his robe that had up to now been carelessly draped around his shoulders. He drew it down to his waist and, crossing his legs with the robe folded in a certain order, showed by this token that he was ready to tell a story. The men who had sat down with him were anxious to hear what the chief had to say, and particularly what had gone on in the meeting he had just attended before the crier got around to announcing it. Several more men joined the party with the same idea in mind. Victory Call might begin directly, or one of the men would suggest it obliquely saying, "I heard you had a feast."

574
521
"Yes, we had a feast. It was about having the whole tribe go out for wood." "Yes," one of the men would say, "springtime is coming now and it's about time we got the wood ready. Womenfolk have to go to the fields." Now they would exchange stories until sundown—about war exploits and the horses they had succeeded in getting from the enemy, in which direction they went when they got them, about scouting in the U.S. Army and other similar topics. After about half an hour, the man on his right filled the pipe, but Victory Call ceded it to him. He made the offering to heaven and to earth, and the pipe was passed between them back and forth until they had smoked the tobacco in it. While the storytelling was going on, one of the men decided that he would entertain the chief at his house for dinner and sent a little boy with a message for his wife to prepare a meal for their honored guest. When he was notified that the meal was ready he said to Victory Call, "I want you to come up to my lodge. We're going to have a little bite." The host would call over one or two more and invite them to join the party, saying "I want you to come up. We're going to have something to eat."

[276]
[782]

574
[554]
Victory Call was seated in the place of honor at the northwest and the host at the southeast. The women of the house dished out the food and passed it around. After they had eaten, Victory Call got up first and left walking out by the north side of the lodge. After he had gone they would say, "He's a good chief. He goes about and sees what's going on."

When Victory Call got home that evening, he found White Woman waiting up for him. "I've already eaten," he said. White Woman retorted by way of banter, "I didn't ask you if you had eaten." Then he sat down by the fire and she brought him his tobacco pouch. Guests were likely to come in soon and join him for the rest of the evening for a smoke and some talk. Before the guests arrived, they divided into very small pieces the meat that Victory Call had brought home from the chiefs' meeting so that everyone could have a taste.

When the first guest arrived, Victory Call offered him his pipe and said to White Woman, "Cook something." The guest had just had his dinner and said, "No, no, I've already eaten." Then a little time passed and another guest wandered in. He happened to be hungry and he remarked, "I'd like something to eat," and then White Woman had to get to work and prepare something. By this time all the others who were sitting around would have worked up an appetite and Victory Call would say, "Maybe those fellows are hungry. Maybe they can eat." And so the cooking started up again.

574
521
They talked about hunting, trapping, the warpath, chasing the buffalo, and some other incidents that they had seen or heard. Sitting Bull would begin by telling a story on himself. He told that once he had killed a deer and his kinsman came along. Ordinarily he would be expected to give him half the kill, but he had diverted his attention saying, "Go fol-

low the track, the deer went that way. I shot at him and missed." Now he 574
told of how he had hidden the deer so that he wouldn't have to share
it. Now Riding-In joined in and said, "I did the same thing once. I killed 521
a buck and put him in a trough and when my kinsman came along I said,
"I shot at that deer and missed him, but you're on horseback, so you can
go after him." If either of the aggrieved kinsmen were present the guilty
hunter would remark, "Now I wish I had given you half." There would
be no hard feelings on anyone's part as they would feel that bygones
were bygones. The talk went on for some hours and finally all the
women had gone to bed. Midnight was the customary time to stop. Some-
one went outside and looked at the stars. He came in and remarked, "It's
midnight. We're all sleepy. We'd better go to bed." They would all go
out together and look at the stars and the guests would leave for their
own homes. The men of the lodge went out together to tend to their [722]
needs before going to bed. This was for their mutual protection, as [514]
there was always the possibility of a Sioux lurking in the shadows ready
to attack an individual alone. Before going to bed, the women would also
go in a group with a man along for their protection.

Victory Call planned to go deer hunting next day. He made lead bul- 224
lets, cleaned his gun, and loaded it with shavings along with the bullets so
that they would ignite. He filled his horn with powder and now he was
ready for the morning. Old Bull took note of his preparations and
planned to be near the house that day for protection in case of attack.
Next morning, Victory Call got up way before down. He made the fire
and left before breakfast. White Woman would get up later and prepare
the breakfast for the lodge.

6

A DEER HUNT

000

Victory Call Goes on a Deer Hunt—His Kinsman Helps—They Return with the Meat—the Division of the Kill—Guests Are Served a Feast—Conversation Follows

224 WHEN VICTORY CALL LEFT the house, it was still well before dawn and the stars were clear in the sky. He was carrying his six-shooter, and just as he went out he had called out the direction in which he would be going. This was done so that if a kinsman should come in and inquire, he could join Victory Call and help him butcher, thus earning a share in the kill.

He set out toward the sandhills to the north. Up the ravine near the river, the grass was about an inch high. Now the deer came out into the open and picked the new grass. In the colder weather the deer stayed in the hollow places where the timber grew and where a man did not prowl. The sun had not yet risen and he tied his horse in a hollow and climbed up one of the sand hills and sat down to wait. Victory Call liked to sit there in the peaceful quiet with the breaking dawn. Finally as the sun came up he could see the deer on the hilltops outlined against the sky. In another two or three weeks, when the grass was four inches high, the rains would come and wash away the last of the snow, and then they would begin to clear the fields.

After he had made his first kill, his kinsman came crossing his path saying, "You out hunting?" Victory Call remarked, "That's good, I did want company to help me butcher." They butchered the deer together and the kinsman got approximately half. They divided the spoils in the following order: Victory Call got the hide, the meat along the backbone, head and two "quarters" (a quarter was an arm, leg, or flank). The kinsman got three quarters and the entrails which, whether he received them or not, it would have been his task to clean.

222 While they were looking about for the second deer, they were also

keeping on the alert for mushrooms and milkweed, whose tender tops 222
were relished when cooked with corn. Some of the mushrooms were
yellow or green under the head, and these were known to be poisonous.
The edible ones were solid pure white. Any with worms were discarded.
Some men became so absorbed in this search that they wandered too far [648]
out and would be killed by the Sioux. This was particularly likely with
men whose food at home was in short supply.

If Victory Call and his kinsman had the good fortune to track down 224
another deer and Victory Call killed it, he would assign the major portion to his helper. Legally, the entire kill belonged to Victory Call and the division was entirely at his discretion. Sometimes he would be planning to have leggings made out of the skins and then he would apologize and say, "Excuse me. I can't give you the hide." His helper would reply, "That's all right. I just came around to help you. You gave me meat anyway."

The meat was all packed and the two men set out for the village. It [524]
was nearly sundown and they had to pass the village gaming ground where the men gathered watching the hoop and pole game. The players and spectators would remark, "Look at those fellows. They have a lot of deer meat. I'm going up there to get some soup."

The two hunters separated and each went to his own house. As soon as Victory Call approached, a hide was spread inside to receive the meat, and Horse Rider was waiting outside to unload the horse and bring it in.

When Victory Call arrived inside, the first thing he said was, "The 264
folks down there saw me coming. Hurry up and fix our dinner so that we 252
can eat before they all get here." The family had barely finished eating 574
when the people began to crowd in. If it were the first fresh meat of the season in the village, some women would come and say to White Woman, "Daughter, I am begging some meat." "That's good," Victory Call would say, indicating that they were welcome. White Woman and the other women of the house were cooking the meat in large kettles, and men and women were sitting around waiting to be fed when the meat boiled. Some people preferred strips of meat roasted in the coals, and they were sitting around roasting it for themselves.

Then the fire began to burn up brighter and someone remarked, "How 262
about getting to work and roasting the ribs?" Horse Rider then took the 574
ribs and leaned them on stakes around the fire. These would be served at [252]
a more formal feast after the casual guests had left. Otter was sent to invite the guests. Each of the men would invite two honored guests. Victory Call inquired of Old Bull whom he would like to entertain, and he requested that Chief White Eagle be called with his brave, Bringing Trophies, with whom Old Bull was associated in his doctor practice. Victory Call invited Eagle Chief, head chief of his village, Pumpkin-Vine,
and his principal brave, War Cry. Meanwhile the women were cooking [252]

262 coffee and frying bread to supplement the meat course for their guests
574 when they arrived. In the old days they would be baking corn bread in
252 the ashes to be served with the soup.

Four buckskin cushions were placed at the west for the guests of honor,
574 and the rest sat around along both sides on the mats. By the time the
[352] guests came in, the ribs were cooked and the two largest ones were carried
to Eagle Chief and his brave War Cry, who were sitting at the northwest. The next two went to Chief White Eagle and his brave in the southwest seats. The rest of the ribs were carried two by two, first to two guests on the north side, then to two on the south side, and so on until all had been served. A very small top rib was given to any little boy who might be visiting or to the boys of the house, Otter or Yellow Calf.

The food served, Victory Call began to talk to his guests. He told of the highlights of the hunt and that after he had gotten the deer the other fellow came and found him. His horse began to move around and he thought a Sioux was coming, but then he saw who it was and called him over. On such occasions an old man usually invited or just wandered in, knowing he would be welcome. Horse Rider had invited That-Chief, and the old man told them stories of war and old customs continuing after the feast was over. Anyone who wanted to leave right after eating was free to do so. He would get up and say, "I have to go. I have something to do." The old man would stay all night and get his breakfast there. Except for the four guests of honor, there was less protocol
[512] required than in the more formal feasts. After the dishes were
cleaned and put away some of the women would go to bed, while others would join the men and listen to the conversation. Sometimes boys and their grandmothers would sit on the sidelines, keeping themselves warm with a pan of coals. When everyone had gone, they would come up close to the fire and warm themselves. The session went on quite late. By mid-
574 night everyone would leave, and they all went to bed. In the home of
512 Victory Call's helper on the hunt, the same kind of entertaining would
513 have gone on. Past midnight and everyone would be sleeping. Tomorrow it would begin again—the fire lit, the man at his work and his leisure; the women busy, the children playing.

7

THE SPRING AWAKENING

000

Creation Ceremony—Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—Ceremony of Sacred Corn Seeds—Ground-breaking Ceremony—Pawnee Ceremonial Acts Discussed—Planting Cycle Ceremonies Discussed—Significance with Seasonal Progression Noted

THE PAWNEES HAD MANY TASKS to accomplish in the early spring before 796
the time of planting. Some of them were practical and some ceremonial, but to the Pawnees who believed that nothing on earth could move without the heavens, no practical task could be undertaken unless the appropriate ceremony had preceded it.

The first ceremonial act of the year was to awaken the whole earth from its winter sleep. After their long and arduous travels over the plains on their winter buffalo hunt, the Pawnees returned to their villages at the end of February or the beginning of March. The year began about the time of the spring equinox with the ritual recitation of the creation by the five priests, repeated for each of the twelve sacred bundles
of the original villages that formed the Skidi federation. The position of [821]
the stars was an important guide to the time when this ceremony should
be held. The earth lodge served as an astronomical observatory and as [349]
the priests sat inside at the west, they could observe the stars in certain positions through the smokehole and through the long east-oriented entranceway. They also kept careful watch of the horizon right after sunset and just before dawn to note the order and position of the stars.

The round of spring renewal ceremonies was heralded by the ap- 796
pearance of two small twinkling stars known as the Swimming Ducks in 821
the northeastern horizon near the Milky Way. They notified the animals [221]
that they must awaken from their winter sleep, break through the ice, and come out into the world again. At this time the Pleiades began to

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 take a certain position. When these signs were seen, then they must listen
821 for the thunder that is low, deep, and rumbling, starting in the west and rolling around the entire circuit of the heavens. Sheet lightning gave warning that this kind of thunder would soon appear. This thunder was the voice of Heaven, and when it came from the south they knew that it was the signal for the creation ritual to be performed.

796 The ritual was part of the sacred lore of the Evening Star bundle
778 which at this time was kept in the earth lodge of Old Lady Lucky
821 Leader. As soon as the thunder was heard, the five official priests gath-
221 ered there and began their preparations for the ritual. The same ritual
would be repeated for each of the twelve major sacred bundles, the Evening Star which they were about to perform, then Morning Star bundle, then Big Black Meteoric Star and nine others. At intervals all during the month of March the priests went in succession to the different households where each of the bundles was kept, performing the ritual to renew their powers. The order for the first three performances was as given above; the other nine, simply as each of the households happened to be ready to pause in its work and to provide the necessary food for the priests.

796 Now the five priests were sitting at the west in the lodge of Old Lady
793 Lucky Leader, the Evening Star bundle lying open before them. The
sacred objects were spread out on the skin of a tawny yellow calf rep-
[778] resenting the herds of buffalo. Two sacred ears of corn represented their staple food, two owlskins the watchfulness of the chiefs, hawkskins the ferocity of the warriors, flint for fire and sweet grass for incense; paints symbolized the powers of the different directions of the universe. Each of the priests held a gourd rattle in his right hand, and they sang together of the first creation. Their responsibility lay heavy upon them, for they and they alone must bring the world back to life again. Would they now be able to bring back the abundance of summer—the green grass, the trees, the animals reborn, the waters flowing free, the warmth of a summer day? Loud and insistently they recounted each minute step of the creation and in the trancelike depths of their thinking, the events rolled by before them.

773 In the beginning Heaven sat in the unassorted universe and thought. He sent his thoughts out over space. Then he created the celestial gods to bring his thoughts to fruition. First he made the gods of the cardinal directions—the Evening Star at the west with the moon as her helper, the Morning Star at the east with the sun as his helper, in the north the North Star and in the south, Canopus, the South Star. Then Heaven placed four stars in the semicardinal directions—Black Star in the northeast, Yellow Star in the northwest, White Star in the southwest and Red Star in the southeast. Heaven said to them, "You four shall be known as the ones who uphold the heavens. There you shall stand as long as the

heavens last, and although your place is to hold the heavens up, I also 773 give you power to create people. You shall give them the different bundles which shall be holy bundles. Your powers will be known to the people, for you shall touch the heavens with your hands, and your feet shall touch the earth."

Now Heaven spoke to Evening Star in the west. So that they might do her bidding, he sent her clouds, winds, lightnings, and thunders, and these she was to place between herself and her garden; then they would assume human form, appearing in the dress of priests, each with a gourd rattle in his right hand. With these arrangements in order, Heaven was now ready to create the world:

It was the storms that carried out this mission, one great thunderstorm to create the lifeless structure, and a second to endow it with life. All this took many eons.

Heaven told the Evening Star to tell her gods to rattle and sing. As they sang, the clouds came up, then the winds blew the clouds and the lightnings and thunders entered the clouds. The thick clouds gathered over open space and into them Heaven dropped a pebble—a quartz crystal. The pebble rolled in the clouds and as the storm passed over, the whole world below was water. Now Heaven sent out the four semicardinal-direction gods, each armed with a war club of hemlock, the wood known to the Skidi as *atira*, my mother. As they approached their appropriate stations, they were to strike the waters which would cause them to part and expose the earth. Each of the four semicardinal-direction [778] bundles is said to contain such a war club of hemlock that was actually used in the original creation.

Now the lifeless structure of the earth had been formed. A second great storm was needed to put life into the earth. Heaven instructed Evening Star to have her four gods (impersonated by the priests in the ritual) rattle and sing, and, while they sang, clouds came up, winds, lightnings, and thunders, and, while the gods sang of the formation of the earth, "the storms passed over the earth, and as the winds blew, it rained, the lightnings striking in the ground to put life in the earth. The thunders now shook the earth so that in parts where it was not level, the dirt slid down into the valleys." In these two great storms, the earth, *uraru*, was created and then life put into it.

Next were to be created the timbers and the underbrush *tuharu*, that make the land gray. The gods sang, and with the first great storm, the structure of the timbers was created. There was a second great thunderstorm in which the lightning struck them and the thunders sounded over them to put life into the *tuharu*, the timber.

Fourth in the great creation were the waters, *tsaharu*, and two great eras of storm were needed—one to give it its structure and a second to make it a living reality. The bottoms of the creeks, rivers, ponds, and

lakes were cleared as "the wind passed over the streams" and it rained. Then the waters filled the stream, *tsaharu*. Then the lightnings struck the streams and the thunders sounded into them and the sound of the streams flowing through the land was heard to reply, and Heaven knew that they were sweet.

The fifth creation was of cultivated seeds, *kaki·u*. In a first storm, the seeds were dropped on the earth by the gods. Then in a second storm, Evening Star sent winds, clouds, thunder, and lightnings over the earth so that the seeds had life and sprouted. "After all this was done, Heaven was glad and hid himself for a time."

To the stars, Heaven had assigned the task of creating people in their own image. Now Morning Star called them all into council, but in the course of their proceedings, a great conflict developed between him and the Evening Star. Now in order to bring light and life into the world, Morning Star had to set out from his home in the east to conquer Evening Star and mate with her. Evening Star was ready for him. In the four semicardinal world quarters she had placed four fierce animals—wolf in the southeast, who had the power of the clouds; wildcat in the southwest, with power of the winds; mountain lion in the northwest, with lightning power; and bear in the northeast, with his power of thunder. While the other male gods had come from the east trying desperately to overcome the powers, they had all died in the attempt. Now Morning Star with his helper, the Sun, had succeeded, but he had one more obstacle to overcome. Evening Star had provided herself with vaginal teeth "like the mouth of a rattlesnake with teeth around," and these Morning Star had to break with a meteor stone in order to mate with her. As a result of his success, a girl was born to Evening Star. She was the first human being that the stars had created. She stood on a cloud and was carried to earth by a funnel-shaped whirlwind. Now Moon and Sun mated, and they created a boy who was also carried to earth.

The gods now held two more councils to make further plans for humanity. In the first council, the Big Black Meteoric Star presided, in the second, the Evening Star. Heaven now came out of his retirement to help them. He told Evening Star to call her four storm priests to rattle and sing, and it rained on the two children, lightning struck around them, and the thunders roared. At last they understood, and they lay together and a child was born to them. Heaven instructed Evening Star again, and through further storms each young person was instructed in his respective role in life—the girl in the fruitfulness of the earth, the form of the earth lodge, the nature of speech and of the land outside. The man got the clothing of a warrior and was shown the way to travel over the earth, how to make war and how to hunt; he was also taught his role in the act of procreation.

The people began to increase and Evening Star came many times in

visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her 773
four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti,* "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it [829]
is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled re- [628]
counting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the [631]
past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In
Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and on-
going life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the 796
year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first cer- 619
emony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, 631
a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a cere-
mony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. [778]
(See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual 796
during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved 782
[793]
[221]
[727]

796 782 [793] [221] [727] [178] the sacrifice to the Morning Star of a young girl that had been captured from the enemy. This was compensation to the Morning Star god for his struggle during the creation. The last girl to be sacrificed to the Morning Star was a young Sioux girl named Haxti in 1838, after which the practice was abandoned. This ceremony symbolized fertility in general.

796 221 778

TABLE 7-1. *Chart of Sacred Bundle Ceremonies in the Spring and Fall*

The several ceremonies of the spring planting and fall harvest form a parallel series, the six ceremonies in each showing a recurrent alternation of the powers of the Evening Star and the four semicardinal-direction bundles. The first four pertain to planting, fertility, and war, the latter two to buffalo hunting and migration.

Spring	*Fall*
I. Spring Renewal—ceremony of the creation at the first thunder from the south; Evening Star sponsorship.	I. Green Corn Ceremony. Evening Star sponsorship.
II. Distributing sacred seed corn of the special breed of corn included in the sacred bundles. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the summer-direction bundles —southwest or southeast.	II. Harvest of Mature Corn. Mature corn from sacred seeds installed in the sacred bundles, replacing the sacred ears of last year's planting. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the winter-direction bundles—northwest or northeast.
III. Ground-breaking ceremony, *Awari*, movement, activity. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an affiliate of the Evening Star in charge of the ritual as sponsor.	III. Four-Pole Ceremony—symbolizing political federation and control of the country through war expeditions so that they could go out into the country on the hunt. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an Evening Star affiliate in charge of the ritual as sponsor.
IV. Birth and growth of Young Mother Corn through adolescence to young womanhood; known as *Kurahus*, "Priest." Semicardinal-direction bundle in charge of ritual as sponsor.	

BUFFALO HUNTING AND MIGRATION

796 221 778

	Spring		*Fall*
V.	Ritual Chiefs' Meeting. Chiefs personify Heaven and acknowledge their sole responsibility to lead the people to a successful conclusion of the buffalo hunt. Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person in charge of the ritual.	V.	Ritual Chiefs' Meeting. Chiefs acknowledge their sole responsibility to lead the people to a successful conclusion of the buffalo hunt. North Star bundle in charge of the ritual.
VI.	Great Cleansing Ceremony of the ceremonial objects. Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast bundle of the four Semicardinal-direction set, in charge. Tribe leaves the village to go off on the migration and summer buffalo hunt.	VI.	Great Cleansing Ceremony of the ceremonial objects. Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast bundle of the four Semicardinal-direction set, in charge. Tribe leaves the village to go off on the migration and winter buffalo hunt.

The next ceremony concerned the corn itself. The sacred corn included in all the bundles was of a specially cultivated breed that was ordinarily not eaten. At this ceremony these seeds were distributed to each of the sacred bundle owners so that the sacred ears of corn could be grown for their bundles. The two "north" bundles of the semicardinal directions took charge of this ceremony in alternate years, one year the northeast, the next the northwest, etc. This ceremony was held late in April.

796 221 241 778

During the first week in May the ceremony that immediately preceded the planting of the common varieties of food corn was performed. Until it was carried out, no planting could be done. It was under the sponsorship of the Skull bundle, thus maintaining the principle of alternation of sacred responsibilities, since it was an Evening Star affiliate. The outstanding feature of the ceremony was a pantomime of breaking the ground preparatory to planting. The ground was customarily broken with a hoe made of a buffalo shoulder blade tied to a short wooden stick that served as a handle. During the ceremony, the women went through the motions of breaking the ground with sacred hoes that were kept in the four semicardinal-direction bundles and borrowed for the occasion. The action was very vigorous and the ceremony was appropriately called *Awari*, "Motion." The planting was done the very next day after the ceremony.

The final ceremony of the spring planting cycle was called *Kurahus*,

796 221 241 778 "Priest"; it was performed when the sacred corn plants were about two inches high and had four good leaves. This ceremony was in charge of one of the two "south" bundles of the semicardinal directions—in alternate years, the southwest and the southeast. The crux of the ceremony was the uprooting of one of the young sacred corn plants, in which the act of birth was symbolized and the young plant carried as an infant on the visionary's back from the field to the ceremonial lodge, where it was attached to a stick fashioned by an arrowshaft maker and painted to represent a person. The plant was now carried through a cycle of childhood and young girlhood and breathed on by the priests to give it life. It was now Young Mother Corn, watching over the tribe. Only when this ceremony had been performed were the women permitted to go out into the fields and weed the corn plants and hill up the earth around them to protect them as they grew. A second weeding and hilling process in the latter part of June was the last attention the corn plants received before being "laid by." The people were then ready to leave for the summer buffalo hunt.

796 221 Without this ceremonial cycle, the coordination of the people in their orderly round of life could not go on. While it was primarily a religious frame, it was also of basic practical value since it was based on the seasonal progression. Without it it would have been almost impossible to coordinate people's lives with one another and with external events.

Some of the activities that were necessary during the spring season were fitted into the cycle rather than being part of it. This was particularly true of the manufacturing and maintenance functions, while the ceremonial cycle referred especially to the planting of the crops.

221 [356) [296) All winter while the people had been wandering over the country on the tribal buffalo hunt the house had stood idle and their clothes and equipment had taken heavy wear. These had to be put in order and repaired before planting time.

356 476 221 554 622 The average life of a house was twelve years, but before the end of that time water might leak through the roof and rot some of the radial roof beams. These would have to be replaced, and in order to do this the whole roof covering of thatch and earth had to be removed and reassembled. This task would require more than the personnel of the household. Where the men of the house had little social status they would have few social contacts to draw on, but men like Old Bull and Victory Call were in a much better position to get help from the community. Because of their status as chiefs many more people were likely to volunteer to help. The following section shows some of the social mechanisms involved in the process. However, it should be noted that the assistance given was neither on the basis of power authority nor fundamentally for the sake of gaining social status by association, but rather in appreciation

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

of the role of the chief in public service. For the house of the chief was the place where administrative activities were carried on for the benefit of the people, as we have seen in the meeting described above in the home of Eagle Chief.

356
476
221
554
622
[342]
[344]

8

000

REPAIRING THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE

Repairing the Roof a Spring Task—Cooperative Nature of Work—Detailed Description of Repairing Roof—Project Is Completed with Wide Cooperation from Villagers

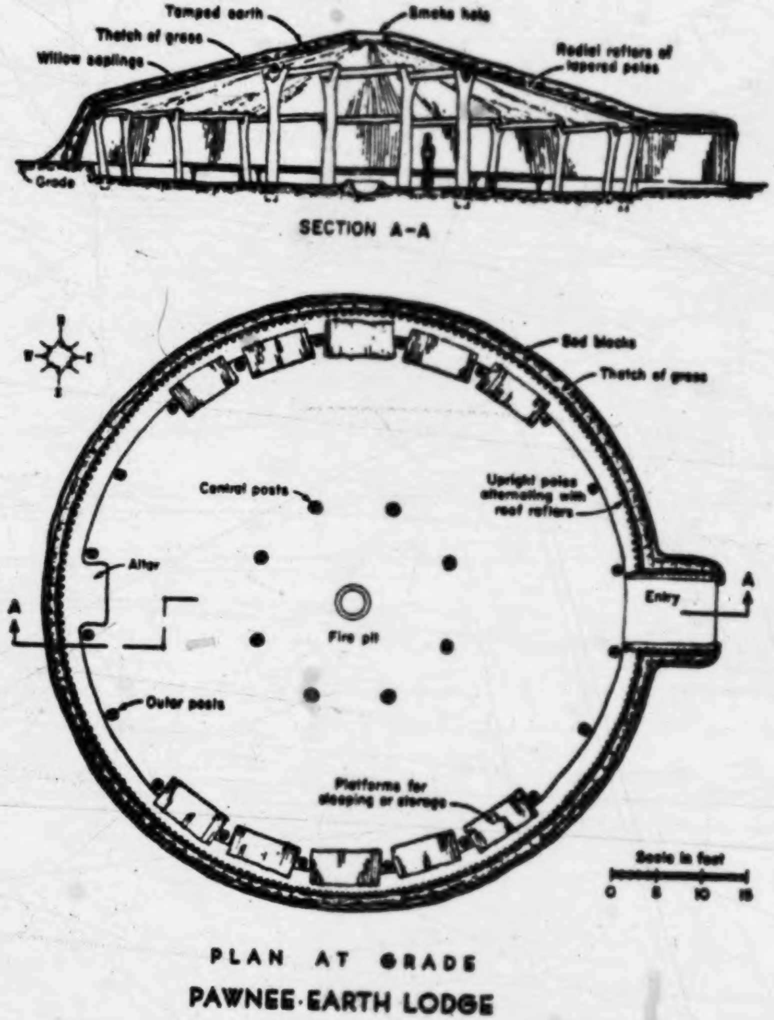
356 [342] ALL WINTER LONG the house had stood unoccupied, the roof covered with snow while the people were away on the hunt. By spring, when the snow began to melt, the water seeping through the hard-packed earth and the thick layer of thatch might reach some of the radial timbers and rot them. Each household had to come to a decision as to whether to rebuild the whole house or just to mend the roof. This depended on the age of the house and the extent of the damage. They would count only on fifteen years as the maximum life of the house, and, when they anticipated a need for rebuilding they had to plan at least two years in advance to locate, process, and season the timbers, grass, and other materials. (See Figure 8-1 for an architect's plan of the earth lodge.) [476] [554] A man who was influential in the community could count on extra help from his fellow villagers who would gladly volunteer, while a less important person had to depend on whatever labor force was available in the house itself.

356 461 476 It took eighty-six to ninety man-woman days of labor to repair the roof of an earth lodge. It was a construction job that was accomplished with no overseer and no commands. A great deal of individual labor was consumed in preparing the materials, and this was done mainly by members of the household over a period of time. The actual construction work took only three days and was accomplished with a large number of volunteers. By way of compensation, the women of the household had to feed from thirty to fifty people for at least three meals.

356 One day in the fall of the year, Victory Call had been observing the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 90]

342
356
335


Tamped earth
Smoke hole
Thatch of grass
Willow saplings
Radial rafters of tapered poles
Grade
SECTION A-A
Sod blocks
Thatch of grass
Upright poles alternating with roof rafters
Central posts
Altar
A
A
Entry
Fire pit
Outer posts
Platforms for sleeping or storage
Scale in feet
0
5
10
15
PLAN AT GRADE
PAWNEE EARTH LODGE

342
352
353

FIGURE 8-1. Architect's plan of a Pawnee earth lodge.

356 roof of their house. He noted that seven of the radial timbers were rotting, and he remarked that they needed replacement. Old Bull made no comment, but he knew that they would carry on this enterprise together. [283] During the winter buffalo hunt, each of them killed a buffalo bull so that [237] they could keep the hides to make rawhide strips for use when the roof was rebuilt the following spring. Around the smokehole, fastening the radial roof rafters together, were two stout willow hoops, one on the inside and one on the outside. These were tied in place on the radial rafters with the rawhide strips. It was this mechanism that gave the symmetrical form and strength to the whole cone of the roof, and the tying was therefore important. At the same time as the hides were obtained, the women [251] made sure to dry plenty of buffalo intestine so that they would have [262] enough to make soup for the volunteers. While the bison hide was still [281] fresh, the women removed the hair.

Now during the spring Victory Call and Old Bull kept an eye out for
356 elm trees from which they could strip the bark to use in tying on the wil-
314 low circuits around the roof frame. A cut was made near the bottom of
283 the elm tree so that the bark could be loosened; a strip about two inches wide was ripped upward from the bottom. Five or six strips were taken from each elm. The strips were dried and stored until the actual time of building, when they were soaked in water and used wet so that they would make a tight bind when they dried in place. It took a large number of these elm strips to fasten the circuits in place around the roof.

Now Victory Call went into the timber to locate seven suitable wil-
356 low trees. The next day he returned with his wife, White Woman, and
313 his retainer, Horse Rider. The trip to the Loup River was five or six miles. Victory Call cut down the trees with his axe, and Horse Rider and White Woman proceeded to lop off all the branches with a hatchet. After the trees were cut and the branches removed, they went home. Next day White Woman and Horse Rider returned and began to remove the bark, hacking it off from stub end to point; the man worked with an axe, the woman with a hatchet. Two trees were debarked, and they returned until they had finished the seven. After debarking, the poles were left in the timber to season for three days.

356 Meanwhile, without further discussion, Old Bull had gone off to look
313 for willow withes to make the circuits. When he got home he remarked to his younger wife, Clear Day, "There are some nice willows down at
824 Beaver Creek. Tomorrow we can go out and cut them." In the evening when Victory Call and the others got home from the Loup where they were fixing the radials, Old Bull remarked that he had been looking around and had seen some willows and that the next day they were going to cut them. Queen Woman and Old Lady Blue Calico of the South Side decided that since the women of the North Side were working so hard on the construction work, they would take over all the cooking for the family.

the family. Hauling in the materials was a considerable task. The two 000
families were fortunate in having enough horses so that two could be 492
used to transport the seven radials over the six-mile journey in one day. 356
These radials were leaned outside the house against the roof until needed. It required a wagonload or four large double armfuls of the willow saplings to make the circuits. These had to be hauled in from Beaver Creek about a mile away, a task carried out by Old Bull and his wives.

With these materials in place, Victory Call went out prospecting for 356
thatch grass. He had to travel five miles southwest of the village near the 824
Loup River where the grass grew near the edge of the timber in a little hollow place with some sand hills. Nearer the villages, the horses had eaten it up. That night the women on the North Side, White Woman and the two grandmothers, sharpened up the edges of their buffalo shoulder-blade hoes so that they could cut the thatch grass next day. No Corn, Horse Rider's older wife, was crippled with arthritis and was unable to do that type of work. She remained at home and did necessary household chores. Meanwhile, the women on the South Side continued to provide the meals for all of them. Next morning the two men and three women went with their two horses to the grass patch. The women cut the grass and the men saw that it was properly piled up. The grass was gathered into five bunches, each 3 feet high, the layers being laid down, one layer with stub ends one way, the next layer with pointed ends in the same direction so that the bundle would be even in thickness. The grass was tied into tight bundles and loaded one on each side of the horse. The two horses were loaded, White Woman packing one of the bundles, and when they arrived home the grass bundles were placed next to the bundles of willow withes and weighted down with sticks so that they didn't scatter in the wind. The materials were now ready and they could arrange for the actual construction.

Arrangements were now made to move in with other families until the 356
roof was fixed. Old Bull spoke to their neighbor, Coming-Downhill- 574
Bringing-Trophies, whose house was located just across from theirs, and 476
Victory Call made arrangements with Chief's Road whose lodge was 571
right next door. There was a friendly relationship between the households of Victory Call and Chief's Road. Chief's Road had the social rank of commoner, but he was a very successful warrior and hoped that someday his ambition to be an administrative officer would be realized through his friendship with Victory Call. He hoped that should Victory Call become head chief of their village, he would select him as his official brave. He was the most skillful arrowmaker in the Skidi Band, and he often made arrows for Victory Call and rendered him many other services. Victory Call returned the courtesy with gifts of wood for fuel and portions of meat from his hunting. The children of the two lodges also played together. Chief's Road had the lodge with his brother, and

356 476 both their families lived there together and were glad to offer their hospitality to Victory Call and to the North Side family.

574 571 The first step in the process of roof repair was demolition, the earth and thatch having to be removed. The North Side worked on its half and 356 476 the south side on the south half. There were seven women for removing the earth on the north side. White Woman and the two grandmothers, two women from Chief's Road's household and two women who were the wives of White Woman's brother, Uncle War Cry. Uncle War Cry, as he was known to the boy Otter, was a frequent visitor to White Woman's house, often dropping in for meals, as was appropriate to their relationship. He was the head brave of the Skidi Band, assisting Eagle Chief. He was a huge man of brusque and forthright temperament as [571] befitted his station as executive officer. Victory Call and all the others in the lodge liked him very much, and there was a very relaxed relationship between the two households. He had three wives and a large number of children from whom he often sought relief in White Woman's household. Now two of his wives came to help out, and he was also on hand to watch the proceedings.

From the South Side, Old Bull had four women available to do the work of removing the earth—his younger wife, Clear Day and her mother Blue Calico and two women from the household of Bringing [164] Trophies where they were staying. His senior wife, Queen Woman, was unable to do this work as she was crippled with arthritis, a common affliction among the Pawnees. Each side had a number of important men who stood around and supervised the proceedings, giving advice to the women; it was beneath their dignity to climb up on the roof themselves. On Victory Call's side on the north stood, in addition to Uncle War Cry himself, his younger brother Brave Shield (also known as High Noon) who was a prominent member of the Skidi Doctor Association. Also present was the head of the association, Big Doctor, and their neighbor, Chief's Road at whose house they were staying.

On Old Bull's side stood Eagle Chief, head chief of the Skidi Band, White Eagle, another prominent Skidi Chief, Bringing Trophies, at whose house the family was staying, and Rider, who was keeper of the sacred bundle of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village.

Assistance with the work itself was given by a group of young men in their twenties who came as volunteers. They had varying social connections with the people involved. When Eagle Chief got home one evening, he remarked that they planned to fix up the roof at Victory Call's house. On hearing this his son, Man Chief, got together a group of young men and they were glad to go. As Mark Evarts remarked, "They didn't have to be told. They just did things willingly. Such people should not have to be asked. The older men would say, 'When I was a boy, I used to do such things without being asked,' meaning that one hears of some-

thing of this kind that has to be done and one simply volunteers." A per- 356
son who acts in this way is referred to as "A-Person-Whose-Ears-Are- 476
Standing-Erect," viz., an alert person. Living in Eagle Chief's household was the older son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Fox Chief. He was also helpful in gathering in the young men to help out his father. Fine Horse, son of Victory Call's older brother Sitting Hawk, also came, and a younger brother of Chief White Eagle, who was standing on the south side with the influential men.

A number of older men who were also referred to as "boys" came. 356
They were men who had little interest in having a prominent social status. 554
They preferred to go hunting, to go on the warpath, to be free and easy 476
in their manner. They were helpful to anyone who needed help and had little interest in social dignity or administrative functions. They freely gave away what they had and had no interest in accumulating anything or in having a well-appointed home. Because of their manner and attitude toward the social formalities, they were somewhat affectionately referred to as "boys" whatever their age might be. They commonly took over the responsibility of dangerous scouting assignments when these were called for. Four of these men came, and they climbed on the roof and helped out with the work. They were: Advance Scout (also known as Skidi Jake); Horse Finder; Riding-ahead-Coming; and Wants-the-Enemy.

About eight o'clock in the morning the women were stationed on the 356
roof near the top and they began to scratch off the earth with their buf- 476
falo shoulder-blade hoes. They scratched around one circuit down to the [462]
thatch grass and then began on the next one, pushing the earth down each time to the lower course. Finally the earth accumulated close to the sod collar at the bottom, where it was left so that they could pile it up again after they had repaired the frame. The men stood around giving advice, telling the women to scratch here or there; it took until nearly noon to get all the earth off the roof. Meanwhile the young men were removing the thatch grass and cutting the bark tyings that held the willow withe circuits and removed them while the women were scraping on the lower circuits. The thatch grass was placed around the outside of the circle of earth and the willow withes in a circle outside the thatch. Then the young men examined the radials and removed the rotten ones, and the men standing below handed up the new radials which were put in their places.

Horse Rider had been preparing the elm bark strips that he had soak- 356
ing overnight so that they could be tied on the new circuits of willow 476
withe. They also had the bison hide that Old Bull and Victory Call had 283
gotten on the winter hunt for making the rawhide rope needed to tie on the hoops around the smokehole. War Cry inquired whether they had been cut into strips, and, if this was not already done, Brave Shield, War

356 Cry's younger brother, would immediately set to work and do it. The
476 young men climbed to the top and fastened the two hoops in place.

283 Meanwhile White Woman had been cooking a meal for all of them
in the house of Chief's Road where they were staying. She entertained
356 the family of the house and everyone who had helped on the North Side.
574 The meal consisted of grease bread and soup made of dried intestine.
476 Some of the women had brought their own bowls out of consideration
[262] for the number she needed to feed. Old Bull's senior wife, Queen
Woman, was cooking and serving a similar meal in the house of Bringing
Trophies, to entertain all who had helped on the South Side. No one lingered
over the meal, as they were anxious to get back to work.

The women took their bowls home and came back. They rested while
356 the young men tied on the new circuits of willow withe to the radials
476 with the moistened elm strips. They began at the bottom circuit and proceeded
462 to the next circuit upward. When they reached the higher circuits,
the "boys," Advance Scout and the others, began to fasten the
thatch grass to the bottom circuit. As they got further up, the young
men now took up this work, while the older "boys" began to pile the
earth on the lower circuits, the women filling up their pans with earth
and handing them up to the men on the roof. In households of less social
status, the women would have had to do a good deal of the work on the
roof themselves; in this case they were spared any need to climb up
356 further. When the work was completed, there was usually a dinner meal
574 for a large number of people, including some who had merely come
to watch the proceedings. Each of the hostesses usually had a party of
about fifty to feed. Everyone was tired and they waited until the following
morning to sweep out the house and move back in. Now the time for
221 planting was drawing near and they began to think of the immediate
241 preparations that remained.

In the whole course of this large construction job there was no foreman
356 to oversee the work; not a single order was issued nor a command
46 given; the work was performed with precision, and no inspection was
needed to check its quality or workmanship.

9

THE PLANTING OF THE CROPS

000

Ground-breaking Ceremony—the Women's Role—Explanation of Ritual—Songs of the Ceremony—the Process of Preparing and Planting the Crops Explained—Cooperation in Fields Discussed—Dangers of Attack—the Swim at the End of the Planting Day

THE CORN WAS THE FIRST CROP to be planted and then came the beans, 241
squashes, and melons. But before any planting could be done, the *Awari*
or "Ground-breaking Ceremony" had to be performed. The four special [778]
ministers of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person kept watch along
the creeks for the first leaves to appear on the willows; then they knew
the time was right for the ritual. They also had to wait for the dark of
the moon that signified darkness and germination. Now the four ministers
met together in the lodge where the Skull bundle was kept to make a
plan for the ceremony. The actual inception of the ceremony was during [787]
the past winter while they were on a buffalo hunt, when a woman had
had a vision that she was the one to see that it was performed. She called
on the help of her brother, who killed a special buffalo for her, and then
she invited the four ministers and told them of her vision. Then she dried [251]
and packed the rest of the buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit to
be used when the ceremony was performed in the spring.

This was the only Pawnee ceremony in which women played a major 241
role, and the original visionary through whom the ceremony was insti- 562
tuted for the season was also a woman. But the ceremony itself was di-
rected and carried through entirely by the men. Now with the sprouting
of the willows it was time.

The woman of the house where the Skull bundle was kept got up 241
574
778

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

241 574 [778] early in the morning after the ministers had met, took the bundle from the west where it was hanging, and placed it outside on a tripod. She cleared the lodge of all the bedding and swept it with hyssops, while the four ministers each went to his separate house and sent boys out to collect willow sprouts to be delivered to the ceremonial lodge. There they were piled in two piles, one to the north and one to the south, and the woman spread them around the lodge radially with their pointed ends toward the fireplace, their stub ends outward toward the wall. She placed the floor mats on top of them, two on each side of the lodge and one at the west in front of the altar. The ministers seated themselves and sent for the woman visionary after inquiring if she had the bundle of consecrated dried buffalo meat ready. They also invited four prominent women—daughters of chiefs, warriors, or medicine men—who were wealthy enough to furnish a parfleche of dried buffalo meat and a kettle of corn and who would play a major role in the ceremony. The woman visionary was seated at the north, the four guests at the south, and the ministers then announced that they were about to conduct a ceremony so that the women could go into the field and plant their corn and that they had selected them to be leaders of the dance. Their acceptance of the role meant they were ready to make the necessary contribution.

That evening they all rehearsed their part in the forthcoming ceremony. The woman visionary was anointed by the ministers and the significance of the ritual explained to her. The four women who were to assist her were seated two to the south and two to the north. Other women who were attending were seated behind them. The descendants of the original Skull bundle owners were seated on the north side, other men scattered around the lodge.

[534] [778] The four ministers sent for the four gourd rattles that were attached to the Evening Star bundle, and when they were brought in they began to rattle and sing while the woman visionary practiced her dance. The spectators went home, and the four ministers, the woman visionary, and Skull bundle owners remained and had a dinner of corn and meat together, talking about past customs and the origin of the Skull bundle. At midnight the brother of the woman visionary came to escort her home while the ministers remained sleeping near the altar, the head minister remaining awake to watch for the dawn when the proceedings would begin.

241 The ritual was in three parts, one session from dawn to breakfast time, the second from breakfast time to ten in the morning, and the third in which there was major public participation, from ten till six-thirty in the evening. About seven-thirty in the evening there was a meal for everyone including the spectators to close the ceremony. [574]

[778] The dawn-to-breakfast part of the ceremony celebrated the original coming together of the villages, commemorating the special creative

achievement of the original visionary of the Skull bundle. This was celebrated by decorating the four pillars of the earth lodge that were in the semicardinal directions. To each of them was tied a bundle of willows and some dried buffalo meat and fat—tied on with buffalo-hair ropes. On each pillar under the offering was painted a colored stripe in the color appropriate to its semicardinal direction. The woman visionary was not invited, but was asked to send the consecrated buffalo meat which was set down at the south side of the fireplace. The Skull bundle owners were sent for and four selected to go out and gather the willows. Then they went in procession around the houseposts, one line on the outside, one on the inside, proceeding in a counterclockwise direction, (southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast) tying on the offerings to each post in succession and then painting them. 241 778

The sacred objects were next suffused with incense from burnt sweet grass mixed with fat, and the buffalo skull that usually rested there was removed from the altar and the skull of Wonderful Person put in its place. This was the first object to be "incensed"; then came the other objects in the bundle, then the ministers themselves, and then the errand men. After the incensing, all went home except the ministers and errand men, who had their breakfast there of meat and corn.

After breakfast and for the next four hours the lodge was prepared for the public ceremony. The major feature of the public ceremony would be a pantomime of hoeing to break the ground for planting, and the woman visionary was now called in to take part in the preparations. She came in with her brother, who was dressed in his best because he was to go through the village asking for gifts on behalf of their undertaking. He would walk through the village calling upon their relatives and saying that Wonderful Person needed wood and his sister needed help in her enterprise—would they please cook something? In answer to his request, they would bring gifts to the ceremonial lodge.

Meanwhile the errand men were sent out to borrow four sacred shoulder-blade hoes that were kept in the four direction bundles. When they brought these in they were placed in pairs on the north and south of the altar. From the Skull bundle itself were taken two deer necks placed at the south and two loon necks placed at the north of the altar. [825] These symbolized the fact that loons fly high against the sky and bring us messages from Heaven, which Wonderful Person would now be representing in the ceremony. A pure young man who had shed no blood would be selected to decorate the skull for this role. He first painted the face red and on it a line design in blue, bow-shaped and extending across the forehead and down the cheeks, representing the vault of the heavens, and a blue line down the center and along the nose for the breath of Heaven descending from the zenith, passing down the nose to the heart and giving life to the child (see Figure 9-1). The minister [531]

241 778 now dressed the skull in a black skin turban with a knot on the forehead. Inside the turban were soft down feathers mixed with red paint (to represent the visionary's brains), and on top, a soft feather as a plume.

[531]

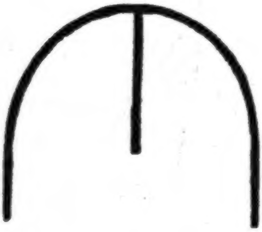


Figure 9-1. Representation of face painting symbolizing the vault of the heavens and the breath of Heaven.

[431] [782] Gifts began to come in: kettles of corn and meat were placed at the south, buffalo robes and other offerings between the fireplace and the skull.

[203] [431] [782] The woman's brother and a young man were sent out to all the lodges to invite the people. They dressed in their best and everyone that came brought a gift. Soon they crowded outside the door of the ceremonial lodge, and after the brother had made a smoke offering with the pipe toward the heavens and the skull the people were allowed to come in. They piled their gifts in front of the skull.

The paraphernalia were handed out to the women who were to do the dancing, and a special coiled basket was handed to the woman visionary and one to her assistant. This basket, especially made by a woman under the direction of the minister, symbolized the container ordained by Heaven to carry earth from which the world was created and the germs of life. At the time of the creation, Heaven caused this basket to move of itself through space.

The four ministers of the Skull bundle now took up their rattles and sang, "Now we are going to start to dance. Everyone wants to dance and shake the earth."

241 535 At the first song the women stood ready to scrape the earth with their hoes, right foot forward, arms extended. They were followed by the woman visionary and her partner, who now got up and danced with the coiled baskets. Next followed women with loon necks and then young women with deer necks. These had to be chaste young women. Now the hoes were taken over by the old women, for they were early risers and good workers in the fields. When these got tired, other women came over and took the hoes, carrying out the motions of hoeing all the time:

> The visionary moves her basket back and forth—dishing out. The four ladies with the loon necks swing them as if digging in the earth. The two girls with the deer heads dip them up and down, swinging back and forth. 241 535

As the women danced with the hoes, a few men danced among them with their bows and arrows poised as if aiming at something. If the women seemed to be getting tired, the men rubbed against them like buffalo bulls. After the dance was over, the minister asked if everything was all right, and when they looked around at the ground there were rolls of buffalo hair scattered all over. They knew that everything would be all right then, that they would succeed in the buffalo hunt, and that there would be plenty of corn.

There were eight song episodes in the entire series with three intermissions. 241 In the intermissions, a special type of byplay took place that had nothing to do with the order of the ceremony itself. The special characters comprised four young virgins and four warriors on each side of the ceremonial lodge. As the women were dancing with their hoes, these virgins and warriors stood up and joined them, and at the time for intermission each virgin got a pipe filled with tobacco that was at the altar and gave it to a warrior. The connection between war and fertility is a leitmotif that runs through much of Pawnee sacred ceremonialism as elaborately exemplified in the human sacrifice to the Morning Star. [181] [782] In this byplay between virgins and warriors this theme is also represented. In the kin system, familiar behavior is characteristic of grandparents and grandchildren only; otherwise people must maintain a formal position with each other. [603] [602] Since familiar remarks are going to be made, the virgins address the warriors as grandpa and the warriors address them as granddaughter. Each virgin having handed a pipe to a warrior, the byplay began:

> Holding his pipe in his left hand, he flexes his arm and moves it back and forth in jerky movements as if running and stamping his right foot three times and then his left as if on the run. He might say, "I was east on the warpath and I killed a Sioux," or he might tell how he stole horses on the warpath. Now the warrior makes a smoke offering and addresses his "granddaughter." He is going to give her advice on how to conduct her sex and marital relations. "Don't let your husband kiss you unless he gives you a horse." "All right," the girl answers, "I'll do that." A warrior on the south side says to his girl partner, "Granddaughter, give me the pipe and I'll tell you what I did. On the Republican river I killed a Sioux and I left him there." Then everyone will say, "Well, why didn't you bring him home?" Then he makes a smoke offering with the pipe the virgin has given him and says, "Grand-

241 daughter, when you get married and your husband leaves you, don't go after him. Let him go." The girl takes the pipe from him and says, "I thank you grandpa, I'll do that." The girl returns the pipe to the four ministers of the Skull bundle and the warrior gives her a gift.

TABLE 9-1. *Some Songs of the Ground-breaking Ritual, the* Awari.

241
192
533 The term *awari* is a compound stem, the first part, *a-* signifying "being" or "living" and the second part, *-wari*, to go actively about, such as traveling. The Pawnee used this stem as we do "up and about" meaning to be in good health. The combination *awari* indicates the principles of life and motion *par excellence*, the vigor of life.

Like all the songs of the sacred bundle ceremonies, each song is repeated in at least ten stanzas or "steps." The stanzas are identical except for the substitution of a single word at each repetition: These substitutions are the words that symbolize the basic realms of the universe in their order of creation, *uraru*, "land"; *tuharu*, "natural vegetation"; *tsaharu*, "waters"; *kakiu*, "seeds"—the four major realms of the women—and *asuru*, "moccasin"; *kstaripiru*, "string of moccasin"; *rawitat*, "robe, covering"; *waruksti*, "something holy"; *atira*, "my mother" (corn); *kiriki*, "thunder"—the six major realms of the men. In each case, the word is substituted for *huraru*, "land," in the version given here.

241 EIGHT SONGS OF THE GROUND-BREAKING *Awari* RITUAL

533 *Song I*

539 1. *huraru* *wirahawati*
the land now the one that plucks it (clears)

Song II

1. *huraru* *katit* *witasikaru* (sung as *-rau*)
the land black now you distribute them
2. *awari* *katit* *rasikara'u*
movement black you that distribute them

The significance of Song II is that the Evening Star as it appears sparkling and wavering is the power that animates the earth when it generates in darkness. The dancers try to flit about like the sparkling stars.

FIRST INTERMISSION

Song III

1. *wirahunaririwisisa*
now the earth sidewise comes
2. *hatira* *rahunaririwisisa*
my mother earth that sidewise comes

Song IV

1. *huraru* *ra'a*
earth the one that is coming
2. *hi* *awari* *ra'a*
there movement that is coming

In the third and fourth songs, the earth comes sidewise from the basket and is endowed with life.

241
533
539

Song V

1. *wirispixkawiʔ*
now you aim
2. *i* *huraru* *tasiwixkawiʔu*
there land you aim at it

The act of planting is compared to a kind of shooting with the bow and arrow into the earth.

SECOND INTERMISSION

Song VI

1. same as (1) of Song V.
2. *wirahuraraxkawuhu* *atira*
when she is putting them in the earth my mother
3. *huraru* *awari* *atira'a*
earth movement, life my mother corn

Song VII

1. *kutihawaktu'*
Now it is budding
2. *huraru* ti' ((u))
the earth it is

Second Episode of Song VII

1. *rahawaktariwata*
sprouts come out (peeping)
2. *i* *huraru* *rawakararuahu*
there earth the one that is giving forth sounds, implying that the earth is shouting, viz., that the plants are calling for life

THIRD INTERMISSION

Song VIII

1. *huraru* (*ta-*) *sutiriku*
earth you are looking at it
2. *i·ri* *atira* *i·ri* *huraru*
here it is mother here it is earth
3. *awari* *rahu·ka*
movement that comes in
4. *i·riʔi* *atira*
here it is my mother

Second Episode of Song VIII

1. *huraru* *sirirua·hu*
earth they two are tossing it about
2. *kaixtsu* *hu* *siriraruahu*
coiled gambling basket see they two are tossing them about
3. *awari* *hi* *siriraruahu* *awari*
movement there they two are tossing them about movement, life
4. *siriruahu* *awari*
they two are tossing it about movement. life

241 After a whole morning and afternoon of dancing and singing, the feast was served to all, including the spectators and everyone went home except the four Skull bundle ministers and the woman visionary, who had to return the four sacred hoes to the four direction bundles with a gift of meat and calico to their owners and pack up the other objects. By this time the ministers were hoarse from all the singing, and by the next morning the old women who had participated in the dancing were very stiff.

Early next morning the visionary woman's brother took the willows that had been tied to the four house posts and carried them to some clear water west of the lodge. Then he deposited them under the water in the semicardinal directions they had occupied in the lodge.

243 The ground being ritually prepared, they would begin to plant. Early next morning everybody went into the fields. Men and women pulled up the weeds by hand and occasionally a man would use his axe to remove some sumach that happened to be growing there. All the weeds were burned up on the spot and one could see the smoke of the fires everywhere. Only the sunflower heads were saved, in anticipation of the harvest when they would need fuel for roasting the ears of corn.

243 According to a missionary report of the 1850's, the time was May 8th
221 and everyone felt impelled to hurry, for the time was short before they would be leaving their villages for the summer buffalo hunt. With everyone cooperating, the entire planting would be done in about six days. By mid-May they could begin preparing their clothes and equipment for the summer migration.

243 That night, after they had cleared up the fields, they soaked their corn kernels in a pan to be ready for planting next morning. Some people soaked special "medicine" with the seeds to promote their growth. The next morning they went into the fields, carrying their corn kernels in a bucket or sack to keep them moist. Each carried enough for twenty corn hills, five to seven kernels to a hill. The first thing they did when they got to the field was to hoe up the ground with a buffalo shoulderblade hoe to a depth of about 2 inches. Having removed the roots and sprouts, they replaced the loose earth and began to build up the corn hills. A corn hill was 1–1½ feet in diameter. There was a small circular excavation like a miniature fireplace with loose earth all around it. Four to six seeds were inserted around the sides and one in the middle on top. Some made a number of hills and then inserted the kernels, and some completed the planting of each hill as it was made. After the seeds were inserted, the earth was hilled up all around into a smooth little mound.
[195] The corn hills were irregularly distributed over the field about a man's step apart, and the women made sure that there was an even number by analogy with their own breasts, a metaphor that was not uncommonly cited.

Next they planted the beans, sometimes in the same hills with the corn 244
so that the vines could entwine themselves around the cornstalks. If they planted them in separate hills, they set in willow sticks for the vines to cling to.

Last of all, they planted pumpkins, squashes, and watermelons [*Citrullus, citrullus* (L.) Karst., indigenous variety—Gilmore, 1919, pp. 120–
129.]. These were planted in separate patches and served to separate the [243]
different varieties of corn in order to preserve the breeds. There would be a planting of blue corn, then a pumpkin patch, then spotted corn, then a melon patch, and so on in this order.

Between two adjacent fields, there was a hill or ridge where the sun- 241
flowers grew by themselves without planting. Some women surrounded 423
their fields with a fence built of stakes connected with rawhide ropes. 578
Disputes about the boundaries of their fields sometimes occurred among
the women. Some women would pile the earth further and further on the [417]
far side of the field and encroach on the field of a neighbor. Some women stole crops, whereupon arguments would ensue and they would curse one another and call one another names. The woman from whom the corn had been stolen would strike the other woman with her hands or with a
stick. The informant said that stealing was actually unnecessary, as a poor [476]
women could easily get some corn by appealing to her neighbor di- [735]
rectly, saying, "I want you to take pity on me and give me some corn."

Women always went to the fields in groups for their own protection; 241
the Sioux made a particular point of attacking and scalping them as they 476
were going into the fields or coming home. This was presumably to ex- 722
ert sufficient pressure to chase the Pawnees from their territory and in-
duce them to abandon it entirely. The mortality among the women from 648
this cause was heavy. In 1861 in one such attack eighteen Skidi women were killed. One group of women would say to the other, "We're going to clear our fields, how about you?" Then the two groups would set out together, any woman who finished first helping the others so that all would be ready to return at the same time. The young men, without being told, knew that this was the time to picket around the fields.

In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each of the mature 241
women had at least one field. Clear Day, the younger wife, and her 423
mother, Blue Calico, worked one field together, as was customary with 592
mother and daughter until the younger woman was considered responsible enough to manage her own. Fields were located along the bottomlands on both banks of Beaver Creek, and some women had a closer and a more distant field. The ones that were closer to the villages were, of course, the more desirable both for transport and for military reasons. An individual field was from half an acre to one and a half acres in area.

Patterns of cooperation were well developed in each household so that 592
the women would get through quickly. Queen Woman would say to

592 Clear Day and Blue Calico, "I can take care of the housework myself.
You two go plant your field." On the North Side, White Woman had a
double role to play and was hard pressed for time. She had "to take care
of her husband" and was also the main provisioner of the North Side of
the household. She was responsible for repairing her husband's moccasins
[437] when they wore out; when he went to the trade store to trade in a buffalo
robe for supplies of flour, coffee, sugar, prunes, or dried apples she
would accompany him to do most of the carrying. Whether he went on
horseback or on foot, he would carry only small items, being poised for
any threatened attack. When she became overburdened with work in this
way at the crucial time of planting, the two old women on her side,
Grandma Chase-the-Enemy and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, would
come to her aid. "Let's get through with our 'daughter's' field first. She
has to do the cooking for the whole family and take care of her husband."
The three of them would then go out together and finish up White
Woman's field and then the two old women would work each other's
fields in turn cooperatively.

517 On the way home from the fields they all washed their hoes and took
a swim in Beaver Creek. Heads would be bobbing up and down all over
526 as they swam back and forth. When they finished their swim and cleaned
313 their hoes, they would pick up whatever driftwood they could find and
515 take it home. High water sometimes left good sticks at the bend of the
creek. This moist wood was piled way at the back of the woodpile, since
unless it was left to dry out it would smoke and hurt the eyes. The
young women sat on the banks of the creek and slapped the surface
with their feet to see who could make the loudest noise. This was considered
quite a trick, and sometimes they tried it with their hands. It was
like the sound of the dried corn kernels when they were threshed at the
time of harvest, and expressed the hope that the corn might ripen.

343 Sometimes a sweat bath was preferred to a swim in the creek. When
515 they got home tired and dirty they would then build a sweat lodge inside
the earth lodge on the north side. All during planting time an old man
888 would sit on the roof of his earth lodge in the evening and call out various
521 ous items of advice. He would particularly recommend a sweat bath. He
would say, "If you're tired it's best to sweat. Then you will feel better
[757] next day. If you should have a headache, you must sweat. When you get
in from the fields, take a sweat bath. It cleans you up better than the
[515] creek." There were many other things the old man had to say, particularly
complimentary remarks to the women to bolster their morale. After
some general praises, he would cite some particular women specifically,
saying how industrious they were and what fine crops they raised. Presently
a little boy or girl would come and invite the old man to a little treat
in the home of the woman he had mentioned, usually some bread and
coffee.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The following is a simplified translation of an old Pawnee woman's statement of her experience of planting when she was a little girl in Nebraska, and a more exact statement of the old man's speech: 887 521 539

> An old man sitting on top of the earth lodge would be talking to the women at the time when they were going into the fields. He would say, "Now dear ladies, now you are disfiguring your bodies (getting them all muddy). Heaven has placed the wonderful bow and arrows in your hands. Heaven made it for you to be wonderful. You are wonderful! You repeatedly keep 'swelling me up.' When you put the corn in and it comes peeping out, that's what you fatten me with, my dear ladies."
>
> Then we women began to cut the grass, that is, clear the field. And when I was not yet mature, they would get me up early in the morning while it was still dark, and we two, my mother and I, would be in her field. She would have some porridge there for me. When mother was planting, oh, the corn mound would be big! Then she would dig a hole in the top and place inside the mound, seven seeds—not bunched together, but separately spaced. Then she covered it over with earth and the mound would be smooth. [241]

One of the only common instances of group planting was "planting for the daughter-in-law." The women relatives of the newly married groom would plant, cultivate, and harvest the bride's first crop. As many as twenty-five women would be gathered in her field and they would go to her house and get her seeds and line up in the field ready to plant. The field, about "half a block" long was hoed and planted by the women more or less in unison while two old women sat at the far end singing a song from one of the sacred bundle ceremonies: 241 476 602 [533] [539]

You are just hoeing around,
Big ground, lucky ground.

They were ranged in rows and while the women sang they made the mounds. Then they put in the seeds and then they all went to the home of the daughter-in-law where they were entertained at a feast of corn and dried buffalo meat. They repeated this performance when the corn sprouted, when they cultivated the field, and again at harvest. [574]

10

THE CAPTIVE GIRL SACRIFICE

000

Importance of Sacrifice to Pawnees—Dream of Warrior and Initiation of Sacrificial Ceremony Preparations—Capture of Sioux Maiden—the Ceremony of Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—the Sacrifice in the Nineteenth Century—Its Interruption and End—the Heroism of Man Chief—Aztec Origins

773 796 782 [241] AFTER THE CREATION CEREMONY in times past, the Pawnees had an awesome rite that they believed would ensure the fertility of their soil and the success of their crops. In the creation story, fruitfulness and light had come into the world because Morning Star and his realm of light had conquered and mated with Evening Star in her realm of darkness. Out of that contest, the first human being was conceived—a girl. From time to time the Morning Star demanded a girl in return.

773 796 782 787 He came as a vision to a warrior in his dreams on a night in the fall of the year. In the vision, Morning Star appeared as a man anointed with red paint, wrapped around with a buffalo robe, his leggings decorated with scalps and eagle feathers. There were soft down feathers in his hair and a single eagle feather stood upright in his scalplock. Holding his war club he spoke to the warrior in his dream: "I am the man who has power in the east. I am the Great Star (*Upirikutsu*). You people have forgotten about me. I am watching over your people. Go to the man who knows the ceremony and let him know. He will tell you what to do." When he awoke and went outside before dawn, the warrior saw the Morning Star in the sky and he knew he had been chosen for the heavy burden of making the sacrifice. He ran crying through the village to the house of the Morning Star priest, singing as he went, "When he comes,

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

when he comes, father, I am seeking for you." When he arrived at the 773
priest's house, they embraced and wept together, and then the priest 776
filled a little pipe with tobacco and asked the warrior to tell of his dream. 782

After he had heard his vision, the priest filled the pipe and went out-
side where he lit it and offered it to the Morning Star so that he would [787]
bless the young man. When the pipe was smoked out, the priest returned, emptied the ashes, and sat for a while talking with the warrior. The priest again filled the pipe and handed it to the warrior who lit it in the fireplace and carried it outside offering the first puff to the Morning Star, begging his pity and his guidance. Then the priest told the warrior to go home and to return when he was ready. He thought deeply of his forthcoming task as the priest had instructed him and at last asked the people in his lodge to make him several pairs of moccasins for the journey, filled with balls of pounded up sweet corn and some parched corn for his food. Everyone in the village was watching him, and some experienced warriors who had decided to go with him also asked their families to make similar preparations.

The visionary returned to the priest's lodge where they sat together
for four days. When he came on the fourth day, the priest took the
Morning Star bundle down from where it was hanging over the sacred [778]
altar and removed the holy objects that the warrior would need, lighting the pipe from the bundle and offering smoke to each of them in the required fashion. The objects were an otterskin collar, Mother Corn, a hawkskin, an extra pipe from the bundle, some soft down feathers, and the skin of a wildcat, its legs filled with native tobacco and paints. These things the warrior would need for his costuming when he impersonated the Morning Star so that he could set out on his fateful journey. The ceremony took four days, and then the warrior went through the village to call on the men he knew were ready to come with him. He also chose a number of assistants—a younger man, four scouts from among the volunteers, and helpers and errand men. While the priest instructed him, the others went to their lodges and got their things. At midnight the priest went outside waiting for the Morning Star to rise and then went inside and costumed the warrior to impersonate him—a buffalo hair rope around his waist, an otterskin collar around his neck with a hawkskin fastened on and suspended from his right shoulder, the ear of Mother Corn from his left shoulder. He painted his face with the red ointment—two streaks on either side of his face and a bird's foot on his forehead (astronomically unidentified; "right on the Milky Way"). He gave him the pipe to carry in his left hand or in his robe with the stem pointing upward. As the Morning Star was rising the priest said, "Here is your man. He is wearing your clothing. Protect him and make him successful." Then he led the warrior around the fireplace, faced him toward the entrance, his assistant beside him and the others following behind in

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

773
796 the order of the procession—the four leading scouts, firemakers, cooks,
782 and messengers.

After traveling 15 or 20 miles, they lay down to sleep among the thick
773 weeds, resuming their journey through the afternoon to a timbered spot
796 where they made camp. The errand man cleared the ground, made a lit-
782 tle fireplace in the middle, and the leader took off his costume and put it
at the west end of the fireplace where the altar would be in the earth
721 lodge. They all sat around the fireplace in order of their rank and cosmic
726 affiliation, ate a meal, and talked a while; then the leader told them to lie down while he watched the sky and from time to time smoked his pipe. Just before the Morning Star rose, the scouts went out; when the star came up the leader began to recite the ritual, and hearing it everyone awakened and they continued on their journey. At noon they stopped, the scouts joined them and reported what they had seen; in the afternoon, they continued with their journey. Every day they traveled this way until the scouts reported that they had seen signs of the enemy. When the village was sighted, the scouts went all around, counting the tipis and generally taking stock of the situation. They made a final camp in the timber, making a large circle as if for an earth lodge, a fireplace in the middle with the excavated earth from the fireplace in a little mound to the east outside the circle. At the request of the leader, the warriors placed their gifts at the west, and taking some tobacco from the feet of the wildcat skin, he filled the sacred pipe and one of the men was chosen to do the ceremonial smoking to the celestial powers. The scouts made a final check of the enemy camp and when they got back, the leader ordered a large fire built and the ritual dancing began. The leading members of the party sang the songs of the creation: "The power of the *earth* goes through the enemy's country; the power of the *timbers*, *waters*, *seeds*. . . ." Others all sang and danced, "This is the way I do when I am imitating him (the Morning Star), when I become angry, when I am imitating him," and as they sang and danced, they attacked the fire as if it were the enemy. At the rise of the Morning Star, the leader also danced, put on some of his regalia, and got his pipe ready, and they set out for the enemy village, the scouts in the lead. In his prayer to the Morning Star he asked that he lose none of his men. At the enemy village, the leader was stationed at the east facing the Morning Star; he sent his assistant to lead a party around by north and another man by south to surround the village. At the southeast the man representing the Fools-the-Wolves Star was to alert them with his first wolf cry, and then at his second wolf signal everyone would attack the village. They were reminded that they were not to kill unless it was necessary, but only to locate a thirteen-year-old girl and pronounce her holy for the Great Star. The one who found her was assisted by the others to bring her to the leader. No one else in the village was to be harmed. The four scouts were to

drive the horses from the village toward their encampment so that they 773
could leave in a hurry. The enemy would not immediately attempt a 796
pursuit as there was a feeling that this was a kind of cosmic destiny. 782
Retribution would be visited upon the whole tribe later on in a regular 721
war party. The girl was placed on a pony behind her captor, and 726
they rode all day, sleeping only three hours during the night until they approached the village. As they approached, the leader set the prairie on fire to let them know that they had been successful. The warriors smeared their faces with soot. The Morning Star priest came out and led the captive girl to the village and to his lodge.

Now that the girl had been captured the first stage of the warrior's 773
mission had been accomplished. The sacrifice would not take place until
the following spring. The whole tribe would go off on the winter buffalo 796
hunt, taking the girl with them. When they got back to the village 782
and the creation ceremony had been performed, the priest of the Morning 727
Star would watch for a sign from the cosmic god that the time for the ceremony had arrived. Meanwhile, the returned war party settled back in the village. The visionary warrior went to the lodge of the Morning Star priest and returned the costume which was replaced in the sacred bundle. Warriors told how many of the enemy they had touched and the war counts they should receive because of this and the number killed.
The women danced the victory dance. The keeper of the Wolf bundle 773
was called to the Morning Star lodge to take over the care of the girl 796
who would remain in his charge until the time of sacrifice, throughout
the period of the winter buffalo hunt and the spring that followed. He 782
was to watch over her at all times and was to take her for her meals to the home of the visionary warrior. According to the creation legend, the wolf was the first creature to suffer death; he was murdered by the people because of his perfidious conduct and as a result from that time
on all living things must die (see below, pp. 328-329). The Wolf bundle [778]
commemorated these incidents and its keeper was thought to be a descendant of the original owners. Sirius, the southeast star, was the Wolf Star and it was connected with death. The Wolf man now entered the lodge of the Morning Star priest who bathed both him and the girl in incense from the smoke of burning sweet grass—first the girl and then the man. Then the girl's costume was taken from the Morning Star bundle. She was rubbed with red ointment made of pigment and buffalo fat and dressed in a calfskin skirt tied around the waist by a rope, an overblouse, a warm buffalo robe, some black moccasins, and a soft down feather to wear in her hair. She was given a special wooden bowl and a buffalo horn spoon for her exclusive use at meals, that was also taken from the bundle. It was dangerous for others to use her utensils as the supernatural beings might then consider them part of the sacrifice.

While they were on the winter hunt, the warrior visionary would have

773 to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used
796 in the sacrifice ceremony.

782 Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning
[821] Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose
ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior
[787] visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be
held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special
costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role.
Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings
occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of
cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in
[292] order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin
[825] with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the
renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water
after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a
feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So
dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions
of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came
bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four
long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace
extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the
middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being
pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood
[823] appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm,
[824] northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast.
The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time
the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and
otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

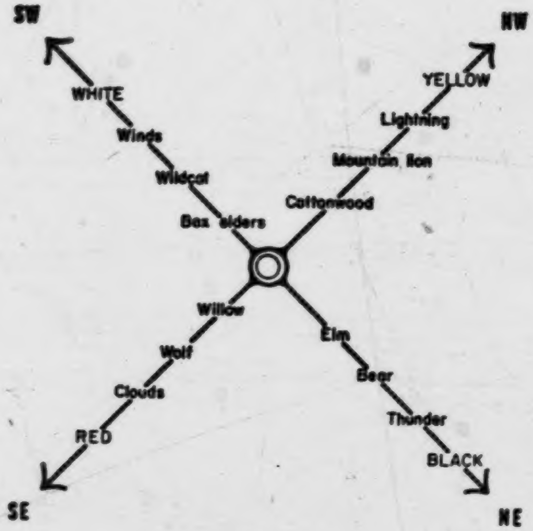
The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Tuwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

with red buffalo-fat ointment. Four circles were made on the ground one 773
in each of the semicardinal directions to symbolize the four quarters of 796
the universe that the Morning Star had to pass as he approached the 782
Evening Star. The circles were made by a man who stood in the middle [823]
and extended his toe as far as possible, drawing his foot on the ground as [772]
he turned. The tracks were filled with soft down feathers from the bundle. The priest smeared himself with red buffalo-fat ointment and suffused himself with sweet grass smoke. The actual ceremony could begin.

The priest of the Evening Star bundle sang the first part of the ritual and after a pause, the Morning Star priest took charge. He sang two songs. Then they had their meal. The Wolf man opened the next phase, bringing the girl to the altar where she was anointed by the priest with red ointment given to him by the war leader. They returned to their seats and the ceremony continued all night. The second day's ceremony was of the same kind. On the third day they continued to sing and dance, the war leader beginning the dance and then being joined by the others. The war leader took up the northeast pole from the fireplace with the fire still burning on its end and pointed it at the girl without touching her, first toward her right side then toward her left. Next he took first the southwest pole following the same procedure, then the northwest pole and then the southeast pole, following the prescribed order. Now, on the third day, the crowd of spectators became heavy and began to push into the lodge and tear holes in the roof so that they could witness the proceedings.

While the ceremony was going on in the lodge the priest gave direc- 773
tions for the preparation of the sacrificial scaffold. He sent men to find a 796
suitable location a mile or two east of the village with a ravine or a 782
series of dips in the ground to the east of it where the attacking war- 417
riors could hide during the ceremony. Wood for each part of the sacrifi-
cial frame had to be of special kinds: cottonwood for the two uprights; 824
the four crossbars near the bottom serving as steps, each symbolizing one of the four semicardinal directions, the bottommost elm, then box elder, cottonwood, and willow, each associated with an animal power. Elm represented the bear and the northeast; box elder, the mountain lion and the southwest; cottonwood, the wildcat and the northwest; and willow, the wolf and the southeast. When the men reported back to the priest that they had located the wood, he gave them four strips of animal skin, each one of the appropriate animal with which to tie the crossbars to the frame. Near the top of the two uprights was another crossbar of willow, symbolizing Heaven, which was tied on with otter-
skin to symbolize the renewal of life. They were instructed by the 773
priest to dig a rectangular pit under the scaffold in area about the size 796
of a buffalo robe commonly used to wrap a sacred bundle and 5 inches 782
417

796 782 773 417 deep, the bottom to be covered with soft down feathers. The pit symbolized the Garden of the Evening Star from which all life originates. The pit was called *Kusaru*, which in Pawnee simply means bed.



[82] FIGURE 10-1. Association of symbolisms for the four semicardinal directions: colors, natural forces, animals, trees.

796 773 782 In the ceremonial lodge, the dancing and singing continued on the fourth day. Whenever they ate during the ceremonies, the girl was served, and once in a while she was taken out to walk around, always accompanied by Wolf man. The main theme of the fourth day was the destruction of the four semicardinal circles in the appropriate order as Morning Star had done in the creation as he warred on the Evening Star. The priest, impersonating the Morning Star wore leggings decorated with scalps. First he arose and sang and danced around the north side, then the south side, then back to the altar. He danced around the lodge again and when he arrived at the east he whirled around suddenly and destroyed the northeast circle scattering the white feathers around the lodge, then the southwest, the northwest, and the southeast circles, making a grunting sound each time as if attacking an enemy. Then all sang the fifth song and the girl was taken to the altar to be costumed for her last role.

[822] Her body was painted, red on the right side, black on the left, the red to symbolize day, the time of the Morning Star, and the black to

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

represent night, the time of the Evening Star. She wore a skirt and a 773
painted hide robe around her shoulders. Now they sang of the origin of 796
the Morning Star itself that they thought had come from a meteor. They 782
sang to the girl, "You are now wearing the covering of meteorite [822]
grandfather," and in the next song, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite father," and then, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite brother." They completed her costume with a row of feathers standing up erect along the median line of her head. Her costume complete, she sat down in her place next to the Wolf man. They sang until midnight and then they paused, awaiting the time of the Morning Star. Meanwhile they placed a pinch of tobacco before the altar and sang about flint, the meteorite grandfather and other Morning Star symbols. Thereafter they would have to address their songs to the Morning Star in the sky. During the pause, once in a while the visionary took up the four direction poles from the fireplace and pointed them at the girl as he had done before in the prescribed succession: northeast, and so on.

Now the procession to the scaffold would begin. All the men and 773
boys and even male infants were to participate in the sacrifice. During 796
the day, one of the priests had climbed up to the roof of the earth lodge 793
and called out, alerting them to be prepared with their bows and arrows.
In the ceremonial lodge, the priest gave the war leader the braided elk- 782
hide ropes to tie on the girl's wrists. He took up the gourd rattles. It was almost daylight. The four priests of the four direction bundles had gone out to dress, each being assisted by a specially designated person to adjust their costumes and to get ready. The Northwest man (Yellow Tent) wore two owlskins on his back that he had taken from his bundle; in his hand he held the bow he took from the Skull bundle and a red arrow that he had added to it. The Southeast bundle man (Red Tent) also had two owls and took a stick with coals on the end. The Southwest bundle priest (White-Mother-Born-Again) had two owls also and he took a war club. The fourth priest, representing the Big Black Meteoric Star (black, northeast) who also wore two owlskins on his back, took the flint knife.

Now all sang and started on the procession, the girl and the Wolf 773
man in the lead followed by the visionary-war leader dressed in his ot- 796
ter collar, his otter belt with sixty-five scalps, his pipe, and other regalia 782
and the four direction priests in their costumes.

The dawn was coming and the scaffold was ready. Slowly the procession went toward it. As they went they sang four songs. The girl looked around and wondered. The first song said, "She was looking around for just a little time." Then they sang of Heaven and of the powers of the bear, the mountain lion, the wildcat, and the wolf as the girl approached the scaffold. The Wolf man urged her to mount and as she

773
796
782

climbed each rung, a song was sung about the appropriate animal. Singing they tied her on and then left her there facing east.

The war leader and four direction priests were hiding in the ravine; now the four priests came out one by one. The Southeast bundle man with the burning stick ran out of hiding and barely touched the girl on the arms and loins. The Northwest bundle man came out with his bow and arrow and shot her through the heart. Now the Northeast man of the Big Black Meteoric Star rushed up with the flint knife and made a small cut over her heart. Taking some of the blood, he painted streaks on his face. The southwest man came with the warclub, and he made a gesture at her. The blood of the girl was allowed to drip on the dried tongue and heart meat of the consecrated buffalo, and the priest made a new fire at the southeast, the burnt offering of the sacred meat being made by the priest of the Evening Star bundle. Now all the men and the boys of the Skidi Band, singing war songs, riddled the body with their arrows. Then the priest told them to leave the sacrifice.

The priests now made a final disposition of the body. It was full daylight, and four men who had been chosen to assist, untied the body and took it about a quarter of a mile to the east, placing it on the ground face down. They sang, "The whole earth, she shall turn into. The whole earth shall receive her blood." Then they spoke of nine things in turn: "She will turn into a bunch of grass; the ants will find her, the moths will come and find her, the fox shall come and find her, the coyote, the wildcat, the magpie, the crow; buzzards will come and find her, and last of all will be the bald-headed eagle who will come and eat her."

All the people who participated in the ritual went to the ceremonial earth lodge and there ate a meal of consecrated buffalo meat. The public dispersed.

[786] In the village there was general rejoicing. Men and women danced, and there was a period of ceremonial sexual license to promote fertility. Some women dressed themselves in their husband's war costumes, dancing around and making fun of the men. They mimicked what they did in war and ceremony.

> They carried the Mother Corn. . . . They would go to the secret lodge, and standing outside of it would tell the story of how they came to go on the pretended war party and what they did while they were gone, what enemies they struck—the whole long story. The people stood around laughing as they did these things. Imitating the warriors, the women changed their names also. One of the leading old women once took the name "Mud on Meat" another "Skunk Skin Tobacco Pouch" another, "Sitting Fish Old Man," another "Stepping on the Heart." The old men standing around joked with the old women and they all joked and made fun of each other.
>
> (Grinnell, 1925, p. 368)

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Captive Girl Sacrifice

So the ceremony had ended. The Morning Star had received back the 773
first girl to be placed on earth, and he would again look after the people 796
in peace and in war. In the way of the Morning Star, death and life, 782
war and fruitfulness were one process.

When the news of this dramatic rite first reached the eastern seaboard 796
of the United States in 1820–1821, it created something of a sensation, 782
especially in the light of the obvious Mexican analogies. In 1816 an 175
Ietan (Comanche?) girl was captured by a Skidi warrior in preparation
for sacrifice to the Morning Star in the spring of 1817. The chief of the 648
Skidi at this time was Knife Chief (*Ritsirisaru*) of Pumpkin-Vine Village. In 1811 he had been on a delegation to see William Clark in St. Louis who was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the region and they had had a long and serious talk in which Clark impressed Knife Chief with the fact that the white people were coming in ever-increasing numbers "like the waves of the ocean—in, in, in. . . . It's coming; every year more people come over here," and that the Pawnees must prepare to adapt themselves. Knife Chief was impressed with the validity of his argument and he realized that their ceremonial practice of human sacrifice was a serious barrier to their relations with the whites. He talked to the people in an effort to get them to abandon the custom, but the warriors of the tribe and the priests, always suspicious of the political motives of the chiefs, were hostile and defiant. The ceremonies were continued and on the appointed day the girl was led out and tied to the scaffold.

On the trip to see Clark in St. Louis, Knife Chief had been accom- 796
panied by his son (or possibly paternal nephew) Man Chief (*Pita-risaru*), 782
and, now in his early twenties, he was an outstanding warrior and uni-
versally respected. With the crowd gathered and the warrior ready to 175
shoot the fatal arrow, Man Chief rode before them and told them that his father disapproved of what they were about to do and he had come to rescue the girl or die right there. By Skidi belief, anyone who touched the consecrated girl during her captivity would soon die, for they would be taken by the Morning Star in her stead. From the point of view of those assembled there, Man Chief was thus offering his life as forfeit for hers. The crowd now held off in awe, and Man Chief was able to cut the girl down from the scaffold and place her on a horse and send her south to rejoin her people, which she succeeded in doing.

The next year, 1818, a Spanish boy of ten was captured in Oklahoma and dedicated to the Morning Star. This time Knife Chief managed to call a chiefs' council and he was able to ransom the boy with his own store of goods to which was added that of the trader and interpreter, Papin, and Manuel Lisa. The boy was returned to Lisa's trading post on the Missouri north of Omaha, Nebraska, by the middle of June 1818. Notice of the escape of the boy, along with an account of an additional sacrifice, appeared in the *Missouri Gazette* of St. Louis.

796 By 1820–1821 the story of the conduct of Knife Chief and his son Man
782 Chief had come to the attention of Edwin James and Jedidiah Morse, and
175 through them it became known. In the fall of 1821, when Man Chief
648 went east to Washington with a delegation of chiefs, the detailed story
of his bold rescue had been published, and the girls at "Miss White's Select Female Seminary" contributed enough money to have a large silver medal made which they presented to the handsome young Pawnee hero at a public ceremony. The medal bore the inscription "To the Bravest of the Brave." The medal was later excavated in an Indian grave near Fullerton, Nebraska, on the Loup River by Alonzo Thompson. It is illustrated in Hyde's book. The portrait of Man Chief was painted in Washington by Dr. King and later included in the McKenney and Hall volumes on Indian tribes. As Man Chief accepted the silver medal, he said that when he had done this thing he had not known it was brave. But now that they had called him brave and given him this medal, he thanked them and would always think of them. After the delegation left Washington, they continued on to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York and wherever they went they were greeted by large crowds and showered with gifts. Originally the delegation had left the Pawnee village in October 1821 under Major O'Fallon and was undertaken with the purpose of impressing the Pawnees with the power of the whites. A chief from each of the four bands had gone.

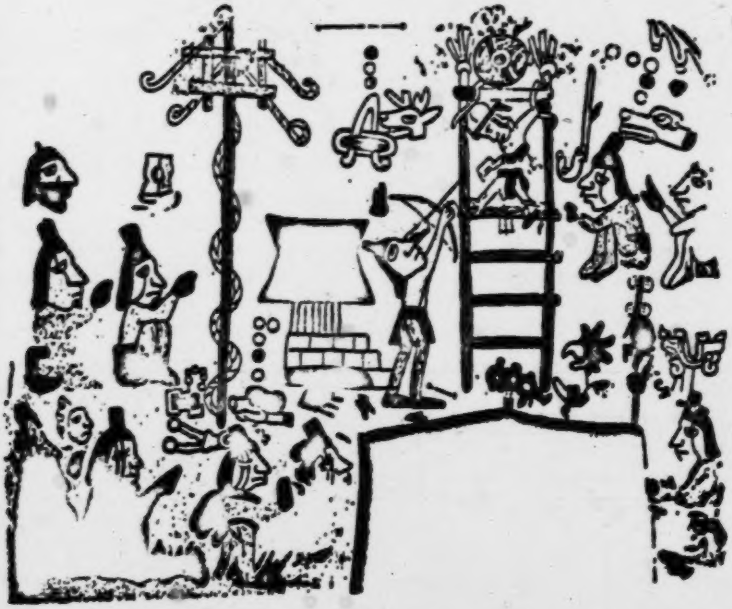
But despite these efforts, by May 1833 news of a plan to sacrifice a Cheyenne woman reached the Indian agent, John Dougherty at Bellevue, who took five men with him and rode out to the Skidi village. Chief Big Ax received him and promised to try to help him ransom the captive. The Chief called a council of the other chiefs and leading men and exhorted them to abandon their plan. The crowd in the village was hostile, but nevertheless the woman was brought into the chief's lodge. Big Ax was opposed by all the chiefs but one—Black Chief, of rather swarthy complexion. Finally Dougherty, seconded by a few friendly Pawnees, tried to ride through the angry crowd with the captive woman. The people had gathered in the narrow spaces between the earth lodges to try to block him, and, as he passed the lodge of a prominent brave named Soldier Chief, a priest who was standing in the vestibule drew his bow and shot the woman. The warriors took the dying woman out onto the prairie and carried out the sacrifice.

175 In 1837 an American Fur Company boat came up the Missouri. Some
731 of her crew were down with smallpox and, despite the captain's warning,
782 the Mandan insisted on boarding. Of the 1,600 remaining Mandans, only
796 31 survived the ensuing epidemic. Meanwhile the Arikara who lived in a
neighboring village in the same locality returned there from the summer hunt and they lost half of their population of 4,000. The Dakotas also contracted the disease. Now the Skidi priests insisted that the Morning

175

Star must be placated. An Oglala Sioux girl of about fifteen whose name 731
was Haxti was captured, and on April 22, 1838, she was sacrificed to the 796
Morning Star. 782

This is the last reported case of a Pawnee sacrifice to the Morning Star. 175
Grinnell and others feel that there must have been further incidents that 648
did not come to attention. However, when our ethnological narrative
takes place (1867) it seems pretty certain that no further sacrifices were [782]
being carried out. About two hundred Pawnees, many Skidis among them, [796]
were organized into four companies of regularly registered U.S. Cavalry
in Major North's Batallion. As part of their activities, they protected the
crews working on the Union Pacific Railroad from attack by the nomadic
Indians. After an attack on Plum Creek on the Platte, the Pawnees followed the Cheyenne to their camp and there captured fifteen Cheyenne
women and children. In the subsequent negotiations, they exchanged these
captives for two white women, the Martin sisters, and three small white
boys, captives of the Cheyenne camp on the Medicine Creek branch of the



796
782
171

FIGURE 10-2. *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing scaffold sacrifice; in National Museum, Mexico City, accredited to the Cuicatecan tribe of the State of Guerrero. From Clark Wissler and Herbert J. Spinden, "The Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *American Museum Journal*, XVI (1916), No. 1, p. 54. See also illustrations on pages 52, 53, and 49 of the article.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

175
648
[782]
[796]

Republican River. It seems unlikely that the Pawnees carried on any further sacrifices of captives to the Morning Star after that time.

171
174
782
796
[991]

Aside from the obvious resemblances, there is some documentation of detailed Mexican analogies. Wissler and Spinden would place the time when a direct transfer through the Aztec could have occurred, between 1506 and 1519. In an article (1916) on the subject they give clear parallels in illustrations from the codices (see Figure 10-2).

Within the Pawnee system of theology, it certainly had an organic place.

C

11

VARIETIES OF CORN, BEANS, AND SQUASH

000

American and Indian Corn Varieties—the Planting Ritual—Comparison of Corn Varieties to Present-Day Classification—Squash and Pumpkin Varieties—Bean Varieties

THE PAWNEE WOMEN were skilled horticulturists. They had ten pure 242
varieties of corn, seven of pumpkins and squashes, and eight of beans.
According to our classification, all American Indian corn is one species, 243
Zea mays. Columbus reported that he found cornfields that were 18 171
miles long; when he returned to Spain, he took seed corn with him. It was soon diffused all over the world so that today corn has surpassed wheat as a world crop and is only exceeded by rice and potatoes. Corn has six subspecies, of which three are major and three minor. The first three are flint, flour, and dent, each adapted to different climatic conditions. When the Indians were first contacted, flint corn was the characteristic variety of New England, dent corn of the Southeast, and flour corn of the Southwest. Flint is suitable for cold moist climates, flour for dry climates, and dent for warm moist climates, the dent being heaviest in yield when the climate is favorable. Botanically these three varieties seem to represent a certain evolutionary sequence. In the flint, the oldest, the whole kernel is occupied by horny starch except around the germ; it is high in gluten. Flour corn lacks the horny starch altogether and is made up entirely of the softer starch except for the germ, while dent is a combination of the softer starch in the interior with horny starch on the sides, thus giving rise to the dent or dimple on the surface end of each kernel. The three other subspecies of corn are more occasionally used: sweet corn, with a high sugar content, and pop corn, two very primitive varieties, and the rare pod corn.

244
192

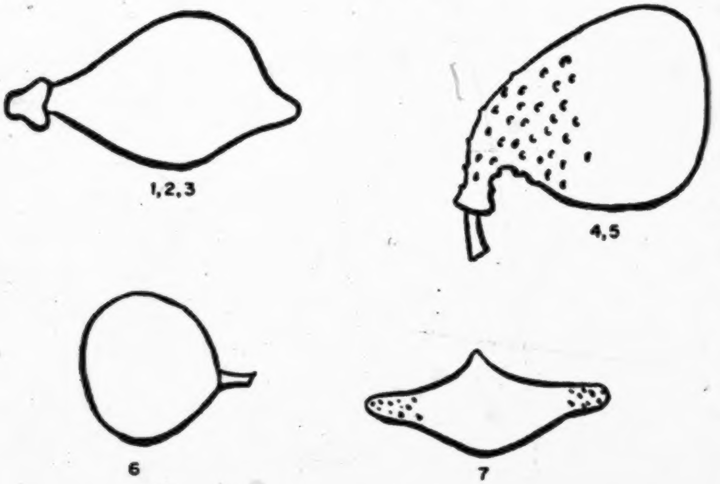


FIGURE 11-1. Seven varieties of squash and pumpkin known to the Pawnees generically as *Pahuks:* (1) *rus-kirius*, "soft-buttock" (as soft as the buttocks); pointed at both ends; a little more than 1 foot in length and 9 inches in diameter; yellowish in color; "as sweet as sugar." (2) *pahuks-tarahi*, squash or pumpkin-grooved; yellow in color; a kind sometimes seen in white men's stores. (3) *pahuks-katit*, squash or pumpkin-black; same size, shape, and taste as (2), the only difference being the black color. (4) *ri-katsu*, "lower half of body, white," *ri'u*, being the lower half of human body from the navel all around to the bottom of the feet. (The rest of the body is called *kisikitu*, upper half of body from *kisikiit*, "alive," and *-katsu*, "dead white." Sometimes the ordinary word for white, *taka*, is used instead.) The shell is as thick as a board and so hard that it needs to be cut up with an ax, but it is very sweet tasting. It has a crooked neck and is knobby or pimply around the neck end and very smooth on the body. (5) *ri-kats-katit*, same as (4), but black (*-katit*, "black") (6) *pahuks-kata*, "pumpkin-dry"; dry near the stem, sometimes a little pointed; somewhat dry inside when cooked; real round and smooth; color, light green. (7) *pahuks-tarahi-kiripaxki*, "squash-grooved-small"; in a variety of colors—green, white, yellow, and dark green, also a rather dark blue and some very blue.

243 The Indian groups of the Missouri River Valley of which the Pawnees were one, raised mainly flint and flour corn, but not dent. They also raised sweet corn. Flint and flour corn apparently both did equally well among the Pawnees. Mark Evarts named ten breeds of corn for the Pawnees, one of them borrowed from the Osage. There were two flints, one yellow, and one varied in color, five or possibly six flour corns in five different colors—blue, speckled, white, yellow, and red; and one sweet corn, reddish-yellow in color. In addition, there was an archaic breed [778] of corn known as Wonderful or Holy Corn which was never eaten but was raised only for inclusion in the sacred bundles. Two ears were

placed in each bundle, each wrapped up and sewed into a covering—the 243
winter ear in a tanned buffalo skin and the ear dedicated to summer in a 778
buffalo-heart skin. Each individual ear of these holy corns in the bundles had a different name by which it was addressed. Early in April before the *Awari* or planting ritual, a ritual was held in which the seeds of the holy corn were distributed to the keepers of the sacred bundles so that their wives could plant them in their fields. At harvest time, when these sacred ears were mature, the old ears were removed from the bundles and replaced with ears from the new crop. Fine examples of some of the best ears of the more common varieties were also placed in the sacred bundles at harvest time, particularly those with a male spike. Compared with the white flour corn, the holy corn, which was also white, had small kernels that sometimes covered the cob to the very tip. "Sometimes it has something like a soft feather at the tip of the ear." This is apparently the male spike at the point end; archaeologically it appears very early, 4,445 [171]
± 180 B.C., in the tiny ancestral corncobs taken from La Perra Cave in northeast Mexico. Such an ear is also shown in the headdress and hands of the Maize God on a prehistoric Zapotec funerary urn from Mexico (Mangelsdorf, 1958).

244
192

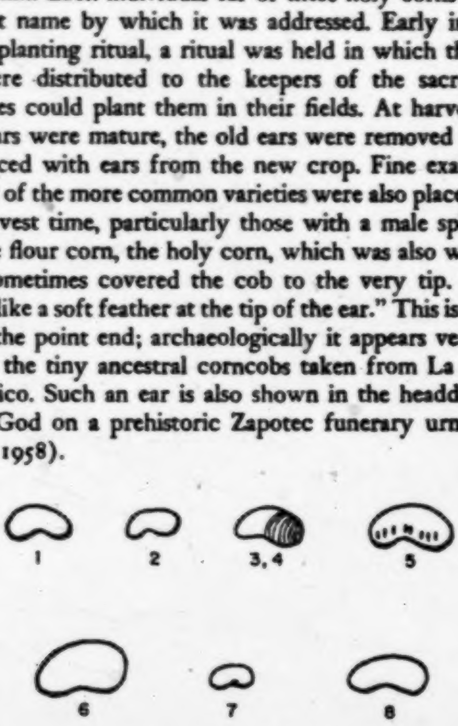


FIGURE 11-2. Eight varieties of beans, generically known to the Pawnees as *atit:* (1) *ati-pahat,* "bean-red"; a large sized bean. (2) *atik-taka,* "bean-white." (3) *ati-paks-katit,* "bean-head-black"; black-head beans. (4) *ait-paks-pahat,* "bean-head-red"; same as (3). (5) *ati-pirari,* "bean-spotted"; color of a spotted horse, spotted all around, some with red, some with black spots; a somewhat large-sized bean. (6) *ati-katus,* "bean-flat"; large, flat bean. (7) *atit-tiwats-katit,* "bean-navel-black"; spotted where it joins the stem; navel, *-riwat,* phonetically altered in the context. (8) *ati-taxkata,* "bean-yellow"; a rather large yellow bean.

Our classification of the species of corn is based on the starch content, 243
but when a Pawnee was asked to name the varieties of corn they had, he 242
or she would enumerate them in terms of color categories—black, [822]
spotted, white, yellow, and red. It is interesting that these represent the varieties of flour corn that they had. However, in classifying their corn, they subsumed the flint, sweet, and sacred varieties under these color categories. When asked to name the varieties of Pawnee corn, Mark Evarts

243 242 named ten, one being Osage. George F. Will, nurseryman and anthropologist of North Dakota, experimented with planting Indian corn from various tribes of the Missouri River region and managed to isolate nine pure strains of Pawnee corn. These correspond with considerable accuracy to those named by Mark Evarts. I have placed his classification as it appeared in his publication (Will and Hyde, 1919) in a parallel column alongside that of Mark Evarts. (See Table 11-1.)

TABLE 11-1. *Classifications of Varieties of Pawnee Corn.*

As Named by Mark Evarts	As Named by Will and Hyde, 1919
1. *Blue* corn—*uraax-katit*, earth-black, referring to very dark blue	Blue *flour* corn, No. 40
2. *Spotted* corn, *rikis-tipiku*, corn-spotted (*ripiku*, egg)	Black-eyed and red-speckled corn, p. 308
3. *White* corn, big kernels, *rikis-taka*, corn-white	White *flour* corn, No. 36
4. White with small kernels, *rikis-paruksti*, corn-holy	Not identified by authors
5. *Yellow* corn, harder variety, *rikis-taxkata*, corn-yellow	Yellow *flint*, No. 38
6. A yellow corn, softer than No. 5, called *parus-arut*, rabbit-soft	Yellow *flour* corn, No. 37
7. Hard corn, *kitsirit*, flinty, hard, translucent; real smooth, with different colored kernels on the same cob—white, spotted, yellow	Red *flint*, No. 89, flinty mixed colors with red predominating
8. *Red* corn—*rikis-pahat*, corn-red	Red *flour* corn, No. 45
9. Sweet corn—*rikis-karus*, corn-sweet, somewhat reddish yellow and sticky	Sweet corn, yellow sugar corn, No. 41
10. Osage corn—*rikis-pasati*, corn-Osage, gotten from Osage, grows 9-10 feet high and can have 8 or 9 ears on one stalk	

243 242 772 82 From the experiments of George Will, it is evident that the Pawnees were quite capable of producing pure strains of corn and maintaining the breeds. And yet when asked to list the classes of corn that they had, they did so in terms of a certain order of colors rather than by a horticultural classification. Consistent with the Pawnee belief that the Heavens are the first cause of all things, this is a cosmic rather than a botanical classification. In Pawnee theology, the four semicardinal directions are associated with the four color designations—northeast–black; southeast–white; northwest–yellow; and southeast–red. In the creation legend it is stated that in the western part of the ancient territory there were four villages,

each representing one of the semicardinal directions; each had a different- 243
colored ear of corn in its sacred bundle, as cited above. The order of the 242
colors of corn followed by Mark Evarts in his classification if translated 772
into directions are northeast, southwest, northwest, southeast. This di- 82
agonal succession forms a simple cross, the Pawnee symbol for a star. What star is implied is not known. Typically of Pawnee thought, there must be deeper theological meanings and references than are apparent. The order of naming the varieties of corn is clearly connected with these religious implications.

For the Pawnee, there is very little that does not have some direct con- 243
nection with the cosmos. But in sharp contrast to the corn, the other two 244
crops, squash and beans, have no religious connotations whatever. This
lack of ideological involvement seems strange, as we know archaeologi- [772]
cally that first squash and then beans were the earliest domesticated crops in the New World, followed after a considerable time interval by the domestication of corn. Among the Pawnees the whole horticultural cycle was conducted in terms of the corn. In the spring the corn was the first of the three crops to sprout, and in the fall it was the first to mature. There were seven common varieties of squash and pumpkins current among the Pawnees at that time and eight of beans. (See figures 11-1 and 11-2.)

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

12

CLOSING EPISODE OF PLANTING PERIOD

000

Young Corn Plant Ceremony—Seasonal Orientation—Necessity of a Visionary—Ritual of Ceremony Explained—Second Role of Visionary on Buffalo Hunt—Conclusion of Ceremony and Beginning of Weeding and Cultivating of Corn

243 THE CLOSING EPISODE of the planting period was the carrying through of the young corn plant from a seedling to its "adolescence," when it could be "laid by" for the summer until they returned in the fall from the buffalo hunt and it would be ready for harvest.

The four semicardinal-direction bundle priests kept careful watch, and when the sacred corn seeds had sprouted to about two inches and had four good leaves, they knew that it was time to conduct the ceremony of the young corn plant. In this ceremony the priests prepared the young corn plant for her role as Mother to all the people. The young corn plant was carried through a series of ritual steps symbolizing the birth, infancy, and growth to first motherhood of a young girl. The corn could then mature and become Mother of the people.

The practical steps, as always, were preceded by a ceremonial preparation. The conduct of the ceremony was under one of the south semi- [778]
cardinal-direction bundles—either the Southwest or the Southeast in
243 alternate years. As always, although the ceremonies were seasonally ori-
787 ented, they were initiated by a visionary who received a mandate from
the cosmic power involved, instructing him to see that the ceremony was performed. In this case the vision always came to a man who was an outstanding buffalo hunter and eagle trapper. The vision would have occurred while they were out on the winter buffalo hunt; as soon as possi-

ble he would kill a buffalo and pronounce it holy. Then he called in the 243
five official Skidi priests, who were the ministers of the four semicardinal-direction 787
bundles and that of the evening Star, and entertained them [793]
at a feast of buffalo ribs, telling them of his vision. His wife sliced, dried,
and packaged the rest of the consecrated buffalo meat and kept it in her
storage pit at home until the spring, when the ceremony was to be performed.

The visionary became a principal actor in the ceremony and made a [574]
major contribution of buffalo meat to the ritual feast, while his wife contributed
a considerable amount of the boiled dried corn. He considered it
a great privilege to participate in the ceremony and to receive instructions
from the priests concerning the cosmic traditions. During the ceremony 243
he would impersonate an important god of the creation, *Paruksti*, the 787
Wonderful, the personified Thunderstorm with its four aspects of cloud,
wind, lightning, and thunder. After the Star Gods had created man in 776
their own image, they combined the powers of the storm into one great 773
person, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, and sent him to earth to inspect their
handiwork. In him were embodied all the self-renewing powers of earth.
In the course of his travels he acted as scout, found the buffalo, and
taught the people how to hunt them. The visionary was to impersonate
the god in two roles—one in the symbolic acting-out of the male role in
procreation and later as the guardian of their fortunes in the buffalo hunt.

In this ceremony of the young holy corn plant, the keepers of all the 243
twelve sacred bundles had assembled in the lodge of the Southwest (or 793
Southeast) Semicardinal-direction priest. The Evening Star priest and
the four semicardinal-directions priests sat at the west and the other
bundle ministers were ranged along the sides in positions appropriate to
the place of origin of their legendary villages and their cosmic affiliations.

The visionary stood before the Evening Star priest, who arranged the 243
buffalo robe that he wore and tied the buffalo hair rope around his waist 793
so that he was dressed as a priest. The Evening Star priest now instructed 787
the visionary in what he was to do. He gave him a small pipe filled with
tobacco from the sacred bundle. The visionary then led the procession 788
that was to go into the field where the sacred corn plant was growing. It
was the field of the wife of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle priest.
The procession lined up on the north side of the ceremonial earth
lodge, the visionary in the lead, the four-directions priests following
behind him and an errand man following after to serve them, carrying a
lighted brand with which to light the visionary's pipe. The Evening
Star priest remained in the lodge at the west and the ministers of the
other sacred bundles continued to sit in their places. As the procession
emerged from the lodge everyone in the village was standing on the

243 793 787 788 rooftops to see the priests get the young plant of the holy corn. The priests were wrapped in their buffalo robes with the hair side out and were rattling their gourds and singing. They felt it to be a long journey symbolically signifying the eons of the creation, and the song was sung to recapitulate all its stages—the stages that pertained to women (the land, the vegetation, the waters and the cultivated seeds), and the stages that pertained to men (the moccasin, its string, the robe, the power of the universe, Mother Corn, and the thunder). These stages of the [772] men symbolized conception and birth—the moccasin, a pocket-like covering into which something is thrust; the moccasin cord, the umbilical cord; the robe, the enveloping membrane of the foetus; the creative power of the universe, the sacred nature of conception and birth; Mother Corn, germination; and the thunder, the fertilizing principle. The little corn plant they uprooted in the field would symbolize all these things.

243 793 787 When they arrived at the sacred corn hill, they ranged themselves around it, the visionary to the west, the four semicardinal-directions priests in their appropriate stations. They again sang the steps of the creation as they sat in their places, and then the priests remained seated while the visionary rose and prepared to smoke his pipe with the powers above. He walked to the north side of the hill, where the errand man [782] lighted his pipe, then proceeded around it, pausing to offer the mouthpiece to the powers in the order directed by the Evening Star priest before they had left the lodge. He offered it to Heaven, the Evening Star, the Morning Star, the Big Black Meteoric Star in the northeast, the North and Lucky Wind, a great legendary hero *Pahukatawa*, then southeast to the Sun and southwest to the Moon. Next he emptied the ashes on the corn hill and gave the pipe to the ranking priest. Then he sat down at the west and in counterclockwise order beginning at the northeast he pressed into the cornhill a gift of little pellets of buffalo-heart fat and tongue fat wrapped around with some tobacco. He alternated his offerings, beginning with tongue fat at the northeast and heart fat at the northwest, and so on.

Now the most solemn part of the ceremony was to be enacted. They were to uproot the sacred corn sprout in a symbolic act of birth. The visionary stood at the west and instructed the Southwest (or Southeast) priest to ease the plant out of the ground very gently so that he would not disturb any part of the delicate roots. The roots symbolized the moccasin strings and the seeds, the moccasin or covering for power. The priest wrapped the "newborn" plant in buffalo wool and handed it to the visionary, who placed it on his back in his buffalo robe as a woman carries her child. Now they began again to sing the steps of the creation and lined up preparatory to returning to the ceremonial lodge. Everyone in the village was watching and listening as they sang on their way back.

[793 243 In the lodge, the Evening Star priest unwrapped the plant from its

wool covering and placed it on the ground before him, offering his pipe 243
to it to smoke. [793]

The next steps involved the transformation of a dogwood stick into a [322]
"body" for the plant, by an expert arrowshaft maker, for whom tools were ready in the sacred bundle—a new knife, an elkhorn arrowshaft straightener, a grooved sandstone smoother, some sinew, and different-colored paints. After the shaft was made, red and white paints were applied, and it was anointed with milk from the breasts of a young nursing mother who was called in to volunteer this donation. In their proceedings, they were symbolically creating a young mother out of the corn plant which was tied onto the head of the shaft. The shaft was painted with a little red groove near the top to signify the face, and a red line drawn down the length signified the windpipe, breath, and the principle of life. First the priest spoke to the new young mother corn, after which
it was passed around among the other bundle ministers in the lodge who [793]
spoke of it as "the voice." Then it was passed around a second time and all breathed upon it—the Evening Star priest first, followed by all the others.

Now the errand man went through the village crying out that the new [624]
mother needed a robe, a cowskin in the hair, and a buffalo hair belt. The donor brought them to the lodge. The last act of the ceremony consisted in wrapping Mother in her new robe with her face exposed so that she might watch over the people. She was tied to the outside of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle.

Just before this final step, the visionary was dressed up by the priest 243
for his second role that he would carry throughout the summer buffalo 787
hunt until they arrived back at the village. He would now impersonate
Paruksti, Wonderful Power, the Thunderstorm. He was wrapped in a [776]
buffalo skin that he had specially prepared, and wore special moccasins and a buffalo-hair rope belt tied in the back in four loops to represent the rain. His duties would be very trying, for all summer while they were on the march he would have to remain wrapped tightly in his robe, refrain from washing or bathing, handling knives, scratching himself, or participating in any acts of violence. He must think only gentle and noble thoughts. If his feet were allowed to touch water, there would be violent thunderstorms. In his person he held the great force of the creative power of all the universe. When they reached the buffalo herd, as the hunters stood lined up ready to surround it, this holy man would have to kneel facing the herd and pray to the cosmic powers, naming the buffalo and the eagles that he had consecrated to them in the past. Should anyone be injured in the course of the attack on the herd, the people would blame him and feel that he had had evil thoughts and had not been sincere. Throughout the hunt one or the other of the prominent old men would stay with him, talking to him and seeing that he did not transgress

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

243
787
any taboos. He was always fed first before the others at every meal so that his mood would remain pleasant. He lived and moved in the encampment of the chief who was leading the hunt during that season.

[792] In the previous ceremony, when the seeds of the sacred corn had been distributed to the ministers of the various bundles for planting, the visionary of that ceremony had been constituted a holy man for the well-being of the corn crop. He also had to remain wrapped in his buffalo robe all summer and to observe similar taboos until the harvest was in. Presumably, as he remained wrapped in his robe, he was impersonating the ear of corn itself in its husk.

In the final stages of the young corn ceremony, the priest went through the village, praising the donor of the cowskin and buffalo-hair belt in which they dressed the young Mother Corn, referring to the robe as the symbolic wrapper into which a germ of life could be thrust and the buffalo-hair rope as the string.

The ceremony of the Young Mother Corn was concluded with a feast in which all who had participated shared in the meat of the buffalo that the visionary had consecrated on the previous winter hunt. His wife usually added a donation of boiled corn to round out the banquet.

243 Until this ceremony was completed, no woman could go into her field and begin to weed and cultivate it. Now the women all went into their fields carrying their hoes. First they would pull out the weeds one by one from the corn hills by hand and then pile up the earth around the young growing plants. The corn was hilled up so high around the plant that the leaves barely stuck out at the top; they were compared with an earth lodge with the smoke issuing out of the smokehole in the roof.

It was early morning and the dew had fallen, and as the women worked around and around the corn hills their bodies would get soaking wet. After they had hilled up the earth around the plants, the women would kneel close to the hill and pat it all around with their hands to make it smooth and even. The woman's left side, as well as her face and hands, would become covered with mud. To mention this fact to a woman on her way home from the fields would be the height of presumption. [515] On the way home everyone took a swim in Beaver Creek and washed off their hoes. Again the young women splashed with their feet on the surface of the water and tried to make as loud a report as possible by slapping the surface of the water with their hands. The old man again sat up on his earth lodge and addressed the community at large. He reminded everyone that the women were now "disfiguring themselves" for him, getting all muddy, and that while their hoes were still full of mud, all of them would be eating the food that the women had raised. [606] Some of the women went in groups to cultivate the previously planted fields of their new daughters-in-law, singing while they worked

together and again enjoying a festive meal at their daughter-in-law's house 243
afterward. [606]

Now at the beginning of June everyone's mind was turned to complet- [221]
ing the preparations for leaving on the summer hunt. They would weed
and cultivate the corn plants and hill up the earth once more just before
leaving, when the plants were about 3½ feet high. The present Nebraska
farmer says, "Knee high by the fourth of July" and the Pawnee said, "Tall
enough to tickle the horse's belly."

The corn and the buffalo that sustained the Pawnee placed heavy de- 22
mands upon him. Only by carrying out his year's round with great pre- 476
cision and by careful coordination of his activities with other people of 243
the tribe could he combine these two major food resources. The adminis-
trative activities of the priests and the chiefs were as vital to his enterprise 622
as the physical resources themselves. Few administrative structures have 182
commended themselves so directly to the people as that of the Pawnees. [793]
Respect for the chief was a cardinal tenet of every Pawnee's life, in re- [183]
turn for which the chief demonstrated a dedicated concern for his peo-
ple.

13

CEREMONIAL PREPARATIONS FOR SUMMER BUFFALO HUNT

000

Ritual Meeting of the Chiefs—New Responsibilities of Chiefs—Mythohistorical Significance of Skull Bundle—Development of Original Village Federations—Ceremony Described—Chief of Hunt Is Chosen—Banquet Follows—People of Village Informed

221 WHEN THE CORN WAS LAID by in the beginning of June, a new phase in
*224 the Pawnee year's round began. Everyone turned their thoughts to the
long migration out onto the prairie. The mass hunt of the buffalo herd
that was the next phase in the Pawnee year's round would last all summer
until time for the harvest in the beginning of September. Would
[162] they find the herd, would they get a plentiful supply of meat for their
ceremonial banquets, would they be attacked by the enemy, would they
live in health and at peace with one another—three thousand people in four
Skidi villages and four Pawnee bands—each with its own ways and interests
on a journey of 900 miles over the land and across the rivers?

622 As was their practice, it was the chiefs, priests, and medicine men that
221 took the first formal steps toward initiating each new round of activities
[793] through the year so that the people were taught and reminded of what
lay ahead. In the village, priest and chief shared almost equally in keep-
[756] ing life on an ordered course, but on the march it was the constant
vigilance of the chief that determined the achievement of this goal.
And so this season opened with a ritual meeting of the chiefs, validating
their cosmic sanction and soliciting the confidence of the people.

622 The whole meaning of this ceremony was that the chiefs alone were
796 taking responsibility for the welfare of the people on the hunt and that
*224 the sacred meat they were about to get was a great and Heaven-sent

blessing for all the people. These thoughts and feelings were expressed 622
in a characteristically Pawnee idiom: the chiefs were costumed as Heaven 796
itself and were told by their old leader, That-Chief, that they could not 224*
look to Heaven for their decisions as *they* were now Heaven and were
carrying all its responsibilities for the well-being of the people. In this
role they walked from house to house and received a gift of firewood
from each.

As no ceremonial could be conducted unless there were a donation of dried buffalo meat, the buffalo hunt signified the entire ceremonial life as well. Lying on the ground in the ritual lodge there was the long buffalo steak that was the customary donation, and upon it the chiefs all blessed themselves. After the ceremony the chiefs blessed their children with what was left of the donated meat as Heaven had blessed their people.

Amid these ceremonial significances, they also took the practical step of choosing one of their number to assume leadership for the forthcoming hunt season.

The chiefs met twice a year just before the tribe planned to leave for 622
the buffalo hunt. The summer meeting was under the direction of the 619
Skull bundle, the winter meeting under that of the North Star whence 224*
the buffalo came at that time, driven southward by the cold. In view of 623
the historical events, priests were excluded from this ritual, only chiefs [793]
being present, and there could therefore be no ceremonial procedure.
It was said that like their cosmic counterpart, the Corona Borealis, the
chiefs simply sat around in a circle and talked.

We do not know how many villages joined the first federation, but at 619
the time of our account (c. 1867) there were sixteen chiefs' places in the 62
council, four for each of the Skidi villages. At the northeast was a place [631]
for Old-Man-That-Chief whose voice was final in all matters relating to
chieftainship. Closest to the exit, one on the north and one on the south
side, were the chiefs' errand men, *tarutsubus*. The chief's errand man
had a very important role to play, as he was the chief's envoy at all times.
Like the chiefs, he held his position by heredity. He carried messages
back and forth between the villages and to the other bands, and while
the council was in session he kept carrying its decisions to the other
bands, returning with their reactions to them. Both of the chief's errand
men were mature, experienced men; the one, Heavy-Trophies, was also
head sacred priest of the Skidi, while the other, Know-His-Face, was also
a man of some social consequence. Old-Man-That-Chief carried the main
direction of the ritual.

The ritual was held in rotation through the years in the lodges of the 796
different chiefs who were members of the council. On this occasion, 224*
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village was the host. On the morning of 622
the council he had sent the errand man, Know-His-Face, to issue the invitations 623
to the other chiefs and had the lodge prepared for their ar-

796
*224
622
623

rival. The sacred buffalo meat lay to the south of the fireplace about three feet away. Eagle Chief sat at the southeast with three other chiefs ranged along the side to his left. They each had different materials needed to help the chiefs costume themselves in their role as Heaven. Each chief would bring his own eagle feather that he would wear on top of his head to represent Heaven itself during the creation. Eagle Chief had a quantity of soft white feathers, *kiskuskawiu* (not down), placed on the head at the base of the eagle feather to represent the clouds on which Heaven traveled while the creation was in process. The chief who sat at the left of Eagle Chief had a knife and a supply of sticks to which the chiefs could fasten their eagle feather in order to put it through their scalplock. The chief who sat next on the left had some elk sinew to tie on the feather. The fourth chief had a supply of paints for painting the faces with the bow-shaped vault-of-the-heavens design. Each chief was expected to wear his best clothes so as to be worthy of his role.

Each chief entered with his tobacco pouch in his right hand and went directly over to where the sacred meat lay on the south side of the fireplace. The meat was the long muscle steak that lay along the backbone of the buffalo, dried and processed for preservation. It was called *kis-atsu*, "bone-lying along." It now rested on the south side of the fireplace, lying at a slant with the "head" or neck end pointing northwestward. Facing in this direction, the chief straddled the meat at this end and placed his tobacco pouch down near his right toe. He rubbed the end of the meat and then rubbed himself in blessing and, retrieving his tobacco pouch, went to his traditional place. As soon as two or three chiefs had entered, they filled their pipes which errand men lit up for them. When they were all in their places, Old-Man-That-Chief began to talk.

He explained to them that in their ritual smoking of the pipe they were to remember that they were now impersonating Heaven itself and therefore they were not to offer the mouthpiece upward, but only down to the powers of the earth, for they were occupying Heaven already. He also mentioned the donor of the buffalo meat that had made the ceremony possible, Lone Chief. He stated that they were to costume themselves properly so that they could go among the populace, *akitaru*, and receive from each household two well-dried sticks of firewood that the people had been saving for the purpose so that they could denote their allegiance to the chiefs.

The ritual pipe from the Skull bundle was then filled and brought to him at the northeast where he was sitting and lit up by the errand man. Then Old-Man-That-Chief smoked and pointed the mouthpiece twice downward and passed it to his neighbor to his right, who in turn did the same thing and passed it to his neighbor until it had gone around the lodge in a counterclockwise circuit. After the pipe had been returned to the owner, That-Chief spoke again. He reminded them that they were to

undertake their task of chieftainship with humility, for all they had was their own human frailty. He said: "People think we are big men, but we're no bigger than poor men. Look at yourself and see this. Look down at the earth. Power is there." 796 224* 622 623

The chiefs now lined up for the procession that was to go through the villages. Eagle Chief was in the lead, carrying the main pipe, with Lone Chief about two feet behind him, also carrying a pipe. All the other chiefs that were to take part in the procession were lined up behind them. They would carry the sticks as they received them—about six or eight each, carried in their arms. As the procession moved along, they would complain jokingly about the weight. Newly inducted chiefs followed behind, as this was a good time for them to be seen by the people. Before they left, they all had to pass the inspection of Old-Man-That-Chief, who gave them instructions as to their procedure: "Now you're to go out through the village and although they already know when you enter anyone's lodge you must say, '*Rakis* (wood), *tatihaa*' (I came to get), *tatitska* (I want), *rakis*(wood).' "

They had to visit all the lodges in turn. As Eagle Chief led them in, the women would be sitting on the beds along the sides. When he made his request, a woman in the lodge who was chaste would get up and give him the sticks. If it was the lodge of an important man, before the donation was made, he would have lit his pipe and offered it first to Eagle Chief and then to all the others, and each would thank him. In other less important lodges, the wood would simply be given. Sometimes in the lodge of an old chief, the old man would reminisce about his own experiences when he was in such a procession and how some important men had "smoked" him when he went the rounds, and how a woman had given four sticks so that she might have a good word from the chiefs and be doubly lucky. The chiefs in the procession would ask for cottonwood sticks because they were light, complaining that their arms ached and bantering with Eagle Chief about lingering too long over the smoking. "How far must we go yet?" they would ask. "I don't know how many houses!" Eagle Chief would say.

When they arrived back at the ceremonial lodge, they dumped the sticks at the southeast and went back to their places complaining about the fact that they were hungry. "My stomach's way in—I'm hungry! That fellow Eagle Chief is too slow." That-Chief would have directed the errand men to take a little dried meat and cook up a soup in a hurry so that they could refresh themselves. This was just an impromptu meal. The official banquet would come at the end, after all the ritual and business had been transacted. That-Chief would again remind them that in offering some buffalo fat to the powers they were not to raise it upward to the Heavens but only to the earth, and that they were to eat directly without waiting for anyone else. [574]

796
*224
622
623
After they had finished, the most sacred part of the ceremony was held. They would smoke the pipe and talk of the creation. The old man instructed them and pointed out that they were not to be too eager, but to be measured in their devotions for they might otherwise tempt fate and use up their luck. He said: "This is the time for you to smoke, and anyone can talk on whatever serious subject he wants to—the creation or any other matter. Don't talk too long. Just say what you want to say if you have a notion. Just say a few words. You can talk again. Don't talk too fast. If it's Heaven's will, you will live long. If you talk out your words too fast, you wont live long; that is what we all believe. When we go visiting the Wichitas for example, if they don't give you a gift, that's all right. If they give you too much too often, you might not live long. If you get horses on the warpath, don't go again too soon. You might get killed. Conserve what you have. Do everything in a measured way. Heaven wanted us to live on this earth and here we are. These are the things that Heaven gave us—the corn and other things—and we must take care of them. We can't throw away or waste anything. We can't know what is going to happen in the future. *Raru* (merely, just), *kakirarakurararat* (don't waste anything)!"

796
*224
622
574
623
The serious part of the ritual was now over and the old man instructed the errand men to begin to cook the main banquet which would be served about four in the afternoon. During this time they would converse on more practical matters, finally leading to the choice of the chief who was to lead the hunt during the forthcoming season, after which the banquet would be served. The old man led off: "This is your time to talk. We're not in a hurry. We have nothing else to do but talk. If you have a story to tell, tell it. We come here twice a year, as chiefs—once in spring and once in the fall. If you want to say anything, say it. I would like someone to volunteer to help the errand man cut the meat into portions." The talk by the others now concerned their leaving on the hunt. One would say, "This time of year the buffalo are not quite fat enough. How many days will it be after we leave the village before we see them? Perhaps so and so many. What do you think?" "Corn isn't big enough yet. Maybe it will be ready the latter part of the month." "Perhaps when we get out on the move, we can travel eight or ten miles a day."

Now after each one had made some remark on these matters, Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge who was sitting at the west and who had donated the meat, proposed that Eagle Chief be made administrative chief of the forthcoming hunt. Eagle Chief replied that he had only recently performed this role, and proposed that White Eagle be chosen in his stead. White Eagle, after due expressions of humility, addressed them. He stood up and said, "Now you have selected me. I'm going to call a

796
224*
622
574
623

meeting in a few days to decide when to go buffalo hunting. When we (Skidis) have decided this, the other three bands will be looking to us to find out when, and we must send them word."

The main banquet was now ready to be served and Old-Man-That-Chief said, "This is what Heaven gave us. We must take care of it. Now we're going to eat." The food was passed out in formal order and ordinary conversation went the rounds. One said, "Let the horses race now. Whoever has a good horse will get a good buffalo. This fellow has a horse that never gets fat because he races it. He feeds it all the time and it never gets fat." Someone else would remark about the state of the corn and the pumpkins. Then again, someone would say, "When we get to the Platte River, we will see big grapes and plums and chokecherries. There will be good plums where we're going." Another one would remark, "How are you fixed for the equipment for your horses? I guess you have to fix your saddle so that you can pack things on it." Then again, "I have to get some arrows. I have to get someone to make the shafts. I still have time yet." "I have to get an iron barrel hoop at the store to make the points, and a file to trim them down. First I have to get the blacksmith to rough them out for me. I have to get a lot of them." In this way they reminded one another of some of the practical things they had to do before leaving on the hunt.

It was now early in the evening and Old-Man-That-Chief made the closing speech and summarized some of their findings: He reminded them that they had been occupying the seats that the older chiefs had occupied before them; they had talked over whatever they wanted to say and what they knew of the past, and now they must look toward the future. That they had heard White Eagle who had been selected as leader of the forthcoming hunt upon his selection by Eagle Chief, and that they as chiefs could only reply upon their own judgment, for representing Heaven itself, there was no supernatural power to depend upon. He thanked Lone Chief for donating the meat for the banquet and then instructed them to get up and go. Before his final dismissal, That-Chief reminded them that the meat which they were carrying away from the feast was to be entirely eaten up as soon as they got home, and that it was not to be left overnight, as it might become infected with sickness or bad luck and endanger the well-being of the tribe. They were to bless their children with the meat and then see that it was eaten up directly. When the meat was handed to the wife, as she blessed her children she said, "I want you to grow up to be worthy of this chief's meat. Your father has come home with this meat for us to eat. This is the food that Heaven has promised to provide for us. Now we're going to eat it and Heaven is going to bless all of us. I'm going to bless you; we're going to eat this food from the chief's lodge there. Now we're going to eat it and I hope it brings good

796
*224
622
574
623

luck to our house and that you grow up to be better children through Mother Earth." Then she blessed the children and she blessed herself by rubbing her hands upon them and herself.

As was customary, as the meeting was drawing to a close, an old man had climbed on top of the earth lodge, and facing east addressed the people, informing them of what matters had been discussed and what decisions had been reached in the council. He said: "Now the chiefs have had a meeting. Now their business is nearly over. Everyone must go into the fields and try to get things ready. Get the corn laid by as soon as you can. If you have not already gotten your tent fixed up as I have reminded you before, get it fixed up now. From now on, try to get everything done in a hurry." With this exhortation, everyone in the village accelerated their pace in preparing to leave the village and migrate out onto the plains.

14

PRACTICAL PREPARATIONS FOR THE BUFFALO HUNT

000

The Arrowshaft Makers—the Problem of Horses—Patterns of Cooperation on the Hunt—the Value of Horses to the Pawnees—the Tent Skin and Implements Needed with the Tent—Furniture—Household Utensils—Household Grouping for the Hunt—the Stay-at-Homes

Before leaving on the hunt, one of the Pawnees' primary considera- 411
tions was the weapons they would need for hunting and for their pro-
tection. Guns were expensive and sources of ammunition were not
readily available while they were on the march. And so they used the
bow and arrow, which could be made from local materials. Every 411
hunter made his own bow of ashwood and his own sinew bowstring, but
the making of the arrowshaft was a highly specialized craft. The shaft it- 463
self fashioned of dogwood sticks had to be carefully shaped and the
feathering skillfully applied so that it would shoot true. In 1867, there
were only five arrowshaft makers for the whole Skidi Band. Everyone
who needed arrows had to place his order with one of them and arrange
to compensate him for his work. They also had to bring the craftsman
the dogwood sticks well seasoned. They had collected them some
time beforehand and left them in the rafters of the house so that
they would be ready. When Old-Man-That-Chief stood on the roof of
the earth lodge and reported on the chiefs' ritual meeting and exhorted
them all to hurry, the arrowshaft makers were the first to feel the pres-
sure. The arrow point required a different kind of negotiation. In the 411
past they were made of chipped flint that no doubt had to be traded for 439
at some distance. At this time they were using iron barrel hoops that 177
they got from the trader in the tradestore, which they had rough-shaped 326
by the blacksmith.

411
439 by the blacksmith. They would sharpen them to their taste with a metal
177 file that they also obtained in trade.

411
463 The arrowshaft makers had a monumental task to keep everyone supplied. They considered it a social service and made sure everyone had them whether they were compensated or not. The Pawnee community was always more or less in a state of siege, and the arrowshaft makers felt that their work was essential to their common survival. As Mark Evarts expressed it, "Sometimes the arrowmaker made up his mind himself to make some arrows for someone. They want to supply the whole camp with arrows out of public spirit so that if the enemy comes on the warpath, everyone will have arrows. Even if they don't get any special compensation, they will do it to protect their children and others."

Practically the entire supply of arrows that they needed for the summer had to be made while they were still in the village as there was no time for such work while they were on the march or attacking the herd. A craftsman could produce about ten a day and he usually made them in lots of twenty, working them all in successive stages for the whole lot. With the limited leisure they had on the march they could barely finish one in a day, and this would only be done in case of emergency. They did take some dogwood sticks along for such a contingency. A hunter would consider twenty to forty arrows a reasonable number to keep
[162] in his arsenal. In 1840 the Skidi population was estimated to have 469 males over the age of ten years. If 200 of these were adult hunters, this would mean that each of the five craftsmen would have 40 of them to take care of, and supplying each with 20 arrows would mean that he
[461] had to produce 800 arrows to keep his group supplied once around. This was eighty full days of work.

When a man decided he needed to replenish his stock, he took the dogwood sticks that he had seasoning in the rafters of his house and went to the arrowmaker and asked him to make him twenty. It would be tacitly
[437] understood that if in time he got a buffalo, he would make him a gift of a buffalo robe, or perhaps a blanket, some dried buffalo meat, leggings, or a pair of good moccasins.

Sometimes, without having a special order on hand, the craftsman would ask a young man to get him forty to sixty dogwood sticks and would compensate him when he had finished, with a gift of ten completed shafts. He wanted to make sure that everyone was supplied whether they made a special request or not. They had to get their own
[237] feathers—turkey for the most part, but if they could not get one, a buzzard or a goose was a substitute.

In the latter part of May just before the chief's council, they were likely to accelerate their efforts. One of them would be sitting at the gaming grounds watching the hoop and spear game, and then another would be likely to sit down and join him. They would begin to talk

about arrows. Presently all five would have congregated there and they 411
would continue the conversation. People at the gambling grounds would 463
remark, "See those fellows over there? I guess they're talking about arrows and who makes the best ones." Meanwhile the arrowmakers would be talking about how many arrows they had made during the spring and how many more they would have to make. They would talk about how many they had given as gifts. With the younger men, arrowshafts [525]
were a favorite item for gambling; the older ones played for higher stakes, like horses and dried buffalo meat. One of the makers would remark, "I gave one fellow so and so many, but he's a great gambler and he's already lost them." "I gave that fellow arrows too," another would say, "and I'm sure he'll also lose those!"

The most skilled arrowmaker of the group was Chief's Road, who shared the lodge next to that of Victory Call and Old Bull with his brother, Horse Thief. His shafts were slender and graceful and had black feathers on the ends. He was jealous of his skill; when someone tried to approach him when he was working, he would turn and conceal what he was doing. He had probably learned the craft from his father. He was a commoner in hereditary rank, but ambitious to rise in the social scale. He would supply Chief Victory Call, Otter's father, with arrows and do other services for him in the hope of gaining status. The arrowshafts made by his brother, Horse Thief, were also of fine workmanship.

Two other craftsmen were also grouped and made shafts that were similar. Path-of-the-Enemy made arrowshafts that tended to be large and not as fine as those of the two brothers. He had been born as a brave, the rank second to that of chief, but he had little interest in validating his public position. He was good-natured, with a pleasant disposition, and well liked. He had taught New Young Dog his craft, and he also made rather large shafts. He was a man of great courage and was always off on hunting and scouting expeditions that at times took him far from the village.

The fifth arrowmaker was Careless-of-the-Enemy. He would go off long distances by himself on hunting and scouting expeditions. He had no interest in public recognition or status problems.

Besides the characteristic shape of the shafts that each of these men
made, they each put a slightly different-colored marking on his shafts. [422]
The distinctive character of the shafts were confined to the makers, not the owners. Everyone knew who got shafts from which maker and when and how many. While out on the buffalo hunt, everyone was conscious of who chased which animal, and when they came up to a fallen buffalo and examined the arrowshaft, they put together the circumstances and knew who had killed that particular bull or cow. Nobody needed a personal [422]
property mark for this purpose.

Horses were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact 000

231 Horses were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact.
177 that horses were introduced to this continent by the Spaniards in the
early 1500's, and whatever use was made of them by American Indians
had to develop after that time. Even though it was a considerable length
of time, the Pawnee practices in connection with the use and care of
horses were not as advanced as those of the Spaniards. As regards the
*224 buffalo hunt, at the time of our narrative horses were used in the chase
492 when they were attacking the herd in a group and also to carry their
food and camping equipment. The strategy of the mass attack upon the
herd was to develop a "surround" by the mounted hunters who had
been lined up behind a hill out of sight. No doubt they had previously
492 used a similar technique on foot. As to carrying the food and equipment,
493 a good deal of it was packed on the backs of the women and girls. However,
the women had dogs who were trained to drag the tent poles be-
482 hind them, the heavy ends of the poles tied to a harness on the dog's
back. The tent poles were grouped into two sets, one on each side of
the dog, and connected by two cross sticks toward the lower ends. Upon
these a skin cover was wrapped where other luggage was placed. A dog
492 could drag as much as 70 pounds. The custom of dog traction and ex-
482 tensive carrying on the back by the women was in full operation as late
175 as 1837 when a famous painter, Alfred Jacob Miller, portrayed the
Pawnees in this manner. After 1850, however, dogs were no longer used
178 for this purpose, and it was mostly the men who kept them around so
[782] that the puppies could be sacrificed and eaten at a special ceremonial.
Some, of course, were kept by the women as pets. By 1867, the horse had
taken over the carrying function almost entirely except for a few poor
single or old people who had to do some packing of their dried buffalo
meat on the way home. The packing of the horse resembled that for-
[493] merly used in connection with the dog; the horse travois or carrying
frame was also the same as that of the dog. All the leather trappings for
keeping the luggage in place had now to be carefully prepared before they
left for the hunt.

231 The Pawnees were relatively poor in horses compared with other
422 Plains tribes at this time. This may have been due to constant attacks by
the Sioux and the other nomadic tribes, although this is not certain. At
171 any rate while among the Blackfoot or the Kiowa twenty-five horses at
least were considered an average number for a family on the move,
Eagle Chief, who was head of the Skidi Band, had only ten, and a reasonably
comfortable family like that of Victory Call had only four or five.
Some families had only one or two horses and it was with great difficulty
726 that they went on the hunt at all. Even in their war practices, the
*484 Pawnee retained some of their prehorse habits. It was well known that
178 they set out on their war expeditions on foot and they were known to the
Kiowa as "Walkers." The rationale given for this by students of the sub-

ject has often been that they kept themselves free to take the horses of 726 484*
the enemy and ride them home. They did gain in stealth of approach, 178
but this is no doubt a secondary explanation of what was probably a
survival of older custom. The fact that the men looked for booty or 721
various kinds of valuables in the places they attacked and carried them 727
home on their backs is indicated in some of the well-known names that 551
were current, such as He-Comes-Carrying-Sitting-Down-from-Time-to-Time-Coming—implying that the things brought home as war trophies were so heavy that the bearer had to sit down from time to time and rest. Another such name is He-Brings-Many-Trophies-from-Over-the-Wide-World, or again, He-Comes-Bringing-Them-Down-a-Hill, or still another, He-Comes-Carrying-His-Trophies-Today.

It is clear that the actual pattern of cooperation on the migration and 175
hunt was established long before they had horses and present practices 224*
were adapted but not substantially changed. In 1540 Coronado's expedi- 492
tion met a party of buffalo-hunting Indians on the Plains who were using
the dog travois and carrying dried buffalo meat. Mark Evarts describes 224*
some of the traditions remembered by the Pawnees at the time of our narrative, when they had no horses:

> Near Old Village there was a hill called Calf-Against-Upon-Standing. [103]
> The calf referred to was a certain kind of yellow calf with a long body and the people knew that when they saw him standing on the hill, the herd would be right beyond him. The people would line up on each side and surround the herd and make the buffalo circle about inside. They would kill them and butcher, and carry the meat home on their backs. They had no horses. There was no trade store.
>
> The North Wind was called Lucky Wind because when it blew it [821]
> sent the buffalo. In winter in deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep, and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow, and could readily be killed. This was particularly the case before we hunted with horses.
>
> In summer the buffalo went scattered in small bunches and this was difficult, but in winter they traveled in closer formation when we could also drive them onto the ice.

The Pawnee surround is described by George Bird Grinnell (1925, pp. 249-250):

> Choosing a still day, they would surround a small bunch of buffalo, stretching out in a long line whose extremities would gradually draw together, as the hunters, disguised as wolves, stole from hill to hill around the unconscious prey. When the circle was complete some man would shout and startle the buffalo.

*224 492 178 From some of these accounts of the hunt without horses, it is clear that the social patterning of the buffalo hunt was probably quite ancient. Yet by 1867 horses had become a necessity for the hunt.

*224 492 *484 592 If a man had only one horse, only the man and one of his wives could go on the summer hunt. He would have to leave his other wife and all the children at home and any old people or other dependents. The couple that were going would pack their one horse with food and goods and join someone else's tent, taking just their covers along by way of household equipment. If a family had no horses at all, they could not go. Unmarried or widowed individuals who had no horses could join a household where they could work their way, simply getting their board and keep "for going." They would go on foot wearing a double blanket for their covers. It was said that they went "just to eat."

If a man had two horses, he would also be able to take only one wife along, leaving the rest of the family home. She would go along to process the meat.

*224 492 571 There were some rough-and-ready characters who, even though they had two horses, would decide to go alone, leaving their wives behind. They were men who were not averse to doing all kinds of work, including the hunting and preparing the meat besides. Such a man would say to his wife, "You'll only be in my way." No insult was intended. For example, Mad Bear would team up with his friend Many People who had a small tent and two or three horses. Together they could bring back a [572] great deal of dried meat in this way. Two men of this kind were friends and equal partners. Sometimes two men would team up, one of whom was the senior buffalo hunter of the two. Then the more prominent hunter would ride the buffalo horse to the hunting grounds while his assistant rode the pack horse. During the chase the assistant stood back, holding the pack horse, while the hunter went after the buffalo. The assistant then helped him butcher and they packed the extra horse with the meat. The senior hunter rode the hunting horse back to the encampment and the assistant rode the pack horse on top of the meat. If they got two buffalo, both horses were packed with meat and they both rode on top.

*224 492 A man with two horses and no assistant could manage by riding the pack horse and leading the hunting horse by a rope. When he got to the herd, he hobbled the pack horse on the sidelines. When he got the buffalo, he rode over on his fast horse and led his pack horse to where the buffalo lay. Then he loaded the pack horse and led it by a rope, riding to the camp on his fast horse.

*224 492 422 426 The possession of three horses made it possible for a man to take his whole family along, while four horses made it possible to manage easily. Ordinarily he would not have a guest traveling with them, but if he did he would assign him one of the horses so that he could pack his things on

it. A man like Eagle Chief who had eight or nine horses and whose son-in-law 224*
had a similar number, could afford to lend two or three to outsiders, 492
although this did not mean they would also share in the family 422
tent, as his administrative functions required that he take his entire 426
family along.

In the Pawnee language, the word horse means "super-dog," the only 482
pack animal the Pawnees had before the impact of European culture. 492
With all due respect to the capacities of the dog, however, it was the people 177
themselves that did most of the carrying on their own backs. They 224*
had to pack not only the things they needed for camping—food, tents,
and equipment—but they had to carry back the dried buffalo meat and
the large hides. Every able-bodied person they took along with them
could earn his way by carrying things on his back. The men, whether
first-rate hunters or not, could play a useful role in the surround of the
herd. The only people they would leave behind in the villages were the
old and disabled. But the horse had made quite a difference in the social
economy. A horse could be packed with the dried and packaged meat of
four buffalo while a person could not carry more than one—about 80
pounds. If need be the horse could carry still more goods on his back.
Unless they could be of substantial assistance in the work of the camp, a
person would only be an extra mouth to feed. In the case of a chief or 574
a man who was socially ambitious, there would be a great deal of entertaining 564
to do in the camp; women, in addition to their work in preparing 224*
the meat and skins would also assist with the entertaining. In a family 462
which had no social ambitions, like that of Mad Bear cited above, two 224*
men in partnership taking a minimum of housing and utensils and a 571
maximum of horses could return with a great deal of buffalo meat and
hides, to the general benefit of their families. The wife left behind under 492
these circumstances could hardly resent it.

The horse also represented a unique and highly valuable item of capital 551
that had the unprecedented value of not having to be carried, but of 231
moving itself. In the past, differences in wealth would depend on a much [556]
more direct kind of personal skill. The man who was swiftest on his feet
and the most skilled with the bow and arrow got the best buffalo, and
his wife could produce the finest packaged meat and the best skins. These
in turn could be traded for other valuable things—valued ornaments or
participation in the sacred ceremonies. Now skill in horsemanship, which
had become an indispensable factor in hunting the buffalo, implied also
major successes on the warpath and the capturing of horses as well as
their subsequent care and protection. The horse thus provided a material [556]
basis for a greater degree of social differentiation. The horse was an item
of personal property, but unlike property in our society it was by no [422]
means as much of a factor in developing differential status as other
aspects of experience, chiefly knowledge of man, the world, and the
universe.

555 universe. The Pawnees had great contempt for extreme poverty and
231 raggedness, but no great desire or awe for wealth in large quantities.
[735] Historically the likelihood is that the cooperative social patterns of the
[556] Pawnees go back to a time when practically every person had an impor-
[174] tant function in the material economy, while a person of outstanding
value was one who had special insights and knowledge.

342 But for all the value the Pawnees placed on knowledge and the things
281 of the spirit, a tent was an absolute necessity as they traveled over the country. The making of the tent skin was one of their most complex technical achievements. It was a major enterprise to get one made, which had to be anticipated at least two years in advance. Eight skins had to be accumulated over four successive hunting periods—a summer hunt, a winter hunt, and on the following year again, a summer and a winter hunt. Sinew of eight buffalo for sewing the skins together also had to be saved. As signs of wear would appear in their tent skin, a woman would remind her husband of their need. Then he would set aside two good skins in each of the four seasons. The average life of a tent skin was no more than ten or twelve years.

463 Seven buffalo hides were used to make the body of the tent; an eighth
281 was cut up for gussets, loops for the pegs at the bottom, and a double thickness at the door. In order to fit the skins together in the smoothest and most economical way and to arrange the pattern of the applied parts, a woman specialist in this field had to be called in to supervise the work. There were only a limited number of women with such knowledge in the tribe. In addition, it would take four or five women working pretty
[461] steadily for three or four days to do the actual sewing of the skins. The workers all had to be compensated with gifts of dried buffalo meat, skin
[437] clothing, and trade store goods that had to be purchased with buffalo products. In the course of the hunt, the hunter had to anticipate these needs as well as the need for the skins and the sinews. Payment for the work of planning and sewing amounted to at least the sale value of a good buffalo robe.

342 The same tent skin was used for both the winter and the summer hunts, but the framework was different. In winter they used the standard pointed skin tipi, supported by a frame of thirteen tall and heavy rigid poles that were leaned against one another at the top to form the conical frame. With its fire burning in the middle, this tent provided an excellent protection against the winter cold, but it was too warm for summer. For the summer frame they used a series of flexible saplings to make an open-faced shelter. The making of the heavy tipi poles was a long and difficult process and had to be planned well in advance, whereas the saplings for the summer framework could be gathered near the time of leaving for the summer hunt. Elm or willow saplings were available near the creek in the late spring or early summer and at this time the bark

came off easily. They were considerably lighter to carry than the 342
rigid tipi poles. For the summer shelter they also needed two upright posts forked at the top and a cross piece to connect them to form a frame, onto which the saplings would be tied and through which the summer tent was entered. Wooden pegs were needed for both summer and winter tents to hold the skin tight by driving them through the loops at the base of the cover. They were usually gotten at the last minute.

A very necessary implement for these operations was a long 7-foot [412]
stick to be used as a digging iron. It was forked at the top and had a strong fire-hardened point to make holes in the ground for the poles of the frame.

Furniture for the tent included five large mats finely woven of bul- 352
rush to be used as floor covering. These were carried rolled up and tied with a string in the middle that had been provided for the purpose.

A wooden mortar was also needed for making mush and corn flour 412
and for other cookery. It was made of a section of elm log, the bottom 492
whittled into a point so that it could be stuck upright into the ground.
There was a hole drilled through this part of the mortar so that it could 322
be tied onto the horse with the other baggage. The working end at the top was excavated by charring and scraping into a deep bowl shape. With it they had to carry a long pestle made of a small tree trunk with both ends left intact and the middle portion cut down for a handhold. This was carried grouped with the long tent poles and the digging iron; the poles were tied at one end to the horse's back with the other end dragging on the ground.

Other household utensils were six or seven wooden bowls made by the 415
women as were the other wooden objects for the household, a string of [439]
buffalo-horn spoons for tableware and perhaps some small enamel bowls gotten at the trade store for their coffee. Also included was a larger wooden ladle for serving.

All the cooking vessels in Mark Evart's time were of metal replacing 415
the older pottery and they had to be gotten from the trader. As late as 439
1835–1856, a few clay pots were being made, but by 1867 there were 323
none at all. By 1928 almost all memory of how they were made was gone. 175
Metal came into use among the ancestors of the Pawnees by 1650 or be-
fore, when sheet metal was being cut up to make some of their arrow 177
points. In 1833 the Pawnees had an extensive trade with the Kiowas in brass buckets. For the present expedition, they needed a large brass kettle for cooking corn, soup, or mush, two standard metal buckets—one for water and one for coffee—and a metal frying pan to make grease bread.

In order to get these latter items, Victory Call rode up to Bishop and 439
Matlock's trade store on his best-looking horse to establish his credit, saying to Mr. Bishop, "Grandpa, come out and take a look at my horse.

439 Do you think it can get a good buffalo? Well, you can have a buffalo
435 robe when I get back and my wife can tan it." Mr. Matlock would
then join them and the traders would say, "Sure." "Well, I need two
buckets," Victory Call would say. "And what else do you need?" the
traders would ask. At the same time there would be an old lady in the
439 store trying to establish some credit so that she could get some sugar to
435 make sweet corn pounded up with sugar. She would promise that when
262 they got back from the hunt she would bring in a sack of pounded-up
dry meat. This was the equivalent of the better-known pemmican and
was bought by travelers at the trade store for emergency rations. When
[705] warriors went on the warpath they took extra pairs of moccasins filled
with pounded sweet corn and sugar and some of the pounded-up dry
meat as concentrated supplies.

*224 Not everyone had the skill or the diligence to accumulate all this
476 equipment. Every man or woman who did not have it yet wanted to go
on the hunt had to try to attach themselves to someone who did. This
practical consideration had an important effect on how the individual
encampments were set up. Sometimes a family had enough horses but
no tent. The man would send his mother-in-law or his wife to inquire
of a woman who owned a tent whether they could join her encampment.
If it was agreed that they should camp together they would discuss how
they would combine their needs for equipment—a mortar, a kettle, dishes,
etc. Sometimes a woman would make such arrangements, only to find at
the last minute that her husband had already committed them with someone
else, and then one of the families would have to remain behind.

606 The general rule was that a man had to take care of his father-in-law
and the family into which he was married. It was understood that he
would travel with his father-in-law and his wife's family. This is what
his marriage implied—that he was to serve and care for the family of his
wife. The son-in-law was called by the family into which he married
kustawixtsu, "he who sits among (them)." The son-in-law would refer
to himself as *rat-ut-ka-ku*, "I-for-you-inside-sit," meaning that it his func-
606 tion to serve their house. This was an obligation greater than that to his
593 own parents. If his parents were old and alone, he would give half of his
kill to them after his wife had picked out what she wanted. When they
[591] first married, the couple normally lived in the girl's house and went out
on the hunt with them. As they got older, the young man might want
[431] to set up a tent of his own and hunt separately and his father-in-law
might consent, but he would send a gift of a leg from whatever buffalo
he killed. When they got back to the village, they would rejoin the girl's
family. If the girl's father was getting very old and his tent was worn
out he would say, "Son-in-law, I want to go with you. You came here
to take care of us." "Certainly, that's good," the younger man would
say. This marriage responsibility sometimes got on a man's nerves, and

if he wandered over to his parents' tent and asked his mother to fix a 606
bed for him it was accepted as a normal thing. His wife would understand 593
that "he felt like being childish for a while" and that next morning he would be back with them. Sometimes the sounds of fighting would be heard inside a tent—a father-in-law and a son-in-law in conflict.

Although he might live elsewhere in the village, an unmarried 593
younger brother was likely to join his older brother for the hunt. This 224*
was his obligation. When he married, however, he would be impelled to
go with his wife's family. Sometimes two brothers and their families [592]
lived in an earth lodge jointly and they might very well also go jointly on the hunt.

The household of Old Bull and Victory Call broke up into three 592
groupings. Each of the four villages of the Skidi Band had a separate 621
section of the encampment. Old Bull and Victory Call both camped in the Pumpkin-Vine Village section in the west, but each had a separate encampment and ran their households entirely independently. The camp of Old Bull included his two wives and the grandmother and their young children. In Victory Call's camp were his wife White Woman, his assistant Horse Rider, his wife No Corn, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy, and the boy Otter. The old lady Grieves-the-Enemy and the boy Yellow Calf went far over to the east section where her son was encamped in Village-in-the-Bottomlands with his father-in-law, Path-of-the-Enemy. The two little boys did not see each other all summer, as there were hundreds of tents between them. When they returned to the village in the fall, it was optional whether they rejoined the household or not.

In the past, the people who were left behind in the village were in 224*
great danger and they all cried bitterly as the expedition departed. The 888
Stay-at-Homes were usually the sick and the old. Some men would stay 734
longer to give a little more protection to an old grandmother or someone of whom they were fond. The Stay-at-Homes would congregate in a few earth lodges in the village, knowing where to find food in the storage pits. Leaving the slow and the sick at home was a necessary step, as the line of march had to move with precision because other tribes were also pressing in on the buffalo herds. They might move entirely out of reach, whereupon the tribe would be faced with the danger of losing all of the effort they had invested in the expedition. Nevertheless, sometimes a soft-hearted chief would say, "Let's all go, even if we have to camp every five miles!" Others would demur, saying that was too slow; finally the old people themselves would say, "No, we can't go along. We're old anyhow," and having made this concession of their own accord, they
would be permitted to return to the village. Sometimes noticing that a 224*
perfectly able-bodied family he liked was not coming along, Eagle Chief 622
would inquire and, finding they were staying behind because they had 426
no horses, would lend them two of his own.

*224 156 Some men stayed behind in the village because they wanted to be alone for a while to think and make peace with themselves. They would plan to catch up with the party in five, six, or even ten days, living on limited rations of dry meat as they were accustomed to doing when they went scouting over the country for days and even weeks.

*224 156 787 [154] Such a man would sit quietly on the roof of his lodge and sometimes go inside and lie down. Not uncommonly he would have a vision. The vision is the Pawnee's introspective device for organizing his wishes, goals, and purposes. Mark Evarts expressed the mood in the following terms:

> One man was left there alone. He just wanted to stay. He thought he could go any time—in five or ten days. He might even not go at all. He just felt like staying. He didn't think of any danger. Early in the morning before sunrise, he sat on the roof of the earth lodge looking about, way off. He goes into the lodge and lies down; he doesn't even make a fire. He has a little dried buffalo meat to eat. He has gone three or four times on the war path and has experience in how to be hungry. He is thinking about how far they may have gone in the ten or fifteen days that have passed. He can't quite make up his mind to go and join the people on the march.
>
> One evening while he was sitting on the roof and it was getting dark, he heard a woman crying in east village (Village-in-the-Bottomlands). As he listened to the crying he decided to go where it was coming from. When he arrived he found a woman sitting wrapped in a buffalo robe and crying. "Where do you come from?" he asked. "Right here," she said. "I am crying because they have all gone hunting and I had my children (litter of mice) in that sacred bundle. In five or six days they will be getting buffalo and sacrificing the meat. A priest will untie the bundle and when they open it, there will be a nest where my children are. Maybe the priest will have to give up my children to them. That's why I am crying. I am poor. I wish you could go and get my children before they open the bundle. Get my children and come back with them." "I'll go right now," the man said. The woman thanked him and he got up and went directly to get his quiver, bow, and arrows and left that night.
>
> He knew how to catch up with the line of march through a short cut and starting out in the morning he traveled all day. He stopped a little while and smoked and then trotted on his way, hurrying to reach the group. In the camps everyone had been wondering why he had not come along. They thought perhaps he had been killed. He arrived about nine o'clock in the morning, just as the priest was taking down the bundle.
>
> The people in the camps called to him as they saw him approach,

but he walked right through until he stood before the priest as he was untying the bundle. The five priests were ranged at the west and he went to the one in the middle and rubbed his hands on him in blessing and then the others in turn and then whispered to the leading priest, "Untie it gently because in the north side of the bundle there is something." The priest understood and after all the bundles had been unwrapped, the four little mice were found alive in a nest inside one of them. "These are the ones I came for. I must go back now. She said they might be starving." He returned at once by the way he had come and on the evening of the fifth day, got to the village where the woman was sitting. "Here they are now," he said, and after she had fed them she said to him, "I am a woman and can take care of my children. I can get any food I want. Now I am going to predict for you, for I had my children in that bundle and it was only you who saw them, and because of that I have something to tell you. I am a woman and I don't have much power, but now everything you do will be successful. We mice are all over the world and we can talk to you anywhere." Her prediction came true and he became an important man. Sometimes two or three men might stay behind in the village after everyone had left on the hunt and catch up later. They would sit alone, scattered out in widely separated lodges. Sometimes they would have a vision. 224* 156 787

By 1867 there was a class of Stay-at-Homes who were able to remain behind in comparative safety from attack because of the proximity of the white town of Columbus, about 22 miles from the village. They would set out from the villages with the others, traveling to the first stop on the Platte River and then part company and go toward the town. They were mainly men and women who were unmarried and unattached, though more rarely a couple or a whole family would have to remain because they did not have horses or because their arrangements for joining a tent had fallen through. In the past all of them that were able-bodied would have gone along, but now many more remained behind. For people who had no tent or no horses, going along would have meant attaching themselves to a family and receiving board and lodging in return for performing minor services. They felt they might be open to humiliation if someone seemed to be giving them orders or telling them to hurry with what they were doing. When plans were being made for leaving, a group of women in this position would get together and talk among themselves; "If I go I have to work for someone else. I'll have to haul wood and help the other women and they might not give me enough dry meat in return." Another would say, "That's what I think. It might be hot. And they might not get many buffalo." Some single men would congregate in a similar way and say, "I don't feel like going." "Look how far they have to go. I think what you say is right. We have legs and can get plenty of 224* 571 [248]

*224
571
[648]

fresh meat by hunting deer and antelope right nearby. Let's go to Columbus."

Near Columbus they were reasonably secure from Sioux attack and they would build a big lodge of tin or sheet iron, and a man and his wife who happened to stay would take over the direction of the party, while the others would assist, running it like a village household. They would run a common commissary and the men would go out hunting for antelope and deer while the women would supply the dry vegetables and cook the meals, alternating on the north and the south sides.

*224
883
[866]

Once the seventeen-year-old son of White Eagle decided he didn't feel like coming along. "He might decide that it was a good thing for him to get used to being by himself. This was an idea that their grandfathers would inculcate into them saying, 'Now you're old enough to go on the warpath, be a horse thief, and be independent.' White Eagle tried to talk to him saying, 'Now we're going hunting. You come along.' 'No,' the boy said, 'I'm going over there to my uncle.' 'All right, if you want to, but now they're going to talk about me and say that White Eagle didn't take his boy.' 'Well, I'm going to stay with my uncle anyway.' So White Eagle would take a poor orphan boy who had been staying in his earth lodge along with him on the hunt instead of his recalcitrant son." It seems that adolescent protest was not unknown to the Pawnees. On the other

[593]

hand, his father was in no position either to force him or to exert pressure for him to go. He was considered entirely within his rights to make his own decision.

15

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY

000

A Summary Ceremony—a Symbolic Washing of All Ceremonial Objects—a History of the Ceremony—Celestial and Doctors' Symbolism Combined—Ceremony Explained—Participation of People in Ceremony

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY that was held before leaving on the 796
hunt was, in effect, a summary of all the Pawnee religious beliefs and 783
practices. In Pawnee ideology, the sky was one realm and the earth and 772
the waters another. The priests were in charge of the cosmic ceremonies, [224]*
and the medicine men, or doctors, were in charge of the animals that [793]
were connected with the earth and the waters. In this last category, the [756]
physical structure of man and his physical health were included. But ultimately, according to Pawnee thought, the sky was the first cause and
the continuing source of power in both realms. The doctors conducted 796
a separate cycle of ceremonies from the priests, and in the fall, at the gala 783
ceremony that was held after the harvest was in, they acknowledged their 756
celestial origin by hanging buffalo-hide cutouts of the Morning Star and
the other sky gods from the ceiling of the ceremonial lodge. During the
forthcoming summer hunt, a specially selected doctor would kill a buffalo bull and a cow to provide the skins for this purpose and another bull
and cow to build up the images of their own special gods.

The central feature of the ceremony they would now conduct was the 796
carrying of all the sacred objects to the stream, there washing them 783
symbolically. Then the people would clean up the whole village and wash 778
themselves in the stream. This great cleansing ritual was under the direction of the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the northeast of the semicardinal-direction bundles. In mythohistory this god was a sort of master [776]

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as
783 indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron
778 of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took
776 care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night,
the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

*[224] The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage
[772] twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbolisms from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the creation ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theol-
756 ogy of the cosmos was given. The doctors also had a systematic ideology
773 of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had
much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans
[171] or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

756

months. Thereafter, whenever a man had an animal vision, he applied to 773
the Doctor Association and was given a place in the lodge.

All during the summer hunt and the hard work of getting in the har- 756
vest that followed, the people looked forward with great anticipation to 796
the elaborate performances that the doctors would put on all during the 224*
month of October. It was a Grand Opera with a connected series of epi-
sodes, combining animal mimes, displays of sleight of hand, and illusionist
performances of different kinds, hypnotic acts, songs, and dances. In that
summer the people contributed the dried meat of eighty buffalo to the
Doctor Association for the forthcoming ceremony and in former times
as many as 140 were given. This was one of the prime motivations for
going on the hunt.

In the Great Cleansing Ceremony now to be held before departure, 796
both the celestial and the doctors' symbolism was combined, one con- 783
nected with crops and the other with the wild animals.

As soon as the chiefs had determined the date for the departure on the 796
hunt, they notified the priest of the sacred bundle who was in charge for 783
that season, and he in turn got in touch with the other four priests. They 793
all came to his lodge, beating on their bundles to signify that they were
now going to conduct a national ceremony. They took their appointed [778]
places at the west, putting their bundles down in front of them and send-
ing the errand man to summon the other bundle keepers to come with
their mats and food bowls. They spread their mats and sat in their tradi-
tional places, hanging their bundles on the wall behind them. They re-
mained in the lodge for three days and nights, feasting and talking to-
gether. Meanwhile the four main priests went through the village calling
on the people to bring gifts to Mother Corn. They were being asked to
bring the clothes that would costume the chief who was to lead the pro-
cession when they took the sacred objects to the stream. Only men of [577]
sterling character were privileged to make such a contribution—those
who were public spirited enough to initiate public ceremonies, were cou-
rageous in defense, volunteered frequently for public service, were gener-
ous in helping the less fortunate, did not harbor malice, did not engage
in any kind of violence or loud conduct, did not gamble or indulge in
sexual adventures in unsanctioned social categories. They were to bring a
buffalo robe, moccasins, a buffalo-hair cord as a girdle, and dried buffalo
meat and fat that had been consecrated on the previous buffalo hunt. The
donors would paint themselves red, carrying their gift through the village
for everyone to see as they took it to the ceremonial lodge. After the gift
was presented, two messengers went through the village announcing the
gift and publicly thanking the donor.

The actual ceremony in the lodge was performed on the fourth day 796
after the bundle keepers had assembled there. Very early that morning

796 the four priests dug a rectangular pit west of the fireplace to represent the Garden of the Evening Star. The bottom of the pit was covered with soft downy feathers and was referred to as *Kusaru*, "bed." All the bundles were now opened and the two sacred ears of corn, one attached to a stick (representing the male), were placed in the "Garden," with the other ear (representing the female) leaning against it.

[773] Now another model was made representing the waters and the animal life that pertained to them—the waterfowl, swan, and loon, and a garfish to represent the Great Sea Monster that had guided the original visionary of the doctors and a turtle. These were placed around a wooden bowl containing some water with a clamshell in it to represent the running waters.

Next came some ceremonial procedures that pertained to the specific tradition of the Big Black Meteoric Star. The principal objects involved were the star chart which was attached to the bundle. This was placed on a stick, carried outside, and fastened on top of a little mound of earth in front of the door. Then four smooth stones, thought to represent both meteorites and buffalo maw stones, and to have come down to them from the beginning of the world, were each attached to a stick; four men were assigned to carry them to the mound outside. The "northeast" man of the group was given the sacred pipe and a long strip of buffalo fat. When they got outside, he placed the strip of dried buffalo fat on a little fire, built to the east of the little mound of earth for the purpose. As the procession filed out of the lodge, the priests were singing a song about the men scanning the heavens and the earth all around. They continued to sing as the steps of the ceremony were performed outside. The melting buffalo fat was rubbed on their hands and faces by the four men who were outside; these men also greased the four sacred stones. As they smoked the sacred pipe they slowly surveyed the sky in all directions.

When they got inside, the priests stopped singing and the men performed their devotions around the bowl of water with the skins of the waterfowl and the turtle.

796
789
*224
The next two episodes were acts of sympathetic magic for success in the buffalo hunt. The leading priest said, "Priests, the men whom we have sent to look around have returned. They will tell us what they have seen." The man on the northeast arose and said, "We went out before daylight. We found the buffalo—so many of them that they have almost drunk the river dry." The other three men each replied in the same way. A famous warrior was then selected by the priest to carry the sacred pipe and a chief to carry the strip of the buffalo fat. As they went around the room, first along the north and then the south, everyone reached out to try to put his hands on the pipe and to seize a piece of the buffalo fat, tearing off as much as he could to symbolize that he was starving and was desperate to kill the buffalo.

Finally they had the formal procession in which all the sacred objects were carried down to the stream. The chief who was to lead the procession was called by the priest and dressed in the clothes that had just been donated. The sacred pipe from the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle was placed in his hands. The bundle keepers retrieved the sacred ears of corn from the "Garden" and placed them next to their bundles. A prominent warrior who had ownership rights to the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle led the main body of the procession bearing the star chart. Immediately following him were to be three men with quivers from the sacred bundles. These four sat near the entrance, lined up one behind the other, while arrangements were being made for the bearers of the rest of the objects. Meanwhile men from different villages had come in and seated themselves in front of their respective village bundles. Two men from each were selected to carry the "Mothers" or sacred ears of corn, others to carry the hawkskins symbolizing warriors and owlskins symbolizing chiefs that were also contained in the bundles. And last of all, the leading chief who was to head the procession went out and rounded up all the little boys he could find—an act signifying his watchfulness over the people. The little boys were given minor objects from the sacred bundles to carry, particularly the raccoon bones attached to the sticks with which meat was removed from the soup during the ceremonial banquets, or the arrowshafts used as pipe tampers and sticks to tend the fire. 796 783 778 [857]

Now there was a race to the river; the priests singing and shaking their gourd rattles while the objects were being given out. When they got to the fourth song, the warrior with the star chart jumped up and began to run toward the river as fast as he could, the quiver bearers close behind him. As they pushed out through the long entryway of the lodge, everyone tried to follow, and anyone who overtook the man with the star chart on the way to the river took it from him and ran on until he came to the bank where it was returned to him.

The crowd standing along the river bank now grouped itself into four symmetrical rows. In the first row, front center, was the warrior with his star chart. He was flanked on both sides by the men with quivers, who were in turn flanked by the men with the sacred ears of corn. In the second row were the men with hawkskins and owlskins. In the third row were people with less important bundle objects such as braids of sweetgrass usually burned as incense, buckskin pouches containing red, black, and white paints, pieces of enemy scalp, and other objects peculiar to the particular sacred bundle. Finally, bringing up the rear in the fourth row were the little boys with their raccoon bone forks, arrowshaft fire pokers, and pipe tampers.

The group now parted ranks. Down the middle came the chief carrying the sacred pipe to the water. He waded in and symbolically washed himself by dipping his right hand and then his left into the water, each

796 time touching it to his mouth, nose, forehead, and down his face, alter-
783 nately first with the right and then with the left hand. Then he went back
through the group and stood facing the village ready to lead them back.
778 The others followed suit, the men of first rank pretending to wash their objects and their bodies, then walking through the line to stand behind the chief and the others in order. The chief led them back to the village and the objects were replaced in the bundles in the ceremonial lodge. The little boys ran away at once, and the other men retrieved the robes they had left behind in order to race to the water before they went home. The priests and bundle keepers tied their things and had a meal of cornmeal mush that had been donated by one of the women. Then they all took their mats, pillows, bowls, and sacred bundles and went home.

796 The town crier went through the town telling all the people to clean
783 their lodges and the streets and to carry all the dirt far away. The next
[203] step was for everyone to wash and clean themselves. The priests who
had led the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood out-
[515] side shaking his rattle and singing. All the people assembled there and
[345] raced to the river as fast as they could go. They waited there for the priests who waded in and came out at once and went to their sweat lodge to take a steam bath. All the rest of the people—men, women, and children—stayed at the river, swimming and playing in the water.

16

FINAL PREPARATIONS IN THE VILLAGE

000

The Chiefs Sit in Council—Announcements to the People—Personal Needs: Tobacco, Foods, Clothing—Estimates of Food Taken for a Family

FOUR DAYS MORE and they would all be gone on their summer journey. 628
All the chiefs of the different bands were sitting in council to plan their 623
strategy. White Eagle, who was to lead the hunt, had called in representa- 203
tives of the four villages, and now as they reached their decisions he sent 224*
his errand man, Know-His-Face, to Curly Chief of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band to inform him of their plan. Curly Chief would relay the message through his errand man to the council of the Begging-for-Meat Band which was gathered in the lodge of Man Chief. Man Chief in his turn sent his messenger to Many Trophies, Chief of the Man-Going-Downstream Band, in whose lodge their council was meeting. Meanwhile Know-His-Face had returned to the Skidi council and reported what reaction Curly Chief had had to their plans. If the council were still in session they would get the message directly; otherwise they would hear indirectly. This was the usual form by which the four bands coordinated their administration throughout the year in the settlement and this continued in the same way while on the march. When an errand man or envoy came to a chief with a message from another chief, he was received formally and entertained as an emissary of the chief who had sent him, offered a smoke and a meal, before it was proper for him to state what he was sent for. If the chiefs' meeting should break up too late in the afternoon, the council would wait to send out their errand man until the next morning so that he could be received with due formality and the rest of the chiefs would have a chance to send out their envoys to the other bands in a suitable manner.

628 623 203 *224 Just as the meeting was drawing to a close, as in all chiefs' meetings, an old man would climb up onto the roof of the lodge and cry out to the village what had been decided. In this case he did so early next morning. His wording was in a precise telegraphic style so that it could be clearly understood by everyone. He said:

> This was what was decided in the chiefs' meeting. White Eagle decided we are going to hunt in four days. Anything you have to do, get finished in that time. On the fifth day, we'll go out of the village. We'll camp on the other (south) side of the Loup River (*its-kari*, "potatoes-many").
>
> We'll camp there a whole day so that any of you that aren't quite through can join us any time that day and up to the evening of the sixth day. On the seventh day we are going to be moving upstream (westward).

The old man, having completed his announcement, went back into his lodge.

*224 887 537 [789] Toward evening any old man who felt impelled might get up onto the roof of his house and talk to the people. He would say whatever was on his mind—about events in the past and their lessons for the future, or any other matters that seemed pertinent. Reviewing past events that were successful was considered a kind of sympathetic magic as well as of practical value. At this time the old man might talk about the fields and of how they were in the past. "All that," he would conclude "is in the past. But today we may have the same luck." Then he would continue in a different vein: "Try to help one another and take care of the children. The little ones like to swim and one must watch that they don't drown. I hope we come home well and find everything in good order."

*224 525 Such an old man was likely to speak gently and phrase his thoughts diplomatically and people listened carefully and thought about what he said. However, at the gambling grounds the gamblers had other matters on their minds. They were thinking about the good places they would come to along the way that were nice and smooth, with good buffalo grass growing on them—such a fine playing field for the hoop and pole game. They would discuss the different sites they were going to camp at where these would be found and agree between them that one would take along one stick and one the other so that they would have the equipment they needed for playing. For the inveterate gambler, this subject was always uppermost in his mind.

*224 276 756 Other men were thinking about how to get enough smoking tobacco to fill their needs, and the doctors were occupied with the herbs and medicines they would need to take along that were available only in this area. The tobacco was needed for ritual as well as for social purposes.

The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood 276
(*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer [824]
bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for
smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in
winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade [439]
store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared
patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of [249]
Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting 224*
expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their 276
pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so
that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½
feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

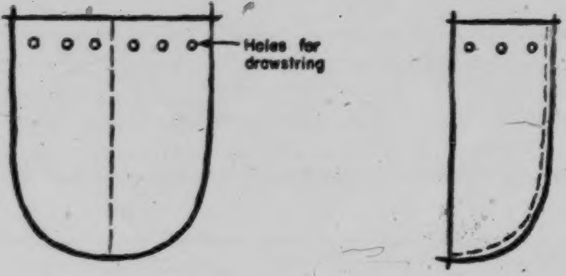
They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would 224*
depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle 492
had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth 224*
for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently 291
on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was 412
an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. 224*
Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on 482
her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage 778
on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, 224*
dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, 251
coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concentrated 262
foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes.
The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that [484]
time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would
now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegetable 224*
provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the 251
cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One 252
batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were

*224 roasted in the husks. The kernels were then cut from the cob with a clam-
251 shell and dried. Corn prepared in this way, known as *rawaritu*, "roasted,"
252 required little soaking and could be boiled in an hour. When the camp
was moving along quickly, this was the corn they depended on for the
[243] basic staple. While some of the corn crop was thus gathered early when it
was "in the milk," the rest of the crop was allowed to mature and dry
on the stalk, *rikis-tahis*, "corn-dry." After the cobs were snapped off the
stalk and carried in, the kernels were pried off with a pointed stick. Any
of the nine varieties might be treated in either way, but the blue flour
corn was particularly favored for maturing on the stalk to be processed
as dry corn. Dry corn took considerably longer to prepare than roasted. It
had to be soaked for some time before it could be boiled, and they used
it when they stayed over at a place, arrived early, or stayed at camp late
one morning. Although it took longer to prepare, this kind of corn was
heavier and more satisfying. The sticky, yellow sweet corn pounded
with sugar was taken along as a kind of sweet meat or served when they
[887] had no time at all to cook a meal. This was most commonly prepared by
the old ladies who had more time to pound things in the mortar. Thin
sheets of dry buffalo meat were also pounded in the mortar with a little
fat and served as an alternative uncooked meal. Old women who some-
times started very early and went ahead of the line carried these foods in
a skin bag as rations. Dried spotted corn was particularly preferred for
parching, to be eaten like popcorn or with soup. In addition, they took
along several varieties of dried beans to be boiled with the corn and some
dried pumpkin and buffalo intestine for the same purpose, in order to add
a variety of flavors. Dried buffalo meat from the previous winter hunt
*224 was also included. Each of these foods was separately packed in a
251 tanned skin bag with a piece of skin on top to cover the opening and
415



Folded along mid-line and sewn.

A circular piece of hide was put inside when full before the drawstring was pulled.

FIGURE 16-1. The small sack, *asa-karuru*, "dog-sack." Slightly larger than our 50-pound flour sack, it is used for carrying pounded-up sweet corn, dried pieces of meat, scraps, and so forth.

closed up with a drawstring before placing them together in the rawhide 224*
envelope or ~~in a~~ larger sack. The tanned hide sacks were of two sizes, 251
the smaller known as ~~*asa-karusu*,~~ "dog-sack," standing 3 feet high and 1½ 415
feet in diameter when full and containing about a bushel or 50-60 pounds of dried corn kernels (see Figure 16-1); the other "almost twice the size," standing about 3 feet high and 2 feet in diameter when filled, containing 1½ bushels or more.

The camping household of Victory Call comprised five adults and the 224*
262

TABLE 16-1. *Two Months' Supply of Dried Food Carried on the Hunt.* 592
484*

WHITE WOMAN'S SUPPLIES, INCLUDING GRANDMA'S CONTRIBUTION

Corn, roasted, quicker cooking variety.	2 small sacks
Corn, dried, longer cooking variety, mostly blue flour.	1 large sack
Corn, dried, spotted, mostly for parching.	1 small sack
Sweet corn pounded with sugar.	2 small sacks
Beans, done up in small bundles, each containing a different variety—spotted, red, black-head.	2 or 3 sacks
Pumpkin, dried, cut into circuits, the strips braided into simple checker-plaited mats about arm's length and 2 feet wide.	1 or 2 mats
Dried buffalo meat, a slab of dried meat, 1½ feet long and 4 inches thick, comprising thin sheets of buffalo meat alternating with layers of dried fat, most of the family supply being left in the food pit.	½ a package
Trade-store goods: in the package with the slab of dried meat, ½ sack of flour, sugar, coffee, baking powder, dried fruits; if there was any room left in the package, little bags of corn, beans, or a pumpkin mat were included.	

NO CORN'S SUPPLEMENTARY SUPPLIES

The corn was all in small sacks and there was no meat, merely dried buffalo entrails:

Corn, roasted.	1 sack
Corn, dry.	1 sack
Corn, dry, spotted.	1 sack
Pounded sweet corn with sugar.	1 sack
Pumpkin.	1 mat
Beans, two or three kinds, a bundle of each.	1 sack
Dried buffalo entrails:	
Buffalo paunch, similar to pumpkin cut into strips and made into a checker-plaited mat.	1 mat
Intestine, cut into sections, dried and plaited into a mat about 2 feet long and 1 foot wide, both adding flavor to the soup when cooked with corn.	1 mat

*224 boy Otter. Victory Call was assisted by his retainer, Horse Rider, and
262 there were the three women—White Woman who carried the main re-
592 sponsibility for the encampment, assisted by No Corn, Horse Rider's
*484 wife, who because of her affliction with arthritis was less able to contribute, and Grandma Chase-the-Enemy, who helped whenever she could. The food supplies these women carried were fairly standard and were estimated as shown in Table 16-1. (Grandma included hers with White Woman's.)

*224 These dried foods were very concentrated and swelled many times
251 their size when boiled with water. For their bulk, they were economical
262 to carry. Victory Gall's family of six took six to eight rawhide envelopes,
packing the food and certain small objects that happened to fit in, also a few skin sacks, and half a sack of food for immediate use. In addition, during the twenty days en route to the main hunting grounds, Victory Call went out regularly, as he did in the household, and hunted for a deer, an elk, or an antelope to supply them with fresh meat, although a good deal of it did go into social entertaining as it had in the village. The fresh deer bones were cooked along with the dried corn for the family. On the return journey lasting twenty-seven days, or more, the dried vegetable food was supplemented with partly dried buffalo meat known as *kiparu*, "moist," processed so that it would keep for a short time.

*224 Normally two meals a day were eaten, one before they broke camp in
264 the morning and one in the late afternoon. It seldom happened that they had a chance to eat a lunch in between as they were mainly on the march through the day or extremely busy processing the meat and hides that the hunters brought to the camp. A good breakfast was mandatory to sustain them on their day's journey, and corn was the most satisfying food. The pattern of meals was much as it was in the earth lodge and included fried bread of commercial wheat flour and coffee mixed with a generous
*224 amount of sugar. The value of sugar as a quick source of energy was well
262 appreciated, and a man would ask his wife to put some sugar in the fried bread if he was going to have a hard day.

17

THE RENDEZVOUS CAMP 000

They Leave the Village for the Hunt—Packing the Equipment—the Order of March—Crossing the Loup River—Setting Up the Camp—Raising the Tent—Supper and Afterward

THE MORNING FOR LEAVING THE VILLAGE had finally arrived. Victory Call got up early and made the fire, and White Woman cooked the breakfast. Meanwhile Horse Rider had gone out to get the horses and put them in the corral so that they would be ready for loading. They had been hobbled nearby where there was plenty of good grass available at this season. Right after the horses were in, White Woman served the breakfast. After the meal, saddles and saddle blankets were gotten and the loading began. It was important to systematize the process of loading at this time, for it would set the pattern for the rest of the journey. 224* 484*

Three of Victory Call's four horses were to be loaded; he would ride the racing horse. One of the horses was loaded with four of the rawhide containers and another with two. The mare took the heaviest load, consisting of the softer bundles with the tent cover on top to keep it from rubbing. She also dragged the tent poles and other items behind her. First one of the horses was loaded with the four rawhide containers. Four long rawhide strips were hanging down from the saddle, to tie them on. As Horse Rider brought out the first container, Victory Call and White Woman lifted it up against the right side of the horse and tied it in place with the rawhide straps, then quickly turned the horse around, tying on the other container so that it would be evenly balanced. The other two containers were laid flat—one on each side resting on the first two against the saddle horns—and were tied in place with the remaining lengths of rawhide. The second horse was similarly laden, but with only two containers, one against each side to leave room for a rider on top. 224* 484* 492

*224
*484
492

This was the place for No Corn, who was too disabled with arthritis to walk.

The mare, in addition to all the large soft bags, carried the long elm saplings to be used for the framework of the tent, divided into two bunches and tied across her shoulders by the stub ends, the thinner ends dragging on the ground behind her. The two cross pieces that kept them from splaying out were used as a carrying frame by wrapping them around with a large tanned hide cover. Here small children might ride and sometimes drop off to sleep; an old woman always followed to keep them from falling off. It was said that in the past when the poles were dragged by the dog instead of by the horse, the dogs would sometimes run away, carrying the children with them. The digging iron, almost seven feet long, was grouped on one side of the horse where the smaller number of poles were. The mortar was tied on by a string which was drawn through a hole in the pointed end and could be seen swinging near the ground under the tent poles. The tent cover was tied in place over the saddle horns with the rawhide strings and with what was left of the strings, the kettles were tied on the sides of the tent cover—unless one of them happened to be black with soot and had to be tied to the back. Finally they were very happy if they could get a gunny sack to hold all the extra things. In it they would put the big brass kettle with the wooden bowls inside. They might wedge in other things if they fitted—spoons, plates, frying pan. "Oh, that's handy," they would say, "you can put anything that's left over right here." "Now is that all? Well, look around. Is it fixed all right? Well, now we're going to move!" "We can tell how well it's packed after we start off." They put some brush across the door of the lodge in such a fashion that they could tell when they got home whether it had been disturbed.

Grandma had left for the encampment much earlier. Horse Rider helped his wife No Corn up onto the less heavily laden horse, and Victory Call said, "Let's go," mounting his horse and helping little Otter up by using his foot as a stirrup; behind him was a blanket where the boy sat. The procession consisted of:

(1) White Woman leading the horse packed with the four rawhide containers;

(2) No Corn riding the horse with the two containers loaded on the sides;

(3) Horse Rider leading the mare all loaded up; and

(4) Victory Call on his racing horse with little Otter sitting behind him.

*224
*484
361

Their destination was about five or six miles to the south of the villages. The villages were strung along the west side of Beaver Creek, a small southeastward-flowing stream that joins the Loup River some miles down. The Loup is an east-flowing river, and the camp was to be set up on its south bank. Groups of people from each of the four bands were

224* 361 484* moving southward to the river. The villages of the Skidi were furthest westward and the line going southward was west of the others. The villages of the other three bands were located downstream on Beaver Creek about half a mile east of the Skidi. There the three bands stretched eastward with the Little-Earth-Lodge Band nearest the Skidi, the Beggars-for-Meat Band beyond them, and the Man-Going-Downstream Band in the location furthest east. In former times these three bands were located south of Skidi territory and were still referred to as the "South Bands."

The Loup River could be seen far off, with a few white tents in the distance already set up. The chiefs, particularly White Eagle who was to lead the hunt, had gone ahead very early and set up camp. If others happened to be prepared before the chiefs, they waited until they had set out. Victory Call's party, after making sure that everything was securely packed, moved along through the villages and then southward at a leisurely pace, arriving at the north bank of the Loup in about two hours. As they moved along the bottom bench of the embankment, the South Bands people kept coming along to the east of them and were crossing at their regular crossing place further downstream.

224* 484* [487] Both banks of the Loup were lined with people to watch them and help them get across safely. Some of the young men had put stakes in the water to mark out the boggy places where they might get stuck. People shouted to them, "Hello there, it's kind of boggy in the sand here. Go on this side, not there!" "All right, thanks." The water was quite deep and people had to take off their moccasins even if they were riding on horseback.

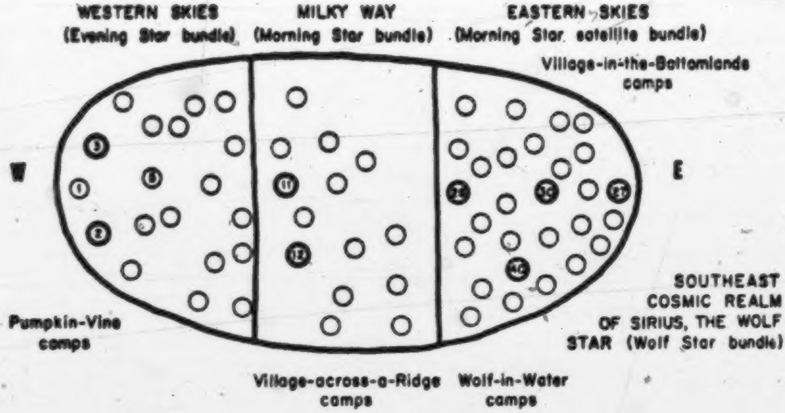
When a horse got stuck, everyone would come and help get him out. Even quite close to the bank there were some very muddy places. As Victory Call's party was crossing, everyone was shouting, "Look out, look out. Pull the horse to the right side. You're getting into boggy sand!" But before they could get out of the way, No Corn's horse got caught and she fell off. Everyone called out, "Don't let her drown!" "Look out," they shouted, "there's a baby on horseback. Take that baby off. It's muddy here." "No, it's all right. It's tied on."

When No Corn got to camp she might spread her clothes out to dry or simply let them dry on her. Tanned hide can be dried after it's been wet, but it gets somewhat wrinkled.

224* 484* 492 [361] At last Victory Call's family arrived on the south side of the Loup, White Woman and Horse Rider fording the stream and leading their loaded horses and the others riding in. Eagle Chief and White Eagle had set up camp for the Pumpkin-Vine Village at the western part of the encampment, and Victory Call found a little hilly place in the area for their tent that would be dry. (See Figure 17-1 for the plan of encampment.) "Here's a place," he called and got off his horse, removing the bridle and allowing the animal to graze. He left the saddle on, going over to help un-

*224 *484 492 load the other horses. Horse Rider helped No Corn to dismount and at once began to unload the mare. They untied the straps and removed the tent cover first and then the buckets so that Horse Rider could go and fill them with water from the river. Everyone was thirsty and wanted a drink.

*224
361
*484
772


WESTERN SKIES
(Evening Star bundle)
MILKY WAY
(Morning Star bundle)
EASTERN SKIES
(Morning Star satellite bundle)
Village-in-the-Bottomlands camps
W
E
3
5
1
2
11
12
28
30
27
40
Pumpkin-Vine camps
SOUTHEAST COSMIC REALM OF SIRIUS, THE WOLF STAR (Wolf Star bundle)
Village-across-a-Ridge camps
Wolf-in-Water camps

Pumpkin-Vine camps	Village-across-a-Ridge camps	Village-in-the-Bottomlands camps	Wolf-in-Water camps
3. White Eagle	*11. Lone Chief	*27. Leading Chief	*40. Chief-Feared-by-the-Enemy
*2. Eagle Chief	12. Brother of Lone Chief	28. Comanche Chief	
1. Victory Call		30. Brother of Leading Chief	
5. Old Bull			

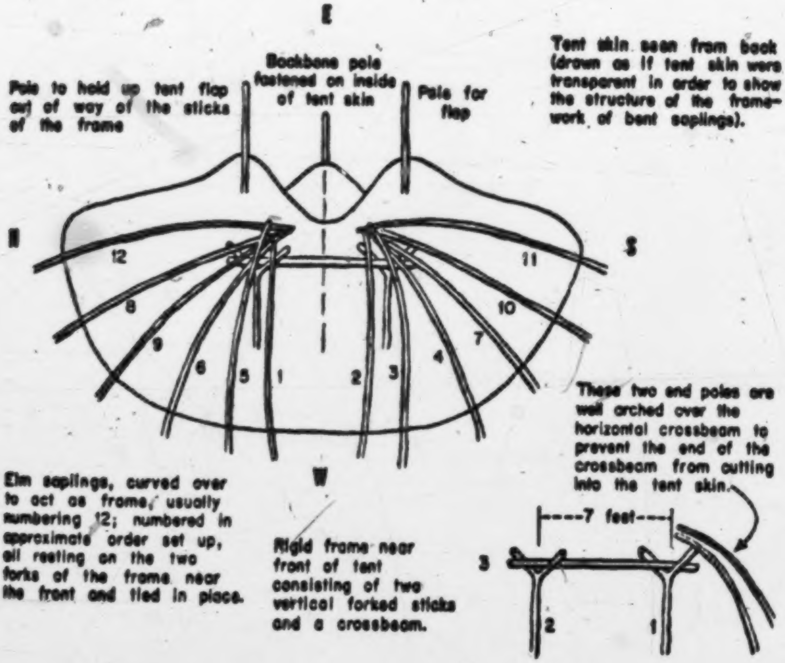
FIGURE 17-1. Pawnee plan of encampment while on the hunt, following a cosmic pattern as in the Skidi earth-lodge villages.

*224 *484 492 Now Victory Call and White Woman untied and took off all the rawhide containers, and Victory Call removed the saddle from his horse and let him go. The next job was to remove and tie up all the rawhide ropes that were hanging from the saddles of the packhorses so that the saddles could be removed and the horses set free. White Woman began tightening the first rope on the front right side of one of the horses, then the rear right, then the rear left, and finally the front left. No Corn was helping her, and, if Horse Rider was back, he would pitch in and help too. The men removed the saddles and set everything out so that the sun would strike them where the horses had sweated and they were damp.

When Horse Rider had arrived with the buckets of fresh water, he said, "This water is still cold. Better take a drink." Everyone was thirsty and they were all glad to get it. Then Victory Call would say, "Go hobble the horses," and Horse Rider went directly. It was important to hobble the mare, especially since all the horses were likely to stay around

her. On his way out Horse Rider saw some sand cherries among the sand- 224*
hills, and as he turned back toward camp he gathered them up in his 484*
blanket. They grew on low bushes, and those that were covered up with 492
sand were yellow while the ones that had been exposed were a rich [262]
dark red like big ox-heart cherries sold commercially today. They would
make a nice dessert for supper.

Meanwhile White Woman and No Corn were busy putting up the 224*
tent. (See Figure 17-2.) This was harder to erect than the pointed tipi, but 484*
the open front made it cooler in the summer weather. 342


E
Backbone pole fastened on inside of tent skin
Pole to hold up tent flap out of way of the sticks of the frame
Pole for flap
Tent skin seen from back (drawn as if tent skin were transparent in order to show the structure of the frame-work of bent saplings).
N
S
12
11
8
10
9
7
6
5
1
2
3
4
W
These two end poles are well arched over the horizontal crossbeam to prevent the end of the crossbeam from cutting into the tent skin.
7 feet
3
2
1
Elm saplings, curved over to act as frame, usually numbering 12; numbered in approximate order set up, all resting on the two forks of the frame near the front and tied in place.
Rigid frame near front of tent consisting of two vertical forked sticks and a crossbeam.

342
335

FIGURE 17-2. Curve-roofed summer tent. The front is open and faces east. An oblong fireplace is excavated somewhat to the north of the entrance.

The first step was to set up the frame in front. Two forked sticks 224*
were set vertically in the ground about 7 feet apart. Before each stick 484*
was inserted, White Woman punched a hole in the ground with the long 342
pointed stick that she used as a digging iron. When the sticks were in place she joined them with a horizontal cross stick that rested in the forks. Now twelve sticks were stuck in the ground to form the outer frame. They were set in the form of a long half-oval. Before each stick was inserted, White Woman grasped her digging iron and punched a hole in the

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224
*484
342
ground in front of her. Then the stick for the framework was inserted. These sticks were long flexible elm saplings about 2½ inches in diameter. She set all twelve of them in place. The tent must be so oriented that the entrance faced east and the rear was at the west. The first two sticks were set up at the west, the next two alternately on each side until the curved outline was complete with six uprights on each side. White Woman threw the far ends of each two sticks she inserted onto the entrance frame, fastening them with rawhide rope onto the fork, those on the southside onto the south fork and those on the northside to the north fork. She was careful to draw them over the fork so that they protuded well beyond it in order that the horizontal stick of the entrance frame would not cut the tent skin. The curved framework was now ready for the tent skin.

The first step was to spread out the skin on the ground to the west of the frame. A long elm sapling was placed upon it to act as the "backbone" of the tent and to raise the cover. The cover was provided with rawhide strings at the top and bottom to tie the stick in place. She then raised the stick with the tent skin on it and rested it at the back of the curved framework. Now No Corn would come and help with the next steps.

White Woman went inside and stretched the skin over the frame, while No Corn fastened it on the outside with wooden pegs. The rawhide loops for the pegs were all around the outside bottom of the tent cover about 1½ to 2 feet apart. The tent cover was pegged down at both sides to stretch it, then in the middle and then in the intervening spaces. The pegs were driven into the ground with an ax-head.

In the front of the tent, the skin hung rather loosely on both sides. There was a hole in each side into which a long stick was introduced that held the skin stretched out neatly. In the pointed tent, this part of the skin controlled the smokehole over the entrance and was held open or closed with similar long sticks.

Sometimes when they arrived White Woman discovered that she had forgotten to bring tent pegs. She would have to get three or four dogwood saplings in the timber, about 2 or 3 inches in diameter at the base. She would cut them close to the bottom. Each peg was about a foot long, and she might get three pegs out of a sapling. Each peg was sharpened at the thick end. If she happened to see a man anywhere around, she would remark, "Say, we have no pegs." Then he would simply go off and get them for her. If they thought of it they would get them beforehand and allow them to season. But in an emergency they could be used green.

[353] Finally, the tent being set up, the rawhide containers were carried in
and piled in twos at the rear of the shelter close together all around. The
[352] woven bulrush mats were brought in, unrolled, and laid down. Then a
[354] fireplace was made on the outside a little to the north of the entrance. It

224*

was made in oblong form about three feet long and a foot and a half wide, 484* 342
with its long axis running north-south. 354
The next step was to get everything in order for cooking. They had 313
enough water, and now they needed wood for fuel. As she was peg- 224*
ging down the tent, No Corn remarked to her husband, Horse Rider,
"We're pretty nearly finished now and we have no wood." Then he 484*
would go off carrying a long rope. He used the rope as a kind of lasso:
attaching a stick about a foot long to the end, he would throw it up
around a dry cottonwood limb and the cord would wind itself around
the limb so that it could be pulled down. It would take considerable skill
to pull it down without having it fall on your head, which sometimes hap-
pened despite the best of care. Horse Rider tried to get enough wood to
last them for that evening and the next day while they stayed at the ren-
dezvous camp. Some of the wood he gathered from the ground, tied it up
with his cord, and came into camp carrying it on his back. As soon as he 224*
got in, he made the fire and White Woman began to cook. They had a 484*
simple meal of bread and coffee and some sand cherries for dessert. No 252
Corn volunteered to make the coffee. While the cooking was going on, [272]
the old ladies were stretched out resting, and Victory Call was doing the
same. Everyone was very tired. It was proper to joke a bit while the [522]
food was being prepared and during the meal. Horse Rider began to
tease No Corn about how she had fallen in the water.

Immediately after supper the women cleared up the dishes and sat 224*
down to rest—tired from all their work. Horse Rider went off to see 484*
how the horses were getting along and Victory Call went up and sat on
top of one of the sand hills to have a smoke and to look around and at the
encampment below. Presently five or six men joined him for a smoke and
some conversation.

The boy Otter ran off at once to the river to go swimming with the rest 224*
of the children. On the way he saw some other little boys leaning over a 484*
pond. "See the sunfish. Let's 'choke' them!" They tied some bread to the 857
end of a string and let it down into the pond and as the fish bit, they pulled
them up and 'choked' them. Then the boys went off and gave the fish to 224*
an old woman who was living alone in a shelter she had built for herself. 484*
Her relatives gave her something, but would not take care of her and she 888
had no other place to go. "Here, grandma," they said, "Here's some
fish." "That's fine," said the old lady. Later that summer while they were
setting up camp one day, the boys came to give her fish and she was dead.
They dug a hole in the embankment against which she had been leaning [764]
and buried her there. Man Chief, who was Eagle Chief's son, and a gener-
ous young man, gave a red blanket to wrap her in. There were only
one or two old women alone like this. Sometimes while they were on the
hunt, such old people would say, "Just give me enough to eat and go on."

*224 *484 888 Some old people just walked off because they were tired of living. "I'm old. I don't care what becomes of me," they would say. In this case, people thought it was a shame for the old lady's relatives to leave her all by herself like that.

*224 *484 512 515 Most of the women and children were swimming in the river. By sundown they began to wander back toward their encampment. When little Otter came in after his sun-fishing adventures they all said, "Minwu, you smell of fish. You'd better go wash your hands." There was no soap so he had to rub his hands with sand and then wash them with water. Horse Rider had been looking after the horses, and again he passed through the sand hills and gathered in some sand cherries. Victory Call was still sitting and smoking on top of the sand hills with his friends and they looked down contentedly upon the women and children swimming in the river. By sundown all had gone home; the men would go swimming late in the evening by themselves.

*224 203 *484 Now at evening the crier went through the encampment and made his announcement. He said, "We'll be here all day tomorrow. If you have any business at the store, attend to it, because day after tomorrow, we'll be moving on." It had been a long day and everyone went to sleep.

*224 *484 512 Next morning Grandma got up earlier than anyone else, before dawn, saying everyone must practice getting up early. They passed the day pleasantly, swimming in the river or doing whatever they liked. For breakfast they had a modest meal of fried bread and coffee and for lunch a good soup of roasted corn mixed with braided intestine. At supper, they had boiled dried buffalo meat with bread and coffee.

[203] When evening came, the crier went through the encampment calling out, "They have decided to move tomorrow. We're going about ten miles from here."

*224 *484 The next morning their travels would begin in earnest. They would travel and encamp this way for the next twenty days before they reached the main herd of buffalo.

18

THE MIGRATION TO THE BUFFALO HUNTING GROUNDS

000

Geographical Orientation—the Routes of the Four Bands—Platte River a Major Landmark—Trip Made in Ten Encampments—Four Mass Attacks Planned on Buffalo Herds—Cooperation during Hunt—Enemy Attack—Bad Weather—Death

THREE RIVERS CUT ACROSS the state of Nebraska, flowing eastward into the Missouri which forms the eastern boundary of the state. They rise in the foothills of the Rockies and are sometimes deep and sometimes deceptively shallow, but the water when it flows is always swift, and they have shifting sandy bottoms even when the river bed seems almost dry. The northernmost of the three is the Loup and south of it the Platte, which it joins toward the east. The Platte almost bisects the state in an east–west line. On the southern border is the Republican, which for the most part cuts through northern Kansas. 133

The Pawnee migration followed the river courses progressing westward and southward in successive stages, west along the Loup, then south to the Platte and for some distance west along that river, and then south to the Republican, where the migrating buffalo herds were to be found. 224* 484* 133

The westward journeys along the river banks were relatively easy, but in turning southward the overland travel took them over deeply scarred irregular surfaces that were slow and hard to cross. North and south of the Loup the land surface consists of glacial loess blown into tall sandhills that look like dunes. To conduct a march across this terrain, especially loaded with baggage, is extremely difficult. Moreover, there are no identifiable landmarks, and it is easy to get lost. The land between the Platte and the Republican is of a different character. The entire land surface is 133

133 covered with a deep, compacted layer of sand. Both rivers have changed their courses numbers of times in the past and the marks of their winding fossil beds are deeply carved into the sandy layer, forming a series of shallow but sharply defined canyons and troughs. Reaching north and south between the two rivers, the curves and canyons of the two fossil beds almost meet, cutting up the whole land surface so that there is no level land and the trip across has to be made over a few narrow land bridges. The later pioneers who tried to cross this area going southward aptly named one of the best of these land bridges "Devil's Gap" (southwestern Nebraska between Lexington and Arapahoe).

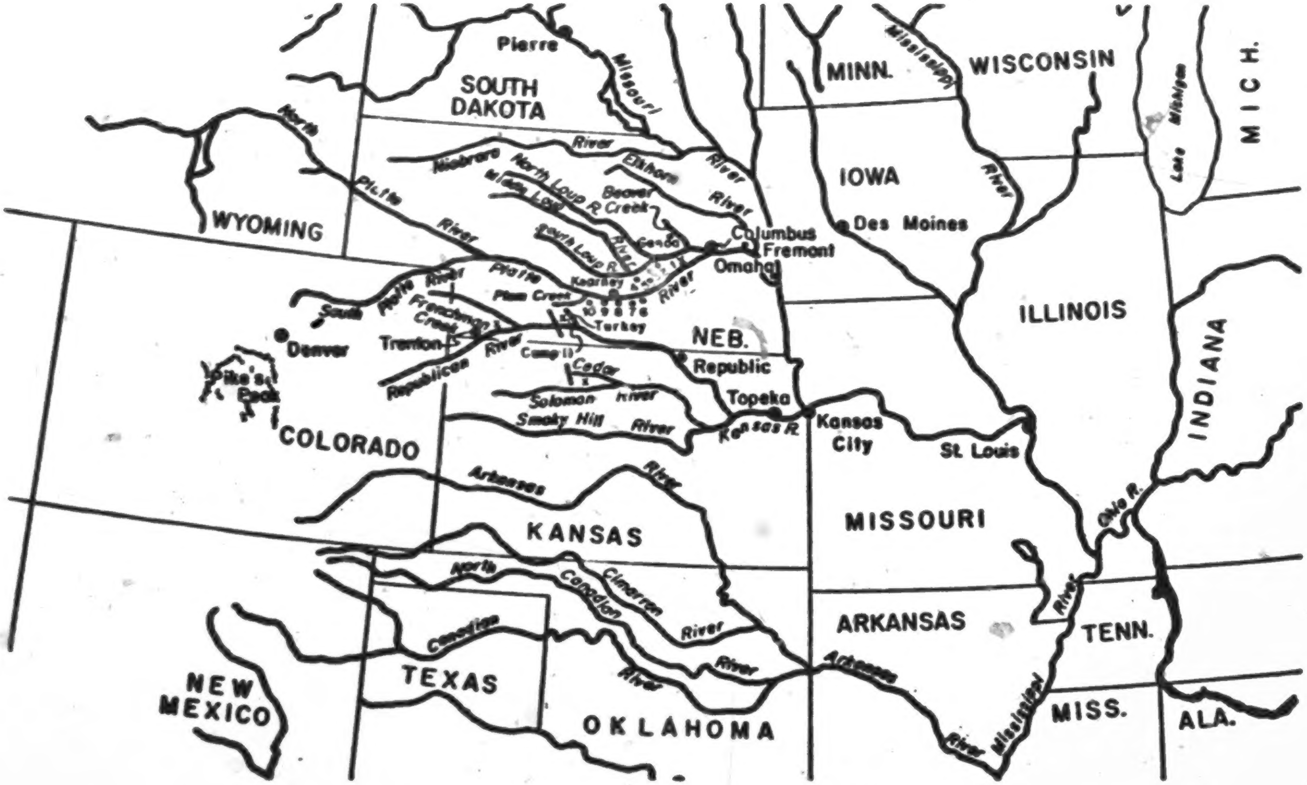
*224 *484 823 [888] The Pawnees had a detailed knowledge of every aspect of the land they would traverse. Its topography was in their minds like a series of vivid pictorial images, each a configuration where this or that event had happened in the past to make it memorable. This was especially true of the old men who had the richest store of knowledge in this respect. Their journey out was about ten miles a day and eight on the way back when they were more heavily laden with the dried meat. Anticipating these distances, they had to plan on stopping places where there was enough level land, wood for fuel, and available water for their whole large encampment of several thousand people and many more animals. They estimated the journey out as twenty days and the return journey twenty-seven days.

*224 *484 184 Each of the four bands had different routes that they preferred. From their rendezvous camp south of the Loup, the Skidi preferred to go several camps westward along the south bank, before turning south to the Platte. The South Bands preferred to leave the settlements and go directly south to the north bank of the Platte River where they made their rendezvous camp. When they were ready to go west, they would cross over the Platte and proceed along the south bank all the way west until they came to the place where they turned and crossed the country south-

*224 *484 361 FIGURE 18-1. Approximate campsites of the Pawnee summer hunt in Nebraska. Starting from Genoa on Beaver Creek, X is the first rendezvous camp south of the Loup. Camps 2, 3, and 4 proceed west from Camp 1 along the south bank of the Loup. Camp 5 turns southward toward the head of Grand Island in the Platte River. They camped overnight between the Loup and the Platte because the sandhills between the rivers make the journey hard. Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte after crossing Grand Island and Fort Kearney. Between camps 5 and 6 a small reconnoitering party went south of the Republican to sight buffalo; they brought meat to Camp 6. Camps 7, 8, 9, 10—four camps west of Fort Kearney along south bank of the Platte, arriving at Plum Creek near Lexington, Nebraska. At camps 7, 8, and 9 individual hunters went after deer, elk, and antelope. Setting out from Camp 9, the chiefs and braves hunted a small herd in order to "feed the people." They brought meat to Camp 10. They went along Plum Creek and then southeast overland to find Turkey Creek. Camp 11—the hunting camp, where the main herd was attacked by all the hunters of the tribe. The people moved south along the west bank of Turkey Creek and encamped at its confluence with the Republican River. X near Trenton is Massacre Canyon.

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965 (1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[P. 173]


Pierre
SOUTH DAKOTA
Missouri
MINN.
Mississippi
WISCONSIN
Lake Michigan
MICH.
WYOMING
North
Platte
River
Niobrara
River
North Loup R.
Middle Loup
Elkhorn
River
Beaver Creek
South Loup R.
Cedar
Columbus
Fremont
Omaha
Kearney
IOWA
Des Moines
River
South
Platte River
Platte
River
Plum Creek
Frenchman Creek
Turkey
Denver
Trenton
Republican
River
Campbell
NEB.
Republic
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
Pike's Peak
Cedar
Solomon
River
Smoky Hill
River
Topeka
Kansas R.
Kansas City
St. Louis
COLORADO
Arkansas
River
KANSAS
MISSOURI
Ohio R.
North
Canadian
Cimarron
River
Canadian
River
River
ARKANSAS
TENN.
Arkansas
River
Mississippi
River
NEW MEXICO
TEXAS
OKLAHOMA
MISS.
ALA.

[Fig. 18-1]

102
224*
484*
361
131

*224 ward to the hunting grounds on the Republican. Each of the bands had
*484 its own well-known landmarks. As White Eagle was leading the four
184 bands on this hunt, they all had to follow the south bank of the Loup for
the first part of their journey in the Skidi tradition.

*224 A major landmark of the trip was Grand Island in the Platte River.
*484 There were a number of long, sandy islands in the Platte, some of them
131 covered with lush grass and grazing animals and with trees growing on
439 them. Grand Island is one of the largest of these (more than twice the
size of Manhattan Island). It is about 20 miles long and 5 or 6 miles wide, with a narrow channel on the north and south sides between the island and the mainland. On the island the United States had established Fort Kearney, where there was also a trade center.

*224 The trip to the hunting grounds was usually made in ten encampments.
*484 The hunting camp, not uncommonly within sight of the migrating herd,
361 was called Camp 11. By the Skidi route traveling west along the south
bank of the Loup, they would make three camps beyond the first one and arrive 32 miles out. This would put them just due north of the west end of Grand Island over which they planned to cross the Platte. Because of the sandhills between the Loup and the Platte, the crossing southward was slow and they would make one camp between the two rivers (Camp 5).

Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte and two miles westward of the place of crossing. This was done so that the camp could be set up on high ground to avoid the mosquitoes and bugs that abounded in the lowland. This was the stop they usually referred to as "Fort Kearney" because the chiefs would go over there and collect their government allotments while the line of march continued two miles west and set up camp.

Continuing along the south bank of the Platte, they made four camps "west of Fort Kearney," viz., camps 7, 8, 9, and 10. At Camp 10 they reached another important landmark, Plum Creek, a small creek that was a southern tributary of the Platte (near present Lexington, Nebraska). Up to this point the individual hunters went out privately and got deer, elk, or antelope to supply fresh meat for their own camps. While the line was en route to Camp 6, a small group of independent hunters made a long trip southward to the Republican to scout around and they killed three buffalo and brought the meat to Camp 6. As the line of march was moving toward Camp 10, the ablest hunters of all four bands went out and surrounded a small herd of about twenty buffalo, bringing in the
[622] meat to Camp 10. This group of hunters included all the chiefs, other administrative officials and prominent men. The meat they obtained was
[431] widely distributed in the form of gifts and symbolized the fact that "the chiefs feed the people buffalo meat."

The next stop was Camp 11 on the Republican. While the previous

buffalo surround had been made exclusively by the elite, now while they 224*
were en route to Camp 11, every able-bodied hunter in the entire tribe 484*
would make a concerted attack on the herd. To guide the line of march 361
overland from Camp 10 to Camp 11 took considerable skill. They
left the Platte by following southeast and upstream along Plum Creek almost
to its source, and then headed somewhat in the same direction overland
to the head of another small stream, Turkey Creek, that flows due
south into the Republican. They traveled southward along the west bank
of Turkey Creek, and the line of march halted about midway and combined
all the baggage they could so as to free as many horses as possible
for the hunters. The line of march proceeded to the confluence of Turkey
Creek and the Republican, where they set up Camp 11 in preparation
for the arrival of the hunters with the meat and hides. They would remain
there for some days as they would have a great quantity of meat
and hides to process. This was about the end of July. The place is west
of the present town of Naponee, Nebraska. Four mass forays would be
made by all the bands in concert, after which the bands would separate
and follow their own fortunes.

Officially, White Eagle was in charge of all the bands. However, he 224*
chose to make a number of diplomatic gestures in this connection. On 622
two occasions he deferred his leadership of the hunt episode to chiefs of 628
the other bands, with whom the Skidi had a special kind of political relationship. 276
This was a relationship established through the calumet or 574
peace pipe. The calumet was not so much a treaty-making symbol as an
elaborate ceremonial through which interband and intertribal trade was
carried on, the pipe, therefore, being a sign of peaceful intention and
thus a safe-conduct pass through alien territory. In 1672, Marquette [175]
carried one down the Mississippi and was able to establish peaceful relations
with all the tribes along the way. Other tribes agree that the ceremonial 574
originated with the Pawnees. The ceremony was always carried 276
on in terms of a visiting party bringing gifts. The visitors, who were
called "fathers" by their hosts, brought with them dried vegetables, [431]
bowls, and cooking utensils; decorated clothing, and blankets; "jewelry"
and ornamental objects; and—most valued of all—the highly decorated
pipe stems that were symbolic of the male and female eagle. The visiting
party might number a hundred or more. An earth lodge was set
aside by the hosts for the ceremonial and for the leaders of the party.
The rest of the visitors had brought their own tents and camping equipment
as well as all the food supplies and utensils that they would need. It
took almost a year for a man to initiate such an enterprise. In the party
were always included a chief, a priest, and a doctor. The hosts who received
the party were called "Children" by the visitors, who assisted the
hosts with their planting and other work so that they would be free to
attend the ceremonies. When the ceremony was over, the guests, in [431]

574 addition to the gifts, left all their equipment behind, and also the two
276 sacred pipes. The "Children" on their own account gave their parting
431 "Fathers" a large number of horses they had elaborately decorated for
the occasion. In the past they had given quantities of dried buffalo meat.
[554] Only people of some prominence and wealth could participate in these
operations. At this time the Skidi Band were the "Children" of the Beg-
622 ging-for-Meat Band, while the Skidi were "Fathers" to the Man-Going-
628 Downstream Band having recently paid them a trading visit. In view of
574 the mutual courtesies involved, for the Chiefs' Hunt and the first major
276 hunt episode, White Eagle deferred his leadership to his "father," Man
*224 Chief of the Begging-for-Meat Band. The fourth episode he placed in
charge of his "child" Many Trophies, chief of the Man-Going-Down-
stream Band.

*224 They stayed north of the Republican River for the first two mass at-
*484 tacks on the herd. By this time the herd on the north side was pretty well
scattered, and the hunters had to cross over the river for the attack and
bring the meat back over the water into camp. For the fourth mass at-
tack on the herd, under the leadership of Many Trophies of Man-Going-
[361] Downstream Band, they moved their camping location from Camp 11 to
a place on the Solomon River to the south, a branch of the Kansas. This
was a site preferred by the Man-Going-Downstream Band. It was a diffi-
cult overland journey for which they had to carry water with them.
They would finally locate a small south-flowing stream, the Cedar, which
led them directly to the Solomon. They made their camp in the angle
where the Cedar joined the Solomon, hunting the herd further up the
river. When the bands parted, they mainly went to separate locations
further to the west along the Republican as the herds in the more eastern
648 location would have been scattered. This territory in the west was dan-
gerous as the nomadic tribes, Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, and others
were constantly poised to attack for what they considered to be an en-
[175] croachment on their hunting grounds. In 1873 the Sioux attacked the
Pawnees while they were on such a venture, butchering their kill in a
[727] canyon near Trenton, Nebraska. The death toll was so severe that this
event tipped the balance in their decision to leave their traditional terri-
[167] tory and migrate to Oklahoma.

On the way out and the way back from the buffalo hunting territory
*224 they moved their camp in fairly regular succession one day after an-
*484 other. But sometimes it rained and they had to remain where they were
132 for several days, or they might be delayed by the sickness of a prominent
man. Rain, of course, was an inevitable factor. It could delay the camp
for several days. If they were caught in a rain while on the march, every-
one had to spread his things out to dry and this operation might require
the next day or even two before they could resume their journey.
[281] Tanned hide becomes hard and has to be tanned again with grease and

rubbing after it gets wet. If the tent cover was folded when wet it would 224*
get moldy. The sinew bowstring also would be ineffective when wet. 484*
Rain had very serious consequences when they had sliced a quantity of 132
buffalo meat and were drying it on the rack. If it should be wet by a sudden [281]
storm, the meat throughout the encampment would be spoiled. [251]
There was nothing that could be done with this meat. If one tried to eat
it, it tasted like dead wood. It fell to pieces in one's hands. Even if one
tried to cure it over a fire, it simply rotted. Meat once exposed to rain,
even after it had been cooked, became moldy next day. A rack of meat
that had been rained on was called *kariks-kutu*, "rack-dead, spoiled." The
meat had to be thrown away.

Accommodation and adjustment to rainy weather was therefore very [182]
important and a nice distinction had to be made between the problem of
delay and the risks involved.

One day word was sent to White Eagle that an important man of the 224*
Man-Going-Downstream Band was so ill that he could not go on. White 484*
Eagle had to consider very carefully whether they would go ahead and 758
leave him or delay the entire group. A day's delay might mean the 554
difference between reaching the full herd on time or finding only stragglers 619
left after the herd had passed. Considering, however, that the Man- 622
Going-Downstream Band was in a "Child" relation in the Peace Pipe
ritual to the Skidi and was in the process of giving them a return gift of
horses, White Eagle diplomatically decided to delay the march so that
the sick man could be treated by a doctor. It was also felt that if interband
relationships were not solidified from time to time, one or the other
of the South Bands might conceivably be induced to collaborate with the
Sioux on some occasion. Then everyone would consider that White
Eagle had failed in his administrative functions and in his diplomacy.
The death of an influential man in another band would also be the occasion 224*
for delay until after the funeral. If the wife of a prominent man 484*
were about to give birth, the whole family of this tent and a doctor 554
would stay behind and wait, and White Eagle would assign one of his 764
principle braves to see that things were all right with "their Child" (in 844
terms of the calumet), while the rest of the camp moved on. In the case
of an expected birth to one of the wives of White Eagle himself, he
would request Eagle Chief to lead on and say, "My wife is going to be
sick." But Eagle Chief would refuse to go ahead saying, "I might spoil
your luck. We can go on when she's well again." Ordinarily a woman
would have to go aside while traveling and have her child in the open
aside from the line of march. Also, in the case of death, the own family
would usually stay behind and bury the person, then come on and join
the rest. After a day's delay, everyone would be glad to be moving along.

19

COMMON CAMPING ROUTINES

000

Description of Camping Routines—Starting the Day—Breakfast—Loading the Horses—Striking the Tent—the Camp Crier—Entertainment

*484 512 [887] The routine of camping and decamping followed the same pattern throughout the summer. Advance scouts left the encampment about four in the morning to survey the route and to protect the old women who preceded the line of march in order to be sure to keep up with the group. As dawn was breaking, everyone had had breakfast and was under way. The families of the chiefs got up earliest in order to lead the line of march.

In Victory Call's camp, Grandma got up before anyone else—she made a low fire and put the bucket of corn to warm up on the glowing embers. Then she brought in an armful of wood and put it down next to the fireplace and went to the creek to get a bucket of water.

Now Horse Rider would begin to grunt and growl and say, "It's morning now," so that everyone would get up. The horses were hobbled and picketed around the encampment; he got into his moccasins, picked up his lariat, and went off to tend to them. He watered them since he wouldn't have a chance after breakfast, bringing them close to the tent and hobbling them there so that they would be ready for loading.

By the time the old lady was coming with the bucket of water, White Woman had gotten up, washed her hands and face, and begun to prepare breakfast.

[821] [515] Now Victory Call arose, went out, and looked at the sky to see if there were clouds far out over the hills. He came in and took a little basin of water and washed his hands and face, drying them on the hairy part of a buffalo robe—the leg and arm parts, and then shaking off the water. Some men went to the creek to wash, gargled with some water, and blew it out. While doing this, one had to face west toward the Evening

Star. If during the night one had dreamed a bad dream, one might swallow 484* 512 a great deal of water and regurgitate it before eating. [787]

White Woman was making the grease bread and No Corn was making the coffee. During these preparations, Victory Call sat by smoking his pipe.

By the time Horse Rider was through bringing in the horses, breakfast was ready. After they had all eaten, the women cleaned the dishes, using [264] the plant known as water string or "false indigo" (*Amorpha fruticosa*, [824] Gilmore, p. 93) to rub on the dishes and buckets to sweeten them while washing. This plant grew close to the creeks with its roots in the water; the leaves and stems were used and the roots discarded. In winter, strips of the bark were taken from the dry stalks. False indigo was invaluable, particularly on the march; you might find nothing but boggy water in a depression and the plant would freshen it. It could also be used [263] to make palatable meat that had a gamey flavor like wildcat, by boiling it in two waters with the plant and pouring off the water each time, after which it could be cooked in the ordinary way and tasted good. The plant was spread on the ground while butchering to keep the pieces of meat clean.

The dishes having been cleaned, they were ready to dismantle the camp and load the horses. Two or three old ladies were waiting nearby for Grandma to join them. They would set out at once to get an early start, [262] carrying a little ration of pounded up sweet corn and sugar to sustain them on the way.

As soon as they had eaten, the two men saddled up the horses while 484* White Woman prepared to dismantle the tent. She shook the tent pegs 512 loose and pulled them out, then began to fold over the tent cover while it 342 was still on the frame, first pulling one side around to the back and 492 folding it over and then the other side; pulling down the "backbone" pole with folded cover on it, she untied the stick where it was attached at the top and bottom and put it aside. The tent skin was then folded down the middle lengthwise and evenly rolled from the bottom end toward the top, then tied around the middle with the string that was there for the purpose (see Figure 19-1). Additional ropes were used to tie the roll securely across the ends. Now White Woman dismantled the wooden frame, and the poles were divided evenly so that they could be tied to the horse's back in two even bunches.

Only the oblong rawhide containers were now left standing, as they 484* had been placed next to the back wall of the tent. Meanwhile No Corn 512 had been rolling up the bulrush mats that were on the ground and tying them in the middle with the strings that were provided there. She was also rolling up the blankets.

Now that everything had been dismantled in the camp, the next job 484* was loading up. The horse was brought around close to where the con- 512 tainers were. Horse Rider and No Corn stood on one side and Victory Call 492

*484 and White Woman on the other. While the women held up the contain-
512 ers, the men tied them on. Now everything was loaded and they could join
492 the line of march.

*484
342

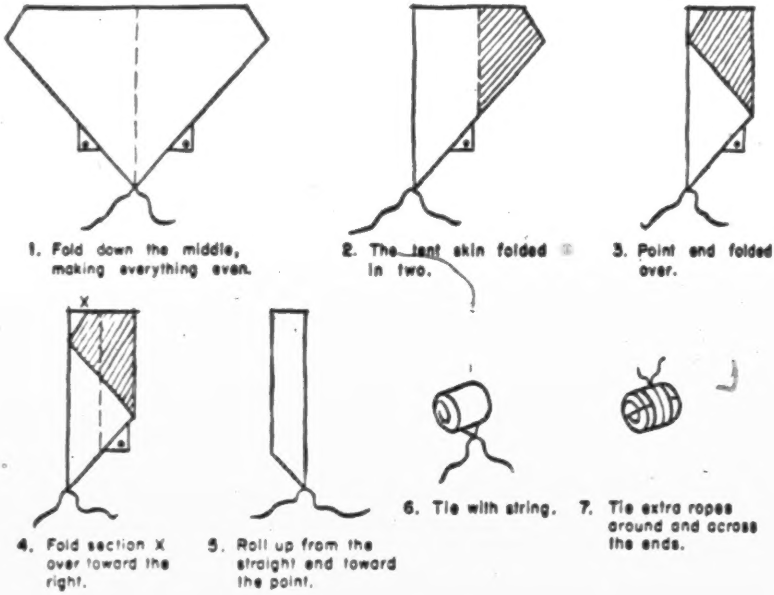

1. Fold down the middle, making everything even.
2. The tent skin folded in two.
3. Point end folded over.
4. Fold section X over toward the right.
5. Roll up from the straight end toward the point.
6. Tie with string.
7. Tie extra ropes around and across the ends.

FIGURE 19-1. The method of folding the tent skin.

*484 Every morning the crier would go through the camps to repeat the in-
203 structions he had called out the night before. He would tell how far they
*224 were going and where they expected to camp. Until after Camp 9, in-
dividual hunters would ride off from the line of march as soon as their families were packed up and go hunting by themselves to get some fresh meat. While they were out, the group would have arrived at the designated camping place and set up camp, to which the hunters would come with their kill, usually in the late afternoon.

*484 In the evening each hunter entertained his own friends at a feast with
*224 the meat he had gotten that day. This was parallel to the household rou-
574 tine for the man in the villages. The administrative procedures were also
62 similar to those in the settlements. The chiefs of each of the bands
more or less kept open house, and every evening there was an informal council where notable happenings of the day were recounted. The official braves, who policed the villages on behalf of their respective chiefs, now performed the same service while they were on the march.

20

HUNTING THE FIRST BUFFALO AND BUTCHERING IT

000

Five Scouts Decide to Hunt the First Buffalo—They Ask and Receive Permission for This Hunt—Description of Hunt—Butchering the Buffalo—Return to Camp

WHEN THEY REACHED the fourth encampment, White Eagle began to be very worried. His hunters were bringing in nothing but deer, elk, and antelope. Not a single buffalo had been sighted. They were now 32 miles west of the rendezvous camp, having traveled an extra two miles beyond the customary ten that day. This placed them in the position for leaving the Loup and traveling southward toward the Platte. The difficulty of crossing the sand hills made it necessary to set up Camp 5, at a halfway point, before completing the journey south to the Platte. 224* 484* 361

That night the crier went through the camp to notify them of their itinerary for the next day. Since the camp was none too comfortable, they would get up especially early and proceed southward to the Platte, cross over to Grand Island, and proceed two miles west on the south bank, where they would make Camp 6 or Fort Kearney camp on some high ground—much better than the boggy camp they were now occupying. [203]

In the Skidi encampment, five scouts made up their minds they would get up well before dawn the next morning and ride 12 miles south to the Republican to find out for themselves whether there were any signs of buffalo there. The leader of the group was Roaming Leader of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. This expedition would be of material assistance to White Eagle, who was much concerned about their failure to find buffalo so far. White Eagle, a subchief of Pumpkin-Vine Village, was "married into" Bottomlands Village, and his in-laws gave him substantial assistance throughout the hunt. 224* 484*

*224 *484 In Camp 5 that night, when the crier was calling out their next day's itinerary, Roaming Leader was on his way to hobble his horses when he met his friend Running Scout. He said, "I have it in mind that we could go far south to the Republican river to see if there are some buffalo there. This time of year the bulls always stand over there. What do you think?"

"That's just what I've been thinking about. I'd certainly like to do something like that."

"I've got to hobble my horses right now," said Roaming Leader, "but if you see Mad Bear, tell him to come to my tent and we'll talk it over—also New Young Dog and Wants-the-Enemy. About sundown, you people must come to my tent."

[572] These five men had grown up as a group of friends since they were boys. They used to meet when they took the horses to pasture while they were very young. Some of these groups would break up after marriage, [578] if a man's wife tended to disapprove or if he was jealous and afraid that his friends might try to share his wife's sexual favors. But in this case the group had stuck together and had many adventures together. Roaming Leader, between forty and fifty years old, was the leader of the group and tended to take the initiative. At this time they came to his tent for supper where his wife had prepared a meal of corn, bread, and coffee. After the meal, Roaming Leader asked them to wait while he went to see White Eagle to ask his permission for their expedition. After his return they would continue with their plans.

When Roaming Leader arrived at White Eagle's tent, he found that the errand man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band was also there. He had come on the same errand, as there was a group of men in each of the other three bands that wanted to go south next morning and try their luck at locating the buffalo. After some discussion, White Eagle granted permission, and they talked about how they would coordinate the activities of these four scouting parties. It was planned that they were to fan out in different directions so that they could make a survey of the country and they would get some idea of where the herds might be. Each party had a different assignment.

After the Little-Earth-Lodge Band envoy had left, White Eagle inquired of Roaming Leader who would be in his party. When he mentioned who they were, White Eagle commented that they were a good bunch. He wished him good luck and said, "Don't forget the *kawis*." This was a [252] [262] sort of sausage they made by washing the intestine and turning it inside out and putting a long piece of buffalo meat inside with a little water and tying it at both ends. The *kawis* could then be boiled in water or, if the hunter were alone, broiled over the fire. It was a favorite delicacy that could only be made of fresh intestine and White Eagle's remark was a reminder for Roaming Leader to be sure to bring the intestines home.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

When Roaming Leader rejoined his friends in his tent, they continued their planning in the light of what White Eagle had said. Their assignment was to go toward the southwest. New Young Dog said, "That's a good place to go. It's hilly there. Last year about this time we saw three or four buffalo over there." Roaming Leader reminded them to hobble their horses next to the tent so that they could get an early start; he told them to meet at his place so that they could leave together. He also said they should plan to leave very early so that no one would try to follow along and join the party. 224* 484*

Roaming Leader was the first to awaken next morning, then New Young Dog, who was so anxious to get off that he had hardly slept. After that Mad Bear came, half running, and then the other two, who were a bit slower.

It was still somewhat dark when they left, but they had a long way to go—five or six miles to the Platte, and then the crossing. When they got to the crossing place, the scouts from the other bands were also there. They greeted one another, and after they had crossed over, each scout announced the direction his band was traveling. [576]

If any of the parties saw the buffalo massed together, this was a sign that the Cheyenne and Arapaho must be lurking around somewhere near the Platte. They would keep right on until they saw two or three bison or buffalo standing alone, with no others to be seen anywhere around as far as the eye could see. Then they knew it was safe to hunt them. [825]

There were five scouts in Roaming Leader's party and three buffalo to be attacked. All five could not chase the three buffalo at once, so they split up into two groups of three and two respectively. The three bison stood next to a pond. The men were on a little hill and they approached cautiously, going down into a trough where they would be concealed. Then they removed their saddles and rode out bareback. The party of three would chase two of the bison and the party of two, the third one. The man on the fastest horse headed off the two bison and led them to the place where they had left their saddles. "Hurry up, hurry up and try to shoot," he called to the other two men. The other party of two would head off the third bison and try to kill it.

Now they were in a hurry to butcher. It was a hard trip back over the sand hills, especially with the horses loaded, and they wanted to reach the encampment before dark. For the butchering, the five men divided into three parties—two each for two of the buffalo, and one man to butcher the third buffalo by himself. 224*

The procedure in butchering a bison was different from that of butchering a cow in the way the hide was removed. The cow was placed on her back and the whole skin removed from the belly out. The bison hide was heavy and they placed him on his belly and removed the hide in two sections, dividing it along the backbone and making two skins out

*224 of it. After they had made a cut along the backbone and divided the robe in two, they would flap open the cut edges and split the hide down the forelegs and hind legs to get the two halves off.

The next step was to remove the meat. This was the same for both bull and cow. They removed the meat first from one side and then from the other. The carcass was turned over on its side and the long piece of meat that lay along the backbone was cut loose and turned aside. Then the flank over the ribs and forelegs was flapped back. Now the foreleg could be removed and the lower portion with the hoof on it discarded. [237] This part would find use as a hammer. The most important meat was the long steak extending all the way down the length of the backbone. Its [192] name, *kis-satsu*, "bone-lying against," was also the generic name for meat, *kisatski*, the *-ki* being a diminutive, i.e., "small meat." The long steak was the ideal part for thinning and drying as it could be cut into a long continuous sheet. It contained important sinews that were removed before slicing.

When the meat had been removed from one side, the carcass was turned over onto the other. Although the meat had been removed from the underside, the carcass was held up off the ground by the fact that the paunch was still inflated. They decided that in butchering this side, they would leave intact a large slab of meat that was ordinarily considered to be two parts, one covering the windpipe, and the other the part that lies below it, the *awahu*, the "spread out." This was a large, very fatty slab of meat. After the backbone steak, the flank, and the foreleg had been removed, they would take off this piece. This fatty layer was needed since in storing the thinned-out dried meat, they would alternate each thin layer of meat with a layer of dried fat.

Now they had to clean the internal organs; the paunch, liver, lungs, and intestines. If they had no water for cleaning the paunch, they simply shook it out. When they took care of the entrails, they also removed the tongue and brains. To get the brains from the braincase, they used the hind leg with the hoof on it as a hammer and broke off the skull cap just below the brow ridge, taking the brains out of the cover or membrane. In order to determine the best place to aim the blow, they had first to take off the scalp lock.

[262] After all the meat had been removed from the bones, they had to get the ribs, which were a main delicacy for cooking and eating right away. [251] Most of the rest of the meat was dried and preserved. The ribs were consumed mainly by the men in their feasts. To crack the ribs off the backbone, they lay the carcass on its side and cut up the front where the cartilage was with a knife. Then they used the discarded foot with the hoof on it as their hammer and struck along the ribs where the rib bones were jointed at the back. They made two slits between the ribs to get a good fingerhold and pulled the ribs so that the bones cracked at

their joints near the back. They turned the carcass over and removed 224*
the ribs from the other side in the same way. Then they removed the
collarbone and first rib.

This whole process was accomplished with a single knife. As far back 175
as 1540, Casteñeda gives an almost identical description of butchering 224*
with a flint. "They cut the hide open at the back," he writes, "and pull
it off at the joints, using a flint as large as a finger, tied in a little stick,
with as much ease as if working with a good iron tool. They give it
an edge with their own teeth. The quickness with which they do this
is something worth seeing and noting."

The butchering completed, there was a pile of meat; it remained to por- 224*
tion it out among them. The initiative in this distribution belonged entirely
to the man who had actually killed the animal. Legally the animal be-
longed to him. However, it was the custom to give half of the meat to any
who had been present at the kill and helped with the butchering. A gener- [577]
ous man—in Pawnee terms, "a good man"—would give something to a
person who arrived after the killing but helped with the butchering. Late
arrivals could expect no such courtesy. The rule also held in this case. The
bison was readily divided in two, including the skin, with two doing the
butchering. If three had butchered, "the nonkillers" would have had to
divide the half between them. Such a quarter bison skin could be used [237]
for moccasin soles or a small rawhide envelope-shaped container. Out
of an undivided half skin of the bison, a robe might be made, or a water
package. This was a skin folded like an envelope with sticks fastened un-
derneath to be used to float things across the stream in high water.

After the butchering and distribution, the horses were packed with 224*
the meat so that they could return to camp. In order to load, they sad- 492
dled the horses and put the meat on top; the skin, which had been too
slippery, had been allowed to dry somewhat and was now put across
the saddle, hair side down, with the flaps hanging down on both sides
of the horse. The long backbone steaks were placed on top of the hide,
and upon this the flank meat from over the ribs and forelegs. In order to
balance the load on both sides of the horse, the thighs were cut across
in two, each threaded with an eyeletted piece of rawhide drawn through
a hole in the meat and tied to the back of the horse so that they hung
down against the sides. Each rib cage was tied in a similar way with a
string through it so that it hung down on each side toward the rear. The
sharp edges were up so that they did not cut the sides of the horse. The
brains were tied inside the rib cage to protect them. The other entrails
were tied together with a rope and placed on top and tied near the back.
A person taking a whole buffalo by himself couldn't take the backbone
but could take the back of the neck. He had to leave "the hips and back-
bone" behind. Everything now being in place on the horse, the skin was
folded over to make a cover. First the back half was folded forward

*224 492 toward the front and then the front half folded backward and lapped over it. It was possible to ride on top of such a package, as was necessary whenever they had a considerable distance to go. A man who had not received a hide had to use his saddle blanket in the same way. Entrails and paunch were always tied near the back so that they would not get in the way.

*224 *484 The five hunters now set out for Camp 6, the Fort Kearney encampment on the south bank of the Platte. They rode in close formation, the leader in front, with one man on each side of him and two in the rear. As they rode they would look around to see if they could sight any more buffalo so that they could make their report when they got to camp.

21

CROSSING THE RIVER AND THE RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

000

Crossing the Railroad and the Platte River—Hunters Arrive at the New Encampment—Leader of Hunt Gives Thanks for Buffalo

WHILE THE FIVE SCOUTS were off hunting the buffalo, the people broke 224*
their fifth encampment among the sand hills between the Loup and the 484*
Platte and started south. As they were taking down their tents, the people noticed that these men were absent. Realizing what they had [476]
gone for, the people would give their wives a hand in packing up, offering to help by taking some of their baggage for them. They would say, "You can't keep those men home. They're always off somewhere—that whole bunch!"

The line of march was usually in four parallel columns, the chiefs of each of the bands in the lead ranged from west to east—westernmost, the Skidi, then Little-Earth-Lodge Band, then Meat-Beggars, and Man-Going-Downstream furthest eastward. When they had gotten about three miles out, someone would yell, "Oh, my, we've got to cross the railroad!" This was a great nuisance as there was an embankment and ties and sometimes a freight train or a passenger train would be coming. They
called the freight train *mule*, "long ears," and a passenger train, "These- [552]
Chiefs-Traveling," referring to the fact that each passenger was so wealthy that they were all chiefs.

Three miles more and they arrived at the Platte. As the first group got there the word would go down the line, "The water isn't high. The sand bottom is hard." "That's good," everyone said, for it meant that the crossing would be easy. Sometimes they got to the bank and found there was deep water in the river. It was seldom deeper than a man's knee or thigh, but if it were chest-high they could not cross, as the pack-

*224 *484 ages tied to the sides of the horses would get wet. Then the question was, "Was the water on the rise, or was it going down?" People said if it were warm on Pike's Peak in the Rockies, the water level would soon be low. In order to find out whether the river was rising or sub- [823] siding, the women would set up a stick in it; if the river was rising, it would soon be covered over, or vice versa if falling. They also knew that if the river was muddy soon after getting a bucket of clear water, it was rising. The men, on the other hand, were inclined to be more impulsive and didn't bother with such observations; they simply forded the river. If the river was rising, they would have to change their plan and continue west along the north bank of the Platte until it subsided. This time they were able to cross directly. The crossing was over the western end of Grand Island, the largest of the "sand-bar islands" in the Platte. In winter it was a good place to camp, but in summer it was full of mosquitoes. Grandma would have arrived long ago and gone onto the island to pick plums and grapes. The channel is wider and shallower on the north side of the island and deeper and narrower on the south side. The island itself is five or six miles wide.

*224 *484 When they were ready to cross, some young men volunteers who were from eighteen to twenty years old would go ahead and stake out the path with willow sticks to show where the deep holes were. If there was a 883 steep sand bank on either side, they would chop at it with a buffalo [237] shoulder blade and kick it down so that there would be a sloping path [412] for the horses. Sometimes on the return journey in August the river bed would be dry, and in this way they came to know the best way to ford the river. A group of young men of this sort would volunteer for all sorts of services, including picket duty. They always carried their bows and arrows and were constantly on the alert to see if the enemy [571] were coming on the warpath. Sometimes as the years passed, they would continue in this way, remaining as a group even after they had become mature men. Such a group was that of Roaming Leader and his friends who had gone out on the buffalo-scouting expedition that day.

*224 *484 When the line of march finally got across the river, they climbed ashore and up the first bank which was relatively steep and then the second bank that had a more gentle slope. They continued west along the high bank for about two miles until they came to the place where they planned to camp.

*224 By about four or four-thirty in the afternoon they were all encamped. A man was out taking care of his horses, and as he looked onto the horizon he happened to sight Roaming Leader and his party, silhouetted against the sky, coming over some sand hills about two miles off. From their outline against the sky, he could see that the horses were all bulging out with meat and the legs of the riders were sticking far out as they sat on top of the packs. As they rode he could also see the hides swing-

ing back and forth a bit. He was a considerable distance from the camp and he called to someone who was within closer shouting distance that he had seen them, and that the scouts had had a successful hunt and would soon be there. The message was relayed to the camp and everyone heard about it and was on the alert. Finally, as they got nearer, people began to see them, and someone called out to the wives of the men, "They're coming, bringing meat!" Excitement ran high, for this was the first fresh buffalo meat of the year. Chief White Eagle saw them too and [622] he said a heartfelt "Thanks to the Great Powers!" For as leader of the hunt, he was held most of all responsible for it.

22

THE RETURN OF THE HUNTERS AND THE BANQUETS OF BUFFALO MEAT

000

Meat Is Cooked—Account of Hunt Given—Hunters' Families Entertain—Conversation during the Meal—Other Hunting Expeditions Formed—Family Relationships

*224 As THE FIVE HUNTERS came in, each of their families began to prepare for the family meal and the feast that would follow in their respective camps. In each case, a brother or a brother-in-law was waiting at the hunter's tent to take care of his horse. As the hunter dismounted, he took off his quiver and bow sack from his back and handed it to his wife, asking her to bring out a skin spread for the meat. The brother who had come to help came out of the tent and put the meat on the spread, took off [492] the saddle, and took the horse to water. The hunter said to his brother, "When you water it, wash the blood off his sides." The brother went off to tend the horse and hobbled it in the place where the hunter was accustomed to keeping it. The hunter had gone inside the tent where he sat down to rest and smoke while his wife began to cook for him.

*224 252 Roaming Leader, because he was leader of the expedition, had been given the heart and tongue by the man who had had charge of cleaning the entrails. Now his wife was cooking them for their meal. The tongue was first put in the coals until the rough outer covering had blistered off. When it was puffed up, the covering came off easily and the tongue was then boiled. This made good soup and the tongue itself was "smooth eating." To prepare the heart, it was first cut around the rim and the outer skin carefully peeled off so as not to tear it. This little sack could

224* 252 be used for water or dried as a tobacco container when they went on a Peace Pipe expedition.

224* 521 While the cooking of the meal was in process, the brother returned from tending the horse and Roaming Leader motioned him to sit down at his left. The place at his right was reserved for his wife. Roaming Leader was sitting on the north side. He told his brother how far they had had to go in order to get the bison, how fast the horse was, and other details of the chase—of how three of them had chased two of the bison and the other two, the third animal—of how they butchered and divided up the meat and who got which pieces.

264 Before he had quite finished with his account, his wife announced that she was through with the cooking. He had to interrupt his story, as they must eat at once because the buffalo meat was still lying outside on the spread. His wife's mother, Lady Lucky Leader, had come in meanwhile and her son, Dog-Sitting-at-the-West (also known as Frank Leader), and they joined the family for dinner. The tongue would have been adequate to feed the three of them, but with five they also needed to use the heart. Each one received a small piece of each kind of meat. The Pawnees believed that the first meat of the season should be cooked rare so that the [827] digestive system could become accustomed to it. Roaming Leader remarked this to his wife, "Cook it a little rare. Don't overcook it—it's [252] easier to digest that way." The meat was cut into long thin strips at this time so that it would boil quickly.

224* 252 431 As soon as they were through eating, Lady Lucky Leader went outside to tend to the meat. She gave some to the Meat-Askers and at Roaming Leader's instruction, prepared half of the backbone steak as a gift for White Eagle. First she removed the sinews and cut the steak in two. Since her daughter was busy with the dishes, she carried it to White Eagle's tent herself. As she approached, an old lady from White Eagle's tent noticed her coming and came out to meet her. She said, "I'm bringing meat," and the old lady replied, "Oh, thank you, thank you." As she handed over the meat she said, "Oh, they got three of them—three bison." As White Eagle's mother-in-law entered the tent she told him the news. "They found three bison so and so far." "That's all right!" he said. Some of the meat was cut into long strips and boiled right away, White Eagle making the usual remark about cooking it rare, and the rest of the steak was sliced up by the old lady preparatory to making it into dried meat for storage.

574 After the families of each of the hunters had eaten their meal, they would prepare for their several banquets. Each of the five invited friends and prominent people from his own village—Mad Bear from Pumpkin-Vine, Running Scout from Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge, and Roaming Leader from his own Village-in-the-Bottomlands. New Young

Dog was a Pumpkin-Vine man, but under the circumstances, since this village was already invited by one of the hunters, he invited people from the fourth Skidi village, Wolf-Standing-in-Water. The fifth hunter, Wants-the-Enemy, chose other personalities that he felt should be included in the feasting. Each guest would take some of the meat home after the banquet for his family and friends, and in this way a great many people in the encampment shared in the first buffalo meat of the season.

Roaming Leader, who was entertaining the prominent people of his own Village-in-the-Bottomlands, had as his guest of honor White Eagle, who had married into their village. He was given the seat of honor at the northwest. In the southwest seat sat Comanche Chief, an outstanding chief of Bottomlands Village, and a man somewhat older than White Eagle. Next to White Eagle on the north side was the head brave of Bottomlands Village, Strikes-the-Enemy, and beyond him, Horse Thief, a man prominent in the Peace Pipe Ceremony and an outstanding warrior. Along the south side next to Comanche Chief sat Dog-Sitting-at-the-West, who was Roaming Leader's brother-in-law, and another man well known for his bravery.

In his opening speech the host, Roaming Leader, said, "White Eagle, Comanche Chief, Horse Thief, my brother-in-law here, and . . . (citing each one). Here we have something to eat. I wanted to have you people with me. I give you this little food that I have; it is yours. We're just going to eat." After this first speech, everyone remained silent for about five minutes, thinking that White Eagle, as leader of the hunt, would speak. White Eagle for his part was sitting with head bowed in deference to Comanche Chief, as an older man, hoping he would take the cue and speak first. He also felt that Comanche Chief as head of the host village should take the lead. Finally, since he was his kin, he simply leaned over and remarked, "I want you to hurry and speak so that we can eat our food." "All right," said Comanche Chief, "I was waiting for you." Now he mentioned them all by name, first along the north side, then on the south and especially the host and his wife. "You have been cooking and your hands and face must be hot. You have been doing the cooking for us." To Roaming Leader he said, "This is not the first time you have done this—given feasts to our different groups of people. You got up early in the morning to go out and look for some buffalo and now you have accomplished it. I know how it is. The horse is tired from chasing the buffalo and after that, the hardest thing is to do the butchering. And you have done this for me. Now here is the food before me and here are these fellows. This is what White Eagle wants and so far White Eagle has had good luck in leading us. I don't want to talk too long as someone else might want to say something."

White Eagle had been waiting for him to say this and as Comanche Chief turned to him he said, "That's what I wanted. Thank you for your

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

talk, Comanche Chief. You have helped me a lot. I wanted someone of experience to talk to Roaming Leader as you did. I could not have done anything by myself. Only if Heaven is willing can we have good luck. The other four hunters are sitting and feasting as we are. I can hardly speak for I am so filled with joy. My food is right here and I am going to eat these ribs here, and I thank your wife for doing the cooking. That's all I want to say." Comanche Chief had an idea that his brave, Strikes-the-Enemy, might want to make a few remarks and he nudged him to get on with it. Finally Comanche Chief concluded the predinner speeches and asked one of the men from his own village to serve. The old lady, Roaming Leader's mother-in-law, had gone outside to tend to the meat that was lying there and after the guests had received theirs, and the host and his wife had their portions, meat was carried outside for her. 574

During the meal, pleasant conversation was always the order of the day. Stories were told and the events of the hunt recounted again in detail. Then Comanche Chief made the closing speech, again mentioning them all by name and thanking the host and his wife. "As you and your wife intended, we have now partaken of this feast. White Eagle has spoken and good luck may come to you. Now we have eaten. Now we are going to go." As they got up to leave, Roaming Leader's wife made a bantering remark to one of the men to whom she had a kin relationship for which relaxed behavior was appropriate. She said, "What's your hurry? Maybe you're in a hurry to go gambling." "No, I forgot to hobble my horses. They're just about to go back to the last camp where we came from." Roaming Leader told them to leave the rib bones right in their places and his wife would tend to that. As they filed out, each one stopped before Roaming Leader and said, "Thank you for having us to dinner." 574 521 [576]

This degree of formality was by no means the general rule among the less status-conscious members of the tribe. After this episode, any of the hunters who chose to could go out without special permission from White Eagle. A man who had a gun was likely to go by himself, while those with bows and arrows would go in small groups. They hoped to find a stray buffalo or perhaps an antelope that had strayed from the herds that were gathered on the plains like sheep. Young men twenty-eight to thirty years old would be inclined to go together on such informal expeditions. Very much like young white men who say, "Let's go fishing," they would just go for the sport, and they would sit around the fire and eat up whatever they had caught. Sometimes an older man would feel in the same spirit and he would join in with them. "Never mind about the chiefs and big fellows," they would say, "they won't invite us. Let's eat." Then they would hold a mock feast and say, "I'll eat like Comanche Chief." "And I'll eat like War Cry." "Here's your meat, 224* [576]

*224 Comanche Chief. Here War Cry, here's yours. Here Eagle Chief, here's your meat!"

*224 571 578 Sometimes this group of happy-go-lucky young men were unable to get anything and then they would curse one another saying, "Why do we have bad luck? It must be because of you!" One man called *Rawibu'u*, "The Go-Getter," which also means "Warpath," was their favorite scapegoat. It seemed as if he always did something at the wrong time to spoil things. As a man was about to shoot a buffalo, he would look over the man's shoulder and the buffalo would see him moving and run away. Once when they were stalking a deer, approaching on their bellies, Warpath coughed at the crucial moment and the deer ran off. One of the men said, "I wish I could shoot you." "I couldn't help it. I had to cough. My throat was dry," said Warpath.

*224 574 Some men went after antelope and took the meat home to their families. They would call in three or four of their more intimate friends to share it with them.

Such a man was Fearing-a-Bear, an able hunter and warrior, a mature man but a rough-and-ready type. He had little interest in social status and public affairs and when he was successful in his hunting he would say, "I'm tired. I think I'll just eat this up myself with my friends." He and his wife lived in a tent with his father, his sister, and her husband.
[607] [606] Theoretically the brother-in-law should take care of them, but the brother-in-law in this case was from the Omaha tribe, and the father-in-law did not find it a very congenial arrangement. Relations between them were strained.

574 606 As they sat at dinner one night, as the host of the occasion, Fearing-a-Bear sat in the southeast position. Next to him sat his wife who was doing the cooking. On the other side of the entrance, in the northeast position, sat his father and beyond him on the north side the Omaha son-in-law. But the two women, Fearing-a-Bear's wife and his sister, were worried about this close proximity of the two hostile men and so the sister seated herself between her Omaha husband and her father. Ordinarily she would have sat at the east end beyond the two men. She had separated them, for trouble might arise, or the old man, being shaky, might accidentally spill some soup on his son-in-law and then there would be a flare-up. The adjustment they had made in seating arrangements, however, was very awkward for the hostess. She could not pass the food to the old man who was sitting on the end, as it was absolutely forbidden for a daughter-in-law to have any contact with her father-in-law. So she had to get up each time and give the food to her sister-in-law who was sitting between her Omaha husband and her father, in order to pass it to the men. Then the sister-in-law was in a dilemma. Should she serve her husband first or her father? Either way, she was bound to offend one or the other of them.

000 The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant

The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant
kinship ties to him, but according to the logic of the Pawnee kin system 574
they all called one another brother. They were seated in order of seniority. [602]
The hostess, sitting at the southeast, dished out the food for them, [601]
and her husband passed it to his neighbor on the left, stating who it was [554]
intended for, whereupon it would be passed along to the designated
party. There were no speeches, and people were not obliged to wait for [264]
anybody else but could eat as soon as they were served. When they were
through, if they were in a hurry they would just pick up the bread and
meat that they had left over and go directly out, taking the leftover food to
their wives and children. The manners of the common people were far [576]
simpler than those of the socially elite, or the socially ambitious, although
the customary forms were similar.

As they continued on the move, pressures might build up between individuals 484*
because of the closeness of the living conditions in camp and the 578
strain of constant migration. This was particularly true between father-in-law
and son-in-law. Theoretically, it was the first duty of the son-in-law 606
to serve his wife's family, but when his father-in-law was quite old, the
son-in-law often felt put upon by the arrangement. Sometimes in the
camp one could hear people calling out, "Fight, fight!" and father-in-law
and son-in-law would be grappling with each other in a tent. People all
came running and a roughneck in the crowd would call out, "Who's underneath?"
Someone who was close to the tent would say, "Son-in-law." In
general the crowd would approve and say, "That's good," the sentiment
being with the underdog, the old father-in-law. Such a quarrel would [554]
be ended when a brave or other person of high social rank put a hand
on each of the combatants and said, "I want you to stop." Out of respect
for his rank and eminence, they would separate at once and go in different
directions. Should they not respond it would be a major insult and he
would say a second time, "Didn't you hear me?" This would certainly
end the fight. Any person known to be sensitive and to dislike violence
could perform this same good office. Violence of this kind within the village [183]
or band was considered a serious social malfunction and people made
every attempt to avoid it or put a stop to it. The effort to anticipate and
prevent such situations from arising can be seen in the efforts of the wife
and sister of Fearing-a-Bear to keep a hostile father and son-in-law apart.

23

THE TENTH ENCAMPMENT

000

Prominent Men Plan a Scouting Party—They Kill a Small Herd of Buffalo—Holy Ritual in Connection with Hunt—Gifts of Meat Symbolic of Chief's Promise to Get Meat

*224 *484 AFTER WHITE EAGLE LEFT the feast at Roaming Leader's tent that evening, he called in the errand man, Know-His-Face, and sent him to Curly Chief of the Kitkehaxki to announce the place of Camp 7 for the next day, six or eight miles west of Fort Kearney. [648] On the way they planned to make a brief stop while the main chiefs and braves went over to the fort on Grand Island to get the government provisions that had been assigned to them. Then they rejoined the line of march which continued to the seventh camping place. [622] At the fort, Eagle Chief and Lone Chief represented the Skidi Band, Curly Chief, the Kitkehaxki, Man Chief, the Tsawi, and Many Trophies, the Pitahawirata. When they rejoined their respective groups, they divided up the provisions they had received before proceeding on their way.

Before they had left the villages, the chiefs in their ritual meeting had in effect promised to lead the people and see that they had buffalo meat to eat. They were literally now going to make good that promise. Every day as the people were on the march, scouts had gone out well before dawn to survey the country and see where the buffalo were. The scouts were men drawn from the ranks of commoners who had little interest in social status or public prominence. As they were leaving for Camp 9, a scouting party drawn from the upper ranks of the population, mainly braves and prominent doctors, particularly from Village-in-the-Bottomlands into which White Eagle was married, went out to look for a small herd of ten to twenty buffalo. The objective was that they would plan their strategy so that they could surround and kill all of the small herd. Only men with the fastest hunting horses could undertake this task—the

chiefs of the several bands. With them would go their braves and other prominent men of their bands who were sufficiently wealthy to own fast horses and could give them the assistance they needed. 224* 484*

The scouting party had been led by Stolen Horses, and when his party had sighted the small buffalo herd they were looking for they returned to camp and notified Brave Chief, White Eagle's brother-in-law, who in turn got in touch with White Eagle, telling him where and how the herd had been sighted. The next morning they would go after it, and everyone was on the alert for this news that evening. White Eagle called in Roaming Scout to ask him to direct the attack on the herd next day. He was to climb a hill and survey the position of the herd and motion his instructions to the hunters, who would be waiting below.

Now that all arrangements had been made, White Eagle sent out the official chief's errand man, Know-His-Face, to go through the camp, calling out the announcement and then to carry it to the other bands. He announced the following message: "They saw ten to twenty buffalo out there about twelve miles out. Tomorrow while we move the camp, let's try to chase those buffalo." Then after giving the location of their next encampment, he continued with his instructions for the hunters:

> There by the schoolhouse—on the other side—on the northeast—there is a hill. You stop right there at this big hill, on this side of it where we'll all meet, and White Eagle will get there to meet us. All of you are to wait there, and one of us will go up on top of the hill to see if the herd is still in the same location as previously sighted or in what direction it has gone.

Early next morning Camp 9 broke up and the outstanding hunters from all the bands went to meet at the appointed place, while the line of march moved westward toward Camp 10, the last camp south of the Platte. There were fifteen to twenty hunters from each of the four bands, sixty to eighty in all. By contrast to the later hunt episodes, they were dressed in plain working clothes. For the formal hunt, they dressed in decorated leggings and they decorated their horses, but in this instance they all wore plain leggings and moccasins, a brief, simple loincloth, and for the horse a blanket to ride on and other equipment—a whetstone, a knife, and some rope—one of buffalo hide to bridle horses that were rough, and one of buffalo hair for those that were easier to handle. Some because of a special vision experience or exploit had a right to wear a red or white cloth about their heads, while others went bareheaded. Some were privileged to wear a skin shirt because of special war exploits. Some took their bow and quivers and others carried six-shooters. They brought no food, but would eat something raw after the kill. Meat was never eaten raw but they would eat the entrails—some raw liver, kidney, or tripe— [292] [291] [262] [252]

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 *484 [262] [252] the lining of the second stomach well washed and eaten with some raw fat.

The people on the march tried to double up their goods in the morning in order to free the horses for the hunters. It was most desirable for the hunter to have two horses, one to ride and one to load with meat. If he had two horses, he would hobble his loading horse on the sidelines during the chase or leave it with a boy who had come along for the purpose.

*224 When the hunters arrived, the small herd was to the south of the appointed hill. The scout Roaming Leader was on top, surveying the situation. The herd was a small one, gathered in a kind of trough or depression. The hunters were lined up on the north side of the hill, facing it, entirely out of sight and hearing of the herd which was on the other side. The hunters of the four bands had arranged themselves in the line from west to east, the several bands in the usual order with the Skidi westernmost and the Man-Going-Downstream furthest east. As the hunters on horseback sat facing the hill, a brave from each band rode back and forth in front of his group to keep them in order. They had to be controlled and kept in line while the strategy was determined and a ritual performed.

*224 202 On top of the hill, having surveyed the country and its configuration, Roaming Leader had come to a decision as to their plan of attack. He descended the hill a short way down and signaled with his blanket to give the waiting hunters an idea of the position of the herd. If the buffalo were more to the east, Roaming Leader threw up his blanket and swung it over along the east horizon. Swinging it in the opposite direction along the west horizon meant the buffalo were further to the west and the main force of the attack should come from that direction. If the buffalo were straight ahead, he would throw his blanket straight up and release it, indicating that they could ride directly over the hill and need not approach by stealth from the sides, since the herd was in a hollow and could not see them coming. In this particular case, Roaming Leader had given an east signal. Now one chief from each band rode up to consult with Roaming Leader and he came down to meet them halfway. Roaming Leader said to White Eagle, "You saw me standing there throwing my blanket around the east side. There are about ten or twenty buffalo there and if they are approached cautiously by two parties, first one from the east and then one from the west, we may be able to surround them and get them all. If we are careful, some of the buffalo may still be sitting down and before they can get up, our hunters on horseback will be upon them." White Eagle then summed up what Roaming Leader had said and put it up to the four chiefs, which would go to the east and which to the west. He gave the first choice to Man Chief of the Meat-Beggars Band as a diplomatic gesture for the sake of their Peace

Pipe trade relations. As the east party would have a prior advantage, he 224*
was leaving it open for Man Chief to take it for his own group. "All 202
right," said Man Chief, "I'll take a group around east," and Curly Chief
of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band said, "I'll go with him." White Eagle then
agreed to take a group by way of the west and Many Trophies of the
Man-Going-Downstream Band agreed to go with him.

Having decided, the different chiefs motioned to their hunters waiting
lined up below. In each case the individual hunters were free to join
either party as they wished. The various hand motions made by the
chiefs graphically indicated their plans. As each chief motioned, his
brave went down to the hunters and again told them what the motions
were about. The extra pack horses were hobbled right there and the boys
taking care of them were nearby.

The next step was a ritual, performed by a holy man known as a 224*
"hand-waver," named for the manner in which he made his vow. White 788
Eagle chose He-Sees-the-Sky because he had consecrated five or six 792
buffalo to the sacred bundle ceremonies in the past and in general seemed [778]
to be lucky in whatever he did. He had established "credit" with the
supernatural powers. Now he knelt down on both knees facing toward
the hill with his back to the lineup of hunters. One of the men from the
line was selected by White Eagle to keep watch on the holy man and
signal them immediately when he was through. The watcher stood about
ten feet back, leading his horse while the prophet was kneeling, settling
himself comfortably with his open hands resting on his thighs. Now he
extended his right arm and as he was moving it outward he said, "This
time of year I sacrificed a whole white eagle and that is what is going
to lead you (west)." Then he made a similar motion with his left hand
and mentioned a wildcat hide and a whole buffalo and the fact that this
would lead those going east. Then he repeated each direction with an
Otter and Buffalo (west), and a young spotted deer and buffalo (east).
The watcher, seeing the holy man's hands back in his lap and his head 224*
down, signaled that that was all and as soon as he turned around, the line 792
formed into two parties, the watcher coming down to join them. The
holy man started for home, being required to remain as quiet as possible
so that nothing should disturb the good fortune of the hunters, for
he would be blamed for any accidents that occurred. White Eagle or one
of the successful hunters would see that he got half a buffalo for his
service. The hunters rode to the chase from both sides of the hill so that 224*
the herd was surrounded and all were killed. Then they butchered and
distributed the meat according to who had actually killed the animal
and who had assisted with the butchering.

As soon as they were through butchering, they packed their horses 224*
and waited until they had a group of two of three so that they could 492
travel together for protection from attack. The horses were lightly

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 packed and everyone could ride home on top of the load. Gifts were
492 generously sent by everyone, and everyone that had gone on the hunt
got some meat. In their turn the hunters shared it so that every tent had
some. The chiefs had fed the people as they had promised in their ritual.

*224 The next move was to the Republican River and their main buffalo
*484 hunting grounds, where everyone would join in getting the meat.

24

CAMP 11—AT THE BUFFALO HUNTING GROUNDS

Camp Established—Formal Precision Necessary for Hunt—Religious Considerations—the Council Tent—Plan of Attack—Sympathetic Magic 000

AT THIS TIME OF YEAR the main buffalo herd was moving eastward down 224*
the Republican River. When they had set up camp at the confluence of
Turkey Creek and the Republican, they would be within two miles of
the north bank and often within sight of the herd itself. The whole operation 224*
now took on a much more formal turn involving the whole encampment. 626
At the council tent of each of the bands that night, a special
group of military police was set up to make sure that no hunter went [625]
out individually and disturbed the herd, and that absolute quiet was maintained
in the camp itself among the women and children as well as the
men. Children must be soothed and prevented from crying, dogs muzzled
and wood chopping done only when the herd was not within hearing
distance. The individual hunter who violated these rules and went [689]
among the herd was beaten over the head with a heavy club and sometimes
severely injured. The attack upon the herd was their main objective
and it had to be accomplished with precision, for they had to be
back at the villages by September first when the south star Canopus was
in the sky—the signal for the beginning of their harvest.

In addition to these practical considerations, there were religious factors 224*
that gave form to their operations. A large part of the preserved 574
meat, particularly the long steaks along the backbone of the buffalo, 796
would be pledged to the performance of their sacred ceremonies. Feasting
on the meat was an essential phase of every important ceremony.
This was the food that Heaven had sent, and it was fitting that sharing it
in a feast should be part of their devotions. The creation story that was 000

*224 The creation story that was
773 often reviewed in these ceremonies told them how this had come about.
796 The number four had a sacred significance in connection with the four
801 semicardinal directions, and the combined hunt of all the bands together
was conducted in four major episodes.

*224 At the council tent in Camp 10, during their last evening on the Platte, White Eagle and the other Skidi chiefs planned out the strategy of this major phase of the hunt. The chiefs of the other three bands were also meeting in council. White Eagle as the leader of the hunt was to take the initiative. For diplomatic reasons he had decided to give over the management of the first hunt episode to Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band, who were currently "Fathers" to the Skidi in the Peace Pipe trading relationship. Man Chief was formally notified and he appointed the necessary religious and technical personnel, including three scouts who would go out long before dawn to survey the country and locate the herd. Long before the camp broke up that morning they had gone out, and when they found the hill beyond which the herd was located the chief scout crawled up cautiously on his belly, imitating the motions of a wolf so that he would not be detected by the herd. As long ago as
[175] 1540 the account of Coronado's expedition reported that white wolves
[136] ranged all over the plains, living peaceably in the presence of the buffalo cows, so that the bulls as well as the herd as a whole were obviously well accustomed to having wolves nearby. They would not detect humans unless the scouts stood in the direction of the wind so that they could be scented. After the head scout had surveyed the situation to his satisfaction, he invited his fellow scouts to come up, each in turn crawling up like a wolf and taking a look around. In a war party one wrapped oneself in a whole wolfskin with bow and arrows concealed under the arms and tail, but a blanket was sufficient to fool the buffalo.

*224 Meanwhile the people in camp had awakened, broken up camp, loaded
*484 up and set out across the country for Camp 11. Following along Plum Creek almost to its source, the line of march continued overland in a southeast direction until it reached the head of Turkey Creek, continuing southward along its west bank. When the people were about midway along, one of the scouts came riding up to inform them of conditions in
[202] connection with the herd. As he approached, he signaled with his blanket, throwing it up twice to show that there were many buffalo. When he reached the line he told them that the herd was coming up from the river and wasn't very far, but that nevertheless the line of march should continue slowly along the west bank of Turkey Creek rather than crossing to the east side in an attempt to avoid disturbing the herd, and then crossing back again to make their camp. He told them that Turkey Creek was muddy near its confluence with the Republican, as some of the herd had already crossed over and were moving eastward.

*224 Taking account of these factors, the plan of action was as follows.

Every available hunter would get a horse if he could and leave the line 224*
of march to go to the hunting grounds. Even if the horse were not fast, [492]
there were enough buffalo for everyone to hunt. In order to free as many horses as possible, the people were to combine and reload all their baggage, doubling up with their neighbors if necessary for the balance of the journey into camp. Man Chief and White Eagle, the first to be ready, rode off a little distance to await the others. The scout now rode all along the line telling all the hunters to get their horses and go where Man Chief and White Eagle were waiting to start.

As the scout turned back to rejoin the waiting chiefs, an old doctor 224*
of the Asking-for-Meat Band began to go among the people to perform a 536
pantomime of sympathetic magic. He followed the path that the scout had taken and, impersonating a buffalo, he went in a trot with his arms flexed at his sides, chanting:

Now you are going to trot
Buffalo who are killed falling.

As he went among the people of each of the four bands, he sang his song each time. The children would try to trip him and make him fall down. When the boy Otter tried this, the old man asked, "Have you any tobacco to give me?" The boy shamefacedly answered no, but the old man fell down for him anyway.

Man Chief had appointed his prophet or "hand waver" who was to 224*
make the incantation to the powers as the hunters were poised ready to 792
make the attack on the herd. Now this man was holding back, reluctant [782]
to ride out to the hunting grounds, worrying whether his luck would be
good. Finally he joined the hunters, as they were in a hurry to get 224*
started. Then Man Chief called out, "Now we're going ahead!" and with White Eagle he started off a little ahead while the others followed in a bunch. They all galloped their horses as they hurried on. The scout went
on ahead to guide them to the place. As soon as they got in sight, the head [202]
scout signaled with his blanket from the hill where he was stationed. If he threw his blanket up leisurely and caught it, there was no hurry, but if he threw it up and pulled it down quickly to his left, they had to hurry because the buffalo would be close and coming on.

25

THE FIRST MAIN HUNT EPISODE

000

Beginning the Attack—the Intricacies of the Hunting Process—the Butchering and Return of Meat to Camp—Recounting of Stories

*224 THE SERIES OF STEPS before the charge on the herd was always the same as that described above for the "Chiefs' Herd." The head scout, coming a little way below the top of the hill, signaled with his blanket how the herd was disposed on the other side. The scout continued down the hill about half way, while the main chiefs rode up to meet him and hold a further consultation about the matter. He first spoke directly to the chief in charge of the hunt episode—in this case Man Chief. The other chiefs stood by, holding their horses, impatiently resting their heads in their hands, until they would be told the message. The crowd of hunters lined up below was also impatient and everyone was saying, "Softly, softly."

Man Chief told the other chiefs their plan and each motioned to his band in the line below. They went back to their line as soon as possible, as the buffalo in this instance were very close and they had to try to keep their hunters in order. The hand-waver or prophet had not yet [792] arrived; he was coming on slowly, having been held back by worry over his responsibility. The Skidi hunters were saying, "Why do we have to wait for him? We could all be hand wavers!" But finally the old man arrived and knelt down facing the hill, making his prayers, calling upon the powers and saying that they should try to get the whole herd, although in this instance it was clearly not possible. The head scout stood holding his horse in readiness to join the attack as soon as he was able to notify Man Chief that the incantation was over.

Man Chief now signaled the waiting hunters below, motioning how they would attack. In effect his motions stated: "Any of you want to go

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

east or any want to go west, just go ahead. There are lots of buffalo. 224* As for me, I'm going right over the hill." Only those with the best horses could go right over the hill. One could see the buffalo in the distance here and there as they were coming up from the water to graze on the other side of the hill. Some of the Man-Going-Downstream Band decided to go eastward across Turkey Creek, even though the creek was muddy to cross, as there were many buffalo there and less hunters to attack them. The holy man, who had to remain still in order not to disturb the effect of his magic, sat at the base of the hill and waited. He could not go back to camp, since it would not be set up until the attack on the herd was over.

As soon as the signal was given, the hunters all rode to the chase. The herds were very scattered and had to be chased by men in small groups. In the past they chased the buffalo on foot and there was still a man, [147] Charley Buffalo, who was such a fast runner that he could overtake a buffalo on foot and shoot him.

Now each hunter selected his own buffalo to chase, depending on his skill as a hunter and the speed of his horse. There was little value in trying to get more than one buffalo or at most two—though a good hunter could conceivably get more—as there was no help to be gotten with the butchering and he would not be able to haul in the extra meat in any case. A second animal might be consecrated to a sacred bundle, in which [778] case as the hunter shot it he would say, "It is sacred!" The South Bands designated such a sacred animal by crossing its forelegs and tying them together as the animal lay on its back, then tying the hind legs, but the Skidi did not follow this practice. A man who had the misfortune to fall off his horse and could not get back on in time would be enlisted to help butcher and receive half an animal, although the ribs would not be given him at this time.

The chase was carefully timed to the habits of the buffalo. At this season the buffalo spent most of the time scattered about in the uplands [825] where the buffalo grass was. (In winter they stayed closer together in the timber.) In the morning, the buffalo went down to the water and between ten-thirty and eleven o'clock they were back in the pasture grazing. At noon they were all sitting down resting and by evening had gone down to the water again before returning to the uplands.

The hunters usually lined up for the attack about ten-thirty in the morning and by eleven rode to the chase. Everywhere a cloud of dust would rise as they rushed forward except after a rain when big clods and mud would hit them in the face. They never hunted when it was [411] actually raining, as the sinew bowstring stretched and was ineffectual when wet.

It was easy to tell which were the most desirable buffalo. Those with [825] their bellies still swollen with water had been the last to get down to the

*224 water and get a drink and were therefore the older and slower animals. [825] The fatter and faster animals had been down and returned to the pasture to graze by the time these animals had gotten there.

The better the horse, the faster the animal one could try to chase. As two men sighted a good buffalo, one would remark, "That's mine," and his neighbor would observe, "When your horse gets there it will be yours!" The fat buffalo knew he was going to be chased and a contest began between the hunter and his prey. The hunter would test the metal of his horse by baiting the buffalo with "hae, hae, hae!" a sound that made the buffalo angry so that his tail stuck up and he shook it. Only a fast horse could get an angry buffalo. When the shot found its mark the hunter would say, "ex' hau!" or "uhe'e, ahe'e!" As soon as he saw blood coming out of the buffalo's mouth, he knew that the animal could not go far and he would go get his horse nearby to be convenient for loading and begin at once to butcher. If they were at any distance from camp and two were close together, they would save much needed time by butchering cooperatively, first the animal of one, then of the other.

If they were far from camp it would be best to drive the animal toward the water before killing it for convenience while butchering. Most desirable, however, was to drive the animal close to camp where they wouldn't have far to haul the meat. When they chased an animal close to camp, the women came out asking for intestine or kidneys. They would yell, "Here comes one over here!" Another advantage of killing the buffalo close to camp was that they could bring in the bones which would be too heavy to carry otherwise, especially the backbone. Then they [262] could make marrow fat by boiling the bones and skimming off the [251] grease. The fat was stored in a paunch and used to eat with pounded-up dried meat.

Some of the hunters of the Man-Going-Downstream Band had gone over east across Turkey Creek. After the camp was set up, two bison, apparently having escaped the hunters, had come across the creek and trotted right through the encampment. As the bison came through, there was great excitement in the camp. Women grabbed their babies and put them onto their backs, old people tried to get out of the way, and the dogs were barking as the bison tried to hook them. The men that remained in camp lined up two deep along both sides in their path saying, "Hah! e, hah!'e" to bait and anger the bison, but no one would do them any harm as it was felt that they had been brave and had some supernatural purpose in coming through the camp. When the hunters got home for their dinner, this incident would be recounted in great detail and similar incidents in the past recalled. One of the more "slapstick" [538] types of story was told of an old man named Crazy who once decided he would be brave and would shoot one of these buffalo with his rifle. He only succeeded in being hooked by the buffalo and tossed up in the air

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

224 *
[538]

so that his loincloth broke and he landed on his face in the grass calling for his wife who came bringing his buffalo robe to rescue him from indecent exposure.

The hunters got into camp sometime between two and four in the afternoon. Those who wanted to stopped outside the council tent as they rode in and dropped the ribs as a contribution for the evening meeting. It was a great honor to be the first to arrive and drop the ribs there; this was mentioned later during the feast. The first ribs were made into a sort of archway, leaning against each other, while the others were laid chevron fashion piled up next to it. The hunters hurried with their butchering in order to be the first. Then they went to their own tent where they rested, ate a meal, and left the meat and hides to be processed. After that they could return to the council tent and recount the incidents of the hunt and sit around telling "tall stories" during and after the evening feast. The only exception was the evening of the first big hunt, when they would install the military police after they had had their conversations, as described in Chapter 26.

26

THE MEETING IN THE COUNCIL TENT

000

Selection and Installation of Military Police—Description of Council Meeting—Duties of Military Pilice—a Second Meeting after Second Attack on Herd—Stories Told

623 628 WHILE HIS FAMILY WAS BUSY slicing the meat and processing the hides, Victory Call went to the council tent to meet with the other chiefs, braves, and prominent hunters. His usual practice was to set out about three-thirty in the afternoon after he had eaten and rested and go to White Eagle's large council tent where others would be congregated. On the first night the camp was set up on Turkey Creek, the council [625] meeting was of a more formal character. It was for the selection and installation of the military police.

[344] White Eagle's wives had set up an exceptionally large curve-roofed tent to accommodate the council. They had to rush with their work for the family when White Eagle arrived with the meat in order to be ready to leave when the council came in. On this particular evening White Eagle sent for his chief errand man, Know-His-Face. He was to go to the head chief of each of the four Skidi villages to ask him to come in the evening with ten of his prominent men. Each chief in his turn called his [344] subchiefs, braves, and "boys" to his tent. When they were all there, they lined up in order of rank and walked over to the council tent, where they seated themselves formally in their appointed positions. The tent was open to the east, and had a sacred area at the west. The four chiefs sat in the semicardinal positions, their respective braves ranging inward toward the cardinal positions at the north and south. At the northwest was Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, his braves ranging in an arc from northwest to north. At the northeast was Feared-by-the-Enemy

of Wolf-in-Water-Village with his braves ranging inward from northeast 623
to north. On the south side were Lone Chief at the southwest, his braves 628
ranging from southwest to south, and finally Eagle Chief in the host position at the southeast with his braves reaching inward toward the south station. In front of the braves in a sort of inner arc were the "boys" of their respective villages. No one could properly be seated in front of a chief. Outside the curve-roofed shelter to the north of the entrance, was a long oblong fireplace and a small token fire was made in the middle of the tent with a few coals for the ceremonial offerings. Forty people were in the council tent that evening, ten from each village.

Eagle Chief of the host village of Pumpkin-Vine spoke first and addressed Leading Chief of Bottomlands Village who sat at the Northwest. After he and some prominent men from his village had spoken the initiative passed to Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge, who also spoke as well as his brave and others of his village. Then Feared-by-the-Enemy at the northeast, of Wolf-in-Water Village, who passed it back to Eagle Chief in the host position at the southeast. The final responsibility was given to Leading Chief of Bottomlands, who was bound to accept—for White Eagle, who was leading the hunt, was married into his village. He now took up the directive and passed it to his head brave Strikes-the-Enemy, who, to everyone's relief, accepted the difficult post as head military policeman.

The paraphernalia of the appropriate military society, the Two Lance 623
or Horse Society, was in the Wolf-in-Water Village, and the chief, 701
Feared-by-the-Enemy, called on Chief's Road who had the lances and
lance covers in his tent to send for them, and Angry Horse to send for 625
the crow-feather belt with the sleigh bells on it that the head policeman was to wear. The two lance covers in their rawhide cases were brought in and the two long sticks on which they were to be placed. If there was still enough daylight, the covers would be taken from their cases, put on the sticks, taken outside the tent, and planted in the ground in front of it so that the wind could strike the feathers and they could be seen by Heaven. By sundown, Chief's Road would instruct the chiefs at the west how to fold up the covers with their feathers into their cases for the night.

The head policeman selected his second brave to assist him, along 625
with two from each of the other three Skidi villages. When the people [628]
in camp saw the feathered lances outside, they knew that the council tent had been officially established and they wanted to know who had been selected as chief of police and who the others were. Some thought Strikes-the-Enemy was too severe, others not.

Very early next morning, just before sunrise, the lances were reinstalled outside the council tent. The new chief of police, Strikes-the-Enemy, donned his crow-feather belt with the sleigh bells on it and,

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

625 armed with his special club, rode back and forth in front of the council tent waiting for White Eagle to lead off the hunt. His club or whip
625 (see Figure 26-1) was of hickory, 3 feet long, 4 inches wide and
411 wedge-shaped, with the thick back edge about an inch and a half wide, sloping down to the thin edge that had teeth cut into it. Through a hole in the handle end was a rawhide strap so that the club could be hung over the wrist and another hole near the head held several strips of rawhide for whipping.

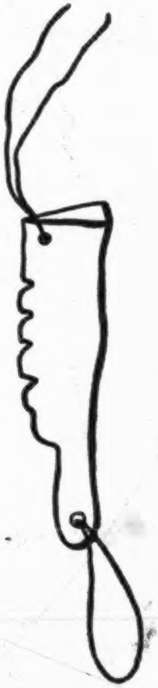


FIGURE 26-1. The whip or warclub, *tahipirus-tax karax-kitawa*, "whip-teeth-upon it," carried by the "Hunt Police." Made of hickory it is 3 feet long, 4 inches wide, with the back of the unserrated edge being about 1½ inches thick, sloping to the thin toothed edge. The rawhide loop allowed it to be hung on the wrist. The strips of rawhide at the top for whipping were usually plain, but sometimes striped or covered with white clay. (The dimensions and the drawing were supplied by informants.)

*224 A group of Tsawi once tried to anticipate the tribal attack on the herd
689 and were severely whipped. The leader of the party was beaten over the head with the club until he lay unconscious and his head was bleeding.
625 When he appealed to Man Chief, he was told that it was "the law" and that he had to submit to his punishment. At a later time, the Tsawi police had a chance for reprisal on some Skidi hunters who were struck across the mouth with the rawhide whip, as their infringement was not at such a critical phase of the hunt. The only escape from such a beating was to take sanctuary on a buffalo wallow—if the culprit could find one in time.

After the four major hunt episodes, the four bands went their own 224*
ways, but within the bands the military police continued their power 484*
until they were actually on their return journey. The sending of the 625
scouts early in the morning and the plan as to where they should go was 628
now assigned by White Eagle to the chief of the police, a similar plan being followed in each of the other two bands when their chiefs took the lead.

The next afternoon, after they had made a second major attack on the 623
buffalo herd, there was a very large meeting in the council tent. At least 574
five sets of ribs were donated by each of the four Skidi villages, and five 224*
or six buckets of boiled corn kernels by wives of the leading men in 628
their names. Two women, one in front and one behind, would come with the long "digging iron" stick resting between them on their right shoulders with the kettle of corn hanging from it, bringing it to the council tent and saying, "This is so-and-so's."

After proper offerings had been made to White Eagle's sacred Left 623
Hand bundle, they ate roasted ribs and then corn, and told in detail all 574
the happenings of the hunt. Some of the men then began to go back to
their own tents while the prominent citizens remained, the older men be- 538
ginning to tell "tall stories" of times gone by. They lingered so long in 224*
the Skidi council tent that night that Many Trophies of the Pitahawirata 628
Band had to send his errand man to find out what the plans for the next day were to be, and then trot off to tell the chiefs of the other two bands.

As they sat in the tent, one old man said, "When I was young, I came close to a buffalo once and shot it with my arrow and the arrow went right through and came out the other side." Another old man now tops that one and says, "I did that once and when my arrow came through it shot a jack rabbit sitting on the other side." Old Man Pitsu'u (Arrived) now adds his tale, "I chased a bison, and you know they have long hair and as I chased him I saw something shiny on his neck. I thought it was a rock, but after I killed him and tied my horse to his leg, I looked and saw that he had a chief's medal around his neck. 'I wonder how he got that medal,' I thought, 'that bull must have been to Washington!' It wasn't on a ribbon though, but on a buckskin string. Now how do you think that bison got that medal around his neck?"

Different answers were posed one of which gave an account of a chief who had been killed and the bison rolling nearby, thus acquired the medal. "Now," said That Chief, "tell us Eagle Chief what you think?" "I'll tell you what might have happened," says Eagle Chief, "A Cheyenne or Comanche might have roped this bison while he was young and maybe he wanted to be blessed and put his medal on the calf. He might say, 'I'm giving you this medal. I want you to bless me. I'll let you free.'"

It appears that no one was ready to top this, so this story rested. Then Charley Buffalo began to tell of his fancy exploits somewhat embel-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

628
623
*224 lished until it got very late and the old men fell asleep where they were sitting while the rest went home.

[574] From now on they would meet in the council tent, especially the most
[538] prominent men, throughout the hunt.

27

PRESERVING THE MEAT AND PROCESSING THE HIDES

000

Women Slice the Meat for Preserving—Preserving of Flank, Legs, Internal Organs—Boiling and Drying—Processing the Hides—Grease from the Bones—Ultimate Use of the Meat

As soon as the men got in from the hunt, each tent became the scene of busy activity. The time was usually between two and four in the afternoon. In Victory Call's tent, from the first killing, they had two buffalo, one by Victory Call and the other by Horse Rider. As they came in, the women spread a tanned hide on the ground for the meat that was taken off the horses, and Horse Rider ~~then~~ went off to hobble the horses nearby. Victory Call went into the tent where No Corn was cooking a meal of grease bread and coffee; she called out that Horse Rider was to come right in as the food was ready. 224* 512

While the men were resting and having a meal that No Corn had prepared, Grandma and White Woman began at once to work on the meat, coming in for a quick snack whenever they felt they could pause in the work. Grandma devoted herself entirely to this work. She built herself a small sunshade of three willow branches on which, later in the hunt, they sometimes left some roasted buffalo ribs for anyone who wanted a bite between meals. The most highly skilled work was the thinning of the two long backbone steaks. After removing the fat and the sinews, they would make a series of cuts in the meat with a sharp knife. Holding the long column of meat in the hand, they made a series of short cuts into it, first on one side and then on the other in alternate order. The cuts were so made that they did not quite sever the slice, and the meat could be stretched out into a broad continuous sheet 3½ feet long by 2½ feet wide and half an inch thick. After drying, these large sheets 251 252

251 [252] of meat were each covered with a slab of dried fat that was not quite as large—3¼ feet long by 1½ feet wide and an inch thick. The edges of the meat were folded down over the fat like an open-faced envelope, first the top edge, then the bottom edge, and then the two sides (see Figure 27-1). Folded in this way, they were just the right size for the rawhide container in which they would be stored. The two steaks with their layers of fat were placed one on top of the other on the rawhide with other pieces of dried meat and fat on top of them, and the container was folded over them, first the top edge, then the bottom edge and then the two sides which met in the middle where they were tied together, laced with hide strips. The surface of these two short ends were painted with large [531] designs in bright colors, but unlike the usual angular designs of the other Indian tribes of the Plains, the Pawnee painted cosmic symbols on these containers—the moon and its rays, the sun, the dawn, and the stars (see figures 27-2–27-3). Such a container held the dried meat of a whole buffalo. When the meat was fully dried and packed, it was 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep. The "neck" end of the long backbone steak was thicker than the tail end, and the dried pieces of the other

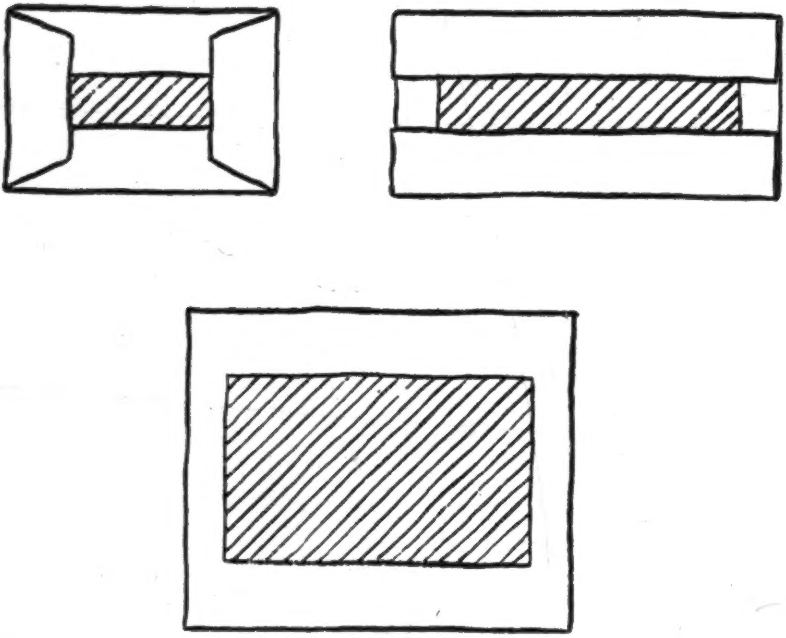
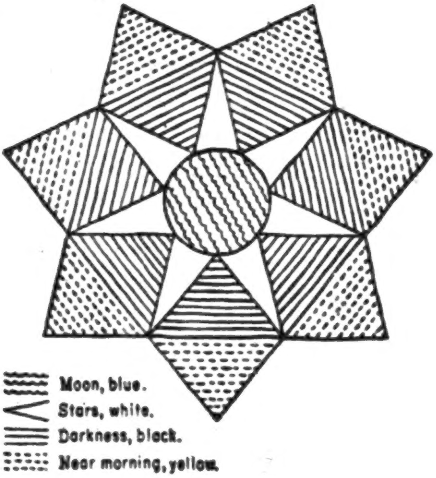


FIGURE 27-1. The manner of folding dried buffalo steak from along the backbone, *kisatsu.* A layer of dried fat (diagonal shading) is placed on top.

parts were piled more thickly near the tail end, each layer covered with a layer of dried fat to keep the meat soft. The meat of a whole buffalo dried and packed in this way, was reduced to a weight of 80 pounds. A live bison weighed about 2,000 pounds. 251 [036]



[531]

FIGURE 27-2. A cosmic design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, to be painted only by a person with the necessary religious qualifications.

Other parts of the meat prepared were: 251

The flank. The sinews were removed and the membrane being taken off to be used in packing up the raw marrow that they took out when they cracked the long bones. 252

The foreleg and hind leg. The limbs were disjointed and the meat removed from the bones for drying.

The internal organs. These included the intestines, the lining of the stomach, the tripe (likened to the leaves of a book), the heart from which the membrane was carefully removed by cutting around the top for use as a tobacco pouch or for other treasures. The heart was split so that it would lie flat in drying. The tongue was blistered in the coals and the rough outer covering removed. Heart and tongue were boiled in water before being hung up to dry. Lungs were sometimes sliced like the backbone steaks and then dried. They made good pulverized dry meat. The stomach lining was washed in cold water and cut into long strips after it had dried, the strips woven into a checker-plaited mat, in which form they were stored in the rawhide container. [237] [415] [237] [285]

531
415

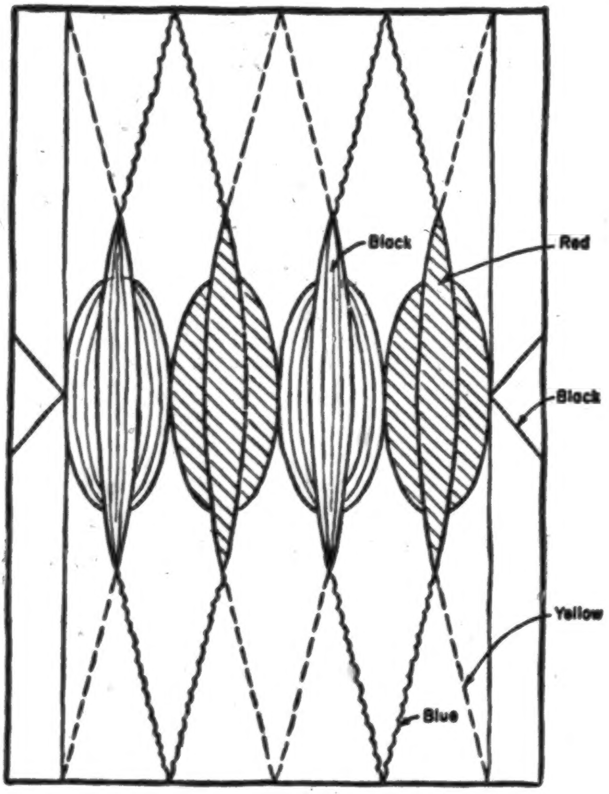


FIGURE 27-3. A design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, the significance of which is unknown.

251
252
[237]
[285]
Intestines were turned inside out and boiled in the kettle. Then they were hung on the rack so that the water ran out and they would dry. After they were dried, they were broken into a number of pieces and woven into a checker-plaited mat for storage. The intestines of two buffalo were used for one mat. Each intestine was 12 to 15 feet long and was broken into four pieces. The pieces hung over a stick to a length of about 2 feet on each side. The mat was ten strips wide with cross pieces woven in. [431] A mat would sometimes be given to a little girl as a special gift. For this purpose, they would leave the stick in the mat and fasten a boiled buffalo eye at each end. When they broke camp and a little girl was seen carrying her gift mat on her back, people would remark, "Look, that's hers! Are there eyes on it?"

The tripe was boiled at the same time as the intestines. It was not 251
otherwise treated, but simply hung on the rack to dry. 252

The internal organs, particularly the tripe, took several days before they were dry enough for storage. They had to be hung on the rack on several successive days, while the rest of the meat usually cured in a day or so. These dried internal organs were used for mixing with dried corn kernels to make soup.

The drying rack had been completed and ready to hang up the meat 251
by the time the men got in from the hunt. It had three upright forked 417
sticks planted in the ground, with three cross sticks, one resting in the forks at the top and two tied on at intervals below with strips of inner bark or of hide. A double-length rack was sometimes made to accommodate all the meat prepared in their camp. The rack was erected with its broad side facing east so that the sun would strike the meat directly. The meat was hung on the rack with the two long steaks in the center and the other parts out toward the ends, pieces of kidney fat and other parts of the fat in between.

As soon as the camp was set up, they brought in plenty of water in 251
anticipation of the fact that the intestines and other parts would have 252
to be boiled. When the men had arrived, Grandma set them to boil at once and began slicing the meat. White Woman was helping and when No Corn had fed the men, she came out and joined them, while Horse Rider got to work disjointing the limbs and removing the meat from the bones. Having joined forces, the meat began to pile up and White Woman hung the meat on the rack while the others sliced. With three women and Horse Rider working together, the meat of each buffalo took about an hour and a half to get on the rack, and from two-thirty to five-thirty they had prepared the meat of both buffalo that the men had brought in. Thus it would take a single worker five or six hours for each animal.

The hides had to be pegged out onto the ground and defleshed simultaneously 252
with the slicing of the meat as they had to be stretched out 281
while they were still fresh. After they had made considerable progress with slicing the meat, Grandma suggested to White Woman that she would continue with the meat and that White Woman might go and tend to the hides. This was the most strenuous part of the work and since No Corn was crippled, White Woman had to process both the hides. No Corn continued to help Grandma slice the meat, and while White Woman was pegging down one of the hides, Horse Rider offered to peg
down the other. White Woman then proceeded to deflesh both of them. 281
The fleshing tool was made of the shaft of a buffalo tibia, the small end [412]
cut to a fine-toothed edge and the thick end with a hole through which [237]
a rawhide strap was drawn to go around the wrist. White Woman bent

281 over from a standing position, striking the fleshing tool downward and
toward her against the hide. Some women avoided bending over by
not pegging down the hide. They put a stick or tree trunk about 3 inches
in diameter at a slant in the ground. Laying the hide over it, they tied it
at the top with rawhide and supported the hide underneath with the
palm of the left hand, applying the fleshing tool to this spot and then
moving successively down the length, shifting the position of the hide
over the log for the next section. This method was particularly useful
when they had to work inside the tent in winter. The small scraps of
[251] meat removed in the defleshing were also placed on the drying rack.

When the meat was dry on one side, they took it off the rack piece by
251 piece, and each piece was set on an open rawhide container with the dry
side up, pounded with a pestle to remove some of the moisture, turned
over and pounded on the moist side and replaced on the rack so that this
side could now be exposed.

Just before the half-dry pieces of meat were again removed from the
rack and placed on a rawhide, each piece was trampled with the moccasined
feet to remove as much of the moisture as possible. At this stage
the meat was called "moist dry meat" and while it was not fit for long-term
storage, it could keep well for several days. In this form it was
cooked for their more immediate use. For permanent storage, after the
meat had been trampled on, it was stacked up on a skin spread and carried
inside the tent to protect it from the dampness that came up from
the water after sundown. Inside the tent, they covered it up by lapping
over the edges of the skin spread and covering it up with an open rawhide
container. They would go out just before sunrise in the morning and
hang the meat on the rack again so that it could continue to dry.

*224 Grease from the bones was another important commissary item. After
251 the third killing, the herd was pretty well scattered in this locality and
they were going to move the hunting camp to another location a considerable
252 distance away, to the Solomon fork of the Kansas, south of the
262 Republican River. Before they left their old hunting camp, White Eagle
allowed them an extra day in camp to finish up with some of their work.
251 In most of the camps they were glad to have an opportunity to make
use of the larger bones that were lying around from the first two killings,
252 particularly the backbones and the large knuckle bones. Some men,
262 having nothing else to do, went out to the place where the bones lay and,
tethering their horses nearby, dug out the chunks of meat and fat that
adhered to the backbones and brought them home for their wives to boil
for soup. These small chunks of meat were known as "small meat."
Most of all they wanted to take the opportunity to make "bone grease"
which they called "bone water." This was eaten particularly with the
pulverized dried buffalo meat, by biting off a piece of the solidified fat
to eat with the dry fluffy pounded-up meat. This was probably their last

chance of the season to make bone grease, as they were unlikely to stay 262
long enough in any one place and be so close to the hunting grounds as 251
to have all these large bones around and the time to treat them. The bone 252
grease was made by cracking up the backbone and boiling it in a large kettle of water along with the knuckle bones. The grease, skimmed off with a spoon, was kept in a buffalo paunch, prepared by peeling off the inner lining, which left a smooth surface on the inside. The paunch, with a wide slit cut into it for an opening, was placed in a depression in the ground and the opening flaps spread out at the top. In summer it was hard to get the grease to solidify, but in the evening when a cool breeze came up from the river it became solid enough to transport. Though they seldom did so, if they wanted to make bone grease en route they put it into the large intestine and tied it up at both ends for transportation. The winter was a more propitious time for making bone grease as [416]
it hardened more readily; sometimes they would stay up at night and work by the light of a burning brand while on the winter hunt in order to make it. The soup was spilled out at some distance from camp along with the boiled bones. Before they got rid of the soup, Horse Rider liked to eat a bowl of it with a handful or two of parched corn. Sometimes when it cooked for a long time, certain soft parts from the bones around the lower part of the foreleg were also eaten.

Now as Horse Rider was coming into camp with a backbone for Grandma to boil up for bone grease, she set him to work first picking off the small pieces of meat and fat. He sat down directly with his legs extended and wedged the backbone between his feet and got to work digging out the meat. They used the meat for soup at supper. The long bones were cracked and the marrow removed and wrapped in a membrane taken from the flank. The marrow was eaten raw with dry meat.

They now had the partially dried buffalo meat to supplement the supplies of dried corn, beans, and squash and the dried meat they had brought with them from the previous winter hunt. For the camping family of six, they would use a thin sheet of dried buffalo meat with its covering layer of fat. The dried piece of meat was 12 inches wide by 30 inches long and would be cut into eight portions, 6 inches wide, 7 inches long and ⅜ to ¼ inch thick. The fat was a little thicker and with each portion went a piece of fat—2½ by 5 inches. The portions of meat and fat were washed with cold water and then put in the kettle which was placed on the coals to boil. The fat tended to disintegrate into the soup. When they were cooking dry meat for supper, a guest, usually a close friend or relative, was very likely to drop in. In Victory Call's camp, Uncle War Cry, White Woman's brother, was the one most likely to appear.

For feasts at official or ceremonial occasions, the backbone steaks were 574
used, a number being donated for each occasion (see Figure 27-4). A 252

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 221]

252
574
[554]
[264]
[237]

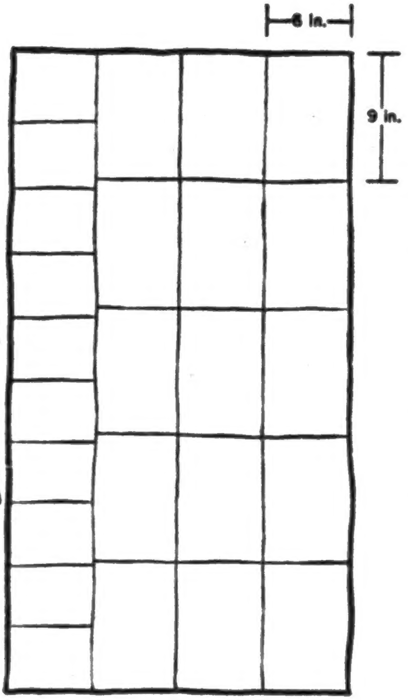
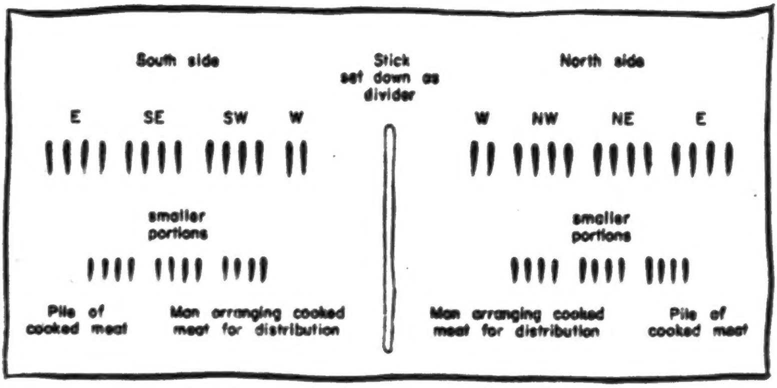


FIGURE 27-4. The manner of cutting and setting out portions of the layer of dried buffalo meat made from the backbone steak, *kisatsu*, at a feast. (1) Preparatory to cooking, the steak is cut into four long strips. The three strips at the right are each made into five portions. The fourth long strip at the left is made into as many additional portions as is deemed necessary. The large portions are for the honored guests sitting in the special positions, the smaller portions, for the rest of the guests. The slab of dried buffalo fat is cut up in the same way. (2) The portions are set out on a tanned hide, ready to be served. (The dimensions and the drawing were supplied by informants.)

252
264
574


South side
Stick set down as divider
North side
E
SE
SW
W
W
NW
NE
E
smaller portions
smaller portions
Pile of cooked meat
Man arranging cooked meat for distribution
Man arranging cooked meat for distribution
Pile of cooked meat

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

tanned hide was spread out and formally divided into sections, a right section for the guests on the north side and a left section for those on the south side with a stick lying on the spread between them to mark the divisions. Two backbone steaks were opened out, one on one side and one on the other and separated from their layer of fat. This operation was carried out at the southeast of the earth lodge or tent with the two steaks pointed with their "neck" or head ends toward the northwest. Each steak was cut down the length into four strips, each about 6 inches wide. The three strips on the right were made into five large portions each, about 9 inches long, and the fourth or leftmost strip was cut into a whole series of smaller portions depending upon how many people needed to be served. The larger portions were for the important guests at the main "positions," while the smaller pieces were for the others. The layer of fat was cut up in the same way, but this disintegrated in the soup. For a feast of sixty people, four steaks would be cooked. Each potful took about twenty minutes, about fifteen for the meat and a few minutes more for the fat to be thoroughly cooked. For this amount they cooked three or four batches, spearing out the pieces of meat with a stick each time and placing them on the spread in the appropriate position for serving. Sometimes while the errand man was doing the cooking he would observe that the steaks were unusually small, viz., from a small animal, when additional meat would have to be added. When additional steaks were received, the important guests received double portions or more. This was the only direct compensation for administrative services. 252 574 [554] (554)

Most of the meat preserved during this summer hunt would be used during the following fall and winter, while the succeeding winter hunt would provide the additional meat for the spring. From the summer hunt, the hides were processed as rawhide or tanned hide with hair removed, while on the winter hunt they got hides with fur and wool for warm robes. 251 262 281

The drying and preserving of the buffalo meat along with their crops was one of the major technical achievements of the Pawnees. This ancient art of preserving food by drying was almost continent-wide in America among the food gatherers as well as the food producers, and the method contrasts markedly with the general Old World approach of fermenting, pickling, and spicing for food preservation. 251 171

Each household had its own estimate of the amount of dried buffalo meat required to carry on its social and religious obligations. Four formal attacks on the herd by all the able-bodied hunters of the tribe were considered sufficient to provide for most of their needs. The first mass attack had taken place as the line of march was slowly making its way southward along the west bank of Turkey Creek. When they had gone about halfway, the scouts had located the herd, and the hunters left the 224*

*224 line of march to attack and make the kill. While they were butchering,
*224 the line of march arrived about two miles north of the confluence of
*484 Turkey Creek and the Republican and set up Camp 11 to which the hunters came with their meat. The second and third formal hunts were conducted from this encampment. For the fourth formal attack they had to move overland to another location to the south as described in the following chapter.

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

28

THE FOURTH MAJOR ATTACK ON THE HERD

Decisions Made for Further Hunting—the Camp Heads South to the Republican River—the Attack—the Blessed Meat 000

AFTER THE SECOND VERY SUCCESSFUL attack on the herd, the animals north of the Republican River were pretty well scattered and the scouts located the herd south of the river. It was decided that they should remain at Camp 11 on Turkey Creek, but the hunters would cross over for the hunt and bring the meat back north over the river to the camp. They would have to leave the "rumpbones" and backbone behind and bring the rest of the meat that could be more readily transported. As the buffalo appeared to be getting scarce in this location, White Eagle decided to give over the leadership of the fourth hunt episode to Many Trophies of the Man-Going-Downstream Band. There was some complaint on the part of the council members, as they knew he would lead them far to the south along the Solomon River, but White Eagle reminded them that they were "Fathers" in the Peace Pipe trade relationship with the Downstream Band, who, as their "Children," had given them many horses which even now were carrying them to the hunt. White Eagle gave them an extra day to prepare everything and to get ready to move camp, to which the chiefs of the other bands were agreed. 224* 484*

After they broke camp next morning the line of march would set out in formal order, all except the old ladies who had gone ahead long before. Chief Many Trophies of Downstream Band had instructed his military police to see that scouts were sent out before dawn. In the Skidi camp, Strikes-the-Enemy, as Chief of Military Police, was riding back and forth in front of the council tent wearing his official belt and carrying his 224* 484* 625 628

*224 *484 625 628 club. The errand man was going through the camp repeating his announcement and waking everyone.

Finally the tents were all folded and the police moved back and forth among the camps. They would head south for the Republican River and cross it. In the Skidi camp, Strikes-the-Enemy led off and behind him Chief White Eagle. Then the two lance bearers following on foot, one on each side, the feathers of the lances flying as they went. Behind these came the other chiefs and then the rest of the people. The leaders advanced for fifteen or twenty minutes and then stopped, waiting for the others to join them.

Each band had its own officers in the lead as they proceeded in parallel columns, stopping at their special crossing place in the river and lining up to go over. The men with lances rode over first, followed by the other leaders on horseback, in order to pack down the sand. Those that were walking across took off their moccasins and leggings and rolled them in their blankets which they were wearing on their backs. By this time most of the people were walking, leading their horses which were heavily loaded.

*224 *484 It was the lance bearers that gave the signal for the line of march to proceed. They would move ahead and, when they came to a stopping place, plant their lances upright in the ground. Then when they were signaling to move ahead, one would pull out his lance and say "ru," and in rapid succession the second man would pull out his lance and say "ru," then the line would again move forward. The south side of the river has a "bench" or step and then above it a high bank. When the lance bearers got to the first bench they planted their lances and sat down to smoke and wait for the others. Then when they caught up, the lance bearers pulled out their lances calling "ru, ru," and hurried up to the high bank, where they again repeated the procedure. The line of march proceeded southward and overland until they reached the head of Cedar Creek which flowed southeastward into the Solomon River in the Kansas drainage. The scouts had reported that the herd was moving eastward along the Solomon and as the line of march traveled south on the west bank of Cedar Creek, they halted within five or six miles of the herd, consolidating their baggage in order to release as many horses as possible to any effective hunter. The lance bearers tied their lances to the saddles of their load mares and rode off to the chase with the rest of the hunters.

*224 *484 625 628 Crossing southward over the hills, they could see buffalo from the hilltops when they were within three or four miles of the river. The Head Policeman had sent two or three of his men to find a suitable hollow in which the whole line of hunters could conceal itself. This was found two miles short of the herd, and there Chief Many Trophies asked his prophet to make his devotions. The military police of the several

bands were busy restraining the hunters from anticipating the attack of the group. The herd was very widely scattered over the land and they were coming up from the river to graze. They could not manage the usual surround, so the hunters dashed ahead over and around the several hills that lay between them and the herd. 224* 484* 625 628

Meanwhile the line of march had been holding back, proceeding very slowly so that they would not interfere with the hunt itself. When the men had completed their attack on the herd, the encampment was set up in the angle of the confluence of Cedar Creek and the Solomon.

The hunt having been successful under the leadership of Chief Many Trophies, an old priest of the Downstream Band came walking through the camps. He represented the tradition of the sacred bundle under whose auspices the hunt had been conducted. He wore a war bonnet with feathers all around his head, possibly symbolizing a comet, and around his waist a buffalo robe that hung down about his legs. In his right hand he held the sacred pipe and over his left arm he was carrying some breast meat and some fat. All along the way men and boys from the four bands were trailing after him. 224* 793 782 778 628

When he stopped at the west of the encampment, everyone lined up. He placed the pipe against the meat and fat, then raised the latter up toward the west four times in offering. Just as he was about to put the meat and fat on the ground, the whole crowd pounced on it and tried to grab a piece of meat and fat to bless their homes. They grabbed from one another on all sides, with the little boys scampering out of the way for fear of getting hurt. The old man, meanwhile, picked up his pipe and went north around the camp to his own tent. The other two South Bands also had their special band bundles, the Asking-for-Meat Band had a very sacred Ant bundle, and the Little-Earth-Lodge Band, a Raccoon bundle.

29

THE ADDITIONAL HUNTING EPISODES

000 *The Less Formal Part of the Hunt—Scouting for Enemy and Buffalo—a Sioux Attack—the Herd Sighted and Attacked—Final Attack and the Start Home*

*224 *484 THE MAIN FOUR EPISODES of the hunt were now completed, and the rest would be undertaken on a less formal level. In the last one at Cedar Creek, it was felt that they hadn't gotten much and White Eagle decided that it would be best for them to move their camp westward. They would move eight miles west and upstream (Post Hunt Camp 1). White Eagle sent his errand man to Curly Chief of the Kitkehaxki Band to notify him, and Curly Chief in turn sent his errand man to announce it all through the South Band camps, while the Skidi errand man came back and announced it in theirs. The meat was nearly dry and they carried it along. [251] When they got to the next camping place, the women simply finished drying the limited amount they had by spreading it out on the ground on a hide.

*224 726 *484 The afternoon before, scouts from each of the bands had gone out over the country to look for signs of the enemy and the buffalo. From the Skidi, a party of three led by Roaming Leader went off to the southwest. Scanning the landscape from the top of a hill, they were unable to see anything. Sometimes one could make a mistake when enemies disguised themselves by wearing buffalo hides, but if you looked carefully you could see the robe flapping at the sides and other men similarly dressed, joining the first one. The Sioux, Cheyennes, or Arapahos would do this, sitting on a horse with a buffalo robe draped over their heads with the sides hanging down. 222 *484 Roaming Leader had come especially to this area to get some sweet cicely (*Washingtonia longistylis*) called *kats-taraha*, "medicine-buffalo," because it is found only in areas where the buffalo are. It is like quinine. It is also called *kats-taxkata*, "medicine-yellow," because of the color of the long root. Even on a hot day it has a cooling effect when chewed. It makes one salivate and relieves thirst when there is no water available. The men tied their horses to the grass and collected what they needed. Cicely was hard to get except in this area. They also collected quite a lot of sand cherries. They started home when it was nearly sundown and when he had taken the saddle off his horse at his own tent, Roaming Leader went to report at the council tent. There he told the Chief of Police, Strikes-the-Enemy, what they had seen and that there were no buffalo anywhere. The scouts of the South Bands had gone east and north over the land the people had traversed to see if the enemy were tracking them from the rear. From the report that no buffalo were to be seen, White Eagle decided that they had best move anyway. They all started out very early in the morning. By about sunrise all the horses were loaded up and the old ladies were already on their way. The advance scouts had gone ahead to protect them. Others had gone out to locate the herd. The place of encampment was on sort of an embankment with the water at the foot of it. The timber was a little distance away. Of the Skidi villages, Bottomlands and Wolf-in-Water were near the edge and the children could jump right into the water; the other two villages were located a little to the south.

222
484*
[824]

224*
484*

The young men who had been out scouting all day came directly to the council tent. They had a bad report to make. They said, "You want buffalo. Well they must have gone east. We're getting to Sioux country. As far as we could go, we saw no buffalo." White Eagle decided to enlist supernatural help. He called in the four official scouts of the sacred bundle, the *periksu*, and he called in the priest, old man Angry Horse, to come very early next morning while it was still dark, to smoke the ceremonial pipe with them and give them instructions. Meanwhile White Eagle also decided that the camp had better move still further west to a place about nine or ten miles away on the other side of where the stream, *Kitsa-waku*, "Stream-Noisy," empties into the Republican (Post Hunt Camp 1).

"This is a fine place to swim with clear water," said White Eagle. "It is a wide, rocky stream, the water making noise on the rocks." They followed a buffalo path, the line of march crossing over where the buffalo had made a path leading down to the stream and up on the other side. The South Bands camped as soon as they got across; the Skidis had to go further west.

Very early that morning the old priest Angry Horse had gone through the camp and assembled the four official scouts in the council tent and sent them off on their mission. There were three other men who decided to do some scouting on their own and possibly locate a lone

*224 buffalo. They were Mad Bear, White, and Old Man Beaver Tree. While
*484 the camp was moving to Noisy Water, these three men had gone to the
south and west. Mad Bear was sure he saw a Sioux, but White tried to
*224 make light of it. Old Man Beaver Tree thought they had better go and
*484 see. The Sioux scout was about a half a mile away and as they approached he turned back down the hill. When they got to the top he was
722 riding away far to the west. They made various plans and then decided
648 to cross the creek and as the old man said, "If anything happens, we can
go into the timber." This party ended in disaster as they were surrounded by a Sioux war party and White and Old Man Beaver Tree were killed. Mad Bear and the old man shot point-blank at the approaching enemy, but the old man was struck in the leg and simply sat down in the path and piled his bow and arrow before him to await his fate. Later his body was found by the Pawnees on their way to their encampment. Of himself, Mad Bear said,

> I could see the old man sitting there. As I got among the willows along the creek, they shot me in the right shoulder blade. My bow and arrows dropped. I couldn't hold anything. My arm was just swinging. I held my bow and arrows in my left hand. If they had seen it, they would have killed me, but when I got among the willows they thought I was all right. After a while I heard some growling. Then the Pawnees were coming singing. I got up and saw a great many passing by. The Sioux had gone quite a way off.

[752] They put his arm in a sling when they found him and later managed to heal him.

Old Man Beaver Tree lay dead on the other side of the creek. They
[727] never found White. It was suspected that he had been scalped, and even if he had survived this harrowing experience would have been ashamed to come home, as "he had no hair." He would have to make himself a dugout to live in.

The official scouts had seen these happenings from a distant hill where they were and suspected someone had been killed. When they got to the camp at Noisy Water, the scouts were very discouraged. They said, "We ought to go the other way. It's going to be that way. This time of year the Cheyenne, Arapaho, any tribe, go running around on the warpath." They decided they would move one more camp west and then go back to the north bank of the Republican River (*Kiraruta*). The new camp was a short distance, about seven miles along (Post Hunt Camp 3). The
*224 night before it was decided that the official scouts had done them no
[625] good and the head policeman, Strikes-the-Enemy, appointed three
young men. They climbed a tall hill and all along the valley below they
*[484] saw the buffalo. It was somewhat to the northwest and ten miles or less

from where they were camping. "That's what we want," they said, and 224*
sat down to smoke together. They went close and saw a big lake. When 484*
they got to the Post Hunt Camp 3, about four in the afternoon, they went directly to the council tent and made their report. They said, "We went about ten miles from here." "Well, sit down. Have you good news?" "Yes, we have." "Errand man," said White Eagle, "go through the village and call grandpa Angry Horse and the other men of the village. Have them all come in. Three men came in with good news." After due ceremonies and greetings from the chiefs and important men the leader of the scouts described the place. He said, "The buffalo can't get away because the lake is in a valley between two steep hills and they must come for water." The older people recognize and know of the place. They refer to it as *ru-ti-wa-tatar-ariks*, "there-it-hill-down-standing." Now White 224*
Eagle, realizing that they were all thinking about the two who were 484*
killed by the Sioux, said, "What happened we must stop thinking of. Remember 726
that we are still living. Here are these men. They have good news for us, for our tribe and for our women and children. I hope we will have no more such disasters. When a day comes and something like that happens we can't help it. Sometimes you may be walking along and just simply fall over. Remember, that's the way things are. But now we are still living."

A message was sent to Curly Chief of the Kitkehaxki and the other 224*
Bands and the announcement made through the Skidi encampment. They decided to attack the herd early in the morning at seven o'clock. Insofar as they could, they would chase the buffalo toward the camp. Now people were in a good mood and began to joke. They said that the three scouts probably had "scared eyes," *ti-kiriki-tiruut*, "it is-eyes-frightened." Perhaps they had seen *pakuts* grass and thought they were buffalo!

Early next morning they made the mass attack on the herd as planned. Back at camp, some of them left ribs at the council tent. Among the South Bands, when they leave ribs, they line up one behind the other and say bird names. Here and there in the different tents where there were sacred bundles someone would give consecrated meat and the priest would be called in to perform the ceremony.

Some people left meat and ribs at the Society of Lucky Children, *Pira-kawaharu*, 575
"child-lucky." They have no sacred bundle. They simply sit [431]
and recount lucky events that have happened to them or to their predecessors [778]
from whom they had inherited their place. The headquarters of this society was in the tent of Old-Lady-among-Queens, *Ts-tawi-ku*, "woman-among-sits," signifying that she always associates with queens or influential women. She had inherited the place from her grandmother. The Old-Man-That-Chief also belonged, and he conducted the proceedings. He tells of how the society came to be, though he says he only surmises—doesn't really know. He says, "One might be thinking, 'Luck,

575 come to me, kawaharu, *rakuwaxtsa!*" and luck actually did come. For example:
575
539

> It had snowed four days. Some men who had gone out on the warpath were starving. The men put up a grass house, for they didn't want to go out for fear of being detected by the enemy through their tracks. An old man among them went into the timber and saw three deer. The snow was hitting the deer in the face and blinding it. "We were starving. Nawa, akaa, kawaharu! Now, oh, luck! Then I aimed my bow and arrow and shot one through the shoulder. The others ran but the big buck fell over. Then I called the others and we all took the buck into the grass house. That was the time we had kawaharu. Kawaharu (luck) came to us."

These were the kind of stories they told, but someone decided to lighten the atmosphere and told the following:

> They were hungry and on the warpath. One of the party was a fine shot. Suddenly they saw two or three buffalo sitting there. Then we all put our hands up and said, "Nawa, Kawaharu." The man who was a good shot got angry, thinking to himself, "I do the shooting and here they're saying, 'Kawaharu.'" So he got up and frightened the buffalo away and said, "Well, let kawaharu shoot it now." So they all had to keep quiet after that.

*224
*484
Most men felt that they had enough buffalo meat for their needs and as much as they could transport. They did not go out to hunt on the lake but stayed behind to protect the women and children from the enemy. In Victory Call's family, it was agreed that Horse Rider should stay while Victory Call went out. They also decided that they would eat the roasted ribs that evening in the family instead of contributing them to the council tent, as this would be the last time they had a chance to get them.

At the council tent, White Eagle decided they would stay over one more day and then go on directly north and across the Republican. It was fifteen miles and a very hard journey. The other bands were notified. They arrived by night, having set out very early in the morning. Water had to be carried in a buffalo paunch. When they had gone half way they stopped, unloaded the horses, and let them graze while each little family camp group sat down in the open and had an informal lunch. Victory Call came and joined his family; White Woman took some pounded dry buffalo meat, *tapaharus*, from the tanned hide she had packed it in. Each one put a clean cloth or piece of hide in front of him, and she placed a little pile of the meat there and a piece of bone grease to eat it with.

[262
[264

They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," 224 *
they had to pack and go on. They arrived at the river about five in the 484 *
evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north
bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or
less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming
in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but
they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As
soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often [226]
done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. Some men
used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took
buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and [225]
brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were
they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn [252]
husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were
unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went
out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were
officially headed for home. The night before, the military police had [625]
officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from [622]
his leadership of the hunt. He thanked them all and reviewed the
events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead
them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was
appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given
White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and
helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buffalo [787]
leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Republican
they would have to make before they could start north for the
Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sacred 796
bundles and the cults, but of special interest to everybody was the 431
Grand Opera that the associated doctors would give after the harvest, 756
lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the 624
association, called for his two errand men to go to all members, apprentices, 211
and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the
forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand
man would pick a dry weed, *hawastatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil,
and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute,
the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand
to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent,
dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and proceeded
to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. At 796
an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and 431
756

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 431 756 794 forty parfleches had been pledged. After the pledges were counted, the word went from tent to tent and everyone was full of anticipation of the color and excitement of the ceremony. In addition to this big medical association there were a number of private cults that the people generally took an interest in.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

30

THE RETURN HOME FROM THE HUNT

000

"Village Scouts" Return to Village for Reports—Main Body of Encampment Moves Homeward—Their Diet—Young Men Leave for Warpath and Horse Stealing—Village Scouts Return to Encampment—Tell of Stay-at-Homes and Crops—Releasing the Holy Man of the Hunt—Chief's Remarks at End of Hunt

EVERYONE WAS LADEN with meat and hides, and now that they had completed a successful hunt, all thoughts were turned toward home—particularly toward their crops and the people they had left behind. A group of young men decided they would ride ahead and see how the *Kakusu*, "Stay-at-Homes," had fared and how the crops were doing in the fields, and then come back and meet the line of march halfway, about two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), and report back to the people. These young men took up their mission on a purely voluntary and spontaneous basis. They were called *kitkehax-wiriksu*, "village-scouts." Sometimes one of them had a grandmother left behind that he wanted to know about or a girl. People were also anxious about the children who had been left at the school. The young man would tell his mother or grandmother of his plan and she would make him some pounded-up dried meat and some slabs of dried meat to take along with him. The boys took a short cut, going in a group and getting quickly back to the village. 224* 484*

Meanwhile in the encampments, the women were packing up the meat in the parfleches for permanent storage and strapping them up. Others were thinning buffalo robes by scraping them down—for barter at Fort Kearney in exchange for flour, coffee, sugar, and other trade goods. In [251] [281] [439]

*224 this area now, north of the Republican, they were in Pawnee territory
*484 and were less concerned about danger of attack. As the South Bands had
their villages to the east of the Skidi on Beaver Creek, they moved ahead
while the Skidi lagged behind. They ate mainly dried buffalo meat at
[262] this time and a little parched corn in soup. If anyone happened to have
[252] any roasted corn kernels on hand, they boiled them and ate them, but
most people had used up their supply by now. The old women were al-
*224 ways busy when they stopped, pulverizing dried buffalo meat in the
*484 mortar with a pestle. They made a flat package, *tsat-katus*, "package-
251 flat," of tanned hide (see Figure 30-1) and filled it up with the pounded-
887 up dried meat. The package could be carried on the back with a strap
[482] that ran across the chest. It was 2 feet long by 1½ feet wide, and was
[439] often carried on their backs by the old women. It was a good trade
item. Sometimes they also included some dried meat. Both kinds could
[262] be eaten without cooking as they were already thoroughly cured. One
could simply break off a piece of the dried meat and eat it.

237
251
482

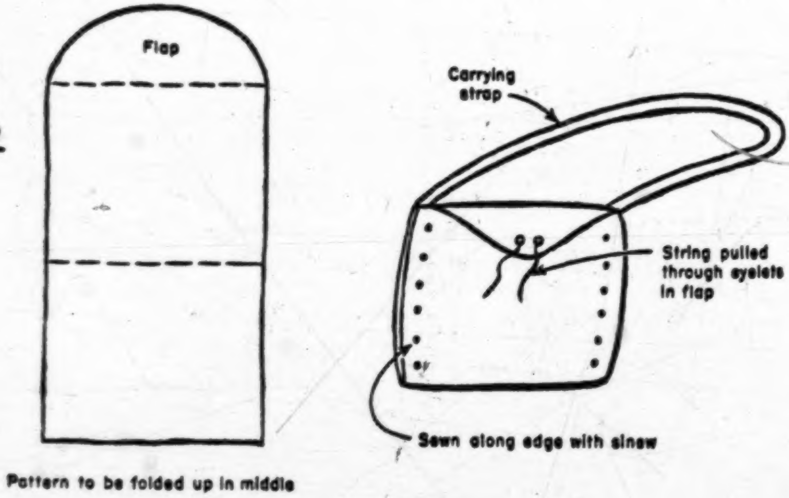

Flap
Pattern to be folded up in middle
Carrying strap
String pulled through eyelets in flap
Sewn along edge with sinew

FIGURE 30-1. The pattern of a skin knapsack, *tsat-katus*, "package-flat."

*224 Some old women made a *hu-tsaku*, "water-package," of half a buffalo
*484 bull hide made into rawhide, with sticks fastened underneath and the
[237] baggage wrapped inside envelope-fashion, to be floated across a swollen
[281] stream. Most of the women were busy tanning buffalo robes and scraping
hides all the way home.

726 Some young men were saying that when they got to the Platte River
they would set out on the warpath. There were plenty of Sioux around

from whom they could well steal horses, and some young men thought 726
they would like to go to the Osage country. The women of their house- 726
hold would outfit them with three or four pairs of new moccasins, tan- 705
ning some hides especially for the purpose. Each pair would be filled
with supplies—pulverized dried meat, parched corn, and dried meat. The
young man would have a large flat package, especially wide to carry on
his back with straps across the chest to carry his baggage. Under his belt [276]
he carried his tobacco and his pipe, and every time he sat down while he
was on the warpath he must smoke. When he went off to steal horses
he hung his flat-package on a tree and sometimes did not get a chance to
retrieve it at all.

In Victory Call's household, they had gotten eight hides. A small one 281
would be tanned by White Woman to get supplies at Fort Kearney. One 439
was reserved for Mr. Bishop, the trader near home, to whom a good
one had been promised before they left in payment for supplies Victory
Call had obtained at his store for their journey.

While they were going east along the Platte River after their arrival 224*
two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), the village scouts came back 484*
with their report of how things were back home. They came in directly 203
to the tent of Leading Chief who now had charge of their return jour-
ney and reported:

> We went down to the village. We couldn't go in, it was full of fleas. Toward evening we went to the different corn fields. The corn is pretty ripe in some places. The pumpkins are hard yet. There are lots of beans of all different kinds. One fellow got on a freight and went to Columbus to see how the Stay-at-Homes were. Everything looks good. From there we went to the school. We gave the children some pulverized dried meat and some plain. We told them you folks were coming home. We stopped in Bishop and Matlock's store for the night and said it would be about eight or ten days before we got to the village. Everyone looks all right.

Now Know-His-Face went through the encampment, announcing this
message to all. In one of the other bands a rougish old lady called out [824]
"And how about the sunflowers? How are they doing?" The boy said,
"The sunflowers are way high!" The byplay is that the sunflowers were [522]
the place where clandestine affairs were carried on. These grew as weeds
in the boundaries between the fields.

One of the scouts brought five or six ears of corn that were ripe from 224*
different fields, and gave them to the ones to whom they belonged. One 484*
ear had come from the field of Otter's grandmother, and before she took [788]
off the husks she blessed him with it four times. Then she removed the [252]
husks, roasted the ear in the coals, and broke it into three pieces, one for [262]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 *484 [252] [262] White Woman and Victory Call to eat, one for No Corn and Horse Rider to eat together, and one for herself and her grandson, Otter.

When they got to the top of the hills eight miles west of Genoa they could sight the school house. Everyone called out, "There it is—*kaxkarit-pahat*" (house-stone-red). It was red brick. Along the north and south side of the Loup is a deep valley and from the hills on either side of the river, one could see a considerable distance.

[136] No one could camp anywhere near the earth lodge village itself. It was infested with fleas. They camped in the bottomlands within reach of their fields where they stayed for three weeks while they treated the crops and cleaned out the earth lodge so that it became habitable. In the open, they could more readily dispose of the husks, cobs, and other wastes that resulted from processing the crops. The Stay-at-Homes came along to meet them starting out from near Columbus 22 miles away and following northwestward along the Loup River. "Here come the Kakusu, the Stay-at-Homes," everyone would call out as they approached.

792 There was one more item of formal business that they had to attend to
before they could get down to the activities of the harvest. To his tent,
White Eagle called representatives of each of the four villages and the
five old priests. In White Eagle's tent and in his charge at all times had
*[224] [777] been *taxpiku*, the holy man, who symbolized the luck of the whole tribe
on the hunt. It was during the spring, when they had the ceremony of
the Young Corn, *Kurahus*, that he was charged with this holy office. He
was a man of exemplary character who was favored by the supernatural
powers through the generous offerings he had made to their ceremonics.
He had to keep his buffalo robe wrapped around him at all times. There
was an absolute taboo against his bathing. He was not allowed to cut his
fingernails or comb his hair. The other old men went along, one or the
other of them staying alongside all during the hunt. His food was fed to
him in a special bowl and he was always served first, for it was recog-
[821] nized that he was under a severe strain. Should he take a bath or his feet
touch water, there would be severe thunderstorms. It was at this ceremony that he was praised for his courage and diligence and dismissed from his office. Now he was able to laugh and joke. "Oh my, I'm lousy," he said, "and my feet stink!" He tossed off his blanket and ran down to the creek to take a bath as soon as he could. He was no longer an official and no longer needed to be on his dignity.

[777] [243] They still had one more holy man, *taxpiku*, who was holding in the luck of the crops. He had been appointed early in the spring when they distributed the first seeds of the sacred corn. He would not be released until after the harvest. This man had been appointed when the Young Mother Corn was installed, and carried through the summer buffalo hunt and was then dismissed. These were men who had proved themselves devoted to the supernatural powers by their offerings to the sa-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ered bundle ceremonies, and for them the success of the venture was a token of the favor they enjoyed with the powers above. 792

In his closing speech in the council tent, White Eagle had thanked his 622 chiefs, braves and young men of the tribe who had helped him in every 537 way to get all the dry meat that they now all had. For, he said, the horses 221 were all heavily laden and every old man and old woman had some meat too. He spoke of the fact that they should now look to the future tasks that were ahead—their crops of corn beans and squash that they had left growing in their gardens and would harvest and preserve. There was no delay when they got to the village in getting to work on the drying and processing of the crop for storage. The star Canopus had risen in the [821] southern sky and the harvest month of September was upon them. The Pawnee felt himself fortunate that by his work he could ensure himself so many of the good things of life.

31

HARVEST TIME IN THE VILLAGE

000 *Encampment in the Bottomlands—Grandma Opens the Cache Pit—Fall Harvest—Grandma Builds a Work Enclosure in the Field—Roasting the Corn and Pumpkin—Her Round of Activities—Treatment of Corn, Beans, Pumpkin—Sioux Attack—Earth Lodges Prepared for Reentering—Stories*

243 [821] [221] EVERYONE'S THOUGHTS were now upon [illegible]rdens and their corn. In the sky, the South Star, Canopus, had app[illegible] and they knew it was time for harvest. By our calendar it was about the first of September. The time of the hunt was over; the time of the harvest begun.

Before they left the village at the end of June, the corn had grown about knee high and the earth was hilled up around the young plants so that they looked like little earth lodges with smoke issuing from their smokeholes. Now the stalks were ten feet tall and the ears were not quite mature but "in the milk." The corn harvest was in two stages: 243 some of the corn was treated at once in this early stage by roasting and drying, 252 and some left to mature completely on the stalk before being dried and 251 processed. Between the first and second corn drying, they harvested and 244 dried the beans and then the pumpkins.

When they camped in the bottomlands near the fields, they set up a 342 commodious tent as they knew they wouldn't have to move it for at least 251 three weeks, and they needed room to keep their meat and dried crops under cover. Their earth lodges were infested with fleas and they couldn't spare the time to clear them up until they had gotten on with 251 the work of the harvest. However, they did go up to the villages and open up and inspect and clean their storage pits that they had left with

considerable quantities of dried corn, vegetables, meat, and some skins 251 and clothing, and they took out some of the dried corn and beans for current use, until the green corn would be ready.

As soon as the encampment was set up, Grandma had a visit from Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy who was camping way over east with the Village-in-the-Bottomlands group where she had been all summer with her son. She came to talk to Grandma about going up to the cache pit the next morning, cleaning it up and getting out a few supplies. Old-Lady-Blue-Calico who was the grandmother in Old Bull's family that occupied the south side of the earth lodge, also came with a similar proposal and early next morning the three old ladies went up there and got to work. White Woman and No Corn said they would join them later after they had finished the household chores in order to get a few supplies of dried corn and pumpkin.

When they first opened the pit, the air smelled moldy and they had to let it air a bit before anyone could enter. Then they put down a tree ladder, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, who was the tallest, went into the pit to look things over. The ladder was a tree trunk with stubs of [417] branches left on for a foothold and two extra notches at the bottom. The pit was 10 feet deep. The moldy smell might have come from the thatch grass that lined the pit or from the actual supplies. When she got down inside, the old lady discovered a moldy place in the grass which she proceeded to rub off with a broom and throw out of the pit. The women had each brought along a small sack, *ritsakusu*, in which to carry home their supplies. This was about 8 inches high and a foot in diameter when full (compare with sack carried on the hunt, *asakarusu*, 3 feet high and 1½ feet diameter when full). In the pit each woman had a very large sack of tanned hide in which her provisions were stored, and each one asked Grieves-the-Enemy to dip out some from her store into the small sack. No Corn who had arrived with White Woman by this time, asked for some green roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*) and a half a checker-plaited pumpkin mat. White Woman asked for the same. Grandma reminded them that they shouldn't take too much at this time, as they would very soon have fresh roasted green corn from their current crop. Since the other women in the household had taken roasted corn, Grandma asked for a different kind—mature dried blue flour corn, [252] *uraaxkatit*, that she could pound up and make into mush with buffalo soup, *u-taraba* "mush-buffalo." She also asked for dried sweet corn, the rather sticky yellow variety, *rikis-karus*, "corn-sweet," that she intended to pound up in the mortar with sugar which could then be eaten without further preparation.

The younger women carried their supplies back to camp and the three older women lingered a while to close up the pit securely and to talk over their plans. They had decided that each of the old women would 243 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there.

827
252

000 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there. The
243 younger women whose husbands had horses for transportation would
476 often go out together with another couple and bring the crop back to
252 camp, where they would do the processing in a coordinated group. Victory
Call and White Woman along with Horse Rider and No Corn
formed such a work group, first in White Woman's fields and then in
those of No Corn, carrying the crops into camp on their horses. The old
[887] lady sat in her field all day and brought the finished product back to
camp when it was completely prepared for storage. Families with only
[492] one horse or with no horses also processed the entire crop in the field
before packing it into camp.

313 While the women were at the food pit, the men had been out piling
462 wood in the fields and in camp so that it would be ready for roasting the
green corn. They preferred to get dead willows and driftwood; Horse
Rider was at the creek piling up the driftwood while Victory Call was
bringing the willows into the camp. Some men would say, "I don't care
—that's women's work," but a good man would help his wife.

222 At this time of year they gathered a plant, *parus-asu*, "rabbit-foot,"
used for making a brown tea that they drank if they didn't happen to
272 have coffee (*Lespedeza Capitata* Michx.) At the top in a cluster are some
fruits looking like tiny rabbit feet. The plant grew on a bush about 3
feet high. They brewed the tea by breaking up the dry twig with the
leaves on and steeping it in a coffee pot. Now everything was ready for
harvesting and roasting the green corn.

243 Very early next morning Grandma went out to her field and there prepared
342 a place for her work. She built herself an ample shade, *kipasiu*, of
willows—a circular enclosure, open at the top with an entrance at the
252 east. The leaves were a bit interlaced to make the fencing solid, the side
branches beginning about a foot from the ground. When she left for the
night, she put a willow sapling with leaves at the top in the doorway so
that the shelter was closed in and well protected from horses. People
who did not work in the field sometimes built themselves a more temporary
shelter by arranging four or five willows in an arc. In her enclosure
Grandma roasted all her corn and would leave it overnight in bags to
be husked there next day and the kernels removed before bringing it to
camp. During the harvest she cooked all her meals there. She left before
breakfast and ate whenever it was convenient. She had a kettle along
and a small mortar and pestle for preparing her meals. She would pound
some of the fresh corn kernels from the roasted cobs and wrap them in
corn husks, putting them in the boiling water to make dumplings. After
she removed the dumplings she would add some dried meat scraps that
had been scraped from the hide at the hunting grounds, *kstasi'u*, to make
a good soup. Sometimes she took her grandson, Otter, into the field and
shared her meals with him.

Grandma built herself a corn-roasting pit inside her shelter. It was an 252
oblong pit with an embankment along each long side or a log for the ears to rest on—the pit lying across the shelter with the long dimension running north and south; the back of the shelter being west and its entry east.

Before putting up the shelter, on the way to the fields she had looked 243
for some wood so that it would be ready for the roasting. If she was un- 252
able to find wood, she used sunflower stalks. Now with the shelter all [372]
prepared and the pit ready, she fixed up a parfleche as a container for the [415]
ears she picked by closing one end and leaving the other open, and since it was of stiff rawhide, she stood it up ready to throw the ears of corn in. When it was full, she carried it on her back with a packstrap which she had fastened to it. The ears of corn from one parfleche-full make a pile about 3 feet high by 2½ feet in diameter. She would gather about two parfleches of corn at a time which she would roast before gathering the next batch.

Now she built a fire in the pit. If it was morning, she would sit near the west edge facing east, the raw corn piled at her right (at the south end of the pit). The corn was set in the pit resting along the near side with the stub end down and the point end up—the ears lined up one next to the other. While they were roasting, she had to keep turning the ears, and it was hard to keep her hands from getting burnt while this was going on. With one woman working alone she could utilize only one of the long sides of the pit at any one sitting, because of the need to turn the ears. In the morning she worked along the west edge and in the afternoon after the sun went down she worked along the east edge, sitting with her back to the door, facing the rear of the shelter. She again piled the raw corn to her right (the north end) and proceeded to roast it. When two women worked together they could use both sides of the pit simultaneously.

The husks of the corn were considerably charred after the roasting, but the corn inside was not burnt. The ears were left in their husks in a pile to cool off, and this very much improved their flavor. Only if the woman was in a great hurry would she begin to husk the ears before they had cooled off.

After all the corn was husked, the kernels were cut off row by row with a fresh water clamshell. Some of the ears had such small kernels that they could not be cut off, and these ears were left aside in a pile for any guests who happened to come in and visit.

While the roasted corn was cooling, Grandma would pick the ripe 244
beans. She swept the place clean and spread them out to let them dry in [251]
the sun and as they dried, you could hear them pop. She also went to the pumpkin patch and got two or three pumpkins that were hard enough. Like the beans, she would gather these up in her skirt. She

She
244 roasted them in the fire and when they were burned all around, she
252 scraped off the burnt places with her clamshell. So as not to waste it, she ate some of this burnt pumpkin rind and sometimes gave some to the little boy and his mouth would get all black and ashy. The next step was to cut the roasted pumpkins in half and scoop out the seeds with the pulp, removing the seeds and spreading them out to dry for next year's planting, since these were the first of the season to ripen. If she felt inclined to, she could cook the pulp with some fresh corn in her kettle; otherwise she would simply throw it away.

After the six half pumpkin shells had cooled off, she cut them into rings about 1½ inches wide. She kept cutting the pumpkin shells all around (*tibakaratsarahaku*) until she had cut them all. The bottom disks, about 4 inches in diameter, were also saved. One or two of these she wrapped in corn husks and roasted them in the ashes covered up with the hot coals so that the little boy could eat them. Then she prepared a rack
244 for drying the strips and the bottoms were spread out on the ground
251 on some corn husks in the sun. The drying rack was two forked sticks
252 set in the ground with a long cross stick resting in the forks. The rack faced east so that the sun could strike it better. Hanging the pumpkin rings on her left arm, she took them one by one and hung them on the cross stick, pushing them up against the fork. When the stick was about half full, she lifted the cross stick and added rings, and when the space between the forks was full, she continued to hang them up on both ends of the stick. The three ordinary-sized pumpkins filled a little over half a cross stick.

243 The first corn picked were the small-kerneled varieties—the *rawarit-*
252 *kiripaxki*, "roasted-small." After she had worked a little on the beans and pumpkins she went into the field and picked the larger kerneled corn, *rawarit-kutsu*, "roasted-large," particularly the blue flour *turaax-katit*, "earth-black." These she also roasted in the pit and left aside any with kernels so small that they could not be cut off with the fresh-water clamshell, for any casual guests to eat that might come to visit her in the field.

251 Both in the previous gathering and now with the larger-kerneled ears,
243 after roasting, Grandma selected about a dozen or two ears that were particularly good specimens, leaving them in the husk and removing just the charred parts. These she would not husk or remove the kernels, but when they dried, braid them together into a long continuous chain that she joined together at the ends. When the ears were dry, the husks were drawn up toward the butt ends and joined together in a braid, *ki'u*, making a string some 2 feet 9 inches long about two dozen to a braid, and then the ends tied together and hung up to dry in the sun on the south side of the shelter. Some people made braids of only a dozen. Strings of spotted corn, *rikis-tipiku*, "corn-egg," were braided in a

double row with more ears to the string. Most of all they braided the 251
sweet corn, *rikis-karus*, "corn-sweet." Later when they gathered the 243
mature corn that had been left to dry on the stalk and not roasted, they also selected some prime ears and braided them together. In the earth lodge on each side leaning against the wall was a sapling with lopped-off branches on which they hung some of these corn braids. Even if this corn was not cooked until December or January, it tasted as fresh as if it had just been plucked. From a braid of mature dried corn, anyone who wanted an occasional bite could break off an ear and roast it. Those braids that were not hung up in the lodge were put in the storage pit along with the dried kernels and other dried crops.

All day Grandma worked in the fields, and in the evening she loaded [482]
her parfleche container of roasted corn kernels on her back and carried them to the camp. She would bring six or seven corn stalks with her that had been stripped of their ears for the little boy to chew on "like sugar cane." The old lady said, "Here, that's good for you!" He bit between the joints and twisted the stalk to get out the sweet juice. While he was enjoying them, some boys would come along and say, "Give me one." At camp an old tent cover had been spread on the ground so that the corn kernels could be spread out to dry. The next morning she said to White Woman, "Tsuat Tstaka, Daughter White Woman, here's some corn. Spread it out to dry." On the way home from her fields, Grandma always took a swim in Beaver Creek.

Back at camp, they had a team approach to the harvesting that in- 243
volved somewhat different steps from Grandma's. The two fields, White 476
Woman's and No Corn's, were harvested in succession, at least two going into a field at a time, while the others might remain behind for the processing. Also all the crops were loaded on horseback rather than [492]
being packed on the back from the field to the camp as Grandma did. Husking was also done in a group, people from other camps joining them from time to time.

The team of four—Horse Rider and his wife No Corn and Victory Call and his wife White Woman—worked in the following way:

Morning of the first day, White Woman and Horse Rider went out to her field and brought in eight parfleches of corn ears that they had picked. They took along two horses and loaded them with four parfleches each. It was estimated that in our terms, eight parfleches of corn ears amounted to a wagon load, level and without the side boards up.

When they got back to camp, White Woman and No Corn im- 243
mediately set to work roasting. The two men, Horse Rider and Victory 252
Call, went back into the field and brought back two more horseloads— 476
eight parfleches full of corn ears. In one day they had gathered in two wagonloads as stated above.

In the *afternoon*, they kept on roasting all day. The men shucked the

243 corn. They worked fast and had no time for refinements like picking
252 out the ears suitable for braiding as Grandma had done. They kept at it
476 all day, and if anyone was hungry he ate some roasted corn. Sometimes
one of the women stopped and made bread and coffee while the others
kept right on working. They allowed the problem of cleaning dishes
and other household chores to rest for the time being.

In the *evening* Uncle War Cry came along and observed, "What are you folks doing? Oh, roasting corn!" Then he sat down and lent a hand, husking away until he found an especially good ear that he would eat up on the way. Soon his younger brother, Brave Shield (also known as High Noon) joined the party. Victory Call said to Grandma, "Old Lady, go to sleep, You must be tired. You don't have to help us. We have two boys to help." Grandma went to bed and the men sat up husking together and telling stories until quite late. Moonlight nights were particularly likely to invite such husking parties.

For the next three weeks their pattern of work continued in the same way. The four would go out into the fields for the morning, come home at noon and the women set to work with the processing, the men going out again returning in the afternoon, and helping in the evening with the processing. Grandma came in, in the late afternoon or evening, and set down her processed material in a pile next to the rest.

The crops were gathered in the order of their readiness, first from
White Woman's fields, then from No Corn's, and the various processing
was carried on while other gathering was taking place. The *first green*
corn was gathered for two days from White Woman's and then another
244 two days from No Corn's fields. For the *first bean crop*, a day each was
476 spent in each of the fields. Now a *final load of green corn* was gathered
with the team splitting up two and two to each field on the same day.
[243] For the *second bean crop* all four worked one day in White Woman's
[461] field and then another day in No Corn's field. This was tedious work, as
one had to bend down and search for the beans all along the vines. Now
all four spent a day each gathering the *pumpkins*, bringing them back to
[252] camp. Then the pumpkins were roasted and cut into circular rings the
next day. After the pumpkins, for which about three days had been
243 spent, the team of four spent two days getting in and husking the
476 *mature corn* that had been left to dry on the stalks from each of the two
fields, and prying the kernels from the cobs with a pointed stick. The
next step was to gather in the small *nubbin ears* to be fed to the horses
so that they would get fat; Horse Rider gathered some and chopped them
up and fed them to a horse that was thin and then let them loose in the
field to find and eat them. Poor families sent their boys into other
people's fields to glean these small ears to supplement their meager
[251] supplies. Finally the *sticky sweet corn* that was left longest on the stalk
to dry was gathered, one day by Victory Call and White Woman in her

field, and then next day by Horse Rider and No Corn in her field, the two 243
teams staying alternately at home and watching as well as processing the 251
crops. Sweet corn was mainly made into double braids. Quantity production 476
depended on team work, of course, but the women had to sort [244]
out the eight varieties of beans after everything was done, as the men [462]
would not bother with such a detail and would pay no attention to the
selection of the best ears for braiding. When all the corn was in, the [825]
blackbirds began to fly over the fields, presaging the cold weather.

The following are some of the processes used in preserving the crops, 243
together with a breakdown of how these were coordinated with the activities 244
of gathering. 251

The green corn was gathered from the stalk "in the milk" and roasted 243
in a long roasting pit in which a fire was built. It was allowed to cool 251
off and the husks removed. The kernels were cut off the cob row by row [237]
with a fresh-water clamshell and spread on a tanned hide to dry. At night [412]
the kernels were first winnowed to remove any chaff, gathered up and put in a flour sack, and then taken into the tent. They were put in a wooden bowl and spilled out from a height so that the wind would blow the chaff away. Next morning they were again spread out on the tanned hide. After several days, as they were being spilled for winnowing in the evening, they would make a tapping noise when they hit the hide, showing that the kernels were completely dry.

When the beans were picked off the vines and brought into camp, 244
they were dumped onto the spread and allowed to dry in the sun. As 251
they dried, one could hear the popping of the pods. At night they were left outdoors, covered only with a spread of tanned hide, and in
the morning uncovered and allowed to dry again. Then they were [412]
flailed with a peeled willow rod about 4 feet long and 1 inch thick to remove the pods as much as possible. Some of the beans had to be picked out by hand—a small pile of beans was always picked this way. If there was a large pile the woman would strike them with the stick, then stop and pick out the loose pods and pile them to one side, push the beans together again and further beat them with the stick. The beans were winnowed by spilling from a height from a wooden bowl, in this way loose pieces of dry pod blew away and the pods still containing some beans fell to the ground and were opened by hand—an operation in which someone usually gave her help if they were available. After winnowing, the beans were spread out to dry thoroughly. When all the other work had been done, the beans were sorted into their eight varieties.

After the beans, they brought in the pumpkin harvest. The women 244
spent most of one day hauling them from the field. First they brought 489
the largest, then the next largest, and so on. One parfleche in which 492
they were transported carried five large pumpkins, or seven to eight

244 middle-sized pumpkins, or twelve to fifteen small ones. A horse could
489 carry in only two parfleches filled with pumpkins at a trip. Using two
492 horses, they made five trips to the field, some in the morning and
some in the afternoon, carrying about twenty parfleches in all of the
different sizes. This represented the crop of White Woman's field and
amounted to about a wagon-load and a half, perhaps a little more, with
the wagon being level without sideboards.

The pumpkin rinds were removed by roasting them in the fire until
244 they could scrape off the outer rind with a fresh-water clamshell. Each
251 individual pumpkin was roasted and set aside to cool, then scraped.
252 Some people peeled them with a knife, but this was time-consuming and
was considered wasteful. Small pumpkins 4 inches or less in diameter
were neither roasted, peeled, nor halved—they were simply cut into
blocks, laid out on a tent skin and dried. They could be cooked any
time now with the large roasted corn to add flavor. The standard-size
pumpkins were cut in half, the pulp and seeds taken out, and the
halves cut into a series of circular rings each about 1½ inches wide.
These were hung on a rack and when they had dried somewhat were
pressed underfoot to express some of the water as was done with the
sliced buffalo meat, then hung up again to dry further. At night the
pumpkin rings were left on the rack covered with an old tent skin. By
285 the time the mature dried corn crop was coming in, the pumpkin strips
would be dry enough so that they could be woven into checker-plaited
mats. They would alternate the processing of this corn with the making
of the pumpkin mats, *ri-katsitu*, "braid-woven."

The plaited pumpkin mats were arm's length and 2 feet wide. The individual
strips had shrunk in the drying to an inch in width. It took
about two hours to weave a pumpkin mat. In an afternoon, each woman
would make two mats before supper. The dried pumpkin was used by
cutting off a number of the 2-foot strips in the width with small portions
252 of the cross pieces adhering to them. The very smallest pumpkins
262 about the size of tomatoes were boiled fresh and eaten in the morning
for a breakfast during this harvest period. They were very much
relished.

243 The preparation of the mature corn that had been allowed to dry on
251 the stalk, was somewhat different from the ears that were gathered "in
the milk." No roasting was necessary. The ears were snapped off the
stalk, taken to camp, and husked that evening and the following day.
The ears were then spread out and allowed to dry until evening and
after supper the women began to remove the kernels. They used a small
pointed stick to pry them off, pushing it in between two rows and along
the cob from stub end to point so that in spreading the rows of kernels
they were readily pried off. In the evening the corn was winnowed and

taken into the tent. The next day the removal of the kernels contin- 243
ued. They were spread out to dry along with those removed the day 251
before. In the late afternoon they were again winnowed and kept in the tent for the night, and again spread out to dry further. When the kernels made a tapping sound on the hide during winnowing they were judged to be dry.

These were the technical steps taken to process the crops. The gen- 512
eral scheme of events among the household personnel was as follows:
First day. White Woman and Horse Rider went into her field and 243
brought in the corn loaded on two horses. White Woman and No Corn 251
stayed and roasted the corn. Victory Call and Horse Rider went back into 252
the field and got a second load. In the afternoon women kept on roasting 476
and the men removed the husks. In the evening two more men came in and helped with the husking while the women went to bed. The four men stayed up doing the husking and telling stories.

Second day. In the morning two men continued husking until eleven A.M.; the two women continued cutting off the kernels. After this time the two men spread out the kernels to dry. The two women continued to cut off the kernels from the cobs.

If Victory Call was tired, he rested and White Woman took over the spreading of the kernels while No Corn continued to cut the kernels from the cob. Horse Rider might have to go and tend the horses.

In the afternoon, Grandma came in with her parfleche of shelled corn, having crossed Beaver Creek and stopped for a swim. She dumped her corn kernels on the skin spread in a separate heap and spread them out to dry.

In the evening, having gathered in most of the green corn that was ready from White Woman's fields, they made a plan to go into No Corn's field the next morning. All four would go off into the field and they needed someone to keep watch over their corn against stealing. Also, should anyone need Victory Call for official business, it was necessary to tell them where he could be reached. White Woman asked her brother War Cry to send over one of his three wives as "Room-Watcher," *ratut-kihar-atsiksta*, "I that am for him-room-watcher." She could also spread out any corn kernels that still needed to be dried while she was there.

Third day. They go to No Corn's field to get the green corn. Victory Call, White Woman and No Corn set out on foot and pick whatever was ripe in No Corn's field, leaving it here and there in little piles. Horse Rider meanwhile had gone out to get the horses and saddle them up; then he joined them in the field. When one load was ready they went back to camp and the two women stayed there, beginning at once to roast the ears. Horse Rider went back to the field and brought what

512 was left in the several piles, loading it onto the horses and bringing it
243 back into camp. The women continued to roast and the men began to
do the husking.

251 That evening Sun Chief and Leading Fox, older sons of Victory Call
252 by a previous marriage, came in to help with the husking.

476 *Fourth day*. Men continued to husk the corn, while the women now cut the kernels from the cobs with a clamshell. They all helped to spread out the kernels to dry. All the green corn from both sets of fields that was ripe enough, had now been gathered, roasted, and set out to dry. It was usual to finish this task in the first four or five days.

512 *Fifth day*. This was the time for the first bean harvest in White Woman's
244 field. This was hard work as most of the vines didn't climb on anything
476 but grew close to the ground. Sometimes they grew in separate patches
[461] and sometimes in a patch with the corn. The women gathered the pods
in their skirts; the men threw them in whenever they got a handful. All
four worked in the field until late afternoon. On the way home, they
[526] stopped and took a swim in Beaver Creek. Again as in the time of
planting, they slapped the water with their feet, making as loud a noise
[515] as possible. As the women slapped the surface of the water with their
soles, it resounded all along the creek like the report of a gun. "They are slapping the water with their feet" (*tutastaxkitspiru*). The girls used their hands for this (*tutikstaxkitspiru*), and Otter had a hard time learning the trick from them. Possibly it was a kind of sympathetic magic for the tapping of the dry beans and corn on the threshing floor. They went home about 4:30 in the afternoon, having gathered about four parfleches of the beans in the pod in a good year. At home one of War Cry's wives or daughters had been serving as Room Watcher for their tent. It was five o'clock by the time the pods were all spread out to dry. Everyone was tired and took a rest. Inside the tent, Horse Rider and No Corn were wrestling playfully together and saying, "Now we have some roasted corn" (*rawaritu*).

244 In the evening the beans were covered up where they lay and the
corn kernels were winnowed and taken inside for the night in flour sacks.
512 Now grandma came in carrying her sack of corn or beans that she spread out. White Woman offered to come out and help her in her field but she refused saying, "Oh, no. If you help me I'll get through too soon and I won't have anything else to do. So I'd just like to do it myself."

White Woman made the fire and cooked some grease bread and No Corn prepared the coffee and dried apples for their supper. Uncle War Cry came to join them and began to tease Grandma about how tired she was; Grandma asked to have her dinner brought to her. War Cry then began to talk about the trade store and Victory Call remembered he owed them a buffalo robe, but War Cry observed that he was sure they would wait until the harvest work was done. He promised to mention

it to them. Everyone went to bed early, for next day they would be picking the beans in No Corn's field and this meant another day of back-breaking work. 244 512

Sixth day. All during this time young men would go out very early in the morning with their bow and arrows to act as sentinels, watching particularly for the Sioux, who lurked about to attack women going to and from the fields. Victory Call always took along his bow and arrows should there be a surprise attack. The Skidi fields were located northwest of the villages. Going out early in the morning, one could see the boys picketing about on the high bluff to the west. That morning as they looked up at a big hill west of Genoa, they would also see someone stationed, scouting around for the enemy. The night before Mad Bear and another man had made up their minds to do this. Before dawn they climbed the high bluff west of Beaver Creek and sat down and looked toward where they were roasting corn. "Look at that smoke. Afterward, we can get some corn," they said. Their legs were hanging over the bluff. There was a little creek that ran from the southwest into Beaver Creek running parallel with the edge of the bluff where the two men were sitting, and a Sioux had been hiding in a trough and watching them. The two men were talking about the cherries on the side of the bluff and the big yellow plums in the bottom and how they would eat them next day. As they were talking, they heard the Sioux making a noise like a crow. 512 726

Later Mad Bear told his story. "I got frightened and I never thought of my bow and arrows. I was transfixed with fear when I saw all of them. But all at once I got over it. The other man didn't get over it. We ran down the bluff to the creek. The other man left his bow and arrows there." Mad Bear continued: "I don't see why the other fellow left me and ran away to get under the brush. The Sioux caught him. As I ran down the bluff, I felt a shot through my back. It came out of my chest, but I got into the water anyway and they let me go. The other fellow had disappeared." We looked in the water for him but couldn't find him. Long after when someone came back to Nebraska, they thought they saw him and he had been scalped and was ashamed to come back. 159 726

The Pawnees took Mad Bear over the creek and he was doctored by Heavy-Trophies and Herd-of-Horses. As Mad Bear described it, "The doctor put his mouth against mine and blew some water with some medicine in it into my mouth and made me swallow it. I had been sleepy all along, but this woke me up. Then they gave me some medicine to chew and water to drink and I felt better and never worried about it again. I sent the doctors home." Finally the Pawnees came out and killed a big tall Sioux. His bones remained there a long time 752 726

752 afterward. One Sioux was killed and one Pawnee killed or scalped.
726 This is why Mad Bear was known as a brave man, heedless of any
danger to himself, like a boy, a *piraski*.

244 All the time that this struggle was going on, Victory Call, White Woman,
512 and No Corn were in No Corn's field picking beans. Horse Rider had
had to go quite a way to find the horses and when he got back to camp to saddle them, they had left him a bite of breakfast and then he joined them in the field. First he inspected the pumpkins and then they all went around picking up the vines, and when a vine wrapped around a cornstalk, they had to look all around for the ripe pods. This took until noon and on the way home they took a swim in the creek. Arriving at camp, they prepared a modest lunch of bread, coffee, and bits of ready-
244 cooked meat saved in a sack for such purposes—pieces of dried heart,
512 leg muscle, pieces of paunch, fat, etc. They called this *tsuspakahu*. They
262 opened the sack and dumped the pieces of meat on a spread and simply
264 picked up one and ate it with the bread and coffee. Sometimes they
had pulverized dried meat, *tapaharus*, with some bone grease instead of the meat. They decided to have the same kind of meal in the evening, as their backs ached from picking the beans. After the meal, the newly
244 picked beans were spread out to dry, and about three in the afternoon
512 White Woman decided that her beans were dry enough to thresh with
251 the long willow stick to get the beans out of the pods. Victory Call wan-
dered up to the store and Horse Rider either went to the gambling grounds or just sat on a bluff smoking and looking around. The women kept working with the beans.

512 That evening, Victory Call came in with supplies from the store for
439 supper: prunes, dry apples and some candy sticks for Otter—a gift of
the trader. People had seen Victory Call coming in while they were at the gambling grounds watching the game, and they decided to come over and have some dinner there. War Cry's younger brother, Brave Shield, and Wants-the-Enemy dropped in for a visit. Some decided to visit with Misery (*Akapakis*) instead, and White Woman felt slighted because the youngest brother of War Cry, Leading Fox, had decided to go there as also had Sun Chief, Victory Call's older son. She scolded Leading Fox saying, "Why don't you come in. People will think I don't take care of you." "Well," he said, "the boys wanted me to come with them." She remarked about Sun Chief to Victory Call who reassured her saying, "That's nothing. You have to watch girls, but you can't keep boys home like that."

512 At dinner, Brave Shield mentioned that some of the Kitkehaxki
796 doctors were preparing to go back into the earth lodges to prepare for
the forthcoming doctor dances. Victory Call said that it was a bit too
756 early. It was better to finish the work so that they didn't have all this rub-

bish in their yards at home and then go up to the village. He said the 512
leading doctors would wait until people got all through before begin- 796
ning as "They liked to have a good crowd to attend the dances." At the 756
gambling grounds the talk was about the same subject. Presently two or three men came in from the South Bands and joined them at supper and talked about how things were going with them. "What are your folks doing over there?" they were asked. "We are working hard making roasted corn. The village is full of fleas. You have to clean it out two or three times before you can get in," said the South Bands men. "Same with us," the Skidis said.

Next morning Victory Call went to the field to see if there was much 244
of a load of green corn left to be gathered and roasted. The following 243
day they went to the two fields and brought them in.
251

After that a second bean crop was picked from each field on successive 252
days—the vines being almost entirely cleared with this picking. Then 512
the pumpkins were hauled in by all four of them and roasted: one day from White Woman's field, the next from No Corn's. They were all roasted and cut into rings.

About the *eleventh day* they got the mature corn from White Woman's field in two double horse loads—one in the morning and one in the afternoon. They got home about two o'clock in the afternoon, and being very tired dumped the load of dry ears and rested till supper
time. Then Old-Man-That-Chief joined them for supper and talked of 512
the old days in Old Village. He said: 173

> In the old days, an old lady like grandma would see an ear of corn 243
> or a single bean lying on the ground and she would be half-crying to see it lying there. Nowadays it's different. They leave things to waste on the ground. If they were roasting corn and they scraped an ear and left the kernels on one side, they would pick it up from the discarded pile again and clear it off. For if you didn't, the corn would talk about you. It was like a person. But nowadays they don't care.

Horse Rider and Victory Call listened with respectful attention to what the old man said. He continued, "You Horse Rider, are two steps behind me, but Victory Call—he is nearly on top (in the middle of life). He will be able to look around in all directions to see how he has come up there.

"A story is like a little seed. From it all sorts of other stories branch off for you. A story gives you life. Now that I am old, people invite me to come and eat good things with them and then they ask me to tell stories. So these stories keep me alive."

Now he told another story of the past. He said: "I heard that once way back when corn first came to our village, a good ear of corn had been thrown out with the rubbish and swept aside. The

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

512 173 243 people went on the hunt and still the corn lay there. A man going through the village heard someone talking. He thought there must be another man in the village. But he followed along to where the voice was coming from and got to the sweepings. There lay the good ear of corn. He stopped and picked it up and began to talk to it. He asked it to bless him and send him good luck for this corn is our Mother. He kept that ear of corn. That's how it was in the old days. Now since you've been wasting, the corn will become scarce."

512 243 251 252 That evening they husked the dry corn and continued next day until about two in the afternoon. Then it was left spread out to dry on the cob until evening and pried off after supper with a stick. Some men joined them and helped and after the women had gone to bed they continued to pry off the kernels, telling stories while they worked until late in the evening. The next day the shelling of the dry corn continued and that afternoon the men just wandered about the camp for a little recreation. Horse Rider had gone down to the grounds to watch the gambling. The women were tired and lay down to rest; their hands felt cramped from prying off the kernels.

[285] After they had collected the dry corn from No Corn's field, the women alternated work on it with making pumpkin mats as the strips were now dry enough. Then they proceeded to get the small nubbin ears for fattening the horses and collecting the sweet corn and braiding it to finish off the work.

356 887 While they were doing the pumpkins, the old ladies had already made a plan to go up and begin the process of clearing the earth lodge in anticipation of the time when the harvest was done. They had to go up at intervals of four days successively and burn out the fleas with torches. "These fleas bite worse than bedbugs!"

The three old ladies met at the lodge in the morning as planned. They removed the brush that had been placed across the door to seal it before they left on the hunt. They took off their clothes and put on an old petticoat. They made a brush or short broom of dry *pakuts* (thatch) grass and tied it to a stick. Then each woman took her brush inside the lodge and lit the grass, each one going around one side of the room and being careful to stay near the floor as the dry grass in the roof thatch might catch fire. When the grass was burned up on their broom, they put some more grass on it and repeated the process throughout the day. They repeated this four days later, and then on subsequent days. [824] They built a little fire in the fireplace and burnt some wild sage, kiwaut, (*Artemisia gnaphalodes* Nutt.) as incense to clear the air and make the room smell good. They would also burn some of the sage on their brooms along with the other grass. After the final smoking, they left the lodge empty for a day and on the following evening the lodge was quite habitable.

quite habitable. Each of the old ladies brought in her dried corn and 000
put it on her side of the lodge. They slept over and talked that night 521
about the events of the past summer. They had a good deal to tell one 887
another.

Grandma began: "The first time we got buffalo, we had two, and 521
my, I was slicing away to make the dry meat and White Woman was 887
busy at the drying rack. Then we made bone grease. We had a hard 222
time getting the flesh we scraped off the hides to dry." Grieves-the- 224*
Enemy commented: "I went out and got lots of intestines from the
men after the kill." Grandma said, "I never got a chance to get out
there, but Horse Rider brought in plenty of entrails. When we were
south across the Republican, three of us old ladies found some wonderful
turnips. Oh, I wish we had them now! We were shouting to
each other, 'Here are some!' and everyone said the officers should have
punished us for yelling like that (the buffalo might have been frightened),
but they finally decided to let us alone to have our good time."
They talked about how they would get Indian potatoes after they
were well settled and what else they might do then. Old-Lady-Blue
Calico then talked of her hunt experiences: "Oh my, we didn't get 521
a chance to eat ribs very much. My very public-spirited son-in-law, 224*
Old Bull thought he should give White Eagle his support so that 251
nearly every day that they got buffalo, he would leave the ribs at the
council tent and sometimes the backbone steak too. Once in a while
Old Bull brought home two or three ribs from the feast for the family
to eat. My daughter Clear Day and I made dry meat. Queen Woman,
who isn't too strong, we gave the job of hanging up the slices to dry
and turning them over. Clear Day had to wash the paunch after she
sliced the meat. I tried to make bone grease, but I barely got it made.
It was too hot." Grandma now chimed in with, "I have mine all right.
I made it the first night we got to the Republican River. Horse Rider
brought in the bones." "My, that woman knows how to do everything,"
Blue-Calico remarked. They might sit up most of the night talking
until they got too sleepy. In the morning they came down to the
camp and joined the family for breakfast. Even before the family
finally moved in, they took the corn and beans up there to protect
them from rain. They were not worried about stealing as everyone
had plenty of the same kind of supplies at this time.

32

THE CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCE OF THE HARVEST

000

Holy Significance of the Mother Corn—Pawnee Logic of the Universe—Three Harvest Ceremonies—Green Corn Ceremony—Mature Corn Ceremony—Four-Pole Ceremony—Ceremonial Rituals Explained—Symbolic Significance

243
778
[026]

To THE PAWNEE, the ear of corn was his daily food and also the object of his most profound reverence and worship. In every sacred bundle that represented the cosmic powers there were two ears of corn of an ancient breed, cultivated exclusively for its role as a holy object—their Mother Corn. The leader of a war party that went afoot far out onto the Plains to capture horses and booty wore an ear of sacred corn on his left shoulder so that Mother Corn might guide them to victory. It was an ear that had served in a sacred bundle for one year from harvest to harvest. The calumet expedition for peace and trade with another tribe, besides the two symbolic eagle-feathered pipes, carried an ear of sacred corn representing the universe. It was painted blue around its bottom half with four blue lines leading up toward the point representing the semicardinal-direction pathways of prayer to Heaven, while on the point of the corn stood a single white feather to represent Heaven itself.

243
778
782

Each sacred ear of corn in the sacred bundle was sewn into a skin cover: the ear for winter in a tanned buffalo skin, and that for summer in a heart skin. At every meal the wife or sister of the chief in whose care the bundle was kept addressed each ear of corn by its own name to give thanks for the food they were about to enjoy. If it were buffalo meat they were having, she would point some of it toward the sacred bundle hanging at the west in order to give Mother Corn the first portion. When they ate corn it was of course not offered to her but the bowl of the spoon

was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the 243 778
altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo 782
might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could 772
not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of 221
alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic.
The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other
in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers
of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As [823]
these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their [778]
biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for
each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through
the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these
alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation
of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his
political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different 243
aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under 778
the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when
the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four [776]
semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression
of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity,
Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in 796
their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under 628
the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented [778]
the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all
together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Pole Ceremony*—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken [823]
together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony
warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was
safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant 796 778
"ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of 243
its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the 243 778
priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to 793
settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four [533]
[535]

243 priests of the four direction bundles. They were representing the four
778 aspects of the primordial storm given by Heaven to the Evening Star to
793 assist her in the process of creation. The Evening Star priest also invited
a number of noted warriors and old men and had a quantity of green
corn cooked for their feast. The sacred bundle was opened and its pipe
[276] smoked and shared with the Evening Star and the other great western
[782] powers by pointing its mouthpiece toward the west and then in the same
way with the other celestial gods who took part in the ongoing of the
universe. The contents of the sacred bundle were passed through an
incense of burning sweet grass smoke, and an offering of the corn was
[574] made to the gods. Then the invited guests had their feast of green corn.
After the Evening Star bundle had completed its ritual, all other sacred
bundles followed suit, offering green corn to the bundles and having a
corn feast.

243 The main harvest ceremony which centered around the Mature Corn
was a continuation of the symbolic theme of the life cycle of Mother
778 Corn carried by the four semicardinal-direction bundles. Its connection
776 with the progression of the seasons was also part of the ritual pattern.

[793] In the spring, after the Evening Star priest had performed the creation
ritual for the renewal of all things, the four direction priests began their ritual cycle in anticipation of the planting time by a ceremonial distribution of the seeds of the sacred corn to the twelve owners of the sacred bundles whose wives planted them in special hills in the fields. Pursuing the theme of seasonal succession, the four sacred bundles of the group took charge of their ritual in turn. For the winter season, a North bundle was in charge. At the ceremony when the sacred seeds were distributed, the North bundle gave over its sacred mission to one of the South bundles of the group. A number of cornstalks symbolized this transfer of power, and these were now handed from the North to the South bundle. After the ground-breaking ceremony which belonged to a different cult (Skull bundle—Evening Star), the second ceremony of the Four Direction series concerning the Mother Corn was carried out. In this case the birth, infancy, and adolescence of Mother Corn were symbolized by uprooting the new little shoots of the sacred corn plants and providing one of them with a shaft on which a mouth and windpipe were painted to represent its life. The Young Mother Corn had carried them through the summer attached to the outside of the sacred bundle. Now the maturing Mother Corn had attained her full power to look after the people. The ceremony of the Mature Corn represented her installation to this office. It was also the occasion when the four-direction-bundle group shifted the ceremonial prerogative from the South bundle to the North bundle for the forthcoming winter. Some of the cornstalks of the sacred corn from the current harvest were given to this bundle to signify its mission. In addition to the principle of the succession of winter and sum-

mer seasons followed by the four-direction-bundle group, another prin- 243
ciple of alternation of powers was carried through as a means of assur- 778
ing complete cosmic protection. This was the alternation of the powers 776
of the western and of the eastern skies in successive years. There was,
therefore, a fourfold alternation of bundles in the four-direction-bundle
group over a cycle of two years: North*west*-South*west* in one year, and
North*east*-South*east* in the subsequent year. The west and east each
dominated a year, while north and south moved in half-year seasonal
cycles for winter and summer.

As they were returning from the summer buffalo hunt when they
had gotten about half way home, the priest of the summer direction bun- [793]
dle had sent a young man to the sacred corn hill to make an offering to it [782]
of buffalo tongue and heart meat. He pressed alternately into the corn
hill a strip of tongue and a strip of heart in the four semicardinal directions.

Now with the harvest in, the priest asked his wife to clear out their 243
earth lodge so that the ceremony for the Mature Mother Corn could be 778
held. The women removed all the beds and other furniture and swept it
out well, and the priest took down the sacred bundle from where it had 776
been hanging at the west and placed it on the altar. Before dawn he 793
sent four men to the sacred corn hill in the fields to bring in four stalks
of the holy corn with the ears still on them. In the course of the ceremony, these would replace the old Mother Corn ears in the sacred bundles. In this way the sacred bundles always contained some fertile seeds.

The priest now invited a number of other people to participate. He called the other four high priests—his three colleagues of the four-direction-bundle group and the Evening Star priest. He also called in the holy man who had taken office when the sacred seeds were distributed in the spring and who had lived under severe taboos from which he would only now be released. All summer while they were on the march, this holy man had been living under the watchful eye of the priest. Also invited was the young woman who had contributed milk from her breasts at the ceremony of the Young Corn Plant in order to symbolize conception and the other owners of the sacred bundles.

When everyone was assembled, all went down to the camps where the 243
women had piled their mature corn and other crops. The priest an- 778
nounced that Mother Corn was about to be installed and asked them to 776
bring their harvest offerings. They came with their best ears of corn, and
as the women entered the ceremonial lodge they put the corn on the 793
north side in piles according to the color. Any of the ears that had the 782
male spike at the tip, a feature that was regularly found in the holy corn,
might be included in the sacred bundle in the course of the ceremony
that was to follow. The women also brought beans and squash for the

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

243 harvest offering. Then the women left the lodge and the ceremony was
778 carried on entirely by the men. Now a man was sent to the sacred corn
776 hill to uproot any stalks that remained there with the ears still on them.
793 They were tied to the northwest post of the lodge, which symbolized
the Garden of the Gods. When the new winter direction priest was in-
[782] stalled at the end of the proceedings, he would receive these as a sign of
his office.

The priest was now ready to conduct the ceremony. He sat at the west with his bundle open before him. He put aside the stick with the Young Mother Corn Plant tied to it that they had made in the spring and the two sacred ears in their respective wrappings. He also had before him the four new sacred ears that were brought in that morning. The new sacred ears had been cut with the first section of the stem left on to symbolize the windpipe and the voice of the Mother Corn which was the
[822] "breath of life." After singing four songs mentioning the different
colors, black, red, yellow, and white for the semicardinal directions, he
[533] sang a fifth song and cut off the stem. Then he sang another song welcoming the new Mother Corn. He embraced the new ear, passing it to the other priests who were sitting to the south and to the north of him, and then passed it down the south side and then the north of the lodge, everyone in turn embracing the new Mother Corn. When the ear was returned to the priest, he sang a seventh song stating that the voice of the corn was raised to the heavens.

[782] At the close of the songs, the pipe was filled and the mouthpiece pointed toward Mother Corn as an offering to share in the smoking. Then the ear was passed to the people on each side of the lodge and each person blew his breath on it four times, symbolizing its new life in the world.

The next symbolic act was to concentrate all the power in the world into Mother Corn herself. The priest took a buffalo-hair rope about a yard long from his sacred bundle. It was said to have been made of "hair from beneath the waters." Taking one of the new Mother Corn ears in each hand, he knelt before the altar holding the ends of the rope against the ears. Then moving his hands, he made the rope circle around into a loop to represent the horizon as it had circled out from the gods in the west during the original creation. He now made movements as if he were throwing the rope over objects and drawing them to his breast. This was spoken of as "trapping the powers of the Heavens" for Mother Corn and all the sacred objects.

The ears of sacred corn whose "lives had been ended" were now given over to a distinguished warrior, who would carry them on the warpath to guide him to success, or to the entrepreneur of the Peace Pipe Ceremony, who would carry them on his expedition to give him success in trade and international relations.

With the installation of the New Mother Corn accomplished, steps 243
were taken to shift the cosmic power to the North Direction bundle for 778
the winter. The priest announced that the change was at hand, went to 793
the northwest house post, and took down the sacred stalks that were tied there, giving them to the chief who was in charge of the newly appointed North Direction bundle. He addressed the chief briefly upon the import of the procedure and formally charged him with the office. The new chief replaced the stalks on the post and then divided the harvest offerings that the women had brought among the chiefs and priests present at the ceremony.

Following this ceremony, all the sacred bundles changed their ears of
Mother Corn for those of the new harvest. This ceremony was con- [782]
ducted very simply in each case, the usual smoke and meat offerings being made to the appropriate powers and a feast shared. In all the sacred bundles the pipe was turned so that when the bundle hung on the west wall of the house over the altar the mouthpiece of the pipe would be pointing north, so that the winter powers located in that direction could smoke.

The Pawnee year opened in the spring with a ceremony celebrating 796
the creation of the universe and within it the uniting of all the people 619
under one religion and society. Now as the harvest was done, a closing ceremony commemorated their unity and the common defense of their
land. The four house posts in the semicardinal positions symbolized the [778]
entire world and its peoples. It was under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person and its four special ministers.

The setting for the ceremony was a special circular structure—a low 796
circular embankment opening to the east. First the priests marked out 346
the circle with a compass consisting of two sticks with a long string between; they also marked out the fireplace in the center in the same way. The fireplace was 3 feet in diameter and the excavated earth from it was dumped outside the east entrance to form a small mound. They dug four holes about a foot deep in the semicardinal positions within the circle to receive the posts that would be planted later on. All around the inside of the circular embankment saplings were set up in the ground, forming a screen that shaded the participants as they sat around during the ceremony. The chiefs who were the owners of the sacred bundles sat along the north and along the south side of the circle, each representing one of the villages that was a member of the original federation. Most of them sat on the north side, as the original villages were mainly on the Loup River, only one having come from the Platte to the south. At the west sat the keepers of the four direction bundles as they had originally come from Old Village in the west.

The ceremony itself comprised two major episodes. One was the get- 796
ting of the four poles, a war party setting out in a different direction for

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 each one. The second part of the ceremony consisted in the recitation by a chief of certain events in the creation ritual that represented the essential nature of the world.

In the first episode, the four war parties went out for the poles. When everyone was assembled, four warriors took positions at the semicardinal [292] places. Each was dressed in full regalia. He wore an otter fur collar, a sacred ear of corn on the left shoulder, and a hawkskin on the right shoulder. On the head, each wore a ball of white down feathers and, transversely in the scalplock, an eagle feather. Each element of their costume had a symbolic meaning—the otter collar, awakening of life in the spring; the ear of corn, Mother Corn to guide them over the world; the hawk, to symbolize strength and fierceness; the eagle feather in the scalplock, Heaven during the creation; the white downy feathers, the clouds [302] on which he rode. Their faces were painted with red streaks along the sides and a bird's-foot mark on their foreheads which was also the name of a constellation in the Milky Way. Each warrior carried a war club and a pipe from one of the leading sacred bundles.

While the warriors were being costumed, four scouts had gone in four different directions to locate the trees for the posts. The White Pole [824] was located in the southwest direction and was a cottonwood. The Yellow Pole was found in the northwest and was a willow. The Red Pole of the southeast was a box elder, and the Black Pole of the northeast, an elm. The warriors came outside the enclosure and danced in their appropriate positions and a group of people gathered around each of them. The warriors now led their parties in their different directions and were met by their respective scouts who reported that they had located an enemy standing among the timber. Each warrior now led his party as if stealing upon an enemy. When the tree was sighted, they rushed in and the first man to reach the tree acted as if he were touching an enemy in battle, meriting a special war honor.

[782] Standing at the east, the warrior made a smoke offering to the tree. Then he carried the smoked-out pipe to the west where he deposited the ashes. Then another man, in similar fashion, made an offering of buffalo meat. Then a virgin took up her ax and symbolically cut down the tree. She motioned four times in each of the four directions, cutting off a chip in each. The tree was then actually cut down by her uncles and brothers amid the shouts of the people. As the tree fell they made as much noise as possible.

Now the warriors took up the tree and started toward the village, the [831] crowd following. On the way in they stopped to rest at four different intervals when they were beset by old women who encircled them making suggestive remarks referring to sexual intercourse and speaking of sexual acts as deeds of war. None of these remarks were personal. When the party tried to bring the pole into the enclosure, someone blocked

their way and touched the tree as if it were an enemy, claiming war 796
honors and stating that they were entering the territory of the enemy. Then they brought it inside.

While the war parties were out, the priests had prepared the postholes. In each they placed a cake of buffalo fat sprinkled with some tobacco, the fat representing the earth and the tobacco the people. A similar cake of fat sprinkled with tobacco was placed in the center of the fireplace. These cakes were then taken outside and buried under the little mound outside to the east of the enclosure.

As each war party came in with its pole, the priest of that semicardinal- [782]
direction bundle offered it the pipe to smoke and sang the song ritual [533]
while the warrior danced four times and planted the tree in the posthole. All the branches had been trimmed from the posts except the very top ones. The priests sang songs referring to the appropriate colors connected with the semicardinal directions and each post was painted its proper color.

The next phase of the ceremony was considered its most vital part. 796
The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person 778
now recited certain acts of the creation by Heaven. The skull, fastened to a stick, was costumed to represent Heaven as in the first episode of the ground-breaking (*awari*), ceremony in the spring. The paraphernalia for decorating the skull, including the paints, was kept inside the bundle in a bladder bag when not in use.

Another symbolic object was a wooden bowl filled with water to represent a primordial pond or the waters in general. In the water was a shell to represent running water and the continuity of life. On the shell was placed the jaw of a gar pike, the head of a (thunder?) bird and the image of a turtle, all symbolizing the denizens of the water and the rains. The skull rested to the west, and to the east of it the bowl of water with the objects connected by a framework of sticks on which the turtle was placed with a clamshell over his middle. There were four smooth stones that were either meteorites or buffalo maw stones which came from the sacred bundle of the former Village Partly-on-a-Hill. The turtle and the shell were from the Southwest Direction bundle. The four smooth stones stood for the four quarters of the world.

The chief who had charge of the Skull bundle now stood up with the skull in his hands and, facing the bowl, recited the acts of the creation that had been performed by Heaven. The main part of the ceremony was now complete.

During the following night there were additional dramatic acts. Cer- 796
tain doctors appeared dressed in the skins of bears, loons, wildcats, and [756]
wolves, each connected with one of the four semicardinal directions. During the creation, as the Morning Star went out to conquer the Evening Star, he had to overcome each of these primordial animals who were

796 also aspects of the storm and who guarded her domain. They thus symbolized all war and conquest. Dressed in these skins, the doctors charged about the camp, symbolically fighting the people.

[793] The final act of the priests was the "opening of the road to the ene-
mies' country and to the buffalo." The chief who was keeper of the Skull
[778] bundle danced with the skull and made certain movements with the skull
in the four directions in turn as the priests sang the appropriate songs.
Then with loud shouting the people joined in the dance. The way was
now ceremonially open for war parties to set out and for the chiefs to
make plans for the tribal migration and buffalo hunt for the winter season.

Now everyone moved back into their houses, stored their crops and buffalo meat from the summer hunt, and awaited the time they had all been looking forward to for so long—the thirty-day Grand Opera of the Wild Animal Cults that would be put on by the Doctors' Association. But first the crops and meat had to be stored in the food pit and everything connected with the harvest put in good order.

33

THE HOUSE REESTABLISHED AND THE FOOD STORED

000

The Move into the Earth Lodge—Final Meal in the Tent—Beds in the Lodge Are Repaired—Bedding Explained—South Side Family Moves In—Storage Pit Opened—Harvest and Meat Stored—List of the Contents—Importance of the Storage Pit

OVERHEAD THE BLACKBIRDS were flying south and everyone knew that it would soon be cold. The tents were crowded with parfleches of dried buffalo meat and tanned skin bags of corn kernels and dried beans. The harvest ceremonies were done and the cosmic powers had received their thanks. All over the encampment people began to think of moving back into the earth lodges where they would have better protection for themselves and their stores. The men were thinking about the forthcoming Grand Doctor Ceremony and their part in its thirty-day round of ceremonies and performances. The needed food supplies would have to be gotten ready and their paraphernalia gotten in order. 221

Victory Call was one of the early ones in the encampment to plan to go back into the village. One morning he announced, "Tomorrow we're going to move into the earth lodge." "Well," said Grandma, "it's ready for us. Grieves-the-Enemy, Blue-Calico, and I got it all cleared out." White Woman, going on with the plans remarked, "We'll need two horses to do the hauling. The parfleches must go in first. You men will go up first and pile them up outside."

Horse Rider, who got up that next morning before anyone else, announced to his wife, No Corn, "Fire's made"; directly she got to work boiling some buffalo meat for their breakfast and preparing the grease bread. Horse Rider went to the creek for more water and then 512 252 264

512 [252] [264] White Woman got up and joined in, making the breakfast coffee. The cooking was going on near the long oblong fireplace somewhat to the north of the curve-roofed shelter that opened to the east. Across the front of the tent and just inside, the long twined-woven rush mats were lined up. Now Victory Call got up and sat near the south end and began to smoke his pipe. He remarked, "Now leave the tent here for last. We can take everything into the lodge first." With that, Uncle War Cry looked over from his tent and, seeing the activity, thought he would [576] wander over and see what it was. "Nawa," he greeted them. "Nawa," answered Victory Call, "sit down over here" (viz., to his left). "Looks as if-you're-about to travel" (*kura-tas-takuhu'u*), said the visitor. "Oh, yes, we're going to try to move in this morning, that is rather—today." "That's what we've been thinking too. But I think we'll go in tomorrow." Now Horse Rider arrived with the water and after greetings of "Nawa, nawa," were exchanged, he sat down and joined the men. War Cry repeated his observation about their moving in and Horse Rider made his acknowledgment, War Cry adding, "Now you're going to make-us-feel-lonesome" (left behind, *wi-tas-kurak-atsiks-awahu*). "Oh, just one day. Just this evening, that's all," said Horse Rider.

Now Grandma began to sit up on her bed and White Woman handed her a small basin of water. "Mother wash your face," she said and Grandma poured some of the water into her hand and washed up.

Everyone arranged themselves on the mat—White Woman at the south end, Victory Call next to her, War Cry next to him, Horse Rider next, No Corn who was doing the cooking and serving, and on the northernmost end of the line Grandma and then Otter. The dishes of food were passed first to Victory Call, then War Cry and then Horse Rider, and now the boy Otter was given a dish to carry to his mother at the south end. He got up and made a wide circle so that he wouldn't pass too close in front of the men. Dishes were next passed by No Corn to Grandma and through her to Otter, and then they all began to eat.

As soon as breakfast was over, Horse Rider went to get the two horses that would be needed for the hauling and War Cry went back to his tent, remarking as he went off, "Tomorrow we must move in, too." White Woman and No Corn began to bundle up their things. Grandma had already taken most of hers into the lodge. The mare and the horse were [492] loaded up with parfleches of corn, pumpkin, rolled-up mats, and dishes. The two men went up and piled the goods outside the doorway and came back directly for their next load. As they began to load up, the women were saying, "Our men don't know how to load these things." The men on the other hand were likely to say, "When we first came home, we had hardly anything. Now look at that pile we've got around to fix up." The children were running back and forth among the piles of goods.

512 [482] It took three trips to get everything back to the lodge and, on the last one, White Woman piled some of the remainder on her back and admonished Horse Rider to bring up whatever wood they had around as someone else might appropriate it. The women went into the lodge and at once removed the grass padding from the bed platforms to see how the willow sticks of the frame were. Next day they would get some new willow sticks to replace any that were found to be rotted.

352 [353] Each low bedstead was made of three forked uprights stuck in the ground between the central pillars and the wall of the housepit; a long sturdy willow rod rested on the forks of the uprights to form the edge of the bedstead. Shorter sections of willow sapling were laid on crosswise, at 3-inch intervals, one end resting on the outer rod and the other end on the shelf all around the housepit, which was actually the ground level remaining within the circular collar or sod wall inside its sloping radial skeleton. This low slope-roofed area was called *ti-ka-ka-wi'u*, "it-lodge-inside-sits." Upon the bed frame with its cross sticks was placed another layer of willow saplings in the length, and upon this in the width, a layer of thatch (*pakuts*) grass. Each bed was built between a pair of the short outer houseposts that were placed in the ground at an outward slant and 7 feet apart. These were the permanent bedsteads, and when they left on the hunt these were left intact. The only time they were dismantled was when a ceremony was to take place in the lodge when all the sticks were pulled up and carried outside until the ceremony was over.

513 237 The bedding was designed to keep the occupants warm and to ensure a certain amount of privacy. The basic bedclothes comprised two layers of tanned hide. At the head were skin pillows stuffed with turkey feathers or deer hair. Sometimes a roll of discarded skin clothing was used instead. At the foot was also a roll of worn out skin clothing against which one could rest one's feet. A skin curtain hung at the head and the foot of every bed, suspended from the roof for privacy. These were tucked in underneath before putting down the bed clothes to keep anything natural or supernatural from coming into the bed at night. In the more luxuriously appointed beds, an extra skin curtain was suspended against the wall so that should any mice living in the thatch loosen any earth, it would fall behind the curtain. The curtains were usually made of discarded pieces of tanned buffalo-hide tent skin. When they went to bed, everyone disrobed. In the warmer weather they covered themselves with a tanned skin—preferably elk or deerskin for really soft tan. This was commonly dyed black and was worn as a wraparound garment during the day. At the time of this account most people used trade-store blankets instead for this purpose. In winter they used a double-purpose buffalo robe with its hair and wool left on for warmth. In the morning when they got up the covers were folded up toward the head or foot end of the bed so that one could sit on the bed during the day or lie down without disarranging the bedding.

513 disarranging the bedding. In the warmer weather, a mat might be placed
on top of the skin as a "sheet." In addition to these appointments, some of
352 the beds had an additional screen of willows built in front of them to
322 make them especially private. Some married women preferred these—
824 in this household for example, White Woman and Old Bull's older wife,
Queen Woman. These screens, *kawiriwisisu*, were a permanent part of the bed structure. Six tall uprights were fixed in the ground, reaching from floor to ceiling, and across them close together were tied on with willow bark, 6-foot-long horizontal willow saplings. The horizontals were laid in alternate order, one with the stub end to the left and its point end to the right, and the one above it in the opposite position to ensure evenness. These were gathered in spring, peeled, and the irregular stems or knots cut off. Before they could be fastened to the uprights, they had to be briefly seasoned for a few days so that they would be neither too green when they would shrink too much and leave the fastenings loose, nor too dry, when they could not be properly straightened out
[531] in place. For decorative effect, six black were alternated with six natural horizontals, the peeled saplings being passed through a decoction of
[386] sumach that had been boiled to make a black dye. After all the horizontals were tied in place, they were trimmed off on both edges to make the screen even. The entrance through the screen was made by cutting a low narrow opening in it at bed level, the vertical for this portion being hung from the roof.

353 As for the rest of the furnishings of the house, the buffalo skull had been left resting on the altar at the west and above it they now hung whatever sacred bundles they had. To the east of the fireplace they set up the bracket from which the pot was hung over the fire to boil. This was a forked stick stuck in the ground at a slant or having a natural curve; to one arm of the fork a wooden hook was suspended by a rawhide strap that could be raised and lowered by winding, depending on how close to the fire they wanted the pot to hang.

Against each side, on the east wall, was a woodpile supported by two tall forked sticks stuck in the ground. A little farther along the wall, leaning against it was a tree trunk with lopped off branches from which strings of braided corn were hung.

512 Now as the women were through with their cleaning, examining the
353 beds and generally getting things in order, they brought in the parfleches of meat and the bags and placed the twined-woven rush mats on the floor. Two mats were put down on their "side"; the better one near the west end and the more worn-out one near the east. Some pumpkins were stored on the intervening platforms between the beds, some were placed under the beds and others on the floor near the doorway. One of the parfleches had been placed in a handy position and left open as it contained current supplies. The rest were all closed up.

Toward evening, Horse Rider made a fire in the fireplace and went to 512
get water. Then No Corn cooked some dry meat for the family and 252
began to prepare the "grease bread" when White Woman said, "Give it
to me. I'll make it. You get the coffee ready." The South Side family
had not yet moved back in, and White Woman sat in the southeast position
to do the cooking and serving, passing the food around to the north.
When they returned, she would take her place northeast of the fireplace
for this purpose. After they had finished with supper, Horse Rider went
out to get some water for the morning and then everyone went to bed,
as they were all tired.

It took about a week to get the earth lodge warm and lived-in. When 356
they first moved in, it was cool like a dugout. During the first week, in [824]
the evening about every other day, they made a small fire near the doorway
and burned sage weed (*kiwaut*) so that the draft would carry in the
fragrant odor and sweeten the air in the lodge. It was also a protection [789]
against evil spirits that might have entered while they were away on the
hunt.

The day after they had moved in, Uncle War Cry had moved his 356
family up from the camp. He came in and joined them for supper while 462
his house was being set up by the women. He sat down next to Victory
Call near the west and while White Woman sat down at the southeast
doing the cooking, he said, "When we started out, we didn't have much.
But now we've accumulated a lot of stuff—old moccasins and whatnot—
old pots and pans. They're still trying to arrange things at home. A man
just picks up his bow and arrows, but a woman always has all sorts of
stuff she gathers up, like old horns. She says she'll make spoons of them."
"Same thing here," said Victory Call. White Woman did not let these remarks
remain unanswered. She said, "Of course you men don't know
how to load things up. That's why you're always complaining of the
amount of stuff we accumulate. If you could pack right, you wouldn't
talk that way." War Cry, undeterred, went right on talking. "A woman
picks up everything she sees. The women are working in my home. I
don't want to get mixed up in it. Now I'm going, nephew (*tiwat*)." "All
right," said Victory Call, and just after he had gone, he added, "He always
has something to say to make a man laugh." The women comment,
"Tomorrow we must pick out those beans we pulled up in the [244]
pods with our fingers. If we use sticks to thresh them, it'll make dirt outside
the lodge. We ought to pick them by hand."

In the next day or so, Old Bull met Victory Call and said they wanted
to move back into the lodge next morning. "That's good," said Victory
Call, "you ought to be in by now. There'll be something going on
soon." (He is referring to the Doctor Dance Ceremonies.) Victory Call
tells his folks at supper that Old Bull is moving in next day.

The following morning the South Side family rode up to the lodge, 356

356 dumped their goods outside, set up the beds, and laid the mats. Then they brought in the rest of their things, and the house was crowded with parfleches of dry meat, corn, beans, and everything they had gath-
251 ered. The women talked of storing them in the cache pit. Grandma and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy told about how they had looked over the pit when they first got home from the hunt and cleared off some mold that had developed on the grass lining and that it was now clean and ready to be filled. After the pit was filled this time, it would not be open until the middle of November when they were ready to go off on the winter hunt. It did not do to open the pit more than once a month at the most. Otherwise, if one opened it often, a storm might come up and water might leak in. In the wintertime there was less danger of this. From time to time one would hear that a certain woman had not put enough earth on the lid of the pit and water had leaked in, with the resulting tragic consequence that all her corn was destroyed—the bags and everything having turned moldy (*us-kutu*, "hair-rotten," viz., mold). Two years of hard work and the security it could bring destroyed by one careless oversight. In the Pawnee way of life, vigilance could seldom be relaxed!

The storage pit was built nearby when the earth lodge was constructed. It was an indispensable part of the earth-lodge economy. The usual size was about 10 feet deep. It was bell-shaped, with a narrow neck and a round bottom about 10 feet in diameter. The north side of the pit was for
[592] the use of the people who inhabited that side of the earth lodge, and the south side for the South Side families. In the case of an exceptionally important public figure, the household might have two cache pits. The bottom was covered with clean sand and on top of this some sticks as a sort of grating and these covered with grass. The walls were lined with thatch grass fastened in place with sticks that were shored up against it.

251 Tanned hide sacks of various sizes were used to store the corn and
415 beans in the pit. The largest was the *hax-kaitu*, made by sewing two buffalo hides together, folding them over and sewing them along the
[237] bottom and the long side. It was 6 feet high and 3 feet in diameter when full and was used only to store the mature dried corn kernels known as *rikis-tabis*, "corn-dry," that had been pried off the cob after the corn had matured on the stalk.

The second size was the "large sack," about 3 feet high and 2 feet in diameter when filled, containing 1½ bushels or more. The next size, "the small sack," *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack," stood about 3 feet high and 1½ feet in diameter when full, holding about a bushel or 50 to 60 pounds of dried corn kernels. In size, it was approximately equivalent to the 50-pound flour sack. A still smaller sack was called *rits-a-kusu*, "intestine-of-sack," standing about 8 inches high and a foot in diameter when full

Sometimes the supplies were simply wrapped around with a piece of 251
tanned hide or old tent skin. [415]

The most pressing matter was to get the stores into the food pit. This was the last time they would open it until November in preparation for leaving on the winter hunt. It was fifteen to twenty days since the corn had been harvested, and it was good and dry and ready for storage. A great many calculations had to be made before the storage pit could be organized. The forthcoming month of performances would require everyone's support, and food would be taken from the pit and held in readiness in the lodge to feed the many performers and other participants. Meat from the hunt had been pledged and this too would be held in reserve. Some people made it a policy to remove all of last year's crops that were still in the pit and contribute the excess over current needs to the performance. They would keep it in the lodge in the east sector in very large skin bags which were tightly closed at the top to protect the food from mice and snakes. Some of the held-over dried [252]
buffalo meat in the rawhide containers would be so hard that it could only be prepared by being separated into sheets and pulverized with a pestle in the wooden mortar. In this form it was quite tasty when eaten [262]
with bites from a lump of solidified buffalo bone grease.

The new supplies were placed in the pit in a traditional order. Before the bags were put in, the grass lining of the pit was carefully checked and also the bottom which had a layer of clean sand and some sticks laid across to keep any moisture from reaching the skin bags. At the very bottom some sacks of the mature dry corn were placed. These sacks were laid so that they pointed radially inward from the wall. The layer above this consisted of sacks of roasted green corn which were placed crosswise upon the lower layer so that they were parallel to the wall. The third layer was sacks of beans again in radial order, pointing inward from the wall. Finally, they put in the oblong rawhide containers of dried buffalo meat crosswise on the beans lying parallel to the wall.

An attempt was made to set the various layers steady one upon the other so that when the woman went down into the pit she could step down from one layer to the other. On top of the material laying all around the pit in packages and sacks they piled pumpkin mats and braids of corn on the cob. Sometimes instead of piling the corn braids in this fashion, they put a stick with stubs of branches in the pit leaning against the wall and hung the corn braids on it. Also leaning against the wall were rolled-up buffalo skins that they had not yet tanned, which they planned to process just before going on the winter hunt so that they could be taken to the trade store for the groceries and other equipment they might need for the expedition. Odds and ends were put in the space that was left in the middle—pumpkin rings that had not been braided,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

TABLE 33-1. *A Few Summary Figures of the Produce of the Women of the North Side of the Earth Lodge.*

251
592

Corn, sacks of dried kernels:		
White Woman	9	Stored 5
Grandma	13 (8 to White Woman)	
No Corn	7	Stored 3
Grieves-the-Enemy	8 (4 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 2
TOTAL	37 sacks	Stored 10
Corn, braided:		
White Woman	4 braids	Stored 2
No Corn	3 braids	Stored 2
Grieves-the-Enemy	6 braids (4 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 1
TOTAL	13 braids	Stored 5

Available for current use in the household—23 sacks of dried corn kernels (10 in pit, additional as reserve); 4 braids of corn for current use (5 in the pit, additional as reserve).

[285]

Pumpkins and Squashes:		
White Woman	3 plaited mats	Stored 1
Grandma	4 mats (2 to White Woman) 1 50-pound sack of dried pumpkin seeds stored)	
No Corn	3 mats	Stored 2
Grieves-the-Enemy	5 mats (3 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 1
TOTAL	15 mats	Stored 4

Available for current use in the household, 8 mats; 4 additional in the pit.

Beans, dried and in 50-lb sacks:		
White Woman	4 sacks	Stored 2
Grandma	4 sacks (2 for White Woman)	
No Corn	3 sacks	Stored 1
Grieves-the-Enemy	5 sacks (3 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 1
TOTAL	16 sacks	Stored 4

For current use in the household, 9 sacks of dried beans, and 4 additional in the pit.

some dried meat that wouldn't fit into the rawhide containers, some 251
dried intestines folded up, and perhaps some clothing they wanted to
store.

The work of arranging the pit took a group of women in a household 251
from about ten in the morning until about three in the afternoon, with a 592
brief recess for lunch. There was no time in the household when the [461]
women were not fully aware of their capital in provisions and goods and
the rate at which they were using them. Practically every meal was a [264]
large-scale operation and portions were carefully calculated. The men [571]
had to be aware of this too as it was their major resource for public and social relations. Except for horses, or perhaps even more important, the main current capital they had was the preserved food. In the forthcoming round of ceremonies, the doctors calculated with great care their donations of meat and how they were going to apportion them.

It was in the light of a knowledge of the amounts they had produced 796
and accumulated, that the men now planned their forthcoming extensive ceremony—the Grand Opera of the Doctors that would last for thirty days and involve the feeding and the giving of gifts to a large corps of performers and participants. For these ceremonies, the cooking and apportioning was done by the errand men, *tarutsubus*, who were regularly constituted officers of the societies, and the chiefs, priests, or doctors had to keep exact account of the amount of food pledged and make their plans according to what they could afford. The food was their most important current capital for the support of their program.

While the implications of this great annual festival were certainly religious, deliberate showmanship was not neglected and the production was well planned and highly organized as such. It was remarked by the informant that they waited until the harvest was entirely complete "as they liked to have a good crowd."

34

PREPARATION FOR THE GRAND OPERA

000 *The Doctors' Profound Connection with the Animal World—Hypnotic Powers—Organization of the Doctor Lodge—Animal Cults—Construction of Images—Ideology of the Doctors—the Ceremonial Mode: Fighting and Sleight of Hand—Gaining Animal Knowledge—Getting the Cedar Tree for Ceremony*

796 THE DOCTORS' OPERA had to do neither with the ordered cosmos nor with
756 the well-regulated world of the cultivated plants, but with the mysterious realm of the wild animals and their wild plant environment. The
[622] chief and the priest to whom the cosmic powers spoke in visions, were
[793] men of reason who spoke out clearly on what they thought, while the
[787] doctor who communed with the animal world had a slow, deliberate, introspective mein, seldom if ever making clear pronouncements. The
756 animal cults all had their origin in the experience of an individual man who in despair had reached out to the universe at large and received a vision from an animal who was ready to intercede for him and help him work out his problems. He had received special knowledge that would help him cure the sick through the properties of the plants and other curative procedures. In addition to this kind of knowledge, the animal also transmitted to his protegé the power of hypnotism and suggestion that gave him control over animals and other people and, if he
756 was skillful enough, over the enemies of the tribe. The Pawnee animal
173 cults were the result of traditions that had been handed down from one person to another and elaborated in the course of time. People who

wished to share in the cult knowledge apprenticed themselves to a doctor 756
and gradually learned his lore, adding their own variations in the course [173]
of time. Each of the different cults held their own special ceremonies at
least twice a year—in the spring before going out on the summer buffalo [796]
hunt and in the fall before leaving for the winter hunt. In addition, all
these cults were organized into one big "Doctor Lodge." It is said that in [173]
the past there were two separate doctor lodges within the Skidi Band
that would stage big hypnotic contests between them. They were called
"East Doctors" and "West Doctors."

At the time of this narrative in 1867 there was one combined Doctor Lodge with two major leaders, one for the south side, Pipe Offering of Pumpkin-Vine Village, and one for the north side, Big Doctor of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. Despite their location in the lodge, they were still referred to as West and East Doctors respectively, coinciding with the relative location of their villages in the settlement. Big Doctor was considered the more authoritative of the two, which may have been due to personal factors rather than formal or ceremonial ones. Each of these leaders had an assistant from his village to help him manage his side. Sitting Hawk of Pumpkin-Vine assisted Good Pipe and Wonderful Old Bull of Bottomlands Village assisted Big Doctor. These men were both prominent in their own right—Sitting Hawk, for example, being a prominent member of the Bear Cult and a senior member of his family in the chiefs' council. The apprentices to these prominent doctors acted as errand men and cooked and served the meals. They were stationed on each side of the entrance at the east. Theoretically the head men should be willing to give them any information they wanted in return for their services, and eventually they would move up to a position in one of the animal cults in which the doctor had a vested interest. Several subapprentices sat
next to them waiting to assume the position of errand man when they
should move. Venerable old men who were not currently members ~~of the~~ [888]
cults sat in the northeast and southeast positions, further in the lodge [622]
than the apprentices. Chiefs who were invited to witness a performance
were seated next to the old men still further in. [554]

The bed platforms had all been uprooted and put outside on the roof of 756
the entry way and along the sides a series of booths had been built for 346
the animal cults. The booths were constructed with partition walls of willow saplings and main outer posts of cottonwood logs. Each booth was completely screened in, with a tiny entranceway cut near the bottom of the front wall so that the doctors could crawl in and out. Each cult was directed by a leader who had a series of apprentices and subapprentices with different degrees of knowledge of the cult tradition.

At this time eight cults were represented in the different booths, four on each side.

756 346

On the South Side	*On the North Side*
A *reindeer cult* in charge of Old Bull	*An eagle cult*
A *black-tailed deer* cult led by Old Lady Tsitawa (see p. 45)	A *fish hawk cult*
A *buffalo lodge* led by Wonderful Old Bull	A *coyote* lodge (including wolves and foxes)
Another *buffalo lodge* led by Leading Buffalo	A *bear* lodge jointly lead by Sitting Hawk and Angry Horse

173 756 178 [631] 756 796 532 The origin of the Associated Doctor Lodge was said to be in Pumpkin-Vine Village where they would conduct a twenty-day ceremony. When they joined the Skidi Federation, they incorporated the other doctors and extended the term to thirty days. The formation of the association was attributed to an original visionary and images were constructed to commemorate various aspects of his vision. The most elaborate was one that represented the serpentlike water monster that led him to the earth lodge of the animals under the Missouri. The body of the serpent, which was nearly 60 feet long, curved around the outside of the houseposts with its head at the southeast, a forked tail at the northeast, and its body curved toward the west. The body was constructed of a framework of pieces of ashwood tied with sinew, covered over with a layer of grass and plastered with clay, smoothed and painted in different colors. Its mouth, large enough for a man to crawl inside, was built of two rawhide containers, covered over with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with white downy eagle feathers. The open mouth was provided with large wedge-shaped cottonwood teeth and on each side of the mouth long slender willow rods to represent feelers or antennae.

They also had to model the figure of the witch woman who was in the visionary animal lodge under the Missouri. First they built up a willow frame and then covered it with grass and clay. They provided the witch with a realistically modeled face and pumpkin-seed eyes, blackened in the center to represent pupils. On her head they put a buffalo scalp to which they attached two long braids of human hair; for clothing she wore a buffalo-hide dress.

Next they modeled the fireplace into the shape of a turtle, with its head pointing east, its tail west and the four legs in the semicardinal directions. They scooped out the back for the fire pit.

It took twelve of the leading doctors two nights running to build these figures, for which large quantities of clay had to be brought in. They worked at night so that they would not be observed. These were the main figures that represented the vision in the animal lodge.

[796] The next task was to represent the star gods from whom everything

came, including the animals. For these, two consecrated buffalo skins 756
were shot with a special bow and arrow during the preceding summer. 776
The gods were represented as cutouts suspended from the roof of the 796
lodge. Each was hung approximately where it appeared in the heavens. 532
The female gods of the western skies were cut out of the buffalo cowskin. The bull hide was used for a large cutout figure of the Morning Star fastened to a stick and raised above the smokehold outside just before the star rose in the sky.

The tasks of the doctors in preparing the ceremonial lodge were summarized 756
by my informant as: 346
796

> Now that the booths, the drums and gourds (rattles) were done, the pictures hung, the serpent, witch, and turtle modeled, there was one more thing to do—to get the cedar tree.

Each one of these elements of ceremonial furniture represented an involved 756
ideological network of religious beliefs. The theology of the 796
celestial gods and the creation has already been sufficiently elaborated 77
on. The ideology of the Doctor Spirits concerned chiefly the waters as the primordial source, followed by the earth, the plants, and the animals —all however, ultimately subject to and derived from Heaven as denoted by the cutout figures of the cosmic gods.

The ideology of the doctors was greatly valued from a humanistic as 756
well as from a practical point of view. Theoretically, chiefs with hereditary 622
status should not want to be doctors as to some extent we might not expect a Grand Duke to want to go to medical school and set up an office for general practice. The degree of apprenticeship and subordination to an established practitioner seemed hardly consonant with the dignity of a chief from the point of view of the Pawnee, but nevertheless some of the chiefs did seek out doctor knowledge and participated actively in the apprentice roles. When a chief applied to a doctor to become his pupil, the doctor would try to dissuade him saying, "You're a chief. I don't sleep at night. I am always working. You don't want to be that way. I have to watch the sick at night." But if the chief is determined his wish will finally be granted. The doctor again would test him, saying, "You're good-looking. You don't want to have mud all over your face!" At last after all these probing questions, if the applicant said, "That's what I want," the doctor, convinced of his sincerity, would bless him and receive him under his tutelage. White Eagle, who had led the previous summer hunt, and his brother Charley Box were both chiefs and also deer doctors. Old Bull and Victory Call were both chiefs and practicing doctors; Victory Call's senior brother Sitting Hawk had an important place in the chief's council and was also a leading doctor in the lodge.

756 The kind of experience involved had a profound personal value. The way in which this knowledge was conceived is perhaps indicated by the personality attributed to the doctor—slow, deliberate, thoughtful and, to a considerable degree, introspective. As a more practical measure of social
[796] [431] [178] esteem perhaps was the fact that during the previous summer buffalo hunt, 60 parfleches of dried buffalo meat had been pledged in support of the performance, and in former times, before the population had been so heavily reduced, 140 parfleches were donated in one season.

756 796 789 The mode in which the doctors operated during their ceremony was of two kinds. One was the inducing of a trance state in the other doctors: utilizing the motions of the animal that was their special cult mentor. This was called *patsaku*, "shooting," and was also metaphorically referred to as "fighting." The second kind of activity of the doctors was a highly skilled sleight-of-hand performance, *tawaruku*, so expertly carried out that the illusion was completely convincing to the spectators. The metaphor for this kind of performance was "playing" or "romping," as of a child. The skill of the illusion in both cases has been attested to by the most hard-headed outside observers and this required extensive preparation and a long process of learning. The props were carefully designed to achieve the desired illusory effect and the strategy was planned with great precision, involving accomplices in the audience and special lighting effects developed by regulating the fire in the fireplace.

In view of these deliberate and extensive preparations for illusion, the question has often been raised of how these ceremonies could be regarded as religious in character. From my long experience with my informant, who retained a good deal of his old belief, it was the success in creating the illusion that was the mark of favor of the supernatural mentor, and therefore the performance was sincerely believed to be a religious experience. He would say, "If one does not have faith, he will fail." He cited examples where people of insufficient faith caused injury to themselves and to others while trying to perform. The success of the illusion depended upon the dexterity and agility of the performer and his ability to deflect the attention of the spectator just long enough for
[787] him to make the necessary shifts. There may possibly have been some measure of self-induced trance such as occurred to the priests incidentally in the course of the creation ceremony. (Our own knowledge of the subject is too elementary to identify the situation psychologically.)

787 825 A major difference between our experience and theirs should be especially noted. The Pawnees as well as many peoples who practiced these arts were in constant association with wild animals in their natural habitat, an experience which is entirely absent in our own world. They lived within a world of wild animals in their hunting and even in defense of their settlements, they had to have an intimate knowledge of the emo-

tional as well as the physical structure of these animals. The device of 787
animal impersonation by dressing up in animal skins and imitating their 825
sounds and motions is universally reported for hunting peoples and must go back to the very dawn of man's history. It may be that some degree of self-induced trance or control of the prey in these terms may have been involved in these operations. In any case, an intense rapport with the animals was involved.

Each doctor developed his own "animal repertoire." We may be able 756
to gain some insight into the relation between the doctor and his animal mentor from an actual case of a transfer of animal powers between two brothers who decided to make a fair exchange of their different knowledge.

Victory Call was anxious to get Bear knowledge from his older brother, Sitting Hawk, who was a leader of the Bear Lodge in the Doctor Association. One day when they were alone together he broached the subject. Sitting Hawk, however, was not willing to part with what he knew for nothing. He said, "I want something there on your side. We're going to trade." "You're my own brother," said Victory Call, "and you won't teach me for nothing?" "You're my own brother, too, and I know you won't teach me for nothing either," said Sitting Hawk. We should explain that Victory Call was the leader of a private doctor cult the *Raris-ta*, Dance-Deer or Whistle Dance involving the mescal bean that had become so prominent among the Pawnees that it was developing
into a feared rival of the Doctor Association itself. Two generations before, [177]
this cult had been borrowed from the Wichita, the Caddoan-speaking
kinsmen of the Pawnees to the south. Among other kinds of 756
knowledge, rattlesnake power was involved in the teachings. It is hard to 824
know what plants were involved in connection with the curing of snakebite 825
or the control of the snakes. Members of the *Raris-ta* could handle a weed that was thought to be poisonous to other people, though there is no proof that this was the case. It was undulating in form like the snake itself. People were warned not to touch the plant unless they were members of the society. It was said of them that they had "snake-shot" or power, *rut-patsat-kuriraru*, "snake-shot-to-possess-or-own." Weeds associated with rattlesnakes have variously been identified from other tribes—a Mexican mentioned Dodder or Love Vine (*Cuscuta paradoxa* Raf.), saying that snakes took it into their dens for food; from the Dakota Indians there is a report that Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens* L.) was
known as snake food. The botanical identity of the Pawnee plant, however, 756
is not known. In the cosmic mythology it was said that the jealous 773
Fools-the-Wolves Star (Sirius) who had felt himself excluded from the 824
original Council of the Gods, was angered when people told irreverent 825
stores about Wolf or Coyote. Although in winter he couldn't control the situation, in summer he could enlist the aid of the Snake Star (Scor-

756 [773] [824] [825]

pio), who would send the snakes on earth to bite the teller. There are many other indications in Pawnee mythology of the fear and respect the Pawnees held for the power of the rattlesnake.

Later in the course of our account of the doctor performances, we shall see that Victory Call did receive Bear knowledge from his brother, but first he taught him rattlesnake knowledge.

> One day Victory Call said to Sitting Hawk, "Well, let's go." If luck were with them they would find a rattlesnake right away. Sure enough, there sat a snake curled up with his head sticking up in the middle. Victory Call said, "Go ahead and catch it." Sitting Hawk thought, "It's going to bite me." The snake knew that Sitting Hawk was afraid of him. His fangs were sticking up and he was getting ready to bite. Sitting Hawk grabbed him by the neck. The snake felt cold on his arm. Sitting Hawk put the snake down and began to talk to him. He said, "That's what I wanted to know. That's what I wanted to find out." The snake said to Sitting Hawk, "I'm just like you. But you whip me and kill me for nothing. That's why, when you come in my path, I rattle to you to let you know I'm here. If you get out of my way then, I don't have to poison you. But when you come and abuse us, we must do something about it."
>
> Sitting Hawk now caressed Victory Call in blessing. The two men sat down and smoked a pipe together, offering puffs of smoke to the snake and talking to him. Then they went home and Victory Call gave Sitting Hawk some medicine to cure snakebite and showed him the weed it was prepared from.

Long after this time, when Sitting Hawk and Victory Call were dead and the tribe had moved to Oklahoma, Otter's older brother Fox Chief tried to transfer some rattlesnake power to him. But Otter failed from fear and hesitation:

> We two were walking along and we saw a big rattlesnake. Fox Chief told me to get hold of it, but I was afraid. Because of this, I would never have another chance. Fox Chief always had a little bundle of medicine in his buttonhole with fringes that hung down about four inches. He took a twig and chewed the end of it, dipping it in the medicine and then putting it near the end of the snake's nose. The snake relaxed and lay stretched out. He picked it up and put it in the crook of his arm so that it rested against the sheet that Fox Chief was wearing as a blanket. In this way he carried the snake home.
>
> When we arrived at his earth lodge, his wife was sitting in front on a mat making a pair of moccasins. He said to her, "I've brought you something to eat." She was very pleased until she saw what he had

brought. She yelled, "Take that away!" "He's all right," said Fox 756 Chief, "You people are foolish." "But he'll bite someone if you set him free in the village," said his wife. "No, he knows we live here. He'll go straight off to that rocky place over there." Then he released the snake and the snake went directly away without disturbing anyone. And so I lost my chance to learn—by not believing.

This story, told in Oklahoma in 1936, sixty years later, was sincerely believed.

With this confident knowledge of the herbs and roots connected with 756 it, the doctors did cure the sick, combining what must have been some 755 empirical observation of physical efficacy with personal influence and suggestion. It was this latter aspect that was the subject of their ceremony [796] at this time and an affirmation of their faith in their calling.

Last of all they had to get the cedar tree that would stand just outside 756 the Bear Booth to the west of its entrance. The bear and the cedar were 796 associated together, and both belonged to the northeast direction. 824 Their celestial affiliation was with the sun and moon. All the trees that were used in setting up the Doctor Lodge were brought in with a great deal of ceremony. The six cottonwood trees that had been used to build [778] the animal booths symbolized the beaver, and the waters and were consecrated accordingly. To get the cedar, twenty doctors set out before sunrise for the Loup River where the cedar tree had been located the day before. The leader of the party carried a bearhide rattle. [534]

On the return journey, they stopped halfway and practiced hypnotism 756 on one another. The doctors who had remained behind in the lodge would 796 try to prevent the incoming party from entering the village. One of the doctors was stationed at the top of the lodge to sight them as they were returning. The incoming party stopped in the timber and painted themselves so that they could rehearse in order to "put on a good show for the people of the village." They were sighted approaching from the southwest by the doctors in the lodge who went south through the village to meet them as they were about to enter and managed hypnotically to drive them back. The leader of the incoming party was sounding his bearhide rattle and the people climbed onto the roofs of their lodges to watch. The approaching party dropped the cedar, and, in their hypnotized condition some began to impersonate wolves, some deer, all imitating the motions of the different animals. As they came, one of the deer tumbled over, and the wolves tumbled on their noses and lay there kicking. Then they got up looked around dazed as they recovered from their trance. People came and threw offerings of calico and black handkerchiefs on the cedar tree as it lay on the ground.

Inside the lodge, Big Doctor stood ready to receive the cedar tree [824] which was ceremonially treated and set down east of the fireplace while

756 they ate a feast together. That evening, with a special ritual, it was stood
796 in the ground next to the Bear Booth.

[824] At the feast that afternoon, Big Doctor had given an accounting of how their meat supplies were holding up. Sixty rawhide containers of dried buffalo meat had been donated and these had to last for the whole proceedings. Including the present meal, they had used up fifteen. The doctors had been working for nine days. Two more were used cleaning the lodge of fleas, and, for the two days used in building the serpent, the turtle, and the witch woman, they had used up four containers.

796 The question of wood for fuel also came up at this time. As the meal
756 was coming to a close, the north errand man whispered into Big Doctor's
313 ear that he should mention this matter in his closing speech, particularly
[462] as a number of chiefs were present at the session. Getting wood was normally the function of the women and now they would have to enlist the help of a considerable party of women to lay in a supply. The two chiefs present would tell the various members of their families asking the women to get wood for the doctors and then word would readily get around. Old Man High Water was also instructed to go from house to house soliciting volunteers, saying, "The doctors want you to go for wood for them." He was cautioned not to mention any particular amount lest the women feel they were being pressured into going. The chiefs would arrange to have scouts go out with the women to protect them. Other young men would go voluntarily and picket on the hills.

35

ORGANIZING THE EARTH LODGE FOR THE CEREMONIAL PERFORMANCE–REHEARSALS AND CONSTRUCTION WORK

000

Work Corps to Prepare Earth Lodge for Ceremony—Fleas Burnt—Drums Repaired—Practice Sing—Meat Served the Singers—Building of Booths in Lodge—Building the Images

Of the four leaders of the Doctor Lodge, Sitting Hawk had the largest 756
and most conveniently located earth lodge, and it was in his lodge that 796
they decided to conduct the ceremony. The following are the details of 346
the way in which they managed to get the work done and the cere-
monial procedures connected with it. 356

As soon as they got back from the hunt and set up camp, the three other doctors called on Sitting Hawk and discussed the matter; two weeks later he made arrangements to begin to get the lodge ready. Like all the others in the village, his lodge was infested with fleas that had to be smoked out. He organized his work corps, first calling in the two doctors' errand men and then sending each of them in turn to bring in another young man to assist. The five had dinner at Sitting Hawk's camp, then met next morning at the lodge and got to work. They pulled up the beds and piled them outside on the roof of the long entrance passageway. Sitting Hawk supervising, two of them got to work with burning torches to smoke out the fleas on each side. The floor was carefully swept and the dust carried far from the lodge to be dumped. Dusty and tired, their legs red with flea bites, about five o'clock they

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756
796
346
356

took a swim in Beaver Creek and set out for Sitting Hawk's tent where they would be served dinner. Meanwhile, since word had gone all around the camp of what they were doing, other doctors decided to join them for supper. From this point on, all activities connected with the Doctor Lodge would be charged to the "Doctor Fund" of sixty parfleches of buffalo meat that had been pledged for the purpose. At each event the leader stated how much was being used for the current proceedings and how much of the total. At this meal, half a parfleche of buffalo meat was used up and it was so stated by Sitting Hawk.

The fleas would have to be burnt out one more time, and Sitting Hawk had told them that they would allow a day to pass in between and then do it on the subsequent day. As they were leaving the dinner that night, two other young doctors decided to join the work corps. The other two assistants, Man Chief and Fox Chief, decided to relax and do some gambling in the interim, before resuming their work next day.

When people in camp heard about what the doctors were doing, they all talked about speeding up their harvest. Someone would say, "Oh I'd like to see Bear!" Old ladies would say, "Oh, so they're cleaning the Doctor Lodge. Well it's high time. There ought to be a session in there already. When I was younger I used to be a good singer. When they went through the village, I used to sing." Other old ladies would reminisce about old times and about how many doctors there used to be in Old Village, Kitkehax-pakuxtu.

Now the men gathered at the lodge for the second bout with the fleas. Again Sitting Hawk supervised and two smoked them out on each side. The two additional young men cleared off the spider webs near the roof, for they were going to hang the cutouts up there; since they would have a large fire all during the sessions, the sparks might ignite the webs. Sitting Hawk wanted to keep them all busy so that during that day they didn't go off and gamble. They proceeded at a leisurely pace, sitting down for a smoke and telling stories every now and then. He sent his son Misery down to the Loup River to check the condition of the cedars and to locate a straight one about 4 inches in diameter. By late afternoon they took a long bath in Beaver Creek and then went to Sitting Hawk's tent for supper. On this occasion, the second half of the parfleche of meat from the Doctor's Fund was used up.

When everyone moved back into their earth lodges, Sitting Hawk's family had to divide up and move in with others. The women and children moved in with Chief's Road whose house was immediately to the west of theirs, and the boys went to the earth lodge of Comanche Chief into which Sitting Hawk's oldest son, Misery, was married.

While the others were cleaning the ceremonial lodge, the three other leading doctors had been working on the drums and other things. This had been mentioned among the guests at the dinner. Sitting Hawk had

said, "Now while we're cleaning, it's only right that Big Doctor, Won- 756
derful Old Bull, Pipe Offering, and Old Bull should be fixing their 796
drums and other things so that the boys can go into the lodge and prac- 346
tice as soon as it is fixed up. We'd like the drums to sound good when 356
we get in there." "That's right," some one else would say, "I've been wanting to sing even now, but the drum isn't fixed yet. It doesn't sound good."

At last everything was in order and the four leading doctors moved 756
into the ceremonial lodge for the duration of the ceremony with the two 796
errand men to do the cooking. That night they would have a practice 624
sing with all the doctors who wanted to participate. The two leading doctors sent the two errand men out to invite them. They saw that the two men were appropriately clothed to go through the village, providing each with a buffalo robe which they wrapped around themselves with the hair side out, and an eagle-wing fan to carry. They filed out of the lodge one behind the other at a trot, and as they entered a lodge where a doctor lived they sat down one behind the other at the east with their eagle-wing fans in front of their faces. The appropriate response was for someone in the lodge to whisper into their right ear the question as to what they wished. They would answer also in a whisper that the doctor was to come right away. Then the two errand men would get up and trot out again, moving on to the next lodge where a doctor lived. Their mission did not always proceed with dispatch. Sometimes the two errand men got to a lodge where everyone was sleeping and the occupants would say, "Oh, I hate to get up," but they had to get up anyway and whisper their question and receive the whispered reply. In some lodges there were just young girls about and they said to each other, "You go and do it." "No, you go." Finally one would sit down next to the errand man and ask the question. He would whisper his reply, but not knowing the proper decorum, the girl would call right out loud, "Oh, I'll tell him." All these incidents were recounted in detail when the two men returned to the Doctor Lodge. In some places the people were eating and they made the errand men take a few bits of food before they would let them go. If the doctor happened to be home and was smoking, he would make them smoke with him a while before whispering his question and receiving his reply. Should the errand men meet a man outside the lodge on his way somewhere or toward the house, they would not discuss their business with him but would proceed to his lodge and notify the people there. As soon as the doctor was notified, he went straight to the Doctor Lodge. Everyone knew that on that night they were going to start by singing the doctor songs.

Twenty-six doctors came to the ceremonial lodge and Big Doctor 796
opened the evening with a speech. He said, "Tonight we are going to 756
practice our first songs so that we can send the birds, the winds, and

756 796 everything on their way south for the coming winter. I have sent men out to see about willows for our booths. They report that there are good trees for us. I wanted you to know that in a few days we are going to start to set up the lodge. Now the leaves are turning yellow and they are falling. This is the way the year goes round and that's why I wanted to tell you so that you can get ready. In two or three days you can come up here and get the wood to build your booths. Meanwhile you must fix up your paraphernalia, your whistles, and anything else you will need. I don't want to take up too much time talking this evening, as we have a great deal to do."

[824] Now he instructed the errand men to go to two of the men who had pledged meat and to bring it to the lodge. They went, carrying a piece of tent skin between them, and when they got to the lodges the meat was removed from the parfleches and placed on the skin, then carried by the errand men to the ceremonial lodge where it was set down near the southeast pillar. Now Sitting Hawk stated how their account stood. He said, "We used half a parfleche of meat cleaning up the lodge the first time, then the rest of the parfleche when we did the second cleaning. Now with these two, three parfleches will be used up."

756 796 533 Now the first song was begun and men, women, and children crowded in around the outside doorway to listen. They would say, "Oh, I like a good song." "Oh, I wish I could sing that song." A woman would remark, "I wonder when they'll put in the booths. I'd like to see the Bear." Inside the singing and dancing continued. The men were not costumed but simply painted, as this was a practice dance.

[782] After the first round of singing, the spectators were told they had to leave. Big Doctor said, "It's all over." This was because they were now going to make their ceremonial smoke offerings to the powers and outsiders could not be permitted to witness this. Some doctors refrained from singing in the first round altogether because they wanted to keep their songs from the public.

756 796 At the west were sitting the four leading doctors with their wives sitting directly behind them. On each side, along the north and south, the rest of the doctors were ranged. At the east ends on each side were eight chiefs, two from each of the four villages, viz., at the southeast, two from Village-across-a-Ridge and two from Pumpkin-Vine, and at the northeast, two chiefs from Bottomlands Village and two from Wolf-in-Water. Beyond these at the southeast were the old men, and an errand man at each side.

In the interim between the first and second round of singing, one of the eight chiefs got up and spoke on behalf of all of them. The doctors on their part spoke and said, "The echo of the drum drives back sickness when it comes."

[533] The singing alternated between the sides, first on the north and then

on the south. When they had gone halfway down the line, Big Doctor 756 appointed someone to get up and cut the meat into portions while the 796 errand man put up the water to boil. As the singing continued, the [533] errand man finally announced that the meat was all cooked and a spread was laid down east of the fireplace and 43 portions were set out for the singers. It was midnight or later when the singing was over and the four drums and a number of gourd rattles were brought back to Big Doctor. He made a brief speech: "Now in three days we are going to get the wood for our booths. We must look to the future and make our plans. Now we are going to eat." Then he appointed two men for each side to do the serving of the meat. One portion was sent to the house where Sitting Hawk's wife was staying, "for the lodge." Before they could eat, [782] an offering of meat and fat was made to the spirits in the significant directions of the universe. When the offering was completed, all said, "Nawa."

One more matter had to be attended to before the meat could finally be served. The meat was arranged on the spread according to where the people were sitting, and a stick was placed in the middle to act as a divider between the north and south halves. The pieces of meat were of two different sizes, some particularly large and some of ordinary proportions. Big Doctor asked Sitting Hawk to see that the special portions were placed in position so that they would be properly assigned. There were to be special portions for the four doctors at the west and their wives, for the eight chiefs, the two errand men, one each for the person sitting at the north on behalf of the North Star and at the south on behalf of the South Star, and for the four men who had been specially appointed to do the serving. Three or four extra pieces were set aside for possible mistakes in the count; if no mistakes had been made, these extra portions were placed on top of those that had already been set out for the chiefs. The smaller-size pieces were set out for the rest of the people. The meat was passed out in formal order and then the soup, in the same way. The feast this time consisted of meat and soup only.

By now it was extremely late and Big Doctor made some very brief closing remarks. He said, "Now we know what we have to do (viz., come back in three days and get wood for the booths). Now we have eaten. Now we can go." All got up and went home. It would take six or seven days more before the dance preparations were complete.

The next stage in their preparations was the building of the booths [346] and other structures in the ceremonial lodge. As announced, this would be three days after the practice sing. On the appointed morning before daybreak, Big Doctor told the errand men to go to certain specified lodges and get four parfleches of dried buffalo meat that had been pledged so that they could have their feast that evening. The four donors had already been alerted at the previous meeting.

756 796 [824] The doctors came in very early wearing only their moccasins and a loin cloth and carrying an ax. Before sunrise they were to go into the woods and get six cottonwood trees and a quantity of willow saplings to build up the booths. The cottonwood trees were symbolic of the beaver, and the trees were cut down with an involved ceremonial procedure. When the doctors had all assembled, Big Doctor, dressed in his buffalo robe with the hair side out and carrying an eagle-wing fan and a gourd rattle, said, "Now get ready!" They sang four songs, four rounds each,
[533] and then Big Doctor appointed Sitting Hawk to lead the men into the timber. He also wore a buffalo robe with the hair side out and carried an eagle-wing fan, gourd rattle, and a pipe that had been filled with tobacco by Good Pipe so that he could perform the ceremony when they cut down the first cottonwood. Pipe Offering instructed him: "Go by the east agency road. Before you get across Beaver Creek, all along the north side, you will find good willows and cottonwoods and also some very small thin willows. Cut a good many of those. Now go!"

756 796 824 276 782 They all filed out behind Sitting Hawk, and when they got to the timber they found a good cottonwood and sat down around it to perform the ceremony. Sitting Hawk, who was seated at the west, pointed the unlit pipe toward the tree—first toward the top, then the middle, and then the bottom. Now he moved to the north side, again offering the unlit pipe to the top, the middle, and the bottom of the tree and so similarly at the east and at the south. The next step was an offering of the smoke from the lit pipe in the same manner. Squatting at the northeast of the tree he lit the pipe with a flint and proceeded by north to west where he directed puffs of smoke to the top, middle, and bottom of the tree and then at the other stations as before. After the pipe was smoked out, he made the same offering with the ashes, rubbing first his right hand along the stem up toward the top of the tree, then his left hand, then the same to the middle, sitting at each of the four cardinal directions—west, north, east, and south. He now handed the pipe to the man at his right (south) and instructed him to find a cottonwood just like the one before them and to treat it ceremonially in the same way. These two cottonwoods were to stand near the western end of the lodge on both sides (north and south). He now instructed Bringing Horses to take his men and get two more cottonwoods, one to stand in the north position and one to the south as representatives of the beaver. (The ceremony was performed only for the two cottonwoods that would stand at the west.)

756 796 824 Finally, two other men were sent to get two cottonwoods that would stand one on each side of the lodge near the east. These men simply cut down the trees and sharpened them at the stub end so that they could be stood up in their appropriate positions in the lodge. Meanwhile, Sitting Hawk went on with his ceremony for the two trees that were to

stand at the west. After the smoke offerings, he made a series of cuts in 756
the tree at the four cardinal points in the standard order—first at the west, 796
then north, then east and then south, cutting it so that it would fall 824
gently to the east where two men were standing to catch it so that the limbs would not break. They sharpened it at the stub end so that it would stand up in the lodge. All chips were gathered and either thrown into the creek or carried home and burned in the fire. After gathering as many willow saplings as they could carry, the procession for the Doctor Lodge set out with Sitting Hawk in the lead and two men each carrying the six cottonwoods, one at each end of the tree.

Halfway home, they stopped. They began to make animal motions and to try to hypnotize one another (*patsaku*, "shoot one another"). Some of them had their buffalo robes on, some did not. They made peculiar motions with their eagle-wing fans, touching the ground. Then some were knocked down and got up growling and grunting. One of them "hypnotized" another by trying to put a corn cob in his throat, making his mouth all bloody. Another attempted to put fish bones in someone's throat, with the same result. The victims vomited up these things without too much damage being done and continued to move along with the cottonwoods. When the little boys saw this they got excited and said, "Look at those fellows! Look at that big bear over there!" As they arrived at the village, they made a second stop and again hypnotized each other. Then they took up the trees once more and went toward the ceremonial lodge. As they were arriving, Big Doctor took up his gourd rattle and began to sing. They came in and when the singing was over, Sitting Hawk gave the pipe back to Pipe Offering at the west. The cottonwood that had been ceremonially gathered was carefully placed to the east of the fireplace with its stub end pointing west and the head end eastward toward the exit. The second "west" tree was placed in the same position beside it and the others in any order on the ground, nearer the entrance. Now Big Doctor, getting the pipe from Pipe Offering, smoked all the trees ceremonially, treating each one in turn as in the woods.

They could now proceed to build the booths. Meanwhile, the errand 756
men did the cooking. First the six cottonwoods were erected, three on 796
each side. Then the willow partitions and fronts were added. Everyone 346
was arguing—"This is our lot; move over a bit." "Well, we have a lot of buffalo!" "Well, we have a lot of deer too!" The leaders stood on the inside directing the apprentices who were doing their work. The willows were all piled up on the north side of the entrance while they proceed with the job. At the southeast the errand men were preparing the kettle 824
so that they could cook their meat. They had had nothing to eat all 252
day. The wives of the four leading doctors had brought in four buckets of boiled dried corn kernels and set them down on either side of

756 796 [346] the southeast lodge pole. Sometimes a woman would come in and give the "boss" of one of the animal booths a gift of corn bread so that later on during the performance they would be permitted to sit near the booth and get a better view instead of crowding in at the entryway.

When the food was ready, Big Doctor spoke and told them they were going to interrupt their activity and eat now, and that they could resume their work later. He said that he himself would make the offering to the powers with the corn and save time. The errand men were instructed to distribute the food.

The meal over, Big Doctor said, "Now we have eaten. Now you can go and tend to anything you want to. But after that, return here and get back to work!" They went off home to take their extra dry meat to their families, to tend their horses, and to take a little rest before going on with the work in the evening. The four main doctors did not linger long away from the ceremonial lodge. They had to fix up the gourd rattles, drums, and other things. Old-Man-That-Chief who has elk (*pax*) power was too old to wander about. If he should want to go home, someone must lead him. Most of the time he remained in the lodge throughout the ceremonial period.

756 796 532 [317] That night and the next they built the serpent, the witch, and the turtle. They worked at night when they would not be observed. The serpent would take a whole night, the witch and the turtle perhaps another night. They had to bring in quantities of clay from the river bottom to do all this modeling. Twelve of them did the modeling—the four doctors at the west, and Old Bull and also the son of the subleader at the north, Wonderful Old Bison; the son of Sitting Hawk, Misery; also Angry Horse of the Bear Lodge. Bringing Horses was called in by Pipe Offering to assist him. On the next night, after the serpent was done they divided up, six working on the witch woman and six on the turtle-fireplace. Then the skin cutouts of the celestial powers were hung in place and the two loon skins put before the altar. Finally they were to set out for the cedar tree. They followed the same kind of procedure as for the cottonwoods, except that only one tree was obtained on this occasion.

756 796 [824] A suitable cedar had been spotted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy on the Loup River, and before sunrise the next day a party of twenty doctors led by Strikes-the-Enemy set out to cut it down and bring it back to the lodge. Symbolically the cedar represented the Bear whose celestial affiliation was with the sun and the moon. The cottonwood symbolized the Beaver and the waters of the earth. Strikes-the-Enemy led the party, carrying a bear-hide rattle. On the return journey, they stopped half way and had a hypnotic contest as described in Chapter 34.

[824] When the party reached within four feet of the lodge, they halted and

Big Doctor prepared to receive them and the tree on behalf of the Doctor Lodge. At his signal they came inside carrying the tree, stub end forward, and walked around the fireplace four times through south, west, north, and east where they stopped and placed the tree with its stub end touching the rim of the fireplace and its head end pointing toward the entrance at the east. 756 796 824

Pipe Offering made the offering of tobacco, smoke, and ashes with the sacred pipe to the three vital parts of the tree—the base, the middle, and the top as they had previously done with the cottonwoods. Meanwhile the errand men were sent outside to start to boil the dried buffalo meat for their feast. [782]

All this time the other doctors had remained inside their respective booths, only the officials of the Doctor Lodge conducting the smoke offering ceremony. These included the four doctors at the west, one doctor each at the north and at the south, one old man (*kurahus*) each, at the northeast and the southeast, and the two errand men, one on each side of the entrance way.

Now that the cedar tree had been brought into the lodge and received, it was time for all of them to eat. The doctors all came out of their booths and sat right down on the serpent as there was no other place to sit between the booths and the fireplace. Three buckets of boiled corn kernels had been donated and these constituted the first course of their banquet. As always, they had to share the food with the supernatural powers before it could be eaten by the people, and the serving followed an order that was determined by the particular powers they had called on for the occasion. After eating, the ceremony to stand the cedar in its place was performed and then anyone who wanted to could go home. 756 796 264

36

THE WOMEN GET WOOD FOR THE DOCTORS

000

Women Volunteer to Get Wood—Women Invited to Entertainment and Feast at Doctor Lodge—Quartz Crystal Sleight of Hand

756
796
313
462

WHEN OLD-MAN-HIGH-WATER went around the village notifying the women, he told them to meet outside the village and that two men would go along to protect them. Meanwhile Eagle Chief had sent one of his wives to ask Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy to take over this task. They knew they would be asked and they were all ready to go. They were given instructions to lead the women south of the creek rather than to the west where the enemy was likely to be lurking. As the women started for the appointed meeting place, other men set out for the surrounding hills to picket.

[482]

Twenty women had volunteered. There was a standard backload of wood that the women usually carried (¼ cord or 2 cubic feet—2 armloads; eight armloads = 1 cord or 4 backloads). For each night that the doctors performed, they would need four backloads. Besides their preparations during the current week, the doctors were likely to give five performances, so that the women have to go on three more such expeditions to keep them supplied.

While the women were in the timber cutting the wood, the two scouts were standing on a hill watching them closely. Some women were saying, "Don't take too much. Take a light load. There are a lot of us." As one woman would get loaded up, she would stand aside and wait for the others. Finally when most of them had gathered, the men called out, "All of you here yet?"

One was found to be missing and when she finally emerged they all

lined up one behind the other and set out for the village. As they ap- 756
proached, people were watching from the housetops, saying, "They're 796
coming with wood." A ridge ran east and west above the village and the 313
women sat down there to rest before coming in. They were wishing they 462
could take a bath in the lake beside the road. "Have you rested enough?" asked Roaming Scout. "Yes." "Come on, then." When they had gone halfway into the village, their scouts left them and went home and the women proceeded to the Doctor Lodge where they dumped the wood, some of it inside and some outside to the north of the door. Big Doctor said, "Now you ladies go home and change your clothes. Dress up in your best. Paint your cheeks and then come back because you are going to have a feast. Tell those two men who went with you to dress up and come. Who were they?" "Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy?" "All right."

By about three or four in the afternoon, the children who were wait- 756
ing around to see everything sighted the line of women with the two 796
men in the lead going to the Doctor Lodge. The women were carrying 574
their wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons. They were seated along the north side of the lodge, the two men at the western end of the line. Wonderful Old Bull of the north side was doing the honors for the four main doctors. The wives of the doctors had contributed four buckets of boiled corn which were now brought in and the meat was given by one of the designated donors. An offering of corn was made to all the objects in the lodge, and it was served to the guests. After the second helping some of the women were patting their stomachs and saying, "My, I ate too much!" Those with more foresight had brought a bucket along to take the extra food home.

All the doctors except the four at the west remained in their booths. In anticipation of the forthcoming entertainment, some were calling out, "I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of that good-looking woman over there!" The women, who were apt to be shy on such occasions, were whispering among themselves instead of speaking out as the men usually did. The three big doctors at the west supplied the talk. "That one—I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of her!" "No you won't. That's the one I want." While they were eating the corn, twenty-two pieces of the cooked meat were spread out on a tent skin ready to be served, and as the women finished their corn they were served soup in their bowls. Wonderful Old Bull, representing all the head doctors, served them with the meat. Finally the dishes and pots were cleared away, the women put their bowls behind their backs, and the entertainment began.

At the west, Wonderful Old Bull and Sitting Hawk began to drum and sing doctor songs, while the doctors in different booths made all sorts of animal sounds. The little boys ran in to see what was going on. They were saying, "Now they're taking their quartz crystals." At this juncture,

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756
796
574
the two head doctors got up and danced facing the booths—Big Doctor down the north side and Pipe Offering down the south side. Each doctor carried a gourd rattle in his left hand, an eagle-wing fan in the right and as they went along the side they said, "Hu', hu', hu'," to signify that they were bent on hypnotizing. They passed along their booths from west to east and then back again.

Now the two doctors set out from the west again, Big Doctor in the lead and Pipe Offering behind him. They moved very carefully inside the serpent, making sure their feet did not touch it. When they arrived in front of the women sitting along the north side, they made odd motions and Big Doctor fell over. When he came out of his daze he patted his hand on his stomach, passing it up toward his throat and the quartz crystal came out of his mouth. Then Pipe Offering did the same and the two doctors went back to their place at the west. Now the other doctors all came out of their booths in a bunch, rolling and writhing, and they took the crystals out of the women. Old-Man-That-Chief who was blind asked to be led in front of an old woman and he took a crystal out of her.

By this time it was five-thirty and Big Doctor made his closing speech, stating that they had seen their "romping and playing" and now the show was over. They had shared a feast together and now all got up and left, including the spectators. On the way out everyone was laughing at Old-Man-That-Chief taking a crystal out of an old lady.

The doctors put away their "quartz crystal" paraphernalia and discussed plans for the forthcoming performance. Big Doctor said, "The day after tomorrow, in the evening, Good Pipe and I are going to put on a regular performance. Tomorrow evening we doctors are all going to parade through the village. Anyone who wants to take part in the performance to be given the day after tomorrow, ought to get everything ready!" The big public performances were now about to begin.

37

THE BIG DOCTOR PERFORMANCE

000

A Combination of Theater and Ceremony—the Form of the Performance—the "Scalped Ones" Mime—Swallowing a Deer Head—the Mud Duck—the Parade through the Village—the Round of Ceremonial Activities—the Sleight-of-Hand Performances

756
796
536
[801]

It must be remembered that the doctor performance was both ceremony and theater and so regarded by the doctors themselves. The whole organization of the acts, the costuming, and the stage effects were designed to impress and entertain the people while at the same time supporting the confidence of the doctors. While for us in analogous situations, a trilogy or three-act play is considered most satisfying, with a five-act performance secondarily acceptable, for the Pawnees the four-act or fourfold organization is fundamental and based on their cosmic ideology. For more complex organizational forms he would develop four units with a final unit added, an introduction with four basic units less often, or two double-fours, one four following the other with an interim unit between them. During the twenty-day period in which the actual performance would take place, the sequence of acts on subsequent days had a "double-four" character with an interim unit of a different kind, and an introductory unit to the whole series and one in closing. The sequence of the kinds of acts presented might be summarized as A-B A A B—C A C—B A A B-A conceived by the doctors as four B's with at least four-day intervals between each of them filled in either with A's or blank days, with the interim C A C being a special elaboration of the four-day interim theme between the second and third B. The B unit was a large-scale animal mime performed in the late afternoon in the outdoor

756 plaza before the Doctor Lodge with the crowd watching from the
796 roofs of the surrounding earth lodges. It was called Big Dance, *Kibax-*
536 *kutsu*, dance-big, and the doctors were in a greater or lesser degree of
trance while they carried out their performance.

The A's, the secondary acts between the Big Dances, were indoor performances comprising a series of sleight-of-hand feats including trance induction in one doctor by another. They were held in the night from about eight o'clock until midnight and included a sequence of acts by four different doctors with drumming, rattling, singing, and dancing in the intervals. All during the day the doctors who were to perform in the evening prepared themselves and their paraphernalia and refrained from eating until the following morning. The performances were interspersed with blank days during which they all rested and made other preparations for the Big Dance as well as for their subsequent performances. The entire series of performances was introduced by an initial indoor performance and ended with a finale that featured a lively battle between the Bears and the Buffalo Clowns, whose theme was, "Who's afraid of the great big bears? They're only little puppies after all!"

756 The C units were a special type of mime also given outdoors, featuring
796 the "Scalped Ones," the *Kitsahuruksu*, who were thickly plastered with
536 mud "so that they looked like mud banks approaching" and acted in
727 weird and fearsome ways. It was a Pawnee belief that should a person
156 who had been scalped survive, he could never return to his people. It
626 was reasoned that if anyone did survive the process of being scalped by
the enemy, he would become so malevolent that he could not live in
society. Such a man would make himself a dugout in an embankment and live by attacking people and stealing what he needed. Frank North in his autobiography tells of a young woman who had been scalped by the Sioux in one of their raids in June 1861 while she was returning from her cornfield. Found to be alive, she was apparently buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left there to die. She was rescued and nursed back to health by the schoolmistress, Mrs. Platt. There is of course, no proof that this was the work of the Pawnees themselves, nor can anyone substantiate the subsequent report that she was dispatched with a tomahawk after her return to the tribe and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. It does indicate, however, that a person could survive scalping. A tribal belief was universally maintained that a scalped person could never return to the
[775] tribe. Children were constantly warned about these mischievous spirits and
alive or dead they were considered a threat to adults also. They lived by stealing whatever they could get and sometimes seized women and young people. Because of them people were afraid to go about in the dark, especially near the banks of streams.

One of the principal actors in this mime was Old Lady Tsitawa, who was the leader of the black-tailed deer cult and the only woman leader in the lodge. She appeared wearing a short black skirt of tanned hide and a tanned hide shawl. Sometimes one and sometimes two of these "Scalped Ones" outdoor performances would be given in the interval between the second and third Big Dance, an indoor performance (A) intervening between the two Scalped Dances, so that at least four days would pass between the two Big Dance episodes. 756 796 536

The night before each indoor performance (A), the doctors who were to perform on the next evening paraded through the village in costume, stopping in as many earth lodges as they could and singing their songs. The general sequence of the sessions was as follows:

A. Introductory performance indoors, to open the proceedings.
I. B. Outdoor Big Dance the following day in the late afternoon.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
II. B. Outdoor Big Dance, late afternoon (second big dance).
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, *Kitsahuruksu*—outdoors.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, outdoors.
III. B. Outdoor Big Dance (third big dance).
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
IV. B. Outdoor Big Dance, the fourth and final one.
A. Indoor performance at night, to close. Grand Finale with the Buffalo Clown warriors attacking the Bears and conquering them.

After the women who had gotten their advance fuel supply had gone home, Big Doctor announced to the other doctors, "Good Pipe and I are going to put on a regular performance the day after tomorrow in the evening. Tomorrow evening, we doctors are all going to parade through the village." He also reminded them that any doctors who were going to join the two head doctors in giving a performance would have to make their plans for the parade and for the performance the following evening.

As usual, there would be four acts. Big Doctor planned to demonstrate how he swallowed a deer head whole. Pipe Offering was going to make a mud duck come alive. The third on the program would be Brave Horse, whose son would succeed in locating a horse's tail that would be carried away during the performance by one of the audience and hidden 756 796 789 536

756 in an earth lodge in a place known only to himself. The fourth act was
796 to be by Brave Shield or High Noon, who was a buffalo doctor. He
536 would shoot an arrow into the chest of his young son, Yellow Calf,
789 who would be impersonating a young buffalo.

The Pawnee doctor, wearing nothing but his loin cloth, was apparently
756 a highly successful illusionist, as attested by the number of hard-headed
796 white spectators who were thoroughly mystified. Among them was
Major Frank North who early became a clerk in the trade store on the
536 Pawnee reservation and later rose to be the leader of the U.S. Battalion
789 of Pawnee Scouts that were regularly inducted into the U.S. Army.
177 North, having a good grasp of the language and being familiar with the
personalities involved, on witnessing the act where "the Bear" rips open
[648] the abdomen of a boy and eats part of the liver, could only conclude either that a dummy had been used or that the boy had actually been murdered on the spot. George Bird Brinnell of Yale, who had been among the Pawnee in Nebraska, after their removal visited a medicine man in Oklahoma and he too was at a loss to explain what he had seen in broad daylight. Luther North, young brother of Frank, who was with him on this occasion said that while he was on duty with the Pawnee scouts in Nebraska some of his scouts would practice their illusionist feats while they were out on campaigns with him. "One man hid among the tall grass and appeared as a deer, then the next moment as a man," he reported. Another would simply take up a handful of mud and, rubbing his hands together, produce a live turtle, reconverting it into mud again. North asked him what would happen if he released the turtle and let him go. The man said he would die. North returned to the spot after such an episode and found the dead turtle there. There are also eyewitness accounts of such feats as cutting off a foot during the course of a performance, reattaching it backward and then restoring it to normal.

756 My informant who had participated in some of these feats from the
796 operational side was by no means mystified. The illusions were carefully
789 planned, with assistants planted in the audience and all the practical
details organized with great precision. The methods for convincing the audience that are familiar to us, such as allowing the spectators to examine some of the objects involved, were freely used. Various lighting effects produced by lowering or brightening the fire were also employed. Knowing all this, Evarts continued to believe in the divine intervention in the process, while a friend of similar age, David Gillingham, remained an unbeliever from his boyhood on into later life.

756 Now on the first evening before their performance, the doctors got
796 ready for their parade through the village, *wi-ti-kihar-rar-itstax-ka-wu*,
"now-it-dance-they-through-the-village-among-going." The first contingent comprised the four leading doctors at the west. They made an extensive tour of the village, going into each earth lodge as far as they could

manage it and stopping east of the fireplace where they stood and sang. 756 796 Then they went around the fireplace from east, by south, west, north and then out of the lodge and into the next one, where they again sang and walked around the fireplace, continuing until they had visited a considerable number. The next contingent was the Horse Doctors who would perform next evening, led by Brave Horse, making a similar tour, followed by their wives or any other women that wanted to join them in their songs.

Finally the Buffalo Doctors went through led by Leading Buffalo (*Taraha-rakitawiu*, "buffalo-outstanding"). As one of their number [789] Brave Shield was going to demonstrate how he would shoot an arrow at his son Yellow Calf's chest and leave the boy unharmed. Brave Shield was also in the procession followed by Yellow Calf's grandmother Grieves-the-Enemy, who had given his father a gift so that he would teach the boy. All over the village there were abandoned cache pits, and, although the women tried to throw their old sweepings into them in order to fill them up, they never quite succeeded and from time to time someone that was not very familiar with the particular part of the village fell in. On this occasion as Brave Shield's group was going along they came to an old cache pit and the group separated, walking around it. But Grieves-the-Enemy was so preoccupied with her singing that she fell straight in. She yelled as loud as she could, but everyone was singing so loud that no one could hear her. Finally when the next party came passing that way and the men began to walk around the pit, they heard the old lady yelling and got a ladder so that she could climb out. "I was singing for Brave Shield when I fell in and they never heard me," she said. The men asked her, "Are you hurt?" "No, I just hit my knees," she said. "That's good!"

Now those doctors who were not performing the next evening were free to go home. The others remained in the Doctor Lodge all night and the next day, fasting until the following morning after the performance. That night in the ceremonial lodge, each leader talked over their strategy with his assistants. Brave Horse said to his son, "They're going to hide the white horse's tail and I'll tell you where (so that you will be able to find it when the time comes during the performance). It will be in the house of Leading Chief, right in his bed, where his wife sleeps—the bed over which his small bundle, *tsatki*, hangs. During the performance at the appointed time, you go in there and whistle around and put your hand right there and get it." In this manner, Brave Horse briefed his young son. The plan was that the man in the audience who offered to hide the tail would be in league with them.

The two leading doctors simply talked over the specific feats they would perform without discussing any of the mechanisms involved in their performance. Big Doctor said, "I have a whole deer head with antlers on.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756
796
I'm going to swallow it." Pipe Offering told them that he would bring a mud duck to life in some water.

Yellow Calf was to have four sharp arrows shot at him. When everyone had arranged what they would do and all their paraphernalia was in order, they all went to bed. Some of the doctors who were not performing that next evening decided not to remain at home, but to sleep in the ceremonial lodge anyway.

The next morning they all had corn for breakfast that had been supplied by Big Doctor's wife. At all times, there had to be at least two doctors in each booth, regardless of whether they were going to perform or not. Now they all concentrated into one booth on each side and the serving man placed one large bowl of corn in each while they all sat around and ate from it. One bowl was given to the two errand men which they took aside and ate together. This had all been directed and arranged by Big Doctor. About three in the afternoon, the other doctors began to wander in and each was in turn served a bowl of corn that had been donated for the purpose. Only those who were going to perform that evening did not eat at this time.

Just before dark, all the doctors came out of the ceremonial lodge dressed in their costumes and stood outside and sang and then went in again. After the last group, everyone crowded into the vestibule to watch. In the procession were Brave Shield followed by the boy, Yellow Calf, dressed in a buffalo-calf robe. The side of his body was marked with white feathers where he was going to be shot that evening; his grandmother followed behind singing.

There were four or five bird doctors. One of them was dressed in feathers with a whistle in his mouth. All imitated birds and then went back into the lodge. They circled around and the crowd stood around them at a little distance; some people were on the top of the earth lodge.

On each side of the door, a brave was stationed to keep order and keep the crowd out while the final preparations were being made inside the lodge. As soon as the errand man signaled that things were ready, the people rushed in and packed the entranceway. The boy Otter pushed his way to the front of the crowd and the brave tried to persuade him to go home, saying, "You ought to be home, little boy. Nothing but big men in here." But the boy persisted and was finally allowed to stand next to him.

Finally the braves went inside and sat down, one next to the northeast booth and the other next to the southeast, the little boy following after.

Now the drums began to sound and the two leaders started off. Big Doctor went down past the booths on the north side facing them and Pipe Offering down the south, and after each had retraced his steps they arrived at the west where the two doctors crossed paths—Big Doctor going down the south side and back and Pipe Offering down the north side

and back, arriving at the west, where they stopped. The drums stopped beating and meanwhile Sitting Hawk and Wonderful Old Bull had risen and all four leaders remained standing at the west. 756 796

Big Doctor now moved forward from among the leadership and began his act. He was to swallow a whole deer head with the antlers on. He was assisted by his son, He-Kills-a-Person (*Tsahiks-ti-ki,* "person-he-kills"), who now handed his father the head. With Big Doctor in the lead, his son following and three other doctors behind them, they moved around the fireplace at a half trot by north, east and south and stoppped at the west. Before placing the deer's nose into his mouth as a first step, Big Doctor allowed the spectators to examine the head to show them that it was real. Then he put the deer's nose into his mouth and when the head was about halfway in, the procession again started around the fireplace, by north, east, and south; when they had nearly arrived back at the west, Big Doctor swallowed the entire head—the men behind him motioning with their eagle-wing fans down along the back of his body in order to help him swallow it. After he had swallowed it, he stopped at the west of the fireplace and gave thanks, first by putting his hand on the rim, then on his mouth and then on his abdomen where the deer head should now be contained since he had swallowed it. Then he made a very brief statement to the doctors, declaring, "Now doctors, I am going to keep it (viz., the deer head he had swallowed). That's all." Then he went back to his place. 756 796 789

Next on the program was Pipe Offering, the leading doctor of the south side of the Doctor Lodge. He would convert a mud duck into a real live one and then back again to mud. He had no special assistants as the other three main doctors helped him. He had a duck modeled out of mud and a large wooden bowl of water. All four doctors began to sing and he put the bowl of water west of the fireplace. The errand man was told to make the fire bright. Then Pipe Offering stood at the west and he raised his mud duck, and as he brought his hands down, all four doctors were singing. Just as the mud duck touched the water, it said, "Quack, quack, quack," and ran all around. Now the three other doctors raised their voices and sang as loud as they could, and when Pipe Offering picked the duck up from the water, it was a mud duck again.

The other doctors removed the bowl of water while Pipe Offering addressed the assembled company. He said: "Now spectators and doctors, now you have seen me." From among the spectators, Roaming Leader walked up to Pipe Offering and, taking his new blanket from his own shoulders, placed it on Pipe Offering in gratitude for his performance. As he received the blanket, Pipe Offering said to Roaming Leader, "You will have good luck wherever you go. This is what I depend on and also on my Mother Earth." Now Roaming Leader rejoined the crowd of spectators and Pipe Offering said, "You spectators and doctors have

756
796
789

witnessed what I have done. It was with great difficulty that I performed this feat." Then he went back to his place at the west and rejoined the other three doctors there.

The third act of the evening was that of Brave Horse, whose son would find a horse's tail after it had been hidden by a spectator in one of the earth lodges in the village. As soon as Pipe Offering sat down, whistling was heard. This was Brave Horse's son, blowing on his whistle. Now Brave Horse said to the spectators, "I want one of you to volunteer to take the horse's tail off the boy and hide it in an unknown place. No matter how obscure the place is, as you will see, the boy will find it easily." Leading Horse soon volunteered from among the spectators, but in fact it had all been prearranged—"the volunteer" going straight to the place agreed upon beforehand. Returning to the Doctor Lodge he said, "It's hidden." The boy was sent on his way, blowing his whistle, and his father went around and around in the lodge also blowing his whistle, in order that his boy would succeed. The boy made straight for the lodge of Leading Chief where his father had told him it would be the night before. As he entered, the occupants asked him what he had come for and he said, "My father told me the tail would be in here where the bundle is," thus giving away the whole subterfuge to the people in the lodge. When he got back to the ceremony, his father was still whistling triumphantly for his boy's accomplishment in finding the tail. He addressed the assembled company, saying, "You see what my boy did!" Long afterward the story came out. The boy in his defense said that he [601] could not deceive Leading Chief for he called him by the kin term, brother, *irari*, and it would be unethical not to be truthful with him.

The fourth and final act for the evening was that of Brave Shield, a buffalo doctor. He was to shoot four arrows at the chest of his son, Yellow Calf, at close range, but the boy would remain uninjured. The four doctors at the west were singing and rattling with their gourds. Brave Shield was holding four arrows. He brought the boy from the booth. On his ribs Yellow Calf had a round disk of soft white feathers where he was to be shot. He was imitating a buffalo calf and he went around the lodge four times, by west, north, east and south, with his father Brave Shield following after him. As they went, Brave Shield shot with his arrows into the ground around the fireplace, once at the north, once at the east, once at the south, and once at the west. On the final round Brave Shield pulled up the arrows one by one, and stopping at the east where the spectators were, gave them the arrows to examine so that they could see what sharp points they had. The arrows passed from one end of the line to the other and were then returned to Brave Shield. Yellow Calf was standing at the south side of the fireplace facing west, with his arms extended so that his ribs were exposed. Brave Shield went to the north side opposite him and with the four doctors at the west rattling

and singing with all their might, he made a running jump over the fire, 756
landing right in front of Yellow Calf on the south side where he re- 796
leased his arrow. The arrow jumped back over the lodge with its head 789
mashed and bent. Now the boy proceeded through the west to the north side, facing eastward with his arms extended, while his father remained on the south. Again Brave Shield jumped over the fire close to the boy and shot his arrow and again it glanced off and flew across the room—the point all bent and broken. The buffalo dancers now instructed the boy to stand at the west facing north, while his father was at the east, and the same performance was repeated. Finally the boy stood at the east with his father at the west—the father jumping over the fireplace and making his final shot. The shooting being over, the father led the boy to the south position and, warming his hands over the fireplace, placed them on the boy's chest where he had been shot, repeating this four times. Then he shook the boy out of his daze a bit and sent him off to the Buffalo Booth. Brave Shield moved around the fireplace by west, north, and then east where the spectators were and showed them all how the heads of the arrows were broken and macerated. On inquiring of my informant how this was done, he said he thought that someone had been planted among the spectators to help change the arrows before they were passed around, or they might have been changed when they glanced off the boy's side and flew all the way across the room, either before they began their journey through the air or when they were picked up.

By this time it was midnight or one o'clock in the morning and the 756
doctors all sang: 796

Tatix-kusitari, I am-playing (like a child) [533]
Witi-ratku-tawaki, myself-for-me-to enjoy [539]

Big Doctor made a final announcement to the crowd: "There'll be no performance tomorrow night. After that we'll have one again. Well now that's all!" Everyone left. Late the next afternoon they would have a big dance on the plaza outside the ceremonial lodge.

38

THE FIRST BIG DANCE

000

Procession of Doctors Impersonating Animals—the Bears Fight the Rest of the Animals—Victory Call's Participation—the Doctors' Meal

756
796
536
EVERYONE MADE SURE TO COME home early that evening so that they would be in time to see the show. By five o'clock there was a large crowd gathered around the space in front of the Doctor Lodge, including many little boys and people visiting from the South Bands.

One could hear the drums inside the lodge and then the doctors came out. In the lead were the two errand men, Good Eagle on the right and Big Bear at the left, each one holding a loon (*kuhut*). Right behind them came the four leading doctors, two by two—Big Doctor and Pipe Offering and then Wonderful Old Buffalo Bull and Sitting Hawk. Behind these came the drummers and then the other doctors two by two. As they circled the dance grounds, the two drummers sang, while the men ahead of them kept step to a dance, the two errand men swinging the loons forward.

Now as one looked in the doorway of the ceremonial lodge, one could see a "deer" jumping up inside. Different kinds of deer came out now; a black-tailed deer (played by Brave Bow), a reindeer (played by Fox Scarf), behind him an elk (played by Might-Be-a-Chief, son of That-Chief and trained by him). Each of these deer blew on a different kind of whistle. The next contingent to emerge were the horses led by Brave Horse with his boys following after him. They were running around here and there blowing their whistles when the black horse came. Next there were two wolves, one played by the son of Big Doctor, He-Kills-a-Person, and the other, *Hatuxka*, Won't-Flee-from-the-Enemy, who played the white wolf.

The procession was completed with the two men dressed in bearskins, one of them Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, and the other, Sitting Hawk's

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

brother Victory Call, who was Otter's father. The two bears blocked the entrance so that the other animals would not be able to get back in. Finally they moved aside just long enough for the doctors to get in and then closed ranks again. As the doctors went inside, one could see smoke, dust, and ashes coming out of the smokehole of the ceremonial lodge, and one could hear noise inside. This was because the doctors were in there. 756 796 536

Now all the animals tried to get in too, but the bears blocked their way. The deer stood by pretending to be grazing casually, while the bear sat around looking equally casual. When the deer got close, he again had to jump away. The deer, horses, and wolves all wanted to get in but the bear stayed close to the door. The horses blew their whistles to get in, but the bear remained stationary. He tried to catch the colt, but the colt jumped back. Finally the bear looked the other way for a minute and some of the animals managed to run in. The deer got in but the white wolf had a hard time. The bears tried their best to catch him and they both blocked the way, but finally he squeezed in and only the other wolf was left. If the bears managed to catch him, they would rip open his abdomen and eat some of his liver. He huffed and puffed and tried his hardest to get into the lodge. White smoke (viz., clay) came out of his mouth with the effort. This got the bears angry and one could see the bristles of their hair standing up on the backs of their necks. Finally the wolf jumped right over the bear and got into the lodge, and this made everyone laugh.

At one of the later Big Dance episodes Sitting Hawk had instructed "the two bears" to try their best to catch a deer, a horse, or a wolf. Misery had all his implements ready inside his bear robe. Misery sat at the north side of the entranceway to the lodge looking toward the inside, and Victory Call at the south side somewhat away from the door looking around outside. The animals circled around the dance grounds four times, then tried to get back into the lodge but were prevented by the bears. The horses had buffalo-hair ropes that they were dragging along the ground. The deer managed to skip in, but the white horse, blowing his whistle, was blocked by Misery, who looked very angry with the hairs on his bear neck bristling. Twice the horse approached and managed to escape, with Misery just missing catching the rope. He began to puff and blow. Everyone was yelling to the horse, "He might catch you yet!" Finally the horse made a quick turn and Misery grabbed him too. Everyone on the housetops yelled, "There old man, I told you they'd get you." Both bears laid him down on his back and held him with his arms and legs spread out. Then Misery stuck in his bear claw and made a slit downward, laying open the whole stomach. He pulled out a piece of liver and Victory Call came up and got a piece. Everyone was shouting, "Just look at that old man there. Now old man you can never get 756 796 789 536

756 enough to eat to fill you up any more!" (They meant that now that his
796 liver was gone his stomach had lots of room to expand.) After the two
536 bears got through, they jumped on their victim and healed him up. They
789 had medicine in their mouths for this purpose which they rubbed on the
victim's stomach to heal him up. When they got off, the people could see that he was all right again. Then they shook him a bit and as he came out of his daze, he got up and thought there was nothing wrong with him. He just blew on his whistle and ran into the lodge. But the people knew better. They said, "He can whistle away all right, but he won't ever be able to get enough to eat to fill himself up now!"

756 This was the first time that Victory Call had participated in this act
796 and he went over to his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and caressed him
in blessing. "This is what I wanted to know," he said. From now on, Vic-
536 tory Call could don his bear suit and go through this performance on his
own. In return, he had taught Sitting Hawk how to handle rattlesnakes.

After all the animals had gone into the lodge, the public show was over. Inside the errand men would be busy cooking the meal. All sixty doctors would be there and they would use up three parfleches of meat to feed them all.

39

THE DANCE OF THE SCALPED ONES

000

Impersonate Scalped Warriors Instead of Animals in This Dance—the Song That Is Sung—the Dance Explained

THE DAY AFTER the first Big Dance there was to be an indoor perform- 756
ance in the evening like the first one but with four different acts. The 796
men who were to participate would start to prepare themselves in the 536
morning after they had finished their breakfast, refraining from eating 535
till the next morning. Just before dark they circled about before the lodge and sang as an announcement of what the performance was to be. A granddaughter of one of the performers, meeting him the night before his way home, inquired where his booth was located as she and her mother wanted to have the privilege of watching the performance sitting comfortably inside his booth. That evening before the performance she came to the lodge with corn bread, coffee, and dry meat. The errand man directed her, going past the first, second, and third booths on the north side and entering the fourth. (He made careful note of what food she would bring to see if he wanted to claim a share after the dance.) Now the girl and her mother were seated inside the booth as the crowd packed in to the rest of the lodge. After this performance the doctors would have a free day, then another performance and still another free day and then a second Big Dance outdoors. After this second Big Dance, instead of just the nighttime performances and free intervals, another kind of outdoor performance was introduced—the Dance of the Scalped Ones.

Instead of animals, the actors in the Dance of the Scalped Ones were the spirits of those who had been scalped by the enemy. Everything was done to develop a mood of weirdness. Old Lady Tsitawa, head of the black-tailed deer lodge, wore a short skirt of black tanned hide and a

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756 tanned-hide shawl. The other actors impersonating the *kitsaburuksu*, the
796 scalped ones, were plastered all over with mud, including a thick plaster-
536 ing of mud on their heads and all over their faces. As they approached
535 they looked like a veritable mud bank.

A big crowd had gathered outside the lodge in anticipation of the performance. The two drummers ran out first and putting their drums between their knees, sat facing each other. As they began to beat the drum, a crowd of scalped ones ran out of the Doctor Lodge. The drumming
[533] was in all sorts of irregular beats and the little boys were frightened when they first saw the scalped ones approaching. They motioned erratically and jumped every which way in scary ways. The drummers were
[539] singing "Scalped-Ones-Speech":

Hiru-ribi	here-is
Hiru-ribi	here-is, *wakarawi* (speech)
Hiru-ribi, hiru-ribi, wakarawi	
Kitsaburuks-pakarawi	scalped one-speech
Kitsaburuks-pakarawi	

The song was sung to an irregular tune and as soon as the drummers had finished the song, they all ran suddenly into the lodge and just as suddenly out again, the drummers again coming out and sitting facing each other, singing the Scalped-Ones-Speech with the crowd of actors running out after them. This running in and out was repeated four times and on the fourth round the actors all came out dancing backward, making peculiar motions and finally falling down. Even the drummers
[534] fell and kicked over their drums (water drums made of a hollow log.) At last they looked up dazed and as soon as they became aware of the people around, they jumped up and ran back into the lodge.

No one would provide a meal for "Scalped-Ones." As everyone knew, "They were the biggest thieves and stole anything they could get a chance to!" They ate in their booths whatever donations of corn had been made. "As for dry meat, they would provide it for themselves if they could steal some."

Between the second and third Outdoor Big Dance, there were one or two of these special outdoor Scalped-Ones dances with a performance in the night indoors intervening. Afterward the third Big Dance was given, and then after that the two nighttime performances with free days intervening.

40

BREACHES OF THE DOCTORS' RULES

000 *The Young Doctor Decides to Eat Food at Altar—the Hypnotizing That Follows—the Younger Men Hypnotize Big Bear—This Power of Pawnees Discussed*

756 784 After the third Big Dance, everyone was getting tired, especially the errand men. The individual doctors had various matters to attend to at home, and even the main doctors had to leave the lodge at some time during the day. One day the main doctors were all off resting and had left one of the younger doctors sitting in Big Doctor's place so that he could watch the things at the altar. While he was sitting there, a donation of corn and soup was brought in. Some of the other doctors in the lodge decided they would like to eat some of it right away. The young doctor at the west decided that, after all, since they were hungry, they should eat some of it. He asked three of the others to join him at the west and ordered the errand man to serve them and also the other doctors that were in their booths. They made a small offering of the corn to the powers and then proceeded to eat.

756 784 787 Finally, when some of the other doctors came in and found they had eaten some of the food that was donated for all of them, they became indignant. They went about the fireplace, quivering and waving their eagle-wing fans and hypnotized the offenders. Brave Shield who was the first to come in, hypnotized the man who had been left in charge of the things at the altar. He caused him to come around the north side of the fireplace and made him fall so that he hit his head against the pillar of the lodge. Then he made the offender get up and come outside and fall down, where he was left on the ground with blood coming out of his mouth. The other two doctors who had come in at the same time as Brave Shield,

756
784
787
spirited out the others who had been eating the corn and also the errand man who had served them. They fell down outside in the same way as the first man. When the first recovered from his trance, he came inside and sat down in Big Doctor's place at the west. The other three also came out of their trance and resumed their places next to him. The others who had eaten the corn also began to recover and to run into their booths. Those at the west had not yet been dismissed by the angry doctors.

Brave Shield and the other doctors went back to their booths, but the young doctor at the west was angry in his turn and decided to take out those who had hypnotized him. He picked up the eagle-wing fan from among the sacred objects at the west and, going about the fireplace, spirited Brave Shield outside. He did the same to the other two. He then went back into the lodge and again sat down at the west, telling his three companions they could go back to their booths if they wanted to. The three he had spirited out now went back to their booths and the whole affair was ended. When Big Doctor heard about it on his return, he simply laughed at the whole affair.

756
784
Big Bear who was the errand man on the south side was absent from the lodge for about three days. Three of the younger men decided to get him to come back. The enterprise was initiated by Might-Be-Chief, son of Old-Man-That-Chief. He was about fifteen or sixteen years old at the time, and he was sent around on so many errands in Big Bear's absence that he began to resent it. "Big Bear ought to be doing this," he thought, "I'll get him back." Big Bear, on his part, was pretty tired by this time and wanted a rest. Might-Be-Chief tried to enlist help from two young men, Fox Chief and Man Chief, but Fox Chief demurred, saying, "He's our uncle. We can't do that to him." But they were finally persuaded by Might-Be-Chief's argument that he ought to be there, and they all went to Big Bear's lodge.

756
Big Bear was sitting on top of his lodge when they got there and they said, "Look at him—the way he sits there as if he had nothing to do!" Then all of them walked back and forth before his eyes and then all three waved fans in front of him until he rolled off the earth lodge. When he got up they made him follow them as they ran, pushing and twisting him around any way they wanted to. Finally when they got to the water they caused him to roll in and wet his buffalo robe and all his clothes. When he got home, he gave his clothes to his wife and dressed in whatever dry clothes he had and went back to the Doctor Lodge. He was furious and went straight to the Elk Booth spiriting Might-Be-Chief outside. Then he went to the Bear Booth and first took out Fox Chief, then coming back again for Man Chief. The three young doctors didn't mind, as they had succeeded in getting Big Bear back to his post in the Doctor Lodge.

Sometimes when a doctor went home at night he went to asleep with

his wife and then the doctors might go after him in this way. They would spirit him out onto the dance grounds outside the Doctor Lodge; then he would go home, get his buffalo robe, and return. 756

From these instances it should be clear that the Pawnee preoccupation with illusionism, hypnotism, and suggestion was neither mere theater nor pure ritual. The power of trance induction was regarded as a threat and a means of control. Possibly the hunter found in it a method of communication with the wild animals and control over them. It is very evident that it was considered a way of immobilizing the enemy. Trance induction was called "fighting" or "shooting at the image or shadow," and illusionism by sleight of hand as a milder form of psychological control was called "playing" or "romping" as of children. Our present preoccupation with psychology and psychosomatic problems should point the way to its connection with healing. The cultivation of these psychological states in the Doctor Lodge was obviously something more than pure supernaturalism. 756 787 [626]

The final episode in the Opera was a contest between the Buffaloes and the Bears in which the Buffaloes reduced the Bears psychologically to mere puppies, and in this way the Buffaloes are no longer afraid. 756 796 536

41

THE CLOSING EPISODE OF THE DOCTORS' GRAND OPERA

000

Contest between Bears and Buffalo Clown Warriors—Description of the Ceremony—the Closing Speech by Big Doctor—the Dismantling Begins

756
796
536
THE MONTH-LONG GRAND OPERA of the doctors ended with a closing performance inside the ceremonial lodge after the fourth Big Dance. Its main feature was a contest between the Bears and the attacking Buffalo Clown Warriors, dressed in mock war costume and led by members of the Buffalo Cult, with John Buffalo, Heavy Trophies, and others playing the several parts. They wore war bonnets made of corn husks and carried spears made of sticks decorated with corn husks to represent feathers. Their shields were also of corn husks, and they made a "chief's medal" for their chief Clown out of the round cover of a tin can. Everyone knew that on that evening the Clowns were going to stab the Bear with their sticks and "make a man of him." The young Bears were released from trance by their leader, Angry Horse, who had also "to awaken" himself. This was the final act.

On the last night the crowd surged into the entryway to see the performance. At the southeast near the wall stood a crowd of Clown-warriors wearing their corn-husk war bonnets with their chief standing proudly at the head of them with his spear. On the north side stood the party of the Bears. Angry Horse was the leading figure of the Bear Party. His face was blackened and he wore a wreath of cedars around his head. In his hand he carried a big rock tied to a string. (My informant did not know what he represented, but people said that his blackened face indicated that he knew everything.) Next to the leader were the two Bear Doctors of the second grade—Strikes-the-Enemy, lieutenant to Angry Horse, and Misery, Son of Sitting Hawk. These men had no other costume than a long

pole in the left hand of each and a cedar branch "fan" in the right. The two junior members of the Bear Lodge, Fox Chief and Man Chief, were to be the direct object of the attack and they remained inside the Bear Booth dressed in their bearskin costumes.

756
796
536

The show began with the Clowns. John Buffalo addressed the Clown chief who stood there proudly oblivious of anyone or anything that was going on around him:

> "Say Chief, I heard that other tribe say the Bear is going to come around. Over there, there's a bluff, and a Bear is coming there." "I know that but they're nothing but raccoons," said the chief. Then another fellow addressed him saying, "The other tribe is excited there because they say the Bears are coming." "Bear—talk about Bear—I could ride right on it any time I want to!" Next one of the Clown-warriors went and sat down next to the witch woman. He told her what was going to happen "over there" and he made everyone laugh. He said to her, "I heard the people over there say the Bear is going to come. Do you believe it? But the chief says he was up there and there is nothing but a raccoon in there—not a Bear. Are you afraid of Bears? Well, I guess if they come, I'm going to get one."

After this byplay with the witch, the Clown-warrior rejoined his group. Now the action moved to the Bears. All the other doctors came out of their booths. The Bear subleaders, Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, pushed their long poles into the Bear Booth to tease out the two Bears who are still inside. When they started to come out of their booth, the Wolf (played by He-Kills-a-Person) came around and got between the two Bears so that their way was blocked. They tried to catch him, but he jumped away with a quick motion and this made them all the more furious. In their anger, they came out of the booth, one at a time. First one came backing out and then the other one emerged head forward. All the doctors began to move about to blockade their escape. The Bears were very angry and they blew and puffed and the bristles on their necks rose straight up.

The Clowns way over on the other side said, "I got hold of his foot now!" John Buffalo said, "I'm holding their legs. They're nothing but raccoons!" Another clown chimed in with, "Oh, they're puppies—nothing but puppies!"

The Bears tried to escape and the crowd tried to blockade their way. The Clowns got caught between two groups of them. Then the doctors, Clowns, and everyone ran out of the lodge except one Clown that got stuck between the two Bears. He didn't know where to go so he looked around and saw that the serpent's mouth was big enough to get in. So he crawled in there, breaking all the teeth. Then he stuck out

756 796 536 his head, looking all around. When the two Bears finally left the lodge, he got out of the serpent's mouth.

Outside the Clown-warriors were all yelling, "They're over here. There're nothing but little bits of puppies." Soon Angry Horse, the chief Bear Doctor, came staggering into the lodge, circling the fireplace as if he were drunk. He was carrying a rock tied to a string, and every now and then he would hit one of the house posts with it as he went around the fireplace. Next his lieutenants, Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, entered singing and holding their long sticks and cedar-branch fans. Next came the four main doctors who went to their place in the west and stood there holding their eagle-wing fans. In front of them at the west of the fireplace facing toward the east, stood Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, making sweeping and jerky movements with their cedar-branch fans. They were calling in the members of their own Bear Lodge who were still outside, with the assistance of the two main doctors who were standing behind them to reinforce their efforts with their eagle-wing fans.

Now one Bear comes backing in and the other comes in head foremost, one going around the north side of the fireplace, the other around the south side. The doctors, including those at the west, all try to get out of the way of the Bears, while Big Doctor reminds Pipe Offering to fill his pipe to get ready for the smoke offering.

Angry Horse, the Bear leader, was still staggering back and forth around the fireplace carrying a big stone on a string. When the Bear that was approaching from the south arrived at the west, Angry Horse was waiting for him there. The Bear fell down and he jumped over him and smashed him on the forehead with the big rock he was carrying. As soon as the prone Bear had been hit, Big Doctor told Pipe Offering to light up his pipe and offer the mouthpiece to the forehead of the prostrate Bear twice, then once to his chest (windpipe), then to his right palm, his left palm, and one to each of the soles of his feet. The whole procedure was repeated with the Bear that was approaching from the north side and the two Bears lay facing each other at the west. As soon as he fell, Pipe Offering had also "smoked" the second Bear in the same way as he had the first. Angry Horse was signing, "This is the way I do when I get angry!"

As the two Bears lay limp and lifeless at the west, the two main doctors assisted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy carried first one and then the other into the Bear Booth.

During this special act of the leader upon the two junior Bears, the rest of the doctors and spectators had remained outside. Now first the doctors, followed by the spectators and the Clowns in the rear, filed back into the lodge. The Clowns talked about what they did out there. They were saying, "Oh, I got hold of him by the leg and just shook

him around a little bit." "Oh, I got on him like a horse. He's a good runner." 756 796 536

By this time the Bear leader, Angry Horse, was all crumpled up and quieted down. Standing at the west of the fireplace facing east, he warmed his rock over the fire and then went to his seat near the Bear Booth at the northeast of the Doctor Lodge. There he removed his whole costume, including the cedar wreath, leaving only his blackened face. Now the two ex-Bears, Man Chief and Fox Chief, also came out of the booth without their Bear costumes. Man Chief went to the north of the fireplace, extending his right hand over the fire, then putting it on top of his head. Then he did the same with his left hand. He went through the same procedure with his abdomen and also his knees as he stood up. At the south of the fireplace, Fox Chief did the same thing. Now both men returned to their Bear Booth, Man Chief directly from his station at the north and Fox Chief from his south station around the west and north.

This was the closing act of the whole show, and now Big Doctor made his final address to them all. He said, "Now spectators, young men, women, now you have seen, during these several nights, this, 'our playing.' Young men, tribespeople, now I am through with this playing of. ours." (He included the audience as well as the doctors in his statement, expressed through the grammatical first person, plural inclusive form, *ti-wi-rikuhuritsa-witsat*, "this-now-it us all-complete." He thus acknowledged the help of the spectators in examining the paraphernalia when offered to them to affirm that they were authentic.) "Now that's all." This was the signal for all spectators to leave.

That night the doctors would take the first step toward dismantling the ceremonial appointments of the lodge. Each of the doctors would bundle up the sacred objects he had used in carrying out his performance and wrap them in a skin cover to form a long-shaped bundle. These must be taken to their respective homes that evening. The four doctors at the west would wrap up everything pertaining to the Doctor Lodge in general—the loons and other birds, etc. That night only the four leading doctors would remain in the lodge, sending home their bundles with the errand men. 756 796 346 778

Very early next morning all the doctors would return so that they could remove and dismantle all the special ceremonial figures and structures they had built. Insofar as possible these would be carried intact to the water where they would be deposited in a certain position, approximating their position in the ceremonial lodge. The serpent figure, the witch woman, and the cedar would be carried out as they were and the sticks of the booths used to make them into a booth in the bottom of the creek. While the Bear ceremony was going on, some men had been delegated to find a suitable place for this. 756 796 778 532

42

DISMANTLING THE CEREMONIAL DOCTOR LODGE

000

Ceremonial Objects Are Dismantled—All Things Carried to Creek—Serpent Placed in Water within Curved Fence—an Additional Hypnotic Contest—a Banquet Given—the Final Details Settled

756 THE FINAL PHASE of the Doctor Lodge was the removal of the figures
796 they had built and the animal booths. All these things had to be deposited
778 at the bottom of Beaver Creek in an appropriate order and fastened in
532 place. It took about a hundred people, including the sixty doctors, to do
this work. For the final banquet that they would share, they used six or seven containers of dried buffalo meat and an equal number of buckets of corn.

The night before, while the Bear ceremonial had been going on, a number of men were sent to choose the place in Beaver Creek where they would set up their things.

756 During the ceremony and as the figures were being carried out, people
796 offered them gifts. These were placed in the water with the figures.
Once, while the performance was going on, a woman made up her mind
778 to give a gift to the serpent on behalf of her son. She took a piece of calico
431 and as she entered the lodge, opened up the cloth and dragged it across the
floor, placing it on the inside of the serpent's neck. The errand man
532 came over and took the calico to one of the four doctors at the west. The
doctor set the material aside and came directly to where the woman was standing, walking along the outside of the serpent and jumping over it to where the woman was standing. Now he said, "You have a boy. Maybe someday he will grow up to be a big man and everybody will notice him." The woman left and the doctor returned to his seat.

When the doctors got in that morning, they detached the figures so that 756
they could be carried to the water. The serpent went first. It was simply 796
pegged to the ground and was freed by pulling up the pegs. The men 778
ranged themselves along both sides of the 60-foot length—the head being 532
pointed conveniently southeast toward the exit. The men waited, ready to
lift it up when the signal was given. The witch woman was lifted up and
set down on a spread of tanned hide so that they could carry her out on
it. The turtle that had been modeled on the fireplace, was crumbled up
and also placed on a skin spread.

It took a lot of men to carry out the cedar gently, as it was loaded with 756
gifts that had been placed on it when it was first brought into the lodge. 796
The birds and cutouts suspended from the rafters were left there, because 778
they did not belong in the water. After everything else had been de- [431]
tached, the sticks of the animal booths had to be uprooted, and any
woman that wanted to help would carry these things out.

Now the process got under way with the four main doctors leading. Most of the men were dressed only in their breechcloths, although some doctors were foolish enough to wear their buffalo robes and to carry their eagle-wing fans despite the strenuous work they had to do. They made two stops along the way to rest—one about halfway toward their destination and then another one further along. The four doctors had gone ahead and were already in the water, building, out of sticks from the doctor booths standing upright in the bed of the creek, a kind of curved fence open at the east. This was the beginning of a whole structure that would enclose all the objects.

As the serpent lay along the shore waiting to be deposited in the water, 756
people came up and made offerings to it. One person who hoped for long 796
life said, "I give you this. I hope to see you this way a year from now." 778
A mother, giving a gift on behalf of her son said, "I hope to see my boy 532
grow up and be a great man." A mother hoped her two daughters would
grow up to be married and have many children. Each girl carried a gift of [431]
calico to give and the mother said, "You, serpent, are going to rest here
under the water. I want my children to grow up and have many children
when they get married." Some people thought the serpent should be
identified as a whale and some as an alligator. The latter seems the more
likely from the word for it, "dry-tongue." The forked tail somewhat
interferes with this latter identification. In this instance the mother was
thinking of the fecundity of fish who have many eggs which hatch in
large numbers.

Now they placed the serpent in the water, its head resting inside the
curved fence the doctors had prepared. The head was pointing upstream
(westward) the direction in which all the fish swim. The body extended
eastward or downstream. Everyone got into the water and pegged the ser- [431]
pent and its various gifts to the bed of the stream. All the gifts of goods—

756 796 [778] [532] calico, shawls, and blankets—were also fastened to the bottom. The whole thing was encased in a wicker frame of willows under the water. The stakes from the doctor booths were stuck all along the sides of the serpent and bent over across it and interlaced at the top.

[931] Now that the objects were all in the water, the people stepped aside to permit the doctors to engage in one more hypnotic contest. One after the other, as they stood by the water, they caused one another to fall in.

756 796 574 Then the whole group of doctors and any others who had given them assistance repaired to the Doctor Lodge for the banquet. The lodge was empty and they could make a big circle sitting close to the outside walls. The groups of doctors were ranged in from the west. Beyond them along the sides were the general public who had helped them. And last of all to the east were the chiefs, two each from the four Skidi villages. Furthest toward the door of the guests, were two old men, That-Chief at the southeast and Good Land at the northeast. Finally there was one errand man stationed at each side of the entrance. As they were assembled there, some of the people expressed regret that the whole thing was over, for they had had such a good time.

It took eight people to prepare and serve the meal including the two regular errand men. Each of these was provided with an assistant to do the cooking and serving. They had to borrow two of the largest brass kettles they could get, and after they got the water they put in the meat and set them to boil, one at the northeast and one at the southeast of the fire. While the meat was cooking, the donated corn was served after the appropriate offerings had been made, then soup and then the meat. Extra large pieces were set aside for the guests of honor and one for "the house"—that is, for Sitting Hawk's wife to whom the lodge belonged.

[521] During the meal the doctors made conversation about the happenings of the morning—about what had occurred at the river, and so forth. Then Big Doctor made his closing speech, addressing them all. He said, "Now young doctors, doctors, and all members of the Doctor Lodge and the animals that we have imitated here, and you chiefs sitting here watching over your people, and Heaven that has taken pity on us so that we could successfully complete our performance, and you head doctors here who have helped carry out our performance, now we have had our feast—now the Doctor Lodge is over."

A number of business details remained to be attended to. The head doctors had to apportion the meat that they had kept for the final arrangements. The owners of the house would have to fill in all the holes and set up the beds and then entertain the members of the families among whom they had been staying while the lodge was in session. They would need a quantity of dried meat for this. What was left would be divided

among the doctors. The errand men and their assistants received gifts of calico. 756 796 [574]

The Doctor Lodge was one of the most intensive group ceremonies of the year, extending to all the people. In the three South Bands at this time, each had a similar twenty-day Doctor Ceremony that they referred to as Big-Sleight-of-Hand. Apparently they only lacked the serpent or water monster of the Skidi, which was ~~the~~ special feature of the federation of the Skidi villages. 756 796 184

After the Doctor Lodge, the separate animal cults that had been represented there should each have a three-day ceremony of its own—the general one constituting a mandate for this. The ceremonial calendar was so crowded that it was extremely difficult to find three days when all the members would be free of other ceremonial involvements. The Bear and Buffalo cults were large organizations with thirty to forty members, and there were many overlappings in the personnel. 756 796

There was one private cult, however—the Deer Dance—that was entirely outside the association. It had been imported a generation before from the kindred Caddoan-speaking Wichita to the south and adapted to the Pawnee ceremonial pattern. It had no obligation to the Doctor Association and was fast presenting a challenge to it for membership. Its ceremony was held at a time that overlapped the Doctor Lodge, and sometimes members were spirited away from one to the other, causing considerable bitterness between the leaders. The Deer Dance, also known as Whistle Dance from the whistles the dancers blew at frequent intervals, celebrated the maturing of the wild sage and the mescal bean. Rattlesnake power was also part of the cult. The over-all pattern was of a Deer Lodge in the timber. In some ways it represented a quite different system of thought from the Doctor Association, and through it new and important developments might have occurred in Pawnee ceremonial thinking. But before this could be realized, its life was ended by the holocaust that overtook the Pawnee people and their culture and their wild animal world as white contact intensified (see p. 3). 796 177 535 578

Victory Call was the director of this cult and he was largely responsible for its growth and success among the people. On his deathbed he accused his arch rival, Big Doctor, of causing his death through sorcery. [754]

43

THE DEER DANCE

000 *The Deer Dance a New Addition to Pawnee Ritual—Kind Warrior Visits the Wichita—He Learns the Deer Dance from Them—the Learning of the Dance Explained—He Returns to the Pawnees and They Learn from Him—the Form of the Dance Undergoes Changes—the Songs They Sing—Differences with Other Animal Lodge Ceremonies—Mythology of Deer Dance—Popularity of Deer Dance*

796 536 INVESTIGATORS HAVE LONG REALIZED that the Pawnees had a culture that was unusually rich in ceremony and metaphor. It was particularly in the theater arts connected with their ceremonies that their aesthetic culture had its main expression. In the ceremonies, the sustained patterning of the episodes, the costuming, and the underlying ideology and symbolism represented an aesthetic composite of great richness, which was assiduously cultivated and appreciated by the people for its beauty.

796 177 [484] [167] The Deer Dance was a comparatively new addition to the Pawnee ceremonial repertoire. For more than a century certainly, and no doubt considerably longer, Pawnee men had gone south on extended visits to the several tribes of their Caddoan-speaking kinsmen. While they were there they commonly participated in the ceremonies as well as in other activities. Some remained there permanently such as the brother of Eagle Chief, Noted-Tent (*Iseru-rikariku*), who became a distinguished Wichita chief. A man of the Kitkehaxki Band, *Tiwaritaka'as*, became a chief of the Kitsai. For a rich source of new ideological and aesthetic material the Pawnees were conscious that they must go south to the Wichita, the Wichita probably looking south to the Caddo and the Caddo in turn to Mexico. It is probable that in this manner, passing from group to

796
177

group, Aztec and other Mexican type cultural forms filtered northward to the Pawnees.

Sometime before 1842, while they were living at Old Village (Kitkehaxpakuxtu), Kind Warrior (*Tirarira*) who was still a young man then, used to go visiting the Wichita quite often and on one of these occasions, when his host was going to a Deer Dance he requested that he be taken along. When they arrived at the ceremonial house, he was asked whether he would like to participate and he said he would, as he liked to dance. He was then costumed like the others, painted all over with white clay, a feather worn crosswise at the back of his head, in his right hand a whistle and in his left a bunch of wild sage which had white seeds. A bowl contained white clay with some of the white seeds so that the dancers could paint themselves.

His friend told him to follow him around during the dancing so that the other Wichitas could see him and when the members had gone, the chiefs sitting at the head of the room called over Kind Warrior and asked him whether his friend had told him anything about the dance. When he answered that he had just painted him up, the chiefs said, "When you get home, say to your friend, 'Now my friend, I don't want people just to see me painted up. I want to know what I am painted for.' "

The next evening, when Kind Warrior and his Wichita friend were in the grass house together, he caressed his friend in blessing and said, "I don't want to simply be painted up. I want you to take pity on me and tell me what it means. I will stay with you as long as you want me to. I will take care of your horses, haul water for you, and hunt the buffalo. You don't have to get the buffalo. I'm the one that will get them for you." The Wichita said, "All right my friend. What you want I can tell you." Then Kind Warrior went over to the Wichita's wife and placed his hands upon her in blessing too. "From now on," said the Wichita, "whenever the dance comes, we'll go in together." Kind Warrior stayed two or three years in order to learn. The dance was held almost any time of year and lasted for four days.

The next time the dance was held, the Wichita taught Kind Warrior as he had promised. He said to him, "You must know something more than just the singing. The Wichitas are watching us now. Now I'm going to get up and you get up and follow me around." They were ready to perform their sleight-of-hand feat. Kind Warrior was told to hold the whistle in his left hand and the sage plant in his right. Now they began to encircle the fireplace. At the northwest corner, the Wichita struck the ashes with the sage and the dust arose. Then they went on to the other three semicardinal "corners" in counterclockwise succession (northeast, southeast, southwest) and at the west facing east, burned the ends of the sage in the fire. Then they made another counterclock-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796
177
wise circuit and at the west about a foot from the fireplace, hit the ground with the sage. Kind Warrior did the same and out of each of their sage plants, four beans rolled down. The Wichita now addressed the different "animal stations" where the members were seated and said, "Now you see what I did with my brother. I told him to do whatever I do. And now I'm going to give him what I do so that he can perform it at home." The Wichitas were all glad to see him do this. He continued to address them: "Now if he goes home and you hear that the Pawnees have started to do the Deer Dance, you can all know that I told him to do it. I also told him to listen to how the singing goes and what the singing is about. I told him that the singing was not just done for its own sake but to study how the animals go and what they do. And I told him that some of the songs are about smoking and that smoking is the main thing. And since he was not willing merely to be painted up for the dance, but wanted to learn what it means, I have taught him. And I'll be more than glad if you at the other places will help me with your performance so that he can learn." The Wichitas said, "That's good. We will try to help this man." "Kind Warrior," said his friend, "you ought to be glad that these different people are going to teach you for nothing."

As the doctors went through their performances, one of them would call him over and whisper to him the meaning of his performance. He would turn around and embrace the man, clasping him about the neck and rubbing his hands upon him from the head and down the arms in blessing, for he had taken pity on him and given him what he most wanted. As the dancing continued, another would call him over, and then another, and so he learned many of their different ways. One of the members had a black bean. He said to Kind Warrior, "You see this?" "Yes, I see it." Then the performer went around the fireplace four times and at the four semicardinal "corners," put ashes on the bean at each corner. After he had done this and gone around the fireplace four times, he stopped at the west and threw the bean down and a black spider was seen running around on the ground. "Now," said the Wichita doctor, "when you go home and have a Deer Dance, you can do this." And then Kind Warrior turned around and blessed him and so he learned many ways among the Wichita.

221
224
When he got home, it was the fall of the year and the Doctor Dance was just over and they were preparing to leave the village and go on the winter hunt. Some of the men while they were out, had noticed that the wood had been bitten by beaver and they thought this would be a good time to set a few beaver traps and make a little money by selling the skins. Two or three traps would yield a man a good profit. He would mention to a few friends, "Why stay around the village? Why not set out to trap beaver? And those who had guns could chase deer, moose, or elk." Some of their families would want to go along and

Some of their families would want to go along and some old women to collect wild potatoes and the wild beans that 221 were stored by the wood rat. The women could help with hauling 224 wood and cooking and boys could make themselves useful hauling 484 water and tending the horses. Eventually ten to fifteen tipis in two or [222] three bunches would set out in this way, traveling five or six miles a day and staying two or three days in one place. Individual men would join tents with families, going out during the day with their horses and joining the camp at night at the appointed place. Every evening an old man would walk among them announcing the next day's plans. They camped on the north side of the Loup where they could get wood as it might snow at any time. Those who trapped beaver would clean their traps in the evening and set them from the north side of the river, while the deer hunters went either north or south. Whenever anyone caught anything, they would have a big feast all through the camp. [574] Eagle Chief and War Cry who excelled in buffalo hunting did not care for shooting with guns and trapping, but Victory Call, and his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and also Old Bull were good hunters and trappers. They did not believe in exposing their families to enemy attack in this way and so they would come along by themselves. After they had made five or six camps, someone would come from the village and tell them that they would soon be setting out for the winter buffalo hunt and then they would all return and prepare.

It was such an informal hunting and trapping group that Kind Warrior 796 joined when he returned from the Wichita. In his tipi he was singing 177 his Deer Dance songs in Wichita, and when Victory Call, who was feeling lonesome, heard him, he went into the tipi where Kind Warrior was lying on his back and singing as he beat time on his thigh. Kind Warrior got up and welcomed Victory Call and after he said he was attracted by the singing, invited him to lie down and join him. Lying to the left of Kind Warrior he sang along with him and whenever he had nothing to do, he would just go in and sing. Others came in too and sang with them. Back at the village these men would sing together in the lodge and as others heard them, they also came in. These were men who had also been among the Wichita and had learned only individual songs but not the whole ritual. Some had learned polecat teaching, others buzzard, etc., and as they sang together, they taught one another. While Kind Warrior knew the most, he also learned new things from them. When there were about ten members, Kind Warrior could set them out in a formal arrangement (see Figure 43-1). He assigned two to each of the four semicardinal positions, two at the west as *rixkita*, leaders, and one errand man for the north, one for the south. More people came in and filled in the places. They made four rattles of wild squash with green and white wavy stripes to imitate the Wichita version. They also got four bows in accordance with the original version. Kind

796
177
Warrior had Victory Call's help in all this and the two men liked each other. Victory Call gave Kind Warrior a horse, a beaver when he trapped it and other gifts to show his appreciation for what Kind Warrior had done for him. Kind Warrior told the members that Victory Call was to lead them when he died.

796
346

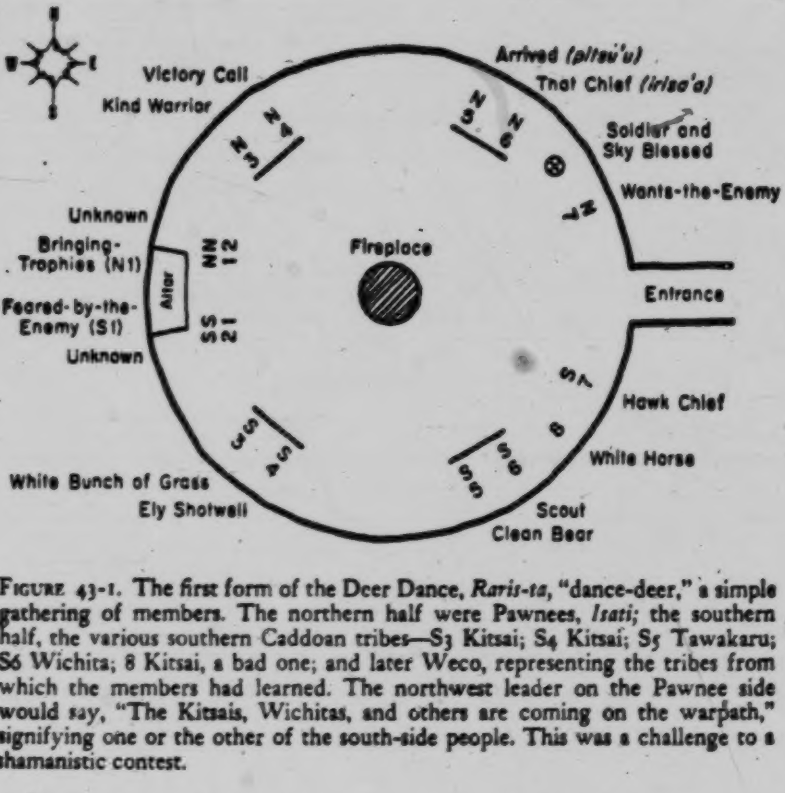

N
W
E
S
Victory Call
Kind Warrior
Arrived (pitsu'u)
That Chief (irisa'a)
Soldier and
Sky Blessed
Wants-the-Enemy
N3
N4
N5
N6
N7
Unknown
Bringing-
Trophies (N1)
Altar
Feared-by-the-
Enemy (S1)
Unknown
N2
S2
Fireplace
Entrance
S7
8
Hawk Chief
White Horse
S3
S4
S5
S6
White Bunch of Grass
Ely Shotwell
Scout
Clean Bear

FIGURE 43-1. The first form of the Deer Dance, *Raris-ta*, "dance-deer," a simple gathering of members. The northern half were Pawnees, *Isati;* the southern half, the various southern Caddoan tribes—S3 Kitsai; S4 Kitsai; S5 Tawakaru; S6 Wichita; 8 Kitsai, a bad one; and later Weco, representing the tribes from which the members had learned. The northwest leader on the Pawnee side would say, "The Kitsais, Wichitas, and others are coming on the warpath," signifying one or the other of the south-side people. This was a challenge to a shamanistic contest.

796 The singing was carried out in four sets. There were four men at each of the semicardinal stations. There were four gourd rattles and four bows. These were carried first to the four at the southeast who would rattle and sing a set of songs and then the paraphernalia was passed to the next station at the southwest, then to the northwest and then to the northeast, each group rattling and singing a set of songs. The four successive semicardinal stations represented the course of a man's life—southeast, youth; southwest, maturity; northwest, getting old; and northeast, old man. As the singing proceeded, whichever of the members felt moved, would get up and give a sleight-of-hand performance. Spec-

tators (*rariwaatuksa*) crowded in, and seeing what they were doing became interested, and began to fill up the membership ranks. 796 Others now went to the southern Caddoan-speaking tribes—the Wichitas, Kitsais, [177] Tawakaru, and Weco—learned their sleight-of-hand tricks, and returned to join the Deer Dance. The ranks thus became full.

In the south half of the lodge, at the west and in the semicardinal positions, each of the men had a tribal name according to where he had acquired his teachings. The north side that represented the Pawnee was called as a whole, *isati* (a noted one, or northerner in the Wichita language). The leader from the Pawnee side at the northwest station would say (mentioning one or the other of the southern Caddoan tribes), "The Kitsais [or the Wichitas, etc.] are coming on the warpath!" This would be a challenge to a shamanistic contest.

The year after the Pawnee moved from Fremont (*Pahaku*) to the reservation near Genoa, Kind Warrior died (1861). 796 178 Victory Call survived him by seven years and during this time he controlled the Deer Dance and it had many members with performances going full force. Many new features were added to the ceremony, particularly two—the contest between members on the north and those on the south and the addition of two women members, one near the north entrance and one near the south. (See Figure 43-2.) This latter feature came about after someone reported that the Wichita included women, who took part and also gave performances. Then someone dreamed that they had been right in admitting the women and that they should have special duties of taking care of any corn that was donated and sweep the floor of the lodge every morning during the ceremony. Every morning during the ceremonial period, the old ladies would get up very early and tell the boys to get up. Then they gave the room a good sweeping. There were songs that told of this aspect of the ceremonial life in the Deer Lodge.

As Kind Warrior brought the Deer Dance to the Pawnee, most of the 796 songs had Wichita words and reflected Wichita experiences. 533 But in time the Pawnee dancers made new songs that were based on their own experiences 177 and sung in the Pawnee language.

One war experience was of a war party of the Pitahawirata Band to Fort 796 Scott, Kansas, led by Tikarahisat. 533 They stayed on a high tableland for more than a year, hunting the buffalo and making a buffalo robe for their 825 leader. They saw the ducks flying south in winter and then in spring when they flew north again, they flew in triangular formation with their leader at the apex and at the ends of the arms, the two errand men. Children used to ask these ducks, as they flew over the village, to give them moccasins or red bows and arrows. These experiences became the basis for a Pawnee song in the Deer Dance. Another song they sang was about two eagles that they saw, first one with a large log in his claws, then another with another log; they were building a nest. As they built, the eagles would whistle.

796
346

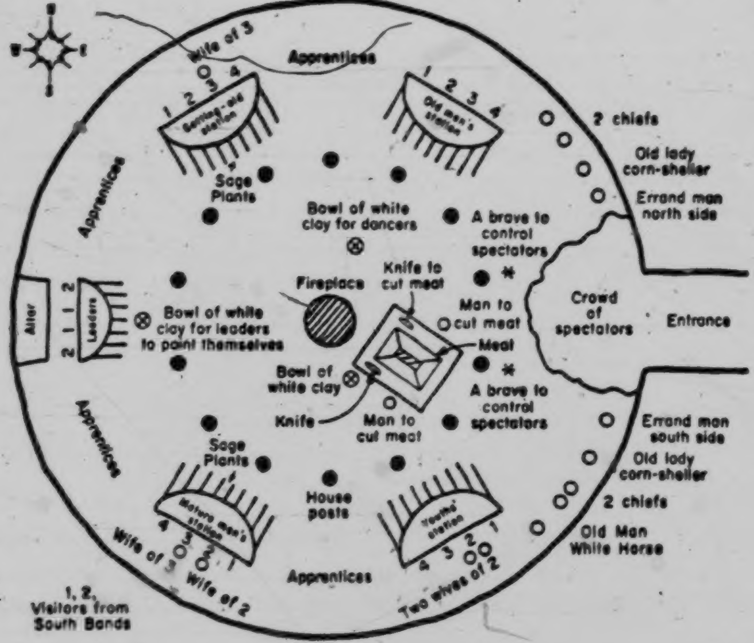

N
W
E
S
Wife of 3
Apprentices
1 2 3 4
Getting-old station
1 2 3 4
Old men's station
2 chiefs
Old lady corn-sheller
Errand man north side
Apprentices
Sage Plants
Bowl of white clay for dancers
A brave to control spectators
Knife to cut meat
Fireplace
Altar
Leaders
2 1 1 2
Bowl of white clay for leaders to paint themselves
Man to cut meat
Meat
Crowd of spectators
Entrance
Bowl of white clay
Knife
Man to cut meat
A brave to control spectators
Apprentices
Errand man south side
Old lady corn-sheller
2 chiefs
Sage Plants
House posts
Mature men's station
4 3 2 1
Youths' station
4 3 2 1
Old Man White Horse
Wife of 3
Wife of 2
Apprentices
Two wives of 2
1, 2, Visitors from South Bands

FIGURE 43-1. The developed form of the Deer Dance. It took place in a large ten-post earth lodge. There were sage plants all around to sit on with root ends pointing outward; the thickest bunches were at the stations and the thinner layers between. The circuit of singing is clockwise—southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast, as the circuit of the stars around the North Star. Note the development of specialized personnel.

796
533
825

Then one of the eagles sat on the eggs while the other flew around. The deer dancers of the several Pawnee bands would invite one another to their dances and in this way, the Skidi acquired some of the songs about the Fort Scott expedition, while Skidi experiences found their way into the repertoire of the other bands. One Skidi song concerned a time when the Comanche came to attack. They could see them coming a long way off, and they came down and hid and stole many horses.

Another song was composed by Warrior. He was an old man who had been highly successful in his war expeditions. Most people wondered why such a man would join the Deer Dance, since one of its major interests was success in war. But Warrior had another purpose. He was particularly interested in learning the sleight-of-hand feat in which a wonderful rabbit could turn into a human being. The story was that

once when they were moving camp, a rabbit came in and out among 796 the tents, threading his way here and there. However close the people 533 were when they aimed at him, no one could hit him, even when the 825 dogs joined in the chase. So a song was made about this wonderful rabbit who eluded all human pursuers. This was what Warrior wanted to learn.

The author of the original song was an old man, Arrived, who had a 796 place at the northeast station. But instead of approaching him directly, 533 Warrior went to his old friend, That-Chief for his advice as to how to go about it. He was told to come in next day when they had a practice meeting and address his request for membership in the lodge to all the members assembled and particularly to New Young Dog at the northwest. When Warrior entered the ceremonial lodge where the members were assembled for their practice sing, he stood at the east of the fireplace about halfway out to the door and facing west said, "All you Deer dancers, and New Young Dog at the west, I want to learn your Deer Dance. I will give a horse, some blankets, and some meat." New Young Dog, as was the usual practice, tried to deter him. He mentioned that, as Warrior was a successful warrior, everyone would laugh at him smearing himself with clay and participating in their ceremonies when he had no need for further luck either in war or in the hunt. But he remained determined, and finally New Young Dog led him to the old man's place at the northeast station where he took his place.

That evening Warrior went in quest of the rabbit learning that he wanted. New Young Dog had learned it from the original author, Arrived, and it was to him that Warrior went. When he got to the lodge, the people knew the two men wanted to be alone together so they all went to bed. The two men sat and smoked and talked and in the course of their conversation Warrior told New Young Dog about an experience he had had that impressed him deeply. Warrior always wore a white feather and once when the village was under attack as the war party struck, he felt like a feather floating in the wind so that no one could hurt him while he was aloft in the air. New Young Dog advised him that he could make a song about that when they were at the meeting. At the practice meeting, Warrior began slowly and then the next day he sang the song he had composed:

[539]

1.	hiwiri	witikuuwis Now I feel as if I were flying
2.	"	"
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	his feather flying

796
533
[539]

1.	hiwiri	Wiwitawia Now it comes flying
2.	"	"
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	hits feather-coming

The two men continued to talk together that night in the lodge and New Young Dog told Warrior about the rabbit learning that he wanted to know. Should anyone come in and see the sparks from their pipe and hear the whispering, they would know that the two men were to be left alone and would go straight to their beds as they were talking of something important. The next time the dance was held, Warrior followed after New Young Dog. After he had carried out his performance, New Young Dog addressed the assembled company saying, "What you have seen me do here today, I am giving to this fellow here, Warrior. This is my teaching." From this time on Warrior was able to do the rabbit dance and could make a rabbit skin come alive and be a rabbit.

796
72
[178]
[177]

In this way, the original Wichita Deer Dance took on its Pawnee form. By 1867 it had become a typically elaborate Pawnee ceremony. Sleight-of-hand performances and trance induction were both modes in which they operated as they did in the Doctor Lodge. But unlike the Doctor Lodge where animal costumes and animal impersonations celebrated their communion with the animals, in the Deer Dance, war was the predominant theme and each of the members at the stations bore the name of a tribe, the opposing north and south sides representing attack and counterattack. The ceremony was carried through ten consecutive sessions, nine in the night and a tenth in the daytime with a number of rest days between. Technically, they conceived that the all-day tenth and final episode was the actual ceremony and the nine night sessions simply preliminary to it. The nine night sessions comprised several different phases. In the first five, there was a program of four or more sleight-of-hand performances, chiefly in sequence. As in the Doctor Dance, sleight of hand was referred to as "playing." Following these "playing" sessions, going on very late into the night was a series of "fighting" or hypnotic episodes. But these differed from the Doctor Lodge "fighting" which was simple trance induction; in the Deer Dance, the fighting consisted of hypnotic interference with a sleight-of-hand performance while it was in progress, confusing the performer and making it impossible for him to complete his feat. The difference between the two kinds of "fighting" was recognized in the names they were called—the "fighting" of the Doctor Lodge was "I shoot at him," ***ui-tatix-tsaaku***, "now-I at him-shoot" (abbreviated as *patsaaku*) while

[789]
[787]

for the Deer Dance they said, "They shoot at his *image*," wi-tit-ir-*awi*- 796
tsaku, "now-they at him-*image*-shoot." This distinction is significant 721
as it reflects the difference in emphasis between the two ceremonies.
The emphasis of the Doctor Lodge is on the alliance of man with the
animals so that they give him confidence, enabling him to cure the sick
or carry out whatever his purposes may be including war expeditions.
In the Deer Dance, power over the enemy is a major leitmotif. The use 721
of shamanism as a kind of psychological warfare against the enemy is 723
a known device among other tribes. That the Pawnees were quite [756]
successful in this regard is attested by an account collected by a [075]
French visitor, Tixier, from their enemies, the Osage, in 1839–1840.
He states:

> The Maha (Skidi Pawnee) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so [181]
> great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five and six [648]
> hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe.
>
> Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. . . . One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave, whose horses he steals away afterwards.

When they were living at Pahaku, near Fremont in 1850 and the Ponca 796
attacked and were about to burn up the Pawnees caught inside their 721
earth lodges, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy dressed up like a medicine 756
man, came out and succeeded in thoroughly frightening the enemy so that they were repulsed; she was also able to kill one of them near the lodge, armed simply with a stout stick. There seems some likelihood that there was some actual functional value in the hypnotic powers of the medicine men, even in war. If this is the case, the preoccupation with this type of performance in the Deer Dance ceremony can better be appreciated.

The long series of illusionist feats and hypnotic exercises, however, 796
was carried on within a characteristically complex Pawnee ceremonial 789
structure.

In the first five nights of performance, during each night there was 796
an earlier session of sleight-of-hand performances, followed by a "fight- 789
787

796 789 787 ing" session that lasted late into the night. The successive fighting sessions on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its "owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally succeeds in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner. [824] The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them. In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semicardinal "stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally opposite semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *Northwest* possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the *Northeast*. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross. The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star," the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the 773 pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic 776 significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god [821] of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome, he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way. Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti, and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat, gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie. The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, succeeding, as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known 776
as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended 773
that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal
on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with
their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in [756]
the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The [782]
actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It [821]
was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the
rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely
begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears,
without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of 796
rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial 825
ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time.
Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be
decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer
because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to
send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been 796
occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and
"fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a
second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging
to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at
the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is 796
completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. 241
Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until 262
the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat
green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a
vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in
a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to
bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The
corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were
all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and
the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the
taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive
"fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought
between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears
in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently [824]
the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild
plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the [534]
wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was
originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated
gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea- 000

796 824 825 The wild sage plant continued to be a major feature of the Pawnee Deer Dance ceremonial in the performances, and the entire floor was carpeted with the plant placed radially all around with the stub ends outward and the head ends pointing inward. The symbolism of the deer was maintained in the course of the performances when the performer would jump over the fireplace, from north to south and back again, and from west to east and back again, impersonating the deer in this way. Also in his closing speech, the leader told them that their Deer Lodge was now over and they were to follow their tracks home to the timber. They left, blowing their whistles all the way home, and the blowing could be heard all over the village so that the dance was sometimes referred to as the Whistle Dance.

796 789 536 After the sixth session, the "fighting" was entirely ended and the seventh, eighth, and ninth evenings were given over to illusionist sleight-of-hand feats of considerable intricacy, and the calendar eventually became so crowded that several performers might be performing simultaneously or with their performances overlapping. The rattling and singing would be begun at the southeast station, and sometimes no one would be inspired to get up and perform until the gourds and bows had reached a subsequent station in the clockwise round. In any case, if the spectators had not yet accumulated to a sufficient degree, some of the performers felt they wanted to wait "until they got a good crowd." The ceremony of the tenth day is entirely composed of a considerable series of sleight-of-hand performances.

796 756 578 At the time when Kind Warrior was its leader, the membership of the Deer Dance was becoming so considerable and the interest so great that the leaders of Doctor Lodge felt that it might develop into a rival organization to theirs. Sometimes when members were absent from the Doctor Lodge, others would go after them and finding them in the Deer Dance, would spirit them out, causing them to bleed at the mouth and desecrating the ground of the Deer Dance Lodge which had to be spotlessly clean and fresh. This almost developed into an open contest of power, which was finally averted when the doctors sent their apologies to the Deer Dance leaders admitting they had been wrong. At that period, the two ceremonies overlapped somewhat. Kind Warrior had taken a group of his members down to the pond where he summoned up a turtle, stating that if it came to an open fight he would go into the Doctor Lodge and, locking the entryway, make their turtle fireplace come alive. A report of this threat, finally brought the apology from the doctors.

The conflict was resolved at a later time, when Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, took over after Victory Call's death as leader of the Deer Dance and entered into an agreement with the leaders of the Doctor Lodge to hold his ceremony early, right after they arrived back from the summer hunt and before the Doctor Lodge should begin.

As to the public at that time, when the conflict was imminent, some 796
felt a test of power would be welcome between the two organizations, 756
while others felt strongly that it should be avoided. 578

How much of the ceremony was basically a Wichita plan and how 796
much Pawnee innovation cannot be entirely resolved, as a number of 177
Wichitas came among the Pawnees and stayed for some time, one of 178
them, Atskiri, remaining for three years and coaching Misery for his role as future leader of the organization. Whatever the details, by 1867, the Deer Dance had become an intricate Pawnee ceremony, following the characteristic pattern with complicated histrionic as well as conceptual features.

44

SORCERY

000 *The Vision of a Poor Boy, Small—His Fate—Rivalry between Old Bull and Behaille—Male and Female "Witched" Members of the Community—Suspicions of Witchcraft in Sexual Affairs—Connection to "Fighting" in Doctor Performances—Fee-Splitting Ventures—Causes of Disease Regarded as Anxiety and Hostility—Interpersonal Hostility in the Community—Deadly Witch Missiles—the Treatment*

787 773 RIVALRY AND HATRED as well as love and community were as much a part of Pawnee life as of our own, and the animal lore of a doctor could be turned to ill as well as to good. In many cases the original dream vision of the future doctor consisted of being taken to an animal lodge under the water where the animals sat in council and judged the visionary. Others were terrestrial or cosmic, but the lodge under water was a common one. Such a vision came to a poor boy named Small (*Patsaa*) when he was about twelve years old. The Pawnee were [131] [175] living near Fremont, Nebraska, in the village they occupied just before going onto the reservation. It must have been around 1850. The Pawnee name of the animal lodge settlement was Pa-ha-ku, "hill-in water-sitting"; it was located near the edge of a rather sheer bluff on the south side of the Platte River. The animal lodge was thought to be located somewhere under water in the side of the cliff and it was reliably attested that lights were seen and noises heard in this location. It was also said that the wind was sometimes so strong there, that attempts to examine the spot closely were always foiled:

Right on the sheer bluff of the high bank was a cedar tree. This is the doorway to the animal lodge of Pahaku. Sitting on the tree are

all sorts of birds—particularly eagles—black, bald, spotted and also the 787
chicken hawk. White people say it is that way yet. They say the wind 773
is too strong there so that when you want to look, it pushes you back. At this bank, right under water is a big fish, the *tawakiiks*. In the night, one can hear drumming and sparks fly right on top of the water. This fish opens its mouth and one can see fire come out. This is Pahaku, the animal lodge.

Small was a poor boy who served in the household of an influential 787
man, hauling water, helping with the household tasks, and tending the horses in return for his keep. One day he was lying at the edge of the bluff under a tree with his bow and arrows, hoping to catch some birds to eat. His friend, Old Bull, who was the son and heir of an influential chief, came along and joined Small and since there was a cool, pleasant breeze blowing, they fell asleep. When he woke up Small was gone and so Old Bull went home, thinking that Small had awakened before him and gone to his lodge.

But Small was on quite a different mission. While they were lying there, ~~he had~~ had a vision and had gone to the animal lodge. The animals had taken him in. When he awoke he was sitting east of the fireplace with his bow and arrows. There were different kinds of animals all around. Near the door was a big snake. Near the altar at the west was a Scalped Man, Kitsahuruksu, who was the boss of them all. He addressed Small saying, "Nawa, greetings, now I leave you to the animals. Now you fellows sitting around here—you brought him in. What are you going to do with him?" At the northeast near the cedar tree was the bear who said, "Let's eat him up." The rest of the animals laughed, but the weasel chimed in, from his seat at the northwest. "That's right. We'd better eat him up right away." Then the big snake at the southeast side of the door said, "He's right. We'd better try to eat him up."

But the elk (moose, *pax*) at the southwest said, "Now you wait. Since you folks could eat him and I can't, I have something to say. I'm the one that supports him and helps him to live." Just as he got through talking, someone about halfway south, the Beaver, spoke up. "He's right. I can't eat him either. I also support him and help him live." Near the southeast the reindeer said the same thing. He also added, "You folks don't try to do anything to help him stay alive. You just want to eat him up. Right now I'm going to allow Scalped-Man to decide what should be done since we disagree." They all said, "Nawa!" Several on each side had spoken up. Now reindeer said, "Who brought him in?" But everyone was silent for no one was willing to admit to having done it. So the Scalped-Man was given the problem of deciding.

He said, "All the animals know how we have to depend on our two errand men. We send them long distances traveling on our errands and they get tired because of it. They work so hard for us that it is only right that we give them the right to decide. Now you two errand men, you can go outside and make a decision." The two went out. They were duck (*kiwakski*) and a bluish bird with a wide stripe around its neck (*kis-katararaxka*, "neck-stripe around-upon"). Meanwhile everyone inside the lodge was getting impatient. Snake mumbled, "I want to eat him up."

Outside the lodge the two errand men were discussing what the boy's fate should be. One said, "He just went out hunting birds to get something for himself to eat and now they brought him in here and want to kill him. I don't think that's right. Now that they brought him in, let's take pity on him and teach him something. Let's reveal the nature of the animals to him." Said duck, "I guess I do have to take care of him. He kills me when he is hungry, but when I want him to starve I can very well fly off, for I know when he is coming. I think I must do something for him."

With this decision, they went back into the lodge and Striped-Neck spoke up first. He pointed out that the boy had gone out intending to kills birds in order to get something to eat. At this point Small was frightened as he thought they would surely kill him for it was Striped-Neck he originally intended to hunt for. But the bird pointed out that as he was a bird that was always along the edge of the creek, he could go into the water and escape so that the boy would be unable to kill him if he himself were unwilling. "Now I'm going to leave it to this fellow, Duck, to decide."

Now duck got up and addressed the group. "Now Boss, bears, weasels, snake, elk, beaver, and reindeer, I have decided this about this fellow here: Today when you brought him, he had no thought about the fact that we also like to live. But still this fellow was hunting up the creek because he was hungry. Right now, he's starving. He has nothing to eat. Let's take pity on him instead of eating him up. After he gets out of here, if we help him, he can tell people that we treated him kindly and they might have respect for us. So now let's do something for him. When you send me way off on your errands, I get tired sometimes. Now in return, I am asking you to do as I suggest. Let's bless him."

For four nights the animals put on a sleight-of-hand performance, and each animal taught the boy a different way. After all had performed, the mole told of his power: "If a man is sitting there, I could come up through the ground and hit him from underneath so that all his insides bounce up and kill him right there." The weasel said, "While he's looking at me, I can eat up a man's liver and other entrails

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

787

so that he falls over." In this way Small came to know that these two were bad animals and because of what he had learned about them, he was also able to practice sorcery, as well as to cure sickness.

Being friends and small boys together, Small gave freely whatever knowledge he had to Old Bull. Small never lived to carry out the mandate of his vision, but Old Bull did. One day while Small was out tending the horses of the man he served, the Sioux came and took all the horses, shooting Small in the abdomen. He begged his sponsor to throw him in the water so that he could be healed through the animal lodge, but his sponsor, who was very angry because of the loss of all his property, refused to do as Small requested. He cared nothing for the poor boy who was his servant, and having disregarded the boy's request, Small died of his wounds. People felt that the man had been short-sighted as well as cruel. If he had allowed the boy to avail himself of his supernatural powers, he would have been cured of his wounds and grown up to go on the warpath and gotten horses for his sponsor. By being mean, people said, the sponsor had lost everything.

754

Old Bull grew up and became a prominent man with his teachings. He was the son of a chief, as well, and readily got a place in the chiefs' council. There came a time when the chiefs decided to include in their council the official interpreter of the United States Agency, Behaille, who was of Spanish, French, and Pawnee descent. No doubt this was a politic move, but Old Bull was not satisfied. In the council he referred scornfully to Behaille as "the Mexican." Behaille was not unaware of his hostility and opposition. When they went out on the buffalo hunt and arrived near Grand Island, Behaille stopped off at a small town and drank some whisky, which he immediately vomited up. He thought that he recognized what he had brought up, viz., a witch pellet of a bundle of buffalo hair painted red and containing the sole skin of a corpse's foot. He said, "I know who the sorcerer is. It is Old Bull. Throw the pellet in the fire and burn it up so that it can do no further harm." Then Behaille decided on a further course of action:

Next day he asked his wife to make grease bread and coffee and invited several of the chiefs to his house for an informal feast, including Old Bull. When they had all come in, Behaille said, "Now I want you to eat this food. Old Bull, I don't want you to do that again! You tried to witch me and you nearly killed me." Old Bull was ashamed and he just hung his head. As they went out after the feast, people said, "This feast was given because Old Bull witched Behaille. Some fellow would remark, "Well, so Old Bull wanted to witch the Mexican!"

Of course, we don't know how many people he had witched before this, or whether there were any, but now that he was exposed, he

754 would never be able to do it again. Everyone knew that Old Bull was a
witch and he was ashamed.

754 The majority of the doctors and the ones that "witched" among the
756 Pawnee were men, but there were also women who had both kinds of
562 power. Most commonly they had gotten these from their husbands and
begun to practice after their husbands died. When a doctor had a woman
patient, he had to take his wife along to assist him; in this way she was
bound to learn. If she had a son or a daughter, should they show an inter-
171 est in the bundle, she would teach them. Among the Wichitas, along with
754 the men doctors, there were a great many women, some of them also
witches. They could make rain and by witchcraft cause the rain to stop.
756 Among the Pawnees, Lone Chief's mother, War Leader Woman (*Ts-*
562 *tixkitawi-ra-wa-hu'u*, "woman-give-leader of a warparty-she-distributes
them-gives away"), had learned from her husband and it was said that she slept with a rattlesnake under her pillow and could practice witchcraft. In her witchcraft activities she would more or less confine herself to the affairs of women. Sometimes women fought over the boundaries of their land or the stealing of corn and if the quarrel continued over some time and they came to blows, one might be inclined to "witch" the other. But once it happened that Lone Chief was involved in a quarrel and his mother took it over and got into hostility with another woman on account of it. The issue was something about the distribution of horses after a war raid. A man, Frank Leader, felt that Lone Chief's group had obtained an extra horse in the distribution, unjustifiably. Although Frank Leader was not in the party, he was heard to remark that had he been there, Lone Chief would not have gotten away with the horse. This made Lone Chief angry and somehow the women came to discuss it. The issue was taken up between Lone Chief's mother, War Leader Woman, and the mother of Frank Leader, Lady Lucky Leader, and eventually it shifted to the relative social status of the two women. War Leader Woman cited her unimpeachable aristocratic descent, while Frank Leader's mother was heard to assert that it was no better than hers for she had charge of the Evening Star bundle. Word went around in the gossip channels, and finally Frank Leader got sick and died. Everyone was sure that War Leader Woman's witchcraft was the direct cause of his death. Frank Leader's mother began to curse War Leader Woman. She said, "That's the rottenest thing she could do. Even though her son is a great chief, she still practices witchcraft and kills a man." Some felt that since Lone Chief called Leader's mother, *itabi*, sister, and Frank Leader, therefore, *tiwat*, nephew, in view of the close classificatory kinship, this was really disgraceful. Others were saying, "One shouldn't pick a quarrel with Lone Chief's mother. She's a powerful witch!"

The services of witches were never for hire, but sometimes an old 754
man could be induced by one of his close relatives to help him forward
his fortunes by this means. Everyone knew Brave Chief as a poor boy 754
who had raised himself by his own efforts and finally became a chief, 622
although he had no hereditary status. On his deathbed, Pa-hukata-wa, 557
"Hill-against-the-Bank," a famous chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands,
had designated him to take his place in the chiefs' council.

For many years before that time, Brave Chief had courted Pahukatawa's favor. He had served him and repeatedly gave him gifts. When he came home from the warpath, he would give his horses right to the chief instead of to his own father. He hoped that the chief would make him his official brave. But there was an obstacle to this. The chief's younger brother, Kills-the-Enemy (*Tiukauxki*) had many times expressed himself as being unfit to be a chief as he had a quick temper and was not gentle and judicious in his ways as would befit a chief. So he continued to hold the post of brave to his older brother, Pahukatawa, and Brave Chief was not able to get the post. His brother, continuing to disavow any interest in becoming chief, was not named to take a place in the chiefs' council by Pahukatawa. Rather Brave Chief was named by Pahukatawa on his death bed.

Not everyone was willing to accept the straightforward explanation of Brave Chief's rise to fame through his own industry and merit. Some attributed it to a well-laid plan involving witchcraft. In this view of the matter it was said that while he was still quite young, Brave Chief was very ambitious, and he made a plan with his old father Meat-Offering, to help him rise to power. The surmise was that he went to his father and proposed to him that it would be a good thing if he could become chief before the old man died, and that anyway people would cite it as a case of a poor boy who had raised himself from poverty and low degree, and never suspect their connivance. And so, the interpretation goes, the old man took out his doctor bundle and witched the chief and presently he got sick. Brave Chief stayed around and waited on him during his illness and finally when he was dying, Brave Chief sat down next to the chief's head. Many men were sitting around to hear the last words of Pahukatawa, among them Old Man Meat Offering, Brave Chief's father. Pahukatawa addressed the assembled company and said, "I want my son, Brave Chief, to have my place." "And so," said one of the partisans of this point of view, "this ambitious man became head chief of the village through his father's witchcraft!"

Suspicion of witchcraft was directed toward people known to be 754
ambitious, envious, or frustrated. It was said of one old doctor, Angry
Horse, that he was such a good man that he probably never used his
witchcraft. "He never got sufficiently angry for that!"

754 837 Sexual affairs were a common cause of suspected witchcraft activity in both men and women. As witchcraft-prone situations, the following were cited:

Bringing Trophies was an old man married to a very young girl and he was very jealous of her. Joe E was an interpreter and had plenty of money and the girl made advances to him, inducing him to buy her some calico. As she sewed her dress, her husband became suspicious after she was unable to tell him how much the material had cost her. He investigated and finally confronted Joe E who told the old man that it was his business to watch his wife. Finally the young woman and Joe E went off together and although the old man came after them with his bow and arrows, they managed to stay hidden in the timber so that he was unable to get them. Finally the girl left her old husband and, after running around a bit, married a solid citizen of the community and had two children and settled down. If he were so inclined, the old man would be expected to direct an attack of witchcraft against Joe E.

Last-Man-in-the-Road (*Hatuxka*) was inclined to go after Pipe Offering's wife. They were all quite old, but Pipe Offering was the oldest. One day while he was sitting on top of the earth lodge he saw his wife coming home with a bucket of water. It was an accepted sign of consent in [584] courtship when a man contrived to meet a woman on her way home from the creek carrying a bucket of water and requested a drink and was given one. The woman was in a position to signify her disinterest by not responding to his request and simply continue on her way. In this case when Last-Man-in-the-Road stopped Pipe Offering's wife and asked her for a drink, she gave it to him. When she got back to her lodge, Pipe Offering who had been watching, asked, "Who were you talking to?" "That was Last-Man-in-the-Road," she said. "What were you saying?" asked the old man. "He wanted a drink and I gave it to him. Nothing wrong. He said it was too hot." "But," said the suspicious husband, "he was on his way to the creek where he could get his own drink." "Oh, that's nothing," answered the wife. Under these circumstances, Pipe Offering might at some time feel impelled to bewitch Last-Man-in-the-Road and cause him to be sick or do him to death through witchcraft.

754 Old-Man-That-Chief was apparently a man who felt he had sufficient power to do whatever he wanted and he brooked no interference with his wishes. It was said of him, "He was a big witch!"

> Once there was an old woman that he wanted. She refused him. So one night at midnight when everyone was asleep, he took his stick, as he was blind, and felt his way over to her lodge. He had his eagle-wing fan and some harmful material that he would "shoot" into her. He stood in front of her lodge waving his buffalo robe back and forth

until someone in the lodge happened to get up and see him. Then he 754
went home.

The next day the woman was sick in her stomach or her intestines. It seemed she had ague. But the man who had been up the night before said, "I know who witched her. It isn't ague." When she was dying the woman said, "I see him. He has a fan before his face, but I know him. It is That-Chief!"

Many other dark deeds were attributed to That-Chief, as he was the 754
most learned man in the tribe. He was the tribal historian, high priest of 756
the sacred bundles, outstanding elk doctor, and maker of chiefs in the 578
chiefs' council. One situation was rivalry with another old man, Horse
Finder (*Huras*), who was called in on a case of illness and then super- [554]
seded by That-Chief who reversed the original treatment and substituted
some of his own. Horse Finder became angry and refused to continue his
treatment of the sick man.

Now each of these two men had to watch himself. Each would keep 754
careful track of the other to see if he were hovering near. He would 578
sleep with the covers over his head in fear that something would be put
down his throat by the other one. Even when they just took a walk,
they would have to watch carefully.

The fight was carried right into the Deer Dance. Horse Finder sat at the northwest station and That-Chief at the northeast. After the spectators had gone a private performance was held after midnight. That-Chief asked to be told where Horse Finder was (both men were blind), and then he lit his pipe in the coals of the fireplace and gave it to Horse Finder to smoke. Horse Finder took a couple of puffs and as in the normal course of events, That-Chief tried to take back the pipe, the bowl came off in his hand and the stem stuck between Horse Finder's teeth. Then That-Chief stamped his feet, first one foot and then the other. This was to stir up Horse Finder's stomach. Finally a lot of soft white feathers came out of the end of the pipe stem, and in this way That-Chief knew that he would not be able to harm Horse Finder by projecting a magical pellet of sharp object into his stomach, for the soft feathers he had inside would protect him.

Now Horse Finder got up to retaliate. He stood before That-Chief, stamping twice with each foot in alternation so that he stepped four times, saying "xi^{a}, xi^{a}, xi^{a}, xi^{a} (hee^{a})," with a grunting tone. Then he said to That-Chief, "What have you been doing to my fish?" Finally everyone could see the tailbones of the fish's skeleton coming out of That-Chief's mouth. Then Horse Finder began to pull it out and the sharp rib bones of the fish cut That-Chief's mouth so that his whole

754 mouth and chest were covered with blood by the time he got it all out.
578 Mainly old men were present at this particular session of the Deer Dance.

796 As can be seen from this account, the "fighting" in the Deer Dance was
578 not mere formal ceremonial procedure but an expression of real hostilities between the performers. As the people watched, they understood all these interpersonal nuances and the effect of the "fighting" was something more to them than a mere show of sleight of hand, spectacular as this might be in itself at times.

75 Apparently despite their rivalry, the two old doctors, That-Chief and Horse Finder, were not above combining in a fee-splitting venture at the expense of a wealthy patient. Horse Finder would advise That-Chief that he intended to bewitch a Mr. A and that in a few days he would be sick. Mr. A got sick as expected and first his family would call in the most eminent physician they had, Big Doctor, for A was an important man. The messenger sent to get him would promise him horses, clothing, and food in payment if he would cure the patient. The doctor came in and, after hearing the symptoms, pronounced it a serious illness and very difficult to treat. He agreed to try it for two days and if there were no results he would have to leave the case to someone else. Possibly he thinks the fee offered is not generous enough. Another doctor is asked to come in, the family offering one horse, a chief's medal, blankets, and leggings. But apparently the fee is too small for this new man who feels he should get more if he is to treat an important man like Mr. A. Finally someone in the family says, "Why only one horse? After all if he dies we won't have anything!" Thus the fee is raised. The second man comes, but gives up in two days. Meanwhile the two schemers have been sitting there and stay all night with the sick man ostensibly as a friendly gesture. When the second man gives up, in desperation, the sick man's family looks about for help and their attention happens to fall on That-Chief who is right there, and they offer him three horses and a quantity of goods. After considerable maneuvers with the coaching of Horse Finder who has been the original witch, he gives the patient an emetic and there emerges one of the terrible poison pellets, the heelskin of a human corpse wrapped in buffalo wool, painted red, and tied around with horsehair. By this time, however, the parts have separated and the human skin has softened so that it has caused a lot of trouble to the victim. When this successful conclusion has been reached, That-Chief calls in four other doctors to sing and celebrate the cure. They all have a feast at midnight and go to their homes. The next night That-Chief sends his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, to call Horse Finder to his home and they discuss the final stages of the treatment, Horse Finder telling That-Chief that he should instruct the patient to have nothing but blue corn meal mush for a few

days until his stomach is in order. Then the other four doctors who have sung with the patient are called in and perhaps one or two more, and they speak of the animals and their ways and have a ceremonial smoke and distribute the goods that That-Chief has received in payment. Of the three horses, That-Chief will give one to the owner of the earth lodge where he is living, one he will keep for himself and give one to Horse Finder. The other doctors will note his special generosity, but may explain it merely by the fact that they both have the same bundle powers. Even if they were to suspect, they would not reveal the secrets of their fellow professionals to the lay public. 75

The Pawnees were thus not immune to the common suspicion that comes to all people in the desperation of sickness, that the doctor is not doing everything possible to cure the patient and that somehow more could have been done if the doctor had willed it. 756

In view of some of these rather bizarre descriptions, I questioned my informant who was familiar with our methods of gathering evidence and attempting to establish reasonable proof, as to what evidence people had that witchcraft was at the bottom of so much death and sickness among the Pawnees. His reply in substance was that basically they just knew, no proof in our terms being possible. He said: "When men sit around talking, they would talk about these things. They would *know*, but they couldn't prove it." 754 753 124 [521]

Rarely would the Pawnees attribute a death to our type of "natural cause." With old people of little social importance, they wouldn't bother to press the question but with anyone of any social position, people were concerned to place the responsibility for the death on the hostility of someone in the community. It was thought that when the person was dying, the hostile person would appear to them as a witch who was hiding his face so that the dying man had to identify him by his body. The dying man or woman would then recognize and name the person. Then the news would get around but no further action would be taken. 761 554

The Pawnees recognized that anxiety and hostility were major causes of disease. From the Pawnee point of view, active witchcraft practices were the culmination of sustained, interpersonal hostility and the constant fear of witchcraft represented the anxiety felt in the face of such a threat. 753 754 578

> People got sick to their stomach, or when something stuck them, got blood poisoning, or so the white people call it—but we say, "Someone witched you." Long afterwards if the man recovered, he would be sure to find out who witched him.

The reasoning here being that an important characteristic of his disease —and therefore cause—had been anxiety, and that this could be traced to

753 some interpersonal hostility in the community whose source he would in-
754 variably find if he searched around for it.

578 The doctor on his part, helped restore a man's confidence while he was
756 sick, by bringing him the friendship of the animals who were entirely outside the human community and to whom he could turn in his distress. This motivation can be seen in the vision of the poor boy, Small, whose position in the human community was threatening and insecure. It was in a council of the animals that he found justice for himself and understanding of his need. He also found, however, that some of his newfound animal friends had temperaments that were prevailingly vicious like the mole and the weasel, and this was a power from outside that he could turn against the human community at his desire. The doctor, therefore, in his knowledge of animals, had a kind of power for evil as well as
756 for good that no one else possessed. "The doctors are all witches. Each one has a different way to witch as well as their other practices." Whether
754 he used this evil power depended upon the temperament of the doctor. As cited in connection with old doctor Angry Horse, "He never got sufficiently angry for that!" and so would never be using this part of his power, but the people suspected that the majority of the doctors gave way to temptation at times, particularly the most ambitious ones. The old doctors were especially suspect, of course.

578
626
554
Interpersonal hostility represented a serious threat to the Pawnee community, particularly in its influential members. As there were no formally organized codes of behavior or courts of justice among the Pawnees, a person had no recourse in the face of personal threat except the expression of public opinion which was by no means readily forthcoming and also it was effective only within the existing social power structure. If possible, self-help was the wisest course. Behaille, in the face of the hostility of Old Bull toward his admission to the chiefs' council, used the method both of exposure and at the same time of mollification at a feast.

571
578
829
626
It was far more vital for the people of the Pawnee community to have a clear estimate of the range of personalities with which they had to deal in their daily lives than it is for those of us who live in larger polities. The pressures between individuals were far more potent than they are in groups where there is a larger and more complete political structure, for beyond the known range of personalities among the Pawnees, there was only the enemy. Interpersonal difficulties might or might not get some public reaction and beyond that there was no organized social machinery to which to appeal. In the social order, therefore, the attitudes, moods and inclinations of the individuals that composed it, were far more significant for the group well-being than in a larger polity, and people kept a closer watch on these personality factors than we are accustomed to doing. They knew where "the trouble spots" were likely to be in

571

terms of interpersonal hostilities and the specific temper of the people 578
involved. Only in these terms can we understand their sensitivity to 829
these hostilities and the prevalent fear of their personal social conse- 626
quences. The "witchcraft" atmosphere was a function of this situation.
The doctors brought to bear the idea that a person could have unfailing 756
personal allies in the animal community. Thus Old-Man-That-Chief in 626
practicing his performance for the next day's session of the Deer Dance, 829
addressed the bundle of chicken-hawk feathers that he was to make come alive in the ceremony. The bunch of feathers were lying tied up at the ends which pointed toward the fireplace, with the tips toward That-Chief. As he smoked he asked the feathers for their help, saying, "I want you to help me in every way. This is my son and my grandson," who were to assist him. By him sat his son, Herd-of-Horses, and his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, and he passed the pipe to them in turn and pointed the mouthpiece toward the feathers so that they might all smoke together.

Despite these psychological causes, the physical symptoms of illness 753
were correlated by the Pawnees directly with physical objects that had 754
been projected by sleight of hand into the body of the person. It was presumed that the doctor would hover about at night outside the dwelling of his intended victim and act as he did in the Doctor Lodge to send the
object into the person. "In the old days people slept with the covers [513]
drawn up over their heads so that should they open their mouths, no witch could put anything down into them this way."

The different deadly witch-missiles were thought to produce varying
physical symptoms. Uncomfortable and painful "movement" of the [755]
stomach was one important effect, and coughing up or vomiting was necessary for their cure.

The procedure for preparing such pellets was attested to by Roaming 754
Leader who said that he had inadvertently been an eyewitness to such a process.

> It was after sundown when one could barely see well and there stood That-Chief with his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, along with White Horse near a grave. They had dug it up and That-Chief was showing White Horse that one gets the tough skin of the heel of the corpse, lets it dry out flat, and then greases it with buffalo fat so that it can slide right in. Then it is wrapped up in buffalo wool and painted all over with red paint and tied up real tight and small with horse hair so that it approximates the size of a large capsule. "Then grease it well once more," he said. Now any time White Horse wanted to kill someone by witching, he knew what to do. He put the capsule in among the feathers of his eagle-wing fan, and while he was moving back and forth at the door after midnight doing his witching, he shook his fan so that the capsule flew through the air and into the victim's mouth.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

254 Roaming Leader was standing right behind Might-Be-Chief he stated, but they were all so engrossed that no one saw him. That-Chief said, "It takes time for the capsule to have an effect. At first it just tickles and the person begins to cough and he thinks he must have eaten a piece of hard meat. Then as the bundle unwraps and the heel skin softens, the person gets very thin and dies, just as if he had tuberculosis. The skin gets rather black as if there were something the matter with the veins."

That-Chief was trading his information for White Horse's knowledge of how to make a bear claw enter a subject. White Horse told That-Chief that all he had to do was to cut it off to about a length of about two inches and grease it well and then it was ready for use.

The bear claw is the worst. When ~~one~~ tries to vomit, it just goes down again. When it enters the body, it begins to scratch in the stomach and the person coughs. Only once in a while could one get the bear claw to come out. If it lay crosswise, then it would never get out, and also if it was near the right side of the stomach. But if the doctor could press the stomach so that it would come up the middle, with the point up and outward, it might come out. When the doctor saw such a case, the patient would say, "It seems to come up, then go down again," and the doctor would know what it was. He would say, "It's a pretty hard case, but I'll try it." If he sees no sign that the claw is in the right position, he knows that the man is doomed to die.

[17] The owl was "the worst witcher." It was especially common among the Wichitas. They are afraid of the owl but they use it. Among the Wichitas even today when they are camped, one can hear cackling and growling and they say this is a witches' meeting off somewhere in the moonlight. Big Doctor was eagle and owl doctor. He used the black owl, sending small owl claws into people's stomachs. They are sharp and no one can get them out of the stomach; they stay right there. When they try to bring them up, they can't come out. They choke a person. Big Doctor would also use a human toenail, which he would cut from himself or from anyone else. Victory Call was killed by Big Doctor through owl claws. He began to cough. As he was dying, Victory Call said he saw a person with an eagle-wing fan before his face and that person was Big Doctor who was the cause of his death.

The basis of this suspicion was the fact that Big Doctor was leader of the old established Doctor Lodge and Victory Call of the newer Deer Dance, which had grown to such proportions under his leadership that it was beginning to threaten the exclusive leadership of the Doctor Lodge and to vie with it for membership. Victory Call probably died in 1868 or 1869.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

◆ The course of treatment for That-Chief's pellet which followed a general pattern was as follows: 755

> When the doctor was called in he would say, "You seem to have some kind of cold, but something else may be in your stomach. The doctor makes medicine in a big bucket of water. He tells the patient to drink and see if it can come up. (The witch may be in there while they are doctoring this person. He just sits there with his hand before his face as if he were thinking, but he knows what it is.) The patient has to drink a whole lot before he can throw up. Then when he says he has enough, they tickle his throat with a feather, telling him to stand up. Maybe it doesn't come up yet and the doctor tells him, "Take all the medicine." Then at last the person doubles up and the fragments of the witch-pellet come up. The doctor says, "Look, here, this is it. A bad person gave you this." The doctor will recognize that someone sitting there is the culprit, but he remains loyal to his profession and refrains from exposing his "brother-member of the Doctor Lodge." The doctor says, "Throw it (the poison pellet) into the fire," but the witch suggests they throw it outside where he can retrieve it. Someone who knows better finally induces them to burn it up.
>
> Another method of witchcraft poisoning is to mix some material with the pipe tobacco that is offered to a person to smoke. Big Doctor, in addition to owl claws, had mole and weasel powers which were very bad. He had a tiny pipe that he mixed with the excrement of the ground hog, and when a person smokes this he gets sore on his thighs, back or elsewhere. With his weasel powers, Big Doctor would make a weasel skin drink and when anyone passes that he wants to witch he flicks water on him. The weasel causes the person to have night sweats and get weak. 754

In support of his assertion, in 1936 when we visited the Chicago Museum of Natural History, Mark Evarts showed us that in the bundle of Big Doctor was a package with a very small pipe inside a weasel skin, also a moleskin and a meteor for the warpath.

There were a few attempts at explanation of disease among the Pawnee that were not supernatural. In the old days it was said that people died when they were old because of injuries they had received while they were still young. When they got old, these injuries revived and killed them. Such diseases would be internal injuries from falling off horses (hemorrhage), smallpox, measles, typhus, and dysentery. 753

> An old man got dysentery. It began with a sort of grabbing pains in the legs, then went up and choked you. When his legs began to grab, he

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

> 753 said he could do nothing more about it and wanted to die. Then he got on his horse and tried to make it ride off the high bank, but the horse shied back. However, the rider was catapulted off into the water and when he came out, he was cured. So he found out the cure for this disease.

751 515 There was a great deal of faith in the virtue of bathing as a preventative and as a cure of disease. "In the old days people used to go and bathe in the creek and take sweat baths and there was no sickness."

751 753 361 Finally, it was thought that living on a high bluff was healthier than living in the lowlands.

> They said that in the old days, there was no disease, for the villages were on top of a high bluff, and sickness follows along the creek. Whenever a sickness seemed to be coming, people would move up on top, for there the air was fresh and sickness would not come up there. It only stayed near the creek.

753 In more recent times it was said that many people died of rheumatism and stomach trouble. But from the Pawnee point of view, natural causation of disease and death was a relatively less important aspect of these basic human problems. The field of the emotions was considered the major element in the doctor's calling.

756 [052] [757] However, despite these other factors, when Otter was about twelve years old the doctors were able to save his life by direct physical therapy.

45

THE DOCTORS CURE THE BOY OTTER

Otter Breaks His Leg—the Doctors Consulted—Their Remedies—the Boy's Instructions for Healing the Wound—Additional Treatments—the Release of the Boy from the Sickness—an Informal Feast—the Gifts to the Doctors 000

WHEN THE BOY OTTER was about twelve years old, his father Victory Call 752
had died and White Woman was remarried to Shot Arm, who undertook to be a father to the boy. His uncle War Cry continued to take an active interest in his welfare. One fall while they were in the village he was riding on the east road when he fell off the horse and broke the small bone (fibula) of his left leg near the ankle and near the knee. "It all started," he said, "because I had stepped on the ground with that leg where lightning had struck the earth. I thought I was smart!"

The leg was very painful throughout the fall and winter, and then in 752
the spring he was thrown off the horse again. In July his parents called in 756
Old-Man-That-Chief to try to cure him. The old man pressed his thumb against the leg and took out a rock and he thought this was the cause of the pain. But gave up trying to treat it as he didn't seem to be able to do any more with it.

Now while they were out on the summer hunt, the boy stepped into a gopher hole, but he thought nothing further of it. He just went on and caught a bird in the creek and later in the day when he got home he was covered with hives. He felt pretty bad and when his older "brother" Misery asked him what was the matter, he told him that his left leg hurt him. Misery called in Wonderful Old Bull, one of the four leading doctors of the Doctor Lodge, who arrived with four splints tied around with four straps of tanned bison hide that he put around the leg and ankle. But this

752 756 did not help and Wonderful Old Bull gave up, saying that if he continued to try to doctor the boy, he would lose him. So Misery himself tried his own four splints, and because he had power from the deer they were fastened together with tanned deer hide straps. Meanwhile he spoke to the boy of old times and urged him to try to get well. But as soon as the leg would heal, the bone would start coming out again.

Now his uncle, War Cry, took a hand and told his adopted father that Old-Man-Good-Land was a good bone and leg doctor. Good Land was called in on the case and he came with his son-in-law, White Fox, who was his assistant. White Fox came in whistling about and saying, "Clean the room and fix a bed." Good-Land and White Fox sat down next to the boy, one one each side of him, blew some medicine on the leg and tied it up loosely with a clean cloth. When they left, they gave instructions that the boy was to be closely watched so that he did not handle any knives. But the boy had a wooden spool and he wanted to make a little top of it to spin on his hand. War Cry's wife was sitting nearby cutting out a moccasin pattern with a knife and the boy took it against the doctor's orders to make his top.

Now War Cry was considering cutting off the leg, but the boy said he would rather die with his leg than have a short one. He began to get angry and desperate and one day he saw the bone sticking out and he began to pull on it, but it hurt too much and he felt a choking in his throat and so he pushed it back.

When White Fox came back he sniffed about as if he smelled something bad and said something wrong must have happened. The boy confessed about handling the knife against his orders and when they unwrapped the leg it was all swollen. The doctor wanted to leave the case. But War Cry taunted him. Otter was classificatory son to White Fox and War Cry threw it up to him saying, "He's only your son, of course, and if he dies it really doesn't matter!"

Many of the people had gone off on the winter hunt and War Cry urged White Woman and her husband to go along, remaining behind in the village himself to keep the boy warm in the earth lodge and take care of him. When White Fox had gone, Otter confessed to War Cry how he had tried to pull out the bone. War Cry scolded him and accused him of not wanting to get well and of deliberately hindering the doctors. "Well," the boy answered, "My mother and father have gone off on the winter hunt and left me, so they don't care for me anyway." War Cry again scolded him and reminded him of the fact that it was he, War Cry, who had urged Otter's parents to go and that he had elected to stay home just because he wanted to nurse Otter and protect him. He said that the boy ought to get well before his parents got back and surprise them and that then they would be glad.

Next day old doctor Good-Land came in and War Cry told him the

whole story. The old doctor gave him some plants to chew, saying, 752
"You're a man and it won't hurt you. Just take the medicine." Then he 756
told him to turn his head aside and pulled out the bone that was sticking out. He cooked some leaves in water and where the hole was in his left leg, he blew some of the water in. He blew it in again and again and each time he asked his assistant if the water was clear. Finally it was. The old doctor said to the boy, "Young man, your leg will be well in two weeks." Finally the boy did get well except that the leg was somewhat crippled and this distressed his mother, White Woman, very much. Shot Arm mixed some grease with red paint and other medicines and rubbed it well into the leg. In a week or so the leg was better and the boy could walk again. He had suffered a year and a half, falling twice off a horse and stepping into a gopher hole and he had been in danger of having his leg amputated or of losing his life. Now at last he was healed.

For his treatment, Good-Land had been promised a fee of two horses, one from his uncle War Cry and one from his stepfather, Shot Arm, and a quantity of other goods, i.e., three blankets, some squaw cloth to make ladies' dresses, and some red shawls such as were issued by the government at that time. Before he had begun his treatment War Cry had said to the doctor, "If you doctor him, there's a horse over here for you." And Shot Arm said, "If you doctor him, there's also a horse here for you, and some goods." It was a very good fee. One could compare a horse to an automobile in our terms.

One evening the doctor and his assistant announced to War Cry, "Tomorrow sometime I'm going to quit the case. He's all right. He's getting well." As soon as he heard this, War Cry sent one of his wives to call in White Woman and Shot Arm. They would have to have the fee ready for payment next day. But before that, the doctor would release the boy psychologically from his illness. That evening four doctors would come in to sit down at the patient's bed and "sing to set him free." Big Doctor and Pipe Offering, the leaders of the Doctor Lodge were called in to join Good Land and White Fox who had treated the case.

The boy was wrapped in a tent skin and lain crosswise west of the fireplace, his head toward the south and his feet toward the north. The big doctors came in with their gourd rattles and sat at his feet ranged from west to east—Good Land westernmost, White Fox next to him, and then Big Doctor and Pipe Offering. At his head on the south side were his adopted father, Shot Arm, uncle War Cry, and White Woman. Ranged further along the north side were other doctors who had come to witness the ceremony. Good Land addressed Shot Arm, White Woman, and War Cry saying, "The songs that the animals have, these medicine [533]
bundles here, the gourd rattles and the eagle-wing fans, are all going to hear their songs through which Otter had been made to get up. Now he is going to get well. It is these songs that we are about to hear that made

752 756 533 him well. Now we're going to start to sing." Together in unison the four doctors sing:

[539]
First song: Here, here, they got him to get up.
Second song: They got him up and going about.
Third song: They (our forefathers) said, that they (the animals) could get him up.
Fourth song: Now as they, the old doctors said, they have raised him up.

[539] Now they pause and smoke and then take up their gourd rattles and sing again:

1. "When first I came, the bone was broken.
2. "I had to use the eagle wing (*kauk'tu*, "down").
3. "The bone was broken. Just as they told me to do when a bone is broken, one must use soft down feathers.
4. "I call you back now, old doctors of long long ago; when a bone is broken, you can heal it."

They sang three more songs, making eight in all and then they said, "Now we're through."

756 574 Now they would all be entertained at an informal meal prepared by War Cry's youngest wife, Bird Woman. While it was being served, War Cry and his wives took the host's position at the southeast of the lodge, while the others remained in their places. A woman carried one bowl of food to each of the doctors in succession and then to Shot Arm and White Woman at the west, and all the others, and finally the hosts. A little bread and coffee was at last given to the patient himself. While they were eating people told funny stories or recounted some familiar incidents. Then they went home.

The next evening Good-Land entertained the other doctors in his earth lodge at an informal feast upon the completion of his case and the receipt of his fee. A gift of a blanket was made to Big Doctor and a shawl to Pipe Offering by way of compensation for their participation in the previous night's ceremony. Either that morning or earlier in the evening White Woman had come to Good-Land's lodge, leading the two horses, while one of War Cry's wives was carrying the goods. They were greeted by a woman of the house who came outside, and White Woman said simply, "Here are the horses and the goods to pay for his cure" (*iriwirawirata*, "that which he has earned or won"). White Woman and her companion turned around and left and the woman of the house tied up the horses and took the goods inside the lodge and piled it up to the east of the fireplace. When the doctors were assembled, Good-Land addressed

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

them again mentioning the sacred objects symbolic of the animals and their curative power: "Now today we are here as doctors. The objects you see here, the animals (their medicine); they have consented to have him live. Now White Fox is going to get up and make the smoke offering." Now he lit the pipe and offered it to all the sacred objects and to the doctors themselves, and to the horses outside and the rest of the fee lying east of the fireplace, then to the cosmic "stations" and finally made his presentation of a blanket and a shawl to the two doctors, Big Doctor and Pipe Offering and the ceremony was complete. Good-Land had no wife but was staying with his daughter and he put the goods he had received on her bed. She served each of the doctors a dish of food and then sat down to eat with them. Each of the other doctors made some remarks and then Good-Land made the usual type of closing address: "Now Pipe Offering and Heavy Trophies, and son-in-law, White Fox, and brother Big Doctor, I have this to say: I had this medicine, and these animals have blessed me and they have given us this their goods and the horses that are outside and that are going to carry me about. You doctors have helped me. Now the animals have blessed us. Now we have smoked. Now we have eaten." At this, all got up and left. 756 574

The animals, the plants, man's ingenuity and devotion, and the love of his family had cured the boy of his sickness.

46

A TIME FOR STORYTELLING AND FOR LEISURE

000 *Old Men Invited to Talk of Old Times—the Storytelling Sessions—after Eating, the Stories—Eagle Chief Begins—War Cry Tells of a Fight with the Sioux—Storytelling Continues through the Night*

517 THE SERIOUS BUSINESS of the season being over, the men would get together in one or another of the earth lodges to tell stories of the old times and to review past events. They had worked hard hunting the buffalo, making the harvest and performing their dances, and now it would be pleasant to sit around the fire and enjoy a little leisure before they set out again for the buffalo hunting grounds.

517
887
574
538 Old men especially are invited for they are going to talk of the Old Village, Kitahaxpakuxtu, and how things used to be and came to be. In the fall was the good time of year to be telling these stories when it's not too cold and not too hot, but just nice to have a fire—after the harvest. When people hear who is invited—old men, chiefs, warriors—they know there is going to be storytelling. These sessions would begin after supper about eight o'clock in the evening and continue on throughout the night. Refreshments would be served from time to time consisting of fried bread, cooked dried apples and coffee. The smell of the bread cooking would be wafted over the village if there was a wind blowing and someone would just follow his nose and come in. Or else he could see the smoke of the fire and would come in. As soon as he got inside they would all say, "Nawa, sit down on any side." The chiefs were ranged at the west, and on the east along both sides

sat the old men. Casual guests sat in the spaces in between. People from 517
the other villages would also hear about it and wander in. Sometimes 887
quite a large group would be gathered there. 574
538

Once Victory Call served as temporary Agency policeman and when [625]
he got an extra sack of flour for his services, he decided to have a storytelling session in his lodge. He sent Horse Rider especially to invite a number of old men: Pipe Offering, That-Chief, Heavy Trophies, Arrived, Warrior (also known as Big Knife, a name also used to refer to white people—a lively raconteur), Know-His-Face, Good-Land, Wonderful Old Buffalo Bull, and Buffalo Ghost—nine in all. Then he was sent to call in some chiefs—Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge and Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine as well as Sitting Hawk and Good Pipe —and braves—War Cry and Bringing Horses. From Bottomlands and Wolf-in-Water villages they would wander in without being invited, knowing what sort of group it was to be. While White Woman was doing the cooking, the old men were telling each other how many different places were calling them in to tell stories. The women would say, "We're through cooking," and put the bread and coffee near Victory Call a little off to his right. Now all the women retired to their beds, and as they lay there they would hear the stories.

Victory Call addressed his guests by name and kin term and said, "We have a little something here for you to eat. I thought I'd invite you here tonight so that I could see you here. Now this meeting is called simply because I want you folks to tell some old-time stories." All said, "Nawa," and Victory Call then turned over the meeting to Lone Chief and Eagle Chief who directed the proceedings from then on. They directed the two errand men to serve the food and by the time they had finished eating it was ten o'clock.

Now Eagle Chief spoke, urging Old Man Warrior to begin. But Old Man Warrior parried his suggestion with, "We old men here know how things should be done and the custom is that the leader has to tell the first story. Isn't that right, That-Chief?" "That's right," said That-Chief, "the leader has to tell the story first." "Well," said Eagle Chief laughing, "I thought I could get you to do it, but I guess I'll have to." "You start it out and we'll follow," said the old men.

When Eagle Chief began, he opened with a discussion of what sort of a story it ought to be, a long or a short one. "I have stories, but if I tell a war story, it will be a pretty long one. If I tell a story of the Sioux coming on the warpath to attack the village, it will be sort of a short one. If I tell of my trip to Washington, it will be of medium length." The old men were thinking they would rather have old-time stories so that they could reminisce about the past, but someone finally spoke up in favor

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

517 887 574 538 of a short story and said, "Let's hear stories about 'at home' [the Sioux attacking the village]. After a while we'll get away from the village and on the warpath." It was now understood that he would tell a story of attack on the village and that he would be followed by a story on the same theme by his brave, War Cry, after which the old men would begin. In both stories, the enemy was repulsed, not by main force alone, but by the power of the Peace Pipe, which is "beloved of Heaven."

539 721 [648] "Now I'll tell a story," said Eagle Chief. "Now you all know when you first took me as a chief and when I was going to Washington, on the morning of the day that was set for us to go, I was all dressed up. I was wearing my government coat, and of course, my leggings and moccasins. I was wearing my government medal. Finally the delegation left the village and when we got about five miles east, all at once one of the men in the back said, 'Look back at the village. There must be a warpath coming!' We could see everyone standing on top of the earth lodges. 'Well boys,' I said, 'let's go back.' The Kitkehaxkis, Tsawis, Pitahawiratas and us Skidis all went back to our villages." As he told the story the old men sat smoking and they said, "That's the time. That's it."

"Well when I came to my earth lodge, I looked at my wives there and said, 'Dear wives, maybe Heaven doesn't want me to see the great government.' At the same time my horse was way out there and I had to get to it to go on the warpath. All I took was my bow and arrows. I walked over to the sacred bundle and there on top were the Pipe Dance sticks. I took the one with the black eagle feathers (the male pipestem). That was all I took with me. I said to my wives, 'Now if it's the will of Heaven, I'll come back. If not, I won't. I may not come back.' It was because I had heard old people say that Heaven loves these pipes, that I took it with me.

"I got on the horse and went to where the fighting was going on. 'Well, this is my last day,' I thought to myself. Because the pipestem has two soft feathers on it and I didn't want them to touch my horse, I raised it up out of the way. I rode right through where the Sioux were and to the fighting line. I arrived at the front line with a Sioux close on one side of me, one on the other side and one directly in front. When I arrived at the front line, the Sioux turned back their horses and started to flee. There I was facing the whole line of Sioux, holding my pipe up like this. As the retreating line was going, you could see the dust. But I still had my original Sioux escorts. Wedged in between them, they didn't dare to try and shoot me with their bow and arrow as they were likely to shoot each other in the attempt. I raised this pipe and hit the one that was riding in front of me right on the back of his head. I reined in my horse and they rode ahead. We had ridden way

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ahead of the fighting line. When I looked back all I could see of the Pawnee was the cloud of dust they were raising. Now that's what I did. Now you all know what I did. 539 721

The listeners said, "Nawa." Some said, "That's right, that's the time."

Now said Eagle Chief to his co-leader, Lone Chief, "Give it to War Cry!" Everyone laughed because they expected the story to be of a very different kind from that of Eagle Chief, since War Cry was a rough character. He didn't disappoint them. His story also concerned the power of the Peace Pipe to repulse an enemy attack upon the village, but the story had a quite different flavor from Eagle Chief's.

War Cry was a brave and his whole outlook was toward aggression and violence compared with a chief who was a man of peace and conciliation. To the stark combat realism of his story, Eagle Chief was moved to comment, "That War Cry is a wicked fellow!" War Cry's narrative was as follows: 538 157 539 721

"Now I'll tell a short story like he did. You all know that the Tsawis had come for a Pipe Dance to the Skidis. They had come to Pipe Dance on Lone Chief [the Tsawis coming as "fathers" with goods, clothing, etc.]. They had been dancing for three days and now on the fourth, they were to 'take the child out,' dancing outside. Lone Chief's daughter was all painted up and dressed as the 'queen.' She was seated at the west and ten or fifteen chiefs and braves were sitting inside to witness the proceedings. Man Chief of the visiting Tsawis was about to say, 'Now we're going to take her outside,' when someone cried out at the doorway, 'Warpath coming.' Some of the Skidis got up and ran out, but about half of them stopped. Man Chief said, 'You wait, you wait—' About eight of the Skidis sat still and waited.

"Man Chief walked up north of the fireplace where Lone Chief was and he said, 'Now child, I have heard this: That Heaven loves this Pipe Dance. Here's the child before you—your child. [Lone Chief's daughter is representing the "childhood" of the whole group of Skidis who are being visited]. 'If our faith is justified,' Man Chief continued, 'then when you go on the warpath, you are going to have good luck. Now we will see. It is as if I stood holding the child and the pipe, embracing them, and the Sioux came running over me. Now, my son, I don't want to talk too long, (some of the Tsawis had also slipped out), for I know you are all anxious to go. Now you're going on the warpath. If our faith is justified, then you're going to come back with success and conquer the enemy. Now you may go!'

"The Tsawi horses were far away and most of them had gone off. The Skidis tried to run for their horses. They had a lot of them tied up there nearby to present to the Tsawis after the ceremony. The

539
721

horses were painted up with white clay across the eyes and at all the joints and down the backbone. Some were painted with red or black paint. Some had eagle feathers on the mane and some had feathers tied onto the tail. The Sioux just didn't realize that this pipe belongs to Heaven.

"Way off, the seven of us could see different bunches engaged in combat on the different hills. We began to set out in the direction of the enemy, when just then, the Sioux shone a mirror in our eyes as a farewell signal. We stopped in a bunch and all got off our horses. It was obviously too far to reach them in time.

"We were climbing a hill to the northeast of here near a place called Kira-rutsku while at the same time a young man of the South Bands was coming up on the opposite side. As soon as he got on top of the hill, instead of dismounting his horse, he just began to yell. In his hands he had two whips. He had seen a Sioux hiding in a trough nearby. The Sioux was running off thinking he had a chance to escape but all seven of us set out to attack him. At Kira-rutsku there is a kind of high bluff and right in the bend of it the Sioux was going up the high ridge and the South Band man was half way. Shot Arm and another fellow had horses that were good runners and they began to gain on him. Shot Arm called out to the South Band man to watch the Sioux and not let him get away. The Sioux rode his horse up the hill and as soon as he got to the top, Shot Arm and the other man shot at him. But they only succeeded in hitting the horse, which now began to buck. The Sioux jumped off onto his right leg and started coming toward them. The South Band man also jumped off his horse and he and the Sioux were face to face. The South Band man was brave and the rest of us just stood off to one side and watched. The Sioux's horse had remained at the top of the bluff, while the South Band man was standing next to his horse where he had dismounted. Shot Arm shouted a warning to the South Band man to look out or he would shoot his own horse. On the other hand, if the Sioux managed to get on it, they would never catch him.

"Now the South Band man and the Sioux started to fight. Both were jumping about like cats as they dodged each other's arrows. Shot Arm noticed that the South Band man was wearing a shirt and that the shirt sleeves diverted the arrow into a zigzag course so that it missed its mark. He called out to him, 'Undo your shirt sleeve.' After he had undone his sleeve and pulled it up he began to shoot straight. (We Skidis stood out of the way at a good distance where we would be wide of the mark.) At last the South Band man hit the Sioux with the arrow right in the stomach. He tried to pull the arrow out. He tried to go down the bluff. The Sioux was getting dizzy from his wound, and right near Lone Chief, he fell over.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

"Everyone was thinking of making a strike on him and getting war honors. Lone Chief was especially anxious to make the first strike on this occasion. He ran toward him down the hill as fast as he could. As I turned around, the Sioux had gotten up and fallen over on his back. The South Band man also made a strike on him and ran down the hill as fast as he could." 539 721

The war honors consisted of touching the fallen enemy and before eye witnesses stating, *tat-i-ki,* "I-at him-strike." Two more could succeed the first strike, these being spoken of as *wi-taruh-hukita-sa,* "now-it is-on top-lying." If there were no witnesses around, one could put the dead Sioux in a sheltered place and bring witnesses afterward, or people who came could be shown the tracks of horses in the place and some blood to show there had been a skirmish. Even if such proof could not be made, the story was likely to come out later when the two tribes concerned were at peace and they talked over their past experiences. 538 554 727

At this point, the story was taken over by Shot Arm, who for its next episode, had been more directly in the thick of the fight. He said:

"The Sioux had two six shooters in his belt, one on each side. The Sioux now threw away his bow and arrows and took out his guns. But I was right next to him and before he had a chance to do anything I grabbed both his hands. Meanwhile Brave Shield took the second strike on him and rode away. 539 727

"While I was grappling with him you could hear someone coming grunting and panting. That was this fellow here, War Cry. [War Cry was heavily built.] When he arrived he said to the Sioux, 'You nearly killed my brother-in-law (meaning me) (*para-kaskur-rahux-kapakis,* almost-you mine-rotten-poor, viz., killed).' He put his hand to his left side and drew out his very sharp butcher knife. It was just as sharp as it could be. He cut off the whole scalp of that Sioux, ears and all. [The whole top and back of the headskin with the ears, viz., across the top of the forehead just under the hairline and way back to the base of the hair all around, including the ears.]

"All this time I was grappling with the Sioux for his guns. War Cry put his right knee up against the Sioux's shoulders and pulled off the entire scalp. Swoosh, it went! The skin of the forehead fell over his eyes and as War Cry put his knee against the Sioux's back, he cracked the backbone and the Sioux cried out i! i! i! i! and let go the rifles.

"Back at Lone Chief's lodge, all the time the fighting was going on Man Chief and two other Tsawis had remained. Man Chief sat without moving, his buffalo robe with the hair side out wrapped tight around him. He had asked the other two to remove the decorations from Lone Chief's daughter.

539
727

"Out at the scene of battle, the man who had shot at the Sioux horse was told to take it as it was simply injured in the shoulder and would recover. Dog Chief asked War Cry for a little piece of the scalp—just enough to put on a stick, but he refused saying, 'Wait till we get home.' It was nearly sundown and all the warriors had returned except we seven. People in the village were asking, 'Did you see those seven fellows?' 'Oh, they chased the Sioux way off to Kirarutsku.' Man Chief was worried by now, and all the Tsawis that were there wanted 'their sons' to come home. The Tsawis came outside and sat on the high bank along the bluff outside Lone Chief's lodge.

"We started back from Kirarutsku in a bunch with the South Band man leading his horse and the rest of us Skidis following. Between nine and ten in the evening the Tsawis along the bluff could see us coming on a ridge about half a mile away. We were shooting off the six-shooters to announce our good luck and they could see the sparks and hear the report of the guns. As soon as we came in sight, Brave Shield who has the loudest voice called out, 'Lone Chief struck the enemy!' Someone else called, 'Brave Shield struck second!' and then another, 'War Cry scalped the whole head!'

"Everyone took up the cry and began to shout, 'Lone Chief struck the enemy' and the old ladies began to sing and dance and everyone heard it for it was in his lodge that the Pipe Dance was going on and there his daughter was being made 'the child.' All the visiting Tsawis, young and old, all along the bluff, began to yell, 'Lone Chief struck the enemy. Brave Shield made second strike!'

"Someone at the door of Lone Chief's lodge called out '*Piirau* (child), *wi-ti-ki*, now-he-make first strike!' Man Chief jumped up from where he had been sitting huddled in his robe and also some of the braves that were in there. They were saying, 'Cook right away. Get a bucket of water.' An old Tsawi man stood up and started to sing old war songs—victory songs. Some ladies began to sound the high shrill ululating victory cry.

"Man Chief selected one of his braves and said, 'Now you go and meet our sons and say to them, 'Sons, come right here to Lone Chief's lodge—all of you.' Halfway out the Tsawi brave called out, 'Children [*pirau*]' and they all answered, 'Father [*atias*].' 'Nawa, children, your father, Man Chief, has said that all of you are to come to Lone Chief's lodge. They are cooking now [*witirakaruriku*].' Now they followed on horseback after the Tsawi brave. Then as they got in, the returning warriors said, 'All right, we'll be there. But we must first take these horses home.'

"As Lone Chief was coming toward his lodge, a brave had been told to spread a buffalo robe on the ground outside. Man Chief em-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

braced Lone Chief as he got off the horse and directed him to sit down on the buffalo robe. Then the braves got hold of the buffalo robe and carried him into the lodge, setting him down in his place near the door. Now all the Tsawis were singing—the old men and the old women, and when the rest of us seven arrived in a crowd, they gave us everything they were wearing—their blankets, leggings, and finally the Tsawis had almost nothing on. 539 727

"Now three old Skidi women came led by Grieves-the-Enemy. She was dressed to commemorate her war deed, when she had saved the village from the attacking Poncas by impersonating a medicine man. She had her hair all tied up in a knot at the front of her head to one side. She had black soot across her eyes. She was saying to the other two old women, 'Here's his lodge. I want you two old women to sing.' As soon as they sang and danced with their sticks, the Tsawis gave the three old ladies calico and other gifts."

This was the end of the story that War Cry had started and Shot Arm continued. The Pipe of Peace, beloved of Heaven, had brought them victory as they defended their village. 538

Now the real session that they had all been waiting for would begin and continue all night. First Old-Man-That-Chief and then the others told real old time stories. For the most part they described their experiences as they moved from place to place abroad in the land in times past. With vivid imagery and detail they described each location and its events. It was in just such a meeting right after they returned from the winter hunt, after the warriors and chiefs had told their stories that the old men would take up the question of the calendar and whether they needed to introduce the thirteenth intercalary month that year. Warrior would tell an old war story and also That-Chief and then Good-Land would begin to speak of what year it is. He would talk of the stars —of how when people are lost, they must find their way back by following them. Then he would say of the moon that when it is low, we must put on something warm for it might rain or snow at any time. If you are far off you will need something warm to weather the storm. And after the storm is over you look at the stars and find your way back. Now the conversation turned to specific stars—which ones are appearing now, and how one star that shines brightly in spring brings a big wind when it gets to a certain place. Also, that there are sometimes two or three stars that act together. Good-Land continued with some experiences that had taught him about these things. He told of how a man who went south to Oklahoma with a big party strayed off on the way back. In the day he was able to follow the sun and calculate the east and north, going by north and a little eastward. At night he walked right under [805] 538 821 484

538 the north star, and going a little to the east, even though it was night, he
821 was able to overtake his companions. "This happened many times," he
484 said.

538 Another old man would take up where he left off and tell more stories in the same vein. "Because the stars and the planets appear to be moving,
821 the Indians believe the earth is still." Then they began to argue about
805 the question of "the thirteenth month." Some said, "Not now," others thought this was the time. They spoke of the position of the constellations, "first one snake, then two ducks and then the real rattlesnakes (Scorpio). That marks the beginning of the year—the spring. The months should coincide with these constellations." Of the regular twelve
538 months, nine were named for familiar activities—clearing, planting, cul-
821 tivating, hunting, and harvest—while the tenth and eleventh were paired
805 and named after the constellations—little duck (*kiwakski*) and big duck
192 (*kiwaks-kutsu*). The twelfth month was called *kaata*, darkness. It was through the observation of the position of the constellations that the regular month names had to be set in their proper course for the various activities for which they were named. In the year when the intercalary month was introduced, the two duck months were thought of as being paired, and then *kaata*, darkness, paired with the introduced month; the rest of the months of the year being paired accordingly, with the fifth month, viz., the June 19–July 18 month "standing alone." This was the month when one went off on the summer hunt. The thirteenth or intercalary month, had a variety of names, the most usual being Entrance Passageway to the earth lodge, *Puhuweturukut*, or the Skidi version, *Puhuwaturukat*, the long 10- or 15-foot entranceway. Alternative names had various references: If it had thundered from the north (rather than the south) when they got back, they thought the cold weather would last late into the spring and they called the month, *Paruks-ti-taka*, Thunder or Storm-It-Is-White, for the snow they expected to have. Another name for this month was Hidden Child, *pira-paru*, "child-hidden," the Pawnee equivalent of our "illegitimate child." The reference was to abortion for it was said that the abandoned foetus was more conspicuous on the snow during that season than on the bare ground. A further name, *atatpiiwa*, is of unknown significance. From this example, it should be
538 clear that the storytelling session was not a mere leisure pastime. Through
517 it was transmitted history, climatology, theology, the logistics of war,
topography, and many other important facets of Pawnee knowledge.
[224] Such a session was an invaluable preamble to setting out on the winter
hunt.

47

EQUIPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL MANUFACTURES

The Fall of the Year a Time for Manufacture— 000
Buffalo a Chief Source—History of Their Trading—Wood of Second Importance—Reeds and Grasses Third in Importance—Clay and Stone Scarce—History of Transition from Stone to Metal—Crafts Highly Regarded but No Religious Taboos—Learning to Make a Black Rope

THE FALL OF THE YEAR was the time when the Pawnees made most of the 221
things they used. There was a plentiful supply of food and in the protected environment of the earth lodge, they could manufacture the various items of furnishings, clothing, and equipment they needed. Moreover, with the winter hunt and migration in prospect, they had to make sure that everything was in order, as there would be little time in the short daylight hours for more than setting up camp and processing the meat and skins.

There were very few materials in the Pawnee environment that they 433
could use to make the things they needed. Their top resource for in- 237
dustry as well as for food was the buffalo. Hides, hair, horns, and bones 825
each found a number of essential uses. Hides made their all-important tent cover, their blankets, curtains, containers, moccasin soles, and other clothing. And even beyond their domestic needs, it gave them their major item of external trade, the buffalo robe.

There is clear evidence that this was a leading trade item before the 174
Spaniards moved up into the Plains in 1540. Long before the advent of the 438
European on the continent, the settled villages were centers of trade for 439
the more nomadic peoples and there were seasonal trade fairs in recog- 443
nized locations where peoples came to exchange their special products and materials.

000 and materials. European goods were first spread by itinerant traders who
439 carried their wares to the different villages and centers and finally set
443 up their own trade stores. Bishop and Matlock's was the favorite trade
[436] store for the Pawnees at this time, and the buffalo robe was the chief
medium of exchange. The trade value of a well-tanned robe of ordinary
[435] quality was ten to fifteen dollars. For one of prime quality, expertly
tanned, they might get thirty dollars worth of exchange goods. The national
market of the trader justified him in paying these prices. In 1848,
175 100,000 robes were shipped out of St. Louis, and the American Civil War
439 gave a special impetus to the buffalo leather trade for army needs. By
1874 even England was making use of the leather for its army. When
supplies were running low in a Pawnee household, the man would
point to an unworked buffalo hide and say to his wife, "Make up that
buffalo robe so that we can get something at the store." In the past the
same expedient probably served for trade with other tribes or villages.

237 The hair of the buffalo was intricately braided into a long rope known
as Black Rope, which was used by the men to hold the buffalo robe in
place as well as for other purposes. The horns provided the common eating
and serving spoons and the bones were made into a number of important
tools, notably the buffalo shoulder blade, which was the main
spade or earth-digging tool as well as the hoe and the scythe. These
bones also provided tools for skin working and for sizing and straightening
the arrowshaft, as well as slivers for scraping and cutting. The sinews
of the buffalo were used for sewing together the skins and for making
bowstrings.

313 Second in importance as an industrial material was wood. In the open
prairie plains, trees grew only along the streams. The supply was heavily
drawn upon for fuel as well as for industry. Wood was used industrially
for building and for equipment and utensils. Cottonwood and willow
313 were the mainstay of the construction industries—the cottonwood because
824 it was light for its strength and bulk and the willow for its flexibility.
Elm was used for making the mortar and post oak for the pestle.
They also used the post oak to make their common eating bowls. Dogwood
was the material of the arrowshafts and ashwood for the bow as
well as the gaming hoop and the pipestem. Wood was best gotten in the
fall when the sap was running low.

824 Reeds and grasses were their third industrial resource. Grasses grew
along the streams and reeds in the limited number of ponds to be found
in the area. Since they matured about the same time as the cultivated
crops, they had to be processed as soon as the harvest was over. The
[285] most important product they made from these materials was the large
twined woven mat that they felt had to be spread on the dusty ground
[352] both in the earth lodge and in the tent while they were on the hunt. Next

Next 824
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two es- 316
sential materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and 317
stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have 439
been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or
by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their
area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made 175
up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking 439
and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees 415
were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one 177
could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grin- [323]
nell got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery
in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it
well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 323

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron."
> This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they [252]
> boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They 172
have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular 415
body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick
"collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad
collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was 415
the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part 252
the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim
and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots
were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must 411
also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was 17
entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the
arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops
roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to
the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-
177 shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological cir-
[172] cles as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people
was "Big Knife."

17 Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
412 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
324 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrow-
shafts and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sand-
stone buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from south-
[439] west Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to re-
veal their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard
electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

796 The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
463 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
322 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the
essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots
from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when
the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was
referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the
pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic
terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
796 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
171 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

time or not up to technical standards, or if the person failed to remain even-tempered during the work, direct consequences to the health and well-being of the craftswoman and her family would inevitably follow. The guild was in the charge of a woman who made sure that these conditions were met. The woman who supervised the fitting of the skins to make the tent—the tent architect—also belonged to a religious guild of a similar sort. The conventional character of Pawnee technical processes was just as firmly established as among these other peoples, most of them going back to very old practices, and their work was as fine and as precisely done but there were no religious connotations of any kind. 531 782 463 [281] [342]

The mature women did most of the craft work that pertained to the domestic economy. The men made most of the things they used in hunting, war, and ceremonials. The crafts were not taught to the young people as a normal part of their education. A young man or a young woman had to be very eager to learn and only if an older person was willing to sponsor them were they able to do so. The teacher had to receive ample payment as well as a clear indication of a very real desire to learn. Both for the manufacture of a craft object and for teaching as well as other kinds of assistance, "payment" should provide the craftsman with "something to wear and something with which to feed the family." This consisted in skin clothing or commercial cloth, blankets or shawls, and the standard food stuffs, either native or trade. 463 [462] [465]

The following is my informant's account of the circumstances of learning the craft of making a black rope of braided buffalo hair: 463 283

> If a woman wanted to learn how to make a buffalo hair belt from Old Lady Lucky Leader, for example, one would go to her and put a necklace about her neck, and ask to be taught. She would certainly not consent at once. She might answer, "Some day I will teach you." This signified that if the applicant went quietly away and asked again another day, then repeated her request on subsequent occasions, she might finally give in. If she said, "I'll think about it," this meant she might capitulate if asked again. On the other hand, if she said, "I can't do it," this constituted an absolute refusal.
>
> There were situations in which she would feel impelled to grant the request. This was particularly the case if the woman were a close and respected relative, especially an in-law. On the other hand, she might also feel impelled to teach a woman whose family fortunes were low and who needed to earn something to help out. Such a woman was the wife of Chief's-Road. Giving the old lady a gift she said, "I want you to take pity on me and teach me to make a buffalo hair belt. You know that I am poor and we can't seem to work out anything. What I want is for you to take pity on me so that it may earn something for us. My husband can't make much and my sister can't do anything."

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

463 Having consented, Old Lady Lucky Leader would say, "On so-and-
283 so day I am going to make it. Come in then." When the wife of Chief's-Road came in, the old lady directed her to sit down to her left and watch everything. As the work progressed she paid close attention to the manner of braiding and after some of the work had been completed, the teacher asked the pupil to try her hand at it. At first she was very clumsy and was corrected by the teacher and finally she got the idea. When she got home, she tried to do it by herself and from time to time came in to see the old lady saying she didn't quite remember about this and this detail and asking to be shown.

She told no one that she had learned, but on an occasion when someone came to the old lady to have a belt made, she would say, "Go to the wife of Chief's-Road. She can make it. I taught her." The man now would go to the wife of Chief's-Road and tell her that he had been sent by the old lady because she had too much work. She would make the belt for the man and the entire fee would be hers, with no further financial obligation to her teacher. From now on others would hear of it and begin to apply to her and she would be able to earn something for her family.

463 Most mature women knew the techniques of skin working with a
[281] knowledge of mat making being somewhat less common but still widely
[285] known. Everyone could make buffalo-horn spoons. The weaving of the
[321] black rope and woven belts as well as the making of wooden bowls
[283] were known to a very limited number of craftswomen. In the men's
[322] crafts, the bow was made by everyone, but the extremely restricted
[411] number of arrowshaft makers has already been mentioned. The pipe
makers were equally specialized and they made both the stem and the
[276] bowl. Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most significant things the man needed. Only six or seven men among all the Skidi
[292] could make them. Skin shirts could only be worn by men who had an
[554] outstanding social or military status and these were made by a very
limited number of specialists. These specialists were regarded like the
[294] village blacksmith of our early towns. They tried to have two or three
of them in each village. But even the most common craft techniques could only be learned by a person who was sponsored by someone or had the wherewithal to pay for his instruction.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

48

THE PROCESS OF MAKING LEATHER AND FURS

000

Background Information of Indian Trading—the Preparation of Hides—Rawhide and Tanning Processes—Dressing the Deer—Saddle and Bridle Making—Clothing of Women and Men—Moccasin—Special Clothing: Eagle Feathers, Braided Belts

THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE from archaeological and early historical evidence that formerly Indian trade involved a variety of regionally limited raw materials and items that were regarded as luxury foods and ornaments. In the archaeological Ohio Hopewell sites of a culture that flourished around the beginning of the Christian era there are raw materials from the Rockies to the Atlantic Coast and from the Gulf of Mexico and possibly even Middle America. 172 439

In 1738 the Mandans to the northeast of Pawnee territory, gave the Assiniboine middlemen painted buffalo robes, clusters of feathers, headdresses, garters, and girdles in exchange for muskets, axes, kettles, powder, bullets, knives, and bodkins which they had gotten from the British at Hudson's Bay. 000

In 1812, the Comanches chewed pieces of checker-plaited dried pumpkin mat as they rode, which they had received from the Pawnees and paid for in buffalo robes and horses. [439] [175]

From the accounts of first European contacts, the dressed buffalo hide was also an important item of native trade. The presumably Caddoan-speaking Tula who in 1541 were defeated by De Soto south of Hot Springs, Arkansas, were sent by their chiefs with tribute of "many cowhides as a gift which were useful because it was a cold land and they were serviceable for coverlets as they were very soft and the wool like that of

000 sheep." It was further reported that to the north there were many "cattle." The reports of Coronado's expedition of about the same period in the Southwest describe the details of buffalo hunting with great accuracy and show that even in the 1860's they had survived substantially as they were then. In 1599, Oñate of New Mexico hoped the Spaniards could also develop a thriving trade in buffalo wool and hides, but the Spanish empire was already too decadent.

175
439
[224] By the 1600's the big business in furs with Europe had been developed by France starting with the fateful beaver trade on the St. Lawrence. As we see from the present account, the Pawnees were still trapping the beaver with metal traps in 1867, in order to trade them for cash. By the end of the 1600's the Indians were no longer merely a source of raw materials for trade to Europe, but also a positive outlet for European manufactured goods. "The Indians were collecting sassafras, tanning buckskins, and building up a steady trade in buffalo wool." In 1702 seventeen Frenchmen left Tamaroa Mission near Cahokia, Illinois, east of St. Louis to ascend the Missouri about two hundred leagues to build a fort between the Pawnee and the Iowa. The French were attempting to control the inter-Indian trade to protect themselves from the encroachment upon the Indian trade by the Spaniards who were moving up from the Southwest. Their fears were not unfounded, for in 1706 the Spaniards were reported to have come to an Indian village to trade for buffalo hides with which to make harness for their mules.

[177] At a somewhat later period, fur traders were sent out from Council Bluffs (Iowa) to live with the Pawnees at their earth lodges and follow them on their hunting expeditions.

281 Before he became mature, every man and woman had learned how to prepare hides. Most of all they needed the buffalo robe. As stated by the informant:

> 291
> 237 The wind blew through the blankets, the buffalo robe kept you warm. Almost everyone needed a new buffalo robe every winter. Toward the summer, the hair would all wear off and by the late fall, there wouldn't be any wool on to keep a person warm. In Victory Call's family, they needed at least four robes in good condition for the winter—one for Victory Call himself, one for his wife, White Woman, one for Grandma and one for the boy, Otter. For the adults it took the skin of a whole buffalo. For children, the whole skin of a calf was used with the headskin and the two little horns left intact.
>
> 291 During the daytime, the robe was wrapped around the body horizontally with the head part overlapping at the left. At night, the same robe was used as a blanket the long way, with the hair against the body, the head part covering the head and the tail part the feet. One

robe could keep a person warm in winter if it were well tucked in all 291
around.

There were three stages by which the hide was prepared for its differ- 281
ent uses—rawhide, tanned, or dyed.

Rawhide was the first stage. While they were on hunt, the fresh hide was pegged out with the hair side down and the flesh scraped off. The [413]
defleshing tool was made of a buffalo shinbone with the small end [237]
broken off and discarded. The broken edge was cut into a row of fine teeth with which to scrape the hide. The thick end of the bone had a hole drilled in it through which a buckskin strap was threaded to be worn around the wrist while the tool was in use. It took about half an hour to peg down and flesh a skin. After it was thoroughly dry, it was rolled up and carried home to the village where it was stored in the food pit or kept in the lodge to be dressed at the first opportunity. The largest number were worked in the fall. The skin was dressed as rawhide by simply removing the hair. The skin was unrolled and spread on the ground and the pieces of dried flesh picked off with a knife and boiled in the soup. Now the hide was turned over and the hair removed with an elbow-shaped scraper. This tool was like an adze with a handle of elkhorn and [413]
a cutting blade fastened to the bent end. In the old days the cutting [237]
blade was of chipped flint but at this time the women had the blades made by the blacksmith. To dehair it, the woman stood directly on the hide and bent over holding the elbow-scraper crosswise with her left hand on the handle end and her right hand on the elbow so that she could push it across the skin. She removed hair, chips and shavings, striking and pushing upon the skin and scraping with a sidewise motion toward the left. If the blade were not sharp, she would have to sit down while she worked and this would take a good deal longer. The hide of a big bison was used to make rawhide.

Rawhide was used for the large envelope in which the dried buffalo [415]
meat was contained, for moccasin soles, saddles, and for cutting into long [291]
continuous strips for ropes and whips. Half a bull hide was also used for [283]
making a baggage raft or water package.

Tanning the skin required many additional technical steps. All skins have three layers, a horny one on the outside, a soft fatty layer on the inside where the sweat and fat glands are embedded, and the middle layer, the corium, which is the true skin. The corium is made up of gelatinous fibers and it is the objective of the tanning process to enter into combination with these fibers so that they are preserved and still remain flexible. For this purpose the Pawnees used a decoction of elm bark and brains. The technical term for this mixture is *tann*, meaning "oak" in the old Celtic of Brittany. Besides brains, sour milk and various oils are alternative materials for improving the texture.

281 The skins were tanned either with or without the hair. The skins of
old buffalo or with exceptionally thin wool had the hair removed and
[415] were kept on hand to wrap things in, for bedding, skin bags, moccasins,
[513] and occasionally, if they were light enough, for skirts. The heavier qualities were used especially for tent skins. Tanned hide with hair removed
[291] was used as a light wrap or blanket to be draped around the shoulders.
[531] When worn in this way it was often decorated with designs or colored.

In tanning the robe with the hair on, which was the main trade robe, the hide was unrolled the evening before. Next morning it was placed on the ground and scraped on the flesh side with the elbow-scraper. This was a more strenuous process than dehairing. The skin had to be thinned section by section and any irregularities removed. If no one interrupted and the work proceeded at top speed, it took three hours of back-breaking labor. After this, the skin was immediately sprinkled with water to keep it soft and by evening it was pliable enough to be folded up and put into a kettle with cold water poured over it and left to soak overnight.

417 The next morning after breakfast the woman prepared a stretching
281 frame on which to fasten the skin so that she could apply the tanning mixture. The standing part of the frame was made of two pairs of tent poles, each pair being fastened together at the top, spread out at the bottom, and set apart at the proper distance to accommodate the length of the skin. The two sets of "bi-pods" were joined across the near arms by two additional tent poles, one above and one below to a distance of the width of the hide. The skin was bound onto this slanting rectangular frame by overcasting around the edges through the peg holes around the edge of the hide. The flesh surface was now uppermost and to this the tanning solution would be applied.

281 Some bark, used as a sort of sponge, was dipped into the tanning mixture, which was spilled and rubbed onto the hide until it was well soaked and the water was dripping down the surface. The solution was now pressed in and rubbed from the top downward with a special tool resembling the blade of an iron hoe. In this process of rubbing and scraping, a good deal of the excess water was removed. When the skin had dried somewhat, a pinch of flour was sprinkled on and rubbed all over the surface to make it white. While the skin remained on the stretcher to dry for about an hour, the equipment for the next step was prepared. The skin would be rubbed back and forth on a taut sinew rope in order to soften it. Two green sticks of uneven height, one 2 feet and one 5½ feet high, were set upright in the ground about 4½ feet apart. They were joined by a big sinew rope that was stretched between them and tied at each end. The skin was rubbed back and forth across the rope on the flesh side until it was softened. One woman could do this alone, but it was more convenient for two to work on it, one holding on to the hide at each end.

The stretching of the skin on the frame took all morning, the tanning 281
the noon hour and the afternoon the rubbing and softening. By evening, [461]
although the skin was still quite wet it was taken indoors so that no one would appropriate it. It was beaten with a stick on the fur side to sprinkle out some of the water.

Next morning when the sun was quite high, the skin was again rubbed on the sinew and set on the ground with the hair side up to get completely dry. Then it was placed on a mat and the margin trimmed all around with a sharp knife to remove any peg holes or other irregularities. The robe was now complete and was rolled up ready for wear or sale.

The skins that were less prime were tanned without the hair on, as the tanning process differed somewhat from the fur robe. After the hair was scraped off with the elbow-scraper, the flesh side was scraped and thinned with the same tool. The hide was soaked over night and next morning, stretched on the frame to be treated with the tanning mixture. The skin was left on the frame until the flesh side was thoroughly dry and even though the dehaired surface remained a bit wet, the skin was removed from the frame and rubbed between the fingers to soften it, then twisted with a wringing motion as we twist our bedsheets. It was not necessary to rub the skin as violently as the fur robe as in the dehairing process the horny outer epidermis had been removed. Eight of these skins went into the construction of the tent cover; they were used for bedding, curtains, packages, and bags.

The skins to be worn as blankets were usually dyed. If a white blanket 281
was desired, white clay was sprinkled on the wet surface while it was 386
still stretched on the frame and allowed to dry in thoroughly before it was removed and twisted.

More commonly, for wear as blankets, the tanned hide was dyed black. The black dye was made by boiling sumach leaves in water, the dye being allowed to cool before being applied to the surface of the tanned hide. The dye was rubbed in with a rag, first on one surface and when this was dry, on the other. When both sides were thoroughly dry, the skin was rubbed between the fingers to soften it and hung across a horizontal pole and beaten with a stick to remove the excess dye that had dried onto the surface. Interspersed with the other housework of the fall season, it took four days to make a black-dyed blanket.

It was also possible to dye the tanned hide a light yellow. This was done by smoking it over a rotten log of any kind of wood. They dug a long rectangular trench in the ground and put the log into it with some
hot coals. They built an archway of supple twigs over the trench by [417]
sticking a series of twigs in the ground along both sides and joining them at the top. A number of long sticks were fastened on top and on the long sides of the archway to strengthen the structure. The tanned hide was laid onto the framework and weighted down with earth or sticks on all

281 sides to keep the air from reaching the inner surface. When they first
386 removed the skin from the frame, the smoked surface was somewhat black, but when it was exposed to the air it quickly turned yellow. Any smoky patches that remained were rubbed with the fingers, and these promptly turned yellow, too. In the past these dyed skin blankets were the forerunners of the later trade blanket.

291 The skins of the deer and elk were used for clothing because they
221 were considerably lighter and softer than the buffalo hide. In the fall particularly, when the doctor performances were in prospect, they made a critical inspection of their wardrobes to see if they had something suitable to wear for the occasion. The women thought about a new dress and the men considered whether their clothing wasn't too shabby to wear and what ceremonial costumes they would need. They had been on the march all summer and busy with the harvest and they had had no time to think about such matters. They also had to consider the forthcoming winter hunt.

291 In the Plains climate, clothing was a pressing necessity. The fresh deer
262 and elk meat was a welcome addition to their staple diet of dried vegeta-
251 bles and buffalo meat, but it was consumed immediately and never pre-
281 served. Economically, the hides were of greater practical value.

There is some question whether it was the men or the women who
[462] dressed the deer and elkskins. Theoretically they both knew how, but the only accounts of the process I have seen or been able to collect refer to the work of the men. Apparently the hide was not treated with a tanning mixture but was simply dehaired and rubbed:

> The first step in dressing the deer hide was to get it wet. A stick was put slantwise in the ground and the hide draped over it hair side up and fastened at the top. The hair which slanted upward was scraped off with a sharpened horse rib that was pushed from the top down.
> [513] The deer hair was used as a stuffing for pillows; the buffalo hair was always thrown away. The skin was now turned over with the flesh side uppermost and rubbed with a sharp rock as rough as a file. Next they continued to rub the flesh side with another rock that was gray and white and very porous. They kept rubbing the flesh side until the skin had dried.

A description of preparing a moose hide for a robe is somewhat simpler; allowing the skin to soak in water for a day and a night, removing the hair with a horse rib as it rested on a slanting cottonwood stick, and then simply spreading the skin on the ground to dry.

When needed, the men dressed bear or fox skins and those of some other animals, stretching them on frames and overcasting them all around

the edges through a series of little holes. The beaver skins that they 281
trapped for sale to the traders, were treated in the same way.

The men made their own saddles and horse trappings, some of deer 282
and some of buffalo hide. All men made these for themselves and dressed 492
the deer hides, even Eagle Chief himself. But buffalo hide was gotten 462
from the women. They made saddles, bridles, stirrups, and saddle bags.
For saddle bags, discarded buffalo robes were obtained from the women.
The saddles were made either of deer and deer horns or wood and buffalo
hide. The horn saddle took four or five days; the buffalo hide ten to
fifteen. The men worked hard on their saddles and decorated them [531]
elaborately.

The basic clothing was cut out and sewn with an awl and sinew by the 291
women. The women wore a wrap-around skirt, an overblouse, leggings [294]
fastened at the knee, and moccasins. The skirt, of tanned deer hide,
reached just below the knee with the closing at the right side. It was
fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. If no deer hide was
available, they used a very soft buffalo hide.

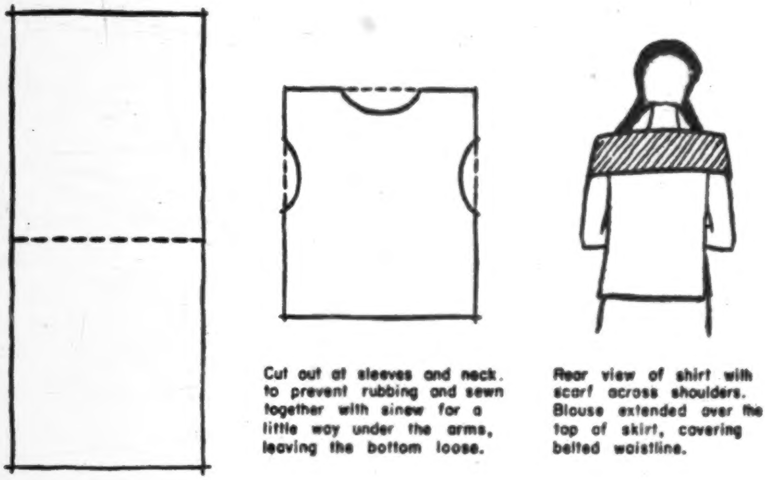
The blouse was a simple sleeveless pullover extending down over the
waist so that it covered the top of the skirt and the belt that held it in
place. It was made of an oblong piece of skin folded in two and cut out
for the neck and armholes so that it would not rub against the underarm.
(See Figure 48-1.) It was sewn along the sides with sinew, the seams
extending just a little below the waist. The bottom section that reached
toward the hips was left unsewn on the two sides. Around the neck was a
scarf about 4 inches wide sewn across the back and reaching over the
shoulders so that it could be turned up in cold weather for protection.
The neck was provided with a drawstring whose ends hung down in
front unless they wanted to draw the blouse close together around the
throat.

Until the age of five or six, the little girls ran around naked, but then 855
they had to have a little wraparound skirt of buckskin with a drawstring 291
at the top. They would always complain that it was too loose, for it was
usually made to allow for growth; when the little girl complained her
mother would say, "Oh, go on, you'll grow soon," or "After all, it might
shrink."

Leggings of tanned deer or elk hide were worn by all the women, and 291
these were tied around under the knee and turned down over the tie
string at the top. For both men and women, they made two-piece
moccasins with hard soles and softer uppers. Those of the Skidi were below [384]
the ankle and those of the South Bands a little above.

The clothing of the men, besides the basic garments, included a [292]
number of ceremonial trappings or some that signified special rank or
achievement. The main clothes were a loincloth, leggings, and moccasins.

291 Around the waist they had an elkskin string. To it on each side they tied on the leggings which were of deer or elkskin, covering the whole leg and thigh. A strip of soft tanned deer hide was drawn between the legs and under the waist band so that the ends hung down in front and in back. One good deer skin made two pairs of leggings. Each legging took [294] an hour to make—two hours for the pair. In warm weather a man might [461] carry a tanned buffalo-hide blanket over the left shoulder when not in use. In winter they wore the furred buffalo robe for warmth.



Cut out at sleeves and neck. to prevent rubbing and sewn together with sinew for a little way under the arms, leaving the bottom loose.

Rear view of shirt with scarf across shoulders. Blouse extended over the top of skirt, covering belted waistline.

Fold in two.

FIGURE 48-1. The pattern of a woman's skin shirt. A scarf about 4 inches wide was fastened to the neck and across the shoulders; it could be turned up against the back of the neck and head in cold weather. A string that went all around the neck with both ends hanging down in front could be tied at the neck to draw the shirt close around the throat. There was a wrap-around skin skirt closing at the right side and reaching just below the knee; this was fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. The costume was completed by leggings fastened at the knees and moccasins.

291 294 Keeping the family in moccasins was a constant problem for the women. During the migrations on the hunt, moccasins wore out all the time and the woman had to carry along some cutout moccasin leather all ready to be sewn up. A sewing bag with sinew, an awl, and moccasin patterns was an essential of the hunting equipment. A man going on a long journey over the country would take along a similar kit.

291 [771] There were two kinds of moccasins in general use among North American tribes—one better adapted to rough open terrain, a hard-soled moccasin, the other with a soft sole suitable for forest dwellers. The hard-

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair
turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moc-
casin to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the
padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of [294]
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-
soled moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one
section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in [855]
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to pro-
tect them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accom-
modate the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other [465]
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstand- 554
ing symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

+

292 554 [531] [461]

work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such a shirt.

The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237 554 825 [411]

The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught. Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one, the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281 756 262

Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered inedible and was left in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237 293 [223]

Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237 554 714

Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a shield.

shield. Some men could make themselves a war bonnet with eagle feathers 000
(the traditional war bonnet of the plains symbolizing a comet). They 237
would buy long white beads in the store and at the base of the throat, 292
wear a big shiny disk about as large as a dollar made out of long black 301
oyster shell.

An indispensable element of ceremonial costuming was the Black Rope 463
made of buffalo hair. Only men could wear these. The process of braid- 283
ing was very complicated and required great concentration. If a woman [292]
came around inclined to converse, the maker would excuse herself and [237]
say she had to get through and wasn't able to talk at this time. The work
was done in the house and preferably in the fall when less interruptions
were likely. Only a few women had the skill to do it. The hair of which
the rope was made was from the mane or head of the buffalo. Four
twisted strands were braided together into a long rope or belt. Each of
the strands for braiding was wound onto a ball, and these balls were
manipulated in order to form the braid. Some women did fine even work
and some did it poorly and roughly. Working steadily at it, the work took [461]
about twelve days. If it had to be fitted in with other work, it would
take more time. A woman would come to the belt maker on behalf of
her husband and order one, bringing the materials. The maker would be
paid well.

There were some few women who could make a colorful braided belt 292
by interweaving five colors. They called it "red-woven." It was a wide [286]
flat belt that was made to order to fit the waist of the prospective wearer
with long fringes hanging down to the ankles. A belt like this was usually
made for boys and girls of good families and for young women. An older [171]
woman would not consider it proper to wear one although among the
Osage, they were commonly worn by all women. A few men twisted
these belts around their heads as a turban with the fringes hanging down
on both sides of the face and eagle feathers at the back of the head.
Most men regarded this as a "flashy" style of dressing.

The materials used were entirely commercial—wool for the body and cord for the concealed warps. A woman who wanted to have one made for her boy would ask her husband to buy the materials at the trade store so that she could take them to the weaver.

We do not know whether this skill is old or new among the Pawnee. 286
In general, on the American continent, it goes back several thousand 178
years as a fabric-producing technique. But the exclusive use of commer-
cial materials and the reluctance of mature men and women to wear the
belt suggests that its adoption is fairly new.

The work was usually done outdoors in the springtime for maximum 286
visibility. It required great concentration and one mistake might compel
the weaver to rip the whole thing. If a woman was making one on order,
her family would do her spring planting to free her for the work. It

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

286 It took ten days to make a belt along with other housework and the pay
[461] was five or six yards of calico, half a sack of dried corn and a slab of
[465] dried buffalo meat.

291 Except for this one last item, all the rest of the Pawnee clothing was made of leather and fur.

49

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TENT COVER

000

Tents Made by Specialists—the Time Involved and the Payment—the Process of Making the Tent under Old Lady Lucky Leader's Direction

342 237 THE BUFFALO-HIDE TENT COVER was a major family possession. It was made of at least eight tanned hides, with sinew from an equal number of buffalo to sew them together. The body of the tent was formed of seven skins and the eighth was cut up for gussets, loops for pegs around the bottom edge, and a double thickness on both sides of the doorway. Twelve years represented the life of a tent, and some of the skins wore out in the meantime and had to be replaced. About three years before the cover was worn out, they would have to think about acquiring the necessary tanned skins. It took at least two years to accumulate the eight skins—a summer and a winter hunt and then again a summer and a winter hunt and in each of the four hunts, two skins were saved for the tent.

342 463 In order to cut out the pattern of the skins and give directions for putting them together and sewing them, a specialist had to be called in by the family. Old Lady Lucky Leader, in addition to her many other accomplishments in the Doctor Lodge and as keeper of the Evening Star bundle, was also one of the outstanding tent architects. She would have to cut out the several buffalo skins and fit them together in the most economical way and direct the other women in sewing them together with sinew.

[461] It took four days of steady work for the four women of Victory Call's household to complete the sewing of the cover under the old lady's direction.

342 464 465 But before she could be called in, in addition to having all the necessary materials prepared, they had to get ready the payment for the vari-

342 ous services that would be involved. Lady Lucky Leader herself would
464 get a good amount of flour, sugar, coffee, and some calico, and the other
465 women of the household who helped with the sewing were given gifts
of calico and special meals were prepared for entertaining them. These
439 items had to be obtained at the trade store in exchange for a tanned buffalo
[437] robe. This was prepared by White Woman, and the day before the
work was to begin Victory Call and she each mounted a horse and rode
over to the store about two miles away, taking the robe with them. The
[492] two horses would be needed to bring home the supplies, otherwise White
[562] Woman would have walked, Victory Call ridden. At the trade store they
439 got a sack of flour, some coffee, sugar, baking powder, prunes, dry apples,
435 and about five yards of calico. At this time a hundred-pound sack of
flour was worth $7.00 at the store. For the family alone without special
events or guests, such a sack of flour lasted about two weeks (two
double-handfuls for each meal). Amounts of the other items usually
bought were fifty cents worth of coffee, fifty cents worth of sugar,
twenty-five cents worth of baking powder. Five or six yards of calico
439 were $1.00 so that, excluding the cost of the prunes and dry apples, the
342 gift to Lady Lucky Leader would amount to about $9.25 worth of
464 merchandise. An exceptionally well-tanned buffalo robe would bring
465 $20-30 worth of value at the store. After providing payment for Lady
[435] Lucky Leader with the remaining value of the buffalo robe, they had to
buy supplies for the special meals—an additional sack of flour, more
sugar, coffee, baking powder, and some lard and prunes. Finally to each
of the three women of the household that helped with the sewing—
Grandma, No Corn, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy—they would give
five yards of calico to each (worth a dollar for the five yards), and some
needles and thread. The buffalo robe would just about cover the labor
costs for sewing together the tent.

463 About a week before the work was to begin, White Woman would
342 have gone to see Lady Lucky Leader and have said to her, "Atira (my
mother), I've come to ask you to make a new tent for me." "Well," she
answered, "I have something to do right now, but I could do it a little
later. Are you in a hurry?" "No, a week's time will be all right." "Well,
then, have two good sharp knives ready," said the old lady.

At the appointed day, she arrived at Victory Call's lodge after breakfast.
The skins and tools were taken outdoors, and while White Woman
cleared up the breakfast dishes, the other three women went out with her
and Lady Lucky Leader cut out the skins. She placed them in the most
economical manner and then she assigned each of the women a particular
seam to sew. Each woman had prepared herself with her own awl and a
quantity of prepared sinew. Presently White Woman joined them and
[264] was also assigned a seam to sew. Before noon she had to retire to prepare
[262] the meal. They were served grease bread, coffee, and prunes. For sup-

463 per she prepared boiled corn kernels, grease bread, and coffee. After sup-
342 per, the old lady went home.

[262] The second day the same procedure was followed. When White
[264] Woman retired to prepare the meal of grease bread, prunes, and coffee,
War Cry and his brother Brave Shield heard that they were having a special meal in Victory Call's house and they proceeded to come in with the remark, "I see you're working here," and were promptly invited to join them for lunch. They would probably stay on talking to Victory Call
463 and also stay for supper. This would make about eighteen people, in-
342 cluding the guests for the evening meal. For this group they needed
252 three double handfuls of dried corn kernels (one of these double hand-
262 fuls represented eight ears of corn). For the eighteen large round disks
of fried grease bread, it took three generous double handfuls of store
574 flour (a meal for a family ordinarily required two). If meat were to be served instead of the corn they would need half a sheet of dry buffalo meat cut into long strips 7 inches long and 3½ inches wide. This meat would be boiled with a sheet of fat and served with the soup.

463 The third day was similar with the Old Lady going home after supper.
342 By the evening of the fourth day the tent was completed. A process mentioned by another Pawnee informant, but not in this account, stated that before the cover was used, girls were sent inside to make a fire so that the skin would get permeated with soot, which would keep it from leaking in the rain or drying up in the sun.

Supper for the evening of the fourth and final day consisted of boiled
463 corn kernels with boiled dried pumpkin strips mixed in. After the Old
465 Lady Lucky Leader had gone home, a half-hour passed and then White
342 Woman and Grandma took the food and goods for her payment. White
[262] Woman led the way and Grandma walked behind, carrying the gifts to her house. They set them down before her saying, "Here's flour, coffee, sugar, calico. You helped us with our tent." "Oh, I thank you for giving me this material. My spirit is glad for this food that we will eat," said the old lady. When the two women got home they reported to Victory Call, the old lady's appreciation. Victory Call again went to the store and got the three pieces of calico of five yards each and the needles and thread for the three women of his own household who have helped out—Grandma, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, and No Corn.

342 The tent was now in good order for the winter hunt.

50

OBJECTS OF WOOD FOR THE HOME

000

Women Made the Wood Objects for Home Use —Scarcity of Wood—Making the Wooden Bowl, Ladles, Spoons, Mortar, Pestle, Digging Iron, Tent Pegs, Bracket for Hanging Pots over Fire, Tipi Poles

462 WOMEN WERE THE MAIN MANUFACTURERS of objects made of wood. Not
322 only did they gather the fuel and the building materials, but they also
made all the objects of general utility in the household. The men were
directly concerned only with those things that were for their own immediate use—their weapons and their ceremonial objects. In no other
group that I know of, except among the Woodland Indians, are the
women the woodsmen and the woodcrafters to the extent that they were
[752] among the Pawnees. Like other lumbermen in the world, Pawnee
women would sometimes be killed while felling trees, and a story is told
[761] of a woman responsible for another woman's death in such an accident
who grieved so deeply that she wandered off never to be seen again.

137 In the Pawnee prairie plains country, the only place that trees grow is
462 along the streams, and in the distance one can readily identify the rivers
313 and streams by the green belt of trees that grow along their banks. This
limited distribution of the trees meant that the women often had to travel
considerable distances to get the wood they needed. In 1867 they had to
have military protection. How matters stood earlier is not known. They
[492] also had the advantage of horse transport. The likelihood is that in the
[774] past their dogs had this function and a good deal was packed on their
backs, water-floated, or simply dragged over the country. When women
313 went to the woods they took their pack ropes which they also made into

313 a kind of lasso with a stick tied to the end as a weight for pulling down
[412] branches from the trees. They took with them their hatchets—the men
usually working with axes—and from their present woodworking methods one can only speculate that in the past they felled the trees by a combination of burning, gouging, and scraping.

415 The utensils and equipment that the women made for the household
412 were all-year round equipment, used both in the earth lodge and on the
march. The wooden bowl and the wooden ladles for serving, along with the individual buffalo-horn spoon, were a necessity for every meal, and the mortar and pestle were carried along on the march as well as being in frequent use in the earth lodge for the preparation of meals. The
[414] wooden bracket and hook to suspend the pot over the fire were also common equipment in both domestic situations. The forked seven-foot-long
412 *biku* stick with the sharp fire-hardened point was primarily for making holes in the ground for the tent pegs and for the tipi poles, but it had many other domestic uses particularly as a carrying pole and as a digging iron in general.

322 *The Wooden Bowl.* The following are two different accounts, one
415 given by Mark Evarts of the Skidi Band and one by Effie Blane of the
Pitahawirata. Evarts gives an estimate of eight days that it took to make
[461] the bowl, while Effie Blane cites three days. The different estimate is probably between spare time and full-time work (Weltfish, 1937, pp. 47-48).

> [463] There were only six or seven old women among all the Skidi villages who knew how to make these bowls. In Victory Call's family, Grandma knew and in Old Bull's family on the south side of the lodge, Old-Lady-Blue-Calico who had come from Village-in-the-Bottomlands, also knew how. In order to get a bowl made, one had to have a knot ("wood knob") of cottonwood or black post oak that could be taken to the maker. The making took about eight days. Suitable payment for this work was either a combination of half a pumpkin mat and a bag of dried roasted corn kernels about six inches high, or some cutout skins for moccasins and leggings instead.
>
> For a wooden bowl or *rakaraki*, one would select the knot according to the size of the bowl one wanted. After the knot is cut with a sharp hatchet, the woman would begin to chip it from the middle out, and finally while the wood was still damp and not hard she would make a hole on the inner surface of the requisite size. Next she trimmed it all
> [412] over with a crooked knife, *retsi-pirus*, "knife-crooked," leaving a projection on the rim to be formed into a handle. When the surface was all smooth, she carved the handle called *rak-u-paks-tar-u-kita-ku*, "plate-with-head-plural-up-on top-sitting," the handle being toothed

322 415 on top. After the carving was done, it was scraped and polished until it was a beautiful bowl. Then it was well greased. Several bowls were made at the same time. A bowl took at least three days to make.

415 The bowl for individual service at meals was estimated to be about 15 inches in diameter and 3 inches deep.

Ladles and Spoons. Larger wooden spoons or ladles were made for serving at feasts, and while I have no description, they were probably carved with the crooked knife like the bowl.

412 321 The spoons used for individual eating and the daily serving spoon were of buffalo horn. (See Figure 50-1.) The buffalo-horn spoon was called *taraba-ariki*, "buffalo-horn." Buffalo horns were kept on hand so that the spoons could be made at any time. Spring was the time most preferred as they all especially like to eat soup while on the summer hunt. Practically everyone knew how to make buffalo-horn spoons. In the period from nine o'clock in the morning until noon—three hours—one could make four spoons. The following is a free translation of the account of their manufacture by Effie Blane of the Pitahawirata Band (Weltfish, 1937, pp. 59-61).

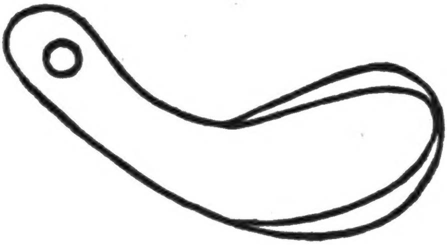


FIGURE 50-1. Buffalo-horn spoon for ordinary use. When not being used the spoons were kept strung in sets. The ordinary eating spoons are 5 inches long with a bowl diameter of 3 inches. Large serving spoons are 8 inches long, the bowl being 4½ inches in diameter and 1½ inches in depth. (The dimensions and the drawings were supplied by informants.)

> Buffalo horns were placed near the fire with the large ends extending into the coals. The heat softened the horn so that it could be more readily worked. The horn was expanded by pressing the foot on it. Then the small end was notched and scraped and the whole thing greased. When several were finished, holes were bored into the handles and they were strung on a buckskin string to be hung up when out of use.

322 412 *The Mortar, kitutu.* To make the mortar, they cut down an elm tree about a foot in diameter and cut off a section about 2 feet high. The small end was whittled to a point so that it could be stuck upright in the ground. In the broader end of the section, they formed a pit by charring the surface with hot coals and then scraping out the charred wood. The first step in this process was to coat the rim with wet clay so that it didn't burn. Then they put the hot coals in the center, turning the surface toward the direction from which the wind was coming to keep the coals glowing. Now they dumped out the coals and scraped away the charred wood with an oyster (?) shell (probably fresh-water clam). Again they put in hot coals, and again they scraped away the charred wood with the shell, and they repeated this process until the pit was deep enough. While the coals were inside, one had to keep them carefully scattered about so that they didn't burn the surface too unevenly. The pit was somewhat paraboloid in cross section, or a blunt-pointed V-shape. After the final scraping on the inside, "the foot" was scraped and the wet mud from around the rim removed. The mortar was now ready for use in pounding corn or, more occasionally, dry buffalo meat.

[461] It took about five days to make a mortar along with the ordinary housework.

The Pestle, iks-ka-wi-itsa-ku, "hand-upon-sitting-on the end or point-sitting." When the mortar was completed, they would say, "Now the pestle." A search of the thicket was made to find a post oak with a large body. A tree with many limbs was preferred because then the top end of the pestle would be sturdy enough to stand the strain of the pounding. The tree was cut as close to the roots as possible so that the grain of the roots would be contained in the pounding end for toughness. The pestle was about 4 feet long. After the tree was felled, they smoothed it with an ax. The wood was seasoned in the fire and finished off by scraping with an oyster shell until it was very smooth. [237]

[465] Suitable pay for a woman's services in making a mortar was 5 yards of calico, and for the pestle, some dried corn; or alternatively, for the mortar a blanket and corn, or corn and some checker plaited strips of stomach lining (*pararitskusu*), and for the pestle, 5 yards of calico. "Something for the person to wear and something for the family to eat."

The Hiku Stick or "Digging iron." This was a stick 7 feet long and about 2½ inches in diameter, forked at one end and with a fire-hardened point at the other. It was grasped in the middle and thrust into the ground to make holes for the tent pegs and for the tipi poles. The fall was the time for making the *hiku* stick before setting out on the winter hunt. Every woman young or old knew how to prepare one, and it took about a day to do so. The wood was taken green, the bark removed with an ax, and the bottom end sharpened to a point. Then the stick was seasoned in the fire. A small fire was made outdoors and the stick passed

322 412 through it, turning it over and over so that it was a little charred in places. These charred places were scraped off with another stick. The stick was now left leaning against the lodge outside for at least a week, so that it could dry out. Sometimes it was taken in and put out a second time. When it was finally ready for use, all the moisture had evaporated and it was light to carry but very strong.

414 322 The making of *tent pegs* of dogwood saplings has been described in connection with the rendezvous camp of the summer hunt. They might alternatively be made in the earth lodge before setting out, tied up in a set and carried along.

414 417 322 [354] *The Bracket for Hanging the Pot over the Fire.* This was only needed in the earth lodge and on the winter hunt as its purpose was to suspend the pot over the hot flame of the fireplace. Such a hot flame was made for light and heat as well as for cooking only in the excavated circular basin-shaped fireplace, the earth lodge, and the pointed tipi. On the summer hunt with the open curve-roofed tent, a long rectangular fireplace was made outside to the north of the doorway and oriented north–south. In this long trenchlike arrangement, a log was kept smoldering and the pot was set directly on the coals, so that the bracket and hook were not needed. The bracket consisted of two parts—a more or less vertical post, forked at the top and pointed at the bottom so that it could be inserted in the ground, and a wooden hook suspended from one arm of the fork by a string of bison rawhide that could be wound around the arm so that the pot that was suspended from the hook could hang closer or further away from the flames. The vertical post was driven into the ground due east of the fireplace at a slant so that the hook hung directly over the fire, or else a trunk was chosen for the bracket that had a natural curvature. The process of treating and seasoning the vertical bracket was the same as for the *hiku* stick.

342 [221] *Tipi Poles.* The conical pointed tent or tipi was used by the Pawnees only for their winter migration. The same tent skin was used as for the summer, but the wooden frame was different. The frame of the summer tent comprised a rack of two forked sticks at the front with a horizontal between, and, outlining a semiellipse, a series of flexible saplings stuck in the ground that were drawn down onto the rack and fastened there to form the characteristic curved roof. The Pawnee name for this summer tent was *kax-kata-sa*, "dwelling-upon-lying." The frame for the conical-pointed tipi was based on a tripod of rather heavy poles more than 15 feet long and made from trees 6 to 7 inches in diameter before removing the bark. Once the tripod was set up and a fourth stick added for the entrance, the other poles of equal thickness were leaned against it all around. The tipi was called *kax-ta-pe*, "dwelling-against-leaning," or *kar-rats-a-pe*, "dwelling-they-against-leaning." The tipi might be 18 feet in

diameter, and the round excavated fireplace in the center and the shape 342
and insulation of the walls made it warm in winter. The life of a set of tipi poles was five to seven years, and within that interval three or four of them were likely to bend or weaken and have to be replaced. They [824]
used cottonwood, which was light and easy to carry, and as an alternative, [313]
cedar, which was also rather light. The best supply was on Grand Island in the Platte and the best time to gather these was on the return journey from the winter hunt.

The first task was to select the trees which should be 6 to 7 inches in 313
diameter as they stood with the bark on. From their encampment on the 342
island, Victory Call, White Woman, and Horse Rider would go into the timber, and when Victory Call had selected his first tree he would start to cut it down with the ax. When Horse Rider would come up, he would say, "Let me do that," and take the ax and cut it down in his place. Victory Call now went further to select the other trees and Horse Rider followed cutting each one down in turn. Now White Woman got to work on the felled trees, cutting off the boughs and branches with her hatchet so that the bare trunk was left with the bark on.

Now Horse Rider began to drag in the bare trunks to camp, while Victory Call cut down the fourth tree that they needed and White Woman [483]
got to work lopping off the branches. Victory Call now pulled in the fourth trunk, returning to camp with White Woman. With a good sharp ax this operation had taken them a total of half an hour for all four trunks.

Back at camp, they removed the bark and this took a good deal longer. 322
If one person worked at it alone, it took two to three hours to remove the 342
bark from one trunk of this kind. Two people working together on one tree could do it in about an hour and a half. While White Woman worked from the bottom upward with the hatchet, the other person could work near the top end using a knife, because the bark is softer near the top. It sometimes happened that White Woman was able to make a convenient flap near the bottom, ripping off a strip of bark up the whole length. Horse Rider or Grandma might be free to give White Woman a hand at this work. After the bark was off, the whole stick had to be roasted. All four were first debarked and then all four roasted at the same time. A little fire was made outdoors and each stick turned around in it until the whole length was roasted. To roast the four sticks in this way took about an hour and a half. Now they were left to cool and the ashes and burnt places rubbed over with a stick to remove loose cinders. The next step was to even their length. The stub ends had been sharpened to points, and these were placed together and the heads all cut off to the same length to make them even.

The new tipi poles were now tied together and transported back to the 342
earth lodge where, tied together tight, they were fastened to the ceiling

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

342 to season until the next hunt. When they were in use, the thin ends of the poles would rest on the ground and the thicker end stand upward. Holes were drilled near the top in the thick end so that they could be tied together with rope, particularly for transport.

51

THINGS OF WOOD MADE BY MAN

000

The Bow—the Bowstring—the Arrow—the Pipestems—the Stone Bowl—the Individual Styles of Bowls

THE MEN MADE THE BOWS, arrowshafts, pipestems, and cottonwood water 462 322
drums.

The Bow. In the past the Osage Orange (*Toxylon pomiferum*) was 411
the most highly valued wood for bows. At this time they used ash 824
(*Fraxinus pennsylvanica*) known as *kirik-taka*, "eye-white." Every man
made his own bow, though some were more and some less skilled. Little [857]
boys also made bows of ashwood to shoot birds. Ashwood was best gathered in the fall, generally in October before they left on the winter
hunt. The ashwood saplings were left sticking among the willows in the
ceiling to season, until they got back in the spring.

It took two days to make a bow. By splitting it in two down the length, 411
two bows could be made from one sapling, unless it were not quite 322
straight, when only one could be made. In each case, the outer surface of [461]
the tree became the outer surface of the bow.

The shaping was done by heating the stick in the coals until it was
warm throughout and pliable. Putting the foot on the middle of the outside surface, the two ends were drawn very gently upward, and then
each end was recurved with the foot so that the bow had a wide shallow
dent in its back. The sinew bowstring was fastened to one end permanently, and at the other there was a series of notches in the bow so that [283]
the string could be tightened when in use and loosened at other times.
(See Figure 51-1.)

Once, after Victory Call had died, Otter's adoptive father caught a 411
panther and decided to honor the boy by making him a quiver of it. Not

411 to be outdone, another man made him a sinew-backed bow. It was known as *atskats-tax-ka-sa*, "sinew-plural-between-lying." It was mentioned at times, but seldom actually made.

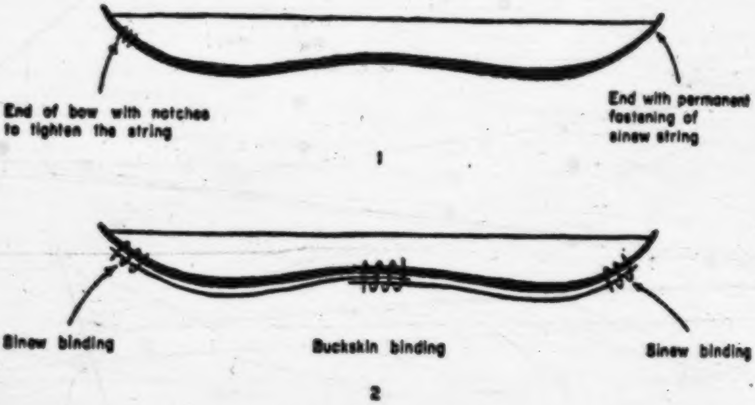

End of bow with notches to tighten the string
End with permanent fastening of sinew string
1
Sinew binding
Buckskin binding
Sinew binding
2

FIGURE 51-1. (1) A simple bow of ashwood. (2) A sinew-backed bow, *tskatstaxkasa*. Two pieces of sinew, crossed at the middle could be permanently pasted on when wet.

[237] Two pieces of sinew, crossed at the middle were placed on the back of the bow when wet and could thus be pasted on permanently. The sinew was bound on in the middle by overcasting with buckskin and at both ends with a wrapping of sinew. Then the bow was colored black. It was easy to draw and could shoot far.

411 283 *The Bowstring of Sinew.* Every man made his own bowstring out of sinew. The first step was to soak the short pieces of sinew overnight. The next step was joining them, first by taking two of the short strands and overlapping their ends and giving them a preliminary twist between the fingers and then continuing the twist by rolling them on the thigh with the palm. Then they added the next piece in the same way, and so on until one long continuous string was formed.

Then they doubled over the string and began to twist it together, beginning with the loose ends, first between the fingers and then on the thigh. The twist was held by winding it on a stick a little thicker than a pencil—the string being wound on as the stick was turned in the direction away from the body. When one section of the string had been twisted and wound on the stick, they would proceed to twist and wind on the next section until the entire length was completed. The twisting [461] of a bowstring took a morning and an afternoon.

When the entire string was wound onto the stick, the string would be

stretched between two short stakes that were driven into the ground 411
the requisite distance apart and the ends of the bowstring were fastened 283
firmly to them. The string was left to dry for the rest of the afternoon until the dew came up in the evening. Then it had to be taken inside and again stretched outdoors the next day. It was well to fasten it up high out of the way of the dogs, who might eat it up.

The Making of Arrowshafts. Five arrow makers comprised the official 411
body responsible for making all the arrowshafts used by the entire Skidi 463
Band. They kept track of the needs of all the men and saw that they were met. None of the other technical industries, even those in which only a limited number of individuals were skilled, were of this public character. Just before leaving for the summer and for the winter hunts, they accelerated their activities. The arrow makers themselves saw to it that they had plenty of dogwood sticks on hand and kept on making the shafts, sometimes on special order, but often to have them on hand when called for. In almost all other crafts, the customer provided the materials and contracted only for the skilled services of the craftsman.

The following is paraphrased from an account given in my Caddoan 411
Texts by Effie Blane:

> The man making ready to fashion arrowshafts, will first get some needed materials together. He will assemble: a stick with a hide wound [412]
> around it which has been boiled down to a gummy consistency to be used as a paste; two flat stones each with a long groove, used to abraid the stick by putting the stones together and pulling the stick back and forth in the groove (*rax-ka'is*, "going-between within," buffers); the bone shaft-straightener, *kis-kats*, "bone-very white"; also *rasats*, possibly pieces of split bone with the rough spongy inner surface exposed to smooth the surface (or a pulverized plant?).
>
> These materials being ready, the man went into the timber and gathered some dogwood twigs. He then took them home and peeled off the bark (with a knife). Now he hung the debarked twigs over the fire from the bracket east of the fireplace on which the pot ordinarily hangs, so that the twigs could season and dry in the smoke of the fire. They were left there to smoke overnight and in the morning they were removed and each twig was "eyed up and down" to find any bumps or irregularities, which were removed with the *rasats* abrasive.
>
> The next step was to attach the feathers to the blunt end. Turkey [237]
> feathers were best because they tore straight, but turkey was hard to get, and if you didn't have them you used buzzard. While he was splitting the feather, he was chewing some sinew so that it would be soft [284]
> enough to bind on the feathers. The three splints of feather were placed against the arrow and tied with the wet sinew. The feathered [237]
> end of the arrow was then smeared with the gummy paste made of

411 boiled hide and the feathers bent onto the stick and pasted down and
[237] tied in place with some more wet sinew at their lower end.

After the feathers were in place, the shafts were buffed by passing
411 them between the two grooved sandstone buffers that were pressed to-
412 gether—the arrow being turned back and forth so that it was well
rounded.

The next process was the use of the bone arrowshaft straightener
[172] that was a little bit like a fork. [Archaeological specimens from the
Hill site of 1806 are pieces of bison rib with holes of different sizes
[178] drilled through them. In recent times, a tin can punched with holes
was sometimes substituted.]

411 After straightening, downy feathers were fastened on at the lower
[237] end of the feathers that had already been attached.

The final step was to split the end for inserting the point. After the
[284] point was inserted, the end was bound with sinew to make it fast. Different kinds of shafts were called "black-lying-on," "red-lying-on,"
referring to the colors of the feathers.

276 *The Pipestem.* Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most
significant things the man used. The pipe was smoked both for relaxation
and in every ceremony. The stem was symbolic of the human windpipe
and the breath was considered the essence of life itself. *Tsiksu*, the word
[192] for "throat," was also the verb stem for "to think, to feel," *-atsiks-*. In the
ceremony of the Peace Pipe, the main emblems were the two pipestems,
a bowl from a sacred bundle being attached to one of them and smoked
in the course of the ceremony. The pipestems were decorated with
[237] eagle feathers and other ceremonial insignia—one with the feathers of the
brown eagle, signifying "night," "female," "fruitfulness" and known as
[825] *ra-hak-katitu*, "one-mouth-black"; and the other with feathers of the
white eagle, signifying "day," "male," "defense," "war" and called
ra-hak-takaru, "one-mouth-white." At various stages in the ceremony
these were waved about so that they symbolized the flight of the eagles.
276 The pipestems were ceremonially fashioned after instructions from the
322 priests. He sent two men to bring in two sticks of ash, and as they sat
east of the fireplace they prepared the sticks, warming them over the fire
so that they could be straightened and cut to length, viz., four spans
from thumb to third finger. The stems were peeled, scraped, and the
pith removed by boring them from end to end with a reed so that the
breath could pass through unobstructed. The pith was then burned out
with a wire. The men cut a straight groove the entire length of each
stick to represent the lifeline. Finally all scrapings and every particle of
ashwood was placed carefully on the fire, and as the flame rose the two
sticks were passed through the blaze so that the word of the fire might
enter and be with them.

276 463 316 For personal use a man would go to one of the six or seven men who were the only ones that could make them among all the Skidi. An order for a pipe included both the wooden stem and the stone bowl. As usual, the materials had to be assembled by the man who wanted the pipe and taken to the maker. When he placed his order, he was sent to get the necessary ashwood stick. The stone for the bowl was Catlinite or red pipestone from the famous pipestone quarry in the extreme southwestern part of Minnesota, located northeast of Pawnee territory. When men went out on the warpath stealing horses in this vicinity, they were likely to get as much of the stone as they could carry. Nearer home there was a green rock (serpentine?) that could be used; it was soft and was blackened by the maker while the other kind was left red. A man who wanted to order a pipe made had to go to someone who had gotten it in this way: 276

> He would say, "I want you to give me a stone for a pipe." When the warrior gave his consent, the man went home and waited and presently the warrior sent his wife with the block of stone to give to the man's wife. The wife of the warrior now returns home, having accomplished her mission. The man ordering the pipe, not wanting to take the stone for nothing, sends his wife to the home of the warrior with twenty arrows, a blanket and she adds some buffalo meat. She now sets out for the warrior's house and approaching his wife she says, "This is for your husband. He gave us that pipe." The warrior's wife demurs, saying, "Oh, don't do that." "Yes, keep it. It's for your husband." The warrior's family now enjoys eating the gift of dry meat and they put the arrows and the blanket up on the wall. Later on when the two men meet, the warrior says to the man who is ordering the pipe, "What did you do that for? I didn't want anything for the stone." "Oh, that's all right. I wanted you to have something for it." "Well, all right, thank you," says the warrior, "We ate it!"

276 463 531 324 With the stone in hand, the man would now go to the pipe maker whose work he considered best and speak to him about it. Each pipe maker had his own distinctive way of making a pipe and one would either come with his own specifications or simply accept the style of the pipe maker himself. The man would say, "With a horse on it," etc., or "I want just a plain pipe," in which case it would be made in the maker's style. Two alternative kinds were one with rings (like a windpipe) or one with a flat part on the half below the mouthpiece, then a thick ring of wood and the rest of the length round to the bowl end. Kind Warrior who was a leader of the Deer Dance, *Raris-ta*, had a pipestem with half the length from the bowl end to the middle flat, and three ridges from the middle up to the mouthpiece. This was something like the ridges on an arrow where the feathers were to be attached and may have had some symbolic reference connected with this. Some men ordered their stone

276 pipe bowls to be made with five ridges to denote that they had sacri-
463 ficed five buffalo, others three. A man who had a horse head carved on
531 his pipe might do this to indicate that he gives away a lot of horses. On
324 the other hand some people just had things put on their pipes "to be
fancy."

276 To hollow out the wooden stem they burned out the pith with the
824 same stiff weed used in making brooms, *kibax-piriwus*, "room-brusher,"
Artemisia dracunculoides Pursh., or fuzzy weed. The plant had a pleasant
322 odor like sage which is also a variety of *Artemisia*. The weed was sharp
and after the pith had been burned all the way through down the length,

276
324

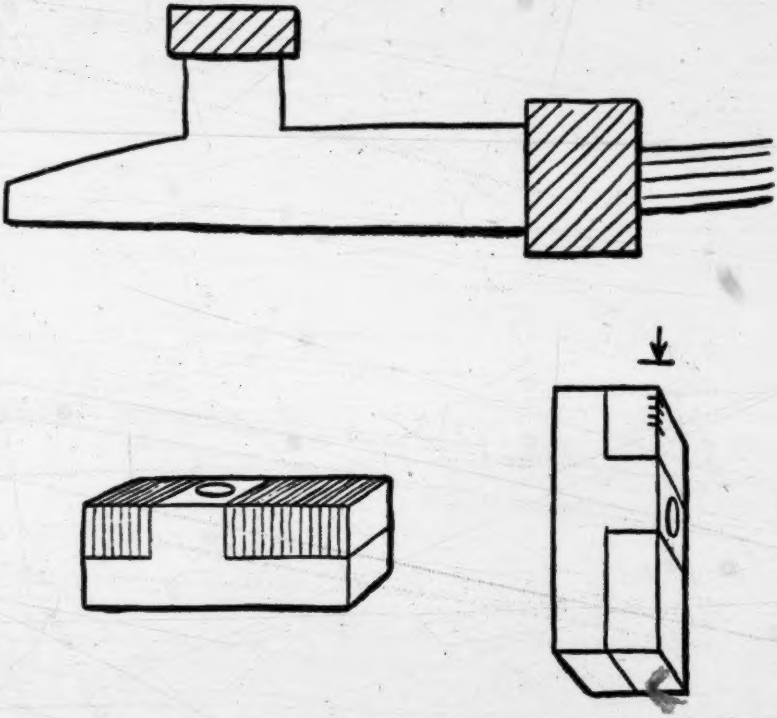


FIGURE 51-2. A pipe made by Brave Horse, *Asa-rabikutsu*, the bowl of red Catlinite or pipestone and the stem of ashwood. The first step of the pipemaker in fashioning the bowl was the marking off of the block with charcoal so that he could sculpt the bowl in the rough. Next the two blocks, one in front and one behind the bowl, were removed (hatched areas). In the old days this was a laborious task. There were no metal drills, files, or rasps; the two blocks of stone were chipped off from the outer edges inward piece by piece by sawing back and forth with a flint knife.

276
324
322

the same weed was used to scrape out the inside. Then the man blew through the stem to remove the small pieces from the inside.

276
324

Making the Stone Bowl of Catlinite or Red Pipestone. (See Figure 51-2.) A block of stone of the appropriate size was marked off with charcoal so that the bowl could be sculptured out in the rough. Two blocks of stone had to be removed, one in front and one behind the upward projecting bowl. The removal of these two blocks was a laborious task. When no metal drills, files, or rasps were available, each step took a long time and required a great deal of patience. In the old days to remove the two blocks of stone, the "pipe" was set up on end and a flint knife was sawed back and forth across the corner, making a shallow cut. Then a second cut was made underneath it until a series of three or four shallow cuts had been made one beneath the other. These "corners" were then chipped off from the top edge down. This operation of chiseling off small pieces was continued until the whole block had been removed. Then the second block on the other side of the bowl was removed. All red powder [386] resulting from the sawing process was saved to be used as red paint.

The bore for the stem as well as for the bowl was begun by using a well-dried, fire-hardened stick. The stick was held stable pressed onto the surface where the hole was to be and the stone turned back and forth until a hole had been dug into it. The bowl was widened and deepened by using a sharp sliver of a buffalo femur in the same way, pressing it into the stone and twisting the stone itself until the bowl was the shape and size desired. The outer surfaces were shaped by rubbing with a rough stone.

After the bowl was shaped, the pipe was passed through the smoke of a small grass fire and the surface rubbed with grease. This data on making the stone bowl is condensed from a demonstration by Charles Allen at Pawnee, Oklahoma, in 1935. It took almost eight days, working the [461] usual day of nine to five o'clock with an hour for lunch.

Each pipe maker introduced special features of his own. Rarawikita, [531] Charles Allen's father, made them so that there was a hump on the bowl near where the stem was inserted and the pointed end of the bowl was five-sided. Chief's Road made pipes with three raised ridges around the head end of the bowl where the stem was to be inserted. Sometimes the pointed end was cut down at a downward slant, sometimes it was cut straight off. Good Bear made a pipe that was thick where the bowl was and tapered markedly at the point end and again at the end where the stem fitted. Brave Horse (*Asa-rahikuts*, "horse-brave") would make a wide ridge or collar around the mouth of the bowl and another one at the opening where the stem fitted in; on these "collars" he engraved diagonals trending upward toward the left. He was a left-handed man.

276
465
437

For the work of manufacturing the pipe, pay was expected though never stipulated. This might be tobacco or calico and a little food. For

276 example about a quarter's worth or one block of tobacco, six yards of
465 calico, and half a braided intestine mat were considered reasonable compensation.
437 Sometimes a generous man would give a man who made a pipe for him a blanket that was used but not too old-and still good enough to wear. This would be considered sufficient in itself. Or he might give some broadcloth along with a belt instead.

52

OBJECTS MADE FOR RECREATION

000

Gambling among the Pawnees—the Hand Game—the Religious Symbolism in the Games—the Basic Equipment for the Game—the Game as Played by Different Ages—the Plum Seed Game of the Women

GAMBLING WAS A MAIN RECREATION for some Pawnees and an occasional one for others. It was recognized that habitual gambling was a compulsion that should be avoided as a psychologically destructive trait, and Old-Man-That-Chief could often be heard to give advice on how to regulate one's conduct to keep this impulse under control. He especially exhorted the chiefs to set a good example to the rest of the people. He would talk to the chiefs in the following way: 525 [828]

> "You men are chiefs. It is a chief's place to talk to his people. You shouldn't gamble. You should set the people a good example. Having told the people that gambling is bad, if you gamble yourself, a boy of rough temperament will say to himself, 'There is my chief and he is gambling. There is no reason why I shouldn't gamble too.' Moreover, a gambling place is a fighting place and you might get involved in a fight and a man of low class might strike you. It would be a shame if some outsider were to hit you in the head and there would be blood all over your face. Then someone would say, 'Look at the chief with blood all over his face!' That would look bad.
>
> "If you gamble you'll lose everything you have, perhaps even your wife's clothes. Then you'll have nothing. And another thing, if your wife sees you gambling she'll think, 'I can bet my clothes too,' and she'll go to the place where the women are playing the plum seed game.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

525 Then if you're both gambling, who will cook for you? Who will take care of you?

"If you want to, go ahead. But at first you'll be lucky and then the sticks will try to draw you in. Then when they have you, you'll lose.

"If you want to, go ahead. But if you are lucky, just play for a month. Then leave it because your luck must change.

"If you have lost and want to retrieve your losses, do it and when you have won back what you lost, stop gambling."

524 525 The hand game was played by young men ranged along both sides of a trenchlike fireplace with a smoldering log in it. Facing each other on the opposite sides of the fire were "two opposing war parties." The crux of the game was the hiding of a white bead in the hands of a member of one party with the guesser from the other side trying to determine in which hand it was hidden. War songs were sung and in the motioning of the hands of the line in which the bead was hidden, the bead might be transferred by sleight of hand during the guessing. That-Chief also mentioned the hand game, addressing his remarks especially to Otter. Evarts observed that:

> "At hand game you might bet your shirt and when the other fellow wins, you might not want to give up your shirt. Then he would get angry and tear at your shirt and he might even take a stick from the fire and burn your head. That would be the worst thing. Once I was in a game and I was the loser to Jim Murie. There I learned the real meaning of That-Chief's advice. Osborne was on the winning side and he began to brag saying, 'Look at those fellows. They can't do much.' Then he made disparaging remarks about my cousin, Sam Townsend, that I call child, *piirau*. Then I really got angry. I felt particularly sensitive as I had lost my leggings, my moccasins and many other things. I said, 'I can't stand all that talk,' and I took a stick from the fire and hit him. The coals flopped all over his head and I was about to hit him again, when they stopped me. To avoid further trouble, they sent Osborne home saying to him, 'You're the cause of the trouble. You talked too much.' "

526 224 825 However, there was quite a different aspect to these games that was implicit in their religious symbolism, with the gambling an extraneous feature. The rolling of the hoop along the long game grounds and aiming at it with the stick or "spear" was an act of sympathetic magic both for the increase of the buffalo and for the successful outcome of the buffalo hunt. Originally the game was played for the direct purpose of calling the buffalo, and when they were out on the summer buffalo hunt, wherever 000 they could find a smooth patch of grass, they would set up a game. In

In
the village, it was a major leisure-time preoccupation of men of all ages. 526
Every village had one or two well-worn tracks. The gaming ground was 517
the place where men would meet informally to transact most of their social, 571
commercial, and political business. The formality of entertaining at home imposed more constraints and was commonly reserved for the more advanced stages of negotiations.

The basic paraphernalia for the game comprised a long "spear" and a 526
hoop which was rolled down the long track and at which the spear was aimed as the men ran alongside.

The smallest boys began with a plain hoop, *tawirus*, "wheel," made for them by their grandmothers. The wheel was made of a peeled ashwood stick formed into a ring and tied at the ends. It was then entirely wrapped with a rawhide string and greased with buffalo fat so that it would not harden. It is not clear whether the boys shot at the wheel with arrows as told in a myth, or simply threw a pole or "lance" at it.

The second grade for young men was played with a wheel of small size—the *tawirus-pitku-sukita*, "wheel-two-upon." It is not clear whether the basis of this wheel was of wood or several coils of rawhide as for the succeeding grade. The base was completely wrapped with a strip of buckskin. The rings were supposed to represent a buffalo cow and were to be made of the skin of the vulva of the buffalo. The fore end of the stick was carved with a kind of knob to signify the penis of a buffalo. These as- 526
pects of the symbolism are recounted in a tale of how Coyote rescues a 773
maiden who has been captured by the buffalo and taken to their village and turned into a gaming ring. In the course of the story, the play of the game is described:

Coyote is sitting in the buffalo village as a spectator of the game at the north end of the gaming ground. The two buffalo now arise, one of them taking the ring. (The ground is about 60 paces long, 15 wide and runs in a north–south direction in the length.) The players begin to run at the south end and when they get to about the middle, the one holding the ring rolls it toward the north, releasing it from between his thumb and forefinger and changing his spear from his left to his right hand. The two players now aim simultaneously at the rolling hoop so that the spears glide along the ground and overtake it, the best score being made by catching the ring with one of the small hooks near the hand end of the spear. Other points were gained by hooking with the end of the stick one of the cross pieces near the handle end or the large hook. It often happened that the spear did not catch the hoop at all and then points were calculated by the position of the spear with relation to the hoop—measurements being taken with a straw by someone who acted as umpire.

When the two players have reached the north end of the grounds, they picked up the ring and the sticks and started for the south end, rolling the ring as before and throwing the spears to score. Each set of play-

526 [773] ers played the field once toward the north and once toward the south and then two other players got up and played their round.

The paraphernalia of *the mature men* differed from that of the youths in the size of the ring and in the complexity of the spear. The ring of the youths was about 8 inches in diameter, probably built on a wooden hoop wrapped in buckskin, while the mature men used a very small hoop, 4 inches in diameter, with strips of rawhide as a base, wrapped around with the buckskin string. The mature men's wheel was called, *ks-tats-awi-katus*, "hand-down-hanging-flat." The spear was about 5½ feet long. The pole was completely wound around with a strip of buckskin and at the hand end there was a large hook completely wrapped around with the same material. The shaft was slightly tapered from the hand end to the point. About three-eighths of the length in from the point the shaft was somewhat flattened and a cross piece was lashed onto it with a small hook fastened on top in the lashings. A similar cross piece with hook was fastened about one-eighth way in from the point end. It was with these small hooks that they aimed to catch onto the hoop or else with the ends of the cross pieces. The shaft used by the youths was plain wood with a knob on the end to represent the bison penis. At the hand end were fastened two hooks wrapped around with buckskin.

526 887 There was a game *played by old men* with a very large hoop (possibly 25 inches in diameter) with no spear. The hoop itself was rolled and aimed at one of the players of the opposing side as a kind of tag. The players lined up along both sides of the grounds and when the player had rolled the wheel and it struck one of the men standing on the opposing side to his, the man who was hit would spread his blanket and begin to run, while the other man pursued him. If he stumbled and tripped on his blanket, he would be caught and would then have to roll the hoop and try to tag a man of the other side. If the pursuer stumbled, he would have to roll the hoop again. The special play of the game was called *kiskiru'*.

526 821 The wheel itself was called *ka-huraru*, literally, inside-land or "land of inside" which in Pawnee referred to the universe. The circumference of the wheel represented the horizon and it was marked off into twelve sections with bunches of feathers that were fastened on at equal intervals. [805] Each section represented a thirty-day lunar month of the twelve-month year. The four seasons of the year were marked off on the hoop by different colors for each quarter-arc. The winter quarter was white, the spring quarter light green, the summer quarter darker green, and the autumn, reddish-yellow. The universe was conceived as having a flat base and rotating around the motionless earth, the progression of the seasons resulting from this rotation. This had been inferred from the fact that the stars and the planets appear to have changed their positions with the seasons. Across the diameter was stretched a string of buckskin or sinew

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-four feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidistant intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled bas- 773
ket made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous movement" or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learn- [887]
ing to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling. There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525
285

285 525 craftswoman who left some of them to season for two days. The technique for the manufacture of the basket was coiling. The basket had a flat bottom with shallow walls. It was round and there were two basic elements used in the coiled sewing. There was a foundation element of a whole peeled willow twig that was carried around spirally for ten courses. These several courses of the spiral were overcast with flat strips of willow to hold them together. The awl was used in the sewing, the overcasting being done from the inner or convex surface. The stitches of the successive coils were made to interlock with one another. To make the flat sewing strips, the willow twig was split in the length, and an inner section bearing the pith was split away from each long section to make it flexible for the binding. Sometimes the bark was left on these strips and sometimes it was removed.

221 With all their equipment made and repaired, the Pawnees were ready to set out once more on their long migration to the buffalo hunting grounds.

53

PRODUCTS OF REEDS AND GRASS

000

The Twined Woven Mats, Their Use and Manufacture—the Grass Brush for the Care of Hair

THE REEDS AND GRASSES matured about the same time as the cultivated 824
crops, and everyone knew that as soon as possible after completing the harvest they would have to get to work gathering these materials before they passed their prime.

The twined woven mat of reeds was one of the most important items 285
of Pawnee house furnishing. It was considered indispensable to cleanliness, 352
and only the poorest people or the most slovenly would use skins on the ground instead. They were used both in the lodge and on the
march, and old mats were offered to people who had none. Every morning [356]
they were taken up and shaken to get the dust out; in the lodge the house was well swept and the sweepings carried out on a skin to be dumped at the base of the embankment before the mats would be replaced on the floor. When on the march, they were rolled up and tied in the middle with a string fastened there for the purpose by the women. When camp was set up, they were laid out to sit on; at night the beds were made on them. In the lodge they were placed inside the central
pillars to sit on. Impromptu beds were made by putting them between [513]
the pillars at night as a base for the bedding. Each mat was 5 feet wide and 8 to 9 feet long. Ordinarily, there were two mats around the fireplace on each side; if there were special guests, an additional one was placed at the west. At a large feast, the mats were laid outside the house pillars
against the beds to enlarge the circle. Mats for gala occasions had special [531]
decorations made by weaving in black or dark red-dyed wefts. These were kept rolled up until guests came. For everyday use the family sat on whatever mats happened to be around—the better ones being placed

285
352 nearer the west and those that were more worn, east toward the exit.

When a couple was newly married, they were always given a set of
285 mats—two for each side of the house and one for the west. They were
585 likely to get two from the girl's grandmother and two from the boy's.
431 Except in such intimate circumstances, the mats were not ordinarily considered
352 suitable gift items. They were regarded more as we look upon
linens—particularly bedsheets and towels. Suitable gift items on the
other hand were, from man to a man, a horse, and from a woman to a
man, leggings, moccasins, material for moccasins, or dried buffalo meat.

285 The mats received the heaviest wear during the winter hunt, when
352 they got all battered and broken up. In the fall, after the materials were
gathered they were placed in the roof of the lodge to season all winter.
In the spring, between planting and cultivating, they would feel they
had to make some new mats to take along on the summer hunt. Old mats
were left behind in the earth lodge.

285 The warp strands of the mat were of a three-sided prismatic grass
283 that grew in ponds (not cattail?). The long blades were made into a
double-twisted continuous rope of four strands.

[137] The wefts were of bulrush (*Scirpus validus* Vahl.), a round tubular
grass, spongy inside, 5 to 6 feet long. An alternative material was cattail
285 (*Typha latifolia* L.). Both these reeds grew in the bottomlands of the
824 streams, particularly along the Loup, but there were also a few patches
along Beaver Creek. On the way home from the summer hunt, some people
would gather the reeds on the Republican or the Loup and load the
horses and bring them home. Or, noting good locations on the way home,
they would return later.

Sometimes two old ladies would go out together and gather whatever
small patches they could find on Beaver Creek, pulling up the reeds and
piling them into two bundles about a foot in diameter. They would tie
them up with ropes and each bring one in and go out again for more, obtaining
[482] about four bundles each in this way. The reeds were very heavy
when green and a woman could not carry very much at a time. For
larger supplies, the family would make up a combined expedition, since
they had to go three to five miles from the village. A large party of men
and women would ride out on their horses to the sources of supply
they had spotted when returning from the hunt. The men went out to give
the women protection. On the way back the horses were loaded with
reeds. When one party went out, others would hear about it and be inspired
to follow their example.

285 The weft or (crosswise) threads needed very little preparation to be
283 ready for use. They had simply to be soaked in water overnight and then
taken out and left to dry for about half an hour before weaving.

The long continuous lengthwise warp required considerably more
preparation than the weft. The three-sided prismatic grass was soaked

all night in water, and in the morning it was twisted into a continuous 285
string which was wound onto a stick as the woman went along. When it 283
was all wound on, it formed a cylindrical roll like a bale of wire. Each roll contained enough warp for one mat. The work was done by one woman working alone. For example, Grandma would put the stick between her toes while twisting the warp and then wrap it onto the stick as the string got longer. The roll was put away for a week or two to set be-
fore it was used for the weaving. It took an old woman a day and a half [461]
to twist the warp for one mat.

The weaving frame was set up at a slant, the far end being considera- 285
bly higher than the near end. The warp beam at the far end was 2 to 2½ 286
feet high, constructed of two forked sticks placed upright in the ground about 6 feet apart, with a horizontal stick resting in the forks. The cloth beam at the near side was set close to the ground and was controlled by pegs or pickets that could be adjusted to keep the warps taut. If the weather were good, they would work outdoors; if not, they would work in the lodge.

The first step was to carry the continuous bale of warp back and forth between the two beams in a simple under-and-over order. After the warping was complete, a long strip of elm bark was wrapped around each beam to include one warp thread in each wrapping so that all the warps lay on an even plane. No shedding would be required, as the weaving was twining of a pair of wefts.

The reeds for the wefts were used in whole strands 6 feet long and 285
the finished mat was more than 5 feet wide. It was very awkward for 476
one woman to try to weave a mat alone. It was best for two women to work together, one weaving from the middle out to the right edge of the mat and the other from the middle out to the left edge. The two women sat side by side in front of the low end at the cloth beam. Each row of weft was woven with a pair of bulrushes, the point end of one strand matching the stub end of the other. The woman on the right grasped the two wefts in the middle between her thumb and index finger and gave them a twist away from herself so that they crossed over at the center. She then placed the twist between the two central warp strands and proceeded to twine-weave rightward, the completed stitches leaning diagonally upward to the right. When she reached the right edge, she cut off the stub end of one of her wefts almost flush with the edge and the other she wove back into the warp for 1½ to 2½ inches, producing a thickened and reinforced edge. The woman at the left, beginning at the middle proceeded to twine leftward and at the left edge cut off one weft and wove the other back into the warps in the same way as the woman on the right. The woman on the left adjusts her weaving motions so that they are made in reverse in order to produce a consistent weave pattern across the entire mat—all stitches slanting upward to the right. This is a sophis-

285 476 ticated adaptation for weaving a wide twined fabric, as the normal direction for the progress of twined weaving is from left to right, the woman on the left using a motor pattern equivalent in feeling to dancing the waltz in reverse, with a view to getting a visual effect in the texture.

When the mat had been woven about one third of the way, the women, who had been kneeling in front of the lower cloth beam, now moved up and knelt on the already finished fabric to work on the rest. As the work progressed, they continued to move up on the fabric so that the working edge would be within reach.

[461] Two women could finish a mat in one day if they did nothing else. Beginning after breakfast, the weaving would be half done by noon. By a little after five in the evening, the work was complete.

285 868 Mat weaving was a household craft and the work would not ordinarily be contracted for outside, unless a woman were learning for the first time. Then she would call in an old woman and pay her to demonstrate the technique. During the demonstration, the young woman would try her hand at it from time to time. The finished mat would be hers. The [465] teacher would receive four or five yards of calico and a layer of dried buffalo meat, or a sack of corn (about a foot high) and half a braided intestine mat.

285 592 In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each side took care of its own needs for mats. White Woman and Grandma would start one together, and when White Woman had to interrupt her work to prepare a meal, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy would take her place for a while, helping Grandma with the weaving. Any mats that Grandma made by herself were given to White Woman for the family. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy felt she should make at least one mat for herself and her grandson to use when they went on the hunt. No Corn also made one to take along, and, if Horse Rider was busy in the Doctor Lodge, the two old ladies would each contribute half the necessary materials, as she was too crippled to gather them for herself and under the circumstances Horse Rider was unable to get away. There was no question of compensation for this, as the old ladies felt that Horse Rider was helpful to the household at all times and No Corn also did what she could.

482 285 Carrying these mats on the march was very difficult for people with no horses. This was the case with poor people. When people noticed that they had no mats, someone would give them an old one and a man would carry it on his back with a baby perched on top and his wife would do [431] the same. The occasional woman who was too lazy to make one, was also [554] given an old mat. People who didn't have mats to put on the ground were considered poor indeed.

412 824 A brush made of stiff grass was indispensable to personal grooming. The brush was made out of Porcupine Grass or Spanish Needles (*Stipa*

spartea) known to the Pawnee as *pitsuts*. It grew like oats about 3 feet 412
high near the village, above the cemetary where the Skidi buried their [824]
dead. White Woman would ask Victory Call to go and gather it for her in the fall. It had long stiff branches and at the tip of each branch there was a sharp point fastened at a joint and surrounded with wooly fluff. The point was broken off at the joint and discarded and the fluff cleared off. The remaining bristle was very stiff and formed the working end of the brush. The stems were grouped into four little bunches, each bunch bent over at the top end and fastened down with a wrapping of buckskin. The four bunches were put together with the bent-over ends inward, and the whole bound around with buckskin to complete the brush. In addition to keeping the hair in order, doctors would rub the brush on
top of the head to relieve headache or sleepiness. As generally with the [796]
Pawnee crafts, there was no ceremony involved in gathering the material
or in the manufacture, but the grass appears metaphorically in the Peace [824]
Pipe ceremony as symbolic of vegetation in general and of grasses in particular.

Everyone went to a good deal of trouble to keep the hair in order and 302
to dress it attractively. The women's hair styles were relatively uniform. It was parted in the middle and made into two braids hanging down over the shoulders in front. The end of the braid was wound around with
buckskin. A relatively recent style was tying the braids together and [178]
flinging them to the back. The men's hair styles were more elaborate and varied. A great many of the men wore roaches, a ridge of hair standing up along the middle of the head with the hair removed on both sides and a braid hanging down at the back. Most writers refer to this hair style as
characteristically Pawnee, but the Pawnees themselves speak of it as "like [171]
Osages." In the old days, each hair had to be pulled out one by one. Later [178]
they used scissors. In former times, face hairs were also pulled out one by one with the fingers, while more recently they used a close coil of brass with a stick through it so that it would be tied to the belt. The oldest son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Sun Chief, had long curly hair that he wore in two braids, one over each shoulder. He was known as Long Hair or "Head-Hanging-Down-From." Victory Call also wore two braids, but on the right side, in addition to the braid, he had his hair cut in terraces. He was called "like Arikara" on account of it. War Cry never seemed to comb his hair; he wore it loose and was always brushing it back off his forehead. His younger brother, Brave Shield, pushed his
hair up so that it stood up stiff in back. People who were shabby or ill- [554]
groomed were regarded with considerable contempt by the Pawnees.

The industrial knowledge of the Pawnee transformed the meager ma- 433
terials of the plains environment into a setting that was worthy of their 182
religious and conceptual achievements. They worked hard but were se-

433 cure in the knowledge that their labors would bring them fulfillment.
182 The hardships of the winter buffalo hunt would be intense in many ways as they traveled over the snow-covered prairie through the winter winds. But the buffalo they caught would give them food, clothing, housing, tools, and deep emotional value as well.

54

THE WINTER BUFFALO HUNT

000

The Second Hunting Expedition—Difficulties with Horses, Processing the Meat—the Care of Horses on the Hunt

FOR THE SECOND TIME within the year, the Pawnees would set out from 224*
their villages on the long journey to the buffalo hunting grounds. It was 484*
in early November and the trip lasted until the end of February or the 221
beginning of March. This was the severest and most challenging period in the year's round. They traveled through slush and snow over hundreds of miles, braved the cold winds of the prairie plains, got their water by breaking through the ice of the river or by melting snow, and gathered their fuel from the scant supplies of timber along the streams.

The horses upon whom they depended for the chase and for transport 231
suffered most of all, for they were unable to get food of their own. The buffaloes had small narrow feet and could push the snow aside to graze, but the horses' hooves were flat and broad and they were unable to get to the grass that lay under the cover of snow. Many of the horses died toward the end of the journey in January and February. It was hard to find enough food to give them, and the women had to gather the tenderer shoots and bark of the cottonwood for them to eat. At times they were compelled to feed them on corn.

Because of the cold, the women had to process their meat inside the 224*
tipi and often they would have to extend their working time beyond the 252
short daylight hours, working by the light of the fire. They felt that, "At this time of year, things seemed to be pushing and pushing."

They moved over the land with the same order and precision as they 224*
had in summer, sending their messengers back and forth between the chiefs of the bands in order to coordinate their decisions, but their leave-taking of the villages was with less pageantry and pleasant anticipation. They knew it would be a hard and dangerous time.

231 The problem of the horses was especially acute and of major concern.
177 From archaeology and written history we know that the Pawnees had acquired horses nearly two hundred years before this time. But apparently there were many essential techniques of horse care that they had not adopted from the European. For example, Lone Chief had only recently found out that they should store hay for their horses in the winter. There were no shoes for the horses. When a horse broke his hoof they tied on a "shoe" of hide.

231 If it snowed before they left the village or after they got back, the
horses had to have special care. The young boys who took care of them
[857] in summer could not be utilized at this season for the purpose. Anyway,
they were more interested in sliding on the ice. The women had to go a
mile south to get whatever hay they could, and in the evening the horses
[417] were put in a corral near the lodge—a round structure of upright sticks
with a gate that was closed across with five sticks. Inside there was a manger that was filled with hay when the horses were settled in for the night. They tried to economize on feed by taking them to graze at intervals during the day. In the morning, after being fed some more hay, they were taken from the corral to the bend of Beaver Creek where there was good grass. By noon they were brought back to the village and hobbled close by. Then toward evening, if snow were expected, they were again taken to Beaver Creek to graze in order to save the hay in the corral where they would have to be kept while it was snowing. If it got too cold, they would have to take the horses into the earth lodge and settle them near the wood pile. The long entrance passageway was quite large enough to accommodate them. While they were on the hunt, the horses had to be covered with an old tent skin during the night.

Some families tried to anticipate these problems by putting their horses in the best possible condition during the fall. Toward the end of September or the beginning of October, they would send them out to Grand Island for about six weeks under the care of a group of men and boys. On the island the horses could wander more or less freely, graze, rest, and water at will. Near the villages the grass was dry at this time, but
here it was green and fresh and the horses would fatten. Allowed to run
[232] loose, they mated freely. No selective breeding was practiced. Some people had their horses gelded by one of the men who knew how. He tied up
the horse and used certain medicines, tying up the wound with sticks
[465] which would fall off by themselves later. A buffalo robe and dry meat
were paid for the operation. When he was about twelve, Otter was sent
231 on such an expedition. He was told to take the mare, a colt, and a gray
857 horse and join the others. They said to him, "If the Sioux overtake you,
you must get on the gray horse and you will get away unless you are thrown off. Then, since you have no weapons, you will be killed." With this cheerful admonition, Otter set out about ten in the morning,

taking half a sack of flour, some sugar, coffee, and baking powder as provisions. He went to the place on the Union Pacific Railroad known as Windmill and then across the sandhills on the north edge of the island, meeting the others at about two in the afternoon. 231 857

The men and boys had a good time of it on these expeditions. They built themselves dome-shaped grass houses, *kaharuut*, of big willow twigs. Their saddles served as pillows and the saddle blankets as bedding. If they wanted an especially soft bed, they put hay and willows underneath. The older men got up very early and looked around on the sandhills. Some of them cooked the bread and coffee that comprised their main diet. Otter had a cup and he shared a plate with another boy who had brought one along. Sometimes a white man, having killed a beef, would give them a chunk of it. They had great times! [342] [313] [262]

Considering their dependence on the horses, the Pawnees were remarkably unsentimental about them. They never called them by name, only referring to them in conversation by such names as Spotted Horse, Spotted Black Horse, Spotted Red Horse, Black Face Horse, White Hoof, Spotted on the Side, Black Nose, White Horse, Yellow Horse, Roan Horse, Red Head, High Forehead. There was no personal identification with them. 231 552

55

ARRANGING THE ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP

000

Meetings with the Interpreter, Behaille—Discussion of Arrangements with U.S. Government—Band Is Chosen to Lead Hunt—Final Preparations

221 THE TIME WHEN EVERYONE began to think in earnest about leaving for
*224 the hunt was between the tenth and fifteenth of November, when the wind got colder from the north. Men from the different bands would meet in the trade store and talk it over. They wanted to travel before the cold was too severe.

648 In September 1857 the Pawnees had signed a treaty with the United States Government agreeing to cease all hostilities between them, to cede some of their lands, and to move onto a restricted territory. The United States in return acknowledged its military responsibility to provide the Pawnees with protection and its financial obligation to pay an annuity
[701] for the ceded lands. By 1867 the military alliance was further solidified when a considerable number of Pawnees were organized into a U. S. Cavalry Battalion under Major Frank North to protect surveyors and tracklayers of the Union Pacific from attacks by other tribes.

*224 Before leaving for the hunt, they would consult with the U. S. Indian
648 Agent concerning their annuity payments and any military arrangements that had to be made. The mixed-blood interpreter, Behaille, went to visit his nephew, Lone Chief, to discuss with him the time and conditions of leaving. The annuity had not yet arrived and the question was whether or not to set out without it. There was in fact no question, as the time of its arrival was too uncertain to depend upon, and they could not afford
*224 to wait. Lone Chief called in Eagle Chief, and they agreed that the day
648 after next the chiefs and important braves were to meet in council with
623 the agent about it. Behaille would entertain them all at a simple outdoor
628 lunch about noon at his home near the agency where they could dis-

cuss their strategy. Lone Chief sent his young nephew, Hawk Chief, to 224
give the message to the leading chiefs of the three other bands, and in 648
each case he was royally entertained as befitted his uncle's position. 623
He returned loaded with gifts of dry meat, and from the chief of the 628
Asking-for-Meat Band he received a new white blanket because of the Peace Pipe relationship between Lone Chief's village and their band. As he moved proudly through the South Bands villages sporting his new blanket, everyone realized that important matters had been discussed, and the more prominent personalities awaited further notification. The more curious among them would wander into the chief's lodge and find out what was discussed and then spread the gossip.

Next morning at about nine or ten, two chiefs from each of the bands with their braves and some of the outstanding "Boys" arrived and were seated on a large tent skin outdoors provided by Behaille's wife. There were four cushions at the west for the leading personalities. Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band sat on the southwest pillow and his fellow chief next to him with their braves extending inward toward the south. At the west on the north side was Many Trophies of the Man-Going-Downstream Band and at his left, Curly Chief of the Little-Earth-Lodge, with the braves of the two bands indiscriminately ranged along the side. The "boys" of the various bands were scattered wherever places happened to be available. These arrangements have a particular interest, for this is the only record I have of the four bands meeting together in a council rather than sending emmisaries back and forth between them. Behaille as host [574]
simply stated that this was merely an informal meal and proceeded to select boys from each of the four bands who carried a wooden bowl for each two guests from the chiefs all the way down the line, each person receiving a round piece of grease bread, some prunes, and some coffee. After the meal, Behaille stated the questions at issue, and when all who wanted to had had a chance to speak and all had agreed on the decision, he instructed them as to how to proceed with the agent so as not to commit themselves to anything more than they intended. He said, "I want four to talk and say just what I say now—nothing else. Say only, 'It's not cold yet. We want to go, agent. You hold the money. That's what I want to tell you.' I want Man Chief to talk first," he said, "then Curly Chief, then Many Trophies and then our chief, Eagle Chief. Just say what I have said, and no more. That's the best thing for you to do."

With this sage advice, they all crowded into the agent's office, the Pawnees sitting on the floor, the agent in his chair. The agent said, "If you want to wait, I can write in to the department, but it will probably be at least a month before I hear." To this one of the chiefs remarked, "By then we could be halfway to the hunting grounds."

As agreed, Man Chief got up and shook the agent's hand and stood back, calling Behaille to interpret for him. He said, "I want you to tell

*224 648 623 628 our grandfather that I think it would be best for me if he held the goods and money until I come back. I want to go buffalo hunting first." "That's all right," said the agent, "It's still warm enough to cross the rivers." "That's why I want to go as soon as we can," said Man Chief. "Now that's all I want to say." Then he went up and shook the agent's hand again and went back to his seat and Curly Chief came up and went through the same procedure saying, "I heard what he said and I agree with him entirely. We don't want to have to cross the rivers when the water is real cold and there is ice floating in them." The other two chiefs did the same and then one of the braves was moved to speak and he said, "Agent, you have heard the chiefs of the different bands. I mean to say as they did." Then the brave turned around to the rest of the assembled company and put it more or less to a voice vote by saying, "Nawa, ha'a?" ("How about it?") and they all replied, "Yes." The agent closed the meeting saying, "I wanted to hear what you chiefs, braves, and boys were going to do."

Back at the villages people were remarking with some sarcasm, "Well, of course it's quite all right about not getting our goods. We can get our own buffalo robes and leggings."

In the agent's office, Eagle Chief decided that this was a good opportunity to speed up the process of choosing which band was going to lead the hunt. He named Man Chief, and, with due modesty, Man Chief rested his head in his hands for a few minutes and then accepted. It was understood that from this point on Man Chief would make the final decisions with regard to the joint hunt—the time of leaving the village, the place of rendezvous, route to be traveled, scouting parties, religious observances, and that his messengers would carry his decisions to the chiefs of the other bands as they went along.

*224 623 When the chiefs got back to their respective bands, each one found a conclave of his other chiefs and braves awaiting him in his lodge. His wife served an informal meal while he told of the decisions that had been reached. Ten days before leaving, Man Chief called his ritual chiefs' meeting, and the other bands called theirs concurrently with his. The errand [624] man went through the village while the meetings were in session announcing the decisions. He said, "Man Chief has given us ten days to get ready. Whatever you have to do, get it ready before that time. If you have a tent to sew, sew it up right now. If you have something to do with the food pit, you have a chance to do it in these ten days. And you arrow makers, try to make as many as you can. And womenfolks, try to look at your husbands' feet to see if they have good moccasins. Prepare. We must go as soon as Man Chief says so." As he was making his announcement, some women remembered that they had only two mats and had to make another; others recalled that they had to make a buffalo robe to trade at the store.

56

PLANS AND PROVISIONS FOR THE HUNT

Plan of Journey—Provisions—Stay-at-Homes on Grand Island—Special Foods Found There—List of Food Taken for Journey—Allowances for Rain and Enemy Attack 000

FOUR DAYS BEFORE LEAVING TIME, Man Chief would have a meeting to 623
draw up final plans. Eagle Chief would have been waiting in his lodge to 628
get word and others would have gathered there. Food was served to all 224*
and the Tsawi errand man delivered his message giving the itinerary. 484*
Their rendezvous camp was almost due south on the north bank of the Platte. The next day they would cross the river and spend a whole day waiting for any stragglers to catch up. The plan further was that all would continue then to Fort Kearney on Grand Island, traveling along the south bank of the Platte, then crossing the channel north onto the island. There a permanent camp could be set up for any "Stay-at-Homes," *kaa-kusu* ("at home-stay"), "who have very few or no horses." This plan differed from the summer when the Stay-at-Homes had to remain near their villages. In the summer, Grand Island was ridden with mosquitoes, but now it was green and pleasant and sheltered from the worst winds.

The matter of provisioning this winter expedition was also somewhat 224*
different from the summer, as certain favorite wild foods were ripe and 484*
could be gathered in quantity. The two most important were Indian po- 222
tatoes, *Glycine apios* L., and black-eye peas, *Falcata comosa* (L.) Kuntze, popularly known to us as ground beans. The beans were hoarded by the wood rat or vole and were gathered by raiding the hoards. The women would find the track of the rat that led them to the beans. Our lima beans were considered like them by the old Indian women. The plant bears two types of beans, one on the upper leafy branches that are not used and the

*224 large flat bean on leafless colorless branches that push into the earth.
*484 These are the ones garnered by the vole, their hoards amounting to a pint
222 or more in each place. Only part of the store was appropriated by the women. Sometimes the beans had to be dug out with a shovel where they grew underground like peanuts. About half of them would be cooked
*224 immediately and half left simply to dry out like cultivated beans. Those
*484 that were dried were winnowed and then put in a sack for future use.
222 For immediate use, the fresh beans were first washed, rubbed between
251 the hands to remove the hulls, and then boiled and eaten. Their Pawnee
252 name was *atik-uraru*, "bean-earth."

Artichokes (Jerusalem artichoke, *Helianthus tuberosus* L.) known as *kisusit*, were also gotten, but they could not be dried; they had to be eaten fresh. The most important wild crop was the potato, known as *its*. The Loup River was known in Pawnee as Many-Potatoes, *Its-kari*, "potato-many," from the abundance of this useful vegetable that flourished along its banks. These grew in the sand among the willows. A considerable number of these Indian potatoes were boiled, smoked, and dried for preservation and stored in skin bags. In addition to the larger-size potatoes, they gathered some small ones that were strung along the vine; these were called potato-many-tied-up, *its-kari-piru*, and were given to the small children to eat after boiling. They were bundled up and tied with a vine into little bunches and boiled in water, covered with a layer of grass along with the larger ones. The larger potatoes were then peeled, "strung" on a very thin willow twig, and placed across two forked sticks in the tipi so that the smoke would permeate them and improve their flavor. The potatoes prepared in this way could be eaten at any time without further preparation, and would not rot.

*224 Quantities of potatoes were found on Grand Island and on both sides
*484 of the Republican River. Those who stayed on Grand Island, especially the old ladies, as well as any who went all the way out to the hunting
222 grounds, would make sure to take a file along so that they could sharpen
[237] up their buffalo shoulder-blade "hoes" to dig up the potatoes.

[412] These wild plant foods were a very important element of their provisions. The group that remained on Grand Island could be a kind of half-way station where they could leave extra baggage on the way out and where the people could be actively gathering and preparing the wild foods so that they would be sustained on the rest of the journey home. The men who remained on the island were actively trapping and could supply extra meat. Thus in the winter the Stay-at-Homes played a useful role, while in the summer they had no function in the enterprise.

*224 In the family of Victory Call, Grandma planned to stay on Grand Is-
*484 land where she could do some useful work while the rest of the family went on. Those who proceeded all the way to the hunting grounds were Victory Call, White Woman, Horse Rider, and No Corn—viz., two couples—and the boy Otter.

ples—and the boy Otter. Of the dried and cultivated foods from White Woman's stores they took: 224* 484* 262

Roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*)	2 small sacks (50-lb flour size)
Dried blue flour corn (*uraax-katit*)	1 small sack (50-lb flour size)
Dried spotted corn (*rikis-tipiku*)	1 sack
Beans	1 sack
Pumpkin mats	2 mats
Dried buffalo meat (*takaski*)	½ parfleche
Trade store goods	Flour (50-lb sack); coffee, sugar, baking powder; dried peaches and dried prunes

As on the previous occasion, Grandma contributed her specialty, pounded up sweet corn mixed with sugar, *rikis-karus-tapaxtu*, "corn-sweet-pounded-up," that she had pounded in the mortar before they left. She pounded as much of it as she could so that the family could carry it along. This was a valuable ready-to-eat food and there would be no time to prepare it while they were on the march without her, since she would remain on Grand Island. Particularly in winter, there would be little time to cook. [252]

No Corn, wife of Horse Rider, took a similar array of foods to White Woman, but less in quantity. She took:

Roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*)	1 sack
Dried blue flour corn (*uraax-katit*)	½ sack
Dried spotted corn (*rikis-tipiku*)	1 sack
Beans	1 sack
Pumpkin mats	1 mat
Dried buffalo meat (*takaski*)	½ parfleche
Trade store goods	Flour (50-lb sack); coffee, sugar, dried peaches and dried prunes

The roasted (*rawaritu*) corn was the quickest-cooking, while the dried blue flour corn (*urrax-katit*) had to soak and took much longer to cook. [252] The spotted corn was parched in a pan with coals. For this winter expedition the main difference in the supplies was that they took half or less of the longer-cooking dried blue flour corn. Otherwise the supplies were substantially similar. However, they were out on their winter expedition about 3½ months rather than the summer period of only two.

While there is no way of getting a reliable estimate of how much these supplies amounted to in our terms, Samuel Allis who was missionary to the Skidi and traveled with them on their hunts in 1835–1836, stated that [797] [175]

*224 each parfleche that they carried with them contained four bushels of corn
*484 or eighty pounds of dried buffalo meat. The proportions of the dry
262 meat he describes as 3 feet long and 2 feet wide per sheet.

[797] It should be noted that some of the trade store supplies had their
[175] analogies in the native foods. Flour was analogous to finely pounded-up
corn made into corn bread that was baked in the ashes, and the dried
[252] fruits with traditional dried wild plums and sand cherries, while sugar was obtained from the box elder.

*224 The cache pit being in order and the provisions packed for travel, the
*484 horse gear was all gotten in order, the saddles and straps mended so that
the goods could be securely packed on the horse. Finally the long-
492 awaited announcement for leaving would come. The specific directions were from Man Chief of the Tsawi Band who was leading the hunt.

The night before it would be stated that rainy conditions would have to be taken account of. If they had a hard rain early in the morning, then they would have to delay their departure until the next day, but "If it rains only a little in the morning, as soon as the rain stops, we can go on." On the other hand, should it rain during the night, they would certainly go on next morning. If they had already started and it began to rain they would cover up the loaded horses with an old tent skin they carried along for the purpose and say, "It's on the way," and continue, unless it kept on raining hard all through the day, when they would have to unload the horses, cover up the baggage with a tent skin, and all crawl under it until the rain was over. Then they would reload and go on.

[721] Another cause for delay in their departure would be an enemy attack
when they could do nothing else but stay and defend themselves. This would delay them for a day or two.

Meanwhile everyone was anxious to be on their way. On the appointed morning or the night before, Horse Rider tethered the horses right outside the door of the lodge. They would be loaded as for the summer hunt, a place being arranged for No Corn to ride because of her arthritis.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

57

THE JOURNEY TO THE HUNTING GROUNDS

000

The Order of the Procession—Crossing the Loup —Setting Up Camp—Hunting along the Way

FINALLY IT WAS THE MORNING for leaving. People everywhere got up well before dawn as they had a long journey of about 15 miles and they wanted to set up camp before sundown. Before they could get to their destination on the north bank of the Platte, they had to cross the Loup. 224* 484*

The formal procession started early. Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band was in the lead, followed by his subchiefs and his people, then the other South Bands and the Skidis. The Skidis had gathered in Wolf-in-Water village and when Eagle Chief rode up he continued south with the crowd following. Just behind him, Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge rode up with his family and Eagle Chief asked him to join him, the two riding side by side with Lone Chief to the west. Behind them came their subchiefs and then the rest of the people of their two villages, flanked by their braves. Next came the chiefs of the other two villages, Leading Chief of Bottomland and riding to his right, Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-in-Water, then their subchiefs and the people, with their braves riding alongside.

When they got to the Loup, they crowded toward the bank as everyone tried to get across at once, but finally two parallel roads were established. Man Chief and his people were the first to cross, then Little-Earth-Lodge Band and the Man-Going-Downstream and then Eagle Chief and the Skidis, but in the confusion some Skidis got mixed up with the other two bands. When they got across the four bands had to realign themselves in the original order. The old ladies had gone ahead and by this time had arrived at the railroad station (Clarks? on the Union Pacific). Any of the people that felt inclined to go to the city of Columbus were

*224
*484

dissuaded and urged to come to Grand Island where they had a good chance of getting some buffalo meat.

By nightfall, they had set up their first rendezvous camp on the Platte. Stragglers would reach the camp at night and in the darkness they would call out, "Where are the Skidis camped?" Individuals who were joining a tipi called out, "Where is our tipi?" The hunters would not have been able to get any game that afternoon as the north side of the Platte was heavily populated with a railroad and a wagon trail and no animals ever came near. Only on the many islands in the Platte could one hope to get some deer or trap some beaver.

Next morning they all crossed over to the south bank of the Platte and set up their second rendezvous camp. Man Chief started the procession early that morning, and when he was about halfway across the river, the other bands followed. Having camped there the night before, they all had a good estimate of the conditions for crossing and each band took its own route, the Skidi furthest west as they had been encamped. From this encampment, some hunters crossed over to the islands and set their beaver traps and stalked deer while others rode south for antelope. Along the south side of the Platte there was an old trail that had long been followed, but still further south among the sand hills, the country was deserted and game was plentiful. A man looking for antelope might come across a lone buffalo bull. The lucky hunter who got a deer, antelope, and particularly a buffalo would invite the chiefs and other important men to his tent for a feast on ribs as was the usual practice.

Sporadic hunting continued as they traveled along the south bank of the Platte for the next five or six camps when they would reach Grand Island.

58

CAMP 6 ON GRAND ISLAND

000

Problems with Stay-at-Homes—Rearrangement of Groups for Hunt—the Journey South—the Hunt

TRAVELING ALONG THE SOUTH BANK of the Platte, when they arrived opposite 224*
the middle of Grand Island, they crossed the channel northward and 484*
camped there. They set up a large encampment of all four bands with the 361
Skidi furthest west. Some people had planned to remain behind before they left the village, but others, particularly old people, would decide that it was too cold to go on and would seek a place in one of the tents of those who were staying.

But sometimes the defections were more serious. A prominent man 224*
like Misery, for example, would have a lapse of public spirit and secretly 484*
plan to stay behind before they left the village. Misery was the son of 592
Sitting Hawk, Victory Call's oldest brother. He was married to three 621
daughters of a prominent chief of Bottomlands Village, Comanche Chief, and lived in their household. As was the common situation in such a lodge, there were a number of untitled "boys" who made their home there. Four of them formed a small group together, their leader being Horse Finder who owned a number of horses while the others had none. Horse Finder would ordinarily be the nucleus of a hunting group with the other three to assist him. Misery had been able to induce him to remain on the island with him along with his group. On the other hand, he had not been successful in keeping another of the "boys" that lived in the household, Jim Bear, from going along to the hunting grounds. Jim Bear had two horses and a wife who could slice the buffalo meat. When he got wind of the secret plans, he made arrangements to join the hunt
group of White Eagle. Misery's decision meant that his father, Sitting 224*
Hawk, would also have to stay behind. There were a number of other 484*
planned defections of this kind with the intention being to ride out as a 621

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224
*484
621
single group of hunters all the way due south to the Republican, get some buffalo meat, and bring it all the way back to the island where their families could process it in comfort. It would take them two days to get to the Republican and back and a number of short forays of this sort would yield them a good supply of meat and hides. Such a plan to anticipate the hunt on the Republican was decidedly antisocial.

Eagle Chief first became aware of the situation when the expedition was ready to leave for the main hunting grounds, but there was nothing he could do about it. In answer to his question, "What's the trouble that you're not going ahead?" Misery would try to make his decision appear spontaneous by remarking, "Oh, I don't feel like going this year anyway. I want to go trapping on this island. That's why I don't want to go." As the beaver skins could be sold for cash, this was intended to give the impression that he needed money. But Eagle Chief knew better.

In Victory Call's family, Grandma had made up her mind beforehand to stay behind and now she would join the camp of Misery in view of his close relationship to Victory Call. White Woman left enough food with her for her share in the household and some baggage to keep for them, along with their whole supply of roasted corn to be eaten on the way back, since No Corn had enough for the journey out. Grandma was diligent at gathering wild potatoes and ground beans, and after contributing some to Misery's household, would have a good supply for the family when they got back. She would also receive some dried buffalo meat for her help in the household.

None of the Stay-at-Home camps of the several bands had a formal leader, but the most prominent man among them would automatically assume the role. In the Skidi camp, Eagle Chief would remark to Misery, "I want you to look after these folks while we're away." The chiefs [648] stopped off at Fort Kearney before leaving to receive army rations and when they held council with the army officers, Eagle Chief requested them to "Look after our people here," intending that they should keep an eye on the Stay-at-Homes and give them some food if necessary. Much to his surprise, however, they sent a troop of cavalry under Major North as an escort for the outgoing party. When they had gone a little way, it was discovered that Eagle Chief's remark had been misunderstood through a slight error of linguistic interpretation by the translator, and the cavalry turned back.

*224
*484
They left Grand Island from Fort Kearney and made four camps to Plum Creek near Lexington. They had sent out no forays from these camps to scout for buffalo to the south as they knew the Stay-at-Homes had gone before them. It was also unlikely that they would find any small buffalo herds in the neighborhood of the camp as they had in summer, since the buffalo of the Republican herd did not come that far north in the cold weather. Moreover they had to conserve the energy of their

horses who were living on very short rations during this part of the journey getting only a little hay that they gathered for them. Should they want to undertake a special scouting expedition, the men would have had to stop to get some strips of cottonwood bark to give their horses extra strength. 224x 484x

In summer they were likely to stay at Plum Creek for several days before turning southward but, in view of the conditions, they spent only one night there and proceeded across the dry canyon-broken terrain the next morning until they found the head of Turkey Creek that would lead them to the Republican. They camped there at the head of the creek on the west bank. Meanwhile scouts had set out from the Platte that morning and came into the encampment with news of a small herd in the confluence of Turkey Creek and the Republican. That night Man Chief made plans for the attack on the herd next morning. His scouts went out way before dawn and climbed a hill to plan the strategy of attack and signal the hunters as they approached. At camp it was understood that everything should be packed in final order and the hunters all ready to ride off when they had gone half way down the west bank of the creek. The rest of the line was to proceed very cautiously south toward the confluence of Turkey Creek with the Republican, arriving in time for the hunt to be over and setting up the camp.

When the hunters reached the appointed place, they lined up at the base of the hill as directed by the scout. Their braves kept the line of hunters in order. Man Chief appointed a man as "hand-waver" to ask the ceremonial blessing, and then the hunters rode out on both sides to surround the herd. When they got to camp, they would leave the ribs of the killed buffaloes at the council tent and go home to rest, leaving the meat and hides before returning to make their report.

59

THE POINTED SKIN TIPI

000

Transporting the Tipi—the Women Set Up the Tipi with Help from the Men—the Arrangements in the Tipi

342 One of the most important technical achievements that made this trip
*[484] possible across the open prairie in the cold of winter was the pointed
skin tipi. With its fire burning in the middle, its skin cover tight and its
poles firmly set on the ground, it was a warm shelter against wind and
weather. It was named for its framework of poles, viz., *kax-ta-pe*, "house-
against-leaning," or the Against-Leaning House. An alternative name was
kar-rat-sa-pe, the infix *-rat-* referring to the plurality of the poles, viz.,
492 They-against-Leaning House. For transportation, the poles were divided
493 into two equal groups, laced through the thick end with rawhide rope
*484 and placed one on each side of the horse and tied to the saddle horn.
The thinner ends dragged on the ground. The two groups of poles were
fastened together across the lower part with cross sticks and the space
covered over with skin placed underneath with the edges lapped over on
top. This made a convenient carryall where they placed extra packages
and sometimes the baby on top. In former times dogs were similarly
packed and they were still in active use for this purpose in the late 1830's
—a usage reminiscent of a time before they had horses and the women
[175] and the dogs did most of the packing. This is vividly shown by the
painter Alfred Jacob Miller in 1837 and described by the missionary to
the Skidi, Allis, on the winter hunt of 1835, who claims that the dog car-
ried seventy to a hundred pounds of meat. For the time before horses, we
[175] have an account of the use of the dog travois in the report of the Coro-
nado expedition across the Plains in 1541.

*224 When the line of march would set out in the morning after breakfast,
*484 the common routine was for the hunters to leave the line of march and go
on their individual hunts or the mass attack on the buffalo herd and for

the rest of the party to continue to the appointed place and set up camp. 224
They tried to have it ready by around noon so that the men could have 484
a place to rest when they came in and the meat could be treated. In summer the mass attack on the herd usually took place about eleven o'clock in the morning when the herd had returned from the water to the pasture; in winter it was somewhat earlier.

342

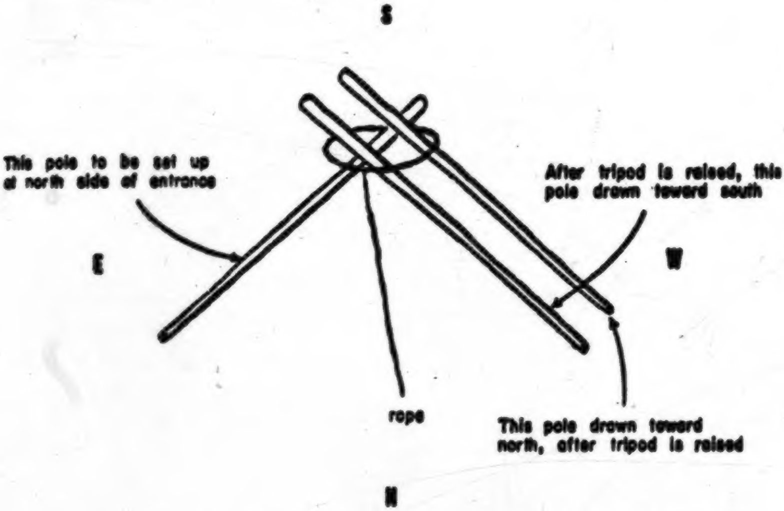

S
This pole to be set up at north side of entrance
After tripod is raised, this pole drawn toward south
E
W
rope
This pole drawn toward north, after tripod is raised
N

FIGURE 59-1. Erecting the framework of the pointed tipi. Three poles were laid on the ground as shown, the east pole first and the two west poles on top of it. The rope was tied around the poles at the crossing toward the top. Someone at the south end pushed up the frame while an assistant at the north end pulled the rope. The thick ends of the poles were near the top, tapering to the base. The poles were about 15 feet long, the trees being 6 to 7 inches in diameter before the bark was removed. The west was the rear of the tent, and these two poles were set 2 to 3 feet apart. A fourth pole that matched the one at the north was rested in the crossing at the apex of the tripod to form the south post of the doorway. Now other poles were placed all around, also resting in the tripod, and the woman grasped the end of the rope that was hanging down in the middle and carried it around from the south by west by north until she had made four circuits. She tossed it up from time to time and jerked it in place to make sure it was tight around the apex. She fastened the rope at the south doorway pole by winding it three or four times around the pole and tying it at the bottom.

At the campsite that had been agreed upon, the woman of the house [484]*
would select a place for her tipi and begin by excavating a circular [354]
fireplace with the earth banked up all around it. She then proceeded to erect over it the pointed skin tipi. This could be set up by one person if necessary, but two made it more convenient and four still better. As was

342 usual with the Pawnees, the back of the tent would be placed toward the west and the opening to the east. In our current way of drawing maps, we think of the top of the paper as the north, the bottom south, the west toward the left edge and the east toward the right. The beginning of the installation was the construction of a tripod of tall poles fastened together at the top. The first step was to lay these three poles parallel on the ground with their thin ends pointing north and the thick ends at which they were fastened, pointing south. From the place at the south where the three poles were fastened, a long rope extended with its free end pointing northward. In forming the tripod, the thick ends of the poles were to be elevated for the apex and the thin ends rested on the ground. They now drew the thin ends of the poles apart, two of them toward the west and one toward the east to form an acute angle. The long rope still pointed due north between them.

No Corn stood at the free end of the rope at the north, and her husband Horse Rider at the south where the thick ends of the sticks were tied. Now White Woman gave the instruction, "We've got to raise them up," and Horse Rider lifted the tied end of the poles while No Corn who stood opposite him, pulled at her end of the rope. Victory Call was standing at the east pole which was to be the entrance, while White Woman was stationed at the west where the two poles for the back had been placed. As the frame was elevated, Victory Call steadied the east pole with his foot and White Woman called out, "Hold steady and try to part the two poles at the west!" Horse Rider then ran over to the west to assist her, and they drew the two rear poles about 3 feet apart. The tripod now stood firm. There were now two poles for the back of the tent, but only one for the entranceway at the northeast. White Woman now selected a pole to match it and rested it in the tripod to form the southeast door pole.

The rest of the poles, four along the north side and four along the south, were now leaned in the tripod. A space at the west was left free of poles. Meanwhile, the long rope was hanging down the middle from the apex with a weight on the end of it. White Woman took it up now and carried it all around in a clockwise circuit beginning at the southeast, through south, west, etc., to bind the sticks in place at the apex. Tossing the rope upward toward the apex, she would pull it tight from time to time, making four circuits and then fastening the end of the rope at the southeast doorway pole, winding it three or four times around the pole and then tying it at the bottom.

Now the skin cover was put on the frame. The skin cover had been carried folded in two down the length and rolled up (see pp. 179-180, Figure 19-1). It was unrolled and opened out with the inner surface uppermost and a long pole placed upon it which was tied to the cover with two

rawhide strips found near the top end and two more near the bottom. This 342 pole was to act as a kind of "backbone" when the skin cover was elevated onto the frame. It was lifted with the cover attached and rested in the tripod at the west. The cover was carried first around the south side, then around the north until they met at the front where they were either laced together with thin sticks above the doorway or with strips of rawhide. If the cover was a little loose, White Woman now straightened it up at the top.

The next step was to tighten up the frame again. This she did by driving holes in the ground into which each individual tent pole could rest. First at the northeast entrance pole she took her seven-foot-long *biku* stick with its fire-hardened point and punched it down into the ground before her, putting the pole in the hole. Next she did the same for the southeast entrance pole, then the one due west with the cover attached to it, then the one due north and the one due south. She fixed up the rest of the poles in any order that was convenient. She tried to make a nice even circle.

The final step was to tighten the cover by pegging it down with the tent pegs. All around the tent cover there were strap loops of rawhide through which she drove the tent pegs. The pegs were of dogwood, each about a foot long, with the thick end sharpened to a point. They were driven into the ground with the ax head in the same order used in stabilizing the poles, viz., northeast, southeast, west, north, south.

Two more poles, *tsuxtsakatawisu*, were used to hold the flaps around the smokehole open at the top. These were placed on the outside, one on each side of the entrance and hooked into the holes of the smokehole flaps so that they could be adjusted to make the smokehole more or less open, depending on the wind. Sometimes they forgot to get these two sticks beforehand, and Horse Rider had to go out into the woods to get some for current use. Either inside or outside, over the door, a blanket was hung.

While the tent was being pegged down, Horse Rider would have been 342
reminded by his wife that they had no wood. He would have brought a 352
supply of water before that. Now with wood and water available and the 353
whole tent firmly in order, the inside was furnished. First the parfleches were taken in and placed around the walls in piles of two from west to east. Then the twined woven rush mats were laid down to the north and south of the fireplace. The proportions of the tent given by Allis in 1835 are 18 feet in diameter and 14 feet high.

Victory Call's family occupied the south side of the tipi, and Horse 342
Rider and his wife, No Corn, the north side. At meals, White Woman sat 592
due south and did the cooking and serving, while Victory Call occupied the southwest position on her left and little Otter, the southeast position

342 on her right. On the north side, the northwest position was vacant, leaving
592 room for piling kettles, mortars, and other things—Horse Rider sitting in
[353] the due north position and No Corn at the northeast position. They sat
close enough around the fire to simply pass the food around at mealtimes.

60

PROCESSING THE MEAT

Getting Forage for the Horses—Working on the Meat inside the Tent

After the tent was set up, White Woman and No Corn got some cot- 231
tonwood tops and bark for the horses to eat when the men got in from
the chase. They went out and cut down a few trees and dragged them in
two loads, taking one at a time into the tent, cutting off the tops and mak-
ing a number of cuts with the ax along the trunk to loosen the bark.
Most of the time the bark could then be struck off easily, but if it was too
tough, it was macerated a bit with the ax head. They also gathered what-
ever hay they could find and got wood and water for their cooking. High 354
over the fire, they built a grate to warm the meat through after slicing, as 252
in winter the meat had to be treated inside the tent before it was finally 417
dried outdoors.

When the hunters got in they immediately brought the meat inside lest 252
it freeze so that it could not be sliced. The horses were tethered outside 231
the tent, each one covered over with a skin spread so that he would not
catch cold, and left out all night to eat their cottonwood tops and bark
that had been placed before them on a hide. Sometimes if the horses did
not have enough, the Pawnees had to feed them corn. When the meal was 252
over, the men went to the council tent and the women began to slice
the meat.

They made a low fire, and after the meat was sliced they put it on the
grate to warm through. Outside they built another rack of a different 251
form. This had an elliptical ridge pole and withes along one side on 417
which the meat rested under which they placed hot coals in order to dry
the meat thoroughly.

Sometimes they built another grate similar to the one indoors so that
the meat could finally be exposed to the sun and wind. In this condition [252]
the meat was thoroughly cooked and could be eaten without further
cooking as well as being preserved for storage.

61

THE COUNCIL TENT

000

Ceremonial Observances of the Hunt—the Meat Is Delivered—a More Informal Procedure Than the Summer Hunt—Police Chosen—Four Official Scouts Chosen Also—the Hunt

*224 EVERYONE KNEW THAT the council tent would be set up at Turkey Creek
778 while the men were out attacking the herd, and that that evening the
[625] special police would be appointed to take charge during the subsequent
attacks. During the summer, with White Eagle in the lead, the hunt had
been conducted under the religious sponsorship of his left hand bundle,
whose tradition was a special form of the creation legend. The present
hunt was being carried on under the auspices of the Evening Star and its
sacred bundle, which was also known as Yellow Calf. Its tradition was
the official creation legend of the Skidi Federation. The "keeper" of this
[794] bundle was Old Lady Lucky Leader of Pumpkin-Vine Village and she
was assisted by her son, Frank Leader (also known as Dog-at-the-West),
and her son-in-law, Roaming Leader. The old lady had built a particu-
[344] larly large tent but even then only about thirty could gather in there at a
time.

*224 As soon as the tent was set up and while the men were still off chasing
793 the herd, the five priests came in and sat down at the west. Due west was
Heavy Trophies, the head priest. To his left on the north side were Pipe
Offering and Bringing Horses. To his right on the south side were An-
gry Horse and then Wonderful Old Bull.

*224 On this occasion, Bringing Horses was sitting as an apprentice priest.
793 From time to time the head priest would say, "If there is anyone in this
869 room who wants to learn, he should come closer and sit with us. It is
necessary that someone should do this as we are likely to die at any time.
We are old and after we die, the world will go on and on and this is the
word of Heaven and should be carried on after we are gone. Anyone

who is willing should come and sit closer and observe and listen to the 224*
way these things should be done." This was considered a major public 793
service and no payment was involved nor considerations of kin relation- 869
ship. Bringing Horses was a brave and apparently had had a call to
carry out this mission.

The five priests sat smoking and talking together informally. They were 224*
old men and had traveled over this same ground many times. They knew 793
just how far apart the rivers were and which were the quickest routes to
follow. Now they were reminiscing about the past. One would say, "One [521]
summertime we camped way down there in this and this direction from
here and so and so happened," for example a warpath came or some other
notable event. Meanwhile Old Lady Lucky Leader was taking care of 224*
the practical affairs since the menfolks of her family were still out on the 794
hunt. She was a vigorous old woman and a good manager. One of the 574
men coming in early from the hunt reined in his horse outside her tent
and called out, "Lady Lucky Leader, here are ribs!" throwing down the
ribs as his contribution to the forthcoming council meeting and riding
off home to his own tent. The old lady went out and got them at once and
put them inside the tent on the north side near the entrance so that they
wouldn't freeze. Now she decided to get the meal under way for the
council. The boy Might-Be-Chief was passing by and she called him in
and asked him to get the chief's errand man Know-His-Face, who came [624]
in and, after exchanging greetings with the priests, began to roast the ribs [252]
to the northeast of the fireplace as directed by the old lady. She asked
her daughter to sit down to the south and fry some bread so that the
men would have something to eat as soon as they got in before the council began.

Now the men could be heard coming and the meat creaking a little as 224*
it was packed on the horse since it was a bit frozen. The two men of the
family knew they had better get in early and Frank Leader called out to [492]
his mother, "Atira [my mother], spread something out here for the meat."
The old lady came out and put a skin spread on the snow in front of the
tent and her son tethered his horse to a stake nearby. She covered the
horse and put down another spread with cottonwood tops and bark on it
for the horse to eat. She saved some of the cottonwood for her son-in-
law's horse and he arrived soon after. As soon as the two men entered the [515]
tent they asked their mother for some water to wash their hands with,
and Frank tied his quiver and bow to the southwest post while Roaming
Leader tied his at the northwest. Then they sat down on either side of
the entrance. The men talked about how they had killed the buffalo that
day and how there had been good herds north of the river. The family [264]
had its meal of bread and ribs and then the boy Might-Be-Chief was sent
around to call in the other members of the council. He also called in
Horse Rider to help the errand man Know-His-Face to cook for the feast.

*224 They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The
264 contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four
sets.

*224 The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four
623 Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each
628 and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat
in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves
ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates from the villages.

*224 The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning
623 each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this
793 tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in
summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during
[701] the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose
[825] the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was
[778] under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening Star bundle.

*224 Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was
623 going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War
628 Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the
other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Down-
793 hill. Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now
[625] officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief.
[574] The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was
[264] carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief, who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

*224 The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south
623 pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head police-
625 man War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh
574 bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could
make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people
[293] to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family
of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and
so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we
have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

*224 Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the
623 old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was
562 in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and
Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they
[251] could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

*224 The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very
[793] early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican.
When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of
[825]

calf with a long body that they called "Calf-That-Has-a-Rope" signifying 224*
that it was a calf around whom the herd gathers like a circular rope. 825
They believed that when this calf was killed, all the buffalo were impelled
to come seeking it. On the other hand, if they did not succeed in killing
it, the herd would turn back when attacked. It took an exceptionally fast
horse to kill this calf and Jim Bear (also known as In-the-Front-Line)
managed to overtake it and kill it because, as he said with characteristic
modesty, "the calf got tired running in the deep snow." Now the buffalo 224*
were running eastward in a vast herd along the south side of the
river. They knew they wouldn't have to go any further for this hunting [361]
expedition, but could set up a permanent encampment at a place called
Many Deer to the west of Turkey Creek, for the herd were sure to continue
coming in this direction. When they set up camp at Many Deer they
could hear the roar of the herd. The skin of the special calf who had
been herd leader was donated to Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village as a
wrap for its sacred bundle.

Meanwhile, at Turkey Creek, after the Skidi scouts had gone out, Man 224*
Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band announced his plan to go to a place 628
to the south that the South Bands preferred. Eagle Chief sent back a message that they were unable to join him as his scouts had already killed some buffalo to the west. It was then understood that the four bands would part, and no rancor whatever was involved. The Man-Going-Downstream Band joined Man Chief, while the Little-Earth-Lodge Band had a place they liked to camp they called, "Where-the-Cane-Plants-Are-Sitting-up-Against." This was located on the south side of the Republican just about opposite the Skidi camp of Many Deer that was on the north bank of the river. They all stayed at Turkey Creek for an extra day to give the women a chance to cure the meat and prepare the hides, and then the bands went to their several destinations.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

62

THE MAIN HUNT

000

Handling the Meat after the Hunt—Winter Problems—Storytelling—Camp Moves to Many Deer—Dismantling the Tent—Meeting in Council Tent—the Hunt at Many Deer—Donations to the Sacred Bundles—Scouts Return to Grand Island to Report

*224 VERY EARLY THAT MORNING after the scouts had ridden west, most of
462 the other men rode out after them, leaving the women in camp to finish
251 drying the meat with only a few men to protect them. The men took only
the horses they rode to the chase; the rest were left to the care of the
women. In warmer weather, a boy might ride an extra horse so that it
would be ready for packing after the chase, but at this time the weather
was too bad. In Victory Call's camp, White Woman, No Corn, and the
boy remained and the two men rode west.

*224 At Many Deer, Eagle Chief had decided that they would stake out a
*484 camping place on the north shore, sheltered by timber and big hills from
the cold winds, and lead their horses over the ice to the south bank for
[361] the chase. After the buffalo had been killed and butchered, the meat was
[492] loaded on the horses and carried to the south bank of the Republican.
There the meat was unloaded and the horses tethered. Then the men
[493] made "hand travois," *raku-rarahu-kita-hukhu*, in order to-pack of buffalo
meat-upon-water or ice-carry. This was a dead cottonwood with a fork
at the top. Sticks were fastened across the fork and upon this the meat
was loaded and tied with the man pulling the travois across the ice by
[501] the trunk. (In summer they made a "water package" raft of half the rawhide
of a bison to float across the water in a similar situation.) When a
man had pulled all his meat across the ice, someone on the north shore
would ask him for his travois. He would say, "All right, that's a good
horse!"

The horses were still tethered on the south bank, and when all the 224*
meat was over, Eagle Chief would ask "the boys" to sprinkle soil or earth 484*
on the ice so that the horses could be led over. They would organize into 231
two parties, one from each shore, each man with a supply of earth in his
buffalo robe or blanket to sprinkle on the ice. The two parties would
meet in the middle of the river and then the horses could be led across.
The next day the earth would have melted into the ice and the crossing
would be easier. Even though they were not loaded, the horses had a
hard time to keep from slipping as they had no shoes. When the horses
arrived on the north shore they were again loaded with the meat and led
to the place selected for the encampment. Each man chose a site for his 224*
family's camp and cleared it of snow and gathered plenty of wood. The 484*
meat was put on the hide and bundled up in it. As soon as the meat was
unloaded, Eagle Chief called out that the horses better be sent back to the
camp at Turkey Creek so that the people could join them early next
morning. Victory Call sent Horse Rider back with the two horses for the
family, while he stayed at Many Deer, going on with the work of preparing
the camping place and looking after the meat.

After the hunters at Many Deer had completed their duties, they made
five big fires, one for each of the four Skidi villages, and an extra one.
The men of each village sat around them wrapped up well in their buffalo
robes and stayed up all night smoking and talking. If one should doze [513]
off, his neighbor awakened him. They were accustomed to staying up
like this on the warpath as much as three days and nights to get out of [727]
range of the enemy with the booty and horses. The next morning while
the line of march was on the way from the camp on Turkey Creek, some
of the men like War Cry, Victory Call, and Eagle Chief would decide to
begin to slice and dry the buffalo meat so that no time would be lost. At
some of the other fires, when they saw War Cry with his meat drying, [522]
they would tease him with, "Look at that War Cry. He has his *takaski*.
He's just like an old woman." But he was totally impervious to such remarks.

As soon as Frank Leader and his brother-in-law Roaming Leader had
decided where they were going to set up the council tent, Eagle Chief
said, "Don't wait. As soon as the council tent is set up, come in any [344]
time. We have a home there. This is where we come to tell stories and
make reports." As the returning hunters had come in, they donated ribs
for the Council that evening by hanging them on a nearby tree. Old 224*
Lady Lucky Leader realized that she and her family would have to be up 343
all night again slicing meat, and she decided that when she got to Many
Deer she would build herself a grass house beside their large tipi with the
help of the two men, so that she could carry on her work while they
were in the council tent. A grass house, *baharutu*, was made by sticking
supple withes upright in the ground in a circle and tying them together

*224 343 at the top, then carrying the rope all around the frame spirally from top to bottom. The frame was then entirely covered over with buffalo grass and a large smokehole left at the top and an opening at the east for an [417] entrance. Over the central fireplace a wooden grate or drying rack like the one in the tipi would be built high up so that the meat could dry. Donations for the council tent could also be kept in there to keep them *224 [623] from freezing. When the tipis were all set up, the chiefs, braves, and boys would meet in the council tent in the evening to discuss tactics and have a feast on ribs. Eagle Chief had sent out two scouts to climb a high hill now covered with snow to look far to the west up the river and determine where the herds were. They would report that night at the council tent.

[803] [624] Meanwhile, when the men arrived back at Camp 11 with the horses so that they could move the encampment from Turkey Creek westward to Many Deer, at Eagle Chief's direction, the errand man, Know-His-Face went announcing through the camp:

> They killed many buffalo up there and Eagle Chief says we must move from here to there. The meat is sleeping up there and they have a camping place all prepared. People do not need to wait for one another in the morning but can start out any time they are ready as the trail has already been broken by the men coming over here with the horses.

*224 *484 When Horse Rider got into camp where White Woman, No Corn, and the boy were, he tethered the horses outside the tipi and the women covered them and gave them cottonwood tops and bark to eat, leaving them there for the night. Horse Rider told of what a good camping place they had at Many Deer, the problem of how they had to transport the meat across the ice from the south of the river, and how much wood Victory Call had gathered for them. In the morning, right after breakfast, the horses were saddled up and loaded by Horse Rider while the two women dismantled the tent. Some of the meat was still moist (*kiparu*) and he bundled this up in an extra package and piled it on top of the saddle. It would not spoil because the weather was so cold. The two parfleches of meat that were completely dried were fastened one on each side of the saddle.

*224 *484 342 Meanwhile White Woman was shaking the tent pegs loose and pulling them out. No Corn was inside rolling up the mats and tying them and whatever blankets they had. The two sticks from outside the smokehole were removed. Next they removed the pegs laced over the door flap, rolling them up with it for further use. Now they could remove the tent cover. First the south half was pulled to the back and folded over, then the north half was carried around and also folded over at the back. They

now pulled down the "backbone" pole at the west so that it lay on the 224*
ground with the partially folded cover underneath it. The pole was un- 484*
tied at the top and bottom ends and removed and the cover folded down 342
the length in two. The shape of the cover was something of an equilateral triangle with broad squat arms and a point at the top and two extra flanges with a hole in each for the smokehole. After the cover had been folded once in the length, the two broad ends near the base were folded in, and then the cover was folded in the length once more and tightly rolled from the bottom up toward the point when it was tied with two attached straps around the middle. It was now tied around and across each end with extra ropes.

The frame was still standing and they had to be careful not to break the poles in taking them down. First they unwound the rope that bound them at the top: it was untied at the bottom of the south doorway pole, unwound four times and then left hanging in the middle. After the other poles were removed from the sides and south doorway, the three poles of the tripod were left standing with the rope hanging from the top. The two poles at the west were gently drawn together while someone stood at the north and held the end of the rope, slowly letting the three poles down. They were now untied and the poles bound together six for one side and six for the other side of the horse to be ready after the loading. With the tipi dismantled, the parfleches were still on the ground and the horses were backed up nearby and loaded with them and then they set out for Many Deer.

As soon as the tipis were up at Many Deer, the men got together in 224*
the council tent. The two scouts sent out by Eagle Chief to locate the 623
herd were now ready with their report. They said that the buffalo were coming from the west along the south side of the river very slowly. Nevertheless they thought they would get there that night. This meant 224*
that the police had to get into action and keep the camp quiet. War Cry 625
as chief of police sent his deputy Roaming Scout to notify the people. 623
He walked quietly through the encampment, stopping now at this tipi, now at that, telling them that on that evening the dogs had to be muzzled and the children cautioned not to make too much noise as the buffalo would be passing near that night. "That's the order of the chief of police," he said. "Don't try to cut wood with an ax. Break it or use what you have already cut. Don't let the baby cry too long. You must nurse it right away." Then he returned to the council tent reporting that his message had been delivered. Now War Cry gave further directions. He said, 224*
"I want Shot Arm and Leading Downhill to go out early tomorrow 623
morning and see where the herd is. We must chase them tomorrow morning about nine or ten o'clock so that we can have the meat ready to be thinned all afternoon. Some of the women have been having to thin meat during the night. When we come across the river with the meat, we

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224
623
ought to put more dirt on the ice because I think we'll be staying here for the rest of our hunt."

*224
625
[574]
The business over, it was time to serve the feast of donated boiled buffalo ribs which were served without delay. As no corn had been donated, no offering was made to the sacred bundle that night. The guests made haste to go home so that the family could prepare their dry meat. However, the police had to remain until after midnight to see that there were no infractions of the antinoise rules. Every now and then one of their number was sent out to see that no one happened to forget and was laughing too loud. The policeman put on his belt with the sleigh bells and taking his stick walked cautiously through the camp. One could hear the snow cracking under his feet. As he arrived where the noise was, he tapped the tent with his stick. Then the noise would stop. He had been holding his sleigh bells so that they would not sound, but now he released them so that everyone would know that he was passing through.

*224
625
689
The next day the antinoise injunction continued. Some women went out toward evening to cut wood and although they were supposed to chop very gently, the echo could be heard by the police in the council tent. Two officers were sent out to punish them. They made each woman forfeit one of her moccasins and whatever else the policeman could get. He carried the forfeits up to the council tent and waited there for the women to come and redeem them. It was very cold and each woman had to wrap something around the foot from which the moccasin had been taken. Then she came limping into camp and when she got home, she made some bread and coffee and took it over to the council tent to the police. "All right," said War Cry, "Give her her moccasin." Other women would bring calico or a little tobacco to redeem their things. "Give them to her," said War Cry, "but next time watch out!"

*224
623
574
262
During the day, Know-His-Face had gone through the camp remarking that they could use some corn and coffee at the council tent. With this gentle reminder, they were likely to receive at least two buckets of corn for the evening. As the men came in from the hunt, they donated ribs as usual for the evening council and Old Lady Lucky Leader put them in her grass house. Some men were particularly fond of ribs with an unborn calf inside, and when one of these was donated they would ask to have them served right away. As the men left the ribs at the council tent they were told that special invitations would not be issued but that they were to come right back when they had attended to their business at home. Sometimes men waited at home to get a supper of fried bread and coffee before going to the council if their wives had any, since these supplies were pretty well depleted throughout the camp.

*224
623
At the council everyone was talking of the buffalo chase that day—of how deep the snow was that they had to go through in some places, etc.

They had made two killings already and still the buffalo were coming. 224*
Eagle Chief stated that the next day they would not go out, but simply 623
keep an eye on the herd as there was so much meat in the camp that they [251]
had to give it a chance to dry. He also mentioned that the hides should
be treated and thinned down. Some of the old men remarked that this [281]
was a good time to make bone grease by boiling the bones and skimming [252]
off the fat as there were lots of bones about at this time and the grease
would harden easily in the cold weather. Almost all the old women in
camp would busy themselves with this work, storing the grease in a [251]
paunch. Some would make dried intestines and dried and braided strips of
stomach (*pararitskusu*).

They made five killings while they were camped at Many Deer and 224*
along with the killing at Turkey Creek, they felt that this was enough
and they should turn toward home. They had made killings almost every
other day and stayed about fifteen days. Victory Call killed six in all
and Horse Rider five.

Now that they were considering turning back, they must decide what 224*
donations of buffalo meat were to be pledged for the sacred bundle 431
ceremonies in the spring. Each sacred bundle must have at least one *raraburu*, 796
a parfleche containing the dried meat of a whole buffalo. The 778
different doctor cults also needed pledges of meat for their spring renewal
rites, but they simply needed backbone steaks. For example, the two [756]
leaders of the Bear Cult reserved two steaks for their cult. Victory Call
set aside one steak for his Deer or Whistle Dance and one for the Bear
Cult.

There were twelve major sacred bundles, each of which had to be provided 224*
for with a parfleche of dried meat. The Evening Star bundle 431
owned by Old Lady Lucky Leader would be provided for by her son 778
Frank Leader in some years, and by her son-in-law Roaming Leader in
others, according to the circumstances of the kill on a particular hunt.
Lone Chief and Shot Arm alternated in this way for the Morning Star
bundle. War Cry and his younger brother Brave Shield alternated in supplying
the meat for War Cry's war bundle (*karaxkata karusu*) that had
been derived from the Evening Star bundle, etc.

Everyone was interested in the news of how the donations had gone and Eagle Chief sent out his errand man Know-His-Face to find out at the different tipis where the sacred bundles were kept.

Sometimes a man couldn't manage to get a good buffalo for his bundle. He approached a man who had just killed a fat cow and said, "I want you to take pity on me. I have a sacred bundle and I want to make *raraburu* [a parfleche of meat]." "Go ahead, take it," said the hunter, and went off, leaving the bundle owner to butcher the sacred buffalo himself. When he got home with the meat he told his wife, "*ra-uwaruksti-ti*" ("one

*224 431 778 that is-sacred-it is"). Then she would know that it is to be preserved, but not eaten by the family—except possibly only some very inferior part like the leg.

One of the main sacred bundles was owned by Misery—the Elk (*Arikariki*) bundle—and some of his friends were concerned since he had remained on Grand Island and they thought he might not get the necessary buffalo meat to hold the ceremony. There were three of them and Bringing Horses who had a good horse agreed to get the necessary buffalo for the purpose. He and the two other friends, Running Scout and Blue Hawk, made up their minds to ride together back to Grand Island as soon as possible to reassure Misery that his Elk bundle was taken care of. [484] Such a group of three men could arrive at Grand Island in a day from their camp on the Republican while it took the pack train at least seven days to get there. The men would take a diagonal course across the country and avoid stopping at Fort Kearney, but it was still a strenuous journey and took a whole day of hard fast riding until evening. When they came to ride downhill crossing the hills, they had to proceed cautiously as the ground was slippery.

Hearing of their plans, Eagle Chief wanted to send a message to Sitting Hawk, one of the main chiefs who had remained on the island. He delegated Running Scout who was one of the three men, to carry back the news. He especially stated that "with the consecrated meat, it is this way: there are twelve parfleches, one for each sacred bundle." When the three men arrived at Grand Island that night they went straight to Sitting Hawk's tipi. As the three men came in one after another, Misery, Sitting Hawk's son, was surprised. He said, "Kira, what's up?" "Well, we started from this side of Many Deer early this morning and just got here tonight." As soon as he heard this, Advance Scout went through the camp calling out, "The three hunters (*parisu*) are here. There is lots of meat. There are twelve consecrated parfleches for the sacred bundles."

63

THE RETURN FROM THE HUNT

000

Stories Told of the Hunt—Rest of Skidis Arrive at Grand Island—Bands Go Their Separate Ways—Arrival Home to Earth Lodges—the New Year About to Begin

224*
484*

THE THREE HUNTERS on their return to Grand Island told Sitting Hawk and Misery the rest of the news. They told of how Bringing Horses had obtained some sacred meat for the Elk bundle that Misery owns and he thanked them. Then they told all about the hunt and how they had come to stay at Many Deer. "The buffalo came so close they practically touched us," they said, "and Bear killed the calf-that-has-a-rope." "Well," said Sitting Hawk, "No wonder the buffalo were coming. They must have been looking for the calf." The men continued with their storytelling that they had given the hide of the calf for the Wolf-Standing-in-Water bundle. "That's good," said Sitting Hawk. They told of how the cavalry had accompanied the line of march on the way out through a linguistic error, but how at the Republican River it had been straightened out and the cavalry rode back. "The Stay-at-Homes knew about that," they said, for Fox Chief, Victory Call's older son was a member of the cavalry and had come in to tell them. Then the Stay-at-Homes told their news.

In five or six days, the Skidis arrived at the island. As soon as they turned back from Many Deer, they suspended all formality and there was no longer a council tent and the errand man no longer went through the village announcing further plans. Word on these matters went informally by word of mouth through the camp. If word had not reached anyone, they would inquire of Eagle Chief and upon being told, set out directly for the next camp, not waiting to move in any special order. When they finally arrived at Grand Island, they camped there for five or six days before setting out for the final lap of their journey to the vil-

*224 lage. It was relatively warm and pleasant there and they could well use
*484 the rest.

Victory Call and the others of the family were glad to see Grandma
*224 who now moved in with them from the tent of Misery where she had
*484 been staying. She showed them the nice sack of dried potatoes and one of
222 dried beans that she had accumulated and she said, "I'm not the only one. Everyone in camp went looking for potatoes." They also had the roasted corn that she had been keeping for them. The vegetable food tasted good as their supplies had given out by this time. White Woman was busy cooking the dry meat and bread and Grandma made her potatoes to go with the soup.

*224 By the time they got to the island it was February and one could hear
*484 the ice cracking from time to time in the river. It sounded like a shot. Because of this, Eagle Chief thought they had better try to cross over right away and get home before the ice cracked up. A small minority in the different bands felt like lingering, but most of the people wanted to get back to the village. Some wanted to see their children that they had left at school.

Eagle Chief announced, "Day after tomorrow we'll go. We must cross where the white people have already roughened the ice when they carried their wood and ice across." When the tents were all down, those who were staying behind said, "I hope you folks have good luck on your way back." "I hope you get along well here too," said Eagle Chief. "If anything happens, see the officer at Fort Kearney." Others were saying to the Stay-Behinds, "You make us lonesome, letting us return like this without you." Then they set off for home.

From Grand Island to the railroad station (Clarks?) where they would turn north, it took four days. Then it took another day to reach the village.

> We walked right through water and snow. Sometimes women took off their moccasins to go through the water and we never caught cold. When we got to the railroad station, everyone was happy. We would soon be home. We would feel glad at the very sight of the schoolhouse. The waterways were all frozen at this time about a foot to a foot and a half thick. Earth had to be sprinkled on the ice to get across.
>
> The Loup River was awfully slippery and smooth and we had to get the boys to go to the other side and begin making a roadway by sprinkling earth. "Hold the horses steady. Go slow. Throw some more dirt," people would be saying when the first horse went over. Old ladies slipped on the ice and slipped around before they could get up.

[342] As soon as they got home they moved into the earth lodge. There were no fleas or vermin there such as they had gotten during the summer.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Return from the Hunt

443 224* 484*

After their travels over the snow and ice, they were glad to return to the warmth of their homes.

Soon the thunder would sound from the south. Then the priests would call down the gods from the heavens to re-create the earth and Wonderful would come down from his home in the western skies and walk the land that the gods had made—in all his aspects as the lightning, the thunder, the storm—going on the hill, the plain, the prairie—in the bottomlands, across the water, in the village and back to his home in the western skies where he would rest. 221 772 [776]

The new year would begin—the house, the food pit, the hunt, the harvest and again the winter hunting time. But there came a time when the year would not begin for the Pawnee. For beyond the Pawnee universe was the outer world and from it would come its destruction after six hundred years, and a new world would be born.

64

POSTSCRIPT INTO THE PRESENT

000

The Modern Pawnee—Otter's Later Life—the Arrival in Oklahoma—the Fate of Otter's Family and Friends—His Marriage—the Modern Day Pawnee Powwow

177 463 SOME MIGHT WONDER how the modern Pawnees came into being, seeing that they are thoroughly integrated citizens of the present United States, many of them living as residents of various urban centers. The Pawnees count among their numbers teachers, artisans, business managers, engineers, journalists, artists, nurses, social workers, professional entertainers, and one former Big League baseball player.

159 761 754 Perhaps the fate of some of the principal characters I have mentioned offers a good means of illustrating the process of transition. The boy, Otter, is a good case in point. When he was about seven years old his father, Victory Call, died. He felt he had been bewitched by his anxious rival in the religious field, Big Doctor, leader of the Doctor Association, whose hegemony the success of Victory Call's Deer Dance cult was challenging. In his dying vision, Victory Call saw a man with an eagle-wing fan before his face that he positively identified as Big Doctor.

159 736 [572] White Woman, Grandma, and the boy were given a home by Uncle War Cry in whose house they settled, taking a subordinate position near its eastern end. The old house was left to the other inhabitants. The boy was warned to break off all relationships with his old friends who might insult him with mention of the fact that he had no father. His mother kept him close to the house. He tried to get acquainted with some of the children nearby, but he found it hard.

159 587 Two years later, Shot Arm, a brave of Lone Chief's Village-across-a-Ridge, came and sued for his mother's hand. Shot Arm approached War Cry and said, "Victory Call was my uncle and he has a son here. He is as my own son and I'd like to raise him." Finally he was told to speak to

White Woman and after pleading his cause with her, Shot Arm came 159
to live with them. The boy was told that "his father" had come. When 587
he demurred and said that he thought Victory Call was his father, he
was quieted. Shot Arm gave him gifts and did his best to father him.
White Woman had had some reservations as Shot Arm already had a wife,
but he convinced her that he was determined to part from the other
woman in any event. Later there were recriminations from this quarter.

Once on the winter hunt, Shot Arm was invited to bring his new 159
family to live in the household of White Eagle. He had been formally 587
invited by "his two old mothers" who were the official owners of the 591
house. In their new home the family occupied a place at the west and had [572]
status and Otter had new friends—David Gillingham, son of White
Eagle, and the two brothers, Luther and Andy Coons.

In the Sioux massacre of 1873 during the summer hunt, when from 60 159
to 120 Pawnees lost their lives while butchering their kill in a canyon 175
near Trenton, Nebraska, Otter and White Woman were guided to safety 721
through the Sioux lines by a young warrior at the request of Mad Bear.

Finally the Pawnees moved to Oklahoma in three contingents. White 167
Eagle went with the first group, while Shot Arm and his family were true 159
to the faction of Lone Chief who wanted to remain on their old land
and stayed to the last. The two old ladies who owned White Eagle's [342]
earth lodge gave over the pillars and materials to Shot Arm who set up
a hexagonal frame of six forked pillars and no outer sod collar or wall, so
that they had a high pointed lodge to live in.

When the last group decided to go, the government assigned them ten 167
wagons for the poor people who had no horses for transport, and some 159
beeves to be killed every Saturday for their food. 648 484

In Oklahoma, the three contingents had set up three earth-lodge vil-
lages in different locations. Lone Chief set up one on the Arkansas River 167
three or four miles this side of Ralston where there was a ferryboat. 159
White Eagle built a log house on top of a hill near the big pond west of the 361
present town of Pawnee, with the earth lodges of his following on the
east side of the hill toward the pond. Half a mile east of the agency,
Misery and his father-in-law Comanche Chief, along with War Cry, were
the leading spirits of another log-house village.

Shot Arm, who had become agency policeman, settled his family in a 159
tent near the school. All winter they lived in the tent. Then in spring, 763
April 1876, without any outward sign of illness, White Woman died. [625]
She asked to have her grandchild brought to her and then spoke to its [342]
mother, telling her that she was bidding them farewell and that she should
take good care of the child. And so she fell asleep and never awakened.

Victory Call's former retainer, Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn, 159
were living in a frame house with No Corn's oldest daughter. The girl 591
had married a man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band known as Abraham

159 Lincoln who was the government blacksmith. They invited Shot Arm
591 and the boy to come and live with them. They stayed there for six years
and then Shot Arm's sister, Woman White Star, invited them to come and
live with her. One winter both Shot Arm and the boy were very ill with
a high fever. Fox Chief, his older half brother, came and took the boy to
live with him. From there the boy moved from one house to the other,
sometimes with Misery, then with War Cry and others. Because of his
wandering about, he did not know that his father, Shot Arm, had died.
[754] The relatives suspected that his death was due to witchcraft by a member
of the family of their old rival, Big Doctor. The feeling was so strong
that the agent had an autopsy performed, which showed that Shot Arm
had died of an old gunshot wound that had affected his lungs. But the
[165] Pawnees were not convinced. And neither was Mark Evarts when he told
of it in 1928. During the first five years in Oklahoma, 800 Pawnees died.

159 Otter's old playmates, David Gillingham and the Coons brothers, had
177 gone to Carlisle School in Pennsylvania and they induced him to come
along. After his schooling he worked at harness making in Harrisburg,
Newark, and Philadelphia. He experienced such wonders as climbing
into the arm of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor and playing
baseball for a period with the Cuban Giants, a colored team. While he
was with them in the South, he was questioned by the authorities "about
the grandfather clause." His right hand was permanently broken in baseball,
for in those days they played without benefit of a catcher's mitt. He
was very lonesome and went home. As he says,

> When I got home from Carlisle, I had no home. My older brother, Fox Chief, War Cry, and Misery had all died. It was cold weather and Behaille (the interpreter) met me on the road and took me in his buggy and gave me a swig of whisky. He offered me a home at his house where Brave Chief, Frank Leader, and Peter Wood were living.

159 An older woman in Behaille's house befriended him and established a
relationship with him. Finally the agency took a hand in his life. The
agent said he had made a good record at school and he should settle
down. He was trained as a blacksmith and given a position. At last the
Riding-In family gave him their daughter, Hannah, in marriage and they
set up a farm together and had a daughter. Then Hannah died of tuberculosis
and shortly afterward, at the age of twelve, their daughter followed.
The farm was lost to the bank as the result of a crop failure and
[115] an unpaid loan. This was in 1924. In 1928 this record of old Pawnee life
was made with Mark Evarts' help.

[781] When he returned to Pawnee from the east, Mark Evarts had a severe
emotional crisis and finally an important religious experience. He re-
000 turned home permanently in 1897–1898. The Pawnee version of the re-

The Pawnee version of the revivalist Ghost Dance religion was in full force. Through it the people 668
hoped that the new would be swept away and old conditions return. It 796
was invested with many of the old and rich Pawnee ceremonial constructs that were vividly recalled in memory and in visions. As one of their fond remembrances, they thought of the old Hand Game, and this became the framework for a new and elaborate ceremonial synthesis of old religious patterns. With the beginning of the twentieth century, the religious [178]
elements diminished in importance.

In World War I and again in World War II, the Pawnees for whom de- 648
fense of country had always been a leitmotif enlisted generously, and 177
their war veterans became an important element of modern Pawnee life. Following World War II and their extensive contacts abroad, a considerable number of Pawnees availed themselves of the educational benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights, acquiring college degrees and specialized professional training.

The Pawnee powwow held in the beginning of July, when the Pawnees 527
used to leave on their summer buffalo hunt, takes place at Pawnee, 177
Oklahoma. It is a colorful combination of traditional and adapted Indian dances and music under the auspices of the Pawnee war veterans. The Pawnees, from wherever their lives have taken them, come by car, train, or plane to this their homecoming, where there is a brief period of camping in tents and cooking over an open fire or a charcoal grill, renewing social contacts and kin reminiscences. The rest of the year's round is in another place and in the present, just as the old people had envisioned their future.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

65

THE UNIVERSE REGAINED

IDEAS AND FORECAST

181 IN THE WORLD SCENE the Pawnees were a small group of people on a small piece of land, but as a nation and as a people their lives were of remarkable complexity and order withal, proving that the human dimension is never simple. Their lives moved in cycle upon cycle in a never-ending interplay of influences. These cycles and epicycles reached always into the community instead of being turned in upon themselves in a small household group.

1000 During World War II those of us who lived in city apartments and who had always professed a desire for absolute privacy found ourselves forced into a kind of cooperative life because of the curtailment of many kinds of services. The house I lived in near Columbia University was six stories high and on each floor there was a small rectangular hallway onto which the five surrounding apartments opened. Because it was almost impossible to obtain a private telephone, the management installed a pay telephone in the hallway downstairs on the ground floor. Most of the people in the house had to receive their calls through this phone, and the messages were received by the grace of whoever happened to be passing the phone when it was ringing and was willing to answer and to call the party downstairs to the phone.

One day I heard a little boy wailing pitifully in one of the apartments on my floor. I spoke to him through the closed door and he said his mother had gone down to answer the phone. We kept up our conversation on opposite sides of the door until his mother returned and then I pointed out to her that like many children I thought he was afraid she was leaving him inside the apartment and alone in the world. We tried a little practical experiment. We instructed the boy to ring the doorbell of the lady across the hall to see what would happen, while we watched from inside. There were four elderly sisters who lived in that apartment, and one of them answered and said, "Come in, come in," and straightway gave him a cookie. He bid her goodbye and part two of the experiment began. He rang the doorbell of the woman who had the apartment right next door to his. As he rang, she came to the door. She 000 had two little girls of about his age and she invited him to play. After a while he returned home with a second cookie, and his mother went to explain to her neighbor what had happened. A very pleasant friendship began from that day on between the two young women as well as the children. The mother in the house that the boy had visited was of Armenian extraction and the father of the family was Irish. The mother of the frightened little boy was originally from New England and earned some money as a part-time fashion model. The two young women began exchanging recipes and other relevant data about life, and mostly the doors of the two apartments were left open and the children ran back and forth as they wished and sometimes set up little games in the hall. Some of the rest of us began to leave our front doors open from time to time too, and we might come out in less than formal dress to take a look at the children at play and we managed to say a word to one another as well.

In recent years our newspapers have been full of the tragedy of apartment isolation. Children burned to death in an apartment as a result of playing with matches while their mother was out buying a few needed groceries. Children with keys around their necks coming home after school to an empty apartment or staying in the streets for want of company at home, or even for hours in the movies. In 1961 there were 7½ million women with children under eighteen in the labor force, the number having doubled in ten years. There were half a million latch-key children under twelve alone during their mother's working hours. For a majority of these women their work outside the home was an economic necessity. A considerable number of apartments contain a partially disabled person who may be either totally incapacitated or cannot properly be left alone. A figure of one out of four apartments containing a person of this description was cited to me in the past, although I have no way at this time of checking the statistics. These are the most drastic situations in which apartment isolation is a severe handicap. There are others of a less drastic nature, such as the lonesomeness of a young person temporarily living in an apartment or a single person living alone temporarily or permanently. The young couple find it impossible to go out of an evening into a social environment so that they can cement their relationship a little more pleasantly than over the dishes and other repetitive household chores, unless they hire someone hourly to reign over their home and their children. There are more or less adequate members of this baby-sitting profession, but this is hardly the most desirable way of taking care of the problem as the procedure is exceedingly haphazard. This is necessarily the case, as the pay for this work must be marginal and the people who work in it transient.

This situation is typical of our present social adjustment. The apart-

000 ment household is provided with many material conveniences, probably as many as ever appeared in a household in the world's history—but in its social form we have been remarkably uncreative. Our household retains the isolation of the Roman patriarchal domain but lacks its slaves and even a single servant. It is the fortified castle of the Middle Ages without serfs or retainers. It is the family farm without farmhands, servant girls, or maiden aunts. We moan about the intransigence of those who refuse to make themselves into domestic servants. We think they should, while we prefer industrial and office jobs. We call this "the servant problem." It is not the by now hypothetical servant, but the person with a frozen pattern that is at fault. There is no reason why anyone should possess such an all-purpose servant. It is a type of division of labor that will no longer be feasible as educational patterns on many levels reach out to everyone. In this situation, the full isolation of the apartment dweller becomes more and more universal. The good neighbor with little else to do, the elevator operator, the superintendent and his family—all of them resources of the past—are also no longer available. Apartment houses with rentals running to $550 a month and more have found it of value in attracting tenants to hire a corps of private police. These police patrol halls and basements where washing machines and other conveniences are located, check up on baby-sitters, regulate the use of garbage pails, feed goldfish in addition to providing patrol service that is roughly "on a scale with that of Fort Knox." This material is as reported in the New York *Daily News*, August 6, 1963. As stated in the newspaper article, some of the security aspects stem from the close proximity of these fancy dwellings to poor ones, but just as interesting for the problem I am raising are the multifarious tasks that still remain to be done for the apartment dweller even when he can afford to pay these high rentals.

What desperate circumstances bring the police to the very doors of our apartments and inside the house as well? This is surely the medieval castle without retainers, serfs, or servants with the invader lurking near. We now need protection from neighborhood hostility, neighborhood unconcern, and the inadequacies of the household arrangements themselves. We have looked at the past with nostalgia and deplored the loss of "neighborhood," but we cannot restore the old functions of old institutions when new institutions have evolved demanding new adjustments. Policing is hardly the best kind of adjustment where protecting property must supersede human interrelationships. In the course of our urban evolution, we have developed beyond neighborhood protection and neighborhood concern to unconcern, as a corollary of the maximum mobility that has become a primary need of our style of life. Instead of coping with the changing functions of our changing institutions, we try to "make do" and we fare very badly. We cannot turn back and immobilize people in a nostalgic flashback to "neighborhood." We are in the Jet Age. Mobility is our privilege as the fruit of the larger horizons of communication that we have achieved on a social level as well as on a physical. American society with its breakdown of the rigid class lines of the Old World has made an important contribution to human society. 000

The next steps in our combined physical and social revolution must be taken in uncharted territory. We are pioneers of plenty, for no other people has equaled us in the food we can produce and the things we can make or in the consequent freedom and mobility of our people. Our ability to move does not mean that we should move for the sake of moving, nor our ability to develop variety that we should vary for the sake of varying.

Real problems, however, do confront us and it is in the light of these that we should begin to make our departure from the rigidities of the past. As 70 per cent of our population now live in urban centers and a growing proportion are trending toward them, it is in the urban setting that many of our most pressing needs appear. These needs cluster around three foci—family, home, and work. In the family we can see that there will be greater mobility of the woman on all levels. The woman is now being invited to keep up and improve her occupational skills, to broaden her intellectual and cultural horizons, and to participate more actively in the democratic politics of our nation if only in the form of a more knowledgeable use of her franchise. These influences can only draw the woman from her household, and how and when is this to be if the household demands she be stationed there twenty-four hours a day? There is no letup in family duties. During the day, children and household maintenance have maximum claim; during the evening, a tired husband wants a meal and social comfort. These needs certainly cannot be dismissed, but they can be better rationalized than we have done so far. The household maintenance can be developed through group service approaches toward (a) furniture and plant, (b) clothing, and (c) food. The children need warmth and maximum concern, but they can receive some watch-care at times from another person than their mother. Our hopes for our family unit are based on the idea that the sentiments of the sex pair for each other is the keystone of the affection that will extend to the children.

I will not here try to deal with the many problems and nuances of this hypothesis, but granting it for the moment, the twenty-four-hour household duty of the woman allows the couple little opportunity to seek social recreation together if there are children or even one child. Even when they stay at home together, they have little time to themselves, as the children leave them little chance for uninterrupted communication. It would also be possible for the childless couple, the grandparent, or the

000 single person to entertain children in their homes if temporary watch-care were available when they needed to go out.* As matters now stand, the child is fully justified in clinging desperately to his adult guardian. The child should have some alternative to this. I have many times mulled over these problems in the light of my experience in the Columbia University apartment, and of my knowledge of Pawnee life in which parents and children enjoyed a mobility in the community impossible to us. Once while I was visiting in Oklahoma I opened one of the national magazines and there saw just what I was looking for—the Pawnee house in modern form. In this case, the specific model was a picture of a round hospital connected with the famous Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota. The round hospital was 60 feet in diameter and all around the periphery, except for the entryway, were separate rooms for the patients. In the middle was the station for one or more nurses, who could turn on their heels and maintain eye to eye contact with each of the twelve patients around the outside of the circle, and the patients with them, while the several patients did not see into one another's rooms. A relatively short walk could take the nurse to any one of the rooms where she was needed. I began to work on the adaptation of such a structure to the problem of the mobility of the apartment dweller along with the maintenance of reasonable privacy.

That year, by good fortune, the American Anthropological Association held its annual meeting in Minneapolis, and I determined to go and see the round hospital for myself. Mr. Harold Mickey, director of the hospital, was kind enough to give me of his time and show me through, and we had a long talk about my problem and the evolution of the round hospital as a social as well as a physical project. He commended me to the architects of the building, Ellerbe and Company of St. Paul, where Mr. Dawson of that firm was persuaded by phone to "make a contribution to social science" by seeing me about the problem. I received many major insights from this talk of well over an hour of a busy morning from this practical and imaginative architect. I subsequently consulted Christopher Tunnard, City Planner of Yale, and I. Irving Rouse, Professor of Anthropology of the same university, Karl Koch, of Karl Koch Associates, designer of Tech Built Houses, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, Joseph Monteserrat, Director of the Migration Division of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Department of Labor, and other close friends and associates, including Dr. Vera Rubin, Director of the Research Institute for the Study of Man, and Mrs. Florence Goldin of the Grey Advertising Company, Prof. Charles Wagley of Columbia, Prof. David Riesman of Harvard, and others, particularly concerning the social problems. The concept of the house is shown in the accompanying illustration, which gives some of the additional practical details.

---

* Compare this item from the *New York Times*, Saturday, August 17, 1963:

HOUSEKEEPING SERVICE AIDS SUMMER BACHELORS IN PARIS

Paris (Reuters)—A Paris department store has begun a new service called S.O.S. Lonely Husbands.

Men living alone in the city while their families bask on seaside beaches now need only call a telephone number to have a cleaner come to tidy the apartment, wash linen, cook meals and sew on shirt buttons.

The same service will have shoes resoled, buy the groceries and clean suits.

If the summer bachelor wants to have a dinner party, the service will offer "instant menus," prepare the one selected, serve it, and clean up afterward.

One of the first applicants to the service was a woman.

Newly Delevoping Needs That Make the Family-oriented House Necessary

Before a house is to be built a very important element in the planning should be the question, "What human needs should it serve?" Our lives have changed radically in the recent past, and new needs have arisen that make our older type of housing inadequate. As I have pointed out, mobility has become a prime need as well as a privilege in our modern life. As a consequence, certain important dislocations have developed between our new needs and our old style of life. We have lost neighborly and neighborhood guardianship and have developed isolation to the point of danger—not only of the trauma of simple loneliness, but of actual physical attack and unavailability of assistance in case of unforeseen illness or incapacity. Bring in however many people we may on a transient basis, these factors cannot be compensated for in this way. It is essential that someone be obliquely aware of us at all times and that we should be able to count on this awareness. At the same time we want to be able to withdraw from attention except in case of need. These conditions were met by and large in the urban neighborhood of the past.

It has been thought that the disappearance of the neighborhood is a consequence of the huge housing complexes that have recently been built, but it is not the buildings in themselves but rather the social factors behind their building which are accountable. Of these, the need and desire for ready mobility is an essential one. Because the need for mobility will increase, our next question is, "How do we live in our urban houses and fulfill our needs that were inherently satisfied in the old neighborhood?

The family-oriented house diagrammed in Figure 65-1 concentrates this need in single individuals who are stationed outside the apartments but within easy reach of them. The plan groups eight apartments around a central hall, in the middle of which a floor host or hostess is stationed, with an occupational category that bears some analogy to an airplane steward or hostess, though not exactly with the same set of duties. As

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000

a structure, the house itself is feasible and the successful New York builder Aaron Diamond has been kind enough to consider with me possible costs of land and building. It would appear that the plot might be about 150 feet square. The land costs would be augmented by the fact that while normally a city house takes up about 66 per cent of the land leaving 33 per cent free, this house would occupy 33 per cent and require that 66 per cent of the land be free.

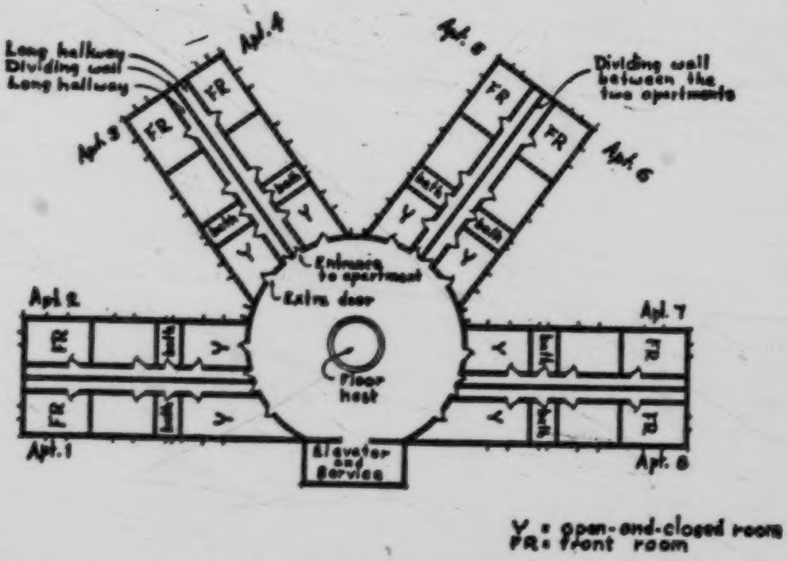

Long hallway
Dividing wall
Long hallway
Apt. 4
Apt. 5
Apt. 6
Apt. 6
Dividing wall between the two apartments
FR
bath
Y
Entrance to apartment
Extra door
Apt. 2
Apt. 7
Apt. 1
Apt. 8
Floor host
Elevator and Service
Y = open-and-closed room
FR = front room

Figure 65-1. The family-oriented house with eight apartments, two in each arm. (Scale, approx. ⅓ inch = 10 feet.)

This would mean that it would have to be built in parts of the city where land areas were less expensive than in the center of town. Some of the costs could be ameliorated by erecting the building twenty stories high, so that the rentals would then be in a median category. In terms of cost, the real problem centers on the floor host. This still remains both the crux of the idea and the problem. The person on the night shift would need little technical training except for a fund of good will, dependability, and alertness. At least two people would be needed on the day shifts with a fill-in for absences, holidays, lunch hours, etc. A supervisor would be needed to coordinate the operation and the personnel. The day people would need more specialized briefing than those of the night. As matters now stand, this work could be supplied only by more or less volunteer help or through public subsidy. Such sources as

000

possible social science interns who are receiving college or university training in these fields, or the proposed Domestic Peace Corps are possible sources, with minimum fees paid from the public coffers. Some of the occupants of the apartments might be a party to such arrangements at stated times. All occupants of the surrounding apartments would be beneficiaries of the "neighborhood guardianship" function. Those with children or with disabled persons would receive special benefits in terms of baby-sitting requirements. The plan is such that the room fronting on the central hall would have an extra door to that room alone which could be left open or shut as required (*Y*, open and closed room). The apartment itself would have its main entrance into the long corridor which runs along one side of the rooms. In the case of small children, the internal rooms (*Y*) could be closed off should the parents go away, leaving the child in its own room, opening onto the central area. Chronically ill, feeble, or old persons could be left in this room when the woman or regular caretaker of the house had to leave temporarily. The number and kind of supplementary functions that the floor host could encompass in these cases is something to be determined in practice. Clearly this does not include some of the functions that have been grafted onto the baby-sitting function such as putting children to bed, washing dishes, serving children meals, etc. A drink of water or a dose of medicine might possibly be included, for the old, the disabled, or children. Instructions for emergency with referral to the responsible parties would certainly be part of the floor host's mission.

For the rest of the people in the apartments, the possible services would vary from receiving packages, taking messages, admitting repair men, feeding pets when the occupants are away, to small talk with a teen-ager alone in an apartment who would like to wander out and say a word or two, or even someone of more mature years who may be alone. To my mind, the common circle onto which the apartments open should in no sense be a ballroom-type lobby or its equivalent. The occupants can reserve this type of affect for their front rooms (*FR*) if they have a desire for it. I would think the lobby should be a somewhat familiar working area—neat, but a place for traffic to move in and out or to stay. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that each apartment could have a locker there and possibly an ironing board, sewing machine, cupboard for materials, workbench, tools, to be necessarily put away when not in use. There is no reason why people would have to do this, but some might want to. One common washer-drier machine located in this region might also be a good thing instead of one in each apartment or many lined up in the basement.

I feel that through these or similar arrangements, certain tragedies of our present typical apartment living could be mitigated, and some problems lightened even though admittedly new ones would arise which

OOO could be coped with when they do. The freer mobility of mother, child, and parents as couples would carry them beyond *a feeling of entrapment* which is all too common in our present arrangements. The adult with an aged parent or disabled relative could move about, and this might make all the difference between placing such persons in institutions and nursing homes or not doing so. Orphan children or others that need foster care could be taken care of by a greater variety of persons. Even a teenager with a sympathetic ear available to him at all times might find his current life crises less of a strain. On another level, with the acceleration of automation, people are going to have reduced working hours and a good deal more leisure, as well as periods of job transition or occupational reconversion. There is no reason why a "do-it-yourself" trend should not occupy some of this time for some of these people. I can envision a mass-production industry which packages materials and patterns and explores creative principles which allows the individual to produce some of the things he wants to use to his individual taste, taking his time about it because he has the time. The floor lobby area would be a possible location for doing such things. If he wanted to practice music, for example, he could do it in his front room, far from the center, which might even be soundproofed to some degree. Through these activities a certain degree of casual association to the individual taste could occur between people of various ages instead of *total segregation of age levels.* Social centers for segregating people of special interests would certainly also be available for specialized associations away from home. I feel that as the need for eight-hour full-time employment becomes less pressing, some people might chose the occupation of floor host for its human interest. New kinds of occupations of this service type may be welcome as new categories of work, with creative possibilities in the area of human relations.

A series of such buildings built roughly to a common pattern in various parts of the nation and in different neighborhoods of the cities would make *transplanting oneself from one to another location* less difficult than having to transpose one's life to an entirely different physical plant and different community. In our need for mobility we might find an accustomed home in many locations.

Roughly, these are some of the thoughts that have come to my mind over the years as I have contemplated Pawnee life and thought of our own.

The Problem of Work in an Automated Age

Historically most of our modes of work were developed to pressure people into working toward goals devised by others. This process became the more efficient as we were able to substitute internalized guilt

000
[461]
[56]

for the lash. Pawnee impetus to work came not from this type of pressures but from a sense of community. The internalized process was a search by each individual for his own goals, as we see in the naming process and in the vision that he deliberately sought. Our present circumstances of overproduction and automation call for drastic revisions in our age-old motivations. The Pawnee way is now actually more suitable for us than our own.

Ironically, just at this time when gross human labor becomes unnecessary we are also faced with the population explosion, when rather than producing and raising as many children as possible in order to provide a labor force and an army, women are called upon to limit these traditional activities and to supplement them with other kinds of work. As the traditional work categories dwindle, youth also finds itself hard-pressed to find a place in the only activities in the community that can really mark them as adults—for however mature a level school activities may reach, the school student is still immature in our community. Only the breadwinner can enjoy full dignity. On the other end of the age spectrum, people are being pressed to retire earlier and earlier, and here again they face the loss of social dignity as they give over their status as full breadwinners.

The permanence of this problem has not been faced. I know of only one major breakthrough by social scientists in our approach to the logistics of work in recent times, i.e., that of Herbert R. Shepherd of the Case Institute of Cleveland and Robert R. Blake of Texas ("Changing Behavior through Cognitive Change," *Human Organization*, special issue, summer, 1962, pp. 88-96; *Human Organization* is the publication of the Society for Applied Anthropology). Describing our present type of bureaucratic management structure the authors state that:

> . . . they can learn only at the top where control is centralized and . . . they demand passive conformity of most of their members. . . . Conflict is normally resolved by automatic suppression of the less powerful party to the conflict.

On the grounds of its actual inefficiency as a work form, the authors tried a social experiment within the Esso organization, consisting of the withdrawal of a group of workers from the prevailing management structure and development of a new type of interpersonal coordination among them. Although this experiment was conducted within a limited setting, it has an important relevance to the larger questions of work patterns in general that we must necessarily face at this stage of our social development.

Each person within himself will have a hard time getting beyond the built-in acceptance of our traditional work attitudes as inevitable or at

least as indispensable to survival. It is significant for us that the Pawnees with a direct confrontation of the survival problem, succeeded, with a very different attitude toward work and its motivation. The detailed account of their interpersonal operations while at work offers us a natural social laboratory for the consideration of this question.

The problem of the reorientation of our work goals as we progress from a mercantilist to a humanist society will require extensive study. Occupational reconversion will be required of all of us. As we cultivate individual goals, this may be a continuing process throughout our lives. I would suggest that we develop an Adult College of Continuing Education as a locus of this process. The present adult college trains for the traditional vocations, academic degrees, or fragments of the traditional intellectual disciplines for mild personal uplift. Some revision in this regime will be called for. The goals will have to be at the same time more long-range and more fluid. These institutions will have to develop a new and imaginative kind of student counselor who will have to do a great deal more individual counseling on the educational problems of each person. In our present hurried tempo, there has been little precedent for such counseling. The Pawnee individual was encouraged to seek his own individual vision, and he had an imaginative priest or medicine man to give him an active outlet for his vision when he achieved it. He got to work providing food and other materials and participated in an elaborate performance. We need an analogous mode in the organization of our lives. There is no reason why, in addition to the traditional intellectual and aesthetic disciplines, an Adult College could not include in its academic curriculum such occupationally oriented fields as the history (over a long period of time), the wide-ranging sociology, the mathematics, philosophy, or methodology of such fields or areas as insurance, or banking, or the meat industry, or agricultural production, storing and marketing, the transportation industry, the communications industries, lumbering industries, ceramics and plastics industries, metallurgical industries, textiles, recreation, construction and buildings, administration, and many others—each *viewed as an intellectual challenge rather than a mercantile occupation.* The social, intellectual, historical, philosophical, and even aesthetic implications of these foci might well lead the student from these into the other disciplines, contributing to them a new perspective, and in this cross-cutting of fields we might also bring new dimensions to the applied categories, tending to reorient them toward a more human and humane functionalism.

In our present world mood and outlook, the first question that will be asked is "Who will pay?" and "Who will do the world's work?" I can only answer that I am sure we will do it better as far as human values are concerned and find ways to pay that are less destructive to the human personality than our present modes. A second question must inevitably

000

be, "Why bother now? Such questions will not be relevant in the next hundred years—or two hundred, five hundred, a thousand." I think it is a matter of decades, not centuries. There is a compelling acceleration of multiple factors that we have no power to arrest. We have had a good example of this phenomenon in the field of civil rights. The events themselves are not sudden; the suddenness is due to our refusal to face the trends, and the chaotic results are due to the all-too-common idea that we had best not look ahead, but "muddle through" instead. We have a profound need of a genuine social science that faces major issues and long-range trends.

Some recent newspaper items help us to look into the future:

Frank L. Whitney, industrial designer and president of Walter Kidde Construction Inc., gives us a prediction on the July 15, 1963 financial page of the *New York World Telegram* of widely dispersed, almost totally unmanned factories in such distant areas as San Francisco, California, Birmingham, Alabama, and Hartford, Connecticut, operated out of a central control center in Chicago with raw materials brought in by conveyor, pipeline, or some other automatic method and deposited on the assembly line. It should be a short step to conveying the finished products in similar automatic manner. The present oil- and gas-pipeline systems cover our country over such distances that it should not be too long a step to adapt them to many types of use.

The McLouth Steel Corporation of Detroit, Trenton, and Gibraltar, Michigan, advertises that it has "the first fully automated hot-strip steel mill in the world." This is operated by an electronic computer. "We just feed it 19-ton slabs of steel, and a job description. The electronic brain gives the orders, monitors the steel, controls the mill rolls—even adjusts its thinking for unexpected developments. In 3½ minutes, orange-hot, foot-thick steel comes out as thin as 1/16 of an inch and 3,200 feet long—precisely to specifications." (*Newsweek*, July 20, 1963.)

Recently announced is the fact that the U.S.S.R. has a cable that can carry electric power as much as 2,000 miles.

Another headline in the *New York Times* to an article dated June 9, 1963, "An Automation Center in Detroit Urged for Use by World Industry." Mr. Ross, president of Federal Department Stores of that city, suggested that application of "Detroit type automation" not only in the United States but also throughout the world offered the city "its golden opportunity in the second half of the 20th century." "Detroit automation," Mr. Ross added, "must become a byword like Swiss watches, sterling silver, Sheffield cutlery, French champagne and Brazilian coffee."

Another item describes a process of freeze-drying foods so that they retain their shape, color, flavor, and cellular structure, become very light in weight, and when properly packaged can be stored as much as two years without refrigeration. Such items as chicken and beef stews, 000 scrambled eggs, ham slices, pork chops, shrimp, crab meat, and coffee—all to be restored almost as good as new by adding water or other liquid. A United States Department of Agriculture economist reports that the Quartermaster Corps will purchase about 1,750,000 pounds of freeze-dry foods this year for use by the Armed Forces. (A pound of beefsteak is reduced to four ounces—two pounds of chicken stew to six and a half ounces.) "The United States Department of Agriculture has forecast that freeze drying will develop into a billion dollar a year industry by 1970. . . . The freeze-dry process was first used in the drug and medical fields, with freeze-dry blood plasma an important example."

Only a few months before his tragic assassination President Kennedy had a special commission on automation which was "to report to him by the end of [1964] on the impact of technological change over the next ten years and what steps should be taken by management labor and state, local and federal governments to soften its impact on workers" (*New York Times*, July 24, 1963). In a subsequent article (*New York Times*, July 22, 1964, p. 36, cols. 3, 4), it is noted that the issue was pursued by President Johnson, who forwarded draft legislations to Congress, and that the bill approved by the House on July 21 would establish a national commission on technology, automation, and economic progress. It would have fourteen members, selected from outside the government by the President, and the nominations would be subject to Senate confirmation. The commission would be required to report to the President and Congress by January 1, 1966, but could issue interim reports at any time. It would expire with the filing of its final report. Its tasks encompass an investigation of economic, technical, human, and social questions.

It should be clear that this kind of automation will not be contained within this country alone. The idea that nonindustrialized nations will now enter the road to well-being by industrializing through the same past historic stages of the highly industrialized nations is an oversimplification. Newly industrializing nations will soon find themselves confronted with processes of advanced automation imported as the current Industrial know-how rather than the more antique methods. The new hypothesized "Detroit Automation Center" will probably see to that. Many people in the world will suffer idleness before they have ever had a commercial job. For example, with the finding of oil in the desert interior of the North African nation of Libya, commercial development has brought in the most modern automated equipment so that only 3,000 of its one-million population can be employed in the industry. Moreoever, in the new Mediterranean capital city, Beira, Texas oil millionaires and others of similar means have imported by air, all modern conveniences for their own living. Meanwhile the Libyan peasant, who has scratched a starvation subsistence out of the dry ground with a digging stick, clusters about the outskirts of the city and cannot be driven back to his

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000

dry acres. Even should he benefit from the increased national income, he may very well be workless for some time. When he is eventually offered schooling, will we be able to tell him what its ultimate purpose is? The city of Beira is not without its analogies in Caracas, or Mexico City or, for that matter, almost any large city in the rapidly developing nations, with their ring of spontaneously growing and deeply depressed slums. They tend to count on industrialization with little vision of what it may actually be like.

The most important fact of all is the inevitable disorganization of the human being as he faces the rapid tempo of our transition into an entirely new human dimension. We are approaching a "Postindustrial Era." Our great need is for human wisdom. I have sought some insight into the human possibilities of Postindustrial Man in the life of a people who, through the accidents of history, were spared certain distortions of the human personality that have accompanied our mass industrialization. While we are waiting with hope and fear of finding the superman on other planets or in other universes, we have within ourselves a new and expanding universe of our own to explore—one that is here, for us to grasp. It is within the individual that the universe will be regained.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Wichita NO10

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P
648
167
177
175
439
W
175
439
165
177
648
167
P
648
177
431
574

3 The Pawnees and other Caddoan peoples were an integral part of European trading plans. The Wichita played the part of middlemen in the trade between the Spaniards in the Southwest and the French to the east along the Mississippi. By 1777 the Wichita were so heavily depleted in numbers by disease and war that the Spanish authorities induced a considerable contingent of Skidi Pawnees to come and live permanently in the territory and join the Wichitas so that they could defend themselves against the tribes to the east who were aligned with the British. The fact that they have "kin" among the Wichita is remembered among the Pawnees today, and gift-giving relations are maintained among them along with formal intergroup visiting. See Weltfish, 1959, pp. 332-333; Hodge, 1912, p. 706.

W
P
361

3 Both the Pawnees and the Wichitas changed the locations of their villages at intervals of from twelve to fifteen years; this was considered a necessary sanitary measure. The direction of these movements was determined by a variety of social and political causes, but military and trade reasons were the most common ones. My informants gave me a list of the successive Pawnee villages in recent times and the contemporary locations of the Wichita villages. I have added, in parenthesis, Wichita locations cited in Wedel, 1959, pp. 67-68, for approximately these time periods:

P
W
361
103

Wichita	*Pawnee*
Rio Grande in Texas (Wedel, north fork of Red River, Kiowa County, Oklahoma)	Old Village or Kitkehax-Pakuxtu before 1842
Chickasaw on the Washita River east of Anadarko (Wedel, the Washita drainage, Leeper Creek)	Willows-along-a-Stream or Kitapatuat, near Fullerton, Nebraska 1842-1846
	Hill-in-Water-Sitting or Pahaku, near Fremont, Nebraska 1851
Wichita, Kansas (also Wedel, 1863)	Reservation Village near Genoa, Nebraska October 1859
Anadarko, Oklahoma (also Wedel, 1867)	

5, 79 James R. Murie, 1914, pp. 550-551, lists the names of thirteen villages, each of which he states had a sacred bundle, excepting the thirteenth, *Turawiu*, which was part of a village. The village names are: 361 103 ~~778~~ 631

1) *Turikaku* (Center Village), Evening Star bundle
2) *Kitkehaxpakuxtu* (Old Village), the four semicardinal direction bundles
3) *Tuhitspiat* (Stretching-Out-in-the-Bottomlands)
4) *Tukitskita* (Village-on-Branch-of-a-River)
5) *Tuwahukasa* (Village-Stretching-across-a-Hill), the Morning Star bundle (This bundle was divided into two.)
6) *Arikararikutsu* (Big-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
7) *Arikarariki* (Small-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
8) *Tuhutsaku* (Village-in-a-Ravine), the left hand bundle (All use left hands in the ceremony.)
9) *Tuwarakaku* (Village-in-Thick-Timber)
10) *Akapaxtsawa* (Buffalo-Skull-Painted-on-Tipi), Black Star bundle
11) *Tskisarikus* (Fish-Hawk) (Bundle buried with White Hawk.)
12) *Tstiks-kaatit* (Black-Ear-of-Corn), meaning corn-black
13) *Turawiu*, part of a village.

These were the known member villages of the Skidi political federation. According to tradition, two villages did not join—Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine) and Tskirirara (Wolf-Standing-in-Water). These two villages survived into the time of our narrative together with only two of the other thirteen, numbers 3 and 5, Tuhitspiat and Tuwahukasa. Tu- is the prefix signifying village or settlement; eight of Murie's thirteen are village names, [193] seven of them beginning with this prefix and indicating a location, the eighth, number 2, meaning Old-Earth-Lodge Village. Four are animal names, and one, a corn name.

5 In the article by Levy and Fallers, 1959, the authors comment on departures from our working model of the "nuclear" or "biological" family, questioning whether it is in fact as basic as we assume. I suggest that our working model of family life stems from the Adam and Eve story and that of the Pawnee from their interpretation of the cosmos and the nature of human life which derives from it. This fundamental difference in our viewpoints does not depend on an ignorance on the part of the Pawnees of the basic fact of physiological paternity. They believed that conception took place as a result of the combination of a male and a female substance similar to egg white in consistency—red in the case of the female and white in that of the male. 114 842

52 The "worm" love song adapted from Dunbar, 1881, p. 745 000

P 252 262

65 Pawnee text version of making "beans-inside" bread, Weltfish, 1937, pp. 37-38.

P 342

21, 61 In the settlement near Fremont, Nebraska (Pahaku), the oldest brother of the three, Rotten House, and Sitting Hawk, the second oldest, and Victory Call, the youngest, established a huge earth lodge, 90 feet in diameter with two sets of central pillars, concentrically arranged. In it he assembled a large group of "brothers," most of them doctors.

P [756]

P 114 797

P 595

14-15 The integrity of the account of Pawnee life obtained from informants by the field ethnologist is clearly validated by the account of an eyewitness, the missionary Samuel Allis, 1887, who lived with the Skidi in Old Village more than a hundred years before this record was made. He comments on the efficiency with which the domestic arrangements operate:

> [H]e lives with her in her father's lodge. It is customary for a young man to marry in a family, and if there is more than one daughter, he takes the oldest and so on as fast as they mature and gives a horse for each additional wife. In this way one sometimes gets as many as six or seven wives. They are like the Mormons in some ways. The oldest wife is "Sister Young" or "Sister Kimball" and so on and is mistress of the lodge. Each woman, however, has her own bundle of meat, corn, etc. and takes her turn in cooking; and the lord sleeps by turns in different parts of the lodge to avoid jealousy. Some of them have their women in different lodges and own a share in each lodge. In this way they fare better. *They have so much system in cooking, dressing robes, cornfields and other work that they get along better than one would suppose.**

H 462 593

This outlook on the fluidity of the division of labor was not confined to the Pawnees. Wolf Chief, an old man of the Hidatsa tribe, a Siouan group of North Dakota, stated in 1910, "In my tribe in old times, some men helped their wives in their gardens. Others did not. Those who did not help their wives talked against those who did saying, 'That man's wife makes him her servant!' And others retorted, 'Look, that man puts all the hard work on his wife!'" "Men were not all alike; some did not like to work in the garden at all, and cared for nothing but to go around visiting or to be off on a hunt. My father Small Ankle liked to garden and often helped his wives. He told me that was the best way to do. 'Whatever you do,' he said, 'help your wife in all things!' He taught me to clean the garden, to help gather the corn, to hoe and to rake. My father said that that man lived best and had plenty to eat who helped his wife. One who did not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

---

* Italics mine.

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.) 000

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244). Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civilizations—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women. 462 251 462 171

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9. 000

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the inside of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within, then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people." 342 772

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'" He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on the contrary they were part of it and went out into it. 796 533 787 821 157 821 721 114 821

68, 138, 168-170 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10 feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric examples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp. 172 251

778 126 80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwirutsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

787 80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 24, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of supernatural beings." The Pawnee made a clear distinction between 787 828 hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination. An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

775 534 80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

773 171 81 Compare in Whorf, 1929, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 752, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four 80-81 Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In [821] Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, 773
is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who 171
makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his footsteps 821
being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In
81, 117 Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personified 773
First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the
land.

82 Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906,
p. 41. See Bogoras, 1902, p. 667, for wider distribution of this
theme.

83, 152, 154-155 Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photograph 821
of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He [126]
states (p. 285): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we
do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their
magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constellations.
Astronomical analysis is included in the article.

84, 117 On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 782
1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 209-210; George E. 727
Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*,
Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen, 171
1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month,
"they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were
111 lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western
plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369,
description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden,
117 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz*
representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the
National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan
319 tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must
have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the
Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of
the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the
330 Mexicans . . ." (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account
of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the annotated
footnotes.

84 Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 441-428, claims that after the new 243
corn plant (*kurahus*, priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-fire
ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out
and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to
a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They [114]
state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of
such a ceremony.

97 The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as 243
hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony 825
is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 269, that 171

243 825 171 [244] 97 Maximillian reports that in the spring corn ceremony among the Mandan, wild goose signified maize, swans represented the gourds and the duck, the beans. It may well be that the deer and the loon represented the squash and beans respectively among the Pawnees at some time. There was no known symbolism connected with these essential food plants at the time of my report, the concentration being entirely on the maize.

533 126 100 The *Awari* songs are from the Murie-Wissler manuscript, in my retranscription and translation as it appears there.

512 243 102 Oehler and Smith, 1914. On May 8th, 1851: "Early in the morning we were awakened by the shrill voices of the Pawnee women, who were engaged in cleaning up the lodge and collecting their hoes, previous to going out to the fields to prepare the ground for planting corn."

243 105 Weltfish, 1937. From the Pawnee texts; old man speaks to the women (pp. 29-30); a little girl goes into the fields with her mother (p. 30); Pawnee women as horticulturists (pp. 27-28).

106 Adapted from Murie-Wissler, pp. 308-325, as well as from other

821 302 107 sources. The foot painted on the warrior's forehead represented the Pawnee astronomical constellation known as bird, *rikutski*, which was said to be on the Milky Way itself, but is otherwise unidentified. The Tsawi Band calls Cassiopeia, turkey foot, but the Skidi Band calls it rabbit, *parus*. See Dunbar, 1881, p. 744.

000 113-114 Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98.

106 See Drucker, Heizer, and Squier, 1959, for the time depth of elaborate formal religion in Mexico at La Venta, Tabasco, southeastern Mexico near the Gulf. The structures have been radiocarbon dated at 800–400 B.C. and show a high degree of religious organization and complex symbolism that can be clearly inferred from the archaeological remains.

172 243 123 It took milennia to evolve the current uses of maize among the Pawnees. At La Perra cave where some of the earliest examples of North American domesticated corn have been found (radio-

121 carbon dated 4445 ± 180 B.C.) some steps in patterns of utilization indicated in the finds are: (a) chewing young ears husks and all shortly after pollination—wasteful, but quick and simple way of getting a little sugar; (b) roasting the ears of green corn; (c) making parched corn; (d) removing kernels from cob, shown with glumes battered and broken as though the ears were forced across a rough surface or beaten with a stick; (e) maize apparently pounded, inferred from the finding of stone mortars. (Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, Galinat, 1956, pp. 145-146).

000 121 Mangelsdorf, 1958; Mangelsdorf, 1964.

122 Walster, 1956.

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, 773
p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explain- 551
ing that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of 821
a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water.
Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation (1925, pp. 142-161).

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee 000
texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making.

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not gen- 231
uinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descrip- 552
tive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. [556]
Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof, *Atkats;* Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red
Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never 231
buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who 764
had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes 428
kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would [766]
often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the horse.

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They 231
were: Wide Feet, *As-katarihu';* White Spotted, *Paras-taka;* Bear 552
Head, *Kuruks-paksu;* Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat;* Hate-His-Tail, *Pits-tatur-ritku;* Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats;* Wooly, *Pararus;* Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku;* Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.* Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked
when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were 231
never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the
time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, [262]
the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog
Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross, 1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march
pulling the travois in 1834–1836. The Pawnees were able to iden- [825]
tify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for
them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties.

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through 231
trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. 726
I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accom- 177
panied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced
a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee

231
726
177

000

140 horses over the prairie, "trampling over skins, dried meat and some of the smaller tents." At the same time Murray's host had only five or six horses of the poorest kind for he had been robbed of his many good horses by the Sioux. He reports that another chief had "at least thirty, among which some were wild, some Spanish and three of American breed." Pike found the Pawnee horses far superior to those of the Osages. In 1829 an American
141 horseman among the Osages on the Verdigris River in Oklahoma reported a most beautiful iron gray stallion captured from the Pawnees (*American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, Baltimore, 1833, 501-503). In 1778–1779, Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, was avid to acquire Spanish horses from the west. He wrote to Colonel George Rogers Clark, who had been sent by Virginia to the Northwest Territory, that without valuing "the cost of the horses or the expense of sending them in," Patrick Henry wanted "two Horses" and "Eight Mares" of "the true Spanish Blood." He wrote that Clark was not to "lose a moment in agreeing for them, for vast numbers of people are about to go out after them from here and will soon pick them all up and raise the price very high." He asked that he be quick and suggests that the horses might be obtained from either Indian tribes or Spanish settlements. After months Clark replied, "you have conceived a greater opinion of the Horses in this country than I have." True he had an excellent stallion from New Mexico a thousand miles to the west and south, but could not at the time send him across the drowned lands of the Wabash. The Pawnees six hundred miles away had superior horses. Maybe later he could get some of them. Of Illiniois mares he writes that he had seen some good ones, but hard usage from their barbarous horse masters had ruined them (Clark, 1912, pp. 75-78, 88-89, 303-304).

648
231
439
175

In 1724, De Bourgmond, an established Illinois trader, was commissioned by the French government to induce the Skidi Pawnees, Otos, and Padoucas (Comanche or Apache?) to set up working relations so that the French could use them as intermediaries for obtaining Spanish horses. He called a meeting at Doniphan Kansas on the Missouri and such a peace was concluded:

> One of the chiefs spoke, stating that the women and little girls of his tribe were broken down from carrying heavy loads on their backs when the tribe went on its semi-annual hunts, and that he was willing to make peace with the Padoucas, solely to obtain horses in trade so that his women would not have to walk and carry heavy burdens. The other chiefs seemed to have approved of this view of the matter; one by one they gave their assent. The peace pipe was filled and passed around the circle and peace with the Padoucas was concluded. (Hyde, 1951, note 35, p. 48, p. 44.)

141 By 1746 the Pawnee had become emissaries for establishing 648 friendly relations of the French with the Comanche: "About 231 1746 friendly relations of the French with the Comanche were greatly facilitated through the peace which the latter tribe made 439 with the Jumano of the Arkansas country and the Pawnee of 175 the Platte. Now French traders, hunters and deserters, guided by Jumano and Pawnee, began to make their way to the Comanche in considerable numbers, some of them even going to Santa Fe." (Bolton, 1914, Vol. I, p. 58.) And finally, from Murray, 1839, of his visit to the Tsawi in 1834, states that the horse-poor chief he was with was waiting anxiously for the return of his son from a trading expedition among the Ute to the west for horses. "I learned distinctly from the Pawnees that many of their horses had come from the Haitans (Ute); and as certainly that a great proportion of the guns and other articles annually distributed among the Pawnees find their way to this rambling tribe in payment for their horses." (Murray, 1939, p. 365.)

Many Pawnee horses were also acquired on the warpath. 231 Tixier (McDermott, 1940, p. 225) states that "The Maha (Skidi 721 Pawnees) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five or six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe." The name *raripakusu,* warrior, was sometimes translated for me as explorer. Tixier contrasts the Osage practice of war raiding with the 721 Pawnees in the following terms: "The Osage do not make war 171 like the Pawnee; their aims are more noble; they want scalps. Horse stealing is far less important in their eyes. The Osage sometimes go out on a war expedition on foot; but usually their troops are on horseback and always rather numerous—seldom less than twenty-five men strong."

> The Panee-Maha who live on the banks of the Nebraska or 721 Platte River, are today the greatest enemies of the Osage. 231 They do esteem the stealing of horses more highly than bringing back scalps. The purpose of their expeditions is to bring back the horses of the other nations. They risk their lives by going through the huge desert which separates them from the villages, and hunting where other nations spend part of the year. The war parties of the Pawnees are not numerous; six, eight, fifteen men at most, armed with knives, arrows, axes, seldom with guns, set out without any provision. They expect Oua-Kondah to provide them daily with a buffalo, and they prepare ambushes for bison and shoot them with their bows and arrows. . . . Hardship, hunger, heat, do not discourage them. Some young men die without seeing the enemy during their first expedition." (Tixier, pp. 221-224.)

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Dhegiha NQ12

P 224

141 The surround on foot was called *tut-kawi-pitahaku,*" it-to-them-inside-moving-round-and-round." In summer the buffalo tended to be scattered in smaller bunches. In winter the buffalo traveled in closer formation. They also would try to drive them over the ice during the winter: *situks-ukita-hai-iwarit,* "they-used-to-upon-water-or-ice-aim-or-direct." In winter, in the deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow and could readily be killed. The north wind was called Lucky Wind because it chased the buffalo to them. When the second party was going to Oklahoma (1876), old man Frost, *Huriru'us,* held a doctor dance. Then Lucky Wind began to blow and a lot of buffalo came close to the camp. At one time, east of the Missouri River, a bit east of Omaha, Nebraska, there were villages of Pumpkin-Vine people and further eastward the village of Bones-Sticking-Up, *Kis-karaxwa,* of the Tsawi Band. Buffalo came into these villages.

P
[821]
[796]
[361]

P 482

Even in Oklahoma in the 1920's women continued to pack heavy loads on their backs. In 1928 I met an old Pawnee grandmother of delicate build trudging along the road out of the town of Pawnee one Saturday afternoon with a huge load of groceries—a sack of flour, a lard pail full, and other sundries—done up in a blanket, the ends tied across her forehead and the weight of the bundle resting on her protruded buttocks and backbone. She refused an offer of a lift in a Ford Car, preferring to continue with her moccasined walk for the two miles to the house.

P 172 325

145, 363 In Lower Loup archaeological villages sheet metal was found for the first time (about 1600), possibly for arrow points (Dunlevy, 1936, p. 201).

P 162

138 Dunbar, 1918, p. 632, gives an estimate of the number of males and females among the Skidi (1840): total 1906; males over 10 years, 469; females over 10 years, 598; children, males under 10 years, 367, females under 10 years, 472.

P 439

D
[726]
[727]

P
[726]

145, 363-364 Although pottery was still in use in Old Village (Allis, 1887, p. 140) the Pawnees had for some time been carrying on a trade in brass buckets with other tribes. Mooney, 1898, pp. 257-259, describes a gruesome incident when the Osage attacked the unprotected Kiowa camp, cutting off the heads of their dead victims and placing them one each in a brass kettle, "which had been obtained by the Kiowa from the Pawnee, who procured them on the Missouri and traded them to the southern tribes." This was the year 1833 "Summer They Cut Off Their Heads." During the attack "A party of women was saved by a brave Pawnee living in the camp, who succeeded in fighting off the pursuers long enough to enable the women to reach a place of safety" (p. 258).

145, 363-364 Trade was carried on by the Pawnees with the Kiowas through the Calumet or Pipe Dance. (See Fletcher, 1904, pp. 280-281, where the purpose of the ritual is described.) 439

149 In an informal conversation with Prof. John L. Champe, he pointed out that in the neighborhood where the Stay-at-Homes set up their impromptu village near Columbus where the Loup River empties into the Platte was the area of some old archaeological sites: Bellwood, occupied by the Tsawi Band about 1800, overlapping and overlaying an older protohistoric site of the Burkett type (Lower Loup) (see Wedel, 1936, p. 40). The Pawnees claimed that this was an old Pawnee home. They claimed that about five miles west of Columbus was *Kitkeharawits-a-ku,* "Earth-Lodge-Village-Adjacent-to-a-Spring-Sitting." 172 361

159 Hyde, 1951, pp. 96-97, feels that the tobacco of the northern Indians might have been an attractive trade item for the southern tribes. He feels that trade with the Arikara in this item may go back to 1680 and cites Tabeau for such trade c. 1802, southern Indians coming north to trade horses for tobacco with the Arikara. 276 439 171

159 Gilmore, 1919, pp. 113-114, states that Pawnee tobacco was *Nicotiana quadrivalus* Pursh. and was cultivated by all the tribes of Nebraska. "Since the advent of the Europeans, tobacco is one of the crops whose culture has been abandoned by these tribes, and they have all lost the seed of it, so that the oldest living Omaha have never seen it growing; but they sometimes receive presents of the prepared tobacco from other tribes to the north who are still growing it." Gilmore obtained seeds from an old Hidatsa man in 1908 which he succeeded in growing. Gilmore, 1919, plate 27, pictures an old Arikara man gathering his tobacco. 249 171

> A Pawnee informant said that his people in old time prepared the ground for planting this tobacco by gathering a quantity of dried grass, which was burned where the patch was to be sown. This kept the ground clear of weeds so that nothing grew except the tobacco which was planted. The crop was allowed to grow thick, and then the whole plant—leaves, unripe fruit capsules, and the tender small parts of the stems—was dried for smoking. The unripe seed capsules, dried separately were specially prized for smoking on account of the flavor, pronounced by the Indians to be like the flavor now found in the imported Turkish tobacco." (Gilmore, 1919, p. 114.) 249

359-360 The need for a good knowledge of the stars and constellations on the Plains as well as at sea and the possibility of getting lost is indicated by a modern incident reported in the *Sunday World* 000

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000 359-360 *Herald*, Omaha, Nebraska, October 13, 1957. A man was driving into the sandhills of western Nebraska to meet his wife who was teaching at a school 35 miles north of the town of Ashby. Riding to the end of a vague road onto the land, he ran out of gasoline and, leaving his car, got lost for three days. He had to live on rose buds and frog legs until he was found. A good knowledge of the stars and constellations would have helped him.

175 The Pipe Dance among the Caddo, 1687, was reported by Joutel, companion of La Salle, as witnessed by him in July 1687 (Swanton, 1942, pp. 179-180).

175-176, 199, 223, 354-355 Calumet ceremony current in the Mississippi region as observed by the French explorer Marquette in 1672:

> He says of this "calumet" that it is "the most mysterious thing in the world. The scepters of our kings are not so much respected, for the Indians have such a reverence for it that one may call it the god of peace and war, and the arbiter of life and death. . . . One with this calumet may venture among his enemies, and in the hottest battles, they lay down their arms before the sacred pipe. The Illinois presented me with one of them which was very useful to us in our voyage." (Fletcher, 1904, p. 279.)

276 726 354 In one of their story telling sessions, Eagle Chief told of how he had carried the calumet right into the Sioux line of battle and when the Sioux saw the pipe, the whole line of battle turned back and rode off.

224 [172] 141-142 The buffalo jump was a primitive device for attacking the herd by lining up in a V-formation and chasing the herd over a cliff. At the base of these old buffalo jumps, archaeological excavation reveals large heaps of buffalo bones, giving some indication that numbers of the animals died in vain. The Pawnee method of surround made it possible to include all the animals and utilize all the meat of those killed. Frank North, a participant observer of a hunt in the fall of 1859, states (1859, p. 20):

> 4-500 of the Indians strung out in a long line single file. They rode up as close to the herd as possible without being seen and got as near to them as they could without frightening them. The leader of the surround gave a signal, until which time no one has the right to make noise or leave the line, and they instantly wheeled their horses, one half heading in one direction and the other half facing in the opposite way. Each party then started off on the gallop, riding in a semicircle until they met, and had made a complete surround of the immense herd. In this instance they had surrounded about 500 of the buffaloes and closing in on them, killed every one."

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
.Hidatsa NQ14

Notes and Comments

141-142 On the buffalo jump, see Forbis, 1958; Lowie, 1954, pp. 14-15, Fig. 3, Assiniboin buffalo pound at the foot of the bluffs or cut bank.

P
224

109 "The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids, but only used to repel or meet a general attack." (Murie, 1914, p. 560.)

P
411
726

109 One of the five Skidi military societies had no war functions at all, but was specialized in the role of hunt police. It was known as *Raris arusa*, "Society Horse," and was also referred to as "Two Lance." While most of the decorated lances had crooks on their tops, this one was unique in lacking this feature. Among the three South Bands, there was also a military society with a similarly specialized function. It was the *Raris pahat*, "society red." This society was said to have been derived from and sanctioned from the main sacred bundle of the *Pitahawirata*, where only the descendants of chiefs could belong. (Murie, 1914, p. 569.)

P
701
[625]
[411]

223 The Skidi, Tsawi, and Kitkehaxki, each had a society with combined war-hunt functions, and each band had several exclusively for war. Every spring when the decorations on the official lances were renewed, the lances were put outside the door on a pole where the people could see them. In the course of the several society ceremonies, the people were told that the lances were to bring the buffalo and to protect the lives of the people (Murie, 1914, p. 559). The hunt police were appointed after the first big kill on the Republican River when the encampment on Turkey Creek was set up right within the path of buffalo migration.

P
701
411
625

176, 227-228 For a description of Massacre Canyon and the dangers of the Western territory see Hyde, 1951, pp. 244-248; Williamson, 1925; *Massacre Canyon Number*, 1936 (Nebraska History Magazine).

000

241 On the roasting pit for corn, see the Pawnee texts, Weltfish, 1937, p. 34.

243-244 Among the Hidatsa, a man would request one of the young men's military societies (Fox or Dog Society) to come to his fields to husk the corn. One of the society's officials would announce from the roof of the lodge and the members would line up and go singing to the designated field. The young men would hope their sweethearts would hear them and that perhaps they would get a chance to see them working in an adjacent field. They marched to the fields carrying guns for fear the Sioux would attack. "If a society went early, they got through just after midday. By early I mean nine o'clock in the morning." "We worked late, by moonlight even." (Wilson, 1917, p. 43, footnote.)

H
701
243
476

796
756
272 An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756
273 See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796
[574]
[782]
[184]
[752]
[726]
241 The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

824
825
171
277 On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372
482
280, 290 Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads would equal one cord of wood.
372
Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

727
305 Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home

305 from the fields, June 1, 1861. The woman was found alive, buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left to die. North further states, that having been rescued and nursed back to health by the school teacher, Mrs. Platt, on her return to the tribe, she may have been dispatched with a tomahawk and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. There is no way to verify this incident, but the manner in which the young woman was found by the school teacher indicates the horror the Pawnees felt for a scalped person. 727

276-278 Luther North describes (Pauline Bilon, *Nebraska Farmer*, Lincoln, March 21, 1931) the experience he and Grinnell had trying to learn to perform magic. An old medicine man was contacted by his nephew, an educated Indian, on their behalf and he stated that, "Tomorrow morning you get together the young men and I will teach them." The next morning six young men ranging in age from 20-25 were brought to him by the investigators. He picked up a small ax and cut off a little tree. . . . Next he found a large flat stone which he placed in front of him. He took the small sapling and placed the end which he had cut next to the stone. Holding it firmly in place he began reciting in the Indian language, "Father the Great Spirit, you are the ruler; you see me; my mind is poor; I can do nothing without your help, etc. etc. . . . He requested them to hold the sapling. They did so, expecting to pick it right off the stone, but the sapling was firmly rooted into the stone. They pulled but it was no use. Then the medicine man turned to his young Indian pupils. He told them to do exactly what he had done. This they did, following out his previous actions to the letter. Before they knelt to begin their chants, he said to them, "Make your mind strong. Believe what you say." After the young man had finished the ceremony, they released their hold on the small trees. Over fell the trees. The results were the same for all the young men. They all looked at the old man. "I can't teach you anything" he said and walked away. And so once more Grinnell shook his head and said, "It simply cannot be explained." Luther North reports that some of his scouts would practice their illusionist feats while they were out on campaigns with him. One man hid among the tall grass and appeared as a deer, then the next moment was a man. Another would simply take up a handful of mud and rubbing his hands together produce a live turtle, reconverting it into mud again. North asked him what would happen if he released the turtle and let him go. The man said he would die. North returned to the spot after such an episode and found the dead turtle there. 789

293, 296, 302-304 See Frank North's (1959) description of the Big Dance, Chapter 4. 000

554
727
357-358 Like other Plains tribes, the Pawnee had the tradition of honoring a warrior for touching a fallen enemy. In anthropological literature, this has come to be known as "counting coup." The first one to touch the fallen enemy among the Pawnees as among the other Plains tribes, got the greatest honor. It was said of him, *wi-ti-ki,* "now-he-strikes." The second to touch the fallen enemy got a secondary honor and the third was the final strike that could count. Taking the scalp could count as a "strike." As the strike is being made, the warrior must call out "I strike" at the scene of battle itself if possible with witnesses to the deed. Otherwise, only if there were some concrete evidence, could the deed be counted. For example, if one struck a dead Sioux, one would put him in a sheltered place until you could bring witnesses or people who came to see tracks of horses in the place where the exploit occurred and some blood to show there had been a skirmish. However, even if such proof could not be made, later when peace was made and the erstwhile enemies were sitting together at peace, they might recount their former war exploits and the deeds of the brave would be confirmed by the enemy so that the warrior's own people would know.

172
412
363 On polished stone axes, celts, etc. see Wedel, 1936, pp. 77-78: In the archaeological Pawnee and proto-Pawnee sites, polished stone axes and celts are rare, and there seems to be a preponderance of crude stone mauls. Also see Strong, 1935, pp. 59-60, 66-67.

292
821
375-376 The comet of 1882, *upirik-kiskuxka,* "feather headdress," was so named to indicate the identification of the traditional Plains war bonnet with a comet.

000 403-406 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of a bulrush mat, pp. 151-152.

382, 385 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of wooden bowls, pp. 47-51, and the mortar and pestle.

As this book went to press, there appeared in *Science* (July 10, 1964, 145, No. 3628, 117-136) a definitive article, "Economics and the Quality of Life" by the outstanding economist, John Kenneth Galbraith, that so closely parallels the general viewpoint that I have tried to express here that I feel it should be especially mentioned.

In the *New York Times* (July 11, 1964), an article appeared which was entitled "Landlord to Hire Social Worker to Help His Tenants Live Better." The realtor referred to is Mr. Howard Offit, one of Baltimore's largest landlords, who owns about 1,000 red-brick-row or attached houses. The social worker hired by Mr. Offit will work in a West Baltimore neighborhood. Harold C. Edelston, executive director of Baltimore's Health and Welfare Council, who is one of the program's advisers, states its purpose: "to have the social worker provide brief counseling service for tenants with personal family

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

problems. If necessary, the worker will get them to the right agency for the type of help they need." The relevance to my suggestion is that the landlord feels that it is worthwhile to pay for such a service. He feels that it will improve his rent collections and maintenance of the building and the kind of tenants he attracts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

114 THE BULK OF THE MATERIAL presented in this book is based on the original field
122 data I collected from Pawnee informants in Oklahoma. It is the only material
on the Pawnees that was gathered with a full knowledge of the nature of the
197 Pawnee language. The Pawnee language cannot be readily translated into English. Structurally it is one of the most complex of the American Indian languages. In place of single discrete words, a structural form known as polysynthesis was developed to an unusual degree. In normal discourse there are long composite word units comprising a wide range of functional elements—verbal, prepositional, adjectival, pronominal, and modal—each capable of a range of modifications, the whole complex being phonetically integrated so that a single word of inseparable elements contains the meaning of a long phrase or sentence in English commonly only translatable into five or six separate English words. Although a single word phrase of this sort may have ten or eleven syllables, it is not possible to assign an equivalent English word under each syllable. The meaning can only be stated as a whole. By careful comparison of a large number of these phrases, it is possible to find the various locations within the phrase that have different functions and to extract elements with generalized meanings. Those interested may refer to my Pawnee text with its grammatical analysis: "The Vision Story of Fox Boy," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, IX No. 1 (1936), 44-75.

114 In the last decade of the nineteenth century, an educated half-blood Pawnee,
159 James R. Murie, made it his life purpose to present the religious rituals and
ceremonies of his people. He carried forward this work under the stimulation and direction of a number of anthropologists, continuing through the first and second decades of the twentieth century. He spanned both cultures—the Pawnee and the American. To some extent this was a major advantage, while in other ways it was an important obstacle to the accomplishment of his true purpose. The most obvious advantage was his direct entrée to the religious leaders of his people. The disadvantage lay in the fact that he had a preconceived idea of how the material should be presented to the American reader and scholar in order to place it before them in the best possible light. There was little need for such a self-conscious effort as Pawnee religion and ceremony would do credit to any people ideologically and aesthetically as a system of thought and practice. Secondly, because Murie had shared in both cultures before he came to the decision to embrace his Pawnee identity, he never fully shared in its systems of belief. In his later years he attempted to obtain a religious vision and to enter more fully into Pawnee religious life, but he failed and remained by
[126] and large a participant observer, not a full participant. His preconceived idea of the nature of translation, particularly of the interlinear variety, stood in the way of his making an authentic translation of the Pawnee materials he wrote

down in the phonetic alphabet which he acquired in the course of his contact 114
with anthropologists. He divided his recorded texts into single syllables, each 159
comprising a consonant and a vowel and each syllable separated from the next 126
by a hyphen and then placed an English word under each of these syllables. As I have already indicated, the Pawnee language cannot be translated into English in that manner. Any material will suffer some distortion when it is translated from one language to another, but the nuances of religious ideology are even more strongly effected by this process.

Murie's crowning effort to systematize the religion of his people was carried 114
out under the direction and editorship of the late Clark Wissler, curator of 159
anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Together Wissler and Murie produced a voluminous manuscript of some 1560 pages. In view of the recognized inadequacies of Murie's Pawnee transcription 114
and translation, in 1930 Matthew W. Stirling, then Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington, D.C., where the manuscript had been deposited some years before, commissioned me to retranscribe all the Pawnee texts contained there with the help of my Pawnee linguistic informants and to obtain a linguistically adequate translation. The texts were reviewed with [124]
my informants and translated with the help of my interpreter, Henry Chapman, in 1930–1931 in Pawnee, Oklahoma. The manuscript is now on deposit in the archives of the bureau. It is titled "The Ceremonies of the Pawnee," by James R. Murie, arranged and edited by Clark Wissler, 1921. Phonetic texts revised and translated by Gene Weltfish, 1930–1931.

The second most important source on Pawnee ceremonialism is: "The Hako: 114
A Pawnee Ceremony," by Alice C. Fletcher, assisted by James R. Murie. This 113
was published in the *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. The author, Alice Fletcher, is listed in the publication as Holder of Thaw Fellowship, Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Miss Fletcher was a trained ethnologist who went into the field to work with the Omaha and Ponca Indians in Nebraska in 1881 when she was in her forties. She several times witnessed the ceremony of the peace pipe or calumet among these tribes and others in the area, but as a result of the death of the only man who could furnish her with an authentic account of the ceremony she searched among other tribes and found that an account of a comparable ceremony would be obtainable among the Pawnees. She then went to Oklahoma where she contacted Mr. James Murie and began the work which was done over a period of four years. The term Hako which appears as the title of this work is not the Pawnee name for this ceremony. The term means mouth, *aka'u*, and is the comprehensive term used to designate all the articles that belong to the ceremony. A number of other terms are used for the ceremony itself. The author decided to use this title as a convenient designation that could readily be pronounced by the English reader. The beauty of patterning and the intricacy of the structure of the ceremony are well represented, but the translation of the Pawnee texts is ludicrous. The bulk of the linguistic texts are the words of ritual songs. A great deal of this material consists of rhythmic syllables that have no semantic significance whatever with one or two simple words included among them. Often the successive stanzas consist in a repetition of these rhythmic syllables, the single words being re-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

114 placed by one or two others. The author translates these Pawnee texts into
113 florid mid-Victorian-style English poetry, every meaningless rhythmic syllable
receiving her attention with a new flight of fancy. It appears that she must have zealously pressed James R. Murie for translations of each syllable and no doubt liberally interpreted the terms he did give her. On his part, Murie must also have felt the need to press these texts into acceptable English poetry of the period. In any case because of these circumstances, The *Hako* can only be used very critically as a source.

The second anthropologist to work extensively with James R. Murie was George A. Dorsey, who did this work as part of a more ambitious project.
[197] Pawnee is one member of a language family, the Caddoan stock, of which there
are three other major members—Arikara, Wichita, and Caddo. Dorsey procured mythology from the four different member groups of the Caddoan stock. Dorsey was Curator of Anthropology of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago under whose auspices the work was begun and then continued with the support of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C. He produced two book length publications on the Pawnee, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* ("American Folklore Society Memoirs," Vol. VIII), Boston and New York, 1904, and *The Pawnee, Mythology*, published by the ("Carnegie Institution of Washington Publications," No. 59), Washington, 1906. A body of unpublished material supplied to Dorsey by Murie remains in the archives of the Chicago Museum of Natural History. Subsequent curators at that institution have published from this source.

A series of pamphlets by Ralph Linton: *The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 5), Chicago, 1922; *The Sacrifice to the Morning Star* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 6), Chicago, 1922; *Purification of the Sacred Bundles, A Ceremony of the Pawnee* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 7), Chicago, 1923; *Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 8), Chicago, 1923.

Alexander Spoehr: *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Series," Vol. XXVII, No. 2), Chicago, 1949.

While Murie was working in New York, he prepared under Clark Wissler's direction, *Pawnee Indian Societies* ("American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers," Vol. XI, Part VII), New York, 1914, pp. 545-644. Wissler very generously inhibited his identity from his publication, appearing simply as "the editor." He states that the work "was prepared by James R. Murie, a member of the Skidi division, under the direction of the editor who is in the main responsible for its form and limitations. Mr. Murie's method was to collect and write out in full such information on the several topics as could be secured. These notes were then made the subject of several conferences with the editor during which the present manuscript was prepared." The large manuscript on the ceremonies of the Pawnee as well as the manuscript material in the Chicago Museum of Natural History must have been prepared in a
114 similar fashion. My own work with my informants on the manuscript, "The
Ceremonies of the Pawnee," made it possible for me to limit the amount of material I had to gather on the formal aspects of Pawnee religion and ceremony

and permitted me to concentrate on the personalities involved and the way they functioned within the pattern. Death claimed James R. Murie before my work began, and I never had the good fortune of meeting him. 114

In the years since the late 1930's I have read a great deal of material on the Pawnees. I visited the archaeological sites, read the literature, and consulted with the outstanding archaeologists in the field. I also worked with historical sources at the Nebraska Historical Society in Lincoln, Nebraska. In addition I have given considerable thought to a number of expanded horizons for our own future that are suggested through a consideration of the Pawnee way of life. I have listed a number of bibliographic items that refer to these different facets of interest, listing them under four categories—archaeological material, ethnology, historical sources, related subjects and theoretical questions. I will not make specific references to my text in connection with these publications as the presentation in this book represents a synthesis of all these sources along with my own. [122]

/

Archaeology (A) Ethnology (E) History (H) Theoretical Subjects (T) 113

(H) Adams, James Truslow. 1943. *Atlas of American History.* New York: Scribners.

(H) Allis, Samuel. 1887. "Forty Years among the Indians and on the Eastern Borders of Nebraska," *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society,* Vol. 2, 133-196.

(H) ———. 1918. See Dunbar, John B.

(H) *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine.* 1823. Pp. 501-503. Baltimore.

(E) Bogoras, Waldemar. 1902. "The Folklore of Northeastern Asia Compared with That of Northwestern America," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., IV, 577-683.

(E) Benedict, Ruth F. 1923. *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America.* ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," 29.) Lancaster.

(H) Bolton, Herbert E. 1911. "The Jumano Indians in Texas, 1650-1771," *Texas Historical Association Quarterly,* 15, No. 1, 66-84.

(H) ———. 1914. *Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780,* Vol. I. Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company.

(H) ———. 1915. *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century.* ("Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration, University of California Publications in History," Vol. III.) Berkeley.

(H) ———. 1916. *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706.* New York: Scribners.

(H) ———. 1949. *Coronado: Knight of the Pueblos and Plains.* Albuquerque: Whittlesey House and University of New Mexico Press.

113

(H) BRANCH, EDWARD DOUGLAS. 1929. *The Hunting of the Buffalo.* New York and London: D. Appleton and Company.

(H) BREBNER, JOHN B. 1933. *Explorers of North America, 1492–1806.* London: A. & C. Black, Ltd.

(H) BRUCE, ROBERT. 1932. *The Fighting Norths and Pawnee Scouts.* New York: Privately Printed, 1932.

(E) BUCKSTAFF, RALPH N. 1927. "Stars and Constellations of a Pawnee Sky Map," *American Anthropologist,* 29, 279-285.

(A) BURKITT, MILES C. 1924. *Our Early Ancestors.* Cambridge, Eng.: University Press.

(H) BURTON, O. 1935. Communication from O. Burton of Friend, Nebraska, a pioneer, on the Pawnee buffalo-hunting encampment at Turkey Creek. *Nebraska History Magazine,* XVI, No. 2, 81.

(H) CARLETON, JOHN HENRY. 1943. *The Prairie Logbooks,* "Dragoon Campaigns to the Pawnee Villages in 1844 and to the Rocky Mountains in 1845," ed. Louis Pelzer. Chicago: Caxton Club.

(A) CHAMPE, JOHN L. 1946. *Ash Hollow Cave.* ("University of Nebraska Studies," No. 1.) Lincoln.

(H) CHITTENDEN, H. M., and RICHARDSON, A. T. (eds.) 1905. *Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre Jean de Smet, S.J., 1801–1873.* Vol. III, pp. 974-988. New York: F. P. Harper.

(H) CLARK, GEORGE ROGERS. 1912. *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771–1781.* ("Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library," Vol. VIII, pp. 75-78, 88-89, 303-304.) Springfield.

(A) CUTLER, HUGH C. 1957. See Whitaker, Thomas W.

(E) DENSMORE, FRANCES. 1929. *Pawnee Music.* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 93.) Washington, D.C.

(H) DOBIE, J. FRANK. 1952. *The Mustangs.* Boston: Little Brown.

(E) DORSEY, GEORGE A. 1904a. *Traditions of the Arikara.* Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.

(E) ——. 1904b. *The Mythology of the Wichita.* Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.

(E) ——. 1905. *Traditions of the Caddo.* Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.

(E) ——. 1906. *The Pawnee, Mythology.* Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.

(H) DE SMET, PIERRE-JEAN. See Chittenden, H. M.

(A) DRUCKER, PHILIP, HEIZER, ROBERT F., and SQUIER, ROBERT J. 1959. *Excavations at La Venta, Tabasco, 1944.* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 170.) Washington, D.C.

(H) DUNBAR, JOHN B. 1881. "The Pawnee Indians," *Magazine of American History,* 8, 738-741.

(H) ——. 1911. Material copied verbatim from a manuscript of Rev. John B. Dunbar. *Nebraska State Historical Society Proceedings and Collections.* Lincoln. Vol. 16, p. 276.

(H) ——, and Allis Samuel. 1918. *Letters Concerning the Presbyterian Mission in the Pawnee Country near Bellevue, Nebraska, 1831–1849.* ("Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society," XIV, pp. 570-689, 690-741.) Topeka.

(A) Dunlevy, Marion Lucille. 1936. "A Comparison of the Cultural Manifestations of the Burkett and Gray-Wolfe Sites," chapters in *Nebraska Archaeology*, ed. Earl H. Bell, Vol. I, 149-247. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

(E) Ewers, John C. 1955. *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture.* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 159.) Washington, D.C.

(T) Fallers, L. A. 1959. See Levy, M. J., Jr.

(E) Fletcher, Alice C. 1904. "The Hako: A Pawnee Ceremony," *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part 2. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

(A) Forbis, Richard G. 1958. *The Old Woman's Buffalo Jump.* Sixteenth Plains Conference for Archaeology, November 29, 1958, Norman, Oklahoma.

(T) Galbraith, John Kenneth. 1958. *The Affluent Society.* New York: Houghton Mifflin.

(T) ——. 1964. "Economics and the Quality of Life," *Science*, CXLVI, No. 3628, 117-123.

(A) Galinat, Walton C. 1956. See Mangelsdorf, Paul C.

(E) Gilmore, Melvin R. 1919. "Uses of Plants by the Indians of the Missouri River Region," *Thirty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1911–1912*, pp. 43-154. Washington, D.C.

(E) Grinnell, George Bird. 1925. *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales.* New York: Scribners.

(H) Hazen, R. W. 1893. *History of the Pawnee Indians.* Fremont, Nebraska.

(E-H) Hodge, Frederick Webb, ed. 1912. *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico.* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 30, Vol. I, 178-179; Vol. II, 643-644; 706 Tawehash.) Washington, D.C.

(E) Hoffman, W. J. 1891. "The Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibway," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 143-300. Washington.

(E) Hyde, George E. 1917. See Will, George F.

(H) ——. 1951. *Pawnee Indians.* Denver: University of Denver Press.

(H) ——. 1959. "Ancestry of Latakuts Kalahar (Fancy Eagle)" (written by George H. Roberts, annotated by George E. Hyde), *Nebraska History*, 40, No. 1, 47-75.

(H) Inman, Henry. 1897. *The Old Santa Fe Trail.* New York: Macmillan.

113

(H) Irving, John Treat, Jr. 1955. *Indian Sketches*, ed. John Francis McDermott. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

(A) Kivett, Marvin F. 1952. *Woodland Sites in Nebraska.* ("Nebraska State Historical Society Publications in Anthropology," No. 1.) Lincoln.

(T) Kohn, Hans. 1961. *The Idea of Nationalism.* New York: Macmillan.

(A) Krieger, Alex. 1947. "The Eastward Extension of Puebloan Datings toward Cultures of the Mississippi Valley," *American Antiquity*, XII, No. 3, Pt. 1, 141-148.

(T) "Landlord to Hire Social Worker to Help His Tenants Live Better," *New York Times*, July 12, 1964, Sec. 8, p. 1:7, 8, p. 6:7.

(T) Lantis, Margaret. 1960. "Vernacular Culture," *American Anthropologist*, 62, No. 3, 292-296.

(E) Lesser, Alexander. 1933. *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Handgame.* ("Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology.") New York.

(T) Levy, M. J., Jr., and Fallers, L. A. 1959. "The Family: Some Comparative Considerations," *American Anthropologist*, 61, No. 4, 647-651.

(E) Linton, Ralph. 1926. "The Origin of the Skidi Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 28, No. 3, 457-466.

(H) Long, Major Stephen H. 1823. Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains performed in the years 1819 and 1820. Edwin James edition, 2 vols. Vol. I, pp. 445-446. A. H. Carey and I. Lea, Philadelphia.

(E) Lowie, Robert H. 1935. *The Crow Indians.* New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.

(E) ———. 1954. *Indians of the Plains.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

(A) MacNeish, Richard C. 1956. See Mangelsdorf, Paul C.

(A) ———. 1957. See Whitaker, Thomas W.

(A) ———. 1964. "Ancient Mesoamerican Civilization," *Science*, 143, No. 3606, 531-534.

(A) Mangelsdorf, Paul C. 1958. "Ancestor of Corn," *Science*, 128, No. 335, 13-15.

(A) ———. 1964. "Domestication of Corn," *Science*, 143, No. 3606, 538-545.

(A) ———, MacNeish, Richard C., and Balinat, Walton C. 1956. *Archaeological Evidence on the Diffusion and Evolution of Maize in Northeastern Mexico* ("Botanical Museum Leaflets 17," No. 5, p. 130.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

(E) Marriott, Alice. n.d. *The Trade Guild of the Southern Cheyenne Women.* ("Oklahoma Anthropological Society Publication.")

(H) Massacre Canyon Number. 1936. *Nebraska History Magazine*, July-September 1935. Lincoln.

(H) McDermott, John Francis, ed. 1940. *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies.* Translated from the French by Albert J. Salvan. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Pp. 221-224, 225.

(H) McKenney, Thomas L., and Hall, James. 1842. *History of the Indian Tribes of North America,* "With Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs." Vol. I, pp. 101-106. Philadelphia: Daniel Rice and James G. Clark.

(T) Merton, Robert C. 1959. *Sociology Today.* New York: Basic Books.

(E) Mooney, James R. 1898. "Calendar History of the Kiowa," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* Part I, 1895-1896. Washington, D.C., pp. 334-335.

(H) Murray, Charles Augustus. 1839. *Travels in North America during the Years 1834, 1835, 1836.* 2 vols. London: R. Bentley.

(H) Nasatir, A. P., ed. 1952. *Before Lewis and Clark.* "Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri 1785–1804." 2 vols. ("St. Louis Historical Documentary Foundation.") St. Louis.

(A) *Newsletter of the Museum of the Plains Indian.* 1959. 3, No. 1. Report of a buffalo jump at Cut Bank Creek site north of Browning, Wyoming. Browning, Montana.

(H) *New York Times.* 1960. Note on the Calendar. January 1.

(H) North, Frank. 1859? *The Adventures of Major Frank North the "White Chief" of the Pawnees,* A Quarter of a Century on the Frontier (the story of his life as told by himself and written by Alfred Sorenson). Manuscript in the Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln.

(H) North, Luther. 1920. Letter from Luther North to A. E. Sheldon, February 9, 1920. Manuscript in Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln.

(H) ——. 1928. Letter from Luther North to George Bird Grinnell, June 1, 1928, from Columbus, Nebraska. Manuscript in Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln.

(H) ——. 1931. Eyewitness account of a Pawnee medicine man's performance involving George Bird Grinnell and Luther North in Oklahoma as told to Pauline Bilon by Luther North. Article in the newspaper, *The Nebraska Farmer,* March 21, 1931.

(H) ——. n.d. Recollections of Luther North, ed. George Bird Grinnell. Manuscript in Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln.

(H) Oehler, Gottlieb F., and Smith, David Z. 1914. *Moravian Church Miscellany of 1851–1852,* p. 19. Description of a journey and visit to the Pawnee Indians who live on the Platte River, tributary of the Missouri, 70 miles from its mouth, April 22–May 18, 1851. New York.

(H) Olson, James C. 1955. *History of Nebraska.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

(E) Parker, Arthur C. 1910. *Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants.* (New York State Museum Bull. 144). Albany.

(E) Parsons, Elsie Clews. 1929. "Ritual Parallels in Pueblo and Plains Cultures with special reference to the Pawnee," *American Anthropologist,* 31, No. 4, 642-654.

(H) Pike, Zebulon Montgomery. 1895. *The Expeditions of Zebulon Mont-*

113

gomery Pike, ed. Elliott Coues. Vol. II, pp. 533, 542. New York: F. P. Harper.

(H) Rich, Edson P. 1887. *Slavery in Nebraska* ("Transactions and Reports [Publications] of the Nebraska State Historical Society," Vol. II.) Lincoln.

(H) Roe, Frank G. 1951. *The North American Buffalo*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

(H) ——. 1955. *The Indian and the Horse*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

(H) Roosevelt, Theodore. 1955. *The Hunting and Exploring Adventures of Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. Donald Day. New York: Dail Press.

(H) Ross, Marvin C. 1951. *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller (1837)*, notes by M. C. Ross. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

(H) Sandoz, Mari. 1954. *The Buffalo Hunters*. New York: Hastings House.

(H) Secoy, Frank R. 1953. *Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains*. ("American Ethnological Society Monographs," No. XXI.) New York.

(A) Skinner, Morris F., and Kaisen, Ove C. 1947. *The Fossil Bison of Alaska and Preliminary Revision of the Genus*. (American Museum of Natural History Bull. 89, Article 3, pp. 127-256.) New York.

(E) Spindler, G. D. 1955. *Socio-cultural and Psychological Processes in Menomini Acculturation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

(A) Smith, Carlyle S. 1949. "Fieldwork in Kansas, 1949," *Plains Archaeological Conference Newsletter*, II, No. 4, 5-6.

(A) ——. 1950. "European Trade Material from the Kansas Monument Site," *Plains Archaeological Conference Newsletter*, 3, No. 2, 2-9.

(A) Smith, E. C. 1950. *Prehistoric Plant Remains from Bat Cave*. ("Bontanical Museum Leaflets 14," No. 3, 157-180. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

(E) Spinden, Herbert J. 1906. See Will, George F.

(E) ——. 1916. See Wissler, Clark.

(A) Strong, William Duncan. 1935. An Introduction to Nebraska Archaeology. ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," 93, No. 10.) Washington, D.C.

(H) *Sunday World Herald of Omaha, Nebraska*. 1957. October 13. A man lost in the sandhills of western Nebraska for three days.

(E) Swanton, John R. 1942. *Source Material on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians*. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 132.) Washington, D.C.

(E) ——. 1946. *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 137.) Washington, D.C.

(A) Thompson, J. Eric. 1956. *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization*. 3rd ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Pp. 171, 225.

(H) Thwaites, R. G. 1748-1846. *Early Western Travels*. Vol. 27, 209-210. Cleveland: A. H. Clark.

(H) TIBBLES, THOMAS HENRY. 1957. *Buckskin and Blanket Days.* (Written in 1905 by Thomas Henry Tibbles.) Garden City: Doubleday and Company Inc.

(H) TIXIER, VICTOR. See McDermott, John Francis, ed.

(H) TURNER, FREDERICK J. 1891. *The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin* "A Study of the Trading Post as an Institution." ("Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science," ninth series, Nos. XI, XII.) Baltimore.

(A) VON HAGEN, VICTOR W. 1958. *The Aztec*, "Man and Tribe." New York: Mentor Books.

(H) WALKER, EDWIN F. 1953. *World Crops Derived from the Indians.* ("The Southwest Museum Leaflets," No. 17.) Los Angeles.

(E) WALLACE, ERNEST, and HOEBEL, E. A. 1952. *The Comanches.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

(H) WALSTER, HARLOW LESLIE. 1956. "George Francis Will 1884–1955, a Biography," *North Dakota History*, 23, No. 1, 4-25.

(A) WATSON, VIRGINIA. 1950. *The Optima Focus of the Panhandle Aspect*, "Description and Analysis." ("Bulletin of the Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society," No. 21.) Lubbock, Texas.

(A) WEDEL, WALDO. 1936. *Introduction to Pawnee Archaeology.* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 112.) Washington, D.C.

(A) ———. 1938. *The Direct-Historical Approach in Pawnee Archaeology.* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," 97, No. 7.) Washington, D.C.

(A) ———. 1940. *Culture Sequence in the Central Great Plains.* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. 100, 291-352. Washington, D.C.

(A) ———. 1947. "Culture Chronology in the Central Great Plains," *American Antiquity*, XII, No. 3, Part 1, 148-156.

(A) ———. 1949. "Some Provisional Correlations in Missouri Basin Archaeology," *American Antiquity*, XIV, No. 4, Part 1, 328-340.

(A) ———. 1959. An Introduction to Kansas Archaeology. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 174.) Washington, D.C.

(A) WELTFISH, GENE. 1930a. "Prehistoric North American Basketry Techniques and Modern Distributions," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 32, 435-495.

(E) ———. 1930b. "Coiled Gambling Baskets of the Pawnee and Other Plains Tribes." *Indian Notes*, VIII, No. 3, 277-295.

(A) ———. 1932. "Problems in the Study of Ancient and Modern Basket-Makers," *American Anthropologist*, XXXIV, 108-117.

(E) ———. 1936. "The Vision Story of Fox Boy, a South Pawnee Text with translation and grammatical analysis," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, IX, No. 1, 44-75.

113 (E) ——. 1937. *Caddoan Texts, Pawnee, South Band Dialect.* ("Publications of the American Ethnological Society," XVII.) New York.

(T) ——. 1956. "The Perspective for Fundamental Research in Anthropology," *The Philosophy of Science*, 23, No. 1, 63-73.

(T) ——. 1958a. "The Linguistic Study of Material Culture," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, XXIV, No. 4, 301-311.

(T) ——. 1958b. "The Anthropologist and the Question of the Fifth Dimension," in *Culture in History (Radin Festschrift)*, ed. Stanley Diamond. New York: Columbia University Press.

(T) ——. 1959. "The Question of Ethnic Identity, an Ethnohistorical Approach," *Ethnohistory*, 6, No. 4, 321-346.

(T) ——. 1960. "The Ethnic Dimension of Human History: Pattern or Patterns of Culture?" in *Selected Papers, Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, ed. Anthony F. C. Wallace. Philadelphia.

(E) ——, and Lesser, Alexander. 1932. *Composition of the Caddoan Linguistic Stock.* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. 87, No. 6.) Washington, D.C.

(A) Whitaker, Thomas W., Cutler Hugh C., and MacNeish, Richard S. 1957. Curcurbit Materials from Three Caves near Ocampo, Tamaulipas (northeast Mexico). *American Antiquity*, 22, No. 4, 357.

(A) Whorf, Benjamin L. 1929. "The Reign of Huemac." Translated from the Aztec-Text of "The Annals of Quauhtitlan." *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 31, 668-670.

(E) Wilson, Gilbert L. 1917. *Agriculture of the Hidatsa Indians.* ("University of Minnesota Studies in the Social Sciences," No. 9.) Minneapolis.

(H) Will, George F. 1930. *Corn for the Northwest.* St. Paul: Webb Book Publishing Company.

(E) ——, and Hyde, George E. 1917. *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* ("Little Histories of North American Indians," No. 5.) St. Louis: William Harvey Miner.

(E) ——, and Spinden, Herbert J. 1906. *The Mandans.* ("Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University," Vol. 3, No. 4.) Cambridge.

(H) Williamson, John, and others. 1935. "Contemporary Report of Massacre by Sioux at Massacre Canyon (near Trenton, Neb.) in 1873," *Nebraska History Magazine*, XVI, No. 3.

(E) Wissler, Clark. 1917. Comparative Study of Pawnee and Blackfoot Rituals. XIX International Congress of Americanists of 1915. Washington, D.C.

(E) ——, 1914. "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 16, No. 1, 1-25.

(E, H) ——. 1936. *Population Changes among the Northern Plains Indians.*

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

113

("Yale University Publications in Anthropology," No. 1.) New Haven.

(E) ——, and SPINDEN, HERBERT J. "The Pawnee Human Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *American Museum Journal*, XVI, No. 1. New York: American Museum of Natural History.

(A) WITTHOFT, JOHN. 1953. "The American Indian as Hunter," *Pennsylvania Game News*, 24, Nos. 2, 3, 4.

(A) WOLF, ALVIN W. 1950. "A Study of Lower Loup Pottery." Manuscript. University of Nebraska Laboratory of Anthropology.

(H) YANOVSKY, ELIAS. 1936. *Food Plants of the North American Indians.* ("U. S. Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publications," No. 237.) Washington, D.C.

(T) ZWEIG, STEFAN. 1942. *Amerigo.* Translated by Andrew St. James. New York: Viking Press.

[P. 492 is blank]

INDEX

000

Adult College of Continuing Education, 458
Advance Scout, 93-94, 440
Aeschbacher, W. D., xii
age levels, segregation at, in modern living, 456
"age shelves," 59
Agriculture Department, U.S., ix, 460
akitaru, 19, 132
Allen, Charles, 395
Allis, Samuel, 417, 464
altar, buffalo-skull, 63, 66-67, 266
American Anthropological Association, 452
American Council of Learned Societies, 14
American Fur Company, 116
American Indian, pre-Columbian society of, 59-60; *see also* individual names of tribes
anger, courage and, 13
Angry Horse, 209, 227, 310, 312, 430
animals, at Big Dance, 303; cults of, 152, 262, 272, 277; domestication of, 29; legends of, 332-335; symbolism of, 112-114
animal-skin costumes, 152, 261-262
animal sorcery, 334-336
Ant bundle, 225
antelope hunting, 194
apartment isolation, in modern society, 448-449
Arapahoe (county), Colo., 172
Arapaho Indians, 183, 226
archaeological research, 2-4, 363
Arikara tribe, 55, 1 6
Arkansas River, 445
arrows, supply of, 138
arrowshaft maker, 12, 137-138, 362, 391-392
artichokes, 416
Ash Hollow Cave, xi-xii
Asking-for-Meat Band, x, 5, 53, 203, 225, 353, 389-390, 413, 418-419, 433
atias, 25, 40, 46
atika, 42, 44
atipat, 25, 35
atira, 21, 24, 35, 44, 81
Atskiri, Chief, 331
automation, 11-12; society and, 59; work and, 456-461
Awari ceremony, 25, 85, 95-102, 121; *see also* Ground-breaking Ceremony
Aztec culture, 9, 319; Pawnee analogy to, 117-118

baby-sitting, 449
Bald Head, Chief, 32
baseball, 444, 446
basket, ceremonial, 98, 101
bathing, 104, 236, 346; ritual, 155-156
beans, ground, 248; harvesting of, 245; planting of, 102; varieties of, 119-123
bear claw, in stomach, disease diagnosis, 344
Bear Cult, 39, 273, 439
Bear Lodge, 277, 311
bear skins, 376
Beaver Creek, 5, 61, 67, 90, 103-104, 128, 231, 248-249, 282, 314, 404, 410
beaver skins, 373
beaver trapping, 39, 320-321
bedding, 265
beds, mats and, 403
bedstead, rebuilding of, 263
Beggars-for-Meat Band, 165, 176
Behaille (interpreter), 335, 342, 412, 446
behavior, learned, 12
behavior codes, 342
Bering Strait, 59
Big Ax, Chief, 116
Big Bear, 308
Big Black Meteoric Star, bundle of, 80-85, 113-114, 126, 151-156, 466
Big Dance, 294, 302-304, 307-309
Big Doctor, 39, 273, 279-280, 283-289, 292, 295, 297-298, 301-302, 307-308, 312-313, 316-317, 345, 349, 375, 444, 446
Big Eagle, Chief, 38, 46

000

Big Knife, 353
Big Sleight-of-Hand, 317
Bilon, Pauline, 477
Bird Woman, 350
birth, symbolic act of, 106
Bishop and Matlock's trade store, 145-146, 362
bison, *see* buffalo
bittersweet, 277
Black Chief, 116
Blackfoot tribes, 140
Black Rope, 362, 377; *see also* buffalo-hair rope
Blake, Robert R., 457
Blane, Effie, 383-384, 391, 465
blankets, 265, 371
blood poisoning, 341
Blue Calico, *see* Old-Lady-Blue-Calico
Blue Hawk, 440
Boas, Franz, ix
Bollingen Foundation, xii
bone grease, 219, 269
bows, 137-138; manufacture of, 389-390; *see also* arrowshaft maker
bowstrings, 390
boy, sacrifice of, 115
"boys," men referred to as, 19, 93
brass kettles, 363
Brave Bow, 302
Brave Chief, 297, 337, 446
Brave Horse, 295, 297, 300, 395
braves, defined, 19
Brave Shield (High Noon), 31, 44, 92, 94, 244, 250, 296-298, 307-308, 381, 407
bread, 65; *see also* grease bread
breakfast, 15, 65, 263, 298
Bringing Horses, 286, 353, 430, 440
Bringing Trophies, 338
bristles, for brushes, 406-407
brother-in-law, 21
brother relationship, 32-33, 36, 46, 50
brothers, "group" of, 21
brush, for grooming, 406-407
buffalo, butchering of, 183-185, 436-437; domestication of, 29; weight of, 215; *see also* buffalo hunt
buffalo altar, 63, 66-67, 266
Buffalo Clown-warriors, 310-311
Buffalo Cult, 310
Buffalo Doctors, 297
Buffalo Ghost, 353
buffalo-hair rope, 153, 258, 362, 365-366, 377
buffalo herd, 8
buffalo hide, as lodge-roof covering, 90; tanning and processing of, 217-222, 369-373; as tent cover, 379-381; three stages in processing of, 369
buffalo-horn spoon, 384
buffalo hunt, 18, 39, 46, 74, 79, 85-86, 90, 110; administrative leadership in, 412-414; arrowmaking for, 138-139; camping routines on, 178-180; ceremonial preparations for, 130-136, 430-431; encampment on, 166; final preparations for, 157-162; Great Cleansing Ceremony and, 151-156; horses for, 139-141; at hunting grounds, 201-207, 223-232, 409-411; killing first buffalo at, 181-186; luggage for, 159; migration to hunting grounds, 171-177; preparations for, 137-150; rendezvous camp on, 163-170; return from, 233-237; storytelling on, 229-230; techniques used on, 205-206; weapons for, 137; in winter, 409-411
buffalo-Leader, 33
buffalo lodge, 274
buffalo meat, xi, 36, 64, 68, 72, 125, 141, 148, 159, 276; banquet of, 190-195; butchering of, 183-185, 436-437; ceremonial of, 96; cutting and serving of, 220; distribution of in hunt, 185-186; preserving of, 213-217, 220-221, 429; rain damage to, 177
buffalo robe, 153; ceremonial, 186-187; trade in, 361-362, 380, 410
buffalo-skull altar, 63-64, 66-67, 266
buffalo soup, 239
bulrushes, for mats, 404
bundles, ritual or sacred, 81-85, 100-102, 110, 254
burial, 169
Butcher Knife, Chief, 32

cache pits, 68-69, 268-269, 297, 418
Caddoan tribes, 29, 318, 322
Caddo-Hasinai tribe, 7
calendar, ceremonial, 84-85; four seasons, 7; hoop and pole game, 400-401; of year, 360
Calf-Against-Upon-Standing, 141
calico, 380, 406
calumet, 31, 175, 198-199; *see also* Peace Pipe ceremony; Pipe Dance; smoking, ceremonial

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000

camping routines, on buffalo hunt, 178-180
Canopus, 80, 237-238
captive-girl sacrifice, 9, 83-84, 99, 106-118, 329
Careless-of-the-Enemy, 139
Carlisle (Indian) School, Pa., 446
Casañas de Jesus Maria, Fray Francisco, 7
Case Institute of Technology, 457
Casteñeda, Fernão Lopes de, 185
Cedar Creek, 224
Center Village, 83
ceremonial calendar, 84-85
ceremony, buffalo hunt, 130-136; captive-girl sacrifice, 110-115; corn planting, 124-129; cosmic, 151; crafts and, 364; costumes for, *see* costumes; Deer Dance, 317-331; elaborateness of, 8; Great Cleansing, 151-156; Ground-breaking (*Awari*), 100; hand-waver and, 199, 423; of harvest, 254-262; of Mature Corn, 256; Peace Pipe, *see* Peace Pipe ceremony; in "spring awakening," 79-87; women's role in, 95; of Young Corn, 236; *see also* smoking, ceremonial
Champe, Flavia Waters, xii
Champe, John L., xi, 473
Chapman, Henry, ix-xii
Charley Box, 275
Charley Buffalo, 205, 211-212
Cheyenne Indians, 117, 183, 226, 228, 364
Chicago Museum of Natural History, 345, 466
chief, position of in village, 19; power of, 6; qualifications for, 7; respect for, 129
chiefs' meeting, 157-158
Chief's Road, 39, 91-92, 94, 139, 209, 365-366, 395
child, 24-25, 40, 45-46; "hidden," 18, 360
children, adult guardians and, 452; care of by grandmothers, 18; in city apartments, 448-450; of dubious parentage, 17-18; in family-oriented house, 455; multiple parenthood of, 21; obligation to, 17; social life of, 54
"Children" and "Fathers" bands, 175-176, 223
cicely, 226-227
cities, apartment "isolation" in, 448-449
Civil War, U.S., 4, 362
Clark, George Rogers, 470
Clark, William, 115
clay, 363
Cleansing Ceremony, 151-156
Clear Day, 16, 36, 47-48, 50, 62, 66, 90, 92, 104, 253
clothing, 372-377
Clowns, 310-311
coffee, 65-66, 78, 145, 179, 240, 248, 250, 264, 305, 380-381, 438
college training, in automated age, 458
Columbia University, ix, xii, 448, 453
Columbus, Christopher, 119
Columbus, Nebr., 149-150, 419, 473
Comanche Chief, 192-193, 375, 421, 445
Comanche Indians, 57, 367
Coming-Downhill-Bringing-Trophies, 91
commoners, defined, 19
communication, nationalism and, 10
computers, automation and, 459
comradery, among men, 55
conquest, culture and, 29
constellations, 360, 473-474
conversation, 54-56
cooking, 14, 64-65, 70; in encampment, 169; meat preservation and, 221; vessels for, 145 (*see also* pottery)
Coons, Luther and Andy, 445-446
cooperation, in households, 103
cooperative living, in cities, 448
corn, for buffalo hunt, 159-160; classification of, 122; dent, 119; dried, 160, 239, 252, 417; flour, 119, 417; green, 244; harvesting of, 238 ff.; husking of, 247, 252; Mexican, 121; as Mother of people, 124, 126, 153, 236, 254-257, 364; as "newborn" plant, 126-127; parched, 234; planting of, 102, 124-129; roasted, 241-244; sacred, 258 (*see also* Mother Corn); varieties of, 119-123
corn bundles, 63-64
corn ceremony, 85, 124-129
cornfields, 119
corn hills, 102, 128
cornmeal mush, 65
Corn Mother, *see* Mother Corn
Coronado, Francisco Vásquez de, 8, 141, 202, 368, 424
cosmic ceremonies, 151
cosmic designs and symbols, 214-215
cosmic plan of encampment, 166
cosmic powers, of priests, 272; rhythm of, 255
cosmology, 58, 64, 79-81, 151, 166, 360, 401, 443, 463; of maize, 122

000

costumes, ceremonial, 106-107, 109, 112-113, 125, 127, 132, 153, 155, 209-210, 286, 298, 302-303, 305-306, 310, 376, 468
cottonwood trees, in construction, 362; symbolic use of, 286-288
council meeting, before buffalo hunt, 157-158
council tent, 208-212, 430-433
councils, of the cosmic gods, 82
"counting coup," 478
courage, meaning of, 13
courtship, 16-17
Coyote, 399
crafts, specialized, 364
creation, constellations and, 360; in buffalo-hunt ceremony, 132-134; god of, 125; story of, 12, 81, 201, 261, 401; symbolism of, 260
crops, planting of, 95-105, 124-129; *see also* horticulture
Crow Indians, The, 7
Curly Chief, 157, 196, 226, 229, 413

Dance of the Scalped Ones, 305-306
dancing, at harvest ceremony, 261-262; at spring ceremony, 99
Danker, Donald, xii
daughter-in-law, planting for, 105
Deer Dance or Cult, 39, 41, 46, 295, 317-331, 339, 393, 444
deer hunt, 75-78, 162, 181, 321
deer lodge, 305, 317, 323, 330
deerskin, 372
democracy, 6, 11
dent corn, 119
designs, for rawhide containers, 216
De Soto, Hernando, 367
Deteyr, Frank, 36, 49
dice game, 47-48, 397-398, 401
digging stick, 145, 167, 385-386
disease, 3-4, 343, 345; treatment of by doctors, 272, 347-351
Doctor Association, 39, 46, 152-153, 262, 317, 444, 466
Doctor Cult, 54
Doctor Dance, xi; *see also* Grand Opera of the Doctors
Doctor Fund, 282
Doctor Lodge, 273-274, 279, 281, 289-290, 293-301, 306, 326, 330, 347, 379, 406; dismantling of, 314-317; rules breached in, 307-309
doctors, curing by, 45, 272, 347-351; curing ceremony of, 349-351; fee-splitting by, 340-341; Grand Opera of, *see* Grand Opera of the Doctors; as witches, 342
Doctor Spirits, ideology of, 275
dodder, 277
Dog Chief, 358
dogs, names of, 469
"dog-sack," 160-161
Dog-Sitting-at-the-West, 191, 430
dog travois, 140, 424
Domestic Peace Corps, 455
dominance, personality and, 11, 50
Dorsey, George A., 55, 466
double entendre, 54
Dougherty, John, 116
dried meat, 16, 36, 65, 77, 133, 141, 143, 148, 159, 234, 250, 276; ceremonial, 96; cutting and serving of, 220; gifts of, 229, 231; *see also* buffalo meat
Drummond, Andrew H., xiii
Dunbar, John B., 53-54, 56, 472
dysentery, 345

Eagle Chief, 35, 40, 58, 68, 72, 78, 86, 92, 131, 133, 140, 143, 147, 177, 209, 211, 290, 318, 321, 353, 373, 375, 412-415, 419, 422, 434, 437, 439-442
eagle cult, 274
eagle feathers, ceremonial, 132, 260
eagle-wing fan, 283, 344, 376
earth, in creation story, 81
earth lodge, average life of, 86; described, 14; entryway of, 15, 62, 89; fumigation of, 252-253, 280-281; layout of, 18, 62, 71; plan and elevation drawing of, 89; preparation of for Doctor Ceremony, 281-289; refurbishing of, 264-267; roof repairs, 88-94
earth-lodge villages, 4-8, 445; pattern of, 166
Edelston, Harold C., 478
Elk Booth, 308
Elk bundle, 440, 466
Ellerbe and Company, 452
entryway, to earth lodge, 15, 62, 89
equality, personality and, 11
equipment, manufacture and use of, 361-366
errand men, 97, 127, 131, 134, 157, 196, 208, 221, 226, 231, 271, 283, 302, 431, 436
Eschelman, Andrew and Eulah, xii

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ethnological research, 3-4
Eurasiatic civilization, 12
Europe, communications revolution in, 11
Evarts, Mark (Pawnee Indian), x-xi, 13, 32, 92, 120-123, 138, 148, 206, 345, 383, 398, 446-447, 476; *see also* Otter
Evening Star, 64, 82, 100, 106, 112-113
Evening Star bundle, 45, 80, 111, 114, 255, 261-262, 379, 430, 432

face painting, symbolic, 98
Fairleigh Dickinson University, xiii
family, household chores and, 14-15; as institution, 12; kin terms and, 58; matrilineal nature of, 20
family honor, poverty and, 33-34
family life, big-city living and, 449-450
family-oriented house, 453-456
father, kinship line of, 23-25, 46
fatherhood, literalness about, 17
father-in-law, responsibility for, 146, 195
"Fathers" and "Children" bands, 175-176, 223
Faulkner, Virginia, xii
Feared-by-the-Enemy, 208
Fearing-a-Bear, 194
Federal Department Stores, 459
fertility sacrifice, of human, 83-84, 106-118, 329
fertilizing principle, 126
fighting, among braves or chiefs, 195, 328, 330, 339-340
fire hooks, for pots, 386
fireplace, in earth lodge, 61-62; in harvest ceremony, 259
First Cause, 64
fishing, 169, 231
fleas, 235-236, 239, 251, 281-283; extermination of, 252, 280
fleshing tool, 217
Fletcher, Alice C., 37
flint corn, 119
flour, 65, 380
flour corn, 119, 417
food, on buffalo hunt, 159, 201; wild, 415-416; *see also* breakfast; buffalo meat; cooking; corn
food pit, 68-69, 268-269, 297, 418
food preparation, 14, 64-65; *see also* breakfast; coffee
food-gathering economy, 11
Fools-the-Wolves Star, 108, 277, 329
Fort Kearney, 172, 181, 186, 196, 233, 235, 415, 422, 440, 442
Fort Scott, 323
Four-Pole Ceremony, 255, 260
four semicardinal directions, *see* semicardinal directions; *see also* semicardinal-direction bundles
Fox Chief, 40-41, 46-47, 58, 93, 278, 282, 308, 311, 313, 441, 446
Fox Indians, 13
Frank Leader, 336, 430-432, 435, 439, 446
freeze drying, modern, 460
Fremont, Nebr., 42, 47, 327, 332, 464
fresh air, health and, 346
friendship, love and, 52-57
furs, manufacture of, 368-378

Galbraith, John Kenneth, 478
gambling, 47-48, 158, 250; as main recreation, 397-401; women and, 53
games, 47, 56-57; equipment for, 401; symbolic nature of, 401
Garden of the Gods, 258
genealogical kinship table, 22-23
Genoa, Nebr., 3, 5, 47, 236, 249
Ghost Dance religion, 446-447
gifts, brother relationship and, 36; ceremonial, 98; dried meat as, 229, 231; horses as, 17; in kin relationship, 36
Gillingham, David, 296, 445-446
Gilmore, Melvin R., 102, 159, 179, 473
Goldin, Florence, xiii, 453
Good Eagle, 302
Good-Land, 353, 359
Good Pipe, 273, 286, 292, 295
gossiping, 53
Grand Doctor Ceremony, 263; *see also* Grand Opera of the Doctors
grandfather, joking in ceremony, 25-26, 99; at meals, 26, 35; relationship with, 25-26; "teasing" of, 35
Grand Island, 174, 188, 196, 410, 415-416, 420-423, 440-441
Grandma-Chase-the-Enemy, 44, 49, 104, 147, 164, 178, 213, 217, 219, 239-243, 252, 263-264, 268, 368, 380, 383, 387, 405, 417, 442, 444
grandmother, 42; care of children by, 18; relationship with, 44, 48; role of, 15-16
Grand Opera of the Doctors, 153, 262, 271, 293-301; closing episode of, 310-313; preparations for, 272-280
"grandpa" classification, 26

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000 grandparents, intimacy with, 26; in kinship line, 22-23; relations with, 31; *see also* grandfather; grandmother
grasses, industrial and domestic use of, 362-363
grease, processing of, 218
grease bread, 65, 179, 248, 263, 381
Great Cleansing Ceremony, 151-156
Great Sea Monster, 154
Great Star, 106
Great White Father, 31
Grinnell, George Bird, 117, 141, 296, 363, 477.
grooming, importance of, 407
ground beans, 415
Ground-breaking Ceremony (*Awari*), 25, 85, 95-102, 121
guessing games, 398

hair style, 407
half-brother, 32
hand game, 398
"hand-waver," 110, [illegible]
Harahey knife, 364
Harvard University, 453
harvest time, 7, 238-253; ceremonial observance of, 254-262
hatred, 332
Hawk Chief, 413
Heaven, 12; in buffalo-hunt ceremony, 132; in captive-girl sacrifice, 113; in creation story, 81-82; establishing "contact" with, 199; design motif of, 98; "Expanse" of, 64; harvest ceremony and, 254-255; impersonation of, 132; messages from, 97; priests and, 430-431; "voice" of, 80-81
Heavy Trophies, 131, 249, 351, 353, 430
He-Brings-Many-Trophies-from-Over-the-Wide-World, 141
He-Comes-Carrying-Sitting-Down-from-Time-to-Time Coming, 141
He-Kills-a-Person, 311
Henry, Patrick, 470
Herd-of-Horses, 249, 343
hereditary status, 33
"hidden child," 18; month of, 360
hide, knapsack of, 234; *see also* buffalo hide
High Noon (Brave Shield), 31, 44, 92, 94, 244, 250, 296-298, 307-308, 381, 407
hoes, buffalo-shoulderblade, 93, 97
Holy Corn, 120; *see also* Mother Corn
holy man, 236
home, as institution, 12; "true," 18; *see also* household
home life, 14-15; in Jet Age, 449-450
homosexuals, 29
honor, kin relationships and, 33-34
Hopewell sites, Ohio, 367
Horse Finder, 339-340, 421
horse gear, 159
horsemanship, 143
Horse Rider, 38-39, 41-42, 58, 63, 66, 73, 78, 90, 147, 162-166, 178-179, 213, 217, 219, 230, 240, 243-244, 247-248, 250-251, 263, 267, 353, 387, 406, 416-418, 426-427, 436, 439, 445
horses, 72; in buffalo hunt, 139-143, 409-410; care of in winter, 410; forage for, 429; gift of, 17; names for, 411, 469; Spanish, 470; in winter, 409-410
"horseshoes," improvised, 410
horticulture, 14, 93-105; corn varieties and, 119-123; social theory and, 26-27; trade and, 28-29
hostility, interpersonal, 342
house, family-oriented, 453-456; *see also* earth lodge; roof; tent; tipi
household, arrangement of, 5; chores in, 67-68 cooperation in, 103-104; defined, 6-7; description of, 14-15; kin structure and, 50; organization of, 18; urbanization and, 451; utensils of, 145, 382-396
Hudson's Bay culture, 367
human nature, "nature" of, 12
humiliation, honor and, 33
hunters, attire of, 197
hunting, 46, 50, 58; buffalo, *see* buffalo hunt; family and, 39
hunting grounds, migration to, 171-177; in winter, 419-420; *see also* buffalo hunt
"hunt police," 210; *see also* policemen
Hyde, George E., 116, 122, 467, 473, 475
hypnotism, 152, 272, 287, 307, 309, 316, 318
hysteria, 45

Ice Age, 11, 59
ideas, realm of, 12
illness, witchcraft and, 343
illusions, of doctors, 276, 296, 309, 327; possible functions in war and hunt, 272, 296
incest, 20, 27
Indian corn, 119; *see also* corn

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000

Indian potatoes, 416
individuality, 10; kin structure and, 50
industrialization, future of, 461
industrial manufactures, 361-366
in-laws, 16; *see also* brother-in-law; kin terms
irari, 36, 46
iratsti, 21, 33
Iroquois League, 29
itabi, 21, 33, 50

James, Edwin, 116
Jet Age living, 450
Jim Bear, 421, 433
Joe E, 338
John Buffalo, 310-311
Johnson, Lyndon B., 460
joking, on buffalo hunt, 229; at mealtime, 71; "slapstick," 71-72
"joking kin" category, 24-26, 31, 35

kahuraru, 57-58
kapakis, 34
Kennedy, John F., 460
kettles, 363
Keyes, Norah, xii
Keyes, Walter, ix, xii
Kills-the-Enemy, 337
kindling, 68
Kind Warrior, 319-321, 330, 393
kinship, disowning of, 30; family history and, 46; marriage and, 20-37; terms of, 21-22 (*see also* kin terms); validity of, 33
kin structure, household relations and, 50
kin terms, family relationships and, 58; as greeting, 30-31; list of, 28; marriage and, 27; personal names and, 37
Kiowa tribes, 140, 145, 363
kisatsu, 214
kisusit, 416
Kitkehaxki Band, x, 5, 196, 226, 250; *see also* Little-Earth-Lodge Band
Kitehaxpakuxtu (Old Village), 319, 352
Kitsais tribe, 323
Kivett, Marvin, xii
knapsack, of hide, 234, 375
Knife Chief, 115-116
Know-His-Face, 131, 157, 196, 208, 353, 431, 436, 438
Koch, Karl, 453
kurahus (old man), 16
Kurahus (priest), 85
Kurahus (Young Corn), 236
Kusaru, 154
kustawixtsu, 16

labor, division of, 29
ladles, wooden, 384
Lady Lucky Leader, *see* Old Lady Lucky Leader
lance bearers, 224
Last-Man-in-the-Road, 338
Leading Buffalo, 297
Leading Chief, 231, 235, 300, 419
Leading-Downhill Village, 432, 437
Leading Fox, 248, 250
Leading Horse, 300
leather making, 367-378
legerdemain, *see* sleight of hand
leggings, 373
Lexington, Nebr., 172, 422
life goals, organizing of, 12
life processes, 12
Lisa, Manuel, 115
Little-Earth-Lodge Band, x, 56-57, 157, 165, 182, 187, 199, 225, 413, 419, 433, 445
lodge, *see* earth lodge
Lone Chief, 70, 72, 132, 134, 209, 231, 336, 353, 356-357, 375, 410, 412-413, 432, 439, 444-445
Loup River, 3-5, 61, 90, 116, 158, 165, 171, 187, 236, 259, 279, 288, 321, 416, 419, 442, 472
love, 331; kinship and, 52-57
love songs, 52-53
love vine, 277
Lowie, Robert H., 7
luggage, for buffalo hunt, 159
lunch, 68; *see also* food

McKenny, Thomas L., 116
McLouth Steel Corporation, 459
Mad Bear, 142, 182, 191, 228, 249
magic, 152, 154; *see also* sorcery
maiden, sacrifice of, 9, 83-84, 99, 106-118, 329
maize, 119-121; *see also* corn
Man Chief, 9, 40, 92, 115, 176, 196, 199, 202, 204, 210, 282, 308, 311, 313, 355, 413-415, 418, 423, 433
Mandan Indians, 116, 367
Man-Going-Downstream Band, x, 5, 56, 157, 165, 176-177, 187, 198, 205-206, 211, 323, 383-384, 413, 419, 432-433
Many Deer, 433-441

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000

Many Trophies, 176, 223, 225, 413
Marquette, Jacques (Père), 8
marriage, arguments for and against, 30; customs of, 16-17; kinship and, 20-37; kin terms and, 28
Massacre Canyon, 475
masses, versus individual, 59-60
Matlock, Bessie, xii
Matlock, Blanche, xii, 465
Matlock, Stacy, ix, xii
matriarchy, 28
mats, bulrush, 145; making of, 366; woven, 403-408
Mature Corn Ceremony, 256
Mayo Clinic, 452
meals, 14; on buffalo hunt, 162; *see also* breakfast; cooking; food
meat, buffalo, *see* buffalo meat; dried, *see* dried meat; roasting of, 77
Meat-Beggars, 187
mechanical age, family and, 58-59
Medicine Creek, 117
medicine cults, 39
medicine man, 55, 152; *see also* Doctor Association; shamans; witchcraft
medicine woman, 45-46
"medicine-yellow," 226-227
men, clothing of, 373-374; division of labor and, 29; hair style of, 407; wooden objects made by, 380-396; *see also* braves
mercantilism, 11
mescal bean, 277, 317, 328
Meteoric Star bundle, Big Black, 80-85, 113-114, 126, 151-156, 466
Mexican corn, 121
Mexican culture, 29
Mickey, Harold, 452
Might-Be-Chief, 308, 343-344, 431
migration, U.S., 3; *see also* buffalo hunt, migration to hunting grounds
military police, 201, 209-210, 223, 228, 231, 353, 432, 437-438
Milky Way, 79, 260, 401
Miller, Alfred Jacob, 140, 424, 469
Misery, 250, 288, 302-303, 310-312, 330-331, 347, 421-422, 440-442, 446
Mississippi River, 4
Missouri River, 2-3, 61, 120
mobility, in family-oriented home, 455-456; in Jet Age, 451
moccasins, 69, 109, 126, 146, 153, 159, 197, 369, 373-375, 414, 438, 442
Monteserrat, Joseph, 453
Moore, Dolly, xii
moose hides, 372-373
moralizing, absence of, 5
Morning Star, 19, 64, 82, 112-113, 275; as god of war, 9; human sacrifice to, 83-84, 99, 106-118
Morning Star bundle, 80, 107, 110, 261-262, 466
Morse, Jedidiah, 116
mortar, wooden, 385
Moses, Henry, ix
Moses, John, ix
"mother," kin term for, 21-22; in Pawnee cosmology, 81
Mother Corn, 124-126, 153, 236, 364; installation of, 257; as major deity, 254-255
Murie, James R., 463
Murie, Pauline, xii
mushrooms, 76

Naponee, Nebr., 175
nationalism, 10
Nebraska, 3, 171; University of, xii
Nebraska State Historical Society, xii
neighborhood living, in cities, 450-453
Neolithic food pit, 464
nephew, maternal, 21, 24, 50
New Queen, 48
New World Man, versus Old World, 57-60
New Young Dog, 139, 182-183, 325-326
No Corn, 41-42, 63, 66, 91, 147, 161-168, 179, 239-240, 243-244, 247, 250-252, 263, 380, 406, 416-418, 422, 426-429, 434-436, 445
noise, suppression of, 437-438
North, Luther, 477
North, Major Frank, 41, 117, 294, 296, 412, 474, 477; Pawnee Battalion, 117
North Star, 285
North Wind, 141
Noted Fox, 31
Noted-Tent, 318
nuclear family, 463

occupations, social hierarchy of, 30
O'Fallon, Major, 116
Offit, Howard, 478
Oklahoma, 4

000

Old Bull, 15-16, 35-38, 46-50, 58, 61, 66, 68, 77, 86, 90-91, 94, 103, 147, 239, 266-267, 275, 288, 333, 335, 342, 376-377, 406
Old-Lady-among-Queens, 229
Old-Lady-Blue-Calico, 47-50, 63, 90, 92, 193-194, 239, 253, 383
Old-Lady-Chase-the-Enemy, *see* Grandma Chase-the-Enemy
Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, 42, 44-45, 49, 63, 104, 147, 239, 263, 268, 327, 380, 406
Old Lady Lucky Leader, 80, 191, 336, 365, 379-380, 430-432, 435, 438
Old Lady Tsitawa, 45, 295, 305
Old Man Beaver Tree, 228
Old-Man-Good-Land, 348
Old-Man-High-Water, 280, 290
Old Man Meat Offering, 337
Old-Man-That-Chief, 61, 66, 78, 131-133, 135, 137, 229, 251, 292, 308, 316, 338, 340-341, 343-345, 347, 353, 359, 397
Old Man Warrior, 353
old people, care of, 169-170
Old Village, 3, 46, 83, 141, 259, 319, 352, 464
Old World Man, versus New World, 57-60
Olson, James C., xii
Oñate, Juan de, 368
orders, absence of, 6
Oregon Trail, 3
Osage corn, 122
Osage Indians, 327, 470-471
Osage Orange tree, 389
Otter, x, 31, 35, 40-44, 47, 49-50, 58, 61-64, 78, 92, 169, 203, 240, 250, 278, 298, 303, 347-351, 376, 389, 410-411, 417, 427, 444; *see also* Evarts, Mark
overprotection, 5
owl, as "witcher," 344
owl claw, in stomach, disease diagnosis, 344

"package-flat," of hide, 234, 375
Pa-ha-ku (village), 42, 332
Pahukatawa, 337
Pahukstatu Village, 5
parent-child relationships, 5, 54
parfleche, 96, 231, 233, 241, 243, 246, 263, 276, 284, 418, 439-440
Paruksti, 125, 328
paternity, 17-18, 28
patriarchy, 28
Pawnee, Okla., ix-xi, 447
Pawnee (individual), 57-60; as thinking man, 12; "true" home of, 18; way of life of, 6
Pawnee boy, world of, 61-75
Pawnee Council, xii; *see also* council meeting; council tent
Pawnee house, modern form of, 452
Pawnee Indian Agency, ix
Pawnee language, ix, 6-7, 26-27, 55
Pawnee powwow, 447
Pawnees (tribe), administrative leadership of, 412-414; aesthetic life of, 8; ancestors of, 4; bands of, 5; ceremonial round, 8 (*see also* ceremony); clothing, 372-377; constellation knowledge, 473-474; corn classification by, 122; crafts of, 364; division of labor in, 29; emotional life of, 52-57; equipment and industrial manufactures of, 361-366; genealogical kinship table, 22-23; grooming among, 407; horse culture of, 410; household or home life, 14-15; illness and disease, 345; impetus to work, 456-457; individual in, 6, 12, 18, 57-60; industrial knowledge of, 407-408; migrations of, 4; modern, 444-447; personal arrangements of, 10-19; personal names among, 37; political control among, 5; rivalry and hatred among, 332; settlements of, 4; social structure of, 50-51; star knowledge of, 360, 473-474; topographic knowledge of, 172, 360; treaty with U.S., 5; villages of, 61; in world scene, 448; in world wars, 447
Pawnee Scouts, 117, 296
pay, for household chores, 69-70
Peace Corps, Domestic, 455
Peace Pipe ceremony, 8-9, 31, 73, 175-177, 191, 198-199, 202, 223, 225, 258, 359, 392; *see also* Pipe Dance; smoking, ceremonial
peanuts, 416
pemmican, 146; *see also* dried meat
people, creation of, in Pawnee cosmology, 82
performing arts, 8
personal arrangements, 10-19
personal names, aspirations and, 37-51
personal relationships, kin "mold" and, 50
personality, kin structure and, 50; pattern of, 7; renaissance of, 11
Peruvian culture, 29

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000

songs, 52-53, 55; in Deer Dance, 321, 325-326; doctor, 301, 306, 322, 326; groundbreaking, 100-101; harvest ceremony, 258; at spring ceremonial, 99-102; for therapeutic purposes, 284, 349-350
son-in-law, responsibility of, 16, 146, 195
sorcery, 317, 332-347
South Band, 6
South Star, 285
Spaniards, 361
spear game, 398-401
Spinden, Herbert J., 117-118
spoons, buffalo-horn, 384
"sporting" type, 47
spouse, term for, 16
Spring Awakening Ceremony, 79-87, 259
squash, varieties of, 119-123
star bundles, 79-80; *see also* Big Black Meteor Star; Evening Star bundle; Morning Star bundle
Star Gods, 125, 274, 328; *see also* Big Black Meteor Star; Evening Star; Morning Star
stars, affiliations with, 19; creation and, 360; spring ceremonies and, 79-80
Stay-at-Homes, 147, 149, 233, 416, 422, 441
Stephenson, Robert, xii
Stolen Horses, 197
storytelling, 56, 74, 229-230, 251-252, 352-357
strangers, kin relationships and, 37
Strikes-the-Enemy, 209, 224, 227-228, 288, 310, 312, 432
Strong, William Duncan, xii
sugar, 162, 380
suicide, 46
Sun Chief, 248, 250, 407
sunflowers, symbolism of, 235
surround, in buffalo hunt, 141-142
Swanton, John R., 7
sweat bath, 104
sweet cicely, 226
swimming, 104, 128, 156, 169, 227, 248, 282
symbolism, in captive-girl sacrifice, 111-112; in games, 401; in Great Cleansing Ceremony, 151-156; in semicardinal directions, 111-112; of sunflowers, 235

tabakru, 68
Tama, Iowa, 13
tanning process, 217-222, 369-373
tapaharus, 250
tatiraktaku, 16
tatukaku, 16
Tawakaru tribe, 323
tea, 240
Tech Built Houses, 453
technological change, effect of on workers, 460
telephone, 448-449
tent, in buffalo hunt, 144-145; dismantling of, 179-180; erection of, 144-145, 167-168, 425-426; for summer, 167; transport of, 164; in winter, 419-420; *see also* tipi
tent cover, construction of, 379-381
tent pegs, 386
terrain, knowledge of, 172, 360
That-Chief, *see* Old-Man-That-Chief
theology, 12, 64, 125, 151-152, 254-255; of captive-girl sacrifice, 106-118; and spring ceremonials, 78-87
Thompson, Alonzo, 116
thought, reality and, 12
thunderstorm, 80, 125-127
tikuktaku, 16
tipi, 386-387; framework of, 425; pointed skin, 424-428; *see also* tent
tipi poles, 386
Tirawahat, 64
tiwat, 25, 50
tiwatciriks, 25, 50
Tixier, Victor, 327, 465
tobacco, 108, 126, 132, 158-159, 191, 286, 396, 473; *see also* smoking
town crier, 156, 170
trade, horticulture and, 28-29
trade store, 145, 361-362, 380
trance, 80, 276, 279, 292, 466
travois, 140, 164, 424; dog, 469; hand, 434
trees, as roof timbers, 90
Trenton, Nebr., 172, 176
tribal fun and games, 56-57
tribe, defined, 19
tsat-katus, 234
Tsawi Band, *see* Asking-for-Meat Band
Tskirirara Village, 5
tsuspakahu, 250
tsustit, 16, 47
tuharu, 81
Tuhitspiat Village, 5
Tunnard, Christopher, 452
turban, 376
Turkey Creek, 172, 175, 202, 205-206, 208, 221, 223, 423, 430, 433, 435-436, 439
turtle, "producing" of from mud, 296
Tuwahukasa Village, 5

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000

pestle and mortar, wooden, 385
piirau, 24-25, 40, 45-46
Pipe Dance, 175-176, 198-199, 355, 473-474
Pipe Offering, 286, 291, 295, 298-299, 302, 312, 338, 349, 430
pipes and pipestems, manufacture of, 392-396
pira-paru, 18
pit (*kusaru*), in captive-girl sacrifice, 111-112; in Great Cleansing Ceremony, 154; *see also* cache pits
Pitahawirata Band, *see* Man-Going-Downstream Band
Plains Indian, stereotype of, 9
planning, informality of, 6
Platte River, 3-4, 117, 135, 149, 171, 174, 181, 187, 202, 234-235, 259, 415, 419-420
Plum Creek, 117, 172, 175, 202, 422
plum-seed game, 47, 397-398, 401
pod corn, 119
poisoning, by witchcraft, 343-345
policemen, tribal, 201, 209-210, 223, 228, 231, 353, 432, 437-438
political control, 5
Ponca Indians, 42, 45, 327, 359
poor boy, "vision" of, 332-335
pop corn, 119
population explosion, 457
Postindustrial Man, 461
potato, wild, 416, 442
pot hooks, 386
pottery, 363
poverty, contempt for, 144; and family honor, 34
power mechanisms, absence of, 5, 7, 50
priest, apprentice, 430; in captive-girl sacrifice, 107-109, 113, 116; cosmic powers of, 272; in council tent, 431-433; in creation ritual, 83-84; in Great Cleansing Ceremony, 151; in harvest ceremony, 255-256; in planting ceremony, 124-129; *see also* religion
property, sharing of, 21
psychosomatic problems, 309
public opinion, kinship forms and, 51
Puerto Rico, 453
pumpkin mats, 246
pumpkins, harvesting of, 245-246; varieties of, 120; wasted, 242
Pumpkin-Vine Village, 33, 49, 57, 61, 77, 115, 131, 147, 152, 165, 181, 191-192, 209, 273, 284, 430, 432

quartz crystals, 291-292
Queen Woman, 15, 36, 47-48, 50, 63, 66, 90, 92, 94, 103, 266

"rabbit-foot," 240
Raccoon bundle, 225
Rachlin, Carol King, xii
rain, on buffalo meat, 176-177
raktiki, 25
raku, 16
Rarawikita, 395
Raris-ta, 277, 322
rattlesnake knowledge or power, 39, 278, 317, 336
rawhide, use of, 90, 93, 210, 369
rawhide containers, 163, 168, 179, 214-216, 268
reality, Pawnee outlook on, 12
Red Tent, 113
reeds and grasses, products of, 403-408
reindeer cult, 274
religion, 5-6; ceremony and, 8; crafts and, 364; Deer Dance in, 39; games and, 397-401; Great Cleansing Ceremony and, 151-156; social forms and, 50; *see also* ceremony; priest; ritual; theology
rendezvous camp, on buffalo hunt, 163-170
Republican Rives, 3-4, 118, 174, 201, 223, 227-228, 422, 434
responsibility, acceptance of, 15
rhythm, in universe, 255
Riding-ahead-Coming, 93
Riding-In, 75, 446
Riesman, David, 453
rifle, in buffalo hunt, 205-207
Ritter, Mrs. M. Curtis, xiii
ritual, 73; in buffalo hunt, 199; in captive-girl sacrifice, 106-108; of Deer Dance, 317-331; of "hand-waver," 199; marriage and, 20; in planting, 121; smoking as, 132, 158-159, 177, 202, 225; spring awakening and, 79-87
rivalry, 332
river crossings, 187-188
rivers, in Pawnee territory, 3-4, 117-118
"roaches," in hair style, 407
Roaming Leader, 181, 188, 190-193, 196-199, 226, 299, 344, 430-432, 435, 439
Roberts, Frank H. H., Jr., xii
Roberts, Mrs. George, xii
Roberts, Henry, xii
roof, repairs to, 88-94

000

rope, *see* buffalo-hair rope
Rotten-House, 46
round hospital, concept of, 452
Rouse, I. Irving, 452-453
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 10
Rubin, Vera, 453
rules, absence of, 5
Running Scout, 290, 440
Russ, Nancy, xiii

sacrifice, of captive maiden, 9, 83-84, 99, 106-118
saddle making, 367-378
St. Louis, Mo., 3
Sandoz, Flora, xii
Sandoz, Mari, xii
"Scalped Ones," 294-295; Dance of, 305-306
scalping, 73, 103, 294, 357-358
scalplock, 110
Schoolcraft, Henry R., 467
seasons, Pawnee life molded on, 7-8
seeds, in corn ceremonial, 102; in creation story, 82
self-recognition, personal name and, 38
semicardinal-direction bundles, 81, 83-85, 110, 125, 151, 261
semicardinal-direction priests, 125
semicardinal directions, 202, 208, 255, 259, 319, 432; cycle of, 257; symbolism in, 111-112
sentinels, 6
serpent figure, in ceremonial lodge, 274, 313-315
"servant problem," city dwelling and, 450
sewing bag, 159
sex, division of labor and, 29
sex instruction, 21
sex relations, "joking kin" category and, 25-26; kinship and, 23-25; reference to tabooed, 25-26
sexual affairs, witchcraft and, 338
sexual customs, 17
sexual intercourse, remarks about, 261
shamans, 152; *see also* doctors; priest; witchcraft
Shepard, Herbert A., 457
Shot Arm, 347, 349, 356, 432, 437, 444-446
sibling rivalry, 5
singing, at Doctor ceremonial, 285-286; friendship or love and, 52-54; of "Scalped Ones," 306; *see also* songs
Sioux Indians, 3, 42, 46, 49, 55, 70, 72-73, 75, 78, 103, 140, 177, 226, 228, 234, 249, 294, 356-357, 410, 445, 470, 478
Sirius, 277, 328-329
sister-in-law, intercourse with, 21
sister relationship, 20-21, 32-33, 50
Sitting Hawk, 34, 36, 38-39, 46, 92, 273, 275, 277-278, 281-282, 284-287, 291, 302, 310, 316, 330, 375, 421, 440-441
Skidi Band or Federation, x, 5-6, 57, 61, 81, 83, 92, 103, 114-116, 134-138, 140, 147, 157, 165, 172, 187, 198, 224, 226, 231, 249, 255, 274, 324, 383, 391, 419-421, 433, 441, 463, 472, 475
Skidi Jake, 93
Skidi priests, 125
Skidi villages, 5, 130, 317, 432, 435
skins, as blankets, 371; as shirts, 373-375; tanning and working of, 365-366, 369-370; for tipi, 426
Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, 83-85, 95-98, 100, 102, 113, 125, 131, 255, 259, 261
sleight of hand, 152, 276, 323, 325-326, 334, 343, 398
Small (boy's name), 46, 332
smallpox epidemic, 116, 345
Smithsonian Institution, xii
smokehole, 93, 128
smoking, 55, 73, 108, 179, 250; ceremonial or ritual, 132, 175, 284, 286, 289, 351, 431; in harvest ceremony, 258, 260; *see also* Peace Pipe ceremony
"snake food," 476; *see also* rattlesnake power
Snake Star, 277-278
social adjustment, city living and, 449-450
social environment, ills of, 5
social experiment, 457
social forms, 5-6
social hierarchy, 19, 30
social interaction, modes of, 12
social life, of boys and girls, 54; conversation and, 54-56
social problems, urbanization and, 448-452
social structure, kin structure and, 50-51
society, automation and, 59; individuality and, 59; kin terms and, 27-28; organization of, 19; paternity and, 28; science of, 9
Society of Lucky Children, 229
Solomon River, 223-225

twelve sacred bundles, 79; *see also* semi-cardinal-direction bundles

uncle, role of, 21, 25, 33
Uncle War Cry, *see* War Cry
underdog, revolution of, 11
Union Pacific Railroad, 117, 411, 419
United States, Pawnee treaty with, 412; westward expansion of, 3
universe, 58; earth lodge as, 63; "logic" of, 255; nature of, 12; re-creation of, 443
Upirikutsu, 106
usaru, 81
urbanization, social problems and, 448-451
Utopia, 51, 60

Vault-of-the-Heavens, 12
Victory Call, 15, 31-32, 35, 38-42, 46-47, 61, 63, 66, 73-78, 86, 88-91, 103, 140, 145-147, 161-162, 165-166, 170, 178, 208, 213, 219, 230, 235, 240, 243-244, 247, 249-251, 263-264, 267, 275, 277-278, 303, 317, 322, 330, 344, 347, 353, 368, 379-380, 383, 387, 389, 406-407, 416, 421, 426-427, 434, 436, 439, 441-442, 444
village, Beaver Creek location of, 61; described, 6-7; organization of, 18-19; pattern of in encampment, 166
Village-across-a-Ridge, 57, 110, 134, 152, 231, 284, 444
Village-in-the-Bottomlands, 40, 47, 49, 181, 192, 196, 231, 284
village scouts, 233
violence, 195; *see also* fighting; scalping
virgin, sacrifice of, 9, 83-84, 99, 106-118, 329
visions, 82-83, 95, 107, 124-125, 148-149, 152-153, 274, 332-335

Wagley, Charles, 453
Wants-the-Enemy, 93, 182, 250
war, symbolism of, 328
warclub, 210
War Cry, 31, 40, 58, 77, 92, 193, 219, 244, 248, 264, 267, 321, 347-348, 350, 353, 357, 381, 407, 432, 435, 437-439, 444-446, 465
War Dance, 476
War Leader Woman, 336
war party, 42-43, 107-109, 228, 230, 260-261, 323, 327, 353-359, 471, 478
Warpath, 194
warrior, costume, 107; vision of, 107, 260
water, for cooking, 169; in creation story, 81-82
"water package" raft, 434
wealth, kin relationships and, 33-34
weaving, of belts, 377; of mats, 403-406; *see also* buffalo-hair rope
westward migration, 3
Whistle Dance, 277, 317, 330, 439
White Eagle, 77, 93, 134-135, 150, 157, 165, 176, 181-183, 189, 191, 196-199, 202-203, 223-224, 227, 229-230, 253, 275, 375, 421, 430, 445
White Fox, 348, 351
White Horse, 343-344
White-Mother-Born-Again, 113
White Woman, 15, 31-34, 40, 44-45, 49, 61, 63-64, 66, 69, 74, 90, 92, 147, 161, 163, 167-168, 178, 182-183, 217, 219, 239, 243, 247, 250-251, 253, 263, 266-267, 347-349, 368, 380, 387, 406-407, 416, 426, 429, 434, 436, 444
Whitney, Frank L., 459
Wichita Indians, 4, 317-331, 336, 462
wibaru, 62-63
wild foods, 415
wild sage, 319, 329
Will, George F., 122
winter, buffalo hunting in, 409-443; council on, 438-439; hunting grounds in, 419-420; main hunt, 434-440; plans and provisions for hunt, 415-418; return from hunt, 441-443
Wissler, Clark, 117-118
witchcraft, 317, 332-337, 446
"witching," 335-336
witch-missiles or pellets, 343-345
witch woman, 274, 313, 315
wives, sharing of, 21
Wolf Band, *see* Skidi Band or Federation
Wolf Doctor, 329
Wolf man, 110-112
Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village, 192, 209, 284, 419, 433
Wolf Star, 328
Woman White Star, 446
women, clothing of, 373; division of labor and, 29; friendships among, 53; gambling among, 401-402; hair styles of, 407; horticulture and, 26-27; as manufacturers of wooden household objects, 382-388; in Pawnee ceremony, 95-96; produce of in earth lodge, 270; wood-gathering for doctors, 290-292

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000

Wonderful Corn, 120
Wonderful Old Bison, 288
Wonderful Old Buffalo Bill, 302, 353
Wonderful Old Bull, 273, 283, 291, 347-348, 430
Wonderful Person, Skull bundle of, 83-84, 95-98, 100, 102, 113, 125, 131, 255, 259, 261
Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy, 290-291
Wood, Peter, 446
wooden objects and utensils, 382-396
Woodland Indians, 382
work, in automated age, 456-461
work arrangements, 14-15
work attitudes, traditional, 457
World Wars I and II, 447-448

Yale University, 452
Yellow Calf, 42, 44-45, 63, 78, 147, 296-298, 300, 430
Yellow Tent, 432
Young Mother Corn, 86, 236, 256

Zea mays, 119

[For information on the various phases of the Pawnee summer buffalo hunt from initial ceremonies to the final return to their "home base", see category 116, pp. 130-136, 140-143, 146-154, 157-177, 180-207, 210-213, 218, 221-236, and 253; for comparable data on the winter buffalo hunt, see pp. 409, 412-425, and 430-443.]

14: Weltfish

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

221
512

[To organize her data and findings from her reconstruction of Pawnee culture as it was thought to exist in 1867, the author selects the semi-fictional device of discussing the daily routine and annual cycle of some hypothetical or imaginary families in one of the village communities of the Skidi band of the Pawnee. Ethnographic data relevant to these two categories are built into her entire narration.]

14: Weltfish

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

484

[For information on the various preparatory aspects of the Pawnee camp in getting ready for the trip to the buffalo hunting areas, see category 224.]

14: Weltfish

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

484

[For information on the various aspects of travel encountered in the Pawnee summer buffalo hunt, see category 116, pp. 140-142, 161-183, 186-188, 195-198, 200, 202, 211, 222-231, and 233-236; for comparable data on the winter buffalo hunt, see pp. 409, 415-425, 434-437, and 441-443.]

14: Weltfish

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

631

[For information on the cooperative hunting activities of the various villages constituting the Skidi federation, see categories 224 and 628.]

619
621

[For additional information on cooperative hunting expeditions involving one or more Pawnee bands, see also category 224.]

14: Weltfish

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

701

[For the policing activities of the military societies during the hunt, see category 625.]

14: Weltfish NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

794

[For information on animal cults in association with the various Pawnee "doctor's associations," see category 756.]

796

[For general information on ceremonies associated with agriculture, see category 241; for specific information on ceremonies related to the growing of corn, see category 243.]

14: Weltfish

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

825

[For information on various animals as visionary spirit helpers to the Pawnee doctors, see category 756.]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[p. viii is blank]

PREFACE

THE LOST UNIVERSE was first rediscovered through the language of the Pawnee people. As a research associate of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia in 1928, it was suggested to me by Franz Boas, its chairman, that I undertake a formal study of the Pawnee language, the best preserved member of the then unknown Caddoan language family. After a week's preliminary work with Henry Moses, the only Pawnee member of the One Hundred and One Ranch Circus which was performing in New York at that time, I went to Pawnee, Oklahoma, bearing a letter of introduction to his father, John Moses, dictated in Pawnee phonetics so that I could read it to him since he was monolingual. The next step took me to the Pawnee Indian Agency where I met Walter Keyes, Agency interpreter, who, taking due note of my impecunious condition, commended me to Stacy Matlock, who endowed our science with my first material on the Pawnee language. Following our usual procedure, he dictated myths and tales in the Pawnee language, which I wrote down in the International Phonetic Alphabet and subsequently obtained from him a more or less word-for-word translation, as well as a free English rendering. As the work proceeded, he felt that a more classic form of the language could be obtained from the few surviving monolingual Pawnees; I was able to record similar myths and tales, getting a translation subsequently by reading them back to Henry Chapman, a man who had a remarkable interest and facility in Pawnee and English and who continued as my interpreter and assistant in analyzing the grammatical categories. As a result of this work three pieces were published—a volume of recorded Pawnee texts, *Caddoan Texts, South Band Pawnee Dialect;* an analyzed text and grammatical sketch, "The Vision Story of Fox Boy," in the *International Journal of American Linguistics;* and an article jointly with A. Lesser, "Composition of the Caddoan Linguistic Stock," in the *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*. This work was supported by the Committee on American Indian Languages of the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D.C. 12

The next step was to record the way of life of the Pawnees of which the language was an instrument, in the interests of semantic analysis; this was undertaken under a grant from the Columbia Council on the Humanities through the Department of Anthropology, the work continuing at Pawnee, Oklahoma, until 1936 at various intervals. The present work represents the main substance of what was gathered for this purpose. The chief [115]

12 narrator was Mark Evarts, a Pawnee of the Skidi Band, whose childhood
was spent on the reservation in Nebraska from 1861 to 1875, when Pawnee
115 culture was still very much an integral polity and way of life. His personal
identity is embodied in the "Boy Otter" as he appears in the following narrative.

101 My relationship with Mark Evarts began casually in the course of my
grammatical researches. Historically there were four political groups of
114 Pawnees known as bands, the Skidi or Wolf Band, the Kitkehaxki or Little-
115 Earth-Lodge Band, the Tsawi or Asking-for-Meat Band and the Pitahawirata or Man-Going-Downstream Band. Each of these traditionally pronounced the language somewhat differently, but it was always known that the major difference was between the Skidi and the other three known collectively as the South Bands because of their former more southern location. From linguistic samples I took of each of the four, the distinctions among the South Bands were not clear enough to identify at that time. Only the Skidi difference was clear. Mark Evarts served as my Skidi informant with Henry Chapman as interpreter in my attempt to find any grammatical and pronunciation distinctions. Evarts' English was broken and so heavily overlaid with a Pawnee accent that it was understandable only with considerable difficulty. As my Pawnee vocabulary improved, we developed a Pawnee-English mode of communication that made the interpreter no longer necessary. As I extended my research into the semantic and cultural background of the language, Evarts became a major resource and ally in my investigations and our work extended over seven years and involved the entire Oklahoma Pawnee community.

114 At this time (1928–1936) Evarts was living with friends and relatives.
His wife and child had died tragically only a few years before, and he had
115 lost his little farm to the bank. The crises that had beset his life as a member of his tribe and times were epic in their proportions; as a man in the decline of his years, he had many questions to ask, and I, as a novice in life's ills and trials, had many questions to ask of him. Many of his questions concerned the white culture and its values, and, as a young anthropologist, mine sought answers through the cross-cultural perspective I hoped to find in studying the Pawnee way. Together we established the language of our common humanity and communicated what we wanted to know about the special character of each other's culture as well as of life in general. It was my purpose to understand the Pawnees as people, not as Indians or as social categories and certainly not as historical antiques.

161 Although in the 1920's only seven hundred Pawnees survived, some
178 Pawnee customs remained among them and at least eight of the older peo-
197 ple spoke no other language than Pawnee. The town of Pawnee, Okla-
homa, was surrounded by the allotted lands of the Pawnees, the lands of
361 each band being located in a different direction. The bands were still
423
1000

THE HAKO: A PAWNEE CEREMONY

By Alice C. Fletcher

PREFACE

In the early eighties of the last century, while pursuing my study 114
of the Omaha tribe, I several times witnessed the ceremony described
in the following pages. Owing to the death of the only man who knew 121
all the rituals, it became impossible to secure a complete record, but
as the ceremony was an intertribal one I hoped to make good the loss
in some other tribe. From statements made by the Omahas, the
Ponkas, and the Dakotas I was led to believe that among the Pawnees
this ceremony could be found still preserved in its entirety. I need
not recount the failure of efforts made during some fifteen years to gain
the desired information, since at last, in 1898, I found the long-sought
opportunity. After four years of work, I am able to present the entire
ceremony, as observed in the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

The difficulty of obtaining accurate first-hand information in 123
regard to religious rites and beliefs is so well known that it seems
proper to state briefly how I came by my opportunities. An extended
and intimate acquaintance in one tribe opens the way in another. The
warm friendship of old and leading men of the Omahas became my
credentials to other tribes where these leaders were influential; and
with the further assistance of Mr Francis LaFlesche, the son of the
former head chief of the Omahas, I was able to establish relations of
confidence with some of the old and prominent men of the Pawnees.

My experience has shown that no linguistic training will enable a 124
student by himself to accomplish successfully the difficult task of
recording and interpreting the rituals of a religious ceremony. He must
have a native collaborator, one with a good knowledge of English and
well versed in the intricacies of his own tongue, able to explain its
"sacred language" and possessing those gifts of mind and character
which fit him not only to grasp the ideals of his race but to commend
himself to the keepers of the ancient rites. Such a collaborator makes
a clear vision of the native mind possible to a student of another race.

IX

PREFACE

Acculturation, though a recent term which has yet to establish itself in dictionary usage, is a useful term for the processes by which aspects or elements of two cultures mingle and merge. Within this broad meaning, however, we should distinguish assimilation as of a separate character. Acculturation may be taken to refer to the ways in which some cultural aspect is taken into a culture and adjusted or fitted to it. This implies some relative cultural equality between the giving and receiving cultures. Assimilation, however, is the process of transforming aspects of a conquered or engulfed culture into a status of relative adjustment to the forms of the ruling culture. The problem of acculturation, when we are considering the American Indians in relation to their adjustment to European culture, is a problem of assimilation. 121

Assimilation and acculturation differ in another important way. In acculturation the cultural groups involved are in an essentially reciprocal relationship. Both give and take. As a result it is a valid problem to consider what is adopted and what not, and the whys and wherefores. In assimilation the tendency is for the ruling cultural group to enforce the adoption of certain externals, in terms of which superficial adjustment seems to be attained. The adopting culture is not in a position to choose. Its forms are often technically so inferior, particularly in material culture, that they tend to be obliterated at once by the technical products of the culture which engulfs them. In addition the ruled are generally ordered to do so and so, and to stop doing so and so. In this situation the only possible reactions are passive acceptance or active resistance and rejection. The study of assimilation of the American Indian must take into consideration the fact that American Indian culture has not met a culture of the same order of complexity or technical advancement, and that in the methods which have been used to assimilate the Indian, neither individually nor collectively as tribal groups were the natives brought into direct contact with our culture as such. They were offered, here and there, certain obvious externals. These externals are relatively superficial in relation to the values and standards of our culture, and could not replace the essential values of American Indian culture which were meanwhile destroyed.

In 1930 and 1931, while engaged in the study of Pawnee and Wichita ethnology in Oklahoma, I found it necessary to control 114
121

114 the recent changes in religion and ritual. In doing so, the story of
● 121 the renaissance of culture which took place among the Pawnee
under the stimulus of the Ghost Dance was pieced together. In
presenting this material I have described the developments against
the background of Pawnee history since white contact. This serves
121 to bring to light the motivations and influences which were stimulants
of change. And in reference to the new forms which developed
I have concentrated on the Ghost Dance hand games, the most
important in terms of the emphasis made by the Pawnee themselves.
The controlled consideration of the games in their changing forms
has made it possible to consider the meaning of processes of change,
and the inevitability of founding ethnological methodology on a
metaphysic of history.

122 The field work among the Pawnee, of which this study is a
specialized part, was carried out under a project supported by the
Columbia Council for Research in the Social Sciences. This manuscript
was in part prepared while I was Fellow of the American
Council of Learned Societies. In addition to published material,
000 I have had the use of unpublished materials of James R. Murie, in
the form of a manuscript by George A. Dorsey and James R. Murie,
which was made available to me through the courtesy of Dr. Dorsey
and Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum of Natural History;
and I was also able to refer to a Bureau of Ethnology manuscript
on the Ceremonies of the Pawnee, by James R. Murie, which was
at the time being linguistically revised by Dr. Gene Weltfish. The
use of these materials proved invaluable, not only for the work
which has resulted in the present study, but also for the consideration
of Pawnee religion which I hope to present in another year.

I cannot close these remarks without acknowledging my indebtedness to Professors Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict of Columbia University, who gave me the opportunity to make the field studies on which this work is based. I am also obligated to many Pawnee friends, and particularly to my chief informant, Mark Everts, a rare mind and a hearty friend, and Henry Chapman, whose help was important in this and other work. My wife, Dr. Gene Weltfish, has cooperated with me in countless ways. But most of all, I must express my intellectual obligations to Professors Franz Boas and John Dewey. For many years I have believed their conceptions of method to be basically in harmony, and in my own thought and work I have leaned heavily on their teachings.

October, 1932. Alexander Lesser.

668 counter from hand to hand in this way was a regular form of 525 deception and part of the game. Other informants told me about 7'11' this old method of play after I had recorded Mark's experience, and only then did I become aware that in terms of Ghost Dance hand game ethics Mark had cheated, unconsciously falling into the habits [577] of play he had been used to in his boyhood.

The concept of luck associated with hand game play was broadened conceptually in the Ghost Dance. Winning was a sign of greater faith, and since the coming change could be attained through faith alone, losing was a bitter dose indeed. It marked one as a disbeliever, a sinner, an unfortunate who could not be saved.

121 525 668 In the chapters ^ which follow I have considered the Ghost Dance hand games in two ways. In the first discussion the material facts of the games have been used to define the generic aspects of game rituals and ceremonies, and to bring out the significance of the various parts in order to consider in a later discussion the contrast with the old game and the meaning of the changes. In other chapters the details of the individual games are presented so far as known, in a form which makes them at once comparable with the analysis which precedes. In this way repetitions have been reduced to a minimum.

The order in which the games are presented, especially those of the Skiri, is an attempt at something of a chronology.

128 525 668 The exact order is of course impossible to determine at this date. Many were developed well-nigh simultaneously. If the owners of old games are interviewed each is likely to contend for the priority of his or her own game. But certain games are known to be very old, certain others to be very recent. In addition special traits of the individual games place them in one or another of relative periods of time, before which they could not have used certain forms, and after which they must have. In short, on the basis of internal evidence as well as tradition a fairly sure chronology of the games *as groups* had been obtained. The question of priority within the groups is problematical.

There are first of all the games of the South Bands. Of these I have heard of only five: Joseph Carrion's, Tom Morgan's, White Elk's, Charley Brown's (this and White Elk's are collaborative), and Annie Eustace's. Tom Morgan's game as we saw was probably a nonceremonial one, which he altered to suit the new fashion, while Carrion's was the game he learned among the Arapaho. These two are then definitely older than the White Elk-Brown game, and that of Annie Eustace, for both of the latter were developed *as* Ghost Dance hand games.

^ [not processed. —Analyst]

FOREWORD

The previous studies of Indian music[1] have included no tribe in 121
which ceremonialism is so highly developed as among the Pawnee, whose songs are here presented. This research was conducted among members of the Skidi and Chaui Bands near Pawnee, Okla., in 1919 [114]
and 1920. Portions of two important ceremonies were witnessed and several gatherings of a ceremonial character were attended during the progress of the work. The ceremonies were those of the Morning Star and the Painting of the Buffalo Skull, the writer being admitted to the Morning Star lodge during the former ceremony and witnessing the Buffalo and Lance dances, which are a part of the latter. The gatherings included hand games, and dances in honor of Pawnee soldiers upon their return from the recent war.

Grateful acknowledgment is made of assistance rendered by interpreters, especially by Mr. James R. Murie, chief of the Skidi Band, who explained many tribal customs and who wrote down and interpreted the words of the songs. The writer also acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. John R. Swanton in standardizing the orthography of the Pawnee words. 115

---

[1] Chippewa Music, Bull. 45; Chippewa Music II, Bull. 53; Teton Sioux Music, Bull. 61; Northern Ute Music, Bull. 75; Mandan and Hidatsa Music, Bull. 80; Papago Music, Bull. 90, Bur. Amer. Ethn.; and Music of the Tule Indians of Panama, Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 77, no. 11.

[p. iv is blank]

[p. v]

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

INTRODUCTION.

The following discussion of Pawnee societies was prepared by James R. 114
Murie, a member of the Skidi division, under the direction of the editor
who is in the main responsible for its form and limitations. Mr. Murie's 121
method was to collect and write out in full such information on the several topics as could be secured. These notes were then made the subject of several conferences with the editor during which the present manuscript was prepared. It being thus essentially an original contribution, the editor has not considered it necessary to add comments on the previous literature. The important titles on the Pawnee are the three articles by John B. Dunbar in the *Magazine of American History* for 1880–81; *Pawnee Hero Stories* (1893) by George Bird Grinnell; *The Hako* (1894) by Miss Alice C. Fletcher; and two volumes of myths by George A. Dorsey; *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* (1904) and *The Pawnee Mythology* (1906). In all of these except the two first, Mr. Murie was a collaborator.

While this paper is primarily concerned with societies as treated in the 128
preceding pages, a general outline of the tribal ceremonial scheme is given
for perspective, there being no publication to date that treats this subject systematically. This will probably be sufficient to give a general idea of the place and significance of Pawnee societies as parts of their culture complex.

The drawings are by Mr. S. Ichikawa from specimens and sketches furnished by the author.

The Editor.

September, 1914.

[p. 544 is blank]

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE PLAINS INDIANS

(Hall 5)

PREFACE

The Field Museum's collection illustrating the life of the Indians of the Great Plains is one of the best and most extensive in this country. Much of the material has been obtained directly from the tribes through research of museum officials and others employed by the institution, among whom Mr. S. C. Simms, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, Mr. James Mooney, and Mr. H. R. Voth deserve especial mention. The collections have been further enriched by purchases and particularly by numerous gifts of Mr. Edward E. Ayer, a trustee of the institution, who has always taken a profound interest in this phase of the museum's activities.

The exhibits are especially rich in objects used by (2) the Indians in connection with their religious observances, and several miniature groups have been prepared showing the manner in which the Pawnee, one of the Plains tribes, performed their most important ceremonies. A proper understanding of the significance of such ceremonial objects is impossible without some knowledge of the religious concepts and observances of the tribes represented. The present series of leaflets is designed to give this necessary background by presenting the facts in a simple and popular form. Much of the information contained in them has already been published in various scientific publications; but the descriptions of the Pawnee ceremonies have not previously been published, and it is hoped that they may prove of interest to the scientist, as well as the lay reader.

PREFACE

The Pawnee have been known to white men since, probably, 1541, 101 and certainly since 1678. They were the most numerous and power- 648 ful of the tribes constituting the Caddoan linguistic stock and one of the most important of the entire Plains area. Since the earliest definite historic mention of them they have been resident in Ne- [131] braska and the extreme northern portion of Kansas, particularly on the Loup, Platte, and Republican Rivers. As a tribe they were always friendly to the Europeans and later to the Americans, rendering invaluable aid as scouts in the Indian troubles on the Plains during the middle half of the nineteenth century; and that despite the half-hearted and tardy attentions that too often characterized the Government's relations with them.

The tribe has been variously described by early explorers, mission- 114 aries, fur traders, Army officers, and travelers, many of whom left very valuable and worth-while accounts concerning them in their native habitat in the Loup and Platte Valleys. In more recent years, on their reservation in Oklahoma, they have been studied by linguists and ethnologists, though much of this material is still unpublished. Of outstanding note among the available treatises in this field is the work of Dunbar in general ethnology, of Dorsey in mythology, of Grinnell in folk-tales, and of Murie in social and political organization. Archeological remains, surprisingly rich and numerous at many of the old village sites formerly occupied by the tribe, have received but little systematic attention up to the present, save for the excellent beginnings made by a few local collectors. Yet it is this latter, long-neglected field of research which must come to be more and more drawn upon for information regarding this fast-vanishing tribe and its native culture.

The primary purpose of this paper, as originally planned, was to 121 present a purely objective preliminary report on the archeology of the Pawnee, drawing together all data at present available and recording it in systematic fashion. More or less inadvertently, the scope was broadened to include a review of the traditions dealing with the origin and early movements of the tribe, as well as a concise summary of the documentary history of the tribe from 1541 to 1876. To this were added brief notes on the environment of the group, and such other significant facts as may be helpful to an understanding of the subject. The social, political, and religious phases

[P. viii contains no Text]

121 of Pawnee culture, as well as their general ethnology, have been deliberately avoided, since most of these have been treated at length elsewhere. Finally, correlations have been made with other cultures of adjoining areas with a view to determining as far as possible where the roots of Pawnee culture lie.

114 The principal source for the archeological data embodied in this
127 paper is the Hill collection at the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. This collection, gathered over a period of more than 18 years by Mr. A. T. Hill, Hastings business man and director of the Nebraska State Historical Society Museum at Lincoln, is unequaled by any in the field of Pawnee archeology. Most of the specimens were secured from the Hill site, now the property of Mr. Hill, but there is in addition much comparative material from other historic Pawnee and prehistoric sites in central and southern Nebraska. Through the courtesy of Mr. Hill the writer was enabled to spend 2 weeks in a study of these exhibits, at which time the bulk of the information was obtained. The known Pawnee material recovered by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, of which the writer was a member during the summer of 1930, has also been drawn upon. This was secured mainly from the Hill site and corroborates generally the facts reached through study of the Hill collections. Mention should also be made of the excellent collection of surface material in the possession of Mr. Alfred Tichacek, of Linwood, Nebr., all of which comes from the early Pawnee site near that town. On two different occasions access was had to these specimens for study purposes. In addition, small collections made by various amateur collectors and, as far as available, those of the Nebraska Historical Society, were also examined.

The paper, intended as a basic approach to the study of prehistory in the Pawnee area, was originally completed in the spring of 1931. Lack of funds prevented publication at the time, however, and the rapid accumulation of new data from the region has made possible revision from time to time of the sections dealing with archeological details. Final revision was made in November 1935, bringing the paper so far as possible up to date in the light of researches made since its inception. For a review of Pawnee archeology and its relation to other Nebraska cultures, the reader is referred to Dr. W. D. Strong's recent publication (An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology, Smithson. Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, 1935), in part based upon investigations which were coincident with or immediately subsequent to those here described. The results of other and more recent work in the area, dealing primarily with prehistoric sites, will be found in the present writer's reports in the Nebraska History Magazine, vol. 14, no. 3, 1934, and vol. 15, no. 3, 1935. Findings of the Nebraska State Historical Society in historic Pawnee sites at

*172 342 consisted of a main framework of timbers and posts, supporting a thatch of grass and, finally, a covering of turf, erected over a shallow, circular, saucerlike excavation; the entrance projected from one side, usually but not always the southeast or east. When such a structure was abandoned and the continual vigilance required for its upkeep removed, the outer shell of earth was soon washed off and deposited about the base of the wall, while the timbers might remain standing for years before rotting away. Thus, there would result in course of time a raised ring of soil, indicating the periphery of the erstwhile lodge; within this ring was a depression somewhat lower than the normal ground surface outside. Prior to the breaking up of the bottom lands along the rivers these lodge circles were to be seen on every Pawnee site of the past century. Where subterranean caches or "Indian cellars" occur the soil within them has often settled to such an extent that the mouth is revealed as a small circular depression. These occur both inside and outside the lodge circles. [712] Defensive walls were constructed around nearly every historic village, but with few exceptions these have now been wholly obliterated. Long cultivation obviously tends to destroy all traces of either lodge circles or earthworks, though very shallow depressions and slight elevations may persist for a number of years. Frequently, even after repeated plowing, the sites of the lodges are still clearly indicated by sherds, charred wood, burned earth, bones, and similar detrital material, which litters each particular spot formerly occupied by a dwelling. The contrast between these circular discolored areas and the surrounding natural soil is especially marked after the site has been freshly plowed.

*172 121 In the following discussion 13 Pawnee sites, grouped according to their band affiliations, will be briefly described. Ten of these have been identified with villages recorded by the various American explorers after 1800. Another, the Kansas Monument site, probably dates just prior to that year and, while not specifically documented, is unquestionably of rather late historic date. The other two sites were occupied approximately contemporaneously, and are post-Columbian; they have, however, never been placed with any degree of accuracy in the historical scheme, hence are designated as protohistoric.[18]

---

[18] In conformity to the system of nomenclature suggested at the first Plains Archeological Conference held at Vermillion, S. Dak., on Aug. 31–Sept. 1, 1931, village sites in the Pawnee area have been tentatively divided into three sequential groups, viz, the historic, the protohistoric, and the prehistoric. Historic sites are those which have been quite definitely identified with villages visited or reported by American and European explorers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—i. e., between 1775 and 1874. Protohistoric sites are those dating from the very beginning of the European conquest; they show traces of trade relations with white men, bear strong basic cultural resemblances to the historic villages, but were never specifically documented; and in point of time they fall between the years 1540 and 1775. Prehistoric

With the exception of the Cottonwood Creek village, all of these sites, where definitely located, have been visited by the writer, who was accompanied in all but two instances by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings. Several of the locations were first identified by Mr. Hill many years ago, and through the medium of sample collections he has acquired a first-hand acquaintance with each site that made his assistance invaluable. So far as systematic excavation is concerned, Mr. Hill's activities have been largely confined to the Hill site. The Nebraska Archeological Survey, of which the writer was a member, spent the first 2 weeks in August 1930 in intensive work at the same place, the results of which are included in this paper. Excavations by the Survey at the Burkett and Schuyler sites in 1931 were made subsequent to the writing of this paper. However, certain of these findings have been incorporated here, although the main results await future publication. The only other extended excavations were made by E. E. Blackman, of the Nebraska Historical Society, at the Burkett site, in 1907. For the rest, as already stated, the sites have been visited and their chief features noted, as well as surface collections of specimens wherever available. 172* 121 [114]

SKIDI PAWNEE SITES

The Skidi band, known in early literature as the *Panimaha*, is by some considered to have been the first to occupy the northern habitat. According to their own claim, they were formerly a very powerful and numerous tribe, consisting of four bands, each numbering 5,000 souls.[34] This number is doubtless excessive, but to quote Grinnell, "There are yet to be seen on the Loup Fork, in Nebraska, innumerable remains of Skidi villages, some of which are very ancient."[35] To date only three sites have been definitely shown to be Skidi, although there is a very strong probability that archeology will bring to light many more of prehistoric age, possibly substantiating the greater antiquity of the Skidi in the area.[36] 101 172* [162]

PALMER SITE.—This was discovered by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings, in 1922, and has been identified by him as the probable site of the Skidi village reported by Major Sibley in 1811,[37] and subsequently 172* 361

---

sites are those exhibiting only the pure native cultural traits with no traces whatever of Caucasian contact; they antedate the arrival of the Spanish in 1541. In the above discussion only historic and protohistoric Pawnee sites are considered. Various sites in the last category are discussed in Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, by W. D. Strong, entitled "An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology"; also in Wedel, 1935, pp. 132–237.

[34] Grinnell, 1893, p. 236.

[35] Ibid., p. 239.

[36] All of the sites described are indicated on map 2 which shows their situation relative to the streams and river bluffs. The names are those in general use among local investigators; the numbers are for convenience in use of the map only.

[37] 1927, p. 203.

[p. vii]

THE LOST UNIVERSE

Prologue 000

The Lost Universe *is an account of one year in the life of a six-hundred-year-old American Indian nation that continued its existence within the United States through the Civil War period, retaining its integrity as a nation until it was uprooted and dissolved in 1876.* 121

This is the story as told directly by the citizens who were part of it in those last years and who, in the course of their lives, saw it become a lost universe. 115

Nations are even now in danger of dissolution, but they are not lost. The knowledge and wisdom of the six-hundred-year-old Pawnee nation is one of the unknown building blocks that was built into the nation of the United States. In the Pawnee nation was summarized the knowledge of a continent that reaches back nearly twenty thousand years in time to when mankind first discovered the New World. In it is embodied our continuity with human history as it developed in this land. 000

[p. vi is blank]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

by the Pawnees. The Pawnee custom of sacrificing a captive maiden to their god of war, the Morning Star, captured the attention of the people of the eastern United States and Washington in 1820 through reports of a young Pawnee hero, Man Chief, who risked his life to rescue a Sioux girl from the sacrificial scaffold in defiance of the Pawnee priesthood and the other participants in the ceremony. Echoes of Aztec customs that appeared in the ceremony and in other phases of their religion made people wonder how the Pawnees had come to make their home in the northern Plains or in what manner they could have received such customs. In the 1840's as main trails going westward cut directly across their territory, the Pawnee name became a feared byword to the settlers going west. 175 [782]

To many people today the word Pawnee suggests Plains Indian life. They were indeed a people of our Plains, but the nature of their life was very different from the common stereotype of a Plains Indian. They were not the horse-riding, settler-hounding people that we think of as the typical Plains Indian. In the following account the Pawnee will appear in very human terms in the context of organized tribal life. We hope this more realistic setting will dispel some of our static preconceptions and open up new possibilities for change in our point of view about these early American settlers. 121

But beyond this primary goal, this study has a more general value for us. The portrayal of Pawnee life through the most ordinary situations has thrown into sharp contrast the major qualitative differences in their lifeways which fit none of our familiar stereotypes. As a human mode, it is a New World life and a new and unfamiliar dimension in the human spectrum. Cultural contact with the European and adoption of some of his ways did not change its essential character as even now American Indian groups persist in being not European. It is this persistent patterning that makes this account of Pawnee life an important resource as a control case in our search for a science of society. If we make an effort to enter it sincerely so that we see it whole, we can look at our own life with new eyes and be better able to perceive new paths to our own tomorrow to become the New World people that we really are.

I shall first introduce a number of Pawnee individuals who lived more than a hundred years ago in a Nebraska Pawnee village and the various life circumstances in which they were involved. Then I will place them within a household in that village and tell in full detail how they worked, played and worshipped together over the course of an entire year. Finally I will relate what became of them at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, after their village life ended. I will finish my account with a possible life pattern for our own future that my Pawnee studies have helped me to develop.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

114 the recent changes in religion and ritual. In doing so, the story of
121 the renaissance of culture which took place among the Pawnee under the stimulus of the Ghost Dance was pieced together. In presenting this material I have described the developments against the background of Pawnee history since white contact. This serves
121 to bring to light the motivations and influences which were stimulants of change. And in reference to the new forms which developed I have concentrated on the Ghost Dance hand games, the most important in terms of the emphasis made by the Pawnee themselves. The controlled consideration of the games in their changing forms has made it possible to consider the meaning of processes of change, and the inevitability of founding ethnological methodology on a metaphysic of history.

●122 The field work among the Pawnee, of which this study is a specialized part, was carried out under a project supported by the Columbia Council for Research in the Social Sciences. This manuscript was in part prepared while I was Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies. In addition to published material,
000 I have had the use of unpublished materials of James R. Murie, in the form of a manuscript by George A. Dorsey and James R. Murie, which was made available to me through the courtesy of Dr. Dorsey and Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum of Natural History; and I was also able to refer to a Bureau of Ethnology manuscript on the Ceremonies of the Pawnee, by James R. Murie, which was at the time being linguistically revised by Dr. Gene Weltfish. The use of these materials proved invaluable, not only for the work which has resulted in the present study, but also for the consideration of Pawnee religion which I hope to present in another year.

I cannot close these remarks without acknowledging my indebtedness to Professors Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict of Columbia University, who gave me the opportunity to make the field studies on which this work is based. I am also obligated to many Pawnee friends, and particularly to my chief informant, Mark Everts, a rare mind and a hearty friend, and Henry Chapman, whose help was important in this and other work. My wife, Dr. Gene Weltfish, has cooperated with me in countless ways. But most of all, I must express my intellectual obligations to Professors Franz Boas and John Dewey. For many years I have believed their conceptions of method to be basically in harmony, and in my own thought and work I have leaned heavily on their teachings.

October, 1932. Alexander Lesser.

FOREWORD

A program of scientific research has not reached a successful conclusion until the results obtained are made available in the literature of the profession. Publication thereby becomes an important factor in the progress of any field of knowledge. However, in anthropology as elsewhere, a manuscript containing valuable data may remain unpublished after the death of its author. In the past few years Field Museum has published two such manuscripts: that of Edward H. Thompson on the High Priest's Grave at Chichen Itza, prepared for publication by J. Eric Thompson; and Berthold Laufer's work on the origin and spread of the potato, prepared by C. Martin. Wilbur. 000

The present report by George A. Dorsey and James R. Murie on the Skidi Pawnee, edited by Alexander Spoehr, is an addition to this list. The funds enabling the authors to undertake the necessary field research were originally made available by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, to which acknowledgment is here made for its ready co-operation in granting the right of publication to Field Museum. 122

Paul S. Martin

[p. 70 is blank]

NOTES ON SKIDI PAWNEE SOCIETY

I. INTRODUCTION

From 1903 to 1907, George A. Dorsey, then Curator of Anthro- 122
pology at Field Museum, received a series of grants from the
Carnegie Institution of Washington for ethnological field work
among the Caddoan tribes. Much of the investigation was carried
on among the Pawnee, during which time James R. Murie was
associated with Dorsey. The interest which Murie, himself a
Pawnee, took in recording the culture of his people, and his persever-
ance in collecting the fast-vanishing ethnographic data relating to
his tribe, are deserving of special mention. On the basis of the 128
information gathered in the field, Murie and Dorsey commenced 114
the preparation of a monograph entitled "Society and Religion of the Skidi Pawnee," though unfortunately the manuscript was never completed. Murie's later report on Pawnee societies (Murie, 1914) duplicated certain parts of the unfinished memoir, while other details were incorporated in four articles by Ralph Linton on various aspects of Pawnee ceremony and religion (Linton, 1922a, b; 1923a, b). The section of the manuscript dealing with society was very briefly summarized by Dorsey (Dorsey, 1907b) but until now it has not otherwise appeared in print. During the course of its preparation for publication, I found it necessary to make considerable literary revision, but the facts have not been changed. The orthography of the Pawnee words is the same as that used in the manuscript. Editorial comments on various points in the text appear in brackets.

The last decade has seen a revival of interest in the Pawnee. 114
Recent anthropological work has more fully elucidated the history of the tribe, and our perspective has been correspondingly deepened and enriched. However, there remains a lack of published ethnographic data on the Pawnee which seriously handicaps comparison with other Plains tribes and retards the definition of problems relating to Plains Indian social organization. On a purely descriptive level, the present notes are a step toward filling out the incomplete picture. They deal briefly with social groupings such as the band, village, and family; with kinship; the major crimes and their punishment; class distinctions; and the individual life cycle, which is accorded a fuller treatment than the other sections. John B. Dunbar (1880a, b), Fletcher (1899), and Lesser (1930, 1933) have discussed some of these aspects of social organization, but the

[p. 72 is blank]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

127 *low Cave.* As chairman of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Nebraska, he welcomed me to his laboratory where I worked from 1954 to 1958; during this period he gave unstintingly of his time and knowledge, going over my material and taking me to many of the archaeological sites where the Pawnees and their predecessors are known to have lived. He and his wife, Flavia Waters Champe, most generously welcomed me to their home during that time. I also acknowledge with profound thanks the unfailing help and support of my former student and now colleague in the science, Carol King Rachlin.

I received substantial help at all times from the staff of the Nebraska State Historical Society—Mr. Marvin Kivett, Director, Dr. W. D. Aeschbacher, Dr. Donald Danker, Dr. White; Prof. James C. Olson of the History Department of the University of Nebraska; Virginia Faulkner of the University of Nebraska Press; and Mari Sandoz and her sister Flora, who entertained me at the ancestral home and made me really understand the value and the beauty of the Nebraska sandhills. I have also been aided and abetted by the Missouri River Basin Surveys group of the Smithsonian Institution in Lincoln, under the direction of Dr. Robert Stephenson, one of whose Missouri River excavations I was privileged to visit and there enjoyed his cordial hospitality. My friend Mrs. Rella Looney of the Oklahoma Historical Society was most helpful to me during my stay in Oklahoma City recently.

In 1954 I had the opportunity to visit the Pawnee again. My return was gladdened by the hospitality of Blanche Matlock, her daughter, Bessie (now Mrs. Delbert Horse Chief), and the grown-up grandchildren of my now departed first informant and mentor, Stacy Matlock; Walter Keyes, his wife Norah, and their daughter, Alma, who had married Basil Chapman, son of my interpreter, Henry Chapman (recently deceased); and my friends, Andrew and Eulah Eschelman, together with her sister, Pauline Murie, one of my close personal friends now living in Wichita, Kansas, and the Echohawk family. I was also welcomed by Mrs. George Roberts and Dolly Moore and, on a subsequent visit, Mr. Henry Roberts, Chief of the Pawnee Council, and his wife. My return to Pawnee was a deeply moving experience because of the profound effect my work there has had on my life and the warmth with which I was received into the community.

During the years after 1932 I received a great deal of support from my colleagues in anthropology. The late Prof. William Duncan Strong, who did pioneering work in Nebraska archaeology, was a constant source of psychological and intellectual support in his unfailing interest over the years. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Prof. Charles Wagley of Columbia for his many years of active interest and encouragement. In this connection also I wish to thank Dr. Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., recently retired Director, Bureau of American Ethnology.

122 From 1958 to 1960, as a Fellow of the Bollingen Foundation, I have

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

been the recipient of a grant that made the writing of this book possible; I would like particularly to mention Miss Nancy Russ and Mrs. M. Curtis Ritter of that organization. To my sister, Florence Goldin, Director and Vice President of the Grey Advertising Company, I want to express my gratitude and deep appreciation for support far beyond the call of sisterhood in all ways, including financial when it became necessary. 122

During the summer of 1963 I have had substantial assistance in rearranging the manuscript from my colleague at Fairleigh Dickinson University, Prof. Andrew H. Drummond, talented producer and dramatist.

Madison, New Jersey
October 1964

GENE WELTFISH

BIBLIOGRAPHY

114 THE BULK OF THE MATERIAL presented in this book is based on the original field
122 data I collected from Pawnee informants in Oklahoma. It is the only material
on the Pawnees that was gathered with a full knowledge of the nature of the
197 Pawnee language. The Pawnee language cannot be readily translated into English.
Structurally it is one of the most complex of the American Indian languages. In place of single discrete words, a structural form known as polysynthesis was developed to an unusual degree. In normal discourse there are long composite word units comprising a wide range of functional elements—verbal, prepositional, adjectival, pronominal, and modal—each capable of a range of modifications, the whole complex being phonetically integrated so that a single word of inseparable elements contains the meaning of a long phrase or sentence in English commonly only translatable into five or six separate English words. Although a single word phrase of this sort may have ten or eleven syllables, it is not possible to assign an equivalent English word under each syllable. The meaning can only be stated as a whole. By careful comparison of a large number of these phrases, it is possible to find the various locations within the phrase that have different functions and to extract elements with generalized meanings. Those interested may refer to my Pawnee text with its grammatical analysis: "The Vision Story of Fox Boy," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, IX No. 1 (1936), 44-75.

114 In the last decade of the nineteenth century, an educated half-blood Pawnee,
159 James R. Murie, made it his life purpose to present the religious rituals and
ceremonies of his people. He carried forward this work under the stimulation and direction of a number of anthropologists, continuing through the first and second decades of the twentieth century. He spanned both cultures—the Pawnee and the American. To some extent this was a major advantage, while in other ways it was an important obstacle to the accomplishment of his true purpose. The most obvious advantage was his direct entrée to the religious leaders of his people. The disadvantage lay in the fact that he had a preconceived idea of how the material should be presented to the American reader and scholar in order to place it before them in the best possible light. There was little need for such a self-conscious effort as Pawnee religion and ceremony would do credit to any people ideologically and aesthetically as a system of thought and practice. Secondly, because Murie had shared in both cultures before he came to the decision to embrace his Pawnee identity, he never fully shared in its systems of belief. In his later years he attempted to obtain a religious vision and to enter more fully into Pawnee religious life, but he failed and remained by
[126] and large a participant observer, not a full participant. His preconceived idea
of the nature of translation, particularly of the interlinear variety, stood in the way of his making an authentic translation of the Pawnee materials he wrote

and permitted me to concentrate on the personalities involved and the way they functioned within the pattern. Death claimed James R. Murie before my work began, and I never had the good fortune of meeting him. 114

In the years since the late 1930's I have read a great deal of material on the Pawnees. I visited the archaeological sites, read the literature, and consulted with the outstanding archaeologists in the field. I also worked with historical sources at the Nebraska Historical Society in Lincoln, Nebraska. In addition I have given considerable thought to a number of expanded horizons for our own future that are suggested through a consideration of the Pawnee way of life. I have listed a number of bibliographic items that refer to these different facets of interest, listing them under four categories—archaeological material, ethnology, historical sources, related subjects and theoretical questions. I will not make specific references to my text in connection with these publications as the presentation in this book represents a synthesis of all these sources along with my own. [122]

Archaeology (A) Ethnology (E) History (H) Theoretical Subjects (T) 113

(H) Adams, James Truslow. 1943. *Atlas of American History*. New York: Scribners.

(H) Allis, Samuel. 1887. "Forty Years among the Indians and on the Eastern Borders of Nebraska," *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, Vol. 2, 133-196.

(H) ———. 1918. See Dunbar, John B.

(H) *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*. 1823. Pp. 501-503. Baltimore.

(E) Bogoras, Waldemar. 1902. "The Folklore of Northeastern Asia Compared with That of Northwestern America," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., IV, 577-683.

(E) Benedict, Ruth F. 1923. *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America*. ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," 29.) Lancaster.

(H) Bolton, Herbert E. 1911. "The Jumano Indians in Texas, 1650–1771," *Texas Historical Association Quarterly*, 15, No. 1, 66-84.

(H) ———. 1914. *Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768–1780*, Vol. I. Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company.

(H) ———. 1915. *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*. ("Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration, University of California Publications in History," Vol. III.) Berkeley.

(H) ———. 1916. *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542–1706*. New York: Scribners.

(H) ———. 1949. *Coronado: Knight of the Pueblos and Plains*. Albuquerque: Whittlesey House and University of New Mexico Press.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE HAKO: A PAWNEE CEREMONY

By Alice C. Fletcher

PREFACE

In the early eighties of the last century, while pursuing my study 114
of the Omaha tribe, I several times witnessed the ceremony described
in the following pages. Owing to the death of the only man who knew 121
all the rituals, it became impossible to secure a complete record, but
as the ceremony was an intertribal one I hoped to make good the loss
in some other tribe. From statements made by the Omahas, the
Ponkas, and the Dakotas I was led to believe that among the Pawnees
this ceremony could be found still preserved in its entirety. I need
not recount the failure of efforts made during some fifteen years to gain
the desired information, since at last, in 1898, I found the long-sought
opportunity. After four years of work, I am able to present the entire
ceremony, as observed in the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

The difficulty of obtaining accurate first-hand information in 123
regard to religious rites and beliefs is so well known that it seems
proper to state briefly how I came by my opportunities. An extended
and intimate acquaintance in one tribe opens the way in another. The
warm friendship of old and leading men of the Omahas became my
credentials to other tribes where these leaders were influential; and
with the further assistance of Mr Francis LaFlesche, the son of the
former head chief of the Omahas, I was able to establish relations of
confidence with some of the old and prominent men of the Pawnees.

My experience has shown that no linguistic training will enable a 124
student by himself to accomplish successfully the difficult task of
recording and interpreting the rituals of a religious ceremony. He must
have a native collaborator, one with a good knowledge of English and
well versed in the intricacies of his own tongue, able to explain its
"sacred language" and possessing those gifts of mind and character
which fit him not only to grasp the ideals of his race but to commend
himself to the keepers of the ancient rites. Such a collaborator makes
a clear vision of the native mind possible to a student of another race.

buildings he said were unfitted to contain the sacred symbols of the 115 religion of his ancestors, in the service of which he had spent his long life. He admired at a distance the Washington Monument, and 804 when he visited it he measured the base, pacing and counting his steps. Then he stood close to the white shaft and looked up, noting its great height. After going inside, he was asked which he would take, the elevator or the stairs, and replied: "I will not go up. The white man likes to pile up stones, and he may go to the top of them; I will not. I have ascended the mountains made by Tira'wa." Equally characteristic was his interview with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. When introduced, he said: "I am glad to see you and to take you by the hand. Many chiefs of my tribe have done so. I never expected to do it. I came here to talk of the religion of my fathers, which I follow. You can ask my sister (referring to me) what I have said."

Tahirūssawichi had never been east of the Mississippi river until he came to Washington to engage in the preservation of this rite. Of the genuineness of his statements there can be no doubt. His position in the Pawnee tribe is that of a man worthy of respect—one versed in a knowledge of serious things, whose life has been devoted to the acquisition and maintenance of certain sacred rites. He is esteemed as a man of truth—one who has the favor of Tira'wa. He possesses a knowledge of curative roots, and often attends the sick, using herbs as medicine. He is the keeper of certain old and sacred objects, and leads in their attendant ceremonies. His great care in observing all the details of the intricate ceremony of the Hako is well known in the tribe, and much good fortune is believed to follow his leadership in this ceremony. His title is Ku'rahus. This term is 554 applied to a man of years who has been instructed in the meaning and use of sacred objects as well as their ceremonies. The word is sometimes employed as a synonym for a venerable man, one who commands respect, but throughout this paper it is used in its official sense—the leader of the ceremony.

It has taken four years of close friendly relations with my kind old friend to obtain this ceremony in its entirety. 123 Many of its rituals deal with very sacred subjects, and it has required much patience in the presentation of reasons why they should be explained to overcome the scruples born of the early training of the Ku'rahus. That he has finally made this record complete, so that the ceremony as known among his people can be preserved, is worthy of commendation. His work as it now stands shows Tahirūssawichi to be broad-minded as well as thoughtful, reverent, and sincere.

Graphophone records were taken of all the songs belonging to this 126 ceremony. The music as here printed has been transcribed from the cylinders by Mr Edwin S. Tracy and each transcription has been verified by him from the singing of the Ku'rahus. It is to be regretted

1368 hiri! harken. 539*
riru'tziraru, by reason of, because of.
sira, they took; refers to the leader and to the men who followed and depended on him. 796*
sura, possess; to become one's own. 553
waurux', grasped, as a staff.
para, walked.
raru'tura, refers to that which descended to earth.
tuka'wiut, slantwise.
tari, end, or accomplished mission.
1369 rawa! attend! a call for attention at the moment.
hawa, once more.
urasharu, name.
we, I.
tatki'wati, change.
1370 hiri! harken!
tatux, we used to.
tapakiaho, speak of him.
hawa, once more.
Rarutska'tit, the former name, meaning black-feathered arrow.
hiri! harken!
raro, owner.
rikeha, lying. These words refer to the achievement commemorated by the name about to be thrown away.
ro re, vocables used for euphony and measure.
1371 hiri! harken!
wakoru, now we are.
ratora, all people.
pake'fisto, speak out and say.
1372 hiri! harken!
akitaro, tribe.
hiwa, in the.
weraiaweko, prominent.
1373 hiri! harken!
Shaku'ru Wa'rukste, the new name now announced ("Sacred Sun").
hiriwa, in the process of making.
witi, himself.
rakawa'karu, what he is.
ko re, vocables used for euphony and measure.

Closing Remarks of the Ku'rahus

During the days I have been talking with you (the writer) I have been carried back in thought to the time when Estamaza (the father of Francis LaFlesche) came to the Chaui. I met him in this ceremony; he was the Father, and as I have worked here day and night, 115 123

115 123 my heart has gone out to you. I have done what has never been done before, I have given you all the songs of this ceremony and explained them to you. I never thought that I, of all my people, should be the one to give this ancient ceremony to be preserved, and I wonder over it as I sit here.

I think over my long life with its many experiences; of the great number of Pawnees who have been with me in war, nearly all of whom have been killed in battle. I have been severely wounded many times—see this scar over my eye. I was with those who went to the Rocky Mountains to the Cheyennes, when so many soldiers were slain that their dead bodies lying there looked like a great blue blanket spread over the ground. When I think of all the people of my own tribe who have died during my lifetime and then of those in other tribes that have fallen by our hands, they are so many they make a vast cover over Mother Earth. I once walked with these prostrate forms. I did not fall but I passed on, wounded sometimes but not to death, until I am here to-day doing this thing, singing these sacred songs into that great pipe (the graphophone) and telling you of these ancient rites of my people. It must be that I have been preserved for this purpose, otherwise I should be lying back there among the dead.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

song was sung twice. The connective phrase occurred between the 533* second and third, and the fourth and fifth renditions. The song has a compass of nine tones, and progresses by whole tones except for three other intervals which occur only in downward progression.

BEAR DANCE

There was no opportunity to witness this dance, and its details [123 were not made a subject of inquiry. Ten songs of the dance were recorded, the first five by a member of the Chaui Band and the last 126] five by a member of the Skidi Band. These two groups of songs are strikingly different in musical character.

The next song was sung when all the participants in the Bear 533* dance were seated. "Mother" was said to refer to the moon, and 773 there was said to be a similar song containing the word "Father." 787 A young man received this song in a dream, while mourning for his parents who had died. He saw a woman coming toward him, and said, "Mother is coming." The woman said, "You have seen me, now you must learn this song." The young man learned the song, lived a long time afterwards, and took part in the Bear dance. When the song is used ceremonially there are six "stops" or verses, the 533* general meaning of which is as follows:

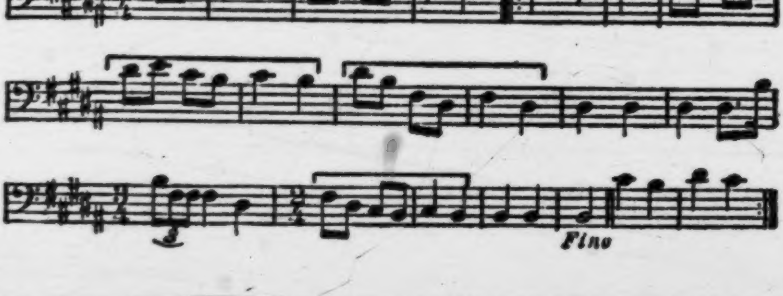
1. "Mother is coming."
2. The young man, devotional by nature, imagines that he is still mourning for his parents.
3. "Mother stands yonder."
4. The young man says, "Mother, standing in the sky, I want you to take pity on me."
5. "Mother now ends" (stands still).
6. "I will now say, I mean the mother who alone stands forever in the sky" (the moon).

No. 11. "Mother is Coming"

(Catalogue No. 1117)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 126
Drum ♩ = 138, changing to ♩ = 126
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



His was a singularly lovable nature. If the stronger manly points of 000 his character inspired respect and admiration, not less did his gentleness and consideration for others win the deepest affection. He was modest almost to diffidence, and it was with difficulty that he could be induced to speak of his own heroic achievements. And yet his face told the story of the power within the man.

The secret of Major North's success in commanding the Pawnees, who loved him as much as they respected him, lay in the unvarying firmness, justice, patience and kindness with which he treated them. He never demanded anything unreasonable of them, but when he gave an order, even though obedience involved great peril, or appeared to mean certain death, it was a command that must be carried out. He was their commander, but at the same time their brother and friend. Above all, he was their leader. In going into battle he never said to them, "Go," but always "Come on." It is little wonder, then, that the devotion felt for him by all the Pawnee Nation, and especially by the men who had served under him in battle, was as steadfast as it was touching.

THE PAWNEES AND THEIR STORIES

Once the Pawnees were a great people. They were very numerous. 181 They were undisputed masters of a vast territory. They had everything that heart could wish. Their corn and their buffalo gave them food, clothing and shelter; they had weapons for war and for the chase. They roamed over the country without let or hindrance. In peace they were light-hearted and contented; in war cunning, fierce and successful. Their name was a terror to their enemies. This was in the past. Now they are few in number, poor, a prey to disease, a vanishing race.

My acquaintance with the tribe began in 1870. From that time to 123 the present I have had frequent intercourse with them; have lived in their villages; and been with them on their buffalo hunts. During the

123 weeks and months spent in camp and village, I have listened to many stories of Pawnee heroes and to folk-tales of the miraculous doings of the olden time. In my intercourse with the tribe, extending over a period of nearly twenty years, I have been deeply impressed by the high qualities of the Pawnee character; and the more familiar I have become with this people, the more strongly have I felt that a permanent record should be made of the tales which reflect that character. Unless thus collected now, much of this lore must inevitably be forgotten.

161 For the Pawnees are passing away. When I first joined them on their buffalo hunts from their old home on the Loup Fork in Nebraska, the tribe numbered three thousand; last March in the Indian Territory I
178 found but eight hundred. And more rapidly than the dwindling of the people are their traditions lapsing from memory under the changed conditions of the tribe's life. The lore, which sprang up as an indigenous growth of the wide-stretching prairie and the wilderness where the wild Pawnee warrior hunted free, finds scanty nurture in the uncongenial soil of fields tilled by Pawnee followers of the plow. With the new modes of living come new views of life, new motives, new sympathies—in a word, civilization. To earn a living by toil, to wrest subsistence from the earth, this is the problem confronting the Pawnees to-day, the task which is engaging the sinew and purpose of the tribe. In the transition stage, the memory of the old days, of old manners and rites and ceremonies and of old heroes, is with the elders of the race, those ancient braves whose lives bridge the past and the present.
126 When I visited the Agency last March, it was to write down from the lips of these old men such material as I could collect. When they shall die much of the unwritten lore will perish too, for with them will cease that sympathetic and perfect credence, which alone gives to folk-lore vitality and lastingness. What is written in this volume then belongs distinctly to the wild Indian.

The task that I have set for myself is that of a recorder. No attempt has been made to give a literary color to the hero stories and folk-tales here written out. I have scrupulously avoided putting into them anything of my own. The stories are told to the reader as they were told to me. They are not elaborated. I have tried to show how Indians think and speak, rather than to make their stories more entertaining by

602 tain that the children of brothers are brothers and sisters to each other, and that the children of two sisters are the same, but about the children of a brother and a sister I could not ascertain. There is no term for [601] aunt, therefore a father's sister is a mother, and probably her son is a brother, but on this point I could not make any certain [115] progress. Col. Peter A. Sarpy of St. Marys told me that the father's sister was a grand [582] mother, and a man could marry this grand mother. If there is no aunt, then a woman has no nephew and niece, and a woman's brother's son is her grand son. But the mother's brother is an uncle, and consequently a man has a nephew and niece. I think I can nearly write out this system, but at all events I feel sure Mr. Allis will be able to do it for me with the aid I shall now be able to give him.

● 123 I stayed with this pleasant family which consists of a mother, two sons and one grown daughter and also an orphan girl brought up by them, and the Pawnee woman besides the Rev. Samuel Allis now absent as before stated. They refused compensation for my entertainment, and I left them Friday morning to return to Mr. Hamilton at Bellevue, well pleased with my visit: I am 114 to write to Mr. Allis on my return, and to send him a schedule and they say he will [125] attend to it for me.

I returned about three o'clock, June 8, to Bellevue, and shall remain here until Saturday morning when I go up to Omaha to meet the boat on which I am to return to Rulo, where I shall make a desperate effort for the Blackfoot and the Sheyenne and also try at Omaha again for the Pawnee.

[P90 (B)]

THE HAKO: A PAWNEE CEREMONY

By Alice C. Fletcher

PREFACE

In the early eighties of the last century, while pursuing my study 114
of the Omaha tribe, I several times witnessed the ceremony described
in the following pages. Owing to the death of the only man who knew 121
all the rituals, it became impossible to secure a complete record, but
as the ceremony was an intertribal one I hoped to make good the loss
in some other tribe. From statements made by the Omahas, the
Ponkas, and the Dakotas I was led to believe that among the Pawnees
this ceremony could be found still preserved in its entirety. I need
not recount the failure of efforts made during some fifteen years to gain
the desired information, since at last, in 1898, I found the long-sought
opportunity. After four years of work, I am able to present the entire
ceremony, as observed in the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

The difficulty of obtaining accurate first-hand information in 123
regard to religious rites and beliefs is so well known that it seems
proper to state briefly how I came by my opportunities. An extended
and intimate acquaintance in one tribe opens the way in another. The
warm friendship of old and leading men of the Omahas became my
credentials to other tribes where these leaders were influential; and
with the further assistance of Mr Francis LaFlesche, the son of the
former head chief of the Omahas, I was able to establish relations of
confidence with some of the old and prominent men of the Pawnees.

My experience has shown that no linguistic training will enable a 124
student by himself to accomplish successfully the difficult task of
recording and interpreting the rituals of a religious ceremony. He must
have a native collaborator, one with a good knowledge of English and
well versed in the intricacies of his own tongue, able to explain its
"sacred language" and possessing those gifts of mind and character
which fit him not only to grasp the ideals of his race but to commend
himself to the keepers of the ancient rites. Such a collaborator makes
a clear vision of the native mind possible to a student of another race.

Mr Murie spent three days in the translation and study of the 124
ritual, assisted by the Ku'rahus, who explained many points that
were somewhat obscure, owing to elisions, the employment of a single 195
word as a mnemonic to call up the picture of a complicated action, 196
and the forcing of words to a different application from that of ordinary
speech—a not uncommon occurrence in rituals. The latter
carefully watched the work lest mistakes should be made, remarking
that the ritual "speaks of the powers above, of whom man should be
careful what he says."

There is one aspect of the ritual, essential to its understanding, that 181
was carefully explained by the Ku'rahus, and the substance of many
conversations on the subject follows. A man's life is an onward movement. 555
If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the
help of the powers his life will "climb up." Here the Ku'rahus made 553
a gesture indicating a line slanting upward; then he arrested the 761
movement and, still holding his hand where he had stopped, went on
to say that as a man is climbing up he does something that marks a 829
place in his life where the powers have given him the opportunity to
express in acts his peculiar endowments, so this place, this act, forms
a stage in his career, and he takes a new name to indicate that he is
on a level different from that which he occupied previously. Some
men, he said, can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level,
and he illustrated his words by moving his hands horizontally. Men
having power to advance, climb step by step, and here again he made
his idea plain by a gesture picturing a slant, then a level, a slant, and
a level. In this connection he called attention to the words, in line
1359, "rutu'rahwitz pari," "to overtake walking," saying that the
people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must
strive to overtake in the walk of life an upper level, such a one as
these ancient men spoken of in the ritual had reached, where they
threw away the names by which they had been known before.
"Rutu'rahwitz pari," is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate
these men and overtake them by the doing of like deeds.

Three facts connected with the Pawnee custom of taking a new 553
name should be stated: 555

First. A man was permitted to take a name only after the performance
of an act indicative of ability or strength of character. 796*

Second. The name had to be assumed openly before the people to whom the act it commemorated was known.

Third. It was necessary that it should be announced in connection with such a ritual as that here given.

These facts indicate (1) that a man's name stood for what he had shown himself to be in the light of his actions; (2) that this was recognized by his tribesmen; and (3) that it was proclaimed by one having in charge the mediatory rites through which man could be approached by the supernatural.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

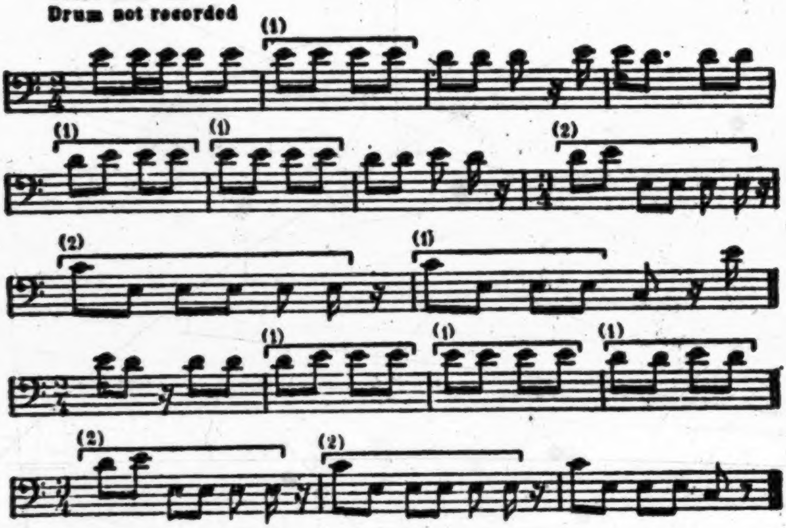
*533 [554] When the man returned with the horse he had captured, the people saw him running like a bear while the horse was galloping. This was commemorated in the following song.

No. 19. Bear Dance Song (c)

(Catalogue No. 1152)

Recorded by Dog Chief

Voice ♩ = 80
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This melody is peculiar in that about 40 per cent of its progressions are minor sixths or larger intervals. The intonation on these large intervals was fairly correct in all the renditions. The two most prominent tones are D and E, the former appearing as an accented tone in almost half the measures. Attention is directed to the descent of an octave which twice is accomplished in the space of a measure.

[115] [124] The words of the next song were said to mean "I am a brave man. I am acting like a bear." (The lack of a competent interpreter when Dog Chief's songs were recorded made it impossible to secure a more extended description and translation.)

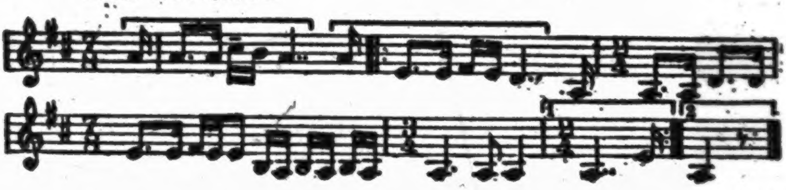
*533
593

No. 76. Song of a Warrior's Wife

(Catalogue No. 1100)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♪= 144 (♩= 72)
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

I wonder where he is sitting.
That person who comes and sits in my tipi.

Analysis.—In all renditions of this song the 7–8 and 3–4 measures were sung in exact time. Except for one minor third the melody progresses entirely by fourths and major seconds. It has a compass of 10 tones and contains the entire octave except the fourth.

*533 Mr. James R. Murie and other old members of the tribe said that love songs, in the white man's use of that term, were unknown
832 among the better class of Pawnee in the early days. According to
565 Mr. Murie, there were four classes of Pawnee, the lowest being
177 considered outcasts by the remainder of the tribe. These people camped near towns and worked for white people, from whom they
562 obtained whisky. This class of Pawnee sang what were termed
● [124] "crazy people's songs," which were associated with "love charms" and evil influences. No effort was made to secure examples of these songs. A change from the former attitude toward women, however, is shown in the following song which was said to be very old. It is not of so low a character as the "crazy people's songs," neither does it represent the high standard of life indicated in the former
[837] songs of this group. A girl married a man for whom she did not care and it would appear that, instead of adapting himself to the situation, he sought consolation elsewhere.

*533 *Analysis.*—This melody consists of two parts, the first of which contains the rhythmic unit. The second part begins with a succession of eighth notes, followed by a measure which preserves the count divisions of the rhythmic unit. The count divisions throughout the song were sung with special clearness. The song is transcribed as having B flat for its keynote but the third above that tone does not occur. Except for an ascending octave the only in-

114 I went on to Omaha partly to see as much of the upper Missouri as possible, and partly with hope of finding some Omahas or Pawnees at the village whom I was informed were frequently there. I found a band of [361] Pawnees some thinly encamped near the village and they were over at the boat and squads of them remained about the boat during the day and night. I went down to ● 124 the encampment, tried to find their interpreter who has the respectable name of John Rogers, but could not find him. Unfortunately for me a theft had been committed the day before by the Shawnees and he for some reason thought best to leave and to keep out of the way. I found a Pawnee who could talk some English and commenced a schedule with him, but I soon found out it would not answer and gave it < up, and offered him pay if he would hunt up and bring Rogers to me during the day, which he promised to but did not do.

181 The Pawnees are said to be demoralized as a nation. Their women are universally prostitutes, they all steal and beg and are idle and profligate. This character is given to the nation and not to the few who wander about. How far it is just to the mass of the Pawnees who remain at their village at

[p66 (A)]
[pp1-65 not processed]

days until his stomach is in order. Then the other four doctors who have sung with the patient are called in and perhaps one or two more, and they speak of the animals and their ways and have a ceremonial smoke and distribute the goods that That-Chief has received in payment. Of the three horses, That-Chief will give one to the owner of the earth lodge where he is living, one he will keep for himself and give one to Horse Finder. The other doctors will note his special generosity, but may explain it merely by the fact that they both have the same bundle powers. Even if they were to suspect, they would not reveal the secrets of their fellow professionals to the lay public. 75

The Pawnees were thus not immune to the common suspicion that comes to all people in the desperation of sickness, that the doctor is not doing everything possible to cure the patient and that somehow more could have been done if the doctor had willed it. 756

In view of some of these rather bizarre descriptions, I questioned my informant who was familiar with our methods of gathering evidence and attempting to establish reasonable proof, as to what evidence people had that witchcraft was at the bottom of so much death and sickness among the Pawnees. His reply in substance was that basically they just knew, no proof in our terms being possible. He said: "When men sit around talking, they would talk about these things. They would *know*, but they couldn't prove it." 754 753 124 [521]

Rarely would the Pawnees attribute a death to our type of "natural cause." With old people of little social importance, they wouldn't bother to press the question but with anyone of any social position [illegible] were concerned to place the responsibility for the death on the hostility of someone in the community. It was thought that when the person was dying, the hostile person would appear to them as a witch who was hiding his face so that the dying man had to identify him by his body. The dying man or woman would then recognize and name the person. Then the news would get around but no further action would be taken. 761 554

The Pawnees recognized that anxiety and hostility were major causes of disease. From the Pawnee point of view, active witchcraft practices were the culmination of sustained, interpersonal hostility and the constant fear of witchcraft represented the anxiety felt in the face of such a threat. 753 754 578

> People got sick to their stomach, or when something stuck them, got blood poisoning, or so the white people call it—but we say, "Someone witched you." Long afterwards if the man recovered, he would be sure to find out who witched him.

The reasoning here being that an important characteristic of his disease —and therefore cause—had been anxiety, and that this could be traced to

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

down in the phonetic alphabet which he acquired in the course of his contact 114 with anthropologists. He divided his recorded texts into single syllables, each 159 comprising a consonant and a vowel and each syllable separated from the next 126 by a hyphen and then placed an English word under each of these syllables. As I have already indicated, the Pawnee language cannot be translated into English in that manner. Any material will suffer some distortion when it is translated from one language to another, but the nuances of religious ideology are even more strongly effected by this process.

Murie's crowning effort to systematize the religion of his people was carried 114 out under the direction and editorship of the late Clark Wissler, curator of 159 anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Together Wissler and Murie produced a voluminous manuscript of some 1560 pages. In view of the recognized inadequacies of Murie's Pawnee transcription 114 and translation, in 1930 Matthew W. Stirling, then Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington, D.C., where the manuscript had been deposited some years before, commissioned me to retranscribe all the Pawnee texts contained there with the help of my Pawnee linguistic informants and to obtain a linguistically adequate translation. The texts were reviewed with [124] my informants and translated with the help of my interpreter, Henry Chapman, in 1930–1931 in Pawnee, Oklahoma. The manuscript is now on deposit in the archives of the bureau. It is titled "The Ceremonies of the Pawnee," by James R. Murie, arranged and edited by Clark Wissler, 1921. Phonetic texts revised and translated by Gene Weltfish, 1930–1931.

The second most important source on Pawnee ceremonialism is: "The Hako: 114 A Pawnee Ceremony," by Alice C. Fletcher, assisted by James R. Murie. This 113 was published in the *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. The author, Alice Fletcher, is listed in the publication as Holder of Thaw Fellowship, Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Miss Fletcher was a trained ethnologist who went into the field to work with the Omaha and Ponca Indians in Nebraska in 1881 when she was in her forties. She several times witnessed the ceremony of the peace pipe or calumet among these tribes and others in the area, but as a result of the death of the only man who could furnish her with an authentic account of the ceremony she searched among other tribes and found that an account of a comparable ceremony would be obtainable among the Pawnees. She then went to Oklahoma where she contacted Mr. James Murie and began the work which was done over a period of four years. The term Hako which appears as the title of this work is not the Pawnee name for this ceremony. The term means mouth, *aka'u*, and is the comprehensive term used to designate all the articles that belong to the ceremony. A number of other terms are used for the ceremony itself. The author decided to use this title as a convenient designation that could readily be pronounced by the English reader. The beauty of patterning and the intricacy of the structure of the ceremony are well represented, but the translation of the Pawnee texts is ludicrous. The bulk of the linguistic texts are the words of ritual songs. A great deal of this material consists of rhythmic syllables that have no semantic significance whatever with one or two simple words included among them. Often the successive stanzas consist in a repetition of these rhythmic syllables, the single words being re-

602 tain that the children of brothers are brothers
and sisters to each other, and that the
children of two sisters are the same, but
about the children of a brother and a sister
I could not ascertain. There is no term for
[601] aunt, therefore a father's sister is a mother,
and probably her son is a brother, but on
this point I could not make any certain
[115] progress. Col. Peter A. Sarpy of St. Marys
told me that the father's sister was a grand
[582] mother, and a man could marry this grand
mother. If there is no aunt, then a woman
has no nephew and niece, and a woman's
brother's son is her grand son. But the
mother's brother is an uncle, and consequently
a man has a nephew and niece. I
think I can nearly write out this system,
but at all events I feel sure Mr. Allis will be
able to do it for me with the aid I shall now
be able to give him.

123 I stayed with this pleasant family which
consists of a mother, two sons and one
grown daughter and also an orphan girl
brought up by them, and the Pawnee woman
besides the Rev. Samuel Allis now absent
as before stated. They refused compensation
for my entertainment, and I left them
Friday morning to return to Mr. Hamilton
at Bellevue, well pleased with my visit: I am
114 to write to Mr. Allis on my return, and to
send him a schedule and they say he will
[125] attend to it for me.

I returned about three o'clock, June 8, to Bellevue, and shall remain here until Saturday morning when I go up to Omaha to meet the boat on which I am to return to Rulo, where I shall make a desperate effort for the Blackfoot and the Sheyenne and also try at Omaha again for the Pawnee.

[P90 (B)]

buildings he said were unfitted to contain the sacred symbols of the 115
religion of his ancestors, in the service of which he had spent his
long life. He admired at a distance the Washington Monument, and
when he visited it he measured the base, pacing and counting his [804]
steps. Then he stood close to the white shaft and looked up, noting
its great height. After going inside, he was asked which he would
take, the elevator or the stairs, and replied: "I will not go up. The
white man likes to pile up stones, and he may go to the top of them;
I will not. I have ascended the mountains made by Tiraʹwa."
Equally characteristic was his interview with the Commissioner of
Indian Affairs. When introduced, he said: "I am glad to see you
and to take you by the hand. Many chiefs of my tribe have done so.
I never expected to do it. I came here to talk of the religion of my
fathers, which I follow. You can ask my sister (referring to me)
what I have said."

Tahirŭssawichi had never been east of the Mississippi river until
he came to Washington to engage in the preservation of this rite.
Of the genuineness of his statements there can be no doubt. His
position in the Pawnee tribe is that of a man worthy of respect—one
versed in a knowledge of serious things, whose life has been devoted
to the acquisition and maintenance of certain sacred rites. He is
esteemed as a man of truth—one who has the favor of Tiraʹwa. He
possesses a knowledge of curative roots, and often attends the sick,
using herbs as medicine. He is the keeper of certain old and sacred
objects, and leads in their attendant ceremonies. His great care in
observing all the details of the intricate ceremony of the Hako is well
known in the tribe, and much good fortune is believed to follow his
leadership in this ceremony. His title is Kuʹrahus. This term is [554]
applied to a man of years who has been instructed in the meaning
and use of sacred objects as well as their ceremonies. The word is
sometimes employed as a synonym for a venerable man, one who
commands respect, but throughout this paper it is used in its official
sense—the leader of the ceremony.

It has taken four years of close friendly relations with my kind old
friend to obtain this ceremony in its entirety. Many of its rituals [123]
deal with very sacred subjects, and it has required much patience
in the presentation of reasons why they should be explained to overcome
the scruples born of the early training of the Kuʹrahus. That
he has finally made this record complete, so that the ceremony as
known among his people can be preserved, is worthy of commendation.
His work as it now stands shows Tahirŭssawichi to be broad-minded
as well as thoughtful, reverent, and sincere.

Graphophone records were taken of all the songs belonging to this 126 ●
ceremony. The music as here printed has been transcribed from the
cylinders by Mr Edwin S. Tracy and each transcription has been
verified by him from the singing of the Kuʹrahus. It is to be regretted

126 that the exactions of Mr Tracy's professional work in the field of music make it impossible for him to prepare an essay upon the character of these songs and the light they throw upon the evolution of musical expression. His familiarity with native songs, growing out of several years of first-hand research, would render him peculiarly fitted to speak concerning them.

The songs are commended to the general student of music and particularly to the young composers of our country as offering native themes worthy of musical treatment.

In arranging the material for this paper it has seemed best to group
128 it into two parts. The first contains such introductory explanations as are essential to the understanding of the ceremony, which is given without comment in the words of the Ku'rahus, together with his interpretation of the songs and accompanying rites. The second part consists of an analysis of the ceremony and treats of its structure, purpose, and teaching. The translations of the songs aim to convey to the English reader something of their native spirit and meaning.

As the purpose of this record is not primarily linguistic, it has been
104 judged best not to observe the finer phonetic distinctions in recording
194 native words. The vowels have their continental values, as in *are*, *they*, *pique*, *go*, *rule*; ow is used as in how; and û represents oo in good. The consonants p, b, t, d, k, g (always hard), j, s, z, f, v, m, l, r, w, y, h are used approximately as in English, but k and t have been allowed to represent the semisonants (medial between k and g, t and d) as well, and the r has a slight trill. Dh represents th in the, h a guttural breathing (German ch, Spanish j) and hr a surd or breathed r; th is used as in thorn, wh and ch as in which, x as in box, sh as in shall; n indicates that the preceding vowel is nasalized; and h at the end of a syllable indicates that the breath must be heard. When a consonant is doubled it is heard twice or distinctly prolonged. An accent mark is used to indicate stress where it seems necessary.

*796 a beating effect is produced; second, the custom of waving the hand 196 to and from the mouth or beating the lips, so as to break a continuous note or call into a series of sounds or beats; third, the making of [194 534] the drum from a section of a tree, hollowed out, with a skin stretched over the open end. From this analysis of the word hakkowpirus we discern that the pulsating voice and the beaten lips were the first means employed to produce an effect which was afterward emphasized in an instrument, the drum (hakkowpirus, the breathing mouth of wood), which was made to give forth a series of sounds by the same device of whipping by the hand.

*[533] In Indian music the rhythm of the drum always follows closely the emotion expressed in the song; it is like a great pulsating voice.

In the term Hako the k of the first syllable in hakkow is dropped for the sake of euphony, and for the same reason the rough sound ow is changed to o. The word Hako carries the idea of the breathing, vibrating tones from the wooden mouth. It is applied to all the articles used in the ceremony, because, according to the explanations of the Ku'rahus, "everything speaks; the eagle, Kawas, speaks; the corn speaks; so we say Hako—the voice of all these things."

*796 126 In the preparation of the record of the different rites, rituals, and songs of this ceremony it became necessary to adopt a convenient term which should apply to the ceremony as a whole, including the party inaugurating the ceremony, the rites, the rituals, and the articles used. The term "Hako" has been chosen as best fitted for the purpose. Three considerations influenced the choice: first, the fact that Hako is the native name by which the articles used in the ceremony are spoken of collectively; second, the meaning of the term Hako, as revealed by an analysis of the word and by the explanation given by the Ku'rahus; third, the ease with which this word can be spoken and remembered by the English reader.

PERSONNEL OF THE CEREMONY

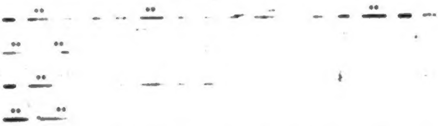
*796 [602] [556] Two distinct groups of persons were essential to the performance of this ceremony. These two groups could not belong to the same clan or gens of a tribe, and they were often of different tribes. One group, called the Fathers, was composed of the kindred of the man who had taken the initiative in organizing a party for the performance of the ceremony. This man was called the Father. His party comprised from 20 to 100 persons, and represented the well-to-do class in the tribe, the requisites for the ceremony being of such a character that only skillful hunters and thrifty households could supply them. The second group, called the Children, was made up of the relatives of the man chosen by the Father to receive the visiting party of the Fathers. The leader of this group of Children was called the Son. Each of the two groups, as well as the leaders of each group, had peculiar

PRAYER TO AVERT STORMS

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

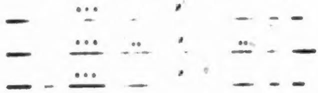
*533
*796



PRAYER FOR THE GIFT OF CHILDREN

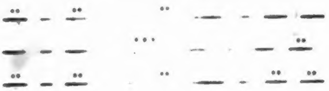
FIRST SONG[b]

Diagram of Time and Rhythm



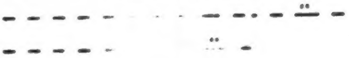
SECOND SONG[c]

Diagram of Time



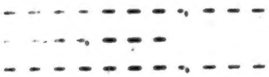
THIRD SONG[d]

Diagram of Time



FOURTH SONG[e]

Diagram of Time



CHANGING A MAN'S NAME

[126] *533 *796 Before the graphophone record was taken the Ku'rahus engaged in silent prayer, after which he entoned the ritual. Rather a high pitch was taken for the recital, probably from habit, as the ritual was always given in the hearing of a multitude.

[195] The words were separated into syllables. Sometimes an entire word or parts of two words were represented by a single syllable, and each syllable in the ritual was uttered as though it were a complete word.

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].
[b] Music on page [illegible].
[c] Music on page [illegible].
[d] Music on page 270.
[e] Music on page 271.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

NAMES OF SINGERS

Common name	Pawnee name	Translation	Number of songs recorded
Mrs. Wicita Blain (Effie Blain).	Tsastawinahiigat	She led a pony into the ceremony.	25
Wicita Blain [1]	Tutukrawitsu	He overtook the enemy.	20
John Luwak [2]	Laduda desadu	He does everything as a chief.	15
Horse Chief (Spotted Horse Chief).[3]			12
Dog Chief (Simond Adams).			5
Mrs. Mary Murie [4]			3
Fannie Chapman			2
Mark Evarts			2
Mrs. Good Eagle (Nora White).			1
Coming Sun [5]			1
Total			86

115
551

---

[1] Died Dec. 20, 1927.

[2] This singer is commonly known as John Rowak, according to the pronunciation of the Skidi Band. He is a chief of the Chaui Band and requested that his name be presented with the letter *L* used by the Chaui. The words of his songs are presented in the form used by the Skidi in order that they may be uniform with the majority of recorded Pawnee songs.

[3] Died June 13, 1923.

[4] Died June 12, 1928.

[5] Died Nov. 18, 1921.

CHARACTERIZATION OF SINGERS

A majority of these songs were recorded by Wicita Blain and his wife, who are members of the Skidi Band and spent their early years in Nebraska, before the removal of the tribe to Oklahoma. Both were afflicted with blindness and, when recording their songs, were led by a granddaughter who acted as interpreter. Mr. Blain recorded songs of the Lance and Buffalo dances which are his by right of inheritance. In the Buffalo dance attended by the writer he led the songs, being seated back of the "altar"; he also took a prominent part in the Lance dance. Mrs. Effie Blain is considered an equally reliable singer of the old songs. 115 [424]

John Luwak (pl. 2, *a*), who recorded many songs, is chief of the Chaui Band and a fine example of the old-time Indian. He speaks practically no English, but is ambitious to accept the best customs of the white man. In accordance with his request, the phonograph [126]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

115 was taken to his home, at some distance from Pawnee, and a majority [126] of his songs were recorded there, with his niece acting as interpreter.

Dog Chief (pl. 1) is one of the oldest members of the tribe and is highly respected.

Horse Chief is one of the younger men and wears his hair in two long, shining braids. He is one of the leading singers at dances.

Mark Evarts (pl. 2, *b*) is a quiet, conservative member of the tribe. Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*) also is held in high esteem.

Mrs. Mary Murie and Fannie Chapman are known as excellent story tellers.

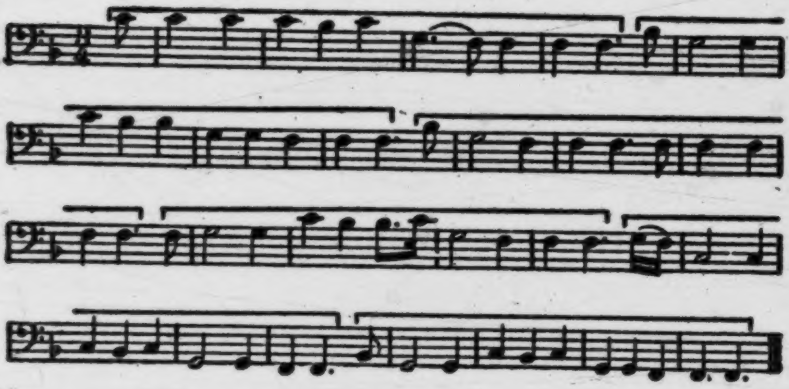
Coming Sun is a prominent member of the Skidi Band. He asked that his English name be withheld because of the importance of certain material which he had contributed to this work.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

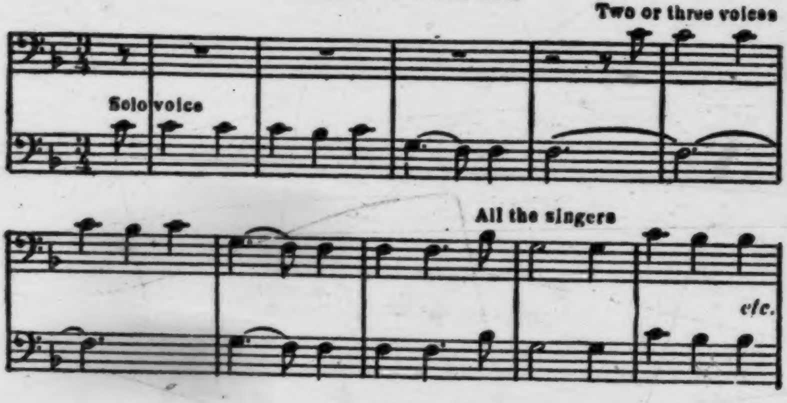
No. 1. Song of Morning Star (Catalogue No. 1102)

Sung by Coming Sun

*533
773



Manner of rendition



FREE TRANSLATION

"This I did when I became angry, in order that in the future the earth might be formed." In later use the words "And I imitate this power" were added, referring to the persons using the song.

*533 [126 778] *Analysis.*—This song was considered too sacred for phonographic recording and was orally taught to the writer by Coming Sun. For this reason the metronome time is not indicated. The manner of singing this and other ceremonial songs is indicated in the transcription, one voice singing the opening phrase, and holding a low tone while two or three voices repeat the opening phrase, after which all the voices proceed in unison. This melody is an example of interval formation. The only tones are F, G, B flat, and C, and the principal progressions

Analysis.—This song was recorded on two phonographic cylinders, the only difference in the renditions being in the opening phrase. The second renditions were the clearer and the transcription is from that group. The song opens with a three-measure phrase which is designated as a rhythmic unit. This is repeated, and is followed by two phrases in a different rhythm which bring the song to a satisfactory close. Although the song has a compass of 10 tones the largest interval is a fourth. About two-thirds of the progressions are whole tones. The melody contains all the tones of the octave. An abrupt change in the tempo of the drumbeat occurs in the fourth measure. Other Buffalo and Bear dance songs containing a similar change are Nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. After this change the drum and voice apparently have the same metric unit but do not always coincide. The metric unit of an Indian's musical performance often contains variations too small to be indicated. Thus in the present instance it can not be said that the drum consistently follows or precedes the voice. The general tempo of each is measured by the metronome and it can only be stated that they do not exactly coincide throughout the renditions of the song. 533* [126] ●

This and the three songs next following were inherited by the singer from his grandfather and his father. The name of the former was Tida'kawidik (House-full-of-people) and the name of the latter was Kiwi'kude' epaku (Buffalo-fighting). In this song the singer's grandfather is represented as driving the buffalo in the hunt. It was said that he "rode a white horse and frightened the buffalo for other men to shoot." 533* 424 224 773

Analysis.—The change of tempo in the drum is similar to that described with the song next preceding. The drum and voice rarely coincide except on the word *wia*, wherever it occurs. The drumbeat at the close of the song is as follows: The drum ceases after the first stroke on the final syllable of *wia* and begins rapidly at the close of the last measure, continuing in that tempo until the voice begins the repetition of the song. There is no uniformity in the space of time between the renditions of the song. The only tones occurring in this song are D, E, G, and A, and its melodic form resembles that of No. 1. Except for an ascending ninth the only intervals are fourths and whole tones, the latter comprising more than three-fourths of the progressions. The rhythmic unit is long and occupies only a portion of the song. 533*

song was sung twice. The connective phrase occurred between the second and third, and the fourth and fifth renditions. The song has a compass of nine tones, and progresses by whole tones except for three other intervals which occur only in downward progression. 533*

BEAR DANCE

There was no opportunity to witness this dance, and its details were not made a subject of inquiry. Ten songs of the dance were recorded, the first five by a member of the Chaui Band and the last five by a member of the Skidi Band. These two groups of songs are strikingly different in musical character. 123 126

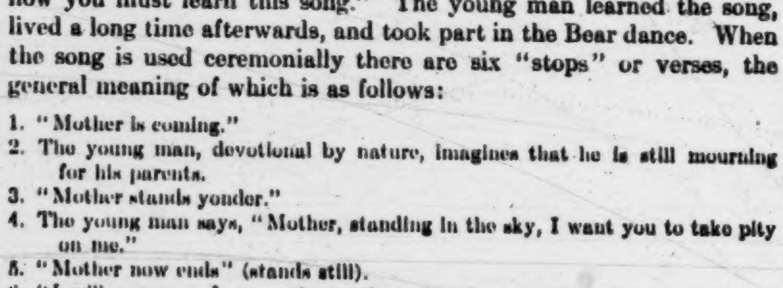
The next song was sung when all the participants in the Bear dance were seated. "Mother" was said to refer to the moon, and there was said to be a similar song containing the word "Father." A young man received this song in a dream, while mourning for his parents who had died. He saw a woman coming toward him, and said, "Mother is coming." The woman said, "You have seen me, now you must learn this song." The young man learned the song, lived a long time afterwards, and took part in the Bear dance. When the song is used ceremonially there are six "stops" or verses, the general meaning of which is as follows: 533* 773 787 533*

1. "Mother is coming."
2. The young man, devotional by nature, imagines that he is still mourning for his parents.
3. "Mother stands yonder."
4. The young man says, "Mother, standing in the sky, I want you to take pity on me."
5. "Mother now ends" (stands still).
6. "I will now say, I mean the mother who alone stands forever in the sky" (the moon).

No. 11. "Mother is Coming" (Catalogue No. 1117)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 126
Drum ♩ = 138, changing to ♩ = 126
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



123 weeks and months spent in camp and village, I have listened to many
stories of Pawnee heroes and to folk-tales of the miraculous doings of
the olden time. In my intercourse with the tribe, extending over a
period of nearly twenty years, I have been deeply impressed by the
high qualities of the Pawnee character; and the more familiar I have
become with this people, the more strongly have I felt that a permanent
record should be made of the tales which reflect that character.
Unless thus collected now, much of this lore must inevitably be forgotten.

161 For the Pawnees are passing away. When I first joined them on their
buffalo hunts from their old home on the Loup Fork in Nebraska, the
tribe numbered three thousand; last March in the Indian Territory I
178 found but eight hundred. And more rapidly than the dwindling of the
people are their traditions lapsing from memory under the changed
conditions of the tribe's life. The lore, which sprang up as an indigenous
growth of the wide-stretching prairie and the wilderness where
the wild Pawnee warrior hunted free, finds scanty nurture in the
uncongenial soil of fields tilled by Pawnee followers of the plow. With
the new modes of living come new views of life, new motives, new
sympathies—in a word, civilization. To earn a living by toil, to wrest
subsistence from the earth, this is the problem confronting the Pawnees
to-day, the task which is engaging the sinew and purpose of the tribe.
In the transition stage, the memory of the old days, of old manners
and rites and ceremonies and of old heroes, is with the elders of the
race, those ancient braves whose lives bridge the past and the present.
126 When I visited the Agency last March, it was to write down from the
lips of these old men such material as I could collect. When they shall
die much of the unwritten lore will perish too, for with them will
cease that sympathetic and perfect credence, which alone gives to
folk-lore vitality and lastingness. What is written in this volume then
belongs distinctly to the wild Indian.

The task that I have set for myself is that of a recorder. No attempt
has been made to give a literary color to the hero stories and folk-tales
here written out. I have scrupulously avoided putting into them anything
of my own. The stories are told to the reader as they were told
to me. They are not elaborated. I have tried to show how Indians think
and speak, rather than to make their stories more entertaining by

dressing them up to suit the civilized taste. My object in giving these narratives in their present shape is to make a book which shall be true to life, and shall faithfully reflect the Pawnee character, as the story tellers have themselves painted it. In a very few cases I have added some words explaining matters so well understood by those familiar with the Indians as to need no explanation. If these tales have any ethnological value, it will be enhanced by their being given in the precise form in which they were told by those to whom they have been handed down from generation to generation; but quite apart from this is another point which is entitled to consideration. 126

The entire ignorance concerning Indians, which prevails among the general public, can be dispelled only by letting that public understand something of the ways of life of the wild Indian, something of the subjects about which he thinks and talks, as well as of how he looks at these subjects, and what he has to say about them. 114

The late Mrs. Jackson's charming story, "Ramona," did much to bring the more intelligent class of readers in touch with the Indians, and to awaken sympathy for them by pointing out the unnumbered wrongs perpetrated on this race by the Government. Mrs. Jackson's book was a story, a novel; wonderfully well told and full of truth and feeling; but while it may have been a relation of facts, it did not profess to treat of actual persons. It is looked upon by many readers as a mere romance. It is a book about which I was once asked, skeptically, "Did you ever see any Indians like those?" In the Pawnee stories here set down there is no romance nor coloring. The Indians themselves are talking, and whatever the faults and weak points of these tales—and some of them are sufficiently obvious—they at least give the reader a true conception of Indians as they have actually lived. They are stories of Indians by Indians. There is about them nothing of the white man; and the intelligent person, who is sufficiently interested in the subject to read this book through, will gain from it a new insight into Indian character.

The Indian of Cooper—with his bravery, his endurance, his acuteness, his high qualities of honesty, generosity, courtesy and hospitality—has been laughed at for half a century. Yet every man who has mingled much with the Indians in their homes has known individuals who might have sat for the portraits which Cooper drew of some of

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778
• 126
80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwirutsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

787
80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 14, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of supernatural beings." The Pawnee made a clear distinction between hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination. An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

787
828

775
534
80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

773
171
83 Compare in Whorf, 1929, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 751, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four
80-81 Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In
[821]
Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, 773
is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who 171
makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his foot- 821
steps being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In
81, 127 Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personi- 773
fied First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the
land.

82 Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906,
p. 41. See Bogoras, 1902, p. 667, for wider distribution of this
theme.

83, 152, 154-155 Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photo- 821
graph of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He [126]
states (p. 285): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we
do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their
magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constella-
tions. Astronomical analysis is included in the article.

84, 117 On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 782
1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 209-210; George E. 727
Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* 171
Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen,
1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month,
"they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were
111 lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western
plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369,
description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden,
117 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz*
representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the
National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan
319 tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must
have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the
Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of
the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the
330 Mexicans . . ." (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account
of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the an-
notated footnotes.

84 Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 442-428, claims that after the new 243
corn plant (*kurahus,* priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-
fire ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out
and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to
a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They [114]
state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of
such a ceremony.

97 The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as 243
hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony 825
is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 269, that 171

243 825 171 [244] 97 Maximillian reports that in the spring corn ceremony among the Mandan, wild goose signified maize, swans represented the gourds and the duck, the beans. It may well be that the deer and the loon represented the squash and beans respectively among the Pawnees at some time. There was no known symbolism connected with these essential food plants at the time of my report, the concentration being entirely on the maize.

533 126 100 The *Awari* songs are from the Murie-Wissler manuscript, in my retranscription and translation as it appears there.

512 243 102 Oehler and Smith, 1914. On May 8th, 1851: "Early in the morning we were awakened by the shrill voices of the Pawnee women, who were engaged in cleaning up the lodge and collecting their hoes, previous to going out to the fields to prepare the ground for planting corn."

243 105 Weltfish, 1937. From the Pawnee texts; old man speaks to the
women (pp. 29-30); a little girl goes into the fields with her
mother (p. 30); Pawnee women as horticulturists (pp. 27-28).
106 Adapted from Murie-Wissler, pp. 308-325, as well as from other
821 302 107 sources. The foot painted on the warrior's forehead represented
the Pawnee astronomical constellation known as bird, *rikutski*,
which was said to be on the Milky Way itself, but is otherwise
unidentified. The Tsawi Band calls Cassiopeia, turkey foot, but
the Skidi Band calls it rabbit, *parus*. See Dunbar, 1881, p. 744.

000 113-114 Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98.

106 See Drucker, Heizer, and Squier, 1959, for the time depth of elaborate formal religion in Mexico at La Venta, Tabasco, southeastern Mexico near the Gulf. The structures have been radiocarbon dated at 800–400 B.C. and show a high degree of religious organization and complex symbolism that can be clearly inferred from the archaeological remains.

172 243 122 It took milennia to evolve the current uses of maize among the
Pawnees. At La Perra cave where some of the earliest examples
of North American domesticated corn have been found (radio-
121 carbon dated 4445 ± 180 B.C.) some steps in patterns of utiliza-
tion indicated in the finds are: (a) chewing young ears husks and
all shortly after pollination—wasteful, but quick and simple way
of getting a little sugar; (b) roasting the ears of green corn; (c)
making parched corn; (d) removing kernels from cob, shown
with glumes battered and broken as though the ears were forced
across a rough surface or beaten with a stick; (e) maize appar-
ently pounded, inferred from the finding of stone mortars.
(Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, Galinat, 1956, pp. 145-146).

000 121 Mangelsdorf, 1958; Mangelsdorf, 1964.

122 Walster, 1956.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

114 THE BULK OF THE MATERIAL presented in this book is based on the original field
122 data I collected from Pawnee informants in Oklahoma. It is the only material
on the Pawnees that was gathered with a full knowledge of the nature of the
197 Pawnee language. The Pawnee language cannot be readily translated into English. Structurally it is one of the most complex of the American Indian languages. In place of single discrete words, a structural form known as polysynthesis was developed to an unusual degree. In normal discourse there are long composite word units comprising a wide range of functional elements—verbal, prepositional, adjectival, pronominal, and modal—each capable of a range of modifications, the whole complex being phonetically integrated so that a single word of inseparable elements contains the meaning of a long phrase or sentence in English commonly only translatable into five or six separate English words. Although a single word phrase of this sort may have ten or eleven syllables, it is not possible to assign an equivalent English word under each syllable. The meaning can only be stated as a whole. By careful comparison of a large number of these phrases, it is possible to find the various locations within the phrase that have different functions and to extract elements with generalized meanings. Those interested may refer to my Pawnee text with its grammatical analysis: "The Vision Story of Fox Boy," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, IX No. 1 (1936), 44-75.

114 In the last decade of the nineteenth century, an educated half-blood Pawnee,
159 James R. Murie, made it his life purpose to present the religious rituals and
ceremonies of his people. He carried forward this work under the stimulation and direction of a number of anthropologists, continuing through the first and second decades of the twentieth century. He spanned both cultures—the Pawnee and the American. To some extent this was a major advantage, while in other ways it was an important obstacle to the accomplishment of his true purpose. The most obvious advantage was his direct entrée to the religious leaders of his people. The disadvantage lay in the fact that he had a preconceived idea of how the material should be presented to the American reader and scholar in order to place it before them in the best possible light. There was little need for such a self-conscious effort as Pawnee religion and ceremony would do credit to any people ideologically and aesthetically as a system of thought and practice. Secondly, because Murie had shared in both cultures before he came to the decision to embrace his Pawnee identity, he never fully shared in its systems of belief. In his later years he attempted to obtain a religious vision and to enter more fully into Pawnee religious life, but he failed and remained by
[126] and large a participant observer, not a full participant. His preconceived idea
of the nature of translation, particularly of the interlinear variety, stood in the way of his making an authentic translation of the Pawnee materials he wrote

down in the phonetic alphabet which he acquired in the course of his contact 114
with anthropologists. He divided his recorded texts into single syllables, each 159
comprising a consonant and a vowel and each syllable separated from the next 126
by a hyphen and then placed an English word under each of these syllables. As I have already indicated, the Pawnee language cannot be translated into English in that manner. Any material will suffer some distortion when it is translated from one language to another, but the nuances of religious ideology are even more strongly effected by this process.

Murie's crowning effort to systematize the religion of his people was carried 114
out under the direction and editorship of the late Clark Wissler, curator of 159
anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.
Together Wissler and Murie produced a voluminous manuscript of some 1560
pages. In view of the recognized inadequacies of Murie's Pawnee transcription 114
and translation, in 1930 Matthew W. Stirling, then Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington, D.C., where the manuscript had been deposited some years before, commissioned me to retranscribe all the Pawnee texts contained there with the help of my Pawnee linguistic informants and
to obtain a linguistically adequate translation. The texts were reviewed with [124]
my informants and translated with the help of my interpreter, Henry Chapman, in 1930–1931 in Pawnee, Oklahoma. The manuscript is now on deposit in the archives of the bureau. It is titled "The Ceremonies of the Pawnee," by James R. Murie, arranged and edited by Clark Wissler, 1921. Phonetic texts revised and translated by Gene Weltfish, 1930–1931.

The second most important source on Pawnee ceremonialism is: "The Hako: 114
A Pawnee Ceremony," by Alice C. Fletcher, assisted by James R. Murie. This 113
was published in the *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.* The author, Alice Fletcher, is listed in the publication as Holder of Thaw Fellowship, Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Miss Fletcher was a trained ethnologist who went into the field to work with the Omaha and Ponca Indians in Nebraska in 1881 when she was in her forties. She several times witnessed the ceremony of the peace pipe or calumet among these tribes and others in the area, but as a result of the death of the only man who could furnish her with an authentic account of the ceremony she searched among other tribes and found that an account of a comparable ceremony would be obtainable among the Pawnees. She then went to Oklahoma where she contacted Mr. James Murie and began the work which was done over a period of four years. The term Hako which appears as the title of this work is not the Pawnee name for this ceremony. The term means mouth, *aka'u,* and is the comprehensive term used to designate all the articles that belong to the ceremony. A number of other terms are used for the ceremony itself. The author decided to use this title as a convenient designation that could readily be pronounced by the English reader. The beauty of patterning and the intricacy of the structure of the ceremony are well represented, but the translation of the Pawnee texts is ludicrous. The bulk of the linguistic texts are the words of ritual songs. A great deal of this material consists of rhythmic syllables that have no semantic significance whatever with one or two simple words included among them. Often the successive stanzas consist in a repetition of these rhythmic syllables, the single words being re-

121 of Pawnee culture, as well as their general ethnology, have been deliberately avoided, since most of these have been treated at length elsewhere. Finally, correlations have been made with other cultures of adjoining areas with a view to determining as far as possible where the roots of Pawnee culture lie.

114 The principal source for the archeological data embodied in this 127 paper is the Hill collection at the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. This collection, gathered over a period of more than 18 years by Mr. A. T. Hill, Hastings business man and director of the Nebraska State Historical Society Museum at Lincoln, is unequaled by any in the field of Pawnee archeology. Most of the specimens were secured from the Hill site, now the property of Mr. Hill, but there is in addition much comparative material from other historic Pawnee and prehistoric sites in central and southern Nebraska. Through the courtesy of Mr. Hill the writer was enabled to spend 2 weeks in a study of these exhibits, at which time the bulk of the information was obtained. The known Pawnee material recovered by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, of which the writer was a member during the summer of 1930, has also been drawn upon. This was secured mainly from the Hill site and corroborates generally the facts reached through study of the Hill collections. Mention should also be made of the excellent collection of surface material in the possession of Mr. Alfred Tichacek, of Linwood, Nebr., all of which comes from the early Pawnee site near that town. On two different occasions access was had to these specimens for study purposes. In addition, small collections made by various amateur collectors and, as far as available, those of the Nebraska Historical Society, were also examined.

The paper, intended as a basic approach to the study of prehistory in the Pawnee area, was originally completed in the spring of 1931. Lack of funds prevented publication at the time, however, and the rapid accumulation of new data from the region has made possible revision from time to time of the sections dealing with archeological details. Final revision was made in November 1935, bringing the paper so far as possible up to date in the light of researches made since its inception. For a review of Pawnee archeology and its relation to other Nebraska cultures, the reader is referred to Dr. W. D. Strong's recent publication (An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology, Smithson. Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, 1935), in part based upon investigations which were coincident with or immediately subsequent to those here described. The results of other and more recent work in the area, dealing primarily with prehistoric sites, will be found in the present writer's reports in the Nebraska History Magazine, vol. 14, no. 3, 1934, and vol. 15, no. 3, 1935. Findings of the Nebraska State Historical Society in historic Pawnee sites at

Leshara and Blue Springs in the summer of 1935 have not yet been 114
made public, but a hurried examination by the author of the artifacts 127
and records at Lincoln indicates a general agreement with the material on which the present introductory work is based.

The writer wishes to acknowledge, first of all, his deep indebtedness 000
to Dr. William Duncan Strong, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, formerly professor of anthropology at the University of Nebraska and director of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey (1929–31), who first suggested and outlined the paper, for his constant encouragement, constructive criticism, and assistance all through its preparation. To Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings, are due sincere thanks for his splendid cooperation in the field of Pawnee archeology, and also for invaluable suggestions with regard to the history and ethnogeography of the tribe. Without his assistance the work would have been greatly curtailed in many of its phases. Mr. John L. Champe, of Lincoln, very generously prepared the photostat copies of early maps for use in conjunction with the historical sketch; Mr. Clarence Reckmeyer, of Fremont, contributed helpful information on early Pawnee history; and Mr. C. B. Schultz, of Lincoln, assisted in the preparation of certain of the modern maps. To these individuals, and to those others who at one time or another rendered assistance during the course of the work, grateful acknowledgment is here made.

[p. xii is blank]

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Preface

The bands were still
somewhat socially discrete. The mainstay of the diet was largely the tra- 621
ditional corn, beans, and squash grown on their own farm plots and dried 262
and stored as of old. Beef had taken the place of buffalo meat and was 252
prepared by thin slicing and drying for storage or boiled on feast days. 241
Relationships in kin groups continued, and some of the religious ideology 771
survived. A Doctor Dance Ceremony was performed by the last survivors 796
who possessed the arts and the knowledge involved and brought us some 178
welcome rain after a long dry spell. The question was, "How to give these 114
fragments life and place them in their integral context?" We evolved the
plan of utilizing one year of Pawnee life in as much detail as possible, covering the round of the year through the four seasons as reconstructed with the help of the surviving Pawnees. Our plan proved to be an effective means of developing vivid recall in Evarts and the other old Pawnees. For a number of reasons we would think of our year hypothetically as 1867; in that year the Pawnee settlement and round of life was sufficiently integral to serve as a base line for our reconstruction. Some of the other surviving Pawnees were in their late teens and twenties in that year. Evarts supplied a normal thread of events in answer to my prodding questions for the details that seemed to a Pawnee all too obvious and we supplemented and checked this with whomever we thought had relevant knowledge concerning one point or another. Most of the old people had worked with me on linguistics before that time.

It was not possible to reproduce the material in the exact order in which I collected it. I have had to reassort the material somewhat so that it falls into some of our own functional categories and at the same time so that it fits within the seasonal round of the year. Under the pressure of time when my notes were recorded I rendered the Pawnee or Pawnee-English in which it was given into the closest normal English equivalent I could muster. Also, this book was compiled a quarter of a century or more after it was recorded. I have avoided altering the original simple declarative language too radically. In some cases I have retained the original language with very little variation, particularly where it is an incident that had often been recounted among the Pawnees, a very familiar situation, a technical account, a speech, a personality sketch. Such passages are indented from the left margin. 128

In addition to the informant record, I have checked my account in detail with most of the existing material on the Pawnees and in some cases supplemented it from these sources. This is detailed in the Notes and Comments with references correlated with my text. Recently excavated archaeological materials together with eyewitness accounts by contemporary observers of the 1830's and 1840's have overwhelmingly vindicated the accuracy of my Pawnee informants. The most substantial help in this recent phase of the work has been given me by Prof. John L. Champe, author of an important stratigraphic treatment of Nebraska archaeology, *Ash Hol-* 127

127 *low Cave.* As chairman of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Nebraska, he welcomed me to his laboratory where I worked from 1954 to 1958; during this period he gave unstintingly of his time and knowledge, going over my material and taking me to many of the archaeological sites where the Pawnees and their predecessors are known to have lived. He and his wife, Flavia Waters Champe, most generously welcomed me to their home during that time. I also acknowledge with profound thanks the unfailing help and support of my former student and now colleague in the science, Carol King Rachlin.

I received substantial help at all times from the staff of the Nebraska State Historical Society—Mr. Marvin Kivett, Director, Dr. W. D. Aeschbacher, Dr. Donald Danker, Dr. White; Prof. James C. Olson of the History Department of the University of Nebraska; Virginia Faulkner of the University of Nebraska Press; and Mari Sandoz and her sister Flora, who entertained me at the ancestral home and made me really understand the value and the beauty of the Nebraska sandhills. I have also been aided and abetted by the Missouri River Basin Surveys group of the Smithsonian Institution in Lincoln, under the direction of Dr. Robert Stephenson, one of whose Missouri River excavations I was privileged to visit and there enjoyed his cordial hospitality. My friend Mrs. Rella Looney of the Oklahoma Historical Society was most helpful to me during my stay in Oklahoma City recently.

In 1954 I had the opportunity to visit the Pawnee again. My return was gladdened by the hospitality of Blanche Matlock, her daughter, Bessie (now Mrs. Delbert Horse Chief), and the grown-up grandchildren of my now departed first informant and mentor, Stacy Matlock; Walter Keyes, his wife Norah, and their daughter, Alma, who had married Basil Chapman, son of my interpreter, Henry Chapman (recently deceased); and my friends, Andrew and Eulah Eschelman, together with her sister, Pauline Murie, one of my close personal friends now living in Wichita, Kansas, and the Echohawk family. I was also welcomed by Mrs. George Roberts and Dolly Moore and, on a subsequent visit, Mr. Henry Roberts, Chief of the Pawnee Council, and his wife. My return to Pawnee was a deeply moving experience because of the profound effect my work there has had on my life and the warmth with which I was received into the community.

During the years after 1932 I received a great deal of support from my colleagues in anthropology. The late Prof. William Duncan Strong, who did pioneering work in Nebraska archaeology, was a constant source of psychological and intellectual support in his unfailing interest over the years. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Prof. Charles Wagley of Columbia for his many years of active interest and encouragement. In this connection also I wish to thank Dr. Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., recently retired Director, Bureau of American Ethnology.

122 From 1958 to 1960, as a Fellow of the Bollingen Foundation, I have

126 that the exactions of Mr Tracy's professional work in the field of music make it impossible for him to prepare an essay upon the character of these songs and the light they throw upon the evolution of musical expression. His familiarity with native songs, growing out of several years of first-hand research, would render him peculiarly fitted to speak concerning them.

The songs are commended to the general student of music and particularly to the young composers of our country as offering native themes worthy of musical treatment.

In arranging the material for this paper it has seemed best to group
128 it into two parts. The first contains such introductory explanations as are essential to the understanding of the ceremony, which is given without comment in the words of the Ku'rahus, together with his interpretation of the songs and accompanying rites. The second part consists of an analysis of the ceremony and treats of its structure, purpose, and teaching. The translations of the songs aim to convey to the English reader something of their native spirit and meaning.

As the purpose of this record is not primarily linguistic, it has been
104 judged best not to observe the finer phonetic distinctions in recording
194 native words. The vowels have their continental values, as in *are*, *they*, *pique*, *go*, *rule*; ow is used as in how; and û represents oo in good. The consonants p, b, t, d, k, g (always hard), j, s, z, f, v, m, l, r, w, y, h are used approximately as in English, but k and t have been allowed to represent the semisonants (medial between k and g, t and d) as well, and the r has a slight trill. Dh represents th in the, h a guttural breathing (German ch, Spanish j) and hr a surd or breathed r; th is used as in thorn, wh and ch as in which, x as in box, sh as in shall; n indicates that the preceding vowel is nasalized; and h at the end of a syllable indicates that the breath must be heard. When a consonant is doubled it is heard twice or distinctly prolonged. An accent mark is used to indicate stress where it seems necessary.

The unit of time is an eighth note, represented by a short dash, -; 796*
a quarter note is represented by a longer dash, two beats, —; a three- 533*
eighths note by a still longer dash, three beats, , and so on. The
dots indicate the number of voice pulsations given to a tone while it
is held. Where there is emphasis it is marked on the diagram by
the accent sign ′.

A rhythmic rendition, which aims not only to convey the literal [128] ●
meaning but to embody the elucidations of the Ku′rahus as well, has
been made. Its words have been so chosen that the lines shall conform to the rhythm of the corresponding phrases of the song. This rendition is for the purpose of presenting to the eye and the ear of the English reader the song as it appeals to the Pawnee who has been instructed in the rite.

The variety of rhythmic forms in the songs of the rituals offers interesting material for the study of the relation of the musical phrase to the development of metrical language. The movements which accompany each song and act of the ceremony give further testimony to the fundamental character of rhythm.

In the following analysis the scheme of the ceremony will be closely observed.

THE PREPARATION

First Division. Initial Rites

FIRST RITUAL. MAKING THE HAKO

Part I. Invoking the Powers

The ceremony of the Hako, we are told by the Ku′rahus, is a prayer 796*
for offspring. It opens with a song which recalls the creation of man, 842
the gifts bestowed on him by Tira′wa atius through the powers, and 539*
the establishment of rites by which he can appeal to the powers. 782
The content of the song prefigures the fulfilment of man's desire for
the reproduction of his life, and the orderly approach by which he should make his desire known. Such a prefiguring seems to be essential at the opening of a ceremony to give it a supernatural warrant.

The preparation of the Hako constitutes the opening ritual, the 782
first song of which is an appeal to the lesser powers in the order of 796*
their coming near to man from the holy place, Awahokshu (first song, 539*
line 4). They are said to descend by the four paths at the four cardinal points (line 9), and the ceremonial motions indicating these
quarters are an indirect way of mentioning the powers. Each stanza [533*]
of the appeal, falling into four musical phrases, suggests this fourfold symbol.

The appeal is in the form of a litany, each stanza beginning with a [533*]
call to "give heed," and closing with the response that heed has been
given. The climax in both words and music is reached in the third phrase, which is a direct invocation of one of the powers.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

553 *796 The ritual is in three parts. The first gives a brief narration of the institution of the custom of changing the name in consequence of some new achievement. The second shows how the man was enabled to accomplish this act. It began with his lonely vigil and fast, when he cried to the powers for help. The scene then shifts to the circle of the lesser powers, who, in council, deliberate on the petition which makes its way to them and gains their consent. Then the Winds summon the messengers, and these, gathering at the lesser powers' command, are sent to earth to the man crying in lonely places, to grant his desire. This part closes with a few vivid words which set forth that only by the favor and help of the powers had the man been able to do the deed. The third deals with the man's names, the one to be discarded and the one now to be assumed.

128 *539 *796 [182 195] This dramatic poem is in a rhythmic form impossible to reproduce in English; neither is a literal translation adequate to convey its meaning, since a single word sometimes represents a complex action, to the understanding of which a knowledge of the customs and beliefs of the tribe is essential. The terseness of expression was also intended to close the meaning to the uninitiated, keeping it sacred from the common people. Although the form of the following rhythmic rendition could not be determined as heretofore by musical phrases, the English version contains nothing which is not in the original text explained and amplified by the Ku'rahus.

Rhythmic Rendition of Pawnee Text

*539 *796

1358 Harken! 'Twas thus it came to pass:
In ancient days, a Leader and his men
Walked this wide earth, man's vast abode
Roofed by the heavens, where dwell the gods.[a]
They reached a place, the spot no man can tell,
Faced dangers dread, and vanquished them;
Then, standing as if born anew to life,
Each warrior threw away the name
That had been his ere yet these deeds were done.

1359 Harken! The Leader and his men
Made there the Vict'ry Song, and set the mark
Ye must o'ertake, if ye would be like them!

1360 Harken! The Leader and his men
Turned then toward home. Their Vict'ry Song
Proclaimed them near; the village rose,
Looked toward the hill, where on the top
Stood the brave men singing their Song,
Heralding thus the favor of the gods
By which they had surpassed all former deeds,
Made new their claim to be accounted men.

---

[a] Gods, meaning powers, is used solely on account of the rhythm.

668 counter from hand to hand in this way was a regular form of
525 deception and part of the game. Other informants told me about
711 this old method of play after I had recorded Mark's experience, and
only then did I become aware that in terms of Ghost Dance hand
[577] game ethics Mark had cheated, unconsciously falling into the habits
of play he had been used to in his boyhood.

The concept of luck associated with hand game play was broadened conceptually in the Ghost Dance. Winning was a sign of greater faith, and since the coming change could be attained through faith alone, losing was a bitter dose indeed. It marked one as a disbeliever, a sinner, an unfortunate who could not be saved.

121 In the chapters^ which follow I have considered the Ghost Dance
hand games in two ways. In the first discussion the material
525 facts of the games have been used to define the generic aspects of
668 game rituals and ceremonies, and to bring out the significance of the
various parts in order to consider in a later discussion the contrast
with the old game and the meaning of the changes. In other
chapters the details of the individual games are presented so far
as known, in a form which makes them at once comparable with
the analysis which precedes. In this way repetitions have been
reduced to a minimum.

The order in which the games are presented, especially those of the Skiri, is an attempt at something of a chronology.

128 The exact order is of course impossible to determine at this date.
525 Many were developed well-nigh simultaneously. If the owners of
old games are interviewed each is likely to contend for the priority
668 of his or her own game. But certain games are known to be very
old, certain others to be very recent. In addition special traits of
the individual games place them in one or another of relative
periods of time, before which they could not have used certain
forms, and after which they must have. In short, on the basis
of internal evidence as well as tradition a fairly sure chronology of
the games *as groups* had been obtained. The question of priority
within the groups is problematical.

There are first of all the games of the South Bands. Of these I have heard of only five: Joseph Carrion's, Tom Morgan's, White Elk's, Charley Brown's (this and White Elk's are collaborative), and Annie Eustace's. Tom Morgan's game as we saw was probably a nonceremonial one, which he altered to suit the new fashion, while Carrion's was the game he learned among the Arapaho. These two are then definitely older than the White Elk-Brown game, and that of Annie Eustace, for both of the latter were developed *as* Ghost Dance hand games.

^ [not processed. -Analyst]

Of the seventeen Skiri games known to me at least by name, nine fall into an early period. These are the games belonging to Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Goodeagle, Goodeagle, George Beaver, Mark Rudder, John Moses (old form), Skidi Jake, Boychief's mother, and Pierson. Of these I know nothing of the proper place for Beaver's, Skiri Jake's and Goodeagle's games. Mrs. Goodeagle gave the order of the other six as: her own, Mrs. Washington, Rudder, Moses, Boychief's mother and Pierson. Her statement is probably correct as regards the subsequence of Rudder,[1] Moses and Boychief's mother, but as regards the priority of Mrs. Goodeagle's game over that of Mrs. Washington, there can be much question, in view of the part Mrs. Washington played in the Ghost Dance itself, and the general feeling among the Pawnee that there was considerable jealousy between the two women. 128 525 668

Subsequent to this early period, in a general middle period, after Pierson's game, come games of Emmet Pierson and Lonechief (collaborative), Barclay White (from Mrs. Washington), Boychief (from his mother), and Tom Yellowhorse. The Pierson-Lonechief games are definitely placed as just after the earliest developments. White's and Boychief's games follow Pierson's in time, inasmuch as these games were inherited, and their former owners were alive and or active at the time when Emmet Pierson derived his game; while that of Yellowhorse, perhaps the most played game today among the Pawnee, is said to have followed after Pierson's.

Finally we can be reasonably certain that four other games fall in a late to recent period: a second one of Pierson's, a new or changed game of John Moses, a game of Charley Allen's and one of Irene Goodeagle (made for her by her grandmother). The last was made up in the last few years. The Moses and Allen games followed their conversion to the Baptist Church of recent years, and Pierson's second game just preceded that time; it was a simplification of his older game.

While the exact order of these games is not of paramount importance, some conception of their relative order is, because there were gradual changes introduced in the Ghost-Dance hand games throughout the period of their creation, and these changes tell an interesting story.

---

[1] Tom Yellowhorse considers Mark Rudder's game earliest of the Skiri Ghost Dance hand games.

[pp. 160 ff. not processed]

INTRODUCTION.

The following discussion of Pawnee societies was prepared by James R. Murie, a member of the Skidi division, under the direction of the editor who is in the main responsible for its form and limitations. Mr. Murie's method was to collect and write out in full such information on the several topics as could be secured. These notes were then made the subject of several conferences with the editor during which the present manuscript was prepared. It being thus essentially an original contribution, the editor has not considered it necessary to add comments on the previous literature. The important titles on the Pawnee are the three articles by John B. Dunbar in the *Magazine of American History* for 1880–81; *Pawnee Hero Stories* (1893) by George Bird Grinnell; *The Hako* (1894) by Miss Alice C. Fletcher; and two volumes of myths by George A. Dorsey; *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* (1904) and *The Pawnee Mythology* (1906). In all of these except the two first, Mr. Murie was a collaborator. 114 121

While this paper is primarily concerned with societies as treated in the preceding pages, a general outline of the tribal ceremonial scheme is given for perspective, there being no publication to date that treats this subject systematically. This will probably be sufficient to give a general idea of the place and significance of Pawnee societies as parts of their culture complex. 128

The drawings are by Mr. S. Ichikawa from specimens and sketches furnished by the author.

The Editor.

September, 1914.

[p. 544 is blank]

NOTES ON SKIDI PAWNEE SOCIETY

I. INTRODUCTION

From 1903 to 1907, George A. Dorsey, then Curator of Anthro- 122
pology at Field Museum, received a series of grants from the
Carnegie Institution of Washington for ethnological field work
among the Caddoan tribes. Much of the investigation was carried
on among the Pawnee, during which time James R. Murie was
associated with Dorsey. The interest which Murie, himself a
Pawnee, took in recording the culture of his people, and his persever-
ance in collecting the fast-vanishing ethnographic data relating to
his tribe, are deserving of special mention. On the basis of the 128
information gathered in the field, Murie and Dorsey commenced 114
the preparation of a monograph entitled "Society and Religion of
the Skidi Pawnee," though unfortunately the manuscript was never
completed. Murie's later report on Pawnee societies (Murie, 1914)
duplicated certain parts of the unfinished memoir, while other
details were incorporated in four articles by Ralph Linton on various
aspects of Pawnee ceremony and religion (Linton, 1922a, b; 1923a, b).
The section of the manuscript dealing with society was very briefly
summarized by Dorsey (Dorsey, 1907b) but until now it has not
otherwise appeared in print. During the course of its preparation
for publication, I found it necessary to make considerable literary
revision, but the facts have not been changed. The orthography
of the Pawnee words is the same as that used in the manuscript.
Editorial comments on various points in the text appear in brackets.

The last decade has seen a revival of interest in the Pawnee. 114
Recent anthropological work has more fully elucidated the history
of the tribe, and our perspective has been correspondingly deepened
and enriched. However, there remains a lack of published ethno-
graphic data on the Pawnee which seriously handicaps comparison
with other Plains tribes and retards the definition of problems
relating to Plains Indian social organization. On a purely descrip-
tive level, the present notes are a step toward filling out the incom-
plete picture. They deal briefly with social groupings such as the
band, village, and family; with kinship; the major crimes and their
punishment; class distinctions; and the individual life cycle, which
is accorded a fuller treatment than the other sections. John B.
Dunbar (1880a, b), Fletcher (1899), and Lesser (1930, 1933) have
discussed some of these aspects of social organization, but the

[p. 72 is blank]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Preface

The bands were still

somewhat socially discrete. The mainstay of the diet was largely the tra- 621
ditional corn, beans, and squash grown on their own farm plots and dried 262
and stored as of old. Beef had taken the place of buffalo meat and was
prepared by thin slicing and drying for storage or boiled on feast days. 252
Relationships in kin groups continued, and some of the religious ideology 241
survived. A Doctor Dance Ceremony was performed by the last survivors 771
who possessed the arts and the knowledge involved and brought us some 796
welcome rain after a long dry spell. The question was, "How to give these
fragments life and place them in their integral context?" We evolved the 178
plan of utilizing one year of Pawnee life in as much detail as possible, 114
covering the round of the year through the four seasons as reconstructed with the help of the surviving Pawnees. Our plan proved to be an effective means of developing vivid recall in Evarts and the other old Pawnees. For a number of reasons we would think of our year hypothetically as 1867; in that year the Pawnee settlement and round of life was sufficiently integral to serve as a base line for our reconstruction. Some of the other surviving Pawnees were in their late teens and twenties in that year. Evarts supplied a normal thread of events in answer to my prodding questions for the details that seemed to a Pawnee all too obvious and we supplemented and checked this with whomever we thought had relevant knowledge concerning one point or another. Most of the old people had worked with me on linguistics before that time.

128 It was not possible to reproduce the material in the exact order in which I collected it. I have had to reassort the material somewhat so that it falls into some of our own functional categories and at the same time so that it fits within the seasonal round of the year. Under the pressure of time when my notes were recorded I rendered the Pawnee or Pawnee-English in which it was given into the closest normal English equivalent I could muster. Also, this book was compiled a quarter of a century or more after it was recorded. I have avoided altering the original simple declarative language too radically. In some cases I have retained the original language with very little variation, particularly where it is an incident that had often been recounted among the Pawnees, a very familiar situation, a technical account, a speech, a personality sketch. Such passages are indented from the left margin.

127 In addition to the informant record, I have checked my account in detail with most of the existing material on the Pawnees and in some cases supplemented it from these sources. This is detailed in the Notes and Comments with references correlated with my text. Recently excavated archaeological materials together with eyewitness accounts by contemporary observers of the 1830's and 1840's have overwhelmingly vindicated the accuracy of my Pawnee informants. The most substantial help in this recent phase of the work has been given me by Prof. John L. Champe, author of an important stratigraphic treatment of Nebraska archaeology, *Ash Hol-*

I

I. THE PAWNEE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

FIRST PERIOD: TO 1833

The Pawnee enter the perspective of American governmental 175*
Indian affairs after the purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 648*
by which their traditional territory, ranging from the Missouri 101
indefinitely westward between the Niobrara River and the Arkansas, 131
became a part of the United States. Lewis and Clarke, on their
explorations of the newly acquired domain, met the Pawnee on the
Platte River in Nebraska in 1804. In 1806, Major Pike visited the
villages of the Kitkahaxki^x band of Pawnee on the Republican fork 175*
of the Kansas River. But the first government treaties with the 648*
Pawnee were not concluded until 1818. At that time the four bands
were politically independent of each other, and lived apart, and [619]
four separate treaties, embodying the identical articles, were
drawn up at St. Louis. By these treaties the government secured
for the American people the peace and friendship of the Pawnee,
while the tribes acknowledged the "protection" of the United
States. All past acts of hostility were to be mutually forgiven and
forgotten, and future violations of the treaty were to be dealt with
according to the laws of the United States. These objectives were
further defined by the treaty of 1825 at Ft. Atkinson, at which
time the government dealt with the Pawnee as one tribal or national
unit composed of four federated bands. In this latter treaty the
Pawnee acknowledged the supremacy of the United States, and
the United States received the Pawnee under their protection.
Specifically, the function of this treaty was to establish rules for
the trade of the Indians with the whites, and to limit such trade to
citizens of the United States. The Pawnee also gave a guaranty in
this treaty that they would refrain from selling or trading arms
and ammunition to hostile Indian tribes.

---

[1] The historical account which comprises Chapter I, as well as parts of [113]
the second section of Chapter II, and the last section of Chapter III, are
founded on:

[p. 1]

life of Plains tribes was considered wild and barbaric by a people 175* whose culture for centuries had been grounded on an agricultural economy. To tame and civilize the savage it was necessary to 648* make them an agricultural people; and this was the more essential in that an agricultural economy would locate the tribes permanently in restricted areas and release wide reaches of land for the uses of the white man.

The Pawnee do not seem to have been in agreement about the removal. While the provisions of the treaty made the lands south of the Platte River ceded by the Pawnee a common hunting ground, still open to them, it confined their villages and farm lands to the north side of the river. Prior to this time the three bands of [619] Tcawi, Kitkahaxki^x and Pitahawirat^a had maintained their permanent village settlements south of the Platte, while only the Skiri band resided on the north. The Kitkahaxki^x and Pitahawirat^a accepted the terms of the treaty and removed, as well as some of the Tcawi, but most of the Tcawi refused to leave their homes on the south side of the river. This main Tcawi village was below the Platte some miles west of the Bellevue settlement on the Missouri River. It was to this group that the other bands removed in 1846.

The exact year of final removal is not certain. In 1839 the bands asked aid in locating their permanent settlements on the north side, inasmuch as the land was to be cultivated according to white methods of farming, and must be suitable for such purposes. By [166] 1841 all the Pawnee who accepted the treaty provision had removed. One large village was built together by the Pitahawirat^a, Kitkahaxki^x, and those Tcawi who removed. The Skiri are not mentioned as building a new village from which we may infer that they probably continued at their old location.

In the midst of the difficulties attending the removal, the Pawnee 175* were afflicted again by the smallpox. An epidemic broke out in 731 1838 and did not subside until a year and a half later. It is said to 165 have been communicated to the Pawnee by some Dakota women captured by them in the spring of 1838. Great numbers of children perished in the epidemic, while the mortality rate among the adults was perceptibly lower. Nevertheless the total deaths must have considerably exceeded five hundred in the period of the

---

[1] Dunbar, in Magazine of American History, 4: 257, places the Kitkahaxki^x 18 miles northwest of the mouth of the Loup River on the north side of the Loup, and the Pitahawirat^a 11 miles above the mouth on the same side, as early as 1834. I have not found evidence to validate the location of these bands north of the Platte at this early date. [13] [114]

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

all their lands to the United States government, retaining a reser- 175 *
vation thirty miles by fifteen at the Loup Fork of the Platte River, 648 *
or at any other location in their traditional range more suitable as
a permanent home, and remove to it within a year. Article two 657
provides that the United States government pay the Pawnee for their lands $ 40,000 yearly for five years, and $ 30,000 yearly in perpetuity thereafter, subject to commutation by the President. Other articles provide for two manual labor schools to be provided by the government, blacksmith shops, farming implements, grain and lumber mills, and laborers. The Pawnee agreed to send their children between the ages of seven and eighteen to school nine months of the year.

In this treaty the Pawnee inserted some provisions of their own. By article nine, they saw to it that half-breeds were provided for, whether they wished to live with the tribe, or with the white men. By article ten, they asked that the United States government share with them in the payment of $ 2,000 to Samuel Allis, as a recompense for his good services to the tribe. In their last smallpox epidemic he had vaccinated 2,000 and saved their lives; and when they were starving they appropriated his property and used it as their own. By article eleven, the Pawnee asked that a chief and four braves who had guided an American army expedition against the Cheyenne and nearly lost their lives returning alone to the tribe be compensated by the United States government with $ 100 each, or a horse worth $ 100.

According to the terms of the treaty the Pawnee were to make a final selection of their reservation and remove to it within one year of the date of ratification by the United States Senate, until which time the tribe was to remain unmolested in the villages south of the Platte. Ratification took place March 31, 1858. By the fall of that year the Pawnee "were almost entirely surrounded by settlers, a majority of whom, as the more worthy settlers have
testified, are less civilized than the Indians."[1] By 1859 the Pawnee [131]
had accepted the reservation for which they had originally asked,
the territory embracing both banks of the Loup fork of the Platte River, and had removed to it. It was a fertile land, which it was expected would by proper cultivation make them in a few years independent of buffalo hunting. On their reserve the Pawnee were free from the increasing pressure of the white occupation, their eastern boundary being the only point accessible to white settlements.

---

[1] Agent W. W. Dennison, writing September 22, 1858, from the Council Bluff Agency. Annual Reports, 1857—1858.

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 5

The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee

(Hall 5, Case 60)

The Pawnee were a tribe of the Caddoan linguistic 101
stock who, in historic times, occupied the valley of the [197]
Platte river in Nebraska. The name Pawnee is prob- [131]
ably derived from *pariki* ("a horn"), a term applied
to them by the neighboring tribes because of their
peculiar method of dressing the hair. They called
themselves Chahiksichahiks ("Men of Men"). They [174]
seem to have come into Nebraska from some region to
the southwest, expelling an earlier population; but this
movement was an ancient one, and the first Siouxian
tribes to enter the Platte valley found the Pawnee
already established.

The region in which the Pawnee lived was high, 133
dry, and rather sandy, with little timber except along
the rivers. On the west, toward the mountains, it was
rough and broken. In early times buffalo and other 221
game were abundant. Although the Pawnee ranged 105
over a large territory in pursuit of the buffalo, they
were not nomads. They spent the greater part of
every year in permanent villages and raised large
crops of corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins. Corn
played a much more important part than the buffalo
in their ceremonies and mythology, and it is evident
that they were an agricultural rather than a hunting
people.

[p.2 is blank]

NK10
F451

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

DESCRIPTION
OF THE
Manners and Customs of the Pawnee Indians.

(By Br. D. Z. Smith.)

619 Bands or Clans.—All the Indian tribes are subdivided into
bands or clans. The *Pawnees* have among them four distinct
643 bands, viz: the Loups (pronounced *Loos*,) the Republicans, the
Topages, (Tuppays,) and the Grand Pawnees. Each band has
at its head a Chief, among whom, however, the Chief of the
Grand Pawnees, Asseruregarrigu, is considered the Principal
Chief of the whole tribe.

● 131 Villages, Localities, former Missionaries, &c.—The Paw-
nees live in two villages at present, both on the South side of the
Platte or Nebraska river. The lower village lies about 50 miles
from Bellevue, and about 10 or 15 miles above the mouth of the
Elkhorn river, the first important tributary of the Platte from the
North; and the upper village is situated about 20 or 25 miles
above the lower, nearly opposite the mouth of the Loup Fork of
the Platte, the next branch of any consequence above the Elkhorn.
361 Both villages are situated on eminences, so that the approach of
an enemy can easily be observed, and a sharp lookout is constant-
ly kept in order to guard against any sudden surprise from a hos-
tile force. Sentinels are constantly posted on all the surrounding
648 heights, who can immediately by signs, known among the Indians,
726 transmit intelligence in case of impending danger. During the
night, sentinels are constantly perched upon the tops of the lodges,
to guard against any unexpected nocturnal attack.—When we were
on our return, and remained over night at the Loup village, a re-
port, probably a false alarm, had reached there during the day,
that a large war-party of Sioux had lately been seen near the
head waters of the Elkhorn river. During the night the sentinels
were as usual posted upon the lodges, a little more noisy, however,
than generally, yelling to one another and singing, nearly the whole
night. Upon our inquiring why the sentinels made so much noise,
we were informed, that it was to let the Sioux know, should they
be near, that they might not expect to find them off their guard.

Thus it will be observed, that a certain kind of military organ-
ization is constantly kept up at each village, rendered necessary
by their wars with their enemies. This unpleasant state of things
000 can only be removed through the benign influence of the Gospel,
when "they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their
spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against
nation, neither shall they *learn* war any more. But they shall sit

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

every man under his vine and fig-tree; and *none* shall make them 000
afraid." Mic. 4. 3, 4.

As hinted in a note in a previous communication, (see February 131 ●
Miscellany, p. 62.) the Pawnee villages are not located on their 648
own land. Formerly the land on both sides of the Platte river
belonged to them. But about the year 1835 they concluded a
treaty with the United States, in which they ceded to the latter all
their territory on the South side of the river. Their villages were
then situated about 150 miles further up the Platte on the North
side. The missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. were then residing 797
with them, their mission stations being situated in the vicinity
of these villages. When the Pawnees were at their homes, which
is only four or five months of the year, (the remaining months [221]
being consumed on their summer and fall hunts) the missionaries
were engaged in teaching such of their children as could be induced
to attend school, and in instructing the people in the truths of
religion, as well as they could according to their limited knowledge
of the language. About six years ago, the powerful Sioux made 648
repeated incursions into the Pawnee country, and the strength of 797
the latter being very much weakened by their frequent wars with
their enemies, they were obliged to succomb, and at length forced
to leave their former location on the North side of the Platte, and
to remove to the South side, nearer to the white settlements on
the Missouri river. The missionaries too found it unsafe to remain,
and it was thought advisable to suspend their missionary
operations among them. Mr. and Mrs. Allis (See August Misc.
1851, pp. 221, 222, and also February Misc. 1852, p. 64.) are
remnants of this noble band of missionaries, and, still cherishing
the desire, that these benighted but very interesting people might
be enlightened by the gospel, have, while their fellow-laborers
have long ago left for other fields of usefulness, still lingered behind,—and
toiled on, amidst many self-denials, privations, and discouragements,
in doing whatever lay in their power for the good
of these Indians. Lately the government has established Fort
Kearney, not far distant from their former villages, which, it is
hoped, will be a security against future incursions, and prove a
safeguard, when our mission will once be established among them.

LANGUAGE.—The Pawnee language is said to be altogether different 197
from the languages of the surrounding prairie tribes. The
Otoes, the Ioways, the Osages, the Kanzas or Caws, the Omahaws,
the Puncaws, etc., seem all to speak dialects of the same
language, the Dakota; while the Pawnee language seems, by its
great difference, to point back to the earliest periods of the residence
of the Indians in this country, when a disruption may have taken
place, that formed them into a distinct nation.

POPULATION, LODGES, etc.—The lower village consists of about 361
161

PREFACE

The Pawnee have been known to white man since, probably, 1541, 101
and certainly since 1673. They were the most numerous and powerful 648
of the tribes constituting the Caddoan linguistic stock and one of
the most important of the entire Plains area. Since the earliest
definite historic mention of them they have been resident in Nebraska [131] ●
and the extreme northern portion of Kansas, particularly on
the Loup, Platte, and Republican Rivers. As a tribe they were
always friendly to the Europeans and later to the Americans, rendering
invaluable aid as scouts in the Indian troubles on the Plains
during the middle half of the nineteenth century; and that despite
the half-hearted and tardy attentions that too often characterized
the Government's relations with them.

The tribe has been variously described by early explorers, missionaries, 114
fur traders, Army officers, and travelers, many of whom left
very valuable and worth-while accounts concerning them in their
native habitat in the Loup and Platte Valleys. In more recent years,
on their reservation in Oklahoma, they have been studied by linguists
and ethnologists, though much of this material is still unpublished.
Of outstanding note among the available treatises in this field is the
work of Dunbar in general ethnology, of Dorsey in mythology, of
Grinnell in folk-tales, and of Murie in social and political organization.
Archeological remains, surprisingly rich and numerous at
many of the old village sites formerly occupied by the tribe, have
received but little systematic attention up to the present, save for
the excellent beginnings made by a few local collectors. Yet it is
this latter, long-neglected field of research which must come to be
more and more drawn upon for information regarding this fast-vanishing
tribe and its native culture.

The primary purpose of this paper, as originally planned, was to 121
present a purely objective preliminary report on the archeology of
the Pawnee, drawing together all data at present available and recording
it in systematic fashion. More or less inadvertently, the
scope was broadened to include a review of the traditions dealing
with the origin and early movements of the tribe, as well as a concise
summary of the documentary history of the tribe from 1541 to
1876. To this were added brief notes on the environment of the
group, and such other significant facts as may be helpful to an understanding
of the subject. The social, political, and religious phases

[P. viii contains no text]

term "Pani" was employed by the French during the seventeenth and 101
eighteenth centuries to designate all Indian slaves, regardless of tribal 114
affiliations, perhaps because the majority of such slaves were captives from the tribe known as *Panis*.[12] Conversely, however, it has been suggested that the tribe may have derived its name from the old French term, without its originally having been connected with them at all.[13] The older form, "Pani", survived until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when, largely through the agency of early American explorers, it was superseded by the modern Pawnee, rarely Pawney.[14] Among themselves the people are called *Chahiksi-chahiks*, or "men of men."

NAMES AND GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BANDS

The unit of tribal organization among the Pawnee was the band.[15] 631
There were four of these, each in turn consisting of several subbands 621
and villages. The main bands, which are sufficient for present purposes, were known as the *Chaui* or Grand, the *Kitkehahki* or Republican, the *Pitahauerat* or Tappage, and the *Skidi*, or Wolf, Pawnee. Ordinarily each functioned as an independent unit, retaining charge of its own administrative and other affairs through a hereditary, but often purely nominal, chief, who was assisted in matters of importance by secondary chiefs and a council of the leading men. The Grands were generally recognized as the leading band, and where situations arose involving relationships between the several bands, [643]
or affecting the tribe as a whole, the principal chief of the Grands acted as spokesman and adviser for the entire tribe. The bands were endogamous, and each possessed its own sacred bundles and certain accompanying rituals, besides participatory privileges in various tribal ceremonies. The Skidi appear to have been less closely bound to the other bands than were these to one another, and they may have sprung from a somewhat different ancestry, or else possibly represent an earlier offshoot from the parent stock. In the present discussion the bands will be designated by their anglicized names, with the exception of the Skidi.

HISTORIC HABITAT AND ITS GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

The territory claimed by the Pawnee was bounded on the north 101
by the Niobrara River, on the south by the Arkansas or possibly 131
the Canadian, on the east by the Missouri, and on the west extended rather indefinitely toward the Rockies. Actually, however, it was

---

[12] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 190.

[13] Idem. Compare Lesser and Weltfish, op. cit.

[14] Ashley and Smith, 1918, p. 119.

[15] See Murie, 1914, pp. 549 ff.

101 much more limited. On the west the *Padouca* (Comanche) were
131 firmly established in the forks of the Dismal River,[16] on the shores
of some of the lakes in the sandhill region of the present Cherry
County, Nebr.,[17] and on the upper reaches of the Smoky Hill River[18]
in the present northern Kansas. Between Pawnee and *Padouca*
101 there was incessant warfare, and it is unlikely that the former at
648 any time ventured far beyond the forks of the Platte, save on
131 occasional war or hunting trips. Early in the nineteenth century
the *Padouca* were pushed southward by the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and
Teton Dakota, who formed an equally effective check against westward movements by the Pawnee. On the east the Omaha controlled a large area north of the Platte from Shell Creek to the
mouth of the Niobrara, and south of the Platte the Oto claimed as
theirs the lands lying east of the Big Blue and north of the Big
Nemaha. From the Big Nemaha south to the Kansas River and
west to the Republican the Kansa were in undisputed possession,
and south of this tribe the equally hostile Osage roamed westward
nearly to the great bend of the Arkansas. The actual area over
101 which the Pawnee hunted and exercised chief control was thus a
131 strip, as follows: Commencing with the Niobrara (between its mouth
and Plum Creek) and extending southward to include the Platte
between Shell Creek and the present city of North Platte, thence
into Kansas to include the Smoky Hill drainage between the Republican River and the ninety-ninth meridian, with the western
periphery then swinging westward by south toward the upper
reaches of the Arkansas, while the eastern limit ran toward the
southwestern corner of present Kansas. (See map 1. Compare
[361] Strong, 1935, fig. 2.) The permanent villages of the tribe were located in the valleys of the lower Loup and Platte Rivers, and on the
Republican, in the present State of Nebraska; the region to the south
served solely as hunting and wintering grounds, and Pawnee claims
were often disputed or ignored by neighboring tribes.

133 Generally speaking, the region which formerly constituted the Pawnee demesne, as above described, is a high, dry, grass-covered plain, or more accurately, a series of plains interspersed with river valleys. The northern portion, lying within the borders of the present State of Nebraska, includes several thousand square miles of the great loess mantle deposited during or shortly following the Pleistocene glaciation of the region. North of the Platte erosion has progressed sufficiently to produce a hilly and broken topography, consisting of small loess plains and canyons grading into loess-capped hills toward the east. A great wedge of dune lands and sand

---

[16] Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pp. 88, 91. However, compare Grinnell, 1920, p. 260.
[17] Dorsey, J. O., 1886, p. 220.
[18] Margry Papers, vol. vi, pp. 398–448.

First of the major expeditions was that of Lewis and Clark from 1804 to 1806. While on their way up the Missouri in July 1804 these explorers, encamped some 10 miles above the mouth of the Platte, made the following observations:[30] The Otos were located 30 miles up the Platte on the south bank of the stream; 5 leagues above them on the same side of the stream was the principal band of Pawnee, and 90 miles distant on the Wolf (Loup) fork of the Platte were the Pawnee Loups. The Republican Band had recently migrated from the Republican River to join the principal, or Grand, Pawnee, hence the map (map 8) shows no Pawnee on that stream. In another report[31] the same authors locate the *Panias* proper, 1,600 strong, 30 leagues up the Platte; the *Loups*, self-styled the "*Skee-e-ree*", on the Loup River 36 leagues from its mouth; and the Republicans were associated with the first band, probably at the present Linwood site. The Skidi village on the Loup was perhaps north of what is now Palmer, in Nance County, Nebr., or at least in that general locality. 175

In the summer of 1806 Lt. Zebulon M. Pike visited the village of the Republican Pawnee while en route to the headwaters of the Arkansas. This village, so far as can be determined from Pike's map (map 9) and his notes on the adjacent physiography,[32] was located on the south bank of the Republican River in what is now Webster County, Nebr., and was doubtless occupied by a different portion of the Republican Band than the party which Lewis and Clark reported previously as having rejoined the Grands. The Grand Pawnees and the Skidi were in about the same locations as given by Lewis and Clark; the former on the Platte, the latter on the Loup. Pike did not venture north of the Republican village, hence there are one or two minor errors in his map showing the villages on the Platte, particularly where he locates the Oto and Missouri village as above that of the Grand Pawnee. 175 131

By 1811 marked changes had taken place in the location of several of the Pawnee villages. According to Major Sibley,[33] an officer of the Missouri Co., both Grand and Republican Pawnee had abandoned their old villages and were establishing one jointly in an "elevated level prairie" on the north bank of the Otto (Loup) fork of the Platte, about 120 miles northwest of the Kansa village at the mouth of the Blue River in Kansas. The Skidi were 10 miles farther upstream. The mileage given is probably somewhat short, and from

---

[30] 1815, vol. I, pp. 35 f.

[31] 1832, pp. 708–709.

[32] Pike, 1810, pp. 141–149; App. to pt. II, pp. 14–15; also Wilkinson, in App. to pt. II, pp. 22–24. This location agrees with Coues' original interpretation of Pike's notes and tallies with those of Nebraska investigators, but is at variance with the opinions of certain Kansas historians. The evidence leading to the present author's conclusion will be presented later. See also Nebraska History Mag., vol. X, 3, 1927, for arguments on both sides.

[33] 1927, pp. 200–203; also Louisiana Gazette, May 16, 1812.

175 comparison with subsequent accounts it appears that the villages were then in the present Nance County, Nebr., the Grand-Republican 131 village at the mouth of Horse Creek, and the Skidi village due north of Palmer.

The journal of Maj. S. H. Long's expedition,[84] in 1819, gives very explicit information on the Pawnee. Proceeding up the Loup after crossing Beaver Creek, and 4 miles farther on the Creek of Souls (now Council Creek), the party encamped on "a small creek (now Plum Creek), 11 miles distant from the village of the Grand Pawnees."[85] Evidently this refers to the village at the mouth of Horse Creek. The Republicans had withdrawn from the band and were in a separate village 4 miles above the Grand Pawnee,[86] presumably at the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. Three miles farther upstream, and like the other villages on the immediate bank of the river, were the Skidi,[87] at the site north of the present Palmer. The three villages occupied "about 10 miles in length of the fertile valley of the Wolf [Loup] River. The surface is wholly naked of timber, rising gradually to the river hills, which are broad and low, and from a mile to a mile and a half distant."[88] Throughout, the narrative is sufficiently clear to make the accurate relocation of the villages possible to one familiar with the region described (map 10).

Reports by the Rev. Jedidiah Morse[89] in 1822 and by Captain Ashley[90] in 1824 indicate that the villages of the tribe were still in about the same location at that date. According to Ashley it was 15 miles south to the Platte from the villages[91] and "Plumb Point", a few miles west of the present Kearney, was the customary crossing place of the Pawnee "on their route to the wintering grounds on the Arkansas River."[92]

In 1833 Commissioner Ellsworth negotiated a treaty with the [648] Pawnee whereby the tribe ceded to the United States all lands claimed by it lying south of the Platte River. He was accompanied by J. T. Irving, who recorded unofficially many details of the visit to the villages.[93] The Grand Pawnee had abandoned the Horse Creek site where they had been visited by Long and had established their village "at the foot of a long range of hills (and) within about 50 yards of the Platte",[94] on the right bank of the stream. This was probably opposite the present station of Clarks, in Polk County. The Republican Band was about 20 miles to the northwest on the Loup,[65] having apparently removed from where Long saw them on the Cottonwood site to the Horse Creek site evacuated by the Grands. The Tappage Band, here mentioned for the first time, was located 11 miles farther up the Loup,[66] and 10 miles beyond were the Skidi.[67] The last three villages were all situated on a high bank immediately overlooking the river. The distances from the Republican to the Tappage and Skidi villages, as here recorded, are too great to be reconciled with known Pawnee sites in that area, consequently later investigators are inclined to regard them as inaccurate, and to suggest that the Tappage village was actually at the Cottonwood Creek site and the Skidi village near by, at or near the location given by Long.[68]

---

[84] 1823, vol. I.
[85] Ibid., p. 435.
[86] Ibid., pp. 354, 440.
[87] Ibid., p. 354.
[88] Ibid., p. 446.
[89] 1822, pp. 237–238.
[90] 1918, p. 118.
[91] Idem.
[92] Idem.
[93] 1835, vol. II.
[94] Ibid., p. 10.

175
131

Catlin, about 1835, referred briefly to the Pawnee as living on the Platte 100 miles above its confluence with the Missouri, occupying "four villages, some few miles apart."[69] It is doubtful whether he ever actually saw the villages, and his rather vague report adds little to our knowledge.

[114]

In June 1835 Col. Henry Dodge and a detachment of dragoons marched up the right, or south, bank of the Platte en route to the Rocky Mountains. They passed through the Grand Pawnee village after "having marched 80 miles since leaving the Otto village [at Yutan]."[1] The reference here is to the same village as that where Irving visited the band two years earlier. Dodge mentions the other three bands also,[2] but fails to locate their villages, from which we may infer that they were still on the old sites along the Loup and off the route traveled by the dragoons. Of especial interest is the statement that "the Arickaras had been living with the Pawnee Loups all winter, but were scared away previous to our arrival by a lying Kansas",[3] and the subsequent information that the Arikara had been driven from their habitat on the Missouri by the Sioux.[4] On the expedition's map but one Pawnee village is indicated, and that one opposite the lower end of Grand Island.[5]

[648]

Fremont's expedition, while descending the Platte from the Rockies in 1842, halted "at the village of the Grand Pawnee on

---

[65] 1835, vol. II, p. 57.

[66] Ibid., p. 119.

[67] Ibid., p. 125.

[68] A. T. Hill, personal communication.

[69] 1841, vol. II, pp. 24–27.

[1] Dodge, 1861, p. 133; also map no. 654 B.

[2] Idem.

[3] Idem.

[4] Ibid., p. 134.

[5] Grand Island is some 25 miles above Clarks, but Prairie Island, which may have been mistaken for the former, commences just above the site and extends approximately 10 miles upstream.

175 the right bank of the river, about 30 miles above the mouth of the Loup Fork."[7] At about the same time Gregg[8] states that the 131 principal village of the tribe was on the Loup Fork of the Platte, probably on the basis of reports by traders and others.

A second detachment of dragoons, Major Wharton in command, visited the Pawnee villages in 1844. A council was held in the Grand village, located "at the point of a projecting ridge", or "headland",[9] on the right bank of the Platte. A few miles upstream was a village of the Republican band, the site of which has never been specifically determined.[10] The villages on the Loup were for the most part abandoned by this time, the Skidi and Tappage having also removed to new locations,[11] farther down the Loup.

The movements of the various bands from 1835 to 1845 are perhaps best recorded in the letters of John Dunbar,[12] Presbyterian missionary who attached himself to the Grand band and was later in charge of the Plum Creek (now Council Creek) mission station. Thus, in 1835, the village of the Grand Pawnee was situated "on the south side of the River Platte, about 120 miles from the mouth of the stream . . . (and) . . . about 30 rods from the water's edge."[13] The following spring he visited the village of the Republican and Tappage bands, 25 miles from that of the Grands, "on a high bluff on the north side of the Loup Fork about 30 miles above its junction with the Platte." Four miles above was the Little Republican village, and 3 miles farther still were the Skidi,[14] both on high steep bluffs overlooking the Loup. By 1839 the Republicans were split into four groups, with their main village "on the south side of the Platte, a short distance above the village of the Grand Pawnees",[15] where, it will be recalled, Wharton also reported them in 1844. By the autumn of 1842 the Tappage, together with many Grands and Republicans, had established "a village of 41 lodges" about a mile from the Plum Creek (now Council Creek) mission, and shortly the Skidi settled 3 miles above on the immediate river bank at the mouth of Willow (Cedar) Creek, about 2 miles east 175 of the present town of Fullerton.[16] On June 27, 1843, a Dakota raid 131 on the lower village culminated disastrously for the Pawnee and 648 they sought the security of the main Grand village south of the

---

[7] 1845, p. 78.

[8] 1845, vol. II, p. 300.

[9] 1844, p. 20.

[10] Ibid., p. 29.

[11] Ibid., p. 30.

[12] 1918, pp. 570–689.

[13] Ibid., p. 599.

[14] Ibid., pp. 617–618. These three villages are now known as Horse Creek, Cottonwood, and Palmer sites, respectively. See also Long's location of villages in 1819.

[15] Ibid., pp. 637, 640.

[16] Ibid., pp. 618, 656–660.

Platte.[17] A few months later, however, the fugitives removed again 175
to the Loup, this time to join the Skidi 4 miles from the mission, and 131
in 1844 they were fortifying this village by means of a ditch and
turf wall, besides requesting two hundred guns from the government 648
agent for protection against the dreaded Dakota.[18] By the end of the year the greater part of the tribe was settled on the north bank of the Loup,[19] and in 1846, after the hostility of the Sioux and the increasing discontent of the Pawnee had necessitated the abandonment of the mission, Dunbar alludes to "thieves and robbers" south of the Platte in contrast to "Pawnees who have removed north of the Platte".[20] Most of the difficulties experienced by emigrant trains on the Mormon and Oregon Trails through this region, at least after about 1847, were due to the activities of the renegade Pawnee who insisted upon remaining south of the Platte River on lands no longer their own.

Confirmation of this situation is seen in the journal of William 175
Clayton, written in 1847, as accurate as it is interesting. Clayton was
with the first party of Mormons to travel over this trail, and his 131
observations on the Pawnee, though not extensive, afford a good check on some of the other reports. The party proceeded up the left bank of the Loup, all distances being computed from the recorded revolutions of the wagon wheels. Thus, at a distance of about 25 miles west of Shell Creek was seen the first village, of skins, on the south side of the Loup[21] about 5 or 6 miles west of and across the river from the present city of Columbus. Four miles southwest of the old mission, just above the ford across the Loup, was the ruin of the old Skidi village of some two hundred lodges.[22] Accurate as the account generally is, Clayton, singularly enough, fails to mention the sizable
Cedar Creek which falls into the Loup just above the site. The aban- [648]
donment of this location, to which after 1846 had moved virtually all of the bands, came about as the result of its having been burned twice by the Sioux while the tribe was absent on hunts.[23] The encampment on the lower Loup represented the greater portion of the homeless and discouraged residents of this village. After fording the Loup the party continued on up its right bank, and Clayton records two ruined Indian villages seen on the high north bank, one at 10, the other at 17, miles above the ford.[24] Though on the opposite side of the river, he described the tumble-down lodges, the directions

---

[17] At the village visited by Dodge, Wharton, et al.—i. e., opposite Clarks.

[18] Ibid., p. 663.

[19] Ibid., p. 671.

[20] Ibid., pp. 685 ff.

[21] 1921, pp. 84–87.

[22] Ibid., p. 95 ff.

[23] Ibid., p. 95.

[24] Ibid., p. 106.

175
131 of the entrances, and the indications of former cultivated fields as plainly visible. That these two ruins were those of the Horse Creek and Cottonwood sites, which Dunbar found inhabited in 1836 and which were apparently not abandoned until 1842, there can be no reasonable doubt.

Father De Smet in 1847[25] recorded the Pawnee Nation as divided into four tribes, with their villages on the Platte, or Nebraska, River, and its branches, approximately 150 miles from the Missouri. His best contribution on the tribe is a graphic account of the Morning-Star human sacrifice of the Skidi.[26]

In 1851 Gottlieb Oehler and David Smith, two Moravian missionaries, made a hurried trip to the villages of the Pawnee, now but two in number, and both on the south side of the Platte. The lower village was located on a high bluff overlooking the valley 10 or 15 miles above the mouth of the Elkhorn,[27] probably at the site about 3 miles due south of Fremont. Twenty-five miles upstream, but on the valley bottom, was the other village, generally identified with the later site at Linwood. The traditional arrangement of the villages of the bands,[28] whereby the Skidi were always farthest toward the west, was apparently disregarded here, as the information, though rather vague, suggests that the Skidi were at the lower, or easternmost, site.[29] General Thayer, who held a council with the Pawnee at this village in 1855, locates it "on the south and west side of the Platte River on a very high point a few miles this side (south) of where the town of Fremont had just commenced a settlement."[30] A granite monument now marks the spot where Thayer's council was convened, on the edge of a high bluff overlooking the Platte bottoms.

175
648 Increasing friction between white settlers and the discontented Pawnee led to the treaty of Table Creek in 1857, whereby the tribe gave up the claim to lands lying north of the Platte and was assigned to a reservation 30 miles long by 15 wide, lying along both sides of the Loup.[31] Some difficulty was experienced in persuading the Pawnee to return to this region, but they finally did so with the understanding that the Government was to provide protection against the Dakota. Two villages, or what really amounted to one large scattering village, were established about a mile and a half south of Genoa, on a broad flat plain between Beaver Creek and the Loup River. Three of the bands settled in one village, on ground now occupied by the Genoa Cemetery; the Skidi were about a half mile farther west.

---

[25] 1905, vol. III, p. 974.
[26] Ibid., pp. 976-988.
[27] 1851, pp. 25-27.
[28] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, p. 257.
[29] Oehler and Smith, 1851, pp. 21, 25.
[30] 1907, p. 121.
[31] Royce, 1899, p. 818.

The promised protection was soon withdrawn, however, and by 1860 175
the Pawnee were again suffering from the harassment of their relentless foes, the Dakota.[52] In addition, the encroachments of the whites 648
from the east and south led to endless bickering and ill feeling between the two races. In 1870 a party of Republican Pawnee visited the Wichita Reservation in Indian Territory, meeting with a kindly reception, and on their return north agitation was begun within the tribe as well as from without for removal to the Territory. A crushing defeat by Teton and Oglala Dakota, while a portion of the Pawnee Tribe was engaged in their last buffalo hunt near what is now Trenton, in southwestern Nebraska, almost unnerved the remainder of the Pawnee, and in 1876, by common consent, the reservation was exchanged for lands in Indian Territory. The southward trek had actually begun nearly 2 years earlier, so that by late 1874 or 1875 the movement was practically consummated. The former reservation became Nance County, Nebr., and the once powerful Pawnee had passed forever from the territory they had for centuries known as their own.

ARCHEOLOGY

HISTORIC VILLAGE SITES

Ancient village sites, almost always attributed locally to the 172*
Pawnee, are to be found on virtually every stream of any consequence
in eastern and southern Nebraska. These remains are especially 131
numerous along the north bank of the Loup below St. Paul, on the Platte between Prairie Island and Ashland, and on the Republican throughout its entire length in Nebraska, including also a short stretch of the latter stream in northern Kansas. Within historic times the permanent villages of the Pawnee were located in the lower Loup and Platte Valleys and on the Republican both north and south of the Kansas-Nebraska line, so that in all probability many of the so-called "Pawnee sites" in the area will ultimately prove to be correctly designated. However, in view of the fact that archeology here is still in the nascent stage, with little or no material from the vast majority of such sites, it is absurd to label as Pawnee all Indian remains found in the region. The specific tribal name should be applied only to sites known by documentary references or through careful archeological investigation to have been occupied by the Pawnee; any other sites should be differently and distinctively designated.

The characteristic form of habitation of the Pawnee when in their 172*
permanent villages was the earth lodge, of which a detailed descrip- 342
tion will be given later. Here it may be pointed out that the lodge

---

[52] Gillis, 1890, pp. 93-96.

*172 Most of the site has long been under cultivation, and there are but few remaining traces of the lodge circles; no evidence whatever exists of the surrounding wall. Bits of shell, bone, stones, flints, and some sherds are found, together with iron hoes, gun parts, knives, and other evidences of white trade. Plowing reveals the presence of many otherwise undiscernible house sites. The shortness of occupancy of the village precludes probability of much material remaining on the house floors. However, a systematic search of caches and graves, if such could be found, might be more profitably pursued.

*172 361 After the abandonment of the Fullerton village the Skidi appear to have wandered slowly down the Loup. For a time they resided on the south bank of that stream, on an unidentified location about 5 or 6 miles west of the present town of Columbus. Since this village consisted largely of skin lodges,[48] it is hardly probable that it will ever be definitely located; it may not have been occupied more than a few months.

[131] At any rate, by 1851 the band was established on the south bank of the Platte, about 10 miles above the mouth of the Elkhorn River at the McClaine site.[49] They were still here in 1855,[50] and probably did not leave until their final removal to the reservation on the Loup.

McCLAINE SITE.—This, the spot where Oehler and Smith in 1851 and Thayer in 1855 visited the Skidi, lies 3 miles south of Fremont, on the southwest bank of the Platte.[51] It occupies some 30 or 40 acres on a high, commanding cliff. It was formerly enclosed by a sod wall, or rampart, but this has long since been obliterated along with surface signs of lodges. A road skirts the edge of the bluff, cutting through a house site and several caches. One of the latter was opened by the writer in the fall of 1930, and from it were taken a few sherds, a scissors blade, the tooth of a horse, and a badly rusted triangular file. The house site showed little of interest in the cursory examination accorded it; it had obviously burned down, and the floor was remarkably destitute of artifacts. Material remains are scarce over the entire site, and but seldom consist of objects of genuine aboriginal cast.

Five miles downstream, to the southeast, is the Leshara site,[52] which is probably nothing more than an overflow from the village at the McClaine site. Early settlers state that groups of earth lodges were formerly scattered over the whole length of valley between the two, making a single, straggling community.

---

[48] Clayton, 1921, pp. 83–87.
[49] Oehler and Smith, 1851, p. 25.
[50] Thayer, 1907, p. 121.
[51] SE¼ of NE¼ sec. 2, T. 16 N., R. 8 E., Saunders County, Nebr.
[52] Blackman, 1903, p. 296.

Genoa site.—After the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee gradually be- 172*
came concentrated in one great, rambling village on the Loup. This
lay about 1½ miles south of Genoa, on a broad, flat plain between 361
Beaver Creek and the Loup.[53] The Skidi occupied the western part
of the village; the other three bands located in what is now the
Genoa Cemetery. A sod wall protected the settlement on the south
and west sides, with the portions nearest Genoa left open. Each
band is said to have had its own burial ground. That of the Grands
was to the south, across the Loup River. The Skidi interred their [764]
dead on bluffs northwest of their village. The Tappage Cemetery
was on a hill in what is now the north edge of Genoa and that of the
Republicans was northeast of the city. All traces of the village have
been obliterated and the cemeteries have suffered extensively at the
hands of vandals. Few objects of native production have been [177]
found, as the Pawnee were very much under the influence of the
Americans at this late date and were rapidly losing their own arts
and industries.

GRAND PAWNEE SITES

The Grand Pawnee are often designated in early literature and 131
on maps prior to 1800 as *Panis*. The main villages of the band were [101]
always on the south bank of the Platte, save for a short period between 1806 and 1824 (the latter date being approximate), and another from 1860 to 1875. During both of these periods they were on the north bank of the Loup, at the Horse Creek and Genoa sites, respectively. Two pure Grand Pawnee locations are recognized, viz, the Linwood and the Clarks sites; the Plum Creek site was occupied by members of at least two of the other bands. The Horse Creek site was dominantly Republican, hence is included in that section.

Linwood site.—This site is located approximately a mile south and 172*
slightly west of the town of Linwood, on the east bank of Skull Creek 361
3 miles south of the Platte River.[54] It occupies the western portion
of an alluvial flat, a small embaymentlike arm of the Platte Valley
extending perhaps three-quarters of a mile up Skull Creek, and is
inclosed on the west, south, and east by high bluffs. Skull Creek, [133]
at least in former times, probably carried water at all seasons of the year, and immediately below the site an excellent spring provided water sufficient to meet the domestic needs for a considerable community.

The site, though extending nearly half a mile continuously along the creek, actually consists of two contiguous sites of very different age. The early phase of occupation, designated on map 2 as 9 A,

---

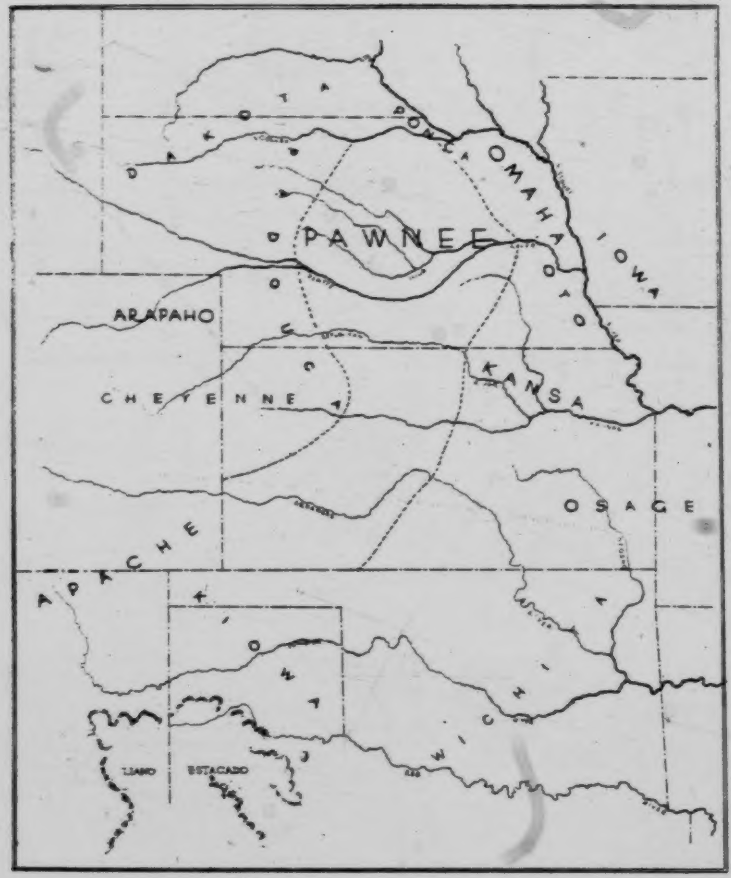
[53] SW¼ sec. 24 and SE¼ sec. 23, T. 17 N., R. 4 W., Nance County, Nebr.

[54] SW¼ sec. 35, T. 17 N., R. 4 E., Butler County, Nebr.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
131


DAKOTA
PONCA
OMAHA
IOWA
OTO
PAWNEE
ARAPAHO
CHEYENNE
KANSA
OSAGE
APACHE
KIOWA
WICHITA
LLANO ESTACADO

Tribal Map of the Central Plains About 1800.

[End Map 1]

11: Wedel
102, 131, 133, 172

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Chart of Positions of End Map 2

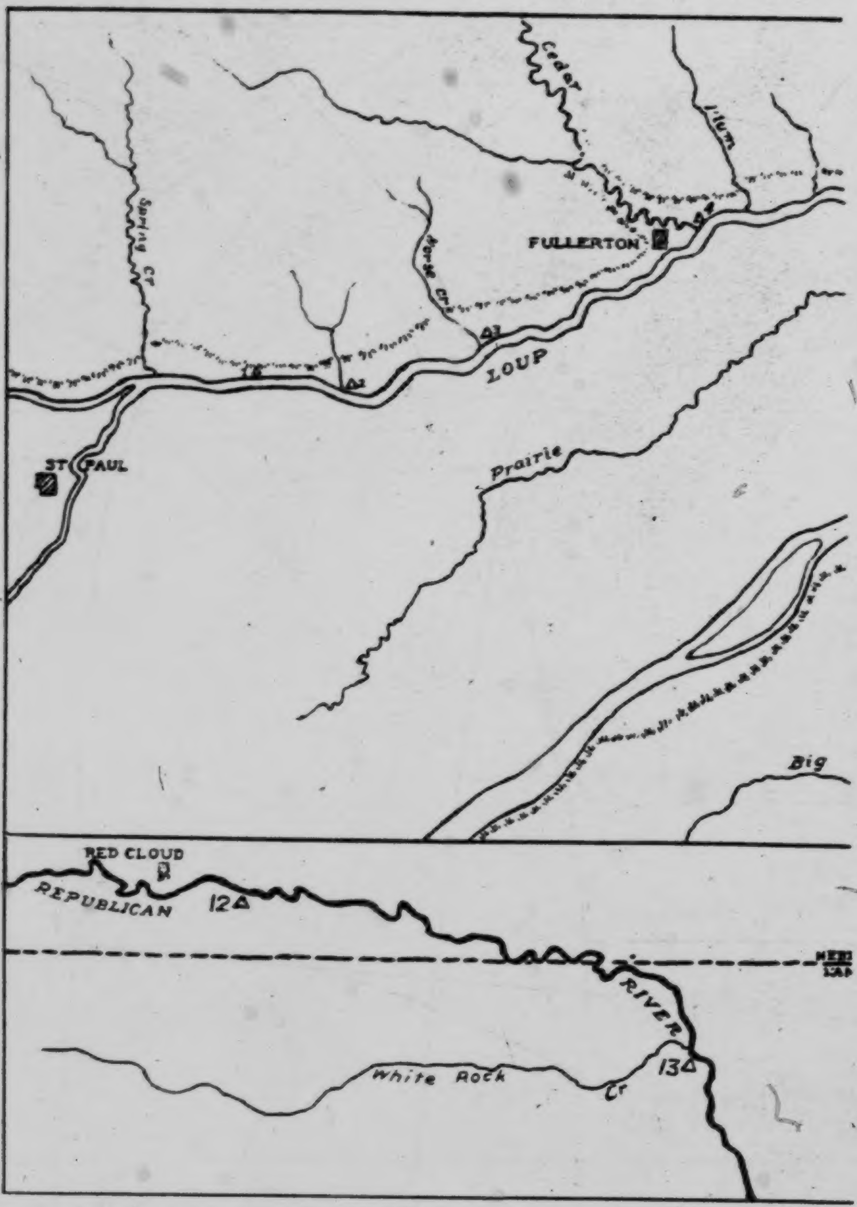
Sec. A	Sec. B	Sec. C	Sec. D	Sec. E

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
●131
133
172

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

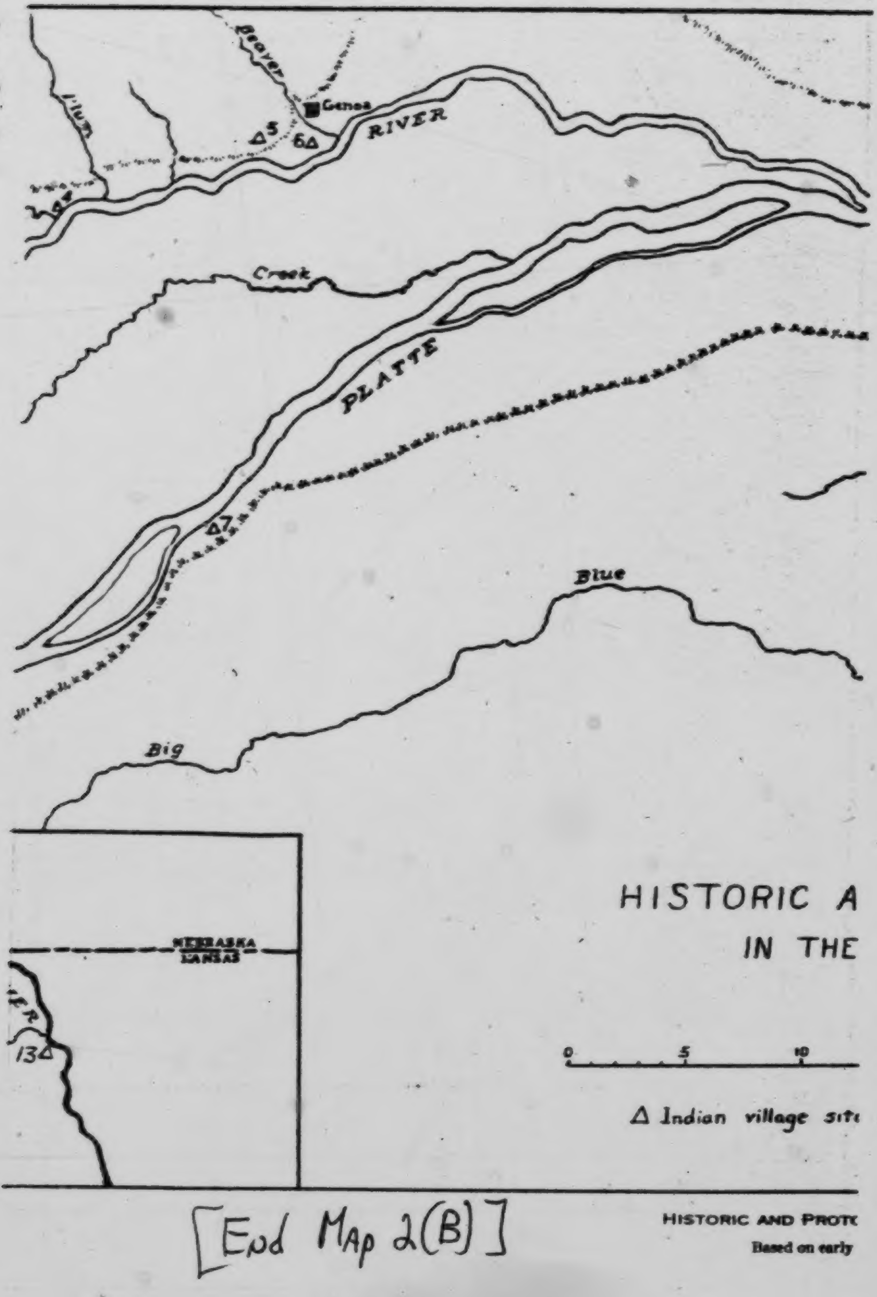

Cedar
Plum
Spring Cr
Horse Cr
FULLERTON
4
3
2
1
LOUP
ST PAUL
Prairie
Big
RED CLOUD
REPUBLICAN
12
NEBR
KAN
RIVER
White Rock Cr
13

[End Map 2(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
● 131
133
172


Beaver
Genoa
Δ5
6Δ
RIVER
Creek
PLATTE
Δ7
Blue
Big
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
13Δ
HISTORIC A
IN THE
0
5
10
Δ Indian village sit

HISTORIC AND PROT

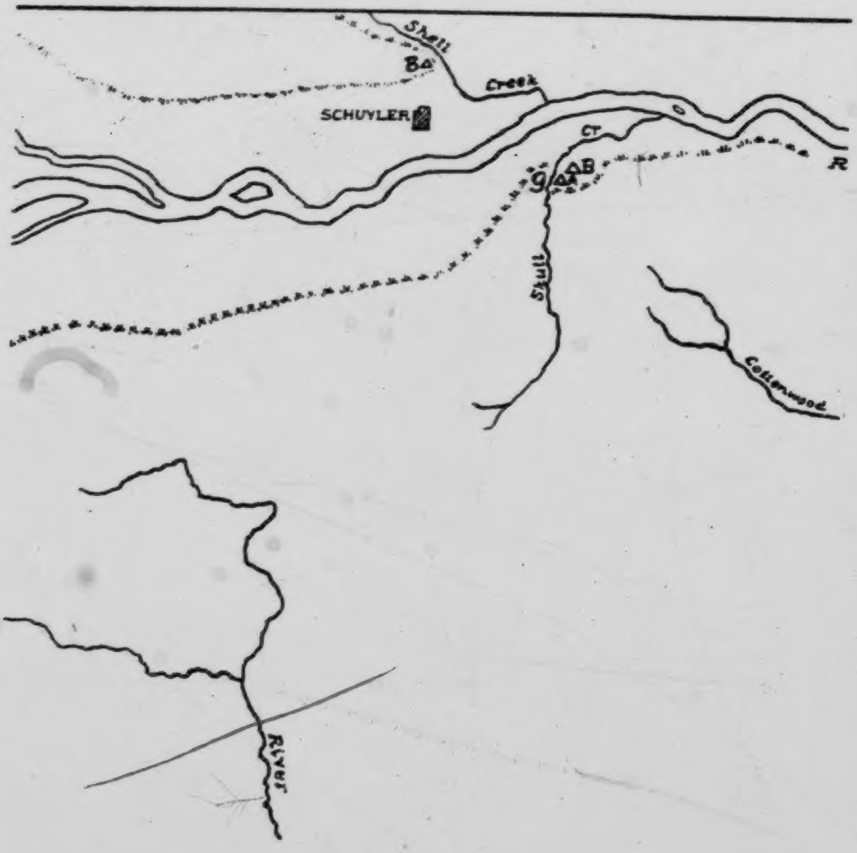
Based on early

[End Map 2(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
●131
133
172


Shell
BA
Creek
SCHUYLER
CT
△B
9△A
R
Skull
Cottonwood
River

TORIC AND LATE PREHISTORIC SITES
IN THE PAWNEE COUNTRY

10 15 20 25 30 35 40
Scale of Miles

an village sites River bluffs ▨ Modern cities

ORIC AND PROTOHISTORIC SITES IN THE NORTHERN PAWNEE AREA.

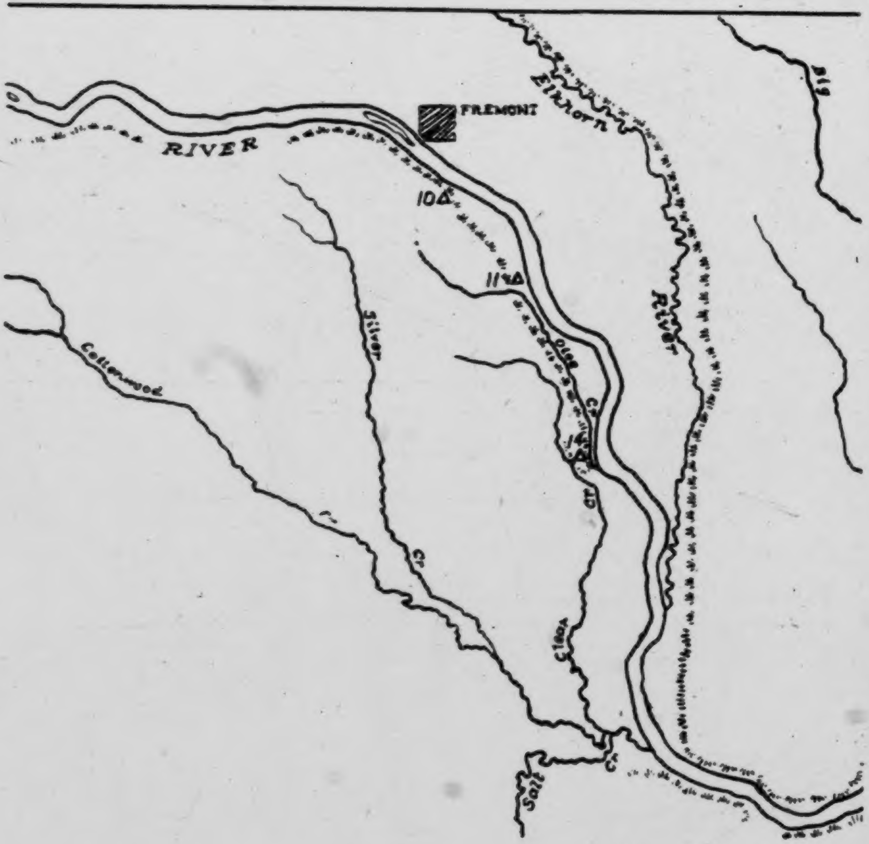
Based on early maps and journals, and on archeological investigations

[End Map 2(C)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
●131
133
172


FREMONT
Elkhorn River
RIVER
Big
Silver Cr
Cottonwood Cr
Cr
Salt Cr
10
11
14

SITES

35 40

cities

KEY TO S

Pawnee unless otherw

1. Palmer site
2. Cottonwood Creek site
3. Horse Creek site
4. Fullerton site
5. Burkett site (?)
6. Genoa site
7. Clarks site

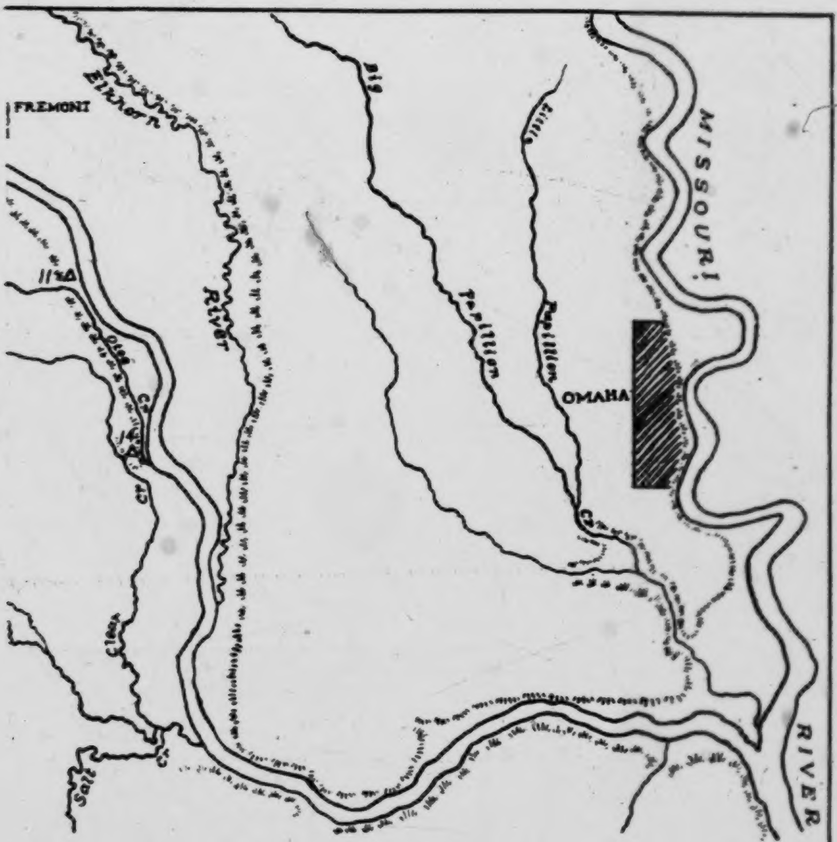
[End Map 2 (D)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BULLETIN 112 MAP 2

101
●131
133
172


FREMONT
Elkhorn
River
Big
Little
Papillion
Papillion
OMAHA
MISSOURI
RIVER
11
14
Cr
Cr
Clear
Salt
Cr

KEY TO SITES

Pawnee unless otherwise indicated

1. Palmer site
2. Cottonwood Creek site
3. Horse Creek site
4. Fullerton site
5. Burkett site (?)
6. Genoa site
7. Clarks site
8. Schuyler site (?)
9. Linwood site
10. McClaine site
11. Leshara site
12. Hill site
13. Kansas Monument site
14. Yutan site (Oto)

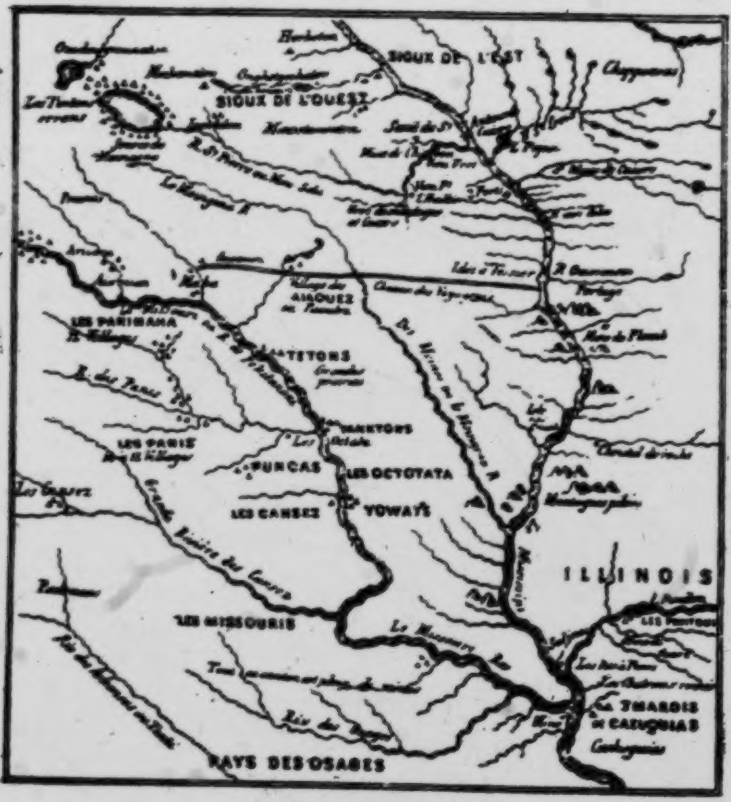
[End Map 2(E)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY BULLETIN 112 MAP 4

101
102
131


SIOUX DE L'EST
Chippewas
SIOUX DE L'OUEST
Village des AIAOUEZ ou Paouta
Chemin des Voyageurs
R. Ouisconsin
Portage
LES PARIMAHA 12 Villages
TETONS
Grandes prairies
R. des Panis
YANKTONS
Les Octata
LES PANIS 12 Villages
PUNCAS
LES OCTOTATA
LES CANSEZ
YOWAYS
Les Canzez
Grande Rivière des Canzez
Des Moines ou la Mingona R.
Mississipi
ILLINOIS
LES MISSOURIS
Le Missoury R.
Rio des Osages
PAYS DES OSAGES
TAMAROIS et CAOUQUIAS
Caokyonias

LE SEUER'S MAP, 1701.
From the South Dakota Historical Collections, volume I, page 49.

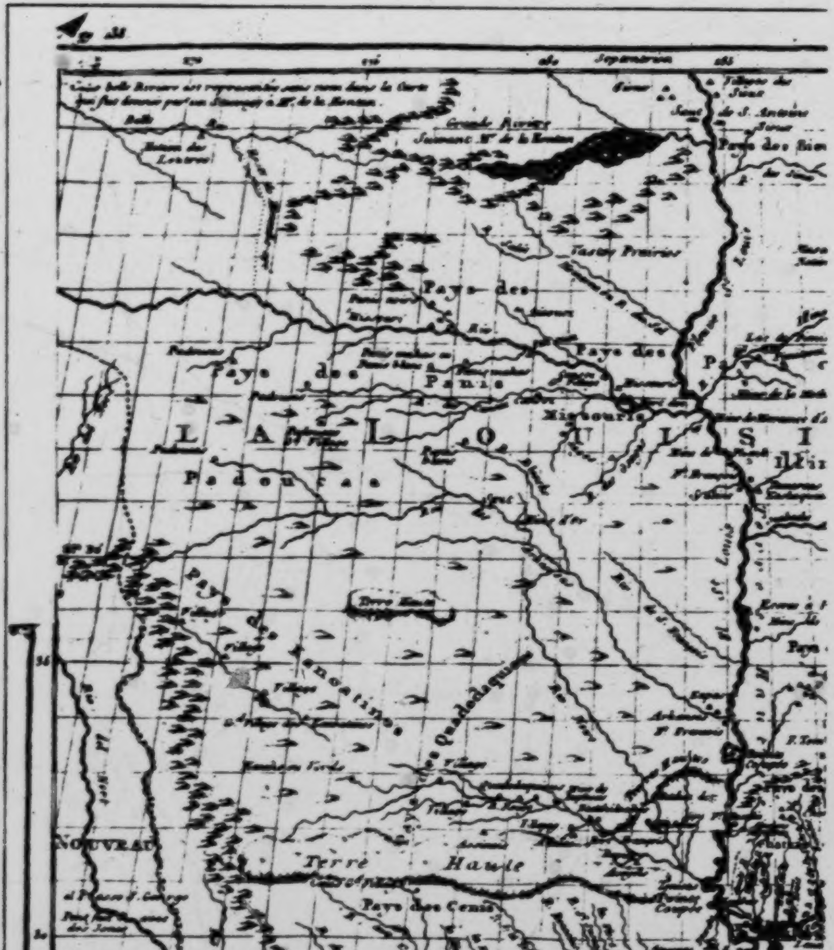
[End Map 4]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
131


Septentrion
Grande Riviere Suivant Mr. de la Hontan
Vastes Prairies
Sault de S. Antoine
Pays des
Pays des Panis
Padoucas
Missouris
L A L O U I S I
Pays des Canzes
Pays des Ozages
Paÿs des Lanoatines
Terre Haute
Pays des Cenis
Nouveau
Mexique
Golfe du
Midi
Fl. St. Louis

DU PRATZ'S MAP OF LOUISIAN

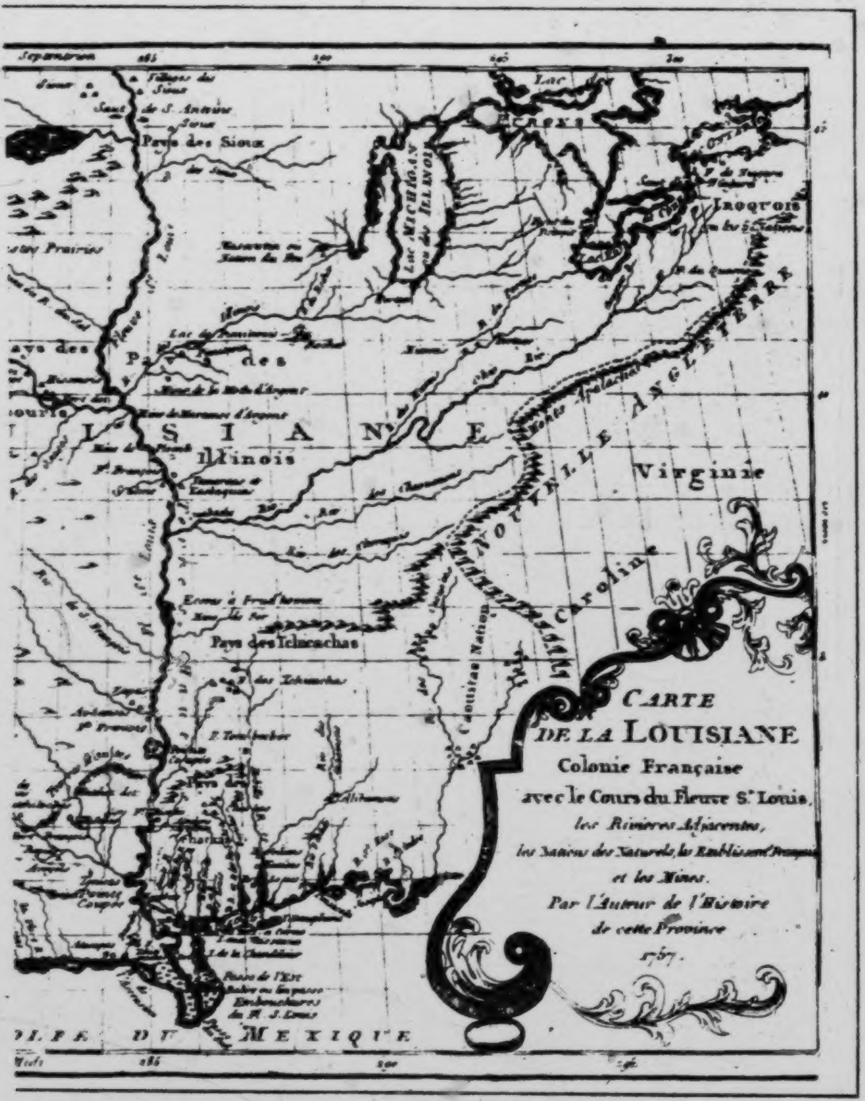
From Histoire de la Louisiane, tome premi

[End Map 5(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
● 131


Septentrion
Pays des Sioux
Sioux
Lac Michigan ou des Illinois
Lac Erie
Iroquois
Pays des
L O U I S I A N E
Illinois
Nouvelle Angleterre
Virginie
Caroline
Monts Apalaches
Pays des Tchicachas
Alibamons
Tchactas
Golfe du Mexique
CARTE DE LA LOUISIANE
Colonie Française
avec le Cours du Fleuve St. Louis,
les Rivieres Adjacentes,
les Nations des Naturels, les Etablissemt François
et les Mines.
Par l'Auteur de l'Histoire
de cette Province
1757.

RATZ'S MAP OF LOUISIANA, 1757.

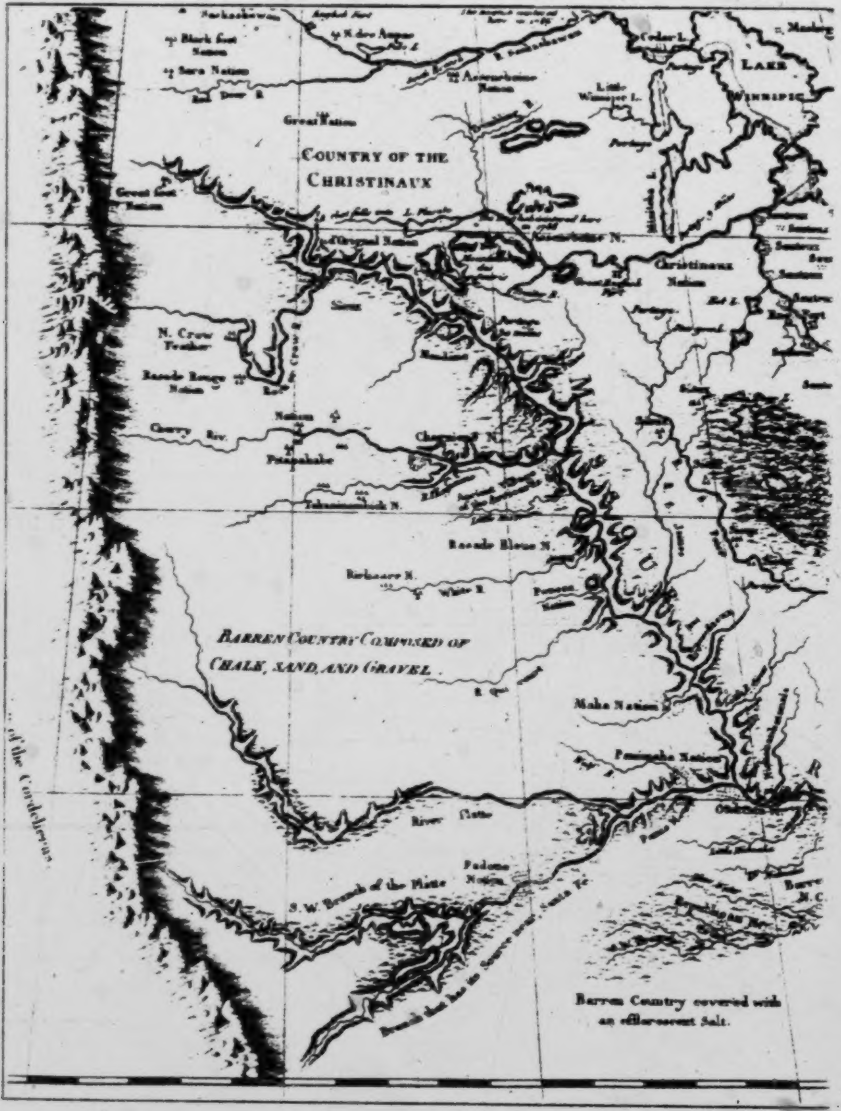
oire de la Louisiane, tome premiere, page 138.

[End Map 5(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
●131
133

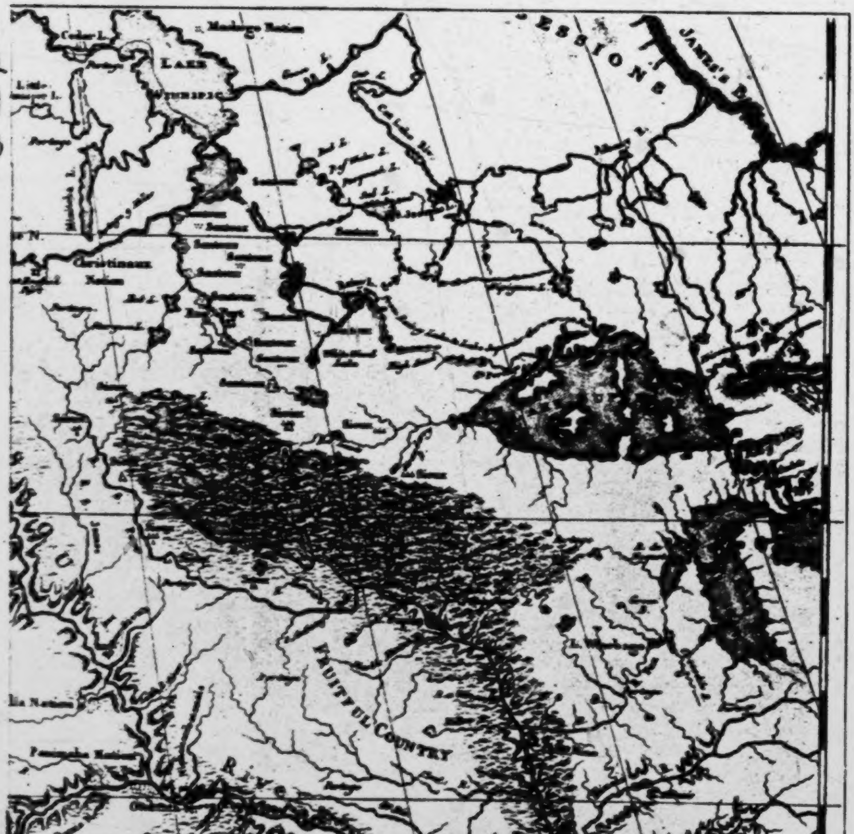

Saskashewan
Black foot Nation
Sura Nation
Red Deer R.
Great Nation
N. des Assine
Assenebaine Nation
Cedar L.
Lake Winnipic
Little Winnipic L.
Portage
Country of the Christinaux
Great foot Nation
Christinaux Nation
Sioux
N. Crow Feather
Racode Rouge Nation
Cherry Riv.
Nation
Potapahake
Chaguienne N.
Tokaninambiche N.
Racode Bleue N.
Ricar N.
White R.
Poncas Nation
Barren Country Composed of Chalk, Sand, and Gravel
Maha Nation
Panimaha Nation
R
River Platte
Otoctatas
Padous Nation
S. W. Branch of the Platte
Branch that has its Source near Santa Fe
Barren Country covered with an efflorescent Salt.
of the Cordelieras

COLLOT'S MAP, 1796.
From a Journey in North America, volume

[End Map 6(A)]

BULLETIN 112 MAP 6

101
102
● 131
133


LAKE WINIPIC
Christinaux Nation
SESSIONS
JAMES's B
FRUITFUL COUNTRY
River
rren Country covered with an efflorescent Salt.

COLLOT'S MAP, 1796.
urney in North America, volume I, page 281.

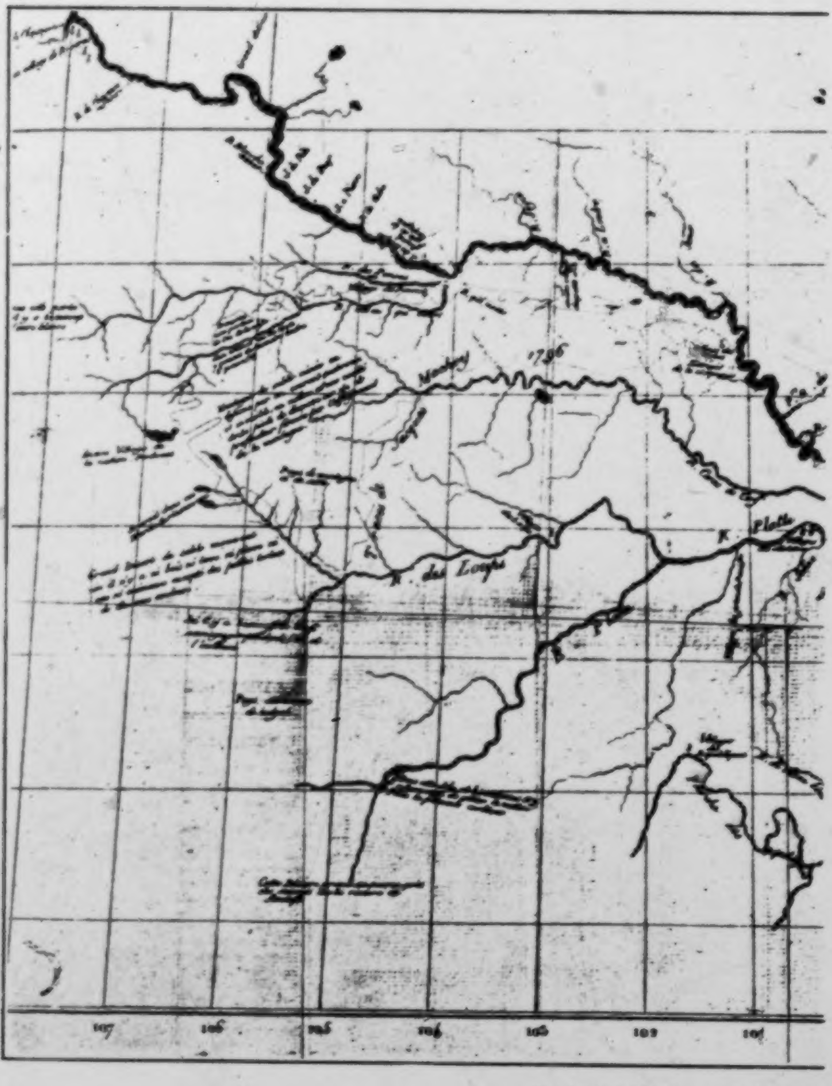
[End Map 6(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
● 131
133


1796
R. des Loups
R. Platte
107
106
105
104
103
102
101

DU LAC'S MAP OF THE MISSOU

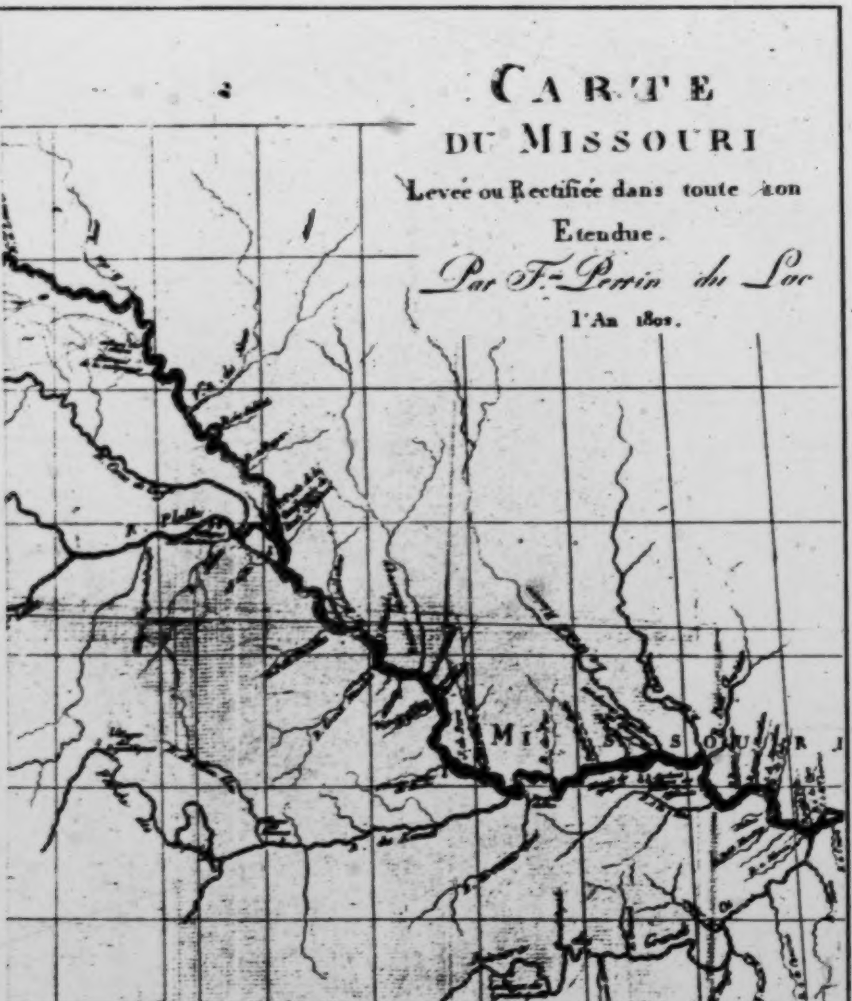
From Travels through the Two Lou

[End Map 7(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
● 131
133


CARTE
DU MISSOURI
Levée ou Rectifiée dans toute son
Etendue.
Par F. Perrin du Lac
l'An 1802.
Platte
MISSOURI
102
101
100
99
98
97
96
95

C'S MAP OF THE MISSOURI, 1802.
Travels through the Two Louisianas.

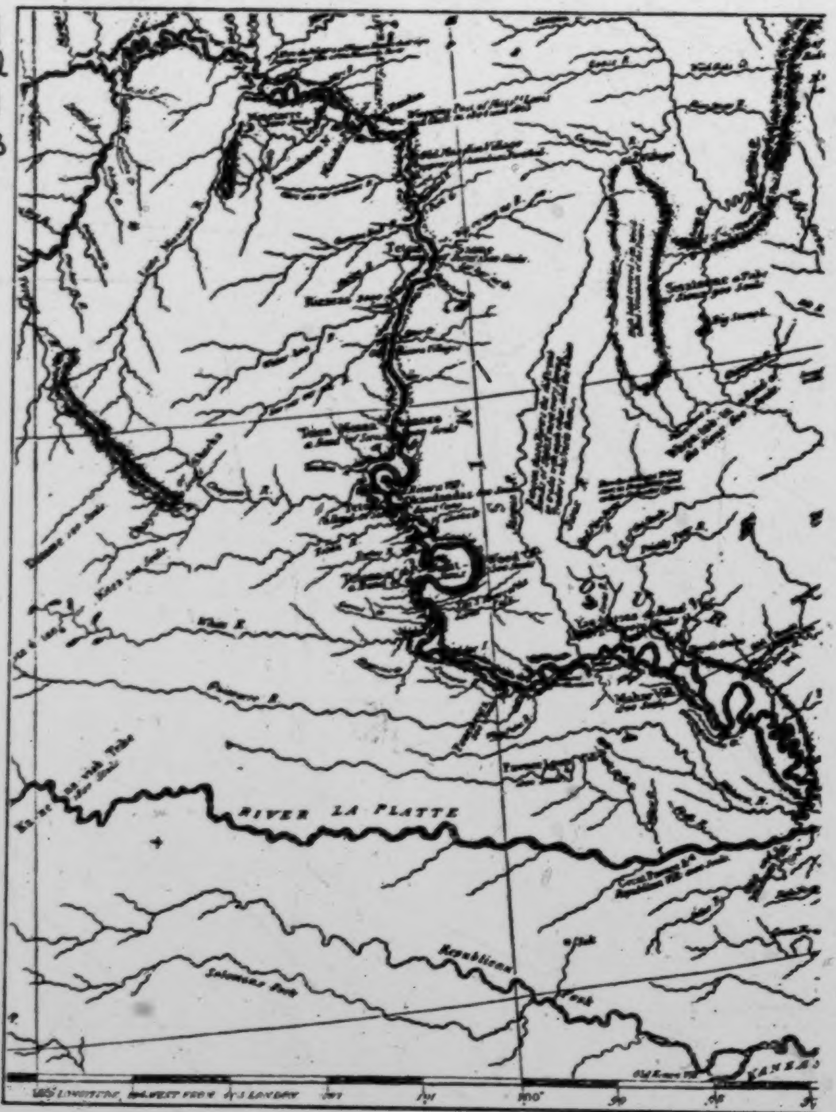
[End Map 7(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
●131
133

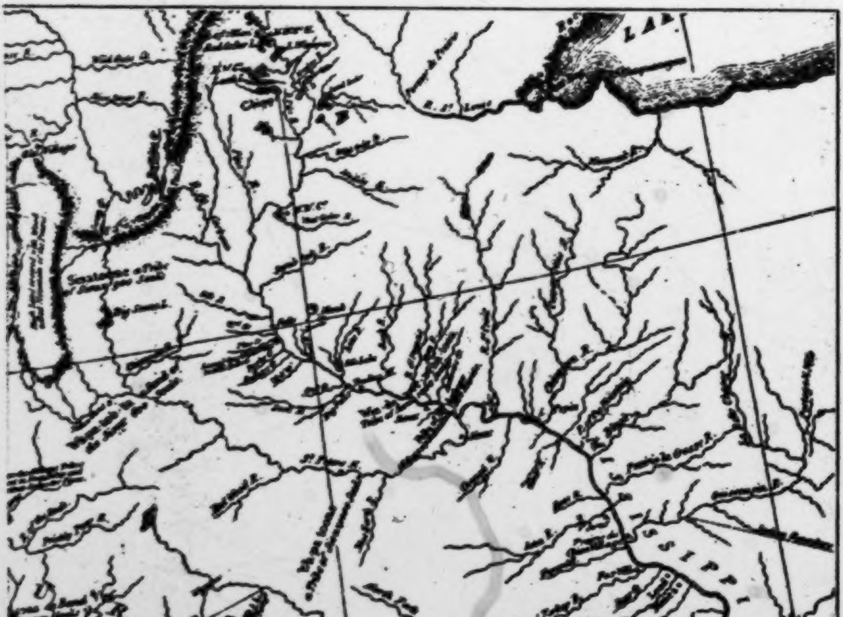

RIVER LA PLATTE
White R.
Republican Fork
Solomons Fork
KANSAS
100°

LEWIS AND CLARK'S MAP.
From Travels to the Source of the Missouri

[End Map 8(A)]

BULLETIN 112 MAP 8

101
102
● 131
133


LAK
SSIPPI
KANSAS
R.

IS AND CLARK'S MAP, 1804.
to the Source of the Missouri River, volume I.

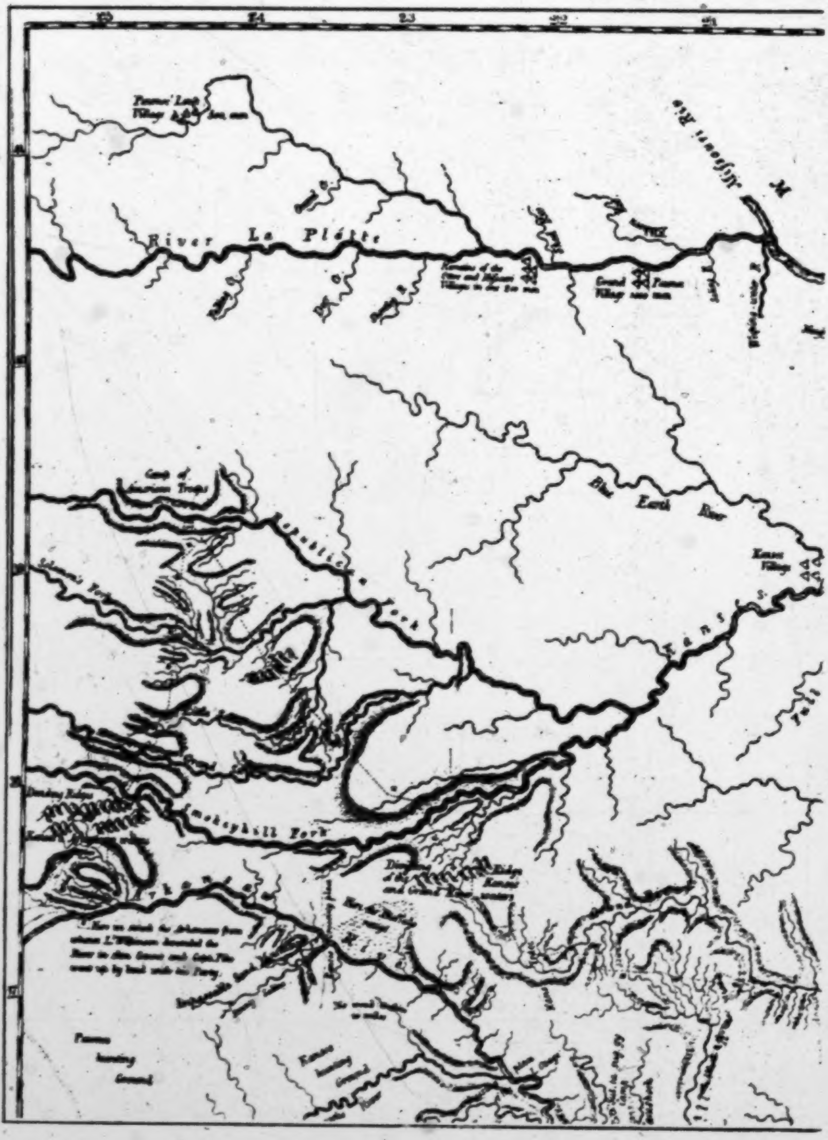
[End Map 8(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
● 131
133


25
24
23
22
21
Pawnee Loup Village
River La Platte
Missouri River
Grand Pawnee Village
Camp of American Troops
Blue Earth River
Kans Village
Republican Fork
Kansas
Smokeyhill Fork
Pawnee hunting Ground
Kansas hunting Ground

PIKE'S MAP, 1806.

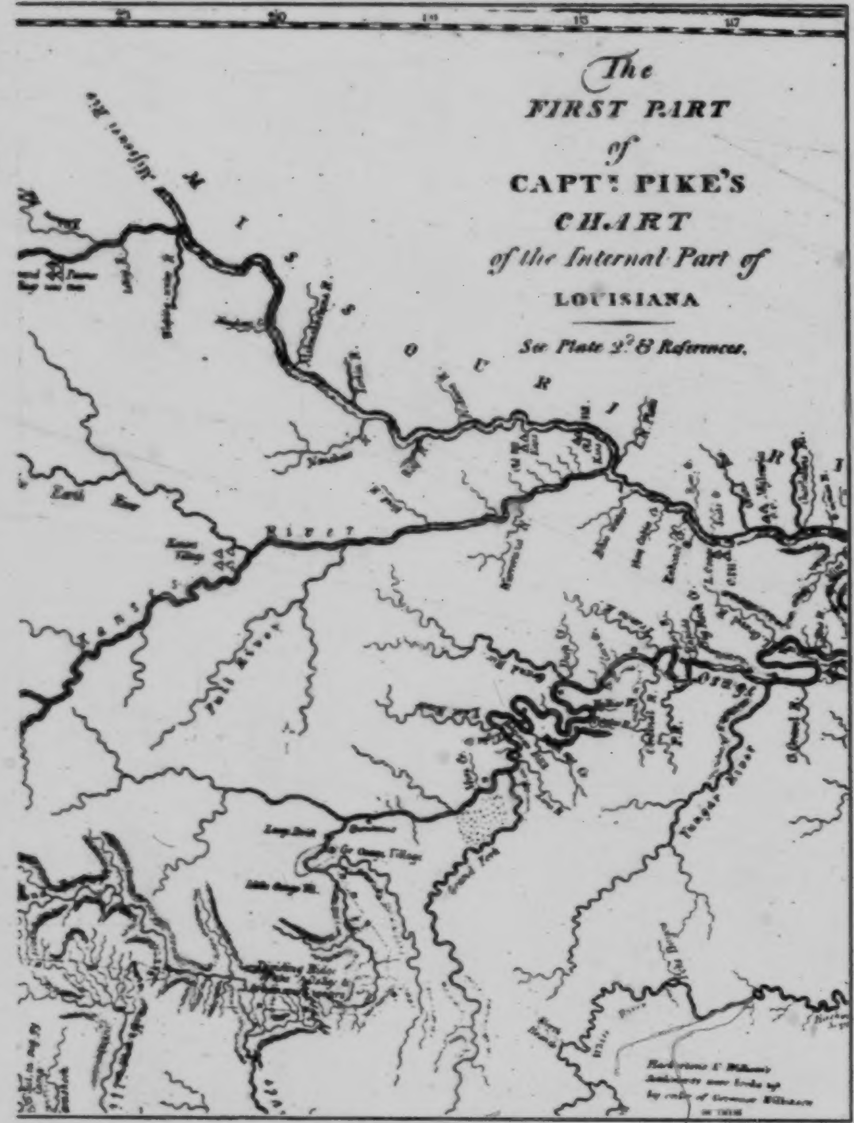
From An Account of Expeditions to the Sources o

[End Map 9(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
● 131
133


The
FIRST PART
of
CAPT.ⁿ PIKE'S
CHART
of the Internal Part of
LOUISIANA
See Plate 2.d & References.
MISSOURI
River
Osage

PIKE'S MAP, 1806.

of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, etc.

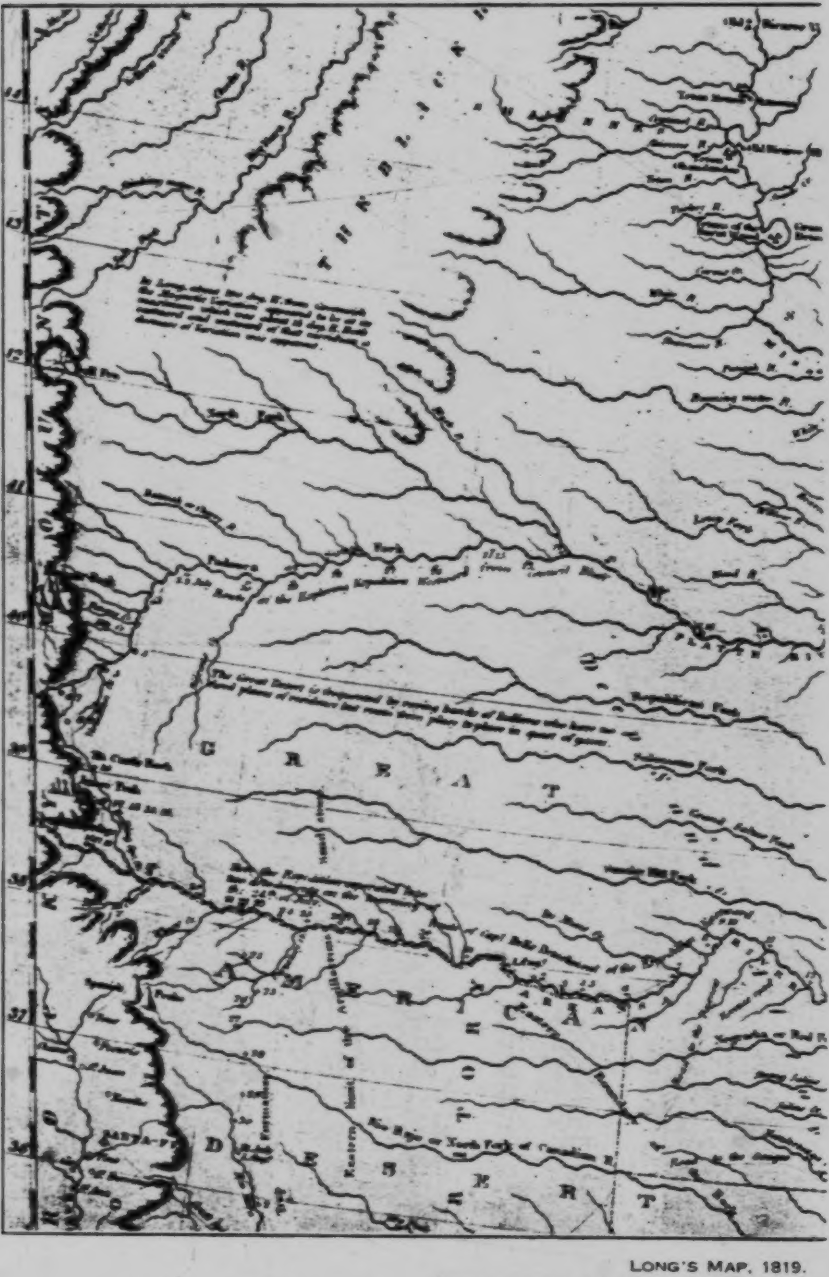
[End Map 9 (B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
● 131
133


GREAT
AMERICAN
DESERT
PLATTE RIV
Republican Fork

LONG'S MAP, 1819.

From Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the

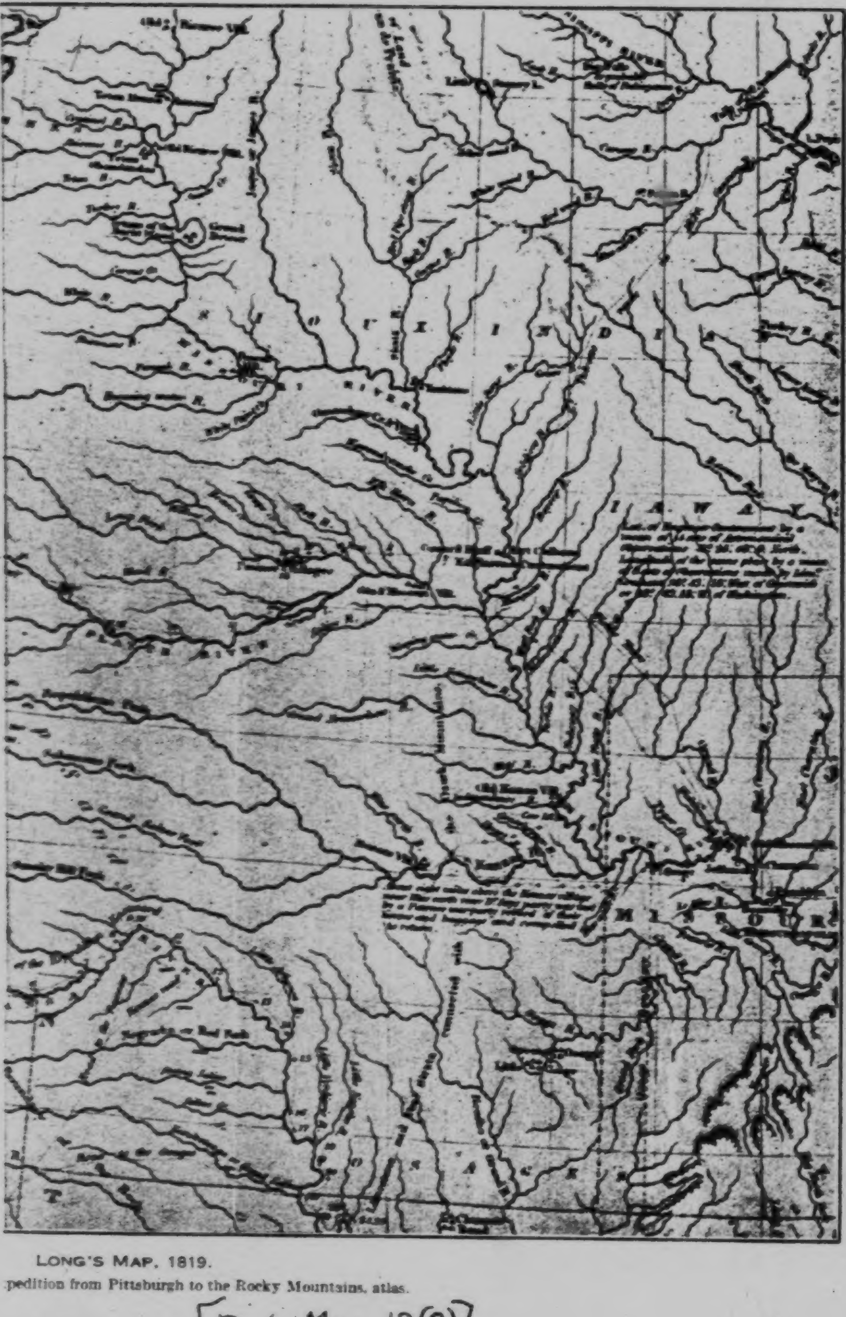
[End Map 10 (A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BULLETIN 112 MAP 10

101
102
● 131
133


PLATTE RIVER
MISSOURI

LONG'S MAP, 1819.

pedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, atlas.

[End Map 10(B)]

[p 135]
[pp 91- 134 not processed]

The Pawnees

619 197 ● 131 The Pawnees are divided into four principal bands: the Grand Pawnees (Cha-we), the Republican Pawnees (Kit-ka), the Tappa Pawnees (Pe-ta-ha-we-rat). These speak the same dialect. And the Pawnee Loups, Skee-de (Wolf), who speak a different dialect.[11] All these now reside on the Pawnee Reservation. The Pawnee Picts [Wichita] live near the country of the Osages. Mr. Allis knows nothing about them. The Arikarees speak a dialect of the same language. [Arikara and Wichita were Caddoan-speaking tribes.] 619 131 The Pawnees told Mr. Allis that they had lived from time immemorial on the Platt, the Nemaha, Salt Creek, on the North, or Republican, fork of the Kansas.

[11] [see Cat. 116, p220 (A) - Analyst.]

619 131 They do not claim to have lived on the Missouri. They claim once to have owned all the land west of the Missouri from the Platt to the Kansas. The Loups went off from the principal band and went south of the Osage River where they remained for many years. The Republican Pawnees once occupied the Republican fork of the Kansas. They do not know where they came from. They say that there are the sites of [361] their villages still known to them on the Nemaha, Salt Creek, and on the Platt and Republican fork of the Kansas. The Keeches, so-called by the Pawnees, who now live in the west end of the Indian territory somewhere, are cognate. They live near the Pawnee Picts, south of the Osages and the Comanches.

Tribes [Clans]

614 He [Allis] thinks they are divided into tribes.[12] The marks which he has seen on their robes and lodges are the Eagle, Bear, Beaver, Owl, Buffalo, Deer. The son succeeds the father as chief. He was unable to give me any information upon this question. 764 He never saw but one burial. They excavated a grave or trench and then dug an opening in the side large enough to insert the body under the undisturbed earth, laid it in horizontally, covered it with a mat, and deposited by its side a number of articles, filled up the trench and raised a mound over it.

Pawnee Matting

285 He [Allis] showed me a specimen of their work in a floor matting made of a species of rush. It was coarse but strong, about two or three yards wide and five yards long. It was stitched or woven on bark threads and very creditable work. With instruction in the art of manufacturing and with reeds of a supe-

[12] [see cat. 116 p 220 (A) - Analyst]

bered custom and old ways of life? Today the ethnologist is hard put to 175
get very much that is significant. Even with the opening of the present century, most of these peoples had so long ago been decimated by disease and war that memory of their past life was extremely fragmentary. Along with whatever fragments of custom were recorded then, the archaeologist must use the written testimony of the chance traveler and trader to give life to his findings.

In the 1700's when the trade and travel records were written, the Missouri River was a main artery of European–Indian trade. Commercial companies centered in St. Louis maintained regular contact with trade centers up the river, and in the 1800's steamboats plied their way upstream with goods and guns to exchange for furs. Trade centers for exchange were an ancient tradition of American Indian life, and now they eagerly made their way to the trade centers of the European where new goods and materials could be gotten. But the price was dear. For besides the new goods, there came new and fatal diseases—measles, smallpox, cholera, and a variety of fevers—wiping out hundreds and even thousands of people at one blow. Whole tribes that had lived in the region for hundreds of years were wiped out or left in such a fragmentary condition that they joined with other tribes and lost the knowledge of their past identity.

The Pawnees who lived outside the mainstream of commercial traffic 131
were less affected than the others by this holocaust. They lived along the 161
outlying tributaries of the Missouri—the Loup, the Platte, and the
Republican—that flow eastward across the present State of Nebraska and 175
join the Missouri at their eastern ends. It was only in the 1830's, when
the Pawnees were living in the western part of their territory at what
they refer to as Old Village, that the direct effects of the many historic
pressures of the time began to bear down on them. At that time they [221]
numbered about 12,000 and were living a well-integrated native life of a
sedentary Plains people such as the archaeological remains indicate—
planting crops and hunting buffalo in alternate seasons. Then disease began [731]
to do its terrible work, and the large bands of refugee Siouan peoples [648]
(some 30,000 strong), pushing in from the east, attacked them with increasing
furor in order to gain their territory and their hunting grounds.
Finally the Pawnees began to move eastward along the river courses to be 167
nearer the centers of civilization, and by 1859, by agreement with the 175
United States Government, they moved onto a reservation near the present
town of Genoa, Nebraska. By this time their numbers were reduced 648
to 3,400, but they still retained their old social forms and independent [161]
polity and a traditional rhythm of life throughout the year. Added to
their problems had been the full force of westward migration of the expanding
United States—the Oregon Trail, Mormon Trail, and Gold
Rush along the Platte, and, from 1861 on, a crescendo of Sioux attacks

5

THE WORLD OF A PAWNEE BOY: SPRING 1867

000

The Day Begins in the Earth Lodge—Breakfast Preparations—Seating at the Meal—Daytime Activities of Women—Chiefs' Council—Supper and Evening Conversation—Plan for Deer Hunt the Next Day—End of Day's Activities

IN THE YEAR 1867, the villages of the Pawnees were strung along the west bank of Beaver Creek. (Beaver Creek flows southeastward into the Loup River that flows east to join the Platte which continues eastward to the Missouri. In the Skidi village of Pumpkin-Vine was the house of Chief Victory Call and his friend Old Bull with their families.) 131 361 [103]

It was a morning late in March, and the high dome-shaped earth lodges were huddled together in the predawn darkness. On this as on other mornings, Otter was wakened by the sound of his father's voice saying, "Fire's made." The dawn had not yet broken, and it was still cold; Otter burrowed down deeper under his little calfskin cover. He hated to leave the warmth of his bed that he shared with his grandmother. Just as the dawn began to break, Victory Call went outside through the long vestibule that was the entrance to the house to look at the position of the stars and to see what kind of a day it would be. Meanwhile his wife, White Woman, had gotten up to prepare breakfast. She would be cooking for twelve people and an extra guest, and the preparations would take at least an hour. 512 [342] [513] [252]

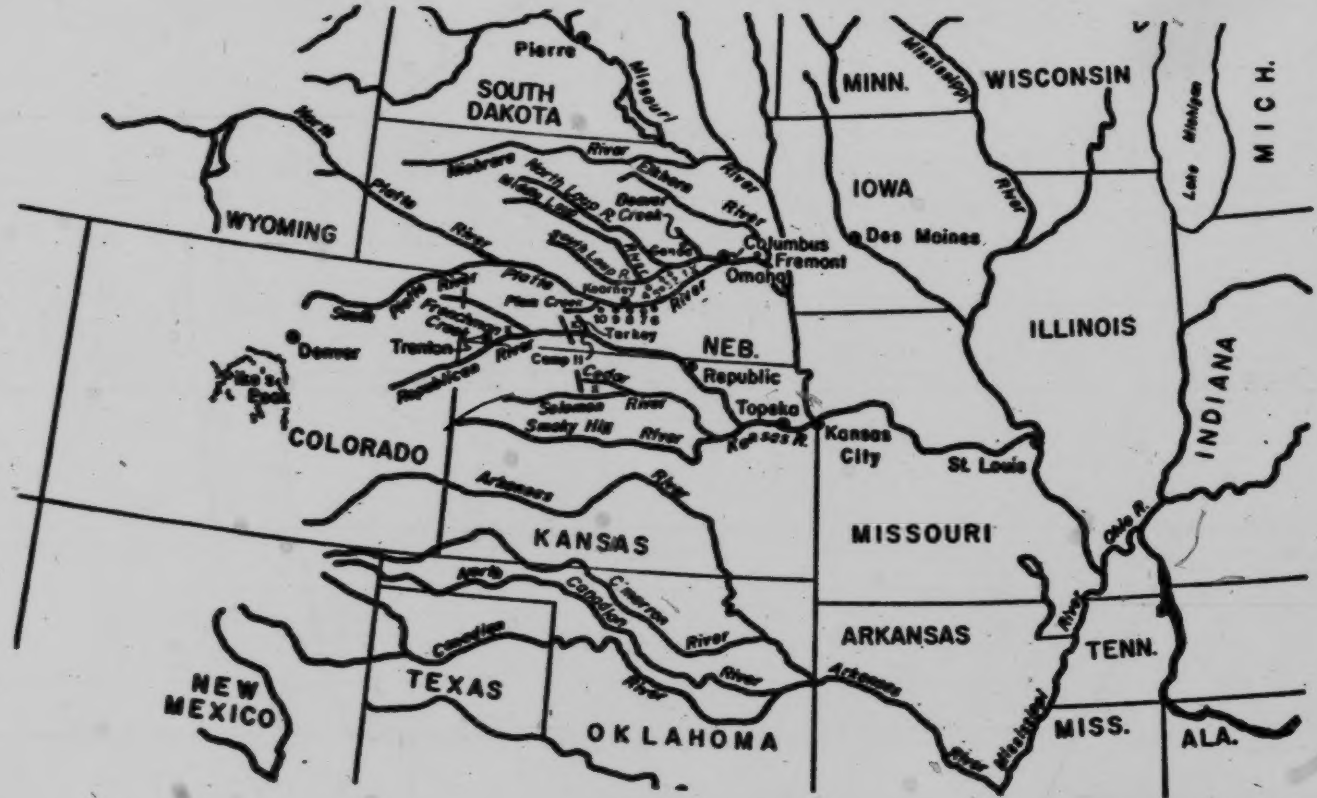
On both sides of the house along the low circular walls, the people were still asleep in their beds. There had been a long storytelling session the night before and Old-Man-That-Chief, who was one of the principal raconteurs, was too feeble to go home late at night, so a temporary bed was made for him near the fireplace where the fire was now burning brightly in the center of the room. High above the fireplace a shaft of [538] [574] [354]

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965

(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[P. 173]

[Fig. 18-1]


Pierre
SOUTH DAKOTA
Missouri
MINN.
Mississippi
WISCONSIN
MICH.
Lake Michigan
North
Platte
River
WYOMING
Niobrara
River
North Loup R.
Middle Loup
Elkhorn
Beaver Creek
River
River
Cedar
South Loup R.
Platte
Columbus
Fremont
Omaha
IOWA
Des Moines
River
ILLINOIS
South
Platte
River
Platte
Kearney
River
Frenchman Creek
Plum Creek
10 9 8 7 6
Turkey
Denver
Trenton
Republican
River
Camp 11
NEB.
Republic
Cedar
Pike's Peak
Solomon
River
Topeka
Smoky Hill
River
Kansas R.
Kansas City
St. Louis
INDIANA
COLORADO
Arkansas
River
KANSAS
MISSOURI
Ohio R.
North
Canadian
Cimarron
River
River
River
ARKANSAS
TENN.
Canadian
Arkansas
River
TEXAS
River
NEW MEXICO
River
Mississippi
MISS.
ALA.
OKLAHOMA

102
224*
484*
361
131

*224 ward to the hunting grounds on the Republican. Each of the bands had
*484 its own well-known landmarks. As White Eagle was leading the four
184 bands on this hunt, they all had to follow the south bank of the Loup for
the first part of their journey in the Skidi tradition.

*224 A major landmark of the trip was Grand Island in the Platte River.
There were a number of long, sandy islands in the Platte, some of them
*484 covered with lush grass and grazing animals and with trees growing on
• 131 them. Grand Island is one of the largest of these (more than twice the
439 size of Manhattan Island). It is about 20 miles long and 5 or 6 miles wide,
with a narrow channel on the north and south sides between the island
and the mainland. On the island the United States had established Fort
Kearney, where there was also a trade center.

*224 The trip to the hunting grounds was usually made in ten encampments.
*484 The hunting camp, not uncommonly within sight of the migrating herd,
was called Camp 11. By the Skidi route traveling west along the south
361 bank of the Loup, they would make three camps beyond the first one and
arrive 32 miles out. This would put them just due north of the west end
of Grand Island over which they planned to cross the Platte. Because of
the sandhills between the Loup and the Platte, the crossing southward
was slow and they would make one camp between the two rivers (Camp
5).

Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte and two miles westward of the place of crossing. This was done so that the camp could be set up on high ground to avoid the mosquitoes and bugs that abounded in the lowland. This was the stop they usually referred to as "Fort Kearney" because the chiefs would go over there and collect their government allotments while the line of march continued two miles west and set up camp.

Continuing along the south bank of the Platte, they made four camps
"west of Fort Kearney," viz., camps 7, 8, 9, and 10. At Camp 10 they
reached another important landmark, Plum Creek, a small creek that
was a southern tributary of the Platte (near present Lexington, Nebraska).
Up to this point the individual hunters went out privately and got deer,
elk, or antelope to supply fresh meat for their own camps. While the line
was en route to Camp 6, a small group of independent hunters made a
long trip southward to the Republican to scout around and they killed
three buffalo and brought the meat to Camp 6. As the line of march
was moving toward Camp 10, the ablest hunters of all four bands went
out and surrounded a small herd of about twenty buffalo, bringing in the
[622] meat to Camp 10. This group of hunters included all the chiefs, other administrative
officials and prominent men. The meat they obtained was
[431] widely distributed in the form of gifts and symbolized the fact that "the
chiefs feed the people buffalo meat."

The next stop was Camp 11 on the Republican. While the previous

44

SORCERY

000 *The Vision of a Poor Boy, Small—His Fate—Rivalry between Old Bull and Behaille—Male and Female "Witched" Members of the Community—Suspicions of Witchcraft in Sexual Affairs—Connection to "Fighting" in Doctor Performances—Fee-Splitting Ventures—Causes of Disease Regarded as Anxiety and Hostility—Interpersonal Hostility in the Community—Deadly Witch Missiles—the Treatment*

787 773 Rivalry and hatred as well as love and community were as much a part of Pawnee life as of our own, and the animal lore of a doctor could be turned to ill as well as to good. In many cases the original dream vision of the future doctor consisted of being taken to an animal lodge under the water where the animals sat in council and judged the visionary. Others were terrestrial or cosmic, but the lodge under water was a common one. Such a vision came to a poor boy named Small (*Patsaa*) when he was about twelve years old. The Pawnee were [131] [175] living near Fremont, Nebraska, in the village they occupied just before going onto the reservation. It must have been around 1850. The Pawnee name of the animal lodge settlement was Pa-ha-ku, "hill-in water-sitting"; it was located near the edge of a rather sheer bluff on the south side of the Platte River. The animal lodge was thought to be located somewhere under water in the side of the cliff and it was reliably attested that lights were seen and noises heard in this location. It was also said that the wind was sometimes so strong there, that attempts to examine the spot closely were always foiled:

Right on the sheer bluff of the high bank was a cedar tree. This is the doorway to the animal lodge of Pahaku. Sitting on the tree are

to their separate tracts. The land broken for each band was but 175*
a small part of their sector; it was neither large enough nor so 648*
situated as to make practicable a division of it into individual 241
tracts for family groups. Each band therefore began to farm the
band tract cooperatively. In theory each man did his share of the 657
work and each took his share of the harvest. The band lived to- [476]
gether on the tract, and their encampments rapidly became per-
manent villages of tipis and earth-lodges.

This redevelopment of village life, instituted by the Pawnee as an 175*
adjustment to the conditions of their settlement in Indian Territory, 648*
and intentionally overlooked by agency officials, who considered it a
temporary expedient, was to continue for some years. To the 178
Pawnee it was a satisfactory adjustment, approximating as it did 657
their accustomed way of life. In these villages something of the
old tribal life continued; the chiefs, priests and medicine men
functioned, the old social gatherings and ceremonies were possible.

The produce of the band farms, together with that at the agency, 175*
constituted the basic food supply of the Pawnee. For years this 648*
was inadequate and insecure; the people suffered greatly for lack
of food, and some of the mortalities of the period were due to 262
starvation and malnutrition. The principle crop was corn, supple- 241
mented by some beans and squash, and increasing cultivation of
wheat, oats, potatoes and other vegetables. Most of the farms were
in the bottom lands and along the streams, and yet the usual
hazards of cultivation caused crop failures a number of times. The [132]
country in which the Pawnee had settled is in a belt which is
subject to periodic hot, dry summers, when rain is at a premium.
Droughts were severe in 1880, 1887, and 1890. On occasion bugs [731]
destroyed much of the crop, while once, in 1885, a terrific hailstorm
broke the stand of grain. Crop failures left the Pawnee dependent [657]
on government aid, in the form of rations, or food purchased for
them with money from their annuity funds.

For a meat supply the Pawnee had to depend primarily on 175*
government rations. The first winter the Pawnee were together in
Oklahoma, that of 1875 to 1876, the tribe attempted a buffalo hunt, 648*
but the herds were too remote to be reached with the limited 667
preparations the Pawnee were able to make. While the buffalo
were reported on the plains in considerable numbers the next 224
summer, only occasional buffalo were captured by straggling 262
parties of Pawnee. In a few years the tribe was persuaded to
forego the hunt; they talked of it the winter of 1878, but did not go.
From this time on we hear of no buffalo hunting. The organized
tribal hunt was a thing of the past.

574 addition to the gifts, left all their equipment behind, and also the two
276 sacred pipes. The "Children" on their own account gave their parting
431 "Fathers" a large number of horses they had elaborately decorated for
the occasion. In the past they had given quantities of dried buffalo meat.
[554] Only people of some prominence and wealth could participate in these
622 operations. At this time the Skidi Band were the "Children" of the Begging-for-Meat
628 Band, while the Skidi were "Fathers" to the Man-Going-Downstream
Band having recently paid them a trading visit. In view of
574 the mutual courtesies involved, for the Chiefs' Hunt and the first major
276 hunt episode, White Eagle deferred his leadership to his "father," Man
*224 Chief of the Begging-for-Meat Band. The fourth episode he placed in
charge of his "child" Many Trophies, chief of the Man-Going-Downstream
Band.

*224 They stayed north of the Republican River for the first two mass attacks
*484 on the herd. By this time the herd on the north side was pretty well
scattered, and the hunters had to cross over the river for the attack and
bring the meat back over the water into camp. For the fourth mass attack
on the herd, under the leadership of Many Trophies of Man-Going-Downstream
[361] Band, they moved their camping location from Camp 11 to
a place on the Solomon River to the south, a branch of the Kansas. This
was a site preferred by the Man-Going-Downstream Band. It was a difficult
overland journey for which they had to carry water with them.
They would finally locate a small south-flowing stream, the Cedar, which
led them directly to the Solomon. They made their camp in the angle
where the Cedar joined the Solomon, hunting the herd further up the
river. When the bands parted, they mainly went to separate locations
further to the west along the Republican as the herds in the more eastern
648 location would have been scattered. This territory in the west was dangerous
as the nomadic tribes, Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, and others
were constantly poised to attack for what they considered to be an encroachment
[175] on their hunting grounds. In 1873 the Sioux attacked the
Pawnees while they were on such a venture, butchering their kill in a
[727] canyon near Trenton, Nebraska. The death toll was so severe that this
[167] event tipped the balance in their decision to leave their traditional territory
and migrate to Oklahoma.

On the way out and the way back from the buffalo hunting territory
*224 they moved their camp in fairly regular succession one day after another.
*484 But sometimes it rained and they had to remain where they were
32 for several days, or they might be delayed by the sickness of a prominent
man. Rain, of course, was an inevitable factor. It could delay the camp
for several days. If they were caught in a rain while on the march, everyone
had to spread his things out to dry and this operation might require
the next day or even two before they could resume their journey.
[281] Tanned hide becomes hard and has to be tanned again with grease and

rubbing after it gets wet. If the tent cover was folded when wet it would 224*
get moldy. The sinew bowstring also would be ineffective when wet. 484*
Rain had very serious consequences when they had sliced a quantity of 132 •
buffalo meat and were drying it on the rack. If it should be wet by a sud- [281]
den storm, the meat throughout the encampment would be spoiled. [251]
There was nothing that could be done with this meat. If one tried to eat
it, it tasted like dead wood. It fell to pieces in one's hands. Even if one
tried to cure it over a fire, it simply rotted. Meat once exposed to rain,
even after it had been cooked, became moldy next day. A rack of meat
that had been rained on was called *kariks-kutu*, "rack-dead, spoiled." The
meat had to be thrown away.

Accommodation and adjustment to rainy weather was therefore very [182]
important and a nice distinction had to be made between the problem of
delay and the risks involved.

One day word was sent to White Eagle that an important man of the 224*
Man-Going-Downstream Band was so ill that he could not go on. White 484*
Eagle had to consider very carefully whether they would go ahead and 758
leave him or delay the entire group. A day's delay might mean the 554
difference between reaching the full herd on time or finding only strag- 619
glers left after the herd had passed. Considering, however, that the Man- 622
Going-Downstream Band was in a "Child" relation in the Peace Pipe
ritual to the Skidi and was in the process of giving them a return gift of
horses, White Eagle diplomatically decided to delay the march so that
the sick man could be treated by a doctor. It was also felt that if inter-
band relationships were not solidified from time to time, one or the other
of the South Bands might conceivably be induced to collaborate with the
Sioux on some occasion. Then everyone would consider that White
Eagle had failed in his administrative functions and in his diplomacy.
The death of an influential man in another ~~band~~ would also be the occa- 224*
sion for delay until after the funeral. If the wife of a prominent man 484*
were about to give birth, the whole family of this tent and a doctor 554
would stay behind and wait, and White Eagle would assign one of his 764
principle braves to see that things were all right with "their Child" (in 844
terms of the calumet), while the rest of the camp moved on. In the case
of an expected birth to one of the wives of White Eagle himself, he
would request Eagle Chief to lead on and say, "My wife is going to be
sick." But Eagle Chief would refuse to go ahead saying, "I might spoil
your luck. We can go on when she's well again." Ordinarily a woman
would have to go aside while traveling and have her child in the open
aside from the line of march. Also, in the case of death, the own family
would usually stay behind and bury the person, then come on and join
the rest. After a day's delay, everyone would be glad to be moving along.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

133
137

a, Landscape south of Pawnee, Okla.

b, Landscape south of Pawnee, Okla.

c, Landscape north of Pawnee, Okla.

[facing p.2]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

648 At that time a separate treaty was made with each band of Pawnee, designated as Grand, Noisy, Republic, and Marhar, the treaties being respectively on June 18, 19, 20, and 22. Peace was then concluded with all tribes of the region which had been disturbed by the war of 1812. A treaty with the Pawnee Tribe was made at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs, September 30, 1825, its purpose being "to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension."[3] By the treaty of October 9, 1833, the Pawnee ceded to the United States "all the land lying south of the Platte River."[4] A reservation in Nebraska was provided for the Pawnee who remained in that State until 1876, the sale of their reservation in Nebraska being approved on June 5 of that year. The setting apart of a reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) was approved April 10, 1876. The Pawnee were removed to that reservation and "each head of a family or single person over 21 years of age residing upon said reserve, who shall so elect," was entitled to receive an allotment of 160 acres of land.[5] In a table compiled by the Office of Indian Affairs in 1908 it is stated that "112,859.84 acres were allotted to 821 [Pawnee] Indians, 840 acres reserved for school, agency, and cemetery purposes, and the residue of 169,320 acres was opened to settlement," the agreement being ratified by act of March 3, 1893.[6]

161 The number of Pawnee in 1702 was estimated by Iberville at 2,000 families. In 1838 they numbered about 10,000 persons, but the [164] opening of a principal emigrant trail directly through the country in the forties introduced disease and dissipation and left the people less [177] able to defend themselves against their enemies, the Sioux.[7] They decreased in numbers and in 1928 the Pawnee population was 2,766.[8]

133 The reservation of the Pawnee is beautifully diversified, with many streams and tracts of woods. There are outcroppings of stone in the region south of the town of Pawnee (pl. 3, *a*, *b*) while north of the town [136] are broad, smooth fields. (Pl. 3. *c*.) On a private ranch near Pawnee a picturesque herd of buffalo was seen near a "buffalo wallow." (Pl. 4, *a*, *b*.)

342 The earth lodge of the Pawnee was about 40 feet in diameter and 15 feet high, and was occupied by several related families, each having [592] its appointed space along the wall. "At the west side of the lodge a [778] space was always reserved, which was considered sacred, and was called *wiharu* (place-for-the-wonderful-things), this being the name which is applied to the garden of the Evening Star, where the corn is always ripening and where are stored many parflèches of buffalo

---

[3] Ibid., pp. 258-260.
[4] Ibid., pp. 416-418.
[5] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 159-161.
[6] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 213.
[7] Ibid., p. 216.
[8] Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the year 1928, p. 58.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

133

a, "Buffalo wallow" on private ranch near Pawnee, Okla.

133
136

b, Buffalo grazing on private ranch near Pawnee, Okla.

[facing p. 3]

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 5

The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee

(Hall 5, Case 60)

The Pawnee were a tribe of the Caddoan linguistic 101
stock who, in historic times, occupied the valley of the [197]
Platte river in Nebraska. The name Pawnee is prob- [131]
ably derived from *pariki* ("a horn"), a term applied to them by the neighboring tribes because of their peculiar method of dressing the hair. They called themselves Chahiksichahiks ("Men of Men"). They [174]
seem to have come into Nebraska from some region to the southwest, expelling an earlier population; but this movement was an ancient one, and the first Siouxian tribes to enter the Platte valley found the Pawnee already established.

The region in which the Pawnee lived was high, 132●
dry, and rather sandy, with little timber except along the rivers. On the west, toward the mountains, it was rough and broken. In early times buffalo and other 221
game were abundant. Although the Pawnee ranged 105
over a large territory in pursuit of the buffalo, they were not nomads. They spent the greater part of every year in permanent villages and raised large crops of corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins. Corn played a much more important part than the buffalo in their ceremonies and mythology, and it is evident that they were an agricultural rather than a hunting people.

[p.2 is blank]

NK10
F451

101 much more limited. On the west the *Padouca* (Comanche) were
131 firmly established in the forks of the Dismal River,[16] on the shores
of some of the lakes in the sandhill region of the present Cherry
County, Nebr.,[17] and on the upper reaches of the Smoky Hill River[18]
in the present northern Kansas. Between Pawnee and *Padouca*
101 there was incessant warfare, and it is unlikely that the former at
648 any time ventured far beyond the forks of the Platte, save on
131 occasional war or hunting trips. Early in the nineteenth century
the *Padouca* were pushed southward by the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and
Teton Dakota, who formed an equally effective check against west-
ward movements by the Pawnee. On the east the Omaha con-
trolled a large area north of the Platte from Shell Creek to the
mouth of the Niobrara, and south of the Platte the Oto claimed as
theirs the lands lying east of the Big Blue and north of the Big
Nemaha. From the Big Nemaha south to the Kansas River and
west to the Republican the Kansa were in undisputed possession,
and south of this tribe the equally hostile Osage roamed westward
nearly to the great bend of the Arkansas. The actual area over
101 which the Pawnee hunted and exercised chief control was thus a
131 strip, as follows: Commencing with the Niobrara (between its mouth
and Plum Creek) and extending southward to include the Platte
between Shell Creek and the present city of North Platte, thence
into Kansas to include the Smoky Hill drainage between the Re-
publican River and the ninety-ninth meridian, with the western
periphery then swinging westward by south toward the upper
reaches of the Arkansas, while the eastern limit ran toward the
southwestern corner of present Kansas. (See map 1. Compare
[361] Strong, 1935, fig. 2.) The permanent villages of the tribe were lo-
cated in the valleys of the lower Loup and Platte Rivers, and on the
Republican, in the present State of Nebraska; the region to the south
served solely as hunting and wintering grounds, and Pawnee claims
were often disputed or ignored by neighboring tribes.

● 133 Generally speaking, the region which formerly constituted the Pawnee demesne, as above described, is a high, dry, grass-covered plain, or more accurately, a series of plains interspersed with river valleys. The northern portion, lying within the borders of the present State of Nebraska, includes several thousand square miles of the great loess mantle deposited during or shortly following the Pleistocene glaciation of the region. North of the Platte erosion has progressed sufficiently to produce a hilly and broken topography, consisting of small loess plains and canyons grading into loess-capped hills toward the east. A great wedge of dune lands and sand

hills, representing the eastward extension of the Sandhill province 133 of central Nebraska, covers much of the territory north of the Platte, especially the northern and western parts. The Loup, tributary to the Platte, with its North, Middle, and South Forks, augmented by the Dismal and Calamus Rivers, effects the drainage. These streams all have their sources in the sand hills and are characterized by a steady, abundant flow of excellent water, relatively deep valleys, and scant fringes of timber. Between the Platte and the Republican Rivers lies the high, monotonously flat loess plain of southern Nebraska, but little modified by erosion save where the margins have been deeply incised by short creeks tributary to larger bordering rivers. The Blue River, on the east, is the only stream of any size between the Platte and the Republican. South of the Republican the terrain becomes rather more uniform. A succession of broad grassy upland divides, trending generally west-east, and separating valleys of the Solomon, Saline, Smoky Hill, and Arkansas Rivers, are the principal physiographic features, culminating in the flat, featureless plains of western and southern Kansas.

---

[16] Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pp. 88, 91. However, compare Grinnell, 1920, p. 200.
[17] Dorsey, J. O., 1886, p. 220.
[18] Margry Papers, vol. vi, pp. 398–448.

As everywhere on the great plains, grasses are, or were formerly, 137 the dominant plant forms in the Pawnee area. Trees were almost universally absent on the uplands, and at least as late as 1833 the Platte and Loup Valleys were almost devoid of timber, save on some of the larger islands.[19] In the Republican Valley and also in the Smoky Hill drainage, however, timber was more abundant. Cottonwood, several species of willow, burr oak, and elm dominated the more immediate river banks and islands, while less commonly black walnut, honey locust, hackberry, boxelder, ash, and red cedar were encountered. For the most part the tree forms represented the westward extension of the forests of Missouri, following up the valleys especially of streams draining through the Kansas River into the Missouri, and interfingering with the prairie uplands more typical of the western plains. Chokecherries, wild plums, grapes, and wild black cherries grew plentifully along the smaller streams and creeks, and wild potatoes, turnips, and turkey peas flourished in the sandy valleys of the Platte, Loup, and Republican Rivers. All of the last-named plants provided important articles of diet. Of game there 136 was also ample variety. Herds of bison wandered northward beyond the Platte, becoming more plentiful to the west and south, and [262] their meat, next to maize, formed the main food staple. Beaver formerly abounded in the Elkhorn, Republican, Smoky Hill, and other wooded streams, and, along with elk, deer, bear, wolves, and [439 281] wildcat, in early historic times formed the basis for a traffic in peltries amounting to thousands of dollars annually, to say nothing of their value as food sources.

---

[19] Irving, 1835, vol. ii, p. 10; also Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 446.

136 of their value as food sources. Smaller animals, such as rabbits, opossum, raccoon, and squirrel, were also to be had. Ducks, geese, and other waterfowl were plentiful and fish abounded in most of the streams.

133 All of the major streams carry water the year round, although the Platte during the summer months becomes largely a subterranean river above its junction with the Loup. With the exception of those in the sand hills, the streams flow characteristically in broad, flat alluvial valleys, from 3 to 15 miles wide, and bordered by bluffs up to 250 feet in height. The historic villages were apparently all [361] located in the large river valleys rather than on the small tributary creeks; only the chase, war forays, or migrations seem to have led village tribes such as the Pawnee out upon the interfluvial areas.

It may be noted here that the "sacred places" of the Pawnee, 778 where the *Nahu'rac*, or miraculously endowed animals, met in coun-823 cil, were all associated with the streams. There were five of these, 825 according to Grinnell.[20] One was "at *Pa-hŭk'*, on the south side of the Platte River, opposite the town of Fremont, in Nebraska. The word *Pa-hŭk'* means 'hill island.' Another animal home is under an island in the Platte River, near the town of Central City. It is called by the Pawnee *La-la-wa-koh-ti-to*, meaning 'dark island.' The third of these sacred places is on the Loup Fork, opposite the mouth of the Cedar River, and under a high white cut bank. It is called *Ah-ka-wit-akol*, 'white bank.' Another is on the Solomon River, *Kitz-a-witz-ŭk*, 'water on a bank'; it is called *Pa'howa* sometimes. This is a mound, shaped like a dirt lodge. At the top of the mound, in the middle, is a round hole, in which, down below, [782] can be seen water. At certain times the people gather there and throw into this hole their offerings to *Ti-ra'-wa*, blankets and robes, blue beads, tobacco, eagle feathers, and moccasins. Sometimes, when they are gathered there, the water rises to the top of the hole and flows out, running down the side of the mound into the river. Then the mothers take their little children and sprinkle the water over them and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* to bless them. The water running out of the hole often carries with it the offerings, and the ground is covered with the old rotten things that have been thrown in. [This clearly refers to the mineral spring now known as Waconda, or Great Spirit, Springs, situated 2½ miles southeast of Cawker City, Mitchell County, Kans.[21]] The fifth place is a hard, smooth, flinty rock, sticking up out of the ground. They call it *Pa-hŭr'*, 'hill that points the way.' In the side of the hill there is a great hole where the *Nahu'rac* hold councils. This hill is in Kansas and can be

---

[20] 1893, p. 358.

[21] Bailey, 1902, pp. 197-200.

GENOA SITE.—After the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee gradually became concentrated in one great, rambling village on the Loup. This 172^{x} lay about 1½ miles south of Genoa, on a broad, flat plain between 361 Beaver Creek and the Loup.[53] The Skidi occupied the western part of the village; the other three bands located in what is now the Genoa Cemetery. A sod wall protected the settlement on the south and west sides, with the portions nearest Genoa left open. Each band is said to have had its own burial ground. That of the Grands was to the south, across the Loup River. The Skidi interred their [764] dead on bluffs northwest of their village. The Tappage Cemetery was on a hill in what is now the north edge of Genoa and that of the Republicans was northeast of the city. All traces of the village have been obliterated and the cemeteries have suffered extensively at the hands of vandals. Few objects of native production have been [177] found, as the Pawnee were very much under the influence of the Americans at this late date and were rapidly losing their own arts and industries.

GRAND PAWNEE SITES

The Grand Pawnee are often designated in early literature and 131 on maps prior to 1800 as *Panis*. The main villages of the band were [101] always on the south bank of the Platte, save for a short period between 1806 and 1824 (the latter date being approximate), and another from 1860 to 1875. During both of these periods they were on the north bank of the Loup, at the Horse Creek and Genoa sites, respectively. Two pure Grand Pawnee locations are recognized, viz, the Linwood and the Clarks sites; the Plum Creek site was occupied by members of at least two of the other bands. The Horse Creek site was dominantly Republican, hence is included in that section.

LINWOOD SITE.—This site is located approximately a mile south and 172^{4} slightly west of the town of Linwood, on the east bank of Skull Creek 361 3 miles south of the Platte River.[54] It occupies the western portion of an alluvial flat, a small, embaymentlike arm of the Platte Valley extending perhaps three-quarters of a mile up Skull Creek, and is [133] inclosed on the west, south, and east by high bluffs. Skull Creek, at least in former times, probably carried water at all seasons of the year, and immediately below the site an excellent spring provided water sufficient to meet the domestic needs for a considerable community.

The site, though extending nearly half a mile continuously along the creek, actually consists of two contiguous sites of very different age. The early phase of occupation, designated on map 2 as 9 A,

---

[53] SW¼ sec. 24 and SE¼ sec. 23, T. 17 N., R. 4 W., Nance County, Nebr.
[54] SW¼ sec. 35, T. 17 N., R. 4 E., Butler County, Nebr.

Chart of Positions of End Map 2

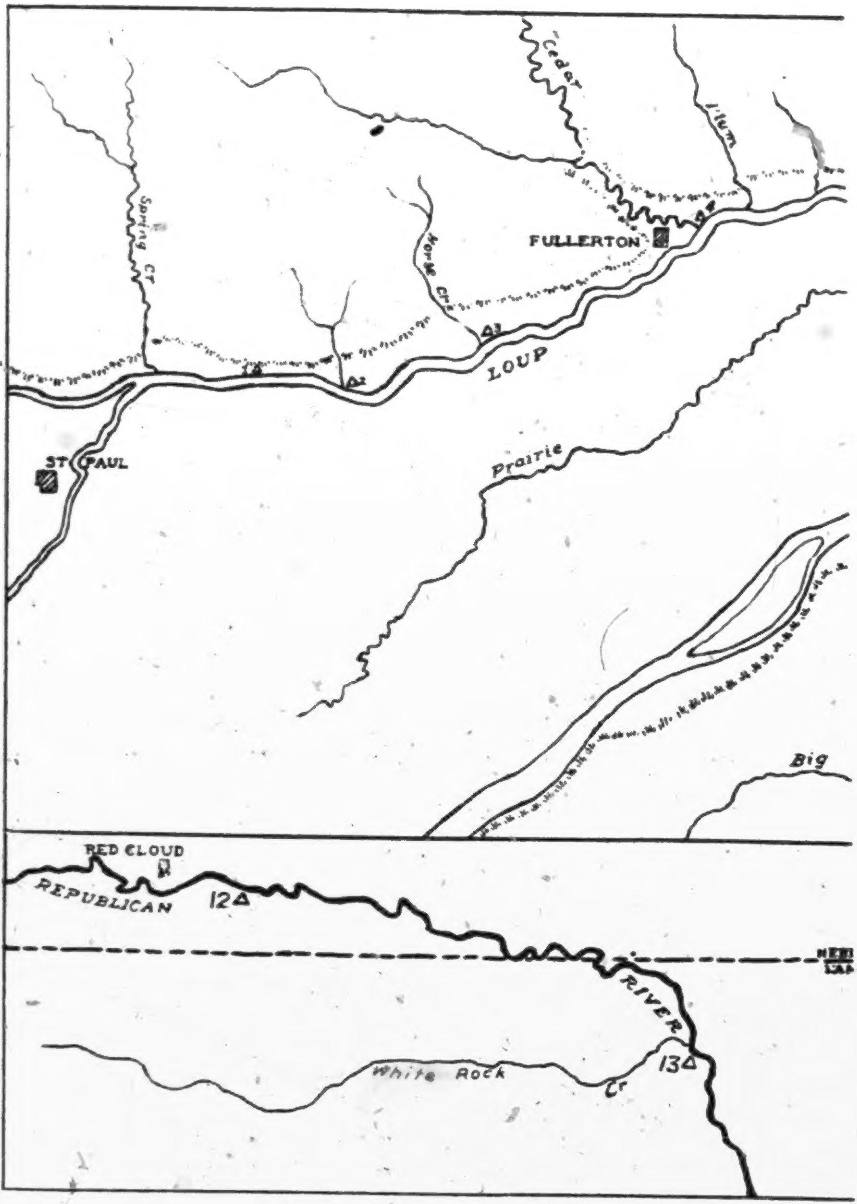
Sec. A	Sec. B	Sec. C	Sec. D	Sec. E

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

102
131
● 133
172

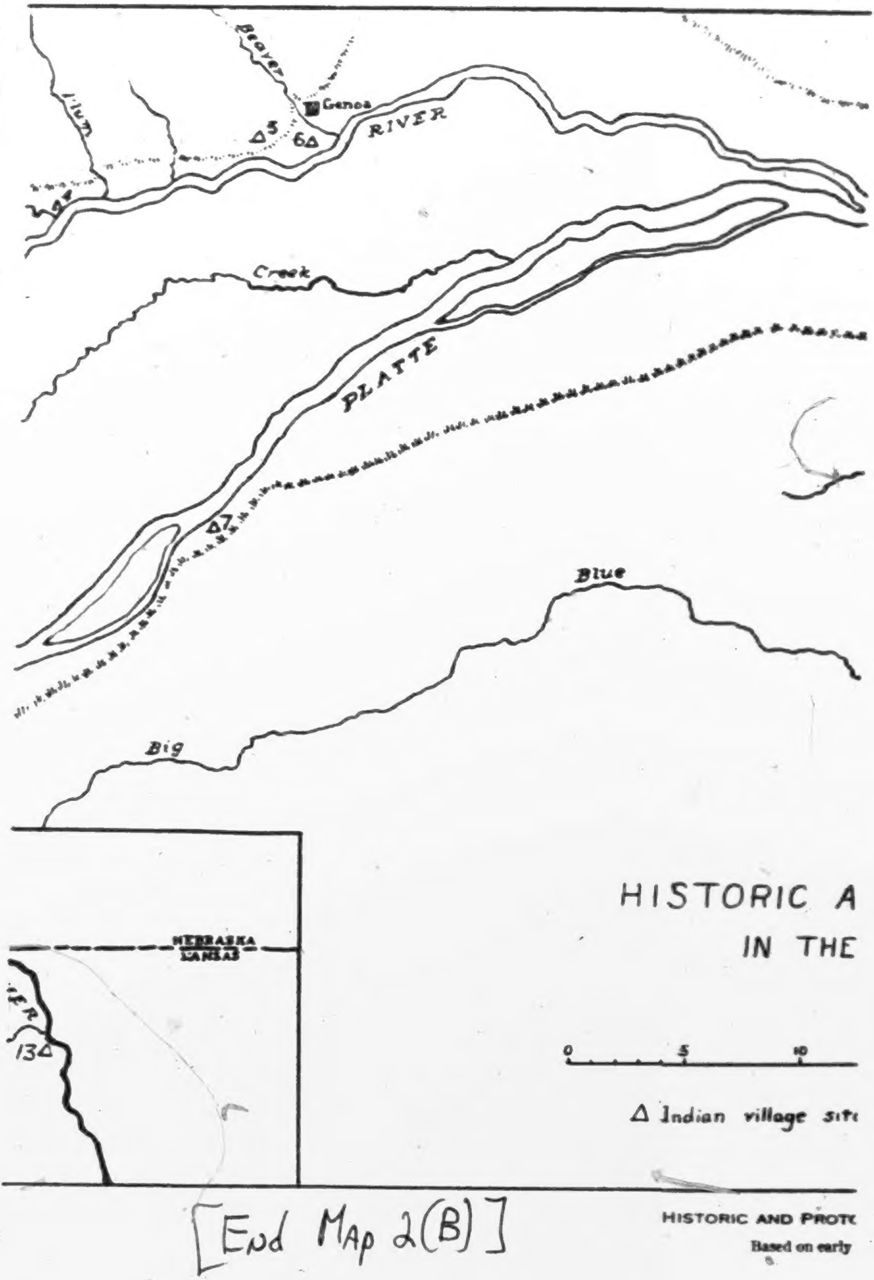

Cedar
Plum
Spring Cr
Horse Cr
FULLERTON
4
3
1
2
LOUP
ST PAUL
Prairie
Big
RED CLOUD
REPUBLICAN
12
RIVER
White Rock Cr
13

[End Map 2(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
131
133
172



Beaver
Genoa
Loup
RIVER
Δ5
6Δ
Creek
PLATTE
Δ7
Blue
Big
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
13Δ
HISTORIC A
IN THE
0
5
10
Δ Indian village site

HISTORIC AND PROTO

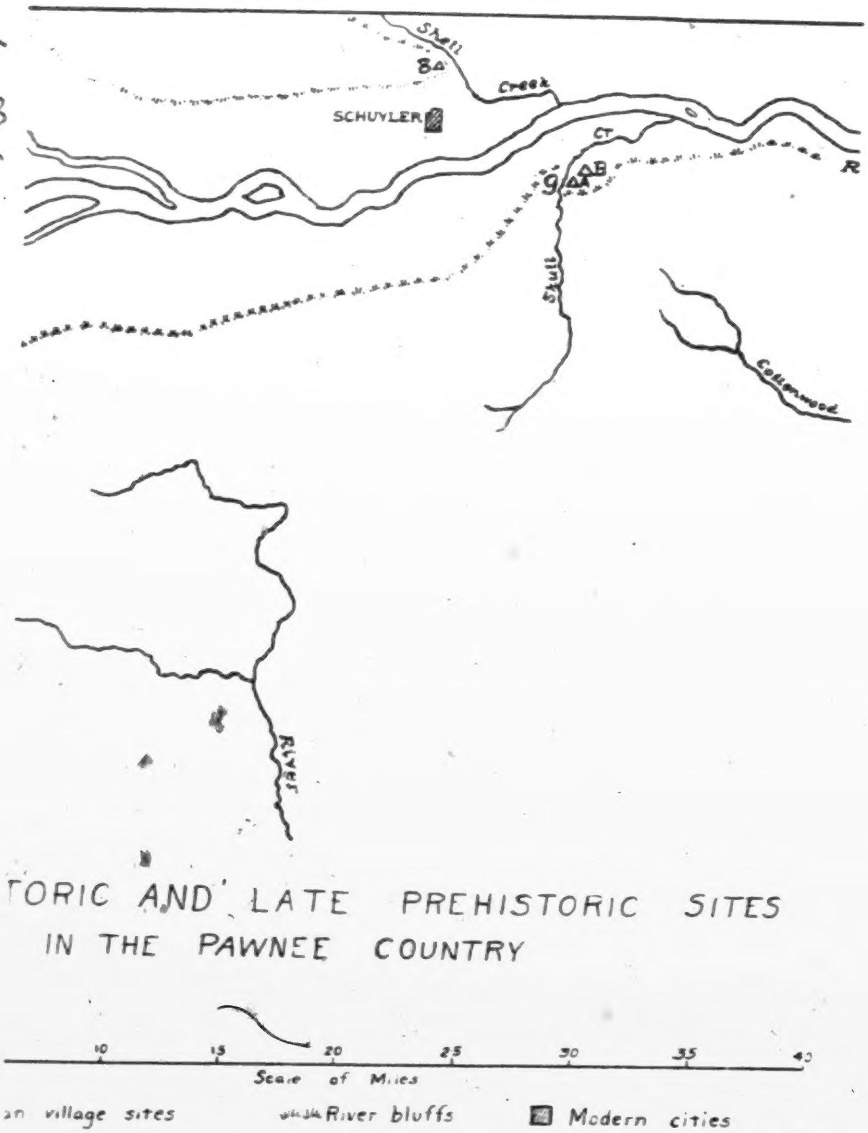
Based on early

[End Map 2(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
131
●133
172



Shell
8A
Creek
SCHUYLER
CT
ΔB
9ΔA
R
Skull
Cottonwood
River
TORIC AND LATE PREHISTORIC SITES
IN THE PAWNEE COUNTRY
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
Scale of Miles
an village sites
River bluffs
▨ Modern cities

ORIC AND PROTOHISTORIC SITES IN THE NORTHERN PAWNEE AREA.

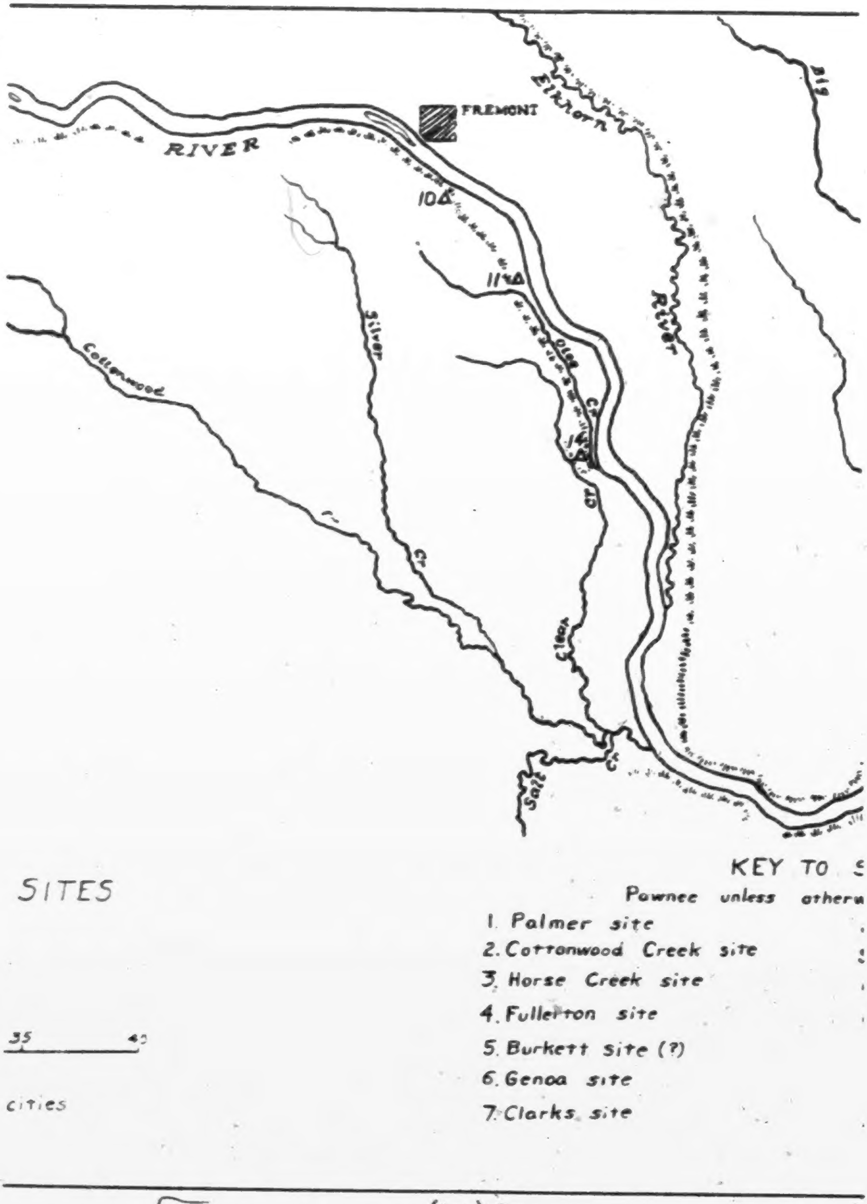
Based on early maps and journals and on archeological investigations

[End Map 2(C)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
131
●133
172


FREMONT
Elkhorn
RIVER
Elkhorn River
Big
10
11
14
Silver Cr.
Cottonwood Cr.
Clear Cr.
Salt
SITES
35
40
cities
KEY TO S
Pawnee unless otherw
1. Palmer site
2. Cottonwood Creek site
3. Horse Creek site
4. Fullerton site
5. Burkett site (?)
6. Genoa site
7. Clarks site

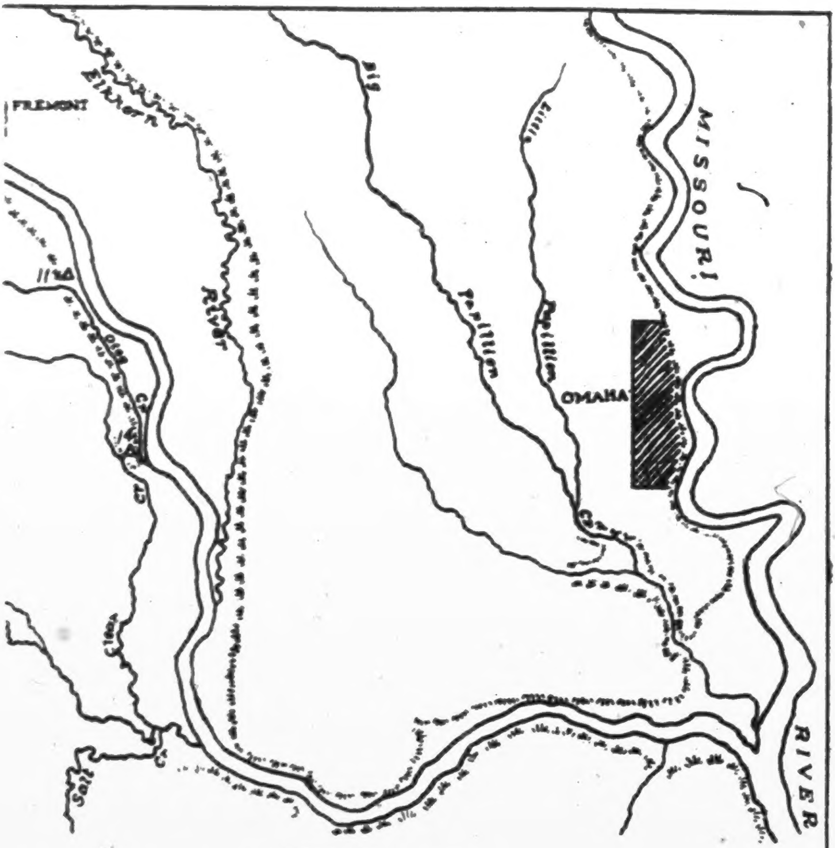
[End Map 2 (D)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BULLETIN 112 MAP 2

102
131
● 133
172


FREMONT
Elkhorn River
11Δ
14
Big Papillion
Little Papillion
OMAHA
MISSOURI RIVER
Salt

KEY TO SITES

Pawnee unless otherwise indicated

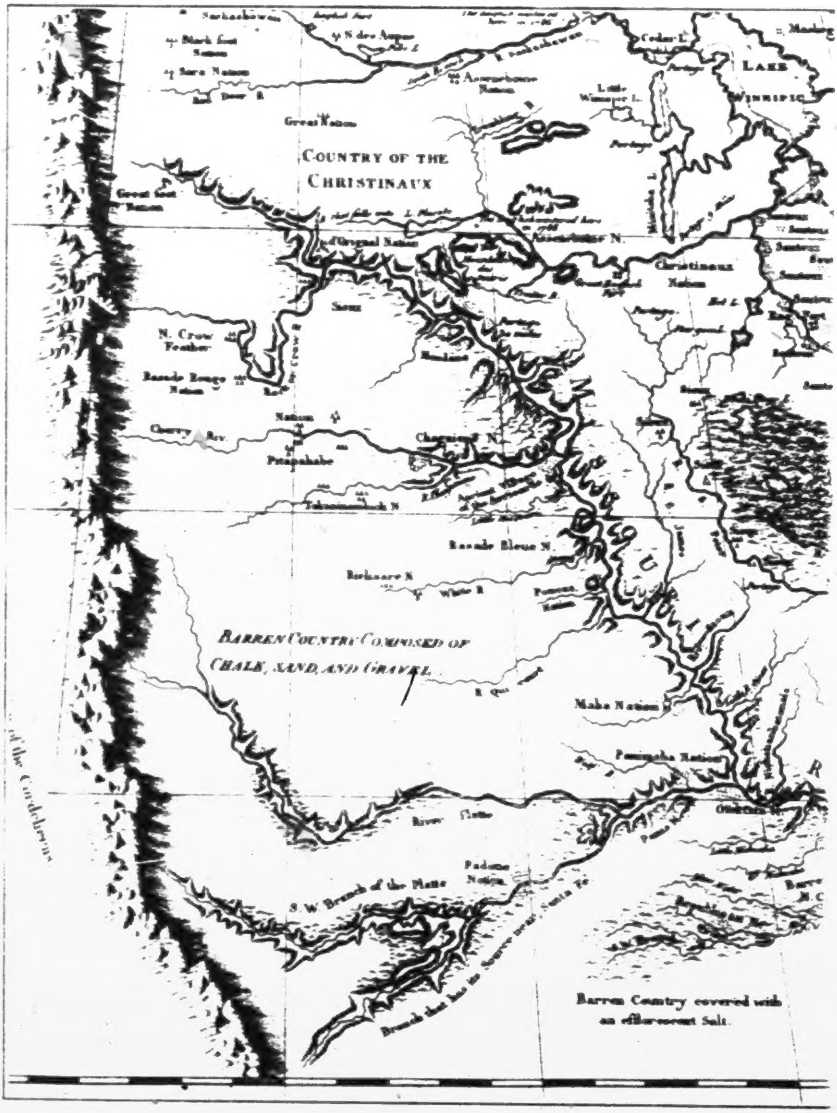
1. Palmer site
2. Cottonwood Creek site
3. Horse Creek site
4. Fullerton site
5. Burkett site (?)
6. Genoa site
7. Clarks site
8. Schuyler site (?)
9. Linwood site
10. McClaine site
11. Leshara site
12. Hill site
13. Kansas Monument site
14. Yutan site (Oto)

[End Map 2(E)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
131
● 133


Saskashawan
Black foot Nation
Sura Nation
Red Deer R.
N. des Assens
S. Saskashawan
Assenebouns Nation
Cedar L.
Lake Winnipic
Little Winnipic L.
Great Nation
Country of the Christinaux
Great foot Nation
Orignal Nation
Assenebouns N.
Christinaux Nation
Sioux
N. Crow Feather
Rosade Rouge Nation
Mandans
Nation
Cherry Riv.
Chaguiens N.
Pitapahabe
Rosade Bleue N.
Birhaare N
White R.
Poncas Nation
Barren Country Composed of Chalk, Sand, and Gravel
Maha Nation
Pawnipaha Nation
River Platte
Padome Nation
S. W. Branch of the Platte
Branch that has its Source near Santa Fe
Barren Country covered with an efflorescent Salt.
of the Cordeleras
R

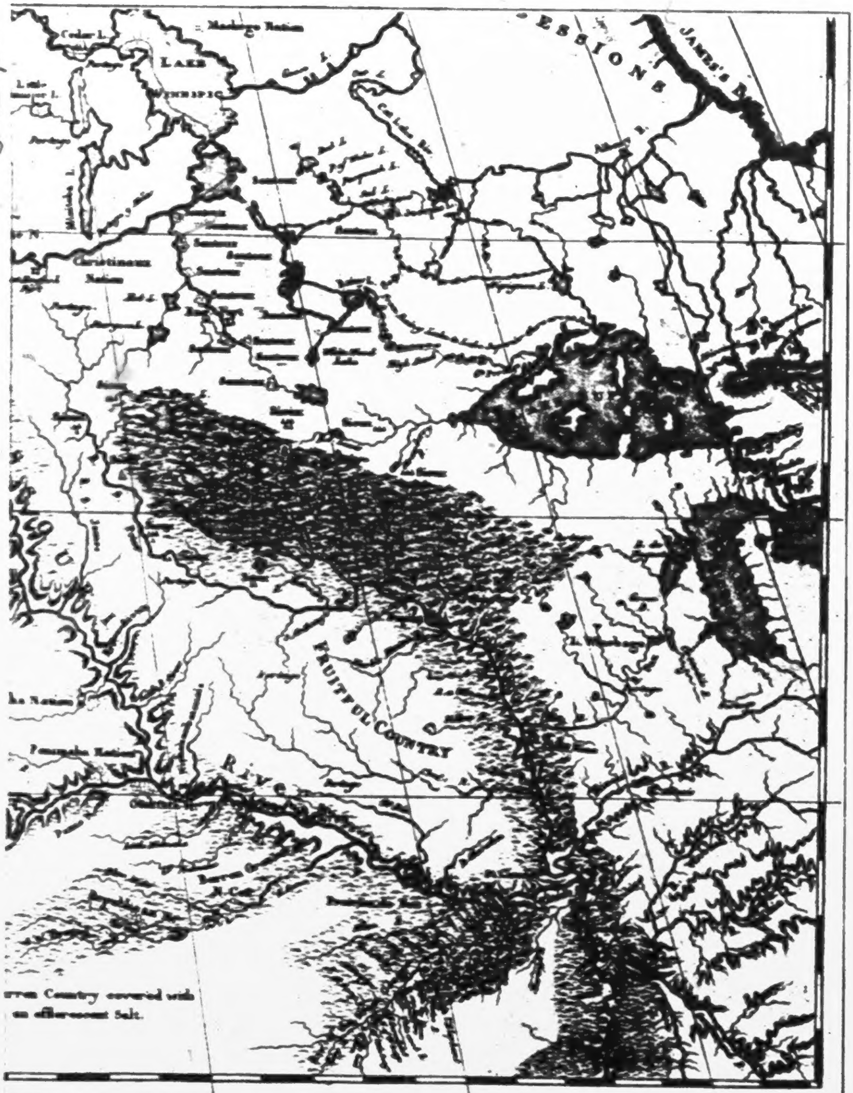
COLLOT'S MAP, 1796.

From a Journey in North America, volume

[End Map 6(A)]

BULLETIN 112 MAP 6

101
102
131
● 133


ESSIONS
JAMES'S B
Cedar L.
LAKE
WINIPIC
Christinaux Nation
FRUITFUL COUNTRY
River
rren Country covered with
an efflorescent Salt.

COLLOT'S MAP, 1796.
urney in North America, volume I, page 281

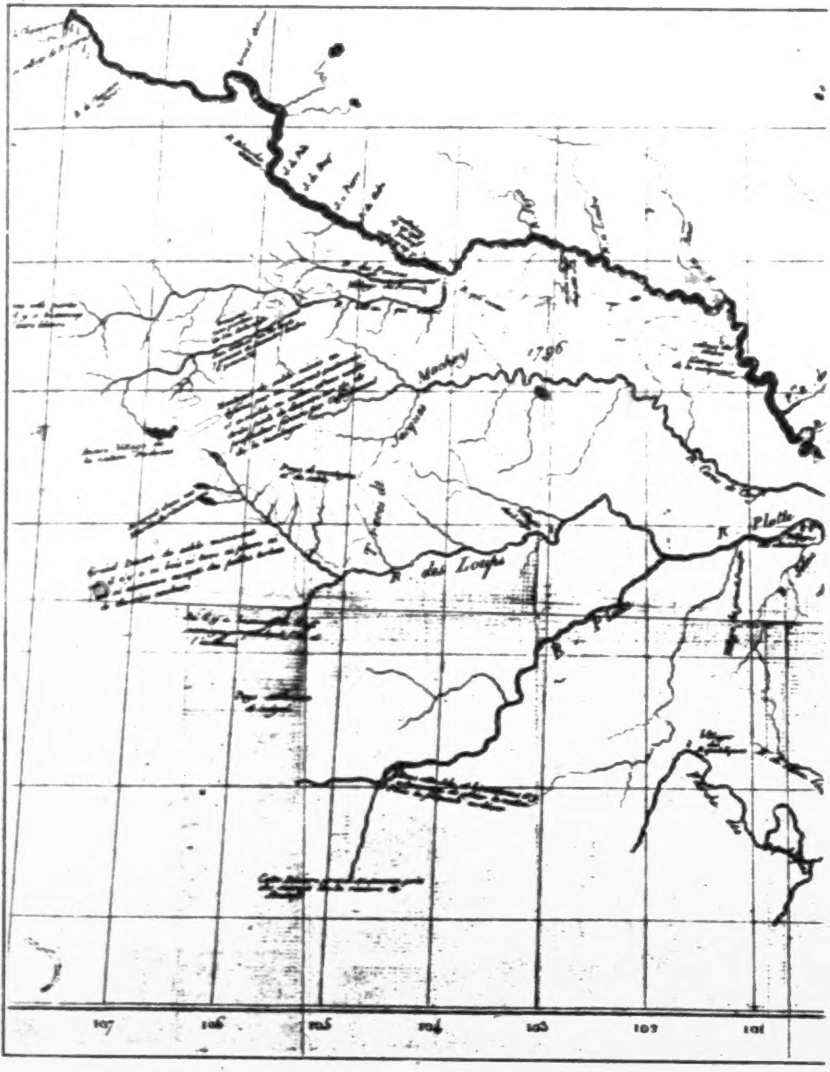
[End Map 6(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
131
●133


Mackay
1796
R. des Loups
R. Platte
K. Platte
107
106
105
104
103
102
101

DU LAC'S MAP OF THE MISSOU

From Travels through the Two Lou

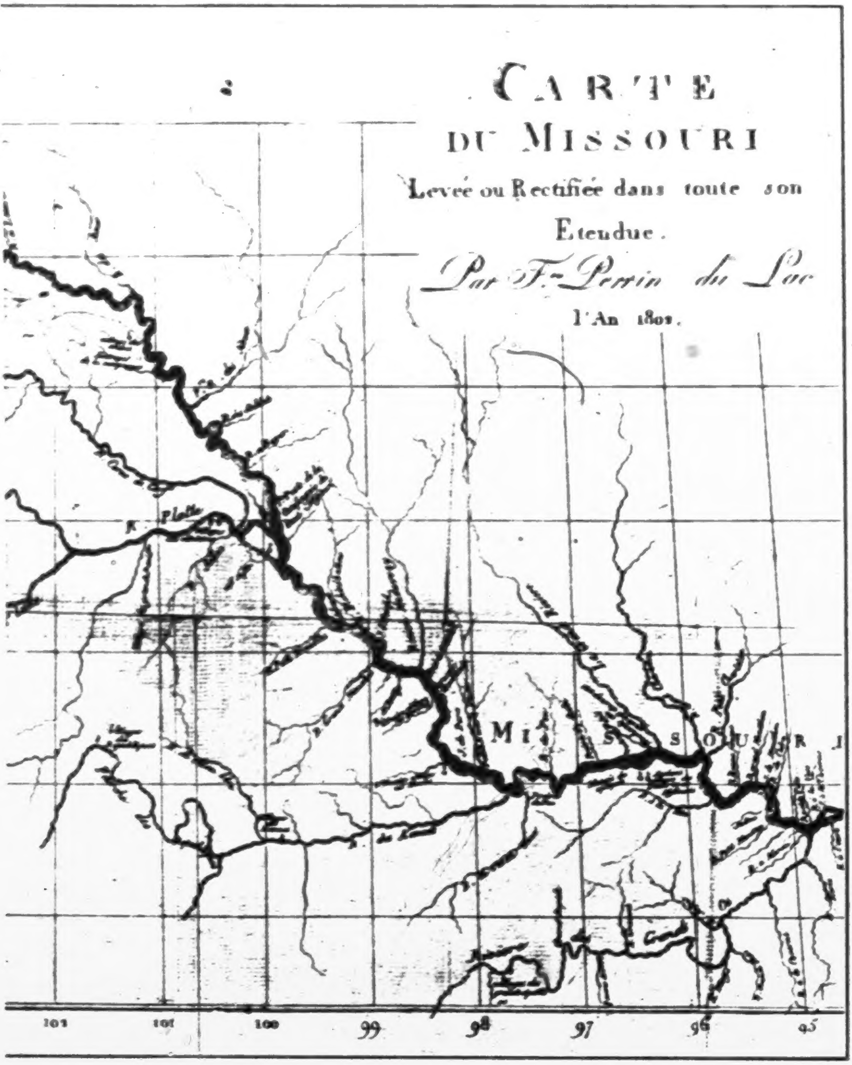
[End Map 7(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BULLETIN 112 MAP 7

101
102
131
133


CARTE
DU MISSOURI
Levée ou Rectifiée dans toute son Etendue.
Par F. Perrin du Lac
l'An 1801.
R. Platte
MISSOURI
101
101
100
99
98
97
96
95

'S MAP OF THE MISSOURI, 1802.

Travels through the Two Louisianas.

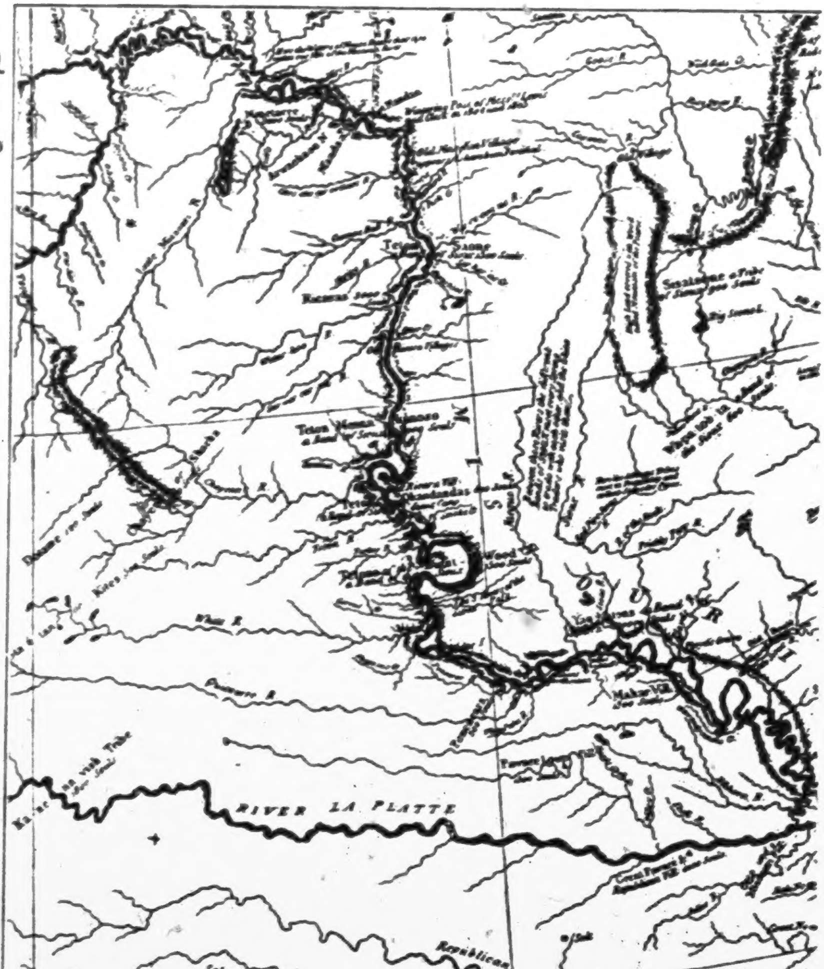
[End Map 7(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
131
● 133


RIVER LA PLATTE
Republican Fork
Solomons Fork
KANSAS
105° LONGITUDE WEST FROM LONDON
100°

LEWIS AND CLARK'S MAP.
From Travels to the Source of the Missouri

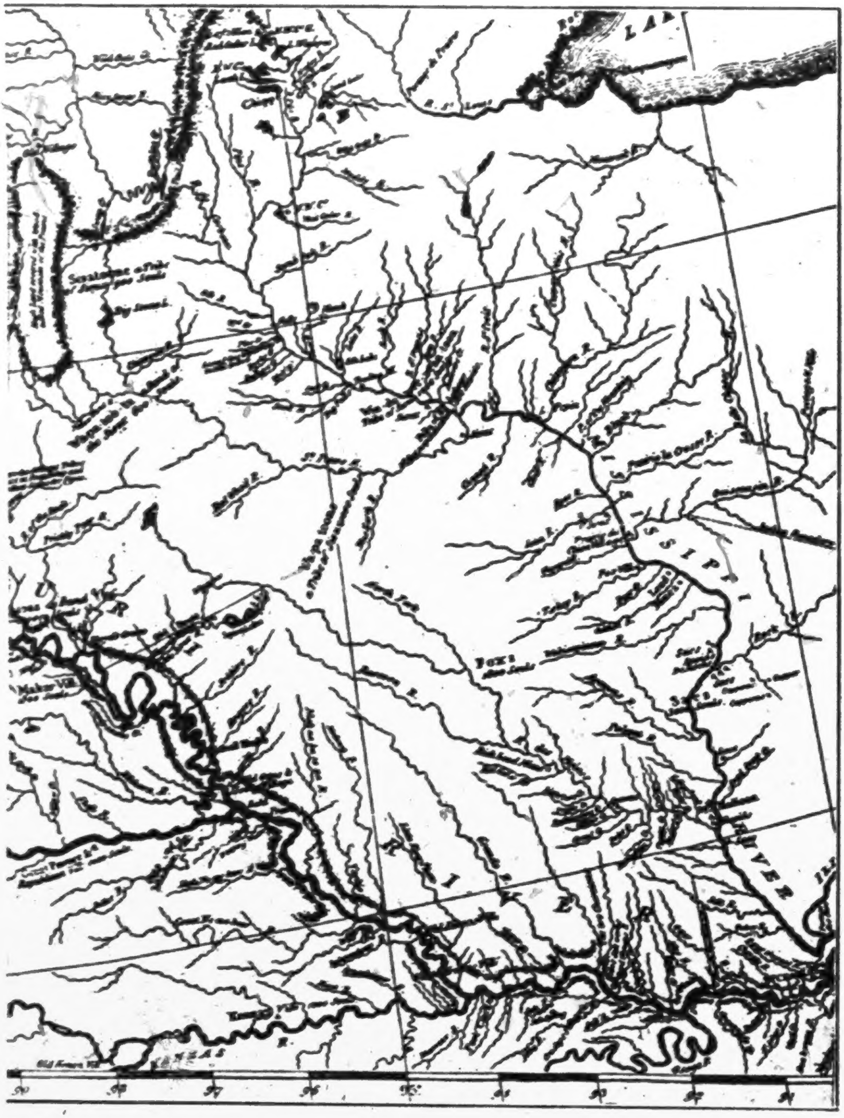
[End Map 8(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BULLETIN 112 MAP 8

101
102
131
133



VIS AND CLARK'S MAP, 1804.
to the Source of the Missouri River, volume I.

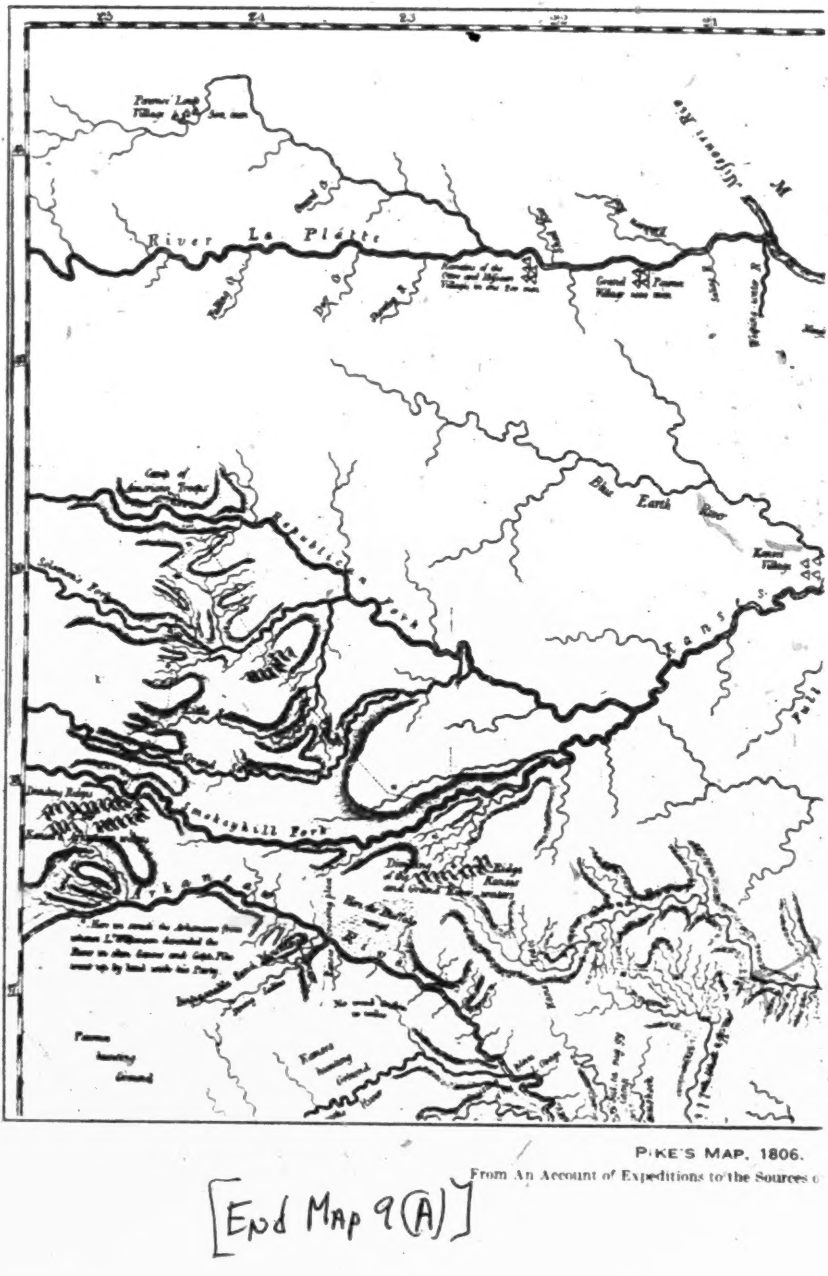
[End Map 8(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
131
●133


Pawnee Loup Village
Missouri Riv
River La Platte
Grand Pawnee Village
Blue Earth River
Kansas Village
Republican Fork
Kans
Smoky hill Fork
Arkansaw
Pawnee hunting Ground
Kansas hunting Ground

PIKE'S MAP, 1806.
From An Account of Expeditions to the Sources o

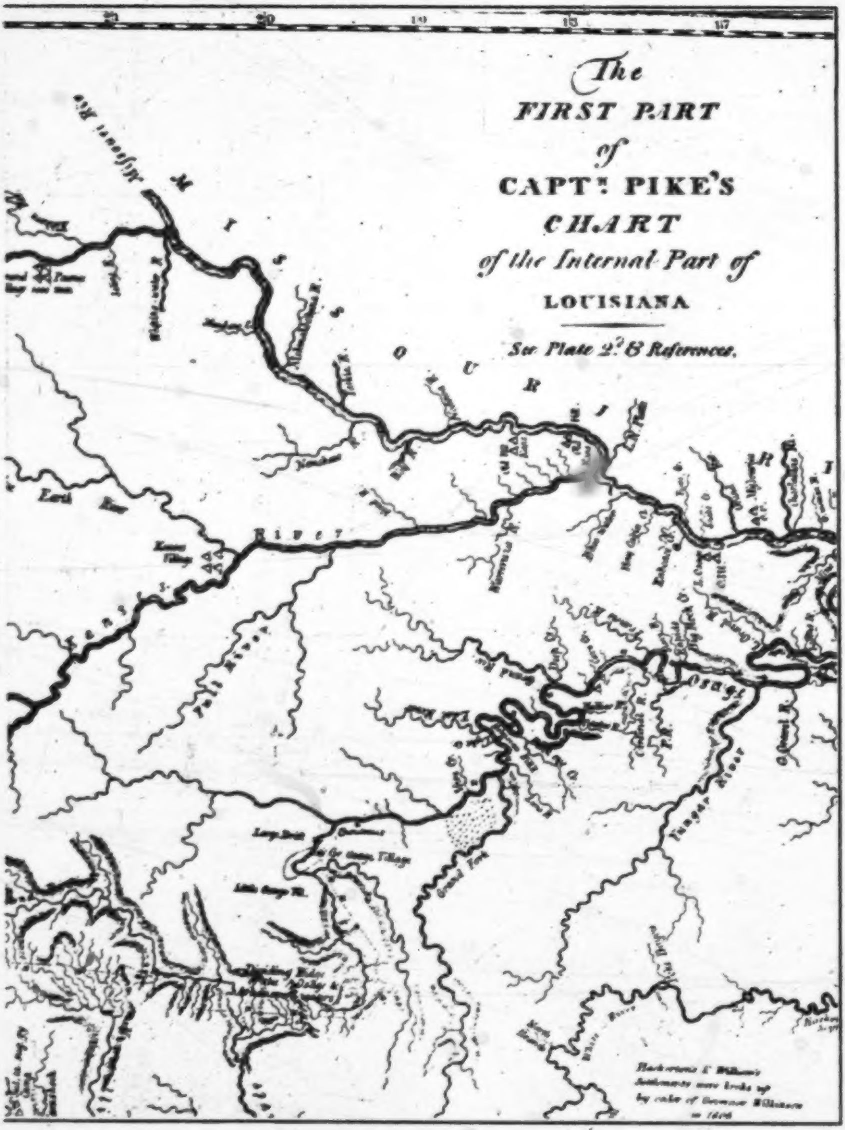
[End Map 9 (A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
131
● 133

BULLETIN 112 MAP 9


The
FIRST PART
of
CAPT! PIKE'S
CHART
of the Internal Part of
LOUISIANA
See Plate 2d & References.
MISSOURI
River
Kansas
Osage
Grand Fork
Hackerstons & Wilkinson's Settlements were broke up by order of Governor Wilkinson in 1806

PIKE'S MAP, 1806.
of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, etc.

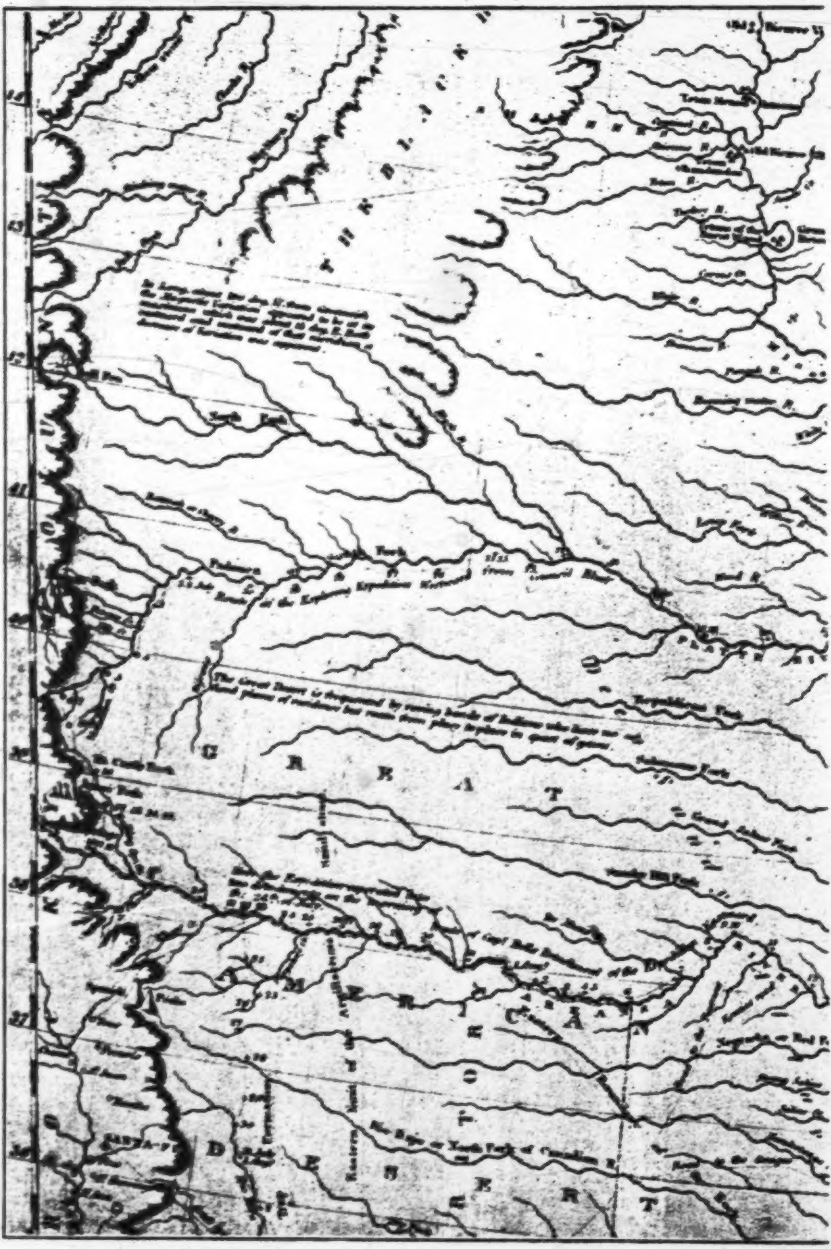
[End Map 9 (B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
131
● 133

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY


G R E A T
A M E R I C A N
D E S E R T
Council Bluff
P L A T T E R.
Republican Fork

LONG'S MAP, 1819.

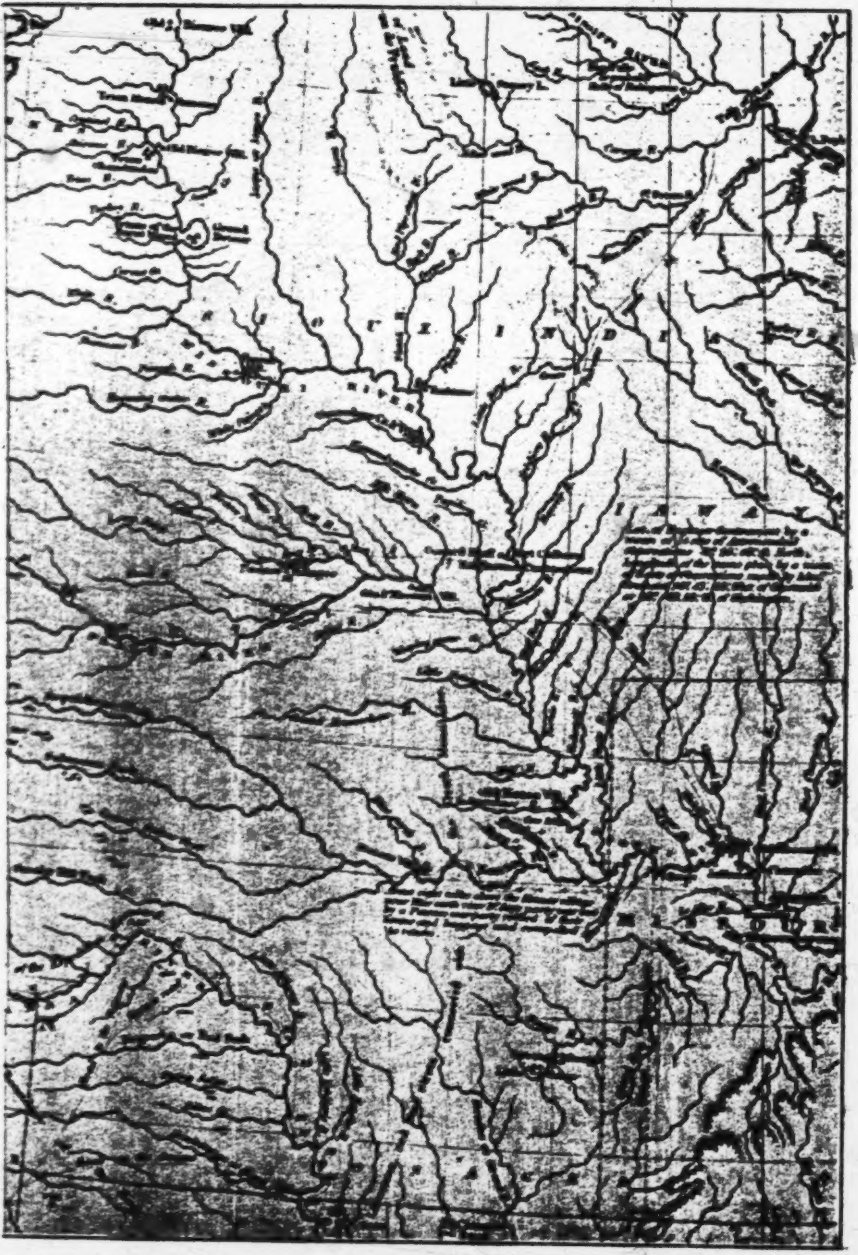
From Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the

[End Map 10 (A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936 .

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

101
102
131
●133



LONG'S MAP, 1819.

pedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, atlas.

[End Map 10(B)]

x539 chief of the Ski'-di band, and a progressive man of modern times. He
538 sent his children East to school at Carlisle, Pa.

Comanche Chief died September 9th, 1888.

THE PRISONERS OF COURT HOUSE ROCK

x539 Court House Rock is a high, square-shaped bluff, or butte, on the
538 North Platte River. It is composed of a hard, yellowish clay, which is
● 133 but slowly eroded by the weather, though soft enough to be cut readily with a knife. On all sides except one, this rock or butte is nearly or quite vertical, and its sides, smoothed and polished by the wind and the rain, offer no projecting points, to serve as foot or hand holds for one who might wish to climb up or down. On one side there is a way by which an active man may reach the summit, where he finds a flat tableland of moderate extent.

x539 A number of years ago a war party of Skidi, who were camped
538 near Court House Rock, were surprised by a party of Sioux. There were many of them, and they drove the Skidi back, and at length these were obliged to climb the steep side of Court House Rock. The Sioux dared not follow them up on to the rock, but guarded the only place where it was possible to come down, and camped all around the rock below to starve the Skidi out. The Skidi had nothing to eat nor to drink, and suffered terribly from hunger and still more from thirst. The leader of the party suffered most of any, for he thought that he would surely lose all his men. He felt that this was the worst of all. He must not only die, but must also be disgraced, because under his leadership the young men of his party had been lost. He used to go off at night, apart from the others, and pray to *Ti-rá-wa* for help; for some way to save his party.

[787] One night while he was praying, something spoke to him, and said, "Look hard for a place where you may get down from this rock, and so save both your men and yourself." He kept on praying that night,

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

18

THE MIGRATION TO THE BUFFALO HUNTING GROUNDS

000

Geographical Orientation—the Routes of the Four Bands—Platte River a Major Landmark—Trip Made in Ten Encampments—Four Mass Attacks Planned on Buffalo Herds—Cooperation during Hunt—Enemy Attack—Bad Weather—Death

THREE RIVERS CUT ACROSS the state of Nebraska, flowing eastward into the Missouri which forms the eastern boundary of the state. They rise in the foothills of the Rockies and are sometimes deep and sometimes deceptively shallow, but the water when it flows is always swift, and they have shifting sandy bottoms even when the river bed seems almost dry. The northernmost of the three is the Loup and south of it the Platte, which it joins toward the east. The Platte almost bisects the state in an east-west line. On the southern border is the Republican, which for the most part cuts through northern Kansas. 133

The Pawnee migration followed the river courses progressing westward and southward in successive stages, west along the Loup, then south to the Platte and for some distance west along that river, and then south to the Republican, where the migrating buffalo herds were to be found. 224* 484* 133

The westward journeys along the river banks were relatively easy, but in turning southward the overland travel took them over deeply scarred irregular surfaces that were slow and hard to cross. North and south of the Loup the land surface consists of glacial loess blown into tall sandhills that look like dunes. To conduct a march across this terrain, especially loaded with baggage, is extremely difficult. Moreover, there are no identifiable landmarks, and it is easy to get lost. The land between the Platte and the Republican is of a different character. The entire land surface is 133

• 133 covered with a deep, compacted layer of sand. Both rivers have changed their courses numbers of times in the past and the marks of their winding fossil beds are deeply carved into the sandy layer, forming a series of shallow but sharply defined canyons and troughs. Reaching north and south between the two rivers, the curves and canyons of the two fossil beds almost meet, cutting up the whole land surface so that there is no level land and the trip across has to be made over a few narrow land bridges. The later pioneers who tried to cross this area going southward aptly named one of the best of these land bridges "Devil's Gap" (southwestern Nebraska between Lexington and Arapahoe).

*224 *484 823 [888] The Pawnees had a detailed knowledge of every aspect of the land they would traverse. Its topography was in their minds like a series of vivid pictorial images, each a configuration where this or that event had happened in the past to make it memorable. This was especially true of the old men who had the richest store of knowledge in this respect. Their journey out was about ten miles a day and eight on the way back when they were more heavily laden with the dried meat. Anticipating these distances, they had to plan on stopping places where there was enough level land, wood for fuel, and available water for their whole large encampment of several thousand people and many more animals. They estimated the journey out as twenty days and the return journey twenty-seven days.

*224 *484 184 Each of the four bands had different routes that they preferred. From their rendezvous camp south of the Loup, the Skidi preferred to go several camps westward along the south bank, before turning south to the Platte. The South Bands preferred to leave the settlements and go directly south to the north bank of the Platte River where they made their rendezvous camp. When they were ready to go west, they would cross over the Platte and proceed along the south bank all the way west until they came to the place where they turned and crossed the country south-

---

*224 *484 361 FIGURE 18-1. Approximate campsites of the Pawnee summer hunt in Nebraska. Starting from Genoa on Beaver Creek, X is the first rendezvous camp south of the Loup. Camps 2, 3, and 4 proceed west from Camp 1 along the south bank of the Loup. Camp 5 turns southward toward the head of Grand Island in the Platte River. They camped overnight between the Loup and the Platte because the sandhills between the rivers make the journey hard. Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte after crossing Grand Island and Fort Kearney. Between camps 5 and 6 a small reconnoitering party went south of the Republican to sight buffalo; they brought meat to Camp 6. Camps 7, 8, 9, 10—four camps west of Fort Kearney along south bank of the Platte, arriving at Plum Creek near Lexington, Nebraska. At camps 7, 8, and 9 individual hunters went after deer, elk, and antelope. Setting out from Camp 9, the chiefs and braves hunted a small herd in order to "feed the people." They brought meat to Camp 10. They went along Plum Creek and then southeast overland to find Turkey Creek. Camp 11—the hunting camp, where the main herd was attacked by all the hunters of the tribe. The people moved south along the west bank of Turkey Creek and encamped at its confluence with the Republican River. X near Trenton is Massacre Canyon.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PAWNEE MUSIC

By Frances Densmore

THE PAWNEE TRIBE

The Pawnee is commonly regarded as the last of the Caddoan Tribes which migrated in a general northeasterly direction at an early date.[1] When the Siouan Tribes entered the valley of the Platte River in Nebraska they found the Pawnee already established in that region. The Pawnee called themselves by a term meaning "men of men." Their present name was probably given by some neighboring tribe and derived from *pariki*, meaning a horn, as it was the Pawnee custom to shave the head except a narrow strip extending from the forehead to the scalplock and to stiffen this ridge of hair with grease and paint, curving it upward like a horn. 101 [302]

While in Nebraska the Pawnee lived in earth lodges which were in four permanent groups of villages, each having its geographical location along the Platte River. The people of each group were a unit, representing a division of the tribe. The Skidi (Wolf Pawnee) was in the northwest, its people considering themselves related to the Arikara, another Caddoan Tribe living some distance to the north. The Pitahaucrat (Tapage Pawnee) were downstream, the Kithahki (Republican Pawnee) were upstream, and the Chaui (Grand Pawnee) were located between the two last named. The soil of the region was dry and rather sandy with rough, broken land toward the mountains in the west, yet the Pawnee were essentially an agricultural people, cultivating corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins. Buffalo and other game was abundant in the early days, and the Pawnee were excellent hunters, their hunting expeditions covering a wide area. 361 [342] 101 619 134 ● 241 136 224

The first treaty between the Government of the United States and the Pawnee Indians was made at St. Louis Trading Post in June, 1818.[2] 648

---

[1] In the classification of the North American races by John W. Powell the Pawnee is classified as one of the five independent groups of the Caddoan stock. Miss Alice C. Fletcher regards the Pawnee as a confederacy, the divisions or bands of the tribe being treated by her as separate tribes in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p 213. Cf. also Linton, Ralph, The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee, The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee, and Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men, compiled chiefly from unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, published as leaflets Nos. 5, 6, and 8, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-23. [114]

[2] Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kappler, ed., vol. ii, pp. 156-159, Washington, 1904.

*175
*648 cholera. The small-pox was particularly deadly. It had already
164 afflicted the tribe in 1803, and in 1825 a serious epidemic again
177 broke out, with great mortality. Small-pox in the years 1829 to 1833 was so serious in the Indian population, that the government spent large sums annually for vaccination among the Indians who were already "wards" of the government. This did not include the Pawnee, as yet only "peaceful friends".

*175 The white emigration was not the only condition which began to effect the gradual extinction of the great buffalo herds of the western
*648 plains. Traders came in, ready to barter white goods for hides and
● 136 skins, and the normal Indian use of the buffalo herds was increased. Finally the Indian population of the plains was suddenly enlarged by the United States policy of removing Indian tribes from east of the Mississippi to the west, and settling them among the indigenous tribes. This policy of removal was designed to eliminate the friction between the tribes in the east and the white settlers of their localities, as well as to avoid abuse of Indian rights by State governments. In addition, of course, their lands were wanted east of the Mississippi by white people. These removals were not an inconsiderable shift of population. By 1836, 51,327 Indians of eastern tribes had already emigrated, and 39,950 were waiting to remove, a total of over 81,000. Government calculations of the same period placed the indigenous population of the region from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains at 231,806, so that the actual increase by removals was an addition of 35 per cent to the population of the plains. The Plains tribes lived primarily by hunting the buffalo, while on the eastern fringe of the Plains the village tribes, of which the Pawnee were one, combined hunting in the summer and winter, with the cultivation of corn, beans and squash. This increase of the Indian population effected the food supply in two ways: greater demands were made upon the animal resources of the region, and the free range of the vast herds of buffalo began to be more and more restricted. This closing in of the populations around the buffalo range, by Indian removals, white settlement and white emigration, prevented the natural maintenance of the herds, and as the herds became increasingly smaller, the pressure of the surrounding populations increased as hunters came further and further into the buffalo range to find herds. All of these factors, the demands of a larger Indian population, the requirements of trade, the use of the buffalo by the emigrants, and the interference with the wide range of the herds, were cumulative, interdependent and interactive, and beginning in this period, continued until in the latter part of the century the buffalo was practically extinct.

PAWNEE MUSIC

By Frances Densmore

THE PAWNEE TRIBE

The Pawnee is commonly regarded as the last of the Caddoan 101
Tribes which migrated in a general northeasterly direction at an
early date.[1] When the Siouan Tribes entered the valley of the
Platte River in Nebraska they found the Pawnee already established
in that region. The Pawnee called themselves by a term meaning
"men of men." Their present name was probably given by some
neighboring tribe and derived from *pariki*, meaning a horn, as it
was the Pawnee custom to shave the head except a narrow strip [302]
extending from the forehead to the scalplock and to stiffen this
ridge of hair with grease and paint, curving it upward like a horn.

While in Nebraska the Pawnee lived in earth lodges which were 361
in four permanent groups of villages, each having its geographical
location along the Platte River. The people of each group were a [342]
unit, representing a division of the tribe. The Skidi (Wolf Pawnee) 101
was in the northwest, its people considering themselves related to 619
the Arikara, another Caddoan Tribe living some distance to the
north. The Pitahauerat (Tapage Pawnee) were downstream, the
Kithahki (Republican Pawnee) were upstream, and the Chaui
(Grand Pawnee) were located between the two last named. The 134
soil of the region was dry and rather sandy with rough, broken land 241
toward the mountains in the west, yet the Pawnee were essentially
an agricultural people, cultivating corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins.
Buffalo and other game was abundant in the early days, and the Pawnee 136
were excellent hunters, their hunting expeditions covering a wide 224
area.

The first treaty between the Government of the United States and 648
the Pawnee Indians was made at St. Louis Trading Post in June, 1818.[2]

---

[1] In the classification of the North American races by John W. Powell the Pawnee is classified as one of [114]
the five independent groups of the Caddoan stock. Miss Alice C. Fletcher regards the Pawnee as a confederacy, the divisions or bands of the tribe being treated by her as separate tribes in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 213. Cf. also Linton, Ralph, The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee, The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee, and Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men, compiled chiefly from unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, published as leaflets Nos. 5, 6, and 8, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-23.

[2] Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kappler, ed., vol. II, pp. 156-159, Washington, 1904.

648 At that time a separate treaty was made with each band of Pawnee, designated as Grand, Noisy, Republic, and Marhar, the treaties being respectively on June 18, 19, 20, and 22. Peace was then concluded with all tribes of the region which had been disturbed by the war of 1812. A treaty with the Pawnee Tribe was made at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs, September 30, 1825, its purpose being "to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension." [3] By the treaty of October 9, 1833, the Pawnee ceded to the United States "all the land lying south of the Platt River." [4] A reservation in Nebraska was provided for the Pawnee who remained in that State until 1876, the sale of their reservation in Nebraska being approved on June 5 of that year. The setting apart of a reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) was approved April 10, 1876. The Pawnee were removed to that reservation and "each head of a family or single person over 21 years of age residing upon said reserve, who shall so elect," was entitled to receive an allotment of 160 acres of land.[5] In a table compiled by the Office of Indian Affairs in 1908 it is stated that "112,859.84 acres were allotted to 821 [Pawnee] Indians, 840 acres reserved for school, agency, and cemetery purposes, and the residue of 169,320 acres was opened to settlement," the agreement being ratified by act of March 3, 1893.[6]

161 The number of Pawnee in 1702 was estimated by Iberville at 2,000 families. In 1838 they numbered about 10,000 persons, but the
[164] opening of a principal emigrant trail directly through the country in the forties introduced disease and dissipation and left the people less
[177] able to defend themselves against their enemies, the Sioux.[7] They decreased in numbers and in 1928 the Pawnee population was 2,766.[8]

133 The reservation of the Pawnee is beautifully diversified, with many streams and tracts of woods. There are outcroppings of stone in the region south of the town of Pawnee (pl. 3, *a*, *b*) while north of the town are broad, smooth fields. (Pl. 3, *c*.) On a private ranch near Pawnee
● [136] a picturesque herd of buffalo was seen near a "buffalo wallow." (Pl. 4, *a*, *b*.)

342 The earth lodge of the Pawnee was about 40 feet in diameter and 15 feet high, and was occupied by several related families, each having
[592] its appointed space along the wall. "At the west side of the lodge a space was always reserved, which was considered sacred, and was
[778] called *wiharu* (place-for-the-wonderful-things), this being the name which is applied to the garden of the Evening Star, where the corn is always ripening and where are stored many parflèches of buffalo

---

[3] Ibid., pp. 258-260.

[4] Ibid., pp. 416-418.

[5] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 159-161.

[6] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 213.

[7] Ibid., p. 216.

[8] Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the year 1928, p. 58.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

133

a, "Buffalo wallow" on private ranch near Pawnee, Okla.

133
136

b, Buffalo grazing on private ranch near Pawnee, Okla.

[facing p. 3]

hills, representing the eastward extension of the Sandhill province 133
of central Nebraska, covers much of the territory north of the Platte, especially the northern and western parts. The Loup, tributary to the Platte, with its North, Middle, and South Forks, augmented by the Dismal and Calamus Rivers, effects the drainage. These streams all have their sources in the sand hills and are characterized by a steady, abundant flow of excellent water, relatively deep valleys, and scant fringes of timber. Between the Platte and the Republican Rivers lies the high, monotonously flat loess plain of southern Nebraska, but little modified by erosion save where the margins have been deeply incised by short creeks tributary to larger bordering rivers. The Blue River, on the east, is the only stream of any size between the Platte and the Republican. South of the Republican the terrain becomes rather more uniform. A succession of broad grassy upland divides, trending generally west-east, and separating valleys of the Solomon, Saline, Smoky Hill, and Arkansas Rivers, are the principal physiographic features, culminating in the flat, featureless plains of western and southern Kansas.

As everywhere on the great plains, grasses are, or were formerly, 137
the dominant plant forms in the Pawnee area. Trees were almost universally absent on the uplands, and at least as late as 1833 the Platte and Loup Valleys were almost devoid of timber, save on some of the larger islands.[19] In the Republican Valley and also in the Smoky Hill drainage, however, timber was more abundant. Cottonwood, several species of willow, burr oak, and elm dominated the more immediate river banks and islands, while less commonly black walnut, honey locust, hackberry, boxelder, ash, and red cedar were encountered. For the most part the tree forms represented the westward extension of the forests of Missouri, following up the valleys especially of streams draining through the Kansas River into the Missouri, and interfingering with the prairie uplands more typical of the western plains. Chokecherries, wild plums, grapes, and wild black cherries grew plentifully along the smaller streams and creeks, and wild potatoes, turnips, and turkey peas flourished in the sandy valleys of the Platte, Loup, and Republican Rivers. All of the last-named plants provided important articles of diet. Of game there 136
was also ample variety. Herds of bison wandered northward beyond the Platte, becoming more plentiful to the west and south, and [262]
their meat, next to maize, formed the main food staple. Beaver formerly abounded in the Elkhorn, Republican, Smoky Hill, and other wooded streams, and, along with elk, deer, bear, wolves, and [439
wildcat, in early historic times formed the basis for a traffic in 281]
peltries amounting to thousands of dollars annually, to say nothing of their value as food sources.

---

[19] Irving, 1835, vol. ii, p. 10; also Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 446.

136 of their value as food sources. Smaller animals, such as rabbits, opossum, raccoon, and squirrel, were also to be had. Ducks, geese, and other waterfowl were plentiful and fish abounded in most of the streams.

133 All of the major streams carry water the year round, although the Platte during the summer months becomes largely a subterranean river above its junction with the Loup. With the exception of those in the sand hills, the streams flow characteristically in broad, flat alluvial valleys, from 3 to 15 miles wide, and bordered by bluffs up to 250 feet in height. The historic villages were apparently all [361] located in the large river valleys rather than on the small tributary creeks; only the chase, war forays, or migrations seem to have led village tribes such as the Pawnee out upon the interfluvial areas.

778 823 825 It may be noted here that the "sacred places" of the Pawnee, where the *Nahu'rac*, or miraculously endowed animals, met in council, were all associated with the streams. There were five of these, according to Grinnell.[20] One was "at *Pa-hŭk'*, on the south side of the Platte River, opposite the town of Fremont, in Nebraska. The word *Pa-hŭk'* means 'hill island.' Another animal home is under an island in the Platte River, near the town of Central City. It is called by the Pawnee *La-la-wa-koh-ti-to*, meaning 'dark island.' The third of these sacred places is on the Loup Fork, opposite the mouth of the Cedar River, and under a high white cut bank. It is called *Ah-ka-wit-akol*, 'white bank.' Another is on the Solomon River, *Kitz-a-witz-ŭk*, 'water on a bank'; it is called *Pa'howa* sometimes. This is a mound, shaped like a dirt lodge. At the top of the mound, in the middle, is a round hole, in which, down below, [782] can be seen water. At certain times the people gather there and throw into this hole their offerings to *Ti-ra'-wa*, blankets and robes, blue beads, tobacco, eagle feathers, and moccasins. Sometimes, when they are gathered there, the water rises to the top of the hole and flows out, running down the side of the mound into the river. Then the mothers take their little children and sprinkle the water over them and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* to bless them. The water running out of the hole often carries with it the offerings, and the ground is covered with the old rotten things that have been thrown in. [This clearly refers to the mineral spring now known as Waconda, or Great Spirit, Springs, situated 2½ miles southeast of Cawker City, Mitchell County, Kans.[21]] The fifth place is a hard, smooth, flinty rock, sticking up out of the ground. They call it *Pa-hŭr'*, 'hill that points the way.' In the side of the hill there is a great hole where the *Nahu'rac* hold councils. This hill is in Kansas and can be

---

[20] 1893, p. 358.
[21] Bailey, 1902, pp. 197-200.

With laughter and singing and story telling and dance the night wore away. 224

Over the plain where the buffalo had fallen, the gray wolf was prowling, and, with the coyote, the fox and the badger, tore at the [136] bones of the slain. When day came, the golden eagle and the buzzard perched upon the naked red skeletons, and took their toll. And far away to the southward, a few frightened buffalo, some of which had arrows sticking in their sore sides, were cropping the short grass of the prairie.

FRANK NORTH AND HIS SCOUTS

PANI LE-SHAR AND HIS SCOUTS

No account of the Pawnees' warfare would give any just impression 648 of their prowess if it omitted to mention *Pa'-ni Le-shar* and the forces which he commanded. The Pawnee Scouts, under the gallant and able leadership of Frank North, did splendid service against hostile Indians. They saved hundreds of lives and millions of dollars' worth of property, and in their campaign wiped out in blood the memory of many an injury done to their race by the Sioux, the Cheyennes, the Arapahoes and the Kiowas.

Frank North was born in Ohio, March 10, 1840. When about fifteen years of age he accompanied his family westward to Council Bluffs, and a little later across the Missouri River into Nebraska. At about this time, his father, who was a surveyor, was lost in a snowstorm, and the responsibility of caring for his family fell in large measure on the boy. Soon after this he obtained employment as clerk in the trader's store at the Pawnee agency, and thus made the acquaintance of the tribe. His strong character early brought him to the notice of their principal men, and almost before attaining manhood he had become a person of influence in the councils of the Pawnee Nation.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

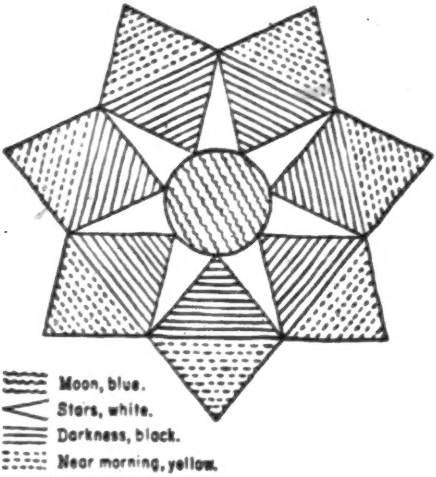
*224 The creation story that was
773 often reviewed in these ceremonies told them how this had come about.
796 The number four had a sacred significance in connection with the four
801 semicardinal directions, and the combined hunt of all the bands together
was conducted in four major episodes.

*224 At the council tent in Camp 10, during their last evening on the Platte, White Eagle and the other Skidi chiefs planned out the strategy of this major phase of the hunt. The chiefs of the other three bands were also meeting in council. White Eagle as the leader of the hunt was to take the initiative. For diplomatic reasons he had decided to give over the management of the first hunt episode to Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band, who were currently "Fathers" to the Skidi in the Peace Pipe trading relationship. Man Chief was formally notified and he appointed the necessary religious and technical personnel, including three scouts who would go out long before dawn to survey the country and locate the herd. Long before the camp broke up that morning they had gone out, and when they found the hill beyond which the herd was located the chief scout crawled up cautiously on his belly, imitating the motions of a wolf so that he would not be detected by the herd. As long ago as
[175] 1540 the account of Coronado's expedition reported that white wolves
[136] ranged all over the plains, living peaceably in the presence of the buffalo
cows, so that the bulls as well as the herd as a whole were obviously well accustomed to having wolves nearby. They would not detect humans unless the scouts stood in the direction of the wind so that they could be scented. After the head scout had surveyed the situation to his satisfaction, he invited his fellow scouts to come up, each in turn crawling up like a wolf and taking a look around. In a war party one wrapped oneself in a whole wolfskin with bow and arrows concealed under the arms and tail, but a blanket was sufficient to fool the buffalo.

*224 Meanwhile the people in camp had awakened, broken up camp, loaded
*484 up and set out across the country for Camp 11. Following along Plum
Creek almost to its source, the line of march continued overland in a southeast direction until it reached the head of Turkey Creek, continuing southward along its west bank. When the people were about midway along, one of the scouts came riding up to inform them of conditions in
[202] connection with the herd. As he approached, he signaled with his blanket,
throwing it up twice to show that there were many buffalo. When he reached the line he told them that the herd was coming up from the river and wasn't very far, but that nevertheless the line of march should continue slowly along the west bank of Turkey Creek rather than crossing to the east side in an attempt to avoid disturbing the herd, and then crossing back again to make their camp. He told them that Turkey Creek was muddy near its confluence with the Republican, as some of the herd had already crossed over and were moving eastward.

*224 Taking account of these factors, the plan of action was as follows.

parts were piled more thickly near the tail end, each layer covered with a layer of dried fat to keep the meat soft. The meat of a whole buffalo dried and packed in this way, was reduced to a weight of 80 pounds. A live bison weighed about 2,000 pounds. 251 [036]



[531]

FIGURE 27-2. A cosmic design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, to be painted only by a person with the necessary religious qualifications.

Other parts of the meat prepared were: 251

The flank. The sinews were removed and the membrane being taken off to be used in packing up the raw marrow that they took out when they cracked the long bones. 252

The foreleg and hind leg. The limbs were disjointed and the meat removed from the bones for drying.

The internal organs. These included the intestines, the lining of the stomach, the tripe (likened to the leaves of a book), the heart from which the membrane was carefully removed by cutting around the top for use as a tobacco pouch or for other treasures. The heart was split so that it would lie flat in drying. The tongue was blistered in the coals and the rough outer covering removed. Heart and tongue were boiled in water before being hung up to dry. Lungs were sometimes sliced like the backbone steaks and then dried. They made good pulverized dry meat. The stomach lining was washed in cold water and cut into long strips after it had dried, the strips woven into a checker-plaited mat, in which form they were stored in the rawhide container. [237] [415] [237] [285]

*224

*484 White Woman and Victory Call to eat, one for No Corn and Horse Rider
[252] to eat together, and one for herself and her grandson, Otter.

[262] When they got to the top of the hills eight miles west of Genoa they could sight the school house. Everyone called out, "There it is—*kax-karit-pahat*" (house-stone-red). It was red brick. Along the north and south side of the Loup is a deep valley and from the hills on either side of the river, one could see a considerable distance.

● [136] No one could camp anywhere near the earth lodge village itself. It was infested with fleas. They camped in the bottomlands within reach of their fields where they stayed for three weeks while they treated the crops and cleaned out the earth lodge so that it became habitable. In the open, they could more readily dispose of the husks, cobs, and other wastes that resulted from processing the crops. The Stay-at-Homes came along to meet them starting out from near Columbus 22 miles away and following northwestward along the Loup River. "Here come the Kakusu, the Stay-at-Homes," everyone would call out as they approached.

792 There was one more item of formal business that they had to attend to
before they could get down to the activities of the harvest. To his tent,
White Eagle called representatives of each of the four villages and the
five old priests. In White Eagle's tent and in his charge at all times had
*[224] been *taxpiku*, the holy man, who symbolized the luck of the whole tribe
[777] on the hunt. It was during the spring, when they had the ceremony of
the Young Corn, *Kurahus*, that he was charged with this holy office. He
was a man of exemplary character who was favored by the supernatural
powers through the generous offerings he had made to their ceremonies.
He had to keep his buffalo robe wrapped around him at all times. There
was an absolute taboo against his bathing. He was not allowed to cut his
fingernails or comb his hair. The other old men went along, one or the
other of them staying alongside all during the hunt. His food was fed to
him in a special bowl and he was always served first, for it was recog-
[821] nized that he was under a severe strain. Should he take a bath or his feet
touch water, there would be severe thunderstorms. It was at this cere-
mony that he was praised for his courage and diligence and dismissed
from his office. Now he was able to laugh and joke. "Oh my, I'm lousy,"
he said, "and my feet stink!" He tossed off his blanket and ran down to
the creek to take a bath as soon as he could. He was no longer an official
and no longer needed to be on his dignity.

[777] [243] They still had one more holy man, *taxpiku*, who was holding in the luck of the crops. He had been appointed early in the spring when they distributed the first seeds of the sacred corn. He would not be released until after the harvest. This man had been appointed when the Young Mother Corn was installed, and carried through the summer buffalo hunt and was then dismissed. These were men who had proved themselves devoted to the supernatural powers by their offerings to the sa-

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

133
137

a, Landscape south of Pawnee, Okla.

b, Landscape south of Pawnee, Okla.

c, Landscape north of Pawnee, Okla.

[facing p. 2]

hills, representing the eastward extension of the Sandhill province of central Nebraska, covers much of the territory north of the Platte, especially the northern and western parts. The Loup, tributary to the Platte, with its North, Middle, and South Forks, augmented by the Dismal and Calamus Rivers, effects the drainage. These streams all have their sources in the sand hills and are characterized by a steady, abundant flow of excellent water, relatively deep valleys, and scant fringes of timber. Between the Platte and the Republican Rivers lies the high, monotonously flat loess plain of southern Nebraska, but little modified by erosion save where the margins have been deeply incised by short creeks tributary to larger bordering rivers. The Blue River, on the east, is the only stream of any size between the Platte and the Republican. South of the Republican the terrain becomes rather more uniform. A succession of broad grassy upland divides, trending generally west-east, and separating valleys of the Solomon, Saline, Smoky Hill, and Arkansas Rivers, are the principal physiographic features, culminating in the flat, featureless plains of western and southern Kansas. 133

As everywhere on the great plains, grasses are, or were formerly, the dominant plant forms in the Pawnee area. Trees were almost universally absent on the uplands, and at least as late as 1833 the Platte and Loup Valleys were almost devoid of timber, save on some of the larger islands.[19] In the Republican Valley and also in the Smoky Hill drainage, however, timber was more abundant. Cottonwood, several species of willow, burr oak, and elm dominated the more immediate river banks and islands, while less commonly black walnut, honey locust, hackberry, boxelder, ash, and red cedar were encountered. For the most part the tree forms represented the westward extension of the forests of Missouri, following up the valleys especially of streams draining through the Kansas River into the Missouri, and interfingering with the prairie uplands more typical of the western plains. Chokecherries, wild plums, grapes, and wild black cherries grew plentifully along the smaller streams and creeks, and wild potatoes, turnips, and turkey peas flourished in the sandy valleys of the Platte, Loup, and Republican Rivers. All of the last-named plants provided important articles of diet. 137 Of game there 136 was also ample variety. Herds of bison wandered northward beyond the Platte, becoming more plentiful to the west and south, and [262] their meat, next to maize, formed the main food staple. Beaver formerly abounded in the Elkhorn, Republican, Smoky Hill, and other wooded streams, and, along with elk, deer, bear, wolves, and [439] wildcat, in early historic times formed the basis for a traffic in 281] peltries amounting to thousands of dollars annually, to say nothing of their value as food sources.

---

[19] Irving, 1835, vol. ii, p. 10; also Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 446.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 1.—Pawnee earth lodge and house site. *a*, earth lodge near Pawnee, Okla., in 1905. Photo by Nebraska Historical Society. *b*, general appearance of lodge floor, house 1, Hill site; diameter 44 feet, depth 16 inches. The center has been excavated slightly below the floor level. 342 172

PLATE 2.—Vegetal material and textiles from the Hill site. *a*, tubers of *Apios tuberosa; b*, seeds of bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*); *c*, pits of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*); *d*, pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*); *e*, grains of charred flint corn (*Zea mays*); *f*, charred corncobs; *g*, *i*, fragments of bison-hair textile; *h*, hank or rope of bison hair; *j–l*, rush matting. 172 137 28

PLATE 3.—Pawnee vessels from various sites. *a* and *c* are from Palmer site; *a* is 4½ inches high and 4⅞ inches in maximum diameter; *c* is 4⅛ inches high by 4⅞ inches in diameter; *b* and *d* are from the Hill site, both restored; *b* is 3¾ inches by 3¼ inches across; *d* is 7 inches tall and 6 inches in diameter. 173 415

PLATE 4.—Complete vessels, probably Pawnee. *a* is 9 inches tall and 7¾ inches in diameter and shows all of the best diagnostics for Pawnee ware in both form and ornamentation; found on Prairie Creek, near Archer, Nebr. *b* is 5¾ inches high by 5⅞ inches across; found in the Cedar River, near Fullerton, Nebr., and is of uncertain origin. Nebraska Historical Society collections. 172 415 531

PLATE 5.—Pawnee type rim sherds from various historic sites. *a–f*, Hill site; *g*, Horse Creek; *h–n*, Palmer site. *b*, *d–f*, *i*, *k*, illustrate the typical rim design; *a*, *h*, *l*, *n*, show the herringbone motif, second in abundance. Nearly all have lip indentations. 172 531

PLATE 6.—Selected rim sherds from Burkett site. All bear lip indentations. Note similarity of *b*, *h*, *j*, *l*, to historic Pawnee motifs (preceding plate). Handles occur on all but *h*, *j*, *l*, *n*.

PLATE 7.—Stonework from Hill site. *a–m* are from graves, one being nearly always in or near the left hand of every adult male skeleton. *a*, *f* 2½ inches long; *j* is 5½ inches long. *n–t* are arrowshaft buffers, of dark-brown course sandstone. In *p*, *q*, *r* are shown three perfectly matched pairs, each as found; they measure 4½, 7½, and 5 inches in length, respectively. 172 324

PLATE 8.—Pipes and mortuary offerings, various sites. *h*, *i* are from Burkett site; all others from Hill site. They are made of catlinite or some other fine-grained red stone; *a* is of gray material, *g* of coarse red sandstone. *f* is 4¾ inches long with a square-topped bowl 1⅞ inches tall; found with a child burial. *i* is less than 1 inch long. Note straight specimen of cloudblower type, *b;* also perforated keel in *j*, groove about outer end of *h*, and small loop on top of *i*, for attachment of a thong. *l*, gray sandstone pipe, 2⅝ inches tall by 1¾ inches long. *m*, perforated or grooved shell objects probably worn as ear or hair ornaments; longest pair 4½ inches long and three-eighths inch in diameter. *n*, blue glass trade beads, probably obtained from Hudson Bay Company; they are about the size of a pea, very crude, and blue, red, or transparent in color. 172 276 301 532

P.

[End Plate 2]

VEGETABLE MATERIAL AND TEXTILES FROM THE HILL SITE (HISTORIC P

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172

BULLETIN 112 PLATE 2

[28]

NEE).

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

50

OBJECTS OF WOOD FOR THE HOME

000

Women Made the Wood Objects for Home Use—Scarcity of Wood—Making the Wooden Bowl, Ladles, Spoons, Mortar, Pestle, Digging Iron, Tent Pegs, Bracket for Hanging Pots over Fire, Tipi Poles

462 WOMEN WERE THE MAIN MANUFACTURERS of objects made of wood. Not
322 only did they gather the fuel and the building materials, but they also
made all the objects of general utility in the household. The men were
directly concerned only with those things that were for their own im-
mediate use—their weapons and their ceremonial objects. In no other
group that I know of, except among the Woodland Indians, are the
women the woodsmen and the woodcrafters to the extent that they were
[752] among the Pawnees. Like other lumbermen in the world, Pawnee
[761] women would sometimes be killed while felling trees, and a story is told
of a woman responsible for another woman's death in such an accident
who grieved so deeply that she wandered off never to be seen again.

• 137 In the Pawnee prairie plains country, the only place that trees grow is
462 along the streams, and in the distance one can readily identify the rivers
313 and streams by the green belt of trees that grow along their banks. This
limited distribution of the trees meant that the women often had to travel
considerable distances to get the wood they needed. In 1867 they had to
have military protection. How matters stood earlier is not known. They
[492] also had the advantage of horse transport. The likelihood is that in the
[774] past their dogs had this function and a good deal was packed on their
backs, water-floated, or simply dragged over the country. When women
313 went to the woods they took their pack ropes which they also made into

285 352 nearer the west and those that were more worn, east toward the exit.

285 585 431 352 When a couple was newly married, they were always given a set of mats—two for each side of the house and one for the west. They were likely to get two from the girl's grandmother and two from the boy's. Except in such intimate circumstances, the mats were not ordinarily considered suitable gift items. They were regarded more as we look upon linens—particularly bedsheets and towels. Suitable gift items on the other hand were, from man to a man, a horse, and from a woman to a man, leggings, moccasins, material for moccasins, or dried buffalo meat.

285 352 The mats received the heaviest wear during the winter hunt, when they got all battered and broken up. In the fall, after the materials were gathered they were placed in the roof of the lodge to season all winter. In the spring, between planting and cultivating, they would feel they had to make some new mats to take along on the summer hunt. Old mats were left behind in the earth lodge.

285 283 The warp strands of the mat were of a three-sided prismatic grass that grew in ponds (not cattail?). The long blades were made into a double-twisted continuous rope of four strands.

[137] 285 824 The wefts were of bulrush (*Scirpus validus* Vahl.), a round tubular grass, spongy inside, 5 to 6 feet long. An alternative material was cattail (*Typha latifolia* L.). Both these reeds grew in the bottomlands of the streams, particularly along the Loup, but there were also a few patches along Beaver Creek. On the way home from the summer hunt, some people would gather the reeds on the Republican or the Loup and load the horses and bring them home. Or, noting good locations on the way home, they would return later.

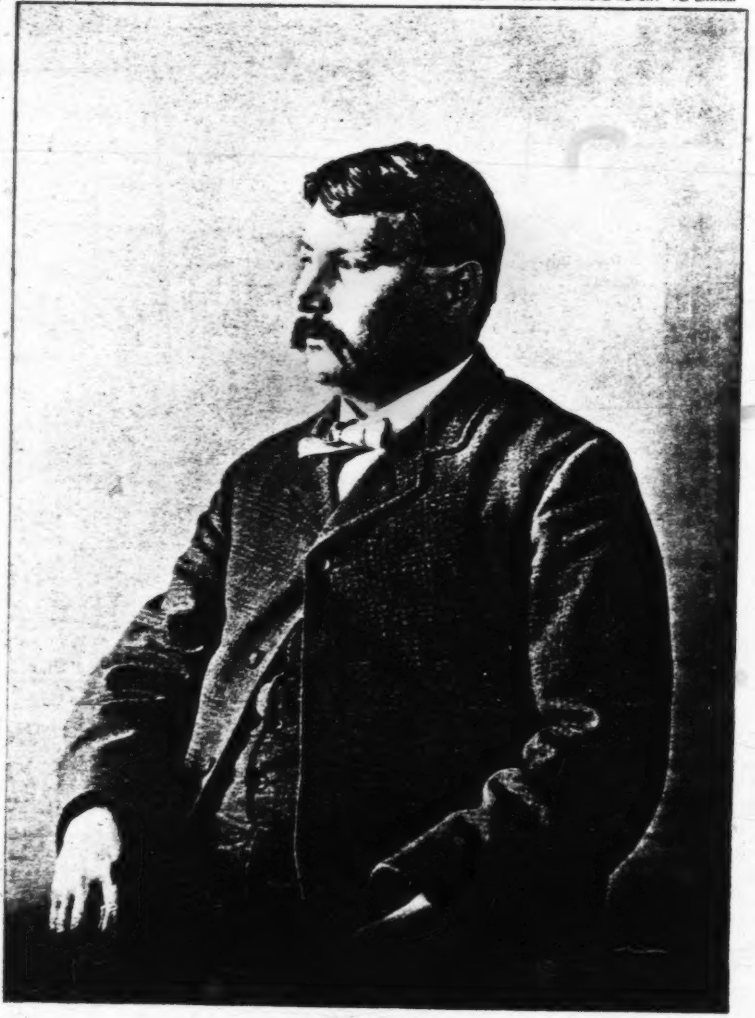
Sometimes two old ladies would go out together and gather whatever small patches they could find on Beaver Creek, pulling up the reeds and piling them into two bundles about a foot in diameter. They would tie them up with ropes and each bring one in and go out again for more, obtaining about four bundles each in this way. [482] The reeds were very heavy when green and a woman could not carry very much at a time. For larger supplies, the family would make up a combined expedition, since they had to go three to five miles from the village. A large party of men and women would ride out on their horses to the sources of supply they had spotted when returning from the hunt. The men went out to give the women protection. On the way back the horses were loaded with reeds. When one party went out, others would hear about it and be inspired to follow their example.

285 283 The weft or (crosswise) threads needed very little preparation to be ready for use. They had simply to be soaked in water overnight and then taken out and left to dry for about half an hour before weaving.

The long continuous lengthwise warp required considerably more preparation than the weft. The three-sided prismatic grass was soaked

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

115
142

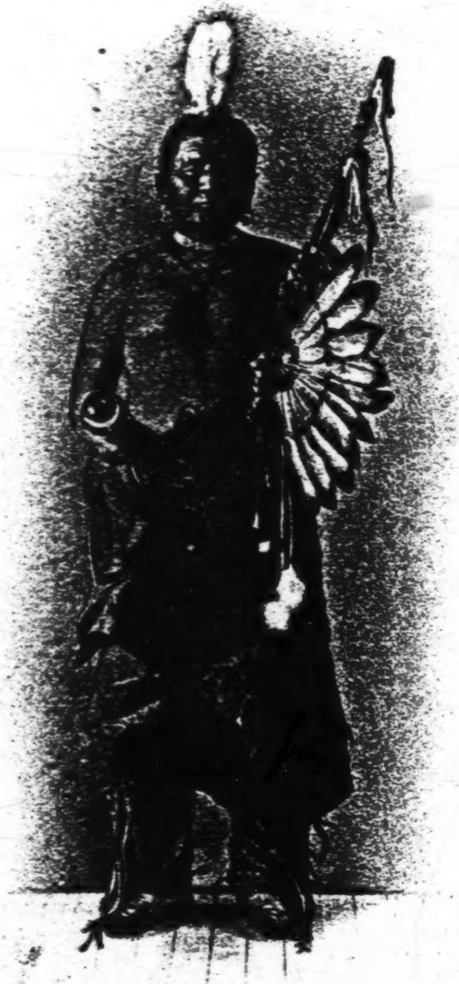


JAMES R. MURIE

[FACING p. 14]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

● 142
292
301
*796



THE KURAHUS IN CEREMONIAL DRESS

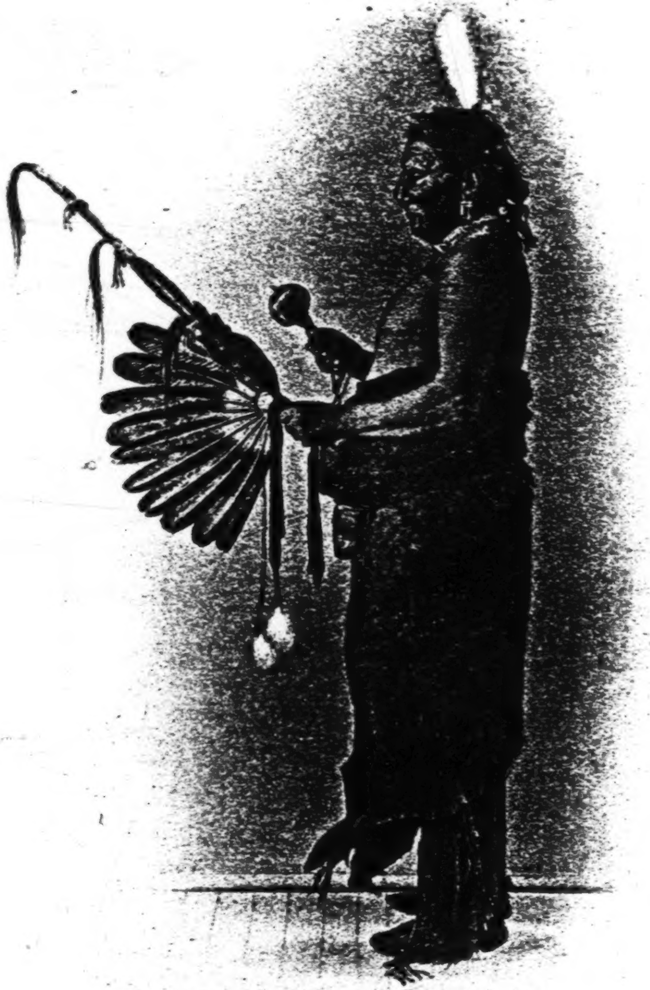
(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C.FLETCHER)

[p. 26(A)]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

142
292
301
*796



THE KURAHUS IN CEREMONIAL DRESS

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C.FLETCHER)

[p.26(B)]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

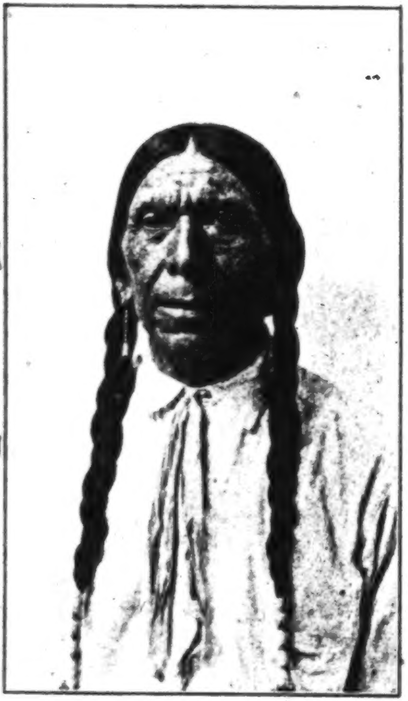
115
●142
292
302
293

DOG CHIEF

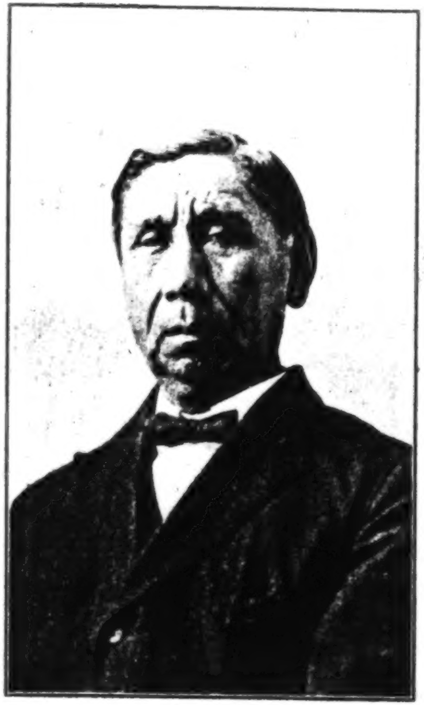
[Facing p. xviii]

115
142
302

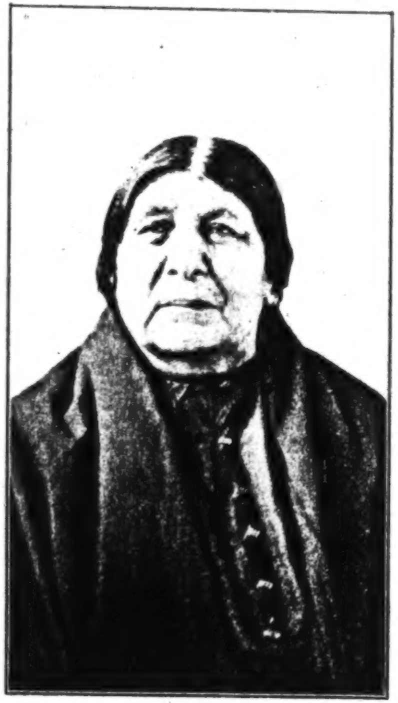
[facing p. 1]



a, John Luwak



b, Mark Evarts

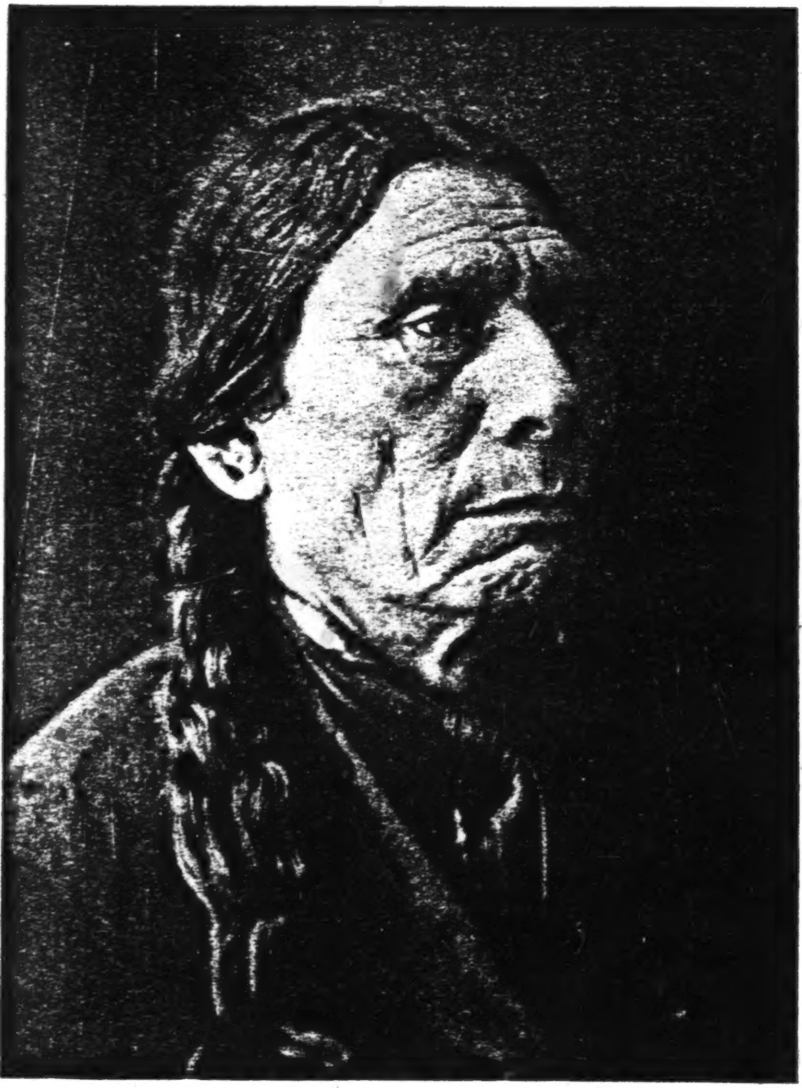


c, Mrs. Good Eagle

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

142
302

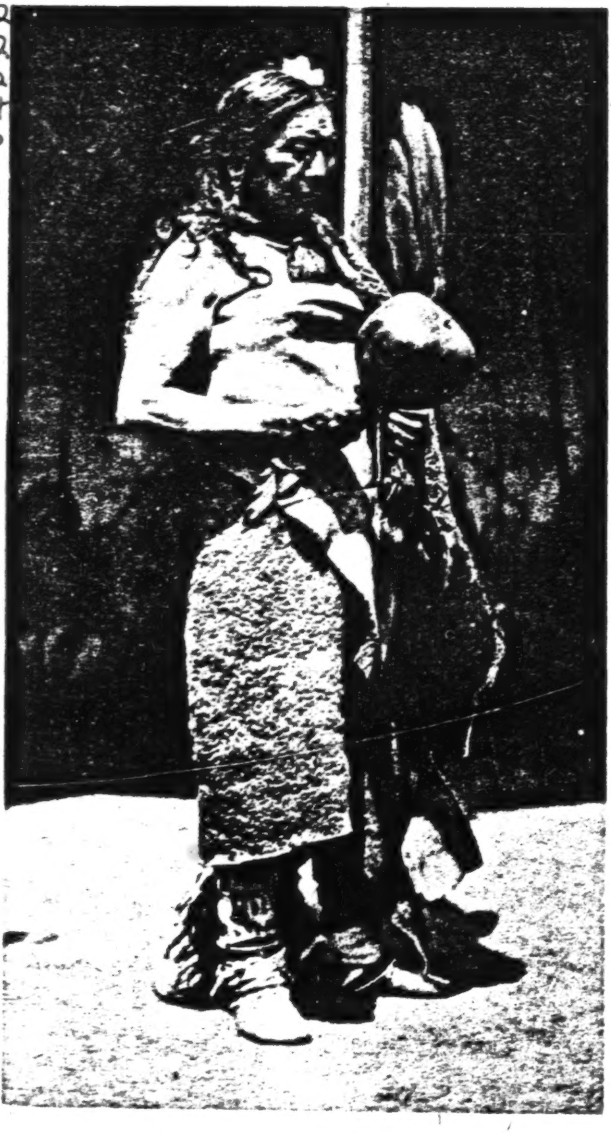


FOX, A SKIDI PAWNEE.

[facing p. 1]

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

142
292
302
534
793



A PAWNEE PRIEST IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME.

[facing p. 14]

462 pare the fields for cultivation with their hoes, plant the corn, weed 562 it, and finally, when ripe, gather it in; and take care of the horses of their lords, when not used by them.

The most difficult labor, however, that falls to their lot, is the 462 erecting of their lodges. As the upper village had been burnt by 562 their enemies during their absence, the labor of rebuilding of 342 course devolved upon the poor women, and in the course of about two months, when we visited them, they had completed nearly 150 lodges. When we observed, that the nearest timber to the site of the village was two or three miles off, and that they have [482] no beasts of burden, but that all the building material, much of which is very heavy, was carried so great a distance on the shoulders of the women, it seemed almost incredible to us. We noticed even girls of 12 or 14 years bearing baskets on their backs, filled with wet turf, to cover or repair their lodges, which must have been very heavy. Thus early the females are trained to [868] carry burdens, (either at home, or while travelling,) which inures them to hardships, but at the same time deforms them, rendering them low and bent in stature, and pitiable objects to the beholder. While the men, trained to no work whatever, are erect, tall, and ● [142] well-proportioned in their form, and almost feminine in their features, the women are short and low, with stooping gait, downcast looks, harsh features, and hair dishevelled; and dirty, ragged, and 000 filthy in their appearance. Such is a picture of heathenism! Have we not cause to be grateful for the benign influence of the gospel upon our land, so that we are elevated far above such a miserable state of heathenism? Unto the Lord be all the praise!

Though it is generally a feature among heathen nations, that it 462 is considered a shame for the men to labor, while all the work de- 562 volves upon the females, still the Pawnees seem not altogether indisposed to be instructed. Mr. Sharpee, who has been acquainted with them and other Indians in these parts for nearly 20 years, told us, that the Pawnee men were unlike those of other tribes, since they were willing to lay hold of a plough, or any other farming utensil, and only the instruction was wanting to make them industrious. Mr. Allis too, who has been acquainted with them for the last 20 years, and has lived among them a great portion of this period, informed us, that when the missionaries were formerly living among them, several of the Pawnees had already commenced the use of the plough. The good beginning was, however, interrupted by their missionaries having to leave them.

Dress.—The dress of the men consists in nothing but a small 291 piece of cloth, fastened around their middle. This, we observed, was generally the only covering they had on, when in their lodges. When abroad, they had a buffalo robe or blanket wrapped around them. The females are more decently clothed than the men

east or any want to go west, just go ahead. There are lots of buffalo. 224*
As for me, I'm going right over the hill." Only those with the best horses could go right over the hill. One could see the buffalo in the distance here and there as they were coming up from the water to graze on the other side of the hill. Some of the Man-Going-Downstream Band decided to go eastward across Turkey Creek, even though the creek was muddy to cross, as there were many buffalo there and less hunters to attack them. The holy man, who had to remain still in order not to disturb the effect of his magic, sat at the base of the hill and waited. He could not go back to camp, since it would not be set up until the attack on the herd was over.

As soon as the signal was given, the hunters all rode to the chase. The herds were very scattered and had to be chased by men in small groups. In the past they chased the buffalo on foot and there was still a man, Charley Buffalo, who was such a fast runner that he could overtake a buffalo on foot and shoot him. [147]

Now each hunter selected his own buffalo to chase, depending on his skill as a hunter and the speed of his horse. There was little value in trying to get more than one buffalo or at most two—though a good hunter could conceivably get more—as there was no help to be gotten with the butchering and he would not be able to haul in the extra meat in any case. A second animal might be consecrated to a sacred bundle, in which case as the hunter shot it he would say, "It is sacred!" The South Bands designated such a sacred animal by crossing its forelegs and tying them together as the animal lay on its back, then tying the hind legs, but the Skidi did not follow this practice. A man who had the misfortune to fall off his horse and could not get back on in time would be enlisted to help butcher and receive half an animal, although the ribs would not be given him at this time. [778]

The chase was carefully timed to the habits of the buffalo. At this season the buffalo spent most of the time scattered about in the uplands where the buffalo grass was. (In winter they stayed closer together in the timber.) In the morning, the buffalo went down to the water and between ten-thirty and eleven o'clock they were back in the pasture grazing. At noon they were all sitting down resting and by evening had gone down to the water again before returning to the uplands. [825]

The hunters usually lined up for the attack about ten-thirty in the morning and by eleven rode to the chase. Everywhere a cloud of dust would rise as they rushed forward except after a rain when big clods and mud would hit them in the face. They never hunted when it was actually raining, as the sinew bowstring stretched and was ineffectual when wet. [411]

It was easy to tell which were the most desirable buffalo. Those with their bellies still swollen with water had been the last to get down to the [825]

684 very swift, and symbolized the dangerous cyclone coming from the
565 clouds. The hawk skin was used because the hawk was made to be
778 powerful and killed its prey with its wings, which were symbolic of
a war club. [The hawk kills its prey with its knuckles rather than its wings.]

PRIESTS

793 As the chief gave the people instruction and advice in worldly
565 matters, so the priest, who controlled the ritual attached to the
sacred village bundle, kept the society en rapport with the supernatural. The priestly class among the Skidi comprised the most learned men of the tribe. They were required to have prodigious
[151] memories and were said to swallow every song. In addition to those sung at ceremonies, the priests recited rituals of instruction for the changing of names, and others having to do with agriculture, the hunt, and the warpath. They served as go-betweens in weddings, and in general played a great part in the social life of the village. Inasmuch as the office of priest required above all an extraordinarily retentive memory and a deeply religious attitude of mind, the priests often encouraged young men possessing these qualifications to become their pupils and ultimately admitted the students to the priestly class. The priest's life was shortened or lengthened in accordance with the sacrifices he made and by his zeal in guarding the esoteric knowledge entrusted to him. For him to speak of the secrets of the altar trivially or on ordinary occasions was to shorten his life.

Associated with the priests were errand men and criers. The latter were old men who had spent a great part of their lives in the performance of sacrifices and who were entitled to announce ceremonies and recite rituals of instruction, particularly those referring to creation, through the village. Their share of the ceremonial feasts was great and in proportion to the honor in which they were held. For a child to mock them or to imitate their intonation or to treat them with disrespect was to incur a severe beating from the parents. The errand men, two in each lodge, stationed on the north and south sides by the entrance, assisted in the ceremonies by building the fire and replenishing it, acting as messengers for the priests in summoning the participants of a ceremony, and so forth. Like the priests and criers, they also received a share of the feast which might be distributed at the conclusion of a ceremony.

531*
796*

918 See line 917.
919 Kaksha hosha wiki rira. See line 917.
920 See line 917.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza tells us that the noise made by the people as they gather together on the morning of the fifth day for the presentation of gifts to the Fathers is like the coming of a great flock of birds. The people move like the birds; they do not come in a straight line to the lodge of the Son, but they come from this side and from that just as the birds gather together in a flock.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

921 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
922 Wetu kaksha hosha wiki rira.
wetu, it has.
kaksha, a tumultuous noise.
hosha, flock.
wiki, manner of approach. See line 897.
rira, coming.
923 See line 922.
924 Kaksha hosha wiki rira. See line 922.
925 See line 922.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the people approach the lodge they make a great noise. All is bustle; the neighing ponies to be given to the Fathers are brought forward, and the people are calling to one another; there is the singing of songs and the shouts of pleasure; all these sounds mingling make a noise like distant thunder. This stanza refers to this joyous tumult. [152]

Just before I came on to Washington I performed this ceremony, and now as I sit here and tell you about the meaning of this song, I can hear the happy shouts of the people as I heard them some weeks ago. Their voices seemed to come from everywhere! Their hearts were joyful. I am glad, as I remember that day. We are always happy when we are with the Hako. [115] [781]

PART II. THE SIXTEEN CIRCUITS OF THE LODGE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The last act of the last night is the making of four times four circuits of the lodge.

I have told you that the four circuits of the lodge which we have been making are in recognition of the four paths down which the lesser powers descend to man. We have been asking for help from these powers and so we have remembered the paths down which they

668

we	*rįhi*	*irasì·ra*		177
a	*tsiksu*	*wétatù·tu*	*hi i*	[533
and	mind spirit	now I do		539]

The place whence you come.
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come.
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxki^{x}. When he returned home to the
Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs 668
to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom 177
is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have 792
is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the 794
kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours."

When Frank White instituted regular dances. these were among the South Bands; the Skiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi
in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds [152
which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits
took possession of them and fell. White had great power over 786]
them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change.

Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. 668
Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to
dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements 177
gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers [792]
had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the 796
people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who 794
wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one [302]
gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna-

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

524 those who should lead the two opposing sides. These in turn selected
*533 those who should hide the balls. It was customary to give the balls to persons sitting next each other, the guesser indicating by a gesture
796 whether he (or she) believed the balls to be in the two outer hands, the two inner, or one outer and one inner hand. The writer was invited to sit beside a member of the tribe and join in the game, attempting to hide the balls in the manner of the Indians.

An unfortunate though not unusual circumstance took place in
[152] the dances which occurred during this game. The woman who gave the hand game was afflicted with what was termed a "Ghost dance fit."[27] She staggered and moaned in a pitiful manner but did not fall to the ground. Several persons went to her aid and restored her in the manner peculiar to the Ghost dance.[28]

The second hand game attended by the writer took place on April 16, 1921, and was given by Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*), who recorded Song No. 80. This was said to be her hand game, not only
[787] because she gave the invitations and provided the feast, but because certain features of the game, as played that day, had been revealed to her in a dream. The symbolism of certain articles used in that game was not made known to the singers and perhaps is known only to herself. The game was held in the same 6-sided lodge as the former hand game and the victory dances. (Pl. 7, *c*.) As on the former occasion, Mr. Murie opened the game in a ceremonial manner. The doors were closed and a filled pipe was offered to the earth and the sky. Mrs. Good Eagle was a dignified hostess, standing in the center of the lodge and appointing those who should lead the two sides of players. After the game the doors were again closed and a tiny portion of each sort of food was ceremonially offered and then laid beside the fire space, opposite the door. A bountiful
[264] feast was then served. According to Indian custom, each person provided his own utensils and the food was served in large containers. The writer shared in the feast.

*533 Eight of the songs used at this game, during the hiding of the balls, were later recorded by Horse Chief, a prominent singer at the drum. In some of these songs there were no words and in others the words are obsolete, the singer repeating them but having no knowledge of their meaning.

---

[27] The woman undoubtedly suffered from the early stages of what, in the Ghost dance, would have been a trance. Mooney states that he "was able to note all the stages of the phenomenon . . . through the staggering, the rigidity, the unconsciousness, and back again to wakefulness. On two occasions my partner in the dance, each time a woman, came under the influence and I was thus enabled to note the very first nervous tremor of her hand and mark it as it increased in violence until she broke away and staggered toward the medicine man within the circle. Young women are usually the first to be affected, then older women, and lastly men." (Mooney, James, The Ghost Dance Religion, Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 923, Washington, 1896.)

[28] The "Shaker religion" has been introduced among the Indians at Neah Bay, Wash., and at a gathering in that village the writer saw a woman afflicted in a manner similar to the "Ghost dance fit." A slave woman went to her, stroked her arms and head, and gradually quieted her.

When the little boy was about half-grown he heard that a war 539
party was to start. He told his mother that he wanted to go, and
he wanted her and his grandmother to make him some moccasins.
He also wanted arrows, a bow and a quiver, and all the equipment
of a warrior. When the old man heard this he called the boy and
said, "Do you realize what you are doing?" 787

"Yes, I am grown to be a man."

"Do you have dreams at night?" 539

"Yes."

"Can you relate some of them?"

"Yes."

"Tell one to me."

"In my dream I was with a war party. I found myself coming toward home through deep snow."

"That is enough," said the old man. "You can go."

The women had sent the boy to his grandfather, thinking he
would keep him at home, and they were greatly surprised to learn
that the grandfather had told the boy to go with the warriors. It
was fall when the war party started. As winter was coming near
it was noised through the camp that all the war party had been
killed and the people began to mourn. The women of this family 765
mourned exceedingly and cut their flesh with knives, but the old
man sat and laughed at them, or smoked his pipe. This went on 152 ●
for about 10 days. Then his wife said, "You did not care for our 304
grandchild," and his daughter said, "Why do you not mourn?"
The old man said to his wife, "You remember that you turned the
boy over to me when he wanted to go to war. You made moccasins
for him and filled his quiver with arrows. I questioned him and
found that he had had a dream in which he was returning alone
through deep snow. That dream will come true. He is coming
home, so I want you all to stop mourning."

They would not believe him, but one day, after a snow, some people going out from the village met the young man returning. He said, "All the warriors were killed except myself."

The man rode back and cried through the village, "Sarītsaris' grandchild is coming through the deep snow."

Everyone in the lodge was excited, except the old man. He did not rush out to meet his grandson. The women urged him to go, but he said, "He is coming; never mind."

When the young man entered the lodge his grandfather said, "Sit
on my knees." The old man passed his hands downward over the 201
young man's head and body in the tribal manner of "blessing," and 782
said, "I believed in your dream and now you are here."

Then he told him to sit yonder and said, "I ask you—when attacked, 539
did you hide in a ravine? When you were a little boy and cooled my

224 Often it was impossible to determine whether these figures were horsemen or buffalo, but sometimes, far away, I could see a mimic chase in which pursuer and pursued appeared no larger than ants.

857 As I came up with the Indians, they were just descending into
223 the stream bottom, where camp was to be made. The small boys
484 had, as usual, dispersed themselves over the valley and among the underbrush. Many of the squaws, leaving the ponies and packs to their sister-wives or children, were hurrying up or down the stream to gather wood. Already the leading ponies were being relieved of their loads. Suddenly, from the mouth of a little ravine coming down into the stream bottom, rose a chorus of shrill yelps and shrieks from childish throats, and a gang of wild turkeys were seen, running rapidly through the high grass toward the hills. A moment later, with a loud *quit-quit* of alarm, they took wing, but not before several of their number had fallen before the missiles of the boys. Most of them went up or down the creek, but one inexperienced bird took its course directly over our heads.

223 Those who have seen the Indian only on dress parade, talk of his
● [152] stolidity, impassiveness, and his marvelous control over his countenance and his emotions. This demeanor he can and does assume,
[609] and when he is with white men, or among strangers, he is usually all that he has been pictured; but take him by himself, and he expresses his feelings with as little restraint as a child. So it was now. No grave chief, nor battle-scarred warrior, nor mighty worker of *ti-war'-uks-ti* (magic) was too dignified to express his interest at the appearance of this great bird sailing laboriously along, thirty or forty feet above him. It was as if the turkey had flown over a great company of schoolboys, and the utter abandonment of the excited multitude, the entire absence of restraint, the perfect naturalness of the expression of feeling, had in them something very delightful and infectious. Every Indian, who held in his hand anything that was light enough to throw, hurled it at the bird, and a cloud of whips, sticks, hatchets, fleshers, and arrows, rose to meet it as it passed along. One missile knocked from its tail a few long feathers, which drifted slowly down on the heads of the people. It kept on, but before it had passed beyond the long line of Indians extending back over the

753 said he could do nothing more about it and wanted to die. Then he got on his horse and tried to make it ride off the high bank, but the horse shied back. However, the rider was catapulted off into the water and when he came out, he was cured. So he found out the cure for this disease.

751 There was a great deal of faith in the virtue of bathing as a preventative
515 and as a cure of disease. "In the old days people used to go and bathe in the creek and take sweat baths and there was no sickness."

751 Finally, it was thought that living on a high bluff was healthier than
753 living in the lowlands.
361

> They said that in the old days, there was no disease, for the villages were on top of a high bluff, and sickness follows along the creek. Whenever a sickness seemed to be coming, people would move up on top, for there the air was fresh and sickness would not come up there. It only stayed near the creek.

753 In more recent times it was said that many people died of rheumatism and stomach trouble. But from the Pawnee point of view, natural causation of disease and death was a relatively less important aspect of these
756 basic human problems. The field of the emotions was considered the
• [052] major element in the doctor's calling.

However, despite these other factors, when Otter was about twelve
[757] years old the doctors were able to save his life by direct physical therapy.

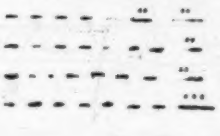
*796 ple plan. It is made up of many rituals, each complete in itself, but all so related to each other as to form an unbroken sequence from the beginning of the rites to their end. Each ritual contains one general thought, which is elaborated by songs and attendant acts. These songs and acts are so closely related to the central thought that one helps to keep the other in mind; moreover, the thought embodied in one ritual leads so directly to the thought contained in the next that they form a sequence that, in the mind of the Pawnee, can not logically be broken, and thus the preservation of the entirety of the ceremony is insured.

● [153] The compact structure of the Hako ceremony bears testimony to the mental grasp of the people who formulated it. As we note the balancing of the various parts, and the steady progression from the opening song of the first ritual to the closing prayer in the twentieth, and recall the fact that the ceremony was constructed without the steadying force of the written record, we are impressed, on the one hand, by the intellectual power displayed in the construction, and, on the other, by the sharply defined beliefs fundamental to the ceremony.

RHYTHMIC EXPRESSION IN THE CEREMONY

*533
*796 When we examine the songs which accompany every ceremonial act we find that the thought to be expressed has determined the rhythm, which, in its turn, has controlled both words and music and fixed as well the time or duration of the notes. The unit of time is marked by pulsations of the voice or by drum beats, and the words are found bent by elisions or stretched by added vocables to make them conform to the musical measure.

Rhythm dominates the rendition, which is always exact, no liberties being taken for the purpose of musical expression, in our sense of the term. Any such treatment would so blur the song to the native ear as to destroy its character. A further use of rhythm is manifest in the number of the musical phrases and stanzas. These are found to correspond to the number of ceremonial motions used to indicate the powers which are being addressed. By close examination this peculiarity will be apparent, but in order to facilitate an understanding the words of each musical phrase have been printed as a separate line, so that the eye can easily catch the rhythmic form. As a further help, a diagram has been prepared to show the relative time values of notes, the exceptional accents, and the voice pulsations of each musical phrase. To illustrate, take the first song:



14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224
156
Some men stayed behind in the village because they wanted to be alone for a while to think and make peace with themselves. They would plan to catch up with the party in five, six, or even ten days, living on limited rations of dry meat as they were accustomed to doing when they went scouting over the country for days and even weeks.

*224
156
787
[154]
Such a man would sit quietly on the roof of his lodge and sometimes go inside and lie down. Not uncommonly he would have a vision. The vision is the Pawnee's introspective device for organizing his wishes, goals, and purposes. Mark Evarts expressed the mood in the following terms:

> One man was left there alone. He just wanted to stay. He thought he could go any time—in five or ten days. He might even not go at all. He just felt like staying. He didn't think of any danger. Early in the morning before sunrise, he sat on the roof of the earth lodge looking about, way off. He goes into the lodge and lies down; he doesn't even make a fire. He has a little dried buffalo meat to eat. He has gone three or four times on the war path and has experience in how to be hungry. He is thinking about how far they may have gone in the ten or fifteen days that have passed. He can't quite make up his mind to go and join the people on the march.
>
> One evening while he was sitting on the roof and it was getting dark, he heard a woman crying in east village (Village-in-the-Bottomlands). As he listened to the crying he decided to go where it was coming from. When he arrived he found a woman sitting wrapped in a buffalo robe and crying. "Where do you come from?" he asked. "Right here," she said. "I am crying because they have all gone hunting and I had my children (litter of mice) in that sacred bundle. In five or six days they will be getting buffalo and sacrificing the meat. A priest will untie the bundle and when they open it, there will be a nest where my children are. Maybe the priest will have to give up my children to them. That's why I am crying. I am poor. I wish you could go and get my children before they open the bundle. Get my children and come back with them." "I'll go right now," the man said. The woman thanked him and he got up and went directly to get his quiver, bow, and arrows and left that night.
>
> He knew how to catch up with the line of march through a short cut and starting out in the morning he traveled all day. He stopped a little while and smoked and then trotted on his way, hurrying to reach the group. In the camps everyone had been wondering why he had not come along. They thought perhaps he had been killed. He arrived about nine o'clock in the morning, just as the priest was taking down the bundle.
>
> The people in the camps called to him as they saw him approach,

156 the universe, meaning literally the inside land, and that his house was a
776 small model of it. The infinite cosmos was his constant source of strength
829 and his ultimate progenitor, and there was no reason why he should hesitate to set out alone and explore the wide world, even though years should pass before he returned. Not only was he not confined within four
156 walls but he was not closed in with a permanent group of people. The special concern of his mother did not mean that he was so closely embedded with her emotionally that he was not able to move about.

155 Other people also were clearly concerned with him in a variety of
593 ways. There was no mistaking the constant concern of Old Bull for the
602 boy, Otter, in the earth lodge. And as for his grandmother, this was of course patently clear. There was no mistaking the affection felt for him by Horse Rider. Even from the earliest time the Pawnee knew there were differences in kinds of affection. He knew he should go to his grandmother for intimate care but he also looked up to his mother as his provider and protector. His father he regarded in the same way wherever he might be, and, as we saw (p. 41), his mother had pointed out to him that he should emulate his father. Otter's Uncle War Cry and his other uncles came to the house and again showed affectionate concern, and one winter when he broke his leg his uncle stayed home and nursed and protected him. He knew very early that he "had a home" in the house of Eagle Chief which had been literally demonstrated to him in special feasts and visits. His older half-brother Fox Chief was there for him even though not in the house. The breakup of the household and travel on the hunt did not dismay him, even when his grandmother stayed behind one winter, for his community traveled with him. This
[867] bringing of the community's concern to the child's attention from an early age was deliberately carried out.

601 The wide application of the kin terms gave the family relationships a
602 much wider reference. It made him realize that there were shades of closeness with his immediate kin and that many varying factors determined this just as they did in his outside attachments. The case of his mother's half-brothers was a graphic example. He found out that, in the last analysis, one made one's own relationships with people and that none was absolutely given.

000 The intensified family togetherness of our present society stands in sharp contrast to these arrangements. The very physical plant of our family household fosters this intensity. Within this century, the apartment or family dwelling has become more and more isolated. In the past ten years, the isolation has become absolute and we have become the loneliest people that ever existed. Mechanical elevators, mechanical shopping, mechanical transportation, and other mechanical devices preclude almost all casual social contacts. At the same time, within the apartment or household the sexes are thrown together in an incest-breeding welter of

as confuse, and it seems likely, that, as in the adults' game, the 525
hidden rings were shifted back and forth from hand to hand as 857
adeptly as possible. Often the boys would fight over the play of
the game. The guesser particularly had to be bold and fearless,
because even when he won the willow-rings, those who held them 156
would often refuse to give them up. Then he had to fight for them.

THE INTER-BAND GAME

The men's game as played by Pawnee bands against each other 525
is illustrated by the following narrative of a game played in Okla- 619
homa in early days by the Kitkahaxkiˣ against the Skiri.

A Kitkahaxkiˣ man who wanted to go to play the Skiri, asked a friend to join him as assistant leader, and got together a party of Kitkahaxkiˣ youths. Mark Evarts, a Skiri, was then a boy at school, and a friend of the Kitkahaxkiˣ organizer. This man asked Mark to join the party so Mark started off with the Kitkahaxkiˣ. As he passed under the windows of the girls' dormitory building, a girl leaned out and called, "Where are you going, Mark?" He answered, "We're going to play a hand game, give me something to take along," whereat she threw down a shawl of hers for him to take along to bet with. Each member of the party carried a supply of articles to wager. The leader carried a pipe.

The leader spoke of their going saying, "Well, we're going on the warpath to play the Skiri a hand game."

When they got to the Skiri village, the village crier came out and asked, "What is it?" The Kithahaxkiˣ leader, carrying the pipe, replied, "We've come on the warpath for the hand game." At that the old crier ran back and began calling out through the encampment, "there's a party from the west have come to our Skiri camp on the warpath for the hand game. Now boys get the wood and pile it up right here." Boys began to haul wood and heap it up in one place outdoors. A crowd of Skiri gathered around the visiting party. Knifechief, as the Skiri leader, took the Kitkahaxkiˣ leader and two or three others home to supper. Other members of the party were taken into other lodges to eat. While they were eating, a large fire was started outside on the game ground. Soon the announcer could be heard outside calling, "Come on everybody."

They form two halves of a circle. The Kitkahaxkiˣ sit in a semi-circle on the west side of the fire, from north to south, the Skiri on the east side from north to south. The two leaders of their sides sit at the north with the eight tally sticks in one bunch between them. All the Skiri players are seated. (Fig. 1) They are the home players. They outnumber the visiting challengers. Skiri

834 freedom. [I doubt that this was so between all persons of opposite sex—especially not brothers and sisters.] This does not imply that there was no sense of morality or convention. One of the greatest reproaches that could be heaped upon a man was to speak of him as *tihakakits*, which meant that the saliva ran down his face and implied that he lacked decency and did not treat women with respect.

836 548 Chastity, particularly among unmarried women, was held in high esteem. At the outskirts of every village were widows or girls who had been driven from home on account of immorality and who lived as prostitutes.

838 So far as was determined, but a single berdache has been known among the Pawnee for many years. Such an individual was said to have the ways of a woman and was supposed to have been influenced by the moon.

828 156 The lazy man was the slow one, the man who, as a boy, never carried water, packed corn, took the ponies to water, gathered wood for the fire, or ran away with a war party. Such a one was despised.

The coward was the one afraid to go on the warpath. He was always hanging around camp and never went out on the high hills at night for power because he was afraid of ghosts, as the burying grounds were generally on hills.

The stingy man was the sort who, when it was his wife's turn to provide food for the occupants of the lodge, put on the fire a tiny pot of meat only sufficient for himself.

The liar was one who always deceived people. He constantly came in with false news of having seen buffalo near-by. He gave false alarms when sent out as a scout. He was generally a coward as well, for he never, if he could help it, went out in front when in the presence of the enemy; yet he was always the first to return home and boast of his deeds in the fight. Should he lie four times about having seen buffalo his word was forever after doubted and he was despised and no attention paid to him. His joints got large and he became a cripple. When the Skidi saw a man whose joints were swollen with arthritis they said that it was the penalty he paid for having been a liar.

158 Insane and crazy persons in old times were not known as such; at any rate it is not remembered that they existed. A woman was said to be "mixed up," "her spirit is not straight," when she was under the influence of love medicine and powerless to control herself.

159 go off and gather wild turnips, she went with some other old lady
574 from Bottomlands Village. Only if it were necessary once in a while,
592 would the three old ladies of the lodge go together to get a little wood for fuel.

[887] Old ladies were great ones for visiting one another and talking over old times—about when they were young and when they got married, prepared buffalo robes and many other such reminiscences. Whenever Blue Calico came back from a visit to her own village, she would come in with stories of what was going on there. "That man went hunting and didn't bring home anything," she would say, or, "He brought some game—a deer."

156 Contrary to a common conception of tribal life, the personal inter-
571 relationships of the Pawnee were not fixed within a kin mold. For example, there was a marked difference in temperament between the two
602 wives of Old Bull, Queen Woman, the senior one, and Clear Day, the younger of the two. Two factors combined to make the approach to Otter of these two women different. Through a relatively distant kin line, the older wife Queen Woman counted as a sister, *itahi*, to Otter and accordingly their relationship was formal. As noted above (page 36), Queen Woman's two little boys regarded Otter as a mother's brother, *tiwatciriks*, and he treated them as nephew, *tiwat*. Under these conditions, the kind of joking Otter was encouraged to carry on with Clear Day was not in order. On the other hand, Queen Woman had another role as wife of Old Bull and consequently "wife" to Otter. Two conflicting roles presented themselves and the sister role was chosen. The likelihood is that this was an adjustment to Queen Woman's conservative temperament which tipped the balance in favor of the more formal of the two possible kinship categories. When people used to marry almost exclusively within the village, the wife of an uncle or of a brother was bound to be some sort of relative to the younger boy. This was apparently conveniently forgotten or raised as the circumstances happened to warrant.

Neither personal relations nor the personnel of the household were cramped within a fixed kin structure. The individual personality was not trimmed down to fit the kin structure, but the structure was used to realize the individual personality. The Pawnee social structure was written into no statute book, nor did it have the status of doctrine, and there was no chain of command to enforce it. Therefore it was not frozen and clamped onto the people, but carried implicitly by them to serve them as they saw fit. No built-in guilt, acting as a surrogate for dominant power, forced them to narrow the scope of their personal lives. They were socially creative in every personal interrelationship they had. The
602 world was raw and their life was hard, but it was also freer than ours.
626 No religious or supernatural sanction enforced the social forms. The only

> of the Skidi villages of Village-across-a-Ridge and Pumpkin-Vine 609
> would join the Wolf-in-Water and Bottomland Village, and they 621
> would play rough and kick one another. 539

The location of the four bands was along the west side of Beaver 621
Creek and the Skidi were in the westernmost position, the other three 361
bands about half a mile away to the east. While according to past tradition, they always lived south of the Skidi and were referred to generally as "South Bands," they were now actually located to the east:

> "The Skidi chief would sit on a high bluff and the Eastward (*tu-* 621
> *hawit*, "Settlement-east" chiefs sat on a bluff near their home and they 524
> would watch the boys. They said, "When we were boys we used to play like that and kick."
>
> It would begin in the evening when the boys would call out, *hu-hu-hu*. Then the boys would hear and come outside. Folks would say to the small boys, "Don't go there, you'll get hurt," but some would steal out and join the fight anyway. When one side would be chased back, the older people would laugh and say, "Go back again. . . ."
>
> When it got darker the little boys were told to go back and run home because the big boys were going to fight now—the sixteen-to-eighteen-year-olds. Then in the moonlight sometimes, the men of about thirty years old would fight, and then afterward the old men forty and over. The men would take blankets from one another and kick one another, but afterward they had to return the blankets.
>
> This game was never played with the Skidi villages alone opposing one another, only between the Skidi Band as one party and the South Bands as the other. They never kicked hard—just for fun. If the South Band boys met the Skidi boys, there was always a kicking contest."

A similar game is reported between different divisions of the Comanches. [171]

The Pawnee Person

There is no simple formula for describing the intricate logic of the 156
Pawnee people's lives. One thing is clear—that no one is caught within the social code. Against the backdrop of his natural environment, each individual stands as his own person. The Old World design for the human personality does not apply to this New World Man. The Pawnee 156
child was born into a community from the beginning, and he never acquired 772
the notion that he was closed in "within four walls." He was literally 829
trained to feel that the world around him was his home—*kahuraru*,

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

156 776 829 the universe, meaning literally the inside land, and that his house was a small model of it. The infinite cosmos was his constant source of strength and his ultimate progenitor, and there was no reason why he should hesitate to set out alone and explore the wide world, even though years should pass before he returned. Not only was he not confined within four 156 walls but he was not closed in with a permanent group of people. The special concern of his mother did not mean that he was so closely embedded with her emotionally that he was not able to move about.

155 593 602 Other people also were clearly concerned with him in a variety of ways. There was no mistaking the constant concern of Old Bull for the boy, Otter, in the earth lodge. And as for his grandmother, this was of course patently clear. There was no mistaking the affection felt for him by Horse Rider. Even from the earliest time the Pawnee knew there were differences in kinds of affection. He knew he should go to his grandmother for intimate care but he also looked up to his mother as his provider and protector. His father he regarded in the same way wherever he might be, and, as we saw (p. 41), his mother had pointed out to him that he should emulate his father. Otter's Uncle War Cry and his other uncles came to the house and again showed affectionate concern, and one winter when he broke his leg his uncle stayed home and nursed and protected him. He knew very early that he "had a home" in the house of Eagle Chief which had been literally demonstrated to him in special feasts and visits. His older half-brother Fox Chief was there for him even though not in the house. The breakup of the household and travel on the hunt did not dismay him, even when his grandmother stayed behind one winter, for his community traveled with him. This [867] bringing of the community's concern to the child's attention from an early age was deliberately carried out.

601 602 The wide application of the kin terms gave the family relationships a much wider reference. It made him realize that there were shades of closeness with his immediate kin and that many varying factors determined this just as they did in his outside attachments. The case of his mother's half-brothers was a graphic example. He found out that, in the last analysis, one made one's own relationships with people and that none was absolutely given.

000 The intensified family togetherness of our present society stands in sharp contrast to these arrangements. The very physical plant of our family household fosters this intensity. Within this century, the apartment or family dwelling has become more and more isolated. In the past ten years, the isolation has become absolute and we have become the loneliest people that ever existed. Mechanical elevators, mechanical shopping, mechanical transportation, and other mechanical devices preclude almost all casual social contacts. At the same time, within the apartment or household the sexes are thrown together in an incest-breeding welter of

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224
• 156
Some men stayed behind in the village because they wanted to be alone for a while to think and make peace with themselves. They would plan to catch up with the party in five, six, or even ten days, living on limited rations of dry meat as they were accustomed to doing when they went scouting over the country for days and even weeks.

*224
156
787
[154]
Such a man would sit quietly on the roof of his lodge and sometimes go inside and lie down. Not uncommonly he would have a vision. The vision is the Pawnee's introspective device for organizing his wishes, goals, and purposes. Mark Evarts expressed the mood in the following terms:

> One man was left there alone. He just wanted to stay. He thought he could go any time—in five or ten days. He might even not go at all. He just felt like staying. He didn't think of any danger. Early in the morning before sunrise, he sat on the roof of the earth lodge looking about, way off. He goes into the lodge and lies down; he doesn't even make a fire. He has a little dried buffalo meat to eat. He has gone three or four times on the war path and has experience in how to be hungry. He is thinking about how far they may have gone in the ten or fifteen days that have passed. He can't quite make up his mind to go and join the people on the march.
>
> One evening while he was sitting on the roof and it was getting dark, he heard a woman crying in east village (Village-in-the-Bottomlands). As he listened to the crying he decided to go where it was coming from. When he arrived he found a woman sitting wrapped in a buffalo robe and crying. "Where do you come from?" he asked. "Right here," she said. "I am crying because they have all gone hunting and I had my children (litter of mice) in that sacred bundle. In five or six days they will be getting buffalo and sacrificing the meat. A priest will untie the bundle and when they open it, there will be a nest where my children are. Maybe the priest will have to give up my children to them. That's why I am crying. I am poor. I wish you could go and get my children before they open the bundle. Get my children and come back with them." "I'll go right now," the man said. The woman thanked him and he got up and went directly to get his quiver, bow, and arrows and left that night.
>
> He knew how to catch up with the line of march through a short cut and starting out in the morning he traveled all day. He stopped a little while and smoked and then trotted on his way, hurrying to reach the group. In the camps everyone had been wondering why he had not come along. They thought perhaps he had been killed. He arrived about nine o'clock in the morning, just as the priest was taking down the bundle.
>
> The people in the camps called to him as they saw him approach,

224*
156•
787

but he walked right through until he stood before the priest as he was untying the bundle. The five priests were ranged at the west and he went to the one in the middle and rubbed his hands on him in blessing and then the others in turn and then whispered to the leading priest, "Untie it gently because in the north side of the bundle there is something." The priest understood and after all the bundles had been unwrapped, the four little mice were found alive in a nest inside one of them. "These are the ones I came for. I must go back now. She said they might be starving." He returned at once by the way he had come and on the evening of the fifth day, got to the village where the woman was sitting. "Here they are now," he said, and after she had fed them she said to him, "I am a woman and can take care of my children. I can get any food I want. Now I am going to predict for you, for I had my children in that bundle and it was only you who saw them, and because of that I have something to tell you. I am a woman and I don't have much power, but now everything you do will be successful. We mice are all over the world and we can talk to you anywhere." Her prediction came true and he became an important man. Sometimes two or three men might stay behind in the village after everyone had left on the hunt and catch up later. They would sit alone, scattered out in widely separated lodges. Sometimes they would have a vision.

224*
571
[248]

By 1867 there was a class of Stay-at-Homes who were able to remain behind in comparative safety from attack because of the proximity of the white town of Columbus, about 22 miles from the village. They would set out from the villages with the others, traveling to the first stop on the Platte River and then part company and go toward the town. They were mainly men and women who were unmarried and unattached, though more rarely a couple or a whole family would have to remain because they did not have horses or because their arrangements for joining a tent had fallen through. In the past all of them that were able-bodied would have gone along, but now many more remained behind. For people who had no tent or no horses, going along would have meant attaching themselves to a family and receiving board and lodging in return for performing minor services. They felt they might be open to humiliation if someone seemed to be giving them orders or telling them to hurry with what they were doing. When plans were being made for leaving, a group of women in this position would get together and talk among themselves; "If I go I have to work for someone else. I'll have to haul wood and help the other women and they might not give me enough dry meat in return." Another would say, "That's what I think. It might be hot. And they might not get many buffalo." Some single men would congregate in a similar way and say, "I don't feel like going." "Look how far they have to go. I think what you say is right. We have legs and can get plenty of

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756
796
536
plaza before the Doctor Lodge with the crowd watching from the roofs of the surrounding earth lodges. It was called Big Dance, *Kibaxkutsu*, dance-big, and the doctors were in a greater or lesser degree of trance while they carried out their performance.

The A's, the secondary acts between the Big Dances, were indoor performances comprising a series of sleight-of-hand feats including trance induction in one doctor by another. They were held in the night from about eight o'clock until midnight and included a sequence of acts by four different doctors with drumming, rattling, singing, and dancing in the intervals. All during the day the doctors who were to perform in the evening prepared themselves and their paraphernalia and refrained from eating until the following morning. The performances were interspersed with blank days during which they all rested and made other preparations for the Big Dance as well as for their subsequent performances. The entire series of performances was introduced by an initial indoor performance and ended with a finale that featured a lively battle between the Bears and the Buffalo Clowns, whose theme was, "Who's afraid of the great big bears? They're only little puppies after all!"

756
796
536
727
• 156
626
The C units were a special type of mime also given outdoors, featuring the "Scalped Ones," the *Kitsahuruksu*, who were thickly plastered with mud "so that they looked like mud banks approaching" and acted in weird and fearsome ways. It was a Pawnee belief that should a person who had been scalped survive, he could never return to his people. It was reasoned that if anyone did survive the process of being scalped by the enemy, he would become so malevolent that he could not live in society. Such a man would make himself a dugout in an embankment and live by attacking people and stealing what he needed. Frank North in his autobiography tells of a young woman who had been scalped by the Sioux in one of their raids in June 1861 while she was returning from her cornfield. Found to be alive, she was apparently buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left there to die. She was rescued and nursed back to health by the schoolmistress, Mrs. Platt. There is of course, no proof that this was the work of the Pawnees themselves, nor can anyone substantiate the subsequent report that she was dispatched with a tomahawk after her return to the tribe and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. It does indicate, however, that a person could survive scalping. A tribal belief was universally maintained that a scalped person could never return to the tribe. [775] Children were constantly warned about these mischievous spirits and alive or dead they were considered a threat to adults also. They lived by stealing whatever they could get and sometimes seized women and young people. Because of them people were afraid to go about in the dark, especially near the banks of streams.

000
[461]
[56]

for the lash. Pawnee impetus to work came not from this type of pressures but from a sense of community. The internalized process was a search by each individual for his own goals, as we see in the naming process and in the vision that he deliberately sought. Our present circumstances of overproduction and automation call for drastic revisions in our age-old motivations. The Pawnee way is now actually more suitable for us than our own.

Ironically, just at this time when gross human labor becomes unnecessary we are also faced with the population explosion, when rather than producing and raising as many children as possible in order to provide a labor force and an army, women are called upon to limit these traditional activities and to supplement them with other kinds of work. As the traditional work categories dwindle, youth also finds itself hard-pressed to find a place in the only activities in the community that can really mark them as adults—for however mature a level school activities may reach, the school student is still immature in our community. Only the breadwinner can enjoy full dignity. On the other end of the age spectrum, people are being pressed to retire earlier and earlier, and here again they face the loss of social dignity as they give over their status as full breadwinners.

The permanence of this problem has not been faced. I know of only one major breakthrough by social scientists in our approach to the logistics of work in recent times, i.e., that of Herbert R. Shepherd of the Case Institute of Cleveland and Robert R. Blake of Texas ("Changing Behavior through Cognitive Change," *Human Organization*, special issue, summer, 1962, pp. 88-96; *Human Organization* is the publication of the Society for Applied Anthropology). Describing our present type of bureaucratic management structure the authors state that:

> . . . they can learn only at the top where control is centralized and . . . they demand passive conformity of most of their members. . . . Conflict is normally resolved by automatic suppression of the less powerful party to the conflict.

On the grounds of its actual inefficiency as a work form, the authors tried a social experiment within the Esso organization, consisting of the withdrawal of a group of workers from the prevailing management structure and development of a new type of interpersonal coordination among them. Although this experiment was conducted within a limited setting, it has an important relevance to the larger questions of work patterns in general that we must necessarily face at this stage of our social development.

Each person within himself will have a hard time getting beyond the built-in acceptance of our traditional work attitudes as inevitable or at

ahead of the fighting line. When I looked back all I could see of the Pawnee was the cloud of dust they were raising. Now that's what I did. Now you all know what I did. 539 721

The listeners said, "Nawa." Some said, "That's right, that's the time."

Now said Eagle Chief to his co-leader, Lone Chief, "Give it to War Cry!" Everyone laughed because they expected the story to be of a very different kind from that of Eagle Chief, since War Cry was a rough character. He didn't disappoint them. His story also concerned the power of the Peace Pipe to repulse an enemy attack upon the village, but the story had a quite different flavor from Eagle Chief's.

War Cry was a brave and his whole outlook was toward aggression and violence compared with a chief who was a man of peace and conciliation. To the stark combat realism of his story, Eagle Chief was moved to comment, "That War Cry is a wicked fellow!" War Cry's narrative was as follows: 538 157 539 721

"Now I'll tell a short story like he did. You all know that the Tsawis had come for a Pipe Dance to the Skidis. They had come to Pipe Dance on Lone Chief [the Tsawis coming as "fathers" with goods, clothing, etc.]. They had been dancing for three days and now on the fourth, they were to 'take the child out,' dancing outside. Lone Chief's daughter was all painted up and dressed as the 'queen.' She was seated at the west and ten or fifteen chiefs and braves were sitting inside to witness the proceedings. Man Chief of the visiting Tsawis was about to say, 'Now we're going to take her outside,' when someone cried out at the doorway, 'Warpath coming.' Some of the Skidis got up and ran out, but about half of them stopped. Man Chief said, 'You wait, you wait—' About eight of the Skidis sat still and waited.

"Man Chief walked up north of the fireplace where Lone Chief was and he said, 'Now child, I have heard this: That Heaven loves this Pipe Dance. Here's the child before you—your child. [Lone Chief's daughter is representing the "childhood" of the whole group of Skidis who are being visited]. 'If our faith is justified,' Man Chief continued, 'then when you go on the warpath, you are going to have good luck. Now we will see. It is as if I stood holding the child and the pipe, embracing them, and the Sioux came running over me. Now, my son, I don't want to talk too long, (some of the Tsawis had also slipped out), for I know you are all anxious to go. Now you're going on the warpath. If our faith is justified, then you're going to come back with success and conquer the enemy. Now you may go!'

"The Tsawi horses were far away and most of them had gone off. The Skidis tried to run for their horses. They had a lot of them tied up there nearby to present to the Tsawis after the ceremony. The

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wil- 000
son, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, 462
considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not 251
hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of
the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not
affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife
was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244).
Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civiliza- 462
tions—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern 171
Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men
among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern
Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women.

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and 000
Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9.

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the in- 342
side of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The 772
sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within,
then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand
as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people."

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song 796
sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 538
1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and 787
wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder 821
spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'"
He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when
he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of
the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's
account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of 157
the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones 82
the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit 721
to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old
friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She 114
remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on 821
the contrary they were part of it and went out into it.

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On 172
archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, 251
pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10
feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric examples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp.

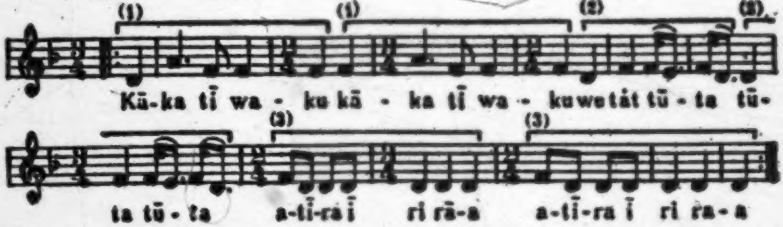
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 51. Song Concerning Mother Moon

(Catalogue No. 1084)

*533 Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 108
Drum not recorded


(1)
(1)
(2)
(2)
Kū-ka tī wa - ku kā - ka tī wa - kuwe tāt tū - ta tū-
(3)
(3)
ta tū - ta a-tī-ra ī ri rā-a a-tī-ra ī ri ra - a

Kūka	ti	waku	we	tāt	tūta
Crow	it	spoke	now	I	do
atira	I	ri	rāa		
mother	there	place	coming		

FREE TRANSLATION

The crow spoke and said, "Now I am coming to where my mother is."

Analysis.—Although this song contains three rhythmic divisions the rhythm should be studied as a whole. This song does not afford an example of thematic treatment but of carrying a rhythmic feeling from the beginning to the end of a melody. The first and second units begin with an ascending progression to an accentuated tone. It is an emphatic melody, in accordance with its words. Attention is directed to the entrance of the third rhythmic unit and the count which precedes it. The first occurrence of the second rhythmic unit shows this as an accented tone, but in this occurrence it is unaccented and leads to the strong phrases that close the song. The melodic material consists of the minor triad and second, and the song is harmonic in structure.

787 *533 ●[158] The next was said to be a "true song" of a boy who is now dead. He once dreamed that he was in a grave and seemed unable to free himself from this impression. Whenever this song was sung it "threw the boy into a Ghost dance fit." The words are translated, "Here is the hole, right here." The song was sung at a hand game or a Ghost dance.

*533 *Analysis.*—This is a peculiar melody, not only in its use of rests but in its melodic form. Each of the two rhythmic units begins with a descent and ends with an ascending progression of a whole tone, giving rather a plaintive effect. The tone material is that of the second 5-toned scale and the song is harmonic in structure.

834 freedom. [I doubt that this was so between all persons of opposite sex—especially not brothers and sisters.] This does not imply that there was no sense of morality or convention. One of the greatest reproaches that could be heaped upon a man was to speak of him as *tihakakits*, which meant that the saliva ran down his face and implied that he lacked decency and did not treat women with respect.

836 548 Chastity, particularly among unmarried women, was held in high esteem. At the outskirts of every village were widows or girls who had been driven from home on account of immorality and who lived as prostitutes.

838 So far as was determined, but a single berdache has been known among the Pawnee for many years. Such an individual was said to have the ways of a woman and was supposed to have been influenced by the moon.

828 156 The lazy man was the slow one, the man who, as a boy, never carried water, packed corn, took the ponies to water, gathered wood for the fire, or ran away with a war party. ~~Such a one~~ was despised.

The coward was the one afraid to go on the warpath. He was always hanging around camp and never went out on the high hills at night for power because he was afraid of ghosts, as the burying grounds were generally on hills.

The stingy man was the sort who, when it was his wife's turn to provide food for the occupants of the lodge, put on the fire a tiny pot of meat only sufficient for himself.

The liar was one who always deceived people. He constantly came in with false news of having seen buffalo near-by. He gave false alarms when sent out as a scout. He was generally a coward as well, for he never, if he could help it, went out in front when in the presence of the enemy; yet he was always the first to return home and boast of his deeds in the fight. Should he lie four times about having seen buffalo his word was forever after doubted and he was despised and no attention paid to him. His joints got large and he became a cripple. When the Skidi saw a man whose joints were swollen with arthritis they said that it was the penalty he paid for having been a liar.

158 Insane and crazy persons in old times were not known as such; at any rate it is not remembered that they existed. A woman was said to be "mixed up," "her spirit is not straight," when she was under the influence of love medicine and powerless to control herself.

> would just put these together and it would be a good soup when you 159
> had nothing else to eat. We like to eat however it tastes, but we
> certainly like to eat a well-cooked dish. In the spring my grandmother went 603
> out and collected wild turnips and things to save up for the winter. She never went dancing. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy had a very different personality from my grandmother. She was not at all bashful like my grandmother, who was very good at doing all sorts of things, but didn't do much talking. The reason my grandmother was bashful in this way was because she was humble and sad on account of the death of her sons in the battles with the Poncas.

The little boy Yellow Calf, grandson of Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, 159
was six or seven years old and the constant companion of Otter. His 551
name *Ari-pahat*, "calf-red," referred not to a red color, but to a tawny
yellow. The name had an important sacred reference—the calfskin wrapping 602
around the Evening Star bundle, and it must have been given to him in the course of a ceremony to which his family contributed. His father, High Noon, was the middle one of White Woman's three brothers who always came to the house. Otter called High Noon *tiwatciriks*, "uncle," and as the nephew, Otter called Yellow Calf *piirau*, "child." High Noon sent meat to the house on behalf of his son. Otter describes him in the following terms:

> Yellow Calf was a bit livelier than me. We played together. He wanted to fight sometimes but I didn't want to. He wasn't rough though. When we got to Oklahoma we separated, and we never did get together again.
>
> His family was unfortunate for even when they succeeded in getting horses, the horses died. But afterward Yellow Calf had good luck. First he married an old lady who had no relatives of her own and he inherited all her land. Then when he married a younger woman, his wife got some land of her own. They had many daughters, all of whom married and went all over to live. When he died, he left a large family.

The occasion of Yellow Calf's first marriage is an interesting story. 159
When he was about eighteen, Yellow Calf was seized with hysteria. He 756
imagined he saw a kind of Pawnee Lorelei—a little deer called *tatatsiks*,
that turned into a woman. The family did all they could to cure him [158]
but everything they tried was in vain. Then a medicine woman of about [776]
fifty said she could cure him, providing they could get married (Old Lady Tsitawa—see pp. 294-295, 305). They did marry and the cure was successful, and Yellow Calf prospered after that. Otter's mother White Woman remarked at the time that it was a pity Yellow Calf's mother wasn't alive when he was having all that trouble or she could have told

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*175 thirteen boys and six girls. Pawnee boys took work in carpentering,
*648 wagon-making, harness-making, tailoring, shoemaking, printing
657 and farming. The girls learned sewing, laundry-work and house-
871 work. In addition boys and girls had classes in regular school subjects. Thirteen Pawnee went to Chilocco when that institution opened in 1884; and later Pawnee were entered at Haskell. By 1889 between the non-reservation schools and the schools on the Pawnee reservation, most of the Pawnee of school age were in attendance at some government institution.

*175 The schools were successful in teaching the Pawnee to read and
*648 use English, and Carlisle and Chilocco were particularly successful in teaching vocational trades and every-day manners. The outlet
● 159 for a Pawnee to practice a trade was however, not apparent. Pratt,
657 in charge of Carlisle, did all he could to induce Carlisle graduates to
871 remain in the East and live and work among white people. A few Indians did so, including several Pawnee. The case of Mark Evarts is typical. Successfully trained as a harness-maker, and without close relatives at home, he worked some years at his trade in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. A man gifted in adjusting himself to alien ways, he lived successfully in the East. But in the end it was apparent to him that his life with white people was at best a makeshift, an apology for being an Indian. He returned home to his people, and the consciousness of his past and his fate overcame him. All the promises he had sincerely given to Pratt, a great friend of his, failed to stem the tide of fellow-feeling which surged over him back on the reservation. A Ghost Dance vision reconverted him, he immersed himself in Indian ways, recalled the teachings of his childhood, and became again a Pawnee. Those who returned to the reservation immediately upon graduation from Carlisle were even more rapidly drawn back into the mood of Indian life. Man does not live by bread alone, and the best that the government could claim it had given the Indian by education, was a means of making a living.

*175 The government did not fail to apprehend that in the change
of life from old Indian ways to the white man's civilization, the
*648 activities which of old had made the Indian men and women
657 self-reliant and resolute were taken from them. The people no longer depended on the chiefs and leaders, and these on themselves; both looked to the agent for guidance and direction. The Indians neither made their own way of life, nor managed their own affairs. From cultural maturity as Pawnee they were reduced to cultural infancy as civilized men.

To counteract this tendency, however, there was only the weight

792

be known as the Mother of the Seven Brothers. This was because 668
she clothed them according to directions which she received in a 776
Ghost Dance vision. 787

Mrs. Goodeagle saw two eagles in her vision, a white one and a black one. The black eagle did not speak to her. The white eagle told her to put up a feast and dress the Seven Brothers. She did so. She gave each of the seven a special shirt, and a white [292] sheet to wear. At the back of the head on the sheet two black ribbons were stitched, so that they hung down for about two feet in the back. All the seven were dressed alike.

Then later someone else fell into a trance and told afterward that Mrs. Goodeagle was the Mother of the Seven Brothers, and that the people must call her that. So all the Skiri considered her the Mother of the Seven Brothers.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF MARK EVARTS

In 1897 or 1898, Mark Evarts came home.[1] He had been away 159
a number of years, first at the Carlisle school, and then working as a harness maker in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. When he got to Oklahoma, the ghost dancing had been flourishing both among the South Bands and among the Skiri. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri was already existent. Mark was not unacquainted with the Ghost Dance. He had heard about it at the time it began to spread among the tribes. He had made a brief visit home at the height of the excitement. But the rest of his story after his arrival in Oklahoma is best told in Mark's own words:

"I told them I did not believe it. I said, 'You can't make me believe it.' Because I was educated and because the white man taught me that the Indians were superstitious. But the white man didn't look at himself and see how superstitious he was.

"One day the Pawnee were all going up to the Oto. After a lot of them had gone, a fellow named Sam Thomson said to me, 'Mark, let's go up to where the Oto are camped now.' We went north to a place about seven miles south of Red Rock. We got there in the evening. We looked into the timber, and there on the other side of the creek we saw the smoke from the encampment. We didn't know where to eat and spend the night, but we found two old ladies in one tipi and we went in there. We asked them 4
if we could sleep there, and stay around during the camping. While I was there I heard someone say, 'this tipi is a special hand

---

[1] Mark had been home on a visit in 1893.

159 game tipi'. Of course at that time I didn't care about that, but they talked about it.

"One morning I took my horse out and tied him where there was good grass. I looked about me, and looked up at the sky, and all at once felt as if I had swallowed something. I felt sorry for myself. I said, 'Here I am. I have no father, no mother, no home,' and then all at once something struck me. I thought that there was nothing good in this world. I let the horse go and didn't bother with him. On the north side there was a big hill. I climbed it and facing west I began to cry. I was sorry for myself. I was alone. Sorrow came all over me. All day I stayed there, until sundown, with nothing to eat or drink. About at nightfall I fell asleep there.

"The next morning I started to cry again, fasting there. I stayed there about three days and nights with nothing to eat and drink, but at the same time I never felt hungry. On the fourth day, in the morning, I felt like sleeping. Everyone in the camp knew I was up there. I went to lie down with my head on my hands.

"Just after I went to sleep I heard someone call me. He said,
159 'Now look at the south,' and not very far off I saw a badger. He
787 said, 'Now if you want to do that, take the citizen's clothes off. You have to have different clothes.' While I looked at him, it was as if I took my clothes off and put them in a hole in the ground. And someone said, 'now put your Indian clothes on and then you do that.' Just as I heard that I awoke, and again I began to cry. About noon I felt as if I must sleep again. I could hardly stand up. I went to lie down on my back, with my head towards the east. All at once I fell asleep. I saw someone standing way up above me in the sky, and I was with him. He faced the north, and I stood at his left side. He said, 'now look way down there. Here you are, and there you are lying, down there.' I looked down and saw myself lying there with my mouth open. Near my head there was some bird. The bird walked around close to my head, bobbing its tail up and down. It had a white feather at each side of its tail. Finally I saw it go right into my mouth. I lay there like a log. I could see it go down inside, and could tell when it got down to the stomach. This one told me, 'go down and kick your feet'. I kicked my feet, and I woke up. Then I began to cry again. As the sun went down, I found my eyes were very tired. When the sun was pretty near down I was looking west. I could see the sun whirl around and around,[1] and once in a while white spots came off it as it whirled, and then green. Then it seemed to be coming toward me, then it seemed to be going away again. At half sunset, over the grass you

---

[1] Mark's gesture at this point indicated a clockwise motion.

could see the shadows coming. Some one said to me, 'now right there, you see the sun there. Right there, that's what's going to hurt you, the shadow of the grass.' The shadows began to twist over like fishhooks, and were sharp. 'That's the people's talk. They'll use bad words on you, and tell you you're crazy and call you names. Let them talk all they want to, don't mind them. It isn't yours, it's mine. When they curse you, they curse me.'

"Just before it got dark, as I was standing and crying, I looked east, and right there in the bottom I saw an owl fly up along the grass, with white on each side of the tail. He flew around and around as it got dark, and finally into a hollow a short distance off. As he disappeared into the darkness of the hollow, I heard three doctors singing. Each one had a gourd rattle. They were coming up toward me. There was no one there I could see, but still I heard them coming toward me as it grew darker. I was looking in the other direction, but my mind was behind me: I knew they were coming. When they were about halfway, they changed the song into a humming, saying, 'I'll kill you. H-hm, h-hm, h-hm, I'll kill you.' They had something to hit the ground with. I made up my mind that I didn't care if they killed me. Let them. I wasn't afraid. I was a man.

"I used to think I was a brave man at that time, but I wasn't either. I found out that time. All at once it came into my mind that it was the scalped man coming. I looked out of the corner of my eye and could see him coming close. I looked around and could see he had a club he was raising over my head to strike me and kill me. I thought, 'let him go ahead'. I was looking upward, and it felt as if something was taken out of my mouth, and another thing put in. The brave one was taken out, and the coward put in. Then I ran off.

"That night these men were after me all night. They chased me around. They chased me pretty near to Ponca City. I couldn't get back to the camp, because they would turn and bar my way. Just about at [illegible] time the moon came up, they changed into the night crow. It came close to me calling 'ka, ka, ka,' and I had to run again. When I came to one place, there were seven horses, all white. He said, 'When you chase them round, the last one, if you get it, it's yours.' But I was tired. It was near morning, and I was very tired. I wanted to sleep. Just as I would be about to fall asleep, these horses would come up. It was the seven of the dipper that go around the North Star. Then morning came. I woke, and there was nothing wrong with me. I came home. When I went back to the place on the hill where I had been standing, my aunt was there, waiting to take me home.

159 [302] "After that I had to join the Ghost Dance. I used to paint my face with yellow and two blue streaks across each cheek.

[787] "The reason this made me feel the Ghost Dance was true, was because it all began with my father and my mother, and they were both dead. That's why—because they were ghosts—that we call it the Ghost Dance, and that I had to go and join it. After this I believed it was all true."

After his vision, Mark Evarts was sick for some time, and did not begin to dance with the Ghost Dancers at once. He lived some time alone at Osage City.

Once he was on his way back to Pawnee when he met the Pawnee camped at Skeedee. Mark Rudder and others were there. They told him it was a good thing he had come, because they were going to make feathers for the Crows.

159 524 Mark Rudder organized and led a brief hand game that night. People from the town heard about the game and came out, swelling the crowd. Rudder avoided the ceremonial complications of the game: it was played for enjoyment, and people who joined in sat as they pleased.

159 787 It was a full moonlit night. The game was played in a tent, and after each game they went outside to dance. The moon was in the southeast. "Louis Behaile was touched, he got shaky, all at once he cried. He stood crying with his hands up toward the moon. After we came back inside the tent, he told it. 'I felt something in my mind, when we went out. It seemed I was going to see something. It's coming. We went out. When we were dancing around, all at once I looked up at the moon, and the moon looked down and saw me and laughed at me. That's why I cried.'"

159 At the hand game Rudder told all the men to come the next morning. "We've got something to do here. We've got the crow feathers and the cedar. We're going to make feathers for the Crows, for each one of you. And those who are outsiders, if you want me to make them for you, you come and I can do it. We're going to take a whole week to camp here. We're going to make these feathers."

The place at which they were meeting belonged to Jonathan Eustace. Jonathan told Mark Evarts to stay right at the camp, and unsaddle his horse. So Mark stayed there. At that time Mark Evarts had nothing to do, and usually lived at Rush Roberts' farm.

159 301 The next morning, the men came about ten o'clock to Rudder's tent. His tent faced east. Inside, Rudder sat at the west, with a wooden cross set up behind him, and a small pile of crow feathers

159 301 in front of him on a spread. Rudder set one man to work preparing cedar sticks, another to work preparing the horn ends of the feathers so they could be attached to the sticks with sinew. Still another was called and told to get sinew ready for use as thong. While the work proceeded the other men present told stories. One man said that he heard the crows calling "ka-ka-ka," and understood what they meant, so he came to the camp and there sure enough he found them all working on the crow feathers. The others laughed. The men preparing the things took their time. They were working at it all day. When dinner came in the evening, Mark Rudder had all the things wrapped up and put aside. The work was finished the next day.

[237] [283] Only wing and tail feathers of the crow were used. Four feathers, either from the wing or tail, were attached to the stick. Each man present was asked which kind of feathers he wanted put on his. The sinew was soaked in a bowl of water to soften it for use. The head end of the cedar stick was spread or thickened so that when the feathers were tied on they spread outward. Across the top of the sticks indentations were made in the form of a cross and when these crow sticks are used ceremonially and set in the ground, the ends of this cross must point in the cardinal directions. Red paint was put in the grooves of the cross. The feathers were bound onto the sticks while the sinew was wet, after which the sticks with the feathers attached were hung out in the wind to dry. The sinew tightened in drying. Each man who wanted a crow stick came forward and took one.

THE SEVEN CROWS AND AFTER

668 796 Mark Rudder was thus instrumental in developing the decoration and recognition of Crows. As yet, however, there was no official organization among the Crows, similar to the Seven Brothers of the Eagles.

668 796 787 Once when they were Ghost Dancing near the north round house, a young woman "got the shakes" and fell. When she recovered, she sat there crying. The old man crier went to her and blessed her. Then he asked her if she had something to say. She said, "Yes. When I fell, I went down a road leading west and saw a big hill across my way, and the road went up the hill. I went up that hill. When I got on top of the hill I looked down below on the other side. There was a big camp there. As I went down the hill I saw a man coming out of that camp. He met me before I got to the camp, and told me to stop, not to come any further. I

847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 842 831 753 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names, if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years. [725 789] As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner. This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after marriage, an individual was given another name by the father. This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726 553 ● 159 538 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath, our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die. After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home. When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

and thought that I was dead but found afterwards that I was only 726
asleep. In my sleep, I saw a buffalo bull sitting by the water's 553
edge waving his tongue in the water. As I went up to him I saw 159 ●
that he was watching me. He spoke to me and said: 'My son, you 538
are wounded, but you are not going to die; I shall take care of you.' When I regained consciousness, I was feeling sick. I wanted to vomit. I vomited a lump of white stuff. The medicine-men cut it open, and there was a piece of strouding inside it. This was a piece that had been shot into me from my breech cloth. I soon became well. Then I took the name of Buffalo-waving-its-Mouth-in-Water."

"There was a young man who had never been on the warpath, but was always making fun of other young men who came back from the warpath without any ponies or scalps. This young man made up his mind one day that he would go on the warpath. So he sat down in his lodge and invited a few of his friends. He told them that he was thinking about going on the warpath, and if they wanted to go he would like to go with them. The young men all said they would go. The young man kept the others in his lodge all day and all night. Just before sunrise they started out. They travelled far and a little before noon they stopped in a hollow, and the young man selected scouts and sent them out. The scouts came back and reported that there was a war-party close by, that the men were holding some kind of a council, and that their ponies were not very close. The young man gave instructions for every one to get ready. They walked along the ravines until they came to the ponies, which they captured and mounted. Then they attacked the enemy while they were holding council. The boys killed several of the enemy and drove the others away, came back and took scalps, and then returned home. They set the prairies afire, took the charred grass and put it upon their faces and bodies. They were received by the people and the boy told the old men that he had
taken a scalp, which he wanted to offer to the gods, and that he [782]
wanted his name changed. So the scalp was offered to the gods,
and his name was changed to Noon, for he said: 'By noon time I [551]
had captured the enemy's ponies, killed several men, and taken their scalps, so I shall be known as Noon-Day Man.'"

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

The usual period of nursing was about three years; if a woman 853
nursed a child for a longer time other women would make fun of
her. Children were told by their mothers to bury their milk teeth, 854
856

affection, denoting how far one could count on the tie. The use of the 602
kin word on meeting might simply be withheld altogether—an absolute 601
disclaimer of the relationship.

A second cue as to how valuable a person considered a given kin tie 604
could be taken from the manner in which the typical kin behavior was carried out. In the joking grandfather–grandchild type of behavior, the jokes might be mean, sarcastic, or mildly jocular, but if the person showed no reaction at all it was most damaging to the relationship. Careless behavior within the "respect" categories would simply be taken as a personal insult, but no response whatever to the other person that should have a kin status, canceled the relationship entirely as a personal bond.

There were no normal interpersonal relations among the Pawnees that 602
did not carry with them a kin designation. People with whom one 608
dealt as equals had to be placed in some kin category; lack of such a relation could only imply slave or enemy status. In the various trade or gift exchange ceremonials that were conducted between tribes or bands, a whole kin structure was built up so that they could communicate on a peaceful level. The most notable example was the Calumet or Peace Pipe Ceremony, in which the visiting trade party represented Fathers, while the ones they visited were designated their Children. Many of the ceremonial acts were designed to carry out this idea. There was no way of communicating with peaceful strangers unless they were fitted into the kin structure, and it is for this reason that the President of the United States is referred to as the Great White Father and that white friends are adopted into the tribe.

A third aspect of kin reactivity was the exchange of gifts and this 159
too was an index of cordiality or lack of it between two kinsmen. It 593
sometimes happened that a distant relative was so warmly cultivated
that the relationship took on a degree of intimacy that was considerably 602
greater than would ordinarily be implied in the genetic tie. Such a case [431]
happened with the mother of the boy Otter, White Woman. As was customary, Otter's maternal uncles—his mother's brothers—were frequent visitors to the household. Uncle War Cry and his younger brothers High Noon and Noted Fox would come in often to meals. Uncle War Cry was head brave of the Skidi, and he would often linger to smoke and talk with Victory Call. Uncle War Cry was solicitous for Otter's welfare at all times, and the boy was welcome to his uncle's home at any time. Whenever they passed each other in the village, Uncle War Cry would call out to him, "*Nawa tiwat*," and Otter would reply with "*Nawa tiwatciriks*." The same was true of the other two uncles.

From time to time something would happen that puzzled the boy very much. Two men in particular would insist on greeting him in the same terms as his own uncles, saying, "*Nawa tiwat*," and they came up to him and stated that they were his *real* uncles and that his mother was mean

159 as she was not willing to have them to the house as she should. However,
the boy kept his counsel until one day when it came to the attention of
593 his mother. Then she said in a strongly hostile voice, "They're mean.
602 They're no brothers of mine!"

A considerable time passed before the boy found out what had actually occurred. He found out that the men who had approached him were actually his mother's brothers, while his supposedly close uncles, whom he thought were the closest of kin, were in fact relatives classified from a more distant genetic line. The story went back to White Woman's childhood and this is what had happened:

White Woman's father was old Chief Butcher Knife, a prominent Skidi chief. The term Butcher Knife was a contemporary euphemism for American and his real name was Chief Bald Head—in Pawnee, *risaxpaks-katsis*. The old chief had two wives of similar age who were not related to each other. White Woman's mother had two girls and a boy, while the other woman had three boys. Once the Poncas came on a raid and White Woman's younger brother was killed. The sons of the other wife remained alive. (These were the men that had accosted Otter and who should have counted as brothers to White Woman.) There must have been bitter rivalry between these two wives of old Chief Butcher Knife, for White Woman carried her anger toward her half-brothers all her life, refusing to acknowledge the relationship, and sought among her more distant kindred for men she wanted to recognize as her brothers in their stead. Mark Evarts summarized her feelings on this as follows:

> The old chief thought more of the boys than of the girls. My mother couldn't get anything. The old man would give it all to the boys even though he was a chief (implying that a chief should be above such favoritism). The girls were hurried off to school in Iowa while the boys were allowed to remain at home. Perhaps the old man had in mind that the boys would go on the warpath when they grew up and bring him horses, while the girls would stay close to their mother and do as she wished. My mother must have felt hurt by the way her father, old Chief Butcher Knife, acted.

But, time passed and things went better with White Woman. Victory Call, a man with considerable resources and ability, after the death of his first wife, had married White Woman's older sister. When she died, Victory Call married White Woman, and they established a new household on the reservation near Genoa and their fortunes prospered. She had a young son who was growing up and a prominent place in the community. Now she felt it was her turn to get retribution for the special privileges that her half-brothers had enjoyed in their father's household. She would deny the relationship, shut them out of her house, and wel-

come as brothers a group of men that were so classified in a more distant kin line. 159 593

These were kin on the mother's side—perhaps further back through the old ladies—but *not on the father's side.* The three that were adopted as uncles were of our own village of Pumpkin-Vine. White Woman called them *iratsti,* "brother," and they called her *itabi,* "sister." They acted like real brothers to her. 602

There was still another "uncle" who was welcome to their household. His name was Buffalo-Leader, *taraha-kitawiu.* He had been adopted into the family as a surrogate for the brother that was killed by the Poncas. After the raid, White Woman and her sister mourned deeply for the death of their brother. Once White Woman took particular notice of a young man in the village, remarking to her mother that he looked like their own brother that was killed. Then the two mothers (i.e., co-wives of the old chief) invited the young man to the house for a special dinner, giving him a gift and caressing him in blessing. He was given to understand that they wanted him to come to the house at any time and be a brother to White Woman. If he didn't come for a while, the mothers would give him a gentle reminder saying, "You can come over any time." Now that White Woman had a substantial position and a household of her own, he came often and enjoyed her hospitality. 159 597

Kin categories, therefore, did not guarantee a fixed relationship. They could only be valid if they were recognized by both parties. This recognition could be of a more or less enthusiastic kind. As with us, poor relations might be treated with a shade less enthusiasm than those of greater wealth or status. Then there were other factors such as degree of common interest or personal liking. One could follow a minimal interpretation of the pattern in order to preserve "the decencies" without actually disowning the people concerned. 602 571

Added to the factors of wealth and personal congeniality was the matter of hereditary status and family honor which was at times a very important element in the behavior of relatives toward one another. Brothers in particular were called on to preserve the reputation of the family. Since the Pawnees were especially sensitive on this point, brothers avoided going about together as much as possible, for should one be personally challenged or humiliated, the other would be bound to fight, and the conflict might spread to the several families concerned. On the other hand, if the other brother were not around, the two parties might be able to work out some way so that the incident could be passed over. Even after they had established themselves in different households, brothers were very careful to preserve appearances on behalf of the family. A man noticing that his brother's family did not have enough horses to go 602 593 554

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

551 The personal name was an act of self-recognition for a goal one had set oneself and achieved. One sponsored a special ceremony by making a donation of food to the priests, and in the course of the ceremony one's new name was publicly announced. But the substance of the name was strictly private and reserved to oneself. The name was cited only on the most formal occasions and from the name itself it was not possible to deduce its private significance. A person who had achieved such a name could lovingly bestow it on a son or a daughter in a ritual, or a son might give his name to his mother and then set out to earn a new and still more important one. Each of the people in the household of Old Bull and Victory Call had such a name, and while we cannot reconstruct the esoteric circumstances, a few facts about their lives gives a sense of their significance.

551 622 159 Victory Call was known for short as *Riwahut*, but his full name was *Siti-riwahut*, meaning "they are making the high trilling sound for victory." This sound was made by the women as the victorious warrior returned to the village. Publicly and socially Victory Call had made an important place for himself in the tribe. He was a younger son of a prominent Skidi chief of Old Village, Chief Big Eagle. His older brother Sitting Hawk (*Pia-tiwitit*, "hawk-he-sits-down") held the senior position in the family and occupied the family seat in the chiefs' council. As a cadet member of the family, Victory Call had to earn his social position in the community, and he had succeeded very well. People in the community said of him that he had almost surpassed his older brother by his achievements. Through his prowess in war and hunting, he had been able to entertain the chiefs and influential men at a number of formal banquets, and he had given them gifts of horses. In recognition of his deeds he was accorded one of the vacant seats in the chiefs' council, where he now sat regularly and had a voice in all administrative decisions for the band and tribe. He played the role of chief very well. He was considerate of people and concerned for their welfare. He was known to have entertained old people from time to time and to treat them with consideration and generosity. At one time when he had had a successful deer hunt, he sent Horse Rider to invite a number of old people, and when they were seated around the lodge he personally served them the deer meat and made sure that each had a generous portion. After the meal, as was customary, the guests began to talk and one old man expressed the sentiments of all when he said, "We thank you for having us here for dinner today. It is my wish to you that you will live to see your grandchildren grow up and do you honor, and that your great grandchildren will play about your feet." This was not to be, but perhaps he has gained a different kind of immortality through his son Otter and through the stories he told of their life. 159

575 794 The most creative and socially significant achievement of Victory Call

was in the field of religion. It was he who built up the cult of the Deer Dance (*Raris-ta*, "dance-deer"). Taking it over from his predecessor who had obtained it by studying among the Wichita to the south, Victory Call was largely responsible for its reorganization into the Pawnee religious style and for the wide popularity it enjoyed at that time. He had built it up to such a degree that it posed a serious challenge to the monopoly of the long-established Doctor Association, where heretofore all the medicine cults had been organized. The association was under the leadership of Big Doctor and Sitting Hawk; Victory Call's older brother had a prominent place in it as leader of the Bear Cult. The rivalry between Big Doctor and Victory Call was bitter as some young men began to move over from the association to join the Deer Dance. In his dying moments in the 1860's, Victory Call saw a vision of Big Doctor upon whose sorcery he blamed his sickness and his death. The cult lasted under new leadership for a while, but after the tribe got to Oklahoma in 1876, its popularity continued to decline, while the Doctor Association maintained its vigor some time longer. Victory Call was also a skilled rattlesnake doctor and he was able to make a trade with his brother Sitting Hawk for knowledge of the Bear Cult in return for Rattlesnake knowledge. Victory Call's retainer, Horse Rider, had come to serve him in his household in the hope that Victory Call might give him a place in the Deer Dance and perhaps share other cult knowledge with him. 159 575 794 [424]

Victory Call had a friend, Chief's Road (*raru-hatur-risaru*, "the one that is-road-chief"), whose name implied that he was going on the road which he hoped would lead to chieftainship. Chief's Road had no hereditary social status, but he was ambitious for administrative advancement. He hoped that if Victory Call gained first place in the chiefs' council, he would appoint him his official brave. This was possible as when a chief retired or died, the new chief did not carry over the former incumbent, but appointed his own brave to assist him. Chief's Road was an excellent arrowshaft maker and supplied Victory Call with all his needs. On the other hand, he was not too good at acquiring horses, and Victory Call often helped him out by giving him some of their wood and other household needs that were more easily acquired when one had horses for transportation. He had built his house immediately adjoining Victory Call's lodge, and there were generally friendly relations between the two households; their children played together. 159 557 572

As a provider for his family, Victory Call was an accomplished hunter, both of individual big game and as a leading member of the tribal buffalo hunt. He also managed to make some extra cash by trapping beaver. He had some income from gifts he received for his religious activities and he maintained a modest herd of four or five horses. He was a good and able husband and father, inclined at times to be somewhat solemn and a little pompous, though not overbearing. He was about sixty years old at the 159 622

159 time of our narrative in 1867. White Woman was his third wife and considerably younger than he. He had a grown son, Fox Chief (*kiwakurisa'a*), by his first wife. Fox Chief was a young man in his twenties and lived most of the time in the home of Eagle Chief, where he was a close companion of Eagle Chief's son, Man Chief. After the death of his first wife, Victory Call had married the older sister of White Woman and then at her death he married White Woman. Besides his boy Otter, he and White Woman were raising an infant they had adopted—the daughter of one of the wives of Leading Chief, head chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. The chief believed that the baby was not his own but that of his younger brother, and when it was born he took the infant by the legs and was about to dash its head against a tree, when Victory Call rescued the baby and brought it home. When she was very small, White Woman kept her in her bed, but after she could walk she displaced Otter in grandma's bed. A small bed was built underneath grandma's bed for Otter so that she could watch them both. Sometimes they would put the baby on his back, and he was told to go off and play and to take good care of his sister. Otter addressed his father at all times as *atias*, "my father," and his father called him, *piirau*, "child."

622

159 White Woman, *Ts-taka*, "woman-white," was apparently so called because of the lightness of her complexion and the suspicion that she had some European ancestry. Being considerably younger than her husband, she was very conscious of her responsibilities and of the importance of their social position. Victory Call was always pointing out to her what her duties were. He would say, "I have to go off. If the Poncas come here with a gift of tobacco, take it and try to feed them." Or, "You have brothers and they might come to the house and perhaps they will be hungry. So don't go off anywhere because you ought to take care of them. If outsiders from other tribes come visiting bringing horses and tobacco, take it!" White Woman was so diligent in her duties that when her brother Uncle War Cry came to visit he would ask her why she didn't go out once in a while and get some air instead of sitting around the house all the time. Then she would retort, "I'd like to go, but who would be here to meet you fellows when you came? If I went out, they would just have to call me back when you arrived. That's the reason for my staying home all the time!" White Woman tended to be conservative in her social relations, and she was mindful of the common Pawnee observation that "A woman who stays at home never gossips, but just goes about her own business." She sent gifts to the appropriate relatives but made a habit of keeping her distance personally.

593

Her little boy Otter had a high regard for his mother, but their relations were quite formal. She would caution him, "Before you go out to play, go get something to eat and don't ask anyone for the food they have. Don't call anyone bad names like 'you hungry thing' or say 'you're

159
593

poor.' That isn't nice. Anyone you play with you can bring in here to eat with you, and then you can go out and play again." At other times she would say, "You ought to be good like your father and take care of old people that are helpless." As he was leaving the house in the morning she would say to him, "Live well (*tsikstit, rakuwari*), well, go about!" When he returned she would say, "You look tired. You must have played hard. Look at your face." The boy would answer, "*Atira* (my mother) I am tired."

Horse Rider, retainer or *tarutsubus* to Victory Call, was a young man in his late twenties. His name, *T-ur-akikita*, "he-his-riding," means "riding someone else's horse," signifying that it was a horse he had captured from the enemy. Victory Call was glad to have Horse Rider serving him since his own son Fox Chief, who would normally help him with the horses and other strenuous tasks, was away serving as a U.S. Scout with Major North. He was imaginative as well as socially ambitious in wanting to enter the new and growing Deer Dance Cult. One gathers that he was a good-natured, active young man. He had not yet made his mark in life, and he had married a woman considerably older than himself, whose grown daughter by a former marriage was married to a man employed at the agency. His wife, No Corn, had two other adolescent daughters who were away at school. No Corn was badly crippled with arthritis, but they had been married for some time and there was a close personal attachment between them. Horse Rider went to considerable lengths to compensate in extra services for No Corn's inability to contribute substantially to the work of the house. 2

> He was willing to do anything. His wife was crippled and helpless. He would do the things she ought to do. She had to stay home all the time and when the other women of the household came in from the fields and stretched out tired on their beds they would remark, "Soon we're going to cook, but we have no water!" Horse Rider immediately picked up two buckets and got some, and sometimes he had to go two or three times before they had enough. When he got back he set the buckets down, saying "hi'ya," because his arms were tired but then he would give water to everyone that was sitting on the beds and even to the little boys. At night he carried me through the village to wherever I wanted to go.

Horse Rider was warmly fond of the boy. Otter called him grandfather, and Horse Rider would tease him about his attachment to his grandmother. Horse Rider was related to White Woman who called him *atias*, through her father's sister's line, and thus Otter called him grandfather. Later in Oklahoma, when both his parents had died, Horse Rider and No Corn were very kind to Otter and gave him a home.

**14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18**

159 593 No Corn, wife of Horse Rider, had as her formal name *Tstahari-tsa'rwari*, "the kettle-she asks for something to put into it," that is, "she tries to borrow some corn or other food to cook." The name refers to an incident that is too obscure to be inferred from the name alone. She was a mature woman of good family, related to Victory Call through his father's sister's line, and he addressed her as *atira*. As a consequence, Otter called her *atika*, "my grandmother," but he knew better than to try to joke with her in a grandmotherly way. Her arthritis caused her a great deal of suffering. As Otter tells it,

> It was considered only right for No Corn to have a good disposition since she was helpless. She was able to do the cooking although she couldn't stand up. She made herself useful in any way she could, lest someone remark that she was cranky since she was a cripple. For example, she might see White Woman measuring Victory Call's feet for moccasins. Then she would say, "Let me do that. You have something else to do." Then White Woman would give her the awl, sinew, rawhide, and other materials and she would make the moccasins. Or when they were out on the hunt, she would say, "Pile all the dishes right here. I can wash them." She would watch and do any little task she could for anyone in the house. But even so, her son or daughter would sometimes say, "You're a cripple. You can't do anything. You ought to be good." Then she would get angry and cover up her head. The daughter would say, "Mother, you mustn't do that." "Well, you folks are the cause of it. You are the ones that make me cranky." "Oh mother, we try to talk nicely to you, but you always get angry so easily." She couldn't help the fact that she was cranky.

159 593 726 Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, grandmother of the boy Yellow Calf, was a historic character among the Pawnee. She was famous for her heroic defense of the village when it was under attack by the Poncas. This was a time when she was well in her fifties and the tribe was living at Pa-ha-ku near Fremont, Nebraska. Her name commemorates her deed. It was *Ts-tarahux-tu*, "woman-caused them-hurt," signifying that she had caused the enemy to grieve because of those she had killed and put to flight. This is how the story was told:

> Once when we were living in the village of Pahaku, near Fremont, the Poncas, perhaps mingled with Sioux, came on the warpath to attack the Pawnee village. They had hay in their pockets and were ready to set fire to the village. When the men saw how heavily outnumbered they were, they stayed inside the houses and resigned themselves to their fate, expecting to be burned up. As the enemy kept approaching, this old lady decided to do something about it. She was more than fifty then—an old

lady. She rubbed some soot from the brass kettle and smeared it across 159
her eyes (signifying defiance of any danger, and particularly of fire).
She twisted her hair into a knot on the front right side of her head, put 593
on a loin cloth, and with a war club in her hand she went out to face the 726
enemy saying, "We've got to do *something*. You men just sitting here doing nothing!" This got the men excited and they said, "Just look at that old lady! We've got to go out and fight." Then they all ran outside. The old lady had nothing but a club in her hand, while the Poncas and all the men had their bows and arrows. She killed one of the Poncas right next to the house and sure enough his pockets were stuffed with hay all ready to burn down their houses. Because of her bravery, she could say and do anything as she had saved everyone's life and she felt she could do what a man did any time and she was free to say whatever came to her mind. Right after the battle, she came upon Feeling Bear who had been shot in the leg. "That's good, you should protect the people," she said. "Your mother and father are still living and you're young yet." But then Feeling Bear began to cry and sob and she said to him, "You're nothing but a baby. You don't belong out here at all. Only men should be out here fighting!" Then three old ladies came along and said to her, "Let's see that dead Ponca you killed." At that very moment Whitey came walking along with a stick in his hand that he had used to defend himself. The Old Lady calls him grandchild and they all began to tease him. "Turn that Ponca over," they said. But try as he would, the corpse slipped back and he jumped away. Then, giving it a hard push, he fell right on top of it. The old ladies began to laugh, and he ran away as fast as he could. He said that long after, he could still see that Ponca right before his eyes at night. The body was not buried, but was left in the open.

Long afterward when they were talking it over with the Poncas, and they were reviewing the incidents of the battle, the Poncas said, "When we saw that old man, we thought he was the bravest man we had ever seen and that's what held us back." Then the Pawnees told them that it was a woman. When braves were jealous of their wives, they would sometimes beat them up and then Grieves-the-Enemy would come along and say to them in her full deep voice, "Fine brave men you are! Your place is out beating up the Poncas. They came here to burn up our whole village. We women do you no harm. It's the Poncas you should be out fighting with."

The only men to whom she spoke politely were the chiefs. A chief 159
would never beat his wife no matter how he felt. This would be against 593
the whole code of chieftainship, and if he thought he could not control
his emotions, he would not accept the office in the first place. When he 622
was asked, he had to seriously consider whether his character was good enough. He must be generous and good and, if he weren't, he would re-

159 593 622 fuse the call saying, "I'm a drunkard and have many other faults. I can't be a chief." To other men, Grieves-the-Enemy was gruff, even to priests, but not to the chiefs. Even her grown son, she ordered about. She would send him off to get a bucket of water and he would feel obliged to do as she said. Not that she was "mannish" in any way. She wasn't. Among the Skidis, this old lady was a person of note.

159 603 She was raising her grandson, Yellow Calf, whose mother had died and whose father, High Noon, had married into another household. She contributed many invaluable services to the household, and she and Otter's grandma liked each other and cooperated well together.

[551] Otter's grandmother was Old-Lady-Chase-the-Enemy. Her name, *Ts-ak-ta-hira'as*, "woman-them-chased-ahead," i.e., "chase the enemy ahead of the line of battle," was given to her by her brave sons in honor of a gallant war deed they had performed, chasing the enemy way ahead of the line of battle. All six of them were killed in battle by the Poncas, and she would think sadly of their death, "If my sons had lived they would have taken care of me." "But," said Otter, "in our household we didn't think of her as a burden. She was my own grandma who used to take care of me and we took care of her." Otter's grandmother was a very old woman. In fact, she was his great-great-grandmother, once removed. She was the sister of White Woman's own great-grandmother and accordingly, White Woman called her *atira*, and she was thus a grandmother to Otter. He would call her *atika*, "grandmother," having no consciousness that in fact she [582] was two generations beyond his mother's mother. Marriage at the age of fourteen or fifteen for girls made it quite feasible to be a great-great-grandmother between the ages of sixty-five and seventy. She may have been seventy-five at the time. Being in the mother's line, she was considered a particularly close relative. That she was a satisfactory grandmother to Otter there can be no doubt. When they walked out together, people would say to her, "That's your husband. He always watches his wife. They can't be parted." And Otter would retort, "Well I have to watch her. She might run away!"

Otter said the following of his grandmother:

> Grandma was left-handed and they would sometimes speak of her as *Tskusaski*, "Lefty-woman." She would do everything for me—grease my feet when they chapped and cracked, get me food at night. I wouldn't bother others to do these things. She would do anything in the way of work. She was very saving as she knew how hard it was to get anything. She wasted nothing as she felt hard times might come some time. I guess she was like some white women who don't waste anything, putting everything into the kettle. She would cook anything and make it taste good—turkey feet and some field corn that she had made into hominy—she

would just put these together and it would be a good soup when you 159
had nothing else to eat. We like to eat however it tastes, but we cer-
tainly like to eat a well-cooked dish. In the spring my grandmother went 603
out and collected wild turnips and things to save up for the winter. She never went dancing. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy had a very different personality from my grandmother. She was not at all bashful like my grandmother, who was very good at doing all sorts of things, but didn't do much talking. The reason my grandmother was bashful in this way was because she was humble and sad on account of the death of her sons in the battles with the Poncas.

The little boy Yellow Calf, grandson of Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, 159
was six or seven years old and the constant companion of Otter. His
name *Ari-pahat*, "calf-red," referred not to a red color, but to a tawny 551
yellow. The name had an important sacred reference—the calfskin wrap- 602
ping around the Evening Star bundle, and it must have been given to him in the course of a ceremony to which his family contributed. His father, High Noon, was the middle one of White Woman's three brothers who always came to the house. Otter called High Noon *tiwatciriks*, "uncle," and as the nephew, Otter called Yellow Calf *piirau*, "child." High Noon sent meat to the house on behalf of his son. Otter describes him in the following terms:

> Yellow Calf was a bit livelier than me. We played together. He wanted to fight sometimes but I didn't want to. He wasn't rough though. When we got to Oklahoma we separated, and we never did get together again.
>
> His family was unfortunate for even when they succeeded in getting horses, the horses died. But afterward Yellow Calf had good luck. First he married an old lady who had no relatives of her own and he inherited all her land. Then when he married a younger woman, his wife got some land of her own. They had many daughters, all of whom married and went all over to live. When he died, he left a large family.

The occasion of Yellow Calf's first marriage is an interesting story. 159
When he was about eighteen, Yellow Calf was seized with hysteria. He 756
imagined he saw a kind of Pawnee Lorelei—a little deer called *tatatsiks* [158]
that turned into a woman. The family did all they could to cure him
but everything they tried was in vain. Then a medicine woman of about [776]
fifty said she could cure him, providing they could get married (Old Lady Tsitawa—see pp. 294-295, 305). They did marry and the cure was successful, and Yellow Calf prospered after that. Otter's mother White Woman remarked at the time that it was a pity Yellow Calf's mother wasn't alive when he was having all that trouble or she could have told

159 him to jump into the water and stay under, and when he came out, some
756 deer hair would have come up out of his throat and he would have been
well at once. The lesson was not lost on Otter, though he seems never to have needed it.

[762] The case of the old medicine woman is also of interest. Her son, a boy of fourteen, had recently committed suicide. He had resented her second husband and finally shot himself. Otter's older brother Fox Chief had taken the occasion to point out to him that suicide solved nothing and that all the boy had accomplished was to leave his mother all alone.

Old Bull was the leading man of the south half of the house. He was
159 a man of good-natured jocularity, about fifty years old. He was a
555 highly skilled buffalo hunter and on occasion he was known to outrun
a buffalo. His full name was *Hikuts-tarus*, "Old Buffalo Bull"—"Scabby" or "Itchy." He was a man of good family who had begun life with a number of advantages. His father was a prominent chief, and he was sitting in his family's hereditary seat in the chiefs' council. In his boyhood he had struck up a friendship with a poor boy named Small who was serving in a chief's household. The poor boy had a vision and he had chosen to share it with his wealthy friend, Old Bull (see pp. 322-335). Then, while he was out tending the horses of his wealthy patron, Small was killed by the Sioux and Old Bull continued with Small's teachings and rose to prominence in the Doctor Association. He was currently a leader of the Deer Cult of that body. Not only his skill as a buffalo hunter, but his rise in the medical profession were notable personal achievements.

159 Old Bull and Victory Call had a kin relationship that went back to past
554 family history. It was usual for every prominent man, particularly
592 among the important chiefs and doctors, to draw around him numbers
of young men who would come to live in his house and serve him in
various ways as apprentices or dependents. Chief Big Eagle was such a
159 man with a large household in Old Village in 1838. He had three sons
554 of his own of whom the oldest was *kax-kuutu*, "Rotten-House," the
602 second Sitting Hawk, and the third, Victory Call. Among the other young
men who were in the house it was always possible to find some kin line that would make them brothers to the children of their host. Old Bull's father was one of these young men and he had called Victory Call, *irari*, "brother." Now that they were settled together in a common household, Old Bull properly addressed Victory Call as *atias*, "my father," since Old Bull's father had been counted as Victory Call's brother. Accordingly, Victory Call addressed Old Bull as *piirau*, "my child." Otter, who also called Victory Call father and was called by him *piirau*, was as a brother to Old Bull, Old Bull assuming the role of older brother to the boy. As younger brother, Otter would wait until his older brother Old Bull ad-

dressed him before presuming to open any conversation with him, and 159 Old Bull on his part was bound to take the initiative in instructing 554 the boy. Old Bull, referring to his younger wife Clear Day, would say 602 to Otter, "This is our wife. Call her *tsustit* (old lady). Say to her, 'I'm starving. Get me something to eat.'" The young woman would answer, "What have you been doing that you're hungry?" Then Old Bull prompted him, "Tell her, 'Well, I've been playing.'" Then the woman answered, "That's all you're good for." A certain amount of teasing went back and forth from time to time after that. Then when Otter got older, he was again prompted by Old Bull to ask his younger wife to cook for him and she would reply, "Well, I have no water. I can't cook if I don't have any. Take two buckets and get me some. If you take only one, one of your arms will get long." "Well I could change about," the boy would answer in all innocence. "No you can't, you must take both at the same time." When he got back, water had splashed all over him from both buckets and Clear Day would say, "That's good. You got water. Don't ask me to cook if you have no water around." Old Bull would praise him then and say, "I have a smart little brother. He can carry the water," and the wife would add, "That's a good little boy after all. He brought the water." Old Bull would also express big-brotherly concern for him in another way. He would ask, "Well, who were you playing with?" "I played with so and so," Otter would answer. "That's good. Just play with those children and with no one else. I don't want you to play with those other boys. They're mean." "We played with the girls. They made a horse of me in our play," Otter related. Even though Otter's older brother Fox Chief was staying in another household the extended kinship system gave the boy the opportunity to learn the rules in his own home while he was small. Later this knowledge would stand him in good stead.

Clear Day, the younger wife of Old Bull, whose name in Pawnee was *Ts-takur-riwax*, "woman-day-clear," was inclined to be the "sporty" type, laughing and joking all the time and spending a good deal of her time out gambling. Her disposition was in marked contrast to the other women of the lodge. Old Bull had married her after he had been married to Queen Woman for quite a while. She was not from their own Pumpkin-Vine Village but from Village-in-the-Bottomlands, and Old Bull had married her because "she had taken his fancy." When the Pawnees moved from Fremont to the reservation village near Genoa, Old Bull brought in Clear Day's mother, Blue Calico, to take up the grandmother place in the new earth lodge that he and Victory Call had established. Clear Day was an assiduous player of the plum-seed game. This was the most [525] popular gambling game of the women, played with plum-seed dice tossed in a round coiled basket. The betting was always heavy and the

159 554 602 habitual gambler was likely to lose her blouse, her shawl, or her earrings. A man who noticed a crowd of women playing together like that would have to move along and mind his own business.

525 Clear Day had her own basket and plum seed dice with which to play the game—tossing up the marked plum seeds in the tray basket. Even when she herself didn't think of going out to gamble, the others would come in and get her. She would go out early in the morning and come back late in the evening, betting whatever she had, i.e., calico, a necklace, or her earrings. Old Bull didn't get angry. He was a chief and it wouldn't have been right for him to express any strong disapproval of his wife.

Sometimes a man whose wife was out gambling would get angry because he got hungry. When the woman came home feeling badly because she had lost, there would be trouble. She would say to her husband, "It was because of you. You were thinking about your hunger and then I lost the game." She gave no thought to her home—only to her playing. Sometimes she would win a nice piece of calico so that she could make her husband a new shirt. Then the reaction at home would be quite different. The husband would say, "That's good But don't go so often. You might lose your luck." But try as she would to obey her husband's injunction, she would be caught up in it eventually. When the gamblers came around, she would make some excuse and say, "No, I have such and such to do. Why don't you go and ask so and so?" But eventually the other gamblers knew she would succumb. That was the way of Clear Day, Old Bull's younger wife. She was an habitual gambler.

159 513 593 Clear Day had two little daughters with Old Bull. The youngest was a very small child and was in the care of Clear Day's mother, Blue Calico. The older girl, New Queen, was five or six years old and had a bed of her own near the west on the south side of the lodge, adjacent to that of Clear Day. This was in anticipation of the time when the little girl would be fifteen and old enough to marry and her husband would join the household. It was considered desirable to give a little girl a bed of her own as soon as possible. With a little boy it was quite different. He might sleep with his grandmother until he was ten and then have a bed made for him between the central houseposts near the fireplace.

159 595 [551] Queen Woman, senior wife of Old Bull, was of an entirely different temperament from Clear Day. Her name in Pawnee was *Ts-taru-ri'u*, "woman-merely-by herself," signifying "one does something great by oneself, single-handed." One translation was "self-made queen," signifying that although not born a queen or woman of chief's rank, her social accomplishments were so creditable that she deserved this high

rank. Her marriage to Old Bull was apparently a case of a more mature 159
woman taking a younger man for her second husband. Her children
by her first marriage were growing up and were off at school, and she 595
had started a second family with Old Bull. With him she had two small boys, one three years old and one still younger. She carried the whole responsibility for the household since the gambling habits of the younger wife left her with very little help. Blue Calico, the mother of the younger wife tried to compensate for this situation by being especially helpful to Queen Woman, giving her extra supplies to cook for all of them and a great deal of extra help "beyond the call of duty." Queen Woman was of French-Pawnee extraction, the French ancestor being relatively recent as reflected in her rather light complexion and mixed features. She was related to the family of the interpreter, Frank
Deteyr, who was killed by the Sioux in the fall of 1861. She was quiet 159
and conservative in her social approach and sometimes Old Bull would
jokingly remark, "Why don't you ta[illegible]ce in a while?" "Well," she replied 521
quite literally, "I have nothing to say." Most Pawnee women countered such remarks with a more lively retort. Her character was described in the following terms:

> She just went about her work. If other women came to visit, they would tell her stories about what was going on, but she would never repeat them. She never went out except to get a bucket of water with White Woman. People said of her, "She's a nice woman. She doesn't say much or gossip about anyone. You might tell her something but she doesn't repeat it or make any remarks about it." The two wives got along nicely together. Queen Woman never did any gambling herself, and she never made any remarks to Clear Day about her gambling.

Old Lady Blue Calico was the mother of Old Bull's younger wife 159
Clear Day and grandmother of the south half of the house. The Pawnee
name of Blue Calico was *Ts-tapit-tarius*, "woman-bought goods-blue," 592
referring probably to a time when her uncle was portioning out a government allotment of goods or the spoils of a profitable trading expedition of his own and gave her a particularly nice piece of blue calico in the process.

Her personality was more lively than Grandma Chase-the-Enemy 159
but less so than the rough and ready Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy. 574
Her joking remarks and her general activity were a little more conspicuous
than Otter's quieter grandmother. Blue Calico always went off 592
to the Village-in-the-Bottomlands where she had come from to visit a special old lady friend there. The two old women on the north side had their own friends in Pumpkin-Vine Village. If Blue Calico wanted to

159 go off and gather wild turnips, she went with some other old lady
from Bottomlands Village. Only if it were necessary once in a while,
574 would the three old ladies of the lodge go together to get a little wood
592 for fuel.

[887] Old ladies were great ones for visiting one another and talking over old times—about when they were young and when they got married, prepared buffalo robes and many other such reminiscences. Whenever Blue Calico came back from a visit to her own village, she would come in with stories of what was going on there. "That man went hunting and didn't bring home anything," she would say, or, "He brought some game—a deer."

156 Contrary to a common conception of tribal life, the personal inter-
571 relationships of the Pawnee were not fixed within a kin mold. For example, there was a marked difference in temperament between the two
602 wives of Old Bull, Queen Woman, the senior one, and Clear Day, the younger of the two. Two factors combined to make the approach to Otter of these two women different. Through a relatively distant kin line, the older wife Queen Woman counted as a sister, *itahi*, to Otter and accordingly their relationship was formal. As noted above (page 36), Queen Woman's two little boys regarded Otter as a mother's brother, *tiwatciriks*, and he treated them as nephew, *tiwat*. Under these conditions, the kind of joking Otter was encouraged to carry on with Clear Day was not in order. On the other hand, Queen Woman had another role as wife of Old Bull and consequently "wife" to Otter. Two conflicting roles presented themselves and the sister role was chosen. The likelihood is that this was an adjustment to Queen Woman's conservative temperament which tipped the balance in favor of the more formal of the two possible kinship categories. When people used to marry almost exclusively within the village, the wife of an uncle or of a brother was bound to be some sort of relative to the younger boy. This was apparently conveniently forgotten or raised as the circumstances happened to warrant.

Neither personal relations nor the personnel of the household were cramped within a fixed kin structure. The individual personality was not trimmed down to fit the kin structure, but the structure was used to realize the individual personality. The Pawnee social structure was written into no statute book, nor did it have the status of doctrine, and there was no chain of command to enforce it. Therefore it was not frozen and clamped onto the people, but carried implicitly by them to serve them as they saw fit. No built-in guilt, acting as a surrogate for dominant power, forced them to narrow the scope of their personal lives. They were socially creative in every personal interrelationship they had. The
602 world was raw and their life was hard, but it was also freer than ours.
626 No religious or supernatural sanction enforced the social forms. The only

it to them. Everyone went to bed early, for next day they would be 244
picking the beans in No Corn's field and this meant another day of 512
back-breaking work.

Sixth day. All during this time young men would go out very early 512
in the morning with their bow and arrows to act as sentinels, watching 726
particularly for the Sioux, who lurked about to attack women going to and from the fields. Victory Call always took along his bow and arrows should there be a surprise attack. The Skidi fields were located northwest of the villages. Going out early in the morning, one could see the boys picketing about on the high bluff to the west. That morning as they looked up at a big hill west of Genoa, they would also see someone stationed, scouting around for the enemy. The night before Mad Bear and another man had made up their minds to do this. Before dawn they climbed the high bluff west of Beaver Creek and sat down and looked toward where they were roasting corn. "Look at that smoke. Afterward, we can get some corn," they said. Their legs were hanging over the bluff. There was a little creek that ran from the southwest into Beaver Creek running parallel with the edge of the bluff where the two men were sitting, and a Sioux had been hiding in a trough and watching them. The two men were talking about the cherries on the side of the bluff and the big yellow plums in the bottom and how they would eat them next day. As they were talking, they heard the Sioux making a noise like a crow.

Later Mad Bear told his story. "I got frightened and I never thought 159
of my bow and arrows. I was transfixed with fear when I saw all of them. 726
But all at once I got over it. The other man didn't get over it. We ran down the bluff to the creek. The other man left his bow and arrows there." Mad Bear continued: "I don't see why the other fellow left me and ran away to get under the brush. The Sioux caught him. As I ran down the bluff, I felt a shot through my back. It came out of my chest, but I got into the water anyway and they let me go. The other fellow had disappeared." We looked in the water for him but couldn't find him. Long after when someone came back to Nebraska, they thought they saw him and he had been scalped and was ashamed to come back.

The Pawnees took Mad Bear over the creek and he was doctored by 752
Heavy-Trophies and Herd-of-Horses. As Mad Bear described it, 726
"The doctor put his mouth against mine and blew some water with some medicine in it into my mouth and made me swallow it. I had been sleepy all along, but this woke me up. Then they gave me some medicine to chew and water to drink and I felt better and never worried about it again. I sent the doctors home." Finally the Pawnees came out and killed a big tall Sioux. His bones remained there a long time

64

POSTSCRIPT INTO THE PRESENT

000 *The Modern Pawnee—Otter's Later Life—the Arrival in Oklahoma—the Fate of Otter's Family and Friends—His Marriage—the Modern Day Pawnee Powwow*

177 463 Some might wonder how the modern Pawnees came into being, seeing that they are thoroughly integrated citizens of the present United States, many of them living as residents of various urban centers. The Pawnees count among their numbers teachers, artisans, business managers, engineers, journalists, artists, nurses, social workers, professional entertainers, and one former Big League baseball player.

159 761 754 Perhaps the fate of some of the principal characters I have mentioned offers a good means of illustrating the process of transition. The boy, Otter, is a good case in point. When he was about seven years old his father, Victory Call, died. He felt he had been bewitched by his anxious rival in the religious field, Big Doctor, leader of the Doctor Association, whose hegemony the success of Victory Call's Deer Dance cult was challenging. In his dying vision, Victory Call saw a man with an eagle-wing fan before his face that he positively identified as Big Doctor.

159 736 [572] White Woman, Grandma, and the boy were given a home by Uncle War Cry in whose house they settled, taking a subordinate position near its eastern end. The old house was left to the other inhabitants. The boy was warned to break off all relationships with his old friends who might insult him with mention of the fact that he had no father. His mother kept him close to the house. He tried to get acquainted with some of the children nearby, but he found it hard.

159 587 Two years later, Shot Arm, a brave of Lone Chief's Village-across-a-Ridge, came and sued for his mother's hand. Shot Arm approached War Cry and said, "Victory Call was my uncle and he has a son here. He is as my own son and I'd like to raise him." Finally he was told to speak to

White Woman and after pleading his cause with her, Shot Arm came 159
to live with them. The boy was told that "his father" had come. When 587
he demurred and said that he thought Victory Call was his father, he
was quieted. Shot Arm gave him gifts and did his best to father him.
White Woman had had some reservations as Shot Arm already had a wife,
but he convinced her that he was determined to part from the other
woman in any event. Later there were recriminations from this quarter.

Once on the winter hunt, Shot Arm was invited to bring his new 159
family to live in the household of White Eagle. He had been formally 587
invited by "his two old mothers" who were the official owners of the 591
house. In their new home the family occupied a place at the west and had [572]
status and Otter had new friends—David Gillingham, son of White
Eagle, and the two brothers, Luther and Andy Coons.

In the Sioux massacre of 1873 during the summer hunt, when from 60 159
to 120 Pawnees lost their lives while butchering their kill in a canyon 175
near Trenton, Nebraska, Otter and White Woman were guided to safety 721
through the Sioux lines by a young warrior at the request of Mad Bear.

Finally the Pawnees moved to Oklahoma in three contingents. White 167
Eagle went with the first group, while Shot Arm and his family were true 159
to the faction of Lone Chief who wanted to remain on their old land
and stayed to the last. The two old ladies who owned White Eagle's [342]
earth lodge gave over the pillars and materials to Shot Arm who set up
a hexagonal frame of six forked pillars and no outer sod collar or wall, so
that they had a high pointed lodge to live in.

When the last group decided to go, the government assigned them ten 167
wagons for the poor people who had no horses for transport, and some 159 648
beeves to be killed every Saturday for their food. 484

In Oklahoma, the three contingents had set up three earth-lodge vil-
lages in different locations. Lone Chief set up one on the Arkansas River 167
three or four miles this side of Ralston where there was a ferryboat. 159
White Eagle built a log house on top of a hill near the big pond west of the 361
present town of Pawnee, with the earth lodges of his following on the
east side of the hill toward the pond. Half a mile east of the agency,
Misery and his father-in-law Comanche Chief, along with War Cry, were
the leading spirits of another log-house village.

Shot Arm, who had become agency policeman, settled his family in a 159
tent near the school. All winter they lived in the tent. Then in spring, 783
April 1876, without any outward sign of illness, White Woman died. [625]
She asked to have her grandchild brought to her and then spoke to its [342]
mother, telling her that she was bidding them farewell and that she should
take good care of the child. And so she fell asleep and never awakened.

Victory Call's former retainer, Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn, 159
were living in a frame house with No Corn's oldest daughter. The girl 591
had married a man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band known as Abraham

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

159 Lincoln who was the government blacksmith. They invited Shot Arm
591 and the boy to come and live with them. They stayed there for six years
and then Shot Arm's sister, Woman White Star, invited them to come and
live with her. One winter both Shot Arm and the boy were very ill with
a high fever. Fox Chief, his older half brother, came and took the boy to
live with him. From there the boy moved from one house to the other,
sometimes with Misery, then with War Cry and others. Because of his
wandering about, he did not know that his father, Shot Arm, had died.
[754] The relatives suspected that his death was due to witchcraft by a member
of the family of their old rival, Big Doctor. The feeling was so strong
that the agent had an autopsy performed, which showed that Shot Arm
had died of an old gunshot wound that had affected his lungs. But the
[165] Pawnees were not convinced. And neither was Mark Evarts when he told
of it in 1928. During the first five years in Oklahoma, 800 Pawnees died.

159 Otter's old playmates, David Gillingham and the Coons brothers, had
177 gone to Carlisle School in Pennsylvania and they induced him to come
along. After his schooling he worked at harness making in Harrisburg, Newark, and Philadelphia. He experienced such wonders as climbing into the arm of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor and playing baseball for a period with the Cuban Giants, a colored team. While he was with them in the South, he was questioned by the authorities "about the grandfather clause." His right hand was permanently broken in baseball, for in those days they played without benefit of a catcher's mitt. He was very lonesome and went home. As he says,

> When I got home from Carlisle, I had no home. My older brother, Fox Chief, War Cry, and Misery had all died. It was cold weather and Behaille (the interpreter) met me on the road and took me in his buggy and gave me a swig of whisky. He offered me a home at his house where Brave Chief, Frank Leader, and Peter Wood were living.

159 An older woman in Behaille's house befriended him and established a
relationship with him. Finally the agency took a hand in his life. The
agent said he had made a good record at school and he should settle
down. He was trained as a blacksmith and given a position. At last the
Riding-In family gave him their daughter, Hannah, in marriage and they
set up a farm together and had a daughter. Then Hannah died of tuberculosis and shortly afterward, at the age of twelve, their daughter followed. The farm was lost to the bank as the result of a crop failure and
[115] an unpaid loan. This was in 1924. In 1928 this record of old Pawnee life
was made with Mark Evarts' help.

[781] When he returned to Pawnee from the east, Mark Evarts had a severe
emotional crisis and finally an important religious experience. He re-
000 turned home permanently in 1897–1898. The Pawnee version of the re-

BIBLIOGRAPHY

114 THE BULK OF THE MATERIAL presented in this book is based on the original field
122 data I collected from Pawnee informants in Oklahoma. It is the only material
on the Pawnees that was gathered with a full knowledge of the nature of the
197 Pawnee language. The Pawnee language cannot be readily translated into English.
Structurally it is one of the most complex of the American Indian languages.
In place of single discrete words, a structural form known as polysynthesis
was developed to an unusual degree. In normal discourse there are
long composite word units comprising a wide range of functional elements—verbal,
prepositional, adjectival, pronominal, and modal—each capable of a
range of modifications, the whole complex being phonetically integrated so
that a single word of inseparable elements contains the meaning of a long
phrase or sentence in English commonly only translatable into five or six
separate English words. Although a single word phrase of this sort may have
ten or eleven syllables, it is not possible to assign an equivalent English word
under each syllable. The meaning can only be stated as a whole. By careful
comparison of a large number of these phrases, it is possible to find the various
locations within the phrase that have different functions and to extract elements
with generalized meanings. Those interested may refer to my Pawnee text
with its grammatical analysis: "The Vision Story of Fox Boy," *International
Journal of American Linguistics*, IX No. 1 (1936), 44-75.

114 In the last decade of the nineteenth century, an educated half-blood Pawnee,
159 James R. Murie, made it his life purpose to present the religious rituals and
ceremonies of his people. He carried forward this work under the stimulation
and direction of a number of anthropologists, continuing through the first
and second decades of the twentieth century. He spanned both cultures—the
Pawnee and the American. To some extent this was a major advantage, while in
other ways it was an important obstacle to the accomplishment of his true purpose.
The most obvious advantage was his direct entrée to the religious leaders
of his people. The disadvantage lay in the fact that he had a preconceived idea
of how the material should be presented to the American reader and scholar
in order to place it before them in the best possible light. There was little need
for such a self-conscious effort as Pawnee religion and ceremony would do
credit to any people ideologically and aesthetically as a system of thought and
practice. Secondly, because Murie had shared in both cultures before he came
to the decision to embrace his Pawnee identity, he never fully shared in its
systems of belief. In his later years he attempted to obtain a religious vision and
to enter more fully into Pawnee religious life, but he failed and remained by
[126] and large a participant observer, not a full participant. His preconceived idea
of the nature of translation, particularly of the interlinear variety, stood in the
way of his making an authentic translation of the Pawnee materials he wrote

down in the phonetic alphabet which he acquired in the course of his contact 114
with anthropologists. He divided his recorded texts into single syllables, each 159
comprising a consonant and a vowel and each syllable separated from the next 126
by a hyphen and then placed an English word under each of these syllables. As I have already indicated, the Pawnee language cannot be translated into English in that manner. Any material will suffer some distortion when it is translated from one language to another, but the nuances of religious ideology are even more strongly effected by this process.

Murie's crowning effort to systematize the religion of his people was carried 114
out under the direction and editorship of the late Clark Wissler, curator of 159
anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Together Wissler and Murie produced a voluminous manuscript of some 1560
pages. In view of the recognized inadequacies of Murie's Pawnee transcription 114
and translation, in 1930 Matthew W. Stirling, then Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington, D.C., where the manuscript had been deposited some years before, commissioned me to retranscribe all the Pawnee texts contained there with the help of my Pawnee linguistic informants and
to obtain a linguistically adequate translation. The texts were reviewed with [124]
my informants and translated with the help of my interpreter, Henry Chapman, in 1930–1931 in Pawnee, Oklahoma. The manuscript is now on deposit in the archives of the bureau. It is titled "The Ceremonies of the Pawnee," by James R. Murie, arranged and edited by Clark Wissler, 1921. Phonetic texts revised and translated by Gene Weltfish, 1930–1931.

The second most important source on Pawnee ceremonialism is: "The Hako: 114
A Pawnee Ceremony," by Alice C. Fletcher, assisted by James R. Murie. This 113
was published in the *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. The author, Alice Fletcher, is listed in the publication as Holder of Thaw Fellowship, Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Miss Fletcher was a trained ethnologist who went into the field to work with the Omaha and Ponca Indians in Nebraska in 1881 when she was in her forties. She several times witnessed the ceremony of the peace pipe or calumet among these tribes and others in the area, but as a result of the death of the only man who could furnish her with an authentic account of the ceremony she searched among other tribes and found that an account of a comparable ceremony would be obtainable among the Pawnees. She then went to Oklahoma where she contacted Mr. James Murie and began the work which was done over a period of four years. The term Hako which appears as the title of this work is not the Pawnee name for this ceremony. The term means mouth, *aka'u*, and is the comprehensive term used to designate all the articles that belong to the ceremony. A number of other terms are used for the ceremony itself. The author decided to use this title as a convenient designation that could readily be pronounced by the English reader. The beauty of patterning and the intricacy of the structure of the ceremony are well represented, but the translation of the Pawnee texts is ludicrous. The bulk of the linguistic texts are the words of ritual songs. A great deal of this material consists of rhythmic syllables that have no semantic significance whatever with one or two simple words included among them. Often the successive stanzas consist in a repetition of these rhythmic syllables, the single words being re-

*175 The first period of Nineteenth Century Pawnee relations with
*648 the white man and the United States government begins with the
first contacts following the Louisiana purchase and ends with the
*175 treaty of 1833. The population of the tribe during this time is
*648 open to dispute, as no accurate figures are available. In 1804,
Lewis and Clarke estimated the tribe at 4,000, but they were
●161 unacquainted with the Pitahawirat^a. According to these explorers
114 the tribe had suffered terribly from a smallpox epidemic the previous
[731] year which had greatly reduced their numbers. Pike in 1806 gave a count of 6,223 for the same three bands. Major S. H. Long, who visited the tribe on his travels in 1819, estimated their number at 6,500, still without knowing the Pitahawirat^a. The first government figure appeared in 1834, just after the treaty of 1833 brought an agent, Dougherty, in contact with the tribe. He numbered the Pawnee at 12,500. This figure was carried on the government records for years, occasionally displaced by the estimate of the

---

113 United States. Indian Affairs Office. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington, 1824 to date. The series has been consulted throughout its entire run. Details of importance on the Pawnee begin with the report of 1837. Referred to in footnotes as Annual Reports.

Kappler, C. J. (Compiler). Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties. 2 volumes. Washington, 1903. 57 Congress, First Session. Document 452.

Royce, C. C. Indian Land Cessions in the United States. 18th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology.

I have also consulted:

Dunbar, J. The Pawnee Indians. Magazine of American History. 4: 241—281; 5: 321—385; 8: 734—756.

Grinnell, G. B. Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales.

Irving, J. T. Indian Sketches Taken during a U. S. expedition to make treaties with the Pawnee and other tribes of Indians in 1833. 1838, reprinted 1888.

Murray, C. A. Travels in North America, including a summer residence with the Pawnee tribe of Indians in the remote prairies of the Missouri. 2 volumes. 3rd. revised edition, London, 1854.

Oehler, G. F. and Smith, D. Z. Description of a Journey and visit to the Pawnee Indians. April 22-May 18, 1851. Reprinted from Moravian Church Miscellany of 1851—1852.

Tuttle, Sarah. History of the American Mission to the Pawnee Indians. Boston, 1838.

Williamson, J. W. The Battle of Massacre Canyon. The unfortunate ending of the last buffalo hunt of the Pawnees. Republican Leader, Trenton, Nebraska, 1922.

Where differences on dates and other important data have been encountered, the account presented has taken the information in the reports, year by year, as the final arbiter. All basic concrete data and interpretations are essentially restatements of source material; it has seemed unnecessary to introduce minute footnotes. Interpolated interpretations of the writer are few and obvious.

missionaries, Dunbar and Allis, who were first with the tribe from 175*
1835 to 1837, and considered the government estimate too high, 648*
offering 10,000 as approximating the true population more closely. 161
The discrepancies between these various figures are not severe. That 114
of Lewis and Clarke, in spite of the decimation of the Pawnee the
previous year, is probably too low, and may not have been intended
to include all villages of all four bands. The computations of Pike
and Long, based upon three of the four bands, indicates a total of
close to 9,000 for the whole tribe. This last figure represents the
approximate "normal" figure for the Pawnee tribes during the
first period of the Nineteenth Century. There were without doubt
major fluctuations in the numbers of the Pawnee during this
period, and the trend of the tribal population was to diminish
rather than increase. One general consideration, however, can 175*
hardly be open to question. At the opening of the Nineteenth
century, the Pawnee bands together constituted one of the five or 648*
six large Indian tribal groups between the Mississippi River and the 161
Rocky Mountains. They maintained themselves in spite of the 619
hostility of practically every tribe in the region. In their aboriginal 101
state their trade must have been severely limited by tribal feud.
It is unlikely that they had economic dealings of any importance
with tribes other than the Arikara, Mandan and Wichita. All the
major indigenous peoples around them were continually in a state
of conflict with them: the many groups of the Dakota Sioux on the
north and northwest, the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho
to the southwest, the Osage and Kansa to the south and southeast.
Immediately to their east were the Omaha, Ponca and Oto, with
whom a state of partial amity prevailed, born of the fear they had
inspired in these tribes. Later in the century the Pawnee became
close friends of the Omaha and Ponca. The Oto, given opportunity
as the Pawnee declined, assaulted small parties of Pawnee on
occasion, but later became friends of the Pawnee.

In the period which closed with the treaty of 1833 changes were 175*
taking place in the basic conditions of life of the Pawnee which 648*
were only to appear in their fullest effect in later periods. A tide
of white emigration and transcontinental travel began to appear,
moving westward, and swelling with the years. These emigrants
brought white diseases into the midst of the Indian tribes, trampled
their fields, hunted the buffalo for sustenance and pleasure, and
keeping the herds of the plains in constant fear, limited the natural
range and increase of the buffalo. 175*

The diseases which the Pawnee acquired from white contact 648*
included, besides infantile diseases, venereal diseases, small-pox and 164
177

chase of their lands, and the settlement of the tribe on a limited 175*
reservation, was clear. This was the surest method of avoiding the 648*
increasing conflict between the starving Indians and the white 735
settlers and emigrants. Driven by necessity, the proud American Indian had become a petty thief and beggar along the highways. Nevertheless governmental inactivity seems to have prevented action until 1853, when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs visited many of the western tribes and executed treaties with them. The Pawnee, however, were avoided at this time although their needs, as reported to the authorities, were as great as those of other tribes. In fact, it appears that to an observer on the spot, James Gatewood, agent at the Council Bluffs Agency, writing October 10, 1853, "these Indians (the Pawnee) have suffered perhaps more than any single tribe by emigration. All of the roads on the north side of Nebraska River pass through their country, and on the south side of that river pass through their hunting ground; and more of their wood and grass are consumed and more game run off, than there is from the bands of any other nation, and yet they receive no compensation; whilst others that suffer much less in that way are liberally compensated..."

In the same year the Pawnee were reported destitute. Their [161]
numbers had been reduced to fifty per cent of their former strength
in four years. Responsible for this great mortality were the relentless [165
assaults of the Dakota and Cheyenne; and disease, a major small-
pox epidemic in 1852 again decimating the tribe. In 1854 the 731]
Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended the tribes of Nebraska to the attention of the government. He considered it "very important that arrangements be made as soon as practicable with the Pawnee and Ponca Indians... by which their limits may be restricted and defined, and their assaults upon emigrants... terminated." He further pointed out that "the roads on the principal routes to the Pacific Coast have become very important thoroughfares. Thousands of emigrants and many merchants who with their property to the amount of several millions in value pass annually over the plains are entitled to the protection of the government."

While the government was still inactive the Pawnee suffered
further heavy losses. One of the major disasters occurred when [731]
in 1854 a party of 113 Pawnee were cut off and surrounded by an overwhelming force of Cheyenne and Kiowa and killed almost to a man.

In 1856 the Pawnee were thoroughly depressed. They were not [241]
able to cultivate successfully where they were south of the Platte.
white settlers being all about them.

them as a reservation. The tract chosen was south of the Osage 175*
Agency and north of the Sauk and Fox reservation in the forks of 648*
the Cimarron and Arkansas Rivers. The Pawnee agreed upon the 167
location, finding the land apparently a fertile and hospitable home. In late June of the same year the main body of the Pawnee removed from the Wichita reservation to this new location, leaving a body of 374 Pawnee with the Wichita to harvest the Pawnee crop from the fields planted by the Pawnee that spring on Wichita land.

In Nebraska during 1875 the Pawnee remnant who were left behind consisted of that part of the tribe who were least able to defend themselves against attack. A company of infantry from Omaha were stationed at the old Pawnee Agency at Genoa in Nebraska during the spring and summer to protect them. With the summer well advanced, and no untoward events having occurred or being anticipated, they were withdrawn. On August 23 the wife of Eagle Chief was shot and killed while she was drying corn in the early morning. Marauding white men or Indians were suspected. Again on the morning of August 30, a raid was made at sunrise by party of fourteen Indians on fleet horses. Unable to capture a small herd of horses, they shot the Pawnee boy who was herding them. The Pawnee men available made an unsuccessful pursuit, and from that day until the removal of this last remnant of the Pawnee guarded the village by day and night. These were parting blows of the Pawnee enemy. This last contingent of the Pawnee were removed with all their movable effects by wagons and teams in November of 1875. After the harvest on the Wichita reservation that year, the Pawnee who had remained behind a few months also moved to the new reservation in northern
Indian Territory, and by the spring of 1876 the entire tribe, which [161] ●
then numbered 2,026, were collected together and settled on the new reservation south of the Arkansas River.

The most striking characteristic of this entire period from the 175*
treaty of 1857 to the removal, completed in 1875, aside from the 648*
failure of the government program for transforming the tribe into 161
individual families of farmers, is the steady and rapid decrease in Pawnee numbers. There is reason to believe that the Pawnee population for the four bands was close to 4,000 when they removed to their reservation north of the Platte River in 1859. The census of 1861 listed them at 3,414, from which total their numbers fell steadily to 2,026 in 1876, when they were together again in Oklahoma. The official report for the year 1875 to 1876 recorded 95 175*
births and 150 deaths. This is some indication of the steady de- 648*
crease. This decrease is to be accounted for by two continuous factors, 165

*175
*648 and uneasy about their legal rights as to leasing after allotment, and
667 as to whether they would be subject to taxation, but it was felt
177 they could easily be reassured.

The greatest discouragement and check upon programs of a
*175 progressive nature, from the years of removal on, was the physical
*648 unsoundness of the Pawnee tribe. In 1876, after the removal, the
Pawnee numbered 2,026; in 1892 at the close of this period, the
164 census listed 750. This tremendous decline, amounting to 62 per
● 161 cent in a period of sixteen years, was the result of many interacting
causes. Laboring under a blight of diseases and ill health, with the
pride of their stock dying at an inexplicable rate, and all more or
less weakened and ailing, a hopelessness came into Pawnee life
from which there was no escape. This hopelessness and despair
[178] caused a deterioration of their home life, indicated by officials'
reference to "filthy habits" and an "indifference to the condition
of body or clothing." Their ancient medical lore was of no avail;
their ancient gods had apparently deserted them. It is to be marvelled at that something of their old spirit and energy remained,
and that they accomplished what they did in Indian Territory.

The white man's diseases had attacked them in the north.
Pulmonary and venereal diseases in particular had vitiated
their ancient stamina. But in the north the people were in a
climate and a region to which the native constitution was adjusted from centuries of inhabitation. Until the white man came
the people lived a free outdoor life. They were active. Sedentary
[221] as their way of life made them, the tribe roamed abroad on the
hunt five months of the year; at home they were in the field and
the open. The population of the region was not heavy; they had
[166] unpolluted streams and springs. They moved their villages at
intervals of about eight years, avoiding pestilence.

The Nebraska country was relatively high, and the climate dry.
In the removal the people came into a more fertile but humid
country. Malarial fevers began to afflict them. In the winter of
1876, their first in Oklahoma, fevers, combined with other illnesses,
if we are to believe the recorded figures, amounted to a plague.
From 2,026 in 1876 the tribe declined in one year to 1,521![1] The
*175 manner of their removal involved long and continuous exposure,
and the conditions of life upon their arrival were unhealthy and
*648 hazardous. Grinnell reports the condition in which their great
701 friends, Major Frank North and his brother Luther, the organizers
of the Pawnee scouts, found them in 1876 in Indian Territory. The

---

[1] Further and continuous declines the succeeding years indicate that no part of the tribe was accidentally omitted in the 1877 census.

at the time of the Ghost Dance faith. As time went by Indians 648
and white farmers resorted to various subterfuges to get around 557
the ruling that certain lands they held could not be leased. The 427
Indian would claim that he was employing a white man and 175
intended to pay him, but when harvest time came, instead of the
Indian paying the white farmer money, the white farmer gave the
Indian a part of the crop.

The immediate results of the lease system were two-fold: on the one hand, for the first time in their lives the Pawnee had plenty of money; on the other hand, they had to make no effort at all to
support themselves. In 1897 the Pawnee leases brought an income [434]
of $ 12,114.95. In 1900 the income of the tribe from their annuity
($ 30,000), interest on their two trust funds (from the sale of the
Nebraska reservation; and from the sale of the surplus Oklahoma [161]
lands); and leases, was over $ 75,000. In that year the population
had dwindled to 650, so that the per capita income was about [511]
$ 116 or the income of the average family of five close to $ 600
annually, a substantial and adequate income in 1900 on the Oklahoma frontier.

Year by year the Pawnee labored less and less on their own lands; 175
in 1904 their self-maintenance was 42 per cent from their annuity 461
and interests, 43 per cent from leases, and 15 per cent from "labor
in civilized pursuits." By 1899 the agents had fully realized the 657
extent of the blunder which had been made: they were aware that the Pawnee could not be made to labor when he had all he needed without it, and pointed out in their reports that white men would have acted in the same way.

Along with the disappearance of all demands upon them to be self-reliant and self-maintaining, the Pawnee were stripped of their
last outlets for self management. Leases were made not by the [427]
Indian but by the agent; lease money was paid not to the Indian but to the agent. All that the Indian had to do was to draw his
income. At the same time with the change of status to citizens, [698
the function of the Court of Indian Offenses vanished, and the
court was abolished April 21, 1894; the Indian police were disband- 625]
ed in October of the same year.

Temporarily with their increased income, the living conditions 175
of the Pawnee improved; they ate better, they dressed better, and 511
they lived better. But the idleness which had come to them 161
was in keeping with their desire during these years to congregate in encampments for Ghost Dances and other performances, so that they leased their houses with their lands and made shift to live here or there as the occasion demanded. During these years there

175 511 ●161 was a constant fall of the population. From 797 at the time of the allotments in severalty the Pawnee were reduced to 633 in 1904. The decrease was steady. The diseases which had persisted in the tribe continued to take their toll during these years. Doctors ascribed failure to control them to their inheritability, to the conditions of continual exposure incident to camp life and continual dancing, and to the pernicious influence and control of the 256 Pawnee medicine men who as a result of the Ghost Dance revival had regained their status with the people.

175 464 178 The Pawnee not only did not have to work to live, but were in a position to pay white men to do their necessary work for them. They paid high prices, and their money went as fast as it came. Their funds were augmented from time to time by the sale of inherited allotment lands.

The conditions of idleness only served to reinforce the revival of the old cultural forms. The Pawnee disliked isolation most of all, and gladly leased their scattered allotments, coming together for a continual round of Ghost Dances, performances, games, and hand game ceremonies. Stripped of their last vestige of responsibility, with no activities that were meaningful or satisfying save these old and new forms of Indian life, they turned to these with a kind of desperation. The experiences of these years, even while 762 the Ghost Dance brought some hope into their lives, caused a number of young men to commit suicide. Eight suicides were recorded in the period from 1892 to 1898. They were reported as occasioned by slight causes, and were traced to the "pernicious influence of the Ghost Dance."

The indolence of the Pawnee became such that in the early years of the century the officials and missionaries began to plead for a change of program. They held that the only solution possible was to throw the Indians on their own resources entirely. Some agents developed the suggestion that at least those Pawnee men who could manage their own affairs should be allowed to lease their own lands and receive the payments themselves. This movement to take away entirely the guidance and control of the agency resulted later (after 1916) in issuing many titles in fee simple to Indians, often without their consent.

Under these conditions, at the turn of the century, the cultural revival of the Pawnee was doomed. It could not take roots in any soil: it was based on no firm way of life. It gradually passed, leaving the Indians still with an empty life, living off the funds which came from the government, and the payments of white far-

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

648 At that time a separate treaty was made with each band of Pawnee, designated as Grand, Noisy, Republic, and Marhar, the treaties being respectively on June 18, 19, 20, and 22. Peace was then concluded with all tribes of the region which had been disturbed by the war of 1812. A treaty with the Pawnee Tribe was made at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs, September 30, 1825, its purpose being "to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension."[3] By the treaty of October 9, 1833, the Pawnee ceded to the United States "all the land lying south of the Platt River."[4] A reservation in Nebraska was provided for the Pawnee who remained in that State until 1876, the sale of their reservation in Nebraska being approved on June 5 of that year. The setting apart of a reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) was approved April 10, 1876. The Pawnee were removed to that reservation and "each head of a family or single person over 21 years of age residing upon said reserve, who shall so elect," was entitled to receive an allotment of 160 acres of land.[5] In a table compiled by the Office of Indian Affairs in 1908 it is stated that "112,859.84 acres were allotted to 821 [Pawnee] Indians, 840 acres reserved for school, agency, and cemetery purposes, and the residue of 169,320 acres was opened to settlement," the agreement being ratified by act of March 3, 1893.[6]

● 161 The number of Pawnee in 1702 was estimated by Iberville at 2,000 families. In 1838 they numbered about 10,000 persons, but the [164] opening of a principal emigrant trail directly through the country in the forties introduced disease and dissipation and left the people less [177] able to defend themselves against their enemies, the Sioux.[7] They decreased in numbers and in 1928 the Pawnee population was 2,766.[8]

133 The reservation of the Pawnee is beautifully diversified, with many streams and tracts of woods. There are outcroppings of stone in the region south of the town of Pawnee (pl. 3, *a*, *b*) while north of the town [136] are broad, smooth fields. (Pl. 3. *c*.) On a private ranch near Pawnee a picturesque herd of buffalo was seen near a "buffalo wallow." (Pl. 4, *a*, *b*.)

342 The earth lodge of the Pawnee was about 40 feet in diameter and 15 feet high, and was occupied by several related families, each having [592] its appointed space along the wall. "At the west side of the lodge a [778] space was always reserved, which was considered sacred, and was called *wikaru* (place-for-the-wonderful-things), this being the name which is applied to the garden of the Evening Star, where the corn is always ripening and where are stored many parflèches of buffalo

---

[3] Ibid., pp. 258-260.
[4] Ibid., pp. 416-418.
[5] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 159-161.
[6] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 213.
[7] Ibid., p. 216.
[8] Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the year 1928, p. 58.

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

every man under his vine and fig-tree; and *none* shall make them 000
afraid." Mic. 4. 3, 4.

As hinted in a note in a previous communication, (see February 131
Miscellany, p. 62.) the Pawnee villages are not located on their 648
own land. Formerly the land on both sides of the Platte river belonged to them. But about the year 1835 they concluded a treaty with the United States, in which they ceded to the latter all their territory on the South side of the river. Their villages were then situated about 150 miles further up the Platte on the North side. The missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. were then residing with them, 797 their mission stations being situated in the vicinity of these villages. When the Pawnees were at their homes, which is only four or five months of the year, [221] (the remaining months being consumed on their summer and fall hunts) the missionaries were engaged in teaching such of their children as could be induced to attend school, and in instructing the people in the truths of religion, as well as they could according to their limited knowledge of the language. About six years ago, the powerful Sioux made 648 repeated incursions into the Pawnee country, and the strength of 797 the latter being very much weakened by their frequent wars with their enemies, they were obliged to succomb, and at length forced to leave their former location on the North side of the Platte, and to remove to the South side, nearer to the white settlements on the Missouri river. The missionaries too found it unsafe to remain, and it was thought advisable to suspend their missionary operations among them. Mr. and Mrs. Allis (See August Misc. 1851, pp. 221, 222, and also February Misc. 1852, p. 64.) are remnants of this noble band of missionaries, and, still cherishing the desire, that these benighted but very interesting people might be enlightened by the gospel, have, while their fellow-laborers have long ago left for other fields of usefulness, still lingered behind,—and toiled on, amidst many self-denials, privations, and discouragements, in doing whatever lay in their power for the good of these Indians. Lately the government has established Fort Kearney, not far distant from their former villages, which, it is hoped, will be a security against future incursions, and prove a safeguard, when our mission will once be established among them.

Language.—The Pawnee language is said to be altogether different 197 from the languages of the surrounding prairie tribes. The Otoes, the Ioways, the Osages, the Kanzas or Caws, the Omahaws, the Puncaws, etc., seem all to speak dialects of the same language, the Dakota; while the Pawnee language seems, by its great difference, to point back to the earliest periods of the residence of the Indians in this country, when a disruption may have taken place, that formed them into a distinct nation.

Population, lodges, etc.—The lower village consists of about 361
161

and Customs of the Pawnees

361 80 lodges, with a population of nearly 2,500; and in the upper
161 village there are between 140 and 150 lodges, the population
amounting perhaps to 3,500. On approaching a village, the lodges
have the appearance of so many small hillocks, of a conical
form, huddled up together in the closest possible manner, with
only narrow passages between for walking, and the rest of the
space filled up by pens, formed of stakes, for confining their ponies
during the night, to guard them from being suddenly taken off by
a warlike party of another tribe.

342 The Pawnee lodges are of a circular form, large and spacious
in the interior; many of them being 50 feet in diameter. Three
and sometimes four circular rows of forked trunks of trees are
placed upright, at appropriate distances from each other. The
row nearest the centre consists of only four such upright timbers,
about 15 or 20 feet high, while the crotches in the more exterior
rows are shorter and more numerous, in proportion as the circumference
is greater. These forks or crotches support thick crossbeams,
upon which a frame of long poles is laid, extending from
the ground at the outer circumference of the lodge to the top,
leaving only an opening at the apex, of about four feet in diameter,
to answer the double purpose of letting in the light, and letting out
the smoke. Upon the frame work of poles, willow osiers are laid,
and the whole is then covered with prairie sod from 12 to 18 inches
thick. Immediately below the opening above, a hole is sunk
in the centre for the fire-place, common to all the residents of the
[592] lodge. From five to ten families, generally related together, have
a common occupancy of one lodge, governed by a head man, who
may be styled the lodge chief. Around the circumference of the
352 lodge are recesses for sleeping, partitioned off for each family, resembling
the berths on board of steamboats, many of which are
screened in front and on the sides by willow-twigs laid above each
other, tied fast to a frame, which, partly with the reddish bark on,
and partly white from having the bark taken off, exhibit considerable
taste in those who wrought them. When thus ornamented
with twigs, a small opening about two by three feet is left in front
to admit the occupants. The bottom of the berth is raised about
two feet above the ground by means of large hewn sills, overlaid
by thick willow twigs, which are then covered with buffalo-robes.
[342] The entrance of the lodge is always on the East side, protected
by a passage, closed above and on the sides, of about 15 feet in
length,—the door being a large buffalo robe, or several sewed together,
hanging before the inner entrance. On the side opposite
to the door of each lodge, a recess is reserved, for depositing the
skull of a buffalo, surmounted by shields, quivers of arrows,
spears, bows, skins, feathers, etc., used for hunting, for medicinal,
or religious purposes, as the case may require. In the interme-

123 weeks and months spent in camp and village, I have listened to many stories of Pawnee heroes and to folk-tales of the miraculous doings of the olden time. In my intercourse with the tribe, extending over a period of nearly twenty years, I have been deeply impressed by the high qualities of the Pawnee character; and the more familiar I have become with this people, the more strongly have I felt that a permanent record should be made of the tales which reflect that character. Unless thus collected now, much of this lore must inevitably be forgotten.

● 161 For the Pawnees are passing away. When I first joined them on their buffalo hunts from their old home on the Loup Fork in Nebraska, the tribe numbered three thousand; last March in the Indian Territory I
178 found but eight hundred. And more rapidly than the dwindling of the people are their traditions lapsing from memory under the changed conditions of the tribe's life. The lore, which sprang up as an indigenous growth of the wide-stretching prairie and the wilderness where the wild Pawnee warrior hunted free, finds scanty nurture in the uncongenial soil of fields tilled by Pawnee followers of the plow. With the new modes of living come new views of life, new motives, new sympathies—in a word, civilization. To earn a living by toil, to wrest subsistence from the earth, this is the problem confronting the Pawnees to-day, the task which is engaging the sinew and purpose of the tribe. In the transition stage, the memory of the old days, of old manners and rites and ceremonies and of old heroes, is with the elders of the race, those ancient braves whose lives bridge the past and the present.
126 When I visited the Agency last March, it was to write down from the lips of these old men such material as I could collect. When they shall die much of the unwritten lore will perish too, for with them will cease that sympathetic and perfect credence, which alone gives to folk-lore vitality and lastingness. What is written in this volume then belongs distinctly to the wild Indian.

The task that I have set for myself is that of a recorder. No attempt has been made to give a literary color to the hero stories and folk-tales here written out. I have scrupulously avoided putting into them anything of my own. The stories are told to the reader as they were told to me. They are not elaborated. I have tried to show how Indians think and speak, rather than to make their stories more entertaining by

12 narrator was Mark Evarts, a Pawnee of the Skidi Band, whose childhood
was spent on the reservation in Nebraska from 1861 to 1875, when Pawnee
115 culture was still very much an integral polity and way of life. His personal
identity is embodied in the "Boy Otter" as he appears in the following narrative.

101 My relationship with Mark Evarts began casually in the course of my grammatical researches. Historically there were four political groups of
114 Pawnees known as bands, the Skidi or Wolf Band, the Kitkehaxki or Little-
115 Earth-Lodge Band, the Tsawi or Asking-for-Meat Band and the Pitahawirata or Man-Going-Downstream Band. Each of these traditionally pronounced the language somewhat differently, but it was always known that the major difference was between the Skidi and the other three known collectively as the South Bands because of their former more southern location. From linguistic samples I took of each of the four, the distinctions among the South Bands were not clear enough to identify at that time. Only the Skidi difference was clear. Mark Evarts served as my Skidi informant with Henry Chapman as interpreter in my attempt to find any grammatical and pronunciation distinctions. Evarts' English was broken and so heavily overlaid with a Pawnee accent that it was understandable only with considerable difficulty. As my Pawnee vocabulary improved, we developed a Pawnee-English mode of communication that made the interpreter no longer necessary. As I extended my research into the semantic and cultural background of the language, Evarts became a major resource and ally in my investigations and our work extended over seven years and involved the entire Oklahoma Pawnee community.

114 At this time (1928–1936) Evarts was living with friends and relatives. His wife and child had died tragically only a few years before, and he had
115 lost his little farm to the bank. The crises that had beset his life as a member of his tribe and times were epic in their proportions; as a man in the decline of his years, he had many questions to ask, and I, as a novice in life's ills and trials, had many questions to ask of him. Many of his questions concerned the white culture and its values, and, as a young anthropologist, mine sought answers through the cross-cultural perspective I hoped to find in studying the Pawnee way. Together we established the language of our common humanity and communicated what we wanted to know about the special character of each other's culture as well as of life in general. It was my purpose to understand the Pawnees as people, not as Indians or as social categories and certainly not as historical antiques.

161 Although in the 1920's only seven hundred Pawnees survived, some
178 Pawnee customs remained among them and at least eight of the older peo-
197 ple spoke no other language than Pawnee. The town of Pawnee, Okla-
homa, was surrounded by the allotted lands of the Pawnees, the lands of
361 each band being located in a different direction. The bands were still
423

000

bered custom and old ways of life? Today the ethnologist is hard put to 175
get very much that is significant. Even with the opening of the present century, most of these peoples had so long ago been decimated by disease and war that memory of their past life was extremely fragmentary. Along with whatever fragments of custom were recorded then, the archaeologist must use the written testimony of the chance traveler and trader to give life to his findings.

In the 1700's when the trade and travel records were written, the Missouri River was a main artery of European-Indian trade. Commercial companies centered in St. Louis maintained regular contact with trade centers up the river, and in the 1800's steamboats plied their way upstream with goods and guns to exchange for furs. Trade centers for exchange were an ancient tradition of American Indian life, and now they eagerly made their way to the trade centers of the European where new goods and materials could be gotten. But the price was dear. For besides the new goods, there came new and fatal diseases—measles, smallpox, cholera, and a variety of fevers—wiping out hundreds and even thousands of people at one blow. Whole tribes that had lived in the region for hundreds of years were wiped out or left in such a fragmentary condition that they joined with other tribes and lost the knowledge of their past identity.

The Pawnees who lived outside the mainstream of commercial traffic 131
were less affected than the others by this holocaust. They lived along the
outlying tributaries of the Missouri—the Loup, the Platte, and the Re- 161
publican—that flow eastward across the present State of Nebraska and 175
join the Missouri at their eastern ends. It was only in the 1830's, when
the Pawnees were living in the western part of their territory at what
they refer to as Old Village, that the direct effects of the many historic
pressures of the time began to bear down on them. At that time they [221]
numbered about 12,000 and were living a well-integrated native life of a
sedentary Plains people such as the archaeological remains indicate—
planting crops and hunting buffalo in alternate seasons. Then disease be- [731]
gan to do its terrible work, and the large bands of refugee Siouan peoples [648]
(some 30,000 strong), pushing in from the east, attacked them with in-
creasing furor in order to gain their territory and their hunting grounds.
Finally the Pawnees began to move eastward along the river courses to be 167
nearer the centers of civilization, and by 1859, by agreement with the 175
United States Government, they moved onto a reservation near the pres-
ent town of Genoa, Nebraska. By this time their numbers were reduced 648
to 3,400, but they still retained their old social forms and independent [161]
polity and a traditional rhythm of life throughout the year. Added to
their problems had been the full force of westward migration of the ex-
panding United States—the Oregon Trail, Mormon Trail, and Gold
Rush along the Platte, and, from 1861 on, a crescendo of Sioux attacks

167 unchecked by a United States torn by Civil War. Then, when the war
175 was over, came the white settlement of their territory and still more con-
648 flicts for the land, the water, and the timber. Finally they could stay there
no longer; they had to leave their homeland, and they moved south.

167 The Pawnees were related by language to a people to the south of
them, the Wichita, and they often went visiting, some of them remaining
197 for several years in order to learn new ceremonials which they brought
648 home with them when they returned north. As far back as the 1770's a
–175 contingent of three hundred Pawnees had gone south and settled perma-
nently there. They were very welcome at this time and every inducement
was given to make them stay, as the Wichita were already heavily de-
pleted in numbers by disease and enemy attack; the Pawnee group con-
stituted a much-needed reinforcement.

In the summer of 1870, just a hundred years later, a Pawnee chief led a
visiting party of three hundred men to the Wichita. After their return,
subsequent parties went down in successive years and were made wel-
come by the Wichitas and other tribes in the area that is now Oklahoma;
in 1873, despite many doubts on the part of their chiefs, two-thirds of the
Pawnees finally left their Nebraska home and migrated south. By No-
vember 1875 the last Pawnee contingent arrived in Oklahoma. Many met
their death as a result of the change. Fevers and starvation took such a
• [161] heavy toll that by 1879 only 1,440 survived, and, by the U.S. census of
1910, just 633 Pawnees remained alive.

114 The time of my arrival in Oklahoma to do ethnological and linguistic
work was 1928, some fifty years after the time the Pawnees had settled
there permanently. We did not know then that Pawnee life with its com-
bined settled village life and migratory buffalo hunting was an old way of
life on the Plains.

The general opinion among anthropologists was that in the not too distant past earth-lodge peoples such as the Pawnee had formerly lived in the woodland areas east of the Mississippi and, migrating out onto the Plains, had begun to adopt the migratory life of buffalo hunters and were in the process of abandoning their settled ways.

172 Archaeology has since shown us that the combination of migratory
and sedentary village life is much older in the Plains than we had thought
and that, far from being in transition, the ancestors of the Pawnees had
probably followed a similar way of life in Nebraska for nearly seven hun-
dred years. Archaeological remains of earth-lodge villages are found
along the Republican, Platte, and Loup rivers, a progressive evolution of
the houses from rectangular to round appearing with the passage of time.
The houses and the remains of objects and food found in the archaeo-
logical settlements show such a clear continuity into historic times that
their identification as ancestral Pawnee is well nigh inevitable.

101 In 1867 the four bands into which the Pawnee were politically organ-

*175 *648 657 Pawnee medicine men did effect relief and cures in many cases, and that the sure way to bring the tribe to faith in white man's medicine was to prove its superiority. We may judge from this the efficiency of much of the treatment afforded the Pawnee for years.

164 [462] In 1890 Dr. Phillips ascribed some part of Pawnee ailments to the fact that at feasts many gorged themselves and then lay dormant for two or three days, tending to derange the proper functioning of the digestive system. The Pawnee habits of eating went back to a time when an active, roving life made heavy eating a necessity. Without the hunt, without warfare, the men were confined, inactive and indolent. Farming was not yet an adequate substitute. Without skinworking, and the activities of camp life and the march, the women were limited to housework and household duties. The change of daily routine was severe and called for a difficult constitutional adjustment.

582 621 ● [162] The question of inbreeding deserves brief comment. Pawnee marriage customs did involve the mating of kin at a certain distance removed. In their old life, families who were the proud possessers of sacred and esoteric lore attempted to retain control of these things by regulating intermarriage. The bands had been for the most part endogamous, and intermarriage with other tribes was infrequent. On the average a band numbered no more than 2,500. The inbreeding, however, seems not to have had ill effects until inheritable weaknesses of a major sort were among the tribe.

*175 *648 657 As the years passed, the Pawnee came to look to the government physicians more and more for help when sick. Their medicine men were unable to cope with the illnesses which afflicted them. In a few outstanding cases, such as the use of quinine for malarial fevers, the white man's medicine had "power."

*175 *648 657 871 The educational program was neither more efficient nor more successful for many years than the development of farms and homes. The Pawnee Industrial Boarding School on the Pawnee Reservation in Nebraska suspended operations at the time of removal. The funds saved were applied to the erection of a new brick school building on the Oklahoma reservation. This was not in operation until several years after the tribe located in Indian Territory. Its facilities were severely inadequate. Not more than one-fourth of the Pawnee children of school age could be accomodated. As a result, officials were not able to enforce treaty provisions; they could not compel continuous attendance even of those registered for schooling, since they could not provide facilities. There was a move to organize a day school, which would not only make provision for fifty additional pupils, but would obviate the objection

With the exception of the Cottonwood Creek village, all of these 172* sites, where definitely located, have been visited by the writer, who 121 was accompanied in all but two instances by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings. Several of the locations were first identified by Mr. Hill many years ago, and through the medium of sample collections he has acquired a first-hand acquaintance with each site that made his assistance invaluable. So far as systematic excavation is concerned, Mr. Hill's activities have been largely confined to the Hill site. The Nebraska Archeological Survey, of which the writer was a member, [114] spent the first 2 weeks in August 1930 in intensive work at the same place, the results of which are included in this paper. Excavations by the Survey at the Burkett and Schuyler sites in 1931 were made subsequent to the writing of this paper. However, certain of these findings have been incorporated here, although the main results await future publication. The only other extended excavations were made by E. E. Blackman, of the Nebraska Historical Society, at the Burkett site, in 1907. For the rest, as already stated, the sites have been visited and their chief features noted, as well as surface collections of specimens wherever available.

SKIDI PAWNEE SITES

The Skidi band, known in early literature as the *Panimaha*, is 101 by some considered to have been the first to occupy the northern 172* habitat. According to their own claim, they were formerly a very powerful and numerous tribe, consisting of four bands, each numbering [162] 5,000 souls.[34] This number is doubtless excessive, but to quote Grinnell, "There are yet to be seen on the Loup Fork, in Nebraska, innumerable remains of Skidi villages, some of which are very ancient."[35] To date only three sites have been definitely shown to be Skidi, although there is a very strong probability that archeology will bring to light many more of prehistoric age, possibly substantiating the greater antiquity of the Skidi in the area.[36]

PALMER SITE.—This was discovered by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings, 172* in 1922, and has been identified by him as the probable site of the 361 Skidi village reported by Major Sibley in 1811,[37] and subsequently

---

sites are those exhibiting only the pure native cultural traits with no traces whatever of Caucasian contact; they antedate the arrival of the Spanish in 1541. In the above discussion only historic and protohistoric Pawnee sites are considered. Various sites in the last category are discussed in Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, by W. D. Strong, entitled "An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology"; also in Wedel, 1935, pp. 132–237.

[34] Grinnell, 1893, p. 236.

[35] Ibid., p. 239.

[36] All of the sites described are indicated on map 2 which shows their situation relative to the streams and river bluffs. The names are those in general use among local investigators; the numbers are for convenience in use of the map only.

[37] 1927, p. 203.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Kansas Monument site.—This site is located 1½ miles west and 1 mile south of Republic, Kans., on the south bank of the Republican River.[66] It derives its name from a granite shaft erected on the spot in 1901 by the State of Kansas "to mark the site of the Pawnee Republic, where Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike caused the Spanish flag to be lowered and the flag of the United States to be raised, September 29, 1806." The land has been set aside permanently as a State park. (172* 361

The site occupies an area of less than 10 acres on a high promontory, about 200 yards from the river's edge. Midway between the river and the village site, in a deep gully, is a good spring; another formerly existed in a draw to the east. There are no hills near the site, since the village is situated on the bluffs themselves; the river sweeps by directly at the base of the declivity, there being no first bottoms. The site has never been broken, except a narrow strip along the south edge. Twenty-five lodge circles, from 8 to 15 paces in diameter, are scattered irregularly about. Some of them are nearly contiguous, but in most cases they are from 10 to 30 feet apart. They average 18 inches in depth, are well defined, and show clearly the position of the former entrances. Among the lodge circles are scattered caches, 15 or 18 of which are clearly discernible. Along the northwest site is an old rampart perhaps 150 yards long. One of the lodge circles occurs outside the wall, along with several caches. The burial ground appears to be some 200 yards northwest of the fortification wall, about the heads of some of the ravines. [312]

Systematic investigation of this splendid site has never been undertaken, but many finds of surface material have been made. Sherds and quartzite scrapers of true Pawnee type occur, along with metal hoes, bridle bits, spurs, iron pots, and other evidence of commercial intercourse with white traders. The site is obviously historic and may be safely referred to the Republican band. That it is the site visited by Pike in 1806 seems highly improbable, as it tallies in nowise with the journals and map of the expedition. Lewis and Clark reported in 1802 that the Republicans had joined the Grands on the Platte, driven thither by the recurring attacks of the Kansa. Yet 2 years later Pike visited a village of 1,700 Republicans on the Republican River. By 1811 the entire band was on the Loup, at the Horse Creek site. Probably the Kansas Monument site was occupied contemporaneously with that visited by Pike, but being nearer the Kansa territory was subjected to more attacks, and hence was the first abandoned. The village seen by Pike was occupied for some years longer, but the expansion of the Kansa at last forced them to give up also and remove to the Loup. The abandonment of the site in Kansas would then antedate 1802. [162]

---

[66] NE¼ sec. 3, T. 2 S., R. 5 W., Republic County, Kans.

13

CEREMONIAL PREPARATIONS FOR SUMMER BUFFALO HUNT

000 *Ritual Meeting of the Chiefs—New Responsibilities of Chiefs—Mythohistorical Significance of Skull Bundle—Development of Original Village Federations—Ceremony Described—Chief of Hunt Is Chosen—Banquet Follows—People of Village Informed*

221 WHEN THE CORN WAS LAID by in the beginning of June, a new phase in
* 224 the Pawnee year's round began. Everyone turned their thoughts to the
long migration out onto the prairie. The mass hunt of the buffalo herd
that was the next phase in the Pawnee year's round would last all summer until time for the harvest in the beginning of September. Would
• [162] they find the herd, would they get a plentiful supply of meat for their
ceremonial banquets, would they be attacked by the enemy, would they
live in health and at peace with one another—three thousand people in four
Skidi villages and four Pawnee bands—each with its own ways and interests on a journey of 900 miles over the land and across the rivers?

622 As was their practice, it was the chiefs, priests, and medicine men that
221 took the first formal steps toward initiating each new round of activities
[793] through the year so that the people were taught and reminded of what
lay ahead. In the village, priest and chief shared almost equally in keep-
[756] ing life on an ordered course, but on the march it was the constant
vigilance of the chief that determined the achievement of this goal.
And so this season opened with a ritual meeting of the chiefs, validating
their cosmic sanction and soliciting the confidence of the people.

The whole meaning of this ceremony was that the chiefs alone were
622 taking responsibility for the welfare of the people on the hunt and that
796 the sacred meat they were about to get was a great and Heaven-sent
* 224

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

411
439
177
by the blacksmith. They would sharpen them to their taste with a metal file that they also obtained in trade.

411
463
The arrowshaft makers had a monumental task to keep everyone supplied. They considered it a social service and made sure everyone had them whether they were compensated or not. The Pawnee community was always more or less in a state of siege, and the arrowshaft makers felt that their work was essential to their common survival. As Mark Evarts expressed it, "Sometimes the arrowmaker made up his mind himself to make some arrows for someone. They want to supply the whole camp with arrows out of public spirit so that if the enemy comes on the warpath, everyone will have arrows. Even if they don't get any special compensation, they will do it to protect their children and others."

Practically the entire supply of arrows that they needed for the summer had to be made while they were still in the village as there was no time for such work while they were on the march or attacking the herd. A craftsman could produce about ten a day and he usually made them in lots of twenty, working them all in successive stages for the whole lot. With the limited leisure they had on the march they could barely finish one in a day, and this would only be done in case of emergency. They did take some dogwood sticks along for such a contingency. A hunter would consider twenty to forty arrows a reasonable number to keep [162] in his arsenal. In 1840 the Skidi population was estimated to have 469 males over the age of ten years. If 200 of these were adult hunters, this would mean that each of the five craftsmen would have 40 of them to take care of, and supplying each with 20 arrows would mean that he [461] had to produce 800 arrows to keep his group supplied once around. This was eighty full days of work.

When a man decided he needed to replenish his stock, he took the dogwood sticks that he had seasoning in the rafters of his house and went to the arrowmaker and asked him to make him twenty. It would be tacitly [437] understood that if in time he got a buffalo, he would make him a gift of a buffalo robe, or perhaps a blanket, some dried buffalo meat, leggings, or a pair of good moccasins.

Sometimes, without having a special order on hand, the craftsman would ask a young man to get him forty to sixty dogwood sticks and would compensate him when he had finished, with a gift of ten completed shafts. He wanted to make sure that everyone was supplied whether they made a special request or not. They had to get their own [237] feathers—turkey for the most part, but if they could not get one, a buzzard or a goose was a substitute.

In the latter part of May just before the chief's council, they were likely to accelerate their efforts. One of them would be sitting at the gaming grounds watching the hoop and spear game, and then another would be likely to sit down and join him. They would begin to talk

P 224 141 The surround on foot was called *tut-kawi-pitahaku*," it-to-them-inside-moving-round-and-round." In summer the buffalo tended to be scattered in smaller bunches. In winter the buffalo traveled in closer formation. They also would try to drive them over the ice during the winter: *situks-ukita-hai-iwarit*, "they-used-to-upon-water-or-ice-aim-or-direct." In winter, in the deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow and could readily be killed. The north wind was called Lucky Wind because it chased the buffalo to them. When the second party was going to Oklahoma (1876), old man Frost, *Huriru'us*, held a doctor dance. Then Lucky Wind began to blow and a lot of buffalo came close to the camp. At one time, east of the Missouri River, a bit east of Omaha, Nebraska, there were villages of Pumpkin-Vine people and further eastward the village of Bones-Sticking-Up, *Kis-kararwa*, of the Tsawi Band. Buffalo came into these villages.

P [821] [796] [361]

P 482 Even in Oklahoma in the 1920's women continued to pack heavy loads on their backs. In 1928 I met an old Pawnee grandmother of delicate build trudging along the road out of the town of Pawnee one Saturday afternoon with a huge load of groceries—a sack of flour, a lard pail full, and other sundries—done up in a blanket, the ends tied across her forehead and the weight of the bundle resting on her protruded buttocks and backbone. She refused an offer of a lift in a Ford Car, preferring to continue with her moccasined walk for the two miles to the house.

P 172 325 145, 363 In Lower Loup archaeological villages sheet metal was found for the first time (about 1600), possibly for arrow points (Dunlevy, 1936, p. 201).

P •162 138 Dunbar, 1918, p. 631, gives an estimate of the number of males and females among the Skidi (1840): total 1906; males over 10 years, 469; females over 10 years, 598; children, males under 10 years, 367, females under 10 years, 472.

P 439 D [726] [727] P [726] 145, 363-364 Although pottery was still in use in Old Village (Allis, 1887, p. 140) the Pawnees had for some time been carrying on a trade in brass buckets with other tribes. Mooney, 1898, pp. 257-259, describes a gruesome incident when the Osage attacked the unprotected Kiowa camp, cutting off the heads of their dead victims and placing them one each in a brass kettle, "which had been obtained by the Kiowa from the Pawnee, who procured them on the Missouri and traded them to the southern tribes." This was the year 1833 "Summer They Cut Off Their Heads." During the attack "A party of women was saved by a brave Pawnee living in the camp, who succeeded in fighting off the pursuers long enough to enable the women to reach a place of safety" (p. 258).

missionaries, Dunbar and Allis, who were first with the tribe from 175*
1835 to 1837, and considered the government estimate too high, 648*
offering 10,000 as approximating the true population more closely. 161
The discrepancies between these various figures are not severe. That 114
of Lewis and Clarke, in spite of the decimation of the Pawnee the previous year, is probably too low, and may not have been intended to include all villages of all four bands. The computations of Pike and Long, based upon three of the four bands, indicates a total of close to 9,000 for the whole tribe. This last figure represents the approximate "normal" figure for the Pawnee tribes during the first period of the Nineteenth Century. There were without doubt major fluctuations in the numbers of the Pawnee during this period, and the trend of the tribal population was to diminish
rather than increase. One general consideration, however, can 175*
hardly be open to question. At the opening of the Nineteenth
century, the Pawnee bands together constituted one of the five or 648*
six large Indian tribal groups between the Mississippi River and the 161
Rocky Mountains. They maintained themselves in spite of the 619
hostility of practically every tribe in the region. In their aboriginal 101
state their trade must have been severely limited by tribal feud. It is unlikely that they had economic dealings of any importance with tribes other than the Arikara, Mandan and Wichita. All the major indigenous peoples around them were continually in a state of conflict with them: the many groups of the Dakota Sioux on the north and northwest, the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho to the southwest, the Osage and Kansa to the south and southeast. Immediately to their east were the Omaha, Ponca and Oto, with whom a state of partial amity prevailed, born of the fear they had inspired in these tribes. Later in the century the Pawnee became close friends of the Omaha and Ponca. The Oto, given opportunity as the Pawnee declined, assaulted small parties of Pawnee on occasion, but later became friends of the Pawnee.

In the period which closed with the treaty of 1833 changes were 175*
taking place in the basic conditions of life of the Pawnee which 648*
were only to appear in their fullest effect in later periods. A tide of white emigration and transcontinental travel began to appear, moving westward, and swelling with the years. These emigrants brought white diseases into the midst of the Indian tribes, trampled their fields, hunted the buffalo for sustenance and pleasure, and keeping the herds of the plains in constant fear, limited the natural
range and increase of the buffalo. 175*

The diseases which the Pawnee acquired from white contact 648*
included, besides infantile diseases, venereal diseases, small-pox and 164●
177

*175
*648 cholera. The small-pox was particularly deadly. It had already
●164 afflicted the tribe in 1803, and in 1825 a serious epidemic again
177 broke out, with great mortality. Small-pox in the years 1829 to 1833 was so serious in the Indian population, that the government spent large sums annually for vaccination among the Indians who were already "wards" of the government. This did not include the Pawnee, as yet only "peaceful friends".

The white emigration was not the only condition which began to
*175 effect the gradual extinction of the great buffalo herds of the western
*648 plains. Traders came in, ready to barter white goods for hides and
136 skins, and the normal Indian use of the buffalo herds was increased. Finally the Indian population of the plains was suddenly enlarged by the United States policy of removing Indian tribes from east of the Mississippi to the west, and settling them among the indigenous tribes. This policy of removal was designed to eliminate the friction between the tribes in the east and the white settlers of their localities, as well as to avoid abuse of Indian rights by State governments. In addition, of course, their lands were wanted east of the Mississippi by white people. These removals were not an inconsiderable shift of population. By 1836, 51,327 Indians of eastern tribes had already emigrated, and 30,950 were waiting to remove, a total of over 81,000. Government calculations of the same period placed the indigenous population of the region from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains at 231,806, so that the actual increase by removals was an addition of 35 per cent to the population of the plains. The Plains tribes lived primarily by hunting the buffalo, while on the eastern fringe of the Plains the village tribes, of which the Pawnee were one, combined hunting in the summer and winter, with the cultivation of corn, beans and squash. This increase of the Indian population effected the food supply in two ways: greater demands were made upon the animal resources of the region, and the free range of the vast herds of buffalo began to be more and more restricted. This closing in of the populations around the buffalo range, by Indian removals, white settlement and white emigration, prevented the natural maintenance of the herds, and as the herds became increasingly smaller, the pressure of the surrounding populations increased as hunters came further and further into the buffalo range to find herds. All of these factors, the demands of a larger Indian population, the requirements of trade, the use of the buffalo by the emigrants, and the interference with the wide range of the herds, were cumulative, interdependent and interactive, and beginning in this period, continued until in the latter part of the century the buffalo was practically extinct.

*175
*648 and uneasy about their legal rights as to leasing after allotment, and
667 as to whether they would be subject to taxation, but it was felt
177 they could easily be reassured.

The greatest discouragement and check upon programs of a
*175 progressive nature, from the years of removal on, was the physical
*648 unsoundness of the Pawnee tribe. In 1876, after the removal, the
● 164 Pawnee numbered 2,026; in 1892 at the close of this period, the
census listed 759. This tremendous decline, amounting to 62 per
161 cent in a period of sixteen years, was the result of many interacting
causes. Laboring under a blight of diseases and ill health, with the
pride of their stock dying at an inexplicable rate, and all more or
less weakened and ailing, a hopelessness came into Pawnee life
from which there was no escape. This hopelessness and despair
[178] caused a deterioration of their home life, indicated by officials'
reference to "filthy habits" and an "indifference to the condition
of body or clothing." Their ancient medical lore was of no avail:
their ancient gods had apparently deserted them. It is to be marvelled
at that something of their old spirit and energy remained,
and that they accomplished what they did in Indian Territory.

The white man's diseases had attacked them in the north.
Pulmonary and venereal diseases in particular had vitiated
their ancient stamina. But in the north the people were in a
climate and a region to which the native constitution was adjusted
from centuries of inhabitation. Until the white man came
the people lived a free outdoor life. They were active. Sedentary
[221] as their way of life made them, the tribe roamed abroad on the
hunt five months of the year; at home they were in the field and
the open. The population of the region was not heavy: they had
[166] unpolluted streams and springs. They moved their villages at
intervals of about eight years, avoiding pestilence.

The Nebraska country was relatively high, and the climate dry.
In the removal the people came into a more fertile but humid
country. Malarial fevers began to afflict them. In the winter of
1876, their first in Oklahoma, fevers, combined with other illnesses,
if we are to believe the recorded figures, amounted to a plague.
From 2,026 in 1876 the tribe declined in one year to 1,521![1] The
*175 manner of their removal involved long and continuous exposure,
and the conditions of life upon their arrival were unhealthy and
*648 hazardous. Grinnell reports the condition in which their great
701 friends, Major Frank North and his brother Luther, the organizers
of the Pawnee scouts, found them in 1876 in Indian Territory. The

---

[1] Further and continuous declines the succeeding years indicate that no part of the tribe was accidentally omitted in the 1877 census.

brothers North had come to enlist a company of one hundred 175*
scouts. "They were without food, without clothing, without arms 648*
and without horses. Their sole covering consisted of cotton sheets, 701
which afforded no protection against cold and wet."[1] Every able-bodied man wanted to answer North's call. Every man who could wanted to get away from homes buried in suffering and disease, and to change the monotonous, restricted, and inactive life of the reservation for an active life in the army. Many who were not taken by North marched after his force on foot as far as Arkansas City, hoping to persuade him to enlist them.

Settled in camps of earth-lodges and tipis, with an inadequate 175*
food supply, insufficient clothing and no medical attention, ineffi- 648*
cient and impotent officials remained satisfied for years to report 657
the mortality and ascribe it to filthy habits of life, and the climate.
Occasionally we hear that the people had poor protection from the 164
weather, and that in addition to tuberculosis, pneumonia carried off a number.

A slight but temporary improvement in health took place in 1880 when for a season the food supply was adequate. The old [262]
men of the tribe said it was the first time in their lives that they had all the potatoes and vegetables they could eat. The people that fall looked well-nourished for the first time: the children fat and healthy.

The houses built for the Pawnee, and by the Pawnee under government instruction, made no sanitary provisions: as late as 1880 there were few if any outhouses, and luckily so, as the doctor commented, since the Pawnee without guidance were likely to construct them without vaults. As the people became settled in [312]
separate homes, the absence of suitable drinking water became a fertile source of disease. There were no wells; they used water from springs or creeks; they were not taught care in handling their water supply, and never cleaned out the springs. Even at the reservation school conditions for some years were bad.

In the reports, a doctor is first heard of in the tribe in 1881, but there are no indications of active medical aid until 1883. Then he began to teach them how to sink wells, and watch their water supply. He attributed fatalities in pneumonia cases to treatment by the native medicine men, and from this time forth there was a constant strife between the code of the medicine man and that of the agency physician. The diseases afflicting the tribe were ascribed to inherent taints, constitutional weakness, and inbreeding. It was not until 1897 that a Doctor Driesbach recognized that

---

[1] Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales, p. 300.

*175 Pawnee medicine men did effect relief and cures in many cases, and
*648 that the sure way to bring the tribe to faith in white man's medicine
657 was to prove its superiority. We may judge from this the
efficiency of much of the treatment afforded the Pawnee for years.

● 164 In 1890 Dr. Phillips ascribed some part of Pawnee ailments to the
fact that at feasts many gorged themselves and then lay dormant
for two or three days, tending to derange the proper functioning
of the digestive system. The Pawnee habits of eating went back
to a time when an active, roving life made heavy eating a necessity.
Without the hunt, without warfare, the men were confined, inactive
[462] and indolent. Farming was not yet an adequate substitute.
Without skinworking, and the activities of camp life and the
march, the women were limited to housework and household duties.
The change of daily routine was severe and called for a difficult
constitutional adjustment.

582 The question of inbreeding deserves brief comment. Pawnee
marriage customs did involve the mating of kin at a certain
621 distance removed. In their old life, families who were the proud
possessers of sacred and esoteric lore attempted to retain control
of these things by regulating intermarriage. The bands had been
for the most part endogamous, and intermarriage with other tribes
[162] was infrequent. On the average a band numbered no more than
2,500. The inbreeding, however, seems not to have had ill effects
until inheritable weaknesses of a major sort were among the tribe.

*175 As the years passed, the Pawnee came to look to the government
physicians more and more for help when sick. Their medicine men
*648 were unable to cope with the illnesses which afflicted them. In a
657 few outstanding cases, such as the use of quinine for malarial
fevers, the white man's medicine had "power."

*175 The educational program was neither more efficient nor more
successful for many years than the development of farms and homes.
*648 The Pawnee Industrial Boarding School on the Pawnee Reservation
657 in Nebraska suspended operations at the time of removal. The
871 funds saved were applied to the erection of a new brick school
building on the Oklahoma reservation. This was not in operation
until several years after the tribe located in Indian Territory. Its
facilities were severely inadequate. Not more than one-fourth of
the Pawnee children of school age could be accomodated. As
a result, officials were not able to enforce treaty provisions; they
could not compel continuous attendance even of those registered
for schooling, since they could not provide facilities. There was
a move to organize a day school, which would not only make
provision for fifty additional pupils, but would obviate the objection

648 At that time a separate treaty was made with each band of Pawnee, designated as Grand, Noisy, Republic, and Marhar, the treaties being respectively on June 18, 19, 20, and 22. Peace was then concluded with all tribes of the region which had been disturbed by the war of 1812. A treaty with the Pawnee Tribe was made at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs, September 30, 1825, its purpose being "to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension." [3] By the treaty of October 9, 1833, the Pawnee ceded to the United States "all the land lying south of the Platt River." [4] A reservation in Nebraska was provided for the Pawnee who remained in that State until 1876, the sale of their reservation in Nebraska being approved on June 5 of that year. The setting apart of a reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) was approved April 10, 1876. The Pawnee were removed to that reservation and "each head of a family or single person over 21 years of age residing upon said reserve, who shall so elect," was entitled to receive an allotment of 160 acres of land.[5] In a table compiled by the Office of Indian Affairs in 1908 it is stated that "112,859.84 acres were allotted to 821 [Pawnee] Indians, 840 acres reserved for school, agency, and cemetery purposes, and the residue of 169,320 acres was opened to settlement," the agreement being ratified by act of March 3, 1893.[6]

161 The number of Pawnee in 1702 was estimated by Iberville at 2,000 families. In 1838 they numbered about 10,000 persons, but the [164] opening of a principal emigrant trail directly through the country in the forties introduced disease and dissipation and left the people less [177] able to defend themselves against their enemies, the Sioux.[7] They decreased in numbers and in 1928 the Pawnee population was 2,766.[8]

133 The reservation of the Pawnee is beautifully diversified, with many streams and tracts of woods. There are outcroppings of stone in the region south of the town of Pawnee (pl. 3, *a*, *b*) while north of the town [136] are broad, smooth fields. (Pl. 3, *c*.) On a private ranch near Pawnee a picturesque herd of buffalo was seen near a "buffalo wallow." (Pl. 4, *a*, *b*.)

342 The earth lodge of the Pawnee was about 40 feet in diameter and 15 feet high, and was occupied by several related families, each having [592] its appointed space along the wall. "At the west side of the lodge a [778] space was always reserved, which was considered sacred, and was called *wikaru* (place-for-the-wonderful-things), this being the name which is applied to the garden of the Evening Star, where the corn is always ripening and where are stored many parflêches of buffalo

---

[3] Ibid., pp. 258-260.
[4] Ibid., pp. 416-418.
[5] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 160-161.
[6] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 213.
[7] Ibid., p. 216.
[8] Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the year 1928, p. 58.

356
476
574
571

both their families lived there together and were glad to offer their hospitality to Victory Call and to the North Side family.

The first step in the process of roof repair was demolition, the earth and thatch having to be removed. The North Side worked on its half and the south side on the south half. There were seven women for removing

356
476

the earth on the north side. White Woman and the two grandmothers, two women from Chief's Road's household and two women who were the wives of White Woman's brother, Uncle War Cry. Uncle War Cry, as he was known to the boy Otter, was a frequent visitor to White Woman's house, often dropping in for meals, as was appropriate to their relationship. He was the head brave of the Skidi Band, assisting Eagle Chief. He was a huge man of brusque and forthright temperament as befitted his station as executive officer. Victory Call and all the others in [571] the lodge liked him very much, and there was a very relaxed relationship between the two households. He had three wives and a large number of children from whom he often sought relief in White Woman's household. Now two of his wives came to help out, and he was also on hand to watch the proceedings.

From the South Side, Old Bull had four women available to do the work of removing the earth—his younger wife, Clear Day and her mother Blue Calico and two women from the household of Bringing Trophies where they were staying. His senior wife, Queen Woman, was • [164] unable to do this work as she was crippled with arthritis, a common affliction among the Pawnees. Each side had a number of important men who stood around and supervised the proceedings, giving advice to the women; it was beneath their dignity to climb up on the roof themselves. On Victory Call's side on the north stood, in addition to Uncle War Cry himself, his younger brother Brave Shield (also known as High Noon) who was a prominent member of the Skidi Doctor Association. Also present was the head of the association, Big Doctor, and their neighbor, Chief's Road at whose house they were staying.

On Old Bull's side stood Eagle Chief, head chief of the Skidi Band, White Eagle, another prominent Skidi Chief, Bringing Trophies, at whose house the family was staying, and Rider, who was keeper of the sacred bundle of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village.

Assistance with the work itself was given by a group of young men in their twenties who came as volunteers. They had varying social connections with the people involved. When Eagle Chief got home one evening, he remarked that they planned to fix up the roof at Victory Call's house. On hearing this his son, Man Chief, got together a group of young men and they were glad to go. As Mark Evarts remarked, "They didn't have to be told. They just did things willingly. Such people should not have to be asked. The older men would say, 'When I was a boy, I used to do such things without being asked,' meaning that one hears of some-

The increase of population and the decrease of the herds led 175*
to greater conflict between the native tribes west of the Mississippi 648*
for control of the hunting range. Tribes traditionally hostile to
one another met oftener on the more restricted hunting grounds,
had more frequently to penetrate each other's terrain after the
vanishing herds, and became increasingly resentful of intrusions
and trespass. Tribal warfare became bloodier with the years. The
Pawnee, always at odds with their neighbors, found themselves in
this period increasingly attacked. They had dominated one of the
richest parts of the buffalo range; now they resented and resisted
the incursions of their ancient enemies. There is little doubt that 175*
the Pawnee suffered a heavy mortality in these years through death 648*
in battle, although we have few records of their encounters. But 165
in 1832 they suffered a major defeat at the hands of the Comanche
on the Arkansas River, involving sufficient slaughter to have been
retold and reported. It is a fair estimate that the death rate in
Plains warfare in the years from 1820 to 1850 was from four to
five times the rate of mortality in the 18th Century.

In the process of removing the Indian tribes of the east across 175*
the Mississippi, the government was not overcareful to consider the 648*
territorial rights of the indigenous peoples of the Plains. After
tribes had been removed and settled in western locations, their
eastern lands ceded to the United States and already overrun by
settlers, it was discovered that the removed tribe was being rapidly
exterminated by its neighbors, the indigenous tribes of the region.
Such was the case with the Delaware who were located west of the
Missouri, between the Kansas River and the Platte, only to find
themselves involved in continuous and bloody warfare with their
neighbors, particularly the Pawnee, then dominant in the region.
It was to remedy this condition that the Commissioner of Indian
Affairs went to the Pawnee in 1833, and there at the Teawi village
on the south side of the Platte River, drew up the treaty of 1833.

The short-sighted policies of the United States government in its dealings with the Indians is aptly illustrated by this whole affair. To get the eastern Indians out of the way of American citizens, they were removed westward, persuaded that the government could assure them agreeable living conditions in the western territorial regions as yet under the direct control of the federal government. In the west, however, in most cases the government had merely treaties of peace and friendship with the indigenous tribes, and had acquired no right to settle other Indian groups on tribal lands. When the emigrant tribes were settled in the west, conflicts inevitably followed. The Pawnee, finding their lands en-

life of Plains tribes was considered wild and barbaric by a people 175* whose culture for centuries had been grounded on an agricultural economy. To tame and civilize the savage it was necessary to 648* make them an agricultural people; and this was the more essential in that an agricultural economy would locate the tribes permanently in restricted areas and release wide reaches of land for the uses of the white man.

The Pawnee do not seem to have been in agreement about the removal. While the provisions of the treaty made the lands south of the Platte River ceded by the Pawnee a common hunting ground, still open to them, it confined their villages and farm lands to the north side of the river. [619] Prior to this time the three bands of Tcawi, Kitkahaxkiˣ and Pitahawiratᵃ had maintained their permanent village settlements south of the Platte, while only the Skiri band resided on the north. The Kitkahaxkiˣ and Pitahawiratᵃ accepted the terms of the treaty and removed, as well as some of the Tcawi, but most of the Tcawi refused to leave their homes on the south side of the river. This main Tcawi village was below the Platte some miles west of the Bellevue settlement on the Missouri River. It was to this group that the other bands removed in 1846.

The exact year of final removal is not certain. In 1839 the bands asked aid in locating their permanent settlements on the north side, inasmuch as the land was to be cultivated according to white methods of farming, and must be suitable for such purposes. [166] By 1841 all the Pawnee who accepted the treaty provision had removed. One large village was built together by the Pitahawiratᵃ, Kitkahaxkiˣ, and those Tcawi who removed. The Skiri are not mentioned as building a new village from which we may infer that they probably continued at their old location.

In the midst of the difficulties attending the removal, the Pawnee 175* were afflicted again by the smallpox. An epidemic broke out in 731 1838 ~~and did~~ not subside until a year and a half later. 165 It is said to have been communicated to the Pawnee by some Dakota women captured by them in the spring of 1838. Great numbers of children perished in the epidemic, while the mortality rate among the adults was perceptibly lower. Nevertheless the total deaths must have considerably exceeded five hundred in the period of the

---

[1] Dunbar, in Magazine of American History, 4:257, places the Kitkahaxkiˣ 18 miles northwest of the mouth of the Loup River on the north [131 side of the Loup, and the Pitahawiratᵃ 11 miles above the mouth on the 114] same side, as early as 1834. I have not found evidence to validate the location of these bands north of the Platte at this early date.

*175 epidemic, in view of the census figure reached by Dunbar and Allis
731 in the summer of 1840 of 6,787, exclusive of some detachments of
●165 the tribe then absent, who could at most bring the total to 7,500.

With the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs
*175 by act of Congress in 1834, an agency was established for dealings
⌐648 with the Oto and Missouri, Ponca, Omaha, and Pawnee tribes,
located for many years at Council Bluffs. An agent does not seem
to have taken active charge of the affairs of these tribes until 1836.

*175 Missionaries had worked among the Pawnee for about two years
*648 just prior to the removal of the South Bands. Dunbar was among
the Tcawi, Allis with the Skiri, and Satterlee with the Kitkahaxki^{x}.
797 Satterlee was murdered in 1837 by a white trader, but Dunbar and
Allis helped the bands locate their settlements, and accompanied
them in the removal. At the time of the removal a location was
chosen on Plum Creek for the site of the government establishment
and a mission; but on account of the disturbances caused by
Sioux raids, execution of the plan was delayed until 1844.

With the removal north of the Platte, resident farmers settled
[657] with the Pawnee, and Samuel Allis was appointed government
teacher and opened a school. Nevertheless, the period from 1841
to 1847 was one of breakdown and chaos in Pawnee life, rather
than progress.

*175 Once on the north side of the Platte, the Pawnee were exposed
*648 more than ever before to remorseless attacks of the Dakota who
had been increasing in numbers and boldness for some time. This
constant threat hung over every month of the year.

*175 The intention of the government in sending farmers among the
Pawnee was to teach them plough agriculture. Their old methods
*648 of digging-stick cultivation while they had yielded relatively
177 large crops had never been sufficiently productive to permit the
241 Pawnee to rely completely on their fields. In the summer, observers
reported, they succeeded in raising but little more corn, beans and
squash than they consumed by the time the cold weather set in.
Occasionally their crops were more plentiful but any drought
threatened to leave them without a subsistence minimum.

The farmers were indefatigable in breaking up virgin soil for cultivation. The school teacher, finding it impossible to carry out any genuine instruction the first years, joined in, and helped with the agriculture. All reports indicate that the Pawnee themselves showed commendable zeal in their efforts to learn and gave promise of becoming successful farmers more rapidly than other tribes. Nevertheless the farming operations, in the long run, were a failure. The Pawnee did not take to productive farming. The

*175 their crops having failed because of drought. Apparently the tribe
*648 was not successful in their winter hunt, since we find that in June
of 1849, agent John Barrow found two hundred aged and infirm
[888] Pawnee, left behind when the tribe went on the summer hunt,
starving around the agency. Cholera had broken out among them
*175 and before it subsided, eighty-four were dead. When the bands
*648 returned from the hunt, he found that the rest of the tribe had also
731 been decimated by cholera while away, a condition brought on by
their lack of proper nourishment. His estimate, after talking the
● 165 matter over with the chiefs of the tribe, was that no less than 250 men
and 900 women and children had fallen victims of cholera while the
tribe had been away; making a total of 1234 deaths that summer from
the epidemic. Barrow seems to have been astoundingly callous.
He reports the Pawnee deaths and their condition quite objectively,
and treats as incidental that in the midst of their other misfortunes,
the Oto, spurred by white traders who gave them
guns, had attacked the Pawnee and killed eleven. The Oto shrewdly
claimed that their Great White Father had told them to protect
and assist the whites, and Barrow reports that he assured the Oto
that if their story was true — to the effect that the white traders
*175 had been robbed by the Pawnee — their Great Father would
*648 forgive them.

In spite of this disastrous season which wiped out a fourth of
[735] the tribe, the Pawnee had made a successful hunt, but without a
harvest upon their return to the village, they would soon again be
destitute.

[657] The Pawnee school was disbanded in 1851 when the treaty
arrangements for a term of schooling ran out. Samuel Allis,
making his final report, admits his failure, but remarks, "I still
consider the Pawnee an interesting tribe, capable of great improvement
could they be protected from their enemies and brought
under proper subjection themselves."

*175 Pawnee conditions of life gradually became worse. The tide
*648 of emigration increased, and between 1847 and 1850, was literally
735 "pouring through and into the very midst of their corn fields, their
villages and their hunting grounds," referring to the tribes of
the Council Bluff Agency, the Oto, the Omaha and the Pawnee.
The Pawnee along with these other tribes were forced into a position
where they became more and more anxious to make some further
trade of land with the white man in return for a guaranteed sustenance.
This was reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
year after year. The advisability of carrying out the third step in
the government program for dealing with Indian tribes, the pur-

chase of their lands, and the settlement of the tribe on a limited 175*
reservation, was clear. This was the surest method of avoiding the 648*
increasing conflict between the starving Indians and the white 735
settlers and emigrants. Driven by necessity, the proud American
Indian had become a petty thief and beggar along the highways.
Nevertheless governmental inactivity seems to have prevented
action until 1853, when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs visited
many of the western tribes and executed treaties with them. The
Pawnee, however, were avoided at this time although their needs,
as reported to the authorities, were as great as those of other tribes.
In fact, it appears that to an observer on the spot, James Gatewood,
agent at the Council Bluffs Agency, writing October 16, 1853, "these
Indians (the Pawnee) have suffered perhaps more than any single
tribe by emigration. All of the roads on the north side of Nebraska
River pass through their country, and on the south side of that
river pass through their hunting ground; and more of their wood
and grass are consumed and more game run off, than there is
from the bands of any other nation, and yet they receive no
compensation; whilst others that suffer much less in that way are
liberally compensated..."

In the same year the Pawnee were reported destitute. Their [161]
numbers had been reduced to fifty per cent of their former strength
in four years. Responsible for this great mortality were the relentless
assaults of the Dakota and Cheyenne; and disease, a major small- [165 ●
pox epidemic in 1852 again decimating the tribe. In 1854 the 731]
Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended the tribes of
Nebraska to the attention of the government. He considered it
"very important that arrangements be made as soon as practicable
with the Pawnee and Ponca Indians... by which their limits may
be restricted and defined, and their assaults upon emigrants...
terminated." He further pointed out that "the roads on the
principal routes to the Pacific Coast have become very important
thoroughfares. Thousands of emigrants and many merchants who
with their property to the amount of several millions in value pass
annually over the plains are entitled to the protection of the
government."

While the government was still inactive the Pawnee suffered
further heavy losses. One of the major disasters occurred when [731]
in 1854 a party of 113 Pawnee were cut off and surrounded by an
overwhelming force of Cheyenne and Kiowa and killed almost to
a man.

In 1856 the Pawnee were thoroughly depressed. They were not [241]
able to cultivate successfully where they were south of the Platte.
white settlers being all about them.

children were quick and eager to learn, and the results promising. 175*
By the next year, the chief handicap to the education of the girls 177
began to come to attention. In the old traditional way of life girls 648*
were married off by their parents when about fourteen or fifteen. 657
Family considerations were usually paramount and neither the [584]
girl nor the boy was officially consulted. Now the teacher found
that girls of fourteen were being taken away from the school to be
married. The agent was in no position to enforce the compulsory
education which was stipulated in the treaty of 1857, since the
government had as yet provided meager and inadequate facilities
for schooling, with a handful of children at school out of a population
including many hundreds of school age.

The boys meanwhile were getting ahead. For the first time, in 1863, the school teacher was able to clip off their scalp locks without their attempting to conceal the change under hats. The boys were learning manual arts, were enjoying the work and activity and were unashamed to be seen at labor by older and conservative tribesmen.

The third year of the school, 1864, was an unfortunate one.
Epidemics of measles and diptheria broke out in the school, and [165]
carried off a number of children. The children seem to have
offered little resistance to these diseases and those who recovered
were low in vitality for some time, and subject to other ailments.
The school teacher found himself handicapped by the fact that
parents began taking away from school the children who had been
there since its inception. While he was able to secure others to take
their places, the impetus of the instruction was lost, and work would
have to start over again from the beginning. Health conditions
were better in 1865, when new buildings were put to use, and the
crowding avoided. The school attendance was only twenty-two,
but agent and teacher subscribed to a program of raising it to at
least a hundred, a number for which facilities were now adequate.
In 1865 the staff consisted of six. The political changes of agency
control were however interfering with the work of instruction, and
the teacher advised the government to take the school out of
politics by having the instruction turned over to a missionary board.
Two school buildings were in use after 1867, with attendance increased
to sixty-eight and two teachers of the Episcopal denomination
in charge. 175*

With these government activities leading the Pawnee away
from their old customs, why is it that by 1872 the whole program 177
had essentially failed? No allotments had been made. The tribe 648*
still clung to its village life. The people lived in earth-lodges,

them as a reservation. The tract chosen was south of the Osage 175*
Agency and north of the Sauk and Fox reservation in the forks of 648*
the Cimarron and Arkansas Rivers. The Pawnee agreed upon the 167
location, finding the land apparently a fertile and hospitable home. In late June of the same year the main body of the Pawnee removed from the Wichita reservation to this new location, leaving a body of 374 Pawnee with the Wichita to harvest the Pawnee crop from the fields planted by the Pawnee that spring on Wichita land.

In Nebraska during 1875 the Pawnee remnant who were left behind consisted of that part of the tribe who were least able to defend themselves against attack. A company of infantry from Omaha were stationed at the old Pawnee Agency at Genoa in Nebraska during the spring and summer to protect them. With the summer well advanced, and no untoward events having occurred or being anticipated, they were withdrawn. On August 23 the wife of Eagle Chief was shot and killed while she was drying corn in the early morning. Marauding white men or Indians were suspected. Again on the morning of August 30, a raid was made at sunrise by party of fourteen Indians on fleet horses. Unable to capture a small herd of horses, they shot the Pawnee boy who was herding them. The Pawnee men available made an unsuccessful pursuit, and from that day until the removal of this last remnant of the Pawnee guarded the village by day and night. These were parting blows of the Pawnee enemy. This last contingent of the Pawnee were removed with all their movable effects by wagons and teams in November of 1875. After the harvest on the Wichita reservation that year, the Pawnee who had remained behind a few months also moved to the new reservation in northern
Indian Territory, and by the spring of 1876 the entire tribe, which [161]
then numbered 2,026, were collected together and settled on the new reservation south of the Arkansas River.

The most striking characteristic of this entire period from the 175*
treaty of 1857 to the removal, completed in 1875, aside from the 648*
failure of the government program for transforming the tribe into 161
individual families of farmers, is the steady and rapid decrease in Pawnee numbers. There is reason to believe that the Pawnee population for the four bands was close to 4,000 when they removed to their reservation north of the Platte River in 1859. The census of 1861 listed them at 3,414, from which total their numbers fell steadily to 2,026 in 1876, when they were together again in Okla-
homa. The official report for the year 1875 to 1876 recorded 95 175*
births and 150 deaths. This is some indication of the steady de- 648*
crease. This decrease is to be accounted for by two continuous factors, 165

*175 *648 ●165 the mortality inflicted upon the Pawnee by the Dakota and other hostile tribes, and the continuous inroads which diseases, particularly pulmonary diseases, were making upon the tribe. The mortality in warfare is only partly represented by the recorded incidents mentioned herein; the worst phase of the continuous marauding strife was the annihilation here and there from time to time of small parties of Pawnee cut off away from the reservation, or on the hunt, for whom no accounting has been made. In the removal itself there is reason to believe that many perished; all the separate contingents of the tribe were removed in the late fall and winter months over open country in wagons and on horseback. Not the least of the Pawnee difficulties was the sudden change of climatic conditions from Nebraska to Oklahoma, which was to have its effect upon the health of the tribe for some years.

*175 *648 The removal of the Pawnee to Oklahoma was carried out by the tribe and the Department of Indian Affairs before legal arrangements could be made. Expenses incurred were met as best they could be by executive order and appropriation. A bill had been introduced in Congress in 1875, but in the press of the closing days of the session no action on it was taken. It was not until the spring of 1876, when the tribe was together in Oklahoma, that Congressional action for the sale of the Pawnee reservation in Nebraska and for the appropriation of an advance against the proceeds of that sale was obtained. These provisions were included with the stipulations for the purchase and authorization of the new reservation in Indian Territory, in the Act of the Forty-Fourth Congress, First Session, April 10, 1876, "an act to authorize the sale of the Pawnee Reservation."

With the decline of Pawnee numbers in Nebraska before the removal and the increasing pressure of white settlers demanding land, the Department of Indian Affairs had concluded an agreement with the Pawnee in 1872 by which the tribe accepted the Congressional authorization of the sale of 50,000 acres of surplus land of their reservation, taken from that part lying south of the Loup Fork. This act was repealed by that of 1876, which provided for the sale of the entire reservation. After due advertisement the land was to be sold in separate tracts of 160 acres for not less than $ 2.50 an acre. Meanwhile the government appropriated $ 300,000 for use by the Pawnee, to be reimbursed to the United States Treasury from the sale of the Nebraska Reservation. Half of this sum was to be used to settle claims for expenditures involved in the removal and maintenance of the Pawnee up to the date of the act, the other half for necessary expenditures on behalf of the tribe until they

159 591 Lincoln who was the government blacksmith. They invited Shot Arm and the boy to come and live with them. They stayed there for six years and then Shot Arm's sister, Woman White Star, invited them to come and live with her. One winter both Shot Arm and the boy were very ill with a high fever. Fox Chief, his older half brother, came and took the boy to live with him. From there the boy moved from one house to the other, sometimes with Misery, then with War Cry and others. Because of his wandering about, he did not know that his father, Shot Arm, had died. [754] The relatives suspected that his death was due to witchcraft by a member of the family of their old rival, Big Doctor. The feeling was so strong that the agent had an autopsy performed, which showed that Shot Arm had died of an old gunshot wound that had affected his lungs. But the [165] Pawnees were not convinced. And neither was Mark Evarts when he told of it in 1928. During the first five years in Oklahoma, 800 Pawnees died.

159 177 Otter's old playmates, David Gillingham and the Coons brothers, had gone to Carlisle School in Pennsylvania and they induced him to come along. After his schooling he worked at harness making in Harrisburg, Newark, and Philadelphia. He experienced such wonders as climbing into the arm of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor and playing baseball for a period with the Cuban Giants, a colored team. While he was with them in the South, he was questioned by the authorities "about the grandfather clause." His right hand was permanently broken in baseball, for in those days they played without benefit of a catcher's mitt. He was very lonesome and went home. As he says,

> When I got home from Carlisle, I had no home. My older brother, Fox Chief, War Cry, and Misery had all died. It was cold weather and Behaille (the interpreter) met me on the road and took me in his buggy and gave me a swig of whisky. He offered me a home at his house where Brave Chief, Frank Leader, and Peter Wood were living.

159 An older woman in Behaille's house befriended him and established a relationship with him. Finally the agency took a hand in his life. The agent said he had made a good record at school and he should settle down. He was trained as a blacksmith and given a position. At last the Riding-In family gave him their daughter, Hannah, in marriage and they set up a farm together and had a daughter. Then Hannah died of tuberculosis and shortly afterward, at the age of twelve, their daughter followed. The farm was lost to the bank as the result of a crop failure and [115] an unpaid loan. This was in 1924. In 1928 this record of old Pawnee life was made with Mark Evarts' help.

[781] When he returned to Pawnee from the east, Mark Evarts had a severe emotional crisis and finally an important religious experience. He re-
000 turned home permanently in 1897–1898. The Pawnee version of the re-

life of Plains tribes was considered wild and barbaric by a people whose culture for centuries had been grounded on an agricultural economy. To tame and civilize the savage it was necessary to make them an agricultural people; and this was the more essential in that an agricultural economy would locate the tribes permanently in restricted areas and release wide reaches of land for the uses of the white man. 175* 648*

The Pawnee do not seem to have been in agreement about the removal. While the provisions of the treaty made the lands south of the Platte River ceded by the Pawnee a common hunting ground, still open to them, it confined their villages and farm lands to the north side of the river. Prior to this time the three bands of Teawi, Kitkahaxkiˣ and Pitahawiratᵃ had maintained their permanent village settlements south of the Platte, while only the Skiri band resided on the north. The Kitkahaxkiˣ and Pitahawiratᵃ accepted the terms of the treaty and removed, as well as some of the Tcawi, but most of the Tcawi refused to leave their homes on the south side of the river. This main Tcawi village was below the Platte some miles west of the Bellevue settlement on the Missouri River. It was to this group that the other bands removed in 1846. [619]

The exact year of final removal is not certain. In 1839 the bands asked aid in locating their permanent settlements on the north side, inasmuch as the land was to be cultivated according to white methods of farming, and must be suitable for such purposes. By 1841 all the Pawnee who accepted the treaty provision had removed. One large village was built together by the Pitahawiratᵃ, Kitkahaxkiˣ, and those Tcawi who removed. The Skiri are not mentioned as building a new village from which we may infer that they probably continued at their old location. [166] ●

In the midst of the difficulties attending the removal, the Pawnee were afflicted again by the smallpox. An epidemic broke out in 1838 and did not subside until a year and a half later. It is said to have been communicated to the Pawnee by some Dakota women captured by them in the spring of 1838. Great numbers of children perished in the epidemic, while the mortality rate among the adults was perceptibly lower. Nevertheless the total deaths must have considerably exceeded five hundred in the period of the 175* 731 165

---

[1] Dunbar, in Magazine of American History, 4: 257, places the Kitkahaxkiˣ 18 miles northwest of the mouth of the Loup River on the north side of the Loup, and the Pitahawiratᵃ 11 miles above the mouth on the same side, as early as 1834. I have not found evidence to validate the location of these bands north of the Platte at this early date. [13] 114]

2

*175 white settlers being all about them. The whites were encroaching
on their lands north of the Platte. The buffalo was scarce. Disease
*648 had reduced them to a handful. Their pleas to the government to
735 make some arrangement for their future were unanswered. At intervals they did not have the representation of an agent. Samuel Allis wrote on behalf of the Pawnee to the Superintedent at St. Louis. The document credits him with being "interpreter", but there was no official status to such a position among the Pawnee at that time. The truth is there was neither agent, nor missionary, nor teacher, nor farmer, among the Pawnee officially, and that Allis, faithful to the people among whom he had worked, took the matter into his own hands. He wrote that the whites were settling close around the Pawnee and using up their timber, and that the Pawnee deeply resented the government purchase from the Omaha of lands along the Platte River from Shell Creek to Beaver Creek, which had from ancient times been Pawnee territory. He advised that they be met in council the next spring.

THIRD PERIOD: 1857 TO 1876

*175 The treaty which was drawn up with the Pawnee on September 24
of the following year at Table Creek in Nebraska Territory, ushered
*648 in the third period of Pawnee history in the 19th Century, which
closes with the removal of the tribe from Nebraska to Oklahoma
[166] in 1874 to 1876. During this period the Pawnee were again settled
north of the Platte River, this time on a reservation, as wards of the government.

*175 This treaty was the third step in governmental Indian procedure.
The conditions initiated by the original treaties of "peace and
*648 friendship", and the first cessions of land, had now brought results
657 favorable to the needs of the white men. The treaty of 1857 ended the independence of the Pawnee forever. They yielded their roving freedom, ceded their lands, and acknowledged in the treaty their "dependence" on the United States. These things they did willingly enough: they had been petitioning the government for years to effect such an arrangement. But it was a willingness born of desperation, born of the necessity of extricating themselves from a network of conditions which made existence well nigh impossible. By the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee admitted their cultural and economic defeat, and resigned themselves to the inevitable guardianship of the government. The provisions of the treaty were many and detailed; its major objective is rendered, however, in the first two articles. Article one provides that the Pawnee cede

*175
*648 and uneasy about their legal rights as to leasing after allotment, and
667 as to whether they would be subject to taxation, but it was felt
177 they could easily be reassured.

The greatest discouragement and check upon programs of a
*175 progressive nature, from the years of removal on, was the physical
*648 unsoundness of the Pawnee tribe. In 1876, after the removal, the
Pawnee numbered 2,026; in 1892 at the close of this period, the
164 census listed 759. This tremendous decline, amounting to 62 per
161 cent in a period of sixteen years, was the result of many interacting
causes. Laboring under a blight of diseases and ill health, with the
pride of their stock dying at an inexplicable rate, and all more or
less weakened and ailing, a hopelessness came into Pawnee life
from which there was no escape. This hopelessness and despair
[178] caused a deterioration of their home life, indicated by officials'
reference to "filthy habits" and an "indifference to the condition
of body or clothing." Their ancient medical lore was of no avail:
their ancient gods had apparently deserted them. It is to be marvelled at that something of their old spirit and energy remained,
and that they accomplished what they did in Indian Territory.

The white man's diseases had attacked them in the north.
Pulmonary and venereal diseases in particular had vitiated
their ancient stamina. But in the north the people were in a
climate and a region to which the native constitution was adjusted from centuries of inhabitation. Until the white man came
the people lived a free outdoor life. They were active. Sedentary
[221] as their way of life made them, the tribe roamed abroad on the
hunt five months of the year; at home they were in the field and
the open. The population of the region was not heavy: they had
● [166] unpolluted streams and springs. They moved their villages at
intervals of about eight years, avoiding pestilence.

The Nebraska country was relatively high, and the climate dry.
In the removal the people came into a more fertile but humid
country. Malarial fevers began to afflict them. In the winter of
1876, their first in Oklahoma, fevers, combined with other illnesses,
if we are to believe the recorded figures, amounted to a plague.
From 2,026 in 1876 the tribe declined in one year to 1,521![1] The
*175 manner of their removal involved long and continuous exposure,
and the conditions of life upon their arrival were unhealthy and
*648 hazardous. Grinnell reports the condition in which their great
701 friends, Major Frank North and his brother Luther, the organizers
of the Pawnee scouts, found them in 1876 in Indian Territory. The

---

[1] Further and continuous declines the succeeding years indicate that no part of the tribe was accidentally omitted in the 1877 census.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Coming-sun died, Pahukatawa selected another man to talk to. One night 539 721
this man refused because he was sleepy. To another man Pahukatawa said
that he would go away never to return; that he would stay in the north 756
as one of the minor gods in the heavens. He said he would help the people
when they called on him.

Since the Pawnee came to Oklahoma they have revived this dance (p. 535
638). The drum is the same as the old one. At the altar is a whole eagle 721
and in front of it a crooked crow lance. When the ceremony was revived a
woman claimed to have seen flashes of light. The dance is still given by 756
the Skidi Pawnee. There is also a pair of leggings which was given to 166
Coming-sun. They have a ceremony known as the warrior's ceremony.
This one horn dance was copied by the other three bands, but lacked the
power of Pahukatawa. It was a religious dance in which they took part to
defend their villages from the enemy.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*175 was killed while in the act of skinning a buffalo. The Pawnee *648 rallied and made a brief stand, but finding themselves outnumbered three or four to one, attempted a retreat through a narrow canyon, their women and children fleeing before them. It was apparently while the press of the retreat was forcing its way through this canyon to the river that the worst episodes of the massacre took place. The Dakota warriors rode past the retreat on both sides firing at the Pawnee.

The Pawnee escaped complete annihilation when their retreat reached the river and there came upon United States cavalry. The tribal party refused, however, to return after the wounded and the buffalo meat. Overcome with grief the Pawnee camped that night to mourn the dead, and returned in scattered groups to the reservation, broken, depressed and empty-handed.

The mortality in the massacre was great. The figures available are open to dispute. The official agency report placed the dead at 69, with a dozen wounded; Dunbar records the total as 86; while Williamson, the white man in charge of the hunting party, claims a total of 156 casualties[1].

The government took cognizance of the severity of the conflict between the Dakota and the Pawnee following the massacre of 1873. Negotiations were begun with the Dakota looking toward the abrogation of their right to hunt south of the Niobrara River. When by their treaty of 1867 the Dakota relinquished all claim to lands south of the Niobrara, they retained the right to hunt in that territory. In 1874, the bands of the Red Cloud Agency were offered $ 25,000 to forego that hunting right forever. This would obviate conflict with hunting parties of the Pawnee and other tribes then located in Nebraska, and also confine them in the north out of the way of white emigrants and settlers. An agreement was drawn with these Dakota bands June 23, 1875, by which they relinquished their hunting rights south of the Niobrara River. By this time the Pawnee had taken matters into their own hands.

From the Pawnee standpoint the massacre of 1873 ended all indecision and hesitation. It brought forcibly to the native mind the necessity of taking measures of their own to preserve their very lives.

*175 In the fall of 1873, within weeks of the return of the remnants *648 of the hunting party which had escaped death in the massacre, a ●167 group of Pawnee families evacuated their homes and travelled

---

[1] J. W. Williamson, The Battle of Massacre Canyon. This account was written from memory years after the event, and is doubtless colored by romantic exaggerations.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

southward to Indian Territory. They had a long-standing invitation 175* from their kinsmen the Wichita, which they now took advantage 648* of. Thirty lodges of families, numbering about 300 individuals went; most of these were members of the Kitkahaxkiˣ band. 167 ● They were received heartily by the Wichita, and settled themselves among the Wichita on the Wichita reservation. Through the leader of this party an invitation was extended to the rest of the Pawnee still in Nebraska to remove to Indian Territory and settle with the Wichita. Reports sent back were glowing with the promise of the land in the south, and the Pawnee in Nebraska, accustomed to struggling against drought and the grasshopper pestilence to secure a crop, believed that the country in the south offered not only a haven from extermination at the hands of the Sioux, but a life of plenty.

This migration of part of the Pawnee was not only conceived by the people themselves, but was undertaken and carried out in spite of the remonstrances and objections of their agent and other officials. Once they were settled with the Wichita, however, there was nothing for the government officials to do but to accept the situation. Since they could not compel them to return to Nebraska, they were "allowed to remain". They drew rations at the Wichita agency along with the tribes located there, and joined the Wichita in farming.

In Nebraska the government gave the Pawnee partial indemnification 175* for the losses sustained in the massacre by expending 648* $ 9,000 for cattle and supplies, with which aid the bands in the north were made comfortable during the winter of 1873. 241 The desire to move to Indian Territory was not as yet general that winter: the promise of the south had not yet reached them. The tribe in council, assuming that they were to continue to struggle in Nebraska, asked that $ 10,000 of their annuity be spent the next year for agricultural implements and labor. In the spring of 1874, the agency officials made a herculean effort on their behalf. The government farmers broke 350 acres for the Pawnee to farm, while the Pawnee cultivated 1,000 acres on their own behalf; in addition the agency farm of 315 acres was planted, and the school farm of 25 acres, a total of 1,690 acres in cultivation. [461] The Pawnee were said that year to show a greater willingness to labor than ever before. Unfortunately, the prospects of a fine crop were destroyed by [173] drought, Colorado beetles and grasshoppers, and the harvest yielded only 1,400 bushels of wheat, less than half a crop, and a few beets and potatoes. [735] By fall the destitution of the people was great, and the officials reported to the government that aid must be given them.

*175
*648
●167

It was this complete failure of their best efforts in Nebraska, while they were receiving word from their kinsmen of the plenty of the Indian Territory, that spread the desire to remove southward among them like a fever. The Pawnee made it plain to the officials in charge that they could live in Nebraska no longer, and that they would remove with or without permission immediately. They refused to consider waiting until the government could carry out official arrangements. The tribe asked that their lands in Nebraska be sold for the best price they would bring, and the funds used to locate them on suitable lands in the Indian Territory. The white settlers around them, realizing the rich harvest in land for settlement that the removal of the Pawnee promised, spurred them on, and argued to the agent that they failed to see why, in view of the desire of the Pawnee to remove, the government did not let them go.

The Pawnee were excited, and emergency measures were taken. October 10, 1874, Barclay White, the Superintendent of the Northern Superintendency in which the Pawnee Agency was then located, William Burgess, the Pawnee agent, and other officials held a council with the Pawnee to discuss their wish to remove. The Department of Indian Affairs had drawn up a plan, practically equivalent to a new treaty, which the Pawnee in council considered for two days, accepted and signed. The tribe was not altogether satisfied with the provisions, but it was more important to them to manage the removal expeditiously.

In accordance with the government plan, the vanguard of the Pawnee tribe, consisting of the abler men and leaders, left Nebraska shortly thereafter, proceeding to the Wichita agency in Indian Territory, where they arrived in December. The main contingent of the tribe migrated a month later accompanied by agency employees. The agent, Burgess, had left Nebraska with his son in November, and examined different portions of the Indian Territory available for reservation settlements. The rest of the tribe, to the number of some four hundred, consisting of the aged and infirm, and small children, were left at the old reservation in Nebraska, and were only to be removed after the tribe had chosen its new reservation in the Indian Territory, removed to it, and made some beginning in the erection of their new homes.

Burgess reached the Wichita reservation early in January of 1875, before the main body of the tribe had arrived. He waited until the two parties, the pioneer group and the general tribal contingent, were reunited at the Wichita Agency. With a delegation of forty he left for the northern part of the territory to allow the Pawnee to inspect for themselves the land to be turned over to

them as a reservation. The tract chosen was south of the Osage 175*
Agency and north of the Sauk and Fox reservation in the forks of 648*
the Cimarron and Arkansas Rivers. The Pawnee agreed upon the 167
location, finding the land apparently a fertile and hospitable home. In late June of the same year the main body of the Pawnee removed from the Wichita reservation to this new location, leaving a body of 374 Pawnee with the Wichita to harvest the Pawnee crop from the fields planted by the Pawnee that spring on Wichita land.

In Nebraska during 1875 the Pawnee remnant who were left behind consisted of that part of the tribe who were least able to defend themselves against attack. A company of infantry from Omaha were stationed at the old Pawnee Agency at Genoa in Nebraska during the spring and summer to protect them. With the summer well advanced, and no untoward events having occurred or being anticipated, they were withdrawn. On August 23 the wife of Eagle Chief was shot and killed while she was drying corn in the early morning. Marauding white men or Indians were suspected. Again on the morning of August 30, a raid was made at sunrise by party of fourteen Indians on fleet horses. Unable to capture a small herd of horses, they shot the Pawnee boy who was herding them. The Pawnee men available made an unsuccessful pursuit, and from that day until the removal of this last remnant of the Pawnee guarded the village by day and night. These were parting blows of the Pawnee enemy. This last contingent of the Pawnee were removed with all their movable effects by wagons and teams in November of 1875. After the harvest on the Wichita reservation that year, the Pawnee who had remained behind a few months also moved to the new reservation in northern
Indian Territory, and by the spring of 1876 the entire tribe, which [161]
then numbered 2,026, were collected together and settled on the new reservation south of the Arkansas River.

The most striking characteristic of this entire period from the 175*
treaty of 1857 to the removal, completed in 1875, aside from the 648*
failure of the government program for transforming the tribe into
individual families of farmers, is the steady and rapid decrease 161
in Pawnee numbers. There is reason to believe that the Pawnee population for the four bands was close to 4,000 when they removed to their reservation north of the Platte River in 1859. The census of 1861 listed them at 3,414, from which total their numbers fell steadily to 2,026 in 1876, when they were together again in Oklahoma. The official report for the year 1875 to 1876 recorded 95 175*
births and 150 deaths. This is some indication of the steady de- 648*
crease. This decrease is to be accounted for by two continuous factors, 165

bered custom and old ways of life? Today the ethnologist is hard put to 175
get very much that is significant. Even with the opening of the present century, most of these peoples had so long ago been decimated by disease and war that memory of their past life was extremely fragmentary. Along with whatever fragments of custom were recorded then, the archaeologist must use the written testimony of the chance traveler and trader to give life to his findings.

In the 1700's when the trade and travel records were written, the Missouri River was a main artery of European-Indian trade. Commercial companies centered in St. Louis maintained regular contact with trade centers up the river, and in the 1800's steamboats plied their way upstream with goods and guns to exchange for furs. Trade centers for exchange were an ancient tradition of American Indian life, and now they eagerly made their way to the trade centers of the European where new goods and materials could be gotten. But the price was dear. For besides the new goods, there came new and fatal diseases—measles, smallpox, cholera, and a variety of fevers—wiping out hundreds and even thousands of people at one blow. Whole tribes that had lived in the region for hundreds of years were wiped out or left in such a fragmentary condition that they joined with other tribes and lost the knowledge of their past identity.

The Pawnees who lived outside the mainstream of commercial traffic 131
were less affected than the others by this holocaust. They lived along the 161
outlying tributaries of the Missouri—the Loup, the Platte, and the Republican—that 175
flow eastward across the present State of Nebraska and
join the Missouri at their eastern ends. It was only in the 1830's, when
the Pawnees were living in the western part of their territory at what
they refer to as Old Village, that the direct effects of the many historic
pressures of the time began to bear down on them. At that time they [221]
numbered about 12,000 and were living a well-integrated native life of a
sedentary Plains people such as the archaeological remains indicate—
planting crops and hunting buffalo in alternate seasons. Then disease began [731]
to do its terrible work, and the large bands of refugee Siouan peoples [648]
(some 30,000 strong), pushing in from the east, attacked them with increasing
furor in order to gain their territory and their hunting grounds.
Finally the Pawnees began to move eastward along the river courses to be 167
nearer the centers of civilization, and by 1859, by agreement with the 175
United States Government, they moved onto a reservation near the present
town of Genoa, Nebraska. By this time their numbers were reduced 648
to 3,400, but they still retained their old social forms and independent [161]
polity and a traditional rhythm of life throughout the year. Added to
their problems had been the full force of westward migration of the expanding
United States—the Oregon Trail, Mormon Trail, and Gold
Rush along the Platte, and, from 1861 on, a crescendo of Sioux attacks

167 175 648 unchecked by a United States torn by Civil War. Then, when the war was over, came the white settlement of their territory and still more conflicts for the land, the water, and the timber. Finally they could stay there no longer; they had to leave their homeland, and they moved south.

167 197 648 175 The Pawnees were related by language to a people to the south of them, the Wichita, and they often went visiting, some of them remaining for several years in order to learn new ceremonials which they brought home with them when they returned north. As far back as the 1770's a contingent of three hundred Pawnees had gone south and settled permanently there. They were very welcome at this time and every inducement was given to make them stay, as the Wichita were already heavily depleted in numbers by disease and enemy attack; the Pawnee group constituted a much-needed reinforcement.

[161] In the summer of 1870, just a hundred years later, a Pawnee chief led a visiting party of three hundred men to the Wichita. After their return, subsequent parties went down in successive years and were made welcome by the Wichitas and other tribes in the area that is now Oklahoma; in 1873, despite many doubts on the part of their chiefs, two-thirds of the Pawnees finally left their Nebraska home and migrated south. By November 1875 the last Pawnee contingent arrived in Oklahoma. Many met their death as a result of the change. Fevers and starvation took such a heavy toll that by 1879 only 1,440 survived, and, by the U.S. census of 1910, just 633 Pawnees remained alive.

114 The time of my arrival in Oklahoma to do ethnological and linguistic work was 1928, some fifty years after the time the Pawnees had settled there permanently. We did not know then that Pawnee life with its combined settled village life and migratory buffalo hunting was an old way of life on the Plains.

The general opinion among anthropologists was that in the not too distant past earth-lodge peoples such as the Pawnee had formerly lived in the woodland areas east of the Mississippi and, migrating out onto the Plains, had begun to adopt the migratory life of buffalo hunters and were in the process of abandoning their settled ways.

172 Archaeology has since shown us that the combination of migratory and sedentary village life is much older in the Plains than we had thought and that, far from being in transition, the ancestors of the Pawnees had probably followed a similar way of life in Nebraska for nearly seven hundred years. Archaeological remains of earth-lodge villages are found along the Republican, Platte, and Loup rivers, a progressive evolution of the houses from rectangular to round appearing with the passage of time. The houses and the remains of objects and food found in the archaeological settlements show such a clear continuity into historic times that their identification as ancestral Pawnee is well nigh inevitable.

101 In 1867 the four bands into which the Pawnee were politically organ-

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

574 addition to the gifts, left all their equipment behind, and also the two
276 sacred pipes. The "Children" on their own account gave their parting
431 "Fathers" a large number of horses they had elaborately decorated for
the occasion. In the past they had given quantities of dried buffalo meat.
[554] Only people of some prominence and wealth could participate in these
operations. At this time the Skidi Band were the "Children" of the Beg-
622 ging-for-Meat Band, while the Skidi were "Fathers" to the Man-Going-
628 Downstream Band having recently paid them a trading visit. In view of
574 the mutual courtesies involved, for the Chiefs' Hunt and the first major
276 hunt episode, White Eagle deferred his leadership to his "father," Man
*224 Chief of the Begging-for-Meat Band. The fourth episode he placed in
charge of his "child" Many Trophies, chief of the Man-Going-Down-
stream Band.

*224 They stayed north of the Republican River for the first two mass at-
*484 tacks on the herd. By this time the herd on the north side was pretty well
scattered, and the hunters had to cross over the river for the attack and
bring the meat back over the water into camp. For the fourth mass at-
tack on the herd, under the leadership of Many Trophies of Man-Going-
[361] Downstream Band, they moved their camping location from Camp 11 to
a place on the Solomon River to the south, a branch of the Kansas. This
was a site preferred by the Man-Going-Downstream Band. It was a diffi-
cult overland journey for which they had to carry water with them.
They would finally locate a small south-flowing stream, the Cedar, which
led them directly to the Solomon. They made their camp in the angle
where the Cedar joined the Solomon, hunting the herd further up the
river. When the bands parted, they mainly went to separate locations
further to the west along the Republican as the herds in the more eastern
648 location would have been scattered. This territory in the west was dan-
gerous as the nomadic tribes, Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, and others
were constantly poised to attack for what they considered to be an en-
[175] croachment on their hunting grounds. In 1873 the Sioux attacked the
Pawnees while they were on such a venture, butchering their kill in a
[727] canyon near Trenton, Nebraska. The death toll was so severe that this
[167] event tipped the balance in their decision to leave their traditional terri-
tory and migrate to Oklahoma.

*224 On the way out and the way back from the buffalo hunting territory
*484 they moved their camp in fairly regular succession one day after an-
other. But sometimes it rained and they had to remain where they were
32 for several days, or they might be delayed by the sickness of a prominent
man. Rain, of course, was an inevitable factor. It could delay the camp
for several days. If they were caught in a rain while on the march, every-
one had to spread his things out to dry and this operation might require
the next day or even two before they could resume their journey.
[281] Tanned hide becomes hard and has to be tanned again with grease and

43

THE DEER DANCE

000

The Deer Dance a New Addition to Pawnee Ritual—Kind Warrior Visits the Wichita—He Learns the Deer Dance from Them—the Learning of the Dance Explained—He Returns to the Pawnees and They Learn from Him—the Form of the Dance Undergoes Changes—the Songs They Sing—Differences with Other Animal Lodge Ceremonies—Mythology of Deer Dance—Popularity of Deer Dance

796 536 INVESTIGATORS HAVE LONG REALIZED that the Pawnees had a culture that was unusually rich in ceremony and metaphor. It was particularly in the theater arts connected with their ceremonies that their aesthetic culture had its main expression. In the ceremonies, the sustained patterning of the episodes, the costuming, and the underlying ideology and symbolism represented an aesthetic composite of great richness, which was assiduously cultivated and appreciated by the people for its beauty.

796 177 [484] [167] The Deer Dance was a comparatively new addition to the Pawnee ceremonial repertoire. For more than a century certainly, and no doubt considerably longer, Pawnee men had gone south on extended visits to the several tribes of their Caddoan-speaking kinsmen. While they were there they commonly participated in the ceremonies as well as in other activities. Some remained there permanently such as the brother of Eagle Chief, Noted-Tent (*Iseru-rikariku*), who became a distinguished Wichita chief. A man of the Kitkehaxki Band, *Tiraritaka'as*, became a chief of the Kitsai. For a rich source of new ideological and aesthetic material the Pawnees were conscious that they must go south to the Wichita, the Wichita probably looking south to the Caddo and the Caddo in turn to Mexico. It is probable that in this manner, passing from group to

White Woman and after pleading his cause with her, Shot Arm came 159
to live with them. The boy was told that "his father" had come. When 587
he demurred and said that he thought Victory Call was his father, he was quieted. Shot Arm gave him gifts and did his best to father him. White Woman had had some reservations as Shot Arm already had a wife, but he convinced her that he was determined to part from the other woman in any event. Later there were recriminations from this quarter.

Once on the winter hunt, Shot Arm was invited to bring his new 159
family to live in the household of White Eagle. He had been formally 587
invited by "his two old mothers" who were the official owners of the 591
house. In their new home the family occupied a place at the west and had [572]
status and Otter had new friends—David Gillingham, son of White Eagle, and the two brothers, Luther and Andy Coons.

In the Sioux massacre of 1873 during the summer hunt, when from 60 159
to 120 Pawnees lost their lives while butchering their kill in a canyon 175
near Trenton, Nebraska, Otter and White Woman were guided to safety 721
through the Sioux lines by a young warrior at the request of Mad Bear.

Finally the Pawnees moved to Oklahoma in three contingents. White 167
Eagle went with the first group, while Shot Arm and his family were true 159
to the faction of Lone Chief who wanted to remain on their old land and stayed to the last. The two old ladies who owned White Eagle's [342]
earth lodge gave over the pillars and materials to Shot Arm who set up a hexagonal frame of six forked pillars and no outer sod collar or wall, so that they had a high pointed lodge to live in.

When the last group decided to go, the government assigned them ten 167
wagons for the poor people who had no horses for transport, and some 159
beeves to be killed every Saturday for their food. 648
484

In Oklahoma, the three contingents had set up three earth-lodge villages in different locations. Lone Chief set up one on the Arkansas River 167
three or four miles this side of Ralston where there was a ferryboat. 159
White Eagle built a log house on top of a hill near the big pond west of the 361
present town of Pawnee, with the earth lodges of his following on the east side of the hill toward the pond. Half a mile east of the agency, Misery and his father-in-law Comanche Chief, along with War Cry, were the leading spirits of another log-house village.

Shot Arm, who had become agency policeman, settled his family in a 159
tent near the school. All winter they lived in the tent. Then in spring, 763
April 1876, without any outward sign of illness, White Woman died. [625]
She asked to have her grandchild brought to her and then spoke to its [342]
mother, telling her that she was bidding them farewell and that she should take good care of the child. And so she fell asleep and never awakened.

Victory Call's former retainer, Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn, 159
were living in a frame house with No Corn's oldest daughter. The girl 59
had married a man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band known as Abraham

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P
648
.167
177
175
439
W
175
439
165
177
648
167
P
648
177
431
574

3 The Pawnees and other Caddoan peoples were an integral part of European trading plans. The Wichita played the part of middlemen in the trade between the Spaniards in the Southwest and the French to the east along the Mississippi. By 1777 the Wichita were so heavily depleted in numbers by disease and war that the Spanish authorities induced a considerable contingent of Skidi Pawnees to come and live permanently in the territory and join the Wichitas so that they could defend themselves against the tribes to the east who were aligned with the British. The fact that they have "kin" among the Wichita is remembered among the Pawnees today, and gift-giving relations are maintained among them along with formal intergroup visiting. See Weltfish, 1959, pp. 332-333; Hodge, 1912, p. 706.

W
P
361

3 Both the Pawnees and the Wichitas changed the locations of their villages at intervals of from twelve to fifteen years; this was considered a necessary sanitary measure. The direction of these movements was determined by a variety of social and political causes, but military and trade reasons were the most common ones. My informants gave me a list of the successive Pawnee villages in recent times and the contemporary locations of the Wichita villages. I have added, in parenthesis, Wichita locations cited in Wedel, 1959, pp. 67-68, for approximately these time periods:

P.
W
361
103

Wichita	*Pawnee*
Rio Grande in Texas (Wedel, north fork of Red River, Kiowa County, Oklahoma)	Old Village or Kitkehax-Pakuxtu before 1842
Chickasaw on the Washita River east of Anadarko (Wedel, the Washita drainage, Leeper Creek)	Willows-along-a-Stream or Kitapatuat, near Fullerton, Nebraska 1842–1846
	Hill-in-Water-Sitting or Pahaku, near Fremont, Nebraska 1851
Wichita, Kansas (also Wedel, 1863)	Reservation Village near Genoa, Nebraska October 1859
Anadarko, Oklahoma (also Wedel, 1867)	

Next 824
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two es-
sential materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and 316
stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have 317
been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or 439
by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their
area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made 175
up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking 439
and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees 415
were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one 177
could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grin- [323]
nell got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery
in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it
well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 323

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron."
> This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they [252]
> boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They 172
have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular 415
body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick
"collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad
collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was 415
the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part 252
the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim
and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots
were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must 411
also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was 17
entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the
arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops
roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to
the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the 1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-
177 shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological cir-
[172] cles as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people was "Big Knife."

17 Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls, axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
412 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
324 continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrowshafts and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sandstone buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from south-
[439] west Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

796 The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
463 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
322 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
53 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
787 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

INTRODUCTION

NAME OF THE CEREMONY

The ceremony is called Skari by the Ku'rahus and by all who have 196* been taught its rites and sacred songs. This word is from ska, hand, ri, many, and refers not merely to the many hands required for the 196 preparation of the sacred articles used in the rites, but also to the culminating ceremony of touching the little child with the hand, which occurs on the morning of the fifth day (sixteenth and seventeenth rituals).

A peculiar expression is used to characterize the consultation which a man who desires to inaugurate this ceremony has with his kindred in reference to their assistance in the undertaking. This consultation is called "touching them." The Ku'rahus explained this expression as being connected with the meaning of the word Skari, many hands, in its double significance already noted.

Although the term Skari is said to be old, its descriptive char- [174] acter seems to be against its acceptance as the original name of the ceremony.

Among the people at large of the Pawnee tribe the ceremony is spoken of as Ruktaraiwariũs. This composite word can be analyzed as follows: ruk, from rukkis, wood, or a stick of wood; ta, from tita, hung upon; ra, coming; iwariũs, shaking or waving. This descriptive term refers to the two objects peculiar to this ceremony, the two feathered stems which are waved to the rhythm of the songs. The Pawnees who receive those who bring the sacred articles call the ceremony Haktara. The word is composed of hak, from hakkow, translated below; ta, have; ra, coming: haktara, they who have the [171] ● breathing mouth of wood are coming. The Osages speak of it as "Bringing the drum," and the Omahas as "To sing with."

Hako is a comprehensive term used to designate all the articles which belong to the ceremony. The term is derived from the composite word hakkowpirus, meaning drum. Hakkow is from akow, mouth, with the aspirate prefix h, signifying breath, and the k added to the first syllable represents the word rukkis, wood. Hakkow may then be said to mean a breathing mouth of wood. Pirus means to whip or beat.

Three customs among the Indians can be traced in the composition [194] of this word: first, the peculiarity of pulsating the voice on a note that is sustained over more than one count of the measure, by which [534]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ANALYTICAL RECAPITULATION

ORIGIN AND GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE CEREMONY

171 796* Where the Hako ceremony originated and through how many generations it has come down to the present time it may be impossible ever to determine. Even a partial knowledge of its geographic distribution upon our continent would demand an archeologic and historical research too extended to be attempted at this time. However, a few facts may be stated.

171 175 From the Journal of Marquette, giving an account of his voyage of discovery in 1672, it is learned that the sacred symbols, the feathered stems, were held in honor by tribes belonging to the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan linguistic stocks dwelling in the Mississippi valley from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas.

Marquette calls the feathered stem a "calumet" and his description of its ceremony, which he saw among the Illinois, due allowance being made for his lack of intimate acquaintance with native religious customs, indicates that the ceremony as he saw it over two hundred years ago in a tribe that no longer exists differs little from the same ceremony as observed within the last twenty years in the Omaha tribe. He says of this "calumet" that it is "the most mysterious thing in the world. The scepters of our kings are not so much respected, for the Indians have such a reverence for it that one may call it the god of peace and war, and the arbiter of life and death. . . . One with this calumet may venture among his enemies, and in the hottest battles they lay down their arms before the sacred pipe. The Illinois presented me with one of them which was very useful to us in our voyage."

[174] That the feathered stem was recognized over so large a part of the great Mississippi valley and among so many tribes differing in language and customs indicates considerable antiquity for its rites, as much time would have been required for so wide an acceptance and practice of the ceremony.

174 796* As observed among the Pawnees, there is evidence not only that the ceremony is old, but that it has been built upon still older foundations, and has been modified in the process of time to adapt it to changed conditions of environment. For example, the substitution of the buffalo for the deer and the transference of songs, as that formally sung to the mesa while on the journey, which is now sung within the lodge.

*796 The stars were shining when the Children were again seated in the lodge. The wood was piled upon the fire, and as the flames leaped high, the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief arose from behind the holy place and took up the Hako. Among the Omahas this act was [171] accompanied by a song referring to the eagle rising from its nest, which the movements of the feathered stems vividly pictured. The Pawnees had no such songs, and the Hako were taken up without any symbolic movements.

787 In the song belonging to this first night, the visions that "attend the Hako" were invoked.

*796 According to the explanation of the Ku'rahus, these visions resembled dreams, inasmuch as they often came during sleep, but they also appeared when the dreamer was awake. They might be called revelations, which served either to strengthen a purpose or to suggest means by which a plan could be carried out to insure success to some cherished project. Through such visions, we are told, the manner of procedure of the ceremony had been taught and its details prefigured, details which were afterward carefully followed so as to conform to what was regarded as a supernaturally given model.

*539 The birds, the animals, and the products of the earth represented on the Hako communicated with man by visions. In the song of 787 invocation these visions are personified. They hear the summons in *796 their dwelling place above; they descend and pass over the quiet earth, making their way to the door of the lodge, where they pause; they cross the threshold and "walk within"; they move around and fill the space, touching all the people; this accomplished, they "walk away" and ascend to their abode on high.

We note that the visions follow the same sequence of movements that the Hako party followed in entering the lodge; they pause at the door, then enter and "walk within"; they move about and touch the people in prefiguration of the bestowal of gifts promised through the ceremony.

[*533] This song was quite impressive, sung as the writer heard it by a hundred or more voices. The Ku'rahus and his assistants, as they moved around the lodge, were followed by the choir, singers bearing the drum, and the song was taken up by all the people—men, women, and children—until the lodge vibrated with the sonorous melody. At the close of the fourth stanza the Hako were laid at rest with the songs belonging to that act; the eagle had gone to her nest, leaving the space clear for the mystic visitors, the visions, who now walked within the lodge. After a time the Hako were again taken up and the last four stanzas were sung; then the eagle once more alighted upon her nest, the visions had departed, they had "touched" the Children, and, as the Ku'rahus said, "the people could now go home to have pleasant dreams."

*796 The face of the old man was radiant as he explained this song and
781

II

IV.

THE HAND GAME. DISTRIBUTION AND CHARACTER

668
525 In this part I have traced the changes in the Pawnee hand game which were functions of the Ghost Dance revival and the renaissance of culture. As a preliminary, this chapter sketches the place of the hand game in the aboriginal culture of North America. It was part of a wide distribution of guessing games, and the principles of chance play involved in the hand games may well have been basic to the principles of chance involved in other forms of guessing games. The consideration herein is not exhaustive: while a new treatment and re-classification of American Indian games seems called for by modern study, such a discussion, amplifying and correcting Culin,[1] must be intensive, and is necessarily irrelevant to the present theme.

525 The hand game is one of the guessing games of the North American Indians. These games, along with dice games, were, according to Culin, the only games of chance played by the American Indians. The guessing games present considerable variety: differences in objectives of play, paraphernalia used, forms of play, methods of concealment, methods of scoring, type and form of accompanying music, and ritualisation, are widespread. This variability in the guessing games is if anything increased by the errors and misunderstandings of early travelers on whose accounts Culin had to depend for information from some regions. In some cases modern information has superseded the early accounts; in others the cultures are extinct, and confusions must remain.

525
● 171 The guessing games of North American Indians have a contiguous and continuous distribution throughout certain regions of the continent. Guessing games are absent throughout the cultures of the arctic and sub-arctic regions: the Eskimo, the Athapascan peoples of Alaska and northwestern Canada, and the Algonquian peoples of northeastern Canada, the Hudson Bay region and Maine.

---

[1] Culin, Games.

These games are also absent throughout the southeastern United States. Conversely, in one or another form, guessing games are present throughout the Northwest Coast, California, the Plateau, the Great Basin, the Southwest, the Plains, and in the Eastern Woodlands from the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence southward to the edges of southeastern culture. This contiguous distribution of the presence and absence of guessing games implies historical relations of one or another sort. Such a major development of guessing games is unknown from other primitive regions of the world, so that the American Indian guessing games must be considered an indigenous development.

This does not mean that the guessing games must have had a unit origin in time and space and then diffused over the continent. Any guessing game is a complex combination of themes which have no necessary or inherent relation to one another; for example, a method of scoring points won, and the associated guessing objective by which points are won; the objects used in play, as sticks, discs, bones, and the associated method of scoring; the fact and form of musical accompaniment, and the associated type of play. The exact historical understanding of the development of the guessing games must be based upon a consideration of these independent themes, in their special distributions, and the elaboration and integration which they have undergone in special complexes. I shall not attempt this here.

Culin has considered the guessing games under four heads: stick games, hand games, the four stick game, and the hidden-ball game. This classification is not thorough. While it is true that the four-stick game is undoubtedly a unit form which has developed out of the background of guessing games, the hidden-ball game, as Spier has argued,[1] has two typical forms which we have no reason to identify. The stick games appear in several variant forms, which could be considered as different from one another as the two types of hidden-ball game, or the hand game and the hidden-ball game.

The four stick game has a limited and localized distribution. It occurs among contiguous tribes of northeastern California, western Nevada, and Oregon. In this game four sticks consisting of two pairs of like sticks are arranged in a serial order under a basket tray or blanket, and the opposition must guess the arrangement. There are six possible arrangements, of which four are identical with the four possible arrangements of the hiding counters in a four-hand hand game. Among the Klamath Dorsey reports that the two additional positions are ruled out of the scoring.[1] These are the positions in which the similars lie paired. This indicates that these positions are actually additional and not fully integrated in the game.

---

[1] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 351.

Of the hidden-ball game, the northern type is the moccasin game. This is played by Algonquian tribes of the Eastern Woodlands and Great Lakes, by the Iroquois, and by several Plains Siouan tribes. An object is concealed under one of four moccasins, the opposition having to locate or avoid it. Scoring methods are variable. The essential chance is a one-out-of-four, which is identical with the chance of full success in a four-hand hand game, or the four stick game of the Klamath.

The southern type of hidden-ball game is the canute or reed game of the Pueblo region. Eliminating special variations, the type is played by all the pueblo tribes, the southern Athapascans, the Yuman tribes of Arizona, the Pima, the Papago and the Ute. A small round object is hidden in one of four receptacles or places -- these being other than moccasins -- and the opposition attempts either to locate or avoid the hidden object, or to locate it on a particular guess. Among most pueblo tribes four reed tubes are used as places of concealment; the Hopi variation is a tubular shaped cup instead of a reed. At Zuni and among several of the Rio Grande pueblos the reeds are further concealed in mounds; while the Hano, Pima and Papago fill their tubes or cups with sand. The Yumans bury the object in one of four heaps of sand. An anomalous form is used by the Navaho, who conceal the object in one of four moccasins and then bury the moccasins in sand; suggesting, as remarked by Spier,[2] a combination of the southern and northern types of hidden-ball game. In general, locating the concealed object on the first guess is associated with the use of mounds of sand, while the reed game proper employs the principle of locating the hidden object on the third guess, with which is associated a complicated manner of scoring.

The two most widely distributed guessing games are the stick games and the hand games. The stick games are absent in the entire southern region of guessing games, that is, among Caddoans and Kiowans of the Plains, all groups of the Southwest, all Shoshoneans (including the entire region of the Great Basin), and southern California. This confines the stick games to the Northwest Coast, northern and central California, the Plateau, and a sporadic belt of occurrences through the Plains and the Eastern Woodlands to the Algonquians of the New England Coast.

---

[1] Culin, Games, p. 329.

[2] op. cit.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

525
171

The most typical developments of the stick games occur on the Northwest Coast, in northern California, and in the Plateau region. Two types are distinguishable here on the basis of the paraphernalia of play; while the principle of play is the same. On the Northwest Coast, among the Interior Salish, the Athapascans of California, the Klamath, and sporadically in northern California (as well as among the Teton Dakota of the Plains), a varying number of sticks among which is included an ace is divided into two parts, and the opponent guesses to locate or avoid the ace. Centering among the Coast Salish, but occurring also among the Klickitat, Chinook and Makah, is a variant in which the sets consist of ten wooden discs, one of which is an ace. The pack is divided while concealed under shredded cedar bark, and the guesser tries to choose the ace.

Variants of the stick games which occur in California, the Plains and the Eastern Woodlands, include one very general form in which an odd number of sticks is divided into two packs, and the opposition guesses for the odd number, the even number, or optionally even or odd. Other variants involve the guessing of the exact number of sticks in a bunch, or special manners of guessing chance distributions.

The basic principle of play of the typical stick games, the western stick and disc games, and the odd or even game, is a choice between two alternatives, some form of hiding or concealment (large numbers of sticks in the odd or even form being a method of concealment) being a preliminary.

The hand games proper are those which employ the hands as places in which an object to be guessed for is concealed. Such games are absent east of the Mississippi, among the pueblo and Athapascan peoples of the Southwest, and among most of the Algonquian tribes who play either the moccasin or stick game. Hand games occur in the Plains, throughout the Great Basin, California, the Plateau and the Northwest Coast. Hand games to the exclusion of other guessing games are played by all Shoshonean peoples save the Paiute of Pyramid Lake (who share with their Washo neighbors the four-stick game), and the Hopi (who like other pueblo groups play the reed game); by Caddoans; by Kiowans; by several Algonquian and Siouan tribes of the Plains; by the Kutenai; and by all Shahaptians except the Klickitat. Except for the development of the Ghost Dance ceremonial hand games, whose distribution is considered in Chapter XII, the hand game, wherever played, is a gambling game.

Reported information on the hand game, particularly the early material used by Culin, is especially weak in failing to distinguish two types of play. When an individual plays a hand game, he

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

525
● 171

hides a counter in one hand, or he hides two different counters one in each hand, and his opponent guesses for the hidden counter, or a given one of the two differing counters. As soon as more than two individual opponents play the game becomes more complicated. Typically, two players of one side each hide one counter or two differing counters, and opposing players guess the distribution. Probably both forms of play occur side by side in many more tribes than we have on record, the former for individual play, the latter for team play.

Some variants should be mentioned. Among some Californian tribes play is side against side, four players composing each side, but the guessing is individual player against opposing individual, as they sit; this form is consistent with the patterns for betting, which elsewhere even with team play, is individual against individual. Occasionally, as among one Pomo group, two players hide counters but the opposing guesser may optionally try to locate the whole distribution or the separate arrangement of either opponent's hands; this optional manner seems intermediate between two-hand and four-hand forms. The Achomawi, Haida and some others use one counter, and the opposition guesses in which hand (usually of four) it is located. Among some tribes one counter is passed along the players of a side (number not clearly stated) and opponents must locate the counter as to player, or hand. Among Yuman peoples, each member of a side conceals a counter, and the guesser tries for the whole distribution at once (apparently the sides usually consist of four members), and the guessing continues only for those unlocated. These variants, based on Culin, are local developments, and probably specializations of the hand game theme.

The type forms are the two-hand and four-hand manners of play already mentioned. In the two-hand form whether one counter or two is concealed the principle is the same; and in the four-hand form whether two counters or four are concealed the principle is the same. In the first case, the chance is one out of two, in the second one out of four (for a perfect guess). It is probable that the Plains method of play for the four-hand form, in which, if the guesser locates the counter of one opponent only, his side loses one tally and he continues to guess only for the counter not found, would prove more widespread if better information were available.

The early data used by Culin emphasizes predominantly the two-hand form. Later information on hand games of the Plains, Basin, California and the Plateau, of Kroeber, Lowie, Wissler, Spier, Gunther, Dorsey and others, as well as Powers' early material on California, in most cases reverses the emphasis, describing

primarily the four-hand fo[illegible] This form, being more complicated, undoubtedly confused the casual observer of earlier days. As a result we cannot be sure of independent distributions of the two forms, or the distribution of their coexistence. What Gunther states for the Klallam, "... they play with two bones, guessing for the marked one. Occasionally in a big game four bones are put into play, being held by two people,"[1] is likely to be an option much more widespread in the Plains, California, the Basin and the Plateau than our records show. Culin's data indicates a definite emphasis upon the two-hand form among tribes of the North Pacific Coast, and Boas has confirmed this.[2] The material sets of bones to hide catalogued by Culin, are for the most part of four bones, two pairs of similars, suggesting the four-hand form as the mode; nor does the occurrence of sets of two bones rule out the four-hand form, in view of the manner of giving each player one bone.

Before discussing the problem offered by the principles of play of the hand games and guessing games, some important characteristics of the distributions should be noted. No American Indian tribe plays all four types of guessing game. Four tribes play three games: The Klamath, Achomawi and Washo, play the local four stick game as well as the stick and hand games; and the Plains Cree play the stick game, the hand game and the moccasin game. With such rare exceptions, the American Indian tribes who play guessing games play at most two variants. The overlapping in the Eastern Woodlands is between the moccasin and stick games; in the Plains either between the moccasin and stick games or the stick and hand games, not between the hand and moccasin games[3]; while the main overlapping occurs in the Northwest Coast area, the Plateau and California, where stick and hand games occur side by side.

The stick games involve typically the chance principle of one out of two; the moccasin game, the reed game, and the four stick game,[4] involve a one out of four chance for a perfect guess. Hand games may involve either: two-hand hand games offer the one-of-two chance principle, four-hand hand games the one-of-four chance principle. The overlappings of the game distributions, except for the Northwest Coast and sporadic cases elsewhere, are

---

[1] Gunther, Klallam, p. 274.

[2] In conversation.

[3] In some cases, tribes of the Plains whose native game was the hand game played the moccasin game when opposed to tribes more accustomed to the moccasin game. (Pawnee).

[4] I assume here that the limitation of positions of the Paiute four stick game (Culin, 334) or of tallying for only four positions by the Klamath (Culin, 329) are typical of the four-stick game.

525 primarily between a two-alternative game and a four-alternative
game. This suggests that as regards the chance principles involved
171 the stick games may be related to the two-hand hand game, and
the moccasin, reed and four stick games to the four-hand hand game. An individual hand game must be a two-alternative game. As soon as a four-chance principle game is required four hands are necessary. To utilize the same principle for individual play, the objects must be objectified (four-stick game) or the receptacles objectified (moccasin and reed games).

In terms then of the principles of chance involved, the guessing games of the American Indians are probably differing developments of associations of other themes to the two chance themes which appear in the hand games. These two chance themes, the two alternative and four alternative manners, might be considered in terms of limited possibilities to be accidentally re-invented principles if our distribution showed a reasonably chance occurrence of the one-out-of-three or one-out-of-five principles. Two cases are on record suggesting a one-out-of-three chance: Meeker and Prescott report that the Oglala and Santee Dakota used three moccasins in the moccasin game: Meeker makes optional the use of two, three or four moccasins by the Oglala: Prescott describes three as the Santee norm. Prescott's statement is disputed by the reports of Neill and Riggs, who both state that four moccasins are the number used.[1] In addition to these statements, Catlin describes the Iowa as using three or four moccasins.[2] These are the only cases in which a one out of three chance is mentioned, and it seems at best an option. Five alternatives do not occur. These facts support the theory that the two-alternative and four-alternative chance themes have usurped the development of Indian guessing games because of the two-hand and four-hand forms of the hand game.

This theory concerns only the principles of chance involved in the play of the games. Such associated themes as paraphernalia, forms of scoring, musical accompaniment, etc., must be considered separately before statements relative to the total game complexes as such can be made. Furthermore, some specialized developments call for special explanation: the third-guess manner of the Pueblo reed game, associated with elaborate scoring devices, may have to be considered in relation to sources quite different from those of the general North American guessing game development. Such detailed problems require a more relevant place for discussion.

The Pawnee hand game, described in the next chapter, is primarily of the four-hand form, and belongs to the central area of distribution of the hand games, the Plains and the Basin.

[1] Culin, 364–365.

[2] ibid., 366.

VII.

THE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME

The old gambling hand game of the Pawnee, along with other 525
games, dances and social affairs, had gone the way of the rest of 178
Pawnee aboriginal culture by 1892. Occasionally games were
played, but the old life which began with early spring and included 668
one round of work and play that ended with the winter, was no
more. The Ghost Dance, with its doctrine of a return of the old
Indian life, and its mandate to stimulate that return by actively
reviving whatever could be recalled, amounted to a partial renaissance
of Pawnee culture. We can judge what was lacking most in
Pawnee life before the Ghost Dance by considering some of the
revivals. Memories of the societies and brotherhoods with their
dances and songs were recaptured in reconstructions of the old
paraphernalia, and the singing again of the old songs. But games [171]
were preeminent, as they were also among the Arapaho. The joy
of play had gone from Pawnee life before this. All was somber and
hopeless, full of death, disease and constant frustration. Of these
game revivals the most notable was the hand game.

The game was revived first as a game. This is apparently the 668
significance of the constant iteration by informants that Tom
Morgan's game was not a ceremonial one originally, was the first 525
of them all, and did not come in response to a vision. The Arapaho 177
suggestion of a ceremonialized game combining Ghost Dance ideas
of the deceased playing in the beyond, with the game play, reached
the Pawnee.

Once the games were begun, whether it was by Morgan or by 668
Carrion, by direct inspiration or through borrowing from the 525
Arapaho, the idea of learning Ghost Dance hand games in visions
spread like wildfire and the games sprang up like mushrooms. This
radical development by individuals only came after the movement
to dethrone Frank White as the sole prophet of the Pawnee Ghost
Dance. As late as 1930 I was able to list twenty-two individual
game developments of the Pawnee. No doubt, if all the facts were
known, there were many more. For a game to persist after it was 668
once created, the owner had to be well thought of by his people, 525
so that someone would "put it up"; and the public had to believe 787

[p. 155]

It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band 778
were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" [621]
belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor [614]
by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging
to the several bands there were two bundles which were the [619
property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one 422]
or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most
sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one
was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning
Star, while the other symbolized the female element, or Evening
Star. These ears of corn were shelled and given to the people as
seed corn at the first ceremony in the spring. Next in importance [237]
were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin
symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be
awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet
grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies,
tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained
other articles, and the skins of birds other than those
mentioned. [611]

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary 422
keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the 428
owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped 778
in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on 621
the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always 778
placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning
Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent
paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from
those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey considers [171]
the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to
the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine
bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. 778
The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in 796
the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl.
7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by
a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony
the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the
freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances
there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not [793]
fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the
people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization
of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

---

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Simms, Director of the Field Meusum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 8).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533*
171

COMPARISON OF PAWNEE SONGS WITH CHIPPEWA, SIOUX, UTE, MANDAN, HIDATSA, AND PAPAGO SONGS

MELODIC ANALYSIS

TABLE 1.—TONALITY

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Major tonality	520	53	33	38	553	51
Minor tonality	424	42	39	46	463	43
Both major and minor	5	------	1	1	6	------
Third lacking	26	2	12	14	38	4
Irregular [1]	12	1	1	1	13	1
Total	987	------	86	------	1, 073	------

[1] Songs are thus classified if they are "pure melody without tonality," the tones not having an apparent relation to a keynote. In such songs the tones appear to be arranged with reference to intervals rather than with reference to a keynote, many being based on successive intervals of a fourth.

TABLE 2.—FIRST NOTE OF SONG—ITS RELATION TO KEYNOTE

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Beginning on the—						
Fourteenth	1	------	------	------	1	------
Thirteenth	4	------	1	1	5	------
Twelfth	143	10	7	8	150	14
Eleventh	14	1	1	1	15	1
Tenth	55	6	14	16	69	6
Ninth	28	3	4	5	32	3
Octave	199	20	17	20	216	20
Seventh	16	2	------	------	16	1
Sixth	34	3	1	1	35	3
Fifth	264	30	21	24	285	26
Fourth	17	2	2	2	19	2
Third	82	8	4	5	86	8
Second	22	2	2	2	24	2
Keynote	96	10	11	13	107	10
Irregular	12	1	1	1	13	1
Total	987	------	86	------	1, 073	------

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
● 171

TABLE 3.—LAST NOTE OF SONG—ITS RELATION TO KEYNOTE

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Ending on the—						
Sixth	1				1	
Fifth	327	*33*	21	*24*	348	*32*
Third	112	*10*	2	*1*	114	*11*
Keynote	535	*54*	62	*72*	597	*56*
Irregular	12	*1*	1	*1*	13	*1*
Total	987		86		1,073	

TABLE 4.—LAST NOTE OF SONG—ITS RELATION TO COMPASS

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Songs in which final note is—						
Lowest in song	733	*74*	68	*78*	801	*75*
Highest in song	1				1	
Immediately preceded by—						
Fifth below	1				1	
Fourth below	23	*2*	2	*2*	25	*2*
Major third below	7				7	
Minor third below	28	*3*	1	*1*	29	*3*
Whole tone below	19	*2*	2	*2*	21	*2*
Semitone below	7		2	*2*	9	
Immediately preceded by a lower tone and containing tones lower than final tone	168	*17*	11	*10*	179	*16*
Total	987		86		1,073	

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533*
171

TABLE 5.—NUMBER OF TONES COMPRISED IN COMPASS OF SONG

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Seventeen tones	3	......	4	*5*	7	......
Fifteen tones	1	......	......	......	1	......
Fourteen tones	15	*2*	......	......	15	*1*
Thirteen tones	54	*5*	4	*5*	58	*6*
Twelve tones	171	*18*	10	*11*	181	*17*
Eleven tones	82	*8*	8	*9*	90	*8*
Ten tones	111	*10*	12	*14*	123	*11*
Nine tones	103	*10*	5	*6*	108	*10*
Eight tones	284	*30*	19	*22*	303	*27*
Seven tones	62	*6*	3	*3*	65	*6*
Six tones	56	*6*	7	*8*	63	*6*
Five tones	36	*4*	12	*14*	48	*5*
Four tones	6	......	1	*1*	7	......
Three tones	3	......	1	*1*	4	......
Total	987	......	86	......	1,073	......

TABLE 6.—TONE MATERIAL

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
First 5-toned scale[1]	13	*1*	5	*6*	18	*1*
Second 5-toned scale	99	*10*	7	*8*	106	*10*
Fourth 5-toned scale	227	*20*	8	*9*	235	*22*
Fifth 5-toned scale	2	......	......	......	2	......
Major triad	13	*1*	1	......	14	*1*
Major triad and one other tone	119	*14*	4	......	123	*20*
Minor triad	4	......	......	......	4	......
Minor triad and one other tone	86	*9*	10	*11*	96	*9*
Octave complete	58	*6*	4	*5*	62	*5*
Octave complete except seventh	93	*9*	8	*9*	101	*9*
Octave complete except seventh and one other tone	93	*9*	14	*16*	107	*10*

[1] The 5-toned scales mentioned in this table are the 5 pentatonic scales according to Helmholtz, described by him as follows: "1. The first scale, without third or seventh. . . . To the second scale, without second or sixth, belong most Scotch airs which have a minor character. . . The third scale, without third and sixth . . . To the fourth scale, without fourth or seventh, belong most Scotch airs which have the character of a major mode. The fifth scale, without second and fifth." (Helmholtz, H. L., The Sensations of Tone, London, 1885, pp. 260, 261.)

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
●171

TABLE 6.—TONE MATERIAL—Continued

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Octave complete except sixth	38	*4*	2	*2*	40	*3*
Octave complete except sixth and one other tone	15	*1*	4	*5*	19	*1*
Octave complete except fifth and one other tone	1	------	--------	------	1	------
Octave complete except fourth	26	*3*	5	*6*	31	*3*
Octave complete except fourth and one other tone	10	*1*	--------	------	10	*1*
Octave complete except third	5	------	--------	------	5	------
Octave complete except second	27	*3*	--------	------	27	*2*
Other combinations of tone	58	*6*	14	*16*	72	*6*
Total	987	------	86	------	1,073	------

TABLE 7.—ACCIDENTALS

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Songs containing—						
No accidentals	822	*83*	78	*92*	900	*84*
Seventh raised a semitone	22	*2*	3	*3*	25	*2*
Sixth raised a semitone	17	*1*	--------	------	17	*1*
Fourth raised a semitone	20	*2*	2	*2*	22	*2*
Third raised a semitone	3	------	--------	------	3	------
Third lowered a semitone	2	------	--------	------	2	------
Other combinations of tone	89	*9*	2	*2*	91	*9*
Irregular	12	*1*	1	*1*	13	*1*
Total	987	------	86	------	1,073	------

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533*
171

TABLE 8.—STRUCTURE

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Melodic	594	*60*	48	*56*	642	*60*
Melodic with harmonic framework	197	*20*	15	*17*	212	*20*
Harmonic	184	*19*	22	*25*	206	*19*
Irregular	12	*1*	1	*1*	13	*1*
Total	987	......	86	......	1, 073	......

TABLE 9.—FIRST PROGRESSION—DOWNWARD AND UPWARD

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Downward	608	*61*	62	*71*	670	*62*
Upward	379	*38*	24	*28*	403	*38*
Total	987	......	86	......	1, 073	......

TABLE 10.—TOTAL NUMBER OF PROGRESSIONS—DOWNWARD AND UPWARD

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Downward	16, 848	*63*	1, 393	*64*	18, 241	*63*
Upward	9, 929	*37*	786	*36*	10, 715	*37*
Total	26, 777	......	2, 179	......	28, 956	......

TABLE 11.—INTERVALS IN DOWNWARD PROGRESSION

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Interval of a—						
Twelfth	1	......	......	......	1	......
Ninth	1	......	......	......	1	......
Octave	2	......	2	......	4	......
Seventh	2	......	4	......	6	......
Major sixth	13	......	4	......	17	......
Minor sixth	20	......	10	*1*	30	......
Fifth	138	......	12	*1*	150	......

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
●171

TABLE 11.—INTERVALS IN DOWNWARD PROGRESSION—Continued

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Interval of a—Continued.						
Fourth	1, 761	*10*	158	*11*	1, 919	*11*
Major third	1, 651	*10*	139	*10*	1, 790	*10*
Minor third	5, 009	*30*	322	*24*	5, 421	*30*
Augmented second	8	......	......	......	8	......
Major second	7, 553	*46*	635	*45*	8, 188	*45*
Minor second	599	*5*	107	*1*	706	*5*
Total	16, 848	......	1, 393	......	18, 241	

TABLE 12.—INTERVALS IN UPWARD PROGRESSION

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Interval of a—						
Fourteenth	1	......	......	......	1	......
Twelfth	17	......	......	......	17	......
Eleventh	4	......	1	......	5	......
Tenth	14	......	2	......	16	......
Ninth	15	......	2	......	17	......
Octave	136	*1*	19	*2*	155	*1*
Seventh	40	......	2	......	42	......
Major sixth	122	*1*	16	*2*	138	*1*
Minor sixth	82	*1*	20	*2*	102	*1*
Fifth	645	*6*	65	*8*	710	*7*
Fourth	1, 686	*17*	112	*14*	1, 798	*17*
Major third	1, 068	*10*	74	*9*	1, 142	*10*
Minor third	2, 489	*25*	119	*14*	2, 608	*24*
Major second	3, 267	*33*	286	*37*	3, 553	*33*
Minor second	343	*3*	68	*9*	411	*4*
Total	9, 929	......	786	......	10, 715	......

TABLE 13—AVERAGE NUMBER OF SEMITONES IN AN INTERVAL

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Number of songs	987	......	86	......	1, 073	......
Number of intervals	26, 777	......	2, 179	......	28, 956	......
Number of semitones	82, 664	......	6, 856	......	89, 520	......
Average number of semitones in an interval	3. 08	......	3. 18	......	3. 26	......

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533*
171

RHYTHMIC ANALYSIS

TABLE 14.—PART OF MEASURE ON WHICH SONG BEGINS

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Beginning on unaccented part of measure	354	*36*	42	*50*	396	*37*
Beginning on accented part of measure	591	*60*	44	*50*	635	*59*
Transcribed in outline	42	*4*			42	*4*
Total	987		86		1,073	

TABLE 15.—RHYTHM (METER) OF FIRST MEASURE

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
First measure in—						
2-4 time	539	*54*	54	*63*	593	*55*
3-4 time	356	*36*	28		384	*37*
4-4 time	9	*1*			9	*1*
5-4 time	13	*1*	2		15	*1*
6-4 time	1				1	
7-4 time	2				2	
3-8 time	7				7	
4-8 time	6				6	
5-8 time	8		1		9	
6-8 time	1				1	
7-8 time	1				1	
2-2 time	2		1		3	
Transcribed in outline	42	*4*			42	*4*
Total	987		86		1,073	

TABLE 16.—CHANGE OF TIME (MEASURE LENGTHS)

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Songs containing no change of time	134	*10*	22	*26*	156	*14*
Songs containing a change of time	811	*84*	64	*74*	875	*81*
Transcribed in outline	42	*4*			42	*4*
Total	987		86		1,073	

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
● 171

TABLE 17.—RHYTHMIC UNIT

	Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago	Per cent	Pawnee	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Songs containing—						
No rhythmic unit	305	*30*	13	*15*	318	*30*
One rhythmic unit	524	*53*	40	*46*	564	*52*
Two rhythmic units	96	*10*	26	*30*	122	*11*
Three rhythmic units	13	*1*	7	*8*	20	*2*
Four rhythmic units	5	------	------	------	5	------
Five rhythmic units	2	------	------	------	2	------
Transcribed in outline	42	*4*	------	------	42	*4*
Total	987	------	86	------	1,073	------

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

TABLE 1.—The distinctive structure of Pawnee songs is shown in this table. The percentage of songs with minor tonality is 46. This is higher than in any tribe under anaylsis except the Sioux, which has 60 per cent of its songs in minor tonality. The percentage of songs lacking the third above the keynote is 14, contrasted with 10 per cent in the Papago and 1 in the other tribes. One song is classified as irregular, and one as both major and minor in tonality.

TABLE 2.—The highest percentages of initial tones are on the tenth, octave, fifth, and keynote, showing that the fundamental and its simplest overtones are used for the framework of a majority of the melodies. The percentage of songs beginning on the tenth is 16, while the highest in any other tribe (the Sioux) is 10 per cent. In the songs beginning on the octave this tribe shows the same percentage as the total of 987 songs previously analyzed, while in those beginning on the fifth the percentage is considerably below that tabulation. Only 5 per cent of the songs begin on the third, while the total number shows 8 per cent beginning on that tone, but the percentage beginning on the keynote is 13, contrasted with 10 in the other tribes. Pawnee songs therefore differ from tribes previously analyzed in having a much higher percentage beginning on the tenth and the keynote, and a lower percentage beginning on the fifth and third, while having the same percentage beginning on the octave.

TABLE 3.—A preference for the keynote is shown in this, as in the preceding table, the percentage ending on the keynote being 72 while in the tribes previously analyzed it is only 54. Similarly, an avoidance of the third is shown in the ending of 1 per cent of the songs on

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533*
171

that tone while the total of songs from other tribes shows 10 per cent ending on that tone.

TABLE 4.—The difference between the songs in various tribes is clearly shown in this table. In the Pawnee songs 78 per cent end on the lowest tone of the compass, while in the Papago group 90 per cent contain tones lower than the final tone. The Papago resemble the Chippewa and Sioux, which have respectively 90 and 88 per cent ending on the lowest tone of the compass.

TABLE 5.—In the compass of the songs we again see a feeling for the overtones of a fundamental, the highest percentage being those having a compass of 12, 10, 8, and 5 tones. The percentage having a range of an octave is smaller than in any tribe except the Chippewa, while the percentage with a compass of 5 tones is 14, the largest in any tribe under present consideration. This is approached only by the Mandan and Hidatsa, with 8 per cent.

TABLE 6.—The major and minor 5-toned scales are not favored by the Pawnee, only 23 per cent of their songs being based on these scales, while in the 987 songs previously analyzed 31 per cent are based on these scales. Five of these songs are on the first 5-toned scale which omits the third and seventh tones of the diatonic octave. The Pawnee avoid the use of the complete octave, showing only 5 per cent of such songs, while the entire number of other songs show 6 per cent. It is, however, interesting to note that 38 per cent of the Pawnee songs contain the octave lacking one or two tones, while the combined songs of other tribes show only 30 per cent of such melodies. Thus it is shown that the Pawnee have a smaller percentage of songs on the 5-toned scales and the complete octave, and a much larger percentage containing six or seven tones. This suggests a less primitive form of music than that based on 5-toned scales.

TABLE 7.—The percentage of songs without accidentals is larger than in any other tribe under analysis except the Ute, which contains 96 per cent of such melodies. The most frequent accidental is the seventh raised a semitone, this occurring in three songs which are minor in tonality.

TALBE 8.—In structure we find the harmonic songs higher in percentage than in any tribe except the Mandan and Hidatsa, which comprise 30 per cent of such songs. The Pawnee comprise 25 per cent. This shows a less primitive structure in Pawnee than in the other songs under analysis, a majority of which are melodic in structure.

TABLE 9.—The percentage of songs beginning with a downward progression is considerably higher than in any other tribe under analysis. The percentage in Pawnee is 71, while in the Papago songs it is only 37, and in the Mandan and Hidatsa songs it is 51 per cent.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
171

TABLE 10.—The percentage of descending and ascending intervals is almost the same in the Pawnee as in the combined Chippewa, Sioux, Ute, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Papago songs, the percentage in the combined tribes being 63 in descending and 37 in ascending intervals, while the Pawnee contain 64 per cent descending and 36 per cent ascending intervals. This, like the preceding table, shows the descending trend of Pawnee songs. A different trend is shown in the Papago songs, which contain 59 per cent descending and 41 per cent ascending intervals.

TABLES 11 AND 12.—A peculiarity of Pawnee songs is shown in the relatively small percentage of minor thirds, these being 24 per cent in descending and 14 per cent in ascending progression, contrasted with 30 and 25 per cent in the combined songs of other tribes. The Pawnee, more than other tribes, use the interval of a fifth which constitutes 1 per cent of the descending and 8 per cent of the ascending intervals but which, in the combined other tribes, constitutes less than 1 per cent of the descending and 6 per cent of the ascending intervals. The fourth occurs with about the same frequency in Pawnee as in the other tribes but the percentage of whole tones is 45 in descending and 37 in ascending order, contrasted with 46 per cent in descending and only 33 per cent in ascending order. The percentage of semitones (both ascending and descending) is 10 in the Pawnee and only 6 in the other tribes under analysis.

TABLE 13.—The average number of semitones in an interval is slightly larger than in the Ute, which was 3.14 semitones, and considerably larger than in the combined songs under analysis, which is 3.08 semitones. The average interval is still approximately a minor third, and contains 3.18 semitones.

TABLE 14.—In all the tribes previously studied a majority of the songs have begun on the accented part of the measure. The Pawnee songs are evenly divided in this respect, half beginning on the accented and half on the unaccented part of the measure.

TABLE 15.—The Pawnee resemble the other tribes under observation in preferring to begin their songs in 2-4 time rather than in triple or other meter. The Papago songs show 66 per cent and the Ute and Pawnee each 62 per cent beginning in double time. In other tribes the percentage of songs beginning in 2-4 time is smaller.

TABLE 16.—In the percentage of songs containing no change of time the Pawnee is higher than any other tribe under analysis, showing 26 per cent. The nearest approach to this is the Chippewa with 23 per cent and the lowest is the Papago with only 9 per cent. The Chippewa Tribe has probably been in contact with the music of the white race more than any other analyzed tribe except the Pawnee, and a modification is clearly shown in the retaining of one measure-length throughout so large a proportion of the songs.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

TABLE 17.—A developed rhythmic structure is shown in the high percentage of songs containing two rhythmic units, this being 30 per cent in the Pawnee and only 10 per cent in the combined songs of other tribes. The songs with three rhythmic units constitute 8 per cent in the Pawnee and 1 per cent in the songs of other tribes. The percentage of Pawnee songs with one rhythmic unit is considerably lower than in the combined tribes and that of the songs with no rhythmic unit is only half the percentage in the larger group. 533* 171

The comparative table showing the rhythm of the drum has been discontinued, as the purpose of this analysis seems to have been accomplished. The analysis of Pawnee songs according to this basis is shown on page 125. This data and the comparative table of drum rhythms in Bulletin 80, pages 25-26, show that the Indians under observation prefer an even drumbeat, each stroke uniform in stress and corresponding to sixteenth, eighth, quarter, or half notes of the song. In some tribes there have been instances of elaborate drumbeats, but no trace of this was found among the Pawnee, either in recorded songs or in the performances heard at gatherings. This is in accordance with other evidence that the music of the Pawnee has been modified by the establishing of a more settled mode of life or, perhaps, by hearing the music of the white race. The Yuma and Cocopa, in contrast to these tribes, use elaborate rhythms of drum and rattle. [177]

Other tables which have been discontinued are those showing the keynote of the song and the metronome tempo of voice and drum. These were last used in the analysis of 710 songs in Northern Ute Music, Bulletin 75, pages 42 and 48-51. The result of the analysis was summarized in Mandan and Hidatsa Music, Bulletin 80, page 15.

SUMMARY

From the foregoing it appears that Pawnee songs resemble those of the Ute more closely than those of other tribes. Occasional resemblances are noted between the Pawnee and Chippewa, as well as between the Pawnee and Sioux, Mandan, and Hidatsa, but the Pawnee songs differ widely from those of the Papago who live on the Mexican border, a portion of the tribe still residing in Mexico.

The statement has been made in a previous paragraph that certain results of the Pawnee analyses suggest the influence of a settled mode of life or a contact with the music of civilization. This should not be understood to mean that the form of all the songs has been changed. This work contains many songs that undoubtedly have come down for many generations and there is no reason to think they were not sung correctly, but there are also songs of more recent origin, recorded

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

X

*533 in order that the music of the entire tribe may be represented. All
● 171 these songs are combined in the analyses and the latter class, to some
extent, affects the total numbers.

An important point, made evident in this comparative analysis, is the individuality of Pawnee music. It is distinct, in its entirety, from the songs of other tribes, though bearing a resemblance to one tribe or another in separate characteristics. The study of Indian music by an established system of analysis shows there are characteristics that are common to Indian songs of various tribes and different from the music of the white race, and also characteristics which distinguish the songs of one tribe from those of another. Among the former is the change of measure-lengths found in many Indian songs and the downward trend of the melody. The latter are indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. A characteristic of Pawnee music that evades, to some extent, the tabulated analysis, is its simplicity of both melody and rhythm. This can only be appreciated by a study of the melodies themselves. Pawnee music is the plainest of any thus far recorded in its rhythmic divisions and general content. This characteristic of the group may, however, be due to the absence of songs used in treating the sick, which are usually songs of complicated rhythms.

MORNING STAR CEREMONY

778 A sacred bundle of the Skidi Pawnee was associated with Morning
Star and its ceremony was held in the early spring, having for its
796 object the securing of good crops in the coming season. It was the
writer's privilege to see the Morning Star bundle in the house of the
woman who was its keeper, and also to see its contents exposed in the
ceremony. The bundle, in accordance with custom, was hung on the
[776] west wall of its owner's house, and with it were hung four large
gourds, symbolizing the four deities who were the special guardians
of Evening Star and also representing the breasts of the two women in
the west, Evening Star and Moon.[15]

773 The legend from which the Morning Star ceremony arose was
related by Coming Sun, whose grandfather was a high priest in the
[429 Morning Star village and who received his name by inheritance from
551] this ancestor. With Coming Sun's narrative is combined a limited
number of details mentioned by Linton in "Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee."

As already stated, Morning Star ruled in the east and Evening Star in the west. All the stars west of the Milky Way were feminine and those to the east were masculine, but the most powerful were Morning Star and Evening Star. Sun was with the former and Moon was a companion of the latter. One after another the eastern

---

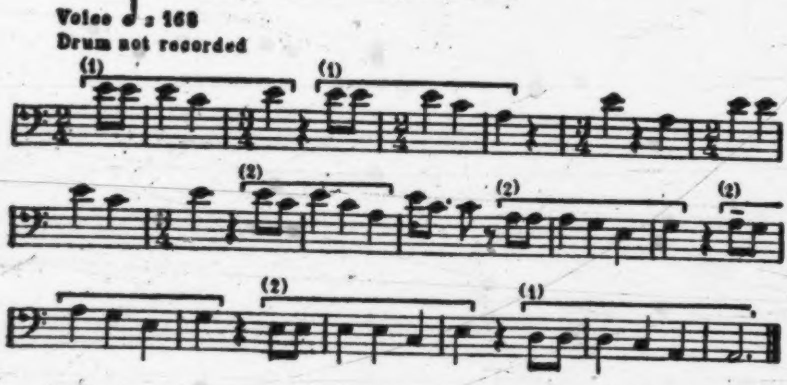
[15] Cf. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 52-55.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 20. Bear Dance Song (d)

(Catalogue No. 1151) 533*

Recorded by Dog Chief



Analysis.—This song is clearly harmonic in feeling, though three measures in the latter part of the song begin with nonharmonic tones. It has a compass of 12 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is chiefly by major and minor thirds. Two rhythmic units occur, and a comparison of these units forms the principal interest of the rhythm. Rests occur at the end of each phrase and after a detached tone in the fifth measure. These rests were clearly given in both renditions of the song.

SONGS OF THE DEER SOCIETY 533*

The Wichita Indians are said to have originated this society, which 575 has been discontinued for many years. The dance of the society was [787] held in the autumn when the corn was ripe, and its purpose was "to find out whether a man would be killed when going on the warpath." The dances took place in an earth lodge. A custom of the society, described by James R. Murie, appears to have been a testing of the powers of its members. Mr. Murie said, "These men drank mescal, putting about half a bean in a kettle of water. After drinking it they [276] fell unconscious. An attendant then ran the jaw of a garfish along the man's spine and if he recovered consciousness he was not considered fitted to belong to the society. [825] Members of this society had power over snakes and their dance was allied to that of the Mokis.[a] Each [171] dancer carried a fox skin and held in his mouth a plain bone or reed whistle on which he blew as he danced." There were four singers, [534] each carrying a bow in one hand and a gourd rattle in the other.

[a] [i.e., Hopi. - Analyst]

Analysis.—Four renditions were recorded. The first and second 533* renditions were interrupted by the shrill cries given by women in a war dance, the interruptions occurring in the eighth measure of the first and the ninth measure of the second rendition. After the second rendition the singer spoke several sentences rapidly and after the third rendition she repeated the shrill cries. The third and fourth renditions were sung without interruption. The foregoing is an interesting example of the performance of this class of songs. The tempo is slow and the melody is marked by a steadily descending trend. The song is harmonic in structure, contains all the tones of the octave, and has a compass of 11 tones.

SONGS OF THE RAVEN LANCE SOCIETY

[171]

The custom of the Pawnee concerning the raven lance (*kakutsaa*) 411 was similar to that of the Mandan.[70] A warrior who carried this lance 726 into battle and planted it in the ground was obliged to defend its 778 position with his life. If he were killed, his comrades brought back the lance. By the Pawnee informant the lance was described as a staff wrapped with otter hide and having a crook at the upper end. [237] It was decorated with eagle feathers and bore the body of a raven, commonly designated as a crow.

The dance of the Raven Lance Society was said to be "almost like 533* that in which the dancers painted half their bodies red and half 575 black," referring to the White Lance Society. The original owner of [302] this dance lived to extreme old age and, as he had no children, he 173 gave the dance to a young man who was one of his nearest relatives. 726 One day the people said, "Some Indians are coming to attack us." The young man who had received the dance took his raven lance, [431] mounted his pony, and went to get the old man. They rode together on the pony to a place near the fight and then went forward on foot, but the old man could not go as fast as the warriors. The old man called, "I am still coming," and the young man came back and helped him forward. The aged man was proud to see that the young man to whom he had given his dance was among the leaders in the fight. The enemy shot and killed the young man, and the lance was brought back with his body. Then the old man sang this song. In the manner of recording the song there was a wailing which was said to be "the old man crying because the young man had been killed and he had no more relatives," yet he loved the lance and all that it symbolized. He died soon afterwards and, as he was too old to give the dance to anyone else, the Pawnee do not have the dance at the present time.

---

[70] Cf. Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 48 and 49, including "Song to the Raven"; also Lowie, Societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, pp. 313-314.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

led into the dance lodge by women. Some of the young men were in 727
the full costume of Indian warriors, others were in civilian clothing, [177]
and Lawrence Murie wore the khaki uniform in which he had served
with the artillery at the front. The young soldier who directed the [411]
dancing carried a sword which had belonged to one of his ancestors.
The principal dance was the grass dance, followed by the war dance. [536
The former is common to all the tribes of the northern plains, extending
even to the Kutenai. According to Miss Fletcher, the dance 171]
originally was connected with the Hethushka Society of the Omaha,
a society whose object was "to stimulate an heroic spirit among the
people and to keep alive the memory of historic and valorous acts."[24]

A touching event in the second day's gathering was the expression 765
of sympathy for the parents of the young man who died in France. 727
They stood before the assembly while the chief and other leading
men talked to them. The speaker placed his hands on the man's [201]
head, drawing them down the man's arms to his hands; he also held
the man's hands closely in his own as he talked to him in a tender,
earnest manner.

Numerous speeches were made, and the occasion was marked by 727
dignity as well as rejoicing. The young soldiers appeared to be in
excellent health, were friendly toward all, and made a good impression
upon the white people who attended the gathering.

The song next following was sung by the women on the second day 533*
of the victory dance. It is an "honor song" and belonged to an old 727
man named Brown Bear (*guruks*, bear; *narahata*, brown), who died
not long ago. At a war dance he used to rise and sing this song [424]
without the drum, and "when he sang everybody cried." The
custom of weeping and even wailing aloud at public gatherings has
not been noted in tribes previously studied. The words of the song
meant, "Nobody knows when the world will end." The informant
added, "The old man used to say 'there is one person who knows
when the world will end.' "

Analysis.—This is one of the "crying songs," and the sliding tone, 533*
especially in measures 7, 8, 13, and 14, is impossible to transcribe.
The time was well maintained throughout the song. Attention is
directed to a comparison of the count-divisions in the two rhythmic
units and in the fifth and sixth measures from the close of the song.
All the tones of the octave occur in the melody which progresses by a
wide variety of intervals.

---

[24] Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, Twenty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 459.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

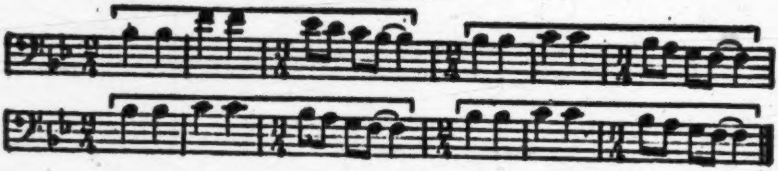
*533
539

No. 73. Folk Tale Song (b)

Recorded by Fannie Chapman

(Catalogue No. 1158)

Voice ♩ = 132
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

"You are a good gambler. They say you are a good gambler. Get up and play."

Analysis.—This song comprises four periods, the rhythm being the same in each. The descent of the voice at the close of each phrase was somewhat *glissando* but kept the intervals with reasonable distinctness. The song is melodic in structure and contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth.

539 They played again and the chief said, "Throw the sticks toward the east." They threw the sticks toward the east and the boy's stick went through the hoop and went on and on, and finally it turned into a buffalo. As soon as the chief's people saw the stick turn into a buffalo they began to cry, but the boy's people began to rejoice.

The young man asked, "Where is my brother's head?" They told him. He asked, "Where are his bones?" They told him this also. Then he laid his brother's bones in order on the ground, with the head at one end. Then he stood below his brother's foot and kicked the foot, saying, "Why are you sleeping so long?" His brother arose and said, "Yes, I have been asleep a long time," and smoothed his hair.

They killed the chief where the game had been played and they killed all the chief's people.

Then the two brothers returned to their own village.

STORY OF COYOTE AND THE TURKEYS[37]

RELATED BY MRS. MARY MURIE

There was a village and a man who used to run around by himself. He was Coyote. He went and sat on a hill looking down and he saw a big flock of turkeys. He was hungry, as coyotes always are, and he thought, "I am going to get one of them." So he went down. The turkeys nudged each other and said, "There comes a

---

[171]

[37] Cf. "Coyote and the turkeys," Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 265. Also story of Wenabojo and the ducks, Chippewa Music, p. 206. Although there is a similarity in these stories of the Pawnee and Chippewa there is no resemblance in the song which was sung in connection with the story.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

is the sun; the mud woman, the moon; the large rawhide image, the morn- 184
ingstar; the many small images, stars. 532

756
All this construction was part of the ritual and so controlled by a definite 778
program. When everything was in place, a general dedication ceremony 796
followed in connection with which is a spectacular march through the village
in two lines, according to their sides. In front, two men carry the sacred 756
animals from the altar, dancing. (For the Skidi, two loons are used, for 796
the other divisions, two beavers.) All medicinemen are supposed to derive
their powers from living creatures and their booths are spoken of as animal
lodges. In this procession each man costumes himself so as to represent
his animal mentor, often in very realistic fashion. There were also a few [522]
clowns dressed like wolves.

After the tour of the village, the procession enters the lodge and holds a secret ceremony upon which we have no data. Those on the outside hear a great uproar and a riot of hideous noises, while clouds of white dust rise from the smoke hole. When all is quiet again, the door is opened. The leader then performs a ceremony in which he sprinkles water about to consecrate the lodge.

It is then in order for the various medicinemen to demonstrate their animal powers. This is the time when remarkable feats of juggling were performed; thus it is told that stalks of corn were made to grow up and mature in a moment, likewise plums and cherries, the bear men tore out a man's liver and ate it, after which he rose unharmed, and so on, in bewildering variety.

Finally, a certain number of days were given to ceremonial visits to the sacred bundles, each in turn, where certain ceremonies were performed.

At the end the animal powers and images are taken down and carried to a stream or lake. Here they are heaped up in the water something like a beaver's house and the mud woman placed on top.[1]

Places or booths in this ceremony were assigned by the leaders. A man having set himself up as a medicineman would apply for a place. He would be assigned one provisionally and at the proper time called upon to demonstrate; if he failed to carry his trick through successfully he was ejected, but otherwise given a permanent seat. As may be anticipated from the foregoing, medicinemen were trained and not made suddenly through dreams or visions. It is true that such experience counted for much, but the usual way to become a medicineman was to succeed one's teacher at his death. Thus, it is clear that the seats in the twenty-day ceremony were practically fixed in form and number.

---

[1] It may be significant that the animal painted tipis of the Blackfoot and Dakota were always disposed of by sinking in water and that many ceremonial objects among the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan were similarly treated.— Ed. [171]

In case of the Pawnee, we may note the fine example of pattern phe- 575
nomena manifest in the adjustment of all kinds of ceremonies, original or 616
borrowed, to this scheme of two sides and alternate leadership.[1] Based
upon this fundamental pattern are two distinct patterns of organization: the 756
lance-bearing societies and medicinemen's associations. From the preced- 796
ing concrete accounts it is clear that all of the lance organizations must have been constructed or adjusted to the plan of some one parent society. The same may be said of the medicinemen's associations. We have commented upon the apparent dual division of chiefs and medicinemen (p. 639), the bundle scheme being the province of the former and to which the medicinemen were individually subject, but professionally formed a second half for social control. This duality is seen in the organization of all bundles and related societies under the four-pole ceremony and in like manner the organization of the medicinemen under the twenty-day ceremony. Here again is clearly a similarity of pattern in the coordination schemes for two groups of activities.

Another important conception of the Pawnee is the bundle sanction.
Thus, as keeper of the village bundle the chief rules by a kind of "divine 631
right," the highest exponent of which is the priest of the bundle, or the 778
keeper of the ritual. The hunt and the raising of grain were each guarded over and governed by virtue of bundle rituals. A lance society performed no public function except under the sanction of one of the bundles. Furthermore, the federation itself was based upon superior or leading bundles, from which the chiefs and priests derived their authority. One must suspect that the conception of a bundle sanction was so fundamental with the Pawnee, that the first step toward a federation was of necessity the creation of a series of superior bundles.

In keeping with the foregoing conceptions is the hereditary system. 611
Chiefs, priests, members of societies, etc. serve for life and endeavor to qualify some of their brothers and nephews to succeed them. In most organizations there were certain tests applied to the candidate for the ejection of the theoretically unfit, but these first chances were given to those whose brothers or uncles had been admitted to membership; likewise the priests of bundles must be those competent to perform the ritual, but here again the preference was given to maternal relatives. The important position of chief, or official keeper of the village bundle, was regarded as strictly hereditary to the next of kin, though incompetents were encouraged to decline the honor in favor of the next heir.

---

[1] A kind of dual leadership is found in many societies of the Oglala and Blackfoot, as shown in the preceding pages, but without any ceremonial associations or counterparts in other ceremonies, from which we infer that it reached these tribes as an objective part of a borrowed system. [171]

105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee
[171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but
they understood the arts of pottery-making and basket-weaving.
291; During the summer the men usually
wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings
and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins,
leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned
on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe
do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The
302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made
301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced
the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings.
342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth
lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine
Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the
sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or
bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi.
The first three of these were closely related, but the
Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and
considered themselves more closely related to the
Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some distance
to the north. In their settlements along the river,
[361] the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi
being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest
downstream, and the other two bands between. Each
621 band was divided into a number of villages which were
social as well as geographical units. All the members
of a village believed themselves to be descended from
a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made
within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female
[778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) containing
[793] sacred objects, and priests who had charge of
the rituals and ceremonies connected with these objects.
622 It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a
council composed of its leading men. If the chief was
a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

connected with the ceremony remained at the scaffold. 782
When the crowd had gone, the guardian removed the 796
arrows from the body one by one and handed them to an assistant who divided them into four bundles and laid these bundles northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest of the fireplace. The body was then taken down and carried a short distance to the east of the scaffold, where it was laid face down. The sacred arrow was drawn from its heart and laid upon
it. All then returned to the village, and the place was [766]
avoided for some time.

It was believed that the soul of the girl left her 775
body at the moment she was struck with the club and 782
went straight to Tirawa, who sent it to the Morning Star. The Morning Star clothed it with flint from his fireplace in the dawn and placed it among the stars in the heavens. Her body was thought to be not like ordinary bodies. Even after her death it possessed life. Things would be born from it, and the earth would be fertilized by it.

The sacrifice as a whole must be considered as a 773
dramatization of the overcoming of the Evening Star 782
by the Morning Star and their subsequent connection, 796
from which sprang all life on earth. The girl upon the scaffold seems to have been conceived of as a personification or embodiment of the Evening Star surrounded by her powers. When she was overcome, the life of the earth was renewed, insuring universal fertility and increase.

Human sacrifices were rare among the North 171
American Indians. The practice is known to have 782
existed among the Natchez, who lived in the present state of Mississippi, and possibly in Arizona and New Mexico. In Mexico, on the other hand, the idea was highly developed, and under the Aztec rule large numbers of victims were immolated every year. It may be

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

---

171 significant that several of the practices and concepts
782 connected with the Pawnee sacrifice find Mexican parallels. Early Aztec manuscripts show victims fastened to scaffolds like that used by the Pawnee and shot to death with arrows. In both places the body of the victim was cut open, and the blood offered. The idea that the sacrifice was more acceptable if the victim mounted the scaffold willingly was common to both, together with the still more striking idea that the victim was a personification of a deity. Among the Aztecs this concept reached its highest development, the victim in at least one ceremony being treated as a god for a year before his sacrifice. Finally, in both places there seem to have been astronomical beliefs connected with the sacrifices.

000 This account has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey and from articles by several other authors.

RALPH LINTON

which contained red, black, and white paint in little 778
buckskin pouches; sweet grass, a pipe and native tobacco, and the penis bone of a racoon, were also placed in each bundle, all these objects being used in the ceremonies. The sweet grass was burned as incense, and the bone was attached to a stick and used as a fork to remove meat from the pot. Some bundles contained additional objects.

When the bundle was not in use, all these articles were done up in an inner and an outer wrapper of buffalo hide and tied with a rope of plaited buffalo-hair. To the outside of the bundle were attached the stems of one or more pipes whose bowls were in the bundle, a few arrows captured from the enemy, and some other objects. The arrows were used as fire pokers and pipe tampers during the ceremonies. In [276
ceremonial smoking it was forbidden to press down 782]
the tobacco in the pipe with the finger lest the gods should think that the smoker offered himself to them with the tobacco. Associated with each bundle, and often fastened to it, there were four large gourd rattles of special form. These symbolized the four dieties who were the special guardians of the Evening Star, and also represented the breasts of the two divine women in the west,—the Evening Star and the Moon.

Except at the time of ceremonies, the sacred bundle was hung up on the west side of its keeper's lodge, above the buffalo skull which was always placed there. When so hung, it was likened by the Pawnee to a dead man in his grave. The spirit lived in it, but slept. Even when opened, the bundle continued asleep until the Mother-Corn had been placed in it. It then came to life, and during the ceremony the corn and the other objects represented, individually and collectively, supernatural beings. These beliefs of the Pawnee differ [071]
considerably from those held by most of the other tribes who used sacred bundles; and Dr. G. A. Dorsey

171 has concluded that the village bundles of the Pawnee
778 are more nearly comparable to the elaborate altars of the Southwestern Indians than to the medicine bundles of the northern Plains tribes and Central Algonkins.

778
796 It seems probable that there was originally a special ceremony connected with each bundle. There were additional ceremonies, such as that held when the first thunder was heard in the spring, which might be performed with several bundles in turn, and there were a few rites in which all the bundles participated. The [783] purification of the sacred bundles belonged to the last class.

778
783 The purification ceremony was held in the spring and again in the autumn, before the tribe left their permanent villages for the buffalo hunt. It has already been said that the Four Direction village had four sacred bundles. These took the lead in successive years. When the chiefs had decided upon the date for departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the bundle which was leader in that year. He sent his errand man to summon the priests of the other three bundles. These came to his lodge, bringing their bundles with them. As they entered, they beat their bundles, then crossed to the west side of the lodge, and seated themselves with their bundles in front of them on the ground. The errand man was then sent to summon the keepers of all the other village bundles, directing them to bring their bundles and also mats, pillows, and food-bowls. When these arrived at the lodge, they took designated places around it, spreading their mats on the ground and hanging their bundles, unopened, on the wall behind them.

783 When all had arrived, one of the four priests went through the village announcing the beginning of the ceremony and calling on the people to bring gifts to [782] Mother-Corn. These gifts consisted of a robe, moccasins, a hair cord, to be used as a girdle, and dried meat

rest of the village, men, women and children, remained 783
at the river, swimming and playing in the water.

Ceremonies of general purification were important 171
among the settled agricultural tribes of the southeastern
and southwestern United States. Among these tribes
they were usually associated with the making of new
fire, a feature which seems to have been lacking in the
Pawnee ceremony. The account of this ceremony has 000
been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A.
Dorsey.

RALPH LINTON

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1923 1

LEAFLET NUMBER 8

Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men

A general description of the Pawnee, with an account of their religious beliefs and social organization, has been given in Leaflet No. 5 of this series. Although geographically a Plains tribe, they differed in several respects from the typical tribes of the region. While the latter were all nomadic hunters, the Pawnee were settled agriculturists, inhabiting permanent towns and subsisting largely on their crops. When on hunting trips, they used the typical skin-covered tent of the plains, but in their towns they built large houses of wood covered with earth. A model of one of these houses is shown in the miniature group illustrating the annual ceremony of the Medicine Men. 101 [171]

The earth lodges of the Pawnee were dome-shaped, about forty feet in diameter and fifteen feet high. The roof was supported by two concentric rows of uprights, the outer row being planted just in front of a ledge, about a foot and a half high, which entirely surrounded the inside of the lodge. The outer posts, which varied in number according to the size of the lodge, were about seven feet high, and were placed about the same distance apart. The inner row of posts stood about half way between the outer wall of the lodge and its center, and were about twelve feet high. They varied in number from four to ten. All the uprights were forked and bore a row of cross beams, which supported rafters extending from the outer uprights to a point 342

occupied in the lodge. As the procession went down 756
to the river, the medicine men mesmerized one another, 796
and performed sleight of hand. It was customary,
before the witch woman's image was placed
in the water, for some woman among the bystanders
to remove all her clothing and ornaments and place
them upon it. When this ceremony was finished,
they returned to the medicine lodge, offered smoke to
the animal gods, and sprinkled the floor of the lodge
with water to cleanse it and free it from the powers
that had been summoned there during the ceremony.
After the lodge had been purified in this
way, the medicine men held a feast and returned to
their homes. The two medicine men to whom the
altar belonged remained behind to take it down and
roll the various objects up in the bundle in which
they were kept between ceremonies. This completed
the ceremony, and the owners of the lodge
were free to live in it as before.

In addition to the serious performers in the medicine 522
men's ceremonies there were certain men, called 796
kitscoa, who acted as clowns. They wore masks made
from corn husks, rawhide, wood, and feathers, dressed
grotesquely, and daubed their bodies with mud. It
seems to have been their duty to perform strange antics
during the ceremonies to amuse the people, and particularly
to imitate in a mocking spirit the serious
acts of the others. They were said to represent hairy
dwarfs or supernatural beings who had mysterious
ways and of whom the people were afraid. Similar [171] ●
clowns play an important part in the ceremonies of
some of the Pueblo tribes.

The function of the medicine men's ceremonies 756
was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, 796
drove disease from the village, and, by means of their
sleight of hand performances, convinced the people
that they really possessed the supernatural powers at-

A noteworthy diagnostic for this type of Pawnee ware is the collarlike rim. 172* It varies in width from 1 to 3 inches, is nearly or quite vertical on the inside, 323 and tends to increase gradually in thickness from the lip to its lower edge. The resultant effect is that of an overhanging collar (fig. 7, *a*). A modification of this type is shown in *b*; the rim is here of the same thickness as the body, but is slightly concave, and its lower edge is formed by a simple outward bending of the wall of the vessel. Occasionally the thickened lower edge of the rim is elaborated into tabs or protuberances, 4, 6, 8, or 12 in number (pl. 3, *c*). These are generally plain and unperforated, but where eight or more occur, alternate tabs are often extended downward to the body of the vessel to form broad loop handles (pl. 4, *a*). The simple, direct rim is also found, though not commonly in the class of ware here under discussion.

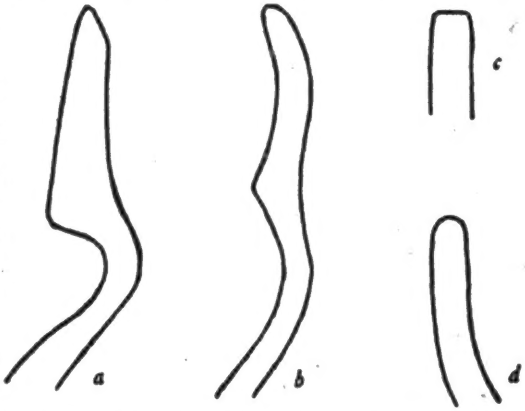


FIGURE 7.—Rim types characteristic of Pawnee pottery.

The distribution of this particular form of collared rim is of considerable interest and may be briefly mentioned at this point. It is found on sherds from early prehistoric cultures of the Republican Valley in southern Nebraska, but there the rims are seldom more than 1 or 1½ inches wide and bear a somewhat more varied style of ornamentation. 171 ● It does not occur along the Missouri River in eastern Nebraska, is virtually unknown in Kansas, and is not mentioned as a trait of Mandan ceramics.[45] 172* When we turn to the Iroquois area of New York and Pennsylvania, however, the characteristic 323 Iroquoian rim is startingly similar to that of the Pawnee pieces.[46] The latter tribe, it is true, never made vessel mouths square in outline, whereas the former often did so. But in the matter of an overhanging, collar-like rim, thinnest at the lip and thickest at the lower edge, the two areas are virtually identical. Tabs are not infrequently found on Iroquois rims also.[47] Decoration shows further similarities, as will be evident presently. The parallels thus existent between Pawnee and Iroquois wares seem too close to be purely for-

---

[45] Will and Spinden, 1906, pp. 173–179 (see, however, pl. 39, *l*; also pl. 40, *a*).

[46] Holmes, 1903, p. 160; Parker, 1916, pp. 485–487; Skinner, 1921, pp. 85, 89; 141–170.

[47] Holmes, 1903, p. 160, pl. CXLIV, *d*.

171
*172
323

tuitous and may well be indicative of some sort of former cultural and geographic connection between the two complexes.

*172
323
53!

In the matter of decoration Pawnee pottery is characterized by great uniformity and simplicity. The patterns are generally applied to the face of the rim, less commonly to the upper body. All ornamentation is incised. The commonest motifs are basically triangular. A line is drawn diagonally across the rim from lip to collar and back to lip, entirely about the vessel, and the triangles thus formed are filled in with hachuring. The hatched lines in any group are usually parallel to one side of the triangle rather than to the lip; also they are oblique to those of the adjacent figures (fig. 8, *a*). A slight modification consists of a series of chevrons produced by filling in the triangles with V-shaped figures of progressive size (*b*). The herringbone design ranks second in abundance. It is usually applied continuously around the rim, with the points toward the left in perhaps 75 percent of the sherds so ornamented. A third motif consists simply in diagonal parallel lines across the rim (*d*). All of these designs are used on the rim, but where body ornamentation occurs it is almost invariably in the hatched triangle pattern first described (fig. 8, *a*; pl. 3, *d*). The neatness and accuracy of the work varies greatly, but there is little modification of design (pls. 3–5). Cord marking has never yet been found on rims of Pawnee vessels, but nearly obliterated traces sometimes occur on the body.

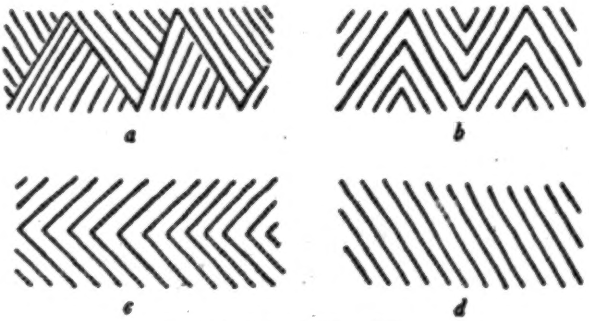


FIGURE 8.—Incised rim designs of Pawnee type.

Lips of vessels are very commonly ornamented, in addition to the rim proper. This involves the use of small indented elements repeated all about the lip, or if the latter be too sharp and narrow, of short diagonal incisions inside and just below the edge. This characteristic of small, repeated indentations closely set all along the lip is very common also on earlier wares of the Pawnee area, particularly along the Loup and Republican Rivers; but it is seldom found on the pottery of the Missouri Valley in eastern Nebraska.

171
172*
323
531

Parker, in describing rim decoration of the Iroquois of New York, says that the "collar is frequently decorated by a series of triangles within which have been drawn lines close together and parallel with one side of the triangle. These triangles contrast with one another as the parallel lines slant obliquely, either right or left, in the adjacent space."[48] Many of the vessels and rim sherds illustrated by Holmes[49] and Skinner[50] bear like or similar designs, sometimes made with cords but usually by simple incising. In Nebraska this motif appears also in earlier cultures west of the Missouri River, but is almost, if not quite, always associated with the collared rim. Curvilinear figures are absent alike in Iroquoian and Pawnee decorative art, and in keeping with the generally more simple character of their work the Pawnee never used the human face or figure as a part of their ornamentative products. But even allowing for the greater complexity and elaboration of Iroquoian pottery decoration, there is obviously a basic similarity in the most common motifs of the two groups that is highly suggestive, particularly in view of the likenesses in rim form noted above.

172*
323

The second major type of Pawnee ware differs markedly from that just described and is in most respects much inferior to it. The paste apparently contains much iron and, according to the intensity of the firing process, varies in color from light yellowish gray to a bright orange-red. It is characteristically very finely ground, hard, and tends to fracture in flakes. Tempering is of very fine sand, so sparingly used that it can often be detected only with the aid of a good lens.

Surface finish is invariably very rough and poorly executed. The rubbing stone was never used, and as a result the walls of vessels are of very uneven thickness. Occasionally the fingerprints of the potter can be detected in the depressions. In thickness the walls vary from three-eighths inch up; those of the preceding type are seldom more than one-fourth or at most three-eighths inch thick. The ware tends to crack along the midline of the walls, as though the inner and outer surfaces have been expanded or contracted unequally. The tendency of these pieces to crack is so marked as to lead one to the conclusion that they were either not dried thoroughly before firing or else that the baking process was very improperly carried out.

The only vessel shape so far determined for this ware is a rather deep bowl, 4 or 5 inches in diameter, about 3 inches deep, and having a direct undecorated rim (fig. 7, *c*, *d*). No fragments of pots

---

[48] Parker, 1916, p. 486.

[49] Holmes, 1903, pl. CXLV, *a–d*, CXLIX, *f–g;* and figures.

[50] Skinner, 1921, pls. XII, XIII, XXVI, XXVIII–XXXII and figure 38.

*172 323 6 are paddle marked, and 2 bear a heavy coating of red ochre on the interior. The patterns are simple and for the most part not to be distinguished from those of the Burkett ware, save perhaps in their greater simplicity. Curvilinear elements have not yet been found. This, together with the presence of ochre pigment on some of the pieces, is reminiscent of Pawnee ware.

Circular objects made by grinding down sherds to a disk shape and then perforating them are found at the Schuyler site. They vary in diameter from five-eighths to 1½ inches and probably represent beads, gaming disks, or ornaments; they are too small and light to have served as spindle whorls. None of the later historic Pawnee sites has yet yielded similar specimens.

To summarize: Pawnee pottery in historic times was often crude and unfinished, suggesting ceramic decadence. The earlier sites, however, show a progressive increase in complexity and variety of wares in inverse ratio to the amount of Caucasian influence to be noted in each. Thus, the Schuyler site, where only traces of Caucasian contact have been found, surpasses the later historic sites in the grade of pottery encountered, while the still earlier but also protohistoric Burkett site excels both in this regard. Reasons have already been given for regarding both of the above sites as closely related to the Pawnee culture of historic times. Logically one might expect a decline in ceramic activity following the acquisition of the horse and the impetus thus given to a more wandering hunting life. The introduction of metal utensils would have the same effect, and the observed decadence of historic Pawnee pottery is in line with this conclusion.

171 *172 323 More surprising is the resemblance noted between the ceramic art of the Pawnee and that of the Iroquois of New York. So striking is this resemblance in matters of rim form and designs that some sort of a basic relation between these two historically isolated groups is suggested. The prehistoric Pawnee-like cultures in south central Nebraska show these same tendencies and an interesting possibility of earlier southeastern connections between the two peoples is thus indicated. The pottery of the prehistoric rectangular earth lodges along the Missouri River in eastern Nebraska, however, is quite different from that of the Pawnee and shows little resemblance to any known Iroquoian ware.

WORK IN STONE[66]

*172 412 MANOS AND METATES.— Metates are very uncommon at any of the Pawnee sites, though rectangular manos are sometimes found. A

---

[66] Based largely upon the Hill collection, Hastings (Nebr.) Museum, and information supplied by Mr. A. T. Hill.

172* 276 about the end of the pipe. These devices were presumably for the attachment of a cord, which could be used to lash the pipes firmly onto their stems when in use, or to secure them against loss when carried with the sacred bundles on war and hunting trips. The comb in *d* may have served a similar purpose.

Unusual types are seen in *b*, *g*, and *k*. The first is slightly less than 1½ inches long, straight, and has a very slight taper; it is ornamented with a very well-executed face. The shape is reminiscent of the cloud blower of the pueblo area, though this particular pipe was undoubtedly fitted with a wooden stem; it is not at all typical of our area. As for the other two specimens, *g* and *k*, both have the bowl at right angles to the stem, but are fashioned from plain, subrectangular blocks of stone; *k* bears five notches on the outer side and two on the inner.

The specimens seen in *d* and *j* are also very nicely made and are remarkably symmetrical and well balanced. Added beauty is attained through the use of ornamental combs and keels, as already indicated, but these features appear not to have been very common.

[114] According to Charlevoix,[64] the Pawnee claimed to have received the calumet directly from the sun. From this he concluded that the tribe "paid the sun a more ancient and distinguished worship than the other nations of that part of America, and that they were the first who thought of making the calumet a symbol of alliance." The priority in use here postulated has not yet been demonstrated, but there is a marked similarity between certain of the Pawnee pipes and those from earlier cultures of the area, save that the latter are not ordinarily of catlinite. It is quite possible that the elaborate calumets figured in our series will ultimately be traced back through the sandstone and limestone types of southern Nebraska to an earlier curved form of clay so far known in the State only from the Missouri Valley. [171] ● These latter, while crude and roughly made, are suggestive of the trumpet-shaped pipes of the Iroquois,[65] to which they may bear a genetic relationship. The long-stemmed clay pipes of the southern Caddoans[66] are apparently lacking in Nebraska, although certain of the short-stemmed "variants" do resemble the pipes of the Pawnee.[67]

WORK IN BONE AND HORN

172* 412 321 AWLS.—These are to be found nearly everywhere in the area but are most common on the prehistoric and protohistoric sites. There is no fixed type, although the majority of specimens appear to have

---

[64] 1903, vol. I, p. 306.

[65] Skinner, 1921, pp. 89–103 and figure 13.

[66] Harrington, 1920, pls. CI and CII.

[67] Ibid., pl. CIV, *c*.

vidual, as a part of the deer-tail headdress. Similar devices are 172*
used by the Dakota and other Plains tribes. One complete specimen 321
and a few in various degrees of completion have been recovered, all 412
from the Hill site. They are in the Hill collection at the Hastings Museum.

Roach spreader.—This piece, from the Hill site, is carved of thin [301]
bone or antler and is about 5 inches long (fig. 12). It bears several
rows of tiny pits filled with red pigment and is pierced by 8 small holes, 5 of them at the round end. It was undoubtedly used to spread the deer's hair crest or roach sometimes worn as a headdress by the men; the 5 holes at the smaller end were for attachment of a plume holder of the type above described. In 1933 the present writer saw similar objects in use near Walters, Okla., among the Comanche, who claimed to have borrowed the idea from the Pawnee or Osage (cf. Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pl. 55 (Omaha); and Skinner, 1921, a, p. 113 and fig. 2 (Menominee)).

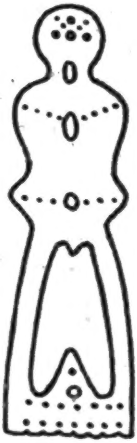


Figure 12.—Roach spreader from Hill site (Hill collection).

Chipping implements.—Deer-horn flakers are relatively scarce in Pawnee sites but were very common in earlier times. They are from 4 to 6 inches in length, less than an inch in diameter, and are slightly curved. Usually they appear to have been cut from the basal portion of the antler and are very much worn; the end is commonly
nicked and cut, as by small flakes of flint. They [171]
occur commonly in eastern Nebraska and have been reported from south-central Missouri (Pulaski County)[74] as well as from Cayuga, Seneca, and Neutral sites in New York.[75]

In addition to the foregoing type there is one made by cutting a semicircular piece diagonally out of a heavy leg bone of bison or elk. These pieces fit the fingers very conveniently, are much worn, and usually are deeply scored about the edges and at either extremity. They are quite abundant at all sites, but are not usually regarded as of any consequence by amateur collectors.

Teeth.—A number of teeth have been found on the surface at the 172*
old Skidi village north of Palmer as well as in caches at the Hill
site. A single specimen, presumably the canine tooth of a bear, has [301]
a perforated root for suspension; otherwise all are unmodified.

---

[74] Fowke, 1922, pl. 35.

[75] Skinner, 1921, p. 92.

*172 Molar teeth of bison and elk are also very common, but were not worked for ornamental uses.

CORN SHELLERS.—A rather common find in caches is either half of the lower jaw of a deer, wolf, or some similar animal, in which the teeth have been very much worn down on one side. The jawbone also frequently shows signs of much friction and wear. There is a possibility that these objects were grasped in the hand and used to scrape the corn from the cob in preparing it for cooking. None of the early writers mention this as a method, but it is entirely [171] feasible, and has been reported for the Iroquois (Parker, N. Y. State Mus. Bull. 117, p. 544, 1907).

*172 HORN SPOONS.—Bison horn was commonly used in making ladle-172 like spoons, by the simple expedient of cutting the horn in two 415 lengthwise and then trimming off the edges of each piece; sometimes 321 the small end was pierced as for suspension. Irving records them as being used by each individual,[78] and they are not infrequently found in graves, though their thinness renders them rather perishable. No mountain sheep horn has been found as yet, probably due to the presence of hostile tribes between the Pawnee and the range of that animal.

WORK IN SHELL

CLAMSHELLS.—Large Unio shells are fairly common in Pawnee villages, both as surface finds and in the graves and houses; a cache of about a dozen was found in the north edge of the lodge excavated by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, as has been previously mentioned. Two species of shells from this site have been identified by Dr. Frank C. Baker of the University of Illinois. They are *Proptera alata megaptera* (Raf.) and *Lampsilis ventricosa occidens* (Lea). Generally these shells are unworked, but a few are notched as though for attachment of a handle; incised or carved specimens are extremely rare. They are commonly found in graves and caches with paint materials in them, and probably served principally as receptacles. [412] A few show pronounced wear on the edges and were apparently used as digging or scraping tools.

301 Ornaments of historic Pawnee workmanship, so far as the archeo-*172 logical record is concerned, seem rarely to have been made of shell.

TUBULAR BEADS (?).—A rather interesting class of shell objects is 321 illustrated in plate 8, *m*. They are long white cylinders, very often tapering slightly toward the ends, and are perforated longitudinally. In length they vary; the upper two in the illustration are 4½ inches long, while the shortest is less than 3 inches; they average from one-fourth to three-eighths inch in diameter. Usually they are covered ment consists of two or more members twisted together into a thick, rounded cord; the space between warp elements is generally about 1 inch. The weft consists of rushes, used in pairs; these make a half turn on each other between every two warp elements, one member passing on either side of the warp. The manner of treating the edges is not known; they may have been finished in selvage, but there is nothing to indicate that such was the case. 172* 285

---

[78] 1835, vol. II, p. 18.

Mats, according to Dunbar,[84] were used on the floors of the lodge, on the beds, and as curtains in front of and between the sleeping compartments. They were also used for wrapping the bodies of the deceased for interment, as has been indicated above. [764]

Basketry.—Coiled baskets were made by the Pawnee, according to Weltfish,[85] but no traces of basketry have so far come to light in excavation. The foundation of the coil consisted of a single element made by splitting willow or cottonwood twigs radially into three segments, which were then used with the apex upward. Willow or elm splints supplied the sewing element. Viewed from the inside of the basket, the coiling was in a clockwise spiral. The stitches did not interlock. The usual form of basket appears to have been a shallow, flat-bottomed bowl, with flaring lips.[86] Scanty but unmistakable evidences of coiled basketry of a high order of workmanship have come from the prehistoric Missouri River earth lodges of Nebraska, in the form of impressions on lumps of clay, but the historic Pawnee sites have not yet shown the trait. (Strong, 1935, pl. 16, *f*.)

Mortuary Customs

In disposing of their dead the Pawnee practiced inhumation exclusively, at least within historic times. For the most part the rituals and general procedure were similar to those of their semisedentary neighbors, such as the Omaha, Oto, Ponca, and Kansa.[87] The graves were almost invariably on the highest hills near each village; if the hills were more than a mile or so distant interment was sometimes along the edges of ravines or the immediate banks of streams nearer the village. Low tumuli were raised over the remains.[88] These have since been entirely obliterated, so that there is at present nothing whatever in the way of surface indications to mark the graves. Where two or more bands occupied the same village, each appears to have had its own cemetery. The burial customs of all of the bands were, however, identical, hence will be 172* 764 [171] ●

---

[84] 1918, p. 600.

[85] 1930, pp. 277–286.

[86] Ibid., p. 286.

[87] Long, 1823, vol. II, pp. 281–282.

[88] Ibid., p. 281; Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 102; Oehler and Smith, 1851, p. [illegible]; Clayton, 1921, p. 96; Bushnell, 1927, pl. 36.

HOW THE DEER LOST HIS GALL

x539 A LONG time ago, the deer and the antelope met upon the prairie. At
773 that time both of them had dew-claws, and both had galls. After they had talked for a little while, each one of them began to boast about how fast he could run. Each one, the deer and the antelope, claimed that he could run faster than any other animal, and at length they became very angry in their dispute, and determined that they would have a race.

They staked their galls on the race, and it was run on the prairie. The antelope ran the faster, and won, and took the deer's gall. The deer felt very badly that he had lost it, and he seemed so miserable that the antelope felt sorry for him, and to cheer him up, he took off his dew-claws and gave them to him.

Since that time the deer has had no gall, and the antelope no dew-claws.

x539 NOTE.—A story somewhat similar to this is current among the
773 Blackfeet tribes of the northern country. In this tale the antelope won
171 the deer's gall, as in the Pawnee story. Then the deer said, "You have won, but that race was not a fair one, for it was over the prairie alone. We ought to run another race in the timber to decide which is really the faster." They agreed to run this second race, and on it they bet their dew-claws. The deer ran the faster through the thick timber and over the logs, and beat the antelope, and took his dew-claws. Since then the antelope has had no dew-claws, and the deer no gall.

The real
administrative officials of the Pawnees were the chiefs of the villages. All 621
people within a village considered themselves kin, and the chiefs were 622
conceived as heads of extended families rather than as superimposed government officials. Although the chieftainship was hereditary in certain families, the individuals selected to fill the post were chosen for their humility and sagacity. An aggressive temperament was considered a barrier to the office. There were definite implicit mechanisms for village 619
coordination and interband cooperation, often by means of emissaries
sent between the households of chiefs to express their combined opinions 626
and to learn the wishes of the other parties. Public opinion and consensus were always well estimated. No official conceived that an arbitrary decision was feasible or desirable.

The difference in our expectations is shown in the words of Fray Fran- 171
cisco Casañas de Jesus Maria, first missionary to the Caddo-Hasinai, a related tribe to the Pawnees, in 1691 (Swanton, 1942, pp. 170-171):

> These allied tribes do not have one person to govern them (as with us a kingdom is accustomed to have a ruler whom we call king.) They have only a *xinesi*. He usually has a subordinate who gathers together four or five tribes who consent to live together and to form a province or kingdom, as it might be called—and a very large one too, if all these tribes had one person to rule over them. But such a head they have not, and I, therefore, infer that this province in New Spain is called "Teijias" [Friend]—which really expresses just what they are because each tribe is a friend to all the others—cannot be called a kingdom.

And Robert Lowie says in *The Crow Indians* (1935, p.5):

> How shall we conceive the ancient chief?—a good "valiant" man. He was neither a ruler nor a judge and in general had no power over life and death —he decided when and where his followers should move and pitch camp.

As I studied Pawnee life I often asked myself how far the power 000
mechanisms that characterize our present social life are really indispensable. In our theory of democracy we express a profound desire for the kind of voluntarism that the Pawnee practiced. It is not easily described, for it is implicit in the individual personalities of the people themselves. Their personality pattern only too readily eludes us, and only by attention to minute detail can we come to understand its special quality.

And yet, although very different in all other details, Pawnee life, like 221
our own, was strongly molded by the four seasons. Each of the seasons had its special program of activities that, taken together, made a complete and consistent pattern. The spring and fall of the year were the times of planting and harvesting the crops of corn, beans, and squash. During these two seasons the Pawnees lived in their earth-lodge villages that

of the Skidi villages of Village-across-a-Ridge and Pumpkin-Vine 609
would join the Wolf-in-Water and Bottomland Village, and they 621
would play rough and kick one another. 539

The location of the four bands was along the west side of Beaver 621
Creek and the Skidi were in the westernmost position, the other three 361
bands about half a mile away to the east. While according to past tradition, they always lived south of the Skidi and were referred to generally as "South Bands," they were now actually located to the east:

> "The Skidi chief would sit on a high bluff and the Eastward (*tu-* 621
> *hawit,* "Settlement-east" chiefs sat on a bluff near their home and they 524
> would watch the boys. They said, "When we were boys we used to play like that and kick."
>
> It would begin in the evening when the boys would call out, *hu-hu-hu.* Then the boys would hear and come outside. Folks would say to the small boys, "Don't go there, you'll get hurt," but some would steal out and join the fight anyway. When one side would be chased back, the older people would laugh and say, "Go back again. . . ."
>
> When it got darker the little boys were told to go back and run home because the big boys were going to fight now—the sixteen-to-eighteen-year-olds. Then in the moonlight sometimes, the men of about thirty years old would fight, and then afterward the old men forty and over. The men would take blankets from one another and kick one another, but afterward they had to return the blankets.
>
> This game was never played with the Skidi villages alone opposing one another, only between the Skidi Band as one party and the South Bands as the other. They never kicked hard—just for fun. If the South Band boys met the Skidi boys, there was always a kicking contest."

A similar game is reported between different divisions of the Co- [171]
manches.

The Pawnee Person

There is no simple formula for describing the intricate logic of the 156
Pawnee people's lives. One thing is clear—that no one is caught within
the social code. Against the backdrop of his natural environment, each
individual stands as his own person. The Old World design for the hu-
man personality does not apply to this New World Man. The Pawnee 156
child was born into a community from the beginning, and he never ac- 772
quired the notion that he was closed in "within four walls." He was lit- 829
erally trained to feel that the world around him was his home—*kahuraru,*

175
Star must be placated. An Oglala Sioux girl of about fifteen whose name 731
was Haxti was captured, and on April 22, 1838, she was sacrificed to the 796
Morning Star. 782

This is the last reported case of a Pawnee sacrifice to the Morning Star. 175
Grinnell and others feel that there must have been further incidents that 648
did not come to attention. However, when our ethnological narrative [782]
takes place (1867) it seems pretty certain that no further sacrifices were [796]
being carried out. About two hundred Pawnees, many Skidis among them, were organized into four companies of regularly registered U.S. Cavalry in Major North's Batallion. As part of their activities, they protected the crews working on the Union Pacific Railroad from attack by the nomadic Indians. After an attack on Plum Creek on the Platte, the Pawnees followed the Cheyenne to their camp and there captured fifteen Cheyenne women and children. In the subsequent negotiations, they exchanged these captives for two white women, the Martin sisters, and three small white boys, captives of the Cheyenne camp on the Medicine Creek branch of the

796
782
171

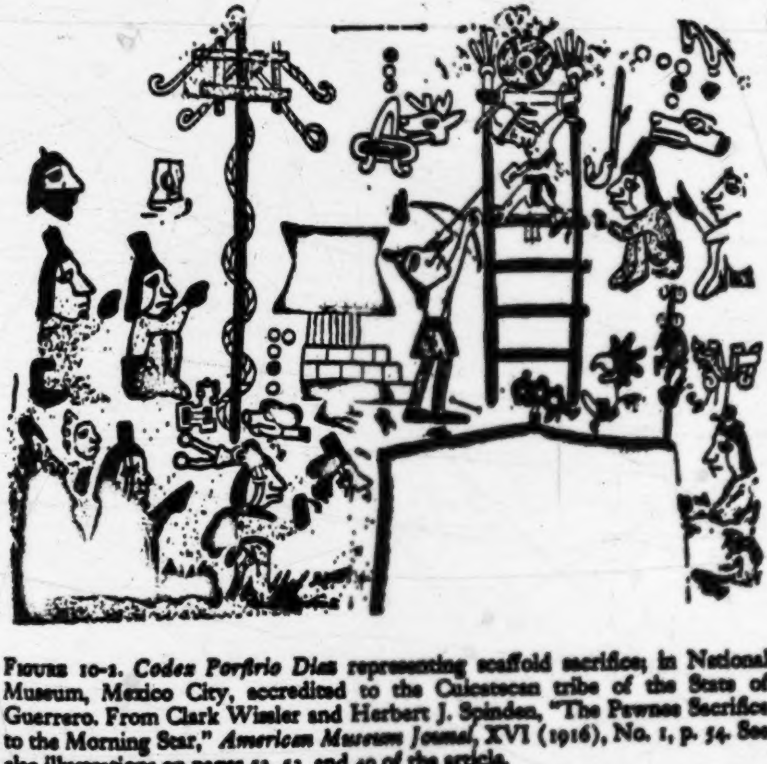


FIGURE 10-1. *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing scaffold sacrifice; in National Museum, Mexico City, accredited to the Cuicatecan tribe of the State of Guerrero. From Clark Wissler and Herbert J. Spinden, "The Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *American Museum Journal*, XVI (1916), No. 1, p. 54. See also illustrations on pages 52, 53, and 49 of the article.

175 648 [782] [796] Republican River. It seems unlikely that the Pawnees carried on any further sacrifices of captives to the Morning Star after that time.

171 174 782 796 [771] Aside from the obvious resemblances, there is some documentation of detailed Mexican analogies. Wissler and Spinden would place the time when a direct transfer through the Aztec could have occurred, between 1506 and 1519. In an article (1916) on the subject they give clear parallels in illustrations from the codices (see Figure 10-2).

Within the Pawnee system of theology, it certainly had an organic place.

11

VARIETIES OF CORN, BEANS, AND SQUASH

000

American and Indian Corn Varieties—the Planting Ritual—Comparison of Corn Varieties to Present-Day Classification—Squash and Pumpkin Varieties—Bean Varieties

THE PAWNEE WOMEN were skilled horticulturists. They had ten pure 242
varieties of corn, seven of pumpkins and squashes, and eight of beans.
According to our classification, all American Indian corn is one species, 243
Zea mays. Columbus reported that he found cornfields that were 18 171
miles long; when he returned to Spain, he took seed corn with him. It was soon diffused all over the world so that today corn has surpassed wheat as a world crop and is only exceeded by rice and potatoes. Corn has six subspecies, of which three are major and three minor. The first three are flint, flour, and dent, each adapted to different climatic conditions. When the Indians were first contacted, flint corn was the characteristic variety of New England, dent corn of the Southeast, and flour corn of the Southwest. Flint is suitable for cold moist climates, flour for dry climates, and dent for warm moist climates, the dent being heaviest in yield when the climate is favorable. Botanically these three varieties seem to represent a certain evolutionary sequence. In the flint, the oldest, the whole kernel is occupied by horny starch except around the germ; it is high in gluten. Flour corn lacks the horny starch altogether and is made up entirely of the softer starch except for the germ, while dent is a combination of the softer starch in the interior with horny starch on the sides, thus giving rise to the dent or dimple on the surface end of each kernel. The three other subspecies of corn are more occasionally used: sweet corn, with a high sugar content, and pop corn, two very primitive varieties, and the rare pod corn.

placed in each bundle, each wrapped up and sewed into a covering—the winter ear in a tanned buffalo skin and the ear dedicated to summer in a buffalo-heart skin. Each individual ear of these holy corns in the bundles had a different name by which it was addressed. Early in April before the *Awari* or planting ritual, a ritual was held in which the seeds of the holy corn were distributed to the keepers of the sacred bundles so that their wives could plant them in their fields. At harvest time, when these sacred ears were mature, the old ears were removed from the bundles and replaced with ears from the new crop. Fine examples of some of the best ears of the more common varieties were also placed in the sacred bundles at harvest time, particularly those with a male spike. Compared with the white flour corn, the holy corn, which was also white, had small kernels that sometimes covered the cob to the very tip. "Sometimes it has something like a soft feather at the tip of the ear." This is apparently the male spike at the point end; archaeologically it appears very early, 4,445 ± 180 B.C., in the tiny ancestral corncobs taken from La Perra Cave in northeast Mexico. Such an ear is also shown in the headdress and hands of the Maize God on a prehistoric Zapotec funerary urn from Mexico (Mangelsdorf, 1958).

243
778
[171]

244
192

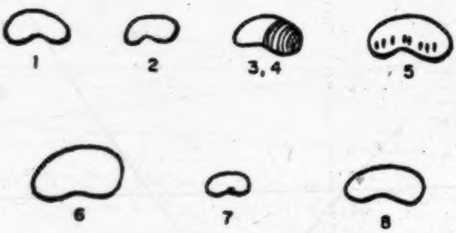


FIGURE 11-2. Eight varieties of beans, generically known to the Pawnees as *atit:* (1) *ati-pahat,* "bean-red"; a large sized bean. (2) *atik-taka,* "bean-white." (3) *ati-paks-katit,* "bean-head-black"; black-head beans. (4) *ait-paks-pahat,* "bean-head-red"; same as (3). (5) *ati-pirari,* "bean-spotted"; color of a spotted horse, spotted all around, some with red, some with black spots; a somewhat large-sized bean. (6) *ati-katus,* "bean-flat"; large, flat bean. (7) *atit-tiwats-katit,* "bean-navel-black"; spotted where it joins the stem; navel, *-riwat,* phonetically altered in the context. (8) *ati-taxkata,* "bean-yellow"; a rather large yellow bean.

Our classification of the species of corn is based on the starch content, 243
but when a Pawnee was asked to name the varieties of corn they had, he 242
or she would enumerate them in terms of color categories—black, [822]
spotted, white, yellow, and red. It is interesting that these represent the varieties of flour corn that they had. However, in classifying their corn, they subsumed the flint, sweet, and sacred varieties under these color categories. When asked to name the varieties of Pawnee corn, Mark Evarts

Horses
231 were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact.
that horses were introduced to this continent by the Spaniards in the
177 early 1500's, and whatever use was made of them by American Indians
had to develop after that time. Even though it was a considerable length
of time, the Pawnee practices in connection with the use and care of
horses were not as advanced as those of the Spaniards. As regards the
*224 buffalo hunt, at the time of our narrative horses were used in the chase
492 when they were attacking the herd in a group and also to carry their
food and camping equipment. The strategy of the mass attack upon the
herd was to develop a "surround" by the mounted hunters who had
been lined up behind a hill out of sight. No doubt they had previously
used a similar technique on foot. As to carrying the food and equipment,
492 a good deal of it was packed on the backs of the women and girls. However,
493 the women had dogs who were trained to drag the tent poles behind
482 them, the heavy ends of the poles tied to a harness on the dog's
back. The tent poles were grouped into two sets, one on each side of
the dog, and connected by two cross sticks toward the lower ends. Upon
these a skin cover was wrapped where other luggage was placed. A dog
492 could drag as much as 70 pounds. The custom of dog traction and extensive
482 carrying on the back by the women was in full operation as late
as 1837 when a famous painter, Alfred Jacob Miller, portrayed the
175 Pawnees in this manner. After 1850, however, dogs were no longer used
178 for this purpose, and it was mostly the men who kept them around so
[782] that the puppies could be sacrificed and eaten at a special ceremonial.
Some, of course, were kept by the women as pets. By 1867, the horse had
taken over the carrying function almost entirely except for a few poor
single or old people who had to do some packing of their dried buffalo
meat on the way home. The packing of the horse resembled that formerly
[493] used in connection with the dog; the horse travois or carrying
frame was also the same as that of the dog. All the leather trappings for
keeping the luggage in place had now to be carefully prepared before they
left for the hunt.

231 The Pawnees were relatively poor in horses compared with other
422 Plains tribes at this time. This may have been due to constant attacks by
the Sioux and the other nomadic tribes, although this is not certain. At
• 171 any rate while among the Blackfoot or the Kiowa twenty-five horses at
least were considered an average number for a family on the move.
Eagle Chief, who was head of the Skidi Band, had only ten, and a reasonably
comfortable family like that of Victory Call had only four or five.
Some families had only one or two horses and it was with great difficulty
726 that they went on the hunt at all. Even in their war practices, the
Pawnee retained some of their prehorse habits. It was well known that
*481 they set out on their war expeditions on foot and they were known to the
178 Kiowa as "Walkers." The rationale given for this by students of the sub-

796 of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as
783 indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron
778 of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took
776 care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night,
the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

*[224] The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage
[772] twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbolisms
from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the creation
ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theol-
756 ogy of the cosmos was given. The doctors also had a systematic ideology
773 of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had
much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans
• [191] or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

tanned hide was spread out and formally divided into sections, a right 252
section for the guests on the north side and a left section for those on 574
the south side with a stick lying on the spread between them to mark the divisions. Two backbone steaks were opened out, one on one side and one on the other and separated from their layer of fat. This operation was carried out at the southeast of the earth lodge or tent with the two steaks pointed with their "neck" or head ends toward the northwest. Each steak was cut down the length into four strips, each about 6 inches wide. The three strips on the right were made into five large portions each, about 9 inches long, and the fourth or leftmost strip was cut into a whole series of smaller portions depending upon how many people needed to be served. The larger portions were for the important [554]
guests at the main "positions," while the smaller pieces were for the others. The layer of fat was cut up in the same way, but this disintegrated in the soup. For a feast of sixty people, four steaks would be cooked. Each potful took about twenty minutes, about fifteen for the meat and a few minutes more for the fat to be thoroughly cooked. For this amount they cooked three or four batches, spearing out the pieces of meat with a stick each time and placing them on the spread in the appropriate position for serving. Sometimes while the errand man was doing the cooking he would observe that the steaks were unusually small, viz., from a small animal, when additional meat would have to be added. When ad- [554]
ditional steaks were received, the important guests received double portions or more. This was the only direct compensation for administrative services.

Most of the meat preserved during this summer hunt would be used 251
during the following fall and winter, while the succeeding winter hunt 262
would provide the additional meat for the spring. From the summer hunt, 281
the hides were processed as rawhide or tanned hide with hair removed, while on the winter hunt they got hides with fur and wool for warm robes.

The drying and preserving of the buffalo meat along with their crops 251
was one of the major technical achievements of the Pawnees. This an- 171
cient art of preserving food by drying was almost continent-wide in America among the food gatherers as well as the food producers, and the method contrasts markedly with the general Old World approach of fermenting, pickling, and spicing for food preservation.

Each household had its own estimate of the amount of dried buffalo 224*
meat required to carry on its social and religious obligations. Four formal attacks on the herd by all the able-bodied hunters of the tribe were considered sufficient to provide for most of their needs. The first mass attack had taken place as the line of march was slowly making its way southward along the west bank of Turkey Creek. When they had gone about halfway, the scouts had located the herd, and the hunters left the

754 would never be able to do it again. Everyone knew that Old Bull was a witch and he was ashamed.

754 The majority of the doctors and the ones that "witched" among the
756 Pawnee were men, but there were also women who had both kinds of
562 power. Most commonly they had gotten these from their husbands and
begun to practice after their husbands died. When a doctor had a woman
patient, he had to take his wife along to assist him; in this way she was
bound to learn. If she had a son or a daughter, should they show an inter-
• 171 est in the bundle, she would teach them. Among the Wichitas, along with
754 the men doctors, there were a great many women, some of them also
witches. They could make rain and by witchcraft cause the rain to stop.
756 Among the Pawnees, Lone Chief's mother, War Leader Woman (*Ts-*
562 *tixkitawi-ra-wa-hu'u*, "woman-give-leader of a warparty-she-distributes
them-gives away"), had learned from her husband and it was said that she slept with a rattlesnake under her pillow and could practice witchcraft. In her witchcraft activities she would more or less confine herself to the affairs of women. Sometimes women fought over the boundaries of their land or the stealing of corn and if the quarrel continued over some time and they came to blows, one might be inclined to "witch" the other. But once it happened that Lone Chief was involved in a quarrel and his mother took it over and got into hostility with another woman on account of it. The issue was something about the distribution of horses after a war raid. A man, Frank Leader, felt that Lone Chief's group had obtained an extra horse in the distribution, unjustifiably. Although Frank Leader was not in the party, he wa[illegible] to remark that had he been there, Lone Chief would not have got[illegible]way with the horse. This made Lone Chief angry and somehow the women came to discuss it. The issue was taken up between Lone Chief's mother, War Leader Woman, and the mother of Frank Leader, Lady Lucky Leader, and eventually it shifted to the relative social status of the two women. War Leader Woman cited her unimpeachable aristocratic descent, while Frank Leader's mother was heard to assert that it was no better than hers for she had charge of the Evening Star bundle. Word went around in the gossip channels, and finally Frank Leader got sick and died. Everyone was sure that War Leader Woman's witchcraft was the direct cause of his death. Frank Leader's mother began to curse War Leader Woman. She said, "That's the rottenest thing she could do. Even though her son is a great chief, she still practices witchcraft and kills a man." Some felt that since Lone Chief called Leader's mother, *itabi*, sister, and Frank Leader, therefore, *tiwat*, nephew, in view of the close classificatory kinship, this was really disgraceful. Others were saying, "One shouldn't pick a quarrel with Lone Chief's mother. She's a powerful witch!"

754 Roaming Leader was standing right behind Might-Be-Chief he stated, but they were all so engrossed that no one saw him. That-Chief said, "It takes time for the capsule to have an effect. At first it just tickles and the person begins to cough and he thinks he must have eaten a piece of hard meat. Then as the bundle unwraps and the heel skin softens, the person gets very thin and dies, just as if he had tuberculosis. The skin gets rather black as if there were something the matter with the veins."

That-Chief was trading his information for White Horse's knowledge of how to make a bear claw enter a subject. White Horse told That-Chief that all he had to do was to cut it off to about a length of about two inches and grease it well and then it was ready for use.

The bear claw is the worst. When one tries to vomit, it just goes down again. When it enters the body, it begins to scratch in the stomach and the person coughs. Only once in a while could one get the bear claw to come out. If it lay crosswise, then it would never get out, and also if it was near the right side of the stomach. But if the doctor could press the stomach so that it would come up the middle, with the point up and outward, it might come out. When the doctor saw such a case, the patient would say, "It seems to come up, then go down again," and the doctor would know what it was. He would say, "It's a pretty hard case, but I'll try it." If he sees no sign that the claw is in the right position, he knows that the man is doomed to die.

[171] The owl was "the worst witcher." It was especially common among the Wichitas. They are afraid of the owl but they use it. Among the Wichitas even today when they are camped, one can hear cackling and growling and they say this is a witches' meeting off somewhere in the moonlight. Big Doctor was eagle and owl doctor. He used the black owl, sending small owl claws into people's stomachs. They are sharp and no one can get them out of the stomach; they stay right there. When they try to bring them up, they can't come out. They choke a person. Big Doctor would also use a human toenail, which he would cut from himself or from anyone else. Victory Call was killed by Big Doctor through owl claws. He began to cough. As he was dying, Victory Call said he saw a person with an eagle-wing fan before his face and that person was Big Doctor who was the cause of his death.

The basis of this suspicion was the fact that Big Doctor was leader of the old established Doctor Lodge and Victory Call of the newer Deer Dance, which had grown to such proportions under his leadership that it was beginning to threaten the exclusive leadership of the Doctor Lodge and to vie with it for membership. Victory Call probably died in 1868 or 1869.

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-
177 shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological circles
[172] as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people
was "Big Knife."

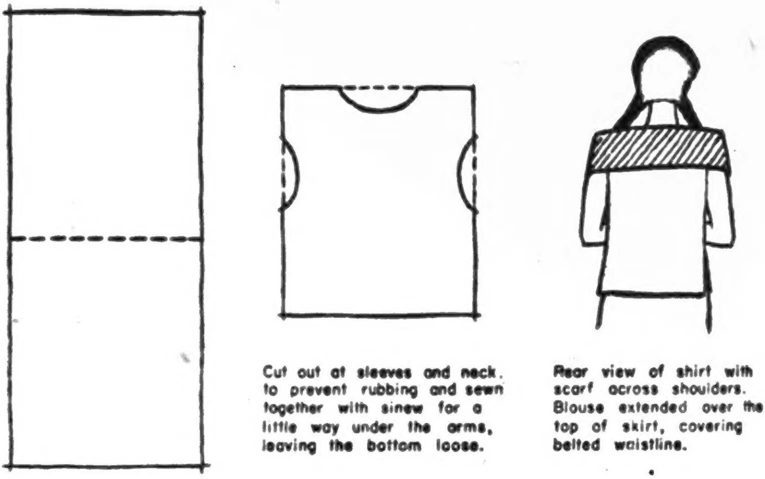
Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
17 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
412 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
324 continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrowshafts
and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sandstone
buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from southwest
[439] Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal
their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard
electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
796 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
463 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
322 arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the
essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots
from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when
the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was
referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the
pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic
terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
796 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
171 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

291 Around the waist they had an elkskin string. To it on each side they tied on the leggings which were of deer or elkskin, covering the whole leg and thigh. A strip of soft tanned deer hide was drawn between the legs and under the waist band so that the ends hung down in front and in back. One good deer skin made two pairs of leggings. Each legging took [294] an hour to make—two hours for the pair. In warm weather a man might [461] carry a tanned buffalo-hide blanket over the left shoulder when not in use. In winter they wore the furred buffalo robe for warmth.



Cut out at sleeves and neck, to prevent rubbing and sewn together with sinew for a little way under the arms, leaving the bottom loose.

Rear view of shirt with scarf across shoulders. Blouse extended over the top of skirt, covering belted waistline.

Fold in two.

Figure 48-1. The pattern of a woman's skin shirt. A scarf about 4 inches wide was fastened to the neck and across the shoulders; it could be turned up against the back of the neck and head in cold weather. A string that went all around the neck with both ends hanging down in front could be tied at the neck to draw the shirt close around the throat. There was a wrap-around skin skirt closing at the right side and reaching just below the knee; this was fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. The costume was completed by leggings fastened at the knees and moccasins.

291 Keeping the family in moccasins was a constant problem for the 294 women. During the migrations on the hunt, moccasins wore out all the time and the woman had to carry along some cutout moccasin leather all ready to be sewn up. A sewing bag with sinew, an awl, and moccasin patterns was an essential of the hunting equipment. A man going on a long journey over the country would take along a similar kit.

291 There were two kinds of moccasins in general use among North American [171] tribes—one better adapted to rough open terrain, a hard-soled moccasin, the other with a soft sole suitable for forest dwellers. The hard-

shield. Some men could make themselves a war bonnet with eagle feathers 000
(the traditional war bonnet of the plains symbolizing a comet). They 237
would buy long white beads in the store and at the base of the throat, 292
wear a big shiny disk about as large as a dollar made out of long black 301
oyster shell.

An indispensable element of ceremonial costuming was the Black Rope 463
made of buffalo hair. Only men could wear these. The process of braid- 283
ing was very complicated and required great concentration. If a woman [292]
came around inclined to converse, the maker would excuse herself and [237]
say she had to get through and wasn't able to talk at this time. The work
was done in the house and preferably in the fall when less interruptions
were likely. Only a few women had the skill to do it. The hair of which
the rope was made was from the mane or head of the buffalo. Four
twisted strands were braided together into a long rope or belt. Each of
the strands for braiding was wound onto a ball, and these balls were
manipulated in order to form the braid. Some women did fine even work
and some did it poorly and roughly. Working steadily at it, the work took [461]
about twelve days. If it had to be fitted in with other work, it would
take more time. A woman would come to the belt maker on behalf of
her husband and order one, bringing the materials. The maker would be
paid well.

There were some few women who could make a colorful braided belt 292
by interweaving five colors. They called it "red-woven." It was a wide [286]
flat belt that was made to order to fit the waist of the prospective wearer
with long fringes hanging down to the ankles. A belt like this was usually
made for boys and girls of good families and for young women. An older [171] •
woman would not consider it proper to wear one although among the
Osage, they were commonly worn by all women. A few men twisted
these belts around their heads as a turban with the fringes hanging down
on both sides of the face and eagle feathers at the back of the head.
Most men regarded this as a "flashy" style of dressing.

The materials used were entirely commercial—wool for the body and cord for the concealed warps. A woman who wanted to have one made for her boy would ask her husband to buy the materials at the trade store so that she could take them to the weaver.

We do not know whether this skill is old or new among the Pawnee. 286
In general, on the American continent, it goes back several thousand 178
years as a fabric-producing technique. But the exclusive use of commer-
cial materials and the reluctance of mature men and women to wear the
belt suggests that its adoption is fairly new.

The work was usually done outdoors in the springtime for maximum 286
visibility. It required great concentration and one mistake might compel
the weaver to rip the whole thing. If a woman was making one on order,
her family would do her spring planting to free her for the work. It

spartea) known to the Pawnee as *pitsuts*. It grew like oats about 3 feet 412
high near the village, above the cemetary where the Skidi buried their [824]
dead. White Woman would ask Victory Call to go and gather it for her in
the fall. It had long stiff branches and at the tip of each branch there was
a sharp point fastened at a joint and surrounded with wooly fluff. The
point was broken off at the joint and discarded and the fluff cleared off.
The remaining bristle was very stiff and formed the working end of the
brush. The stems were grouped into four little bunches, each bunch
bent over at the top end and fastened down with a wrapping of buckskin.
The four bunches were put together with the bent-over ends inward,
and the whole bound around with buckskin to complete the brush. In
addition to keeping the hair in order, doctors would rub the brush on
top of the head to relieve headache or sleepiness. As generally with the [796]
Pawnee crafts, there was no ceremony involved in gathering the material
or in the manufacture, but the grass appears metaphorically in the Peace [824]
Pipe ceremony as symbolic of vegetation in general and of grasses in
particular.

Everyone went to a good deal of trouble to keep the hair in order and 302
to dress it attractively. The women's hair styles were relatively uniform.
It was parted in the middle and made into two braids hanging down over
the shoulders in front. The end of the braid was wound around with
buckskin. A relatively recent style was tying the braids together and [178]
flinging them to the back. The men's hair styles were more elaborate and
varied. A great many of the men wore roaches, a ridge of hair standing
up along the middle of the head with the hair removed on both sides and
a braid hanging down at the back. Most writers refer to this hair style as
characteristically Pawnee, but the Pawnees themselves speak of it as "like [171]
Osages." In the old days, each hair had to be pulled out one by one. Later
they used scissors. In former times, face hairs were also pulled out one [178]
by one with the fingers, while more recently they used a close coil of
brass with a stick through it so that it would be tied to the belt. The oldest
son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Sun Chief, had long curly hair
that he wore in two braids, one over each shoulder. He was known as
Long Hair or "Head-Hanging-Down-From." Victory Call also wore
two braids, but on the right side, in addition to the braid, he had his hair
cut in terraces. He was called "like Arikara" on account of it. War Cry
never seemed to comb his hair; he wore it loose and was always brushing
it back off his forehead. His younger brother, Brave Shield, pushed his
hair up so that it stood up stiff in back. People who were shabby or ill- [554]
groomed were regarded with considerable contempt by the Pawnees.

The industrial knowledge of the Pawnee transformed the meager materials 433
of the plains environment into a setting that was worthy of their 182
religious and conceptual achievements. They worked hard but were se-

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wil- 000
son, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, 462
considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not 251
hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of
the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not
affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife
was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244).
Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civiliza- 462
tions—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern 171
Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men
among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern
Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women.

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and 006
Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9.

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the in- 342
side of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 315-316, "The 772
sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within,
then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand
as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people."

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song 796
sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 538
1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and 787
wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder 821
spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'"
He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when
he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of
the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's
account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of 157
the Pawnee warrior (p. 123): "Dark stormy nights are the ones 821
the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit 721
to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old
friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She 114
remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on 821
the contrary they were part of it and went out into it.

68, 138, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On 172
archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, 251
pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10
feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric ex-
amples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten
walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a
slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present
beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the
Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 126 80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwiru-tsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

787 80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 24, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of supernatural beings." The Pawnee made a clear distinction between 787 828 hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination. An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

775 534 80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

773 171 83 Compare in Whorf, 1929, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 752, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four
80-81 Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In
[821] Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, 773
is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who 171
makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his foot- 821
steps being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In
81, 127 Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personi- 773
fied First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the
land.

82 Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906,
p. 41. See Bogoras, 1902, p. 667, for wider distribution of this
theme.

83, 152, 154- Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photo- 821
155 graph of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He [126]
states (p. 285): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we
do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their
magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constella-
tions. Astronomical analysis is included in the article.

84, 117 On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 782
1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 109-110; George E. 727
Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, 171
Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen,
1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month,
"they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were
111 lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western
plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369,
description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden,
117 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz*
representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the
National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan
319 tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must
have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the
Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of
the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the
330 Mexicans . . ." (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account
of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the annotated footnotes.

84 Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 442-428, claims that after the new 243
corn plant (*kurahus*, priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-
fire ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out
and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to
a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They [114]
state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of
such a ceremony.

97 The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as 243
hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony 825
is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 269, that 171

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

243 825 •171 [244] 97 Maximillian reports that in the spring corn ceremony among the Mandan, wild goose signified maize, swans represented the gourds and the duck, the beans. It may well be that the deer and the loon represented the squash and beans respectively among the Pawnees at some time. There was no known symbolism connected with these essential food plants at the time of my report, the concentration being entirely on the maize.

533 126 100 The *Awari* songs are from the Murie-Wissler manuscript, in my retranscription and translation as it appears there.

512 243 102 Oehler and Smith, 1914. On May 8th, 1851: "Early in the morning we were awakened by the shrill voices of the Pawnee women, who were engaged in cleaning up the lodge and collecting their hoes, previous to going out to the fields to prepare the ground for planting corn."

243 105 Weltfish, 1937. From the Pawnee texts; old man speaks to the
women (pp. 29-30); a little girl goes into the fields with her
mother (p. 30); Pawnee women as horticulturists (pp. 27-28).
106 Adapted from Murie-Wissler, pp. 308-325, as well as from other
821 302 107 sources. The foot painted on the warrior's forehead represented
the Pawnee astronomical constellation known as bird, *rikutski*,
which was said to be on the Milky Way itself, but is otherwise
unidentified. The Tsawi Band calls Cassiopeia, turkey foot, but
the Skidi Band calls it rabbit, *parus*. See Dunbar, 1881, p. 744.

000 113-114 Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98.

106 See Drucker, Heizer, and Squier, 1959, for the time depth of elaborate formal religion in Mexico at La Venta, Tabasco, southeastern Mexico near the Gulf. The structures have been radiocarbon dated at 800–400 B.C. and show a high degree of religious organization and complex symbolism that can be clearly inferred from the archaeological remains.

172 243 122 It took milennia to evolve the current uses of maize among the
Pawnees. At La Perra cave where some of the earliest examples
of North American domesticated corn have been found (radio-
121 carbon dated 4445 ± 180 B.C.) some steps in patterns of utilization indicated in the finds are: (a) chewing young ears husks and all shortly after pollination—wasteful, but quick and simple way of getting a little sugar; (b) roasting the ears of green corn; (c) making parched corn; (d) removing kernels from cob, shown with glumes battered and broken as though the ears were forced across a rough surface or beaten with a stick; (e) maize apparently pounded, inferred from the finding of stone mortars. (Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, Galinat, 1956, pp. 145-146).

000 121 Mangelsdorf, 1958; Mangelsdorf, 1964.

123 Walster, 1956.

141 By 1746 the Pawnee had become emissaries for establishing 648
friendly relations of the French with the Comanche: "About 231
1746 friendly relations of the French with the Comanche were 439
greatly facilitated through the peace which the latter tribe made
with the Jumano of the Arkansas country and the Pawnee of 175
the Platte. Now French traders, hunters and deserters, guided by Jumano and Pawnee, began to make their way to the Comanche in considerable numbers, some of them even going to Santa Fe." (Bolton, 1914, Vol. I, p. 58.) And finally, from Murray, 1839, of his visit to the Tsawi in 1834, states that the horse-poor chief he was with was waiting anxiously for the return of his son from a trading expedition among the Ute to the west for horses. "I learned distinctly from the Pawnees that many of their horses had come from the Haitans (Ute); and as certainly that a great proportion of the guns and other articles annually distributed among the Pawnees find their way to this rambling tribe in payment for their horses." (Murray, 1939, p. 365.)

Many Pawnee horses were also acquired on the warpath. 231
Tixier (McDermott, 1940, p. 225) states that "The Maha (Skidi 721
Pawnees) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five or six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe." The name *raripakusu*, warrior, was sometimes translated for me as explorer.
Tixier contrasts the Osage practice of war raiding with the 721
Pawnees in the following terms: "The Osage do not make war 171
like the Pawnee; their aims are more noble; they want scalps. Horse stealing is far less important in their eyes. The Osage sometimes go out on a war expedition on foot; but usually their troops are on horseback and always rather numerous—seldom less than twenty-five men strong."

> The Panee-Maha who live on the banks of the Nebraska or 721
> Platte River, are today the greatest enemies of the Osage. 231
> They do esteem the stealing of horses more highly than bringing back scalps. The purpose of their expeditions is to bring back the horses of the other nations. They risk their lives by going through the huge desert which separates them from the villages, and hunting where other nations spend part of the year. The war parties of the Pawnees are not numerous; six, eight, fifteen men at most, armed with knives, arrows, axes, seldom with guns, set out without any provision. They expect Oua-Kondah to provide them daily with a buffalo, and they prepare ambushes for bison and shoot them with their bows and arrows. . . . Hardship, hunger, heat, do not discourage them. Some young men die without seeing the enemy during their first expedition." (Tixier, pp. 221-224.)

145. 363-364 Trade was carried on by the Pawnees with the Kiowas through the Calumet or Pipe Dance. (See Fletcher, 1904, pp. 280-281, where the purpose of the ritual is described.) 439

149 In an informal conversation with Prof. John L. Champe, he pointed out that in the neighborhood where the Stay-at-Homes set up their impromptu village near Columbus where the Loup River empties into the Platte was the area of some old archaeological sites: Bellwood, occupied by the Tsawi Band about 1800, overlapping and overlaying an older protohistoric site of the Burkett type (Lower Loup) (see Wedel, 1936, p. 40). The Pawnees claimed that this was an old Pawnee home. They claimed that about five miles west of Columbus was *Kitkeharawits-a-ku*, "Earth-Lodge-Village-Adjacent-to-a-Spring-Sitting." 172 361

159 Hyde, 1951, pp. 96-97, feels that the tobacco of the northern Indians might have been an attractive trade item for the southern tribes. He feels that trade with the Arikara in this item may go back to 1680 and cites Tabeau for such trade c. 1801, southern Indians coming north to trade horses for tobacco with the Arikara. 276 439 171

159 Gilmore, 1919, pp. 113-114, states that Pawnee tobacco was *Nicotiana quadrivalus* Pursh. and was cultivated by all the tribes of Nebraska. "Since the advent of the Europeans, tobacco is one of the crops whose culture has been abandoned by these tribes, and they have all lost the seed of it, so that the oldest living Omaha have never seen it growing; but they sometimes receive presents of the prepared tobacco from other tribes to the north who are still growing it." Gilmore obtained seeds from an old Hidatsa man in 1908 which he succeeded in growing. Gilmore, 1919, plate 27, pictures an old Arikara man gathering his tobacco. 249 171

> A Pawnee informant said that his people in old time prepared the ground for planting this tobacco by gathering a quantity of dried grass, which was burned where the patch was to be sown. This kept the ground clear of weeds so that nothing grew except the tobacco which was planted. The crop was allowed to grow thick, and then the whole plant—leaves, unripe fruit capsules, and the tender small parts of the stems—was dried for smoking. The unripe seed capsules, dried separately were specially prized for smoking on account of the flavor, pronounced by the Indians to be like the flavor now found in the imported Turkish tobacco." (Gilmore, 1919, p. 114.) 249

359-360 The need for a good knowledge of the stars and constellations on the Plains as well as at sea and the possibility of getting lost is indicated by a modern incident reported in the *Sunday World* 000

796 756 272 An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756 273 See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796 [574] [782] [184] [752] [726] 241 The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

824 825 • 171 277 On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat,* we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote,*" snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372 482 280, 290 Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads 372 would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

727 305 Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 1.—Pawnee earth lodge and house site. *a*, earth lodge near Pawnee, Okla., in 1905. Photo by Nebraska Historical Society. *b*, general appearance of lodge floor, house 1, Hill site; diameter 44 feet, depth 16 inches. The center has been excavated slightly below the floor level. 342 172

PLATE 2.—Vegetal material and textiles from the Hill site. *a*, tubers of *Apios tuberosa; b*, seeds of bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*); *c*, pits of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*); *d*, pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*); *e*, grains of charred flint corn (*Zea mays*); *f*, charred corncobs; *g*, *i*, fragments of bison-hair textile; *h*, hank or rope of bison hair; *j–l*, rush matting. 172 137 28

PLATE 3.—Pawnee vessels from various sites. *a* and *c* are from Palmer site; *a* is 4½ inches high and 4⅞ inches in maximum diameter; *c* is 4⅛ inches high by 4⅞ inches in diameter; *b* and *d* are from the Hill site, both restored; *b* is 3¾ inches by 3¼ inches across; *d* is 7 inches tall and 6 inches in diameter. 173 415

PLATE 4.—Complete vessels, probably Pawnee. *a* is 9 inches tall and 7⅞ inches in diameter and shows all of the best diagnostics for Pawnee ware in both form and ornamentation; found on Prairie Creek, near Archer, Nebr. *b* is 5¾ inches high by 5⅞ inches across; found in the Cedar River, near Fullerton, Nebr., and is of uncertain origin. Nebraska Historical Society collections. 172 415 531

PLATE 5.—Pawnee type rim sherds from various historic sites. *a–f*, Hill site; *g*, Horse Creek; *h–n*, Palmer site. *b*, *d–f*, *i*, *k*, illustrate the typical rim design; *a*, *h*, *l*, *n*, show the herringbone motif, second in abundance. Nearly all have lip indentations. 172 531

PLATE 6.—Selected rim sherds from Burkett site. All bear lip indentations. Note similarity of *b*, *h*, *j*, *l*, to historic Pawnee motifs (preceding plate). Handles occur on all but *h*, *j*, *l*, *n*.

PLATE 7.—Stonework from Hill site. *a–m* are from graves, one being nearly always in or near the left hand of every adult male skeleton. *a*, *f* 2½ inches long; *j* is 5½ inches long. *n–t* are arrowshaft buffers, of dark-brown coarse sandstone. In *p*, *q*, *r* are shown three perfectly matched pairs, each as found; they measure 4½, 7½, and 5 inches in length, respectively. 172 324

PLATE 8.—Pipes and mortuary offerings, various sites. *h*, *i* are from Burkett site; all others from Hill site. They are made of catlinite or some other fine-grained red stone; *a* is of gray material, *g* of coarse red sandstone. *f* is 4¾ inches long with a square-topped bowl 1⅞ inches tall; found with a child burial. *i* is less than 1 inch long. Note straight specimen of cloudblower type, *b;* also perforated keel in *j*, groove about outer end of *h*, and small loop on top of *i*, for attachment of a thong. *l*, gray sandstone pipe, 2⅝ inches tall by 1¾ inches long. *m*, perforated or grooved shell objects probably worn as ear or hair ornaments; longest pair 4½ inches long and three-eighths inch in diameter. *n*, blue glass trade beads, probably obtained from Hudson Bay Company; they are about the size of a pea, very crude, and blue, red, or transparent in color. 172 276 301 532

p

172 PLATE 9.—Bonework from historic Pawnee sites. *a* is a 12½-inch pick made
of the ulna of a bison; *b*, hide-tanning tool; *c*, two small picks made of deer
321 antler, each about 7 inches long; *d*, arrowshaft straighteners made of bison
412 rib; *e*, bone awls; *f*, hide scraper of elk horn, 12 inches long. *g–n*, bone paint
brushes cut from joints of bison and other large animals; none measures more
than 2 inches in greatest dimensions. *f*, is from the Palmer site; the other
specimens are from the Hill site.

PLATE 10.—Bone tools from historic Pawnee sites. *a–d*, digging tools made from bison scapulae. *a*, from the Hill site, measures 14 inches by 7 inches and was originally square-bladed; *b*, from the Palmer site, is 11 inches long and 6 inches wide; *c* and *d* are from a cache east of Genoa, *d* measuring 15 inches by 6 inches. *e–k*, fleshing tools; *e* and *k* are each 9 inches long, *i* is 6½ inches, and all are finely notched on the edges. Note perforation in *j* for passage of a thong about the wrist of the operator. *e*, *j*, and *k* from Palmer site; *f*, *g*, Hill site; *h*, *i*, Clarks site.

172 PLATE 11.—Pawnee burials. *a*, burial 3, Hill site, showing fragments of
broken cradle board (?) and rush matting which covered remains; *b*, burial 3,
764 Hill site, after removal of covering; *c*, burial 2, Hill site, showing old powder
cannister or canteen back of head; *d*, burial at the Palmer site, with a complete pot as the sole mortuary offering.

PLATE 12.—Metal trade material from the Hill site. Historic Pawnee.
172 *a*, army canteen of early nineteenth century type from burial 2 (see p. 92 and
177 pl. 11, *c*); *b*, *e*, iron lance heads from caches; *c*, hammer from flintlock; *d*,
bridle bit; *f*, arrowpoints cut from iron hoe blades; *g*, three lead rings (see pp.
411 79 and 92); *h*, lead pistol ball; *i*, piece of gun barrel; *j*, belt buckle; *k*, small
412 chisel; *l*, *frizel* from flintlock; *m*, iron hoe of type usually found on historic
Pawnee sites, this specimen with remains of charred wooden handle still visible
in the socket.

11: Wedel
102, 131, 133, 172

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Chart of Positions of End Map 2

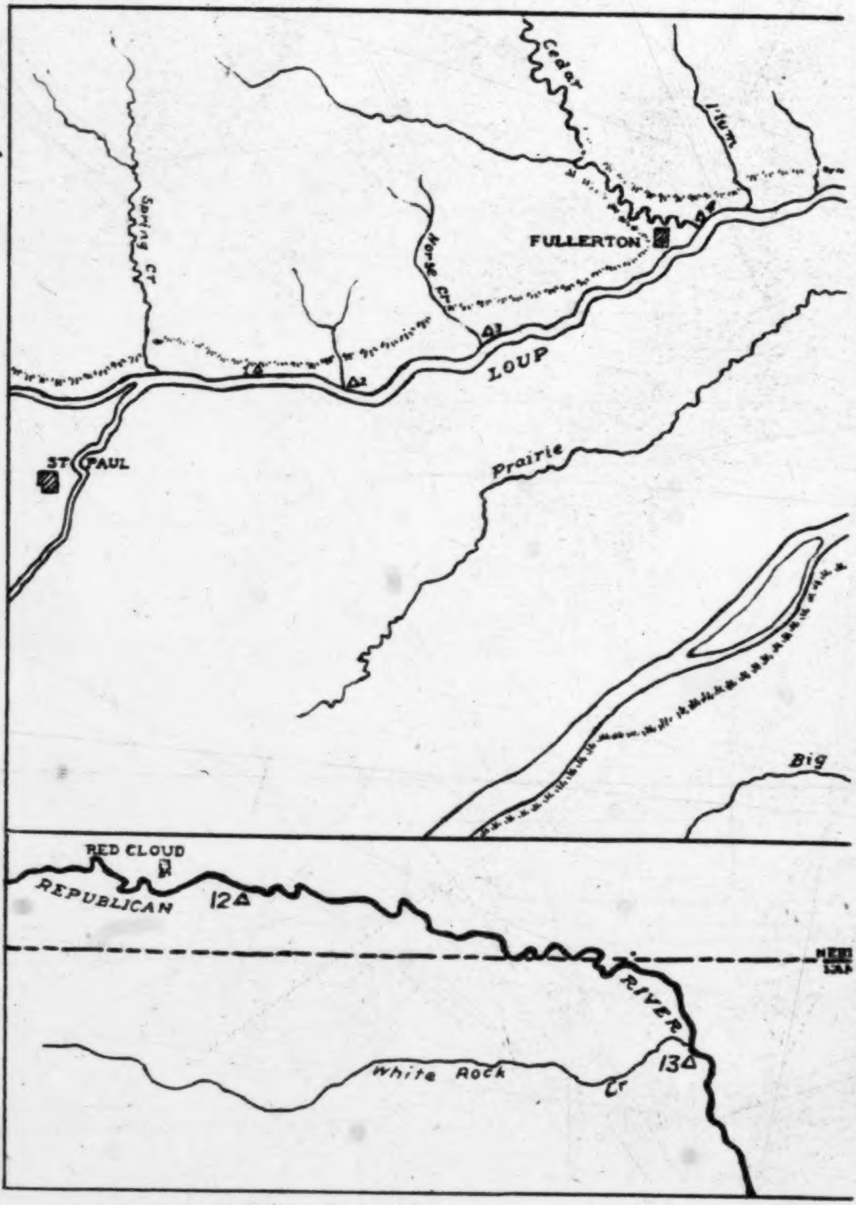
Sec. A	Sec. B	Sec. C	Sec. D	Sec. E

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
131
133
● 172

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

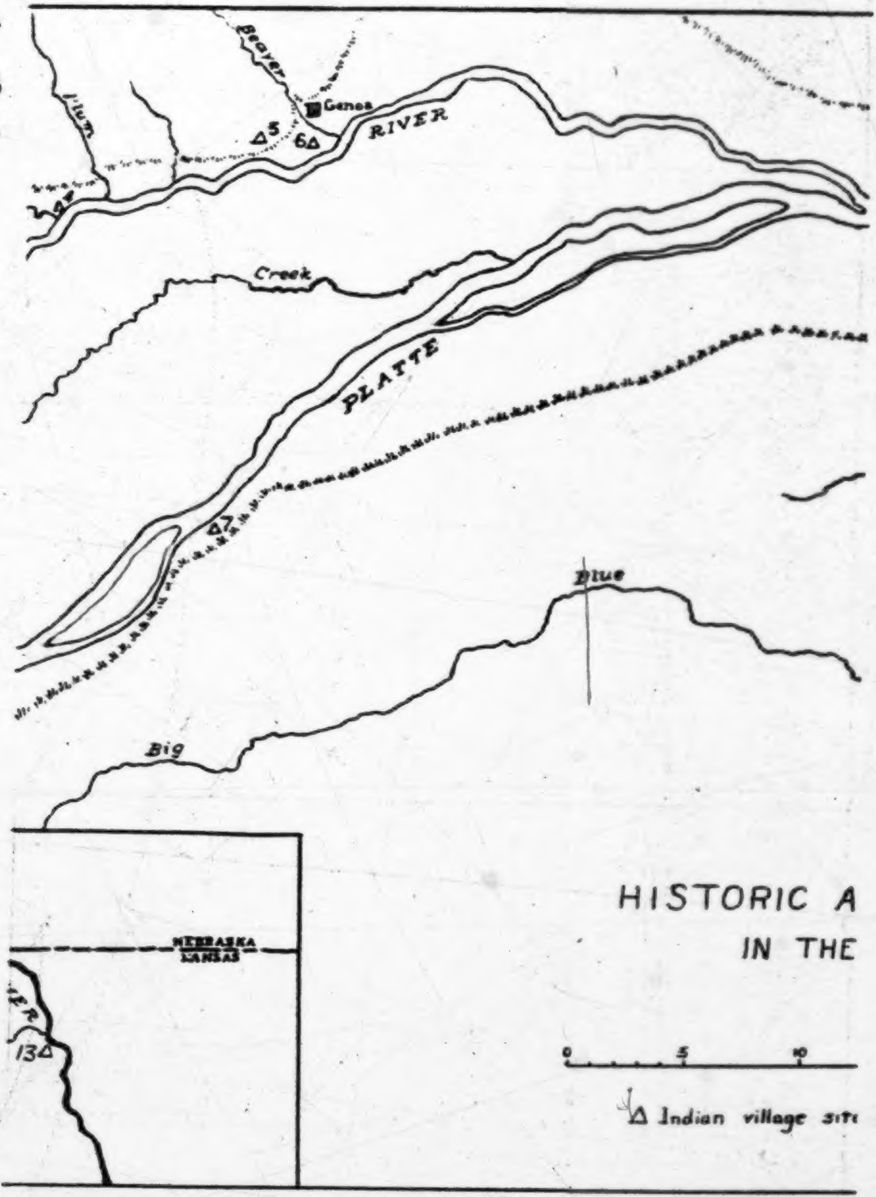

Cedar
Plum
Spring Cr
Horse Cr
FULLERTON
LOUP
ST PAUL
Prairie
Big
RED CLOUD
REPUBLICAN
12Δ
RIVER
White Rock Cr
13Δ
NEB
KAN

[End Map 2(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
131
133
●172


Beaver
Genoa
△5
6△
RIVER
Creek
PLATTE
△7
Blue
Big
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
13△
HISTORIC A
IN THE
0
5
10
△ Indian village sit

[End Map 2(B)]

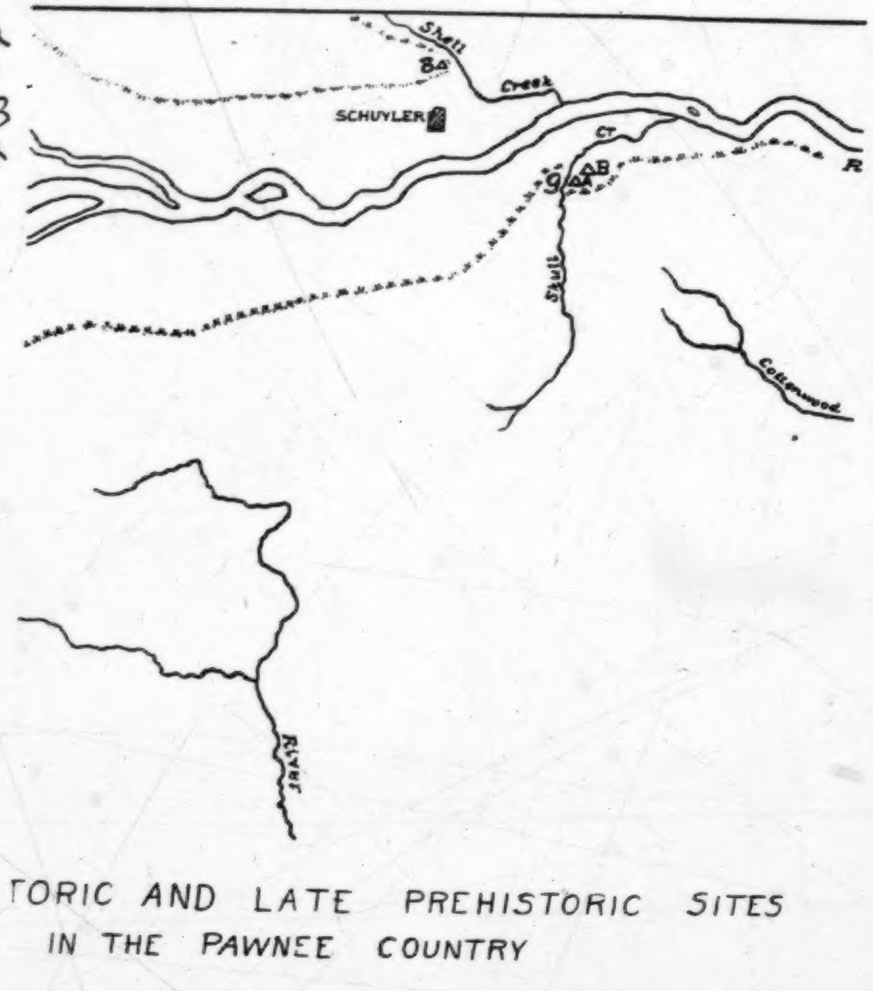
HISTORIC AND PROT

Based on early

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

102
131
133
● 172



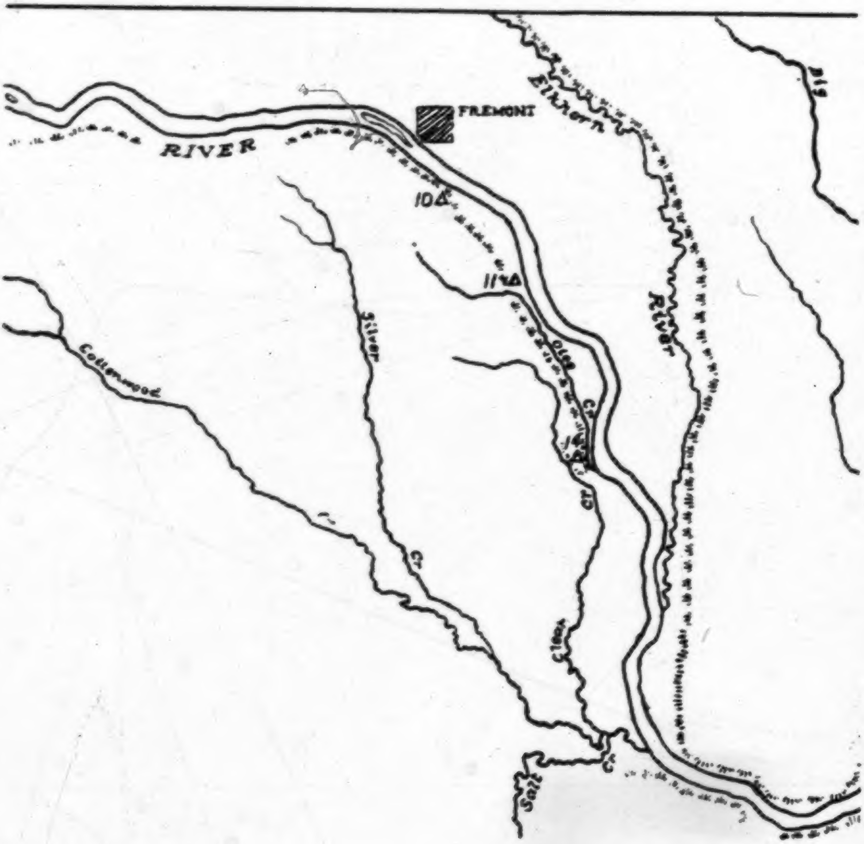
Shell
Creek
8
SCHUYLER
CT
B
9
A
R
Skull
Cottonwood
River
TORIC AND LATE PREHISTORIC SITES
IN THE PAWNEE COUNTRY
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
Scale of Miles
an village sites
River bluffs
▨ Modern cities

ORIC AND PROTOHISTORIC SITES IN THE NORTHERN PAWNEE AREA.

Based on early maps and journals, and on archeological investigations

[End Map 2(C)]

102
131
133
● 172


FREMONT
RIVER
Elkhorn
River
Big
10
11
14
Silver
Cr.
Cottonwood
Cr.
Salt

KEY TO S

Pawnee unless otherw

1. Palmer site
2. Cottonwood Creek site
3. Horse Creek site
4. Fullerton site
5. Burkett site (?)
6. Genoa site
7. Clarks site

SITES

35 40

cities

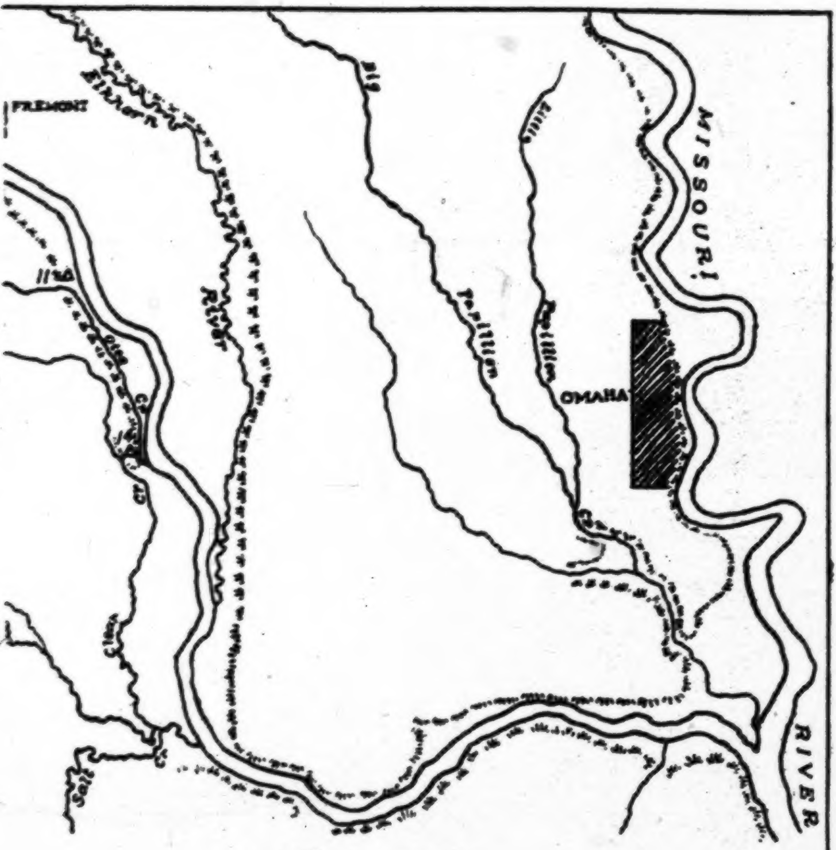
[End Map 2 (D)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BULLETIN 112 MAP 2

102
131
133
●172


FREMONT
Elkhorn River
Big
Papillion
Papillion
MISSOURI
OMAHA
RIVER

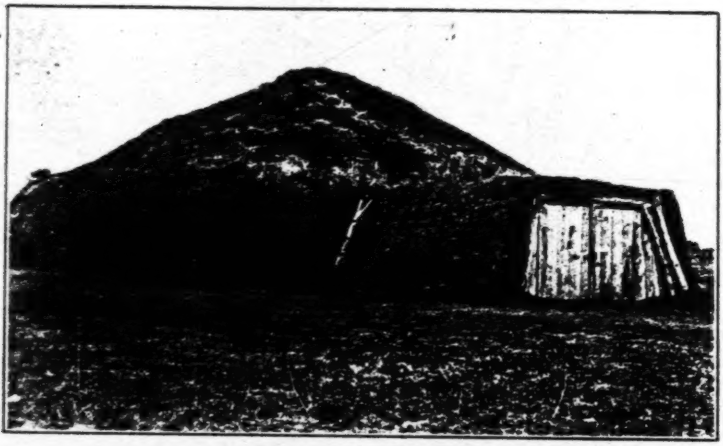
KEY TO SITES

Pawnee unless otherwise indicated

1. *Palmer site*
2. *Cottonwood Creek site*
3. *Horse Creek site*
4. *Fullerton site*
5. *Burkett site (?)*
6. *Genoa site*
7. *Clarks site*
8. *Schuyler site (?)*
9. *Linwood site*
10. *McClaine site*
11. *Leshara site*
12. *Hill site*
13. *Kansas Monument site*
14. *Yutan site (Oto)*

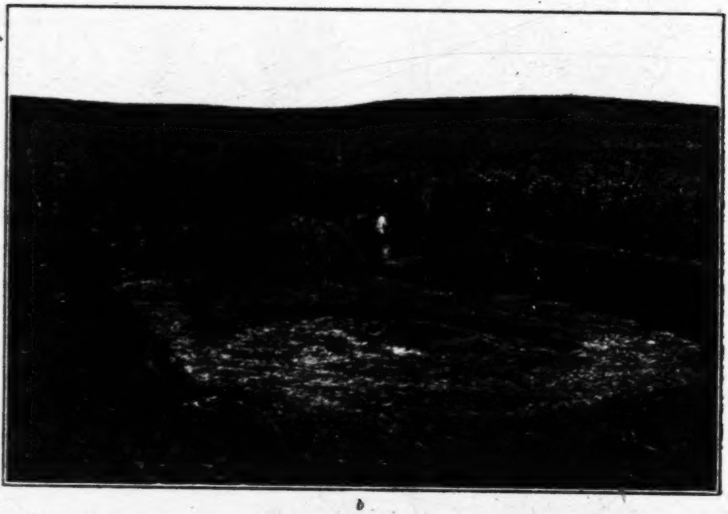
[End Map 2(E)]

342



a

342
172



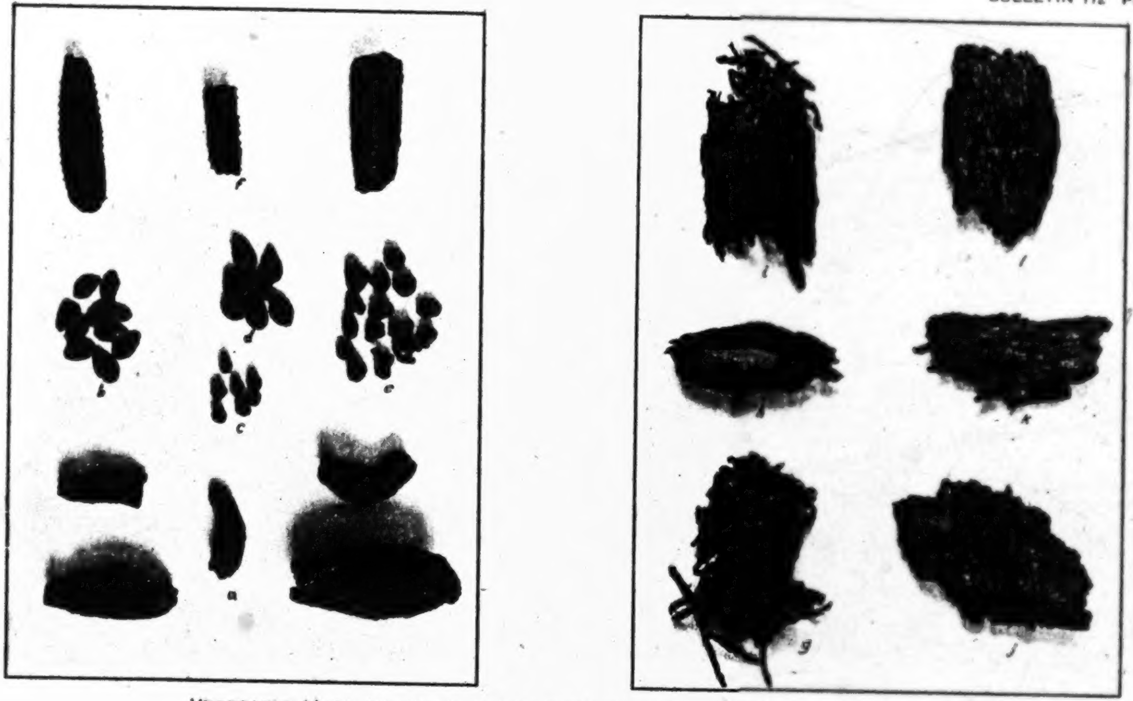
b

MODERN PAWNEE EARTH LODGE AND EXCAVATED HISTORIC HOUSE SITE.

[End Plate 1]

11: Wedel A-4,5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

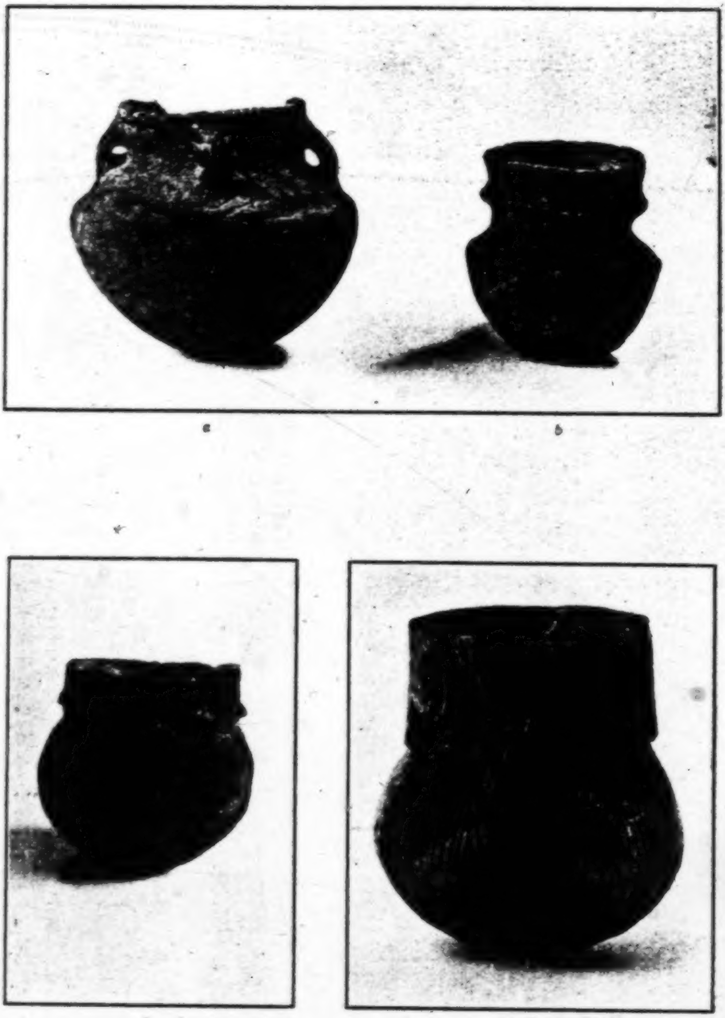
[End Plate 2]



VEGETABLE MATERIAL AND TEXTILES FROM THE HILL SITE (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

172
415

[53]



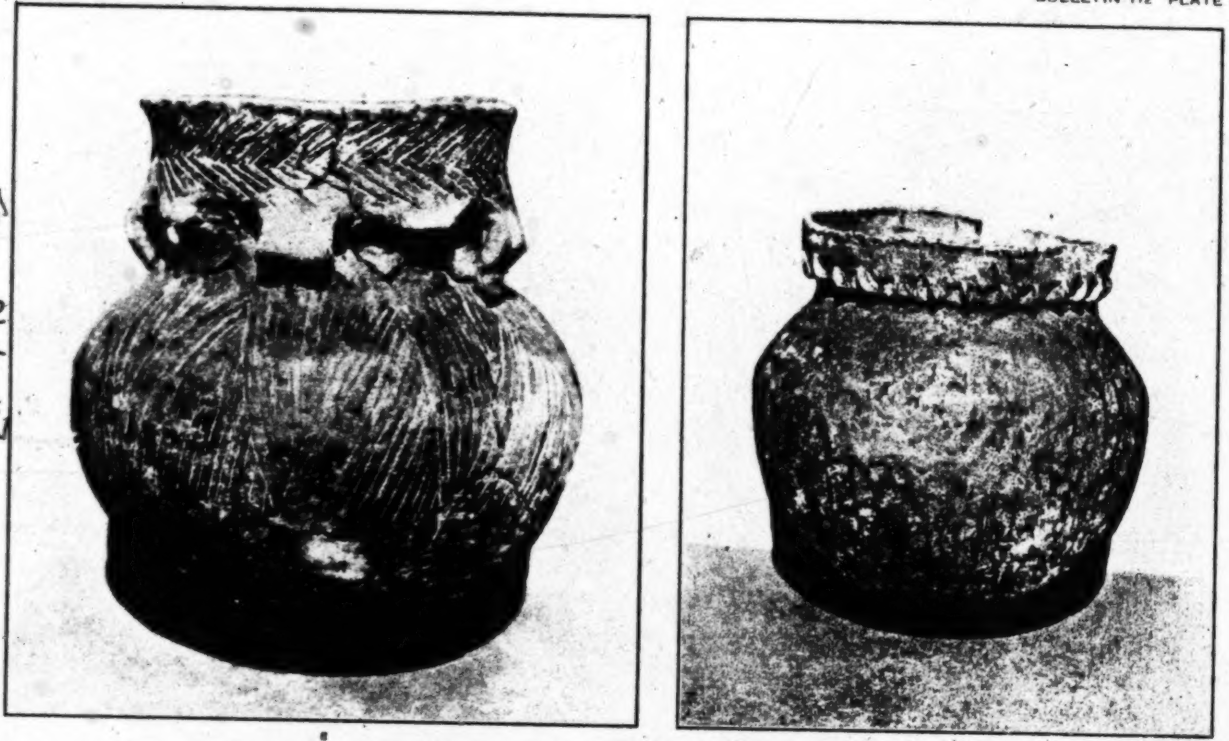
HISTORIC PAWNEE VESSELS FROM VARIOUS SITES.

[End Plate 3]

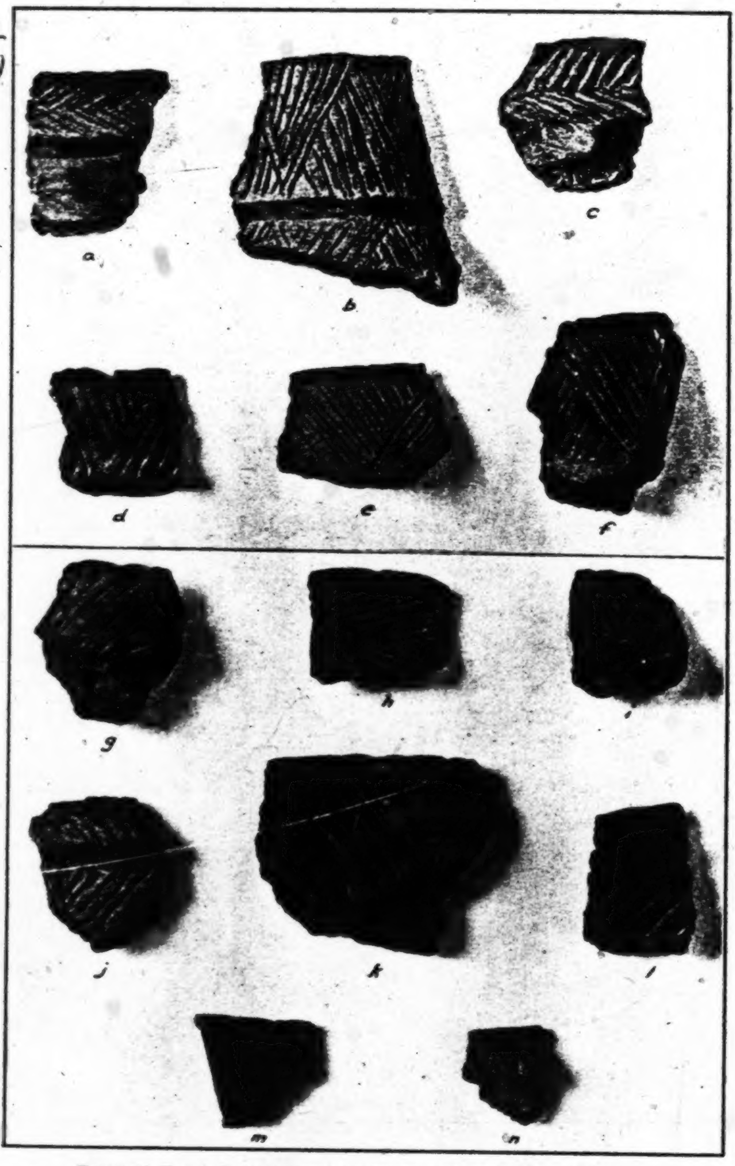
172
415
531

11: Wedel A-4,5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[End Plate 4]

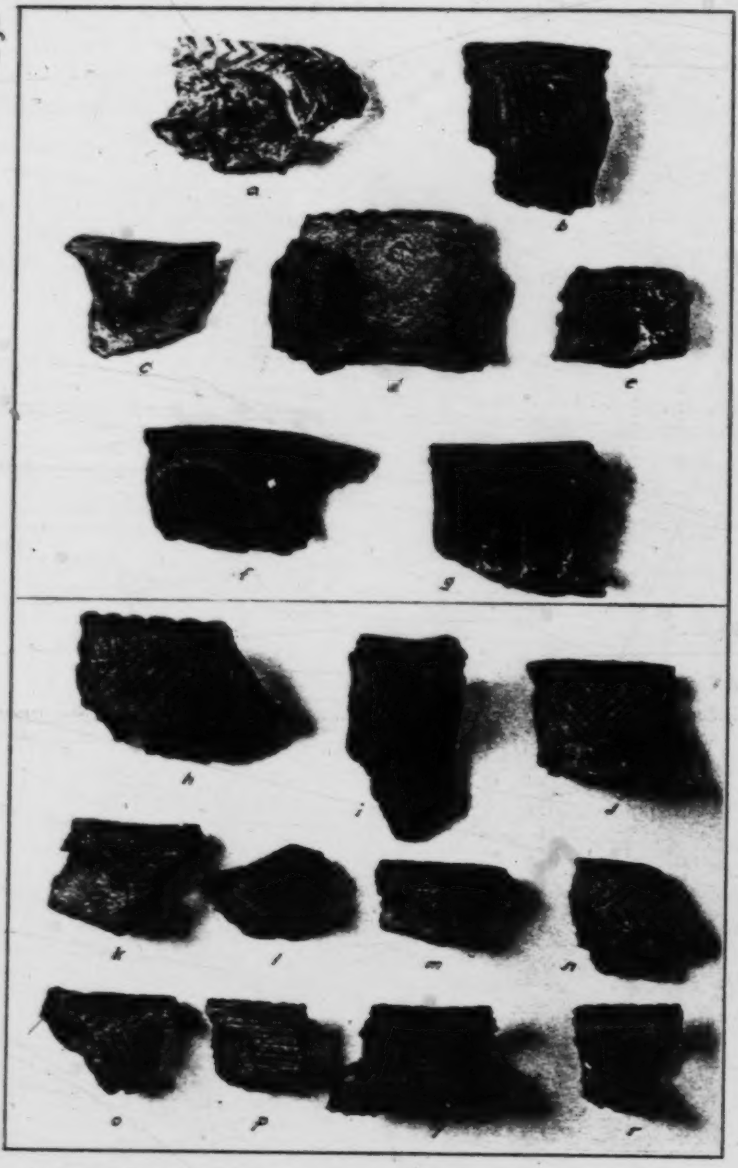

a
b

COMPLETE VESSELS, PROBABLY PAWNEE.



PAWNEE TYPE RIM SHERDS FROM VARIOUS HISTORIC SITES.

[End Plate 5]


a
b
c
d
e
f
g
h
i
j
k
l
m
n
o
p
q
r

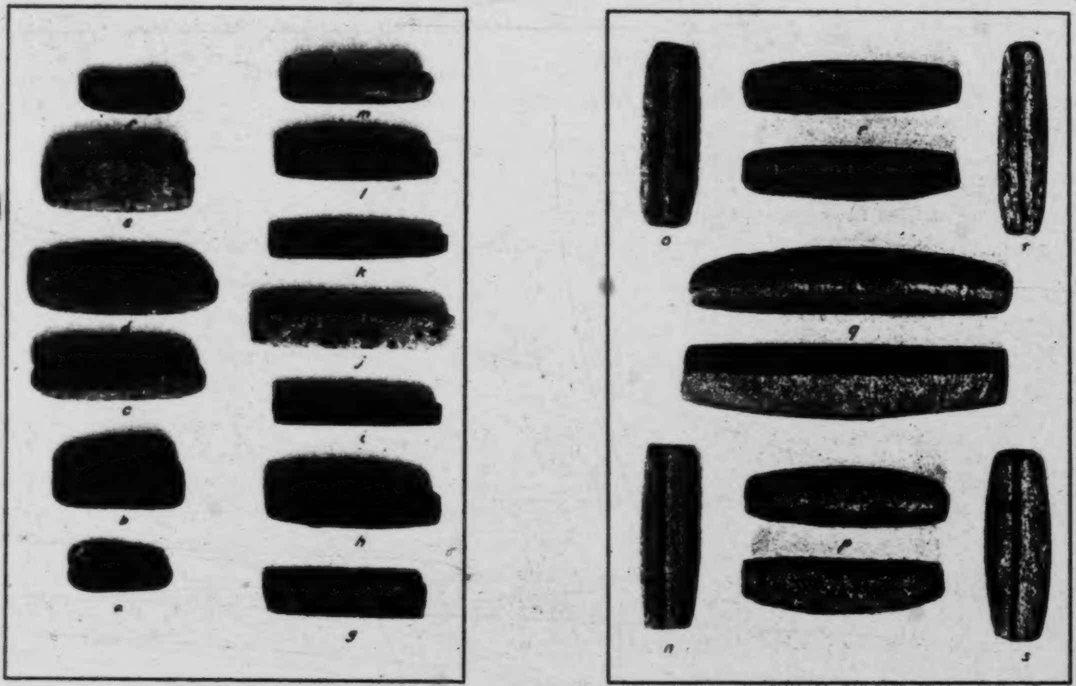
SELECTED RIM SHERDS FROM BURKETT SITE (PROTOHISTORIC PAWNEE).

[End Plate 6]

172
324

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[End Plate 7]


f
e
d
c
b
a
m
l
k
j
i
h
g
o
r
r
q
n
p
s

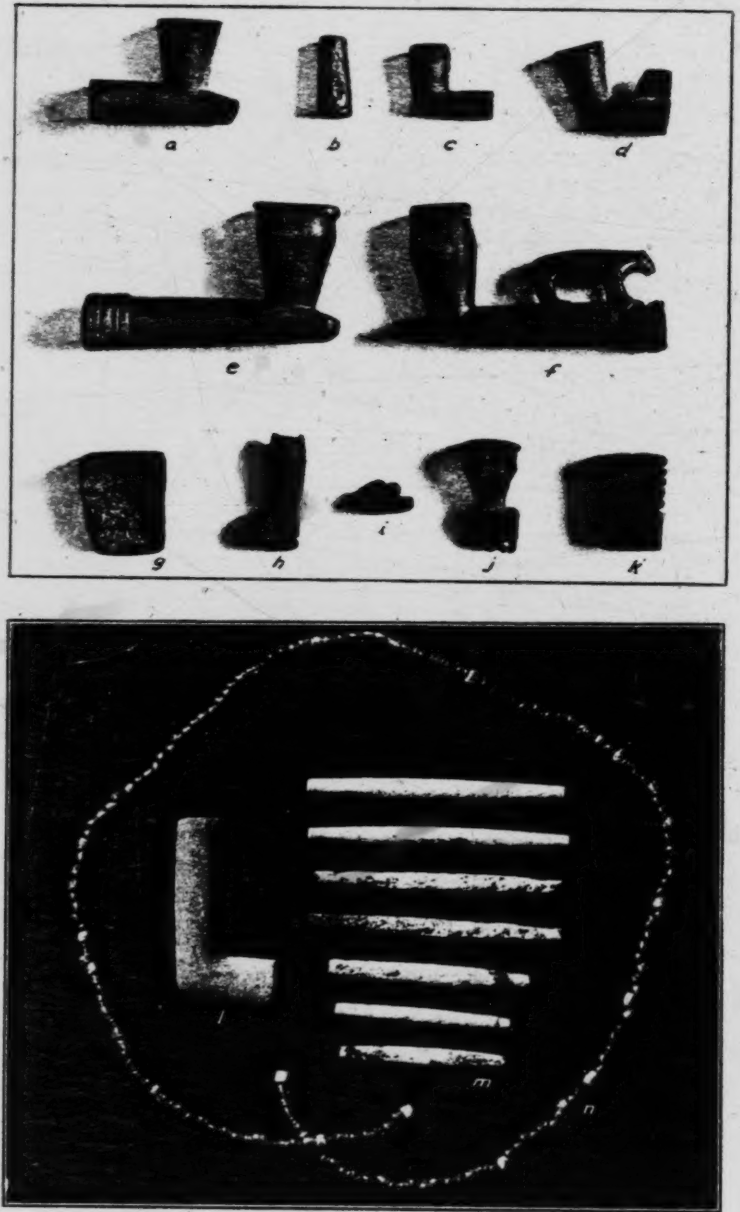
STONEWORK FROM HILL SITE (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
276
532
764

172
276
301



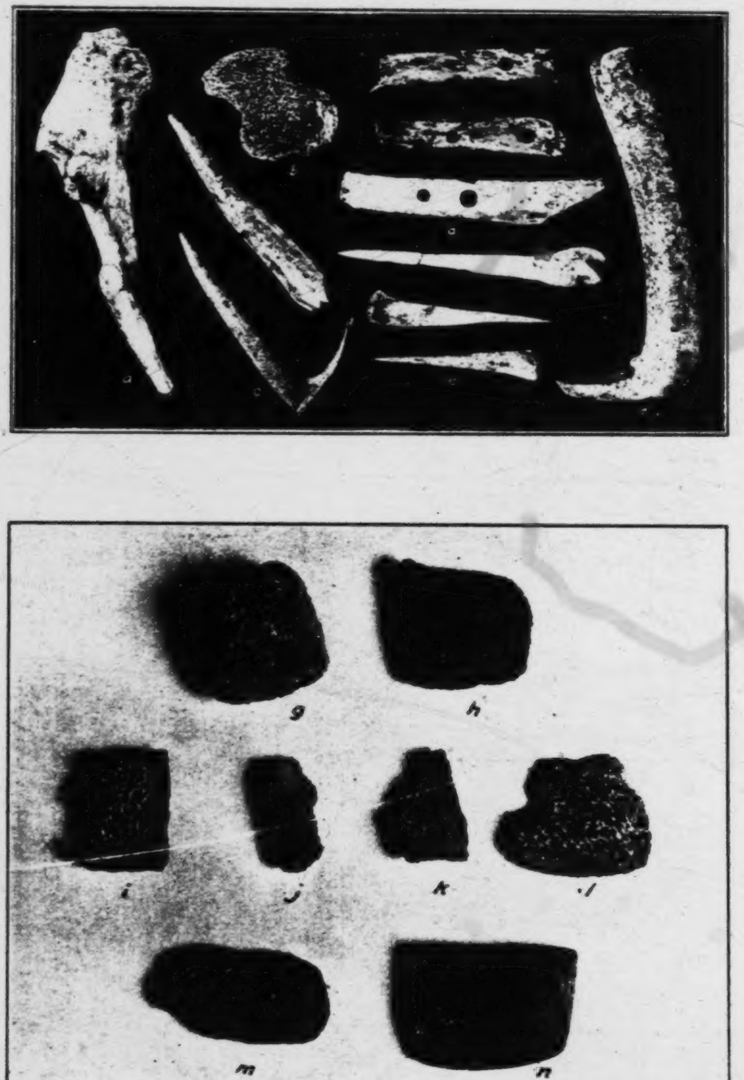
PIPES AND MORTUARY OFFERINGS. VARIOUS SITES (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

[End plate 8]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172 ●
321
4/12



BONEWORK FROM HISTORIC PAWNEE SITES.

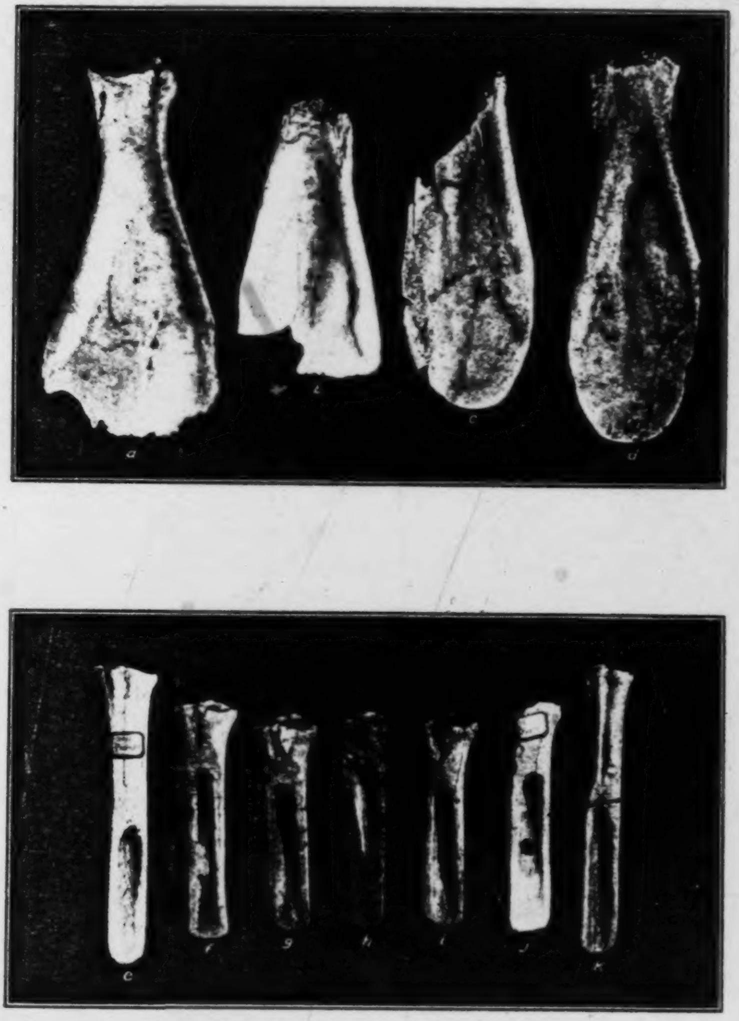
[End Plate 9]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
321
412

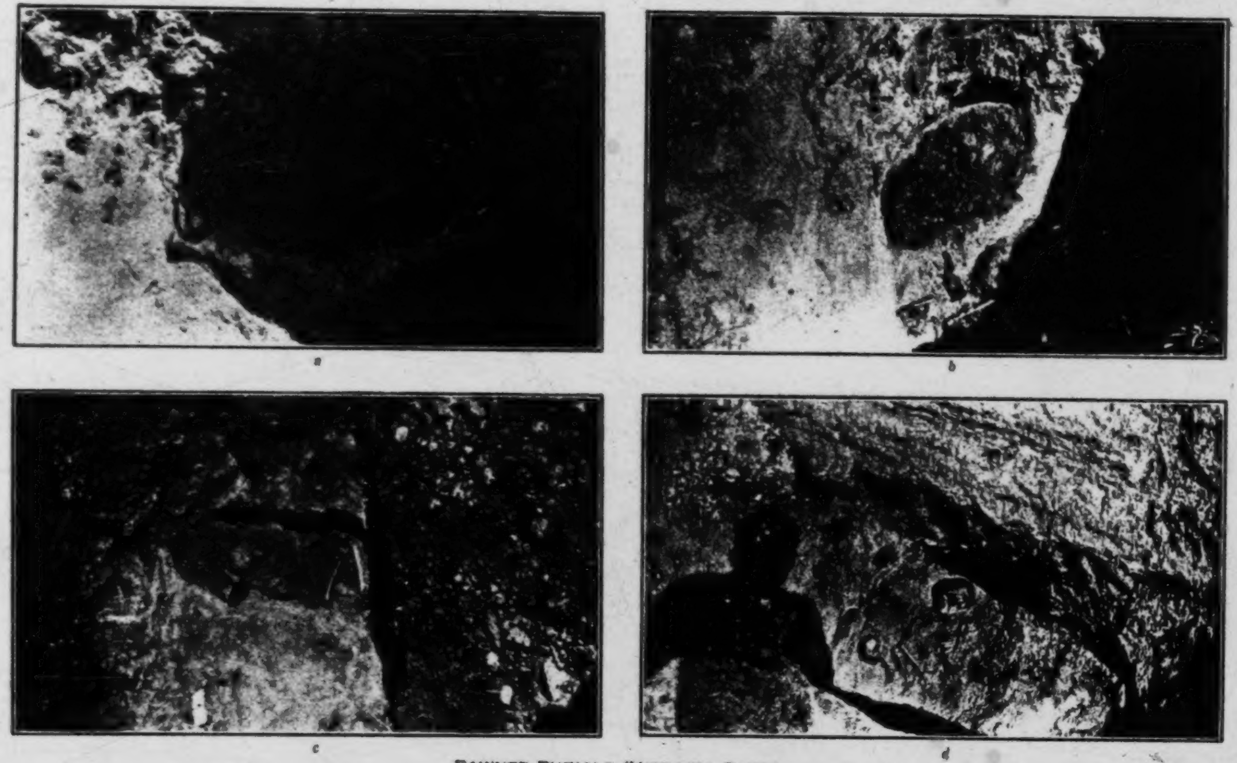
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY BULLETIN 112 PLATE 10



BONE TOOLS FROM HISTORIC PAWNEE SITES.

[End Plate 10]

[End Plate 11]



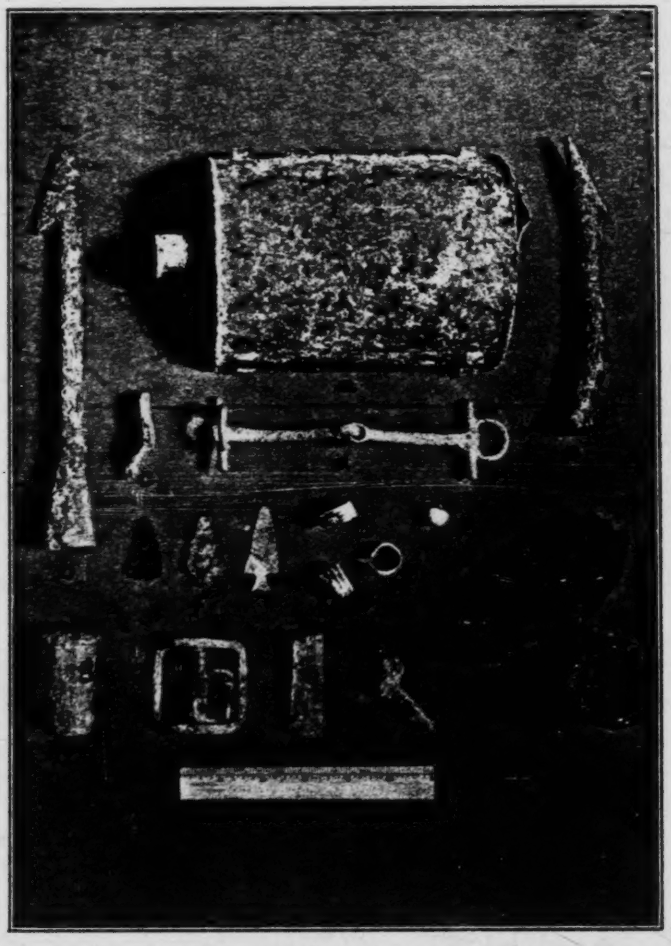
PAWNEE BURIALS (HISTORIC SITES).

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
764

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
177
411
412



METAL TRADE MATERIAL FROM THE HILL SITE (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

[End Plate 12]

[For a resume of Pawnee archeology, see category 116, pp. 23-102. --Analyst]

000 image of life possessed by another people can be acquired only with patience and understanding, for as we do comprehend a different perspective on human experience, one by one our most cherished beliefs of what is basic to humanity are challenged, and we feel at a loss in the face of a need for new horizons.

What can there be of current interest in the life of an American Indian people who lived their way and were overwhelmed by time and events? Their way of life is very different from our own and bears little resemblance to ours even in its fundamentals, and by that very token it opens up a new world of human possibilities that we need to ponder before we can come back to our own problems with a fresh outlook.

• 172 During the past twelve years nearly a million and a half dollars has been spent by the United States Government on a special archaeological project whose purpose is to investigate man's life on the Plains. Forty archaeologists are working in the Missouri River Basin trying to uncover the remains of old Indian villages along the river banks. They go about their work with a special urgency, for soon the flood waters of the river, caught up by the new dam, will cover the area altogether, and the ancient history of man's conquest of the Great Plains will be lost.

The archaeological sites are lonely places high along the river banks, but once they were teeming with life. Clusters of circular embankments mark the places where high domed earth lodges formed a Plains Indian village. In the bottoms close to the river were the fields of corn, beans, and squash, each patch c[illegible]fully tended by the women and their little daughters. Toward evening the men would be coming home with the deer or the elk they had killed, and later their friends would come in to share the feast. The big storage pit outside the house was full of a year's supply of dried vegetables and the dried meat of the buffaloes they had killed during the last summer's hunting expedition. The dried kernels of corn were simmering in the clay pot that hung over the fire, and the family would eat its meal quickly before the guests arrived. When the guests came for the feast of deer meat, they would talk about the three-day tribal harvest ceremony and how much dried buffalo meat would be available for the large banquets they would have. They would talk of the enemies they repulsed, and now in the deserted quiet of the place the archaeologist was gathering up the broken potsherds, the charred kernels of corn, the chipped stone arrowheads, the stone pipe bowl. All these things he carefully catalogued and photographed with a record of just how each thing was found in the ground, and he shipped them back to the museum where they would be kept for further study.

175 From historical records we know that in the 1700's when our record for this area begins, there were Indians living there in earth-lodge villages, some of whose tribal names we can identify. Is it possible that from their modern survivors we can glean some fragments of remem-

167 unchecked by a United States torn by Civil War. Then, when the war
175 was over, came the white settlement of their territory and still more conflicts
648 for the land, the water, and the timber. Finally they could stay there
no longer; they had to leave their homeland, and they moved south.

The Pawnees were related by language to a people to the south of
167 them, the Wichita, and they often went visiting, some of them remaining
197 for several years in order to learn new ceremonials which they brought
648 home with them when they returned north. As far back as the 1770's a
175 contingent of three hundred Pawnees had gone south and settled permanently
there. They were very welcome at this time and every inducement was given to make them stay, as the Wichita were already heavily depleted in numbers by disease and enemy attack; the Pawnee group constituted a much-needed reinforcement.

In the summer of 1870, just a hundred years later, a Pawnee chief led a visiting party of three hundred men to the Wichita. After their return, subsequent parties went down in successive years and were made welcome by the Wichitas and other tribes in the area that is now Oklahoma; in 1873, despite many doubts on the part of their chiefs, two-thirds of the Pawnees finally left their Nebraska home and migrated south. By November 1875 the last Pawnee contingent arrived in Oklahoma. Many met their death as a result of the change. Fevers and starvation took such a
[161] heavy toll that by 1879 only 1,440 survived, and, by the U.S. census of 1910, just 633 Pawnees remained alive.

114 The time of my arrival in Oklahoma to do ethnological and linguistic work was 1928, some fifty years after the time the Pawnees had settled there permanently. We did not know then that Pawnee life with its combined settled village life and migratory buffalo hunting was an old way of life on the Plains.

The general opinion among anthropologists was that in the not too distant past earth-lodge peoples such as the Pawnee had formerly lived in the woodland areas east of the Mississippi and, migrating out onto the Plains, had begun to adopt the migratory life of buffalo hunters and were in the process of abandoning their settled ways.

172 Archaeology has since shown us that the combination of migratory and sedentary village life is much older in the Plains than we had thought and that, far from being in transition, the ancestors of the Pawnees had probably followed a similar way of life in Nebraska for nearly seven hundred years. Archaeological remains of earth-lodge villages are found along the Republican, Platte, and Loup rivers, a progressive evolution of the houses from rectangular to round appearing with the passage of time. The houses and the remains of objects and food found in the archaeological settlements show such a clear continuity into historic times that their identification as ancestral Pawnee is well nigh inevitable.

101 In 1867 the four bands into which the Pawnee were politically organ-

221 were ranged along the bank of Beaver Creek. During the summer and again in winter, the whole tribe left their villages behind and set out on a long expedition to the southwestern part of the state where large herds of buffalo followed their accustomed paths of migration. Several thousand men, women, and children with their horses and dogs were lined up for miles as they followed the river courses on their journey south and west, carrying tents, utensils, and other paraphernalia and a quantity of dried vegetables for their food. They killed some thousands of buffalo on each of these expeditions, drying the meat and packaging it to take home to their villages. While they were in the villages, they manufactured everything they needed both for household life and for their life on the march.

796 But the thing that made life most worthwhile to the Pawnees was their elaborate round of ceremonies. This was based on a complex philosophy of the creation of the universe and of man and of their ongoing nature. The ceremonies were considered as the means for keeping the cosmic order in its course and the continuance of the earth and its life processes. 796 No ceremony could be conducted without a feast of boiled buffalo meat, and a large part of the meat that was gotten on the tribal buffalo hunts 262 was used for this purpose. Rehearsals for the ceremonies, the preparation of costumes and ceremonial objects, and the performance of the ceremonies themselves occupied a large part of the time, attention, and skill of the men, and from the household itself the women contributed not only the dried meat that they had prepared, but also boiled corn, corn bread, and other vegetable dishes for entertaining during rehearsals and for the feasts.

796 The ceremonies were more than religious observances. They were the whole focus of Pawnee aesthetic life, particularly in the performing arts. The pageantry and the costuming, the dances and the miming were developed for beauty as well as for religious significance. They were opera and ballet, and the songs were appreciated for their technical and aesthetic value and were sung on many occasions throughout the year just for the pleasure of singing or hearing them. Laughter and enjoyment as well as religious fervor were common experiences of the spectators during the performances, and the performers tried to get a good audience and to please them.

• 172 The same Plains region that brought terrible hardships to our settlers, provided a rich life for the Pawnees. Their way of life on the Plains goes back to a very old tradition. Archaeologically we have reason to believe 175 they were in the same area from about A.D. 1250. They appear in written history in 1540 when Coronado and his Spaniards were trying to expand their territory northward from the Southwest. Marquette, exploring the Mississippi for the French in 1672, carried the calumet down the river as a pipe of peace, a custom attested by other tribes to have been originated

Next 824
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two es- 316
sential materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and 317
stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have 439
been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or
by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their
area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made 175
up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking 439
and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees 415
were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one 177
could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grin- [323]
nell got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery
in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it
well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 323

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron." This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they [252]
> boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They 172
have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular 415
body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick
"collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad
collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was 415
the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part 252
the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim
and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots
were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must 411
also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was 17
entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the
arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops
roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to
the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-shaped,
177 bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological circles
• [172] as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people
was "Big Knife."

17 Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
412 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
324 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrowshafts
and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sandstone
buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from southwest
Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
[439] Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal
their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard
electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
796 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
463 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
322 arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the
essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots
from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when
the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was
referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the
pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic
terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
796 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
171 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

48

THE PROCESS OF MAKING LEATHER AND FURS

Background Information of Indian Trading—the Preparation of Hides—Rawhide and Tanning Processes—Dressing the Deer—Saddle and Bridle Making—Clothing of Women and Men—Moccasin—Special Clothing: Eagle Feathers, Braided Belts 000

THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE from archaeological and early historical evidence that formerly Indian trade involved a variety of regionally limited raw materials and items that were regarded as luxury foods and ornaments. In the archaeological Ohio Hopewell sites of a culture that flourished around the beginning of the Christian era there are raw materials from the Rockies to the Atlantic Coast and from the Gulf of Mexico and possibly even Middle America. 172 439

In 1738 the Mandans to the northeast of Pawnee territory, gave the Assiniboine middlemen painted buffalo robes, clusters of feathers, headdresses, garters, and girdles in exchange for muskets, axes, kettles, powder, bullets, knives, and bodkins which they had gotten from the British at Hudson's Bay. 000

In 1812, the Comanches chewed pieces of checker-plaited dried pumpkin mat as they rode, which they had received from the Pawnees and paid for in buffalo robes and horses. [439] [755]

From the accounts of first European contacts, the dressed buffalo hide was also an important item of native trade. The presumably Caddoan-speaking Tula who in 1541 were defeated by De Soto south of Hot Springs, Arkansas, were sent by their chiefs with tribute of "many cowhides as a gift which were useful because it was a cold land and they were serviceable for coverlets as they were very soft and the wool like that of

411 boiled hide and the feathers bent onto the stick and pasted down and
[237] tied in place with some more wet sinew at their lower end.

411 After the feathers were in place, the shafts were buffed by passing
them between the two grooved sandstone buffers that were pressed to-
412 gether—the arrow being turned back and forth so that it was well
rounded.

The next process was the use of the bone arrowshaft straightener
• [172] that was a little bit like a fork. [Archaeological specimens from the
Hill site of 1806 are pieces of bison rib with holes of different sizes
[178] drilled through them. In recent times, a tin can punched with holes
was sometimes substituted.]

411 After straightening, downy feathers were fastened on at the lower
[237] end of the feathers that had already been attached.

The final step was to split the end for inserting the point. After the
[284] point was inserted, the end was bound with sinew to make it fast. Different kinds of shafts were called "black-lying-on," "red-lying-on," referring to the colors of the feathers.

276 *The Pipestem.* Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most significant things the man used. The pipe was smoked both for relaxation and in every ceremony. The stem was symbolic of the human windpipe
[192] and the breath was considered the essence of life itself. *Tsiksu*, the word for "throat," was also the verb stem for "to think, to feel," *-atsiks-*. In the ceremony of the Peace Pipe, the main emblems were the two pipestems, a bowl from a sacred bundle being attached to one of them and smoked in the course of the ceremony. The pipestems were decorated with
[237] eagle feathers and other ceremonial insignia—one with the feathers of the
[325] brown eagle, signifying "night," "female," "fruitfulness" and known as *ra-hak-katitu*, "one-mouth-black"; and the other with feathers of the white eagle, signifying "day," "male," "defense," "war" and called *ra-hak-takaru*, "one-mouth-white." At various stages in the ceremony these were waved about so that they symbolized the flight of the eagles.
276 The pipestems were ceremonially fashioned after instructions from the
322 priests. He sent two men to bring in two sticks of ash, and as they sat east of the fireplace they prepared the sticks, warming them over the fire so that they could be straightened and cut to length, viz., four spans from thumb to third finger. The stems were peeled, scraped, and the pith removed by boring them from end to end with a reed so that the breath could pass through unobstructed. The pith was then burned out with a wire. The men cut a straight groove the entire length of each stick to represent the lifeline. Finally all scrapings and every particle of ashwood was placed carefully on the fire, and as the flame rose the two sticks were passed through the blaze so that the word of the fire might enter and be with them.

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wil- 000
son, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, 462
considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not 251
hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of
the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not
affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife
was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244).
Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civiliza- 462
tions—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern 171
Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men
among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern
Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women.

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and 006
Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9.

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the in- 342
side of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326. "The 772
sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within,
then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand
as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people."

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song 776
sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 533
1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and 787
wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder 821
spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'"
He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when
he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of
the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's
account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of 157
the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones 821
the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit 721
to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old
friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She 114
remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on 821
the contrary they were part of it and went out into it.

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On 172
archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, 251
pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10
feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric ex-
amples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten
walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a
slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present
beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the
Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

243
825
171
[244]
97 Maximillian reports that in the spring corn ceremony among the Mandan, wild goose signified maize, swans represented the gourds and the duck, the beans. It may well be that the deer and the loon represented the squash and beans respectively among the Pawnees at some time. There was no known symbolism connected with these essential food plants at the time of my report, the concentration being entirely on the maize.

533
126
100 The *Awari* songs are from the Murie-Wissler manuscript, in my retranscription and translation as it appears there.

512
243
102 Oehler and Smith, 1914. On May 8th, 1851: "Early in the morning we were awakened by the shrill voices of the Pawnee women, who were engaged in cleaning up the lodge and collecting their hoes, previous to going out to the fields to prepare the ground for planting corn."

243
105 Weltfish, 1937. From the Pawnee texts; old man speaks to the women (pp. 29-30); a little girl goes into the fields with her mother (p. 30); Pawnee women as horticulturists (pp. 27-28).

106 Adapted from Murie-Wissler, pp. 308-325, as well as from other sources.

821
302
107 The foot painted on the warrior's forehead represented the Pawnee astronomical constellation known as bird, *rikutski*, which was said to be on the Milky Way itself, but is otherwise unidentified. The Tsawi Band calls Cassiopeia, turkey foot, but the Skidi Band calls it rabbit, *parus*. See Dunbar, 1881, p. 744.

000
113-114 Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98.

106 See Drucker, Heizer, and Squier, 1959, for the time depth of elaborate formal religion in Mexico at La Venta, Tabasco, southeastern Mexico near the Gulf. The structures have been radiocarbon dated at 800–400 B.C. and show a high degree of religious organization and complex symbolism that can be clearly inferred from the archaeological remains.

172
243
122 It took milennia to evolve the current uses of maize among the Pawnees.

121 At La Perra cave where some of the earliest examples of North American domesticated corn have been found (radiocarbon dated 4445 ± 180 B.C.) some steps in patterns of utilization indicated in the finds are: (a) chewing young ears husks and all shortly after pollination—wasteful, but quick and simple way of getting a little sugar; (b) roasting the ears of green corn; (c) making parched corn; (d) removing kernels from cob, shown with glumes battered and broken as though the ears were forced across a rough surface or beaten with a stick; (e) maize apparently pounded, inferred from the finding of stone mortars. (Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, Galinat, 1956, pp. 145-146).

000
121 Mangelsdorf, 1958; Mangelsdorf, 1964.

122 Walster, 1956.

P 224

141 The surround on foot was called *tut-kawi-pitahaku,*" it-to-them-inside-moving-round-and-round." In summer the buffalo tended to be scattered in smaller bunches. In winter the buffalo traveled in closer formation. They also would try to drive them over the ice during the winter: *situks-ukita-hai-iwarit*, "they-used-to-upon-water-or-ice-aim-or-direct." In winter, in the deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow and could readily be killed. The north wind was called Lucky Wind because it chased the buffalo to them. When the second party was going to Oklahoma (1876), old man Frost, *Huriru'us*, held a doctor dance. Then Lucky Wind began to blow and a lot of buffalo came close to the camp. At one time, east of the Missouri River, a bit east of Omaha, Nebraska, there were villages of Pumpkin-Vine people and further eastward the village of Bones-Sticking-Up, *Kis-kararwa*, of the Tsawi Band. Buffalo came into these villages.

P
[821]
[796]
[361]

P 482

Even in Oklahoma in the 1920's women continued to pack heavy loads on their backs. In 1928 I met an old Pawnee grandmother of delicate build trudging along the road out of the town of Pawnee one Saturday afternoon with a huge load of groceries—a sack of flour, a lard pail full, and other sundries—done up in a blanket, the ends tied across her forehead and the weight of the bundle resting on her protruded buttocks and backbone. She refused an offer of a lift in a Ford Car, preferring to continue with her moccasined walk for the two miles to the house.

P 172 325

145, 363 In Lower Loup archaeological villages sheet metal was found for the first time (about 1600), possibly for arrow points (Dunlevy, 1936, p. 201).

P 162

138 Dunbar, 1918, p. 632, gives an estimate of the number of males and females among the Skidi (1840): total 1906; males over 10 years, 469; females over 10 years, 598; children, males under 10 years, 367, females under 10 years, 472.

P 439

145, 363-364 Although pottery was still in use in Old Village (Allis, 1887, p. 140) the Pawnees had for some time been carrying on a trade in brass buckets with other tribes. Mooney, 1898, pp. 257-259, describes a gruesome incident when the Osage attacked the unprotected Kiowa camp, cutting off the heads of their dead victims and placing them one each in a brass kettle, "which had been obtained by the Kiowa from the Pawnee, who procured them on the Missouri and traded them to the southern tribes." This was the year 1833 "Summer They Cut Off Their Heads." During the attack "A party of women was saved by a brave Pawnee living in the camp, who succeeded in fighting off the pursuers long enough to enable the women to reach a place of safety" (p. 258).

D
[726]
[727]

P
[726]

145, 363-364 Trade was carried on by the Pawnees with the Kiowas through the Calumet or Pipe Dance. (See Fletcher, 1904, pp. 280-281, where the purpose of the ritual is described.) 439

149 In an informal conversation with Prof. John L. Champe, he pointed out that in the neighborhood where the Stay-at-Homes set up their impromptu village near Columbus where the Loup River empties into the Platte was the area of some old archaeological sites: Bellwood, occupied by the Tsawi Band about 1800, overlapping and overlaying an older protohistoric site of the Burkett type (Lower Loup) (see Wedel, 1936, p. 40). The Pawnees claimed that this was an old Pawnee home. They claimed that about five miles west of Columbus was *Kitkeharawits-a-ku,* "Earth-Lodge-Village-Adjacent-to-a-Spring-Sitting." 172 361

159 Hyde, 1951, pp. 96-97, feels that the tobacco of the northern Indians might have been an attractive trade item for the southern tribes. He feels that trade with the Arikara in this item may go back to 1680 and cites Tabeau for such trade c. 1802, southern Indians coming north to trade horses for tobacco with the Arikara. 276 439 171

159 Gilmore, 1919, pp. 113-114, states that Pawnee tobacco was *Nicotiana quadrivalus* Pursh. and was cultivated by all the tribes of Nebraska. "Since the advent of the Europeans, tobacco is one of the crops whose culture has been abandoned by these tribes, and they have all lost the seed of it, so that the oldest living Omaha have never seen it growing; but they sometimes receive presents of the prepared tobacco from other tribes to the north who are still growing it." Gilmore obtained seeds from an old Hidatsa man in 1908 which he succeeded in growing. Gilmore, 1919, plate 27, pictures an old Arikara man gathering his tobacco. 249 171

> A Pawnee informant said that his people in old time prepared the ground for planting this tobacco by gathering a quantity of dried grass, which was burned where the patch was to be sown. This kept the ground clear of weeds so that nothing grew except the tobacco which was planted. The crop was allowed to grow thick, and then the whole plant—leaves, unripe fruit capsules, and the tender small parts of the stems—was dried for smoking. The unripe seed capsules, dried separately were specially prized for smoking on account of the flavor, pronounced by the Indians to be like the flavor now found in the imported Turkish tobacco." (Gilmore, 1919, p. 114.) 249

359-360 The need for a good knowledge of the stars and constellations on the Plains as well as at sea and the possibility of getting lost is indicated by a modern incident reported in the *Sunday World* 000

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000 359-360 *Herald*, Omaha, Nebraska, October 13, 1957. A man was driving into the sandhills of western Nebraska to meet his wife who was teaching at a school 35 miles north of the town of Ashby. Riding to the end of a vague road onto the land, he ran out of gasoline and, leaving his car, got lost for three days. He had to live on rose buds and frog legs until he was found. A good knowledge of the stars and constellations would have helped him.

175 The Pipe Dance among the Caddo, 1687, was reported by Joutel, companion of La Salle, as witnessed by him in July 1687 (Swanton, 1942, pp. 179-180).

175-176, 199, 223, 354-355 Calumet ceremony current in the Mississippi region as observed by the French explorer Marquette in 1672:

> He says of this "calumet" that it is "the most mysterious thing in the world. The scepters of our kings are not so much respected, for the Indians have such a reverence for it that one may call it the god of peace and war, and the arbiter of life and death. . . . One with this calumet may venture among his enemies, and in the hottest battles, they lay down their arms before the sacred pipe. The Illinois presented me with one of them which was very useful to us in our voyage." (Fletcher, 1904, p. 279.)

276 726 354 In one of their story telling sessions, Eagle Chief told of how he had carried the calumet right into the Sioux line of battle and when the Sioux saw the pipe, the whole line of battle turned back and rode off.

224 • [172] 141-142 The buffalo jump was a primitive device for attacking the herd by lining up in a V-formation and chasing the herd over a cliff. At the base of these old buffalo jumps, archaeological excavation reveals large heaps of buffalo bones, giving some indication that numbers of the animals died in vain. The Pawnee method of surround made it possible to include all the animals and utilize all the meat of those killed. Frank North, a participant observer of a hunt in the fall of 1859, states (1859, p. 20):

> 4-500 of the Indians strung out in a long line single file. They rode up as close to the herd as possible without being seen and got as near to them as they could without frightening them. The leader of the surround gave a signal, until which time no one has the right to make noise or leave the line, and they instantly wheeled their horses, one half heading in one direction and the other half facing in the opposite way. Each party then started off on the gallop, riding in a semicircle until they met, and had made a complete surround of the immense herd. In this instance they had surrounded about 500 of the buffaloes and closing in on them, killed every one."

554 727 357-358 Like other Plains tribes, the Pawnee had the tradition of honoring a warrior for touching a fallen enemy. In anthropological literature, this has come to be known as "counting coup." The first one to touch the fallen enemy among the Pawnees as among the other Plains tribes, got the greatest honor. It was said of him, *wi-ti-ki*, "now-he-strikes." The second to touch the fallen enemy got a secondary honor and the third was the final strike that could count. Taking the scalp could count as a "strike." As the strike is being made, the warrior must call out "I strike" at the scene of battle itself if possible with witnesses to the deed. Otherwise, only if there were some concrete evidence, could the deed be counted. For example, if one struck a dead Sioux, one would put him in a sheltered place until you could bring witnesses or people who came to see tracks of horses in the place where the exploit occurred and some blood to show there had been a skirmish. However, even if such proof could not be made, later when peace was made and the erstwhile enemies were sitting together at peace, they might recount their former war exploits and the deeds of the brave would be confirmed by the enemy so that the warrior's own people would know.

• 172 412 363 On polished stone axes, celts, etc. see Wedel, 1936, pp. 77-78: In the archaeological Pawnee and proto-Pawnee sites, polished stone axes and celts are rare, and there seems to be a preponderance of crude stone mauls. Also see Strong, 1935, pp. 59-60, 66-67.

292 821 375-376 The comet of 1882, *upirik-kiskuxka*, "feather headdress," was so named to indicate the identification of the traditional Plains war bonnet with a comet.

000 403-406 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of a bulrush mat, pp. 151-152.

382, 385 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of wooden bowls, pp. 47-51, and the mortar and pestle.

As this book went to press, there appeared in *Science* (July 10, 1964, 145, No. 3628, 117-136) a definitive article, "Economics and the Quality of Life" by the outstanding economist, John Kenneth Galbraith, that so closely parallels the general viewpoint that I have tried to express here that I feel it should be especially mentioned.

In the *New York Times* (July 12, 1964), an article appeared which was entitled "Landlord to Hire Social Worker to Help His Tenants Live Better." The realtor referred to is Mr. Howard Offit, one of Baltimore's largest landlords, who owns about 1,000 red-brick-row or attached houses. The social worker hired by Mr. Offit will work in a West Baltimore neighborhood. Harold C. Edelston, executive director of Baltimore's Health and Welfare Council, who is one of the program's advisers, states its purpose: "to have the social worker provide brief counseling service for tenants with personal family

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We sing of the entranceway of the lodge because it is through this way that man goes to and fro. It is the place made for all to enter into the lodge; through it come those powers which are represented on the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako. Through it come the promises of the Hako, and through it the visions come. 539* 796*

The long passageway represents the days of man's life.

PART II. PREPARING THE FEATHERED STEMS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Before the next song is sung the Ku'rahus prepares the blue paint which is to be put on one of the sticks of ash. The water with which the blue clay is mixed must be taken from a running stream. Water from a spring or well can not be used. Running water represents the continuity of life from one generation to another. [386] [823]

The paint is mixed in a white shell. The shell must be white; it is used because it was once a living thing. It lived in the water; it had no disease or sickness. As we use the shell we ask that disease and sickness may be kept from us and that our life may be long.

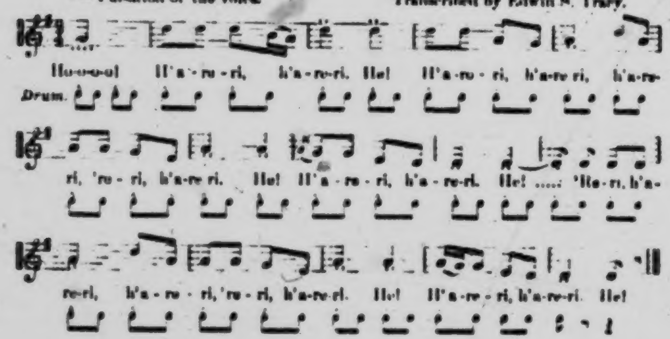
Before the people knew anything about vessels they used shells as spoons and to put their food in. Tira'wa gave us the shells and gave them long life and the power to keep away disease and sickness. [173] ●

When the Ku'rahus has mixed the blue paint in the shell, he hands it to the man at his left, who is sitting toward the north. This man applies the mixture with his finger to the stick of ash, spreading the paint over its entire length, but being very particular not to let any of it get into the straight groove that runs from one end of the stick to the other, while the following song is sung.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. [533*]


Ho-o-o-o! H'a - re - ri, h'a - re-ri. He! H'a - re - ri, h'a-re ri, h'a-re-
Drum.
ri, 're - ri, h'a-re-ri. He! H'a - re - ri, h'a - re-ri. He! ..... 'Re-ri, h'a-
re-ri, h'a - re - ri, 're - ri, h'a-re-ri. He! H'a - re - ri, h'a-re-ri. He!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation

539*
796*

I

319 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
320 Hare witu; hare witu; hare witu; hare witu.
hare, yonder, at a short distance.
witu, a mesa, an elevation or hill with a flat top.
321 See line 320.

II

322 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
323 Ha rha witu; ha rha witu; ha rha witu; ha rha witu.
ha, yonder.
rha, beyond this one; meaning that another mesa is seen beyond the one in the foreground.
witu, a mesa.
324 See line 323.

III

325 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
326 Hare wawe; hare wawe; hare wawe.
hare, yonder, at a short distance.
wawe, the ridge or rim of the mesa.
327 See line 326.

IV

328 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
329 Ha rha wawe; ha rha wawe; ha rha wawe; ha rha wawe.
ha, yonder.
rha, beyond this one; that is, the one in the foreground just spoken of.
wawe, the rim or sharp ridge of the mesa.
330 See line 329.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We are told that long ago our fathers used to see the mesas; that on their journeys with the Hako they passed by or over these flat-topped mountains. This song has come down to us from that time. As we have never seen mesas, we do not sing the song on the journey; we sing it in the lodge of the Son, that we may not forget what our fathers saw when they traveled far from where we now dwell. [173]

PART III. MOTHER CORN REASSERTS LEADERSHIP

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The next two songs are in sequence.

When we have reached the borders of the country where the Children dwell we sing the first song. We give an exclamation of thankfulness (Iri!) that we behold the land where they dwell. Mother Corn had passed here when she was seeking the Son (second ritual), and now she has led us to this place.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ16 Pawnee NQ16

539*
796*

II

973 Wetati chiri wakari pirau ta 'hao;
974 Wetati chiri wakari pirau ta hao;
975 Wetati chiri wakari pirau ta hao;
976 Wetati chiri wakari pirau ta hao;
977 Wetati chiri wakari pirau ta hao;
978 Wetati chiri wakari pirau ta hao.

Translation

I

966 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
967 Kakati chiri wakari pirau Tira'a.
kakati, I do not.
chiri, a part of titichiri, to know.
wakari, a modified form of wakow, voice, with the plural sign, ri; the word wakari refers to chanted prayers.
pirau, children; a general term.
Tira'a, a modification of Tira'wa, the mighty power.
968-972 See line 967.

II

973 Wetati chiri wakari pirau'ta hao.
wetati, I now.
chiri, know. See line 967.
wakari, chanted prayers. See line 967.
pirau, children.
ta, my.
hao, offspring; my own son or child.
974-978 See line 973.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus.

173
796*
539*

The old men who made these songs so long ago thought much upon Tira'wa atius and they prayed to him out on the hills nights and days at a time. They observed all the sacred ceremonies, for they knew that the rites were given to help the people. This Hako ceremony was given by the great power. The old men were careful in teaching its songs to those who were to come after them, and they explained their meaning. I am singing these songs and explaining them just as they were taught me, and as they had been handed down to the Ku'rahus who gave them to me. I did not make them.[a]

This song is very old and this is the story that came with it:

---

[a] The recording of this ceremony occupied several weeks in each of four years, and the reiterations of the Ku'rahus as to the fidelity of his communications were not apparent to him. They were natural expressions of his earnestness and his desire to be faithful. I have deemed it best to follow my original notes, giving these reiterations just as they were made.

173 *539 *796 Long ago a Ku'rahus went with a Hako party to a distant tribe to make a Son. On the last night of the ceremony he said to the people: "Children, there is a power above which knows all things, all that is coming to pass. I do not know what will happen, but I hope good will come to you. I have prayed that long life and children and plenty may be given to you, but I know not if my prayers are heard or if they will be answered."

He went with the Hako a second time to the same tribe, but he said nothing. He went a third time, but he said nothing. He went the fourth time, and he was then a very old man. On the last night of the ceremony he spoke and said: "Children, I look over you and see the little boys whom I held in my arms when they were painted[a] now grown to manhood. I see that many children have been given to them; I see that your people have prospered and now I know that my prayers for you when I first came with the Hako have been answered. I know and am sure that the great power to which I prayed hears and answers the prayers of a man."

The first stanza refers to the prayer of the Ku'rahus when he first carried the Hako to the Children.

The second stanza speaks of the offspring that had been given to the Children, that he saw when he went the fourth time with the Hako.

We sing these stanzas on the last night of the ceremony, because it was on the last night that the Ku'rahus spoke to the Children. As we sing we remember what he said he had been taught, that Tira'wa atius hears us pray for the Children and will answer our prayers.

*539 *796 We now begin the last four circuits of the lodge. The first song refers to Tira'wa atius, the father of all. The second speaks of the lesser powers, those which can be seen or heard or felt by man.

We have sung these two songs before; the first time was on the first day, when we made the first circuit of the lodge, in the presence of all the Children, before they partook of the food prepared for them (eighth ritual). We sang them a second time on the third day, after the sacred feast of corn, and before we sang to Mother Earth and made the offering of smoke (thirteenth ritual). Now we sing them for the third time, at the close of the fourth and last night. They are our appeal before we begin the secret ceremonies pertaining to the little child.

---

[a] This is a reference to the ceremonies with the little child which take place on the fifth morning.

796 her into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village until the
782 time for her sacrifice. She was treated in a ceremonial manner but
kept in ignorance of her fate. At the appointed time her body was
[302] painted, half red and half black, and she was tied to a scaffold and
417] shot through the heart with an arrow. It was said that the braided
thong used to bind the girl to the scaffold is now in the Morning
Star bundle.

173 Tradition states that on one occasion the intended victim was
rescued. On the night preceding her execution she was seated beside
782 some tall sunflowers. A young chief came through the tall weeds and
796 stole her away, putting her on his horse and taking her to Fort Leavenworth, whence she was returned to her own people. She died within three months, having been anointed for death with the sacred ointment of red paint powder and buffalo fat. This occurred about the year 1818. The man who rescued the intended victim was a warrior of distinction and through his influence the custom was discontinued. The ritual of the sacrifice is still rendered but no actual sacrifice has taken place since that date.

796 Coming Sun, who sings the ceremonial songs, said that sometimes,
during the Morning Star ceremony he stops and says "Listen," and
[782] the people hear a woman's voice singing the songs above his head.

The Morning Star ceremony was held by the Skidi Band near Pawnee, Okla., on April 17, 1920. This ceremony formerly lasted four days and nights, ending when the morning star appeared in the east, but at the present time it is concluded in one day. On this occasion the writer had the honor of entering the lodge, through the courtesy of Coming Sun. It is said that only one other white person, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, has entered the lodge during the ceremony and seen the contents of the sacred bundle.

The ceremony was held in a tipi erected for the occasion in a quiet
[346] spot near the house of the keeper of the bundle, north of Pawnee.
This tipi had been used in the Ghost dance and was decorated with Ghost dance symbols. (Pl. 5, *b*.) The adjacent landscape is shown in Plate 3, *c*. The ceremony began at about 9 a. m. and continued until 4 p. m., the writer sitting outside the tipi except for the brief time she was permitted to enter. Thus the entire songs of the ceremony were heard, as well as the prayers and rituals, though only the principal song was obtained. At the proper time Coming Sun, who was in charge of the ceremony, sent a messenger to summon the writer and she entered the lodge, passing to the right and standing near the bundle, before which she laid gifts of calico, tobacco, and
[534] money. Coming Sun was seated back of the bundle, directly opposite the entrance, and held one of the sacred gourd rattles. Two
796 men at either side of him held similar rattles. In front of the men
778 at Coming Sun's left and next the sacred bundle was a belt decorated

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of 796
"song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The 778
outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread
on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a
pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native
tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of
corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip
inclined toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and
the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a
white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws [825]
of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal [821]
is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason
the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In [854]
accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her
arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She [201]
then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between
the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial
lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies [302]
were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder
mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire
was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was [372]
intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was 796
served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful
of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung [415]
on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled
in the usual manner. [262]

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning 796
Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and
were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening 778
Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle 173
and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side.
The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge
of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however,
forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close
the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured
four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black.
The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star
and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards
the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe
secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It
is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to
have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow [411]
is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

---

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUFFALO DANCE

796 The ceremony of Painting the Buffalo Skull is held every spring by the Chaui Band of Pawnee and is in charge of Mr. Stacy Matlock, a prominent member of that band. The closing events of the ceremony are the Buffalo and Lance dances, which were witnessed by the writer through the courtesy of Mr. Matlock, no other [346] white person being present. The ceremony and dances were held in a large earth lodge, several miles south of the town of Pawnee. (Pl. 6, *a*, *b*, *c*.) The opening of the lodge was toward the east. At some distance was a framework, probably that of a sweat lodge. (Pl. 7, *b*.) Only members of the Buffalo Society were admitted to [778] the painting of the skull, but during the Buffalo dance the skull, painted a few days previously, lay on a folded blanket in front of the "altar" which was opposite the entrance. This occasion and the Lance dance held a few days later afforded exceptional opportunities to listen to Pawnee songs, but the semidarkness of the lodge and the solemnity of the occasion precluded the taking of notes upon either the music or the details of the ceremonial dances.

The chief singer at both of these dances was Wicita Blain, a [424] blind man who received the songs by inheritance. He led the songs 796 which were sung at a certain position back of the altar. At a later 115 time he recorded the ceremonial songs here presented, also certain songs of the Bear dance, which is held in equally high esteem by the Pawnee. John Luwak, chief of the Chaui Band, was prominent at the Lance dance and later recorded numerous songs, including those of the Crow Lance Society. (Pl. 2, *a*.)

The following song was led by Mr. Blain at the Buffalo dance *533 attended by the writer and is a very old song concerning Mrs. ● 173 Blain's uncle, whose name was Naru'dapadi. A great herd of buffalo came to the place where the Indians were encamped and threatened the destruction of the village. Her uncle rode toward them, shouting and firing his gun in an attempt to divert them from their course, but he was caught in the herd. There were buffalo on all sides of him as the herd swept through the camp and across a stream, carrying him with them.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth. These are the tones omitted in the fourth 5-toned scale which is major while the present song is minor in tonality. It is interesting to note that 25 per cent of the intervals are fourths. This interval, in songs of other tribes, has been found to characterize songs associated with motion or connected with animals. The most frequent interval is the whole tone. This song has a compass of 11 tones and contains the fourth below the final tone. Table 4 shows that the final tone is the lowest tone in a majority of the Indian songs under analysis.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Many years ago the Pawnee fought the Sioux, killing many. Among the Pawnee warriors was a man named Nada'kutade (Eagle Chief), father-in-law of the man who recorded the following song. Eagle Chief owned this song and sang it in the Bear dance. The fight with the Sioux was said to have taken place in a part of the country which was thickly wooded, the battle resulting in a victory for the Pawnee.

648
173 ●
533*
[424]

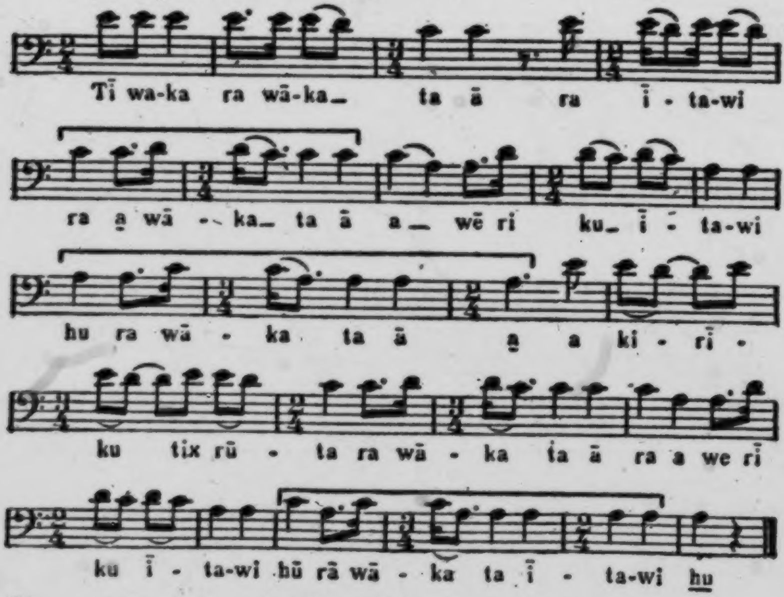
No. 14. "The Horse is Shouting"

(Catalogue No. 1120)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

533*

Voice ♩ = 120
Drum ♩ = 138 Changing to ♩ = 120
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Tī wa-ka ra wā-ka— ta ā ra ī - ta-wi
ra a wā -- ka— ta ā a — wē ri ku— ī - ta-wi
hu ra wā - ka ta ā a a ki - rī -
ku tix rū - ta ra wā - ka ta ā ra a we rī
ku ī - ta-wi hū rā wā - ka ta ī - ta-wi hu

Tī	waka	ra	wāka	ta	ā	ra	ītawi
He	said	have	shouting	going	on	have	telling

a	wē	ri	ku	ītawi	hū	a	kiriku	tix	rūta
about	now	it		mentioning	do	and	something	he	did

rā	wāka	ta	ā	ra
have	shouting	going	on	have

a	we	ri	ku	ītawi	hū
about	now	it		mentioning	do

FREE TRANSLATION

He said, the horse is shouting,
I am telling it, the horse is shouting,
Now I am telling it,
The horse is shouting at something he did.

Analysis.—Four renditions were recorded. The first and second 533*
renditions were interrupted by the shrill cries given by women
in a war dance, the interruptions occurring in the eighth measure of
the first and the ninth measure of the second rendition. After the
second rendition the singer spoke several sentences rapidly and after
the third rendition she repeated the shrill cries. The third and fourth
renditions were sung without interruption. The foregoing is an
interesting example of the performance of this class of songs. The
tempo is slow and the melody is marked by a steadily descending
trend. The song is harmonic in structure, contains all the tones of
the octave, and has a compass of 11 tones.

SONGS OF THE RAVEN LANCE SOCIETY

[171]
The custom of the Pawnee concerning the raven lance (*kakutsaa*) 411
was similar to that of the Mandan.[70] A warrior who carried this lance 726
into battle and planted it in the ground was obliged to defend its 778
position with his life. If he were killed, his comrades brought back
the lance. By the Pawnee informant the lance was described as a
staff wrapped with otter hide and having a crook at the upper end. [237]
It was decorated with eagle feathers and bore the body of a raven,
commonly designated as a crow.

The dance of the Raven Lance Society was said to be "almost like 533*
that in which the dancers painted half their bodies red and half 575
black," referring to the White Lance Society. The original owner of [302]
this dance lived to extreme old age and, as he had no children, he 173●
gave the dance to a young man who was one of his nearest relatives. 726
One day the people said, "Some Indians are coming to attack us."
The young man who had received the dance took his raven lance, [431]
mounted his pony, and went to get the old man. They rode together
on the pony to a place near the fight and then went forward on foot,
but the old man could not go as fast as the warriors. The old man
called, "I am still coming," and the young man came back and helped
him forward. The aged man was proud to see that the young man
to whom he had given his dance was among the leaders in the fight.
The enemy shot and killed the young man, and the lance was brought
back with his body. Then the old man sang this song. In the manner
of recording the song there was a wailing which was said to be
"the old man crying because the young man had been killed and he
had no more relatives," yet he loved the lance and all that it symbolized.
He died soon afterwards and, as he was too old to give the
dance to anyone else, the Pawnee do not have the dance at the present
time.

---

[70] Cf. Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 48 and 49, including "Song to the Raven"; also Lowie, Societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, pp. 313-314.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

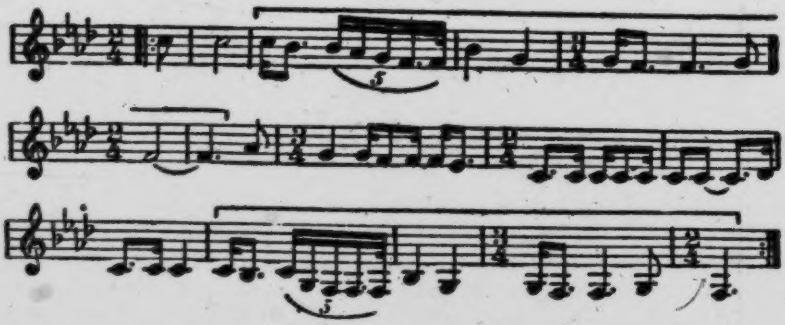
except between the second and third when a sentence was spoken rapidly. It is in accordance with Indian custom to interject rapid sentences between renditions of a war song, or even to interrupt a song with spoken words, the subject being that of the song. 533*

No. 25. Crow Lance Society Song

(Catalogue No. 1083)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

If I did anything great in battle I would be a crow (member of the Crow Society).

SONGS OF THE KITSITA SOCIETY

533*
575
173 ●

The identity of this society is not fully established. Those taking part in the dance were painted as in the White Lance Society and "held their lives in such light esteem as to be called unreal." In describing this song the singer said that long ago there was a woman who had only one child, a boy, who grew up to be a handsome young man. The first dance he saw was that of the Kitsita and he said to his mother, "I like that dance; I wish I could be in it." His mother said, "No, my son, the dancers are acting like certain animals that have only a short time to live and that is why I do not want you to dance with them."

Analysis.—Two rhythmic units occur in this song, their repetitions comprising the entire melody. The first rhythmic unit is transcribed in a 5-count measure as the secondary accent varies, in some instances the third, and in others the fourth count of the group being slightly accented. In some renditions the tempo is slightly hastened at the opening of the second rhythmic unit. This song contains a larger variety of intervals than a majority of the Indian songs which have been analyzed, although more than half the progressions are whole tones. 533*

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

173

533*

[761]

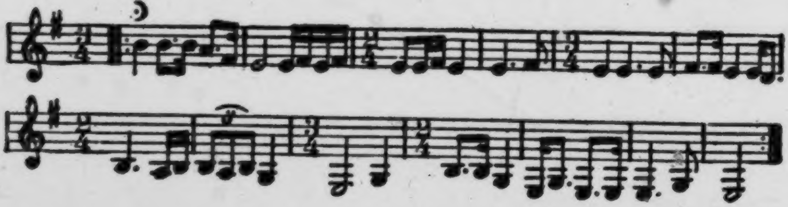
An informant said that the song next following was sung "when men made up their minds that it was no matter if they were killed." The tradition concerning this song was related by the singer as follows: The Pawnee were on the buffalo hunt and were climbing a hill in search of the herd. One family had a little boy with them and while they were climbing the hill another tribe overtook them and killed the little boy's father. When the Pawnee had run away from the other tribe they began to kill buffalo. The little boy was very happy about the hunt, not realizing that his father was dead. The child's mother wept and said, "Little boy, you are glad because they are killing buffalo but your father is dead and there is no one to bring us meat as he used to do." She sang this song, the words being those that she had spoken to the little boy.

No. 27. Lance Dance Song (a)

(Catalogue No. 1081) 533*

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 56
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This song, like No. 23, was interrupted by shrill cries. In the second rendition these cries were given at the beginning of the fifth measure. Afterwards the singer resumed the tempo and rhythm of the song. Such cries were also given between the third and fourth renditions. The song has a compass of 12 tones and progresses only by whole tones and major and minor thirds.

The next song was composed by a man who dreamed that he "heard some one crying and singing at the same time." [787]

Analysis.—This melody is minor in tonality and is characterized by an effect of deep sadness. The two rhythmic units differ only in the division of the last count. Attention is directed to the change of accent in the seventh measure, the final tone of the rhythmic unit falling on an accented instead of an unaccented count. This change represents the break in rhythm which frequently occurs just after the middle of an Indian song. The signature of the key of B is used in the transcription of this melody, although the third above that tone does not occur. The song is classified as lacking the third.

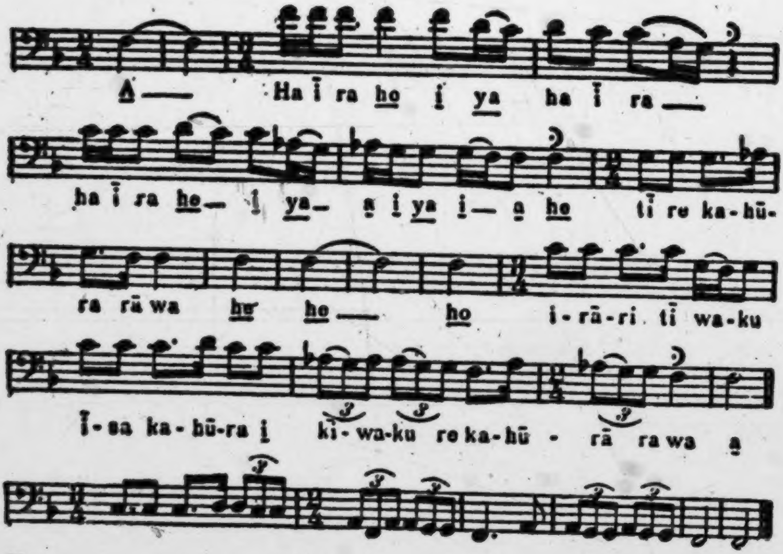
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 29. "The White Fox"

(Catalogue No. 1103) 533*

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 69
Drum not recorded


A——
Ha i ra he i ya ha i ra——
ha i ra he— i ya— a i ya i— a he ti re ka-hū-
ra rā wa he he—— ho i-rā-ri ti wa-ku
i-sa ka-hū-ra i ki-wa-ku re ka-hū - rā ra wa a
3
3
3
3
3
3
3

Ha	Yonder
i	it
ra	comes
ti	this
re	then
kahūra	the expanse of earth
rā	has
wa	width
irāri	my brother
ti	he
waku	spoke
isa	behold
kahūra	the expanse
kiwaku	the white foxes
re	they
kahūra	the expanse of earth
rā	has
wa	width

FREE TRANSLATION

Yonder it comes.
The expanse of earth is wide,
My brother the fox spoke and said,
"Behold and see the wideness of the earth,
The white foxes know the earth is wide."

[575
424]

The second Wolf Society song was said to belong to an old man who lived many years ago. In explanation it was said, "Before the people had horses they traveled on foot and often became tired out from walking." The old man to whom this song belonged said "Tirawa gave us this land to walk upon and he gave us the light. I can see my way, but I am so tired that I can go no farther." According to Mr. Murie this song might be sung in reference to any unfor-

[173]

778 823 825

seen from the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad. It is known to the whites as Guide Rock."[22]

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

TRADITIONS

175 Pawnee history, as herein discussed, consists of two major periods or divisions: First, the period of legend and tradition, which is concerned primarily with the origin and migrations of the tribe in a dim and distant past; and secondly, the period of recorded history, beginning in 1541, with the first contact between Europeans and Pawnee, and continuing down to 1876, the date of final removal of the tribe from its home on the Loup and its confinement on a reservation in the then Indian Territory. For information on the first period the traditions recorded by Dunbar, Dorsey, and Grinnell are our main source, hence are here briefly reviewed; and for the later period, the accounts of European and American explorers and travelers are drawn up in chronological sequence, particularly as relates to the location of the villages of the different bands.

173 The ancient habitat of the Pawnee, prior to their occupation of the Platte and Loup Valleys, lay traditionally to the south or southwest. Dunbar,[23] whose authority on this point is generally accepted, states that the traditions of the Grand, Republican, and Tappage bands "coincide in stating that the Pawnee migrated to the Platte River region from the south, and secured possession of it by conquest."[24]

This is partially corroborated by a Wichita legend, according to which the "primitive home" of the two tribes, Pawnee and Wichita, was "upon the Red River, below the mouth of the Washita",[25] in eastern Oklahoma or Arkansas, whence they wandered northward together. The same authority says relative to the Skidi that the "traditions of the other three bands are very positive in affirming that they are the remnant of a once separate tribe that has been subdued and incorporated into the Pawnee family";[26] the Otos, Poncas, and Omahas were conquered at the same time.[27]

Dorsey[28] traces three of the bands back to a single ancestral tribe, called the *Kawarahkis*, which dwelt near the confluence of the Little Nemaha with the Missouri in the southeastern corner of the present

---

[22] According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the "hill that points the way" is actually about 3 miles north of the Kansas-Nebraska line, on the south side of the Republican River, directly south of the town of Guide Rock, Webster County, Nebr.

[23] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, pp. 251 ff.

[24] Ibid., p. 251.

[25] Idem.

[26] Ibid., p. 253.

[27] Ibid., p. 252.

[28] Dorsey, G. A., 1906, p. 8.

State of Nebraska. In course of time this tribe split up into bands and became scattered; the Grands proceeded northward to establish themselves on the Platte, while the Republicans moved westward to the Republican River, where Pike visited them in 1806. At a much later date, but apparently early in the nineteenth century, the remnants of the *Kawarahkis*, now known as the Pitahauerat or Tappage band, also removed to the northwest, to settle between the Grands and the Republicans, the latter band having meanwhile shifted its place of residence from the Republican River to the Loup. The Skidi and Arikara were formerly a single tribe,[29] according to this investigator; and he concludes this phase of his discussion with the pertinent observation that "there is some reason for believing that these three bands (i. e., the Grand, Republican, and Tappage) represent offshoots of the original Skidi through the single band of the *Kawarahkis*."[30]

Grinnell[31] records two traditions, both of especial value because of the relative completeness with which they are carried out as compared with most of the other accounts. The first of these, unknown to any save the very old men of the tribe, relates that the Pawnee migrated long ago from a home in the southwest, where they once lived in stone houses. The Wichita were associated with them at the time and the people pushed northward and eastward as far as the Missouri River, where they stopped for a time and tilled the soil.[32] The Skidi version[33] traces the movement from "far in the southwest, away beyond the Rio Grande," northward past the Wichita Mountains, across the Arkansas River, to "the Mississippi River where the Missouri runs into it." Temporary halts were made near the Wichita Mountains and on the Arkansas to prepare fields and raise corn.

The second tradition was much more generally known to the Pawnee, young as well as old, and is possibly the more recent.[34] It points to a southeastern origin, probably somewhere in the region of the present Missouri or Arkansas, whence the people migrated northward to hunt for bison. In the course of their wanderings they reached the region of the Platte and Republican Rivers, and, being attracted by the fertility of the soil, the abundance of game, and the generally pleasant environment, established themselves permanently. The Wichitas were a part of the Pawnee tribe at the commencement of the northward trek, but left the Pawnee somewhere in southern or southeastern Kansas, and went their own way, mostly southward, sometimes at peace with their kinsfolk but as often bitterly at war with them.[35] Grinnell points out further that "the traditions of both Skidi and Pawnee speak of a time when they lived in a country where grows the cane which the white men use for fishing poles",[36] presumably an allusion to the canebrakes of the lower Mississippi Valley. 173

---

[29] Dorsey, G. A., 1906, p. 8.
[30] Ibid., p. 9.
[31] 1893, pp. 223–231.
[32] Ibid., p. 224.
[33] Ibid., p. 225.
[34] Ibid., p. 225.

Such, briefly outlined, are the major facts which tradition offers toward the reconstruction of the story of the Pawnee prior to the advent of Europeans. The harmonization of these legends, where at variance with one another or with orthodox theories, and their interpretation, will not be attempted until after the presentation of the archeological data, when certain interesting correlations may be suggested.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

Turning now from the realm of tradition to that of actual history, 175 we find that the earliest historic reference to the Pawnee occurs in the journals of Coronado's expedition to the Great Plains in 1541. According to Castañeda, the Spaniards found at the pueblo of Cicuye (Pecos) "an Indian slave, a native of the country toward Florida", to whom they gave the appellation of the "Turk, because he looked like one."[37] Under the guidance of the Turk, and accompanied by "another native of Quivira . . . a painted [tattooed?] Indian named Ysopete",[38] Spanish conquistadores marched by a devious route to the prairies of central Kansas in their fruitless quest for the fabled riches of Quivira. The exact location of Quivira will probably never be satisfactorily determined, but Bandelier's conclusions appear at present as the most plausible and hence are here tentatively accepted.[39] To resume the narrative, then, as related by Jaramillo, Coronado halted on or near "a river, with more water and more inhabitants than the others [the Kansas?]", and from this point, the northernmost reached by him as it was also "the end of Quibira",[40] he ordered the "governor of Harahey and Quibira" to present himself for a council. The chief, Tatarrax by name, appeared with 200 naked warriors, who carried bows, "and some sort of things on their heads",[41] the latter an allusion, perhaps, to the *pariki*, or peculiar mode of dressing the scalp lock employed by the Pawnee. The expedition penetrated no farther northward, but Coronado was in-

---

[35] 1893, p. 226.

[36] Ibid., p. 228.

[37] Winship, 1896, p. 492.

[38] Ibid., p. 505; an interesting observation, in view of the fact that the old name for the Wichita, "Pawnee Picts," was derived from their custom of "picturing" or tattooing the body.

[39] 1890, pt. I, pp. 44, 170; 1893, pp. 235–239.

[40] Winship, 1896, p. 590.

[41] Ibid.

172 readily had by one entering the lodge. Very few artifacts were found on the floor and no subfloor caches were located.

342 The second circle (fig. 4) was larger, measuring 36 feet in diameter and about 18 inches deep. The outer row of posts included 16; the inner group, 8. The fireplace, 30 inches across, was in the center, and to the northwest between the two circles of posts was a cache 4 feet 6 inches in diameter by 6 feet deep. The entrance was toward the southeast, and at its inner end may be seen a configuration of two extra posts strikingly similar to that found in the southwest portion of the house opened by the Survey. Exactly opposite the entrance, and in line with the fireplace and cache, was an earth platform or altar 13 inches high, occupying the full space between two posts. The posts were about 6 feet 6 inches apart, and from those of the inner to those of the outer row the distance was 10 feet. As in the other house, there were no posts between the door and the fireplace, so that from the end of the passageway to the altar at the rear wall there was a clear vista. Potsherds, bones, flints, burned charcoal, and some metal were found. The entire plans and laying out of the two circles were very nicely done and bespeak a rather high quality of architectural precision and symmetry.

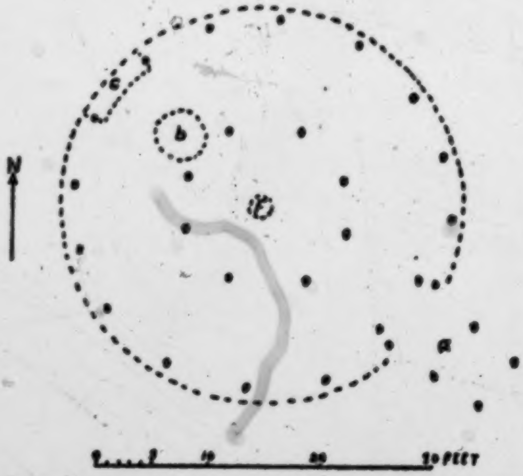


FIGURE 4.—Ground plan of historic Pawnee earth lodge, Hill site. *a*, Entrance passage; *b*, interior cache; *c*, raised platform altar; *F*, firepit.

342 [173] TIPI; OTHER TYPES OF SHELTER.—According to Skidi traditions, the band dwelt originally in skin tipis,[9] later adopting the earth lodge. The tipi has been very well described by Dunbar.[10] It measured approximately 18 feet in diameter at the base. Three poles, 16 feet or more in length, were set up in tripodal fashion and lashed together near the top by a long cord. Other poles, to the number of 12 or 15, were then successively set up against the first three so as to form a circle; they too were fastened securely at the top by means of the

---

[9] Dorsey, G. A., 1904, p. 14.
[10] 1918, p. 603.

bish in their yards at home and then go up to the village. He said the 512
leading doctors would wait until people got all through before begin- 796
ning as "They liked to have a good crowd to attend the dances." At the 756
gambling grounds the talk was about the same subject. Presently two or
three men came in from the South Bands and joined them at supper and
talked about how things were going with them. "What are your folks
doing over there?" they were asked. "We are working hard making
roasted corn. The village is full of fleas. You have to clean it out two or
three times before you can get in," said the South Bands men. "Same
with us," the Skidis said.

Next morning Victory Call went to the field to see if there was much 244
of a load of green corn left to be gathered and roasted. The following 243
day they went to the two fields and brought them in. 251

After that a second bean crop was picked from each field on successive 252
days—the vines being almost entirely cleared with this picking. Then 512
the pumpkins were hauled in by all four of them and roasted: one day
from White Woman's field, the next from No Corn's. They were all
roasted and cut into rings.

About the *eleventh day* they got the mature corn from White Wom-
an's field in two double horse loads—one in the morning and one in
the afternoon. They got home about two o'clock in the afternoon, and
being very tired dumped the load of dry ears and rested till supper
time, Then Old-Man-That-Chief joined them for supper and talked of 512
the old days in Old Village. He said: 173

> In the old days, an old lady like grandma would see an ear of corn 243
> or a single bean lying on the ground and she would be half-crying to see it lying there. Nowadays it's different. They leave things to waste on the ground. If they were roasting corn and they scraped an ear and left the kernels on one side, they would pick it up from the discarded pile again and clear it off. For if you didn't, the corn would talk about you. It was like a person. But nowadays they don't care.

Horse Rider and Victory Call listened with respectful attention to what the old man said. He continued, "You Horse Rider, are two steps behind me, but Victory Call—he is nearly on top (in the middle of life). He will be able to look around in all directions to see how he has come up there.

"A story is like a little seed. From it all sorts of other stories branch off for you. A story gives you life. Now that I am old, people invite me to come and eat good things with them and then they ask me to tell stories. So these stories keep me alive."

Now he told another story of the past. He said: "I heard that once way back when corn first came to our village, a good ear of corn had been thrown out with the rubbish and swept aside. The

512 • 173 243 people went on the hunt and still the corn lay there. A man going through the village heard someone talking. He thought there must be another man in the village. But he followed along to where the voice was coming from and got to the sweepings. There lay the good ear of corn. He stopped and picked it up and began to talk to it. He asked it to bless him and send him good luck for this corn is our Mother. He kept that ear of corn. That's how it was in the old days. Now since you've been wasting, the corn will become scarce."

512 243 251 252 That evening they husked the dry corn and continued next day until about two in the afternoon. Then it was left spread out to dry on the cob until evening and pried off after supper with a stick. Some men joined them and helped and after the women had gone to bed they continued to pry off the kernels, telling stories while they worked until late in the evening. The next day the shelling of the dry corn continued and that afternoon the men just wandered about the camp for a little recreation. Horse Rider had gone down to the grounds to watch the gambling. The women were tired and lay down to rest; their hands felt cramped from prying off the kernels.

[285] After they had collected the dry corn from No Corn's field, the women alternated work on it with making pumpkin mats as the strips were now dry enough. Then they proceeded to get the small nubbin ears for fattening the horses and collecting the sweet corn and braiding it to finish off the work.

356 887 While they were doing the pumpkins, the old ladies had already made a plan to go up and begin the process of clearing the earth lodge in anticipation of the time when the harvest was done. They had to go up at intervals of four days successively and burn out the fleas with torches. "These fleas bite worse than bedbugs!"

The three old ladies met at the lodge in the morning as planned. They removed the brush that had been placed across the door to seal it before they left on the hunt. They took off their clothes and put on an old petticoat. They made a brush or short broom of dry *pakuts* (thatch) grass and tied it to a stick. Then each woman took her brush inside the lodge and lit the grass, each one going around one side of the room and being careful to stay near the floor as the dry grass in the roof thatch might catch fire. When the grass was burned up on their broom, they put some more grass on it and repeated the process throughout the day. They repeated this four days later, and then on subsequent days.
[824] They built a little fire in the fireplace and burnt some wild sage, kiwaut, (*Artemisia gnaphalodes* Nutt.) as incense to clear the air and make the room smell good. They would also burn some of the sage on their brooms along with the other grass. After the final smoking, they left the lodge empty for a day and on the following evening the lodge was quite habitable.

34

PREPARATION FOR THE GRAND OPERA

000 *The Doctors' Profound Connection with the Animal World—Hypnotic Powers—Organization of the Doctor Lodge—Animal Cults—Construction of Images—Ideology of the Doctors—the Ceremonial Mode: Fighting and Sleight of Hand—Gaining Animal Knowledge—Getting the Cedar Tree for Ceremony*

796 THE DOCTORS' OPERA had to do neither with the ordered cosmos nor with
756 the well-regulated world of the cultivated plants, but with the mysterious realm of the wild animals and their wild plant environment. The
[622 chief and the priest to whom the cosmic powers spoke in visions, were
793 men of reason who spoke out clearly on what they thought, while the
doctor who communed with the animal world had a slow, deliberate,
787] introspective mein, seldom if ever making clear pronouncements. The
756 animal cults all had their origin in the experience of an individual
man who in despair had reached out to the universe at large and received a vision from an animal who was ready to intercede for him and
help him work out his problems. He had received special knowledge
that would help him cure the sick through the properties of the plants
and other curative procedures. In addition to this kind of knowledge,
the animal also transmitted to his protegé the power of hypnotism and
suggestion that gave him control over animals and other people and, if he
756 was skillful enough, over the enemies of the tribe. The Pawnee animal
173 cults were the result of traditions that had been handed down from
one person to another and elaborated in the course of time. People who

wished to share in the cult knowledge apprenticed themselves to a doctor 756 and gradually learned his lore, adding their own variations in the course [173] of time. Each of the different cults held their own special ceremonies at least twice a year—in the spring before going out on the summer buffalo [796] hunt and in the fall before leaving for the winter hunt. In addition, all these cults were organized into one big "Doctor Lodge." It is said that in the past there were two separate doctor lodges within the Skidi Band [173] that would stage big hypnotic contests between them. They were called "East Doctors" and "West Doctors."

At the time of this narrative in 1867 there was one combined Doctor Lodge with two major leaders, one for the south side, Pipe Offering of Pumpkin-Vine Village, and one for the north side, Big Doctor of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. Despite their location in the lodge, they were still referred to as West and East Doctors respectively, coinciding with the relative location of their villages in the settlement. Big Doctor was considered the more authoritative of the two, which may have been due to personal factors rather than formal or ceremonial ones. Each of these leaders had an assistant from his village to help him manage his side. Sitting Hawk of Pumpkin-Vine assisted Good Pipe and Wonderful Old Bull of Bottomlands Village assisted Big Doctor. These men were both prominent in their own right—Sitting Hawk, for example, being a prominent member of the Bear Cult and a senior member of his family in the chiefs' council. The apprentices to these prominent doctors acted as errand men and cooked and served the meals. They were stationed on each side of the entrance at the east. Theoretically the head men should be willing to give them any information they wanted in return for their services, and eventually they would move up to a position in one of the animal cults in which the doctor had a vested interest. Several subapprentices sat next to them waiting to assume the position of errand man when they should move. Venerable old men who were not currently members of the [888] cults sat in the northeast and southeast positions, further in the lodge [622] than the apprentices. Chiefs who were invited to witness a performance [554] were seated next to the old men still further in.

The bed platforms had all been uprooted and put outside on the roof of 756 the entry way and along the sides a series of booths had been built for 346 the animal cults. The booths were constructed with partition walls of willow saplings and main outer posts of cottonwood logs. Each booth was completely screened in, with a tiny entranceway cut near the bottom of the front wall so that the doctors could crawl in and out. Each cult was directed by a leader who had a series of apprentices and subapprentices with different degrees of knowledge of the cult tradition.

At this time eight cults were represented in the different booths, four on each side.

756
346

On the South Side	*On the North Side*
A *reindeer cult* in charge of Old Bull	*An eagle cult*
A *black-tailed deer* cult led by Old Lady Tsitawa (see p. 45)	A *fish hawk cult*
A *buffalo lodge* led by Wonderful Old Bull	A *coyote* lodge (including wolves and foxes)
Another *buffalo lodge* led by Leading Buffalo	A *bear* lodge jointly lead by Sitting Hawk and Angry Horse

173 756 178 [631] 756 796 532 The origin of the Associated Doctor Lodge was said to be in Pumpkin-Vine Village where they would conduct a twenty-day ceremony. When they joined the Skidi Federation, they incorporated the other doctors and extended the term to thirty days. The formation of the association was attributed to an original visionary and images were constructed to commemorate various aspects of his vision. The most elaborate was one that represented the serpentlike water monster that led him to the earth lodge of the animals under the Missouri. The body of the serpent, which was nearly 60 feet long, curved around the outside of the houseposts with its head at the southeast, a forked tail at the northeast, and its body curved toward the west. The body was constructed of a framework of pieces of ashwood tied with sinew, covered over with a layer of grass and plastered with clay, smoothed and painted in different colors. Its mouth, large enough for a man to crawl inside, was built of two rawhide containers, covered over with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with white downy eagle feathers. The open mouth was provided with large wedge-shaped cottonwood teeth and on each side of the mouth long slender willow rods to represent feelers or antennae.

They also had to model the figure of the witch woman who was in the visionary animal lodge under the Missouri. First they built up a willow frame and then covered it with grass and clay. They provided the witch with a realistically modeled face and pumpkin-seed eyes, blackened in the center to represent pupils. On her head they put a buffalo scalp to which they attached two long braids of human hair; for clothing she wore a buffalo-hide dress.

Next they modeled the fireplace into the shape of a turtle, with its head pointing east, its tail west and the four legs in the semicardinal directions. They scooped out the back for the fire pit.

It took twelve of the leading doctors two nights running to build these figures, for which large quantities of clay had to be brought in. They worked at night so that they would not be observed. These were the main figures that represented the vision in the animal lodge.

[776] The next task was to represent the star gods from whom everything

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

INTRODUCTION

NAME OF THE CEREMONY

The ceremony is called Skari by the Ku'rahus and by all who have 196*
been taught its rites and sacred songs. This word is from ska, hand, 196
ri, many, and refers not merely to the many hands required for the preparation of the sacred articles used in the rites, but also to the culminating ceremony of touching the little child with the hand, which occurs on the morning of the fifth day (sixteenth and seventeenth rituals).

A peculiar expression is used to characterize the consultation which a man who desires to inaugurate this ceremony has with his kindred in reference to their assistance in the undertaking. This consultation is called "touching them." The Ku'rahus explained this expression as being connected with the meaning of the word Skari, many hands, in its double significance already noted.

Although the term Skari is said to be old, its descriptive char- [174] ●
acter seems to be against its acceptance as the original name of the ceremony.

Among the people at large of the Pawnee tribe the ceremony is spoken of as Ruktaraiwariûs. This composite word can be analyzed as follows: ruk, from rukkis, wood, or a stick of wood; ta, from tita, hung upon; ra, coming; iwariûs, shaking or waving. This descriptive term refers to the two objects peculiar to this ceremony, the two feathered stems which are waved to the rhythm of the songs. The Pawnees who receive those who bring the sacred articles call the ceremony Haktara. The word is composed of hak, from hakkow, trans-
lated below; ta, have; ra, coming: haktara, they who have the [171]
breathing mouth of wood are coming. The Osages speak of it as "Bringing the drum," and the Omahas as "To sing with."

Hako is a comprehensive term used to designate all the articles which belong to the ceremony. The term is derived from the composite word hakkowpirus, meaning drum. Hakkow is from akow, mouth, with the aspirate prefix h, signifying breath, and the k added to the first syllable represents the word rukkis, wood. Hakkow may then be said to mean a breathing mouth of wood. Pirus means to whip or beat.

Three customs among the Indians can be traced in the composition [194]
of this word: first, the peculiarity of pulsating the voice on a note
that is sustained over more than one count of the measure, by which [534]

ANALYTICAL RECAPITULATION

ORIGIN AND GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE CEREMONY

Where the Hako ceremony originated and through how many generations it has come down to the present time it may be impossible ever to determine. Even a partial knowledge of its geographic distribution upon our continent would demand an archeologic and historical research too extended to be attempted at this time. However, a few facts may be stated. 171 796*

From the Journal of Marquette, giving an account of his voyage of discovery in 1672, it is learned that the sacred symbols, the feathered stems, were held in honor by tribes belonging to the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan linguistic stocks dwelling in the Mississippi valley from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas. 171 175

Marquette calls the feathered stem a "calumet" and his description of its ceremony, which he saw among the Illinois, due allowance being made for his lack of intimate acquaintance with native religious customs, indicates that the ceremony as he saw it over two hundred years ago in a tribe that no longer exists differs little from the same ceremony as observed within the last twenty years in the Omaha tribe. He says of this "calumet" that it is "the most mysterious thing in the world. The scepters of our kings are not so much respected, for the Indians have such a reverence for it that one may call it the god of peace and war, and the arbiter of life and death. . . . One with this calumet may venture among his enemies, and in the hottest battles they lay down their arms before the sacred pipe. The Illinois presented me with one of them which was very useful to us in our voyage."

That the feathered stem was recognized over so large a part of the great Mississippi valley and among so many tribes differing in language and customs indicates considerable antiquity for its rites, as much time would have been required for so wide an acceptance and practice of the ceremony. [174] ●

As observed among the Pawnees, there is evidence not only that the ceremony is old, but that it has been built upon still older foundations, and has been modified in the process of time to adapt it to changed conditions of environment. For example, the substitution of the buffalo for the deer and the transference of songs, as that formerly sung to the mesa while on the journey, which is now sung within the lodge. 174 796*

174 *796 The leadership accorded to the corn indicates that an earlier form of the ceremony is to be sought among a people dependent upon agriculture, and the peculiar treatment of water would seem to have arisen in a semi-arid region. Again, the development in the purpose of the ceremony from the simple longing for offspring to the larger desire of establishing intertribal relationships was most likely to have taken place among peoples whose settled mode of life had fostered an appreciation of the benefits to be derived from peace and security.

Efforts to spread this ceremony among tribes less sedentary than those of the Mexican plateau and the Southwest may, on the one hand, have been prompted by prudential reasons, while on the other hand its adoption and promulgation over the wide territory occupied by the so-called hunting tribes marks the growth of political ideas and gives a higher place to these tribes in the line of social development than has usually been accorded them.

PURPOSE OF THE CEREMONY

*796 842 571 The purpose of this ceremony was twofold: first, to benefit certain individuals by bringing to them the promise of children, long life, and plenty; second, to affect the social relations of those who took part in it, by establishing a bond between two distinct groups of persons, belonging to different clans, gentes, or tribes, which was to insure between them friendship and peace.

In every tribe where the ceremony was known this twofold purpose was recognized, and by no tribal variation in the details of the rite was it lost sight of or obscured.

[174] From a study of this ceremony it seems probable that its original instigation was a desire for offspring, that the clan or kinship group might increase in number and strength and be perpetuated through the continuous birth of children.

[772] The ceremonial forms here used to express this desire were undoubtedly borrowed from earlier ceremonies through which the people had been familiarized with certain symbols and rites representing the creative powers. Thus, the male and female cosmic forces, symbolized in greater or less detail by day and night, sun and moon, the heavens and the earth, are found in the Hako ceremony.

772 *796 The eagle and the ear of corn also represent in general the male and female forces, but each is specialized in a manner peculiar to these rites. There are two eagles; the white, representing the male, the father, the defender; and the brown, representing the female, the mother, the nestmaker (see pages 288, 289). In the treatment of these eagles the dual forces are still further represented. The feathers of the white or male eagle are hung upon a stem painted green to symbolize the earth, the female principle; while those of the brown or female eagle are hung upon the stem painted blue to symbolize the heavens, the

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 This is the teaching, this is the word sent
*796 Down to us from our fathers:
All of the wise words, all of the good gifts,
Now brought to you as my Son,
Verily, as of old, all of these things,
All, by the east descended.

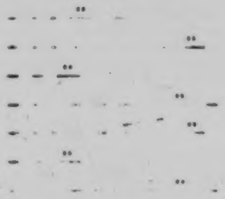
*539 *796 821 The song addressed to the Pleiades held a peculiar place in the ceremony. It had to be substituted for the last stanza of any song which was being sung when the constellation was reported as rising above the horizon. This right to set aside the stanza of a regular song preceding the act of laying down the Hako seems to bear out the explanation of the Ku'rahus, that the song to the Pleiades belonged "to the time when the ceremony was being made," and would imply that it was part of a ceremony from which the Hako drew authority.

● [174] "Tira'wa," the Ku'rahus said, "appointed the stars to guide their steps." The Pleiades not only guided but taught the people, as by an object lesson, "to remain together." The song would seem to have been received in some locality to the south of the dwelling place of the Pawnees, since the man who obtained it "turned to the north and reached his country." This song is one among many indications that earlier forms of the Hako ceremony will probably be found among the people of the Mexican plateau.

SONG TO THE PLEIADES[a]

*533
*796

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

*539 Look as they rise, up rise
*796 Over the line where sky meets the earth;
Pleiades!
Lo! They ascending, come to guide us,
Leading us safely, keeping us one;
Pleiades,
Us teach to be, like you, united.

431 *533 *796 The songs which belong to the rituals of the night did not fill up the entire time, and extra songs could therefore be requested by the Children, provided a gift was made when the song was called for. A man would step up to the holy place, lay there a small stick, representing the gift of a horse, and say, "Father, sing for us!"

---

[a] Music on page 131.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 some form of offering or sacrifice. In addition to these were the
796 ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine men. The number and elaborateness of the ceremonies show the Pawnee to have
● [174] been, in the old times, a ceremonial people among whom symbolism was highly developed.[14] Only a portion of this rich ceremonialism is considered in the present work.

276 Peyote is used extensively among the Pawnee at the present time,
*533 but the subject was not studied nor its songs recorded. The writer listened to several of the songs, which were simple and appeared to be modern melodies.

---

[14] Cf. Fletcher, Alice C., The Hako, a Pawnee Ceremony. Twenty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, Washington, 1903.

signals for the members to dance. All the songs are those of the founder 575
and so entirely unlike those of others. In the last four songs there is great 796
excitement.

The food offering with bowl and spoon is as before stated. The regalia are here the same as before.[1]

General Discussion. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Omaha hethu'- 114
shka certain statements as to origin are made which are inconsistent with 174
the writer's data. In the first place, the Pawnee have always said that the Omaha originally got their society from them, they having been guests at several iruska performances, adopted such of it as they comprehended and later elaborated the procedure into the present form, though some features are certainly Osage contributions. The Dakota first learned the dance from the Omaha, as they state (p. 48), but testify to its Pawnee origin. About fifty years ago Pawnee-Tom visited the Arikara and assisted Enemy-heart to inaugurate the ceremony. Later, Enemy-heart sold the dance to the Crow Indians and then to other tribes. The writer has studied the songs of the dance and finds that everywhere many of them are undoubtedly those of the Pawnee iruska and what is more to the point, bear the general characteristics of all Pawnee songs. The Dakota and Omaha, however, have many original songs of their own, some of which the Pawnee have borrowed. In general, from the data at hand, the writer considers it clear that the origin of the modern form of this dance lies between the Omaha and the Osage, but that it was derived from an older ceremony which the Omaha, and possibly the Osage, borrowed of the Pawnee.

It should be noted that in the Skidi iruska dog flesh is served. Four men 262
wearing the feather belts scout for and capture the kettle. Then they take 796
sticks and take out the dog's head for a leading man to count coup on. A kettle of corn is then brought in and handled in the same manner, except

---

[1] Author's note. While in a trance he saw the dead people dancing the iruska dance [787]
but in a different way from that of the old iruska dance. There were six drummers. The
drum was painted black, the stick had coverings at the ends. There were six stations about [786]
the room, three on the north side and three on the south side. The station men had a forked stick stuck in the ground in front of them. There were feathers at the end of each fork and the sticks were wrapped with beads. The northeast stick was covered with black beads; the north stick with light blue beads; the northwest stick with dark blue beads; the southwest stick with yellow beads; the south stick, red; the southeast stick, white. Also he found out or was told there were that many minor gods in the heavens. When these station men get up to dance, all have to rise and dance. There are five sets of songs, ten songs in each set. The tunes are nearly the same as for the old iruska songs. The last ten are ghost dance songs. The last songs are exciting, and the dancers are given to excitement and tremble, falling down as in the ghost dance. The closing speech after the feast differs from the older form. It is as follows: Father is thankful for eating our smoke; father, his child, and the gods are thankful for eating our smoke; sun and moon are both made thankful for eating our smoke; our mother earth is thankful for eating our smoke; our dead relations are thankful for eating our smoke; now we have all smoked and eaten. After this speech, everyone leaves the lodge.

262 that spoons are carried instead of sticks. Among the other divisions of
796 the Pawnee, buffalo meat was used with a less formal procedure. The
Skidi form of feast is now found among many tribes.

The whip bearers are probably of Omaha or Osage origin for in that tribe
174 they are the police officers of a ceremony. The bearing of a sword is probably
177 due to Pawnee influence, at least it was original with them. Once when at
648 Washington, D. C., each Pawnee chief was presented with a sword for his
796 aid (p. 557) which thenceforth became ~~the badge~~ of office. Some of the aids
carried their swords to battle and counted coup with them. Later, the
Pawnee scouts in the United States service carried swords and when discharged
those who had struck enemies retained them. Now in the iruska
all having struck enemies with tomahawks could demonstrate in the dance;
so the bearers of swords came to have the same privileges.

THE GHOST DANCE.

According to the Pawnee, the ghost dance religion first came to the
668 Arapaho, thence to the Cheyenne, the Kiowa and Comanche and finally
796 to the Wichita.

787 In 1890 it was rumored among the Pawnee that a Messiah had appeared
to an Indian somewhere in the mountains and that all the dead Indian people would return to the earth. The story was that a Paiute Indian had died and was taken up to the top of a high mountain and laid out. After he had lain there four days, he revived and came down from the mountain. He told his people that while he was on the mountain his spirit had traveled in a strange and beautiful country; that on his journey he crossed a small stream of clear water and came to a cedar tree where he saw handkerchiefs of every color and all sorts of feathers. At the base of the tree he saw several pipes and different kinds of paint. He took a white cotton handkerchief and some of the red earth. He went on and as he neared a mound he saw someone standing there, clad in white and purple robes. This person had long hair, parted in the middle. He held out his hands to show the cuts in them, but did not look up. The man saw that he was the Messiah, the white man's Jesus, the son of the Father in the Heavens. The man noted by his manner that he wanted him to pass by for he did not speak, so he passed on his left and went on. Presently he saw in a valley an Indian village, extending along the whole bottom.

As he neared the village of tipis he noticed a man approaching. When they met he found the man was his father who embraced him and took him into the village. On the outskirts of the village he saw men playing javelin

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 5

The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee

(Hall 5, Case 60)

The Pawnee were a tribe of the Caddoan linguistic 101
stock who, in historic times, occupied the valley of the [197]
Platte river in Nebraska. The name Pawnee is prob- [131]
ably derived from *pariki* ("a horn"), a term applied
to them by the neighboring tribes because of their
peculiar method of dressing the hair. They called
themselves Chahiksichahiks ("Men of Men"). They [174]
seem to have come into Nebraska from some region to
the southwest, expelling an earlier population; but this
movement was an ancient one, and the first Siouxian
tribes to enter the Platte valley found the Pawnee
already established.

The region in which the Pawnee lived was high, 133
dry, and rather sandy, with little timber except along
the rivers. On the west, toward the mountains, it was
rough and broken. In early times buffalo and other 221
game were abundant. Although the Pawnee ranged 105
over a large territory in pursuit of the buffalo, they
were not nomads. They spent the greater part of
every year in permanent villages and raised large
crops of corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins. Corn
played a much more important part than the buffalo
in their ceremonies and mythology, and it is evident
that they were an agricultural rather than a hunting
people.

[p.2 is blank]

NK10
F451

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*172 situated upon the banks of the Platte, the general course of which is from
172 west to east. Hence each of these words has acquired a new meaning, i. e.,
105 *west* and *east*. So, also Kir-i-ku-ruks-tu, *toward* or *with* the Wichitas, has
come to mean *south*. Such developments are perfectly natural in the history
of a language but require time.[99]

Dorsey[1] and Grinnell[2] merely place it at a time long before the coming of the white man. From historical data it appears probable that the tribe was somewhere north of the Kansas River by the time of Coronado's visit in 1541, and by 1673 the location of the Pawnee and neighboring tribes was essentially the same as it was at the opening of the nineteenth century.[3] This, together with the prehistoric and very early historic archeology, so far as it is now known, rather indicates that the Pawnee were firmly established in the Platte and Republican Valleys by the opening of the sixteenth century, and quite possibly long before that time.

*172 Before leaving the subject of traditions we may briefly speculate
● 174 on the identity of the peoples who were driven out of the northern
valleys by the immigrant Pawnee. Dunbar's theory of a Siouan
105 occupation is scarcely tenable, at least in the light of our present knowledge, since it is generally conceded that Oto, Ponca, and Omaha reached the area after the Pawnee had become permanently settled there. Tradition affords no information whatever, and neither Dorsey nor Grinnell even mention the conquest element. Lewis and Clark speak of the Comanche (Padouca) as having been at an earlier
[648] time in the region immediately west of the Pawnee.[4] Between this last tribe and the Pawnee there was ceaseless hostility, the former having a fortified village in the forks of the Dismal River.[5] How long the Padouca were in the region prior to this time there is no way of determining as yet, but it is quite possible that that tribe formerly held lands farther to the east which subsequently were wrested from them by the Pawnee. Continued warfare between the two tribes, even without any general conquest by one or the other, would tend to encourage traditions of great exploits, especially in the event of a particularly successful campaign. Another possibility is that the northward movement of the Pawnee combined with the southward pressure exerted by Shoshonean peoples, such as the Comanche, resulted in the expulsion from the plains of some Athapascan tribe. Thus the Apache and Navaho, who resided generally south of the Comanche, or some people ancestral to them, may have been forced into the southwest some centuries prior to the arrival

---

[99] 1880, a, p. 251.
[1] 1906, p. 8.
[2] 1893, p. 215.
[3] Marquette map, 1900, p. 108.
[4] 1815, 35 ff. See Thomas, 1935, for early history of the Apache and Comanche.
[5] Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 88.

of the Spanish. Space limitations forbid a more detailed consideration of this very interesting problem at the present time, but it seems quite plausible that either a southern Shoshonean or Athapascan people preceded the Pawnee in what is now central Nebraska. 172* 174 105

The historic data on the Pawnee reveal two facts of major interest. In the first place there appears to have been a steady diminution in the amount of territory actually occupied by the Pawnee villages. Nearly all of the early maps and narratives by Spanish and French explorers, beginning with Coronado and continuing well into the eighteenth century, refer to the various Pawnee groups as inhabiting a considerable number of villages. That there was frequently exaggeration in their number and size is true, but taken in conjunction with political survivals in the matter of Skidi government as recorded by Murie,[6] together with the fact that subbands within each of the four major bands appear to have been originally separate village units,[7] it seems quite probable that formerly there were a number of separate villages scattered along the Platte, Loup, Republican, Blue, and Smoky Hill Rivers, as well as along the Missouri Valley and tributary streams in southeastern Nebraska and northeastern Kansas. In very early historic times these were for the most part given up, and by 1800 there were apparently only three or four major villages, one on the Republican and the others in the Platte-Loup region. The former was shortly abandoned, so that from 1809 until the final removal to the Indian Territory, the tribe dwelt generally in 2, 3, or 4 large settlements at various points along the lower courses of the Loup and Platte Rivers. This gradual concentration in a single small area was due probably in large part to the encroachment of hostile peoples, notably the Siouan Tribes on the east and north, and Athapascan or Algonkian groups on the west and south. The situation was not wholly unlike that postulated for the pueblo peoples about 1000 A. D.,[8] although it took place, of course, much later and with somewhat different consequences.

Secondly, the introduction of the horse deeply affected the Pawnee, as it did most of the plains tribes. Forays to the Southwest in quest of horses led to increasing contact with tribes there resident, though there seems to have been strikingly little influence on Pawnee material culture from these meetings. More important than this was the tendency toward a nomadic, bison-hunting mode of life made possible by the horse. Hand in hand with this went a decline in the native arts, particularly in ceramics, and an increasing dependence upon the white man's importations. From a sedentary

---

[6] 1914, pp. 545 ff.

[7] Grinnell, 1893, pp. 238-239.

[8] Kidder, 1924, pp. 125 ff.

*772 174 tribe the Pawnee became one in which the chase and maize culture shared almost equally. In general, while the adoption of the horse added new traits to the general pattern it was also a potent factor in the final submergence of Pawnee culture which ensued in the closing years of their residence in Nebraska.

The Pawnee made use regularly of three general types of habitation, depending upon the season and the attendant mode of life. The typical form, universally employed in their permanent villages, was the circular, dome-shaped earth lodge, housing from 10 to 40 or more persons. In its most essential features it did not differ greatly from the lodges of the Kansa, Oto, Omaha, and other neighboring tribes. According to Linton,[9] however, there was one rather significant distinction, viz, the greater variability in number of the central roof supports used by the Pawnee as compared to the earth lodges of the Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa. The latter consistently used four posts, whereas the historic Pawnee, as has been previously noted, had from 4 to as high as 11; only 4, however, figured in the Pawnee ceremonies connected with the earth lodge. From these facts Linton concludes that the ancestral type is most closely approximated in the lodges of the Arikara and their immediate neighbors, who had standardized the number of central posts, whereas the Pawnee had adopted the trait at a time so recent that this feature had not yet become fixed.[10] He further suggests the origin of the type on the lower Mississippi, presumably as a development from the southern thatched house, whence "it seems to have been carried northward by tribal movements rather than solely by diffusion, the Arikara and possibly the Mandan being the principal agents."[11]

The hypothesis outlined above is open to serious question. In the first place, the nonuniformity of Pawnee houses with regard to the number of central posts may indicate not immaturity of the trait but rather maturity or even senility, accompanied by a strong tendency on the part of the housebuilders toward breaking away from the old ceremonial number. Recent excavations by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey in very early historic (but prehorse culture) sites on the Loup River in east-central Nebraska apparently indicate that four posts were commonly used in houses of the earlier period, as a central group. The greater freedom in this respect in later times may then have been correlative with other transformations which took place in the later culture of the historic Pawnee. The fact that the Pawnee "never referred to more than four (central posts) in their ceremonies"[12] is probably a survival from the earlier phases

---

[9] 1924, pp. 247-248.

[10] Ibid., p. 248.

[11] Ibid., pp. 256-257; cf., however, Lowie, 1912, p. 60.

[12] Ibid., p. 248, from unpublished notes of G. A. Dorsey.

172x 174 105

of the tribe's history, instead of a borrowing from the upper Missouri tribes, as Linton's hypothesis would imply. As to the southern origin of the type, it may be stated here that the work of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey on the Republican River during the summer of 1930 revealed the presence of prehistoric square houses with round corners, the superstructure of which was borne on a four-post, central foundation. The nature of this framework suggests a type of earth lodge dissimilar in shape from the historic structure of the Pawnee, but strongly reminiscent of certain square earth-covered houses found by Harrington in southwestern Arkansas.[13] Reported remains of more flimsily built structures, possibly grass houses, in the same district, have not been investigated as yet by the Survey. The square earth lodge was unknown in historic times on the plains, hence its earlier occurrence in both northern and southern Caddoan territory is of especial interest. It suggests the possible development of the circular Pawnee lodge from the square or rectangular type, in turn evolved either from the grass house or perhaps from some wattle and daub prototype. If such is the case, then the historic Pawnee dwelling may prove to be a local development from some earlier widespread Caddoan house type rather than a trait borrowed full-blown from the Arikara and Mandan. It is quite probable that the Arikara carried the trait onto the upper Missouri after their separation from the Skidi, but doubtless they secured the idea from their kindred in what is now central Nebraska. The Mandan and Hidatsa, then, and perhaps the other Siouan tribes concerned, may just as probably have received the earth-lodge complex from the Pawnee through the Arikara.[14] Quite possibly they had little or nothing to do with its original diffusion up the Missouri. Further archeological research in southern Nebraska and in Kansas should throw additional light on this very interesting problem of the origin of the Plains earth lodge.

The skin tipi came into very extensive use after the introduction of the horse and the adoption of a more nomadic hunting life, and was supplemented by the dome-shaped brush shelter. Both have been described in the section on house types in this paper, hence need not be reviewed here.

The underground caches or pits for the storage of food and property were a necessary adjunct to all Pawnee villages. They were of the type common all over the plains, though differing in certain details from those of the Mandan and possibly slightly from those in early prehistoric sites within the Pawnee area. Storage pits are reported also for the North Atlantic coast area,[15] and for certain

---

[13] 1920, pp. 256–260. Compare Strong, 1935, p. 276; Wedel, 1935, pp. 172–174.

[14] See Lowie, 1912.

[15] Wissler, 1922, p. 263.

*172 Cayuga sites in central New York.[16] Time and space limitations
174 forbid a comparative study here of the distribution of the cache pit or a discussion of the structural details of its eastern form. However,
105 the occurrence of the trait in two widely separate areas which exhibit certain other cultural parallels is at least a suggestive point.

As was pointed out in the discussion of Pawnee ceramics, there is a remarkable resemblance and perhaps a connection between the pottery of this tribe and the typical wares from Iroquoian sites of western New York. The overhanging collar, the hatched triangle motif in rim decoration, and the globular vessel shape are common to both areas, but appear to be absent in the intervening and surrounding cultures. Clay pipes of highly characteristic type later copied in stone were made by the Iroquoian potters, but among the historic Pawnee stone pipes were the rule.

The stonework generally resembles that of adjoining areas, with few distinctive or specialized forms. An exception is found in the arrowpoints. On protohistoric and some historic Pawnee village sites the small, triangular, unnotched points are decidely predominant; stemmed types are rare, at least prior to 1800 or thereabouts. In northeastern and central Kansas, territory formerly under Pawnee and Wichita dominance, these same points are prevalent. Parker mentions similar thin, delicately chipped triangles or arrowpoints of chert as one of the diagnostics of Iroquoian culture.[17] They are also reported from the Ohio Valley, regarded by Parker as the probable route of the northward migration of the New York Iroquois.[18] The type, as such, is by no means rare, but its preponderance over all other forms in Iroquoian and Caddoan areas is rather striking, and possibly represents another link in the chain of traits connecting the two groups. It may be noted also that pitted discoidals and hammerstones are common to both areas. The Puebloan type of metate, though common in central Kansas, was replaced among the Pawnee by flat or slightly hollowed anvil stones; pestles are rare. Parker states that the Iroquois used a flattened muller and a shallow flattened mortar, or meal stone, as well as anvils.[19] The grooved mauls and axes, as well as ungrooved, polished celts, point eastward, but not necessarily beyond Iowa or Missouri. The presence of catlinite obviously indicates northern contacts, probably by trade rather than through actual visits to the pipestone quarries of southern Minnesota.

Objects of bone and horn conform to plains types but differ occasionally from earlier prehistoric cultures of the Pawnee area.

---

[16] Skinner, 1921, pp. 43–46.

[17] 1916, p. 484. See Wedel, 1935, p. 247, for the type in Kansas.

[18] Ibid., pp. 482, 495 ff.

[19] 1916, p. 484.

Shaft straighteners, picks, hide scrapers, fleshing tools, paint brushes, 172* beaming tools, digging implements, horn spoons, all find their counterparts among the Mandan, Dakota, or other nearby plains tribes. 174● The tubular plume holder and roach spreader are similar to those 105 still used by the Comanche, Omaha, Menominee, and others.

The presence of considerable shellwork is frequently taken as indicative of trade relations with peoples on the Gulf coast, as the molluscan forms now found in the streams of Nebraska differ from those recovered by excavation in old village sites. However, silting up of the rivers due to widespread agricultural development may have resulted in the comparatively recent extinction of species formerly common within the area, so that no very remote source for most of the raw shell need be postulated.

Further connections with the eastern woodlands may be detected in the use of wood for carving vessels. For the most part the pieces are simple in shape, showing no resemblances whatever to Pawnee pottery forms. Shallow platters and deep cups and bowls are the only forms yet recovered. The use of the upright wooden mortar, made by hollowing out one end of a section of log, is strikingly reminiscent of the eastern maize area generally. With the exception of the flat anvil stone, the wooden mortar appears to have been the sole means of grinding corn and seeds, replacing entirely the metate found south of the Kansas River.

In the use of bison hair for weaving cloth may be seen another trait which, while not unusual in the bison area as a whole, was most strongly developed in the lower Mississippi region. Presumably it was a part of the original culture complex carried northward by the tribe in its migrations. Twined weaving appears only in the form of reed matting; it is likewise common to the east, along the Mississippi.[20] Coiled basketry, as reported by Weltfish[21] for the Pawnee, has not been found in archeological remains, nor would it be easy, if such were the case, to determine whether the single rod coil foundation prevailed in early as in recent times.[22] Coiling, however, is a western trait, which probably reached the Pawnee and other Caddoan tribes by diffusion through the southwestern or Great Basin peoples.

With regard to mortuary customs the Pawnee uniformly practiced inhumation. The body was generally partially flexed, but there was no fixed orientation for it and no special side on which it was laid. Early prehistoric sites on the Republican River, which show certain similarities to the Pawnee and may be directly related, are asso-

---

[20] Mason, 1904, p. 231.

[21] 1930, pp. 278–286.

[22] Ibid., pp. 280, 286.

*172 ciated with ossuaries and also with bundle burials, but yield only limited amounts of material remains, and those mostly fragmentary. 174 This again suggests the southeast as well as the early Iroquoian sites 105 of New York.[23] Ossuary, tree, and scaffold burials were not used by the historic Pawnee.

As will have become obvious by this time, the material traits in Pawnee culture were drawn in largest measure from the east and southeast. Kroeber's recent summary statement regarding plains cultures in general applies peculiarly to the Pawnee, viz, that "the Plains traits that have historic depth . . . seem Woodland, and date from the time when such Plains culture as there was constituted a margin at the fringe of a natural area. The forces which infused this marginal culture, like those of the northern and eastern margins, had their heads in the Southeast."[24] These traits were acquired largely during the residence of the tribe in the old Caddoan habitat on the lower Mississippi and adjacent areas to the west. They sprang from the same basic subpattern as did the Iroquoian, Muskhogean, and related cultures of the Eastern Woodland. As Sapir has suggested on linguistic grounds, the early connections appear to have been especially close between Pawnee and Iroquoian peoples. Kroeber also implies this in pointing out the distribution of the matrilineate in the Eastern Woodlands (Iroquoian-Muskhogean) and in the plains (Pawnee-Hidatsa-Crow).[25] Southwestern or puebloan traits, so far as material evidences are concerned, are almost wholly absent, although certain of them penetrated into north central Kansas. In other words, the Pawnee formerly constituted a part of the Southeastern Woodlands culture area in its more western peripheral phase, retaining and disseminating many of the traits thus acquired throughout the period of their northern residence until the final withering of native plains culture before the European conquest.

---

[23] Parker, 1916, p. 492.
[24] 1928, p. 306.
[25] Ibid.

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Pawnees

1880–81 Mr. John B. Dunbar published a most interesting account of 114
this tribe, but his sketch is mainly historical, and does not profess to treat exhaustively of the lives and modes of thought of this people. It is, however, a history of very great importance and value, and in preparing the historical matter which is included in this volume, I have not hesitated to draw on Mr. Dunbar's papers, which must form the basis of any subsequent account of the Pawnees, and which should be read by all who are interested in this people.

I owe much of my interest in and knowledge of the Pawnees to my long intimacy with the late Major Frank North, who from his extended intercourse and close connection with this people—a connection which lasted more than thirty years—was unquestionably better informed about them than any other white man has ever been; and with Capt. L. H. North, his brother, who was for many years associated with Major North in command of the Pawnee Scouts.

In gathering the material here presented I have been assisted also by 115
James R. Murie, a nephew of Comanche Chief; by Ralph J. Weeks, a half-brother of Lone Chief; by Harry Kuhns, by Eagle Chief and Bear Chief, Skidis, by Good Chief and Curly Chief, Kit-ke-hahk-is; by Secret Pipe Chief and Frank White, Chau-is, and by many others of my Pawnee friends, to all of whom my acknowledgments are due.

In the pronunciation of the few Pawnee words used in these 114
stories, the vowel sounds, as nearly as I can give them, are as follows: 104
a as in father, *e* as the *a* in ale, *i* as *e* in cede, *ū* long as *oo* in pool, *ŭ* short as in us, *au* as *ou* in house. These sounds depend somewhat on the letters which follow the vowels, and the spelling does not always conform to the rule laid down. The last two syllables in the word Pita-hau-erat, for example, are pronounced *irăt* or *idot*. The sounds of *d, l, n* and *r* are difficult to express by English letters; *r* sometimes has its own sound quite distinctly, at others more the sound of *d; n* often has a *d* sound, and *l* a sound of *n*. It will be noted that throughout I have used the familiar English word Pawnee instead of the evidently more correct *Pa'-ni*.

Finally I have refrained from commenting on the stories, though 114
there is abundant opportunity for comment.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

175

648 Republican River. It seems unlikely that the Pawnees carried on any fur-
[782] ther sacrifices of captives to the Morning Star after that time.

[796] Aside from the obvious resemblances, there is some documentation
of detailed Mexican analogies. Wissler and Spinden would place the time
171 when a direct transfer through the Aztec could have occurred, between
174 1506 and 1519. In an article (1916) on the subject they give clear parallels
782 in illustrations from the codices (see Figure 10-2).

796 Within the Pawnee system of theology, it certainly had an organic place.
[771]

555 universe. The Pawnees had great contempt for extreme poverty and
23 [raggedness, but no great desire or awe for wealth in large quantities.
[735] Historically the likelihood is that the cooperative social patterns of the
[556] Pawnees go back to a time when practically every person had an impor-
tant function in the material economy, while a person of outstanding
● [174] value was one who had special insights and knowledge.

342 But for all the value the Pawnees placed on knowledge and the things
281 of the spirit, a tent was an absolute necessity as they traveled over the
country. The making of the tent skin was one of their most complex
technical achievements. It was a major enterprise to get one made, which
had to be anticipated at least two years in advance. Eight skins had to
be accumulated over four successive hunting periods—a summer hunt, a
winter hunt, and on the following year again, a summer and a winter
hunt. Sinew of eight buffalo for sewing the skins together also had to be
saved. As signs of wear would appear in their tent skin, a woman would
remind her husband of their need. Then he would set aside two good
skins in each of the four seasons. The average life of a tent skin was no
more than ten or twelve years.

463 Seven buffalo hides were used to make the body of the tent; an eighth
281 was cut up for gussets, loops for the pegs at the bottom, and a double
thickness at the door. In order to fit the skins together in the smoothest
and most economical way and to arrange the pattern of the applied parts,
a woman specialist in this field had to be called in to supervise the work.
There were only a limited number of women with such knowledge in
the tribe. In addition, it would take four or five women working pretty
[461] steadily for three or four days to do the actual sewing of the skins. The
workers all had to be compensated with gifts of dried buffalo meat, skin
[437] clothing, and trade store goods that had to be purchased with buffalo
products. In the course of the hunt, the hunter had to anticipate these
needs as well as the need for the skins and the sinews. Payment for the
work of planning and sewing amounted to at least the sale value of a
good buffalo robe.

342 The same tent skin was used for both the winter and the summer hunts, but the framework was different. In winter they used the standard pointed skin tipi, supported by a frame of thirteen tall and heavy rigid poles that were leaned against one another at the top to form the conical frame. With its fire burning in the middle, this tent provided an excellent protection against the winter cold, but it was too warm for summer. For the summer frame they used a series of flexible saplings to make an open-faced shelter. The making of the heavy tipi poles was a long and difficult process and had to be planned well in advance, whereas the saplings for the summer framework could be gathered near the time of leaving for the summer hunt. Elm or willow saplings were available near the creek in the late spring or early summer and at this time the bark

47

EQUIPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL MANUFACTURES

The Fall of the Year a Time for Manufacture—Buffalo a Chief Source—History of Their Trading—Wood of Second Importance—Reeds and Grasses Third in Importance—Clay and Stone Scarce—History of Transition from Stone to Metal—Crafts Highly Regarded but No Religious Taboos—Learning to Make a Black Rope 000

THE FALL OF THE YEAR was the time when the Pawnees made most of the 221
things they used. There was a plentiful supply of food and in the protected environment of the earth lodge, they could manufacture the various items of furnishings, clothing, and equipment they needed. Moreover, with the winter hunt and migration in prospect, they had to make sure that everything was in order, as there would be little time in the short daylight hours for more than setting up camp and processing the meat and skins.

There were very few materials in the Pawnee environment that they 433
could use to make the things they needed. Their top resource for in- 237
dustry as well as for food was the buffalo. Hides, hair, horns, and bones 825
each found a number of essential uses. Hides made their all-important tent cover, their blankets, curtains, containers, moccasin soles, and other clothing. And even beyond their domestic needs, it gave them their major item of external trade, the buffalo robe.

There is clear evidence that this was a leading trade item before the 174
Spaniards moved up into the Plains in 1540. Long before the advent of the 438
European on the continent, the settled villages were centers of trade for 439
the more nomadic peoples and there were seasonal trade fairs in recog- 443
nized locations where peoples came to exchange their special products and materials.

50

OBJECTS OF WOOD FOR THE HOME

000

Women Made the Wood Objects for Home Use—Scarcity of Wood—Making the Wooden Bowl, Ladles, Spoons, Mortar, Pestle, Digging Iron, Tent Pegs, Bracket for Hanging Pots over Fire, Tipi Poles

462 WOMEN WERE THE MAIN MANUFACTURERS of objects made of wood. Not
322 only did they gather the fuel and the building materials, but they also
made all the objects of general utility in the household. The men were
directly concerned only with those things that were for their own im-
mediate use—their weapons and their ceremonial objects. In no other
group that I know of, except among the Woodland Indians, are the
women the woodsmen and the woodcrafters to the extent that they were
[752] among the Pawnees. Like other lumbermen in the world, Pawnee
[761] women would sometimes be killed while felling trees, and a story is told
of a woman responsible for another woman's death in such an accident
who grieved so deeply that she wandered off never to be seen again.

137 In the Pawnee prairie plains country, the only place that trees grow is
462 along the streams, and in the distance one can readily identify the rivers
313 and streams by the green belt of trees that grow along their banks. This
limited distribution of the trees meant that the women often had to travel
considerable distances to get the wood they needed. In 1867 they had to
have military protection. How matters stood earlier is not known. They
[492] also had the advantage of horse transport. The likelihood is that in the
[174] past their dogs had this function and a good deal was packed on their
backs, water-floated, or simply dragged over the country. When women
313 went to the woods they took their pack ropes which they also made into

ANALYTICAL RECAPITULATION

ORIGIN AND GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE CEREMONY

Where the Hako ceremony originated and through how many generations it has come down to the present time it may be impossible ever to determine. Even a partial knowledge of its geographic distribution upon our continent would demand an archeologic and historical research too extended to be attempted at this time. However, a few facts may be stated. 171 796*

From the Journal of Marquette, giving an account of his voyage of discovery in 1672, it is learned that the sacred symbols, the feathered stems, were held in honor by tribes belonging to the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan linguistic stocks dwelling in the Mississippi valley from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas. 171 175

Marquette calls the feathered stem a "calumet" and his description of its ceremony, which he saw among the Illinois, due allowance being made for his lack of intimate acquaintance with native religious customs, indicates that the ceremony as he saw it over two hundred years ago in a tribe that no longer exists differs little from the same ceremony as observed within the last twenty years in the Omaha tribe. He says of this "calumet" that it is "the most mysterious thing in the world. The scepters of our kings are not so much respected, for the Indians have such a reverence for it that one may call it the god of peace and war, and the arbiter of life and death. . . . One with this calumet may venture among his enemies, and in the hottest battles they lay down their arms before the sacred pipe. The Illinois presented me with one of them which was very useful to us in our voyage."

That the feathered stem was recognized over so large a part of the great Mississippi valley and among so many tribes differing in language and customs indicates considerable antiquity for its rites, as much time would have been required for so wide an acceptance and practice of the ceremony. [174]

As observed among the Pawnees, there is evidence not only that the ceremony is old, but that it has been built upon still older foundations, and has been modified in the process of time to adapt it to changed conditions of environment. For example, the substitution of the buffalo for the deer and the transference of songs, as that formally sung to the mesa while on the journey, which is now sung within the lodge. 174 796*

THE PAWNEE AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

I have gathered the detailed evidence on the cultural revivals and developments from 1892 on in this summary form, in order to emphasize the reality of the Ghost Dance period as a time of Pawnee renaissance. Like greater cultural movements of this kind, it was a turning backward to the past, an attempt to resurrect, preserve and copy the ancient records. From them a new and revitalized cultural movement flowed. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of Pawnee destiny, several conditions combined to destroy this movement, and as the faith was overthrown, the revivals disappeared and activity based on the new forms in part waned. As a result, we cannot today fully reconstruct the movement of changes or prove the full extent to which the old culture began to revive. I believe the evidence presented is indicative, but only a part of what contemporary recording would have offered. 178 175

A cultural renaissance to be effective must be in the hands of a free people, and the directions of its flow must be relatively unimpeded. It was impossible in Oklahoma after 1892 to bring back the old material conditions of life of the Indian; his vision that the buffalo, the old habitations and old landscape would reappear was a mirage. This alone would perhaps have only checked the movement, and turned it in other directions. But the Pawnee were not a people with an independent destiny. Until 1893, they were so many cultural children fathered by the paternal solicitude of the agent and the government; after 1893 the Pawnee were so many unassimilated citizens of the United States.

In 1893, with the allotment of their lands in severalty, the surplus lands of the Pawnee were thrown open to settlement by the white man. The town of Pawnee sprang up almost at once in their very midst. The choice of allotments had not been controlled so as to maintain the reservation lines, and when the unallotted surplus lands became the homes of white men, the Pawnee found themselves side by side with white men for the first time in their history. The allotment in severalty made the Pawnee individual land owners; they were transformed from full wards of the government into citizens subject to the laws of the United States and the Territory in which they lived. As such the Agent no longer had absolute control over them; he could persuade and he could withhold annuity money to help reinforce his suggestions, but he could neither command nor enforce his orders. 648 657 175

The Pawnee found their new freedom much to their liking. For one thing, there was no authority which could compel them to

175

648 stop the Ghost Dance. For another, they found themselves well
657 off financially, with the white settlers among them eager to deal
with them. In the town of Pawnee some were able in spite of
[273] preventive measures to get drunk at will, at which times as the
agent observed, they would proclaim aloud their rights as citizens
of the United States.

The allotment of lands had been made per capita. 797 allotments were recorded. A fair estimate would place the 797 as including about 160 families, and 160 to 200 would probably total the number of able-bodied men available for farming. As each family of five members controlled 800 acres of allotted land, it was impossible for the government to expect that the full acreage would be cultivated by the Pawnee men. At the same time the new status of the people left the government with no financial obligations toward the tribe except the permanent annuity, and the payment of interest on trust funds. The Pawnee had to become self-supporting, and if they could not win their sustenance from their own lands, the lands must be put to work for them. As landowners they were allowed to lease large parts of their allotted lands to white farmers and cattlemen: in theory every able-bodied man was to retain a plot of forty acres worked by himself.

The lease system grew by leaps and bounds. At first the lands
427 rented by the year at twenty-five cents an acre for grazing land
648 to one dollar for farming land. The Pawnee land was one fourth
657 rich bottom land, one fourth hilly and rough land, and about one
175 half level upland. The Pawnee reserve was suited to corn and fruit,
and in 1897 a trial of cotton was begun. The farm lands continued
to rise in rental value. The leases provided for improvements on
the land as well as the money rental, and as unplowed land was
broken it became more valuable. Rental values rose by 1905 to
$ 4.50 an acre for the best farm land. The leasing began in 1894;
in 1895 there were 97 leases of Pawnee allotment land and the
number increased year by year. At first the payment of lease
money was made directly to the Indian, or was paid by the lessee
to the agent and by the latter turned over to the Pawnee lessor
at once; later as the government found the Indians squandering
their money as fast as they received it, the money was kept on
deposit for the Pawnee by the agent and drawn on as needed.

There were two reasons for the rapid increase of the lease system: the white man wanted to lease the land from the Indian, because it was profitable land, and at a low rental. The Indian wanted to lease the land to the white man because it brought him money without a kind of labor which was disagreeable to him, especially

at the time of the Ghost Dance faith. As time went by Indians 648
and white farmers resorted to various subterfuges to get around 557
the ruling that certain lands they held could not be leased. The 427
Indian would claim that he was employing a white man and 175
intended to pay him, but when harvest time came, instead of the
Indian paying the white farmer money, the white farmer gave the
Indian a part of the crop.

The immediate results of the lease system were two-fold: on
the one hand, for the first time in their lives the Pawnee had plenty
of money; on the other hand, they had to make no effort at all to
support themselves. In 1897 the Pawnee leases brought an income 434
of $ 12,114.95. In 1900 the income of the tribe from their annuity
($ 30,000), interest on their two trust funds (from the sale of the
Nebraska reservation; and from the sale of the surplus Oklahoma 161
lands); and leases, was over $ 75,000. In that year the population
had dwindled to 650, so that the per capita income was about 511
$ 116 or the income of the average family of five close to $ 600
annually, a substantial and adequate income in 1900 on the Oklahoma frontier.

Year by year the Pawnee labored less and less on their own lands; 175
in 1904 their self-maintenance was 42 per cent from their annuity 461
and interests, 43 per cent from leases, and 15 per cent from "labor
in civilized pursuits." By 1899 the agents had fully realized the 657
extent of the blunder which had been made: they were aware that
the Pawnee could not be made to labor when he had all he needed
without it, and pointed out in their reports that white men would
have acted in the same way.

Along with the disappearance of all demands upon them to be
self-reliant and self-maintaining, the Pawnee were stripped of their
last outlets for self management. Leases were made not by the 427
Indian but by the agent; lease money was paid not to the Indian
but to the agent. All that the Indian had to do was to draw his
income. At the same time with the change of status to citizens, 698
the function of the Court of Indian Offenses vanished, and the
court was abolished April 21, 1894; the Indian police were disband- 625
ed in October of the same year.

Temporarily with their increased income, the living conditions 175
of the Pawnee improved; they ate better, they dressed better, and 511
they lived better. But the idleness which had come to them 161
was in keeping with their desire during these years to congregate
in encampments for Ghost Dances and other performances, so that
they leased their houses with their lands and made shift to live
here or there as the occasion demanded. During these years there

175 was a constant fall of the population. From 797 at the time of the
allotments in severalty the Pawnee were reduced to 633 in 1904.
511 The decrease was steady. The diseases which had persisted in the
161 tribe continued to take their toll during these years. Doctors
ascribed failure to control them to their inheritability, to the
conditions of continual exposure incident to camp life and continual
[256] dancing, and to the pernicious influence and control of the
Pawnee medicine men who as a result of the Ghost Dance revival
had regained their status with the people.

175 The Pawnee not only did not have to work to live, but were in
a position to pay white men to do their necessary work for them.
461 They paid high prices, and their money went as fast as it came.
178 Their funds were augmented from time to time by the sale of
inherited allotment lands.

The conditions of idleness only served to reinforce the revival of the old cultural forms. The Pawnee disliked isolation most of all, and gladly leased their scattered allotments, coming together for a continual round of Ghost Dances, performances, games, and hand game ceremonies. Stripped of their last vestige of responsibility, with no activities that were meaningful or satisfying save these old and new forms of Indian life, they turned to these with a kind of desperation. The experiences of these years, even while
[762] the Ghost Dance brought some hope into their lives, caused a
number of young men to commit suicide. Eight suicides were recorded in the period from 1892 to 1898. They were reported as occasioned by slight causes, and were traced to the "pernicious influence of the Ghost Dance."

The indolence of the Pawnee became such that in the early years of the century the officials and missionaries began to plead for a change of program. They held that the only solution possible was to throw the Indians on their own resources entirely. Some agents developed the suggestion that at least those Pawnee men who could manage their own affairs should be allowed to lease their own lands and receive the payments themselves. This movement to take away entirely the guidance and control of the agency resulted later (after 1916) in issuing many titles in fee simple to Indians, often without their consent.

Under these conditions, at the turn of the century, the cultural revival of the Pawnee was doomed. It could not take roots in any soil: it was based on no firm way of life. It gradually passed, leaving the Indians still with an empty life, living off the funds which came from the government, and the payments of white far-

mers who leased their land. But those forms of life which had arisen in answer to their need for social gatherings remained. The modern iruska, with its large scale intertribal visiting parties, the peyote ritual, and the hand games. Later still the modern pow-wow was to arise to draw the Indians of the entire state into a continual round of visiting. To the continuing hand game ceremonies, the major intellectual product of the Ghost Dance years, we can now turn to see in what way they were formed, and what needs they filled. 175 178 461

2: Lesser
● 175

Pawnee NQ18

[For information on the history of the Pawnee nation, see category 116, pp. 1-52. --Analyst]

WAR SONGS

Three classes of war songs are here presented and comprise a 533* song concerning a conquered warrior of the Cheyenne Tribe, several songs of Pawnee warriors, and songs which were sung at two gatherings of the tribe attended by the writer, these gatherings being in honor of Pawnee soldiers who had recently returned from the World War.

The first song commemorates a well-known event in Pawnee 175 history. About the year 1852 the Cheyenne and Arapaho returned from Washington, where they had gone to make a treaty with the 648 Government of the United States. Among them was a Cheyenne of great reputation named Touching Cloud, who, because of the incident to be related, was afterwards known among the Pawnee as Iron Shirt. This man had in his employ a Mexican who could cut [714 round disks from the thin frying pans used at that time. Touching 177] Cloud had these disks sewed on a shirt and cap, the pieces overlapping as in old-world armor. Soon after the return of the treaty party, the Cheyenne attacked the Pawnee, who were hunting buffalo. Touching Cloud felt so secure that he rode directly among the Pawnee. His arms were so stiffened by the metal disks on his sleeves that he could use no weapon except a sword but he used this so effectively that he and his party drove the Pawnee back to their village. The Pawnee were unable to explain the fearlessness of this man and talked of it among themselves. In the village was a young man named Carrying-the-shield who had not gone with the hunters. He listened to what they said and remembered something told him by his father, who was keeper of a sacred bundle. His father had [778] four sons and gave them four sacred arrows, each a different color. The arrow received by Carrying-the-shield was red. In giving the arrow his father said, "Use this arrow when you are in great danger and it will save your life." So Carrying-the-shield took the arrow and a bow, went out and met a party of Pawnee retreating with the Cheyenne in pursuit. The retreating party opened and let him through. Touching Cloud made ready to attack him but the youth shot him in the eye with the red arrow and he fell from his horse. The Pawnee "counted coup" on his body and found that he wore, [226 concealed beneath his outer raiment, the metal-covered shirt made 554] for him by the Mexican. Therefore he was known as Iron Shirt among the Pawnee.

Analysis.—An ascending tenth occurs in this song, representing 533* an ascent from the lowest to almost the highest tone of the compass. The rhythmic unit is interesting and of frequent occurrence. The song is major in tonality and the most frequent interval is a major third.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PAWNEE.

The Pawnee formerly lived along the Platte River in what is now Nebraska. They were composed of four independent tribes, the Skidí, Chauí,[1] Kit'kaháxki, and Pítahauírata. Of these, the Skidí was the largest and in most respects the leading tribe. In language, it differs slightly from the other three tribes which have one and the same dialect. The Skidí were composed of thirteen villages, or bands. The Pítahauírata were in two villages, the Kawarakis and Pitahauirat. The Chauí and Kit'kaháxki were each single villages.

These villages, or bands, were the social units but seemingly placed no rigid restrictions upon marriage. A man got his place in a village through his mother. The women never left the village in which they were born, but if a man married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village. In fact, the villages were in principle endogamous, for a man could not marry outside except with the consent of his village as represented by the governing officials, who usually opposed such unions on the ground that the strength of the village would be depleted.

THE BUNDLE SCHEME.

The basis of the social and political organization of the Skidí is their 778 peculiar sacred bundle scheme, the detailed discussion of which does not fall within the scope of this paper. Hence, we shall but briefly note its general outline. The name for a sacred bundle is chúharipiru (chuhuru, rainstorm; ripiru, wrapped up), but sometimes it is spoken of as atira (mother), referring in this case to two ears of corn kept in each bundle and symbolically spoken of as the mother of the people. The reference to rain [821] is due to the conception that the important powers of the world reside in the west, the home of the thunderers, from whence the powers of the bundles come.

---

[1] The Chauí were known to the French as the Grand Pawnee and their chief as le grand [175] chef. The Skidí all lived on the north side of the Platte in Nebraska while the other three divisions were to the south. In the Journal of La Vérendrye, 1743, the lodge of the Grand Chief is mentioned, which incidentally enables us to locate the route of this explorer. In aboriginal days the Skidí seem to have been noted as cultivators of corn and have traditions of visits from distant tribes to replenish their stock of seed. Even the Comanche made such visits. According to Murie, the Skidí villages were often called the Awahi (Harahey) and when Coronado reached the Wichita they were naturally referred to as the leading people of the country.— Ed.

[p. 548 is blank]

MODERN CEREMONIES.

527 796 Among the northern Plains tribes there are a number of associations for social dancing and entertainment. Such seem to be wanting among the Pawnee, as the following pages will show, but certain more or less serious ceremonies are now made the occasion for considerable social enjoyment. The widely diffused Omaha, or grass dance, forms of the ghost dance, and of the peyote almost exhaust the list of modern ceremonies. We heard of no women's guilds or clubs and no dances of any kind save those mentioned above.

The Modern Iruska.

175 177 648 The well-known Omaha, or grass dance, is generally known among the Pawnee as a variation of their own iruska (p. 608), though in its present form it was introduced through Oglala influence.

796 *The Skidi Iruska.* In 1887 three Pawnee Skidi men went to visit the Oglala Indians. Arriving there, they were entertained by Young-man-afraid-of-his-horses and were feasted throughout the village for several days. On the last day an iruska dance was held for their benefit. The Sioux gathered in a large round house built for dancing. The drum was carried in and the dancers filed in. The Sioux began to sing and the Pawnee noted that the songs were different from their own. However, they danced with the Sioux and received many presents, moccasins, pipes, and beaded objects. The Sioux singers asked the Pawnee to sing some of their songs which the Pawnee did. The Sioux were pleased with the Pawnee singing and gave them more presents.

When the three Pawnee men returned to their home they began to teach other young men the Sioux songs they had learned. One day some Skidi young men came together and Knife-chief told them about the Sioux dance. The old Pawnee iruska dancers never used sleigh bells upon their bodies; but did use them around the drum. The Sioux dancers also wore ornamental clothes while the Pawnee did not. All the Pawnee dancers wore was the headgear and the bustles. The Sioux bustle was also different.

175 575 796 Knife-chief had a bass drum brought in and began to teach the Sioux songs. Those who were not singing, danced, but they did not know how to keep time. After the singing, the dance society was organized. Knife-chief was the drum keeper and leader of the singers. Then two chiefs were

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

selected to be leaders on the south side and two for the north side. On each 175
side of these two men the dancers were to be seated. At each end of the 575
row of dancers was to sit a whip man. The rules adopted for the dance were 796
those of the Sioux.

This dance became popular, for every time they had it men and women gave presents to one another. It was kept up until Knife-chief died when his widow took charge of the drum. When her son was old enough he took over the drum and for several years was its keeper. On one occasion a dance was promised on New Year's day, but the boy refused to let the people have the drum. They borrowed another drum and had the dance anyhow. After the dance they discovered that the boy had given the drum to a man who belongs to another village.

In the spring of 1911 Eagle-chief called some young men together and 575
told them he wanted to organize a new iruska dance. This was agreed to 796
by all. Money was collected to buy a new bass drum and sleigh bells. Four chiefs were selected as leaders in the dance: Coming-sun and Sun-chief for the north side, and Struck-enemy and Lone-chief for the south side. Coming-sun now became the leader in the ceremony preceding the dance. He selected six singers: Yellow-horse, Dog-chief, Only-a-chief, Young-cedar-tree, Little-sun, and Young-good-chief. Next he selected the two whip men who were to have charge of all things. Then he selected two chiefs for the dancers on each side: the south side one to wear the bonnet, the north side one to carry the tomahawk. He next selected a man to carry the whistle and then four women to assist in singing: Food-giver, Woman-young-chief, Woman-yellow-corn, and Woman-cedar-tree.

Coming-sun then told the people they would hold a dance the next day and asked each woman to cook something for the feast. The next day people gathered in the round house. The chiefs and dancers sat in their proper places, the whip men sitting at each end. The drum was placed north of the entrance, the singers taking their places around it, the women singers behind the male singers. The visitors sat behind the dancers, the women behind them. The four old men sat at the ends of the visitors' rows. Coming-sun selected one of the dancers to sit outside to keep back spectators.

Coming-sun asked the south side whip man to take some live coals and place them east of the fireplace. Then the whip man was told to go to Coming-sun who gave him a handful of dried cedar leaves. He was then told to place the cedar upon the live coals. Coming-sun then gave the whip man the pipes and passed them through the smoke four times and then handed them back to Coming-sun. Then the whip man was told to take the drum and pass it through the smoke four times and return it to its place.

Next the chiefs one by one went to the smoke and passed through it; then

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

175 575 796 *The Kit'kaháxki Iruska.* About 1894 while the ghost dance was still intense a man named Sitting-bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and lead it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the hands of Little-sun, one of the leading singers. According to this ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-fly-high, also a pupil of Sitting-bear.

575 796 In the Kit'kaháxki society there were four chiefs, as among the Skidí. The dancers are on both sides, north and south. At the south side entrance there are four chiefs and four pipes. Next to the chiefs on the north side are two old men. The director of the ceremony sits near the pipes and his assistant, or the whip man, by his side. The singers sit around the drum. [533] Unlike the Skidí when they have sung a set of songs, all smoke receiving no smoke from the chiefs. The songs go in sets of ten.

At a certain point in the ceremony all rise and stand in a circle with the chiefs holding pipes in the center. Then with songs the smoke offerings are made. This is similar to the preceding. After the offering the pipes are delivered to the pipe keepers. In the two last dances everybody takes part and makes them as violent as possible. The ending is as in the preceding. The food is brought in as before. A man and woman are now selected to make the corn offering. The woman receives a small wooden bowl with a horn spoon, she is the donor of the food. The movement to the kettle is different, the man dips out the food into the bowl held by the women. A little from every kettle is taken. Then they go to the west side of the fireplace. The man and woman here offer the food as before. The bowl and spoon are returned to the keeper, while the whip man selects men to hand out the food as before. The head chief at the south side recites part of the ritual and announces the close of the ceremony.

The regalia are the same as for the preceding. The songs and procedures are, however, quite original.

The Chauí Iruska. During the ghost dance excitement Roaming-chief began to dream songs and a form of the modern iruska ritual. Later, he started the organization which spread to the Pitahauírata. Unlike the other iruska societies the drum is set at the west end, or head of the lodge, the old original Pawnee form. The drumsticks are beaded and bear feathers on the end. [293] One chief on each side, some of them have short sticks covered with beads and decked with feathers. The sticks for the two sides are of different colors. There are four of these sticks, and hooked at the end, on the north side; three on the south. No whip man. The smoke ceremony here is before the singing. The staff men rise and hold them as

778 and therefore constituted a link between the people
776 and its divine giver. In the ceremonies connected with these bundles two ideas were basic,—one the idea of a sacrifice or offering, and the other that of a repetition, either through dramatization or ritual, of the acts performed by the divine giver. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star combined both ideas to an unusual degree.

175 The Morning Star sacrifice was performed only
782 by the Skidi band of the Pawnee. There seems good
796 evidence that it was carried out somewhat unwillingly, and that the officiating priests always found it a sore trial. Its performance was considered a religious duty, and this ceremony must not be confused with the torturing of captives as practised by several of the eastern tribes. The opposition to the sacrifice within the tribe itself increased until in about 1818 a young man, named Petahlayshahrho, rescued the victim in dramatic fashion, untying her from the scaffold at the moment of sacrifice and riding away with her. When safe, he gave her a horse, and sent her back to her own people. He then returned and declared that human sacrifices must cease. As he was a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which according to the Pawnee system gave him the hereditary right to succeed his uncle, many strong men in the tribe supported
[178] his action. After this time, the ritual of the sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter, but no actual sacrifices are known to have taken place.

796 The actual time of the performance of the sacrifice is not fully known, but it seems to have been made in the late spring or summer of years when Mars was
[787] morning star. It was usually made as the result of
[821] a dream or vision in which the Morning Star appeared
to some warrior and demanded it, but it might also be

778

seen from the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad. It is known to the whites as Guide Rock."[22] 823 825

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

TRADITIONS

175 Pawnee history, as herein discussed, consists of two major periods or divisions: First, the period of legend and tradition, which is concerned primarily with the origin and migrations of the tribe in a dim and distant past; and secondly, the period of recorded history, beginning in 1541, with the first contact between Europeans and Pawnee, and continuing down to 1876, the date of final removal of the tribe from its home on the Loup and its confinement on a reservation in the then Indian Territory. For information on the first period the traditions recorded by Dunbar, Dorsey, and Grinnell are our main source, hence are here briefly reviewed; and for the later period, the accounts of European and American explorers and travelers are drawn up in chronological sequence, particularly as relates to the location of the villages of the different bands.

173 The ancient habitat of the Pawnee, prior to their occupation of the Platte and Loup Valleys, lay traditionally to the south or southwest. Dunbar,[23] whose authority on this point is generally accepted, states that the traditions of the Grand, Republican, and Tappage bands "coincide in stating that the Pawnee migrated to the Platte River region from the south, and secured possession of it by conquest."[24]

This is partially corroborated by a Wichita legend, according to which the "primitive home" of the two tribes, Pawnee and Wichita, was "upon the Red River, below the mouth of the Washita",[25] in eastern Oklahoma or Arkansas, whence they wandered northward together. The same authority says relative to the Skidi that the "traditions of the other three bands are very positive in affirming that they are the remnant of a once separate tribe that has been subdued and incorporated into the Pawnee family";[26] the Otos, Poncas, and Omahas were conquered at the same time.[27]

Dorsey[28] traces three of the bands back to a single ancestral tribe, called the *Kawarahkis*, which dwelt near the confluence of the Little Nemaha with the Missouri in the southeastern corner of the present southward, sometimes at peace with their kinsfolk but as often bitterly at war with them.[35] Grinnell points out further that "the traditions of both Skidi and Pawnee speak of a time when they lived in a country where grows the cane which the white men use for fishing poles ",[36] presumably an allusion to the canebrakes of the lower Mississippi Valley. 173

---

[22] According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the "hill that points the way" is actually about 3 miles north of the Kansas-Nebraska line, on the south side of the Republican River, directly south of the town of Guide Rock, Webster County, Nebr.

[23] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, pp. 251 ff.

[24] Ibid., p. 251.

[25] Idem.

[26] Ibid., p. 253.

[27] Ibid., p. 252.

[28] Dorsey, G. A., 1906, p. 8.

Such, briefly outlined, are the major facts which tradition offers toward the reconstruction of the story of the Pawnee prior to the advent of Europeans. The harmonization of these legends, where at variance with one another or with orthodox theories, and their interpretation, will not be attempted until after the presentation of the archeological data, when certain interesting correlations may be suggested.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

Turning now from the realm of tradition to that of actual history, 175 we find that the earliest historic reference to the Pawnee occurs in the journals of Coronado's expedition to the Great Plains in 1541. According to Castañeda, the Spaniards found at the pueblo of Cicuye (Pecos) "an Indian slave, a native of the country toward Florida ", to whom they gave the appellation of the "Turk, because he looked like one."[37] Under the guidance of the Turk, and accompanied by "another native of Quivira . . . a painted [tattooed?] Indian named Ysopete ",[38] Spanish conquistadores marched by a devious route to the prairies of central Kansas in their fruitless quest for the fabled riches of Quivira. The exact location of Quivira will probably never be satisfactorily determined, but Bandelier's conclusions appear at present as the most plausible and hence are here tentatively accepted.[39] To resume the narrative, then, as related by Jaramillo, Coronado halted on or near "a river, with more water and more inhabitants than the others [the Kansas?] ", and from this point, the northernmost reached by him as it was also "the end of Quibira ",[40] he ordered the "governor of Harahey and Quibira " to present himself for a council. The chief, Tatarrax by name, appeared with 200 naked warriors, who carried bows, "and some sort of things on their heads ",[41] the latter an allusion, perhaps, to the *pariki*, or peculiar mode of dressing the scalp lock employed by the Pawnee. The expedition penetrated no farther northward, but Coronado was in-

---

[35] 1893, p. 226.

[36] Ibid., p. 228.

[37] Winship, 1896, p. 492.

[38] Ibid., p. 505; an interesting observation, in view of the fact that the old name for the Wichita, "Pawnee Picts," was derived from their custom of "picturing" or tattooing the body.

[39] 1890, pt. I, pp. 44, 170; 1893, pp. 235–239.

[40] Winship, 1896, p. 590.

[41] Ibid.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

175 formed that the kingdom or province of Harahey, Arache, or Arahei lay next beyond Quivira, and that the "Rio del Espiritu Santo"[42] flowed through that province. This, like other surrounding provinces, was reported as being thickly populated, but little information is given as to the customs of the inhabitants. It is interesting, as well as rather suggestive, to note that beyond Quivira were two large villages known as Tareque and Arae, "with straw houses at Tareque, and at Arae some of straw and some of skins."[43] The possible significance of this latter statement will be brought out later.

Following the ill-starred Coronado expedition came a series of vaguely recorded and semimythical explorations. Juan de Oñate in 1599 and Saldivar in 1618 led parties northward and eastward from Santa Fe, both reaching Quivira. Hostility on the part of the *Escanjaques* (Kansa or Osage?), however, forced the premature retreat of both expeditions. Oñate is reputed to have reached the thirty-ninth or fortieth parallel, the latter forming the present boundary between Kansas and Nebraska, but records for these explorations are so fragmentary and uncertain as to be of no great value. Neither mentions Harahey or the Pawnees. Much more graphically described is the expedition of Don Penalosa, governor of New Mexico, in 1662, which was formerly supposed to have penetrated as far as the junction of the Loup and Platte Rivers in east central Nebraska. Penalosa wrote eloquently of the wonderful prairies and magnificent forests traversed, and vividly pictured the great city of the Quiviras, many miles in extent, with thousands of wood and timber dwellings up to four stories high, and numberless inhabitants. The narrative is now generally discredited as a synthesis of the reports brought back by previous explorers, to which Penalosa, drawing upon his experiences in the Southwest, appended such details as were necessary to complete the picture and impress the contemporary world. Penalosa probably at no time ventured very far into what is now Kansas, nor is it likely that he actually met the Pawnee.

Disheartened by the continual lack of success in the search for the mines of Quivira, fully occupied with retaining her grasp on the pueblos of Cibola, and impoverished by internal mismanagement, Spain at length abandoned, or rather suspended, her imperialistic endeavors toward the northeast. In the meantime, France was slowly extending the bounds of her possessions westward and southward from Canada, and more important still, northward from French Louisiana. French fur traders and trappers were established perhaps as early as the middle of the seventeenth century among many tribes of the Missouri Valley, and missionaries and adventurers were but little behind. 175

---

[42] Winship, 1896, pp. 529, 590. See Lesser and Weltfish, 1932, pp. 8-9.

[43] Ibid., p. 577.

The earliest reference to the Pawnee, beyond the disputed Coronado narratives, is by the Jesuit priest, Marquette. This observer never visited the tribe, nor is it anywhere mentioned in his journals. On his map, however, prepared in 1673,[44] the *Pana* (Pawnee) are located northwest of the *Otontanta* (Oto), east of the *Pahotet* (Iowa) and some distance north of the Kansa (map 3). Unfortunately, Marquette omitted the Missouri River and its major tributaries; but if these be superimposed on his map, the relative position of these various tribes corresponds generally with their later historic habitat. It will be noted also that on the map a part of the *Paniassa* (Wichita) are west and north of the Kansa tribe, presumably in what is now northern Kansas. This is rather farther to the north than the habitat generally accorded the Wichita, and, if correct, may not be wholly valueless in tracing out the former relationships of that tribe to the Pawnee.

The La Salle brothers were the first to specifically mention the Pawnee tribe in their writings. In 1682 Robert La Salle wrote of—

> the Pana Nation who lives more than 200 leagues to the west, on one of the branches of the Mississippi, and lives there in two villages, one near the other. They are neighbors and allies of the Gattacka [Kiowa-Apache] and Manrhoat [Kiowa], who are to the south of their villages and who sell them horses which they steal apparently from the Spaniards of New Mexico.[45] [492]

Since it is not certain whether this was written while La Salle was on the upper or on the lower Mississippi, there is a possibility that it refers to the southern *Pana*, or *Paniouassa*—i. e., the Wichita.[46] Three years later, in 1685, Nicholas La Salle wrote during a descent of the Mississippi:

> We camped near the mouth of a river which falls into the Mississippi. It is called the river of the Missouris. The river comes from the northwest, and is thickly settled from what the savages say. The Panis are on this river very far from its mouth.[47]

Father Louis Hennepin, writing in 1687, located the *Panimaha* (Skidi) on several navigable tributaries of the Missouri. At that time they had "but one Captain and twenty-two villages, the least of which contains two hundred Cabbins."[48] He also speaks of "the Paneassa [Wichita], the Pana [Pawnee proper], the Panaloga [Comanche], and the Metotantes [Oto], each of which is as considerable as the Panimaha." Hennepin did not visit these tribes in

---

[44] Marquette, 1900, p. 108.

[45] Translated from the Margry Papers, vol. II, p. 201-202.

[46] Cf. Du Tisne, in Margry Papers, vol. vi, p. 311.

[47] La Salle, 1927, p. 5.

[48] Hennepin, 1903, vol. II, p. 443.

175 person, hence there is [illegible] probability a considerable exaggeration in all of his figures and [illegible]tes.

Le Seuer's map[49] of the Missouri and upper Mississippi Valleys, published in 1701 (map 4), credits the *Panimahas* with 12 villages scattered along a branch (the Loup) of the river of the Panis—i. e., the Platte. Farther down this branch are 10 or 12 villages of the *Panis.* The Arikara are indicated as a separate group farther up the Missouri.[50] Le Seuer never visited the Pawnee, nor did he ever publish any accounts concerning them, the map being his sole contribution to their history.

In 1720 came another Spanish gesture toward the coveted regions to the northeast of Santa Fe—the event that has given rise to the "Spanish Caravan" myth. Throughout much of the seventeenth century the Pawnee had been known to the New Mexican settlements, in consequence of plundering and horse-stealing forays against which the Spanish were not altogether successful. The situation became acute when Valverde, on a punitive expedition against the Ute and Comanche in 1719, heard that the French were present among the *Panana* (Pawnee) villages on the Rio de Jesus María (the Platte), 70 leagues (190 miles) north of Quartelejo,[51] in the present Scott County, Kans. Accordingly, in the following summer a force of some fifty Spaniards, augmented by a body of Indian allies, was dispatched under the brave but inexperienced Villazur to visit the Pawnee villages. Villazur's was not a punitive expedition, nor was it an attempt at colonization; it was simply a reconnaissance and an attempt to determine the status of the French among the Pawnee. The party left Sante Fe on June 14, 1720, and less than three months later, on September 6, one of the soldiers of the expedition, Felipe Tamariz, returned to that post with the report that the entire command had been annihilated in a surprise attack by the Indians upon the Spanish camp near the Pawnee villages, with all of the equipment and horses falling into the hands of the attackers, and only a bare handful, perhaps five or six, of the Spaniards escaping with their lives.[52] The journal, which after 1573 was required of every Spanish exploring expedition, was most unfortunately lost, but it is definitely known that Villazur touched at Jicarilla, 40 leagues (110 miles) north of Santa Fe, and at Quartelejo,[53] where he secured his Indian auxiliaries. Thereafter the route is almost wholly a matter of speculation. Bandelier held that the massacre took place on

---

[49] South Dakota Hist. Coll., vol. 1, p. 49, 1902.

[50] Cf. Will and Spinden, 1906, pp. 94–96.

[51] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 185.

[52] Ibid., p. 194.

[53] Ibid., p. 196.

August 16, on the south fork of the Platte River, in the vicinity of the present city of North Platte, Nebr., admitting, however, that it may have occurred much farther down that stream, near its confluence with the Missouri.[54]

Villiers, on the basis of a translation of a single leaf from the journal of the ill-fated expedition, found after the battle by the Indians and turned over to French authorities at Kaskaskia, Ill., is of the opinion that the correct location is on the south bank of the Platte River, immediately below the mouth of the Loup River,[55] near the present city of Columbus, Nebr. On this leaf is recorded the march of the expedition from the 7th to the 10th of August, frequent allusions being made to the "Panane" (Pawnee), whose trails were the route followed and whose villages were seen on the last day, and Villiers presumes that the massacre occurred on the following day—that is, on August 11, at the location specified above. However, the geographical data given are so general that the location is at best only tentative, and should be regarded as such. At any rate, by November 1720, news of the massacre had reached Kaskaskia,[56] through the Indians, who appeared at that post with various trophies of the victory. The Pawnee, Oto, or Missouri, or a combination of these three tribes,[57] probably aided by some Frenchmen[58] equipped with muskets, appear to have been responsible for the massacre, and Villiers' location has at least this to commend it, viz, that all of these tribes dwelt on the lower Platte in historic times, and are not known to have occupied villages as far west as the forks of the Platte. The allusion to trails followed by the expedition further supports this view, as the Pawnee are known to have had regular routes southward from the Loup across the Platte near Kearney, Nebr., to their hunting grounds on the Smoky Hill and Arkansas Rivers. Presumably the villages of the Pawnee at the time were situated on the Loup River, with the other two tribes below them on the Platte. Swords, thought by some to be relics of this expedition, have been found in the vicinity, but their identity is open to question. Certain it is that the blow materially reduced Spain's prestige on the plains, as it doubtless emboldened the tribes of the Platte to raid more extensively toward the Spanish Provinces. It was more than 80 years before another Spanish army, this time under Malgares,[59] ventured to the Pawnee towns, and by that time France was enjoying to the full the trade and friendship of the tribe.

---

[54] Bandelier, 1890, a, pp. 197–202; see also Thomas, in Hist. Mag., vol. VII, no. 3, 1924, pp. 68–81.

[55] Villiers, 1921, p. 255. See Thomas, 1935, for important new data on this expedition.

[56] Ibid., p. 250; also Margry Papers, vol. VI, pp. 386–387.

[57] Villiers, 1921, p. 240.

[58] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 203.

[59] Pike, 1810, pp. 145, 149, 227, and App. to pt. II, pp. 23–24.

175 Almost coeval with the Villazur massacre were the explorations of Du Tisne and De la Harpe, both in 1719. Neither of the two ever actually came in contact with the Pawnee of the north, but Du Tisne wrote that "by the Missouri River one is able to go to the country of the Panimahas, whom other nations call Ahuachis, and from there to that of the Padoukas. . . ."[60] La Harpe[61] locates the *Panis* 40 leagues southwest of the Osage village, and while some regard this as a typographical error for northwest, it is equally possible that the reference is to the southern Pawnee or Wichita.

Two years later, in 1721, Pierre de Charlevoix visited the upper Missouri and Mississippi Valleys and prepared a lengthy account of his experiences. A single brief allusion, based upon hearsay, states that "the *Panis*, a nation settled on the banks of the Missouri, . . . extended themselves a good way toward New Mexico. . . ."[62]

Various terse allusions to the Pawnee are to be found for the next few decades, mostly recorded in letters to Louisiana or to St. Louis.[63] Du Pratz, on his map of 1757,[64] locates the *Panis* between the Cansez and Missouri Rivers, the latter being represented as flowing eastward in about the place actually occupied by the Platte (App., map 5). Du Pratz never visited this particular area, hence his map is geographically inaccurate and somewhat confusing. In 1770, however, appeared a noteworthy document. In that year Mezieres reported that "the Taouaiches nation [the Wichita] has been joined recently by another numerous tribe from the Missouri, namely the Panis-maha.[65] Three years later it was reported that this band of *Panimaha*, or Ouacee, numbered 000 warriors.[66] Bolton locates this group of *Panimaha*, after 1772, on the Red River in the vicinity of the present Marietta, Okla.[67] The estimate of 600 warriors is possibly much too high, but it appears to indicate the secession and permanent southward removal of a considerable body of the Skidi. The causes for this move are not fully known, but apparently there had been some difficulties with the French.[68]

In 1777, under the title "Report of the Indian Tribes who Receive Presents at St. Louis",[69] occurs the first really instructive information on the Pawnee, or at least on two of the bands. The population, enemies, and occupations are given, and the names of the chiefs appear. The *Panis*, five or six hundred warriors strong, are located

---

[60] Translated from the Margry Papers, vol. vi, p. 310.
[61] Margry Papers, vol. vi, p. 311.
[62] 1903, vol. i, p. 306.
[63] Margry Papers, vol. vi, pp. 383-492.
[64] 1758, vol. i, p. 138.
[65] Bolton, 1914, vol. i, p. 202.
[66] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 90.
[67] Ibid., map in vol. i.
[68] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 90.
[69] Houck, 1909, vol. i, p. 141.

"about 15 leagues from the Hotos [Oto] Tribe, on a small stream branching off from the Plata River."[70] This is in all probability one of the twin sites at Linwood, on Skull Creek near the Platte, and was presumably a Grand site. The other band, called *La Republica*, resided "about 110 (leagues) from the Misury [Missouri] River on the shores of the Cances River, and about 40 or 50 leagues from the village of the tribe of that name [at the mouth of the Blue River] by land."[71] The latter reference is of especial interest as preceding by nearly 20 years the date generally accepted as the earliest for the Republican Band of the Pawnee.[72] By the "Cances" here is meant the Republican River.

In the summer of 1794 Jean Baptiste Truteau led a merchandising expedition up the Missouri from St. Louis, bound for the Mandan villages. His journal [73] contains brief allusions to the various Pawnee villages, none of which he ever saw. The *Octata* [Oto] were located at the time 12 leagues up the Platte from its confluence with the Missouri; 25 leagues farther up the same stream was the village of the "grands panis"; and 30 leagues above them, on a tributary of the Platte (doubtless the Loup), were the "panis mahas."[74] There is some uncertainty as to just what stream was the habitat of the Republican Band, due to an unfortunate omission, but under the designation of "panis republicains" Truteau locates them 10 leagues above the "Canses",[75] whose village was 80 leagues from the Missouri on the Kansas River. The Republicans were probably on the Republican River, but very likely were rather more than 10 leagues from the Kansa village.

Two years later (1796) Victor Collot was sent from New Orleans on a military reconnaissance of the Mississippi and Missouri Valleys, penetrating to the mouth of the Osage River. Though a portion of his records were lost, he secured data on tribes far beyond those actually visited by himself. His geography is somewhat at fault, but the map (map 6) shows the Republican Nation on what is without question the Republican River. The "Great Panis" are 12 or 13 leagues above the village of the "Otoktata Nation"[76] at the confluence of the Platte and Missouri and the *Panimaha* are situated at the mouth of the Loup.[77] Inasmuch as Collot was never actually among the Pawnee, but secured his information on them and on their locale through other travelers, his observations are only approximately correct, though probably in a general way fairly reliable.

---

[70] Houck, 1909, vol. I, p. 144.
[71] Ibid., p. 143.
[72] Powell, 1891, p. 60; see also Lewis and Clark, 1832, p. 709.
[73] 1914 contains part I only.
[74] Ibid., p. 306.
[75] Ibid., p. 302.
[76] 1924, vol. I, p. 281.
[77] Idem.

175 John Evans, a Welshman in the employ of the Missouri Co., prepared in 1795 or 1796 a map of the Missouri River from near its mouth to the Mandan villages.[78] This is thought to be the map sent by Jefferson to Captain Lewis before the Lewis and Clark expedition set out in 1804, and is now in the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington. On it is indicated what must be the Oto village near the present town of Yutan, and farther up the Platte, but on the same (south) side of the river just below the mouth of a small creek from the south, is another village, doubtless the present Linwood site. The tribal affinity of neither village is indicated, but the upper site can safely be regarded as Pawnee by inference from earlier and later maps and reports. A village of the *Panis* is also shown just above the mouth of the Niobrara River, and another immediately below the mouth of the Cheyenne River, both presumably Arikara. No Republican or Skidi locations are given.

The final chapter in French exploration on the Missouri was written by Perrin du Lac from 1801 to 1803. In the spring of 1802, according to his narrative,[79] he undertook a journey from St. Louis to the mouth of the White River in the present South Dakota, including a visit to the *Great Panis* 3 days journey up the Platte from the *Otoes*, then probably at the Yutan site. Du Lac's map, probably based upon information supplied by Jacques Mackay, a fur trader, locates the *Grands Panis* on the south bank of the Platte immediately below the mouth of a small tributary (Skull Creek, probably), the *Loups* or *Skidi* some distance up the Loup on the left bank and the village of the *Republiques*, with whom the Grands were at war, on the north bank of the Republican some distance above the point where it turns to flow abruptly southward into the present Kansas (map 7). To all appearances these were approximately the same locations recorded by observers for the next quarter century, as will be pointed out later.

The acquisition of the Louisiana Territory by the United States in 1803 marked the opening of a new era in western development. Almost the first move made by Jefferson after the transfer was to dispatch two major expeditions for a thorough exploration and description of the newly added territory, and on the heels of these came colonization and vast economic changes. The ethnographic observations made by Lewis and Clark, Pike, and the other officers who followed them at intervals of a few years, as well as the work of missionaries and travelers, afford a fascinating panorama of aboriginal life in the Missouri Valley region just prior to its overshadowing and decline before the influence of expanding modern American civilization.

---

[78] Abel, A. H., 1916, p. 344.

[79] 1807, pp. 50–54.

First of the major expeditions was that of Lewis and Clark from 175 1804 to 1806. While on their way up the Missouri in July 1804 these explorers, encamped some 10 miles above the mouth of the Platte, made the following observations:[60] The Otos were located 30 miles up the Platte on the south bank of the stream; 5 leagues above them on the same side of the stream was the principal band of Pawnee, and 90 miles distant on the Wolf (Loup) fork of the Platte were the Pawnee Loups. The Republican Band had recently migrated from the Republican River to join the principal, or Grand, Pawnee, hence the map (map 8) shows no Pawnee on that stream. In another report[61] the same authors locate the *Panias* proper, 1,600 strong, 30 leagues up the Platte; the *Loups*, self-styled the "*Skee-e-ree*", on the Loup River 36 leagues from its mouth; and the Republicans were associated with the first band, probably at the present Linwood site. The Skidi village on the Loup was perhaps north of what is now Palmer, in Nance County, Nebr., or at least in that general locality.

In the summer of 1806 Lt. Zebulon M. Pike visited the village of 175 the Republican Pawnee while en route to the headwaters of the 131 Arkansas. This village, so far as can be determined from Pike's map (map 9) and his notes on the adjacent physiography,[62] was located on the south bank of the Republican River in what is now Webster County, Nebr., and was doubtless occupied by a different portion of the Republican Band than the party which Lewis and Clark reported previously as having rejoined the Grands. The Grand Pawnees and the Skidi were in about the same locations as given by Lewis and Clark; the former on the Platte, the latter on the Loup. Pike did not venture north of the Republican village, hence there are one or two minor errors in his map showing the villages on the Platte, particularly where he locates the Oto and Missouri village as above that of the Grand Pawnee.

By 1811 marked changes had taken place in the location of several of the Pawnee villages. According to Major Sibley,[63] an officer of the Missouri Co., both Grand and Republican Pawnee had abandoned their old villages and were establishing one jointly in an "elevated level prairie" on the north bank of the Otto (Loup) fork of the Platte, about 120 miles northwest of the Kansa village at the mouth of the Blue River in Kansas. The Skidi were 10 miles farther upstream. The mileage given is probably somewhat short, and from

---

[60] 1815, vol. 1, pp. 35 f.

[61] 1832, pp. 708–709.

[62] Pike, 1810, pp. 141–149; App. to pt. II, pp. 14–15; also Wilkinson, in App. to pt. II, pp. 22–24. This location agrees with Coues' original interpretation of Pike's notes and tallies with those of Nebraska investigators, but is at variance with the opinions of certain Kansas historians. The evidence leading to the present author's conclusion will be presented later. See also Nebraska History Mag., vol. x, 2, 1927, for arguments on both sides.

[63] 1927, pp. 200–203; also Louisiana Gazette, May 16, 1812.

175 comparison with subsequent accounts it appears that the villages were then in the present Nance County, Nebr., the Grand-Republican
131 village at the mouth of Horse Creek, and the Skidi village due north of Palmer.

The journal of Maj. S. H. Long's expedition,[84] in 1819, gives very explicit information on the Pawnee. Proceeding up the Loup after crossing Beaver Creek, and 4 miles farther on the Creek of Souls (now Council Creek), the party encamped on "a small creek (now Plum Creek), 11 miles distant from the village of the Grand Pawnees."[85] Evidently this refers to the village at the mouth of Horse Creek. The Republicans had withdrawn from the band and were in a separate village 4 miles above the Grand Pawnee,[86] presumably at the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. Three miles farther upstream, and like the other villages on the immediate bank of the river, were the Skidi,[87] at the site north of the present Palmer. The three villages occupied "about 10 miles in length of the fertile valley of the Wolf [Loup] River. The surface is wholly naked of timber, rising gradually to the river hills, which are broad and low, and from a mile to a mile and a half distant."[88] Throughout, the narrative is sufficiently clear to make the accurate relocation of the villages possible to one familiar with the region described (map 10).

Reports by the Rev. Jedidiah Morse[89] in 1822 and by Captain Ashley[90] in 1824 indicate that the villages of the tribe were still in about the same location at that date. According to Ashley it was 15 miles south to the Platte from the villages[91] and "Plumb Point", a few miles west of the present Kearney, was the customary crossing place of the Pawnee "on their route to the wintering grounds on the Arkansas River."[92]

[648] In 1833 Commissioner Ellsworth negotiated a treaty with the Pawnee whereby the tribe ceded to the United States all lands claimed by it lying south of the Platte River. He was accompanied by J. T. Irving, who recorded unofficially many details of the visit to the villages.[93] The Grand Pawnee had abandoned the Horse Creek site where they had been visited by Long and had established their village "at the foot of a long range of hills (and) within about 50 yards of the Platte",[94] on the right bank of the stream. This was

---

[84] 1823, vol. I.
[85] Ibid., p. 435.
[86] Ibid., pp. 354, 440.
[87] Ibid., p. 354.
[88] Ibid., p. 446.
[89] 1822, pp. 237-238.
[90] 1918, p. 118.
[91] Idem.
[92] Idem.
[93] 1835, vol. II.
[94] Ibid., p. 10.

probably opposite the present station of Clarks, in Polk County. The Republican Band was about 20 miles to the northwest on the Loup,[95] having apparently removed from where Long saw them on the Cottonwood site to the Horse Creek site evacuated by the Grands. The Tappage Band, here mentioned for the first time, was located 11 miles farther up the Loup,[96] and 10 miles beyond were the Skidi.[97] The last three villages were all situated on a high bank immediately overlooking the river. The distances from the Republican to the Tappage and Skidi villages, as here recorded, are too great to be reconciled with known Pawnee sites in that area, consequently later investigators are inclined to regard them as inaccurate, and to suggest that the Tappage village was actually at the Cottonwood Creek site and the Skidi village near by, at or near the location given by Long.[98] 175 131

Catlin, about 1835, referred briefly to the Pawnee as living on the Platte 100 miles above its confluence with the Missouri, occupying "four villages, some few miles apart."[99] It is doubtful whether he ever actually saw the villages, and his rather vague report adds little to our knowledge. [114]

In June 1835 Col. Henry Dodge and a detachment of dragoons marched up the right, or south, bank of the Platte en route to the Rocky Mountains. They passed through the Grand Pawnee village after "having marched 80 miles since leaving the Otto village [at Yutan]."[1] The reference here is to the same village as that where Irving visited the band two years earlier. Dodge mentions the other three bands also,[2] but fails to locate their villages, from which we may infer that they were still on the old sites along the Loup and off the route traveled by the dragoons. Of especial interest is the statement that "the Arickaras had been living with the Pawnee Loups all winter, but were scared away previous to our arrival by a lying Kansas",[3] and the subsequent information that the Arikara had been driven from their habitat on the Missouri by the Sioux.[4] On the expedition's map but one Pawnee village is indicated, and that one opposite the lower end of Grand Island.[5] [648]

Fremont's expedition, while descending the Platte from the Rockies in 1842, halted "at the village of the Grand Pawnee on

---

[95] 1835, vol. ii, p. 57.
[96] Ibid., p. 119.
[97] Ibid., p. 125.
[98] A. T. Hill, personal communication.
[99] 1841, vol. ii, pp. 24–27.
[1] Dodge, 1861, p. 133; also map no. 654 B.
[2] Idem.
[3] Idem.
[4] Ibid., p. 136.
[5] Grand Island is some 25 miles above Clarks, but Prairie Island, which may have been mistaken for the former, commences just above the site and extends approximately 10 miles upstream.

175 the right bank of the river, about 30 miles above the mouth of the Loup Fork."[7] At about the same time Gregg[8] states that the
131 principal village of the tribe was on the Loup Fork of the Platte, probably on the basis of reports by traders and others.

A second detachment of dragoons, Major Wharton in command, visited the Pawnee villages in 1844. A council was held in the Grand village, located "at the point of a projecting ridge", or "headland",[9] on the right bank of the Platte. A few miles upstream was a village of the Republican band, the site of which has never been specifically determined.[10] The villages on the Loup were for the most part abandoned by this time, the Skidi and Tappage having also removed to new locations,[11] farther down the Loup.

The movements of the various bands from 1835 to 1845 are perhaps best recorded in the letters of John Dunbar,[12] Presbyterian missionary who attached himself to the Grand band and was later in charge of the Plum Creek (now Council Creek) mission station. Thus, in 1835, the village of the Grand Pawnee was situated "on the south side of the River Platte, about 120 miles from the mouth of the stream . . . (and) . . . about 30 rods from the water's edge."[13] The following spring he visited the village of the Republican and Tappage bands, 25 miles from that of the Grands, "on a high bluff on the north side of the Loup Fork about 30 miles above its junction with the Platte." Four miles above was the Little Republican village, and 3 miles farther still were the Skidi,[14] both on high steep bluffs overlooking the Loup. By 1839 the Republicans were split into four groups, with their main village "on the south side of the Platte, a short distance above the village of the Grand Pawnees",[15] where, it will be recalled, Wharton also reported them in 1844. By the autumn of 1842 the Tappage, together with many Grands and Republicans, had established "a village of 41 lodges" about a mile from the Plum Creek (now Council Creek) mission, and shortly the Skidi settled 3 miles above on the immediate river bank at the mouth of Willow (Cedar) Creek, about 2 miles east
175 of the present town of Fullerton.[16] On June 27, 1843, a Dakota raid
131 on the lower village culminated disastrously for the Pawnee and
648 they sought the security of the main Grand village south of the

---

[7] 1845, p. 78.

[8] 1845, vol. II, p. 300.

[9] 1844, p. 20.

[10] Ibid., p. 20.

[11] Ibid., p. 30.

[12] 1918, pp. 570-689.

[13] Ibid., p. 509.

[14] Ibid., pp. 617-618. These three villages are now known as Horse Creek, Cottonwood, and Palmer sites, respectively. See also Long's location of villages in 1819.

[15] Ibid., pp. 637, 640.

[16] Ibid., pp. 648, 656-660.

Platte.[17] A few months later, however, the fugitives removed again 175
to the Loup, this time to join the Skidi 4 miles from the mission, and 131
in 1844 they were fortifying this village by means of a ditch and
turf wall, besides requesting two hundred guns from the government 648
agent for protection against the dreaded Dakota.[18] By the end of the year the greater part of the tribe was settled on the north bank of the Loup,[19] and in 1846, after the hostility of the Sioux and the increasing discontent of the Pawnee had necessitated the abandonment of the mission, Dunbar alludes to " thieves and robbers " south of the Platte in contrast to " Pawnees who have removed north of the Platte".[20] Most of the difficulties experienced by emigrant trains on the Mormon and Oregon Trails through this region, at least after about 1847, were due to the activities of the renegade Pawnee who insisted upon remaining south of the Platte River on lands no longer their own.

Confirmation of this situation is seen in the journal of William 175
Clayton, written in 1847, as accurate as it is interesting. Clayton was 131
with the first party of Mormons to travel over this trail, and his observations on the Pawnee, though not extensive, afford a good check on some of the other reports. The party proceeded up the left bank of the Loup, all distances being computed from the recorded revolutions of the wagon wheels. Thus, at a distance of about 25 miles west of Shell Creek was seen the first village, of skins, on the south side of the Loup[21] about 5 or 6 miles west of and across the river from the present city of Columbus. Four miles southwest of the old mission, just above the ford across the Loup, was the ruin of the old Skidi village of some two hundred lodges.[22] Accurate as the account generally is, Clayton, singularly enough, fails to mention the sizable
Cedar Creek which falls into the Loup just above the site. The aban- [648]
donment of this location, to which after 1846 had moved virtually all of the bands, came about as the result of its having been burned twice by the Sioux while the tribe was absent on hunts.[23] The encampment on the lower Loup represented the greater portion of the homeless and discouraged residents of this village. After fording the Loup the party continued on up its right bank, and Clayton records two ruined Indian villages seen on the high north bank, one at 10, the other at 17, miles above the ford.[24] Though on the opposite side of the river, he described the tumble-down lodges, the directions

---

[17] At the village visited by Dodge, Wharton, et al.—i. e., opposite Clarks.

[18] Ibid., p. 663.

[19] Ibid., p. 671.

[20] Ibid., pp. 685 ff.

[21] 1921, pp. 84–87.

[22] Ibid., p. 95 ff.

[23] Ibid., p. 95.

[24] Ibid., p. 106.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

175 131 of the entrances, and the indications of former cultivated fields as plainly visible. That these two ruins were those of the Horse Creek and Cottonwood sites, which Dunbar found inhabited in 1836 and which were apparently not abandoned until 1842, there can be no reasonable doubt.

Father De Smet in 1847 [25] recorded the Pawnee Nation as divided into four tribes, with their villages on the Platte, or Nebraska, River, and its branches, approximately 150 miles from the Missouri. His best contribution on the tribe is a graphic account of the Morning-Star human sacrifice of the Skidi.[26]

In 1851 Gottlieb Oehler and David Smith, two Moravian missionaries, made a hurried trip to the villages of the Pawnee, now but two in number, and both on the south side of the Platte. The lower village was located on a high bluff overlooking the valley 10 or 15 miles above the mouth of the Elkhorn,[27] probably at the site about 3 miles due south of Fremont. Twenty-five miles upstream, but on the valley bottom, was the other village, generally identified with the later site at Linwood. The traditional arrangement of the villages of the bands,[28] whereby the Skidi were always farthest toward the west, was apparently disregarded here, as the information, though rather vague, suggests that the Skidi were at the lower, or easternmost, site.[29] General Thayer, who held a council with the Pawnee at this village in 1855, locates it "on the south and west side of the Platte River on a very high point a few miles this side (south) of where the town of Fremont had just commenced a settlement."[30] A granite monument now marks the spot where Thayer's council was convened, on the edge of a high bluff overlooking the Platte bottoms.

175 648 Increasing friction between white settlers and the discontented Pawnee led to the treaty of Table Creek in 1857, whereby the tribe gave up the claim to lands lying north of the Platte and was assigned to a reservation 30 miles long by 15 wide, lying along both sides of the Loup.[31] Some difficulty was experienced in persuading the Pawnee to return to this region, but they finally did so with the understanding that the Government was to provide protection against the Dakota. Two villages, or what really amounted to one large scattering village, were established about a mile and a half south of Genoa, on a broad flat plain between Beaver Creek and the Loup River. Three of the bands settled in one village, on ground now occupied by the Genoa Cemetery; the Skidi were about a half mile farther west.

---

[25] 1905, vol. III, p. 974.

[26] Ibid., pp. 976–988.

[27] 1851, pp. 25–27.

[28] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, p. 257.

[29] Oehler and Smith, 1851, pp. 21, 28.

[30] 1907, p. 121.

[31] Royce, 1899, p. 818.

The promised protection was soon withdrawn, however, and by 1860 175
the Pawnee were again suffering from the harassment of their relentless foes, the Dakota.[63] In addition, the encroachments of the whites 648
from the east and south led to endless bickering and ill feeling between the two races. In 1870 a party of Republican Pawnee visited the Wichita Reservation in Indian Territory, meeting with a kindly reception, and on their return north agitation was begun within the tribe as well as from without for removal to the Territory. A crushing defeat by Teton and Oglala Dakota, while a portion of the Pawnee Tribe was engaged in their last buffalo hunt near what is now Trenton, in southwestern Nebraska, almost unnerved the remainder of the Pawnee, and in 1876, by common consent, the reservation was exchanged for lands in Indian Territory. The southward trek had actually begun nearly 2 years earlier, so that by late 1874 or 1875 the movement was practically consummated. The former reservation became Nance County, Nebr., and the once powerful Pawnee had passed forever from the territory they had for centuries known as their own.

ARCHEOLOGY

Historic Village Sites

Ancient village sites, almost always attributed locally to the 172*
Pawnee, are to be found on virtually every stream of any consequence
in eastern and southern Nebraska. These remains are especially 131
numerous along the north bank of the Loup below St. Paul, on the Platte between Prairie Island and Ashland, and on the Republican throughout its entire length in Nebraska, including also a short stretch of the latter stream in northern Kansas. Within historic times the permanent villages of the Pawnee were located in the lower Loup and Platte Valleys and on the Republican both north and south of the Kansas-Nebraska line, so that in all probability many of the so-called "Pawnee sites" in the area will ultimately prove to be correctly designated. However, in view of the fact that archeology here is still in the nascent stage, with little or no material from the vast majority of such sites, it is absurd to label as Pawnee all Indian remains found in the region. The specific tribal name should be applied only to sites known by documentary references or through careful archeological investigation to have been occupied by the Pawnee; any other sites should be differently and distinctively designated.

The characteristic form of habitation of the Pawnee when in their 172*
permanent villages was the earth lodge, of which a detailed description 342
will be given later. Here it may be pointed out that the lodge

---

[63] Gillis, 1860, pp. 93–95.

*172 361 lodges. The burial grounds have been looted to only a limited extent. However, the lateness of occupancy makes it seem improbable that the site would repay detailed investigation as it falls entirely within the historic period and presents few of the true native traits of the Pawnee.

PLUM CREEK SITE.—Approximately coincident with the establishment of the Skidi village at the mouth of the Cedar, as previously noted, the greater portion of the Grands, with the Republican and Tappage bands, jointly took up their residence 3 miles farther down the Loup, also on the north bank of the stream, and within a mile [797] of the Presbyterian mission station on Plum Creek.[61] The spot where the mission formerly stood has been recently located on the west bank of the present Council Creek, perhaps 200 yards below the point where the latter leaves the bluffs. The Pawnee site has not been definitely determined, but since it was visible from the mission, and only a mile distant,[62] it would appear that the site is to be sought just north of the Union Pacific Railroad about 8 miles southwest of Genoa. There is here a slight bench, all under cultivation, on which the village was probably located. Since the site was occupied for but a few years it is doubtful whether there remains much village detritus. This, together with the very limited search that has been made, probably accounts for the uncertainty regarding its location, and also renders it unlikely that the site possesses much of real archeological value.

REPUBLICAN PAWNEE SITES

● 175 The Republican Pawnee, an offshoot of the Grands, first appear in literature in 1777 as one of the tribes receiving presents at the Spanish post of St. Louis.[63] Their habitat even at that early date was the Republican Valley, which they abandoned during the first decade of the nineteenth century for a more secure location with the Grands on the Platte and Loup Rivers.[64] It is extremely doubtful [648] whether this band, as such, ever resided much farther south than the valley of the Republican, as its history is one of continual warfare with the hostile Kansa on the Kansas and lower Republican Rivers. After 1812 they were nearly always intimately associated with the parent band of Grand Pawnee, and during much of the time they *172 361 occupied the same village. At least two and possibly three sites may be regarded as predominantly Republican Pawnee, although others were used from time to time in conjunction with other bands.

---

[61] Now known as "Council Creek," the names of the two streams having been reversed since that time. "The next stream west of the Beaver is Plum Creek, on which was the mission station."—Platt, E. G., 1892, p. 131.

[62] Dunbar, 1918, pp. 648, 656.

[63] Houck, 1909, vol. 1, p. 143.

[64] Lewis and Clark, 1832, p. 709; Long, 1823, vol. 1, p. 440.

post-Columbian, as is indicated by the presence of iron and glass objects, but they are either very early or else were occupied during one or another of the periods when white exploration was at a low ebb, as for example prior to 1800. Other sites, definitely prehistoric, are far more numerous, but fall outside the scope of the present paper.

SCHUYLER SITE.—This is located 2 miles north of Schuyler and about half a mile south of Shell Creek.[94] It occupies a considerable area on a high promontory at the eastern extremity of the divide separating the Platte and Shell Creek Valleys. The main portion of the site lies immediately east of State highway 15, but sherd areas occur more or less continuously for nearly 2 miles along the north edge of the plateaulike divide overlooking Shell Creek. The highway cuts through several house sites and a considerable number of caches. Most of the caches have been pilfered by tourists and others, but examination of two that had escaped vandalism resulted in the recovery of a good collection of sherds. The floors of the house sites, now 12 to 20 inches underground, are likewise covered with fragments of broken pottery, and the fields nearby have been noted for some years as a prolific spot for "relics." Bits of copper and iron have been found in the fields on the surface and one small fragment of metal was taken from a house site. In general, however, Caucasian material is comparatively rare, and is very far surpassed quantitatively by good aboriginal artifacts. The burial ground has not been located, but it is probably either along the edge of the divide or on the higher bluffs a mile farther north.

The abundance of aboriginal remains on this site makes it appear likely that valuable data could be secured through careful excavation. The site antedates the early historic phase at Linwood, but designs on many of the sherds already show the tendencies which later became dominant and fixed. An excellent opportunity is thus afforded of tracing Pawnee relationships through this culture to some one of the prehistoric cultures of the area. Preliminary excavations have been made at the Schuyler site; there has been some superficial digging in the caches along the roadside. The best material apparently lies below the level reached by the plow, and so will be safe from destruction for some time to come.[95]

---

[94] SW¼ sec. 32, T. 18 N., R. 3 E., Colfax County, Nebr.

[95] According to tradition, the Omaha, at a time when horses were scarce, attacked a palisaded Pawnee village a half day's journey from Maple Creek.—Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 406. The Schuyler site is about 8 miles from Maple Creek, a fair half day's trip afoot, and may have been the village attacked. The Nebraska Archaeological Survey spent about 4 weeks in intensive excavation at this place in the summer of 1931. The results have not yet been thoroughly digested, but certain outstanding characteristics were noted, as follows: The village is large and loosely arranged, with no traces of defensive walls; houses are quite large, varying from 32 to 50 feet in diameter, with four central posts and an east entrance; a few burials in cache pits are flexed or 175

system of earthworks is that at the Horse Creek village, which was 172*
discussed in connection with that site. The rectangular enclosure 712
may have been a horse corral, though that appears improbable. The entire arrangement of walls is such as to suggest a fairly elaborate system of defensive works, quite in keeping with the size of the village.

Palisaded walls were not used by the Pawnee, due probably to the scarcity of suitable timber.[17] The defenses consisted simply of an earth or sod embankment 3 or 4 feet high, immediately in front of which was a ditch 3 feet in depth and 5 feet or so wide.[18] The assailants were thus hampered in storming the wall by having to cross the moat in front of it; the defenders fought from the protection of the wall. How much actual good such defenses did it is difficult to say, as the Dakota, Kansa, and other hostiles contented themselves with sudden raids and horse-stealing forays, seldom if ever venturing to attack the Pawnee behind their breastworks.

The two great circles at the Linwood village are actually low earthworks, there being nothing to indicate that they were excavated. Each ring is about 90 feet in diameter; it is raised 8 inches or so above the surrounding ground surface and has a width of 2 feet or thereabouts. There is a gap in the east side of one, which appears also to have a small pit north of the center and a low mound just outside the gap. The purpose of these circles is obscure; probably they represent roofless ceremonial structures of some kind, perhaps for the Four-pole ceremony.[18a]

Two short parallel sections of wall may also be seen a short distance west of the easternmost of these big rings at Linwood. Each is 15 or 20 feet long, running north to south, and is but a few inches high.

There are no true temple, burial, or other artificial tumuli known in the Pawnee area.

HORSE CORRALS

The Pawnee in late historic times were heavily dependent upon the 172*
horse for transportation, particularly when on a hunt. Just how 231
early they adopted the horse it is difficult to say. In 1682 La Salle 175
wrote that the *Pana* purchased horses from the *Gattacka* and *Manrhoat*, who in turn obtained them from the Spanish settlements in New Mexico.[19] In 1719 La Harpe visited two *Pani* villages west of the Arkansas in the present State of Oklahoma and counted 300

---

[17] Cf. Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 406. This refers merely to a fortified village rather than to a true palisade.

[18] Clayton, 1921, p. 96.

[18a] Murie, 1914, p. 551 and fig. 2.

[19] Margry Papers, vol. II, p. 201.

*172 231 175 horses in them.[20] La Salle possibly, and La Harpe probably, referred to the *Pawnee Picts*, or Wichita, rather than to the Pawnee proper. Bandelier, however, states that the Pawnee were well and unfavorably known to the Spanish through much of the seventeenth century,[21] and in all probability their raiding propensities had made them familiar with the horse quite as early as La Salle's time. At any rate, by 1800 every village on the Platte and Loup Rivers possessed several thousand animals, and their use had become an integral part of Pawnee culture.

*172 231 417 According to early accounts the horses were pastured during the day in great droves on the grassy bottoms and were tended by young boys. At night, as a precautionary measure against predatory Dakota raiders, they were brought into the village and placed in corrals among the lodges. According to Clayton,[22] there was a pen in conjunction with each lodge; they were constructed of small, closely set upright poles, bound together by crosspieces. Most of the enclosures were square, but a few were circular; the gate was merely a few poles laid across a gap on one side. Morse[23] states that there was a circular pen adjacent to each dwelling.

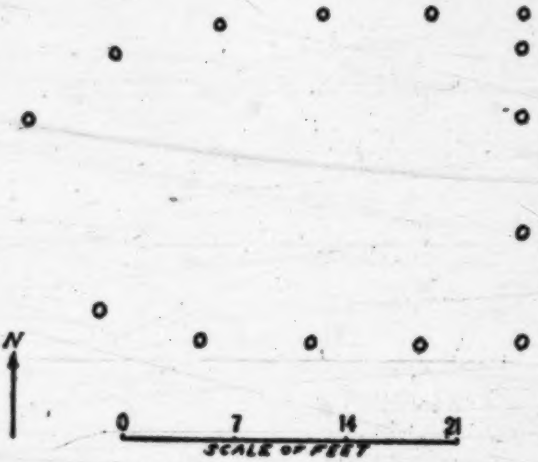


FIGURE 6.—Plan of horse corral (?), Hill site.

*172 417 Several years ago, during the course of excavations at the Hill site, Mr. A. T. Hill uncovered remains of a somewhat unique character (fig. 6). At a depth of 10 inches was encountered a very hard-packed stratum some 4 inches thick which was traced over an oblong area some 33 feet east to west by 21 feet in width. The edge was marked by a row of 15 postholes, normally 10 to 18 inches deep, about 7 feet apart, and each from 4 to 7 inches in diameter; bits of charred wood occurred at each hole and also between them. The east end was square; at the west end was a 12-foot gap where one

---

[20] Margry Papers, vol. II, p. 310.

[21] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 185. Compare Thomas, 1935, pp. 172 and 277 (note 144).

[22] 1921, p. 100.

[23] 1822, p. 240.

000 image of life possessed by another people can be acquired only with patience and understanding, for as we do comprehend a different perspective on human experience, one by one our most cherished beliefs of what is basic to humanity are challenged, and we feel at a loss in the face of a need for new horizons.

What can there be of current interest in the life of an American Indian people who lived their way and were overwhelmed by time and events? Their way of life is very different from our own and bears little resemblance to ours even in its fundamentals, and by that very token it opens up a new world of human possibilities that we need to ponder before we can come back to our own problems with a fresh outlook.

172 During the past twelve years nearly a million and a half dollars has been spent by the United States Government on a special archaeological project whose purpose is to investigate man's life on the Plains. Forty archaeologists are working in the Missouri River Basin trying to uncover the remains of old Indian villages along the river banks. They go about their work with a special urgency, for soon the flood waters of the river, caught up by the new dam, will cover the area altogether, and the ancient history of man's conquest of the Great Plains will be lost.

The archaeological sites are lonely places high along the river banks, but once they were teeming with life. Clusters of circular embankments mark the places where high domed earth lodges formed a Plains Indian village. In the bottoms close to the river were the fields of corn, beans, and squash, each patch carefully tended by the women and their little daughters. Toward evening the men would be coming home with the deer or the elk they had killed, and later their friends would come in to share the feast. The big storage pit outside the house was full of a year's supply of dried vegetables and the dried meat of the buffaloes they had killed during the last summer's hunting expedition. The dried kernels of corn were simmering in the clay pot that hung over the fire, and the family would eat its meal quickly before the guests arrived. When the guests came for the feast of deer meat, they would talk about the three-day tribal harvest ceremony and how much dried buffalo meat would be available for the large banquets they would have. They would talk of the enemies they repulsed, and now in the deserted quiet of the place the archaeologist was gathering up the broken potsherds, the charred kernels of corn, the chipped stone arrowheads, the stone pipe bowl. All these things he carefully catalogued and photographed with a record of just how each thing was found in the ground, and he shipped them back to the museum where they would be kept for further study.

175 From historical records we know that in the 1700's when our record for this area begins, there were Indians living there in earth-lodge villages, some of whose tribal names we can identify. Is it possible that from their modern survivors we can glean some fragments of remem-

bered custom and old ways of life? Today the ethnologist is hard put to 175
get very much that is significant. Even with the opening of the present
century, most of these peoples had so long ago been decimated by disease and war that memory of their past life was extremely fragmentary. Along with whatever fragments of custom were recorded then, the archaeologist must use the written testimony of the chance traveler and trader to give life to his findings.

In the 1700's when the trade and travel records were written, the Missouri River was a main artery of European-Indian trade. Commercial companies centered in St. Louis maintained regular contact with trade centers up the river, and in the 1800's steamboats plied their way upstream with goods and guns to exchange for furs. Trade centers for exchange were an ancient tradition of American Indian life, and now they eagerly made their way to the trade centers of the European where new goods and materials could be gotten. But the price was dear. For besides the new goods, there came new and fatal diseases—measles, smallpox, cholera, and a variety of fevers—wiping out hundreds and even thousands of people at one blow. Whole tribes that had lived in the region for hundreds of years were wiped out or left in such a fragmentary condition that they joined with other tribes and lost the knowledge of their past identity.

The Pawnees who lived outside the mainstream of commercial traffic 131
were less affected than the others by this holocaust. They lived along the 161
outlying tributaries of the Missouri—the Loup, the Platte, and the Re-
publican—that flow eastward across the present State of Nebraska and 175
join the Missouri at their eastern ends. It was only in the 1830's, when
the Pawnees were living in the western part of their territory at what
they refer to as Old Village, that the direct effects of the many historic
pressures of the time began to bear down on them. At that time they [221]
numbered about 12,000 and were living a well-integrated native life of a
sedentary Plains people such as the archaeological remains indicate—
planting crops and hunting buffalo in alternate seasons. Then disease be- [731]
gan to do its terrible work, and the large bands of refugee Siouan peoples [648]
(some 30,000 strong), pushing in from the east, attacked them with in-
creasing furor in order to gain their territory and their hunting grounds.
Finally the Pawnees began to move eastward along the river courses to be 167
nearer the centers of civilization, and by 1859, by agreement with the 175
United States Government, they moved onto a reservation near the pres-
ent town of Genoa, Nebraska. By this time their numbers were reduced 648
to 3,400, but they still retained their old social forms and independent [161]
polity and a traditional rhythm of life throughout the year. Added to
their problems had been the full force of westward migration of the ex-
panding United States—the Oregon Trail, Mormon Trail, and Gold
Rush along the Platte, and, from 1861 on, a crescendo of Sioux attacks

167 unchecked by a United States torn by Civil War. Then, when the war
175 was over, came the white settlement of their territory and still more conflicts
648 for the land, the water, and the timber. Finally they could stay there no longer; they had to leave their homeland, and they moved south.

167 The Pawnees were related by language to a people to the south of
them, the Wichita, and they often went visiting, some of them remaining
197 for several years in order to learn new ceremonials which they brought
648 home with them when they returned north. As far back as the 1770's a
175 contingent of three hundred Pawnees had gone south and settled permanently there. They were very welcome at this time and every inducement was given to make them stay, as the Wichita were already heavily depleted in numbers by disease and enemy attack; the Pawnee group constituted a much-needed reinforcement.

In the summer of 1870, just a hundred years later, a Pawnee chief led a visiting party of three hundred men to the Wichita. After their return, subsequent parties went down in successive years and were made welcome by the Wichitas and other tribes in the area that is now Oklahoma; in 1873, despite many doubts on the part of their chiefs, two-thirds of the Pawnees finally left their Nebraska home and migrated south. By November 1875 the last Pawnee contingent arrived in Oklahoma. Many met their death as a result of the change. Fevers and starvation took such a
[161] heavy toll that by 1879 only 1,440 survived, and, by the U.S. census of 1910, just 633 Pawnees remained alive.

114 The time of my arrival in Oklahoma to do ethnological and linguistic work was 1928, some fifty years after the time the Pawnees had settled there permanently. We did not know then that Pawnee life with its combined settled village life and migratory buffalo hunting was an old way of life on the Plains.

The general opinion among anthropologists was that in the not too distant past earth-lodge peoples such as the Pawnee had formerly lived in the woodland areas east of the Mississippi and, migrating out onto the Plains, had begun to adopt the migratory life of buffalo hunters and were in the process of abandoning their settled ways.

172 Archaeology has since shown us that the combination of migratory and sedentary village life is much older in the Plains than we had thought and that, far from being in transition, the ancestors of the Pawnees had probably followed a similar way of life in Nebraska for nearly seven hundred years. Archaeological remains of earth-lodge villages are found along the Republican, Platte, and Loup rivers, a progressive evolution of the houses from rectangular to round appearing with the passage of time. The houses and the remains of objects and food found in the archaeological settlements show such a clear continuity into historic times that their identification as ancestral Pawnee is well nigh inevitable.

101 In 1867 the four bands into which the Pawnee were politically organ-

221 were ranged along the bank of Beaver Creek. During the summer and again in winter, the whole tribe left their villages behind and set out on a long expedition to the southwestern part of the state where large herds of buffalo followed their accustomed paths of migration. Several thousand men, women, and children with their horses and dogs were lined up for miles as they followed the river courses on their journey south and west, carrying tents, utensils, and other paraphernalia and a quantity of dried vegetables for their food. They killed some thousands of buffalo on each of these expeditions, drying the meat and packaging it to take home to their villages. While they were in the villages, they manufactured everything they needed both for household life and for their life on the march.

796 But the thing that made life most worthwhile to the Pawnees was their elaborate round of ceremonies. This was based on a complex philosophy of the creation of the universe and of man and of their ongoing nature. The ceremonies were considered as the means for keeping the cosmic order in its course and the continuance of the earth and its life processes. 796 No ceremony could be conducted without a feast of boiled buffalo meat, and a large part of the meat that was gotten on the tribal buffalo hunts 262 was used for this purpose. Rehearsals for the ceremonies, the preparation of costumes and ceremonial objects, and the performance of the ceremonies themselves occupied a large part of the time, attention, and skill of the men, and from the household itself the women contributed not only the dried meat that they had prepared, but also boiled corn, corn bread, and other vegetable dishes for entertaining during rehearsals and for the feasts.

796 The ceremonies were more than religious observances. They were the whole focus of Pawnee aesthetic life, particularly in the performing arts. The pageantry and the costuming, the dances and the miming were developed for beauty as well as for religious significance. They were opera and ballet, and the songs were appreciated for their technical and aesthetic value and were sung on many occasions throughout the year just for the pleasure of singing or hearing them. Laughter and enjoyment as well as religious fervor were common experiences of the spectators during the performances, and the performers tried to get a good audience and to please them.

172 The same Plains region that brought terrible hardships to our settlers, provided a rich life for the Pawnees. Their way of life on the Plains goes back to a very old tradition. Archaeologically we have reason to believe 175 they were in the same area from about A.D. 1250. They appear in written history in 1540 when Coronado and his Spaniards were trying to expand their territory northward from the Southwest. Marquette, exploring the Mississippi for the French in 1672, carried the calumet down the river as a pipe of peace, a custom attested by other tribes to have been originated

by the Pawnees. The Pawnee custom of sacrificing a captive maiden to their god of war, the Morning Star, captured the attention of the people of the eastern United States and Washington in 1820 through reports of a young Pawnee hero, Man Chief, who risked his life to rescue a Sioux girl from the sacrificial scaffold in defiance of the Pawnee priesthood and the other participants in the ceremony. Echoes of Aztec customs that appeared in the ceremony and in other phases of their religion made people wonder how the Pawnees had come to make their home in the northern Plains or in what manner they could have received such customs. In the 1840's as main trails going westward cut directly across their territory, the Pawnee name became a feared byword to the settlers going west. 175 [782]

To many people today the word Pawnee suggests Plains Indian life. They were indeed a people of our Plains, but the nature of their life was very different from the common stereotype of a Plains Indian. They were not the horse-riding, settler-hounding people that we think of as the typical Plains Indian. In the following account the Pawnee will appear in very human terms in the context of organized tribal life. We hope this more realistic setting will dispel some of our static preconceptions and open up new possibilities for change in our point of view about these early American settlers. 121

But beyond this primary goal, this study has a more general value for us. The portrayal of Pawnee life through the most ordinary situations has thrown into sharp contrast the major qualitative differences in their lifeways which fit none of our familiar stereotypes. As a human mode, it is a New World life and a new and unfamiliar dimension in the human spectrum. Cultural contact with the European and adoption of some of his ways did not change its essential character as even now American Indian groups persist in being not European. It is this persistent patterning that makes this account of Pawnee life an important resource as a control case in our search for a science of society. If we make an effort to enter it sincerely so that we see it whole, we can look at our own life with new eyes and be better able to perceive new paths to our own tomorrow to become the New World people that we really are.

I shall first introduce a number of Pawnee individuals who lived more than a hundred years ago in a Nebraska Pawnee village and the various life circumstances in which they were involved. Then I will place them within a household in that village and tell in full detail how they worked, played and worshipped together over the course of an entire year. Finally I will relate what became of them at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, after their village life ended. I will finish my account with a possible life pattern for our own future that my Pawnee studies have helped me to develop.

So the ceremony had ended. The Morning Star had received back the 773
first girl to be placed on earth, and he would again look after the people 796
in peace and in war. In the way of the Morning Star, death and life, 782
war and fruitfulness were one process.

When the news of this dramatic rite first reached the eastern seaboard 796
of the United States in 1820–1821, it created something of a sensation, 782
especially in the light of the obvious Mexican analogies. In 1816 an 175
Ietan (Comanche?) girl was captured by a Skidi warrior in preparation 648
for sacrifice to the Morning Star in the spring of 1817. The chief of the Skidi at this time was Knife Chief (*Ritsirisaru*) of Pumpkin-Vine Village. In 1811 he had been on a delegation to see William Clark in St. Louis who was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the region and they had had a long and serious talk in which Clark impressed Knife Chief with the fact that the white people were coming in ever-increasing numbers "like the waves of the ocean—in, in, in. . . . It's coming; every year more people come over here," and that the Pawnees must prepare to adapt themselves. Knife Chief was impressed with the validity of his argument and he realized that their ceremonial practice of human sacrifice was a serious barrier to their relations with the whites. He talked to the people in an effort to get them to abandon the custom, but the warriors of the tribe and the priests, always suspicious of the political motives of the chiefs, were hostile and defiant. The ceremonies were continued and on the appointed day the girl was led out and tied to the scaffold.

On the trip to see Clark in St. Louis, Knife Chief had been accom- 796
panied by his son (or possibly paternal nephew) Man Chief (*Pita-risaru*), 782
and, now in his early twenties, he was an outstanding warrior and uni-
versally respected. With the crowd gathered and the warrior ready to 175
shoot the fatal arrow, Man Chief rode before them and told them that his father disapproved of what they were about to do and he had come to rescue the girl or die right there. By Skidi belief, anyone who touched the consecrated girl during her captivity would soon die, for they would be taken by the Morning Star in her stead. From the point of view of those assembled there, Man Chief was thus offering his life as forfeit for hers. The crowd now held off in awe, and Man Chief was able to cut the girl down from the scaffold and place her on a horse and send her south to rejoin her people, which she succeeded in doing.

The next year, 1818, a Spanish boy of ten was captured in Oklahoma and dedicated to the Morning Star. This time Knife Chief managed to call a chiefs' council and he was able to ransom the boy with his own store of goods to which was added that of the trader and interpreter, Papin, and Manuel Lisa. The boy was returned to Lisa's trading post on the Missouri north of Omaha, Nebraska, by the middle of June 1818. Notice of the escape of the boy, along with an account of an additional sacrifice, appeared in the *Missouri Gazette* of St. Louis.

796
782
•175
648

By 1820–1821 the story of the conduct of Knife Chief and his son Man Chief had come to the attention of Edwin James and Jedidiah Morse, and through them it became known. In the fall of 1821, when Man Chief went east to Washington with a delegation of chiefs, the detailed story of his bold rescue had been published, and the girls at "Miss White's Select Female Seminary" contributed enough money to have a large silver medal made which they presented to the handsome young Pawnee hero at a public ceremony. The medal bore the inscription "To the Bravest of the Brave." The medal was later excavated in an Indian grave near Fullerton, Nebraska, on the Loup River by Alonzo Thompson. It is illustrated in Hyde's book. The portrait of Man Chief was painted in Washington by Dr. King and later included in the McKenney and Hall volumes on Indian tribes. As Man Chief accepted the silver medal, he said that when he had done this thing he had not known it was brave. But now that they had called him brave and given him this medal, he thanked them and would always think of them. After the delegation left Washington, they continued on to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York and wherever they went they were greeted by large crowds and showered with gifts. Originally the delegation had left the Pawnee village in October 1821 under Major O'Fallon and was undertaken with the purpose of impressing the Pawnees with the power of the whites. A chief from each of the four bands had gone.

But despite these efforts, by May 1833 news of a plan to sacrifice a Cheyenne woman reached the Indian agent, John Dougherty at Bellevue, who took five men with him and rode out to the Skidi village. Chief Big Ax received him and promised to try to help him ransom the captive. The Chief called a council of the other chiefs and leading men and exhorted them to abandon their plan. The crowd in the village was hostile, but nevertheless the woman was brought into the chief's lodge. Big Ax was opposed by all the chiefs but one—Black Chief, of rather swarthy complexion. Finally Dougherty, seconded by a few friendly Pawnees, tried to ride through the angry crowd with the captive woman. The people had gathered in the narrow spaces between the earth lodges to try to block him, and, as he passed the lodge of a prominent brave named Soldier Chief, a priest who was standing in the vestibule drew his bow and shot the woman. The warriors took the dying woman out onto the prairie and carried out the sacrifice.

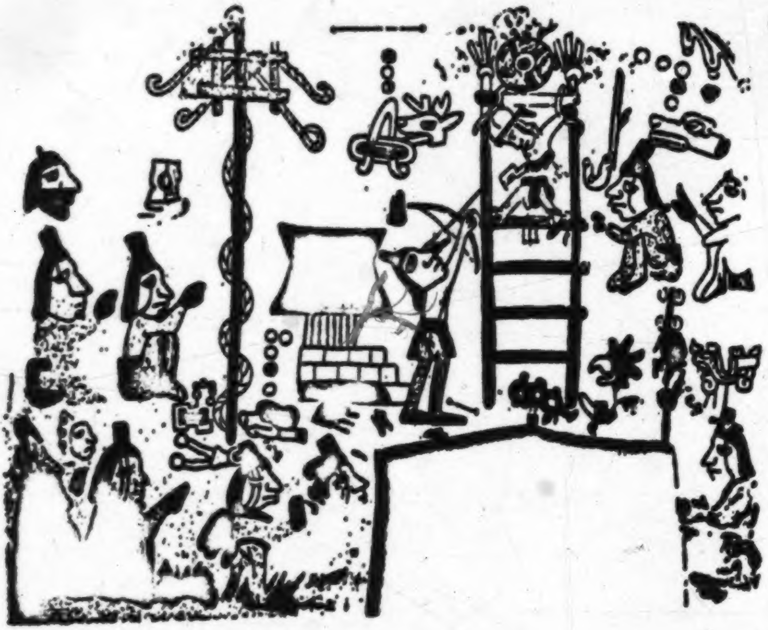
175
731
782
796

In 1837 an American Fur Company boat came up the Missouri. Some of her crew were down with smallpox and, despite the captain's warning, the Mandan insisted on boarding. Of the 1,600 remaining Mandans, only 31 survived the ensuing epidemic. Meanwhile the Arikara who lived in a neighboring village in the same locality returned there from the summer hunt and they lost half of their population of 4,000. The Dakotas also contracted the disease. Now the Skidi priests insisted that the Morning

175

Star must be placated. An Oglala Sioux girl of about fifteen whose name 731
was Haxti was captured, and on April 22, 1838, she was sacrificed to the 796
Morning Star. 782

This is the last reported case of a Pawnee sacrifice to the Morning Star. 175
Grinnell and others feel that there must have been further incidents that 648
did not come to attention. However, when our ethnological narrative
takes place (1867) it seems pretty certain that no further sacrifices were [782]
being carried out. About two hundred Pawnees, many Skidis among them, [796]
were organized into four companies of regularly registered U.S. Cavalry in Major North's Batallion. As part of their activities, they protected the crews working on the Union Pacific Railroad from attack by the nomadic Indians. After an attack on Plum Creek on the Platte, the Pawnees followed the Cheyenne to their camp and there captured fifteen Cheyenne women and children. In the subsequent negotiations, they exchanged these captives for two white women, the Martin sisters, and three small white boys, captives of the Cheyenne camp on the Medicine Creek branch of the



796
782
171

FIGURE 10-2. *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing scaffold sacrifice; in National Museum, Mexico City, accredited to the Cuicatecan tribe of the State of Guerrero. From Clark Wissler and Herbert J. Spinden, "The Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *American Museum Journal*, XVI (1916), No. 1, p. 54. See also illustrations on pages 52, 53, and 49 of the article.

/

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

175
648 Republican River. It seems unlikely that the Pawnees carried on any fur-
[782] ther sacrifices of captives to the Morning Star after that time.
[796] Aside from the obvious resemblances, there is some documentation
of detailed Mexican analogies. Wissler and Spinden would place the time
171 when a direct transfer through the Aztec could have occurred, between
174 1506 and 1519. In an article (1916) on the subject they give clear parallels
782 in illustrations from the codices (see Figure 10-2).
796 Within the Pawnee system of theology, it certainly had an organic place.
[771]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Horses 231 were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact. that horses were introduced to this continent by the Spaniards in the 177 early 1500's, and whatever use was made of them by American Indians had to develop after that time. Even though it was a considerable length of time, the Pawnee practices in connection with the use and care of horses were not as advanced as those of the Spaniards. As regards the *224 buffalo hunt, at the time of our narrative horses were used in the chase 492 when they were attacking the herd in a group and also to carry their food and camping equipment. The strategy of the mass attack upon the herd was to develop a "surround" by the mounted hunters who had been lined up behind a hill out of sight. No doubt they had previously used a similar technique on foot. As to carrying the food and equipment, 492 a good deal of it was packed on the backs of the women and girls. 493 However, the women had dogs who were trained to drag the tent poles 482 behind them, the heavy ends of the poles tied to a harness on the dog's back. The tent poles were grouped into two sets, one on each side of the dog, and connected by two cross sticks toward the lower ends. Upon these a skin cover was wrapped where other luggage was placed. A dog 492 could drag as much as 70 pounds. The custom of dog traction and 482 extensive carrying on the back by the women was in full operation as late as 1837 when a famous painter, Alfred Jacob Miller, portrayed the •175 Pawnees in this manner. After 1850, however, dogs were no longer used 178 for this purpose, and it was mostly the men who kept them around so [782] that the puppies could be sacrificed and eaten at a special ceremonial. Some, of course, were kept by the women as pets. By 1867, the horse had taken over the carrying function almost entirely except for a few poor single or old people who had to do some packing of their dried buffalo meat on the way home. The packing of the horse resembled that [493] formerly used in connection with the dog; the horse travois or carrying frame was also the same as that of the dog. All the leather trappings for keeping the luggage in place had now to be carefully prepared before they left for the hunt.

231 The Pawnees were relatively poor in horses compared with other 422 Plains tribes at this time. This may have been due to constant attacks by the Sioux and the other nomadic tribes, although this is not certain. At 171 any rate while among the Blackfoot or the Kiowa twenty-five horses at least were considered an average number for a family on the move, Eagle Chief, who was head of the Skidi Band, had only ten, and a reasonably comfortable family like that of Victory Call had only four or five. Some families had only one or two horses and it was with great difficulty 726 that they went on the hunt at all. Even in their war practices, the Pawnee retained some of their prehorse habits. It was well known that *484 they set out on their war expeditions on foot and they were known to the 178 Kiowa as "Walkers." The rationale given for this by students of the sub-

ject has often been that they kept themselves free to take the horses of 726
the enemy and ride them home. They did gain in stealth of approach, 484*
but this is no doubt a secondary explanation of what was probably a 178
survival of older custom. The fact that the men looked for booty or 721
various kinds of valuables in the places they attacked and carried them 727
home on their backs is indicated in some of the well-known names that 551
were current, such as He-Comes-Carrying-Sitting-Down-from-Time-to-Time-Coming—implying that the things brought home as war trophies were so heavy that the bearer had to sit down from time to time and rest. Another such name is He-Brings-Many-Trophies-from-Over-the-Wide-World, or again, He-Comes-Bringing-Them-Down-a-Hill, or still another, He-Comes-Carrying-His-Trophies-Today.

It is clear that the actual pattern of cooperation on the migration and 175•
hunt was established long before they had horses and present practices 224*
were adapted but not substantially changed. In 1540 Coronado's expedi- 492
tion met a party of buffalo-hunting Indians on the Plains who were using
the dog travois and carrying dried buffalo meat. Mark Evarts describes 224*
some of the traditions remembered by the Pawnees at the time of our narrative, when they had no horses:

> Near Old Village there was a hill called Calf-Against-Upon-Standing. [103]
> The calf referred to was a certain kind of yellow calf with a long body and the people knew that when they saw him standing on the hill, the herd would be right beyond him. The people would line up on each side and surround the herd and make the buffalo circle about inside. They would kill them and butcher, and carry the meat home on their backs. They had no horses. There was no trade store.
>
> The North Wind was called Lucky Wind because when it blew it [821]
> sent the buffalo. In winter in deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep, and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow, and could readily be killed. This was particularly the case before we hunted with horses.
>
> In summer the buffalo went scattered in small bunches and this was difficult, but in winter they traveled in closer formation when we could also drive them onto the ice.

The Pawnee surround is described by George Bird Grinnell (1925, pp. 249-250):

> Choosing a still day, they would surround a small bunch of buffalo, stretching out in a long line whose extremities would gradually draw together, as the hunters, disguised as wolves, stole from hill to hill around the unconscious prey. When the circle was complete some man would shout and startle the buffalo.

came off easily. They were considerably lighter to carry than the 342
rigid tipi poles. For the summer shelter they also needed two upright posts forked at the top and a cross piece to connect them to form a frame, onto which the saplings would be tied and through which the summer tent was entered. Wooden pegs were needed for both summer and winter tents to hold the skin tight by driving them through the loops at the base of the cover. They were usually gotten at the last minute.

A very necessary implement for these operations was a long 7-foot [412]
stick to be used as a digging iron. It was forked at the top and had a strong fire-hardened point to make holes in the ground for the poles of the frame.

Furniture for the tent included five large mats finely woven of bul- 352
rush to be used as floor covering. These were carried rolled up and tied with a string in the middle that had been provided for the purpose.

A wooden mortar was also needed for making mush and corn flour 412
and for other cookery. It was made of a section of elm log, the bottom 492
whittled into a point so that it could be stuck upright into the ground.
There was a hole drilled through this part of the mortar so that it could 322
be tied onto the horse with the other baggage. The working end at the top was excavated by charring and scraping into a deep bowl shape. With it they had to carry a long pestle made of a small tree trunk with both ends left intact and the middle portion cut down for a handhold. This was carried grouped with the long tent poles and the digging iron; the poles were tied at one end to the horse's back with the other end dragging on the ground.

Other household utensils were six or seven wooden bowls made by the 415
women as were the other wooden objects for the household, a string of [439]
buffalo-horn spoons for tableware and perhaps some small enamel bowls gotten at the trade store for their coffee. Also included was a larger wooden ladle for serving.

All the cooking vessels in Mark Evart's time were of metal replacing 415
the older pottery and they had to be gotten from the trader. As late as 439
1835–1856, a few clay pots were being made, but by 1867 there were 323
none at all. By 1928 almost all memory of how they were made was gone. 175
Metal came into use among the ancestors of the Pawnees by 1650 or be-
fore, when sheet metal was being cut up to make some of their arrow 177
points. In 1833 the Pawnees had an extensive trade with the Kiowas in brass buckets. For the present expedition, they needed a large brass kettle for cooking corn, soup, or mush, two standard metal buckets—one for water and one for coffee—and a metal frying pan to make grease bread.

In order to get these latter items, Victory Call rode up to Bishop and 439
Matlock's trade store on his best-looking horse to establish his credit, saying to Mr. Bishop, "Grandpa, come out and take a look at my horse.

buffalo surround had been made exclusively by the elite, now while they 224*
were en route to Camp 11, every able-bodied hunter in the entire tribe 484*
would make a concerted attack on the herd. To guide the line of march 361
overland from Camp 10 to Camp 11 took considerable skill. They
left the Platte by following southeast and upstream along Plum Creek almost
to its source, and then headed somewhat in the same direction overland
to the head of another small stream, Turkey Creek, that flows due
south into the Republican. They traveled southward along the west bank
of Turkey Creek, and the line of march halted about midway and combined
all the baggage they could so as to free as many horses as possible
for the hunters. The line of march proceeded to the confluence of Turkey
Creek and the Republican, where they set up Camp 11 in preparation
for the arrival of the hunters with the meat and hides. They would remain
there for some days as they would have a great quantity of meat
and hides to process. This was about the end of July. The place is west
of the present town of Naponee, Nebraska. Four mass forays would be
made by all the bands in concert, after which the bands would separate
and follow their own fortunes.

Officially, White Eagle was in charge of all the bands. However, he 224*
chose to make a number of diplomatic gestures in this connection. On 622
two occasions he deferred his leadership of the hunt episode to chiefs of 628
the other bands, with whom the Skidi had a special kind of political relationship. 276
This was a relationship established through the calumet or 574
peace pipe. The calumet was not so much a treaty-making symbol as an
elaborate ceremonial through which interband and intertribal trade was
carried on, the pipe, therefore, being a sign of peaceful intention and
thus a safe-conduct pass through alien territory. In 1672, Marquette [175]
carried one down the Mississippi and was able to establish peaceful relations
with all the tribes along the way. Other tribes agree that the ceremonial 574
originated with the Pawnees. The ceremony was always carried 276
on in terms of a visiting party bringing gifts. The visitors, who were
called "fathers" by their hosts, brought with them dried vegetables, [431]
bowls, and cooking utensils; decorated clothing, and blankets; "jewelry"
and ornamental objects; and—most valued of all—the highly decorated
pipe stems that were symbolic of the male and female eagle. The visiting
party might number a hundred or more. An earth lodge was set
aside by the hosts for the ceremonial and for the leaders of the party.
The rest of the visitors had brought their own tents and camping equipment
as well as all the food supplies and utensils that they would need. It
took almost a year for a man to initiate such an enterprise. In the party
were always included a chief, a priest, and a doctor. The hosts who received
the party were called "Children" by the visitors, who assisted the
hosts with their planting and other work so that they would be free to
attend the ceremonies. When the ceremony was over, the guests, in [431]

574 addition to the gifts, left all their equipment behind, and also the two
276 sacred pipes. The "Children" on their own account gave their parting
431 "Fathers" a large number of horses they had elaborately decorated for
the occasion. In the past they had given quantities of dried buffalo meat.
[554] Only people of some prominence and wealth could participate in these
622 operations. At this time the Skidi Band were the "Children" of the Begging-for-Meat
628 Band, while the Skidi were "Fathers" to the Man-Going-Downstream
574 Band having recently paid them a trading visit. In view of
the mutual courtesies involved, for the Chiefs' Hunt and the first major
276 hunt episode, White Eagle deferred his leadership to his "father," Man
*224 Chief of the Begging-for-Meat Band. The fourth episode he placed in
charge of his "child" Many Trophies, chief of the Man-Going-Downstream
Band.

*224 They stayed north of the Republican River for the first two mass attacks
*484 on the herd. By this time the herd on the north side was pretty well
scattered, and the hunters had to cross over the river for the attack and
bring the meat back over the water into camp. For the fourth mass attack
on the herd, under the leadership of Many Trophies of Man-Going-Downstream
[361] Band, they moved their camping location from Camp 11 to
a place on the Solomon River to the south, a branch of the Kansas. This
was a site preferred by the Man-Going-Downstream Band. It was a difficult
overland journey for which they had to carry water with them.
They would finally locate a small south-flowing stream, the Cedar, which
led them directly to the Solomon. They made their camp in the angle
where the Cedar joined the Solomon, hunting the herd further up the
river. When the bands parted, they mainly went to separate locations
further to the west along the Republican as the herds in the more eastern
648 location would have been scattered. This territory in the west was dangerous
as the nomadic tribes, Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, and others
were constantly poised to attack for what they considered to be an encroachment
•[175] on their hunting grounds. In 1873 the Sioux attacked the
Pawnees while they were on such a venture, butchering their kill in a
[727] canyon near Trenton, Nebraska. The death toll was so severe that this
[167] event tipped the balance in their decision to leave their traditional territory
and migrate to Oklahoma.

On the way out and the way back from the buffalo hunting territory
*224 they moved their camp in fairly regular succession one day after another.
*484 But sometimes it rained and they had to remain where they were
132 for several days, or they might be delayed by the sickness of a prominent
man. Rain, of course, was an inevitable factor. It could delay the camp
for several days. If they were caught in a rain while on the march, everyone
had to spread his things out to dry and this operation might require
the next day or even two before they could resume their journey.
[281] Tanned hide becomes hard and has to be tanned again with grease and

their joints near the back. They turned the carcass over and removed 224*
the ribs from the other side in the same way. Then they removed the
collarbone and first rib.

This whole process was accomplished with a single knife. As far back 175•
as 1540, Casteñeda gives an almost identical description of butchering 224*
with a flint. "They cut the hide open at the back," he writes, "and pull it off at the joints, using a flint as large as a finger, tied in a little stick, with as much ease as if working with a good iron tool. They give it an edge with their own teeth. The quickness with which they do this is something worth seeing and noting."

The butchering completed, there was a pile of meat; it remained to portion it out among them. 224*
The initiative in this distribution belonged entirely
to the man who had actually killed the animal. Legally the animal belonged to him.
However, it was the custom to give half of the meat to any
who had been present at the kill and helped with the butchering. A generous man—in Pawnee terms, "a good man"—would give something to a [577]
person who arrived after the killing but helped with the butchering. Late
arrivals could expect no such courtesy. The rule also held in this case. The
bison was readily divided in two, including the skin, with two doing the
butchering. If three had butchered, "the nonkillers" would have had to
divide the half between them. Such a quarter bison skin could be used [237]
for moccasin soles or a small rawhide envelope-shaped container. Out
of an undivided half skin of the bison, a robe might be made, or a water
package. This was a skin folded like an envelope with sticks fastened underneath to be used to float things across the stream in high water.

After the butchering and distribution, the horses were packed with 224*
the meat so that they could return to camp. In order to load, they saddled 492
the horses and put the meat on top; the skin, which had been too slippery, had been allowed to dry somewhat and was now put across the saddle, hair side down, with the flaps hanging down on both sides of the horse. The long backbone steaks were placed on top of the hide, and upon this the flank meat from over the ribs and forelegs. In order to balance the load on both sides of the horse, the thighs were cut across in two, each threaded with an eyeletted piece of rawhide drawn through a hole in the meat and tied to the back of the horse so that they hung down against the sides. Each rib cage was tied in a similar way with a string through it so that it hung down on each side toward the rear. The sharp edges were up so that they did not cut the sides of the horse. The brains were tied inside the rib cage to protect them. The other entrails were tied together with a rope and placed on top and tied near the back. A person taking a whole buffalo by himself couldn't take the backbone but could take the back of the neck. He had to leave "the hips and backbone" behind. Everything now being in place on the horse, the skin was folded over to make a cover. First the back half was folded forward

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 The creation story that was
773 often reviewed in these ceremonies told them how this had come about.
796 The number four had a sacred significance in connection with the four
801 semicardinal directions, and the combined hunt of all the bands together was conducted in four major episodes.

*224 At the council tent in Camp 10, during their last evening on the Platte, White Eagle and the other Skidi chiefs planned out the strategy of this major phase of the hunt. The chiefs of the other three bands were also meeting in council. White Eagle as the leader of the hunt was to take the initiative. For diplomatic reasons he had decided to give over the management of the first hunt episode to Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band, who were currently "Fathers" to the Skidi in the Peace Pipe trading relationship. Man Chief was formally notified and he appointed the necessary religious and technical personnel, including three scouts who would go out long before dawn to survey the country and locate the herd. Long before the camp broke up that morning they had gone out, and when they found the hill beyond which the herd was located the chief scout crawled up cautiously on his belly, imitating the motions of a wolf so that he would not be detected by the herd. As long ago as
•[175] 1540 the account of Coronado's expedition reported that white wolves
[136] ranged all over the plains, living peaceably in the presence of the buffalo cows, so that the bulls as well as the herd as a whole were obviously well accustomed to having wolves nearby. They would not detect humans unless the scouts stood in the direction of the wind so that they could be scented. After the head scout had surveyed the situation to his satisfaction, he invited his fellow scouts to come up, each in turn crawling up like a wolf and taking a look around. In a war party one wrapped oneself in a whole wolfskin with bow and arrows concealed under the arms and tail, but a blanket was sufficient to fool the buffalo.

*224 Meanwhile the people in camp had awakened, broken up camp, loaded
*484 up and set out across the country for Camp 11. Following along Plum Creek almost to its source, the line of march continued overland in a southeast direction until it reached the head of Turkey Creek, continuing southward along its west bank. When the people were about midway along, one of the scouts came riding up to inform them of conditions in
[202] connection with the herd. As he approached, he signaled with his blanket, throwing it up twice to show that there were many buffalo. When he reached the line he told them that the herd was coming up from the river and wasn't very far, but that nevertheless the line of march should continue slowly along the west bank of Turkey Creek rather than crossing to the east side in an attempt to avoid disturbing the herd, and then crossing back again to make their camp. He told them that Turkey Creek was muddy near its confluence with the Republican, as some of the herd had already crossed over and were moving eastward.

*224 Taking account of these factors, the plan of action was as follows.

for the Deer Dance they said, "They shoot at his *image*," wi-tit-ir-*awi*- 796
tsaku, "now-they at him-*image*-shoot." This distinction is significant 721
as it reflects the difference in emphasis between the two ceremonies.
The emphasis of the Doctor Lodge is on the alliance of man with the
animals so that they give him confidence, enabling him to cure the sick
or carry out whatever his purposes may be including war expeditions.
In the Deer Dance, power over the enemy is a major leitmotif. The use 721
of shamanism as a kind of psychological warfare against the enemy is 723
a known device among other tribes. That the Pawnees were quite [756]
successful in this regard is attested by an account collected by a
French visitor, Tixier, from their enemies, the Osage, in 1839–1840. [175]
He states:

> The Maha (Skidi Pawnee) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so [181]
> great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five and six [648]
> hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe.
>
> Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. . . . One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave, whose horses he steals away afterwards.

When they were living at Pahaku, near Fremont in 1850 and the Ponca 796
attacked and were about to burn up the Pawnees caught inside their 721
earth lodges, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy dressed up like a medicine 756
man, came out and succeeded in thoroughly frightening the enemy
so that they were repulsed; she was also able to kill one of them near
the lodge, armed simply with a stout stick. There seems some likelihood
that there was some actual functional value in the hypnotic powers of
the medicine men, even in war. If this is the case, the preoccupation
with this type of performance in the Deer Dance ceremony can better
be appreciated.

The long series of illusionist feats and hypnotic exercises, however, 796
was carried on within a characteristically complex Pawnee ceremonial 789
structure.

In the first five nights of performance, during each night there was 796
an earlier session of sleight-of-hand performances, followed by a "fight- 789
787

44

SORCERY

000 *The Vision of a Poor Boy, Small—His Fate—Rivalry between Old Bull and Behaille—Male and Female "Witched" Members of the Community—Suspicions of Witchcraft in Sexual Affairs—Connection to "Fighting" in Doctor Performances—Fee-Splitting Ventures—Causes of Disease Regarded as Anxiety and Hostility—Interpersonal Hostility in the Community—Deadly Witch Missiles—the Treatment*

787 773 RIVALRY AND HATRED as well as love and community were as much a part of Pawnee life as of our own, and the animal lore of a doctor could be turned to ill as well as to good. In many cases the original dream vision of the future doctor consisted of being taken to an animal lodge under the water where the animals sat in council and judged the visionary. Others were terrestrial or cosmic, but the lodge under water was a common one. Such a vision came to a poor boy named Small (*Patsaa*) when he was about twelve years old. The Pawnee were [131] living near Fremont, Nebraska, in the village they occupied just before [175] going onto the reservation. It must have been around 1850. The Pawnee name of the animal lodge settlement was Pa-ha-ku, "hill-in water-sitting"; it was located near the edge of a rather sheer bluff on the south side of the Platte River. The animal lodge was thought to be located somewhere under water in the side of the cliff and it was reliably attested that lights were seen and noises heard in this location. It was also said that the wind was sometimes so strong there, that attempts to examine the spot closely were always foiled:

Right on the sheer bluff of the high bank was a cedar tree. This is the doorway to the animal lodge of Pahaku. Sitting on the tree are

824

Next
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two essential 316
materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and 317
stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have 439
been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or
by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their
area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made 175
up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking 439
and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees 415
were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one 177
could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grinnell [323]
got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery
in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it
well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 323

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron."
> This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they [252]
> boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They 172
have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular 415
body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick
"collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad
collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was 415
the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part 252
the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim
and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots
were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must 411
also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was 17
entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the
arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops
roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to
the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

48

THE PROCESS OF MAKING LEATHER AND FURS

Background Information of Indian Trading—the Preparation of Hides—Rawhide and Tanning Processes—Dressing the Deer—Saddle and Bridle Making—Clothing of Women and Men—Moccasin—Special Clothing: Eagle Feathers, Braided Belts 000

THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE from archaeological and early historical evidence that formerly Indian trade involved a variety of regionally limited raw materials and items that were regarded as luxury foods and ornaments. In the archaeological Ohio Hopewell sites of a culture that flourished around the beginning of the Christian era there are raw materials from the Rockies to the Atlantic Coast and from the Gulf of Mexico and possibly even Middle America. 172 439

In 1738 the Mandans to the northeast of Pawnee territory, gave the Assiniboine middlemen painted buffalo robes, clusters of feathers, headdresses, garters, and girdles in exchange for muskets, axes, kettles, powder, bullets, knives, and bodkins which they had gotten from the British at Hudson's Bay. 000

In 1812, the Comanches chewed pieces of checker-plaited dried pumpkin mat as they rode, which they had received from the Pawnees and paid for in buffalo robes and horses. [439] [075]

From the accounts of first European contacts, the dressed buffalo hide was also an important item of native trade. The presumably Caddoan-speaking Tula who in 1541 were defeated by De Soto south of Hot Springs, Arkansas, were sent by their chiefs with tribute of "many cowhides as a gift which were useful because it was a cold land and they were serviceable for coverlets as they were very soft and the wool like that of

000 sheep." It was further reported that to the north there were many "cattle." The reports of Coronado's expedition of about the same period in the Southwest describe the details of buffalo hunting with great accuracy and show that even in the 1860's they had survived substantially as they were then. In 1599, Oñate of New Mexico hoped the Spaniards could also develop a thriving trade in buffalo wool and hides, but the Spanish empire was already too decadent.

175 439 [224] By the 1600's the big business in furs with Europe had been developed by France starting with the fateful beaver trade on the St. Lawrence. As we see from the present account, the Pawnees were still trapping the beaver with metal traps in 1867, in order to trade them for cash. By the end of the 1600's the Indians were no longer merely a source of raw materials for trade to Europe, but also a positive outlet for European manufactured goods. "The Indians were collecting sassafras, tanning buckskins, and building up a steady trade in buffalo wool." In 1702 seventeen Frenchmen left Tamaroa Mission near Cahokia, Illinois, east of St. Louis to ascend the Missouri about two hundred leagues to build a fort between the Pawnee and the Iowa. The French were attempting to control the inter-Indian trade to protect themselves from the encroachment upon the Indian trade by the Spaniards who were moving up from the Southwest. Their fears were not unfounded, for in 1706 the Spaniards were reported to have come to an Indian village to trade for buffalo hides with which to make harness for their mules.

[177] At a somewhat later period, fur traders were sent out from Council Bluffs (Iowa) to live with the Pawnees at their earth lodges and follow them on their hunting expeditions.

281 Before he became mature, every man and woman had learned how to prepare hides. Most of all they needed the buffalo robe. As stated by the informant:

> 291 237 The wind blew through the blankets, the buffalo robe kept you warm. Almost everyone needed a new buffalo robe every winter. Toward the summer, the hair would all wear off and by the late fall, there wouldn't be any wool on to keep a person warm. In Victory Call's family, they needed at least four robes in good condition for the winter—one for Victory Call himself, one for his wife, White Woman, one for Grandma and one for the boy, Otter. For the adults it took the skin of a whole buffalo. For children, the whole skin of a calf was used with the headskin and the two little horns left intact.
>
> 291 During the daytime, the robe was wrapped around the body horizontally with the head part overlapping at the left. At night, the same robe was used as a blanket the long way, with the hair against the body, the head part covering the head and the tail part the feet. One

ples—and the boy Otter. Of the dried and cultivated foods from White Woman's stores they took: 224* 484* 222

Roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*)	2 small sacks (50-lb flour size)
Dried blue flour corn (*uraax-katit*)	1 small sack (50-lb flour size)
Dried spotted corn (*rikis-tipiku*)	1 sack
Beans	1 sack
Pumpkin mats	2 mats
Dried buffalo meat (*takaski*)	½ parfleche
Trade store goods	Flour (50-lb sack); coffee, sugar, baking powder; dried peaches and dried prunes

As on the previous occasion, Grandma contributed her specialty, [252] pounded up sweet corn mixed with sugar, *rikis-karus-tapaxtu*, "corn-sweet-pounded-up," that she had pounded in the mortar before they left. She pounded as much of it as she could so that the family could carry it along. This was a valuable ready-to-eat food and there would be no time to prepare it while they were on the march without her, since she would remain on Grand Island. Particularly in winter, there would be little time to cook.

No Corn, wife of Horse Rider, took a similar array of foods to White Woman, but less in quantity. She took:

Roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*)	1 sack
Dried blue flour corn (*uraax-katit*)	½ sack
Dried spotted corn (*rikis-tipiku*)	1 sack
Beans	1 sack
Pumpkin mats	1 mat
Dried buffalo meat (*takaski*)	½ parfleche
Trade store goods	Flour (50-lb sack); coffee, sugar, dried peaches and dried prunes

The roasted (*rawaritu*) corn was the quickest-cooking, while the dried [252] blue flour corn (*urrax-katit*) had to soak and took much longer to cook. The spotted corn was parched in a pan with coals. For this winter expedition the main difference in the supplies was that they took half or less of the longer-cooking dried blue flour corn. Otherwise the supplies were substantially similar. However, they were out on their winter expedition about 3½ months rather than the summer period of only two.

While there is no way of getting a reliable estimate of how much these [797] supplies amounted to in our terms, Samuel Allis who was missionary to [175] the Skidi and traveled with them on their hunts in 1835–1836, stated that

*224 *484 262 each parfleche that they carried with them contained four bushels of corn or eighty pounds of dried buffalo meat. The proportions of the dry meat he describes as 3 feet long and 2 feet wide per sheet.

[797] •[175] [252] It should be noted that some of the trade store supplies had their analogies in the native foods. Flour was analogous to finely pounded-up corn made into corn bread that was baked in the ashes, and the dried fruits with traditional dried wild plums and sand cherries, while sugar was obtained from the box elder.

*224 *484 492 The cache pit being in order and the provisions packed for travel, the horse gear was all gotten in order, the saddles and straps mended so that the goods could be securely packed on the horse. Finally the long-awaited announcement for leaving would come. The specific directions were from Man Chief of the Tsawi Band who was leading the hunt.

The night before it would be stated that rainy conditions would have to be taken account of. If they had a hard rain early in the morning, then they would have to delay their departure until the next day, but "If it rains only a little in the morning, as soon as the rain stops, we can go on." On the other hand, should it rain during the night, they would certainly go on next morning. If they had already started and it began to rain they would cover up the loaded horses with an old tent skin they carried along for the purpose and say, "It's on the way," and continue, unless it kept on raining hard all through the day, when they would have to unload the horses, cover up the baggage with a tent skin, and all crawl under it until the rain was over. Then they would reload and go on.

[721] Another cause for delay in their departure would be an enemy attack when they could do nothing else but stay and defend themselves. This would delay them for a day or two.

Meanwhile everyone was anxious to be on their way. On the appointed morning or the night before, Horse Rider tethered the horses right outside the door of the lodge. They would be loaded as for the summer hunt, a place being arranged for No Corn to ride because of her arthritis.

59

THE POINTED SKIN TIPI

000

Transporting the Tipi—the Women Set Up the Tipi with Help from the Men—the Arrangements in the Tipi

342 One of the most important technical achievements that made this trip
*[484] possible across the open prairie in the cold of winter was the pointed
skin tipi. With its fire burning in the middle, its skin cover tight and its
poles firmly set on the ground, it was a warm shelter against wind and
weather. It was named for its framework of poles, viz., *kax-ta-pe*, "house-against-leaning,"
or the Against-Leaning House. An alternative name was
kar-rat-sa-pe, the infix *-rat-* referring to the plurality of the poles, viz.,
492 They-against-Leaning House. For transportation, the poles were divided
493 into two equal groups, laced through the thick end with rawhide rope
*484 and placed one on each side of the horse and tied to the saddle horn.
The thinner ends dragged on the ground. The two groups of poles were
fastened together across the lower part with cross sticks and the space
covered over with skin placed underneath with the edges lapped over on
top. This made a convenient carryall where they placed extra packages
and sometimes the baby on top. In former times dogs were similarly
packed and they were still in active use for this purpose in the late 1830's
—a usage reminiscent of a time before they had horses and the women
*[175] and the dogs did most of the packing. This is vividly shown by the
painter Alfred Jacob Miller in 1837 and described by the missionary to
the Skidi, Allis, on the winter hunt of 1835, who claims that the dog carried
[175] seventy to a hundred pounds of meat. For the time before horses, we
have an account of the use of the dog travois in the report of the Coronado
expedition across the Plains in 1541.

*224 When the line of march would set out in the morning after breakfast,
*484 the common routine was for the hunters to leave the line of march and go
on their individual hunts or the mass attack on the buffalo herd and for

White Woman and after pleading his cause with her, Shot Arm came 159
to live with them. The boy was told that "his father" had come. When 587
he demurred and said that he thought Victory Call was his father, he
was quieted. Shot Arm gave him gifts and did his best to father him.
White Woman had had some reservations as Shot Arm already had a wife,
but he convinced her that he was determined to part from the other
woman in any event. Later there were recriminations from this quarter.

Once on the winter hunt, Shot Arm was invited to bring his new 159
family to live in the household of White Eagle. He had been formally 587
invited by "his two old mothers" who were the official owners of the 591
house. In their new home the family occupied a place at the west and had [572]
status and Otter had new friends—David Gillingham, son of White
Eagle, and the two brothers, Luther and Andy Coons.

In the Sioux massacre of 1873 during the summer hunt, when from 60 159
to 120 Pawnees lost their lives while butchering their kill in a canyon 175
near Trenton, Nebraska, Otter and White Woman were guided to safety 721
through the Sioux lines by a young warrior at the request of Mad Bear.

Finally the Pawnees moved to Oklahoma in three contingents. White 167
Eagle went with the first group, while Shot Arm and his family were true 159
to the faction of Lone Chief who wanted to remain on their old land
and stayed to the last. The two old ladies who owned White Eagle's [342]
earth lodge gave over the pillars and materials to Shot Arm who set up
a hexagonal frame of six forked pillars and no outer sod collar or wall, so
that they had a high pointed lodge to live in.

When the last group decided to go, the government assigned them ten 167
wagons for the poor people who had no horses for transport, and some 159 648
beeves to be killed every Saturday for their food. 484

In Oklahoma, the three contingents had set up three earth-lodge vil-
lages in different locations. Lone Chief set up one on the Arkansas River 167
three or four miles this side of Ralston where there was a ferryboat. 159
White Eagle built a log house on top of a hill near the big pond west of the 361
present town of Pawnee, with the earth lodges of his following on the
east side of the hill toward the pond. Half a mile east of the agency,
Misery and his father-in-law Comanche Chief, along with War Cry, were
the leading spirits of another log-house village.

Shot Arm, who had become agency policeman, settled his family in a 159
tent near the school. All winter they lived in the tent. Then in spring, 763
April 1876, without any outward sign of illness, White Woman died. [625]
She asked to have her grandchild brought to her and then spoke to its [342]
mother, telling her that she was bidding them farewell and that she should
take good care of the child. And so she fell asleep and never awakened.

Victory Call's former retainer, Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn, 159
were living in a frame house with No Corn's oldest daughter. The girl 591
had married a man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band known as Abraham

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Wichita NO10

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P
648
167
177
175
439
W
175
439
165
177
648
167
P
648
177
431
574

3 The Pawnees and other Caddoan peoples were an integral part of European trading plans. The Wichita played the part of middlemen in the trade between the Spaniards in the Southwest and the French to the east along the Mississippi. By 1777 the Wichita were so heavily depleted in numbers by disease and war that the Spanish authorities induced a considerable contingent of Skidi Pawnees to come and live permanently in the territory and join the Wichitas so that they could defend themselves against the tribes to the east who were aligned with the British. The fact that they have "kin" among the Wichita is remembered among the Pawnees today, and gift-giving relations are maintained among them along with formal intergroup visiting. See Weltfish, 1959, pp. 332-333; Hodge, 1912, p. 706.

W
P
361

3 Both the Pawnees and the Wichitas changed the locations of their villages at intervals of from twelve to fifteen years; this was considered a necessary sanitary measure. The direction of these movements was determined by a variety of social and political causes, but military and trade reasons were the most common ones. My informants gave me a list of the successive Pawnee villages in recent times and the contemporary locations of the Wichita villages. I have added, in parenthesis, Wichita locations cited in Wedel, 1959, pp. 67-68, for approximately these time periods:

P
W
361
103

Wichita	*Pawnee*
Rio Grande in Texas (Wedel, north fork of Red River, Kiowa County, Oklahoma)	Old Village or Kitkehax-Pakuxtu before 1842
Chickasaw on the Washita River east of Anadarko (Wedel, the Washita drainage, Leeper Creek)	Willows-along-a-Stream or Kitapatuat, near Fullerton, Nebraska 1842–1846
	Hill-in-Water-Sitting or Pahaku, near Fremont, Nebraska 1851
Wichita, Kansas (also Wedel, 1863)	Reservation Village near Genoa, Nebraska October 1859
Anadarko, Oklahoma (also Wedel, 1867)	

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

231
726
177

140 horses over the prairie, "trampling over skins, dried meat and some of the smaller tents." At the same time Murray's host had only five or six horses of the poorest kind for he had been robbed of his many good horses by the Sioux. He reports that another chief had "at least thirty, among which some were wild, some Spanish and three of American breed." Pike found the Pawnee horses far superior to those of the Osages. In 1829 an American

000

141 horseman among the Osages on the Verdigris River in Oklahoma reported a most beautiful iron gray stallion captured from the Pawnees (*American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, Baltimore, 1833, 501-503). In 1778–1779, Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, was avid to acquire Spanish horses from the west. He wrote to Colonel George Rogers Clark, who had been sent by Virginia to the Northwest Territory, that without valuing "the cost of the horses or the expense of sending them in," Patrick Henry wanted "two Horses" and "Eight Mares" of "the true Spanish Blood." He wrote that Clark was not to "lose a moment in agreeing for them, for vast numbers of people are about to go out after them from here and will soon pick them all up and raise the price very high." He asked that he be quick and suggests that the horses might be obtained from either Indian tribes or Spanish settlements. After months Clark replied, "you have conceived a greater opinion of the Horses in this country than I have." True he had an excellent stallion from New Mexico a thousand miles to the west and south, but could not at the time send him across the drowned lands of the Wabash. The Pawnees six hundred miles away had superior horses. Maybe later he could get some of them. Of Illiniois mares he writes that he had seen some good ones, but hard usage from their barbarous horse masters had ruined them (Clark, 1912, pp. 75-78, 88-89, 303-304).

648
231
439
. 175

In 1724, De Bourgmond, an established Illinois trader, was commissioned by the French government to induce the Skidi Pawnees, Otos, and Padoucas (Comanche or Apache?) to set up working relations so that the French could use them as intermediaries for obtaining Spanish horses. He called a meeting at Doniphan Kansas on the Missouri and such a peace was concluded:

> One of the chiefs spoke, stating that the women and little girls of his tribe were broken down from carrying heavy loads on their backs when the tribe went on its semi-annual hunts, and that he was willing to make peace with the Padoucas, solely to obtain horses in trade so that his women would not have to walk and carry heavy burdens. The other chiefs seemed to have approved of this view of the matter; one by one they gave their assent. The peace pipe was filled and passed around the circle and peace with the Padoucas was concluded. (Hyde, 1951, note 35, p. 48, p. 44.)

141 By 1746 the Pawnee had become emissaries for establishing 648
friendly relations of the French with the Comanche: "About 231
1746 friendly relations of the French with the Comanche were 439
greatly facilitated through the peace which the latter tribe made
with the Jumano of the Arkansas country and the Pawnee of 175
the Platte. Now French traders, hunters and deserters, guided
by Jumano and Pawnee, began to make their way to the Comanche
in considerable numbers, some of them even going to
Santa Fe." (Bolton, 1914, Vol. I, p. 58.) And finally, from Murray,
1839, of his visit to the Tsawi in 1834, states that the horse-poor
chief he was with was waiting anxiously for the return of
his son from a trading expedition among the Ute to the west for
horses. "I learned distinctly from the Pawnees that many of
their horses had come from the Haitans (Ute); and as certainly
that a great proportion of the guns and other articles annually
distributed among the Pawnees find their way to this rambling
tribe in payment for their horses." (Murray, 1939, p. 365.)

Many Pawnee horses were also acquired on the warpath. 231
Tixier (McDermott, 1940, p. 225) states that "The Maha (Skidi 721
Pawnees) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great
that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five or
six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life,
for all the nations are at war with this tribe." The name *raripakusu*,
warrior, was sometimes translated for me as explorer.
Tixier contrasts the Osage practice of war raiding with the 721
Pawnees in the following terms: "The Osage do not make war 171
like the Pawnee; their aims are more noble; they want scalps.
Horse stealing is far less important in their eyes. The Osage
sometimes go out on a war expedition on foot; but usually their
troops are on horseback and always rather numerous—seldom
less than twenty-five men strong."

> The Panee-Maha who live on the banks of the Nebraska or 721
> Platte River, are today the greatest enemies of the Osage. 231
> They do esteem the stealing of horses more highly than
> bringing back scalps. The purpose of their expeditions is to
> bring back the horses of the other nations. They risk their
> lives by going through the huge desert which separates them
> from the villages, and hunting where other nations spend
> part of the year. The war parties of the Pawnees are not
> numerous; six, eight, fifteen men at most, armed with knives,
> arrows, axes, seldom with guns, set out without any provision.
> They expect Oua-Kondah to provide them daily with
> a buffalo, and they prepare ambushes for bison and shoot
> them with their bows and arrows. . . . Hardship, hunger,
> heat, do not discourage them. Some young men die without
> seeing the enemy during their first expedition." (Tixier, pp.
> 221-224.)

29:Fenton E-5 (1933-1950) 1953

NM9 Iroquois NM9
Pawnee NQ18

who had the Calumet Dance thus extended over a century and bear importantly on contemporary traditions of early intertribal Eagle Dances. Beyond the first contact of the Iroquois with the ceremony among the Miami, where had it started? Evidently the French wondered, for Nicholas Perrot, in discussing the Ottawa variant, wrote:

I
175
796

"The savages believe the sun gave it to the Panys, and since then it has been communicated from village to village as far as the Ottaouas" (Blair, 1911, vol. 1, p. 186). The Illinois got it from the Panys and the Sioux from the Illinois during their wars (ibid., vol. 1, p. 182). Charlevoix also ascribes its origin to the Pawnee (Charlevoix, 1923, vol. 1, p. 306).

I
175
796

P
175
648

Hopes of finding definite Seneca and Pawnee contacts are admittedly slim. Then, contact does not necessarily mean that the ritual passed to the second tribe. However, we do know that Pawnee captives became widely distributed during the eighteenth century. About 1700 when the Pawnee were settled west of the Missouri in the present State of Nebraska, the Illinois obtained so many captives from them that Indian slaves became generally know as *Panis*. An ordinance on April 13, 1709, recognized their slavery in Canada along with Negroes. During the first quarter of the century, the French likewise encouraged the Fox to make war on distant tribes such as the Pawnee. By 1763, Pawnee slaves, whom the Sauk and Fox had brought as captives for sale to the French settlements, were to be found in the principal families of Detroit and Michilimakinac (Thwaites, 1896–1901, vol. 69, p. 301; Charlevoix, 1866–72, vol. 5, p. 224; Strong, 1935, pp. 12 ff., 16; Wedel, 1936, pp. 3, 99–102). There was a "miserable Panis," apparently living among the Shawnee, in 1749 when there were Delaware-Seneca and Shawnee villages neighboring Logstown and Scioto in the Ohio country. He nearly precipitated the torture of Bonnecamp, De Celeron, and Joncaire, when he cried out during a council at the Shawnee village that the French only came to destroy them, and the Shawnee might have executed his threat had an Iroquois, who happened to be present, not persuaded them that the French had no evil designs (Bonnecamp's Relation, 1749 *in* Thwaites, 1896–1901, vol. 69, p. 179). The sources do not say that this Pawnee introduced a ceremony of the Hako type among the Shawnee and Seneca in the Ohio villages, but if he brought it to the Miami, who had it, it spread from there east to the Seneca towns.

In 1771, Sir William Johnson commented on the possible origin of an alleged Shawnee Indian whom he interviewed at Johnson Hall and who later applied to the Governor for protection from slavery. "It is certainly a common practice amongst the Western nations to sell their

29:Fenton E-5 (1933-1950) 1953

NM9 Iroquois NM9
Pawnee NQ18

I
175 captives of the *Panis* Nation, as well as some others their next neigh-
796 bors under that Denomination, and Canada . . . depends a good deal
? on their labour . . ." (Manuscripts of Sir William Johnson,
175 O'Callaghan, 1849–51, vol. 2, p. 984). Slavery was abolished in
648 Canada in 1793, but the last public sale occurred at Montreal, 1797 (Thwaites, 1896–1901, vol. 69, p. 301). If, in the absence of other data, we resort to the often criticized procedure of arguing cultural diffusion by inferred individuals, we must not overlook the possibility that, through some one of these contacts, the Pawnee Hako ceremony spread to the Seneca. Modern informants and the historical sources agree that the Iroquois raided and controlled the country west nearly to the Mississippi; they knew the Pawnee, but, since we have discovered no definite instances of intertribal meetings at which the Hako was celebrated, it is more likely that the ritual reached the Seneca in an attenuated form after passing through the Illinois and Miami.

DISTRIBUTION AND COMPARISON

I
174 Having surveyed the history of Iroquois contacts with tribes having
796 the Calumet Dance, in which the documents gave the time and places
171 when the Iroquois could have acquired the complex of traits which
it comprises, the task now remains of comparing the Iroquois Eagle Dance with neighboring variants of similar ceremonies to place it in its proper ethnographic perspective. The comparative method, which Boas, Wissler, and Spier have so ably used to infer history in the absence of records, has encountered criticism. The direct historical evidence for the present study is considerable, but to evaluate the historical record properly it is still necessary to engage in the same type of analysis and comparison. Until we know that the Eagle Dance is a variant of the Calumet Dance the historical record is of no use.

If the hypothesis is correct that the Iroquois Eagle Dance derives from a variant of the Calumet Dance, the direct historical evidence indicates how the Iroquois possibly acquired it several times and from several quarters. The Calumet Dance possibly came to the Iroquois from the Miami during a century of intertribal relations in the Ohio country after 1670. Meanwhile, the Seneca and Onondaga were also hosts to the Far Indians—Chippewa, Ottawa, and Huron—who came down the Lakes to Onondaga and Albany, where they brought calumets in the interest of trade. The other main line of diffusion was from the Southeast, also at the midcentury. Since, however, the Calumet Dance spread into that quarter from a mid-Mississippi source among the village tribes of the central prairie around the turn of the eighteenth century, I am inclined to consider the Southeast a secondary source and favor the Ohio Valley route to the Miami, Illinois, Fox, and Pawnee as direct and historically valid.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation

539*
796*

I

289 He-e-e-e! An introductory exclamation.

290 Were ruwawa, were ruwawa.

were, they; a number of persons or animals.

ruwawa, running from, as from the place where one is standing or where one is walking.

291 Sira ritka ruwawa.

sira, their.

ritka, dust; the soil raised by the feet in running.

ruwawa, running away-from.

292 Were ruwawa. See line 290.

293 Sira ritka ruwawa-a ra.

sira ritka ruwawa. See lines 290, 291.

a ra, vocables used to fill out the rhythm of the music.

II

294 He-e-e-e! An introductory exclamation.

295 Wera hara-a, wera hara-a.

wera, one coming; we, one, it, singular number; ra, coming.

hara-a, a composite word made up of the syllable ha, from the word iha're, the young of animals (the word is also used for offspring, children) and ra, coming. The final a is a vowel prolongation to fill the rhythm of the music.

296 Taraha-a rahara.

taraha, the female buffalo.

a, vowel prolongation because of the rhythm of the music.

rahara, a composite word; ra, from wera, one coming; ha, from iha're, young; ra, coming. The line "Taraha-a rahara" means that the female buffalo and her calf are coming.

297 Wera hara-a. See line 295.

298 Taraha-a rahara-a ra. See lines 293, 296.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we were traveling we sometimes saw a great cloud of dust rising in the distance. When we saw this cloud rolling up from the earth we knew it was caused by a herd of buffalo running away from us toward the land of the Children.

Sometimes a cow and her calf would separate from the herd and come nearer us. We were taught to be mindful of all that we saw upon the journey, for these sights meant the promise of plenty of food for the Children. [787]

We do not sing this song any more as we travel, for now there are no buffalo herds to be seen sending the dust up to the sky as they run. We sing the song in the lodge of the Son, that we may remember the buffalo, and that our children may hear of them. [177]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 on them and knows all that they mean. We do not look on them, for they are holy.[a]

*796 The Ku'rahus, handing the bowl of water to the young man who brought it into the lodge, tells him what to do before he throws it away.

The young man with the bowl passes through the circle of warriors and goes by the south to the east, then to the northeast, where he lifts a few drops to that direction and lets them fall on the rim of the fireplace. Then he passes to the northwest and repeats his action. At the west he lifts a few drops to the zenith and lets them fall on the rim of the fireplace. Then he passes on to the southwest, offering the water as before, and then to the southeast, where he repeats his offering. Thence he goes to the inner door of the lodge, where he pauses, then passes through the entrance way, and when he is out under the early morning sky he throws the water toward the east.

[823] This is done because all the rivers flow toward the east.

EIGHTEENTH RITUAL. FULFILMENT PREFIGURED

PART I. MAKING THE NEST

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The old man who has been preparing the child now rises from his position and, stepping to one side, leaves the Ku'rahus and his assistant standing directly in front of the little child.

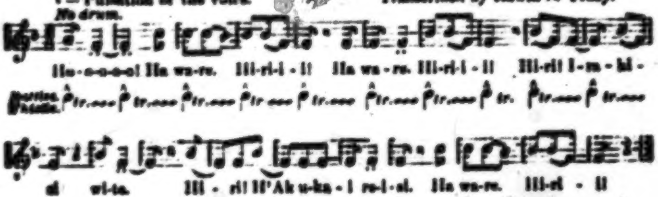
[534] These two lift the feathered stems and the rattles and wave their arms like the wings of a bird as the following song is sung three times. No drum is used, but the rattles and the whistle accompany the song.

H [illegible] *Music*

M. M. ♪ = 192.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*583]


Ho-o-o-o! Ha wa-re. Hi-ri-i - i! Ha wa-re. Hi-ri-i - i! Hi-ri! I-ra - hi -
Rattles. Whistle.
tr.
i wi-te. Hi - ri! H'Ak u-ka - i re-i-si. Ha wa-re. Hi-ri - i!

1258 Ho-o-o-o!
1259 Ha ware. Hiri-i-i!
1260 Ha ware. Hiri-i-i!
1261 Hiri! Irahisi wite.
1262 Hiri! H'Ak ukai reisi.
1263 Ha ware. Hiri-i!

---

[177] [a] The Ku'rahus did not remember what was formerly used as a covering for the head of the child; latterly it has been a black silk handkerchief.

2: Lesser
794
796
668
● 177

Pawnee NQ18

[For information on the origin, development and spread of the Ghost Dance ceremony to the various tribes of Western United States, see category 116, pp. 53-59. --Analyst]

missionaries, Dunbar and Allis, who were first with the tribe from 1835 to 1837, and considered the government estimate too high, offering 10,000 as approximating the true population more closely. The discrepancies between these various figures are not severe. That of Lewis and Clarke, in spite of the decimation of the Pawnee the previous year, is probably too low, and may not have been intended to include all villages of all four bands. The computations of Pike and Long, based upon three of the four bands, indicates a total of close to 9,000 for the whole tribe. This last figure represents the approximate "normal" figure for the Pawnee tribes during the first period of the Nineteenth Century. There were without doubt major fluctuations in the numbers of the Pawnee during this period, and the trend of the tribal population was to diminish rather than increase. One general consideration, however, can hardly be open to question. At the opening of the Nineteenth century, the Pawnee bands together constituted one of the five or six large Indian tribal groups between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. They maintained themselves in spite of the hostility of practically every tribe in the region. In their aboriginal state their trade must have been severely limited by tribal feud. It is unlikely that they had economic dealings of any importance with tribes other than the Arikara, Mandan and Wichita. All the major indigenous peoples around them were continually in a state of conflict with them: the many groups of the Dakota Sioux on the north and northwest, the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho to the southwest, the Osage and Kansa to the south and southeast. Immediately to their east were the Omaha, Ponca and Oto, with whom a state of partial amity prevailed, born of the fear they had inspired in these tribes. Later in the century the Pawnee became close friends of the Omaha and Ponca. The Oto, given opportunity as the Pawnee declined, assaulted small parties of Pawnee on occasion, but later became friends of the Pawnee.

175*
648*
161
114

175*
648*
161
619
101

In the period which closed with the treaty of 1833 changes were taking place in the basic conditions of life of the Pawnee which were only to appear in their fullest effect in later periods. A tide of white emigration and transcontinental travel began to appear, moving westward, and swelling with the years. These emigrants brought white diseases into the midst of the Indian tribes, trampled their fields, hunted the buffalo for sustenance and pleasure, and keeping the herds of the plains in constant fear, limited the natural range and increase of the buffalo.

175*
648*

The diseases which the Pawnee acquired from white contact included, besides infantile diseases, venereal diseases, small-pox and

175*
648*
164
177

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*175 *648 cholera. The small-pox was particularly deadly. It had already 164 afflicted the tribe in 1803, and in 1825 a serious epidemic again ●177 broke out, with great mortality. Small-pox in the years 1829 to 1833 was so serious in the Indian population, that the government spent large sums annually for vaccination among the Indians who were already "wards" of the government. This did not include the Pawnee, as yet only "peaceful friends".

The white emigration was not the only condition which began to *175 effect the gradual extinction of the great buffalo herds of the western *648 plains. Traders came in, ready to barter white goods for hides and 136 skins, and the normal Indian use of the buffalo herds was increased. Finally the Indian population of the plains was suddenly enlarged by the United States policy of removing Indian tribes from east of the Mississippi to the west, and settling them among the indigenous tribes. This policy of removal was designed to eliminate the friction between the tribes in the east and the white settlers of their localities, as well as to avoid abuse of Indian rights by State governments. In addition, of course, their lands were wanted east of the Mississippi by white people. These removals were not an inconsiderable shift of population. By 1836, 51,327 Indians of eastern tribes had already emigrated, and 39,950 were waiting to remove, a total of over 81,000. Government calculations of the same period placed the indigenous population of the region from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains at 231,806, so that the actual increase by removals was an addition of 35 per cent to the population of the plains. The Plains tribes lived primarily by hunting the buffalo, while on the eastern fringe of the Plains the village tribes, of which the Pawnee were one, combined hunting in the summer and winter, with the cultivation of corn, beans and squash. This increase of the Indian population effected the food supply in two ways: greater demands were made upon the animal resources of the region, and the free range of the vast herds of buffalo began to be more and more restricted. This closing in of the populations around the buffalo range, by Indian removals, white settlement and white emigration, prevented the natural maintenance of the herds, and as the herds became increasingly smaller, the pressure of the surrounding populations increased as hunters came further and further into the buffalo range to find herds. All of these factors, the demands of a larger Indian population, the requirements of trade, the use of the buffalo by the emigrants, and the interference with the wide range of the herds, were cumulative, interdependent and interactive, and beginning in this period, continued until in the latter part of the century the buffalo was practically extinct.

*175 epidemic, in view of the census figure reached by Dunbar and Allis
731 in the summer of 1840 of 6,787, exclusive of some detachments of
165 the tribe then absent, who could at most bring the total to 7,500.

With the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs
*175 by act of Congress in 1834, an agency was established for dealings
*648 with the Oto and Missouri, Ponca, Omaha, and Pawnee tribes,
located for many years at Council Bluffs. An agent does not seem
to have taken active charge of the affairs of these tribes until 1836.

*175 Missionaries had worked among the Pawnee for about two years
*648 just prior to the removal of the South Bands. Dunbar was among
the Tcawi. Allis with the Skiri, and Satterlee with the Kitkahaxki^{x}.
797 Satterlee was murdered in 1837 by a white trader, but Dunbar and
Allis helped the bands locate their settlements, and accompanied
them in the removal. At the time of the removal a location was
chosen on Plum Creek for the site of the government establishment
and a mission: but on account of the disturbances caused by
Sioux raids. execution of the plan was delayed until 1844.

With the removal north of the Platte. resident farmers settled
[657] with the Pawnee. and Samuel Allis was appointed government
teacher and opened a school. Nevertheless, the period from 1841
to 1847 was one of breakdown and chaos in Pawnee life. rather
*175 than progress.

Once on the north side of the Platte, the Pawnee were exposed
*648 more than ever before to remorseless attacks of the Dakota who
had been increasing in numbers and boldness for some time. This
constant threat hung over every month of the year.

*175 The intention of the government in sending farmers among the
Pawnee was to teach them plough agriculture. Their old methods
*648 of digging-stick cultivation while they had yielded relatively
● 177 large crops had never been sufficiently productive to permit the
241 Pawnee to rely completely on their fields. In the summer. observers
reported. they succeeded in raising but little more corn. beans and
squash than they consumed by the time the cold weather set in.
Occasionally their crops were more plentiful but any drought
threatened to leave them without a subsistence minimum.

The farmers were indefatigable in breaking up virgin soil for cultivation. The school teacher, finding it impossible to carry out any genuine instruction the first years, joined in, and helped with the agriculture. All reports indicate that the Pawnee themselves showed commendable zeal in their efforts to learn and gave promise of becoming successful farmers more rapidly than other tribes. Nevertheless the farming operations; in the long run, were a failure. The Pawnee did not take to productive farming. The

reason is not far to seek. Successful farming required the working 175* of isolated plots, and meant the scattering of the people over the 648* land. This was to court death at the hands of the Sioux raiding and 177 ● attacking parties. To keep the people together in the village. 241 united against an assault, was their only safety.

"From the exposed position of the Pawnee they are compelled to guard their women while engaged in cultivating their corn. digging roots and collecting wood, yet with all their vigilance there is scarcely a month that passes (unless in the extremity of winter) that some of their people do not fall to the tomahawk of their enemies."[1] On June 27, 1843, the Sioux attacked the South Band village killing sixty-seven Pawnee. wounding twenty-six, many of whom later died. They burned twenty of the forty-one lodges in the village. They captured nearly four hundred horses. From March to August of the same year sixty-nine Pawnee while away from the village met their death at the hands of war parties, making a death total of one hundred thirty-six in one short season. From the standpoint of the government's policy the worst phase of the Sioux attack of June was that it fell primarily upon that part of the Pawnee, who, loyal to the plans and purposes of the United States government, were assembled around the agency location learning to become tillers of the soil.

This disaster stayed the rest of the Pawnee who had held back 175* from farming. but were on the verge of taking it up. The government 648* officials wrote that all hope of civilizing the Pawnee through farming must be given up unless the people received protection from the Sioux. Reports had come that the Sioux vowed a war of extermination against their traditional foe, the Pawnee. The Pawnee asked arms and ammunition to protect themselves, and remuneration for their losses. According to their treaty arrangements, they were to have had twenty-five guns with suitable ammunition in their villages, in the hands of the government farmers, to be used in self-defense, but these had never been turned over to the farmers. By treaty they were not to retaliate upon their enemies. Without suffering through retaliation, the Sioux became bolder with each year. The agent wrote in September of 1843, that the Pawnee had decided to persevere at their new locations in spite of their misfortunes.

In the following year there were further Sioux attacks, and the Superintendent at St. Louis commented that the Pawnee lost a great number, and had at hand but one gun and an old pistol for

---

[1] Supt. Harvey, writing from St. Louis, Sept. 10, 1845. Annual Report of 1844—45.

*175 two year stay in the region on their movement westward. A brick
*648 school building planned in 1860 was finally in service in 1862.
657 By 1867 the agency structures included eight frame houses and
three log houses. But throughout this period and until the removal
342 to Oklahoma practically no Pawnee family lived in a house. All still used the traditional earth lodge and the tipi. The only exceptions seem to have been the children who lived at the school and the Pawnee who were employed at or around the agency and lived in agency buildings.

*175 Considerable blundering handicapped the use of the mills on
177 the reservation. Hardly a year had passed after the installation
of a steam grist and saw mill in 1862 before it was noticed that wood,
*648 the only fuel available, was scarce, and that most of the timber of the region was being eaten up by the mill. Recommendations that it be changed to one run by water power, which was available three-fourths of a mile from the agency, were made over a period of years. Finally in 1869 and 1870 a mill dam and raceway were installed at Pawnee expense, the tribe appropriating $ 7000 of their annuity funds for the purpose and themselves doing the labor. Unfortunately the spring and summer floods of the region had not been considered. The Beaver River overflowed so frequently in the next two years, ruining the dam and raceway, that by 1873 the decision had been reached to abandon the attempt to use water power, and substitute wind power.

*175 Civilization of the tribe by means of education in farm life
177 was accompanied during these years by demonstration in certain
useful manual arts and by an attempt at schooling. Blacksmith
*648 and tinsmith shops were set up on the reservation and equipped by
657 the government. The government furnished the blacksmiths, but in order to teach the Pawnee, the strikers were Pawnee youths, employed at fair pay. From this period on, the interest of government policy became increasingly centered on teaching trades to the Indian, and a constant attempt was made to employ Pawnee apprentices in all the government or agency managed activities. The blacksmith and tinsmith shops were flooded with work by the Pawnee, more than they could handle.

The first school on the Pawnee reservation was established and began functioning July 16, 1862. The teacher with the agent's help succeeded in persuading parents of sixteen children, eight boys and eight girls, to send them to school. They were supplied with suitable clothes. The boys were taught some farming and mechanical pursuits, the girls instructed in varied household duties. Both were instructed in reading. The first reports indicated that the Pawnee

children were quick and eager to learn, and the results promising. 175*
By the next year, the chief handicap to the education of the girls 177
began to come to attention. In the old traditional way of life girls 648*
were married off by their parents when about fourteen or fifteen. 657
Family considerations were usually paramount and neither the [584]
girl nor the boy was officially consulted. Now the teacher found that girls of fourteen were being taken away from the school to be married. The agent was in no position to enforce the compulsory education which was stipulated in the treaty of 1857, since the government had as yet provided meager and inadequate facilities for schooling, with a handful of children at school out of a population including many hundreds of school age.

The boys meanwhile were getting ahead. For the first time, in 1863, the school teacher was able to clip off their scalp locks without their attempting to conceal the change under hats. The boys were learning manual arts, were enjoying the work and activity and were unashamed to be seen at labor by older and conservative tribesmen.

The third year of the school, 1864, was an unfortunate one.
Epidemics of measles and diptheria broke out in the school, and [165]
carried off a number of children. The children seem to have offered little resistance to these diseases and those who recovered were low in vitality for some time, and subject to other ailments. The school teacher found himself handicapped by the fact that parents began taking away from school the children who had been there since its inception. While he was able to secure others to take their places, the impetus of the instruction was lost, and work would have to start over again from the beginning. Health conditions were better in 1865, when new buildings were put to use, and the crowding avoided. The school attendance was only twenty-two, but agent and teacher subscribed to a program of raising it to at least a hundred, a number for which facilities were now adequate. In 1865 the staff consisted of six. The political changes of agency control were however interfering with the work of instruction, and the teacher advised the government to take the school out of politics by having the instruction turned over to a missionary board. Two school buildings were in use after 1867, with attendance increased to sixty-eight and two teachers of the Episcopal denomination in charge. 175*

With these government activities leading the Pawnee away 177
from their old customs, why is it that by 1872 the whole program 648*
had essentially failed? No allotments had been made. The tribe still clung to its village life. The people lived in earth-lodges,

*175 ●177 *648 several families to a lodge. Their basic agriculture was still the native cultivation of corn, beans and squash, though here and there a man could be seen using his own plow. They were still dependent upon the buffalo to a great extent.

It is easy to put this Pawnee conservatism down to "cultural lag", and to speak of the slow transformation that takes place in cultural impact. It is tempting to claim that what we have here is a conflict between two basically divergent systems of economy. But these concepts introduce no intelligible determinants; they merely replace the descriptive facts with verbal phrases. What evidence we have indicates that the Pawnee attitude at this period was favorable to the principal part of the government program. The Pawnee chiefs and leaders are reported eager to have the tribe settle down to a farming life, and many of the chiefs led the way, themselves working lands with the plow. The rank and file were convinced that white methods of cultivation gave a larger yield. All knew that buffalo hunts were more difficult and hazardous each year, and are said to have been aware that the buffalo were rapidly becoming extinct. Adults and children alike are reported alert and intelligent, quick to learn, anxious to master mechanical arts and the agricultural technique. Of a conflict between economic ideologies of individual enterprise and communal effort there is no sign. There is no indication that the government was concerned with how individual Pawnee cooperated with one another in farming or how they distributed the produce. Individual skill and enterprise were not unfamiliar to Pawnee men. Warfare and the hunt emphasized these very traits, and renown in Pawnee life was individual renown.

To understand such problems of cultural assimilation and adjustment as concerns us in this period of Pawnee life we must consider the actual conditions and determinants as we find them. Were the conditions of life on the Pawnee reservation favorable to their transformation into peaceful farmers? The answer to this question is no. Quite apart from any natural disinclination of the people to break up village life, or of the men to take up a kind of activity which in earlier generations was women's work, throughout this period remorseless and continous attacks by Sioux made the defense of their lives the first consideration of the Pawnee.

*175 *648 The Pawnee were hardly established in their new reservation homes before they again felt the Sioux cloud hanging over their lives. In 1860 Dakota war parties, accompanied by Cheyenne and Arapaho, attacked the Pawnee on the Pawnee reservation, on April 10, May 19 and May 21, June 22, July 5 and July 11, Sep-

*175 *648 horses, and killed six Pawnee. An attempt was begun in this year to bring about a treaty of peace between the Pawnee and the Dakota tribes. Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, however, chiefs of bands of Teton Dakota, contended that they could not enforce peace unless all the Dakota bands came to agreement. By the following year it was clear that the overtures made to these chiefs were a failure. There were so many large bands of nomadic Sioux that concerted action was difficult to obtain. Five Pawnee were killed on the Pawnee reservation in 1871 by war parties from Spotted Tail's band.

*175 *648 ●177 By this time the practicability of cultivating individual farms, according to report, had impressed itself upon the leaders of the Pawnee people, but they expressed themselves as unable to consent to disruption of village life while the threat of death at the hands of marauding war parties continued. Agents, superintendents and investigating officials concurred in believing that the Pawnee could readily be transformed into peaceful farmers if security was assured them. In 1872 a new instrument for the defense of the Pawnee was utilized, the telegraph service. The agents of the Dakota bands cooperated with other officials of the government service in sending warnings whenever they had reason to believe that war parties had left to plunder neighboring tribes. As a result no successful raid was made upon the Pawnee reservation in 1872. Two war parties of Dakota started for the reservation; the first found the season too early for pasturing their ponies and gave up the expedition, while the second was overhauled by United States cavalry and turned from its purpose of attacking the Pawnee only to fall upon the Ponca on their reservation, run off stock, and kill a Ponca medicine man. The Pawnee agency had been informed of each of these raids in advance by telegraph and the entire Pawnee tribe had been on guard and in readiness. This was a method useful in saving the Pawnee from sudden and unexpected death while on their reservation, but during the suspense, while they awaited an expected attack, their energies were paralyzed, and they could not make an effort to carry on their labors. And the telegraph service was not available to them when on the hunt, as they were soon to find out.

*175 *648 The success of the various government agencies in preventing Dakota attacks in 1872 was but a lull in the storm. Accompanied by officials on their summer hunt in 1872, the Pawnee were successful. While on the hunt they ranged for weeks with the Brulé Sioux camped often as close as eight or ten miles away, and although each tribe was aware of the other's presence, neither molested the other. By the winter of 1872 it was felt on the Pawnee reservation and in the surrounding country that the worst was over. 175*

"A feeling of perfect security pervades the whole community for many miles around, and the citizens who were clamorous for the removal of the Indians from the State are now satisfied that they shall remain..."[1] 648*

This feeling of security was shaken by a Sioux attack upon the Pawnee winter hunt of 1872—73, in which on January 10, 1873 one Pawnee was killed and 100 horses captured. All thought of security was shattered in the summer of 1873 by what took place in Massacre Canyon, Hitchcock County, Nebraska, which took its name from the event.

A Pawnee hunting party left the reservation on the second of July, 1873, with full permission from government officials for the hunt, and accompanied by a white man. Its numbers have been variously placed at 700 including 350 men; 400, including 250 men; and 300. Significant about these figures is the fact that the "security" of the previous year had so lulled the Pawnee that on this occasion we find only a small part of the tribe organized for the hunt. If danger were expected, it is likely that, as in days past, the whole tribe would have organized, in order to present a united front to their common enemy. Most of the men were armed merely [411 177] with bows and arrows, but here and there warriors carried muzzle-loading rifles or carbines. The intention of the party was to hunt in the valley of the Republican River. They were unusually successful and had found several herds and made killings, when they started back toward the reservation with their hundreds of pack horses loaded with meat. On August 4 rumors reached them through white men that Dakota scouts were spying upon them, and that large war parties were not far off. It is said that the Pawnee chiefs put little credence in these reports, claiming that they were intended only to scare the Pawnee out of the country so that the white man could have the hunting grounds to himself. On the morning of August 5 a buffalo scout sighted a large herd, and the Pawnee hunters rode for the herd, and were scattered out making their kills when word spread that the Sioux were coming. The numbers of the attacking party have been placed at 600 warriors and at 1200 to 1500 warriors, but the latter is undoubtedly too large a figure. They were Oglalla and Brulé Dakotas, said to have been under Chief Snow Flake. The surprise of the Pawnee was so complete that Sky-Chief, in charge of the Pawnee hunting party, could become self-sustaining in Indian Territory. The reports of 175* agents and superintendents during the period of the removal 648* were to the effect that the entire movement had been carried out under the supervision of agency employees on their regular government salaries, and without major expenses of any kind, which makes this handsome provision by Congress seem rather startling.

---

[1] Agent J. M. Troth, from the Pawnee Agency, September, 1872. Annual Report, 1871—72.

The income from the sale of the Nebraska lands was also to be used in part for the purchase of the lands forming the Pawnee Reservation in Indian Territory. The new reservation consisted of 283,020 acres of land, of which about four-fifths was Cherokee land, in accordance with the Cherokee Treaty of 1866, and the other fifth Creek land ceded to the United States by the Creek treaty of June 14, 1866. The Cherokee were to be paid not more than seventy-five cents an acre by the Pawnee; while the United States agreed to accept thirty cents an acre for the land formerly held by the Creek.

The Pawnee lands in Nebraska with improvements thereon were appraised by special government officials in 1877 at $ 761,800.21. Their sale took place in the years following, although some plots for which payment was not made as required had to be resold as late as 1890. The balance in favor of the Pawnee from the sale, after the government had been reimbursed for its advance and the cost of the new reservation had been deducted, was placed to the credit of the Pawnee tribe in the books of the United States Treasury. On this, their first trust fund, the Pawnee were to receive interest at five per cent, payable per capita, semi-annually.

FOURTH PERIOD: 1876 TO 1892

The fourth period of Pawnee history in the Nineteenth Century 175* begins with their settlement on the reservation in Indian Territory, 648* and closes with the break-up of their reservation and allotment of 657 lands in severalty to them in 1892, the year in which the Pawnee 177 took up the Ghost Dance.

The government program during this period of Pawnee life was a continuation and gradual expansion of the plans and policies attempted in Nebraska. To civilize the tribe and adjust them to citizenship they were to be made farmers, cultivating individual tracts of land which they fenced and on which they lived in frame houses. They were to be stimulated to labor in the white man's way, in lumbering, carpentry, freight-hauling, and other pursuits. They were to be made self-sustaining by means of cattle-herding and the cultivation

*175 *648 177 657 of fruit trees, in addition to farming. Education in the rudiments of common schooling, along with training in manual arts, was combined later with an effort to stimulate self government. Finally a persistent campaign was instituted against forms of the old Pawnee life which were considered barbaric and detrimental to their new life as citizens; their unsanitary mode of life, the methods of the medicine men, their polygamous marriage customs, their wasteful mourning customs, their Indian clothing, their religious dances and ceremonies, their indolent social gatherings for dancing and gambling, their intemperate feasting.

The major objective of the government, however, was directed toward the division of the tribal lands into tracts held in severalty, which would introduce individual property ownership and inheritance, and break down the communal forms of life around which centered, from the white man's standpoint, the barbaric tribal customs which barred the Indian from an imperceptible and gradual absorption into the white population of the United States.

*175 *648 177 361 657 The government program could not be initiated upon the arrival of the Pawnee. They came in several contingents during winter months to a territory uninhabited and still virgin to the plow. The first Pawnee to arrive, including by arrangement the strongest men and women, taking new heart with the possibilities of peaceful and secure life in their new home, began at once to build their settlement close to the agency location on Black Bear Creek. Accustomed still to the tipi and the earth-lodge, the former for temporary shelter on the march and the hunt, the latter for more permanent habitations, they built villages in their old way. The first winters were difficult, the Pawnee suffering severely from exposure, after their long migration, and from the changed climatic conditions. The building of frame houses with government aid and direction was contingent on the settling of individual families on individual tracts of land, a condition which could not be met immediately upon arrival.

*175 *648 241 657 It was essential to begin cultivation at once. Large sums had been expended to provision the tribe during the years of removal, and they had to become self-sustaining soon. Government farmers began the agency farm. The bands chose the locations in which they would settle, and as rapidly as possible the government farmers broke land for them to cultivate.

The Pawnee camped around the agency until land was ready for them. Two bands removed to land broken for them in 1877; the other two the following spring. By the summer of 1888 all were cultivating their lands.

[361] As they removed, the bands transferred their village encampments to their separate tracts.

were comfortably settled in homes on individual plots remained 175*
on them and worked them faithfully. Living in houses, they were 648*
soon asking for tables and chairs and bedsteads. Ponies being their 657
chief form of property, the homesteaders would offer ponies for [422]
cooking stoves and culinary implements. Some exchanged ponies
for hogs. A great change was coming into Pawnee life.

The chiefs, priests and medicine men stubbornly opposed the [622
change. Their resistance was strengthened by lax and inefficient 622
methods of government officials. Agents were political appointees, 756]
subject to the changing winds of political control. In the eight-year
period from 1876 to 1884 seven agents were successively in charge
of the Pawnee. The indications are that often they were lax and
indolent, occasionally viciously dishonest. The great suffering for
lack of adequate provisions in the early years was in part a result
of such maladministration. In 1883 supervision became worse,
when the independent Pawnee agency was merged into a combined
agency for the Ponca, Pawnee and Oto (later to include the Tonkawa),
which was located at Ponca City, many miles from the
Pawnee Reservation. Only one or two days of the week could be
spent with the Pawnee. The agency fell into disrepair, and procrastination
ruled in the affairs of the Pawnee.

On the positive side there were the younger progressive spirits
among the Pawnee themselves, who worked untiringly to persuade
the people to adjust themselves to new conditions. They found
opposition not only in their own ranks, but among white people
in the Territory, who, sympathetic to Indian ideas, urged the Pawnee
here and there to resist allotments. 175*

The Skiri were the most progressive of the four bands. By 1887 648*
a great many families were located on farms distributed all over the 177 ●
reservation, and a large proportion of these were Skiri. By 1890 621
most of the Skiri lived on their own farms, furnished their houses
and dressed like white people, and spoke English in ordinary 657
intercourse. The Tcawi ran them a close second. Of the other
bands, while most were on allotted tracts, there were still many
earth-lodges in evidence, and only those who were being educated
in the schools were dressing and acting like white people. The
Pitahawirat[4] proved most conservative and resisted change longest.

By the close of the decade the chiefs had accepted the inevitable. 175*
They blocked the agent in some minor measures, but for the most 648*
part expressed themselves eager to see the people educated and 657
civilized. Officials were able to report that the tribe was anxious to 177
have an allotting officer come to the reservation to register their
individual tracts and issue certificates: the people were puzzled

4

*175
*648 and uneasy about their legal rights as to leasing after allotment, and
667 as to whether they would be subject to taxation, but it was felt
●177 they could easily be reassured.

The greatest discouragement and check upon programs of a
*175 progressive nature, from the years of removal on, was the physical
*648 unsoundness of the Pawnee tribe. In 1876, after the removal, the
164 Pawnee numbered 2,026; in 1892 at the close of this period, the
161 census listed 759. This tremendous decline, amounting to 62 per
cent in a period of sixteen years, was the result of many interacting
causes. Laboring under a blight of diseases and ill health, with the
pride of their stock dying at an inexplicable rate, and all more or
less weakened and ailing, a hopelessness came into Pawnee life
from which there was no escape. This hopelessness and despair
[178] caused a deterioration of their home life, indicated by officials'
reference to "filthy habits" and an "indifference to the condition
of body or clothing." Their ancient medical lore was of no avail:
their ancient gods had apparently deserted them. It is to be marvelled at that something of their old spirit and energy remained,
and that they accomplished what they did in Indian Territory.

The white man's diseases had attacked them in the north.
Pulmonary and venereal diseases in particular had vitiated
their ancient stamina. But in the north the people were in a
climate and a region to which the native constitution was adjusted from centuries of inhabitation. Until the white man came
the people lived a free outdoor life. They were active. Sedentary
[221] as their way of life made them, the tribe roamed abroad on the
hunt five months of the year; at home they were in the field and
the open. The population of the region was not heavy; they had
[166] unpolluted streams and springs. They moved their villages at
intervals of about eight years, avoiding pestilence.

The Nebraska country was relatively high, and the climate dry.
In the removal the people came into a more fertile but humid
country. Malarial fevers began to afflict them. In the winter of
1876, their first in Oklahoma, fevers, combined with other illnesses,
if we are to believe the recorded figures, amounted to a plague.
From 2,026 in 1876 the tribe declined in one year to 1,521![1] The
*175 manner of their removal involved long and continuous exposure,
and the conditions of life upon their arrival were unhealthy and
*648 hazardous. Grinnell reports the condition in which their great
701 friends, Major Frank North and his brother Luther, the organizers
of the Pawnee scouts, found them in 1876 in Indian Territory. The

---

[1] Further and continuous declines the succeeding years indicate that no part of the tribe was accidentally omitted in the 1877 census.

CULTURAL STATUS AT THE DAWN OF THE GHOST DANCE

By 1892 the aboriginal Pawnee culture of a century earlier had 175* been profoundly altered. A tribe of villagers, accustomed to living 648* in earth-lodges and tipis, and to maintaining themselves by digging- 657 stick cultivation of corn, beans and squash, and by hunting the buffalo, had become a loose aggregate of people, living more or 105 less in families on separate farm tracts, dependent for their main- 177 tenance in part on plow cultivation of the land, and in part on the philanthropy of their overlords, the United States government.

From a political and social standpoint the Pawnee had been transformed from an independent self-determining nation into a group of families subject to the will of representatives of an alien race. The Pawnee chiefs were chiefs only in name and ancient lineage; what power they had among the Pawnee flowed from a continuing respect for their origins and their conduct. But no directing leadership in the destiny of the tribe was open to the chiefs; they could decide what they wished in council; it must then be submitted to the approval and sanction of the Agent, a representative of another government which ruled them.

The hunt and the warpath were gone, and with them the activities of youth and early manhood, which, in terms of the tradition and beliefs of their race, gave value to the life of a man. The hazard and danger of life as they had lived it before made them energetic, active and self-reliant. He who did not depend upon himself was lost. Now there was always the annuity, the agent, and rations. For women the life had also been radically altered. Their former routine had been a difficult and laborious one, working in the fields, making tent covers and clothing, cooking, and tending the children. But it had been part of a life which had broad and deep meaning as a way of life, in which their function was basic and valuable.

The family relationships which had brought all the people close together in their villages were broken down with the substitution of frame houses on the farms for the old earth-lodge. In the [596] earth-lodge a large, extended family lived together; the family line cohered around the women. On the farms the frame house was built for a man as head of a family, and was primarily for the small, limited family group as conceived by the white man.

From a material standpoint the arts and techniques which had been practised for centuries by the people, carried to practical perfection as their form of adjustment to the conditions of the world in which they lived, were broken down by the appearance of

*175
*648
● 177
657
105

a new set of conditions in which they were no longer necessary or possible.

The extinction of the buffalo and the complete cessation of hunting meant the elimination of all the arts which had centered around the handling of skins. Tipis were no longer necessary; buffalo robes were not as good as blankets; the preparation of skin clothing was a thankless task when the agent issued the appurtenances of the white man for the asking. The technique of using wood for bowls and utensils, for mortar and pestle, for traps and bows and arrows, was passing into oblivion. The working of horn and bone, of which spoons and ladles had been made, was unnecessary in view of the ease with which the white man's pots and pans and utensils could be had. Pottery of clay had already become extinct for lack of use and function.

The beliefs and philosophies of men to be alive must be inherent in and consonant with the way by which men live. When the men no longer hunted the buffalo, when they no longer needed power and invulnerability on the warpath, when the women no longer had to contribute fertility to the fields they planted, the ancient cosmology of the Pawnee was without a reference. The ritual lore of the great sacred bundles of the tribe was handed on less and less: it died with priests who, increasingly subject to death as the mortality of the tribe increased year by year, had neither time nor inspiration to hand it on. The ceremonies, becoming functionless, became extinct.

Once the young men of the tribe joined in many brotherhoods. These societies of men concerned themselves with the activities of manhood in Pawnee life, hunting and war. Each had special powers and functions for aiding in the successful accomplishment of the ends of war and the hunt, powers derived from the greater bundles which came directly from the ruling forces of the world. These societies too became functionless, and as the membership died off, the brotherhoods no longer met to dance and sing.

The chiefs had constituted a brotherhood of their own. When youths became men, and took upon themselves the serious business of maintaining the welfare of the tribe, they could, by demonstrating in their daily behavior their growing wisdom and capacity for leadership, become eligible to sit in the society of the chiefs. The forms of the chief's society ritual was carried on down into the present: much that was of value in the old ethics of the tribe was still explained to the youths even a year ago by the few who had not forgotten. But here again, the paramount functions of the society were gone.

The medicine men of the tribe carried on. The Doctor Dances 175 *
were given year after year; although after 1878 the great Doctor 648 *
Performances through which the medicine men renewed their 177 ●
powers were no longer demonstrated. The function of the doctors
did not disappear; health became a possession more difficult to 105
secure as the years passed. But against the white man's diseases 657
the folk medicine of the Pawnee doctors proved essentially futile;
as did the white man's medicine itself.

With the passing of the greater part of the old ritualism and ceremony, the arts of ceremonial decoration, of making ritual costumes, bear-claw necklaces, otter-skin collars, of painting the body, went with them. The Doctor Dances kept something of the ritual decorative arts alive.

If we turn from this catalog of the decline of aboriginal Pawnee culture what can we see that had come to take its place? Needing the Indian's land for the expansion of the white man, the government was compelled to give the Indian an economy which would be self-sustaining while it confined the tribe in narrower boundaries. It gave the Indian farming. This being seasonal, and subject to the vicissitudes of the elements, it did not mean independence. For a meat supply the Indian did not use his own resources; the government gave him meat. When his crops failed, the government rationed him.

What occupations took the place of the old? The boys learned some manual arts. They could help to build their own houses, to repair their implements; the girls meanwhile learned some sewing, how to wash clothing, how to keep house. All these were essentially mechanical operations; their aesthetic returns are for the most part small. What creative satisfaction was to be had in manual arts, the boys did achieve in harness-making, carpentering, wagon-making, and the like, where they had opportunity to put into practise what they had learned.

The small measure of self-government which the Indians were offered through the Court of Indian Offenses was subject to the paternal control of the Agent and the government: it was concerned after all with the minor legal problems of their life. It helped to revive something of self-determination.

If we turn finally to the intellectual side of Pawnee life we find that practically nothing came to take the place of the old rituals and ceremonies, the old dances and social gatherings, the old
traditions and songs. Missionaries had been among the Pawnee [797]
from 1835 to 1837, and again there were missionaries after 1883

*175
*648 With what results? In 1891 even the optimistic reports of the
●177 missionaries claimed only thirty-five church members, and twenty
105 or more years later not over a seventh of the tribe even professed
657 Christianity according to official reports.
797 In 1892, after the best efforts of the Pawnee for over three generations to adjust themselves to living alongside the white man, the tribe had come to a cultural impasse, with nothing to look forward to and nothing to live by.

The Wichita and Kitsai first took over the dance from the Caddo. 580 But in February, 1891, Sitting Bull was again in Oklahoma. He came to visit the Wichita and inducted the seven Wichita leaders ceremonially into office.

The same month a Kiowa who had been to visit Wovoka had returned, and as word spread that he had important news for all the tribes, a great council was held February 19, 1891 at Anadarko. Apiatan, the Kiowa, had a discouraging report to communicate. He faced the great multitude and told them that the reports of the great powers of the Messiah were false. The Messiah did not speak all languages, but only Paiute; he was not omniscient, for he had asked Apiatan who he was and why he had come: and he had no scars on his hands and feet, so he was not Christ. Wovoka had refused to call spirits of Apiatan's deceased relatives into their presence, saying he could not do so. By this time the Messiah was astounded at the forces he had set in motion. The Sioux Ghost Dance disasters of 1890 to 1891 were blamed on him. He told Apiatan that the Sioux had twisted everything up; he told him to go home to his people and tell them to stop dancing.

Sitting-Bull was present, and rose to answer. He told the people again what Wovoka had said to him the year before. Apiatan replied that it was not true; that Sitting-Bull was deceiving the people for mercenary gain. Sitting-Bull replied that the many horses he had received had not been asked for; and that those who had lost faith and wished them back could come and receive them.

This adverse report stopped the Kiowa from dancing for a time. They revived the Ghost Dance in 1894. But the other tribes who heard the report, including the Kiowa Apache, refused to believe it. They said Apiatan had been bought by the government to deceive the Indians in this way. They continued dancing. Apiatan received a medal from President Harrison.

In 1891 Frank White, a Pawnee Indian, was among the southern 177 Oklahoma tribes who were Ghost Dancing; he participated in dances 668 among the Comanche and Wichita, learned the doctrine, and observed the early forms in which the dancing was at that time organized according to the instruction of Sitting-Bull, the northern Arapaho. In the late summer of 1891 he returned north to the Pawnee.

The Cheyenne and Arapaho became the most inspired leaders of 000 the movement in the south. They sent several delegations to visit Wovoka. One of these, in the fall of 1891 brought back a message from Wovoka which had been written down by a delegate in broken English. I quote part of Mooney's version[1]:

---

[1] Mooney, p. 781.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

father, had spread with an almost equal rapidity through Californian tribes. The dance of 1890 did not affect those tribes. Conversely the movement of 1870 did not penetrate the Plains. Kroeber has suggested that in 1870 the Plains tribes had not been reduced to such a state of cultural decay as to make them susceptible to revivalistic doctrine, while the Californian tribes had been overrun some years before in the gold rush and by 1870 their old culture had been destroyed. Kroeber also considers that the experiences of the Californian peoples in 1870 to 1874 made them impassive to a second wave of similar doctrine.[1] 800

The doctrines of Wovoka as revealed in what he told Mooney of his vision experiences, and in the message he gave the Cheyenne and Arapaho, are clearly doctrines of peace. In only one region where the Ghost Dance was taken up was this aspect forgotten. The western Dakota, from of old militaristic in their antagonism to the whites and the changes taking place in their lives, accustomed to taking an active and resistant part, transformed the doctrine from one of peaceful faith and hope, into one of war. The rapport with the supernatural achieved in the dance was not only a guarantee of eventual participation in the new resurrected life, but it gave invulnerability in battle. The attitude of the Sioux culminated in blunders on the part of American army men, and brought on the conflicts of 1890 to 1891 and the Massacre at Wounded Knee. The Sioux troubles made government officials suspicious of Ghost Dancing wherever it occurred, and it was put down with all the force agents could muster, in order to prevent anticipated bloody revolt. Elsewhere, however, the doctrine remained one of peace, a simple hope that a change was coming which would give the Indians back their land, their buffalo and their old life. The message and vision of Wovoka emphasized that in the new life disease and death would be no more, an aspiration full of hope to a people like the Pawnee, who for generations had been undergoing the worst ravages of disease with their loved and venerated ones dying all about them.

DOCTRINE AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE PAWNEE GHOST DANCE

177
668

As early as 1890 rumors had reached the Pawnee of a Messiah who had appeared to an Indian somewhere in the mountains. He was supposed to have visited the dead people, and to have

---

[1] Kroeber, A. L. Handbook of the Indians of California. p. 869.

668 seen them dancing in a circle.[1] Nothing authentic and substantiated
177 reached the tribe, however, until the fall of 1891[2] when Frank
White came home to the Pawnee after his stay with the Wichita.

The Pawnee tell of White's learning the Ghost Dance among the southern tribes in the following way:

"One time Frank White went over to the Comanche, who were
669 dancing the Ghost Dance. He went inside and sat down on the
177 north side. He ate peyote, a great deal, until he was nearly over-
796 come. He bent his head and covered his eyes. He was a good-
looking man who used to wear decorative red twine over his brow.
[276 The Comanche did not know him, and the next morning they asked
him who he was, and he said he was a Pawnee. Then he left them
301] and went to the Wichita. He ate peyote there, and watched them
dance the Ghost Dance and learned it. Then he came home and
brought it to the South Bands. He told them what he had learned."

The period during which Frank White studied the Ghost Dance
668 among the Comanche and the Wichita was in the year following
177 the great Ghost Dance of the fall of 1890, led by Sitting-Bull.
The forms of leadership and organization he learned were those
preached by Sitting-Bull, and initiated by him personally among
the Caddo and Wichita.

Muric has spoken of White's experiences in the south. "Frank
White... joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream,
[787] the tree, the Messiah and then the village of people.[3] He also saw
them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in
[533 Pawnee. The first song was as follows[4]:
539]

we	*rịhi*	*irasi·ra*
now	place where	yonder you come

wetịkuwatu	*rụwahe*
now I long for	the {village region

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 630—632 recounts a long narrative of the story which was supposed to have reached the Pawnee in 1890.

[114] [2] Murie, Societies, p. 633, says "in the fall of 1892." This is a misprint or a slip on Murie's part. In the account which follows Murie describes events of a winter and summer which intervene between White's return to the Pawnee and his arrest; White was arrested in 1892. Furthermore, we can date the time White left the Wichita by the fact that he left before the Arapaho delegation arrived in the fall of 1891 with the message from Wovoka, which, in spite of the objections of Sitting-Bull, necessitated a change in the form of the Ghost Dancing.

[3] Murie is doubtless referring here to the narrative of Wovoka's vision as known to the Pawnee which he gives, pp. 630—632.

[4] The form I quote here is a retranscription and retranslation of Murie's printed version, written by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

668

we	*rịhi*	*irasì·ra*		177
a	*tsiksu*	*wèlatù·tu*	*hi i*	[533
and	mind spirit	now I do		539]

The place whence you come.
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come,
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxkiˣ. When he returned home to the Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours." 668 177 792 794

When Frank White instituted regular dances, these were among the South Bands; the Skiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits took possession of them and fell. White had great power over them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change. [152 786]

Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna- 668 177 [792] 796 794 [302]

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

668 177 794 796 ment. When all were dressed and painted for the dance, White and his singers came out onto the open space east of the sacred tipi, and formed the gathering into a circle. All joined hands, and with White and his singers leading in the songs, they danced round and round. Others rushed over to the dance ground to join in. Many shook and fell. White and his leaders put others into trances, and great excitement prevailed.

[787] In the evening they stopped to eat, and then continued dancing until late at night. From time to time those who fell would get up and tell what they had seen. Each had a message from the other world, and had learned songs. These visions became sanctions not only for special developments of the Ghost Dance, and of the hand games, but also for important revivals of old aspects of Pawnee life, which before this had ceased to function.

One evening all the Pawnee were gathered together where the South Band people lived. White was conducting the ceremonies. It was a fine clear evening, near sunset, with clouds across the sky in the west. The clouds in the sky across the west were like people sitting in a row. White told the people, "Now if you all come out here in the open where there is no timber, you can plainly see the people in the west. Those are the dead people. They are all waiting there. Now you see them. Pretty soon now the high wind will come and all the white people on earth will be blown away. Those (here he referred to Behaile, Dorf Carian, Harry Coons, James Murie, Rice, Pepan—all half breeds), such as they are the wind will pick up too, even if they are half breeds, because they don't believe in this dance. These believe in the white man's church. The wind will throw them against the heavy trees and crush them. The people who believe will be saved, because when the wind blows the white people away, they will all be left standing here. Those who believe will be shaken and fall down, and after they arise and open their eyes there will be no white people here. The buffalo will be here; everything will be just as it was before the white people came, and all our deceased folk, our fathers, our mothers, our grandfathers and our grandmothers, will be here with us."

All the people stood and watched these clouds in the west. All the people believed it, except a few. When the clouds were gone they all went home.

[787] One young man lay in a trance all night. White wanted all the people to hear his story, so in the evening of the next day, he ordered all the people onto a hill. There they stood in line facing

668

west,[1] and the young man sat down facing them with the crier 177
by his side. He said,

"When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a 794
spirit. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who 796
wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away 787
from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, 'My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people.' I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me and said, 'My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing.' So we went on and there in the center of the village our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return, and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying on the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw."[2]

---

[1] This is the ceremonial arrangement followed later in smoking and opening the dance; see below.

[2] Murie, p. 634. This is the tradition of the way in which the smoke offering was introduced into Pawnee Ghost Dance arrangements.

In the vision two minor points are worth calling attention to. The dead blessed the young man in the Pawnee way when they blew their breath upon him. The closing statement, "this is the end," etc. follows the Pawnee literary form of myths and stories.

More significant is the suggestion of Christ as "leading the people," 622
an identification of Christ with chieftainship, which concept determined important ritual aspects of the Pawnee Ghost Dance and Ghost Dance hand games.

668 This young man was blessed by the people, and they also took
●177 a blessing from him. But when they touched him many fell or
794 trembled. "After this four men were selected to smoke to the
796 dead people."[1]

Murie also tells the interesting story of an unbeliever.

"A woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, 'That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth.' Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to
[625] act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit.
[783] The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right."[2]

Dancing was sporadic during the Winter of 1891, but gradually the dances followed each other in rapid succession. With few exceptions by 1892 the Pawnee were under White's influence and control. The situation forced itself upon official attention early in that year. "In February 1892 the Pawnee commenced what is known as a 'Ghost Dance', dancing in a circle, falling down in
[786] a trance, and after some hours they awake and profess to have seen their dead friends. About two-thirds of the tribe seemed at this time to be possessed of the idea of the second coming of Christ, to destroy all the whites and to bring back the buffalo and the wild game."[3]

On account of the coming end of the world, and the uselessness of continuing work in the face of the expected changes which would bring back old times and the deceased relatives of the living, all those who became convinced of the Ghost Dance doctrine stopped work. Many left their plows in the field standing just as they had been in the midst of their work cultivating their corn.

648 As soon as the agent in charge of the Pawnee received word at
668 the agency in Ponca City that the Pawnee were Ghost-Dancing,
he wrote to the clerk in charge at the Pawnee agency to put a stop
794 to the dancing immediately. "But the Indians seemed defiant and aggressive and it seemed at this time that trouble might be anticipated. Knowing that all religious fanatics are persistent and determined, I at once went to Pawnee and visited the camp of the so-called prophet Frank White, and after talking with him

---

[1] Murie op. cit.

[2] Murie, p. 635.

[3] Agent Wood in Annual Reports, 1891—92.

648
657
white settlers in among them and on all sides of them. Almost at once a town sprang up near the agency, the present Pawnee.

641
648
The Pawnee soon found that their legal status had changed; the agent no longer had executive power to control their acts and behavior. The people were now free citizens of the United States. The white people who settled among them and were anxious to do business with a tribe whose income, between their down payment, annuity, and interests, was $ 177,000 in 1893, were quick to tell them so. Then came the lease system for the Indian farm lands. But that is another story. What concerns us here is the effect of this change of status upon the Ghost Dance among the Pawnee.

648
668
177
At first, in 1893, the agent believed that by his prompt measures with Frank White the year before, he had stamped out the Ghost Dance. He wrote in his report, July 15, 1893: "This dance has almost disappeared... There is some religious enthusiasm in which they indulge and makes them more tractable and easy to manage, as they say they must do right under all circumstances." The agent felt that the tribe was well satisfied with their allotments, and was prosperous and united.

We, however, can note that this religious enthusiasm was none other than the Ghost Dance, in view of the ethical maxims quoted by the agent, but that from the official standpoint the movement had lost its militancy. By the following year, however, the agent himself was aware that Ghost Dances were being held regularly; that the Indians flouted his loss of authority, which they were now fully cognizant of. From this time forth until the turn of the century, the reports indicate that the agents were doing all in their power by moral suasion to keep the Indians from Ghost Dancing; but the religion continued none the less. At the turn of the century the form in which it flourished was the four-day Ghost Dance hand game ceremony, rather than the Ghost Dance proper.

FORMS OF WHITE'S SOUTH BAND GHOST DANCE

668
796
177
When White first brought the Ghost Dance to the Pawnee he organized the dancing simply. He taught some of the songs to a few singers, gathered the people together in a large conical tipi for face-painting, and led the dancing outside this tipi, aided by his singers.

Soon he had organized the dancing more ritually. He selected seven singers, after the pattern initiated by Sitting-Bull among the Caddo and Wichita, and these became a fixed organization for South Band Ghost Dancing. There is some disagreement among

contemporary Pawnee informants as to who the originals singers 668
were. According to Joseph Carrion, they were, in the order of their 796
selection and importance, Whitehorse (Pitahawirat[a]), Sam Cover 177
(Skiri), Ezra Tilden (Skiri), Tom Yellowhorse (Skiri), Henry
Shooter (Kitkahaxki[x]), Brigham Young (Tcawi), and Jim Keys
(Skiri). In addition, however, Carrion corrects himself by agreeing
with other informants that Joseph Long was the first of these
"crows" selected. Mark Evarts believes that all the original singers
belonged to the South Bands, and claims that the first four, after
White himself, were Joseph Long, Rubin Wilson, Lester Praft and
White Elk, none of whom are Skiri. The presence of Skiri men in
the group of main singers should however be anticipated because all
the bands joined in the Ghost Dance under White's leadership.
Also, when the Skiri later organized and led their own Ghost
Dancing, the singers who were selected by the Skiri to take charge
were men who knew the songs because of their earlier participation
in the South Band Ghost Dancing, hence some Skiris must have
belonged to the original group of singers. The men actually selected
to form the organizations of the Seven Eagles and Seven Crows
(see below) included several who are mentioned in this list of
Carrion's. Those whom Knifechief and Mrs. Washington selected
were chosen because they knew the songs.

In addition to face paintings, the early Ghost Dance forms [302
included the use of feathers as hair ornaments. Two types were 307]
prominent, eagle feathers and crow feathers. These birds were used
because of a definite symbolism which attached to them. Both [825]
birds were conceived to fly high and far, and to see and know many
things. The Pawnee have always thought of the crow as a bird
which finds what it seeks. Hence the crow can help people find
what is lost—lost beliefs, lost ways of life

In trance visions of the Ghost Dance, the visionary usually found 668
himself associated either with the eagle or the crow, and thereafter 787
wore the feather of one or the other. White wore eagle feathers,
and when he constituted the seven men as the official singers, he 796
gave them special crow feathers to wear. White did not himself
lead the singing after this, but acted as general director, dancing in
the center of the circle and putting subjects into trances.

A story is told of how White and Joseph Long were put to a 668
test in early Ghost Dance days. There was a woman who went to
Camp Creek. On the way she lost a strap with which she was going 796
to bind up a load of wood. She wanted to find out if it was true that 825
crows could find things, so she went to the tipi of the leaders and
told them about her lost strap. Frank White said, "All right, sit

his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, 668
therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. 782
An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time, 796
the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins
at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would 276
be adopted. 823

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to
Tirawahat^{a} must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; [775]
that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to
be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on
one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased
relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes
on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance,
and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is
thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The [776]
sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his
marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening
Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every
night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon
earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus,
while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the
position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should
be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering 668
for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" 796
is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived
by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the 177
dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream 182
of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

---

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old [591]
cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and
Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

668 identified with this background. The cross has always been used
796 by the Pawnee as a star symbol. On the ancient star-map of the
Pawnee, which was part of the Black Star bundle,[1] all the stars
● 177 are indicated by small crosses, rather than by dots or five-pointed
182 figures. Hence to a Pawnee it is natural to conceive the cross-scaffold as involving a star-reference. To this scaffold Christ as a holy untainted man who has been honored (the maiden must be virginal and while she lives among the Pawnee is honored) is nailed, with his arms outstretched, as a sacrifice (from the Pawnee viewpoint). With both Christ's crucifixion and the Morning Star Sacrifice Ceremony oriented from the west, there comes about a broadening of the western orientation to include not only the Evening Star ideas of earlier times, but as well the conception of Christ as the Father and Shepherd of the people in the other world, the Chief in the beyond.

The meaning of the final self-blessing is simple and direct. One had offered tobacco and smoke to specific powers, and one concludes by reaffirming one's desire and hope of continued and long contact with the earth, Mother Earth. Thus one presses the body to the ground firmly as a request for long life.

Murie has pointed out that the Pawnee Ghost Dance ceremony as first organized by White, "seems to have been largely original with White and far from identical with the Ghost Dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true Ghost Dance."[2] This reference is to the fact that in the vision pattern suggested by White there were seen by the visionary in order a stream, a tree (usually cedar), the Messiah or Christ himself, then a village of people, and upon approaching the village the people were seen to be dancing, playing games, etc. In addition White brought the undeveloped forms of the Wichita Ghost Dance; there were one day dances, or dances from early afternoon through to the next dawn. White had borrowed the concept of seven leaders for the dance from the Wichita organization as instituted by Sitting-Bull. Murie remarks further, "Some years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct."[2]

The information I have is that Wichita were in part responsible for the changed conception of the dance, inasmuch as visitors from that tribe were present among the Pawnee when the Skiri Brotherhoods were conceived; 668 the Wichita seem to have brought to the 796 Pawnee the change to a Ghost Dance every six weeks for four nights, continuing the last night until the dawn of the fifth day. 177 This they had adopted in accordance with the change among the 182 Cheyenne, Arapaho, Caddo and Wichita, after the message from the Messiah was received. At the same time, a conflict of doctrine over the teachings of White, which culminated in a new conception of the significance of the Ghost Dance brought directly from the major Arapaho prophets by Pawnee delegations, seems to have contributed to the release of the Pawnee Ghost Dance from White's exclusive control. This doctrinal change occurred before Frank White's death in 1893.

---

[1] See Buckstaff, R. N., 279ff., which includes a reproduction of the map. The original is in the Field Museum of Natural History.

[2] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

In the early days after the dancing for the day was over, the people as a whole broke apart and went home, or went to their own tipis. But White, his seven co-leaders, and some of the chiefs would reenter the leading tipi. There they were served food. Before eating, a simple corn offering was made; corn was offered to Tirawahat^a and placed on the ground; then motions of blessing were made with the horn spoon over the altar objects.

After this feast, someone would begin to talk about his trance experiences. He would tell what he saw, and then sing songs which he had learned in his trance. In this way songs were added to the [533] repertoire, and gradually the Wichita and Arapaho songs became only a minor phase (save for the closing song) of the Pawnee Ghost Dance songs.

CONFLICT OF DOCTRINE; REORGANIZATION OF CEREMONY

According to the conception of the Ghost Dance which Frank 668 White brought among the Pawnee, Frank White himself was the 796 sole authentic prophet of the dance and doctrine, and it was 792 necessary for all sanctions to come through Frank White as intermediary. Those who had visions in trances reported the content and character to White, and in terms of his interpretation and permission made use of the vision. Feathers to wear in the hair, paints for the face, special symbolisms of dress, and the like, were possible only with White's approval. If a dancer wished to use a face painting, in accordance with his trance experiences, he had [431] first to go to White and pay him for the privilege, or in any case, to offer him gifts. Individuals who had learned about the Ghost Dance in visions, and felt authorized to put on a dance, could do so only after conferring with White. He would teach the visionary

668 what to do, and received compensation for his instruction. Ordi-
796 narily his instruction seems to have amounted to interpretation, to
a suggestion that the visionary do as all had seen White himself do,
792 with some explanation of the details. White would also counsel the visionary to tell the people in general what he had seen and learned. But even in such a case, according to reports, when a dance was put on by another, White's seven crow singers had to be invited to lead the singing and dancing, whether it was held among the Skiri or South Bands.

Gifts and money were lavished upon White: a small face painting often earned him five dollars; feathers and sanctions of various kinds brought him other money. Many people were jealous, or resented White's attitude, called him a liar and began to disbelieve him and say he was deceiving the people.

At the same time, White's conduct was not exemplary. It must be remembered that priests, chiefs, medicine men, and in fact all individuals who had claims to sacred office or inspiration in connection with old Pawnee ways of life, lived up to accepted Pawnee ethical standards of conduct.

As one informant describes White's behavior: "All this time
[276] White drank peyote, which made him wise. At the same time he used to drink whiskey. Whiskey and peyote do not mix, they cannot go together. That's what killed him.

"One time they were going to have a doctor dance north of town and when they were ready to begin, someone said, 'we can't start until the Messiah comes'—they considered White a great prophet, and called him Father and Messiah. Finally they saw him coming, hardly able to walk, supported on each side by a man holding his arm. Someone said, 'why, he's drunk,' but they whispered around, 'we can't say anything about it anyhow, because he's the Messiah.' They used to lavish gifts upon him, and finally they gave him the prettiest girl in the tribe to marry."

It was not long before revolt against White and his tactics took definite form. This reaction is in part to be explained by White's misbehavior, in part by jealousy of the way in which he was getting rich, and in part also by a sincere desire on the part of some to get more out of the dancing in a religious sense.

According to Joseph Carrion, White and he had been friends for
668 a long time; in fact Frank White at one time married Joe's sister-
●177 in-law, which in terms of Pawnee kinship put them on strong
[607] grounds of familiarity. Joe Carrion danced along with Frank White for almost a year. In Joe's own words, "Frank White told me that I was going where I could find out something for myself

about the dance." Carrion, along with John Moses, Jim Keys, 668
Brigham Young and Henry Minthorn went to see Sitting Bull the 177
Arapaho. This was late in 1892, and they stayed there two months.

Carrion told Sitting Bull his story. Sitting Bull got a permit
from his agent to Ghost Dance for two days. The Arapaho painted
the Pawnee visitors with a rainbow around the forehead, a crow
on the right cheek (because, says Carrion, "a crow finds everything [302
he looks for, and when one is under the crow influence one can 825]
almost read minds"), and an eagle on the left cheek (which also
represents a bird that flies high above everything, sees all and
finds things).

That night in the Ghost Dancing among the Arapaho Joe Carrion was overcome and fell unconscious on his back. "I saw a big circle of people above." He awoke about two o'clock at night after lying there for five hours. When he woke up, he found there was a drum beside his head; an old man came over and asked him what he had seen. "Nothing," he said; he didn't want to tell. The old man told him, "you must tell." "I got up and said, 'I don't believe it.' Then he hit a gourd against the ground, and I fell over again. I got up and still said, 'I don't believe it,' so he hit the gourd on the ground and again I fell over. The way he could do this to me convinced me, and when I got up I believed it all. Then I told him what I had seen. He said it was true. The next day
the Arapaho were told they would have to stop the Ghost Dancing. 796

"Two days afterward a boy came with hand game sticks, bringing 668
one round to each tent. He told everybody that there was to be 177
a big hand game at a certain place. It was to last four days, with [785]
a Squaw dance afterwards." 524

The man in charge of the hand game told Carrion to get certain [302]
things for himself. He told him that he must fast four days and
nights. Carrion wore only a g-string, and painted his body yellow.
He neither ate nor drank.

During the playing of the game, he often got thirsty and would be about to take a drink, when someone would remind him that he must not. He was chosen to serve the food, but he was not supposed to partake of it. He also would pass the bucket of water around. The smell of the food helped him, seemed to satisfy his hunger a little. The first night he felt weak and wanted to cry. "They told me to go ahead and cry, that this was the same as going to church."

At sunrise he stood outside the tent and prayed. 796

"The fourth day I went onto a hill. Behind me there was 668
someone sitting in the grass. I looked at the sun and saw things 787
177

796 in it. I saw the sun whirling round, and I saw crows flying around
668 the sun, and flying over me. I saw an eagle feather in the whirling
787 sun. Then I saw a black sun streaked with white inside coming
177 towards me, and as it came I fell over. I stood up and saw a
buffalo bull stick his head out of the sun. Just before sundown
I saw Jesus standing in the west in the sun with one hand extended
toward me.

"Someone came and told me I was wanted in the tent. There
Sitting-Bull's nephew[1] spoke to me and told me I had made good.
[788] He dropped water into my mouth four times with an eagle feather
to cool my thick, dry tongue. Then he told me to take three
swallows of water. He gave me sweet corn gruel to eat, and told
me not to eat any more that night, but to eat a hearty breakfast
in the morning."

At this time the old man questioned Carrion in detail about what he had seen, and Carrion told him about the circle of people, the birds and the man standing with his hand extended as if he were handing Carrion something. This, according to Carrion, the Arapaho interpreted as a gift of the hand game. The circle of people were the players, the man held in his hand the hand game sticks. The crow and eagle feathers belonged to the players, the clusters of feathers to the guessers.

Shortly after this the Pawnee came home. None of the others had visions among the Arapaho, says Carrion, because none of the others went through a four-day fast.

When Joe got home, crowds gathered around and wanted to know what he had found out, and if the Ghost Dance was true. Joe told the Pawnee that Frank White had taken something which did not belong to him and brought it over, and that White couldn't give them blessings and things to use, but that they had to get everything for themselves.

According to Carrion, this message which he brought home from the Arapaho introduced a different perspective into Pawnee Ghost Dancing. Before this people danced, but their experiences in the dancing did not give them sanction to carry out the dancing as leaders on their own account. White taught that only he could sanction them to do anything, and that they must pay him for the right. Now the people tried to find out things for themselves in trance-visions, and they did. It was after this that an extreme

---

[1] Sitting-Bull's nephew was the leader of this four day hand game among the Arapaho. Apparently he had derived it in trance visions experienced in the Arapaho Ghost-Dancing under the leadership of Sitting-Bull, and his visions had been sanctioned by the interpretations of Sitting-Bull.

development of visions in which hand games and many similar 796
sanctions were bestowed took place among the Pawnee. Carrion 668
claims to have brought the inspiration for the hand game ceremonies 787
from the Arapaho. With the liberation of the Pawnee Ghost Dance 177
hand games began a rapid development (see part II).

While Carrion and others contend, as is usual in such cases among American Indian groups, that this difference of doctrine between White and the Arapaho indicated a conscious deception on the part of White, it is clear that no explanation of this kind need be invoked. Actually White's doctrine is much closer to generic Pawnee ideology, according to which the independent free vision of the individual is subordinated to a process of learning from one who knows a ritual, ceremony or performance. That is to say, in the older ancient Pawnee activities, the accepted method of obtaining participation was to receive the right or sanction to do so from those who were in charge of that activity, rather than directly from supernatural powers. In contrast to this, Carrion's doctrine looks a great deal like Plains patterns in general, which would be correct for Arapaho Ghost Dancing. It should be remembered in this connection, first, that White did not learn from Arapaho or other Plains tribes directly, but indirectly through the Wichita, whose ideas on these fundamental points are very close to Pawnee ideas, and second, that Carrion was not a Pawnee, although he lived most of his life among them and spoke a fluent Pawnee.

In a general way, also, the pattern of immediately telling the 668
vision to the leaders and securing their interpretation is a non-
Pawnee pattern. In older forms, among both Wichita and Pawnee, 177
visions were kept a secret for long, and only in the course of one's 114
life because of one's behavior did the general public of the tribe become aware that one had supernatural experience. In the Ghost Dance doctrine, the visions had to be told at once to show appreciation for receiving them, and one who didn't tell was not supposed to live long thereafter.

It is not possible to date accurately the time of the reorganization of the Pawnee Ghost Dance to accord with the regular four-day dance forms of the southern tribes. I believe Murie has dated it far too late. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri, which initiated the freeing of the Skiri Ghost Dancing from White's control, took place before White's death in 1893. The first forms of Skiri dancing followed White's forms. On his visit to the Arapaho Carrion had observed both Ghost Dances and hand games as four-day ceremonies. Whether this was responsible for a correction

668 of Pawnee forms, or whether the Wichita taught the Pawnee
● 177 directly, the four-day ceremony was the formal Ghost Dance
114 among the Pawnee by 1895.

This regular Ghost Dance of the Pawnee was arranged to last
668 four days. It began the evening of one day, or the late afternoon.
Among the South Bands, all arose early in the morning, and faced
184 the sun for a brief period, (during which the smoke offering would
796 be made if the dance was to begin that day); but they did not dance.
Then in the afternoon the people danced from three to midnight.
786 The Skiri say that in their band there was a brief period of dancing
each morning, as well as a longer period of dancing through the
afternoon and evening. Both bands continued the fourth night until
the dawn of the fifth day, bathed and dispersed.

As each song was sung, the circle of dancers, holding hands, moved clockwise through one complete circuit, returning to the original starting point. This is determined by the main singer's position: he begins at the west and finishes at the west (except for the first afternoon song, as above). During the dancing period of the day, the dancers could carry out as many songs as they wished; there was no special number. The singing was initiated and led by the seven crow-feathered singers, and the others joined in. While the dancing went on, some "hypnotizers" would dance inside the circle directly in front of individuals they wished to throw into a trance, using feathers or other objects to focus and fix the eyesight of the subject, thus transfixing them. Usually the subject fell when he or she was touched with the object used. When individuals fell into a trance, they were laid down and the others continued to dance.

668 In these trances, the visionaries followed a general pattern. In
787 one way or another the subject was guided to the other world,
where all the deceased Pawnee were living together in the old way.
796 There some special phase of the life would imprint itself upon the
subject's mind, the playing of games, the hunting of buffalo, war
societies and dances, and the like. When the subject awoke, such
aspects of the trance vision, along with the bird or messenger who
had guided the individual to the beyond, would become the subjects of songs, costuming, and paraphernalia.

The closing song was carried out in a special way. It is the
668 special closing song of all Ghost Dances. As sung to conclude the
796 occasion, it is repeated six times as follows:

533 1. The leader remains stationary at the west facing east, and leads the singing of the song once; all the dancers keep their places.

2. The leader dances from west to north, singing the song, and

stops at the north facing south; the rest of the circle dance through an equivalent part of the circuit. 668 796

3. The leader repeats the song, while the whole circle of dancers moves through another quadrant, the leader finishing at the east. facing west. 533

4. A third quadrant is similarly completed with the leader at the south facing north.

5. The fourth quadrant is completed when the leader is once more in his original position at the west facing east.

6. All now step back a few paces, widening the circle, and as they sing the circle closes in again. Throughout this singing the leader maintains his orientation at the west, and each dancer his or her relative position in the circle. Now, as the song finishes with the circle narrowed to its original dimensions, all break their handclasps. and shake off the blankets they wear, and the dance is over. The closing in of the circle during this last song signifies the coming together of the people, and the shaking out of the blankets expresses their desire to shake off them the bad ways, the new ways, the white man's ways.

The closing song is the Arapaho song as given by Mooney[1]. [177]

FIRST FORMS OF THE SKIRI GHOST DANCE

792 668 177 [424]

As we have seen, Frank White brought the Ghost Dance to the South Bands primarily, being himself a Kitkahaxki˟. When a Skiri wished to hold a dance among the Skiri proper, he was in the same position as any individual among the South Bands who felt he had the right to do so. The Skiri had to get sanction from White, and to invite White and his leaders to come over to initiate and lead the dancing.

After the visit of the five Pawnee to Sitting-Bull, the Arapaho, a change came over the Pawnee attitude toward the general Ghost Dance doctrine. The whole religious movement was liberated from the domination of White. An individual's own conscience and experience was the individual's guide to what he could and could not do, to what sanctions he had obtained supernaturally. It became unnecessary to pay White for rights, and the only checks upon the number of prophets who began to appear among the Pawnee with messages from the deceased were the natural ones: the force of character and the temperament of the claimant: the

---

[1] Mooney, pp. 1011—1012, no. 73. Note that this song was used as the closing song after the return of the delegation of Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne in the fall of 1891.

792
668
177

reputation and esteem in which he or she was held by the tribespeople, the abilities of the prophet as a leader, hypnotizer, organizer; and the experiences which were undergone by the layman under the leadership and influence of the prophet.

[787]

Those who are remembered as the chief visionaries of the period in which the Ghost-Dance was taken up by the Skiri are Mrs. Washington, Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle, and Mrs. Cover. There were others, of course. Chiefly, Mrs. Washington was responsible for the inauguration of independent Skiri Ghost-Dances. She had many trance-visions, and often told very complex stories of the images and events which took place in them, so complex in fact that there were Pawnee who doubted her, partly because of their own vision experiences, which seemed to them different in kind (psychologically); partly because of jealousy of the constantly increasing part she was playing in the tribal developments.

668
792
787

Carrion speaks of Mrs. Washington as a fraud. He says that she made up a lot of stuff, and was a false prophet trying to win the people's worship. His reasons for the attitude are interesting. He claims that in a vision (as he has experienced such) you see merely one simple image or thing, not a complex array; and that if you add to what you see, that is wrong. He contends that Mrs. Washington had trance-vision after trance-vision, and kept on learning details of performances in her visions, like a serial story. This is impossible, he says, because going back to those who give you things in visions and asking for more, is imposing on them; and it is for such conduct that people lose their lives.

In truth, Carrion's attitude indicates a temperamental difference between him and Mrs. Washington, as well as difference in the quality of his imagination. Carrion was not subject to trances often, Mrs. Washington was; his mind did not experience much detail in the few cases in which he had visions, while Mrs. Washington did. Obviously, the quality of the individual's mind will appear in the content and character of his visions as well as in his waking life, which is well illustrated by the vision experience of Mark Evarts in relation to the Ghost Dance, given below; Mark Evarts is a man whose mind is rich in content. But the native concept of the vision is more or less fixed and absolute, not one which accepts the relativity of the vision to the subject; hence, in terms of one visionary's experiences, those of another may often seem fraudulent.

184
668
716

The early independent Ghost Dances of the Skiri were carried out in terms of the usual forms and patterns of White's South Band Ghost Dancing. There was the same form of the circle, the same orientation of the official or sacred tent, and the same pattern of

spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes 796
were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the
altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the 668
altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at 782
the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while 823
the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not 276
participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that 184
described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity. 276
These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke- 782
offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: 823
upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly 184
interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion 771
in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of 778
Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

---

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven 177
and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette 988
by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

668 796 787 stopped. He stood right there in the road. He said, 'Now my girl, I came to meet you here. I'm the one who told you to come. We are dancing over here. We know you folks are dancing over there and I want you to tell them to have Seven Brothers of the Crows just as well as the Eagles. Now when you go back you can tell them. Sometimes when the Seven Eagles are tired singing, you have to turn over the singing to the Crows to help out. That's why I say you should have Seven Crows. One more thing: When you have the Seven Eagles sing, you must put one woman between each two Eagle brothers, because when they sing the women must sing too. And you must do the same way with the Seven Crows.' I wanted to turn my head to look around, and as I did that, I woke up, and got up."

668 796 In accordance with this vision, Mark Rudder as the main Crow selected six to join with him as the Seven Crows. Five of the Skiri selected were: John Moses, Jonathan Eustace, George Beaver, Yellowcalf, W[illegible] Fox. Mark Evarts himself became one of the Seven Crows later, succeeding one man who died.[1]

After that when they held the Ghost Dancing, the Seven Eagles were put on one side (the south), the Seven Crows on the other side (the north). Still later, someone had a trance vision and saw that it should be done the same way in the hand games.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, Mrs. Cover was made the Mother of the Seven Crows by analogy with the Mother of the Seven Brothers organization. Mark Rudder selected her. She was not chosen as the result of a vision, or because she clothed the Crows.[2]

[346] Thus the ground plan arrangements finally became among the Skiri: A central clearing for the dancing; a special Ghost Dance tipi due west of it; a sacred tipi south of the cleared ground for the Seven Eagle Brothers; and a sacred tipi north of the clearing for the Seven Crow Brothers. Certain alignments of the games were later determined by these orientations (see for example, Boy Chief's game).

---

[1] John Moses and Mark Evarts are the only ones still living.

[787] [2] A dream of Mrs. Cover's of this general period illustrates certain concepts of the Pawnee Ghost Dance:

"She dreamed she saw Christ standing at the west, facing east. Before him were many little children. At the extreme south was Emmet Pierson and other chiefs, at the extreme north were Mark Evarts, Eaglechief and others. A voice spoke, saying, 'As you see those standing, these are the ones to take care of Christ's children, his people.'"

[622 177] The Pawnee speak of a chief as a "father" to all his tribespeople, and here this idea has been interwoven with Christian beliefs.

coming, that there would be a reunion with the departed, that a great change was coming. Others embodied the memory of societies of former days, the gift of paraphernalia, or of hand games. No attempt has been made to transcribe songs for this study; a few representative songs are available from Densmore and Murie. 796 533

Frank White's first Ghost Dance song has already been given. The free rendering: 796

533
539

"The place whence you come
Now I am longing for.

"The place whence you come
Now I am ever-mindful of."

refers to the land of the departed from which a messenger came in White's vision. [787]

A song of Roaming Chief recorded by Densmore from the version of Effie Blano, reports a Ghost Dance trance vision of Roaming Chief.[1] The reference is to the coming of Christ, and the feeling among the people that all was to be well. [177]

ra a (hi i i a) he i ra a (hi i i a)
he comes yonder he comes!

he ra (i hi i a) he ra (a e ee)
he comes! he comes!

heru (u u) kitu tixwakiá·hu
then all they are saying

rihi weturahe
here now it is good!

ra a (hi i) i ra a (hi i i a)
he comes yonder he comes

hera (i) hera hera
he comes! he comes! he comes!

He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming!
And so all the people say
All is well here now.
He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming! He is coming!

---

[1] Densmore, Pawnee Music, song no. 60, p. 92. "A Ghost Dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he cried as he sang this

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The song embodies the relationship of the crow to the Moon 796
from which the bird's power comes, and indicates also that the 533
Moon is the night overseer of things on earth, reporting them in 539
the beyond. The crow is telling the people on earth of the activities in the land of the departed.

The song was based on a Ghost Dance vision of Effie Blane herself. Used at a hand game it was probably not sung to the play of the game.

Several songs reflect the vision of old societies, and their subsequent revival (See Chapter III—Revivals of Societies).

A song recorded by Wichita Blane[1] reports a vision in which [177
Christ gave the Young Dog Dance society pipe (probably) to the 787]
visionary:

we ra a (i ya)
now he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (hi a)
See! yonder he comes See! yonder he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (ho hi a)

he tiwerịhaktsa
(Emphasis) here now it stick lies!

atias pirụu kura (u)
father child his

kurụha·kuˣ tịkuha·ku'
his own stick he to me stick gives

i ra a
Yonder he comes.

Now he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming.
This stick that is lying here,
The son of the father
His own stick he gave to me.
Yonder he is coming.

A song recorded by Effie Blane belonged to Running Scout and referred (probably) to the revival of the Wolf Society. Of this song, Densmore writes: Running Scout "was very religious and [787]
remained in a Ghost Dance trance for several days. His friends

---

[1] Densmore, no. 59, p. 86.

178 According to Murie's[1] account the modern Skiri iruska was taken over from the Oglala Sioux, but went back to a form of the Omaha 796 grass dance. It began to appear among the Pawnee in 1807, and 177 was fully organized by Eagle Chief in 1911. An independent development of the iruska took place among the Kitkahaxki^{x}. "About 1894 while the Ghost Dance was still intense a man named Sitting Bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and led it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the [778 hands of Little-Sun, one of the leading singers. According to this ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the 534] ritual as in the case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-Sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-Fly-High, also a pupil of Sitting-Bear." An independent development of the modern iruska took place among the Tcawi under the leadership of Roaming-Chief,[2] and thence spread to the Pitahawirat^{a}.[3]

668 Murie has described how the peyote ritual reaching the Pawnee in 1890 was stimulated by the Ghost Dance excitement; and how 796 some forms of the peyote worship were like Ghost Dance forms.[4] Frank White, the great Pawnee Ghost Dance prophet, was also 276 a peyote devotee (See Chapter 11). Murie adds, "it may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the Ghost Dance excitement. One of his individual [787] doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore."[5] This indicates the extent to which the effort to bring back cultural aspects buried and forgotten was a definite part of the Ghost Dance doctrine.

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 624—625, 628. Cf. for a description of the forms of these rituals, pp. 624—630.

[2] Several shields in the Field Museum, depicting warriors' visions of Ghost Dance times are associated with the development of the modern iruska. F M 71844, and F M 59527 (two shields). One of the latter was identified as probably belonging to Roaming-Chief.

[3] The story of gradual changes in the form of Pawnee visiting party arrangements, associated with the modern iruska development, is a complex tale on its own account, and is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

[4] Murie, Societies, p. 636—637.

[5] ibid. p. 638.

VII.

THE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME

The old gambling hand game of the Pawnee, along with other 525 games, dances and social affairs, had gone the way of the rest of 178 Pawnee aboriginal culture by 1892. Occasionally games were 668 played, but the old life which began with early spring and included one round of work and play that ended with the winter, was no more. The Ghost Dance, with its doctrine of a return of the old Indian life, and its mandate to stimulate that return by actively reviving whatever could be recalled, amounted to a partial renaissance of Pawnee culture. We can judge what was lacking most in Pawnee life before the Ghost Dance by considering some of the revivals. Memories of the societies and brotherhoods with their dances and songs were recaptured in reconstructions of the old paraphernalia, and the singing again of the old songs. But games [171] were preeminent, as they were also among the Arapaho. The joy of play had gone from Pawnee life before this. All was somber and hopeless, full of death, disease and constant frustration. Of these game revivals the most notable was the hand game.

The game was revived first as a game. This is apparently the 668 significance of the constant iteration by informants that Tom 525 Morgan's game was not a ceremonial one originally, was the first 177 of them all, and did not come in response to a vision. The Arapaho suggestion of a ceremonialized game combining Ghost Dance ideas of the deceased playing in the beyond, with the game play, reached the Pawnee.

Once the games were begun, whether it was by Morgan or by 668 Carrion, by direct inspiration or through borrowing from the 525 Arapaho, the idea of learning Ghost Dance hand games in visions spread like wildfire and the games sprang up like mushrooms. This radical development by individuals only came after the movement to dethrone Frank White as the sole prophet of the Pawnee Ghost Dance. As late as 1930 I was able to list twenty-two individual game developments of the Pawnee. No doubt, if all the facts were known, there were many more. For a game to persist after it was 668 once created, the owner had to be well thought of by his people, 525 so that someone would "put it up"; and the public had to believe 787

[P. 155]

648 At that time a separate treaty was made with each band of Pawnee, designated as Grand, Noisy, Republic, and Marhar, the treaties being respectively on June 18, 19, 20, and 22. Peace was then concluded with all tribes of the region which had been disturbed by the war of 1812. A treaty with the Pawnee Tribe was made at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs, September 30, 1825, its purpose being "to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension."[3] By the treaty of October 9, 1833, the Pawnee ceded to the United States "all the land lying south of the Platt River."[4] A reservation in Nebraska was provided for the Pawnee who remained in that State until 1876, the sale of their reservation in Nebraska being approved on June 5 of that year. The setting apart of a reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) was approved April 10, 1876. The Pawnee were removed to that reservation and "each head of a family or single person over 21 years of age residing upon said reserve, who shall so elect," was entitled to receive an allotment of 160 acres of land.[5] In a table compiled by the Office of Indian Affairs in 1908 it is stated that "112,859.84 acres were allotted to 821 [Pawnee] Indians, 840 acres reserved for school, agency, and cemetery purposes, and the residue of 169,320 acres was opened to settlement," the agreement being ratified by act of March 3, 1893.[6]

161 The number of Pawnee in 1702 was estimated by Iberville at 2,000
families. In 1838 they numbered about 10,000 persons, but the
[164] opening of a principal emigrant trail directly through the country in
the forties introduced disease and dissipation and left the people less
● [177] able to defend themselves against their enemies, the Sioux.[7] They
decreased in numbers and in 1928 the Pawnee population was 2,766.[8]

133 The reservation of the Pawnee is beautifully diversified, with many
streams and tracts of woods. There are outcroppings of stone in the
region south of the town of Pawnee (pl. 3, *a*, *b*) while north of the town
are broad, smooth fields. (Pl. 3. *c*.) On a private ranch near Pawnee
[136] a picturesque herd of buffalo was seen near a "buffalo wallow." (Pl.
4, *a*, *b*.)

342 The earth lodge of the Pawnee was about 40 feet in diameter and
15 feet high, and was occupied by several related families, each having
[592] its appointed space along the wall. "At the west side of the lodge a
[778] space was always reserved, which was considered sacred, and was
called *wiharu* (place-for-the-wonderful-things), this being the name
which is applied to the garden of the Evening Star, where the corn
is always ripening and where are stored many parflêches of buffalo

---

[3] Ibid., pp. 258-260.
[4] Ibid., pp. 416-418.
[5] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 159-161.
[6] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 213.
[7] Ibid., p. 216.
[8] Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the year 1928, p. 58.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533x
171

TABLE 17.—A developed rhythmic structure is shown in the high percentage of songs containing two rhythmic units, this being 30 per cent in the Pawnee and only 10 per cent in the combined songs of other tribes. The songs with three rhythmic units constitute 8 per cent in the Pawnee and 1 per cent in the songs of other tribes. The percentage of Pawnee songs with one rhythmic unit is considerably lower than in the combined tribes and that of the songs with no rhythmic unit is only half the percentage in the larger group.

The comparative table showing the rhythm of the drum has been discontinued, as the purpose of this analysis seems to have been accomplished. The analysis of Pawnee songs according to this basis is shown on page 125. This data and the comparative table of drum rhythms in Bulletin 80, pages 25–26, show that the Indians under observation prefer an even drumbeat, each stroke uniform in stress and corresponding to sixteenth, eighth, quarter, or half notes of the song. In some tribes there have been instances of elaborate drumbeats, but no trace of this was found among the Pawnee, either in recorded songs or in the performances heard at gatherings. This is in accordance with other evidence that the music of the Pawnee has been modified by the establishing of a more settled mode of life [177] or, perhaps, by hearing the music of the white race. The Yuma and Cocopa, in contrast to these tribes, use elaborate rhythms of drum and rattle.

Other tables which have been discontinued are those showing the keynote of the song and the metronome tempo of voice and drum. These were last used in the analysis of 710 songs in Northern Ute Music, Bulletin 75, pages 42 and 48–51. The result of the analysis was summarized in Mandan and Hidatsa Music, Bulletin 80, page 15.

SUMMARY

From the foregoing it appears that Pawnee songs resemble those of the Ute more closely than those of other tribes. Occasional resemblances are noted between the Pawnee and Chippewa, as well as between the Pawnee and Sioux, Mandan, and Hidatsa, but the Pawnee songs differ widely from those of the Papago who live on the Mexican border, a portion of the tribe still residing in Mexico.

The statement has been made in a previous paragraph that certain results of the Pawnee analyses suggest the influence of a settled mode of life or a contact with the music of civilization. This should not be understood to mean that the form of all the songs has been changed. This work contains many songs that undoubtedly have come down for many generations and there is no reason to think they were not sung correctly, but there are also songs of more recent origin, recorded

WAR SONGS

Three classes of war songs are here presented and comprise a 533* song concerning a conquered warrior of the Cheyenne Tribe, several songs of Pawnee warriors, and songs which were sung at two gatherings of the tribe attended by the writer, these gatherings being in honor of Pawnee soldiers who had recently returned from the World War.

The first song commemorates a well-known event in Pawnee 175 history. About the year 1852 the Cheyenne and Arapaho returned 648 from Washington, where they had gone to make a treaty with the Government of the United States. Among them was a Cheyenne of great reputation named Touching Cloud, who, because of the incident to be related, was afterwards known among the Pawnee as [314 Iron Shirt. This man had in his employ a Mexican who could cut round disks from the thin frying pans used at that time. Touching 177] Cloud had these disks sewed on a shirt and cap, the pieces overlapping as in old-world armor. Soon after the return of the treaty party, the Cheyenne attacked the Pawnee, who were hunting buffalo. Touching Cloud felt so secure that he rode directly among the Pawnee. His arms were so stiffened by the metal disks on his sleeves that he could use no weapon except a sword but he used this so effectively that he and his party drove the Pawnee back to their village. The Pawnee were unable to explain the fearlessness of this man and talked of it among themselves. In the village was a young man named Carrying-the-shield who had not gone with the hunters. He listened to what they said and remembered something told him by his father, who was keeper of a sacred bundle. His father had [778] four sons and gave them four sacred arrows, each a different color. The arrow received by Carrying-the-shield was red. In giving the arrow his father said, "Use this arrow when you are in great danger and it will save your life." So Carrying-the-shield took the arrow and a bow, went out and met a party of Pawnee retreating with the Cheyenne in pursuit. The retreating party opened and let him through. Touching Cloud made ready to attack him but the youth shot him in the eye with the red arrow and he fell from his horse. The Pawnee "counted coup" on his body and found that he wore, [526 concealed beneath his outer raiment, the metal-covered shirt made 554] for him by the Mexican. Therefore he was known as Iron Shirt among the Pawnee.

Analysis.—An ascending tenth occurs in this song, representing 533* an ascent from the lowest to almost the highest tone of the compass. The rhythmic unit is interesting and of frequent occurrence. The song is major in tonality and the most frequent interval is a major third.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

led into the dance lodge by women. Some of the young men were in 727
the full costume of Indian warriors, others were in civilian clothing, [177]
and Lawrence Murie wore the khaki uniform in which he had served
with the artillery at the front. The young soldier who directed the [411]
dancing carried a sword which had belonged to one of his ancestors.
The principal dance was the grass dance, followed by the war dance. [536
The former is common to all the tribes of the northern plains, extend-
ing even to the Kutenai. According to Miss Fletcher, the dance 171]
originally was connected with the Hethushka Society of the Omaha,
a society whose object was "to stimulate an heroic spirit among the
people and to keep alive the memory of historic and valorous acts."[26]

A touching event in the second day's gathering was the expression 765
of sympathy for the parents of the young man who died in France. 727
They stood before the assembly while the chief and other leading
men talked to them. The speaker placed his hands on the man's [201]
head, drawing them down the man's arms to his hands; he also held
the man's hands closely in his own as he talked to him in a tender,
earnest manner.

Numerous speeches were made, and the occasion was marked by 727
dignity as well as rejoicing. The young soldiers appeared to be in
excellent health, were friendly toward all, and made a good impression
upon the white people who attended the gathering.

The song next following was sung by the women on the second day 533*
of the victory dance. It is an "honor song" and belonged to an old 727
man named Brown Bear (*guruks*, bear; *narahata*, brown), who died
not long ago. At a war dance he used to rise and sing this song [424]
without the drum, and "when he sang everybody cried." The
custom of weeping and even wailing aloud at public gatherings has
not been noted in tribes previously studied. The words of the song
meant, "Nobody knows when the world will end." The informant
added, "The old man used to say 'there is one person who knows
when the world will end.'"

Analysis.—This is one of the "crying songs," and the sliding tone, 533*
especially in measures 7, 8, 13, and 14, is impossible to transcribe.
The time was well maintained throughout the song. Attention is
directed to a comparison of the count-divisions in the two rhythmic
units and in the fifth and sixth measures from the close of the song.
All the tones of the octave occur in the melody which progresses by a
wide variety of intervals.

---

[26] Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, Twenty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 459.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

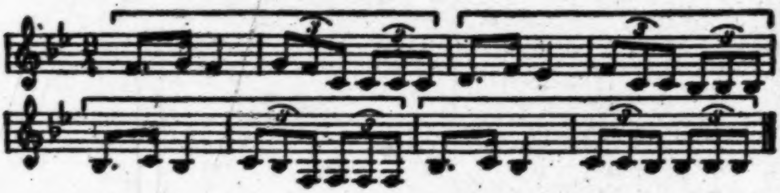
*533 The next song was said to have come down from a time when only men played the hand game.

No. 49. "You Came Near Finding Them"

(Catalogue No. 1095)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—The rhythm of this song is characteristic of the physical movements of persons playing the hand game. It is a rhythm that suggests alternation and the swaying of the players from side to side. There is also an energy in the ascending approach to the first count of each measure. The tones are those of the first 5-toned scale which omits the third and seventh tones of the octave and is always a particularly free melodic form. No change of measure length occurs and the song consists entirely of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. The song contains 11 ascending and 10 descending progressions, two of each being the interval of a fourth.

A song of Roaming Chief (No. 66) was also sung at a hand game.

GHOST DANCE SONGS

668
● 177
78[
[181]
The Pawnee are deeply religious by nature and received the Ghost dance with sympathy. According to Mooney "The Ghost dance was brought to the Pawnee . . . by delegates from the Arapaho and Cheyenne in the west. The doctrine made slow progress for some time, but by February, 1892, the majority of the Pawnee were dancing in confident expectation of the speedy coming of the Messiah and the buffalo. Of all these tribes the Pawnee took most interest in the new doctrine, becoming as much devoted to the Ghost dance as the Arapaho themselves."[29] [292] A woman's Ghost dance dress is shown in Plate 8, *c*; also other costumes.

668
177
Ghost dance songs were recorded but the dance did not form a subject of study by the present writer. As stated, certain Ghost

---

*533

[29] Mooney, James, op. cit., p. 902.

dance songs were sung in the dances at hand games while others were not used in that manner. 668 177 ●

The hypnotic phase which the hand game has in common with the Ghost dance is indicated in the following song which was sung at the Ghost dance and also at the hand game. In old times the game and its accompanying dances were held on the prairie instead of inside a lodge. A portion of the people were called "crows," and the woman who recorded this song said that she "belonged on the crow side of the circle." At intervals these people gave the caw of the crow and imitated that bird in their dancing. (This was done in the dance connected with the hand game attended by the writer.) It is said that under the hypnotic influence of the occasion, the dancers sometimes saw a crow inside the dance circle, no one except themselves being able to see it. The singer said that she "dreamed" this song when she was a young girl. 533* [201] [787]

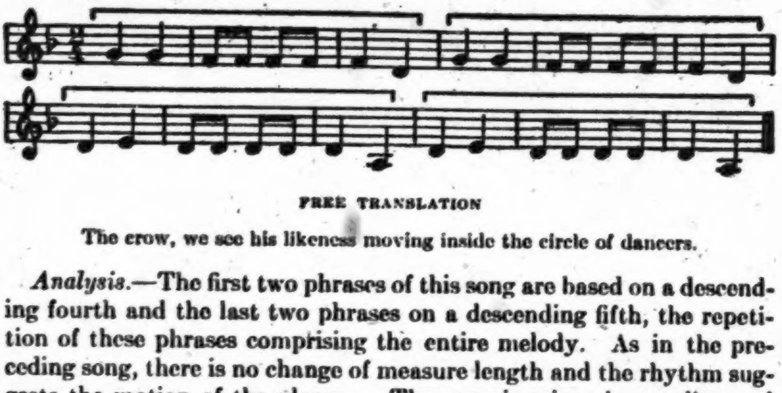
533*

No. 50. "The Crow"

(Catalogue No. 1087)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 116
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

The crow, we see his likeness moving inside the circle of dancers.

Analysis.—The first two phrases of this song are based on a descending fourth and the last two phrases on a descending fifth, the repetition of these phrases comprising the entire melody. As in the preceding song, there is no change of measure length and the rhythm suggests the motion of the players. The song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the sixth and seventh.

The crow which sometimes appeared in the Ghost dance might speak of taking the dancer to Mother Moon or to the Ghost dance messiah. The following song was "dreamed" by the woman recording it, who said she might sing it either at a hand game or a Ghost dance. 668 787 533*

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

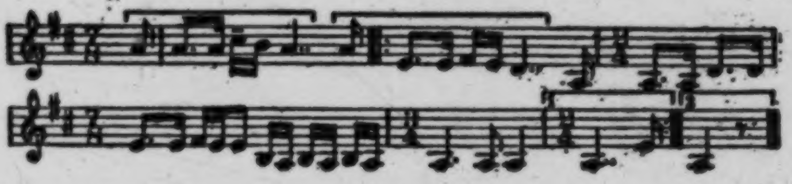
No. 76. Song of a Warrior's Wife

*533
593

(Catalogue No. 1100)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♪ = 144 (♩ = 72)
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

I wonder where he is sitting.
That person who comes and sits in my tipi.

Analysis.—In all renditions of this song the 7-8 and 3-4 measures were sung in exact time. Except for one minor third the melody progresses entirely by fourths and major seconds. It has a compass of 10 tones and contains the entire octave except the fourth.

*533 832 565 ●177 562 [124] Mr. James R. Murie and other old members of the tribe said that love songs, in the white man's use of that term, were unknown among the better class of Pawnee in the early days. According to Mr. Murie, there were four classes of Pawnee, the lowest being considered outcasts by the remainder of the tribe. These people camped near towns and worked for white people, from whom they obtained whisky. This class of Pawnee sang what were termed "crazy people's songs," which were associated with "love charms" and evil influences. No effort was made to secure examples of these songs. A change from the former attitude toward women, however, is shown in the following song which was said to be very old. It is not of so low a character as the "crazy people's songs," neither does it represent the high standard of life indicated in the former songs of this group. [837] A girl married a man for whom she did not care and it would appear that, instead of adapting himself to the situation, he sought consolation elsewhere.

*533 *Analysis.*—This melody consists of two parts, the first of which contains the rhythmic unit. The second part begins with a succession of eighth notes, followed by a measure which preserves the count divisions of the rhythmic unit. The count divisions throughout the song were sung with special clearness. The song is transcribed as having B flat for its keynote but the third above that tone does not occur. Except for an ascending octave the only in-

thief. He looks hungry. We must look out for him. He is tricky." 539 They all said that. Coyote said to the turkeys, "Grandchildren, let us have a little game." The turkeys said, "What kind of a game are we going to have?" Coyote said, "Well, don't let us have a game, let us have a dance." The turkeys said, "All right, let us have a dance."

Coyote looked at the turkeys. Some were big, fat ones. He selected about six of the biggest and fattest and said, "You must stand in front." Then he arranged two rows back of them. Then he said, "I have a song. While you dance you must close your eyes. When I begin to sing you must all close your eyes." He kept his eyes open and he saw one turkey with its eyes open. He said, "Close your eyes, you are looking at me." He sang again, and after a while he saw they all had their eyes shut. He had a club in his hand but he kept on singing. The turkeys all had their eyes shut and he killed all in the front row. The rest flew away before he could kill them. Then he said that he would have a feast for his wives and his children. He said, "Turkeys have not much sense."

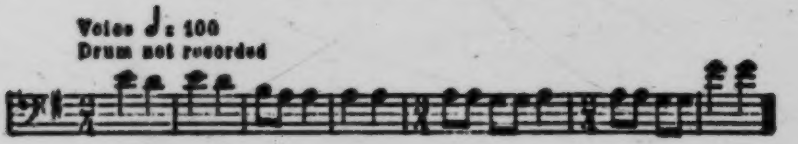
No. 74. Song of Coyote

533^x

(Catalogue No. 1154) 539

Recorded by Mary Murie

Voice ♩ = 100
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

Put your heads down, move your hips as you dance

Analysis.—The rhythm of this song is continuous from the first measure to the last, and is especially interesting in the latter portion. Attention is directed to the effective use of a triple measure followed by a double measure at the close of the melody. The tones occurring in the song are G and A, D and E, occurring in whole-toned progressions. The last two notes were sung to the syllables "tut, tut," supposed to represent the cry of the turkeys.

The narrator of the next story said that it did not originate with the 539 Pawnee and she thought that it came from the Omaha in Nebraska. [177]

Story of Nuri and His Brother

RELATED BY MRS. MARY MURIE

There was a man so jealous of his wife that he determined to take her away from the village. He told her to pack everything and they would go. They took plenty of dried meat, pounded meat, corn, and all kinds of food, and left the village. When night came

They drummed, sang, and danced around the fireplace out of the lodge. The 539
singing and drumming gradually ceased and when the fire was made there was no 575
one left in the lodge. After this the man often dreamed and found that the dance
was given to poor people, especially the poor boys of the village.

After the final dance, all the dogs disappeared. Every night the man and the two boys sang and other young men came in and assisted. When quite a number of young men knew the songs the man told them to come the next night and bring with them their quivers, bows and arrows, and moccasins. Among the young men who wished to join was a chief's son. He told them that they would go to the enemy's camp that night. They all agreed to go with him.

That night he wrapped up the dog skin, the string and whistle, the owl feathers, and the rope and placed them on his back. As they started off they sang the first song the man had heard the dog men singing. They sang four times and then went on their way. For several days they continued when some of the young men began to show signs of weariness. Then the man gave them a root to chew to revive them. When the chief's son became tired the man paid no attention to him. Finally, he turned back.

At length they came to the enemy's camp. The man put on his regalia and went to the camp. He captured some ponies on which they returned home. When they arrived the people said the young dog people were good travelers.

After this at night the young men met to sing the dog songs. When 575
the man heard them, he would have the two boys build a fire and the young
men would come in and sing. One time, on their return to the village from a buffalo hunt some of the young men told the man that they each had a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat and they wished to dance. The man did not reply but consulted his two assistants who said: "Buffalo meat is good, but first we must get a reddish dog." One young man said, "My people have one, I can get it."

The dance was started and all the young men who danced and received
the string and whistle became members. This society became very impor- [177]
tant and when the Arikara joined the Skidi they saw the dance. Among [535]
the Arikara was one man who knew the sun dance. He met the leader of
the young dogs and they exchanged dances. The Skidi joined the two and had the young dog sun dance three times. All the dancers had to be cut and suspended three times.

This society became a great power among the people. One time during 224
a buffalo hunt the people were attacked by the Sioux and the soldiers were 575
all killed and the crow lance taken from them. The tribe was left without 625
police so the chiefs (not the priests) selected the dog society to act as police
on the hunt. Their old men cried through the village telling the people to [648]
keep quiet and not to drum or sing. The men were not permitted to hunt at any distance nor were guns to be shot. The women were not to chop wood but were to gather dry limbs. One night a man came to the village

MODERN CEREMONIES.

527 796 Among the northern Plains tribes there are a number of associations for social dancing and entertainment. Such seem to be wanting among the Pawnee, as the following pages will show, but certain more or less serious ceremonies are now made the occasion for considerable social enjoyment. The widely diffused Omaha, or grass dance, forms of the ghost dance, and of the peyote almost exhaust the list of modern ceremonies. We heard of no women's guilds or clubs and no dances of any kind save those mentioned above.

THE MODERN IRUSKA.

175 177 648 The well-known Omaha, or grass dance, is generally known among the Pawnee as a variation of their own iruska (p. 608), though in its present form it was introduced through Oglala influence.

796 *The Skidi Iruska.* In 1887 three Pawnee Skidi men went to visit the Oglala Indians. Arriving there, they were entertained by Young-man-afraid-of-his-horses and were feasted throughout the village for several days. On the last day an iruska dance was held for their benefit. The Sioux gathered in a large round house built for dancing. The drum was carried in and the dancers filed in. The Sioux began to sing and the Pawnee noted that the songs were different from their own. However, they danced with the Sioux and received many presents, moccasins, pipes, and beaded objects. The Sioux singers asked the Pawnee to sing some of their songs which the Pawnee did. The Sioux were pleased with the Pawnee singing and gave them more presents.

When the three Pawnee men returned to their home they began to teach other young men the Sioux songs they had learned. One day some Skidi young men came together and Knife-chief told them about the Sioux dance. The old Pawnee iruska dancers never used sleigh bells upon their bodies; but did use them around the drum. The Sioux dancers also wore ornamental clothes while the Pawnee did not. All the Pawnee dancers wore was the headgear and the bustles. The Sioux bustle was also different.

175 575 796 Knife-chief had a bass drum brought in and began to teach the Sioux songs. Those who were not singing, danced, but they did not know how to keep time. After the singing, the dance society was organized. Knife-chief was the drum keeper and leader of the singers. Then two chiefs were

the smoke ceremony, so will it be done in all our iruska dances, for I have 276
whispered to the men who shall offer the smoke. I now select Sun-chief 575
to offer the smoke. He will now rise and take the pipe." 796

Sun-chief arose and took the pipe from Coming-sun. Then he went around the fireplace and stood to the west. He took a pinch of tobacco from the pipe, raised up his hand and gradually lowered it to the rim of the fireplace where he placed the tobacco. Next he went northeast by the south and east of the fireplace and squatted down. The south side whip man went to the fireplace, took a live coal and placed it upon the bowl of the pipe. When the pipe was lit, Sun-chief arose and went west of the fireplace, here he stood facing east and gave four whiffs of smoke to the skies; then four whiffs to mother earth. Then he dumped the ashes from the bowl of the pipe and passed his hands over the pipestem toward the skies, twice with his right hand and twice with his left hand. He passed his hands upon the pipestem to the rim of the fireplace, twice with his right and twice with his left hand. Then he turned towards the west and walked to Coming-sun and handed him the pipe. Coming-sun said, "Rawa"; all repeated "Rawa." The second pipe was given to Lone-chief of the south side and the same ceremony gone through.

When the smoke ceremony was over the outside man came in and per- 575
mitted those outside to come in. Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old 796
men, and iruska, we are about to dance. You dancers must be careful with
the things you are wearing for if you drop anything, one of those old men
will have to take it up and tell of his deeds. Then you must pay. Each
man who has a song must dance when his song is sung and must give a small
present to some old man or woman. We will have five sets of songs, ten in [533]
each set. Everyone must dance. Anyone receiving a present must say,
'rawa iruska.' After each ten songs we will smoke and rest."

So the singers began their songs. Every time the whip men rose everyone had to dance.

After the dance, Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska,
this is now our iruska dance. Visiting parties, if they wish, may tie tobacco
upon the drum, then the keeper of the drum must notify the leaders, who [535]
will plan a dance to give presents to visitors. This is now a popular dance
among the Pawnee for at these dances people give presents to one another [431]
and there is a general good time for all.[1]

---

[1] This form of the iruska was originated by the writer who may be said to be entirely [177]
responsible for the organization. He knew very little of the procedure among the Dakota
but was fairly familiar with the form of the Osage. From the latter he took his main ideas
and the various officers with their respective duties. Also like the Osage he adopted strict
rules for conducting the dance. Yet the manouvers and serious parts of the ceremony were
all taken from bundle rituals of the Pawnee.— Ed.

262 that spoons are carried instead of sticks. Among the other divisions of
796 the Pawnee, buffalo meat was used with a less formal procedure. The
Skidi form of feast is now found among many tribes.

The whip bearers are probably of Omaha or Osage origin for in that tribe
174 they are the police officers of a ceremony. The bearing of a sword is probably
177 due to Pawnee influence, at least it was original with them. Once when at
648 Washington, D. C., each Pawnee chief was presented with a sword for his
aid (p. 557) which thenceforth became the badge of office. Some of the aids
796 carried their swords to battle and counted coup with them. Later, the
Pawnee scouts in the United States service carried swords and when discharged those who had struck enemies retained them. Now in the iruska all having struck enemies with tomahawks could demonstrate in the dance; so the bearers of swords came to have the same privileges.

THE GHOST DANCE.

According to the Pawnee, the ghost dance religion first came to the
668 Arapaho, thence to the Cheyenne, the Kiowa and Comanche and finally
796 to the Wichita.

In 1890 it was rumored among the Pawnee that a Messiah had appeared
787 to an Indian somewhere in the mountains and that all the dead Indian
people would return to the earth. The story was that a Paiute Indian had died and was taken up to the top of a high mountain and laid out. After he had lain there four days, he revived and came down from the mountain. He told his people that while he was on the mountain his spirit had traveled in a strange and beautiful country; that on his journey he crossed a small stream of clear water and came to a cedar tree where he saw handkerchiefs of every color and all sorts of feathers. At the base of the tree he saw several pipes and different kinds of paint. He took a white cotton handkerchief and some of the red earth. He went on and as he neared a mound he saw someone standing there, clad in white and purple robes. This person had long hair, parted in the middle. He held out his hands to show the cuts in them, but did not look up. The man saw that he was the Messiah, the white man's Jesus, the son of the Father in the Heavens. The man noted by his manner that he wanted him to pass by for he did not speak, so he passed on his left and went on. Presently he saw in a valley an Indian village, extending along the whole bottom.

As he neared the village of tipis he noticed a man approaching. When they met he found the man was his father who embraced him and took him into the village. On the outskirts of the village he saw men playing javelin

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

668 796 and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. [177] According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days. There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. [346] According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple. [361] Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise, the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical [787] belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog [524] dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the iruska. Some time after 1904 the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated. The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their hereditary sides of north and south.

The Peyote.

276 794 About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and [177] gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked with Christ.

To the north of the village site, perhaps a half mile from the river, 172* are three prominent hills, the summit of each being covered with 764 burials. These have been repeatedly dug into by local "relic hunters" and much valuable material thoughtlessly destroyed in the quest for medals, pots, and the like. A county highway crosses the central hill, and nearly every widening of the road or deepening of the side ditches has resulted in the exposure of graves. At the time of the writer's visit to the site in 1930 Mr. A. T. Hill located in one of the ditches the grave of a young child. From this was taken a very well-preserved skeleton, a small complete vessel, and other articles, to be treated at length in another portion of this paper. Most of the burials found have been accompanied by glass beads, lead rings, [177] and other objects indicative of white contact. However, pre-Caucasian graves should be diligently sought as the site appears to have been early historic and may strike back into the late prehistoric.

FULLERTON SITE.—This site, first settled by the Skidi in 1842[44] 172* and abandoned by them in 1846 or soon thereafter because of Dakota 361 raids,[45] is situated on the north bank of the Loup River, immediately below the mouth of the Cedar, about 2 miles east and a half mile north of the town of Fullerton.[46] It, too, occupies a bench some 30 feet high, with the river flowing immediately at the base. Clayton's description of the site, written in 1847 while the Mormon emigrants were crossing the Loup at this point, sums up the situation very nicely:

> This village is situated on the north bank of the Loup Fork of the Nebraska or Platte River, about 4 miles southwest of the mission station on Plumb Creek [now Council Creek] and 138 miles from Winter Quarters [at Florence, Nebr.] . . . . On the east and west of the village is a beautiful level bench of prairie extending many miles, and to the ridge of bluffs which run east and west touching within a mile of the village [on the north]. On the top of the bluffs can be seen a number of Indian graves. To the northwest about a mile distant, and at the foot of the bluffs, is an extensive cornfield, the stalks still standing. On the south [i. e., across the Loup] is a beautiful view of the nice level prairie extending to the main branch of the Platte, the timber on the banks can be faintly, but plainly seen. . . . The village occupies a space of about 40 acres of land and is mostly enclosed by a ditch about 5 feet wide and a bank inside the ditch about 4 feet high, running from the bank of the river around the village till it again strikes the bank, and when perfect has formed a good fortification. A number of lodges are built outside the ditch on the east end on account of want of room inside when the bands from the other village joined them. The village is composed of about 200 houses or lodges [of which but one remained intact] . . . .[47]

---

[44] Dunbar, 1918, pp. 648, 654.

[45] Clayton, 1921, p. 95.

[46] NE. ¼ sec. 7, T. 16 N., R. 5 W., in Nance County, Nebr.

[47] 1921, pp. 96–97.

Genoa site.—After the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee gradually became concentrated in one great, rambling village on the Loup. This lay about 1½ miles south of Genoa, on a broad, flat plain between Beaver Creek and the Loup.[63] The Skidi occupied the western part of the village; the other three bands located in what is now the Genoa Cemetery. A sod wall protected the settlement on the south and west sides, with the portions nearest Genoa left open. Each band is said to have had its own burial ground. That of the Grands was to the south, across the Loup River. The Skidi interred their dead on bluffs northwest of their village. The Tappage Cemetery was on a hill in what is now the north edge of Genoa and that of the Republicans was northeast of the city. All traces of the village have been obliterated and the cemeteries have suffered extensively at the hands of vandals. Few objects of native production have been found, as the Pawnee were very much under the influence of the Americans at this late date and were rapidly losing their own arts and industries. 172* 361 [764] [177]

GRAND PAWNEE SITES

The Grand Pawnee are often designated in early literature and on maps prior to 1800 as *Panis*. The main villages of the band were always on the south bank of the Platte, save for a short period between 1806 and 1824 (the latter date being approximate), and another from 1860 to 1875. During both of these periods they were on the north bank of the Loup, at the Horse Creek and Genoa sites, respectively. Two pure Grand Pawnee locations are recognized, viz, the Linwood and the Clarks sites; the Plum Creek site was occupied by members of at least two of the other bands. The Horse Creek site was dominantly Republican, hence is included in that section. 131 [101]

Linwood site.—This site is located approximately a mile south and slightly west of the town of Linwood, on the east bank of Skull Creek 3 miles south of the Platte River.[64] It occupies the western portion of an alluvial flat, a small embaymentlike arm of the Platte Valley extending perhaps three-quarters of a mile up Skull Creek, and is inclosed on the west, south, and east by high bluffs. Skull Creek, at least in former times, probably carried water at all seasons of the year, and immediately below the site an excellent spring provided water sufficient to meet the domestic needs for a considerable community. 172* 361 [133]

The site, though extending nearly half a mile continuously along the creek, actually consists of two contiguous sites of very different age. The early phase of occupation, designated on map 2 as 9 A,

---

[63] SW¼ sec. 24 and SE¼ sec. 23, T. 17 N., R. 4 W., Nance County, Nebr.

[64] SW¼ sec. 35, T. 17 N., R. 4 E., Butler County, Nebr.

172*
323

smooth on the outside, they took a small, sharp stone, and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mold and burned it in the fire, and while it was baking, "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it hard as iron." This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they boiled food of all kinds. Mr. Dunbar informs me that these pots were also made in later times within a framework of willow twigs. The clay, made very stiff, was smeared on this frame, the inside being repeatedly smoothed with the moistened hand, and but little attention being given to the appearance of the outside. After they had been sun-dried, such pots were baked without removing the frame, which burned away in the fire, leaving the marks of the twigs visible on the outside of the pot.[43]

The above description of tempering and the use of grease and boiled corn fit in with the appearance of known Pawnee pottery. The use of a wooden mold seems more problematical, while Dunbar's statement concerning the use of a woven willow twig form stands by itself. So far, no traces of this last process have been observed on known Pawnee ceramics.

[177]

While the Pawnee were doubtless among the first of the tribes of the Missouri Valley to adopt the copper and iron vessels of the white man in preference to their own earthenware, yet the abundance of sherds on many of the historic sites indicates that the native products were manufactured until well into the last century.

Data for the present discussion of Pawnee pottery have been drawn very largely from the Hill collection at the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. This collection includes 4 vessels, 2 complete and 2 restored (pl. 3), a large number of sherds from the Hill site, and sample series from nearly all identified Pawnee villages on the Loup River. The excellent sherd collection of Mr. Alfred Tichacek, from the early site at Linwood, was studied on two different occasions; it consists principally of pieces turned up in plowing, but is unmistakably Pawnee. A selected series of sherds was secured by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey during the excavations at the Hill site, in addition to a small, broken bowl. The large vessel, plate 4, *a*, is the property of the Nebraska Historical Society. Finally, a number of small private sherd collections, for the most part surface material from various sites, have been available; these have been checked wherever possible through personal observations at the villages concerned.

Save for the superiority of the art in early times, quantitatively as well as qualitatively, and its decline with recency, there is a general uniformity in all Pawnee ware that makes it impossible to distinguish the product of one band from that of another. Accordingly we shall treat the remains in their totality, and through a combinawith a rusty coating, readily removed, and some are rather badly weathered; all are soft and chalky in texture. Sometimes, as in the second specimen from the bottom (pl. 8, *m*), they are unperforated but have a groove about one end. They were probably made from the columella of the conch or from some very thick-walled bivalve. They occur as grave finds, always in pairs, and are nearly always found one on each side of the head; doubtless their purpose was for ear or hair ornamentation. 172* 301 321

---

[43] Grinnell, 1893, pp. 255–256.

Identical objects are described by Holmes[77] as common on the Pacific coast, where they were made "from the thick valves of the *Pachydesma crassatelloides* or the *Amiantis callosa.*" As to their use, the same observer says, "They were probably used as beads for the neck and as pendant ornaments for the ears. The longer specimens may have been worn in the nose. It is also said that beads of this class were used as money."[78] A specimen 4½ inches long in the Dinsmore collection at the University of Kansas Museum probably comes from an early historic Kansa village on the Missouri. For the most part the workmanship and drilling of those from the Pawnee area are so perfect that there is a strong possibility of their being trade pieces from the whites rather than of actual aboriginal manufacture. They do not occur in prehistoric cultures of Nebraska, so far as known at present. [177● 439]

A string of small tubular shell beads, each three-eighths inch long by less than one-eighth inch in diameter, are the only approach to "wampum" yet found; they are from a historic grave. Irving, in describing the appearance of the Republican Pawnee chief in 1833, states that "a long string of wampum, the only ornament he ever wore, hung from his neck . . ."[79] Disk shell beads are altogether absent in Pawnee sites, although prehistoric ossuaries in southern Nebraska have yielded thousands of them. In general, beads and shell work of any kind represent a very minor phase in Pawnee culture, in historic times at least.

WORK IN WOOD

MORTARS.—A large wooden mortar from a grave at the Hill site is the sole representative of this class of utensil. It is made from a section of tree or log, standing 14 inches high, and is between 9 and 10 inches in diameter. The grinding cavity in the top is 6½ inches deep by 8½ inches in diameter and is encircled by a square lip. The mortar stands on three legs, each about 2 inches high, and the under side is much worn by long use. No pestle was found with it. While 172* 412 322

---

[77] 1883, p. 226.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 120.

The border is carved with zigzag lightning symbols. The emblem 172*
of the sun, 5 inches in diameter, with 4 long and 12 short rays, 322
is neatly cut into the upper part of the piece, which is further embel- 854
lished with brass-headed tacks (Nebr. Hist. Mag., x, 3, 1927, p. 192). It is a most unusual and attractive piece of work and was very likely made by Indian craftsmen. Fragments of other nicely decorated boards have been recovered, but none is sufficiently large to permit a good reconstruction.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Wooden boxes and chests, bound with leather or 172*
metal and studded with large-headed nails, are not uncommon, 322
though always in fragmentary condition. Wooden-backed mirrors, sheaths, and numerous other odds and ends are frequently found, nearly always with rows of nails as ornamental features. The clumsy workmanship probably indicates that most of them were made by the Indians themselves, in imitation of the white man's articles. Occasionally a better piece is recovered, perhaps with a lock or hinge, these being probably imported and trade articles. Pipestems [276]
of light carved wood have been found in a few cases but were too fragmentary for accurate restoration.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

GLASS BEADS.—These were in very extensive use by the Pawnee 172*
after the arrival among them of white traders. Small white, blue, 301
and red beads, of transparent glass, are by far the commonest, espe- 439
cially in graves, while black appears relatively infrequently. Tubular porcelain beads, less than one-half inch long, are also found, though not very plentiful. Large, irregularly shaped blue, red, and colorless beads, mostly translucent, have been regarded as of Indian manufacture because of their crudity (pl. 8, *n*). Samples of these were submitted to M. W. Stirling, of the Smithsonian Institution, for examination and were pronounced by him to be trade material from the Hudson Bay Co., probably via the Missouri.[illegible] All of these were from the Hill site, abandoned about 1810. There is thus no positive evidence that the Pawnee ever manufactured their own glass beads, though the custom was followed by the Arikara, Mandan, and other upper Missouri River tribes in historic times.[illegible]

METAL WORK.—Iron and copper become increasingly common with 172*
recency. Iron "squaw" hoes, gun parts, axes, chisels, bridles, stir- 439
rups, knives, and innumerable other odds and ends abound on the 177

[illegible] Letter of Oct. 13, 1930.

[illegible] Lewis and Clark, 1922, vol. I, p. 233. However, excavation at the Burkett site [114]
in April 1931 yielded a number of turquoise-blue, glass beads of rough manufacture and imperfect glass. According to Dr. W. D. Strong, these are closely similar to a native-made specimen of glass work secured by Dr. Mathew among the Arikara in 1870, now in the National Museum.

*172 439 ●177 later sites (pl. 12). The hoes were often cut up and the material remade into arrowpoints, scrapers, and similar objects. Gun barrels appear to have been likewise used as tent pins, stakes, and the like. Fluted lead rings are very common, though they may be of native casting. Coincident with the increase in metal goods there is a marked decline, quantitatively and qualitatively, in native products, such as pottery and stone work, and since the former are less durable the later sites are rather barren. Despite the Caucasian influences to which the Pawnee were subjected from very early times, however, they retained enough of their aboriginal material culture to furnish a fairly accurate picture of their pre-Columbian mode of life and to make possible the tracing of their culture back to its less well-defined antecedents.

WEAVING AND TEXTILES

*172 286 CLOTH AND CORDAGE.—The only fiber woven by the Pawnee appears to have been the hair of the bison. Fragments of cloth made of this material and short pieces of cordage are occasionally taken from the graves (pl. 2, *g*, *i*), though none of the early observers seem to record the trait. The cloth is made of a moderately heavy 2-ply closely twisted yarn, each member of which in turn consists of a number of rather loosely spun fibers. There is no uniformity of weave, however; in the same piece may be found twilled or diagonal (over two under two) weaving and checkerwork (over and under). The cloth is fairly heavy, soft, and flexible; in color it varies from brown-black to black. It was used presumably for robes and winter clothing.

The yarn sometimes occurs in short, rope-like masses, of 10 or 12 cords twisted together but not braided (pl. 2, *h*). Whether these are indeed fragments of rope or merely skeins of yarn conveniently arranged for storing is uncertain. However, the low tensile strength of the material, and especially the readiness with which the "ropes" tend to untwist and become further weakened, argues against their use where strains were likely to occur. Braided ropes of bison hair have not come to light, although they may have been manufactured.

Spindle whorls, if used, were probably of wood or other perishable material, as none have yet been found.

*172 285 MATTING.—Pieces of rush matting were recovered by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey at the Hill site, mostly as a body wrapping in burial 3. Remains of a charred mat were also found on the west side of the lodge circle, as previously described. Additional fragments have been collected by Mr. A. T. Hill. All of the specimens are made of some narrow-leaved grass or rush, possibly cattail, and are in simple twined weaving (pl. 2, *j–l*). Each warp ele-

172 321 412 PLATE 9.—Bonework from historic Pawnee sites. *a* is a 12½-inch pick made of the ulna of a bison; *b*, hide-tanning tool; *c*, two small picks made of deer antler, each about 7 inches long; *d*, arrowshaft straighteners made of bison rib; *e*, bone awls; *f*, hide scraper of elk horn, 12 inches long. *g–n*, bone paint brushes cut from joints of bison and other large animals; none measures more than 2 inches in greatest dimensions. *f*, is from the Palmer site; the other specimens are from the Hill site.

PLATE 10.—Bone tools from historic Pawnee sites. *a–d*, digging tools made from bison scapulae. *a*, from the Hill site, measures 14 inches by 7 inches and was originally square-bladed; *b*, from the Palmer site, is 11 inches long and 6 inches wide; *c* and *d* are from a cache east of Genoa, *d* measuring 15 inches by 6 inches. *e–k*, fleshing tools; *e* and *k* are each 9 inches long, *i* is 6½ inches, and all are finely notched on the edges. Note perforation in *j* for passage of a thong about the wrist of the operator. *e*, *j*, and *k* from Palmer site; *f*, *g*, Hill site; *h*, *i*, Clarks site.

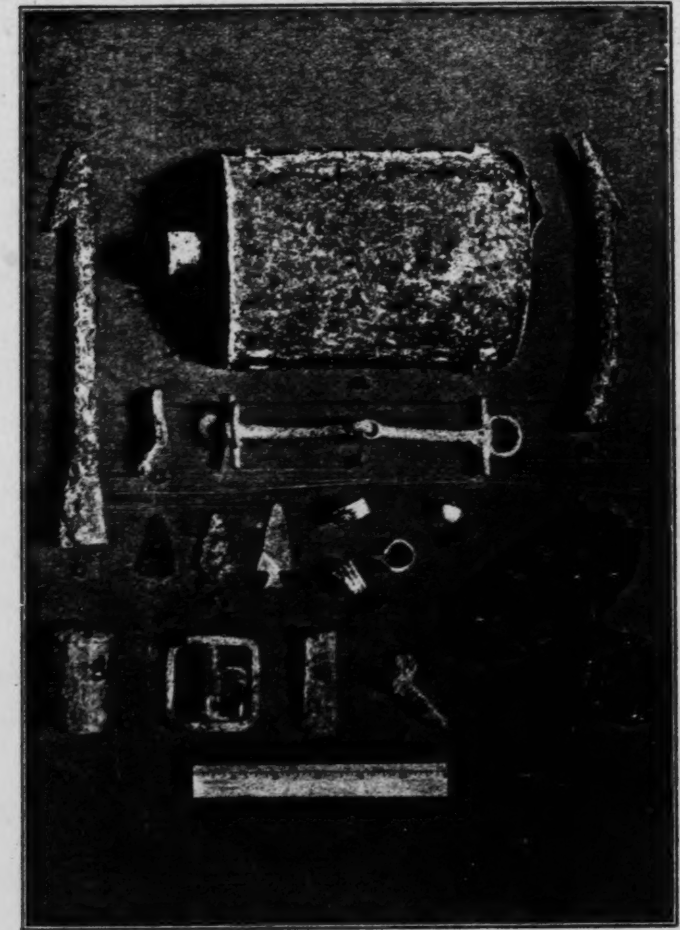
172 764 PLATE 11.—Pawnee burials. *a*, burial 3, Hill site, showing fragments of broken cradle board (?) and rush matting which covered remains; *b*, burial 3, Hill site, after removal of covering; *c*, burial 2, Hill site, showing old powder cannister or canteen back of head; *d*, burial at the Palmer site, with a complete pot as the sole mortuary offering.

172 177 411 412 PLATE 12.—Metal trade material from the Hill site. Historic Pawnee. *a*, army canteen of early nineteenth century type from burial 2 (see p. 92 and pl. 11, *c*); *b*, *c*, iron lance heads from caches; *e*, hammer from flintlock; *d*, bridle bit; *f*, arrowpoints cut from iron hoe blades; *g*, three lead rings (see pp. 79 and 92); *h*, lead pistol ball; *i*, piece of gun barrel; *j*, belt buckle; *k*, small chisel; *l*, *frizel* from flintlock; *m*, iron hoe of type usually found on historic Pawnee sites, this specimen with remains of charred wooden handle still visible in the socket.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
●177
411
412



METAL TRADE MATERIAL FROM THE HILL SITE (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

[End Plate 12]

14

PRACTICAL PREPARATIONS FOR THE BUFFALO HUNT

000

The Arrowshaft Makers—the Problem of Horses—Patterns of Cooperation on the Hunt—the Value of Horses to the Pawnees—the Tent Skin and Implements Needed with the Tent—Furniture—Household Utensils—Household Grouping for the Hunt—the Stay-at-Homes

BEFORE LEAVING ON THE HUNT, one of the Pawnees' primary considerations 411
was the weapons they would need for hunting and for their protection.
Guns were expensive and sources of ammunition were not
readily available while they were on the march. And so they used the
bow and arrow, which could be made from local materials. Every 411
hunter made his own bow of ashwood and his own sinew bowstring, but
the making of the arrowshaft was a highly specialized craft. The shaft itself 463
fashioned of dogwood sticks had to be carefully shaped and the
feathering skillfully applied so that it would shoot true. In 1867, there
were only five arrowshaft makers for the whole Skidi Band. Everyone
who needed arrows had to place his order with one of them and arrange
to compensate him for his work. They also had to bring the craftsman
the dogwood sticks well seasoned. They had collected them some
time beforehand and left them in the rafters of the house so that
they would be ready. When Old-Man-That-Chief stood on the roof of
the earth lodge and reported on the chiefs' ritual meeting and exhorted
them all to hurry, the arrowshaft makers were the first to feel the pressure.
The arrow point required a different kind of negotiation. In the 411
past they were made of chipped flint that no doubt had to be traded for 439
at some distance. At this time they were using iron barrel hoops that 177
they got from the trader in the tradestore, which they had rough-shaped 326
by the blacksmith.

411
439 by the blacksmith. They would sharpen them to their taste with a metal
177 file that they also obtained in trade.

The arrowshaft makers had a monumental task to keep everyone sup-
411 plied. They considered it a social service and made sure everyone had
463 them whether they were compensated or not. The Pawnee community was always more or less in a state of siege, and the arrowshaft makers felt that their work was essential to their common survival. As Mark Evarts expressed it, "Sometimes the arrowmaker made up his mind himself to make some arrows for someone. They want to supply the whole camp with arrows out of public spirit so that if the enemy comes on the warpath, everyone will have arrows. Even if they don't get any special compensation, they will do it to protect their children and others."

Practically the entire supply of arrows that they needed for the summer had to be made while they were still in the village as there was no time for such work while they were on the march or attacking the herd. A craftsman could produce about ten a day and he usually made them in lots of twenty, working them all in successive stages for the whole lot. With the limited leisure they had on the march they could barely finish one in a day, and this would only be done in case of emergency. They did take some dogwood sticks along for such a contingency. A hunter would consider twenty to forty arrows a reasonable number to keep
[162] in his arsenal. In 1840 the Skidi population was estimated to have 469 males over the age of ten years. If 200 of these were adult hunters, this would mean that each of the five craftsmen would have 40 of them to take care of, and supplying each with 20 arrows would mean that he
[461] had to produce 800 arrows to keep his group supplied once around. This was eighty full days of work.

When a man decided he needed to replenish his stock, he took the dogwood sticks that he had seasoning in the rafters of his house and went to the arrowmaker and asked him to make him twenty. It would be tacitly
[437] understood that if in time he got a buffalo, he would make him a gift of a buffalo robe, or perhaps a blanket, some dried buffalo meat, leggings, or a pair of good moccasins.

Sometimes, without having a special order on hand, the craftsman would ask a young man to get him forty to sixty dogwood sticks and would compensate him when he had finished, with a gift of ten completed shafts. He wanted to make sure that everyone was supplied whether they made a special request or not. They had to get their own
[237] feathers—turkey for the most part, but if they could not get one, a buzzard or a goose was a substitute.

In the latter part of May just before the chief's council, they were likely to accelerate their efforts. One of them would be sitting at the gaming grounds watching the hoop and spear game, and then another would be likely to sit down and join him. They would begin to talk

231 Horses were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact.
that horses were introduced to this continent by the Spaniards in the
• 177 early 1500's, and whatever use was made of them by American Indians
had to develop after that time. Even though it was a considerable length
of time, the Pawnee practices in connection with the use and care of
horses were not as advanced as those of the Spaniards. As regards the
*224 buffalo hunt, at the time of our narrative horses were used in the chase
492 when they were attacking the herd in a group and also to carry their
food and camping equipment. The strategy of the mass attack upon the
herd was to develop a "surround" by the mounted hunters who had
been lined up behind a hill out of sight. No doubt they had previously
used a similar technique on foot. As to carrying the food and equipment,
492 a good deal of it was packed on the backs of the women and girls. How-
493 ever, the women had dogs who were trained to drag the tent poles be-
482 hind them, the heavy ends of the poles tied to a harness on the dog's
back. The tent poles were grouped into two sets, one on each side of
the dog, and connected by two cross sticks toward the lower ends. Upon
these a skin cover was wrapped where other luggage was placed. A dog
492 could drag as much as 70 pounds. The custom of dog traction and ex-
482 tensive carrying on the back by the women was in full operation as late
175 as 1837 when a famous painter, Alfred Jacob Miller, portrayed the
178 Pawnees in this manner. After 1850, however, dogs were no longer used
[782] for this purpose, and it was mostly the men who kept them around so
that the puppies could be sacrificed and eaten at a special ceremonial.
Some, of course, were kept by the women as pets. By 1867, the horse had
taken over the carrying function almost entirely except for a few poor
single or old people who had to do some packing of their dried buffalo
meat on the way home. The packing of the horse resembled that for-
[493] merly used in connection with the dog; the horse travois or carrying
frame was also the same as that of the dog. All the leather trappings for
keeping the luggage in place had now to be carefully prepared before they
left for the hunt.

231 The Pawnees were relatively poor in horses compared with other
422 Plains tribes at this time. This may have been due to constant attacks by
171 the Sioux and the other nomadic tribes, although this is not certain. At
any rate while among the Blackfoot or the Kiowa twenty-five horses at
least were considered an average number for a family on the move,
Eagle Chief, who was head of the Skidi Band, had only ten, and a reason-
ably comfortable family like that of Victory Call had only four or five.
Some families had only one or two horses and it was with great difficulty
726 that they went on the hunt at all. Even in their war practices, the
*484 Pawnee retained some of their prehorse habits. It was well known that
178 they set out on their war expeditions on foot and they were known to the
Kiowa as "Walkers." The rationale given for this by students of the sub-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

it. A man like Eagle Chief who had eight or nine horses and whose son- 224*
in-law had a similar number, could afford to lend two or three to outsiders, 492
although this did not mean they would also share in the family 422
tent, as his administrative functions required that he take his entire 426
family along.

In the Pawnee language, the word horse means "super-dog," the only 482
pack animal the Pawnees had before the impact of European culture. 492
With all due respect to the capacities of the dog, however, it was the people 177 •
themselves that did most of the carrying on their own backs. They 224*
had to pack not only the things they needed for camping—food, tents,
and equipment—but they had to carry back the dried buffalo meat and
the large hides. Every able-bodied person they took along with them
could earn his way by carrying things on his back. The men, whether
first-rate hunters or not, could play a useful role in the surround of the
herd. The only people they would leave behind in the villages were the
old and disabled. But the horse had made quite a difference in the social
economy. A horse could be packed with the dried and packaged meat of
four buffalo while a person could not carry more than one—about 80
pounds. If need be the horse could carry still more goods on his back.
Unless they could be of substantial assistance in the work of the camp, a
person would only be an extra mouth to feed. In the case of a chief or 574
a man who was socially ambitious, there would be a great deal of entertaining 554
to do in the camp; women, in addition to their work in preparing 224*
the meat and skins would also assist with the entertaining. In a family 462
which had no social ambitions, like that of Mad Bear cited above, two
men in partnership taking a minimum of housing and utensils and a 224*
maximum of horses could return with a great deal of buffalo meat and 571
hides, to the general benefit of their families. The wife left behind under 492
these circumstances could hardly resent it.

The horse also represented a unique and highly valuable item of capital 551
that had the unprecedented value of not having to be carried, but of 231
moving itself. In the past, differences in wealth would depend on a much [556]
more direct kind of personal skill. The man who was swiftest on his feet
and the most skilled with the bow and arrow got the best buffalo, and
his wife could produce the finest packaged meat and the best skins. These
in turn could be traded for other valuable things—valued ornaments or
participation in the sacred ceremonies. Now skill in horsemanship, which
had become an indispensable factor in hunting the buffalo, implied also
major successes on the warpath and the capturing of horses as well as
their subsequent care and protection. The horse thus provided a material [556]
basis for a greater degree of social differentiation. The horse was an item [422]
of personal property, but unlike property in our society it was by no
means as much of a factor in developing differential status as other
aspects of experience, chiefly knowledge of man, the world, and the
universe.

came off easily. They were considerably lighter to carry than the 342
rigid tipi poles. For the summer shelter they also needed two upright
posts forked at the top and a cross piece to connect them to form a
frame, onto which the saplings would be tied and through which the
summer tent was entered. Wooden pegs were needed for both summer
and winter tents to hold the skin tight by driving them through the loops
at the base of the cover. They were usually gotten at the last minute.

A very necessary implement for these operations was a long 7-foot [412]
stick to be used as a digging iron. It was forked at the top and had a
strong fire-hardened point to make holes in the ground for the poles of
the frame.

Furniture for the tent included five large mats finely woven of bulrush 352
to be used as floor covering. These were carried rolled up and tied
with a string in the middle that had been provided for the purpose.

A wooden mortar was also needed for making mush and corn flour 412
and for other cookery. It was made of a section of elm log, the bottom 492
whittled into a point so that it could be stuck upright into the ground.
There was a hole drilled through this part of the mortar so that it could 322
be tied onto the horse with the other baggage. The working end at the
top was excavated by charring and scraping into a deep bowl shape.
With it they had to carry a long pestle made of a small tree trunk with
both ends left intact and the middle portion cut down for a handhold.
This was carried grouped with the long tent poles and the digging iron;
the poles were tied at one end to the horse's back with the other end
dragging on the ground.

Other household utensils were six or seven wooden bowls made by the 415
women as were the other wooden objects for the household, a string of [439]
buffalo-horn spoons for tableware and perhaps some small enamel bowls
gotten at the trade store for their coffee. Also included was a larger
wooden ladle for serving.

All the cooking vessels in Mark Evart's time were of metal replacing 415
the older pottery and they had to be gotten from the trader. As late as 439
1835–1856, a few clay pots were being made, but by 1867 there were 323
none at all. By 1928 almost all memory of how they were made was gone. 175
Metal came into use among the ancestors of the Pawnees by 1650 or before,
when sheet metal was being cut up to make some of their arrow 177
points. In 1833 the Pawnees had an extensive trade with the Kiowas in
brass buckets. For the present expedition, they needed a large brass
kettle for cooking corn, soup, or mush, two standard metal buckets—
one for water and one for coffee—and a metal frying pan to make grease
bread.

In order to get these latter items, Victory Call rode up to Bishop and 439
Matlock's trade store on his best-looking horse to establish his credit,
saying to Mr. Bishop, "Grandpa, come out and take a look at my horse.

tional as well as the physical structure of these animals. The device of 787
animal impersonation by dressing up in animal skins and imitating their 825
sounds and motions is universally reported for hunting peoples and must
go back to the very dawn of man's history. It may be that some degree
of self-induced trance or control of the prey in these terms may have
been involved in these operations. In any case, an intense rapport with
the animals was involved.

Each doctor developed his own "animal repertoire." We may be able 756
to gain some insight into the relation between the doctor and his animal
mentor from an actual case of a transfer of animal powers between two
brothers who decided to make a fair exchange of their different knowledge.

Victory Call was anxious to get Bear knowledge from his older brother,
Sitting Hawk, who was a leader of the Bear Lodge in the Doctor Association. One day when they were alone together he broached the
subject. Sitting Hawk, however, was not willing to part with what he
knew for nothing. He said, "I want something there on your side. We're
going to trade." "You're my own brother," said Victory Call, "and you
won't teach me for nothing?" "You're my own brother, too, and I know
you won't teach me for nothing either," said Sitting Hawk. We should
explain that Victory Call was the leader of a private doctor cult the
Raris-ta, Dance-Deer or Whistle Dance involving the mescal bean that
had become so prominent among the Pawnees that it was developing
into a feared rival of the Doctor Association itself. Two generations be- [177]
fore, this cult had been borrowed from the Wichita, the Caddoan-
speaking kinsmen of the Pawnees to the south. Among other kinds of 756
knowledge, rattlesnake power was involved in the teachings. It is hard to 824
know what plants were involved in connection with the curing of snake- 825
bite or the control of the snakes. Members of the *Raris-ta* could handle
a weed that was thought to be poisonous to other people, though there is
no proof that this was the case. It was undulating in form like the snake
itself. People were warned not to touch the plant unless they were members of the society. It was said of them that they had "snake-shot" or
power, *rut-patsat-kuriraru*, "snake-shot-to-possess-or-own." Weeds associated with rattlesnakes have variously been identified from other
tribes—a Mexican mentioned Dodder or Love Vine (*Cuscuta paradoxa*
Raf.), saying that snakes took it into their dens for food; from the Dakota
Indians there is a report that Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens* L.) was
known as snake food. The botanical identity of the Pawnee plant, how- 756
ever, is not known. In the cosmic mythology it was said that the jealous 773
Fools-the-Wolves Star (Sirius) who had felt himself excluded from the 824
original Council of the Gods, was angered when people told irreverent 825
stores about Wolf or Coyote. Although in winter he couldn't control
the situation, in summer he could enlist the aid of the Snake Star (Scor-

756 in an earth lodge in a place known only to himself. The fourth act was
796 to be by Brave Shield or High Noon, who was a buffalo doctor. He
536 would shoot an arrow into the chest of his young son, Yellow Calf,
789 who would be impersonating a young buffalo.

The Pawnee doctor, wearing nothing but his loin cloth, was apparently
756 a highly successful illusionist, as attested by the number of hard-headed
796 white spectators who were thoroughly mystified. Among them was
Major Frank North who early became a clerk in the trade store on the
536 Pawnee reservation and later rose to be the leader of the U.S. Battalion
789 of Pawnee Scouts that were regularly inducted into the U.S. Army.
• 177 North, having a good grasp of the language and being familiar with the
personalities involved, on witnessing the act where "the Bear" rips open
[648] the abdomen of a boy and eats part of the liver, could only conclude either that a dummy had been used or that the boy had actually been murdered on the spot. George Bird Brinnell of Yale, who had been among the Pawnee in Nebraska, after their removal visited a medicine man in Oklahoma and he too was at a loss to explain what he had seen in broad daylight. Luther North, young brother of Frank, who was with him on this occasion said that while he was on duty with the Pawnee scouts in Nebraska some of his scouts would practice their illusionist feats while they were out on campaigns with him. "One man hid among the tall grass and appeared as a deer, then the next moment as a man," he reported. Another would simply take up a handful of mud and, rubbing his hands together, produce a live turtle, reconverting it into mud again. North asked him what would happen if he released the turtle and let him go. The man said he would die. North returned to the spot after such an episode and found the dead turtle there. There are also eyewitness accounts of such feats as cutting off a foot during the course of a performance, reattaching it backward and then restoring it to normal.

756 My informant who had participated in some of these feats from the
796 operational side was by no means mystified. The illusions were carefully
789 planned, with assistants planted in the audience and all the practical details organized with great precision. The methods for convincing the audience that are familiar to us, such as allowing the spectators to examine some of the objects involved, were freely used. Various lighting effects produced by lowering or brightening the fire were also employed. Knowing all this, Evarts continued to believe in the divine intervention in the process, while a friend of similar age, David Gillingham, remained an unbeliever from his boyhood on into later life.

756 Now on the first evening before their performance, the doctors got
796 ready for their parade through the village, *wi-ti-kihar-rar-itsax-ka-wu*, "now-it-dance-they-through-the-village-among-going." The first contingent comprised the four leading doctors at the west. They made an extensive tour of the village, going into each earth lodge as far as they could

among the doctors. The errand men and their assistants received gifts of 756 796
calico. [574]

The Doctor Lodge was one of the most intensive group ceremonies of
the year, extending to all the people. In the three South Bands at this time, 756
each had a similar twenty-day Doctor Ceremony that they referred to 796
as Big-Sleight-of-Hand. Apparently they only lacked the serpent or wa- 184
ter monster of the Skidi, which was the special feature of the federation of the Skidi villages.

After the Doctor Lodge, the separate animal cults that had been rep- 756
resented there should each have a three-day ceremony of its own—the 796
general one constituting a mandate for this. The ceremonial calendar was so crowded that it was extremely difficult to find three days when all the members would be free of other ceremonial involvements. The Bear and Buffalo cults were large organizations with thirty to forty members, and there were many overlappings in the personnel.

There was one private cult, however—the Deer Dance—that was en- 796
tirely outside the association. It had been imported a generation before 177
from the kindred Caddoan-speaking Wichita to the south and adapted to 535
the Pawnee ceremonial pattern. It had no obligation to the Doctor As-
sociation and was fast presenting a challenge to it for membership. Its 578
ceremony was held at a time that overlapped the Doctor Lodge, and sometimes members were spirited away from one to the other, causing considerable bitterness between the leaders. The Deer Dance, also known as Whistle Dance from the whistles the dancers blew at frequent intervals, celebrated the maturing of the wild sage and the mescal bean. Rattlesnake power was also part of the cult. The over-all pattern was of a Deer Lodge in the timber. In some ways it represented a quite different system of thought from the Doctor Association, and through it new and important developments might have occurred in Pawnee ceremonial thinking. But before this could be realized, its life was ended by the holocaust that overtook the Pawnee people and their culture and their wild animal world as white contact intensified (see p. 3).

Victory Call was the director of this cult and he was largely responsible
for its growth and success among the people. On his deathbed he [954]
accused his arch rival, Big Doctor, of causing his death through sorcery.

43

THE DEER DANCE

000

The Deer Dance a New Addition to Pawnee Ritual—Kind Warrior Visits the Wichita—He Learns the Deer Dance from Them—the Learning of the Dance Explained—He Returns to the Pawnees and They Learn from Him—the Form of the Dance Undergoes Changes—the Songs They Sing—Differences with Other Animal Lodge Ceremonies—Mythology of Deer Dance—Popularity of Deer Dance

796 536 INVESTIGATORS HAVE LONG REALIZED that the Pawnees had a culture that was unusually rich in ceremony and metaphor. It was particularly in the theater arts connected with their ceremonies that their aesthetic culture had its main expression. In the ceremonies, the sustained patterning of the episodes, the costuming, and the underlying ideology and symbolism represented an aesthetic composite of great richness, which was assiduously cultivated and appreciated by the people for its beauty.

796 •177 [484] [167] The Deer Dance was a comparatively new addition to the Pawnee ceremonial repertoire. For more than a century certainly, and no doubt considerably longer, Pawnee men had gone south on extended visits to the several tribes of their Caddoan-speaking kinsmen. While they were there they commonly participated in the ceremonies as well as in other activities. Some remained there permanently such as the brother of Eagle Chief, Noted-Tent (*Iseru-rikariku*), who became a distinguished Wichita chief. A man of the Kitkehaxki Band, *Tiraritaka'as*, became a chief of the Kitsai. For a rich source of new ideological and aesthetic material the Pawnees were conscious that they must go south to the Wichita, the Wichita probably looking south to the Caddo and the Caddo in turn to Mexico. It is probable that in this manner, passing from group to

796
177

group, Aztec and other Mexican type cultural forms filtered northward to the Pawnees.

Sometime before 1842, while they were living at Old Village (Kitkehaxpakuxtu), Kind Warrior (*Tirarira*) who was still a young man then, used to go visiting the Wichita quite often and on one of these occasions, when his host was going to a Deer Dance he requested that he be taken along. When they arrived at the ceremonial house, he was asked whether he would like to participate and he said he would, as he liked to dance. He was then costumed like the others, painted all over with white clay, a feather worn crosswise at the back of his head, in his right hand a whistle and in his left a bunch of wild sage which had white seeds. A bowl contained white clay with some of the white seeds so that the dancers could paint themselves.

His friend told him to follow him around during the dancing so that the other Wichitas could see him and when the members had gone, the chiefs sitting at the head of the room called over Kind Warrior and asked him whether his friend had told him anything about the dance. When he answered that he had just painted him up, the chiefs said, "When you get home, say to your friend, 'Now my friend, I don't want people just to see me painted up. I want to know what I am painted for.' "

The next evening, when Kind Warrior and his Wichita friend were in the grass house together, he caressed his friend in blessing and said, "I don't want to simply be painted up. I want you to take pity on me and tell me what it means. I will stay with you as long as you want me to. I will take care of your horses, haul water for you, and hunt the buffalo. You don't have to get the buffalo. I'm the one that will get them for you." The Wichita said, "All right my friend. What you want I can tell you." Then Kind Warrior went over to the Wichita's wife and placed his hands upon her in blessing too. "From now on," said the Wichita, "whenever the dance comes, we'll go in together." Kind Warrior stayed two or three years in order to learn. The dance was held almost any time of year and lasted for four days.

The next time the dance was held, the Wichita taught Kind Warrior as he had promised. He said to him, "You must know something more than just the singing. The Wichitas are watching us now. Now I'm going to get up and you get up and follow me around." They were ready to perform their sleight-of-hand feat. Kind Warrior was told to hold the whistle in his left hand and the sage plant in his right. Now they began to encircle the fireplace. At the northwest corner, the Wichita struck the ashes with the sage and the dust arose. Then they went on to the other three semicardinal "corners" in counterclockwise succession (northeast, southeast, southwest) and at the west facing east, burned the ends of the sage in the fire. Then they made another counterclock-

796 wise circuit and at the west about a foot from the fireplace, hit the ground
177 with the sage. Kind Warrior did the same and out of each of their sage plants, four beans rolled down. The Wichita now addressed the different "animal stations" where the members were seated and said, "Now you see what I did with my brother. I told him to do whatever I do. And now I'm going to give him what I do so that he can perform it at home." The Wichitas were all glad to see him do this. He continued to address them: "Now if he goes home and you hear that the Pawnees have started to do the Deer Dance, you can all know that I told him to do it. I also told him to listen to how the singing goes and what the singing is about. I told him that the singing was not just done for its own sake but to study how the animals go and what they do. And I told him that some of the songs are about smoking and that smoking is the main thing. And since he was not willing merely to be painted up for the dance, but wanted to learn what it means, I have taught him. And I'll be more than glad if you at the other places will help me with your performance so that he can learn." The Wichitas said, "That's good. We will try to help this man." "Kind Warrior," said his friend, "you ought to be glad that these different people are going to teach you for nothing."

As the doctors went through their performances, one of them would call him over and whisper to him the meaning of his performance. He would turn around and embrace the man, clasping him about the neck and rubbing his hands upon him from the head and down the arms in blessing, for he had taken pity on him and given him what he most wanted. As the dancing continued, another would call him over, and then another, and so he learned many of their different ways. One of the members had a black bean. He said to Kind Warrior, "You see this?" "Yes, I see it." Then the performer went around the fireplace four times and at the four semicardinal "corners," put ashes on the bean at each corner. After he had done this and gone around the fireplace four times, he stopped at the west and threw the bean down and a black spider was seen running around on the ground. "Now," said the Wichita doctor, "when you go home and have a Deer Dance, you can do this." And then Kind Warrior turned around and blessed him and so he learned many ways among the Wichita.

221
224 When he got home, it was the fall of the year and the Doctor Dance was just over and they were preparing to leave the village and go on the winter hunt. Some of the men while they were out, had noticed that the wood had been bitten by beaver and they thought this would be a good time to set a few beaver traps and make a little money by selling the skins. Two or three traps would yield a man a good profit. He would mention to a few friends, "Why stay around the village? Why not set out to trap beaver? And those who had guns could chase deer, moose, or elk." Some of their families would want to go along and

Some of their families would want to go along and
some old women to collect wild potatoes and the wild beans that 221
were stored by the wood rat. The women could help with hauling 224
wood and cooking and boys could make themselves useful hauling 484
water and tending the horses. Eventually ten to fifteen tipis in two or [222]
three bunches would set out in this way, traveling five or six miles a
day and staying two or three days in one place. Individual men would
join tents with families, going out during the day with their horses
and joining the camp at night at the appointed place. Every evening an
old man would walk among them announcing the next day's plans.
They camped on the north side of the Loup where they could get
wood as it might snow at any time. Those who trapped beaver would
clean their traps in the evening and set them from the north side of the
river, while the deer hunters went either north or south. Whenever any-
one caught anything, they would have a big feast all through the camp. [574]
Eagle Chief and War Cry who excelled in buffalo hunting did not care
for shooting with guns and trapping, but Victory Call, and his older
brother, Sitting Hawk, and also Old Bull were good hunters and trap-
pers. They did not believe in exposing their families to enemy attack in
this way and so they would come along by themselves. After they had
made five or six camps, someone would come from the village and tell
them that they would soon be setting out for the winter buffalo hunt
and then they would all return and prepare.

It was such an informal hunting and trapping group that Kind War- 796
rior joined when he returned from the Wichita. In his tipi he was sing- 177
ing his Deer Dance songs in Wichita, and when Victory Call, who was
feeling lonesome, heard him, he went into the tipi where Kind Warrior
was lying on his back and singing as he beat time on his thigh. Kind
Warrior got up and welcomed Victory Call and after he said he was at-
tracted by the singing, invited him to lie down and join him. Lying to
the left of Kind Warrior he sang along with him and whenever he had
nothing to do, he would just go in and sing. Others came in too and
sang with them. Back at the village these men would sing together in
the lodge and as others heard them, they also came in. These were men
who had also been among the Wichita and had learned only individual
songs but not the whole ritual. Some had learned polecat teaching, others
buzzard, etc., and as they sang together, they taught one another. While
Kind Warrior knew the most, he also learned new things from them.
When there were about ten members, Kind Warrior could set them
out in a formal arrangement (see Figure 43-1). He assigned two to
each of the four semicardinal positions, two at the west as *rixkita*, lead-
ers, and one errand man for the north, one for the south. More people
came in and filled in the places. They made four rattles of wild squash
with green and white wavy stripes to imitate the Wichita version.
They also got four bows in accordance with the original version. Kind

796 Warrior had Victory Call's help in all this and the two men liked each
177 other. Victory Call gave Kind Warrior a horse, a beaver when he trapped it and other gifts to show his appreciation for what Kind Warrior had done for him. Kind Warrior told the members that Victory Call was to lead them when he died.

796
346

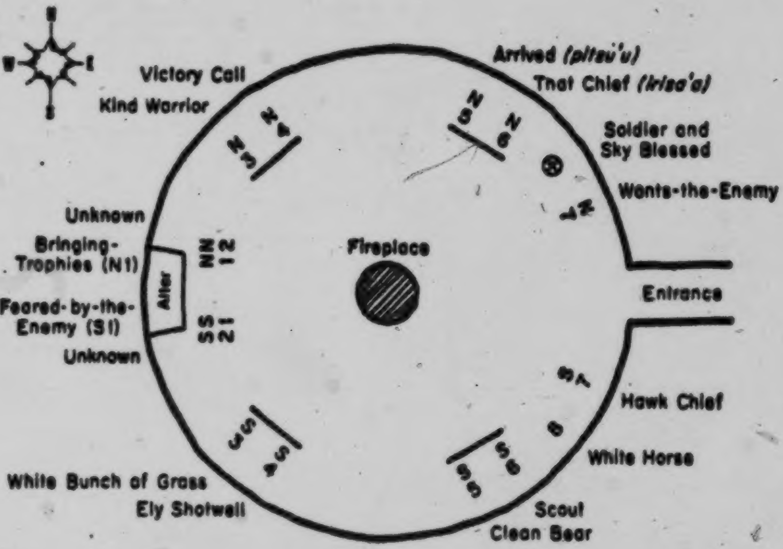

N
W
E
S
Victory Call
Kind Warrior
Arrived *(pitsu'u)*
That Chief *(krisa'a)*
Soldier and
Sky Blessed
Wants-the-Enemy
N3
N4
N5
N6
⊗
N7
Unknown
Bringing-
Trophies (N1)
Altar
Feared-by-the-
Enemy (S1)
Unknown
N2
N1
S1
S2
Fireplace
Entrance
S7
Hawk Chief
8
White Horse
S3
S4
S5
S6
White Bunch of Grass
Ely Shotwell
Scout
Clean Bear

FIGURE 43-1. The first form of the Deer Dance, *Raris-ta*, "dance-deer," a simple gathering of members. The northern half were Pawnees, *Isati;* the southern half, the various southern Caddoan tribes—S3 Kitsai; S4 Kitsai; S5 Tawakaru; S6 Wichita; 8 Kitsai, a bad one; and later Weco, representing the tribes from which the members had learned. The northwest leader on the Pawnee side would say, "The Kitsais, Wichitas, and others are coming on the warpath," signifying one or the other of the south-side people. This was a challenge to a shamanistic contest.

796 The singing was carried out in four sets. There were four men at each of the semicardinal stations. There were four gourd rattles and four bows. These were carried first to the four at the southeast who would rattle and sing a set of songs and then the paraphernalia was passed to the next station at the southwest, then to the northwest and then to the northeast, each group rattling and singing a set of songs. The four successive semicardinal stations represented the course of a man's life—southeast, youth; southwest, maturity; northwest, getting old; and northeast, old man. As the singing proceeded, whichever of the members felt moved, would get up and give a sleight-of-hand performance. Spec-

tators (*rariwaatuksu*) crowded in, and seeing what they were doing be- 796
came interested, and began to fill up the membership ranks. Others [177]
now went to the southern Caddoan-speaking tribes—the Wichitas, Kitsais,
Tawakaru, and Weco—learned their sleight-of-hand tricks, and returned
to join the Deer Dance. The ranks thus became full.

In the south half of the lodge, at the west and in the semicardinal positions, each of the men had a tribal name according to where he had acquired his teachings. The north side that represented the Pawnee was called as a whole, *isati* (a noted one, or northerner in the Wichita language). The leader from the Pawnee side at the northwest station would say (mentioning one or the other of the southern Caddoan tribes), "The Kitsais [or the Wichitas, etc.] are coming on the warpath!" This would be a challenge to a shamanistic contest.

The year after the Pawnee moved from Fremont (*Pahaku*) to the reser- 796
vation near Genoa, Kind Warrior died (1861). Victory Call survived 178
him by seven years and during this time he controlled the Deer Dance and it had many members with performances going full force. Many new features were added to the ceremony, particularly two—the contest between members on the north and those on the south and the addition of two women members, one near the north entrance and one near the south. (See Figure 43-2.) This latter feature came about after someone reported that the Wichita included women, who took part and also gave performances. Then someone dreamed that they had been right in admitting the women and that they should have special duties of taking care of any corn that was donated and sweep the floor of the lodge every morning during the ceremony. Every morning during the ceremonial period, the old ladies would get up very early and tell the boys to get up. Then they gave the room a good sweeping. There were songs that told of this aspect of the ceremonial life in the Deer Lodge.

As Kind Warrior brought the Deer Dance to the Pawnee, most of the 796
songs had Wichita words and reflected Wichita experiences. But in time 533
the Pawnee dancers made new songs that were based on their own expe- 177
riences and sung in the Pawnee language.

One war experience was of a war party of the Pitahawirata Band to Fort 796
Scott, Kansas, led by Tikarahisat. They stayed on a high tableland for 533
more than a year, hunting the buffalo and making a buffalo robe for their 825
leader. They saw the ducks flying south in winter and then in spring when they flew north again, they flew in triangular formation with their leader at the apex and at the ends of the arms, the two errand men. Children used to ask these ducks, as they flew over the village, to give them moccasins or red bows and arrows. These experiences became the basis for a Pawnee song in the Deer Dance. Another song they sang was about two eagles that they saw, first one with a large log in his claws, then another with another log; they were building a nest. As they built, the eagles would whistle.

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796
533
[539]

1.	hiwiri	Wiwitawia Now it comes flying
2.	"	"
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	hita feather-coming

The two men continued to talk together that night in the lodge and New Young Dog told Warrior about the rabbit learning that he wanted to know. Should anyone come in and see the sparks from their pipe and hear the whispering, they would know that the two men were to be left alone and would go straight to their beds as they were talking of something important. The next time the dance was held, Warrior followed after New Young Dog. After he had carried out his performance, New Young Dog addressed the assembled company saying, "What you have seen me do here today, I am giving to this fellow here, Warrior. This is my teaching." From this time on Warrior was able to do the rabbit dance and could make a rabbit skin come alive and be a rabbit.

796 72 [178] [177] In this way, the original Wichita Deer Dance took on its Pawnee form. By 1867 it had become a typically elaborate Pawnee ceremony. Sleight-of-hand performances and trance induction were both modes in which they operated as they did in the Doctor Lodge. But unlike the Doctor Lodge where animal costumes and animal impersonations celebrated their communion with the animals, in the Deer Dance, war was the predominant theme and each of the members at the stations bore the name of a tribe, the opposing north and south sides representing attack and counterattack. The ceremony was carried through ten consecutive sessions, nine in the night and a tenth in the daytime with a number of rest days between. Technically, they conceived that the all-day tenth and final episode was the actual ceremony and the nine night sessions simply preliminary to it. The nine night sessions comprised several different phases. In the first five, there was a program of four or more sleight-of-hand performances, chiefly in sequence. As in the Doctor Dance, [789] [787] sleight of hand was referred to as "playing." Following these "playing" sessions, going on very late into the night was a series of "fighting" or hypnotic episodes. But these differed from the Doctor Lodge "fighting" which was simple trance induction; in the Deer Dance, the fighting consisted of hypnotic interference with a sleight-of-hand performance while it was in progress, confusing the performer and making it impossible for him to complete his feat. The difference between the two kinds of "fighting" was recognized in the names they were called—the "fighting" of the Doctor Lodge was "I shoot at him," *wi-tatix-tsaaku*, "now-I at him-shoot" (abbreviated as *patsaaku*) while

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Deer Dance

331

796
756
578

As to the public at that time, when the conflict was imminent, some felt a test of power would be welcome between the two organizations, while others felt strongly that it should be avoided.

796
177
178

How much of the ceremony was basically a Wichita plan and how much Pawnee innovation cannot be entirely resolved, as a number of Wichitas came among the Pawnees and stayed for some time, one of them, Atskiri, remaining for three years and coaching Misery for his role as future leader of the organization. Whatever the details, by 1867, the Deer Dance had become an intricate Pawnee ceremony, following the characteristic pattern with complicated histrionic as well as conceptual features.

Next 824
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two es- 316
sential materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and 317
stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have 439
been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or
by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their
area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made 175
up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking 439
and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees 415
were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one 177•
could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grin- [323]
nell got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery
in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it
well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 323

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A
> hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward
> pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine
> clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it
> well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with
> buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout,
> and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on
> the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they
> lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking
> "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron."
> This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they [252]
> boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They 172
have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular 415
body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick
"collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad
collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was 415
the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part 252
the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim
and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots
were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must 411
also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was 17
entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the
arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops
roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to
the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-
• 177 shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological circles
[772] as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the ~~early~~ names for white people
was "Big Knife."

Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
17 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
412 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
324 continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrowshafts
and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sandstone
buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from southwest
Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
[439] Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal
their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard
electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
796 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
463 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
322 arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the
essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots
from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when
the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was
referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the
pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic
terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
796 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
171 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

000 sheep." It was further reported that to the north there were many "cattle." The reports of Coronado's expedition of about the same period in the Southwest describe the details of buffalo hunting with great accuracy and show that even in the 1860's they had survived substantially as they were then. In 1599, Oñate of New Mexico hoped the Spaniards could also develop a thriving trade in buffalo wool and hides, but the Spanish empire was already too decadent.

175
439
[224] By the 1600's the big business in furs with Europe had been developed by France starting with the fateful beaver trade on the St. Lawrence. As we see from the present account, the Pawnees were still trapping the beaver with metal traps in 1867, in order to trade them for cash. By the end of the 1600's the Indians were no longer merely a source of raw materials for trade to Europe, but also a positive outlet for European manufactured goods. "The Indians were collecting sassafras, tanning buckskins, and building up a steady trade in buffalo wool." In 1702 seventeen Frenchmen left Tamaroa Mission near Cahokia, Illinois, east of St. Louis to ascend the Missouri about two hundred leagues to build a fort between the Pawnee and the Iowa. The French were attempting to control the inter-Indian trade to protect themselves from the encroachment upon the Indian trade by the Spaniards who were moving up from the Southwest. Their fears were not unfounded, for in 1706 the Spaniards were reported to have come to an Indian village to trade for buffalo hides with which to make harness for their mules.

[177] At a somewhat later period, fur traders were sent out from Council Bluffs (Iowa) to live with the Pawnees at their earth lodges and follow them on their hunting expeditions.

281 Before he became mature, every man and woman had learned how to prepare hides. Most of all they needed the buffalo robe. As stated by the informant:

> 291
> 237 The wind blew through the blankets, the buffalo robe kept you warm. Almost everyone needed a new buffalo robe every winter. Toward the summer, the hair would all wear off and by the late fall, there wouldn't be any wool on to keep a person warm. In Victory Call's family, they needed at least four robes in good condition for the winter—one for Victory Call himself, one for his wife, White Woman, one for Grandma and one for the boy, Otter. For the adults it took the skin of a whole buffalo. For children, the whole skin of a calf was used with the headskin and the two little horns left intact.
>
> 291 During the daytime, the robe was wrapped around the body horizontally with the head part overlapping at the left. At night, the same robe was used as a blanket the long way, with the hair against the body, the head part covering the head and the tail part the feet. One

231 The problem of the horses was especially acute and of major concern. 177 From archaeology and written history we know that the Pawnees had acquired horses nearly two hundred years before this time. But apparently there were many essential techniques of horse care that they had not adopted from the European. For example, Lone Chief had only recently found out that they should store hay for their horses in the winter. There were no shoes for the horses. When a horse broke his hoof they tied on a "shoe" of hide.

231 If it snowed before they left the village or after they got back, the horses had to have special care. The young boys who took care of them [857] in summer could not be utilized at this season for the purpose. Anyway, they were more interested in sliding on the ice. The women had to go a mile south to get whatever hay they could, and in the evening the horses [417] were put in a corral near the lodge—a round structure of upright sticks with a gate that was closed across with five sticks. Inside there was a manger that was filled with hay when the horses were settled in for the night. They tried to economize on feed by taking them to graze at intervals during the day. In the morning, after being fed some more hay, they were taken from the corral to the bend of Beaver Creek where there was good grass. By noon they were brought back to the village and hobbled close by. Then toward evening, if snow were expected, they were again taken to Beaver Creek to graze in order to save the hay in the corral where they would have to be kept while it was snowing. If it got too cold, they would have to take the horses into the earth lodge and settle them near the wood pile. The long entrance passageway was quite large enough to accommodate them. While they were on the hunt, the horses had to be covered with an old tent skin during the night.

Some families tried to anticipate these problems by putting their horses in the best possible condition during the fall. Toward the end of September or the beginning of October, they would send them out to Grand Island for about six weeks under the care of a group of men and boys. On the island the horses could wander more or less freely, graze, rest, and water at will. Near the villages the grass was dry at this time, but here it was green and fresh and the horses would fatten. Allowed to run [232] loose, they mated freely. No selective breeding was practiced. Some people had their horses gelded by one of the men who knew how. He tied up the horse and used certain medicines, tying up the wound with sticks [465] which would fall off by themselves later. A buffalo robe and dry meat were paid for the operation. When he was about twelve, Otter was sent 231 on such an expedition. He was told to take the mare, a colt, and a gray 857 horse and join the others. They said to him, "If the Sioux overtake you, you must get on the gray horse and you will get away unless you are thrown off. Then, since you have no weapons, you will be killed." With this cheerful admonition, Otter set out about ten in the morning,

64

POSTSCRIPT INTO THE PRESENT

000

The Modern Pawnee—Otter's Later Life—the Arrival in Oklahoma—the Fate of Otter's Family and Friends—His Marriage—the Modern Day Pawnee Powwow

177 463 SOME MIGHT WONDER how the modern Pawnees came into being, seeing that they are thoroughly integrated citizens of the present United States, many of them living as residents of various urban centers. The Pawnees count among their numbers teachers, artisans, business managers, engineers, journalists, artists, nurses, social workers, professional entertainers, and one former Big League baseball player.

159 761 754 Perhaps the fate of some of the principal characters I have mentioned offers a good means of illustrating the process of transition. The boy, Otter, is a good case in point. When he was about seven years old his father, Victory Call, died. He felt he had been bewitched by his anxious rival in the religious field, Big Doctor, leader of the Doctor Association, whose hegemony the success of Victory Call's Deer Dance cult was challenging. In his dying vision, Victory Call saw a man with an eagle-wing fan before his face that he positively identified as Big Doctor.

159 736 [572] White Woman, Grandma, and the boy were given a home by Uncle War Cry in whose house they settled, taking a subordinate position near its eastern end. The old house was left to the other inhabitants. The boy was warned to break off all relationships with his old friends who might insult him with mention of the fact that he had no father. His mother kept him close to the house. He tried to get acquainted with some of the children nearby, but he found it hard.

159 587 Two years later, Shot Arm, a brave of Lone Chief's Village-across-a-Ridge, came and sued for his mother's hand. Shot Arm approached War Cry and said, "Victory Call was my uncle and he has a son here. He is as my own son and I'd like to raise him." Finally he was told to speak to

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

159 Lincoln who was the government blacksmith. They invited Shot Arm
591 and the boy to come and live with them. They stayed there for six years and then Shot Arm's sister, Woman White Star, invited them to come and live with her. One winter both Shot Arm and the boy were very ill with a high fever. Fox Chief, his older half brother, came and took the boy to live with him. From there the boy moved from one house to the other, sometimes with Misery, then with War Cry and others. Because of his wandering about, he did not know that his father, Shot Arm, had died.
[954] The relatives suspected that his death was due to witchcraft by a member of the family of their old rival, Big Doctor. The feeling was so strong that the agent had an autopsy performed, which showed that Shot Arm had died of an old gunshot wound that had affected his lungs. But the
[165] Pawnees were not convinced. And neither was Mark Evarts when he told of it in 1928. During the first five years in Oklahoma, 800 Pawnees died.

159
• 177 Otter's old playmates, David Gillingham and the Coons brothers, had gone to Carlisle School in Pennsylvania and they induced him to come along. After his schooling he worked at harness making in Harrisburg, Newark, and Philadelphia. He experienced such wonders as climbing into the arm of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor and playing baseball for a period with the Cuban Giants, a colored team. While he was with them in the South, he was questioned by the authorities "about the grandfather clause." His right hand was permanently broken in baseball, for in those days they played without benefit of a catcher's mitt. He was very lonesome and went home. As he says,

> When I got home from Carlisle, I had no home. My older brother, Fox Chief, War Cry, and Misery had all died. It was cold weather and Behaille (the interpreter) met me on the road and took me in his buggy and gave me a swig of whisky. He offered me a home at his house where Brave Chief, Frank Leader, and Peter Wood were living.

159 An older woman in Behaille's house befriended him and established a relationship with him. Finally the agency took a hand in his life. The agent said he had made a good record at school and he should settle down. He was trained as a blacksmith and given a position. At last the Riding-In family gave him their daughter, Hannah, in marriage and they set up a farm together and had a daughter. Then Hannah died of tuberculosis and shortly afterward, at the age of twelve, their daughter followed. The farm was lost to the bank as the result of a crop failure and an unpaid loan. This was in 1924. In 1928 this record of old Pawnee life
[115] was made with Mark Evarts' help.

[781] When he returned to Pawnee from the east, Mark Evarts had a severe emotional crisis and finally an important religious experience. He re-
000 turned home permanently in 1897–1898. The Pawnee version of the re-

The Pawnee version of the revivalist Ghost Dance religion was in full force. Through it the people 668
hoped that the new would be swept away and old conditions return. It 796
was invested with many of the old and rich Pawnee ceremonial constructs that were vividly recalled in memory and in visions. As one of their fond remembrances, they thought of the old Hand Game, and this became the framework for a new and elaborate ceremonial synthesis of old religious patterns. With the beginning of the twentieth century, the religious [178]
elements diminished in importance.

In World War I and again in World War II, the Pawnees for whom de- 648
fense of country had always been a leitmotif enlisted generously, and 177
their war veterans became an important element of modern Pawnee life. Following World War II and their extensive contacts abroad, a considerable number of Pawnees availed themselves of the educational benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights, acquiring college degrees and specialized professional training.

The Pawnee powwow held in the beginning of July, when the Pawnees 527
used to leave on their summer buffalo hunt, takes place at Pawnee, 177
Oklahoma. It is a colorful combination of traditional and adapted Indian dances and music under the auspices of the Pawnee war veterans. The Pawnees, from wherever their lives have taken them, come by car, train, or plane to this their homecoming, where there is a brief period of camping in tents and cooking over an open fire or a charcoal grill, renewing social contacts and kin reminiscences. The rest of the year's round is in another place and in the present, just as the old people had envisioned their future.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Wichita NO10

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P
648
167
•177
175
439
W
175
439
165
177
648
167

3 The Pawnees and other Caddoan peoples were an integral part of European trading plans. The Wichita played the part of middlemen in the trade between the Spaniards in the Southwest and the French to the east along the Mississippi. By 1777 the Wichita were so heavily depleted in numbers by disease and war that the Spanish authorities induced a considerable contingent of Skidi Pawnees to come and live permanently in the territory and join the Wichitas so that they could defend themselves against the tribes to the east who were aligned with the British. The fact that they have "kin" among the Wichita is remembered among the Pawnees today, and gift-giving relations are maintained among them along with formal intergroup visiting. See Weltfish, 1959, pp. 332-333; Hodge, 1912, p. 706.

P
648
177
431
594
W
P
361

3 Both the Pawnees and the Wichitas changed the locations of their villages at intervals of from twelve to fifteen years; this was considered a necessary sanitary measure. The direction of these movements was determined by a variety of social and political causes, but military and trade reasons were the most common ones. My informants gave me a list of the successive Pawnee villages in recent times and the contemporary locations of the Wichita villages. I have added, in parenthesis, Wichita locations cited in Wedel, 1959, pp. 67-68, for approximately these time periods:

P
W
361
103

Wichita	*Pawnee*
Rio Grande in Texas (Wedel, north fork of Red River, Kiowa County, Oklahoma)	Old Village or Kitkehax-Pakuxtu before 1842
Chickasaw on the Washita River east of Anadarko (Wedel, the Washita drainage, Leeper Creek)	Willows-along-a-Stream or Kitapatuat, near Fullerton, Nebraska 1842–1846
	Hill-in-Water-Sitting or Pahaku, near Fremont, Nebraska 1851
Wichita, Kansas (also Wedel, 1863)	Reservation Village near Genoa, Nebraska October 1859
Anadarko, Oklahoma (also Wedel, 1867)	

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, 773
p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining 551
that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of 821
a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water.
Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation
(1925, pp. 142-161).

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee 000
texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making.

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely 231
personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive 552
names being applied to them for reference in conversation. [556]
Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;*
Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof,
Askats; Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-katit;*
White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red
Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never 231
buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who 764
had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes 428
kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would [766]
often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the
horse.

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They 231
were: Wide Feet, *As-kataribu'*; White Spotted, *Paras-taka*; Bear 552
Head, *Kuruks-paksu*; Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat*; Hate-His-Tail,
Pits-tatur-ritku; Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats*; Wooly,
Pararus; Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku*; Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.*
Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked
when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were 231
never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the
time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, [262]
the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog
Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for
hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they
tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very
vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross,
1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march
pulling the travois in 1834–1836. The Pawnees were able to identify [825]
themselves with wild animals and had great respect for
them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties.

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through 231
trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. 726
I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied 177
the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced
a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

231
726
177

000

140 horses over the prairie, "trampling over skins, dried meat and some of the smaller tents." At the same time Murray's host had only five or six horses of the poorest kind for he had been robbed of his many good horses by the Sioux. He reports that another chief had "at least thirty, among which some were wild, some Spanish and three of American breed." Pike found the Pawnee horses far superior to those of the Osages. 141 In 1829 an American horseman among the Osages on the Verdigris River in Oklahoma reported a most beautiful iron gray stallion captured from the Pawnees (*American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, Baltimore, 1833, 501-503). In 1778–1779, Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, was avid to acquire Spanish horses from the west. He wrote to Colonel George Rogers Clark, who had been sent by Virginia to the Northwest Territory, that without valuing "the cost of the horses or the expense of sending them in," Patrick Henry wanted "two Horses" and "Eight Mares" of "the true Spanish Blood." He wrote that Clark was not to "lose a moment in agreeing for them, for vast numbers of people are about to go out after them from here and will soon pick them all up and raise the price very high." He asked that he be quick and suggests that the horses might be obtained from either Indian tribes or Spanish settlements. After months Clark replied, "you have conceived a greater opinion of the Horses in this country than I have." True he had an excellent stallion from New Mexico a thousand miles to the west and south, but could not at the time send him across the drowned lands of the Wabash. The Pawnees six hundred miles away had superior horses. Maybe later he could get some of them. Of Illiniois mares he writes that he had seen some good ones, but hard usage from their barbarous horse masters had ruined them (Clark, 1912, pp. 75-78, 88-89, 303-304).

648
231
439
175

In 1724, De Bourgmond, an established Illinois trader, was commissioned by the French government to induce the Skidi Pawnees, Otos, and Padoucas (Comanche or Apache?) to set up working relations so that the French could use them as intermediaries for obtaining Spanish horses. He called a meeting at Doniphan Kansas on the Missouri and such a peace was concluded:

> One of the chiefs spoke, stating that the women and little girls of his tribe were broken down from carrying heavy loads on their backs when the tribe went on its semi-annual hunts, and that he was willing to make peace with the Padoucas, solely to obtain horses in trade so that his women would not have to walk and carry heavy burdens. The other chiefs seemed to have approved of this view of the matter; one by one they gave their assent. The peace pipe was filled and passed around the circle and peace with the Padoucas was concluded. (Hyde, 1951, note 35, p. 48, p. 44.)

38: Hunt H-4 (no date) 1960

NM9 Iroquois
Illinois NP6
Pawnee NQ18

I
The white men first heard of the Illinois as western neighbors 161
of the Winnebago. They numbered sixty villages and twenty [100]
thousand men, which the priests estimated to mean one hundred I
thousand people. The first white man personally to observe and 161
report the Illinois was Allouez, who met a number of the northern 648
group, perhaps Miami, at Chequamegon, whither they had been
drawn by the irresistible magnet of the white man's trade goods.
Only eighty of them came in 1667, but two years later Allouez
reported that they were coming in great numbers, and Marquette
mentioned that they traded slaves to the Lakes tribes.[3] With the I
dispersion of the Chequamegon Indians, the Illinois began coming 437
to the post on Green Bay, and a number of them even moved into 167
the Miami-Mascouten village on the Fox River, where members
from the greater Illinois tribe came to trade and visit relatives. I
In 1672 Charlevoix says the Iroquois began to make incursions, 648
and the Illinois desired allies, particularly the French, but if any
Iroquois incursions annoyed them, they failed to mention the
matter to Marquette, who was in the great Illinois town on the
lower Illinois River in the year following, 1673. They discussed
their enemies with Marquette, too, but those enemies were not
the Iroquois. They were south and west of them. Marquette did

---

impression that the affair of 1655 had caused the supposed trans-Mississippi migration,
at the same time that he admitted, paradoxically, that it was a bad defeat for the I
small band of Illinois concerned. See his *Five Nations of Canada*, 1:14–15. Beauchamp,
in his *New York Iroquois*, 216, even gives details of a conquest which, so far as can [114]
be discovered, never occurred. Thwaites says that the Ottawa, when they were discovered, were on Manitoulin Island, "whither they had sought an asylum from the Iroquois," although elsewhere he admits that it was their original home. See Lahontan, *New Voyages*, 1:153,340n. They were found there by Champlain, while the Iroquois were hiding in the woods in fear of Algonquins and Hurons. The tendency to ascribe everything to the Iroquois is noticeable in many contemporary and some later writers.

[3] For estimates of their number see De Quen, in the *Jesuit Relations*, 42:221; Dreuil- I
lettes, *ibid.*, 44:247; and Lalemant, *ibid.*, 45:235. All this information probably came P
from Radisson and Groseilliers and is not reliable. For their contact with Che-
quamegon see the *Jesuit Relations*, 51:49; 54:167, 177. The slaves they traded were [567
probably Pawnee. The Pawnee supplied them with so many slaves that *pani* was 177]
synonymous with "slave." Perrot says that the calumet ceremonial came from the Pawnee and was spread by them throughout the North country. See his *Memoir*, in Blair, *Indian Tribes*, 1:186, 190, 190n. A Pawnee was the famous "Turk" of Coronado, who led the expedition to Quivira and was garrotted for his pains. See Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," in Bureau of American Ethnology, *Report*, 1892–93, pt. 1, p. 534. For more on Illinois slave trade and slavery, see Carr, *Mounds of the Mississippi Valley*, 30.

is consecrated to the powers; it soars near their abode and is a medium 796* of communication between them and man.

778 The woodpecker's head was fastened near the mouthpiece end of the feathered stem, the upper mandible turned back over the red crest and painted blue. This treatment of the upper mandible had a double significance. The red crest, which rises when the bird is angry, was here held down; it must not rise. [821 The blue paint represented the clear, cloudless sky. 822] The woodpecker has the favor of the storm gods and can avert from man the disaster of tempest and of lightning. 825] The owl feathers were tied near the middle of the feathered stem. This bird has power to help and protect during the night. Soft blue feathers were fastened around the mouthpiece end. These blue feathers symbolized the clear sky, and it is this end which was always upward toward the abode of the powers.

The other end of the stem was thrust through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck. It was by this end that the feathered stem was held. The duck is familiar with the pathless air and water and is also at home on the land, knowing its streams and springs. It is the unerring guide.

The red and white streamers represented the sun and the moon, [822] day and night. These were made of red cloth and dyed horsehair and white cotton cord, but it is said that formerly soft deerskin strips painted red and twisted hair from the white rabbit were used.

The other feathered stem, Rahak'takaru (plate LXXXVII, page 40), differed from the first feathered stem already described in two particulars, namely, it was painted green, to symbolize the earth, and [822] the fan-shaped pendant was made of seven tail feathers from the white eagle (the young brown or golden eagle; see page 288). This eagle was not consecrated. It represented the male, the father, the warrior, and the defender. This feathered stem was carried by the Ku'rahus's assistant, and it was never allowed to be next to the Children; its place was always on the outside. There, it was explained, it could do no harm, could rouse no contention, but would serve to protect and defend.

I have many times remarked the reverence felt toward the feathered stems. Their sacred character seemed always to be remembered and they were never handled carelessly. During the entire time that I was engaged with Tahirūssawichi on this ceremony he never allowed the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid on a chair; they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a decorum that was not once abated. I have seen manifested among the tribes not only reverence toward these sacred symbols, but an affection that was not displayed toward any other objects. Few persons ever spoke to me of them without a brightening of the eyes. "They make us happy," was a common saying. 178●

They were preserved intact and passed from tribe to tribe as long as they held together, and they were sometimes freshened and 778

796*

[178] repaired. This transfer of the feathered stems from tribe to tribe 778 tended to preserve the model unchanged. Sometimes the Son did not *796 care to part with the feathered stems left with him, so when he inaugurated a party and was to be the Father he had a new set made. It was a matter of pride with some not to use again feathered stems that had once seen service.

The ear of white corn (plate LXXXVIII, page 44), called Atira, Mother,[a] represented the fruitfulness of the earth. The tip end was [772] painted blue to represent the dome of the sky, the dwelling place of the 822 powers, and four blue equidistant lines, running halfway down the ear, were the four paths along which the powers descended to minister to man.

The two straight sticks cut from the plum tree were bound to the ear of corn by a braid of buffalo hair. One stick projected above the tip of the ear about a hand's breadth, and the other extended about the same length below the butt; the lower end of this stick was pointed so that it could be thrust into the ground to hold the ear of corn in an upright position. To the other stick was tied a white, downy eagle feather. This feather had a double significance: It represented the high, white clouds that float near the dome of the sky where the powers dwell, thus indicating their presence with the corn. It also stood for the tassel of the cornstalk. The feather here refers to the male principle, the corn to the female. The plum-tree wood was chosen for the sticks because the tree is prolific of fruit. It symbolized a prayer for abundance.

The braid of buffalo hair represented the animal which supplied food and clothing for the people.

The two gourd rattles (plate LXXXIX, page 46) represented the gift of the squash to man and the breast of the mother. Around the middle of each a blue circle was painted from which depended four equidistant lines of the same color. The circle represented the base of [772] the dome of the sky, and the four lines the four paths descending therefrom to earth.

The crotched stick (plate XC, page 48) used to support one end of the feathered stems when they were laid at ceremonial rest was significant of the fork in the tree where the eagle builds its nest. The use of the plum tree for this crotched stick expressed the desire for many young in the nest.

The sacred ointment with which the plum-tree sticks were anointed [237] was made from the fat of the deer or buffalo mixed with red clay. The fat was taken from an animal that had been consecrated through certain prescribed rites which recognized man's dependence upon the powers for the gift of food. Fat symbolized plenty. Ritual songs speak of paths dropping fatness, referring to the trails made by those who carried the dressed meat from the hunting fields to the camp; such

---

[a] The common term for corn, naksu, was not used in the ceremony.

778 the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid upon a chair; *796 they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a decorum that was not once abated.

*796 182 [*533] The Hako ceremony seems to have been peculiarly adapted to impress the mind of the people and to win their confidence and affection. It was picturesque, varied in movement, and communal in feeling. Its songs were rhythmic and attractive, and frequently choral in form, particularly those belonging to the public ceremony, where all, young and old, joined in the melody as the feathered stems were swayed over their heads when the Ku'rahus and his assistants made the circuits of the lodge.

[593 771] The teachings of the public ceremony were general in character. They emphasized, on the one hand, man's dependence on the supernatural for all the gifts of life, and on the other hand, his dependence on the family tie for the gifts of peace and happiness. The specific teachings were reserved for the Son. These began in the ritual to the Dawn (tenth ritual) on the morning of the second and third days, which prefigured the secret ceremonies of the fifth morning, when the bond of the family relation was extended beyond blood kinship through the symbolic rites which recognized the common source of life in Tira'wa atius.

[178] Looking over the entire ceremony, it is interesting to note how older rites have had their share in the development of the Hako, and how the trend of thought among the native seers has borne them toward a conception of the brotherhood of man, a conception recognized as the noblest known to the human family.

Incidental Rituals

COMFORTING THE CHILD

*539 The incidental rituals could be called for and given during the public ceremony.

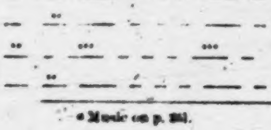
*796 [*533] The three songs which belong to the first ritual have a common musical motive, but this motive is treated differently in each song so as to conform to the movement of the ceremony.

The appeal of the parents to the Ku'rahus is in the first song passed on to Kawas. It is sung by the Ku'rahus at the holy place as he waves the brown-eagle feathered stem. The words are in the nature of a prayer, the music has the swing of a lullaby.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

[*533]



---

[a] Music on p. [illegible].

to their separate tracts. The land broken for each band was but 175*
a small part of their sector; it was neither large enough nor so 648*
situated as to make practicable a division of it into individual 241
tracts for family groups. Each band therefore began to farm the
band tract cooperatively. In theory each man did his share of the 657
work and each took his share of the harvest. The band lived to- [476]
gether on the tract, and their encampments rapidly became per-
manent villages of tipis and earth-lodges.

This redevelopment of village life, instituted by the Pawnee as an 175*
adjustment to the conditions of their settlement in Indian Territory, 648*
and intentionally overlooked by agency officials, who considered it a
temporary expedient, was to continue for some years. To the 178 ●
Pawnee it was a satisfactory adjustment, approximating as it did 657
their accustomed way of life. In these villages something of the
old tribal life continued; the chiefs, priests and medicine men
functioned, the old social gatherings and ceremonies were possible.

The produce of the band farms, together with that at the agency, 175*
constituted the basic food supply of the Pawnee. For years this 648*
was inadequate and insecure; the people suffered greatly for lack
of food, and some of the mortalities of the period were due to 262
starvation and malnutrition. The principle crop was corn, supple- 241
mented by some beans and squash, and increasing cultivation of
wheat, oats, potatoes and other vegetables. Most of the farms were
in the bottom lands and along the streams, and yet the usual
hazards of cultivation caused crop failures a number of times. The [132]
country in which the Pawnee had settled is in a belt which is
subject to periodic hot, dry summers, when rain is at a premium.
Droughts were severe in 1880, 1887, and 1890. On occasion bugs [731]
destroyed much of the crop, while once, in 1885, a terrific hailstorm
broke the stand of grain. Crop failures left the Pawnee dependent [657]
on government aid, in the form of rations, or food purchased for
them with money from their annuity funds.

For a meat supply the Pawnee had to depend primarily on 175*
government rations. The first winter the Pawnee were together in
Oklahoma, that of 1875 to 1876, the tribe attempted a buffalo hunt, 648*
but the herds were too remote to be reached with the limited 657
preparations the Pawnee were able to make. While the buffalo
were reported on the plains in considerable numbers the next 224
summer, only occasional buffalo were captured by straggling 262
parties of Pawnee. In a few years the tribe was persuaded to
forego the hunt; they talked of it the winter of 1878, but did not go.
From this time on we hear of no buffalo hunting. The organized
tribal hunt was a thing of the past.

*175
*648 and uneasy about their legal rights as to leasing after allotment, and
667 as to whether they would be subject to taxation, but it was felt
177 they could easily be reassured.

The greatest discouragement and check upon programs of a
*175 progressive nature, from the years of removal on, was the physical
*648 unsoundness of the Pawnee tribe. In 1876, after the removal, the
Pawnee numbered 2,026; in 1892 at the close of this period, the
164 census listed 759. This tremendous decline, amounting to 62 per
161 cent in a period of sixteen years, was the result of many interacting
causes. Laboring under a blight of diseases and ill health, with the
pride of their stock dying at an inexplicable rate, and all more or
less weakened and ailing, a hopelessness came into Pawnee life
from which there was no escape. This hopelessness and despair
178 caused a deterioration of their home life, indicated by officials'
reference to "filthy habits" and an "indifference to the condition
of body or clothing." Their ancient medical lore was of no avail:
their ancient gods had apparently deserted them. It is to be marvelled at that something of their old spirit and energy remained,
and that they accomplished what they did in Indian Territory.

The white man's diseases had attacked them in the north.
Pulmonary and venereal diseases in particular had vitiated
their ancient stamina. But in the north the people were in a
climate and a region to which the native constitution was adjusted from centuries of inhabitation. Until the white man came
the people lived a free outdoor life. They were active. Sedentary
221 as their way of life made them, the tribe roamed abroad on the
hunt five months of the year; at home they were in the field and
the open. The population of the region was not heavy; they had
166 unpolluted streams and springs. They moved their villages at
intervals of about eight years, avoiding pestilence.

The Nebraska country was relatively high, and the climate dry.
In the removal the people came into a more fertile but humid
country. Malarial fevers began to afflict them. In the winter of
1876, their first in Oklahoma, fevers, combined with other illnesses,
if we are to believe the recorded figures, amounted to a plague.
From 2,026 in 1876 the tribe declined in one year to 1,521![1] The
*175 manner of their removal involved long and continuous exposure,
and the conditions of life upon their arrival were unhealthy and
*648 hazardous. Grinnell reports the condition in which their great
701 friends, Major Frank North and his brother Luther, the organizers
of the Pawnee scouts, found them in 1876 in Indian Territory. The

---

[1] Further and continuous declines the succeeding years indicate that no part of the tribe was accidentally omitted in the 1877 census.

of the government program to make the Pawnee self-maintaining 175*
farmers, to induce them to labor at manual pursuits, building their 648*
own houses, repairing their own implements, wagons and harness, 657
and to give them the management of the freighting of their own
supplies. In the later years a measure of self-government was in- [698]
troduced in the form of the Court of Indian Offenses.

Under the reservation system the only governmental authority 175*
was that of the Department of Indian Affairs, which, through the 648*
Department of the Interior, was part of the executive branch of 657
the United States government. Laws and acts of Congress prescrib- 698
ed the manner in which the Department and its agencies were run, but for ordinary legal purposes on the reservation the agent in charge was sole arbiter. As soon as practicable a Court of Indian Offenses, by means of which the Indians adjudicated their own affairs, was instituted on an Indian reservation. Up to 1887 the tribes of the Pawnee agency, including the Pawnee, Ponca, Oto and the Tonkawa, preferred to bring their troubles to the agent and accept his decision as final. In 1889 the Pawnee asked that a court of their own be established, and this was done December 1 of that year. The court was composed of three Pawnee judges, who sat the 3rd and 23rd of each month to hear cases on file. The proceedings were written down by a clerk. When the case had been heard each judge gave his decision, and the agreement of two carried. In the first year it functioned, the Pawnee Court of Indian Offenses tried twenty-four cases. These involved the settlement of Indian estates, the adjustment of debts, destruction of property, drunkenness and divorce. The Court continued to function until 1893 when the Pawnee, with the breaking up of their reservation became citizens of the United States and subject to Territorial Law.
Along with the Court and its jurisdiction went the organization [625]
of the Indian Police. Earlier, in Nebraska, a force of Pawnee had at intervals policed the tribe. At first they were subject to the will of the chiefs, later they were directly responsible to the agent. In Oklahoma the force of eight policemen was responsible for the arrest and handling of those who came before the Court of Indian Offenses. Judges and policemen were paid small salaries by the government.

The disintegration of the old Pawnee culture which took place 175*
in the period from 1876 to 1892 was in part a correlative of the 648*
change in their economic and material life: in part however it was 178
stimulated by direct government attack upon specific customs and
ways. 622

Of their social and political life the power and control of the 657

*175 chiefs, priests and medicine men, and the customs of marriage and
*648 divorce, were directly opposed by officials. That the chiefs were
finally losing power was not however, a result either of the official
178 opposition, or altogether of the breaking up of the band villages; it
622 flowed more directly from the gradual introduction of individualized
657 property control. The traditional native view of a chief was that he was the "father" of his people, who must see to the well-being of every individual in the tribe. To do so the chief had to be able to control a larger quantity of property than the average individual in order to give and help wherever it was necessary. This he accomplished through his individual prowess on the war path and the hunt. But in addition, tribespeople who valued him as chief and leader contributed to his resources in order to aid him to maintain himself and succor his people. Individual ownership of homes and farms not only made individuals materially independent of the chief and tribe, but reduced the chief to a property equality with his tribespeople, making it impossible for him to continue the customs of paternal generosity which tradition commended to him. Without being able to give to and help the poor and distraught, the chief not only lost respect and self-respect, but he was unable to prove his supernatural right to leadership, or that fortune was with him, that the powers of the universe were on his side, and through him were guiding the people.

The agents did not understand this. They felt merely that the chief had power to command so long as the people lived clustered together around him. They expressed in their reports the hope that recognition of chiefs by the Department of Indian Affairs would become a memory.

*175 The polygynous marriage customs of the Pawnee, based primarily
*648 on the sororate or marriage of younger sisters of the wife, were not
657 interfered with up to 1881. Along with the way in which marriage
was arranged by the parents without consulting the young people.
545 and the ceremony itself, involving a transfer of horses and other
property, Pawnee polygyny was, however, consistently considered
reprehensible by officials. Polygyny as well as first marriages in-
[582] volved girls who were very young, often fourteen or fifteen. These
were withdrawn from school at once, and as it was impossible to
carry out an educational program which would send girls of such
a tender age into the tribal life as civilizing influences, the practice
of marrying them so young destroyed the efficiency of the school
[586] as an instrument of civilization. Divorce by mutual consent was a
custom of the Pawnee, which involved a looseness of marital rela-
tions from the white standpoint.

668
787 doing in the beyond meant not alone to put aside the alien customs
of European culture, but actively to take up again the native
796 ways of the Indian. The Pawnee turned back to the past for values and satisfactions lacking in the present.

● 178 The revival of Pawnee culture which began to materialize in the years of the Ghost Dance went back for its material primarily to three sources in the old culture: the bundles and bundle rituals, the societies, and the games. The general attempt to resuscitate the aboriginal forms, supplemented and fortified by the inspirations and mandates of the visions, resulted in three types of cultural rebirth. The activities of old ceremony, performance and play were fostered; the paraphernalia were put in order, renewed, and recreated; and concepts from the old context were enshrined in symbols and facsimiles which were carried in the dance and integrated in new cultural forms.

BUNDLES AND BUNDLE RITUALS

778 The principal bundles of the Pawnee in aboriginal times were
796 the sacred bundles,[1] often spoken of as village or band bundles,
178 and the medicine men's bundles. The former were predominantly concerned with cosmological powers and references; the latter with the animate forms of the earth, the waters and the air (animals and trees, fish and water-creatures, birds). By 1892 sacred bundle ritual demonstrations had practically ceased; of the medicine
[756] men's ceremonies, the great doctor performances of the fall had ceased in 1878, but the Doctor Dances of the spring and summer continued at irregular intervals, and such medicine men's ceremonies as the Buffalo Dance were also carried out on occasion, while the Bear Dance had died out. Resuscitation of the old bundle
[764] rituals was the most difficult problem of revival and could not be fully met: a good part of the sacred rituals and paraphernalia had been buried in the grave with their final priests. There were two modes or types of occasion on which bundles were opened in aboriginal times: to demonstrate the ritual, and to renew or repair the bundle parts and contents. There is little evidence that the Pawnee succeeded in actively rehabilitating the ceremonies of the sacred bundles, but they did succeed in reconstructing the medicine men's

---

[1] I avoid any attempt to here catalog or describe the many bundles of the four Pawnee bands, which would of necessity be lengthy and for the most part irrelevant. The interested reader may consult Murie, Societies, pp. 549—556.

778

Bear Dance, and a number of sacred bundles were opened and an 796
attempt made to put them in physical order. 178

The bundles and bundle rituals were esoteric possessions and
knowledge, controlled by individuals. As such their inheritance and [424]
transmission followed traditional modes, and according to the
orthodox old Pawnee doctrine no revival of extinct forms was
possible. The sanction of the Ghost Dance doctrines and visions
was in definite conflict with old customs of transmission, and came
to predominate.

In the traditional view, the knowledge and learning of an individ- 778
ual had to be handed down by actual instruction of the young. 793
This was somewhat different for the two kinds of bundles, typified
by the sacred bundles (with which the society bundles can be 424
associated, as essentially derivative), and the medicine men's 622
bundles. For the sacred bundle type the offices of ownership and 869
priesthood were independent: A chief owned the bundle physically,
and his wife took care of it. He did not necessarily know the ritual
lore of the bundle. A priest controlled the ritual, demonstrated it
on the proper occasions, and advised the owner of his bundle
obligations. The physical bundle was ordinarily inherited directly
in the male line. The ritual knowledge, however, was transmitted
by the priest to his successor by means of instruction over many
years. The priest usually taught a close relative (not necessarily
in the male line exclusively) because of the desire to hand on his
learning in his own family line. But lacking close kin of suitable
temperament, the priest taught whom he pleased. For the medicine
men's type of bundle, ownership and priesthood centered in the
same individual. The doctor himself was owner of the physical
bundle, and of its associated teachings, and officiated as his own
demonstrating "priest" on ritual occasions. In the course of his
life he taught a man to be his successor, and gradually turned over
the ritual functions to him. The successor was usually a close [602]
relative, such as a "son" or "nephew", etc., but here too the
medicine man was at liberty to instruct whom he would, and on
occasion chose more distant relatives when near relations proved
unwilling to attend seriously to the learning of the traditional
material.

Ordinarily a man taught his successor largely by demonstration. 778
That is, the apprentice took part in the actual demonstrations of 793
the ritual (and the curing of the doctor) watching what went on.
In the course of the procedure the master explained the detail.
As the teacher found his pupil mastering phases of the activity,
he turned over to the pupil such parts as were understood. In

778 this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course
793 of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher
lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that
as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that
[828] when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the
old and learned always held back something until they were ready
to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught
his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on
his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told
him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When
upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part
[764 of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by
428] the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased
medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest,
a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance:
the physical bundle survived, though it might be less
and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained
182 as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through
178 cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through
the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of
the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid
increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was
in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals,
which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction
rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there
was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young
men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase
of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their
time: and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an
early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode
of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of
424 private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost
793 through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no
sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who
attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

182 The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance
visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would
178 "see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision
668 then became a command upon himself and others around him to
787 carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life
could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost 668
Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult 787
to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the 178
way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed 182
in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or ceremony was no longer officially in existence; those who had known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine 796
men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear 756
Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this 178
century, it was the revived form which was studied and recorded. The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirat[2], the main [764]
bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were 796
buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any 756
one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society was lost. At a 787
meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a 178
woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said. "I had

---

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. [114]
Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based on work with present-day informants.

[2] The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat" band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation: in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

178
796 a vision. I saw Bear Chief wearing the bear robe over his shoulders
756 and the bear claw neckpiece around his neck. He was painted with
787 yellow earthen clay, and had black streaks from each eye down the
face. He said, 'My sister, Father (bear) and Mother (cedar-tree) have not had any smoke for many years. We (dead people) are watching for our people to have the ceremony. The people think the ceremony is lost. It is not, for one of the Bear men who knows the ceremony is still with you. I ask that you tell the people so that they can have the ceremony, for it is time.' I woke up and the last few days have been crying to think that I should be the one to tell you. I have a cow which you can have so you can have the ceremony."[1]

"The leaders of the Bear ceremony each in their turn arose, went
178 to the woman and blessed her... They said, 'My sister, this is
756 very hard. None of us know the ceremony, but Father (bear) and
796 Mother (cedar-tree) will plan a way themselves so we can have the
ceremony...

"Some days later the members of the Bear society met and compared their knowledge of the ceremony. When all had spoken a man named Big Star... questioned the others as to their knowledge of the ceremony. He found that none in the meeting knew the ceremony. So he said, 'Brothers, this is hard. You see I am paralyzed, and I could not sit and carry the ceremony out. If you will all agree I will try it. Before we do anything we must select men to be the leaders. You and I know that there are some men here who are descendants of deceased men who were leaders in the Bear Society...' So he selected... Little Warchief... Little Sun..., Good Buffalo..., and Roaming Chief..."

(These men were then ceremonially inducted into office. Big Star then seated himself with these leaders at the altar, and made arrangements to collect among the people the ceremonial utensils, etc. for a set of things needed to carry out the ceremony).

"When all the others had gone out, Big Star told the four men to watch as he carried on the ceremony, that he would carry on the ceremony for them. He also told that Tirawahat^{a} had planned through the woman for them to have the ceremony, so he was
178 willing to carry the ceremony on for them without pay; that in
756 olden times men paid to learn the secrets of the Bear ceremony,
796 especially in going after Mother Cedar-tree; that he himself did not
424 purchase the right to carry the ceremony on, but that Bear Chief
who was the last man to know the ceremony had given him the

---

[1] Indicating that the one whose vision caused the revival felt obligated at the same time to put up the ceremony.

right to sit near him and watch; that Bear Chief took pity on him 178
and taught him the ceremony and songs without pay. He then 756
told them to go to their homes, that on the morrow when they 796
entered the lodge each one was to take his seat. They were then
dismissed with the exception of Little Warchief. [424]

"When they were alone Big Star questioned Little Warchief about the songs and asked if he knew them. Little Warchief said, 'Yes, I know the songs.' Big Star was glad of this for although he could carry on the ceremony, he was afraid that he would not be able to sing the cedar-tree songs."

(Later at the preliminary feast to set the date of the ceremony). "when all were in, Big Star said, 'You, who are sitting at the altar and those of you at the stations, old men and chiefs. Today we sit in this lodge as men of the Bear Society. We are gathered together here, through Woman Yellow Corn, who had a vision of one of our departed relatives, who asked that we have this ceremony, that Father and Mother might receive our smoke..."

The medicine men's activities which had not ceased, such as the Doctor Dances and the Buffalo Dance, took a new lease on life as a result of the Ghost Dance impetus. The people attended and participated enthusiastically, and young men began again to learn the doctors' ways.

It is probable that reconstructions of sacred bundle ceremonies 178
were attempted, but we have unfortunately no record. The main 778
effort of revival, as regards the sacred bundles, was directed toward 793
bringing to the attention of the people the bundles still in the possession of the Pawnee, (viz., neither buried nor sold), and to open these in order to renew the contents. I do not know with how many bundles this was attempted. The procedure of renewal was also ritually and physically difficult. In the old days the main priests took charge, and the necessary materials were made available in advance. In Oklahoma neither priests nor materials were available. Mark Evarts described for me the events which took place in 1903 when an attempt was made to renew the tuhutsaku or Left-handed bundle. I quote a few passages:

Frank Leader was the main priest, assisted by Running Scout, Goodeagle, Knifechief (the elder), and John Box. When the bundle was lying open on the altar, Leader spoke:

"Now what you see here, it's a long time since we opened it. Now this here sweet grass," (picking it up), "it's been here a long time. That's what they used to light pipes many years ago. Now these things before me that I have, God put them before us. What

---

[1] Referring to the Ghost Dance prophecy of a coming change.

178 778 793 you see here our old grandfathers had their hands on, but this old woman," — referring to Gillingham's mother —, "when no one's around she ought to untie it; bugs are spoiling some of these things. It isn't like it used to be a while back. We could untie the bundles every year, sometimes twice a year; now everything has kind of rotted. Now today we've untied it all. God himself looks down on this here. It is his will that things are changing on earth.[1] I don't know. I only have what I see here, but there used to be an old man, a priest, who sat here, and when he opened the bundle he would cry over it. I can't do anything. I have nothing to change these things. Now this bird where the head is coming off, I can't sew it with sinew; it will tear. It must be sewn with thread. The only way I have to do is to grease the things and make smoke. I can't go through it as they used to a long time ago."

Although the reconstruction of extinct ceremony, and the renewal of partially disintegrated bundles, proved extremely difficult, the attempt was made. At the same time the cosmological references and type paraphernalia of old bundles were recalled to serve as source material for conceptions and objects integrated in other cultural forms. Thus we find ideas from the old forms of ceremonialism, from the Evening Star bundle, the human sacrifice of the Morning Star bundle, and the Calumet ritual, interwoven with Ghost Dance thought in such developments as the Ghost Dance ceremonial forms and the Ghost Dance hand games; and replicas of old sacred objects appeared at hand game altars, symbolising the references of visions to the old bundles and ceremonies. (See Chapters II, VIII, IX, X, XI).

REVIVALS OF SOCIETIES

178 575 The old societies were a major type of revivals during the Ghost Dance period. There is evidence for a revival in one form or another of the raris arusa (Horse Society), hatuxka ("Those coming behind" . . . Crow Lance Society), raris skirixki (Wolf Society), tirupahe (Fighting lances), asitsakaharu (Crazy Dog Dancers), raris kaka (Crow Society), pakspahukasas (Roached Heads), asakipiriru (Young Dog Dancers), raris arika (Horn Society or Horn Dance), and pitararis iruska (the old War Dance)[1].

---

[1] I have limited myself in this discussion to the facts of revival; the society forms, ceremonial smoking, performances, etc., will be discussed elsewhere. For some description of the old form of these societies, see Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, pp. 561, 579, 577, 576, 579, 581, 582, 610, 608. (Page references follow the order of the societies as listed above).

These old societies were concerned primarily with war and 178
hunting, and, becoming functionless, had practically ceased their 575
activities by 1892. Each society was controlled by a bundle, from 778
which the powers necessary to the activities of the members were derived, and which in turn derived its powers from greater sources in the major sacred bundles. A full and complete revival of a society would have meant a recreation of the structure of membership, in some cases involving hereditary seating plans, the renewal of the society paraphernalia, the carrying out of the society performances preliminary to regular seasonal activities of its members, and the war path and hunt itself. Some of these societies were entrusted with the policing of the organized hunt. Hence a complete revival could not be accomplished. But a number of societies were reconstructed to a point just short of completion. These were the Horse Society, the Young Dog Dance, the Horn Dance, the Crazy Dog Dance, the Roached Heads, the hatuxka, and possibly the old War Dance. No reconstruction of the membership arrangements was attempted, but led by men who had been connected with a society in former times, leaderships were instituted, singers were taught the old songs, and the dance performances of the society were carried out more or less exactly. Where old paraphernalia was available a renewal ceremony for its physical repair was attempted; while in some cases replicas of the old sacred objects of a society were made. My informants had witnessed regular participations of revival forms of the Horn Dance, Roached Heads, Crazy Dog Dance, Young Dog Dance,[1] Horse Society and old War Dance in the great gathering of bundles for Emmet Pierson's hand game.
(See Chapter X). At this game the altars of these societies were [534]
arranged generically; each had one or more pipes and drums, and lances and other sacred objects were set out before the altar. The dancing to society songs in the game intervals required that the drum of the society be moved to the regular drum position, the hand game drum being moved aside.

My informants recalled witnessing in the Ghost Dance period, 178
four or five performances of the Crazy Dog Dance, performances of 575
the Horse Society, the Wolf Society, the Roached Heads and the 796
Young Dog Dancers. In Nebraska days, since these societies were for men only, and for masculine functions, such performances could only be participated in by men and by men who were members. The Oklahoma revivals in terms of the Ghost Dance, were on behalf of all the people, and all who wished joined in dancing to

---

[1] A song recorded by Densmore reports a Ghost Dance vision in which the Young Dog Dance pipe was given. See Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

178 the songs, whether specially costumed or not. I am told that on
575 occasion even women were known to join the dancing.

The Crazy Dog Dancers was revived before 1895 by Skiri Tom,
796 one of the survivors of the old organization. The original membership had been practically annihilated in Nebraska days while on the warpath against the Sioux; the misfortune was so great that a few members who survived hesitated to reorganize. Skiri Tom made Charley Box his main singer, with George Beaver to assist him; White Fox was also a singer. Skiri Tom reconstructed objects closely like the old paraphernalia, a crow-feathered dogwood lance, a pipe, drums and rattles. In the revival dance performances, the
[292] dancers were not naked, as in former times, although Skiri Tom himself is said to have worn only a loose jock which exposed the genitals from the rear and caused laughter among the women.
[577] Nudity in the old days was a sign of recklessness; those who courted death in war could be bold and foolhardy in the dance. Skiri Tom died about 1906 or 1907; his paraphernalia were buried with him, and the performance of the Crazy Dog Dancers ceased with his death. The songs, however, are still used.

The Roached Heads, originally a Skiri society, was revived on behalf of the tribe under the leadership of George Washington; a performance witnessed was held inside Washington's lodge; the north side was in control.

A performance of the Skiri Wolf Society,[1] witnessed by men and women about 1900, was a departure from its original forms. In aboriginal times this society never danced in the villages either before or after the hunt; on the war path itself, the war party leader organized the performance. As a result, and contrary to the forms of the other societies, no women participated as singers at Wolf Society performances, while in 1900 women singers were employed.

Murie has described the revival of the Horn Dance (raris arika).[2] The society was revived in a modernized form in 1893. "It took
[787] its form from the dreams of a woman..." In consecutive dreams she was told how to get an eagle skin, to make the crook crow-feathered lance, and the drum. "The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle

---

[1] The revival may have been led by Running Scout. A song recorded by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 85, reports a vision of Running Scout which probably refers to the Wolf Society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

[2] Murie, Societies, pp. 623, 638.

feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her 178 face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff 575 796 who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one Horn Dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat [782] and corn *is* made. The dance is still given and led by this woman." (1914).

The Horse Society (raris arusa) was revived early, probably by Frank Leader. Murie describes at length a ceremony for renewing the society lances held May 23, 1902.[1] The paraphernalia included 293 two lances, four rattles, four hand drums, and a red pipestone bowl 778 with tubular dogwood stem, the stem incised with black bands to 276 resemble trachea markings.[2]

Of certain societies we cannot be sure that the revival was extensive. All the societies mentioned were used as sources for the content of Ghost Dance visions, and the visionaries made facsimiles of old society objects which they carried in the dance. When the visions were as well bestowals of special rituals, such as hand games, the society objects became part of the bundle and altar. The Crow Lance Society (hatuxka) was revived in this way by Mark Rudder; a lance was placed at the altar, and a brief dance led by Rudder opened the game occasion (See Chapter X). The Society of Crows (raris kaka), a derivative of the hatuxka of aboriginal times, was independently revived by George Beaver, and it is probable that paraphernalia made by him were integrated with his game set.[3] Fancy Eagle is credited with the making of a hand drum which was associated with the old Fighting Lances (tirupahe[4]) and used in hand games.

In addition to the use of paraphernalia, songs of these revived [533] societies were used in the intervals of the hand game ceremonies. It is also probable that the use of drums in the hand game ceremonies was based on old society forms.

---

[1] Murie, Societies 561ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 567, p. 566 fig. 5. Two hand drums in the Field Museum (F M 79368—1,2) are probably those of Leader; the face bears in red a representation of the raris arusa sheathed lance with its sets of fringed feathers.

[3] F M 73962 is the revival lance; it is not encased in buckskin. F M 79364 and 79365 are hand drums decorated with Ghost Dance symbols, which are said to have been used for the raris kaka by Beaver.

[4] F M 71934. Reference is made by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 68 to a song which apparently concerns the revival of this society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

REVIVALS OF GAMES

524 The games[1] most important in the old social life of the Pawnee
526 were for men the large hoop and pole game, the hand game,[2] and
the moccasin game[3]; for the women, the stick dice game, the
plum seed dice game, shinny and double-ball. Boys played at the
hand game of the men among themselves[2], and played a boys' form
of the hoop and pole game; girls played the womens' games.

668 All three revival phases took place with the games, paralleling
the ritual revivals. The activities were renewed, viz., the games
●178 were again played, and played with renewed enthusiasm; the
524 paraphernalia were renewed and reconstructed in that game sets
began to be made again in the old way; such were essential for the
hoop and pole games, the plum seed and stick dice games, shinny
and doubleball: and lastly the games becoming vision sources,
sets of paraphernalia were ceremonialized: On the one hand such
[796 developments as the ritual hand games took place, and on the
other game objects like shinny balls, hoops, etc. were used as
787] vision embodiments and symbols, carried in the dance and employed
to induce visions in others. (See Chapter II)

In these revivals of old forms, we see that those forms were stressed which were most overt and apparent in the old culture: games basically, the non-esoteric activities of the societies (songs and performances) next, and the bundle activities least of all. This weighting follows the probabilities, in terms of the degree to which the old activities were shared by all the people in aboriginal life: those which were common and familiar possessions of the people were readily remembered and revived, while those calling for special traditional learning were difficult to recapture.

221 When individuals in Ghost Dance trances were transported
to the other world they came there upon villages of Pawnee living
796 as they had of old. The whole concept of the doctrine being an
668 awakening or renewal, the type of life most often visualized in the
trances was the tribal life of the early spring and early summer.
178 In aboriginal days the spring was a season of reawakening. With
the first thunder came the opening of the great bundles and the
chanting of the creation ritual. This ushered in the spring activities of the people. With the passing of winter, and the renewal

---

[1] For descriptions of these games consult Culin, Games, pp. 274, 409, 463, 625, 657.

[2] See Chapters V, VI.

[3] The moccasin game was played by the Pawnee, instead of the hand game, with Central Algonquian tribes.

of life in the waters and upon earth, the villages were plunged into 221
a round of activities. The young men got ready to go on the warpath, 796
and all their moccasins, garments and weapons had to be put in 668
order. The women made the moccasins, and helped them in other
ways to prepare. Meanwhile the games had begun among children 178
and adults. As the time neared for the departure of the war parties, the great war society dances and performances were held. A visitor to the villages at this season would have been directly impressed with three phases of the outdoor scene: the work of individuals, in view here and there; the games; and the spectacular and colorful dances of the warriors before their departure. These aspects of Pawnee life, being old and familiar, dominated the imagery of the Ghost Dance visions.

NEW CULTURAL FORMS

The Ghost Dance proved not only a force for cultural revival, 178
but with a return to the past as an inspirational source and guide, 796
and vision sanctions as immediate drives, the doctrine was an impetus to cultural development. Several noteworthy forms are on record. The Ghost Dance ceremonial forms themselves have already been described. The rapid development of the many Ghost Dance hand game ceremonies were the most striking development and reintegration of the old and new; these form the subject of the
entire second part of this study and need not concern us here. In 276
addition the development of the modern iruska, or new war dance, 431
among all four bands, a form of social gathering for feasting and gift-giving; and the spread of the peyote ritual, began at this period.[1]

---

[1] An anecdote told by Murie (Ceremonies of the Pawnee, in press, Bureau of Ethnology) indicates in a lighter vein, the freedom to make ritual changes which came with the Ghost Dance doctrine, and the occasional results. "It is said that in 1893, the husband of the Skull bundle keeper, a rather
young man, took a notion he would shell the corn for the people and distrib- 787
ute it in a new way. He gathered some men, shelled the ear of corn from 688
the bundle, and distributed it himself. The people remonstrated, but he told them he had had a vision and was going to do just as he was told. In June he started to Wichita Mountains. When he got about 35 miles south of Pawnee (it was very hot and dry; the dust was about five inches thick) his wagon broke down and he had to stay there several days, but at last got his wheels repaired and started out again. Travelling was very hard. The old woman who was keeper of the Skull Bundle, struck him on the back and said, 'You will shell corn, will you. See what you have done.' That year the crops burned up, it was so hot."

178 According to Murie's[1] account the modern Skiri iruska was taken over from the Oglala Sioux, but went back to a form of the Omaha 796 grass dance. It began to appear among the Pawnee in 1897, and 177 was fully organized by Eagle Chief in 1911. An independent development of the iruska took place among the Kitkahaxki^a. "About 1894 while the Ghost Dance was still intense a man named Sitting Bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and led it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the hands of Little-Sun, one of the leading singers. According to this [778 534] ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in the case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-Sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-Fly-High, also a pupil of Sitting-Bear." An independent development of the modern iruska took place among the Tcawi under the leadership of Roaming-Chief,[2] and thence spread to the Pitahawirat^a.[3]

Murie has described how the peyote ritual reaching the Pawnee 668 in 1890 was stimulated by the Ghost Dance excitement; and how 796 some forms of the peyote worship were like Ghost Dance forms.[4] Frank White, the great Pawnee Ghost Dance prophet, was also 276 a peyote devotee (See Chapter 11). Murie adds, "it may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the Ghost Dance excitement. One of his individual [787] doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore."[5] This indicates the extent to which the effort to bring back cultural aspects buried and forgotten was a definite part of the Ghost Dance doctrine.

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 624—625, 628. Cf. for a description of the forms of these rituals, pp. 624—630.

[2] Several shields in the Field Museum, depicting warriors' visions of Ghost Dance times are associated with the development of the modern iruska. F M 71844, and F M 59527 (two shields). One of the latter was identified as probably belonging to Roaming-Chief.

[3] The story of gradual changes in the form of Pawnee visiting party arrangements, associated with the modern iruska development, is a complex tale on its own account, and is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

[4] Murie, Societies, p. 636—637.

[5] ibid. p. 638.

THE PAWNEE AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

I have gathered the detailed evidence on the cultural revivals 178
and developments from 1892 on in this summary form, in order to
emphasize the reality of the Ghost Dance period as a time of 175
Pawnee renaissance. Like greater cultural movements of this kind, it was a turning backward to the past, an attempt to resurrect, preserve and copy the ancient records. From them a new and revitalized cultural movement flowed. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of Pawnee destiny, several conditions combined to destroy this movement, and as the faith was overthrown, the revivals disappeared and activity based on the new forms in part waned. As a result, we cannot today fully reconstruct the movement of changes or prove the full extent to which the old culture began to revive. I believe the evidence presented is indicative, but only a part of what contemporary recording would have offered.

A cultural renaissance to be effective must be in the hands of a free people, and the directions of its flow must be relatively unimpeded. It was impossible in Oklahoma after 1892 to bring back the old material conditions of life of the Indian; his vision that the buffalo, the old habitations and old landscape would reappear was a mirage. This alone would perhaps have only checked the movement, and turned it in other directions. But the Pawnee were not a people with an independent destiny. Until 1893, they were so many cultural children fathered by the paternal solicitude of the agent and the government; after 1893 the Pawnee were so many unassimilated citizens of the United States.

In 1893, with the allotment of their lands in severalty, the surplus 648
lands of the Pawnee were thrown open to settlement by the white
man. The town of Pawnee sprang up almost at once in their 657
very midst. The choice of allotments had not been controlled so 175
as to maintain the reservation lines, and when the unallotted surplus lands became the homes of white men, the Pawnee found themselves side by side with white men for the first time in their history. The allotment in severalty made the Pawnee individual land owners; they were transformed from full wards of the government into citizens subject to the laws of the United States and the Territory in which they lived. As such the Agent no longer had absolute control over them; he could persuade and he could withhold annuity money to help reinforce his suggestions, but he could neither command nor enforce his orders.

The Pawnee found their new freedom much to their liking. For one thing, there was no authority which could compel them to

175 was a constant fall of the population. From 797 at the time of the
allotments in severalty the Pawnee were reduced to 633 in 1904.
511 The decrease was steady. The diseases which had persisted in the
161 tribe continued to take their toll during these years. Doctors
ascribed failure to control them to their inheritability, to the
conditions of continual exposure incident to camp life and contin-
ual dancing, and to the pernicious influence and control of the
256 Pawnee medicine men who as a result of the Ghost Dance revival
had regained their status with the people.

175 The Pawnee not only did not have to work to live, but were in
a position to pay white men to do their necessary work for them.
46 They paid high prices, and their money went as fast as it came.
178 Their funds were augmented from time to time by the sale of
inherited allotment lands.

The conditions of idleness only served to reinforce the revival
of the old cultural forms. The Pawnee disliked isolation most of
all, and gladly leased their scattered allotments, coming together
for a continual round of Ghost Dances, performances, games, and
hand game ceremonies. Stripped of their last vestige of responsibil-
ity, with no activities that were meaningful or satisfying save
these old and new forms of Indian life, they turned to these with
a kind of desperation. The experiences of these years, even while
762 the Ghost Dance brought some hope into their lives, caused a
number of young men to commit suicide. Eight suicides were
recorded in the period from 1892 to 1898. They were reported as
occasioned by slight causes, and were traced to the "pernicious
influence of the Ghost Dance."

The indolence of the Pawnee became such that in the early years of the century the officials and missionaries began to plead for a change of program. They held that the only solution possible was to throw the Indians on their own resources entirely. Some agents developed the suggestion that at least those Pawnee men who could manage their own affairs should be allowed to lease their own lands and receive the payments themselves. This movement to take away entirely the guidance and control of the agency resulted later (after 1916) in issuing many titles in fee simple to Indians, often without their consent.

Under these conditions, at the turn of the century, the cultural revival of the Pawnee was doomed. It could not take roots in any soil: it was based on no firm way of life. It gradually passed, leaving the Indians still with an empty life, living off the funds which came from the government, and the payments of white far-

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

mers who leased the [illegible]. But those forms of life which had 175
arisen in answer to their need for social gatherings remained. The 178
modern iruska, with its large scale intertribal visiting parties, the
peyote ritual, and the hand games. Later still the modern pow- 461
wow was to arise to draw the Indians of the entire state into a
continual round of visiting. To the continuing hand game ceremonies,
the major intellectual product of the Ghost Dance years, we can
now turn to see in what way they were formed, and what needs
they filled.

VII.

THE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME

The old gambling hand game of the Pawnee, along with other 525
games, dances and social affairs, had gone the way of the rest of 178
Pawnee aboriginal culture by 1892. Occasionally games were
played, but the old life which began with early spring and included 668
one round of work and play that ended with the winter, was no
more. The Ghost Dance, with its doctrine of a return of the old
Indian life, and its mandate to stimulate that return by actively
reviving whatever could be recalled, amounted to a partial renaissance
of Pawnee culture. We can judge what was lacking most in
Pawnee life before the Ghost Dance by considering some of the
revivals. Memories of the societies and brotherhoods with their
dances and songs were recaptured in reconstructions of the old
paraphernalia, and the singing again of the old songs. But games [171]
were preeminent, as they were also among the Arapaho. The joy
of play had gone from Pawnee life before this. All was somber and
hopeless, full of death, disease and constant frustration. Of these
game revivals the most notable was the hand game.

The game was revived first as a game. This is apparently the 668
significance of the constant iteration by informants that Tom 525
Morgan's game was not a ceremonial one originally, was the first
of them all, and did not come in response to a vision. The Arapaho 177
suggestion of a ceremonialized game combining Ghost Dance ideas
of the deceased playing in the beyond, with the game play, reached
the Pawnee.

Once the games were begun, whether it was by Morgan or by 668
Carrion, by direct inspiration or through borrowing from the 525
Arapaho, the idea of learning Ghost Dance hand games in visions
spread like wildfire and the games sprang up like mushrooms. This
radical development by individuals only came after the movement
to dethrone Frank White as the sole prophet of the Pawnee Ghost
Dance. As late as 1930 I was able to list twenty-two individual
game developments of the Pawnee. No doubt, if all the facts were
known, there were many more. For a game to persist after it was 668
once created, the owner had to be well thought of by his people, 525
so that someone would "put it up": and the public had to believe 787

[p. 155]

after dressing their lances and after their appointment as police, and thus preceded each general buffalo hunt. 575

After the thunder ceremonies for the bundles and when the grass began to grow, all societies held the ceremonies of renewing lances. In this the lances are made new, the old ones being discarded. In general, four men are appointed to get the materials and make up the lances. When completed, a smoke-offering ceremony is performed to dedicate the lances, which are spoken of as "fathers." This ceremony is followed by a feast. The next day they assemble for the dance, put on their regalia, take up the lances, select the bearers for them, and choose a chief to carry the pipe. The dancing then goes on and finally the chief with the pipe, followed by the lance bearers and members, goes out and all form a circle in front of the lodge to dance. Then they go about the village or camp dancing before the lodges of prominent persons to receive presents. After their return to the lodge the lances are put away upon a pole and stood outside by the door. In the ceremony the people are admonished that these lances are to guard over all and so everyone must feel it his duty to protect the lances, though it is expected that the members of the societies give special care to them. Also, they are told that these lances are to bring the buffalo and to protect the people. After four days the feathers are taken from the lance shafts and wrapped up.

LIST OF BUNDLE SOCIETIES.

	Skidi	Chaui	Pitahauirata	Kit'kahahki	Squash Vine	Wolf-standing-in-water
Horse society (raris arusa) (h)	×	×	–	–	–	–
Society of Reds (raris pahat) (h)	–	×	×	×	–	–
Society of Brave Raven Lance (raris tarahaksu) (w&h)	×	×	–	–	–	–
Black Heads (pakskatit) (w&h)	–	–	–	×	–	–
Society of Reds (raris pahat) (w)	×	–	–	–	–	×
Thunderbird Society (raris kuhat) (w)	×	–	–	–	×	–
Those Coming Behind (^{h}atu^{h}ka) (w)	×	×	×	×	–	–
Fighting Lance (tirupahe) (w)	–	×	×	×	–	–
Knife-Lance (kichita) (w)	–	–	–	–	–	×
Wolf society (raris skiri) (w)	–	–	–	–	–	×

In later times a general horseback parade around the camp was made by all the societies jointly, after the renewing ceremonies in the spring. [178]

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

276 The peyote tipi is dismantled the next day and the camp broken.

794 It may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the ghost dance excitement. 796 One of his individual doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore.

THE ONE HORN DANCE.

● 178 Among the Skidí there is a modernized form of the one horn dance (p. 623) organized about 1893. It took its form from the dreams of a woman. 796 The man who spoke to her in the dream ran away as a buffalo. She went out at sunrise and saw a ring come down from the sun. Little by little she dreamed the songs and taught her husband. Finally, an eagle came to her in a dream and she was ordered to get an eagle. This she did. Again she dreamed of a crooked crow-feathered stick, this was made. Then a drum was made.

The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one horn dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman.

II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE

The Skidi formed one of the four bands comprising the Pawnee 619
tribe, the others being the Chaui, the Kitkehahki, and the Pitahauirat. 621
[In the manuscript the Skidi are spoken of as a tribe. [101]
However, I have followed more recent usage and substituted the
term band, reserving tribe for the Pawnee as a whole (Lesser, 1933).]
The Skidi, however, considered themselves independent and actually
felt closer to the Arikara than to the other three Pawnee bands.
Politically the Skidi were a federation of villages, of which at least
thirteen are known to have existed, though there were probably
others which have been forgotten. The federation was held together
by a governing council of chiefs and by a ceremonial organization [623]
involving the participation of the band in a round of ceremonies
associated with sacred bundles.

The village was a distinct local group consisting of a cluster of 621
earth-lodges housing the component families. Each village possessed 361
its own fields, whose ownership was allotted among the villagers by 622
the chief, a supposed lineal descendant of the original owner of the 423
sacred bundle of the village. [I am inclined to believe that the chief
allotted the use of the fields rather than their ownership.] On the
death of an individual, his land was re-allotted by the chief. Each
village also had its own burial ground in which were buried only
those belonging to the village.

In principle the village was endogamous. Since the Pawnee 621
moved to Oklahoma the old restriction on marriage has been gradually 582
disappearing. This is due to the fact that the population of
certain villages has dwindled and it is no longer possible for the few [178]
remaining individuals of some villages to obtain mates within their
own village. Even in this breaking down of the system, however,
the old fashion of reckoning descent is maintained. Thus, in the 611
marriage of a man from Big-Elk village with a woman of Little-Elk
village, the children would belong to Big-Elk village. [However,
according to the manuscript, both these villages were extinct by
1907.] An exception to this general rule is at the present time [1907] [184]
under consideration among the Skidi. Mr. Murie's son, now about
of age, properly belongs by the laws of the tribe to the Village-on-the-Hill,
that being the village of his father. His mother, however,
belongs to the Pumpkin-Vine village and her brother, Skidi-Good-Chief,
is the last representative of that village. To prevent the
village from becoming extinct, Skidi-Good-Chief has asked per-

778 and therefore constituted a link between the people
796 and its divine giver. In the ceremonies connected with these bundles two ideas were basic,—one the idea of a sacrifice or offering, and the other that of a repetition, either through dramatization or ritual, of the acts performed by the divine giver. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star combined both ideas to an unusual degree.

175 The Morning Star sacrifice was performed only
782 by the Skidi band of the Pawnee. There seems good
796 evidence that it was carried out somewhat unwillingly, and that the officiating priests always found it a sore trial. Its performance was considered a religious duty, and this ceremony must not be confused with the torturing of captives as practised by several of the eastern tribes. The opposition to the sacrifice within the tribe itself increased until in about 1818 a young man, named Petahlayshahrho, rescued the victim in dramatic fashion, untying her from the scaffold at the moment of sacrifice and riding away with her. When safe, he gave her a horse, and sent her back to her own people. He then returned and declared that human sacrifices must cease. As he was a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which according to the Pawnee system gave him the hereditary right to succeed his uncle, many strong men in the tribe supported
● [178] his action. After this time, the ritual of the sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter, but no actual sacrifices are known to have taken place.

796 The actual time of the performance of the sacrifice is not fully known, but it seems to have been made in the late spring or summer of years when Mars was
[787] morning star. It was usually made as the result of
[821] a dream or vision in which the Morning Star appeared to some warrior and demanded it, but it might also be

123 weeks and months spent in camp and village, I have listened to many stories of Pawnee heroes and to folk-tales of the miraculous doings of the olden time. In my intercourse with the tribe, extending over a period of nearly twenty years, I have been deeply impressed by the high qualities of the Pawnee character; and the more familiar I have become with this people, the more strongly have I felt that a permanent record should be made of the tales which reflect that character. Unless thus collected now, much of this lore must inevitably be forgotten.

161 For the Pawnees are passing away. When I first joined them on their buffalo hunts from their old home on the Loup Fork in Nebraska, the tribe numbered three thousand; last March in the Indian Territory I
● 178 found but eight hundred. And more rapidly than the dwindling of the people are their traditions lapsing from memory under the changed conditions of the tribe's life. The lore, which sprang up as an indigenous growth of the wide-stretching prairie and the wilderness where the wild Pawnee warrior hunted free, finds scanty nurture in the uncongenial soil of fields tilled by Pawnee followers of the plow. With the new modes of living come new views of life, new motives, new sympathies—in a word, civilization. To earn a living by toil, to wrest subsistence from the earth, this is the problem confronting the Pawnees to-day, the task which is engaging the sinew and purpose of the tribe. In the transition stage, the memory of the old days, of old manners and rites and ceremonies and of old heroes, is with the elders of the race, those ancient braves whose lives bridge the past and the present.
126 When I visited the Agency last March, it was to write down from the lips of these old men such material as I could collect. When they shall die much of the unwritten lore will perish too, for with them will cease that sympathetic and perfect credence, which alone gives to folk-lore vitality and lastingness. What is written in this volume then belongs distinctly to the wild Indian.

The task that I have set for myself is that of a recorder. No attempt has been made to give a literary color to the hero stories and folk-tales here written out. I have scrupulously avoided putting into them anything of my own. The stories are told to the reader as they were told to me. They are not elaborated. I have tried to show how Indians think and speak, rather than to make their stories more entertaining by

12 narrator was Mark Evarts, a Pawnee of the Skidi Band, whose childhood
was spent on the reservation in Nebraska from 1861 to 1875, when Pawnee
115 culture was still very much an integral polity and way of life. His personal identity is embodied in the "Boy Otter" as he appears in the following narrative.

101 My relationship with Mark Evarts began casually in the course of my
grammatical researches. Historically there were four political groups of
114 Pawnees known as bands, the Skidi or Wolf Band, the Kitkehaxki or Little-
115 Earth-Lodge Band, the Tsawi or Asking-for-Meat Band and the Pitahawirata or Man-Going-Downstream Band. Each of these traditionally pronounced the language somewhat differently, but it was always known that the major difference was between the Skidi and the other three known collectively as the South Bands because of their former more southern location. From linguistic samples I took of each of the four, the distinctions among the South Bands were not clear enough to identify at that time. Only the Skidi difference was clear. Mark Evarts served as my Skidi informant with Henry Chapman as interpreter in my attempt to find any grammatical and pronunciation distinctions. Evarts' English was broken and so heavily overlaid with a Pawnee accent that it was understandable only with considerable difficulty. As my Pawnee vocabulary improved, we developed a Pawnee-English mode of communication that made the interpreter no longer necessary. As I extended my research into the semantic and cultural background of the language, Evarts became a major resource and ally in my investigations and our work extended over seven years and involved the entire Oklahoma Pawnee community.

114 At this time (1928–1936) Evarts was living with friends and relatives.
His wife and child had died tragically only a few years before, and he had
115 lost his little farm to the bank. The crises that had beset his life as a member of his tribe and times were epic in their proportions; as a man in the decline of his years, he had many questions to ask, and I, as a novice in life's ills and trials, had many questions to ask of him. Many of his questions concerned the white culture and its values, and, as a young anthropologist, mine sought answers through the cross-cultural perspective I hoped to find in studying the Pawnee way. Together we established the language of our common humanity and communicated what we wanted to know about the special character of each other's culture as well as of life in general. It was my purpose to understand the Pawnees as people, not as Indians or as social categories and certainly not as historical antiques.

161 Although in the 1920's only seven hundred Pawnees survived, some
178 Pawnee customs remained among them and at least eight of the older peo-
197 ple spoke no other language than Pawnee. The town of Pawnee, Okla-
homa, was surrounded by the allotted lands of the Pawnees, the lands of
361 each band being located in a different direction. The bands were still
423
000

The bands were still
somewhat socially discrete. The mainstay of the diet was largely the tra- 621
ditional corn, beans, and squash grown on their own farm plots and dried 262
and stored as of old. Beef had taken the place of buffalo meat and was 252
prepared by thin slicing and drying for storage or boiled on feast days.
Relationships in kin groups continued, and some of the religious ideology 241
survived. A Doctor Dance Ceremony was performed by the last survivors 771
who possessed the arts and the knowledge involved and brought us some 796
welcome rain after a long dry spell. The question was, "How to give these
fragments life and place them in their integral context?" We evolved the 178
plan of utilizing one year of Pawnee life in as much detail as possible, 114
covering the round of the year through the four seasons as reconstructed with the help of the surviving Pawnees. Our plan proved to be an effective means of developing vivid recall in Evarts and the other old Pawnees. For a number of reasons we would think of our year hypothetically as 1867; in that year the Pawnee settlement and round of life was sufficiently integral to serve as a base line for our reconstruction. Some of the other surviving Pawnees were in their late teens and twenties in that year. Evarts supplied a normal thread of events in answer to my prodding questions for the details that seemed to a Pawnee all too obvious and we supplemented and checked this with whomever we thought had relevant knowledge concerning one point or another. Most of the old people had worked with me on linguistics before that time.

It was not possible to reproduce the material in the exact order in which 128
I collected it. I have had to reassort the material somewhat so that it falls into some of our own functional categories and at the same time so that it fits within the seasonal round of the year. Under the pressure of time when my notes were recorded I rendered the Pawnee or Pawnee-English in which it was given into the closest normal English equivalent I could muster. Also, this book was compiled a quarter of a century or more after it was recorded. I have avoided altering the original simple declarative language too radically. In some cases I have retained the original language with very little variation, particularly where it is an incident that had often been recounted among the Pawnees, a very familiar situation, a technical account, a speech, a personality sketch. Such passages are indented from the left margin.

In addition to the informant record, I have checked my account in de- 127
tail with most of the existing material on the Pawnees and in some cases supplemented it from these sources. This is detailed in the Notes and Comments with references correlated with my text. Recently excavated archaeological materials together with eyewitness accounts by contemporary observers of the 1830's and 1840's have overwhelmingly vindicated the accuracy of my Pawnee informants. The most substantial help in this recent phase of the work has been given me by Prof. John L. Champe, author of an important stratigraphic treatment of Nebraska archaeology, *Ash Hol-*

796 782 [793] [221] [729] [178] the sacrifice to the Morning Star of a young girl that had been captured from the enemy. This was compensation to the Morning Star god for his struggle during the creation. The last girl to be sacrificed to the Morning Star was a young Sioux girl named Haxti in 1838, after which the practice was abandoned. This ceremony symbolized fertility in general.

796 221 778

TABLE 7-1. *Chart of Sacred Bundle Ceremonies in the Spring and Fall*

The several ceremonies of the spring planting and fall harvest form a parallel series, the six ceremonies in each showing a recurrent alternation of the powers of the Evening Star and the four semicardinal-direction bundles. The first four pertain to planting, fertility, and war, the latter two to buffalo hunting and migration.

	Spring		*Fall*
I.	Spring Renewal—ceremony of the creation at the first thunder from the south; Evening Star sponsorship.	I.	Green Corn Ceremony. Evening Star sponsorship.
II.	Distributing sacred seed corn of the special breed of corn included in the sacred bundles. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the summer-direction bundles —southwest or southeast.	II.	Harvest of Mature Corn. Mature corn from sacred seeds installed in the sacred bundles, replacing the sacred ears of last year's planting. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the winter-direction bundles—northwest or northeast.
III.	Ground-breaking ceremony, *Awari*, movement, activity. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an affiliate of the Evening Star in charge of the ritual as sponsor.	III.	Four-Pole Ceremony—symbolizing political federation and control of the country through war expeditions so that they could go out into the country on the hunt. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an Evening Star affiliate in charge of the ritual as sponsor.
IV.	Birth and growth of Young Mother Corn through adolescence to young womanhood; known as *Kurahus*, "Priest." Semicardinal-direction bundle in charge of ritual as sponsor.		

231 were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact.
that horses were introduced to this continent by the Spaniards in the
177 early 1500's, and whatever use was made of them by American Indians
had to develop after that time. Even though it was a considerable length
of time, the Pawnee practices in connection with the use and care of
horses were not as advanced as those of the Spaniards. As regards the
*224 buffalo hunt, at the time of our narrative horses were used in the chase
492 when they were attacking the herd in a group and also to carry their
food and camping equipment. The strategy of the mass attack upon the
herd was to develop a "surround" by the mounted hunters who had
been lined up behind a hill out of sight. No doubt they had previously
used a similar technique on foot. As to carrying the food and equipment,
492 a good deal of it was packed on the backs of the women and girls. How-
493 ever, the women had dogs who were trained to drag the tent poles be-
482 hind them, the heavy ends of the poles tied to a harness on the dog's
back. The tent poles were grouped into two sets, one on each side of
the dog, and connected by two cross sticks toward the lower ends. Upon
these a skin cover was wrapped where other luggage was placed. A dog
492 could drag as much as 70 pounds. The custom of dog traction and ex-
482 tensive carrying on the back by the women was in full operation as late
as 1837 when a famous painter, Alfred Jacob Miller, portrayed the
175 Pawnees in this manner. After 1850, however, dogs were no longer used
• 178 for this purpose, and it was mostly the men who kept them around so
[782] that the puppies could be sacrificed and eaten at a special ceremonial.
Some, of course, were kept by the women as pets. By 1867, the horse had
taken over the carrying function almost entirely except for a few poor
single or old people who had to do some packing of their dried buffalo
meat on the way home. The packing of the horse resembled that for-
[493] merly used in connection with the dog; the horse travois or carrying
frame was also the same as that of the dog. All the leather trappings for
keeping the luggage in place had now to be carefully prepared before they
left for the hunt.

231 The Pawnees were relatively poor in horses compared with other
422 Plains tribes at this time. This may have been due to constant attacks by
the Sioux and the other nomadic tribes, although this is not certain. At
171 any rate while among the Blackfoot or the Kiowa twenty-five horses at
least were considered an average number for a family on the move,
Eagle Chief, who was head of the Skidi Band, had only ten, and a reason-
ably comfortable family like that of Victory Call had only four or five.
Some families had only one or two horses and it was with great difficulty
726 that they went on the hunt at all. Even in their war practices, the
Pawnee retained some of their prehorse habits. It was well known that
*484 they set out on their war expeditions on foot and they were known to the
178 Kiowa as "Walkers." The rationale given for this by students of the sub-

ject has often been that they kept themselves free to take the horses of 726
the enemy and ride them home. They did gain in stealth of approach, 484*
but this is no doubt a secondary explanation of what was probably a 178 •
survival of older custom. The fact that the men looked for booty or 721
various kinds of valuables in the places they attacked and carried them 727
home on their backs is indicated in some of the well-known names that 551
were current, such as He-Comes-Carrying-Sitting-Down-from-Time-to-Time-Coming—implying that the things brought home as war trophies were so heavy that the bearer had to sit down from time to time and rest. Another such name is He-Brings-Many-Trophies-from-Over-the-Wide-World, or again, He-Comes-Bringing-Them-Down-a-Hill, or still another, He-Comes-Carrying-His-Trophies-Today.

It is clear that the actual pattern of cooperation on the migration and 175
hunt was established long before they had horses and present practices 224*
were adapted but not substantially changed. In 1540 Coronado's expedi- 492
tion met a party of buffalo-hunting Indians on the Plains who were using
the dog travois and carrying dried buffalo meat. Mark Evarts describes 224*
some of the traditions remembered by the Pawnees at the time of our narrative, when they had no horses:

> Near Old Village there was a hill called Calf-Against-Upon-Standing. [103] The calf referred to was a certain kind of yellow calf with a long body and the people knew that when they saw him standing on the hill, the herd would be right beyond him. The people would line up on each side and surround the herd and make the buffalo circle about inside. They would kill them and butcher, and carry the meat home on their backs. They had no horses. There was no trade store.
>
> The North Wind was called Lucky Wind because when it blew it [821] sent the buffalo. In winter in deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep, and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow, and could readily be killed. This was particularly the case before we hunted with horses.
>
> In summer the buffalo went scattered in small bunches and this was difficult, but in winter they traveled in closer formation when we could also drive them onto the ice.

The Pawnee surround is described by George Bird Grinnell (1925, pp. 249-250):

> Choosing a still day, they would surround a small bunch of buffalo, stretching out in a long line whose extremities would gradually draw together, as the hunters, disguised as wolves, stole from hill to hill around the unconscious prey. When the circle was complete some men would shout and startle the buffalo.

*224 From some of these accounts of the hunt without horses, it is clear
492 that the social patterning of the buffalo hunt was probably quite ancient.
• 178 Yet by 1867 horses had become a necessity for the hunt.

*224 If a man had only one horse, only the man and one of his wives could
492 go on the summer hunt. He would have to leave his other wife and all
*484 the children at home and any old people or other dependents. The
592 couple that were going would pack their one horse with food and
goods and join someone else's tent, taking just their covers along by way of household equipment. If a family had no horses at all, they could not go. Unmarried or widowed individuals who had no horses could join a household where they could work their way, simply getting their board and keep "for going." They would go on foot wearing a double blanket for their covers. It was said that they went "just to eat."

If a man had two horses, he would also be able to take only one wife along, leaving the rest of the family home. She would go along to process the meat.

*224 There were some rough-and-ready characters who, even though they
492 had two horses, would decide to go alone, leaving their wives behind.
571 They were men who were not averse to doing all kinds of work, including the hunting and preparing the meat besides. Such a man would say to his wife, "You'll only be in my way." No insult was intended. For example, Mad Bear would team up with his friend Many People who had a small tent and two or three horses. Together they could bring back a
[572] great deal of dried meat in this way. Two men of this kind were friends and equal partners. Sometimes two men would team up, one of whom was the senior buffalo hunter of the two. Then the more prominent hunter would ride the buffalo horse to the hunting grounds while his assistant rode the pack horse. During the chase the assistant stood back, holding the pack horse, while the hunter went after the buffalo. The assistant then helped him butcher and they packed the extra horse with the meat. The senior hunter rode the hunting horse back to the encampment and the assistant rode the pack horse on top of the meat. If they got two buffalo, both horses were packed with meat and they both rode on top.

*224 A man with two horses and no assistant could manage by riding the pack
492 horse and leading the hunting horse by a rope. When he got to the herd, he hobbled the pack horse on the sidelines. When he got the buffalo, he rode over on his fast horse and led his pack horse to where the buffalo lay. Then he loaded the pack horse and led it by a rope, riding to the camp on his fast horse.

*224 The possession of three horses made it possible for a man to take his
492 whole family along, while four horses made it possible to manage easily.
422 Ordinarily he would not have a guest traveling with them, but if he did
426 he would assign him one of the horses so that he could pack his things on

756
346

On the South Side	*On the North Side*
A *reindeer cult* in charge of Old Bull	*An eagle cult*
A *black-tailed deer* cult led by Old Lady Tsitawa (see p. 45)	A *fish hawk cult*
A *buffalo lodge* led by Wonderful Old Bull	A *coyote* lodge (including wolves and foxes)
Another *buffalo lodge* led by Leading Buffalo	A *bear* lodge jointly lead by Sitting Hawk and Angry Horse

173 756 178 [631] 756 796 532 The origin of the Associated Doctor Lodge was said to be in Pumpkin-Vine Village where they would conduct a twenty-day ceremony. When they joined the Skidi Federation, they incorporated the other doctors and extended the term to thirty days. The formation of the association was attributed to an original visionary and images were constructed to commemorate various aspects of his vision. The most elaborate was one that represented the serpentlike water monster that led him to the earth lodge of the animals under the Missouri. The body of the serpent, which was nearly 60 feet long, curved around the outside of the houseposts with its head at the southeast, a forked tail at the northeast, and its body curved toward the west. The body was constructed of a framework of pieces of ashwood tied with sinew, covered over with a layer of grass and plastered with clay, smoothed and painted in different colors. Its mouth, large enough for a man to crawl inside, was built of two rawhide containers, covered over with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with white downy eagle feathers. The open mouth was provided with large wedge-shaped cottonwood teeth and on each side of the mouth long slender willow rods to represent feelers or antennae.

They also had to model the figure of the witch woman who was in the visionary animal lodge under the Missouri. First they built up a willow frame and then covered it with grass and clay. They provided the witch with a realistically modeled face and pumpkin-seed eyes, blackened in the center to represent pupils. On her head they put a buffalo scalp to which they attached two long braids of human hair; for clothing she wore a buffalo-hide dress.

Next they modeled the fireplace into the shape of a turtle, with its head pointing east, its tail west and the four legs in the semicardinal directions. They scooped out the back for the fire pit.

It took twelve of the leading doctors two nights running to build these figures, for which large quantities of clay had to be brought in. They worked at night so that they would not be observed. These were the main figures that represented the vision in the animal lodge.

[776] The next task was to represent the star gods from whom everything

756 The kind of experience involved had a profound personal value. The way in which this knowledge was conceived is perhaps indicated by the personality attributed to the doctor—slow, deliberate, thoughtful and, to a considerable degree, introspective. As a more practical measure of social
[796] esteem perhaps was the fact that during the previous summer buffalo
[431] hunt, 60 parfleches of dried buffalo meat had been pledged in support
[178] of the performance, and in former times, before the population had been so heavily reduced, 140 parfleches were donated in one season.

756 796 789 The mode in which the doctors operated during their ceremony was of two kinds. One was the inducing of a trance state in the other doctors: utilizing the motions of the animal that was their special cult mentor. This was called *patsaku*, "shooting," and was also metaphorically referred to as "fighting." The second kind of activity of the doctors was a highly skilled sleight-of-hand performance, *tawaruku*, so expertly carried out that the illusion was completely convincing to the spectators. The metaphor for this kind of performance was "playing" or "romping," as of a child. The skill of the illusion in both cases has been attested to by the most hard-headed outside observers and this required extensive preparation and a long process of learning. The props were carefully designed to achieve the desired illusory effect and the strategy was planned with great precision, involving accomplices in the audience and special lighting effects developed by regulating the fire in the fireplace.

In view of these deliberate and extensive preparations for illusion, the question has often been raised of how these ceremonies could be regarded as religious in character. From my long experience with my informant, who retained a good deal of his old belief, it was the success in creating the illusion that was the mark of favor of the supernatural mentor, and therefore the performance was sincerely believed to be a religious experience. He would say, "If one does not have faith, he will fail." He cited examples where people of insufficient faith caused injury to themselves and to others while trying to perform. The success of the illusion depended upon the dexterity and agility of the performer and his ability to deflect the attention of the spectator just long enough for
[787] him to make the necessary shifts. There may possibly have been some measure of self-induced trance such as occurred to the priests incidentally in the course of the creation ceremony. (Our own knowledge of the subject is too elementary to identify the situation psychologically.)

787 825 A major difference between our experience and theirs should be especially noted. The Pawnees as well as many peoples who practiced these arts were in constant association with wild animals in their natural habitat, an experience which is entirely absent in our own world. They lived within a world of wild animals in their hunting and even in defense of their settlements, they had to have an intimate knowledge of the emo-

tators (*rariwaastuksa*) crowded in, and seeing what they were doing be- 796
came interested, and began to fill up the membership ranks. Others [177]
now went to the southern Caddoan-speaking tribes—the Wichitas, Kitsais,
Tawakaru, and Weco—learned their sleight-of-hand tricks, and returned to join the Deer Dance. The ranks thus became full.

In the south half of the lodge, at the west and in the semicardinal positions, each of the men had a tribal name according to where he had acquired his teachings. The north side that represented the Pawnee was called as a whole, *isati* (a noted one, or northerner in the Wichita language). The leader from the Pawnee side at the northwest station would say (mentioning one or the other of the southern Caddoan tribes), "The Kitsais [or the Wichitas, etc.] are coming on the warpath!" This would be a challenge to a shamanistic contest.

The year after the Pawnee moved from Fremont (*Pahaḳu*) to the reser- 796
vation near Genoa, Kind Warrior died (1861). Victory Call survived 178
him by seven years and during this time he controlled the Deer Dance and it had many members with performances going full force. Many new features were added to the ceremony, particularly two—the contest between members on the north and those on the south and the addition of two women members, one near the north entrance and one near the south. (See Figure 43-2.) This latter feature came about after someone reported that the Wichita included women, who took part and also gave performances. Then someone dreamed that they had been right in admitting the women and that they should have special duties of taking care of any corn that was donated and sweep the floor of the lodge every morning during the ceremony. Every morning during the ceremonial period, the old ladies would get up very early and tell the boys to get up. Then they gave the room a good sweeping. There were songs that told of this aspect of the ceremonial life in the Deer Lodge.

As Kind Warrior brought the Deer Dance to the Pawnee, most of the 796
songs had Wichita words and reflected Wichita experiences. But in time 533
the Pawnee dancers made new songs that were based on their own expe- 177
riences and sung in the Pawnee language.

One war experience was of a war party of the Pitahawirata Band to Fort 796
Scott, Kansas, led by Tikarahisat. They stayed on a high tableland for 533
more than a year, hunting the buffalo and making a buffalo robe for their 825
leader. They saw the ducks flying south in winter and then in spring when they flew north again, they flew in triangular formation with their leader at the apex and at the ends of the arms, the two errand men. Children used to ask these ducks, as they flew over the village, to give them moccasins or red bows and arrows. These experiences became the basis for a Pawnee song in the Deer Dance. Another song they sang was about two eagles that they saw, first one with a large log in his claws, then another with another log; they were building a nest. As they built, the eagles would whistle.

796
533
[539]

1.	hiwiri	Wiwitswia
	———	Now it comes flying
2.	"	"
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	hits
		feather-coming

The two men continued to talk together that night in the lodge and New Young Dog told Warrior about the rabbit learning that he wanted to know. Should anyone come in and see the sparks from their pipe and hear the whispering, they would know that the two men were to be left alone and would go straight to their beds as they were talking of something important. The next time the dance was held, Warrior followed after New Young Dog. After he had carried out his performance, New Young Dog addressed the assembled company saying, "What you have seen me do here today, I am giving to this fellow here, Warrior. This is my teaching." From this time on Warrior was able to do the rabbit dance and could make a rabbit skin come alive and be a rabbit.

796
72
[178]
[177]

In this way, the original Wichita Deer Dance took on its Pawnee form. By 1867 it had become a typically elaborate Pawnee ceremony. Sleight-of-hand performances and trance induction were both modes in which they operated as they did in the Doctor Lodge. But unlike the Doctor Lodge where animal costumes and animal impersonations celebrated their communion with the animals, in the Deer Dance, war was the predominant theme and each of the members at the stations bore the name of a tribe, the opposing north and south sides representing attack and counterattack. The ceremony was carried through ten consecutive sessions, nine in the night and a tenth in the daytime with a number of rest days between. Technically, they conceived that the all-day tenth and final episode was the actual ceremony and the nine night sessions simply preliminary to it. The nine night sessions comprised several different phases. In the first five, there was a program of four or more sleight-of-hand performances, chiefly in sequence. As in the Doctor Dance, sleight of hand was referred to as "playing." Following these "playing" sessions, going on very late into the night was a series of "fighting" or hypnotic episodes. But these differed from the Doctor Lodge "fighting" which was simple trance induction; in the Deer Dance, the fighting consisted of hypnotic interference with a sleight-of-hand performance while it was in progress, confusing the performer and making it impossible for him to complete his feat. The difference between the two kinds of "fighting" was recognized in the names they were called—the "fighting" of the Doctor Lodge was "I shoot at him," *wi-tatix-tsaaku*, "now-I at him-shoot" (abbreviated as *patsaaku*) while

[789]
[787]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Deer Dance

331

796
756
578

As to the public at that time, when the conflict was imminent, some felt a test of power would be welcome between the two organizations, while others felt strongly that it should be avoided.

796
177
178

How much of the ceremony was basically a Wichita plan and how much Pawnee innovation cannot be entirely resolved, as a number of Wichitas came among the Pawnees and stayed for some time, one of them, Atskiri, remaining for three years and coaching Misery for his role as future leader of the organization. Whatever the details, by 1867, the Deer Dance had become an intricate Pawnee ceremony, following the characteristic pattern with complicated histrionic as well as conceptual features.

000

shield. Some men could make themselves a war bonnet with eagle feathers 237
(the traditional war bonnet of the plains symbolizing a comet). They 292
would buy long white beads in the store and at the base of the throat, 301
wear a big shiny disk about as large as a dollar made out of long black
oyster shell.

An indispensable element of ceremonial costuming was the Black Rope 463
made of buffalo hair. Only men could wear these. The process of braid- 283
ing was very complicated and required great concentration. If a woman [292]
came around inclined to converse, the maker would excuse herself and [237]
say she had to get through and wasn't able to talk at this time. The work
was done in the house and preferably in the fall when less interruptions
were likely. Only a few women had the skill to do it. The hair of which
the rope was made was from the mane or head of the buffalo. Four
twisted strands were braided together into a long rope or belt. Each of
the strands for braiding was wound onto a ball, and these balls were
manipulated in order to form the braid. Some women did fine even work
and some did it poorly and roughly. Working steadily at it, the work took [461]
about twelve days. If it had to be fitted in with other work, it would
take more time. A woman would come to the belt maker on behalf of
her husband and order one, bringing the materials. The maker would be
paid well.

There were some few women who could make a colorful braided belt 292
by interweaving five colors. They called it "red-woven." It was a wide [286]
flat belt that was made to order to fit the waist of the prospective wearer
with long fringes hanging down to the ankles. A belt like this was usually
made for boys and girls of good families and for young women. An older [171]
woman would not consider it proper to wear one although among the
Osage, they were commonly worn by all women. A few men twisted
these belts around their heads as a turban with the fringes hanging down
on both sides of the face and eagle feathers at the back of the head.
Most men regarded this as a "flashy" style of dressing.

The materials used were entirely commercial—wool for the body and cord for the concealed warps. A woman who wanted to have one made for her boy would ask her husband to buy the materials at the trade store so that she could take them to the weaver.

We do not know whether this skill is old or new among the Pawnee. 286
In general, on the American continent, it goes back several thousand 178
years as a fabric-producing technique. But the exclusive use of commer-
cial materials and the reluctance of mature men and women to wear the
belt suggests that its adoption is fairly new.

The work was usually done outdoors in the springtime for maximum 286
visibility. It required great concentration and one mistake might compel
the weaver to rip the whole thing. If a woman was making one on order,
her family would do her spring planting to free her for the work. It

411 boiled hide and the feathers bent onto the stick and pasted down and
[237] tied in place with some more wet sinew at their lower end.

411 After the feathers were in place, the shafts were buffed by passing
412 them between the two grooved sandstone buffers that were pressed together—the
arrow being turned back and forth so that it was well
rounded.

The next process was the use of the bone arrowshaft straightener
[172] that was a little bit like a fork. [Archaeological specimens from the
Hill site of 1806 are pieces of bison rib with holes of different sizes
[178] drilled through them. In recent times, a tin can punched with holes
was sometimes substituted.]

411 After straightening, downy feathers were fastened on at the lower
[237] end of the feathers that had already been attached.

The final step was to split the end for inserting the point. After the
[284] point was inserted, the end was bound with sinew to make it fast. Different
kinds of shafts were called "black-lying-on," "red-lying-on,"
referring to the colors of the feathers.

276 *The Pipestem.* Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most
significant things the man used. The pipe was smoked both for relaxation
and in every ceremony. The stem was symbolic of the human windpipe
[192] and the breath was considered the essence of life itself. *Tsiksu,* the word
for "throat," was also the verb stem for "to think, to feel," *-atsiks-*. In the
ceremony of the Peace Pipe, the main emblems were the two pipestems,
a bowl from a sacred bundle being attached to one of them and smoked
in the course of the ceremony. The pipestems were decorated with
[237] eagle feathers and other ceremonial insignia—one with the feathers of the
[825] brown eagle, signifying "night," "female," "fruitfulness" and known as
ra-hak-katitu, "one-mouth-black"; and the other with feathers of the
white eagle, signifying "day," "male," "defense," "war" and called
ra-hak-takaru, "one-mouth-white." At various stages in the ceremony
these were waved about so that they symbolized the flight of the eagles.
276 The pipestems were ceremonially fashioned after instructions from the
322 priests. He sent two men to bring in two sticks of ash, and as they sat
east of the fireplace they prepared the sticks, warming them over the fire
so that they could be straightened and cut to length, viz., four spans
from thumb to third finger. The stems were peeled, scraped, and the
pith removed by boring them from end to end with a reed so that the
breath could pass through unobstructed. The pith was then burned out
with a wire. The men cut a straight groove the entire length of each
stick to represent the lifeline. Finally all scrapings and every particle of
ashwood was placed carefully on the fire, and as the flame rose the two
sticks were passed through the blaze so that the word of the fire might
enter and be with them.

spartea) known to the Pawnee as *pitsuts*. It grew like oats about 3 feet 412
high near the village, above the cemetary where the Skidi buried their [824]
dead. White Woman would ask Victory Call to go and gather it for her in
the fall. It had long stiff branches and at the tip of each branch there was
a sharp point fastened at a joint and surrounded with wooly fluff. The
point was broken off at the joint and discarded and the fluff cleared off.
The remaining bristle was very stiff and formed the working end of the
brush. The stems were grouped into four little bunches, each bunch
bent over at the top end and fastened down with a wrapping of buckskin.
The four bunches were put together with the bent-over ends inward,
and the whole bound around with buckskin to complete the brush. In
addition to keeping the hair in order, doctors would rub the brush on
top of the head to relieve headache or sleepiness. As generally with the [796]
Pawnee crafts, there was no ceremony involved in gathering the material
or in the manufacture, but the grass appears metaphorically in the Peace [824]
Pipe ceremony as symbolic of vegetation in general and of grasses in
particular.

Everyone went to a good deal of trouble to keep the hair in order and 302
to dress it attractively. The women's hair styles were relatively uniform.
It was parted in the middle and made into two braids hanging down over
the shoulders in front. The end of the braid was wound around with
buckskin. A relatively recent style was tying the braids together and [178]
flinging them to the back. The men's hair styles were more elaborate and
varied. A great many of the men wore roaches, a ridge of hair standing
up along the middle of the head with the hair removed on both sides and
a braid hanging down at the back. Most writers refer to this hair style as
characteristically Pawnee, but the Pawnees themselves speak of it as "like [171]
Osages." In the old days, each hair had to be pulled out one by one. Later [178]
they used scissors. In former times, face hairs were also pulled out one
by one with the fingers, while more recently they used a close coil of
brass with a stick through it so that it would be tied to the belt. The oldest
son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Sun Chief, had long curly hair
that he wore in two braids, one over each shoulder. He was known as
Long Hair or "Head-Hanging-Down-From." Victory Call also wore
two braids, but on the right side, in addition to the braid, he had his hair
cut in terraces. He was called "like Arikara" on account of it. War Cry
never seemed to comb his hair; he wore it loose and was always brushing
it back off his forehead. His younger brother, Brave Shield, pushed his
hair up so that it stood up stiff in back. People who were shabby or ill-groomed [554]
were regarded with considerable contempt by the Pawnees.

The industrial knowledge of the Pawnee transformed the meager materials 433
of the plains environment into a setting that was worthy of their 182
religious and conceptual achievements. They worked hard but were se-

The Pawnee version of the revivalist Ghost Dance religion was in full force. Through it the people 668
hoped that the new would be swept away and old conditions return. It 796
was invested with many of the old and rich Pawnee ceremonial constructs
that were vividly recalled in memory and in visions. As one of their fond
remembrances, they thought of the old Hand Game, and this became
the framework for a new and elaborate ceremonial synthesis of old religious
patterns. With the beginning of the twentieth century, the religious [178]
elements diminished in importance.

In World War I and again in World War II, the Pawnees for whom defense 648
of country had always been a leitmotif enlisted generously, and 177
their war veterans became an important element of modern Pawnee life.
Following World War II and their extensive contacts abroad, a considerable
number of Pawnees availed themselves of the educational benefits of
the G.I. Bill of Rights, acquiring college degrees and specialized professional
training.

The Pawnee powwow held in the beginning of July, when the Pawnees 527
used to leave on their summer buffalo hunt, takes place at Pawnee, 177
Oklahoma. It is a colorful combination of traditional and adapted Indian
dances and music under the auspices of the Pawnee war veterans. The
Pawnees, from wherever their lives have taken them, come by car, train,
or plane to this their homecoming, where there is a brief period of camping
in tents and cooking over an open fire or a charcoal grill, renewing
social contacts and kin reminiscences. The rest of the year's round is in
another place and in the present, just as the old people had envisioned
their future.

Mr Murie spent three days in the translation and study of the 124
ritual, assisted by the Ku'rahus, who explained many points that
were somewhat obscure, owing to elisions, the employment of a single 195
word as a mnemonic to call up the picture of a complicated action, 196
and the forcing of words to a different application from that of ordinary speech—a not uncommon occurrence in rituals. The latter carefully watched the work lest mistakes should be made, remarking that the ritual "speaks of the powers above, of whom man should be careful what he says."

There is one aspect of the ritual, essential to its understanding, that 181
was carefully explained by the Ku'rahus, and the substance of many
conversations on the subject follows. A man's life is an onward move- 555
ment. If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the
help of the powers his life will "climb up." Here the Ku'rahus made 553
a gesture indicating a line slanting upward; then he arrested the 761
movement and, still holding his hand where he had stopped, went on
to say that as a man is climbing up he does something that marks a 829
place in his life where the powers have given him the opportunity to express in acts his peculiar endowments, so this place, this act, forms a stage in his career, and he takes a new name to indicate that he is on a level different from that which he occupied previously. Some men, he said, can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level, and he illustrated his words by moving his hands horizontally. Men having power to advance, climb step by step, and here again he made his idea plain by a gesture picturing a slant, then a level, a slant, and a level. In this connection he called attention to the words, in line 1359, "rutu'rahwitz pari," "to overtake walking," saying that the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life an upper level, such a one as these ancient men spoken of in the ritual had reached, where they threw away the names by which they had been known before. "Rutu'rahwitz pari," is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by the doing of like deeds.

Three facts connected with the Pawnee custom of taking a new 553
name should be stated: 555

First. A man was permitted to take a name only after the performance of an act indicative of ability or strength of character. 796*

Second. The name had to be assumed openly before the people to whom the act it commemorated was known.

Third. It was necessary that it should be announced in connection with such a ritual as that here given.

These facts indicate (1) that a man's name stood for what he had shown himself to be in the light of his actions; (2) that this was recognized by his tribesmen; and (3) that it was proclaimed by one having in charge the mediatory rites through which man could be approached by the supernatural.

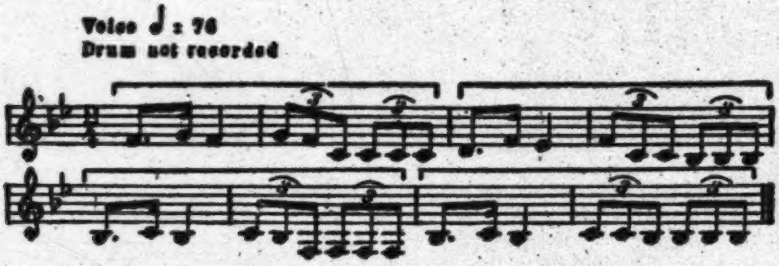
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 The next song was said to have come down from a time when only men played the hand game.

No. 49. "You Came Near Finding Them"

(Catalogue No. 1095)

Recorded by Effie Blain



Analysis.—The rhythm of this song is characteristic of the physical movements of persons playing the hand game. It is a rhythm that suggests alternation and the swaying of the players from side to side. There is also an energy in the ascending approach to the first count of each measure. The tones are those of the first 5-toned scale which omits the third and seventh tones of the octave and is always a particularly free melodic form. No change of measure length occurs and the song consists entirely of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. The song contains 11 ascending and 10 descending progressions, two of each being the interval of a fourth.

A song of Roaming Chief (No. 66) was also sung at a hand game.

GHOST DANCE SONGS

668 The Pawnee are deeply religious by nature and received the Ghost
177 dance with sympathy. According to Mooney "The Ghost dance was
brought to the Pawnee . . . by delegates from the Arapaho and
78 Cheyenne in the west. The doctrine made slow progress for some
[181] time, but by February, 1892, the majority of the Pawnee were dancing
in confident expectation of the speedy coming of the Messiah and the
buffalo. Of all these tribes the Pawnee took most interest in the new
doctrine, becoming as much devoted to the Ghost dance as the
[292] Arapaho themselves."[39] A woman's Ghost dance dress is shown in
Plate 8, *c*; also other costumes.

668 Ghost dance songs were recorded but the dance did not form a
177 subject of study by the present writer. As stated, certain Ghost

*533

---

[39] Mooney, James, op. cit., p. 902.

V. THE INDIVIDUAL

According to Pawnee standards, a successful life depended not 181
only on the inheritance of an elevated social position, but also on 554
individual initiative. From the beginning, a man looked upon his 461
life's career as a contest whose outcome depended upon his own efforts. Success was a matter of industry, of honesty in dealing with other members of his society, of zeal in the hunt and upon the warpath, and of maintaining satisfactory relations with the deities. He had to work and fight constantly in this life for whatever he obtained.

Likewise, a woman must keep her lodge clean, and be honest, industrious in the fields, successful in the rearing of a family, and careful to observe the restrictions imposed on her conduct. In return for this, her days would be comfortable, the birth of her children would be without pain, and a definite place would await her in the life after death.

PERIODS OF LIFE

The Skidi recognized five distinct periods or epochs in the life 888
history of an individual of either sex. For the male these periods 884
were as follows: (1) *Pirau.* This means "child," or more properly, 858
"baby," carried no distinction of sex, and was applicable only to a child during the nursing period. (2) *Piruski*, "boy." This term covered the period from the termination of childhood to the age of puberty. The word *pisiks*, "covered up" (closed-foreskin), was also used as a nickname for a boy of this period, referring to the fact that he had not yet had connection with women. (3) *Pitisutki.* This term was applied to a boy after he had reached the age of puberty but had not yet married, and means "grown or straight up." (4) *Pita.* This referred to the period after marriage until old age, and is the general term for "man." (5) *Kurahus*, meaning "old man," was applicable to that period of a man's life when he no longer took active part in the hunt or went out with the warriors.

The corresponding names for the female were: (1) *Pirau.* (2) *Tcoraki*, "girl." (3) *Tcoras.* This corresponded to the third period of the man; that is, the period after reaching puberty and extending up to marriage. (4) *Tcapat*, "woman" (blood-from-delivery), especially referred to the fact that she had given birth. (5) *Tcostit* applied to all women after the menopause.

D

His was a singularly lovable nature. If the stronger manly points of 005
his character inspired respect and admiration, not less did his gentleness and consideration for others win the deepest affection. He was modest almost to diffidence, and it was with difficulty that he could be induced to speak of his own heroic achievements. And yet his face told the story of the power within the man.

The secret of Major North's success in commanding the Pawnees, who loved him as much as they respected him, lay in the unvarying firmness, justice, patience and kindness with which he treated them. He never demanded anything unreasonable of them, but when he gave an order, even though obedience involved great peril, or appeared to mean certain death, it was a command that must be carried out. He was their commander, but at the same time their brother and friend. Above all, he was their leader. In going into battle he never said to them, "Go," but always "Come on." It is little wonder, then, that the devotion felt for him by all the Pawnee Nation, and especially by the men who had served under him in battle, was as steadfast as it was touching.

THE PAWNEES AND THEIR STORIES

ONCE the Pawnees were a great people. They were very numerous. 181 ●
They were undisputed masters of a vast territory. They had everything that heart could wish. Their corn and their buffalo gave them food, clothing and shelter; they had weapons for war and for the chase. They roamed over the country without let or hindrance. In peace they were light-hearted and contented; in war cunning, fierce and successful. Their name was a terror to their enemies. This was in the past. Now they are few in number, poor, a prey to disease, a vanishing race.

My acquaintance with the tribe began in 1870. From that time to 123
the present I have had frequent intercourse with them; have lived in their villages; and been with them on their buffalo hunts. During the

114 his aboriginal heroes. There are good men among Indians, just as among the whites. The prevalent notion of the Indian has been formed from the worst class of this people, the lazy, filthy beggars who haunt the settlements of the West, who to their own vices have added new ones picked up from their surroundings, and who are hopelessly degraded. These are not typical Indians, and it is unjust to judge a whole race from such degenerate specimens. There is still another notion of the Indian fondly cherished by many worthy people, whose sympathies have been wrought upon by the cruelty and injustice with which we have treated this race. These good people look upon all Indians as simple children of nature, who would do no wrong if they had not been contaminated by contact with vicious whites. It is unnecessary to say that this notion of the Indian is also incorrect.

114 The Indian is neither a fiend nor a saint. There are good ones and
● 181 bad ones. As a rule, perhaps they try to act up to their ideas of what is right, but the standard of a race of barbarians cannot be the same as that of a civilized people, and in judging of their character we must make allowances for this difference. The standard of right and wrong among civilized people is a growth, the product of the experience of thousands of years. The Indian races have not been through a like experience. They have regarded as virtues some things which seem to us the worst of crimes. The Indian differs from the white man in education and manner of life, and so, of course, in his modes of thought. He has not been taught the lesson of self-control, which his surroundings oblige each civilized man to begin to learn as a child. He has known until recent times no law save that of strength. He has been
[726] taught that war is the noblest of pursuits—the only one worthy of man. And that war has consisted in making forays upon his enemies, taking their possessions, and, if possible, their lives and their scalps. His warfare consisted in surprises rather than open combat. A scalp taken
[721] was a trophy of victory; and the scalp of a woman was almost as eagerly sought as that of a brave or of a chief. It was an evidence of injury inflicted on the enemy. To steal horses from the enemy was an achievement creditable and also profitable.

721 We commonly speak of the raids of war parties as horse stealing expeditions, but this is wholly misleading, because to the civilized understanding the phrase horse stealing carries with it an idea of dis-

114 I went on to Omaha partly to see as much of the upper Missouri as possible, and partly with hope of finding some Omahas or Pawnees at the village whom I was informed were frequently there. I found a band of [361] Pawnees some thinly encamped near the village and they were over at the boat and squads of them remained about the boat during the day and night. I went down to 124 the encampment, tried to find their interpreter who has the respectable name of John Rogers, but could not find him. Unfortunately for me a theft had been committed the day before by the Shawnees and he for some reason thought best to leave and to keep out of the way. I found a Pawnee who could talk some English and commenced a schedule with him, but I soon found out it would not answer and gave it up, and offered him pay if he would hunt up and bring Rogers to me during the day, which he promised to but did not do.

●181 The Pawnees are said to be demoralized as a nation. Their women are universally prostitutes, they all steal and beg and are idle and profligate. This character is given to the nation and not to the few who wander about. How far it is just to the mass of the Pawnees who remain at their village at

[p 66 (A)]
[pp 1-65 not processed]

181 home I cannot say, but I should think it must [be] too strongly expressed. The specimens I saw at Omaha were of a low, vile [548] and filthy order. The women were all prostitutes and diseased, some of them clearly. I saw men offer to sell the use of their women for a paltry compensation, which fact [182] proves the entire completeness of the demoralization of this portion of the band.

[p. 66 (B)]

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000 individual from the statistical norm, even when some distribution of the selected traits is given. The Amerindian who has never been subject to mass organization in the North American setting preserved an understanding of the individual personality as the keystone of society rather than as a function of it. His society is therefore fluid and creative, albeit within limited technical resources, rather than inhibiting of the person as an integral entity. He does not require doctrine in order to develop formal social structures, and the structures he does develop are currently functional rather than frozen.

It does not matter what sort of empires the North American Indians would or would not have developed had the European not disrupted his society. What does matter is that in examining his society as a total functioning social organism we have a contrast situation through which we can throw into relief our most stubbornly held social biases.

• 181 185 Although the Pawnee home is at opposite poles to our own, there are suggestions to be derived from it that can be applied concretely to our own mode of living. Within the home, the Pawnee has personal and social mobility and a diverse circle of contacts; within his kindred he has a wide latitude of personal interrelationships. His aspirations are his own. He sets his own goal, which is his personal secret. His aspiration is not to surpass someone else, but to go beyond his own past achievements. He gives himself a name to serve social notice on people that he is on his way. Love and friendship, though less stable than kin, are also honored.

000 I think I have given enough detail of Pawnee life to show that it was in no sense a Utopia. The struggle for survival and for the maintenance of personal dignity was great. Leaving aside the survival question, the challenge to the individual to develop himself was much greater than our own, for it was not only an avowed, but a literal purpose in life. For those individuals who are concerned that the transition from a mercantilist to a humanist society which we are now perforce making will leave the human being without incentives and challenges, Pawnee life should serve to dispel his doubts. A society built on the basis of the objective of personal fulfillment will not be a lazy or an insipid society. It will be full of strength and dynamic movement. Today for the most part the intellectual and the artist carries this mode. For the future it will belong to us all, for everyone has something to contribute to such a society by the very fact that individuals are different. We need no prima donnas—only people as they are. As a social scientist I owe a tremendous debt to the Pawnees for the fidelity with which they have communicated their culture to me, for it has given me an abiding faith in the individual human being. I hope that this account will be studied and similar value be derived by others. In concluding this work I will outline some of my personal projections for our society that I have derived as a result of the years during which Pawnee life has been part of my thinking.

> The visionary moves her basket back and forth—dishing out. The four ladies with the loon necks swing them as if digging in the earth. The two girls with the deer heads dip them up and down, swinging back and forth. 241 535

As the women danced with the hoes, a few men danced among them with their bows and arrows poised as if aiming at something. If the women seemed to be getting tired, the men rubbed against them like buffalo bulls. After the dance was over, the minister asked if everything was all right, and when they looked around at the ground there were rolls of buffalo hair scattered all over. They knew that everything would be all right then, that they would succeed in the buffalo hunt, and that there would be plenty of corn.

There were eight song episodes in the entire series with three intermissions. In the intermissions, a special type of byplay took place that had nothing to do with the order of the ceremony itself. The special characters comprised four young virgins and four warriors on each side of the ceremonial lodge. As the women were dancing with their hoes, these virgins and warriors stood up and joined them, and at the time for intermission each virgin got a pipe filled with tobacco that was at the altar and gave it to a warrior. The connection between war and fertility is a leitmotif that runs through much of Pawnee sacred ceremonialism as elaborately exemplified in the human sacrifice to the Morning Star. In this byplay between virgins and warriors this theme is also represented. In the kin system, familiar behavior is characteristic of grandparents and grandchildren only; otherwise people must maintain a formal position with each other. Since familiar remarks are going to be made, the virgins address the warriors as grandpa and the warriors address them as granddaughter. Each virgin having handed a pipe to a warrior, the byplay began: 241 [181] [782] [603] [602]

> Holding his pipe in his left hand, he flexes his arm and moves it back and forth in jerky movements as if running and stamping his right foot three times and then his left as if on the run. He might say, "I was east on the warpath and I killed a Sioux," or he might tell how he stole horses on the warpath. Now the warrior makes a smoke offering and addresses his "granddaughter." He is going to give her advice on how to conduct her sex and marital relations. "Don't let your husband kiss you unless he gives you a horse." "All right," the girl answers, "I'll do that." A warrior on the south side says to his girl partner, "Granddaughter, give me the pipe and I'll tell you what I did. On the Republican river I killed a Sioux and I left him there." Then everyone will say, "Well, why didn't you bring him home?" Then he makes a smoke offering with the pipe the virgin has given him and says, "Grand-

for the Deer Dance they said, "They shoot at his *image*," wi-tit-ir-*awi*-tsaku, 796
"now-they at him-*image*-shoot." This distinction is significant 721
as it reflects the difference in emphasis between the two ceremonies.
The emphasis of the Doctor Lodge is on the alliance of man with the
animals so that they give him confidence, enabling him to cure the sick
or carry out whatever his purposes may be including war expeditions.
In the Deer Dance, power over the enemy is a major leitmotif. The use 721
of shamanism as a kind of psychological warfare against the enemy is 723
a known device among other tribes. That the Pawnees were quite [756]
successful in this regard is attested by an account collected by a [775]
French visitor, Tixier, from their enemies, the Osage, in 1839–1840.
He states:

> The Maha (Skidi Pawnee) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so [181]
> great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five and six [648]
> hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe.
>
> Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. . . . One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave, whose horses he steals away afterwards.

When they were living at Pahaku, near Fremont in 1850 and the Ponca 796
attacked and were about to burn up the Pawnees caught inside their 721
earth lodges, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy dressed up like a medicine 756
man, came out and succeeded in thoroughly frightening the enemy
so that they were repulsed; she was also able to kill one of them near
the lodge, armed simply with a stout stick. There seems some likelihood
that there was some actual functional value in the hypnotic powers of
the medicine men, even in war. If this is the case, the preoccupation
with this type of performance in the Deer Dance ceremony can better
be appreciated.

The long series of illusionist feats and hypnotic exercises, however, 796
was carried on within a characteristically complex Pawnee ceremonial 789
structure.

In the first five nights of performance, during each night there was 796
an earlier session of sleight-of-hand performances, followed by a "fight- 789
787

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

65

THE UNIVERSE REGAINED

IDEAS AND FORECAST

181 IN THE WORLD SCENE the Pawnees were a small group of people on a small piece of land, but as a nation and as a people their lives were of remarkable complexity and order withal, proving that the human dimension is never simple. Their lives moved in cycle upon cycle in a never-ending interplay of influences. These cycles and epicycles reached always into the community instead of being turned in upon themselves in a small household group.

000 During World War II those of us who lived in city apartments and who had always professed a desire for absolute privacy found ourselves forced into a kind of cooperative life because of the curtailment of many kinds of services. The house I lived in near Columbia University was six stories high and on each floor there was a small rectangular hallway onto which the five surrounding apartments opened. Because it was almost impossible to obtain a private telephone, the management installed a pay telephone in the hallway downstairs on the ground floor. Most of the people in the house had to receive their calls through this phone, and the messages were received by the grace of whoever happened to be passing the phone when it was ringing and was willing to answer and to call the party downstairs to the phone.

One day I heard a little boy wailing pitifully in one of the apartments on my floor. I spoke to him through the closed door and he said his mother had gone down to answer the phone. We kept up our conversation on opposite sides of the door until his mother returned and then I pointed out to her that like many children I thought he was afraid she was leaving him inside the apartment and alone in the world. We tried a little practical experiment. We instructed the boy to ring the doorbell of the lady across the hall to see what would happen, while we watched from inside. There were four elderly sisters who lived in that apartment, and one of them answered and said, "Come in, come in," and straightway gave him a cookie. He bid her goodbye and part two of the experiment began. He rang the doorbell of the woman who had the

male principle. The same treatment of the corn is observed. The 772
ear of corn, which is born of Mother Earth, is symbolically painted to 796*
represent a living contact with the heavens.

These symbolic articles thus treated are peculiar to this ceremony and essential to its rites. They express with unmistakable clearness the original instigating desire for children.

The second purpose of this ceremony, that of establishing a bond 571
between two distinct groups of persons belonging to different clans, 648
gentes, or tribes, which should insure between them friendship and
peace, was probably an outgrowth of the first purpose and may have 796*
been based upon tribal experience in the practice of exogamy.

In a tribe composed of clans or gentes, where exogamy prevailed, two factors tended to promote peace and security among the people, namely, children born to parents representing two distinct political groups, and rites which recognized a common dependence upon the supernatural and were obligatory upon all.

With the growth of social ideas the thought seems to have arisen that ties might be made between two tribes differing from and even competing with each other, through a device which should simulate those influences which had proved so effective within the tribe. The Father, representing one tribe, was the incentive force; he inaugurated the Hako party. The tie was made by a ceremony in which the feminine principle, represented by the corn and Kawas, was the dominant factor. Through this mother element life was given and a bond was established between the Father and a Son of another tribe. It is remarkable how close to the model this device of an artificial tie has been made to correspond.

Apart from the social and religious significance of the ceremony, it 182 ●
became a means of exchange of commodities between tribes. The 439-
garments, regalia, and other presents brought by the Fathers to the 796*
Children were taken by the latter to some other tribe, when they in
turn became the Fathers. Thus manufactures peculiar to one tribe
were often spread over a wide territory, and the handicraft of one
region became known to different sections of the country.

STRUCTURE OF THE CEREMONY

The perpetuation and distribution of a ceremony is dependent upon 796*
its structure, its symbolism, and its purpose. Its parts must be so
coordinated as to make it possible to keep the rite intact during oral
transmission, while its symbolism must appeal to common beliefs and
its purpose to common desires.

Examining the ceremony of the Hako, we find it to possess these requisites. Its purpose awoke a response in every human heart, its symbolism appealed to the people wherever corn ripened and eagles flew; and though its structure was elaborate, it was built upon a sim-

778 *796 the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid upon a chair; they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a decorum that was not once abated.

*796 ●182 [*533] The Hako ceremony seems to have been peculiarly adapted to impress the mind of the people and to win their confidence and affection. It was picturesque, varied in movement, and communal in feeling. Its songs were rhythmic and attractive, and frequently choral in form, particularly those belonging to the public ceremony, where all, young and old, joined in the melody as the feathered stems were swayed over their heads when the Ku'rahus and his assistants made the circuits of the lodge.

[593 771] The teachings of the public ceremony were general in character. They emphasized, on the ~~one hand~~, man's dependence on the supernatural for all the gifts of life, and on the other hand, his dependence on the family tie for the gifts of peace and happiness. The specific teachings were reserved for the Son. These began in the ritual to the Dawn (tenth ritual) on the morning of the second and third days, which prefigured the secret ceremonies of the fifth morning, when the bond of the family relation was extended beyond blood kinship through the symbolic rites which recognized the common source of life in Tira'wa atius.

[178] Looking over the entire ceremony, it is interesting to note how older rites have had their share in the development of the Hako, and how the trend of thought among the native seers has borne them toward a conception of the brotherhood of man, a conception recognized as the noblest known to the human family.

INCIDENTAL RITUALS

COMFORTING THE CHILD

*539 The incidental rituals could be called for and given during the public ceremony.

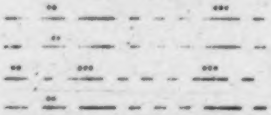
*796 [*533] The three songs which belong to the first ritual have a common musical motive, but this motive is treated differently in each song so as to conform to the movement of the ceremony.

The appeal of the parents to the Ku'rahus is in the first song passed on to Kawas. It is sung by the Ku'rahus at the holy place as he waves the brown-eagle feathered stem. The words are in the nature of a prayer, the music has the swing of a lullaby.

FIRST SONG[a].

Diagram of Time

[*533]



---

[a] Music on p. [illegible].

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

553
*796
The ritual is in three parts. The first gives a brief narration of the institution of the custom of changing the name in consequence of some new achievement. The second shows how the man was enabled to accomplish this act. It began with his lonely vigil and fast, when he cried to the powers for help. The scene then shifts to the circle of the lesser powers, who, in council, deliberate on the petition which makes its way to them and gains their consent. Then the Winds summon the messengers, and these, gathering at the lesser powers' command, are sent to earth to the man crying in lonely places, to grant his desire. This part closes with a few vivid words which set forth that only by the favor and help of the powers had the man been able to do the deed. The third deals with the man's names, the one to be discarded and the one now to be assumed.

128
*539
*796
● [182
195]
This dramatic poem is in a rhythmic form impossible to reproduce in English; neither is a literal translation adequate to convey its meaning, since a single word sometimes represents a complex action, to the understanding of which a knowledge of the customs and beliefs of the tribe is essential. The terseness of expression was also intended to close the meaning to the uninitiated, keeping it sacred from the common people. Although the form of the following rhythmic rendition could not be determined as heretofore by musical phrases, the English version contains nothing which is not in the original text explained and amplified by the Ku'rahus.

Rhythmic Rendition of Pawnee Text

*539
*796

1378 Harken! 'Twas thus it came to pass:
In ancient days, a Leader and his men
Walked this wide earth, man's vast abode
Roofed by the heavens, where dwell the gods.*
They reached a place, the spot no man can tell,
Faced dangers dread, and vanquished them;
Then, standing as if born anew to life,
Each warrior threw away the name
That had been his ere yet these deeds were done.

1379 Harken! The Leader and his men
Made there the Vict'ry Song, and set the mark
Ye must o'ertake, if ye would be like them!

1380 Harken! The Leader and his men
Turned then toward home. Their Vict'ry Song
Proclaimed them near; the village rose,
Looked toward the hill, where on the top
Stood the brave men singing their Song,
Heralding thus the favor of the gods
By which they had surpassed all former deeds,
Made new their claim to be accounted men.

---

*Gods, meaning powers, is used solely on account of the rhythm.

his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, 668
therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. 782
An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time, 796
the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins
at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would 276
be adopted. 823

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to
Tirawahat^{a} must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; [775]
that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to
be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on
one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased
relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes
on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance,
and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is
thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The [776]
sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his
marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening
Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every
night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon
earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus,
while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the
position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should
be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering 668
for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" 796
is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived 177
by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the
dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream 182
of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

---

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99. [591]

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

668 identified with this background. The cross has always been used 796 by the Pawnee as a star symbol. On the ancient star-map of the 177 Pawnee, which was part of the Black Star bundle,[1] all the stars 182 are indicated by small crosses, rather than by dots or five-pointed figures. Hence to a Pawnee it is natural to conceive the cross-scaffold as involving a star-reference. To this scaffold Christ as a holy untainted man who has been honored (the maiden must be virginal and while she lives among the Pawnee is honored) is nailed, with his arms outstretched, as a sacrifice (from the Pawnee viewpoint). With both Christ's crucifixion and the Morning Star Sacrifice Ceremony oriented from the west, there comes about a broadening of the western orientation to include not only the Evening Star ideas of earlier times, but as well the conception of Christ as the Father and Shepherd of the people in the other world, the Chief in the beyond.

The meaning of the final self-blessing is simple and direct. One had offered tobacco and smoke to specific powers, and one concludes by reaffirming one's desire and hope of continued and long contact with the earth, Mother Earth. Thus one presses the body to the ground firmly as a request for long life.

Murie has pointed out that the Pawnee Ghost Dance ceremony as first organized by White, "seems to have been largely original with White and far from identical with the Ghost Dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true Ghost Dance."[2] This reference is to the fact that in the vision pattern suggested by White there were seen by the visionary in order a stream, a tree (usually cedar), the Messiah or Christ himself, then a village of people, and upon approaching the village the people were seen to be dancing, playing games, etc. In addition White brought the undeveloped forms of the Wichita Ghost Dance; there were one day dances, or dances from early afternoon through to the next dawn. White had borrowed the concept of seven leaders for the dance from the Wichita organization as instituted by Sitting-Bull. Murie remarks further, "Some years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct."[2]

The information I have is that Wichita were in part responsible for the changed conception of the dance, inasmuch as visitors from

---

[1] See Buckstaff, R. N., 279ff., which includes a reproduction of the map. The original is in the Field Museum of Natural History.

[2] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

that tribe were present among the Pawnee when the Skiri Brotherhoods 668
were conceived; the Wichita seem to have brought to the 796
Pawnee the change to a Ghost Dance every six weeks for four
nights, continuing the last night until the dawn of the fifth day. 177
This they had adopted in accordance with the change among the 182
Cheyenne, Arapaho, Caddo and Wichita, after the message from the Messiah was received. At the same time, a conflict of doctrine over the teachings of White, which culminated in a new conception of the significance of the Ghost Dance brought directly from the major Arapaho prophets by Pawnee delegations, seems to have contributed to the release of the Pawnee Ghost Dance from White's exclusive control. This doctrinal change occurred before Frank White's death in 1893.

In the early days after the dancing for the day was over, the people as a whole broke apart and went home, or went to their own tipis. But White, his seven co-leaders, and some of the chiefs would reenter the leading tipi. There they were served food. Before eating, a simple corn offering was made; corn was offered to Tirawahat^{a} and placed on the ground; then motions of blessing were made with the horn spoon over the altar objects.

After this feast, someone would begin to talk about his trance experiences. He would tell what he saw, and then sing songs which
he had learned in his trance. In this way songs were added to the [533]
repertoire, and gradually the Wichita and Arapaho songs became only a minor phase (save for the closing song) of the Pawnee Ghost Dance songs.

CONFLICT OF DOCTRINE; REORGANIZATION OF CEREMONY

According to the conception of the Ghost Dance which Frank 668
White brought among the Pawnee, Frank White himself was the 796
sole authentic prophet of the dance and doctrine, and it was 792
necessary for all sanctions to come through Frank White as intermediary. Those who had visions in trances reported the content and character to White, and in terms of his interpretation and permission made use of the vision. Feathers to wear in the hair, paints for the face, special symbolisms of dress, and the like, were possible only with White's approval. If a dancer wished to use
a face painting, in accordance with his trance experiences, he had [43]
first to go to White and pay him for the privilege, or in any case, to offer him gifts. Individuals who had learned about the Ghost Dance in visions, and felt authorized to put on a dance, could do so only after conferring with White. He would teach the visionary

778 this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course
793 of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher
lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that
as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that
[828] when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the
old and learned always held back something until they were ready
to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught
his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on
his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told
him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When
upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part
[764 of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by
428] the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased
medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest,
a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance;
the physical bundle survived, though it might be less
and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained
182 as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through
178 cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through
the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals, which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their time; and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

424 The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of
private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost
793 through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no
sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who
attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

182 The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance
visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would
178 "see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision
668 then became a command upon himself and others around him to
787 carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life
could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost 668
Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult 787
to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the 178
way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed 182
in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or ceremony was no longer officially in existence: those who had known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine 796
men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear 756
Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this 178
century, it was the revived form which was studied and recorded. The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirat[2], the main [764]
bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were 796
buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any 756
one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society was lost. At a 787
meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a 178
woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said, "I had

---

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. [114]
Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based on work with present-day informants.

The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation: in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

181 home I cannot say, but I should think it must [be] too strongly expressed. The specimens I saw at Omaha were of a low, vile
[548] and filthy order. The women were all prostitutes and diseased, some of them clearly. I saw men offer to sell the use of their women for a paltry compensation, which fact
● [182] proves the entire completeness of the demoralization of this portion of the band.

[p. 66 (B)]

ized were concentrated along the banks of Beaver Creek, a northern 101 tributary of the Loup River near the present town of Genoa, Nebraska. They had moved to this place in 1859 as a result of their treaty with the United States Government. Each of the bands had its separate location, the Skidi villages in the westernmost position and the three South Bands ranged along the stream to the east about half a mile away. From west to east they were: Kitkehaxki (Little-Earth-Lodge), Tsawi (Asking-for-Meat), and Pitahawirata (Man-Going-Downstream, or East). Each of the bands is said to have comprised a number of villages; for the three South Bands this cannot be documented. From 1700 on, when our historical records are clear, the Skidi were the largest of the four bands and were composed of a number of distinct villages, estimated between twelve and nineteen. In 1867 the Skidi had four distinct villages, 361 Tuwahukasa (Village-across-a-Ridge), Tuhitspiat (Village-in-the-Bottomlands), Tskirirara (Wolf-in-Water), and Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine). [103] The villages were made up of ten to twelve earth lodges, each a high spacious dome-shaped building housing thirty to fifty people. Besides containing thirty to fifty people under one roof, the personnel was likely to change from season to season after each migration to the buffalo hunting grounds. The basic Pawnee household was as different from ours as 592 it is possible for a human arrangement to be. And yet it gave personal satisfaction to its members and within itself produced the whole material and social base for an ongoing community. In fact, this is what we wish our family life would do. Sibling rivalries, partial or total rejection of child by parent or smothering attention, demands on the child for the unfulfilled ambitions of the parents, or overprotection because of resented parental hardships, heavy-handed control of parent over child in a severely restricted social environment—these are ills that are intimately linked with the very physical arrangements of our present family living. There are things about Pawnee life that suggest that an enlarged home environment for our children would improve our lives—a matter to be considered in the concluding chapter.

Even more startling to me than the contrast in home life was the question 626 of political control among the Pawnees. They were a well-disciplined people, maintaining public order under many trying circumstances. 182 And yet they had none of the power mechanisms that we consider essential to a well-ordered life. No orders were ever issued. No assignments for work were ever made nor were over-all plans discussed. There was no code of rules of conduct nor punishment for infraction. There were no commandments nor moralizing proverbs. The only instigator of action 796 was the consenting person. In religion, the regular round of ceremonies 182 that followed the seasons was in charge of a priesthood, but no one of 626 these ceremonies was ever instigated by them. Only when a single person had the call through visions and invited the priesthood to discuss

796 it with him, pledging his support in food and goods, would the ceremony ever be performed. In all his work, both public and private, the Pawnee 182 moved on a totally voluntary basis. Whatever social forms existed were carried within the consciousness of the people, not by others who were in 626 a position to make demands. As I talked to the old men and women I realized that this is what we wish for but do not have. As they described the coordination of their households, I repeatedly asked when they got together and laid the plan they were apparently carrying through and in what exact terms they discussed it. The answer was always, "They didn't discuss it at all. They don't talk about it. It goes along just as it happens to work out."

626 For example, sentinels were always needed to man the outposts and keep watch for the enemy who might be lurking nearby ready to attack 701 the villages, or in the process of sneaking up on them. Sentinels were neither assigned nor called for by anyone. A number of young men who were friends would be talking together and one would mention that this was about the time the enemy would be attacking. Then one of them would remark, "I think I'll go up to the sentry post early tomorrow morning." Another would say, "I think I'll do that too." Then several others would chime in and word would get around, and other young men would also turn up long before dawn at the different sentry posts. The 592 household coordinated itself in precisely the same way. A remark by one 626 person brought a complementary remark from another, and the plans seemed to shape themselves.

626 Time after time I tried to find a case of orders given, and there was none. Gradually I began to realize that democracy is a very personal thing which, like charity, begins at home. Basically it means not being coerced and having no need to coerce anyone else. The Pawnee learned this way of living in the earliest beginnings of his life. In the detailed events of everyday living as a child, he began his development as a disciplined and free man or as a woman who felt her dignity and her independence to be inviolate. I was often confronted with the feeling that they expected of me a kind of independence and decisiveness that was not considered becoming to a woman in our society. Men and women expected the same clear and well-defined reaction from me, and among themselves it was evident that it was their accustomed mode of interacting.

622 The Pawnees had chiefs, but these were the focus of consensus, not the wielders of power. There was no over-all chief of all the Pawnees. 619 The two major political groupings among the Pawnees were the Skidi and the South Bands, distinguished by a slight difference in the pronunciation of the Pawnee language. The main subdivisions within these groupings were villages and households. The village numbered from three 621 hundred to five hundred people in ten to fifteen households. The real

together and again enjoying a festive meal at their daughter-in-law's house 243
afterward. [606]

Now at the beginning of June everyone's mind was turned to complet- [221]
ing the preparations for leaving on the summer hunt. They would weed and cultivate the corn plants and hill up the earth once more just before leaving, when the plants were about 3½ feet high. The present Nebraska farmer says, "Knee high by the fourth of July" and the Pawnee said, "Tall enough to tickle the horse's belly."

The corn and the buffalo that sustained the Pawnee placed heavy de- 22
mands upon him. Only by carrying out his year's round with great pre- 476
cision and by careful coordination of his activities with other people of 243
the tribe could he combine these two major food resources. The adminis-
trative activities of the priests and the chiefs were as vital to his enterprise 627
as the physical resources themselves. Few administrative structures have 182
commended themselves so directly to the people as that of the Pawnees. [793]
Respect for the chief was a cardinal tenet of every Pawnee's life, in re- [183]
turn for which the chief demonstrated a dedicated concern for his people.

rubbing after it gets wet. If the tent cover was folded when wet it would 224*
get moldy. The sinew bowstring also would be ineffective when wet. 484*
Rain had very serious consequences when they had sliced a quantity of 132
buffalo meat and were drying it on the rack. If it should be wet by a sud- [281]
den storm, the meat throughout the encampment would be spoiled. [251]
There was nothing that could be done with this meat. If one tried to eat it, it tasted like dead wood. It fell to pieces in one's hands. Even if one tried to cure it over a fire, it simply rotted. Meat once exposed to rain, even after it had been cooked, became moldy next day. A rack of meat that had been rained on was called *kariks-kutu*, "rack-dead, spoiled." The meat had to be thrown away.

Accommodation and adjustment to rainy weather was therefore very [182]
important and a nice distinction had to be made between the problem of delay and the risks involved.

One day word was sent to White Eagle that an important man of the 224*
Man-Going-Downstream Band was so ill that he could not go on. White 484*
Eagle had to consider very carefully whether they would go ahead and 758
leave him or delay the entire group. A day's delay might mean the 554
difference between reaching the full herd on time or finding only strag- 619
glers left after the herd had passed. Considering, however, that the Man- 622
Going-Downstream Band was in a "Child" relation in the Peace Pipe ritual to the Skidi and was in the process of giving them a return gift of horses, White Eagle diplomatically decided to delay the march so that the sick man could be treated by a doctor. It was also felt that if interband relationships were not solidified from time to time, one or the other of the South Bands might conceivably be induced to collaborate with the Sioux on some occasion. Then everyone would consider that White Eagle had failed in his administrative functions and in his diplomacy.
The death of an influential man in another band would also be the occa- 224*
sion for delay until after the funeral. If the wife of a prominent man 484*
were about to give birth, the whole family of this tent and a doctor 554
would stay behind and wait, and White Eagle would assign one of his 764
principle braves to see that things were all right with "their Child" (in 844
terms of the calumet), while the rest of the camp moved on. In the case of an expected birth to one of the wives of White Eagle himself, he would request Eagle Chief to lead on and say, "My wife is going to be sick." But Eagle Chief would refuse to go ahead saying, "I might spoil your luck. We can go on when she's well again." Ordinarily a woman would have to go aside while traveling and have her child in the open aside from the line of march. Also, in the case of death, the own family would usually stay behind and bury the person, then come on and join the rest. After a day's delay, everyone would be glad to be moving along.

spartea) known to the Pawnee as *pitsuts*. It grew like oats about 3 feet 412 high near the village, above the cemetary where the Skidi buried their [824] dead. White Woman would ask Victory Call to go and gather it for her in the fall. It had long stiff branches and at the tip of each branch there was a sharp point fastened at a joint and surrounded with wooly fluff. The point was broken off at the joint and discarded and the fluff cleared off. The remaining bristle was very stiff and formed the working end of the brush. The stems were grouped into four little bunches, each bunch bent over at the top end and fastened down with a wrapping of buckskin. The four bunches were put together with the bent-over ends inward, and the whole bound around with buckskin to complete the brush. In addition to keeping the hair in order, doctors would rub the brush on top of the head to relieve headache or sleepiness. As generally with the [796] Pawnee crafts, there was no ceremony involved in gathering the material or in the manufacture, but the grass appears metaphorically in the Peace [824] Pipe ceremony as symbolic of vegetation in general and of grasses in particular.

Everyone went to a good deal of trouble to keep the hair in order and 302 to dress it attractively. The women's hair styles were relatively uniform. It was parted in the middle and made into two braids hanging down over the shoulders in front. The end of the braid was wound around with buckskin. A relatively recent style was tying the braids together and [178] flinging them to the back. The men's hair styles were more elaborate and varied. A great many of the men wore roaches, a ridge of hair standing up along the middle of the head with the hair removed on both sides and a braid hanging down at the back. Many writers refer to this hair style as [171] characteristically Pawnee, but the Pawnees themselves speak of it as "like Osages." In the old days, each hair had to be pulled out one by one. Later [178] they used scissors. In former times, face hairs were also pulled out one by one with the fingers, while more recently they used a close coil of brass with a stick through it so that it would be tied to the belt. The oldest son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Sun Chief, had long curly hair that he wore in two braids, one over each shoulder. He was known as Long Hair or "Head-Hanging-Down-From." Victory Call also wore two braids, but on the right side, in addition to the braid, he had his hair cut in terraces. He was called "like Arikara" on account of it. War Cry never seemed to comb his hair; he wore it loose and was always brushing it back off his forehead. His younger brother, Brave Shield, pushed his hair up so that it stood up stiff in back. People who were shabby or ill- [554] groomed were regarded with considerable contempt by the Pawnees.

The industrial knowledge of the Pawnee transformed the meager materials 433 of the plains environment into a setting that was worthy of their 182 religious and conceptual achievements. They worked hard but were se-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

433 cure in the knowledge that their labors would bring them fulfillment.
182 The hardships of the winter buffalo hunt would be intense in many ways as they traveled over the snow-covered prairie through the winter winds. But the buffalo they caught would give them food, clothing, housing, tools, and deep emotional value as well.

together and again enjoying a festive meal at their daughter-in-law's house 243
afterward. [806]

Now at the beginning of June everyone's mind was turned to complet- [221]
ing the preparations for leaving on the summer hunt. They would weed and cultivate the corn plants and hill up the earth once more just before leaving, when the plants were about 3½ feet high. The present Nebraska farmer says, "Knee high by the fourth of July" and the Pawnee said, "Tall enough to tickle the horse's belly."

The corn and the buffalo that sustained the Pawnee placed heavy de- 22
mands upon him. Only by carrying out his year's round with great pre- 476
cision and by careful coordination of his activities with other people of 243
the tribe could he combine these two major food resources. The adminis-
trative activities of the priests and the chiefs were as vital to his enterprise 622
as the physical resources themselves. Few administrative structures have 182
commended themselves so directly to the people as that of the Pawnees. [793]
Respect for the chief was a cardinal tenet of every Pawnee's life, in re- [183]
turn for which the chief demonstrated a dedicated concern for his people.

The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant
kinship ties to him, but according to the logic of the Pawnee kin system 574
they all called one another brother. They were seated in order of seniority. [602]
The hostess, sitting at the southeast, dished out the food for them, [601]
and her husband passed it to his neighbor on the left, stating who it was [554]
intended for, whereupon it would be passed along to the designated
party. There were no speeches, and people were not obliged to wait for [264]
anybody else but could eat as soon as they were served. When they were
through, if they were in a hurry they would just pick up the bread and
meat that they had left over and go directly out, taking the leftover food to
their wives and children. The manners of the common people were far [576]
simpler than those of the socially elite, or the socially ambitious, although
the customary forms were similar.

As they continued on the move, pressures might build up between individuals 484*
because of the closeness of the living conditions in camp and the 578
strain of constant migration. This was particularly true between father-in-law 606
and son-in-law. Theoretically, it was the first duty of the son-in-law
to serve his wife's family, but when his father-in-law was quite old, the
son-in-law often felt put upon by the arrangement. Sometimes in the
camp one could hear people calling out, "Fight, fight!" and father-in-law
and son-in-law would be grappling with each other in a tent. People all
came running and a roughneck in the crowd would call out, "Who's underneath?"
Someone who was close to the tent would say, "Son-in-law." In
general the crowd would approve and say, "That's good," the sentiment
being with the underdog, the old father-in-law. Such a quarrel would [554]
be ended when a brave or other person of high social rank put a hand
on each of the combatants and said, "I want you to stop." Out of respect
for his rank and eminence, they would separate at once and go in different
directions. Should they not respond it would be a major insult and he
would say a second time, "Didn't you hear me?" This would certainly
end the fight. Any person known to be sensitive and to dislike violence
could perform this same good office. Violence of this kind within the village [183]
or band was considered a serious social malfunction and people made
every attempt to avoid it or put a stop to it. The effort to anticipate and
prevent such situations from arising can be seen in the efforts of the wife
and sister of Fearing-a-Bear to keep a hostile father and son-in-law apart.

1

When we have finished singing this song the Ku'rahus takes one of the plum-tree sticks, which has been anointed with red clay mixed with fat, and ties on it with a thread of sinew a downy eagle feather. This stick is bound to the ear of corn so as to project a hand's breadth above the tip end, letting the downy feather wave above Mother Corn. This feather represents Tira'wa. It is always moving as if breathing. 796* [284]

The Ku'rahus then binds the other plum-tree stick to the corn so that it extends below the butt. When the corn is placed in ceremonial position this end of the stick is thrust in the ground so that the ear will stand upright without touching the earth. Both sticks are bound to the ear of corn by a braided band of hair taken from the head of a buffalo. The braided band signifies the gift of animal food and the provision of skin clothing. (The Skidi band of the Pawnees tie a bit of buffalo wool, such as is shed by the animal in the spring, together with a braid of sweet grass, to the ear of corn.) [184] ●

The two gourd rattles, which represent the squash given us by Tira'wa, and also the breasts of the mother, are each painted with a blue circle about the middle, with four equidistant lines from the circle to the bottom of the gourd. The circle represents the wall or boundary of the dome of the sky; the four lines are for the four paths at the four directions down which the powers descend. No song is sung while this painting is being done.

All the sacred articles are laid at rest on a wildcat skin when they are not being used ceremonially, and it is a cover for them in which they are all wrapped together at the close of the ceremony. The skin is never tanned, and the ears of the animal, the skin of the head, the feet, and the claws must all be intact. [281]

Tira'wa made the wildcat to live in the forest. He has much skill and ingenuity. The wildcat shows us that we must think, we must use tact, and be shrewd when we set out to do anything. If we wish to approach a person we should not do it bluntly; we should not rush at him; that might offend him so that he would not receive us or the gifts we desired to offer him. The wildcat does not make enemies by rash action. He is observant, quiet, and tactful, and he always gains his end. [773] [576] 825]

In this ceremony we are to carry the sacred articles to one not of our kindred in order to bind him to us by a sacred and strong tie; we are to ask for him many good gifts, long life, health, and children, and we should receive gifts from him in return. If we would succeed we must learn of the wildcat, and be wise as he is wise.

The wildcat is one of the sacred animals. A man who killed a wildcat could sacrifice it to Tira'wahut. The man who brought such an offering had the right to ask the priest to teach him some of the mysteries that belong to the sacred shrine. 825 782 794

Many years ago two men took the Hako to the Omaha tribe. On the journey one of them killed a wildcat. I said to the man: "I am

668 of Pawnee forms, or whether the Wichita taught the Pawnee
177 directly, the four-day ceremony was the formal Ghost Dance
114 among the Pawnee by 1895.

This regular Ghost Dance of the Pawnee was arranged to last
668 four days. It began the evening of one day, or the late afternoon.
668 Among the South Bands, all arose early in the morning, and faced
184 the sun for a brief period, (during which the smoke offering would
796 be made if the dance was to begin that day); but they did not dance.
Then in the afternoon the people danced from three to midnight.
786 The Skiri say that in their band there was a brief period of dancing
each morning, as well as a longer period of dancing through the
afternoon and evening. Both bands continued the fourth night until
the dawn of the fifth day, bathed and dispersed.

As each song was sung, the circle of dancers, holding hands, moved clockwise through one complete circuit, returning to the original starting point. This is determined by the main singer's position: he begins at the west and finishes at the west (except for the first afternoon song, as above). During the dancing period of the day, the dancers could carry out as many songs as they wished; there was no special number. The singing was initiated and led by the seven crow-feathered singers, and the others joined in. While the dancing went on, some "hypnotizers" would dance inside the circle directly in front of individuals they wished to throw into a trance, using feathers or other objects to focus and fix the eyesight of the subject, thus transfixing them. Usually the subject fell when he or she was touched with the object used. When individuals fell into a trance, they were laid down and the others continued to dance.

668 In these trances, the visionaries followed a general pattern. In
787 one way or another the subject was guided to the other world,
where all the deceased Pawnee were living together in the old way.
796 There some special phase of the life would imprint itself upon the
subject's mind, the playing of games, the hunting of buffalo, war
societies and dances, and the like. When the subject awoke, such
aspects of the trance vision, along with the bird or messenger who
had guided the individual to the beyond, would become the subjects of songs, costuming, and paraphernalia.

The closing song was carried out in a special way. It is the
668 special closing song of all Ghost Dances. As sung to conclude the
796 occasion, it is repeated six times as follows:

1. The leader remains stationary at the west facing east, and
533 leads the singing of the song once; all the dancers keep their places.

2. The leader dances from west to north, singing the song, and

792 668 177 reputation and esteem in which he or she was held by the tribespeople, the abilities of the prophet as a leader, hypnotizer, organizer; and the experiences which were undergone by the layman under the leadership and influence of the prophet.

[787] Those who are remembered as the chief visionaries of the period in which the Ghost-Dance was taken up by the Skiri are Mrs. Washington, Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle, and Mrs. Cover. There were others, of course. Chiefly, Mrs. Washington was responsible for the inauguration of independent Skiri Ghost-Dances. She had many trance-visions, and often told very complex stories of the images and events which took place in them, so complex in fact that there were Pawnee who doubted her, partly because of their own vision experiences, which seemed to them different in kind (psychologically); partly because of jealousy of the constantly increasing part she was playing in the tribal developments.

668 792 787 Carrion speaks of Mrs. Washington as a fraud. He says that she made up a lot of stuff, and was a false prophet trying to win the people's worship. His reasons for the attitude are interesting. He claims that in a vision (as he has experienced such) you see merely one simple image or thing, not a complex array; and that if you add to what you see, that is wrong. He contends that Mrs. Washington had trance-vision after trance-vision, and kept on learning details of performances in her visions, like a serial story. This is impossible, he says, because going back to those who give you things in visions and asking for more, is imposing on them; and it is for such conduct that people lose their lives.

In truth, Carrion's attitude indicates a temperamental difference between him and Mrs. Washington, as well as difference in the quality of his imagination. Carrion was not subject to trances often, Mrs. Washington was; his mind did not experience much detail in the few cases in which he had visions, while Mrs. Washington did. Obviously, the quality of the individual's mind will appear in the content and character of his visions as well as in his waking life, which is well illustrated by the vision experience of Mark Evarts in relation to the Ghost Dance, given below; Mark Evarts is a man whose mind is rich in content. But the native concept of the vision is more or less fixed and absolute, not one which accepts the relativity of the vision to the subject; hence, in terms of one visionary's experiences, those of another may often seem fraudulent.

184 668 796 The early independent Ghost Dances of the Skiri were carried out in terms of the usual forms and patterns of White's South Band Ghost Dancing. There was the same form of the circle, the same orientation of the official or sacred tent, and the same pattern of

the smoke offering. Those who had crow or eagle feathers from the Ghost Dance wore them, and usually a group of seven singers led the singing. Those were men who knew the Ghost Dance songs. But at first there was no official organization of singers, policemen and the like. Each occasion was organized in the usual patterns, according to immediate needs. The first phase of the organization of Skiri Ghost Dances concerns the official constitution of a fixed group of singers, the Seven Eagle Brothers. 184 668 796

THE SEVEN EAGLE BROTHERS

As with many cultural formalizations, the Seven Eagle Brothers were not institutionalized by revolutionary act or decree, but by gradual changes. There were first of all a great many people who considered themselves "eagles" and a great many who considered themselves "crows". Among the Skiri there were in each of these classes men who were gifted as singers and leaders, whose knowledge of the ways of the Ghost Dance had grown through continuous and regular experience and participation. Seven singers were the number usually employed, following White's pattern, and by habitual practice there was general acceptance of certain men as naturally more proficient for the function. In other words the men who were chosen as the official Seven Eagle Brothers were probably seven main singers for the Skiri by custom and practice before the group was institutionalized as a brotherhood. 668 796 533

Knifechief is recalled as the man who first expressed the general attitude toward these seven men. At a hand game he selected them formally to be the main singers. Knifechief went to the place each one occupied in the hand game circle and told him to rise and follow him. Then he led the selected man around a circuit of the fireplace, and seated him in his new position in a row on the south side toward the west. The seven in their order were, according to Ezra Tilden[1]: Sam Cover, Emmett Pierson, Walter Keys (the senior), Tom Yellowhorse, Ezra Tilden, Leadingfox, and Harry Sergeant. These seven, when they were seated in a row on the south side, led the singing for the hand game.

Mrs. Washington was officially responsible for the organization of these seven as the Seven Eagle Brothers of the Skiri Ghost Dance. The first occasion on which Mrs. Washington managed a large Ghost Dance among the Skiri was one which occurred when many Wichita had come to visit the Pawnee: and it said by some

---

[1] Ezra Tilden and Tom Yellowhorse are the only ones of the seven still living.

spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes 796
were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the
altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the 668
altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at 782
the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while 823
the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not 276
participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that 184
described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity. 276
These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke-
offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: 782
upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset 823
and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly 184
interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion 771
in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of 778
Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

---

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven 177
and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette
by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by 188
flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit
of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

771
778 South Bands there are ancient bundles which each possess a group of functions that among the Skiri are differentiated and associated with separate bundles.

668 After the smoke offering, Sam Cover led the Seven Brothers in
796 singing one or two Ghost Dance songs, without any dancing. Then the line closed around the clearing to form a circle of dancers,
782 women came to join in, and the regular dancing began. Usually
[533] on a first evening of Ghost Dancing, only ten or twenty songs were sung. After the closing song, the general public would break up, each group of people returning to the family tipi. The Seven Brothers, the four chiefs who smoked, other chiefs, Mrs. Goodeagle, Mrs. Cover, Mrs. Washington, and some individuals who were special leaders, gathered in the main tipi of the dance. Here two old men acted as tarutsius, fire-tenders and servers. Food was brought in and set out in buckets at the east of the tipi near the door. Sam Cover then made an offering with corn before the group ate. It was a simple offering: He took some of the corn in his hands, stood behind the collected food and made inclusive arm motions (to indicate that this food was offered on behalf of all the food being partaken of), then came clockwise to the west of the fireplace where he raised the corn aloft to heaven and then placed it on the ground before him. He pressed it into the ground, rubbed his hands together and made four motions upward to heaven with both hands, touching his fingers to the corn on the ground before each motion. Then he made four similar motions towards the earth; blessed himself, walked through a circuit to his own place on the south, and sat down. All present said "Nawa" and then the food was served. The tarutsius must serve the food in a special
[554] order: first the chiefs at the west (the four smokers), then the seven brothers on the south, then old men who are seated on both sides of the entrance-way at the east, then all others present, serving them from west to east down both sides of the tipi.[1]

At this gathering the order and time of the events of the next
668 morning were announced.

796 The next morning dancing began before sunrise. Two or three of the Seven Brothers went out onto the dance grounds, stood at the west facing east, and sang several Ghost Dance songs. As the people awoke and heard these they came out hurriedly to join in. As soon as four or five came, including women, all began to dance around clockwise. Gradually as the people gathered, the circle expanded. An old man walked around crying out to the people

---

[1] There is for every Pawnee ceremony an *order* in which those present are served; see chapter 8, pp. 220—229.

668 Mark Evarts led several times, and says that whenever he had
796 the lead he had good luck. One time a baby was born while the
777 dance was in progress—that was good luck. Tobacco was being
ceremonially prepared to be handed to Mark for making a smoke
[276 offering. While they were praying that good luck might go with
782] the tobacco, a grandchild of Linford Smith's was born. So all
present thanked God, and hoped it would be that way throughout
the dancing.

● [184] While these developments were taking place among the Skiri,
the Ghost Dancing of the South Bands continued to follow the
formal arrangements which had been instituted by Frank White.
As members of the organization of seven singers which had been
developed by White died, new members were selected to take their
places. The smoke offering was not altered.

668 Muric, in discussing Pawnee ceremonial Ghost Dance forms,
states[1]:

796 "In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take
[484] instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they
learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the cere-
[346] monies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set
up near the center of the camp as the temple... The modern Ghost
Dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off
center toward the north or south side according to the place of the
host..."

The arrangement of which Murie speaks, in terms of which the leading tent was on the north or south according to the place of the host, refers to Ghost Dance hand games, rather than Ghost Dances proper: for in the hand games, as will be described below, one side (either north or south, viz., either Crow or Eagle) is "host" and in charge.

GHOST DANCE SONGS[2]

796 The songs "dreamed" or secured in visions in the Ghost Dance
533 ranged over all the subjects that could naturally come to mind.
Some emphasized aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine, viz., that
in the other world all was as in former days, that the Christ was

---

affair, viz., supply the bulk of the meat and other food necessary, as well as the method of selecting one man to be in charge, are general Pawnee patterns.

[1] Murie, p. 636.

[2] The song texts of this section have been retranscribed and retranslated from the Densmore versions by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

778 come. While all these bundles had their individualities, they had certain
ceremonies in common: thus at the sound of the first thunder in spring,
[782] the keeper of each bundle must immediately open it with the proper procedure and make an offering of dried buffalo meat to the powers in the west.[1]
This offering is burned, but after the ceremony the remaining meat is cooked and served.

As to how far this applied to the other divisions of the Pawnee, cannot
184 be determined for they have not preserved their bundles and rituals to the
778 same extent as have the Skidi. The Chaui are known to have had three
bundles, the Pitahauirata, two; but those of the Kit'kaháxki passed out so long ago that no definite number can be enumerated. The rituals of all these bundles were seemingly different from those of the Skidi in that so far as we know they did not have the regular thunder ceremony, but consecrated the bundles to certain animals. It is not known for certain if the sacred ears of corn were kept in these bundles as in those of the Skidi, but there are some reasons for believing that they were.

In the Skidi scheme there were thirteen villages, each of which had a
103 bundle:—

361 1 Tu^{h}rikaku^{h}, center village; the Evening Star bundle.

631 2 Kitkahapaku^{h}tu, old village; the four leading bundles are kept in
778 this village.

3 Tu^{h}hitspiat, stretching out in the bottom lands.

4 Tu^{h}kitskita, village on branch of a river.

5 Tu^{h}wahukasa, village stretching across a hill; the Morningstar bundle. (This bundle was finally divided into two.)

6 Arikararikuchu, big antlered elk standing.

7 Arikarariki^{h}, small antlered elk standing.

8 Tu^{h}huchaku, village in a ravine; the left hand bundle, all use left hands in the ceremony.

9 Tu^{h}warakaku, village in thick timber.

10 Akapaxsawa, skull painted on tipi.

11 Skisa rikus, fish hawk.

12 Stixkautit, black ear of corn.

13 Turawi, part of a village.

631 These thirteen villages were organized or federated under this bundle
778 scheme and so had a common government. The supreme, or original

---

[821] [1] The Evening Star (calf bundle) is the chief power in the west. Four other stars in the west represent the clouds, thunders, lightning, and the winds, or the four leading bundles. These four stars are supposedly sitting in the west, acting as priests. They are sitting there with a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat; also, they are sitting with a hill of corn, the stalks always green, and a place in front of them as the altar.

793 of the important features of the ritual; yet in all ceremonies except that of
the four-pole, she is barred from so much as looking inside while the bundle
is open. All the men and boys are at liberty to come in and sit with the
bundles at their respective villages.[1]

Finally, it may be noted that there is a chief for each village bundle
622 (counting the four leading bundles as one) and he is theoretically at least
793 the custodian, but there is another man in his village who is the keeper of
the ritual, or the priest. He conducts the ceremonies. In last resort, he is superior to the chief, especially the priests of the calf bundle and the four leading bundles. Hence, a chief is chief by virtue of his being the custodian of a bundle. This is why the society of chiefs has its seats in the same order as the priests in the four-pole ceremony. It also makes clear the significance of the initial statement that the bundle scheme of the Skidi is the basis of their political and social organization. Likewise, while it is true that the chiefs are all of equal rank, the chief of the four-bundle village who by the way, is attached to the yellow-tipi bundle, sits at the head as may be seen from the diagram for the four-pole ceremony, and so is the leading, or, head chief. He is master of ceremonies, but the chief occupying the seat of Big Black Meteoric Star is the one to conduct all the ritualistic parts of the ceremony.

THE SOCIETY OF CHIEFS.

Among the Pitahauirata there was a special organization of chiefs,
622 which had its less formal counterparts among the other divisions. The first
575 part of the society's ceremony is held privately by the members, or chiefs;
i. e., those now holding office and men who have descended from deceased
chiefs. The membership is strictly hereditary. In the ceremony the leader,
[292] or head chief, must wear an old style beaver hat with a red plume. The hat
is covered with a dark neck cloth such as was formerly worn by sailors. The
meetings are secret and we have no data; but after these ceremonies the
women descended from chiefs were called into the lodge. Each woman has
to part her hair and tie it back, painting the part red. Woven sashes are
[391] worn over the shoulders and wound around for a belt. Many strands of
beads are worn around the neck. The men all have the roached hair and
wear feathers through the roach, but the young men wear down feathers
[237] only. Some wear leggings bordered with scalplocks and eagle feathers, and
black moccasins. Each man and woman carries the skin of an eagle. In
arranging the places for the women, a line of two abreast is formed: first
[602] the two leading men, behind them their sisters or nearest female relatives;

---

[184] [1] Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, the regulations are the same, except that men must pay a fee to the priests for witnessing a bundle ceremony.

575 for war. In fact, this is the society that is called upon to police the buffalo hunt and in this capacity the members conduct themselves as described above. As an organization it is the counterpart of the Skidi two lance society.

THE THUNDERBIRD LANCE.

The raris kuhat, or thunderbird lance society is found among the Skidi and the Squash Vine people. The following account is from data supplied by the Skidi.

[825] In winter the members procure the thunderbird (in this case the swan,
though outsiders are led to believe it to be the eagle) which is skinned by
the leader as in the case of the preceding society. The feathers are plucked,
leaving the down upon the skin, and with this the lance is wrapped at the
renewing ceremony in the spring. This society is never called upon to act
[721] as police in the buffalo hunt, but for leadership and defense in war; in this
respect whatever was said of the preceding society, applies equally well
[821] here. The point of the lance is of flint stone because this stone is believed
to be related to the thunders since it is said that such will be found where-
[823] ever the lightning strikes. Thus, this stone lance head symbolizes the power
to strike down a person before he is aware of danger.

As stated before, the trophies of victory may be turned over to this society that they may inaugurate the victory dance and as it progresses, the whole is turned over to the women. In former times, it was the custom for the sexes to mingle freely without restraint and during the dance.

In the Squash Vine village the lances were wrapped with loonskin instead of swan and loon heads were placed on the end of the curved top; also some loon feathers. On the sinew string were soft down feathers. Four old men were taken in to recount the deeds of the members.

THE CROW LANCE.

The hatuʰka society was found among each of the four divisions but not
in the independent villages. It was everywhere the same, except that the
[184] peculiar feature of tying the members together was practised by the Skidi
alone. In all cases this society was the last to renew in the spring, disband
in the winter, to leave the line of battle, to follow the camp, etc.

The following account applies particularly to the Skidi: —

575 The name usually given this society is hatuʰka (those coming behind), so named
773 because of their peculiar custom of marching at the extreme rear of the tribal pro-
cession. The society is said to have been handed down by the crows but in reality

have consecrated buffalo or performed certain deeds can smoke at any time) 756 to come with their pipes. All who wish, enter in turn and offer their pipes. 796 As these offering ceremonies are in reality prayers, this is regarded as the best time to plead for success in all things and this is also the motive in bringing in property and presents.

Another period of singing and dancing closes the ceremony, after which the medicinemen divide the presents. Kettles of corn are brought in and the bowls for the feast. The leaders fill the bowls for their sides and make a special offering before the bowls are passed. Meat is then brought in and handled in a similar manner.

A somewhat similar ceremony is held in the autumn but this time in a circular shelter of green boughs suggesting the sun dance enclosure of the Dakota.

While the medicinemen's societies were not recognized as such in the twenty-day ceremony, they were sure to have among their members famous medicinemen who would set up their booths in the lodge. Usually one of these was the leader of a society and around him the members would gather and assist in staging his tricks. The members of a society were really students from whose ranks the leading places were filled in times of need.

MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

[184]

	Skidi	Chaui	Pitahauirata	Kit'kahahki	Squash Vine
Twenty-day Ceremony (tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand)	×	×	×	×	×
Doctor Dance (kurau)	×	×	×	×	–
Bear Society (pitararis kuruks)	×	×	×	×	–
Buffalo Doctors (kura taraha)	×	×	–	–	–
Deer Society (raris ta)	×	×	×	×	–
Blood Doctors (kura patu)	×	–	–	–	–
Iruska Society (pitararis iruska)	×	–	×	–	–
One Horn Dance (raris arika)	×	×	×	×	×

THE TWENTY-DAY CEREMONY.

Once a year, late in the summer, each division had a grand medicine ceremony. This lasted from twenty to thirty days and was an intense

756 affair. This is not the time to go into a detailed account of it, but the following general sketch of the procedure seems necessary.

796 The native name for the ceremony is tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand, but we shall for convenience speak of it as the twenty-day ceremony, as in fact it is often called by the Pawnee themselves. It is found among all the divisions, but seems to have originated with the Squash Vine village, to whose medicinemen alone certain parts of the ritual were known. From the originators it passed to the Skidi and then to the other divisions. The twenty-day ceremony proper is given in the early autumn after all the bundle ceremonies have been performed, the corn harvested, etc. At the proper time the lodge is cleared and the altar arranged as before. After certain preliminary ceremonies, it is in order for each medicineman to build a booth [343] of green willows in the lodge. They proceed ceremonially to a thicket where each gathers his willows, with which they march back and then construct their booths.

It may be stated that each medicineman sets up a booth for himself, but if he has attached to him one or more younger men in the capacity of students, these assist. Each booth, therefore, really represents a group of men. Further, all the people of the village to which a given medicineman belongs may at times enter, take seats around the booth, and offer assistance. In this way the whole people may be said to participate.

184 532 756 778 796 Among the Skidi there is a special feature since they are not content with merely dancing to the mythical water monster, but construct his image encircling the fireplace. In this all the medicinemen's groups take shares. The head is begun on the south side of the door. The mouth is open, with teeth of willow. The head is covered with buffalo skin. There are two long "feelers" decorated with bands of bright colors. On the crown of the head is a large erect plume of down feathers. The body of the monster is formed of bowed willows, plastered over with mud. The tail is at the north side of the door and is forked like that of a fish.

The fireplace is cleared out and a large turtle modeled there, his head toward the altar. A new fireplace is then made on his back. While the water monster was peculiar to the Skidi the following were found among all divisions. A tree was cut and brought in with a ceremony almost identical with that found in the sun dances of other tribes. The Skidi plant the tree (a cedar) in the forked tail of the monster, the others put it (a cottonwood) at the altar. A life-sized woman is built up of clay, dressed in regular costume and set up on the south side of the lodge. A large figure of a man is cut from rawhide and placed upon a pole above the lodge. Numerous small human figures are cut from rawhide, strung upon cords and stretched about overhead in the lodge. All these objects are highly symbolic: thus, the fire

is the sun; the mud woman, the moon; the large rawhide image, the morningstar; the many small images, stars. 184 532

All this construction was part of the ritual and so controlled by a definite program. When everything was in place, a general dedication ceremony followed in connection with which is a spectacular march through the village in two lines, according to their sides. In front, two men carry the sacred animals from the altar, dancing. (For the Skidi, two loons are used, for the other divisions, two beavers.) All medicinemen are supposed to derive their powers from living creatures and their booths are spoken of as animal lodges. In this procession each man costumes himself so as to represent his animal mentor, often in very realistic fashion. There were also a few clowns dressed like wolves. 756 778 796 756 796 [522]

After the tour of the village, the procession enters the lodge and holds a secret ceremony upon which we have no data. Those on the outside hear a great uproar and a riot of hideous noises, while clouds of white dust rise from the smoke hole. When all is quiet again, the door is opened. The leader then performs a ceremony in which he sprinkles water about to consecrate the lodge.

It is then in order for the various medicinemen to demonstrate their animal powers. This is the time when remarkable feats of juggling were performed; thus it is told that stalks of corn were made to grow up and mature in a moment, likewise plums and cherries, the bear men tore out a man's liver and ate it, after which he rose unharmed, and so on, in bewildering variety.

Finally, a certain number of days were given to ceremonial visits to the sacred bundles, each in turn, where certain ceremonies were performed.

At the end the animal powers and images are taken down and carried to a stream or lake. Here they are heaped up in the water something like a beaver's house and the mud woman placed on top.[1]

Places or booths in this ceremony were assigned by the leaders. A man having set himself up as a medicineman would apply for a place. He would be assigned one provisionally and at the proper time called upon to demonstrate; if he failed to carry his trick through successfully he was ejected, but otherwise given a permanent seat. As may be anticipated from the foregoing, medicinemen were trained and not made suddenly through dreams or visions. It is true that such experience counted for much, but the usual way to become a medicineman was to succeed one's teacher at his death. Thus, it is clear that the seats in the twenty-day ceremony were practically fixed in form and number.

---

[1] It may be significant that the animal painted tipis of the Blackfoot and Dakota were always disposed of by sinking in water and that many ceremonial objects among the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan were similarly treated.— Ed. [171]

756 snake doctors, though demonstrations are seldom made in the regular ceremonies. The members claim absolute immunity from rattlesnake bites and [825] complete power over the reptile himself. They will seize any snake they meet and handle it without fear. No wands or instruments are used, nothing but the hands. The writer has frequently observed snakes handled in this way. According to reports they are able to cure all suffering from snake bites.

BLOOD DOCTORS.

There was formerly a group of medicinemen known as kura patu (blood doctors). They were, however, considered as otter men, or an otter society. They seem to have been composed of five groups of dancers, each marching through the camp separately. Women accompanied them, bearing wooden bowls and spoons on their backs. In this manner the five groups proceeded independently to the lodge of the two leaders of the ceremonies where an altar had been prepared. When a group reached the lodge they paused and sang; the leaders on the inside then sang and danced, bearing otterskins in their right hands. After the dance the two leaders came out to receive the guests in their arms.

[789] The chief feature of a ceremony was the shamanistic vomiting of a red liquid like blood. This was collected in bowls and used to paint the bodies and otterskins of those present.

THE IRUSKA.

There was a very powerful medicine society among the Chauĭ known as the pitararis iruska. However, the Pĭtahauĭrata division was also represented in this society, they having the south side and the Chauĭ the north. [184] The Skidĭ had the same ceremony except that they used dog meat in the kettle instead of buffalo. Also, the Skidĭ did not have the two forms of painting, only one, painted black at the joints. The purpose of the dance was to show the power of the members to extinguish the life in the fire, hence the name. Among the Skidĭ at least, the term iruska has a symbolic or double meaning. The idea is literally "the fire is in me" and the symbolic meaning is that "I can extinguish the life in the fire," or can overcome the [752] powers of other medicines. The members of the society were doctors for they treated burns.

Originally, the society consisted of leaders of various animal medicine
539 societies. Among the members was one who was not a medicineman until
756 he had a curious experience. The story follows:—

II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE

The Skidi formed one of the four bands comprising the Pawnee 619
tribe, the others being the Chaui, the Kitkehahki, and the Pita- 621
hauirat. [In the manuscript the Skidi are spoken of as a tribe. [101]
However, I have followed more recent usage and substituted the
term band, reserving tribe for the Pawnee as a whole (Lesser, 1933).]
The Skidi, however, considered themselves independent and actually
felt closer to the Arikara than to the other three Pawnee bands.
Politically the Skidi were a federation of villages, of which at least
thirteen are known to have existed, though there were probably
others which have been forgotten. The federation was held together [623]
by a governing council of chiefs and by a ceremonial organization
involving the participation of the band in a round of ceremonies
associated with sacred bundles.

The village was a distinct local group consisting of a cluster of 621
earth-lodges housing the component families. Each village possessed 361
its own fields, whose ownership was allotted among the villagers by 622
the chief, a supposed lineal descendant of the original owner of the 423
sacred bundle of the village. [I am inclined to believe that the chief
allotted the use of the fields rather than their ownership.] On the
death of an individual, his land was re-allotted by the chief. Each
village also had its own burial ground in which were buried only
those belonging to the village.

In principle the village was endogamous. Since the Pawnee 621
moved to Oklahoma the old restriction on marriage has been grad- 582
ually disappearing. This is due to the fact that the population of [178]
certain villages has dwindled and it is no longer possible for the few
remaining individuals of some villages to obtain mates within their
own village. Even in this breaking down of the system, however,
the old fashion of reckoning descent is maintained. Thus, in the 611
marriage of a man from Big-Elk village with a woman of Little-Elk
village, the children would belong to Big-Elk village. [However,
according to the manuscript, both these villages were extinct by
1907.] An exception to this general rule is at the present time [1907] [184]
under consideration among the Skidi. Mr. Murie's son, now about
of age, properly belongs by the laws of the tribe to the Village-on-
the-Hill, that being the village of his father. His mother, however,
belongs to the Pumpkin-Vine village and her brother, Skidi-Good-
Chief, is the last representative of that village. To prevent the
village from becoming extinct, Skidi-Good-Chief has asked per-

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

133 covered with a deep, compacted layer of sand. Both rivers have changed their courses numbers of times in the past and the marks of their winding fossil beds are deeply carved into the sandy layer, forming a series of shallow but sharply defined canyons and troughs. Reaching north and south between the two rivers, the curves and canyons of the two fossil beds almost meet, cutting up the whole land surface so that there is no level land and the trip across has to be made over a few narrow land bridges. The later pioneers who tried to cross this area going southward aptly named one of the best of these land bridges "Devil's Gap" (southwestern Nebraska between Lexington and Arapahoe).

*224 *484 823 [888] The Pawnees had a detailed knowledge of every aspect of the land they would traverse. Its topography was in their minds like a series of vivid pictorial images, each a configuration where this or that event had happened in the past to make it memorable. This was especially true of the old men who had the richest store of knowledge in this respect. Their journey out was about ten miles a day and eight on the way back when they were more heavily laden with the dried meat. Anticipating these distances, they had to plan on stopping places where there was enough level land, wood for fuel, and available water for their whole large encampment of several thousand people and many more animals. They estimated the journey out as twenty days and the return journey twenty-seven days.

*224 *484 • 184 Each of the four bands had different routes that they preferred. From their rendezvous camp south of the Loup, the Skidi preferred to go several camps westward along the south bank, before turning south to the Platte. The South Bands preferred to leave the settlements and go directly south to the north bank of the Platte River where they made their rendezvous camp. When they were ready to go west, they would cross over the Platte and proceed along the south bank all the way west until they came to the place where they turned and crossed the country south-

---

*224 *484 361 FIGURE 18-1. Approximate campsites of the Pawnee summer hunt in Nebraska. Starting from Genoa on Beaver Creek, X is the first rendezvous camp south of the Loup. Camps 2, 3, and 4 proceed west from Camp 1 along the south bank of the Loup. Camp [illegible] turns southward toward the head of Grand Island in the Platte River. They camped overnight between the Loup and the Platte because the sandhills between the rivers make the journey hard. Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte after crossing Grand Island and Fort Kearney. Between camps 5 and 6 a small reconnoitering party went south of the Republican to sight buffalo; they brought meat to Camp 6. Camps 7, 8, 9, 10—four camps west of Fort Kearney along south bank of the Platte, arriving at Plum Creek near Lexington, Nebraska. At camps 7, 8, and 9 individual hunters went after deer, elk, and antelope. Setting out from Camp 9, the chiefs and braves hunted a small herd in order to "feed the people." They brought meat to Camp 10. They went along Plum Creek and then southeast overland to find Turkey Creek. Camp 11—the hunting camp, where the main herd was attacked by all the hunters of the tribe. The people moved south along the west bank of Turkey Creek and encamped at its confluence with the Republican River. X near Trenton is Massacre Canyon.

*224 ward to the hunting grounds on the Republican. Each of the bands had
*484 its own well-known landmarks. As White Eagle was leading the four
•184 bands on this hunt, they all had to follow the south bank of the Loup for
the first part of their journey in the Skidi tradition.

*224 A major landmark of the trip was Grand Island in the Platte River.
*484 There were a number of long, sandy islands in the Platte, some of them
131 covered with lush grass and grazing animals and with trees growing on
439 them. Grand Island is one of the largest of these (more than twice the
size of Manhattan Island). It is about 20 miles long and 5 or 6 miles wide, with a narrow channel on the north and south sides between the island and the mainland. On the island the United States had established Fort Kearney, where there was also a trade center.

*224 The trip to the hunting grounds was usually made in ten encampments.
*484 The hunting camp, not uncommonly within sight of the migrating herd,
361 was called Camp 11. By the Skidi route traveling west along the south
bank of the Loup, they would make three camps beyond the first one and arrive 32 miles out. This would put them just due north of the west end of Grand Island over which they planned to cross the Platte. Because of the sandhills between the Loup and the Platte, the crossing southward was slow and they would make one camp between the two rivers (Camp 5).

Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte and two miles westward of the place of crossing. This was done so that the camp could be set up on high ground to avoid the mosquitoes and bugs that abounded in the lowland. This was the stop they usually referred to as "Fort Kearney" because the chiefs would go over there and collect their government allotments while the line of march continued two miles west and set up camp.

Continuing along the south bank of the Platte, they made four camps "west of Fort Kearney," viz., camps 7, 8, 9, and 10. At Camp 10 they reached another important landmark, Plum Creek, a small creek that was a southern tributary of the Platte (near present Lexington, Nebraska). Up to this point the individual hunters went out privately and got deer, elk, or antelope to supply fresh meat for their own camps. While the line was en route to Camp 6, a small group of independent hunters made a long trip southward to the Republican to scout around and they killed three buffalo and brought the meat to Camp 6. As the line of march was moving toward Camp 10, the ablest hunters of all four bands went out and surrounded a small herd of about twenty buffalo, bringing in the
[222] meat to Camp 10. This group of hunters included all the chiefs, other administrative officials and prominent men. The meat they obtained was
[431] widely distributed in the form of gifts and symbolized the fact that "the
chiefs feed the people buffalo meat."

The next stop was Camp 11 on the Republican. While the previous

among the doctors. The errand men and their assistants received gifts of 756 796
calico. [574]

The Doctor Lodge was one of the most intensive group ceremonies of
the year, extending to all the people. In the three South Bands at this time, 756
each had a similar twenty-day Doctor Ceremony that they referred to 796
as Big-Sleight-of-Hand. Apparently they only lacked the serpent or wa- 184
ter monster of the Skidi, which was the special feature of the federation
of the Skidi villages.

After the Doctor Lodge, the separate animal cults that had been rep- 756
resented there should each have a three-day ceremony of its own—the 796
general one constituting a mandate for this. The ceremonial calendar
was so crowded that it was extremely difficult to find three days when all
the members would be free of other ceremonial involvements. The Bear
and Buffalo cults were large organizations with thirty to forty members,
and there were many overlappings in the personnel.

There was one private cult, however—the Deer Dance—that was en- 796
tirely outside the association. It had been imported a generation before 177
from the kindred Caddoan-speaking Wichita to the south and adapted to 535
the Pawnee ceremonial pattern. It had no obligation to the Doctor As-
sociation and was fast presenting a challenge to it for membership. Its 578
ceremony was held at a time that overlapped the Doctor Lodge, and sometimes members were spirited away from one to the other, causing considerable bitterness between the leaders. The Deer Dance, also known as Whistle Dance from the whistles the dancers blew at frequent intervals, celebrated the maturing of the wild sage and the mescal bean. Rattlesnake power was also part of the cult. The over-all pattern was of a Deer Lodge in the timber. In some ways it represented a quite different system of thought from the Doctor Association, and through it new and important developments might have occurred in Pawnee ceremonial thinking. But before this could be realized, its life was ended by the holocaust that overtook the Pawnee people and their culture and their wild animal world as white contact intensified (see p. 3).

Victory Call was the director of this cult and he was largely responsible
for its growth and success among the people. On his deathbed he [954]
accused his arch rival, Big Doctor, of causing his death through sorcery.

the edges through a series of little holes. The beaver skins that they 281
trapped for sale to the traders, were treated in the same way.

The men made their own saddles and horse trappings, some of deer 282
and some of buffalo hide. All men made these for themselves and dressed 492
the deer hides, even Eagle Chief himself. But buffalo hide was gotten 462
from the women. They made saddles, bridles, stirrups, and saddle bags.
For saddle bags, discarded buffalo robes were obtained from the women.
The saddles were made either of deer and deer horns or wood and buffalo
hide. The horn saddle took four or five days; the buffalo hide ten to fif-
teen. The men worked hard on their saddles and decorated them elabo- [531]
rately.

The basic clothing was cut out and sewn with an awl and sinew by the 291
women. The women wore a wrap-around skirt, an overblouse, leggings [294]
fastened at the knee, and moccasins. The skirt, of tanned deer hide,
reached just below the knee with the closing at the right side. It was
fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. If no deer hide was availa-
ble, they used a very soft buffalo hide.

The blouse was a simple sleeveless pullover extending down over the waist so that it covered the top of the skirt and the belt that held it in place. It was made of an oblong piece of skin folded in two and cut out for the neck and armholes so that it would not rub against the underarm. (See Figure 48-1.) It was sewn along the sides with sinew, the seams extending just a little below the waist. The bottom section that reached toward the hips was left unsewn on the two sides. Around the neck was a scarf about 4 inches wide sewn across the back and reaching over the shoulders so that it could be turned up in cold weather for protection. The neck was provided with a drawstring whose ends hung down in front unless they wanted to draw the blouse close together around the throat.

Until the age of five or six, the little girls ran around naked, but then 855
they had to have a little wraparound skirt of buckskin with a drawstring 291
at the top. They would always complain that it was too loose, for it was
usually made to allow for growth; when the little girl complained her
mother would say, "Oh, go on, you'll grow soon," or "After all, it might
shrink."

Leggings of tanned deer or elk hide were worn by all the women, and 291
these were tied around under the knee and turned down over the tie
string at the top. For both men and women, they made two-piece moc-
casins with hard soles and softer uppers. Those of the Skidi were below [184]
the ankle and those of the South Bands a little above.

The clothing of the men, besides the basic garments, included a num- [292]
ber of ceremonial trappings or some that signified special rank or achieve-
ment. The main clothes were a loincloth, leggings, and moccasins.

796 756 272 An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756 273 See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796 [574] [782] [184] [752] [726] 241 The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

824 825 171 277 On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372 482 280, 290 Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads 372 would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

727 305 Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home

000 individual from the statistical norm, even when some distribution of the selected traits is given. The Amerindian who has never been subject to mass organization in the North American setting preserved an understanding of the individual personality as the keystone of society rather than as a function of it. His society is therefore fluid and creative, albeit within limited technical resources, rather than inhibiting of the person as an integral entity. He does not require doctrine in order to develop formal social structures, and the structures he does develop are currently functional rather than frozen.

It does not matter what sort of empires the North American Indians would or would not have developed had the European not disrupted his society. What does matter is that in examining his society as a total functioning social organism we have a contrast situation through which we can throw into relief our most stubbornly held social biases.

181
185 Although the Pawnee home is at opposite poles to our own, there are suggestions to be derived from it that can be applied concretely to our own mode of living. Within the home, the Pawnee has personal and social mobility and a diverse circle of contacts; within his kindred he has a wide latitude of personal interrelationships. His aspirations are his own. He sets his own goal, which is his personal secret. His aspiration is not to surpass someone else, but to go beyond his own past achievements. He gives himself a name to serve social notice on people that he is on his way. Love and friendship, though less stable than kin, are also honored.

000 I think I have given enough detail of Pawnee life to show that it was in no sense a Utopia. The struggle for survival and for the maintenance of personal dignity was great. Leaving aside the survival question, the challenge to the individual to develop himself was much greater than our own, for it was not only an avowed, but a literal purpose in life. For those individuals who are concerned that the transition from a mercantilist to a humanist society which we are now perforce making will leave the human being without incentives and challenges, Pawnee life should serve to dispel his doubts. A society built on the basis of the objective of personal fulfillment will not be a lazy or an insipid society. It will be full of strength and dynamic movement. Today for the most part the intellectual and the artist carries this mode. For the future it will belong to us all, for everyone has something to contribute to such a society by the very fact that individuals are different. We need no prima donnas—only people as they are. As a social scientist I owe a tremendous debt to the Pawnees for the fidelity with which they have communicated their culture to me, for it has given me an abiding faith in the individual human being. I hope that this account will be studied and similar value be derived by others. In concluding this work I will outline some of my personal projections for our society that I have derived as a result of the years during which Pawnee life has been part of my thinking.

duties throughout the ceremony. Each had a special place in the 796*
lodge, and was the recipient of peculiar benefits supposed to be derived
from the ceremony.

The Father was usually a chief, or a man prominent in the tribe,
who not only had accumulated property, but had a large following of [556
relatives who could contribute to the store of articles required for 554]
these rites. The tribal standing of the Son was always equal to that
of the Father.

The Father selected a man from among those who had been taught the rites and ritual songs to take charge of the ceremony from beginning to end. Such a man was called Ku'rahus, and to him the entire party was required to yield obedience in every particular. The Ku'rahus chose an assistant, and also took with him a third person, a sort of acolyte, to whom he was teaching the rites.

If the Father was a chief, then he had to invite one other chief 796*
to be of his party, to act as substitute whenever he was obliged to be
absent from his post of duty. If, however, the Father was not himself 622
a chief, then it became necessary for him to secure the attendance
of two chiefs, one to act as substitute for the other, as the
constant presence of a chief was required throughout the ceremony.

The priest who had charge of the shrine sacred to rain was also of 796*
the Father's party. It was his duty to furnish the pipe and conduct
the ceremony of offering smoke to Tira'wa. The Father's party also [793]
included two doctors, men who had received a knowledge of healing [791
plants, either directly through visions or by initiation into certain
rites by which this knowledge was communicated. Each was required 237]
to bring an eagle's wing, one the right wing and the other the left.
The wing of the eagle is the official mark of a doctor. The Father [533]*
must also secure a number of singers, whose duty it was to carry the
drum and act as a choir to accompany the Ku'rahus, who always led
the singing. The rest of the party of the Father was made up of his [602]
kindred, with such of his friends as might desire to contribute to the
required food and gifts and thus to become entitled to share in the
return gifts made to the Fathers by the Children.

The preliminary ceremonies (the first three rituals) took place at the lodge of the Father, and from it the party of the Fathers started on its journey.

REQUISITES OF THE CEREMONY AND THEIR SYMBOLISM

The objects peculiar to this ceremony were two feathered stems 796*
about a meter in length, made of ash wood. They were rounded and
smoothed, and the pith was burned out to leave an opening for the 192 ●
breath to pass, as through a pipestem. One of these stems was 778
named Raha'katittu, from ra, the, this one; ha=hak, a part of the
word hakkow, breathing mouth of wood, the k being dropped for
euphony (see translation of hawkowpirus, drum, page 17); katit, dark,

*796 brown, or black; tu = ruru, moving, the change of the r to t being for
euphony. The translation of the whole word would be, the breath-
192 ing mouth of wood with the dark moving feathers. The other stem
778 was named Rahak'takaru, from ra, the, this one; hak, from hakkow, breathing mouth of wood; taka, white; ru, from ruru, moving or swaying. The translation of the whole word would be, the breathing mouth of wood with the white moving or waving feathers.

*796 Associated with these two feathered stems, and sharing with them
the prominent place in the rites, was an ear of white corn. In addi-
778 tion there were required two small, round, straight sticks from the plum tree; a crotched stick, also of the plum tree; feathers from the tail of an owl and from the wings and tail of an eagle; two entire wings of an eagle; the heads of two woodpeckers; the head, neck, and breast of two ducks; a wildcat skin; a shell; two wooden bowls; a braid of buffalo hair; a braid of sweet grass; blue, green, and red clay; fat from a deer or buffalo, the animal having been consecrated; the nest of an oriole.

The clays, the fat, and the oriole's nest were furnished by the Ku'rahus. The nest was kept in secret and not allowed to be seen. All the articles except those furnished by the Ku'rahus were provided by the Father. Besides these he had to secure robes, ornamented garments, and regalia for the ceremonial clothing of the Son, his messenger, and his little child; also gifts to be bestowed on the entire party of the Children. He was assisted by contributions from the relatives and friends who had agreed to share with him the responsibilities and the rewards attending this ceremony. Food for the entertainment of the Children as well as for the maintenance of the Fathers during their absence from home had also to be provided.

It was the duty of the Son, the leader of the group called the Children, to provide a spacious lodge wherein the ceremony could take place, and also a proper camping site for all who accompanied the Fathers. He had also to secure the requisite return gifts to be made to the Fathers.

Each of the articles used in the ceremony had a general symbolism well known to the people, but their special significance was peculiar to these rites.

[822 The feathered stem Raha'katittu (plate LXXXVI, page 38) was painted
772] blue to symbolize the sky, the abode of Tira'wahut, the circle of the lesser powers. A long straight groove running its length was painted red, the symbol of life. The red groove was the path along which the spirits of the various birds traveled on their way to bring help.

Three split feathers from an eagle's wing were fastened to the stem as to an arrow, to give sure flight to the symbol-freighted stem. On it was tied the fan-shaped pendant of ten feathers from the mature brown or golden eagle. This eagle was called Kawas in the Hako ceremony. It represented the mother and led in certain of the rites. It is this feathered stem that was carried by the Ku'rahus. This eagle

Translation of Sixth Stanza

*539 26, 27, 28 See lines 1, 2, 3.
*796 29 Heru! Chaharu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.

[192] Chaharu, Water. This term applies to the supernatural power of the water; it is not used in ordinary speech; the common word for water is kii'tzu.

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See line 4.

30 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Chaharu."

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 823 Chaharu, Water, is one of the lesser powers. Water is very necessary to the life of man and all living things. The Winds, the Sun, the Earth, the Vegetation, and the Water are the five lesser powers through which the life of our bodies is maintained. We cry to Chaharu to come near and give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared.

I told you that these stanzas are in the order of creation. The powers are mentioned in the order in which they come near to man and enable him to live and to keep alive. As we sing we reflect upon our dependence on these lesser powers.

[821] Water is employed only for sacred purposes in this ceremony. It can not be used in any ordinary way from the time we begin the singing of these songs to the end of the entire ceremony. A man can drink water to sustain his life, but he can not touch it for any other purpose. He can not go swimming, nor can he step into water without first performing certain rites. It is difficult to abstain so long from the use of water, but it must be done or we shall suffer punishment for our profanation. We shall have storms, the sky will be filled with clouds, there will be obstructions between us and the place where the powers above dwell—those whom we invoke in this ceremony.

I have known of instances where some of the men of the party sneaked out of the camp during this ceremony, went to a stream and washed, or jumped in and took a swim, and the result was a storm that brought great distress upon the people.

Translation of Seventh Stanza

*539 31, 32, 33 See lines 1, 2, 3.
*796 34 Heru! Kusharu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.

Kusharu, a place set apart for sacred purposes and made holy.

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See line 4.

35 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Kusharu!"

The Ku'rahus takes ten feathers from the tail of the brown eagle 539*
and prepares them so that they can be tied upon one of the stems. A 796*
buckskin thong is run through a hole punctured near the end of
the quills and another is threaded through the quills, about the middle [283]
of their length, so that upon these two thongs the feathers can be spread like a fan. To the end of the thongs are fastened little balls of white down, taken from inside the thigh of the white male eagle. These balls of down represent the reproductive power. When the fan-like appendage is completed it is tied to the side of the blue-painted stem, so that it can swing when the stem is waved, to simulate the movements of an eagle.

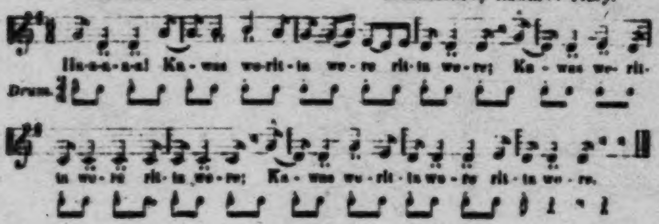
When the Ku'rahus takes from the man on his left, toward the north, the blue-painted stem and attaches to it the fan-like pendant made of the feathers of the brown eagle, we give thanks in our hearts as the following song is sung.

THIRD SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 128.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. [533*]


Ha-a-a-a-a! Ka-was we-rit-ta we-re rit-ta we-re; Ka-was we-rit-
Drum.
ta we-re rit-ta we-re; Ka-was we-rit-ta we-re rit-ta we-re.

78 Ha-a-a-a-a!
79 Kawas weritta were ritta were;
80 Kawas weritta were ritta were;
81 Kawas weritta were ritta were.

Translation

78 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation to the song.

79 Kawas weritta were ritta were.

Kawas, the name given to the brown eagle in this ceremony. The [192]
common name for this bird is letahkots katit; letahkots, eagle; katit, dark or brown.

weritta, now hung.

were, at this or that particular time.

ritta, an abbreviated form of weritta, now hung.

were, at this time.

80, 81 See line 79.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ing this the Ku'rahus says: "The first act of a man must be to set apart a place that can be made holy and consecrated to Tira'wa, a place where a man can be quiet and think about the mighty power." 539* 796* As the first part opens with the mention of Awahokshu, the holy place, the abode of Tira'wa, whence life is given to men by the intermediary powers, so the second part begins by indicating that man should set apart a holy place whence his thoughts can ascend to the powers which gave him life. The fixing of the sacred place made a center from which man's daily life could be set in order, and made the inauguration of rites possible—rites which served as a common bond to hold the community together. In the next stanza (VIII) the term h'Akaru is used. H' is the sign of breath, of the giving of life; [192] • akaru is a modification of akaro, a dwelling place. The change from ro to ru indicates that the word is typical rather than special. h'Akaru conveys the idea of an abode of life, a place where life (h', breath) can be received. The progression noted in the first part is here recalled; the power first mentioned after the holy place, Awahokshu, was Hotoru, the Wind, the giver of breath. The next stanza (IX) speaks of Keharu, an inclosure, the actual dwelling to be erected for the protection of life. Keharu seems to correspond to the [772] male element which, in the first part, is represented by the Sun, the father, the giver of strength, and we find that throughout this ceremony the position of the feathered stem, representing the male, is upon the outside, where it acts as guard and protector, a wall of defense to the interior of the lodge, with its fireplace, which represents the nest (see line 44). The fireplace, Kataharu, is next mentioned (X). This is the center, where the life within the lodge is conserved; it represents the female principle. This stanza corresponds to the fourth of the first part, where h'Uraru, Mother Earth, is invoked. In the two following stanzas, Keharu, the glowing coals (XI), and Koritu, the flames, the word of the fire (XII), refer directly to the act of making fire by friction, a ceremony which seems to underlie most, if not all, aboriginal rites through which man appeals to the powers for the means of sustaining life, food, and drink (stanzas V and VI).

The first six stanzas of the second part seem to be a reflex of the six composing the first part. In the first part physical life is created, in the second part psychical life is recognized. By the institution of rites a way is opened through which man turns toward the powers which created him. In the seventh stanza of the second part (XIII), the passageway is spoken of. This passageway represents the ego, the path wherein man passes to and fro as he lives his individual and communal life.

The structure of this song is notable when taken by itself, but it becomes more remarkable when the scope of the ceremony is considered. It will then be seen that this opening song foreshadows the movement and purpose of the entire ceremony.

*796 It is difficult to follow the Pawnee's thought in the words and accompanying act of this song unless it is remembered that he regards 774 the spirit of man, animals, and all other things as able to travel about independent of the body. Moreover, that he conceives it possible for a number of persons so to unite as to think and act as one spirit.

*539 In the song Mother, Atira, is the term applied to the ear of corn as the representative of Mother Earth. This word is preceded by *796 the aspirate, h', significant of the breath, the giving forth of life. 192 h'Atira not only refers to the sustaining of life by food, but also carries the idea that, as leader, the corn bears life-giving power.

The word weri, I am, does not mean the man who paints the corn, but the concerted spirits of the Hako party, which are spoken of in the singular, as though they were one spirit. The use of the plural sign re a little later on in the stanza (line 86) implies the personification of the ear of corn; its spirit is standing with the spirit of the Hako party. These two spirits move together throughout this drama of the consecration of the ear of corn as leader.

In the next stanza the two spirits are flying through the air. There *539 is no incongruity in this procedure; the already mentioned belief rela- *796 tive to spirits makes it rational. In like manner, the color of the paint can hold within it the spirit of the abode of the powers.

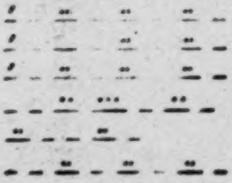
The different stages in the progress of the ear of corn on its journey *533 to the abode of the powers are depicted in the different stanzas of the *539 song. In the first, she stands; in the second, she flies; in the third, she touches the boundary of the sky, "where it begins"; in the fourth, *796 she ascends; in the fifth, she reaches the dome, her destination; in the sixth, she descends, the purpose of the journey having been accomplished.

The music is divided into six phrases; six stanzas record the stages of the journey; the number suggests the six ceremonial motions typifying the four directions, the above, and the below.

It would seem from the acts accompanying this song that the ear of corn went up to the abode of the powers by the four paths at the four cardinal points, down which we are told the powers descend, as the lines representing these paths were drawn on the ear before the blue paint was spread over its tip to represent the dome of the sky.

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



---

[a] Music on page 63.

to characterize songs associated with animals and with motion. 533* This interval comprises 14 of the 25 progressions in this song. The final tone is preceded by a fourth lower, as in No. 2. A rhythmic unit occurs several times and the characteristic count division of the unit occurs in the opening portion of the song.

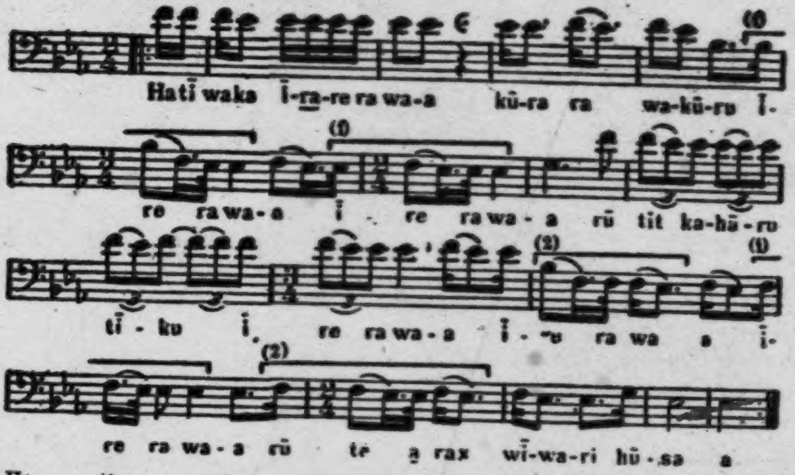
Long ago an old man named Nara'dudesa'ru had a dream and in his [787 dream he saw a cloud of dust rolling along the ground. He sat and looked at the dust a long time until late in the afternoon. 773] Then it looked like a crowd of people, but after the dust storm had passed he saw a great herd of buffalo.

No. 8. "The Waves of Dust"

(Catalogue No. 1113)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩= 76
Drum ♩= 120
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 8


Hatī waka ī-ra-re ra wa-a kū-ra ra wa-kū-ru ī-
re ra wa-a ī - re ra wa - a rū tit ka-hū-ru
tī - ku ī. re ra wa - a ī - u ra wa a ī-
re ra wa - a rū te a rax wī-wa-ri hū - sa a

Ha	ti	waka	īre	ra	waa[19]	kūra	ra
Listen	he	said	there	have do	coming	his	have
wakūru	īre	ra	waa	rū	tit	kahūru	
sayings	there	have	coming	did	dust	earth	
tīku	īre	ra	waa	rūte	rax		
wave downward	there	have	coming	do	them		
wīwari	hūsa						
wallow	marked place						

---

[19] This word signifies a great mass in motion.

[192]

512 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder.
462 When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter,
887 I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar. Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

313 Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Vic-
484 tory Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful sup-
623 ply of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the im-
[726] mediate neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy. The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the chiefs had gathered there.

512 The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the
252 household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver
262 Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buf-
[237] falo meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

(415) The main business of the women of the household that day was to give
512 the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing
251 the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold,
356 and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in; besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for
[192] food pit, *tahaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all.
[476] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

241 daughter, when you get married and your husband leaves you, don't go after him. Let him go." The girl takes the pipe from him and says, "I thank you grandpa, I'll do that." The girl returns the pipe to the four ministers of the Skull bundle and the warrior gives her a gift.

TABLE 9-1. *Some Songs of the Ground-breaking Ritual, the* Awari.

241
192
533

The term *awari* is a compound stem, the first part, *a-* signifying "being" or "living" and the second part, *-wari*, to go actively about, such as traveling. The Pawnee used this stem as we do "up and about" meaning to be in good health. The combination *awari* indicates the principles of life and motion *par excellence*, the vigor of life.

Like all the songs of the sacred bundle ceremonies, each song is repeated in at least ten stanzas or "steps." The stanzas are identical except for the substitution of a single word at each repetition: These substitutions are the words that symbolize the basic realms of the universe in their order of creation, *huraru*, "land"; *tuharu*, "natural vegetation"; *tsaharu*, "waters"; *kakis*, "seeds"—the four major realms of the women—and *asuru*, "moccasin"; *kstaripiru*, "string of moccasin"; *rawitat*, "robe, covering"; *waruksti*, "something holy"; *atira*, "my mother" (corn); *kiriki*, "thunder"—the six major realms of the men. In each case, the word is substituted for *huraru*, "land," in the version given here.

241
533
539

EIGHT SONGS OF THE GROUND-BREAKING *Awari* RITUAL

Song I

1. *huraru* *wirahawati*
the land now the one that plucks it (clears)

Song II

1. *huraru* *katit* *witasikaru* (sung as *-rau*)
the land black now you distribute them
2. *awari* *katit* *rasikara'u*
movement black you that distribute them

The significance of Song II is that the Evening Star as it appears sparkling and wavering is the power that animates the earth when it generates in darkness. The dancers try to flit about like the sparkling stars.

FIRST INTERMISSION

Song III

1. *wirahuraririwisisa*
now the earth sidewise comes
2. *hatira* *rahuraririwisisa*
my mother earth that sidewise comes

Song IV

1. *huraru* *ra'a*
earth the one that is coming
2. *hi* *awari* *ra'a*
there movement that is coming

244
192

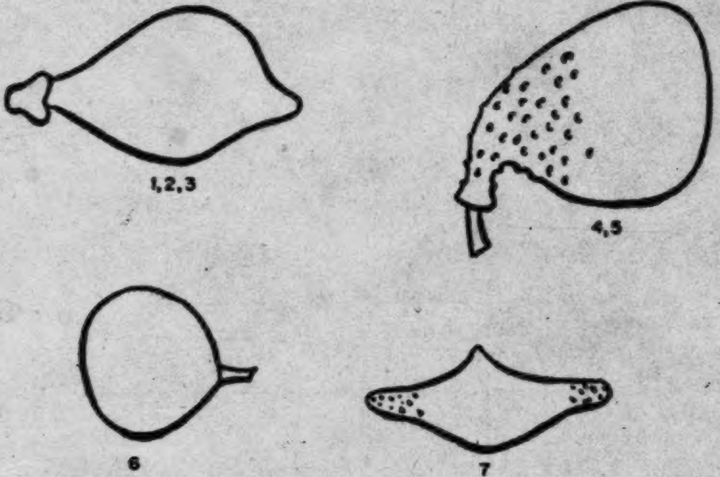


Figure 11-1. Seven varieties of squash and pumpkin known to the Pawnees generically as *Pahuks:* (1) *rus-kirius,* "soft-buttock" (as soft as the buttocks); pointed at both ends; a little more than 1 foot in length and 9 inches in diameter; yellowish in color; "as sweet as sugar." (2) *pahuks-tarahi,* squash or pumpkin-grooved; yellow in color; a kind sometimes seen in white men's stores. (3) *pahuks-katit,* squash or pumpkin-black; same size, shape, and taste as (2), the only difference being the black color. (4) *ri-katsu,* "lower half of body, white," *ri'u,* being the lower half of human body from the navel all around to the bottom of the feet. (The rest of the body is called *kisikitu,* upper half of body from *kisikiit,* "alive," and *-katsu,* "dead white." Sometimes the ordinary word for white, *taka,* is used instead.) The shell is as thick as a board and so hard that it needs to be cut up with an ax, but it is very sweet tasting. It has a crooked neck and is knobby or pimply around the neck end and very smooth on the body. (5) *ri-kats-katit,* same as (4), but black (*-katit,* "black") (6) *pahuks-kata,* "pumpkin-dry"; dry near the stem, sometimes a little pointed; somewhat dry inside when cooked; real round and smooth; color, light green. (7) *pahuks-tarahi-kiripaxki,* "squash-grooved-small"; in a variety of colors—green, white, yellow, and dark green, also a rather dark blue and some very blue.

243 The Indian groups of the Missouri River Valley of which the Pawnees were one, raised mainly flint and flour corn, but not dent. They also raised sweet corn. Flint and flour corn apparently both did equally well among the Pawnees. Mark Evarts named ten breeds of corn for the Pawnees, one of them borrowed from the Osage. There were two flints, one yellow, and one varied in color, five or possibly six flour corns in five different colors—blue, speckled, white, yellow, and red; and one sweet corn, reddish-yellow in color. In addition, there was an archaic breed [778] of corn known as Wonderful or Holy Corn which was never eaten but was raised only for inclusion in the sacred bundles. Two ears were

placed in each bundle, each wrapped up and sewed into a covering—the 243
winter ear in a tanned buffalo skin and the ear dedicated to summer in a 778
buffalo-heart skin. Each individual ear of these holy corns in the bundles had a different name by which it was addressed. Early in April before the *Awari* or planting ritual, a ritual was held in which the seeds of the holy corn were distributed to the keepers of the sacred bundles so that their wives could plant them in their fields. At harvest time, when these sacred ears were mature, the old ears were removed from the bundles and replaced with ears from the new crop. Fine examples of some of the best ears of the more common varieties were also placed in the sacred bundles at harvest time, particularly those with a male spike. Compared with the white flour corn, the holy corn, which was also white, had small kernels that sometimes covered the cob to the very tip. "Sometimes it has something like a soft feather at the tip of the ear." This is apparently the male spike at the point end; archaeologically it appears very early, 4,445 [171]
± 180 B.C., in the tiny ancestral corncobs taken from La Perra Cave in northeast Mexico. Such an ear is also shown in the headdress and hands of the Maize God on a prehistoric Zapotec funerary urn from Mexico (Mangelsdorf, 1958).

244
192

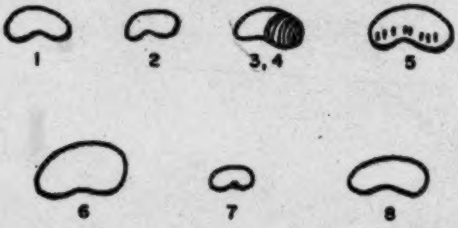


FIGURE 11-2. Eight varieties of beans, generically known to the Pawnees as *atit:* (1) *ati-pahat*, "bean-red"; a large sized bean. (2) *atik-taka*, "bean-white." (3) *ati-paks-katit*, "bean-head-black"; black-head beans. (4) *ait-paks-pahat*, "bean-head-red"; same as (3). (5) *ati-pirari*, "bean-spotted"; color of a spotted horse, spotted all around, some with red, some with black spots; a somewhat large-sized bean. (6) *ati-katus*, "bean-flat"; large, flat bean. (7) *atit-tiwats-katit*, "bean-navel-black"; spotted where it joins the stem; navel, *-riwat*, phonetically altered in the context. (8) *ati-taxkata*, "bean-yellow"; a rather large yellow bean.

Our classification of the species of corn is based on the starch content, 243
but when a Pawnee was asked to name the varieties of corn they had, he 242
or she would enumerate them in terms of color categories—black, [822]
spotted, white, yellow, and red. It is interesting that these represent the varieties of flour corn that they had. However, in classifying their corn, they subsumed the flint, sweet, and sacred varieties under these color categories. When asked to name the varieties of Pawnee corn, Mark Evarts

*224 of it. After they had made a cut along the backbone and divided the robe in two, they would flap open the cut edges and split the hide down the forelegs and hind legs to get the two halves off.

The next step was to remove the meat. This was the same for both bull and cow. They removed the meat first from one side and then from the other. The carcass was turned over on its side and the long piece of meat that lay along the backbone was cut loose and turned aside. Then the flank over the ribs and forelegs was flapped back. Now the foreleg could be removed and the lower portion with the hoof on it discarded. [237] This part would find use as a hammer. The most important meat was the long steak extending all the way down the length of the backbone. Its [192] name, *kis-satsu*, "bone-lying against," was also the generic name for meat, *kisatski*, the *-ki* being a diminutive, i.e., "small meat." The long steak was the ideal part for thinning and drying as it could be cut into a long continuous sheet. It contained important sinews that were removed before slicing.

When the meat had been removed from one side, the carcass was turned over onto the other. Although the meat had been removed from the underside, the carcass was held up off the ground by the fact that the paunch was still inflated. They decided that in butchering this side, they would leave intact a large slab of meat that was ordinarily considered to be two parts, one covering the windpipe, and the other the part that lies below it, the *awahu*, the "spread out." This was a large, very fatty slab of meat. After the backbone steak, the flank, and the foreleg had been removed, they would take off this piece. This fatty layer was needed since in storing the thinned-out dried meat, they would alternate each thin layer of meat with a layer of dried fat.

Now they had to clean the internal organs; the paunch, liver, lungs, and intestines. If they had no water for cleaning the paunch, they simply shook it out. When they took care of the entrails, they also removed the tongue and brains. To get the brains from the braincase, they used the hind leg with the hoof on it as a hammer and broke off the skull cap just below the brow ridge, taking the brains out of the cover or membrane. In order to determine the best place to aim the blow, they had first to take off the scalp lock.

[262] [251] After all the meat had been removed from the bones, they had to get the ribs, which were a main delicacy for cooking and eating right away. Most of the rest of the meat was dried and preserved. The ribs were consumed mainly by the men in their feasts. To crack the ribs off the backbone, they lay the carcass on its side and cut up the front where the cartilage was with a knife. Then they used the discarded foot with the hoof on it as their hammer and struck along the ribs where the rib bones were jointed at the back. They made two slits between the ribs to get a good fingerhold and pulled the ribs so that the bones cracked at

538 the north star, and going a little to the east, even though it was night, he
821 was able to overtake his companions. "This happened many times," he
484 said.

Another old man would take up where he left off and tell more stories
538 in the same vein. "Because the stars and the planets appear to be moving,
821 the Indians believe the earth is still." Then they began to argue about
805 the question of "the thirteenth month." Some said, "Not now," others
thought this was the time. They spoke of the position of the constellations,
"first one snake, then two ducks and then the real rattlesnakes
(Scorpio). That marks the beginning of the year—the spring. The
months should coincide with these constellations." Of the regular twelve
538 months, nine were named for familiar activities—clearing, planting, cultivating,
821 hunting, and harvest—while the tenth and eleventh were paired
805 and named after the constellations—little duck (*kiwakski*) and big duck
• 192 (*kiwaks-kutsu*). The twelfth month was called *kaata*, darkness. It was
through the observation of the position of the constellations that the
regular month names had to be set in their proper course for the various
activities for which they were named. In the year when the intercalary
month was introduced, the two duck months were thought of as being
paired, and then *kaata*, darkness, paired with the introduced month; the
rest of the months of the year being paired accordingly, with the fifth
month, viz., the June 19–July 18 month "standing alone." This was the
month when one went off on the summer hunt. The thirteenth or intercalary
month, had [illegible] variety of names, the most usual being Entrance
Passageway to the earth lodge, *Puhurweturukut*, or the Skidi version,
Puhurwaturukat, the long 10- or 15-foot entranceway. Alternative names
had various references: If it had thundered from the north (rather than
the south) when they got back, they thought the cold weather would
last late into the spring and they called the month, *Paruks-ti-taka*, Thunder
or Storm-It-Is-White, for the snow they expected to have. Another
name for this month was Hidden Child, *pira-paru*, "child-hidden," the
Pawnee equivalent of our "illegitimate child." The reference was to abortion
for it was said that the abandoned foetus was more conspicuous on
the snow during that season than on the bare ground. A further name,
atatpïiwa, is of unknown significance. From this example, it should be
538 clear that the storytelling session was not a mere leisure pastime. Through
517 it was transmitted history, climatology, theology, the logistics of war,
topography, and many other important facets of Pawnee knowledge.
[224] Such a session was an invaluable preamble to setting out on the winter
hunt.

411 boiled hide and the feathers bent onto the stick and pasted down and
[237] tied in place with some more wet sinew at their lower end.

After the feathers were in place, the shafts were buffed by passing
411 them between the two grooved sandstone buffers that were pressed to-
412 gether—the arrow being turned back and forth so that it was well
rounded.

The next process was the use of the bone arrowshaft straightener
[172] that was a little bit like a fork. [Archaeological specimens from the
Hill site of 1806 are pieces of bison rib with holes of different sizes
[178] drilled through them. In recent times, a tin can punched with holes
was sometimes substituted.]

411 After straightening, downy feathers were fastened on at the lower
[237] end of the feathers that had already been attached.

The final step was to split the end for inserting the point. After the
[284] point was inserted, the end was bound with sinew to make it fast. Different kinds of shafts were called "black-lying-on," "red-lying-on," referring to the colors of the feathers.

276 *The Pipestem.* Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most
significant things the man used. The pipe was smoked both for relaxation
and in every ceremony. The stem was symbolic of the human windpipe
[192] and the breath was considered the essence of life itself. *Tsiksu,* the word
for "throat," was also the verb stem for "to think, to feel," *-atsiks-*. In the
ceremony of the Peace Pipe, the main emblems were the two pipestems,
a bowl from a sacred bundle being attached to one of them and smoked
in the course of the ceremony. The pipestems were decorated with
[237] eagle feathers and other ceremonial insignia—one with the feathers of the
[825] brown eagle, signifying "night," "female," "fruitfulness" and known as
ra-hak-katitu, "one-mouth-black"; and the other with feathers of the
white eagle, signifying "day," "male," "defense," "war" and called
ra-hak-takaru, "one-mouth-white." At various stages in the ceremony
these were waved about so that they symbolized the flight of the eagles.
276 The pipestems were ceremonially fashioned after instructions from the
322 priests. He sent two men to bring in two sticks of ash, and as they sat
east of the fireplace they prepared the sticks, warming them over the fire
so that they could be straightened and cut to length, viz., four spans
from thumb to third finger. The stems were peeled, scraped, and the
pith removed by boring them from end to end with a reed so that the
breath could pass through unobstructed. The pith was then burned out
with a wire. The men cut a straight groove the entire length of each
stick to represent the lifeline. Finally all scrapings and every particle of
ashwood was placed carefully on the fire, and as the flame rose the two
sticks were passed through the blaze so that the word of the fire might
enter and be with them.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

5, 79 James R. Murie, 1914, pp. 550-551, lists the names of thirteen 361
villages, each of which he states had a sacred bundle, excepting 103
the thirteenth, *Turawiu*, which was part of a village. The village 778
names are:

1) *Turikaku* (Center Village), Evening Star bundle 631
2) *Kitkehaxpakuxtu* (Old Village), the four semicardinal direction bundles
3) *Tuhitspiat* (Stretching-Out-in-the-Bottomlands)
4) *Tukitskita* (Village-on-Branch-of-a-River)
5) *Tuwahukasa* (Village-Stretching-across-a-Hill), the Morning Star bundle (This bundle was divided into two.)
6) *Arikararikutsu* (Big-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
7) *Arikarariki* (Small-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
8) *Tuhutsaku* (Village-in-a-Ravine), the left hand bundle (All use left hands in the ceremony.)
9) *Tuwarakaku* (Village-in-Thick-Timber)
10) *Akapaxtsawa* (Buffalo-Skull-Painted-on-Tipi), Black Star bundle
11) *Tskisarikus* (Fish-Hawk) (Bundle buried with White Hawk.)
12) *Tstiks-kaatit* (Black-Ear-of-Corn), meaning corn-black
13) *Turawiu*, part of a village.

These were the known member villages of the Skidi political federation. According to tradition, two villages did not join—Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine) and Tskirirara (Wolf-Standing-in-Water). These two villages survived into the time of our narrative together with only two of the other thirteen, numbers 3 and 5, Tuhitspiat and Tuwahukasa. Tu- is the prefix signifying village or settlement; eight of Murie's thirteen are village names, [193] seven of them beginning with this prefix and indicating a location, the eighth, number 2, meaning Old-Earth-Lodge Village. Four are animal names, and one, a corn name.

5 In the article by Levy and Fallers, 1959, the authors comment 114 on departures from our working model of the "nuclear" or "biological" family, 842 questioning whether it is in fact as basic as we assume. I suggest that our working model of family life stems from the Adam and Eve story and that of the Pawnee from their interpretation of the cosmos and the nature of human life which derives from it. This fundamental difference in our viewpoints does not depend on an ignorance on the part of the Pawnees of the basic fact of physiological paternity. They believed that conception took place as a result of the combination of a male and a female substance similar to egg white in consistency—red in the case of the female and white in that of the male.

52 The "worm" love song adapted from Dunbar, 1881, p. 745 000

126 that the exactions of Mr Tracy's professional work in the field of music make it impossible for him to prepare an essay upon the character of these songs and the light they throw upon the evolution of musical expression. His familiarity with native songs, growing out of several years of first-hand research, would render him peculiarly fitted to speak concerning them.

The songs are commended to the general student of music and particularly to the young composers of our country as offering native themes worthy of musical treatment.

In arranging the material for this paper it has seemed best to group
128 it into two parts. The first contains such introductory explanations as are essential to the understanding of the ceremony, which is given without comment in the words of the Ku'rahus, together with his interpretation of the songs and accompanying rites. The second part consists of an analysis of the ceremony and treats of its structure, purpose, and teaching. The translations of the songs aim to convey to the English reader something of their native spirit and meaning.

As the purpose of this record is not primarily linguistic, it has been
104 judged best not to observe the finer phonetic distinctions in recording
194 native words. The vowels have their continental values, as in *are*, *they*, *pique*, *go*, *rule*; ow is used as in how; and ŭ represents oo in good. The consonants p, b, t, d, k, g (always hard), j, s, z, f, v, m, l, r, w, y, h are used approximately as in English, but k and t have been allowed to represent the semisonants (medial between k and g, t and d) as well, and the r has a slight trill. Dh represents th in the, ḥ a guttural breathing (German ch, Spanish j) and hr a surd or breathed r; th is used as in thorn, wh and ch as in which, x as in box, sh as in shall; n indicates that the preceding vowel is nasalized; and h at the end of a syllable indicates that the breath must be heard. When a consonant is doubled it is heard twice or distinctly prolonged. An accent mark is used to indicate stress where it seems necessary.

INTRODUCTION

NAME OF THE CEREMONY

The ceremony is called Skari by the Ku'rahus and by all who have 796
been taught its rites and sacred songs. This word is from ska, hand,
ri, many, and refers not merely to the many hands required for the 196
preparation of the sacred articles used in the rites, but also to the culminating ceremony of touching the little child with the hand, which occurs on the morning of the fifth day (sixteenth and seventeenth rituals).

A peculiar expression is used to characterize the consultation which a man who desires to inaugurate this ceremony has with his kindred in reference to their assistance in the undertaking. This consultation is called "touching them." The Ku'rahus explained this expression as being connected with the meaning of the word Skari, many hands, in its double significance already noted.

Although the term Skari is said to be old, its descriptive character [174] seems to be against its acceptance as the original name of the ceremony.

Among the people at large of the Pawnee tribe the ceremony is spoken of as Ruktaraiwarius. This composite word can be analyzed as follows: ruk, from rukkis, wood, or a stick of wood; ta, from tita, hung upon; ra, coming; iwarius, shaking or waving. This descriptive term refers to the two objects peculiar to this ceremony, the two feathered stems which are waved to the rhythm of the songs. The Pawnees who receive those who bring the sacred articles call the ceremony Haktara. The word is composed of hak, from hakkow, translated below; ta, have; ra, coming: haktara, they who have the [171] breathing mouth of wood are coming. The Osages speak of it as "Bringing the drum," and the Omahas as "To sing with."

Hako is a comprehensive term used to designate all the articles which belong to the ceremony. The term is derived from the composite word hakkowpirus, meaning drum. Hakkow is from akow, mouth, with the aspirate prefix h, signifying breath, and the k added to the first syllable represents the word rukkis, wood. Hakkow may then be said to mean a breathing mouth of wood. Pirus means to whip or beat.

Three customs among the Indians can be traced in the composition [194]
of this word: first, the peculiarity of pulsating the voice on a note
that is sustained over more than one count of the measure, by which [534]

*796 196 ● [194 634] a beating effect is produced; second, the custom of waving the hand to and from the mouth or beating the lips, so as to break a continuous note or call into a series of sounds or beats; third, the making of the drum from a section of a tree, hollowed out, with a skin stretched over the open end. From this analysis of the word hakkowpirus we discern that the pulsating voice and the beaten lips were the first means employed to produce an effect which was afterward emphasized in an instrument, the drum (hakkowpirus, the breathing mouth of wood), which was made to give forth a series of sounds by the same device of whipping by the hand.

*[533] In Indian music the rhythm of the drum always follows closely the emotion expressed in the song; it is like a great pulsating voice.

In the term Hako the k of the first syllable in hakkow is dropped for the sake of euphony, and for the same reason the rough sound ow is changed to o. The word Hako carries the idea of the breathing, vibrating tones from the wooden mouth. It is applied to all the articles used in the ceremony, because, according to the explanations of the Ku'rahus, "everything speaks; the eagle, Kawas, speaks; the corn speaks; so we say Hako—the voice of all these things."

*796 126 In the preparation of the record of the different rites, rituals, and songs of this ceremony it became necessary to adopt a convenient term which should apply to the ceremony as a whole, including the party inaugurating the ceremony, the rites, the rituals, and the articles used. The term "Hako" has been chosen as best fitted for the purpose. Three considerations influenced the choice: first, the fact that Hako is the native name by which the articles used in the ceremony are spoken of collectively; second, the meaning of the term Hako, as revealed by an analysis of the word and by the explanation given by the Ku'rahus; third, the ease with which this word can be spoken and remembered by the English reader.

PERSONNEL OF THE CEREMONY

*796 [602] [556] Two distinct groups of persons were essential to the performance of this ceremony. These two groups could not belong to the same clan or gens of a tribe, and they were often of different tribes. One group, called the Fathers, was composed of the kindred of the man who had taken the initiative in organizing a party for the performance of the ceremony. This man was called the Father. His party comprised from 20 to 100 persons, and represented the well-to-do class in the tribe, the requisites for the ceremony being of such a character that only skillful hunters and thrifty households could supply them. The second group, called the Children, was made up of the relatives of the man chosen by the Father to receive the visiting party of the Fathers. The leader of this group of Children was called the Son. Each of the two groups, as well as the leaders of each group, had peculiar

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SPECIAL SIGNS USED IN TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SONGS

104 533 These signs are intended simply as aids to the student in becoming acquainted with the songs. They should be understood as supplementary to the descriptive analysis rather than a part of the musical notation.

+ placed above a note shows that the tone was sung slightly higher than the indicated pitch. In many instances the tones designated by this and the following sign were "unfocused tones," or were tones whose intonation varied in the several renditions of the song. The intonation of these tones was not such as to suggest the intentional use of "fractional intervals" by the singer.

– placed above a note shows that the tone was sung slightly lower than the indicated pitch.

(· placed above a note shows that the tone was prolonged slightly beyond the indicated time. This and the following sign are used only when the deviation from strict time is less than half the time unit of the song and appears to be unimportant. In many instances the duration of the tones thus marked is variable in the several renditions of the song.

·) placed above a note shows that the tone was given slightly less than the indicated time.

┌──────┐ placed above a series of notes indicates that these tones constitute a rhythmic unit.

PHONETICS

●194 All consonants have the English sounds except that x represents the palatal spirant.

All vowels have the continental sounds except that ȧ is a obscure.

A͡u (diphthong) is pronounced as *ow* in *how*.

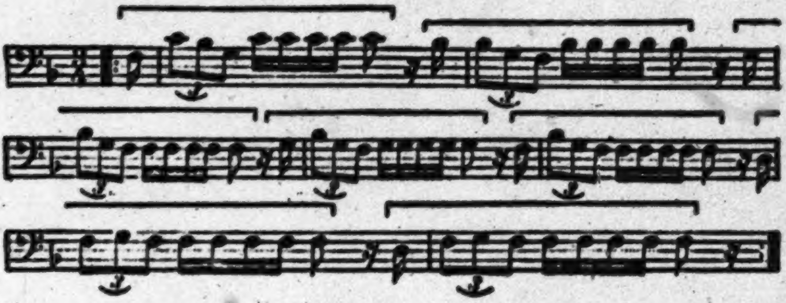
*533 making five phrases in a complete rendition. Two such complete renditions were recorded and show no differences. On the quarter notes of the first rhythmic unit there was a pulsation of the voice which can not be indicated by notation. This peculiarity was noted in other songs recorded by the same singer. It is interesting to note that a dotted eighth occurs on the accented count of the first unit and on the unaccented count of the second unit. The most prominent tones are F and C, and the song is transcribed as being in the key of F, although the third above that tone does not occur in the melody.

No. 41. Hand Game Guessing Song (b)

(Catalogue No. 1130)

Recorded by Horse Chief

Voice ♩= 60
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—Eight renditions of this song were recorded and, except in a very few instances, the sixteenth notes were given with distinctness. No words were sung and the tones were separated by the peculiar action of throat and tongue that characterizes the tone production of the Indians. The keynote appears to be F and, as the third and seventh above that tone do not appear, the song is classified as based on the first 5-toned scale. The descending fourth is a prominent interval in the framework of the melody, occurring as C to G, B flat to F, and G to D. ● [194]

VII

*539 31 Ho-o-o!
32 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
*796 33 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
34 Heru! Kusharu. He!
35 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

VIII

36 Ho-o-o!
37 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
38 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
39 Heru! H'Akaru. He!
40 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

IX

41 Ho-o-o!
42 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
43 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
44 Heru! Keharu. He!
45 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

X

46 Ho-o-o!
47 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
48 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
49 Heru! Katahara. He!
50 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

XI

51 Ho-o-o!
52 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
53 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
54 Heru! Kekaru. He!
55 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

XII

56 Ho-o-o!
57 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
58 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
59 Heru! Koritu. He!
60 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

XIII

61 Ho-o-o!
62 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
63 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
64 Heru! Hiwaturu. He!
65 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

Translation of First Stanza

1 Ho-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

2 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

[195] I'hare! an exclamation that conveys the intimation that something is presented to the mind on which one must reflect, must consider its significance and its teaching.

'hare! an abbreviation of the word i'hare.

'ahe! an abbreviation of the word i'hare. The change of the r to h is for greater ease in singing.

3 See line 2.

4 Heru! Awahokshu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverent feeling, as when one is approaching something sacred.

Awahokshu, a composite word; awa is a part of Tira'wa, the supernatural powers, and hokshu means sacred, holy; thus the word Awahokshu means the abode of the supernatural powers, the holy place where they dwell.

he! a part of the exclamation i'hare, the change of the r to an h being for the same reason as the similar change in 'ahe. See line 2.

5 See line 2.

*539 which the lesser powers must travel when they descend to bring help
772 to man.

776 In this stanza, we remember the power given by Tira'wa to the Winds, and we cry to Hotoru to come and give their help to us at this *796 time, to give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako.

I'hare, 'hare 'aho means, as we sing it this time, that we are reflecting upon Hotoru, we are thinking of all that they bring to man, the breath by which he lives.

The Winds are always near us by night and by day.

Translation of Third Stanza

*539 11, 12, 13 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.
14 Hera! Shakuru. He!
*796
hera! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.
● [195] Shakuru, the Sun. This word is not used in ordinary speech; it refers to the supernatural power, the Sun, in its relation to man. The common term for sun is ti'rasakariki, sun standing.
he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.
15 See the first stanza, line 2. The words in this line have special reference to the mind dwelling seriously upon Shakuru.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Shakuru, the Sun, is the first of the visible powers to be mentioned. [776 It is very potent; it gives man health, vitality, and strength. Because of its power to make things grow, Shakuru is sometimes spoken of 821] as atius, father. The Sun comes direct from the mighty power above; that gives it its great potency.

As we sing this stanza, we think of all that the Sun can do for us and we cry to it, to come now and give potentiality to the sacred articles about to be made ready for use in this ceremony.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

16, 17, 18 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.
19 Hera! H'Urara. He!
hera! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.
h', the sign of breath; "breathing life."
[195 Urara, the Earth. This term is not used in ordinary speech; the common name for the earth is kahoraru. H'Urara refers 778] to the supernatural power that belongs to the earth, the power to bring forth.
he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.
20 See the first stanza, line 2. In the last line of the stanza the word I'hare implies reflection: "We reflect on H'Urara!"

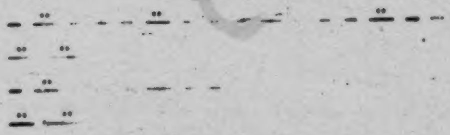
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PRAYER TO AVERT STORMS

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

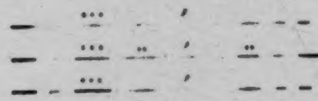
*533
*796



PRAYER FOR THE GIFT OF CHILDREN

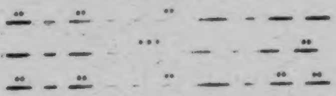
FIRST SONG[b]

Diagram of Time and Rhythm



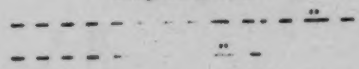
SECOND SONG[c]

Diagram of Time



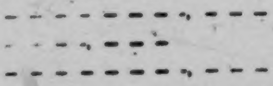
THIRD SONG[d]

Diagram of Time



FOURTH SONG[e]

Diagram of Time



CHANGING A MAN'S NAME

[126] *533 *796 Before the graphophone record was taken the Ku'rahus engaged in silent prayer, after which he entoned the ritual. Rather a high pitch was taken for the recital, probably from habit, as the ritual was always given in the hearing of a multitude.

● [195] The words were separated into syllables. Sometimes an entire word or parts of two words were represented by a single syllable, and each syllable in the ritual was uttered as though it were a complete word.

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].
[b] Music on page [illegible].
[c] Music on page [illegible].
[d] Music on page 270.
[e] Music on page 271.

Mr Murie spent three days in the translation and study of the 124
ritual, assisted by the Ku'rahus, who explained many points that
were somewhat obscure, owing to elisions, the employment of a single 195
word as a mnemonic to call up the picture of a complicated action, 196
and the forcing of words to a different application from that of ordinary speech—a not uncommon occurrence in rituals. The latter carefully watched the work lest mistakes should be made, remarking that the ritual "speaks of the powers above, of whom man should be careful what he says."

There is one aspect of the ritual, essential to its understanding, that 181
was carefully explained by the Ku'rahus, and the substance of many
conversations on the subject follows. A man's life is an onward move- 555
ment. If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the
help of the powers his life will "climb up." Here the Ku'rahus made 553
a gesture indicating a line slanting upward; then he arrested the 761
movement and, still holding his hand where he had stopped, went on
to say that as a man is climbing up he does something that marks a 829
place in his life where the powers have given him the opportunity to express in acts his peculiar endowments, so this place, this act, forms a stage in his career, and he takes a new name to indicate that he is on a level different from that which he occupied previously. Some men, he said, can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level, and he illustrated his words by moving his hands horizontally. Men having power to advance, climb step by step, and here again he made his idea plain by a gesture picturing a slant, then a level, a slant, and a level. In this connection he called attention to the words, in line 1359, "rutu'rahwitz pari," "to overtake walking," saying that the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life an upper level, such a one as these ancient men spoken of in the ritual had reached, where they threw away the names by which they had been known before. "Rutu'rahwitz pari," is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by the doing of like deeds.

Three facts connected with the Pawnee custom of taking a new 553
name should be stated: 555

First. A man was permitted to take a name only after the performance of an act indicative of ability or strength of character. 796*

Second. The name had to be assumed openly before the people to whom the act it commemorated was known.

Third. It was necessary that it should be announced in connection with such a ritual as that here given.

These facts indicate (1) that a man's name stood for what he had shown himself to be in the light of his actions; (2) that this was recognized by his tribesmen; and (3) that it was proclaimed by one having in charge the mediatory rites through which man could be approached by the supernatural.

553 *796 The ritual is in three parts. The first gives a brief narration of the institution of the custom of changing the name in consequence of some new achievement. The second shows how the man was enabled to accomplish this act. It began with his lonely vigil and fast, when he cried to the powers for help. The scene then shifts to the circle of the lesser powers, who, in council, deliberate on the petition which makes its way to them and gains their consent. Then the Winds summon the messengers, and these, gathering at the lesser powers' command, are sent to earth to the man crying in lonely places, to grant his desire. This part closes with a few vivid words which set forth that only by the favor and help of the powers had the man been able to do the deed. The third deals with the man's names, the one to be discarded and the one now to be assumed.

128 *539 *796 [182 195] This dramatic poem is in a rhythmic form impossible to reproduce in English; neither is a literal translation adequate to convey its meaning, since a single word sometimes represents a complex action, to the understanding of which a knowledge of the customs and beliefs of the tribe is essential. The terseness of expression was also intended to close the meaning to the uninitiated, keeping it sacred from the common people. Although the form of the following rhythmic rendition could not be determined as heretofore by musical phrases, the English version contains nothing which is not in the original text explained and amplified by the Ku'rahus.

Rhythmic Rendition of Pawnee Text

*539 *796

1378 Harken! 'Twas thus it came to pass:
In ancient days, a Leader and his men
Walked this wide earth, man's vast abode
Roofed by the heavens, where dwell the gods.[a]
They reached a place, the spot no man can tell,
Faced dangers dread, and vanquished them;
Then, standing as if born anew to life,
Each warrior threw away the name
That had been his ere yet these deeds were done.

1379 Harken! The Leader and his men
Made there the Vict'ry Song, and set the mark
Ye must o'ertake, if ye would be like them!

1380 Harken! The Leader and his men
Turned then toward home. Their Vict'ry Song
Proclaimed them near; the village rose,
Looked toward the hill, where on the top
Stood the brave men singing their Song,
Heralding thus the favor of the gods
By which they had surpassed all former deeds,
Made new their claim to be accounted men.

---

[a] Gods, meaning powers, is used solely on account of the rhythm.

241 After a whole morning and afternoon of dancing and singing, the feast was served to all, including the spectators and everyone went home except the four Skull bundle ministers and the woman visionary, who had to return the four sacred hoes to the four direction bundles with a gift of meat and calico to their owners and pack up the other objects. By this time the ministers were hoarse from all the singing, and by the next morning the old women who had participated in the dancing were very stiff.

Early next morning the visionary woman's brother took the willows that had been tied to the four house posts and carried them to some clear water west of the lodge. Then he deposited them under the water in the semicardinal directions they had occupied in the lodge.

243 The ground being ritually prepared, they would begin to plant. Early next morning everybody went into the fields. Men and women pulled up the weeds by hand and occasionally a man would use his axe to remove some sumach that happened to be growing there. All the weeds were burned up on the spot and one could see the smoke of the fires everywhere. Only the sunflower heads were saved, in anticipation of the harvest when they would need fuel for roasting the ears of corn.

243
221 According to a missionary report of the 1850's, the time was May 8th and everyone felt impelled to hurry, for the time was short before they would be leaving their villages for the summer buffalo hunt. With everyone cooperating, the entire planting would be done in about six days. By mid-May they could begin preparing their clothes and equipment for the summer migration.

243 That night, after they had cleared up the fields, they soaked their corn kernels in a pan to be ready for planting next morning. Some people soaked special "medicine" with the seeds to promote their growth. The next morning they went into the fields, carrying their corn kernels in a bucket or sack to keep them moist. Each carried enough for twenty corn hills, five to seven kernels to a hill. The first thing they did when they got to the field was to hoe up the ground with a buffalo shoulder-blade hoe to a depth of about 2 inches. Having removed the roots and sprouts, they replaced the loose earth and began to build up the corn hills. A corn hill was 1–1½ feet in diameter. There was a small circular excavation like a miniature fireplace with loose earth all around it. Four to six seeds were inserted around the sides and one in the middle on top. Some made a number of hills and then inserted the kernels, and some completed the planting of each hill as it was made. After the seeds were inserted, the earth was hilled up all around into a smooth little mound. [195] The corn hills were irregularly distributed over the field about a man's step apart, and the women made sure that there was an even number by analogy with their own breasts, a metaphor that was not uncommonly cited.

INTRODUCTION

NAME OF THE CEREMONY

The ceremony is called Skari by the Ku'rahus and by all who have 196* been taught its rites and sacred songs. This word is from ska, hand, ri, many, 196 and refers not merely to the many hands required for the preparation of the sacred articles used in the rites, but also to the culminating ceremony of touching the little child with the hand, which occurs on the morning of the fifth day (sixteenth and seventeenth rituals).

A peculiar expression is used to characterize the consultation which a man who desires to inaugurate this ceremony has with his kindred in reference to their assistance in the undertaking. This consultation is called "touching them." The Ku'rahus explained this expression as being connected with the meaning of the word Skari, many hands, in its double significance already noted.

Although the term Skari is said to be old, its descriptive char- [174] acter seems to be against its acceptance as the original name of the ceremony.

Among the people at large of the Pawnee tribe the ceremony is spoken of as Ruktaraiwarius. This composite word can be analyzed as follows: ruk, from rukkis, wood, or a stick of wood; ta, from tita, hung upon; ra, coming; iwarius, shaking or waving. This descriptive term refers to the two objects peculiar to this ceremony, the two feathered stems which are waved to the rhythm of the songs. The Pawnees who receive those who bring the sacred articles call the ceremony Haktara. The word is composed of hak, from hakkow, translated below; ta, have; ra, coming: haktara, they who have the [171] breathing mouth of wood are coming. The Osages speak of it as "Bringing the drum," and the Omahas as "To sing with."

Hako is a comprehensive term used to designate all the articles which belong to the ceremony. The term is derived from the composite word hakkowpirus, meaning drum. Hakkow is from akow, mouth, with the aspirate prefix h, signifying breath, and the k added to the first syllable represents the word rukkis, wood. Hakkow may then be said to mean a breathing mouth of wood. Pirus means to whip or beat.

Three customs among the Indians can be traced in the composition [194] of this word: first, the peculiarity of pulsating the voice on a note that is sustained over more than one count of the measure, by which [534]

*796 a beating effect is produced; second, the custom of waving the hand
● 196 to and from the mouth or beating the lips, so as to break a continuous note or call into a series of sounds or beats; third, the making of
[194 the drum from a section of a tree, hollowed out, with a skin stretched
534] over the open end. From this analysis of the word hakkowpirus we discern that the pulsating voice and the beaten lips were the first means employed to produce an effect which was afterward emphasized in an instrument, the drum (hakkowpirus, the breathing mouth of wood), which was made to give forth a series of sounds by the same device of whipping by the hand.

*[533] In Indian music the rhythm of the drum always follows closely the emotion expressed in the song; it is like a great pulsating voice.

In the term Hako the k of the first syllable in hakkow is dropped for the sake of euphony, and for the same reason the rough sound ow is changed to o. The word Hako carries the idea of the breathing, vibrating tones from the wooden mouth. It is applied to all the articles used in the ceremony, because, according to the explanations of the Ku'rahus, "everything speaks; the eagle, Kawas, speaks; the corn speaks; so we say Hako—the voice of all these things."

*796 In the preparation of the record of the different rites, rituals, and songs of this ceremony it became necessary to adopt a convenient
126 term which should apply to the ceremony as a whole, including the party inaugurating the ceremony, the rites, the rituals, and the articles used. The term "Hako" has been chosen as best fitted for the purpose. Three considerations influenced the choice: first, the fact that Hako is the native name by which the articles used in the ceremony are spoken of collectively; second, the meaning of the term Hako, as revealed by an analysis of the word and by the explanation given by the Ku'rahus; third, the ease with which this word can be spoken and remembered by the English reader.

PERSONNEL OF THE CEREMONY

*796 Two distinct groups of persons were essential to the performance of this ceremony. These two groups could not belong to the same clan or gens of a tribe, and they were often of different tribes. One group,
[602] called the Fathers, was composed of the kindred of the man who had taken the initiative in organizing a party for the performance of the
[556] ceremony. This man was called the Father. His party comprised from 20 to 100 persons, and represented the well-to-do class in the tribe, the requisites for the ceremony being of such a character that only skillful hunters and thrifty households could supply them. The second group, called the Children, was made up of the relatives of the man chosen by the Father to receive the visiting party of the Fathers. The leader of this group of Children was called the Son. Each of the two groups, as well as the leaders of each group, had peculiar

Mr Murie spent three days in the translation and study of the 124
ritual, assisted by the Ku'rahus, who explained many points that
were somewhat obscure, owing to elisions, the employment of a single 195
word as a mnemonic to call up the picture of a complicated action, 196
and the forcing of words to a different application from that of ordinary speech—a not uncommon occurrence in rituals. The latter carefully watched the work lest mistakes should be made, remarking that the ritual "speaks of the powers above, of whom man should be careful what he says."

There is one aspect of the ritual, essential to its understanding, that 181
was carefully explained by the Ku'rahus, and the substance of many
conversations on the subject follows. A man's life is an onward movement. 555
If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the 553
help of the powers his life will "climb up." Here the Ku'rahus made
a gesture indicating a line slanting upward; then he arrested the 761
movement and, still holding his hand where he had stopped, went on
to say that as a man is climbing up he does something that marks a 829
place in his life where the powers have given him the opportunity to express in acts his peculiar endowments, so this place, this act, forms a stage in his career, and he takes a new name to indicate that he is on a level different from that which he occupied previously. Some men, he said, can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level, and he illustrated his words by moving his hands horizontally. Men having power to advance, climb step by step, and here again he made his idea plain by a gesture picturing a slant, then a level, a slant, and a level. In this connection he called attention to the words, in line 1359, "rutu'rahwitz pari," "to overtake walking," saying that the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life an upper level, such a one as these ancient men spoken of in the ritual had reached, where they threw away the names by which they had been known before. "Rutu'rahwitz pari," is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by the doing of like deeds.

Three facts connected with the Pawnee custom of taking a new 553
name should be stated: 555

First. A man was permitted to take a name only after the performance
of an act indicative of ability or strength of character. 796*

Second. The name had to be assumed openly before the people to whom the act it commemorated was known.

Third. It was necessary that it should be announced in connection with such a ritual as that here given.

These facts indicate (1) that a man's name stood for what he had shown himself to be in the light of his actions; (2) that this was recognized by his tribesmen; and (3) that it was proclaimed by one having in charge the mediatory rites through which man could be approached by the supernatural.

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 5

The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee

(Hall 5, Case 60)

The Pawnee were a tribe of the Caddoan linguistic 101
stock who, in historic times, occupied the valley of the [197]
Platte river in Nebraska. The name Pawnee is prob- [131]
ably derived from *pariki* ("a horn"), a term applied
to them by the neighboring tribes because of their
peculiar method of dressing the hair. They called
themselves Chahiksichahiks ("Men of Men"). They [174]
seem to have come into Nebraska from some region to
the southwest, expelling an earlier population; but this
movement was an ancient one, and the first Siouxian
tribes to enter the Platte valley found the Pawnee
already established.

The region in which the Pawnee lived was high, 133
dry, and rather sandy, with little timber except along
the rivers. On the west, toward the mountains, it was
rough and broken. In early times buffalo and other 221
game were abundant. Although the Pawnee ranged 105
over a large territory in pursuit of the buffalo, they
were not nomads. They spent the greater part of
every year in permanent villages and raised large
crops of corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins. Corn
played a much more important part than the buffalo
in their ceremonies and mythology, and it is evident
that they were an agricultural rather than a hunting
people.

[p.2 is blank]

NK10
F451

every man under his vine and fig-tree; and *none* shall make them 000 afraid." Mic. 4. 3, 4.

As hinted in a note in a previous communication, (see February 131 Miscellany, p. 62.) the Pawnee villages are not located on their 648 own land. Formerly the land on both sides of the Platte river belonged to them. But about the year 1835 they concluded a treaty with the United States, in which they ceded to the latter all their territory on the South side of the river. Their villages were then situated about 150 miles further up the Platte on the North side. The missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. were then resid- 797 ing with them, their mission stations being situated in the vicinity of these villages. When the Pawnees were at their homes, which is only four or five months of the year, (the remaining months 221 being consumed on their summer and fall hunts) the missionaries were engaged in teaching such of their children as could be induced to attend school, and in instructing the people in the truths of religion, as well as they could according to their limited knowledge of the language. About six years ago, the powerful Sioux made 648 repeated incursions into the Pawnee country, and the strength of 797 the latter being very much weakened by their frequent wars with their enemies, they were obliged to succomb, and at length forced to leave their former location on the North side of the Platte, and to remove to the South side, nearer to the white settlements on the Missouri river. The missionaries too found it unsafe to remain, and it was thought advisable to suspend their missionary operations among them. Mr. and Mrs. Allis (See August Misc. 1851, pp. 221, 222, and also February Misc. 1852, p. 64.) are remnants of this noble band of missionaries, and, still cherishing the desire, that these benighted but very interesting people might be enlightened by the gospel, have, while their fellow-laborers have long ago left for other fields of usefulness, still lingered behind,—and toiled on, amidst many self-denials, privations, and discouragements, in doing whatever lay in their power for the good of these Indians. Lately the government has established Fort Kearney, not far distant from their former villages, which, it is hoped, will be a security against future incursions, and prove a safeguard, when our mission will once be established among them.

LANGUAGE.—The Pawnee language is said to be altogether dif- 197 ferent from the languages of the surrounding prairie tribes. The Otoes, the Ioways, the Osages, the Kanzas or Caws, the Omahaws, the Puncaws, etc., seem all to speak dialects of the same language, the Dakota; while the Pawnee language seems, by its great difference, to point back to the earliest periods of the residence of the Indians in this country, when a disruption may have taken place, that formed them into a distinct nation.

POPULATION, LODGES, etc.—The lower village consists of about 361 161

AN INTRODUCTION TO PAWNEE ARCHEOLOGY

By Waldo Rudolph Wedel

INTRODUCTION

Linguistic Affiliations of the Pawnee

Since actual linguistic relationship is a sure index of former historical contacts between peoples, it will be of value first to briefly review the results of this line of research as applied to the Pawnee. 197 619 Lewis and Clark, to whom we are indebted for the earliest attempt to trace Pawnee speech relationship, divide them into 4 bands, 3 of which resided on the Platte, while the fourth had established itself on the Red River;[1] of the Arikara they state that "they were originally colonies of Pawnees."[2] The first linguist to classify the Pawnee was Albert Gallatin, who in 1836,[3] and again in 1853,[4] classified the Pawnee and Arikara together as the Pawnee linguistic stock, but did not include the fourth tribe mentioned by Lewis and Clark. Later, Hayden,[5] on the basis of linguistic researches among the tribes of the upper Missouri River, likewise included the Arikara as members of the Pawnee group. Unlike Gallatin, however, he took cognizance of the work of Lewis and Clark, treating the fourth or Red River band as the "Huecos" and "Witchitas." The Caddo, Kichai, and other southern tribes were not included with the Pawnee in these earlier classifications.

The next general classification of North American languages, made under the direction of Maj. J. W. Powell,[6] has stood for nearly 50 years. Under this grouping the various Pawnee bands or tribes were included in the Caddoan linguistic stock which was subdivided into three regional subfamilies. The Arikara of the upper Missouri (most closely related to the Skidi Band of the Pawnee) represented the northern division. The middle group consisted of the four bands collectively known as "Pawnee." The southern division, oc-

---

[1] 1815, vol. i, p. 45.
[2] Ibid., p. 142.
[3] 1836, vol. ii, pp. 128, 306.
[4] Schoolcraft, 1853, vol. iii, p. 402.
[5] 1862, p. 345.
[6] 1891, pp. 58–62.

197 619 cupying lands on the Red River and to the south, included the closely related Wichita as well as the Waco, Caddo, Kichai, Anadarko, and Tawakoni; there were several smaller groups also, now virtually extinct. Alien linguistic stocks isolated these three Caddoan groups more or less completely from each other. [101] Siouan tribes, namely the Ponca, Omaha, and Dakota, occupied the territory between the Pawnee and the Arikara, while between the Pawnee and the southern Caddoans were still other tribes of diverse linguistic affiliations; Kansa and Osage in the east and Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and other nomadic tribes in the west.

The latest and most radical linguistic amalgamation of speech families north of Mexico is that of Sapir,[7] who reduces the 55 separate stocks of the Powell classification to 6 major groupings. According to Sapir, the Caddoan tribes are linked with the Iroquoian tribes in one subfamily of the greater Hokan-Siouan linguistic stock. Based upon deep-lying structural and morphological parallels, this new classification carries very suggestive and far-reaching implications, certain of which will be touched on hereafter.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME PAWNEE

101 114 [302] The name Pawnee is of somewhat uncertain origin. Dunbar[8] derives it from *pa'-rik-i*, a horn, as an outgrowth of the typical Pawnee mode of dressing the scalp lock. The head of the warrior was shaven except for a small tuft or topknot which was daubed with bison fat and red ochre until stiff enough to stand erect, or curving slightly backward, like a horn. Since this was the most conspicuous feature of the individual it gave rise to the particular designation which ultimately became the name of the tribe. Formerly, according to the same authority, the term included the *Pawnee Picts*, or Wichita, and the Arikara. Arache, Arahei, Arae, Harahey, and Ahuache, names by which the Pawnee "kingdom" was known to the Spanish during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[9] are then probably derivatives from *pa'-rik-i*, assuming this to have been actually the original designation for the tribe. However, as early as 1673 Marquette[10] used the term *Pana;* Valverde[11] speaks of the *Panana* in 1719; and thereafter, at least until the end of the eighteenth century, *Panis* and *Panimaha* are regularly employed in referring to the Pawnee. Just how these names were derived from *pa'-rik-i*, if indeed they ever were, is far from clear, nor does Dunbar show the orthographic and phonetic changes that would have taken place in such a process. The

---

[7] 1929, pp. 138-140; see also Parker, 1916, p. 483.

[8] 1880, a, p. 245. Compare, however, Lesser and Weltfish, 1932, p. 5.

[9] Winship, 1896, pp. 520, 577, 588, 590; Margry Papers, vol. VI, p. 310

[10] 1900, map facing p. 108.

[11] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 185.

[p 135]
[pp 91-134 not processed]

The Pawnees

619 The Pawnees are divided into four princi-
197 pal bands: the Grand Pawnees (Cha-we),
the Republican Pawnees (Kit-ka), the Tap-
131 pa Pawnees (Pe-ta-ha-we-rat). These speak
the same dialect. And the Pawnee Loups,
Skee-de (Wolf), who speak a different dia-
lect.[11] All these now reside on the Pawnee
Reservation. The Pawnee Picts [Wichita]
live near the country of the Osages. Mr.
Allis knows nothing about them. The Arik-
arees speak a dialect of the same language.
[Arikara and Wichita were Caddoan-speak-
619 ing tribes.] The Pawnees told Mr. Allis that
they had lived from time immemorial on
131 the Platt, the Nemaha, Salt Creek, on the
North, or Republican, fork of the Kansas.

[11] [see cat. 116, p220 (A) - Analyst.]

[p 220 (A)]
[pp 214-219 not processed]

619 11. Alice C. Fletcher renders the native names of the bands: Chaui, Kitkehaki, Pitahauerat or Tapage, and Skidi (article "Pawnee," in *Handbook of American Indians*, F. W. Hodge, ed., Washington, 1910). Clark Wissler (after Powell) places all four bands in the Pawnee type of the Caddoan language family (*The American Indian*, 2nd ed.; New York, 1922, p. 405).

[101]
[197]

614 12. In *Ancient Society* (pp. 164–65), Morgan says it is doubtful if the Pawnees had gentes (clans), but cites Allis' belief that they did. Apparently they did not, for Alice C. Fletcher discusses their social organization without mentioning clans (Fletcher, *op. cit.*, II, 215).

12 115 narrator was Mark Evarts, a Pawnee of the Skidi Band, whose childhood was spent on the reservation in Nebraska from 1861 to 1875, when Pawnee culture was still very much an integral polity and way of life. His personal identity is embodied in the "Boy Otter" as he appears in the following narrative.

101 114 115 My relationship with Mark Evarts began casually in the course of my grammatical researches. Historically there were four political groups of Pawnees known as bands, the Skidi or Wolf Band, the Kitkehaxki or Little-Earth-Lodge Band, the Tsawi or Asking-for-Meat Band and the Pitahawirata or Man-Going-Downstream Band. Each of these traditionally pronounced the language somewhat differently, but it was always known that the major difference was between the Skidi and the other three known collectively as the South Bands because of their former more southern location. From linguistic samples I took of each of the four, the distinctions among the South Bands were not clear enough to identify at that time. Only the Skidi difference was clear. Mark Evarts served as my Skidi informant with Henry Chapman as interpreter in my attempt to find any grammatical and pronunciation distinctions. Evarts' English was broken and so heavily overlaid with a Pawnee accent that it was understandable only with considerable difficulty. As my Pawnee vocabulary improved, we developed a Pawnee-English mode of communication that made the interpreter no longer necessary. As I extended my research into the semantic and cultural background of the language, Evarts became a major resource and ally in my investigations and our work extended over seven years and involved the entire Oklahoma Pawnee community.

114 115 At this time (1928–1936) Evarts was living with friends and relatives. His wife and child had died tragically only a few years before, and he had lost his little farm to the bank. The crises that had beset his life as a member of his tribe and times were epic in their proportions; as a man in the decline of his years, he had many questions to ask, and I, as a novice in life's ills and trials, had many questions to ask of him. Many of his questions concerned the white culture and its values, and, as a young anthropologist, mine sought answers through the cross-cultural perspective I hoped to find in studying the Pawnee way. Together we established the language of our common humanity and communicated what we wanted to know about the special character of each other's culture as well as of life in general. It was my purpose to understand the Pawnees as people, not as Indians or as social categories and certainly not as historical antiques.

161 178 197 361 Although in the 1920's only seven hundred Pawnees survived, some Pawnee customs remained among them and at least eight of the older people spoke no other language than Pawnee. The town of Pawnee, Oklahoma, was surrounded by the allotted lands of the Pawnees, the lands of each band being located in a different direction. The bands were still

423

000

167 unchecked by a United States torn by Civil War. Then, when the war
175 was over, came the white settlement of their territory and still more con-
648 flicts for the land, the water, and the timber. Finally they could stay there
no longer; they had to leave their homeland, and they moved south.

167 The Pawnees were related by language to a people to the south of
them, the Wichita, and they often went visiting, some of them remaining
• 197 for several years in order to learn new ceremonials which they brought
648 home with them when they returned north. As far back as the 1770's a
175 contingent of three hundred Pawnees had gone south and settled perma-
nently there. They were very welcome at this time and every inducement
was given to make them stay, as the Wichita were already heavily de-
pleted in numbers by disease and enemy attack; the Pawnee group con-
stituted a much-needed reinforcement.

In the summer of 1870, just a hundred years later, a Pawnee chief led a visiting party of three hundred men to the Wichita. After their return, subsequent parties went down in successive years and were made welcome by the Wichitas and other tribes in the area that is now Oklahoma; in 1873, despite many doubts on the part of their chiefs, two-thirds of the Pawnees finally left their Nebraska home and migrated south. By November 1875 the last Pawnee contingent arrived in Oklahoma. Many met their death as a result of the change. Fevers and starvation took such a
[161] heavy toll that by 1879 only 1,440 survived, and, by the U.S. census of 1910, just 633 Pawnees remained alive.

114 The time of my arrival in Oklahoma to do ethnological and linguistic work was 1928, some fifty years after the time the Pawnees had settled there permanently. We did not know then that Pawnee life with its combined settled village life and migratory buffalo hunting was an old way of life on the Plains.

The general opinion among anthropologists was that in the not too distant past earth-lodge peoples such as the Pawnee had formerly lived in the woodland areas east of the Mississippi and, migrating out onto the Plains, had begun to adopt the migratory life of buffalo hunters and were in the process of abandoning their settled ways.

172 Archaeology has since shown us that the combination of migratory and sedentary village life is much older in the Plains than we had thought and that, far from being in transition, the ancestors of the Pawnees had probably followed a similar way of life in Nebraska for nearly seven hundred years. Archaeological remains of earth-lodge villages are found along the Republican, Platte, and Loup rivers, a progressive evolution of the houses from rectangular to round appearing with the passage of time. The houses and the remains of objects and food found in the archaeological settlements show such a clear continuity into historic times that their identification as ancestral Pawnee is well nigh inevitable.

101 In 1867 the four bands into which the Pawnee were politically organ-

BIBLIOGRAPHY

114 122 197 THE BULK OF THE MATERIAL presented in this book is based on the original field data I collected from Pawnee informants in Oklahoma. It is the only material on the Pawnees that was gathered with a full knowledge of the nature of the Pawnee language. The Pawnee language cannot be readily translated into English. Structurally it is one of the most complex of the American Indian languages. In place of single discrete words, a structural form known as polysynthesis was developed to an unusual degree. In normal discourse there are long composite word units comprising a wide range of functional elements—verbal, prepositional, adjectival, pronominal, and modal—each capable of a range of modifications, the whole complex being phonetically integrated so that a single word of inseparable elements contains the meaning of a long phrase or sentence in English commonly only translatable into five or six separate English words. Although a single word phrase of this sort may have ten or eleven syllables, it is not possible to assign an equivalent English word under each syllable. The meaning can only be stated as a whole. By careful comparison of a large number of these phrases, it is possible to find the various locations within the phrase that have different functions and to extract elements with generalized meanings. Those interested may refer to my Pawnee text with its grammatical analysis: "The Vision Story of Fox Boy," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, IX No. 1 (1936), 44-75.

114 159 In the last decade of the nineteenth century, an educated half-blood Pawnee, James R. Murie, made it his life purpose to present the religious rituals and ceremonies of his people. He carried forward this work under the stimulation and direction of a number of anthropologists, continuing through the first and second decades of the twentieth century. He spanned both cultures—the Pawnee and the American. To some extent this was a major advantage, while in other ways it was an important obstacle to the accomplishment of his true purpose. The most obvious advantage was his direct entrée to the religious leaders of his people. The disadvantage lay in the fact that he had a preconceived idea of how the material should be presented to the American reader and scholar in order to place it before them in the best possible light. There was little need for such a self-conscious effort as Pawnee religion and ceremony would do credit to any people ideologically and aesthetically as a system of thought and practice. Secondly, because Murie had shared in both cultures before he came to the decision to embrace his Pawnee identity, he never fully shared in its systems of belief. In his later years he attempted to obtain a religious vision and to enter more fully into Pawnee religious life, but he failed and remained by [126] and large a participant observer, not a full participant. His preconceived idea of the nature of translation, particularly of the interlinear variety, stood in the way of his making an authentic translation of the Pawnee materials he wrote

114 113 placed by one or two others. The author translates these Pawnee texts into florid mid-Victorian-style English poetry, every meaningless rhythmic syllable receiving her attention with a new flight of fancy. It appears that she must have zealously pressed James R. Murie for translations of each syllable and no doubt liberally interpreted the terms he did give her. On his part, Murie must also have felt the need to press these texts into acceptable English poetry of the period. In any case because of these circumstances, The *Hako* can only be used very critically as a source.

The second anthropologist to work extensively with James R. Murie was George A. Dorsey, who did this work as part of a more ambitious project. [197] Pawnee is one member of a language family, the Caddoan stock, of which there are three other major members—Arikara, Wichita, and Caddo. Dorsey procured mythology from the four different member groups of the Caddoan stock. Dorsey was Curator of Anthropology of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago under whose auspices the work was begun and then continued with the support of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C. He produced two book length publications on the Pawnee, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* ("American Folklore Society Memoirs," Vol. VIII), Boston and New York, 1904, and *The Pawnee, Mythology*, published by the ("Carnegie Institution of Washington Publications," No. 59), Washington, 1906. A body of unpublished material supplied to Dorsey by Murie remains in the archives of the Chicago Museum of Natural History. Subsequent curators at that institution have published from this source.

A series of pamphlets by Ralph Linton: *The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 5), Chicago, 1922; *The Sacrifice to the Morning Star* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 6), Chicago, 1922; *Purification of the Sacred Bundles, A Ceremony of the Pawnee* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 7), Chicago, 1923; *Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 8), Chicago, 1923.

Alexander Spoehr: *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Series," Vol. XXVII, No. 2), Chicago, 1949.

While Murie was working in New York, he prepared under Clark Wissler's direction, *Pawnee Indian Societies* ("American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers," Vol. XI, Part VII), New York, 1914, pp. 545-644. Wissler very generously inhibited his identity from his publication, appearing simply as "the editor." He states that the work "was prepared by James R. Murie, a member of the Skidi division, under the direction of the editor who is in the main responsible for its form and limitations. Mr. Murie's method was to collect and write out in full such information on the several topics as could be secured. These notes were then made the subject of several conferences with the editor during which the present manuscript was prepared." The large manuscript on the ceremonies of the Pawnee as well as the manuscript material in the Chicago Museum of Natural History must have been prepared in a 114 similar fashion. My own work with my informants on the manuscript, "The Ceremonies of the Pawnee," made it possible for me to limit the amount of material I had to gather on the formal aspects of Pawnee religion and ceremony

796
533 thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that
539 he had been to the Messiah who told him to 'go to the village.'
[787] Following this instruction, he saw many men dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypno-
[237] tizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always wore a fox skin in the Ghost Dance. The skin was not made into
[293] a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder.
[198] He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing."[1]

1— *i̥rihe we wu̥rat*
so here now stop!
1— "
1— "

2— *kiwaku rirąraxra*
fox (es) they have them

1— *i̥rihe we wu̥rat*
so here now stop!
1— "

Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
They are holding fox skins
Here now you must stop!
Here non you must stop!

Densmore in one case records a free translation of a song without text[2]:

> "The yellow star has noticed me,
> Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather.
> That yellow star."

[787] The reference is apparently to one of the old star powers and reflects the gift of an ornament of "power" in a Ghost Dance vision.

[727] A song without texts used at victory dances was "'in the style of the Lance dance songs'... The words mean, 'They are coming yonder, the men who belong to the Lance Society (Tirupa)[3].'" The reference here is to the resurrection of the membership of the old Fighting Lance Society (tirupahe), and to the revival which took place in the Ghost Dance years.[4]

---

[1] Densmore, pp. 84—85, no. 58.
[2] Densmore, p. 84, no. 57.
[3] Densmore, p. 68.
[4] See Chapter III, Revivals of Societies, pp. 112—115.

*202 *539 tobacco and the messengers will be told to return and say to the *796 Father, "I am ready!"

The messengers start back immediately, and when they are in sight [571] of their village the news of their arrival is proclaimed. Then all the men of the Father's party hasten to his lodge. The Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the Father put on their buffalo robes in the ceremonial manner, with the hair outside, and take their places back of the Hako. The other members of the party range themselves against the wall of the lodge, on either side, and all await the coming of the messengers.

As the four men enter the lodge the people cry, "Nawairi!" [201] ("Thanks!") while the Ku'rahus lifts his hands, palms upward, and then brings them down slowly. This movement means thanks, and the calling down of help from above.

The leader of the messengers, addressing the Ku'rahus, delivers the words sent by the Son, "I am ready!" This closes the ceremony.

FOURTH RITUAL

PART I. VIVIFYING THE SACRED OBJECTS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 When the messengers return from the Son with the words, "I am ready," there is rejoicing in the lodge.

The young men of the Father's party rise and dance. From these dancers two are selected, by the Ku'rahus and the chief, to perform the final dance, which takes place on the morning of the fifth day of the ceremony. The choice of these two dancers is signified by tying on their hair a downy white eagle's feather (see plate XLI). Meanwhile the other members of the party are busy with their final preparations. [431] They tie in packs, ready for transportation, the gifts they are to carry to the Children. The singers make ready the drum, while outside the women are engaged preparing food and other necessaries for the long journey.

The Ku'rahus orders a straight tent pole to be selected and brought to the lodge of the Father.

On the morning of the day the journey is to begin the Ku'rahus rises from his place in the lodge behind the Hako and goes outside. There he ties the sacred objects on the selected tent pole. He puts the two feathered stems near the top—the brown eagle toward the north and the white eagle toward the south—and he spreads out their feather pendants. Below these he fastens the ear of corn, and underneath it the two rattles and, lastly, the wildcat skin. These objects must face the east when the pole is raised. Behind them, so as to face the west, the right and left wing of an eagle are fastened and spread out.

The rope of buffalo hair is used to tie these sacred objects to the pole, which is then set up at the entrance of the lodge. Here it stands where the wind of the dawn may breathe upon the Hako and the first rays of the sun strike the sacred objects and give them life.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 If a man of the Father's party desires to count his war honors he steps out in front of the dancers. The men stop and go to their proper places; the song stops and the man tells his deed of valor. At its close the responsive cry is given by the people; then the song begins again and the dance is resumed.

Sometimes one of the Children has not been able to catch the horse
[211] he intends to give away. He comes forward with his little child, who carries a small stick and hands it to the chief, who turns it over to the assistant chief, who passes it on to the record keeper. The child is blessed with the corn.

At any time during this dance of thanks a poor person can come
735 up to the consecrated child who is sitting in front of the chief and take
*796 away the robe that is on it, for the robe has been put on the child as a gift to the poor. When one robe is taken, the assistant chief places another robe on the child, and it often happens that several robes or blankets are given away to the poor in this manner.

*796 After a time one of the chiefs of the tribe of the Son rises and asks if all have made their gifts. This is a signal that the end is near. Finally, some one of the party of the Son rises and says, "*Father*, you must be tired; end this!" and he makes the sign with his hands
● [201] which signifies cutting off, and the dance stops. Sometimes only the sign is made, but generally the words are spoken.

Then the prominent men of the Fathers and of the Children enter the lodge for the final ceremony.

FOURTH DIVISION. PRESENTATION OF THE HAKO

TWENTIETH RITUAL

PART I. BLESSING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

At the close of the dance of thanks the Children scatter in every direction, but the leading men enter the lodge and sit down at the south side. The Son sits either in the middle of the line on the south, or in his proper place just south of the entrance, near the door.

The consecrated child is taken by the chief behind the holy place. The two dancers advance to lay down the feathered stems, one at each side of the little child, the brown-eagle feathered stem toward the north, the white feathered stem toward the south. Then they remove the downy feathers from their hair and give them to the Ku'rahus, who ties them on the feathered stems.

The Ku'rahus then girds the robe about his waist with the hair rope and lifts the brown-eagle feathered stem. His assistant takes up the white-eagle feathered stem, the chief, with the cat skin and the ear of corn, steps between the Ku'rahus and his assistant, and the

525 614 "All right now, let's go ahead." Knifechief gets up and gives one bone to a Skiri man; the Kitkahaxki* leader rises and gives one to a Kitkahaxki* man. In this way the two are selected as guessers for their respective sides.

Now all the players begin to sing and yell. The two guessers are on their feet facing each other. The Skiri hides the bone first, the Kitkahaxki* must guess first. The one who wins them gives them out to hide to any two players on his side regardless of where they sit. He picks them because they are clever at hiding the bones, at deceiving the guessers, at confusing them by shifting the bone almost invisibly from one hand to another. The guesser watches closely. He notes the gestures with the hands and arms, the body movements; he watches eyes for a hint.

[516 825] As soon as one guesser has won the two bones he takes them to his side of the fire to two players. His opponent crosses into enemy territory to follow the trail and find them. His side is quiet now, while the players of the side hiding the bones are all singing and clapping hands. Some are yelling to frighten the guesser. Others make gestures to confuse him. The hiders imitate some animal in their body movements and the positions of their clenched hands.

[201 533] He wins them back. At once his side begins to yell with their hands over their mouths, he-e-e-e- in a high loud voice. Then they begin to sing. Old hand game songs, songs caricaturing things and people, funny songs, coarse songs.

[789] To follow the trail of the bones when they are won and carried across to the other side is to trail the enemy. The guesser searches for tracks. A player on the hiding side goes to the fire for handfuls of cold ashes from the fire's edge. He sprinkles it like falling snow. He calls aloud, "The snow covers up the tracks now, you cannot see them."

Thus after an enemy raid in late fall when men started after the retreating warparty to regain captured horses the falling snow obliterated the trail. To the Pawnee the little dramatic act has similar power to obliterate the unseen trail of the bones from hand to hand, to blind the guesser. The guesser shields his eyes with his hand and peers through the falling ashes to see the tracks.

[825] In time to the clapping of hands and the rhythm of singing, the hiders and all the players of that side move their arms and bodies back and forth, back and forth. When they hide some imitate crows, some deer, some buffalo, some turkeys.

The Skiri win the first game. Their side carries off the stakes.

525 533 619 Now the Skiri begin to sing Crazy Dog dance songs, songs of reckless bravery, self-abandonment on the warpath. Men careless

of death sang such songs before they set out for the country of the 525
enemy, sang such songs before they went into battle, before they 533
broke into the enemy camp. Knifechief gets up to dance. He 619
dances the steps of the Crazy Dog Dance. It is his place to dance
first, he is a brave man and the leader. Others join him from the 525
Skiri side. They do not dance out in the circle, but standing at 535
their places. Knifechief carries a stick in his hand. 619

As the dancing ends, all the Skiri yell, he-he-he-he-e-e-e-. hitting [201] ●
their hands on their mouths. Knifechief speaks.

"I can remember when I was in the army and we chased the 525
Cheyenne. We chased them out of their camp. They ran and left 619
their blankets behind. I took the blankets away from them."

Knifechief sits down.

"Well, bet some more."

The Skiri who have won stakes bring back their winnings. The Kitkahaxki^x have to bet other things against what they have lost. The Kitkahaxki^x leader bets his blanket, a squaw cloth with one side red and the other black. All the Kitkahaxki^x bet again. They have come to play the hand game and have a lot of stuff with them to bet. The bets pile up again. The betting is even, man against man, and the pile comes out even.

The guesser who won for the Skiri plays again. The Kitkahaxki^x choose a new man to try his luck against the victor.

Again the Skiri win and carry off the stakes.

The Skiri sing Crazy Dog Dance songs. Knifechief dances. He [533]
calls. "We charged again and chased out the Cheyenne, and they [727]
left everything behind, tents and horses, and we carried them away.
And a pair of leggings I took away from them."

He is recalling victory in battle and the garnering of the spoils. He is gloating over the victory in the game. The game is a battle; the Skiri have carried off the plunder.

Knifechief sits down.

The bets are laid for a third game. The Kitkahaxki^x leader says, "I'm going to bet a beef." He puts up a beef against the squaw cloth Knifechief has just won from him. All bet again.

The game begins. Again the Skiri are winning.

All this while Mark has been standing on the Skiri side. They have given him no place to sit and play.

The guesser for the Kitkahaxki^x in the third game is a friend of his. He calls out to Mark, "Come over here." He asks him to sit on the Kitkahaxki^x side next to him. Mark walks around through the north outside the circle of players and sits down.

The Kitkahaxki^x are losing again. The Skiri have won six

with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of 796
"song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The 778
outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread
on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a
pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native
tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of
corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip in-
clined toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and
the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a
white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws [825
of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal 821]
is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason
the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In [854]
accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her
arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She [201]
then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between
the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial
lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies [302]
were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder
mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire
was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was [372]
intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was 796
served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful
of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung [415]
on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled
in the usual manner. [262]

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning 796
Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and 778
were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening
Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle 173
and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side.
The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge
of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however,
forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close
the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured
four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black.
The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star
and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards
the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe
secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It
is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to
have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow [411]
is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

---

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

The first gathering was attended by about 200 Indians and the 701
building was closely packed at the second gathering, those unable 727
to gain admission being crowded around the windows and door.

The Pawnee Tribe was represented in the United States Army by
40 young men, all except one of whom returned in full health and
vigor. One of the Pawnee soldiers died from disease in France.
None were wounded, although many saw hard service at the front.
Several were with the Rainbow Division, and on one occasion when
there was a call for volunteers for dangerous service four Pawnee
stepped forward and were accepted. One of these men brought
back a German helmet as a trophy and his mother carried it in the
victory dance as a scalp was carried in former times. The helmet
was fastened to a pole at the top of which a captured knife was
fastened like the point of a lance. A Pawnee said: "While the boys [782]
were away we prayed for their safe return. We did this at every
public gathering and it looks as though our prayers had been
answered."

The dance on June 6 was the rejoicing of the tribe and that on 727
the day following was more formal, being attended by many white 533*
persons from the town of Pawnee. At the first dance the soldiers
were honored by their families and friends, especially by the women,
about 45 of whom were in the circle. It was a time of general rejoicing,
sometimes three persons being on their feet at the same time,
singing, narrating some incident, or giving a gift. Old war songs
were sung with new words appropriate to the occasion. For example,
one man had composed words which mentioned airplanes and submarines,
these words being sung to an old tune. A woman had
composed two similar songs, and, crossing the circle, she stood in
front of the chief (James R. Murie) and sang them alone, without
the drum. Throughout the entire afternoon there were frequent [201] ●
repetitions of the shrill, quavering cry with which the Indian women
express pleasure or approval.

Two of the most interesting songs heard on this occasion had their 533*
origin in two dreams by John Luwak. The melody of the two was 787
the same, but the words referred to different dreams. Luwak, 727
who speaks no English, said that his friends translated to him the
newspaper accounts of the war and that he "felt badly that our
boys must cross the ocean and suffer so much." So he prayed daily [782]
to Tirawa, saying, "Help our boys over there, so they will all come
back strong and let me live to see them again." One night he fell
asleep, after such a prayer, and "in his sleep someone told him
that it would not be long before he would see the Pawnee boys
again." He dreamed, and in his dream he saw thousands of white
people and heard them sing this song. They were very happy and
were dancing and waving flags; even the oldest people were dancing.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

led into the dance lodge by women. Some of the young men were in 727 the full costume of Indian warriors, others were in civilian clothing, [177] and Lawrence Murie wore the khaki uniform in which he had served with the artillery at the front. The young soldier who directed the [411] dancing carried a sword which had belonged to one of his ancestors. The principal dance was the grass dance, followed by the war dance. [536 The former is common to all the tribes of the northern plains, extending even to the Kutenai. 171] According to Miss Fletcher, the dance originally was connected with the Hethushka Society of the Omaha, a society whose object was "to stimulate an heroic spirit among the people and to keep alive the memory of historic and valorous acts."[24]

A touching event in the second day's gathering was the expression 765 of sympathy for the parents of the young man who died in France. 727 They stood before the assembly while the chief and other leading men talked to them. [201] ● The speaker placed his hands on the man's head, drawing them down the man's arms to his hands; he also held the man's hands closely in his own as he talked to him in a tender, earnest manner.

Numerous speeches were made, and the occasion was marked by 727 dignity as well as rejoicing. The young soldiers appeared to be in excellent health, were friendly toward all, and made a good impression upon the white people who attended the gathering.

The song next following was sung by the women on the second day 533* of the victory dance. 727 It is an "honor song" and belonged to an old man named Brown Bear (*guruks*, bear; *narahata*, brown), who died [424] not long ago. At a war dance he used to rise and sing this song without the drum, and "when he sang everybody cried." The custom of weeping and even wailing aloud at public gatherings has not been noted in tribes previously studied. The words of the song meant, "Nobody knows when the world will end." The informant added, "The old man used to say 'there is one person who knows when the world will end.'"

Analysis.—This is one of the "crying songs," and the sliding tone, 533* especially in measures 7, 8, 13, and 14, is impossible to transcribe. The time was well maintained throughout the song. Attention is directed to a comparison of the count-divisions in the two rhythmic units and in the fifth and sixth measures from the close of the song. All the tones of the octave occur in the melody which progresses by a wide variety of intervals.

---

[24] Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, Twenty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 459.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dance songs were sung in the dances at hand games while others were not used in that manner. 668 177

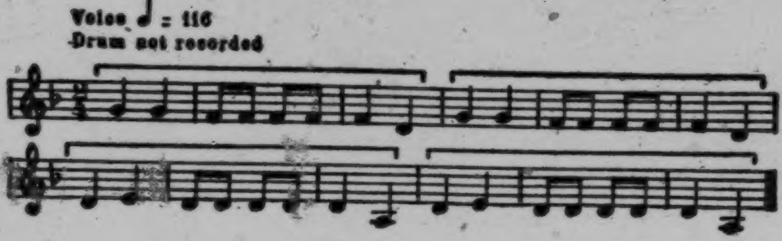
The hypnotic phase which the hand game has in common with the Ghost dance is indicated in the following song which was sung at the Ghost dance and also at the hand game. In old times the game and its accompanying dances were held on the prairie instead of inside a lodge. A portion of the people were called "crows," and the woman who recorded this song said that she "belonged on the crow side of the circle." At intervals these people gave the caw of the crow and imitated that bird in their dancing. (This was done in the dance connected with the hand game attended by the writer.) It is said that under the hypnotic influence of the occasion, the dancers sometimes saw a crow inside the dance circle, no one except themselves being able to see it. The singer said that she "dreamed" this song when she was a young girl. 533* [201] ● [787]

533*

No. 50. "The Crow"

Recorded by Effie Blain

(Catalogue No. 1087)



FREE TRANSLATION

The crow, we see his likeness moving inside the circle of dancers.

Analysis.—The first two phrases of this song are based on a descending fourth and the last two phrases on a descending fifth, the repetition of these phrases comprising the entire melody. As in the preceding song, there is no change of measure length and the rhythm suggests the motion of the players. The song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the sixth and seventh.

The crow which sometimes appeared in the Ghost dance might speak of taking the dancer to Mother Moon or to the Ghost dance messiah. The following song was "dreamed" by the woman recording it, who said she might sing it either at a hand game or a Ghost dance. 668 787 533*

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

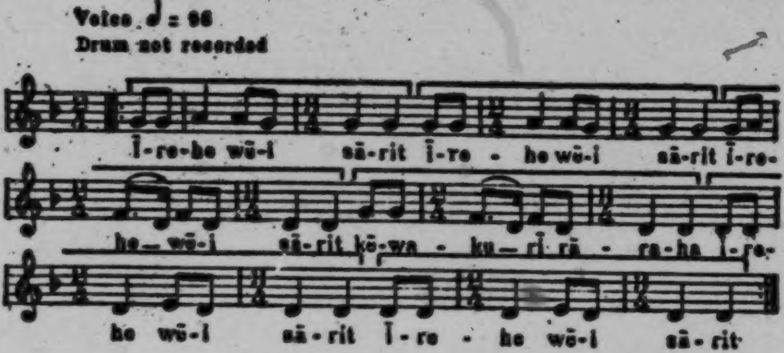
dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used 787 533* fox skins in hypnotizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always wore a fox skin in the Ghost dance. The skin was not [292] made into a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder. He also gave the call of the fox while he was [201] dancing.

No. 53. Running Scout's Ghost Dance Song

(Catalogue No. 1088)

Recorded by Effie Blain

533*


Voice ♩ = 96
Drum not recorded
Ī-re-he wō-i sā-rit Ī-re - he wō-i sā-rit Ī-re-
he - wō-i sā-rit kō-wa - ku - rī rā - ra-ha Ī-re-
he wō-i sā-rit Ī-re - he wō-i sā-rit

Ireho	wōi	sārit	kōwaku	rī	rāraha
Now there	they	are	fox	they	have

Analysis.—This song, like others of the hand game and Ghost dance, consists of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. In this instance there are two units, the second occurring only in the middle part of the song. It is interesting to compare the third measure from the beginning with the second measure from the close, the ascent to the accented tone in the first instance expressing a certain restlessness while the second phrase is more restful. This song contains the minor triad and fourth and progresses chiefly by whole tones.

The final song of this group is concerning the Ghost dance and, according to Mr. Murie, was sung in the Young Dog Society. The words "the father's child" refer to the messiah whose coming was expected in the Ghost dance. [575 668 796]

Analysis.—The three renditions of this song are alike in every respect except that the intonation on D in the upper octave is variable, occasionally being sung almost as D sharp. The time was maintained steadily and the renditions were separated by

When the little boy was about half-grown he heard that a war party was to start. 539
He told his mother that he wanted to go, and he wanted her and his grandmother to make him some moccasins. He also wanted arrows, a bow and a quiver, and all the equipment of a warrior. When the old man heard this he called the boy and
said, "Do you realize what you are doing?" 787

"Yes, I am grown to be a man."

"Do you have dreams at night?" 539

"Yes."

"Can you relate some of them?"

"Yes."

"Tell one to me."

"In my dream I was with a war party. I found myself coming toward home through deep snow."

"That is enough," said the old man. "You can go."

The women had sent the boy to his grandfather, thinking he would keep him at home, and they were greatly surprised to learn that the grandfather had told the boy to go with the warriors. It was fall when the war party started. As winter was coming near it was noised through the camp that all the war party had been
killed and the people began to mourn. The women of this family 765
mourned exceedingly and cut their flesh with knives, but the old
man sat and laughed at them, or smoked his pipe. This went on 152
for about 10 days. Then his wife said, "You did not care for our 304
grandchild," and his daughter said, "Why do you not mourn?" The old man said to his wife, "You remember that you turned the boy over to me when he wanted to go to war. You made moccasins for him and filled his quiver with arrows. I questioned him and found that he had had a dream in which he was returning alone through deep snow. That dream will come true. He is coming home, so I want you all to stop mourning."

They would not believe him, but one day, after a snow, some people going out from the village met the young man returning. He said, "All the warriors were killed except myself."

The man rode back and cried through the village, "Saritsaris' grandchild is coming through the deep snow."

Everyone in the lodge was excited, except the old man. He did not rush out to meet his grandson. The women urged him to go, but he said, "He is coming; never mind."

When the young man entered the lodge his grandfather said, "Sit
on my knees." The old man passed his hands downward over the 201
young man's head and body in the tribal manner of "blessing," and 782
said, "I believed in your dream and now you are here."

Then he told him to sit yonder and said, "I ask you—when attacked, 539
did you hide in a ravine? When you were a little boy and cooled my

THE ORGANIZED WAR PARTY.

There was a fixed ritual for the control of a war party, which when 701
organized for a foray was for the time being a kind of wolf society (araris 721
taka, society of the white wolf). Its mythological basis is quite fundamental,
being that part of the creation myth in which a wolf pursued man 726
and deceived him. In any event, the god of war is a mythical wolf and it
was directed that a wolfskin should always be placed at the top of a bundle [776]
and that the Skidi were to be the wolf people, as the name implies. Hence, to become a real warrior one must follow the ways of the wolf. One who does so can go to the keeper of a bundle and borrow the war clothing therein together with the pipe. The wolfskin remains in the bundle, but the objects he takes away carry with them the power of the wolf. By their association with the bundle, these war clothes represent the powers of the west and when the borrower is so clothed these powers are with him. He can now organize and lead a war party, but he himself must not imitate the wolf, that is left to his followers. Thus, they become like the wolf first placed upon the earth and may have power to steal upon the enemy and get away without being discovered.

Before setting out upon a foray a ceremony is held in the village in which 726
as in all else the borrower of the regalia from the bundle is the leader. An
altar is made and the bundle from which the regalia are to be borrowed is [778]
brought in and placed before the leader. Upon it is the wolfskin and in the minds of the warriors the wolf is present and, hence, always with them upon the way. A buffalo skull rests upon the altar.

The war regalia of the bundle are usually a pipe, a collar, a lariat rope, a hawkskin, an ear of corn (Mother Corn), some red paint, down feathers, and a leader's feathers.

As the bundle is present there must be a north and south side and two leaders. On the march they go abreast with the others behind in order of their rank. A four-day ceremony follows, before setting out. On the way, their organization is for each side, or line: a leader, two scouts, two soldiers, the warriors, and the inexperienced assistants. The four scouts are really charged with the responsibility of the movement and may be said to be in command (see p. 55) though the leaders stand for the highest authority.
They scout about in the early hours of the day and at all times on the [201]
journey. Their signals are made as wolf cries. When a scout has anything
to report, he tells it privately to the leader of his side. At the proper time the leader announces the import of the report in a formal ritualistic manner. They never approach or in fact go anywhere in a direct line, but follow an

the flanks of the loose horses while the scouts and soldiers bring up the rear. 726
They ride almost continuously for three days, or until exhaustion, and then camp in a sheltered place. Some hunt, others guard the horses. When 727
the first buffalo meat is brought in an altar is made, as before stated, and the regular smoke offering performed. Two men are then chosen by the leader to divide the spoils. They divide the horses according to the ranks of the members, inexperienced men getting but one horse. After the [553]
division the name-changing ceremony is performed for the young men on their first war party.

After sufficient rest, they set out for home. As they approach their village they set the grass afire at intervals so that their people may know [201]
that a war party is returning. When near the village they paint their faces black or dot over with black the white paint of the warpath. When in sight they signal the result of the expedition and are met by the chiefs who triumphantly conduct them into the village. Feasting and jollifying then follow. If coups have been counted or scalps taken, a victory dance will be held.

After an interval the leader of the party calls the members together and 575
any of those formerly in a party who now constitute a kind of society of the wolves. The altar is again constructed and the ceremony performed. 727
Two of the captured horses are brought out and loaded with presents, the objects from the bundle are also placed there and the horses lead to the keeper of the bundle where they are received by the priest. They are then returned to the bundle and the keeper goes at once to the place of ceremony; he stands by the altar and gives them his blessing.

On the warpath a man may vow to give one horse to the mother corn, in which case a horse is given to the keeper of the main bundle, who also gives his blessing.

With these acts the true wolf dance begins. In the dance all the young men may join, who hope to go out with the next war party and as they dance the old men sit around and ridicule their ardor. With this ceremony and the return of the sacred objects to the bundle, the war party ceases to exist.

It seems that those who have taken part in such a foray constitute a kind of wolf society which at various and sundry times conducts dances in the village in which all boys and young men may join. The object is to give practice in the songs and ritualistic parts of the ceremonies necessary to [534]
the warpath. In these dances pieces of rawhide were used for drums.

*539 *796 By touching the Son Mother Corn opened his mind, and prepared the way for our messengers to him, so that he would be willing to receive them, and later to receive us.

Mother Corn has now found the Son; she has made straight and safe the path from our country to his land, and she has made his mind ready to receive us and to carry out his part of this ceremony of the Hako.

THIRD RITUAL. SENDING THE MESSENGERS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 On the day following the night when Mother Corn selected the Son the members of the Father's party brought to his lodge the gifts which they were to take to the Children.

●[202] Four men were chosen to carry the message of the Ku'rahus to the Son. They were clothed by the Father with the buffalo robe in the ceremonial manner, and led by him to a place near the entrance of the lodge.

The Ku'rahus gave a little of the sacred native tobacco to the Father, who tied it in a small piece of bladder and returned it to the Ku'rahus, who then addressed to the messengers the first stanza of the following song.

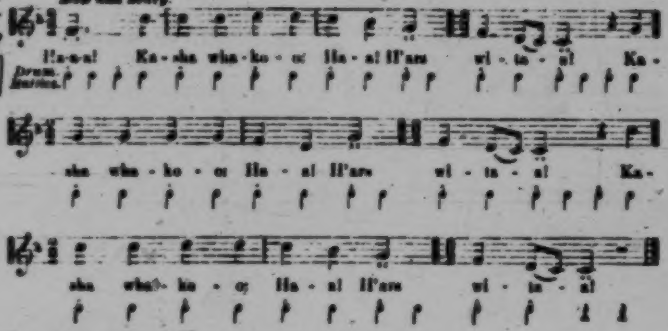
◆

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 112.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Slow and heavy.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*539 *796 *[533]


Ha-a-a! Ka - sha wha - ko - o: Ha - a! H'are wi - ta - a! Ka -
Drum Beats.
- sha wha - ko - o: Ha - a! H'are wi - ta - a! Ka -
- sha wha - ko - o; Ha - a! H'are wi - ta - a!

I

164 Ha-a-a!
165 Kasha whako-o: Ha-a! H'Ars wita-a!
166 Kasha whako-o: Ha-a! H'Ars wita-a!
167 Kasha whako-o; Ha-a! H'Ars wita-a!

II

168 Ha-a-a!
169 Kasha whako-o: Ha-a! H'Ars wita-a;
170 Kasha whako-o: Ha-a! H'Ars wita-a;
171 Kasha whako-o: Ha-a! H'Ars wita-a.

Translation of First Stanza

539*

104 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation. 796*

105 Kusha whako-o: Ha-a! H'ars wita-a!

kusha, a form of command, referring to an act to be performed at a future time.
whako-o; whako, tell or say; o, vowel prolongation.
ha-a! ha! behold! a, vowel prolongation.
h', a contraction of ha, your.
ars, a contraction of atius, father.
wita-a! wita, he coming; a, vowel prolongation.

106, 107 See line 105.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza is a command to the messengers to say, when they hand the tobacco to the Son, "Behold! Your father is coming!" ("Ha! H'ars wita!")

The stanza is sung four times. At the fourth time the Ku'rahus puts the tobacco into the hand of the leader of the four messengers, who at once leave the lodge and start upon their journey.

Translation of Second Stanza

168 See line 164.

169 Kusha whako-o: Ha-a! H'ars wita-a.

kusha, they will; that is, those that have been commanded will do as they have been directed.
whako-o; whako, tell, say; o, vowel prolongation.
ha-a! ha! behold! a, vowel prolongation.
h', a contraction of ha, your.
ars, a contraction of atius, father.
wita-a, wita, he coming; a, vowel prolongation.

170, 171 See line 169.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the messengers are out of sight of the village the Ku'rahus sings the second stanza. It is addressed to the members of the Father's party, who are still sitting in his lodge. It is an authoritative assurance that the messengers will (kusha) fulfil their mission and deliver to the Son the message, "Behold! Your father is coming!"

After the Ku'rahus has sung this second stanza four times, the people disperse to await the return of the messengers, while he and his assistant, or two persons designated by him, must sit with the sacred objects until the four men come back from the Son.

As the Son hears the words of the messengers he will be reminded 539*
of his dream, in which Mother Corn touched him. And as he looks 796*
at the men he will recognize the tribe from which they have come and
will know who has chosen him to be the Son. Then he will call 571
together his relatives and they will talk over the matter. If it is 202
decided to accept the ceremony they will keep the little bundle of

202
*539 tobacco and the messengers will be told to return and say to the Father, "I am ready!"
*796

[571] The messengers start back immediately, and when they are in sight of their village the news of their arrival is proclaimed. Then all the men of the Father's party hasten to his lodge. The Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the Father put on their buffalo robes in the ceremonial manner, with the hair outside, and take their places back of the Hako. The other members of the party range themselves against the wall of the lodge, on either side, and all await the coming of the messengers.

[201] As the four men enter the lodge the people cry, "Nawairi!" ("Thanks!") while the Ku'rahus lifts his hands, palms upward, and then brings them down slowly. This movement means thanks, and the calling down of help from above.

The leader of the messengers, addressing the Ku'rahus, delivers the words sent by the Son, "I am ready!" This closes the ceremony.

FOURTH RITUAL

PART I. VIVIFYING THE SACRED OBJECTS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 When the messengers return from the Son with the words, "I am ready," there is rejoicing in the lodge.

The young men of the Father's party rise and dance. From these dancers two are selected, by the Ku'rahus and the chief, to perform the final dance, which takes place on the morning of the fifth day of the ceremony. The choice of these two dancers is signified by tying on their hair a downy white eagle's feather (see plate XLI). Meanwhile the other members of the party are busy with their final preparations. [431] They tie in packs, ready for transportation, the gifts they are to carry to the Children. The singers make ready the drum, while outside the women are engaged preparing food and other necessaries for the long journey.

The Ku'rahus orders a straight tent pole to be selected and brought to the lodge of the Father.

On the morning of the day the journey is to begin the Ku'rahus rises from his place in the lodge behind the Hako and goes outside. There he ties the sacred objects on the selected tent pole. He puts the two feathered stems near the top—the brown eagle toward the north and the white eagle toward the south—and he spreads out their feather pendants. Below these he fastens the ear of corn, and underneath it the two rattles and, lastly, the wildcat skin. These objects must face the east when the pole is raised. Behind them, so as to face the west, the right and left wing of an eagle are fastened and spread out.

The rope of buffalo hair is used to tie these sacred objects to the pole, which is then set up at the entrance of the lodge. Here it stands where the wind of the dawn may breathe upon the Hako and the first rays of the sun strike the sacred objects and give them life.

*539
*796

V

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! Our journey's end now is near, we look
O'er the strange land,
Seeking Children there! Mother Corn, hear!

VI

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! Our eyes behold where they dwell. In their
Village we walk,
Seeking there the Son. Mother Corn, hear!

VII

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! His lodge we find, through the door we pass.
Sleeping he lies,
Knows not we are there. Mother Corn, hear!

VIII

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! Now at her touch comes a dream; then a
Bird calls, "My Son!"
While his soul responds. Mother Corn, hear!

THIRD RITUAL. SENDING THE MESSENGERS

*796 [602 ● 202] The four messengers were selected informally by the Father from among his near relatives. They were generally young men, lithe and strong of limb, and able to make a long journey quickly. The distance to be traveled varied from a few miles to a hundred or more, and as they must carry all their provisions, it became necessary for them to get over the ground as rapidly as possible.

The formal appointment of these messengers took place in the lodge of the Father, in the presence of the sacred objects spread at ceremonial rest.

[602] When the messengers arrived at the lodge of the Son, he sent for his kindred and consulted with them. Only a recent death in his family or some catastrophe which deprived him of his property would be accepted as sufficient excuse for his not receiving the Hako party. If he accepted the tobacco he would bid the messengers return to the Father and say, "I am ready." In either case he must make gifts to the messengers in recognition of the proffered honor. [431]

The homeward journey was made as quickly as possible, for during the absence of the messengers nothing could be done. As soon, however, as the returning young men were discerned on the prairie the village was astir, and the men of the Father's party, with the Ku'rahus, assembled at his lodge to receive them ceremonially and to hear their tidings.

The messenger dispatched on such errands was called Rawiska'rarahoru, One who walks carrying the tobacco.

*533
*539
*796

The music of the song of this ritual is in three phrases. Like other songs in this ceremony having the same number, it accompanies acts

late afternoon or in the morning, and the smoke offering differed 668
according to which time of day it was. 796

In the arrangement for the time near sundown, the two chiefs 276
carrying the pipes lead the way out of the tipi and all the others follow. Outside, the chiefs stand at the east of the clearing, facing west. Behind them the men form a long flat arc facing west, with White and his seven leaders in the center. The announcer cries [202]
out to the people at large that the singing will commence as soon as the smoking is over.

(First Phase[1]) Each of the two chiefs holds the pipe slantwise 668
toward the west, offering it, not by holding it aloft, but by holding 796
it just in front of him. Both proceed simultaneously. After offering 782
the pipe west, each walks clockwise around the clearing, carrying 276
the pipe, and after reaching the same point at the east, stops there, offers a pinch of tobacco upward to heaven, and one westward, placing each on the ground. (Lighting the Pipe) Then each again makes a clockwise circuit, stopping at a point east of northeast, where squatting with the pipe in mouth and its bowl toward the east the pipe is lit by means of a brand which is brought forward by anyone for this purpose. (Second Phase; first mode) Each arises, puffing the pipe, and returns to the east, where facing west, he puffs four times upward to heaven and four times to the west. (Second Phase; third mode) then carries the pipe through a clockwise circuit and takes it to whoever is standing at the extreme northern end of the arc-like row of men. Standing in front of this man the smoker puts the pipe to the man's lips without releasing the bowl. Then the smoker proceeds in turn to allow each man to puff the pipe, moving from north to south down the arc of men. (Third Phase) After all in the line have puffed, the smoker takes the pipe and carries it through a clockwise circuit, coming to the east of the clearing in front of the line of men. Here he faces west, loosens the ashes in the pipe-bowl with a tamper, offering ashes once upward to heaven, then emptying some, and again to the west, emptying the rest of the bowl contents on the ground before him. (Fourth Phase) Holding the empty pipe in his left hand, the smoker touches the right hand to the ashes on the ground, then runs the right hand up the pipe from bowl to mouthpiece while the stem is directed heavenward. He repeats this motion with the left hand, and again with the right and the left, making four motions. Then the smoker makes four similar motions while he directs the pipe toward the west. (Self-Blessing) Holding the pipe,

---

[1] Parenthetical divisions into phases, etc. refer to the analysis of the smoke offering in Chapter 8, see especially pp. 180—207.

631 773 gether. So Errand Man was sent out. From each village came the people with their sacred bundle. Errand Man told the chief that upon Elkhorn River he found a village of earth-lodges covered with squash vines in which a bundle ceremony was going on in consequence of which they refused to come. Also on Looking Glass Creek he came to a village where the people had just performed a ceremony to call the buffalo and as the buffalo were at hand, they could not accept the invitation. Most of the buffalo were killed upon the ice which during the day was covered with water. The wolves stood around the carcasses and many were caught by the feet as the ice formed at night. So these two villages did not take part in the general bundle ceremony and were known as the Squash Vine and Wolf-standing-in-the-water.

Those who had assembled now performed the four-pole ceremony. The keeper of the bundle and his priest occupied their regular seats at the back of the lodge and as the bundles of other villages arrived those from the north took seats on that side and those from the south upon the other. The village of the host was then called Center Village.

622 631 The special federation of these Skidi villages necessitated a governing organization different from that of the other divisions. The governing body was a society of chiefs, twelve or more in number. It seems that in principle there was to be one chief for each village bundle, though as such he had nothing to do with the bundle. When the chiefs society met in a lodge they took their seats in the same order as indicated in the diagram of the four-pole ceremony, but the bundles were not brought into the lodge. [202] Two errand men were members and sat by the door.[1] The chiefs were of equal rank and inherited their office. However, there was some selection, for the elderly men filled vacancies from those directly descended from chiefs. All the chiefs taken together constituted the tribal council of the Skidi.

631 793 The chiefs are, however, not the highest authority, that distinction belonging to the priests of the four main bundles. Their office is hereditary; each priest selects an assistant from his near relatives who thus becomes qualified to become priest in turn. In rotation the four leading priests take over the responsibility for the welfare of the people for one year, counting from the first thunder in the spring until fall. This chief priest is the highest authority; he is the source of final appeal and to him all acts of the council of chiefs must be referred. 224 631 778 793 The buffalo hunt in particular must be regulated according to the ritual of the bundle whose priest happens to be in charge. As noted above, the Red Calf bundle is superior to the leading bundles, but its priest cannot exercise authority except he be

---

[1] As noted above, two villages refused to join in the federation. Later, they were taken in and their chiefs were given seats in the vacant place on the south side of the lodge, but they were not permitted to enter the four-pole ceremony.

*224 *484 the lining of the second stomach well washed and eaten with some raw fat.

[262] [252] The people on the march tried to double up their goods in the morning in order to free the horses for the hunters. It was most desirable for the hunter to have two horses, one to ride and one to load with meat. If he had two horses, he would hobble his loading horse on the sidelines during the chase or leave it with a boy who had come along for the purpose.

*224 When the hunters arrived, the small herd was to the south of the appointed hill. The scout Roaming Leader was on top, surveying the situation. The herd was a small one, gathered in a kind of trough or depression. The hunters were lined up on the north side of the hill, facing it, entirely out of sight and hearing of the herd which was on the other side. The hunters of the four bands had arranged themselves in the line from west to east, the several bands in the usual order with the Skidi westernmost and the Man-Going-Downstream furthest east. As the hunters on horseback sat facing the hill, a brave from each band rode back and forth in front of his group to keep them in order. They had to be controlled and kept in line while the strategy was determined and a ritual performed.

*224 •202 On top of the hill, having surveyed the country and its configuration, Roaming Leader had come to a decision as to their plan of attack. He descended the hill a short way down and signaled with his blanket to give the waiting hunters an idea of the position of the herd. If the buffalo were more to the east, Roaming Leader threw up his blanket and swung it over along the east horizon. Swinging it in the opposite direction along the west horizon meant the buffalo were further to the west and the main force of the attack should come from that direction. If the buffalo were straight ahead, he would throw his blanket straight up and release it, indicating that they could ride directly over the hill and need not approach by stealth from the sides, since the herd was in a hollow and could not see them coming. In this particular case, Roaming Leader had given an east signal. Now one chief from each band rode up to consult with Roaming Leader and he came down to meet them halfway. Roaming Leader said to White Eagle, "You saw me standing there throwing my blanket around the east side. There are about ten or twenty buffalo there and if they are approached cautiously by two parties, first one from the east and then one from the west, we may be able to surround them and get them all. If we are careful, some of the buffalo may still be sitting down and before they can get up, our hunters on horseback will be upon them." White Eagle then summed up what Roaming Leader had said and put it up to the four chiefs, which would go to the east and which to the west. He gave the first choice to Man Chief of the Meat-Beggars Band as a diplomatic gesture for the sake of their Peace

Pipe trade relations. As the east party would have a prior advantage, he 224*
was leaving it open for Man Chief to take it for his own group. "All 202
right," said Man Chief, "I'll take a group around east," and Curly Chief
of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band said, "I'll go with him." White Eagle then
agreed to take a group by way of the west and Many Trophies of the
Man-Going-Downstream Band agreed to go with him.

Having decided, the different chiefs motioned to their hunters waiting lined up below. In each case the individual hunters were free to join either party as they wished. The various hand motions made by the chiefs graphically indicated their plans. As each chief motioned, his brave went down to the hunters and again told them what the motions were about. The extra pack horses were hobbled right there and the boys taking care of them were nearby.

The next step was a ritual, performed by a holy man known as a 224*
"hand-waver," named for the manner in which he made his vow. White 788
Eagle chose He-Sees-the-Sky because he had consecrated five or six 792
buffalo to the sacred bundle ceremonies in the past and in general seemed [778]
to be lucky in whatever he did. He had established "credit" with the
supernatural powers. Now he knelt down on both knees facing toward
the hill with his back to the lineup of hunters. One of the men from the
line was selected by White Eagle to keep watch on the holy man and
signal them immediately when he was through. The watcher stood about
ten feet back, leading his horse while the prophet was kneeling, settling
himself comfortably with his open hands resting on his thighs. Now he
extended his right arm and as he was moving it outward he said, "This
time of year I sacrificed a whole white eagle and that is what is going
to lead you (west)." Then he made a similar motion with his left hand
and mentioned a wildcat hide and a whole buffalo and the fact that this
would lead those going east. Then he repeated each direction with an
Otter and Buffalo (west), and a young spotted deer and buffalo (east).
The watcher, seeing the holy man's hands back in his lap and his head 224*
down, signaled that that was all and as soon as he turned around, the line 792
formed into two parties, the watcher coming down to join them. The
holy man started for home, being required to remain as quiet as possible
so that nothing should disturb the good fortune of the hunters, for
he would be blamed for any accidents that occurred. White Eagle or one
of the successful hunters would see that he got half a buffalo for his
service. The hunters rode to the chase from both sides of the hill so that 224*
the herd was surrounded and all were killed. Then they butchered and
distributed the meat according to who had actually killed the animal
and who had assisted with the butchering.

As soon as they were through butchering, they packed their horses 224*
and waited until they had a group of two of three so that they could 492
travel together for protection from attack. The horses were lightly

*224 773 796 801 The creation story that was often reviewed in these ceremonies told them how this had come about. The number four had a sacred significance in connection with the four semicardinal directions, and the combined hunt of all the bands together was conducted in four major episodes.

*224 At the council tent in Camp 10, during their last evening on the Platte, White Eagle and the other Skidi chiefs planned out the strategy of this major phase of the hunt. The chiefs of the other three bands were also meeting in council. White Eagle as the leader of the hunt was to take the initiative. For diplomatic reasons he had decided to give over the management of the first hunt episode to Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band, who were currently "Fathers" to the Skidi in the Peace Pipe trading relationship. Man Chief was formally notified and he appointed the necessary religious and technical personnel, including three scouts who would go out long before dawn to survey the country and locate the herd. Long before the camp broke up that morning they had gone out, and when they found the hill beyond which the herd was located the chief scout crawled up cautiously on his belly, imitating the motions of a wolf so that he would not be detected by the herd. As long ago as [175] [136] 1540 the account of Coronado's expedition reported that white wolves ranged all over the plains, living peaceably in the presence of the buffalo cows, so that the bulls as well as the herd as a whole were obviously well accustomed to having wolves nearby. They would not detect humans unless the scouts stood in the direction of the wind so that they could be scented. After the head scout had surveyed the situation to his satisfaction, he invited his fellow scouts to come up, each in turn crawling up like a wolf and taking a look around. In a war party one wrapped oneself in a whole wolfskin with bow and arrows concealed under the arms and tail, but a blanket was sufficient to fool the buffalo.

*224 *484 Meanwhile the people in camp had awakened, broken up camp, loaded up and set out across the country for Camp 11. Following along Plum Creek almost to its source, the line of march continued overland in a southeast direction until it reached the head of Turkey Creek, continuing southward along its west bank. When the people were about midway along, one of the scouts came riding up to inform them of conditions in [202] connection with the herd. As he approached, he signaled with his blanket, throwing it up twice to show that there were many buffalo. When he reached the line he told them that the herd was coming up from the river and wasn't very far, but that nevertheless the line of march should continue slowly along the west bank of Turkey Creek rather than crossing to the east side in an attempt to avoid disturbing the herd, and then crossing back again to make their camp. He told them that Turkey Creek was muddy near its confluence with the Republican, as some of the herd had already crossed over and were moving eastward.

*224 Taking account of these factors, the plan of action was as follows.

Every available hunter would get a horse if he could and leave the line 224*
of march to go to the hunting grounds. Even if the horse were not fast, [492]
there were enough buffalo for everyone to hunt. In order to free as many horses as possible, the people were to combine and reload all their baggage, doubling up with their neighbors if necessary for the balance of the journey into camp. Man Chief and White Eagle, the first to be ready, rode off a little distance to await the others. The scout now rode all along the line telling all the hunters to get their horses and go where Man Chief and White Eagle were waiting to start.

As the scout turned back to rejoin the waiting chiefs, an old doctor 224*
of the Asking-for-Meat Band began to go among the people to perform a 536
pantomime of sympathetic magic. He followed the path that the scout had taken and, impersonating a buffalo, he went in a trot with his arms flexed at his sides, chanting:

> Now you are going to trot
> Buffalo who are killed falling.

As he went among the people of each of the four bands, he sang his song each time. The children would try to trip him and make him fall down. When the boy Otter tried this, the old man asked, "Have you any tobacco to give me?" The boy shamefacedly answered no, but the old man fell down for him anyway.

Man Chief had appointed his prophet or "hand waver" who was to 224*
make the incantation to the powers as the hunters were poised ready to 792
make the attack on the herd. Now this man was holding back, reluctant [782]
to ride out to the hunting grounds, worrying whether his luck would be
good. Finally he joined the hunters, as they were in a hurry to get 224*
started. Then Man Chief called out, "Now we're going ahead!" and with White Eagle he started off a little ahead while the others followed in a bunch. They all galloped their horses as they hurried on. The scout went
on ahead to guide them to the place. As soon as they got in sight, the head [202]
scout signaled with his blanket from the hill where he was stationed. If he threw his blanket up leisurely and caught it, there was no hurry, but if he threw it up and pulled it down quickly to his left, they had to hurry because the buffalo would be close and coming on.

to come and join the dancing. Some chiefs walked around the 668 circle of dancers carrying pipes in their folded arms, but no smoke 796 offering was made. Should the singers pause for a rest, pipes (but [276] not these sacred pipes) were often smoked non-ceremonially.

After ten or twenty songs, the people ended the dancing with the finishing song, and returned to their tipis for breakfast. When [203] they stopped the old man crier went through the camp calling out to the people to be ready to dance about one o'clock.

At one o'clock the dancers reassembled. The Seven Brothers took their places at the west side of the clearing, in order, each with special face-painting and wearing his eagle feather. Sam Cover led the singing, and the dancing began at the west, circling clockwise. Sam Cover and Emmet Pierson, the number 2 Brother, carried leather rattles which they shook in time to the dancing.

The dancing continued until about five in the afternoon, or just before sundown. The evening meal was prepared by women while the dancing went on, so that everything was ready when the finishing song concluded the dancing for the day.

After the dancing, the people gathered in the space between the cleared dance ground and the sacred tipi to the west of it. The Seven Brothers sat down on the east side of this space, facing west (this would of course be west of the cleared ground), while the chiefs sat on the west side facing east. In this way the chiefs and the seven brothers faced each other across this cleared space. The people gathered around the sides forming more or less of a circle. One chief was selected to talk. He said:

"We have all come together today to worship God. Now you [537 must try to think what you are here for. Now the ground is open, 539] there is nothing in the way (i. e. it is outdoors), God can look straight down upon us. Here's the sunlight over us, he's the one who knows all about it, and he knows also what you think about; you can't ever hide it. Now we are going to eat." 782

The main tarutsius now came forward. This chief gave the 668 tarutsius a horn spoon which he had been holding while he spoke. 796 In the center of the space around which the people had gathered [415] the food had been set out in buckets. The tarutsius received the spoon. (Filling the spoon[1]) He walked clockwise around, passing behind the food and around it, then with the spoon took some corn from the buckets, made a clockwise circuit and passed outside of the circle of people between the Seventh Brother (who is at the north end of the seated row of Seven Brothers) and the people at his right. (First Phase[1]) Outside the circle the tarutsius walked clock-

---

[1] See Chapter 8; the Food Offering and Service, pp. 220-228.

623 574 522 [601] [602] each other by the kin terms of grandfather and grandchild—thereby permitting a great deal of free-wheeling slapstick behavior. This was incongruous because of the social position of some of the individuals involved and was considered quite humorous. Eagle Chief addressed Lone Chief as grandson in this way, and he would say, "That's the laziest fellow I ever saw. He sleeps till mid-morning every day. I wish I were at his house. I'd throw him in the water." This evoked considerable laughter because of the incongruity of the situation, and, now that the South Side had made its joke, it was the turn of somebody on the north side. It was decorum to wait a few minutes, and then Leading Chief at the northwest took up the thread and said, "Look at that fellow over there," pointing to someone on the north side. "When I went out with my horses, I saw his horses standing there in a terrible condition. They were turning round and round with flies all over them and they must have been thirsty." (It was the work of the young boys to take care of the horses.) The man on the north side against whom the joke was leveled replied with, "I always hobble my horses, but he took my lariat and unhobbled them. That's the fellow who unhobbled my horses!" During the actual meeting, women were not present, but now the women of the lodge began to return and they too would join in the jokes with the men who happened to stand to them in the appropriate relationship.

623 574 This was the end of the meeting, and Leading Chief of Bottomlands Village sitting at the northwest presided over the closing. He said, "Now we are to get wood. Some of you, Lone Chief in particular (object of the last joke), must be in a hurry to go tend their horses. Any who wish can stay and tell stories, but now we have eaten [and the meeting is at an end]." Everyone said *nawa* and most of them rose and left the lodge. A few lingered. Enough extra boiled buffalo meat was usually portioned out at such a feast so that everyone had a substantial piece to take home to the family. Food from a chiefs' council was thought to have the special virtue of conveying a blessing of plenty to the women and children, and some of the men were eager to get home and share what they had with their wives and children. It was for this reason that they had been requested to bring their own bowls when they were invited that morning.

623 • 203 722 313 The decisions reached by the chiefs at their councils were always announced to the people soon after the meeting was over. One old man for each village with a somewhat resounding voice usually acted as the village crier. He would stand on the roof of his earth lodge between the smokehole and the entrance passageway facing east and call out:

"Day after tomorrow, we're all going for wood—the whole bunch of us. You young men—after breakfast take your bow and arrows. Go up on a high hill and be on the lookout to picket for Sioux or any other kind of danger. Women have to fix up their packstraps and everyone should

sharpen up his axe, fix up the ropes, borrow a horse to haul the wood if 623
you need one. If two or three lodges are going afoot together, they must 203
keep in line so that we know where you are." (Those with horses were in 722
less danger and might go in any order.) There was another thing he 313
warned them against—that is, taking young girls along. They were just
the ones the Sioux would be trying to capture, and the old man remarked,
they weren't really strong enough to carry wood anyway! Another danger
was a magical one. The spirits of men who had been scalped by an [775]
enemy were very much feared. They were thought to lurk all around,
trying to capture women or steal whatever else they could get their hands
on. So the old man cautioned, "If a woman hasn't kept up, the line must
wait for her until she arrives. She might be captured by one of the
scalped men. This is the time you have to look out for that."

When the young men heard the crier's announcement, five or six of 722
them would gather together at a favorite rendezvous and say, "Let's go
together with our bows and arrows real early before the others and stay
up there until everyone comes home." According to their plan, on the appointed
morning they would go out before the others and disburse over
the area to see whether the enemy was lurking about. They would leave
the villages about 7:30 in the morning and stay out all day.

The chiefs' meeting had come to an end that afternoon while it was 574
still full daylight. Old Bull had gone off to tend his horses. Victory Call, 521
having nothing in particular to do since he had Horse Rider to help him,
wandered over to the gaming grounds where some of the men were clustered
about making their bets on the outcome of the hoop and spear
game, while others were just watching on the sidelines. Victory Call sat
down at some distance from the game and two of the spectators came to
join him. The man who sat down at his left filled up his pipe and offered [276]
it to Victory Call, lighting it for him. Victory Call offered the mouthpiece [782]
upward for the first puff to the cosmic powers in the heavens saying,
"Greetings, all of you spread out up there." Then he offered the
mouthpiece to the earth and said, "Greetings, my mother." Now he took
two puffs on the pipe and began to share it with the men on each side of
him in the alternation: first to the right, then himself, then to the left, and
so on. When the pipe was smoked out, Victory Call was feeling in a genial
mood. He made a special arrangement of his robe that had up to now
been carelessly draped around his shoulders. He drew it down to his waist
and, crossing his legs with the robe folded in a certain order, showed by
this token that he was ready to tell a story. The men who had sat down
with him were anxious to hear what the chief had to say, and particularly
what had gone on in the meeting he had just attended before the
crier got around to announcing it. Several more men joined the party
with the same idea in mind. Victory Call might begin directly, or one of
the men would suggest it obliquely saying, "I heard you had a feast."

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

241
778
now dressed the skull in a black skin turban with a knot on the forehead. Inside the turban were soft down feathers mixed with red paint (to represent the visionary's brains), and on top, a soft feather as a plume.

[531]

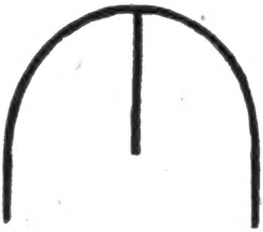


FIGURE 9-1. Representation of face painting symbolizing the vault of the heavens and the breath of Heaven.

[431]
[782]
Gifts began to come in: kettles of corn and meat were placed at the south, buffalo robes and other offerings between the fireplace and the skull.

[203]
[431]
[782]
The woman's brother and a young man were sent out to all the lodges to invite the people. They dressed in their best and everyone that came brought a gift. Soon they crowded outside the door of the ceremonial lodge, and after the brother had made a smoke offering with the pipe toward the heavens and the skull the people were allowed to come in. They piled their gifts in front of the skull.

The paraphernalia were handed out to the women who were to do the dancing, and a special coiled basket was handed to the woman visionary and one to her assistant. This basket, especially made by a woman under the direction of the minister, symbolized the container ordained by Heaven to carry earth from which the world was created and the germs of life. At the time of the creation, Heaven caused this basket to move of itself through space.

The four ministers of the Skull bundle now took up their rattles and sang, "Now we are going to start to dance. Everyone wants to dance and shake the earth."

241
535
At the first song the women stood ready to scrape the earth with their hoes, right foot forward, arms extended. They were followed by the woman visionary and her partner, who now got up and danced with the coiled baskets. Next followed women with loon necks and then young women with deer necks. These had to be chaste young women. Now the hoes were taken over by the old women, for they were early risers and good workers in the fields. When these got tired, other women came over and took the hoes, carrying out the motions of hoeing all the time:

796 time touching it to his mouth, nose, forehead, and down his face, alter-
783 nately first with the right and then with the left hand. Then he went back
778 through the group and stood facing the village ready to lead them back.
The others followed suit, the men of first rank pretending to wash their objects and their bodies, then walking through the line to stand behind the chief and the others in order. The chief led them back to the village and the objects were replaced in the bundles in the ceremonial lodge. The little boys ran away at once, and the other men retrieved the robes they had left behind in order to race to the water before they went home. The priests and bundle keepers tied their things and had a meal of cornmeal mush that had been donated by one of the women. Then they all took their mats, pillows, bowls, and sacred bundles and went home.

796 The town crier went through the town telling all the people to clean
783 their lodges and the streets and to carry all the dirt far away. The next
[203] step was for everyone to wash and clean themselves. The priests who
had led the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood out-
[515] side shaking his rattle and singing. All the people assembled there and
[343] raced to the river as fast as they could go. They waited there for the priests who waded in and came out at once and went to their sweat lodge to take a steam bath. All the rest of the people—men, women, and children—stayed at the river, swimming and playing in the water.

16

FINAL PREPARATIONS IN THE VILLAGE

000

The Chiefs Sit in Council—Announcements to the People—Personal Needs: Tobacco, Foods, Clothing—Estimates of Food Taken for a Family

FOUR DAYS MORE and they would all be gone on their summer journey. 628
All the chiefs of the different bands were sitting in council to plan their 623
strategy. White Eagle, who was to lead the hunt, had called in representa- 203 •
tives of the four villages, and now as they reached their decisions he sent 224 *
his errand man, Know-His-Face, to Curly Chief of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band to inform him of their plan. Curly Chief would relay the message through his errand man to the council of the Begging-for-Meat Band which was gathered in the lodge of Man Chief. Man Chief in his turn sent his messenger to Many Trophies, Chief of the Man-Going-Downstream Band, in whose lodge their council was meeting. Meanwhile Know-His-Face had returned to the Skidi council and reported what reaction Curly Chief had had to their plans. If the council were still in session they would get the message directly; otherwise they would hear indirectly. This was the usual form by which the four bands coordinated their administration throughout the year in the settlement and this continued in the same way while on the march. When an errand man or envoy came to a chief with a message from another chief, he was received formally and entertained as an emissary of the chief who had sent him, offered a smoke and a meal, before it was proper for him to state what he was sent for. If the chiefs' meeting should break up too late in the afternoon, the council would wait to send out their errand man until the next morning so that he could be received with due formality and the rest of the chiefs would have a chance to send out their envoys to the other bands in a suitable manner.

628 Just as the meeting was drawing to a close, as in all chiefs' meetings, an
623 old man would climb up onto the roof of the lodge and cry out to the vil-
•203 lage what had been decided. In this case he did so early next morning.
*224 His wording was in a precise telegraphic style so that it could be clearly understood by everyone. He said:

> This was what was decided in the chiefs' meeting. White Eagle decided we are going to hunt in four days. Anything you have to do, get finished in that time. On the fifth day, we'll go out of the village. We'll camp on the other (south) side of the Loup River (*its-kari*, "potatoes-many").
>
> We'll camp there a whole day so that any of you that aren't quite through can join us any time that day and up to the evening of the sixth day. On the seventh day we are going to be moving upstream (westward).

The old man, having completed his announcement, went back into his
*224 lodge.

887 Toward evening any old man who felt impelled might get up onto the
537 roof of his house and talk to the people. He would say whatever was on his mind—about events in the past and their lessons for the future, or any
[789] other matters that seemed pertinent. Reviewing past events that were successful was considered a kind of sympathetic magic as well as of practical value. At this time the old man might talk about the fields and of how they were in the past. "All that," he would conclude "is in the past. But today we may have the same luck." Then he would continue in a different vein: "Try to help one another and take care of the children. The little ones like to swim and one must watch that they don't drown. I hope we come home well and find everything in good order."

*224 Such an old man was likely to speak gently and phrase his thoughts
525 diplomatically and people listened carefully and thought about what he said. However, at the gambling grounds the gamblers had other matters on their minds. They were thinking about the good places they would come to along the way that were nice and smooth, with good buffalo grass growing on them—such a fine playing field for the hoop and pole game. They would discuss the different sites they were going to camp at where these would be found and agree between them that one would take along one stick and one the other so that they would have the equipment they needed for playing. For the inveterate gambler, this subject was always uppermost in his mind.

*224 Other men were thinking about how to get enough smoking tobacco
276 to fill their needs, and the doctors were occupied with the herbs and
756 medicines they would need to take along that were available only in this area. The tobacco was needed for ritual as well as for social purposes.

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224
*484
888
Some old people just walked off because they were tired of living. "I'm old. I don't care what becomes of me," they would say. In this case, people thought it was a shame for the old lady's relatives to leave her all by herself like that.

*224
*484
512
515
Most of the women and children were swimming in the river. By sundown they began to wander back toward their encampment. When little Otter came in after his sun-fishing adventures they all said, "Minwu, you smell of fish. You'd better go wash your hands." There was no soap so he had to rub his hands with sand and then wash them with water. Horse Rider had been looking after the horses, and again he passed through the sand hills and gathered in some sand cherries. Victory Call was still sitting and smoking on top of the sand hills with his friends and they looked down contentedly upon the women and children swimming in the river. By sundown all had gone home; the men would go swimming late in the evening by themselves.

*224
• 203
*484
Now at evening the crier went through the encampment and made his announcement. He said, "We'll be here all day tomorrow. If you have any business at the store, attend to it, because day after tomorrow, we'll be moving on." It had been a long day and everyone went to sleep.

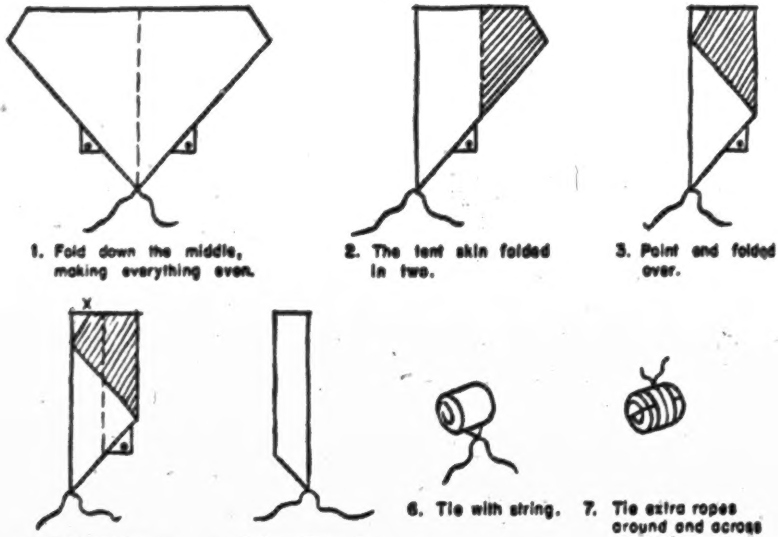
*224
*484
512
Next morning Grandma got up earlier than anyone else, before dawn, saying everyone must practice getting up early. They passed the day pleasantly, swimming in the river or doing whatever they liked. For breakfast they had a modest meal of fried bread and coffee and for lunch a good soup of roasted corn mixed with braided intestine. At supper, they had boiled dried buffalo meat with bread and coffee.

[203]
When evening came, the crier went through the encampment calling out, "They have decided to move tomorrow. We're going about ten miles from here."

*224
*484
The next morning their travels would begin in earnest. They would travel and encamp this way for the next twenty days before they reached the main herd of buffalo.

*484 and White Woman on the other. While the women held up the contain-
512 ers, the men tied them on. Now everything was loaded and they could join
492 the line of march.

*484
342



1. Fold down the middle, making everything even.
2. The tent skin folded in two.
3. Point and folded over.
4. Fold section X over toward the right.
5. Roll up from the straight end toward the point.
6. Tie with string.
7. Tie extra ropes around and across the ends.

FIGURE 19-1. The method of folding the tent skin.

*484 Every morning the crier would go through the camps to repeat the in-
• 203 structions he had called out the night before. He would tell how far they
*224 were going and where they expected to camp. Until after Camp 9, individual hunters would ride off from the line of march as soon as their families were packed up and go hunting by themselves to get some fresh meat. While they were out, the group would have arrived at the designated camping place and set up camp, to which the hunters would come with their kill, usually in the late afternoon.

*484 In the evening each hunter entertained his own friends at a feast with
*224 the meat he had gotten that day. This was parallel to the household rou-
574 tine for the man in the villages. The administrative procedures were also
62 similar to those in the settlements. The chiefs of each of the bands more or less kept open house, and every evening there was an informal council where notable happenings of the day were recounted. The official braves, who policed the villages on behalf of their respective chiefs, now performed the same service while they were on the march.

20

HUNTING THE FIRST BUFFALO AND BUTCHERING IT

000

Five Scouts Decide to Hunt the First Buffalo—They Ask and Receive Permission for This Hunt—Description of Hunt—Butchering the Buffalo—Return to Camp

When they reached the fourth encampment, White Eagle began to be very worried. His hunters were bringing in nothing but deer, elk, and antelope. Not a single buffalo had been sighted. They were now 32 miles west of the rendezvous camp, having traveled an extra two miles beyond the customary ten that day. This placed them in the position for leaving the Loup and traveling southward toward the Platte. The difficulty of crossing the sand hills made it necessary to set up Camp 5, at a halfway point, before completing the journey south to the Platte. 224* 484* 361

That night the crier went through the camp to notify them of their itinerary for the next day. Since the camp was none too comfortable, they would get up especially early and proceed southward to the Platte, cross over to Grand Island, and proceed two miles west on the south bank, where they would make Camp 6 or Fort Kearney camp on some high ground—much better than the boggy camp they were now occupying. [203]

In the Skidi encampment, five scouts made up their minds they would get up well before dawn the next morning and ride 12 miles south to the Republican to find out for themselves whether there were any signs of buffalo there. The leader of the group was Roaming Leader of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. This expedition would be of material assistance to White Eagle, who was much concerned about their failure to find buffalo so far. White Eagle, a subchief of Pumpkin-Vine Village, was "married into" Bottomlands Village, and his in-laws gave him substantial assistance throughout the hunt. 224* 484*

from whom they could well steal horses, and some young men thought 726
they would like to go to the Osage country. The women of their household 726
would outfit them with three or four pairs of new moccasins, tanning 705
some hides especially for the purpose. Each pair would be filled with supplies—pulverized dried meat, parched corn, and dried meat. The young man would have a large flat package, especially wide to carry on
his back with straps across the chest to carry his baggage. Under his belt [276]
he carried his tobacco and his pipe, and every time he sat down while he was on the warpath he must smoke. When he went off to steal horses he hung his flat-package on a tree and sometimes did not get a chance to retrieve it at all.

In Victory Call's household, they had gotten eight hides. A small one 281
would be tanned by White Woman to get supplies at Fort Kearney. One 439
was reserved for Mr. Bishop, the trader near home, to whom a good one had been promised before they left in payment for supplies Victory Call had obtained at his store for their journey.

While they were going east along the Platte River after their arrival 224*
two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), the village scouts came back 484*
with their report of how things were back home. They came in directly 203
to the tent of Leading Chief who now had charge of their return journey and reported:

> We went down to the village. We couldn't go in, it was full of fleas. Toward evening we went to the different corn fields. The corn is pretty ripe in some places. The pumpkins are hard yet. There are lots of beans of all different kinds. One fellow got on a freight and went to Columbus to see how the Stay-at-Homes were. Everything looks good. From there we went to the school. We gave the children some pulverized dried meat and some plain. We told them you folks were coming home. We stopped in Bishop and Matlock's store for the night and said it would be about eight or ten days before we got to the village. Everyone looks all right.

New Know-His-Face went through the encampment, announcing this
message to all. In one of the other bands a rougish old lady called out [824]
"And how about the sunflowers? How are they doing?" The boy said, [522]
"The sunflowers are way high!" The byplay is that the sunflowers were the place where clandestine affairs were carried on. These grew as weeds in the boundaries between the fields.

One of the scouts brought five or six ears of corn that were ripe from 224*
different fields, and gave them to the ones to whom they belonged. One 484*
ear had come from the field of Otter's grandmother, and before she took [788]
off the husks she blessed him with it four times. Then she removed the [252]
husks, toasted the ear in the coals, and broke it into three pieces, one for [262]

*224 343 at the top, then carrying the rope all around the frame spirally from top to bottom. The frame was then entirely covered over with buffalo grass and a large smokehole left at the top and an opening at the east for an [417] entrance. *Over the central fireplace a wooden grate or drying rack* like the one in the tipi would be built high up so that the meat could dry. Donations for the council tent could also be kept in there to keep them *224 [623] from freezing. When the tipis were all set up, the chiefs, braves, and boys would meet in the council tent in the evening to discuss tactics and have a feast on ribs. Eagle Chief had sent out two scouts to climb a high hill now covered with snow to look far to the west up the river and determine where the herds were. They would report that night at the council tent.

• [803] [624] Meanwhile, when the men arrived back at Camp 11 with the horses so that they could move the encampment from Turkey Creek westward to Many Deer, at Eagle Chief's direction, the errand man, Know-His-Face went announcing through the camp:

> They killed many buffalo up there and Eagle Chief says we must move from here to there. The meat is sleeping up there and they have a camping place all prepared. People do not need to wait for one another in the morning but can start out any time they are ready as the trail has already been broken by the men coming over here with the horses.

*224 *484 When Horse Rider got into camp where White Woman, No Corn, and the boy were, he tethered the horses outside the tipi and the women covered them and gave them cottonwood tops and bark to eat, leaving them there for the night. Horse Rider told of what a good camping place they had at Many Deer, the problem of how they had to transport the meat across the ice from the south of the river, and how much wood Victory Call had gathered for them. In the morning, right after breakfast, the horses were saddled up and loaded by Horse Rider while the two women dismantled the tent. Some of the meat was still moist (*kiparu*) and he bundled this up in an extra package and piled it on top of the saddle. It would not spoil because the weather was so cold. The two parfleches of meat that were completely dried were fastened one on each side of the saddle.

*224 *484 342 Meanwhile White Woman was shaking the tent pegs loose and pulling them out. No Corn was inside rolling up the mats and tying them and whatever blankets they had. The two sticks from outside the smokehole were removed. Next they removed the pegs laced over the door flap, rolling them up with it for further use. Now they could remove the tent cover. First the south half was pulled to the back and folded over, then the north half was carried around and also folded over at the back. They

*796 face the open entrance way and flirt the wings toward the opening, as though brushing out something from the lodge. These motions mean that Kawas has now cleared the lodge of all that is bad, of all disease and trouble, and made the place ready for the coming ceremony.

Then the doctors join the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief.

At the west, back of the fire, a space is now set apart and made sacred. Here the wildcat skin is spread and at its head the crotched stick is thrust into the ground; one end of the feathered stems is laid against the crotch, the other upon the skin, and the rattles are placed under the eagle pendants. The wings are laid on the edge of the skin. In front of the wildcat the ear of corn is held in an upright position by one of the sticks to which it is tied being thrust into the ground. The sacred objects are always laid at rest in this position, and are never left alone or unguarded.

The members of the Hako party now enter and place the packs containing the ceremonial gifts at the north side of the lodge. Meanwhile the women of the party are busy pitching tents, for, as only a few of the Hako party remain and live within the lodge, all the other men must camp with their families in a place set apart for them.

The Ku'rahus at this time appoints certain men to attend to special duties.

Some are to bring wood and water and attend to the cooking. They divide themselves into different groups, one for each day of the ceremony, so that the work will be evenly distributed and there will be no confusion or delays.

Others are appointed to fill the pipes for the Children to smoke. To attend to this duty they are required to be always present in the lodge.

Some eight or ten men are chosen to be in readiness to do any work that may be demanded of them. For instance, if the crops of the Children are being planted or gathered, these men are to attend to this work, so that the Children can at all times be present at the ceremony and suffer no loss.

[43] A man is selected to notch a stick as a record of the number of
• 211] ponies presented to the Fathers and to whom each pony is given.

In this way the labor attendant upon the long ceremony is planned and divided so that nothing will be neglected and there will be no dispute or confusion.

While these appointments are being made the Son dispatches runners to notify the people that the Hako party has arrived and to bid his relatives come to the lodge.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 If a man of the Father's party desires to count his war honors he steps out in front of the dancers. The men stop and go to their proper places; the song stops and the man tells his deed of valor. At its close the responsive cry is given by the people; then the song begins again and the dance is resumed.

● [211] Sometimes one of the Children has not been able to catch the horse he intends to give away. He comes forward with his little child, who carries a small stick and hands it to the chief, who turns it over to the assistant chief, who passes it on to the record keeper. The child is blessed with the corn.

735 *796 At any time during this dance of thanks a poor person can come up to the consecrated child who is sitting in front of the chief and take away the robe that is on it, for the robe has been put on the child as a gift to the poor. When one robe is taken, the assistant chief places another robe on the child, and it often happens that several robes or blankets are given away to the poor in this manner.

*796 [201] After a time one of the chiefs of the tribe of the Son rises and asks if all have made their gifts. This is a signal that the end is near. Finally, some one of the party of the Son rises and says, "Father, you must be tired; end this!" and he makes the sign with his hands which signifies cutting off, and the dance stops. Sometimes only the sign is made, but generally the words are spoken.

Then the prominent men of the Fathers and of the Children enter the lodge for the final ceremony.

FOURTH DIVISION. PRESENTATION OF THE HAKO

TWENTIETH RITUAL

PART I. BLESSING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

At the close of the dance of thanks the Children scatter in every direction, but the leading men enter the lodge and sit down at the south side. The Son sits either in the middle of the line on the south, or in his proper place just south of the entrance, near the door.

The consecrated child is taken by the chief behind the holy place. The two dancers advance to lay down the feathered stems, one at each side of the little child, the brown-eagle feathered stem toward the north, the white feathered stem toward the south. Then they remove the downy feathers from their hair and give them to the Ku'rahus, who ties them on the feathered stems.

The Ku'rahus then girds the robe about his waist with the hair rope and lifts the brown-eagle feathered stem. His assistant takes up the white-eagle feathered stem, the chief, with the cat skin and the ear of corn, steps between the Ku'rahus and his assistant, and the

796 troyed it, but preserved the animal, a mountain lion.
773 He went on to the northeast, and again destroyed an obstacle, but preserved its guardian, the bear. In the center of the earth in darkness he found the woman, conquered her, touched her with his war club, and turned her into the earth. The Morning Star then called the mysterious animals to him and said, "You beings are now under my control. Stand in the places where I found you, and watch over the people who shall be placed upon the earth and guard them. All powers you have you shall keep. You shall exist as long as the earth lasts. You are now placed as upright posts so that you will always hold up the heavens. Priests, chiefs, warriors, old men, I have this night followed the journey of the Morning Star. We will not forget these beings which he placed in the four directions, for he promised that they should partake of all offerings which the people made to the heavens. Let us begin singing the songs given to us by Mother White Star in the west (the Evening Star)."

533 When the chief priest had finished his speech, all
796 began to sing the prescribed songs, resting and smok-
782 ing informally after each. Like most ceremonial songs,
these were long, with many repetitions, and were often
● [211] obscure in meaning. As each song was finished, a tally
stick, taken from a bunch kept in the sacred bundle, was laid down. The idea underlying this part of the ritual seems to have been that the girl at first belonged to the people and to the world of human affairs, but that, as each song was sung, she became more removed from them until, when the last tally was laid down, she had been won from the people, like a prize in a game, and belonged to the gods.

The singing usually lasted until about two hours
717 before dawn. A priest then climbed on the roof of the
782 lodge and announced to the people that the girl was
796

They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," 224 *
they had to pack and go on. They arrived at the river about five in the 484*
evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north
bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or
less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming
in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but
they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As
soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often [226]
done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. Some men
used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took
buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and [225]
brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were [252]
they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn
husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were
unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went
out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were
officially headed for home. The night before, the military police had [625]
officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from [622]
his leadership of the hunt. He thanked them all and reviewed the
events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead
them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was
appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given
White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and
helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buffalo [787]
leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Republican
they would have to make before they could start north for the
Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sacred 796
bundles and the cults, but of special interest to everybody was the 431
Grand Opera that the associated doctors would give after the harvest, 756
lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the 624
association, called for his two errand men to go to all members, apprentices, 211
and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the
forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand
man would pick a dry weed, *hawastatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil,
and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute,
the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand
to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent,
dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and proceeded
to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. At 796
an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and 431
756

together and again enjoying a festive meal at their daughter-in-law's house 243
afterward. [606]

Now at the beginning of June everyone's mind was turned to completing [221]
the preparations for leaving on the summer hunt. They would weed
and cultivate the corn plants and hill up the earth once more just before
leaving, when the plants were about 3½ feet high. The present Nebraska
farmer says, "Knee high by the fourth of July" and the Pawnee said, "Tall
enough to tickle the horse's belly."

The corn and the buffalo that sustained the Pawnee placed heavy demands 22
upon him. Only by carrying out his year's round with great precision 476
and by careful coordination of his activities with other people of 243
the tribe could he combine these two major food resources. The administrative
activities of the priests and the chiefs were as vital to his enterprise 622
as the physical resources themselves. Few administrative structures have 182
commended themselves so directly to the people as that of the Pawnees. [793]
Respect for the chief was a cardinal tenet of every Pawnee's life, in return [183]
for which the chief demonstrated a dedicated concern for his people.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*175
*648 and uneasy about their legal rights as to leasing after allotment, and
667 as to whether they would be subject to taxation, but it was felt
177 they could easily be reassured.

The greatest discouragement and check upon programs of a
*175 progressive nature, from the years of removal on, was the physical
*648 unsoundness of the Pawnee tribe. In 1876, after the removal, the
Pawnee numbered 2,026; in 1892 at the close of this period, the
164 census listed 759. This tremendous decline, amounting to 62 per
161 cent in a period of sixteen years, was the result of many interacting
causes. Laboring under a blight of diseases and ill health, with the
pride of their stock dying at an inexplicable rate, and all more or
less weakened and ailing, a hopelessness came into Pawnee life
from which there was no escape. This hopelessness and despair
[178] caused a deterioration of their home life, indicated by officials'
reference to "filthy habits" and an "indifference to the condition
of body or clothing." Their ancient medical lore was of no avail;
their ancient gods had apparently deserted them. It is to be marvelled
at that something of their old spirit and energy remained,
and that they accomplished what they did in Indian Territory.

The white man's diseases had attacked them in the north.
Pulmonary and venereal diseases in particular had vitiated
their ancient stamina. But in the north the people were in a
climate and a region to which the native constitution was adjusted
from centuries of inhabitation. Until the white man came
the people lived a free outdoor life. They were active. Sedentary
● [221] as their way of life made them, the tribe roamed abroad on the
hunt five months of the year; at home they were in the field and
the open. The population of the region was not heavy; they had
[166] unpolluted streams and springs. They moved their villages at
intervals of about eight years, avoiding pestilence.

The Nebraska country was relatively high, and the climate dry.
In the removal the people came into a more fertile but humid
country. Malarial fevers began to afflict them. In the winter of
1876, their first in Oklahoma, fevers, combined with other illnesses,
if we are to believe the recorded figures, amounted to a plague.
From 2,026 in 1876 the tribe declined in one year to 1,521![1] The
*175 manner of their removal involved long and continuous exposure,
and the conditions of life upon their arrival were unhealthy and
*648 hazardous. Grinnell reports the condition in which their great
701 friends, Major Frank North and his brother Luther, the organizers
of the Pawnee scouts, found them in 1876 in Indian Territory. The

---

[1] Further and continuous declines the succeeding years indicate that no part of the tribe was accidentally omitted in the 1877 census.

Marriage customs were attacked in two ways: legally and ethically. 175*
Toward the close of this period the government program called 648*
for an attempt on the part of officials of the Indian service to insist 657
upon civil marriage under the laws of the United States, to oppose 581
wife-purchase and the marriage of the young girls, to register civilly the marriages of those living together in accordance with old customs, and to oppose easy separation and divorce. Since the individual men and women were becoming possessors of private property in the form of land, houses, stock and implements, by controlling the inheritance of estates in terms of the white man's law, and refusing to recognize "wives" not legally married, the program began to have an effect. After 1883 missionaries of the Home [797]
Missionary Society and the Methodist Episcopal Church worked in the tribe, and developed a small congregation of church members. The missionary influence was brought to bear against the Pawnee marriage usages from a moral angle. The agent cooperated with the missionaries in persuading the Pawnee to go through a Christian marriage ceremony as well as to secure a legal certificate. By 1890 officials claimed in their reports that the Pawnee were regularly seeking the missionary to perform the marriage ceremony for them: that by prompt action they had prevented all cases which came to their attention of "selling girls for ponies": and that while polygyny had not been stamped out, there were no new cases of a wife being taken where the man already had a wife. A final claim was that divorces were unknown, or rare, which is to be doubted.

The dancing, gambling and feasting to which the tribe was 175*
addicted were marked out as dissipations contributing to indolence. 648*
and the agent by the most active measures at his command attempted 657
to prevent social gatherings for such purposes as much as possible. 796
In June 1891 the agent was surprised that the tribe assembled for a dance (probably a ceremony); he ordered it stopped at once and told the people to go to their homes and attend to their work. He could not however enforce his commands, and while some did go, most remained and carried out the dance. Such social affairs kept the people away from their farms for long periods, and the crops were neglected. In the old days the Pawnee methods of cultivation
were adjusted to their calendric rituals, and by June, when the [805
time for the hunt and summer ceremonies came, the crops were 227]
"laid by": the tribe was not yet adjusted to intensive cultivation, involving constant care.

The conflict with the Pawnee medicine men was long and diffi-
cult. The government was determined to destroy their power 648*
over the people, and to persuade the Pawnee to depend on the 657
756

REVIVALS OF GAMES

524 The games[1] most important in the old social life of the Pawnee
526 were for men the large hoop and pole game, the hand game,[2] and
the moccasin game[3]: for the women, the stick dice game, the
plum seed dice game, shinny and double-ball. Boys played at the
hand game of the men among themselves[2], and played a boys' form
of the hoop and pole game; girls played the womens' games.

668 All three revival phases took place with the games, paralleling
the ritual revivals. The activities were renewed, viz., the games
178 were again played, and played with renewed enthusiasm; the
524 paraphernalia were renewed and reconstructed in that game sets
began to be made again in the old way: such were essential for the
hoop and pole games, the plum seed and stick dice games, shinny
and doubleball: and lastly the games becoming vision sources,
sets of paraphernalia were ceremonialized: On the one hand such
[796 developments as the ritual hand games took place, and on the
other game objects like shinny balls, hoops, etc. were used as
787] vision embodiments and symbols, carried in the dance and employed
to induce visions in others. (See Chapter II)

In these revivals of old forms, we see that those forms were stressed which were most overt and apparent in the old culture: games basically, the non-esoteric activities of the societies (songs and performances) next, and the bundle activities least of all. This weighting follows the probabilities, in terms of the degree to which the old activities were shared by all the people in aboriginal life: those which were common and familiar possessions of the people were readily remembered and revived, while those calling for special traditional learning were difficult to recapture.

221 When individuals in Ghost Dance trances were transported
to the other world they came there upon villages of Pawnee living
796 as they had of old. The whole concept of the doctrine being an
668 awakening or renewal, the type of life most often visualized in the
178 trances was the tribal life of the early spring and early summer.
In aboriginal days the spring was a season of reawakening. With
the first thunder came the opening of the great bundles and the
chanting of the creation ritual. This ushered in the spring activities of the people. With the passing of winter, and the renewal

---

[1] For descriptions of these games consult Culin, Games, pp. 274, 409, 463, 625, 657.

[2] See Chapters V, VI.

[3] The moccasin game was played by the Pawnee, instead of the hand game, with Central Algonquian tribes.

of life in the waters and upon earth, the villages were plunged into a round of activities. The young men got ready to go on the warpath, and all their moccasins, garments and weapons had to be put in order. The women made the moccasins, and helped them in other ways to prepare. Meanwhile the games had begun among children and adults. As the time neared for the departure of the war parties, the great war society dances and performances were held. A visitor to the villages at this season would have been directly impressed with three phases of the outdoor scene: the work of individuals, in view here and there; the games; and the spectacular and colorful dances of the warriors before their departure. These aspects of Pawnee life, being old and familiar, dominated the imagery of the Ghost Dance visions. 221 796 668 178

NEW CULTURAL FORMS

The Ghost Dance proved not only a force for cultural revival, but with a return to the past as an inspirational source and guide, and vision sanctions as immediate drives, the doctrine was an impetus to cultural development. Several noteworthy forms are on record. The Ghost Dance ceremonial forms themselves have already been described. The rapid development of the many Ghost Dance hand game ceremonies were the most striking development and reintegration of the old and new; these form the subject of the entire second part of this study and need not concern us here. In addition the development of the modern iruska, or new war dance, among all four bands, a form of social gathering for feasting and gift-giving; and the spread of the peyote ritual, began at this period.[1] 178 796 [276 431]

---

[1] An anecdote told by Murie (Ceremonies of the Pawnee, in press, Bureau of Ethnology) indicates in a lighter vein, the freedom to make ritual changes which came with the Ghost Dance doctrine, and the occasional results: "It is said that in 1893, the husband of the Skull bundle keeper, a rather young man, took a notion he would shell the corn for the people and distribute it in a new way. He gathered some men, shelled the ear of corn from the bundle, and distributed it himself. The people remonstrated, but he told them he had had a vision and was going to do just as he was told. In June he started to Wichita Mountains. When he got about 35 miles south of Pawnee (it was very hot and dry; the dust was about five inches thick) his wagon broke down and he had to stay there several days, but at last got his wheels repaired and started out again. Travelling was very hard. The old woman who was keeper of the Skull Bundle, struck him on the back and said, 'You will shell corn, will you. See what you have done.' That year the crops burned up, it was so hot." [787 688]

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 5

The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee

(Hall 5, Case 60)

The Pawnee were a tribe of the Caddoan linguistic 101
stock who, in historic times, occupied the valley of the [197]
Platte river in Nebraska. The name Pawnee is probably [131]
derived from *pariki* ("a horn"), a term applied
to them by the neighboring tribes because of their
peculiar method of dressing the hair. They called
themselves Chahiksichahiks ("Men of Men"). They [174]
seem to have come into Nebraska from some region to
the southwest, expelling an earlier population; but this
movement was an ancient one, and the first Siouxian
tribes to enter the Platte valley found the Pawnee
already established.

The region in which the Pawnee lived was high, 133
dry, and rather sandy, with little timber except along
the rivers. On the west, toward the mountains, it was
rough and broken. In early times buffalo and other 221
game were abundant. Although the Pawnee ranged 105
over a large territory in pursuit of the buffalo, they
were not nomads. They spent the greater part of
every year in permanent villages and raised large
crops of corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins. Corn
played a much more important part than the buffalo
in their ceremonies and mythology, and it is evident
that they were an agricultural rather than a hunting
people.

[p. 2 is blank]

NK10
F451

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

every man under his vine and fig-tree; and *none* shall make them 000
afraid." Mic. 4. 3, 4.

As hinted in a note in a previous communication, (see February 131
Miscellany, p. 62.) the Pawnee villages are not located on their 648
own land. Formerly the land on both sides of the Platte river belonged to them. But about the year 1835 they concluded a treaty with the United States, in which they ceded to the latter all their territory on the South side of the river. Their villages were then situated about 150 miles further up the Platte on the North side. The missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. were then residing 797
with them, their mission stations being situated in the vicinity of these villages. When the Pawnees were at their homes, which is only four or five months of the year, (the remaining months [221]
being consumed on their summer and fall hunts) the missionaries were engaged in teaching such of their children as could be induced to attend school, and in instructing the people in the truths of religion, as well as they could according to their limited knowledge of the language. About six years ago, the powerful Sioux made 648
repeated incursions into the Pawnee country, and the strength of the latter being very much weakened by their frequent wars with 797
their enemies, they were obliged to succomb, and at length forced to leave their former location on the North side of the Platte, and to remove to the South side, nearer to the white settlements on the Missouri river. The missionaries too found it unsafe to remain, and it was thought advisable to suspend their missionary operations among them. Mr. and Mrs. Allis (See August Misc. 1851, pp. 221, 222, and also February Misc. 1852, p. 64.) are remnants of this noble band of missionaries, and, still cherishing the desire, that these benighted but very interesting people might be enlightened by the gospel, have, while their fellow-laborers have long ago left for other fields of usefulness, still lingered behind,—and toiled on, amidst many self-denials, privations, and discouragements, in doing whatever lay in their power for the good of these Indians. Lately the government has established Fort Kearney, not far distant from their former villages, which, it is hoped, will be a security against future incursions, and prove a safeguard, when our mission will once be established among them.

Language.—The Pawnee language is said to be altogether different 197
from the languages of the surrounding prairie tribes. The Otoes, the Ioways, the Osages, the Kanzas or Caws, the Omahaws, the Puncaws, etc., seem all to speak dialects of the same language, the Dakota; while the Pawnee language seems, by its great difference, to point back to the earliest periods of the residence of the Indians in this country, when a disruption may have taken place, that formed them into a distinct nation.

Population, lodges, etc.—The lower village consists of about 361
161

entirely filled, for in the Pawnee area there are no caves or rock shelters where things of a perishable nature might have been preserved. 172* A study of the large Pawnee ethnological collections in eastern museums will help in this regard but is outside the province of this report.

In the present treatment the major portion of the data have been drawn from the Hill collection at the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. The majority of the specimens were taken from the Hill site near Red Cloud. Small series from most of the other villages are also represented, furnishing valuable if limited comparative material. During the summer of 1930 the Nebraska Archaeological Survey secured a small, carefully excavated collection from the Hill site, corroborating for the most part the conclusions drawn from the larger collection. At Linwood the collection of surface material made by Mr. Alfred Tichacek at the early historic village site on his farm afforded a good representation from the early Pawnee culture on its eastern margin. The Nebraska Historical Society collections, where documented, were also of value. Wherever possible, the findings of archeology have been correlated with the accounts of early explorers so as to secure a final check on all material.

HABITATIONS

The Pawnee, in common with other semisedentary tribes of the 172* Missouri Valley and eastern plains area, used two and possibly three very distinct types of dwellings. 342 In their permanent villages, occupied 4 or 5 months of each year, the familiar communal earth lodge was characteristic. [221] Periodically, however, usually twice each year, the entire community abandoned the village to hunt bison, and at such times recourse was had to the skin tipi so typical of the nomadic tribes of the plains. Both types are superficially like those of neighboring tribes, but because of certain distinctive features in each it will be well to discuss them in some detail. A recent Pawnee earth lodge in Oklahoma appears in plate 1, *a*, while an idealized cross-section of such an earth lodge, with four center posts, appears in figure 1. In regard to the latter sketch it should be noted that the extreme outer (i. e., third) row of posts do not appear to have been driven into the ground, for in none of the following excavations were traces of them observed.

EARTH LODGE.—Of the various early descriptions of the Pawnee earth lodge,[4] or *akkaros*,[5] that contained in Clayton's journal[6] is perhaps the most complete. It was written in 1847, among the

---

[4] Pike, 1810, App. to pt. II, p. 15; see also Bushnell, 1922, pp. 155-167.
[5] De Smet, 1905, vol. III, p. 974.
[6] Clayton, 1921, pp. 97-99.

crop unknown to these white men and unnoticed by them. Even cultivated 172*
sunflowers, common as they were to Pawnee agriculture, were scarcely men- 224
tioned or not mentioned at all in accounts by these white men. Another crop, still less known to white men, might easily have escaped notice entirely. If they saw fields of it growing, they probably, not being acquainted with it, considered them to be old neglected fields "gone to weeds."

While maize and other vegetable products provided the bulk of 172*
the diet, animal food was also very generally used. Of particular 262
importance was the bison, hunted not for its flesh alone, but also
for the hide, hair, sinew, horns, and even the hoofs. Archeologi- 237
cally, the bones of this animal are by far the commonest in Pawnee sites, and byproducts, such as horn spoons and haircloth, are by no means unknown. Further, the dire straits into which the tribe was thrown by failure to find the herds shows very clearly how heavily the Pawnee leaned upon the bison economically, even with their fields of maize.

Two great tribal hunts were staged each year by the Pawnee, a 172*
practice followed also by the Oto, Omaha, Kansa, Osage, and other 224
neighboring tribes of similar cultural status. Immediately after 221 ●
the second hoeing of the corn, which took place about the middle of June, the entire tribe departed on the summer hunt, returning in September to harvest the corn and other crops. Toward the end of October, after the corn had been cached, they set out on the winter hunt, the Skidi moving westward to the forks of the Platte, while the other bands proceeded southward to the Arkansas.[35] Early in April they returned to the permanent villages in time for the corn planting. The favorite hunting grounds lay in what is now western Kansas, between the Republican and Arkansas Rivers, necessitating a trek of from 400 to 900 miles on each hunt.[36] An additional incentive for the long winter hunt appears to have been the need of finding sufficient forage for the horses.[37]

The meat was eaten fresh whenever possible, every hunt being a 172*
period of heavy feasting. Great quantities of meat were cut into 262
strips and dried in the sun to form "jerky." This was later eaten [224]
raw or else was cooked with corn and beans into a sort of stew or
thick soup. The tongue and heart of the bison were usually sacrificed [252]
to the spirits. Long says that the tallow was also used, particularly in cookery. According to Allis,[38] "The most delicious dish with them is the young taken from the buffalo they kill."

Among the other animals commonly used as food, Allis[39] names elk, deer, bear, beaver, otter, raccoon, and badger. The jaws and

---

[35] Ashley and Smith, 1918, pp. 119–121.

[36] Dunbar, 1880, b, pp. 327–328.

[37] Long, 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.

[38] 1887, p. 140.

[39] Ibid.

A SUMMER HUNT

NOTES ON THE PAWNEES

224 It was in the month of July, 1872. The Pawnees were preparing to
796 start on their semi-annual buffalo hunt, and only the last religious rites
● [221] remained to be performed before the nation should leave the village
for the buffalo range.

"*Eh, idadi, whoop,*" came from without the lodge; and as I replied, "*Ehya, whoop,*" the sturdy figure of *Le-ta-kats-ta´-ka* appeared in the doorway.

"*Lau, idad, tŭt-tŭ-ta-rik ti-rah-rĕk*—Come, brother, they are going to dance," he said, and then he turned and went out.

I rose from the pile of robes on which I had been dozing, and, after rolling them up, strolled out after him. The village seemed deserted, but off toward the medicine lodge, which stood upon its outskirts, I could see a throng of Indians; and a low murmur of voices and of footsteps, the hum which always accompanies any large assemblage, was borne to my ears on the evening breeze. The cere-

[PP. 1-11 not Processed]

224 drum sounded, and a dozen or twenty young warriors sprang into the
796 circle and began the buffalo dance. This was kept up without intermission for three days, and as soon as it was over, the tribe moved out of the village on the hunt.

224 From the village on the Loup, we traveled southward; for in those
days the region between the Platte and the Smoky rivers swarmed
with buffalo. With the Pawnees were a few Poncas, Omahas and
Otoes, so that there were about four thousand Indians in the camp.
●[221] It was the summer hunt of the tribe. Twice each year the agent permitted them to visit the buffalo range. The meat which they killed
[251 and dried on these hunts, the corn and squashes which they grew
511] on their farms, and the small annuities received from the Government, were all they had to subsist on from season to season. Thus
the occasion was one of importance to the Indians. Perhaps only the
older heads among them fully appreciated its economic interest; but
for all it was a holiday time; a temporary escape from confinement.
[512 Life on the reservation was monotonous. There was nothing to do
521] except to sit in the sun and smoke, and tell stories of the former glories of the nation; of successful fights with the Sioux and Cheyennes, and of horse stealing expeditions, from which the heroes had returned with great herds of ponies and much glory. Now, for a little while, they returned to the old free life of earlier years, when the land had been all their own, and they had wandered at will over the broad expanse of the rolling prairie. Now, for a time, it was as it had been before the cornfields of the white man had begun to dot their river bottoms, before the sound of his rifle had made wild their game, before the locomotive's whistle had shrieked through the still, hot summer air. Half a year's provision was now to be secured. The comfort—almost the existence—of the tribe for the next six months depended on the accumulation of an abundant supply of dried buffalo meat, and no precaution was omitted to make the hunt successful. It would not do to permit each individual to hunt independently. Indiscriminate buffalo running by six or eight hundred men scattered over the prairie, each one working for himself alone, would result in the killing of some few buffalo, but would terrify and drive away all the others in the neighborhood. This matter was too important to be trusted to chance. The hunting was systematized.

14: Weltfish NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

221

512

[To organize her data and findings from her reconstruction of Pawnee culture as it was thought to exist in 1867, the author selects the semi-fictional device of discussing the daily routine and annual cycle of some hypothetical or imaginary families in one of the village communities of the Skidi band of the Pawnee. Ethnographic data relevant to these two categories are built into her entire narration.]

bered custom and old ways of life? Today the ethnologist is hard put to 175
get very much that is significant. Even with the opening of the present century, most of these peoples had so long ago been decimated by disease and war that memory of their past life was extremely fragmentary. Along with whatever fragments of custom were recorded then, the archaeologist must use the written testimony of the chance traveler and trader to give life to his findings.

In the 1700's when the trade and travel records were written, the Missouri River was a main artery of European-Indian trade. Commercial companies centered in St. Louis maintained regular contact with trade centers up the river, and in the 1800's steamboats plied their way upstream with goods and guns to exchange for furs. Trade centers for exchange were an ancient tradition of American Indian life, and now they eagerly made their way to the trade centers of the European where new goods and materials could be gotten. But the price was dear. For besides the new goods, there came new and fatal diseases—measles, smallpox, cholera, and a variety of fevers—wiping out hundreds and even thousands of people at one blow. Whole tribes that had lived in the region for hundreds of years were wiped out or left in such a fragmentary condition that they joined with other tribes and lost the knowledge of their past identity.

The Pawnees who lived outside the mainstream of commercial traffic 131
were less affected than the others by this holocaust. They lived along the 161
outlying tributaries of the Missouri—the Loup, the Platte, and the
Republican—that flow eastward across the present State of Nebraska and 175
join the Missouri at their eastern ends. It was only in the 1830's, when
the Pawnees were living in the western part of their territory at what
they refer to as Old Village, that the direct effects of the many historic
pressures of the time began to bear down on them. At that time they [221]
numbered about 12,000 and were living a well-integrated native life of a
sedentary Plains people such as the archaeological remains indicate—
planting crops and hunting buffalo in alternate seasons. Then disease [731]
began to do its terrible work, and the large bands of refugee Siouan peoples [648]
(some 30,000 strong), pushing in from the east, attacked them with
increasing furor in order to gain their territory and their hunting grounds.
Finally the Pawnees began to move eastward along the river courses to be 167
nearer the centers of civilization, and by 1859, by agreement with the 175
United States Government, they moved onto a reservation near the
present town of Genoa, Nebraska. By this time their numbers were reduced 648
to 3,400, but they still retained their old social forms and independent [161]
polity and a traditional rhythm of life throughout the year. Added to
their problems had been the full force of westward migration of the
expanding United States—the Oregon Trail, Mormon Trail, and Gold
Rush along the Platte, and, from 1861 on, a crescendo of Sioux attacks

The real administrative officials of the Pawnees were the chiefs of the villages. All people within a village considered themselves kin, and the chiefs were conceived as heads of extended families rather than as superimposed government officials. Although the chieftainship was hereditary in certain families, the individuals selected to fill the post were chosen for their humility and sagacity. An aggressive temperament was considered a barrier to the office. There were definite implicit mechanisms for village coordination and interband cooperation, often by means of emissaries sent between the households of chiefs to express their combined opinions and to learn the wishes of the other parties. Public opinion and consensus were always well estimated. No official conceived that an arbitrary decision was feasible or desirable. 621 622 619 626

The difference in our expectations is shown in the words of Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesus Maria, first missionary to the Caddo-Hasinai, a related tribe to the Pawnees, in 1691 (Swanton, 1942, pp. 170-171): 171

> These allied tribes do not have one person to govern them (as with us a kingdom is accustomed to have a ruler whom we call king.) They have only a *xinesi*. He usually has a subordinate who gathers together four or five tribes who consent to live together and to form a province or kingdom, as it might be called—and a very large one too, if all these tribes had one person to rule over them. But such a head they have not, and I, therefore, infer that this province in New Spain is called "Teijias" [Friend]—which really expresses just what they are because each tribe is a friend to all the others—cannot be called a kingdom.

And Robert Lowie says in *The Crow Indians* (1935, p.5):

> How shall we conceive the ancient chief?—a good "valiant" man. He was neither a ruler nor a judge and in general had no power over life and death —he decided when and where his followers should move and pitch camp.

As I studied Pawnee life I often asked myself how far the power mechanisms that characterize our present social life are really indispensable. In our theory of democracy we express a profound desire for the kind of voluntarism that the Pawnee practiced. It is not easily described, for it is implicit in the individual personalities of the people themselves. Their personality pattern only too readily eludes us, and only by attention to minute detail can we come to understand its special quality. 500

And yet, although very different in all other details, Pawnee life, like our own, was strongly molded by the four seasons. Each of the seasons had its special program of activities that, taken together, made a complete and consistent pattern. The spring and fall of the year were the times of planting and harvesting the crops of corn, beans, and squash. During these two seasons the Pawnees lived in their earth-lodge villages that 221

• 221 were ranged along the bank of Beaver Creek. During the summer and again in winter, the whole tribe left their villages behind and set out on a long expedition to the southwestern part of the state where large herds of buffalo followed their accustomed paths of migration. Several thousand men, women, and children with their horses and dogs were lined up for miles as they followed the river courses on their journey south and west, carrying tents, utensils, and other paraphernalia and a quantity of dried vegetables for their food. They killed some thousands of buffalo on each of these expeditions, drying the meat and packaging it to take home to their villages. While they were in the villages, they manufactured everything they needed both for household life and for their life on the march.

796 But the thing that made life most worthwhile to the Pawnees was their elaborate round of ceremonies. This was based on a complex philosophy of the creation of the universe and of man and of their ongoing nature. The ceremonies were considered as the means for keeping the cosmic order in its course and the continuance of the earth and its life processes. 796 No ceremony could be conducted without a feast of boiled buffalo meat, and a large part of the meat that was gotten on the tribal buffalo hunts 262 was used for this purpose. Rehearsals for the ceremonies, the preparation of costumes and ceremonial objects, and the performance of the ceremonies themselves occupied a large part of the time, attention, and skill of the men, and from the household itself the women contributed not only the dried meat that they had prepared, but also boiled corn, corn bread, and other vegetable dishes for entertaining during rehearsals and for the feasts.

796 The ceremonies were more than religious observances. They were the whole focus of Pawnee aesthetic life, particularly in the performing arts. The pageantry and the costuming, the dances and the miming were developed for beauty as well as for religious significance. They were opera and ballet, and the songs were appreciated for their technical and aesthetic value and were sung on many occasions throughout the year just for the pleasure of singing or hearing them. Laughter and enjoyment as well as religious fervor were common experiences of the spectators during the performances, and the performers tried to get a good audience and to please them.

172 The same Plains region that brought terrible hardships to our settlers, provided a rich life for the Pawnees. Their way of life on the Plains goes back to a very old tradition. Archaeologically we have reason to believe 175 they were in the same area from about A.D. 1250. They appear in written history in 1540 when Coronado and his Spaniards were trying to expand their territory northward from the Southwest. Marquette, exploring the Mississippi for the French in 1672, carried the calumet down the river as a pipe of peace, a custom attested by other tribes to have been originated

851 convince a man of his physiological paternity, and her child would then be a social outcast. It would be known as *pira-paru*, "hidden child," 848 since the mother would be ashamed and try to hide it when her brothers came to visit. The child would be subject to many insults and humiliations throughout its life. In these terms, whatever the sentiments of the parents for each other, the child always had a legal right to the care of both its parents, clearly identified as its physical progenitors. Children were normally cared for by their grandmothers, and it was quite possible that various fortunes placed the child in one household with its grandmother, its mother in another household, and the father in still another. The obligations for support, however, remained incumbent on both parents.

593 The household as a working group of coordinated members was precisely organized, and each household had the same general structure. 221 However, twice a year when the tribe set out on its semiannual buffalo hunts, the household work group fragmented itself into many smaller groupings, which reassorted themselves so that an able hunter became the nucleus of each new composite grouping. When they returned to the village the households did not necessarily reassemble with the same personnel as before. This was entirely optional, and there were many reasons why people might decide to join a different household group than the one they had been with before leaving. However, it was not too hard to establish a working household on this basis even twice a year, since the pattern of operation was the same everywhere. The three duplicate stations on the north and south sides of the lodge with their full complement of the young, mature, and old women was a frame into which any individual woman could fit herself in whatever household she entered with little loss of efficiency, since her duties were so clearly defined once she selected the category to which she belonged. And a child with a grandmother to care for it could fit in anywhere. Young men led a more transient existence. They were likely to congregate at different times in one lodge or another, and a bed would be made for them by putting down a mat between the central pillars and providing it with the necessary skin bedding. Old men also moved about rather freely, staying overnight in various households whenever they were detained late of an evening telling stories or participating in a ceremony. As for the mature man, his married-in household was not considered his "true" home. In his married-in household he was an outsider with formal obligations, which sometimes tended to weigh rather heavily on him. Then he would go where his home really was—that of his sisters and his mother, where they would gladly feed him and take care of him and where he could relax 621 and feel like a child. When this happened, his wife understood, and she 622 knew he would be back after a few days.

821 The only stable and fixed unit of Pawnee life was the village with
778

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

7

THE SPRING AWAKENING

000

Creation Ceremony—Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—Ceremony of Sacred Corn Seeds—Ground-breaking Ceremony—Pawnee Ceremonial Acts Discussed—Planting Cycle Ceremonies Discussed—Significance with Seasonal Progression Noted

THE PAWNEES HAD MANY TASKS to accomplish in the early spring before the time of planting. Some of them were practical and some ceremonial, but to the Pawnees who believed that nothing on earth could move without the heavens, no practical task could be undertaken unless the appropriate ceremony had preceded it. 796

The first ceremonial act of the year was to awaken the whole earth from its winter sleep. After their long and arduous travels over the plains on their winter buffalo hunt, the Pawnees returned to their villages at the end of February or the beginning of March. The year began about the time of the spring equinox with the ritual recitation of the creation by the five priests, repeated for each of the twelve sacred bundles of the original villages that formed the Skidi federation. The position of [821] the stars was an important guide to the time when this ceremony should be held. The earth lodge served as an astronomical observatory and as [349] the priests sat inside at the west, they could observe the stars in certain positions through the smokehole and through the long east-oriented entranceway. They also kept careful watch of the horizon right after sunset and just before dawn to note the order and position of the stars.

The round of spring renewal ceremonies was heralded by the appearance of two small twinkling stars known as the Swimming Ducks in the northeastern horizon near the Milky Way. They notified the animals that they must awaken from their winter sleep, break through the ice, and come out into the world again. At this time the Pleiades began to 796 821 [221]

796 take a certain position. When these signs were seen, then they must listen
821 for the thunder that is low, deep, and rumbling, starting in the west and rolling around the entire circuit of the heavens. Sheet lightning gave warning that this kind of thunder would soon appear. This thunder was the voice of Heaven, and when it came from the south they knew that it was the signal for the creation ritual to be performed.

The ritual was part of the sacred lore of the Evening Star bundle
796 which at this time was kept in the earth lodge of Old Lady Lucky
778 Leader. As soon as the thunder was heard, the five official priests gathered
821 there and began their preparations for the ritual. The same ritual
• 221 would be repeated for each of the twelve major sacred bundles, the Evening Star which they were about to perform, then Morning Star bundle, then Big Black Meteoric Star and nine others. At intervals all during the month of March the priests went in succession to the different households where each of the bundles was kept, performing the ritual to renew their powers. The order for the first three performances was as given above; the other nine, simply as each of the households happened to be ready to pause in its work and to provide the necessary food for the priests.

796 Now the five priests were sitting at the west in the lodge of Old Lady
793 Lucky Leader, the Evening Star bundle lying open before them. The sacred objects were spread out on the skin of a tawny yellow calf rep-
[778] resenting the herds of buffalo. Two sacred ears of corn represented their staple food, two owlskins the watchfulness of the chiefs, hawkskins the ferocity of the warriors, flint for fire and sweet grass for incense; paints symbolized the powers of the different directions of the universe. Each of the priests held a gourd rattle in his right hand, and they sang together of the first creation. Their responsibility lay heavy upon them, for they and they alone must bring the world back to life again. Would they now be able to bring back the abundance of summer—the green grass, the trees, the animals reborn, the waters flowing free, the warmth of a summer day? Loud and insistently they recounted each minute step of the creation and in the trancelike depths of their thinking, the events rolled by before them.

773 In the beginning Heaven sat in the unassorted universe and thought. He sent his thoughts out over space. Then he created the celestial gods to bring his thoughts to fruition. First he made the gods of the cardinal directions—the Evening Star at the west with the moon as her helper, the Morning Star at the east with the sun as his helper, in the north the North Star and in the south, Canopus, the South Star. Then Heaven placed four stars in the semicardinal directions—Black Star in the northeast, Yellow Star in the northwest, White Star in the southwest and Red Star in the southeast. Heaven said to them, "You four shall be known as the ones who uphold the heavens. There you shall stand as long as the

visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her 773
four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it [829]
is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled re- [628]
counting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the [631]
past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In
Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and on-
going life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the 796
year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first cer- 619
emony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, 631
a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a cere-
mony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. [778]
(See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual 796
during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved 782

[793]
[221]
[727]

796 the sacrifice to the Morning Star of a young girl that had been cap-
782 tured from the enemy. This was compensation to the Morning Star god
[793] for his struggle during the creation. The last girl to be sacrificed to the
[221] Morning Star was a young Sioux girl named Haxti in 1838, after which
[727] the practice was abandoned. This ceremony symbolized fertility in gen-
[178] eral.

796
221
778

TABLE 7-1. *Chart of Sacred Bundle Ceremonies in the Spring and Fall*

The several ceremonies of the spring planting and fall harvest form a parallel series, the six ceremonies in each showing a recurrent alternation of the powers of the Evening Star and the four semicardinal-direction bundles. The first four pertain to planting, fertility, and war, the latter two to buffalo hunting and migration.

	Spring		*Fall*
I.	Spring Renewal—ceremony of the creation at the first thunder from the south; Evening Star sponsorship.	I.	Green Corn Ceremony. Evening Star sponsorship.
II.	Distributing sacred seed corn of the special breed of corn included in the sacred bundles. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the summer-direction bundles—southwest or southeast.	II.	Harvest of Mature Corn. Mature corn from sacred seeds installed in the sacred bundles, replacing the sacred ears of last year's planting. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the winter-direction bundles—northwest or northeast.
III.	Ground-breaking ceremony, *Awari*, movement, activity. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an affiliate of the Evening Star in charge of the ritual as sponsor.	III.	Four-Pole Ceremony—symbolizing political federation and control of the country through war expeditions so that they could go out into the country on the hunt. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an Evening Star affiliate in charge of the ritual as sponsor.
IV.	Birth and growth of Young Mother Corn through adolescence to young womanhood; known as *Kurahus*, "Priest." Semicardinal-direction bundle in charge of ritual as sponsor.		

BUFFALO HUNTING AND MIGRATION

796
221
778

	Spring		*Fall*
V.	Ritual Chiefs' Meeting. Chiefs personify Heaven and acknowledge their sole responsibility to lead the people to a successful conclusion of the buffalo hunt. Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person in charge of the ritual.	V.	Ritual Chiefs' Meeting. Chiefs acknowledge their sole responsibility to lead the people to a successful conclusion of the buffalo hunt. North Star bundle in charge of the ritual.
VI.	Great Cleansing Ceremony of the ceremonial objects. Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast bundle of the four Semicardinal-direction set, in charge. Tribe leaves the village to go off on the migration and summer buffalo hunt.	VI.	Great Cleansing Ceremony of the ceremonial objects. Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast bundle of the four Semicardinal-direction set, in charge. Tribe leaves the village to go off on the migration and winter buffalo hunt.

The next ceremony concerned the corn itself. The sacred corn included in all the bundles was of a specially cultivated breed that was ordinarily not eaten. At this ceremony these seeds were distributed to each of the sacred bundle owners so that the sacred ears of corn could be grown for their bundles. The two "north" bundles of the semicardinal directions took charge of this ceremony in alternate years, one year the northeast, the next the northwest, etc. This ceremony was held late in April.

During the first week in May the ceremony that immediately preceded the planting of the common varieties of food corn was performed. Until it was carried out, no planting could be done. It was under the sponsorship of the Skull bundle, thus maintaining the principle of alternation of sacred responsibilities, since it was an Evening Star affiliate. The outstanding feature of the ceremony was a pantomime of breaking the ground preparatory to planting. The ground was customarily broken with a hoe made of a buffalo shoulder blade tied to a short wooden stick that served as a handle. During the ceremony, the women went through the motions of breaking the ground with sacred hoes that were kept in the four semicardinal-direction bundles and borrowed for the occasion. The action was very vigorous and the ceremony was appropriately called *Awari*, "Motion." The planting was done the very next day after the ceremony. 796 221 241 778

The final ceremony of the spring planting cycle was called *Karahus*,

796 "Priest"; it was performed when the sacred corn plants were about two
• 221 inches high and had four good leaves. This ceremony was in charge of
241 one of the two "south" bundles of the semicardinal directions—in alternate
years, the southwest and the southeast. The crux of the ceremony
778 was the uprooting of one of the young sacred corn plants, in which the act of birth was symbolized and the young plant carried as an infant on the visionary's back from the field to the ceremonial lodge, where it was attached to a stick fashioned by an arrowshaft maker and painted to represent a person. The plant was now carried through a cycle of childhood and young girlhood and breathed on by the priests to give it life. It was now Young Mother Corn, watching over the tribe. Only when this ceremony had been performed were the women permitted to go out into the fields and weed the corn plants and hill up the earth around them to protect them as they grew. A second weeding and hilling process in the latter part of June was the last attention the corn plants received before being "laid by." The people were then ready to leave for the summer buffalo hunt.

796 Without this ceremonial cycle, the coordination of the people in their
221 orderly round of life could not go on. While it was primarily a religious frame, it was also of basic practical value since it was based on the seasonal progression. Without it it would have been almost impossible to coordinate people's lives with one another and with external events.

Some of the activities that were necessary during the spring season were fitted into the cycle rather than being part of it. This was particularly true of the manufacturing and maintenance functions, while the ceremonial cycle referred especially to the planting of the crops.

221 All winter while the people had been wandering over the country on
[356] the tribal buffalo hunt the house had stood idle and their clothes and
[296] equipment had taken heavy wear. These had to be put in order and repaired before planting time.

356 The average life of a house was twelve years, but before the end of
476 that time water might leak through the roof and rot some of the radial
221 roof beams. These would have to be replaced, and in order to do this the
554 whole roof covering of thatch and earth had to be removed and reassembled.
622 This task would require more than the personnel of the household. Where the men of the house had little social status they would have few social contacts to draw on, but men like Old Bull and Victory Call were in a much better position to get help from the community. Because of their status as chiefs many more people were likely to volunteer to help. The following section shows some of the social mechanisms involved in the process. However, it should be noted that the assistance given was neither on the basis of power authority nor fundamentally for the sake of gaining social status by association, but rather in appreciation

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

of the role of the chief in public service. For the house of the chief was the place where administrative activities were carried on for the benefit of the people, as we have seen in the meeting described above in the home of Eagle Chief.

356
476
221
554
622
[342]
[344]

356 Cry's younger brother, would immediately set to work and do it. The
476 young men climbed to the top and fastened the two hoops in place.

283 Meanwhile White Woman had been cooking a meal for all of them
in the house of Chief's Road where they were staying. She entertained
356 the family of the house and everyone who had helped on the North Side.
574 The meal consisted of grease bread and soup made of dried intestine.
476 Some of the women had brought their own bowls out of consideration
[262] for the number she needed to feed. Old Bull's senior wife, Queen
Woman, was cooking and serving a similar meal in the house of Bringing
Trophies, to entertain all who had helped on the South Side. No one lingered over the meal, as they were anxious to get back to work.

The women took their bowls home and came back. They rested while
356 the young men tied on the new circuits of willow withe to the radials
476 with the moistened elm strips. They began at the bottom circuit and pro-
462 ceeded to the next circuit upward. When they reached the higher circuits, the "boys," Advance Scout and the others, began to fasten the thatch grass to the bottom circuit. As they got further up, the young men now took up this work, while the older "boys" began to pile the earth on the lower circuits, the women filling up their pans with earth and handing them up to the men on the roof. In households of less social status, the women would have had to do a good deal of the work on the roof themselves; in this case they were spared any need to climb up
356 further. When the work was completed, there was usually a dinner meal
574 for a large number of people, including some who had merely come
to watch the proceedings. Each of the hostesses usually had a party of about fifty to feed. Everyone was tired and they waited until the following morning to sweep out the house and move back in. Now the time for
• 221 planting was drawing near and they began to think of the immediate
241 preparations that remained.

In the whole course of this large construction job there was no fore-
356 man to oversee the work; not a single order was issued nor a command
46 given; the work was performed with precision, and no inspection was
needed to check its quality or workmanship.

241 After a whole morning and afternoon of dancing and singing, the feast was served to all, including the spectators and everyone went home except the four Skull bundle ministers and the woman visionary, who had to return the four sacred hoes to the four direction bundles with a gift of meat and calico to their owners and pack up the other objects. By this time the ministers were hoarse from all the singing, and by the next morning the old women who had participated in the dancing were very stiff.

Early next morning the visionary woman's brother took the willows that had been tied to the four house posts and carried them to some clear water west of the lodge. Then he deposited them under the water in the semicardinal directions they had occupied in the lodge.

243 The ground being ritually prepared, they would begin to plant. Early next morning everybody went into the fields. Men and women pulled up the weeds by hand and occasionally a man would use his axe to remove some sumach that happened to be growing there. All the weeds were burned up on the spot and one could see the smoke of the fires everywhere. Only the sunflower heads were saved, in anticipation of the harvest when they would need fuel for roasting the ears of corn.

243 221 According to a missionary report of the 1850's, the time was May 8th and everyone felt impelled to hurry, for the time was short before they would be leaving their villages for the summer buffalo hunt. With everyone cooperating, the entire planting would be done in about six days. By mid-May they could begin preparing their clothes and equipment for the summer migration.

243 That night, after they had cleared up the fields, they soaked their corn kernels in a pan to be ready for planting next morning. Some people soaked special "medicine" with the seeds to promote their growth. The next morning they went into the fields, carrying their corn kernels in a bucket or sack to keep them moist. Each carried enough for twenty corn hills, five to seven kernels to a hill. The first thing they did when they got to the field was to hoe up the ground with a buffalo shoulder-blade hoe to a depth of about 2 inches. Having removed the roots and sprouts, they replaced the loose earth and began to build up the corn hills. A corn hill was 1–1½ feet in diameter. There was a small circular excavation like a miniature fireplace with loose earth all around it. Four to six seeds were inserted around the sides and one in the middle on top. Some made a number of hills and then inserted the kernels, and some completed the planting of each hill as it was made. After the seeds were inserted, the earth was hilled up all around into a smooth little mound. The corn hills were irregularly distributed over the field about a man's
[195] step apart, and the women made sure that there was an even number by analogy with their own breasts, a metaphor that was not uncommonly cited.

together and again enjoying a festive meal at their daughter-in-law's house 243
afterward. [606]

Now at the beginning of June everyone's mind was turned to completing [221]
the preparations for leaving on the summer hunt. They would weed and cultivate the corn plants and hill up the earth once more just before leaving, when the plants were about 3½ feet high. The present Nebraska farmer says, "Knee high by the fourth of July" and the Pawnee said, "Tall enough to tickle the horse's belly."

The corn and the buffalo that sustained the Pawnee placed heavy demands 22
upon him. Only by carrying out his year's round with great precision 476
and by careful coordination of his activities with other people of 243
the tribe could he combine these two major food resources. The administrative
activities of the priests and the chiefs were as vital to his enterprise 622
as the physical resources themselves. Few administrative structures have 182
commended themselves so directly to the people as that of the Pawnees. [793]
Respect for the chief was a cardinal tenet of every Pawnee's life, in return [183]
for which the chief demonstrated a dedicated concern for his people.

13

CEREMONIAL PREPARATIONS FOR SUMMER BUFFALO HUNT

000

Ritual Meeting of the Chiefs—New Responsibilities of Chiefs—Mythohistorical Significance of Skull Bundle—Development of Original Village Federations—Ceremony Described—Chief of Hunt Is Chosen—Banquet Follows—People of Village Informed

• 221 WHEN THE CORN WAS LAID by in the beginning of June, a new phase in
*224 the Pawnee year's round began. Everyone turned their thoughts to the
long migration out onto the prairie. The mass hunt of the buffalo herd
that was the next phase in the Pawnee year's round would last all summer
until time for the harvest in the beginning of September. Would
[162] they find the herd, would they get a plentiful supply of meat for their
ceremonial banquets, would they be attacked by the enemy, would they
live in health and at peace with one another—three thousand people in four
Skidi villages and four Pawnee bands—each with its own ways and interests
on a journey of 900 miles over the land and across the rivers?

622 As was their practice, it was the chiefs, priests, and medicine men that
221 took the first formal steps toward initiating each new round of activities
[793] through the year so that the people were taught and reminded of what
[756] lay ahead. In the village, priest and chief shared almost equally in keeping
life on an ordered course, but on the march it was the constant
vigilance of the chief that determined the achievement of this goal.
And so this season opened with a ritual meeting of the chiefs, validating
their cosmic sanction and soliciting the confidence of the people.

622 The whole meaning of this ceremony was that the chiefs alone were
796 taking responsibility for the welfare of the people on the hunt and that
*224 the sacred meat they were about to get was a great and Heaven-sent

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

cred bundle ceremonies, and for them the success of the venture was a token of the favor they enjoyed with the powers above. 792

In his closing speech in the council tent, White Eagle had thanked his chiefs, braves and young men of the tribe who had helped him in every way to get all the dry meat that they now all had. For, he said, the horses were all heavily laden and every old man and old woman had some meat too. He spoke of the fact that they should now look to the future tasks that were ahead—their crops of corn beans and squash that they had left growing in their gardens and would harvest and preserve. There was no delay when they got to the village in getting to work on the drying and processing of the crop for storage. The star Canopus had risen in the southern sky and the harvest month of September was upon them. The Pawnee felt himself fortunate that by his work he could ensure himself so many of the good things of life. 622 537 221 [821]

31

HARVEST TIME IN THE VILLAGE

000

Encampment in the Bottomlands—Grandma Opens the Cache Pit—Fall Harvest—Grandma Builds a Work Enclosure in the Field—Roasting the Corn and Pumpkin—Her Round of Activities—Treatment of Corn, Beans, Pumpkin—Sioux Attack—Earth Lodges Prepared for Reentering—Stories

243 EVERYONE'S THOUGHTS were now upon their gardens and their corn. In
[821] the sky, the South Star, Canopus, had appeared and they knew it was time
for harvest. By our calendar it was about the first of September. The time
• [221] of the hunt was over; the time of the harvest begun.

Before they left the village at the end of June, the corn had grown
about knee high and the earth was hilled up around the young plants so
that they looked like little earth lodges with smoke issuing from their
smokeholes. Now the stalks were ten feet tall and the ears were not quite
mature but "in the milk." The corn harvest was in two stages: some of
243 the corn was treated at once in this early stage by roasting and drying,
252 and some left to mature completely on the stalk before being dried and
251 processed. Between the first and second corn drying, they harvested and
244 dried the beans and then the pumpkins.

When they camped in the bottomlands near the fields, they set up a
342 commodious tent as they knew they wouldn't have to move it for at least
251 three weeks, and they needed room to keep their meat and dried crops
under cover. Their earth lodges were infested with fleas and they
couldn't spare the time to clear them up until they had gotten on with
251 the work of the harvest. However, they did go up to the villages and
open up and inspect and clean their storage pits that they had left with

243
was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the 778
altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo 782
might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could 772
not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of 221
alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic.
The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other
in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers
of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As [823]
these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their [778]
biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for
each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through
the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these
alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation
of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his
political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different 243
aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under 778
the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when
the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four [776]
semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression
of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity,
Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in 796
their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under 628
the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented [778]
the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all
together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Pole Ceremony*—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken [823]
together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony
warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was
safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant 796 778
"ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of 243
its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the 243 778
priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to 793
settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four [533]
[535]

33

THE HOUSE REESTABLISHED AND THE FOOD STORED

000

The Move into the Earth Lodge—Final Meal in the Tent—Beds in the Lodge Are Repaired—Bedding Explained—South Side Family Moves In—Storage Pit Opened—Harvest and Meat Stored—List of the Contents—Importance of the Storage Pit

OVERHEAD THE BLACKBIRDS were flying south and everyone knew that it 221
would soon be cold. The tents were crowded with parfleches of dried buffalo meat and tanned skin bags of corn kernels and dried beans. The harvest ceremonies were done and the cosmic powers had received their thanks. All over the encampment people began to think of moving back into the earth lodges where they would have better protection for themselves and their stores. The men were thinking about the forthcoming Grand Doctor Ceremony and their part in its thirty-day round of ceremonies and performances. The needed food supplies would have to be gotten ready and their paraphernalia gotten in order.

Victory Call was one of the early ones in the encampment to plan to go back into the village. One morning he announced, "Tomorrow we're going to move into the earth lodge." "Well," said Grandma, "it's ready for us. Grieves-the-Enemy, Blue-Calico, and I got it all cleared out." White Woman, going on with the plans remarked, "We'll need two horses to do the hauling. The parfleches must go in first. You men will go up first and pile them up outside."

Horse Rider, who got up that next morning before anyone else, an- 512
nounced to his wife, No Corn, "Fire's made"; directly she got to 252
work boiling some buffalo meat for their breakfast and preparing the 264
grease bread. Horse Rider went to the creek for more water and then

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 177 wise circuit and at the west about a foot from the fireplace, hit the ground with the sage. Kind Warrior did the same and out of each of their sage plants, four beans rolled down. The Wichita now addressed the different "animal stations" where the members were seated and said, "Now you see what I did with my brother. I told him to do whatever I do. And now I'm going to give him what I do so that he can perform it at home." The Wichitas were all glad to see him do this. He continued to address them: "Now if he goes home and you hear that the Pawnees have started to do the Deer Dance, you can all know that I told him to do it. I also told him to listen to how the singing goes and what the singing is about. I told him that the singing was not just done for its own sake but to study how the animals go and what they do. And I told him that some of the songs are about smoking and that smoking is the main thing. And since he was not willing merely to be painted up for the dance, but wanted to learn what it means, I have taught him. And I'll be more than glad if you at the other places will help me with your performance so that he can learn." The Wichitas said, "That's good. We will try to help this man." "Kind Warrior," said his friend, "you ought to be glad that these different people are going to teach you for nothing."

As the doctors went through their performances, one of them would call him over and whisper to him the meaning of his performance. He would turn around and embrace the man, clasping him about the neck and rubbing his hands upon him from the head and down the arms in *blessing, for he had taken pity on him and given him what he most* wanted. As the dancing continued, another would call him over, and then another, and so he learned many of their different ways. One of the members had a black bean. He said to Kind Warrior, "You see this?" "Yes, I see it." Then the performer went around the fireplace four times and at the four semicardinal "corners," put ashes on the bean at each corner. After he had done this and gone around the fireplace four times, he stopped at the west and threw the bean down and a black spider was seen running around on the ground. "Now," said the Wichita doctor, "when you go home and have a Deer Dance, you can do this." And then Kind Warrior turned around and blessed him and so he learned many ways among the Wichita.

221 224 When he got home, it was the fall of the year and the Doctor Dance was just over and they were preparing to leave the village and go on the winter hunt. Some of the men while they were out, had noticed that the wood had been bitten by beaver and they thought this would be a good time to set a few beaver traps and make a little money by selling the skins. Two or three traps would yield a man a good profit. He would mention to a few friends, "Why stay around the village? Why not set out to trap beaver? And those who had guns could chase deer, moose, or elk." Some of their families would want to go along and

Some of their families would want to go along and some old women to collect wild potatoes and the wild beans that 221 were stored by the wood rat. The women could help with hauling 224 wood and cooking and boys could make themselves useful hauling 484 water and tending the horses. Eventually ten to fifteen tipis in two or [222] three bunches would set out in this way, traveling five or six miles a day and staying two or three days in one place. Individual men would join tents with families, going out during the day with their horses and joining the camp at night at the appointed place. Every evening an old man would walk among them announcing the next day's plans. They camped on the north side of the Loup where they could get wood as it might snow at any time. Those who trapped beaver would clean their traps in the evening and set them from the north side of the river, while the deer hunters went either north or south. Whenever anyone caught anything, they would have a big feast all through the camp. [574] Eagle Chief and War Cry who excelled in buffalo hunting did not care for shooting with guns and trapping, but Victory Call, and his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and also Old Bull were good hunters and trappers. They did not believe in exposing their families to enemy attack in this way and so they would come along by themselves. After they had made five or six camps, someone would come from the village and tell them that they would soon be setting out for the winter buffalo hunt and then they would all return and prepare.

It was such an informal hunting and trapping group that Kind Warrior 796 joined when he returned from the Wichita. In his tipi he was singing 177 his Deer Dance songs in Wichita, and when Victory Call, who was feeling lonesome, heard him, he went into the tipi where Kind Warrior was lying on his back and singing as he beat time on his thigh. Kind Warrior got up and welcomed Victory Call and after he said he was attracted by the singing, invited him to lie down and join him. Lying to the left of Kind Warrior he sang along with him and whenever he had nothing to do, he would just go in and sing. Others came in too and sang with them. Back at the village these men would sing together in the lodge and as others heard them, they also came in. These were men who had also been among the Wichita and had learned only individual songs but not the whole ritual. Some had learned polecat teaching, others buzzard, etc., and as they sang together, they taught one another. While Kind Warrior knew the most, he also learned new things from them. When there were about ten members, Kind Warrior could set them out in a formal arrangement (see Figure 43-1). He assigned two to each of the four semicardinal positions, two at the west as *rixkita*, leaders, and one errand man for the north, one for the south. More people came in and filled in the places. They made four rattles of wild squash with green and white wavy stripes to imitate the Wichita version. They also got four bows in accordance with the original version. Kind

47

EQUIPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL MANUFACTURES

000

The Fall of the Year a Time for Manufacture—Buffalo a Chief Source—History of Their Trading—Wood of Second Importance—Reeds and Grasses Third in Importance—Clay and Stone Scarce—History of Transition from Stone to Metal—Crafts Highly Regarded but No Religious Taboos—Learning to Make a Black Rope

THE FALL OF THE YEAR was the time when the Pawnees made most of the 221
things they used. There was a plentiful supply of food and in the protected environment of the earth lodge, they could manufacture the various items of furnishings, clothing, and equipment they needed. Moreover, with the winter hunt and migration in prospect, they had to make sure that everything was in order, as there would be little time in the short daylight hours for more than setting up camp and processing the meat and skins.

There were very few materials in the Pawnee environment that they 433
could use to make the things they needed. Their top resource for in- 237
dustry as well as for food was the buffalo. Hides, hair, horns, and bones 825
each found a number of essential uses. Hides made their all-important tent cover, their blankets, curtains, containers, moccasin soles, and other clothing. And even beyond their domestic needs, it gave them their major item of external trade, the buffalo robe.

There is clear evidence that this was a leading trade item before the 174
Spaniards moved up into the Plains in 1540. Long before the advent of the 438
European on the continent, the settled villages were centers of trade for 439
the more nomadic peoples and there were seasonal trade fairs in recog- 443
nized locations where peoples came to exchange their special products and materials.

281 sides to keep the air from reaching the inner surface. When they first
386 removed the skin from the frame, the smoked surface was somewhat black, but when it was exposed to the air it quickly turned yellow. Any smoky patches that remained were rubbed with the fingers, and these promptly turned yellow, too. In the past these dyed skin blankets were the forerunners of the later trade blanket.

291 The skins of the deer and elk were used for clothing because they
221 were considerably lighter and softer than the buffalo hide. In the fall particularly, when the doctor performances were in prospect, they made a critical inspection of their wardrobes to see if they had something suitable to wear for the occasion. The women thought about a new dress and the men considered whether their clothing wasn't too shabby to wear and what ceremonial costumes they would need. They had been on the march all summer and busy with the harvest and they had had no time to think about such matters. They also had to consider the forthcoming winter hunt.

291 In the Plains climate, clothing was a pressing necessity. The fresh deer
262 and elk meat was a welcome addition to their staple diet of dried vegeta-
251 bles and buffalo meat, but it was consumed immediately and never pre-
281 served. Economically, the hides were of greater practical value.

There is some question whether it was the men or the women who
[462] dressed the deer and elkskins. Theoretically they both knew how, but the only accounts of the process I have seen or been able to collect refer to the work of the men. Apparently the hide was not treated with a tanning mixture but was simply dehaired and rubbed:

> The first step in dressing the deer hide was to get it wet. A stick was put slantwise in the ground and the hide draped over it hair side up and fastened at the top. The hair which slanted upward was scraped off with a sharpened horse rib that was pushed from the top down.
> [513] The deer hair was used as a stuffing for pillows; the buffalo hair was always thrown away. The skin was now turned over with the flesh side uppermost and rubbed with a sharp rock as rough as a file. Next they continued to rub the flesh side with another rock that was gray and white and very porous. They kept rubbing the flesh side until the skin had dried.

A description of preparing a moose hide for a robe is somewhat simpler; allowing the skin to soak in water for a day and a night, removing the hair with a horse rib as it rested on a slanting cottonwood stick, and then simply spreading the skin on the ground to dry.

When needed, the men dressed bear or fox skins and those of some other animals, stretching them on frames and overcasting them all around

322 through it, turning it over and over so that it was a little charred in
412 places. These charred places were scraped off with another stick. The stick was now left leaning against the lodge outside for at least a week, so that it could dry out. Sometimes it was taken in and put out a second time. When it was finally ready for use, all the moisture had evaporated and it was light to carry but very strong.

414 The making of *tent pegs* of dogwood saplings has been described in
322 connection with the rendezvous camp of the summer hunt. They might alternatively be made in the earth lodge before setting out, tied up in a set and carried along.

414 *The Bracket for Hanging the Pot over the Fire.* This was only needed
in the earth lodge and on the winter hunt as its purpose was to suspend
417 the pot over the hot flame of the fireplace. Such a hot flame was made for
322 light and heat as well as for cooking only in the excavated circular basin-
[354] shaped fireplace, the earth lodge, and the pointed tipi. On the summer hunt with the open curve-roofed tent, a long rectangular fireplace was made outside to the north of the doorway and oriented north–south. In this long trenchlike arrangement, a log was kept smoldering and the pot was set directly on the coals, so that the bracket and hook were not needed. The bracket consisted of two parts—a more or less vertical post, forked at the top and pointed at the bottom so that it could be inserted in the ground, and a wooden hook suspended from one arm of the fork by a string of bison rawhide that could be wound around the arm so that the pot that was suspended from the hook could hang closer or further away from the flames. The vertical post was driven into the ground due east of the fireplace at a slant so that the hook hung directly over the fire, or else a trunk was chosen for the bracket that had a natural curvature. The process of treating and seasoning the vertical bracket was the same as for the *biku* stick.

342 *Tipi Poles.* The conical pointed tent or tipi was used by the Pawnees
[221] only for their winter migration. The same tent skin was used as for the summer, but the wooden frame was different. The frame of the summer tent comprised a rack of two forked sticks at the front with a horizontal between, and, outlining a semiellipse, a series of flexible saplings stuck in the ground that were drawn down onto the rack and fastened there to form the characteristic curved roof. The Pawnee name for this summer tent was *kax-kata-sa*, "dwelling-upon-lying." The frame for the conical-pointed tipi was based on a tripod of rather heavy poles more than 15 feet long and made from trees 6 to 7 inches in diameter before removing the bark. Once the tripod was set up and a fourth stick added for the entrance, the other poles of equal thickness were leaned against it all around. The tipi was called *kax-ta-pe*, "dwelling-against-leaning," or *kar-rats-a-pe*, "dwelling-they-against-leaning." The tipi might be 18 feet in

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

285
525 craftswoman who left some of them to season for two days. The technique for the manufacture of the basket was coiling. The basket had a flat bottom with shallow walls. It was round and there were two basic elements used in the coiled sewing. There was a foundation element of a whole peeled willow twig that was carried around spirally for ten courses. These several courses of the spiral were overcast with flat strips of willow to hold them together. The awl was used in the sewing, the overcasting being done from the inner or convex surface. The stitches of the successive coils were made to interlock with one another. To make the flat sewing strips, the willow twig was split in the length, and an inner section bearing the pith was split away from each long section to make it flexible for the binding. Sometimes the bark was left on these strips and sometimes it was removed.

221 With all their equipment made and repaired, the Pawnees were ready to set out once more on their long migration to the buffalo hunting grounds.

54

THE WINTER BUFFALO HUNT

000

The Second Hunting Expedition—Difficulties with Horses, Processing the Meat—the Care of Horses on the Hunt

FOR THE SECOND TIME within the year, the Pawnees would set out from 224*
their villages on the long journey to the buffalo hunting grounds. It was 484*
in early November and the trip lasted until the end of February or the 221
beginning of March. This was the severest and most challenging period in the year's round. They traveled through slush and snow over hundreds of miles, braved the cold winds of the prairie plains, got their water by breaking through the ice of the river or by melting snow, and gathered their fuel from the scant supplies of timber along the streams.

The horses upon whom they depended for the chase and for transport 231
suffered most of all, for they were unable to get food of their own. The buffaloes had small narrow feet and could push the snow aside to graze, but the horses' hooves were flat and broad and they were unable to get to the grass that lay under the cover of snow. Many of the horses died toward the end of the journey in January and February. It was hard to find enough food to give them, and the women had to gather the tenderer shoots and bark of the cottonwood for them to eat. At times they were compelled to feed them on corn.

Because of the cold, the women had to process their meat inside the 224*
tipi and often they would have to extend their working time beyond the 252
short daylight hours, working by the light of the fire. They felt that, "At this time of year, things seemed to be pushing and pushing."

They moved over the land with the same order and precision as they 224*
had in summer, sending their messengers back and forth between the chiefs of the bands in order to coordinate their decisions, but their leave-taking of the villages was with less pageantry and pleasant anticipation. They knew it would be a hard and dangerous time.

55

ARRANGING THE ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP

000

Meetings with the Interpreter, Behaille—Discussion of Arrangements with U.S. Government—Band Is Chosen to Lead Hunt—Final Preparations

• 221
* 224 THE TIME WHEN EVERYONE began to think in earnest about leaving for the hunt was between the tenth and fifteenth of November, when the wind got colder from the north. Men from the different bands would meet in the trade store and talk it over. They wanted to travel before the cold was too severe.

648 In September 1857 the Pawnees had signed a treaty with the United States Government agreeing to cease all hostilities between them, to cede some of their lands, and to move onto a restricted territory. The United States in return acknowledged its military responsibility to provide the Pawnees with protection and its financial obligation to pay an annuity for the ceded lands. [701] By 1867 the military alliance was further solidified when a considerable number of Pawnees were organized into a U. S. Cavalry Battalion under Major Frank North to protect surveyors and tracklayers of the Union Pacific from attacks by other tribes.

*224
648 Before leaving for the hunt, they would consult with the U. S. Indian Agent concerning their annuity payments and any military arrangements that had to be made. The mixed-blood interpreter, Behaille, went to visit his nephew, Lone Chief, to discuss with him the time and conditions of leaving. The annuity had not yet arrived and the question was whether or not to set out without it. There was in fact no question, as the time of its arrival was too uncertain to depend upon, and they could not afford
*224
648
623
628 to wait. Lone Chief called in Eagle Chief, and they agreed that the day after next the chiefs and important braves were to meet in council with the agent about it. Behaille would entertain them all at a simple outdoor lunch about noon at his home near the agency where they could dis-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Return from the Hunt 224* 484*

After their travels over the snow and ice, they were glad to return to the warmth of their homes.

Soon the thunder would sound from the south. Then the priests would call down the gods from the heavens to re-create the earth and Wonderful would come down from his home in the western skies and walk the land that the gods had made—in all his aspects as the lightning, the thunder, the storm—going on the hill, the plain, the prairie—in the bottomlands, across the water, in the village and back to his home in the western skies where he would rest. 221 • 772 [776]

The new year would begin—the house, the food pit, the hunt, the harvest and again the winter hunting time. But there came a time when the year would not begin for the Pawnee. For beyond the Pawnee universe was the outer world and from it would come its destruction after six hundred years, and a new world would be born.

*172 the horses were at large. The corn was planted in hills and was
243 cultivated by means of a hoe made from the scapula of bison; it was usually hoed twice each year. Artificial fertilizers seem to have
[242 been unknown, and irrigation was likewise never practiced.

312] According to Mrs. E. G. Platt, missionary to the tribe on the Loup, "corn known among all the Indians as Pawnee corn, was a great rarity to us, and its luxuriant growth a great marvel, ears 16 and 18 inches long being not uncommon."[27] Most of the charred cobs recovered by Mr. A. T. Hill from caches and graves at the Hill site are much smaller than this, seldom over 4 inches in length and not much thicker than a man's thumb; they exhibit usually from 8 to 12 or 14 rows of kernels. In general, where cobs have been taken from Pawnee sites, the smaller size seems to prevail to the exclusion of larger specimens. Charred kernels have also been recovered from graves at the Hill site; a few are shown in plate 2, *e*.

*172 In addition to maize, the Pawnee cultivated beans, pumpkins, and
244 squash.[28] Seeds of the latter have been recovered by excavation, and definitely identified. Beans have not yet been found and the varieties utilized are not positively known.

*172 Corn was gathered while still green; it was then boiled, cut from
251 the cob, dried, placed in leather bags, and stored in caches for future use. In times of prosperity it was cooked in bison fat. Pumpkins
[252] were cut into strips, dried in the sun, and then often woven into mats for convenient transportation.[29] When setting forth on their semi-annual hunt they took along "several sacks of sweet corn and beans, dry corn for mush, (and) dried pumpkins."[30]

*172 Of uncultivated vegetal foods the wild potato appears to have been in most common use. These tubers grew plentifully in the sand
● 222 of the Platte and Loup Valleys; they were dug up, boiled, peeled,
262 dried, and cooked with dried pumpkins. They were usually taken
[251] along on the hunting trips. The wild potato, as such, is mentioned frequently but with what plant it is to be identified cannot be certainly stated. Long[31] says:

> We saw among them the Pomme blanche . . . which is the root of the *Psoralea esculenta*. It is eaten either boiled or roasted, and somewhat resembles the sweet potato.

Possibly, though not necessarily, this has reference to the wild potato of other writers.[32]

---

[27] 1892, p. 129.
[28] Allis, 1887, p. 140.
[29] Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 447.
[30] Allis, 1887, p. 144.
[31] 1823, vol. i, p. 447.
[32] Allis, 1887, pp. 140, 144; Platt, Mrs. E. G., 1892, p. 129.

Other important plant foods were the turkey pea, wild plum, wild 172* cherry, Jerusalem artichoke, and the chokecherry. Of these all save 222● the first have been found in the Hill site and have been definitely 262 identified as to species. Others were probably used from time to time, but no record of them has survived, either archeological or documentary.

Eight species of plants have been found represented at the Hill 172* site.[83] 824

Brauneria angustifolia or *Echinacea angustifolia*.
Wild plum (*Prunus americana*).
Flint corn (*Zea mays*).
Hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*).
Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*).
Wild potato (*Apios tuberosa*).
Bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*).
Chenopodium sp. (apparently *Chenopodium nutalliae*).

To these we may add 10 species as given by Dunbar.[84]

Wild potato (*Ipomoea pandurata*).
Wild turnip (*Arisaema triphyllum*).
Pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*).
Ground bean (*Apios tuberosa*).
Cucumber root (*Medeola virginica*).
Artichoke (*Helianthus doronicoides*).
Ground plum (*Astragalus caryocarpus*).
Umbels of milkweed (*Asclepias cornuti*).
Mushroom (sp. unidentified).
Sand cherry (sp. not given).

The complete report on botanical specimens from the Hill site, as identified by Dr. Gilmore, is as follows:

No. 1. Five small pieces of the root of *Brauneria angustifolia* (*Echinacea angustifolia*). The root of this was very highly esteemed by the Pawnee and other tribes within its range, for numerous medicinal uses, especially as a remedy for the bite of rattlesnakes. [752]

No. 2. Four pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*). The wild plum was highly valued for food use, and was eaten in considerable quantities fresh and uncooked, and was cooked for sauce. It was also preserved for winter use by drying. [251]

No. 3. Six charred grains of flint corn.

No. 4. A number of pits of hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*). The sugary fruits of hackberry were eaten from hand with pleasure by all, and especially by children. They were also reduced to pulp with a stone hammer, and the resulting paste was used as a flavoring in cooking meat. [263]

No. 5. One pit of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), and four small, spherical insect galls, apparently the galls which were common on the prairie rose (*Rosa pratincola*).

---

[83] From the Hill collection, Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. The specimens were identified by Dr. M. R. Gilmore of the University of Michigan. Letter of Apr. 10, 1931 (see also pl. 2, *a-e*).

[84] 1880, b, pp. 323-324.

6

A DEER HUNT

000

Victory Call Goes on a Deer Hunt—His Kinsman Helps—They Return with the Meat—the Division of the Kill—Guests Are Served a Feast—Conversation Follows

224 WHEN VICTORY CALL LEFT the house, it was still well before dawn and the stars were clear in the sky. He was carrying his six-shooter, and just as he went out he had called out the direction in which he would be going. This was done so that if a kinsman should come in and inquire, he could join Victory Call and help him butcher, thus earning a share in the kill.

He set out toward the sandhills to the north. Up the ravine near the river, the grass was about an inch high [illegible] the deer came out into the open and picked the new grass. In the [illegible] weather the deer stayed in the hollow places where the timber grew and where a man did not prowl. The sun had not yet risen and he tied his horse in a hollow and climbed up one of the sand hills and sat down to wait. Victory Call liked to sit there in the peaceful quiet with the breaking dawn. Finally as the sun came up he could see the deer on the hilltops outlined against the sky. In another two or three weeks, when the grass was four inches high, the rains would come and wash away the last of the snow, and then they would begin to clear the fields.

After he had made his first kill, his kinsman came crossing his path saying, "You out hunting?" Victory Call remarked, "That's good, I did want company to help me butcher." They butchered the deer together and the kinsman got approximately half. They divided the spoils in the following order: Victory Call got the hide, the meat along the backbone, head and two "quarters" (a quarter was an arm, leg, or flank). The kinsman got three quarters and the entrails which, whether he received them or not, it would have been his task to clean.

222 While they were looking about for the second deer, they were also

keeping on the alert for mushrooms and milkweed, whose tender tops 222 were relished when cooked with corn. Some of the mushrooms were yellow or green under the head, and these were known to be poisonous. The edible ones were solid pure white. Any with worms were discarded. Some men became so absorbed in this search that they wandered too far [648] out and would be killed by the Sioux. This was particularly likely with men whose food at home was in short supply.

If Victory Call and his kinsman had the good fortune to track down 224 another deer and Victory Call killed it, he would assign the major portion to his helper. Legally, the entire kill belonged to Victory Call and the division was entirely at his discretion. Sometimes he would be planning to have leggings made out of the skins and then he would apologize and say, "Excuse me. I can't give you the hide." His helper would reply, "That's all right. I just came around to help you. You gave me meat anyway."

The meat was all packed and the two men set out for the village. It [524] was nearly sundown and they had to pass the village gaming ground where the men gathered watching the hoop and pole game. The players and spectators would remark, "Look at those fellows. They have a lot of deer meat. I'm going up there to get some soup."

The two hunters separated and each went to his own house. As soon as Victory Call approached, a hide was spread inside to receive the meat, and Horse Rider was waiting outside to unload the horse and bring it in.

When Victory Call arrived inside, the first thing he said was, "The 264 folks down there saw me coming. Hurry up and fix our dinner so that we 252 can eat before they all get here." The family had barely finished eating 574 when the people began to crowd in. If it were the first fresh meat of the season in the village, some women would come and say to White Woman, "Daughter, I am begging some meat." "That's good," Victory Call would say, indicating that they were welcome. White Woman and the other women of the house were cooking the meat in large kettles, and men and women were sitting around waiting to be fed when the meat boiled. Some people preferred strips of meat roasted in the coals, and they were sitting around roasting it for themselves.

Then the fire began to burn up brighter and someone remarked, "How 262 about getting to work and roasting the ribs?" Horse Rider then took the 574 ribs and leaned them on stakes around the fire. These would be served at [252] a more formal feast after the casual guests had left. Otter was sent to invite the guests. Each of the men would invite two honored guests. Victory Call inquired of Old Bull whom he would like to entertain, and he requested that Chief White Eagle be called with his brave, Bringing Trophies, with whom Old Bull was associated in his doctor practice. Victory Call invited Eagle Chief, head chief of his village, Pumpkin-Vine, and his principal brave, War Cry. Meanwhile the women were cooking [252]

29

THE ADDITIONAL HUNTING EPISODES

000 *The Less Formal Part of the Hunt—Scouting for Enemy and Buffalo—a Sioux Attack—the Herd Sighted and Attacked—Final Attack and the Start Home*

*224 *484 THE MAIN FOUR EPISODES of the hunt were now completed, and the rest would be undertaken on a less formal level. In the last one at Cedar Creek, it was felt that they hadn't gotten much and White Eagle decided that it would be best for them to move their camp westward. They would move eight miles west and upstream (Post Hunt Camp 1). White Eagle sent his errand man to Curly Chief of the Kitkehaxki Band to notify him, and Curly Chief in turn sent his errand man to announce it all through the South Band camps, while the Skidi errand man came back and announced it in theirs. The meat was nearly dry and they carried it along. [251] When they got to the next camping place, the women simply finished drying the limited amount they had by spreading it out on the ground on a hide.

*224 726 *484 The afternoon before, scouts from each of the bands had gone out over the country to look for signs of the enemy and the buffalo. From the Skidi, a party of three led by Roaming Leader went off to the southwest. Scanning the landscape from the top of a hill, they were unable to see anything. Sometimes one could make a mistake when enemies disguised themselves by wearing buffalo hides, but if you looked carefully you could see the robe flapping at the sides and other men similarly dressed, joining the first one. The Sioux, Cheyennes, or Arapahos would do this, sitting on a horse with a buffalo robe draped over their heads with the sides hanging down. • 222 *484 Roaming Leader had come especially to this area to get some sweet cicely (*Washingtonia longistylis*) called

kats-taraha, "medicine-buffalo," because it is found only in areas where 222
the buffalo are. It is like quinine. It is also called *kats-taxkata*, "medicine- 484*
yellow," because of the color of the long root. Even on a hot day it has
a cooling effect when chewed. It makes one salivate and relieves thirst [824]
when there is no water available. The men tied their horses to the grass and collected what they needed. Cicely was hard to get except in this area. They also collected quite a lot of sand cherries. They started home when it was nearly sundown and when he had taken the saddle off his horse at his own tent, Roaming Leader went to report at the council 224*
tent. There he told the Chief of Police, Strikes-the-Enemy, what they
had seen and that there were no buffalo anywhere. The scouts of the 484*
South Bands had gone east and north over the land the people had traversed to see if the enemy were tracking them from the rear. From the report that no buffalo were to be seen, White Eagle decided that they had best move anyway. They all started out very early in the morning. By about sunrise all the horses were loaded up and the old ladies were already on their way. The advance scouts had gone ahead to protect them. Others had gone out to locate the herd. The place of encampment was on sort of an embankment with the water at the foot of it. The timber was a little distance away. Of the Skidi villages, Bottomlands and Wolf-in-Water were near the edge and the children could jump right into the water; the other two villages were located a little to the south.

The young men who had been out scouting all day came directly to the council tent. They had a bad report to make. They said, "You want buffalo. Well they must have gone east. We're getting to Sioux country. As far as we could go, we saw no buffalo." White Eagle decided to enlist supernatural help. He called in the four official scouts of the sacred bundle, the *periksu*, and he called in the priest, old man Angry Horse, to come very early next morning while it was still dark, to smoke the ceremonial pipe with them and give them instructions. Meanwhile White Eagle also decided that the camp had better move still further west to a place about nine or ten miles away on the other side of where the stream, *Kitsa-waku*, "Stream-Noisy," empties into the Republican (Post Hunt Camp 2).

"This is a fine place to swim with clear water," said White Eagle. "It is a wide, rocky stream, the water making noise on the rocks." They followed a buffalo path, the line of march crossing over where the buffalo had made a path leading down to the stream and up on the other side. The South Bands camped as soon as they got across; the Skidis had to go further west.

Very early that morning the old priest Angry Horse had gone through the camp and assembled the four official scouts in the council tent and sent them off on their mission. There were three other men who decided to do some scouting on their own and possibly locate a lone

000 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there. The
243 younger women whose husbands had horses for transportation would
476 often go out together with another couple and bring the crop back to
252 camp, where they would do the processing in a coordinated group. Victory Call and White Woman along with Horse Rider and No Corn formed such a work group, first in White Woman's fields and then in those of No Corn, carrying the crops into camp on their horses. The old
[887] lady sat in her field all day and brought the finished product back to camp when it was completely prepared for storage. Families with only
[492] one horse or with no horses also processed the entire crop in the field before packing it into camp.

313 While the women were at the food pit, the men had been out piling
462 wood in the fields and in camp so that it would be ready for roasting the green corn. They preferred to get dead willows and driftwood; Horse Rider was at the creek piling up the driftwood while Victory Call was bringing the willows into the camp. Some men would say, "I don't care —that's women's work," but a good man would help his wife.

• 222 At this time of year they gathered a plant, *parus-asu*, "rabbit-foot," used for making a brown tea that they drank if they didn't happen to
272 have coffee (*Lespedeza Capitata* Michx.) At the top in a cluster are some fruits looking like tiny rabbit feet. The plant grew on a bush about 3 feet high. They brewed the tea by breaking up the dry twig with the leaves on and steeping it in a coffee pot. Now everything was ready for harvesting and roasting the green corn.

243 Very early next morning Grandma went out to her field and there prepared a place for her work. She built herself an ample shade, *kipasitu*, of
342 willows—a circular enclosure, open at the top with an entrance at the
252 east. The leaves were a bit interlaced to make the fencing solid, the side branches beginning about a foot from the ground. When she left for the night, she put a willow sapling with leaves at the top in the doorway so that the shelter was closed in and well protected from horses. People who did not work in the field sometimes built themselves a more temporary shelter by arranging four or five willows in an arc. In her enclosure Grandma roasted all her corn and would leave it overnight in bags to be husked there next day and the kernels removed before bringing it to camp. During the harvest she cooked all her meals there. She left before breakfast and ate whenever it was convenient. She had a kettle along and a small mortar and pestle for preparing her meals. She would pound some of the fresh corn kernels from the roasted cobs and wrap them in corn husks, putting them in the boiling water to make dumplings. After she removed the dumplings she would add some dried meat scraps that had been scraped from the hide at the hunting grounds, *kstasi'u*, to make a good soup. Sometimes she took her grandson, Otter, into the field and shared her meals with him.

quite habitable. Each of the old ladies brought in her dried corn and 000
put it on her side of the lodge. They slept over and talked that night 521
about the events of the past summer. They had a good deal to tell one 887
another.

Grandma began: "The first time we got buffalo, we had two, and 521
my, I was slicing away to make the dry meat and White Woman was 887
busy at the drying rack. Then we made bone grease. We had a hard 222
time getting the flesh we scraped off the hides to dry." Grieves-the- 224*
Enemy commented: "I went out and got lots of intestines from the men after the kill." Grandma said, "I never got a chance to get out there, but Horse Rider brought in plenty of entrails. When we were south across the Republican, three of us old ladies found some wonderful turnips. Oh, I wish we had them now! We were shouting to each other, 'Here are some!' and everyone said the officers should have punished us for yelling like that (the buffalo might have been frightened), but they finally decided to let us alone to have our good time." They talked about how they would get Indian potatoes after they were well settled and what else they might do then. Old-Lady-Blue
Calico then talked of her hunt experiences: "Oh my, we didn't get 521
a chance to eat ribs very much. My very public-spirited son-in-law, 224*
Old Bull thought he should give White Eagle his support so that 251
nearly every day that they got buffalo, he would leave the ribs at the council tent and sometimes the backbone steak too. Once in a while Old Bull brought home two or three ribs from the feast for the family to eat. My daughter Clear Day and I made dry meat. Queen Woman, who isn't too strong, we gave the job of hanging up the slices to dry and turning them over. Clear Day had to wash the paunch after she sliced the meat. I tried to make bone grease, but I barely got it made. It was too hot." Grandma now chimed in with, "I have mine all right. I made it the first night we got to the Republican River. Horse Rider brought in the bones." "My, that woman knows how to do everything," Blue-Calico remarked. They might sit up most of the night talking until they got too sleepy. In the morning they came down to the camp and joined the family for breakfast. Even before the family finally moved in, they took the corn and beans up there to protect them from rain. They were not worried about stealing as everyone had plenty of the same kind of supplies at this time.

Some of their families would want to go along and
some old women to collect wild potatoes and the wild beans that 221
were stored by the wood rat. The women could help with hauling 224
wood and cooking and boys could make themselves useful hauling 484
water and tending the horses. Eventually ten to fifteen tipis in two or [222]
three bunches would set out in this way, traveling five or six miles a day and staying two or three days in one place. Individual men would join tents with families, going out during the day with their horses and joining the camp at night at the appointed place. Every evening an old man would walk among them announcing the next day's plans. They camped on the north side of the Loup where they could get wood as it might snow at any time. Those who trapped beaver would clean their traps in the evening and set them from the north side of the river, while the deer hunters went either north or south. Whenever anyone caught anything, they would have a big feast all through the camp. [574]
Eagle Chief and War Cry who excelled in buffalo hunting did not care for shooting with guns and trapping, but Victory Call, and his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and also Old Bull were good hunters and trappers. They did not believe in exposing their families to enemy attack in this way and so they would come along by themselves. After they had made five or six camps, someone would come from the village and tell them that they would soon be setting out for the winter buffalo hunt and then they would all return and prepare.

It was such an informal hunting and trapping group that Kind Warrior 796
joined when he returned from the Wichita. In his tipi he was singing 177
his Deer Dance songs in Wichita, and when Victory Call, who was feeling lonesome, heard him, he went into the tipi where Kind Warrior was lying on his back and singing as he beat time on his thigh. Kind Warrior got up and welcomed Victory Call and after he said he was attracted by the singing, invited him to lie down and join him. Lying to the left of Kind Warrior he sang along with him and whenever he had nothing to do, he would just go in and sing. Others came in too and sang with them. Back at the village these men would sing together in the lodge and as others heard them, they also came in. These were men who had also been among the Wichita and had learned only individual songs but not the whole ritual. Some had learned polecat teaching, others buzzard, etc., and as they sang together, they taught one another. While Kind Warrior knew the most, he also learned new things from them. When there were about ten members, Kind Warrior could set them out in a formal arrangement (see Figure 43-1). He assigned two to each of the four semicardinal positions, two at the west as *rixkita*, leaders, and one errand man for the north, one for the south. More people came in and filled in the places. They made four rattles of wild squash with green and white wavy stripes to imitate the Wichita version. They also got four bows in accordance with the original version. Kind

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

56

PLANS AND PROVISIONS FOR THE HUNT

000

Plan of Journey—Provisions—Stay-at-Homes on Grand Island—Special Foods Found There—List of Food Taken for Journey—Allowances for Rain and Enemy Attack

FOUR DAYS BEFORE LEAVING TIME, Man Chief would have a meeting to 623
draw up final plans. Eagle Chief would have been waiting in his lodge to 628
get word and others would have gathered there. Food was served to all 224*
and the Tsawi errand man delivered his message giving the itinerary. 484*
Their rendezvous camp was almost due south on the north bank of the Platte. The next day they would cross the river and spend a whole day waiting for any stragglers to catch up. The plan further was that all would continue then to Fort Kearney on Grand Island, traveling along the south bank of the Platte, then crossing the channel north onto the island. There a permanent camp could be set up for any "Stay-at-Homes," *kas-kusu* ("at home-stay"), "who have very few or no horses." This plan differed from the summer when the Stay-at-Homes had to remain near their villages. In the summer, Grand Island was ridden with mosquitoes, but now it was green and pleasant and sheltered from the worst winds.

The matter of provisioning this winter expedition was also somewhat 224*
different from the summer, as certain favorite wild foods were ripe and 484*
could be gathered in quantity. The two most important were Indian po- 222
tatoes, *Glycine apios* L., and black-eye peas, *Falcata comosa* (L.) Kuntze, popularly known to us as ground beans. The beans were hoarded by the wood rat or vole and were gathered by raiding the hoards. The women would find the track of the rat that led them to the beans. Our lima beans were considered like them by the old Indian women. The plant bears two types of beans, one on the upper leafy branches that are not used and the

*224 large flat bean on leafless colorless branches that push into the earth.
*484 These are the ones garnered by the vole, their hoards amounting to a pint
• 222 or more in each place. Only part of the store was appropriated by the
women. Sometimes the beans had to be dug out with a shovel where they
grew underground like peanuts. About half of them would be cooked
*224 immediately and half left simply to dry out like cultivated beans. Those
*484 that were dried were winnowed and then put in a sack for future use.
222 For immediate use, the fresh beans were first washed, rubbed between
251 the hands to remove the hulls, and then boiled and eaten. Their Pawnee
252 name was *atik-uraru*, "bean-earth."

Artichokes (Jerusalem artichoke, *Helianthus tuberosus* L.) known as *kisusit*, were also gotten, but they could not be dried; they had to be eaten fresh. The most important wild crop was the potato, known as *its*. The Loup River was known in Pawnee as Many-Potatoes, *Its-kari*, "potato-many," from the abundance of this useful vegetable that flourished along its banks. These grew in the sand among the willows. A considerable number of these Indian potatoes were boiled, smoked, and dried for preservation and stored in skin bags. In addition to the larger-size potatoes, they gathered some small ones that were strung along the vine; these were called potato-many-tied-up, *its-kari-piru*, and were given to the small children to eat after boiling. They were bundled up and tied with a vine into little bunches and boiled in water, covered with a layer of grass along with the larger ones. The larger potatoes were then peeled, "strung" on a very thin willow twig, and placed across two forked sticks in the tipi so that the smoke would permeate them and improve their flavor. The potatoes prepared in this way could be eaten at any time without further preparation, and would not rot.

*224 Quantities of potatoes were found on Grand Island and on both sides
*484 of the Republican River. Those who stayed on Grand Island, especially
the old ladies, as well as any who went all the way out to the hunting
222 grounds, would make sure to take a file along so that they could sharpen
[237] up their buffalo shoulder-blade "hoes" to dig up the potatoes.

[412] These wild plant foods were a very important element of their provisions. The group that remained on Grand Island could be a kind of half-way station where they could leave extra baggage on the way out and where the people could be actively gathering and preparing the wild foods so that they would be sustained on the rest of the journey home. The men who remained on the island were actively trapping and could supply extra meat. Thus in the winter the Stay-at-Homes played a useful role, while in the summer they had no function in the enterprise.

*224 In the family of Victory Call, Grandma planned to stay on Grand Is-
*484 land where she could do some useful work while the rest of the family
went on. Those who proceeded all the way to the hunting grounds were
Victory Call, White Woman, Horse Rider, and No Corn—viz., two couples—and the boy Otter.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224
*484
lage. It was relatively warm and pleasant there and they could well use the rest.

*224
*484
• 222
Victory Call and the others of the family were glad to see Grandma who now moved in with them from the tent of Misery where she had been staying. She showed them the nice sack of dried potatoes and one of dried beans that she had accumulated and she said, "I'm not the only one. Everyone in camp went looking for potatoes." They also had the roasted corn that she had been keeping for them. The vegetable food tasted good as their supplies had given out by this time. White Woman was busy cooking the dry meat and bread and Grandma made her potatoes to go with the soup.

*224
*484
By the time they got to the island it was February and one could hear the ice cracking from time to time in the river. It sounded like a shot. Because of this, Eagle Chief thought they had better try to cross over right away and get home before the ice cracked up. A small minority in the different bands felt like lingering, but most of the people wanted to get back to the village. Some wanted to see their children that they had left at school.

Eagle Chief announced, "Day after tomorrow we'll go. We must cross where the white people have already roughened the ice when they carried their wood and ice across." When the tents were all down, those who were staying behind said, "I hope you folks have good luck on your way back." "I hope you get along well here too," said Eagle Chief. "If anything happens, see the officer at Fort Kearney." Others were saying to the Stay-Behinds, "You make us lonesome, letting us return like this without you." Then they set off for home.

From Grand Island to the railroad station (Clarks?) where they would turn north, it took four days. Then it took another day to reach the village.

> We walked right through water and snow. Sometimes women took off their moccasins to go through the water and we never caught cold. When we got to the railroad station, everyone was happy. We would soon be home. We would feel glad at the very sight of the schoolhouse. The waterways were all frozen at this time about a foot to a foot and a half thick. Earth had to be sprinkled on the ice to get across.
>
> The Loup River was awfully slippery and smooth and we had to get the boys to go to the other side and begin making a roadway by sprinkling earth. "Hold the horses steady. Go slow. Throw some more dirt," people would be saying when the first horse went over. Old ladies slipped on the ice and slipped around before they could get up.

[342] As soon as they got home they moved into the earth lodge. There were no fleas or vermin there such as they had gotten during the summer.

622
756 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers
778 and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular impor-
554 tance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have con-
726 secrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup
among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of
these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pītahaurata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of
756 wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and
837 not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice.
Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicineman in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies
224 for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping
party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle
[223] trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern
838 Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by
sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

No-flight Idea. A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and
726 taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself
down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

842 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of
532 medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so.
Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint
834 in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized
in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had
276 performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

224 Often it was impossible to determine whether these figures were horsemen or buffalo, but sometimes, far away, I could see a mimic chase in which pursuer and pursued appeared no larger than ants.

857 As I came up with the Indians, they were just descending into
● 223 the stream bottom, where camp was to be made. The small boys
484 had, as usual, dispersed themselves over the valley and among the underbrush. Many of the squaws, leaving the ponies and packs to their sister-wives or children, were hurrying up or down the stream to gather wood. Already the leading ponies were being relieved of their loads. Suddenly, from the mouth of a little ravine coming down into the stream bottom, rose a chorus of shrill yelps and shrieks from childish throats, and a gang of wild turkeys were seen, running rapidly through the high grass toward the hills. A moment later, with a loud *quit-quit* of alarm, they took wing, but not before several of their number had fallen before the missiles of the boys. Most of them went up or down the creek, but one inexperienced bird took its course directly over our heads.

223 Those who have seen the Indian only on dress parade, talk of his
[152] stolidity, impassiveness, and his marvelous control over his countenance
and his emotions. This demeanor he can and does assume,
[609] and when he is with white men, or among strangers, he is usually all that he has been pictured; but take him by himself, and he expresses his feelings with as little restraint as a child. So it was now. No grave chief, nor battle-scarred warrior, nor mighty worker of *ti-war'-uks-ti* (magic) was too dignified to express his interest at the appearance of this great bird sailing laboriously along, thirty or forty feet above him. It was as if the turkey had flown over a great company of schoolboys, and the utter abandonment of the excited multitude, the entire absence of restraint, the perfect naturalness of the expression of feeling, had in them something very delightful and infectious. Every Indian, who held in his hand anything that was light enough to throw, hurled it at the bird, and a cloud of whips, sticks, hatchets, fleshers, and arrows, rose to meet it as it passed along. One missile knocked from its tail a few long feathers, which drifted slowly down on the heads of the people. It kept on, but before it had passed beyond the long line of Indians extending back over the

plain, its strength became exhausted, it came to the ground, and 223 was at once dispatched by those nearest to it.

Almost before the turkey's fate had been decided, many of the 484 lodges had been pitched, and now the slender gray columns from a hundred camp-fires began to climb up through the still air toward the blue above. The women were hard at work cooking, or spreading out freshly killed robes, or putting up drying scaffolds, while the [462] men lounged in the shade and smoked or chatted. Our wagon was halted at one side of the camp, and the tired horses and mules were stripped of saddles and harness, and picketed near at hand. The Indian pack ponies were collected and driven off on the upland in charge of several boys.

We had invitations to eat meat at several lodges that day. Usually 574 we did not accept these freely proffered hospitalities, because we had no means of returning them, but one of these invitations came from a particular friend, and to-day we broke through our rule. We feasted on roast ribs, *ka'wis*, and dried meat, and really had a delightful time. It was about three o'clock when we finished the meal, and we were lounging about the lodge, smoking and chatting, in lazy after-dinner fashion, when we were startled by a series of yells and shouts, among which I distinguished the words "*Cha'-ra-rat wa-ta'* 648 —The Sioux are coming." Our Indian companions snatched up their 721 arms, and rushed out of the lodge, and we were not slow in following. "*Sūks-e-kitta-wit wis-kūts*—Get on your horses quick," shouted our host. The camp was in a state of wild excitement. Naked men were running to their horses, and jerking their lariats from the picket pins, sprang on their backs and rode hard for the hills; while women and boys rushed about, catching horses, and bringing them in among the lodges, where they were securely fastened. Less than a mile away, we saw the horse herd dashing along at top speed, and a little to one side of it a horseman riding in circles, and waving his blanket before him. It was evident that the Sioux were trying to run off the herd. We ran as hard as we could to the wagon, caught up rifles and cartridge belts, and buckling on the latter as we ran, kept on to the horses. There was no time to saddle up. We looped the ropes around their jaws, sprang on their naked backs, and were off. As

292
554
[531]
[461]

work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such a shirt.

The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237
554
825
[411]

The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught. Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one, the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281
756
262

Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered inedible and was left in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237
293
[223]

Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237
554
714

Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a shield.

*175 *648 the Pawnee for a brief period and disagreements had resulted; and from a Pawnee standpoint the Ft. Berthold country was if anything more exposed to Sioux assault than the Pawnee reservation in Nebraska.

*175 *648 ●224 The Pawnee summer and winter buffalo hunts were hampered and obstructed during this time by the Dakota. The summer of 1859, at the time of their removal to the Nebraska reservation, they were driven from their hunting fields by superior numbers of Brulé and Oglalla Dakota, and left in want of adequate meat provisions. Nevertheless, during the following years, with the farming and agricultural activities of the Pawnee and the government farmers on the reservation yielding less than a maintenance, the buffalo hunt was of necessity the great reliance of the Pawnee for adequate sustenance, The Pawnee persevered, going regularly on fall and winter hunts. The herds were smaller and further away, and the journey to the distant hunting grounds hazardous. When they overtook the herds, as in the summer of 1864, they were likely to be driven from the hunting grounds by superior forces of the Dakota.

Some protection was afforded the Pawnee on several occasions from 1865 on. Accompanied on their summer hunt in 1865 by a squad of soldiers, they were unusually successful. The tribe killed and secured the hides and meat of 1600 buffalo, antelope, elk and deer, on a hunt of fifty days duration which brought them back to their reservation villages the ninth of August. Throughout the year a company of cavalry was stationed at the Pawnee agency, and there were no Sioux attacks in 1865. Crops were plentiful, and a feeling of security spread. The winter hunt of 1865 was a success, and again in the summer of 1866 the Pawnee were successful on a buffalo hunt from July 6 to August 25.

*175 *648 The Pawnee Scouts were organized in 1864 under Major Frank North for a year of service, but their term had expired and they were mustered out of service (later to be reorganized) after the campaigns of 1865. This, with the removal of troops from the Pawnee Agency, left the tribe without guns or protection, and in early May a raid was made upon the agency in which eighteen horses were stolen. Up to this time, it was often impossible for the government officials to determine accurately what hostile bands were responsible for the attacks. On this occasion one horse which was too weak to run rapidly was shot with an arrow which proved to be Dakota.

*175 *648 224 Raids interrupted cultivation in 1866 and 1867, and on the hunts in the winter of 1866 and the summer of 1867 the Pawnee were annoyed by the Dakota. On July 19, 1867 the Pawnee left for the hunting grounds in company with the Omaha and Ponca. They intended to remain out hunting until near the end of September. The Dakota were in the hunting territory in large numbers, but did not offer to meet the Pawnee in open battle. They kept under cover until the Pawnee had made a surround, and as soon as the men were scattered out over the hunting field chasing the buffalo, the Sioux appeared, fell upon small parties of Pawnee hunters in different quarters of the field, and attacked the Pawnee camp. The Pawnee returned to the camp to defend their families, and after hours of fighting drove back the Dakota. In this way the day was spent in fighting, and the meat of the slain buffalo spoiled before it could be secured. Repeatedly this performance was carried out by the Dakota, and although the Pawnee and their allies found large herds, they secured little meat. Six Pawnee and two Ponca were slain in these encounters, and the tribes finally became discouraged at the continuous annoyance of these attacks, abandoned the hunt, and returned to their reservations with what they had. 175* 648* 224●

The Union Pacific Railroad crossed the state of Nebraska at this time, and by railroad and highway the tide of emigration to the west was bringing settlers to all the watercourses in the buffalo country, cutting off the buffalo herds from their natural watering-places and limiting their range. The Pawnee observed these conditions when they went hunting, and were aware of the pending inevitable abandonment of the chase. 175* 648*

The Pawnee Scouts were reorganized under Major North in 1867, and cooperated with the United States Army forces in policing the line of the Union Pacific Railroad and in campaigning against hostile Indian tribes. Pawnee readily chose such service because the tribe considered itself an ally of the United States. But there were also strong cultural and economic incentives. The youths exchanged a life of relative inactivity on the reservation, with an insecure food supply, for the active life of a frontier soldier, which more nearly resembled the warrior life of old, and which offered regular rations and good pay. While the campaigns against the Dakota and other hostile Indian tribes were in progress, the Pawnee in the summer of 1869 were persuaded by military authorities to forego their usual hunt. The officials feared that the armies who ranged the buffalo country in pursuit of hostile Indians might mistake the Pawnee for the enemy. 175* 648* 701

In spite of the army campaigns the Pawnee suffered in 1870 from raids by small Dakota war parties, which stole a number of 175* 648*

3*

to their separate tracts. The land broken for each band was but 175*
a small part of their sector; it was neither large enough nor so 648*
situated as to make practicable a division of it into individual 241
tracts for family groups. Each band therefore began to farm the 657
band tract cooperatively. In theory each man did his share of the
work and each took his share of the harvest. The band lived to- [476]
gether on the tract, and their encampments rapidly became permanent villages of tipis and earth-lodges.

This redevelopment of village life, instituted by the Pawnee as an 175*
adjustment to the conditions of their settlement in Indian Territory, 648*
and intentionally overlooked by agency officials, who considered it a
temporary expedient, was to continue for some years. To the 178
Pawnee it was a satisfactory adjustment, approximating as it did 657
their accustomed way of life. In these villages something of the old tribal life continued; the chiefs, priests and medicine men functioned, the old social gatherings and ceremonies were possible.

The produce of the band farms, together with that at the agency, 175*
constituted the basic food supply of the Pawnee. For years this 648*
was inadequate and insecure; the people suffered greatly for lack
of food, and some of the mortalities of the period were due to 262
starvation and malnutrition. The principle crop was corn, supple- 241
mented by some beans and squash, and increasing cultivation of
wheat, oats, potatoes and other vegetables. Most of the farms were
in the bottom lands and along the streams, and yet the usual
hazards of cultivation caused crop failures a number of times. The [132]
country in which the Pawnee had settled is in a belt which is
subject to periodic hot, dry summers, when rain is at a premium.
Droughts were severe in 1880, 1887, and 1890. On occasion bugs [731]
destroyed much of the crop, while once, in 1885, a terrific hailstorm
broke the stand of grain. Crop failures left the Pawnee dependent [657]
on government aid, in the form of rations, or food purchased for
them with money from their annuity funds.

For a meat supply the Pawnee had to depend primarily on 175*
government rations. The first winter the Pawnee were together in
Oklahoma, that of 1875 to 1876, the tribe attempted a buffalo hunt, 648*
but the herds were too remote to be reached with the limited 657
preparations the Pawnee were able to make. While the buffalo
were reported on the plains in considerable numbers the next 224 ●
summer, only occasional buffalo were captured by straggling 262
parties of Pawnee. In a few years the tribe was persuaded to forego the hunt; they talked of it the winter of 1878, but did not go. From this time on we hear of no buffalo hunting. The organized tribal hunt was a thing of the past.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PAWNEE MUSIC

By Frances Densmore

THE PAWNEE TRIBE

The Pawnee is commonly regarded as the last of the Caddoan Tribes which migrated in a general northeasterly direction at an early date.[1] When the Siouan Tribes entered the valley of the Platte River in Nebraska they found the Pawnee already established in that region. The Pawnee called themselves by a term meaning "men of men." Their present name was probably given by some neighboring tribe and derived from *pariki*, meaning a horn, as it was the Pawnee custom to shave the head except a narrow strip extending from the forehead to the scalplock and to stiffen this ridge of hair with grease and paint, curving it upward like a horn. 101 [302]

While in Nebraska the Pawnee lived in earth lodges which were in four permanent groups of villages, each having its geographical location along the Platte River. The people of each group were a unit, representing a division of the tribe. The Skidi (Wolf Pawnee) was in the northwest, its people considering themselves related to the Arikara, another Caddoan Tribe living some distance to the north. The Pitahaucrat (Tapage Pawnee) were downstream, the Kithahki (Republican Pawnee) were upstream, and the Chaui (Grand Pawnee) were located between the two last named. The soil of the region was dry and rather sandy with rough, broken land toward the mountains in the west, yet the Pawnee were essentially an agricultural people, cultivating corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins. Buffalo and other game was abundant in the early days, and the Pawnee were excellent hunters, their hunting expeditions covering a wide area. 361 [342] 101 619 134 241 136 224

The first treaty between the Government of the United States and the Pawnee Indians was made at St. Louis Trading Post in June, 1818.[2] 648

---

[1] In the classification of the North American races by John W. Powell the Pawnee is classified as one of the five independent groups of the Caddoan stock. Miss Alice C. Fletcher regards the Pawnee as a confederacy, the divisions or bands of the tribe being treated by her as separate tribes in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p 213. Cf. also Linton, Ralph, The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee, The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee, and Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men, compiled chiefly from unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, published as leaflets Nos. 5, 6, and 8, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-23. [114]

[2] Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kappler, ed., vol. ii, pp. 156-159, Washington, 1904.

Analysis.—This song was recorded on two phonographic cylinders, 533* the only difference in the renditions being in the opening phrase. [126] The second renditions were the clearer and the transcription is from that group. The song opens with a three-measure phrase which is designated as a rhythmic unit. This is repeated, and is followed by two phrases in a different rhythm which bring the song to a satisfactory close. Although the song has a compass of 10 tones the largest interval is a fourth. About two-thirds of the progressions are whole tones. The melody contains all the tones of the octave.

An abrupt change in the tempo of the drumbeat occurs in the fourth measure. Other Buffalo and Bear dance songs containing a similar change are Nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. After this change the drum and voice apparently have the same metric unit but do not always coincide. The metric unit of an Indian's musical performance often contains variations too small to be indicated. Thus in the present instance it can not be said that the drum consistently follows or precedes the voice. The general tempo of each is measured by the metronome and it can only be stated that they do not exactly coincide throughout the renditions of the song.

This and the three songs next following were inherited by the singer 533* from his grandfather and his father. The name of the former was 424 Tida'kawidik (House-full-of-people) and the name of the latter was 224● Kiwi'kude' epaku (Buffalo-fighting). In this song the singer's 773 grandfather is represented as driving the buffalo in the hunt. It was said that he "rode a white horse and frightened the buffalo for other men to shoot."

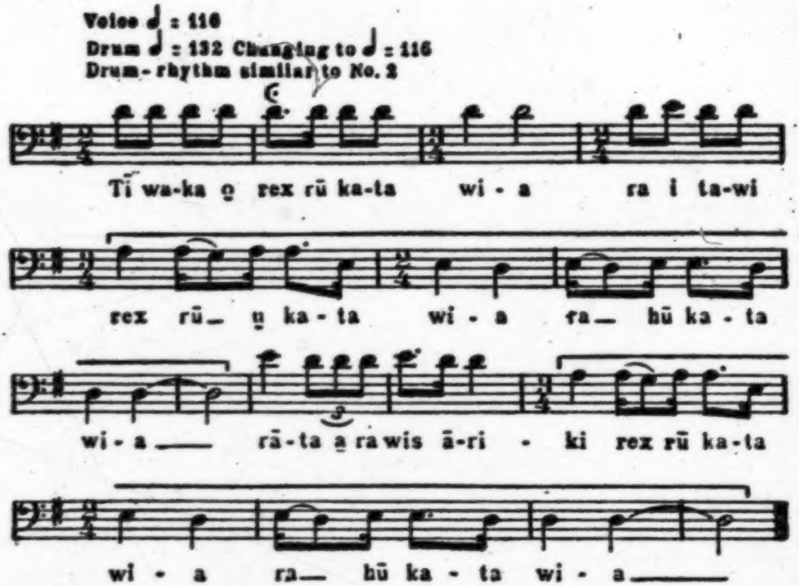
Analysis.—The change of tempo in the drum is similar to that 533* described with the song next preceding. The drum and voice rarely coincide except on the word *wia*, wherever it occurs. The drumbeat at the close of the song is as follows: The drum ceases after the first stroke on the final syllable of *wia* and begins rapidly at the close of the last measure, continuing in that tempo until the voice begins the repetition of the song. There is no uniformity in the space of time between the renditions of the song. The only tones occurring in this song are D, E, G, and A, and its melodic form resembles that of No. 1. Except for an ascending ninth the only intervals are fourths and whole tones, the latter comprising more than three-fourths of the progressions. The rhythmic unit is long and occupies only a portion of the song.

*533

No. 5. "Yonder the Smoke Was Standing"

(Catalogue No. 1109)

Recorded by Wicita Blain


Voice ♩ = 116
Drum ♩ = 132 Changing to ♩ = 116
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2
Tī wa-ka o rex rũ ka-ta wi - a ra i ta-wi
rex rũ u ka - ta wi - a ra hũ ka - ta
wi - a rā-ta a ra wis ā-ri - ki rex rũ ka-ta
wi - a ra hũ ka - ta wi - a

Tī	waka	rex	rũ	kata	wia	ra	i
He	said	him	did	line	coming	have	him
tawi	rex		rũ	kata	wia	ra	hũ
tell about	him		did	line	coming	have	do
kata	wia	rũta	ra	wis	āriki		
line	coming	yonder	have	smoke	standing		
rex	rũ	kata	wia	ra	hũ	kata	wia
him	did	line	coming	have	do	line	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

He said, the man was coming along the line,
This is what I was told about it,
He was coming along the line,
Yonder the smoke was standing here and there,
He was coming along the line.

[773
224] The information concerning the next song is incomplete. It was said the woman who imitated the buffalo was shot through the back but not killed; that she lived a long time afterwards, left Nebraska with the Pawnee Tribe and died in Oklahoma; but the reason for her action is not indicated.

631 773 gether. So Errand Man was sent out. From each village came the people with their sacred bundle. Errand Man told the chief that upon Elkhorn River he found a village of earth-lodges covered with squash vines in which a bundle ceremony was going on in consequence of which they refused to come. Also on Looking Glass Creek he came to a village where the people had just performed a ceremony to call the buffalo and as the buffalo were at hand, they could not accept the invitation. Most of the buffalo were killed upon the ice which during the day was covered with water. The wolves stood around the carcasses and many were caught by the feet as the ice formed at night. So these two villages did not take part in the general bundle ceremony and were known as the Squash Vine and Wolf-standing-in-the-water.

Those who had assembled now performed the four-pole ceremony. The keeper of the bundle and his priest occupied their regular seats at the back of the lodge and as the bundles of other villages arrived those from the north took seats on that side and those from the south upon the other. The village of the host was then called Center Village.

622 631 The special federation of these Skidi villages necessitated a governing organization different from that of the other divisions. The governing body was a society of chiefs, twelve or more in number. It seems that in principle there was to be one chief for each village bundle, though as such he had nothing to do with the bundle. When the chiefs society met in a lodge they took their seats in the same order as indicated in the diagram of the four-pole ceremony, but the bundles were not brought into the lodge. [202] Two errand men were members and sat by the door.[1] The chiefs were of equal rank and inherited their office. However, there was some selection, for the elderly men filled vacancies from those directly descended from chiefs. All the chiefs taken together constituted the tribal council of the Skidi.

631 793 The chiefs are, however, not the highest authority, that distinction belonging to the priests of the four main bundles. Their office is hereditary; each priest selects an assistant from his near relatives who thus becomes qualified to become priest in turn. In rotation the four leading priests take over the responsibility for the welfare of the people for one year, counting from the first thunder in the spring until fall. This chief priest is the highest authority; he is the source of final appeal and to him all acts of the council of chiefs must be referred. 224 631 778 793 The buffalo hunt in particular must be regulated according to the ritual of the bundle whose priest happens to be in charge. As noted above, the Red Calf bundle is superior to the leading bundles, but its priest cannot exercise authority except he be

---

[1] As noted above, two villages refused to join in the federation. Later, they were taken in and their chiefs were given seats in the vacant place on the south side of the lodge, but they were not permitted to enter the four-pole ceremony.

officially called upon to assume it. As previously noted, there was a curious arrangement in that the keeper of the bundle could be endowed with the power of all four bundles. This we do not fully understand, but in case buffalo should fail, owing to the weak powers of the chief priest, special ceremonies would be performed to pool, or unite, the powers of the four main bundles by temporarily merging their power into the ritual of the Red Calf bundle. This bundle alone contains firesticks; its keeper builds the council fire, and in the old Skidi scheme of villages it belonged to the central village. Its keeper must also be present at the ceremonies of the other four bundles, and in a way he alone can call the whole tribe together. Yet, it is only in times of great trial, that he by special ceremonies becomes the chief priest. It is only when the four leading bundles fail to provide buffalo and the people are starving that the chiefs beg the priest whose bundle is then leader to call upon the calf bundle to lead. The priest gives his consent. Then he fills the sacred pipe with native tobacco and hands the pipe to his chief who goes to the tipi of the calf bundle priest. When the chief enters the tipi he walks to the priest who offers the pipe to him and explains why he has done so. The priest, knowing the wants of the people, receives the pipe. The chief thanks him; lights his pipe and waits. When the chief receives the pipe he returns to the other priests' lodge and returns the pipe, telling him that the other priest had received the pipe. The priest and people are glad. Then the ceremony of transferring power is carried out. It is the belief that the buffalo will then come dashing into the village.

224
631
778
793
[276]

The priests of the four leading bundles and the priest of the Red Calf bundle are thus seen to be important personages. While each of the other bundles has its priest, his function is quite secondary; in fact, he is little more than a custodian, providing the meat and corn necessary to the ceremony. The principle of operation is that the ceremony for each bundle is conducted by one of the five leading priests, i. e., the priest of the Red Calf bundle must always be present, and the conductor is either he or one of the four leading priests, as the ritual may require. Normally all five are expected to be present. There is a partial exception in the Morning Star bundle for in this case the conductor of the ceremony was a special official of the village, not its keeper, but even he was under obligation to call in the calf bundle priest who alone knew the creation rituals, and the two leading rituals for all bundles. In short, with the exception just cited, the calf bundle priest was required to know the ritual of each bundle and if need be conduct each ceremony; the four leading priests were to a less degree required to do the same.

793

In this connection, it may be noted that the custodianship of a bundle is in the hands of the woman. She cares for it at all times and knows some

then two men, and again two of their female relatives, and so on to the end of 622 575 the line. Before the procession left the lodge two large strong young men [602] were caught in the village, brought in, and the water drums strapped on their backs with one pack strap across the forehead and one across the [482] breast. They then marched out dancing and singing. In leaving the lodge, the procession circles the fire four times and when outside of the door again circles four times. They then march back into the lodge and the women file out and go home, while the men take their seats. The drum bearers are relieved of their burden and sent out, but later they receive a portion of the meat from the feast. After the feast the society disbands.

This society seems to be based upon the bundle of the Pítahauírata village, which is probable considering that chiefs are the leading members. [302] The chiefs painted red with black rings around the face; if yellow, a green circle: these are the two paintings.

THE SOLDIERS OR POLICE.

Each chief selects one elderly warrior as his personal aid and advisor. 625 Only those who have reached a certain high grade of distinction can serve in this capacity. As a body, these aids were known as the braves, rahikuchu. There is thus one brave for each village and he selects three men to act as police under his direction (raripakusu, fighting for order). These are strong and aggressive men. Their function was purely that of village and camp police. Their only badge of office was a special form of club for which in recent years a sword was substituted. The braves and police served for life, unless dismissed for cause. It should be noted, however [224] that these police had nothing whatever to do with the buffalo hunt.

THE BUFFALO HUNT.

The general buffalo hunt at whatever season of the year was under the 224 direction of the priest of the leading bundle which happened at that time 575 to be in charge. Preparatory to the hunt a ceremony was held, with the chiefs present, in which the hunt was planned. The priest selected one of the bundle societies to act as soldiers for the hunt. The regular police still exercised their powers in the camp, but the enforcement of all regulations for the hunt and its conduct were in the hands of the selected society. The appointment was for the hunt only. A special lodge was set up for the [346] soldiers in the east part of the camp, near the center were the lodges of the chiefs society and of the priest. The methods of punishment employed by the soldiers were the same as among other tribes.

575 was supposed to give protection in battles. The otter wrapped on the pole
could also be used to call upon the powers to send rain to the earth. The
two stones on the strings of the lances are to symbolize two powers or stars
in the east on each side of the sun, the white for the one on the north side
of the sun and the red for the one on the south side. By this, the members
of the society know that they are under the protection of the two powers in
the sky. If the people have a battle and win, the scalps and other trophies
[727] are given to this society which then conducts the victory dance, carrying the
lances in the dance. As the dance proceeds the women take charge, even
carrying the lances. The only men remaining in the dance are the four
drummers.

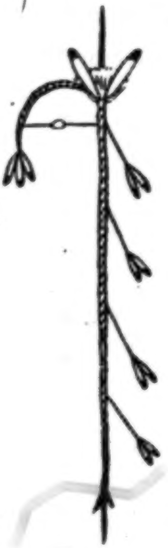


Fig. 6.

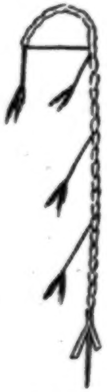


Fig. 7.

[411] Fig. 6. The Skidi Red Society Lance. The war point is of iron rising from a tuft of owl feathers between a tuft of eagle feathers. On the string to the crook is a red stone. The pendant feathers are eagle. The shaft is wrapped with otter fur; dark for the north side
[237] lance, reddish for the south. The grip is wrapped with bear gut.

Fig. 7. The Red Lance. The shaft is wrapped with swanskin, a buffalo tail at the tip of the crook and also hung from strings at the sides; the grip of one lance is wrapped with red strouding and the other with black. These are the colors of the south and north sides respectively.

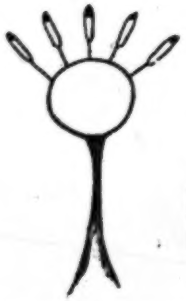
575 Perhaps the most important point is that this society is chosen to act
625 as police of a military procedure, or man hunt, in the same way as the pre-
224 ceding society was chosen for the buffalo hunt. When the camp moves

out to the buffalo hunt, this society having renewed its lances, takes them 224 out on a horse as previously noted. They are thus ready for the society to 575 act in case of attack. In such a case, if the regular bearers are not present, 625 any member or anyone in fact, is expected to lay hold and act as bearer. To facilitate this, the lances are placed against a pole outside the society tent. If, however, a bearer fails to put in an appearance or shirks his duty in any way he can be reprimanded or even expelled. The volunteer bearer will be permitted to dance with the lance in future ceremonies, in contrast to the preceding society where only the descendants of lance bearers were allowed to enter the dance. As stated, the lances were expected always to head the line in battle.

As winter approached these lances were dismantled and put away until 575 the renewing ceremony of spring. Each member makes it his business to hunt for an otter and when one is caught takes it to the leader who skins it with a special ceremony. His wife then dresses the skin and cares for it until the time for renewing the lance in the spring.

THE RED LANCE SOCIETY.

Among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kit'kaháxki divisions there were organizations known as the raris pahat, but differing from the Skidí society of that name. The two lances were wrapped with swans' down. These societies were all considered as derived from and sanctioned by the bundle of the Pítahauírata. This bundle controlled the ceremonies in that division and hence all but the public dancing in the camp was secret. Only the descendants of chiefs could be members. In the two sides of the organization, the chiefs sat upon the north side and the warriors upon the south. The lance for the north side was trimmed in black feathers, that for the south in white. The members painted in corresponding colors in the dance, but carried such weapons as they chose. When dancing, a rattle bearer faces the lance bearer of the opposite side and in the evolutions they pass each other. Water drums are used and in the dance around the village two boys are appointed to bear these upon their backs. The pipe of the society was originally that belonging to the bundle, but later a special pipe was provided.



[534]

[362]
[535]

Fig. 8. Rattle for the Skidí Red Lance, one of four. The bulb is of rawhide, the feathers are eagle.

It will be noted that the lance of this society bears no point and is not

dipped a horn spoon into the corn and placed the food near the lance. He made four passes with his hands towards the lance, then he placed the corn upon the rim of the fireplace, on the west side. He then took a piece of fat to the pile of corn, placed the fat on the corn, greased his hands and then made four passes over the lance with his hands. Then he handed the horn spoon to one of the men, who said, "Nawa." They ate and were dismissed. 575

During the buffalo hunt it was customary for this society to follow at the rear of the procession. These men were once overtaken by the enemy. Their first act was to string the buffalo rope through their belts and thus they fought. When one of their number was killed, he was dragged around as the others fought. Eventually they were all killed. The society was never again reorganized. [726]

Once a man had a lance made as he wished to start the society again. A young man took it and went to hunt buffalo. He was attacked by the enemy, killed, and the lance taken away from him. Since then, the lance was never made and was considered an evil omen. [787]

THE BRAVE RAVEN SOCIETY.

This is the important society among the Chauí and seems to have had a double function in that its emblem could lead the hunt as well as the line of battle. Among the Skidi it was a minor organization. The origin of this society is an integral part of the ritual for the leading Chauí bundle of which the head chief is the keeper but not the priest. This bundle is in two parts, or two bundles. The main bundle contained the ceremonial objects and was directly associated with the ritual; the secondary bundle contained the skins and feathers of birds. When a boy kills his first bird with an arrow, he naturally runs with it to his father. The father may then take his boy by the hand and lead him to the priest of the bundle, to whom the dead bird is presented. The priest thanks the boy and blesses him, after which the father and son go home. [224] [852]

After formally notifying the chief, or keeper of the bundle, the priest prepares the skin of the bird and puts it up to dry for four days. Then he takes it in and ceremoniously places it in the bundle, taking care to be able to identify it later.

During the autumn hunt the leader of the brave society notifies the members that the time has come for the gathering of sinew and the reserving of dried meat for the lance-renewing ceremony in the spring. Twelve volunteers are secured for this service. Each kills a buffalo and removes the sinew from the shoulders and back which is then dried and carefully packed away.

The lance for the north side was black and for the south, white. There were 575
two rattle bearers who stood and danced as in the preceding. There were
four singers and two water drums. Their war duties were as previously
stated. This society was composed of chiefs and warriors, on different sides. [701]
At stated times, the members demonstrated their deeds, trophies, and war
medicines.

It seems that there were three bundles in the Pítahauírata division at
one time and the three feathers on the lance are supposed to be one for each. [778]
The members were members of the chiefs society, warriors and men who had consecrated eagles; hence the small eagle feathers are put on the lance. In the consecrating of eagles the heads are strung through the nose with sinew, all the members having gone through this ceremony; hence the string here symbolizes the consecration but it is not known if the hooked part of the lance is the eagle's head. The pipe of this society is borrowed from the warrior's bundle.

So far as known, the organizations in the three divisions were identical.

THE WOLF LANCE.

The rarisits skiri^{h}ki^{h} (society of wolves) was peculiar to the Wolf-standing-in-water village. There were two lances, four flat hand drums
painted white, four singers wearing caps of wolfskin like roaches, four rattles
(two for each side). All members painted white. The pipe bearer who sat [302]
in front of the four singers painted red, however. The lance bearers sat
among the dancers, but the lances rested against the lodge posts. There
was no regular dance evolution, each one going as he pleased. The old men [535]
and one messenger were on each side.

There were two war shields covered with wolfskin for each side. For
each shield there was a bearer. It was a war organization and differed
from the others in that as an organization it could go to war. The lances [701]
were left at home, however. So far as known they never acted as police of the hunt, but the members seem to have had the right to take the lances of the hunting society and scout for buffalo.

The lodge of this society had its door toward the west instead of east. [345]

THE BLACK HEADS.

The pakskatit society was peculiar to the Kit'kaháxki division. They [224]
seem to have been important for they could act both as police of the buffalo
hunt and in the line of battle. While there were two sides as before, there [701]

They drummed, sang, and danced around the fireplace out of the lodge. The 539
singing and drumming gradually ceased and when the fire was made there was no 575
one left in the lodge. After this the man often dreamed and found that the dance
was given to poor people, especially the poor boys of the village.

After the final dance, all the dogs disappeared. Every night the man and the two boys sang and other young men came in and assisted. When quite a number of young men knew the songs the man told them to come the next night and bring with them their quivers, bows and arrows, and moccasins. Among the young men who wished to join was a chief's son. He told them that they would go to the enemy's camp that night. They all agreed to go with him.

That night he wrapped up the dog skin, the string and whistle, the owl feathers, and the rope and placed them on his back. As they started off they sang the first song the man had heard the dog men singing. They sang four times and then went on their way. For several days they continued when some of the young men began to show signs of weariness. Then the man gave them a root to chew to revive them. When the chief's son became tired the man paid no attention to him. Finally, he turned back.

At length they came to the enemy's camp. The man put on his regalia and went to the camp. He captured some ponies on which they returned home. When they arrived the people said the young dog people were good travelers.

After this at night the young men met to sing the dog songs. When 575
the man heard them, he would have the two boys build a fire and the young
men would come in and sing. One time, on their return to the village from a
buffalo hunt some of the young men told the man that they each had a
parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat and they wished to dance. The
man did not reply but consulted his two assistants who said: "Buffalo
meat is good, but first we must get a reddish dog." One young man said,
"My people have one, I can get it."

The dance was started and all the young men who danced and received
the string and whistle became members. This society became very impor- [177]
tant and when the Arikara joined the Skidi they saw the dance. Among
the Arikara was one man who knew the sun dance. He met the leader of [535]
the young dogs and they exchanged dances. The Skidi joined the two and
had the young dog sun dance three times. All the dancers had to be cut
and suspended three times.

This society became a great power among the people. One time during 224
a buffalo hunt the people were attacked by the Sioux and the soldiers were 575
all killed and the crow lance taken from them. The tribe was left without 625
police so the chiefs (not the priests) selected the dog society to act as police
on the hunt. Their old men cried through the village telling the people to [648]
keep quiet and not to drum or sing. The men were not permitted to hunt
at any distance nor were guns to be shot. The women were not to chop
wood but were to gather dry limbs. One night a man came to the village

224
575
625
with buffalo meat. He had consecrated it and taken it to one of the minor bundles and that night the priests had a bundle ceremony. The dog soldiers went into the lodge, took the meat, cut it up and gave it to the dogs. The owner of the meat was taken out and whipped and his gun broken. He became angry and drew his knife. They all attacked him and hurt him badly. After this occurred, the dog soldiers were dismissed and the lance men were again the tribal police.

554
575
The dog society was so important not only because the members were good warriors, but great medicinemen. None of them were cowards, they were all brave men.

THE MISCHIEVOUS SOCIETY.

539
575
An organization generally known as the mischievous society, but also as the circumcised, once existed among the Chauí.

Many years ago when the Chauí were alone, two young men were always running around during the night, playing bad tricks upon anyone they met. At this time the people wore no clothing, especially the boys. In the winter time the boys wore a bull calf hide, if they were well-to-do; but if they were poor they wore half a bull hide, their moccasins and leggings. They had neither shirt nor covering for their privates.

In a village of mud-lodges there happened to be one mud-lodge that was empty for all the people who lived in it had died. These two mischievous boys made their home in this lodge. People, especially the young men, were afraid to go near this lodge in the night for it was said that ghosts dwelt there. These two young men frightened people when they came near the lodge by making strange noises, whistling, and throwing mud at them.

In the daytime they watched the young men in the village and when they saw certain ones who seemed fearless they invited them to meet them in the empty mud-lodge. When they spoke of the mud-lodge, those who were cowards would refuse to go, but those who were brave accepted the invitation. These meetings were held in the winter time when the people lived in mud-lodges, for in the summer time they lived in tipis away from the village. When these young men met they would plan to send out young men to scare those who were prowling through the village during the night. The two leading boys appeared as if circumcised and invited to their meetings only those of similar appearance.

In their meetings in the deserted lodge they would do all sorts of mischievous and obscene things. When on a buffalo hunt in the winter time they would get together and make a grass lodge in which to hold their

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly 776 responsible. 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of consecrating 292 buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were ceremonial 796 and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies.

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected 224 to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires.

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the 361 ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed.

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must 622 pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and 756 what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water 782 animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social inter- [565] course. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that [773] at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.)

622 756 778 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

554 726 *Coups.* The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular importance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have consecrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pítahaufrata division, but we have no data upon it.

756 837 *Exchange of Wives.* According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice. Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicine-man in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

224 [223] *Hunting Ceremonies.* There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 838 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

726 *No-flight Idea.* A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

342 532 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

834 *Sex Taboo.* Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

276 *Smoking.* A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

512 to the fields after the early morning swim. They returned to the lodge at about eleven o'clock for the first meal, the other meal being around five in the afternoon. Men and women sat apart at meal-
264 times, the former being together in the west of the lodge and the women sitting east of the fireplace. Any food out of the ordinary,
[562] such as melons in season, was given to the men first. As a rule the children ate by themselves near the women and had to be content with what remained after their parents had finished. Where several
[252] families occupied a single lodge, each family in turn cooked for the others in the lodge. [The separation of the sexes at mealtimes is not entirely clear. The manuscript also contains the following statement: "The food was prepared in large quantities and divided among the families, each receiving a wooden bowl, and each member
[412] of the family eating from this bowl by means of an individual sheep-horn spoon."]

262 784 Corn was generally eaten mixed with beans, or sometimes boiled with the tops of milkweed. In the winter, the nests of ground rats were hunted and robbed of their stores of ground beans. Although most animals were eaten, especially the buffalo and deer, the Pawnee eschewed the meat of the wolf, coyote, otter, wildcat, and mountain lion. Certain other food restrictions also prevailed. Fish was prohibited to chiefs and medicine-men. The tender meat about the buffalo's anus was a prized delicacy of the old people, but tabooed for children, as the violation of this restriction would bring them failure in after years when they attempted raids on enemy villages. Nor were young men and girls supposed to eat the stomach of the buffalo cow. To do so would cause the former to receive many wounds on the warpath, while a girl ran the risk of falling in a hole and injuring her leg, if, in later life, she doubted the faithfulness of her husband and followed him to the lodge of another woman to whom she suspected he was paying improper attention.

224 784 When any of the men were away on a buffalo hunt, certain restrictions on conduct were imposed on those who remained at home. The lodge must be kept clean, especially the part about the altar. Just before mealtimes sacrifices of corn must be made to the skull on the altar. No menstruating woman could approach
[841] the skull, as it would anger the buffalo spirit that resided in the skull and cause the buffalo to elude the hunters. The people at home must always talk as though the hunters were having great success. Especially they should speak of consecrating buffalo sacrifices to

224 the deities, for a sacrificed buffalo is reborn, and the buffalo, liking
784 this, would approach nearer and nearer. In the absence of the
hunting party dried buffalo meat could not be roasted, as the odor
[825] of the roasting meat would reach the animals and they might be
frightened. However, the meat could be prepared by boiling.

428 In the inheritance of personal property, a woman theoretically
562 had no rights. As a matter of fact, however, she was generally
considered to be the owner of the lodge, the tipi, and her tools
and utensils. Children did not inherit personal property such as
robes, blankets, ponies, and saddle trappings, all of which were
supposed to belong to the brother, though they were usually claimed
by the sons of the deceased's sister.

crop unknown to these white men and unnoticed by them. Even cultivated 172*
sunflowers, common as they were to Pawnee agriculture, were scarcely men- 224
tioned or not mentioned at all in accounts by these white men. Another crop,
still less known to white men, might easily have escaped notice entirely. If
they saw fields of it growing, they probably, not being acquainted with it, considered them to be old neglected fields "gone to weeds."

While maize and other vegetable products provided the bulk of 172*
the diet, animal food was also very generally used. Of particular 262
importance was the bison, hunted not for its flesh alone, but also 237
for the hide, hair, sinew, horns, and even the hoofs. Archeologically, the bones of this animal are by far the commonest in Pawnee sites, and byproducts, such as horn spoons and haircloth, are by no means unknown. Further, the dire straits into which the tribe was thrown by failure to find the herds shows very clearly how heavily the Pawnee leaned upon the bison economically, even with their fields of maize.

Two great tribal hunts were staged each year by the Pawnee, a 172*
practice followed also by the Oto, Omaha, Kansa, Osage, and other 224 ●
neighboring tribes of similar cultural status. Immediately after 221
the second hoeing of the corn, which took place about the middle of June, the entire tribe departed on the summer hunt, returning in September to harvest the corn and other crops. Toward the end of October, after the corn had been cached, they set out on the winter hunt, the Skidi moving westward to the forks of the Platte, while the other bands proceeded southward to the Arkansas.[35] Early in April they returned to the permanent villages in time for the corn planting. The favorite hunting grounds lay in what is now western Kansas, between the Republican and Arkansas Rivers, necessitating a trek of from 400 to 900 miles on each hunt.[36] An additional incentive for the long winter hunt appears to have been the need of finding sufficient forage for the horses.[37]

The meat was eaten fresh whenever possible, every hunt being a 172*
period of heavy feasting. Great quantities of meat were cut into 262
strips and dried in the sun to form "jerky." This was later eaten [224]
raw or else was cooked with corn and beans into a sort of stew or [252]
thick soup. The tongue and heart of the bison were usually sacrificed to the spirits. Long says that the tallow was also used, particularly in cookery. According to Allis,[38] "The most delicious dish with them is the young taken from the buffalo they kill."

Among the other animals commonly used as food, Allis[39] names elk, deer, bear, beaver, otter, raccoon, and badger. The jaws and

---

[35] Ashley and Smith, 1918, pp. 119–121.

[36] Dunbar, 1880, b, pp. 327–328.

[37] Long, 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.

[38] 1887, p. 140.

[39] Ibid.

1.

A SUMMER HUNT

NOTES ON THE PAWNEES

● 224 796 [221] It was in the month of July, 1872. The Pawnees were preparing to start on their semi-annual buffalo hunt, and only the last religious rites remained to be performed before the nation should leave the village for the buffalo range.

"*Eh, idadi, whoop,*" came from without the lodge; and as I replied, "*Ehya, whoop,*" the sturdy figure of *Le-ta-kats-ta′-ka* appeared in the doorway.

"*Lau, idad, tūt-tū-ta-rik ti-rah-rēk*—Come, brother, they are going to dance," he said, and then he turned and went out.

I rose from the pile of robes on which I had been dozing, and, after rolling them up, strolled out after him. The village seemed deserted, but off toward the medicine lodge, which stood upon its outskirts, I could see a throng of Indians; and a low murmur of voices and of footsteps, the hum which always accompanies any large assemblage, was borne to my ears on the evening breeze. The cere-

[PP. 1-11 not Processed]

monies, which comprised the consecration of the buffalo staves and 224 the buffalo dance, were about to begin. The great dirt lodge was 796 crowded. I pushed my way through the throng of women and boys, who made up the outer circle of spectators, and soon found myself among the men, who made way for me, until I reached a position from which I could see all that was going on within the circle about which they stood.

For several days the priests and the doctors had been preparing for this solemn religious ceremonial. They had fasted long; earnest prayers had been made to *Ti-ra'-wa*, and sacrifices had been offered. [782 Now the twelve buffalo skulls had been arranged on the ground in a 785] half-circle, and near them stood the chiefs and doctors, reverently holding in their hands the buffalo staves and sacred bows and arrows, and other implements of the chase. For a little while they stood silent, with bowed heads, but presently one and then another began to murmur their petitions to *A-ti-us Ti-ra'-wa*, the Spirit Father. At first their voices were low and mumbling, but gradually they became more earnest and lifted their eyes toward heaven. It was impossible to distinguish what each one said, but now and then disjointed sentences reached me. "Father, you are the Ruler—We are poor—Take pity on us—Send us plenty of buffalo, plenty of fat cows—Father, we are your children—help the people—send us plenty of meat so that we may be strong, and our bodies may increase and our flesh grow hard—Father, you see us, listen." As they prayed they moved their hands backward and forward over the implements which they held, and at length reverently deposited them on the ground within the line of buffalo skulls, and then stepped back, still continuing their prayers.

It was a touching sight to witness these men calling upon their God for help. All of them had passed middle life, and some were gray-haired, blind and tottering; but they prayed with a fervor and earnestness that compelled respect. They threw their souls into their prayers, and as a son might entreat his earthly father for some great gift, so they plead with *Ti-ra'-wa*. Their bodies quivered with emotion, and great drops of sweat stood upon their brows. They were thoroughly sincere.

After the last of the articles had been placed upon the ground, their voices grew lower and at length died away. A moment later a

●224 drum sounded, and a dozen or twenty young warriors sprang into the 796 circle and began the buffalo dance. This was kept up without intermission for three days, and as soon as it was over, the tribe moved out of the village on the hunt.

224 From the village on the Loup, we traveled southward; for in those days the region between the Platte and the Smoky rivers swarmed with buffalo. With the Pawnees were a few Poncas, Omahas and Otoes, so that there were about four thousand Indians in the camp. [221] It was the summer hunt of the tribe. Twice each year the agent permitted them to visit the buffalo range. The meat which they killed [251 and dried on these hunts, the corn and squashes which they grew 511] on their farms, and the small annuities received from the Government, were all they had to subsist on from season to season. Thus the occasion was one of importance to the Indians. Perhaps only the older heads among them fully appreciated its economic interest; but for all it was a holiday time; a temporary escape from confinement. [512 Life on the reservation was monotonous. There was nothing to do 521] except to sit in the sun and smoke, and tell stories of the former glories of the nation; of successful fights with the Sioux and Cheyennes, and of horse stealing expeditions, from which the heroes had returned with great herds of ponies and much glory. Now, for a little while, they returned to the old free life of earlier years, when the land had been all their own, and they had wandered at will over the broad expanse of the rolling prairie. Now, for a time, it was as it had been before the cornfields of the white man had begun to dot their river bottoms, before the sound of his rifle had made wild their game, before the locomotive's whistle had shrieked through the still, hot summer air. Half a year's provision was now to be secured. The comfort—almost the existence—of the tribe for the next six months depended on the accumulation of an abundant supply of dried buffalo meat, and no precaution was omitted to make the hunt successful. It would not do to permit each individual to hunt independently. Indiscriminate buffalo running by six or eight hundred men scattered over the prairie, each one working for himself alone, would result in the killing of some few buffalo, but would terrify and drive away all the others in the neighborhood. This matter was too important to be trusted to chance. The hunting was systematized.

The government of the hunt was intrusted to the Pawnee soldiers. 224 ● These were twenty-four warriors of mature age, not so old as to be 625 unfitted for active work, yet with the fires of early youth somewhat tempered by years of experience; men whose judgment and discretion could at all times be relied on. These soldiers acted under the chiefs, but the practical guidance of the hunt was wholly in their hands. They determined the direction and length of each day's march, and the spot for camping. They selected the young men who should act as scouts, and arranged all the details of the approach and the charge when a herd of buffalo was discovered large enough to call for a general surround. All the men were under their control, and amenable to their discipline. They did not hesitate to exercise their authority, nor to severely punish any one who committed an act by which the success of the hunt might be imperilled.

The scouts sent out by the soldiers were chosen from among the 224 younger men. They acted merely as spies, their office was to find the buffalo. They moved rapidly along, far in advance of the marching column, and from the tops of the highest hills carefully scanned the country before them in search of buffalo. If a herd was discerned, they were not to show themselves, nor in any way to alarm it. Having found the game, their duty was to observe its movement, learn where it was likely to be for the next few hours, and then to report as quickly as possible to the camp. The soldiers then determined what action should be taken. If the news was received late in the day, and the buffalo were at some distance, the camp would probably be moved as near as practicable to where the herd was feeding, and the chase would take place in the early morning. If, on the other hand, the scouts found the herd in the morning, the men would start off at once for the surround, leaving the women to follow, and make camp as near as possible to where the dead buffalo lay.

Day after day we traveled southward, crossing the Platte River, and then the Republican about due south of the present flourishing town of Kearney. South of the Platte a few scattering buffalo were found, but no large herds had been met with—nothing that called for a surround. At length we camped one night on the Beaver, a small affluent of the Republican, emptying into it from the south.

With the gray dawn of morning, the camp, as usual, is astir. By

● 224 With the gray dawn of morning, the camp, as usual, is astir. By
484 the time our little party have turned out of our blankets, some of the Indians have already finished eating, and are catching up their [462] horses and preparing to ride off over the bluffs, leaving the squaws to take down the lodges, pack the ponies, and pursue the designated line of march. Before we are ready to "pull out," most of the ponies have been packed, and a long, irregular line of Indians is creeping across the level valley, and beginning to wind up the face of the bluffs. The procession moves slowly, proceeding at a walk. Most of those who remain with the column are on foot, the squaws leading the ponies, and many of the men, wrapped in their blankets, and with only their bows and arrows on their backs, walking briskly [735] over the prairie, a little to one side. These last are the poorer Indians —those who have but few horses. They travel on foot, letting their horses run without burdens, so that they may be fresh and strong, whenever they shall be needed for running the buffalo.

224 Side by side, at the head of the column, walk eight men who carry
778 the buffalo staves. These are slender spruce poles, like a short lodge-
484 pole, wrapped with blue and red cloth, and elaborately ornamented with bead work, and with the feathers of hawks, and of the war eagle. These sticks are carried by men selected by the chiefs and doctors in private council, and are religiously guarded. Upon the care of these emblems, and the respect paid to them, depends, in a great measure, the success of the hunt. While borne before the moving column, no one is permitted to cross the line of march in front of them.

224 Close behind the staff bearers follow a number of the principal
484 men of the tribe; the head chief, old *Pi'ta Le-shar*, and a dozen or
[622] fifteen sub-chiefs or head men, all mounted on superb horses. Behind them comes the camp at large, a fantastically mingled multitude, marching without any appearance of order. Here most of the individuals are women, young girls and children, for the men who accompany the camp usually march singly, or by twos and threes, a little apart from the mob. Most of those rich enough in horses to be able to ride at all times, are scattered over the prairie for miles in every direction, picking up the small bands of buffalo, which have been passed by the scouts as not large enough to call for a general surround. The hunters are careful, however, not to follow too close

224 ●
upon the advance line, whose movements they can readily observe 484
upon the bare bluffs far ahead of them.

At the time of which I am writing, the Pawnees had no wagons, 492
all their possessions being transported on pack horses. The Indian pack 484
pony is apt to be old and sedate, requiring no special guidance nor 224
control. A strip of rawhide, knotted about the lower jaw, serves as a bridle, and is either tied up to the saddle or held in the rider's hand. In packing the animals a bundle of lodge-poles is tied on either side of the saddle, one end projecting forward toward the horse's head, the other dragging on the ground behind. This is the *travois.* Cross poles are often tied between these two dragging bundles, and on these are carried packages of meat and robes. Often, too, on a robe stretched between them, a sick or wounded Indian, unable to ride, is transported. The lodge-poles having been fastened to the saddle, the lodge is folded up and placed on it between them, and blankets, robes, and other articles are piled on top of this, until the horse has on its back what appears to be about as much as it can carry. The pack is then lashed firmly in position, and pots, buckets and other utensils are tied about it wherever there is room.

On top of the load so arranged one or two women, or three or four children, clamber and settle themselves comfortably there, and the old horse is turned loose. Each rider carries in her hand a whip, with which she strikes the horse at every step, not cruelly at all, but just from force of habit. If the pack is low, so that her feet reach down to the animal's sides, she keeps up also a constant drumming on his ribs with her heels. The old horse pays not the slightest attention to any of these demonstrations of impatience, but plods steadily along at a quiet walk, his eyes half closed and his ears nodding at each step. If the riders are women, each one holds a child or two in her arms, or on her back, or perhaps the baby board is hung over the end of a lodge-pole, and swings free. If the living load consists of children, they have in their arms a lot of puppies; for puppies occupy with relation [231] to the small Indian girls the place which dolls hold among the white children. Many of the pack animals are mares with young colts, and these last, instead of following quietly at their mothers' heels, range here and there, sometimes before and sometimes behind their dams. They are thus constantly getting lost in the crowd, and

492 then they charge backward and forward in wild affright, neighing
484 shrilly, until they have again found their proper place in the line of
● 224 march. Many of the yearling colts have very small and light packs tied on their backs, while the two-year-olds are often ridden by the tiniest of Indian boys, who are now giving them their first lesson in weight-carrying. Loose horses of all ages roam about at will, and their continual cries mingle with the barking of dogs, the calls of women and the yells of boys, and make an unceasing noise.

484 The boys are boiling over with animal spirits, and, like their civil-
224 ized brothers of the same age, are continually running about, chas-
[857] ing each other, wrestling, shooting arrows and playing games, of which the familiar stick game seems the favorite.

Whenever the column draws near any cover, which may shelter game, such as a few bushes in a ravine, or the fringe of low willows along some little watercourse, the younger men and boys scatter out and surround it. They beat it in the most thorough manner, and any game which it contains is driven out on the prairie, surrounded and killed. The appearance even of a jackass rabbit throws the boys into a fever of excitement, and causes them to shriek and yell as if in a frenzy.

All the morning I rode with the Indians, either at the head of the column, chatting as best I could with *Pi'ta Le-shar* and other chiefs, or falling back and riding among the women and children, whom
224 I never tired of watching. Frequently during the day I saw at a distance, on the prairie, small bunches of buffalo in full flight, hotly pursued by dark-skinned riders, and occasionally two or three men would ride up to the marching columns with heavy loads of freshly-killed meat. The quick-heaving, wet flanks of the ponies told a story of sharp, rapid chases, and their tossing heads and eager, excited looks showed how much interest they took in the hunt.

224 The report of firearms was seldom heard. Most of the Indians
411 hunted with the primitive weapon of their forefathers—the bow and arrow. For buffalo running an arrow is nearly as effective as lead. The power of the bow in expert hands is tremendous. Riding within half a dozen yards of the victim's side, the practiced bowman will drive the dart so far through the body of the buffalo that its shaft may project a foot or more from the opposite side—some-

times indeed may pass quite through. Besides, the bow can be used 224- very rapidly and accurately. I have seen an Indian take a sheaf of 4-11 six arrows in his hand, and discharge them at a mark more rapidly and with more certainty of hitting his target than I could fire the six barrels of a revolver.

It was nearly noon, and I was riding along at the head of the 224- column. I had but one horse, and did not care to wear him out by chasing around over the prairie, preferring to save him for some great effort. We were traveling along a smooth divide between two sets of ravines, which ran off, one to the east and the other to the west. *Pi'ta Le-shar* had just informed me by signs that we should make camp about two miles further on, by a stream whose course we could trace from where we then were. Suddenly, without the slightest warning, the huge dark bodies of half a dozen buffalo sprang into view, rising out of a ravine on our left not a hundred yards distant. When they saw the multitude before them, they stopped and stared at us.

They were too close for me to resist the temptation to pursue. As I lifted the reins from my pony's neck and bent forward, the little animal sprang into a sharp gallop toward the game, and as he did so I saw half a dozen Indians shoot out from the column and follow me. The buffalo wheeled, and in an instant were out of sight, but when I reached the edge of the bank down which they had plunged, I could see through the cloud of dust, which they left behind them, their uncouth forms dashing down the ravine. My nimble pony, as eager for the race as his rider, hurled himself down the steep pitch, and sped along the narrow broken bed of the gully. I could feel that sometimes he would lengthen his stride to leap wide ditches, where the water from some side ravine had cut away the ground, but I never knew of these until they were passed. My eyes were fixed on the fleeing herd; my ears were intent on the pursuing horsemen. Close behind me I could hear the quick pounding of many hoofs, and could feel that one of the horses, nearer than the rest, was steadily drawing up to me—but I was gaining on the buffalo. Already the confused rumble of their hoof-beats almost drowned those of the horses behind me, and the air was full of the dust and small pebbles thrown up by their hurrying feet. But they

● 224 were still ahead of me, and the gulch was so narrow that I could not shoot. The leading horseman drew nearer and nearer, and was now almost at my side. I could see the lean head and long, slim neck of his pony under my right arm, and could hear the rider speak to his horse and urge him forward in the race. My horse did his best, but the other had the most speed. He shot by me, and a moment later was alongside the last buffalo.

As he passed me the young Indian made a laughing gesture of triumph, slipped an arrow on his bowstring, and drew it to its head; but just as he was about to let it fly, his horse, which was but a colt, took fright at the huge animal which it had overtaken, and shied violently to the right, almost unseating its rider. At the same moment the buffalo swerved a little to the left, and thus lost a few feet. Truly, the race is not always to the swift. As I passed the Indian, I could not restrain a little whoop of satisfaction, and then swinging my rifle around, I fired. The buffalo fell in its stride, tossing up a mightly cloud of the soft yellow earth, and my pony ran by him fifty yards before he could be checked. Then I turned and rode back to look at the game. The other Indians had passed me like a whirlwind, and, close at the heels of the herd, had swept around a point of bluff and out of sight. Only my rival remained, and he was excitedly arguing with his horse. The logic of a whip-handle, applied with vigor about the creature's ears, convinced it that it must approach the dead buffalo; and then the rider dismounting, and passing his lariat about the animal's horns, drew the pony's head to within a few feet of the terrifying mass, and fastened the rope. When he had accomplished this, he grinned pleasantly at me, and I responded in kind, and in dumb show transferred to him all my right and title in the dead buffalo. At this he smiled still more cheerfully, and set to work "butchering."

The animal was a superb specimen, just entering his prime, and was fat, round and sleek. His horns were symmetrically curved and beautifully polished. Not a scratch marred their shining surfaces, nor a splinter was frayed from their sharp points. The sweeping black beard was long and full, and the thick curls upon his hump and massive shoulders were soft and deep, while the short hair of his sides and hips was smooth as the coat of a horse. His size was

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

enormous. It seemed that he would have turned the scale at quite 224 two thousand pounds. Certainly his weight exceeded that of both the fifteen-hand ponies that stood beside him.

A few moments later, I was again in the saddle, and riding on along the course taken by the remaining buffalo, for I was anxious to see what had become of them. On rounding the point of the bluff, where I had last seen them, my curiosity was satisfied. The valley here widened out until it was perhaps sixty yards across, and on either side rose vertical bluffs of yellow chalk to a height of forty feet. Scattered about over the little plain, lay half a dozen buffalo, over each of which bent one or two Indians busily plying the knife. At the foot of the bluff at one side of the valley stood four or five others, looking at a cow, perched on a narrow shelf ten feet below the top. I shall never understand how that animal reached the position it occupied. There was evidently no way of getting to it except by jumping up from below, which was obviously impossible —or down from above, which seemed out of the question. The shelf was so short that the animal could move neither backward nor forward, and was just wide enough for it to stand on. As I rode up and joined the little group below it, the head and shoulders of a middle-aged Indian appeared over the top of the bluff, above the cow. He lay down flat on his breast, and holding in both hands an old-fashioned muzzle-loading pistol, attempted to shoot the cow from above, but his old arm would not go off. He snapped it half a dozen times, and then, discouraged, called out something to us below. One of the boys turned to me, and said very slowly and distinctly, "He say, you shoot." I therefore dismounted, and fired at the cow, which responded by shaking her head angrily, and whisking her short tail. Another call came from the old fellow on top of the bluff, and the young man said to me, "He say, you hit her; right spot." A moment later, the cow bent forward and fell on her knees, and the Indian above dropped down on her back.

Turning my horse's head in the direction from which I had come, I rode up through a side ravine on to the high prairie. A mile away I could see the column of marching Indians, plodding along at their old slow pace. Here and there, over the rolling hills, dark forms were visible, some of them in rapid motion, others apparently stationary.

● 224 Often it was impossible to determine whether these figures were
horsemen or buffalo, but sometimes, far away, I could see a mimic chase in which pursuer and pursued appeared no larger than ants.

857 As I came up with the Indians, they were just descending into
223 the stream bottom, where camp was to be made. The small boys
484 had, as usual, dispersed themselves over the valley and among the underbrush. Many of the squaws, leaving the ponies and packs to their sister-wives or children, were hurrying up or down the stream to gather wood. Already the leading ponies were being relieved of their loads. Suddenly, from the mouth of a little ravine coming down into the stream bottom, rose a chorus of shrill yelps and shrieks from childish throats, and a gang of wild turkeys were seen, running rapidly through the high grass toward the hills. A moment later, with a loud *quit-quit* of alarm, they took wing, but not before several of their number had fallen before the missiles of the boys. Most of them went up or down the creek, but one inexperienced bird took its course directly over our heads.

223 Those who have seen the Indian only on dress parade, talk of his
[152] stolidity, impassiveness, and his marvelous control over his countenance and his emotions. This demeanor he can and does assume,
[609] and when he is with white men, or among strangers, he is usually all that he has been pictured; but take him by himself, and he expresses his feelings with as little restraint as a child. So it was now. No grave chief, nor battle-scarred warrior, nor mighty worker of *ti-war'-uks-ti* (magic) was too dignified to express his interest at the appearance of this great bird sailing laboriously along, thirty or forty feet above him. It was as if the turkey had flown over a great company of schoolboys, and the utter abandonment of the excited multitude, the entire absence of restraint, the perfect naturalness of the expression of feeling, had in them something very delightful and infectious. Every Indian, who held in his hand anything that was light enough to throw, hurled it at the bird, and a cloud of whips, sticks, hatchets, fleshers, and arrows, rose to meet it as it passed along. One missile knocked from its tail a few long feathers, which drifted slowly down on the heads of the people. It kept on, but before it had passed beyond the long line of Indians extending back over the

648 we rode up on the prairie, the herd of ponies thundered by, and
721 swept down the bluffs to the camp. The rolling expanse before us was dotted with Indians, each one urging forward his horse to its utmost speed. Many of them were already a long way in advance, and were passing over the furthest high bluff, which seemed to rise up and meet the sky. Hard as we might push our ponies, there was little hope that we would be in time to have any hand in the encounter—if one took place—between the Pawnees and their hereditary foes.

We kept on until we reached the crest of the high bluff. From here we could see far off over the plain, dozens of black dots strung out after one another. Nearer at hand, other Indians, whose steeds, like ours, had proved too slow for the swift pursuit, were riding back toward us, showing in their faces the disappointment which they felt at being left behind. With these we turned about, and rode toward the camp. Among them was one of the herd boys, for the moment a hero, who had to repeat his story again and again. He had been sitting on top of a hill, not far from the horses, when he discovered several Sioux stealing toward them through a ravine. Signaling his comrades, they succeeded in getting the herd in motion before the robbers had approached very close to them. Eight of the slowest horses had dropped behind during the flight, and had no doubt fallen into the hands of the enemy.

One by one, the Indians came straggling back to camp during the afternoon and evening, but it was not until late that night that the main body of the pursuers came in. They had ten extra horses, two of which they had taken in turn from the Sioux. They had no scalps, however, for they had been unable to overtake the enemy.

Long we sat that night by the fire in *Pi'ta Le-shar's* lodge, talking over the exciting event of the afternoon; and as we rose to go to our wagons, and said good night, the old man, who had been silently gazing into the coals for some time, looked up at me and smiled, saying, "*Wa-ti-hes ti-kōt-it ti-ra-hah*—To-morrow we will kill buffalo."

224 When we turned out of our blankets the next morning, a heavy mist hung over the prairie. This was unfortunate, for so long as the fog lasted it would be impossible for the scouts to see far enough to discover the buffalo. The first few hours of the march were un-

eventful. Once or twice the huge bodies of a small band of buffalo 224 loomed up through the white mist about us, their size and shape greatly exaggerated and distorted by its deceptive effect. As the sun climbed toward the zenith, the air grew brighter, and by mid-day the fog had risen from the ground, and though still clinging in white cottony wreaths about the tops of the higher bluffs near us, we now could see for quite a long distance over the prairie. A little later the sun burst forth, and the sky became clear. Soon after noon we went into camp.

We had but just begun our dinner, when a runner was seen coming at full gallop down the bluffs. It was one of the scouts. He dashed through the village, and did not check his pony's speed until he had reached old *Pi'ta Le-shar's* lodge. Here he stopped, and bending from his horse spoke a few words very earnestly, gesticulating and pointing back over the prairie in the direction whence he had come. As he rode on and past us, he called out, "*Te-co'di tŭt-tu-ta-rik ti-ra-hah*—I saw many buffalo," and we shouted back to him, "*Tū-ra-heh*—It is good."

At once the women began to take down the lodges and pack the ponies. Buffalo had been discovered about fifteen miles to the southwest, and orders had been issued to move the village to the creek on which they were feeding, while the men should go on at once and make the surround. Our teamster, to whom the Indians had already, from his occupation, given the name "Jackass Chief," was directed to move with the camp; and leaving everything save guns and ammunition belts in the wagon, we joined the crowd of men who were riding out of the village.

The scene that we now beheld was such as might have been witnessed here a hundred years ago. It is one that can never be seen again. Here were eight hundred warriors, stark naked, and mounted on naked animals. A strip of rawhide, or a lariat, knotted about the [492] lower jaw, was all their horses' furniture. Among all these men there was not a gun nor a pistol, nor any indication that they had ever met with the white men. For the moment they had put aside whatever they had learned of civilization. Their bows and arrows they held in their hands. Armed with these ancestral weapons, they had become once more the simple children of the plains, about to slay the

224 wild cattle that *Ti-ra'-wa* had given them for food. Here was barbarism pure and simple. Here was nature.

A brief halt was made on the upper prairie, until all the riders had come up, and then, at a moderate gallop, we set off. A few yards in [625] advance rode the twenty-four soldiers, at first curbing in their spirited little steeds, till the horses' chins almost touched their chests, and occasionally, by a simple motion of the hand, waving back some impetuous boy, who pressed too close upon them. Many of the Indians led a spare horse, still riding the one that had carried them through the day. Often two men would be seen mounted on the same animal, the one behind having the lariats of two led horses wound about his arm. Here and there a man, with his arm over the horse's neck, would run along on foot by the side of the animal which was to serve him in the charge.

As we proceeded, the pace became gradually a little more rapid. The horses went along easily and without effort. Each naked Indian seemed a part of his steed, and rose and fell with it in the rhythmic swing of its stride. The plain was peopled with Centaurs. Out over each horse's croup floated the long black hair of his rider, spread out on the wings of the breeze. Gradually the slow gallop became a fast one. The flanks of the horses showed here and there patches of wet, which glistened in the slanting rays of the westering sun. Eight, ten, a dozen miles had been left behind us, and we were approaching the top of a high bluff, when the signal was given to halt. In a moment every man was off his horse, but not a pony of them all showed any sign of distress, nor gave any evidence of the work he had done, except by his wet flanks and his slightly accelerated breathing. Two or three of the soldiers rode up nearly to the top of the hill, dismounted and then peered over, and a moment later, at another signal, all mounted and the swift gallop began again. Over the ridge we passed, down the smooth slope, and across a wide level plain, where the prairie dogs and the owls and the rattlesnakes had their home. Through the dog town we hurried on thundering hoofs, no doubt amazing the dogs, and perhaps even arousing some slight interest in the sluggish, stupid snakes. Bad places these to ride through at such a pace, for a little carelessness on your horse's part might cost him a broken leg and you an ugly tumble. But no one took much thought

of dog town or horse or possible accident, for the minds of all were upon the next high ridge, behind which we felt sure that the buffalo would be found. 224

And so it proved. Just before reaching it we were again halted. Two of the soldiers reconnoitered, and then signaled that the buffalo were in sight. The tired horses were now turned loose and the extra ones mounted. As we rode slowly up over the ridge, we saw spread out before us a wide valley black with buffalo. Two miles away, on the other side, rose steep ragged bluffs, up which the clumsy buffalo would make but slow progress, while the ponies could run there nearly as fast as on level ground. It was the very place that would have been chosen for a surround.

At least a thousand buffalo were lying down in the midst of this amphitheater. Here and there, away from the main herd on the lower hills, were old bulls, singly and by twos and threes, some of them quietly chewing the cud, others sullenly pawing up the dust or grinding their battered horns into the yellow dirt of the hillsides. Not the slightest notice was taken of us as we rode down the slope at a pace that was almost a run, but still held in check by the soldiers. The order for the charge had not yet been given. Our line was now much more extended than it had been; each man pressing as far forward as he dared, and those on either flank being so far ahead of the center that they were almost on a line with the soldiers. We had covered perhaps half the distance between the hilltop and the buffalo, when some of the outlying bulls seemed to observe us, and after looking for a moment or two, these started in rapid flight. This attracted the attention of the herd, and when we were yet half a mile from them, they took the alarm. At once all were on their feet. For a moment they gazed bewildered at the dark line that was sweeping toward them, and then, down went every huge head and up flew every little tail, and the herd was off in a headlong stampede for the opposite hills. As they sprang to their feet, the oldest man of the soldiers, who was riding in the center of the line, turned back toward us, and uttered a shrill *Loo'-ah!* It was the word we had waited for.

Like an arrow from a bow each horse darted forward. Now all restraint was removed, and each man might do his best. What had been only a wild gallop became a mad race. Each rider hoped to be the first

224 to reach the top of the opposite ridge, and to turn the buffalo back into the valley, so that the surround might be completely successful. How swift those little ponies were, and how admirably the Indians managed to get out of them all their speed! I had not gone much more than half-way across the valley when I saw the leading Indians pass the head of the herd, and begin to turn the buffalo. This was the first object of the chase, for in a stampede, the cows and young are always in the lead, the bulls bringing up the rear. This position is not taken from chivalric motives on the part of the males, but simply because they cannot run so fast as their wives and children. Bulls are never killed when cows and heifers can be had.

Back came the herd, and I soon found myself in the midst of a throng of buffalo, horses and Indians. There was no yelling nor shouting on the part of the men, but their stern set faces, and the fierce gleam of their eyes, told of the fires of excitement that were burning within them. Three or four times my rifle spoke out, and to some purpose; and one shot, placed too far back, drew on me a quick savage charge from a vicious young cow. My pony, while a good cattle horse, was new at buffalo running, and his deliberation in the matter of dodging caused me an anxious second or two, as I saw the cow's head sweep close to his flank. It was far more interesting to watch the scene than to take part in it, and I soon rode to a little knoll from which I could overlook the whole plain. Many brown bodies lay stretched upon the ground, and many more were dashing here and there, closely attended by relentless pursuers. It was sad to see so much death, but the people must have food, and none of this meat would be wasted.

Before I turned my horse's head toward the camp, the broad disk of the setting sun had rested on the tops of the western bluffs, and tipped their crests with fire. His horizontal beams lit up with a picturesque redness the dusky forms which moved about over the valley. Up the ravines and over the hills were stringing long lines of squaws, leading patient ponies, whose backs were piled high with dark dripping meat, and with soft shaggy skins. Late into the night the work continued and the loads kept coming into the camp. About the flickering fires in and before the lodges there was feasting and merriment. Marrow bones [252] were tossed among the red embers, calf's head was baked in the hot earth, fat ribs were roasted, *ka'-wis* boiled, and *boudins* eaten raw.

With laughter and singing and story telling and dance the night wore away. 224

Over the plain where the buffalo had fallen, the gray wolf was prowling, and, with the coyote, the fox and the badger, tore at the bones of the slain. When day came, the golden eagle and the buzzard perched upon the naked red skeletons, and took their toll. And far away to the southward, a few frightened buffalo, some of which had arrows sticking in their sore sides, were cropping the short grass of the prairie. [136]

FRANK NORTH AND HIS SCOUTS

PANI LE-SHAR AND HIS SCOUTS

No ACCOUNT of the Pawnees' warfare would give any just impression of their prowess if it omitted to mention *Pa'-ni Le-shar* and the forces which he commanded. The Pawnee Scouts, under the gallant and able leadership of Frank North, did splendid service against hostile Indians. They saved hundreds of lives and millions of dollars' worth of property, and in their campaign wiped out in blood the memory of many an injury done to their race by the Sioux, the Cheyennes, the Arapahoes and the Kiowas. 648

Frank North was born in Ohio, March 10, 1840. When about fifteen years of age he accompanied his family westward to Council Bluffs, and a little later across the Missouri River into Nebraska. At about this time, his father, who was a surveyor, was lost in a snowstorm, and the responsibility of caring for his family fell in large measure on the boy. Soon after this he obtained employment as clerk in the trader's store at the Pawnee agency, and thus made the acquaintance of the tribe. His strong character early brought him to the notice of their principal men, and almost before attaining manhood he had become a person of influence in the councils of the Pawnee Nation.

[For information on the various phases of the Pawnee summer buffalo hunt from initial ceremonies to the final return to their "home base", see category 116, pp. 130-136, 140-143, 146-154, 157-177, 180-207, 210-213, 218, 221-236, and 253; for comparable data on the winter buffalo hunt, see pp. 409, 412-425, and 430-443.]

low the track, the deer went that way. I shot at him and missed." Now he 574
told of how he had hidden the deer so that he wouldn't have to share 521
it. Now Riding-In joined in and said, "I did the same thing once. I killed a buck and put him in a trough and when my kinsman came along I said, "I shot at that deer and missed him, but you're on horseback, so you can go after him." If either of the aggrieved kinsmen were present the guilty hunter would remark, "Now I wish I had given you half." There would be no hard feelings on anyone's part as they would feel that bygones were bygones. The talk went on for some hours and finally all the women had gone to bed. Midnight was the customary time to stop. Someone went outside and looked at the stars. He came in and remarked, "It's midnight. We're all sleepy. We'd better go to bed." They would all go out together and look at the stars and the guests would leave for their
own homes. The men of the lodge went out together to tend to their [722]
needs before going to bed. This was for their mutual protection, as [514]
there was always the possibility of a Sioux lurking in the shadows ready to attack an individual alone. Before going to bed, the women would also go in a group with a man along for their protection.

Victory Call planned to go deer hunting next day. He made lead bullets, cleaned his gun, and loaded it with shavings along with the bullets so that they would ignite. He filled his horn with powder and now he was ready for the morning. Old Bull took note of his preparations and planned to be near the house that day for protection in case of attack. Next morning, Victory Call got up way before down. He made the fire and left before breakfast. White Woman would get up later and prepare the breakfast for the lodge. 224

6

A DEER HUNT

000

Victory Call Goes on a Deer Hunt—His Kinsman Helps—They Return with the Meat—the Division of the Kill—Guests Are Served a Feast—Conversation Follows

224 WHEN VICTORY CALL LEFT the house, it was still well before dawn and the stars were clear in the sky. He was carrying his six-shooter, and just as he went out he had called out the direction in which he would be going. This was done so that if a kinsman should come in and inquire, he could join Victory Call and help him butcher, thus earning a share in the kill.

He set out toward the sandhills to the north. Up the ravine near the river, the grass was about an inch high. Now the deer came out into the open and picked the new grass. In the colder weather the deer stayed in the hollow places where the timber grew and where a man did not prowl. The sun had not yet risen and he tied his horse in a hollow and climbed up one of the sand hills and sat down to wait. Victory Call liked to sit there in the peaceful quiet with the breaking dawn. Finally as the sun came up he could see the deer on the hilltops outlined against the sky. In another two or three weeks, when the grass was four inches high, the rains would come and wash away the last of the snow, and then they would begin to clear the fields.

After he had made his first kill, his kinsman came crossing his path saying, "You out hunting?" Victory Call remarked, "That's good, I did want company to help me butcher." They butchered the deer together and the kinsman got approximately half. They divided the spoils in the following order: Victory Call got the hide, the meat along the backbone, head and two "quarters" (a quarter was an arm, leg, or flank). The kinsman got three quarters and the entrails which, whether he received them or not, it would have been his task to clean.

222 While they were looking about for the second deer, they were also

keeping on the alert for mushrooms and milkweed, whose tender tops 222
were relished when cooked with corn. Some of the mushrooms were
yellow or green under the head, and these were known to be poisonous.
The edible ones were solid pure white. Any with worms were discarded.
Some men became so absorbed in this search that they wandered too far [648]
out and would be killed by the Sioux. This was particularly likely with
men whose food at home was in short supply.

If Victory Call and his kinsman had the good fortune to track down 224
another deer and Victory Call killed it, he would assign the major portion
to his helper. Legally, the entire kill belonged to Victory Call and
the division was entirely at his discretion. Sometimes he would be planning
to have leggings made out of the skins and then he would apologize
and say, "Excuse me. I can't give you the hide." His helper would reply,
"That's all right. I just came around to help you. You gave me meat
anyway."

The meat was all packed and the two men set out for the village. It [524]
was nearly sundown and they had to pass the village gaming ground
where the men gathered watching the hoop and pole game. The players
and spectators would remark, "Look at those fellows. They have a lot of
deer meat. I'm going up there to get some soup."

The two hunters separated and each went to his own house. As soon
as Victory Call approached, a hide was spread inside to receive the meat,
and Horse Rider was waiting outside to unload the horse and bring it in.

When Victory Call arrived inside, the first thing he said was, "The 264
folks down there saw me coming. Hurry up and fix our dinner so that we 252
can eat before they all get here." The family had barely finished eating 574
when the people began to crowd in. If it were the first fresh meat of the
season in the village, some women would come and say to White Woman,
"Daughter, I am begging some meat." "That's good," Victory Call
would say, indicating that they were welcome. White Woman and the
other women of the house were cooking the meat in large kettles, and
men and women were sitting around waiting to be fed when the meat
boiled. Some people preferred strips of meat roasted in the coals, and they
were sitting around roasting it for themselves.

Then the fire began to burn up brighter and someone remarked, "How 262
about getting to work and roasting the ribs?" Horse Rider then took the 574
ribs and leaned them on stakes around the fire. These would be served at [252]
a more formal feast after the casual guests had left. Otter was sent to invite
the guests. Each of the men would invite two honored guests. Victory
Call inquired of Old Bull whom he would like to entertain, and he
requested that Chief White Eagle be called with his brave, Bringing
Trophies, with whom Old Bull was associated in his doctor practice.
Victory Call invited Eagle Chief, head chief of his village, Pumpkin-Vine,
and his principal brave, War Cry. Meanwhile the women were cooking [252]

796 wise circuit and at the west about a foot from the fireplace, hit the ground
177 with the sage. Kind Warrior did the same and out of each of their sage plants, four beans rolled down. The Wichita now addressed the different "animal stations" where the members were seated and said, "Now you see what I did with my brother. I told him to do whatever I do. And now I'm going to give him what I do so that he can perform it at home." The Wichitas were all glad to see him do this. He continued to address them: "Now if he goes home and you hear that the Pawnees have started to do the Deer Dance, you can all know that I told him to do it. I also told him to listen to how the singing goes and what the singing is about. I told him that the singing was not just done for its own sake but to study how the animals go and what they do. And I told him that some of the songs are about smoking and that smoking is the main thing. And since he was not willing merely to be painted up for the dance, but wanted to learn what it means, I have taught him. And I'll be more than glad if you at the other places will help me with your performance so that he can learn." The Wichitas said, "That's good. We will try to help this man." "Kind Warrior," said his friend, "you ought to be glad that these different people are going to teach you for nothing."

As the doctors went through their performances, one of them would call him over and whisper to him the meaning of his performance. He would turn around and embrace the man, clasping him about the neck and rubbing his hands upon him from the head and down the arms in blessing, for he had taken pity on him and given him what he most wanted. As the dancing continued, another would call him over, and then another, and so he learned many of their different ways. One of the members had a black bean. He said to Kind Warrior, "You see this?" "Yes, I see it." Then the performer went around the fireplace four times and at the four semicardinal "corners," put ashes on the bean at each corner. After he had done this and gone around the fireplace four times, he stopped at the west and threw the bean down and a black spider was seen running around on the ground. "Now," said the Wichita doctor, "when you go home and have a Deer Dance, you can do this." And then Kind Warrior turned around and blessed him and so he learned many ways among the Wichita.

221 When he got home, it was the fall of the year and the Doctor Dance
224 was just over and they were preparing to leave the village and go on the winter hunt. Some of the men while they were out, had noticed that the wood had been bitten by beaver and they thought this would be a good time to set a few beaver traps and make a little money by selling the skins. Two or three traps would yield a man a good profit. He would mention to a few friends, "Why stay around the village? Why not set out to trap beaver? And those who had guns could chase deer, moose, or elk." Some of their families would want to go along and

Some of their families would want to go along and some old women to collect wild potatoes and the wild beans that 221 were stored by the wood rat. The women could help with hauling 224 wood and cooking and boys could make themselves useful hauling 484 water and tending the horses. Eventually ten to fifteen tipis in two or [222] three bunches would set out in this way, traveling five or six miles a day and staying two or three days in one place. Individual men would join tents with families, going out during the day with their horses and joining the camp at night at the appointed place. Every evening an old man would walk among them announcing the next day's plans. They camped on the north side of the Loup where they could get wood as it might snow at any time. Those who trapped beaver would clean their traps in the evening and set them from the north side of the river, while the deer hunters went either north or south. Whenever anyone caught anything, they would have a big feast all through the camp. [574] Eagle Chief and War Cry who excelled in buffalo hunting did not care for shooting with guns and trapping, but Victory Call, and his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and also Old Bull were good hunters and trappers. They did not believe in exposing their families to enemy attack in this way and so they would come along by themselves. After they had made five or six camps, someone would come from the village and tell them that they would soon be setting out for the winter buffalo hunt and then they would all return and prepare.

It was such an informal hunting and trapping group that Kind Warrior 796 joined when he returned from the Wichita. In his tipi he was singing 177 his Deer Dance songs in Wichita, and when Victory Call, who was feeling lonesome, heard him, he went into the tipi where Kind Warrior was lying on his back and singing as he beat time on his thigh. Kind Warrior got up and welcomed Victory Call and after he said he was attracted by the singing, invited him to lie down and join him. Lying to the left of Kind Warrior he sang along with him and whenever he had nothing to do, he would just go in and sing. Others came in too and sang with them. Back at the village these men would sing together in the lodge and as others heard them, they also came in. These were men who had also been among the Wichita and had learned only individual songs but not the whole ritual. Some had learned polecat teaching, others buzzard, etc., and as they sang together, they taught one another. While Kind Warrior knew the most, he also learned new things from them. When there were about ten members, Kind Warrior could set them out in a formal arrangement (see Figure 43-1). He assigned two to each of the four semicardinal positions, two at the west as *rixkita*, leaders, and one errand man for the north, one for the south. More people came in and filled in the places. They made four rattles of wild squash with green and white wavy stripes to imitate the Wichita version. They also got four bows in accordance with the original version. Kind

538 the north star, and going a little to the east, even though it was night, he
821 was able to overtake his companions. "This happened many times," he
484 said.

538 Another old man would take up where he left off and tell more stories
in the same vein. "Because the stars and the planets appear to be moving,
821 the Indians believe the earth is still." Then they began to argue about
805 the question of "the thirteenth month." Some said, "Not now," others
thought this was the time. They spoke of the position of the constellations,
"first one snake, then two ducks and then the real rattlesnakes
(Scorpio). That marks the beginning of the year—the spring. The
months should coincide with these constellations." Of the regular twelve
538 months, nine were named for familiar activities—clearing, planting, cultivating,
821 hunting, and harvest—while the tenth and eleventh were paired
805 and named after the constellations—little duck (*kiwakski*) and big duck
192 (*kiwaks-kutsu*). The twelfth month was called *kaata*, darkness. It was
through the observation of the position of the constellations that the regular month names had to be set in their proper course for the various activities for which they were named. In the year when the intercalary month was introduced, the two duck months were thought of as being paired, and then *kaata*, darkness, paired with the introduced month; the rest of the months of the year being paired accordingly, with the fifth month, viz., the June 19–July 18 month "standing alone." This was the month when one went off on the summer hunt. The thirteenth or intercalary month, had a variety of names, the most usual being Entrance Passageway to the earth lodge, *Puhuweturukut*, or the Skidi version, *Puhuwaturukat*, the long 10- or 15-foot entranceway. Alternative names had various references: If it had thundered from the north (rather than the south) when they got back, they thought the cold weather would last late into the spring and they called the month, *Paruks-ti-taka*, Thunder or Storm-It-Is-White, for the snow they expected to have. Another name for this month was Hidden Child, *pira-paru*, "child-hidden," the Pawnee equivalent of our "illegitimate child." The reference was to abortion for it was said that the abandoned foetus was more conspicuous on the snow during that season than on the bare ground. A further name,
atatpiiwa, is of unknown significance. From this example, it should be
538 clear that the storytelling session was not a mere leisure pastime. Through
517 it was transmitted history, climatology, theology, the logistics of war,
topography, and many other important facets of Pawnee knowledge.
[224] Such a session was an invaluable preamble to setting out on the winter
hunt.

000 sheep." It was further reported that to the north there were many "cattle." The reports of Coronado's expedition of about the same period in the Southwest describe the details of buffalo hunting with great accuracy and show that even in the 1860's they had survived substantially as they were then. In 1599, Oñate of New Mexico hoped the Spaniards could also develop a thriving trade in buffalo wool and hides, but the Spanish empire was already too decadent.

175 439 [224] By the 1600's the big business in furs with Europe had been developed by France starting with the fateful beaver trade on the St. Lawrence. As we see from the present account, the Pawnees were still trapping the beaver with metal traps in 1867, in order to trade them for cash. By the end of the 1600's the Indians were no longer merely a source of raw materials for trade to Europe, but also a positive outlet for European manufactured goods. "The Indians were collecting sassafras, tanning buckskins, and building up a steady trade in buffalo wool." In 1702 seventeen Frenchmen left Tamaroa Mission near Cahokia, Illinois, east of St. Louis to ascend the Missouri about two hundred leagues to build a fort between the Pawnee and the Iowa. The French were attempting to control the inter-Indian trade to protect themselves from the encroachment upon the Indian trade by the Spaniards who were moving up from the Southwest. Their fears were not unfounded, for in 1706 the Spaniards were reported to have come to an Indian village to trade for buffalo hides with which to make harness for their mules.

[177] At a somewhat later period, fur traders were sent out from Council Bluffs (Iowa) to live with the Pawnees at their earth lodges and follow them on their hunting expeditions.

281 Before he became mature, every man and woman had learned how to prepare hides. Most of all they needed the buffalo robe. As stated by the informant:

291 237 The wind blew through the blankets, the buffalo robe kept you warm. Almost everyone needed a new buffalo robe every winter. Toward the summer, the hair would all wear off and by the late fall, there wouldn't be any wool on to keep a person warm. In Victory Call's family, they needed at least four robes in good condition for the winter—one for Victory Call himself, one for his wife, White Woman, one for Grandma and one for the boy, Otter. For the adults it took the skin of a whole buffalo. For children, the whole skin of a calf was used with the headskin and the two little horns left intact.

291 During the daytime, the robe was wrapped around the body horizontally with the head part overlapping at the left. At night, the same robe was used as a blanket the long way, with the hair against the body, the head part covering the head and the tail part the feet. One

525 Then if you're both gambling, who will cook for you? Who will take care of you?

"If you want to, go ahead. But at first you'll be lucky and then the sticks will try to draw you in. Then when they have you, you'll lose.

"If you want to, go ahead. But if you are lucky, just play for a month. Then leave it because your luck must change.

"If you have lost and want to retrieve your losses, do it and when you have won back what you lost, stop gambling."

524
525 The hand game was played by young men ranged along both sides of a trenchlike fireplace with a smoldering log in it. Facing each other on the opposite sides of the fire were "two opposing war parties." The crux of the game was the hiding of a white bead in the hands of a member of one party with the guesser from the other side trying to determine in which hand it was hidden. War songs were sung and in the motioning of the hands of the line in which the bead was hidden, the bead might be transferred by sleight of hand during the guessing. That-Chief also mentioned the hand game, addressing his remarks especially to Otter. Evarts observed that:

> "At hand game you might bet your shirt and when the other fellow wins, you might not want to give up your shirt. Then he would get angry and tear at your shirt and he might even take a stick from the fire and burn your head. That would be the worst thing. Once I was in a game and I was the loser to Jim Murie. There I learned the real meaning of That-Chief's advice. Osborne was on the winning side and he began to brag saying, 'Look at those fellows. They can't do much.' Then he made disparaging remarks about my cousin, Sam Townsend, that I call child, *piirau*. Then I really got angry. I felt particularly sensitive as I had lost my leggings, my moccasins and many other things. I said, 'I can't stand all that talk,' and I took a stick from the fire and hit him. The coals flopped all over his head and I was about to hit him again, when they stopped me. To avoid further trouble, they sent Osborne home saying to him, 'You're the cause of the trouble. You talked too much.'"

526
224
825 However, there was quite a different aspect to these games that was implicit in their religious symbolism, with the gambling an extraneous feature. The rolling of the hoop along the long game grounds and aiming at it with the stick or "spear" was an act of sympathetic magic both for the increase of the buffalo and for the successful outcome of the buffalo hunt. Originally the game was played for the direct purpose of calling the buffalo, and when they were out on the summer buffalo hunt, wherever
000 they could find a smooth patch of grass, they would set up a game. In

P
224

141 The surround on foot was called *tut-kawi-pitahaku,*" it-to-them-inside-moving-round-and-round." In summer the buffalo tended to be scattered in smaller bunches. In winter the buffalo traveled in closer formation. They also would try to drive them over the ice during the winter: *situks-ukita-hai-iwarit,* "they-used-to-upon-water-or-ice-aim-or-direct." In winter, in the deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow and could readily be killed. The north wind was called Lucky Wind because it chased the buffalo to them. When the second party was going to Oklahoma (1876), old man Frost, *Hurirυ'us,* held a doctor dance. Then Lucky Wind began to blow and a lot of buffalo came close to the camp. At one time, east of the Missouri River, a bit east of Omaha, Nebraska, there were villages of Pumpkin-Vine people and further eastward the village of Bones-Sticking-Up, *Kis-karaxwa,* of the Tsawi Band. Buffalo came into these villages.

P
[821]
[796]
[361]

P
482

Even in Oklahoma in the 1920's women continued to pack heavy loads on their backs. In 1928 I met an old Pawnee grandmother of delicate build trudging along the road out of the town of Pawnee one Saturday afternoon with a huge load of groceries—a sack of flour, a lard pail full, and other sundries—done up in a blanket, the ends tied across her forehead and the weight of the bundle resting on her protruded buttocks and backbone. She refused an offer of a lift in a Ford Car, preferring to continue with her moccasined walk for the two miles to the house.

P
172
325

145, 363 In Lower Loup archaeological villages sheet metal was found for the first time (about 1600), possibly for arrow points (Dunlevy, 1936, p. 201).

P
162

138 Dunbar, 1918, p. 632, gives an estimate of the number of males and females among the Skidi (1840): total 1906; males over 10 years, 469; females over 10 years, 598; children, males under 10 years, 367, females under 10 years, 472.

P
439

D
[726]
[727]

P
[726]

145, 363-364 Although pottery was still in use in Old Village (Allis, 1887, p. 140) the Pawnees had for some time been carrying on a trade in brass buckets with other tribes. Mooney, 1898, pp. 257-259, describes a gruesome incident when the Osage attacked the unprotected Kiowa camp, cutting off the heads of their dead victims and placing them one each in a brass kettle, "which had been obtained by the Kiowa from the Pawnee, who procured them on the Missouri and traded them to the southern tribes." This was the year 1833 "Summer They Cut Off Their Heads." During the attack "A party of women was saved by a brave Pawnee living in the camp, who succeeded in fighting off the pursuers long enough to enable the women to reach a place of safety" (p. 258).

000 359-360 *Herald*, Omaha, Nebraska, October 13, 1957. A man was driving into the sandhills of western Nebraska to meet his wife who was teaching at a school 35 miles north of the town of Ashby. Riding to the end of a vague road onto the land, he ran out of gasoline and, leaving his car, got lost for three days. He had to live on rose buds and frog legs until he was found. A good knowledge of the stars and constellations would have helped him.

175 The Pipe Dance among the Caddo, 1687, was reported by Joutel, companion of La Salle, as witnessed by him in July 1687 (Swanton, 1942, pp. 179-180).

175-176, 199, 223, 354-355 Calumet ceremony current in the Mississippi region as observed by the French explorer Marquette in 1672:

> He says of this "calumet" that it is "the most mysterious thing in the world. The scepters of our kings are not so much respected, for the Indians have such a reverence for it that one may call it the god of peace and war, and the arbiter of life and death. . . . One with this calumet may venture among his enemies, and in the hottest battles, they lay down their arms before the sacred pipe. The Illinois presented me with one of them which was very useful to us in our voyage." (Fletcher, 1904, p. 279.)

276 726 354 In one of their story telling sessions, Eagle Chief told of how he had carried the calumet right into the Sioux line of battle and when the Sioux saw the pipe, the whole line of battle turned back and rode off.

224 [172] 141-142 The buffalo jump was a primitive device for attacking the herd by lining up in a V-formation and chasing the herd over a cliff. At the base of these old buffalo jumps, archaeological excavation reveals large heaps of buffalo bones, giving some indication that numbers of the animals died in vain. The Pawnee method of surround made it possible to include all the animals and utilize all the meat of those killed. Frank North, a participant observer of a hunt in the fall of 1859, states (1859, p. 20):

> 4-500 of the Indians strung out in a long line single file. They rode up as close to the herd as possible without being seen and got as near to them as they could without frightening them. The leader of the surround gave a signal, until which time no one has the right to make noise or leave the line, and they instantly wheeled their horses, one half heading in one direction and the other half facing in the opposite way. Each party then started off on the gallop, riding in a semicircle until they met, and had made a complete surround of the immense herd. In this instance they had surrounded about 500 of the buffaloes and closing in on them, killed every one."

141-142 On the buffalo jump, see Forbis, 1958; Lowie, 1954, pp. 14-15, Fig. 3, Assiniboin buffalo pound at the foot of the bluffs or cut bank. P 224

109 "The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids, but only used to repel or meet a general attack." (Murie, 1914, p. 560.) P 411 726

109 One of the five Skidi military societies had no war functions at all, but was specialized in the role of hunt police. It was known as *Raris arusa*, "Society Horse," and was also referred to as "Two Lance." While most of the decorated lances had crooks on their tops, this one was unique in lacking this feature. Among the three South Bands, there was also a military society with a similarly specialized function. It was the *Raris pahat*, "society red." This society was said to have been derived from and sanctioned from the main sacred bundle of the *Pitahawirata*, where only the descendants of chiefs could belong. (Murie, 1914, p. 569.) P 701 [625] [411]

223 The Skidi, Tsawi, and Kitkehaxki, each had a society with combined war-hunt functions, and each band had several exclusively for war. Every spring when the decorations on the official lances were renewed, the lances were put outside the door on a pole where the people could see them. In the course of the several society ceremonies, the people were told that the lances were to bring the buffalo and to protect the lives of the people (Murie, 1914, p. 559). The hunt police were appointed after the first big kill on the Republican River when the encampment on Turkey Creek was set up right within the path of buffalo migration. P 701 411 625

176, 227-228 For a description of Massacre Canyon and the dangers of the Western territory see Hyde, 1951, pp. 244-248; Williamson, 1925; *Massacre Canyon Number*, 1936 (Nebraska History Magazine). 000

241 On the roasting pit for corn, see the Pawnee texts, Weltfish, 1937, p. 34.

243-244 Among the Hidatsa, a man would request one of the young men's military societies (Fox or Dog Society) to come to his fields to husk the corn. One of the society's officials would announce from the roof of the lodge and the members would line up and go singing to the designated field. The young men would hope their sweethearts would hear them and that perhaps they would get a chance to see them working in an adjacent field. They marched to the fields carrying guns for fear the Sioux would attack. "If a society went early, they got through just after midday. By early I mean nine o'clock in the morning." "We worked late, by moonlight even." (Wilson, 1917, p. 43, footnote.) H 701 243 476

They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," 224*
they had to pack and go on. They arrived at the river about five in the 484*
evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north
bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or
less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming
in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but
they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As
soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often [226]
done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. Some men
used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took
buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and [225]
brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were [252]
they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn
husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were
unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went
out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were
officially headed for home. The night before, the military police had [625]
officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from [622]
his leadership of the hunt. He thanked them all and reviewed the
events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead
them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was
appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given
White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and
helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buffalo [787]
leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Republican
they would have to make before they could start north for the
Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sacred 796
bundles and the cults, but of special interest to everybody was the 431
Grand Opera that the associated doctors would give after the harvest, 756
lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the 624
association, called for his two errand men to go to all members, apprentices, 211
and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the
forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand
man would pick a dry weed, *hawartatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil,
and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute,
the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand
to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent,
dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and proceeded
to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. At 796
an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and 431
756

They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," 224 *
they had to pack and go on. They arrived at the river about five in the 484 *
evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north
bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or
less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming
in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but
they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As
soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often [226]
done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. Some men
used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took
buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and [225]
brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were
they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn [252]
husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were
unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went
out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were
officially headed for home. The night before, the military police had [625]
officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from [622]
his leadership of the hunt. He thanked them all and reviewed the
events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead
them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was
appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given
White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and
helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buffalo [787]
leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Republican
they would have to make before they could start north for the
Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sacred 796
bundles and the cults, but of special interest to everybody was the 431
Grand Opera that the associated doctors would give after the harvest, 756
lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the 624
association, called for his two errand men to go to all members, apprentices, 211
and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the
forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand
man would pick a dry weed, *hewartatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil,
and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute,
the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand
to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent,
dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and proceeded
to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. At 796
an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and 431
756

II 539* 796*

348 A tira saka riki awa rashihri whicha.
a, a vowel sound used for euphony.
tira, this.
saka, sun; part of the word tara saka, sun.
riki, standing. tira saka riki, to-day, this present time.
awa, again.
rashihri, you have brought.
whicha, arrived, come.
349 See line 348.
350 Iri! Hawa rashihri whicha.
iri! an exclamation of thanks or thankfulness. A part of the word na'wairi, thanks, it is good.
hawa, again.
rashihri, you have brought.
whicha, arrived.
351, 352 See line 348.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The second stanza says that Mother Corn has arrived, bringing gifts for the Children. These gifts are not only the things in our packs; but they are the promise of long life, of children, of plenty, and of peace. It is for these that the Children will give thanks, and we sing their thanks in this song.

THIRD DIVISION. ENTERING THE VILLAGE OF THE SON AND CONSECRATING HIS LODGE

SIXTH RITUAL

PART I. THE SON'S MESSENGERS RECEIVED

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

796*

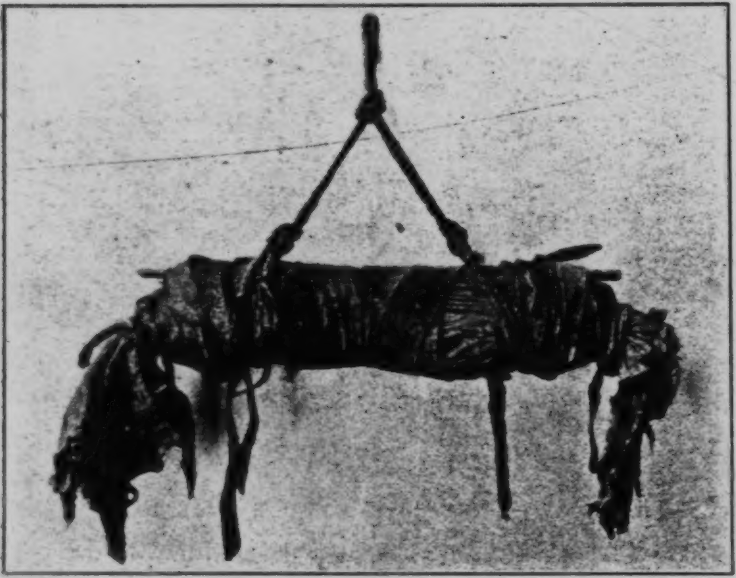
When the messengers sent by the Fathers (third ritual) turned homeward the Son began his preparations to receive the Hako party. Each of his relatives selected from among his ponies those which he desired to present to the Fathers. The Son chose a messenger as his representative to go out and receive the Hako party when it should arrive within sight of the village. He also selected the little child necessary to the performance of certain rites belonging to the fifth morning of the ceremony. It could be one of his own children or the child of a near relative. Finally, an earth lodge of suitable size was secured, the occupants with all their belongings moving out for the occasion.

[231 ●
431
602]

In this vacated lodge the ceremony was to be performed and the Fathers were to live day and night, for no member of the Hako party ever separated himself from the sacred objects from the time of starting on the journey until the close of the entire ceremony.

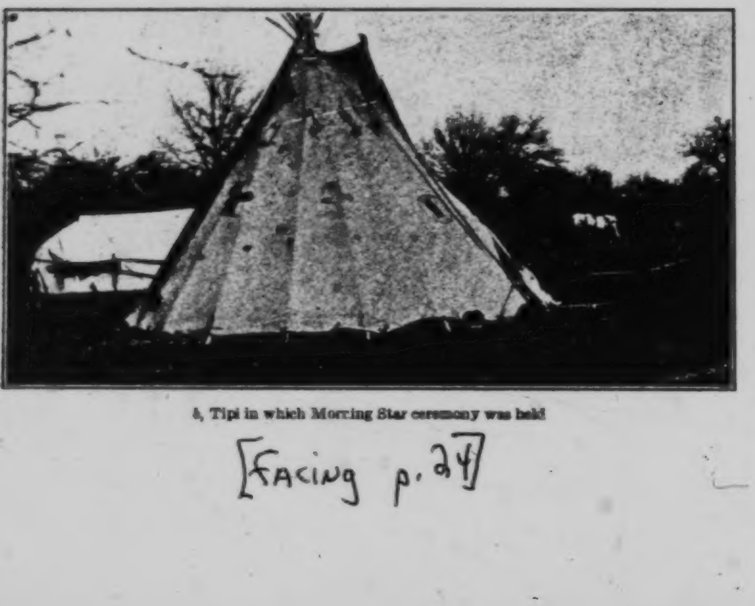
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778
284



a, Sacred bundle

346
532
● 231

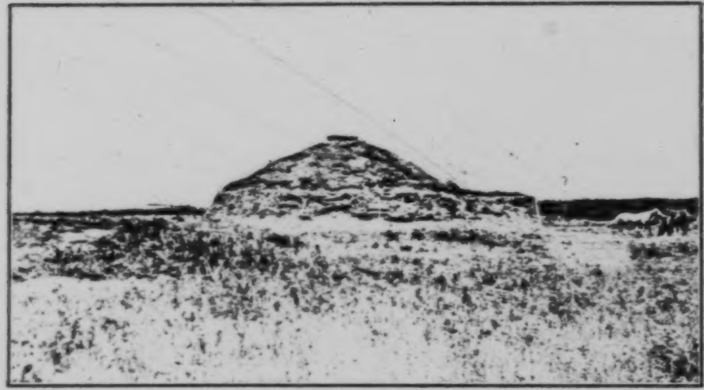


b, Tipi in which Morning Star ceremony was held

[Facing p. 24]

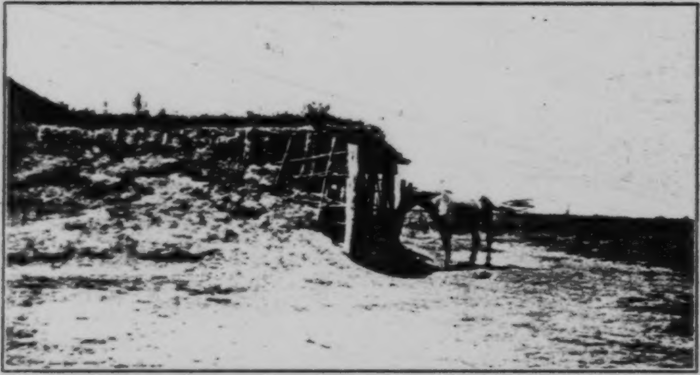
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

346



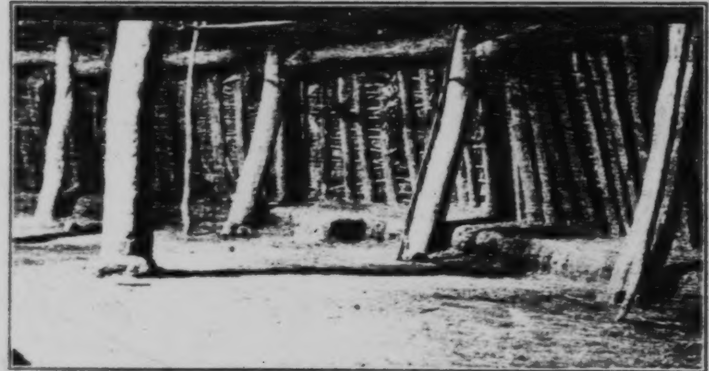
a, Exterior of earth lodge in which Buffalo and Lance dances were held

346
231



b, Entrance to earth lodge in which Buffalo and Lance dances were held

346
778



c, Interior of ceremonial earth lodge, showing "altar"

[facing p. 25]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 rattles all the time. The Pawnee will hear him and kill us all. Make him stop." But the little snake kept on. He even went beside the road and rattled his rattle very loud.

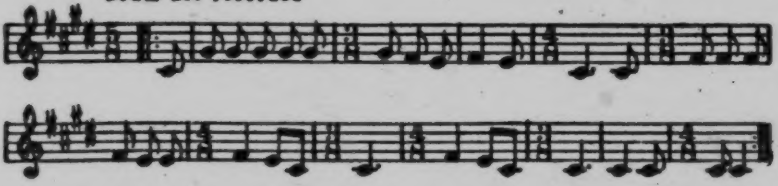
One day a girl came along the road and the little snake thought she was a chief's daughter. He bit her foot and she turned quickly and crushed his head. The other snakes found him and the brother said, "Father, didn't I tell you that one of us would be killed? There is my little brother with his head smashed." That is the end of the story.

No. 77. The Little Rattlesnake

(Catalogue No. 1077)

*533 Recorded by Effie Blain

539 Voice ♪ = 152
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—Six renditions of this song were recorded and the time values in all were as indicated in the transcription. The principal progression in the song is F sharp–E, followed by C sharp. Thus the tone material is practically the minor third and fourth, although the fifth occurs in the opening measure. The song begins and ends on the same tone, which is somewhat unusual in Indian songs.

UNCLASSIFIED SONGS

773 When the Pawnee first saw a horse they were frightened. Some
ran away and others said, "I wonder what he is dragging behind
● 231 him" (referring to his tail). A great crowd of people was looking
825 at the horse. At last someone said, "Why are you afraid of this
animal. He is very useful. He can carry you and your packs.
You can get on him and he will take you from place to place so that
you can kill game." Ever since that time the Pawnee have owned
horses, and found that horses could work for them.

In the intermediate space between the recesses and the fireplace, mats, about three by five feet, made of rushes, are laid, at convenient distances, for seats; while an extra supply of them, rolled up, and set aside at different places in the lodge, are reserved for extraordinary occasions, as for instance councils or feasts. 352 285

SUBSISTENCE.—What the *seal* is to the Greenlander, the *buffalo* is to the Pawnees and other Prairie Indians; and many of their songs, in which reference is made to the buffalo, show that this animal is held in high estimation among them. It will no doubt be a difficult undertaking to wean them from an occupation, which is at the same time a gratifying and exciting sport to them, and which imparts to an individual who distinguishes himself in its pursuit, a character of high standing among his tribe. The great scarcity of the buffalo, however, of late years, since the immense emigration to the far west, has pinched them with want and hunger, and it is evident that they cannot subsist much longer by depending mainly upon this animal as heretofore. This circumstance, though calling forth our warmest sympathies in behalf of their wretched condition, may perhaps be the means, in the hands of an Allwise Providence, of shaking that tenacity and attachment so strongly developed in the Indian character, for long cherished customs, and making them more pliable in adopting the arts of civilization. Their attention must soon be directed to agriculture and the raising of stock, or they must starve.— 262 825

While on the hunt, in the buffalo country, the Pawnees generally have a good supply of fresh meat to subsist on. That portion of their meat which is intended to be jerked, in order to take home with them, they cut into narrow slips, and dry it over the fire, without any salt, where, by the action of the smoke and sun, it soon dries. Several slips are then plaited together, when it is put away into a skin, and reserved for future use. The reason why no salt is added, is probably, first, because it is a scarce article, and secondly, because anything that is salted and dried, imbibes moisture in damp weather, and sooner becomes rancid, than meat dried without salt. 251 [262]

Besides the buffalo, as their main subsistence, they raise some corn, beans, and pumpkins. As they use no other agricultural implements than hoes, their fields are not very extensive. For suitable spots of cultivation they generally select the mouth of a ravine or any spot where, by the washing of the rains, the ground has become loose and mellow, and consequently the sod may more easily be extirpated than in the prairies generally, where the ground can only be prepared by turning the thick sod by means of a large prairie plough, and three or four yoke of oxen.— 241 262

Their fields are not enclosed by fences, or any other kind of protection. Having no other stock but horses, which are con- 241 231

241 stantly herded and watched during the day time, and shut up in
[231] enclosures in the village during the night, fences are unnecessary.
● While absent from their homes, their fields are subject to depredations
from prairie wolves and deer, which however no ordinary
fence could restrain.—Because these poor people have no other
agricultural implements than hoes, the spots which they are obliged
to select for fields, are often at great distances from each other,
241 and frequently from five to eight miles from their village. When
721 abroad, to prepare and plant them in the spring, and gather the
corn in the fall, they are often exposed to attacks of their enemies.
While the husband is watching from some neighboring eminence
to guard against the stealthy approach of any hostile force, the
wive is engaged in the labor of the field. With fear and trembling
their field-labor is thus performed, and many a one, while
so employed, is suddenly fallen upon and killed by a marauding
party of enemies.

241 When we visited them, they particularly requested us, "to beg
648 their Great Father, the President, that he should be so kind and
again break up some ground for them, as he had done in former years, that they might be able to plant more corn." We have brought in the petition of these destitute people before the proper Department at Washington, and it is greatly to be desired that our benevolent Government may do something for them in their wretched state.

721 As has already been remarked, they were in an almost starving
condition, when we visited them. The hunt had proved unsuc-
731 cessful, so that in the lower village they had no meat whatever,
and had to depend upon the little corn that they had raised the preceding year. In the upper village they were also in a miserable condition, for, though they had yet a little dried buffalo-meat, the Sioux had during their absence on the hunt, destroyed their village, (their present lodges had been rebuilt since their return,) and carried off a portion of their corn, burnt another portion, and thus very little remained concealed in the "caches," which are made in their lodges.*

---

251 * A *cache* is a term common among traders and hunters, to designate a hiding-place for provisions and effects. It is derived from the French word *cacher*, to conceal, and originated among the early colonists of Canada and Louisiana; but the secret depository which it designates was in use among the aboriginals long before the intrusion of the white men. It is, in fact, the only mode that migratory hordes have of preserving their valuables from robbery, during their long absences from their villages or accustomed haunts, on hunting expeditions, or during the vicissitudes of war. The utmost skill and caution are required to render their places of concealment invisible to the lynx eye of an Indian. The first care is to seek out a proper situation, which is generally some dry low bank of clay, on the margin of a water course. As soon as the precise spot is pitched upon, blankets, saddle clothes, and other

system of earthworks is that at the Horse Creek village, which was 172*
discussed in connection with that site. The rectangular enclosure 712
may have been a horse corral, though that appears improbable. The entire arrangement of walls is such as to suggest a fairly elaborate system of defensive works, quite in keeping with the size of the village.

Palisaded walls were not used by the Pawnee, due probably to the scarcity of suitable timber.[17] The defenses consisted simply of an earth or sod embankment 3 or 4 feet high, immediately in front of which was a ditch 3 feet in depth and 5 feet or so wide.[18] The assailants were thus hampered in storming the wall by having to cross the moat in front of it; the defenders fought from the protection of the wall. How much actual good such defenses did it is difficult to say, as the Dakota, Kansa, and other hostiles contented themselves with sudden raids and horse-stealing forays, seldom if ever venturing to attack the Pawnee behind their breastworks.

The two great circles at the Linwood village are actually low earthworks, there being nothing to indicate that they were excavated. Each ring is about 90 feet in diameter; it is raised 8 inches or so above the surrounding ground surface and has a width of 2 feet or thereabouts. There is a gap in the east side of one, which appears also to have a small pit north of the center and a low mound just outside the gap. The purpose of these circles is obscure; probably they represent roofless ceremonial structures of some kind, perhaps for the Four-pole ceremony.[18a]

Two short parallel sections of wall may also be seen a short distance west of the easternmost of these big rings at Linwood. Each is 15 or 20 feet long, running north to south, and is but a few inches high.

There are no true temple, burial, or other artificial tumuli known in the Pawnee area.

HORSE CORRALS

The Pawnee in late historic times were heavily dependent upon the 172*
horse for transportation, particularly when on a hunt. Just how 231 ●
early they adopted the horse it is difficult to say. In 1682 La Salle 175
wrote that the *Pana* purchased horses from the *Gattacka* and *Manrhoat*, who in turn obtained them from the Spanish settlements in New Mexico.[19] In 1719 La Harpe visited two *Pani* villages west of the Arkansas in the present State of Oklahoma and counted 300

---

[17] Cf. Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 406. This refers merely to a fortified village rather than to a true palisade.

[18] Clayton, 1921, p. 96.

[18a] Murie, 1914, p. 551 and fig. 2.

[19] Margry Papers, vol. II, p. 201.

*172 ● 231 175 horses in them.[20] La Salle possibly, and La Harpe probably, referred to the *Pawnee Picts*, or Wichita, rather than to the Pawnee proper. Bandelier, however, states that the Pawnee were well and unfavorably known to the Spanish through much of the seventeenth century,[21] and in all probability their raiding propensities had made them familiar with the horse quite as early as La Salle's time. At any rate, by 1800 every village on the Platte and Loup Rivers possessed several thousand animals, and their use had become an integral part of Pawnee culture.

*172 231 417 According to early accounts the horses were pastured during the day in great droves on the grassy bottoms and were tended by young boys. At night, as a precautionary measure against predatory Dakota raiders, they were brought into the village and placed in corrals among the lodges. According to Clayton,[22] there was a pen in conjunction with each lodge; they were constructed of small, closely set upright poles, bound together by crosspieces. Most of the enclosures were square, but a few were circular; the gate was merely a few poles laid across a gap on one side. Morse [23] states that there was a circular pen adjacent to each dwelling.

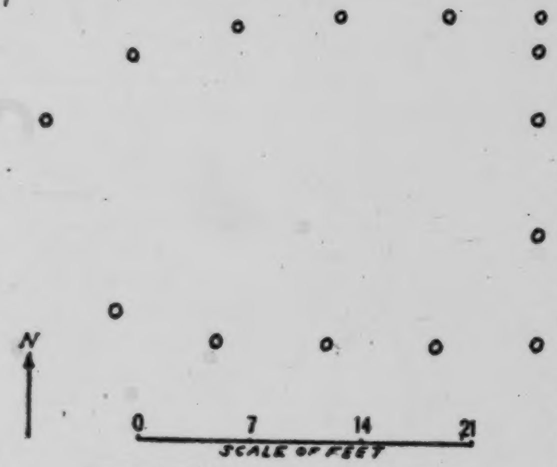


FIGURE 6.—Plan of horse corral (?), Hill site.

*172 417 Several years ago, during the course of excavations at the Hill site, Mr. A. T. Hill uncovered remains of a somewhat unique character (fig. 6). At a depth of 10 inches was encountered a very hard-packed stratum some 4 inches thick which was traced over an oblong area some 33 feet east to west by 21 feet in width. The edge was marked by a row of 15 postholes, normally 10 to 18 inches deep, about 7 feet apart, and each from 4 to 7 inches in diameter; bits of charred wood occurred at each hole and also between them. The east end was square; at the west end was a 12-foot gap where one

---

[20] Margry Papers, vol. ii, p. 310.

[21] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 185. Compare Thomas, 1935, pp. 172 and 277 (note 144).

[22] 1921, p. 100.

[23] 1822, p. 240.

upon the advance line, whose movements they can readily observe 224 484
upon the bare bluffs far ahead of them.

At the time of which I am writing, the Pawnees had no wagons, 492
all their possessions being transported on pack horses. The Indian pack 484
pony is apt to be old and sedate, requiring no special guidance nor 224
control. A strip of rawhide, knotted about the lower jaw, serves as a bridle, and is either tied up to the saddle or held in the rider's hand. In packing the animals a bundle of lodge-poles is tied on either side of the saddle, one end projecting forward toward the horse's head, the other dragging on the ground behind. This is the *travois*. Cross poles are often tied between these two dragging bundles, and on these are carried packages of meat and robes. Often, too, on a robe stretched between them, a sick or wounded Indian, unable to ride, is transported. The lodge-poles having been fastened to the saddle, the lodge is folded up and placed on it between them, and blankets, robes, and other articles are piled on top of this, until the horse has on its back what appears to be about as much as it can carry. The pack is then lashed firmly in position, and pots, buckets and other utensils are tied about it wherever there is room.

On top of the load so arranged one or two women, or three or four children, clamber and settle themselves comfortably there, and the old horse is turned loose. Each rider carries in her hand a whip, with which she strikes the horse at every step, not cruelly at all, but just from force of habit. If the pack is low, so that her feet reach down to the animal's sides, she keeps up also a constant drumming on his ribs with her heels. The old horse pays not the slightest attention to any of these demonstrations of impatience, but plods steadily along at a quiet walk, his eyes half closed and his ears nodding at each step. If the riders are women, each one holds a child or two in her arms, or on her back, or perhaps the baby board is hung over the end of a lodge-pole, and swings free. If the living load consists of children, they have in their arms a lot of puppies; for puppies occupy with relation [231] to the small Indian girls the place which dolls hold among the white children. Many of the pack animals are mares with young colts, and these last, instead of following quietly at their mothers' heels, range here and there, sometimes before and sometimes behind their dams. They are thus constantly getting lost in the crowd, and

honesty. No such meaning attaches to the Indian equivalent of this 72
phrase. They take horses by stratagem or secretly, by the usual, and to
them legitimate, methods of warfare. To speak of their stealing horses,
using that verb in the sense which we commonly give it, would be
like saying that an army stole the cannon which it captured in an engagement
with the enemy. Captured horses were the legitimate spoils [556]
of war. The wealth of the Indians was in their horses. They had no
fortified places, no ships of war, no cannon, no works of art. Their
only valuable possessions were their horses. These were the only
property that could be carried off. Therefore, when an expedition was
made against a hostile tribe, scalps and horses were naturally its object.
Horses, being their only valuable possessions, constituted their 436
medium of exchange, so far as they had any. Did a man wish to 231
purchase an ornament, or an article of dress which took his fancy,
he gave a horse for it. If he bought a wife he paid for her in horses. [583]
The most valuable present that could be made was a good horse; and
horses were often given by the well-to-do to their friends and relations
who had been sick or unfortunate. On the other hand, when, as was
sometimes the case, a conquered tribe was condemned to pay a war [728]
indemnity, they paid it in horses. It is related that when the Skidi
broke their treaty with the other bands, and were afterward conquered
by them, they were obligated to pay such a fine.

This view of Indian warfare being understood, the motive of the 538
hero stories here given, and of many of the folk-tales, becomes plain.

The Pawnees are essentially a religious people. They worship 771
Ti-ra'-wa, who is in and of everything. Unlike many of the Indian 776
tribes of the West, they do not adore any material thing. They regard
certain places as sacred, but these are so only because blessed by the
Divine presence. The Pawnee Deity is not personified. He is intangible,
quite as much so as the God of the Christians. The sacred character of
Ti-ra'-wa extends to animal nature. The fishes which swim in the
rivers, the birds of the air and the beasts which roam over the prairie,
have sometimes intelligence, knowledge and power far beyond those
of man. But they are not gods. Their miraculous attributes are given
them by the Ruler, whose servants they are, and who often makes
them the medium of his communications to man. They are his messengers—his
angels—and their powers are always used for good.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

• 231 Horses were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact.
177 that horses were introduced to this continent by the Spaniards in the early 1500's, and whatever use was made of them by American Indians had to develop after that time. Even though it was a considerable length of time, the Pawnee practices in connection with the use and care of horses were not as advanced as those of the Spaniards. As regards the
*224 buffalo hunt, at the time of our narrative horses were used in the chase
492 when they were attacking the herd in a group and also to carry their food and camping equipment. The strategy of the mass attack upon the herd was to develop a "surround" by the mounted hunters who had been lined up behind a hill out of sight. No doubt they had previously
492 used a similar technique on foot. As to carrying the food and equipment,
493 a good deal of it was packed on the backs of the women and girls. However, the women had dogs who were trained to drag the tent poles be-
482 hind them, the heavy ends of the poles tied to a harness on the dog's back. The tent poles were grouped into two sets, one on each side of the dog, and connected by two cross sticks toward the lower ends. Upon these a skin cover was wrapped where other luggage was placed. A dog
492 could drag as much as 70 pounds. The custom of dog traction and ex-
482 tensive carrying on the back by the women was in full operation as late
175 as 1837 when a famous painter, Alfred Jacob Miller, portrayed the Pawnees in this manner. After 1850, however, dogs were no longer used
178 for this purpose, and it was mostly the men who kept them around so
[782] that the puppies could be sacrificed and eaten at a special ceremonial. Some, of course, were kept by the women as pets. By 1867, the horse had taken over the carrying function almost entirely except for a few poor single or old people who had to do some packing of their dried buffalo meat on the way home. The packing of the horse resembled that for-
[493] merly used in connection with the dog; the horse travois or carrying frame was also the same as that of the dog. All the leather trappings for keeping the luggage in place had now to be carefully prepared before they left for the hunt.

231 The Pawnees were relatively poor in horses compared with other
422 Plains tribes at this time. This may have been due to constant attacks by
171 the Sioux and the other nomadic tribes, although this is not certain. At any rate while among the Blackfoot or the Kiowa twenty-five horses at least were considered an average number for a family on the move, Eagle Chief, who was head of the Skidi Band, had only ten, and a reasonably comfortable family like that of Victory Call had only four or five. Some families had only one or two horses and it was with great difficulty
726 that they went on the hunt at all. Even in their war practices, the
*492 Pawnee retained some of their prehorse habits. It was well known that
178 they set out on their war expeditions on foot and they were known to the Kiowa as "Walkers." The rationale given for this by students of the sub-

it. A man like Eagle Chief who had eight or nine horses and whose son- 224*
in-law had a similar number, could afford to lend two or three to out- 492
siders, although this did not mean they would also share in the family 422
tent, as his administrative functions required that he take his entire 426
family along.

In the Pawnee language, the word horse means "super-dog," the only 482
pack animal the Pawnees had before the impact of European culture. 492
With all due respect to the capacities of the dog, however, it was the peo- 177
ple themselves that did most of the carrying on their own backs. They 224*
had to pack not only the things they needed for camping—food, tents, and equipment—but they had to carry back the dried buffalo meat and the large hides. Every able-bodied person they took along with them could earn his way by carrying things on his back. The men, whether first-rate hunters or not, could play a useful role in the surround of the herd. The only people they would leave behind in the villages were the old and disabled. But the horse had made quite a difference in the social economy. A horse could be packed with the dried and packaged meat of four buffalo while a person could not carry more than one—about 80 pounds. If need be the horse could carry still more goods on his back. Unless they could be of substantial assistance in the work of the camp, a
person would only be an extra mouth to feed. In the case of a chief or 574
a man who was socially ambitious, there would be a great deal of enter- 554
taining to do in the camp; women, in addition to their work in preparing 224*
the meat and skins would also assist with the entertaining. In a family 462
which had no social ambitions, like that of Mad Bear cited above, two 224*
men in partnership taking a minimum of housing and utensils and a 571
maximum of horses could return with a great deal of buffalo meat and
hides, to the general benefit of their families. The wife left behind under 492
these circumstances could hardly resent it.

The horse also represented a unique and highly valuable item of capi- 551
tal that had the unprecedented value of not having to be carried, but of 231•
moving itself. In the past, differences in wealth would depend on a much [556]
more direct kind of personal skill. The man who was swiftest on his feet and the most skilled with the bow and arrow got the best buffalo, and his wife could produce the finest packaged meat and the best skins. These in turn could be traded for other valuable things—valued ornaments or participation in the sacred ceremonies. Now skill in horsemanship, which had become an indispensable factor in hunting the buffalo, implied also major successes on the warpath and the capturing of horses as well as
their subsequent care and protection. The horse thus provided a material [556]
basis for a greater degree of social differentiation. The horse was an item
of personal property, but unlike property in our society it was by no [422]
means as much of a factor in developing differential status as other aspects of experience, chiefly knowledge of man, the world, and the universe.

555 universe. The Pawnees had great contempt for extreme poverty and
• 231 raggedness, but no great desire or awe for wealth in large quantities.
[735] Historically the likelihood is that the cooperative social patterns of the
[556] Pawnees go back to a time when practically every person had an important
[774] function in the material economy, while a person of outstanding
value was one who had special insights and knowledge.

342 But for all the value the Pawnees placed on knowledge and the things
281 of the spirit, a tent was an absolute necessity as they traveled over the
country. The making of the tent skin ~~was one~~ of their most complex
technical achievements. It was a major enterprise to get one made, which
had to be anticipated at least two years in advance. Eight skins had to
be accumulated over four successive hunting periods—a summer hunt, a
winter hunt, and on the following year again, a summer and a winter
hunt. Sinew of eight buffalo for sewing the skins together also had to be
saved. As signs of wear would appear in their tent skin, a woman would
remind her husband of their need. Then he would set aside two good
skins in each of the four seasons. The average life of a tent skin was no
more than ten or twelve years.

463 Seven buffalo hides were used to make the body of the tent; an eighth
281 was cut up for gussets, loops for the pegs at the bottom, and a double
thickness at the door. In order to fit the skins together in the smoothest
and most economical way and to arrange the pattern of the applied parts,
a woman specialist in this field had to be called in to supervise the work.
There were only a limited number of women with such knowledge in
[461] the tribe. In addition, it would take four or five women working pretty
steadily for three or four days to do the actual sewing of the skins. The
[437] workers all had to be compensated with gifts of dried buffalo meat, skin
clothing, and trade store goods that had to be purchased with buffalo
products. In the course of the hunt, the hunter had to anticipate these
needs as well as the need for the skins and the sinews. Payment for the
work of planning and sewing amounted to at least the sale value of a
good buffalo robe.

342 The same tent skin was used for both the winter and the summer hunts, but the framework was different. In winter they used the standard pointed skin tipi, supported by a frame of thirteen tall and heavy rigid poles that were leaned against one another at the top to form the conical frame. With its fire burning in the middle, this tent provided an excellent protection against the winter cold, but it was too warm for summer. For the summer frame they used a series of flexible saplings to make an open-faced shelter. The making of the heavy tipi poles was a long and difficult process and had to be planned well in advance, whereas the saplings for the summer framework could be gathered near the time of leaving for the summer hunt. Elm or willow saplings were available near the creek in the late spring or early summer and at this time the bark

54

THE WINTER BUFFALO HUNT

000

The Second Hunting Expedition—Difficulties with Horses, Processing the Meat—the Care of Horses on the Hunt

FOR THE SECOND TIME within the year, the Pawnees would set out from 224*
their villages on the long journey to the buffalo hunting grounds. It was 484*
in early November and the trip lasted until the end of February or the 221
beginning of March. This was the severest and most challenging period in the year's round. They traveled through slush and snow over hundreds of miles, braved the cold winds of the prairie plains, got their water by breaking through the ice of the river or by melting snow, and gathered their fuel from the scant supplies of timber along the streams.

The horses upon whom they depended for the chase and for transport 231 suffered most of all, for they were unable to get food of their own. The buffaloes had small narrow feet and could push the snow aside to graze, but the horses' hooves were flat and broad and they were unable to get to the grass that lay under the cover of snow. Many of the horses died toward the end of the journey in January and February. It was hard to find enough food to give them, and the women had to gather the tenderer shoots and bark of the cottonwood for them to eat. At times they were compelled to feed them on corn.

Because of the cold, the women had to process their meat inside the 224*
tipi and often they would have to extend their working time beyond the 252
short daylight hours, working by the light of the fire. They felt that, "At this time of year, things seemed to be pushing and pushing."

They moved over the land with the same order and precision as they 224* had in summer, sending their messengers back and forth between the chiefs of the bands in order to coordinate their decisions, but their leave-taking of the villages was with less pageantry and pleasant anticipation. They knew it would be a hard and dangerous time.

231 The problem of the horses was especially acute and of major concern.
177 From archaeology and written history we know that the Pawnees had acquired horses nearly two hundred years before this time. But apparently there were many essential techniques of horse care that they had not adopted from the European. For example, Lone Chief had only recently found out that they should store hay for their horses in the winter. There were no shoes for the horses. When a horse broke his hoof they tied on a "shoe" of hide.

231 If it snowed before they left the village or after they got back, the
horses had to have special care. The young boys who took care of them
[857] in summer could not be utilized at this season for the purpose. Anyway,
they were more interested in sliding on the ice. The women had to go a
mile south to get whatever hay they could, and in the evening the horses
[417] were put in a corral near the lodge—a round structure of upright sticks
with a gate that was closed across with five sticks. Inside there was a manger that was filled with hay when the horses were settled in for the night. They tried to economize on feed by taking them to graze at intervals during the day. In the morning, after being fed some more hay, they were taken from the corral to the bend of Beaver Creek where there was good grass. By noon they were brought back to the village and hobbled close by. Then toward evening, if snow were expected, they were again taken to Beaver Creek to graze in order to save the hay in the corral where they would have to be kept while it was snowing. If it got too cold, they would have to take the horses into the earth lodge and settle them near the wood pile. The long entrance passageway was quite large enough to accommodate them. While they were on the hunt, the horses had to be covered with an old tent skin during the night.

Some families tried to anticipate these problems by putting their horses in the best possible condition during the fall. Toward the end of September or the beginning of October, they would send them out to Grand Island for about six weeks under the care of a group of men and boys. On the island the horses could wander more or less freely, graze, rest, and water at will. Near the villages the grass was dry at this time, but
here it was green and fresh and the horses would fatten. Allowed to run
[232] loose, they mated freely. No selective breeding was practiced. Some people had their horses gelded by one of the men who knew how. He tied up
the horse and used certain medicines, tying up the wound with sticks
[465] which would fall off by themselves later. A buffalo robe and dry meat
were paid for the operation. When he was about twelve, Otter was sent
231 on such an expedition. He was told to take the mare, a colt, and a gray
857 horse and join the others. They said to him, "If the Sioux overtake you,
you must get on the gray horse and you will get away unless you are thrown off. Then, since you have no weapons, you will be killed." With this cheerful admonition, Otter set out about ten in the morning,

taking half a sack of flour, some sugar, coffee, and baking powder as provisions. He went to the place on the Union Pacific Railroad known as Windmill and then across the sandhills on the north edge of the island, meeting the others at about two in the afternoon. 231 857

The men and boys had a good time of it on these expeditions. They built themselves dome-shaped grass houses, *kaharuut*, of big willow twigs. Their saddles served as pillows and the saddle blankets as bedding. If they wanted an especially soft bed, they put hay and willows underneath. The older men got up very early and looked around on the sandhills. Some of them cooked the bread and coffee that comprised their main diet. Otter had a cup and he shared a plate with another boy who had brought one along. Sometimes a white man, having killed a beef, would give them a chunk of it. They had great times! [342] [[illegible]3] [262]

Considering their dependence on the horses, the Pawnees were remarkably unsentimental about them. They never called them by name, only referring to them in conversation by such names as Spotted Horse, Spotted Black Horse, Spotted Red Horse, Black Face Horse, White Hoof, Spotted on the Side, Black Nose, White Horse, Yellow Horse, Roan Horse, Red Head, High Forehead. There was no personal identification with them. 231 552

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

60

PROCESSING THE MEAT

Getting Forage for the Horses—Working on the Meat inside the Tent

AFTER THE TENT WAS SET UP, White Woman and No Corn got some cottonwood tops and bark for the horses to eat when the men got in from the chase. They went out and cut down a few trees and dragged them in two loads, taking one at a time into the tent, cutting off the tops and making a number of cuts with the ax along the trunk to loosen the bark. Most of the time the bark could then be struck off easily, but if it was too tough, it was macerated a bit with the ax head. They also gathered whatever hay they could find and got wood and water for their cooking. High over the fire, they built a grate to warm the meat through after slicing, as in winter the meat had to be treated inside the tent before it was finally dried outdoors. 231 354 252 417

When the hunters got in they immediately brought the meat inside lest it freeze so that it could not be sliced. The horses were tethered outside the tent, each one covered over with a skin spread so that he would not catch cold, and left out all night to eat their cottonwood tops and bark that had been placed before them on a hide. Sometimes if the horses did not have enough, the Pawnees had to feed them corn. When the meal was over, the men went to the council tent and the women began to slice the meat. 252 231 252

They made a low fire, and after the meat was sliced they put it on the grate to warm through. Outside they built another rack of a different form. This had an elliptical ridge pole and withes along one side on which the meat rested under which they placed hot coals in order to dry the meat thoroughly. 251 417

Sometimes they built another grate similar to the one indoors so that the meat could finally be exposed to the sun and wind. In this condition the meat was thoroughly cooked and could be eaten without further cooking as well as being preserved for storage. [252]

The horses were still tethered on the south bank, and when all the 224* meat was over, Eagle Chief would ask "the boys" to sprinkle soil or earth 484* on the ice so that the horses could be led over. They would organize into 231 two parties, one from each shore, each man with a supply of earth in his buffalo robe or blanket to sprinkle on the ice. The two parties would meet in the middle of the river and then the horses could be led across. The next day the earth would have melted into the ice and the crossing would be easier. Even though they were not loaded, the horses had a hard time to keep from slipping as they had no shoes. When the horses arrived on the north shore they were again loaded with the meat and led to the place selected for the encampment. Each man chose a site for his 224* family's camp and cleared it of snow and gathered plenty of wood. The 484* meat was put on the hide and bundled up in it. As soon as the meat was unloaded, Eagle Chief called out that the horses better be sent back to the camp at Turkey Creek so that the people could join them early next morning. Victory Call sent Horse Rider back with the two horses for the family, while he stayed at Many Deer, going on with the work of preparing the camping place and looking after the meat.

After the hunters at Many Deer had completed their duties, they made five big fires, one for each of the four Skidi villages, and an extra one. The men of each village sat around them wrapped up well in their buffalo robes and stayed up all night smoking and talking. If one should doze [513] off, his neighbor awakened him. They were accustomed to staying up like this on the warpath as much as three days and nights to get out of [727] range of the enemy with the booty and horses. The next morning while the line of march was on the way from the camp on Turkey Creek, some of the men like War Cry, Victory Call, and Eagle Chief would decide to begin to slice and dry the buffalo meat so that no time would be lost. At [522] some of the other fires, when they saw War Cry with his meat drying, they would tease him with, "Look at that War Cry. He has his *takaski*. He's just like an old woman." But he was totally impervious to such remarks.

As soon as Frank Leader and his brother-in-law Roaming Leader had decided where they were going to set up the council tent, Eagle Chief said, "Don't wait. As soon as the council tent is set up, come in any [344] time. We have a home there. This is where we come to tell stories and make reports." As the returning hunters had come in, they donated ribs for the Council that evening by hanging them on a nearby tree. Old 224* Lady Lucky Leader realized that she and her family would have to be up 343 all night again slicing meat, and she decided that when she got to Many Deer she would build herself a grass house beside their large tipi with the help of the two men, so that she could carry on her work while they were in the council tent. A grass house, *haberutu*, was made by sticking supple withes upright in the ground in a circle and tying them together

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917.

000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water. Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation (1925, pp. 142-161).

773
551
821

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making.

000

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof, *Askats;* Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the horse.

231
552
[556]
231
764
428
[766]

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They were: Wide Feet, *As-kataribu'*; White Spotted, *Paras-taka*; Bear Head, *Kuruks-paksu*; Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat*; Hate-His-Tail, *Pits-tatur-ritku*; Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats*; Wooly, *Pararus*; Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku*; Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.* Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross, 1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march pulling the travois in 1834-1836. The Pawnees were able to identify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties.

231
552
231
[262]
[825]

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee

231
726
177

• 231
726
177

140 horses over the prairie, "trampling over skins, dried meat and some of the smaller tents." At the same time Murray's host had only five or six horses of the poorest kind for he had been robbed of his many good horses by the Sioux. He reports that another chief had "at least thirty, among which some were wild, some Spanish and three of American breed." Pike found the Pawnee 000 horses far superior to those of the Osages. In 1829 an American 141 horseman among the Osages on the Verdigris River in Oklahoma reported a most beautiful iron gray stallion captured from the Pawnees (*American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, Baltimore, 1833, 501-503). In 1778–1779, Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, was avid to acquire Spanish horses from the west. He wrote to Colonel George Rogers Clark, who had been sent by Virginia to the Northwest Territory, that without valuing "the cost of the horses or the expense of sending them in," Patrick Henry wanted "two Horses" and "Eight Mares" of "the true Spanish Blood." He wrote that Clark was not to "lose a moment in agreeing for them, for vast numbers of people are about to go out after them from here and will soon pick them all up and raise the price very high." He asked that he be quick and suggests that the horses might be obtained from either Indian tribes or Spanish settlements. After months Clark replied, "you have conceived a greater opinion of the Horses in this country than I have." True he had an excellent stallion from New Mexico a thousand miles to the west and south, but could not at the time send him across the drowned lands of the Wabash. The Pawnees six hundred miles away had superior horses. Maybe later he could get some of them. Of Illiniois mares he writes that he had seen some good ones, but hard usage from their barbarous horse masters had ruined them (Clark, 1912, pp. 75-78, 88-89, 303-304).

648
231
439
175

In 1724, De Bourgmond, an established Illinois trader, was commissioned by the French government to induce the Skidi Pawnees, Otos, and Padoucas (Comanche or Apache?) to set up working relations so that the French could use them as intermediaries for obtaining Spanish horses. He called a meeting at Doniphan Kansas on the Missouri and such a peace was concluded:

> One of the chiefs spoke, stating that the women and little girls of his tribe were broken down from carrying heavy loads on their backs when the tribe went on its semi-annual hunts, and that he was willing to make peace with the Padoucas, solely to obtain horses in trade so that his women would not have to walk and carry heavy burdens. The other chiefs seemed to have approved of this view of the matter; one by one they gave their assent. The peace pipe was filled and passed around the circle and peace with the Padoucas was concluded. (Hyde, 1951, note 35, p. 48, p. 44.)

141 By 1746 the Pawnee had become emissaries for establishing friendly relations of the French with the Comanche: "About 1746 friendly relations of the French with the Comanche were greatly facilitated through the peace which the latter tribe made with the Jumano of the Arkansas country and the Pawnee of the Platte. Now French traders, hunters and deserters, guided by Jumano and Pawnee, began to make their way to the Comanche in considerable numbers, some of them even going to Santa Fe." (Bolton, 1914, Vol. I, p. 58.) And finally, from Murray, 1839, of his visit to the Tsawi in 1834, states that the horse-poor chief he was with was waiting anxiously for the return of his son from a trading expedition among the Ute to the west for horses. "I learned distinctly from the Pawnees that many of their horses had come from the Haitans (Ute); and as certainly that a great proportion of the guns and other articles annually distributed among the Pawnees find their way to this rambling tribe in payment for their horses." (Murray, 1939, p. 365.) 648 231 439 175

Many Pawnee horses were also acquired on the warpath. Tixier (McDermott, 1940, p. 225) states that "The Maha (Skidi Pawnees) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five or six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe." The name *raripakusu*, warrior, was sometimes translated for me as explorer. Tixier contrasts the Osage practice of war raiding with the Pawnees in the following terms: "The Osage do not make war like the Pawnee; their aims are more noble; they want scalps. Horse stealing is far less important in their eyes. The Osage sometimes go out on a war expedition on foot; but usually their troops are on horseback and always rather numerous—seldom less than twenty-five men strong." 231 721 721 171

> The Panee-Maha who live on the banks of the Nebraska or Platte River, are today the greatest enemies of the Osage. They do esteem the stealing of horses more highly than bringing back scalps. The purpose of their expeditions is to bring back the horses of the other nations. They risk their lives by going through the huge desert which separates them from the villages, and hunting where other nations spend part of the year. The war parties of the Pawnees are not numerous; six, eight, fifteen men at most, armed with knives, arrows, axes, seldom with guns, set out without any provision. They expect Oua-Kondah to provide them daily with a buffalo, and they prepare ambushes for bison and shoot them with their bows and arrows. . . . Hardship, hunger, heat, do not discourage them. Some young men die without seeing the enemy during their first expedition." (Tixier, pp. 221-224.) 721 231

231 The problem of the horses was especially acute and of major concern.
177 From archaeology and written history we know that the Pawnees had acquired
horses nearly two hundred years before this time. But apparently
there were many essential techniques of horse care that they had not
adopted from the European. For example, Lone Chief had only recently
found out that they should store hay for their horses in the winter. There
were no shoes for the horses. When a horse broke his hoof they tied on
a "shoe" of hide.

231 If it snowed before they left the village or after they got back, the
horses had to have special care. The young boys who took care of them
[857] in summer could not be utilized at this season for the purpose. Anyway,
they were more interested in sliding on the ice. The women had to go a
mile south to get whatever hay they could, and in the evening the horses
[417] were put in a corral near the lodge—a round structure of upright sticks
with a gate that was closed across with five sticks. Inside there was a
manger that was filled with hay when the horses were settled in for the
night. They tried to economize on feed by taking them to graze at intervals
during the day. In the morning, after being fed some more hay, they
were taken from the corral to the bend of Beaver Creek where there was
good grass. By noon they were brought back to the village and hobbled
close by. Then toward evening, if snow were expected, they were again
taken to Beaver Creek to graze in order to save the hay in the corral
where they would have to be kept while it was snowing. If it got too
cold, they would have to take the horses into the earth lodge and settle
them near the wood pile. The long entrance passageway was quite large
enough to accommodate them. While they were on the hunt, the horses
had to be covered with an old tent skin during the night.

Some families tried to anticipate these problems by putting their horses
in the best possible condition during the fall. Toward the end of September
or the beginning of October, they would send them out to Grand
Island for about six weeks under the care of a group of men and boys.
On the island the horses could wander more or less freely, graze, rest,
and water at will. Near the villages the grass was dry at this time, but
here it was green and fresh and the horses would fatten. Allowed to run
[232] loose, they mated freely. No selective breeding was practiced. Some people
had their horses gelded by one of the men who knew how. He tied up
the horse and used certain medicines, tying up the wound with sticks
[465] which would fall off by themselves later. A buffalo robe and dry meat
were paid for the operation. When he was about twelve, Otter was sent
231 on such an expedition. He was told to take the mare, a colt, and a gray
857 horse and join the others. They said to him, "If the Sioux overtake you,
you must get on the gray horse and you will get away unless you are
thrown off. Then, since you have no weapons, you will be killed."
With this cheerful admonition, Otter set out about ten in the morning,

*175 The meat rations supplied the Pawnee by the government were
until 1880 delivered on the hoof, and the Indians, gathered round
*648 the agency to receive their oxen, would turn the day into one of
657 carnage and slaughter, killing and dressing their own beeves. The
"oxy kill 'em day," as this was known to the Indian service, ended
in 1880 after which the rations were turned over to the tribe in the
form of dressed meat.

*175 Not more than one-third of the Pawnee reservation was suitable
*648 for farming, but there was a great deal of good pasture land.
Cows and calves were issued to the Pawnee in 1878, and received
657 such good care that with the Indians asking for cattle the government
● 233 made an attempt to develop stock-raising. In the summer
of 1880 four hundred head of two-year-old heifers and bulls were
brought from northern Texas and distributed among the Pawnee.
[731] The tribe hailed their coming with delight. Unfortunately a scourge
carried off many oxen the first winter. The Pawnee were not yet
free of their hunting complex. When they wanted meat, they
killed cattle, and finding that traders would buy the hides, so
many were slaughtered that by 1882 only a few head of the cattle
issued to the tribe remained. Stock-raising by the Pawnee was
admittedly a failure.

[245 A great need in the food supply was fresh fruit, for want of
262] which various ailments afflicted the Pawnee. To obviate this fruit
trees were bought and small orchards planted on the reservation,
but they did not flourish.

*175 The food rations, supplies, and implements distributed to the
*648 tribe had to be shipped to the reservation by freighting from the
657 nearest railroad point. At first this was at Coffeyville, Kansas,
a distance of one hundred miles; the route went northward through
[489] the Osage Agency. Later there was a shipping point at Arkansas
City, a distance of seventy miles. The agent turned the freighting
over to the Pawnee, who handled it with wagons and teams on
their own responsibility.

x175 As conditions on the reservation became more settled, the government
x648 farm program was renewed. A major provision of the Congressional
657 Act of 1876 which established the Pawnee reservation
applied to allotments in severalty. Each head of a family, or
241 single person over 21 years of age, who so desired, was to be allotted
423 160 acres of land. Certificates were to be issued by the Commissioner
of Indian Affairs recognizing the individual ownership of such
tracts. An allotee occupying and cultivating his land for five
successive years, who had at least twenty-five acres fenced and in
crop, was to be entitled to receive a patent in fee simple for his

duties throughout the ceremony. Each had a special place in the 796*
lodge, and was the recipient of peculiar benefits supposed to be derived
from the ceremony.

The Father was usually a chief, or a man prominent in the tribe, [556
who not only had accumulated property, but had a large following of
relatives who could contribute to the store of articles required for 554]
these rites. The tribal standing of the Son was always equal to that
of the Father.

The Father selected a man from among those who had been taught
the rites and ritual songs to take charge of the ceremony from beginning
to end. Such a man was called Ku'rahus, and to him the entire
party was required to yield obedience in every particular. The
Ku'rahus chose an assistant, and also took with him a third person,
a sort of acolyte, to whom he was teaching the rites.

If the Father was a chief, then he had to invite one other chief 796*
to be of his party, to act as substitute whenever he was obliged to be
absent from his post of duty. If, however, the Father was not himself 622
a chief, then it became necessary for him to secure the attendance
of two chiefs, one to act as substitute for the other, as the
constant presence of a chief was required throughout the ceremony.

The priest who had charge of the shrine sacred to rain was also of 796*
the Father's party. It was his duty to furnish the pipe and conduct
the ceremony of offering smoke to Tira'wa. The Father's party also [793]
included two doctors, men who had received a knowledge of healing
plants, either directly through visions or by initiation into certain [791
rites by which this knowledge was communicated. Each was required 237]
to bring an eagle's wing, one the right wing and the other the left.
The wing of the eagle is the official mark of a doctor. The Father
must also secure a number of singers, whose duty it was to carry the [533]*
drum and act as a choir to accompany the Ku'rahus, who always led
the singing. The rest of the party of the Father was made up of his [602]
kindred, with such of his friends as might desire to contribute to the
required food and gifts and thus to become entitled to share in the
return gifts made to the Fathers by the Children.

The preliminary ceremonies (the first three rituals) took place at
the lodge of the Father, and from it the party of the Fathers started
on its journey.

REQUISITES OF THE CEREMONY AND THEIR SYMBOLISM

The objects peculiar to this ceremony were two feathered stems 796*
about a meter in length, made of ash wood. They were rounded and 192
smoothed, and the pith was burned out to leave an opening for the
breath to pass, as through a pipestem. One of these stems was 778
named Raha'katittu, from ra, the, this one; ha=hak, a part of the
word hakkow, breathing mouth of wood, the k being dropped for
euphony (see translation of hawkowpirus, drum, page 17); katit, dark,

[178] repaired. This transfer of the feathered stems from tribe to tribe
778 tended to preserve the model unchanged. Sometimes the Son did not
*796 care to part with the feathered stems left with him, so when he inaugurated a party and was to be the Father he had a new set made. It was a matter of pride with some not to use again feathered stems that had once seen service.

The ear of white corn (plate LXXXVIII, page 44), called Atira, Mother,[a] represented the fruitfulness of the earth. The tip end was
[772] painted blue to represent the dome of the sky, the dwelling place of the
822] powers, and four blue equidistant lines, running halfway down the ear, were the four paths along which the powers descended to minister to man.

The two straight sticks cut from the plum tree were bound to the ear of corn by a braid of buffalo hair. One stick projected above the tip of the ear about a hand's breadth, and the other extended about the same length below the butt; the lower end of this stick was pointed so that it could be thrust into the ground to hold the ear of corn in an upright position. To the other stick was tied a white, downy eagle feather. This feather had a double significance: It represented the high, white clouds that float near the dome of the sky where the powers dwell, thus indicating their presence with the corn. It also stood for the tassel of the cornstalk. The feather here refers to the male principle, the corn to the female. The plum-tree wood was chosen for the sticks because the tree is prolific of fruit. It symbolized a prayer for abundance.

The braid of buffalo hair represented the animal which supplied food and clothing for the people.

The two gourd rattles (plate LXXXIX, page 46) represented the gift of the squash to man and the breast of the mother. Around the middle of each a blue circle was painted from which depended four equi-
[772] distant lines of the same color. The circle represented the base of the dome of the sky, and the four lines the four paths descending therefrom to earth.

The crotched stick (plate XC, page 48) used to support one end of the feathered stems when they were laid at ceremonial rest was significant of the fork in the tree where the eagle builds its nest. The use of the plum tree for this crotched stick expressed the desire for many young in the nest.

The sacred ointment with which the plum-tree sticks were anointed
[237] was made from the fat of the deer or buffalo mixed with red clay. The fat was taken from an animal that had been consecrated through certain prescribed rites which recognized man's dependence upon the powers for the gift of food. Fat symbolized plenty. Ritual songs speak of paths dropping fatness, referring to the trails made by those who carried the dressed meat from the hunting fields to the camp; such

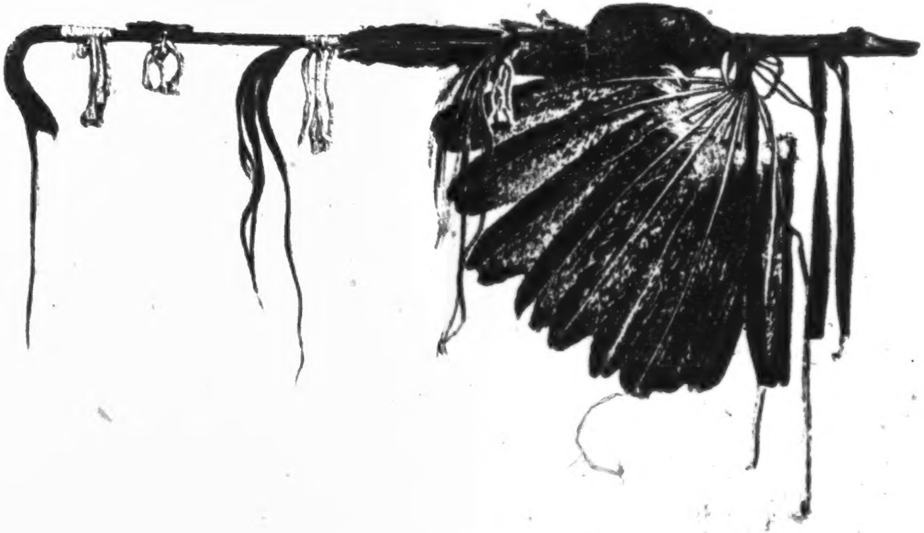
---

[a] The common term for corn, naksu, was not used in the ceremony.

*796
293
237

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[FACING P. 38]



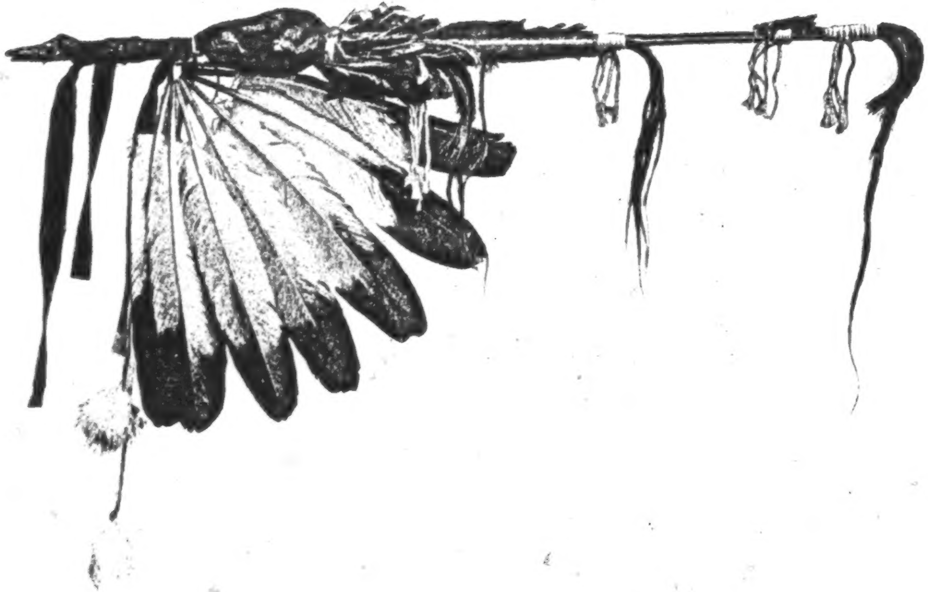
KAWAS, THE BROWN FEATHERED STEM (FEMALE)

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A. C. FLETCHER)

*796
293
2397

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[facing p 40]

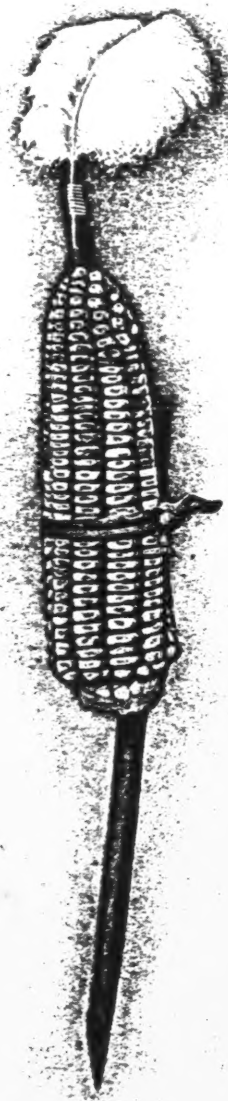


THE WHITE FEATHERED STEM (MALE)

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY" BY A C FLETCHER)

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796
293
● 237
243



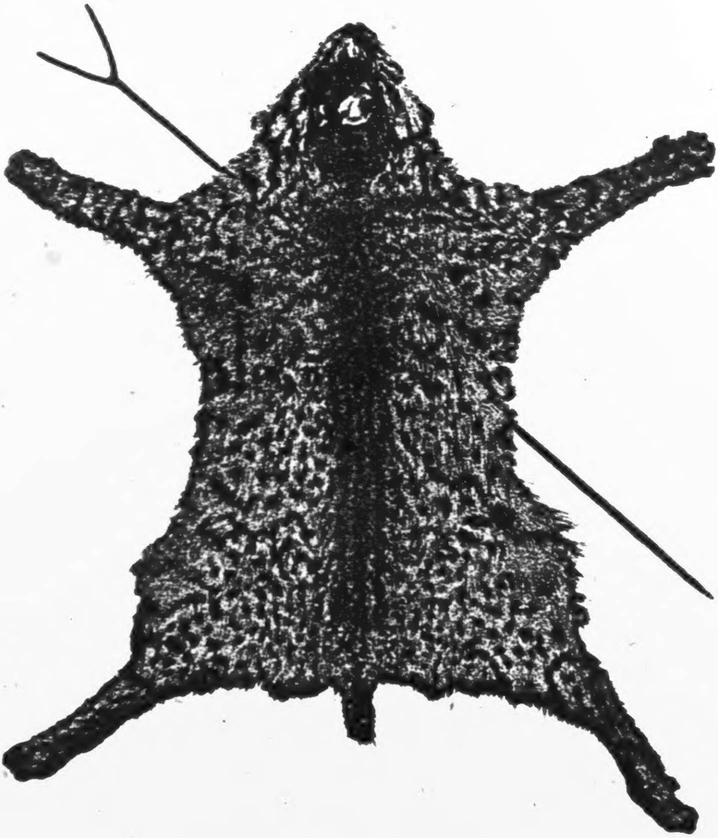
"MOTHER CORN"

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C. FLETCHER)

[FACING P. 44]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796
293
● 237



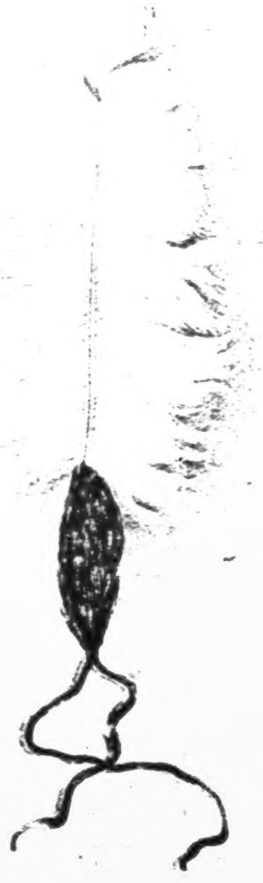
THE WILDCAT SKIN AND CROTCHED STICK ON WHICH
THE TWO FEATHERED STEMS ARE PLACED
WHEN AT CEREMONIAL REST

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C. FLETCHER.)

[FACING P. 48]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796
●237
776



THE FEATHER SYMBOL OF TIRAWA

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C. FLETCHER)

[FACING p. 58]

There is a very general scattering of the gifts, and songs of thanks 431 are sung by those who receive them. When this ceremony of distribution 796* and acknowledgment is over, the Children return to their several lodges. By this time the afternoon is well advanced.

The Fathers now enter the empty lodge and begin preparations for 796* the last night of the ceremony and for the following morning. At this time they partake of their last meal before the close of the ceremony at about noon the next day.

The best dancers in the party are chosen to perform the final dance, which occurs on the morning of the fifth day. The songs which accompany this dance are rehearsed and everything necessary for the closing acts of the ceremony is put in readiness.

If a tent has been used for the ceremony, the Fathers on this afternoon must build around the tent at a little distance from it a wall of saplings and brush, to keep off outsiders and prevent anyone from looking in. If the ceremony takes place in an earth lodge, then both the outer and inner doors are closed, for on this last night no one is allowed to be present but the Fathers, the Son, and his near relatives.

On this night a sixth man is added to the five who carry the sacred objects—the two feathered stems, the ear of Corn wrapped in the wild cat skin, and the two eagle wings. The sixth man has a whistle, 534 made from the wing bone of the eagle, which he blows in rhythm of 237 the songs. The whistle imitates the scream of the eagle over its young.

SECOND DIVISION. THE SECRET CEREMONIES

FIFTEENTH RITUAL (FOURTH NIGHT)

PART I. THE FLOCKING OF THE BIRDS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

At sunset the Fathers call the Children to the lodge. When all have been seated, the Children on the south side, the Fathers on the north, the Ku'rahus, who sits at the west, back of the holy place where the Hako are at rest, addresses the Children in the name of the Fathers. He explains the meaning of the ceremony about to take place, for on this last night and the following morning everything that is done refers to the nest and to the direct promise of Children to the Son, who is also to be bound by a symbolic tie to the Father.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ16 Pawnee NQ18

539*
786*
[237
415]

The ointment is kept in a kind of bag made of the covering of the animal's heart, dried and prepared for this purpose. (It is said that insects do not attack this skin covering.)

Before anyone can take part in a religious ceremony he must be anointed with this sacred ointment.

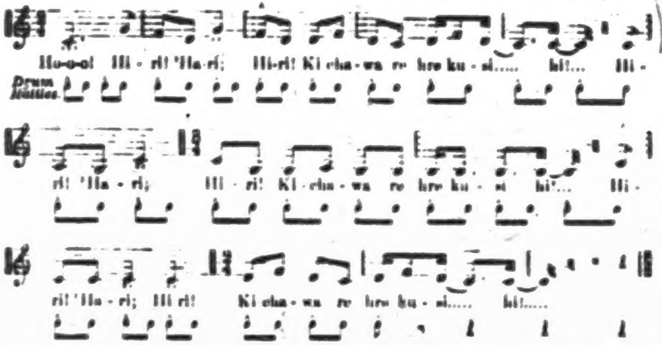
SONG

Words and Music

(b) M. M. ♪ = 126.

• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o! Hi - ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! Ki cha - wa re hre ku - si..... hi!... Hi -
Drum Rattles.
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi - ri! Ki - cha - wa re hre ku - si hi!... Hi -
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi ri! Ki cha - wa re hre ku - si..... hi!.....

533*

I

1146 Ho-o-o!
1147 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re hre kusi hi!
1148 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re hre kusi hi!
1149 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re hre kusi hi!

II

1150 Ho-o-o!
1151 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re ru ata ha!
1152 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re ru ata ha!
1153 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re ru ata ha!

III

1154 Ho-o-o!
1155 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri tukuka ha!
1156 Hiri!' Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri tukuka ha!
1157 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri tukuka ha!

IV

1158 Ho-o-o!
1159 Hiri!' Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta iwa ha!
1160 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta iwa ha!
1161 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta iwa ha!

V

1162 Ho-o-o!
1163 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta wawe he!
1164 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta wawe he!
1165 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta wawe he!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

IV

1230 Ho-o-o!
1231 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri kittawe he!
1232 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri kittawe he!
1233 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri kittawe he!

V

1234 Ho-o-o!
1235 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri ta witshpa ha!
1236 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri ta witshpa ha!
1237 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri ta witshpa ha!

Translation of First Stanza

1218 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1219 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re hre kusi hi!
hiri! harken.
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kaokto, down from the eagle.
we, now.
re, am.
hre, holding.
kusi, sitting.
hi! from hiri! give heed!
1220, 1221 See line 1219.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus.

[237] The down represents the high, light clouds (cirrus) in the blue of the sky; they are near the abode of Tira'wa atius.

[825] The down is taken from under the wings of the white eagle. The white eagle is the mate of the brown eagle, and the child is the child of Kawas, the brown eagle. The down grew close to the heart of the eagle and moved as the eagle breathed. It represents the breath and life of the white eagle, the father of the child.

Translation of Second Stanza

1222 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1223 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re ru ata ha!
hiri! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kaokto, eagle's down.
we, now.
re, is.
ru, it.
ata, flying.
ha! behold!
1224, 1225 See line 1223.

*796 represent the circle Tira'wa atius has made for the dwelling place of all the people. The circles also stand for the kinship group, the clan, and the tribe.

The down represents the light clouds near the dwelling place of Tira'wa—the dome of the sky over the dwelling place of the people—and it stands for the protection of Tira'wa. When there is no down to be had, white ashes can be used. I do not know what the ashes mean, but I think they are to make the outline distinct and to represent the white down.

The nests are four, because at the four directions are the paths down which the powers from above descend. The four winds guard these paths and protect the life of man.

After the four nests are made, the feathered stems are laid at rest.

The Ku'rahus then takes bits of fat which have been preserved from an animal consecrated to Tira'wa and puts them with some native tobacco into an oriole's nest and hands the nest to the chief, who conceals it in his hands.

[237] The bits of fat represent the droppings that mark the trail made by the hunters as they carry the meat home from the field. This trail is called the path dropping fatness, and means plenty. Fat, therefore, stands for the promise of abundant food.

[773 825] The oriole's nest is used because Tira'wa made this bird build its nest so that no harm could come to it. It hangs high, is skillfully made, and is secure. An eagle's nest may be torn away by a storm, but the oriole's nest sways in the wind and is not hurt.

PART II. SYMBOLIC FULFILMENT

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[482] Now a robe is spread on the ground and the child is placed on it with his feet and legs projecting beyond the edge. Four men are appointed to carry the child. One goes on each side and takes hold of the robe and lifts it; a man at the back of the child steadies it as it is raised and carried, while the fourth man holds another robe over its feet and legs.

The chief and the Ku'rahus precede the child to the circle at the northwest, where it is held over the nest so that its feet rest within the circle. The chief puts his hands under the robe held over the child's legs and drops the oriole's nest within the circle so that the child's feet rest on it. No one but the chief and the Ku'rahus know what is being done beneath the robe. The chief takes up the nest, concealing it from view, and goes to the circle at the northeast, to which the child has also been carried, and in the same way places its feet on it. The same act is repeated at the circles in the southeast and the southwest.

The child represents the young generation, the continuation of life,

in front of him on a spread. Rudder set one man to work preparing 159 cedar sticks, another to work preparing the horn ends of the 301 feathers so they could be attached to the sticks with sinew. Still another was called and told to get sinew ready for use as thong. While the work proceeded the other men present told stories. One man said that he heard the crows calling "ka-ka-ka," and understood what they meant, so he came to the camp and there sure enough he found them all working on the crow feathers. The others laughed. The men preparing the things took their time. They were working at it all day. When dinner came in the evening, Mark Rudder had all the things wrapped up and put aside. The work was finished the next day.

Only wing and tail feathers of the crow were used. Four feathers, [237] either from the wing or tail, were attached to the stick. Each man present was asked which kind of feathers he wanted put on his. The [283] sinew was soaked in a bowl of water to soften it for use. The head end of the cedar stick was spread or thickened so that when the feathers were tied on they spread outward. Across the top of the sticks indentations were made in the form of a cross and when these crow sticks are used ceremonially and set in the ground, the ends of this cross must point in the cardinal directions. Red paint was put in the grooves of the cross. The feathers were bound onto the sticks while the sinew was wet, after which the sticks with the feathers attached were hung out in the wind to dry. The sinew tightened in drying. Each man who wanted a crow stick came forward and took one.

THE SEVEN CROWS AND AFTER

Mark Rudder was thus instrumental in developing the decoration 668 and recognition of Crows. As yet, however, there was no official 796 organization among the Crows, similar to the Seven Brothers of the Eagles.

Once when they were Ghost Dancing near the north round house, 668 a young woman "got the shakes" and fell. When she recovered, 796 she sat there crying. The old man crier went to her and blessed her. 787 Then he asked her if she had something to say. She said, "Yes. When I fell, I went down a road leading west and saw a big hill across my way, and the road went up the hill. I went up that hill. When I got on top of the hill I looked down below on the other side. There was a big camp there. As I went down the hill I saw a man coming out of that camp. He met me before I got to the camp, and told me to stop, not to come any further. I

796
533 thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that
539 he had been to the Messiah who told him to 'go to the village.'
[787] Following this instruction, he saw many men dancing. Some had
fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypnotizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always
●[237] wore a fox skin in the Ghost Dance. The skin was not made into
[293] a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the
back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder.
[198] He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing."[1]

1— *i̯rihe we isurat*
so here now stop!
1— ".
1— "

2— *kiwak·u riraraxra*
fox (es) they have them

1— *i̯rihe we isurat*
so here now stop!
1— "

Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
They are holding fox skins
Here now you must stop!
Here non you must stop!

Densmore in one case records a free translation of a song without text[2]:

"The yellow star has noticed me,
Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather.
That yellow star."

[787] The reference is apparently to one of the old star powers and reflects the gift of an ornament of "power" in a Ghost Dance vision.

[727] A song without texts used at victory dances was "'in the style of the Lance dance songs'... The words mean, 'They are coming yonder, the men who belong to the Lance Society (Tirupa)[3].'" The reference here is to the resurrection of the membership of the old Fighting Lance Society (tirupahe), and to the revival which took place in the Ghost Dance years.[4]

---

[1] Densmore, pp. 84—85, no. 58.
[2] Densmore, p. 84, no. 57.
[3] Densmore, p. 68.
[4] See Chapter III, Revivals of Societies, pp. 112—115.

It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band 778
were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" [621]
belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor [614]
by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging
to the several bands there were two bundles which were the [619
property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one 422]
or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most
sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one
was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning
Star, while the o[illegible] symbolized the female element, or Evening
Star. These [illegible]rn were shelled and given to the people as
seed corn a[illegible] ceremony in the spring. Next in importance [237]
were the t[illegible]o-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin
symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be
awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet
grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies,
tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained
other articles, and the skins of birds other than those
mentioned. [611]

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary 422
keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the 428
owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped 778
in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on 621
the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always 778
placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning
Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent
paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from
those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey considers
the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to [171]
the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine
bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. 778
The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in 796
the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl.
7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by
a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony
the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the
freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances
there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not [793]
fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the
people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization
of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

---

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Simms, Director of the Field Museum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 8).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Analysis.—Four renditions were recorded. The first and second 533*
renditions were interrupted by the shrill cries given by women
in a war dance, the interruptions occurring in the eighth measure of
the first and the ninth measure of the second rendition. After the
second rendition the singer spoke several sentences rapidly and after
the third rendition she repeated the shrill cries. The third and fourth
renditions were sung without interruption. The foregoing is an
interesting example of the performance of this class of songs. The
tempo is slow and the melody is marked by a steadily descending
trend. The song is harmonic in structure, contains all the tones of
the octave, and has a compass of 11 tones.

SONGS OF THE RAVEN LANCE SOCIETY

[171]

The custom of the Pawnee concerning the raven lance (*kakutsaa*) 411
was similar to that of the Mandan.[20] A warrior who carried this lance 726
into battle and planted it in the ground was obliged to defend its 778
position with his life. If he were killed, his comrades brought back
the lance. By the Pawnee informant the lance was described as a
staff wrapped with otter hide and having a crook at the upper end. [237] ●
It was decorated with eagle feathers and bore the body of a raven,
commonly designated as a crow.

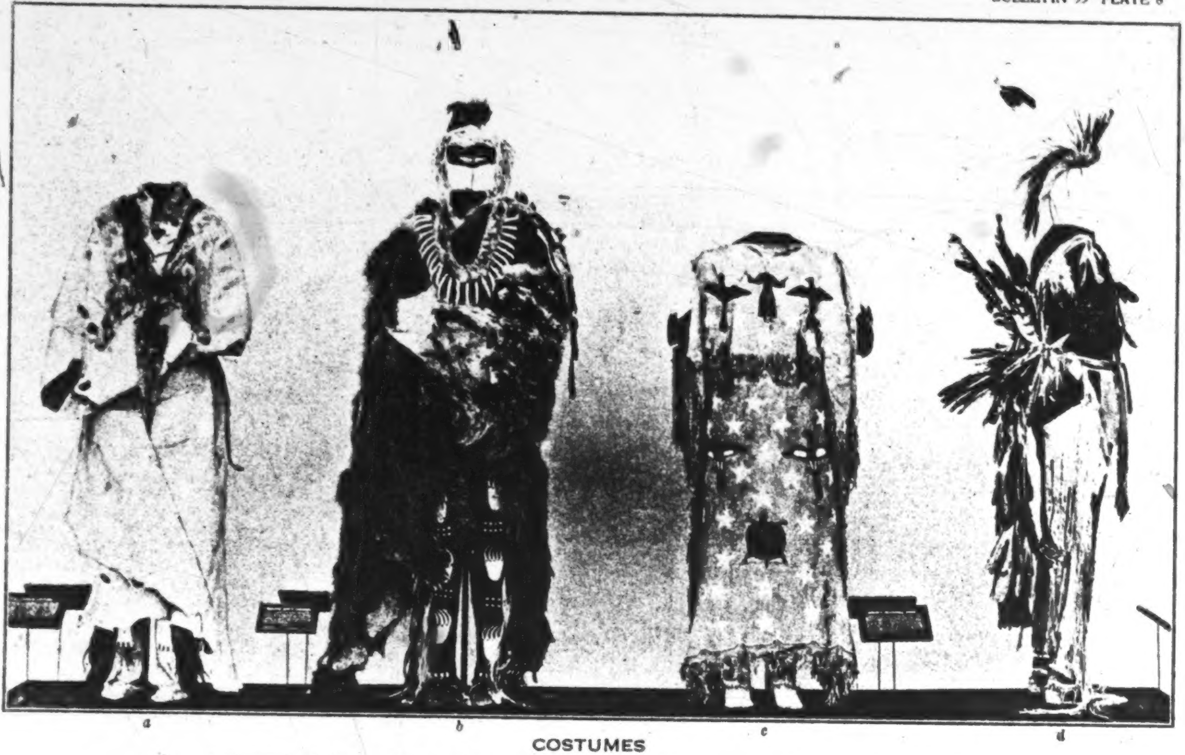
The dance of the Raven Lance Society was said to be "almost like 533*
that in which the dancers painted half their bodies red and half 575
black," referring to the White Lance Society. The original owner of [302]
this dance lived to extreme old age and, as he had no children, he 173
gave the dance to a young man who was one of his nearest relatives. 726
One day the people said, "Some Indians are coming to attack us."
The young man who had received the dance took his raven lance, [431]
mounted his pony, and went to get the old man. They rode together
on the pony to a place near the fight and then went forward on foot,
but the old man could not go as fast as the warriors. The old man
called, "I am still coming," and the young man came back and helped
him forward. The aged man was proud to see that the young man
to whom he had given his dance was among the leaders in the fight.
The enemy shot and killed the young man, and the lance was brought
back with his body. Then the old man sang this song. In the manner
of recording the song there was a wailing which was said to be
"the old man crying because the young man had been killed and he
had no more relatives," yet he loved the lance and all that it symbolized.
He died soon afterwards and, as he was too old to give the
dance to anyone else, the Pawnee do not have the dance at the present
time.

---

[20] Cf. Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 48 and 49, including "Song to the Raven"; also Lowie, Societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, pp. 313-314.

292
301
532
237

[Facing p. 69]



COSTUMES

a, War leader; b, bear medicine man; c, woman's Ghost dance dress; d, dancer wearing "crow" dance bustle.
Exhibited in Field Museum of Natural History

3: Densmore. E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

793 of the important features of the ri[illegible] in all ceremonies except that of the four-pole, she is barred from so much as looking inside while the bundle is open. All the men and boys are at liberty to come in and sit with the bundles at their respective villages.[1]

622 Finally, it may be noted that there is a chief for each village bundle (counting the four leading bundles as one) and he is theoretically at least 793 the custodian, but there is another man in his village who is the keeper of the ritual, or the priest. He conducts the ceremonies. In last resort, he is superior to the chief, especially the priests of the calf bundle and the four leading bundles. Hence, a chief is chief by virtue of his being the custodian of a bundle. This is why the society of chiefs has its seats in the same order as the priests in the four-pole ceremony. It also makes clear the significance of the initial statement that the bundle scheme of the Skidi is the basis of their political and social organization. Likewise, while it is true that the chiefs are all of equal rank, the chief of the four-bundle village who by the way, is attached to the yellow-tipi bundle, sits at the head as may be seen from the diagram for the four-pole ceremony, and so is the leading, or, head chief. He is master of ceremonies, but the chief occupying the seat of Big Black Meteoric Star is the one to conduct all the ritualistic parts of the ceremony.

THE SOCIETY OF CHIEFS.

Among the Pitahauirata there was a special organization of chiefs, 622 which had its less formal counterparts among the other divisions. The first 575 part of the society's ceremony is held privately by the members, or chiefs; i. e., those now holding office and men who have descended from deceased chiefs. The membership is strictly hereditary. In the ceremony the leader, [292] or head chief, must wear an old style beaver hat with a red plume. The hat is covered with a dark neck cloth such as was formerly worn by sailors. The meetings are secret and we have no data; but after these ceremonies the women descended from chiefs were called into the lodge. Each woman has to part her hair and tie it back, painting the part red. Woven sashes are [301] worn over the shoulders and wound around for a belt. Many strands of beads are worn around the neck. The men all have the roached hair and wear feathers through the roach, but the young men wear down feathers [237] only. Some wear leggings bordered with scalplocks and eagle feathers, and black moccasins. Each man and woman carries the skin of an eagle. In arranging the places for the women, a line of two abreast is formed: first [602] the two leading men, behind them their sisters or nearest female relatives;

---

[184] [1] Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, the regulations are the same, except that men must pay a fee to the priests for witnessing a bundle ceremony.

Again Paruxti went on his way. Several times he opened the bag, camp was pitched. He rested only when the bag was opened. He had traveled far to the east and had returned by the north. 539 575

Fools-wolves, the wolf star, had seen Paruxti on his journey and said, "I will undo what the others wish to do. I will send a being to the earth who will ruin what the others have accomplished." He put a wolf on the earth who became hungry and ran hither and thither until he discovered the tracks of Paruxti which he followed. The wonderful being who had become tired and sleepy, lay down. As he lay there, the wolf came up to him and noticed the bag. He thought, "There must be something to eat in the bag. I will take it away and open it and find something to eat." He dragged it to some prairie where there was neither water nor timber and untied it.

The two lance men jumped out first. Wolf was frightened and jumped sidewise. Soon people came out of the bag and he heard them say that they were going to camp and get something to eat. The two lance men selected a camping place and as usual stuck their lances into the ground. The people played their games, but found no buffalo. The men shouted: "Something is wrong. Our wonderful being must be in an ill humor. Take him something to eat."

Some men carried dried meat to the wolf which he ate. The people marveled at this and did not know what to make of it. The wolf was brought to camp and given a place in the tipi where the wonderful man sat. Just as they were about to burn incense in his honor someone shouted, "Our wonderful being is coming over the hills, crying. Watch the being in our tipi, for he is not our wonderful being." The wolf tried to get away, but the people surrounded the tipi and killed him.

The four men then burned some incense before the wonderful being and anointed him with red ointment, buffalo fat mixed with red earth. All the people were gathered around the tipi and the wonderful being asked what had become of the wolf. They replied, "We killed it." Then Paruxti said, "Bring it and skin it. When the skin is dry, put it on the bundle where it must remain. You will always be known as the skiri (Skidi) or wolf people. Because you killed the first animal on earth you will die too. The gods in the heavens intended that you live forever. You will always have the lances. Those who carry them will be soldiers."

Known-the-leader sent the assistant on the north side to the morningstar bundle 575
tipi for owl feathers which are kept in this bundle and to the left hand bundle tipi for the crow feathers kept in that bundle. When these were brought, the assistant called for one crow feather and one white goose feather from each of the other tipis. [237]
These were brought in and piled up in front of the singers by young boys. Near the feathers were placed two strips of red cloth about sixteen inches wide together with buckskin, sinew, and an awl. Two men were selected to procure cedar poles for the [824]
lances. Cedar was used because the cedar tree "has life all the time."

When the men arose, Known-the-leader took up one of the drums. The other drummers each took up the drum in front. They sang a song relating to the search [533]
for timber. After they sang four times, the drums were set down. Then the men went out with axes to cut the trees. Before actually cutting the poles four cutting motions were made. When the poles were brought in they were placed one at each side of the tipi where the young men sat. They started to cut down the pole, one [313]
man on each side, and when these were tired, others took their places. When the poles were cut and smoothed down they were placed crosswise in front of the drums.

The cloth was given to the men on either side who sewed it with buckskin string.

575 One end was lapped over enough to allow the poles to be passed through. In the middle, the cloth was slashed enough to allow for the bearer's hand. Feathers were also placed before the men who were sewing. They took five crow feathers that were equal in length and cut the quills at the ends. When these were ready one of the men made perforations in the cloth with a sharp stick beginning at the top. Then [237] he placed the quill ends of the feathers in the perforations and tied them with sinew. Five swan feathers were attached in the same way. This was done for the full length of the strip, five crow feathers alternating with five swan feathers.

The men on the north side must complete their cloth first, for the north star [821] watches and cares for them, giving them life and feeding them. The people on the south side worked slowly for the south star is the home of the dead. The owl feathers are bunched together and tied at the top of the cloth because they represent the north star who watches over all at night. Owls care for people while they sleep. In olden [825] times, the owls used to warn the people when the enemy was prowling around the camp. The crow feathers were attached first because crows are always the first to find food and they used to help the people to find buffalo. The swan feathers represent those of the thunderbird which is near Tirawahat, the heavens. If an enemy [821] were on the point of attacking the people, thunderstorms would come up and save them. The red cloth signified bloodshed during war. During battle, if the lance bearer stuck the lance into the ground, it was incumbent upon the people to defend the emblem.

After the cloth was ready, the poles were passed through the flaps, tied to a pole, and stuck in the ground, one at the north and the other at the south side, in front of the drummers.

Now, Known-the-leader said: "Knife-chief, Brave-chief, Running-fox, Young-hawk, old men, and young men, our fathers (the lances) are now complete. Our father, the owl is sitting at the top of the pole. The crow and swan feathers are attached. The lances are complete and have taken life. Let us hasten to notify the gods in the heavens that we have completed these emblems that were given to our people long ago to be carried on the buffalo hunt that there should be order. These insignia were to be carried in battle; in peace they were hung on a pole. The buffalo have disappeared, we no longer fight our enemies, peace rules. The gods know this. They will bless us and give us long life. They will bless our fields so that we may have an abundance of food. It is now time to offer smoke to the gods to show that we remember them. I select Knife-chief to offer smoke to the gods in the heavens. Knife-chief will now rise and take the pipe I have filled."

Knife-chief rose and took the pipe which belongs in a sacred bundle. It is very 276 old; the bowl is large; the stem smooth and round and represents the windpipe 575 through which the prayers of the people pass. Knife-chief walked around the fireplace with the pipe, beginning at the south. At the northeast he stopped and the south assistant lighted the pipe with a burning coal. He then walked around the fireplace by the west and then south with the lighted pipe and stopped successively at the south and north entrances and blew smoke in those directions. He next halted at the fireplace and blew smoke on its rim towards the northeast and the northwest. West of the fireplace he stopped and blew smoke southwest and southeast. Then he passed north and stopped at the west facing east. He blew smoke east, west, and then east again. Then he directed smoke towards the heavens; three times to the north, once to the south, faced about and blew smoke west. He turned again and blew towards the ground and the drums.

575 was supposed to give protection in battles. The otter wrapped on the pole could also be used to call upon the powers to send rain to the earth. The two stones on the strings of the lances are to symbolize two powers or stars in the east on each side of the sun, the white for the one on the north side of the sun and the red for the one on the south side. By this, the members of the society know that they are under the protection of the two powers in the sky. If the people have a battle and win, the scalps and other trophies
[727] are given to this society which then conducts the victory dance, carrying the

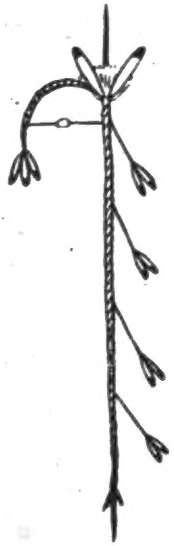


Fig. 6.

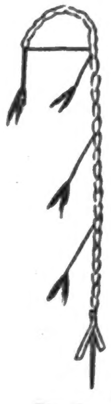


Fig. 7.

[411] Fig. 6. The Skidi Red Society Lance. The war point is of iron rising from a tuft of owl feathers between a tuft of eagle feathers. On the string to the crook is a red stone. The pendant feathers are eagle. The shaft is wrapped with otter fur; dark for the north side lance, reddish for the south. The grip is wrapped with bear gut.

[237] Fig. 7. The Red Lance. The shaft is wrapped with swanskin, a buffalo tail at the tip of the crook and also hung from strings at the sides; the grip of one lance is wrapped with red strouding and the other with black. These are the colors of the south and north sides respectively.

lances in the dance. As the dance proceeds the women take charge, even carrying the lances. The only men remaining in the dance are the four drummers

575 625 224 Perhaps the most important point is that this society is chosen to act as police of a military procedure, or man hunt, in the same way as the preceding society was chosen for the buffalo hunt. When the camp moves

crop unknown to these white men and unnoticed by them. Even cultivated 172*
sunflowers, common as they were to Pawnee agriculture, were scarcely mentioned 224
or not mentioned at all in accounts by these white men. Another crop, still less known to white men, might easily have escaped notice entirely. If they saw fields of it growing, they probably, not being acquainted with it, considered them to be old neglected fields "gone to weeds."

While maize and other vegetable products provided the bulk of 172*
the diet, animal food was also very generally used. Of particular 262
importance was the bison, hunted not for its flesh alone, but also 237
for the hide, hair, sinew, horns, and even the hoofs. Archeologically, the bones of this animal are by far the commonest in Pawnee sites, and byproducts, such as horn spoons and haircloth, are by no means unknown. Further, the dire straits into which the tribe was thrown by failure to find the herds shows very clearly how heavily the Pawnee leaned upon the bison economically, even with their fields of maize.

Two great tribal hunts were staged each year by the Pawnee, a 172*
practice followed also by the Oto, Omaha, Kansa, Osage, and other 224
neighboring tribes of similar cultural status. Immediately after 221
the second hoeing of the corn, which took place about the middle of June, the entire tribe departed on the summer hunt, returning in September to harvest the corn and other crops. Toward the end of October, after the corn had been cached, they set out on the winter hunt, the Skidi moving westward to the forks of the Platte, while the other bands proceeded southward to the Arkansas.[55] Early in April they returned to the permanent villages in time for the corn planting. The favorite hunting grounds lay in what is now western Kansas, between the Republican and Arkansas Rivers, necessitating a trek of from 400 to 900 miles on each hunt.[56] An additional incentive for the long winter hunt appears to have been the need of finding sufficient forage for the horses.[57]

The meat was eaten fresh whenever possible, every hunt being a 172*
period of heavy feasting. Great quantities of meat were cut into 262
strips and dried in the sun to form "jerky." This was later eaten 224
raw or else was cooked with corn and beans into a sort of stew or 252
thick soup. The tongue and heart of the bison were usually sacrificed to the spirits. Long says that the tallow was also used, particularly in cookery. According to Allis,[58] "The most delicious dish with them is the young taken from the buffalo they kill."

Among the other animals commonly used as food, Allis[59] names elk, deer, bear, beaver, otter, raccoon, and badger. The jaws and

---

[55] Ashley and Smith, 1918, pp. 119–121.

[56] Dunbar, 1880, b, pp. 327–328.

[57] Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 447.

[58] 1887, p. 140.

[59] Ibid.

512 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder.
462 When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter,
887 I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar. Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

313 Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Victory
484 Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful supply
623 of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the immediate
[726] neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy. The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the chiefs had gathered there.

512 The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the
252 household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver
262 Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buffalo
[237] meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

(415) The main business of the women of the household that day was to give
512 the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing
251 the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and
356 for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold, and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in; besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for
[192] food pit, *tahaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all.
[476] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

356 roof of their house. He noted that seven of the radial timbers were rotting,
and he remarked that they needed replacement. Old Bull made no
comment, but he knew that they would carry on this enterprise together.
[283] During the winter buffalo hunt, each of them killed a buffalo bull so that
they could keep the hides to make rawhide strips for use when the roof
• [237] was rebuilt the following spring. Around the smokehole, fastening the
radial roof rafters together, were two stout willow hoops, one on the inside
and one on the outside. These were tied in place on the radial rafters
with the rawhide strips. It was this mechanism that gave the symmetrical
form and strength to the whole cone of the roof, and the tying was therefore
important. At the same time as the hides were obtained, the women
[251] made sure to dry plenty of buffalo intestine so that they would have
[262] enough to make soup for the volunteers. While the bison hide was still
[281] fresh, the women removed the hair.

Now during the spring Victory Call and Old Bull kept an eye out for
356 elm trees from which they could strip the bark to use in tying on the willow
314 circuits around the roof frame. A cut was made near the bottom of
283 the elm tree so that the bark could be loosened; a strip about two inches
wide was ripped upward from the bottom. Five or six strips were taken
from each elm. The strips were dried and stored until the actual time of
building, when they were soaked in water and used wet so that they
would make a tight bind when they dried in place. It took a large number
of these elm strips to fasten the circuits in place around the roof.

Now Victory Call went into the timber to locate seven suitable willow
356 low trees. The next day he returned with his wife, White Woman, and
313 his retainer, Horse Rider. The trip to the Loup River was five or six miles.
Victory Call cut down the trees with his axe, and Horse Rider and White
Woman proceeded to lop off all the branches with a hatchet. After the
trees were cut and the branches removed, they went home. Next day
White Woman and Horse Rider returned and began to remove the bark,
hacking it off from stub end to point; the man worked with an axe, the
woman with a hatchet. Two trees were debarked, and they returned until
they had finished the seven. After debarking, the poles were left in the
timber to season for three days.

356 Meanwhile, without further discussion, Old Bull had gone off to look
313 for willow withes to make the circuits. When he got home he remarked
to his younger wife, Clear Day, "There are some nice willows down at
824 Beaver Creek. Tomorrow we can go out and cut them." In the evening
when Victory Call and the others got home from the Loup where they
were fixing the radials, Old Bull remarked that he had been looking
around and had seen some willows and that the next day they were going
to cut them. Queen Woman and Old Lady Blue Calico of the South
Side decided that since the women of the North Side were working so
hard on the construction work, they would take over all the cooking for
the family.

411
439
177
by the blacksmith. They would sharpen them to their taste with a metal file that they also obtained in trade.

411
463
The arrowshaft makers had a monumental task to keep everyone supplied. They considered it a social service and made sure everyone had them whether they were compensated or not. The Pawnee community was always more or less in a state of siege, and the arrowshaft makers felt that their work was essential to their common survival. As Mark Evarts expressed it, "Sometimes the arrowmaker made up his mind himself to make some arrows for someone. They want to supply the whole camp with arrows out of public spirit so that if the enemy comes on the warpath, everyone will have arrows. Even if they don't get any special compensation, they will do it to protect their children and others."

Practically the entire supply of arrows that they needed for the summer had to be made while they were still in the village as there was no time for such work while they were on the march or attacking the herd. A craftsman could produce about ten a day and he usually made them in lots of twenty, working them all in successive stages for the whole lot. With the limited leisure they had on the march they could barely finish one in a day, and this would only be done in case of emergency. They did take some dogwood sticks along for such a contingency. A hunter would consider twenty to forty arrows a reasonable number to keep [162] in his arsenal. In 1840 the Skidi population was estimated to have 469 males over the age of ten years. If 200 of these were adult hunters, this would mean that each of the five craftsmen would have 40 of them to take care of, and supplying each with 20 arrows would mean that he [461] had to produce 800 arrows to keep his group supplied once around. This was eighty full days of work.

When a man decided he needed to replenish his stock, he took the dogwood sticks that he had seasoning in the rafters of his house and went to the arrowmaker and asked him to make him twenty. It would be tacitly [437] understood that if in time he got a buffalo, he would make him a gift of a buffalo robe, or perhaps a blanket, some dried buffalo meat, leggings, or a pair of good moccasins.

Sometimes, without having a special order on hand, the craftsman would ask a young man to get him forty to sixty dogwood sticks and would compensate him when he had finished, with a gift of ten completed shafts. He wanted to make sure that everyone was supplied whether they made a special request or not. They had to get their own [237] feathers—turkey for the most part, but if they could not get one, a buzzard or a goose was a substitute.

In the latter part of May just before the chief's council, they were likely to accelerate their efforts. One of them would be sitting at the gaming grounds watching the hoop and spear game, and then another would be likely to sit down and join him. They would begin to talk

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 of it. After they had made a cut along the backbone and divided the robe in two, they would flap open the cut edges and split the hide down the forelegs and hind legs to get the two halves off.

The next step was to remove the meat. This was the same for both bull and cow. They removed the meat first from one side and then from the other. The carcass was turned over on its side and the long piece of meat that lay along the backbone was cut loose and turned aside. Then the flank over the ribs and forelegs was flapped back. Now the foreleg could be removed and the lower portion with the hoof on it discarded. [237] This part would find use as a hammer. The most important meat was the long steak extending all the way down the length of the backbone. Its [192] name, *kis-satsu*, "bone-lying against," was also the generic name for meat, *kisatski*, the *-ki* being a diminutive, i.e., "small meat." The long steak was the ideal part for thinning and drying as it could be cut into a long continuous sheet. It contained important sinews that were removed before slicing.

When the meat had been removed from one side, the carcass was turned over onto the other. Although the meat had been removed from the underside, the carcass was held up off the ground by the fact that the paunch was still inflated. They decided that in butchering this side, they would leave intact a large slab of meat that was ordinarily considered to be two parts, one covering the windpipe, and the other the part that lies below it, the *awahu*, the "spread out." This was a large, very fatty slab of meat. After the backbone steak, the flank, and the foreleg had been removed, they would take off this piece. This fatty layer was needed since in storing the thinned-out dried meat, they would alternate each thin layer of meat with a layer of dried fat.

Now they had to clean the internal organs; the paunch, liver, lungs, and intestines. If they had no water for cleaning the paunch, they simply shook it out. When they took care of the entrails, they also removed the tongue and brains. To get the brains from the braincase, they used the hind leg with the hoof on it as a hammer and broke off the skull cap just below the brow ridge, taking the brains out of the cover or membrane. In order to determine the best place to aim the blow, they had first to take off the scalp lock.

[262] [251] After all the meat had been removed from the bones, they had to get the ribs, which were a main delicacy for cooking and eating right away. Most of the rest of the meat was dried and preserved. The ribs were consumed mainly by the men in their feasts. To crack the ribs off the backbone, they lay the carcass on its side and cut up the front where the cartilage was with a knife. Then they used the discarded foot with the hoof on it as their hammer and struck along the ribs where the rib bones were jointed at the back. They made two slits between the ribs to get a good fingerhold and pulled the ribs so that the bones cracked at

their joints near the back. They turned the carcass over and removed 224*
the ribs from the other side in the same way. Then they removed the
collarbone and first rib.

This whole process was accomplished with a single knife. As far back 175
as 1540, Casteñeda gives an almost identical description of butchering 224*
with a flint. "They cut the hide open at the back," he writes, "and pull
it off at the joints, using a flint as large as a finger, tied in a little stick,
with as much ease as if working with a good iron tool. They give it
an edge with their own teeth. The quickness with which they do this
is something worth seeing and noting."

The butchering completed, there was a pile of meat; it remained to portion 224*
it out among them. The initiative in this distribution belonged entirely
to the man who had actually killed the animal. Legally the animal belonged
to him. However, it was the custom to give half of the meat to any
who had been present at the kill and helped with the butchering. A generous
man—in Pawnee terms, "a good man"—would give something to a [577]
person who arrived after the killing but helped with the butchering. Late
arrivals could expect no such courtesy. The rule also held in this case. The
bison was readily divided in two, including the skin, with two doing the
butchering. If three had butchered, "the nonkillers" would have had to
divide the half between them. Such a quarter bison skin could be used [237]
for moccasin soles or a small rawhide envelope-shaped container. Out
of an undivided half skin of the bison, a robe might be made, or a water
package. This was a skin folded like an envelope with sticks fastened underneath
to be used to float things across the stream in high water.

After the butchering and distribution, the horses were packed with 224*
the meat so that they could return to camp. In order to load, they saddled 492
the horses and put the meat on top; the skin, which had been too
slippery, had been allowed to dry somewhat and was now put across
the saddle, hair side down, with the flaps hanging down on both sides
of the horse. The long backbone steaks were placed on top of the hide,
and upon this the flank meat from over the ribs and forelegs. In order to
balance the load on both sides of the horse, the thighs were cut across
in two, each threaded with an eyeletted piece of rawhide drawn through
a hole in the meat and tied to the back of the horse so that they hung
down against the sides. Each rib cage was tied in a similar way with a
string through it so that it hung down on each side toward the rear. The
sharp edges were up so that they did not cut the sides of the horse. The
brains were tied inside the rib cage to protect them. The other entrails
were tied together with a rope and placed on top and tied near the back.
A person taking a whole buffalo by himself couldn't take the backbone
but could take the back of the neck. He had to leave "the hips and backbone"
behind. Everything now being in place on the horse, the skin was
folded over to make a cover. First the back half was folded forward

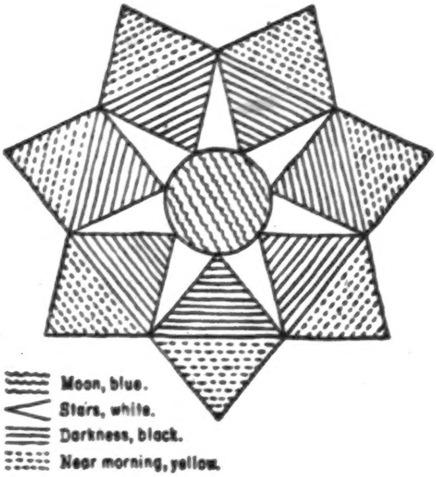
*224 *484 [823] ages tied to the sides of the horses would get wet. Then the question was, "Was the water on the rise, or was it going down?" People said if it were warm on Pike's Peak in the Rockies, the water level would soon be low. In order to find out whether the river was rising or subsiding, the women would set up a stick in it; if the river was rising, it would soon be covered over, or vice versa if falling. They also knew that if the river was muddy soon after getting a bucket of clear water, it was rising. The men, on the other hand, were inclined to be more impulsive and didn't bother with such observations; they simply forded the river. If the river was rising, they would have to change their plan and continue west along the north bank of the Platte until it subsided. This time they were able to cross directly. The crossing was over the western end of Grand Island, the largest of the "sand-bar islands" in the Platte. In winter it was a good place to camp, but in summer it was full of mosquitoes. Grandma would have arrived long ago and gone onto the island to pick plums and grapes. The channel is wider and shallower on the north side of the island and deeper and narrower on the south side. The island itself is five or six miles wide.

*224 *484 883 • [237] [412] [571] When they were ready to cross, some young men volunteers who were from eighteen to twenty years old would go ahead and stake out the path with willow sticks to show where the deep holes were. If there was a steep sand bank on either side, they would chop at it with a buffalo shoulder blade and kick it down so that there would be a sloping path for the horses. Sometimes on the return journey in August the river bed would be dry, and in this way they came to know the best way to ford the river. A group of young men of this sort would volunteer for all sorts of services, including picket duty. They always carried their bows and arrows and were constantly on the alert to see if the enemy were coming on the warpath. Sometimes as the years passed, they would continue in this way, remaining as a group even after they had become mature men. Such a group was that of Roaming Leader and his friends who had gone out on the buffalo-scouting expedition that day.

*224 *484 When the line of march finally got across the river, they climbed ashore and up the first bank which was relatively steep and then the second bank that had a more gentle slope. They continued west along the high bank for about two miles until they came to the place where they planned to camp.

*224 By about four or four-thirty in the afternoon they were all encamped. A man was out taking care of his horses, and as he looked onto the horizon he happened to sight Roaming Leader and his party, silhouetted against the sky, coming over some sand hills about two miles off. From their outline against the sky, he could see that the horses were all bulging out with meat and the legs of the riders were sticking far out as they sat on top of the packs. As they rode he could also see the hides swing-

parts were piled more thickly near the tail end, each layer covered 251
with a layer of dried fat to keep the meat soft. The meat of a whole buffalo dried and packed in this way, was reduced to a weight of 80
pounds. A live bison weighed about 2,000 pounds. [036]



[531]

FIGURE 27-1. A cosmic design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, to be painted only by a person with the necessary religious qualifications.

Other parts of the meat prepared were: 251

The flank. The sinews were removed and the membrane being taken 252
off to be used in packing up the raw marrow that they took out when they cracked the long bones.

The foreleg and hind leg. The limbs were disjointed and the meat removed from the bones for drying.

The internal organs. These included the intestines, the lining of the [237]
stomach, the tripe (likened to the leaves of a book), the heart from
which the membrane was carefully removed by cutting around the top [415]
for use as a tobacco pouch or for other treasures. The heart was split so that it would lie flat in drying. The tongue was blistered in the coals and the rough outer covering removed. Heart and tongue were boiled in water before being hung up to dry. Lungs were sometimes sliced like the backbone steaks and then dried. They made good pulverized dry
meat. The stomach lining was washed in cold water and cut into long [237]
strips after it had dried, the strips woven into a checker-plaited mat, in [285]
which form they were stored in the rawhide container.

531
415

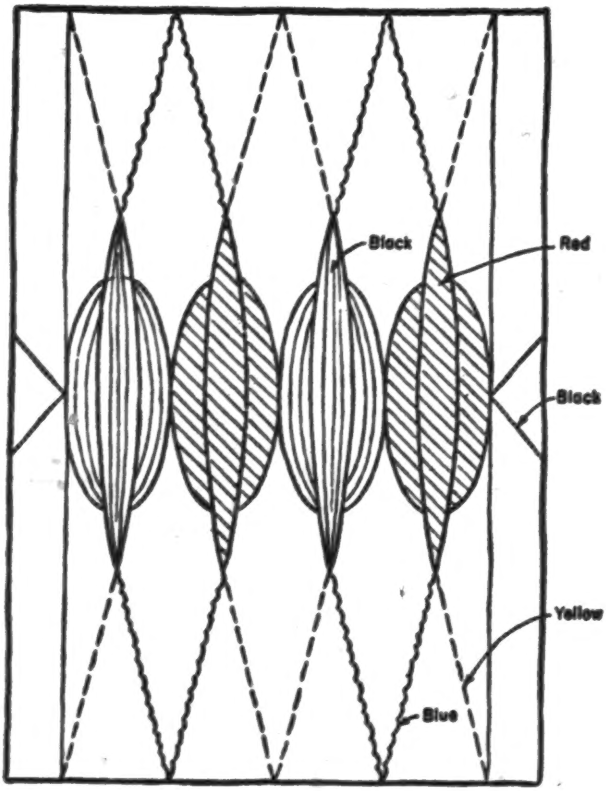


FIGURE 27-3. A design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, the significance of which is unknown.

251 Intestines were turned inside out and boiled in the kettle. Then they
252 were hung on the rack so that the water ran out and they would dry.
[237] After they were dried, they were broken into a number of pieces and
woven into a checker-plaited mat for storage. The intestines of two buf-
[285] falo were used for one mat. Each intestine was 12 to 15 feet long and
was broken into four pieces. The pieces hung over a stick to a length of
about 2 feet on each side. The mat was ten strips wide with cross pieces
[431] woven in. A mat would sometimes be given to a little girl as a special
gift. For this purpose, they would leave the stick in the mat and fasten a
boiled buffalo eye at each end. When they broke camp and a little girl
was seen carrying her gift mat on her back, people would remark,
"Look, that's hers! Are there eyes on it?"

The tripe was boiled at the same time as the intestines. It was not 251
otherwise treated, but simply hung on the rack to dry. 252

The internal organs, particularly the tripe, took several days before they were dry enough for storage. They had to be hung on the rack on several successive days, while the rest of the meat usually cured in a day or so. These dried internal organs were used for mixing with dried corn kernels to make soup.

The drying rack had been completed and ready to hang up the meat 251
by the time the men got in from the hunt. It had three upright forked 417
sticks planted in the ground, with three cross sticks, one resting in the forks at the top and two tied on at intervals below with strips of inner bark or of hide. A double-length rack was sometimes made to accommodate all the meat prepared in their camp. The rack was erected with its broad side facing east so that the sun would strike the meat directly. The meat was hung on the rack with the two long steaks in the center and the other parts out toward the ends, pieces of kidney fat and other parts of the fat in between.

As soon as the camp was set up, they brought in plenty of water in 251
anticipation of the fact that the intestines and other parts would have 252
to be boiled. When the men had arrived, Grandma set them to boil at once and began slicing the meat. White Woman was helping and when No Corn had fed the men, she came out and joined them, while Horse Rider got to work disjointing the limbs and removing the meat from the bones. Having joined forces, the meat began to pile up and White Woman hung the meat on the rack while the others sliced. With three women and Horse Rider working together, the meat of each buffalo took about an hour and a half to get on the rack, and from two-thirty to five-thirty they had prepared the meat of both buffalo that the men had brought in. Thus it would take a single worker five or six hours for each animal.

The hides had to be pegged out onto the ground and defleshed simul- 252
taneously with the slicing of the meat as they had to be stretched out 281
while they were still fresh. After they had made considerable progress with slicing the meat, Grandma suggested to White Woman that she would continue with the meat and that White Woman might go and tend to the hides. This was the most strenuous part of the work and since No Corn was crippled, White Woman had to process both the hides. No Corn continued to help Grandma slice the meat, and while White Woman was pegging down one of the hides, Horse Rider offered to peg
down the other. White Woman then proceeded to deflesh both of them. 281
The fleshing tool was made of the shaft of a buffalo tibia, the small end [412]
cut to a fine-toothed edge and the thick end with a hole through which [237]
a rawhide strap was drawn to go around the wrist. White Woman bent

252
574
[554]
[264]
[237]

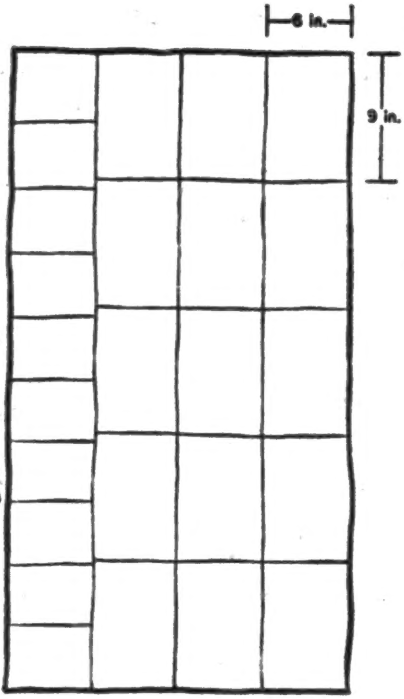
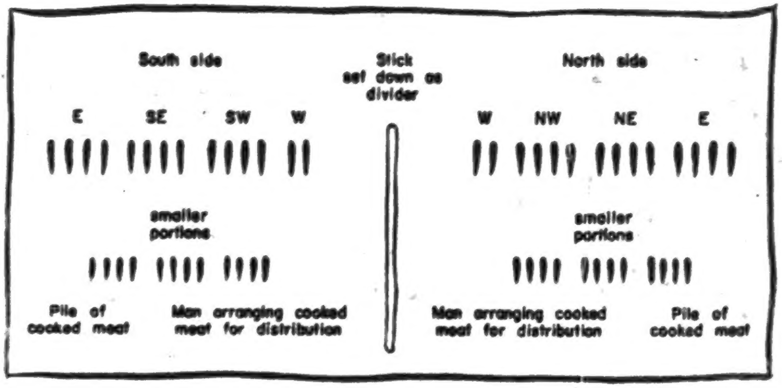


FIGURE 27-4. The manner of cutting and setting out portions of the layer of dried buffalo meat made from the backbone steak, *kisatsu*, at a feast. (1) Preparatory to cooking, the steak is cut into four long strips. The three strips at the right are each made into five portions. The fourth long strip at the left is made into as many additional portions as is deemed necessary. The large portions are for the honored guests sitting in the special positions, the smaller portions, for the rest of the guests. The slab of dried buffalo fat is cut up in the same way. (2) The portions are set out on a tanned hide, ready to be served. (The dimensions and the drawing were supplied by informants.)

252
264
574


South side
Stick set down as divider
North side
E
SE
SW
W
W
NW
NE
E
smaller portions
smaller portions
Pile of cooked meat
Man arranging cooked meat for distribution
Man arranging cooked meat for distribution
Pile of cooked meat

*224 this area now, north of the Republican, they were in Pawnee territory
*484 and were less concerned about danger of attack. As the South Bands had
their villages to the east of the Skidi on Beaver Creek, they moved ahead
while the Skidi lagged behind. They ate mainly dried buffalo meat at
[262] this time and a little parched corn in soup. If anyone happened to have
[252] any roasted corn kernels on hand, they boiled them and ate them, but
most people had used up their supply by now. The old women were always
*224 busy when they stopped, pulverizing dried buffalo meat in the
*484 mortar with a pestle. They made a flat package, *tsat-katus*, "package-
251 flat," of tanned hide (see Figure 30-1) and filled it up with the pounded-
887 up dried meat. The package could be carried on the back with a strap
[482] that ran across the chest. It was 2 feet long by 1½ feet wide, and was
[439] often carried on their backs by the old women. It was a good trade
item. Sometimes they also included some dried meat. Both kinds could
[262] be eaten without cooking as they were already thoroughly cured. One
could simply break off a piece of the dried meat and eat it.

• 237
251
482

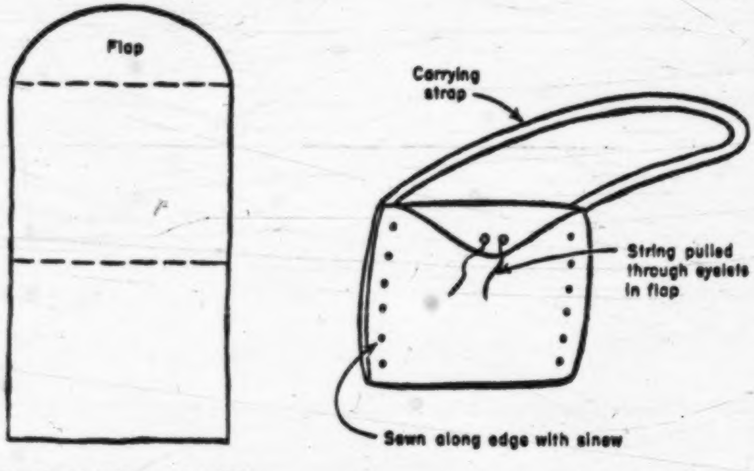

Flap
Carrying strap
String pulled through eyelets in flap
Sewn along edge with sinew
Pattern to be folded up in middle

Figure 30-1. The pattern of a skin knapsack, *tsat-katus*, "package-flat."

*224 Some old women made a *hu-tsaku*, "water-package," of half a buffalo
*484 bull hide made into rawhide, with sticks fastened underneath and the
[237] baggage wrapped inside envelope-fashion, to be floated across a swollen
[281] stream. Most of the women were busy tanning buffalo robes and scraping
hides all the way home.

726 Some young men were saying that when they got to the Platte River
they would set out on the warpath. There were plenty of Sioux around

field, and then next day by Horse Rider and No Corn in her field, the two 243
teams staying alternately at home and watching as well as processing the 251
crops. Sweet corn was mainly made into double braids. Quantity production 476
depended on team work, of course, but the women had to sort [244]
out the eight varieties of beans after everything was done, as the men [462]
would not bother with such a detail and would pay no attention to the
selection of the best ears for braiding. When all the corn was in, the [825]
blackbirds began to fly over the fields, presaging the cold weather.

The following are some of the processes used in preserving the crops, 243
together with a breakdown of how these were coordinated with the activities 244
of gathering. 251

The green corn was gathered from the stalk "in the milk" and roasted 243
in a long roasting pit in which a fire was built. It was allowed to cool 251
off and the husks removed. The kernels were cut off the cob row by row [237]
with a fresh-water clamshell and spread on a tanned hide to dry. At night [412]
the kernels were first winnowed to remove any chaff, gathered up and put in a flour sack, and then taken into the tent. They were put in a wooden bowl and spilled out from a height so that the wind would blow the chaff away. Next morning they were again spread out on the tanned hide. After several days, as they were being spilled for winnowing in the evening, they would make a tapping noise when they hit the hide, showing that the kernels were completely dry.

When the beans were picked off the vines and brought into camp, 244
they were dumped onto the spread and allowed to dry in the sun. As 251
they dried, one could hear the popping of the pods. At night they
were left outdoors, covered only with a spread of tanned hide, and in
the morning uncovered and allowed to dry again. Then they were [412]
flailed with a peeled willow rod about 4 feet long and 1 inch thick to remove the pods as much as possible. Some of the beans had to be picked out by hand—a small pile of beans was always picked this way. If there was a large pile the woman would strike them with the stick, then stop and pick out the loose pods and pile them to one side, push the beans together again and further beat them with the stick. The beans were winnowed by spilling from a height from a wooden bowl, in this way loose pieces of dry pod blew away and the pods still containing some beans fell to the ground and were opened by hand—an operation in which someone usually gave her help if they were available. After winnowing, the beans were spread out to dry thoroughly. When all the other work had been done, the beans were sorted into their eight varieties.

After the beans, they brought in the pumpkin harvest. The women 244
spent most of one day hauling them from the field. First they brought 489
the largest, then the next largest, and so on. One parfleche in which 492
they were transported carried five large pumpkins, or seven to eight

It took three trips to get everything back to the lodge and, on the last one, White Woman piled some of the remainder on her back and admonished Horse Rider to bring up whatever wood they had around as someone else might appropriate it. The women went into the lodge and at once removed the grass padding from the bed platforms to see how the willow sticks of the frame were. Next day they would get some new willow sticks to replace any that were found to be rotted. 512 [482]

Each low bedstead was made of three forked uprights stuck in the ground between the central pillars and the wall of the housepit; a long sturdy willow rod rested on the forks of the uprights to form the edge of the bedstead. Shorter sections of willow sapling were laid on crosswise, at 3-inch intervals, one end resting on the outer rod and the other end on the shelf all around the housepit, which was actually the ground level remaining within the circular collar or sod wall inside its sloping radial skeleton. This low slope-roofed area was called *ti-ka-ka-wi'u*, "it-lodge-inside-sits." Upon the bed frame with its cross sticks was placed another layer of willow saplings in the length, and upon this in the width, a layer of thatch (*pakuts*) grass. Each bed was built between a pair of the short outer houseposts that were placed in the ground at an outward slant and 7 feet apart. These were the permanent bedsteads, and when they left on the hunt these were left intact. The only time they were dismantled was when a ceremony was to take place in the lodge when all the sticks were pulled up and carried outside until the ceremony was over. 352 [353]

The bedding was designed to keep the occupants warm and to ensure a certain amount of privacy. The basic bedclothes comprised two layers of tanned hide. At the head were skin pillows stuffed with turkey feathers or deer hair. Sometimes a roll of discarded skin clothing was used instead. At the foot was also a roll of worn out skin clothing against which one could rest one's feet. A skin curtain hung at the head and the foot of every bed, suspended from the roof for privacy. These were tucked in underneath before putting down the bed clothes to keep anything natural or supernatural from coming into the bed at night. In the more luxuriously appointed beds, an extra skin curtain was suspended against the wall so that should any mice living in the thatch loosen any earth, it would fall behind the curtain. The curtains were usually made of discarded pieces of tanned buffalo-hide tent skin. When they went to bed, everyone disrobed. In the warmer weather they covered themselves with a tanned skin—preferably elk or deerskin for really soft tan. This was commonly dyed black and was worn as a wraparound garment during the day. At the time of this account most people used trade-store blankets instead for this purpose. In winter they used a double-purpose buffalo robe with its hair and wool left on for warmth. In the morning when they got up the covers were folded up toward the head or foot end of the bed so that one could sit on the bed during the day or lie down without disarranging the bedding. 513 237

356 dumped their goods outside, set up the beds, and laid the mats. Then they brought in the rest of their things, and the house was crowded with parfleches of dry meat, corn, beans, and everything they had gathered. 251 The women talked of storing them in the cache pit. Grandma and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy told about how they had looked over the pit when they first got home from the hunt and cleared off some mold that had developed on the grass lining and that it was now clean and ready to be filled. After the pit was filled this time, it would not be open until the middle of November when they were ready to go off on the winter hunt. It did not do to open the pit more than once a month at the most. Otherwise, if one opened it often, a storm might come up and water might leak in. In the wintertime there was less danger of this. From time to time one would hear that a certain woman had not put enough earth on the lid of the pit and water had leaked in, with the resulting tragic consequence that all her corn was destroyed—the bags and everything having turned moldy (*us-kutu*, "hair-rotten," viz., mold). Two years of hard work and the security it could bring destroyed by one careless oversight. In the Pawnee way of life, vigilance could seldom be relaxed!

The storage pit was built nearby when the earth lodge was constructed. It was an indispensable part of the earth-lodge economy. The usual size was about 10 feet deep. It was bell-shaped, with a narrow neck and a [592] round bottom about 10 feet in diameter. The north side of the pit was for the use of the people who inhabited that side of the earth lodge, and the south side for the South Side families. In the case of an exceptionally important public figure, the household might have two cache pits. The bottom was covered with clean sand and on top of this some sticks as a sort of grating and these covered with grass. The walls were lined with thatch grass fastened in place with sticks that were shored up against it.

251 415 [237] Tanned hide sacks of various sizes were used to store the corn and beans in the pit. The largest was the *bax-kaitu*, made by sewing two buffalo hides together, folding them over and sewing them along the bottom and the long side. It was 6 feet high and 3 feet in diameter when full and was used only to store the mature dried corn kernels known as *rikis-tabis*, "corn-dry," that had been pried off the cob after the corn had matured on the stalk.

The second size was the "large sack," about 3 feet high and 2 feet in diameter when filled, containing 1½ bushels or more. The next size, "the small sack," *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack," stood about 3 feet high and 1½ feet in diameter when full, holding about a bushel or 50 to 60 pounds of dried corn kernels. In size, it was approximately equivalent to the 50-pound flour sack. A still smaller sack was called *rits-a-kusu*, "intestine-of-sack," standing about 8 inches high and a foot in diameter when full.

47

EQUIPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL MANUFACTURES

000

The Fall of the Year a Time for Manufacture—Buffalo a Chief Source—History of Their Trading—Wood of Second Importance—Reeds and Grasses Third in Importance—Clay and Stone Scarce—History of Transition from Stone to Metal—Crafts Highly Regarded but No Religious Taboos—Learning to Make a Black Rope

THE FALL OF THE YEAR was the time when the Pawnees made most of the things they used. There was a plentiful supply of food and in the protected environment of the earth lodge, they could manufacture the various items of furnishings, clothing, and equipment they needed. Moreover, with the winter hunt and migration in prospect, they had to make sure that everything was in order, as there would be little time in the short daylight hours for more than setting up camp and processing the meat and skins. 221

There were very few materials in the Pawnee environment that they could use to make the things they needed. Their top resource for industry as well as for food was the buffalo. Hides, hair, horns, and bones each found a number of essential uses. Hides made their all-important tent cover, their blankets, curtains, containers, moccasin soles, and other clothing. And even beyond their domestic needs, it gave them their major item of external trade, the buffalo robe. 433 237 825

There is clear evidence that this was a leading trade item before the Spaniards moved up into the Plains in 1540. Long before the advent of the European on the continent, the settled villages were centers of trade for the more nomadic peoples and there were seasonal trade fairs in recognized locations where peoples came to exchange their special products and materials. 174 438 439 443

000 and materials. European goods were first spread by itinerant traders who
439 carried their wares to the different villages and centers and finally set
443 up their own trade stores. Bishop and Matlock's was the favorite trade
[436] store for the Pawnees at this time, and the buffalo robe was the chief
medium of exchange. The trade value of a well-tanned robe of ordinary
[435] quality was ten to fifteen dollars. For one of prime quality, expertly
tanned, they might get thirty dollars worth of exchange goods. The national
market of the trader justified him in paying these prices. In 1848,
175 100,000 robes were shipped out of St. Louis, and the American Civil War
439 gave a special impetus to the buffalo leather trade for army needs. By
1874 even England was making use of the leather for its army. When
supplies were running low in a Pawnee household, the man would
point to an unworked buffalo hide and say to his wife, "Make up that
buffalo robe so that we can get something at the store." In the past the
same expedient probably served for trade with other tribes or villages.

237 The hair of the buffalo was intricately braided into a long rope known
as Black Rope, which was used by the men to hold the buffalo robe in
place as well as for other purposes. The horns provided the common eating
and serving spoons and the bones were made into a number of important
tools, notably the buffalo shoulder blade, which was the main
spade or earth-digging tool as well as the hoe and the scythe. These
bones also provided tools for skin working and for sizing and straightening
the arrowshaft, as well as slivers for scraping and cutting. The sinews
of the buffalo were used for sewing together the skins and for making
bowstrings.

313 Second in importance as an industrial material was wood. In the open
prairie plains, trees grew only along the streams. The supply was heavily
drawn upon for fuel as well as for industry. Wood was used industrially
for building and for equipment and utensils. Cottonwood and willow
313 were the mainstay of the construction industries—the cottonwood because
824 it was light for its strength and bulk and the willow for its flexibility.
Elm was used for making the mortar and post oak for the pestle.
They also used the post oak to make their common eating bowls. Dogwood
was the material of the arrowshafts and ashwood for the bow as
well as the gaming hoop and the pipestem. Wood was best gotten in the
fall when the sap was running low.

824 Reeds and grasses were their third industrial resource. Grasses grew
along the streams and reeds in the limited number of ponds to be found
in the area. Since they matured about the same time as the cultivated
crops, they had to be processed as soon as the harvest was over. The
[285] most important product they made from these materials was the large
twined woven mat that they felt had to be spread on the dusty ground
[352] both in the earth lodge and in the tent while they were on the hunt. Next

000 sheep." It was further reported that to the north there were many "cattle." The reports of Coronado's expedition of about the same period in the Southwest describe the details of buffalo hunting with great accuracy and show that even in the 1860's they had survived substantially as they were then. In 1599, Oñate of New Mexico hoped the Spaniards could also develop a thriving trade in buffalo wool and hides, but the Spanish empire was already too decadent.

175 439 [224] By the 1600's the big business in furs with Europe had been developed by France starting with the fateful beaver trade on the St. Lawrence. As we see from the present account, the Pawnees were still trapping the beaver with metal traps in 1867, in order to trade them for cash. By the end of the 1600's the Indians were no longer merely a source of raw materials for trade to Europe, but also a positive outlet for European manufactured goods. "The Indians were collecting sassafras, tanning buckskins, and building up a steady trade in buffalo wool." In 1702 seventeen Frenchmen left Tamaroa Mission near Cahokia, Illinois, east of St. Louis to ascend the Missouri about two hundred leagues to build a fort between the Pawnee and the Iowa. The French were attempting to control the inter-Indian trade to protect themselves from the encroachment upon the Indian trade by the Spaniards who were moving up from the Southwest. Their fears were not unfounded, for in 1706 the Spaniards were reported to have come to an Indian village to trade for buffalo hides with which to make harness for their mules.

[177] At a somewhat later period, fur traders were sent out from Council Bluffs (Iowa) to live with the Pawnees at their earth lodges and follow them on their hunting expeditions.

281 Before he became mature, every man and woman had learned how to prepare hides. Most of all they needed the buffalo robe. As stated by the informant:

> 291 237 The wind blew through the blankets, the buffalo robe kept you warm. Almost everyone needed a new buffalo robe every winter. Toward the summer, the hair would all wear off and by the late fall, there wouldn't be any wool on to keep a person warm. In Victory Call's family, they needed at least four robes in good condition for the winter—one for Victory Call himself, one for his wife, White Woman, one for Grandma and one for the boy, Otter. For the adults it took the skin of a whole buffalo. For children, the whole skin of a calf was used with the headskin and the two little horns left intact.
>
> 291 During the daytime, the robe was wrapped around the body horizontally with the head part overlapping at the left. At night, the same robe was used as a blanket the long way, with the hair against the body, the head part covering the head and the tail part the feet. One

robe could keep a person warm in winter if it were well tucked in all around. 291

There were three stages by which the hide was prepared for its different uses—rawhide, tanned, or dyed. 281

Rawhide was the first stage. While they were on hunt, the fresh hide was pegged out with the hair side down and the flesh scraped off. The defleshing tool was made of a buffalo shinbone with the small end broken off and discarded. [413] [237] The broken edge was cut into a row of fine teeth with which to scrape the hide. The thick end of the bone had a hole drilled in it through which a buckskin strap was threaded to be worn around the wrist while the tool was in use. It took about half an hour to peg down and flesh a skin. After it was thoroughly dry, it was rolled up and carried home to the village where it was stored in the food pit or kept in the lodge to be dressed at the first opportunity. The largest number were worked in the fall. The skin was dressed as rawhide by simply removing the hair. The skin was unrolled and spread on the ground and the pieces of dried flesh picked off with a knife and boiled in the soup. Now the hide was turned over and the hair removed with an elbow-shaped scraper. This tool was like an adze with a handle of elkhorn and a cutting blade fastened to the bent end. [413] [237] In the old days the cutting blade was of chipped flint but at this time the women had the blades made by the blacksmith. To dehair it, the woman stood directly on the hide and bent over holding the elbow-scraper crosswise with her left hand on the handle end and her right hand on the elbow so that she could push it across the skin. She removed hair, chips and shavings, striking and pushing upon the skin and scraping with a sidewise motion toward the left. If the blade were not sharp, she would have to sit down while she worked and this would take a good deal longer. The hide of a big bison was used to make rawhide.

Rawhide was used for the large envelope in which the dried buffalo meat was contained, for moccasin soles, saddles, and for cutting into long continuous strips for ropes and whips. Half a bull hide was also used for making a baggage raft or water package. [415] [291] [283]

Tanning the skin required many additional technical steps. All skins have three layers, a horny one on the outside, a soft fatty layer on the inside where the sweat and fat glands are embedded, and the middle layer, the corium, which is the true skin. The corium is made up of gelatinous fibers and it is the objective of the tanning process to enter into combination with these fibers so that they are preserved and still remain flexible. For this purpose the Pawnees used a decoction of elm bark and brains. The technical term for this mixture is *tann*, meaning "oak" in the old Celtic of Brittany. Besides brains, sour milk and various oils are alternative materials for improving the texture.

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair
turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moccasin
to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the
padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of [294]
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-soled
moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one
section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in [855]
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to protect
them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accommodate
the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other [465]
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstanding 554
symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

292 554 [531] [461]

work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such a shirt.

The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237 554 825 [411]

The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught. Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one, the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281 756 262

Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered inedible and was left in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237 293 [223]

Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237 554 714

Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a shield.

shield. Some men could make themselves a war bonnet with eagle feathers 000
(the traditional war bonnet of the plains symbolizing a comet). They 237
would buy long white beads in the store and at the base of the throat, 292
wear a big shiny disk about as large as a dollar made out of long black 301
oyster shell.

An indispensable element of ceremonial costuming was the Black Rope 463
made of buffalo hair. Only men could wear these. The process of braid- 283
ing was very complicated and required great concentration. If a woman [292]
came around inclined to converse, the maker would excuse herself and [237]
say she had to get through and wasn't able to talk at this time. The work
was done in the house and preferably in the fall when less interruptions
were likely. Only a few women had the skill to do it. The hair of which
the rope was made was from the mane or head of the buffalo. Four
twisted strands were braided together into a long rope or belt. Each of
the strands for braiding was wound onto a ball, and these balls were
manipulated in order to form the braid. Some women did fine even work
and some did it poorly and roughly. Working steadily at it, the work took [461]
about twelve days. If it had to be fitted in with other work, it would
take more time. A woman would come to the belt maker on behalf of
her husband and order one, bringing the materials. The maker would be
paid well.

There were some few women who could make a colorful braided belt 292
by interweaving five colors. They called it "red-woven." It was a wide [286]
flat belt that was made to order to fit the waist of the prospective wearer
with long fringes hanging down to the ankles. A belt like this was usually
made for boys and girls of good families and for young women. An older [171]
woman would not consider it proper to wear one although among the
Osage, they were commonly worn by all women. A few men twisted
these belts around their heads as a turban with the fringes hanging down
on both sides of the face and eagle feathers at the back of the head.
Most men regarded this as a "flashy" style of dressing.

The materials used were entirely commercial—wool for the body and cord for the concealed warps. A woman who wanted to have one made for her boy would ask her husband to buy the materials at the trade store so that she could take them to the weaver.

We do not know whether this skill is old or new among the Pawnee. 286
In general, on the American continent, it goes back several thousand 178
years as a fabric-producing technique. But the exclusive use of commer-
cial materials and the reluctance of mature men and women to wear the
belt suggests that its adoption is fairly new.

The work was usually done outdoors in the springtime for maximum 286
visibility. It required great concentration and one mistake might compel
the weaver to rip the whole thing. If a woman was making one on order,
her family would do her spring planting to free her for the work. It

49

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TENT COVER

000

Tents Made by Specialists—the Time Involved and the Payment—the Process of Making the Tent under Old Lady Lucky Leader's Direction

342 237 THE BUFFALO-HIDE TENT COVER was a major family possession. It was made of at least eight tanned hides, with sinew from an equal number of buffalo to sew them together. The body of the tent was formed of seven skins and the eighth was cut up for gussets, loops for pegs around the bottom edge, and a double thickness on both sides of the doorway. Twelve years represented the life of a tent, and some of the skins wore out in the meantime and had to be replaced. About three years before the cover was worn out, they would have to think about acquiring the necessary tanned skins. It took at least two years to accumulate the eight skins—a summer and a winter hunt and then again a summer and a winter hunt and in each of the four hunts, two skins were saved for the tent.

342 463 In order to cut out the pattern of the skins and give directions for putting them together and sewing them, a specialist had to be called in by the family. Old Lady Lucky Leader, in addition to her many other accomplishments in the Doctor Lodge and as keeper of the Evening Star bundle, was also one of the outstanding tent architects. She would have to cut out the several buffalo skins and fit them together in the most economical way and direct the other women in sewing them together with sinew.

[461] It took four days of steady work for the four women of Victory Call's household to complete the sewing of the cover under the old lady's direction.

342 464 465 But before she could be called in, in addition to having all the necessary materials prepared, they had to get ready the payment for the vari-

322 412 *The Mortar, kitutu.* To make the mortar, they cut down an elm tree about a foot in diameter and cut off a section about 2 feet high. The small end was whittled to a point so that it could be stuck upright in the ground. In the broader end of the section, they formed a pit by charring the surface with hot coals and then scraping out the charred wood. The first step in this process was to coat the rim with wet clay so that it didn't burn. Then they put the hot coals in the center, turning the surface toward the direction from which the wind was coming to keep the coals glowing. Now they dumped out the coals and scraped away the charred wood with an oyster (?) shell (probably fresh-water clam). Again they put in hot coals, and again they scraped away the charred wood with the shell, and they repeated this process until the pit was deep enough. While the coals were inside, one had to keep them carefully scattered about so that they didn't burn the surface too unevenly. The pit was somewhat paraboloid in cross section, or a blunt-pointed V-shape. After the final scraping on the inside, "the foot" was scraped and the wet mud from around the rim removed. The mortar was now ready for use in pounding corn or, more occasionally, dry buffalo meat.

[461] It took about five days to make a mortar along with the ordinary housework.

The Pestle, iks-ka-wi-itsa-ku, "hand-upon-sitting-on the end or point-sitting." When the mortar was completed, they would say, "Now the pestle." A search of the thicket was made to find a post oak with a large body. A tree with many limbs was preferred because then the top end of the pestle would be sturdy enough to stand the strain of the pounding. The tree was cut as close to the roots as possible so that the grain of the roots would be contained in the pounding end for toughness. The pestle was about 4 feet long. After the tree was felled, they smoothed it with an ax. The wood was seasoned in the fire and finished off by scraping with an oyster shell until it was very smooth. [237]

[465] Suitable pay for a woman's services in making a mortar was 5 yards of calico, and for the pestle, some dried corn; or alternatively, for the mortar a blanket and corn, or corn and some checker plaited strips of stomach lining (*pararitskusu*), and for the pestle, 5 yards of calico. "Something for the person to wear and something for the family to eat."

The Hiku Stick or "Digging iron." This was a stick 7 feet long and about 2½ inches in diameter, forked at one end and with a fire-hardened point at the other. It was grasped in the middle and thrust into the ground to make holes for the tent pegs and for the tipi poles. The fall was the time for making the *hiku* stick before setting out on the winter hunt. Every woman young or old knew how to prepare one, and it took about a day to do so. The wood was taken green, the bark removed with an ax, and the bottom end sharpened to a point. Then the stick was seasoned in the fire. A small fire was made outdoors and the stick passed

411 to be outdone, another man made him a sinew-backed bow. It was known as *atskats-tax-ka-sa*, "sinew-plural-between-lying." It was mentioned at times, but seldom actually made.

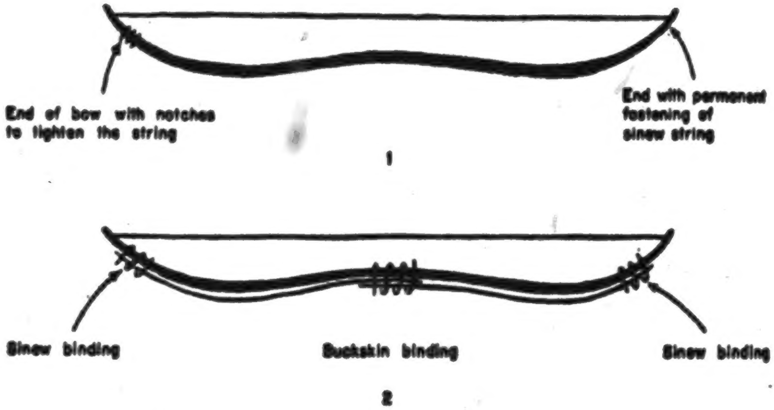

End of bow with notches to tighten the string
End with permanent fastening of sinew string
1
Sinew binding
Buckskin binding
Sinew binding
2

FIGURE 51-1. (1) A simple bow of ashwood. (2) A sinew-backed bow, *tskatstaxkasa*. Two pieces of sinew, crossed at the middle could be permanently pasted on when wet.

• [237] Two pieces of sinew, crossed at the middle were placed on the back of the bow when wet and could thus be pasted on permanently. The sinew was bound on in the middle by overcasting with buckskin and at both ends with a wrapping of sinew. Then the bow was colored black. It was easy to draw and could shoot far.

411
283 *The Bowstring of Sinew.* Every man made his own bowstring out of sinew. The first step was to soak the short pieces of sinew overnight. The next step was joining them, first by taking two of the short strands and overlapping their ends and giving them a preliminary twist between the fingers and then continuing the twist by rolling them on the thigh with the palm. Then they added the next piece in the same way, and so on until one long continuous string was formed.

Then they doubled over the string and began to twist it together, beginning with the loose ends, first between the fingers and then on the thigh. The twist was held by winding it on a stick a little thicker than a pencil—the string being wound on as the stick was turned in the direction away from the body. When one section of the string had been twisted and wound on the stick, they would proceed to twist and wind on the next section until the entire length was completed. The twisting of a bowstring took a morning and an afternoon. [461]

When the entire string was wound onto the stick, the string would be

stretched between two short stakes that were driven into the ground 411
the requisite distance apart and the ends of the bowstring were fastened 283
firmly to them. The string was left to dry for the rest of the afternoon until the dew came up in the evening. Then it had to be taken inside and again stretched outdoors the next day. It was well to fasten it up high out of the way of the dogs, who might eat it up.

The Making of Arrowshafts. Five arrow makers comprised the official 411
body responsible for making all the arrowshafts used by the entire Skidi 463
Band. They kept track of the needs of all the men and saw that they were met. None of the other technical industries, even those in which only a limited number of individuals were skilled, were of this public character. Just before leaving for the summer and for the winter hunts, they accelerated their activities. The arrow makers themselves saw to it that they had plenty of dogwood sticks on hand and kept on making the shafts, sometimes on special order, but often to have them on hand when called for. In almost all other crafts, the customer provided the materials and contracted only for the skilled services of the craftsman.

The following is paraphrased from an account given in my Caddoan 411
Texts by Effie Blane:

> The man making ready to fashion arrowshafts, will first get some
> needed materials together. He will assemble: a stick with a hide wound
> around it which has been boiled down to a gummy consistency to be [412]
> used as a paste; two flat stones each with a long groove, used to abraid the stick by putting the stones together and pulling the stick back and forth in the groove (*rax-ka'is*, "going-between within," buffers); the bone shaft-straightener, *kis-kats*, "bone-very white"; also *rasats*, possibly pieces of split bone with the rough spongy inner surface exposed to smooth the surface (or a pulverized plant?).
>
> These materials being ready, the man went into the timber and gathered some dogwood twigs. He then took them home and peeled off the bark (with a knife). Now he hung the debarked twigs over the fire from the bracket east of the fireplace on which the pot ordinarily hangs, so that the twigs could season and dry in the smoke of the fire. They were left there to smoke overnight and in the morning they were removed and each twig was "eyed up and down" to find any bumps or irregularities, which were removed with the *rasats* abrasive.
>
> The next step was to attach the feathers to the blunt end. Turkey [237]
> feathers were best because they tore straight, but turkey was hard to
> get, and if you didn't have them you used buzzard. While he was split-
> ting the feather, he was chewing some sinew so that it would be soft [284]
> enough to bind on the feathers. The three splints of feather were
> placed against the arrow and tied with the wet sinew. The feathered [237]
> end of the arrow was then smeared with the gummy paste made of

411 boiled hide and the feathers bent onto the stick and pasted down and
[237] tied in place with some more wet sinew at their lower end.

After the feathers were in place, the shafts were buffed by passing
411 them between the two grooved sandstone buffers that were pressed together—the
412 arrow being turned back and forth so that it was well rounded.

The next process was the use of the bone arrowshaft straightener
[172] that was a little bit like a fork. [Archaeological specimens from the
Hill site of 1806 are pieces of bison rib with holes of different sizes
[178] drilled through them. In recent times, a tin can punched with holes
was sometimes substituted.]

411 After straightening, downy feathers were fastened on at the lower
end of the feathers that had already been attached.

[237] The final step was to split the end for inserting the point. After the
[284] point was inserted, the end was bound with sinew to make it fast. Different
kinds of shafts were called "black-lying-on," "red-lying-on,"
referring to the colors of the feathers.

276 *The Pipestem.* Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most
significant things the man used. The pipe was smoked both for relaxation
and in every ceremony. The stem was symbolic of the human windpipe
[192] and the breath was considered the essence of life itself. *Tsiksu*, the word
for "throat," was also the verb stem for "to think, to feel," *-atsiks-*. In the
ceremony of the Peace Pipe, the main emblems were the two pipestems,
a bowl from a sacred bundle being attached to one of them and smoked
in the course of the ceremony. The pipestems were decorated with
[237] eagle feathers and other ceremonial insignia—one with the feathers of the
[825] brown eagle, signifying "night," "female," "fruitfulness" and known as
ra-hak-katitu, "one-mouth-black"; and the other with feathers of the
white eagle, signifying "day," "male," "defense," "war" and called
ra-hak-takaru, "one-mouth-white." At various stages in the ceremony
these were waved about so that they symbolized the flight of the eagles.
276 The pipestems were ceremonially fashioned after instructions from the
322 priests. He sent two men to bring in two sticks of ash, and as they sat
east of the fireplace they prepared the sticks, warming them over the fire
so that they could be straightened and cut to length, viz., four spans
from thumb to third finger. The stems were peeled, scraped, and the
pith removed by boring them from end to end with a reed so that the
breath could pass through unobstructed. The pith was then burned out
with a wire. The men cut a straight groove the entire length of each
stick to represent the lifeline. Finally all scrapings and every particle of
ashwood was placed carefully on the fire, and as the flame rose the two
sticks were passed through the blaze so that the word of the fire might
enter and be with them.

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the
white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was
wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and
also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-
four feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidis-
tant intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled bas- 773
ket made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to
carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the
germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony
immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous move-
ment" or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially
made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The
women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the
course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to
move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learn- [887]
ing to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling.
There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the
betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual
pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make
the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked
to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525
285

*224 large flat bean on leafless colorless branches that push into the earth.
*484 These are the ones garnered by the vole, their hoards amounting to a pint
222 or more in each place. Only part of the store was appropriated by the
women. Sometimes the beans had to be dug out with a shovel where they
*224 grew underground like peanuts. About half of them would be cooked
*484 immediately and half left simply to dry out like cultivated beans. Those
222 that were dried were winnowed and then put in a sack for future use.
251 For immediate use, the fresh beans were first washed, rubbed between
the hands to remove the hulls, and then boiled and eaten. Their Pawnee
252 name was *atik-uraru*, "bean-earth."

Artichokes (Jerusalem artichoke, *Helianthus tuberosus* L.) known as *kisusit*, were also gotten, but they could not be dried; they had to be eaten fresh. The most important wild crop was the potato, known as *its*. The Loup River was known in Pawnee as Many-Potatoes, *Its-kari*, "potato-many," from the abundance of this useful vegetable that flourished along its banks. These grew in the sand among the willows. A considerable number of these Indian potatoes were boiled, smoked, and dried for preservation and stored in skin bags. In addition to the larger-size potatoes, they gathered some small ones that were strung along the vine; these were called potato-many-tied-up, *its-kari-piru*, and were given to the small children to eat after boiling. They were bundled up and tied with a vine into little bunches and boiled in water, covered with a layer of grass along with the larger ones. The larger potatoes were then peeled, "strung" on a very thin willow twig, and placed across two forked sticks in the tipi so that the smoke would permeate them and improve their flavor. The potatoes prepared in this way could be eaten at any time without further preparation, and would not rot.

*224 Quantities of potatoes were found on Grand Island and on both sides
*484 of the Republican River. Those who stayed on Grand Island, especially
222 the old ladies, as well as any who went all the way out to the hunting
grounds, would make sure to take a file along so that they could sharpen
• [237] up their buffalo shoulder-blade "hoes" to dig up the potatoes.

[412] These wild plant foods were a very important element of their provisions. The group that remained on Grand Island could be a kind of half-way station where they could leave extra baggage on the way out and where the people could be actively gathering and preparing the wild foods so that they would be sustained on the rest of the journey home. The men who remained on the island were actively trapping and could supply extra meat. Thus in the winter the Stay-at-Homes played a useful role, while in the summer they had no function in the enterprise.

*224 In the family of Victory Call, Grandma planned to stay on Grand Is-
*484 land where she could do some useful work while the rest of the family
went on. Those who proceeded all the way to the hunting grounds were Victory Call, White Woman, Horse Rider, and No Corn—viz., two couples—and the boy Otter.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*

In the second stanza the Children respond. They say that now they know of a truth that Tira'wa atius causes Mother Earth to lie here and bring forth, and they give thanks that it is so.

Translation of Third Stanza

776 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
777 Ka-a kaharu ti rasha-a; ha!
    ka, part of akaro, the stretch of land between the horizons.
    a, vowel prolongation.
    kaharu, a cultivated patch, as an aboriginal field of maize
    ti, here.
    rasha, lying, lies.
    a, vowel prolongation.
    ha! behold!
778 See line 777.
779 Awa! Kaharu a; ha!
    awa, true, verily.
    kaharu, cultivated patches.
    a, vowel prolongation.
    ha! behold!
780 See line 777.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[241]

There are patches here and there over the land which are cultivated by the different families, where seed is put in Mother Earth, and she brings forth corn. In the third stanza we sing of these fields that lie on Mother Earth, where she brings forth corn for food, and bid the Children behold these fields and remember the power of Tira'wa atius with Mother Earth.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

781 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
782 Ka-a kaharu ko ti sha-a; ha!
    ka, part of akaro, the stretch of land between the horizons.
    a, vowel prolongation.
    kaharu, cultivated patches, where the corn is planted.
    ko, I am reminded to think of.
    ti, here.
    sha, part of rasha, lies, lying.
    a, vowel prolongation.
    ha! behold!
783 See line 782.
784 Awa! Ko ti sha-a; ha!
    awa, true, verily.
    ko ti sha-a; ha! See line 782.
785 See line 782.

*175 epidemic, in view of the census figure reached by Dunbar and Allis
731 in the summer of 1840 of 6,787, exclusive of some detachments of
165 the tribe then absent, who could at most bring the total to 7,500.

*175 With the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs
*648 by act of Congress in 1834, an agency was established for dealings with the Oto and Missouri, Ponca, Omaha, and Pawnee tribes, located for many years at Council Bluffs. An agent does not seem to have taken active charge of the affairs of these tribes until 1836.

*175 Missionaries had worked among the Pawnee for about two years
*648 just prior to the removal of the South Bands. Dunbar was among
797 the Tcawi. Allis with the Skiri. and Satterlee with the Kitkahaxki^{x}. Satterlee was murdered in 1837 by a white trader, but Dunbar and Allis helped the bands locate their settlements, and accompanied them in the removal. At the time of the removal a location was chosen on Plum Creek for the site of the government establishment and a mission: but on account of the disturbances caused by Sioux raids. execution of the plan was delayed until 1844.

[657] With the removal north of the Platte. resident farmers settled with the Pawnee. and Samuel Allis was appointed government teacher and opened a school. Nevertheless, the period from 1841 to 1847 was one of breakdown and chaos in Pawnee life. rather than progress.

*175
*648 Once on the north side of the Platte, the Pawnee were exposed more than ever before to remorseless attacks of the Dakota who had been increasing in numbers and boldness for some time. This constant threat hung over every month of the year.

*175 The intention of the government in sending farmers among the
*648 Pawnee was to teach them plough agriculture. Their old methods
177 of digging-stick cultivation while they had yielded relatively
●241 large crops had never been sufficiently productive to permit the Pawnee to rely completely on their fields. In the summer. observers reported. they succeeded in raising but little more corn, beans and squash than they consumed by the time the cold weather set in. Occasionally their crops were more plentiful but any drought threatened to leave them without a subsistence minimum.

The farmers were indefatigable in breaking up virgin soil for cultivation. The school teacher. finding it impossible to carry out any genuine instruction the first years, joined in, and helped with the agriculture. All reports indicate that the Pawnee themselves showed commendable zeal in their efforts to learn and gave promise of becoming successful farmers more rapidly than other tribes. Nevertheless the farming operations; in the long run. were a failure. The Pawnee did not take to productive farming. The

reason is not far to seek. Successful farming required the working 175*
of isolated plots, and meant the scattering of the people over the 648*
land. This was to court death at the hands of the Sioux raiding and 177
attacking parties. To keep the people together in the village. 241
united against an assault, was their only safety.

"From the exposed position of the Pawnee they are compelled to guard their women while engaged in cultivating their corn, digging roots and collecting wood, yet with all their vigilance there is scarcely a month that passes (unless in the extremity of winter) that some of their people do not fall to the tomahawk of their enemies."[1] On June 27, 1843, the Sioux attacked the South Band village killing sixty-seven Pawnee, wounding twenty-six, many of whom later died. They burned twenty of the forty-one lodges in the village. They captured nearly four hundred horses. From March to August of the same year sixty-nine Pawnee while away from the village met their death at the hands of war parties, making a death total of one hundred thirty-six in one short season. From the standpoint of the government's policy the worst phase of the Sioux attack of June was that it fell primarily upon that part of the Pawnee, who, loyal to the plans and purposes of the United States government, were assembled around the agency location learning to become tillers of the soil.

This disaster stayed the rest of the Pawnee who had held back 175*
from farming, but were on the verge of taking it up. The govern- 648*
ment officials wrote that all hope of civilizing the Pawnee through farming must be given up unless the people received protection from the Sioux. Reports had come that the Sioux vowed a war of extermination against their traditional foe, the Pawnee. The Pawnee asked arms and ammunition to protect themselves, and remuneration for their losses. According to their treaty arrangements, they were to have had twenty-five guns with suitable ammunition in their villages, in the hands of the government farmers, to be used in self-defense, but these had never been turned over to the farmers. By treaty they were not to retaliate upon their enemies. Without suffering through retaliation, the Sioux became bolder with each year. The agent wrote in September of 1843, that the Pawnee had decided to persevere at their new locations in spite of their misfortunes.

In the following year there were further Sioux attacks, and the Superintendent at St. Louis commented that the Pawnee lost a great number, and had at hand but one gun and an old pistol for chase of their lands, and the settlement of the tribe on a limited 175* reservation, was clear. This was the surest method of avoiding the 648* increasing conflict between the starving Indians and the white settlers and emigrants. Driven by necessity, the proud American 735 Indian had become a petty thief and beggar along the highways. Nevertheless governmental inactivity seems to have prevented action until 1853, when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs visited many of the western tribes and executed treaties with them. The Pawnee, however, were avoided at this time although their needs, as reported to the authorities, were as great as those of other tribes. In fact, it appears that to an observer on the spot, James Gatewood, agent at the Council Bluffs Agency, writing October 10, 1853, "these Indians (the Pawnee) have suffered perhaps more than any single tribe by emigration. All of the roads on the north side of Nebraska River pass through their country, and on the south side of that river pass through their hunting ground; and more of their wood and grass are consumed and more game run off, than there is from the bands of any other nation, and yet they receive no compensation; whilst others that suffer much less in that way are liberally compensated..."

---

[1] Supt. Harvey, writing from St. Louis, Sept. 10, 1845. Annual Report of 1844—45.

In the same year the Pawnee were reported destitute. Their [161] numbers had been reduced to fifty per cent of their former strength in four years. Responsible for this great mortality were the relentless [165 assaults of the Dakota and Cheyenne; and disease, a major smallpox epidemic in 1852 again decimating the tribe. In 1854 the 731] Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended the tribes of Nebraska to the attention of the government. He considered it "very important that arrangements be made as soon as practicable with the Pawnee and Ponca Indians... by which their limits may be restricted and defined, and their assaults upon emigrants... terminated." He further pointed out that "the roads on the principal routes to the Pacific Coast have become very important thoroughfares. Thousands of emigrants and many merchants who with their property to the amount of several millions in value pass annually over the plains are entitled to the protection of the government."

While the government was still inactive the Pawnee suffered further heavy losses. One of the major disasters occurred when [731] in 1854 a party of 113 Pawnee were cut off and surrounded by an overwhelming force of Cheyenne and Kiowa and killed almost to a man.

In 1856 the Pawnee were thoroughly depressed. They were not [241] able to cultivate successfully where they were south of the Platte, white settlers being all about them.

*175 *648 657 The whole tribe removed, abandoning their old settlements, ready to attempt to build a new home above the Platte, but not without misgiving. The Dakota tribes now outnumbered them eight or nine to one. The "Indians appeared to consent reluctantly to a settlement upon their reservation, returning with gloomy foreboding to the country where in days past they had lost in battle many of their sages and warriors. They appeared satisfied, however, after an assurance from their agent that they should receive the protection guaranteed in the late treaty."[1]

In the period from the Pawnee settlement on reservation sites in 1859 to 1873, when the question of removing the tribe to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma became immediate, the major effort of the government was directed toward accustoming the tribe to a farming life. The policy initiated by the reservation system was to eventuate in locating individual families on individual farms, to be allotted in severalty. Since this was not practicable until the Pawnee men had learned the white man's methods of cultivation, no immediate attempt was made to survey allotments. Instead, the government initiated farming among the Pawnee by locating a government or agency farm close to the school and agency buildings. This was worked and managed principally by government farmers sent for that purpose, who made periodic reports to the agents and superintendent. On this farm the Pawnee men and boys who were willing to learn were persuaded to labor, and it was expected that they would then be anxious to locate farms of their own and work them.

*175 *648 657 ● 241 [626] During the whole period the Pawnee also continued to cultivate and plant corn, beans and squash, after their traditional methods. This agricultural work was done by the women. In the old way of life, the men did the hunting and fighting, the women the planting, the skinwork and the housework. Since working the land was women's work, it was not to be expected that the Pawnee men would take to farming eagerly. Those young men and boys who did were taunted continually by others.

The activities of the government farm on the Pawnee reservation were initiated as soon as possible after the removal. In 1860 a grist and saw mill to be run by steam was erected, and a corn granary nearly completed, to be used for storing the produce of the farm. The work was continually interrupted by attacks of the Dakota. A farmer was on hand and raised one hundred and sixty acres of corn, oats and wheat. The same year, the Pawnee women

---

[1] Superintendent of the Central Superintendency, writing in 1859. Annual report, 1858—1859.

cultivated eight hundred acres of corn, beans and squash in their 175*
old manner. The farmer duplicated his effort in 1861, but not until 648*
the summer of 1862 did he give any actual instruction to the Pawnee 241 ●
in farming. That year the agency farm crops and the Pawnee native 657
crops both suffered from a grasshopper pestilence. It was planned that summer to proceed as rapidly as possible to break up enough land for cultivation, so that the head of each Pawnee family could take over a plot and learn by actively operating it.

In 1863 the government farmers had ploughed up for this purpose 725 acres. Meanwhile the native women had a bountiful crop, for the first time in years a surplus. In 1864 and 1865 the government demonstration proved a failure: drought and severe grasshopper pestilences destroyed the greater part of the crop. But the Pawnee crop of corn, beans and squash was much less affected in these years. In 1867 the government farm consisted of 114 acres in corn, wheat, oats and potatoes, while the Pawnee had 1000 acres under cultivation, mostly in corn, with patches of beans and squash. That year saw a bountiful crop all round, with so large a surplus for the Pawnee that they gave food to the Ponca, whose crop had failed, sold a considerable amount, and still retained a store. The
following year misfortune visited the whole land in the form of a [731]
grasshopper plague of such severity as had never been known. "They came in a cloud so thick as to obscure the sun." They left not a green thing.

In spite of the fact that the government farming demonstration was not strikingly successful during these years, the Pawnee were becoming increasingly conscious of the gradual disappearance of the buffalo, and the need for basing their economic life on a sure agricultural supply. They observed the value and usefulness of wagons, plows, mowing machinery and the like, and in 1868 began to request that large sums of their annuity payment be spent for the purchase of such things. Part of the annuity was being paid to them in merchandise. Inasmuch as no attempt was made to send
the people what they specifically needed, a great part of the goods [439]
annuity was waste; the Pawnee would sell off most of it to traders
for things they needed more, losing considerably in the exchange. The agents pointed out that along with their purchase of agricultural implements, wagons and harness, the Pawnee from 1865 on were asking for cooking stoves and household articles, and began to take an interest in houses.

Building on the reservation had not been active. In addition 175*
to the farm buildings erected in 1860, a number of buildings were 648*
taken over which had been erected by the Mormons during their 657
342

southward to Indian Territory. They had a long-standing invitation 175* from their kinsmen the Wichita, which they now took advantage 648* of. Thirty lodges of families, numbering about 300 individuals 167 went; most of these were members of the Kitkahaxkiˣ band. They were received heartily by the Wichita, and settled themselves among the Wichita on the Wichita reservation. Through the leader of this party an invitation was extended to the rest of the Pawnee still in Nebraska to remove to Indian Territory and settle with the Wichita. Reports sent back were glowing with the promise of the land in the south, and the Pawnee in Nebraska, accustomed to struggling against drought and the grasshopper pestilence to secure a crop, believed that the country in the south offered not only a haven from extermination at the hands of the Sioux, but a life of plenty.

This migration of part of the Pawnee was not only conceived by the people themselves, but was undertaken and carried out in spite of the remonstrances and objections of their agent and other officials. Once they were settled with the Wichita, however, there was nothing for the government officials to do but to accept the situation. Since they could not compel them to return to Nebraska, they were "allowed to remain". They drew rations at the Wichita agency along with the tribes located there, and joined the Wichita in farming.

In Nebraska the government gave the Pawnee partial indemnification 175* for the losses sustained in the massacre by expending 648* $ 9,000 for cattle and supplies, with which aid the bands in the 241 north were made comfortable during the winter of 1873. The desire to move to Indian Territory was not as yet general that winter: the promise of the south had not yet reached them. The tribe in council, assuming that they were to continue to struggle in Nebraska, asked that $ 10,000 of their annuity be spent the next year for agricultural implements and labor. In the spring of 1874, the agency officials made a herculean effort on their behalf. The government farmers broke 350 acres for the Pawnee to farm, while the Pawnee cultivated 1,000 acres on their own behalf; in addition the agency farm of 315 acres was planted, and the school farm of 25 acres, a total of 1,690 acres in cultivation. The Pawnee were [461] said that year to show a greater willingness to labor than ever before. Unfortunately, the prospects of a fine crop were destroyed by [731] drought, Colorado beetles and grasshoppers, and the harvest yielded only 1,400 bushels of wheat, less than half a crop, ~~and~~ a few beets [735] and potatoes. By fall the destitution of the people was great, and the officials reported to the government that aid must be given them.

*175 of fruit trees, in addition to farming. Education in the rudiments
*648 of common schooling, along with training in manual arts, was
177 combined later with an effort to stimulate self government. Finally
a persistent campaign was instituted against forms of the old
657 Pawnee life which were considered barbaric and detrimental to
their new life as citizens; their unsanitary mode of life, the methods of the medicine men, their polygamous marriage customs, their wasteful mourning customs, their Indian clothing, their religious dances and ceremonies, their indolent social gatherings for dancing and gambling, their intemperate feasting.

The major objective of the government, however, was directed toward the division of the tribal lands into tracts held in severalty, which would introduce individual property ownership and inheritance, and break down the communal forms of life around which centered, from the white man's standpoint, the barbaric tribal customs which barred the Indian from an imperceptible and gradual absorption into the white population of the United States.

*175 The government program could not be initiated upon the arrival
*648 of the Pawnee. They came in several contingents during winter
months to a territory uninhabited and still virgin to the plow. The
177 first Pawnee to arrive, including by arrangement the strongest men
361 and women, taking new heart with the possibilities of peaceful and
secure life in their new home, began at once to build their settlement
657 close to the agency location on Black Bear Creek. Accustomed still
to the tipi and the earth-lodge, the former for temporary shelter on the march and the hunt, the latter for more permanent habitations, they built villages in their old way. The first winters were difficult, the Pawnee suffering severely from exposure, after their long migration, and from the changed climatic conditions. The building of frame houses with government aid and direction was contingent on the settling of individual families on individual tracts of land, a condition which could not be met immediately upon arrival.

*175 It was essential to begin cultivation at once. Large sums had
*648 been expended to provision the tribe during the years of removal,
● 241 and they had to become self-sustaining soon. Government farmers
began the agency farm. The bands chose the locations in which they
657 would settle, and as rapidly as possible the government farmers
broke land for them to cultivate.

The Pawnee camped around the agency until land was ready for them. Two bands removed to land broken for them in 1877; the other two the following spring. By the summer of 1888 all were cultivating their lands.

[361] As they removed, the bands transferred their village encampments
to their separate tracts.

to their separate tracts. The land broken for each band was but 175*
a small part of their sector; it was neither large enough nor so 648*
situated as to make practicable a division of it into individual 241 ●
tracts for family groups. Each band therefore began to farm the
band tract cooperatively. In theory each man did his share of the 657
work and each took his share of the harvest. The band lived together [476]
on the tract, and their encampments rapidly became permanent villages of tipis and earth-lodges.

This redevelopment of village life, instituted by the Pawnee as an 175*
adjustment to the conditions of their settlement in Indian Territory, 648*
and intentionally overlooked by agency officials, who considered it a
temporary expedient, was to continue for some years. To the 178
Pawnee it was a satisfactory adjustment, approximating as it did 657
their accustomed way of life. In these villages something of the
old tribal life continued; the chiefs, priests and medicine men
functioned, the old social gatherings and ceremonies were possible.

The produce of the band farms, together with that at the agency, 175*
constituted the basic food supply of the Pawnee. For years this 648*
was inadequate and insecure; the people suffered greatly for lack
of food, and some of the mortalities of the period were due to 262
starvation and malnutrition. The principle crop was corn, supplemented 241
by some beans and squash, and increasing cultivation of
wheat, oats, potatoes and other vegetables. Most of the farms were
in the bottom lands and along the streams, and yet the usual
hazards of cultivation caused crop failures a number of times. The [132]
country in which the Pawnee had settled is in a belt which is
subject to periodic hot, dry summers, when rain is at a premium.
Droughts were severe in 1880, 1887, and 1890. On occasion bugs [731]
destroyed much of the crop, while once, in 1885, a terrific hailstorm
broke the stand of grain. Crop failures left the Pawnee dependent [657]
on government aid, in the form of rations, or food purchased for
them with money from their annuity funds.

For a meat supply the Pawnee had to depend primarily on 175*
government rations. The first winter the Pawnee were together in
Oklahoma, that of 1875 to 1876, the tribe attempted a buffalo hunt, 648*
but the herds were too remote to be reached with the limited 657
preparations the Pawnee were able to make. While the buffalo
were reported on the plains in considerable numbers the next 224
summer, only occasional buffalo were captured by straggling 262
parties of Pawnee. In a few years the tribe was persuaded to
forego the hunt; they talked of it the winter of 1878, but did not go.
From this time on we hear of no buffalo hunting. The organized
tribal hunt was a thing of the past.

*175 The meat rations supplied the Pawnee by the government were
until 1880 delivered on the hoof, and the Indians, gathered round
*648 the agency to receive their oxen, would turn the day into one of
657 carnage and slaughter, killing and dressing their own beeves. The
"oxy kill 'em day," as this was known to the Indian service, ended
in 1880 after which the rations were turned over to the tribe in the
form of dressed meat.

*175 Not more than one-third of the Pawnee reservation was suitable
*648 for farming, but there was a great deal of good pasture land.
Cows and calves were issued to the Pawnee in 1878, and received
657 such good care that with the Indians asking for cattle the government
233 made an attempt to develop stock-raising. In the summer
of 1880 four hundred head of two-year-old heifers and bulls were
brought from northern Texas and distributed among the Pawnee.
[731] The tribe hailed their coming with delight. Unfortunately a scourge
carried off many oxen the first winter. The Pawnee were not yet
free of their hunting complex. When they wanted meat, they
killed cattle, and finding that traders would buy the hides, so
many were slaughtered that by 1882 only a few head of the cattle
issued to the tribe remained. Stock-raising by the Pawnee was
admittedly a failure.

[245 A great need in the food supply was fresh fruit, for want of
262] which various ailments afflicted the Pawnee. To obviate this fruit
trees were bought and small orchards planted on the reservation,
but they did not flourish.

*175 The food rations, supplies, and implements distributed to the
*648 tribe had to be shipped to the reservation by freighting from the
657 nearest railroad point. At first this was at Coffeyville, Kansas,
a distance of one hundred miles; the route went northward through
[489] the Osage Agency. Later there was a shipping point at Arkansas
City, a distance of seventy miles. The agent turned the freighting
over to the Pawnee, who handled it with wagons and teams on
their own responsibility.

x175 As conditions on the reservation became more settled, the government
x648 farm program was renewed. A major provision of the Congressional
Act of 1876 which established the Pawnee reservation
657 applied to allotments in severalty. Each head of a family, or
241 single person over 21 years of age, who so desired, was to be allotted
423 160 acres of land. Certificates were to be issued by the Commissioner
of Indian Affairs recognizing the individual ownership of such
tracts. An allotee occupying and cultivating his land for five
successive years, who had at least twenty-five acres fenced and in
crop, was to be entitled to receive a patent in fee simple for his

175*
allotment, inalienable for fifteen years thereafter. In this way the 648*
Indians were to be transformed gradually into individual holders of 657
land. 241 ●

Enterprising Pawnee, young and progressive, had taken over 423
individual farm lands as soon as these could be surveyed and made
available for them. For such families frame houses were erected
on their allotments, the agency carpenter managing the work,
assisted by the Pawnee. This development was sluggish before 1880,
owing partly to indolent management on the part of the agents.
Families who chose tracts of land often camped for long periods
near them in tipis, before the surveying and alloting could be done,
and aid given them in house-building. By 1881 only forty such
houses had been built and occupied by Pawnee families; and the
allotments seem not to have been officially registered. 175*

The main body of the tribe, however, continued to reside in the 648*
band villages. Once established in villages the Pawnee were loath 657
to break up their social life for a life on scattered farms. The agents [361]
found stubborn resistance to their program of change. From the
official standpoint village life was the center of stability for the
old barbaric customs. Polygamous marriage, gambling, inveterate
dancing and indolence, superstitious awe of the medicine men, were
aspects of Pawnee life which could not be eliminated unless the villages
were broken up. The conditions of band farming which were
natural to the Pawnee were obnoxious from the white standpoint.
In the native view the chief controlled the farm in the interest of
the general welfare, and all shared its produce according to need.
In the agent's view the chief was an exploiter, and under his rule
indolence flourished and individual initiative was submerged. The
indolent and lazy, supported by the labor of others, could hang out
around the agency waiting for the distribution of rations and
goods, and money payments.

While after 1881 the agents were making a concentrated drive 175*
to get the Pawnee on individual allotments, there seem to have been 648*
two extreme parties in the tribe, a radically progressive group who 657
were in favor of separate farms and homes, and the conservative
majority content with band village life. The chiefs, priests and 621
medicine men of the tribe seem to have been in the main opposed
to a change to individualized farming. The government agents
claimed their obstructionism was born of a desire to maintain their
own power and influence, which would fade with the people scattered
in isolated homes. But it was more than this. The Pawnee had
been accustomed to sedentary village life as far back as tradition could
go. Recent archaeological evidence indicates that they had been

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PAWNEE MUSIC

By Frances Densmore

THE PAWNEE TRIBE

The Pawnee is commonly regarded as the last of the Caddoan 101
Tribes which migrated in a general northeasterly direction at an
early date.[1] When the Siouan Tribes entered the valley of the
Platte River in Nebraska they found the Pawnee already established
in that region. The Pawnee called themselves by a term meaning
"men of men." Their present name was probably given by some
neighboring tribe and derived from *pariki*, meaning a horn, as it
was the Pawnee custom to shave the head except a narrow strip [302]
extending from the forehead to the scalplock and to stiffen this
ridge of hair with grease and paint, curving it upward like a horn.

While in Nebraska the Pawnee lived in earth lodges which were 361
in four permanent groups of villages, each having its geographical
location along the Platte River. The people of each group were a [342]
unit, representing a division of the tribe. The Skidi (Wolf Pawnee) 101
was in the northwest, its people considering themselves related to 619
the Arikara, another Caddoan Tribe living some distance to the
north. The Pitahauerat (Tapage Pawnee) were downstream, the
Kithahki (Republican Pawnee) were upstream, and the Chaui
(Grand Pawnee) were located between the two last named. The 134
soil of the region was dry and rather sandy with rough, broken land 241
toward the mountains in the west, yet the Pawnee were essentially
an agricultural people, cultivating corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins.
Buffalo and other game was abundant in the early days, and the Pawnee 136
were excellent hunters, their hunting expeditions covering a wide 224
area.

The first treaty between the Government of the United States and 648
the Pawnee Indians was made at St. Louis Trading Post in June, 1818.[2]

---

[1] In the classification of the North American races by John W. Powell the Pawnee is classified as one of [114]
the five independent groups of the Caddoan stock. Miss Alice C. Fletcher regards the Pawnee as a confederacy, the divisions or bands of the tribe being treated by her as separate tribes in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p 213. Cf. also Linton, Ralph, The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee, The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee, and Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men, compiled chiefly from unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, published as leaflets Nos. 5, 6, and 8, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-23.

[2] Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kappler, ed., vol. ii, pp. 156-159, Washington, 1904.

autumn. In winter the gods were thought to have [778]
withdrawn from the earth. The first thunder in the 796
spring was thought to be a notification that they had [821]
once more turned their attention to it, and the people
at once held a ceremony of welcome,—the Thunder
Ceremony. This ceremony ushered in the ceremonial
year, and was followed in regular order by a number
of others. First came the ceremony called Paruxti, 241
by which the deity of that name was supposed to be 796
called to earth, and at which sacred corn was shelled
and given to the people for seed corn. Immediately
after this followed the ceremony, called the Planting
of the Corn. When the first shoots of the new crop
had appeared, a ceremony called Going After the Plant
was performed. In the autumn there was a Harvest
Ceremony, followed by the ceremony known as the
Making of New Mother Corn, at which the Mother-
Corn in all the bundles was renewed. In addition to
these seasonal ceremonies there were a number of
others whose time was not fixed.

The so-called Thunder Ceremony ushered in the 796
ceremonial year. Although neither the most impor-
tant or the most elaborate of the Pawnee ceremonies,
it was, more than any other, at the bottom of their
ceremonial life. It paved the way for the ceremonies
of agriculture and the rites for the calling of the buf-
falo. It promoted the well-being of the tribe, and was
efficacious in driving back the malignant being of the
southwest, the bringer of disease. It instructed the
people as to their duties and privileges in their rela-
tionship to the deities, and finally it afforded many op-
portunities for direct communication with the deities
themselves in a number of rites of sacrifice which
formed an intrinsic part of the ceremony as a whole.

The first thunder in the spring was thought to be 776
the voice of Paruxti, a deity who was the messenger of 796
821

In the interme-
diate space between the recesses and the fireplace, mats, about 352
three by five feet, made of rushes, are laid, at convenient distances, 285
for seats; while an extra supply of them, rolled up, and set aside
at different places in the lodge, are reserved for extraordinary occasions, as for instance councils or feasts.

Subsistence.—What the *seal* is to the Greenlander, the *buffalo* 262
is to the Pawnees and other Prairie Indians; and many of 225
their songs, in which reference is made to the buffalo, show that
this animal is held in high estimation among them. It will no doubt be a difficult undertaking to wean them from an occupation, which is at the same time a gratifying and exciting sport to them, and which imparts to an individual who distinguishes himself in its pursuit, a character of high standing among his tribe. The great scarcity of the buffalo, however, of late years, since the immense emigration to the far west, has pinched them with want and hunger, and it is evident that they cannot subsist much longer by depending mainly upon this animal as heretofore. This circumstance, though calling forth our warmest sympathies in behalf of their wretched condition, may perhaps be the means, in the hands of an Allwise Providence, of shaking that tenacity and attachment so strongly developed in the Indian character, for long cherished customs, and making them more pliable in adopting the arts of civilization. Their attention must soon be directed to agriculture and the raising of stock, or they must starve.—

While on the hunt, in the buffalo country, the Pawnees general- 251
ly have a good supply of fresh meat to subsist on. That portion
of their meat which is intended to be jerked, in order to take home [262]
with them, they cut into narrow slips, and dry it over the fire, without any salt, where, by the action of the smoke and sun, it soon dries. Several slips are then plaited together, when it is put away into a skin, and reserved for future use. The reason why no salt is added, is probably, first, because it is a scarce article, and secondly, because anything that is salted and dried, imbibes moisture in damp weather, and sooner becomes rancid, than meat dried without salt.

Besides the buffalo, as their main subsistence, they raise some 241
corn, beans, and pumpkins. As they use no other agricultural
implements than hoes, their fields are not very extensive. For 262
suitable spots of cultivation they generally select the mouth of a ravine or any spot where, by the washing of the rains, the ground has become loose and mellow, and consequently the sod may more easily be extirpated than in the prairies generally, where the gronnd can only be prepared by turning the thick sod by means of a large prairie plough, and three or four yoke of oxen.—

Their fields are not enclosed by fences, or any other kind of 241
protection. Having no other stock but horses, which are con- 231

and Customs of the Pawnees

241 stantly herded and watched during the day time, and shut up in
[231] enclosures in the village during the night, fences are unnecessary. While absent from their homes, their fields are subject to depredations from prairie wolves and deer, which however no ordinary fence could restrain.—Because these poor people have no other agricultural implements than hoes, the spots which they are obliged to select for fields, are often at great distances from each other,
241 and frequently from five to eight miles from their village. When
721 abroad, to prepare and plant them in the spring, and gather the corn in the fall, they are often exposed to attacks of their enemies. While the husband is watching from some neighboring eminence to guard against the stealthy approach of any hostile force, the wive is engaged in the labor of the field. With fear and trembling their field-labor is thus performed, and many a one, while so employed, is suddenly fallen upon and killed by a marauding party of enemies.

241 When we visited them, they particularly requested us, "to beg their Great Father, the President, that he should be so kind and
648 again break up some ground for them, as he had done in former years, that they might be able to plant more corn." We have brought in the petition of these destitute people before the proper Department at Washington, and it is greatly to be desired that our benevolent Government may do something for them in their wretched state.

721 As has already been remarked, they were in an almost starving condition, when we visited them. The hunt had proved unsuc-
731 cessful, so that in the lower village they had no meat whatever, and had to depend upon the little corn that they had raised the preceding year. In the upper village [illegible] were also in a miserable condition, for, though they had y[illegible] little dried buffalo-meat, the Sioux had during their absence on the hunt, destroyed their village, (their present lodges had been rebuilt since their return,) and carried off a portion of their corn, burnt another portion, and thus very little remained concealed in the "caches," which are made in their lodges.*

---

251 * A *cache* is a term common among traders and hunters, to designate a hiding-place for provisions and effects. It is derived from the French word *cacher*, to conceal, and originated among the early colonists of Canada and Louisiana; but the secret depository which it designates was in use among the aboriginals long before the intrusion of the white men. It is, in fact, the only mode that migratory hordes have of preserving their valuables from robbery, during their long absences from their villages or accustomed haunts, on hunting expeditions, or during the vicissitudes of war. The utmost skill and caution are required to render their places of concealment invisible to the lynx eye of an Indian. The first care is to seek out a proper situation, which is generally some dry low bank of clay, on the margin of a water course. As soon as the precise spot is pitched upon, blankets, saddle clothes, and other

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The bands were still somewhat socially discrete. The mainstay of the diet was largely the tra- 621
ditional corn, beans, and squash grown on their own farm plots and dried 262
and stored as of old. Beef had taken the place of buffalo meat and was 252
prepared by thin slicing and drying for storage or boiled on feast days.
Relationships in kin groups continued, and some of the religious ideology 241
survived. A Doctor Dance Ceremony was performed by the last survivors 771
who possessed the arts and the knowledge involved and brought us some 796
welcome rain after a long dry spell. The question was, "How to give these
fragments life and place them in their integral context?" We evolved the 178
plan of utilizing one year of Pawnee life in as much detail as possible, 114
covering the round of the year through the four seasons as reconstructed with the help of the surviving Pawnees. Our plan proved to be an effective means of developing vivid recall in Evarts and the other old Pawnees. For a number of reasons we would think of our year hypothetically as 1867; in that year the Pawnee settlement and round of life was sufficiently integral to serve as a base line for our reconstruction. Some of the other surviving Pawnees were in their late teens and twenties in that year. Evarts supplied a normal thread of events in answer to my prodding questions for the details that seemed to a Pawnee all too obvious and we supplemented and checked this with whomever we thought had relevant knowledge concerning one point or another. Most of the old people had worked with me on linguistics before that time.

It was not possible to reproduce the material in the exact order in which 128
I collected it. I have had to reassort the material somewhat so that it falls into some of our own functional categories and at the same time so that it fits within the seasonal round of the year. Under the pressure of time when my notes were recorded I rendered the Pawnee or Pawnee-English in which it was given into the closest normal English equivalent I could muster. Also, this book was compiled a quarter of a century or more after it was recorded. I have avoided altering the original simple declarative language too radically. In some cases I have retained the original language with very little variation, particularly where it is an incident that had often been recounted among the Pawnees, a very familiar situation, a technical account, a speech, a personality sketch. Such passages are indented from the left margin.

In addition to the informant record, I have checked my account in de- 127
tail with most of the existing material on the Pawnees and in some cases supplemented it from these sources. This is detailed in the Notes and Comments with references correlated with my text. Recently excavated archaeological materials together with eyewitness accounts by contemporary observers of the 1830's and 1840's have overwhelmingly vindicated the accuracy of my Pawnee informants. The most substantial help in this recent phase of the work has been given me by Prof. John L. Champe, author of an important stratigraphic treatment of Nebraska archaeology, *Ash Hol-*

dies, and as they were busily working an old neighbor woman came by 512
and offered to help them. "You've got a lot of corn to attend to there." 251
"Yes I do," said White Woman. Although there were some general stand- 356
ard varieties, each woman had her own special breeds of corn and of the 476
other crops. As she sat down to join them, the old lady remarked, "I [241]
don't have seeds like that!" indicating that she would be very glad to have some. They cleaned and winnowed the seeds for several hours, working diligently together. Finally the other women went in to prepare the supper, and White Woman remained outside with the old neighbor woman to finish up the work. When they called out to announce that supper was ready, White Woman called back that she and her friend would be in later and to please set something aside for them. Meanwhile she had indicated to the old woman that she wanted her to stay and that they would eat later. As they filled each sack, White Woman put aside a little pile of each kind of corn and other seeds, remarking that she was going to give her some seeds and that she might go home and get herself a sack to hold them. When the woman returned she pointed to the piles of seeds and said, "This is yours. Tie it here. I'm going to put corn of another color on top. Do you have anything to tie it with?" "No, I'll use my garters," said the old woman. Then White Woman said, "Let's put the bag back in the pit," and climbed down into it, using a tree trunk with branch stubs as a ladder. When she got to the bottom, the old woman handed her the large skin bag that contained all the smaller bags of the different kinds of corn and beans. White Woman punched it down to settle the load and came up out of the pit and began to close it up. First she covered everything with a skin cover, then a layer of thatch grass, then she wedged some sticks across the opening into the side walls, then another layer of thatch grass and then earth that she trampled down hard to keep out the rain and to conceal the place of opening. "Let's go eat now," said White Woman. Inside they sat down and ate the food that had been set aside for them, while the others, particularly the older women, sat by to converse with their guest. "How are the folks in your lodge?" they asked, "Oh, they're all right," said the old woman. Meanwhile, White Woman was feeling very friendly toward the old woman for helping her out, and as they sat there she noticed that the old woman's moccasins
were worn out. She had a nice piece of black-dyed tanned skin that was [292]
ordinarily used for holiday moccasins, and she said, "I'm going to give you a piece of black-dyed skin so that you can make yourself some moccasins." "Oh, I thank you, I thank you. Oh, daughter, thanks. You have taken pity on me. I'll wear it. Now I've got to go, daughter." When the old woman left, the rest of the people in the lodge would say, "That old lady is always good, always trying to help other people out." When the old lady got back to her own lodge she reported where she had been all afternoon and that she had received a big bag of corn and her dinner besides.

BUFFALO HUNTING AND MIGRATION

796
221
778

	Spring		*Fall*
V.	Ritual Chiefs' Meeting. Chiefs personify Heaven and acknowledge their sole responsibility to lead the people to a successful conclusion of the buffalo hunt. Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person in charge of the ritual.	V.	Ritual Chiefs' Meeting. Chiefs acknowledge their sole responsibility to lead the people to a successful conclusion of the buffalo hunt. North Star bundle in charge of the ritual.
VI.	Great Cleansing Ceremony of the ceremonial objects. Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast bundle of the four Semicardinal-direction set, in charge. Tribe leaves the village to go off on the migration and summer buffalo hunt.	VI.	Great Cleansing Ceremony of the ceremonial objects. Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast bundle of the four Semicardinal-direction set, in charge. Tribe leaves the village to go off on the migration and winter buffalo hunt.

The next ceremony concerned the corn itself. The sacred corn included in all the bundles was of a specially cultivated breed that was ordinarily not eaten. At this ceremony these seeds were distributed to each of the sacred bundle owners so that the sacred ears of corn could be grown for their bundles. The two "north" bundles of the semicardinal directions took charge of this ceremony in alternate years, one year the northeast, the next the northwest, etc. This ceremony was held late in April.

796
221
241
778

During the first week in May the ceremony that immediately preceded the planting of the common varieties of food corn was performed. Until it was carried out, no planting could be done. It was under the sponsorship of the Skull bundle, thus maintaining the principle of alternation of sacred responsibilities, since it was an Evening Star affiliate. The outstanding feature of the ceremony was a pantomime of breaking the ground preparatory to planting. The ground was customarily broken with a hoe made of a buffalo shoulder blade tied to a short wooden stick that served as a handle. During the ceremony, the women went through the motions of breaking the ground with sacred hoes that were kept in the four semicardinal-direction bundles and borrowed for the occasion. The action was very vigorous and the ceremony was appropriately called *Awari*, "Motion." The planting was done the very next day after the ceremony.

The final ceremony of the spring planting cycle was called *Kurahus*,

796 "Priest"; it was performed when the sacred corn plants were about two
221 inches high and had four good leaves. This ceremony was in charge of
• 241 one of the two "south" bundles of the semicardinal directions—in alter-
778 nate years, the southwest and the southeast. The crux of the ceremony
was the uprooting of one of the young sacred corn plants, in which the act of birth was symbolized and the young plant carried as an infant on the visionary's back from the field to the ceremonial lodge, where it was attached to a stick fashioned by an arrowshaft maker and painted to represent a person. The plant was now carried through a cycle of childhood and young girlhood and breathed on by the priests to give it life. It was now Young Mother Corn, watching over the tribe. Only when this ceremony had been performed were the women permitted to go out into the fields and weed the corn plants and hill up the earth around them to protect them as they grew. A second weeding and hilling process in the latter part of June was the last attention the corn plants received before being "laid by." The people were then ready to leave for the summer buffalo hunt.

796 Without this ceremonial cycle, the coordination of the people in their
221 orderly round of life could not go on. While it was primarily a religious
frame, it was also of basic practical value since it was based on the seasonal progression. Without it it would have been almost impossible to coordinate people's lives with one another and with external events.

Some of the activities that were necessary during the spring season were fitted into the cycle rather than being part of it. This was particularly true of the manufacturing and maintenance functions, while the ceremonial cycle referred especially to the planting of the crops.

221 All winter while the people had been wandering over the country on
[356] the tribal buffalo hunt the house had stood idle and their clothes and
[296] equipment had taken heavy wear. These had to be put in order and repaired before planting time.

The average life of a house was twelve years, but before the end of
356 that time water might leak through the roof and rot some of the radial
476 roof beams. These would have to be replaced, and in order to do this the
221 whole roof covering of thatch and earth had to be removed and reas-
554 sembled. This task would require more than the personnel of the house-
622 hold. Where the men of the house had little social status they would
have few social contacts to draw on, but men like Old Bull and Victory Call were in a much better position to get help from the community. Because of their status as chiefs many more people were likely to volunteer to help. The following section shows some of the social mechanisms involved in the process. However, it should be noted that the assistance given was neither on the basis of power authority nor fundamentally for the sake of gaining social status by association, but rather in appreciation

356 Cry's younger brother, would immediately set to work and do it. The
476 young men climbed to the top and fastened the two hoops in place.

283 Meanwhile White Woman had been cooking a meal for all of them
in the house of Chief's Road where they were staying. She entertained
356 the family of the house and everyone who had helped on the North Side.
574 The meal consisted of grease bread and soup made of dried intestine.
476 Some of the women had brought their own bowls out of consideration
[262] for the number she needed to feed. Old Bull's senior wife, Queen
Woman, was cooking and serving a similar meal in the house of Bringing
Trophies, to entertain all who had helped on the South Side. No one lingered
over the meal, as they were anxious to get back to work.

The women took their bowls home and came back. They rested while
356 the young men tied on the new circuits of willow withe to the radials
476 with the moistened elm strips. They began at the bottom circuit and proceeded
462 to the next circuit upward. When they reached the higher circuits,
the "boys," Advance Scout and the others, began to fasten the
thatch grass to the bottom circuit. As they got further up, the young
men now took up this work, while the older "boys" began to pile the
earth on the lower circuits, the women filling up their pans with earth
and handing them up to the men on the roof. In households of less social
status, the women would have had to do a good deal of the work on the
roof themselves; in this case they were spared any need to climb up
356 further. When the work was completed, there was usually a dinner meal
574 for a large number of people, including some who had merely come
to watch the proceedings. Each of the hostesses usually had a party of
about fifty to feed. Everyone was tired and they waited until the following
morning to sweep out the house and move back in. Now the time for
221 planting was drawing near and they began to think of the immediate
• 241 preparations that remained.

In the whole course of this large construction job there was no foreman
356 to oversee the work; not a single order was issued nor a command
46 given; the work was performed with precision, and no inspection was
needed to check its quality or workmanship.

9

THE PLANTING OF THE CROPS 000

Ground-breaking Ceremony—the Women's Role—Explanation of Ritual—Songs of the Ceremony—the Process of Preparing and Planting the Crops Explained—Cooperation in Fields Discussed—Dangers of Attack—the Swim at the End of the Planting Day

THE CORN WAS THE FIRST CROP to be planted and then came the beans, 241
squashes, and melons. But before any planting could be done, the *Awari*
or "Ground-breaking Ceremony" had to be performed. The four special [778]
ministers of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person kept watch along
the creeks for the first leaves to appear on the willows; then they knew
the time was right for the ritual. They also had to wait for the dark of
the moon that signified darkness and germination. Now the four ministers
met together in the lodge where the Skull bundle was kept to make a
plan for the ceremony. The actual inception of the ceremony was during [787]
the past winter while they were on a buffalo hunt, when a woman had
had a vision that she was the one to see that it was performed. She called
on the help of her brother, who killed a special buffalo for her, and then
she invited the four ministers and told them of her vision. Then she dried [251]
and packed the rest of the buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit to
be used when the ceremony was performed in the spring.

This was the only Pawnee ceremony in which women played a major 241
role, and the original visionary through whom the ceremony was insti- 562
tuted for the season was also a woman. But the ceremony itself was di-
rected and carried through entirely by the men. Now with the sprouting
of the willows it was time.

The woman of the house where the Skull bundle was kept got up 241
574
778

241 early in the morning after the ministers had met, took the bundle from
574 the west where it was hanging, and placed it outside on a tripod. She
[778] cleared the lodge of all the bedding and swept it with hyssops, while the
four ministers each went to his separate house and sent boys out to collect willow sprouts to be delivered to the ceremonial lodge. There they were piled in two piles, one to the north and one to the south, and the woman spread them around the lodge radially with their pointed ends toward the fireplace, their stub ends outward toward the wall. She placed the floor mats on top of them, two on each side of the lodge and one at the west in front of the altar. The ministers seated themselves and sent for the woman visionary after inquiring if she had the bundle of consecrated dried buffalo meat ready. They also invited four prominent women—daughters of chiefs, warriors, or medicine men—who were wealthy enough to furnish a parfleche of dried buffalo meat and a kettle of corn and who would play a major role in the ceremony. The woman visionary was seated at the north, the four guests at the south, and the ministers then announced that they were about to conduct a ceremony so that the women could go into the field and plant their corn and that they had selected them to be leaders of the dance. Their acceptance of the role meant they were ready to make the necessary contribution.

That evening they all rehearsed their part in the forthcoming ceremony. The woman visionary was anointed by the ministers and the significance of the ritual explained to her. The four women who were to assist her were seated two to the south and two to the north. Other women who were attending were seated behind them. The descendants of the original Skull bundle owners were seated on the north side, other men scattered around the lodge.

[534] The four ministers sent for the four gourd rattles that were attached
to the Evening Star bundle, and when they were brought in they be-
[778] gan to rattle and sing while the woman visionary practiced her dance. The spectators went home, and the four ministers, the woman visionary, and Skull bundle owners remained and had a dinner of corn and meat together, talking about past customs and the origin of the Skull bundle. At midnight the brother of the woman visionary came to escort her home while the ministers remained sleeping near the altar, the head minister remaining awake to watch for the dawn when the proceedings would begin.

241 The ritual was in three parts, one session from dawn to breakfast time, the second from breakfast time to ten in the morning, and the third in which there was major public participation, from ten till six-thirty in the evening. About seven-thirty in the evening there was a meal for ev-
[574] eryone including the spectators to close the ceremony.

The dawn-to-breakfast part of the ceremony celebrated the original
[778] coming together of the villages, commemorating the special creative

achievement of the original visionary of the Skull bundle. This was celebrated by decorating the four pillars of the earth lodge that were in the semicardinal directions. To each of them was tied a bundle of willows and some dried buffalo meat and fat—tied on with buffalo-hair ropes. On each pillar under the offering was painted a colored stripe in the color appropriate to its semicardinal direction. The woman visionary was not invited, but was asked to send the consecrated buffalo meat which was set down at the south side of the fireplace. The Skull bundle owners were sent for and four selected to go out and gather the willows. Then they went in procession around the houseposts, one line on the outside, one on the inside, proceeding in a counterclockwise direction, (southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast) tying on the offerings to each post in succession and then painting them. 241 778

The sacred objects were next suffused with incense from burnt sweet grass mixed with fat, and the buffalo skull that usually rested there was removed from the altar and the skull of Wonderful Person put in its place. This was the first object to be "incensed"; then came the other objects in the bundle, then the ministers themselves, and then the errand men. After the incensing, all went home except the ministers and errand men, who had their breakfast there of meat and corn.

After breakfast and for the next four hours the lodge was prepared for the public ceremony. The major feature of the public ceremony would be a pantomime of hoeing to break the ground for planting, and the woman visionary was now called in to take part in the preparations. She came in with her brother, who was dressed in his best because he was to go through the village asking for gifts on behalf of their undertaking. He would walk through the village calling upon their relatives and saying that Wonderful Person needed wood and his sister needed help in her enterprise—would they please cook something? In answer to his request, they would bring gifts to the ceremonial lodge.

Meanwhile the errand men were sent out to borrow four sacred shoulder-blade hoes that were kept in the four direction bundles. When they brought these in they were placed in pairs on the north and south of the altar. From the Skull bundle itself were taken two deer necks placed at the south and two loon necks placed at the north of the altar. [825] These symbolized the fact that loons fly high against the sky and bring us messages from Heaven, which Wonderful Person would now be representing in the ceremony. A pure young man who had shed no blood would be selected to decorate the skull for this role. He first painted the face red and on it a line design in blue, bow-shaped and extending across the forehead and down the cheeks, representing the vault of the heavens, and a blue line down the center and along the nose for the breath of Heaven descending from the zenith, passing down the nose to the heart and giving life to the child (see Figure 9-1). The minister [531]

241 778 now dressed the skull in a black skin turban with a knot on the forehead. Inside the turban were soft down feathers mixed with red paint (to represent the visionary's brains), and on top, a soft feather as a plume.

[531]

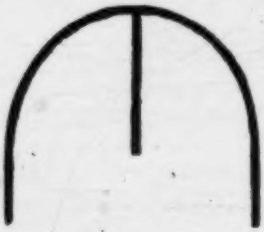


FIGURE 9-1. Representation of face painting symbolizing the vault of the heavens and the breath of Heaven.

[431] [782] Gifts began to come in: kettles of corn and meat were placed at the south, buffalo robes and other offerings between the fireplace and the skull.

[203] [431] [782] The woman's brother and a young man were sent out to all the lodges to invite the people. They dressed in their best and everyone that came brought a gift. Soon they crowded outside the door of the ceremonial lodge, and after the brother had made a smoke offering with the pipe toward the heavens and the skull the people were allowed to come in. They piled their gifts in front of the skull.

The paraphernalia were handed out to the women who were to do the dancing, and a special coiled basket was handed to the woman visionary and one to her assistant. This basket, especially made by a woman under the direction of the minister, symbolized the container ordained by Heaven to carry earth from which the world was created and the germs of life. At the time of the creation, Heaven caused this basket to move of itself through space.

The four ministers of the Skull bundle now took up their rattles and sang, "Now we are going to start to dance. Everyone wants to dance and shake the earth."

241 535 At the first song the women stood ready to scrape the earth with their hoes, right foot forward, arms extended. They were followed by the woman visionary and her partner, who now got up and danced with the coiled baskets. Next followed women with loon necks and then young women with deer necks. These had to be chaste young women. Now the hoes were taken over by the old women, for they were early risers and good workers in the fields. When these got tired, other women came over and took the hoes, carrying out the motions of hoeing all the time:

> The visionary moves her basket back and forth—dishing out. The 241
> four ladies with the loon necks swing them as if digging in the earth. 535
> The two girls with the deer heads dip them up and down, swinging back and forth.

As the women danced with the hoes, a few men danced among them with their bows and arrows poised as if aiming at something. If the women seemed to be getting tired, the men rubbed against them like buffalo bulls. After the dance was over, the minister asked if everything was all right, and when they looked around at the ground there were rolls of buffalo hair scattered all over. They knew that everything would be all right then, that they would succeed in the buffalo hunt, and that there would be plenty of corn.

There were eight song episodes in the entire series with three intermissions. 241 In the intermissions, a special type of byplay took place that had nothing to do with the order of the ceremony itself. The special characters comprised four young virgins and four warriors on each side of the ceremonial lodge. As the women were dancing with their hoes, these virgins and warriors stood up and joined them, and at the time for intermission each virgin got a pipe filled with tobacco that was at the altar and gave it to a warrior. The connection between war and fertility is a leitmotif that runs through much of Pawnee sacred ceremonialism as [181] elaborately exemplified in the human sacrifice to the Morning Star. In [782] this byplay between virgins and warriors this theme is also represented. In the kin system, familiar behavior is characteristic of grandparents and [603] grandchildren only; otherwise people must maintain a formal position [602] with each other. Since familiar remarks are going to be made, the virgins address the warriors as grandpa and the warriors address them as granddaughter. Each virgin having handed a pipe to a warrior, the byplay began:

> Holding his pipe in his left hand, he flexes his arm and moves it back and forth in jerky movements as if running and stamping his right foot three times and then his left as if on the run. He might say, "I was east on the warpath and I killed a Sioux," or he might tell how he stole horses on the warpath. Now the warrior makes a smoke offering and addresses his "granddaughter." He is going to give her advice on how to conduct her sex and marital relations. "Don't let your husband kiss you unless he gives you a horse." "All right," the girl answers, "I'll do that." A warrior on the south side says to his girl partner, "Granddaughter, give me the pipe and I'll tell you what I did. On the Republican river I killed a Sioux and I left him there." Then everyone will say, "Well, why didn't you bring him home?" Then he makes a smoke offering with the pipe the virgin has given him and says, "Grand-

241 daughter, when you get married and your husband leaves you, don't go after him. Let him go." The girl takes the pipe from him and says, "I thank you grandpa, I'll do that." The girl returns the pipe to the four ministers of the Skull bundle and the warrior gives her a gift.

TABLE 9-1. *Some Songs of the Ground-breaking Ritual, the* Awari.

241 192 533 The term *awari* is a compound stem, the first part, *a-* signifying "being" or "living" and the second part, *-wari*, to go actively about, such as traveling. The Pawnee used this stem as we do "up and about" meaning to be in good health. The combination *awari* indicates the principles of life and motion *par excellence*, the vigor of life.

Like all the songs of the sacred bundle ceremonies, each song is repeated in at least ten stanzas or "steps." The stanzas are identical except for the substitution of a single word at each repetition: These substitutions are the words that symbolize the basic realms of the universe in their order of creation, *uraru*, "land"; *tuharu*, "natural vegetation"; *tsaharu*, "waters"; *kakiu*, "seeds"—the four major realms of the women—and *asuru*, "moccasin"; *kstaripiru*, "string of moccasin"; *rawitat*, "robe, covering"; *waruksti*, "something holy"; *atira*, "my mother" (corn); *kiriki*, "thunder"—the six major realms of the men. In each case, the word is substituted for *huraru*, "land," in the version given here.

241 533 539

EIGHT SONGS OF THE GROUND-BREAKING *Awari* RITUAL

Song I

1.	*huraru*	*wirahawati*
	the land	now the one that plucks it (clears)

Song II

1.	*huraru*	*katit*	*witasikaru* (sung as *-rau*)
	the land	black	now you distribute them
2.	*awari*	*katit*	*rasikara'u*
	movement	black	you that distribute them

The significance of Song II is that the Evening Star as it appears sparkling and wavering is the power that animates the earth when it generates in darkness. The dancers try to flit about like the sparkling stars.

FIRST INTERMISSION

Song III

1.	*wirahurariruwisisa*	
	now the earth sidewise comes	
2.	*hatira*	*rahurariruwisisa*
	my mother	earth that sidewise comes

Song IV

1.	*huraru*	*ra·a*	
	earth	the one that is coming	
2.	*hi*	*awari*	*ra·a*
	there	movement	that is coming

241
533
539

In the third and fourth songs, the earth comes sidewise from the basket and is endowed with life.

Song V

1. *wirispixkawi'*
now you aim
2. *i* *huraru* *tasiwixkawi'u*
there land you aim at it

The act of planting is compared to a kind of shooting with the bow and arrow into the earth.

SECOND INTERMISSION

Song VI

1. same as (1) of Song V.
2. *wirahuraraxkawubu* *atira*
when she is putting them in the earth my mother
3. *huraru* *awari* *atira'a*
earth movement, life my mother corn

Song VII

1. *kutihawaktu'*
Now it is budding
2. *huraru* ti' ((u))
the earth it is

Second Episode of Song VII

1. *rahawaktariwata*
sprouts come out (peeping)
2. *i* *huraru* *rawakararuahu*
there earth the one that is giving forth sounds, implying that the earth is shouting, viz., that the plants are calling for life

THIRD INTERMISSION

Song VIII

1. *huraru* (*ta*-) *rutiriku*
earth you are looking at it
2. *i·ri* *atira* *i·ri* *huraru*
here it is mother here it is earth
3. *awari* *rahu·ka*
movement that comes in
4. *i·ri'i* *atira*
here it is my mother

Second Episode of Song VIII

1. *huraru* *sirirua·hu*
earth they two are tossing it about
2. *kaixtsu* *hu* *siriraruahu*
coiled gambling basket see they two are tossing them about
3. *awari* *hi* *siriraruahu* *awari*
movement there they two are tossing them about movement, life
4. *siriruahu* *awari*
they two are tossing it about movement. life

241 After a whole morning and afternoon of dancing and singing, the feast was served to all, including the spectators and everyone went home except the four Skull bundle ministers and the woman visionary, who had to return the four sacred hoes to the four direction bundles with a gift of meat and calico to their owners and pack up the other objects. By this time the ministers were hoarse from all the singing, and by the next morning the old women who had participated in the dancing were very stiff.

Early next morning the visionary woman's brother took the willows that had been tied to the four house posts and carried them to some clear water west of the lodge. Then he deposited them under the water in the semicardinal directions they had occupied in the lodge.

243 The ground being ritually prepared, they would begin to plant. Early next morning everybody went into the fields. Men and women pulled up the weeds by hand and occasionally a man would use his axe to remove some sumach that happened to be growing there. All the weeds were burned up on the spot and one could see the smoke of the fires everywhere. Only the sunflower heads were saved, in anticipation of the harvest when they would need fuel for roasting the ears of corn.

243 221 According to a missionary report of the 1850's, the time was May 8th and everyone felt impelled to hurry, for the time was short before they would be leaving their villages for the summer buffalo hunt. With everyone cooperating, the entire planting would be done in about six days. By mid-May they could begin preparing their clothes and equipment for the summer migration.

243 That night, after they had cleared up the fields, they soaked their corn kernels in a pan to be ready for planting next morning. Some people soaked special "medicine" with the seeds to promote their growth. The next morning they went into the fields, carrying their corn kernels in a bucket or sack to keep them moist. Each carried enough for twenty corn hills, five to seven kernels to a hill. The first thing they did when they got to the field was to hoe up the ground with a buffalo shoulder-blade hoe to a depth of about 2 inches. Having removed the roots and sprouts, they replaced the loose earth and began to build up the corn hills. A corn hill was 1–1½ feet in diameter. There was a small circular excavation like a miniature fireplace with loose earth all around it. Four to six seeds were inserted around the sides and one in the middle on top. Some made a number of hills and then inserted the kernels, and some completed the planting of each hill as it was made. After the seeds were inserted, the earth was hilled up all around into a smooth little mound. [195] The corn hills were irregularly distributed over the field about a man's step apart, and the women made sure that there was an even number by analogy with their own breasts, a metaphor that was not uncommonly cited.

Next they planted the beans, sometimes in the same hills with the corn 244
so that the vines could entwine themselves around the cornstalks. If they
planted them in separate hills, they set in willow sticks for the vines to
cling to.

Last of all, they planted pumpkins, squashes, and watermelons [*Citrullus, citrullus* (L.) Karst., indigenous variety—Gilmore, 1919, pp. 120-
129.]. These were planted in separate patches and served to separate the [243]
different varieties of corn in order to preserve the breeds. There would
be a planting of blue corn, then a pumpkin patch, then spotted corn, then
a melon patch, and so on in this order.

Between two adjacent fields, there was a hill or ridge where the sun- 241
flowers grew by themselves without planting. Some women surrounded 423
their fields with a fence built of stakes connected with rawhide ropes. 578
Disputes about the boundaries of their fields sometimes occurred among
the women. Some women would pile the earth further and further on the [417]
far side of the field and encroach on the field of a neighbor. Some women
stole crops, whereupon arguments would ensue and they would curse
one another and call one another names. The woman from whom the corn
had been stolen would strike the other woman with her hands or with a
stick. The informant said that stealing was actually unnecessary, as a poor [476]
women could easily get some corn by appealing to her neighbor di- [735]
rectly, saying, "I want you to take pity on me and give me some corn."

Women always went to the fields in groups for their own protection; 241
the Sioux made a particular point of attacking and scalping them as they 476
were going into the fields or coming home. This was presumably to ex- 722
ert sufficient pressure to chase the Pawnees from their territory and in- 648
duce them to abandon it entirely. The mortality among the women from
this cause was heavy. In 1861 in one such attack eighteen Skidi women
were killed. One group of women would say to the other, "We're going
to clear our fields, how about you?" Then the two groups would set out
together, any woman who finished first helping the others so that all
would be ready to return at the same time. The young men, without being told, knew that this was the time to picket around the fields.

In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each of the mature 241
women had at least one field. Clear Day, the younger wife, and her 423
mother, Blue Calico, worked one field together, as was customary with 592
mother and daughter until the younger woman was considered responsible enough to manage her own. Fields were located along the bottomlands on both banks of Beaver Creek, and some women had a closer and a more distant field. The ones that were closer to the villages were, of course, the more desirable both for transport and for military reasons. An individual field was from half an acre to one and a half acres in area.

Patterns of cooperation were well developed in each household so that 592
the women would get through quickly. Queen Woman would say to

The following is a simplified translation of an old Pawnee woman's statement of her experience of planting when she was a little girl in Nebraska, and a more exact statement of the old man's speech: 887 521 539

> An old man sitting on top of the earth lodge would be talking to the women at the time when they were going into the fields. He would say, "Now dear ladies, now you are disfiguring your bodies (getting them all muddy). Heaven has placed the wonderful bow and arrows in your hands. Heaven made it for you to be wonderful. You are wonderful! You repeatedly keep 'swelling me up.' When you put the corn in and it comes peeping out, that's what you fatten me with, my dear ladies."
>
> Then we women began to cut the grass, that is, clear the field. And when [241] I was not yet mature, they would get me up early in the morning while it was still dark, and we two, my mother and I, would be in her field. She would have some porridge there for me. When mother was planting, oh, the corn mound would be big! Then she would dig a hole in the top and place inside the mound, seven seeds—not bunched together, but separately spaced. Then she covered it over with earth and the mound would be smooth.

One of the only common instances of group planting was "planting for the daughter-in-law." The women relatives of the newly married groom would plant, cultivate, and harvest the bride's first crop. As many as twenty-five women would be gathered in her field and they would go to her house and get her seeds and line up in the field ready to plant. The field, about "half a block" long was hoed and planted by the women more or less in unison while two old women sat at the far end singing a song from one of the sacred bundle ceremonies: 241 476 602 [533] [539]

You are just hoeing around,
Big ground, lucky ground.

They were ranged in rows and while the women sang they made the mounds. Then they put in the seeds and then they all went to the home of the daughter-in-law where they were entertained at a feast of corn and dried buffalo meat. They repeated this performance when the corn sprouted, when they cultivated the field, and again at harvest. [574]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

10

THE CAPTIVE GIRL SACRIFICE

000

Importance of Sacrifice to Pawnees—Dream of Warrior and Initiation of Sacrificial Ceremony Preparations—Capture of Sioux Maiden—the Ceremony of Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—the Sacrifice in the Nineteenth Century—Its Interruption and End—the Heroism of Man Chief—Aztec Origins

773 AFTER THE CREATION CEREMONY in times past, the Pawnees had an awe-
796 some rite that they believed would ensure the fertility of their soil and
782 the success of their crops. In the creation story, fruitfulness and light
[241] had come into the world because Morning Star and his realm of light had
conquered and mated with Evening Star in her realm of darkness. Out of that contest, the first human being was conceived—a girl. From time to time the Morning Star demanded a girl in return.

773 He came as a vision to a warrior in his dreams on a night in the fall of
796 the year. In the vision, Morning Star appeared as a man anointed with red
paint, wrapped around with a buffalo robe, his leggings decorated with
782 scalps and eagle feathers. There were soft down feathers in his hair and
787 a single eagle feather stood upright in his scalplock. Holding his war
club he spoke to the warrior in his dream: "I am the man who has power in the east. I am the Great Star (*Upirikutsu*). You people have forgotten about me. I am watching over your people. Go to the man who knows the ceremony and let him know. He will tell you what to do." When he awoke and went outside before dawn, the warrior saw the Morning Star in the sky and he knew he had been chosen for the heavy burden of making the sacrifice. He ran crying through the village to the house of the Morning Star priest, singing as he went, "When he comes,

skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known 776
as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended 773
that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal
on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with
their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in [756]
the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The [782]
actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It [821]
was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the
rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely
begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears,
without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of 796
rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial 825
ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time.
Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be
decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer
because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to
send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been 796
occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and
"fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a
second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging
to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at
the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is 796
completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. 241
Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until 262
the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat
green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a
vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in
a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to
bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The
corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were
all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and
the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the
taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive
"fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought
between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears
in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently [824]
the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild
plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the [534]
wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was
originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated
gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea- 000

*172 the horses were at large. The corn was planted in hills and was
243 cultivated by means of a hoe made from the scapula of bison; it was usually hoed twice each year. Artificial fertilizers seem to have
● [242 been unknown, and irrigation was likewise never practiced.

312] According to Mrs. E. G. Platt, missionary to the tribe on the Loup, "corn known among all the Indians as Pawnee corn, was a great rarity to us, and its luxuriant growth a great marvel, ears 16 and 18 inches long being not uncommon."[27] Most of the charred cobs recovered by Mr. A. T. Hill from caches and graves at the Hill site are much smaller than this, seldom over 4 inches in length and not much thicker than a man's thumb; they exhibit usually from 8 to 12 or 14 rows of kernels. In general, where cobs have been taken from Pawnee sites, the smaller size seems to prevail to the exclusion of larger specimens. Charred kernels have also been recovered from graves at the Hill site; a few are shown in plate 2, *c*.

*172 In addition to maize, the Pawnee cultivated beans, pumpkins, and
244 squash.[28] Seeds of the latter have been recovered by excavation, and definitely identified. Beans have not yet been found and the varieties utilized are not positively known.

*172 Corn was gathered while still green; it was then boiled, cut from the cob, dried, placed in leather bags, and stored in caches for future
251 use. In times of prosperity it was cooked in bison fat. Pumpkins
[252] were cut into strips, dried in the sun, and then often woven into mats for convenient transportation.[29] When setting forth on their semiannual hunt they took along "several sacks of sweet corn and beans, dry corn for mush, (and) dried pumpkins."[30]

*172 Of uncultivated vegetal foods the wild potato appears to have been in most common use. These tubers grew plentifully in the sand
222 of the Platte and Loup Valleys; they were dug up, boiled, peeled,
262 dried, and cooked with dried pumpkins. They were usually taken
[251] along on the hunting trips. The wild potato, as such, is mentioned frequently but with what plant it is to be identified cannot be certainly stated. Long[31] says:

> We saw among them the Pomme blanche . . . which is the root of the *Psoralea esculenta*. It is eaten either boiled or roasted, and somewhat resembles the sweet potato.

Possibly, though not necessarily, this has reference to the wild potato of other writers.[32]

---

[27] 1892, p. 129.
[28] Allis, 1887, p. 140.
[29] Long, 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.
[30] Allis, 1887, p. 144.
[31] 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.
[32] Allis, 1887, pp. 140, 144; Platt, Mrs. E. G., 1892, p. 129.

11

VARIETIES OF CORN, BEANS, AND SQUASH

000

American and Indian Corn Varieties—the Planting Ritual—Comparison of Corn Varieties to Present-Day Classification—Squash and Pumpkin Varieties—Bean Varieties

THE PAWNEE WOMEN were skilled horticulturists. They had ten pure 242
varieties of corn, seven of pumpkins and squashes, and eight of beans.
According to our classification, all American Indian corn is one species, 243
Zea mays. Columbus reported that he found cornfields that were 18 171
miles long; when he returned to Spain, he took seed corn with him. It was soon diffused all over the world so that today corn has surpassed wheat as a world crop and is only exceeded by rice and potatoes. Corn has six subspecies, of which three are major and three minor. The first three are flint, flour, and dent, each adapted to different climatic conditions. When the Indians were first contacted, flint corn was the characteristic variety of New England, dent corn of the Southeast, and flour corn of the Southwest. Flint is suitable for cold moist climates, flour for dry climates, and dent for warm moist climates, the dent being heaviest in yield when the climate is favorable. Botanically these three varieties seem to represent a certain evolutionary sequence. In the flint, the oldest, the whole kernel is occupied by horny starch except around the germ; it is high in gluten. Flour corn lacks the horny starch altogether and is made up entirely of the softer starch except for the germ, while dent is a combination of the softer starch in the interior with horny starch on the sides, thus giving rise to the dent or dimple on the surface end of each kernel. The three other subspecies of corn are more occasionally used: sweet corn, with a high sugar content, and pop corn, two very primitive varieties, and the rare pod corn.

placed in each bundle, each wrapped up and sewed into a covering—the 243 winter ear in a tanned buffalo skin and the ear dedicated to summer in a 778 buffalo-heart skin. Each individual ear of these holy corns in the bundles had a different name by which it was addressed. Early in April before the *Awari* or planting ritual, a ritual was held in which the seeds of the holy corn were distributed to the keepers of the sacred bundles so that their wives could plant them in their fields. At harvest time, when these sacred ears were mature, the old ears were removed from the bundles and replaced with ears from the new crop. Fine examples of some of the best ears of the more common varieties were also placed in the sacred bundles at harvest time, particularly those with a male spike. Compared with the white flour corn, the holy corn, which was also white, had small kernels that sometimes covered the cob to the very tip. "Sometimes it has something like a soft feather at the tip of the ear." This is apparently the male spike at the point end; archaeologically it appears very early, 4,445 [171] ± 180 B.C., in the tiny ancestral corncobs taken from La Perra Cave in northeast Mexico. Such an ear is also shown in the headdress and hands of the Maize God on a prehistoric Zapotec funerary urn from Mexico (Mangelsdorf, 1958).

244
192

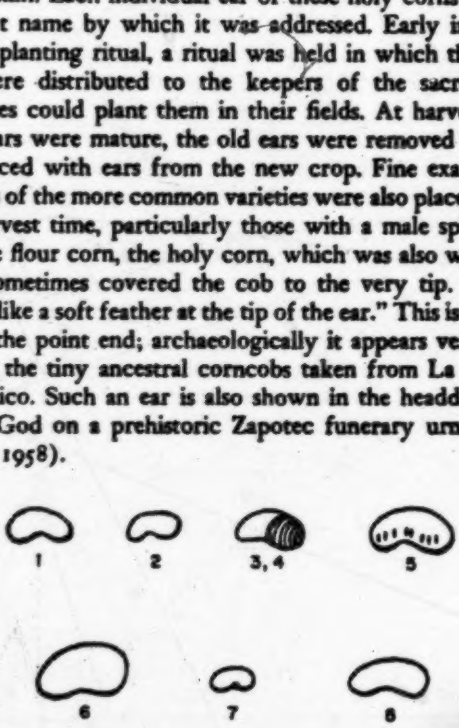


FIGURE 11-2. Eight varieties of beans, generically known to the Pawnees as *atit:* (1) *ati-pahat*, "bean-red"; a large sized bean. (2) *atik-taka*, "bean-white." (3) *ati-paks-katit*, "bean-head-black"; black-head beans. (4) *ait-paks-pahat*, "bean-head-red"; same as (3). (5) *ati-pirari*, "bean-spotted"; color of a spotted horse, spotted all [illegible] some with red, some with black spots; a somewhat large-sized bean. (6) [illegible]-*katuis*, "bean-flat"; large, flat bean. (7) *atit-riwats-katit*, "bean-navel-black"; spotted where it joins the stem; navel, *-riwat*, phonetically altered in the context. (8) *ati-taxkata*, "bean-yellow"; a rather large yellow bean.

Our classification of the species of corn is based on the starch content, 243 but when a Pawnee was asked to name the varieties of corn they had, he 242 or she would enumerate them in terms of color categories—black, [822] spotted, white, yellow, and red. It is interesting that these represent the varieties of flour corn that they had. However, in classifying their corn, they subsumed the flint, sweet, and sacred varieties under these color categories. When asked to name the varieties of Pawnee corn, Mark Evarts

243 named ten, one being Osage. George F. Will, nurseryman and anthropolo-
• 242 gist of North Dakota, experimented with planting Indian corn from
various tribes of the Missouri River region and managed to isolate nine
pure strains of Pawnee corn. These correspond with considerable accuracy
to those named by Mark Evarts. I have placed his classification as it ap-
peared in his publication (Will and Hyde, 1919) in a parallel column
alongside that of Mark Evarts. (See Table 11-1.)

TABLE 11-1. *Classifications of Varieties of Pawnee Corn.*

As Named by Mark Evarts	As Named by Will and Hyde, 1919
1. *Blue* corn—*uraax-katit*, earth-black, referring to very dark blue	Blue *flour* corn, No. 40
2. *Spotted* corn, *rikis-tipiku*, corn-spotted (*ripiku*, egg)	Black-eyed and red-speckled corn, p. 308
3. *White* corn, big kernels, *rikis-taka*, corn-white	White *flour* corn, No. 36
4. White with small kernels, *rikis-paruksti*, corn-holy	Not identified by authors
5. *Yellow* corn, harder variety, *rikis-taxkata*, corn-yellow	Yellow *flint*, No. 38
6. A yellow corn, softer than No. 5, called *parus-arut*, rabbit-soft	Yellow *flour* corn, No. 37
7. Hard corn, *kitsirit*, flinty, hard, translucent; real smooth, with different colored kernels on the same cob—white, spotted, yellow	Red *flint*, No. 89, flinty mixed colors with red predominating
8. *Red* corn—*rikis-pahat*, corn-red	Red *flour* corn, No. 45
9. Sweet corn—*rikis-karus*, corn-sweet, somewhat reddish yellow and sticky	Sweet corn, yellow sugar corn, No. 41
10. Osage corn—*rikis-pasasi*, corn-Osage, gotten from Osage, grows 9-10 feet high and can have 8 or 9 ears on one stalk	

243 From the experiments of George Will, it is evident that the Pawnees
242 were quite capable of producing pure strains of corn and maintaining the
772 breeds. And yet when asked to list the classes of corn that they had, they
82 did so in terms of a certain order of colors rather than by a horticultural
classification. Consistent with the Pawnee belief that the Heavens are the
first cause of all things, this is a cosmic rather than a botanical classification. In Pawnee theology, the four semicardinal directions are associated with the four color designations—northeast-black; southeast-white; northwest-yellow; and southeast-red. In the creation legend it is stated that in the western part of the ancient territory there were four villages,

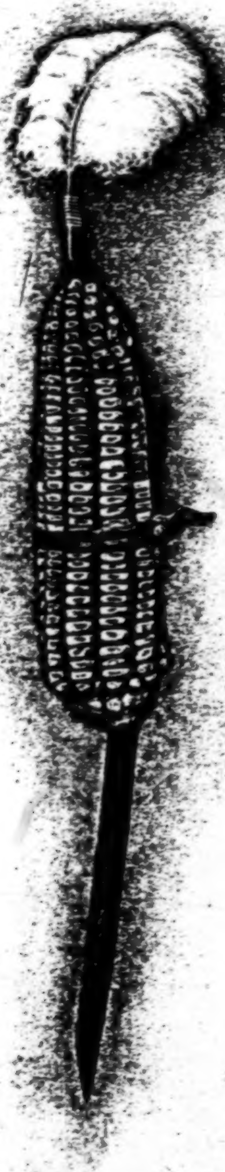
each representing one of the semicardinal directions; each had a different- 243
colored ear of corn in its sacred bundle, as cited above. The order of the 242
colors of corn followed by Mark Evarts in his classification if translated 772
into directions are northeast, southwest, northwest, southeast. This di- 82
agonal succession forms a simple cross, the Pawnee symbol for a star.
What star is implied is not known. Typically of Pawnee thought, there must be deeper theological meanings and references than are apparent. The order of naming the varieties of corn is clearly connected with these religious implications.

For the Pawnee, there is very little that does not have some direct con- 243
nection with the cosmos. But in sharp contrast to the corn, the other two 244
crops, squash and beans, have no religious connotations whatever. This
lack of ideological involvement seems strange, as we know archaeologi- [772]
cally that first squash and then beans were the earliest domesticated crops in the New World, followed after a considerable time interval by the domestication of corn. Among the Pawnees the whole horticultural cycle was conducted in terms of the corn. In the spring the corn was the first of the three crops to sprout, and in the fall it was the first to mature. There were seven common varieties of squash and pumpkins current among the Pawnees at that time and eight of beans. (See figures 11-1 and 11-2.)

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796
293
237
● 243



"MOTHER CORN"

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C. FLETCHER)

[FACING p. 44]

*539 A holy man who lived long ago, no one knows how long, for there
have been many generations since, had a dream. He was taken up to
*796 the place where all the visions dwell, those that belong to Kawas, the
787 brown eagle, and those that belong to the white eagle, the male.
While he was there the day began to dawn and he saw the visions that
773 had been sent down to earth come climbing up, and he recognized among them some of the visions that had visited him in the past. Then he knew of a truth that all visions of every kind dwell above in Katasha, and that they descend thence to us in the night, and that as the day dawns they ascend, returning to rest in their dwelling place.

The holy man made this song about his dream and told its meaning, and the song and the story have been handed down to us, that we might know where visions come from, where they dwell and where they go to when they depart from us.

778 Among the Pawnees there are shrines, in the keeping of certain men, which contain articles that are used in the sacred ceremonies of the different bands of the tribe. These shrines are very old, they were given by the lesser powers to our fathers with a knowledge of their contents and how to use them.

An ear of corn belongs to one of these shrines. It is a peculiar ear. It is white, with perfect and straight lines of kernels, and there is a
● [243] tassel on its tip. In the fall the priest of the shrine tells the women to look carefully for such ears when they gather their corn, for Tira'wa causes such ears to grow in the fields for the purposes of this shrine and they belong to it. The little tassel on the tip of the
[726] ear of corn represents the feather worn on the head of the warrior. The sacred ear of corn is sometimes borrowed from the priest by the leader of a war party. The ear of corn is born of Mother Earth, she knows all places and the acts of all men who walk the earth, so she is a leader.

726 Sometimes a young man who proposed going to war would request the following song to be sung. He desired success and wished Mother
778 Corn to lead him. After the Hako ceremony was over he would borrow a sacred ear of corn and put it in a pack which the leader of the war party would sling upon his back. When the party was successful, he would thrust into the ground the stick upon which the ear of corn was tied and as this ear stood before him he would give thanks to it for having led him in safety.

post had very obviously been omitted. There were no inside post-holes, 172* 417 nor was there any fireplace, and the usual debris found in a lodge site was conspicuously absent. The situation was low, unsuited for a dwelling, yet the hard-packed soil had effectively resisted the action of water draining into the hollow in times of heavy rain. There was quite clearly no roof, nor is there anything to suggest a house pit such as occurs as a foundation for every lodge. From all appearances, therefore, it would seem that the structure was a stock corral, with its entrance toward the west. Transverse poles were doubtless lashed from post to post, and the gate closed by means of movable cross poles. This reconstruction is confirmed by the occurrence of charcoal almost exclusively about or between the post holes. Such a corral, though unlike that described by Clayton, would be entirely practicable, and where timber was scarce would also be highly advisable.

FOODS: AGRICULTURE

The food complex of the Pawnee centered about two staples, viz, 172* maize and the bison. 262 Since the two were very nearly equally stressed, though conducive to wholly dissimilar habits of life, they were directly responsible for many of the varied elements of Pawnee culture. Thus they made the people alternately roving hunters and settled agriculturists, and led, correspondingly, to the use of two entirely distinct house types, of the cache, and of numerous other traits. It was to this combination of hunting with horticultural life that much of the richness of Pawnee culture is due.

The Pawnee were essentially a corn-growing people. Corn was 172* their Mother; it figured in their rituals and in their mythology, 243 even more prominently than did the bison. Two ears of corn went into the sacred bundles of the tribe, and were renewed annually.[24] [778] The most important ceremonies, including the sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning Star by the Skidi, were directed as much toward securing a bountiful corn crop as toward success on the bison hunt.

The cornfields were of necessity small, seldom including more than an acre or so. They were usually situated at the mouth of a ravine or in similar spots where the soil was loose and fertile. Owing to the primitive nature of the tools used, the prairie bottomlands with their heavy turf were impractical, consequently, the women were often compelled to go as far as 5 and 8 miles from the village to find a suitable plot of ground.[25] [47] Occasionally the fields were protected by a wicker fence,[26] but as a rule they were left open, the women remaining to guard them during the daytime while the horses were at large.

---

[24] Dorsey, G. A., 1904, p. 20; Linton, 1923, a, p. 2.
[25] Irving, 1835, vol. ii, p. 27; Oehler and Smith, 1851, p. 29.
[26] Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 447.

*172 the horses were at large. The corn was planted in hills and was ● 243 cultivated by means of a hoe made from the scapula of bison; it was usually hoed twice each year. Artificial fertilizers seem to have [242 312] been unknown, and irrigation was likewise never practiced.

According to Mrs. E. G. Platt, missionary to the tribe on the Loup, "corn known among all the Indians as Pawnee corn, was a great rarity to us, and its luxuriant growth a great marvel, ears 16 and 18 inches long being not uncommon."[27] Most of the charred cobs recovered by Mr. A. T. Hill from caches and graves at the Hill site are much smaller than this, seldom over 4 inches in length and not much thicker than a man's thumb; they exhibit usually from 8 to 12 or 14 rows of kernels. In general, where cobs have been taken from Pawnee sites, the smaller size seems to prevail to the exclusion of larger specimens. Charred kernels have also been recovered from graves at the Hill site; a few are shown in plate 2, *e*.

*172 244 In addition to maize, the Pawnee cultivated beans, pumpkins, and squash.[28] Seeds of the latter have been recovered by excavation, and definitely identified. Beans have not yet been found and the varieties utilized are not positively known.

*172 251 Corn was gathered while still green; it was then boiled, cut from the cob, dried, placed in leather bags, and stored in caches for future use. In times of prosperity it was cooked in bison fat. [252] Pumpkins were cut into strips, dried in the sun, and then often woven into mats for convenient transportation.[29] When setting forth on their semiannual hunt they took along "several sacks of sweet corn and beans, dry corn for mush, (and) dried pumpkins."[30]

*172 Of uncultivated vegetal foods the wild potato appears to have been in most common use. These tubers grew plentifully in the sand 222 of the Platte and Loup Valleys; they were dug up, boiled, peeled, 262 dried, and cooked with dried pumpkins. They were usually taken [251] along on the hunting trips. The wild potato, as such, is mentioned frequently but with what plant it is to be identified cannot be certainly stated. Long[31] says:

> We saw among them the Pomme blanche . . . which is the root of the *Psoralea esculenta*. It is eaten either boiled or roasted, and somewhat resembles the sweet potato.

Possibly, though not necessarily, this has reference to the wild potato of other writers.[32]

---

[27] 1892, p. 129.
[28] Allis, 1887, p. 140.
[29] Long, 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.
[30] Allis, 1887, p. 144.
[31] 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.
[32] Allis, 1887, pp. 140, 144; Platt, Mrs. E. G., 1892, p. 129.

241 After a whole morning and afternoon of dancing and singing, the feast was served to all, including the spectators and everyone went home except the four Skull bundle ministers and the woman visionary, who had to return the four sacred hoes to the four direction bundles with a gift of meat and calico to their owners and pack up the other objects. By this time the ministers were hoarse from all the singing, and by the next morning the old women who had participated in the dancing were very stiff.

Early next morning the visionary woman's brother took the willows that had been tied to the four house posts and carried them to some clear water west of the lodge. Then he deposited them under the water in the semicardinal directions they had occupied in the lodge.

• 243 The ground being ritually prepared, they would begin to plant. Early next morning everybody went into the fields. Men and women pulled up the weeds by hand and occasionally a man would use his axe to remove some sumach that happened to be growing there. All the weeds were burned up on the spot and one could see the smoke of the fires everywhere. Only the sunflower heads were saved, in anticipation of the harvest when they would need fuel for roasting the ears of corn.

243
221 According to a missionary report of the 1850's, the time was May 8th and everyone felt impelled to hurry, for the time was short before they would be leaving their villages for the summer buffalo hunt. With everyone cooperating, the entire planting would be done in about six days. By mid-May they could begin preparing their clothes and equipment for the summer migration.

243 That night, after they had cleared up the fields, they soaked their corn kernels in a pan to be ready for planting next morning. Some people soaked special "medicine" with the seeds to promote their growth. The next morning they went into the fields, carrying their corn kernels in a bucket or sack to keep them moist. Each carried enough for twenty corn hills, five to seven kernels to a hill. The first thing they did when they got to the field was to hoe up the ground with a buffalo shoulder-blade hoe to a depth of about 2 inches. Having removed the roots and sprouts, they replaced the loose earth and began to build up the corn hills. A corn hill was 1–1½ feet in diameter. There was a small circular excavation like a miniature fireplace with loose earth all around it. Four to six seeds were inserted around the sides and one in the middle on top. Some made a number of hills and then inserted the kernels, and some completed the planting of each hill as it was made. After the seeds were inserted, the earth was hilled up all around into a smooth little mound. [195] The corn hills were irregularly distributed over the field about a man's step apart, and the women made sure that there was an even number by analogy with their own breasts, a metaphor that was not uncommonly cited.

Next they planted the beans, sometimes in the same hills with the corn 244
so that the vines could entwine themselves around the cornstalks. If they
planted them in separate hills, they set in willow sticks for the vines to
cling to.

Last of all, they planted pumpkins, squashes, and watermelons [*Citrullus,*
citrullus (L.) Karst., indigenous variety—Gilmore, 1919, pp. 120–
119.]. These were planted in separate patches and served to separate the [243]
different varieties of corn in order to preserve the breeds. There would
be a planting of blue corn, then a pumpkin patch, then spotted corn, then
a melon patch, and so on in this order.

Between two adjacent fields, there was a hill or ridge where the sunflowers 241
grew by themselves without planting. Some women surrounded 423
their fields with a fence built of stakes connected with rawhide ropes.
Disputes about the boundaries of their fields sometimes occurred among 578
the women. Some women would pile the earth further and further on the [417]
far side of the field and encroach on the field of a neighbor. Some women
stole crops, whereupon arguments would ensue and they would curse
one another and call one another names. The woman from whom the corn
had been stolen would strike the other woman with her hands or with a
stick. The informant said that stealing was actually unnecessary, as a poor [476]
women could easily get some corn by appealing to her neighbor directly, [735]
saying, "I want you to take pity on me and give me some corn."

Women always went to the fields in groups for their own protection; 241
the Sioux made a particular point of attacking and scalping them as they 476
were going into the fields or coming home. This was presumably to exert 722
sufficient pressure to chase the Pawnees from their territory and induce 648
them to abandon it entirely. The mortality among the women from
this cause was heavy. In 1861 in one such attack eighteen Skidi women
were killed. One group of women would say to the other, "We're going
to clear our fields, how about you?" Then the two groups would set out
together, any woman who finished first helping the others so that all
would be ready to return at the same time. The young men, without being
told, knew that this was the time to picket around the fields.

In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each of the mature 241
women had at least one field. Clear Day, the younger wife, and her 423
mother, Blue Calico, worked one field together, as was customary with 592
mother and daughter until the younger woman was considered responsible
enough to manage her own. Fields were located along the bottomlands
on both banks of Beaver Creek, and some women had a closer and
a more distant field. The ones that were closer to the villages were, of
course, the more desirable both for transport and for military reasons. An
individual field was from half an acre to one and a half acres in area.

Patterns of cooperation were well developed in each household so that 592
the women would get through quickly. Queen Woman would say to

11

VARIETIES OF CORN, BEANS, AND SQUASH

000

American and Indian Corn Varieties—the Planting Ritual—Comparison of Corn Varieties to Present-Day Classification—Squash and Pumpkin Varieties—Bean Varieties

THE PAWNEE WOMEN were skilled horticulturists. They had ten pure 242
varieties of corn, seven of pumpkins and squashes, and eight of beans.
According to our classification, all American Indian corn is one species, 243
Zea mays. Columbus reported that he found cornfields that were 18 171
miles long; when he returned to Spain, he took seed corn with him. It was soon diffused all over the world so that today corn has surpassed wheat as a world crop and is only exceeded by rice and potatoes. Corn has six subspecies, of which three are major and three minor. The first three are flint, flour, and dent, each adapted to different climatic conditions. When the Indians were first contacted, flint corn was the characteristic variety of New England, dent corn of the Southeast, and flour corn of the Southwest. Flint is suitable for cold moist climates, flour for dry climates, and dent for warm moist climates, the dent being heaviest in yield when the climate is favorable. Botanically these three varieties seem to represent a certain evolutionary sequence. In the flint, the oldest, the whole kernel is occupied by horny starch except around the germ; it is high in gluten. Flour corn lacks the horny starch altogether and is made up entirely of the softer starch except for the germ, while dent is a combination of the softer starch in the interior with horny starch on the sides, thus giving rise to the dent or dimple on the surface end of each kernel. The three other subspecies of corn are more occasionally used: sweet corn, with a high sugar content, and pop corn, two very primitive varieties, and the rare pod corn.

244
192

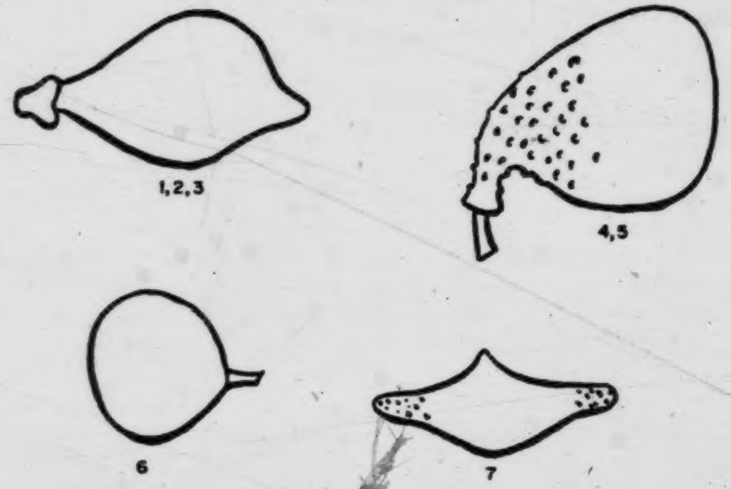


FIGURE 11-1. Seven varieties of squash and pumpkin known to the Pawnees generically as *Pabuks:* (1) *rus-kirius,* "soft-buttock" (as soft as the buttocks); pointed at both ends; a little more than 1 foot in length and 9 inches in diameter; yellowish in color; "as sweet as sugar." (2) *pabuks-tarabi,* squash or pumpkin-grooved; yellow in color; a kind sometimes seen in white men's stores. (3) *pabuks-katit,* squash or pumpkin-black; same size, shape, and taste as (2), the only difference being the black color. (4) *ri-katsu,* "lower half of body, white," *ri'u,* being the lower half of human body from the navel all around to the bottom of the feet. (The rest of the body is called *kisikitu,* upper half of body from *kisikiit,* "alive," and *-katsu,* "dead white." Sometimes the ordinary word for white, *taka,* is used instead.) The shell is as thick as a board and so hard that it needs to be cut up with an ax, but it is very sweet tasting. It has a crooked neck and is knobby or pimply around the neck end and very smooth on the body. (5) *ri-kats-katit,* same as (4), but black (*-katit,* "black") (6) *pabuks-kata,* "pumpkin-dry"; dry near the stem, sometimes a little pointed; somewhat dry inside when cooked; real round and smooth; color, light green. (7) *pabuks-tarabi-kiripaxki,* "squash-grooved-small"; in a variety of colors—green, white, yellow, and dark green, also a rather dark blue and some very blue.

• 243 The Indian groups of the Missouri River Valley of which the Pawnees were one, raised mainly flint and flour corn, but not dent. They also raised sweet corn. Flint and flour corn apparently both did equally well among the Pawnees. Mark Evarts named ten breeds of corn for the Pawnees, one of them borrowed from the Osage. There were two flints, one yellow, and one varied in color, five or possibly six flour corns in five different colors—blue, speckled, white, yellow, and red; and one sweet corn, reddish-yellow in color. In addition, there was an archaic breed [778] of corn known as Wonderful or Holy Corn which was never eaten but was raised only for inclusion in the sacred bundles. Two ears were

placed in each bundle, each wrapped up and sewed into a covering—the 243
winter ear in a tanned buffalo skin and the ear dedicated to summer in a 778
buffalo-heart skin. Each individual ear of these holy corns in the bundles had a different name by which it was addressed. Early in April before the *Awari* or planting ritual, a ritual was held in which the seeds of the holy corn were distributed to the keepers of the sacred bundles so that their wives could plant them in their fields. At harvest time, when these sacred ears were mature, the old ears were removed from the bundles and replaced with ears from the new crop. Fine examples of some of the best ears of the more common varieties were also placed in the sacred bundles at harvest time, particularly those with a male spike. Compared with the white flour corn, the holy corn, which was also white, had small kernels that sometimes covered the cob to the very tip. "Sometimes it has something like a soft feather at the tip of the ear." This is apparently the
male spike at the point end; archaeologically it appears very early, 4,445 [171]
± 180 B.C., in the tiny ancestral corncobs taken from La Perra Cave in northeast Mexico. Such an ear is also shown in the headdress and hands of the Maize God on a prehistoric Zapotec funerary urn from Mexico (Mangelsdorf, 1958).

244
192

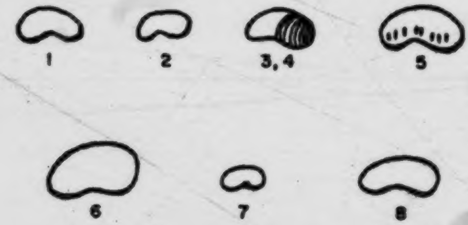


FIGURE 11-2. Eight varieties of beans, generically known to the Pawnees as *atit*: (1) *ati-pahat*, "bean-red"; a large sized bean. (2) *atik-taka*, "bean-white." (3) *ati-paks-katit*, "bean-head-black"; black-head beans. (4) *ait-paks-pahat*, "bean-head-red"; same as (3). (5) *ati-pirari*, "bean-spotted"; color of a spotted horse, spotted all around, some with red, some with black spots; a somewhat large-sized bean. (6) *ati-katus*, "bean-flat"; large, flat bean. (7) *atit-tiwats-katit*, "bean-navel-black"; spotted where it joins the stem; navel, *-riwat*, phonetically altered in the context. (8) *ati-taxkata*, "bean-yellow"; a rather large yellow bean.

Our classification of the species of corn is based on the starch content, 243
but when a Pawnee was asked to name the varieties of corn they had, he 242
or she would enumerate them in terms of color categories—black, [822]
spotted, white, yellow, and red. It is interesting that these represent the varieties of flour corn that they had. However, in classifying their corn, they subsumed the flint, sweet, and sacred varieties under these color categories. When asked to name the varieties of Pawnee corn, Mark Evarts

243
242 named ten, one being Osage. George F. Will, nurseryman and anthropologist of North Dakota, experimented with planting Indian corn from various tribes of the Missouri River region and managed to isolate nine pure strains of Pawnee corn. These correspond with considerable accuracy to those named by Mark Evarts. I have placed his classification as it appeared in his publication (Will and Hyde, 1919) in a parallel column alongside that of Mark Evarts. (See Table 11-1.)

TABLE 11-1. *Classifications of Varieties of Pawnee Corn.*

As Named by Mark Evarts	As Named by Will and Hyde, 1919
1. *Blue* corn—*uraax-katit*, earth-black, referring to very dark blue	Blue *flour* corn, No. 40
2. *Spotted* corn, *rikis-tipiku*, corn-spotted (*ripiku*, egg)	Black-eyed and red-speckled corn, p. 308
3. *White* corn, big kernels, *rikis-taka*, corn-white	White *flour* corn, No. 36
4. White with small kernels, *rikis-paruksti*, corn-holy	Not identified by authors
5. *Yellow* corn, harder variety, *rikis-taxkata*, corn-yellow	Yellow *flint*, No. 38
6. A yellow corn, softer than No. 5, called *parus-arut*, rabbit-soft	Yellow *flour* corn, No. 37
7. Hard corn, *kitsirit*, flinty, hard, translucent; real smooth, with different colored kernels on the same cob—white, spotted, yellow	Red *flint*, No. 89, flinty mixed colors with red predominating
8. *Red* corn—*rikis-pahat*, corn-red	Red *flour* corn, No. 45
9. Sweet corn—*rikis-karus*, corn-sweet, somewhat reddish yellow and sticky	Sweet corn, yellow sugar corn, No. 41
10. Osage corn—*rikis-pasasi*, corn-Osage, gotten from Osage, grows 9-10 feet high and can have 8 or 9 ears on one stalk	

243
242
772
82 From the experiments of George Will, it is evident that the Pawnees were quite capable of producing pure strains of corn and maintaining the breeds. And yet when asked to list the classes of corn that they had, they did so in terms of a certain order of colors rather than by a horticultural classification. Consistent with the Pawnee belief that the Heavens are the first cause of all things, this is a cosmic rather than a botanical classification. In Pawnee theology, the four semicardinal directions are associated with the four color designations—northeast-black; southeast-white; northwest-yellow; and southeast-red. In the creation legend it is stated that in the western part of the ancient territory there were four villages,

each representing one of the semicardinal directions; each had a different- 243
colored ear of corn in its sacred bundle, as cited above. The order of the 242
colors of corn followed by Mark Evarts in his classification if translated 772
into directions are northeast, southwest, northwest, southeast. This di- 82
agonal succession forms a simple cross, the Pawnee symbol for a star.
What star is implied is not known. Typically of Pawnee thought, there
must be deeper theological meanings and references than are apparent.
The order of naming the varieties of corn is clearly connected with
these religious implications.

For the Pawnee, there is very little that does not have some direct con- 243
nection with the cosmos. But in sharp contrast to the corn, the other two 244
crops, squash and beans, have no religious connotations whatever. This
lack of ideological involvement seems strange, as we know archaeologi- [772]
cally that first squash and then beans were the earliest domesticated crops
in the New World, followed after a considerable time interval by the
domestication of corn. Among the Pawnees the whole horticultural cycle
was conducted in terms of the corn. In the spring the corn was the
first of the three crops to sprout, and in the fall it was the first to mature.
There were seven common varieties of squash and pumpkins current
among the Pawnees at that time and eight of beans. (See figures 11-1 and
11-2.)

12

CLOSING EPISODE OF PLANTING PERIOD

000

Young Corn Plant Ceremony—Seasonal Orientation—Necessity of a Visionary—Ritual of Ceremony Explained—Second Role of Visionary on Buffalo Hunt—Conclusion of Ceremony and Beginning of Weeding and Cultivating of Corn

243 THE CLOSING EPISODE of the planting period was the carrying through of the young corn plant from a seedling to its "adolescence," when it could be "laid by" for the summer until they returned in the fall from the buffalo hunt and it would be ready for harvest.

The four semicardinal-direction bundle priests kept careful watch, and when the sacred corn seeds had sprouted to about two inches and had four good leaves, they knew that it was time to conduct the ceremony of the young corn plant. In this ceremony the priests prepared the young corn plant for her role as Mother to all the people. The young corn plant was carried through a series of ritual steps symbolizing the birth, infancy, and growth to first motherhood of a young girl. The corn could then mature and become Mother of the people.

The practical steps, as always, were preceded by a ceremonial preparation. The conduct of the ceremony was under one of the south semi-[178] cardinal-direction bundles—either the Southwest or the Southeast in 243 alternate years. As always, although the ceremonies were seasonally ori-787 ented, they were initiated by a visionary who received a mandate from the cosmic power involved, instructing him to see that the ceremony was performed. In this case the vision always came to a man who was an outstanding buffalo hunter and eagle trapper. The vision would have occurred while they were out on the winter buffalo hunt; as soon as possi-

ble he would kill a buffalo and pronounce it holy. Then he called in the 243
five official Skidi priests, who were the ministers of the four semicardinal-direction 787
bundles and that of the evening Star, and entertained them [793]
at a feast of buffalo ribs, telling them of his vision. His wife sliced, dried, and packaged the rest of the consecrated buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit at home until the spring, when the ceremony was to be performed.

The visionary became a principal actor in the ceremony and made a [574]
major contribution of buffalo meat to the ritual feast, while his wife contributed a considerable amount of the boiled dried corn. He considered it a great privilege to participate in the ceremony and to receive instructions
from the priests concerning the cosmic traditions. During the ceremony 243
he would impersonate an important god of the creation, *Paruksti*, the 787
Wonderful, the personified Thunderstorm with its four aspects of cloud,
wind, lightning, and thunder. After the Star Gods had created man in 776
their own image, they combined the powers of the storm into one great 773
person, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, and sent him to earth to inspect their handiwork. In him were embodied all the self-renewing powers of earth. In the course of his travels he acted as scout, found the buffalo, and taught the people how to hunt them. The visionary was to impersonate the god in two roles—one in the symbolic acting-out of the male role in procreation and later as the guardian of their fortunes in the buffalo hunt.

In this ceremony of the young holy corn plant, the keepers of all the 243
twelve sacred bundles had assembled in the lodge of the Southwest (or 793
Southeast) Semicardinal-direction priest. The Evening Star priest and the four semicardinal-directions priests sat at the west and the other bundle ministers were ranged along the sides in positions appropriate to the place of origin of their legendary villages and their cosmic affiliations.

The visionary stood before the Evening Star priest, who arranged the 243
buffalo robe that he wore and tied the buffalo hair rope around his waist 793
so that he was dressed as a priest. The Evening Star priest now instructed 787
the visionary in what he was to do. He gave him a small pipe filled with 788
tobacco from the sacred bundle. The visionary then led the procession that was to go into the field where the sacred corn plant was growing. It was the field of the wife of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle priest. The procession lined up on the north side of the ceremonial earth lodge, the visionary in the lead, the four-directions priests following behind him and an errand man following after to serve them, carrying a lighted brand with which to light the visionary's pipe. The Evening Star priest remained in the lodge at the west and the ministers of the other sacred bundles continued to sit in their places. As the procession emerged from the lodge everyone in the village was standing on the

243 793 787 788 rooftops to see the priests get the young plant of the holy corn. The priests were wrapped in their buffalo robes with the hair side out and were rattling their gourds and singing. They felt it to be a long journey symbolically signifying the eons of the creation, and the song was sung to recapitulate all its stages—the stages that pertained to women (the land, the vegetation, the waters and the cultivated seeds), and the stages that pertained to men (the moccasin, its string, the robe, the power of the universe, Mother Corn, and the thunder). These stages of the [772] men symbolized conception and birth—the moccasin, a pocket-like covering into which something is thrust; the moccasin cord, the umbilical cord; the robe, the enveloping membrane of the foetus; the creative power of the universe, the sacred nature of conception and birth; Mother Corn, germination; and the thunder, the fertilizing principle. The little corn plant they uprooted in the field would symbolize all these things.

243 793 787 When they arrived at the sacred corn hill, they ranged themselves around it, the visionary to the west, the four semicardinal-directions priests in their appropriate stations. They again sang the steps of the creation as they sat in their places, and then the priests remained seated while the visionary rose and prepared to smoke his pipe with the powers above. He walked to the north side of the hill, where the errand man [782] lighted his pipe, then proceeded around it, pausing to offer the mouthpiece to the powers in the order directed by the Evening Star priest before they had left the lodge. He offered it to Heaven, the Evening Star, the Morning Star, the Big Black Meteoric Star in the northeast, the North and Lucky Wind, a great legendary hero *Pahukatawa*, then southeast to the Sun and southwest to the Moon. Next he emptied the ashes on the corn hill and gave the pipe to the ranking priest. Then he sat down at the west and in counterclockwise order beginning at the northeast he pressed into the cornhill a gift of little pellets of buffalo-heart fat and tongue fat wrapped around with some tobacco. He alternated his offerings, beginning with tongue fat at the northeast and heart fat at the northwest, and so on.

Now the most solemn part of the ceremony was to be enacted. They were to uproot the sacred corn sprout in a symbolic act of birth. The visionary stood at the west and instructed the Southwest (or Southeast) priest to ease the plant out of the ground very gently so that he would not disturb any part of the delicate roots. The roots symbolized the moccasin strings and the seeds, the moccasin or covering for power. The priest wrapped the "newborn" plant in buffalo wool and handed it to the visionary, who placed it on his back in his buffalo robe as a woman carries her child. Now they began again to sing the steps of the creation and lined up preparatory to returning to the ceremonial lodge. Everyone in the village was watching and listening as they sang on their way back.

793 243 In the lodge, the Evening Star priest unwrapped the plant from its

wool covering and placed it on the ground before him, offering his pipe 243
to it to smoke. [793]

The next steps involved the transformation of a dogwood stick into a [322] "body" for the plant, by an expert arrowshaft maker, for whom tools were ready in the sacred bundle—a new knife, an elkhorn arrowshaft straightener, a grooved sandstone smoother, some sinew, and different-colored paints. After the shaft was made, red and white paints were applied, and it was anointed with milk from the breasts of a young nursing mother who was called in to volunteer this donation. In their proceedings, they were symbolically creating a young mother out of the corn plant which was tied onto the head of the shaft. The shaft was painted with a little red groove near the top to signify the face, and a red line drawn down the length signified the windpipe, breath, and the principle of life. First the priest spoke to the new young mother corn, after which [793] it was passed around among the other bundle ministers in the lodge who spoke of it as "the voice." Then it was passed around a second time and all breathed upon it—the Evening Star priest first, followed by all the others.

Now the errand man went through the village crying out that the new [624] mother needed a robe, a cowskin in the hair, and a buffalo hair belt. The donor brought them to the lodge. The last act of the ceremony consisted in wrapping Mother in her new robe with her face exposed so that she might watch over the people. She was tied to the outside of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle.

Just before this final step, the visionary was dressed up by the priest 243 for his second role that he would carry throughout the summer buffalo 787 hunt until they arrived back at the village. He would now impersonate *Paruksti*, Wonderful Power, the Thunderstorm. He was wrapped in a [776] buffalo skin that he had specially prepared, and wore special moccasins and a buffalo-hair rope belt tied in the back in four loops to represent the rain. His duties would be very trying, for all summer while they were on the march he would have to remain wrapped tightly in his robe, refrain from washing or bathing, handling knives, scratching himself, or participating in any acts of violence. He must think only gentle and noble thoughts. If his feet were allowed to touch water, there would be violent thunderstorms. In his person he held the great force of the creative power of all the universe. When they reached the buffalo herd, as the hunters stood lined up ready to surround it, this holy man would have to kneel facing the herd and pray to the cosmic powers, naming the buffalo and the eagles that he had consecrated to them in the past. Should anyone be injured in the course of the attack on the herd, the people would blame him and feel that he had had evil thoughts and had not been sincere. Throughout the hunt one or the other of the prominent old men would stay with him, talking to him and seeing that he did not transgress

243 787 any taboos. He was always fed first before the others at every meal so that his mood would remain pleasant. He lived and moved in the encampment of the chief who was leading the hunt during that season.

In the previous ceremony, when the seeds of the sacred corn had [592] been distributed to the ministers of the various bundles for planting, the visionary of that ceremony had been constituted a holy man for the well-being of the corn crop. He also had to remain wrapped in his buffalo robe all summer and to observe similar taboos until the harvest was in. Presumably, as he remained wrapped in his robe, he was impersonating the ear of corn itself in its husk.

In the final stages of the young corn ceremony, the priest went through the village, praising the donor of the cowskin and buffalo-hair belt in which they dressed the young Mother Corn, referring to the robe as the symbolic wrapper into which a germ of life could be thrust and the buffalo-hair rope as the string.

The ceremony of the Young Mother Corn was concluded with a feast in which all who had participated shared in the meat of the buffalo that the visionary had consecrated on the previous winter hunt. His wife usually added a donation of boiled corn to round out the banquet.

243 Until this ceremony was completed, no woman could go into her field and begin to weed and cultivate it. Now the women all went into their fields carrying their hoes. First they would pull out the weeds one by one from the corn hills by hand and then pile up the earth around the young growing plants. The corn was hilled up so high around the plant that the leaves barely stuck out at the top; they were compared with an earth lodge with the smoke issuing out of the smokehole in the roof.

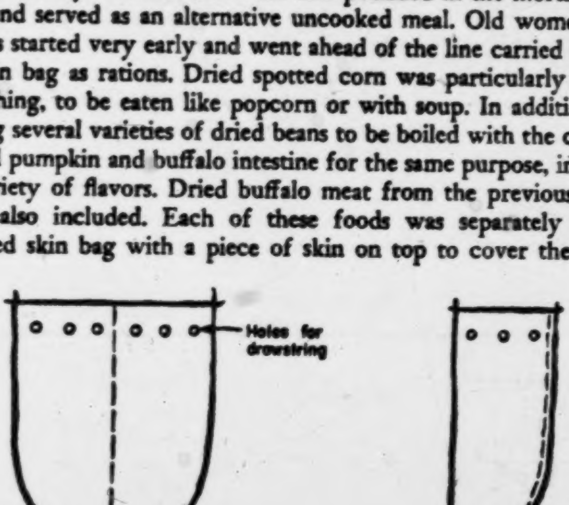
It was early morning and the dew had fallen, and as the women worked around and around the corn hills their bodies would get soaking wet. After they had hilled up the earth around the plants, the women would kneel close to the hill and pat it all around with their hands to make it smooth and even. The woman's left side, as well as her face and hands, would become covered with mud. To mention this fact to a woman on her way home from the fields would be the height of pre- [515] sumption. On the way home everyone took a swim in Beaver Creek and washed off their hoes. Again the young women splashed with their feet on the surface of the water and tried to make as loud a report as possible by slapping the surface of the water with their hands. The old man again sat up on his earth lodge and addressed the community at large. He reminded everyone that the women were now "disfiguring themselves" for him, getting all muddy, and that while their hoes were still full of mud, all of them would be eating the food that the women [606] had raised. Some of the women went in groups to cultivate the previously planted fields of their new daughters-in-law, singing while they worked

together and again enjoying a festive meal at their daughter-in-law's house 243
afterward. [606]

Now at the beginning of June everyone's mind was turned to complet- [221]
ing the preparations for leaving on the summer hunt. They would weed and cultivate the corn plants and hill up the earth once more just before leaving, when the plants were about 3½ feet high. The present Nebraska farmer says, "Knee high by the fourth of July" and the Pawnee said, "Tall enough to tickle the horse's belly."

The corn and the buffalo that sustained the Pawnee placed heavy de- 22
mands upon him. Only by carrying out his year's round with great pre- 476
cision and by careful coordination of his activities with other people of 243
the tribe could he combine these two major food resources. The adminis-
trative activities of the priests and the chiefs were as vital to his enterprise 622
as the physical resources themselves. Few administrative structures have 182
commended themselves so directly to the people as that of the Pawnees. [793]
Respect for the chief was a cardinal tenet of every Pawnee's life, in re- [183]
turn for which the chief demonstrated a dedicated concern for his people.

*224 roasted in the husks. The kernels were then cut from the cob with a clam-
251 shell and dried. Corn prepared in this way, known as *rawaritu*, "roasted,"
252 required little soaking and could be boiled in an hour. When the camp
was moving along quickly, this was the corn they depended on for the
(243) basic staple. While some of the corn crop was thus gathered early when it
was "in the milk," the rest of the crop was allowed to mature and dry
on the stalk, *rikis-tahis*, "corn-dry." After the cobs were snapped off the
stalk and carried in, the kernels were pried off with a pointed stick. Any
of the nine varieties might be treated in either way, but the blue flour
corn was particularly favored for maturing on the stalk to be processed
as dry corn. Dry corn took considerably longer to prepare than roasted. It
had to be soaked for some time before it could be boiled, and they used
it when they stayed over at a place, arrived early, or stayed at camp late
one morning. Although it took longer to prepare, this kind of corn was
heavier and more satisfying. The sticky, yellow sweet corn pounded
with sugar was taken along as a kind of sweet meat or served when they
(887) had no time at all to cook a meal. This was most commonly prepared by
the old ladies who had more time to pound things in the mortar. Thin
sheets of dry buffalo meat were also pounded in the mortar with a little
fat and served as an alternative uncooked meal. Old women who some-
times started very early and went ahead of the line carried these foods in
a skin bag as rations. Dried spotted corn was particularly preferred for
parching, to be eaten like popcorn or with soup. In addition, they took
along several varieties of dried beans to be boiled with the corn and some
dried pumpkin and buffalo intestine for the same purpose, in order to add
a variety of flavors. Dried buffalo meat from the previous winter hunt
*224 was also included. Each of these foods was separately packed in a
251 tanned skin bag with a piece of skin on top to cover the opening and
415



Folded along mid-line and sewn.

A circular piece of hide was put inside when full before the draw-string was pulled.

FIGURE 16-1. The small sack, *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack." Slightly larger than our 50-pound flour sack, it is used for carrying pounded-up sweet corn, dried pieces of meat, scraps, and so forth.

*224
*484 White Woman and Victory Call to eat, one for No Corn and Horse Rider
[252] to eat together, and one for herself and her grandson, Otter.

[262] When they got to the top of the hills eight miles west of Genoa they could sight the school house. Everyone called out, "There it is—*kaxkarit-pahat*" (house-stone-red). It was red brick. Along the north and south side of the Loup is a deep valley and from the hills on either side of the river, one could see a considerable distance.

[136] No one could camp anywhere near the earth lodge village itself. It was infested with fleas. They camped in the bottomlands within reach of their fields where they stayed for three weeks while they treated the crops and cleaned out the earth lodge so that it became habitable. In the open, they could more readily dispose of the husks, cobs, and other wastes that resulted from processing the crops. The Stay-at-Homes came along to meet them starting out from near Columbus 22 miles away and following northwestward along the Loup River. "Here come the Kakusu, the Stay-at-Homes," everyone would call out as they approached.

792 There was one more item of formal business that they had to attend to
before they could get down to the activities of the harvest. To his tent,
White Eagle called representatives of each of the four villages and the
five old priests. In White Eagle's tent and in his charge at all times had
*[224] been *taxpiku*, the holy man, who symbolized the luck of the whole tribe
on the hunt. It was during the spring, when they had the ceremony of
[777] the Young Corn, *Kurahus*, that he was charged with this holy office. He
was a man of exemplary character who was favored by the supernatural
powers through the generous offerings he had made to their ceremonies.
He had to keep his buffalo robe wrapped around him at all times. There
was an absolute taboo against his bathing. He was not allowed to cut his
fingernails or comb his hair. The other old men went along, one or the
other of them staying alongside all during the hunt. His food was fed to
him in a special bowl and he was always served first, for it was recognized
[821] that he was under a severe strain. Should he take a bath or his feet
touch water, there would be severe thunderstorms. It was at this ceremony
that he was praised for his courage and diligence and dismissed
from his office. Now he was able to laugh and joke. "Oh my, I'm lousy,"
he said, "and my feet stink!" He tossed off his blanket and ran down to
the creek to take a bath as soon as he could. He was no longer an official
and no longer needed to be on his dignity.

[777] They still had one more holy man, *taxpiku*, who was holding in the
luck of the crops. He had been appointed early in the spring when they
• [243] distributed the first seeds of the sacred corn. He would not be released
until after the harvest. This man had been appointed when the Young
Mother Corn was installed, and carried through the summer buffalo
hunt and was then dismissed. These were men who had proved themselves
devoted to the supernatural powers by their offerings to the sa-

31

HARVEST TIME IN THE VILLAGE

000 *Encampment in the Bottomlands—Grandma Opens the Cache Pit—Fall Harvest—Grandma Builds a Work Enclosure in the Field—Roasting the Corn and Pumpkin—Her Round of Activities—Treatment of Corn, Beans, Pumpkin—Sioux Attack—Earth Lodges Prepared for Reentering—Stories*

243 EVERYONE'S THOUGHTS were now upon their gardens and their corn. In
[821] the sky, the South Star, Canopus, had appeared and they knew it was time
for harvest. By our calendar it was about the first of September. The time
[221] of the hunt was over; the time of the harvest begun.

Before they left the village at the end of June, the corn had grown
about knee high and the earth was hilled up around the young plants so
that they looked like little earth lodges with smoke issuing from their
smokeholes. Now the stalks were ten feet tall and the ears were not quite
mature but "in the milk." The corn harvest was in two stages: some of
243 the corn was treated at once in this early stage by roasting and drying,
252 and some left to mature completely on the stalk before being dried and
251 processed. Between the first and second corn drying, they harvested and
244 dried the beans and then the pumpkins.

When they camped in the bottomlands near the fields, they set up a
342 commodious tent as they knew they wouldn't have to move it for at least
251 three weeks, and they needed room to keep their meat and dried crops
under cover. Their earth lodges were infested with fleas and they
couldn't spare the time to clear them up until they had gotten on with
251 the work of the harvest. However, they did go up to the villages and
open up and inspect and clean their storage pits that they had left with

considerable quantities of dried corn, vegetables, meat, and some skins and clothing, and they took out some of the dried corn and beans for current use, until the green corn would be ready. 251

As soon as the encampment was set up, Grandma had a visit from Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy who was camping way over east with the Village-in-the-Bottomlands group where she had been all summer with her son. She came to talk to Grandma about going up to the cache pit the next morning, cleaning it up and getting out a few supplies. Old-Lady-Blue-Calico who was the grandmother in Old Bull's family that occupied the south side of the earth lodge, also came with a similar proposal and early next morning the three old ladies went up there and got to work. White Woman and No Corn said they would join them later after they had finished the household chores in order to get a few supplies of dried corn and pumpkin.

When they first opened the pit, the air smelled moldy and they had to let it air a bit before anyone could enter. Then they put down a tree ladder, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, who was the tallest, went into the pit to look things over. The ladder was a tree trunk with stubs of branches left on for a foothold and two extra notches at the bottom. The pit was 10 feet deep. The moldy smell might have come from the thatch grass that lined the pit or from the actual supplies. When she got down inside, the old lady discovered a moldy place in the grass which she proceeded to rub off with a broom and throw out of the pit. The women had each brought along a small sack, *ritsakusu*, in which to carry home their supplies. This was about 8 inches high and a foot in diameter when full (compare with sack carried on the hunt, *asakarusu*, 3 feet high and 1½ feet diameter when full). In the pit each woman had a very large sack of tanned hide in which her provisions were stored, and each one asked Grieves-the-Enemy to dip out some from her store into the small sack. No Corn who had arrived with White Woman by this time, asked for some green roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*) and a half a checker-plaited pumpkin mat. White Woman asked for the same. Grandma reminded them that they shouldn't take too much at this time, as they would very soon have fresh roasted green corn from their current crop. Since the other women in the household had taken roasted corn, Grandma asked for a different kind—mature dried blue flour corn, *uraaxkatit*, that she could pound up and make into mush with buffalo soup, *u-taraha* "mush-buffalo." She also asked for dried sweet corn, the rather sticky yellow variety, *rikis-karus*, "corn-sweet," that she intended to pound up in the mortar with sugar which could then be eaten without further preparation. [417] [252]

The younger women carried their supplies back to camp and the three older women lingered a while to close up the pit securely and to talk over their plans. They had decided that each of the old women would stay in her own field and completely process her crop there. 243 887 252

000 243 476 252 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there. The younger women whose husbands had horses for transportation would often go out together with another couple and bring the crop back to camp, where they would do the processing in a coordinated group. Victory Call and White Woman along with Horse Rider and No Corn formed such a work group, first in White Woman's fields and then in those of No Corn, carrying the crops into camp on their horses. The old [887] lady sat in her field all day and brought the finished product back to camp when it was completely prepared for storage. Families with only [492] one horse or with no horses also processed the entire crop in the field before packing it into camp.

313 462 While the women were at the food pit, the men had been out piling wood in the fields and in camp so that it would be ready for roasting the green corn. They preferred to get dead willows and driftwood; Horse Rider was at the creek piling up the driftwood while Victory Call was bringing the willows into the camp. Some men would say, "I don't care —that's women's work," but a good man would help his wife.

222 272 At this time of year they gathered a plant, *parus-asu*, "rabbit-foot," used for making a brown tea that they drank if they didn't happen to have coffee (*Lespedeza Capitata* Michx.) At the top in a cluster are some fruits looking like tiny rabbit feet. The plant grew on a bush about 3 feet high. They brewed the tea by breaking up the dry twig with the leaves on and steeping it in a coffee pot. Now everything was ready for harvesting and roasting the green corn.

243 342 252 Very early next morning Grandma went out to her field and there prepared a place for her work. She built herself an ample shade, *kipasiu*, of willows—a circular enclosure, open at the top with an entrance at the east. The leaves were a bit interlaced to make the fencing solid, the side branches beginning about a foot from the ground. When she left for the night, she put a willow sapling with leaves at the top in the doorway so that the shelter was closed in and well protected from horses. People who did not work in the field sometimes built themselves a more temporary shelter by arranging four or five willows in an arc. In her enclosure Grandma roasted all her corn and would leave it overnight in bags to be husked there next day and the kernels removed before bringing it to camp. During the harvest she cooked all her meals there. She left before breakfast and ate whenever it was convenient. She had a kettle along and a small mortar and pestle for preparing her meals. She would pound some of the fresh corn kernels from the roasted cobs and wrap them in corn husks, putting them in the boiling water to make dumplings. After she removed the dumplings she would add some dried meat scraps that had been scraped from the hide at the hunting grounds, *kstasi'u*, to make a good soup. Sometimes she took her grandson, Otter, into the field and shared her meals with him.

Grandma built herself a corn-roasting pit inside her shelter. It was an 252
oblong pit with an embankment along each long side or a log for the ears to rest on—the pit lying across the shelter with the long dimension running north and south; the back of the shelter being west and its entry east.

Before putting up the shelter, on the way to the fields she had looked 243
for some wood so that it would be ready for the roasting. If she was un- 252
able to find wood, she used sunflower stalks. Now with the shelter all [372]
prepared and the pit ready, she fixed up a parfleche as a container for the [415]
ears she picked by closing one end and leaving the other open, and since it was of stiff rawhide, she stood it up ready to throw the ears of corn in. When it was full, she carried it on her back with a packstrap which she had fastened to it. The ears of corn from one parfleche-full make a pile about 3 feet high by 2½ feet in diameter. She would gather about two parfleches of corn at a time which she would roast before gathering the next batch.

Now she built a fire in the pit. If it was morning, she would sit near the west edge facing east, the raw corn piled at her right (at the south end of the pit). The corn was set in the pit resting along the near side with the stub end down and the point end up—the ears lined up one next to the other. While they were roasting, she had to keep turning the ears, and it was hard to keep her hands from getting burnt while this was going on. With one woman working alone she could utilize only one of the long sides of the pit at any one sitting, because of the need to turn the ears. In the morning she worked along the west edge and in the afternoon after the sun went down she worked along the east edge, sitting with her back to the door, facing the rear of the shelter. She again piled the raw corn to her right (the north end) and proceeded to roast it. When two women worked together they could use both sides of the pit simultaneously.

The husks of the corn were considerably charred after the roasting, but the corn inside was not burnt. The ears were left in their husks in a pile to cool off, and this very much improved their flavor. Only if the woman was in a great hurry would she begin to husk the ears before they had cooled off.

After all the corn was husked, the kernels were cut off row by row with a fresh water clamshell. Some of the ears had such small kernels that they could not be cut off, and these ears were left aside in a pile for any guests who happened to come in and visit.

While the roasted corn was cooling, Grandma would pick the ripe 244
beans. She swept the place clean and spread them out to let them dry in [251]
the sun and as they dried, you could hear them pop. She also went to the pumpkin patch and got two or three pumpkins that were hard enough. Like the beans, she would gather these up in her skirt. She

244 252 She roasted them in the fire and when they were burned all around, she scraped off the burnt places with her clamshell. So as not to waste it, she ate some of this burnt pumpkin rind and sometimes gave some to the little boy and his mouth would get all black and ashy. The next step was to cut the roasted pumpkins in half and scoop out the seeds with the pulp, removing the seeds and spreading them out to dry for next year's planting, since these were the first of the season to ripen. If she felt inclined to, she could cook the pulp with some fresh corn in her kettle; otherwise she would simply throw it away.

After the six half pumpkin shells had cooled off, she cut them into rings about 1½ inches wide. She kept cutting the pumpkin shells all around (*tihakaratsarabaku*) until she had cut them all. The bottom disks, about 4 inches in diameter, were also saved. One or two of these she wrapped in corn husks and roasted them in the ashes covered up with the hot coals so that the little boy could eat them. Then she prepared a rack
244 251 252 for drying the strips and the bottoms were spread out on the ground on some corn husks in the sun. The drying rack was two forked sticks set in the ground with a long cross stick resting in the forks. The rack faced east so that the sun could strike it better. Hanging the pumpkin rings on her left arm, she took them one by one and hung them on the cross stick, pushing them up against the fork. When the stick was about half full, she lifted the cross stick and added rings, and when the space between the forks was full, she continued to hang them up on both ends of the stick. The three ordinary-sized pumpkins filled a little over half a cross stick.

243 252 The first corn picked were the small-kerneled varieties—the *rawarit-kiripaxki*, "roasted-small." After she had worked a little on the beans and pumpkins she went into the field and picked the larger kerneled corn, *rawarit-kutsu*, "roasted-large," particularly the blue flour *uraax-katit*, "earth-black." These she also roasted in the pit and left aside any with kernels so small that they could not be cut off with the fresh-water clamshell, for any casual guests to eat that might come to visit her in the field.

251 243 Both in the previous gathering and now with the larger-kerneled ears, after roasting, Grandma selected about a dozen or two ears that were particularly good specimens, leaving them in the husk and removing just the charred parts. These she would not husk or remove the kernels, but when they dried, braid them together into a long continuous chain that she joined together at the ends. When the ears were dry, the husks were drawn up toward the butt ends and joined together in a braid, *ki'u*, making a string some 2 feet 9 inches long about two dozen to a braid, and then the ends tied together and hung up to dry in the sun on the south side of the shelter. Some people made braids of only a dozen. Strings of spotted corn, *rikis-tipiku*, "corn-egg," were braided in a

double row with more ears to the string. Most of all they braided the 251
sweet corn, *rikis-karus*, "corn-sweet." Later when they gathered the 243
mature corn that had been left to dry on the stalk and not roasted, they also selected some prime ears and braided them together. In the earth lodge on each side leaning against the wall was a sapling with lopped-off branches on which they hung some of these corn braids. Even if this corn was not cooked until December or January, it tasted as fresh as if it had just been plucked. From a braid of mature dried corn, anyone who wanted an occasional bite could break off an ear and roast it. Those braids that were not hung up in the lodge were put in the storage pit along with the dried kernels and other dried crops.

All day Grandma worked in the fields, and in the evening she loaded [482]
her parfleche container of roasted corn kernels on her back and carried them to the camp. She would bring six or seven corn stalks with her that had been stripped of their ears for the little boy to chew on "like sugar cane." The old lady said, "Here, that's good for you!" He bit between the joints and twisted the stalk to get out the sweet juice. While he was enjoying them, some boys would come along and say, "Give me one." At camp an old tent cover had been spread on the ground so that the corn kernels could be spread out to dry. The next morning she said to White Woman, "Tsuat Tstaka, Daughter White Woman, here's some corn. Spread it out to dry." On the way home from her fields, Grandma always took a swim in Beaver Creek.

Back at camp, they had a team approach to the harvesting that in- 243
volved somewhat different steps from Grandma's. The two fields, White 476
Woman's and No Corn's, were harvested in succession, at least two going into a field at a time, while the others might remain behind for the
processing. Also all the crops were loaded on horseback rather than [492]
being packed on the back from the field to the camp as Grandma did. Husking was also done in a group, people from other camps joining them from time to time.

The team of four—Horse Rider and his wife No Corn and Victory Call and his wife White Woman—worked in the following way:

Morning of the first day, White Woman and Horse Rider went out to her field and brought in eight parfleches of corn ears that they had picked. They took along two horses and loaded them with four parfleches each. It was estimated that in our terms, eight parfleches of corn ears amounted to a wagon load, level and without the side boards up.

When they got back to camp, White Woman and No Corn im- 243
mediately set to work roasting. The two men, Horse Rider and Victory 252
Call, went back into the field and brought back two more horseloads— 476
eight parfleches full of corn ears. In one day they had gathered in two wagonloads as stated above.

In the *afternoon*, they kept on roasting all day. The men shucked the

243 corn. They worked fast and had no time for refinements like picking
252 out the ears suitable for braiding as Grandma had done. They kept at it
476 all day, and if anyone was hungry he ate some roasted corn. Sometimes
one of the women stopped and made bread and coffee while the others
kept right on working. They allowed the problem of cleaning dishes
and other household chores to rest for the time being.

In the *evening* Uncle War Cry came along and observed, "What are you folks doing? Oh, roasting corn!" Then he sat down and lent a hand, husking away until he found an especially good ear that he would eat up on the way. Soon his younger brother, Brave Shield (also known as High Noon) joined the party. Victory Call said to Grandma, "Old Lady, go to sleep, You must be tired. You don't have to help us. We have two boys to help." Grandma went to bed and the men sat up husking together and telling stories until quite late. Moonlight nights were particularly likely to invite such husking parties.

For the next three weeks their pattern of work continued in the same way. The four would go out into the fields for the morning, come home at noon and the women set to work with the processing, the men going out again returning in the afternoon, and helping in the evening with the processing. Grandma came in, in the late afternoon or evening, and set down her processed material in a pile next to the rest.

The crops were gathered in the order of their readiness, first from
White Woman's fields, then from No Corn's, and the various processing
was carried on while other gathering was taking place. The *first green*
corn was gathered for two days from White Woman's and then another
244 two days from No Corn's fields. For the *first bean crop*, a day each was
476 spent in each of the fields. Now a *final load of green corn* was gathered
[243] with the team splitting up two and two to each field on the same day.
For the *second bean crop* all four worked one day in White Woman's
[461] field and then another day in No Corn's field. This was tedious work, as
one had to bend down and search for the beans all along the vines. Now
all four spent a day each gathering the *pumpkins*, bringing them back to
[252] camp. Then the pumpkins were roasted and cut into circular rings the
next day. After the pumpkins, for which about three days had been
243 spent, the team of four spent two days getting in and husking the
476 *mature corn* that had been left to dry on the stalks from each of the two
fields, and prying the kernels from the cobs with a pointed stick. The
next step was to gather in the small *nubbin ears* to be fed to the horses
so that they would get fat; Horse Rider gathered some and chopped them
up and fed them to a horse that was thin and then let them loose in the
field to find and eat them. Poor families sent their boys into other
people's fields to glean these small ears to supplement their meager
[251] supplies. Finally the *sticky sweet corn* that was left longest on the stalk
to dry was gathered, one day by Victory Call and White Woman in her

field, and then next day by Horse Rider and No Corn in her field, the two 243
teams staying alternately at home and watching as well as processing the 251
crops. Sweet corn was mainly made into double braids. Quantity pro- 476
duction depended on team work, of course, but the women had to sort [244]
out the eight varieties of beans after everything was done, as the men [462]
would not bother with such a detail and would pay no attention to the
selection of the best ears for braiding. When all the corn was in, the [825]
blackbirds began to fly over the fields, presaging the cold weather.

The following are some of the processes used in preserving the crops, 243
together with a breakdown of how these were coordinated with the ac- 244
tivities of gathering. 251

The green corn was gathered from the stalk "in the milk" and roasted 243
in a long roasting pit in which a fire was built. It was allowed to cool 251
off and the husks removed. The kernels were cut off the cob row by row [237]
with a fresh-water clamshell and spread on a tanned hide to dry. At night [412]
the kernels were first winnowed to remove any chaff, gathered up and
put in a flour sack, and then taken into the tent. They were put in a
wooden bowl and spilled out from a height so that the wind would
blow the chaff away. Next morning they were again spread out on
the tanned hide. After several days, as they were being spilled for win-
nowing in the evening, they would make a tapping noise when they
hit the hide, showing that the kernels were completely dry.

When the beans were picked off the vines and brought into camp, 244
they were dumped onto the spread and allowed to dry in the sun. As 251
they dried, one could hear the popping of the pods. At night they
were left outdoors, covered only with a spread of tanned hide, and in
the morning uncovered and allowed to dry again. Then they were [412]
flailed with a peeled willow rod about 4 feet long and 1 inch thick to
remove the pods as much as possible. Some of the beans had to be
picked out by hand—a small pile of beans was always picked this way.
If there was a large pile the woman would strike them with the stick,
then stop and pick out the loose pods and pile them to one side, push the
beans together again and further beat them with the stick. The beans
were winnowed by spilling from a height from a wooden bowl, in
this way loose pieces of dry pod blew away and the pods still containing
some beans fell to the ground and were opened by hand—an opera-
tion in which someone usually gave her help if they were available.
After winnowing, the beans were spread out to dry thoroughly. When
all the other work had been done, the beans were sorted into their
eight varieties.

After the beans, they brought in the pumpkin harvest. The women 244
spent most of one day hauling them from the field. First they brought 489
the largest, then the next largest, and so on. One parfleche in which 492
they were transported carried five large pumpkins, or seven to eight

244 middle-sized pumpkins, or twelve to fifteen small ones. A horse could
489 carry in only two parfleches filled with pumpkins at a trip. Using two
492 horses, they made five trips to the field, some in the morning and some in the afternoon, carrying about twenty parfleches in all of the different sizes. This represented the crop of White Woman's field and amounted to about a wagon-load and a half, perhaps a little more, with the wagon being level without sideboards.

244 The pumpkin rinds were removed by roasting them in the fire until they could scrape off the outer rind with a fresh-water clamshell. Each
251 individual pumpkin was roasted and set aside to cool, then scraped.
252 Some people peeled them with a knife, but this was time-consuming and was considered wasteful. Small pumpkins 4 inches or less in diameter were neither roasted, peeled, nor halved—they were simply cut into blocks, laid out on a tent skin and dried. They could be cooked any time now with the large roasted corn to add flavor. The standard-size pumpkins were cut in half, the pulp and seeds taken out, and the halves cut into a series of circular rings each about 1½ inches wide. These were hung on a rack and when they had dried somewhat were pressed underfoot to express some of the water as was done with the sliced buffalo meat, then hung up again to dry further. At night the pumpkin rings were left on the rack covered with an old tent skin. By
285 the time the mature dried corn crop was coming in, the pumpkin strips would be dry enough so that they could be woven into checker-plaited mats. They would alternate the processing of this corn with the making of the pumpkin mats, *ri-katsitu*, "braid-woven."

The plaited pumpkin mats were arm's length and 2 feet wide. The individual strips had shrunk in the drying to an inch in width. It took about two hours to weave a pumpkin mat. In an afternoon, each woman would make two mats before supper. The dried pumpkin was used by cutting off a number of the 2-foot strips in the width with small por-
252 tions of the cross pieces adhering to them. The very smallest pumpkins
262 about the size of tomatoes were boiled fresh and eaten in the morning for a breakfast during this harvest period. They were very much relished.

243 The preparation of the mature corn that had been allowed to dry on
251 the stalk, was somewhat different from the ears that were gathered "in the milk." No roasting was necessary. The ears were snapped off the stalk, taken to camp, and husked that evening and the following day. The ears were then spread out and allowed to dry until evening and after supper the women began to remove the kernels. They used a small pointed stick to pry them off, pushing it in between two rows and along the cob from stub end to point so that in spreading the rows of kernels they were readily pried off. In the evening the corn was winnowed and

taken into the tent. The next day the removal of the kernels contin- 243
ued. They were spread out to dry along with those removed the day 251
before. In the late afternoon they were again winnowed and kept in the tent for the night, and again spread out to dry further. When the kernels made a tapping sound on the hide during winnowing they were judged to be dry.

These were the technical steps taken to process the crops. The gen- 512
eral scheme of events among the household personnel was as follows: 243
First day. White Woman and Horse Rider went into her field and
brought in the corn loaded on two horses. White Woman and No Corn 251
stayed and roasted the corn. Victory Call and Horse Rider went back into 252
the field and got a second load. In the afternoon women kept on roasting 476
and the men removed the husks. In the evening two more men came in and helped with the husking while the women went to bed. The four men stayed up doing the husking and telling stories.

Second day. In the morning two men continued husking until eleven A.M.; the two women continued cutting off the kernels. After this time the two men spread out the kernels to dry. The two women continued to cut off the kernels from the cobs.

If Victory Call was tired, he rested and White Woman took over the spreading of the kernels while No Corn continued to cut the kernels from the cob. Horse Rider might have to go and tend the horses.

In the afternoon, Grandma came in with her parfleche of shelled corn, having crossed Beaver Creek and stopped for a swim. She dumped her corn kernels on the skin spread in a separate heap and spread them out to dry.

In the evening, having gathered in most of the green corn that was ready from White Woman's fields, they made a plan to go into No Corn's field the next morning. All four would go off into the field and they needed someone to keep watch over their corn against stealing. Also, should anyone need Victory Call for official business, it was necessary to tell them where he could be reached. White Woman asked her brother War Cry to send over one of his three wives as "Room-Watcher," *ratut-kihar-atsiksta*, "I that am for him-room-watcher." She could also spread out any corn kernels that still needed to be dried while she was there.

Third day. They go to No Corn's field to get the green corn. Victory Call, White Woman and No Corn set out on foot and pick whatever was ripe in No Corn's field, leaving it here and there in little piles. Horse Rider meanwhile had gone out to get the horses and saddle them up; then he joined them in the field. When one load was ready they went back to camp and the two women stayed there, beginning at once to roast the ears. Horse Rider went back to the field and brought what

512 was left in the several piles, loading it onto the horses and bringing it
243 back into camp. The women continued to roast and the men began to
do the husking.

251 That evening Sun Chief and Leading Fox, older sons of Victory Call
252 by a previous marriage, came in to help with the husking.

476 *Fourth day*. Men continued to husk the corn, while the women now cut the kernels from the cobs with a clamshell. They all helped to spread out the kernels to dry. All the green corn from both sets of fields that was ripe enough, had now been gathered, roasted, and set out to dry. It was usual to finish this task in the first four or five days.

513 *Fifth day*. This was the time for the first bean harvest in White Woman's
244 field. This was hard work as most of the vines didn't climb on anything
476 but grew close to the ground. Sometimes they grew in separate patches
[461] and sometimes in a patch with the corn. The women gathered the pods
in their skirts; the men threw them in whenever they got a handful. All
four worked in the field until late afternoon. On the way home, they
[526] stopped and took a swim in Beaver Creek. Again as in the time of
planting, they slapped the water with their feet, making as loud a noise
[515] as possible. As the women slapped the surface of the water with their
soles, it resounded all along the creek like the report of a gun. "They are slapping the water with their feet" (*tutastaxkitspiru*). The girls used their hands for this (*tutikstaxkitspiru*), and Otter had a hard time learning the trick from them. Possibly it was a kind of sympathetic magic for the tapping of the dry beans and corn on the threshing floor. They went home about 4:30 in the afternoon, having gathered about four parfleches of the beans in the pod in a good year. At home one of War Cry's wives or daughters had been serving as Room Watcher for their tent. It was five o'clock by the time the pods were all spread out to dry. Everyone was tired and took a rest. Inside the tent, Horse Rider and No Corn were wrestling playfully together and saying, "Now we have some roasted corn" (*rawaritu*).

244 In the evening the beans were covered up where they lay and the
corn kernels were winnowed and taken inside for the night in flour sacks.
512 Now grandma came in carrying her sack of corn or beans that she spread
out. White Woman offered to come out and help her in her field but she refused saying, "Oh, no. If you help me I'll get through too soon and I won't have anything else to do. So I'd just like to do it myself."

White Woman made the fire and cooked some grease bread and No Corn prepared the coffee and dried apples for their supper. Uncle War Cry came to join them and began to tease Grandma about how tired she was; Grandma asked to have her dinner brought to her. War Cry then began to talk about the trade store and Victory Call remembered he owed them a buffalo robe, but War Cry observed that he was sure they would wait until the harvest work was done. He promised to mention

bish in their yards at home and then go up to the village. He said the 512
leading doctors would wait until people got all through before beginning 796
as "They liked to have a good crowd to attend the dances." At the 756
gambling grounds the talk was about the same subject. Presently two or three men came in from the South Bands and joined them at supper and talked about how things were going with them. "What are your folks doing over there?" they were asked. "We are working hard making roasted corn. The village is full of fleas. You have to clean it out two or three times before you can get in," said the South Bands men. "Same with us," the Skidis said.

Next morning Victory Call went to the field to see if there was much 244
of a load of green corn left to be gathered and roasted. The following 243
day they went to the two fields and brought them in. 251

After that a second bean crop was picked from each field on successive 252
days—the vines being almost entirely cleared with this picking. Then 512
the pumpkins were hauled in by all four of them and roasted: one day from White Woman's field, the next from No Corn's. They were all roasted and cut into rings.

About the *eleventh day* they got the mature corn from White Woman's field in two double horse loads—one in the morning and one in the afternoon. They got home about two o'clock in the afternoon, and being very tired dumped the load of dry ears and rested till supper
time. Then Old-Man-That-Chief joined them for supper and talked of 512
the old days in Old Village. He said: 173
243

> In the old days, an old lady like grandma would see an ear of corn or a single bean lying on the ground and she would be half-crying to see it lying there. Nowadays it's different. They leave things to waste on the ground. If they were roasting corn and they scraped an ear and left the kernels on one side, they would pick it up from the discarded pile again and clear it off. For if you didn't, the corn would talk about you. It was like a person. But nowadays they don't care.

Horse Rider and Victory Call listened with respectful attention to what the old man said. He continued, "You Horse Rider, are two steps behind me, but Victory Call—he is nearly on top (in the middle of life). He will be able to look around in all directions to see how he has come up there.

"A story is like a little seed. From it all sorts of other stories branch off for you. A story gives you life. Now that I am old, people invite me to come and eat good things with them and then they ask me to tell stories. So these stories keep me alive."

Now he told another story of the past. He said: "I heard that once way back when corn first came to our village, a good ear of corn had been thrown out with the rubbish and swept aside. The

512 173 243 people went on the hunt and still the corn lay there. A man going through the village heard someone talking. He thought there must be another man in the village. But he followed along to where the voice was coming from and got to the sweepings. There lay the good ear of corn. He stopped and picked it up and began to talk to it. He asked it to bless him and send him good luck for this corn is our Mother. He kept that ear of corn. That's how it was in the old days. Now since you've been wasting, the corn will become scarce."

512 243 251 252 That evening they husked the dry corn and continued next day until about two in the afternoon. Then it was left spread out to dry on the cob until evening and pried off after supper with a stick. Some men joined them and helped and after the women had gone to bed they continued to pry off the kernels, telling stories while they worked until late in the evening. The next day the shelling of the dry corn continued and that afternoon the men just wandered about the camp for a little recreation. Horse Rider had gone down to the grounds to watch the gambling. The women were tired and lay down to rest; their hands felt cramped from prying off the kernels.

[285] After they had collected the dry corn from No Corn's field, the women alternated work on it with making pumpkin mats as the strips were now dry enough. Then they proceeded to get the small nubbin ears for fattening the horses and collecting the sweet corn and braiding it to finish off the work.

356 887 While they were doing the pumpkins, the old ladies had already made a plan to go up and begin the process of clearing the earth lodge in anticipation of the time when the harvest was done. They had to go up at intervals of four days successively and burn out the fleas with torches. "These fleas bite worse than bedbugs!"

The three old ladies met at the lodge in the morning as planned. They removed the brush that had been placed across the door to seal it before they left on the hunt. They took off their clothes and put on an old petticoat. They made a brush or short broom of dry *pakuts* (thatch) grass and tied it to a stick. Then each woman took her brush inside the lodge and lit the grass, each one going around one side of the room and being careful to stay near the floor as the dry grass in the roof thatch might catch fire. When the grass was burned up on their broom, they put some more grass on it and repeated the process throughout the day. They repeated this four days later, and then on subsequent days.
[824] They built a little fire in the fireplace and burnt some wild sage, kiwaut, (*Artemisia gnaphalodes* Nutt.) as incense to clear the air and make the room smell good. They would also burn some of the sage on their brooms along with the other grass. After the final smoking, they left the lodge empty for a day and on the following evening the lodge was quite habitable.

32

THE CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCE OF THE HARVEST

000

Holy Significance of the Mother Corn—Pawnee Logic of the Universe—Three Harvest Ceremonies—Green Corn Ceremony—Mature Corn Ceremony—Four-Pole Ceremony—Ceremonial Rituals Explained—Symbolic Significance

243 To THE PAWNEE, the ear of corn was his daily food and also the object of
778 his most profound reverence and worship. In every sacred bundle that
represented the cosmic powers there were two ears of corn of an ancient
breed, cultivated exclusively for its role as a holy object—their Mother
[026] Corn. The leader of a war party that went afoot far out onto the Plains
to capture horses and booty wore an ear of sacred corn on his left shoulder so that Mother Corn might guide them to victory. It was an ear that had served in a sacred bundle for one year from harvest to harvest. The calumet expedition for peace and trade with another tribe, besides the two symbolic eagle-feathered pipes, carried an ear of sacred corn representing the universe. It was painted blue around its bottom half with four blue lines leading up toward the point representing the semicardinal-direction pathways of prayer to Heaven, while on the point of the corn stood a single white feather to represent Heaven itself.

Each sacred ear of corn in the sacred bundle was sewn into a skin
cover: the ear for winter in a tanned buffalo skin, and that for summer
243 in a heart skin. At every meal the wife or sister of the chief in whose care
778 the bundle was kept addressed each ear of corn by its own name to give
thanks for the food they were about to enjoy. If it were buffalo meat
782 they were having, she would point some of it toward the sacred bundle
hanging at the west in order to give Mother Corn the first portion. When they ate corn it was of course not offered to her but the bowl of the spoon

243·

was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the 778
altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo 782
might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could 772
not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of 221
alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic.
The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other
in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers
of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As [823]
these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their [778]
biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for
each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through
the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household,
the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these
alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation
of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his
political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different 243
aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under 778
the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation
of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when
the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four [776]
semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression
of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity,
Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in 796
their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under 628
the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented [778]
the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all
together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Pole* [823]
Ceremony—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken
together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony
warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was
safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, 796
and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant 778
"ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of 243
its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening 243
Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the 778
priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to 793
settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four [533]
[535]

• 243 priests of the four direction bundles. They were representing the four
778 aspects of the primordial storm given by Heaven to the Evening Star to
793 assist her in the process of creation. The Evening Star priest also invited
a number of noted warriors and old men and had a quantity of green
corn cooked for their feast. The sacred bundle was opened and its pipe
[276] smoked and shared with the Evening Star and the other great western
[782] powers by pointing its mouthpiece toward the west and then in the same
way with the other celestial gods who took part in the ongoing of the
universe. The contents of the sacred bundle were passed through an
incense of burning sweet grass smoke, and an offering of the corn was
[574] made to the gods. Then the invited guests had their feast of green corn.
After the Evening Star bundle had completed its ritual, all other sacred
bundles followed suit, offering green corn to the bundles and having a
corn feast.

243 The main harvest ceremony which centered around the Mature Corn
778 was a continuation of the symbolic theme of the life cycle of Mother
776 Corn carried by the four semicardinal-direction bundles. Its connection
with the progression of the seasons was also part of the ritual pattern.

[793] In the spring, after the Evening Star priest had performed the creation ritual for the renewal of all things, the four direction priests began their ritual cycle in anticipation of the planting time by a ceremonial distribution of the seeds of the sacred corn to the twelve owners of the sacred bundles whose wives planted them in special hills in the fields. Pursuing the theme of seasonal succession, the four sacred bundles of the group took charge of their ritual in turn. For the winter season, a North bundle was in charge. At the ceremony when the sacred seeds were distributed, the North bundle gave over its sacred mission to one of the South bundles of the group. A number of cornstalks symbolized this transfer of power, and these were now handed from the North to the South bundle. After the ground-breaking ceremony which belonged to a different cult (Skull bundle—Evening Star), the second ceremony of the Four Direction series concerning the Mother Corn was carried out. In this case the birth, infancy, and adolescence of Mother Corn were symbolized by uprooting the new little shoots of the sacred corn plants and providing one of them with a shaft on which a mouth and windpipe were painted to represent its life. The Young Mother Corn had carried them through the summer attached to the outside of the sacred bundle. Now the maturing Mother Corn had attained her full power to look after the people. The ceremony of the Mature Corn represented her installation to this office. It was also the occasion when the four-direction-bundle group shifted the ceremonial prerogative from the South bundle to the North bundle for the forthcoming winter. Some of the cornstalks of the sacred corn from the current harvest were given to this bundle to signify its mission. In addition to the principle of the succession of winter and sum-

243 778 776 mer seasons followed by the four-direction-bundle group, another principle of alternation of powers was carried through as a means of assuring complete cosmic protection. This was the alternation of the powers of the western and of the eastern skies in successive years. There was, therefore, a fourfold alternation of bundles in the four-direction-bundle group over a cycle of two years: North*west*-South*west* in one year, and North*east*-South*east* in the subsequent year. The west and east each dominated a year, while north and south moved in half-year seasonal cycles for winter and summer.

[793] [782] As they were returning from the summer buffalo hunt when they had gotten about half way home, the priest of the summer direction bundle had sent a young man to the sacred corn hill to make an offering to it of buffalo tongue and heart meat. He pressed alternately into the corn hill a strip of tongue and a strip of heart in the four semicardinal directions.

243 778 776 793 Now with the harvest in, the priest asked his wife to clear out their earth lodge so that the ceremony for the Mature Mother Corn could be held. The women removed all the beds and other furniture and swept it out well, and the priest took down the sacred bundle from where it had been hanging at the west and placed it on the altar. Before dawn he sent four men to the sacred corn hill in the fields to bring in four stalks of the holy corn with the ears still on them. In the course of the ceremony, these would replace the old Mother Corn ears in the sacred bundles. In this way the sacred bundles always contained some fertile seeds.

The priest now invited a number of other people to participate. He called the other four high priests—his three colleagues of the four-direction-bundle group and the Evening Star priest. He also called in the holy man who had taken office when the sacred seeds were distributed in the spring and who had lived under severe taboos from which he would only now be released. All summer while they were on the march, this holy man had been living under the watchful eye of the priest. Also invited was the young woman who had contributed milk from her breasts at the ceremony of the Young Corn Plant in order to symbolize conception and the other owners of the sacred bundles.

243 778 776 793 782 When everyone was assembled, all went down to the camps where the women had piled their mature corn and other crops. The priest announced that Mother Corn was about to be installed and asked them to bring their harvest offerings. They came with their best ears of corn, and as the women entered the ceremonial lodge they put the corn on the north side in piles according to the color. Any of the ears that had the male spike at the tip, a feature that was regularly found in the holy corn, might be included in the sacred bundle in the course of the ceremony that was to follow. The women also brought beans and squash for the

243 778 776 793 [782] harvest offering. Then the women left the lodge and the ceremony was carried on entirely by the men. Now a man was sent to the sacred corn hill to uproot any stalks that remained there with the ears still on them. They were tied to the northwest post of the lodge, which symbolized the Garden of the Gods. When the new winter direction priest was installed at the end of the proceedings, he would receive these as a sign of his office.

The priest was now ready to conduct the ceremony. He sat at the west with his bundle open before him. He put aside the stick with the Young Mother Corn Plant tied to it that they had made in the spring and the two sacred ears in their respective wrappings. He also had before him the four new sacred ears that were brought in that morning. The new sacred ears had been cut with the first section of the stem left on to symbolize the windpipe and the voice of the Mother Corn which was the
[822] [533] "breath of life." After singing four songs mentioning the different colors, black, red, yellow, and white for the semicardinal directions, he sang a fifth song and cut off the stem. Then he sang another song welcoming the new Mother Corn. He embraced the new ear, passing it to the other priests who were sitting to the south and to the north of him, and then passed it down the south side and then the north of the lodge, everyone in turn embracing the new Mother Corn. When the ear was returned to the priest, he sang a seventh song stating that the voice of the corn was raised to the heavens.

[782] At the close of the songs, the pipe was filled and the mouthpiece pointed toward Mother Corn as an offering to share in the smoking. Then the ear was passed to the people on each side of the lodge and each person blew his breath on it four times, symbolizing its new life in the world.

The next symbolic act was to concentrate all the power in the world into Mother Corn herself. The priest took a buffalo-hair rope about a yard long from his sacred bundle. It was said to have been made of "hair from beneath the waters." Taking one of the new Mother Corn ears in each hand, he knelt before the altar holding the ends of the rope against the ears. Then moving his hands, he made the rope circle around into a loop to represent the horizon as it had circled out from the gods in the west during the original creation. He now made movements as if he were throwing the rope over objects and drawing them to his breast. This was spoken of as "trapping the powers of the Heavens" for Mother Corn and all the sacred objects.

The ears of sacred corn whose "lives had been ended" were now given over to a distinguished warrior, who would carry them on the warpath to guide him to success, or to the entrepreneur of the Peace Pipe Ceremony, who would carry them on his expedition to give him success in trade and international relations.

With the installation of the New Mother Corn accomplished, steps 243
were taken to shift the cosmic power to the North Direction bundle for 778
the winter. The priest announced that the change was at hand, went to 793
the northwest house post, and took down the sacred stalks that were tied there, giving them to the chief who was in charge of the newly appointed North Direction bundle. He addressed the chief briefly upon the import of the procedure and formally charged him with the office. The new chief replaced the stalks on the post and then divided the harvest offerings that the women had brought among the chiefs and priests present at the ceremony.

Following this ceremony, all the sacred bundles changed their ears of Mother Corn for those of the new harvest. This ceremony was conducted very simply in each case, the usual smoke and meat offerings being made to the appropriate powers and a feast shared. In all the sacred bundles the pipe was turned so that when the bundle hung on the west wall of the house over the altar the mouthpiece of the pipe would be pointing north, so that the winter powers located in that direction could smoke. [782]

The Pawnee year opened in the spring with a ceremony celebrating 796
the creation of the universe and within it the uniting of all the people 619
under one religion and society. Now as the harvest was done, a closing ceremony commemorated their unity and the common defense of their land. The four house posts in the semicardinal positions symbolized the entire world and its peoples. It was under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person and its four special ministers. [778]

The setting for the ceremony was a special circular structure—a low 796
circular embankment opening to the east. First the priests marked out 346
the circle with a compass consisting of two sticks with a long string between; they also marked out the fireplace in the center in the same way. The fireplace was 3 feet in diameter and the excavated earth from it was dumped outside the east entrance to form a small mound. They dug four holes about a foot deep in the semicardinal positions within the circle to receive the posts that would be planted later on. All around the inside of the circular embankment saplings were set up in the ground, forming a screen that shaded the participants as they sat around during the ceremony. The chiefs who were the owners of the sacred bundles sat along the north and along the south side of the circle, each representing one of the villages that was a member of the original federation. Most of them sat on the north side, as the original villages were mainly on the Loup River, only one having come from the Platte to the south. At the west sat the keepers of the four direction bundles as they had originally come from Old Village in the west.

The ceremony itself comprised two major episodes. One was the get- 796
ting of the four poles, a war party setting out in a different direction for

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, 773
is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who 171
makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his foot- 821
steps being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In
81, 127 Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personi- 773
fied First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the
land.

82 Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906,
p. 41. See Bogoras, 1902, p. 667, for wider distribution of this
theme.

83, 152, 154-155 Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photo- 821
graph of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He [126]
states (p. 285): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we
do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their
magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constella-
tions. Astronomical analysis is included in the article.

84, 117 On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 782
1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 209-210; George E. 727
Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, 171
Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen,
1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month,
"they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were
111 lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western
plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369,
description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden,
117 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz*
representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the
National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan
319 tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must
have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the
Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of
the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the
330 Mexicans . . ." (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account
of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the an-
notated footnotes.

84 Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 442-428, claims that after the new 243
corn plant (*kurahus*, priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-
fire ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out
and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to
a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They [114]
state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of
such a ceremony.

97 The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as 243
hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony 825
is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 269, that 171

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

243
825
171
[244] 97 Maximillian reports that in the spring corn ceremony among the Mandan, wild goose signified maize, swans represented the gourds and the duck, the beans. It may well be that the deer and the loon represented the squash and beans respectively among the Pawnees at some time. There was no known symbolism connected with these essential food plants at the time of my report, the concentration being entirely on the maize.

533
126 100 The *Awari* songs are from the Murie-Wissler manuscript, in my retranscription and translation as it appears there.

512
243 102 Oehler and Smith, 1914. On May 8th, 1851: "Early in the morning we were awakened by the shrill voices of the Pawnee women, who were engaged in cleaning up the lodge and collecting their hoes, previous to going out to the fields to prepare the ground for planting corn."

243 105 Weltfish, 1937. From the Pawnee texts; old man speaks to the women (pp. 29-30); a little girl goes into the fields with her mother (p. 30); Pawnee women as horticulturists (pp. 27-28).

106 Adapted from Murie-Wissler, pp. 308-325, as well as from other sources.

821
302 107 The foot painted on the warrior's forehead represented the Pawnee astronomical constellation known as bird, *rikutski*, which was said to be on the Milky Way itself, but is otherwise unidentified. The Tsawi Band calls Cassiopeia, turkey foot, but the Skidi Band calls it rabbit, *parus*. See Dunbar, 1881, p. 744.

000 113-114 Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98.

106 See Drucker, Heizer, and Squier, 1959, for the time depth of elaborate formal religion in Mexico at La Venta, Tabasco, southeastern Mexico near the Gulf. The structures have been radiocarbon dated at 800-400 B.C. and show a high degree of religious organization and complex symbolism that can be clearly inferred from the archaeological remains.

172
243 122 It took milennia to evolve the current uses of maize among the Pawnees. At La Perra cave where some of the earliest examples of North American domesticated corn have been found (radiocarbon dated 4445 ± 180 B.C.)

121 some steps in patterns of utilization indicated in the finds are: (a) chewing young ears husks and all shortly after pollination—wasteful, but quick and simple way of getting a little sugar; (b) roasting the ears of green corn; (c) making parched corn; (d) removing kernels from cob, shown with glumes battered and broken as though the ears were forced across a rough surface or beaten with a stick; (e) maize apparently pounded, inferred from the finding of stone mortars. (Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, Galinat, 1956, pp. 145-146).

000 121 Mangelsdorf, 1958; Mangelsdorf, 1964.

122 Walster, 1956.

*172 the horses were at large. The corn was planted in hills and was
243 cultivated by means of a hoe made from the scapula of bison; it was
usually hoed twice each year. Artificial fertilizers seem to have
[242 been unknown, and irrigation was likewise never practiced.
312] According to Mrs. E. G. Platt, missionary to the tribe on the Loup,
"corn known among all the Indians as Pawnee corn, was a great
rarity to us, and its luxuriant growth a great marvel, ears 16 and 18
inches long being not uncommon."[27] Most of the charred cobs recovered by Mr. A. T. Hill from caches and graves at the Hill site are much smaller than this, seldom over 4 inches in length and not much thicker than a man's thumb; they exhibit usually from 8 to 12 or 14 rows of kernels. In general, where cobs have been taken from Pawnee sites, the smaller size seems to prevail to the exclusion of larger specimens. Charred kernels have also been recovered from graves at the Hill site; a few are shown in plate 2, *e*.

*172 In addition to maize, the Pawnee cultivated beans, pumpkins, and
squash.[28] Seeds of the latter have been recovered by excavation,
● 244 and definitely identified. Beans have not yet been found and the
varieties utilized are not positively known.

*172 Corn was gathered while still green; it was then boiled, cut from
251 the cob, dried, placed in leather bags, and stored in caches for future
use. In times of prosperity it was cooked in bison fat. Pumpkins
[252] were cut into strips, dried in the sun, and then often woven into mats
for convenient transportation.[29] When setting forth on their semiannual hunt they took along "several sacks of sweet corn and beans, dry corn for mush, (and) dried pumpkins.[30]

*172 Of uncultivated vegetal foods the wild potato appears to have
been in most common use. These tubers grew plentifully in the sand
222 of the Platte and Loup Valleys; they were dug up, boiled, peeled,
262 dried, and cooked with dried pumpkins. They were usually taken
[251] along on the hunting trips. The wild potato, as such, is mentioned
frequently but with what plant it is to be identified cannot be
certainly stated. Long[31] says:

> We saw among them the Pomme blanche . . . which is the root of the *Psoralea esculenta*. It is eaten either boiled or roasted, and somewhat resembles the sweet potato.

Possibly, though not necessarily, this has reference to the wild potato of other writers.[32]

---

[27] 1892, p. 129.
[28] Allis, 1887, p. 140.
[29] Long, 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.
[30] Allis, 1887, p. 144.
[31] 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.
[32] Allis, 1887, pp. 140, 144; Platt, Mrs. E. G., 1892, p. 129.

Next they planted the beans, sometimes in the same hills with the corn 244
so that the vines could entwine themselves around the cornstalks. If they planted them in separate hills, they set in willow sticks for the vines to cling to.

Last of all, they planted pumpkins, squashes, and watermelons [*Citrullus, citrullus* (L.) Karst., indigenous variety—Gilmore, 1919, pp. 120-129.]. These were planted in separate patches and served to separate the [243]
different varieties of corn in order to preserve the breeds. There would be a planting of blue corn, then a pumpkin patch, then spotted corn, then a melon patch, and so on in this order.

Between two adjacent fields, there was a hill or ridge where the sun- 241
flowers grew by themselves without planting. Some women surrounded 423
their fields with a fence built of stakes connected with rawhide ropes. 578
Disputes about the boundaries of their fields sometimes occurred among
the women. Some women would pile the earth further and further on the [417]
far side of the field and encroach on the field of a neighbor. Some women stole crops, whereupon arguments would ensue and they would curse one another and call one another names. The woman from whom the corn had been stolen would strike the other woman with her hands or with a
stick. The informant said that stealing was actually unnecessary, as a poor [476]
women could easily get some corn by appealing to her neighbor di- [735]
rectly, saying, "I want you to take pity on me and give me some corn."

Women always went to the fields in groups for their own protection; 241
the Sioux made a particular point of attacking and scalping them as they 476
were going into the fields or coming home. This was presumably to ex- 722
ert sufficient pressure to chase the Pawnees from their territory and in- 648
duce them to abandon it entirely. The mortality among the women from this cause was heavy. In 1861 in one such attack eighteen Skidi women were killed. One group of women would say to the other, "We're going to clear our fields, how about you?" Then the two groups would set out together, any woman who finished first helping the others so that all would be ready to return at the same time. The young men, without being told, knew that this was the time to picket around the fields.

In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each of the mature 241
women had at least one field. Clear Day, the younger wife, and her 423
mother, Blue Calico, worked one field together, as was customary with 592
mother and daughter until the younger woman was considered responsible enough to manage her own. Fields were located along the bottomlands on both banks of Beaver Creek, and some women had a closer and a more distant field. The ones that were closer to the villages were, of course, the more desirable both for transport and for military reasons. An individual field was from half an acre to one and a half acres in area.

Patterns of cooperation were well developed in each household so that 592
the women would get through quickly. Queen Woman would say to

244
192

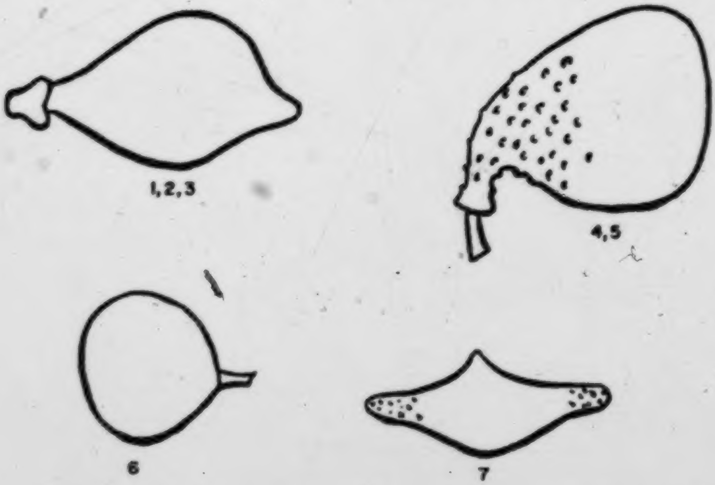


FIGURE 11-1. Seven varieties of squash and pumpkin known to the Pawnees generically as *Pahuks:* (1) *rus-kirius,* "soft-buttock" (as soft as the buttocks); pointed at both ends; a little more than 1 foot in length and 9 inches in diameter; yellowish in color; "as sweet as sugar." (2) *pahuks-tarahi,* squash or pumpkin-grooved; yellow in color; a kind sometimes seen in white men's stores. (3) *pahuks-katit,* squash or pumpkin-black; same size, shape, and taste as (2), the only difference being the black color. (4) *ri-katsu,* "lower half of body, white," *ri'u,* being the lower half of human body from the navel all around to the bottom of the feet. (The rest of the body is called *kisikitu,* upper half of body from *kisikiit,* "alive," and *-katsu,* "dead white." Sometimes the ordinary word for white, *taka,* is used instead.) The shell is as thick as a board and so hard that it needs to be cut up with an ax, but it is very sweet tasting. It has a crooked neck and is knobby or pimply around the neck end and very smooth on the body. (5) *ri-kats-katit,* same as (4), but black (*-katit,* "black") (6) *pahuks-kata,* "pumpkin-dry"; dry near the stem, sometimes a little pointed; somewhat dry inside when cooked; real round and smooth; color, light green. (7) *pahuks-tarahi-kiripaxki,* "squash-grooved-small"; in a variety of colors—green, white, yellow, and dark green, also a rather dark blue and some very blue.

243 The Indian groups of the Missouri River Valley of which the Pawnees were one, raised mainly flint and flour corn, but not dent. They also raised sweet corn. Flint and flour corn apparently both did equally well among the Pawnees. Mark Evarts named ten breeds of corn for the Pawnees, one of them borrowed from the Osage. There were two flints, one yellow, and one varied in color, five or possibly six flour corns in five different colors—blue, speckled, white, yellow, and red; and one sweet corn, reddish-yellow in color. In addition, there was an archaic breed [778] of corn known as Wonderful or Holy Corn which was never eaten but was raised only for inclusion in the sacred bundles. Two ears were

placed in each bundle, each wrapped up and sewed into a covering—the 243
winter ear in a tanned buffalo skin and the ear dedicated to summer in a 778
buffalo-heart skin. Each individual ear of these holy corns in the bundles had a different name by which it was addressed. Early in April before the *Awari* or planting ritual, a ritual was held in which the seeds of the holy corn were distributed to the keepers of the sacred bundles so that their wives could plant them in their fields. At harvest time, when these sacred ears were mature, the old ears were removed from the bundles and replaced with ears from the new crop. Fine examples of some of the best ears of the more common varieties were also placed in the sacred bundles at harvest time, particularly those with a male spike. Compared with the white flour corn, the holy corn, which was also white, had small kernels that sometimes covered the cob to the very tip. "Sometimes it has something like a soft feather at the tip of the ear." This is apparently the
male spike at the point end; archaeologically it appears very early, 4,445 [171]
± 180 B.C., in the tiny ancestral corncobs taken from La Perra Cave in northeast Mexico. Such an ear is also shown in the headdress and hands of the Maize God on a prehistoric Zapotec funerary urn from Mexico (Mangelsdorf, 1958).

244
192

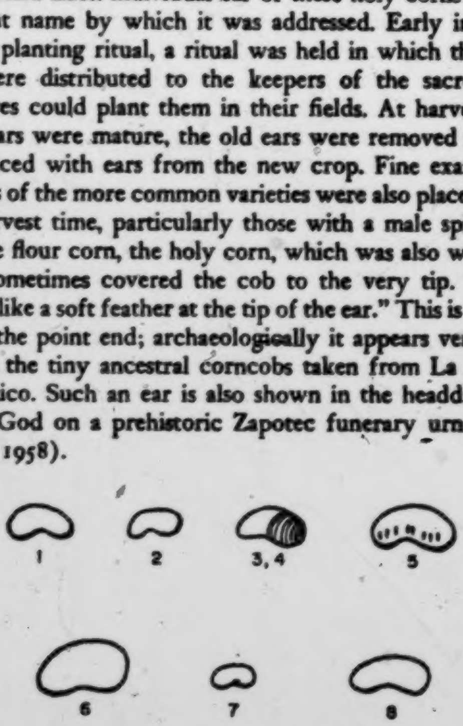


FIGURE 11-2. Eight varieties of beans, generically known to the Pawnees as *atit:* (1) *ati-pahat,* "bean-red"; a large sized bean. (2) *atik-taka,* "bean-white." (3) *ati-paks-katit,* "bean-head-black"; black-head beans. (4) *ait-paks-pahat,* "bean-head-red"; same as (3). (5) *ati-pirari,* "bean-spotted"; color of a spotted horse, spotted all around, some with red, some with black spots; a somewhat large-sized bean. (6) *ati-katus,* "bean-flat"; large, flat bean. (7) *atit-riwats-katit,* "bean-navel-black"; spotted where it joins the stem; navel, *-riwat,* phonetically altered in the context. (8) *ati-taxkata,* "bean-yellow"; a rather large yellow bean.

Our classification of the species of corn is based on the starch content, 243
but when a Pawnee was asked to name the varieties of corn they had, he 242
or she would enumerate them in terms of color categories—black, [822]
spotted, white, yellow, and red. It is interesting that these represent the varieties of flour corn that they had. However, in classifying their corn, they subsumed the flint, sweet, and sacred varieties under these color categories. When asked to name the varieties of Pawnee corn, Mark Evarts

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

each representing one of the semicardinal directions; each had a different- 243
colored ear of corn in its sacred bundle, as cited above. The order of the 242
colors of corn followed by Mark Evarts in his classification if translated 772
into directions are northeast, southwest, northwest, southeast. This di- 82
agonal succession forms a simple cross, the Pawnee symbol for a star. What star is implied is not known. Typically of Pawnee thought, there must be deeper theological meanings and references than are apparent. The order of naming the varieties of corn is clearly connected with these religious implications.

For the Pawnee, there is very little that does not have some direct con- 243
nection with the cosmos. But in sharp contrast to the corn, the other two 244
crops, squash and beans, have no religious connotations whatever. This
lack of ideological involvement seems strange, as we know archaeologi- [772]
cally that first squash and then beans were the earliest domesticated crops in the New World, followed after a considerable time interval by the domestication of corn. Among the Pawnees the whole horticultural cycle was conducted in terms of the corn. In the spring the corn was the first of the three crops to sprout, and in the fall it was the first to mature. There were seven common varieties of squash and pumpkins current among the Pawnees at that time and eight of beans. (See figures 11-1 and 11-2.)

31

HARVEST TIME IN THE VILLAGE

000

Encampment in the Bottomlands—Grandma Opens the Cache Pit—Fall Harvest—Grandma Builds a Work Enclosure in the Field—Roasting the Corn and Pumpkin—Her Round of Activities—Treatment of Corn, Beans, Pumpkin—Sioux Attack—Earth Lodges Prepared for Reentering—Stories

243 EVERYONE'S THOUGHTS were now upon their gardens and their corn. In
[821] the sky, the South Star, Canopus, had appeared and they knew it was time
for harvest. By our calendar it was about the first of September. The time
[221] of the hunt was over; the time of the harvest begun.

Before they left the village at the end of June, the corn had grown
about knee high and the earth was hilled up around the young plants so
that they looked like little earth lodges with smoke issuing from their
smokeholes. Now the stalks were ten feet tall and the ears were not quite
mature but "in the milk." The corn harvest was in two stages: some of
243 the corn was treated at once in this early stage by roasting and drying,
252 and some left to mature completely on the stalk before being dried and
251 processed. Between the first and second corn drying, they harvested and
244 dried the beans and then the pumpkins.

When they camped in the bottomlands near the fields, they set up a
342 commodious tent as they knew they wouldn't have to move it for at least
251 three weeks, and they needed room to keep their meat and dried crops
under cover. Their earth lodges were infested with fleas and they
couldn't spare the time to clear them up until they had gotten on with
251 the work of the harvest. However, they did go up to the villages and
open up and inspect and clean their storage pits that they had left with

Grandma built herself a corn-roasting pit inside her shelter. It was an 252
oblong pit with an embankment along each long side or a log for the ears to rest on—the pit lying across the shelter with the long dimension running north and south; the back of the shelter being west and its entry east.

Before putting up the shelter, on the way to the fields she had looked 243
for some wood so that it would be ready for the roasting. If she was un- 252
able to find wood, she used sunflower stalks. Now with the shelter all [372]
prepared and the pit ready, she fixed up a parfleche as a container for the [415]
ears she picked by closing one end and leaving the other open, and since it was of stiff rawhide, she stood it up ready to throw the ears of corn in. When it was full, she carried it on her back with a packstrap which she had fastened to it. The ears of corn from one parfleche-full make a pile about 3 feet high by 2½ feet in diameter. She would gather about two parfleches of corn at a time which she would roast before gathering the next batch.

Now she built a fire in the pit. If it was morning, she would sit near the west edge facing east, the raw corn piled at her right (at the south end of the pit). The corn was set in the pit resting along the near side with the stub end down and the point end up—the ears lined up one next to the other. While they were roasting, she had to keep turning the ears, and it was hard to keep her hands from getting burnt while this was going on. With one woman working alone she could utilize only one of the long sides of the pit at any one sitting, because of the need to turn the ears. In the morning she worked along the west edge and in the afternoon after the sun went down she worked along the east edge, sitting with her back to the door, facing the rear of the shelter. She again piled the raw corn to her right (the north end) and proceeded to roast it. When two women worked together they could use both sides of the pit simultaneously.

The husks of the corn were considerably charred after the roasting, but the corn inside was not burnt. The ears were left in their husks in a pile to cool off, and this very much improved their flavor. Only if the woman was in a great hurry would she begin to husk the ears before they had cooled off.

After all the corn was husked, the kernels were cut off row by row with a fresh water clamshell. Some of the ears had such small kernels that they could not be cut off, and these ears were left aside in a pile for any guests who happened to come in and visit.

While the roasted corn was cooling, Grandma would pick the ripe 244
beans. She swept the place clean and spread them out to let them dry in [251]
the sun and as they dried, you could hear them pop. She also went to the pumpkin patch and got two or three pumpkins that were hard enough. Like the beans, she would gather these up in her skirt. She

244 252 She roasted them in the fire and when they were burned all around, she scraped off the burnt places with her clamshell. So as not to waste it, she ate some of this burnt pumpkin rind and sometimes gave some to the little boy and his mouth would get all black and ashy. The next step was to cut the roasted pumpkins in half and scoop out the seeds with the pulp, removing the seeds and spreading them out to dry for next year's planting, since these were the first of the season to ripen. If she felt inclined to, she could cook the pulp with some fresh corn in her kettle; otherwise she would simply throw it away.

After the six half pumpkin shells had cooled off, she cut them into rings about 1½ inches wide. She kept cutting the pumpkin shells all around (*tibakaratsarahaku*) until she had cut them all. The bottom disks, about 4 inches in diameter, were also saved. One or two of these she wrapped in corn husks and roasted them in the ashes covered up with the hot coals so that the little boy could eat them. Then she prepared a rack for drying the strips and the bottoms were spread out on the ground on some corn husks in the sun. The drying rack was two forked sticks set in the ground with a long cross stick resting in the forks. The rack faced east so that the sun could strike it better. Hanging the pumpkin rings on her left arm, she took them one by one and hung them on the cross stick, pushing them up against the fork. When the stick was about half full, she lifted the cross stick and added rings, and when the space between the forks was full, she continued to hang them up on both ends of the stick. The three ordinary-sized pumpkins filled a little over half a cross stick.

244
251
252

243 252 The first corn picked were the small-kerneled varieties—the *rawarit-kiripaxki*, "roasted-small." After she had worked a little on the beans and pumpkins she went into the field and picked the larger kerneled corn, *rawarit-kutsu*, "roasted-large," particularly the blue flour *uraax-katit*, "earth-black." These she also roasted in the pit and left aside any with kernels so small that they could not be cut off with the fresh-water clamshell, for any casual guests to eat that might come to visit her in the field.

251 243 Both in the previous gathering and now with the larger-kerneled ears, after roasting, Grandma selected about a dozen or two ears that were particularly good specimens, leaving them in the husk and removing just the charred parts. These she would not husk or remove the kernels, but when they dried, braid them together into a long continuous chain that she joined together at the ends. When the ears were dry, the husks were drawn up toward the butt ends and joined together in a braid, *ki'u*, making a string some 2 feet 9 inches long about two dozen to a braid, and then the ends tied together and hung up to dry in the sun on the south side of the shelter. Some people made braids of only a dozen. Strings of spotted corn, *rikis-tipiku*, "corn-egg," were braided in a

243 corn. They worked fast and had no time for refinements like picking
252 out the ears suitable for braiding as Grandma had done. They kept at it
476 all day, and if anyone was hungry he ate some roasted corn. Sometimes
one of the women stopped and made bread and coffee while the others
kept right on working. They allowed the problem of cleaning dishes
and other household chores to rest for the time being.

In the *evening* Uncle War Cry came along and observed, "What are you folks doing? Oh, roasting corn!" Then he sat down and lent a hand, husking away until he found an especially good ear that he would eat up on the way. Soon his younger brother, Brave Shield (also known as High Noon) joined the party. Victory Call said to Grandma, "Old Lady, go to sleep, You must be tired. You don't have to help us. We have two boys to help." Grandma went to bed and the men sat up husking together and telling stories until quite late. Moonlight nights were particularly likely to invite such husking parties.

For the next three weeks their pattern of work continued in the same way. The four would go out into the fields for the morning, come home at noon and the women set to work with the processing, the men going out again returning in the afternoon, and helping in the evening with the processing. Grandma came in, in the late afternoon or evening, and set down her processed material in a pile next to the rest.

The crops were gathered in the order of their readiness, first from
White Woman's fields, then from No Corn's, and the various processing
was carried on while other gathering was taking place. The *first green
corn* was gathered for two days from White Woman's and then another
244 two days from No Corn's fields. For the *first bean crop*, a day each was
476 spent in each of the fields. Now a *final load of green corn* was gathered
with the team splitting up two and two to each field on the same day.
[243] For the *second bean crop* all four worked one day in White Woman's
[461] field and then another day in No Corn's field. This was tedious work, as
one had to bend down and search for the beans all along the vines. Now
all four spent a day each gathering the *pumpkins*, bringing them back to
[252] camp. Then the pumpkins were roasted and cut into circular rings the
next day. After the pumpkins, for which about three days had been
243 spent, the team of four spent two days getting in and husking the
476 *mature corn* that had been left to dry on the stalks from each of the two
fields, and prying the kernels from the cobs with a pointed stick. The
next step was to gather in the small *nubbin ears* to be fed to the horses
so that they would get fat; Horse Rider gathered some and chopped them
up and fed them to a horse that was thin and then let them loose in the
field to find and eat them. Poor families sent their boys into other
people's fields to glean these small ears to supplement their meager
[251] supplies. Finally the *sticky sweet corn* that was left longest on the stalk
to dry was gathered, one day by Victory Call and White Woman in her

field, and then next day by Horse Rider and No Corn in her field, the two 243
teams staying alternately at home and watching as well as processing the 251
crops. Sweet corn was mainly made into double braids. Quantity production 476
depended on team work, of course, but the women had to sort [244]
out the eight varieties of beans after everything was done, as the men [462]
would not bother with such a detail and would pay no attention to the
selection of the best ears for braiding. When all the corn was in, the [825]
blackbirds began to fly over the fields, presaging the cold weather.

The following are some of the processes used in preserving the crops, 243
together with a breakdown of how these were coordinated with the activities 244
of gathering. 251

The green corn was gathered from the stalk "in the milk" and roasted 243
in a long roasting pit in which a fire was built. It was allowed to cool 251
off and the husks removed. The kernels were cut off the cob row by row [237]
with a fresh-water clamshell and spread on a tanned hide to dry. At night [412]
the kernels were first winnowed to remove any chaff, gathered up and put in a flour sack, and then taken into the tent. They were put in a wooden bowl and spilled out from a height so that the wind would blow the chaff away. Next morning they were again spread out on the tanned hide. After several days, as they were being spilled for winnowing in the evening, they would make a tapping noise when they hit the hide, showing that the kernels were completely dry.

When the beans were picked off the vines and brought into camp, 244
they were dumped onto the spread and allowed to dry in the sun. As 251
they dried, one could hear the popping of the pods. At night they
were left outdoors, covered only with a spread of tanned hide, and in
the morning uncovered and allowed to dry again. Then they were [412]
flailed with a peeled willow rod about 4 feet long and 1 inch thick to remove the pods as much as possible. Some of the beans had to be picked out by hand—a small pile of beans was always picked this way. If there was a large pile the woman would strike them with the stick, then stop and pick out the loose pods and pile them to one side, push the beans together again and further beat them with the stick. The beans were winnowed by spilling from a height from a wooden bowl, in this way loose pieces of dry pod blew away and the pods still containing some beans fell to the ground and were opened by hand—an operation in which someone usually gave her help if they were available. After winnowing, the beans were spread out to dry thoroughly. When all the other work had been done, the beans were sorted into their eight varieties.

After the beans, they brought in the pumpkin harvest. The women 244
spent most of one day hauling them from the field. First they brought 489
the largest, then the next largest, and so on. One parfleche in which 492
they were transported carried five large pumpkins, or seven to eight

244 489 492 middle-sized pumpkins, or twelve to fifteen small ones. A horse could carry in only two parfleches filled with pumpkins at a trip. Using two horses, they made five trips to the field, some in the morning and some in the afternoon, carrying about twenty parfleches in all of the different sizes. This represented the crop of White Woman's field and amounted to about a wagon-load and a half, perhaps a little more, with the wagon being level without sideboards.

244 251 252 The pumpkin rinds were removed by roasting them in the fire until they could scrape off the outer rind with a fresh-water clamshell. Each individual pumpkin was roasted and set aside to cool, then scraped. Some people peeled them with a knife, but this was time-consuming and was considered wasteful. Small pumpkins 4 inches or less in diameter were neither roasted, peeled, nor halved—they were simply cut into blocks, laid out on a tent skin and dried. They could be cooked any time now with the large roasted corn to add flavor. The standard-size pumpkins were cut in half, the pulp and seeds taken out, and the halves cut into a series of circular rings each about 1½ inches wide. These were hung on a rack and when they had dried somewhat were pressed underfoot to express some of the water as was done with the sliced buffalo meat, then hung up again to dry further. At night the pumpkin rings were left on the rack covered with an old tent skin. By
285 the time the mature dried corn crop was coming in, the pumpkin strips would be dry enough so that they could be woven into checker-plaited mats. They would alternate the processing of this corn with the making of the pumpkin mats, *ri-katsitu,* "braid-woven."

The plaited pumpkin mats were arm's length and 2 feet wide. The individual strips had shrunk in the drying to an inch in width. It took about two hours to weave a pumpkin mat. In an afternoon, each woman would make two mats before supper. The dried pumpkin was used by cutting off a number of the 2-foot strips in the width with small por-
252 262 tions of the cross pieces adhering to them. The very smallest pumpkins about the size of tomatoes were boiled fresh and eaten in the morning for a breakfast during this harvest period. They were very much relished.

243 251 The preparation of the mature corn that had been allowed to dry on the stalk, was somewhat different from the ears that were gathered "in the milk." No roasting was necessary. The ears were snapped off the stalk, taken to camp, and husked that evening and the following day. The ears were then spread out and allowed to dry until evening and after supper the women began to remove the kernels. They used a small pointed stick to pry them off, pushing it in between two rows and along the cob from stub end to point so that in spreading the rows of kernels they were readily pried off. In the evening the corn was winnowed and

512 was left in the several piles, loading it onto the horses and bringing it
243 back into camp. The women continued to roast and the men began to
do the husking.

251 That evening Sun Chief and Leading Fox, older sons of Victory Call
252 by a previous marriage, came in to help with the husking.

476 *Fourth day.* Men continued to husk the corn, while the women now
cut the kernels from the cobs with a clamshell. They all helped to spread
out the kernels to dry. All the green corn from both sets of fields
that was ripe enough, had now been gathered, roasted, and set out to
512 dry. It was usual to finish this task in the first four or five days.

244 *Fifth day.* This was the time for the first bean harvest in White Woman's
field. This was hard work as most of the vines didn't climb on anything
476 but grew close to the ground. Sometimes they grew in separate patches
[461] and sometimes in a patch with the corn. The women gathered the pods
in their skirts; the men threw them in whenever they got a handful. All
four worked in the field until late afternoon. On the way home, they
[526] stopped and took a swim in Beaver Creek. Again as in the time of
planting, they slapped the water with their feet, making as loud a noise
[515] as possible. As the women slapped the surface of the water with their
soles, it resounded all along the creek like the report of a gun. "They are slapping the water with their feet" (*tutastaxkitspiru*). The girls used their hands for this (*tutikstaxkitspiru*), and Otter had a hard time learning the trick from them. Possibly it was a kind of sympathetic magic for the tapping of the dry beans and corn on the threshing floor. They went home about 4:30 in the afternoon, having gathered about four parfleches of the beans in the pod in a good year. At home one of War Cry's wives or daughters had been serving as Room Watcher for their tent. It was five o'clock by the time the pods were all spread out to dry. Everyone was tired and took a rest. Inside the tent, Horse Rider and No Corn were wrestling playfully together and saying, "Now we have some roasted corn" (*rawaritu*).

244 In the evening the beans were covered up where they lay and the
corn kernels were winnowed and taken inside for the night in flour sacks.
512 Now grandma came in carrying her sack of corn or beans that she spread
out. White Woman offered to come out and help her in her field but she refused saying, "Oh, no. If you help me I'll get through too soon and I won't have anything else to do. So I'd just like to do it myself."

White Woman made the fire and cooked some grease bread and No Corn prepared the coffee and dried apples for their supper. Uncle War Cry came to join them and began to tease Grandma about how tired she was; Grandma asked to have her dinner brought to her. War Cry then began to talk about the trade store and Victory Call remembered he owed them a buffalo robe, but War Cry observed that he was sure they would wait until the harvest work was done. He promised to mention

it to them. Everyone went to bed early, for next day they would be 244
picking the beans in No Corn's field and this meant another day of 512
back-breaking work.

Sixth day. All during this time young men would go out very early 512
in the morning with their bow and arrows to act as sentinels, watching 726
particularly for the Sioux, who lurked about to attack women going to and from the fields. Victory Call always took along his bow and arrows should there be a surprise attack. The Skidi fields were located northwest of the villages. Going out early in the morning, one could see the boys picketing about on the high bluff to the west. That morning as they looked up at a big hill west of Genoa, they would also see someone stationed, scouting around for the enemy. The night before Mad Bear and another man had made up their minds to do this. Before dawn they climbed the high bluff west of Beaver Creek and sat down and looked toward where they were roasting corn. "Look at that smoke. Afterward, we can get some corn," they said. Their legs were hanging over the bluff. There was a little creek that ran from the southwest into Beaver Creek running parallel with the edge of the bluff where the two men were sitting, and a Sioux had been hiding in a trough and watching them. The two men were talking about the cherries on the side of the bluff and the big yellow plums in the bottom and how they would eat them next day. As they were talking, they heard the Sioux making a noise like a crow.

Later Mad Bear told his story. "I got frightened and I never thought 159
of my bow and arrows. I was transfixed with fear when I saw all of them. 726
But all at once I got over it. The other man didn't get over it. We ran down the bluff to the creek. The other man left his bow and arrows there." Mad Bear continued: "I don't see why the other fellow left me and ran away to get under the brush. The Sioux caught him. As I ran down the bluff, I felt a shot through my back. It came out of my chest, but I got into the water anyway and they let me go. The other fellow had disappeared." We looked in the water for him but couldn't find him. Long after when someone came back to Nebraska, they thought they saw him and he had been scalped and was ashamed to come back.

The Pawnees took Mad Bear over the creek and he was doctored by 752
Heavy-Trophies and Herd-of-Horses. As Mad Bear described it, 726
"The doctor put his mouth against mine and blew some water with some medicine in it into my mouth and made me swallow it. I had been sleepy all along, but this woke me up. Then they gave me some medicine to chew and water to drink and I felt better and never worried about it again. I sent the doctors home." Finally the Pawnees came out and killed a big tall Sioux. His bones remained there a long time

752 afterward. One Sioux was killed and one Pawnee killed or scalped.
726 This is why Mad Bear was known as a brave man, heedless of any
danger to himself, like a boy, a *piraski.*

244 All the time that this struggle was going on, Victory Call, White Woman,
512 and No Corn were in No Corn's field picking beans. Horse Rider had
had to go quite a way to find the horses and when he got back to camp
to saddle them, they had left him a bite of breakfast and then he joined
them in the field. First he inspected the pumpkins and then they all
went around picking up the vines, and when a vine wrapped around a
cornstalk, they had to look all around for the ripe pods. This took until
noon and on the way home they took a swim in the creek. Arriving at
camp, they prepared a modest lunch of bread, coffee, and bits of ready-cooked
244 meat saved in a sack for such purposes—pieces of dried heart,
512 leg muscle, pieces of paunch, fat, etc. They called this *tsuspakahu.* They
262 opened the sack and dumped the pieces of meat on a spread and simply
264 picked up one and ate it with the bread and coffee. Sometimes they
had pulverized dried meat, *tapaharus,* with some bone grease instead of
the meat. They decided to have the same kind of meal in the evening, as
their backs ached from picking the beans. After the meal, the newly
244 picked beans were spread out to dry, and about three in the afternoon
512 White Woman decided that her beans were dry enough to thresh with
251 the long willow stick to get the beans out of the pods. Victory Call wandered
up to the store and Horse Rider either went to the gambling
grounds or just sat on a bluff smoking and looking around. The women
kept working with the beans.

512 That evening, Victory Call came in with supplies from the store for
439 supper: prunes, dry apples and some candy sticks for Otter—a gift of
the trader. People had seen Victory Call coming in while they were at
the gambling grounds watching the game, and they decided to come
over and have some dinner there. War Cry's younger brother, Brave
Shield, and Wants-the-Enemy dropped in for a visit. Some decided to
visit with Misery (*Akapakis*) instead, and White Woman felt slighted because
the youngest brother of War Cry, Leading Fox, had decided to go
there as also had Sun Chief, Victory Call's older son. She scolded Leading
Fox saying, "Why don't you come in. People will think I don't
take care of you." "Well," he said, "the boys wanted me to come with
them." She remarked about Sun Chief to Victory Call who reassured
her saying, "That's nothing. You have to watch girls, but you can't
keep boys home like that."

512 At dinner, Brave Shield mentioned that some of the Kitkehaxki
796 doctors were preparing to go back into the earth lodges to prepare for
the forthcoming doctor dances. Victory Call said that it was a bit too
756 early. It was better to finish the work so that they didn't have all this rub-

bish in their yards at home and then go up to the village. He said the 512
leading doctors would wait until people got all through before begin- 796
ning as "They liked to have a good crowd to attend the dances." At the 756
gambling grounds the talk was about the same subject. Presently two or three men came in from the South Bands and joined them at supper and talked about how things were going with them. "What are your folks doing over there?" they were asked. "We are working hard making roasted corn. The village is full of fleas. You have to clean it out two or three times before you can get in," said the South Bands men. "Same with us," the Skidis said.

Next morning Victory Call went to the field to see if there was much 244
of a load of green corn left to be gathered and roasted. The following 243
day they went to the two fields and brought them in. 251

After that a second bean crop was picked from each field on successive 252
days—the vines being almost entirely cleared with this picking. Then 512
the pumpkins were hauled in by all four of them and roasted: one day from White Woman's field, the next from No Corn's. They were all roasted and cut into rings.

About the *eleventh day* they got the mature corn from White Woman's field in two double horse loads—one in the morning and one in the afternoon. They got home about two o'clock in the afternoon, and being very tired dumped the load of dry ears and rested till supper
time. Then Old-Man-That-Chief joined them for supper and talked of 512
the old days in Old Village. He said: 173

> In the old days, an old lady like grandma would see an ear of corn 243
> or a single bean lying on the ground and she would be half-crying to see it lying there. Nowadays it's different. They leave things to waste on the ground. If they were roasting corn and they scraped an ear and left the kernels on one side, they would pick it up from the discarded pile again and clear it off. For if you didn't, the corn would talk about you. It was like a person. But nowadays they don't care.

Horse Rider and Victory Call listened with respectful attention to what the old man said. He continued, "You Horse Rider, are two steps behind me, but Victory Call—he is nearly on top (in the middle of life). He will be able to look around in all directions to see how he has come up there.

"A story is like a little seed. From it all sorts of other stories branch off for you. A story gives you life. Now that I am old, people invite me to come and eat good things with them and then they ask me to tell stories. So these stories keep me alive."

Now he told another story of the past. He said: "I heard that once way back when corn first came to our village, a good ear of corn had been thrown out with the rubbish and swept aside. The

512 252 Toward evening, Horse Rider made a fire in the fireplace and went to get water. Then No Corn cooked some dry meat for the family and began to prepare the "grease bread" when White Woman said, "Give it to me. I'll make it. You get the coffee ready." The South Side family had not yet moved back in, and White Woman sat in the southeast position to do the cooking and serving, passing the food around to the north. When they returned, she would take her place northeast of the fireplace for this purpose. After they had finished with supper, Horse Rider went out to get some water for the morning and then everyone went to bed, as they were all tired.

356 [824] [789] It took about a week to get the earth lodge warm and lived-in. When they first moved in, it was cool like a dugout. During the first week, in the evening about every other day, they made a small fire near the doorway and burned sage weed (*kiwaut*) so that the draft would carry in the fragrant odor and sweeten the air in the lodge. It was also a protection against evil spirits that might have entered while they were away on the hunt.

356 462 [244] The day after they had moved in, Uncle War Cry had moved his family up from the camp. He came in and joined them for supper while his house was being set up by the women. He sat down next to Victory Call near the west and while White Woman sat down at the southeast doing the cooking, he said, "When we started out, we didn't have much. But now we've accumulated a lot of stuff—old moccasins and whatnot—old pots and pans. They're still trying to arrange things at home. A man just picks up his bow and arrows, but a woman always has all sorts of stuff she gathers up, like old horns. She says she'll make spoons of them." "Same thing here," said Victory Call. White Woman did not let these remarks remain unanswered. She said, "Of course you men don't know how to load things up. That's why you're always complaining of the amount of stuff we accumulate. If you could pack right, you wouldn't talk that way." War Cry, undeterred, went right on talking. "A woman picks up everything she sees. The women are working in my home. I don't want to get mixed up in it. Now I'm going, nephew (*tiwat*)." "All right," said Victory Call, and just after he had gone, he added, "He always has something to say to make a man laugh." The women comment, "Tomorrow we must pick out those beans we pulled up in the pods with our fingers. If we use sticks to thresh them, it'll make dirt outside the lodge. We ought to pick them by hand."

In the next day or so, Old Bull met Victory Call and said they wanted to move back into the lodge next morning. "That's good," said Victory Call, "you ought to be in by now. There'll be something going on soon." (He is referring to the Doctor Dance Ceremonies.) Victory Call tells his folks at supper that Old Bull is moving in next day.

356 The following morning the South Side family rode up to the lodge,

243 825 171 [244] 97 Maximillian reports that in the spring corn ceremony among the Mandan, wild goose signified maize, swans represented the gourds and the duck, the beans. It may well be that the deer and the loon represented the squash and beans respectively among the Pawnees at some time. There was no known symbolism connected with these essential food plants at the time of my report, the concentration being entirely on the maize.

533 126 100 The *Awari* songs are from the Murie-Wissler manuscript, in my retranscription and translation as it appears there.

512 243 102 Oehler and Smith, 1914. On May 8th, 1851: "Early in the morning we were awakened by the shrill voices of the Pawnee women, who were engaged in cleaning up the lodge and collecting their hoes, previous to going out to the fields to prepare the ground for planting corn."

243 105 Weltfish, 1937. From the Pawnee texts; old man speaks to the
women (pp. 29-30); a little girl goes into the fields with her
mother (p. 30); Pawnee women as horticulturists (pp. 27-28).
106 Adapted from Murie-Wissler, pp. 308-325, as well as from other
821 107 sources. The foot painted on the warrior's forehead represented
302 the Pawnee astronomical constellation known as bird, *rikutski*,
which was said to be on the Milky Way itself, but is otherwise
unidentified. The Tsawi Band calls Cassiopeia, turkey foot, but
the Skidi Band calls it rabbit, *parus*. See Dunbar, 1881, p. 744.

000 113-114 Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98.

106 See Drucker, Heizer, and Squier, 1959, for the time depth of elaborate formal religion in Mexico at La Venta, Tabasco, southeastern Mexico near the Gulf. The structures have been radiocarbon dated at 800-400 B.C. and show a high degree of religious organization and complex symbolism that can be clearly inferred from the archaeological remains.

172 122 It took milennia to evolve the current uses of maize among the
243 Pawnees. At La Perra cave where some of the earliest examples
of North American domesticated corn have been found (radio-
121 carbon dated 4445 ± 180 B.C.) some steps in patterns of utilization indicated in the finds are: (a) chewing young ears husks and all shortly after pollination—wasteful, but quick and simple way of getting a little sugar; (b) roasting the ears of green corn; (c) making parched corn; (d) removing kernels from cob, shown with glumes battered and broken as though the ears were forced across a rough surface or beaten with a stick; (e) maize apparently pounded, inferred from the finding of stone mortars. (Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, Galinat, 1956, pp. 145-146).

000 121 Mangelsdorf, 1958; Mangelsdorf, 1964.

122 Walster, 1956.

*175 The meat rations supplied the Pawnee by the government were
until 1880 delivered on the hoof, and the Indians, gathered round
*648 the agency to receive their oxen, would turn the day into one of
657 carnage and slaughter, killing and dressing their own beeves. The
"oxy kill 'em day," as this was known to the Indian service, ended
in 1880 after which the rations were turned over to the tribe in the
form of dressed meat.

*175 Not more than one-third of the Pawnee reservation was suitable
*648 for farming, but there was a great deal of good pasture land.
Cows and calves were issued to the Pawnee in 1878, and received
657 such good care that with the Indians asking for cattle the government
233 made an attempt to develop stock-raising. In the summer
of 1880 four hundred head of two-year-old heifers and bulls were
brought from northern Texas and distributed among the Pawnee.
[731] The tribe hailed their coming with delight. Unfortunately a scourge
carried off many oxen the first winter. The Pawnee were not yet
free of their hunting complex. When they wanted meat, they
killed cattle, and finding that traders would buy the hides, so
many were slaughtered that by 1882 only a few head of the cattle
issued to the tribe remained. Stock-raising by the Pawnee was
admittedly a failure.

[245 A great need in the food supply was fresh fruit, for want of
262] which various ailments afflicted the Pawnee. To obviate this fruit
trees were bought and small orchards planted on the reservation,
but they did not flourish.

*175 The food rations, supplies, and implements distributed to the
*648 tribe had to be shipped to the reservation by freighting from the
657 nearest railroad point. At first this was at Coffeyville, Kansas,
a distance of one hundred miles; the route went northward through
[489] the Osage Agency. Later there was a shipping point at Arkansas
City, a distance of seventy miles. The agent turned the freighting
over to the Pawnee, who handled it with wagons and teams on
their own responsibility.

×175 As conditions on the reservation became more settled, the government
×648 farm program was renewed. A major provision of the Congressional
657 Act of 1876 which established the Pawnee reservation
applied to allotments in severalty. Each head of a family, or
241 single person over 21 years of age, who so desired, was to be allotted
423 160 acres of land. Certificates were to be issued by the Commissioner
of Indian Affairs recognizing the individual ownership of such
tracts. An allotee occupying and cultivating his land for five
successive years, who had at least twenty-five acres fenced and in
crop, was to be entitled to receive a patent in fee simple for his

were so qualified. Women were not permitted to smoke at all, though our 276 informant remembers seeing two or three old women smoke, they being [562] doctors.

Sun Dance. According to the Pawnee belief the sun dance was given 796 to the Plains tribes by the Arikara. In ancient times the Gros Ventre intermarried with them and so first got the ceremony. It may be noted that in the four-pole ceremony (p. 551) and again in the twenty-day ceremony, the bringing in of the tree is in the main identical with the regular sun dance form. The torture feature reached the Pawnee through the Arikara. A member of the young dog society once exchanged rituals with an Arikara sun dancer and for a time this was a part of the dog society ritual (p. 587). There is a report, however, of a very old dance in which they gazed at the sun, but without the torture.

Tiny Bags of Medicine. All regalia of a serious nature and especially 789 objects carried to war were made powerful by the presence of tiny bags of medicine. The contents were vegetable, chiefly roots. Roots were chewed and spit over men to make them brave, virtuous, healthy, etc. In fact, most all powers come through knowledge of the uses of plants.

Tobacco Planting. There was no special ceremony for planting or gathering tobacco. 249 There is a saying that this was unnecessary for since tirawahat gave it to the Pawnee direct, he himself watches over it, so all that is needed is to plant the seed; but that other tribes got it from them or other Indians and so must use the powers of ceremonies to make it grow.

Witches. There may have been a witch society for there is a tale as to 754 how a chief destroyed such an organization. In brief, he watched at his son's grave and first heard cries of owls, then people approaching. As they were uncovering the corpse, he seized one man, the others fled. The prisoner he threatened with death unless he explained all the secrets of the medicine so that he himself could become a member. This was done. The young man had been killed by them partly through jealousy but chiefly to secure fat from his heart to put in their witch bundles. Their chief powers were owls and yellow-hammers. They had killed the young man by magically shooting an owl's claw and a yellow-hammer's feather into his heart. When the chief had learned all the rites and the names of the members, he killed his informant. He cut him open, took the fat and part of the ribs home. The meat he cooked. While it was boiling, he sent for his soldiers and a few trusted men and gave them instructions. Then he sent for the members of the witch society (five or more including a woman) whom he feasted upon the flesh of their associate, but at a signal they were struck down by the soldiers. Their bodies and bundles were burned to put an end to witches.

The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood 276
(*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer [824]
bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for
smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in
winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade [439]
store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared
patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of [249]
Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting 224*
expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their 276
pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so
that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½
feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would 224*
depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle 492
had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A
saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front
and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were
tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide
envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed
to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used
to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the
rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they
were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the
stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling
the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth 224*
for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently 291
on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was 412
an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. 224*
Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on 482
her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage 778
on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles
had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, 224*
dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, 251
coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concentrated 262
foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes.
The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that [484]
time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would
now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegetable 224*
provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the 251
cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One 252
batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were

145, 363-364 Trade was carried on by the Pawnees with the Kiowas through the Calumet or Pipe Dance. (See Fletcher, 1904, pp. 280-281, where the purpose of the ritual is described.) 439

149 In an informal conversation with Prof. John L. Champe, he pointed out that in the neighborhood where the Stay-at-Homes set up their impromptu village near Columbus where the Loup River empties into the Platte was the area of some old archaeological sites: Bellwood, occupied by the Tsawi Band about 1800, overlapping and overlaying an older protohistoric site of the Burkett type (Lower Loup) (see Wedel, 1936, p. 40). The Pawnees claimed that this was an old Pawnee home. They claimed that about five miles west of Columbus was *Kitkebarawits-a-ku*, "Earth-Lodge-Village-Adjacent-to-a-Spring-Sitting." 172 361

159 Hyde, 1951, pp. 96-97, feels that the tobacco of the northern Indians might have been an attractive trade item for the southern tribes. He feels that trade with the Arikara in this item may go back to 1680 and cites Tabeau for such trade c. 1802, southern Indians coming north to trade horses for tobacco with the Arikara. 276 439 171

159 Gilmore, 1919, pp. 113-114, states that Pawnee tobacco was *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* Pursh. and was cultivated by all the tribes of Nebraska. "Since the advent of the Europeans, tobacco is one of the crops whose culture has been abandoned by these tribes, and they have all lost the seed of it, so that the oldest living Omaha have never seen it growing; but they sometimes receive presents of the prepared tobacco from other tribes to the north who are still growing it." Gilmore obtained seeds from an old Hidatsa man in 1908 which he succeeded in growing. Gilmore, 1919, plate 27, pictures an old Arikara man gathering his tobacco. 249 171

> A Pawnee informant said that his people in old time prepared the ground for planting this tobacco by gathering a quantity of dried grass, which was burned where the patch was to be sown. This kept the ground clear of weeds so that nothing grew except the tobacco which was planted. The crop was allowed to grow thick, and then the whole plant—leaves, unripe fruit capsules, and the tender small parts of the stems—was dried for smoking. The unripe seed capsules, dried separately were specially prized for smoking on account of the flavor, pronounced by the Indians to be like the flavor now found in the imported Turkish tobacco." (Gilmore, 1919, p. 114.) 249

359-360 The need for a good knowledge of the stars and constellations on the Plains as well as at sea and the possibility of getting lost is indicated by a modern incident reported in the *Sunday World* 000

584 relatives together, the mother's relatives being seated on the south
539 and the father's on the north side of the lodge. The father's relatives
left the decision with the mother's relatives, who decided that the girl
should be allowed to marry the young man. Many presents were
[431] distributed. The young man's relatives gave presents, and the young
man gave a fine horse to the father and mother of the girl. The next
day the old man gave the horse to his wife. There were buffalo robes
and many valuable articles among the presents.

539 All went well for a time, and then the young man began to beat his
593 wife and abuse her. The girl's mother begged her father to interfere,
but he refused to do so. She said, "You claim to be a brave man; why
do you not make our son-in-law stop beating his wife?"

He said, "Do you remember one beautiful morning when you said the young man was handsome, that he came of good family, had many horses, and his arms were strong?"

"Yes."

"Do you remember that my relatives sat on the north and yours on the south side of the lodge, and that my relatives left the decision to yours?"

"Yes."

"So your people sold our daughter to that man. We have no right to interfere with his property. He gave the ponies. He gave a fine pony to us. Didn't I give you that pony?"

"Yes."

"Get a kettle. Put it on the fire and put water in it." She did so.

[415 "Now take your parflêche bag and put the finest of your dried meat
in the pot. When the soup is done you must bring me some in a
251] wooden bowl."

When she brought the soup he told her to sit beside him and eat. As they ate he said, "What nice fat! What fine meat this is! Who got it for you?"

"Our son-in-law."

"You like the meat that our son-in-law brings us? He punishes our daughter for her own good. He does not want her to run around the camp foolishly. He wants her to be a good cook and to look after things in the lodge."

Then the woman stopped finding fault with her son-in-law.

The young man was well liked by the chiefs. They asked him to
join their societies and later he became a chief. He and his wife
had one child, a boy. This little boy liked to stay with his grandfather, who told him stories. His grandfather was Sarītsaris (Mad
[264 Chief), a brave man of the Chaui Band. The little boy cooled his
grandfather's mush or soup by swinging the dish back and forth,
867] then he set it before the old man.

CONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

352 285 In the intermediate space between the recesses and the fireplace, mats, about three by five feet, made of rushes, are laid, at convenient distances, for seats; while an extra supply of them, rolled up, and set aside at different places in the lodge, are reserved for extraordinary occasions, as for instance councils or feasts.

262 825 **Subsistence.**—What the *seal* is to the Greenlander, the *buffalo* is to the Pawnees and other Prairie Indians; and many of their songs, in which reference is made to the buffalo, show that this animal is held in high estimation among them. It will no doubt be a difficult undertaking to wean them from an occupation, which is at the same time a gratifying and exciting sport to them, and which imparts to an individual who distinguishes himself in its pursuit, a character of high standing among his tribe. The great scarcity of the buffalo, however, of late years, since the immense emigration to the far west, has pinched them with want and hunger, and it is evident that they cannot subsist much longer by depending mainly upon this animal as heretofore. This circumstance, though calling forth our warmest sympathies in behalf of their wretched condition, may perhaps be the means, in the hands of an Allwise Providence, of shaking that tenacity and attachment so strongly developed in the Indian character, for long cherished customs, and making them more pliable in adopting the arts of civilization. Their attention must soon be directed to agriculture and the raising of stock, or they must starve.—

251 [262] While on the hunt, in the buffalo country, the Pawnees generally have a good supply of fresh meat to subsist on. That portion of their meat which is intended to be jerked, in order to take home with them, they cut into narrow slips, and dry it over the fire, without any salt, where, by the action of the smoke and sun, it soon dries. Several slips are then plaited together, when it is put away into a skin, and reserved for future use. The reason why no salt is added, is probably, first, because it is a scarce article, and secondly, because anything that is salted and dried, imbibes moisture in damp weather, and sooner becomes rancid, than meat dried without salt.

241 262 Besides the buffalo, as their main subsistence, they raise some corn, beans, and pumpkins. As they use no other agricultural implements than hoes, their fields are not very extensive. For suitable spots of cultivation they generally select the mouth of a ravine or any spot where, by the washing of the rains, the ground has become loose and mellow, and consequently the sod may more easily be extirpated than in the prairies generally, where the gronnd can only be prepared by turning the thick sod by means of a large prairie plough, and three or four yoke of oxen.—

241 231 Their fields are not enclosed by fences, or any other kind of protection. Having no other stock but horses, which are con-

241 stantly herded and watched during the day time, and shut up in
[231] enclosures in the village during the night, fences are unnecessary.
While absent from their homes, their fields are subject to depre-
dations from prairie wolves and deer, which however no ordinary
fence could restrain.—Because these poor people have no other
agricultural implements than hoes, the spots which they are oblig-
ed to select for fields, are often at great distances from each other,
241 and frequently from five to eight miles from their village. When
721 abroad, to prepare and plant them in the spring, and gather the
corn in the fall, they are often exposed to attacks of their enemies.
While the husband is watching from some neighboring eminence
to guard against the stealthy approach of any hostile force, the
wive is engaged in the labor of the field. With fear and trem-
bling their field-labor is thus performed, and many a one, while
so employed, is suddenly fallen upon and killed by a marauding
party of enemies.

241 When we visited them, they particularly requested us, "to beg
their Great Father, the President, that he should be so kind and
648 again break up some ground for them, as he had done in former
years, that they might be able to plant more corn." We have
brought in the petition of these destitute people before the proper
Department at Washington, and it is greatly to be desired that our
benevolent Government may do something for them in their wretch-
ed state.

As has already been remarked, they were in an almost starving
721 condition, when we visited them. The hunt had proved unsuc-
731 cessful, so that in the lower village they had no meat whatever,
and had to depend upon the little corn that they had raised the
preceding year. In the upper village they were also in a miser-
able condition, for, though they had yet a little dried buffalo-meat,
the Sioux had during their absence on the hunt, destroyed their
village, (their present lodges had been rebuilt since their return,)
and carried off a portion of their corn, burnt another portion, and
thus very little remained concealed in the "caches," which are
made in their lodges.*

● 251 * A *cache* is a term common among traders and hunters, to designate a
hiding-place for provisions and effects. It is derived from the French word
cacher, to conceal, and originated among the early colonists of Canada and
Louisiana; but the secret depository which it designates was in use among
the aboriginals long before the intrusion of the white men. It is, in fact, the
only mode that migratory hordes have of preserving their valuables from rob-
bery, during their long absences from their villages or accustomed haunts, on
hunting expeditions, or during the vicissitudes of war. The utmost skill and
caution are required to render their places of concealment invisible to the
lynx eye of an Indian. The first care is to seek out a proper situation, which
is generally some dry low bank of clay, on the margin of a water course. As
soon as the precise spot is pitched upon, blankets, saddle clothes, and other

Hospitality.—The Indian has always been renowned for his hospitality. This trait of character is noticeable among all the tribes. Thus the Pawnees too, though in actual want themselves, showed their good will towards us, by preparing for us the best they could afford. One chief placed before us, besides dried buffalo meat, a small dish of marrow, which by them is considered a great delicacy.— 574 609

Labor.—The more enlightened a people has become through the benign influence of religion, and the cultivation of the arts and sciences, the more the weaker sex attains to that rank in society, which the Creator intended for them; but the more debased and sunk in heathenism a Nation lies, the more is woman enslaved, and held in subjection. So among the Pawnees too, the men are the lords, who, while they themselves are not disposed to do any work, and generally consider it a shame to labor, direct the women, as inferior beings, how everything must be done.—The females, besides attending to the housework, generally incumbent upon their sex, are obliged to cut and carry all the fire-wood; pre- 462 562

---

coverings, are spread over the surrounding grass and bushes, to prevent foot-tracks, or any other derangement; and as few hands as possible are employed. A circle of about two feet in diameter is then nicely cut in the sod, which is carefully removed, with the loose soil immediately beneath it, and laid aside in a place where it will be safe from anything that may change its appearance. The uncovered area is then digged perpendicularly to the depth of about three feet, and is then gradually widened so as to form a conical chamber of six or seven feet deep. The whole of the earth displaced by this process, being of a different color from that on the surface, is handed up in a vessel, and heaped into a skin or cloth, in which it is conveyed to the stream and thrown into the midst of the current, that it may be entirely carried off. Should the cache not be formed in the vicinity of a stream, the earth thus thrown up is carried to a distance, and scattered in such a manner as not to leave the minutest trace. The cave being formed, is well lined with dry grass, bark, sticks, and poles, and occasionally a dried hide. The property intended to be hidden is then laid in, after having been well aired: a hide is spread over it, and dried grass, brush, and stones, thrown in, and trampled down until the pit is filled to the neck. The loose soil, which had been put aside, is then brought, and rammed down firmly, to prevent its caving in, and is frequently sprinkled with water, to destroy the scent, lest the wolves and bears should be attracted to the place, and root up the concealed treasure. When the neck of the cache is nearly level with the surrounding surface, the sod is again fitted in with the utmost exactness, and any bushes, stocks, or stones, that may have originally been about the spot, are restored to their former places. The blankets and other coverings are then removed from the surrounding herbage: all tracks are obliterated: the grass is gently raised by the hand to its natural position, and the minutest chip or straw is scrupulously gleaned up and thrown into the stream. After all is done, the place is abandoned for the night, and, if all be right next morning, is not visited again, until there be a necessity for re-opening the cache. Four men are sufficient in this way, to conceal the amount of three tons weight of provisions or merchandize, in the course of two days.—*Washington Irving's Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains.* 251

*172 343 cache 7 yielded three excellent digging tools made from bison scapulae; and cache 5, as already indicated, contained corn meal or some similar ground cereal. Much richer pits are, of course, sometimes found. One opened by Mr. A. M. Brooking, of the Hastings Museum, in an old village east of Genoa, yielded 10 scapula digging tools, bone awls, 5 bone knives, 2 grooved hammers, 2 elkhorn shaft-straighteners, many large mollusk shells filled with yellow and red paint, and 13 small mollusk shells in matched pairs.[14] Such finds are, however, the exception rather than the rule, and many disappointingly sterile caches are encountered for every one that yields worth-while returns.

[488 251] Normally the caches were used for the storage and concealment of surplus corn and household furniture, particularly during the periods when the tribe was absent from its villages on the seasonal bison hunts. When earth had been thrown in on top of the contents and the opening sodded over the location of the cache was perfectly hidden from any stranger. Generally they were emptied when the family permanently removed, and all usable articles were carried away. Occasionally the owner never returned to claim his goods, perhaps because of forgetfulness as to the exact location, death, or from some other cause; or attacks by hostiles compelled flight too precipitate to permit emptying of the caches. In such cases the investigator may be better rewarded with pottery, flint and bone tools, ornaments, foodstuffs, and the like.

[727 765] Caches occasionally serve a secondary purpose as places of interment. In June 1843, when the Dakota raided the Pawnee village near the Plum Creek mission, with such disastrous results for the latter tribe,[15] the terrified survivors threw the bodies of the dead into the caches,[16] covered them hastily with earth, and then fled to their kindred, the Grand Pawnee, south of the Platte. Such a function was, of course, purely accidental and was wholly foreign to the original purpose which the structure was intended to serve.

EARTHWORKS

*172 712 Walls of circumvallation were constructed about practically every Pawnee village of the nineteenth century. Sixty years ago, according to early settlers, these were still plainly to be seen on many of the old sites, but with cultivation they have shared the fate of other remains and become rare indeed. Leveling of these old fortification walls was one of the first steps in breaking the land; hence their obliteration has been woefully complete. In fact the only remaining

---

[14] Brooking, A. M., unpublished manuscript.

[15] Dunbar, 1918, p. 656. Occurrences similar to the above probably account for the "burials of Morning Star Sacrifice victims" occasionally reported in the press.

[16] Allis, 1887, p. 155.

*172 the horses were at large. The corn was planted in hills and was
243 cultivated by means of a hoe made from the scapula of bison; it was
usually hoed twice each year. Artificial fertilizers seem to have
[242 312] been unknown, and irrigation was likewise never practiced.

According to Mrs. E. G. Platt, missionary to the tribe on the Loup, "corn known among all the Indians as Pawnee corn, was a great rarity to us, and its luxuriant growth a great marvel, ears 16 and 18 inches long being not uncommon."[27] Most of the charred cobs recovered by Mr. A. T. Hill from caches and graves at the Hill site are much smaller than this, seldom over 4 inches in length and not much thicker than a man's thumb; they exhibit usually from 8 to 12 or 14 rows of kernels. In general, where cobs have been taken from Pawnee sites, the smaller size seems to prevail to the exclusion of larger specimens. Charred kernels have also been recovered from graves at the Hill site; a few are shown in plate 2, *e*.

*172 In addition to maize, the Pawnee cultivated beans, pumpkins, and
244 squash.[28] Seeds of the latter have been recovered by excavation,
and definitely identified. Beans have not yet been found and the
varieties utilized are not positively known.

*172 Corn was gathered while still green; it was then boiled, cut from
251 the cob, dried, placed in leather bags, and stored in caches for future
use. In times of prosperity it was cooked in bison fat. Pumpkins
[252] were cut into strips, dried in the sun, and then often woven into mats
for convenient transportation.[29] When setting forth on their semi-
annual hunt they took along "several sacks of sweet corn and beans,
dry corn for mush, (and) dried pumpkins.[30]

*172 Of uncultivated vegetal foods the wild potato appears to have
been in most common use. These tubers grew plentifully in the sand
222 of the Platte and Loup Valleys; they were dug up, boiled, peeled,
262 dried, and cooked with dried pumpkins. They were usually taken
[261] along on the hunting trips. The wild potato, as such, is mentioned
frequently but with what plant it is to be identified cannot be
certainly stated. Long[31] says:

> We saw among them the Pomme blanche . . . which is the root of the *Psoralea esculenta*. It is eaten either boiled or roasted, and somewhat resembles the sweet potato.

Possibly, though not necessarily, this has reference to the wild potato of other writers.[32]

---

[27] 1892, p. 129.
[28] Allis, 1887, p. 140.
[29] Long, 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.
[30] Allis, 1887, p. 144.
[31] 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.
[32] Allis, 1887, pp. 140, 144; Platt, Mrs. E. G., 1892, p. 129.

Other important plant foods were the turkey pea, wild plum, wild 172* cherry, Jerusalem artichoke, and the chokecherry. Of these all save 222 the first have been found in the Hill site and have been definitely 262 identified as to species. Others were probably used from time to time, but no record of them has survived, either archeological or documentary.

Eight species of plants have been found represented at the Hill 172* site.[33] 824

Brauneria angustifolia or *Echinacea angustifolia*.
Wild plum (*Prunus americana*).
Flint corn (*Zea mays*).
Hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*).
Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*).
Wild potato (*Apios tuberosa*).
Bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*).
Chenopodium sp. (apparently *Chenopodium nutalliae*).

To these we may add 10 species as given by Dunbar.[34]

Wild potato (*Ipomoea pandurata*).
Wild turnip (*Arisaema triphyllum*).
Pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*).
Ground bean (*Apios tuberosa*).
Cucumber root (*Medeola virginica*).
Artichoke (*Helianthus doronicoides*).
Ground plum (*Astragalus caryocarpus*).
Umbels of milkweed (*Asclepias cornuti*).
Mushroom (sp. unidentified).
Sand cherry (sp. not given).

The complete report on botanical specimens from the Hill site, as identified by Dr. Gilmore, is as follows:

No. 1. Five small pieces of the root of *Brauneria angustifolia* (*Echinacea angustifolia*). The root of this was very highly esteemed by the Pawnee and other tribes within its range, for numerous medicinal uses, especially as a remedy for the bite of rattlesnakes. 752

No. 2. Four pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*). The wild plum was highly valued for food use, and was eaten in considerable quantities fresh and uncooked, and was cooked for sauce. It was also preserved for winter use by drying. 251

No. 3. Six charred grains of flint corn.

No. 4. A number of pits of hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*). The sugary fruits of hackberry were eaten from hand with pleasure by all, and especially by children. They were also reduced to pulp with a stone hammer, and the resulting paste was used as a flavoring in cooking meat. 263

No. 5. One pit of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), and four small, spherical insect galls, apparently the galls which were common on the prairie rose (*Rosa pratincola*).

---

[33] From the Hill collection, Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. The specimens were identified by Dr. M. R. Gilmore of the University of Michigan. Letter of Apr. 10, 1931 (see also pl. 2, *a-c*).

[34] 1880, b, pp. 323–324.

*172 824 [251] The chokecherry was greatly esteemed for food. It was cooked as a sauce while fresh, and also reduced to pulp with a stone hammer, and this paste was shaped into cakes and dried to preserve for winter use, somewhat in the manner of the dried prune paste of Bulgaria and Serbia.

The insect galls of the wild rose were supposed to possess medicinal value.

No. 6. Two tubers of *Apios tuberosa*. Apios tubers were highly valued as a food vegetable by tribes throughout the extensive range of this plant over all eastern North America. It was mentioned by Beverly and other writers of the English colony of Virginia, under the name "Openauk", which is a corruption of the name of the tubers in the language of one of the tribes of Algonkian stock in that region. Later, after the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) had been introduced into North America, readers of these early writings erroneously construed them to refer to the potato. Hence arose the myth of potatoes having been grown by Indians of Virginia.

Peter Kalm, a Swedish botanist, in his visit to North America, mentions the common use of these tubers by the colonists of New Sweden (New Jersey) as they had learned from their Indian neighbors.

When the French Jesuit missionaries saw the Indians in New France (Quebec) harvesting these wild tubers they noticed their characteristic growth in long strings like a string of beads, hence they called them *les racines des chapelets*, "rosary roots."

When the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) was first introduced to the people of the Dakota Nation, they compared them to the tubers of Apios, which was one of their important native food plants. The Dakota name of Apios, which is *blo*, was applied to the potato, and finally was completely transferred to it, so that now in common Dakota use the word *blo* signifies potato.

No. 7. A number of seeds of the Bush Summer Squash (*Cucurbita pepo* of the *melopepo* type). This type of cucurbit was of coextensive distribution with corn in the aboriginal agriculture of North America. In later prehistoric and historic cultures, many tribes possessed *Cucurbita maxima* (Winter Squash), *Cucurbita pepo* (Pumpkin) and *Cucurbita pepo melopepo* (Summer Squash), but in earlier prehistoric cultures *Cucurbita maxima* and *C. pepo* might be lacking, [while] it appears that *C. pepo melopepo* was not lacking in any cultures which possessed corn and beans.

No. 8. A small quantity of seeds of a chenopodiaceous plant, apparently *Chenopodium* sp. But these seeds are much larger than the seeds of any native Chenopodium of that region. The seeds of most species of chenopodiaceous plants indigenous in the region are 1 mm or less in diameter, but these are 3 mm in diameter. In the Journal of the Washington Academy of Science, volume VIII, no. 15, September 1918, W. E. Safford describes under the title "Chenopodium nuttaliae, a Food Plant of the Aztecs", a chenopodium which is cultivated in Mexico as a food grain. The seeds of our specimen more nearly agree with this description and illustrations of *Chenopodium nutalliae* Safford, sp. nov., than with the seeds of any chenopodiaceous plant now growing in the region where these specimens were found. The puzzling and interesting question arises: How came these seeds here? Were they cultivated by the Pawnees at that time? Were they of direct importation from Mexico? [484] It is well known that the Pawnee made expeditions into Mexico in historic time, well on into the nineteenth century. Did they bring seeds of cultivated plants thence, and was this Aztec crop plant introduced by Pawnee farmers into their farming operations in Nebraska?

White men who traveled among the Pawnee have mentioned their cultivated crops, but only corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins, those already familiar to these white men in their own homes. It may well be that here was another

224 drum sounded, and a dozen or twenty young warriors sprang into the
796 circle and began the buffalo dance. This was kept up without intermission
for three days, and as soon as it was over, the tribe moved
out of the village on the hunt.

224 From the village on the Loup, we traveled southward; for in those
days the region between the Platte and the Smoky rivers swarmed
with buffalo. With the Pawnees were a few Poncas, Omahas and
Otoes, so that there were about four thousand Indians in the camp.
[221] It was the summer hunt of the tribe. Twice each year the agent permitted
them to visit the buffalo range. The meat which they killed
● [251 and dried on these hunts, the corn and squashes which they grew
511] on their farms, and the small annuities received from the Government,
were all they had to subsist on from season to season. Thus
the occasion was one of importance to the Indians. Perhaps only the
older heads among them fully appreciated its economic interest; but
for all it was a holiday time; a temporary escape from confinement.
[512 Life on the reservation was monotonous. There was nothing to do
521] except to sit in the sun and smoke, and tell stories of the former
glories of the nation; of successful fights with the Sioux and Cheyennes,
and of horse stealing expeditions, from which the heroes had
returned with great herds of ponies and much glory. Now, for a
little while, they returned to the old free life of earlier years, when
the land had been all their own, and they had wandered at will over
the broad expanse of the rolling prairie. Now, for a time, it was as
it had been before the cornfields of the white man had begun to
dot their river bottoms, before the sound of his rifle had made wild
their game, before the locomotive's whistle had shrieked through
the still, hot summer air. Half a year's provision was now to be
secured. The comfort—almost the existence—of the tribe for the
next six months depended on the accumulation of an abundant supply
of dried buffalo meat, and no precaution was omitted to make the
hunt successful. It would not do to permit each individual to hunt
independently. Indiscriminate buffalo running by six or eight hundred
men scattered over the prairie, each one working for himself alone,
would result in the killing of some few buffalo, but would terrify
and drive away all the others in the neighborhood. This matter was
too important to be trusted to chance. The hunting was systematized.

342 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman,
772 Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo
were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself. Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on earth.

342 The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a
woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive powers.
772 The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately
353 ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the youngest
84 women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located,
the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being "inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe, ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse
776 of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his
342 power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in
[823] the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and
southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that
[782] they would be readily received.

361 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear consciousness
of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed,
342 the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred
houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy.
342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch
and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke
[354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cooking
[252] breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the draw-
252 string of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the
262 skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a
[251] large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed
the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

512 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder.
462 When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter,
887 I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next
meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar. Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Victory
313 Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were
484 to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful supply
623 of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the immediate
[726] neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy. The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the chiefs had gathered there.

512 The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the
252 household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver
262 Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buffalo
[237] meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They
made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

[415] The main business of the women of the household that day was to give
512 the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing
251 the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and
356 for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold,
and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in; besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for
[192] food pit, *tahaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all.
[476] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

dies, and as they were busily working an old neighbor woman came by 512
and offered to help them. "You've got a lot of corn to attend to there." 251
"Yes I do," said White Woman. Although there were some general standard 356
varieties, each woman had her own special breeds of corn and of the 476
other crops. As she sat down to join them, the old lady remarked, "I
don't have seeds like that!" indicating that she would be very glad to [241]
have some. They cleaned and winnowed the seeds for several hours,
working diligently together. Finally the other women went in to prepare
the supper, and White Woman remained outside with the old neighbor
woman to finish up the work. When they called out to announce that supper
was ready, White Woman called back that she and her friend would
be in later and to please set something aside for them. Meanwhile she had
indicated to the old woman that she wanted her to stay and that they
would eat later. As they filled each sack, White Woman put aside a little
pile of each kind of corn and other seeds, remarking that she was going
to give her some seeds and that she might go home and get herself a sack
to hold them. When the woman returned she pointed to the piles of seeds
and said, "This is yours. Tie it here. I'm going to put corn of another
color on top. Do you have anything to tie it with?" "No, I'll use my
garters," said the old woman. Then White Woman said, "Let's put the bag
back in the pit," and climbed down into it, using a tree trunk with branch
stubs as a ladder. When she got to the bottom, the old woman handed her
the large skin bag that contained all the smaller bags of the different
kinds of corn and beans. White Woman punched it down to settle the load
and came up out of the pit and began to close it up. First she covered
everything with a skin cover, then a layer of thatch grass, then she
wedged some sticks across the opening into the side walls, then another
layer of thatch grass and then earth that she trampled down hard to keep
out the rain and to conceal the place of opening. "Let's go eat now," said
White Woman. Inside they sat down and ate the food that had been set
aside for them, while the others, particularly the older women, sat by to
converse with their guest. "How are the folks in your lodge?" they
asked, "Oh, they're all right," said the old woman. Meanwhile, White
Woman was feeling very friendly toward the old woman for helping her
out, and as they sat there she noticed that the old woman's moccasins
were worn out. She had a nice piece of black-dyed tanned skin that was [292]
ordinarily used for holiday moccasins, and she said, "I'm going to give
you a piece of black-dyed skin so that you can make yourself some moccasins."
"Oh, I thank you, I thank you. Oh, daughter, thanks. You have
taken pity on me. I'll wear it. Now I've got to go, daughter." When the
old woman left, the rest of the people in the lodge would say, "That old
lady is always good, always trying to help other people out." When the
old lady got back to her own lodge she reported where she had been all
afternoon and that she had received a big bag of corn and her dinner besides.

356 roof of their house. He noted that seven of the radial timbers were rotting, and he remarked that they needed replacement. Old Bull made no comment, but he knew that they would carry on this enterprise together.
[283] [237] During the winter buffalo hunt, each of them killed a buffalo bull so that they could keep the hides to make rawhide strips for use when the roof was rebuilt the following spring. Around the smokehole, fastening the radial roof rafters together, were two stout willow hoops, one on the inside and one on the outside. These were tied in place on the radial rafters with the rawhide strips. It was this mechanism that gave the symmetrical form and strength to the whole cone of the roof, and the tying was therefore important. At the same time as the hides were obtained, the women
[251] [262] [281] made sure to dry plenty of buffalo intestine so that they would have enough to make soup for the volunteers. While the bison hide was still fresh, the women removed the hair.

Now during the spring Victory Call and Old Bull kept an eye out for
356 314 283 elm trees from which they could strip the bark to use in tying on the willow circuits around the roof frame. A cut was made near the bottom of the elm tree so that the bark could be loosened; a strip about two inches wide was ripped upward from the bottom. Five or six strips were taken from each elm. The strips were dried and stored until the actual time of building, when they were soaked in water and used wet so that they would make a tight bind when they dried in place. It took a large number of these elm strips to fasten the circuits in place around the roof.

356 313 Now Victory Call went into the timber to locate seven suitable willow trees. The next day he returned with his wife, White Woman, and his retainer, Horse Rider. The trip to the Loup River was five or six miles. Victory Call cut down the trees with his axe, and Horse Rider and White Woman proceeded to lop off all the branches with a hatchet. After the trees were cut and the branches removed, they went home. Next day White Woman and Horse Rider returned and began to remove the bark, hacking it off from stub end to point; the man worked with an axe, the woman with a hatchet. Two trees were debarked, and they returned until they had finished the seven. After debarking, the poles were left in the timber to season for three days.

356 313 824 Meanwhile, without further discussion, Old Bull had gone off to look for willow withes to make the circuits. When he got home he remarked to his younger wife, Clear Day, "There are some nice willows down at Beaver Creek. Tomorrow we can go out and cut them." In the evening when Victory Call and the others got home from the Loup where they were fixing the radials, Old Bull remarked that he had been looking around and had seen some willows and that the next day they were going to cut them. Queen Woman and Old Lady Blue Calico of the South Side decided that since the women of the North Side were working so hard on the construction work, they would take over all the cooking for the family.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

9

THE PLANTING OF THE CROPS

000

Ground-breaking Ceremony—the Women's Role—Explanation of Ritual—Songs of the Ceremony—the Process of Preparing and Planting the Crops Explained—Cooperation in Fields Discussed—Dangers of Attack—the Swim at the End of the Planting Day

THE CORN WAS THE FIRST CROP to be planted and then came the beans, squashes, and melons. But before any planting could be done, the *Awari* or "Ground-breaking Ceremony" had to be performed. The four special ministers of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person kept watch along the creeks for the first leaves to appear on the willows; then they knew the time was right for the ritual. They also had to wait for the dark of the moon that signified darkness and germination. Now the four ministers met together in the lodge where the Skull bundle was kept to make a plan for the ceremony. The actual inception of the ceremony was during the past winter while they were on a buffalo hunt, when a woman had had a vision that she was the one to see that it was performed. She called on the help of her brother, who killed a special buffalo for her, and then she invited the four ministers and told them of her vision. Then she dried and packed the rest of the buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit to be used when the ceremony was performed in the spring. 241 [778] [787] [251]

This was the only Pawnee ceremony in which women played a major role, and the original visionary through whom the ceremony was instituted for the season was also a woman. But the ceremony itself was directed and carried through entirely by the men. Now with the sprouting of the willows it was time. 241 562

The woman of the house where the Skull bundle was kept got up 241 574 778

The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood 276
(*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer [824]
bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for
smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in
winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade [439]
store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared
patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of [249]
Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting 224*
expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their 276
pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so
that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½
feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

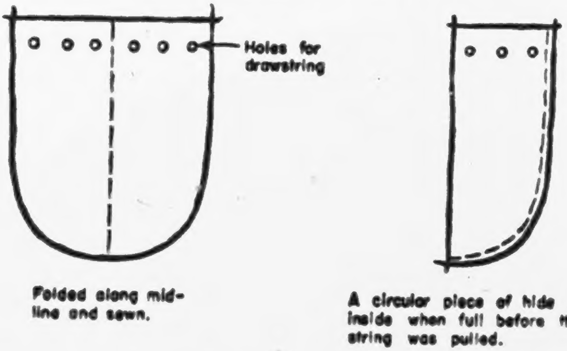
They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would 224*
depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle 492
had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A
saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front
and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were
tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide
envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed
to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used
to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the
rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they
were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the
stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling
the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth 224*
for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently 29]
on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was 412
an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. 224*
Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on 482
her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage 778
on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles
had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, 224*
dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, 251 •
coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concentrated 262
foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes.
The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that [484]
time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would
now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegetable 224*
provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the 251
cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One
batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were 252

*224 roasted in the husks. The kernels were then cut from the cob with a clam-
• 251 shell and dried. Corn prepared in this way, known as *rawaritu*, "roasted,"
252 required little soaking and could be boiled in an hour. When the camp
was moving along quickly, this was the corn they depended on for the
[243] basic staple. While some of the corn crop was thus gathered early when it
was "in the milk," the rest of the crop was allowed to mature and dry
on the stalk, *rikis-tahis*, "corn-dry." After the cobs were snapped off the
stalk and carried in, the kernels were pried off with a pointed stick. Any
of the nine varieties might be treated in either way, but the blue flour
corn was particularly favored for maturing on the stalk to be processed
as dry corn. Dry corn took considerably longer to prepare than roasted. It
had to be soaked for some time before it could be boiled, and they used
it when they stayed over at a place, arrived early, or stayed at camp late
one morning. Although it took longer to prepare, this kind of corn was
heavier and more satisfying. The sticky, yellow sweet corn pounded
with sugar was taken along as a kind of sweet meat or served when they
[887] had no time at all to cook a meal. This was most commonly prepared by
the old ladies who had more time to pound things in the mortar. Thin
sheets of dry buffalo meat were also pounded in the mortar with a little
fat and served as an alternative uncooked meal. Old women who some-
times started very early and went ahead of the line carried these foods in
a skin bag as rations. Dried spotted corn was particularly preferred for
parching, to be eaten like popcorn or with soup. In addition, they took
along several varieties of dried beans to be boiled with the corn and some
dried pumpkin and buffalo intestine for the same purpose, in order to add
a variety of flavors. Dried buffalo meat from the previous winter hunt
*224 was also included. Each of these foods was separately packed in a
25 tanned skin bag with a piece of skin on top to cover the opening and
415



Folded along mid-line and sewn.

A circular piece of hide was put inside when full before the draw-string was pulled.

FIGURE 16-1. The small sack, *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack." Slightly larger than our 50-pound flour sack, it is used for carrying pounded-up sweet corn, dried pieces of meat, scraps, and so forth.

closed up with a drawstring before placing them together in the rawhide 224*
envelope or in a larger sack. The tanned hide sacks were of two sizes, 251 •
the smaller known as *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack," standing 3 feet high and 1½ 415
feet in diameter when full and containing about a bushel or 50-60 pounds
of dried corn kernels (see Figure 16-1); the other "almost twice the size,"
standing about 3 feet high and 2 feet in diameter when filled, containing
1½ bushels or more.

The camping household of Victory Call comprised five adults and the 224*

262

TABLE 16-1. *Two Months' Supply of Dried Food Carried on the Hunt.* 592

484*

WHITE WOMAN'S SUPPLIES, INCLUDING GRANDMA'S CONTRIBUTION	
Corn, roasted, quicker cooking variety.	2 small sacks
Corn, dried, longer cooking variety, mostly blue flour.	1 large sack
Corn, dried, spotted, mostly for parching.	1 small sack
Sweet corn pounded with sugar.	2 small sacks
Beans, done up in small bundles, each containing a different variety—spotted, red, black-head.	2 or 3 sacks
Pumpkin, dried, cut into circuits, the strips braided into simple checker-plaited mats about arm's length and 2 feet wide.	1 or 2 mats
Dried buffalo meat, a slab of dried meat, 1½ feet long and 4 inches thick, comprising thin sheets of buffalo meat alternating with layers of dried fat, most of the family supply being left in the food pit.	½ a package
Trade-store goods: in the package with the slab of dried meat, ½ sack of flour, sugar, coffee, baking powder, dried fruits; if there was any room left in the package, little bags of corn, beans, or a pumpkin mat were included.	
NO CORN'S SUPPLEMENTARY SUPPLIES	
The corn was all in small sacks and there was no meat, merely dried buffalo entrails:	
Corn, roasted.	1 sack
Corn, dry.	1 sack
Corn, dry, spotted.	1 sack
Pounded sweet corn with sugar.	1 sack
Pumpkin.	1 mat
Beans, two or three kinds, a bundle of each.	1 sack
Dried buffalo entrails:	
Buffalo paunch, similar to pumpkin cut into strips and made into a checker-plaited mat.	1 mat
Intestine, cut into sections, dried and plaited into a mat about 2 feet long and 1 foot wide, both adding flavor to the soup when cooked with corn.	1 mat

*224 boy Otter. Victory Call was assisted by his retainer, Horse Rider, and
262 there were the three women—White Woman who carried the main responsibility
592 for the encampment, assisted by No Corn, Horse Rider's
*484 wife, who because of her affliction with arthritis was less able to contribute, and Grandma Chase-the-Enemy, who helped whenever she could. The food supplies these women carried were fairly standard and were estimated as shown in Table 16-1. (Grandma included hers with White Woman's.)

*224 These dried foods were very concentrated and swelled many times
•251 their size when boiled with water. For their bulk, they were economical
to carry. Victory Call's family of six took six to eight rawhide envelopes,
262 packing the food and certain small objects that happened to fit in, also a few skin sacks, and half a sack of food for immediate use. In addition, during the twenty days en route to the main hunting grounds, Victory Call went out regularly, as he did in the household, and hunted for a deer, an elk, or an antelope to supply them with fresh meat, although a good deal of it did go into social entertaining as it had in the village. The fresh deer bones were cooked along with the dried corn for the family. On the return journey lasting twenty-seven days, or more, the dried vegetable food was supplemented with partly dried buffalo meat known as *kiparu*, "moist," processed so that it would keep for a short time.

*224 Normally two meals a day were eaten, one before they broke camp in
264 the morning and one in the late afternoon. It seldom happened that they had a chance to eat a lunch in between as they were mainly on the march through the day or extremely busy processing the meat and hides that the hunters brought to the camp. A good breakfast was mandatory to sustain them on their day's journey, and corn was the most satisfying food. The pattern of meals was much as it was in the earth lodge and included fried bread of commercial wheat flour and coffee mixed with a generous
*224 amount of sugar. The value of sugar as a quick source of energy was well
262 appreciated, and a man would ask his wife to put some sugar in the fried bread if he was going to have a hard day.

rubbing after it gets wet. If the tent cover was folded when wet it would 224*
get moldy. The sinew bowstring also would be ineffective when wet. 484*
Rain had very serious consequences when they had sliced a quantity of 132
buffalo meat and were drying it on the rack. If it should be wet by a sud- [281]
den storm, the meat throughout the encampment would be spoiled. [251]
There was nothing that could be done with this meat. If one tried to eat it, it tasted like dead wood. It fell to pieces in one's hands. Even if one tried to cure it over a fire, it simply rotted. Meat once exposed to rain, even after it had been cooked, became moldy next day. A rack of meat that had been rained on was called *kariks-kutu*, "rack-dead, spoiled." The meat had to be thrown away.

Accommodation and adjustment to rainy weather was therefore very [182]
important and a nice distinction had to be made between the problem of delay and the risks involved.

One day word was sent to White Eagle that an important man of the 224*
Man-Going-Downstream Band was so ill that he could not go on. White 484*
Eagle had to consider very carefully whether they would go ahead and 758
leave him or delay the entire group. A day's delay might mean the 554
difference between reaching the full herd on time or finding only strag- 619
glers left after the herd had passed. Considering, however, that the Man- 622
Going-Downstream Band was in a "Child" relation in the Peace Pipe ritual to the Skidi and was in the process of giving them a return gift of horses, White Eagle diplomatically decided to delay the march so that the sick man could be treated by a doctor. It was also felt that if interband relationships were not solidified from time to time, one or the other of the South Bands might conceivably be induced to collaborate with the Sioux on some occasion. Then everyone would consider that White Eagle had failed in his administrative functions and in his diplomacy.
The death of an influential man in another band would also be the occa- 224*
sion for delay until after the funeral. If the wife of a prominent man 484*
were about to give birth, the whole family of this tent and a doctor 554
would stay behind and wait, and White Eagle would assign one of his 764
principle braves to see that things were all right with "their Child" (in 844
terms of the calumet), while the rest of the camp moved on. In the case of an expected birth to one of the wives of White Eagle himself, he would request Eagle Chief to lead on and say, "My wife is going to be sick." But Eagle Chief would refuse to go ahead saying, "I might spoil your luck. We can go on when she's well again." Ordinarily a woman would have to go aside while traveling and have her child in the open aside from the line of march. Also, in the case of death, the own family would usually stay behind and bury the person, then come on and join the rest. After a day's delay, everyone would be glad to be moving along.

*224 of it. After they had made a cut along the backbone and divided the robe in two, they would flap open the cut edges and split the hide down the forelegs and hind legs to get the two halves off.

The next step was to remove the meat. This was the same for both bull and cow. They removed the meat first from one side and then from the other. The carcass was turned over on its side and the long piece of meat that lay along the backbone was cut loose and turned aside. Then the flank over the ribs and forelegs was flapped back. Now the foreleg could be removed and the lower portion with the hoof on it discarded. [237] This part would find use as a hammer. The most important meat was the long steak extending all the way down the length of the backbone. Its [192] name, *kis-satsu*, "bone-lying against," was also the generic name for meat, *kisatski*, the *-ki* being a diminutive, i.e., "small meat." The long steak was the ideal part for thinning and drying as it could be cut into a long continuous sheet. It contained important sinews that were removed before slicing.

When the meat had been removed from one side, the carcass was turned over onto the other. Although the meat had been removed from the underside, the carcass was held up off the ground by the fact that the paunch was still inflated. They decided that in butchering this side, they would leave intact a large slab of meat that was ordinarily considered to be two parts, one covering the windpipe, and the other the part that lies below it, the *awahu*, the "spread out." This was a large, very fatty slab of meat. After the backbone steak, the flank, and the foreleg had been removed, they would take off this piece. This fatty layer was needed since in storing the thinned-out dried meat, they would alternate each thin layer of meat with a layer of dried fat.

Now they had to clean the internal organs; the paunch, liver, lungs, and intestines. If they had no water for cleaning the paunch, they simply shook it out. When they took care of the entrails, they also removed the tongue and brains. To get the brains from the braincase, they used the hind leg with the hoof on it as a hammer and broke off the skull cap just below the brow ridge, taking the brains out of the cover or membrane. In order to determine the best place to aim the blow, they had first to take off the scalp lock.

[262] After all the meat had been removed from the bones, they had to get the ribs, which were a main delicacy for cooking and eating right away. [251] Most of the rest of the meat was dried and preserved. The ribs were consumed mainly by the men in their feasts. To crack the ribs off the backbone, they lay the carcass on its side and cut up the front where the cartilage was with a knife. Then they used the discarded foot with the hoof on it as their hammer and struck along the ribs where the rib bones were jointed at the back. They made two slits between the ribs to get a good fingerhold and pulled the ribs so that the bones cracked at

*224 [825] water and get a drink and were therefore the older and slower animals. The fatter and faster animals had been down and returned to the pasture to graze by the time these animals had gotten there.

The better the horse, the faster the animal one could try to chase. As two men sighted a good buffalo, one would remark, "That's mine," and his neighbor would observe, "When your horse gets there it will be yours!" The fat buffalo knew he was going to be chased and a contest began between the hunter and his prey. The hunter would test the metal of his horse by baiting the buffalo with "hae, hae, hae!" a sound that made the buffalo angry so that his tail stuck up and he shook it. Only a fast horse could get an angry buffalo. When the shot found its mark the hunter would say, "ex' hau!" or "uhe'e, ahe'e!" As soon as he saw blood coming out of the buffalo's mouth, he knew that the animal could not go far and he would go get his horse nearby to be convenient for loading and begin at once to butcher. If they were at any distance from camp and two were close together, they would save much needed time by butchering cooperatively, first the animal of one, then of the other.

If they were far from camp it would be best to drive the animal toward the water before killing it for convenience while butchering. Most desirable, however, was to drive the animal close to camp where they wouldn't have far to haul the meat. When they chased an animal close to camp, the women came out asking for intestine or kidneys. They would yell, "Here comes one over here!" Another advantage of killing the buffalo close to camp was that they could bring in the bones which would be too heavy to carry otherwise, especially the backbone. Then they
[262] could make marrow fat by boiling the bones and skimming off the
• [251] grease. The fat was stored in a paunch and used to eat with pounded-up dried meat.

Some of the hunters of the Man-Going-Downstream Band had gone over east across Turkey Creek. After the camp was set up, two bison, apparently having escaped the hunters, had come across the creek and trotted right through the encampment. As the bison came through, there was great excitement in the camp. Women grabbed their babies and put them onto their backs, old people tried to get out of the way, and the dogs were barking as the bison tried to hook them. The men that remained in camp lined up two deep along both sides in their path saying, "Hah! e, hah!'e" to bait and anger the bison, but no one would do them any harm as it was felt that they had been brave and had some supernatural purpose in coming through the camp. When the hunters got home for their dinner, this incident would be recounted in great detail and similar incidents in the past recalled. One of the more "slapstick"
[538] types of story was told of an old man named Crazy who once decided he would be brave and would shoot one of these buffalo with his rifle. He only succeeded in being hooked by the buffalo and tossed up in the air

27

PRESERVING THE MEAT AND PROCESSING THE HIDES

000

Women Slice the Meat for Preserving—Preserving of Flank, Legs, Internal Organs—Boiling and Drying—Processing the Hides—Grease from the Bones—Ultimate Use of the Meat

As soon as the men got in from the hunt, each tent became the scene of busy activity. The time was usually between two and four in the afternoon. 224* 512 In Victory Call's tent, from the first killing, they had two buffalo, one by Victory Call and the other by Horse Rider. As they came in, the women spread a tanned hide on the ground for the meat that was taken off the horses, and Horse Rider then went off to hobble the horses nearby. Victory Call went into the tent where No Corn was cooking a meal of grease bread and coffee; she called out that Horse Rider was to come right in as the food was ready.

While the men were resting and having a meal that No Corn had prepared, Grandma and White Woman began at once to work on the meat, 251 252 coming in for a quick snack whenever they felt they could pause in the work. Grandma devoted herself entirely to this work. She built herself a small sunshade of three willow branches on which, later in the hunt, they sometimes left some roasted buffalo ribs for anyone who wanted a bite between meals. The most highly skilled work was the thinning of the two long backbone steaks. After removing the fat and the sinews, they would make a series of cuts in the meat with a sharp knife. Holding the long column of meat in the hand, they made a series of short cuts into it, first on one side and then on the other in alternate order. The cuts were so made that they did not quite sever the slice, and the meat could be stretched out into a broad continuous sheet 3½ feet long by 2½ feet wide and half an inch thick. After drying, these large sheets

251 [252] of meat were each covered with a slab of dried fat that was not quite as large—3¼ feet long by 1½ feet wide and an inch thick. The edges of the meat were folded down over the fat like an open-faced envelope, first the top edge, then the bottom edge, and then the two sides (see Figure 27-1). Folded in this way, they were just the right size for the rawhide container in which they would be stored. The two steaks with their layers of fat were placed one on top of the other on the rawhide with other pieces of dried meat and fat on top of them, and the container was folded over them, first the top edge, then the bottom edge and then the two sides which met in the middle where they were tied together, laced with [531] hide strips. The surface of these two short ends were painted with large designs in bright colors, but unlike the usual angular designs of the other Indian tribes of the Plains, the Pawnee painted cosmic symbols on these containers—the moon and its rays, the sun, the dawn, and the stars (see figures 27-2–27-3). Such a container held the dried meat of a whole buffalo. When the meat was fully dried and packed, it was 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep. The "neck" end of the long backbone steak was thicker than the tail end, and the dried pieces of the other

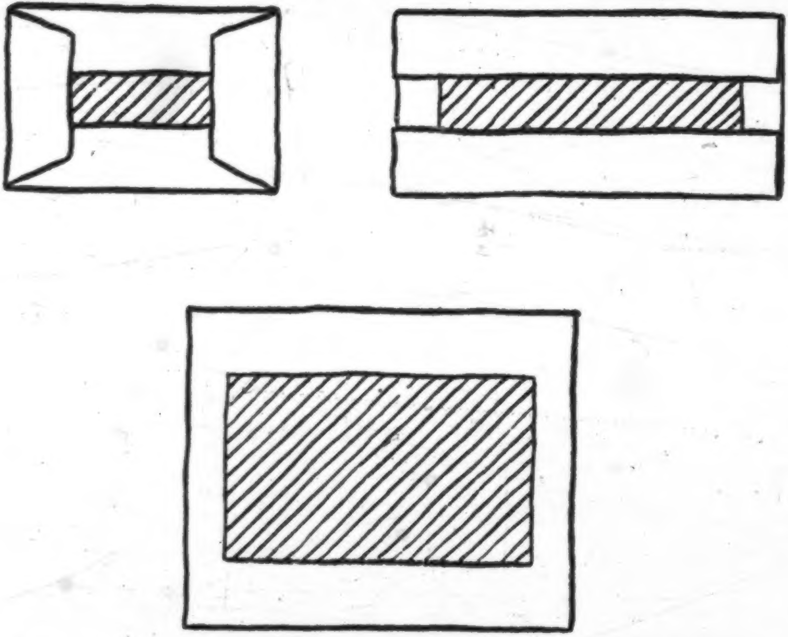
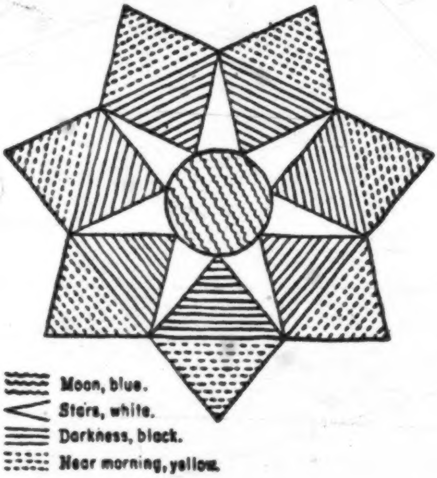


FIGURE 27-1. The manner of folding dried buffalo steak from along the backbone, *kisatsu*. A layer of dried fat (diagonal shading) is placed on top.

parts were piled more thickly near the tail end, each layer covered 251 with a layer of dried fat to keep the meat soft. The meat of a whole buffalo dried and packed in this way, was reduced to a weight of 80 pounds. A live bison weighed about 2,000 pounds. [036]



[531]

FIGURE 27-2. A cosmic design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, to be painted only by a person with the necessary religious qualifications.

Other parts of the meat prepared were: 251

The flank. The sinews were removed and the membrane being taken 252 off to be used in packing up the raw marrow that they took out when they cracked the long bones.

The foreleg and hind leg. The limbs were disjointed and the meat removed from the bones for drying.

The internal organs. These included the intestines, the lining of the [237] stomach, the tripe (likened to the leaves of a book), the heart from which the membrane was carefully removed by cutting around the top [415] for use as a tobacco pouch or for other treasures. The heart was split so that it would lie flat in drying. The tongue was blistered in the coals and the rough outer covering removed. Heart and tongue were boiled in water before being hung up to dry. Lungs were sometimes sliced like the backbone steaks and then dried. They made good pulverized dry meat. The stomach lining was washed in cold water and cut into long [237] strips after it had dried, the strips woven into a checker-plaited mat, in [285] which form they were stored in the rawhide container.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

531
415

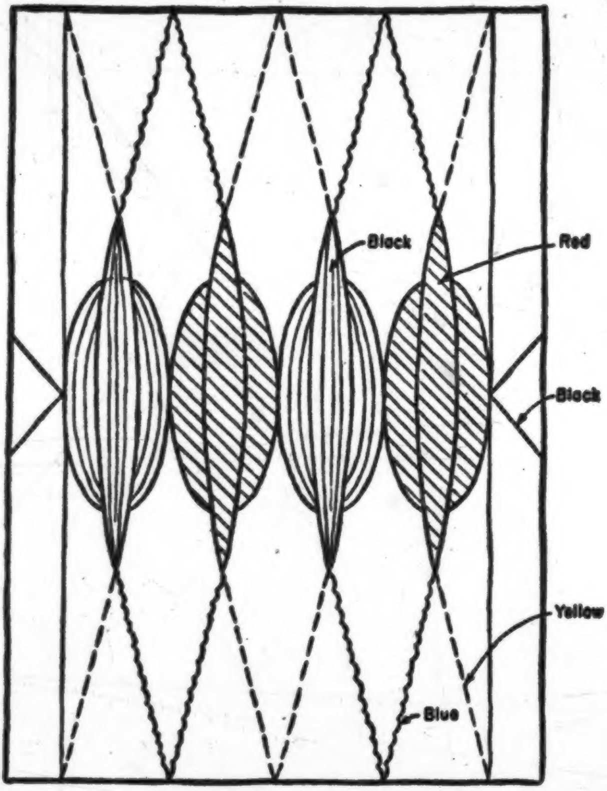


FIGURE 27-3. A design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, the significance of which is unknown.

251 Intestines were turned inside out and boiled in the kettle. Then they
252 were hung on the rack so that the water ran out and they would dry.
[237] After they were dried, they were broken into a number of pieces and
woven into a checker-plaited mat for storage. The intestines of two buf-
[285] falo were used for one mat. Each intestine was 12 to 15 feet long and
was broken into four pieces. The pieces hung over a stick to a length of
about 2 feet on each side. The mat was ten strips wide with cross pieces
[431] woven in. A mat would sometimes be given to a little girl as a special
gift. For this purpose, they would leave the stick in the mat and fasten a
boiled buffalo eye at each end. When they broke camp and a little girl
was seen carrying her gift mat on her back, people would remark,
"Look, that's hers! Are there eyes on it?"

The tripe was boiled at the same time as the intestines. It was not 251
otherwise treated, but simply hung on the rack to dry. 252

The internal organs, particularly the tripe, took several days before they were dry enough for storage. They had to be hung on the rack on several successive days, while the rest of the meat usually cured in a day or so. These dried internal organs were used for mixing with dried corn kernels to make soup.

The drying rack had been completed and ready to hang up the meat 251
by the time the men got in from the hunt. It had three upright forked 417
sticks planted in the ground, with three cross sticks, one resting in the forks at the top and two tied on at intervals below with strips of inner bark or of hide. A double-length rack was sometimes made to accommodate all the meat prepared in their camp. The rack was erected with its broad side facing east so that the sun would strike the meat directly. The meat was hung on the rack with the two long steaks in the center and the other parts out toward the ends, pieces of kidney fat and other parts of the fat in between.

As soon as the camp was set up, they brought in plenty of water in 251
anticipation of the fact that the intestines and other parts would have 252
to be boiled. When the men had arrived, Grandma set them to boil at once and began slicing the meat. White Woman was helping and when No Corn had fed the men, she came out and joined them, while Horse Rider got to work disjointing the limbs and removing the meat from the bones. Having joined forces, the meat began to pile up and White Woman hung the meat on the rack while the others sliced. With three women and Horse Rider working together, the meat of each buffalo took about an hour and a half to get on the rack, and from two-thirty to five-thirty they had prepared the meat of both buffalo that the men had brought in. Thus it would take a single worker five or six hours for each animal.

The hides had to be pegged out onto the ground and defleshed simul- 252
taneously with the slicing of the meat as they had to be stretched out 281
while they were still fresh. After they had made considerable progress with slicing the meat, Grandma suggested to White Woman that she would continue with the meat and that White Woman might go and tend to the hides. This was the most strenuous part of the work and since No Corn was crippled, White Woman had to process both the hides. No Corn continued to help Grandma slice the meat, and while White Woman was pegging down one of the hides, Horse Rider offered to peg
down the other. White Woman then proceeded to deflesh both of them. 281
The fleshing tool was made of the shaft of a buffalo tibia, the small end [412]
cut to a fine-toothed edge and the thick end with a hole through which [237]
a rawhide strap was drawn to go around the wrist. White Woman bent

281 over from a standing position, striking the fleshing tool downward and
toward her against the hide. Some women avoided bending over by
not pegging down the hide. They put a stick or tree trunk about 3 inches
in diameter at a slant in the ground. Laying the hide over it, they tied it
at the top with rawhide and supported the hide underneath with the
palm of the left hand, applying the fleshing tool to this spot and then
moving successively down the length, shifting the position of the hide
over the log for the next section. This method was particularly useful
when they had to work inside the tent in winter. The small scraps of
• [251] meat removed in the defleshing were also placed on the drying rack.

When the meat was dry on one side, they took it off the rack piece by
251 piece, and each piece was set on an open rawhide container with the dry
side up, pounded with a pestle to remove some of the moisture, turned
over and pounded on the moist side and replaced on the rack so that this
side could now be exposed.

Just before the half-dry pieces of meat were again removed from the rack and placed on a rawhide, each piece was trampled with the moccasined feet to remove as much of the moisture as possible. At this stage the meat was called "moist dry meat" and while it was not fit for long-term storage, it could keep well for several days. In this form it was cooked for their more immediate use. For permanent storage, after the meat had been trampled on, it was stacked up on a skin spread and carried inside the tent to protect it from the dampness that came up from the water after sundown. Inside the tent, they covered it up by lapping over the edges of the skin spread and covering it up with an open rawhide container. They would go out just before sunrise in the morning and hang the meat on the rack again so that it could continue to dry.

*224 Grease from the bones was another important commissary item. After
251 the third killing, the herd was pretty well scattered in this locality and
they were going to move the hunting camp to another location a considerable
252 distance away, to the Solomon fork of the Kansas, south of the
262 Republican River. Before they left their old hunting camp, White Eagle
allowed them an extra day in camp to finish up with some of their work.
251 In most of the camps they were glad to have an opportunity to make
use of the larger bones that were lying around from the first two killings,
252 particularly the backbones and the large knuckle bones. Some men,
262 having nothing else to do, went out to the place where the bones lay and,
tethering their horses nearby, dug out the chunks of meat and fat that
adhered to the backbones and brought them home for their wives to boil
for soup. These small chunks of meat were known as "small meat."
Most of all they wanted to take the opportunity to make "bone grease"
which they called "bone water." This was eaten particularly with the
pulverized dried buffalo meat, by biting off a piece of the solidified fat
to eat with the dry fluffy pounded-up meat. This was probably their last

chance of the season to make bone grease, as they were unlikely to stay 262 long enough in any one place and be so close to the hunting grounds as 251 to have all these large bones around and the time to treat them. The bone 252 grease was made by cracking up the backbone and boiling it in a large kettle of water along with the knuckle bones. The grease, skimmed off with a spoon, was kept in a buffalo paunch, prepared by peeling off the inner lining, which left a smooth surface on the inside. The paunch, with a wide slit cut into it for an opening, was placed in a depression in the ground and the opening flaps spread out at the top. In summer it was hard to get the grease to solidify, but in the evening when a cool breeze came up from the river it became solid enough to transport. Though they seldom did so, if they wanted to make bone grease en route they put it into the large intestine and tied it up at both ends for transportation. The winter was a more propitious time for making bone grease as [416] it hardened more readily; sometimes they would stay up at night and work by the light of a burning brand while on the winter hunt in order to make it. The soup was spilled out at some distance from camp along with the boiled bones. Before they got rid of the soup, Horse Rider liked to eat a bowl of it with a handful or two of parched corn. Sometimes when it cooked for a long time, certain soft parts from the bones around the lower part of the foreleg were also eaten.

Now as Horse Rider was coming into camp with a backbone for Grandma to boil up for bone grease, she set him to work first picking off the small pieces of meat and fat. He sat down directly with his legs extended and wedged the backbone between his feet and got to work digging out the meat. They used the meat for soup at supper. The long bones were cracked and the marrow removed and wrapped in a membrane taken from the flank. The marrow was eaten raw with dry meat.

They now had the partially dried buffalo meat to supplement the supplies of dried corn, beans, and squash and the dried meat they had brought with them from the previous winter hunt. For the camping family of six, they would use a thin sheet of dried buffalo meat with its covering layer of fat. The dried piece of meat was 12 inches wide by 30 inches long and would be cut into eight portions, 6 inches wide, 7 inches long and ⅜ to ¼ inch thick. The fat was a little thicker and with each portion went a piece of fat—2½ by 5 inches. The portions of meat and fat were washed with cold water and then put in the kettle which was placed on the coals to boil. The fat tended to disintegrate into the soup. When they were cooking dry meat for supper, a guest, usually a close friend or relative, was very likely to drop in. In Victory Call's camp, Uncle War Cry, White Woman's brother, was the one most likely to appear.

For feasts at official or ceremonial occasions, the backbone steaks were 574 used, a number being donated for each occasion (see Figure 27-4). A 252

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 221]

tanned hide was spread out and formally divided into sections, a right 252
section for the guests on the north side and a left section for those on 574
the south side with a stick lying on the spread between them to mark
the divisions. Two backbone steaks were opened out, one on one side
and one on the other and separated from their layer of fat. This operation
was carried out at the southeast of the earth lodge or tent with the
two steaks pointed with their "neck" or head ends toward the northwest.
Each steak was cut down the length into four strips, each about 6
inches wide. The three strips on the right were made into five large
portions each, about 9 inches long, and the fourth or leftmost strip was
cut into a whole series of smaller portions depending upon how many
people needed to be served. The larger portions were for the important [554]
guests at the main "positions," while the smaller pieces were for the others.
The layer of fat was cut up in the same way, but this disintegrated
in the soup. For a feast of sixty people, four steaks would be cooked.
Each potful took about twenty minutes, about fifteen for the meat and a
few minutes more for the fat to be thoroughly cooked. For this amount
they cooked three or four batches, spearing out the pieces of meat with
a stick each time and placing them on the spread in the appropriate
position for serving. Sometimes while the errand man was doing the
cooking he would observe that the steaks were unusually small, viz., from
a small animal, when additional meat would have to be added. When additional (554)
steaks were received, the important guests received double portions
or more. This was the only direct compensation for administrative
services.

Most of the meat preserved during this summer hunt would be used 251
during the following fall and winter, while the succeeding winter hunt 262
would provide the additional meat for the spring. From the summer hunt, 281
the hides were processed as rawhide or tanned hide with hair removed,
while on the winter hunt they got hides with fur and wool for warm
robes.

The drying and preserving of the buffalo meat along with their crops 251
was one of the major technical achievements of the Pawnees. This ancient 171
art of preserving food by drying was almost continent-wide in
America among the food gatherers as well as the food producers, and
the method contrasts markedly with the general Old World approach of
fermenting, pickling, and spicing for food preservation.

Each household had its own estimate of the amount of dried buffalo 224*
meat required to carry on its social and religious obligations. Four formal
attacks on the herd by all the able-bodied hunters of the tribe were
considered sufficient to provide for most of their needs. The first mass
attack had taken place as the line of march was slowly making its way
southward along the west bank of Turkey Creek. When they had gone
about halfway, the scouts had located the herd, and the hunters left the

29

THE ADDITIONAL HUNTING EPISODES

000

The Less Formal Part of the Hunt—Scouting for Enemy and Buffalo—a Sioux Attack—the Herd Sighted and Attacked—Final Attack and the Start Home

*224 *484 THE MAIN FOUR EPISODES of the hunt were now completed, and the rest would be undertaken on a less formal level. In the last one at Cedar Creek, it was felt that they hadn't gotten much and White Eagle decided that it would be best for them to move their camp westward. They would move eight miles west and upstream (Post Hunt Camp 1). White Eagle sent his errand man to Curly Chief of the Kitkehaxki Band to notify him, and Curly Chief in turn sent his errand man to announce it all through the South Band camps, while the Skidi errand man came back and announced it in theirs. The meat was nearly dry and they carried it along. • [251] When they got to the next camping place, the women simply finished drying the limited amount they had by spreading it out on the ground on a hide.

*224 726 *484 The afternoon before, scouts from each of the bands had gone out over the country to look for signs of the enemy and the buffalo. From the Skidi, a party of three led by Roaming Leader went off to the southwest. Scanning the landscape from the top of a hill, they were unable to see anything. Sometimes one could make a mistake when enemies disguised themselves by wearing buffalo hides, but if you looked carefully you could see the robe flapping at the sides and other men similarly dressed, joining the first one. The Sioux, Cheyennes, or Arapahos would do this, sitting on a horse with a buffalo robe draped over their heads with the sides hanging down. 222 *484 Roaming Leader had come especially to this area to get some sweet cicely (*Washingtonia longistylis*) called

30

THE RETURN HOME FROM THE HUNT

000

"Village Scouts" Return to Village for Reports—Main Body of Encampment Moves Homeward—Their Diet—Young Men Leave for Warpath and Horse Stealing—Village Scouts Return to Encampment—Tell of Stay-at-Homes and Crops—Releasing the Holy Man of the Hunt—Chief's Remarks at End of Hunt

EVERYONE WAS LADEN with meat and hides, and now that they had completed a successful hunt, all thoughts were turned toward home—particularly toward their crops and the people they had left behind. A group of young men decided they would ride ahead and see how the *Kakusu*, "Stay-at-Homes," had fared and how the crops were doing in the fields, and then come back and meet the line of march halfway, about two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), and report back to the people. These young men took up their mission on a purely voluntary and spontaneous basis. They were called *kitkehax-wiriksu*, "village-scouts." Sometimes one of them had a grandmother left behind that he wanted to know about or a girl. People were also anxious about the children who had been left at the school. The young man would tell his mother or grandmother of his plan and she would make him some pounded-up dried meat and some slabs of dried meat to take along with him. The boys took a short cut, going in a group and getting quickly back to the village. 224* 484*

Meanwhile in the encampments, the women were packing up the meat in the parfleches for permanent storage and strapping them up. Others were thinning buffalo robes by scraping them down—for barter at Fort Kearney in exchange for flour, coffee, sugar, and other trade goods. In [251] [281] [439]

*224 this area now, north of the Republican, they were in Pawnee territory
*484 and were less concerned about danger of attack. As the South Bands had
their villages to the east of the Skidi on Beaver Creek, they moved ahead
while the Skidi lagged behind. They ate mainly dried buffalo meat at
[262] this time and a little parched corn in soup. If anyone happened to have
[252] any roasted corn kernels on hand, they boiled them and ate them, but
most people had used up their supply by now. The old women were al-
*224 ways busy when they stopped, pulverizing dried buffalo meat in the
*484 mortar with a pestle. They made a flat package, *tsat-katus*, "package-
• 251 flat," of tanned hide (see Figure 30-1) and filled it up with the pounded-
887 up dried meat. The package could be carried on the back with a strap
[482] that ran across the chest. It was 2 feet long by 1½ feet wide, and was
[439] often carried on their backs by the old women. It was a good trade
item. Sometimes they also included some dried meat. Both kinds could
[262] be eaten without cooking as they were already thoroughly cured. One
could simply break off a piece of the dried meat and eat it.

237
251
482

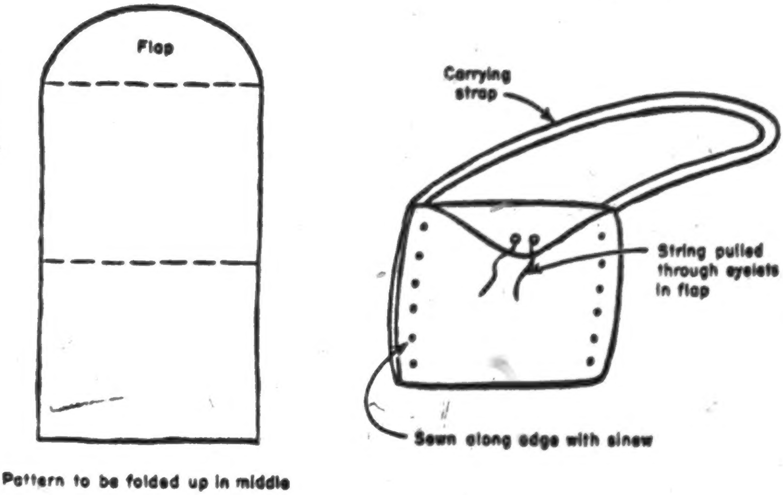

Flap
Carrying strap
String pulled through eyelets in flap
Sewn along edge with sinew
Pattern to be folded up in middle

FIGURE 30-1. The pattern of a skin knapsack, *tsat-katus*, "package-flat."

*224 Some old women made a *bu-tsaku*, "water-package," of half a buffalo
*484 bull hide made into rawhide, with sticks fastened underneath and the
[237] baggage wrapped inside envelope-fashion, to be floated across a swollen
[281] stream. Most of the women were busy tanning buffalo robes and scraping
hides all the way home.

726 Some young men were saying that when they got to the Platte River
they would set out on the warpath. There were plenty of Sioux around

31

HARVEST TIME IN THE VILLAGE

000 *Encampment in the Bottomlands—Grandma Opens the Cache Pit—Fall Harvest—Grandma Builds a Work Enclosure in the Field—Roasting the Corn and Pumpkin—Her Round of Activities—Treatment of Corn, Beans, Pumpkin—Sioux Attack—Earth Lodges Prepared for Reentering—Stories*

243 EVERYONE'S THOUGHTS were now upon their gardens and their corn. In
[821] the sky, the South Star, Canopus, had appeared and they knew it was time
for harvest. By our calendar it was about the first of September. The time
[221] of the hunt was over; the time of the harvest begun.

Before they left the village at the end of June, the corn had grown
about knee high and the earth was hilled up around the young plants so
that they looked like little earth lodges with smoke issuing from their
smokeholes. Now the stalks were ten feet tall and the ears were not quite
mature but "in the milk." The corn harvest was in two stages: some of
243 the corn was treated at once in this early stage by roasting and drying,
252 and some left to mature completely on the stalk before being dried and
251 processed. Between the first and second corn drying, they harvested and
244 dried the beans and then the pumpkins.

When they camped in the bottomlands near the fields, they set up a
342 commodious tent as they knew they wouldn't have to move it for at least
251 three weeks, and they needed room to keep their meat and dried crops
under cover. Their earth lodges were infested with fleas and they
couldn't spare the time to clear them up until they had gotten on with
251 the work of the harvest. However, they did go up to the villages and
open up and inspect and clean their storage pits that they had left with

considerable quantities of dried corn, vegetables, meat, and some skins 251 and clothing, and they took out some of the dried corn and beans for current use, until the green corn would be ready.

As soon as the encampment was set up, Grandma had a visit from Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy who was camping way over east with the Village-in-the-Bottomlands group where she had been all summer with her son. She came to talk to Grandma about going up to the cache pit the next morning, cleaning it up and getting out a few supplies. Old-Lady-Blue-Calico who was the grandmother in Old Bull's family that occupied the south side of the earth lodge, also came with a similar proposal and early next morning the three old ladies went up there and got to work. White Woman and No Corn said they would join them later after they had finished the household chores in order to get a few supplies of dried corn and pumpkin.

When they first opened the pit, the air smelled moldy and they had to let it air a bit before anyone could enter. Then they put down a tree ladder, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, who was the tallest, went into the pit to look things over. The ladder was a tree trunk with stubs of [417] branches left on for a foothold and two extra notches at the bottom. The pit was 10 feet deep. The moldy smell might have come from the thatch grass that lined the pit or from the actual supplies. When she got down inside, the old lady discovered a moldy place in the grass which she proceeded to rub off with a broom and throw out of the pit. The women had each brought along a small sack, *ritsakusu*, in which to carry home their supplies. This was about 8 inches high and a foot in diameter when full (compare with sack carried on the hunt, *asakarusu*, 3 feet high and 1½ feet diameter when full). In the pit each woman had a very large sack of tanned hide in which her provisions were stored, and each one asked Grieves-the-Enemy to dip out some from her store into the small sack. No Corn who had arrived with White Woman by this time, asked for some green roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*) and a half a checker-plaited pumpkin mat. White Woman asked for the same. Grandma reminded them that they shouldn't take too much at this time, as they would very soon have fresh roasted green corn from their current crop. Since the other women in the household had taken roasted corn, Grandma asked for a different kind—mature dried blue flour corn, [252] *uraaxkatit*, that she could pound up and make into mush with buffalo soup, *u-taraba* "mush-buffalo." She also asked for dried sweet corn, the rather sticky yellow variety, *rikis-karus*, "corn-sweet," that she intended to pound up in the mortar with sugar which could then be eaten without further preparation.

The younger women carried their supplies back to camp and the three older women lingered a while to close up the pit securely and to talk over their plans. They had decided that each of the old women would 243 887 827 252 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there.

252 Grandma built herself a corn-roasting pit inside her shelter. It was an oblong pit with an embankment along each long side or a log for the ears to rest on—the pit lying across the shelter with the long dimension running north and south; the back of the shelter being west and its entry east.

243 252 [372] [415] Before putting up the shelter, on the way to the fields she had looked for some wood so that it would be ready for the roasting. If she was unable to find wood, she used sunflower stalks. Now with the shelter all prepared and the pit ready, she fixed up a parfleche as a container for the ears she picked by closing one end and leaving the other open, and since it was of stiff rawhide, she stood it up ready to throw the ears of corn in. When it was full, she carried it on her back with a packstrap which she had fastened to it. The ears of corn from one parfleche-full make a pile about 3 feet high by 2½ feet in diameter. She would gather about two parfleches of corn at a time which she would roast before gathering the next batch.

Now she built a fire in the pit. If it was morning, she would sit near the west edge facing east, the raw corn piled at her right (at the south end of the pit). The corn was set in the pit resting along the near side with the stub end down and the point end up—the ears lined up one next to the other. While they were roasting, she had to keep turning the ears, and it was hard to keep her hands from getting burnt while this was going on. With one woman working alone she could utilize only one of the long sides of the pit at any one sitting, because of the need to turn the ears. In the morning she worked along the west edge and in the afternoon after the sun went down she worked along the east edge, sitting with her back to the door, facing the rear of the shelter. She again piled the raw corn to her right (the north end) and proceeded to roast it. When two women worked together they could use both sides of the pit simultaneously.

The husks of the corn were considerably charred after the roasting, but the corn inside was not burnt. The ears were left in their husks in a pile to cool off, and this very much improved their flavor. Only if the woman was in a great hurry would she begin to husk the ears before they had cooled off.

After all the corn was husked, the kernels were cut off row by row with a fresh water clamshell. Some of the ears had such small kernels that they could not be cut off, and these ears were left aside in a pile for any guests who happened to come in and visit.

244 [251] While the roasted corn was cooling, Grandma would pick the ripe beans. She swept the place clean and spread them out to let them dry in the sun and as they dried, you could hear them pop. She also went to the pumpkin patch and got two or three pumpkins that were hard enough. Like the beans, she would gather these up in her skirt. She

244 She
252 roasted them in the fire and when they were burned all around, she scraped off the burnt places with her clamshell. So as not to waste it, she ate some of this burnt pumpkin rind and sometimes gave some to the little boy and his mouth would get all black and ashy. The next step was to cut the roasted pumpkins in half and scoop out the seeds with the pulp, removing the seeds and spreading them out to dry for next year's planting, since these were the first of the season to ripen. If she felt inclined to, she could cook the pulp with some fresh corn in her kettle; otherwise she would simply throw it away.

After the six half pumpkin shells had cooled off, she cut them into rings about 1½ inches wide. She kept cutting the pumpkin shells all around (*tibakaratsarahaku*) until she had cut them all. The bottom disks, about 4 inches in diameter, were also saved. One or two of these she wrapped in corn husks and roasted them in the ashes covered up with the hot coals so that the little boy could eat them. Then she prepared a rack
244 for drying the strips and the bottoms were spread out on the ground
251 on some corn husks in the sun. The drying rack was two forked sticks
252 set in the ground with a long cross stick resting in the forks. The rack faced east so that the sun could strike it better. Hanging the pumpkin rings on her left arm, she took them one by one and hung them on the cross stick, pushing them up against the fork. When the stick was about half full, she lifted the cross stick and added rings, and when the space between the forks was full, she continued to hang them up on both ends of the stick. The three ordinary-sized pumpkins filled a little over half a cross stick.

243 The first corn picked were the small-kerneled varieties—the *rawarit-*
252 *kiripaxki*, "roasted-small." After she had worked a little on the beans and pumpkins she went into the field and picked the larger kerneled corn, *rawarit-kutsu*, "roasted-large," particularly the blue flour *uraax-katit*, "earth-black." These she also roasted in the pit and left aside any with kernels so small that they could not be cut off with the fresh-water clamshell, for any casual guests to eat that might come to visit her in the field.

251 Both in the previous gathering and now with the larger-kerneled ears,
243 after roasting, Grandma selected about a dozen or two ears that were particularly good specimens, leaving them in the husk and removing just the charred parts. These she would not husk or remove the kernels, but when they dried, braid them together into a long continuous chain that she joined together at the ends. When the ears were dry, the husks were drawn up toward the butt ends and joined together in a braid, *ki'u*, making a string some 2 feet 9 inches long about two dozen to a braid, and then the ends tied together and hung up to dry in the sun on the south side of the shelter. Some people made braids of only a dozen. Strings of spotted corn, *rikis-tipiku*, "corn-egg," were braided in a

double row with more ears to the string. Most of all they braided the 251
sweet corn, *rikis-karus*, "corn-sweet." Later when they gathered the 243
mature corn that had been left to dry on the stalk and not roasted, they also selected some prime ears and braided them together. In the earth lodge on each side leaning against the wall was a sapling with lopped-off branches on which they hung some of these corn braids. Even if this corn was not cooked until December or January, it tasted as fresh as if it had just been plucked. From a braid of mature dried corn, anyone who wanted an occasional bite could break off an ear and roast it. Those braids that were not hung up in the lodge were put in the storage pit along with the dried kernels and other dried crops.

All day Grandma worked in the fields, and in the evening she loaded [482]
her parfleche container of roasted corn kernels on her back and carried them to the camp. She would bring six or seven corn stalks with her that had been stripped of their ears for the little boy to chew on "like sugar cane." The old lady said, "Here, that's good for you!" He bit between the joints and twisted the stalk to get out the sweet juice. While he was enjoying them, some boys would come along and say, "Give me one." At camp an old tent cover had been spread on the ground so that the corn kernels could be spread out to dry. The next morning she said to White Woman, "Tsuat Tstaka, Daughter White Woman, here's some corn. Spread it out to dry." On the way home from her fields, Grandma always took a swim in Beaver Creek.

Back at camp, they had a team approach to the harvesting that in- 243
volved somewhat different steps from Grandma's. The two fields, White 476
Woman's and No Corn's, were harvested in succession, at least two going into a field at a time, while the others might remain behind for the
processing. Also all the crops were loaded on horseback rather than [492]
being packed on the back from the field to the camp as Grandma did. Husking was also done in a group, people from other camps joining them from time to time.

The team of four—Horse Rider and his wife No Corn and Victory Call and his wife White Woman—worked in the following way:

Morning of the first day, White Woman and Horse Rider went out to her field and brought in eight parfleches of corn ears that they had picked. They took along two horses and loaded them with four parfleches each. It was estimated that in our terms, eight parfleches of corn ears amounted to a wagon load, level and without the side boards up.

When they got back to camp, White Woman and No Corn im- 243
mediately set to work roasting. The two men, Horse Rider and Victory 252
Call, went back into the field and brought back two more horseloads— 476
eight parfleches full of corn ears. In one day they had gathered in two wagonloads as stated above.

In the *afternoon*, they kept on roasting all day. The men shucked the

243 corn. They worked fast and had no time for refinements like picking
252 out the ears suitable for braiding as Grandma had done. They kept at it
476 all day, and if anyone was hungry he ate some roasted corn. Sometimes
one of the women stopped and made bread and coffee while the others
kept right on working. They allowed the problem of cleaning dishes
and other household chores to rest for the time being.

In the *evening* Uncle War Cry came along and observed, "What are you folks doing? Oh, roasting corn!" Then he sat down and lent a hand, husking away until he found an especially good ear that he would eat up on the way. Soon his younger brother, Brave Shield (also known as High Noon) joined the party. Victory Call said to Grandma, "Old Lady, go to sleep, You must be tired. You don't have to help us. We have two boys to help." Grandma went to bed and the men sat up husking together and telling stories until quite late. Moonlight nights were particularly likely to invite such husking parties.

For the next three weeks their pattern of work continued in the same way. The four would go out into the fields for the morning, come home at noon and the women set to work with the processing, the men going out again returning in the afternoon, and helping in the evening with the processing. Grandma came in, in the late afternoon or evening, and set down her processed material in a pile next to the rest.

The crops were gathered in the order of their readiness, first from
White Woman's fields, then from No Corn's, and the various processing
was carried on while other gathering was taking place. The *first green
corn* was gathered for two days from White Woman's and then another
244 two days from No Corn's fields. For the *first bean crop*, a day each was
476 spent in each of the fields. Now a *final load of green corn* was gathered
[243] with the team splitting up two and two to each field on the same day.
For the *second bean crop* all four worked one day in White Woman's
[461] field and then another day in No Corn's field. This was tedious work, as
one had to bend down and search for the beans all along the vines. Now
all four spent a day each gathering the *pumpkins*, bringing them back to
[252] camp. Then the pumpkins were roasted and cut into circular rings the
next day. After the pumpkins, for which about three days had been
243 spent, the team of four spent two days getting in and husking the
476 *mature corn* that had been left to dry on the stalks from each of the two
fields, and prying the kernels from the cobs with a pointed stick. The
next step was to gather in the small *nubbin ears* to be fed to the horses
so that they would get fat; Horse Rider gathered some and chopped them
up and fed them to a horse that was thin and then let them loose in the
field to find and eat them. Poor families sent their boys into other
people's fields to glean these small ears to supplement their meager
[251] supplies. Finally the *sticky sweet corn* that was left longest on the stalk
to dry was gathered, one day by Victory Call and White Woman in her

field, and then next day by Horse Rider and No Corn in her field, the two 243
teams staying alternately at home and watching as well as processing the 251
crops. Sweet corn was mainly made into double braids. Quantity production 476
depended on team work, of course, but the women had to sort [244]
out the eight varieties of beans after everything was done, as the men [462]
would not bother with such a detail and would pay no attention to the
selection of the best ears for braiding. When all the corn was in, the [825]
blackbirds began to fly over the fields, presaging the cold weather.

The following are some of the processes used in preserving the crops, 243
together with a breakdown of how these were coordinated with the activities 244
of gathering. 251

The green corn was gathered from the stalk "in the milk" and roasted 243
in a long roasting pit in which a fire was built. It was allowed to cool 251
off and the husks removed. The kernels were cut off the cob row by row [237]
with a fresh-water clamshell and spread on a tanned hide to dry. At night [412]
the kernels were first winnowed to remove any chaff, gathered up and put in a flour sack, and then taken into the tent. They were put in a wooden bowl and spilled out from a height so that the wind would blow the chaff away. Next morning they were again spread out on the tanned hide. After several days, as they were being spilled for winnowing in the evening, they would make a tapping noise when they hit the hide, showing that the kernels were completely dry.

When the beans were picked off the vines and brought into camp, 244
they were dumped onto the spread and allowed to dry in the sun. As 251
they dried, one could hear the popping of the pods. At night they
were left outdoors, covered only with a spread of tanned hide, and in
the morning uncovered and allowed to dry again. Then they were [412]
flailed with a peeled willow rod about 4 feet long and 1 inch thick to
remove the pods as much as possible. Some of the beans had to be picked out by hand—a small pile of beans was always picked this way. If there was a large pile the woman would strike them with the stick, then stop and pick out the loose pods and pile them to one side, push the beans together again and further beat them with the stick. The beans were winnowed by spilling from a height from a wooden bowl, in this way loose pieces of dry pod blew away and the pods still containing some beans fell to the ground and were opened by hand—an operation in which someone usually gave her help if they were available. After winnowing, the beans were spread out to dry thoroughly. When all the other work had been done, the beans were sorted into their eight varieties.

After the beans, they brought in the pumpkin harvest. The women 244
spent most of one day hauling them from the field. First they brought 489
the largest, then the next largest, and so on. One parfleche in which 492
they were transported carried five large pumpkins, or seven to eight

244 middle-sized pumpkins, or twelve to fifteen small ones. A horse could
489 carry in only two parfleches filled with pumpkins at a trip. Using two
492 horses, they made five trips to the field, some in the morning and
some in the afternoon, carrying about twenty parfleches in all of the
different sizes. This represented the crop of White Woman's field and
amounted to about a wagon-load and a half, perhaps a little more, with
the wagon being level without sideboards.

The pumpkin rinds were removed by roasting them in the fire until
244 they could scrape off the outer rind with a fresh-water clamshell. Each
251 individual pumpkin was roasted and set aside to cool, then scraped.
252 Some people peeled them with a knife, but this was time-consuming and
was considered wasteful. Small pumpkins 4 inches or less in diameter
were neither roasted, peeled, nor halved—they were simply cut into
blocks, laid out on a tent skin and dried. They could be cooked any
time now with the large roasted corn to add flavor. The standard-size
pumpkins were cut in half, the pulp and seeds taken out, and the
halves cut into a series of circular rings each about 1½ inches wide.
These were hung on a rack and when they had dried somewhat were
pressed underfoot to express some of the water as was done with the
sliced buffalo meat, then hung up again to dry further. At night the
pumpkin rings were left on the rack covered with an old tent skin. By
285 the time the mature dried corn crop was coming in, the pumpkin strips
would be dry enough so that they could be woven into checker-plaited
mats. They would alternate the processing of this corn with the making
of the pumpkin mats, *ri-katsitu*, "braid-woven."

The plaited pumpkin mats were arm's length and 2 feet wide. The individual
strips had shrunk in the drying to an inch in width. It took
about two hours to weave a pumpkin mat. In an afternoon, each woman
would make two mats before supper. The dried pumpkin was used by
cutting off a number of the 2-foot strips in the width with small portions
252 of the cross pieces adhering to them. The very smallest pumpkins
262 about the size of tomatoes were boiled fresh and eaten in the morning
for a breakfast during this harvest period. They were very much
relished.

243 The preparation of the mature corn that had been allowed to dry on
the stalk, was somewhat different from the ears that were gathered "in
251 the milk." No roasting was necessary. The ears were snapped off the
stalk, taken to camp, and husked that evening and the following day.
The ears were then spread out and allowed to dry until evening and
after supper the women began to remove the kernels. They used a small
pointed stick to pry them off, pushing it in between two rows and along
the cob from stub end to point so that in spreading the rows of kernels
they were readily pried off. In the evening the corn was winnowed and

taken into the tent. The next day the removal of the kernels contin- 243
ued. They were spread out to dry along with those removed the day 251
before. In the late afternoon they were again winnowed and kept in the tent for the night, and again spread out to dry further. When the kernels made a tapping sound on the hide during winnowing they were judged to be dry.

These were the technical steps taken to process the crops. The gen- 512
eral scheme of events among the household personnel was as follows: 243

First day. White Woman and Horse Rider went into her field and 251
brought in the corn loaded on two horses. White Woman and No Corn 252
stayed and roasted the corn. Victory Call and Horse Rider went back into 476
the field and got a second load. In the afternoon women kept on roasting and the men removed the husks. In the evening two more men came in and helped with the husking while the women went to bed. The four men stayed up doing the husking and telling stories.

Second day. In the morning two men continued husking until eleven A.M.; the two women continued cutting off the kernels. After this time the two men spread out the kernels to dry. The two women continued to cut off the kernels from the cobs.

If Victory Call was tired, he rested and White Woman took over the spreading of the kernels while No Corn continued to cut the kernels from the cob. Horse Rider might have to go and tend the horses.

In the afternoon, Grandma came in with her parfleche of shelled corn, having crossed Beaver Creek and stopped for a swim. She dumped her corn kernels on the skin spread in a separate heap and spread them out to dry.

In the evening, having gathered in most of the green corn that was ready from White Woman's fields, they made a plan to go into No Corn's field the next morning. All four would go off into the field and they needed someone to keep watch over their corn against stealing. Also, should anyone need Victory Call for official business, it was necessary to tell them where he could be reached. White Woman asked her brother War Cry to send over one of his three wives as "Room-Watcher," *ratut-kihar-atsiksta*, "I that am for him-room-watcher." She could also spread out any corn kernels that still needed to be dried while she was there.

Third day. They go to No Corn's field to get the green corn. Victory Call, White Woman and No Corn set out on foot and pick whatever was ripe in No Corn's field, leaving it here and there in little piles. Horse Rider meanwhile had gone out to get the horses and saddle them up; then he joined them in the field. When one load was ready they went back to camp and the two women stayed there, beginning at once to roast the ears. Horse Rider went back to the field and brought what

512 was left in the several piles, loading it onto the horses and bringing it
243 back into camp. The women continued to roast and the men began to
do the husking.

• 251 That evening Sun Chief and Leading Fox, older sons of Victory Call
252 by a previous marriage, came in to help with the husking.

476 *Fourth day*. Men continued to husk the corn, while the women now cut the kernels from the cobs with a clamshell. They all helped to spread out the kernels to dry. All the green corn from both sets of fields that was ripe enough, had now been gathered, roasted, and set out to dry. It was usual to finish this task in the first four or five days.

512 *Fifth day*. This was the time for the first bean harvest in White Woman's
244 field. This was hard work as most of the vines didn't climb on anything
476 but grew close to the ground. Sometimes they grew in separate patches
[461] and sometimes in a patch with the corn. The women gathered the pods
in their skirts; the men threw them in whenever they got a handful. All
four worked in the field until late afternoon. On the way home, they
[526] stopped and took a swim in Beaver Creek. Again as in the time of
planting, they slapped the water with their feet, making as loud a noise
[515] as possible. As the women slapped the surface of the water with their
soles, it resounded all along the creek like the report of a gun. "They are slapping the water with their feet" (*tutastaxkitspiru*). The girls used their hands for this (*tutikstaxkitspiru*), and Otter had a hard time learning the trick from them. Possibly it was a kind of sympathetic magic for the tapping of the dry beans and corn on the threshing floor. They went home about 4:30 in the afternoon, having gathered about four parfleches of the beans in the pod in a good year. At home one of War Cry's wives or daughters had been serving as Room Watcher for their tent. It was five o'clock by the time the pods were all spread out to dry. Everyone was tired and took a rest. Inside the tent, Horse Rider and No Corn were wrestling playfully together and saying, "Now we have some roasted corn" (*rawaritu*).

244 In the evening the beans were covered up where they lay and the
512 corn kernels were winnowed and taken inside for the night in flour sacks.
Now grandma came in carrying her sack of corn or beans that she spread out. White Woman offered to come out and help her in her field but she refused saying, "Oh, no. If you help me I'll get through too soon and I won't have anything else to do. So I'd just like to do it myself."

White Woman made the fire and cooked some grease bread and No Corn prepared the coffee and dried apples for their supper. Uncle War Cry came to join them and began to tease Grandma about how tired she was; Grandma asked to have her dinner brought to her. War Cry then began to talk about the trade store and Victory Call remembered he owed them a buffalo robe, but War Cry observed that he was sure they would wait until the harvest work was done. He promised to mention

752 afterward. One Sioux was killed and one Pawnee killed or scalped.
726 This is why Mad Bear was known as a brave man, heedless of any
danger to himself, like a boy, a *piraski*.

244 All the time that this struggle was going on, Victory Call, White Woman,
512 and No Corn were in No Corn's field picking beans. Horse Rider had
had to go quite a way to find the horses and when he got back to camp
to saddle them, they had left him a bite of breakfast and then he joined
them in the field. First he inspected the pumpkins and then they all
went around picking up the vines, and when a vine wrapped around a
cornstalk, they had to look all around for the ripe pods. This took until
noon and on the way home they took a swim in the creek. Arriving at
camp, they prepared a modest lunch of bread, coffee, and bits of ready-
244 cooked meat saved in a sack for such purposes—pieces of dried heart,
512 leg muscle, pieces of paunch, fat, etc. They called this *tsuspakahu*. They
262 opened the sack and dumped the pieces of meat on a spread and simply
264 picked up one and ate it with the bread and coffee. Sometimes they
had pulverized dried meat, *tapaharus*, with some bone grease instead of
the meat. They decided to have the same kind of meal in the evening, as
their backs ached from picking the beans. After the meal, the newly
244 picked beans were spread out to dry, and about three in the afternoon
512 White Woman decided that her beans were dry enough to thresh with
251 the long willow stick to get the beans out of the pods. Victory Call wan-
dered up to the store and Horse Rider either went to the gambling
grounds or just sat on a bluff smoking and looking around. The women
kept working with the beans.

512 That evening, Victory Call came in with supplies from the store for
439 supper: prunes, dry apples and some candy sticks for Otter—a gift of
the trader. People had seen Victory Call coming in while they were at
the gambling grounds watching the game, and they decided to come
over and have some dinner there. War Cry's younger brother, Brave
Shield, and Wants-the-Enemy dropped in for a visit. Some decided to
visit with Misery (*Akapakis*) instead, and White Woman felt slighted be-
cause the youngest brother of War Cry, Leading Fox, had decided to go
there as also had Sun Chief, Victory Call's older son. She scolded Lead-
ing Fox saying, "Why don't you come in. People will think I don't
take care of you." "Well," he said, "the boys wanted me to come with
them." She remarked about Sun Chief to Victory Call who reassured
her saying, "That's nothing. You have to watch girls, but you can't
keep boys home like that."

512 At dinner, Brave Shield mentioned that some of the Kitkehaxki
796 doctors were preparing to go back into the earth lodges to prepare for
776 the forthcoming doctor dances. Victory Call said that it was a bit too
756 early. It was better to finish the work so that they didn't have all this rub-

bish in their yards at home and then go up to the village. He said the 512
leading doctors would wait until people got all through before beginning 796
as "They liked to have a good crowd to attend the dances." At the 756
gambling grounds the talk was about the same subject. Presently two or three men came in from the South Bands and joined them at supper and talked about how things were going with them. "What are your folks doing over there?" they were asked. "We are working hard making roasted corn. The village is full of fleas. You have to clean it out two or three times before you can get in," said the South Bands men. "Same with us," the Skidis said.

Next morning Victory Call went to the field to see if there was much 244
of a load of green corn left to be gathered and roasted. The following 243
day they went to the two fields and brought them in. 251

After that a second bean crop was picked from each field on successive 252
days—the vines being almost entirely cleared with this picking. Then 512
the pumpkins were hauled in by all four of them and roasted: one day from White Woman's field, the next from No Corn's. They were all roasted and cut into rings.

About the *eleventh day* they got the mature corn from White Woman's field in two double horse loads—one in the morning and one in the afternoon. They got home about two o'clock in the afternoon, and being very tired dumped the load of dry ears and rested till supper
time. Then Old-Man-That-Chief joined them for supper and talked of 512
the old days in Old Village. He said: 173

243

> In the old days, an old lady like grandma would see an ear of corn or a single bean lying on the ground and she would be half-crying to see it lying there. Nowadays it's different. They leave things to waste on the ground. If they were roasting corn and they scraped an ear and left the kernels on one side, they would pick it up from the discarded pile again and clear it off. For if you didn't, the corn would talk about you. It was like a person. But nowadays they don't care.

Horse Rider and Victory Call listened with respectful attention to what the old man said. He continued, "You Horse Rider, are two steps behind me, but Victory Call—he is nearly on top (in the middle of life). He will be able to look around in all directions to see how he has come up there.

"A story is like a little seed. From it all sorts of other stories branch off for you. A story gives you life. Now that I am old, people invite me to come and eat good things with them and then they ask me to tell stories. So these stories keep me alive."

Now he told another story of the past. He said: "I heard that once way back when corn first came to our village, a good ear of corn had been thrown out with the rubbish and swept aside. The

512 173 243 people went on the hunt and still the corn lay there. A man going through the village heard someone talking. He thought there must be another man in the village. But he followed along to where the voice was coming from and got to the sweepings. There lay the good ear of corn. He stopped and picked it up and began to talk to it. He asked it to bless him and send him good luck for this corn is our Mother. He kept that ear of corn. That's how it was in the old days. Now since you've been wasting, the corn will become scarce.

512 243 251 252 That evening they husked the dry corn and continued next day until about two in the afternoon. Then it was left spread out to dry on the cob until evening and pried off after supper with a stick. Some men joined them and helped and after the women had gone to bed they continued to pry off the kernels, telling stories while they worked until late in the evening. The next day the shelling of the dry corn continued and that afternoon the men just wandered about the camp for a little recreation. Horse Rider had gone down to the grounds to watch the gambling. The women were tired and lay down to rest; their hands felt cramped from prying off the kernels.

[285] After they had collected the dry corn from No Corn's field, the women alternated work on it with making pumpkin mats as the strips were now dry enough. Then they proceeded to get the small nubbin ears for fattening the horses and collecting the sweet corn and braiding it to finish off the work.

356 887 While they were doing the pumpkins, the old ladies had already made a plan to go up and begin the process of clearing the earth lodge in anticipation of the time when the harvest was done. They had to go up at intervals of four days successively and burn out the fleas with torches. "These fleas bite worse than bedbugs!"

The three old ladies met at the lodge in the morning as planned. They removed the brush that had been placed across the door to seal it before they left on the hunt. They took off their clothes and put on an old petticoat. They made a brush or short broom of dry *pakuts* (thatch) grass and tied it to a stick. Then each woman took her brush inside the lodge and lit the grass, each one going around one side of the room and being careful to stay near the floor as the dry grass in the roof thatch might catch fire. When the grass was burned up on their broom, they put some more grass on it and repeated the process throughout the day. They repeated this four days later, and then on subsequent days. [824] They built a little fire in the fireplace and burnt some wild sage, kiwaut, (*Artemisia gnaphalodes* Nutt.) as incense to clear the air and make the room smell good. They would also burn some of the sage on their brooms along with the other grass. After the final smoking, they left the lodge empty for a day and on the following evening the lodge was quite habitable.

quite habitable. Each of the old ladies brought in her dried corn and put it on her side of the lodge. They slept over and talked that night about the events of the past summer. They had a good deal to tell one another. 000 521 887

Grandma began: "The first time we got buffalo, we had two, and my, I was slicing away to make the dry meat and White Woman was busy at the drying rack. Then we made bone grease. We had a hard time getting the flesh we scraped off the hides to dry." Grieves-the-Enemy commented: "I went out and got lots of intestines from the men after the kill." Grandma said, "I never got a chance to get out there, but Horse Rider brought in plenty of entrails. When we were south across the Republican, three of us old ladies found some wonderful turnips. Oh, I wish we had them now! We were shouting to each other, 'Here are some!' and everyone said the officers should have punished us for yelling like that (the buffalo might have been frightened), but they finally decided to let us alone to have our good time." They talked about how they would get Indian potatoes after they were well settled and what else they might do then. Old-Lady-Blue Calico then talked of her hunt experiences: "Oh my, we didn't get a chance to eat ribs very much. My very public-spirited son-in-law, Old Bull thought he should give White Eagle his support so that nearly every day that they got buffalo, he would leave the ribs at the council tent and sometimes the backbone steak too. Once in a while Old Bull brought home two or three ribs from the feast for the family to eat. My daughter Clear Day and I made dry meat. Queen Woman, who isn't too strong, we gave the job of hanging up the slices to dry and turning them over. Clear Day had to wash the paunch after she sliced the meat. I tried to make bone grease, but I barely got it made. It was too hot." Grandma now chimed in with, "I have mine all right. I made it the first night we got to the Republican River. Horse Rider brought in the bones." "My, that woman knows how to do everything," Blue-Calico remarked. They might sit up most of the night talking until they got too sleepy. In the morning they came down to the camp and joined the family for breakfast. Even before the family finally moved in, they took the corn and beans up there to protect them from rain. They were not worried about stealing as everyone had plenty of the same kind of supplies at this time. 521 887 222 224* 521 224* 251

356 dumped their goods outside, set up the beds, and laid the mats. Then they brought in the rest of their things, and the house was crowded with parfleches of dry meat, corn, beans, and everything they had gathered. • 251 The women talked of storing them in the cache pit. Grandma and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy told about how they had looked over the pit when they first got home from the hunt and cleared off some mold that had developed on the grass lining and that it was now clean and ready to be filled. After the pit was filled this time, it would not be open until the middle of November when they were ready to go off on the winter hunt. It did not do to open the pit more than once a month at the most. Otherwise, if one opened it often, a storm might come up and water might leak in. In the wintertime there was less danger of this. From time to time one would hear that a certain woman had not put enough earth on the lid of the pit and water had leaked in, with the resulting tragic consequence that all her corn was destroyed—the bags and everything having turned moldy (*us-kutu*, "hair-rotten," viz., mold). Two years of hard work and the security it could bring destroyed by one careless oversight. In the Pawnee way of life, vigilance could seldom be relaxed!

The storage pit was built nearby when the earth lodge was constructed. It was an indispensable part of the earth-lodge economy. The usual size was about 10 feet deep. It was bell-shaped, with a narrow neck and a round bottom about 10 feet in diameter. [592] The north side of the pit was for the use of the people who inhabited that side of the earth lodge, and the south side for the South Side families. In the case of an exceptionally important public figure, the household might have two cache pits. The bottom was covered with clean sand and on top of this some sticks as a sort of grating and these covered with grass. The walls were lined with thatch grass fastened in place with sticks that were shored up against it.

251 415 [237] Tanned hide sacks of various sizes were used to store the corn and beans in the pit. The largest was the *hax-kaitu*, made by sewing two buffalo hides together, folding them over and sewing them along the bottom and the long side. It was 6 feet high and 3 feet in diameter when full and was used only to store the mature dried corn kernels known as *rikis-tabis*, "corn-dry," that had been pried off the cob after the corn had matured on the stalk.

The second size was the "large sack," about 3 feet high and 2 feet in diameter when filled, containing 1½ bushels or more. The next size, "the small sack," *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack," stood about 3 feet high and 1½ feet in diameter when full, holding about a bushel or 50 to 60 pounds of dried corn kernels. In size, it was approximately equivalent to the 50-pound flour sack. A still smaller sack was called *rits-a-kusu*, "intestine-of-sack," standing about 8 inches high and a foot in diameter when full.

Sometimes the supplies were simply wrapped around with a piece of 251 tanned hide or old tent skin. [415]

The most pressing matter was to get the stores into the food pit. This was the last time they would open it until November in preparation for leaving on the winter hunt. It was fifteen to twenty days since the corn had been harvested, and it was good and dry and ready for storage. A great many calculations had to be made before the storage pit could be organized. The forthcoming month of performances would require everyone's support, and food would be taken from the pit and held in readiness in the lodge to feed the many performers and other participants. Meat from the hunt had been pledged and this too would be held in reserve. Some people made it a policy to remove all of last year's crops that were still in the pit and contribute the excess over current needs to the performance. They would keep it in the lodge in the east sector in very large skin bags which were tightly closed at the top to protect the food from mice and snakes. Some of the held-over dried [252] buffalo meat in the rawhide containers would be so hard that it could only be prepared by being separated into sheets and pulverized with a pestle in the wooden mortar. In this form it was quite tasty when eaten [262] with bites from a lump of solidified buffalo bone grease.

The new supplies were placed in the pit in a traditional order. Before the bags were put in, the grass lining of the pit was carefully checked and also the bottom which had a layer of clean sand and some sticks laid across to keep any moisture from reaching the skin bags. At the very bottom some sacks of the mature dry corn were placed. These sacks were laid so that they pointed radially inward from the wall. The layer above this consisted of sacks of roasted green corn which were placed crosswise upon the lower layer so that they were parallel to the wall. The third layer was sacks of beans again in radial order, pointing inward from the wall. Finally, they put in the oblong rawhide containers of dried buffalo meat crosswise on the beans lying parallel to the wall.

An attempt was made to set the various layers steady one upon the other so that when the woman went down into the pit she could step down from one layer to the other. On top of the material laying all around the pit in packages and sacks they piled pumpkin mats and braids of corn on the cob. Sometimes instead of piling the corn braids in this fashion, they put a stick with stubs of branches in the pit leaning against the wall and hung the corn braids on it. Also leaning against the wall were rolled-up buffalo skins that they had not yet tanned, which they planned to process just before going on the winter hunt so that they could be taken to the trade store for the groceries and other equipment they might need for the expedition. Odds and ends were put in the space that was left in the middle—pumpkin rings that had not been braided,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

• 251

TABLE 33-1. *A Few Summary Figures of the Produce of the Women of the North Side of the Earth Lodge.*

592

Corn, sacks of dried kernels:		
White Woman	9	Stored 5
Grandma	13 (8 to White Woman)	
No Corn	7	Stored 3
Grieves-the-Enemy	8 (4 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 2
TOTAL	37 sacks	Stored 10
Corn, braided:		
White Woman	4 braids	Stored 2
No Corn	3 braids	Stored 2
Grieves-the-Enemy	6 braids (4 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 1
TOTAL	13 braids	Stored 5

Available for current use in the household—23 sacks of dried corn kernels (10 in pit, additional as reserve); 4 braids of corn for current use (5 in the pit, additional as reserve).

[285]

Pumpkins and Squashes:		
White Woman	3 plaited mats	Stored 1
Grandma	4 mats (2 to White Woman) 1 50-pound sack of dried pumpkin seeds stored)	
No Corn	3 mats	Stored 2
Grieves-the-Enemy	5 mats (3 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 1
TOTAL	15 mats	Stored 4

Available for current use in the household, 8 mats; 4 additional in the pit.

Beans, dried and in 50-lb sacks:		
White Woman	4 sacks	Stored 2
Grandma	4 sacks (2 for White Woman)	
No Corn	3 sacks	Stored 1
Grieves-the-Enemy	5 sacks (3 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 1
TOTAL	16 sacks	Stored 4

For current use in the household, 9 sacks of dried beans, and 4 additional in the pit.

some dried meat that wouldn't fit into the rawhide containers, some 251
dried intestines folded up, and perhaps some clothing they wanted to store.

The work of arranging the pit took a group of women in a household 251
from about ten in the morning until about three in the afternoon, with a 592
brief recess for lunch. There was no time in the household when the [461]
women were not fully aware of their capital in provisions and goods and
the rate at which they were using them. Practically every meal was a [264]
large-scale operation and portions were carefully calculated. The men [571]
had to be aware of this too as it was their major resource for public and social relations. Except for horses, or perhaps even more important, the main current capital they had was the preserved food. In the forthcoming round of ceremonies, the doctors calculated with great care their donations of meat and how they were going to apportion them.

It was in the light of a knowledge of the amounts they had produced 796
and accumulated, that the men now planned their forthcoming extensive ceremony—the Grand Opera of the Doctors that would last for thirty days and involve the feeding and the giving of gifts to a large corps of performers and participants. For these ceremonies, the cooking and apportioning was done by the errand men, *tarutsubus*, who were regularly constituted officers of the societies, and the chiefs, priests, or doctors had to keep exact account of the amount of food pledged and make their plans according to what they could afford. The food was their most important current capital for the support of their program.

While the implications of this great annual festival were certainly religious, deliberate showmanship was not neglected and the production was well planned and highly organized as such. It was remarked by the informant that they waited until the harvest was entirely complete "as they liked to have a good crowd."

281 sides to keep the air from reaching the inner surface. When they first
386 removed the skin from the frame, the smoked surface was somewhat black, but when it was exposed to the air it quickly turned yellow. Any smoky patches that remained were rubbed with the fingers, and these promptly turned yellow, too. In the past these dyed skin blankets were the forerunners of the later trade blanket.

291 The skins of the deer and elk were used for clothing because they
221 were considerably lighter and softer than the buffalo hide. In the fall particularly, when the doctor performances were in prospect, they made a critical inspection of their wardrobes to see if they had something suitable to wear for the occasion. The women thought about a new dress and the men considered whether their clothing wasn't too shabby to wear and what ceremonial costumes they would need. They had been on the march all summer and busy with the harvest and they had had no time to think about such matters. They also had to consider the forthcoming winter hunt.

291 In the Plains climate, clothing was a pressing necessity. The fresh deer
262 and elk meat was a welcome addition to their staple diet of dried vegeta-
• 251 bles and buffalo meat, but it was consumed immediately and never pre-
281 served. Economically, the hides were of greater practical value.

There is some question whether it was the men or the women who
[462] dressed the deer and elkskins. Theoretically they both knew how, but the only accounts of the process I have seen or been able to collect refer to the work of the men. Apparently the hide was not treated with a tanning mixture but was simply dehaired and rubbed:

> The first step in dressing the deer hide was to get it wet. A stick was put slantwise in the ground and the hide draped over it hair side up and fastened at the top. The hair which slanted upward was scraped off with a sharpened horse rib that was pushed from the top down.
> [513] The deer hair was used as a stuffing for pillows; the buffalo hair was always thrown away. The skin was now turned over with the flesh side uppermost and rubbed with a sharp rock as rough as a file. Next they continued to rub the flesh side with another rock that was gray and white and very porous. They kept rubbing the flesh side until the skin had dried.

A description of preparing a moose hide for a robe is somewhat simpler; allowing the skin to soak in water for a day and a night, removing the hair with a horse rib as it rested on a slanting cottonwood stick, and then simply spreading the skin on the ground to dry.

When needed, the men dressed bear or fox skins and those of some other animals, stretching them on frames and overcasting them all around

*224 large flat bean on leafless colorless branches that push into the earth.
*484 These are the ones garnered by the vole, their hoards amounting to a pint
222 or more in each place. Only part of the store was appropriated by the
women. Sometimes the beans had to be dug out with a shovel where they
grew underground like peanuts. About half of them would be cooked
*224 immediately and half left simply to dry out like cultivated beans. Those
*484 that were dried were winnowed and then put in a sack for future use.
222 For immediate use, the fresh beans were first washed, rubbed between
• 251 the hands to remove the hulls, and then boiled and eaten. Their Pawnee
252 name was *atik-uraru*, "bean-earth."

Artichokes (Jerusalem artichoke, *Helianthus tuberosus* L.) known as *kisusit*, were also gotten, but they could not be dried; they had to be eaten fresh. The most important wild crop was the potato, known as *its*. The Loup River was known in Pawnee as Many-Potatoes, *Its-kari*, "potato-many," from the abundance of this useful vegetable that flourished along its banks. These grew in the sand among the willows. A considerable number of these Indian potatoes were boiled, smoked, and dried for preservation and stored in skin bags. In addition to the larger-size potatoes, they gathered some small ones that were strung along the vine; these were called potato-many-tied-up, *its-kari-piru*, and were given to the small children to eat after boiling. They were bundled up and tied with a vine into little bunches and boiled in water, covered with a layer of grass along with the larger ones. The larger potatoes were then peeled, "strung" on a very thin willow twig, and placed across two forked sticks in the tipi so that the smoke would permeate them and improve their flavor. The potatoes prepared in this way could be eaten at any time without further preparation, and would not rot.

*224 Quantities of potatoes were found on Grand Island and on both sides
*484 of the Republican River. Those who stayed on Grand Island, especially
the old ladies, as well as any who went all the way out to the hunting
222 grounds, would make sure to take a file along so that they could sharpen
[237] up their buffalo shoulder-blade "hoes" to dig up the potatoes.

[412] These wild plant foods were a very important element of their provisions. The group that remained on Grand Island could be a kind of half-way station where they could leave extra baggage on the way out and where the people could be actively gathering and preparing the wild foods so that they would be sustained on the rest of the journey home. The men who remained on the island were actively trapping and could supply extra meat. Thus in the winter the Stay-at-Homes played a useful role, while in the summer they had no function in the enterprise.

*224 In the family of Victory Call, Grandma planned to stay on Grand Is-
*484 land where she could do some useful work while the rest of the family
went on. Those who proceeded all the way to the hunting grounds were
Victory Call, White Woman, Horse Rider, and No Corn—viz., two couples—and the boy Otter.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

60

PROCESSING THE MEAT

Getting Forage for the Horses—Working on the Meat inside the Tent

After the tent was set up, White Woman and No Corn got some cot- 231
tonwood tops and bark for the horses to eat when the men got in from
the chase. They went out and cut down a few trees and dragged them in
two loads, taking one at a time into the tent, cutting off the tops and mak-
ing a number of cuts with the ax along the trunk to loosen the bark.
Most of the time the bark could then be struck off easily, but if it was too
tough, it was macerated a bit with the ax head. They also gathered what-
ever hay they could find and got wood and water for their cooking. High 354
over the fire, they built a grate to warm the meat through after slicing, as 252
in winter the meat had to be treated inside the tent before it was finally 417
dried outdoors.

When the hunters got in they immediately brought the meat inside lest 252
it freeze so that it could not be sliced. The horses were tethered outside 231
the tent, each one covered over with a skin spread so that he would not
catch cold, and left out all night to eat their cottonwood tops and bark
that had been placed before them on a hide. Sometimes if the horses did
not have enough, the Pawnees had to feed them corn. When the meal was 252
over, the men went to the council tent and the women began to slice
the meat.

They made a low fire, and after the meat was sliced they put it on the
grate to warm through. Outside they built another rack of a different 251
form. This had an elliptical ridge pole and withes along one side on 417
which the meat rested under which they placed hot coals in order to dry
the meat thoroughly.

Sometimes they built another grate similar to the one indoors so that
the meat could finally be exposed to the sun and wind. In this condition [252]
the meat was thoroughly cooked and could be eaten without further
cooking as well as being preserved for storage.

*224 They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The
264 contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four
sets.

*224 The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four
623 Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each
628 and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat
in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves
ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates
from the villages.

*224 The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning
623 each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this
tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in
793 summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during
[701] the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose
[625] the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic
lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was
[778] under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening
Star bundle.

*224 Lone Chief took ove[illegible]g the priests and others and stating he was
623 going to choose the pol[illegible]rom among the braves. He now chose War
Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the
628 other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill.
793 Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now
[625] officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief.
[574] The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was
[264] carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief,
who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

*224 The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south
623 pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head police-
625 man War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh
574 bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could
[293] make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people
to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family
of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and
so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we
have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

*224 Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the
623 old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was
562 in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and
Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they
[251] could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

*224 The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very
[793] early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican.
[825] When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

62

THE MAIN HUNT

000 *Handling the Meat after the Hunt—Winter Problems—Storytelling—Camp Moves to Many Deer—Dismantling the Tent—Meeting in Council Tent—the Hunt at Many Deer—Donations to the Sacred Bundles—Scouts Return to Grand Island to Report*

*224 VERY EARLY THAT MORNING after the scouts had ridden west, most of
462 the other men rode out after them, leaving the women in camp to finish
• 251 drying the meat with only a few men to protect them. The men took only
the horses they rode to the chase; the rest were left to the care of the women. In warmer weather, a boy might ride an extra horse so that it would be ready for packing after the chase, but at this time the weather was too bad. In Victory Call's camp, White Woman, No Corn, and the boy remained and the two men rode west.

*224 At Many Deer, Eagle Chief had decided that they would stake out a
camping place on the north shore, sheltered by timber and big hills from
*484 the cold winds, and lead their horses over the ice to the south bank for
[361] the chase. After the buffalo had been killed and butchered, the meat was
[492] loaded on the horses and carried to the south bank of the Republican.
There the meat was unloaded and the horses tethered. Then the men
[493] made "hand travois," *raku-rarahu-kita-hukhu*, in order to-pack of buffalo
meat-upon-water or ice-carry. This was a dead cottonwood with a fork
at the top. Sticks were fastened across the fork and upon this the meat
was loaded and tied with the man pulling the travois across the ice by
[501] the trunk. (In summer they made a "water package" raft of half the raw-
hide of a bison to float across the water in a similar situation.) When a man had pulled all his meat across the ice, someone on the north shore would ask him for his travois. He would say, "All right, that's a good horse!"

They had made two killings already and still the buffalo were coming. 224*
Eagle Chief stated that the next day they would not go out, but simply 623
keep an eye on the herd as there was so much meat in the camp that they [251]
had to give it a chance to dry. He also mentioned that the hides should [281]
be treated and thinned down. Some of the old men remarked that this
was a good time to make bone grease by boiling the bones and skimming [252]
off the fat as there were lots of bones about at this time and the grease
would harden easily in the cold weather. Almost all the old women in [251]
camp would busy themselves with this work, storing the grease in a
paunch. Some would make dried intestines and dried and braided strips of
stomach (*pararitskusu*).

They made five killings while they were camped at Many Deer and 224*
along with the killing at Turkey Creek, they felt that this was enough
and they should turn toward home. They had made killings almost every
other day and stayed about fifteen days. Victory Call killed six in all
and Horse Rider five.

Now that they were considering turning back, they must decide what 224*
donations of buffalo meat were to be pledged for the sacred bundle ceremonies 431
in the spring. Each sacred bundle must have at least one *rarabur*, 796
a parfleche containing the dried meat of a whole buffalo. The different 778
doctor cults also needed pledges of meat for their spring renewal
rites, but they simply needed backbone steaks. For example, the two [756]
leaders of the Bear Cult reserved two steaks for their cult. Victory Call
set aside one steak for his Deer or Whistle Dance and one for the Bear
Cult.

There were twelve major sacred bundles, each of which had to be provided 224*
for with a parfleche of dried meat. The Evening Star bundle 431
owned by Old Lady Lucky Leader would be provided for by her son 778
Frank Leader in some years, and by her son-in-law Roaming Leader in
others, according to the circumstances of the kill on a particular hunt.
Lone Chief and Shot Arm alternated in this way for the Morning Star
bundle. War Cry and his younger brother Brave Shield alternated in supplying
the meat for War Cry's war bundle (*karaxkata karusu*) that had
been derived from the Evening Star bundle, etc.

Everyone was interested in the news of how the donations had gone and Eagle Chief sent out his errand man Know-His-Face to find out at the different tipis where the sacred bundles were kept.

Sometimes a man couldn't manage to get a good buffalo for his bundle. He approached a man who had just killed a fat cow and said, "I want you to take pity on me. I have a sacred bundle and I want to make *raraburu* [a parfleche of meat]." "Go ahead, take it," said the hunter, and went off, leaving the bundle owner to butcher the sacred buffalo himself. When he got home with the meat he told his wife, "*ra-waruksti-ti*" ("one

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.) 000

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, 462
considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not 251
hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244). Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civiliza- 462
tions—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern 171
Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women.

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9. 000

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the in- 342
side of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The 772
sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within, then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people."

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song 796
sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 533
1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and 787
wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder 821
spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'" He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of 157
the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones 821
the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit 721
to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old 114
friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on 821
the contrary they were part of it and went out into it.

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On 172
archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, 251
pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10 feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric examples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp.

lodge in charge of the Hako go to their tents. Soon all is quiet within 539*
the lodge, the fire burns down to coals and every one sleeps except
the man on guard. He must watch through the night and give warning 796*
of the first sign of a change in the appearance of the east. As soon as this is seen the skins that hang over the doors of the lodge are lifted and the Ku'rahus makes ready to repeat the songs to the Dawn (tenth ritual). We sing these sacred songs at the dawn of the second day, the day when we chant to our father the Sun, and we sing them again at the dawn of the third day, when we sing to our mother the Earth.

THIRTEENTH RITUAL (THIRD DAY). THE FEMALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. THE SACRED FEAST OF CORN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

With the morning sun the Children gather at the lodge to receive 796*
their morning meal given them by the Fathers. Soon afterward the
sacred feast of the Corn takes place. For this feast the Children pre- 252
pare the food in the manner our fathers did. They pound the dried corn in a wooden mortar and boil the coarse meal until it is thoroughly cooked. They do this in their own homes and then carry the food in the kettles in which it has been cooked to the lodge where the ceremony is being performed, and set them near the fireplace toward [415]
the southeast, where wooden bowls and horn spoons have been provided for the occasion.

When all the company have been seated the Fathers ladle out the 782
food into the bowls. The Ku'rahus takes up a little of the food on
the tip of a spoon, offers it toward the east, flipping a particle toward 796*
the horizon line. He then passes to the north, drops a bit on the rim of the fireplace, and goes to the west, where, facing the east, he lifts the spoon toward the zenith, pauses, waves it to the four quarters and slowly lowers it to the earth and drops a bit on the rim of the fireplace. After this ceremony of offering thanks the filled bowls are placed before the people. Two or more persons take a few spoonfuls from the same bowl, then, hanging the spoons on the edge to prevent their falling into the food, they pass the bowl on to the next group at the left. In this way all the people partake of a common feast.

PART II. SONG TO THE EARTH

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

On the third day of the ceremony it is the duty of the Ku'rahus to 539*
teach the Children concerning h'U'raru, Mother Earth, and of those 796*
773

512 to the fields after the early morning swim. They returned to the lodge at about eleven o'clock for the first meal, the other meal being around five in the afternoon. Men and women sat apart at 264 mealtimes, the former being together in the west of the lodge and the women sitting east of the fireplace. Any food out of the ordinary, [562] such as melons in season, was given to the men first. As a rule the children ate by themselves near the women and had to be content with what remained after their parents had finished. Where several [252] families occupied a single lodge, each family in turn cooked for the others in the lodge. [The separation of the sexes at mealtimes is not entirely clear. The manuscript also contains the following statement: "The food was prepared in large quantities and divided among the families, each receiving a wooden bowl, and each member [412] of the family eating from this bowl by means of an individual sheephorn spoon."]

262 784 Corn was generally eaten mixed with beans, or sometimes boiled with the tops of milkweed. In the winter, the nests of ground rats were hunted and robbed of their stores of ground beans. Although most animals were eaten, especially the buffalo and deer, the Pawnee eschewed the meat of the wolf, coyote, otter, wildcat, and mountain lion. Certain other food restrictions also prevailed. Fish was prohibited to chiefs and medicine-men. The tender meat about the buffalo's anus was a prized delicacy of the old people, but tabooed for children, as the violation of this restriction would bring them failure in after years when they attempted raids on enemy villages. Nor were young men and girls supposed to eat the stomach of the buffalo cow. To do so would cause the former to receive many wounds on the warpath, while a girl ran the risk of falling in a hole and injuring her leg, if, in later life, she doubted the faithfulness of her husband and followed him to the lodge of another woman to whom she suspected he was paying improper attention.

224 784 When any of the men were away on a buffalo hunt, certain restrictions on conduct were imposed on those who remained at home. The lodge must be kept clean, especially the part about the altar. Just before mealtimes sacrifices of corn must be made to the skull on the altar. No menstruating woman could approach [841] the skull, as it would anger the buffalo spirit that resided in the skull and cause the buffalo to elude the hunters. The people at home must always talk as though the hunters were having great success. Especially they should speak of consecrating buffalo sacrifices to

*172 243 [242 312] the horses were at large. The corn was planted in hills and was cultivated by means of a hoe made from the scapula of bison; it was usually hoed twice each year. Artificial fertilizers seem to have been unknown, and irrigation was likewise never practiced.

According to Mrs. E. G. Platt, missionary to the tribe on the Loup, "corn known among all the Indians as Pawnee corn, was a great rarity to us, and its luxuriant growth a great marvel, ears 16 and 18 inches long being not uncommon."[27] Most of the charred cobs recovered by Mr. A. T. Hill from caches and graves at the Hill site are much smaller than this, seldom over 4 inches in length and not much thicker than a man's thumb; they exhibit usually from 8 to 12 or 14 rows of kernels. In general, where cobs have been taken from Pawnee sites, the smaller size seems to prevail to the exclusion of larger specimens. Charred kernels have also been recovered from graves at the Hill site; a few are shown in plate 2, *c*.

*172 244 In addition to maize, the Pawnee cultivated beans, pumpkins, and squash.[28] Seeds of the latter have been recovered by excavation, and definitely identified. Beans have not yet been found and the varieties utilized are not positively known.

*172 251 [252] Corn was gathered while still green; it was then boiled, cut from the cob, dried, placed in leather bags, and stored in caches for future use. In times of prosperity it was cooked in bison fat. Pumpkins were cut into strips, dried in the sun, and then often woven into mats for convenient transportation.[29] When setting forth on their semiannual hunt they took along "several sacks of sweet corn and beans, dry corn for mush, (and) dried pumpkins."[30]

*172 222 262 [261] Of uncultivated vegetal foods the wild potato appears to have been in most common use. These tubers grew plentifully in the sand of the Platte and Loup Valleys; they were dug up, boiled, peeled, dried, and cooked with dried pumpkins. They were usually taken along on the hunting trips. The wild potato, as such, is mentioned frequently but with what plant it is to be identified cannot be certainly stated. Long[31] says:

> We saw among them the Pomme blanche . . . which is the root of the *Psoralea esculenta*. It is eaten either boiled or roasted, and somewhat resembles the sweet potato.

Possibly, though not necessarily, this has reference to the wild potato of other writers.[32]

---

[27] 1892, p. 129.
[28] Allis, 1887, p. 140.
[29] Long, 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.
[30] Allis, 1887, p. 144.
[31] 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.
[32] Allis, 1887, pp. 140, 144; Platt, Mrs. E. G., 1892, p. 129.

crop unknown to these white men and unnoticed by them. Even cultivated 172*
sunflowers, common as they were to Pawnee agriculture, were scarcely mentioned 824
or not mentioned at all in accounts by these white men. Another crop,
still less known to white men, might easily have escaped notice entirely. If
they saw fields of it growing, they probably, not being acquainted with it, considered
them to be old neglected fields "gone to weeds."

While maize and other vegetable products provided the bulk of 172*
the diet, animal food was also very generally used. Of particular 262
importance was the bison, hunted not for its flesh alone, but also
for the hide, hair, sinew, horns, and even the hoofs. Archeologically, 237
the bones of this animal are by far the commonest in Pawnee
sites, and byproducts, such as horn spoons and haircloth, are by no
means unknown. Further, the dire straits into which the tribe was
thrown by failure to find the herds shows very clearly how heavily
the Pawnee leaned upon the bison economically, even with their
fields of maize.

Two great tribal hunts were staged each year by the Pawnee, a 172*
practice followed also by the Oto, Omaha, Kansa, Osage, and other 224
neighboring tribes of similar cultural status. Immediately after 221
the second hoeing of the corn, which took place about the middle
of June, the entire tribe departed on the summer hunt, returning
in September to harvest the corn and other crops. Toward the end
of October, after the corn had been cached, they set out on the winter
hunt, the Skidi moving westward to the forks of the Platte, while
the other bands proceeded southward to the Arkansas.[35] Early in
April they returned to the permanent villages in time for the corn
planting. The favorite hunting grounds lay in what is now western
Kansas, between the Republican and Arkansas Rivers, necessitating
a trek of from 400 to 900 miles on each hunt.[36] An additional
incentive for the long winter hunt appears to have been the need of
finding sufficient forage for the horses.[37]

The meat was eaten fresh whenever possible, every hunt being a 172*
period of heavy feasting. Great quantities of meat were cut into 262
strips and dried in the sun to form "jerky." This was later eaten 224
raw or else was cooked with corn and beans into a sort of stew or 252
thick soup. The tongue and heart of the bison were usually sacrificed
to the spirits. Long says that the tallow was also used, particularly
in cookery. According to Allis,[38] "The most delicious dish with
them is the young taken from the buffalo they kill."

Among the other animals commonly used as food, Allis[39] names
elk, deer, bear, beaver, otter, raccoon, and badger. The jaws and

---

[35] Ashley and Smith, 1918, pp. 119–121.

[36] Dunbar, 1880, b, pp. 327–328.

[37] Long, 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.

[38] 1887, p. 140.

[39] Ibid.

224 to reach the top of the opposite ridge, and to turn the buffalo back into the valley, so that the surround might be completely successful. How swift those little ponies were, and how admirably the Indians managed to get out of them all their speed! I had not gone much more than halfway across the valley when I saw the leading Indians pass the head of the herd, and begin to turn the buffalo. This was the first object of the chase, for in a stampede, the cows and young are always in the lead, the bulls bringing up the rear. This position is not taken from chivalric motives on the part of the males, but simply because they cannot run so fast as their wives and children. Bulls are never killed when cows and heifers can be had.

Back came the herd, and I soon found myself in the midst of a throng of buffalo, horses and Indians. There was no yelling nor shouting on the part of the men, but their stern set faces, and the fierce gleam of their eyes, told of the fires of excitement that were burning within them. Three or four times my rifle spoke out, and to some purpose; and one shot, placed too far back, drew on me a quick savage charge from a vicious young cow. My pony, while a good cattle horse, was new at buffalo running, and his deliberation in the matter of dodging caused me an anxious second or two, as I saw the cow's head sweep close to his flank. It was far more interesting to watch the scene than to take part in it, and I soon rode to a little knoll from which I could overlook the whole plain. Many brown bodies lay stretched upon the ground, and many more were dashing here and there, closely attended by relentless pursuers. It was sad to see so much death, but the people must have food, and none of this meat would be wasted.

Before I turned my horse's head toward the camp, the broad disk of the setting sun had rested on the tops of the western bluffs, and tipped their crests with fire. His horizontal beams lit up with a picturesque redness the dusky forms which moved about over the valley. Up the ravines and over the hills were stringing long lines of squaws, leading patient ponies, whose backs were piled high with dark dripping meat, and with soft shaggy skins. Late into the night the work continued and the loads kept coming into the camp. About the flickering fires in and before the lodges there was feasting and merriment. Marrow bones
[252] were tossed among the red embers, calf's head was baked in the hot earth, fat ribs were roasted, *ka'-wis* boiled, and *boudins* eaten raw.

Preface

The bands were still
somewhat socially discrete. The mainstay of the diet was largely the tra- 621
ditional corn, beans, and squash grown on their own farm plots and dried 262
and stored as of old. Beef had taken the place of buffalo meat and was 252
prepared by thin slicing and drying for storage or boiled on feast days.
Relationships in kin groups continued, and some of the religious ideology 241
survived. A Doctor Dance Ceremony was performed by the last survivors 771
who possessed the arts and the knowledge involved and brought us some 796
welcome rain after a long dry spell. The question was, "How to give these
fragments life and place them in their integral context?" We evolved the 178
plan of utilizing one year of Pawnee life in as much detail as possible, 114
covering the round of the year through the four seasons as reconstructed with the help of the surviving Pawnees. Our plan proved to be an effective means of developing vivid recall in Evarts and the other old Pawnees. For a number of reasons we would think of our year hypothetically as 1867; in that year the Pawnee settlement and round of life was sufficiently integral to serve as a base line for our reconstruction. Some of the other surviving Pawnees were in their late teens and twenties in that year. Evarts supplied a normal thread of events in answer to my prodding questions for the details that seemed to a Pawnee all too obvious and we supplemented and checked this with whomever we thought had relevant knowledge concerning one point or another. Most of the old people had worked with me on linguistics before that time.

It was not possible to reproduce the material in the exact order in which 128
I collected it. I have had to reassort the material somewhat so that it falls into some of our own functional categories and at the same time so that it fits within the seasonal round of the year. Under the pressure of time when my notes were recorded I rendered the Pawnee or Pawnee-English in which it was given into the closest normal English equivalent I could muster. Also, this book was compiled a quarter of a century or more after it was recorded. I have avoided altering the original simple declarative language too radically. In some cases I have retained the original language with very little variation, particularly where it is an incident that had often been recounted among the Pawnees, a very familiar situation, a technical account, a speech, a personality sketch. Such passages are indented from the left margin.

In addition to the informant record, I have checked my account in de- 127
tail with most of the existing material on the Pawnees and in some cases supplemented it from these sources. This is detailed in the Notes and Comments with references correlated with my text. Recently excavated archaeological materials together with eyewitness accounts by contemporary observers of the 1830's and 1840's have overwhelmingly vindicated the accuracy of my Pawnee informants. The most substantial help in this recent phase of the work has been given me by Prof. John L. Champe, author of an important stratigraphic treatment of Nebraska archaeology, *Ash Hol-*

5

THE WORLD OF A PAWNEE BOY:

SPRING 1867

000

The Day Begins in the Earth Lodge—Breakfast Preparations—Seating at the Meal—Daytime Activities of Women—Chiefs' Council—Supper and Evening Conversation—Plan for Deer Hunt the Next Day—End of Day's Activities

IN THE YEAR 1867, the villages of the Pawnees were strung along the 131
west bank of Beaver Creek. (Beaver Creek flows southeastward into the 361
Loup River that flows east to join the Platte which continues eastward to
the Missouri. In the Skidi village of Pumpkin-Vine was the house of [103]
Chief Victory Call and his friend Old Bull with their families.)

It was a morning late in March, and the high dome-shaped earth lodges 512
were huddled together in the predawn darkness. On this as on other mornings, [342]
Otter was wakened by the sound of his father's voice saying, "Fire's
made." The dawn had not yet broken, and it was still cold; Otter burrowed
down deeper under his little calfskin cover. He hated to leave the [513]
warmth of his bed that he shared with his grandmother. Just as the dawn
began to break, Victory Call went outside through the long vestibule
that was the entrance to the house to look at the position of the stars and
to see what kind of a day it would be. Meanwhile his wife, White Woman, [252]
had gotten up to prepare breakfast. She would be cooking for twelve people
and an extra guest, and the preparations would take at least an hour.

On both sides of the house along the low circular walls, the people
were still asleep in their beds. There had been a long storytelling session [538]
the night before and Old-Man-That-Chief, who was one of the principal [574]
raconteurs, was too feeble to go home late at night, so a temporary bed [354]
was made for him near the fireplace where the fire was now burning
brightly in the center of the room. High above the fireplace a shaft of

342 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman, 772 Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself. Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on earth.

The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a 342 woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive pow- 772 ers. The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately 353 ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the young- 84 est women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located, the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being "inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe, ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse [776] of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his [342] power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in [823] the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that [182] they would be readily received.

Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear conscious- 361 ness of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed, 342 the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy. 342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke [354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cook- [252] ing breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the draw- 252 string of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the 262 skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a [251] large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three double handfuls of dried kernels were the product of eight ears of roasted corn. She needed nearly twice that amount for their breakfast. Other dried foods might be added. These were always washed first before including them. Dried beans, dried strips of pumpkin, or dried strips of the inner lining of the buffalo stomach or intestine, made a welcome addition and improved the flavor of the soup.

Sometimes large thin sheets of dried buffalo meat and a sheet of fat were cut up into portions and boiled to make a strong soup for their breakfast. The individual portions of meat were seven inches long and varied from 3 to 6 inches wide.

The rest of the meal consisted of a bread course and some hot black coffee boiled with sugar. Sometimes the soup was served instead.

When they had it in the house, wheat flour from the trade store was made into "grease bread" fried in a pan in lard. This was a good deal quicker and easier to make than bread made from home-made corn flour. Each person should have a whole piece of grease bread and any leftover pieces were torn in half and given to the most important men. A handful of wheat flour made two round pieces of bread. White Woman mixed the flour with baking powder and a little salt in a wooden bowl, and after the ingredients were well mixed she added a little warm water to make a dough. If there was no baking powder, White Woman used ashes instead. Now she took a lump of dough and rested it on a piece of hide placed against her thigh, slapping it with her palm and turning it round and round until it was the right size. She put it in a pan with some lard and leaned it against the rim of the fireplace on some glowing coals, tilting the pan so that the bread was exposed to the heat of the fire. As each round disc was done she set it aside on a piece of tanned hide until they were ready to eat their meal.

Sometimes she made bread out of corn flour baked in ashes. Beans might also be mixed with it. The dried kernels were pounded fine with a heavy pestle in a wooden mortar. Meanwhile the beans had boiled, and after the water was discarded they were mixed well with the flour. Enough warm water was added to make a batter, then the ashes were parted and the batter poured in and spread to make a large cake about 3 feet long by 1 foot wide. The dough was covered with ashes, coals, and earth and allowed to bake. It was tested by exposing a small part of the ash layer and striking it to see if the bread underneath was solid. Then the bread was turned over and allowed to bake on the other side. When it was done, the ashes were brushed off and it was washed with a little warm water, then wrapped in a skin and set aside to cool. Sometimes slices of cold cornmeal mush were served instead of a bread dish; the kernels being pounded and boiled the night before so that the mush would be solidified by morning. Sometimes they would simply eat hot cornmeal mush for breakfast.

512 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder.
462 When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter,
887 I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next
meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar.
Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Vic-
313 tory Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were
484 to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful sup-
623 ply of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the im-
[726] mediate neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more
to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy. The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the chiefs had gathered there.

512 The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the
252 household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver
262 Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buf-
[237] falo meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They
made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

(415) The main business of the women of the household that day was to give
512 the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing
251 the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and
356 for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold,
and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in; besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for
[192] food pit, *tahaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women
all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all.
[476] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

keeping on the alert for mushrooms and milkweed, whose tender tops were relished when cooked with corn. Some of the mushrooms were yellow or green under the head, and these were known to be poisonous. The edible ones were solid pure white. Any with worms were discarded. Some men became so absorbed in this search that they wandered too far out and would be killed by the Sioux. This was particularly likely with men whose food at home was in short supply. 222 [648]

If Victory Call and his kinsman had the good fortune to track down another deer and Victory Call killed it, he would assign the major portion to his helper. Legally, the entire kill belonged to Victory Call and the division was entirely at his discretion. Sometimes he would be planning to have leggings made out of the skins and then he would apologize and say, "Excuse me. I can't give you the hide." His helper would reply, "That's all right. I just came around to help you. You gave me meat anyway." 224

The meat was all packed and the two men set out for the village. It was nearly sundown and they had to pass the village gaming ground where the men gathered watching the hoop and pole game. The players and spectators would remark, "Look at those fellows. They have a lot of deer meat. I'm going up there to get some soup." [524]

The two hunters separated and each went to his own house. As soon as Victory Call approached, a hide was spread inside to receive the meat, and Horse Rider was waiting outside to unload the horse and bring it in.

When Victory Call arrived inside, the first thing he said was, "The folks down there saw me coming. Hurry up and fix our dinner so that we can eat before they all get here." The family had barely finished eating when the people began to crowd in. If it were the first fresh meat of the season in the village, some women would come and say to White Woman, "Daughter, I am begging some meat." "That's good," Victory Call would say, indicating that they were welcome. White Woman and the other women of the house were cooking the meat in large kettles, and men and women were sitting around waiting to be fed when the meat boiled. Some people preferred strips of meat roasted in the coals, and they were sitting around roasting it for themselves. 264 252 574

Then the fire began to burn up brighter and someone remarked, "How about getting to work and roasting the ribs?" Horse Rider then took the ribs and leaned them on stakes around the fire. These would be served at a more formal feast after the casual guests had left. Otter was sent to invite the guests. Each of the men would invite two honored guests. Victory Call inquired of Old Bull whom he would like to entertain, and he requested that Chief White Eagle be called with his brave, Bringing Trophies, with whom Old Bull was associated in his doctor practice. Victory Call invited Eagle Chief, head chief of his village, Pumpkin-Vine, and his principal brave, War Cry. Meanwhile the women were cooking 262 574 [252] [252]

262 coffee and frying bread to supplement the meat course for their guests
574 when they arrived. In the old days they would be baking corn bread in
the ashes to be served with the soup.

252 Four buckskin cushions were placed at the west for the guests of honor,
574 and the rest sat around along both sides on the mats. By the time the
[352] guests came in, the ribs were cooked and the two largest ones were carried
to Eagle Chief and his brave War Cry, who were sitting at the northwest.
The next two went to Chief White Eagle and his brave in the southwest
seats. The rest of the ribs were carried two by two, first to two
guests on the north side, then to two on the south side, and so on until
all had been served. A very small top rib was given to any little boy who
might be visiting or to the boys of the house, Otter or Yellow Calf.

The food served, Victory Call began to talk to his guests. He told of
the highlights of the hunt and that after he had gotten the deer the
other fellow came and found him. His horse began to move around and
he thought a Sioux was coming, but then he saw who it was and called
him over. On such occasions an old man usually invited or just wandered
in, knowing he would be welcome. Horse Rider had invited
That-Chief, and the old man told them stories of war and old customs
continuing after the feast was over. Anyone who wanted to leave right
after eating was free to do so. He would get up and say, "I have to go. I
have something to do." The old man would stay all night and get his
breakfast there. Except for the four guests of honor, there was less protocol
required than in the more formal feasts. After the dishes were
[512] cleaned and put away some of the women would go to bed, while others
would join the men and listen to the conversation. Sometimes boys and
their grandmothers would sit on the sidelines, keeping themselves warm
with a pan of coals. When everyone had gone, they would come up close
to the fire and warm themselves. The session went on quite late. By midnight
574 everyone would leave, and they all went to bed. In the home of
512 Victory Call's helper on the hunt, the same kind of entertaining would
513 have gone on. Past midnight and everyone would be sleeping. Tomorrow
it would begin again—the fire lit, the man at his work and his leisure,
the women busy, the children playing.

The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood 276
(*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer [824]
bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for
smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in
winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade [439]
store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared
patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of [249]
Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting 224*
expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their 276
pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so
that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½
feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

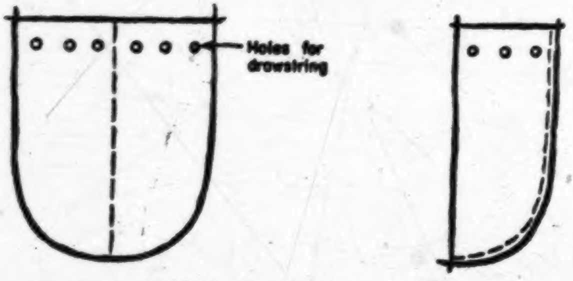
They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would 224*
depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle 492
had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A
saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front
and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were
tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed
to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used
to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the
rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they
were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the
stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling
the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth 224*
for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently 291
on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was 412
an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. 224*
Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on 482
her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage 778
on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, 224*
dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, 251
coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concen- 262
trated foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes.
The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that [484]
time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would
now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegeta- 224*
ble provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the 251
cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One 252
batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were

*224 251 •252 roasted in the husks. The kernels were then cut from the cob with a clamshell and dried. Corn prepared in this way, known as *rawaritu*, "roasted," required little soaking and could be boiled in an hour. When the camp was moving along quickly, this was the corn they depended on for the [243] basic staple. While some of the corn crop was thus gathered early when it was "in the milk," the rest of the crop was allowed to mature and dry on the stalk, *rikis-tabis*, "corn-dry." After the cobs were snapped off the stalk and carried in, the kernels were pried off with a pointed stick. Any of the nine varieties might be treated in either way, but the blue flour corn was particularly favored for maturing on the stalk to be processed as dry corn. Dry corn took considerably longer to prepare than roasted. It had to be soaked for some time before it could be boiled, and they used it when they stayed over at a place, arrived early, or stayed at camp late one morning. Although it took longer to prepare, this kind of corn was heavier and more satisfying. The sticky, yellow sweet corn pounded with sugar was taken along as a kind of sweet meat or served when they [887] had no time at all to cook a meal. This was most commonly prepared by the old ladies who had more time to pound things in the mortar. Thin sheets of dry buffalo meat were also pounded in the mortar with a little fat and served as an alternative uncooked meal. Old women who sometimes started very early and went ahead of the line carried these foods in a skin bag as rations. Dried spotted corn was particularly preferred for parching, to be eaten like popcorn or with soup. In addition, they took along several varieties of dried beans to be boiled with the corn and some dried pumpkin and buffalo intestine for the same purpose, in order to add a variety of flavors. Dried buffalo meat from the previous winter hunt *224 251 415 was also included. Each of these foods was separately packed in a tanned skin bag with a piece of skin on top to cover the opening and



Folded along midline and sewn.

A circular piece of hide was put inside when full before the drawstring was pulled.

FIGURE 16-1. The small sack, *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack." Slightly larger than our 50-pound flour sack, it is used for carrying pounded-up sweet corn, dried pieces of meat, scraps, and so forth.

224*

was made in oblong form about three feet long and a foot and a half wide, 484*
with its long axis running north-south. 342

The next step was to get everything in order for cooking. They had 354
enough water, and now they needed wood for fuel. As she was pegging 313
down the tent, No Corn remarked to her husband, Horse Rider, 224*
"We're pretty nearly finished now and we have no wood." Then he 484*
would go off carrying a long rope. He used the rope as a kind of lasso:
attaching a stick about a foot long to the end, he would throw it up
around a dry cottonwood limb and the cord would wind itself around
the limb so that it could be pulled down. It would take considerable skill
to pull it down without having it fall on your head, which sometimes happened
despite the best of care. Horse Rider tried to get enough wood to
last them for that evening and the next day while they stayed at the rendezvous
camp. Some of the wood he gathered from the ground, tied it up
with his cord, and came into camp carrying it on his back. As soon as he 224*
got in, he made the fire and White Woman began to cook. They had a 484*
simple meal of bread and coffee and some sand cherries for dessert. No 252
Corn volunteered to make the coffee. While the cooking was going on, [272]
the old ladies were stretched out resting, and Victory Call was doing the
same. Everyone was very tired. It was proper to joke a bit while the [522]
food was being prepared and during the meal. Horse Rider began to
tease No Corn about how she had fallen in the water.

Immediately after supper the women cleared up the dishes and sat 224*
down to rest—tired from all their work. Horse Rider went off to see 484*
how the horses were getting along and Victory Call went up and sat on
top of one of the sand hills to have a smoke and to look around and at the
encampment below. Presently five or six men joined him for a smoke and
some conversation.

The boy Otter ran off at once to the river to go swimming with the rest 224*
of the children. On the way he saw some other little boys leaning over a 484*
pond. "See the sunfish. Let's 'choke' them!" They tied some bread to the 857
end of a string and let it down into the pond and as the fish bit, they pulled
them up and 'choked' them. Then the boys went off and gave the fish to 224*
an old woman who was living alone in a shelter she had built for herself. 484*
Her relatives gave her something, but would not take care of her and she 888
had no other place to go. "Here, grandma," they said, "Here's some
fish." "That's fine," said the old lady. Later that summer while they were
setting up camp one day, the boys came to give her fish and she was dead.
They dug a hole in the embankment against which she had been leaning [764]
and buried her there. Man Chief, who was Eagle Chief's son, and a generous
young man, gave a red blanket to wrap her in. There were only
one or two old women alone like this. Sometimes while they were on the
hunt, such old people would say, "Just give me enough to eat and go on."

7

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 In Camp 5 that night, when the crier was calling out their next day's *484 itinerary, Roaming Leader was on his way to hobble his horses when he met his friend Running Scout. He said, "I have it in mind that we could go far south to the Republican river to see if there are some buffalo there. This time of year the bulls always stand over there. What do you think?"

"That's just what I've been thinking about. I'd certainly like to do something like that."

"I've got to hobble my horses right now," said Roaming Leader, "but if you see Mad Bear, tell him to come to my tent and we'll talk it over—also New Young Dog and Wants-the-Enemy. About sundown, you people must come to my tent."

[572] These five men had grown up as a group of friends since they were boys. They used to meet when they took the horses to pasture while they were very young. Some of these groups would break up after marriage, [578] if a man's wife tended to disapprove or if he was jealous and afraid that his friends might try to share his wife's sexual favors. But in this case the group had stuck together and had many adventures together. Roaming Leader, between forty and fifty years old, was the leader of the group and tended to take the initiative. At this time they came to his tent for supper where his wife had prepared a meal of corn, bread, and coffee. After the meal, Roaming Leader asked them to wait while he went to see White Eagle to ask his permission for their expedition. After his return they would continue with their plans.

When Roaming Leader arrived at White Eagle's tent, he found that the errand man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band was also there. He had come on the same errand, as there was a group of men in each of the other three bands that wanted to go south next morning and try their luck at locating the buffalo. After some discussion, White Eagle granted permission, and they talked about how they would coordinate the activities of these four scouting parties. It was planned that they were to fan out in different directions so that they could make a survey of the country and they would get some idea of where the herds might be. Each party had a different assignment.

After the Little-Earth-Lodge Band envoy had left, White Eagle inquired of Roaming Leader who would be in his party. When he mentioned who they were, White Eagle commented that they were a good bunch. He wished him good luck and said, "Don't forget the *kawis*." This was a • [252] sort of sausage they made by washing the intestine and turning it inside out and putting a long piece of buffalo meat inside with a little water and [262] tying it at both ends. The *kawis* could then be boiled in water or, if the hunter were alone, broiled over the fire. It was a favorite delicacy that could only be made of fresh intestine and White Eagle's remark was a reminder for Roaming Leader to be sure to bring the intestines home.

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

22

THE RETURN OF THE HUNTERS AND THE BANQUETS OF BUFFALO MEAT

000

Meat Is Cooked—Account of Hunt Given—Hunters' Families Entertain—Conversation during the Meal—Other Hunting Expeditions Formed—Family Relationships

*224 AS THE FIVE HUNTERS came in, each of their families began to prepare for the family meal and the feast that would follow in their respective camps. In each case, a brother or a brother-in-law was waiting at the hunter's tent to take care of his horse. As the hunter dismounted, he took off his quiver and bow sack from his back and handed it to his wife, asking her to bring out a skin spread for the meat. The brother who had come to help came out of the tent and put the meat on the spread, took off [492] the saddle, and took the horse to water. The hunter said to his brother, "When you water it, wash the blood off his sides." The brother went off to tend the horse and hobbled it in the place where the hunter was accustomed to keeping it. The hunter had gone inside the tent where he sat down to rest and smoke while his wife began to cook for him.

224 • 252 Roaming Leader, because he was leader of the expedition, had been given the heart and tongue by the man who had had charge of cleaning the entrails. Now his wife was cooking them for their meal. The tongue was first put in the coals until the rough outer covering had blistered off. When it was puffed up, the covering came off easily and the tongue was then boiled. This made good soup and the tongue itself was "smooth eating." To prepare the heart, it was first cut around the rim and the outer skin carefully peeled off so as not to tear it. This little sack could be used for water or dried as a tobacco container when they went on a Peace Pipe expedition. 224 252

While the cooking of the meal was in process, the brother returned from tending the horse and Roaming Leader motioned him to sit down at his left. The place at his right was reserved for his wife. Roaming Leader was sitting on the north side. He told his brother how far they had had to go in order to get the bison, how fast the horse was, and other details of the chase—of how three of them had chased two of the bison and the other two, the third animal—of how they butchered and divided up the meat and who got which pieces. 224* 521

Before he had quite finished with his account, his wife announced that she was through with the cooking. He had to interrupt his story, as they must eat at once because the buffalo meat was still lying outside on the spread. His wife's mother, Lady Lucky Leader, had come in meanwhile and her son, Dog-Sitting-at-the-West (also known as Frank Leader), and they joined the family for dinner. The tongue would have been adequate to feed the three of them, but with five they also needed to use the heart. Each one received a small piece of each kind of meat. The Pawnees believed that the first meat of the season should be cooked rare so that the digestive system could become accustomed to it. Roaming Leader remarked this to his wife, "Cook it a little rare. Don't overcook it—it's easier to digest that way." The meat was cut into long thin strips at this time so that it would boil quickly. 264 [827] [252]

As soon as they were through eating, Lady Lucky Leader went outside to tend to the meat. She gave s[illegible] the Meat-Askers and at Roaming Leader's instruction, prepared hal[illegible] backbone steak as a gift for White Eagle. First she removed the sinews and cut the steak in two. Since her daughter was busy with the dishes, she carried it to White Eagle's tent herself. As she approached, an old lady from White Eagle's tent noticed her coming and came out to meet her. She said, "I'm bringing meat," and the old lady replied, "Oh, thank you, thank you." As she handed over the meat she said, "Oh, they got three of them—three bison." As White Eagle's mother-in-law entered the tent she told him the news. "They found three bison so and so far." "That's all right!" he said. Some of the meat was cut into long strips and boiled right away, White Eagle making the usual remark about cooking it rare, and the rest of the steak was sliced up by the old lady preparatory to making it into dried meat for storage. 224* 252 431

After the families of each of the hunters had eaten their meal, they would prepare for their several banquets. Each of the five invited friends and prominent people from his own village—Mad Bear from Pumpkin-Vine, Running Scout from Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge, and Roaming Leader from his own Village-in-the-Bottomlands. New Young 574

chiefs of the several bands. With them would go their braves and other prominent men of their bands who were sufficiently wealthy to own fast horses and could give them the assistance they needed. 224* 484*

The scouting party had been led by Stolen Horses, and when his party had sighted the small buffalo herd they were looking for they returned to camp and notified Brave Chief, White Eagle's brother-in-law, who in turn got in touch with White Eagle, telling him where and how the herd had been sighted. The next morning they would go after it, and everyone was on the alert for this news that evening. White Eagle called in Roaming Scout to ask him to direct the attack on the herd next day. He was to climb a hill and survey the position of the herd and motion his instructions to the hunters, who would be waiting below.

Now that all arrangements had been made, White Eagle sent out the official chief's errand man, Know-His-Face, to go through the camp, calling out the announcement and then to carry it to the other bands. He announced the following message: "They saw ten to twenty buffalo out there about twelve miles out. Tomorrow while we move the camp, let's try to chase those buffalo." Then after giving the location of their next encampment, he continued with his instructions for the hunters:

> There by the schoolhouse—on the other side—on the northeast—there is a hill. You stop right there at this big hill, on this side of it where we'll all meet, and White Eagle will get there to meet us. All of you are to wait there, and one of us will go up on top of the hill to see if the herd is still in the same location as previously sighted or in what direction it has gone.

Early next morning Camp 9 broke up and the outstanding hunters from all the bands went to meet at the appointed place, while the line of march moved westward toward Camp 10, the last camp south of the Platte. There were fifteen to twenty hunters from each of the four bands, sixty to eighty in all. By contrast to the later hunt episodes, they were dressed in plain working clothes. For the formal hunt, they dressed in decorated leggings and they decorated their horses, but in this instance they all wore plain leggings and moccasins, a brief, simple loincloth, and for the horse a blanket to ride on and other equipment—a whetstone, a knife, and some rope—one of buffalo hide to bridle horses that were rough, and one of buffalo hair for those that were easier to handle. Some because of a special vision experience or exploit had a right to wear a red or white cloth about their heads, while others went bareheaded. Some were privileged to wear a skin shirt because of special war exploits. Some took their bow and quivers and others carried six-shooters. They brought no food, but would eat something raw after the kill. Meat was never eaten raw but they would eat the entrails—some raw liver, kidney, or tripe— [292] [291] [262] [252]

*224 *484 the lining of the second stomach well washed and eaten with some raw fat.

[262] [252] The people on the march tried to double up their goods in the morning in order to free the horses for the hunters. It was most desirable for the hunter to have two horses, one to ride and one to load with meat. If he had two horses, he would hobble his loading horse on the sidelines during the chase or leave it with a boy who had come along for the purpose.

*224 When the hunters arrived, the small herd was to the south of the appointed hill. The scout Roaming Leader was on top, surveying the situation. The herd was a small one, gathered in a kind of trough or depression. The hunters were lined up on the north side of the hill, facing it, entirely out of sight and hearing of the herd which was on the other side. The hunters of the four bands had arranged themselves in the line from west to east, the several bands in the usual order with the Skidi westernmost and the Man-Going-Downstream furthest east. As the hunters on horseback sat facing the hill, a brave from each band rode back and forth in front of his group to keep them in order. They had to be controlled and kept in line while the strategy was determined and a ritual performed.

*224 202 On top of the hill, having surveyed the country and its configuration, Roaming Leader had come to a decision as to their plan of attack. He descended the hill a short way down and signaled with his blanket to give the waiting hunters an idea of the position of the herd. If the buffalo were more to the east, Roaming Leader threw up his blanket and swung it over along the east horizon. Swinging it in the opposite direction along the west horizon meant the buffalo were further to the west and the main force of the attack should come from that direction. If the buffalo were straight ahead, he would throw his blanket straight up and release it, indicating that they could ride directly over the hill and need not approach by stealth from the sides, since the herd was in a hollow and could not see them coming. In this particular case, Roaming Leader had given an east signal. Now one chief from each band rode up to consult with Roaming Leader and he came down to meet them halfway. Roaming Leader said to White Eagle, "You saw me standing there throwing my blanket around the east side. There are about ten or twenty buffalo there and if they are approached cautiously by two parties, first one from the east and then one from the west, we may be able to surround them and get them all. If we are careful, some of the buffalo may still be sitting down and before they can get up, our hunters on horseback will be upon them." White Eagle then summed up what Roaming Leader had said and put it up to the four chiefs, which would go to the east and which to the west. He gave the first choice to Man Chief of the Meat-Beggars Band as a diplomatic gesture for the sake of their Peace

27

PRESERVING THE MEAT AND PROCESSING THE HIDES

000

Women Slice the Meat for Preserving—Preserving of Flank, Legs, Internal Organs—Boiling and Drying—Processing the Hides—Grease from the Bones—Ultimate Use of the Meat

As soon as the men got in from the hunt, each tent became the scene of busy activity. The time was usually between two and four in the afternoon. In Victory Call's tent, from the first killing, they had two buffalo, one by Victory Call and the other by Horse Rider. As they came in, the women spread a tanned hide on the ground for the meat that was taken off the horses, and Horse Rider then went off to hobble the horses nearby. Victory Call went into the tent where No Corn was cooking a meal of grease bread and coffee; she called out that Horse Rider was to come right in as the food was ready. 224* 512

While the men were resting and having a meal that No Corn had prepared, Grandma and White Woman began at once to work on the meat, coming in for a quick snack whenever they felt they could pause in the work. Grandma devoted herself entirely to this work. She built herself a small sunshade of three willow branches on which, later in the hunt, they sometimes left some roasted buffalo ribs for anyone who wanted a bite between meals. The most highly skilled work was the thinning of the two long backbone steaks. After removing the fat and the sinews, they would make a series of cuts in the meat with a sharp knife. Holding the long column of meat in the hand, they made a series of short cuts into it, first on one side and then on the other in alternate order. The cuts were so made that they did not quite sever the slice, and the meat could be stretched out into a broad continuous sheet 3½ feet long by 2½ feet wide and half an inch thick. After drying, these large sheets 251 252

251 [252] of meat were each covered with a slab of dried fat that was not quite as large—3¼ feet long by 1½ feet wide and an inch thick. The edges of the meat were folded down over the fat like an open-faced envelope, first the top edge, then the bottom edge, and then the two sides (see Figure 27-1). Folded in this way, they were just the right size for the rawhide container in which they would be stored. The two steaks with their layers of fat were placed one on top of the other on the rawhide with other pieces of dried meat and fat on top of them, and the container was folded over them, first the top edge, then the bottom edge and then the two sides which met in the middle where they were tied together, laced with hide strips. The surface of these two short ends were painted with large [531] designs in bright colors, but unlike the usual angular designs of the other Indian tribes of the Plains, the Pawnee painted cosmic symbols on these containers—the moon and its rays, the sun, the dawn, and the stars (see figures 27-2–27-3). Such a container held the dried meat of a whole buffalo. When the meat was fully dried and packed, it was 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep. The "neck" end of the long backbone steak was thicker than the tail end, and the dried pieces of the other

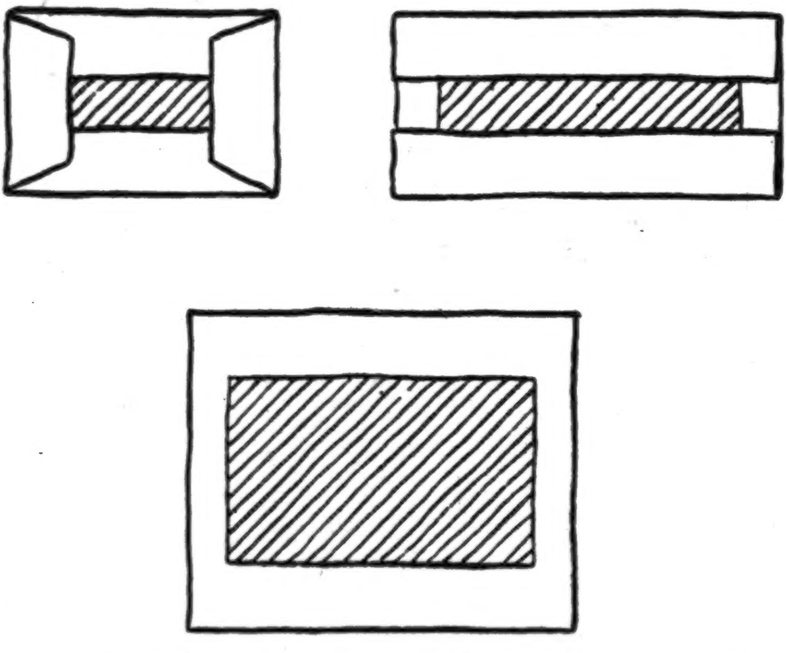
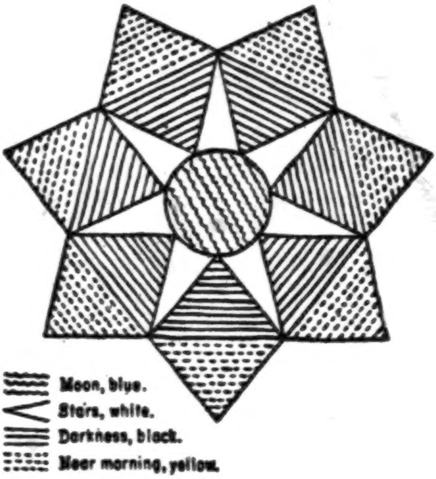


FIGURE 27-1. The manner of folding dried buffalo steak from along the backbone, *kisatsu*. A layer of dried fat (diagonal shading) is placed on top.

parts were piled more thickly near the tail end, each layer covered 251
with a layer of dried fat to keep the meat soft. The meat of a whole buffalo dried and packed in this way, was reduced to a weight of 80
pounds. A live bison weighed about 2,000 pounds. [036]



[531]

FIGURE 27-2. A cosmic design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, to be painted only by a person with the necessary religious qualifications.

Other parts of the meat prepared were: 251

The flank. The sinews were removed and the membrane being taken 252
off to be used in packing up the raw marrow that they took out when they cracked the long bones.

The foreleg and hind leg. The limbs were disjointed and the meat removed from the bones for drying.

The internal organs. These included the intestines, the lining of the [237]
stomach, the tripe (likened to the leaves of a book), the heart from [415]
which the membrane was carefully removed by cutting around the top for use as a tobacco pouch or for other treasures. The heart was split so that it would lie flat in drying. The tongue was blistered in the coals and the rough outer covering removed. Heart and tongue were boiled in water before being hung up to dry. Lungs were sometimes sliced like the backbone steaks and then dried. They made good pulverized dry
meat. The stomach lining was washed in cold water and cut into long [237]
strips after it had dried, the strips woven into a checker-plaited mat, in [285]
which form they were stored in the rawhide container.

531
415

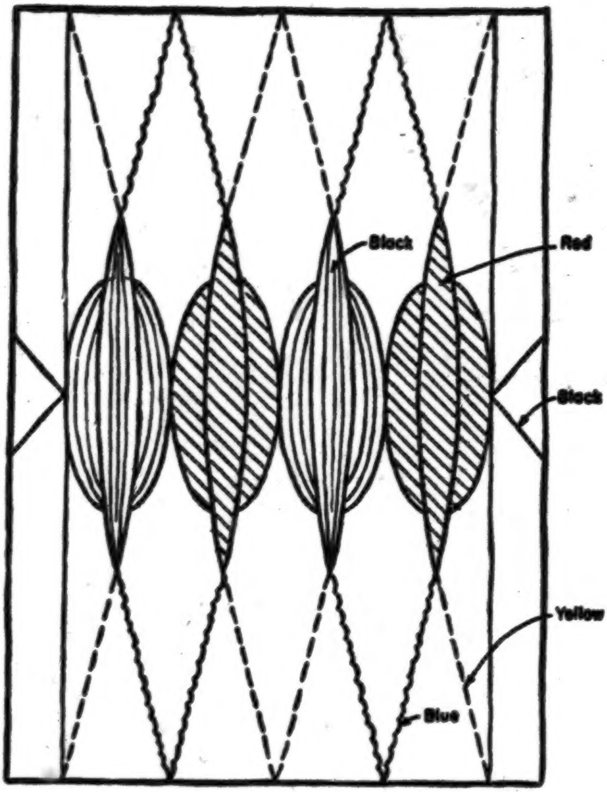


FIGURE 27-3. A design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, the significance of which is unknown.

251 Intestines were turned inside out and boiled in the kettle. Then they
252 were hung on the rack so that the water ran out and they would dry.
[237] After they were dried, they were broken into a number of pieces and
woven into a checker-plaited mat for storage. The intestines of two buf-
[285] falo were used for one mat. Each intestine was 12 to 15 feet long and
was broken into four pieces. The pieces hung over a stick to a length of
about 2 feet on each side. The mat was ten strips wide with cross pieces
[431] woven in. A mat would sometimes be given to a little girl as a special
gift. For this purpose, they would leave the stick in the mat and fasten a
boiled buffalo eye at each end. When they broke camp and a little girl
was seen carrying her gift mat on her back, people would remark,
"Look, that's hers! Are there eyes on it?"

251 252 The tripe was boiled at the same time as the intestines. It was not otherwise treated, but simply hung on the rack to dry.

The internal organs, particularly the tripe, took several days before they were dry enough for storage. They had to be hung on the rack on several successive days, while the rest of the meat usually cured in a day or so. These dried internal organs were used for mixing with dried corn kernels to make soup.

251 417 The drying rack had been completed and ready to hang up the meat by the time the men got in from the hunt. It had three upright forked sticks planted in the ground, with three cross sticks, one resting in the forks at the top and two tied on at intervals below with strips of inner bark or of hide. A double-length rack was sometimes made to accommodate all the meat prepared in their camp. The rack was erected with its broad side facing east so that the sun would strike the meat directly. The meat was hung on the rack with the two long steaks in the center and the other parts out toward the ends, pieces of kidney fat and other parts of the fat in between.

251 252 As soon as the camp was set up, they brought in plenty of water in anticipation of the fact that the intestines and other parts would have to be boiled. When the men had arrived, Grandma set them to boil at once and began slicing the meat. White Woman was helping and when No Corn had fed the men, she came out and joined them, while Horse Rider got to work disjointing the limbs and removing the meat from the bones. Having joined forces, the meat began to pile up and White Woman hung the meat on the rack while the others sliced. With three women and Horse Rider working together, the meat of each buffalo took about an hour and a half to get on the rack, and from two-thirty to five-thirty they had prepared the meat of both buffalo that the men had brought in. Thus it would take a single worker five or six hours for each animal.

252 281 The hides had to be pegged out onto the ground and defleshed simultaneously with the slicing of the meat as they had to be stretched out while they were still fresh. After they had made considerable progress with slicing the meat, Grandma suggested to White Woman that she would continue with the meat and that White Woman might go and tend to the hides. This was the most strenuous part of the work and since No Corn was crippled, White Woman had to process both the hides. No Corn continued to help Grandma slice the meat, and while White Woman was pegging down one of the hides, Horse Rider offered to peg down the other. White Woman then proceeded to deflesh both of them. 281 [412] [237] The fleshing tool was made of the shaft of a buffalo tibia, the small end cut to a fine-toothed edge and the thick end with a hole through which a rawhide strap was drawn to go around the wrist. White Woman bent

281 over from a standing position, striking the fleshing tool downward and toward her against the hide. Some women avoided bending over by not pegging down the hide. They put a stick or tree trunk about 3 inches in diameter at a slant in the ground. Laying the hide over it, they tied it at the top with rawhide and supported the hide underneath with the palm of the left hand, applying the fleshing tool to this spot and then moving successively down the length, shifting the position of the hide over the log for the next section. This method was particularly useful when they had to work inside the tent in winter. The small scraps of
[251] meat removed in the defleshing were also placed on the drying rack.

When the meat was dry on one side, they took it off the rack piece by
251 piece, and each piece was set on an open rawhide container with the dry side up, pounded with a pestle to remove some of the moisture, turned over and pounded on the moist side and replaced on the rack so that this side could now be exposed.

Just before the half-dry pieces of meat were again removed from the rack and placed on a rawhide, each piece was trampled with the moccasined feet to remove as much of the moisture as possible. At this stage the meat was called "moist dry meat" and while it was not fit for long-term storage, it could keep well for several days. In this form it was cooked for their more immediate use. For permanent storage, after the meat had been trampled on, it was stacked up on a skin spread and carried inside the tent to protect it from the dampness that came up from the water after sundown. Inside the tent, they covered it up by lapping over the edges of the skin spread and covering it up with an open rawhide container. They would go out just before sunrise in the morning and hang the meat on the rack again so that it could continue to dry.

*224 Grease from the bones was another important commissary item. After
251 the third killing, the herd was pretty well scattered in this locality and
they were going to move the hunting camp to another location a
● 252 considerable distance away, to the Solomon fork of the Kansas, south of the
262 Republican River. Before they left their old hunting camp, White Eagle allowed them an extra day in camp to finish up with some of their work.
251 In most of the camps they were glad to have an opportunity to make
use of the larger bones that were lying around from the first two killings,
252 particularly the backbones and the large knuckle bones. Some men,
262 having nothing else to do, went out to the place where the bones lay and, tethering their horses nearby, dug out the chunks of meat and fat that adhered to the backbones and brought them home for their wives to boil for soup. These small chunks of meat were known as "small meat." Most of all they wanted to take the opportunity to make "bone grease" which they called "bone water." This was eaten particularly with the pulverized dried buffalo meat, by biting off a piece of the solidified fat to eat with the dry fluffy pounded-up meat. This was probably their last

chance of the season to make bone grease, as they were unlikely to stay 262
long enough in any one place and be so close to the hunting grounds as 251
to have all these large bones around and the time to treat them. The bone 252
grease was made by cracking up the backbone and boiling it in a large
kettle of water along with the knuckle bones. The grease, skimmed off
with a spoon, was kept in a buffalo paunch, prepared by peeling off the
inner lining, which left a smooth surface on the inside. The paunch, with
a wide slit cut into it for an opening, was placed in a depression in the
ground and the opening flaps spread out at the top. In summer it was
hard to get the grease to solidify, but in the evening when a cool breeze
came up from the river it became solid enough to transport. Though
they seldom did so, if they wanted to make bone grease en route they
put it into the large intestine and tied it up at both ends for transporta-
tion. The winter was a more propitious time for making bone grease as [416]
it hardened more readily; sometimes they would stay up at night and
work by the light of a burning brand while on the winter hunt in order
to make it. The soup was spilled out at some distance from camp along
with the boiled bones. Before they got rid of the soup, Horse Rider liked
to eat a bowl of it with a handful or two of parched corn. Sometimes
when it cooked for a long time, certain soft parts from the bones around
the lower part of the foreleg were also eaten.

Now as Horse Rider was coming into camp with a backbone for Grandma to boil up for bone grease, she set him to work first picking off the small pieces of meat and fat. He sat down directly with his legs extended and wedged the backbone between his feet and got to work digging out the meat. They used the meat for soup at supper. The long bones were cracked and the marrow removed and wrapped in a membrane taken from the flank. The marrow was eaten raw with dry meat.

They now had the partially dried buffalo meat to supplement the supplies of dried corn, beans, and squash and the dried meat they had brought with them from the previous winter hunt. For the camping family of six, they would use a thin sheet of dried buffalo meat with its covering layer of fat. The dried piece of meat was 12 inches wide by 30 inches long and would be cut into eight portions, 6 inches wide, 7 inches long and ⅛ to ¼ inch thick. The fat was a little thicker and with each portion went a piece of fat—2½ by 5 inches. The portions of meat and fat were washed with cold water and then put in the kettle which was placed on the coals to boil. The fat tended to disintegrate into the soup. When they were cooking dry meat for supper, a guest, usually a close friend or relative, was very likely to drop in. In Victory Call's camp, Uncle War Cry, White Woman's brother, was the one most likely to appear.

For feasts at official or ceremonial occasions, the backbone steaks were 574
used, a number being donated for each occasion (see Figure 27-4). A 252

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 221]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

•252
574

[554]

[264]
[237]

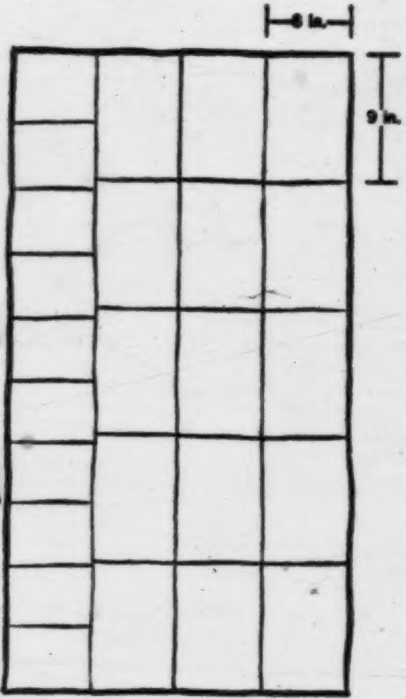
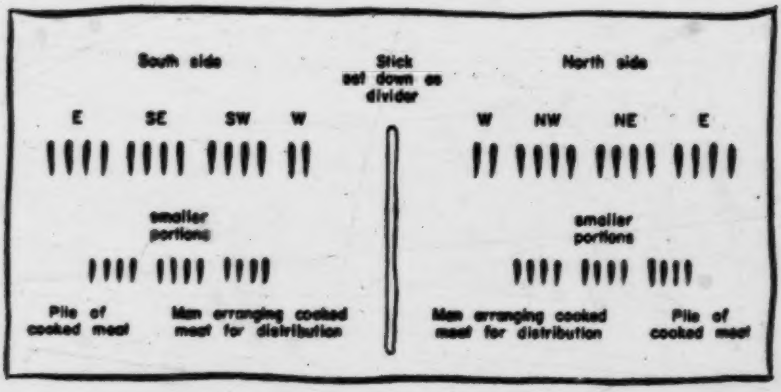


FIGURE 27-4. The manner of cutting and setting out portions of the layer of dried buffalo meat made from the backbone steak, *kisatsu*, at a feast. (1) Preparatory to cooking, the steak is cut into four long strips. The three strips at the right are each made into five portions. The fourth long strip at the left is made into as many additional portions as is deemed necessary. The large portions are for the honored guests sitting in the special positions, the smaller portions, for the rest of the guests. The slab of dried buffalo fat is cut up in the same way. (2) The portions are set out on a tanned hide, ready to be served. (The dimensions and the drawing were supplied by informants.)

252
264
574


South side
Stick set down as divider
North side
E
SE
SW
W
W
NW
NE
E
smaller portions
smaller portions
Pile of cooked meat
Man arranging cooked meat for distribution
Man arranging cooked meat for distribution
Pile of cooked meat

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

tanned hide was spread out and formally divided into sections, a right section for the guests on the north side and a left section for those on the south side with a stick lying on the spread between them to mark the divisions. Two backbone steaks were opened out, one on one side and one on the other and separated from their layer of fat. This operation was carried out at the southeast of the earth lodge or tent with the two steaks pointed with their "neck" or head ends toward the northwest. Each steak was cut down the length into four strips, each about 6 inches wide. The three strips on the right were made into five large portions each, about 9 inches long, and the fourth or leftmost strip was cut into a whole series of smaller portions depending upon how many people needed to be served. The larger portions were for the important guests at the main "positions," while the smaller pieces were for the others. The layer of fat was cut up in the same way, but this disintegrated in the soup. For a feast of sixty people, four steaks would be cooked. Each potful took about twenty minutes, about fifteen for the meat and a few minutes more for the fat to be thoroughly cooked. For this amount they cooked three or four batches, spearing out the pieces of meat with a stick each time and placing them on the spread in the appropriate position for serving. Sometimes while the errand man was doing the cooking he would observe that the steaks were unusually small, viz., from a small animal, when additional meat would have to be added. When additional steaks were received, the important guests received double portions or more. This was the only direct compensation for administrative services. 252 574 [554] (554)

Most of the meat preserved during this summer hunt would be used during the following fall and winter, while the succeeding winter hunt would provide the additional meat for the spring. From the summer hunt, the hides were processed as rawhide or tanned hide with hair removed, while on the winter hunt they got hides with fur and wool for warm robes. 251 262 281

The drying and preserving of the buffalo meat along with their crops was one of the major technical achievements of the Pawnees. This ancient art of preserving food by drying was almost continent-wide in America among the food gatherers as well as the food producers, and the method contrasts markedly with the general Old World approach of fermenting, pickling, and spicing for food preservation. 251 171

Each household had its own estimate of the amount of dried buffalo meat required to carry on its social and religious obligations. Four formal attacks on the herd by all the able-bodied hunters of the tribe were considered sufficient to provide for most of their needs. The first mass attack had taken place as the line of march was slowly making its way southward along the west bank of Turkey Creek. When they had gone about halfway, the scouts had located the herd, and the hunters left the 224*

They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," 224*
they had to pack and go on. They arrived at the river about five in the 484*
evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north
bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or
less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming
in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but
they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As
soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often [226]
done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. Some men
used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took
buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and [225]
brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were [252]
they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn
husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were
unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went
out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were
officially headed for home. The night before, the military police had [625]
officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from [622]
his leadership of the hunt. He thanked them all and reviewed the
events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead
them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was
appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given
White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and
helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buffalo [787]
leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Republican
they would have to make before they could start north for the
Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sacred 796
bundles and the cults, but of special interest to everybody was the 431
Grand Opera that the associated doctors would give after the harvest, 756
lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the 624
association, called for his two errand men to go to all members, apprentices, 211
and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the
forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand
man would pick a dry weed, *hawastatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil,
and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute,
the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand
to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent,
dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and proceeded
to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. At 796
an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and 431
756

*224 this area now, north of the Republican, they were in Pawnee territory
*484 and were less concerned about danger of attack. As the South Bands had
their villages to the east of the Skidi on Beaver Creek, they moved ahead
while the Skidi lagged behind. They ate mainly dried buffalo meat at
[262] this time and a little parched corn in soup. If anyone happened to have
• [252] any roasted corn kernels on hand, they boiled them and ate them, but
most people had used up their supply by now. The old women were al-
*224 ways busy when they stopped, pulverizing dried buffalo meat in the
*484 mortar with a pestle. They made a flat package, *tsat-katus*, "package-
251 flat," of tanned hide (see Figure 30-1) and filled it up with the pounded-
887 up dried meat. The package could be carried on the back with a strap
[482] that ran across the chest. It was 2 feet long by 1½ feet wide, and was
[439] often carried on their backs by the old women. It was a good trade
item. Sometimes they also included some dried meat. Both kinds could
[262] be eaten without cooking as they were already thoroughly cured. One
could simply break off a piece of the dried meat and eat it.

237
251
482

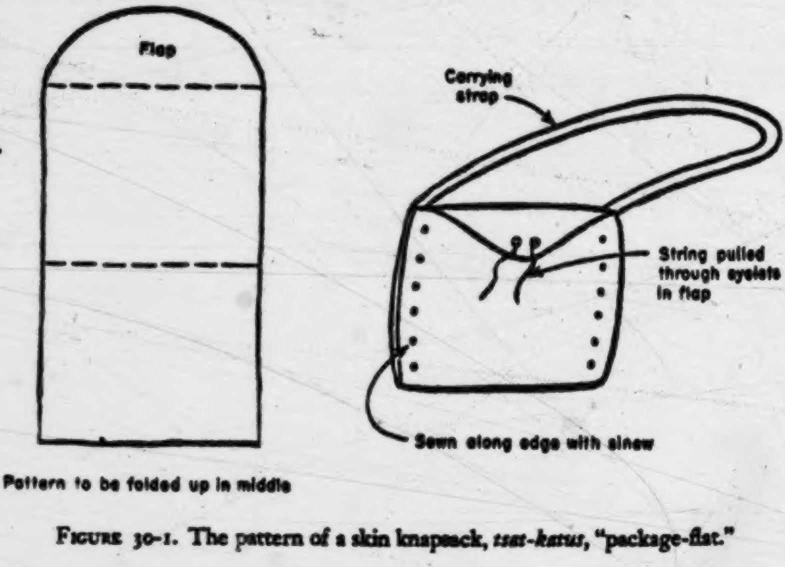

Flap
Carrying strap
String pulled through eyelets in flap
Sewn along edge with sinew
Pattern to be folded up in middle

FIGURE 30-1. The pattern of a skin knapsack, *tsat-katus*, "package-flat."

*224 Some old women made a *ku-tsaku*, "water-package," of half a buffalo
*484 bull hide made into rawhide, with sticks fastened underneath and the
[237] baggage wrapped inside envelope-fashion, to be floated across a swollen
[281] stream. Most of the women were busy tanning buffalo robes and scraping
hides all the way home.

726 Some young men were saying that when they got to the Platte River
they would set out on the warpath. There were plenty of Sioux around

from whom they could well steal horses, and some young men thought 726
they would like to go to the Osage country. The women of their house- 726
hold would outfit them with three or four pairs of new moccasins, tan- 705
ning some hides especially for the purpose. Each pair would be filled
with supplies—pulverized dried meat, parched corn, and dried meat. The
young man would have a large flat package, especially wide to carry on
his back with straps across the chest to carry his baggage. Under his belt [276]
he carried his tobacco and his pipe, and every time he sat down while he
was on the warpath he must smoke. When he went off to steal horses
he hung his flat-package on a tree and sometimes did not get a chance to
retrieve it at all.

In Victory Call's household, they had gotten eight hides. A small one 281
would be tanned by White Woman to get supplies at Fort Kearney. One 439
was reserved for Mr. Bishop, the trader near home, to whom a good
one had been promised before they left in payment for supplies Victory
Call had obtained at his store for their journey.

While they were going east along the Platte River after their arrival 224*
two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), the village scouts came back 484*
with their report of how things were back home. They came in directly 203
to the tent of Leading Chief who now had charge of their return journey and reported:

> We went down to the village. We couldn't go in, it was full of fleas. Toward evening we went to the different corn fields. The corn is pretty ripe in some places. The pumpkins are hard yet. There are lots of beans of all different kinds. One fellow got on a freight and went to Columbus to see how the Stay-at-Homes were. Everything looks good. From there we went to the school. We gave the children some pulverized dried meat and some plain. We told them you folks were coming home. We stopped in Bishop and Matlock's store for the night and said it would be about eight or ten days before we got to the village. Everyone looks all right.

Now Know-His-Face went through the encampment, announcing this
message to all. In one of the other bands a roguish old lady called out [824]
"And how about the sunflowers? How are they doing?" The boy said, [522]
"The sunflowers are way high!" The byplay is that the sunflowers were
the place where clandestine affairs were carried on. These grew as weeds
in the boundaries between the fields.

One of the scouts brought five or six ears of corn that were ripe from 224*
different fields, and gave them to the ones to whom they belonged. One 484*
ear had come from the field of Otter's grandmother, and before she took [788]
off the husks she blessed him with it four times. Then she removed the [252]
husks, roasted the ear in the coals, and broke it into three pieces, one for [262]

*224 *484 White Woman and Victory Call to eat, one for No Corn and Horse Rider
• [252] to eat together, and one for herself and her grandson, Otter.

[262] When they got to the top of the hills eight miles west of Genoa they could sight the school house. Everyone called out, "There it is—*kar-karit-pahat*" (house-stone-red). It was red brick. Along the north and south side of the Loup is a deep valley and from the hills on either side of the river, one could see a considerable distance.

[136] No one could camp anywhere near the earth lodge village itself. It was infested with fleas. They camped in the bottomlands within reach of their fields where they stayed for three weeks while they treated the crops and cleaned out the earth lodge so that it became habitable. In the open, they could more readily dispose of the husks, cobs, and other wastes that resulted from processing the crops. The Stay-at-Homes came along to meet them starting out from near Columbus 22 miles away and following northwestward along the Loup River. "Here come the Kakusu, the Stay-at-Homes," everyone would call out as they approached.

792 There was one more item ~~of formal~~ business that they had to attend to before they could get down to the activities of the harvest. To his tent, White Eagle called representatives of each of the four villages and the five old priests. In White Eagle's tent and in his charge at all times had
*[224] been *taxpiku*, the holy man, who symbolized the luck of the whole tribe on the hunt. It was during the spring, when they had the ceremony of
[777] the Young Corn, *Kurahus*, that he was charged with this holy office. He was a man of exemplary character who was favored by the supernatural powers through the generous offerings he had made to their ceremonies. He had to keep his buffalo robe wrapped around him at all times. There was an absolute taboo against his bathing. He was not allowed to cut his fingernails or comb his hair. The other old men went along, one or the other of them staying alongside all during the hunt. His food was fed to him in a special bowl and he was always served first, for it was recog-
[821] nized that he was under a severe strain. Should he take a bath or his feet touch water, there would be severe thunderstorms. It was at this ceremony that he was praised for his courage and diligence and dismissed from his office. Now he was able to laugh and joke. "Oh my, I'm lousy," he said, "and my feet stink!" He tossed off his blanket and ran down to the creek to take a bath as soon as he could. He was no longer an official and no longer needed to be on his dignity.

[777] They still had one more holy man, *taxpiku*, who was holding in the
[243] luck of the crops. He had been appointed early in the spring when they distributed the first seeds of the sacred corn. He would not be released until after the harvest. This man had been appointed when the Young Mother Corn was installed, and carried through the summer buffalo hunt and was then dismissed. These were men who had proved themselves devoted to the supernatural powers by their offerings to the sa-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

31

HARVEST TIME IN THE VILLAGE

000

Encampment in the Bottomlands—Grandma Opens the Cache Pit—Fall Harvest—Grandma Builds a Work Enclosure in the Field—Roasting the Corn and Pumpkin—Her Round of Activities—Treatment of Corn, Beans, Pumpkin—Sioux Attack—Earth Lodges Prepared for Reentering—Stories

243 EVERYONE'S THOUGHTS were now upon their gardens and their corn. In
[821] the sky, the South Star, Canopus, had appeared and they knew it was time
for harvest. By our calendar it was about the first of September. The time
[221] of the hunt was over; the time of the harvest begun.

Before they left the village at the end of June, the corn had grown
about knee high and the earth was hilled up around the young plants so
that they looked like little earth lodges with smoke issuing from their
smokeholes. Now the stalks were ten feet tall and the ears were not quite
mature but "in the milk." The corn harvest was in two stages: some of
243 the corn was treated at once in this early stage by roasting and drying,
252 and some left to mature completely on the stalk before being dried and
251 processed. Between the first and second corn drying, they harvested and
244 dried the beans and then the pumpkins.

When they camped in the bottomlands near the fields, they set up a
342 commodious tent as they knew they wouldn't have to move it for at least
251 three weeks, and they needed room to keep their meat and dried crops
under cover. Their earth lodges were infested with fleas and they
couldn't spare the time to clear them up until they had gotten on with
251 the work of the harvest. However, they did go up to the villages and
open up and inspect and clean their storage pits that they had left with

considerable quantities of dried corn, vegetables, meat, and some skins 251 and clothing, and they took out some of the dried corn and beans for current use, until the green corn would be ready.

As soon as the encampment was set up, Grandma had a visit from Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy who was camping way over east with the Village-in-the-Bottomlands group where she had been all summer with her son. She came to talk to Grandma about going up to the cache pit the next morning, cleaning it up and getting out a few supplies. Old-Lady-Blue-Calico who was the grandmother in Old Bull's family that occupied the south side of the earth lodge, also came with a similar proposal and early next morning the three old ladies went up there and got to work. White Woman and No Corn said they would join them later after they had finished the household chores in order to get a few supplies of dried corn and pumpkin.

When they first opened the pit, the air smelled moldy and they had to let it air a bit before anyone could enter. Then they put down a tree ladder, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, who was the tallest, went into the pit to look things over. The ladder was a tree trunk with stubs of [417] branches left on for a foothold and two extra notches at the bottom. The pit was 10 feet deep. The moldy smell might have come from the thatch grass that lined the pit or from the actual supplies. When she got down inside, the old lady discovered a moldy place in the grass which she proceeded to rub off with a broom and throw out of the pit. The women had each brought along a small sack, *ritsakusu*, in which to carry home their supplies. This was about 8 inches high and a foot in diameter when full (compare with sack carried on the hunt, *asakarusu*, 3 feet high and 1½ feet diameter when full). In the pit each woman had a very large sack of tanned hide in which her provisions were stored, and each one asked Grieves-the-Enemy to dip out some from her store into the small sack. No Corn who had arrived with White Woman by this time, asked for some green roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*) and a half a checker-plaited pumpkin mat. White Woman asked for the same. Grandma reminded them that they shouldn't take too much at this time, as they would very soon have fresh roasted green corn from their current crop. Since the other women in the household had taken roasted corn, Grandma asked for a different kind—mature dried blue flour corn, [252] *uraaxkatit*, that she could pound up and make into mush with buffalo soup, *u-taraha* "mush-buffalo." She also asked for dried sweet corn, the rather sticky yellow variety, *rikis-karus*, "corn-sweet," that she intended to pound up in the mortar with sugar which could then be eaten without further preparation.

The younger women carried their supplies back to camp and the three older women lingered a while to close up the pit securely and to talk over their plans. They had decided that each of the old women would 243 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there.

887
252

000 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there. The
243 younger women whose husbands had horses for transportation would
476 often go out together with another couple and bring the crop back to
252 camp, where they would do the processing in a coordinated group. Victory
Call and White Woman along with Horse Rider and No Corn
formed such a work group, first in White Woman's fields and then in
those of No Corn, carrying the crops into camp on their horses. The old
[887] lady sat in her field all day and brought the finished product back to
camp when it was completely prepared for storage. Families with only
[492] one horse or with no horses also processed the entire crop in the field
before packing it into camp.

313 While the women were at the food pit, the men had been out piling
462 wood in the fields and in camp so that it would be ready for roasting the
green corn. They preferred to get dead willows and driftwood; Horse Rider was at the creek piling up the driftwood while Victory Call was bringing the willows into the camp. Some men would say, "I don't care—that's women's work," but a good man would help his wife.

222 At this time of year they gathered a plant, *parus-asu*, "rabbit-foot,"
used for making a brown tea that they drank if they didn't happen to
272 have coffee (*Lespedeza Capitata* Michx.) At the top in a cluster are some fruits looking like tiny rabbit feet. The plant grew on a bush about 3 feet high. They brewed the tea by breaking up the dry twig with the leaves on and steeping it in a coffee pot. Now everything was ready for harvesting and roasting the green corn.

243 Very early next morning Grandma went out to her field and there prepared
a place for her work. She built herself an ample shade, *kipasiu*, of
342 willows—a circular enclosure, open at the top with an entrance at the
252 east. The leaves were a bit interlaced to make the fencing solid, the side branches beginning about a foot from the ground. When she left for the night, she put a willow sapling with leaves at the top in the doorway so that the shelter was closed in and well protected from horses. People who did not work in the field sometimes built themselves a more temporary shelter by arranging four or five willows in an arc. In her enclosure Grandma roasted all her corn and would leave it overnight in bags to be husked there next day and the kernels removed before bringing it to camp. During the harvest she cooked all her meals there. She left before breakfast and ate whenever it was convenient. She had a kettle along and a small mortar and pestle for preparing her meals. She would pound some of the fresh corn kernels from the roasted cobs and wrap them in corn husks, putting them in the boiling water to make dumplings. After she removed the dumplings she would add some dried meat scraps that had been scraped from the hide at the hunting grounds, *kstasi'u*, to make a good soup. Sometimes she took her grandson, Otter, into the field and shared her meals with him.

Grandma built herself a corn-roasting pit inside her shelter. It was an 252
oblong pit with an embankment along each long side or a log for the ears to rest on—the pit lying across the shelter with the long dimension running north and south; the back of the shelter being west and its entry east.

Before putting up the shelter, on the way to the fields she had looked 243
for some wood so that it would be ready for the roasting. If she was un- 252
able to find wood, she used sunflower stalks. Now with the shelter all [372]
prepared and the pit ready, she fixed up a parfleche as a container for the [415]
ears she picked by closing one end and leaving the other open, and since it was of stiff rawhide, she stood it up ready to throw the ears of corn in. When it was full, she carried it on her back with a packstrap which she had fastened to it. The ears of corn from one parfleche-full make a pile about 3 feet high by 2½ feet in diameter. She would gather about two parfleches of corn at a time which she would roast before gathering the next batch.

Now she built a fire in the pit. If it was morning, she would sit near the west edge facing east, the raw corn piled at her right (at the south end of the pit). The corn was set in the pit resting along the near side with the stub end down and the point end up—the ears lined up one next to the other. While they were roasting, she had to keep turning the ears, and it was hard to keep her hands from getting burnt while this was going on. With one woman working alone she could utilize only one of the long sides of the pit at any one sitting, because of the need to turn the ears. In the morning she worked along the west edge and in the afternoon after the sun went down she worked along the east edge, sitting with her back to the door, facing the rear of the shelter. She again piled the raw corn to her right (the north end) and proceeded to roast it. When two women worked together they could use both sides of the pit simultaneously.

The husks of the corn were considerably charred after the roasting, but the corn inside was not burnt. The ears were left in their husks in a pile to cool off, and this very much improved their flavor. Only if the woman was in a great hurry would she begin to husk the ears before they had cooled off.

After all the corn was husked, the kernels were cut off row by row with a fresh water clamshell. Some of the ears had such small kernels that they could not be cut off, and these ears were left aside in a pile for any guests who happened to come in and visit.

While the roasted corn was cooling, Grandma would pick the ripe 244
beans. She swept the place clean and spread them out to let them dry in [251]
the sun and as they dried, you could hear them pop. She also went to the pumpkin patch and got two or three pumpkins that were hard enough. Like the beans, she would gather these up in her skirt. She

244 She roasted them in the fire and when they were burned all around, she 252 scraped off the burnt places with her clamshell. So as not to waste it, she ate some of this burnt pumpkin rind and sometimes gave some to the little boy and his mouth would get all black and ashy. The next step was to cut the roasted pumpkins in half and scoop out the seeds with the pulp, removing the seeds and spreading them out to dry for next year's planting, since these were the first of the season to ripen. If she felt inclined to, she could cook the pulp with some fresh corn in her kettle; otherwise she would simply throw it away.

After the six half pumpkin shells had cooled off, she cut them into rings about 1½ inches wide. She kept cutting the pumpkin shells all around (*tibakaratsarabaku*) until she had cut them all. The bottom disks, about 4 inches in diameter, were also saved. One or two of these she wrapped in corn husks and roasted them in the ashes covered up with the hot coals so that the little boy could eat them. Then she prepared a rack 244 for drying the strips and the bottoms were spread out on the ground 251 on some corn husks in the sun. The drying rack was two forked sticks 252 set in the ground with a long cross stick resting in the forks. The rack faced east so that the sun could strike it better. Hanging the pumpkin rings on her left arm, she took them one by one and hung them on the cross stick, pushing them up against the fork. When the stick was about half full, she lifted the cross stick and added rings, and when the space between the forks was full, she continued to hang them up on both ends of the stick. The three ordinary-sized pumpkins filled a little over half a cross stick.

243 The first corn picked were the small-kerneled varieties—the *rawarit-* 252 *kiripaxki*, "roasted-small." After she had worked a little on the beans and pumpkins she went into the field and picked the larger kerneled corn, *rawarit-kutsu*, "roasted-large," particularly the blue flour *uraax-katit*, "earth-black." These she also roasted in the pit and left aside any with kernels so small that they could not be cut off with the fresh-water clamshell, for any casual guests to eat that might come to visit her in the field.

251 Both in the previous gathering and now with the larger-kerneled ears, 243 after roasting, Grandma selected about a dozen or two ears that were particularly good specimens, leaving them in the husk and removing just the charred parts. These she would not husk or remove the kernels, but when they dried, braid them together into a long continuous chain that she joined together at the ends. When the ears were dry, the husks were drawn up toward the butt ends and joined together in a braid, *ki'u*, making a string some 2 feet 9 inches long about two dozen to a braid, and then the ends tied together and hung up to dry in the sun on the south side of the shelter. Some people made braids of only a dozen. Strings of spotted corn, *rikis-tipiku*, "corn-egg," were braided in a

double row with more ears to the string. Most of all they braided the 251 sweet corn, *rikis-karus*, "corn-sweet." Later when they gathered the 243 mature corn that had been left to dry on the stalk and not roasted, they also selected some prime ears and braided them together. In the earth lodge on each side leaning against the wall was a sapling with lopped-off branches on which they hung some of these corn braids. Even if this corn was not cooked until December or January, it tasted as fresh as if it had just been plucked. From a braid of mature dried corn, anyone who wanted an occasional bite could break off an ear and roast it. Those braids that were not hung up in the lodge were put in the storage pit along with the dried kernels and other dried crops.

All day Grandma worked in the fields, and in the evening she loaded [482] her parfleche container of roasted corn kernels on her back and carried them to the camp. She would bring six or seven corn stalks with her that had been stripped of their ears for the little boy to chew on "like sugar cane." The old lady said, "Here, that's good for you!" He bit between the joints and twisted the stalk to get out the sweet juice. While he was enjoying them, some boys would come along and say, "Give me one." At camp an old tent cover had been spread on the ground so that the corn kernels could be spread out to dry. The next morning she said to White Woman, "Tsuat Tstaka, Daughter White Woman, here's some corn. Spread it out to dry." On the way home from her fields, Grandma always took a swim in Beaver Creek.

Back at camp, they had a team approach to the harvesting that involved 243 somewhat different steps from Grandma's. The two fields, White 476 Woman's and No Corn's, were harvested in succession, at least two going into a field at a time, while the others might remain behind for the processing. Also all the crops were loaded on horseback rather than [492] being packed on the back from the field to the camp as Grandma did. Husking was also done in a group, people from other camps joining them from time to time.

The team of four—Horse Rider and his wife No Corn and Victory Call and his wife White Woman—worked in the following way:

Morning of the first day, White Woman and Horse Rider went out to her field and brought in eight parfleches of corn ears that they had picked. They took along two horses and loaded them with four parfleches each. It was estimated that in our terms, eight parfleches of corn ears amounted to a wagon load, level and without the side boards up.

When they got back to camp, White Woman and No Corn immediately 243 set to work roasting. The two men, Horse Rider and Victory 252 Call, went back into the field and brought back two more horseloads— 476 eight parfleches full of corn ears. In one day they had gathered in two wagonloads as stated above.

In the *afternoon*, they kept on roasting all day. The men shucked the

243 corn. They worked fast and had no time for refinements like picking
• 252 out the ears suitable for braiding as Grandma had done. They kept at it
476 all day, and if anyone was hungry he ate some roasted corn. Sometimes
one of the women stopped and made bread and coffee while the others
kept right on working. They allowed the problem of cleaning dishes
and other household chores to rest for the time being.

In the *evening* Uncle War Cry came along and observed, "What are you folks doing? Oh, roasting corn!" Then he sat down and lent a hand, husking away until he found an especially good ear that he would eat up on the way. Soon his younger brother, Brave Shield (also known as High Noon) joined the party. Victory Call said to Grandma, "Old Lady, go to sleep, You must be tired. You don't have to help us. We have two boys to help." Grandma went to bed and the men sat up husking together and telling stories until quite late. Moonlight nights were particularly likely to invite such husking parties.

For the next three weeks their pattern of work continued in the same way. The four would go out into the fields for the morning, come home at noon and the women set to work with the processing, the men going out again returning in the afternoon, and helping in the evening with the processing. Grandma came in, in the late afternoon or evening, and set down her processed material in a pile next to the rest.

The crops were gathered in the order of their readiness, first from
White Woman's fields, then from No Corn's, and the various processing
was carried on while other gathering was taking place. The *first green
corn* was gathered for two days from White Woman's and then another
244 two days from No Corn's fields. For the *first bean crop*, a day each was
476 spent in each of the fields. Now a *final load of green corn* was gathered
with the team splitting up two and two to each field on the same day.
[243] For the *second bean crop* all four worked one day in White Woman's
[461] field and then another day in No Corn's field. This was tedious work, as
one had to bend down and search for the beans all along the vines. Now
all four spent a day each gathering the *pumpkins*, bringing them back to
[252] camp. Then the pumpkins were roasted and cut into circular rings the
next day. After the pumpkins, for which about three days had been
243 spent, the team of four spent two days getting in and husking the
476 *mature corn* that had been left to dry on the stalks from each of the two
fields, and prying the kernels from the cobs with a pointed stick. The
next step was to gather in the small *nubbin ears* to be fed to the horses
so that they would get fat; Horse Rider gathered some and chopped them
up and fed them to a horse that was thin and then let them loose in the
field to find and eat them. Poor families sent their boys into other
people's fields to glean these small ears to supplement their meager
[251] supplies. Finally the *sticky sweet corn* that was left longest on the stalk
to dry was gathered, one day by Victory Call and White Woman in her

244 middle-sized pumpkins, or twelve to fifteen small ones. A horse could
489 carry in only two parfleches filled with pumpkins at a trip. Using two
492 horses, they made five trips to the field, some in the morning and
some in the afternoon, carrying about twenty parfleches in all of the
different sizes. This represented the crop of White Woman's field and
amounted to about a wagon-load and a half, perhaps a little more, with
the wagon being level without sideboards.

The pumpkin rinds were removed by roasting them in the fire until
244 they could scrape off the outer rind with a fresh-water clamshell. Each
251 individual pumpkin was roasted and set aside to cool, then scraped.
• 252 Some people peeled them with a knife, but this was time-consuming and
was considered wasteful. Small pumpkins 4 inches or less in diameter
were neither roasted, peeled, nor halved—they were simply cut into
blocks, laid out on a tent skin and dried. They could be cooked any
time now with the large roasted corn to add flavor. The standard-size
pumpkins were cut in half, the pulp and seeds taken out, and the
halves cut into a series of circular rings each about 1½ inches wide.
These were hung on a rack and when they had dried somewhat were
pressed underfoot to express some of the water as was done with the
sliced buffalo meat, then hung up again to dry further. At night the
pumpkin rings were left on the rack covered with an old tent skin. By
285 the time the mature dried corn crop was coming in, the pumpkin strips
would be dry enough so that they could be woven into checker-plaited
mats. They would alternate the processing of this corn with the making
of the pumpkin mats, *ri-katsitu*, "braid-woven."

The plaited pumpkin mats were arm's length and 2 feet wide. The individual
strips had shrunk in the drying to an inch in width. It took
about two hours to weave a pumpkin mat. In an afternoon, each woman
would make two mats before supper. The dried pumpkin was used by
cutting off a number of the 2-foot strips in the width with small portions
252 of the cross pieces adhering to them. The very smallest pumpkins
about the size of tomatoes were boiled fresh and eaten in the morning
262 for a breakfast during this harvest period. They were very much
relished.

243 The preparation of the mature corn that had been allowed to dry on
the stalk, was somewhat different from the ears that were gathered "in
251 the milk." No roasting was necessary. The ears were snapped off the
stalk, taken to camp, and husked that evening and the following day.
The ears were then spread out and allowed to dry until evening and
after supper the women began to remove the kernels. They used a small
pointed stick to pry them off, pushing it in between two rows and along
the cob from stub end to point so that in spreading the rows of kernels
they were readily pried off. In the evening the corn was winnowed and

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

taken into the tent. The next day the removal of the kernels continued. They were spread out to dry along with those removed the day before. In the late afternoon they were again winnowed and kept in the tent for the night, and again spread out to dry further. When the kernels made a tapping sound on the hide during winnowing they were judged to be dry. 243 251

These were the technical steps taken to process the crops. The general scheme of events among the household personnel was as follows: 512

First day. White Woman and Horse Rider went into her field and brought in the corn loaded on two horses. White Woman and No Corn stayed and roasted the corn. Victory Call and Horse Rider went back into the field and got a second load. In the afternoon women kept on roasting and the men removed the husks. In the evening two more men came in and helped with the husking while the women went to bed. The four men stayed up doing the husking and telling stories. 243 251 252 • 476

Second day. In the morning two men continued husking until eleven A.M.; the two women continued cutting off the kernels. After this time the two men spread out the kernels to dry. The two women continued to cut off the kernels from the cobs.

If Victory Call was tired, he rested and White Woman took over the spreading of the kernels while No Corn continued to cut the kernels from the cob. Horse Rider might have to go and tend the horses.

In the afternoon, Grandma came in with her parfleche of shelled corn, having crossed Beaver Creek and stopped for a swim. She dumped her corn kernels on the skin spread in a separate heap and spread them out to dry.

In the evening, having gathered in most of the green corn that was ready from White Woman's fields, they made a plan to go into No Corn's field the next morning. All four would go off into the field and they needed someone to keep watch over their corn against stealing. Also, should anyone need Victory Call for official business, it was necessary to tell them where he could be reached. White Woman asked her brother War Cry to send over one of his three wives as "Room-Watcher," *ratut-kihar-atsiksta*, "I that am for him-room-watcher." She could also spread out any corn kernels that still needed to be dried while she was there.

Third day. They go to No Corn's field to get the green corn. Victory Call, White Woman and No Corn set out on foot and pick whatever was ripe in No Corn's field, leaving it here and there in little piles. Horse Rider meanwhile had gone out to get the horses and saddle them up; then he joined them in the field. When one load was ready they went back to camp and the two women stayed there, beginning at once to roast the ears. Horse Rider went back to the field and brought what

512 was left in the several piles, loading it onto the horses and bringing it
243 back into camp. The women continued to roast and the men began to
do the husking.

251 That evening Sun Chief and Leading Fox, older sons of Victory Call
252 by a previous marriage, came in to help with the husking.

476 *Fourth day*. Men continued to husk the corn, while the women now
cut the kernels from the cobs with a clamshell. They all helped to spread
out the kernels to dry. All the green corn from both sets of fields
that was ripe enough, had now been gathered, roasted, and set out to
512 dry. It was usual to finish this task in the first four or five days.

244 *Fifth day*. This was the time for the first bean harvest in White Woman's
field. This was hard work as most of the vines didn't climb on anything
476 but grew close to the ground. Sometimes they grew in separate patches
[461] and sometimes in a patch with the corn. The women gathered the pods
in their skirts; the men threw them in whenever they got a handful. All
four worked in the field until late afternoon. On the way home, they
[526] stopped and took a swim in Beaver Creek. Again as in the time of
planting, they slapped the water with their feet, making as loud a noise
[515] as possible. As the women slapped the surface of the water with their
soles, it resounded all along the creek like the report of a gun. "They
are slapping the water with their feet" (*tutastaxkitspiru*). The girls used
their hands for this (*tutikstaxkitspiru*), and Otter had a hard time
learning the trick from them. Possibly it was a kind of sympathetic magic
for the tapping of the dry beans and corn on the threshing floor. They
went home about 4:30 in the afternoon, having gathered about four parfleches
of the beans in the pod in a good year. At home one of War Cry's
wives or daughters had been serving as Room Watcher for their tent.
It was five o'clock by the time the pods were all spread out to dry.
Everyone was tired and took a rest. Inside the tent, Horse Rider and
No Corn were wrestling playfully together and saying, "Now we have
some roasted corn" (*rawaritu*).

244 In the evening the beans were covered up where they lay and the
corn kernels were winnowed and taken inside for the night in flour sacks.
512 Now grandma came in carrying her sack of corn or beans that she spread
out. White Woman offered to come out and help her in her field but
she refused saying, "Oh, no. If you help me I'll get through too soon
and I won't have anything else to do. So I'd just like to do it myself."

White Woman made the fire and cooked some grease bread and No Corn prepared the coffee and dried apples for their supper. Uncle War Cry came to join them and began to tease Grandma about how tired she was; Grandma asked to have her dinner brought to her. War Cry then began to talk about the trade store and Victory Call remembered he owed them a buffalo robe, but War Cry observed that he was sure they would wait until the harvest work was done. He promised to mention

bish in their yards at home and then go up to the village. He said the 512
leading doctors would wait until people got all through before begin- 796
ning as "They liked to have a good crowd to attend the dances." At the 756
gambling grounds the talk was about the same subject. Presently two or three men came in from the South Bands and joined them at supper and talked about how things were going with them. "What are your folks doing over there?" they were asked. "We are working hard making roasted corn. The village is full of fleas. You have to clean it out two or three times before you can get in," said the South Bands men. "Same with us," the Skidis said.

Next morning Victory Call went to the field to see if there was much 244
of a load of green corn left to be gathered and roasted. The following 243
day they went to the two fields and brought them in. 251

After that a second bean crop was picked from each field on successive 252
days—the vines being almost entirely cleared with this picking. Then 512
the pumpkins were hauled in by all four of them and roasted: one day from White Woman's field, the next from No Corn's. They were all roasted and cut into rings.

About the *eleventh day* they got the mature corn from White Woman's field in two double horse loads—one in the morning and one in the afternoon. They got home about two o'clock in the afternoon, and being very tired dumped the load of dry ears and rested till supper
time. Then Old-Man-That-Chief joined them for supper and talked of 512
the old days in Old Village. He said: 173

> 243
> In the old days, an old lady like grandma would see an ear of corn or a single bean lying on the ground and she would be half-crying to see it lying there. Nowadays it's different. They leave things to waste on the ground. If they were roasting corn and they scraped an ear and left the kernels on one side, they would pick it up from the discarded pile again and clear it off. For if you didn't, the corn would talk about you. It was like a person. But nowadays they don't care.
>
> Horse Rider and Victory Call listened with respectful attention to what the old man said. He continued, "You Horse Rider, are two steps behind me, but Victory Call—he is nearly on top (in the middle of life). He will be able to look around in all directions to see how he has come up there.
>
> "A story is like a little seed. From it all sorts of other stories branch off for you. A story gives you life. Now that I am old, people invite me to come and eat good things with them and then they ask me to tell stories. So these stories keep me alive."
>
> Now he told another story of the past. He said: "I heard that once way back when corn first came to our village, a good ear of corn had been thrown out with the rubbish and swept aside. The

512 173 243 people went on the hunt and still the corn lay there. A man going through the village heard someone talking. He thought there must be another man in the village. But he followed along to where the voice was coming from and got to the sweepings. There lay the good ear of corn. He stopped and picked it up and began to talk to it. He asked it to bless him and send him good luck for this corn is our Mother. He kept that ear of corn. That's how it was in the old days. Now since you've been wasting, the corn will become scarce."

512 243 251 252 That evening they husked the dry corn and continued next day until about two in the afternoon. Then it was left spread out to dry on the cob until evening and pried off after supper with a stick. Some men joined them and helped and after the women had gone to bed they continued to pry off the kernels, telling stories while they worked until late in the evening. The next day the shelling of the dry corn continued and that afternoon the men just wandered about the camp for a little recreation. Horse Rider had gone down to the grounds to watch the gambling. The women were tired and lay down to rest; their hands felt cramped from prying off the kernels.

[285] After they had collected the dry corn from No Corn's field, the women alternated work on it with making pumpkin mats as the strips were now dry enough. Then they proceeded to get the small nubbin ears for fattening the horses and collecting the sweet corn and braiding it to finish off the work.

356 887 While they were doing the pumpkins, the old ladies had already made a plan to go up and begin the process of clearing the earth lodge in anticipation of the time when the harvest was done. They had to go up at intervals of four days successively and burn out the fleas with torches. "These fleas bite worse than bedbugs!"

The three old ladies met at the lodge in the morning as planned. They removed the brush that had been placed across the door to seal it before they left on the hunt. They took off their clothes and put on an old petticoat. They made a brush or short broom of dry *pakuts* (thatch) grass and tied it to a stick. Then each woman took her brush inside the lodge and lit the grass, each one going around one side of the room and being careful to stay near the floor as the dry grass in the roof thatch might catch fire. When the grass was burned up on their broom, they put some more grass on it and repeated the process throughout the day. They repeated this four days later, and then on subsequent days. [824] They built a little fire in the fireplace and burnt some wild sage, kiwaut, (*Artemisia gnaphalodes* Nutt.) as incense to clear the air and make the room smell good. They would also burn some of the sage on their brooms along with the other grass. After the final smoking, they left the lodge empty for a day and on the following evening the lodge was quite habitable.

33

THE HOUSE REESTABLISHED AND THE FOOD STORED

The Move into the Earth Lodge—Final Meal in the Tent—Beds in the Lodge Are Repaired—Bedding Explained—South Side Family Moves In—Storage Pit Opened—Harvest and Meat Stored—List of the Contents—Importance of the Storage Pit 000

Overhead the blackbirds were flying south and everyone knew that it would soon be cold. The tents were crowded with parfleches of dried buffalo meat and tanned skin bags of corn kernels and dried beans. The harvest ceremonies were done and the cosmic powers had received their thanks. All over the encampment people began to think of moving back into the earth lodges where they would have better protection for themselves and their stores. The men were thinking about the forthcoming Grand Doctor Ceremony and their part in its thirty-day round of ceremonies and performances. The needed food supplies would have to be gotten ready and their paraphernalia gotten in order. 221

Victory Call was one of the early ones in the encampment to plan to go back into the village. One morning he announced, "Tomorrow we're going to move into the earth lodge." "Well," said Grandma, "it's ready for us. Grieves-the-Enemy, Blue-Calico, and I got it all cleared out." White Woman, going on with the plans remarked, "We'll need two horses to do the hauling. The parfleches must go in first. You men will go up first and pile them up outside."

Horse Rider, who got up that next morning before anyone else, announced to his wife, No Corn, "Fire's made"; directly she got to work boiling some buffalo meat for their breakfast and preparing the grease bread. Horse Rider went to the creek for more water and then 512 252 264

512 White Woman got up and joined in, making the breakfast coffee. The
[252] cooking was going on near the long oblong fireplace somewhat to the
[264] north of the curve-roofed shelter that opened to the east. Across the front of the tent and just inside, the long twined-woven rush mats were lined up. Now Victory Call got up and sat near the south end and began to smoke his pipe. He remarked, "Now leave the tent here for last. We can take everything into the lodge first." With that, Uncle War Cry looked over from his tent and, seeing the activity, thought he would
[576] wander over and see what it was. "Nawa," he greeted them. "Nawa," answered Victory Call, "sit down over here" (viz., to his left). "Looks as if-you're-about to travel" (*kura-tas-takubu'u*), said the visitor. "Oh, yes, we're going to try to move in this morning, that is rather—today." "That's what we've been thinking too. But I think we'll go in tomorrow." Now Horse Rider arrived with the water and after greetings of "Nawa, nawa," were exchanged, he sat down and joined the men. War Cry repeated his observation about their moving in and Horse Rider made his acknowledgment, War Cry adding, "Now you're going to make-us-feel-lonesome" (left behind, *wi-tas-kurak-atsiks-awahu*). "Oh, just one day. Just this evening, that's all," said Horse Rider.

Now Grandma began to sit up on her bed and White Woman handed her a small basin of water. "Mother wash your face," she said and Grandma poured some of the water into her hand and washed up.

Everyone arranged themselves on the mat—White Woman at the south end, Victory Call next to her, War Cry next to him, Horse Rider next, No Corn who was doing the cooking and serving, and on the northernmost end of the line Grandma and then Otter. The dishes of food were passed first to Victory Call, then War Cry and then Horse Rider, and now the boy Otter was given a dish to carry to his mother at the south end. He got up and made a wide circle so that he wouldn't pass too close in front of the men. Dishes were next passed by No Corn to Grandma and through her to Otter, and then they all began to eat.

As soon as breakfast was over, Horse Rider went to get the two horses that would be needed for the hauling and War Cry went back to his tent, remarking as he went off, "Tomorrow we must move in, too." White Woman and No Corn began to bundle up their things. Grandma had already taken most of hers into the lodge. The mare and the horse were
[492] loaded up with parfleches of corn, pumpkin, rolled-up mats, and dishes. The two men went up and piled the goods outside the doorway and came back directly for their next load. As they began to load up, the women were saying, "Our men don't know how to load these things." The men on the other hand were likely to say, "When we first came home, we had hardly anything. Now look at that pile we've got around to fix up." The children were running back and forth among the piles of goods.

Toward evening, Horse Rider made a fire in the fireplace and went to 512
get water. Then No Corn cooked some dry meat for the family and 252
began to prepare the "grease bread" when White Woman said, "Give it
to me. I'll make it. You get the coffee ready." The South Side family
had not yet moved back in, and White Woman sat in the southeast position
to do the cooking and serving, passing the food around to the north.
When they returned, she would take her place northeast of the fireplace
for this purpose. After they had finished with supper, Horse Rider went
out to get some water for the morning and then everyone went to bed,
as they were all tired.

It took about a week to get the earth lodge warm and lived-in. When 356
they first moved in, it was cool like a dugout. During the first week, in [824]
the evening about every other day, they made a small fire near the doorway
and burned sage weed (*kiwaut*) so that the draft would carry in the
fragrant odor and sweeten the air in the lodge. It was also a protection [789]
against evil spirits that might have entered while they were away on the
hunt.

The day after they had moved in, Uncle War Cry had moved his 356
family up from the camp. He came in and joined them for supper while 462
his house was being set up by the women. He sat down next to Victory
Call near the west and while White Woman sat down at the southeast
doing the cooking, he said, "When we started out, we didn't have much.
But now we've accumulated a lot of stuff—old moccasins and whatnot—
old pots and pans. They're still trying to arrange things at home. A man
just picks up his bow and arrows, but a woman always has all sorts of
stuff she gathers up, like old horns. She says she'll make spoons of them."
"Same thing here," said Victory Call. White Woman did not let these remarks
remain unanswered. She said, "Of course you men don't know
how to load things up. That's why you're always complaining of the
amount of stuff we accumulate. If you could pack right, you wouldn't
talk that way." War Cry, undeterred, went right on talking. "A woman
picks up everything she sees. The women are working in my home. I
don't want to get mixed up in it. Now I'm going, nephew (*tiwat*)." "All
right," said Victory Call, and just after he had gone, he added, "He always
has something to say to make a man laugh." The women comment,
"Tomorrow we must pick out those beans we pulled up in the [244]
pods with our fingers. If we use sticks to thresh them, it'll make dirt outside
the lodge. We ought to pick them by hand."

In the next day or so, Old Bull met Victory Call and said they wanted
to move back into the lodge next morning. "That's good," said Victory
Call, "you ought to be in by now. There'll be something going on
soon." (He is referring to the Doctor Dance Ceremonies.) Victory Call
tells his folks at supper that Old Bull is moving in next day.

The following morning the South Side family rode up to the lodge, 356

Sometimes the supplies were simply wrapped around with a piece of 251 [415] tanned hide or old tent skin.

The most pressing matter was to get the stores into the food pit. This was the last time they would open it until November in preparation for leaving on the winter hunt. It was fifteen to twenty days since the corn had been harvested, and it was good and dry and ready for storage. A great many calculations had to be made before the storage pit could be organized. The forthcoming month of performances would require everyone's support, and food would be taken from the pit and held in readiness in the lodge to feed the many performers and other participants. Meat from the hunt had been pledged and this too would be held in reserve. Some people made it a policy to remove all of last year's crops that were still in the pit and contribute the excess over current needs to the performance. They would keep it in the lodge in the east sector in very large skin bags which were tightly closed at the top to protect the food from mice and snakes. Some of the held-over dried [252] buffalo meat in the rawhide containers would be so hard that it could only be prepared by being separated into sheets and pulverized with a pestle in the wooden mortar. In this form it was quite tasty when eaten [262] with bites from a lump of solidified buffalo bone grease.

The new supplies were placed in the pit in a traditional order. Before the bags were put in, the grass lining of the pit was carefully checked and also the bottom which had a layer of clean sand and some sticks laid across to keep any moisture from reaching the skin bags. At the very bottom some sacks of the mature dry corn were placed. These sacks were laid so that they pointed radially inward from the wall. The layer above this consisted of sacks of roasted green corn which were placed crosswise upon the lower layer so that they were parallel to the wall. The third layer was sacks of beans again in radial order, pointing inward from the wall. Finally, they put in the oblong rawhide containers of dried buffalo meat crosswise on the beans lying parallel to the wall.

An attempt was made to set the various layers steady one upon the other so that when the woman went down into the pit she could step down from one layer to the other. On top of the material laying all around the pit in packages and sacks they piled pumpkin mats and braids of corn on the cob. Sometimes instead of piling the corn braids in this fashion, they put a stick with stubs of branches in the pit leaning against the wall and hung the corn braids on it. Also leaning against the wall were rolled-up buffalo skins that they had not yet tanned, which they planned to process just before going on the winter hunt so that they could be taken to the trade store for the groceries and other equipment they might need for the expedition. Odds and ends were put in the space that was left in the middle—pumpkin rings that had not been braided,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

stand at the west. After the smoke offerings, he made a series of cuts in 756
the tree at the four cardinal points in the standard order—first at the west, 796
then north, then east and then south, cutting it so that it would fall 824
gently to the east where two men were standing to catch it so that the limbs would not break. They sharpened it at the stub end so that it would stand up in the lodge. All chips were gathered and either thrown into the creek or carried home and burned in the fire. After gathering as many willow saplings as they could carry, the procession for the Doctor Lodge set out with Sitting Hawk in the lead and two men each carrying the six cottonwoods, one at each end of the tree.

Halfway home, they stopped. They began to make animal motions and to try to hypnotize one another (*patsaku*, "shoot one another"). Some of them had their buffalo robes on, some did not. They made peculiar motions with their eagle-wing fans, touching the ground. Then some were knocked down and got up growling and grunting. One of them "hypnotized" another by trying to put a corn cob in his throat, making his mouth all bloody. Another attempted to put fish bones in someone's throat, with the same result. The victims vomited up these things without too much damage being done and continued to move along with the cottonwoods. When the little boys saw this they got excited and said, "Look at those fellows! Look at that big bear over there!" As they arrived at the village, they made a second stop and again hypnotized each other. Then they took up the trees once more and went toward the ceremonial lodge. As they were arriving, Big Doctor took up his gourd rattle and began to sing. They came in and when the singing was over, Sitting Hawk gave the pipe back to Pipe Offering at the west. The cottonwood that had been ceremonially gathered was carefully placed to the east of the fireplace with its stub end pointing west and the head end eastward toward the exit. The second "west" tree was placed in the same position beside it and the others in any order on the ground, nearer the entrance. Now Big Doctor, getting the pipe from Pipe Offering, smoked all the trees ceremonially, treating each one in turn as in the woods.

They could now proceed to build the booths. Meanwhile, the errand 756
men did the cooking. First the six cottonwoods were erected, three on 796
each side. Then the willow partitions and fronts were added. Everyone 346
was arguing—"This is our lot; move over a bit." "Well, we have a lot of buffalo!" "Well, we have a lot of deer too!" The leaders stood on the inside directing the apprentices who were doing their work. The willows were all piled up on the north side of the entrance while they proceed
with the job. At the southeast the errand men were preparing the ket- [824]
tle so that they could cook their meat. They had had nothing to eat all [252]
day. The wives of the four leading doctors had brought in four buckets of boiled dried corn kernels and set them down on either side of

824

Next
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two es- 316
sential materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and 317
stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have 439
been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or
by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their
area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made 175
up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking 439
and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees 415
were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one 177
could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grin- [323]
nell got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery
in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it
well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 323

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron." This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they [252]
> boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They 172
have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular 415
body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick
"collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad
collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was 415
the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part 252
the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim
and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots
were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must 411
also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was 17
entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the
arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops
roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to
the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

463 per she prepared boiled corn kernels, grease bread, and coffee. After sup-
342 per, the old lady went home.

[262] The second day the same procedure was followed. When White
[264] Woman retired to prepare the meal of grease bread, prunes, and coffee, War Cry and his brother Brave Shield heard that they were having a special meal in Victory Call's house and they proceeded to come in with the remark, "I see you're working here," and were promptly invited to join them for lunch. They would probably stay on talking to Victory Call
463 and also stay for supper. This would make about eighteen people, in-
342 cluding the guests for the evening meal. For this group they needed
252 three double handfuls of dried corn kernels (one of these double hand-
262 fuls represented eight ears of corn). For the eighteen large round disks of fried grease bread, it took three generous double handfuls of store
574 flour (a meal for a family ordinarily required two). If meat were to be served instead of the corn they would need half a sheet of dry buffalo meat cut into long strips 7 inches long and 3½ inches wide. This meat would be boiled with a sheet of fat and served with the soup.

463 The third day was similar with the Old Lady going home after supper.
342 By the evening of the fourth day the tent was completed. A process mentioned by another Pawnee informant, but not in this account, stated that before the cover was used, girls were sent inside to make a fire so that the skin would get permeated with soot, which would keep it from leaking in the rain or drying up in the sun.

463 Supper for the evening of the fourth and final day consisted of boiled
465 corn kernels with boiled dried pumpkin strips mixed in. After the Old
342 Lady Lucky Leader had gone home, a half-hour passed and then White Woman and Grandma took the food and goods for her payment. White
[262] Woman led the way and Grandma walked behind, carrying the gifts to her house. They set them down before her saying, "Here's flour, coffee, sugar, calico. You helped us with our tent." "Oh, I thank you for giving me this material. My spirit is glad for this food that we will eat," said the old lady. When the two women got home they reported to Victory Call, the old lady's appreciation. Victory Call again went to the store and got the three pieces of calico of five yards each and the needles and thread for the three women of his own household who have helped out—Grandma, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, and No Corn.

342 The tent was now in good order for the winter hunt.

54

THE WINTER BUFFALO HUNT

000

The Second Hunting Expedition—Difficulties with Horses, Processing the Meat—the Care of Horses on the Hunt

FOR THE SECOND TIME within the year, the Pawnees would set out from 224*
their villages on the long journey to the buffalo hunting grounds. It was 484*
in early November and the trip lasted until the end of February or the 221
beginning of March. This was the severest and most challenging period in the year's round. They traveled through slush and snow over hundreds of miles, braved the cold winds of the prairie plains, got their water by breaking through the ice of the river or by melting snow, and gathered their fuel from the scant supplies of timber along the streams.

The horses upon whom they depended for the chase and for transport 231
suffered most of all, for they were unable to get food of their own. The buffaloes had small narrow feet and could push the snow aside to graze, but the horses' hooves were flat and broad and they were unable to get to the grass that lay under the cover of snow. Many of the horses died toward the end of the journey in January and February. It was hard to find enough food to give them, and the women had to gather the tenderer shoots and bark of the cottonwood for them to eat. At times they were compelled to feed them on corn.

Because of the cold, the women had to process their meat inside the 224*
tipi and often they would have to extend their working time beyond the 252
short daylight hours, working by the light of the fire. They felt that, "At this time of year, things seemed to be pushing and pushing."

They moved over the land with the same order and precision as they 224*
had in summer, sending their messengers back and forth between the chiefs of the bands in order to coordinate their decisions, but their leave-taking of the villages was with less pageantry and pleasant anticipation. They knew it would be a hard and dangerous time.

*224 large flat bean on leafless colorless branches that push into the earth.
*484 These are the ones garnered by the vole, their hoards amounting to a pint
222 or more in each place. Only part of the store was appropriated by the
women. Sometimes the beans had to be dug out with a shovel where they
*224 grew underground like peanuts. About half of them would be cooked
*484 immediately and half left simply to dry out like cultivated beans. Those
222 that were dried were winnowed and then put in a sack for future use.
251 For immediate use, the fresh beans were first washed, rubbed between
the hands to remove the hulls, and then boiled and eaten. Their Pawnee
252 name was *atik-uraru*, "bean-earth."

Artichokes (Jerusalem artichoke, *Helianthus tuberosus* L.) known as *kisusit*, were also gotten, but they could not be dried; they had to be eaten fresh. The most important wild crop was the potato, known as *its*. The Loup River was known in Pawnee as Many-Potatoes, *Its-kari*, "potato-many," from the abundance of this useful vegetable that flourished along its banks. These grew in the sand among the willows. A considerable number of these Indian potatoes were boiled, smoked, and dried for preservation and stored in skin bags. In addition to the larger-size potatoes, they gathered some small ones that were strung along the vine; these were called potato-many-tied-up, *its-kari-piru*, and were given to the small children to eat after boiling. They were bundled up and tied with a vine into little bunches and boiled in water, covered with a layer of grass along with the larger ones. The larger potatoes were then peeled, "strung" on a very thin willow twig, and placed across two forked sticks in the tipi so that the smoke would permeate them and improve their flavor. The potatoes prepared in this way could be eaten at any time without further preparation, and would not rot.

*224 Quantities of potatoes were found on Grand Island and on both sides
*484 of the Republican River. Those who stayed on Grand Island, especially
222 the old ladies, as well as any who went all the way out to the hunting
grounds, would make sure to take a file along so that they could sharpen
[237] up their buffalo shoulder-blade "hoes" to dig up the potatoes.

[412] These wild plant foods were a very important element of their provisions. The group that remained on Grand Island could be a kind of half-way station where they could leave extra baggage on the way out and where the people could be actively gathering and preparing the wild foods so that they would be sustained on the rest of the journey home. The men who remained on the island were actively trapping and could supply extra meat. Thus in the winter the Stay-at-Homes played a useful role, while in the summer they had no function in the enterprise.

*224 In the family of Victory Call, Grandma planned to stay on Grand Is-
*484 land where she could do some useful work while the rest of the family
went on. Those who proceeded all the way to the hunting grounds were Victory Call, White Woman, Horse Rider, and No Corn—viz., two couples—and the boy Otter.

ples—and the boy Otter. Of the dried and cultivated foods from White Woman's stores they took: 224* 484* 262

Roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*)	2 small sacks (50-lb flour size)
Dried blue flour corn (*uraax-katit*)	1 small sack (50-lb flour size)
Dried spotted corn (*rikis-tipiku*)	1 sack
Beans	1 sack
Pumpkin mats	2 mats
Dried buffalo meat (*takaski*)	½ parfleche
Trade store goods	Flour (50-lb sack); coffee, sugar, baking powder; dried peaches and dried prunes

As on the previous occasion, Grandma contributed her specialty, pounded up sweet corn mixed with sugar, *rikis-karus-tapaxtu*, "corn-sweet-pounded-up," that she had pounded in the mortar before they left. She pounded as much of it as she could so that the family could carry it along. This was a valuable ready-to-eat food and there would be no time to prepare it while they were on the march without her, since she would remain on Grand Island. Particularly [illegible] winter, there would be little time to cook. [252]

No Corn, wife of Horse Rider, took a similar array of foods to White Woman, but less in quantity. She took:

Roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*)	1 sack
Dried blue flour corn (*uraax-katit*)	½ sack
Dried spotted corn (*rikis-tipiku*)	1 sack
Beans	1 sack
Pumpkin mats	1 mat
Dried buffalo meat (*takaski*)	½ parfleche
Trade store goods	Flour (50-lb sack); coffee, sugar, dried peaches and dried prunes

The roasted (*rawaritu*) corn was the quickest-cooking, while the dried blue flour corn (*urrax-katit*) had to soak and took much longer to cook. [252] The spotted corn was parched in a pan with coals. For this winter expedition the main difference in the supplies was that they took half or less of the longer-cooking dried blue flour corn. Otherwise the supplies were substantially similar. However, they were out on their winter expedition about 3½ months rather than the summer period of only two.

While there is no way of getting a reliable estimate of how much these supplies amounted to in our terms, Samuel Allis who was missionary to the Skidi and traveled with them on their hunts in 1835–1836, stated that [797] [175]

*224 *484 262 each parfleche that they carried with them contained four bushels of corn or eighty pounds of dried buffalo meat. The proportions of the dry meat he describes as 3 feet long and 2 feet wide per sheet.

[797] [175] [252] It should be noted that some of the trade store supplies had their analogies in the native foods. Flour was analogous to finely pounded-up corn made into corn bread that was baked in the ashes, and the dried fruits with traditional dried wild plums and sand cherries, while sugar was obtained from the box elder.

*224 *484 492 The cache pit being in order and the provisions packed for travel, the horse gear was all gotten in order, the saddles and straps mended so that the goods could be securely packed on the horse. Finally the long-awaited announcement for leaving would come. The specific directions were from Man Chief of the Tsawi Band who was leading the hunt.

The night before it would be stated that rainy conditions would have to be taken account of. If they had a hard rain early in the morning, then they would have to delay their departure until the next day, but "If it rains only a little in the morning, as soon as the rain stops, we can go on." On the other hand, should it rain during the night, they would certainly go on next morning. If they had already started and it began to rain they would cover up the loaded horses with an old tent skin they carried along for the purpose and say, "It's on the way," and continue, unless it kept on raining hard all through the day, when they would have to unload the horses, cover up the baggage with a tent skin, and all crawl under it until the rain was over. Then they would reload and go on.

[721] Another cause for delay in their departure would be an enemy attack when they could do nothing else but stay and defend themselves. This would delay them for a day or two.

Meanwhile everyone was anxious to be on their way. On the appointed morning or the night before, Horse Rider tethered the horses right outside the door of the lodge. They would be loaded as for the summer hunt, a place being arranged for No Corn to ride because of her arthritis.

60

PROCESSING THE MEAT

Getting Forage for the Horses—Working on the Meat inside the Tent

AFTER THE TENT WAS SET UP, White Woman and No Corn got some cottonwood 231
tops and bark for the horses to eat when the men got in from
the chase. They went out and cut down a few trees and dragged them in
two loads, taking one at a time into the tent, cutting off the tops and making
a number of cuts with the ax along the trunk to loosen the bark.
Most of the time the bark could then be struck off easily, but if it was too
tough, it was macerated a bit with the ax head. They also gathered whatever
hay they could find and got wood and water for their cooking. High 354
over the fire, they built a grate to warm the meat through after slicing, as 252
in winter the meat had to be treated inside the tent before it was finally 417
dried outdoors.

When the hunters got in they immediately brought the meat inside lest 252
it freeze so that it could not be sliced. The horses were tethered outside 231
the tent, each one covered over with a skin spread so that he would not
catch cold, and left out all night to eat their cottonwood tops and bark
that had been placed before them on a hide. Sometimes if the horses did
not have enough, the Pawnees had to feed them corn. When the meal was 252
over, the men went to the council tent and the women began to slice
the meat.

They made a low fire, and after the meat was sliced they put it on the
grate to warm through. Outside they built another rack of a different 251
form. This had an elliptical ridge pole and withes along one side on 417
which the meat rested under which they placed hot coals in order to dry
the meat thoroughly.

Sometimes they built another grate similar to the one indoors so that
the meat could finally be exposed to the sun and wind. In this condition [252]
the meat was thoroughly cooked and could be eaten without further
cooking as well as being preserved for storage.

who is willing should come and sit closer and observe and listen to the 224*
way these things should be done." This was considered a major public 793
service and no payment was involved nor considerations of kin relation- 869
ship. Bringing Horses was a brave and apparently had had a call to
carry out this mission.

The five priests sat smoking and talking together informally. They were 224*
old men and had traveled over this same ground many times. They knew 793
just how far apart the rivers were and which were the quickest routes to
follow. Now they were reminiscing about the past. One would say, "One [521]
summertime we camped way down there in this and this direction from
here and so and so happened," for example a warpath came or some other
notable event. Meanwhile Old Lady Lucky Leader was taking care of 224*
the practical affairs since the menfolks of her family were still out on the 794
hunt. She was a vigorous old woman and a good manager. One of the 574
men coming in early from the hunt reined in his horse outside her tent
and called out, "Lady Lucky Leader, here are ribs!" throwing down the
ribs as his contribution to the forthcoming council meeting and riding
off home to his own tent. The old lady went out and got them at once and
put them inside the tent on the north side near the entrance so that they
wouldn't freeze. Now she decided to get the meal under way for the
council. The boy Might-Be-Chief was passing by and she called him in [624]
and asked him to get the chief's errand man Know-His-Face, who came
in and, after exchanging greetings with the priests, began to roast the ribs [252]
to the northeast of the fireplace as directed by the old lady. She asked
her daughter to sit down to the south and fry some bread so that the
men would have something to eat as soon as they got in before the council began.

Now the men could be heard coming and the meat creaking a little as 224*
it was packed on the horse since it was a bit frozen. The two men of the [492]
family knew they had better get in early and Frank Leader called out to
his mother, "Atira [my mother], spread something out here for the meat."
The old lady came out and put a skin spread on the snow in front of the
tent and her son tethered his horse to a stake nearby. She covered the
horse and put down another spread with cottonwood tops and bark on it
for the horse to eat. She saved some of the cottonwood for her son-in-
law's horse and he arrived soon after. As soon as the two men entered the [515]
tent they asked their mother for some water to wash their hands with,
and Frank tied his quiver and bow to the southwest post while Roaming
Leader tied his at the northwest. Then they sat down on either side of
the entrance. The men talked about how they had killed the buffalo that
day and how there had been good herds north of the river. The family [264]
had its meal of bread and ribs and then the boy Might-Be-Chief was sent
around to call in the other members of the council. He also called in
Horse Rider to help the errand man Know-His-Face to cook for the feast.

They had made two killings already and still the buffalo were coming. 224*
Eagle Chief stated that the next day they would not go out, but simply 623
keep an eye on the herd as there was so much meat in the camp that they [251]
had to give it a chance to dry. He also mentioned that the hides should [281]
be treated and thinned down. Some of the old men remarked that this
was a good time to make bone grease by boiling the bones and skimming [252]
off the fat as there were lots of bones about at this time and the grease
would harden easily in the cold weather. Almost all the old women in [251]
camp would busy themselves with this work, storing the grease in a
paunch. Some would make dried intestines and dried and braided strips of
stomach (*pararitskusu*).

They made five killings while they were camped at Many Deer and 224*
along with the killing at Turkey Creek, they felt that this was enough
and they should turn toward home. They had made killings almost every
other day and stayed about fifteen days. Victory Call killed six in all
and Horse Rider five.

Now that they were considering turning back, they must decide what 224*
donations of buffalo meat were to be pledged for the sacred bundle ceremonies 431
in the spring. Each sacred bundle must have at least one *rarahuru*, 796
a parfleche containing the dried meat of a whole buffalo. The different 778
doctor cults also needed pledges of meat for their spring renewal
rites, but they simply needed backbone steaks. For example, the two [756]
leaders of the Bear Cult reserved two steaks for their cult. Victory Call
set aside one steak for his Deer or Whistle Dance and one for the Bear
Cult.

There were twelve major sacred bundles, each of which had to be provided 224*
for with a parfleche of dried meat. The Evening Star bundle 431
owned by Old Lady Lucky Leader would be provided for by her son 778
Frank Leader in some years, and by her son-in-law Roaming Leader in
others, according to the circumstances of the kill on a particular hunt.
Lone Chief and Shot Arm alternated in this way for the Morning Star
bundle. War Cry and his younger brother Brave Shield alternated in supplying
the meat for War Cry's war bundle (*karaxkata karusu*) that had
been derived from the Evening Star bundle, etc.

Everyone was interested in the news of how the donations had gone and Eagle Chief sent out his errand man Know-His-Face to find out at the different tipis where the sacred bundles were kept.

Sometimes a man couldn't manage to get a good buffalo for his bundle. He approached a man who had just killed a fat cow and said, "I want you to take pity on me. I have a sacred bundle and I want to make *rarahuru* [a parfleche of meat]." "Go ahead, take it," said the hunter, and went off, leaving the bundle owner to butcher the sacred buffalo himself. When he got home with the meat he told his wife, "*ra-uarukstí-ti*" ("one

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Hidatsa NQ14

P
252
262

65 Pawnee text version of making "beans-inside" bread, Weltfish, 1937, pp. 37-38.

P
342

21, 62 In the settlement near Fremont, Nebraska (Pahaku), the oldest brother of the three, Rotten House, and Sitting Hawk, the second oldest, and Victory Call, the youngest, established a huge earth lodge, 90 feet in diameter with two sets of central pillars, concentrically arranged. In it he assembled a large group of "brothers," most of them doctors.

P
[756]

P
114
797

14-15 The integrity of the account of Pawnee life obtained from informants by the field ethnologist is clearly validated by the account of an eyewitness, the missionary Samuel Allis, 1887, who lived with the Skidi in Old Village more than a hundred years before this record was made. He comments on the efficiency with which the domestic arrangements operate:

P
595

> [H]e lives with her in her father's lodge. It is customary for a young man to marry in a family, and if there is more than one daughter, he takes the oldest and so on as fast as they mature and gives a horse for each additional wife. In this way one sometimes gets as many as six or seven wives. They are like the Mormons in some ways. The oldest wife is "Sister Young" or "Sister Kimball" and so on and is mistress of the lodge. Each woman, however, has her own bundle of meat, corn, etc. and takes her turn in cooking; and the lord sleeps by turns in different parts of the lodge to avoid jealousy. Some of them have their women in different lodges and own a share in each lodge. In this way they fare better. *They have so much system in cooking, dressing robes, cornfields and other work that they get along better than one would suppose.**

H
462
593

This outlook on the fluidity of the division of labor was not confined to the Pawnees. Wolf Chief, an old man of the Hidatsa tribe, a Siouan group of North Dakota, stated in 1910, "In my tribe in old times, some men helped their wives in their gardens. Others did not. Those who did not help their wives talked against those who did saying, 'That man's wife makes him her servant!' And others retorted, 'Look, that man puts all the hard work on his wife!'" "Men were not all alike; some did not like to work in the garden at all, and cared for nothing but to go around visiting or to be off on a hunt. My father Small Ankle liked to garden and often helped his wives. He told me that was the best way to do. 'Whatever you do,' he said, 'help your wife in all things!' He taught me to clean the garden, to help gather the corn, to hoe and to rake. My father said that that man lived best and had plenty to eat who helped his wife. One who did not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

---

* Italics mine.

593 life and in social situations, but there was no easygoing informality. A mother was a mainstay for life, but one did not bother her with petty problems. When the child was weaned, he was given over to the care of
603 his grandmother where he enjoyed a relationship of intimacy, warmth, and informality that made it easy for him to appeal to her for any want he might have, however petty or apparently foolish.

In terms of the conduct associated with them, these two kin relation-
602 ships, the one to *atira*, "my mother," and the other to *atika*, "my grand-
601 mother," stood at opposite poles. These two kinds of relationship might be called a *respect* relationship and a *joking* relationship respectively. The one type of conduct was designed to preclude any kind of sexual involvement or marriage, while the joking relationship implied the possibility of physical familiarity, including sexual relations. This is not to say that a boy was likely to become sexually involved with his own grandmother, but the term was also applied to other relatives in the kin network, in which case sex relations were permissible and marriage (when the individuals were not otherwise attached) was positively encouraged.

604 A network of kin relationships extended throughout the village for every individual member. The number of actual kin terms employed was
601 very limited, but under each kin term a number of relatives of varying degrees of biological closeness were included. The term, *atira*, "my mother," applied not only to own mother and mother's immediate sisters, but also to the sisters of the father as a mark of special respect. This attitude and the kin term, *atira*, was applied not only to the sisters of the father, but to their daughters, i.e., the daughters of the paternal aunt, and in turn to their daughters as well, going down the generations as long as the relationship could be traced. The object of the extension of the mother term to these women in the father's line was to preclude any possibility of sex relations or marriage with them. At the same time these women reciprocated by answering to this term, *atira*, with the term for child, *piirau*, and treating these individuals as a mother would, but to an exaggerated degree. A person entering the household of a paternal aunt or her female descendants would be welcomed at once with exclamations of concern; he would be spoken of as child, or even as baby, and offered food and care. The person would be given to understand that "they have a home here." One was very careful to limit one's visits to these relatives. You were bound to be quite circumspect, for should you admire something in the house or even show some interest in it, you might well receive it as a gift as a mark of their regard.

593 The relationship with the father was also highly formalized, involving special concern and instruction in right conduct and maintenance,
[261] particularly providing fresh meat and dried buffalo meat which were considered necessary for energy and growth. Strictly speaking, the fa-
[601]
[604]

to their separate tracts. The land broken for each band was but 175*
a small part of their sector; it was neither large enough nor so 648*
situated as to make practicable a division of it into individual 241
tracts for family groups. Each band therefore began to farm the
band tract cooperatively. In theory each man did his share of the 657
work and each took his share of the harvest. The band lived to- [476]
gether on the tract, and their encampments rapidly became per-
manent villages of tipis and earth-lodges.

This redevelopment of village life, instituted by the Pawnee as an 175*
adjustment to the conditions of their settlement in Indian Territory, 648*
and intentionally overlooked by agency officials, who considered it a
temporary expedient, was to continue for some years. To the 178
Pawnee it was a satisfactory adjustment, approximating as it did 657
their accustomed way of life. In these villages something of the
old tribal life continued; the chiefs, priests and medicine men
functioned, the old social gatherings and ceremonies were possible.

The produce of the band farms, together with that at the agency, 175*
constituted the basic food supply of the Pawnee. For years this 648*
was inadequate and insecure; the people suffered greatly for lack
of food, and some of the mortalities of the period were due to 262
starvation and malnutrition. The principle crop was corn, supple- 241
mented by some beans and squash, and increasing cultivation of
wheat, oats, potatoes and other vegetables. Most of the farms were
in the bottom lands and along the streams, and yet the usual
hazards of cultivation caused crop failures a number of times. The [132]
country in which the Pawnee had settled is in a belt which is
subject to periodic hot, dry summers, when rain is at a premium.
Droughts were severe in 1880, 1887, and 1890. On occasion bugs [731]
destroyed much of the crop, while once, in 1885, a terrific hailstorm
broke the stand of grain. Crop failures left the Pawnee dependent [657]
on government aid, in the form of rations, or food purchased for
them with money from their annuity funds.

For a meat supply the Pawnee had to depend primarily on 175*
government rations. The first winter the Pawnee were together in
Oklahoma, that of 1875 to 1876, the tribe attempted a buffalo hunt, 648*
but the herds were too remote to be reached with the limited 657
preparations the Pawnee were able to make. While the buffalo
were reported on the plains in considerable numbers the next 224
summer, only occasional buffalo were captured by straggling 262
parties of Pawnee. In a few years the tribe was persuaded to
forego the hunt; they talked of it the winter of 1878, but did not go.
From this time on we hear of no buffalo hunting. The organized
tribal hunt was a thing of the past.

*175 The meat rations supplied the Pawnee by the government were
until 1880 delivered on the hoof, and the Indians, gathered round
*648 the agency to receive their oxen, would turn the day into one of
657 carnage and slaughter, killing and dressing their own beeves. The
"oxy kill 'em day," as this was known to the Indian service, ended
in 1880 after which the rations were turned over to the tribe in the
form of dressed meat.

*175 Not more than one-third of the Pawnee reservation was suitable
*648 for farming, but there was a great deal of good pasture land.
Cows and calves were issued to the Pawnee in 1878, and received
657 such good care that with the Indians asking for cattle the government
233 made an attempt to develop stock-raising. In the summer
of 1880 four hundred head of two-year-old heifers and bulls were
brought from northern Texas and distributed among the Pawnee.
[731] The tribe hailed their coming with delight. Unfortunately a scourge
carried off many oxen the first winter. The Pawnee were not yet
free of their hunting complex. When they wanted meat, they
killed cattle, and finding that traders would buy the hides, so
many were slaughtered that by 1882 only a few head of the cattle
issued to the tribe remained. Stock-raising by the Pawnee was
admittedly a failure.

[245 A great need in the food supply was fresh fruit, for want of
● 262] which various ailments afflicted the Pawnee. To obviate this fruit
trees were bought and small orchards planted on the reservation,
but they did not flourish.

*175 The food rations, supplies, and implements distributed to the
*648 tribe had to be shipped to the reservation by freighting from the
657 nearest railroad point. At first this was at Coffeyville, Kansas,
a distance of one hundred miles; the route went northward through
[489] the Osage Agency. Later there was a shipping point at Arkansas
City, a distance of seventy miles. The agent turned the freighting
over to the Pawnee, who handled it with wagons and teams on
their own responsibility.

*175 As conditions on the reservation became more settled, the government
*648 farm program was renewed. A major provision of the Congressional
Act of 1876 which established the Pawnee reservation
657 applied to allotments in severalty. Each head of a family, or
241 single person over 21 years of age, who so desired, was to be allotted
423 160 acres of land. Certificates were to be issued by the Commissioner
of Indian Affairs recognizing the individual ownership of such
tracts. An allotee occupying and cultivating his land for five
successive years, who had at least twenty-five acres fenced and in
crop, was to be entitled to receive a patent in fee simple for his

brothers North had come to enlist a company of one hundred 175*
scouts. "They were without food, without clothing, without arms 648*
and without horses. Their sole covering consisted of cotton sheets, 701
which afforded no protection against cold and wet."[1] Every
able-bodied man wanted to answer North's call. Every man who
could wanted to get away from homes buried in suffering and
disease, and to change the monotonous, restricted, and inactive
life of the reservation for an active life in the army. Many who
were not taken by North marched after his force on foot as far as
Arkansas City, hoping to persuade him to enlist them.

Settled in camps of earth-lodges and tipis, with an inadequate 175*
food supply, insufficient clothing and no medical attention, ineffi- 648*
cient and impotent officials remained satisfied for years to report 657
the mortality and ascribe it to filthy habits of life, and the climate. 164
Occasionally we hear that the people had poor protection from the
weather, and that in addition to tuberculosis, pneumonia carried off
a number.

A slight but temporary improvement in health took place in
1880 when for a season the food supply was adequate. The old [262]
men of the tribe said it was the first time in their lives that they
had all the potatoes and vegetables they could eat. The people
that fall looked well-nourished for the first time: the children fat
and healthy.

The houses built for the Pawnee, and by the Pawnee under
government instruction, made no sanitary provisions; as late as
1889 there were few if any outhouses, and luckily so, as the doctor
commented, since the Pawnee without guidance were likely to
construct them without vaults. As the people became settled in
separate homes, the absence of suitable drinking water became a [312]
fertile source of disease. There were no wells; they used water from
springs or creeks; they were not taught care in handling their
water supply, and never cleaned out the springs. Even at the
reservation school conditions for some years were bad.

In the reports, a doctor is first heard of in the tribe in 1881, but there are no indications of active medical aid until 1883. Then he began to teach them how to sink wells, and watch their water supply. He attributed fatalities in pneumonia cases to treatment by the native medicine men, and from this time forth there was a constant strife between the code of the medicine man and that of the agency physician. The diseases afflicting the tribe were ascribed to inherent taints, constitutional weakness, and inbreeding. It was not until 1897 that a Doctor Driesbach recognized that

---

[1] Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales, p. 300.

with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of 796
"song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The 778
outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread
on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a
pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native
tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of
corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip inclined
toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and
the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a
white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws [825
of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal 821]
is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason
the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In [854]
accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her
arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She [201]
then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between
the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial
lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies [302]
were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder
mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire
was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was [372]
intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was 796
served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful
of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung [415]
on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled
in the usual manner. [262]

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning 796
Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and 778
were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening
Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle 173
and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side.
The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge
of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however,
forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close
the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured
four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black.
The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star
and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards
the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe
secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It
is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to
have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow [411]
is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

---

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

signals for the members to dance. All the songs are those of the founder 575
and so entirely unlike those of others. In the last four songs there is great 796
excitement.

The food offering with bowl and spoon is as before stated. The regalia are here the same as before.[1]

General Discussion. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Omaha hethu'- 114
shka certain statements as to origin are made which are inconsistent with 174
the writer's data. In the first place, the Pawnee have always said that the Omaha originally got their society from them, they having been guests at several iruska performances, adopted such of it as they comprehended and later elaborated the procedure into the present form, though some features are certainly Osage contributions. The Dakota first learned the dance from the Omaha, as they state (p. 48), but testify to its Pawnee origin. About fifty years ago Pawnee-Tom visited the Arikara and assisted Enemy-heart to inaugurate the ceremony. Later, Enemy-heart sold the dance to the Crow Indians and then to other tribes. The writer has studied the songs of the dance and finds that everywhere many of them are undoubtedly those of the Pawnee iruska and what is more to the point, bear the general characteristics of all Pawnee songs. The Dakota and Omaha, however, have many original songs of their own, some of which the Pawnee have borrowed. In general, from the data at hand, the writer considers it clear that the origin of the modern form of this dance lies between the Omaha and the Osage, but that it was derived from an older ceremony which the Omaha, and possibly the Osage, borrowed of the Pawnee.

It should be noted that in the Skidi iruska dog flesh is served. Four men 262
wearing the feather belts scout for and capture the kettle. Then they take 796
sticks and take out the dog's head for a leading man to count coup on. A kettle of corn is then brought in and handled in the same manner, except

---

[1] Author's note. While in a trance he saw the dead people dancing the iruska dance [787]
but in a different way from that of the old iruska dance. There were six drummers. The drum was painted black, the stick had coverings at the ends. There were six stations about [786]
the room, three on the north side and three on the south side. The station men had a forked stick stuck in the ground in front of them. There were feathers at the end of each fork and the sticks were wrapped with beads. The northeast stick was covered with black beads; the north stick with light blue beads; the northwest stick with dark blue beads; the southwest stick with yellow beads; the south stick, red; the southeast stick, white. Also he found out or was told there were that many minor gods in the heavens. When these station men get up to dance, all have to rise and dance. There are five sets of songs, ten songs in each set. The tunes are nearly the same as for the old iruska songs. The last ten are ghost dance songs. The last songs are exciting, and the dancers are given to excitement and tremble, falling down as in the ghost dance. The closing speech after the feast differs from the older form. It is as follows: Father is thankful for eating our smoke; father, his child, and the gods are thankful for eating our smoke; sun and moon are both made thankful for eating our smoke; our mother earth is thankful for eating our smoke; our dead relations are thankful for eating our smoke; now we have all smoked and eaten. After this speech, everyone leaves the lodge.

262 that spoons are carried instead of sticks. Among the other divisions of
796 the Pawnee, buffalo meat was used with a less formal procedure. The
Skidi form of feast is now found among many tribes.

The whip bearers are probably of Omaha or Osage origin for in that tribe
174 they are the police officers of a ceremony. The bearing of a sword is probably
177 due to Pawnee influence, at least it was original with them. Once when at
648 Washington, D. C., each Pawnee chief was presented with a sword for his
aid (p. 557) which thenceforth became the badge of office. Some of the aids
796 carried their swords to battle and counted coup with them. Later, the
Pawnee scouts in the United States service carried swords and when discharged those who had struck enemies retained them. Now in the iruska all having struck enemies with tomahawks could demonstrate in the dance; so the bearers of swords came to have the same privileges.

The Ghost Dance.

According to the Pawnee, the ghost dance religion first came to the
668 Arapaho, thence to the Cheyenne, the Kiowa and Comanche and finally
796 to the Wichita.

787 In 1890 it was rumored among the Pawnee that a Messiah had appeared to an Indian somewhere in the mountains and that all the dead Indian people would return to the earth. The story was that a Paiute Indian had died and was taken up to the top of a high mountain and laid out. After he had lain there four days, he revived and came down from the mountain. He told his people that while he was on the mountain his spirit had traveled in a strange and beautiful country; that on his journey he crossed a small stream of clear water and came to a cedar tree where he saw handkerchiefs of every color and all sorts of feathers. At the base of the tree he saw several pipes and different kinds of paint. He took a white cotton handkerchief and some of the red earth. He went on and as he neared a mound he saw someone standing there, clad in white and purple robes. This person had long hair, parted in the middle. He held out his hands to show the cuts in them, but did not look up. The man saw that he was the Messiah, the white man's Jesus, the son of the Father in the Heavens. The man noted by his manner that he wanted him to pass by for he did not speak, so he passed on his left and went on. Presently he saw in a valley an Indian village, extending along the whole bottom.

As he neared the village of tipis he noticed a man approaching. When they met he found the man was his father who embraced him and took him into the village. On the outskirts of the village he saw men playing javelin

512 to the fields after the early morning swim. They returned to the
lodge at about eleven o'clock for the first meal, the other meal being
around five in the afternoon. Men and women sat apart at meal-
264 times, the former being together in the west of the lodge and the
women sitting east of the fireplace. Any food out of the ordinary,
[562] such as melons in season, was given to the men first. As a rule the
children ate by themselves near the women and had to be content
with what remained after their parents had finished. Where several
[252] families occupied a single lodge, each family in turn cooked for the
others in the lodge. [The separation of the sexes at mealtimes is
not entirely clear. The manuscript also contains the following
statement: "The food was prepared in large quantities and divided
among the families, each receiving a wooden bowl, and each member
[412] of the family eating from this bowl by means of an individual sheep-
horn spoon."]

262 Corn was generally eaten mixed with beans, or sometimes boiled
784 with the tops of milkweed. In the winter, the nests of ground
rats were hunted and robbed of their stores of ground beans. Although most animals were eaten, especially the buffalo and deer, the Pawnee eschewed the meat of the wolf, coyote, otter, wildcat, and mountain lion. Certain other food restrictions also prevailed. Fish was prohibited to chiefs and medicine-men. The tender meat about the buffalo's anus was a prized delicacy of the old people, but tabooed for children, as the violation of this restriction would bring them failure in after years when they attempted raids on enemy villages. Nor were young men and girls supposed to eat the stomach of the buffalo cow. To do so would cause the former to receive many wounds on the warpath, while a girl ran the risk of falling in a hole and injuring her leg, if, in later life, she doubted the faithfulness of her husband and followed him to the lodge of another woman to whom she suspected he was paying improper attention.

224 When any of the men were away on a buffalo hunt, certain
784 restrictions on conduct were imposed on those who remained at
home. The lodge must be kept clean, especially the part about
the altar. Just before mealtimes sacrifices of corn must be made
to the skull on the altar. No menstruating woman could approach
[841] the skull, as it would anger the buffalo spirit that resided in the skull
and cause the buffalo to elude the hunters. The people at home
must always talk as though the hunters were having great success.
Especially they should speak of consecrating buffalo sacrifices to

778 nose, and forehead, and then drew it down his face. 783 These movements were repeated four times, with the right and left hands alternately. When he had done this, he came up out of the water, passed through the ranks, and took his place behind the rearmost, with his face toward the village. The men of the first rank then waded down into the stream and went through the same performance with the sacred objects they carried. They then passed through the other ranks and took their place behind the chief. The other two ranks did the same. When all had finished, the chief led them back to the village. As they entered it, the small boys dispersed, but the men continued on to the ceremonial lodge, where they returned the objects they carried to the keepers of the bundles and put on their robes, which they had left behind during the race. They then returned to their own lodges.

All the women who were bundle owners had ground corn during the preceding night and made mush. [262] This mush had been brought to the lodge and given to the chief priest early in the morning, before the commencement of the ceremonies just described. He now offered a little of it to the gods and distributed the rest to the priests and keepers. They ate, and then tied their sacred bundles, took up their mats, pillows, and bowls, and returned to their own lodges.

783 After they had left the ceremonial lodge, a crier went through the town, telling the people to clean their lodges and the streets of their villages and carry the filth away. When this had been done, the priests who had taken part in the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood outside it, shaking his gourd rattle and singing. All the people assembled and ran a race down to the river. When they reached [515] it, the priests waded in, came out at once, and went to the sweat lodge, where they took a steam bath. The

In the intermediate space between the recesses and the fireplace, mats, about 352
three by five feet, made of rushes, are laid, at convenient distances, 285
for seats; while an extra supply of them, rolled up, and set aside at different places in the lodge, are reserved for extraordinary occasions, as for instance councils or feasts.

Subsistence.—What the *seal* is to the Greenlander, the *buffalo* is to the Pawnees and other Prairie Indians; and many of 262 825
their songs, in which reference is made to the buffalo, show that this animal is held in high estimation among them. It will no doubt be a difficult undertaking to wean them from an occupation, which is at the same time a gratifying and exciting sport to them, and which imparts to an individual who distinguishes himself in its pursuit, a character of high standing among his tribe. The great scarcity of the buffalo, however, of late years, since the immense emigration to the far west, has pinched them with want and hunger, and it is evident that they cannot subsist much longer by depending mainly upon this animal as heretofore. This circumstance, though calling forth our warmest sympathies in behalf of their wretched condition, may perhaps be the means, in the hands of an Allwise Providence, of shaking that tenacity and attachment so strongly developed in the Indian character, for long cherished customs, and making them more pliable in adopting the arts of civilization. Their attention must soon be directed to agriculture and the raising of stock, or they must starve.—

While on the hunt, in the buffalo country, the Pawnees generally have a good supply of fresh meat to subsist on. That portion 251
of their meat which is intended to be jerked, in order to take home [262]
with them, they cut into narrow slips, and dry it over the fire, without any salt, where, by the action of the smoke and sun, it soon dries. Several slips are then plaited together, when it is put away into a skin, and reserved for future use. The reason why no salt is added, is probably, first, because it is a scarce article, and secondly, because anything that is salted and dried, imbibes moisture in damp weather, and sooner becomes rancid, than meat dried without salt.

Besides the buffalo, as their main subsistence, they raise some 241
corn, beans, and pumpkins. As they use no other agricultural implements than hoes, their fields are not very extensive. For 262
suitable spots of cultivation they generally select the mouth of a ravine or any spot where, by the washing of the rains, the ground has become loose and mellow, and consequently the sod may more easily be extirpated than in the prairies generally, where the gronnd can only be prepared by turning the thick sod by means of a large prairie plough, and three or four yoke of oxen.—

Their fields are not enclosed by fences, or any other kind of 241
protection. Having no other stock but horses, which are con- 231

*8

hills, representing the eastward extension of the Sandhill province 133
of central Nebraska, covers much of the territory north of the Platte,
especially the northern and western parts. The Loup, tributary to
the Platte, with its North, Middle, and South Forks, augmented by
the Dismal and Calamus Rivers, effects the drainage. These streams
all have their sources in the sand hills and are characterized by a
steady, abundant flow of excellent water, relatively deep valleys, and
scant fringes of timber. Between the Platte and the Republican
Rivers lies the high, monotonously flat loess plain of southern Nebraska,
but little modified by erosion save where the margins have
been deeply incised by short creeks tributary to larger bordering
rivers. The Blue River, on the east, is the only stream of any size
between the Platte and the Republican. South of the Republican
the terrain becomes rather more uniform. A succession of broad
grassy upland divides, trending generally west-east, and separating
valleys of the Solomon, Saline, Smoky Hill, and Arkansas Rivers,
are the principal physiographic features, culminating in the flat,
featureless plains of western and southern Kansas.

As everywhere on the great plains, grasses are, or were formerly, 137
the dominant plant forms in the Pawnee area. Trees were almost
universally absent on the uplands, and at least as late as 1833 the
Platte and Loup Valleys were almost devoid of timber, save on some
of the larger islands.[19] In the Republican Valley and also in the
Smoky Hill drainage, however, timber was more abundant. Cottonwood,
several species of willow, burr oak, and elm dominated the
more immediate river banks and islands, while less commonly black
walnut, honey locust, hackberry, boxelder, ash, and red cedar were
encountered. For the most part the tree forms represented the westward
extension of the forests of Missouri, following up the valleys
especially of streams draining through the Kansas River into the
Missouri, and interfingering with the prairie uplands more typical
of the western plains. Chokecherries, wild plums, grapes, and wild
black cherries grew plentifully along the smaller streams and creeks,
and wild potatoes, turnips, and turkey peas flourished in the sandy
valleys of the Platte, Loup, and Republican Rivers. All of the last-named
plants provided important articles of diet. Of game there 136
was also ample variety. Herds of bison wandered northward beyond
the Platte, becoming more plentiful to the west and south, and [262]
their meat, next to maize, formed the main food staple. Beaver
formerly abounded in the Elkhorn, Republican, Smoky Hill, and
other wooded streams, and, along with elk, deer, bear, wolves, and [439
wildcat, in early historic times formed the basis for a traffic in 281]
peltries amounting to thousands of dollars annually, to say nothing
of their value as food sources.

---

[19] Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 10; also Long, 1823, vol. I, p. 446.

post had very obviously been omitted. There were no inside post-holes, nor was there any fireplace, and the usual debris found in a lodge site was conspicuously absent. The situation was low, unsuited for a dwelling, yet the hard-packed soil had effectively resisted the action of water draining into the hollow in times of heavy rain. There was quite clearly no roof, nor is there anything to suggest a house pit such as occurs as a foundation for every lodge. From all appearances, therefore, it would seem that the structure was a stock corral, with its entrance toward the west. Transverse poles were doubtless lashed from post to post, and the gate closed by means of movable cross poles. This reconstruction is confirmed by the occurrence of charcoal almost exclusively about or between the post holes. Such a corral, though unlike that described by Clayton, would be entirely practicable, and where timber was scarce would also be highly advisable. 172* 417

FOODS: AGRICULTURE

The food complex of the Pawnee centered about two staples, viz, maize and the bison. Since the two were very nearly equally stressed, though conducive to wholly dissimilar habits of life, they were directly responsible for many of the varied elements of Pawnee culture. Thus they made the people alternately roving hunters and settled agriculturists, and led, correspondingly, to the use of two entirely distinct house types, of the cache, and of numerous other traits. It was to this combination of hunting with horticultural life that much of the richness of Pawnee culture is due. 172* 262

The Pawnee were essentially a corn-growing people. Corn was their Mother; it figured in their rituals and in their mythology, even more prominently than did the bison. Two ears of corn went into the sacred bundles of the tribe, and were renewed annually.[24] The most important ceremonies, including the sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning Star by the Skidi, were directed as much toward securing a bountiful corn crop as toward success on the bison hunt. 172* 243 [778]

The cornfields were of necessity small, seldom including more than an acre or so. They were usually situated at the mouth of a ravine or in similar spots where the soil was loose and fertile. Owing to the primitive nature of the tools used, the prairie bottom-lands with their heavy turf were impractical, consequently, the women were often compelled to go as far as 5 and 8 miles from the village to find a suitable plot of ground.[25] Occasionally the fields were protected by a wicker fence,[26] but as a rule they were left open, the women remaining to guard them during the daytime while [47]

the horses were at large ·

---

[24] Dorsey, G. A., 1904, p. 20; Linton, 1923, a, p. 2.
[25] Irving, 1835, vol. ii, p. 27; Oehler and Smith, 1851, p. 29.
[26] Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 447.

*172 the horses were at large. The corn was planted in hills and was
243 cultivated by means of a hoe made from the scapula of bison; it was usually hoed twice each year. Artificial fertilizers seem to have
[242 been unknown, and irrigation was likewise never practiced.

312] According to Mrs. E. G. Platt, missionary to the tribe on the Loup, "corn known among all the Indians as Pawnee corn, was a great rarity to us, and its luxuriant growth a great marvel, ears 16 and 18 inches long being not uncommon."[27] Most of the charred cobs recovered by Mr. A. T. Hill from caches and graves at the Hill site are much smaller than this, seldom over 4 inches in length and not much thicker than a man's thumb; they exhibit usually from 8 to 12 or 14 rows of kernels. In general, where cobs have been taken from Pawnee sites, the smaller size seems to prevail to the exclusion of larger specimens. Charred kernels have also been recovered from graves at the Hill site; a few are shown in plate 2, *e*.

*172 In addition to maize, the Pawnee cultivated beans, pumpkins, and
244 squash.[28] Seeds of the latter have been recovered by excavation, and definitely identified. Beans have not yet been found and the varieties utilized are not positively known.

*172 Corn was gathered while still green; it was then boiled, cut from
251 the cob, dried, placed in leather bags, and stored in caches for future use. In times of prosperity it was cooked in bison fat. Pumpkins
[252] were cut into strips, dried in the sun, and then often woven into mats for convenient transportation.[29] When setting forth on their semiannual hunt they took along "several sacks of sweet corn and beans, dry corn for mush, (and) dried pumpkins."[30]

*172 Of uncultivated vegetal foods the wild potato appears to have been in most common use. These tubers grew plentifully in the sand
222 of the Platte and Loup Valleys; they were dug up, boiled, peeled,
● 262 dried, and cooked with dried pumpkins. They were usually taken
[251] along on the hunting trips. The wild potato, as such, is mentioned frequently but with what plant it is to be identified cannot be certainly stated. Long[31] says:

> We saw among them the Pomme blanche . . . which is the root of the *Psoralea esculenta*. It is eaten either boiled or roasted, and somewhat resembles the sweet potato.

Possibly, though not necessarily, this has reference to the wild potato of other writers.[32]

---

[27] 1892, p. 129.
[28] Allis, 1887, p. 140.
[29] Long, 1823, vol. I, p. 447.
[30] Allis, 1887, p. 144.
[31] 1823, vol. I, p. 447.
[32] Allis, 1887, pp. 140, 144; Platt, Mrs. E. G., 1892, p. 129.

Other important plant foods were the turkey pea, wild plum, wild 172*
cherry, Jerusalem artichoke, and the chokecherry. Of these all save 222
the first have been found in the Hill site and have been definitely 262
identified as to species. Others were probably used from time to time, but no record of them has survived, either archeological or documentary.

Eight species of plants have been found represented at the Hill 172*
site.[83] 824

Brauneria angustifolia or *Echinacea angustifolia*.
Wild plum (*Prunus americana*).
Flint corn (*Zea mays*).
Hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*).
Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*).
Wild potato (*Apios tuberosa*).
Bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*).
Chenopodium sp. (apparently *Chenopodium nutalliae*).

To these we may add 10 species as given by Dunbar.[84]

Wild potato (*Ipomoea pandurata*).
Wild turnip (*Arisaema triphyllum*).
Pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*).
Ground bean (*Apios tuberosa*).
Cucumber root (*Medeola virginica*).
Artichoke (*Helianthus doronicoides*).
Ground plum (*Astragalus caryocarpus*).
Umbels of milkweed (*Asclepias cornuti*).
Mushroom (sp. unidentified).
Sand cherry (sp. not given).

The complete report on botanical specimens from the Hill site, as identified by Dr. Gilmore, is as follows:

No. 1. Five small pieces of the root of *Brauneria angustifolia* (*Echinacea angustifolia*). The root of this was very highly esteemed by the Pawnee and other tribes within its range, for numerous medicinal uses, especially as a remedy for the bite of rattlesnakes. [752]

No. 2. Four pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*). The wild plum was highly valued for food use, and was eaten in considerable quantities fresh and uncooked, and was cooked for sauce. It was also preserved for winter use by drying. [251]

No. 3. Six charred grains of flint corn.

No. 4. A number of pits of hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*). The sugary fruits of hackberry were eaten from hand with pleasure by all, and especially by children. They were also reduced to pulp with a stone hammer, and the resulting paste was used as a flavoring in cooking meat. [263]

No. 5. One pit of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), and four small, spherical insect galls, apparently the galls which were common on the prairie rose (*Rosa pratincola*).

---

[83] From the Hill collection, Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. The specimens were identified by Dr. M. R. Gilmore of the University of Michigan. Letter of Apr. 10, 1931 (see also pl. 2, *a-e*).

[84] 1880, b, pp. 323–324.

crop unknown to these white men and unnoticed by them. Even cultivated 172* sunflowers, common as they were to Pawnee agriculture, were scarcely men- 224 tioned or not mentioned at all in accounts by these white men. Another crop, still less known to white men, might easily have escaped notice entirely. If they saw fields of it growing, they probably, not being acquainted with it, considered them to be old neglected fields "gone to weeds."

While maize and other vegetable products provided the bulk of 172* the diet, animal food was also very generally used. Of particular importance was the bison, hunted not for its flesh alone, but also 262 ● for the hide, hair, sinew, horns, and even the hoofs. Archeologi- 237 cally, the bones of this animal are by far the commonest in Pawnee sites, and byproducts, such as horn spoons and haircloth, are by no means unknown. Further, the dire straits into which the tribe was thrown by failure to find the herds shows very clearly how heavily the Pawnee leaned upon the bison economically, even with their fields of maize.

Two great tribal hunts were staged each year by the Pawnee, a 172* practice followed also by the Oto, Omaha, Kansa, Osage, and other 224 neighboring tribes of similar cultural status. Immediately after 221 the second hoeing of the corn, which took place about the middle of June, the entire tribe departed on the summer hunt, returning in September to harvest the corn and other crops. Toward the end of October, after the corn had been cached, they set out on the winter hunt, the Skidi moving westward to the forks of the Platte, while the other bands proceeded southward to the Arkansas.[55] Early in April they returned to the permanent villages in time for the corn planting. The favorite hunting grounds lay in what is now western Kansas, between the Republican and Arkansas Rivers, necessitating a trek of from 400 to 900 miles on each hunt.[56] An additional incentive for the long winter hunt appears to have been the need of finding sufficient forage for the horses.[57]

The meat was eaten fresh whenever possible, every hunt being a 172* period of heavy feasting. Great quantities of meat were cut into 262 strips and dried in the sun to form "jerky." This was later eaten 224 raw or else was cooked with corn and beans into a sort of stew or 252 thick soup. The tongue and heart of the bison were usually sacrificed to the spirits. Long says that the tallow was also used, particularly in cookery. According to Allis,[58] "The most delicious dish with them is the young taken from the buffalo they kill."

Among the other animals commonly used as food, Allis[59] names elk, deer, bear, beaver, otter, raccoon, and badger. The jaws and

---

[55] Ashley and Smith, 1918, pp. 119–121.

[56] Dunbar, 1880, b, pp. 327–328.

[57] Long, 1823, vol. I, p. 447.

[58] 1887, p. 140.

[59] Ibid.

*172 262 teeth of both elk and deer occur rather commonly in caches, as do those of beaver and badger. Dogs were sometimes eaten, though some of the canine teeth and maxillae found in excavation may be those of wolves or coyotes. Remains of small mammals, such as rabbit and squirrel, are fairly common. Fish appear to have been used but little, as their bones are seldom present in the refuse-filled caches.

The excavations of the Nebraska Archeological Survey at the Hill site yielded bones of the following animals, most of which were doubtless used for food:[40]

[825]
Dog (*Canis familiaris*).
Wildcat (*Lynx rufus*.)
Bison (*Bison bison*).
Pronghorn antelope (*Antilocapra americana*).
White-tail deer (*Odocoileus virginianus macrourus*).
Horse (*Equus caballus*).
Rodentia (sp. unidentified).

CERAMICS

*172 323 Singularly enough, in spite of the considerable amount of literature pertaining to the Pawnee, there is very little extant in regard to their pottery making. Dunbar[41] states that the women "made rude pottery of sand and a certain kind of clay, which after being burned was quite serviceable." According to information gathered by Comfort[42] from the old men, the Sisseton and Wahpeton Dakota secured their pottery from the Pawnee and Omaha. Yet none of the early explorers or missionaries, some of whom spent months and even years with the tribe and must have had ample opportunity to observe the trait, have left any detailed description of either the processes or the appearances of the completed wares.

Fortunately we have the account given by Grinnell which runs as follows:

> Years ago, on the sites of abandoned Pawnee villages, on the Loup Fork and on the Platte, fragments of pottery used to be found among the debris of the fallen lodges. The manufacture of this pottery was no doubt abandoned long ago, and has probably not been practiced to any considerable extent since they met the whites. A man about 50 years of age stated to me that he had never seen these pots in use, but that his grandmother had told him that in her days they made and used them. He said that they were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mold. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone they mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of the proper consistency they smeared it over the rounded mold, which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and

---

[40] For the identification of skeletal material the writer is indebted to Mr. Paul O. McGrew, of the Department of Paleontology, University of Nebraska.

[41] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, p. 279.

[42] 1873, p. 401.

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Preface

The bands were still
somewhat socially discrete. The mainstay of the diet was largely the tra- 621
ditional corn, beans, and squash grown on their own farm plots and dried 262
and stored as of old. Beef had taken the place of buffalo meat and was 252
prepared by thin slicing and drying for storage or boiled on feast days.
Relationships in kin groups continued, and some of the religious ideology 241
survived. A Doctor Dance Ceremony was performed by the last survivors 771
who possessed the arts and the knowledge involved and brought us some 796
welcome rain after a long dry spell. The question was, "How to give these
fragments life and place them in their integral context?" We evolved the 178
plan of utilizing one year of Pawnee life in as much detail as possible, 114
covering the round of the year through the four seasons as reconstructed with the help of the surviving Pawnees. Our plan proved to be an effective means of developing vivid recall in Evarts and the other old Pawnees. For a number of reasons we would think of our year hypothetically as 1867; in that year the Pawnee settlement and round of life was sufficiently integral to serve as a base line for our reconstruction. Some of the other surviving Pawnees were in their late teens and twenties in that year. Evarts supplied a normal thread of events in answer to my prodding questions for the details that seemed to a Pawnee all too obvious and we supplemented and checked this with whomever we thought had relevant knowledge concerning one point or another. Most of the old people had worked with me on linguistics before that time.

It was not possible to reproduce the material in the exact order in which 128
I collected it. I have had to reassort the material somewhat so that it falls into some of our own functional categories and at the same time so that it fits within the seasonal round of the year. Under the pressure of time when my notes were recorded I rendered the Pawnee or Pawnee-English in which it was given into the closest normal English equivalent I could muster. Also, this book was compiled a quarter of a century or more after it was recorded. I have avoided altering the original simple declarative language too radically. In some cases I have retained the original language with very little variation, particularly where it is an incident that had often been recounted among the Pawnees, a very familiar situation, a technical account, a speech, a personality sketch. Such passages are indented from the left margin.

In addition to the informant record, I have checked my account in de- 127
tail with most of the existing material on the Pawnees and in some cases supplemented it from these sources. This is detailed in the Notes and Comments with references correlated with my text. Recently excavated archaeological materials together with eyewitness accounts by contemporary observers of the 1830's and 1840's have overwhelmingly vindicated the accuracy of my Pawnee informants. The most substantial help in this recent phase of the work has been given me by Prof. John L. Champe, author of an important stratigraphic treatment of Nebraska archaeology, *Ash Hol-*

221 were ranged along the bank of Beaver Creek. During the summer and again in winter, the whole tribe left their villages behind and set out on a long expedition to the southwestern part of the state where large herds of buffalo followed their accustomed paths of migration. Several thousand men, women, and children with their horses and dogs were lined up for miles as they followed the river courses on their journey south and west, carrying tents, utensils, and other paraphernalia and a quantity of dried vegetables for their food. They killed some thousands of buffalo on each of these expeditions, drying the meat and packaging it to take home to their villages. While they were in the villages, they manufactured everything they needed both for household life and for their life on the march.

796 But the thing that made life most worthwhile to the Pawnees was their elaborate round of ceremonies. This was based on a complex philosophy of the creation of the universe and of man and of their ongoing nature. The ceremonies were considered as the means for keeping the cosmic order in its course and the continuance of the earth and its life processes. 796 No ceremony could be conducted without a feast of boiled buffalo meat, and a large part of the meat that was gotten on the tribal buffalo hunts 262 was used for this purpose. Rehearsals for the ceremonies, the preparation of costumes and ceremonial objects, and the performance of the ceremonies themselves occupied a large part of the time, attention, and skill of the men, and from the household itself the women contributed not only the dried meat that they had prepared, but also boiled corn, corn bread, and other vegetable dishes for entertaining during rehearsals and for the feasts.

796 The ceremonies were more than religious observances. They were the whole focus of Pawnee aesthetic life, particularly in the performing arts. The pageantry and the costuming, the dances and the miming were developed for beauty as well as for religious significance. They were opera and ballet, and the songs were appreciated for their technical and aesthetic value and were sung on many occasions throughout the year just for the pleasure of singing or hearing them. Laughter and enjoyment as well as religious fervor were common experiences of the spectators during the performances, and the performers tried to get a good audience and to please them.

172 The same Plains region that brought terrible hardships to our settlers, provided a rich life for the Pawnees. Their way of life on the Plains goes back to a very old tradition. Archaeologically we have reason to believe 175 they were in the same area from about A.D. 1250. They appear in written history in 1540 when Coronado and his Spaniards were trying to expand their territory northward from the Southwest. Marquette, exploring the Mississippi for the French in 1672, carried the calumet down the river as a pipe of peace, a custom attested by other tribes to have been originated

342 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman,
772 Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo
were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in
the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle
with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the
Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning
he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire
in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the
Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight
off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself.
Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening
Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on
earth.

342 The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a
woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive powers.
772 The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately
353 ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the youngest
84 women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located,
the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due
south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their
age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being
"inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe,
ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse
776 of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his
342 power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in
[823] the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and
southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that
[782] they would be readily received.

361 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear consciousness
of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed,
342 the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred
houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver
Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy.
342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch
and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke
[354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cooking
[252] breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the draw-
252 string of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the
•262 skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a
[251] large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed
the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them
into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

double handfuls of dried kernels were the product of eight ears of roasted corn. She needed nearly twice that amount for their breakfast. Other dried foods might be added. These were always washed first before including them. Dried beans, dried strips of pumpkin, or dried strips of the inner lining of the buffalo stomach or intestine, made a welcome addition and improved the flavor of the soup. 252 262

Sometimes large thin sheets of dried buffalo meat and a sheet of fat were cut up into portions and boiled to make a strong soup for their breakfast. The individual portions of meat were seven inches long and varied from 3 to 6 inches wide.

The rest of the meal consisted of a bread course and some hot black coffee boiled with sugar. Sometimes the soup was served instead.

When they had it in the house, wheat flour from the trade store was made into "grease bread" fried in a pan in lard. This was a good deal quicker and easier to make than bread made from home-made corn flour. Each person should have a whole piece of grease bread and any leftover pieces were torn in half and given to the most important men. A handful of wheat flour made two round pieces of bread. White Woman mixed the flour with baking powder and a little salt in a wooden bowl, and after the ingredients were well mixed she added a little warm water to make a dough. If there was no baking powder, White Woman used ashes instead. Now she took a lump of dough and rested it on a piece of hide placed against her thigh, slapping it with her palm and turning it round and round until it was the right size. She put it in a pan with some lard and leaned it against the rim of the fireplace on some glowing coals, tilting the pan so that the bread was exposed to the heat of the fire. As each round disc was done she set it aside on a piece of tanned hide until they were ready to eat their meal.

Sometimes she made bread out of corn flour baked in ashes. Beans might also be mixed with it. The dried kernels were pounded fine with a heavy pestle in a wooden mortar. Meanwhile the beans had boiled, and after the water was discarded they were mixed well with the flour. Enough warm water was added to make a batter, then the ashes were parted and the batter poured in and spread to make a large cake about 3 feet long by 1 foot wide. The dough was covered with ashes, coals, and earth and allowed to bake. It was tested by exposing a small part of the ash layer and striking it to see if the bread underneath was solid. Then the bread was turned over and allowed to bake on the other side. When it was done, the ashes were brushed off and it was washed with a little warm water, then wrapped in a skin and set aside to cool. Sometimes slices of cold cornmeal mush were served instead of a bread dish; the kernels being pounded and boiled the night before so that the mush would be solidified by morning. Sometimes they would simply eat hot cornmeal mush for breakfast.

512 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder.
462 When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter,
887 I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next
meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar.
Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Victory
313 Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were
484 to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful supply
623 of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the immediate
[726] neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more
to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary
and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy.
The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite
you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you
when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up
and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the
chiefs had gathered there.

512 The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the
252 household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver
262 Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buffalo
[237] meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They
(415) made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

The main business of the women of the household that day was to give
512 the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing
251 the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and
for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold,
356 and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep
the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in;
besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of
the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for
[192] food pit, *taḥaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women
all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed
between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left
open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the
old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make
a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then
we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly
and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large
skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had
to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy
spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes
they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all.
[476] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

keeping on the alert for mushrooms and milkweed, whose tender tops 222
were relished when cooked with corn. Some of the mushrooms were
yellow or green under the head, and these were known to be poisonous.
The edible ones were solid pure white. Any with worms were discarded.
Some men became so absorbed in this search that they wandered too far [648]
out and would be killed by the Sioux. This was particularly likely with
men whose food at home was in short supply.

If Victory Call and his kinsman had the good fortune to track down 224
another deer and Victory Call killed it, he would assign the major por-
tion to his helper. Legally, the entire kill belonged to Victory Call and
the division was entirely at his discretion. Sometimes he would be plan-
ning to have leggings made out of the skins and then he would apologize
and say, "Excuse me. I can't give you the hide." His helper would reply,
"That's all right. I just came around to help you. You gave me meat
anyway."

The meat was all packed and the two men set out for the village. It [524]
was nearly sundown and they had to pass the village gaming ground
where the men gathered watching the hoop and pole game. The players
and spectators would remark, "Look at those fellows. They have a lot of
deer meat. I'm going up there to get some soup."

The two hunters separated and each went to his own house. As soon
as Victory Call approached, a hide was spread inside to receive the meat,
and Horse Rider was waiting outside to unload the horse and bring it in.

When Victory Call arrived inside, the first thing he said was, "The 264
folks down there saw me coming. Hurry up and fix our dinner so that we 252
can eat before they all get here." The family had barely finished eating 574
when the people began to crowd in. If it were the first fresh meat of the
season in the village, some women would come and say to White Woman,
"Daughter, I am begging some meat." "That's good," Victory Call
would say, indicating that they were welcome. White Woman and the
other women of the house were cooking the meat in large kettles, and
men and women were sitting around waiting to be fed when the meat
boiled. Some people preferred strips of meat roasted in the coals, and they
were sitting around roasting it for themselves.

Then the fire began to burn up brighter and someone remarked, "How 262
about getting to work and roasting the ribs?" Horse Rider then took the 574
ribs and leaned them on stakes around the fire. These would be served at [252]
a more formal feast after the casual guests had left. Otter was sent to in-
vite the guests. Each of the men would invite two honored guests. Vic-
tory Call inquired of Old Bull whom he would like to entertain, and he
requested that Chief White Eagle be called with his brave, Bringing
Trophies, with whom Old Bull was associated in his doctor practice.
Victory Call invited Eagle Chief, head chief of his village, Pumpkin-Vine,
and his principal brave, War Cry. Meanwhile the women were cooking [252]

262 coffee and frying bread to supplement the meat course for their guests
574 when they arrived. In the old days they would be baking corn bread in
252 the ashes to be served with the soup.

Four buckskin cushions were placed at the west for the guests of honor,
574 and the rest sat around along both sides on the mats. By the time the
[352] guests came in, the ribs were cooked and the two largest ones were carried to Eagle Chief and his brave War Cry, who were sitting at the northwest. The next two went to Chief White Eagle and his brave in the southwest seats. The rest of the ribs were carried two by two, first to two guests on the north side, then to two on the south side, and so on until all had been served. A very small top rib was given to any little boy who might be visiting or to the boys of the house, Otter or Yellow Calf.

The food served, Victory Call began to talk to his guests. He told of the highlights of the hunt and that after he had gotten the deer the other fellow came and found him. His horse began to move around and he thought a Sioux was coming, but then he saw who it was and called him over. On such occasions an old man usually invited or just wandered in, knowing he would be welcome. Horse Rider had invited That-Chief, and the old man told them stories of war and old customs continuing after the feast was over. Anyone who wanted to leave right after eating was free to do so. He would get up and say, "I have to go. I have something to do." The old man would stay all night and get his breakfast there. Except for the four guests of honor, there was less pro-
[512] tocol required than in the more formal feasts. After the dishes were cleaned and put away some of the women would go to bed, while others would join the men and listen to the conversation. Sometimes boys and their grandmothers would sit on the sidelines, keeping themselves warm with a pan of coals. When everyone had gone, they would come up close to the fire and warm themselves. The session went on quite late. By mid-
574 night everyone would leave, and they all went to bed. In the home of
512 Victory Call's helper on the hunt, the same kind of entertaining would
513 have gone on. Past midnight and everyone would be sleeping. Tomorrow it would begin again—the fire lit, the man at his work and his leisure, the women busy, the children playing.

356 roof of their house. He noted that seven of the radial timbers were rotting,
and he remarked that they needed replacement. Old Bull made no
comment, but he knew that they would carry on this enterprise together.
[283] During the winter buffalo hunt, each of them killed a buffalo bull so that
[237] they could keep the hides to make rawhide strips for use when the roof
was rebuilt the following spring. Around the smokehole, fastening the
radial roof rafters together, were two stout willow hoops, one on the inside
and one on the outside. These were tied in place on the radial rafters
with the rawhide strips. It was this mechanism that gave the symmetrical
form and strength to the whole cone of the roof, and the tying was therefore
important. At the same time as the hides were obtained, the women
[251] made sure to dry plenty of buffalo intestine so that they would have
[262] enough to make soup for the volunteers. While the bison hide was still
[281] fresh, the women removed the hair.

Now during the spring Victory Call and Old Bull kept an eye out for
356 elm trees from which they could strip the bark to use in tying on the willow
314 circuits around the roof frame. A cut was made near the bottom of
283 the elm tree so that the bark could be loosened; a strip about two inches
wide was ripped upward from the bottom. Five or six strips were taken
from each elm. The strips were dried and stored until the actual time of
building, when they were soaked in water and used wet so that they
would make a tight bind when they dried in place. It took a large number
of these elm strips to fasten the circuits in place around the roof.

356 Now Victory Call went into the timber to locate seven suitable willow
trees. The next day he returned with his wife, White Woman, and
313 his retainer, Horse Rider. The trip to the Loup River was five or six miles.
Victory Call cut down the trees with his axe, and Horse Rider and White
Woman proceeded to lop off all the branches with a hatchet. After the
trees were cut and the branches removed, they went home. Next day
White Woman and Horse Rider returned and began to remove the bark,
hacking it off from stub end to point; the man worked with an axe, the
woman with a hatchet. Two trees were debarked, and they returned until
they had finished the seven. After debarking, the poles were left in the
timber to season for three days.

356 Meanwhile, without further discussion, Old Bull had gone off to look
313 for willow withes to make the circuits. When he got home he remarked
824 to his younger wife, Clear Day, "There are some nice willows down at
Beaver Creek. Tomorrow we can go out and cut them." In the evening
when Victory Call and the others got home from the Loup where they
were fixing the radials, Old Bull remarked that he had been looking
around and had seen some willows and that the next day they were going
to cut them. Queen Woman and Old Lady Blue Calico of the South
Side decided that since the women of the North Side were working so
hard on the construction work, they would take over all the cooking for
the family.

356 Cry's younger brother, would immediately set to work and do it. The
476 young men climbed to the top and fastened the two hoops in place.

283 Meanwhile White Woman had been cooking a meal for all of them
in the house of Chief's Road where they were staying. She entertained
356 the family of the house and everyone who had helped on the North Side.
574 The meal consisted of grease bread and soup made of dried intestine.
476 Some of the women had brought their own bowls out of consideration
[262] for the number she needed to feed. Old Bull's senior wife, Queen Woman, was cooking and serving a similar meal in the house of Bringing Trophies, to entertain all who had helped on the South Side. No one lingered over the meal, as they were anxious to get back to work.

356 The women took their bowls home and came back. They rested while
476 the young men tied on the new circuits of willow withe to the radials
with the moistened elm strips. They began at the bottom circuit and proceeded
462 to the next circuit upward. When they reached the higher circuits, the "boys," Advance Scout and the others, began to fasten the thatch grass to the bottom circuit. As they got further up, the young men now took up this work, while the older "boys" began to pile the earth on the lower circuits, the women filling up their pans with earth and handing them up to the men on the roof. In households of less social status, the women would have had to do a good deal of the work on the roof themselves; in this case they were spared any need to climb up
356 further. When the work was completed, there was usually a dinner meal
574 for a large number of people, including some who had merely come to watch the proceedings. Each of the hostesses usually had a party of about fifty to feed. Everyone was tired and they waited until the following morning to sweep out the house and move back in. Now the time for
221 planting was drawing near and they began to think of the immediate
241 preparations that remained.

In the whole course of this large construction job there was no foreman
356 to oversee the work; not a single order was issued nor a command
46 given; the work was performed with precision, and no inspection was needed to check its quality or workmanship.

439 Do you think it can get a good buffalo? Well, you can have a buffalo
435 robe when I get back and my wife can tan it." Mr. Matlock would
then join them and the traders would say, "Sure." "Well, I need two
buckets," Victory Call would say. "And what else do you need?" the
439 traders would ask. At the same time there would be an old lady in the
store trying to establish some credit so that she could get some sugar to
435 make sweet corn pounded up with sugar. She would promise that when
• 262 they got back from the hunt she would bring in a sack of pounded-up
dry meat. This was the equivalent of the better-known pemmican and
was bought by travelers at the trade store for emergency rations. When
[105] warriors went on the warpath they took extra pairs of moccasins filled
with pounded sweet corn and sugar and some of the pounded-up dry
meat as concentrated supplies.

*224 Not everyone had the skill or the diligence to accumulate all this
476 equipment. Every man or woman who did not have it yet wanted to go
on the hunt had to try to attach themselves to someone who did. This
practical consideration had an important effect on how the individual
encampments were set up. Sometimes a family had enough horses but
no tent. The man would send his mother-in-law or his wife to inquire
of a woman who owned a tent whether they could join her encampment.
If it was agreed that they should camp together they would discuss how
they would combine their needs for equipment—a mortar, a kettle, dishes,
etc. Sometimes a woman would make such arrangements, only to find at
the last minute that her husband had already committed them with someone
else, and then one of the families would have to remain behind.

606 The general rule was that a man had to take care of his father-in-law
and the family into which he was married. It was understood that he
would travel with his father-in-law and his wife's family. This is what
his marriage implied—that he was to serve and care for the family of his
wife. The son-in-law was called by the family into which he married
kustawixtsu, "he who sits among (them)." The son-in-law would refer
to himself as *rat-ut-ka-ku*, "I-for-you-inside-sit," meaning that it his function
606 to serve their house. This was an obligation greater than that to his
593 own parents. If his parents were old and alone, he would give half of his
kill to them after his wife had picked out what she wanted. When they
[591] first married, the couple normally lived in the girl's house and went out
on the hunt with them. As they got older, the young man might want
[431] to set up a tent of his own and hunt separately and his father-in-law
might consent, but he would send a gift of a leg from whatever buffalo
he killed. When they got back to the village, they would rejoin the girl's
family. If the girl's father was getting very old and his tent was worn
out he would say, "Son-in-law, I want to go with you. You came here
to take care of us." "Certainly, that's good," the younger man would
say. This marriage responsibility sometimes got on a man's nerves, and

The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood 276
(*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer [824]
bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for
smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in
winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade [439]
store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared
patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of [249]
Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting 224*
expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their 276
pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so
that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½
feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would 224*
depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle 492
had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A
saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front
and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were
tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide
envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed
to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used
to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the
rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they
were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the
stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling
the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth 224*
for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently 291
on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was 412
an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. 224*
Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on 482
her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage 778
on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles
had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, 224*
dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, 251
coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concentrated 262
foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes.
The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that [484]
time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would
now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegetable 224*
provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the 251
cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One 252
batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were

224* 251 415

closed up with a drawstring before placing them together in the rawhide envelope or in a larger sack. The tanned hide sacks were of two sizes, the smaller known as *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack," standing 3 feet high and 1½ feet in diameter when full and containing about a bushel or 50-60 pounds of dried corn kernels (see Figure 16-1); the other "almost twice the size," standing about 3 feet high and 2 feet in diameter when filled, containing 1½ bushels or more.

224*

The camping household of Victory Call comprised five adults and the

262• 592 484*

TABLE 16-1. *Two Months' Supply of Dried Food Carried on the Hunt.*

WHITE WOMAN'S SUPPLIES, INCLUDING GRANDMA'S CONTRIBUTION

Corn, roasted, quicker cooking variety.	2 small sacks
Corn, dried, longer cooking variety, mostly blue flour.	1 large sack
Corn, dried, spotted, mostly for parching.	1 small sack
Sweet corn pounded with sugar.	2 small sacks
Beans, done up in small bundles, each containing a different variety—spotted, red, black-head.	2 or 3 sacks
Pumpkin, dried, cut into circuits, the strips braided into simple checker-plaited mats about arm's length and 2 feet wide.	1 or 2 mats
Dried buffalo meat, a slab of dried meat, 1½ feet long and 4 inches thick, comprising thin sheets of buffalo meat alternating with layers of dried fat, most of the family supply being left in the food pit.	½ a package
Trade-store goods: in the package with the slab of dried meat, ½ sack of flour, sugar, coffee, baking powder, dried fruits; if there was any room left in the package, little bags of corn, beans, or a pumpkin mat were included.	

NO CORN'S SUPPLEMENTARY SUPPLIES

The corn was all in small sacks and there was no meat, merely dried buffalo entrails:

Corn, roasted.	1 sack
Corn, dry.	1 sack
Corn, dry, spotted.	1 sack
Pounded sweet corn with sugar.	1 sack
Pumpkin.	1 mat
Beans, two or three kinds, a bundle of each.	1 sack
Dried buffalo entrails:	
Buffalo paunch, similar to pumpkin cut into strips and made into a checker-plaited mat.	1 mat
Intestine, cut into sections, dried and plaited into a mat about 2 feet long and 1 foot wide, both adding flavor to the soup when cooked with corn.	1 mat

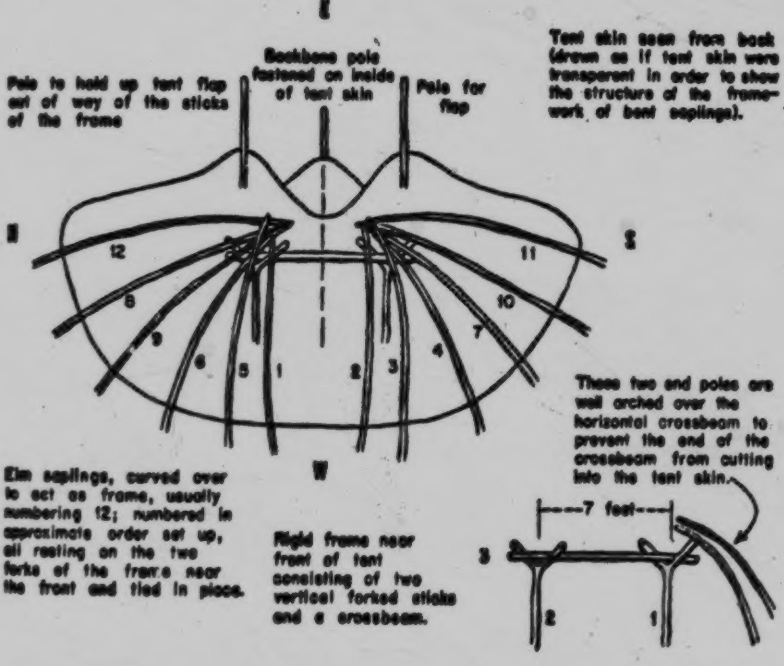
*224 boy Otter. Victory Call was assisted by his retainer, Horse Rider, and
262 there were the three women—White Woman who carried the main re-
592 sponsibility for the encampment, assisted by No Corn, Horse Rider's
*484 wife, who because of her affliction with arthritis was less able to contribute, and Grandma Chase-the-Enemy, who helped whenever she could. The food supplies these women carried were fairly standard and were estimated as shown in Table 16-1. (Grandma included hers with White Woman's.)

*224 These dried foods were very concentrated and swelled many times
251 their size when boiled with water. For their bulk, they were economical
to carry. Victory Call's family of six took six to eight rawhide envelopes,
262 packing the food and certain small objects that happened to fit in, also a few skin sacks, and half a sack of food for immediate use. In addition, during the twenty days en route to the main hunting grounds, Victory Call went out regularly, as he did in the household, and hunted for a deer, an elk, or an antelope to supply them with fresh meat, although a good deal of it did go into social entertaining as it had in the village. The fresh deer bones were cooked along with the dried corn for the family. On the return journey lasting twenty-seven days, or more, the dried vegetable food was supplemented with partly dried buffalo meat known as *kiparu*, "moist," processed so that it would keep for a short time.

*224 Normally two meals a day were eaten, one before they broke camp in
264 the morning and one in the late afternoon. It seldom happened that they had a chance to eat a lunch in between as they were mainly on the march through the day or extremely busy processing the meat and hides that the hunters brought to the camp. A good breakfast was mandatory to sustain them on their day's journey, and corn was the most satisfying food. The pattern of meals was much as it was in the earth lodge and included fried bread of commercial wheat flour and coffee mixed with a generous
*224 amount of sugar. The value of sugar as a quick source of energy was well
262 appreciated, and a man would ask his wife to put some sugar in the fried bread if he was going to have a hard day.

her. On his way out Horse Rider saw some sand cherries among the sandhills, and as he turned back toward camp he gathered them up in his blanket. They grew on low bushes, and those that were covered up with sand were yellow while the ones that had been exposed were a rich dark red like big ox-heart cherries sold commercially today. They would make a nice dessert for supper. 224* 484* 492 [262]

Meanwhile White Woman and No Corn were busy putting up the tent. (See Figure 17-2.) This was harder to erect than the pointed tipi, but the open front made it cooler in the summer weather. 224* 484* 342


E
Backbone pole fastened on inside of tent skin
Pole to hold up tent flap out of way of the sticks of the frame
Pole for flap
Tent skin seen from back (drawn as if tent skin were transparent in order to show the structure of the framework of bent saplings).
N
S
12
11
8
10
9
7
6
4
5
1
2
3
W
These two end poles are well arched over the horizontal crossbeam to prevent the end of the crossbeam from cutting into the tent skin.
Elm saplings, curved over to act as frame, usually numbering 12; numbered in approximate order set up, all resting on the two forks of the frame near the front and tied in place.
Rigid frame near front of tent consisting of two vertical forked sticks and a crossbeam.
7 feet
3
2
1

342 335

FIGURE 17-2. Curve-roofed summer tent. The front is open and faces east. An oblong fireplace is excavated somewhat to the north of the entrance.

The first step was to set up the frame in front. Two forked sticks were set vertically in the ground about 7 feet apart. Before each stick was inserted, White Woman punched a hole in the ground with the long pointed stick that she used as a digging iron. When the sticks were in place she joined them with a horizontal cross stick that rested in the forks. Now twelve sticks were stuck in the ground to form the outer frame. They were set in the form of a long half-oval. Before each stick was inserted, White Woman grasped her digging iron and punched a hole in the 224* 484* 342

484*
Star. If during the night one had dreamed a bad dream, one might swallow 512
a great deal of water and regurgitate it before eating. [787]

White Woman was making the grease bread and No Corn was making the coffee. During these preparations, Victory Call sat by smoking his pipe.

By the time Horse Rider was through bringing in the horses, breakfast
was ready. After they had all eaten, the women cleaned the dishes, using [264]
the plant known as water string or "false indigo" (*Amorpha fruticosa*, [824]
Gilmore, p. 93) to rub on the dishes and buckets to sweeten them while washing. This plant grew close to the creeks with its roots in the water; the leaves and stems were used and the roots discarded. In winter, strips of the bark were taken from the dry stalks. False indigo was invaluable, particularly on the march; you might find nothing but boggy
water in a depression and the plant would freshen it. It could also be used [263]
to make palatable meat that had a gamey flavor like wildcat, by boiling it in two waters with the plant and pouring off the water each time, after which it could be cooked in the ordinary way and tasted good. The plant was spread on the ground while butchering to keep the pieces of meat clean.

The dishes having been cleaned, they were ready to dismantle the camp and load the horses. Two or three old ladies were waiting nearby for
Grandma to join them. They would set out at once to get an early start, [262]
carrying a little ration of pounded up sweet corn and sugar to sustain them on the way.

As soon as they had eaten, the two men saddled up the horses while 484*
White Woman prepared to dismantle the tent. She shook the tent pegs 512
loose and pulled them out, then began to fold over the tent cover while it 342
was still on the frame, first pulling one side around to the back and 492
folding it over and then the other side; pulling down the "backbone" pole with folded cover on it, she untied the stick where it was attached at the top and bottom and put it aside. The tent skin was then folded down the middle lengthwise and evenly rolled from the bottom end toward the top, then tied around the middle with the string that was there for the purpose (see Figure 19-1). Additional ropes were used to tie the roll securely across the ends. Now White Woman dismantled the wooden frame, and the poles were divided evenly so that they could be tied to the horse's back in two even bunches.

Only the oblong rawhide containers were now left standing, as they 484*
had been placed next to the back wall of the tent. Meanwhile No Corn 512
had been rolling up the bulrush mats that were on the ground and tying them in the middle with the strings that were provided there. She was also rolling up the blankets.

Now that everything had been dismantled in the camp, the next job 484*
was loading up. The horse was brought around close to where the containers 512
were. Horse Rider and No Corn stood on one side and Victory Call 492

*224 *484 In Camp 5 that night, when the crier was calling out their next day's itinerary, Roaming Leader was on his way to hobble his horses when he met his friend Running Scout. He said, "I have it in mind that we could go far south to the Republican river to see if there are some buffalo there. This time of year the bulls always stand over there. What do you think?"

"That's just what I've been thinking about. I'd certainly like to do something like that."

"I've got to hobble my horses right now," said Roaming Leader, "but if you see Mad Bear, tell him to come to my tent and we'll talk it over—also New Young Dog and Wants-the-Enemy. About sundown, you people must come to my tent."

[572] These five men had grown up as a group of friends since they were boys. They used to meet when they took the horses to pasture while they were very young. Some of these groups would break up after marriage, [578] if a man's wife tended to disapprove or if he was jealous and afraid that his friends might try to share his wife's sexual favors. But in this case the group had stuck together and had many adventures together. Roaming Leader, between forty and fifty years old, was the leader of the group and tended to take the initiative. At this time they came to his tent for supper where his wife had prepared a meal of corn, bread, and coffee. After the meal, Roaming Leader asked them to wait while he went to see White Eagle to ask his permission for their expedition. After his return they would continue with their plans.

When Roaming Leader arrived at White Eagle's tent, he found that the errand man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band was also there. He had come on the same errand, as there was a group of men in each of the other three bands that wanted to go south next morning and try their luck at locating the buffalo. After some discussion, White Eagle granted permission, and they talked about how they would coordinate the activities of these four scouting parties. It was planned that they were to fan out in different directions so that they could make a survey of the country and they would get some idea of where the herds might be. Each party had a different assignment.

After the Little-Earth-Lodge Band envoy had left, White Eagle inquired of Roaming Leader who would be in his party. When he mentioned who they were, White Eagle commented that they were a good bunch. He wished him good luck and said, "Don't forget the *kawis*." This was a [252] sort of sausage they made by washing the intestine and turning it inside out and putting a long piece of buffalo meat inside with a little water and [262] tying it at both ends. The *kawis* could then be boiled in water or, if the hunter were alone, broiled over the fire. It was a favorite delicacy that could only be made of fresh intestine and White Eagle's remark was a reminder for Roaming Leader to be sure to bring the intestines home.

*224 of it. After they had made a cut along the backbone and divided the robe in two, they would flap open the cut edges and split the hide down the forelegs and hind legs to get the two halves off.

The next step was to remove the meat. This was the same for both bull and cow. They removed the meat first from one side and then from the other. The carcass was turned over on its side and the long piece of meat that lay along the backbone was cut loose and turned aside. Then the flank over the ribs and forelegs was flapped back. Now the foreleg could be removed and the lower portion with the hoof on it discarded. [237] This part would find use as a hammer. The most important meat was the long steak extending all the way down the length of the backbone. Its [192] name, *kis-satsu*, "bone-lying against," was also the generic name for meat, *kisatski*, the *-ki* being a diminutive, i.e., "small meat." The long steak was the ideal part for thinning and drying as it could be cut into a long continuous sheet. It contained important sinews that were removed before slicing.

When the meat had been removed from one side, the carcass was turned over onto the other. Although the meat had been removed from the underside, the carcass was held up off the ground by the fact that the paunch was still inflated. They decided that in butchering this side, they would leave intact a large slab of meat that was ordinarily considered to be two parts, one covering the windpipe, and the other the part that lies below it, the *awahu*, the "spread out." This was a large, very fatty slab of meat. After the backbone steak, the flank, and the foreleg had been removed, they would take off this piece. This fatty layer was needed since in storing the thinned-out dried meat, they would alternate each thin layer of meat with a layer of dried fat.

Now they had to clean the internal organs; the paunch, liver, lungs, and intestines. If they had no water for cleaning the paunch, they simply shook it out. When they took care of the entrails, they also removed the tongue and brains. To get the brains from the braincase, they used the hind leg with the hoof on it as a hammer and broke off the skull cap just below the brow ridge, taking the brains out of the cover or membrane. In order to determine the best place to aim the blow, they had first to take off the scalp lock.

[262] After all the meat had been removed from the bones, they had to get the ribs, which were a main delicacy for cooking and eating right away. [251] Most of the rest of the meat was dried and preserved. The ribs were consumed mainly by the men in their feasts. To crack the ribs off the backbone, they lay the carcass on its side and cut up the front where the cartilage was with a knife. Then they used the discarded foot with the hoof on it as their hammer and struck along the ribs where the rib bones were jointed at the back. They made two slits between the ribs to get a good fingerhold and pulled the ribs so that the bones cracked at

chiefs of the several bands. With them would go their braves and other prominent men of their bands who were sufficiently wealthy to own fast horses and could give them the assistance they needed. 224* 484*

The scouting party had been led by Stolen Horses, and when his party had sighted the small buffalo herd they were looking for they returned to camp and notified Brave Chief, White Eagle's brother-in-law, who in turn got in touch with White Eagle, telling him where and how the herd had been sighted. The next morning they would go after it, and everyone was on the alert for this news that evening. White Eagle called in Roaming Scout to ask him to direct the attack on the herd next day. He was to climb a hill and survey the position of the herd and motion his instructions to the hunters, who would be waiting below.

Now that all arrangements had been made, White Eagle sent out the official chief's errand man, Know-His-Face, to go through the camp, calling out the announcement and then to carry it to the other bands. He announced the following message: "They saw ten to twenty buffalo out there about twelve miles out. Tomorrow while we move the camp, let's try to chase those buffalo." Then after giving the location of their next encampment, he continued with his instructions for the hunters:

> There by the schoolhouse—on the other side—on the northeast—there is a hill. You stop right there at this big hill, on this side of it where we'll all meet, and White Eagle will get there to meet us. All of you are to wait there, and one of us will go up on top of the hill to see if the herd is still in the same location as previously sighted or in what direction it has gone.

Early next morning Camp 9 broke up and the outstanding hunters from all the bands went to meet at the appointed place, while the line of march moved westward toward Camp 10, the last camp south of the Platte. There were fifteen to twenty hunters from each of the four bands, sixty to eighty in all. By contrast to the later hunt episodes, they were dressed in plain working clothes. For the formal hunt, they dressed in decorated leggings and they decorated their horses, but in this instance they all wore plain leggings and moccasins, a brief, simple loincloth, and for the horse a blanket to ride on and other equipment—a whetstone, a knife, and some rope—one of buffalo hide to bridle horses that were rough, and one of buffalo hair for those that were easier to handle. Some because of a special vision experience or exploit had a right to wear a red or white cloth about their heads, while others went bareheaded. Some were privileged to wear a skin shirt because of special war exploits. Some took their bow and quivers and others carried six-shooters. They brought no food, but would eat something raw after the kill. Meat was never eaten raw but they would eat the entrails—some raw liver, kidney, or tripe— [292] [291] [262] [252]

*224 *484 the lining of the second stomach well washed and eaten with some raw fat.

• [262] [252] The people on the march tried to double up their goods in the morning in order to free the horses for the hunters. It was most desirable for the hunter to have two horses, one to ride and one to load with meat. If he had two horses, he would hobble his loading horse on the sidelines during the chase or leave it with a boy who had come along for the purpose.

*224 When the hunters arrived, the small herd was to the south of the appointed hill. The scout Roaming Leader was on top, surveying the situation. The herd was a small one, gathered in a kind of trough or depression. The hunters were lined up on the north side of the hill, facing it, entirely out of sight and hearing of the herd which was on the other side. The hunters of the four bands had arranged themselves in the line from west to east, the several bands in the usual order with the Skidi westernmost and the Man-Going-Downstream furthest east. As the hunters on horseback sat facing the hill, a brave from each band rode back and forth in front of his group to keep them in order. They had to be controlled and kept in line while the strategy was determined and a ritual performed.

*224 202 On top of the hill, having surveyed the country and its configuration, Roaming Leader had come to a decision as to their plan of attack. He descended the hill a short way down and signaled with his blanket to give the waiting hunters an idea of the position of the herd. If the buffalo were more to the east, Roaming Leader threw up his blanket and swung it over along the east horizon. Swinging it in the opposite direction along the west horizon meant the buffalo were further to the west and the main force of the attack should come from that direction. If the buffalo were straight ahead, he would throw his blanket straight up and release it, indicating that they could ride directly over the hill and need not approach by stealth from the sides, since the herd was in a hollow and could not see them coming. In this particular case, Roaming Leader had given an east signal. Now one chief from each band rode up to consult with Roaming Leader and he came down to meet them halfway. Roaming Leader said to White Eagle, "You saw me standing there throwing my blanket around the east side. There are about ten or twenty buffalo there and if they are approached cautiously by two parties, first one from the east and then one from the west, we may be able to surround them and get them all. If we are careful, some of the buffalo may still be sitting down and before they can get up, our hunters on horseback will be upon them." White Eagle then summed up what Roaming Leader had said and put it up to the four chiefs, which would go to the east and which to the west. He gave the first choice to Man Chief of the Meat-Beggars Band as a diplomatic gesture for the sake of their Peace

*224 [825] water and get a drink and were therefore the older and slower animals. The fatter and faster animals had been down and returned to the pasture to graze by the time these animals had gotten there.

The better the horse, the faster the animal one could try to chase. As two men sighted a good buffalo, one would remark, "That's mine," and his neighbor would observe, "When your horse gets there it will be yours!" The fat buffalo knew he was going to be chased and a contest began between the hunter and his prey. The hunter would test the metal of his horse by baiting the buffalo with "hae, hae, hae!" a sound that made the buffalo angry so that his tail stuck up and he shook it. Only a fast horse could get an angry buffalo. When the shot found its mark the hunter would say, "ex' hau!" or "uhe'e, ahe'e!" As soon as he saw blood coming out of the buffalo's mouth, he knew that the animal could not go far and he would go get his horse nearby to be convenient for loading and begin at once to butcher. If they were at any distance from camp and two were close together, they would save much needed time by butchering cooperatively, first the animal of one, then of the other.

If they were far from camp it would be best to drive the animal toward the water before killing it for convenience while butchering. Most desirable, however, was to drive the animal close to camp where they wouldn't have far to haul the meat. When they chased an animal close to camp, the women came out asking for intestine or kidneys. They would yell, "Here comes one over here!" Another advantage of killing the buffalo close to camp was that they could bring in the bones which would be too heavy to carry otherwise, especially the backbone. Then they
[262] could make marrow fat by boiling the bones and skimming off the
[251] grease. The fat was stored in a paunch and used to eat with pounded-up dried meat.

Some of the hunters of the Man-Going-Downstream Band had gone over east across Turkey Creek. After the camp was set up, two bison, apparently having escaped the hunters, had come across the creek and trotted right through the encampment. As the bison came through, there was great excitement in the camp. Women grabbed their babies and put them onto their backs, old people tried to get out of the way, and the dogs were barking as the bison tried to hook them. The men that remained in camp lined up two deep along both sides in their path saying, "Hah! e, hah!'e" to bait and anger the bison, but no one would do them any harm as it was felt that they had been brave and had some supernatural purpose in coming through the camp. When the hunters got home for their dinner, this incident would be recounted in great detail and similar incidents in the past recalled. One of the more "slapstick"
[538] types of story was told of an old man named Crazy who once decided he would be brave and would shoot one of these buffalo with his rifle. He only succeeded in being hooked by the buffalo and tossed up in the air

281 over from a standing position, striking the fleshing tool downward and
toward her against the hide. Some women avoided bending over by
not pegging down the hide. They put a stick or tree trunk about 3 inches
in diameter at a slant in the ground. Laying the hide over it, they tied it
at the top with rawhide and supported the hide underneath with the
palm of the left hand, applying the fleshing tool to this spot and then
moving successively down the length, shifting the position of the hide
over the log for the next section. This method was particularly useful
when they had to work inside the tent in winter. The small scraps of
[251] meat removed in the defleshing were also placed on the drying rack.

When the meat was dry on one side, they took it off the rack piece by
251 piece, and each piece was set on an open rawhide container with the dry
side up, pounded with a pestle to remove some of the moisture, turned
over and pounded on the moist side and replaced on the rack so that this
side could now be exposed.

Just before the half-dry pieces of meat were again removed from the rack and placed on a rawhide, each piece was trampled with the moccasined feet to remove as much of the moisture as possible. At this stage the meat was called "moist dry meat" and while it was not fit for long-term storage, it could keep well for several days. In this form it was cooked for their more immediate use. For permanent storage, after the meat had been trampled on, it was stacked up on a skin spread and carried inside the tent to protect it from the dampness that came up from the water after sundown. Inside the tent, they covered it up by lapping over the edges of the skin spread and covering it up with an open rawhide container. They would go out just before sunrise in the morning and hang the meat on the rack again so that it could continue to dry.

*224 Grease from the bones was another important commissary item. After
251 the third killing, the herd was pretty well scattered in this locality and
252 they were going to move the hunting camp to another location a con-
siderable distance away, to the Solomon fork of the Kansas, south of the
• 262 Republican River. Before they left their old hunting camp, White Eagle
allowed them an extra day in camp to finish up with some of their work.
251 In most of the camps they were glad to have an opportunity to make
252 use of the larger bones that were lying around from the first two killings,
262 particularly the backbones and the large knuckle bones. Some men,
having nothing else to do, went out to the place where the bones lay and,
tethering their horses nearby, dug out the chunks of meat and fat that
adhered to the backbones and brought them home for their wives to boil
for soup. These small chunks of meat were known as "small meat."
Most of all they wanted to take the opportunity to make "bone grease"
which they called "bone water." This was eaten particularly with the
pulverized dried buffalo meat, by biting off a piece of the solidified fat
to eat with the dry fluffy pounded-up meat. This was probably their last

chance of the season to make bone grease, as they were unlikely to stay 262
long enough in any one place and be so close to the hunting grounds as 251
to have all these large bones around and the time to treat them. The bone 252
grease was made by cracking up the backbone and boiling it in a large kettle of water along with the knuckle bones. The grease, skimmed off with a spoon, was kept in a buffalo paunch, prepared by peeling off the inner lining, which left a smooth surface on the inside. The paunch, with a wide slit cut into it for an opening, was placed in a depression in the ground and the opening flaps spread out at the top. In summer it was hard to get the grease to solidify, but in the evening when a cool breeze came up from the river it became solid enough to transport. Though they seldom did so, if they wanted to make bone grease en route they put it into the large intestine and tied it up at both ends for transportation. The winter was a more propitious time for making bone grease as
it hardened more readily; sometimes they would stay up at night and [416]
work by the light of a burning brand while on the winter hunt in order to make it. The soup was spilled out at some distance from camp along with the boiled bones. Before they got rid of the soup, Horse Rider liked to eat a bowl of it with a handful or two of parched corn. Sometimes when it cooked for a long time, certain soft parts from the bones around the lower part of the foreleg were also eaten.

Now as Horse Rider was coming into camp with a backbone for Grandma to boil up for bone grease, she set him to work first picking off the small pieces of meat and fat. He sat down directly with his legs extended and wedged the backbone between his feet and got to work digging out the meat. They used the meat for soup at supper. The long bones were cracked and the marrow removed and wrapped in a membrane taken from the flank. The marrow was eaten raw with dry meat.

They now had the partially dried buffalo meat to supplement the supplies of dried corn, beans, and squash and the dried meat they had brought with them from the previous winter hunt. For the camping family of six, they would use a thin sheet of dried buffalo meat with its covering layer of fat. The dried piece of meat was 12 inches wide by 30 inches long and would be cut into eight portions, 6 inches wide, 7 inches long and ⅛ to ¼ inch thick. The fat was a little thicker and with each portion went a piece of fat—2½ by 5 inches. The portions of meat and fat were washed with cold water and then put in the kettle which was placed on the coals to boil. The fat tended to disintegrate into the soup. When they were cooking dry meat for supper, a guest, usually a close friend or relative, was very likely to drop in. In Victory Call's camp, Uncle War Cry, White Woman's brother, was the one most likely to appear.

For feasts at official or ceremonial occasions, the backbone steaks were 574
used, a number being donated for each occasion (see Figure 27-4). A 252

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 221]

tanned hide was spread out and formally divided into sections, a right 252
section for the guests on the north side and a left section for those on 574
the south side with a stick lying on the spread between them to mark
the divisions. Two backbone steaks were opened out, one on one side
and one on the other and separated from their layer of fat. This operation
was carried out at the southeast of the earth lodge or tent with the
two steaks pointed with their "neck" or head ends toward the northwest.
Each steak was cut down the length into four strips, each about 6
inches wide. The three strips on the right were made into five large
portions each, about 9 inches long, and the fourth or leftmost strip was
cut into a whole series of smaller portions depending upon how many
people needed to be served. The larger portions were for the important [554]
guests at the main "positions," while the smaller pieces were for the others.
The layer of fat was cut up in the same way, but this disintegrated
in the soup. For a feast of sixty people, four steaks would be cooked.
Each potful took about twenty minutes, about fifteen for the meat and a
few minutes more for the fat to be thoroughly cooked. For this amount
they cooked three or four batches, spearing out the pieces of meat with
a stick each time and placing them on the spread in the appropriate
position for serving. Sometimes while the errand man was doing the
cooking he would observe that the steaks were unusually small, viz., from
a small animal, when additional meat would have to be added. When ad- [554]
ditional steaks were received, the important guests received double portions
or more. This was the only direct compensation for administrative
services.

Most of the meat preserved during this summer hunt would be used 251
during the following fall and winter, while the succeeding winter hunt 262
would provide the additional meat for the spring. From the summer hunt, 281
the hides were processed as rawhide or tanned hide with hair removed,
while on the winter hunt they got hides with fur and wool for warm
robes.

The drying and preserving of the buffalo meat along with their crops 251
was one of the major technical achievements of the Pawnees. This an- 171
cient art of preserving food by drying was almost continent-wide in
America among the food gatherers as well as the food producers, and
the method contrasts markedly with the general Old World approach of
fermenting, pickling, and spicing for food preservation.

Each household had its own estimate of the amount of dried buffalo 224*
meat required to carry on its social and religious obligations. Four formal
attacks on the herd by all the able-bodied hunters of the tribe were
considered sufficient to provide for most of their needs. The first mass
attack had taken place as the line of march was slowly making its way
southward along the west bank of Turkey Creek. When they had gone
about halfway, the scouts had located the herd, and the hunters left the

575 come to me, kawaharu, *rakuwaxtsa!*" and luck actually did come. For ex-
575 539 ample:

> It had snowed four days. Some men who had gone out on the warpath were starving. The men put up a grass house, for they didn't want to go out for fear of being detected by the enemy through their tracks. An old man among them went into the timber and saw three deer. The snow was hitting the deer in the face and blinding it. "We were starving. Nawa, akaa, kawaharu! Now, oh, luck! Then I aimed my bow and arrow and shot one through the shoulder. The others ran but the big buck fell over. Then I called the others and we all took the buck into the grass house. That was the time we had kawaharu. Kawaharu (luck) came to us."

These were the kind of stories they told, but someone decided to lighten the atmosphere and told the following:

> They were hungry and on the warpath. One of the party was a fine shot. Suddenly they saw two or three buffalo sitting there. Then we all put our hands up and said, "Nawa, Kawaharu." The man who was a good shot got angry, thinking to himself, "I do the shooting and here they're saying, 'Kawaharu.' " So he got up and frightened the buffalo away and said, "Well, let kawaharu shoot it now." So they all had to keep quiet after that.

*224 Most men felt that they had enough buffalo meat for their needs and
*484 as much as they could transport. They did not go out to hunt on the lake
but stayed behind to protect the women and children from the enemy. In Victory Call's family, it was agreed that Horse Rider should stay while Victory Call went out. They also decided that they would eat the roasted ribs that evening in the family instead of contributing them to the council tent, as this would be the last time they had a chance to get them.

At the council tent, White Eagle decided they would stay over one more day and then go on directly north and across the Republican. It was fifteen miles and a very hard journey. The other bands were notified. They arrived by night, having set out very early in the morning. Water had to be carried in a buffalo paunch. When they had gone half way they stopped, unloaded the horses, and let them graze while each little family camp group sat down in the open and had an informal lunch. Victory
Call came and joined his family; White Woman took some pounded dry
• [262] buffalo meat, *tapaharus*, from the tanned hide she had packed it in. Each
[264] one put a clean cloth or piece of hide in front of him, and she placed a
little pile of the meat there and a piece of bone grease to eat it with.

*224 this area now, north of the Republican, they were in Pawnee territory
*484 and were less concerned about danger of attack. As the South Bands had
their villages to the east of the Skidi on Beaver Creek, they moved ahead
while the Skidi lagged behind. They ate mainly dried buffalo meat at
• [262] this time and a little parched corn in soup. If anyone happened to have
[252] any roasted corn kernels on hand, they boiled them and ate them, but
most people had used up their supply by now. The old women were al-
*224 ways busy when they stopped, pulverizing dried buffalo meat in the
*484 mortar with a pestle. They made a flat package, *tsat-katus*, "package-
251 flat," of tanned hide (see Figure 30-1) and filled it up with the pounded-
887 up dried meat. The package could be carried on the back with a strap
[482] that ran across the chest. It was 2 feet long by 1½ feet wide, and was
[439] often carried on their backs by the old women. ~~It was a~~ good trade
item. Sometimes they also included some dried meat. Both kinds could
[262] be eaten without cooking as they were already thoroughly cured. One
could simply break off a piece of the dried meat and eat it.

237
251
482

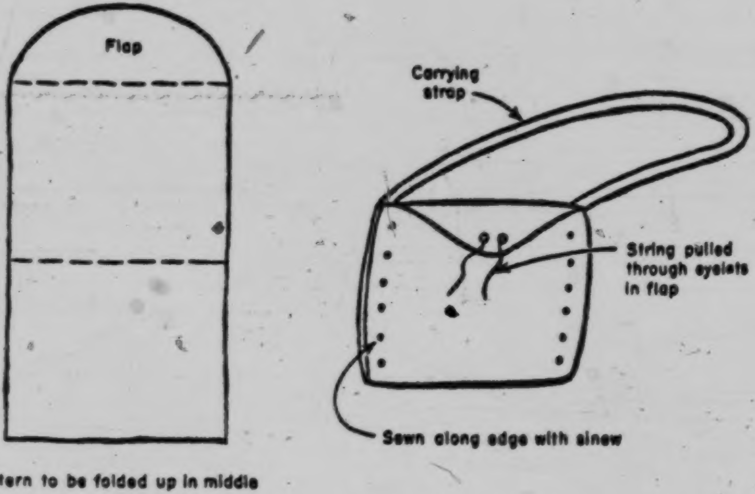

Flap
Pattern to be folded up in middle
Carrying strap
String pulled through eyelets in flap
Sewn along edge with sinew

FIGURE 30-1. The pattern of a skin knapsack, *tsat-katus*, "package-flat."

*224 Some old women made a *hu-tsaku*, "water-package," of half a buffalo
*484 bull hide made into rawhide, with sticks fastened underneath and the
[237] baggage wrapped inside envelope-fashion, to be floated across a swollen
[281] stream. Most of the women were busy tanning buffalo robes and scraping
hides all the way home.

726 Some young men were saying that when they got to the Platte River
they would set out on the warpath. There were plenty of Sioux around

from whom they could well steal horses, and some young men thought 726
they would like to go to the Osage country. The women of their house- 726
hold would outfit them with three or four pairs of new moccasins, tan- 705
ning some hides especially for the purpose. Each pair would be filled with supplies—pulverized dried meat, parched corn, and dried meat. The young man would have a large flat package, especially wide to carry on
his back with straps across the chest to carry his baggage. Under his belt [276]
he carried his tobacco and his pipe, and every time he sat down while he was on the warpath he must smoke. When he went off to steal horses he hung his flat-package on a tree and sometimes did not get a chance to retrieve it at all.

In Victory Call's household, they had gotten eight hides. A small one 281
would be tanned by White Woman to get supplies at Fort Kearney. One 439
was reserved for Mr. Bishop, the trader near home, to whom a good one had been promised before they left in payment for supplies Victory Call had obtained at his store for their journey.

While they were going east along the Platte River after their arrival 224*
two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), the village scouts came back 484*
with their report of how things were back home. They came in directly 203
to the tent of Leading Chief who now had charge of their return journey and reported:

> We went down to the village. We couldn't go in, it was full of fleas. Toward evening we went to the different corn fields. The corn is pretty ripe in some places. The pumpkins are hard yet. There are lots of beans of all different kinds. One fellow got on a freight and went to Columbus to see how the Stay-at-Homes were. Everything looks good. From there we went to the school. We gave the children some pulverized dried meat and some plain. We told them you folks were coming home. We stopped in Bishop and Matlock's store for the night and said it would be about eight or ten days before we got to the village. Everyone looks all right.

Now Know-His-Face went through the encampment, announcing this
message to all. In one of the other bands a rougish old lady called out [824]
"And how about the sunflowers? How are they doing?" The boy said, [522]
"The sunflowers are way high!" The byplay is that the sunflowers were the place where clandestine affairs were carried on. These grew as weeds in the boundaries between the fields.

One of the scouts brought five or six ears of corn that were ripe from 224*
different fields, and gave them to the ones to whom they belonged. One 484*
ear had come from the field of Otter's grandmother, and before she took [788]
off the husks she blessed him with it four times. Then she removed the [252]
husks, roasted the ear in the coals, and broke it into three pieces, one for [262]

*224

*484 White Woman and Victory Call to eat, one for No Corn and Horse Rider
[252] to eat together, and one for herself and her grandson, Otter.

[262] When they got to the top of the hills eight miles west of Genoa they could sight the school house. Everyone called out, "There it is—*kaxkarit-pahat*" (house-stone-red). It was red brick. Along the north and south side of the Loup is a deep valley and from the hills on either side of the river, one could see a considerable distance.

[136] No one could camp anywhere near the earth lodge village itself. It was infested with fleas. They camped in the bottomlands within reach of their fields where they stayed for three weeks while they treated the crops and cleaned out the earth lodge so that it became habitable. In the open, they could more readily dispose of the husks, cobs, and other wastes that resulted from processing the crops. The Stay-at-Homes came along to meet them starting out from near Columbus 22 miles away and following northwestward along the Loup River. "Here come the Kakusu, the Stay-at-Homes," everyone would call out as they approached.

792 There was one more item of formal business that they had to attend to before they could get down to the activities of the harvest. To his tent, White Eagle called representatives of each of the four villages and the five old priests. In White Eagle's tent and in his charge at all times had
*[224] been *taxpiku*, the holy man, who symbolized the luck of the whole tribe
[777] on the hunt. It was during the spring, when they had the ceremony of the Young Corn, *Kurahus*, that he was charged with this holy office. He was a man of exemplary character who was favored by the supernatural powers through the generous offerings he had made to their ceremonies. He had to keep his buffalo robe wrapped around him at all times. There was an absolute taboo against his bathing. He was not allowed to cut his fingernails or comb his hair. The other old men went along, one or the other of them staying alongside all during the hunt. His food was fed to him in a special bowl and he was always served first, for it was recog-
[821] nized that he was under a severe strain. Should he take a bath or his feet touch water, there would be severe thunderstorms. It was at this ceremony that he was praised for his courage and diligence and dismissed from his office. Now he was able to laugh and joke. "Oh my, I'm lousy," he said, "and my feet stink!" He tossed off his blanket and ran down to the creek to take a bath as soon as he could. He was no longer an official and no longer needed to be on his dignity.

[777] They still had one more holy man, *taxpiku*, who was holding in the
[243] luck of the crops. He had been appointed early in the spring when they distributed the first seeds of the sacred corn. He would not be released until after the harvest. This man had been appointed when the Young Mother Corn was installed, and carried through the summer buffalo hunt and was then dismissed. These were men who had proved themselves devoted to the supernatural powers by their offerings to the su-

244
489
492
middle-sized pumpkins, or twelve to fifteen small ones. A horse could carry in only two parfleches filled with pumpkins at a trip. Using two horses, they made five trips to the field, some in the morning and some in the afternoon, carrying about twenty parfleches in all of the different sizes. This represented the crop of White Woman's field and amounted to about a wagon-load and a half, perhaps a little more, with the wagon being level without sideboards.

244
251
252
The pumpkin rinds were removed by roasting them in the fire until they could scrape off the outer rind with a fresh-water clamshell. Each individual pumpkin was roasted and set aside to cool, then scraped. Some people peeled them with a knife, but this was time-consuming and was considered wasteful. Small pumpkins 4 inches or less in diameter were neither roasted, peeled, nor halved—they were simply cut into blocks, laid out on a tent skin and dried. They could be cooked any time now with the large roasted corn to add flavor. The standard-size pumpkins were cut in half, the pulp and seeds taken out, and the halves cut into a series of circular rings each about 1½ inches wide. These were hung on a rack and when they had dried somewhat were pressed underfoot to express some of the water as was done with the sliced buffalo meat, then hung up again to dry further. At night the pumpkin rings were left on the rack covered with an old tent skin. By 285 the time the mature dried corn crop was coming in, the pumpkin strips would be dry enough so that they could be woven into checker-plaited mats. They would alternate the processing of this corn with the making of the pumpkin mats, *ri-katsitu*, "braid-woven."

The plaited pumpkin mats were arm's length and 2 feet wide. The individual strips had shrunk in the drying to an inch in width. It took about two hours to weave a pumpkin mat. In an afternoon, each woman would make two mats before supper. The dried pumpkin was used by cutting off a number of the 2-foot strips in the width with small portions of the cross pieces adhering to them. 252 262 The very smallest pumpkins about the size of tomatoes were boiled fresh and eaten in the morning for a breakfast during this harvest period. They were very much relished.

243
251
The preparation of the mature corn that had been allowed to dry on the stalk, was somewhat different from the ears that were gathered "in the milk." No roasting was necessary. The ears were snapped off the stalk, taken to camp, and husked that evening and the following day. The ears were then spread out and allowed to dry until evening and after supper the women began to remove the kernels. They used a small pointed stick to pry them off, pushing it in between two rows and along the cob from stub end to point so that in spreading the rows of kernels they were readily pried off. In the evening the corn was winnowed and

752 afterward. One Sioux was killed and one Pawnee killed or scalped. 726 This is why Mad Bear was known as a brave man, heedless of any danger to himself, like a boy, a *piraski*.

244 All the time that this struggle was going on, Victory Call, White Woman, 512 and No Corn were in No Corn's field picking beans. Horse Rider had had to go quite a way to find the horses and when he got back to camp to saddle them, they had left him a bite of breakfast and then he joined them in the field. First he inspected the pumpkins and then they all went around picking up the vines, and when a vine wrapped around a cornstalk, they had to look all around for the ripe pods. This took until noon and on the way home they took a swim in the creek. Arriving at 244 camp, they prepared a modest lunch of bread, coffee, and bits of ready-cooked meat saved in a sack for such purposes—pieces of dried heart, 512 leg muscle, pieces of paunch, fat, etc. They called this *tsuspakahu*. They • 262 opened the sack and dumped the pieces of meat on a spread and simply 264 picked up one and ate it with the bread and coffee. Sometimes they had pulverized dried meat, *tapaharus*, with some bone grease instead of the meat. They decided to have the same kind of meal in the evening, as their backs ached from picking the beans. After the meal, the newly 244 picked beans were spread out to dry, and about three in the afternoon 512 White Woman decided that her beans were dry enough to thresh with 251 the long willow stick to get the beans out of the pods. Victory Call wandered up to the store and Horse Rider either went to the gambling grounds or just sat on a bluff smoking and looking around. The women kept working with the beans.

512 That evening, Victory Call came in with supplies from the store for 439 supper: prunes, dry apples and some candy sticks for Otter—a gift of the trader. People had seen Victory Call coming in while they were at the gambling grounds watching the game, and they decided to come over and have some dinner there. War Cry's younger brother, Brave Shield, and Wants-the-Enemy dropped in for a visit. Some decided to visit with Misery (*Akapakis*) instead, and White Woman felt slighted because the youngest brother of War Cry, Leading Fox, had decided to go there as also had Sun Chief, Victory Call's older son. She scolded Leading Fox saying, "Why don't you come in. People will think I don't take care of you." "Well," he said, "the boys wanted me to come with them." She remarked about Sun Chief to Victory Call who reassured her saying, "That's nothing. You have to watch girls, but you can't keep boys home like that."

512 At dinner, Brave Shield mentioned that some of the Kitkehaxki 796 doctors were preparing to go back into the earth lodges to prepare for the forthcoming doctor dances. Victory Call said that it was a bit too 756 early. It was better to finish the work so that they didn't have all this rub-

Sometimes the supplies were simply wrapped around with a piece of 251 [415]
tanned hide or old tent skin.

The most pressing matter was to get the stores into the food pit. This was the last time they would open it until November in preparation for leaving on the winter hunt. It was fifteen to twenty days since the corn had been harvested, and it was good and dry and ready for storage. A great many calculations had to be made before the storage pit could be organized. The forthcoming month of performances would require everyone's support, and food would be taken from the pit and held in readiness in the lodge to feed the many performers and other participants. Meat from the hunt had been pledged and this too would be held in reserve. Some people made it a policy to remove all of last year's crops that were still in the pit and contribute the excess over current needs to the performance. They would keep it in the lodge in the east sector in very large skin bags which were tightly closed at the top to protect the food from mice and snakes. Some of the held-over dried [252] buffalo meat in the rawhide containers would be so hard that it could only be prepared by being separated into sheets and pulverized with a pestle in the wooden mortar. In this form it was quite tasty when eaten [262] with bites from a lump of solidified buffalo bone grease.

The new supplies were placed in the pit in a traditional order. Before the bags were put in, the grass lining of the pit was carefully checked and also the bottom which had a layer of clean sand and some sticks laid across to keep any moisture from reaching the skin bags. At the very bottom some sacks of the mature dry corn were placed. These sacks were laid so that they pointed radially inward from the wall. The layer above this consisted of sacks of roasted green corn which were placed crosswise upon the lower layer so that they were parallel to the wall. The third layer was sacks of beans again in radial order, pointing inward from the wall. Finally, they put in the oblong rawhide containers of dried buffalo meat crosswise on the beans lying parallel to the wall.

An attempt was made to set the various layers steady one upon the other so that when the woman went down into the pit she could step down from one layer to the other. On top of the material laying all around the pit in packages and sacks they piled pumpkin mats and braids of corn on the cob. Sometimes instead of piling the corn braids in this fashion, they put a stick with stubs of branches in the pit leaning against the wall and hung the corn braids on it. Also leaning against the wall were rolled-up buffalo skins that they had not yet tanned, which they planned to process just before going on the winter hunt so that they could be taken to the trade store for the groceries and other equipment they might need for the expedition. Odds and ends were put in the space that was left in the middle—pumpkin rings that had not been braided,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known 776 as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended 773 that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in [756] the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The [782] actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It [821] was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears, without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of 796 rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial 825 ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time. Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been 796 occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and "fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is 796 completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. 241 Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until 262 the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive "fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently [824] the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the [534] wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea- 000

281 sides to keep the air from reaching the inner surface. When they first
386 removed the skin from the frame, the smoked surface was somewhat black, but when it was exposed to the air it quickly turned yellow. Any smoky patches that remained were rubbed with the fingers, and these promptly turned yellow, too. In the past these dyed skin blankets were the forerunners of the later trade blanket.

291 The skins of the deer and elk were used for clothing because they
221 were considerably lighter and softer than the buffalo hide. In the fall particularly, when the doctor performances were in prospect, they made a critical inspection of their wardrobes to see if they had something suitable to wear for the occasion. The women thought about a new dress and the men considered whether their clothing wasn't too shabby to wear and what ceremonial costumes they would need. They had been on the march all summer and busy with the harvest and they had had no time to think about such matters. They also had to consider the forthcoming winter hunt.

291 In the Plains climate, clothing was a pressing necessity. The fresh deer
• 262 and elk meat was a welcome addition to their staple diet of dried vegeta-
251 bles and buffalo meat, but it was consumed immediately and never pre-
281 served. Economically, the hides were of greater practical value.

There is some question whether it was the men or the women who
[462] dressed the deer and elkskins. Theoretically they both knew how, but the only accounts of the process I have seen or been able to collect refer to the work of the men. Apparently the hide was not treated with a tanning mixture but was simply dehaired and rubbed:

> The first step in dressing the deer hide was to get it wet. A stick was put slantwise in the ground and the hide draped over it hair side up and fastened at the top. The hair which slanted upward was scraped off with a sharpened horse rib that was pushed from the top down.
> [513] The deer hair was used as a stuffing for pillows; the buffalo hair was always thrown away. The skin was now turned over with the flesh side uppermost and rubbed with a sharp rock as rough as a file. Next they continued to rub the flesh side with another rock that was gray and white and very porous. They kept rubbing the flesh side until the skin had dried.

A description of preparing a moose hide for a robe is somewhat simpler; allowing the skin to soak in water for a day and a night, removing the hair with a horse rib as it rested on a slanting cottonwood stick, and then simply spreading the skin on the ground to dry.

When needed, the men dressed bear or fox skins and those of some other animals, stretching them on frames and overcasting them all around

292 work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done
554 by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such
[531] a shirt.
[461] The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237 The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign
554 of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest
825 men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught.
[411] Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one, the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281 Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their
756 special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered inedible and was left
262 in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237 Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-
293 wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough
[223] eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237 Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a
554 shield.
714

342 ous services that would be involved. Lady-Lucky Leader herself would
464 get a good amount of flour, sugar, coffee, and some calico, and the other
465 women of the household who helped with the sewing were given gifts
of calico and special meals were prepared for entertaining them. These
439 items had to be obtained at the trade store in exchange for a tanned buffalo
[437] robe. This was prepared by White Woman, and the day before the
work was to begin Victory Call and she each mounted a horse and rode
over to the store about two miles away, taking the robe with them. The
[492] two horses would be needed to bring home the supplies, otherwise White
[562] Woman would have walked, Victory Call ridden. At the trade store they
439 got a sack of flour, some coffee, sugar, baking powder, prunes, dry apples,
435 and about five yards of calico. At this time a hundred-pound sack of
flour was worth $7.00 at the store. For the family alone without special
events or guests, such a sack of flour lasted about two weeks (two
double-handfuls for each meal). Amounts of the other items usually
bought were fifty cents worth of coffee, fifty cents worth of sugar,
twenty-five cents worth of baking powder. Five or six yards of calico
439 were $1.00 so that, excluding the cost of the prunes and dry apples, the
342 gift to Lady Lucky Leader would amount to about $9.25 worth of
464 merchandise. An exceptionally well-tanned buffalo robe would bring
465 $20-30 worth of value at the store. After providing payment for Lady
[435] Lucky Leader with the remaining value of the buffalo robe, they had to
buy supplies for the special meals—an additional sack of flour, more
sugar, coffee, baking powder, and some lard and prunes. Finally to each
of the three women of the household that helped with the sewing—
Grandma, No Corn, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy—they would give
five yards of calico to each (worth a dollar for the five yards), and some
needles and thread. The buffalo robe would just about cover the labor
costs for sewing together the tent.

463 About a week before the work was to begin, White Woman would
342 have gone to see Lady Lucky Leader and have said to her, "Atira (my
mother), I've come to ask you to make a new tent for me." "Well," she
answered, "I have something to do right now, but I could do it a little
later. Are you in a hurry?" "No, a week's time will be all right." "Well,
then, have two good sharp knives ready," said the old lady.

At the appointed day, she arrived at Victory Call's lodge after breakfast.
The skins and tools were taken outdoors, and while White Woman
cleared up the breakfast dishes, the other three women went out with her
and Lady Lucky Leader cut out the skins. She placed them in the most
economical manner and then she assigned each of the women a particular
seam to sew. Each woman had prepared herself with her own awl and a
quantity of prepared sinew. Presently White Woman joined them and
[264] was also assigned a seam to sew. Before noon she had to retire to prepare
[362] the meal. They were served grease bread, coffee, and prunes. For sup-

463 per she prepared boiled corn kernels, grease bread, and coffee. After supper,
342 the old lady went home.

[262] The second day the same procedure was followed. When White
[264] Woman retired to prepare the meal of grease bread, prunes, and coffee,
War Cry and his brother Brave Shield heard that they were having a special
meal in Victory Call's house and they proceeded to come in with the
remark, "I see you're working here," and were promptly invited to join
them for lunch. They would probably stay on talking to Victory Call
463 and also stay for supper. This would make about eighteen people, including
342 the guests for the evening meal. For this group they needed
252 three double handfuls of dried corn kernels (one of these double handfuls
262 represented eight ears of corn). For the eighteen large round disks
574 of fried grease bread, it took three generous double handfuls of store
flour (a meal for a family ordinarily required two). If meat were to be served instead of the corn they would need half a sheet of dry buffalo meat cut into long strips 7 inches long and 3½ inches wide. This meat would be boiled with a sheet of fat and served with the soup.

463 The third day was similar with the Old Lady going home after supper.
342 By the evening of the fourth day the tent was completed. A process mentioned
by another Pawnee informant, but not in this account, stated that before the cover was used, girls were sent inside to make a fire so that the skin would get permeated with soot, which would keep it from leaking in the rain or drying up in the sun.

463 Supper for the evening of the fourth and final day consisted of boiled
465 corn kernels with boiled dried pumpkin strips mixed in. After the Old
Lady Lucky Leader had gone home, a half-hour passed and then White
342 Woman and Grandma took the food and goods for her payment. White
[262] Woman led the way and Grandma walked behind, carrying the gifts to
her house. They set them down before her saying, "Here's flour, coffee, sugar, calico. You helped us with our tent." "Oh, I thank you for giving me this material. My spirit is glad for this food that we will eat," said the old lady. When the two women got home they reported to Victory Call, the old lady's appreciation. Victory Call again went to the store and got the three pieces of calico of five yards each and the needles and thread for the three women of his own household who have helped out—Grandma, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, and No Corn.

342 The tent was now in good order for the winter hunt.

taking half a sack of flour, some sugar, coffee, and baking powder as provisions. 231
He went to the place on the Union Pacific Railroad known as 857
Windmill and then across the sandhills on the north edge of the island, meeting the others at about two in the afternoon.

The men and boys had a good time of it on these expeditions. They [342]
built themselves dome-shaped grass houses, *kaharuut*, of big willow twigs. Their saddles served as pillows and the saddle blankets as bed- [513]
ding. If they wanted an especially soft bed, they put hay and willows underneath. The older men got up very early and looked around on the sandhills. Some of them cooked the bread and coffee that com- [262]
prised their main diet. Otter had a cup and he shared a plate with another boy who had brought one along. Sometimes a white man, having killed a beef, would give them a chunk of it. They had great times!

Considering their dependence on the horses, the Pawnees were re- 231
markably unsentimental about them. They never called them by name, 552
only referring to them in conversation by such names as Spotted Horse, Spotted Black Horse, Spotted Red Horse, Black Face Horse, White Hoof, Spotted on the Side, Black Nose, White Horse, Yellow Horse, Roan Horse, Red Head, High Forehead. There was no personal identification with them.

ples—and the boy Otter. Of the dried and cultivated foods from White Woman's stores they took: 224* 484* 262

Roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*)	2 small sacks (50-lb flour size)
Dried blue flour corn (*uraax-katit*)	1 small sack (50-lb flour size)
Dried spotted corn (*rikis-tipiku*)	1 sack
Beans	1 sack
Pumpkin mats	2 mats
Dried buffalo meat (*takaski*)	½ parfleche
Trade store goods	Flour (50-lb sack); coffee, sugar, baking powder; dried peaches and dried prunes

[252] As on the previous occasion, Grandma contributed her specialty, pounded up sweet corn mixed with sugar, *rikis-karus-tapaxtu*, "corn-sweet-pounded-up," that she had pounded in the mortar before they left. She pounded as much of it as she could so that the family could carry it along. This was a valuable ready-to-eat food and there would be no time to prepare it while they were on the march without her, since she would remain on Grand Island. Particularly in winter, there would be little time to cook.

No Corn, wife of Horse Rider, took a similar array of foods to White Woman, but less in quantity. She took:

Roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*)	1 sack
Dried blue flour corn (*uraax-katit*)	½ sack
Dried spotted corn (*rikis-tipiku*)	1 sack
Beans	1 sack
Pumpkin mats	1 mat
Dried buffalo meat (*takaski*)	½ parfleche
Trade store goods	Flour (50-lb sack); coffee, sugar, dried peaches and dried prunes

[252] The roasted (*rawaritu*) corn was the quickest-cooking, while the dried blue flour corn (*urrax-katit*) had to soak and took much longer to cook. The spotted corn was parched in a pan with coals. For this winter expedition the main difference in the supplies was that they took half or less of the longer-cooking dried blue flour corn. Otherwise the supplies were substantially similar. However, they were out on their winter expedition about 3-½ months rather than the summer period of only two.

While there is no way of getting a reliable estimate of how much these supplies amounted to in our terms, Samuel Allis who was missionary to the Skidi and traveled with them on their hunts in 1835–1836, stated that [797] [175]

*224 each parfleche that they carried with them contained four bushels of corn
*484 or eighty pounds of dried buffalo meat. The proportions of the dry
• 262 meat he describes as 3 feet long and 2 feet wide per sheet.

[797] It should be noted that some of the trade store supplies had their
[175] analogies in the native foods. Flour was analogous to finely pounded-up
corn made into corn bread that was baked in the ashes, and the dried
[252] fruits with traditional dried wild plums and sand cherries, while sugar
was obtained from the box elder.

*224 The cache pit being in order and the provisions packed for travel, the
*484 horse gear was all gotten in order, the saddles and straps mended so that
the goods could be securely packed on the horse. Finally the long-
492 awaited announcement for leaving would come. The specific directions
were from Man Chief of the Tsawi Band who was leading the hunt.

The night before it would be stated that rainy conditions would have to be taken account of. If they had a hard rain early in the morning, then they would have to delay their departure until the next day, but "If it rains only a little in the morning, as soon as the rain stops, we can go on." On the other hand, should it rain during the night, they would certainly go on next morning. If they had already started and it began to rain they would cover up the loaded horses with an old tent skin they carried along for the purpose and say, "It's on the way," and continue, unless it kept on raining hard all through the day, when they would have to unload the horses, cover up the baggage with a tent skin, and all crawl under it until the rain was over. Then they would reload and go on.

[721] Another cause for delay in their departure would be an enemy attack
when they could do nothing else but stay and defend themselves. This
would delay them for a day or two.

Meanwhile everyone was anxious to be on their way. On the appointed morning or the night before, Horse Rider tethered the horses right outside the door of the lodge. They would be loaded as for the summer hunt, a place being arranged for No Corn to ride because of her arthritis.

*224 ought to put more dirt on the ice because I think we'll be staying here
623 for the rest of our hunt."

The business over, it was time to serve the feast of donated boiled buf-
*224 falo ribs which were served without delay. As no corn had been donated,
625 no offering was made to the sacred bundle that night. The guests made
[574] haste to go home so that the family could prepare their dry meat. However, the police had to remain until after midnight to see that there were no infractions of the antinoise rules. Every now and then one of their number was sent out to see that no one happened to forget and was laughing too loud. The policeman put on his belt with the sleigh bells and taking his stick walked cautiously through the camp. One could hear the snow cracking under his feet. As he arrived where the noise was, he tapped the tent with his stick. Then the noise would stop. He had been holding his sleigh bells so that they would not sound, but now he released them so that everyone would know that he was passing through.

*224 The next day the antinoise injunction continued. Some women went
out toward evening to cut wood and although they were supposed to
625 chop very gently, the echo could be heard by the police in the council
689 tent. Two officers were sent out to punish them. They made each woman forfeit one of her moccasins and whatever else the policeman could get. He carried the forfeits up to the council tent and waited there for the women to come and redeem them. It was very cold and each woman had to wrap something around the foot from which the moccasin had been taken. Then she came limping into camp and when she got home, she made some bread and coffee and took it over to the council tent to the police. "All right," said War Cry, "Give her her moccasin." Other women would bring calico or a little tobacco to redeem their things. "Give them to her," said War Cry, "but next time watch out!"

*224 During the day, Know-His-Face had gone through the camp remarking
623 that they could use some corn and coffee at the council tent. With this
574 gentle reminder, they were likely to receive at least two buckets of corn
for the evening. As the men came in from the hunt, they donated ribs as
• 262 usual for the evening council and Old Lady Lucky Leader put them in her grass house. Some men were particularly fond of ribs with an unborn calf inside, and when one of these was donated they would ask to have them served right away. As the men left the ribs at the council tent they were told that special invitations would not be issued but that they were to come right back when they had attended to their business at home. Sometimes men waited at home to get a supper of fried bread and coffee before going to the council if their wives had any, since these supplies were pretty well depleted throughout the camp.

*224 At the council everyone was talking of the buffalo chase that day—of
623 how deep the snow was that they had to go through in some places, etc.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Hidatsa NQ14

P
252

• 262

65 Pawnee text version of making "beans-inside" bread, Weltfish, 1937, pp. 37-38.

P
342

11, 62 In the settlement near Fremont, Nebraska (Pahaku), the oldest brother of the three, Rotten House, and Sitting Hawk, the second oldest, and Victory Call, the youngest, established a huge earth lodge, 90 feet in diameter with two sets of central pillars, concentrically arranged. In it he assembled a large group of "brothers," most of them doctors.

P
[756]

P
114
797

14-15 The integrity of the account of Pawnee life obtained from informants by the field ethnologist is clearly validated by the account of an eyewitness, the missionary Samuel Allis, 1887, who lived with the Skidi in Old Village more than a hundred years before this record was made. He comments on the efficiency with which the domestic arrangements operate:

P
595

> [H]e lives with her in her father's lodge. It is customary for a young man to marry in a family, and if there is more than one daughter, he takes the oldest and so on as fast as they mature and gives a horse for each additional wife. In this way one sometimes gets as many as six or seven wives. They are like the Mormons in some ways. The oldest wife is "Sister Young" or "Sister Kimball" and so on and is mistress of the lodge. Each woman, however, has her own bundle of meat, corn, etc. and takes her turn in cooking; and the lord sleeps by turns in different parts of the lodge to avoid jealousy. Some of them have their women in different lodges and own a share in each lodge. In this way they fare better. *They have so much system in cooking, dressing robes, cornfields and other work that they get along better than one would suppose.**

H
462
593

This outlook on the fluidity of the division of labor was not confined to the Pawnees. Wolf Chief, an old man of the Hidatsa tribe, a Siouan group of North Dakota, stated in 1910, "In my tribe in old times, some men helped their wives in their gardens. Others did not. Those who did not help their wives talked against those who did saying, 'That man's wife makes him her servant!' And others retorted, 'Look, that man puts all the hard work on his wife!' " "Men were not all alike; some did not like to work in the garden at all, and cared for nothing but to go around visiting or to be off on a hunt. My father Small Ankle liked to garden and often helped his wives. He told me that was the best way to do. 'Whatever you do,' he said, 'help your wife in all things!' He taught me to clean the garden, to help gather the corn, to hoe and to rake. My father said that that man lived best and had plenty to eat who helped his wife. One who did not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

---

* Italics mine.

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water. Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation (1925, pp. 142-161). 773 551 821

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making. 000

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. 231 552 [556] Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof, *Askats;* Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the horse. 231 764 428 [766]

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They were: Wide Feet, *As-kataribu'*; White Spotted, *Paras-taka*; Bear Head, *Kuruks-paksu*; Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat*; Hate-His-Tail, *Pits-tatur-ritku*; Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats*; Wooly, *Pararus*; Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku*; Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.* 231 552 Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the time. 231 Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog Society. [262] Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross, 1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march pulling the travois in 1834-1836. The Pawnees were able to identify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties. [825]

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee 231 726 177

Other important plant foods were the turkey pea, wild plum, wild 172* cherry, Jerusalem artichoke, and the chokecherry. Of these all save 222 the first have been found in the Hill site and have been definitely 262 identified as to species. Others were probably used from time to time, but no record of them has survived, either archeological or documentary.

Eight species of plants have been found represented at the Hill 172* site.[83] 824

Brauneria angustifolia or *Echinacea angustifolia*.
Wild plum (*Prunus americana*).
Flint corn (*Zea mays*).
Hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*).
Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*).
Wild potato (*Apios tuberosa*).
Bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*).
Chenopodium sp. (apparently *Chenopodium nutalliae*).

To these we may add 10 species as given by Dunbar.[84]

Wild potato (*Ipomoea pandurata*).
Wild turnip (*Arisaema triphyllum*).
Pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*).
Ground bean (*Apios tuberosa*).
Cucumber root (*Medeola virginica*).
Artichoke (*Helianthus doronicoides*).
Ground plum (*Astragalus caryocarpus*).
Umbels of milkweed (*Asclepias cornuti*).
Mushroom (sp. unidentified).
Sand cherry (sp. not given).

The complete report on botanical specimens from the Hill site, as identified by Dr. Gilmore, is as follows:

No. 1. Five small pieces of the root of *Brauneria angustifolia* (*Echinacea angustifolia*). The root of this was very highly esteemed by the Pawnee and other tribes within its range, for numerous medicinal uses, especially as a remedy for the bite of rattlesnakes. [752]

No. 2. Four pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*). The wild plum was highly valued for food use, and was eaten in considerable quantities fresh and uncooked, and was cooked for sauce. It was also preserved for winter use by drying. [251]

No. 3. Six charred grains of flint corn.

No. 4. A number of pits of hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*). The sugary fruits of hackberry were eaten from hand with pleasure by all, and especially by children. They were also reduced to pulp with a stone hammer, and the resulting paste was used as a flavoring in cooking meat. [263]

No. 5. One pit of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), and four small, spherical insect galls, apparently the galls which were common on the prairie rose (*Rosa pratincola*).

---

[83] From the Hill collection, Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. The specimens were identified by Dr. M. R. Gilmore of the University of Michigan. Letter of Apr. 10, 1931 (see also pl. 2, *a-c*).

[84] 1880, b, pp. 323–324.

Star. If during the night one had dreamed a bad dream, one might swallow a great deal of water and regurgitate it before eating. 484* 512 [787]

White Woman was making the grease bread and No Corn was making the coffee. During these preparations, Victory Call sat by smoking his pipe.

By the time Horse Rider was through bringing in the horses, breakfast was ready. After they had all eaten, the women cleaned the dishes, using [264] the plant known as water string or "false indigo" (*Amorpha fruticosa*, [824] Gilmore, p. 93) to rub on the dishes and buckets to sweeten them while washing. This plant grew close to the creeks with its roots in the water; the leaves and stems were used and the roots discarded. In winter, strips of the bark were taken from the dry stalks. False indigo was invaluable, particularly on the march; you might find nothing but boggy water in a depression and the plant would freshen it. It could also be used [263] to make palatable meat that had a gamey flavor like wildcat, by boiling it in two waters with the plant and pouring off the water each time, after which it could be cooked in the ordinary way and tasted good. The plant was spread on the ground while butchering to keep the pieces of meat clean.

The dishes having been cleaned, they were ready to dismantle the camp and load the horses. Two or three old ladies were waiting nearby for Grandma to join them. They would set out at once to get an early start, [262] carrying a little ration of pounded up sweet corn and sugar to sustain them on the way.

As soon as they had eaten, the two men saddled up the horses while 484* White Woman prepared to dismantle the tent. She shook the tent pegs 512 loose and pulled them out, then began to fold over the tent cover while it 342 was still on the frame, first pulling one side around to the back and 492 folding it over and then the other side; pulling down the "backbone" pole with folded cover on it, she untied the stick where it was attached at the top and bottom and put it aside. The tent skin was then folded down the middle lengthwise and evenly rolled from the bottom end toward the top, then tied around the middle with the string that was there for the purpose (see Figure 19-1). Additional ropes were used to tie the roll securely across the ends. Now White Woman dismantled the wooden frame, and the poles were divided evenly so that they could be tied to the horse's back in two even bunches.

Only the oblong rawhide containers were now left standing, as they 484* had been placed next to the back wall of the tent. Meanwhile No Corn 512 had been rolling up the bulrush mats that were on the ground and tying them in the middle with the strings that were provided there. She was also rolling up the blankets.

Now that everything had been dismantled in the camp, the next job 484* was loading up. The horse was brought around close to where the con- 512 tainers were. Horse Rider and No Corn stood on one side and Victory Call 492

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Hako are at rest, the food which has been standing beside the fire is served by the Fathers to the Children. Certain men are appointed for this task. 796*

It is the duty of a father to provide food for his child, and not to partake himself until the child is satisfied. As we are to simulate the relation of father to child, we prepare a meal for the Children twice and sometimes thrice a day during the continuance of this ceremony. We are obliged to bring much food for this purpose, as the Children are sometimes many, and we have also ourselves to feed. [593] [264]

Where we must travel far to reach the tribe of the Son, the burden of carrying so much food is hard upon our ponies. So much cooking for the Children keeps the women very busy, but they are willing, for the ceremony brings good to them. [492] [462]

After the Children have eaten they rest a while and then go home, returning to the lodge when the sun has set. Before they go they generally make gifts of ponies to the Fathers. [431]

When the Fathers are left alone in the lodge they eat their evening meal.

The Hako throughout this ceremony are never left unattended by night or day. When the Ku'rahus, or his assistant, or the chief needs to leave the lodge, someone is requested to take his place during his absence.

NINTH RITUAL (FIRST NIGHT). INVOKING THE VISIONS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the sun has set and it is dark and the stars are shining, then the Children gather in the lodge. Some, as they come in, will advance to the holy place and there drop a stick; this means the gift of a pony. For every such gift the Ku'rahus returns thanks to the giver. [431]

After all are seated, wood is piled upon the fire, and when the flames leap high the Ku'rahus rises, then his assistant and the chief rise and the Hako are taken up.

The singers carrying the drum follow the Hako bearers as they move slowly around the lodge, singing the following song.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

EXTRA NIGHT SONG[a]

533*
796*

Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Rendition

539*
796*

I

As I lay sleeping, as I lay dreaming,
Out of the distance came one advancing
One whom I ne'er had seen before, but when her voice addressed me, straightway I knew her—
Lo! 'Twas our Mother, she whom we know.

II

I rose from sleeping, my dream rememb'ring
Her words I pondered, words of our mother,
Then I asked of each one I met, Tell me, how far may her shrine be? When I found it
Sweet smoke I offered unto our Mother.

THIRTEENTH RITUAL (THIRD DAY). THE FEMALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. THE SACRED FEAST OF CORN

On the morning of the third day the ritual of the Dawn was repeated. The Children gathered at the lodge before sunrise and their morning meal was given them by the Fathers. 796*

On the preceding day the masculine principle, the sun, had been "remembered." On this day the feminine, the earth, was to be honored.

The ceremonies began by the sacred feast of Corn. It followed closely upon the morning meal and was wholly ceremonial and communal in form, the people taking a spoonful from bowls that were passed around the lodge from one group to another. [264]

The corn was provided and prepared by the Children, they who were to be the recipients of the good promised by the Hako and prefigured by this act—the gift of plenty that they were to receive. [431]

PART II. SONG TO THE EARTH

The song to the Earth followed the rite. Its responsive liturgical form calls to mind the song which opens the first ritual. Its theme is similar. As the ceremony proceeds, its purpose, the perpetuation of the clan or tribe by the gift of children, is brought more and more clearly to light. [533* 539*]

---

[a] Music on page 159.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

668 796 782 wise around the sacred dance ground (not the space around which the people are gathered) which was now vacant, and came to the west of it where he stopped facing east. At this point his back was to the back of the Seven seated Brothers. Here he offered corn upward to heaven, then bent down and pushed some off the spoon onto the ground, then turned to the west to which he offered the spoon of corn slantwise, then pushed some more off onto the ground, and finally placed the rest on the ground as an offering to the earth. (Second phase: first mode[1]) He then put the spoon on the ground beside him, and touching and pressing the corn into the earth, made three sets of motions with his hands and arms: four upward to heaven, four westward, and four to the earth. (Self-blessing; return of spoon[1]) Then he picked up the spoon and went through the motions of the final self-blessing with it, pressing his feet firmly to the ground. With the spoon he turned and reentered the circle of people between the First Brother (who is at the south end of the row of seven seated brothers) and those at his left, walked through a half circuit clockwise until he faced the chiefs sitting at the west, and returned the spoon to the chief who had given it to him. All the people say, "Nawa."

668 796 [264 The food was then served. A number of men were selected to do the serving, some serving the chiefs, others the Seven Brothers, and still others the people in general. The chiefs must be served first, and then the Seven Brothers, and then the public at large.

554] After all had eaten the dishes were put away. The people might come back and dance on the dance-ground until the sun had fully set. They stopped finally at full sundown. Many of the people did not camp on the grounds and had to go home for the night. Others had to look out for their horses.

In this way the people danced at the encampment for four days, and the last day they continued dancing all night. As individuals had trance visions, they would begin to wear different feathers and paints according to what they saw; and at later Ghost Dances would bring out these Ghost Dance things and use them.

[513] After the entire dance was over, the people generally slept a full day. Later they might decide to hold a hand game. In these early Ghost Dance times among the Skiri, a hand game could only be held after a full Ghost Dance had been carried out. Later hand games were interspersed in the Ghost Dancing.

Such were the ceremonial forms of the first Ghost Dancing among the Skiri proper.

792 668 796 787 Although Mrs. Washington was in this way responsible for the first organization of the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Goodeagle came to

524 those who should lead the two opposing sides. These in turn selected
*533 those who should hide the balls. It was customary to give the balls
to persons sitting next each other, the guesser indicating by a gesture
796 whether he (or she) believed the balls to be in the two outer hands,
the two inner, or one outer and one inner hand. The writer was
invited to sit beside a member of the tribe and join in the game, attempting
to hide the balls in the manner of the Indians.

An unfortunate though not unusual circumstance took place in
[152] the dances which occurred during this game. The woman who
gave the hand game was afflicted with what was termed a "Ghost
dance fit."[27] She staggered and moaned in a pitiful manner but
did not fall to the ground. Several persons went to her aid and
restored her in the manner peculiar to the Ghost dance.[28]

The second hand game attended by the writer took place on
April 16, 1921, and was given by Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*), who
recorded Song No. 80. This was said to be her hand game, not only
[787] because she gave the invitations and provided the feast, but because
certain features of the game, as played that day, had been revealed
to her in a dream. The symbolism of certain articles used in that
game was not made known to the singers and perhaps is known only
to herself. The game was held in the same 6-sided lodge as the former
hand game and the victory dances. (Pl. 7, *c*.) As on the former
occasion, Mr. Murie opened the game in a ceremonial manner.
The doors were closed and a filled pipe was offered to the earth and
the sky. Mrs. Good Eagle was a dignified hostess, standing in
the center of the lodge and appointing those who should lead the
two sides of players. After the game the doors were again closed
and a tiny portion of each sort of food was ceremonially offered and
then laid beside the fire space, opposite the door. A bountiful
[264] feast was then served. According to Indian custom, each person
provided his own utensils and the food was served in large containers.
The writer shared in the feast.

*533 Eight of the songs used at this game, during the hiding of the balls,
were later recorded by Horse Chief, a prominent singer at the drum.
In some of these songs there were no words and in others the words
are obsolete, the singer repeating them but having no knowledge of
their meaning.

---

[27] The woman undoubtedly suffered from the early stages of what, in the Ghost dance, would have been a trance. Mooney states that he "was able to note all the stages of the phenomenon . . . through the staggering, the rigidity, the unconsciousness, and back again to wakefulness. On two occasions my partner in the dance, each time a woman, came under the influence and I was thus enabled to note the very first nervous tremor of her hand and mark it as it increased in violence until she broke away and staggered toward the medicine man within the circle. Young women are usually the first to be affected, then older women, and lastly men." (Mooney, James, The Ghost Dance Religion, Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 923, Washington, 1896.)

[28] The "Shaker religion" has been introduced among the Indians at Neah Bay, Wash., and at a gathering in that village the writer saw a woman afflicted in a manner similar to the "Ghost dance fit." A slave woman went to her, stroked her arms and head, and gradually quieted her.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

584 539 relatives together, the mother's relatives being seated on the south and the father's on the north side of the lodge. The father's relatives left the decision with the mother's relatives, who decided that the girl should be allowed to marry the young man. Many presents were [431] distributed. The young man's relatives gave presents, and the young man gave a fine horse to the father and mother of the girl. The next day the old man gave the horse to his wife. There were buffalo robes and many valuable articles among the presents.

539 593 All went well for a time, and then the young man began to beat his wife and abuse her. The girl's mother begged her father to interfere, but he refused to do so. She said, "You claim to be a brave man; why do you not make our son-in-law stop beating his wife?"

He said, "Do you remember one beautiful morning when you said the young man was handsome, that he came of good family, had many horses, and his arms were strong?"

"Yes."

"Do you remember that my relatives sat on the north and yours on the south side of the lodge, and that my relatives left the decision to yours?"

"Yes."

"So your people sold our daughter to that man. We have no right to interfere with his property. He gave the ponies. He gave a fine pony to us. Didn't I give you that pony?"

"Yes."

"Get a kettle. Put it on the fire and put water in it." She did so.

[415 251] "Now take your parflêche bag and put the finest of your dried meat in the pot. When the soup is done you must bring me some in a wooden bowl."

When she brought the soup he told her to sit beside him and eat. As they ate he said, "What nice fat! What fine meat this is! Who got it for you?"

"Our son-in-law."

"You like the meat that our son-in-law brings us? He punishes our daughter for her own good. He does not want her to run around the camp foolishly. He wants her to be a good cook and to look after things in the lodge."

Then the woman stopped finding fault with her son-in-law.

The young man was well liked by the chiefs. They asked him to join their societies and later he became a chief. He and his wife had one child, a boy. This little boy liked to stay with his grandfather, who told him stories. His grandfather was Sarítsaris (Mad ● [264 867] Chief), a brave man of the Chaui Band. The little boy cooled his grandfather's mush or soup by swinging the dish back and forth, then he set it before the old man.

THE BEAR SOCIETY.

756 Among the very highest of shamans and doctors were the bear men. Among their regalia were four bearskins, a grizzly, cinnamon, the large [301] black bear, and the small black bear. There were also four bear-claw necklaces. Eight rawhide rattles were used. Preparatory to a ceremony two piles of cedar brush were placed in the lodge, one for each side. When the members have assembled a sprig is given to each, set up before his seat, and carried in the dance. The sprig is carried home, the leaves stripped and the [789] wood cast into the fire. The leaves are placed in a bag and used for ceremonial smudges; thus if a thunderstorm threatens, a smudge is made to protect the lodge.

When called to a ceremony, the members enter, take their seats and place [302] their professional bundles in front. Then they paint. One set of men paints red, one white, and another a kind of pink. All make black eye marks, a diagonal line from the inner corner of the eye down across the cheek. If feathers are worn in the hair, they are of the same color as the face.

When all are ready, the leader designates two men from each side, to wear the bearskins. These were worn merely as robes, the head on one side, the tail on the other. Sometimes two small boys are selected to dance with [53] very small bearskins. Four water drums are used; these are passed, or moved around the circle at intervals. While the songs are rendered, the members dance around the fireplace and during the intervals walk around the fire, or mill like bears.

At the feast which follows the kettle of corn is brought in and as in all ceremonies is set upon the median line of the lodge between the door and the fire. (Fig. 4). Eight bowls are placed around it in a circle, those in [264] the north half going to that side in order, etc. After the corn is served, the kettle of meat is brought in and served in a similar manner. Thus each side eats in four groups. No one is permitted to use a knife while eating. After the feast each makes up his bundle and departs.

While all the divisions seem to have had a bear society, its full ritual was in the keeping of the Skidi organization.

BUFFALO DOCTORS.

Another important society found among the Skidi and Chaui is known as [778] kura taraha, buffalo doctors. On their altar is a buffalo skull, one half white, one half red; also a wand with seven eagle feathers, at the top a tiny bag of native tobacco and four strings of blue beads hanging down. The

512 to the fields after the early morning swim. They returned to the lodge at about eleven o'clock for the first meal, the other meal being around five in the afternoon. Men and women sat apart at meal-
264 times, the former being together in the west of the lodge and the women sitting east of the fireplace. Any food out of the ordinary,
[562] such as melons in season, was given to the men first. As a rule the children ate by themselves near the women and had to be content with what remained after their parents had finished. Where several
[252] families occupied a single lodge, each family in turn cooked for the others in the lodge. [The separation of the sexes at mealtimes is not entirely clear. The manuscript also contains the following statement: "The food was prepared in large quantities and divided among the families, each receiving a wooden bowl, and each member
[412] of the family eating from this bowl by means of an individual sheep-horn spoon."]

262 784 Corn was generally eaten mixed with beans, or sometimes boiled with the tops of milkweed. In the winter, the nests of ground rats were hunted and robbed of their stores of ground beans. Although most animals were eaten, especially the buffalo and deer, the Pawnee eschewed the meat of the wolf, coyote, otter, wildcat, and mountain lion. Certain other food restrictions also prevailed. Fish was prohibited to chiefs and medicine-men. The tender meat about the buffalo's anus was a prized delicacy of the old people, but tabooed for children, as the violation of this restriction would bring them failure in after years when they attempted raids on enemy villages. Nor were young men and girls supposed to eat the stomach of the buffalo cow. To do so would cause the former to receive many wounds on the warpath, while a girl ran the risk of falling in a hole and injuring her leg, if, in later life, she doubted the faithfulness of her husband and followed him to the lodge of another woman to whom she suspected he was paying improper attention.

224 784 When any of the men were away on a buffalo hunt, certain restrictions on conduct were imposed on those who remained at home. The lodge must be kept clean, especially the part about the altar. Just before mealtimes sacrifices of corn must be made to the skull on the altar. No menstruating woman could approach
[841] the skull, as it would anger the buffalo spirit that resided in the skull and cause the buffalo to elude the hunters. The people at home must always talk as though the hunters were having great success. Especially they should speak of consecrating buffalo sacrifices to

533 ritual to inform the gods that these good people were 796 providing for those who had made offerings to them, and were therefore entitled to their help. He sang,—

1 [539] "I come! Now we raise our voices for Mother-Corn.
Mother-Born-Again.
Mother-Corn-who-carries-them-through-obstacles.
It is our father who sits in the pathway to receive prayers.
Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.
Yonder the Wonderful Being dwells in the heavens.
Yonder their father dwells in the heavens, where the thunders are to be heard.
Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.
Yonder in the heavens stands Ready-to-Give.
Mother-Corn's kettles are filled with corn brought by a child.
Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.
Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.
It is through him that I walk around the circle of the village and call upon the gods to look down upon this boy.
I come!"

As he sang, he made the circuit of the village, repeating the song over and over, and finally returned 796 to the lodge where the ceremony had been held. He entered and sat down, and then said, "Let us, priests, chiefs, young and old men, know that this ceremony is now ended. It is now the time to tell stories and to [264] eat." The corn, which had been brought in cooked, was dished out in a prescribed way, and the meat was cooked over the fire by one of the errand men. When it was done, it was divided among the priests, who ate a little, but saved the greater part to take away with them. Small portions of the corn, and of the meat and fat, were offered to the gods.

When all had eaten, the chief priest said, "Priests, we have now gone through the ceremony that was given to us by Paruxti. A young boy wished to see this ceremony. It is for that reason that you, priests, entered this lodge, and sit upright in a circle in the lodge, sitting in the places of the gods; that you sit upright, as they do, sitting close together. You sit in their places, and we offer stories and rituals that they

577 727 uted his favors more broadly. Now on the fourth occasion, the Pawnees lay in wait in their village and sure enough the young Fox warrior stealthily crept into the encampment ready to collect and run. This time the Pawnees were lying in wait for him, and they seized him and took him to the tent of the head chief. There the young warrior trembled within himself, prepared for the worst. One by one, the Pawnees began to remove his garments as the chief had ordered. Then they painted up his face, put on a new loincloth, a new shirt, new leggings, and new moccasins and loaded him with additional goods saying, "You have favored us three times already, now go home and don't come back for a while." As the Fox report, he never did return to the Pawnees. In fact, was there anything worse that a people could do to an attacking enemy soldier?

592 512 462 Let us now look at the household of the Pawnee—his home life. Most earth lodges housed from thirty to fifty people. The lodge was a production workshop in which, with few exceptions, everything required for use was produced, including the collection and processing of raw materials. A substantial part of this work was done by the women. The house was conceived as being divided into two duplicate halves—the north sector and the south sector—each of which carried out the essential household functions in alternation. [264] There were two main meals a day, for example, the one being provided by the north side, the other by the south side, both serving all. In operation this meant that the woman who cooked the meal had raised all the vegetables in her own gardens, had dried and preserved them and kept them in her storage pit, and that all the meat she served was dried and packed by her on the buffalo hunt, carried back to the village (formerly on her back or by the dogs she raised), and also stored in the pit. In the past, the clay pot she cooked in would have been made by her (now a brass kettle from the trade store), and she was still making the large buffalo-horn ladle with which she served, the wooden mortar and pestle in which the mush was pounded, and for her "side" alone the wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons in which the food was served, the rush mats on which the people sat, and all the clothing they wore. Every day, morning or evening, she would serve twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty people a meal.

264 571 The way in which the morning and evening meal was allocated to one or the other "side" was a clear example of the characteristic Pawnee mode of personal interaction. There was no prearranged schedule at all as to which side would take the morning, which the evening meal. This was determined on each individual occasion by the inclinations of the principals most directly involved. From our point of view a plan would be made and the people fitted into it—from the Pawnee view, the plan emerged from the feelings of the people. This difference of approach is so basic that I feel impelled to stress it particularly. The Pawnee indi-

vidual embraced responsibility; he had no inclination to shirk it. In a 264
sense, the rhythm of Pawnee work life was like a ballet, whereas ours is 571
like a prison lockstep: "You must, you must, you must get to work!"

The day's routine in our Pawnee household began when either Vic- 512
tory Call or Old Bull happened to awaken; this depended on which one 592
decided to get out of bed first. Or else White Woman or Queen Woman
might be the first to awaken, and then she would remind her husband
that it was morning. From the time one or the other of the two men got
out of bed, the day's program was set; the others simply followed the
initial cue. When the man had gotten out of his bed he went outside and
inspected the horizon and the stars, came in and kindled the fire, and
said, "Fire's made." His senior wife then got up and started the breakfast.
As observed by one of the contemporary missionaries in 1837, the rest followed with precision. The minor cycles of household operation were also
conducted in a similar mode. Someone felt impelled to take care of a
needed task and mentioned it and volunteers were forthcoming without
further ado. Pressure and compulsion are implicit in our attitude toward
work; voluntarism was the Pawnee way.

The functions of the women in the earth lodge were subdivided 462
roughly according to age. The north and south quarters of the circum- 562
ference of the house were each subdivided into three "stations." The
central one of these (due north and due south) was the core position 592
and it was occupied by the mature women of the lodge. They furnished 561
the main provisions and directed the necessary work. At the inner or
western station on each side was the place of the immature girls and
newly married young women. The outer or eastern station on each side
was for the old women, symbolically on the way out and physically nearest to the exit (or entryway) of the lodge. Most commonly each of
these stations was occupied by several women who carried out its special
functions jointly.

The details of the function of the central station have been mentioned 855
above in connection with general household operations. The other two 603
stations supplemented it in very different ways. At the east stations for
the old women, the children past the age of infancy were cared for, the 887
old women being referred to by the children as "grandmothers," regard- 592
less of the actual biological kinship. The children slept in the beds with
their "grandmothers" and shared a bowl of food with them at meals.
Grandma saw that they were warm and well fed and tried to help them in
every way. She was a permissive, familiar, kind person to whom the child
could always appeal. Between grandma and grandchild there was neither
formality nor constraint. Jokes were made about a boy saying, "Look
how close he sticks to his grandma; he wants to marry her!" or "There
he goes always running to his grandma." Besides child care, the grand- 887
mother would give a good deal of assistance to "the senior women of the 592

272 After the other foods were ready, the coffee was cooked in a bucket
with sugar to be served later in small bowls. This was a task that No
Corn was likely to undertake. She would mix a handful of ground coffee
with a handful of sugar and boil them together with water in the bucket.
The meal would be finished off with sweet coffee served hot and black.

512 While all these preparations were going on, the people began to get up
one by one and sit down in their places around the fire. Now only the
boys were still in bed. Grandma warmed her hands over the fire, went
[522] over to the bed, put them on Otter's warm nose and "took it off" remark-
ing to Old Bull, "Here's his nose." Then she offered it all around to the
assembled company. Sometimes it was his ears that she offered instead.
With things about done, Victory Call said, "Boys, breakfast is ready,
you can go to bed again later if you want to."

264 White Woman removed the bucket of corn from the fire and put eleven
bowls around it to serve the family. The grandmother–grandchild pairs
[412] each got a bowl together and everyone else got a bowl for himself. With
each bowl there was a buffalo-horn spoon and two spoons in the bowl
[415] for grandma and grandchild. White Woman, who was sitting east
and slightly north of the fireplace, dished out the corn with a large
buffalo-horn spoon 8 inches long with a bowl that was 4½ inches across
and 1½ inches deep. A ladleful or one and a half ladles of corn along
with the liquor was a serving, the grandmother–grandchild bowls receiv-
ing an extra large portion. For feasts, large wooden ladles were used for
serving.

264 The order in which the members of the household sat at their meal was
pretty much in the position of their beds. Old Bull sat at the southwest
554 and Victory Call at the northwest position. Ordinarily a man's senior wife
592 sat next to him, and his junior wives sat beyond. Old Bull and his wives
sat in this order, but White Woman had moved down to the east end of
the north side so that she could do the serving. The grandmothers and
[574] their grandchildren sat at the east end. Old-Man-That-Chief, although a
guest, took up the southeast position of humility, for he was old and
[888] nearly blind. The bowls were passed around to the people from hand to
hand, unless the circle was too large, in which case a young woman
would be asked to do the serving. The men were served first in order of
importance, the "guest side" always being given priority. In this instance
the order was Old Bull, Victory Call, Old-Man-That-Chief, Horse
Rider, Queen Woman, the senior wife, then Clear Day, the junior wife,
Blue Calico, the grandmother, on the south side; then the women on the
north—No Corn, Yellow Calf and his Grandma, Otter and his Grandma,
and finally White Woman herself.

264 Before they began their meal, White Woman made an offering of corn
782 at the west. She took some kernels of corn in a spoon from Victory
Call's bowl and offered them to the nose of the buffalo skull that rested on

the altar there. Out of delicacy, she did not offer corn to the sacred ears in 264
the bundle; if they had had buffalo meat she would have offered it there 782
but not to the buffalo skull.

Now the meal began, and it was proper that they have light conversa- 264
tion while eating. Their conversation turned to getting water for the 521
household and wood for fuel, the care of the horses, and the food pit. White Woman remarked to Clear Day, who was sitting on the other side of the fireplace, "After breakfast, let's take two kettles and get some water." The other women talked about opening up the food pit and sorting out the good corn from the rotten and about exposing dry meat to the wind and sun. Victory Call talked to Horse Rider, who was sitting at his left, about the horses. He said, "Right up near where the horses are you might find some mushrooms and milkweed so that the women can cook the tops." Then the women chimed in, "I wish you could get some milkweed. That's good mixed with corn." Then Victory Call spoke of the horses: "If there's a good runner among them, get on him and give him some exercise so that we can train him as a buffalo horse. You must look around meanwhile and see if you see some deer tracks. We might go hunting. In the evening take the horses to a safe hiding place and hobble them so that the Sioux won't steal them. Look way off in all directions and if you see anyone lurking about bring them right home and put them in the corral. They won't starve for one night. In the morning we'll turn them loose and they can make up for it." "All right, I'll look around," said Horse Rider, "I'll be home late." Victory Call had some further reminders for him. He asked him if he had any parched corn with salt so that the horses would get thirsty and drink. He also reminded him that he should wet the sides of the horses and then they would rub themselves on the grass and shed their old hair. This was a necessary precaution, as they had no curry comb. Horse Rider actually knew all this, but he listened respectfully.

The meal now over, White Woman cleaned up the dishes and started 264
out with Clear Day to get the water. It was a mile to Beaver Creek, and it 512
was necessary to go at least twice a day to get water for the household. 312
Horse Rider usually helped by making at least one of these trips. The 482
two women now set out with two buckets hanging on a seven-foot-long stick which rested on their right shoulders, one woman walking in front and one behind, with the buckets between. The stick, ordinarily used as a digging iron, had one end fire-hardened and sharpened to a point, the other end being forked. At this time after breakfast and especially just before eating supper, many people were walking toward the creek for the same purpose.

Horse Rider left the lodge to take care of the horses, and Old Bull and 512
Victory Call remained seated in their place, smoking their pipe and con- 462
tinuing their conversation. The old ladies who were left behind looked [887]

keeping on the alert for mushrooms and milkweed, whose tender tops 222
were relished when cooked with corn. Some of the mushrooms were
yellow or green under the head, and these were known to be poisonous.
The edible ones were solid pure white. Any with worms were discarded.
Some men became so absorbed in this search that they wandered too far [648]
out and would be killed by the Sioux. This was particularly likely with
men whose food at home was in short supply.

If Victory Call and his kinsman had the good fortune to track down 224
another deer and Victory Call killed it, he would assign the major portion
to his helper. Legally, the entire kill belonged to Victory Call and
the division was entirely at his discretion. Sometimes he would be planning
to have leggings made out of the skins and then he would apologize
and say, "Excuse me. I can't give you the hide." His helper would reply,
"That's all right. I just came around to help you. You gave me meat
anyway."

The meat was all packed and the two men set out for the village. It [524]
was nearly sundown and they had to pass the village gaming ground
where the men gathered watching the hoop and pole game. The players
and spectators would remark, "Look at those fellows. They have a lot of
deer meat. I'm going up there to get some soup."

The two hunters separated and each went to his own house. As soon
as Victory Call approached, a hide was spread inside to receive the meat,
and Horse Rider was waiting outside to unload the horse and bring it in.

When Victory Call arrived inside, the first thing he said was, "The 264
folks down there saw me coming. Hurry up and fix our dinner so that we 252
can eat before they all get here." The family had barely finished eating 574
when the people began to crowd in. If it were the first fresh meat of the
season in the village, some women would come and say to White Woman,
"Daughter, I am begging some meat." "That's good," Victory Call
would say, indicating that they were welcome. White Woman and the
other women of the house were cooking the meat in large kettles, and
men and women were sitting around waiting to be fed when the meat
boiled. Some people preferred strips of meat roasted in the coals, and they
were sitting around roasting it for themselves.

Then the fire began to burn up brighter and someone remarked, "How 262
about getting to work and roasting the ribs?" Horse Rider then took the 574
ribs and leaned them on stakes around the fire. These would be served at [252]
a more formal feast after the casual guests had left. Otter was sent to invite
the guests. Each of the men would invite two honored guests. Victory
Call inquired of Old Bull whom he would like to entertain, and he
requested that Chief White Eagle be called with his brave, Bringing
Trophies, with whom Old Bull was associated in his doctor practice.
Victory Call invited Eagle Chief, head chief of his village, Pumpkin-Vine,
and his principal brave, War Cry. Meanwhile the women were cooking [252]

*224 boy Otter. Victory Call was assisted by his retainer, Horse Rider, and
262 there were the three women—White Woman who carried the main responsibility
592 for the encampment, assisted by No Corn, Horse Rider's
*484 wife, who because of her affliction with arthritis was less able to contribute,
and Grandma Chase-the-Enemy, who helped whenever she could. The food supplies these women carried were fairly standard and were estimated as shown in Table 16-1. (Grandma included hers with White Woman's.)

*224 These dried foods were very concentrated and swelled many times
251 their size when boiled with water. For their bulk, they were economical
262 to carry. Victory Call's family of six took six to eight rawhide envelopes,
packing the food and certain small objects that happened to fit in, also a few skin sacks, and half a sack of food for immediate use. In addition, during the twenty days en route to the main hunting grounds, Victory Call went out regularly, as he did in the household, and hunted for a deer, an elk, or an antelope to supply them with fresh meat, although a good deal of it did go into social entertaining as it had in the village. The fresh deer bones were cooked along with the dried corn for the family. On the return journey lasting twenty-seven days, or more, the dried vegetable food was supplemented with partly dried buffalo meat known as *kiparu*, "moist," processed so that it would keep for a short time.

*224 Normally two meals a day were eaten, one before they broke camp in
264 the morning and one in the late afternoon. It seldom happened that they
had a chance to eat a lunch in between as they were mainly on the march through the day or extremely busy processing the meat and hides that the hunters brought to the camp. A good breakfast was mandatory to sustain them on their day's journey, and corn was the most satisfying food. The pattern of meals was much as it was in the earth lodge and included fried bread of commercial wheat flour and coffee mixed with a generous
*224 amount of sugar. The value of sugar as a quick source of energy was well
262 appreciated, and a man would ask his wife to put some sugar in the fried
bread if he was going to have a hard day.

Star. If during the night one had dreamed a bad dream, one might swallow a great deal of water and regurgitate it before eating. 484* 512 [787]

White Woman was making the grease bread and No Corn was making the coffee. During these preparations, Victory Call sat by smoking his pipe.

By the time Horse Rider was through bringing in the horses, breakfast was ready. After they had all eaten, the women cleaned the dishes, using the plant known as water string or "false indigo" (*Amorpha fruticosa*, Gilmore, p. 93) to rub on the dishes and buckets to sweeten them while washing. This plant grew close to the creeks with its roots in the water; the leaves and stems were used and the roots discarded. In winter, strips of the bark were taken from the dry stalks. False indigo was invaluable, particularly on the march; you might find nothing but boggy water in a depression and the plant would freshen it. It could also be used to make palatable meat that had a gamey flavor like wildcat, by boiling it in two waters with the plant and pouring off the water each time, after which it could be cooked in the ordinary way and tasted good. The plant was spread on the ground while butchering to keep the pieces of meat clean. [264] [824] [263]

The dishes having been cleaned, they were ready to dismantle the camp and load the horses. Two or three old ladies were waiting nearby for Grandma to join them. They would set out at once to get an early start, carrying a little ration of pounded up sweet corn and sugar to sustain them on the way. [262]

As soon as they had eaten, the two men saddled up the horses while White Woman prepared to dismantle the tent. She shook the tent pegs loose and pulled them out, then began to fold over the tent cover while it was still on the frame, first pulling one side around to the back and folding it over and then the other side; pulling down the "backbone" pole with folded cover on it, she untied the stick where it was attached at the top and bottom and put it aside. The tent skin was then folded down the middle lengthwise and evenly rolled from the bottom end toward the top, then tied around the middle with the string that was there for the purpose (see Figure 19-1). Additional ropes were used to tie the roll securely across the ends. Now White Woman dismantled the wooden frame, and the poles were divided evenly so that they could be tied to the horse's back in two even bunches. 484* 512 342 492

Only the oblong rawhide containers were now left standing, as they had been placed next to the back wall of the tent. Meanwhile No Corn had been rolling up the bulrush mats that were on the ground and tying them in the middle with the strings that were provided there. She was also rolling up the blankets. 484* 512

Now that everything had been dismantled in the camp, the next job was loading up. The horse was brought around close to where the containers were. Horse Rider and No Corn stood on one side and Victory Call 484* 512 492

224* 252

be used for water or dried as a tobacco container when they went on a Peace Pipe expedition.

224* 521

While the cooking of the meal was in process, the brother returned from tending the horse and Roaming Leader motioned him to sit down at his left. The place at his right was reserved for his wife. Roaming Leader was sitting on the north side. He told his brother how far they had had to go in order to get the bison, how fast the horse was, and other details of the chase—of how three of them had chased two of the bison and the other two, the third animal—of how they butchered and divided up the meat and who got which pieces.

264

Before he had quite finished with his account, his wife announced that she was through with the cooking. He had to interrupt his story, as they must eat at once because the buffalo meat was still lying outside on the spread. His wife's mother, Lady Lucky Leader, had come in meanwhile and her son, Dog-Sitting-at-the-West (also known as Frank Leader), and they joined the family for dinner. The tongue would have been adequate to feed the three of them, but with five they also needed to use the heart. Each one received a small piece of each kind of meat. The Pawnees believed that the first meat of the season should be cooked rare so that the [827] digestive system could become accustomed to it. Roaming Leader remarked this to his wife, "Cook it a little rare. Don't overcook it—it's [252] easier to digest that way." The meat was cut into long thin strips at this time so that it would boil quickly.

224* 252 431

As soon as they were through eating, Lady Lucky Leader went outside to tend to the meat. She gave some to the Meat-Askers and at Roaming Leader's instruction, prepared half of the backbone steak as a gift for White Eagle. First she removed the sinews and cut the steak in two. Since her daughter was busy with the dishes, she carried it to White Eagle's tent herself. As she approached, an old lady from White Eagle's tent noticed her coming and came out to meet her. She said, "I'm bringing meat," and the old lady replied, "Oh, thank you, thank you." As she handed over the meat she said, "Oh, they got three of them—three bison." As White Eagle's mother-in-law entered the tent she told him the news. "They found three bison so and so far." "That's all right!" he said. Some of the meat was cut into long strips and boiled right away, White Eagle making the usual remark about cooking it rare, and the rest of the steak was sliced up by the old lady preparatory to making it into dried meat for storage.

574

After the families of each of the hunters had eaten their meal, they would prepare for their several banquets. Each of the five invited friends and prominent people from his own village—Mad Bear from Pumpkin-Vine, Running Scout from Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge, and Roaming Leader from his own Village-in-the-Bottomlands. New Young

The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant 574 kinship ties to him, but according to the logic of the Pawnee kin system they all called one another brother. They were seated in order of seniority. [602] The hostess, sitting at the southeast, dished out the food for them, [601] and her husband passed it to his neighbor on the left, stating who it was [554] intended for, whereupon it would be passed along to the designated party. There were no speeches, and people were not obliged to wait for [264] anybody else but could eat as soon as they were served. When they were through, if they were in a hurry they would just pick up the bread and meat that they had left over and go directly out, taking the leftover food to their wives and children. The manners of the common people were far [576] simpler than those of the socially elite, or the socially ambitious, although the customary forms were similar.

As they continued on the move, pressures might build up between individuals 484* because of the closeness of the living conditions in camp and the 578 strain of constant migration. This was particularly true between father-in-law 606 and son-in-law. Theoretically, it was the first duty of the son-in-law to serve his wife's family, but when his father-in-law was quite old, the son-in-law often felt put upon by the arrangement. Sometimes in the camp one could hear people calling out, "Fight, fight!" and father-in-law and son-in-law would be grappling with each other in a tent. People all came running and a roughneck in the crowd would call out, "Who's underneath?" Someone who was close to the tent would say, "Son-in-law." In general the crowd would approve and say, "That's good," the sentiment being with the underdog, the old father-in-law. Such a quarrel would [554] be ended when a brave or other person of high social rank put a hand on each of the combatants and said, "I want you to stop." Out of respect for his rank and eminence, they would separate at once and go in different directions. Should they not respond it would be a major insult and he would say a second time, "Didn't you hear me?" This would certainly end the fight. Any person known to be sensitive and to dislike violence could perform this same good office. Violence of this kind within the village [183] or band was considered a serious social malfunction and people made every attempt to avoid it or put a stop to it. The effort to anticipate and prevent such situations from arising can be seen in the efforts of the wife and sister of Fearing-a-Bear to keep a hostile father and son-in-law apart.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

252
574

[554]

[264]
[237]

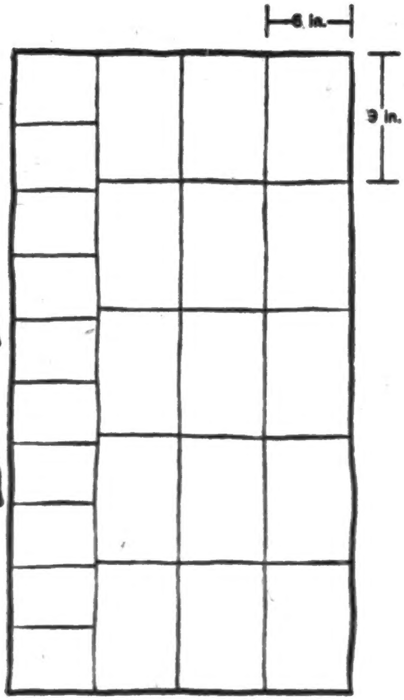
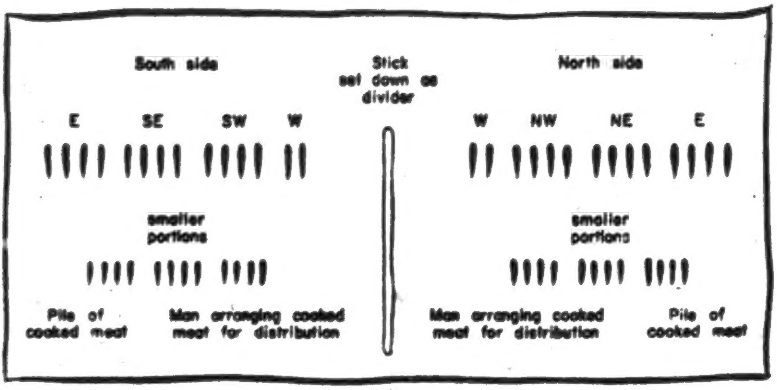


FIGURE 27-4. The manner of cutting and setting out portions of the layer of dried buffalo meat made from the backbone steak, *kisatsu*, at a feast. (1) Preparatory to cooking, the steak is cut into four long strips. The three strips at the right are each made into five portions. The fourth long strip at the left is made into as many additional portions as is deemed necessary. The large portions are for the honored guests sitting in the special positions, the smaller portions, for the rest of the guests. The slab of dried buffalo fat is cut up in the same way. (2) The portions are set out on a tanned hide, ready to be served. (The dimensions and the drawing were supplied by informants.)

252
264
574


South side
Stick set down as divider
North side
E
SE
SW
W
W
NW
NE
E
smaller portions
smaller portions
Pile of cooked meat
Man arranging cooked meat for distribution
Man arranging cooked meat for distribution
Pile of cooked meat

575 come to me, kawaharu, *rakuwaxtsa!*" and luck actually did come. For example:
575 539

> It had snowed four days. Some men who had gone out on the warpath were starving. The men put up a grass house, for they didn't want to go out for fear of being detected by the enemy through their tracks. An old man among them went into the timber and saw three deer. The snow was hitting the deer in the face and blinding it. "We were starving. Nawa, akaa, kawaharu! Now, oh, luck! Then I aimed my bow and arrow and shot one through the shoulder. The others ran but the big buck fell over. Then I called the others and we all took the buck into the grass house. That was the time we had kawaharu. Kawaharu (luck) came to us."

These were the kind of stories they told, but someone decided to lighten the atmosphere and told the following:

> They were hungry and on the warpath. One of the party was a fine shot. Suddenly they saw two or three buffalo sitting there. Then we all put our hands up and said, "Nawa, Kawaharu." The man who was a good shot got angry, thinking to himself, "I do the shooting and here they're saying, 'Kawaharu.'" So he got up and frightened the buffalo away and said, "Well, let kawaharu shoot it now." So they all had to keep quiet after that.

*224 *484 Most men felt that they had enough buffalo meat for their needs and as much as they could transport. They did not go out to hunt on the lake but stayed behind to protect the women and children from the enemy. In Victory Call's family, it was agreed that Horse Rider should stay while Victory Call went out. They also decided that they would eat the roasted ribs that evening in the family instead of contributing them to the council tent, as this would be the last time they had a chance to get them.

At the council tent, White Eagle decided they would stay over one more day and then go on directly north and across the Republican. It was fifteen miles and a very hard journey. The other bands were notified. They arrived by night, having set out very early in the morning. Water had to be carried in a buffalo paunch. When they had gone half way they stopped, unloaded the horses, and let them graze while each little family camp group sat down in the open and had an informal lunch. Victory
Call came and joined his family; White Woman took some pounded dry
[262] buffalo meat, *tapaharus*, from the tanned hide she had packed it in. Each
[264] one put a clean cloth or piece of hide in front of him, and she placed a
little pile of the meat there and a piece of bone grease to eat it with.

752 afterward. One Sioux was killed and one Pawnee killed or scalped.
726 This is why Mad Bear was known as a brave man, heedless of any
danger to himself, like a boy, a *piraski.*

244 All the time that this struggle was going on, Victory Call, White Woman,
512 and No Corn were in No Corn's field picking beans. Horse Rider had
had to go quite a way to find the horses and when he got back to camp
to saddle them, they had left him a bite of breakfast and then he joined
them in the field. First he inspected the pumpkins and then they all
went around picking up the vines, and when a vine wrapped around a
cornstalk, they had to look all around for the ripe pods. This took until
noon and on the way home they took a swim in the creek. Arriving at
244 camp, they prepared a modest lunch of bread, coffee, and bits of ready-cooked
meat saved in a sack for such purposes—pieces of dried heart,
512 leg muscle, pieces of paunch, fat, etc. They called this *tsuspakahu.* They
262 opened the sack and dumped the pieces of meat on a spread and simply
264 picked up one and ate it with the bread and coffee. Sometimes they
had pulverized dried meat, *tapaharus,* with some bone grease instead of
the meat. They decided to have the same kind of meal in the evening, as
their backs ached from picking the beans. After the meal, the newly
244 picked beans were spread out to dry, and about three in the afternoon
512 White Woman decided that her beans were dry enough to thresh with
251 the long willow stick to get the beans out of the pods. Victory Call wandered
up to the store and Horse Rider either went to the gambling
grounds or just sat on a bluff smoking and looking around. The women
kept working with the beans.

512 That evening, Victory Call came in with supplies from the store for
439 supper: prunes, dry apples and some candy sticks for Otter—a gift of
the trader. People had seen Victory Call coming in while they were at
the gambling grounds watching the game, and they decided to come
over and have some dinner there. War Cry's younger brother, Brave
Shield, and Wants-the-Enemy dropped in for a visit. Some decided to
visit with Misery (*Akapakis*) instead, and White Woman felt slighted because
the youngest brother of War Cry, Leading Fox, had decided to go
there as also had Sun Chief, Victory Call's older son. She scolded Leading
Fox saying, "Why don't you come in. People will think I don't
take care of you." "Well," he said, "the boys wanted me to come with
them." She remarked about Sun Chief to Victory Call who reassured
her saying, "That's nothing. You have to watch girls, but you can't
keep boys home like that."

512 At dinner, Brave Shield mentioned that some of the Kitkehaxki
796 doctors were preparing to go back into the earth lodges to prepare for
the forthcoming doctor dances. Victory Call said that it was a bit too
756 early. It was better to finish the work so that they didn't have all this rub-

33

THE HOUSE REESTABLISHED AND THE FOOD STORED

000

The Move into the Earth Lodge—Final Meal in the Tent—Beds in the Lodge Are Repaired—Bedding Explained—South Side Family Moves In—Storage Pit Opened—Harvest and Meat Stored—List of the Contents—Importance of the Storage Pit

OVERHEAD THE BLACKBIRDS were flying south and everyone knew that it would soon be cold. The tents were crowded with parfleches of dried buffalo meat and tanned skin bags of corn kernels and dried beans. The harvest ceremonies were done and the cosmic powers had received their thanks. All over the encampment people began to think of moving back into the earth lodges where they would have better protection for themselves and their stores. The men were thinking about the forthcoming Grand Doctor Ceremony and their part in its thirty-day round of ceremonies and performances. The needed food supplies would have to be gotten ready and their paraphernalia gotten in order. 221

Victory Call was one of the early ones in the encampment to plan to go back into the village. One morning he announced, "Tomorrow we're going to move into the earth lodge." "Well," said Grandma, "it's ready for us. Grieves-the-Enemy, Blue-Calico, and I got it all cleared out." White Woman, going on with the plans remarked, "We'll need two horses to do the hauling. The parfleches must go in first. You men will go up first and pile them up outside."

Horse Rider, who got up that next morning before anyone else, an- 512
nounced to his wife, No Corn, "Fire's made"; directly she got to 252
work boiling some buffalo meat for their breakfast and preparing the 264
grease bread. Horse Rider went to the creek for more water and then

512 White Woman got up and joined in, making the breakfast coffee. The
[252] cooking was going on near the long oblong fireplace somewhat to the
• [264] north of the curve-roofed shelter that opened to the east. Across the front of the tent and just inside, the long twined-woven rush mats were lined up. Now Victory Call got up and sat near the south end and began to smoke his pipe. He remarked, "Now leave the tent here for last. We can take everything into the lodge first." With that, Uncle War Cry looked over from his tent and, seeing the activity, thought he would wander over and see what it was. "Nawa," he greeted them. "Nawa,"
[576] answered Victory Call, "sit down over here" (viz., to his left). "Looks as if-you're-about to travel" (***kura-tas-takuhu'u***), said the visitor. "Oh, yes, we're going to try to move in this morning, that is rather—today." "That's what we've been thinking too. But I think we'll go in tomorrow." Now Horse Rider arrived with the water and after greetings of "Nawa, nawa," were exchanged, he sat down and joined the men. War Cry repeated his observation about their moving in and Horse Rider made his acknowledgment, War Cry adding, "Now you're going to make-us-feel-lonesome" (left behind, *wi-tas-kurak-atsiks-awahu*). "Oh, just one day. Just this evening, that's all," said Horse Rider.

Now Grandma began to sit up on her bed and White Woman handed her a small basin of water. "Mother wash your face," she said and Grandma poured some of the water into her hand and washed up.

Everyone arranged themselves on the mat—White Woman at the south end, Victory Call next to her, War Cry next to him, Horse Rider next, No Corn who was doing the cooking and serving, and on the northernmost end of the line Grandma and then Otter. The dishes of food were passed first to Victory Call, then War Cry and then Horse Rider, and now the boy Otter was given a dish to carry to his mother at the south end. He got up and made a wide circle so that he wouldn't pass too close in front of the men. Dishes were next passed by No Corn to Grandma and through her to Otter, and then they all began to eat.

As soon as breakfast was over, Horse Rider went to get the two horses that would be needed for the hauling and War Cry went back to his tent, remarking as he went off, "Tomorrow we must move in, too." White Woman and No Corn began to bundle up their things. Grandma had already taken most of hers into the lodge. The mare and the horse were
[492] loaded up with parfleches of corn, pumpkin, rolled-up mats, and dishes. The two men went up and piled the goods outside the doorway and came back directly for their next load. As they began to load up, the women were saying, "Our men don't know how to load these things." The men on the other hand were likely to say, "When we first came home, we had hardly anything. Now look at that pile we've got around to fix up." The children were running back and forth among the piles of goods.

some dried meat that wouldn't fit into the rawhide containers, some 251
dried intestines folded up, and perhaps some clothing they wanted to
store.

The work of arranging the pit took a group of women in a household 251
from about ten in the morning until about three in the afternoon, with a 592
brief recess for lunch. There was no time in the household when the [461]
women were not fully aware of their capital in provisions and goods and
the rate at which they were using them. Practically every meal was a [264]
large-scale operation and portions were carefully calculated. The men [571]
had to be aware of this too as it was their major resource for public and social relations. Except for horses, or perhaps even more important, the main current capital they had was the preserved food. In the forthcoming round of ceremonies, the doctors calculated with great care their donations of meat and how they were going to apportion them.

It was in the light of a knowledge of the amounts they had produced 796
and accumulated, that the men now planned their forthcoming extensive ceremony—the Grand Opera of the Doctors that would last for thirty days and involve the feeding and the giving of gifts to a large corps of performers and participants. For these ceremonies, the cooking and apportioning was done by the errand men, *tarutsubus*, who were regularly constituted officers of the societies, and the chiefs, priests, or doctors had to keep exact account of the amount of food pledged and make their plans according to what they could afford. The food was their most important current capital for the support of their program.

While the implications of this great annual festival were certainly religious, deliberate showmanship was not neglected and the production was well planned and highly organized as such. It was remarked by the informant that they waited until the harvest was entirely complete "as they liked to have a good crowd."

Big Doctor prepared to receive them and the tree on behalf of the Doc- 756
tor Lodge. At his signal they came inside carrying the tree, stub end 796
forward, and walked around the fireplace four times through south, 824
west, north, and east where they stopped and placed the tree with its stub end touching the rim of the fireplace and its head end pointing toward the entrance at the east.

Pipe Offering made the offering of tobacco, smoke, and ashes with [782]
the sacred pipe to the three vital parts of the tree—the base, the middle, and the top as they had previously done with the cottonwoods. Meanwhile the errand men were sent outside to start to boil the dried buffalo meat for their feast.

All this time the other doctors had remained inside their respective booths, only the officials of the Doctor Lodge conducting the smoke offering ceremony. These included the four doctors at the west, one doctor each at the north and at the south, one old man (*kurahus*) each, at the northeast and the southeast, and the two errand men, one on each side of the entrance way.

Now that the cedar tree had been brought into the lodge and received, 756
it was time for all of them to eat. The doctors all came out of their 796
booths and sat right down on the serpent as there was no other place to 264
sit between the booths and the fireplace. Three buckets of boiled corn kernels had been donated and these constituted the first course of their banquet. As always, they had to share the food with the supernatural powers before it could be eaten by the people, and the serving followed an order that was determined by the particular powers they had called on for the occasion. After eating, the ceremony to stand the cedar in its place was performed and then anyone who wanted to could go home.

342 ous services that would be involved. Lady Lucky Leader herself would
464 get a good amount of flour, sugar, coffee, and some calico, and the other
465 women of the household who helped with the sewing were given gifts
of calico and special meals were prepared for entertaining them. These
439 items had to be obtained at the trade store in exchange for a tanned buffalo
[437] robe. This was prepared by White Woman, and the day before the
work was to begin Victory Call and she each mounted a horse and rode
over to the store about two miles away, taking the robe with them. The
[492] two horses would be needed to bring home the supplies, otherwise White
[562] Woman would have walked, Victory Call ridden. At the trade store they
439 got a sack of flour, some coffee, sugar, baking powder, prunes, dry apples,
435 and about five yards of calico. At this time a hundred-pound sack of
flour was worth $7.00 at the store. For the family alone without special
events or guests, such a sack of flour lasted about two weeks (two
double-handfuls for each meal). Amounts of the other items usually
bought were fifty cents worth of coffee, fifty cents worth of sugar,
439 twenty-five cents worth of baking powder. Five or six yards of calico
342 were $1.00 so that, excluding the cost of the prunes and dry apples, the
464 gift to Lady Lucky Leader would amount to about $9.25 worth of
465 merchandise. An exceptionally well-tanned buffalo robe would bring
$20-30 worth of value at the store. After providing payment for Lady
[435] Lucky Leader with the remaining value of the buffalo robe, they had to
buy supplies for the special meals—an additional sack of flour, more
sugar, coffee, baking powder, and some lard and prunes. Finally to each
of the three women of the household that helped with the sewing—
Grandma, No Corn, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy—they would give
five yards of calico to each (worth a dollar for the five yards), and some
needles and thread. The buffalo robe would just about cover the labor
costs for sewing together the tent.

463 About a week before the work was to begin, White Woman would
342 have gone to see Lady Lucky Leader and have said to her, "Atira (my
mother), I've come to ask you to make a new tent for me." "Well," she
answered, "I have something to do right now, but I could do it a little
later. Are you in a hurry?" "No, a week's time will be all right." "Well,
then, have two good sharp knives ready," said the old lady.

At the appointed day, she arrived at Victory Call's lodge after breakfast.
The skins and tools were taken outdoors, and while White Woman
cleared up the breakfast dishes, the other three women went out with her
and Lady Lucky Leader cut out the skins. She placed them in the most
economical manner and then she assigned each of the women a particular
seam to sew. Each woman had prepared herself with her own awl and a
quantity of prepared sinew. Presently White Woman joined them and
[364] was also assigned a seam to sew. Before noon she had to retire to prepare
[362] the meal. They were served grease bread, coffee, and prunes. For sup-

463 per she prepared boiled corn kernels, grease bread, and coffee. After supper,
342 the old lady went home.

[262] The second day the same procedure was followed. When White
[264] Woman retired to prepare the meal of grease bread, prunes, and coffee,
War Cry and his brother Brave Shield heard that they were having a special
meal in Victory Call's house and they proceeded to come in with the
remark, "I see you're working here," and were promptly invited to join
them for lunch. They would probably stay on talking to Victory Call
463 and also stay for supper. This would make about eighteen people, including
342 the guests for the evening meal. For this group they needed
252 three double handfuls of dried corn kernels (one of these double handfuls
262 represented eight ears of corn). For the eighteen large round disks
of fried grease bread, it took three generous double handfuls of store
574 flour (a meal for a family ordinarily required two). If meat were to be
served instead of the corn they would need half a sheet of dry buffalo
meat cut into long strips 7 inches long and 3½ inches wide. This meat
would be boiled with a sheet of fat and served with the soup.

463 The third day was similar with the Old Lady going home after supper.
342 By the evening of the fourth day the tent was completed. A process mentioned
by another Pawnee informant, but not in this account, stated that
before the cover was used, girls were sent inside to make a fire so that
the skin would get permeated with soot, which would keep it from leaking
in the rain or drying up in the sun.

463 Supper for the evening of the fourth and final day consisted of boiled
corn kernels with boiled dried pumpkin strips mixed in. After the Old
465 Lady Lucky Leader had gone home, a half-hour passed and then White
342 Woman and Grandma took the food and goods for her payment. White
[262] Woman led the way and Grandma walked behind, carrying the gifts to
her house. They set them down before her saying, "Here's flour, coffee,
sugar, calico. You helped us with our tent." "Oh, I thank you for
giving me this material. My spirit is glad for this food that we will eat,"
said the old lady. When the two women got home they reported to
Victory Call, the old lady's appreciation. Victory Call again went to the
store and got the three pieces of calico of five yards each and the needles
and thread for the three women of his own household who have helped
out—Grandma, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, and No Corn.

342 The tent was now in good order for the winter hunt.

who is willing should come and sit closer and observe and listen to the 224*
way these things should be done." This was considered a major public 793
service and no payment was involved nor considerations of kin relationship. 869
Bringing Horses was a brave and apparently had had a call to
carry out this mission.

The five priests sat smoking and talking together informally. They were 224*
old men and had traveled over this same ground many times. They knew 793
just how far apart the rivers were and which were the quickest routes to
follow. Now they were reminiscing about the past. One would say, "One [521]
summertime we camped way down there in this and this direction from
here and so and so happened," for example a warpath came or some other
notable event. Meanwhile Old Lady Lucky Leader was taking care of 224*
the practical affairs since the menfolks of her family were still out on the 794
hunt. She was a vigorous old woman and a good manager. One of the 574
men coming in early from the hunt reined in his horse outside her tent
and called out, "Lady Lucky Leader, here are ribs!" throwing down the
ribs as his contribution to the forthcoming council meeting and riding
off home to his own tent. The old lady went out and got them at once and
put them inside the tent on the north side near the entrance so that they
wouldn't freeze. Now she decided to get the meal under way for the
council. The boy Might-Be-Chief was passing by and she called him in [624]
and asked him to get the chief's errand man Know-His-Face, who came
in and, after exchanging greetings with the priests, began to roast the ribs [252]
to the northeast of the fireplace as directed by the old lady. She asked
her daughter to sit down to the south and fry some bread so that the
men would have something to eat as soon as they got in before the council
began.

Now the men could be heard coming and the meat creaking a little as 224*
it was packed on the horse since it was a bit frozen. The two men of the [492]
family knew they had better get in early and Frank Leader called out to
his mother, "Atira [my mother], spread something out here for the meat."
The old lady came out and put a skin spread on the snow in front of the
tent and her son tethered his horse to a stake nearby. She covered the
horse and put down another spread with cottonwood tops and bark on it
for the horse to eat. She saved some of the cottonwood for her son-in-law's
horse and he arrived soon after. As soon as the two men entered the [515]
tent they asked their mother for some water to wash their hands with,
and Frank tied his quiver and bow to the southwest post while Roaming
Leader tied his at the northwest. Then they sat down on either side of
the entrance. The men talked about how they had killed the buffalo that
day and how there had been good herds north of the river. The family [264]
had its meal of bread and ribs and then the boy Might-Be-Chief was sent
around to call in the other members of the council. He also called in
Horse Rider to help the errand man Know-His-Face to cook for the feast.

*224 • 264 They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four sets.

*224 623 628 The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates from the villages.

*224 623 793 [701] [625] The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was [778] under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening Star bundle.

*224 623 628 793 [625] [574] [264] Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill. Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief. The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief, who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

*224 623 625 574 [293] The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head policeman War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

*224 623 562 [251] Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

*224 [793] [825] The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican. When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of

727 They took their places on either side of the girl, and
782 with their brands touched her lightly in the groin and
796 armpit. They then returned to the ravine, and a third man ran out, carrying the bow from the Skull bundle and a sacred arrow made for the sacrifice. As he came, he gave his war cry, and the people called to him and encouraged him as though he was attacking an enemy. Coming close to the girl, he sent his arrow through her heart, and ran back to the ravine. This part was usually taken by the man who had captured her. A fourth man then came forward with the club from the Morning Star bundle and struck the girl on the head.

A fire had been kindled to the southeast of the scaffold, and as soon as the girl was dead, her guardian came forward with a flint knife, and her captor with the dried heart and tongue of a buffalo. The guardian mounted the scaffold and cut open the body, while the captor held the meat below and caught the blood. The guardian thrust his hand into the thoracic cavity and painted his face with the blood. Sometimes [266] he is said to have removed her liver and given it to the members of the Bear Medicine Society, who cut it into small pieces and ate it to acquire magical powers. The blood-soaked meat was burned on the fire near the scaffold as an offering to all the gods.

When these rites had been performed, the men among the spectators gave their war cries and crowded forward to shoot arrows into the body. It was thought desirable that as many arrows should be shot as there were males in the tribe, and boys too young to draw a bow were helped by their fathers or mothers. When each man had shot his arrow, the spectators dispersed and returned to the villages where feasting and dancing continued for three days.

782
796 The priests, the guardian, and those intimately

272 After the other foods were ready, the coffee was cooked in a bucket with sugar to be served later in small bowls. This was a task that No Corn was likely to undertake. She would mix a handful of ground coffee with a handful of sugar and boil them together with water in the bucket. The meal would be finished off with sweet coffee served hot and black.

512 While all these preparations were going on, the people began to get up
one by one and sit down in their places around the fire. Now only the
boys were still in bed. Grandma warmed her hands over the fire, went
[522] over to the bed, put them on Otter's warm nose and "took it off" remarking
to Old Bull, "Here's his nose." Then she offered it all around to the
assembled company. Sometimes it was his ears that she offered instead.
With things about done, Victory Call said, "Boys, breakfast is ready,
you can go to bed again later if you want to."

264 White Woman removed the bucket of corn from the fire and put eleven
bowls around it to serve the family. The grandmother-grandchild pairs
[412] each got a bowl together and everyone else got a bowl for himself. With
each bowl there was a buffalo-horn spoon and two spoons in the bowl
[415] for grandma and grandchild. White Woman, who was sitting east
and slightly north of the fireplace, dished out the corn with a large
buffalo-horn spoon 8 inches long with a bowl that was 4½ inches across
and 1½ inches deep. A ladleful or one and a half ladles of corn along
with the liquor was a serving, the grandmother-grandchild bowls receiving
an extra large portion. For feasts, large wooden ladles were used for
serving.

264 The order in which the members of the household sat at their meal was
pretty much in the position of their beds. Old Bull sat at the southwest
554 and Victory Call at the northwest position. Ordinarily a man's senior wife
592 sat next to him, and his junior wives sat beyond. Old Bull and his wives
sat in this order, but White Woman had moved down to the east end of
the north side so that she could do the serving. The grandmothers and
[574] their grandchildren sat at the east end. Old-Man-That-Chief, although a
guest, took up the southeast position of humility, for he was old and
[888] nearly blind. The bowls were passed around to the people from hand to
hand, unless the circle was too large, in which case a young woman
would be asked to do the serving. The men were served first in order of
importance, the "guest side" always being given priority. In this instance
the order was Old Bull, Victory Call, Old-Man-That-Chief, Horse
Rider, Queen Woman, the senior wife, then Clear Day, the junior wife,
Blue Calico, the grandmother, on the south side; then the women on the
north—No Corn, Yellow Calf and his Grandma, Otter and his Grandma,
and finally White Woman herself.

264 Before they began their meal, White Woman made an offering of corn
782 at the west. She took some kernels of corn in a spoon from Victory
Call's bowl and offered them to the nose of the buffalo skull that rested on

224*

was made in oblong form about three feet long and a foot and a half wide, 484*
with its long axis running north-south. 342

The next step was to get everything in order for cooking. They had 354
enough water, and now they needed wood for fuel. As she was pegging 313
down the tent, No Corn remarked to her husband, Horse Rider, 224*
"We're pretty nearly finished now and we have no wood." Then he 484*
would go off carrying a long rope. He used the rope as a kind of lasso:
attaching a stick about a foot long to the end, he would throw it up
around a dry cottonwood limb and the cord would wind itself around
the limb so that it could be pulled down. It would take considerable skill
to pull it down without having it fall on your head, which sometimes happened
despite the best of care. Horse Rider tried to get enough wood to
last them for that evening and the next day while they stayed at the rendezvous
camp. Some of the wood he gathered from the ground, tied it up
with his cord, and came into camp carrying it on his back. As soon as he 224*
got in, he made the fire and White Woman began to cook. They had a 484*
simple meal of bread and coffee and some sand cherries for dessert. No 252
Corn volunteered to make the coffee. While the cooking was going on, [272]
the old ladies were stretched out resting, and Victory Call was doing the
same. Everyone was very tired. It was proper to joke a bit while the [522]
food was being prepared and during the meal. Horse Rider began to
tease No Corn about how she had fallen in the water.

Immediately after supper the women cleared up the dishes and sat 224*
down to rest—tired from all their work. Horse Rider went off to see 484*
how the horses were getting along and Victory Call went up and sat on
top of one of the sand hills to have a smoke and to look around and at the
encampment below. Presently five or six men joined him for a smoke and
some conversation.

The boy Otter ran off at once to the river to go swimming with the rest 224*
of the children. On the way he saw some other little boys leaning over a 484*
pond. "See the sunfish. Let's 'choke' them!" They tied some bread to the 857
end of a string and let it down into the pond and as the fish bit, they pulled
them up and 'choked' them. Then the boys went off and gave the fish to 224*
an old woman who was living alone in a shelter she had built for herself. 484*
Her relatives gave her something, but would not take care of her and she 888
had no other place to go. "Here, grandma," they said, "Here's some
fish." "That's fine," said the old lady. Later that summer while they were
setting up camp one day, the boys came to give her fish and she was dead.
They dug a hole in the embankment against which she had been leaning [764]
and buried her there. Man Chief, who was Eagle Chief's son, and a generous
young man, gave a red blanket to wrap her in. There were only
one or two old women alone like this. Sometimes while they were on the
hunt, such old people would say, "Just give me enough to eat and go on."

000 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there. The
243 younger women whose husbands had horses for transportation would
476 often go out together with another couple and bring the crop back to
252 camp, where they would do the processing in a coordinated group. Victory Call and White Woman along with Horse Rider and No Corn formed such a work group, first in White Woman's fields and then in those of No Corn, carrying the crops into camp on their horses. The old
[887] lady sat in her field all day and brought the finished product back to camp when it was completely prepared for storage. Families with only
[492] one horse or with no horses also processed the entire crop in the field before packing it into camp.

313 While the women were at the food pit, the men had been out piling
462 wood in the fields and in camp so that it would be ready for roasting the green corn. They preferred to get dead willows and driftwood; Horse Rider was at the creek piling up the driftwood while Victory Call was bringing the willows into the camp. Some men would say, "I don't care —that's women's work," but a good man would help his wife.

222 At this time of year they gathered a plant, *parus-asu*, "rabbit-foot,"
used for making a brown tea that they drank if they didn't happen to
272 have coffee (*Lespedeza Capitata* Michx.) At the top in a cluster are some fruits looking like tiny rabbit feet. The plant grew on a bush about 3 feet high. They brewed the tea by breaking up the dry twig with the leaves on and steeping it in a coffee pot. Now everything was ready for harvesting and roasting the green corn.

243 Very early next morning Grandma went out to her field and there pre-
342 pared a place for her work. She built herself an ample shade, *kipasiu*, of willows—a circular enclosure, open at the top with an entrance at the
252 east. The leaves were a bit interlaced to make the fencing solid, the side branches beginning about a foot from the ground. When she left for the night, she put a willow sapling with leaves at the top in the doorway so that the shelter was closed in and well protected from horses. People who did not work in the field sometimes built themselves a more temporary shelter by arranging four or five willows in an arc. In her enclosure Grandma roasted all her corn and would leave it overnight in bags to be husked there next day and the kernels removed before bringing it to camp. During the harvest she cooked all her meals there. She left before breakfast and ate whenever it was convenient. She had a kettle along and a small mortar and pestle for preparing her meals. She would pound some of the fresh corn kernels from the roasted cobs and wrap them in corn husks, putting them in the boiling water to make dumplings. After she removed the dumplings she would add some dried meat scraps that had been scraped from the hide at the hunting grounds, *kstasi'u*, to make a good soup. Sometimes she took her grandson, Otter, into the field and shared her meals with him.

175

648 stop the Ghost Dance. For another, they found themselves well
657 off financially, with the white settlers among them eager to deal
with them. In the town of Pawnee some were able in spite of
preventive measures to get drunk at will, at which times as the
● [273] agent observed, they would proclaim aloud their rights as citizens
of the United States.

The allotment of lands had been made per capita. 797 allotments were recorded. A fair estimate would place the 797 as including about 160 families, and 160 to 200 would probably total the number of able-bodied men available for farming. As each family of five members controlled 800 acres of allotted land, it was impossible for the government to expect that the full acreage would be cultivated by the Pawnee men. At the same time the new status of the people left the government with no financial obligations toward the tribe except the permanent annuity, and the payment of interest on trust funds. The Pawnee had to become self-supporting, and if they could not win their sustenance from their own lands, the lands must be put to work for them. As landowners they were allowed to lease large parts of their allotted lands to white farmers and cattlemen: in theory every able-bodied man was to retain a plot of forty acres worked by himself.

The lease system grew by leaps and bounds. At first the lands
427 rented by the year at twenty-five cents an acre for grazing land
648 to one dollar for farming land. The Pawnee land was one fourth
657 rich bottom land, one fourth hilly and rough land, and about one
175 half level upland. The Pawnee reserve was suited to corn and fruit,
and in 1897 a trial of cotton was begun. The farm lands continued
to rise in rental value. The leases provided for improvements on
the land as well as the money rental, and as unplowed land was
broken it became more valuable. Rental values rose by 1905 to
$ 4.50 an acre for the best farm land. The leasing began in 1894;
in 1895 there were 97 leases of Pawnee allotment land and the
number increased year by year. At first the payment of lease
money was made directly to the Indian, or was paid by the lessee
to the agent and by the latter turned over to the Pawnee lessor
at once; later as the government found the Indians squandering
their money as fast as they received it, the money was kept on
deposit for the Pawnee by the agent and drawn on as needed.

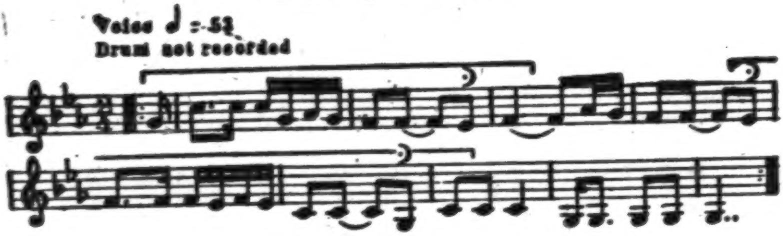
There were two reasons for the rapid increase of the lease system: the white man wanted to lease the land from the Indian, because it was profitable land, and at a low rental. The Indian wanted to lease the land to the white man because it brought him money without a kind of labor which was disagreeable to him, especially

measure were changed to conform to different words but the duration of the measure remained the same. The song contains 19 intervals, 10 of which are whole tones and 5 are fourths. 533*

No. 67. "My Trust is in Mother Corn"

(Catalogue No. 1089)

Recorded by John Luwak



SONGS OF AFFECTION

533*

Songs rising from deep affection and respect were occasionally sung by Indians in the old times, and might be concerning persons who had been married for many years. The distinction between these and the modern "love song" is clearly drawn by the Indians and is evident from the words of the songs. The Sioux said that in old times they had a few songs concerning a man's qualification to wed, this being determined by his success in war or on the buffalo hunt.[31] Otter Woman, an aged widow of the Mandan Tribe, recorded songs of loneliness for her husband, and two very old songs expressing a gentle longing. These were sung by young girls when at work in the gardens and are as delicate as the little plants which they tended so carefully.[32] The cause of the change from these songs of respectful affection to the modern "love song" is found in the general change from primitive customs. 554 593 [581]

In former times the marriages of young people were either arranged by the parents or subject to parental approval. A period of transition began when the young people refused to recognize parental authority in the matter of their affections. This led to clandestine meetings. A few songs of this period were recorded among the Sioux, one containing the words "If you are truthful, come. Walks Visibly (woman's name) has said this."[33] The words of modern Indian love songs usually express a lack of respect for women, and often boast of fascinations and conquests. They are connected with intoxication and are sung by young men of no standing among their own people. Many 584 533* 533* 832 [273]

---

[31] Teton Sioux Music, p. 370.
[32] Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 54-67.
[33] Teton Sioux Music, p. 510.

Their dress consists of leggings, generally made of scarlet cloth; 291
over which a piece of blue or brown woollen cloth is tied around the waist, the ends lapping over each other, and extending a little below the knees. The upper dress consists of a shirt or short gown, made of calico, reaching to the middle. Over the whole a blanket or robe is slung, above which, on the back, may frequently [854] be discovered the black sparkling eyes of a little "papoose" peering forth.

Intoxicating drink.—It is somewhat remarkable, that the 273
Pawnees are not so fond of "fire water," as other tribes, who are fast dwindling away from the demoralizing and debasing effects of intoxicating drink. Nothing, perhaps, has aided more in diminishing the population of different Indian tribes, than spirituous liquors. To the missionary, it is always gratifying and encouraging to observe, when a tribe takes a bold stand against the introduction of this destructive poison. The Pawnees allow none to be brought into their villages.

Burying their dead.—On the highest mounds in the prairie, 764
we often observed little hillocks of earth, which we were informed, were the places of sepulture of their chiefs and others of their tribe. A tall bush was frequently stuck in the ground, to designate the spot. We were also informed, that among the Pawnees, 888
and other wild tribes, the cruel practice prevails, when they are on their hunt, and their old people get so feeble, that they can no longer accompany them, of leaving them behind, and even burying them alive.—In allusion to this fact, Mr. Allis, pointing to their old and feeble chief, addressed the other chiefs as follows: "I have learned, that you intend to put aside your old chief, because he is now feeble and sickly, and perhaps you will even think of burying him, when he can no longer follow you; but I want you to take care of him. He has been like a father to you. When he was yet strong, you know his kettle was always over the fire with plenty. He has always been a friend of the whites, and you ought to esteem him for the services he has rendered your nation, and not to bury him before he is dead."

More might be added, to show the wretchedness of their pres- 000
ent state, but we should fear to become too tedious. Sufficient, however, has been said, to prove, that these poor people need the assistance of missionaries to better them in their outward condition. But, when we consider their spiritual destitution,—their ignorance, darkness, and superstition,—

Shall we whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall we to men benighted
The lamp of life deny?"

782 glad Mother Corn is here leading us, and the wildcat goes with the
Hako." But the man who killed it said: "No, this skin will not go
794 with the Hako! I am going to take it to the priest for sacrifice that
I may learn some of the mysteries." But he did wrong and suffered
825 for it, because that wildcat belonged with the Hako, for it was killed
while we were being led by Mother Corn.

*796
796 The sacred articles having been completed are now laid at ceremonial rest. The wildcat skin is spread upon the earth in the holy place, which is in the west part of the lodge opposite the entrance, a little way back from the fireplace. The head of the skin is placed toward the east; the crotched plum-tree stick is thrust into the ground close to the head; the two feathered stems are laid in the crotch, the brown-eagle stem first, then the white-eagle stem on the top or outside. The eagle builds its nest in the crotch of a tree, so these eagle-feathered stems are laid in the crotch of the plum-tree stick. The ends which are thrust through the duck's head rest upon the wildcat, and under the wing-like pendants the gourd rattles are placed. Directly in front of the crotched stick stands Mother Corn.

PART IV. OFFERING OF SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The time has now come for the offering of smoke to Tira'wa.

The priest of the Rain shrine must be present with the pipe belong-
793 ing to that shrine and he must conduct the ceremony. After he has
filled the pipe with native tobacco the Ku'rahus tells the people that
782 the time has come to offer smoke to Tira'wa, the father and the giver
of all things. He selects from the company a man to act as pipe bearer during the ceremony of offering smoke. The pipe bearer must be one who has made sacrifices at the sacred tents where the shrines are kept and has been annointed, and who in consequence has been prospered in his undertakings. The prayers of such a man are thought to be more acceptable to the powers than those of a man who has never made sacrifices.

● 276 In old times men did not smoke for pleasure as they do now, but only in religious ceremonies. The white people have taught the Pawnees to profane the use of tobacco.

778 Each of the sacred shrines of the tribe has a pipe, and its priest knows the proper order in which the pipe should be offered to Tira'-
793 wahut. I am not a priest, so I do not know the order in which the Rain pipe is offered, nor can I tell you the ceremony; the knowledge of that belongs to its priest and not to me.

*796 Up to this point (the conclusion of the ceremony of smoking) all the people present have been obliged to remain quiet in their places; now they are at liberty to move about or to leave the lodge.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART III. OFFERING OF SMOKE

*539 *796 At the close of the song to Mother Earth the chief spreads the wildcat skin on the holy place and the assistant lays upon it the white feathered stem, resting one end on the crotched stick.

Then the Ku'rahus says: "My Children, your fathers are listening to what I have to say. Yesterday we remembered our father the Sun, today we remember our mother the Earth, and today Tira'wa has appointed that we should learn of those things which have been handed down to us. Tira'wa is now to smoke from the brown-eagle stem, Kawas, the mother, and you are to smoke from it also."

[276] The bowl from the pipe belonging to the Rain shrine is put on the brown-eagle stem and the priest of the shrine fills it and calls on some one to light it. He also directs in what order the smoke shall be offered. I can not remember the order—if I said anything about it I might tell it wrong, for it is not my business to remember it, the priest alone knows it.

*796 After the offering of smoke as directed by the priest, the feathered stem is taken to the Son, who sits near the door, and after he has smoked the pipe is offered to everyone; all the men, women, and children of the Son's party smoke. This is a holy act and gives long life to the people.

When the west is reached, the feathered stem is lifted four times and the ashes are emptied on the edge of the fireplace. The Ku'rahus then hands the feathered stem to his assistant and returns to his seat, where he takes the feathered stem from his assistant, removes the bowl and replaces it upon its own stem. Then he puts the feathered stem beside its mate on the wildcat skin, resting it against the crotched stick.

PART IV. SONGS OF THE BIRDS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 The songs about the birds begin with the egg, so the song of the bird's nest where the eggs are lying is the first to be sung. Then comes the song about the wren, the smallest of birds. After that we sing about the birds that are with the Hako, from the smallest to the largest.

These songs are to teach the people to care for their children, even before they are born. They also teach the people to be happy and thankful. They also explain how the birds came to be upon the feathered stems and why they are able to help the people.

There is no fixed time for these songs to be sung, but they belong to the third day of the ceremony—the day when we sing the song to Mother Earth. Sometimes the songs of the nest and the wren are sung early in the day, as these songs were made in the morning. The song of the owl must be sung toward night.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART III. CLOTHING THE SON AND OFFERING SMOKE

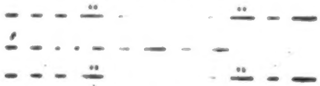
*796 The lodge having been made ready as a nest within which life might be given and made secure, the Father performed his first act of recognition and responsibility. He put upon the Son the garments he had previously prepared for the purpose. When clad in the finely embroidered clothing, the Son was told to make the offering of smoke to Tira'wa atius, as a prayer for the consecration of the new-born relationship.

571
782
276

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539
*796

My son, now heed, attend to the command I give to you:
Oh, speak to the gods list'ning[b] above us!
Oh, let your prayers ascend to the mighty ones on high!

II

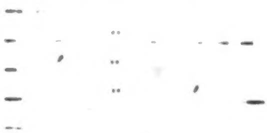
My son obeys. His voice is now trav'ling far, speeding on;
It goes to the list'ning gods above us;
There will his prayer be heard by the mighty ones on high.

*796 The ceremony of offering smoke was conducted by a priest, who instructed the Son as to the order in which the stem of the pipe and the smoke must be offered to the various directions. Meanwhile the Fathers with the Hako stood before the Son singing this song, which voiced their participation in the offering.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

See the smoke pass by!
Rising high above, follows where his voice
Sped, intent to reach
Where the gods[c] abide in the deep blue sky.
See the smoke pass by!

---

[a] Music on page 101.
[b] Music on page 103.
[c] The word gods, meaning powers, is used because of the rhythm.

PART III. OFFERING OF SMOKE

*796 This teaching is further accentuated by the offering of smoke which follows the song. The feathered stem, Kawas, the mother, is used as the pipestem for this purpose. The offering of smoke is the closest and most sacred form of direct communication with the great unseen power. [276 782]

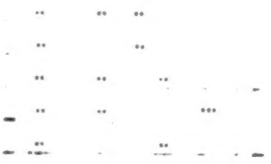
PART IV. SONGS OF THE BIRDS

*539 *796 [593] In the songs of the birds, which close the day, the people are instructed in their parental duties. They must take upon themselves the care of providing for their children, even before they are born; they are to be cheerful and thankful for all they receive; they are to guide and protect their families, to be watchful and faithful in storm and in sunshine, by day and by night. By following these teachings they will receive in full measure, in completeness, the gifts of the Hako.

*533 *796 The diagram of time of each of the six songs of the birds is here given in the order of the text, but no rhythmical rendition has been made, as the story elaborates the meaning of each song.

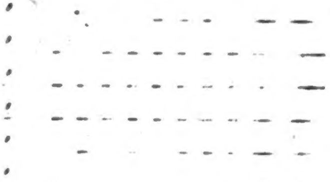
THE SONG OF THE BIRD'S NEST[a]

Diagram of Time



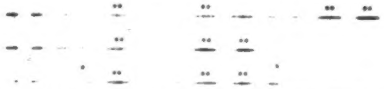
THE SONG OF THE WREN[b]

Diagram of Time



THE SONG OF THE TURKEY AND THE WOODPECKER[c]

Diagram of Time



---

[a] Music on page 169.

[b] Music on page 171.

[c] Music on page 172.

668 seen them dancing in a circle.[1] Nothing authentic and substantiated
177 reached the tribe, however, until the fall of 1891[2] when Frank
White came home to the Pawnee after his stay with the Wichita.

The Pawnee tell of White's learning the Ghost Dance among
the southern tribes in the following way:

"One time Frank White went over to the Comanche, who were
668 dancing the Ghost Dance. He went inside and sat down on the
177 north side. He ate peyote, a great deal, until he was nearly over-
796 come. He bent his head and covered his eyes. He was a good-
looking man who used to wear decorative red twine over his brow.
● [276 The Comanche did not know him, and the next morning they asked
him who he was, and he said he was a Pawnee. Then he left them
301] and went to the Wichita. He ate peyote there, and watched them
dance the Ghost Dance and learned it. Then he came home and
brought it to the South Bands. He told them what he had learned."

The period during which Frank White studied the Ghost Dance
668 among the Comanche and the Wichita was in the year following
177 the great Ghost Dance of the fall of 1890, led by Sitting-Bull.
The forms of leadership and organization he learned were those
preached by Sitting-Bull, and initiated by him personally among
the Caddo and Wichita.

Murie has spoken of White's experiences in the south. "Frank
White . . . joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream,
[787] the tree, the Messiah and then the village of people.[3] He also saw
them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in
[533 Pawnee. The first song was as follows[4]:

539]

we	*rịhi*	*irasi·ra*
now	place where	yonder you come
	wetiḳuwatu	*rụwahe*
	now I long for	the village region

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 630—632 recounts a long narrative of the story which was supposed to have reached the Pawnee in 1890.

[114] [2] Murie, Societies, p. 633, says "in the fall of 1892." This is a misprint or a slip on Murie's part. In the account which follows Murie describes events of a winter and summer which intervene between White's return to the Pawnee and his arrest; White was arrested in 1892. Furthermore, we can date the time White left the Wichita by the fact that he left before the Arapaho delegation arrived in the fall of 1891 with the message from Wovoka, which, in spite of the objections of Sitting-Bull, necessitated a change in the form of the Ghost Dancing.

[3] Murie is doubtless referring here to the narrative of Wovoka's vision as known to the Pawnee which he gives, pp. 630—632.

[4] The form I quote here is a retranscription and retranslation of Murie's printed version, written by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

668 796 825 down." Joseph Long had crow feathers. He put them on his head. Then he got up like a crow, and danced around the tipi. Imitating the crow, he danced his way outside and went along the path by which the woman had gone through the timber, and found the strap. He picked it up and brought it back into the tipi, and the woman took her strap.

The relation of this crow-concept to the Ghost Dancing is direct. The crow feather (as also the eagle) is one of the objects used by leaders, as they dance inside the circle, for hypnotizing subjects. It is moved back and forth directly before the eyes of the subject. It helps the dancer to fall into a trance, and this means that it helps the subject to see or find his lost relatives. In the trance-vision itself the bird may guide the visionary to his dear ones. In the same way the old Indian customs, the dances, the songs, the rituals, are found among the deceased people, or recovered in trance visions which are induced in part through the instrumentality of the birds.

In this early use of eagle and crow, those who learned about one or the other bird wore a feather of that bird. There was no organization or orientation of these except for White's seven crow singers. But there came to be felt an opposition between crow and eagle, analogous to the actions of the birds themselves, and this was carried over into the sides of the hand game arrangements. The opposition involved the question of which was abler or luckier in finding things.

668 796 [346] [554] [778] [276] For the Ghost Dance, White arranged to have a large cleared dancing ground. West of this was set up a special tipi. Herein White gathered the people, particularly the leaders. Those who gathered inside the tent were only men. The old men sat near the eastern entranceway on both sides, with the chiefs next to them to the west, and then the braves[1]; while other men present sat about anywhere. White himself would sit with his seven crow leaders at the west facing east. The only sacred objects kept on a covering at the western altar-place were the feathers and paints of the leaders, and several pipes (two or four). Two men were selected by White and the chiefs to act as tarutsius ("fire-tenders") and at the same time as policemen. They carried long sticks to whip the dogs with, driving them away from the dance ground while the dancing went on. They also controlled the dancers. After all the men had gathered, a smoke offering initiated the performance. White gave pipes to two or four chiefs and told them step by step what to do. The performance could begin either in the

---

[1] These are generic Pawnee patterns.

late afternoon or in the morning, and the smoke offering differed 668
according to which time of day it was. 776

In the arrangement for the time near sundown, the two chiefs 276
carrying the pipes lead the way out of the tipi and all the others
follow. Outside, the chiefs stand at the east of the clearing, facing
west. Behind them the men form a long flat arc facing west, with
White and his seven leaders in the center. The announcer cries [202]
out to the people at large that the singing will commence as soon
as the smoking is over.

(First Phase[1]) Each of the two chiefs holds the pipe slantwise 668
toward the west, offering it, not by holding it aloft, but by holding 776
it just in front of him. Both proceed simultaneously. After offering 782
the pipe west, each walks clockwise around the clearing, carrying 276
the pipe, and after reaching the same point at the east, stops there, offers a pinch of tobacco upward to heaven, and one westward, placing each on the ground. (Lighting the Pipe) Then each again makes a clockwise circuit, stopping at a point east of northeast, where squatting with the pipe in mouth and its bowl toward the east the pipe is lit by means of a brand which is brought forward by anyone for this purpose. (Second Phase; first mode) Each arises, puffing the pipe, and returns to the east, where facing west, he puffs four times upward to heaven and four times to the west. (Second Phase; third mode) then carries the pipe through a clockwise circuit and takes it to whoever is standing at the extreme northern end of the arc-like row of men. Standing in front of this man the smoker puts the pipe to the man's lips without releasing the bowl. Then the smoker proceeds in turn to allow each man to puff the pipe, moving from north to south down the arc of men. (Third Phase) After all in the line have puffed, the smoker takes the pipe and carries it through a clockwise circuit, coming to the east of the clearing in front of the line of men. Here he faces west, loosens the ashes in the pipe-bowl with a tamper, offering ashes once upward to heaven, then emptying some, and again to the west, emptying the rest of the bowl contents on the ground before him. (Fourth Phase) Holding the empty pipe in his left hand, the smoker touches the right hand to the ashes on the ground, then runs the right hand up the pipe from bowl to mouthpiece while the stem is directed heavenward. He repeats this motion with the left hand, and again with the right and the left, making four motions. Then the smoker makes four similar motions while he directs the pipe toward the west. (Self-Blessing) Holding the pipe,

---

[1] Parenthetical divisions into phases, etc. refer to the analysis of the smoke offering in Chapter 8, see especially pp. 180—207.

668 mouthpiece upward and bowl inward toward the body, he takes
782 it in his left hand and runs his right hand up it from bowl to mouth-
796 piece, opening the palm upward and outward toward heaven, then
places the hand on the right side of his head and runs his palm down
● 276 the head and side and leg to the instep which is pressed against the
ground. This motion is then made with the left hand for the left side etc. while the right hand holds the pipe, and repeated once again with the right and once again with the left, making four motions. Then the smoker turns and returns the pipe to another chief in the line of men, who receives it with an *arm blessing*.[1] When the offerings have been completed, the pipes are taken inside the tipi and replaced on the altar-space at the west.

Now the arc-like line at the west closes around the clearing to
form a circle of dancers, and women who have not up to this point
[533 participated join the circle. They may, however, sing two songs
535] before forming a circle of dancers, and these are special ghost-
dance songs which are never danced to. Then the dancing begins from the east, facing west, circling clockwise.

668 Before describing the movements of the dancers, attention must
782 be called to the form of the smoke offering which would be made
if the dance were to begin in the morning.

796 If the dancing is to begin with a smoke-offering in the morning
276 the orientations for the smoke would be reversed. That is, the
823 arc-line of leaders and men would form around White on the west,
facing east: the smoker would begin all his circuits from the west, and the motions with the pipe which he made slantwise to the west, while he stood at the east side of the clearing and faced west, would become motions slantwise to the east which he would make standing at the west of the clearing and facing east. Finally the pipes would be handed along the line of leaders and men from south to north, instead of from north to south.

This shift of direction also changes the position for starting the dance, which is now at the point directly west, facing east. Here White stands and leads, and the circle proceeds clockwise. This is the generic position for beginning Ghost Dancing and singing, and even if the evening orientations are followed, only the first song begins at the east facing west; it then ends at the west, facing east, and all subsequent songs begin at the west.

It will be seen at once that the whole smoking ritual involves two basic orientation concepts: upward and either slantwise to the west or slantwise to the east. The upward offering is to Tirawahat^{a} or the expanse of the heavens; the other is to the sun, according to

---

[1] See chapter 8, p. 209.

his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, 668
therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. 782
An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time,
the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins 796
at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would 276
be adopted. 823

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to
Tirawahat[a] must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; [775]
that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance, and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is
thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The [776]
sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus, while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering 668
for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" 796
is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived
by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the 177
dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream 182
of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

---

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99. [591]

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

668
796
792 what to do, and received compensation for his instruction. Ordinarily his instruction seems to have amounted to interpretation, to a suggestion that the visionary do as all had seen White himself do, with some explanation of the details. White would also counsel the visionary to tell the people in general what he had seen and learned. But even in such a case, according to reports, when a dance was put on by another, White's seven crow singers had to be invited to lead the singing and dancing, whether it was held among the Skiri or South Bands.

Gifts and money were lavished upon White: a small face painting often earned him five dollars; feathers and sanctions of various kinds brought him other money. Many people were jealous, or resented White's attitude, called him a liar and began to disbelieve him and say he was deceiving the people.

At the same time, White's conduct was not exemplary. It must be remembered that priests, chiefs, medicine men, and in fact all individuals who had claims to sacred office or inspiration in connection with old Pawnee ways of life, lived up to accepted Pawnee ethical standards of conduct.

As one informant describes White's behavior: "All this time
[276] White drank peyote, which made him wise. At the same time he used to drink whiskey. Whiskey and peyote do not mix, they cannot go together. That's what killed him.

"One time they were going to have a doctor dance north of town and when they were ready to begin, someone said, 'we can't start until the Messiah comes' – they considered White a great prophet, and called him Father and Messiah. Finally they saw him coming, hardly able to walk, supported on each side by a man holding his arm. Someone said, 'why, he's drunk,' but they whispered around, 'we can't say anything about it anyhow, because he's the Messiah.' They used to lavish gifts upon him, and finally they gave him the prettiest girl in the tribe to marry."

It was not long before revolt against White and his tactics took definite form. This reaction is in part to be explained by White's misbehavior, in part by jealousy of the way in which he was getting rich, and in part also by a sincere desire on the part of some to get more out of the dancing in a religious sense.

668 According to Joseph Carrion, White and he had been friends for
177 a long time; in fact Frank White at one time married Joe's sister-in-law, which in terms of Pawnee kinship put them on strong
[607] grounds of familiarity. Joe Carrion danced along with Frank White for almost a year. In Joe's own words, "Frank White told me that I was going where I could find out something for myself

796 When each house-group had ready its quota of wood, meat and
668 all else necessary, everything was in order and the dance could
782 begin.

A sacred smoke offering opened the dance. If the people wished
276 to begin dancing on an evening, the usual form was to hold the
smoke ceremony, then dance a little, perhaps ten songs, and adjourn
until morning. At the continuation of the dancing in the morning
no smoke offering would be made; but if dancing were begun for
the first time in the morning, a preliminary offering was necessary.

Inside the main tipi were the Seven Brothers seated on the south
side. Four chiefs were selected to carry pipes and make a smoke
[301] offering. These came out of the tent leading the way, followed
by the Seven Brothers, each wearing an eagle feather in his hair.
They were directed by Knifechief. This was the first occasion on
which the Skiri Ghost Dancers saw the Seven Eagle Brothers as an
organization.

Outside, the arrangement in relation to the clearing followed the
796 form already described for White's South Band Ghost-Dancing.
668 The Seven Brothers were in the center of an arc-like line of men
554 which stood at the east of the clearing facing west (for an evening
823 smoke-offering). In front of this line stood the four chiefs with
pipes, also facing west. While the Seven Brothers were in the center
of the line, Sam Cover who was No. 1 Eagle Brother was not in the
center of the seven, but at the south end of the seven: the others
followed in the order given above, from south to north: this was
the order of their selection. The significance of this arrangement
is that now there was no main one who must be in the center—all
were equal. In the row of men four chiefs took special places: two
south of the Seven Brothers and two north.

Each of the four smokers had a special function. Their arrange-
796 ment was from south to north as they faced west: Number 1
668 smoker at the south end of the row of four smoked to heaven;
782 number 2 to the west (Christ): number 3 to the east (position of the
rising sun): and number 4 at the north end of the row of four
823 smokers, to the south, the noon sun.

276 The four smokers proceeded with their movements simultaneously. Number 1 took the filled pipe, (phase 1[1]) walked through a half circuit clockwise to the west where he faced east and offered a pinch of tobacco upward, placing it on the ground; (lighting the pipe) then he continued clockwise to the northeast, where he squatted toward the east, holding the pipe in his mouth. Here it was lit from a brand brought forward by another. (Phase 2, first

---

[1] See Chapter 8, pp. 186–207.

mode) He rose puffing the pipe and walked clockwise around the 796
clearing stopping again at the west facing east, where he offered 668
four puffs upward to heaven, and four downward to the earth.
(Phase 2; third mode) Then he walked clockwise until he neared the 782
row of men on the east of the clearing, when he went to the man 823
who was at the extreme northern end of the row and offered him 296
the pipe to smoke. This he did without releasing the pipe, holding the bowl in his right hand, the offered pipestem in his left. The man accepting the pipe to smoke merely puts his two hands around the mouthpiece of the pipe and holds it to his lips, drawing a puff. Then the smoke-offerer moved along southward to the second man in the row to whom he offered the pipe to puff, and so on down the row to the extreme south end of it. (Phase 3) The smoker then made a half-circuit clockwise to the west of the clearing, where he tamped the ashes loose (the pipe was now out) and offered ashes twice upward to heaven, emptying some each time on the ground, and again offered some ashes twice downward to the earth, finally depositing the last of the ashes from the bowl on the ground. (Phase 4) Now as he stood at the west, he held the empty pipe with the mouthpiece pointing upward, touched the ashes on the ground with his right hand, and ran his right hand up the pipe, from bowl to mouthpiece, opening his palm upward and outward toward heaven; he repeated this action with his left hand, holding the pipe in the same position with his right, then repeated it once more with his right hand and once more with his left, making four motions upward to heaven. Then he pointed the mouthpiece of the pipe slightly slantwise downward toward the earth, and made four similar motions toward the earth, each time touching the ashes on the ground before running his hand along the pipestem. He had now finished the smoke offering. (Self-Blessing; return of pipe) He walked with the pipe around the clearing clockwise until he reached a point just in front of the chief at the left (south) of Sam Cover, the Number 1 Brother. He stood in front of this chief, and a little to the south, faced the chief, and made the motions of *self blessing*.[1]

Number 2 smoker (Phase 1) meanwhile made a half-circuit clockwise until he reached the west, where he faced *west*, offered tobacco slantwise to the west, and downward to the ground, placing a pinch from the pipe-bowl each time on the ground, (lighting the pipe) came clockwise to the position at the northeast where the pipe is lit, (phase 2; first mode) continued clockwise until he again reached the west, where facing west he then smoked four puffs slantwise to the west and four downward to the ground. (Phase 2; second

---

[1] See chapter 8, pp. 207—209.

796 mode) Then he walked clockwise until he came to the row of men
east of the clearing: he offered the lit pipe to the man at the extreme
668 northern end of the row, and to each man in the row southward
782 until he reached the man at the extreme south end of the row.
823 (Phase 3) Then he took the pipe, which was out, clockwise to the
west of the clearing, where facing west he offered ashes twice
276 slantwise to the west, and twice to the earth. (Phase 4) He then
made four hand-motions to the west and four to the earth, (self-blessing and return of pipe) came clockwise around the clearing until he stood in front of the chief at the right (north) of Harry Sergeant, number seven of the Seven Brothers: here he made the motions of self-blessing, and then returned the empty pipe to this chief, who received it with a blessing.

Number three smoker followed an analogous procedure. The unique character of his smoke appears in the following: the position at which he stopped to make offerings of tobacco (phase 1), offerings of smoke (phase 2: first mode), offerings of ashes (phase 3), and motions of blessing (phase 4), was at the *east* of the clearing, facing *east;* he there held the pipe slantwise to the east, and slantwise downward to the ground, and made offerings to the position of the rising sun and to the earth; he offered his pipe down the row of men from north to south as the others had done. He made the motions of self-blessing in front of the chief to the left (south) of the chief to whom the Number 1 smoker returned the number 1 pipe (that is, the second man to the left or south of Sam Cover, the number 1 Brother) and returned the pipe to this chief.

Number Four smoker proceeded analogously. The place of his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes and motions was at the *south* of the clearing, facing *south*. He returned the pipe to the chief right (north) of the chief to whom the number 2 smoker returned the number 2 pipe (the second man to the right or north of Harry Sergeant, the number seven Brother).

In carrying out these simultaneous offerings there was no collision of the smokers: similar actions, such as offering the pipes to the row of men, were done in the order of the smokers. Before the number one smoker returned to make his self-blessing and give the pipe back to the chief, the number four smoker had completed his offering of the pipe to the men in the line.

After the smokers had all finished, they returned to their places in front of the row of men. Each pipe was now returned to the man who had made a smoke offering with it, and as Sam Cover began to sing a Ghost Dance song, these smokers took the pipes back into the tipi. Inside this main tipi or sacred tent, a covering had been

spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes 796
were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the
altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the 668
altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at 782
the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while 823
the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not 276
participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that 184
described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity.
These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke- 276
offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: 782
upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset 823
and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly 184
interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion 771
in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of 778
Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

---

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven
and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette [177]
by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by [188]
flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

to come and join the dancing. Some chiefs walked around the circle of dancers carrying pipes in their folded arms, but no smoke offering was made. Should the singers pause for a rest, pipes (but not these sacred pipes) were often smoked non-ceremonially. 668 796 [276]

After ten or twenty songs, the people ended the dancing with the finishing song, and returned to their tipis for breakfast. When they stopped the old man crier went through the camp calling out to the people to be ready to dance about one o'clock. [203]

At one o'clock the dancers reassembled. The Seven Brothers took their places at the west side of the clearing, in order, each with special face-painting and wearing his eagle feather. Sam Cover led the singing, and the dancing began at the west, circling clockwise. Sam Cover and Emmet Pierson, the number 2 Brother, carried leather rattles which they shook in time to the dancing.

The dancing continued until about five in the afternoon, or just before sundown. The evening meal was prepared by women while the dancing went on, so that everything was ready when the finishing song concluded the dancing for the day.

After the dancing, the people gathered in the space between the cleared dance ground and the sacred tipi to the west of it. The Seven Brothers sat down on the east side of this space, facing west (this would of course be west of the cleared ground), while the chiefs sat on the west side facing east. In this way the chiefs and the seven brothers faced each other across this cleared space. The people gathered around the sides forming more or less of a circle. One chief was selected to talk. He said:

"We have all come together today to worship God. Now you must try to think what you are here for. Now the ground is open, there is nothing in the way (i. e. it is outdoors), God can look straight down upon us. Here's the sunlight over us, he's the one who knows all about it, and he knows also what you think about; you can't ever hide it. Now we are going to eat." [537 539]

782 668 796

The main tarutsius now came forward. This chief gave the tarutsius a horn spoon which he had been holding while he spoke. In the center of the space around which the people had gathered the food had been set out in buckets. The tarutsius received the spoon. (Filling the spoon[1]) He walked clockwise around, passing behind the food and around it, then with the spoon took some corn from the buckets, made a clockwise circuit and passed outside of the circle of people between the Seventh Brother (who is at the north end of the seated row of Seven Brothers) and the people at his right. (First Phase[1]) Outside the circle the tarutsius walked clock- [415]

---

[1] See Chapter 8; the Food Offering and Service, pp. 220—228.

668 Mark Evarts led several times, and says that whenever he had
796 the lead he had good luck. One time a baby was born while the
dance was in progress—that was good luck. Tobacco was being
777 ceremonially prepared to be handed to Mark for making a smoke
offering. While they were praying that good luck might go with
● [276 the tobacco, a grandchild of Linford Smith's was born. So all
782] present thanked God, and hoped it would be that way throughout
the dancing.

[184] While these developments were taking place among the Skiri,
the Ghost Dancing of the South Bands continued to follow the
formal arrangements which had been instituted by Frank White.
As members of the organization of seven singers which had been
developed by White died, new members were selected to take their
places. The smoke offering was not altered.

668 Muric, in discussing Pawnee ceremonial Ghost Dance, forms,
states[1]:

796 "In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take
[484] instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they
learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the cere-
[346] monies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set
up near the center of the camp as the temple... The modern Ghost
Dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off
center toward the north or south side according to the place of the
host..."

The arrangement of which Murie speaks, in terms of which the leading tent was on the north or south according to the place of the host, refers to Ghost Dance hand games, rather than Ghost Dances proper: for in the hand games, as will be described below, one side (either north or south, viz., either Crow or Eagle) is "host" and in charge.

GHOST DANCE SONGS[2]

796 The songs "dreamed" or secured in visions in the Ghost Dance
533 ranged over all the subjects that could naturally come to mind.
Some emphasized aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine, viz., that
in the other world all was as in former days, that the Christ was

---

affair, viz., supply the bulk of the meat and other food necessary, as well as the method of selecting one man to be in charge, are general Pawnee patterns.

[1] Murie, p. 636.

[2] The song texts of this section have been retranscribed and retranslated from the Densmore versions by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

/

178
feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her 575
face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff 796
who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one Horn Dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat [782]
and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman." (1914).

The Horse Society (raris arusa) was revived early, probably by Frank Leader. Murie describes at length a ceremony for renewing the society lances held May 23, 1902.[1] The paraphernalia included [293]
two lances, four rattles, four hand drums, and a red pipestone bowl [778]
with tubular dogwood stem, the stem incised with black bands to [276]
resemble trachea markings.[2]

Of certain societies we cannot be sure that the revival was extensive. All the societies mentioned were used as sources for the content of Ghost Dance visions, and the visionaries made facsimiles of old society objects which they carried in the dance. When the visions were as well bestowals of special rituals, such as hand games, the society objects became part of the bundle and altar. The Crow Lance Society (hatuxka) was revived in this way by Mark Rudder; a lance was placed at the altar, and a brief dance led by Rudder opened the game occasion (See Chapter X). The Society of Crows (raris kaka), a derivative of the hatuxka of aboriginal times, was independently revived by George Beaver, and it is probable that paraphernalia made by him were integrated with his game set.[3] Fancy Eagle is credited with the making of a hand drum which was associated with the old Fighting Lances (tirupahe[4]) and used in hand games.

In addition to the use of paraphernalia, songs of these revived [533]
societies were used in the intervals of the hand game ceremonies. It is also probable that the use of drums in the hand game ceremonies was based on old society forms.

---

[1] Murie, Societies 561ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 567, p. 566 fig. 5. Two hand drums in the Field Museum (F M 79368—1,2) are probably those of Leader; the face bears in red a representation of the raris arusa sheathed lance with its sets of fringed feathers.

[3] F M 73962 is the revival lance; it is not encased in buckskin. F M 79364 and 79365 are hand drums decorated with Ghost Dance symbols, which are said to have been used for the raris kaka by Beaver.

[4] F M 71934. Reference is made by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 68 to a song which apparently concerns the revival of this society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

of life in the waters and upon earth, the villages were plunged into 221
a round of activities. The young men got ready to go on the warpath, 796
and all their moccasins, garments and weapons had to be put in 668
order. The women made the moccasins, and helped them in other
ways to prepare. Meanwhile the games had begun among children 178
and adults. As the time neared for the departure of the war parties, the great war society dances and performances were held. A visitor to the villages at this season would have been directly impressed with three phases of the outdoor scene: the work of individuals, in view here and there; the games; and the spectacular and colorful dances of the warriors before their departure. These aspects of Pawnee life, being old and familiar, dominated the imagery of the Ghost Dance visions.

NEW CULTURAL FORMS

The Ghost Dance proved not only a force for cultural revival, 178
but with a return to the past as an inspirational source and guide, 796
and vision sanctions as immediate drives, the doctrine was an impetus to cultural development. Several noteworthy forms are on record. The Ghost Dance ceremonial forms themselves have already been described. The rapid development of the many Ghost Dance hand game ceremonies were the most striking development and reintegration of the old and new; these form the subject of the
entire second part of this study and need not concern us here. In [276 ●
addition the development of the modern iruska, or new war dance, 431]
among all four bands, a form of social gathering for feasting and gift-giving; and the spread of the peyote ritual, began at this period.[1]

---

[1] An anecdote told by Murie (Ceremonies of the Pawnee, in press, Bureau of Ethnology) indicates in a lighter vein, the freedom to make ritual changes which came with the Ghost Dance doctrine, and the occasional results. "It is said that in 1893, the husband of the Skull bundle keeper, a rather
young man, took a notion he would shell the corn for the people and distrib- [787
ute it in a new way. He gathered some men, shelled the ear of corn from 688]
the bundle, and distributed it himself. The people remonstrated, but he told them he had had a vision and was going to do just as he was told. In June he started to Wichita Mountains. When he got about 35 miles south of Pawnee (it was very hot and dry; the dust was about five inches thick) his wagon broke down and he had to stay there several days, but at last got his wheels repaired and started out again. Travelling was very hard. The old woman who was keeper of the Skull Bundle, struck him on the back and said, 'You will shell corn, will you. See what you have done.' That year the crops burned up, it was so hot."

178 According to Murie's[1] account the modern Skiri iruska was taken
over from the Oglala Sioux, but went back to a form of the Omaha
796 grass dance. It began to appear among the Pawnee in 1897, and
177 was fully organized by Eagle Chief in 1911. An independent
development of the iruska took place among the Kitkahaxki^{x}.
"About 1894 while the Ghost Dance was still intense a man named
Sitting Bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the
iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and led it until his death
in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the
[778 hands of Little-Sun, one of the leading singers. According to this
ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the
534] ritual as in the case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-Sun revived the
ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-Fly-High, also a pupil of
Sitting-Bear." An independent development of the modern iruska
took place among the Tcawi under the leadership of Roaming-Chief,[2] and thence spread to the Pitahawirat^{a}.[3]

Murie has described how the peyote ritual reaching the Pawnee
668 in 1890 was stimulated by the Ghost Dance excitement; and how
796 some forms of the peyote worship were like Ghost Dance forms.[4]
Frank White, the great Pawnee Ghost Dance prophet, was also
● 276 a peyote devotee (See Chapter 11). Murie adds, "it may be well to
note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the Ghost Dance excitement. One of his individual
[787] doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may
acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown
to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging
to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable
astronomical lore."[5] This indicates the extent to which the effort
to bring back cultural aspects buried and forgotten was a definite
part of the Ghost Dance doctrine.

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 624—625, 628. Cf. for a description of the forms of these rituals, pp. 624—630.

[2] Several shields in the Field Museum, depicting warriors' visions of Ghost Dance times are associated with the development of the modern iruska. F M 71844, and F M 59527 (two shields). One of the latter was identified as probably belonging to Roaming-Chief.

[3] The story of gradual changes in the form of Pawnee visiting party arrangements, associated with the modern iruska development, is a complex tale on its own account, and is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

[4] Murie, Societies, p. 636—637.

[5] ibid. p. 638.

525 assistants. These leaders are called *rixkit*^{a}. Leadership is important 468 in both the old games and the Ghost Dance games. In the old game the main leader of the visiting side is the man who comes [276] bringing the pipe. In Ghost Dance games there are always four individuals behind the altar, following the generic ceremonial pattern of the Pawnee. The two inner ones — next the east-west line, or the north-south line in the one case — are the main leaders, the two outer men being their assistants. These tallyers keep the score with the tally sticks. The leader of each side selects one player to do the guessing for that side.

[276] *Putting the counters in play:* There are preliminaries to the actual playing of the game proper: in the old games, the smoking of the pipe brought by the leader of the visiting party, the betting, and often a special dance by the visitors; in the ghost dance hand games, the smoke offering, the selection of the guessers, and usually an old dance song sung by the drummers of the host side. The leader of each side selects a guesser for that side by arising, going to one player and giving him a counter.

When the game proper is ready to begin the two guessers arise and face each other across the head end of the arena, each on his side of the midline. Each has one counter. The guesser of the host side puts his hands behind his back while he conceals the counter in one hand, then brings both clenched hands forward and moves them in rhythm while his opponent guesses. Then whatever the outcome, the opponent hides his counter and the first guesses. Calling the guesser of the host side A, and that of the guest side B, there are now four possibilities:

1) A found B's counter and B failed to find A's. In this case they are won by A who puts them in play on his side.

2) A failed to find B's counter and B found A's. In this case they are won by B, who puts them in play on his side.

3) A found B's counter and B found A's counter. In this case the procedure is repeated, until possibility 1) or 2) as above is realized, with the exception noted below.

4) A failed to find B's counter and B failed to find A's counter. In this case the procedure is repeated, until possibility 1) or 2) as above is realized, with the exception noted below.

If either possibility 3) or possibility 4), as above, occurs four times in succession, it is customary for the guessers to yield their office to two others, who try all over again.[1]

---

[1] In one Skiri Ghost Dance hand game, that of George Beaver, it is said that no change made after four misguesses, but the procedure continued until was one guesser had won both counters.

525 619 chiefs, warriors and braves stand around to watch the game; they do not play. An important Skiri chief may come to look on, may sit at a distance and smoke calmly. By his presence he expresses his interest in the welfare and doings of his people. Some Skiri players, perhaps the leader, leave the circle to sit beside him and smoke with him, to show their appreciation of his presence.

The Kitkahaxki˟ leader has the pipe in his hand. All who are going to play have found their places. [562] Women come and stand at a little distance to look on. They must not sit down or join the circle. They never play the hand game.

The fire forms a long narrow line between the sides, fifteen feet long from north to south, only two to three feet wide (see Fig. 1) At the south ends of the lines are two men who function as tarutsius, "fire tenders."

Now the players place their bets. Blankets, shirts, vests, horses are waged on the outcome. Each bets against a friendly enemy of the other side, individual against individual. The two articles are tied together, making one bundle. The bundles are thrown down in one heap before the leaders. The winning side will carry off the whole pile of plunder, and each winning player takes from it his individual stake and his winning.

The leader of the Kitkahaxki˟ party begins to speak.

619 525 "Brother, I thought of coming to see you for the hand game. Well, my brother, we are here. I've brought this pipe for you. I want you to accept it to smoke."

●276 788 He rises. He takes the filled pipe to the fire and lights it with a brand. He draws a few puffs himself, then, standing before Knifechief, the Skiri leader in the game, gives him the pipe to smoke without releasing it, then takes it to his left and lets the assistant leader on the Kitkahaxki˟ side take a few puffs. Then he carries it back to Knifechief, gives it to him, and sits down in his own place.

Knifechief smokes and then passes the pipe to the Skiri at his left, and from him it is passed on down the Skiri side from north to south. Each one smokes and passes it on. By the time it reaches the tarutsius of the Skiri side it is likely to be smoked out. This smoke is a gift of the Kitkahaxki˟ to the Skiri. Except for the two Kitkahaxki˟ leaders, no Kitkahaxki˟ smoke, only the Skiri.

When the pipe has reached the Skiri tarutsius, the Kitkahaxki˟ leader arises, walks around the east side of the fire and receives the pipe back from him. He carries it with him around west of the fire, and stops north of the fire where facing south, he loosens the [782] ashes with a pipe tamper, and twice raises the pipe bowl upward,

276
525
619
788

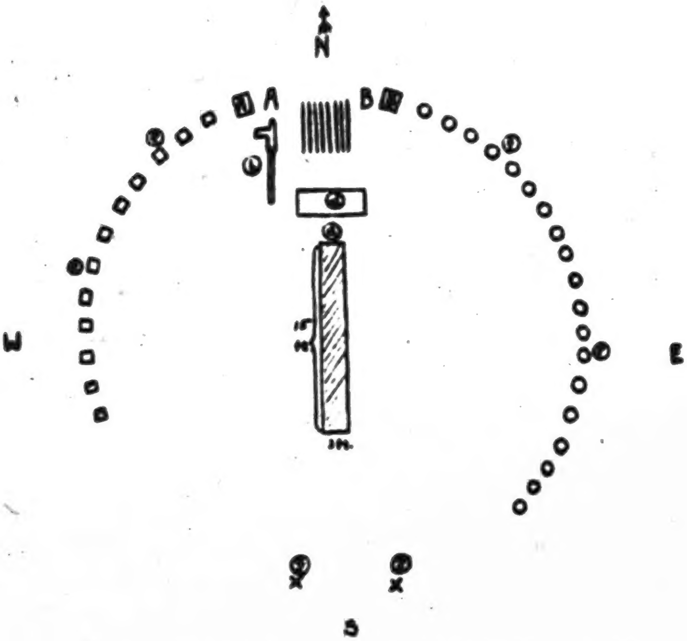


Figure 1. Plan of Game between Kitkahaxkiˣ and Skiri

A - Kitkahaxkiˣ leader, [A] - Kitkahaxkiˣ assistant
B - Skiri leader [B] - Skiri assistant
a - long fire
b - Kitkahaxkiˣ pipe in position after smoking
c - tally sticks
d - position of stakes
[e] - Kitkahaxkiˣ men (guests)
[f] - Skiri men (hosts)
g x - ¢arutaius (fire-tenders)

[782]

an offering to heaven, each time emptying some of the ashes on the ground before the fire; then he loosens the ashes a third time and deposits all that remains on the ground, an offering to the earth. Without further motions or gestures he takes the pipe with him to his place and sits down. He now places the pipe on the ground before him, mouthpiece pointing south, bowl turned to the west (see figure 1). He can put the pipe on the ground because now it is empty. Up to the time he began the smoking he had to carry the pipe and hold it in his arms.

The set used by the Skiri consists of eight dogwood sticks and two white bones; these are not decorated in any special way. The Skiri leader Knifechief now announces: 525 619

525 While the Kiowa were visiting the Pawnee, some Skiri youths
574 thought of visiting the Kiowa to play a hand game against them.
648 They decided to go over to challenge the Kiowa the day after the Kiowa went home. Mark was with them and became exited about the anticipated hand game. His father was sick, but he paid very little attention because his head was full of the hand game and he wanted to go.

The Kiowa were then camping about two miles from the Pawnee. Late in the afternoon, the day after the Kiowa had gone, Mark saw men gathering at the edge of camp. They were ready to go; they had bundles of things with them to bet. When Mark stepped out of the lodge, these youths motioned to him to come on. So he
[593] forgot all about how sick his father was inside, and went. He persuaded himself that his father wasn't very sick anyhow.

The whole party went on foot, carrying their stakes. There were twenty-five or thirty in the group. They took no horses to ride because all who were going wanted to play, which would leave no one to take care of the horses. Some mean fellows among the Kiowa might steal some. And if they had horses with them they might be tempted to wager them and lose the horses.[1]

After dark they reached the Kiowa camp. They were directed to the chief's tent. Knifechief, leading the Skiri party, carried a pipe, already filled with tobacco. Knifechief and a few others went into the chief's tipi. From outside Mark heard a Kiowa in the tipi call, "hækahi"—"all right, that's good."

This was in December. It was very cold, and outside the men waiting wanted to get into tents to warm up. David Gillingham, Mark's chum, went with Mark into one tent. A Kiowa man sitting at the west called out a welcome, hakahi. From the south side, where she had been sitting, his wife rose and spread a blanket for the two visitors on the north side of the tipi close up to the west
[276] where the Kiowa was sitting. She put two pillows on it. David and Mark sat down there. The Kiowa filled a black pipe and gave
788 it to David to smoke. Mark nudged David and whispered to him that he should not make any gestures with the pipe. Both knew that the Kiowa had special ways and motions in using their pipes; Mark was afraid David would try them and make a mistake. He knew David was a great show-off. The Kiowa pipe-smoking was very complicated. David nudged Mark back and told him to keep quiet. David wanted to show off, so he made some motions with the pipe, imitating Kiowa motions he had seen somewhere.

---

[481]
[726]

[1] Incidentally, the Pawnee warparty always travelled on foot, with the object of returning riding captured horses.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 some form of offering or sacrifice. In addition to these were the
796 ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine men. The number and elaborateness of the ceremonies show the Pawnee to have
[174] been, in the old times, a ceremonial people among whom symbolism was highly developed.[14] Only a portion of this rich ceremonialism is considered in the present work.

● 276
*533 Peyote is used extensively among the Pawnee at the present time, but the subject was not studied nor its songs recorded. The writer listened to several of the songs, which were simple and appeared to be modern melodies.

---

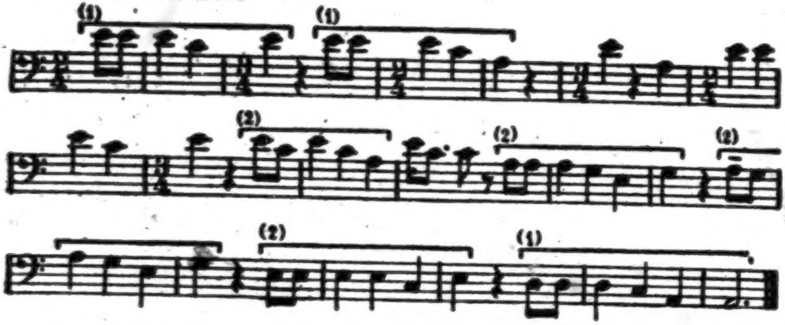
[14] Cf. Fletcher, Alice C., The Hako, a Pawnee Ceremony. Twenty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, Washington, 1903.

No. 20. Bear Dance Song (d)

(Catalogue No. 1151) 533*

Recorded by Dog Chief

Voice ♩ = 160
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This song is clearly harmonic in feeling, though three measures in the latter part of the song begin with nonharmonic tones. It has a compass of 12 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is chiefly by major and minor thirds. Two rhythmic units occur, and a comparison of these units forms the principal interest of the rhythm. Rests occur at the end of each phrase and after a detached tone in the fifth measure. These rests were clearly given in both renditions of the song.

SONGS OF THE DEER SOCIETY 533*

The Wichita Indians are said to have originated this society, which 575
has been discontinued for many years. The dance of the society was [787]
held in the autumn when the corn was ripe, and its purpose was "to find out whether a man would be killed when going on the warpath." The dances took place in an earth lodge. A custom of the society, described by James R. Murie, appears to have been a testing of the powers of its members. Mr. Murie said, "These men drank mescal, putting about half a bean in a kettle of water. After drinking it they [276] ●
fell unconscious. An attendant then ran the jaw of a garfish along the man's spine and if he recovered consciousness he was not considered fitted to belong to the society. Members of this society had power [825]
over snakes and their dance was allied to that of the Mokis.[a] Each [171]
dancer carried a fox skin and held in his mouth a plain bone or reed whistle on which he blew as he danced." There were four singers, [534]
each carrying a bow in one hand and a gourd rattle in the other.

[a] [i.e., Hopi. – Analyst]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 787 727 He had never seen white people behave in this manner, and it surprised him greatly. A few days later he heard of the signing of the armistice and the scenes of its celebration. The next night he dreamed again, and in his dream he saw a circle of Indians dancing and heard them sing the same melody. In the middle of the dance circle was a tall pole, and on top of it was a skull. Two white women stood near him watching the dance, and one of them pointed to the skull, saying, "Look, I wonder what that can be." When he awoke he thought perhaps the skull indicated that many of the enemy had been killed but later he interpreted the skull as representing a helmet. As already mentioned, a helmet was carried in the victory dance.

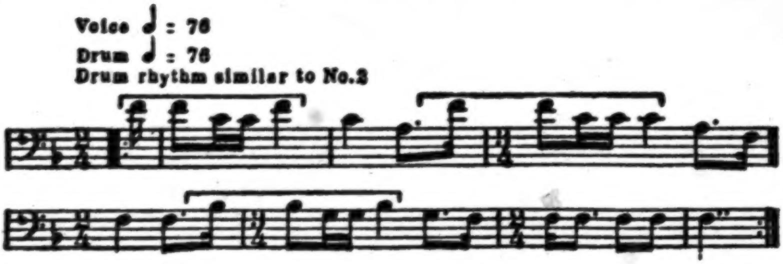
Soon after these dreams there was a gathering of the Pawnee at the earth lodge and Luwak rose, told his dreams, and sang the song, which was readily learned by the people and sung at subsequent gatherings prior to the return of the soldiers. The words heard in his first dream are those presented with the transcription. The words with his second dream were addressed to the skull: "At this, whoever you may have belonged to, you are now hung on a pole." The words of the song when sung at the victory dance were connected with events of the recent war.

*533
727

No. 36. Song for Returned Pawnee Soldiers

(Catalogue No. 1134)

Recorded by John Luwak



FREE TRANSLATION

You are coming.
You are the ones for whom I am looking

Analysis.—The frequency of the fourth characterizes this song, which contains only the tones of the major triad and fourth. It is a vigorous melody, progressing freely within its compass of an octave.

727 ●[276] [431] The dance on the second day (June 7) was opened ceremonially, a pipe being lighted with a coal from the central fire and smoked by the chief and the men seated near him. Many gifts were bestowed upon the returned soldiers, among these gifts being two white horses led into the dance lodge by women.

officially called upon to assume it. As previously noted, there was a curi- 224
ous arrangement in that the keeper of the bundle could be endowed with 631
the power of all four bundles. This we do not fully understand, but 778
in case buffalo should fail, owing to the weak powers of the chief priest, 793
special ceremonies would be performed to pool, or unite, the powers of the
four main bundles by temporarily merging their power into the ritual of the
Red Calf bundle. This bundle alone contains firesticks; its keeper builds
the council fire, and in the old Skidi scheme of villages it belonged to the
central village. Its keeper must also be present at the ceremonies of the
other four bundles, and in a way he alone can call the whole tribe together.
Yet, it is only in times of great trial, that he by special ceremonies becomes
the chief priest. It is only when the four leading bundles fail to provide
buffalo and the people are starving that the chiefs beg the priest whose
bundle is then leader to call upon the calf bundle to lead. The priest gives
his consent. Then he fills the sacred pipe with native tobacco and hands [276]
the pipe to his chief who goes to the tipi of the calf bundle priest. When
the chief enters the tipi he walks to the priest who offers the pipe to him and
explains why he has done so. The priest, knowing the wants of the people,
receives the pipe. The chief thanks him; lights his pipe and waits. When
the chief receives the pipe he returns to the other priests' lodge and returns
the pipe, telling him that the other priest had received the pipe. The priest
and people are glad. Then the ceremony of transferring power is carried
out. It is the belief that the buffalo will then come dashing into the village.

The priests of the four leading bundles and the priest of the Red Calf 793
bundle are thus seen to be important personages. While each of the other
bundles has its priest, his function is quite secondary; in fact, he is little
more than a custodian, providing the meat and corn necessary to the cere-
mony. The principle of operation is that the ceremony for each bundle is
conducted by one of the five leading priests, i. e., the priest of the Red Calf
bundle must always be present, and the conductor is either he or one of the
four leading priests, as the ritual may require. Normally all five are ex-
pected to be present. There is a partial exception in the Morning Star
bundle for in this case the conductor of the ceremony was a special official
of the village, not its keeper, but even he was under obligation to call in the
calf bundle priest who alone knew the creation rituals, and the two leading
rituals for all bundles. In short, with the exception just cited, the calf
bundle priest was required to know the ritual of each bundle and if need be
conduct each ceremony; the four leading priests were to a less degree re-
quired to do the same.

In this connection, it may be noted that the custodianship of a bundle is in the hands of the woman. She cares for it at all times and knows some

575 One end was lapped over enough to allow the poles to be passed through. In the middle, the cloth was slashed enough to allow for the bearer's hand. Feathers were also placed before the men who were sewing. They took five crow feathers that were equal in length and cut the quills at the ends. When these were ready one of the men made perforations in the cloth with a sharp stick beginning at the top. Then [237] he placed the quill ends of the feathers in the perforations and tied them with sinew. Five swan feathers were attached in the same way. This was done for the full length of the strip, five crow feathers alternating with five swan feathers.

The men on the north side must complete their cloth first, for the north star [821] watches and cares for them, giving them life and feeding them. The people on the south side worked slowly for the south star is the home of the dead. The owl feathers are bunched together and tied at the top of the cloth because they represent the north star who watches over all at night. Owls care for people while they sleep. In olden [825] times, the owls used to warn the people when the enemy was prowling around the camp. The crow feathers were attached first because crows are always the first to find food and they used to help the people to find buffalo. The swan feathers represent those of the thunderbird which is near Tirawahat, the heavens. If an enemy [821] were on the point of attacking the people, thunderstorms would come up and save them. The red cloth signified bloodshed during war. During battle, if the lance bearer stuck the lance into the ground, it was incumbent upon the people to defend the emblem.

After the cloth was ready, the poles were passed through the flaps, tied to a pole, and stuck in the ground, one at the north and the other at the south side, in front of the drummers.

Now, Known-the-leader said: "Knife-chief, Brave-chief, Running-fox, Young-hawk, old men, and young men, our fathers (the lances) are now complete. Our father, the owl is sitting at the top of the pole. The crow and swan feathers are attached. The lances are complete and have taken life. Let us hasten to notify the gods in the heavens that we have completed these emblems that were given to our people long ago to be carried on the buffalo hunt that there should be order. These insignia were to be carried in battle; in peace they were hung on a pole. The buffalo have disappeared, we no longer fight our enemies, peace rules. The gods know this. They will bless us and give us long life. They will bless our fields so that we may have an abundance of food. It is now time to offer smoke to the gods to show that we remember them. I select Knife-chief to offer smoke to the gods in the heavens. Knife-chief will now rise and take the pipe I have filled."

276 Knife-chief rose and took the pipe which belongs in a sacred bundle. It is very old; the bowl is large; the stem smooth and round and represents the windpipe 575 through which the prayers of the people pass. Knife-chief walked around the fireplace with the pipe, beginning at the south. At the northeast he stopped and the south assistant lighted the pipe with a burning coal. He then walked around the fireplace by the west and then south with the lighted pipe and stopped successively at the south and north entrances and blew smoke in those directions. He next halted at the fireplace and blew smoke on its rim towards the northeast and the northwest. West of the fireplace he stopped and blew smoke southwest and southeast. Then he passed north and stopped at the west facing east. He blew smoke east, west, and then east again. Then he directed smoke towards the heavens; three times to the north, once to the south, faced about and blew smoke west. He turned again and blew towards the ground and the drums.

The pipe was passed to those on the north and the south sides, each person taking four whiffs. Knife-chief then strewed the ashes from the pipebowl west of the fireplace and facing west passed his hands over the pipestem, then over his own body, and handed the pipe to Known-the-leader who said, "Nawa." All the rest of the people said, "Nawa." This ended the first smoke ceremony. 276 575

Known-the-leader again addressed the assemblage: "Men, old men, and young men, another smoke offering is near. Our fathers are completed and stand before us. We must offer them smoke. I have filled this pipe. I have selected Brave-chief to carry on the smoke for he took part in war parties when these two lances were carried."

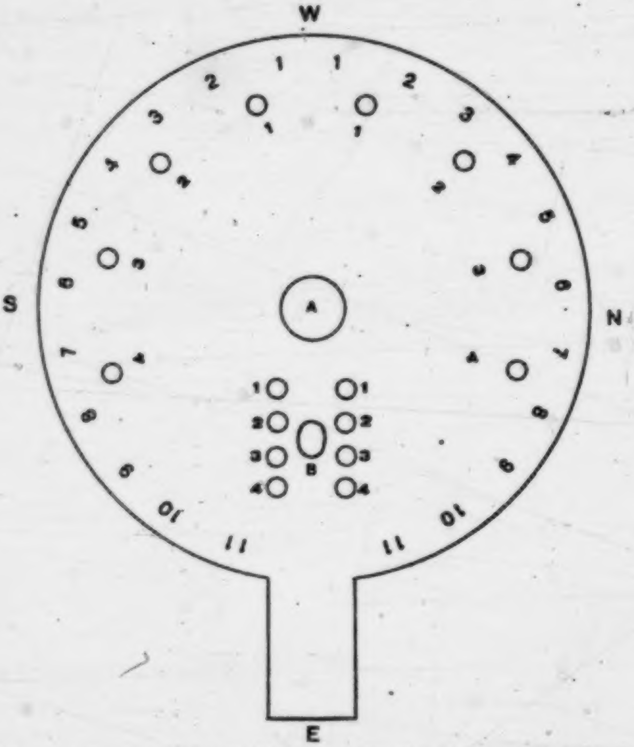


Fig. 4. Arrangement of the Food Bowls in the Two Lance Ceremony: A, fireplace; B, kettle of cooked maize; 1–11, the seats of members; 1–4, the serving bowls in position and as served. This order is followed in most ceremonies.

Brave-chief rose and took up the pipe. In the meantime, Known-the-leader's assistants took up the drums. At this point a song was sung about father owl, one about father crow, one about the thunderbirds, while the last related to the lances. [533]

276
575

Brave-chief walked around the fireplace, stopped at the west facing east, and pointed the pipestem upward. At the same time he took some tobacco from the bowl, raised it, gradually lowered his hand, and finally placed the tobacco in the rim of the fireplace. Then he again pointed the pipe to the rim of the fireplace and placed a pinch of tobacco on it. The first offering was in honor of Tirawahat, the second in honor of the earth. He sat at the northeast of the fireplace. Now the assistant on the north placed a coal on the bowl of the pipe and returned to his place.

Brave-chief walked around the fireplace by the north and stood west of it. Four times he blew smoke to the heavens and four times to the rim of the fireplace. Then he directed smoke upwards towards the north and south lances. He passed around the fireplace by the south, east, and north, and offered the pipe to Known-the-leader who smoked four times; then he moved around by the north, east, and south to the west and Knife-chief smoked four times. The north and south assistants also smoked. Brave-chief emptied the ashes from the pipe west of the fireplace. He touched them with his right hand, made an upward pass, and then touched them with his left hand. Then he walked to the north lance and passed his right hand twice upward over the pipestem and with his left hand touched the ashes and passed it over the stem of the pipe. This was repeated before the south lance.

Finally he stood in front of the singers passing his hand over the pipestem and then over his own body. He returned the pipe to Known-the-leader who said "Nawa" which was repeated by all those present. This ended the smoking ceremony.

Now food was placed east of the fireplace. There was one kettle of corn, a pot of meat, bread, and coffee. The corn was placed near the entrance. Known-the-leader said: "Old men and young men, the corn was given our women by Tirawahat. We were told to offer it to the gods. I select Knife-chief to make the offering, then we will partake of the food."

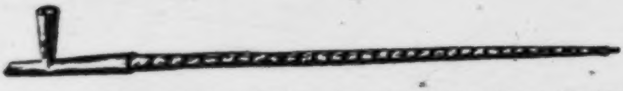


Fig. 5. Pipe for the Two Lance Society. The bowl is of red stone, the stem round, marked with black bands to represent a trachea, which it symbolizes.

Known-the-leader gave Knife-chief a buffalo horn spoon with which he ladled out the corn into eight wooden bowls placed there by the two assistants. He placed a spoonful at a time alternately in the north and south bowls until they were all filled. He walked west by the north and standing west of the fireplace raised a spoonful of corn towards the heavens gradually lowering it and finally placing some corn on the rim of the fireplace. Before placing the remainder of the corn he made a pass towards the west with the spoon and then gave it to the south assistant. Four times he placed his hands on the corn on the fireplace and raised them towards the heavens. He walked to the north lance and passed his hands four times upwards on it and then repeated the same motions with the south lance. Then he passed his hands over the drums. Stepping backward and standing erect he passed his hands over his head and then over his body.

Knife-chief took the spoon from the assistant and gave it to Known-the-leader who as he received it said "Nawa" which everyone repeated after him. Then he took up the first bowl on the north side and placed it before the two men on the north

side and the one on the south side in front of the south men. Then he placed the 276 second bowl from both the north and south sides before the third and fourth men on either side and so on until all the bowls were in front of them and then they ate. 575 The bowls were passed down towards the entrance and what remained was the share of the two assistants. When the corn was all eaten the assistants gathered up the bowls and put them away. Then the meat, bread, and coffee were passed without any ceremony.

Known-the-leader said, "Men, old men, and young men, our fathers are now complete. Tomorrow we will have the dance. We have made the smoke offering to the gods and they will be thankful. We have also offered our corn to the gods and they will watch over us.[1] We will now prepare to leave this tipi. We have eaten and smoked."

This ends the ceremony for the making of the lances.

The regalia are two lances, four rattles, and four hand drums (Fig. 3). 575 There is also a special pipe as shown in the sketch, Fig. 5. The four singers [293] wore foxskin caps and painted their faces white, marking down with the fingers. The members have no fixed painting, being permitted to follow [302] their fancy. Formerly, they danced nude and carried weapons at their pleasure. The mode of dancing through the village and conducting the buffalo hunt has been described, these procedures being the same for each society.

As noted in the table the Chauí also had this society, though with them it was of minor importance. There were also small differences in the arrangement of the feathers on the lance.

THE SKIDÍ RED LANCE SOCIETY.

The rarı́spahat, red lance or otter lance society among the Skidí had two lances as shown in the sketch. Here the one for the north side of the lodge was wrapped with dark otter fur, the one for the south side with reddish [293] fur. The leader had a pipe, there were four rattles and four hand drums. The renewing of the lances and other ceremonies were as described for the bundle societies in general. This society does not occur elsewhere except in the Wolf-standing-in-water village, but here there is but one lance and the stone on the bowstring is wanting. There were probably important differences in the ritual but there are no data available.

This society was almost never called upon to act as hunting police, but [721] was often called upon to lead in war. It will be noted that the lances, in contrast to those of the preceding, carry real spear points. Their power dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes. 756 [534] [386]

---

[1] The smoke and food offerings have practically the same form in all ceremonies.

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws. The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in black. There were no feathers or other decorations. [293] [778]

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times. [888]

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

THE DEER SOCIETY.

The raris ta, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual seems to be in keeping of the Skidi organizations. The fundamental elements of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer (ta), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamental is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls unconscious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed jaw of a gar fish; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once for all. 276● 756

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced [789]

756 are placed in a pile and later given to the donor of the blanket. Other shamanistic feats may occur, but seem to be individual and entirely optional.

[279] As in other societies of this class the members bring their professional bundles to the ceremony and display their contents. The regalia peculiar to the society are large whistles, to symbolize the elk, and foxskins carried by the neck when dancing. A few members wear braided buffalo hide ropes into which feathers are woven and some carry wings of birds.

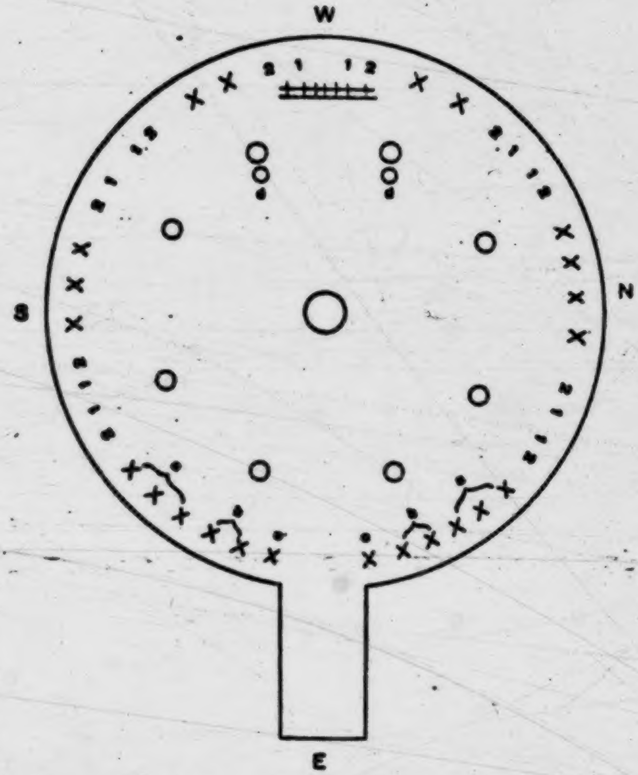


Fig. 16. Diagram of the Buffalo Doctors' Ceremony: a, Chiefs; b, old men; c, errand men; d, place of the drums when not in use. The leaders of the ceremony sit at the west but on each side are two pairs of alternate leaders to whom the drums are shifted as the ritual requires.

The order of seating is shown in Fig. 17. It differs slightly from the preceding for the leaders sit, not at the west of the door as is usual, but on the

4: Murie 1-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

575 796 the dancers, first one from the north side, then the south side, and so on. Then the women went to the smoke. When all had gone through the smoke, Coming-sun told the south whip man to return the coals to the fireplace.

276 575 796 When this was done, Coming-sun spoke as follows: "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, notice my speech and actions for hereafter we shall say

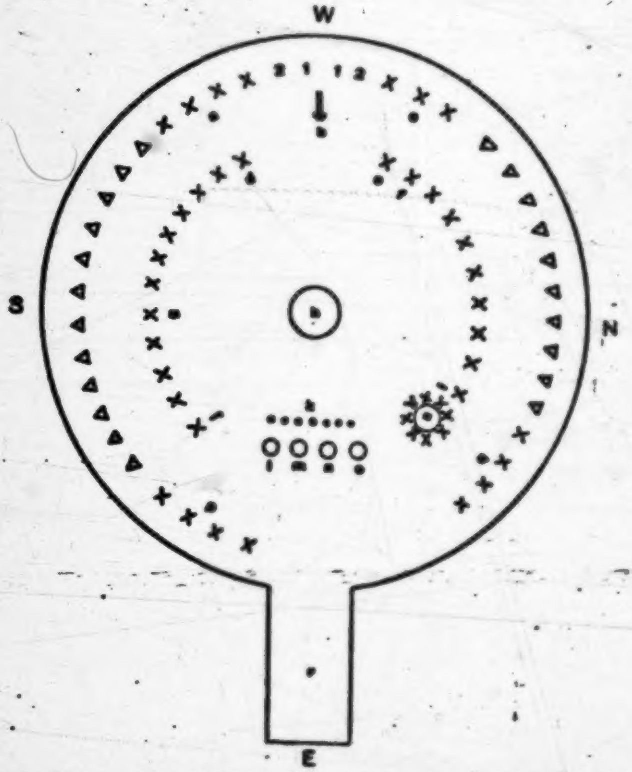


Fig. 18. Diagram of the Skidi Iruska Society. The crosses represent the seats of men, triangles those of women. a and c, visitors of note; b, the pipe; d, the bonnet wearer; e, sword bearer; f, tomahawk bearer; g, whistle bearer; h, fireplace; i, j, whip bearers; k, bowls of cooked maize; l, o, platters of bread; m, kettle of meat; n, coffee urn; p, q, old men; r, entrance way to the lodge; s, drum and drummers. 1–2, 1–2 are the leaders for the two sides,

and do as I am about to do. Above all things, Tirawahat gave the pipe to our people that he might receive smoke from them. We have the pipes here at the altar. They are filled with native tobacco. It is now time for Tirawahat to receive our smoke. As you see the men I select go through

the smoke ceremony, so will it be done in all our iruska dances, for I have 276
whispered to the men who shall offer the smoke. I now select Sun-chief 575
to offer the smoke. He will now rise and take the pipe."
Sun-chief arose and took the pipe from Coming-sun. Then he went 796
around the fireplace and stood to the west. He took a pinch of tobacco from the pipe, raised up his hand and gradually lowered it to the rim of the fireplace where he placed the tobacco. Next he went northeast by the south and east of the fireplace and squatted down. The south side whip man went to the fireplace, took a live coal and placed it upon the bowl of the pipe. When the pipe was lit, Sun-chief arose and went west of the fireplace, here he stood facing east and gave four whiffs of smoke to the skies; then four whiffs to mother earth. Then he dumped the ashes from the bowl of the pipe and passed his hands over the pipestem toward the skies, twice with his right hand and twice with his left hand. He passed his hands upon the pipestem to the rim of the fireplace, twice with his right and twice with his left hand. Then he turned towards the west and walked to Coming-sun and handed him the pipe. Coming-sun said, "Rawa"; all repeated "Rawa." The second pipe was given to Lone-chief of the south side and the same ceremony gone through.

When the smoke ceremony was over the outside man came in and per- 575
mitted those outside to come in. Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old 796
men, and iruska, we are about to dance. You dancers must be careful with the things you are wearing for if you drop anything, one of those old men will have to take it up and tell of his deeds. Then you must pay. Each man who has a song must dance when his song is sung and must give a small
present to some old man or woman. We will have five sets of songs, ten in [533]
each set. Everyone must dance. Anyone receiving a present must say, 'rawa iruska.' After each ten songs we will smoke and rest."

So the singers began their songs. Every time the whip men rose everyone had to dance.

After the dance, Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, this is now our iruska dance. Visiting parties, if they wish, may tie tobacco
upon the drum, then the keeper of the drum must notify the leaders, who [535]
will plan a dance to give presents to visitors. This is now a popular dance
among the Pawnee for at these dances people give presents to one another [431]
and there is a general good time for all.[1]

---

[1] This form of the iruska was originated by the writer who may be said to be entirely [177]
responsible for the organization. He knew very little of the procedure among the Dakota but was fairly familiar with the form of the Osage. From the latter he took his main ideas and the various officers with their respective duties. Also like the Osage he adopted strict rules for conducting the dance. Yet the manouvers and serious parts of the ceremony were all taken from bundle rituals of the Pawnee.— Ed.

668 and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring
796 tribes. It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony.
[177] According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days. There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now
[346] regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple.
[361] Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise, the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical
[787] belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog
[524] dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the iruska. Some time after 1904 the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated. The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their hereditary sides of north and south.

THE PEYOTE.

About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned
276 something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the
794 buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to
[177] him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked with Christ.

with Christ. Under this new leadership the membership increased. The 276 Oto carried the ceremony to the Omaha. Among the Pawnee the cult is 794 found chiefly among the Pítahauírata where this new form originated; later, it found a following among the Chauí and then among the Kit'kaháxki with a few scattering adherents among the Skidí.

Naturally, this new leader introduced some original features. A special 276 form of painted tipi was used, somewhat like that for the ghost dance. 794 Certain changes were made in the rattle and the form of the drum. There is also an elaborate altar and the circle is divided into the usual north and 796 south sides.

Among the special ceremonies is one for the water bearer. At midnight one is sent to get water from the stream. As he is under the influence of the drug he may fall into the water and drown, so special songs are sung during his absence to guard him. When he enters with the pail, it is purified in a cedar smudge, an offering made and then passed for drinking.

At dawn as the sun appears, the ritual is interrupted long enough to sing a special set of songs. While this is going on, the door curtain is raised so that the first rays of the sun may strike the altar. At the close of this special ceremony the ritual is resumed where left off.

The last songs of the ritual refer to Christ. The final song is repeated five times after which each member in turn prays to God.

A woman then enters with water, parched corn, and candy. She and the food are purified in a cedar smudge, then she retires. First the water is passed, then the corn, and finally the candy, circulating in this order until all is consumed.

The members now sit in their places and talk over their experiences. The objects used in the ceremony are gathered up and put away. The leader closes the meeting at noon with a lecture, or sermon, on ethical matters, speaking especially against the use of alcohol. Some Pawnee leaders refuse membership to all using alcoholic drinks.

At noon the members are invited out to dine by some leading man. When seated the leader takes up a pitcher of water and prays to God. Then he fills a glass and taking a sip passes it around the circle in true church fashion. Then they eat without ceremony.

After the meal the members again assemble in the peyote tipi, but this is an informal gathering where they discuss freely their faith and practise singing such songs as desired.

In the evening they depart. As each one leaves, he stands by the fireplace, holds aloft his hand and prays aloud. Then he shakes hands around the circle, pauses at the door to hold up his hand and perform certain other symbolic gestures, then passes out. So with all in turn, the leader being the last to go.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

276 The peyote tipi is dismantled the next day and the camp broken.

794 796 It may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the ghost dance excitement. One of his individual doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore.

THE ONE HORN DANCE.

178 796 Among the Skidi there is a modernized form of the one horn dance (p. 623) organized about 1893. It took its form from the dreams of a woman. The man who spoke to her in the dream ran away as a buffalo. She went out at sunrise and saw a ring come down from the sun. Little by little she dreamed the songs and taught her husband. Finally, an eagle came to her in a dream and she was ordered to get an eagle. This she did. Again she dreamed of a crooked crow-feathered stick, this was made. Then a drum was made.

The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one horn dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman.

622
756 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers
778 and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular impor-
554 tance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have con-
726 secrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup
among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of
these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pitahauirata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of
756 wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and
837 not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice.
Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicine-man in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies
224 for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping
party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle
[223] trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern
838 Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by
sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

726 *No-flight Idea.* A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and
taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

842 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of
532 medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so.
Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint
834 in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized
in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had
276 performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

were so qualified. Women were not permitted to smoke at all, though our informant remembers seeing two or three old women smoke, they being doctors. 276 [562]

Sun Dance. According to the Pawnee belief the sun dance was given to the Plains tribes by the Arikara. In ancient times the Gros Ventre intermarried with them and so first got the ceremony. It may be noted that in the four-pole ceremony (p. 551) and again in the twenty-day ceremony, the bringing in of the tree is in the main identical with the regular sun dance form. The torture feature reached the Pawnee through the Arikara. A member of the young dog society once exchanged rituals with an Arikara sun dancer and for a time this was a part of the dog society ritual (p. 587). There is a report, however, of a very old dance in which they gazed at the sun, but without the torture. 796

Tiny Bags of Medicine. All regalia of a serious nature and especially objects carried to war were made powerful by the presence of tiny bags of medicine. The contents were vegetable, chiefly roots. Roots were chewed and spit over men to make them brave, virtuous, healthy, etc. In fact, most all powers come through knowledge of the uses of plants. 789

Tobacco Planting. There was no special ceremony for planting or gathering tobacco. There is a saying that this was unnecessary for since tirawahat gave it to the Pawnee direct, he himself watches over it, so all that is needed is to plant the seed; but that other tribes got it from them or other Indians and so must use the powers of ceremonies to make it grow. 249

Witches. There may have been a witch society for there is a tale as to how a chief destroyed such an organization. In brief, he watched at his son's grave and first heard cries of owls, then people approaching. As they were uncovering the corpse, he seized one man, the others fled. The prisoner he threatened with death unless he explained all the secrets of the medicine so that he himself could become a member. This was done. The young man had been killed by them partly through jealousy but chiefly to secure fat from his heart to put in their witch bundles. Their chief powers were owls and yellow-hammers. They had killed the young man by magically shooting an owl's claw and a yellow-hammer's feather into his heart. When the chief had learned all the rites and the names of the members, he killed his informant. He cut him open, took the fat and part of the ribs home. The meat he cooked. While it was boiling, he sent for his soldiers and a few trusted men and gave them instructions. Then he sent for the members of the witch society (five or more including a woman) whom he feasted upon the flesh of their associate, but at a signal they were struck down by the soldiers. Their bodies and bundles were burned to put an end to witches. 754

which contained red, black, and white paint in little 778 buckskin pouches; sweet grass, a pipe and native tobacco, and the penis bone of a racoon, were also placed in each bundle, all these objects being used in the ceremonies. The sweet grass was burned as incense, and the bone was attached to a stick and used as a fork to remove meat from the pot. Some bundles contained additional objects.

When the bundle was not in use, all these articles were done up in an inner and an outer wrapper of buffalo hide and tied with a rope of plaited buffalo-hair. To the outside of the bundle were attached the stems of one or more pipes whose bowls were in the bundle, a few arrows captured from the enemy, and some other objects. The arrows were used as fire pokers and pipe tampers during the ceremonies. In [276 ceremonial smoking it was forbidden to press down 782] the tobacco in the pipe with the finger lest the gods should think that the smoker offered himself to them with the tobacco. Associated with each bundle, and often fastened to it, there were four large gourd rattles of special form. These symbolized the four dieties who were the special guardians of the Evening Star, and also represented the breasts of the two divine women in the west,—the Evening Star and the Moon.

Except at the time of ceremonies, the sacred bundle was hung up on the west side of its keeper's lodge, above th[illegible]lo skull which was always placed there. When so hung, it was likened by the Pawnee to a dead man in his grave. The spirit lived in it, but slept. Even when opened, the bundle continued asleep until the Mother-Corn had been placed in it. It then came to life, and during the ceremony the corn and the other objects represented, individually and collectively, supernatural beings. These beliefs of the Pawnee differ [171] considerably from those held by most of the other tribes who used sacred bundles; and Dr. G. A. Dorsey

*772 324 764 most of the stones were intended for utilitarian purposes, and they may very well have been made for funerary or other ceremonial functions expressly (pl. 7, *a–m*).

*772 412 SHAFT POLISHERS.—These are always of dark brown, medium coarse sandstone, and are of one uniform type. They occur in pairs (pl. 7, *n*, *t*) and vary in length from 4 to 7½ inches. Almost invariably they are of the "nail-buffer" type, with a single longitudinal groove. Specimens with two grooves are absent, as are those with transverse grooves. All of the specimens figured are from the Hill site and are of unusually fine shape and workmanship; they have been used to only a slight extent but the grooves are nicely marked. Similar smoothers are found at most other sites and are in fact exceedingly widespread over the plains and adjoining areas.

*772 276 PIPES.—Stone pipes are the rule on all Pawnee village sites, with catlinite the most common material. The specimens figured (pl. 8, *a–k*) are from the Hill village on the Republican, with the exception of *h* and *i*, both of which are from the Burkett site. With two exceptions they are made of catlinite or some similar polished red stone; *a* is of gray, fine-grained material, and *g* is of coarse, friable red sandstone. In form they are nearly always of the elbow type, with the bowl at right angles to the stem, and commonly the stem is extended a short distance beyond the bowl. All were probably fitted with detachable stems of carved wood or reed, of which obviously few traces have survived.

The two large specimens in the center of the illustration, *e* and *f*, are of unusually fine workmanship, particularly as regards *f*. This pipe is 4¾ inches long with a bowl 1⅞ inches high by 1 inch square at the top; the bowl is still caked from much use. The effigy is about 2 inches long. The other pipe is a trifle shorter, but also has a square-topped bowl. According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the square bowl was indicative of chieftainship on the part of the owner, whereas the round-bowled pipes were the property of the medicine men and priests. The effigy pipe, *f*, was found with the remains of a child, over which lay the outspread skeleton of an eagle; *g* was in the same grave.

The tiny pipe, *i*, in the bottom row, is 1 inch long and has a squarish bowl with scalloped rim. Such small pipes are still highly prized by the older men of the Pawnee Tribe, and may hark back to the days when tobacco was used in very small quantities only in their ceremonies, instead of being smoked for pleasure. Two or three puffs would suffice to burn up all of the tobacco that would go into such a bowl.

Immediately in front of the bowl of this small pipe, i. e., nearest the smoker, may be seen a tiny vertical projection, which is pierced. The keel of *j* is similarly perforated and *h* has a deep groove cut

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

about the end of the pipe. These devices were presumably for the attachment of a cord, which could be used to lash the pipes firmly onto their stems when in use, or to secure them against loss when carried with the sacred bundles on war and hunting trips. The comb in *d* may have served a similar purpose. 172* 276

Unusual types are seen in *b*, *g*, and *k*. The first is slightly less than 1½ inches long, straight, and has a very slight taper; it is ornamented with a very well-executed face. The shape is reminiscent of the cloud blower of the pueblo area, though this particular pipe was undoubtedly fitted with a wooden stem; it is not at all typical of our area. As for the other two specimens, *g* and *k*, both have the bowl at right angles to the stem, but are fashioned from plain, subrectangular blocks of stone; *k* bears five notches on the outer side and two on the inner.

The specimens seen in *d* and *j* are also very nicely made and are remarkably symmetrical and well balanced. Added beauty is attained through the use of ornamental combs and keels, as already indicated, but these features appear not to have been very common.

[114] According to Charlevoix,[64] the Pawnee claimed to have received the calumet directly from the sun. From this he concluded that the tribe "paid the sun a more ancient and distinguished worship than the other nations of that part of America, and that they were the first who thought of making the calumet a symbol of alliance." The priority in use here postulated has not yet been demonstrated, but there is a marked similarity between certain of the Pawnee pipes and those from earlier cultures of the area, save that the latter are not ordinarily of catlinite. It is quite possible that the elaborate calumets figured in our series will ultimately be traced back through the sandstone and limestone types of southern Nebraska to an earlier curved form of clay so far known in the State only from the Missouri Valley. [171] These latter, while crude and roughly made, are suggestive of the trumpet-shaped pipes of the Iroquois,[65] to which they may bear a genetic relationship. The long-stemmed clay pipes of the southern Caddoans[66] are apparently lacking in Nebraska, although certain of the short-stemmed "variants" do resemble the pipes of the Pawnee.[67]

WORK IN BONE AND HORN

172* 412 321

AWLS.—These are to be found nearly everywhere in the area but are most common on the prehistoric and protohistoric sites. There is no fixed type, although the majority of specimens appear to have

---

[64] 1903, vol. I, p. 306.

[65] Skinner, 1921, pp. 89–103 and figure 13.

[66] Harrington, 1920, pls. CI and CII.

[67] Ibid., pl. CIV, c.

The border is carved with zigzag lightning symbols. The emblem 172* of the sun, 5 inches in diameter, with 4 long and 12 short rays, 322 is neatly cut into the upper part of the piece, which is further embellished 854 with brass-headed tacks (Nebr. Hist. Mag., x, 3, 1927, p. 192). It is a most unusual and attractive piece of work and was very likely made by Indian craftsmen. Fragments of other nicely decorated boards have been recovered, but none is sufficiently large to permit a good reconstruction.

Miscellaneous.—Wooden boxes and chests, bound with leather or 172* metal and studded with large-headed nails, are not uncommon, 322 though always in fragmentary condition. Wooden-backed mirrors, sheaths, and numerous other odds and ends are frequently found, nearly always with rows of nails as ornamental features. The clumsy workmanship probably indicates that most of them were made by the Indians themselves, in imitation of the white man's articles. Occasionally a better piece is recovered, perhaps with a lock or hinge, these being probably imported and trade articles. Pipestems [276] of light carved wood have been found in a few cases but were too fragmentary for accurate restoration.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

Glass beads.—These were in very extensive use by the Pawnee 172* after the arrival among them of white traders. Small white, blue, 301 and red beads, of transparent glass, are by far the commonest, especially 439 in graves, while black appears relatively infrequently. Tubular porcelain beads, less than one-half inch long, are also found, though not very plentiful. Large, irregularly shaped blue, red, and colorless beads, mostly translucent, have been regarded as of Indian manufacture because of their crudity (pl. 8, *n*). Samples of these were submitted to M. W. Stirling, of the Smithsonian Institution, for examination and were pronounced by him to be trade material from the Hudson Bay Co., probably via the Missouri.[33] All of these were from the Hill site, abandoned about 1810. There is thus no positive evidence that the Pawnee ever manufactured their own glass beads, though the custom was followed by the Arikara, Mandan, and other upper Missouri River tribes in historic times.[34]

Metal work.—Iron and copper become increasingly common with 172* recency. Iron "squaw" hoes, gun parts, axes, chisels, bridles, stir- 439 rups, knives, and innumerable other odds and ends abound on the 177

---

[33] Letter of Oct. 13, 1930.

[34] Lewis and Clark, 1922, vol. 1, p. 233. However, excavation at the Burkett site [114] in April 1931 yielded a number of turquoise-blue, glass beads of rough manufacture and imperfect glass. According to Dr. W. D. Strong, these are closely similar to a native-made specimen of glass work secured by Dr. Mathew among the Arikara in 1870, now in the National Museum.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*172 764 collectively treated as a tribal trait. For the most part information comes from the Hill site, and is based primarily upon the researches of Mr. A. T. Hill and of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey.

Three graves were opened by the survey party at the Hill site, in August 1930, all on the west slope of the main burial hill south of the village. Burial 1 was that of a very young child. It lay at a depth of 3 feet, in a small, ill-defined grave. The bones were so badly decayed that the orientation of the body was not determined. A single broken iron ring, a metal disk, and a tiny catlinite pipe with one notch/on the stem were the sole offerings. [301 276]

Burial 2 (pl. 11, c) was that of a subadolescent about 10 or 12 years old and was in very good condition. The grave was 3 feet 6 inches deep, 4 feet long, and some 18 inches wide. The skeleton lay on its left side, the feet drawn up toward the buttocks, and the knees and arms extended toward the front; the head was to the north. Immediately at the back of the cranium lay a half-cylindrical iron vessel with a small spout, apparently an army canteen of early nineteenth century type (pl. 12, a). Lumps of red ochre were found about the waist and to a lesser extent near the feet. All traces of clothing had long since disappeared, save for a quantity of colored glass beads about the feet, which probably came from moccasins. [307]

Burial 3 (pl. 11, a, b) was the richest of the group. It was that of a small child, poorly preserved. The grave was 4 feet deep, 34 inches long, and 18 inches wide. The skull, rather badly broken, lay to the south; the rest of the skeleton was too fragmentary to yield any clues as to the arrangement of the body and limbs. The body had been completely wrapped in twined reed matting and then covered with bark. Over the whole, in disorderly fashion, lay several broken slats of worked wood about 2¼ inches wide and less than a half inch thick; the longest measured 17 inches, another 9 inches, the latter with two holes near one unbroken end. All of the wood was painted a dark purple and was very nicely smoothed; it was probably the framework of a cradle board. Near the middle of the body were a number of glass beads, apparently from a beaded belt or shirt front. The soil about the feet was literally impregnated with more beads, mostly white, blue, and red, doubtless from the decayed moccasins. Several heavy lead rings about three-eighths of an inch wide, a broken shell or bone gorget, and small fragments of other shell trinkets complete the list of funerary offerings. [301]

A week after the operations just described the writer opened a grave discovered by Mr. A. T. Hill at the Palmer site. The grave was about a quarter of a mile due north of the village near the summit of one of the principal burial hills and had been revealed in cross section by recent deepening of a roadside ditch. The total

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 1.—Pawnee earth lodge and house site. *a*, earth lodge near Pawnee, Okla., in 1905. Photo by Nebraska Historical Society. *b*, general appearance of lodge floor, house 1, Hill site; diameter 44 feet, depth 16 inches. The center has been excavated slightly below the floor level. 342 172

PLATE 2.—Vegetal material and textiles from the Hill site. *a*, tubers of *Apios tuberosa*; *b*, seeds of bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*); *c*, pits of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*); *d*, pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*); *e*, grains of charred flint corn (*Zea mays*); *f*, charred corncobs; *g*, *i*, fragments of bison-hair textile; *h*, hank or rope of bison hair; *j–l*, rush matting. 172 137 28

PLATE 3.—Pawnee vessels from various sites. *a* and *c* are from Palmer site; *a* is 4⅓ inches high and 4⅞ inches in maximum diameter; *c* is 4½ inches high by 4⅞ inches in diameter; *b* and *d* are from the Hill site, both restored; *b* is 3¾ inches by 3¼ inches across; *d* is 7 inches tall and 6 inches in diameter. 173 415

PLATE 4.—Complete vessels, probably Pawnee. *a* is 9 inches tall and 7¾ inches in diameter and shows all of the best diagnostics for Pawnee ware in both form and ornamentation; found on Prairie Creek, near Archer, Nebr. *b* is 5¾ inches high by 5⅝ inches across; found in the Cedar River, near Fullerton, Nebr., and is of uncertain origin. Nebraska Historical Society collections. 172 415 531

PLATE 5.—Pawnee type rim sherds from various historic sites. *a–f*, Hill site; *g*, Horse Creek; *h–n*, Palmer site. *b*, *d–f*, *i*, *k*, illustrate the typical rim design; *a*, *h*, *l*, *n*, show the herringbone motif, second in abundance. Nearly all have lip indentations. 172 531

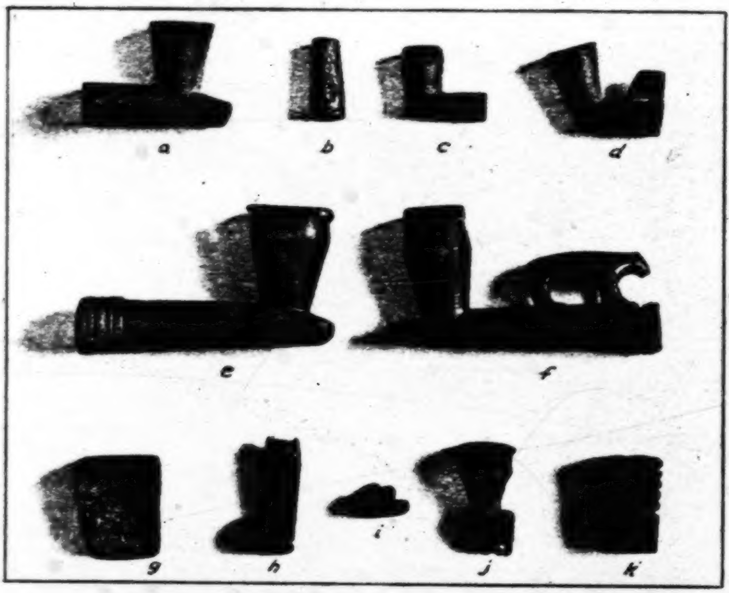
PLATE 6.—Selected rim sherds from Burkett site. All bear lip indentations. Note similarity of *b*, *h*, *j*, *l*, to historic Pawnee motifs (preceding plate). Handles occur on all but *h*, *j*, *l*, *n*.

PLATE 7.—Stonework from Hill site. *a–m* are from graves, one being nearly always in or near the left hand of every adult male skeleton. *a*, *f* 2½ inches long; *j* is 5½ inches long. *n–t* are arrowshaft buffers, of dark-brown coarse sandstone. In *p*, *q*, *r* are shown three perfectly matched pairs, each as found; they measure 4½, 7½, and 5 inches in length, respectively. 172 324

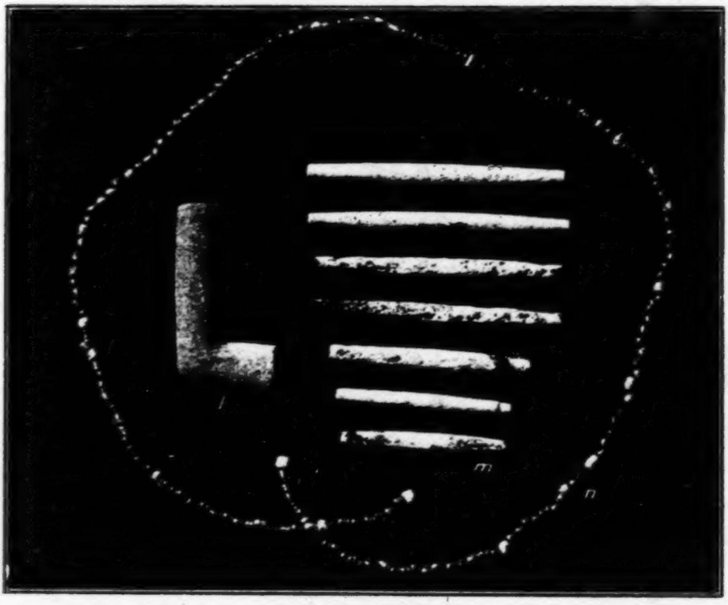
PLATE 8.—Pipes and mortuary offerings, various sites. *h*, *i* are from Burkett site; all others from Hill site. They are made of catlinite or some other fine-grained red stone; *a* is of gray material, *g* of coarse red sandstone. *f* is 4¾ inches long with a square-topped bowl 1⅞ inches tall; found with a child burial. *i* is less than 1 inch long. Note straight specimen of cloudblower type, *b*; also perforated keel in *j*, groove about outer end of *h*, and small loop on top of *i*, for attachment of a thong. *l*, gray sandstone pipe, 2⅝ inches tall by 1¾ inches long. *m*, perforated or grooved shell objects probably worn as ear or hair ornaments; longest pair 4½ inches long and three-eighths inch in diameter. *n*, blue glass trade beads, probably obtained from Hudson Bay Company; they are about the size of a pea, very crude, and blue, red, or transparent in color. 172 276 307 532

P

172
276
532
764



172
276
301



PIPES AND MORTUARY OFFERINGS. VARIOUS SITES (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

[End plate 8]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

sirawari i	They two who are traveling, 533
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a	Alone, they two who are traveling, 539
tsapat-i witiwaku	A young woman, it is said that she says:
sikatasiwaktiks-a	I wonder if they two are true (to each other).
tskara, sirawari-i-a-a-a-a	

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their 883 parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not uncommonly 572 grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, 554 a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46-539 50) of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of 883 wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the 572 son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys 554 liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all, while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to induce [829] boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some historical [867] basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the mature 571 Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured 574 within the house even when only two were sitting together. First [782] there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversation [276] or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a [521] woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

sharpen up his axe, fix up the ropes, borrow a horse to haul the wood if 623
you need one. If two or three lodges are going afoot together, they must 203
keep in line so that we know where you are." (Those with horses were in 722
less danger and might go in any order.) There was another thing he 313
warned them against—that is, taking young girls along. They were just
the ones the Sioux would be trying to capture, and the old man remarked,
they weren't really strong enough to carry wood anyway! Another danger
was a magical one. The spirits of men who had been scalped by an [775]
enemy were very much feared. They were thought to lurk all around,
trying to capture women or steal whatever else they could get their hands
on. So the old man cautioned, "If a woman hasn't kept up, the line must
wait for her until she arrives. She might be captured by one of the
scalped men. This is the time you have to look out for that."

When the young men heard the crier's announcement, five or six of 722
them would gather together at a favorite rendezvous and say, "Let's go
together with our bows and arrows real early before the others and stay
up there until everyone comes home." According to their plan, on the appointed
morning they would go out before the others and disburse over
the area to see whether the enemy was lurking about. They would leave
the villages about 7:30 in the morning and stay out all day.

The chiefs' meeting had come to an end that afternoon while it was 574
still full daylight. Old Bull had gone off to tend his horses. Victory Call, 521
having nothing in particular to do since he had Horse Rider to help him,
wandered over to the gaming grounds where some of the men were clustered
about making their bets on the outcome of the hoop and spear
game, while others were just watching on the sidelines. Victory Call sat
down at some distance from the game and two of the spectators came to
join him. The man who sat down at his left filled up his pipe and offered [276]
it to Victory Call, lighting it for him. Victory Call offered the mouthpiece
upward for the first puff to the cosmic powers in the heavens saying, [782]
"Greetings, all of you spread out up there." Then he offered the
mouthpiece to the earth and said, "Greetings, my mother." Now he took
two puffs on the pipe and began to share it with the men on each side of
him in the alternation: first to the right, then himself, then to the left, and
so on. When the pipe was smoked out, Victory Call was feeling in a genial
mood. He made a special arrangement of his robe that had up to now
been carelessly draped around his shoulders. He drew it down to his waist
and, crossing his legs with the robe folded in a certain order, showed by
this token that he was ready to tell a story. The men who had sat down
with him were anxious to hear what the chief had to say, and particularly
what had gone on in the meeting he had just attended before the
crier got around to announcing it. Several more men joined the party
with the same idea in mind. Victory Call might begin directly, or one of
the men would suggest it obliquely saying, "I heard you had a feast."

574 521 "Yes, we had a feast. It was about having the whole tribe go out for wood." "Yes," one of the men would say, "springtime is coming now and it's about time we got the wood ready. Womenfolk have to go to the fields." Now they would exchange stories until sundown—about war exploits and the horses they had succeeded in getting from the enemy, in which direction they went when they got them, about scouting in the U.S. Army and other similar topics. After about half an hour, the man [276] [782] on his right filled the pipe, but Victory Call ceded it to him. He made the offering to heaven and to earth, and the pipe was passed between them back and forth until they had smoked the tobacco in it. While the storytelling was going on, one of the men decided that he would entertain the chief at his house for dinner and sent a little boy with a message for his wife to prepare a meal for their honored guest. When he was notified that the meal was ready he said to Victory Call, "I want you to come up to my lodge. We're going to have a little bite." The host would call over one or two more and invite them to join the party, saying "I want you to come up. We're going to have something to eat."

574 [554] Victory Call was seated in the place of honor at the northwest and the host at the southeast. The women of the house dished out the food and passed it around. After they had eaten, Victory Call got up first and left walking out by the north side of the lodge. After he had gone they would say, "He's a good chief. He goes about and sees what's going on."

When Victory Call got home that evening, he found White Woman waiting up for him. "I've already eaten," he said. White Woman retorted by way of banter, "I didn't ask you if you had eaten." Then he sat down by the fire and she brought him his tobacco pouch. Guests were likely to come in soon and join him for the rest of the evening for a smoke and some talk. Before the guests arrived, they divided into very small pieces the meat that Victory Call had brought home from the chiefs' meeting so that everyone could have a taste.

When the first guest arrived, Victory Call offered him his pipe and said to White Woman, "Cook something." The guest had just had his dinner and said, "No, no, I've already eaten." Then a little time passed and another guest wandered in. He happened to be hungry and he remarked, "I'd like something to eat," and then White Woman had to get to work and prepare something. By this time all the others who were sitting around would have worked up an appetite and Victory Call would say, "Maybe those fellows are hungry. Maybe they can eat." And so the cooking started up again.

574 521 They talked about hunting, trapping, the warpath, chasing the buffalo, and some other incidents that they had seen or heard. Sitting Bull would begin by telling a story on himself. He told that once he had killed a deer and his kinsman came along. Ordinarily he would be expected to give him half the kill, but he had diverted his attention saying, "Go fol-

628 623 203 *224 Just as the meeting was drawing to a close, as in all chiefs' meetings, an old man would climb up onto the roof of the lodge and cry out to the village what had been decided. In this case he did so early next morning. His wording was in a precise telegraphic style so that it could be clearly understood by everyone. He said:

> This was what was decided in the chiefs' meeting. White Eagle decided we are going to hunt in four days. Anything you have to do, get finished in that time. On the fifth day, we'll go out of the village. We'll camp on the other (south) side of the Loup River (*its-kari*, "potatoes-many").
>
> We'll camp there a whole day so that any of you that aren't quite through can join us any time that day and up to the evening of the sixth day. On the seventh day we are going to be moving upstream (westward).

The old man, having completed his announcement, went back into his lodge.

*224 887 537 [789] Toward evening any old man who felt impelled might get up onto the roof of his house and talk to the people. He would say whatever was on his mind—about events in the past and their lessons for the future, or any other matters that seemed pertinent. Reviewing past events that were successful was considered a kind of sympathetic magic as well as of practical value. At this time the old man might talk about the fields and of how they were in the past. "All that," he would conclude "is in the past. But today we may have the same luck." Then he would continue in a different vein: "Try to help one another and take care of the children. The little ones like to swim and one must watch that they don't drown. I hope we come home well and find everything in good order."

*224 525 Such an old man was likely to speak gently and phrase his thoughts diplomatically and people listened carefully and thought about what he said. However, at the gambling grounds the gamblers had other matters on their minds. They were thinking about the good places they would come to along the way that were nice and smooth, with good buffalo grass growing on them—such a fine playing field for the hoop and pole game. They would discuss the different sites they were going to camp at where these would be found and agree between them that one would take along one stick and one the other so that they would have the equipment they needed for playing. For the inveterate gambler, this subject was always uppermost in his mind.

*224 •276 756 Other men were thinking about how to get enough smoking tobacco to fill their needs, and the doctors were occupied with the herbs and medicines they would need to take along that were available only in this area. The tobacco was needed for ritual as well as for social purposes.

The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood 276 •
(*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer [824]
bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for
smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in
winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade [439]
store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared
patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of [249]
Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting 224*
expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their 276
pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so
that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½
feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would 224*
depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle 492
had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A
saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front
and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were
tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide
envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed
to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used
to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the
rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they
were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the
stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling
the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth 224*
for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently 291
on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was 412
an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. 224*
Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on 482
her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage 778
on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles
had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, 224*
dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, 251
coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concentrated 262
foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes.
The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that [484]
time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would
now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegetable 224*
provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the 251
cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One 252
batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were

buffalo surround had been made exclusively by the elite, now while they 224*
were en route to Camp 11, every able-bodied hunter in the entire tribe 484*
would make a concerted attack on the herd. To guide the line of march 361
overland from Camp 10 to Camp 11 took considerable skill. They
left the Platte by following southeast and upstream along Plum Creek al-
most to its source, and then headed somewhat in the same direction over-
land to the head of another small stream, Turkey Creek, that flows due
south into the Republican. They traveled southward along the west bank
of Turkey Creek, and the line of march halted about midway and com-
bined all the baggage they could so as to free as many horses as possible
for the hunters. The line of march proceeded to the confluence of Tur-
key Creek and the Republican, where they set up Camp 11 in preparation
for the arrival of the hunters with the meat and hides. They would re-
main there for some days as they would have a great quantity of meat
and hides to process. This was about the end of July. The place is west
of the present town of Naponee, Nebraska. Four mass forays would be
made by all the bands in concert, after which the bands would separate
and follow their own fortunes.

Officially, White Eagle was in charge of all the bands. However, he 224*
chose to make a number of diplomatic gestures in this connection. On 622
two occasions he deferred his leadership of the hunt episode to chiefs of 628
the other bands, with whom the Skidi had a special kind of political re- 276
lationship. This was a relationship established through the calumet or 574
peace pipe. The calumet was not so much a treaty-making symbol as an
elaborate ceremonial through which interband and intertribal trade was
carried on, the pipe, therefore, being a sign of peaceful intention and
thus a safe-conduct pass through alien territory. In 1672, Marquette [175]
carried one down the Mississippi and was able to establish peaceful rela-
tions with all the tribes along the way. Other tribes agree that the cere- 574
monial originated with the Pawnees. The ceremony was always carried 276
on in terms of a visiting party bringing gifts. The visitors, who were [431]
called "fathers" by their hosts, brought with them dried vegetables,
bowls, and cooking utensils; decorated clothing, and blankets; "jewelry"
and ornamental objects; and—most valued of all—the highly decorated
pipe stems that were symbolic of the male and female eagle. The visiting
party might number a hundred or more. An earth lodge was set
aside by the hosts for the ceremonial and for the leaders of the party.
The rest of the visitors had brought their own tents and camping equip-
ment as well as all the food supplies and utensils that they would need. It
took almost a year for a man to initiate such an enterprise. In the party
were always included a chief, a priest, and a doctor. The hosts who re-
ceived the party were called "Children" by the visitors, who assisted the
hosts with their planting and other work so that they would be free to
attend the ceremonies. When the ceremony was over, the guests, in [431]

574 addition to the gifts, left all their equipment behind, and also the two
276 sacred pipes. The "Children" on their own account gave their parting
431 "Fathers" a large number of horses they had elaborately decorated for
the occasion. In the past they had given quantities of dried buffalo meat.
[554] Only people of some prominence and wealth could participate in these
622 operations. At this time the Skidi Band were the "Children" of the Beg-
628 ging-for-Meat Band, while the Skidi were "Fathers" to the Man-Going-
574 Downstream Band having recently paid them a trading visit. In view of
the mutual courtesies involved, for the Chiefs' Hunt and the first major
276 hunt episode, White Eagle deferred his leadership to his "father," Man
*224 Chief of the Begging-for-Meat Band. The fourth episode he placed in
charge of his "child" Many Trophies, chief of the Man-Going-Down-
stream Band.

*224 They stayed north of the Republican River for the first two mass at-
*484 tacks on the herd. By this time the herd on the north side was pretty well
scattered, and the hunters had to cross over the river for the attack and
bring the meat back over the water into camp. For the fourth mass at-
tack on the herd, under the leadership of Many Trophies of Man-Going-
[361] Downstream Band, they moved their camping location from Camp 11 to
a place on the Solomon River to the south, a branch of the Kansas. This
was a site preferred by the Man-Going-Downstream Band. It was a diffi-
cult overland journey for which they had to carry water with them.
They would finally locate a small south-flowing stream, the Cedar, which
led them directly to the Solomon. They made their camp in the angle
where the Cedar joined the Solomon, hunting the herd further up the
river. When the bands parted, they mainly went to separate locations
further to the west along the Republican as the herds in the more eastern
648 location would have been scattered. This territory in the west was dan-
gerous as the nomadic tribes, Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, and others
were constantly poised to attack for what they considered to be an en-
[175] croachment on their hunting grounds. In 1873 the Sioux attacked the
Pawnees while they were on such a venture, butchering their kill in a
[727] canyon near Trenton, Nebraska. The death toll was so severe that this
event tipped the balance in their decision to leave their traditional terri-
[167] tory and migrate to Oklahoma.

*224 On the way out and the way back from the buffalo hunting territory
they moved their camp in fairly regular succession one day after an-
*484 other. But sometimes it rained and they had to remain where they were
132 for several days, or they might be delayed by the sickness of a prominent
man. Rain, of course, was an inevitable factor. It could delay the camp
for several days. If they were caught in a rain while on the march, every-
one had to spread his things out to dry and this operation might require
the next day or even two before they could resume their journey.
[281] Tanned hide becomes hard and has to be tanned again with grease and

from whom they could well steal horses, and some young men thought 726
they would like to go to the Osage country. The women of their house- 726
hold would outfit them with three or four pairs of new moccasins, tan- 705
ning some hides especially for the purpose. Each pair would be filled
with supplies—pulverized dried meat, parched corn, and dried meat. The
young man would have a large flat package, especially wide to carry on
his back with straps across the chest to carry his baggage. Under his belt [276]
he carried his tobacco and his pipe, and every time he sat down while he
was on the warpath he must smoke. When he went off to steal horses
he hung his flat-package on a tree and sometimes did not get a chance to
retrieve it at all.

In Victory Call's household, they had gotten eight hides. A small one 281
would be tanned by White Woman to get supplies at Fort Kearney. One 439
was reserved for Mr. Bishop, the trader near home, to whom a good
one had been promised before they left in payment for supplies Victory
Call had obtained at his store for their journey.

While they were going east along the Platte River after their arrival 224*
two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), the village scouts came back 484*
with their report of how things were back home. They came in directly 203
to the tent of Leading Chief who now had charge of their return jour-
ney and reported:

> We went down to the village. We couldn't go in, it was full of fleas. Toward evening we went to the different corn fields. The corn is pretty ripe in some places. The pumpkins are hard yet. There are lots of beans of all different kinds. One fellow got on a freight and went to Columbus to see how the Stay-at-Homes were. Everything looks good. From there we went to the school. We gave the children some pulverized dried meat and some plain. We told them you folks were coming home. We stopped in Bishop and Matlock's store for the night and said it would be about eight or ten days before we got to the village. Everyone looks all right.

Now Know-His-Face went through the encampment, announcing this
message to all. In one of the other bands a rougish old lady called out [824]
"And how about the sunflowers? How are they doing?" The boy said,
"The sunflowers are way high!" The byplay is that the sunflowers were [522]
the place where clandestine affairs were carried on. These grew as weeds
in the boundaries between the fields.

One of the scouts brought five or six ears of corn that were ripe from 224*
different fields, and gave them to the ones to whom they belonged. One 484*
ear had come from the field of Otter's grandmother, and before she took [788]
off the husks she blessed him with it four times. Then she removed the [252]
husks, roasted the ear in the coals, and broke it into three pieces, one for [262]

243 priests of the four direction bundles. They were representing the four
778 aspects of the primordial storm given by Heaven to the Evening Star to
793 assist her in the process of creation. The Evening Star priest also invited
a number of noted warriors and old men and had a quantity of green
corn cooked for their feast. The sacred bundle was opened and its pipe
[276] smoked and shared with the Evening Star and the other great western
[782] powers by pointing its mouthpiece toward the west and then in the same
way with the other celestial gods who took part in the ongoing of the
universe. The contents of the sacred bundle were passed through an
incense of burning sweet grass smoke, and an offering of the corn was
[574] made to the gods. Then the invited guests had their feast of green corn.
After the Evening Star bundle had completed its ritual, all other sacred
bundles followed suit, offering green corn to the bundles and having a
corn feast.

243 The main harvest ceremony which centered around the Mature Corn
778 was a continuation of the symbolic theme of the life cycle of Mother
Corn carried by the four semicardinal-direction bundles. Its connection
776 with the progression of the seasons was also part of the ritual pattern.

[793] In the spring, after the Evening Star priest had performed the creation
ritual for the renewal of all things, the four direction priests began their ritual cycle in anticipation of the planting time by a ceremonial distribution of the seeds of the sacred corn to the twelve owners of the sacred bundles whose wives planted them in special hills in the fields. Pursuing the theme of seasonal succession, the four sacred bundles of the group took charge of their ritual in turn. For the winter season, a North bundle was in charge. At the ceremony when the sacred seeds were distributed, the North bundle gave over its sacred mission to one of the South bundles of the group. A number of cornstalks symbolized this transfer of power, and these were now handed from the North to the South bundle. After the ground-breaking ceremony which belonged to a different cult (Skull bundle—Evening Star), the second ceremony of the Four Direction series concerning the Mother Corn was carried out. In this case the birth, infancy, and adolescence of Mother Corn were symbolized by uprooting the new little shoots of the sacred corn plants and providing one of them with a shaft on which a mouth and windpipe were painted to represent its life. The Young Mother Corn had carried them through the summer attached to the outside of the sacred bundle. Now the maturing Mother Corn had attained her full power to look after the people. The ceremony of the Mature Corn represented her installation to this office. It was also the occasion when the four-direction-bundle group shifted the ceremonial prerogative from the South bundle to the North bundle for the forthcoming winter. Some of the cornstalks of the sacred corn from the current harvest were given to this bundle to signify its mission. In addition to the principle of the succession of winter and sum-

756 The doctors came in very early wearing only their moccasins and a
796 loin cloth and carrying an ax. Before sunrise they were to go into the
[824] woods and get six cottonwood trees and a quantity of willow saplings to
build up the booths. The cottonwood trees were symbolic of the beaver, and the trees were cut down with an involved ceremonial procedure. When the doctors had all assembled, Big Doctor, dressed in his buffalo robe with the hair side out and carrying an eagle-wing fan and a gourd rattle, said, "Now get ready!" They sang four songs, four rounds each,
[533] and then Big Doctor appointed Sitting Hawk to lead the men into the
timber. He also wore a buffalo robe with the hair side out and carried an eagle-wing fan, gourd rattle, and a pipe that had been filled with tobacco by Good Pipe so that he could perform the ceremony when they cut down the first cottonwood. Pipe Offering instructed him: "Go by the east agency road. Before you get across Beaver Creek, all along the north side, you will find good willows and cottonwoods and also some very small thin willows. Cut a good many of those. Now go!"

756 They all filed out behind Sitting Hawk, and when they got to the tim-
796 ber they found a good cottonwood and sat down around it to perform
824 the ceremony. Sitting Hawk, who was seated at the west, pointed the
• 276 unlit pipe toward the tree—first toward the top, then the middle, and
782 then the bottom. Now he moved to the north side, again offering the un-
lit pipe to the top, the middle, and the bottom of the tree and so similarly at the east and at the south. The next step was an offering of the smoke from the lit pipe in the same manner. Squatting at the northeast of the tree he lit the pipe with a flint and proceeded by north to west where he directed puffs of smoke to the top, middle, and bottom of the tree and then at the other stations as before. After the pipe was smoked out, he made the same offering with the ashes, rubbing first his right hand along the stem up toward the top of the tree, then his left hand, then the same to the middle, sitting at each of the four cardinal directions—west, north, east, and south. He now handed the pipe to the man at his right (south) and instructed him to find a cottonwood just like the one before them and to treat it ceremonially in the same way. These two cottonwoods were to stand near the western end of the lodge on both sides (north and south). He now instructed Bringing Horses to take his men and get two more cottonwoods, one to stand in the north position and one to the south as representatives of the beaver. (The ceremony was performed only for the two cottonwoods that would stand at the west.)

756 Finally, two other men were sent to get two cottonwoods that would
796 stand one on each side of the lodge near the east. These men simply cut
824 down the trees and sharpened them at the stub end so that they could
be stood up in their appropriate positions in the lodge. Meanwhile, Sitting Hawk went on with his ceremony for the two trees that were to

463 Having consented, Old Lady Lucky Leader would say, "On so-and-so
283 day I am going to make it. Come in then." When the wife of Chief's-Road
came in, the old lady directed her to sit down to her left and watch everything. As the work progressed she paid close attention to the manner of braiding and after some of the work had been completed, the teacher asked the pupil to try her hand at it. At first she was very clumsy and was corrected by the teacher and finally she got the idea. When she got home, she tried to do it by herself and from time to time came in to see the old lady saying she didn't quite remember about this and this detail and asking to be shown.

She told no one that she had learned, but on an occasion when someone came to the old lady to have a belt made, she would say, "Go to the wife of Chief's-Road. She can make it. I taught her." The man now would go to the wife of Chief's-Road and tell her that he had been sent by the old lady because she had too much work. She would make the belt for the man and the entire fee would be hers, with no further financial obligation to her teacher. From now on others would hear of it and begin to apply to her and she would be able to earn something for her family.

463 Most mature women knew the techniques of skin working with a
[281] knowledge of mat making being somewhat less common but still widely
[285] known. Everyone could make buffalo-horn spoons. The weaving of the
[321] black rope and woven belts as well as the making of wooden bowls
[283] were known to a very limited number of craftswomen. In the men's
[322] crafts, the bow was made by everyone, but the extremely restricted
[411] number of arrowshaft makers has already been mentioned. The pipe
makers were equally specialized and they made both the stem and the
• [276] bowl. Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most significant
things the man needed. Only six or seven men among all the Skidi
[292] could make them. Skin shirts could only be worn by men who had an
[554] outstanding social or military status and these were made by a very
limited number of specialists. These specialists were regarded like the
[294] village blacksmith of our early towns. They tried to have two or three
of them in each village. But even the most common craft techniques could only be learned by a person who was sponsored by someone or had the wherewithal to pay for his instruction.

411 boiled hide and the feathers bent onto the stick and pasted down and [237] tied in place with some more wet sinew at their lower end.

After the feathers were in place, the shafts were buffed by passing 411 them between the two grooved sandstone buffers that were pressed 412 together—the arrow being turned back and forth so that it was well rounded.

The next process was the use of the bone arrowshaft straightener [172] that was a little bit like a fork. [Archaeological specimens from the Hill site of 1806 are pieces of bison rib with holes of different sizes [178] drilled through them. In recent times, a tin can punched with holes was sometimes substituted.]

411 After straightening, downy feathers were fastened on at the lower [237] end of the feathers that had already been attached.

The final step was to split the end for inserting the point. After the [284] point was inserted, the end was bound with sinew to make it fast. Different kinds of shafts were called "black-lying-on," "red-lying-on," referring to the colors of the feathers.

• 276 *The Pipestem.* Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most significant things the man used. The pipe was smoked both for relaxation and in every ceremony. The stem was symbolic of the human windpipe [192] and the breath was considered the essence of life itself. *Tsiksu*, the word for "throat," was also the verb stem for "to think, to feel," *-atsiks-*. In the ceremony of the Peace Pipe, the main emblems were the two pipestems, a bowl from a sacred bundle being attached to one of them and smoked in the course of the ceremony. The pipestems were decorated with [237] eagle feathers and other ceremonial insignia—one with the feathers of the [825] brown eagle, signifying "night," "female," "fruitfulness" and known as *ra-hak-katitu*, "one-mouth-black"; and the other with feathers of the white eagle, signifying "day," "male," "defense," "war" and called *ra-hak-takaru*, "one-mouth-white." At various stages in the ceremony these were waved about so that they symbolized the flight of the eagles. 276 The pipestems were ceremonially fashioned after instructions from the 322 priests. He sent two men to bring in two sticks of ash, and as they sat east of the fireplace they prepared the sticks, warming them over the fire so that they could be straightened and cut to length, viz., four spans from thumb to third finger. The stems were peeled, scraped, and the pith removed by boring them from end to end with a reed so that the breath could pass through unobstructed. The pith was then burned out with a wire. The men cut a straight groove the entire length of each stick to represent the lifeline. Finally all scrapings and every particle of ashwood was placed carefully on the fire, and as the flame rose the two sticks were passed through the blaze so that the word of the fire might enter and be with them.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

For personal use a man would go to one of the six or seven men who were the only ones that could make them among all the Skidi. An order for a pipe included both the wooden stem and the stone bowl. As usual, the materials had to be assembled by the man who wanted the pipe and taken to the maker. When he placed his order, he was sent to get the necessary ashwood stick. The stone for the bowl was Catlinite or red pipestone from the famous pipestone quarry in the extreme southwestern part of Minnesota, located northeast of Pawnee territory. When men went out on the warpath stealing horses in this vicinity, they were likely to get as much of the stone as they could carry. Nearer home there was a green rock (serpentine?) that could be used; it was soft and was blackened by the maker while the other kind was left red. A man who wanted to order a pipe made had to go to someone who had gotten it in this way: 276 463 316 276

> He would say, "I want you to give me a stone for a pipe." When the warrior gave his consent, the man went home and waited and presently the warrior sent his wife with the block of stone to give to the man's wife. The wife of the warrior now returns home, having accomplished her mission. The man ordering the pipe, not wanting to take the stone for nothing, sends his wife to the home of the warrior with twenty arrows, a blanket and she adds some buffalo meat. She now sets out for the warrior's house and approaching his wife she says, "This is for your husband. He gave us that pipe." The warrior's wife demurs, saying, "Oh, don't do that." "Yes, keep it. It's for your husband." The warrior's family now enjoys eating the gift of dry meat and they put the arrows and the blanket up on the wall. Later on when the two men meet, the warrior says to the man who is ordering the pipe, "What did you do that for? I didn't want anything for the stone." "Oh, that's all right. I wanted you to have something for it." "Well, all right, thank you," says the warrior, "We ate it!"

With the stone in hand, the man would now go to the pipe maker whose work he considered best and speak to him about it. Each pipe maker had his own distinctive way of making a pipe and one would either come with his own specifications or simply accept the style of the pipe maker himself. The man would say, "With a horse on it," etc., or "I want just a plain pipe," in which case it would be made in the maker's style. Two alternative kinds were one with rings (like a windpipe) or one with a flat part on the half below the mouthpiece, then a thick ring of wood and the rest of the length round to the bowl end. Kind Warrior who was a leader of the Deer Dance, *Raris-ta*, had a pipestem with half the length from the bowl end to the middle flat, and three ridges from the middle up to the mouthpiece. This was something like the ridges on an arrow where the feathers were to be attached and may have had some symbolic reference connected with this. Some men ordered their stone 276 463 531 324

276 pipe bowls to be made with five ridges to denote that they had sacri-
463 ficed five buffalo, others three. A man who had a horse head carved on
531 his pipe might do this to indicate that he gives away a lot of horses. On
324 the other hand some people just had things put on their pipes "to be fancy."

276 To hollow out the wooden stem they burned out the pith with the
824 same stiff weed used in making brooms, *kibax-piriwus*, "room-brusher,"
322 *Artemisia dracunculoides* Pursh., or fuzzy weed. The plant had a pleasant odor like sage which is also a variety of *Artemisia*. The weed was sharp and after the pith had been burned all the way through down the length,

276
324

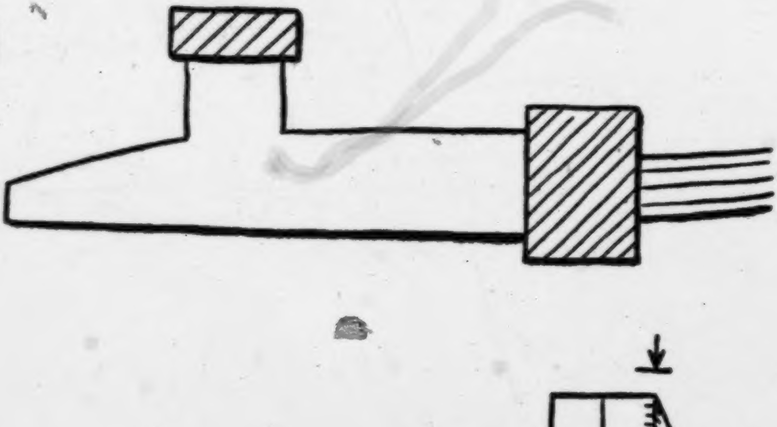


FIGURE 51-2. A pipe made by Brave Horse, *Asa-rabikutsu*, the bowl of red Catlinite or pipestone and the stem of ashwood. The first step of the pipe-maker in fashioning the bowl was the marking off of the block with charcoal so that he could sculpt the bowl in the rough. Next the two blocks, one in front and one behind the bowl, were removed (hatched areas). In the old days this was a laborious task. There were no metal drills, files, or rasps; the two blocks of stone were chipped off from the outer edges inward piece by piece by sawing back and forth with a flint knife.

the same weed was used to scrape out the inside. Then the man blew through the stem to remove the small pieces from the inside. 276 324 322

Making the Stone Bowl of Catlinite or Red Pipestone. (See Figure 51-2.) A block of stone of the appropriate size was marked off with charcoal so that the bowl could be sculptured out in the rough. 276 324 Two blocks of stone had to be removed, one in front and one behind the upward projecting bowl. The removal of these two blocks was a laborious task. When no metal drills, files, or rasps were available, each step took a long time and required a great deal of patience. In the old days to remove the two blocks of stone, the "pipe" was set up on end and a flint knife was sawed back and forth across the corner, making a shallow cut. Then a second cut was made underneath it until a series of three or four shallow cuts had been made one beneath the other. These "corners" were then chipped off from the top edge down. This operation of chiseling off small pieces was continued until the whole block had been removed. Then the second block on the other side of the bowl was removed. All red powder [386] resulting from the sawing process was saved to be used as red paint.

The bore for the stem as well as for the bowl was begun by using a well-dried, fire-hardened stick. The stick was held stable pressed onto the surface where the hole was to be and the stone turned back and forth until a hole had been dug into it. The bowl was widened and deepened by using a sharp sliver of a buffalo femur in the same way, pressing it into the stone and twisting the stone itself until the bowl was the shape and size desired. The outer surfaces were shaped by rubbing with a rough stone.

After the bowl was shaped, the pipe was passed through the smoke of a small grass fire and the surface rubbed with grease. This data on making the stone bowl is condensed from a demonstration by Charles Allen at Pawnee, Oklahoma, in 1935. It took almost eight days, working the [461] usual day of nine to five o'clock with an hour for lunch.

Each pipe maker introduced special features of his own. Rarawikita, Charles Allen's father, made them so that there was a hump on the bowl [531] near where the stem was inserted and the pointed end of the bowl was five-sided. Chief's Road made pipes with three raised ridges around the head end of the bowl where the stem was to be inserted. Sometimes the pointed end was cut down at a downward slant, sometimes it was cut straight off. Good Bear made a pipe that was thick where the bowl was and tapered markedly at the point end and again at the end where the stem fitted. Brave Horse (*Asa-rabikuts*, "horse-brave") would make a wide ridge or collar around the mouth of the bowl and another one at the opening where the stem fitted in; on these "collars" he engraved diagonals trending upward toward the left. He was a left-handed man.

For the work of manufacturing the pipe, pay was expected though never stipulated. This might be tobacco or calico and a little food. For 276 465 437

276 example about a quarter's worth or one block of tobacco, six yards of
465 calico, and half a braided intestine mat were considered reasonable com-
437 pensation. Sometimes a generous man would give a man who made a pipe
for him a blanket that was used but not too old and still good enough to
wear. This would be considered sufficient in itself. Or he might give some
broadcloth along with a belt instead.

145, 363-364 Trade was carried on by the Pawnees with the Kiowas through the Calumet or Pipe Dance. (See Fletcher, 1904, pp. 280-281, where the purpose of the ritual is described.) 439

149 In an informal conversation with Prof. John L. Champe, he pointed out that in the neighborhood where the Stay-at-Homes set up their impromptu village near Columbus where the Loup River empties into the Platte was the area of some old archaeological sites: Bellwood, occupied by the Tsawi Band about 1800, overlapping and overlaying an older protohistoric site of the Burkett type (Lower Loup) (see Wedel, 1936, p. 40). The Pawnees claimed that this was an old Pawnee home. They claimed that about five miles west of Columbus was *Kitkeharawits-a-ku,* "Earth-Lodge-Village-Adjacent-to-a-Spring-Sitting." 172 361

159 Hyde, 1951, pp. 96-97, feels that the tobacco of the northern Indians might have been an attractive trade item for the southern tribes. He feels that trade with the Arikara in this item may go back to 1680 and cites Tabeau for such trade c. 1802, southern Indians coming north to trade horses for tobacco with the Arikara. 276 439 171

159 Gilmore, 1919, pp. 113-114, states that Pawnee tobacco was *Nicotiana quadrivalus* Pursh. and was cultivated by all the tribes of Nebraska. "Since the advent of the Europeans, tobacco is one of the crops whose culture has been abandoned by these tribes, and they have all lost the seed of it, so that the oldest living Omaha have never seen it growing; but they sometimes receive presents of the prepared tobacco from other tribes to the north who are still growing it." Gilmore obtained seeds from an old Hidatsa man in 1908 which he succeeded in growing. Gilmore, 1919, plate 27, pictures an old Arikara man gathering his tobacco. 249 171

> A Pawnee informant said that his people in old time prepared the ground for planting this tobacco by gathering a quantity of dried grass, which was burned where the patch was to be sown. This kept the ground clear of weeds so that nothing grew except the tobacco which was planted. The crop was allowed to grow thick, and then the whole plant—leaves, unripe fruit capsules, and the tender small parts of the stems—was dried for smoking. The unripe seed capsules, dried separately were specially prized for smoking on account of the flavor, pronounced by the Indians to be like the flavor now found in the imported Turkish tobacco." (Gilmore, 1919, p. 114.) 249

359-360 The need for a good knowledge of the stars and constellations on the Plains as well as at sea and the possibility of getting lost is indicated by a modern incident reported in the *Sunday World* 000

000 359-360 *Herald*, Omaha, Nebraska, October 13, 1957. A man was driving into the sandhills of western Nebraska to meet his wife who was teaching at a school 35 miles north of the town of Ashby. Riding to the end of a vague road onto the land, he ran out of gasoline and, leaving his car, got lost for three days. He had to live on rose buds and frog legs until he was found. A good knowledge of the stars and constellations would have helped him.

175 The Pipe Dance among the Caddo, 1687, was reported by Joutel, companion of La Salle, as witnessed by him in July 1687 (Swanton, 1942, pp. 179-180).

175-176, 199, 223, 354-355 Calumet ceremony current in the Mississippi region as observed by the French explorer Marquette in 1672:

> He says of this "calumet" that it is "the most mysterious thing in the world. The scepters of our kings are not so much respected, for the Indians have such a reverence for it that one may call it the god of peace and war, and the arbiter of life and death. . . . One with this calumet may venture among his enemies, and in the hottest battles, they lay down their arms before the sacred pipe. The Illinois presented me with one of them which was very useful to us in our voyage." (Fletcher, 1904, p. 279.)

276
726 354 In one of their story telling sessions, Eagle Chief told of how he had carried the calumet right into the Sioux line of battle and when the Sioux saw the pipe, the whole line of battle turned back and rode off.

224
[172] 141-142 The buffalo jump was a primitive device for attacking the herd by lining up in a V-formation and chasing the herd over a cliff. At the base of these old buffalo jumps, archaeological excavation reveals large heaps of buffalo bones, giving some indication that numbers of the animals died in vain. The Pawnee method of surround made it possible to include all the animals and utilize all the meat of those killed. Frank North, a participant observer of a hunt in the fall of 1859, states (1859, p. 20):

> 4-500 of the Indians strung out in a long line single file. They rode up as close to the herd as possible without being seen and got as near to them as they could without frightening them. The leader of the surround gave a signal, until which time no one has the right to make noise or leave the line, and they instantly wheeled their horses, one half heading in one direction and the other half facing in the opposite way. Each party then started off on the gallop, riding in a semicircle until they met, and had made a complete surround of the immense herd. In this instance they had surrounded about 500 of the buffaloes and closing in on them, killed every one."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Pawnee NQ18
Winnebago NP12

N
W
171

and Kiowa. Mooney was present at a palaver at which a Kiowa reported upon his visit to Wovoka. The Kiowa was told by the Paiute prophet to stop dancing; consequently, he branded the Plains Ghost Dance leaders as frauds. "Sitting Bull insisted on the truth of his own representations, and when accused by A'peatan of deceiving the Indians in order to obtain their property, he replied that he had never asked them for ponies which they had given him. . . ." (p. 914). Another Arapaho leader, Black Coyote, appeared to Mooney to be a man who "wishes to be a great priest and medicine man. At the same time he keeps a sharp lookout for his temporal affairs and has managed to accumulate considerable property" and three wives. He was leader of the Ghost Dance and other Indian ceremonies, tribal delegate to Washington, captain of Indian police and county deputy sheriff. He repeatedly asked Mooney "to get him a permanent license . . . to enable him to visit the various reservations at will as a general evangel of Indian medicine and ceremony" (pp. 897–898).

P
668
797
P
[276]
[431]
[578]

Lesser's (pp. 60–76) data on the Pawnee Ghost Dance leave no doubt that Frank White, its introducer, used the dance for personal aggrandizement. Some of his special doctrines and practices were the following: he was sole authentic prophet; he demanded payment for use of designs seen in visions; he sold all paraphernalia; he was paid for the privilege of holding dances; a small face painting by him cost $5.00. In spite of his eating peyote and drinking whiskey, the Ghost Dancers lavished gifts, money, and pretty girls on him. The revolt against him seemed to result partly from jealousy of his wealth.

N
W
171

The leader of the Caddo Ghost Dance was John Wilson, who was also a shaman and a peyotist.[75] The fact that Wilson later modified the peyote cult in order to collect hundreds of dollars certainly places him in the class of proselyters for gain par excellence. La Barre (p. 158) tells of the wealth he received and makes a classic understatement: "The economic motive seems evident in much of Wilson's behavior."

Except for the case of John Wilson, missionary to the Shawnee, Quapaw, Caddo, Delaware, Osage, Potawatomi, and others, the literature contains but few direct statements suggesting that financial gain motivated agents to spread the peyote cult.[76] However, the very fact that peyote is universally considered to be a cure and that leaders are often looked upon similarly to shamans suggests that carriers of the cult could have been paid for their services. A great many other Indians are known to have proselyted beyond their own tribes.

Wi,
[795]
[797]

The Winnebago, John Rave, went to South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to preach the new religion after establishing the cult among his own people in Nebraska. A Kiowa, Jim Aton, a famous peyote doctor, held meetings for the Creek, Yuchi, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Mescalero-Apache, and Quapaw; also whites and Mexicans.[77] Have these men and other famous proselyters spread the gospel of peyote solely out of love for their fellow men? No doctrine of the peyote cult commands members to go forth and convert other tribes.

That believers have gone out to spread the cult because of possible economic gain is established in the case of Ben Lancaster. It is almost impossible to conclude that Leo Okio and Lone Bear had no other ideas than religion when they held meetings in Nevada. My Uintah Ute informants accused the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, of spreading peyotism for money, and when the members were broke, he did not

---

[75] Mooney, 1896b, 914–915; La Barre, 1938, 65, 151; Petrullo, 1934, 158.

[76] La Barre; Schultes, 1938.

[77] La Barre, 52, fn. 114.

[751] attached to a bandoleer of beads or seeds. Instead of
756 the bandoleer a gaming ring containing charms was sometimes worn on the arm. Each medicine man had a bag, generally made from the skin of an animal tanned whole, in which he kept his roots, paints, white clay, and other objects used in working his cures. The latter varied with the individual, but usually consisted of deer tails, the leg bones and claws of eagles, human bones, dried fingers, and very often the maw stone of a buffalo. The last was greatly valued, as it was supposed to contain the life or soul of the buffalo. The medicine men's bags with their contents were usually handed down from father to son, or were given to a newly initiated medicine man by his instructor.

755 The methods used to work cures varied with the nature of the disease and the customs of the medicine man. Diseases of unknown origin and those ascribed to witchcraft could only be treated by some one who could work a counter spell. Such diseases were usually eradicated by sucking a feather, small stone, blood, or some other object from the patient, singing and the shaking of a rattle being part of the performance. The object sucked out was always thrown into the fire and consumed so that the seat or cause of the trouble could not enter again into the patient or into
756 any one else. All medicine men knew more or less of
[278] roots and herbs, which they administered as teas or in powdered form. The pay of the medicine man, which was given him when his services were no longer required, varied with the wealth of the patient. It sometimes consisted of buffalo robes and parfleches of dried meat, but was more often a sack of corn or a few strands of dried, braided pumpkins. He was paid even when he failed to work a cure.

756 The supernatural beings from whom the Pawnee
776 medicine men derived their powers were, for the most part, identified with animals. Not all animals were

[37]

[28]

172

11: Wedel A-4,5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[End Plate 2]

VEGETABLE MATERIAL AND TEXTILES FROM THE HILL SITE (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 1.—Pawnee earth lodge and house site. *a*, earth lodge near Pawnee, Okla., in 1906. Photo by Nebraska Historical Society. *b*, general appearance of lodge floor, house 1, Hill site; diameter 44 feet, depth 16 inches. The center has been excavated slightly below the floor level. 342 172

PLATE 2.—Vegetal material and textiles from the Hill site. *a*, tubers of *Apios tuberosa; b*, seeds of bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*); *c*, pits of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*); *d*, pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*); *e*, grains of charred flint corn (*Zea mays*); *f*, charred corncobs; *g*, *i*, fragments of bison-hair textile; *h*, hank or rope of bison hair; *j–l*, rush matting. 172 137 28

PLATE 3.—Pawnee vessels from various sites. *a* and *c* are from Palmer site; *a* is 4½ inches high and 4⅞ inches in maximum diameter; *c* is 4⅛ inches high by 4⅜ inches in diameter; *b* and *d* are from the Hill site, both restored; *b* is 3¾ inches by 3¼ inches across; *d* is 7 inches tall and 6 inches in diameter. 172 415

PLATE 4.—Complete vessels, probably Pawnee. *a* is 9 inches tall and 7¾ inches in diameter and shows all of the best diagnostics for Pawnee ware in both form and ornamentation; found on Prairie Creek, near Archer, Nebr. *b* is 5¾ inches high by 5⅞ inches across; found in the Cedar River, near Fullerton, Nebr., and is of uncertain origin. Nebraska Historical Society collections. 172 415 531

PLATE 5.—Pawnee type rim sherds from various historic sites. *a–f*, Hill site; *g*, Horse Creek; *h–n*, Palmer site. *b*, *d–f*, *i*, *k*, illustrate the typical rim design; *a*, *h*, *l*, *n*, show the herringbone motif, second in abundance. Nearly all have lip indentations. 172 531

PLATE 6.—Selected rim sherds from Burkett site. All bear lip indentations. Note similarity of *b*, *h*, *j*, *l*, to historic Pawnee motifs (preceding plate). Handles occur on all but *h*, *j*, *l*, *n*.

PLATE 7.—Stonework from Hill site. *a–m* are from graves, one being nearly always in or near the left hand of every adult male skeleton. *a*, *f* 2½ inches long; *j* is 5½ inches long. *n–t* are arrowshaft buffers, of dark-brown coarse sandstone. In *p*, *q*, *r* are shown three perfectly matched pairs, each as found; they measure 4½, 7½, and 5 inches in length, respectively. 172 324

PLATE 8.—Pipes and mortuary offerings, various sites. *h*, *i* are from Burkett site; all others from Hill site. They are made of catlinite or some other fine-grained red stone; *a* is of gray material, *g* of coarse red sandstone. *f* is 4¾ inches long with a square-topped bowl 1⅛ inches tall; found with a child burial. *i* is less than 1 inch long. Note straight specimen of cloudblower type, *b*; also perforated keel in *j*, groove about outer end of *h*, and small loop on top of *i*, for attachment of a thong. *l*, gray sandstone pipe, 2⅝ inches tall by 1⅝ inches long. *m*, perforated or grooved shell objects probably worn as ear or hair ornaments; longest pair 4½ inches long and three-eighths inch in diameter. *n*, blue glass trade beads, probably obtained from Hudson Bay Company; they are about the size of a pea, very crude, and blue, red, or transparent in color. 172 276 301 532

P

When we have finished singing this song the Ku'rahus takes one of the plum-tree sticks, which has been anointed with red clay mixed with fat, and ties on it with a thread of sinew a downy eagle feather. This stick is bound to the ear of corn so as to project a hand's breadth above the tip end, letting the downy feather wave above Mother Corn. This feather represents Tira'wa. It is always moving as if breathing. 796* [284]

The Ku'rahus then binds the other plum-tree stick to the corn so that it extends below the butt. When the corn is placed in ceremonial position this end of the stick is thrust in the ground so that the ear will stand upright without touching the earth. Both sticks are bound to the ear of corn by a braided band of hair taken from the head of a buffalo. The braided band signifies the gift of animal food and the provision of skin clothing. (The Skidi band of the Pawnees tie a bit of buffalo wool, such as is shed by the animal in the spring, together with a braid of sweet grass, to the ear of corn.) [184]

The two gourd rattles, which represent the squash given us by Tira'wa, and also the breasts of the mother, are each painted with a blue circle about the middle, with four equidistant lines from the circle to the bottom of the gourd. The circle represents the wall or boundary of the dome of the sky; the four lines are for the four paths at the four directions down which the powers descend. No song is sung while this painting is being done.

All the sacred articles are laid at rest on a wildcat skin when they are not being used ceremonially, and it is a cover for them in which they are all wrapped together at the close of the ceremony. The skin is never tanned, and the ears of the animal, the skin of the head, the feet, and the claws must all be intact. [281]

Tira'wa made the wildcat to live in the forest. He has much skill and ingenuity. The wildcat shows us that we must think, we must use tact, and be shrewd when we set out to do anything. If we wish to approach a person we should not do it bluntly; we should not rush at him; that might offend him so that he would not receive us or the gifts we desired to offer him. The wildcat does not make enemies by rash action. He is observant, quiet, and tactful, and he always gains his end. [773 576 825]

In this ceremony we are to carry the sacred articles to one not of our kindred in order to bind him to us by a sacred and strong tie; we are to ask for him many good gifts, long life, health, and children, and we should receive gifts from him in return. If we would succeed we must learn of the wildcat, and be wise as he is wise.

The wildcat is one of the sacred animals. A man who killed a wildcat could sacrifice it to Tira'wahut. The man who brought such an offering had the right to ask the priest to teach him some of the mysteries that belong to the sacred shrine. 825 782 794

Many years ago two men took the Hako to the Omaha tribe. On the journey one of them killed a wildcat. I said to the man: "I am

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

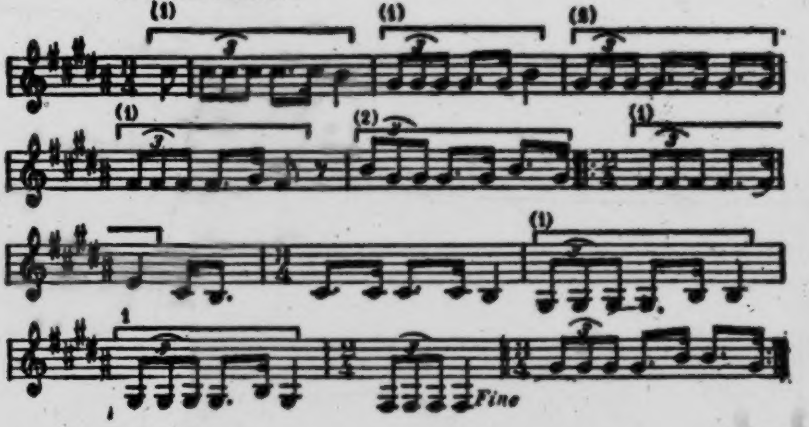
*533 Except for an ascending fourth the song progresses entirely by major seconds and minor thirds.

No. 28. Lance Dance Song (b)

(Catalogue No. 1093)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 66
Drum not recorded



SONGS OF THE WOLF SOCIETY

*533 575 [534] ● [281] Only two songs of this society were obtained. It was the custom of the Wolf Society to pound on a tanned buffalo hide, instead of a drum, during their songs. The first song of this society was said to "go back to the time when the Pawnee lived in Nebraska where the white or silver fox was commonly found." The animal was also designated as a kit fox by James R. Murie. Tradition states that a war party found a white fox singing this song.[21]

*533 *Analysis.*—The distinction between the tones transcribed as A natural and A flat was clearly given in all the renditions and the song is classified as both major and minor in tonality. The song is unusual in its initial progression of an octave and in its compass of two octaves, the lowest tones being sung with clearness. About two-thirds of the progressions are whole and half tones, the latter producing a peculiar wailing effect.

---

[21] Cf. Teton Sioux Music, p. 183, in which a man is taught a song by a wolf. The same work relates instances in which wolves appeared to warriors.

hills, representing the eastward extension of the Sandhill province 133
of central Nebraska, covers much of the territory north of the Platte,
especially the northern and western parts. The Loup, tributary to
the Platte, with its North, Middle, and South Forks, augmented by
the Dismal and Calamus Rivers, effects the drainage. These streams
all have their sources in the sand hills and are characterized by a
steady, abundant flow of excellent water, relatively deep valleys, and
scant fringes of timber. Between the Platte and the Republican
Rivers lies the high, monotonously flat loess plain of southern
Nebraska, but little modified by erosion save where the margins have
been deeply incised by short creeks tributary to larger bordering
rivers. The Blue River, on the east, is the only stream of any size
between the Platte and the Republican. South of the Republican
the terrain becomes rather more uniform. A succession of broad
grassy upland divides, trending generally west-east, and separating
valleys of the Solomon, Saline, Smoky Hill, and Arkansas Rivers,
are the principal physiographic features, culminating in the flat,
featureless plains of western and southern Kansas.

As everywhere on the great plains, grasses are, or were formerly, 137
the dominant plant forms in the Pawnee area. Trees were almost
universally absent on the uplands, and at least as late as 1833 the
Platte and Loup Valleys were almost devoid of timber, save on some
of the larger islands.[19] In the Republican Valley and also in the
Smoky Hill drainage, however, timber was more abundant.
Cottonwood, several species of willow, burr oak, and elm dominated the
more immediate river banks and islands, while less commonly black
walnut, honey locust, hackberry, boxelder, ash, and red cedar were
encountered. For the most part the tree forms represented the
westward extension of the forests of Missouri, following up the valleys
especially of streams draining through the Kansas River into the
Missouri, and interfingering with the prairie uplands more typical
of the western plains. Chokecherries, wild plums, grapes, and wild
black cherries grew plentifully along the smaller streams and creeks,
and wild potatoes, turnips, and turkey peas flourished in the sandy
valleys of the Platte, Loup, and Republican Rivers. All of the
last-named plants provided important articles of diet. Of game there 136
was also ample variety. Herds of bison wandered northward
beyond the Platte, becoming more plentiful to the west and south, and [262]
their meat, next to maize, formed the main food staple. Beaver
formerly abounded in the Elkhorn, Republican, Smoky Hill, and
other wooded streams, and, along with elk, deer, bear, wolves, and [439
wildcat, in early historic times formed the basis for a traffic in 281]
peltries amounting to thousands of dollars annually, to say nothing
of their value as food sources.

---

[19] Irving, 1835, vol. ii, p. 10; also Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 446.

356 roof of their house. He noted that seven of the radial timbers were rotting, and he remarked that they needed replacement. Old Bull made no comment, but he knew that they would carry on this enterprise together. [283] [237] During the winter buffalo hunt, each of them killed a buffalo bull so that they could keep the hides to make rawhide strips for use when the roof was rebuilt the following spring. Around the smokehole, fastening the radial roof rafters together, were two stout willow hoops, one on the inside and one on the outside. These were tied in place on the radial rafters with the rawhide strips. It was this mechanism that gave the symmetrical form and strength to the whole cone of the roof, and the tying was therefore important. At the same time as the hides were obtained, the women [251] [262] [281] made sure to dry plenty of buffalo intestine so that they would have enough to make soup for the volunteers. While the bison hide was still fresh, the women removed the hair.

Now during the spring Victory Call and Old Bull kept an eye out for 356 314 283 elm trees from which they could strip the bark to use in tying on the willow circuits around the roof frame. A cut was made near the bottom of the elm tree so that the bark could be loosened; a strip about two inches wide was ripped upward from the bottom. Five or six strips were taken from each elm. The strips were dried and stored until the actual time of building, when they were soaked in water and used wet so that they would make a tight bind when they dried in place. It took a large number of these elm strips to fasten the circuits in place around the roof.

356 313 Now Victory Call went into the timber to locate seven suitable willow trees. The next day he returned with his wife, White Woman, and his retainer, Horse Rider. The trip to the Loup River was five or six miles. Victory Call cut down the trees with his axe, and Horse Rider and White Woman proceeded to lop off all the branches with a hatchet. After the trees were cut and the branches removed, they went home. Next day White Woman and Horse Rider returned and began to remove the bark, hacking it off from stub end to point; the man worked with an axe, the woman with a hatchet. Two trees were debarked, and they returned until they had finished the seven. After debarking, the poles were left in the timber to season for three days.

356 313 824 Meanwhile, without further discussion, Old Bull had gone off to look for willow withes to make the circuits. When he got home he remarked to his younger wife, Clear Day, "There are some nice willows down at Beaver Creek. Tomorrow we can go out and cut them." In the evening when Victory Call and the others got home from the Loup where they were fixing the radials, Old Bull remarked that he had been looking around and had seen some willows and that the next day they were going to cut them. Queen Woman and Old Lady Blue Calico of the South Side decided that since the women of the North Side were working so hard on the construction work, they would take over all the cooking for the family.

555 universe. The Pawnees had great contempt for extreme poverty and
231 raggedness, but no great desire or awe for wealth in large quantities.
[735] Historically the likelihood is that the cooperative social patterns of the
[556] Pawnees go back to a time when practically every person had an important
[174] function in the material economy, while a person of outstanding value was one who had special insights and knowledge.

342 But for all the value the Pawnees placed on knowledge and the things
281 of the spirit, a tent was an absolute necessity as they traveled over the country. The making of the tent skin was one of their most complex technical achievements. It was a major enterprise to get one made, which had to be anticipated at least two years in advance. Eight skins had to be accumulated over four successive hunting periods—a sunmer hunt, a winter hunt, and on the following year again, a summer and a winter hunt. Sinew of eight buffalo for sewing the skins together also had to be saved. As signs of wear would appear in their tent skin, a woman would remind her husband of their need. Then he would set aside two good skins in each of the four seasons. The average life of a tent skin was no more than ten or twelve years.

463 Seven buffalo hides were used to make the body of the tent; an eighth
281 was cut up for gussets, loops for the pegs at the bottom, and a double thickness at the door. In order to fit the skins together in the smoothest and most economical way and to arrange the pattern of the applied parts, a woman specialist in this field had to be called in to supervise the work. There were only a limited number of women with such knowledge in the tribe. In addition, it would take four or five women working pretty
[461] steadily for three or four days to do the actual sewing of the skins. The workers all had to be compensated with gifts of dried buffalo meat, skin
[437] clothing, and trade store goods that had to be purchased with buffalo products. In the course of the hunt, the hunter had to anticipate these needs as well as the need for the skins and the sinews. Payment for the work of planning and sewing amounted to at least the sale value of a good buffalo robe.

342 The same tent skin was used for both the winter and the summer hunts, but the framework was different. In winter they used the standard pointed skin tipi, supported by a frame of thirteen tall and heavy rigid poles that were leaned against one another at the top to form the conical frame. With its fire burning in the middle, this tent provided an excellent protection against the winter cold, but it was too warm for summer. For the summer frame they used a series of flexible saplings to make an open-faced shelter. The making of the heavy tipi poles was a long and difficult process and had to be planned well in advance, whereas the saplings for the summer framework could be gathered near the time of leaving for the summer hunt. Elm or willow saplings were available near the creek in the late spring or early summer and at this time the bark

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

574 addition to the gifts, left all their equipment behind, and also the two
276 sacred pipes. The "Children" on their own account gave their parting
431 "Fathers" a large number of horses they had elaborately decorated for
the occasion. In the past they had given quantities of dried buffalo meat.
[554] Only people of some prominence and wealth could participate in these
622 operations. At this time the Skidi Band were the "Children" of the Begging-for-Meat
628 Band, while the Skidi were "Fathers" to the Man-Going-Downstream
574 Band having recently paid them a trading visit. In view of
276 the mutual courtesies involved, for the Chiefs' Hunt and the first major
hunt episode, White Eagle deferred his leadership to his "father," Man
*224 Chief of the Begging-for-Meat Band. The fourth episode he placed in
charge of his "child" Many Trophies, chief of the Man-Going-Downstream Band.

*224 They stayed north of the Republican River for the first two mass attacks
*484 on the herd. By this time the herd on the north side was pretty well
scattered, and the hunters had to cross over the river for the attack and
bring the meat back over the water into camp. For the fourth mass attack
on the herd, under the leadership of Many Trophies of Man-Going-Downstream
[361] Band, they moved their camping location from Camp 11 to
a place on the Solomon River to the south, a branch of the Kansas. This
was a site preferred by the Man-Going-Downstream Band. It was a difficult
overland journey for which they had to carry water with them.
They would finally locate a small south-flowing stream, the Cedar, which
led them directly to the Solomon. They made their camp in the angle
where the Cedar joined the Solomon, hunting the herd further up the
river. When the bands parted, they mainly went to separate locations
further to the west along the Republican as the herds in the more eastern
648 location would have been scattered. This territory in the west was dangerous
as the nomadic tribes, Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, and others
were constantly poised to attack for what they considered to be an encroachment
[175] on their hunting grounds. In 1873 the Sioux attacked the
Pawnees while they were on such a venture, butchering their kill in a
[727] canyon near Trenton, Nebraska. The death toll was so severe that this
[167] event tipped the balance in their decision to leave their traditional territory
and migrate to Oklahoma.

*224 On the way out and the way back from the buffalo hunting territory
they moved their camp in fairly regular succession one day after another.
*484 But sometimes it rained and they had to remain where they were
132 for several days, or they might be delayed by the sickness of a prominent
man. Rain, of course, was an inevitable factor. It could delay the camp
for several days. If they were caught in a rain while on the march, everyone
had to spread his things out to dry and this operation might require
the next day or even two before they could resume their journey.
[281] Tanned hide becomes hard and has to be tanned again with grease and

rubbing after it gets wet. If the tent cover was folded when wet it would 224*
get moldy. The sinew bowstring also would be ineffective when wet. 484*
Rain had very serious consequences when they had sliced a quantity of 132
buffalo meat and were drying it on the rack. If it should be wet by a sudden [281]
storm, the meat throughout the encampment would be spoiled. [251]
There was nothing that could be done with this meat. If one tried to eat
it, it tasted like dead wood. It fell to pieces in one's hands. Even if one
tried to cure it over a fire, it simply rotted. Meat once exposed to rain,
even after it had been cooked, became moldy next day. A rack of meat
that had been rained on was called *kariks-kutu*, "rack-dead, spoiled." The
meat had to be thrown away.

Accommodation and adjustment to rainy weather was therefore very [182]
important and a nice distinction had to be made between the problem of
delay and the risks involved.

One day word was sent to White Eagle that an important man of the 224*
Man-Going-Downstream Band was so ill that he could not go on. White 484*
Eagle had to consider very carefully whether they would go ahead and 758
leave him or delay the entire group. A day's delay might mean the 554
difference between reaching the full herd on time or finding only stragglers 619
left after the herd had passed. Considering, however, that the Man-Going-Downstream 622
Band was in a "Child" relation in the Peace Pipe
ritual to the Skidi and was in the process of giving them a return gift of
horses, White Eagle diplomatically decided to delay the march so that
the sick man could be treated by a doctor. It was also felt that if inter-band
relationships were not solidified from time to time, one or the other
of the South Bands might conceivably be induced to collaborate with the
Sioux on some occasion. Then everyone would consider that White
Eagle had failed in his administrative functions and in his diplomacy.
The death of an influential man in another band would also be the occasion 224*
for delay until after the funeral. If the wife of a prominent man 484*
were about to give birth, the whole family of this tent and a doctor 554
would stay behind and wait, and White Eagle would assign one of his 764
principle braves to see that things were all right with "their Child" (in 844
terms of the calumet), while the rest of the camp moved on. In the case
of an expected birth to one of the wives of White Eagle himself, he
would request Eagle Chief to lead on and say, "My wife is going to be
sick." But Eagle Chief would refuse to go ahead saying, "I might spoil
your luck. We can go on when she's well again." Ordinarily a woman
would have to go aside while traveling and have her child in the open
aside from the line of march. Also, in the case of death, the own family
would usually stay behind and bury the person, then come on and join
the rest. After a day's delay, everyone would be glad to be moving along.

The tripe was boiled at the same time as the intestines. It was not 251
otherwise treated, but simply hung on the rack to dry. 252

The internal organs, particularly the tripe, took several days before they were dry enough for storage. They had to be hung on the rack on several successive days, while the rest of the meat usually cured in a day or so. These dried internal organs were used for mixing with dried corn kernels to make soup.

The drying rack had been completed and ready to hang up the meat 251
by the time the men got in from the hunt. It had three upright forked 417
sticks planted in the ground, with three cross sticks, one resting in the forks at the top and two tied on at intervals below with strips of inner bark or of hide. A double-length rack was sometimes made to accommodate all the meat prepared in their camp. The rack was erected with its broad side facing east so that the sun would strike the meat directly. The meat was hung on the rack with the two long steaks in the center and the other parts out toward the ends, pieces of kidney fat and other parts of the fat in between.

As soon as the camp was set up, they brought in plenty of water in 251
anticipation of the fact that the intestines and other parts would have 252
to be boiled. When the men had arrived, Grandma set them to boil at once and began slicing the meat. White Woman was helping and when No Corn had fed the men, she came out and joined them, while Horse Rider got to work disjointing the limbs and removing the meat from the bones. Having joined forces, the meat began to pile up and White Woman hung the meat on the rack while the others sliced. With three women and Horse Rider working together, the meat of each buffalo took about an hour and a half to get on the rack, and from two-thirty to five-thirty they had prepared the meat of both buffalo that the men had brought in. Thus it would take a single worker five or six hours for each animal.

The hides had to be pegged out onto the ground and defleshed simul- 252
taneously with the slicing of the meat as they had to be stretched out 281
while they were still fresh. After they had made considerable progress with slicing the meat, Grandma suggested to White Woman that she would continue with the meat and that White Woman might go and tend to the hides. This was the most strenuous part of the work and since No Corn was crippled, White Woman had to process both the hides. No Corn continued to help Grandma slice the meat, and while White Woman was pegging down one of the hides, Horse Rider offered to peg
down the other. White Woman then proceeded to deflesh both of them. 281
The fleshing tool was made of the shaft of a buffalo tibia, the small end [412]
cut to a fine-toothed edge and the thick end with a hole through which [237]
a rawhide strap was drawn to go around the wrist. White Woman bent

• 281 over from a standing position, striking the fleshing tool downward and toward her against the hide. Some women avoided bending over by not pegging down the hide. They put a stick or tree trunk about 3 inches in diameter at a slant in the ground. Laying the hide over it, they tied it at the top with rawhide and supported the hide underneath with the palm of the left hand, applying the fleshing tool to this spot and then moving successively down the length, shifting the position of the hide over the log for the next section. This method was particularly useful
when they had to work inside the tent in winter. The small scraps of
[251] meat removed in the defleshing were also placed on the drying rack.

When the meat was dry on one side, they took it off the rack piece by
251 piece, and each piece was set on an open rawhide container with the dry side up, pounded with a pestle to remove some of the moisture, turned over and pounded on the moist side and replaced on the rack so that this side could now be exposed.

Just before the half-dry pieces of meat were again removed from the rack and placed on a rawhide, each piece was trampled with the moccasined feet to remove as much of the moisture as possible. At this stage the meat was called "moist dry meat" and while it was not fit for long-term storage, it could keep well for several days. In this form it was cooked for their more immediate use. For permanent storage, after the meat had been trampled on, it was stacked up on a skin spread and carried inside the tent to protect it from the dampness that came up from the water after sundown. Inside the tent, they covered it up by lapping over the edges of the skin spread and covering it up with an open rawhide container. They would go out just before sunrise in the morning and hang the meat on the rack again so that it could continue to dry.

*224 Grease from the bones was another important commissary item. After
251 the third killing, the herd was pretty well scattered in this locality and
they were going to move the hunting camp to another location a con-
252 siderable distance away, to the Solomon fork of the Kansas, south of the
262 Republican River. Before they left their old hunting camp, White Eagle
allowed them an extra day in camp to finish up with some of their work.
251 In most of the camps they were glad to have an opportunity to make
use of the larger bones that were lying around from the first two killings,
252 particularly the backbones and the large knuckle bones. Some men,
262 having nothing else to do, went out to the place where the bones lay and, tethering their horses nearby, dug out the chunks of meat and fat that adhered to the backbones and brought them home for their wives to boil for soup. These small chunks of meat were known as "small meat." Most of all they wanted to take the opportunity to make "bone grease" which they called "bone water." This was eaten particularly with the pulverized dried buffalo meat, by biting off a piece of the solidified fat to eat with the dry fluffy pounded-up meat. This was probably their last

tanned hide was spread out and formally divided into sections, a right 252
section for the guests on the north side and a left section for those on 574
the south side with a stick lying on the spread between them to mark
the divisions. Two backbone steaks were opened out, one on one side
and one on the other and separated from their layer of fat. This operation
was carried out at the southeast of the earth lodge or tent with the
two steaks pointed with their "neck" or head ends toward the northwest.
Each steak was cut down the length into four strips, each about 6
inches wide. The three strips on the right were made into five large
portions each, about 9 inches long, and the fourth or leftmost strip was
cut into a whole series of smaller portions depending upon how many
people needed to be served. The larger portions were for the important [554]
guests at the main "positions," while the smaller pieces were for the others.
The layer of fat was cut up in the same way, but this disintegrated
in the soup. For a feast of sixty people, four steaks would be cooked.
Each potful took about twenty minutes, about fifteen for the meat and a
few minutes more for the fat to be thoroughly cooked. For this amount
they cooked three or four batches, spearing out the pieces of meat with
a stick each time and placing them on the spread in the appropriate
position for serving. Sometimes while the errand man was doing the
cooking he would observe that the steaks were unusually small, viz., from
a small animal, when additional meat would have to be added. When additional [554]
steaks were received, the important guests received double portions
or more. This was the only direct compensation for administrative
services.

Most of the meat preserved during this summer hunt would be used 251
during the following fall and winter, while the succeeding winter hunt 262
would provide the additional meat for the spring. From the summer hunt, 281
the hides were processed as rawhide or tanned hide with hair removed,
while on the winter hunt they got hides with fur and wool for warm
robes.

The drying and preserving of the buffalo meat along with their crops 251
was one of the major technical achievements of the Pawnees. This ancient 171
art of preserving food by drying was almost continent-wide in
America among the food gatherers as well as the food producers, and
the method contrasts markedly with the general Old World approach of
fermenting, pickling, and spicing for food preservation.

Each household had its own estimate of the amount of dried buffalo 224*
meat required to carry on its social and religious obligations. Four formal
attacks on the herd by all the able-bodied hunters of the tribe were
considered sufficient to provide for most of their needs. The first mass
attack had taken place as the line of march was slowly making its way
southward along the west bank of Turkey Creek. When they had gone
about halfway, the scouts had located the herd, and the hunters left the

30

THE RETURN HOME FROM THE HUNT

"Village Scouts" Return to Village for Reports—Main Body of Encampment Moves Homeward—Their Diet—Young Men Leave for Warpath and Horse Stealing—Village Scouts Return to Encampment—Tell of Stay-at-Homes and Crops—Releasing the Holy Man of the Hunt—Chief's Remarks at End of Hunt 000

EVERYONE WAS LADEN with meat and hides, and now that they had completed a successful hunt, all thoughts were turned toward home—particularly toward their crops and the people they had left behind. A group of young men decided they would ride ahead and see how the *Kakusu*, "Stay-at-Homes," had fared and how the crops were doing in the fields, and then come back and meet the line of march halfway, about two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), and report back to the people. These young men took up their mission on a purely voluntary and spontaneous basis. They were called *kitkehax-wiriksu*, "village-scouts." Sometimes one of them had a grandmother left behind that he wanted to know about or a girl. People were also anxious about the children who had been left at the school. The young man would tell his mother or grandmother of his plan and she would make him some pounded-up dried meat and some slabs of dried meat to take along with him. The boys took a short cut, going in a group and getting quickly back to the village. 224* 484*

Meanwhile in the encampments, the women were packing up the meat in the parfleches for permanent storage and strapping them up. Others were thinning buffalo robes by scraping them down—for barter at Fort Kearney in exchange for flour, coffee, sugar, and other trade goods. In [251] [281] [439]

*224 this area now, north of the Republican, they were in Pawnee territory
*484 and were less concerned about danger of attack. As the South Bands had
their villages to the east of the Skidi on Beaver Creek, they moved ahead
while the Skidi lagged behind. They ate mainly dried buffalo meat at
[262] this time and a little parched corn in soup. If anyone happened to have
[252] any roasted corn kernels on hand, they boiled them and ate them, but
most people had used up their supply by now. The old women were always
*224 busy when they stopped, pulverizing dried buffalo meat in the
*484 mortar with a pestle. They made a flat package, *tsat-katus*, "package-flat,"
251 of tanned hide (see Figure 30-1) and filled it up with the pounded-up
887 dried meat. The package could be carried on the back with a strap
[482] that ran across the chest. It was 2 feet long by 1½ feet wide, and was
[439] often carried on their backs by the old women. It was a good trade
item. Sometimes they also included some dried meat. Both kinds could
[262] be eaten without cooking as they were already thoroughly cured. One
could simply break off a piece of the dried meat and eat it.

237
251
482

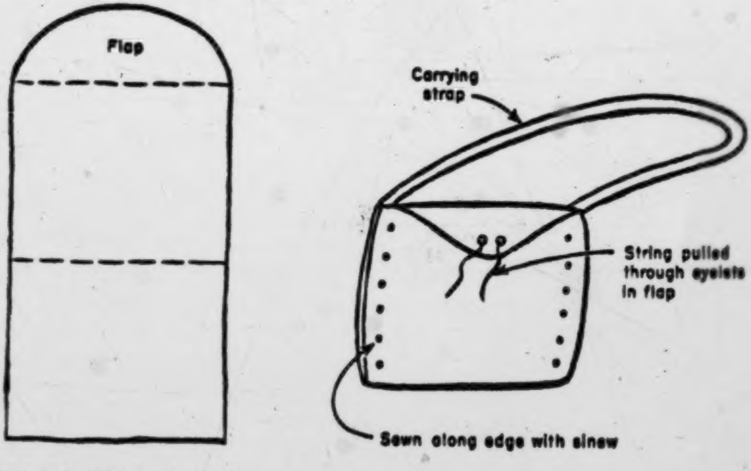

Flap
Carrying strap
String pulled through eyelets in flap
Sewn along edge with sinew
Pattern to be folded up in middle

FIGURE 30-1. The pattern of a skin knapsack, *tsat-katus*, "package-flat."

*224 Some old women made a *bu-tsaku*, "water-package," of half a buffalo
*484 bull hide made into rawhide, with sticks fastened underneath and the
[237] baggage wrapped inside envelope-fashion, to be floated across a swollen
• [281] stream. Most of the women were busy tanning buffalo robes and scraping
hides all the way home.

726 Some young men were saying that when they got to the Platte River
they would set out on the warpath. There were plenty of Sioux around

from whom they could well steal horses, and some young men thought 726
they would like to go to the Osage country. The women of their house- 726
hold would outfit them with three or four pairs of new moccasins, tan- 705
ning some hides especially for the purpose. Each pair would be filled
with supplies—pulverized dried meat, parched corn, and dried meat. The
young man would have a large flat package, especially wide to carry on
his back with straps across the chest to carry his baggage. Under his belt [276]
he carried his tobacco and his pipe, and every time he sat down while he
was on the warpath he must smoke. When he went off to steal horses
he hung his flat-package on a tree and sometimes did not get a chance to
retrieve it at all.

In Victory Call's household, they had gotten eight hides. A small one 281
would be tanned by White Woman to get supplies at Fort Kearney. One 439
was reserved for Mr. Bishop, the trader near home, to whom a good
one had been promised before they left in payment for supplies Victory
Call had obtained at his store for their journey.

While they were going east along the Platte River after their arrival 224*
two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), the village scouts came back 484*
with their report of how things were back home. They came in directly 203
to the tent of Leading Chief who now had charge of their return journey and reported:

> We went down to the village. We couldn't go in, it was full of fleas. Toward evening we went to the different corn fields. The corn is pretty ripe in some places. The pumpkins are hard yet. There are lots of beans of all different kinds. One fellow got on a freight and went to Columbus to see how the Stay-at-Homes were. Everything looks good. From there we went to the school. We gave the children some pulverized dried meat and some plain. We told them you folks were coming home. We stopped in Bishop and Matlock's store for the night and said it would be about eight or ten days before we got to the village. Everyone looks all right.

Now Know-His-Face went through the encampment, announcing this
message to all. In one of the other bands a rougish old lady called out [824]
"And how about the sunflowers? How are they doing?" The boy said, [522]
"The sunflowers are way high!" The byplay is that the sunflowers were
the place where clandestine affairs were carried on. These grew as weeds
in the boundaries between the fields.

One of the scouts brought five or six ears of corn that were ripe from 224*
different fields, and gave them to the ones to whom they belonged. One 484*
ear had come from the field of Otter's grandmother, and before she took [788]
off the husks she blessed him with it four times. Then she removed the [252]
husks, roasted the ear in the coals, and broke it into three pieces, one for [262]

time or not up to technical standards, or if the person failed to remain 531
even-tempered during the work, direct consequences to the health and 782
well-being of the craftswoman and her family would inevitably follow.
The guild was in the charge of a woman who made sure that these conditions were met. The woman who supervised the fitting of the skins to 463
make the tent—the tent architect—also belonged to a religious guild of a [281]
similar sort. The conventional character of Pawnee technical processes was [342]
just as firmly established as among these other peoples, most of them going
back to very old practices, and their work was as fine and as precisely
done but there were no religious connotations of any kind.

The mature women did most of the craft work that pertained to the 463
domestic economy. The men made most of the things they used in hunting, war, and ceremonials. The crafts were not taught to the young peo- [462]
ple as a normal part of their education. A young man or a young woman
had to be very eager to learn and only if an older person was willing to
sponsor them were they able to do so. The teacher had to receive ample
payment as well as a clear indication of a very real desire to learn. Both
for the manufacture of a craft object and for teaching as well as other [465]
kinds of assistance, "payment" should provide the craftsman with "something to wear and something with which to feed the family." This consisted in skin clothing or commercial cloth, blankets or shawls, and the
standard food stuffs, either native or trade.

The following is my informant's account of the circumstances of 463
learning the craft of making a black rope of braided buffalo hair: 283

> If a woman wanted to learn how to make a buffalo hair belt from Old Lady Lucky Leader, for example, one would go to her and put a necklace about her neck, and ask to be taught. She would certainly not consent at once. She might answer, "Some day I will teach you." This signified that if the applicant went quietly away and asked again another day, then repeated her request on subsequent occasions, she might finally give in. If she said, "I'll think about it," this meant she might capitulate if asked again. On the other hand, if she said, "I can't do it," this constituted an absolute refusal.
>
> There were situations in which she would feel impelled to grant the request. This was particularly the case if the woman were a close and respected relative, especially an in-law. On the other hand, she might also feel impelled to teach a woman whose family fortunes were low and who needed to earn something to help out. Such a woman was the wife of Chief's-Road. Giving the old lady a gift she said, "I want you to take pity on me and teach me to make a buffalo hair belt. You know that I am poor and we can't seem to work out anything. What I want is for you to take pity on me so that it may earn something for us. My husband can't make much and my sister can't do anything."

463 Having consented, Old Lady Lucky Leader would say, "On so-and-
283 so day I am going to make it. Come in then." When the wife of Chief's-Road came in, the old lady directed her to sit down to her left and watch everything. As the work progressed she paid close attention to the manner of braiding and after some of the work had been completed, the teacher asked the pupil to try her hand at it. At first she was very clumsy and was corrected by the teacher and finally she got the idea. When she got home, she tried to do it by herself and from time to time came in to see the old lady saying she didn't quite remember about this and this detail and asking to be shown.

She told no one that she had learned, but on an occasion when someone came to the old lady to have a belt made, she would say, "Go to the wife of Chief's-Road. She can make it. I taught her." The man now would go to the wife of Chief's-Road and tell her that he had been sent by the old lady because she had too much work. She would make the belt for the man and the entire fee would be hers, with no further financial obligation to her teacher. From now on others would hear of it and begin to apply to her and she would be able to earn something for her family.

463
Most mature women knew the techniques of skin working with a
[281] knowledge of mat making being somewhat less common but still widely
[285] known. Everyone could make buffalo-horn spoons. The weaving of the
[321] black rope and woven belts as well as the making of wooden bowls
[283] were known to a very limited number of craftswomen. In the men's
[322] crafts, the bow was made by everyone, but the extremely restricted
[411] number of arrowshaft makers has already been mentioned. The pipe
makers were equally specialized and they made both the stem and the
[276] bowl. Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most signifi-
cant things the man needed. Only six or seven men among all the Skidi
[292] could make them. Skin shirts could only be worn by men who had an
[554] outstanding social or military status and these were made by a very
limited number of specialists. These specialists were regarded like the
[294] village blacksmith of our early towns. They tried to have two or three
of them in each village. But even the most common craft techniques
could only be learned by a person who was sponsored by someone or
had the wherewithal to pay for his instruction.

000 sheep." It was further reported that to the north there were many "cattle." The reports of Coronado's expedition of about the same period in the Southwest describe the details of buffalo hunting with great accuracy and show that even in the 1860's they had survived substantially as they were then. In 1599, Oñate of New Mexico hoped the Spaniards could also develop a thriving trade in buffalo wool and hides, but the Spanish empire was already too decadent.

175 439 [224] By the 1600's the big business in furs with Europe had been developed by France starting with the fateful beaver trade on the St. Lawrence. As we see from the present account, the Pawnees were still trapping the beaver with metal traps in 1867, in order to trade them for cash. By the end of the 1600's the Indians were no longer merely a source of raw materials for trade to Europe, but also a positive outlet for European manufactured goods. "The Indians were collecting sassafras, tanning buckskins, and building up a steady trade in buffalo wool." In 1702 seventeen Frenchmen left Tamaroa Mission near Cahokia, Illinois, east of St. Louis to ascend the Missouri about two hundred leagues to build a fort between the Pawnee and the Iowa. The French were attempting to control the inter-Indian trade to protect themselves from the encroachment upon the Indian trade by the Spaniards who were moving up from the Southwest. Their fears were not unfounded, for in 1706 the Spaniards were reported to have come to an Indian village to trade for buffalo hides with which to make harness for their mules.

[177] At a somewhat later period, fur traders were sent out from Council Bluffs (Iowa) to live with the Pawnees at their earth lodges and follow them on their hunting expeditions.

281 Before he became mature, every man and woman had learned how to prepare hides. Most of all they needed the buffalo robe. As stated by the informant:

> 291 237 The wind blew through the blankets, the buffalo robe kept you warm. Almost everyone needed a new buffalo robe every winter. Toward the summer, the hair would all wear off and by the late fall, there wouldn't be any wool on to keep a person warm. In Victory Call's family, they needed at least four robes in good condition for the winter—one for Victory Call himself, one for his wife, White Woman, one for Grandma and one for the boy, Otter. For the adults it took the skin of a whole buffalo. For children, the whole skin of a calf was used with the headskin and the two little horns left intact.
>
> 291 During the daytime, the robe was wrapped around the body horizontally with the head part overlapping at the left. At night, the same robe was used as a blanket the long way, with the hair against the body, the head part covering the head and the tail part the feet. One

robe could keep a person warm in winter if it were well tucked in all around. 291

There were three stages by which the hide was prepared for its different uses—rawhide, tanned, or dyed. 281

Rawhide was the first stage. While they were on hunt, the fresh hide was pegged out with the hair side down and the flesh scraped off. The defleshing tool was made of a buffalo shinbone with the small end broken off and discarded. [413] [237] The broken edge was cut into a row of fine teeth with which to scrape the hide. The thick end of the bone had a hole drilled in it through which a buckskin strap was threaded to be worn around the wrist while the tool was in use. It took about half an hour to peg down and flesh a skin. After it was thoroughly dry, it was rolled up and carried home to the village where it was stored in the food pit or kept in the lodge to be dressed at the first opportunity. The largest number were worked in the fall. The skin was dressed as rawhide by simply removing the hair. The skin was unrolled and spread on the ground and the pieces of dried flesh picked off with a knife and boiled in the soup. Now the hide was turned over and the hair removed with an elbow-shaped scraper. This tool was like an adze with a handle of elkhorn and a cutting blade fastened to the bent end. [413] [237] In the old days the cutting blade was of chipped flint but at this time the women had the blades made by the blacksmith. To dehair it, the woman stood directly on the hide and bent over holding the elbow-scraper crosswise with her left hand on the handle end and her right hand on the elbow so that she could push it across the skin. She removed hair, chips and shavings, striking and pushing upon the skin and scraping with a sidewise motion toward the left. If the blade were not sharp, she would have to sit down while she worked and this would take a good deal longer. The hide of a big bison was used to make rawhide.

Rawhide was used for the large envelope in which the dried buffalo meat was contained, for moccasin soles, saddles, and for cutting into long continuous strips for ropes and whips. Half a bull hide was also used for making a baggage raft or water package. [415] [291] [283]

Tanning the skin required many additional technical steps. All skins have three layers, a horny one on the outside, a soft fatty layer on the inside where the sweat and fat glands are embedded, and the middle layer, the corium, which is the true skin. The corium is made up of gelatinous fibers and it is the objective of the tanning process to enter into combination with these fibers so that they are preserved and still remain flexible. For this purpose the Pawnees used a decoction of elm bark and brains. The technical term for this mixture is *tann*, meaning "oak" in the old Celtic of Brittany. Besides brains, sour milk and various oils are alternative materials for improving the texture.

281 [415] [513] [291] [531] The skins were tanned either with or without the hair. The skins of old buffalo or with exceptionally thin wool had the hair removed and were kept on hand to wrap things in, for bedding, skin bags, moccasins, and occasionally, if they were light enough, for skirts. The heavier qualities were used especially for tent skins. Tanned hide with hair removed was used as a light wrap or blanket to be draped around the shoulders. When worn in this way it was often decorated with designs or colored.

In tanning the robe with the hair on, which was the main trade robe, the hide was unrolled the evening before. Next morning it was placed on the ground and scraped on the flesh side with the elbow-scraper. This was a more strenuous process than dehairing. The skin had to be thinned section by section and any irregularities removed. If no one interrupted and the work proceeded at top speed, it took three hours of back-breaking labor. After this, the skin was immediately sprinkled with water to keep it soft and by evening it was pliable enough to be folded up and put into a kettle with cold water poured over it and left to soak overnight.

417 281 The next morning after breakfast the woman prepared a stretching frame on which to fasten the skin so that she could apply the tanning mixture. The standing part of the frame was made of two pairs of tent poles, each pair being fastened together at the top, spread out at the bottom, and set apart at the proper distance to accommodate the length of the skin. The two sets of "bi-pods" were joined across the near arms by two additional tent poles, one above and one below to a distance of the width of the hide. The skin was bound onto this slanting rectangular frame by overcasting around the edges through the peg holes around the edge of the hide. The flesh surface was now uppermost and to this the tanning solution would be applied.

281 Some bark, used as a sort of sponge, was dipped into the tanning mixture, which was spilled and rubbed onto the hide until it was well soaked and the water was dripping down the surface. The solution was now pressed in and rubbed from the top downward with a special tool resembling the blade of an iron hoe. In this process of rubbing and scraping, a good deal of the excess water was removed. When the skin had dried somewhat, a pinch of flour was sprinkled on and rubbed all over the surface to make it white. While the skin remained on the stretcher to dry for about an hour, the equipment for the next step was prepared. The skin would be rubbed back and forth on a taut sinew rope in order to soften it. Two green sticks of uneven height, one 2 feet and one 5½ feet high, were set upright in the ground about 4½ feet apart. They were joined by a big sinew rope that was stretched between them and tied at each end. The skin was rubbed back and forth across the rope on the flesh side until it was softened. One woman could do this alone, but it was more convenient for two to work on it, one holding on to the hide at each end.

The stretching of the skin on the frame took all morning, the tanning the noon hour and the afternoon the rubbing and softening. By evening, although the skin was still quite wet it was taken indoors so that no one would appropriate it. It was beaten with a stick on the fur side to sprinkle out some of the water. 281 [461]

Next morning when the sun was quite high, the skin was again rubbed on the sinew and set on the ground with the hair side up to get completely dry. Then it was placed on a mat and the margin trimmed all around with a sharp knife to remove any peg holes or other irregularities. The robe was now complete and was rolled up ready for wear or sale.

The skins that were less prime were tanned without the hair on, as the tanning process differed somewhat from the fur robe. After the hair was scraped off with the elbow-scraper, the flesh side was scraped and thinned with the same tool. The hide was soaked over night and next morning, stretched on the frame to be treated with the tanning mixture. The skin was left on the frame until the flesh side was thoroughly dry and even though the dehaired surface remained a bit wet, the skin was removed from the frame and rubbed between the fingers to soften it, then twisted with a wringing motion as we twist our bedsheets. It was not necessary to rub the skin as violently as the fur robe as in the dehairing process the horny outer epidermis had been removed. Eight of these skins went into the construction of the tent cover; they were used for bedding, curtains, packages, and bags.

The skins to be worn as blankets were usually dyed. If a white blanket was desired, white clay was sprinkled on the wet surface while it was still stretched on the frame and allowed to dry in thoroughly before it was removed and twisted. 281 386

More commonly, for wear as blankets, the tanned hide was dyed black. The black dye was made by boiling sumach leaves in water, the dye being allowed to cool before being applied to the surface of the tanned hide. The dye was rubbed in with a rag, first on one surface and when this was dry, on the other. When both sides were thoroughly dry, the skin was rubbed between the fingers to soften it and hung across a horizontal pole and beaten with a stick to remove the excess dye that had dried onto the surface. Interspersed with the other housework of the fall season, it took four days to make a black-dyed blanket.

It was also possible to dye the tanned hide a light yellow. This was done by smoking it over a rotten log of any kind of wood. They dug a long rectangular trench in the ground and put the log into it with some hot coals. They built an archway of supple twigs over the trench by sticking a series of twigs in the ground along both sides and joining them at the top. A number of long sticks were fastened on top and on the long sides of the archway to strengthen the structure. The tanned hide was laid onto the framework and weighted down with earth or sticks on all [417]

281 386 sides to keep the air from reaching the inner surface. When they first removed the skin from the frame, the smoked surface was somewhat black, but when it was exposed to the air it quickly turned yellow. Any smoky patches that remained were rubbed with the fingers, and these promptly turned yellow, too. In the past these dyed skin blankets were the forerunners of the later trade blanket.

291 221 The skins of the deer and elk were used for clothing because they were considerably lighter and softer than the buffalo hide. In the fall particularly, when the doctor performances were in prospect, they made a critical inspection of their wardrobes to see if they had something suitable to wear for the occasion. The women thought about a new dress and the men considered whether their clothing wasn't too shabby to wear and what ceremonial costumes they would need. They had been on the march all summer and busy with the harvest and they had had no time to think about such matters. They also had to consider the forthcoming winter hunt.

291 262 251 281 In the Plains climate, clothing was a pressing necessity. The fresh deer and elk meat was a welcome addition to their staple diet of dried vegetables and buffalo meat, but it was consumed immediately and never preserved. Economically, the hides were of greater practical value.

[462] There is some question whether it was the men or the women who dressed the deer and elkskins. Theoretically they both knew how, but the only accounts of the process I have seen or been able to collect refer to the work of the men. Apparently the hide was not treated with a tanning mixture but was simply dehaired and rubbed:

> [515] The first step in dressing the deer hide was to get it wet. A stick was put slantwise in the ground and the hide draped over it hair side up and fastened at the top. The hair which slanted upward was scraped off with a sharpened horse rib that was pushed from the top down. The deer hair was used as a stuffing for pillows; the buffalo hair was always thrown away. The skin was now turned over with the flesh side uppermost and rubbed with a sharp rock as rough as a file. Next they continued to rub the flesh side with another rock that was gray and white and very porous. They kept rubbing the flesh side until the skin had dried.

A description of preparing a moose hide for a robe is somewhat simpler; allowing the skin to soak in water for a day and a night, removing the hair with a horse rib as it rested on a slanting cottonwood stick, and then simply spreading the skin on the ground to dry.

When needed, the men dressed bear or fox skins and those of some other animals, stretching them on frames and overcasting them all around

the edges through a series of little holes. The beaver skins that they 281
trapped for sale to the traders, were treated in the same way.

The men made their own saddles and horse trappings, some of deer 282
and some of buffalo hide. All men made these for themselves and dressed 492
the deer hides, even Eagle Chief himself. But buffalo hide was gotten 462
from the women. They made saddles, bridles, stirrups, and saddle bags. For saddle bags, discarded buffalo robes were obtained from the women. The saddles were made either of deer and deer horns or wood and buffalo hide. The horn saddle took four or five days; the buffalo hide ten to fifteen. The men worked hard on their saddles and decorated them elabo- [531]
rately.

The basic clothing was cut out and sewn with an awl and sinew by the 291
women. The women wore a wrap-around skirt, an overblouse, leggings [294]
fastened at the knee, and moccasins. The skirt, of tanned deer hide, reached just below the knee with the closing at the right side. It was fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. If no deer hide was available, they used a very soft buffalo hide.

The blouse was a simple sleeveless pullover extending down over the waist so that it covered the top of the skirt and the belt that held it in place. It was made of an oblong piece of skin folded in two and cut out for the neck and armholes so that it would not rub against the underarm. (See Figure 48-1.) It was sewn along the sides with sinew, the seams extending just a little below the waist. The bottom section that reached toward the hips was left unsewn on the two sides. Around the neck was a scarf about 4 inches wide sewn across the back and reaching over the shoulders so that it could be turned up in cold weather for protection. The neck was provided with a drawstring whose ends hung down in front unless they wanted to draw the blouse close together around the throat.

Until the age of five or six, the little girls ran around naked, but then 855
they had to have a little wraparound skirt of buckskin with a drawstring 291
at the top. They would always complain that it was too loose, for it was usually made to allow for growth; when the little girl complained her mother would say, "Oh, go on, you'll grow soon," or "After all, it might shrink."

Leggings of tanned deer or elk hide were worn by all the women, and 291
these were tied around under the knee and turned down over the tie string at the top. For both men and women, they made two-piece moccasins with hard soles and softer uppers. Those of the Skidi were below [184]
the ankle and those of the South Bands a little above.

The clothing of the men, besides the basic garments, included a num- [292]
ber of ceremonial trappings or some that signified special rank or achievement. The main clothes were a loincloth, leggings, and moccasins.

292 554 [531] [461] work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such a shirt.

The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237 554 825 [411] The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught. Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one, the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281 756 262 Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered incdible and was left in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237 293 [223] Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237 554 714 Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a shield.

They had made two killings already and still the buffalo were coming. 224*
Eagle Chief stated that the next day they would not go out, but simply 623
keep an eye on the herd as there was so much meat in the camp that they [251]
had to give it a chance to dry. He also mentioned that the hides should
be treated and thinned down. Some of the old men remarked that this [281]
was a good time to make bone grease by boiling the bones and skimming [252]
off the fat as there were lots of bones about at this time and the grease
would harden easily in the cold weather. Almost all the old women in
camp would busy themselves with this work, storing the grease in a [251]
paunch. Some would make dried intestines and dried and braided strips of
stomach (*painritskusu*).

They made five killings while they were camped at Many Deer and 224*
along with the killing at Turkey Creek, they felt that this was enough
and they should turn toward home. They had made killings almost every
other day and stayed about fifteen days. Victory Call killed six in all
and Horse Rider five.

Now that they were considering turning back, they must decide what 224*
donations of buffalo meat were to be pledged for the sacred bundle cer- 431
emonies in the spring. Each sacred bundle must have at least one *rara-* 796
buru, a parfleche containing the dried meat of a whole buffalo. The dif-
ferent doctor cults also needed pledges of meat for their spring renewal 778
rites, but they simply needed backbone steaks. For example, the two [756]
leaders of the Bear Cult reserved two steaks for their cult. Victory Call
set aside one steak for his Deer or Whistle Dance and one for the Bear
Cult.

There were twelve major sacred bundles, each of which had to be pro- 224*
vided for with a parfleche of dried meat. The Evening Star bundle 431
owned by Old Lady Lucky Leader would be provided for by her son 778
Frank Leader in some years, and by her son-in-law Roaming Leader in
others, according to the circumstances of the kill on a particular hunt.
Lone Chief and Shot Arm alternated in this way for the Morning Star
bundle. War Cry and his younger brother Brave Shield alternated in sup-
plying the meat for War Cry's war bundle (*karaxkata karusu*) that had
been derived from the Evening Star bundle, etc.

Everyone was interested in the news of how the donations had gone and Eagle Chief sent out his errand man Know-His-Face to find out at the different tipis where the sacred bundles were kept.

Sometimes a man couldn't manage to get a good buffalo for his bundle. He approached a man who had just killed a fat cow and said, "I want you to take pity on me. I have a sacred bundle and I want to make *rara-buru* [a parfleche of meat]." "Go ahead, take it," said the hunter, and went off, leaving the bundle owner to butcher the sacred buffalo himself. When he got home with the meat he told his wife, "*ra-warukti-ti*" ("one

the edges through a series of little holes. The beaver skins that they 281
trapped for sale to the traders, were treated in the same way.

The men made their own saddles and horse trappings, some of deer 282
and some of buffalo hide. All men made these for themselves and dressed 492
the deer hides, even Eagle Chief himself. But buffalo hide was gotten 462
from the women. They made saddles, bridles, stirrups, and saddle bags. For saddle bags, discarded buffalo robes were obtained from the women. The saddles were made either of deer and deer horns or wood and buffalo hide. The horn saddle took four or five days; the buffalo hide ten to fifteen. The men worked hard on their saddles and decorated them elaborately. [531]

The basic clothing was cut out and sewn with an awl and sinew by the 291
women. The women wore a wrap-around skirt, an overblouse, leggings [294]
fastened at the knee, and moccasins. The skirt, of tanned deer hide, reached just below the knee with the closing at the right side. It was fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. If no deer hide was available, they used a very soft buffalo hide.

The blouse was a simple sleeveless pullover extending down over the waist so that it covered the top of the skirt and the belt that held it in place. It was made of an oblong piece of skin folded in two and cut out for the neck and armholes so that it would not rub against the underarm. (See Figure 48-1.) It was sewn along the sides with sinew, the seams extending just a little below the waist. The bottom section that reached toward the hips was left unsewn on the two sides. Around the neck was a scarf about 4 inches wide sewn across the back and reaching over the shoulders so that it could be turned up in cold weather for protection. The neck was provided with a drawstring whose ends hung down in front unless they wanted to draw the blouse close together around the throat.

Until the age of five or six, the little girls ran around naked, but then 855
they had to have a little wraparound skirt of buckskin with a drawstring 291
at the top. They would always complain that it was too loose, for it was usually made to allow for growth; when the little girl complained her mother would say, "Oh, go on, you'll grow soon," or "After all, it might shrink."

Leggings of tanned deer or elk hide were worn by all the women, and 291
these were tied around under the knee and turned down over the tie string at the top. For both men and women, they made two-piece moccasins with hard soles and softer uppers. Those of the Skidi were below [184]
the ankle and those of the South Bands a little above.

The clothing of the men, besides the basic garments, included a number [292]
of ceremonial trappings or some that signified special rank or achievement. The main clothes were a loincloth, leggings, and moccasins.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

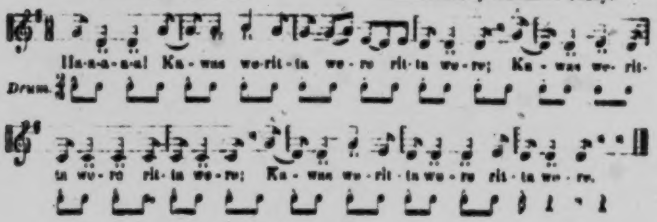
The Ku'rahus takes ten feathers from the tail of the brown eagle 539*
and prepares them so that they can be tied upon one of the stems. A 796*
buckskin thong is run through a hole punctured near the end of
the quills and another is threaded through the quills, about the middle [283]
of their length, so that upon these two thongs the feathers can be spread like a fan. To the end of the thongs are fastened little balls of white down, taken from inside the thigh of the white male eagle. These balls of down represent the reproductive power. When the fan-like appendage is completed it is tied to the side of the blue-painted stem, so that it can swing when the stem is waved, to simulate the movements of an eagle.

When the Ku'rahus takes from the man on his left, toward the north, the blue-painted stem and attaches to it the fan-like pendant made of the feathers of the brown eagle, we give thanks in our hearts as the following song is sung.

THIRD SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. [533*]


Ha-a-a-a-a! Ka - was we-rit-ta we - re rit-ta we-re; Ka - was we- rit-
Drum.
ta we - re rit - ta we - re; Ka - was we - rit - ta we - re rit - ta we - re.

78 Ha-a-a-a-a!
79 Kawas weritta were ritta were;
80 Kawas weritta were ritta were;
81 Kawas weritta were ritta were.

Translation

78 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation to the song.
79 Kawas weritta were ritta were.
  Kawas, the name given to the brown eagle in this ceremony. The common name for this bird is letahkots katit; letahkots, eagle; katit, dark or brown. [192]
  weritta, now hung.
  were, at this or that particular time.
  ritta, an abbreviated form of weritta, now hung.
  were, at this time.
80, 81 See line 79.

in front of him on a spread. Rudder set one man to work preparing cedar sticks, another to work preparing the horn ends of the feathers so they could be attached to the sticks with sinew. Still another was called and told to get sinew ready for use as thong. While the work proceeded the other men present told stories. One man said that he heard the crows calling "ka-ka-ka," and understood what they meant, so he came to the camp and there sure enough he found them all working on the crow feathers. The others laughed. The men preparing the things took their time. They were working at it all day. When dinner came in the evening, Mark Rudder had all the things wrapped up and put aside. The work was finished the next day. 159 301

Only wing and tail feathers of the crow were used. Four feathers, either from the wing or tail, were attached to the stick. Each man present was asked which kind of feathers he wanted put on his. The sinew was soaked in a bowl of water to soften it for use. The head end of the cedar stick was spread or thickened so that when the feathers were tied on they spread outward. Across the top of the sticks indentations were made in the form of a cross and when these crow sticks are used ceremonially and set in the ground, the ends of this cross must point in the cardinal directions. Red paint was put in the grooves of the cross. The feathers were bound onto the sticks while the sinew was wet, after which the sticks with the feathers attached were hung out in the wind to dry. The sinew tightened in drying. Each man who wanted a crow stick came forward and took one. [237] [283]

THE SEVEN CROWS AND AFTER

Mark Rudder was thus instrumental in developing the decoration and recognition of Crows. As yet, however, there was no official organization among the Crows, similar to the Seven Brothers of the Eagles. 668 796

Once when they were Ghost Dancing near the north round house, a young woman "got the shakes" and fell. When she recovered, she sat there crying. The old man crier went to her and blessed her. Then he asked her if she had something to say. She said, "Yes. When I fell, I went down a road leading west and saw a big hill across my way, and the road went up the hill. I went up that hill. When I got on top of the hill I looked down below on the other side. There was a big camp there. As I went down the hill I saw a man coming out of that camp. He met me before I got to the camp, and told me to stop, not to come any further. I 668 796 787

575 Now, during the hunt, the father of the boy killing the bird, may recall the incident and vow to consecrate a buffalo in the name of his son. Accordingly, when the buffalo is killed, he butchers, and packs it on the horse according to the requirements of the ritual. He leads the horse home, places the rope in the boy's hand and again conducts him to the priest. The father announces his errand and delivers the meat. The priest then performs the proper ceremony.

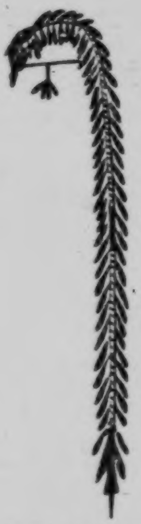


Fig. 10. The Brave Raven Lance. At the end of the crook is the skin of a crow, the beak hanging down. All the feathers are crow.

[283]

Some time during the winter the keeper of the lance goes out and cuts an ash stick for the new lance. This he works down to the proper form and puts up in the lodge to season.

Now, the father of the boy may ask for a crow feather, upon which the boy sets out and either kills a crow or finds a feather. His father directs him to take it to the priest. The latter again opens the secondary bundle and ties the feather to the boy's birdskin offering. This accumulation of crow feathers may continue for several years.

As the time for renewing the lances approaches, the twelve men collecting sinew are called into the leader's lodge, and arrangements for the ceremony made. The next day the lodge is cleared out and the store of sinew and dried meat brought in. Twelve additional members are called to assist. All are seated in the regular order. After certain preliminaries, the leader explains that the sinew cord for the lance is to be made. He then takes up sinew and proceeds to roll a cord upon his thigh. As it increases in length the ends are taken by his neighbors who twist in turn and so on until both ends of the line are reached. There is now one long cord passing entirely round the lodge. When completed the errand men stretch it about the lodge posts to dry.

Next the leader calls for the crow feather. Then each member who has crow feathers in the bundle brings them in and also those that have been placed there by their sons. All these feathers are placed upon a mat before the leader. Then the two errand men take down the sinew cord and make it into a coil. The leader takes the coil and gives one end of the cord to his left hand and the others to his right hand neighbor, and so the ends are passed along, unwinding the cord. Then the leader lectures, stating that there are three main things in life, to consecrate an eagle, a scalp, and a buffalo, that following such acts one will be anointed by the priest, that

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

356 roof of their house. He noted that seven of the radial timbers were rotting, and he remarked that they needed replacement. Old Bull made no comment, but he knew that they would carry on this enterprise together. [283] [237] During the winter buffalo hunt, each of them killed a buffalo bull so that they could keep the hides to make rawhide strips for use when the roof was rebuilt the following spring. Around the smokehole, fastening the radial roof rafters together, were two stout willow hoops, one on the inside and one on the outside. These were tied in place on the radial rafters with the rawhide strips. It was this mechanism that gave the symmetrical form and strength to the whole cone of the roof, and the tying was therefore important. [251] [262] [281] At the same time as the hides were obtained, the women made sure to dry plenty of buffalo intestine so that they would have enough to make soup for the volunteers. While the bison hide was still fresh, the women removed the hair.

356 314 283 Now during the spring Victory Call and Old Bull kept an eye out for elm trees from which they could strip the bark to use in tying on the willow circuits around the roof frame. A cut was made near the bottom of the elm tree so that the bark could be loosened; a strip about two inches wide was ripped upward from the bottom. Five or six strips were taken from each elm. The strips were dried and stored until the actual time of building, when they were soaked in water and used wet so that they would make a tight bind when they dried in place. It took a large number of these elm strips to fasten the circuits in place around the roof.

356 313 Now Victory Call went into the timber to locate seven suitable willow trees. The next day he returned with his wife, White Woman, and his retainer, Horse Rider. The trip to the Loup River was five or six miles. Victory Call cut down the trees with his axe, and Horse Rider and White Woman proceeded to lop off all the branches with a hatchet. After the trees were cut and the branches removed, they went home. Next day White Woman and Horse Rider returned and began to remove the bark, hacking it off from stub end to point; the man worked with an axe, the woman with a hatchet. Two trees were debarked, and they returned until they had finished the seven. After debarking, the poles were left in the timber to season for three days.

356 313 824 Meanwhile, without further discussion, Old Bull had gone off to look for willow withes to make the circuits. When he got home he remarked to his younger wife, Clear Day, "There are some nice willows down at Beaver Creek. Tomorrow we can go out and cut them." In the evening when Victory Call and the others got home from the Loup where they were fixing the radials, Old Bull remarked that he had been looking around and had seen some willows and that the next day they were going to cut them. Queen Woman and Old Lady Blue Calico of the South Side decided that since the women of the North Side were working so hard on the construction work, they would take over all the cooking for the family.

thing of this kind that has to be done and one simply volunteers." A person who acts in this way is referred to as "A-Person-Whose-Ears-Are-Standing-Erect," viz., an alert person. Living in Eagle Chief's household was the older son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Fox Chief. He was also helpful in gathering in the young men to help out his father. Fine Horse, son of Victory Call's older brother Sitting Hawk, also came, and a younger brother of Chief White Eagle, who was standing on the south side with the influential men. 356 476

A number of older men who were also referred to as "boys" came. They were men who had little interest in having a prominent social status. They preferred to go hunting, to go on the warpath, to be free and easy in their manner. They were helpful to anyone who needed help and had little interest in social dignity or administrative functions. They freely gave away what they had and had no interest in accumulating anything or in having a well-appointed home. Because of their manner and attitude toward the social formalities, they were somewhat affectionately referred to as "boys" whatever their age might be. They commonly took over the responsibility of dangerous scouting assignments when these were called for. Four of these men came, and they climbed on the roof and helped out with the work. They were: Advance Scout (also known as Skidi Jake); Horse Finder; Riding-ahead-Coming; and Wants-the-Enemy. 356 554 476

About eight o'clock in the morning the women were stationed on the roof near the top and they began to scratch off the earth with their buffalo shoulder-blade hoes. They scratched around one circuit down to the thatch grass and then began on the next one, pushing the earth down each time to the lower course. Finally the earth accumulated close to the sod collar at the bottom, where it was left so that they could pile it up again after they had repaired the frame. The men stood around giving advice, telling the women to scratch here or there; it took until nearly noon to get all the earth off the roof. Meanwhile the young men were removing the thatch grass and cutting the bark tyings that held the willow withe circuits and removed them while the women were scraping on the lower circuits. The thatch grass was placed around the outside of the circle of earth and the willow withes in a circle outside the thatch. Then the young men examined the radials and removed the rotten ones, and the men standing below handed up the new radials which were put in their places. 356 476 [462]

Horse Rider had been preparing the elm bark strips that he had soaking overnight so that they could be tied on the new circuits of willow withe. They also had the bison hide that Old Bull and Victory Call had gotten on the winter hunt for making the rawhide rope needed to tie on the hoops around the smokehole. War Cry inquired whether they had been cut into strips, and, if this was not already done, Brave Shield, War 356 476 283

356 Cry's younger brother, would immediately set to work and do it. The
476 young men climbed to the top and fastened the two hoops in place.

• 283 Meanwhile White Woman had been cooking a meal for all of them
in the house of Chief's Road where they were staying. She entertained
356 the family of the house and everyone who had helped on the North Side.
574 The meal consisted of grease bread and soup made of dried intestine.
476 Some of the women had brought their own bowls out of consideration
[262] for the number she needed to feed. Old Bull's senior wife, Queen
Woman, was cooking and serving a similar meal in the house of Bringing
Trophies, to entertain all who had helped on the South Side. No one lingered
over the meal, as they were anxious to get back to work.

356 The women took their bowls home and came back. They rested while
476 the young men tied on the new circuits of willow withe to the radials
with the moistened elm strips. They began at the bottom circuit and proceeded
462 to the next circuit upward. When they reached the higher circuits,
the "boys," Advance Scout and the others, began to fasten the
thatch grass to the bottom circuit. As they got further up, the young
men now took up this work, while the older "boys" began to pile the
earth on the lower circuits, the women filling up their pans with earth
and handing them up to the men on the roof. In households of less social
status, the women would have had to do a good deal of the work on the
roof themselves; in this case they were spared any need to climb up
356 further. When the work was completed, there was usually a dinner meal
574 for a large number of people, including some who had merely come
to watch the proceedings. Each of the hostesses usually had a party of
about fifty to feed. Everyone was tired and they waited until the following
morning to sweep out the house and move back in. Now the time for
221 planting was drawing near and they began to think of the immediate
241 preparations that remained.

In the whole course of this large construction job there was no fore-
356 man to oversee the work; not a single order was issued nor a command
46 given; the work was performed with precision, and no inspection was
needed to check its quality or workmanship.

time or not up to technical standards, or if the person failed to remain 531
even-tempered during the work, direct consequences to the health and 782
well-being of the craftswoman and her family would inevitably follow. The guild was in the charge of a woman who made sure that these conditions were met. The woman who supervised the fitting of the skins to 463
make the tent—the tent architect—also belonged to a religious guild of a [281]
similar sort. The conventional character of Pawnee technical processes was [342]
just as firmly established as among these other peoples, most of them going back to very old practices, and their work was as fine and as precisely done but there were no religious connotations of any kind.

The mature women did most of the craft work that pertained to the 463
domestic economy. The men made most of the things they used in hunting, [462]
war, and ceremonials. The crafts were not taught to the young people as a normal part of their education. A young man or a young woman had to be very eager to learn and only if an older person was willing to sponsor them were they able to do so. The teacher had to receive ample payment as well as a clear indication of a very real desire to learn. Both for the manufacture of a craft object and for teaching as well as other [465]
kinds of assistance, "payment" should provide the craftsman with "something to wear and something with which to feed the family." This consisted in skin clothing or commercial cloth, blankets or shawls, and the standard food stuffs, either native or trade.

The following is my informant's account of the circumstances of 463
learning the craft of making a black rope of braided buffalo hair: 283

> If a woman wanted to learn how to make a buffalo hair belt from Old Lady Lucky Leader, for example, one would go to her and put a necklace about her neck, and ask to be taught. She would certainly not consent at once. She might answer, "Some day I will teach you." This signified that if the applicant went quietly away and asked again another day, then repeated her request on subsequent occasions, she might finally give in. If she said, "I'll think about it," this meant she might capitulate if asked again. On the other hand, if she said, "I can't do it," this constituted an absolute refusal.
>
> There were situations in which she would feel impelled to grant the request. This was particularly the case if the woman were a close and respected relative, especially an in-law. On the other hand, she might also feel impelled to teach a woman whose family fortunes were low and who needed to earn something to help out. Such a woman was the wife of Chief's-Road. Giving the old lady a gift she said, "I want you to take pity on me and teach me to make a buffalo hair belt. You know that I am poor and we can't seem to work out anything. What I want is for you to take pity on me so that it may earn something for us. My husband can't make much and my sister can't do anything."

463 Having consented, Old Lady Lucky Leader would say, "On so-and-
• 283 so day I am going to make it. Come in then." When the wife of Chief's-Road came in, the old lady directed her to sit down to her left and watch everything. As the work progressed she paid close attention to the manner of braiding and after some of the work had been completed, the teacher asked the pupil to try her hand at it. At first she was very clumsy and was corrected by the teacher and finally she got the idea. When she got home, she tried to do it by herself and from time to time came in to see the old lady saying she didn't quite remember about this and this detail and asking to be shown.

She told no one that she had learned, but on an occasion when someone came to the old lady to have a belt made, she would say, "Go to the wife of Chief's-Road. She can make it. I taught her." The man now would go to the wife of Chief's-Road and tell her that he had been sent by the old lady because she had too much work. She would make the belt for the man and the entire fee would be hers, with no further financial obligation to her teacher. From now on others would hear of it and begin to apply to her and she would be able to earn something for her family.

463 Most mature women knew the techniques of skin working with a
[281] knowledge of mat making being somewhat less common but still widely
[285] known. Everyone could make buffalo-horn spoons. The weaving of the
[321] black rope and woven belts as well as the making of wooden bowls
[283] were known to a very limited number of craftswomen. In the men's
[322] crafts, the bow was made by everyone, but the extremely restricted
[411] number of arrowshaft makers has already been mentioned. The pipe
makers were equally specialized and they made both the stem and the
[276] bowl. Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most signifi-
cant things the man needed. Only six or seven men among all the Skidi
[292] could make them. Skin shirts could only be worn by men who had an
[554] outstanding social or military status and these were made by a very
[294] limited number of specialists. These specialists were regarded like the
village blacksmith of our early towns. They tried to have two or three
of them in each village. But even the most common craft techniques
could only be learned by a person who was sponsored by someone or
had the wherewithal to pay for his instruction.

robe could keep a person warm in winter if it were well tucked in all around. 291

There were three stages by which the hide was prepared for its different uses—rawhide, tanned, or dyed. 281

Rawhide was the first stage. While they were on hunt, the fresh hide was pegged out with the hair side down and the flesh scraped off. The defleshing tool was made of a buffalo shinbone with the small end broken off and discarded. The broken edge was cut into a row of fine teeth with which to scrape the hide. The thick end of the bone had a hole drilled in it through which a buckskin strap was threaded to be worn around the wrist while the tool was in use. It took about half an hour to peg down and flesh a skin. After it was thoroughly dry, it was rolled up and carried home to the village where it was stored in the food pit or kept in the lodge to be dressed at the first opportunity. The largest number were worked in the fall. The skin was dressed as rawhide by simply removing the hair. The skin was unrolled and spread on the ground and the pieces of dried flesh picked off with a knife and boiled in the soup. Now the hide was turned over and the hair removed with an elbow-shaped scraper. This tool was like an adze with a handle of elkhorn and a cutting blade fastened to the bent end. In the old days the cutting blade was of chipped flint but at this time the women had the blades made by the blacksmith. To dehair it, the woman stood directly on the hide and bent over holding the elbow-scraper crosswise with her left hand on the handle end and her right hand on the elbow so that she could push it across the skin. She removed hair, chips and shavings, striking and pushing upon the skin and scraping with a sidewise motion toward the left. If the blade were not sharp, she would have to sit down while she worked and this would take a good deal longer. The hide of a big bison was used to make rawhide. [413] [237] [413] [237]

Rawhide was used for the large envelope in which the dried buffalo meat was contained, for moccasin soles, saddles, and for cutting into long continuous strips for ropes and whips. Half a bull hide was also used for making a baggage raft or water package. [415] [291] [283]

Tanning the skin required many additional technical steps. All skins have three layers, a horny one on the outside, a soft fatty layer on the inside where the sweat and fat glands are embedded, and the middle layer, the corium, which is the true skin. The corium is made up of gelatinous fibers and it is the objective of the tanning process to enter into combination with these fibers so that they are preserved and still remain flexible. For this purpose the Pawnees used a decoction of elm bark and brains. The technical term for this mixture is *tann*, meaning "oak" in the old Celtic of Brittany. Besides brains, sour milk and various oils are alternative materials for improving the texture.

000

shield. Some men could make themselves a war bonnet with eagle feathers 237
(the traditional war bonnet of the plains symbolizing a comet). They 292
would buy long white beads in the store and at the base of the throat,
wear a big shiny disk about as large as a dollar made out of long black 301
oyster shell.

An indispensable element of ceremonial costuming was the Black Rope 463
made of buffalo hair. Only men could wear these. The process of braiding 283
was very complicated and required great concentration. If a woman [292]
came around inclined to converse, the maker would excuse herself and [237]
say she had to get through and wasn't able to talk at this time. The work was done in the house and preferably in the fall when less interruptions were likely. Only a few women had the skill to do it. The hair of which the rope was made was from the mane or head of the buffalo. Four twisted strands were braided together into a long rope or belt. Each of the strands for braiding was wound onto a ball, and these balls were manipulated in order to form the braid. Some women did fine even work
and some did it poorly and roughly. Working steadily at it, the work took [461]
about twelve days. If it had to be fitted in with other work, it would take more time. A woman would come to the belt maker on behalf of her husband and order one, bringing the materials. The maker would be paid well.

There were some few women who could make a colorful braided belt 292
by interweaving five colors. They called it "red-woven." It was a wide [286]
flat belt that was made to order to fit the waist of the prospective wearer with long fringes hanging down to the ankles. A belt like this was usually
made for boys and girls of good families and for young women. An older [171]
woman would not consider it proper to wear one although among the Osage, they were commonly worn by all women. A few men twisted these belts around their heads as a turban with the fringes hanging down on both sides of the face and eagle feathers at the back of the head. Most men regarded this as a "flashy" style of dressing.

The materials used were entirely commercial—wool for the body and cord for the concealed warps. A woman who wanted to have one made for her boy would ask her husband to buy the materials at the trade store so that she could take them to the weaver.

We do not know whether this skill is old or new among the Pawnee. 286
In general, on the American continent, it goes back several thousand 178
years as a fabric-producing technique. But the exclusive use of commercial materials and the reluctance of mature men and women to wear the belt suggests that its adoption is fairly new.

The work was usually done outdoors in the springtime for maximum 286
visibility. It required great concentration and one mistake might compel the weaver to rip the whole thing. If a woman was making one on order, her family would do her spring planting to free her for the work. It

51

THINGS OF WOOD MADE BY MAN

000

The Bow—the Bowstring—the Arrow—the Pipestems—the Stone Bowl—the Individual Styles of Bowls

THE MEN MADE THE BOWS, arrowshafts, pipestems, and cottonwood water 462 322
drums.

The Bow. In the past the Osage Orange (*Toxylon pomiferum*) was 411
the most highly valued wood for bows. At this time they used ash 824
(*Fraxinus pennsylvanica*) known as *kirik-taka*, "eye-white." Every man
made his own bow, though some were more and some less skilled. Little [857]
boys also made bows of ashwood to shoot birds. Ashwood was best gathered in the fall, generally in October before they left on the winter hunt. The ashwood saplings were left sticking among the willows in the ceiling to season, until they got back in the spring.

It took two days to make a bow. By splitting it in two down the length, 411
two bows could be made from one sapling, unless it were not quite 322
straight, when only one could be made. In each case, the outer surface of [461]
the tree became the outer surface of the bow.

The shaping was done by heating the stick in the coals until it was warm throughout and pliable. Putting the foot on the middle of the outside surface, the two ends were drawn very gently upward, and then each end was recurved with the foot so that the bow had a wide shallow
dent in its back. The sinew bowstring was fastened to one end perma- [283]
nently, and at the other there was a series of notches in the bow so that the string could be tightened when in use and loosened at other times. (See Figure 51-1.)

Once, after Victory Call had died, Otter's adoptive father caught a 411
panther and decided to honor the boy by making him a quiver of it. Not

411 to be outdone, another man made him a sinew-backed bow. It was known as *atskats-tax-ka-sa*, "sinew-plural-between-lying." It was mentioned at times, but seldom actually made.

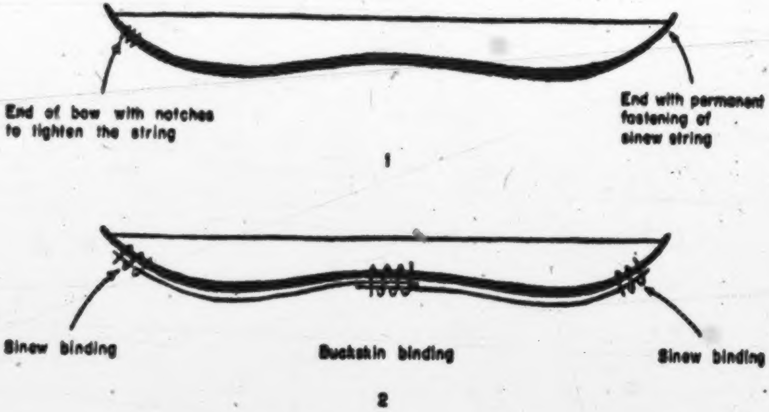

End of bow with notches to tighten the string
End with permanent fastening of sinew string
1
Sinew binding
Buckskin binding
Sinew binding
2

FIGURE 51-1. (1) A simple bow of ashwood. (2) A sinew-backed bow, *tskatstaxkasa.* Two pieces of sinew, crossed at the middle could be permanently pasted on when wet.

[237] Two pieces of sinew, crossed at the middle were placed on the back of the bow when wet and could thus be pasted on permanently. The sinew was bound on in the middle by overcasting with buckskin and at both ends with a wrapping of sinew. Then the bow was colored black. It was easy to draw and could shoot far.

411 *The Bowstring of Sinew.* Every man made his own bowstring out of
• 283 sinew. The first step was to soak the short pieces of sinew overnight. The next step was joining them, first by taking two of the short strands and overlapping their ends and giving them a preliminary twist between the fingers and then continuing the twist by rolling them on the thigh with the palm. Then they added the next piece in the same way, and so on until one long continuous string was formed.

Then they doubled over the string and began to twist it together, beginning with the loose ends, first between the fingers and then on the thigh. The twist was held by winding it on a stick a little thicker than a pencil—the string being wound on as the stick was turned in the direction away from the body. When one section of the string had been twisted and wound on the stick, they would proceed to twist and wind
[461] on the next section until the entire length was completed. The twisting of a bowstring took a morning and an afternoon.

When the entire string was wound onto the stick, the string would be

stretched between two short stakes that were driven into the ground 411 the requisite distance apart and the ends of the bowstring were fastened 283 firmly to them. The string was left to dry for the rest of the afternoon until the dew came up in the evening. Then it had to be taken inside and again stretched outdoors the next day. It was well to fasten it up high out of the way of the dogs, who might eat it up.

The Making of Arrowshafts. Five arrow makers comprised the official 411 body responsible for making all the arrowshafts used by the entire Skidi 463 Band. They kept track of the needs of all the men and saw that they were met. None of the other technical industries, even those in which only a limited number of individuals were skilled, were of this public character. Just before leaving for the summer and for the winter hunts, they accelerated their activities. The arrow makers themselves saw to it that they had plenty of dogwood sticks on hand and kept on making the shafts, sometimes on special order, but often to have them on hand when called for. In almost all other crafts, the customer provided the materials and contracted only for the skilled services of the craftsman.

The following is paraphrased from an account given in my Caddoan 411 Texts by Effie Blane:

> The man making ready to fashion arrowshafts, will first get some needed materials together. He will assemble: a stick with a hide wound around it which has been boiled down to a gummy consistency to be [412] used as a paste; two flat stones each with a long groove, used to abraid the stick by putting the stones together and pulling the stick back and forth in the groove (*rax-ka'is*, "going-between within," buffers); the bone shaft-straightener, *kis-kats*, "bone-very white"; also *rasats*, possibly pieces of split bone with the rough spongy inner surface exposed to smooth the surface (or a pulverized plant?).
>
> These materials being ready, the man went into the timber and gathered some dogwood twigs. He then took them home and peeled off the bark (with a knife). Now he hung the debarked twigs over the fire from the bracket east of the fireplace on which the pot ordinarily hangs, so that the twigs could season and dry in the smoke of the fire. They were left there to smoke overnight and in the morning they were removed and each twig was "eyed up and down" to find any bumps or irregularities, which were removed with the *rasats* abrasive.
>
> The next step was to attach the feathers to the blunt end. Turkey [237] feathers were best because they tore straight, but turkey was hard to get, and if you didn't have them you used buzzard. While he was splitting the feather, he was chewing some sinew so that it would be soft [284] enough to bind on the feathers. The three splints of feather were placed against the arrow and tied with the wet sinew. The feathered [237] end of the arrow was then smeared with the gummy paste made of

285
352 nearer the west and those that were more worn, east toward the exit.
When a couple was newly married, they were always given a set of
285 mats—two for each side of the house and one for the west. They were
585 likely to get two from the girl's grandmother and two from the boy's.
431 Except in such intimate circumstances, the mats were not ordinarily con-
352 sidered suitable gift items. They were regarded more as we look upon
linens—particularly bedsheets and towels. Suitable gift items on the
other hand were, from man to a man, a horse, and from a woman to a
man, leggings, moccasins, material for moccasins, or dried buffalo meat.

285 The mats received the heaviest wear during the winter hunt, when
352 they got all battered and broken up. In the fall, after the materials were
gathered they were placed in the roof of the lodge to season all win-
ter. In the spring, between planting and cultivating, they would feel they
had to make some new mats to take along on the summer hunt. Old mats
were left behind in the earth lodge.

285 The warp strands of the mat were of a three-sided prismatic grass
283 that grew in ponds (not cattail?). The long blades were made into a
double-twisted continuous rope of four strands.

[137] The wefts were of bulrush (*Scirpus validus* Vahl.), a round tubular
grass, spongy inside, 5 to 6 feet long. An alternative material was cattail
285 (*Typha latifolia* L.). Both these reeds grew in the bottomlands of the
824 streams, particularly along the Loup, but there were also a few patches
along Beaver Creek. On the way home from the summer hunt, some peo-
ple would gather the reeds on the Republican or the Loup and load the
horses and bring them home. Or, noting good locations on the way home,
they would return later.

Sometimes two old ladies would go out together and gather whatever
small patches they could find on Beaver Creek, pulling up the reeds and
piling them into two bundles about a foot in diameter. They would tie
them up with ropes and each bring one in and go out again for more, ob-
taining about four bundles each in this way. The reeds were very heavy
[482] when green and a woman could not carry very much at a time. For
larger supplies, the family would make up a combined expedition, since
they had to go three to five miles from the village. A large party of men
and women would ride out on their horses to the sources of supply
they had spotted when returning from the hunt. The men went out to give
the women protection. On the way back the horses were loaded with
reeds. When one party went out, others would hear about it and be in-
spired to follow their example.

285 The weft or (crosswise) threads needed very little preparation to be
283 ready for use. They had simply to be soaked in water overnight and then
taken out and left to dry for about half an hour before weaving.

The long continuous lengthwise warp required considerably more
preparation than the weft. The three-sided prismatic grass was soaked

all night in water, and in the morning it was twisted into a continuous 285 string which was wound onto a stick as the woman went along. When it 283 was all wound on, it formed a cylindrical roll like a bale of wire. Each roll contained enough warp for one mat. The work was done by one woman working alone. For example, Grandma would put the stick between her toes while twisting the warp and then wrap it onto the stick as the string got longer. The roll was put away for a week or two to set before it was used for the weaving. It took an old woman a day and a half [461] to twist the warp for one mat.

The weaving frame was set up at a slant, the far end being considerably 285 higher than the near end. The warp beam at the far end was 2 to 2½ 286 feet high, constructed of two forked sticks placed upright in the ground about 6 feet apart, with a horizontal stick resting in the forks. The cloth beam at the near side was set close to the ground and was controlled by pegs or pickets that could be adjusted to keep the warps taut. If the weather were good, they would work outdoors; if not, they would work in the lodge.

The first step was to carry the continuous bale of warp back and forth between the two beams in a simple under-and-over order. After the warping was complete, a long strip of elm bark was wrapped around each beam to include one warp thread in each wrapping so that all the warps lay on an even plane. No shedding would be required, as the weaving was twining of a pair of wefts.

The reeds for the wefts were used in whole strands 6 feet long and 285 the finished mat was more than 5 feet wide. It was very awkward for 476 one woman to try to weave a mat alone. It was best for two women to work together, one weaving from the middle out to the right edge of the mat and the other from the middle out to the left edge. The two women sat side by side in front of the low end at the cloth beam. Each row of weft was woven with a pair of bulrushes, the point end of one strand matching the stub end of the other. The woman on the right grasped the two wefts in the middle between her thumb and index finger and gave them a twist away from herself so that they crossed over at the center. She then placed the twist between the two central warp strands and proceeded to twine-weave rightward, the completed stitches leaning diagonally upward to the right. When she reached the right edge, she cut off the stub end of one of her wefts almost flush with the edge and the other she wove back into the warp for 1½ to 2½ inches, producing a thickened and reinforced edge. The woman at the left, beginning at the middle proceeded to twine leftward and at the left edge cut off one weft and wove the other back into the warps in the same way as the woman on the right. The woman on the left adjusts her weaving motions so that they are made in reverse in order to produce a consistent weave pattern across the entire mat—all stitches slanting upward to the right. This is a sophis-

796* [284] When we have finished singing this song the Ku'rahus takes one of the plum-tree sticks, which has been anointed with red clay mixed with fat, and ties on it with a thread of sinew a downy eagle feather. This stick is bound to the ear of corn so as to project a hand's breadth above the tip end, letting the downy feather wave above Mother Corn. This feather represents Tira'wa. It is always moving as if breathing.

[184] The Ku'rahus then binds the other plum-tree stick to the corn so that it extends below the butt. When the corn is placed in ceremonial position this end of the stick is thrust in the ground so that the ear will stand upright without touching the earth. Both sticks are bound to the ear of corn by a braided band of hair taken from the head of a buffalo. The braided band signifies the gift of animal food and the provision of skin clothing. (The Skidi band of the Pawnees tie a bit of buffalo wool, such as is shed by the animal in the spring, together with a braid of sweet grass, to the ear of corn.)

The two gourd rattles, which represent the squash given us by Tira'wa, and also the breasts of the mother, are each painted with a blue circle about the middle, with four equidistant lines from the circle to the bottom of the gourd. The circle represents the wall or boundary of the dome of the sky; the four lines are for the four paths at the four directions down which the powers descend. No song is sung while this painting is being done.

[281] All the sacred articles are laid at rest on a wildcat skin when they are not being used ceremonially, and it is a cover for them in which they are all wrapped together at the close of the ceremony. The skin is never tanned, and the ears of the animal, the skin of the head, the feet, and the claws must all be intact.

[773] [576] .825 Tira'wa made the wildcat to live in the forest. He has much skill and ingenuity. The wildcat shows us that we must think, we must use tact, and be shrewd when we set out to do anything. If we wish to approach a person we should not do it bluntly; we should not rush at him; that might offend him so that he would not receive us or the gifts we desired to offer him. The wildcat does not make enemies by rash action. He is observant, quiet, and tactful, and he always gains his end.

In this ceremony we are to carry the sacred articles to one not of our kindred in order to bind him to us by a sacred and strong tie; we are to ask for him many good gifts, long life, health, and children, and we should receive gifts from him in return. If we would succeed we must learn of the wildcat, and be wise as he is wise.

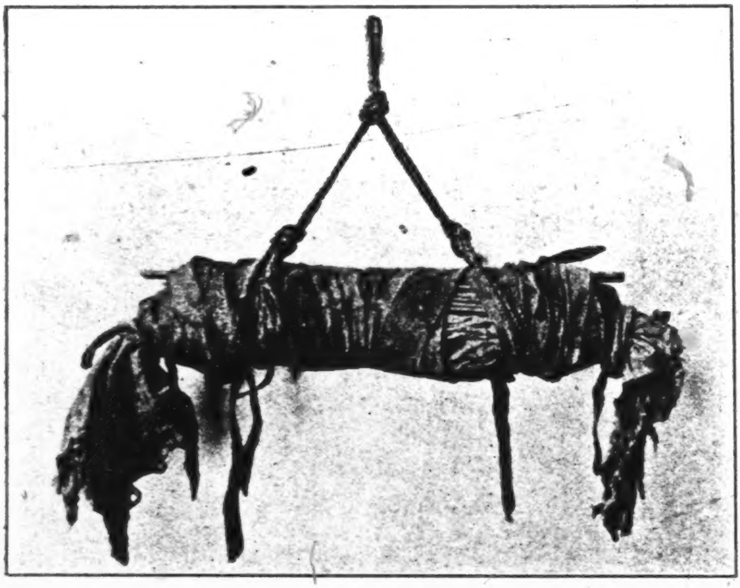
825 782 794 The wildcat is one of the sacred animals. A man who killed a wildcat could sacrifice it to Tira'wahut. The man who brought such an offering had the right to ask the priest to teach him some of the mysteries that belong to the sacred shrine.

Many years ago two men took the Hako to the Omaha tribe. On the journey one of them killed a wildcat. I said to the man: "I am

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

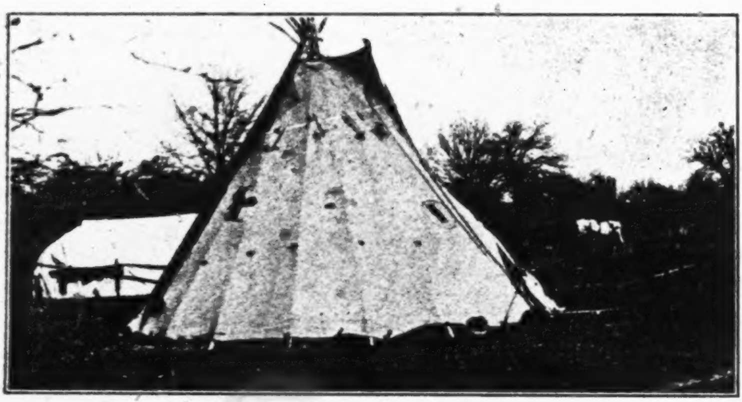
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778
284



a, Sacred bundle

346
532
231



b, Tipi in which Morning Star ceremony was held

[Facing p. 24]

when one ties his feather to the cord, he is binding up his future, for each 575 must tie his own, if it is poorly done and drops off, so will be his career. In addition this lecture is usually a general sermon upon the ethical ideals of [867] the society. Each man should add one feather for each time he helped dress the lance, or for each year of his membership. Each feather symbolically represented a part of the owner's life which he tied, or joined, to the fortunes of the lance.

In tying a feather, each member is permitted to use but three knots. The leader ties first and then each member in succession on the two sides. [284] The two errand men are last, holding the ends; these they return to the leader and then take up the ends once more, thus making a four-strand cord. This is placed outside upon a pole and food is brought in for a feast.

On the third day the cord is taken down and the ceremonial dressing of the new lance performed. The new staff is brought in and set up before the leader, who at the proper time ties one end of the cord to the tip of the staff and winds it on spirally, covering almost the entire length. All this time the old lance has been standing before the leader, but now it is dismantled and disposed of as before stated. The new one is then set up in its place and properly installed. The day's proceedings are again closed by a feast.

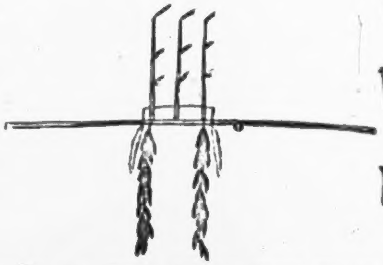


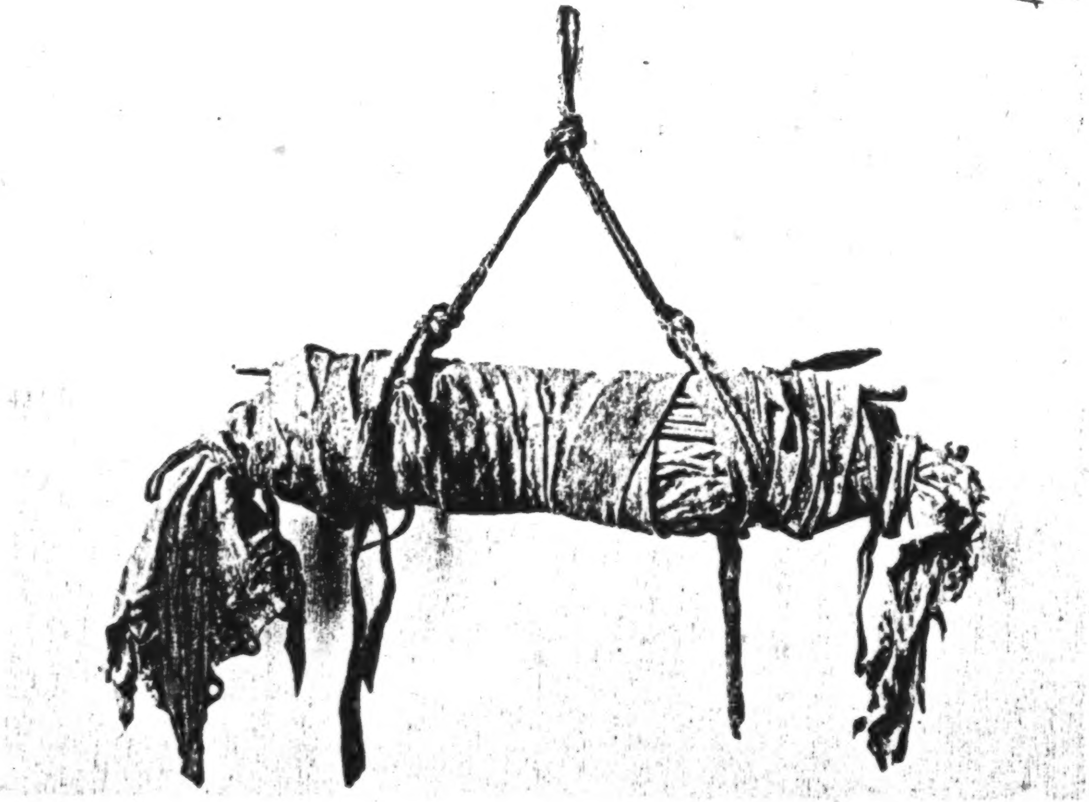
Fig. 11. Bustle for the Raven Braves. The uprights are sticks wrapped with porcupine quills and tufted with horse hair. The belt is of buffalo hide and bears a few sleigh bells. The pendants are wolf tails and strings of crow feathers.

The most spectacular part of the ceremony occurs on the fourth day. During the night the lance is supported upon a pole as before. Early in the morning the members assemble. [302] The leader paints his entire body with soot and marks down with the fingers. [292] He then takes up the feather bustle, or belt, stating that this thing is to be shown to the powers in the heavens and that no enemy may enter, [789] he must circle the village with it; also that his running through the village will drive away sickness, improve the corn crop, and increase the buffalo. After this lecture, two men begin to sing and beat upon the water drums, the leader dances circling the fire four times, then passes out at the door. Once outside he runs north until outside the village, then runs around until by a spiral course he is again brought back to the door, thus traversing all parts of the village. As he enters, he gives three crow calls, two men spring up, catch him, take the lance and put him in his seat.

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778
284

[Facing p. 7]



A SACRED BUNDLE OF THE PAWNEE.

411 283 stretched between two short stakes that were driven into the ground the requisite distance apart and the ends of the bowstring were fastened firmly to them. The string was left to dry for the rest of the afternoon until the dew came up in the evening. Then it had to be taken inside and again stretched outdoors the next day. It was well to fasten it up high out of the way of the dogs, who might eat it up.

411 463 *The Making of Arrowshafts.* Five arrow makers comprised the official body responsible for making all the arrowshafts used by the entire Skidi Band. They kept track of the needs of all the men and saw that they were met. None of the other technical industries, even those in which only a limited number of individuals were skilled, were of this public character. Just before leaving for the summer and for the winter hunts, they accelerated their activities. The arrow makers themselves saw to it that they had plenty of dogwood sticks on hand and kept on making the shafts, sometimes on special order, but often to have them on hand when called for. In almost all other crafts, the customer provided the materials and contracted only for the skilled services of the craftsman.

411 The following is paraphrased from an account given in my Caddoan Texts by Effie Blane:

> [412] The man making ready to fashion arrowshafts, will first get some needed materials together. He will assemble: a stick with a hide wound around it which has been boiled down to a gummy consistency to be used as a paste; two flat stones each with a long groove, used to abraid the stick by putting the stones together and pulling the stick back and forth in the groove (*rax-ka'is*, "going-between within," buffers); the bone shaft-straightener, *kis-kats*, "bone-very white"; also *rasats*, possibly pieces of split bone with the rough spongy inner surface exposed to smooth the surface (or a pulverized plant?).
>
> These materials being ready, the man went into the timber and gathered some dogwood twigs. He then took them home and peeled off the bark (with a knife). Now he hung the debarked twigs over the fire from the bracket east of the fireplace on which the pot ordinarily hangs, so that the twigs could season and dry in the smoke of the fire. They were left there to smoke overnight and in the morning they were removed and each twig was "eyed up and down" to find any bumps or irregularities, which were removed with the *rasats* abrasive.
>
> [237] [284] [237] The next step was to attach the feathers to the blunt end. Turkey feathers were best because they tore straight, but turkey was hard to get, and if you didn't have them you used buzzard. While he was splitting the feather, he was chewing some sinew so that it would be soft enough to bind on the feathers. The three splints of feather were placed against the arrow and tied with the wet sinew. The feathered end of the arrow was then smeared with the gummy paste made of

411 boiled hide and the feathers bent onto the stick and pasted down and
[237] tied in place with some more wet sinew at their lower end.

After the feathers were in place, the shafts were buffed by passing
411 them between the two grooved sandstone buffers that were pressed to-
412 gether—the arrow being turned back and forth so that it was well
rounded.

The next process was the use of the bone arrowshaft straightener
[172] that was a little bit like a fork. [Archaeological specimens from the
Hill site of 1806 are pieces of bison rib with holes of different sizes
[178] drilled through them. In recent times, a tin can punched with holes
was sometimes substituted.]

411 After straightening, downy feathers were fastened on at the lower
end of the feathers that had already been attached.

[237] The final step was to split the end for inserting the point. After the
[284] point was inserted, the end was bound with sinew to make it fast. Dif-
ferent kinds of shafts were called "black-lying-on," "red-lying-on,"
referring to the colors of the feathers.

276 *The Pipestem.* Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most
significant things the man used. The pipe was smoked both for relaxation
and in every ceremony. The stem was symbolic of the human windpipe
[192] and the breath was considered the essence of life itself. *Tsiksu*, the word
for "throat," was also the verb stem for "to think, to feel," *-atsiks-*. In the
ceremony of the Peace Pipe, the main emblems were the two pipestems,
a bowl from a sacred bundle being attached to one of them and smoked
in the course of the ceremony. The pipestems were decorated with
[237] eagle feathers and other ceremonial insignia—one with the feathers of the
[825] brown eagle, signifying "night," "female," "fruitfulness" and known as
ra-hak-katitu, "one-mouth-black"; and the other with feathers of the
white eagle, signifying "day," "male," "defense," "war" and called
ra-hak-takaru, "one-mouth-white." At various stages in the ceremony
these were waved about so that they symbolized the flight of the eagles.
276 The pipestems were ceremonially fashioned after instructions from the
322 priests. He sent two men to bring in two sticks of ash, and as they sat
east of the fireplace they prepared the sticks, warming them over the fire
so that they could be straightened and cut to length, viz., four spans
from thumb to third finger. The stems were peeled, scraped, and the
pith removed by boring them from end to end with a reed so that the
breath could pass through unobstructed. The pith was then burned out
with a wire. The men cut a straight groove the entire length of each
stick to represent the lifeline. Finally all scrapings and every particle of
ashwood was placed carefully on the fire, and as the flame rose the two
sticks were passed through the blaze so that the word of the fire might
enter and be with them.

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

In the intermediate space between the recesses and the fireplace, mats, about 352 three by five feet, made of rushes, are laid, at convenient distances, 285 for seats; while an extra supply of them, rolled up, and set aside at different places in the lodge, are reserved for extraordinary occasions, as for instance councils or feasts.

SUBSISTENCE.—What the *seal* is to the Greenlander, the *buffalo* 262 is to the Pawnees and other Prairie Indians; and many of 825 their songs, in which reference is made to the buffalo, show that this animal is held in high estimation among them. It will no doubt be a difficult undertaking to wean them from an occupation, which is at the same time a gratifying and exciting sport to them, and which imparts to an individual who distinguishes himself in its pursuit, a character of high standing among his tribe. The great scarcity of the buffalo, however, of late years, since the immense emigration to the far west, has pinched them with want and hunger, and it is evident that they cannot subsist much longer by depending mainly upon this animal as heretofore. This circumstance, though calling forth our warmest sympathies in behalf of their wretched condition, may perhaps be the means, in the hands of an Allwise Providence, of shaking that tenacity and attachment so strongly developed in the Indian character, for long cherished customs, and making them more pliable in adopting the arts of civilization. Their attention must soon be directed to agriculture and the raising of stock, or they must starve.

While on the hunt, in the buffalo country, the Pawnees generally 251 have a good supply of fresh meat to subsist on. That portion of their meat which is intended to be jerked, in order to take home 262 with them, they cut into narrow slips, and dry it over the fire, without any salt, where, by the action of the smoke and sun, it soon dries. Several slips are then plaited together, when it is put away into a skin, and reserved for future use. The reason why no salt is added, is probably, first, because it is a scarce article, and secondly, because anything that is salted and dried, imbibes moisture in damp weather, and sooner becomes rancid, than meat dried without salt.

Besides the buffalo, as their main subsistence, they raise some 241 corn, beans, and pumpkins. As they use no other agricultural implements than hoes, their fields are not very extensive. For 262 suitable spots of cultivation they generally select the mouth of a ravine or any spot where, by the washing of the rains, the ground has become loose and mellow, and consequently the sod may more easily be extirpated than in the prairies generally, where the gronnd can only be prepared by turning the thick sod by means of a large prairie plough, and three or four yoke of oxen.—

Their fields are not enclosed by fences, or any other kind of 241 protection. Having no other stock but horses, which are con- 231 floor next the wall; it contained 10 large unworked Unio shells. 172* Six feet north of cache C, on the west side of the house, were uncovered the charred remains of a rush mat. Though in a rather frag- [285] mentary state, it measured nearly 3 feet long by 15 inches wide, and, as will be brought out presently, consisted of a sort of twined work. It lay on the floor between the outer row of postholes and the house wall, and in all probability once represented a part of the sleeping paraphernalia in one of the curtained-off compartments next the wall. The matting lay next to a row of 3 small holes, each about 3 inches in diameter and the same distance apart; 2 holes slightly larger lay about 4 feet and 6 feet, respectively, farther to the north, in line with the outer circle of postholes. Somewhat similar secondary poleholes were noted near cache D, always near the [342] outer wall. Their purpose is unknown, though they may have served some end in connection with the sleeping platforms.

Nothing was found to indicate the situation of the family shrine, save for the second fireplace; even the altar, if present, was so obscure as to have passed unnoticed. Little else was to be expected, as the sacred character of the objects would render it extremely unlikely that they would have been left behind, with the possible exception of the ubiquitous bison skull.

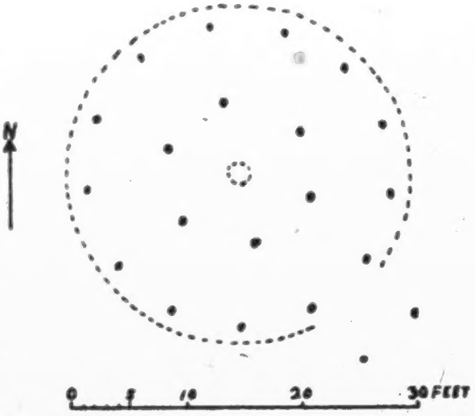


FIGURE 3.—Ground plan of historic Pawnee earth lodge, Hill site.

Two earth lodge sites were excavated at this same village by Mr. 172* 342 A. T. Hill, prior to the work of the Survey. In general, they corroborated the ground plans and general findings of the later investigations, but appear to have been somewhat better laid out.

The first house (fig. 3) was 30 feet in diameter and its floor lay 16 inches below the ground surface. There were 13 posts in the outer circle, set at 7-foot intervals. The central group numbered 6 posts, also about 7 feet apart. All of the posts averaged from 6 to 10 inches in diameter and were sunken 12 to 15 inches into the floor. An 18-inch fireplace occupied the center, but no altar could be located. The doorway was to the southeast, and it will be noted that there were no posts between its inner end and the fireplace, to which access was

*172 later sites (pl. 12). The hoes were often cut up and the material
439 remade into arrowpoints, scrapers, and similar objects. Gun barrels
177 appear to have been likewise used as tent pins, stakes, and the like.
Fluted lead rings are very common, though they may be of native casting. Coincident with the increase in metal goods there is a marked decline, quantitatively and qualitatively, in native products, such as pottery and stone work, and since the former are less durable the later sites are rather barren. Despite the Caucasian influences to which the Pawnee were subjected from very early times, however, they retained enough of their aboriginal material culture to furnish a fairly accurate picture of their pre-Columbian mode of life and to make possible the tracing of their culture back to its less well-defined antecedents.

WEAVING AND TEXTILES

*172 CLOTH AND CORDAGE.—The only fiber woven by the Pawnee appears
to have been the hair of the bison. Fragments of cloth made of
286 this material and short pieces of cordage are occasionally taken from the graves (pl. 2, *g*, *i*), though none of the early observers seem to record the trait. The cloth is made of a moderately heavy 2-ply closely twisted yarn, each member of which in turn consists of a number of rather loosely spun fibers. There is no uniformity of weave, however; in the same piece may be found twilled or diagonal (over two under two) weaving and checkerwork (over and under). The cloth is fairly heavy, soft, and flexible; in color it varies from brown-black to black. It was used presumably for robes and winter clothing.

The yarn sometimes occurs in short, rope-like masses, of 10 or 12 cords twisted together but not braided (pl. 2, *h*). Whether these are indeed fragments of rope or merely skeins of yarn conveniently arranged for storing is uncertain. However, the low tensile strength of the material, and especially the readiness with which the "ropes" tend to untwist and become further weakened, argues against their use where strains were likely to occur. Braided ropes of bison hair have not come to light, although they may have been manufactured.

Spindle whorls, if used, were probably of wood or other perishable material, as none have yet been found.

*172 MATTING.—Pieces of rush matting were recovered by the Nebraska
Archaeological Survey at the Hill site, mostly as a body wrapping
● 285 in burial 3. Remains of a charred mat were also found on the west side of the lodge circle, as previously described. Additional fragments have been collected by Mr. A. T. Hill. All of the specimens are made of some narrow-leaved grass or rush, possibly cattail, and are in simple twined weaving (pl. 2, *j–l*). Each warp ele-

ment consists of two or more members twisted together into a thick, 172*
rounded cord; the space between warp elements is generally about
1 inch. The weft consists of rushes, used in pairs; these make a 285
half turn on each other between every two warp elements, one member passing on either side of the warp. The manner of treating the edges is not known; they may have been finished in selvage, but there is nothing to indicate that such was the case.

Mats, according to Dunbar,[64] were used on the floors of the lodge, on the beds, and as curtains in front of and between the sleeping compartments. They were also used for wrapping the bodies of the [764]
deceased for interment, as has been indicated above.

Basketry.—Coiled baskets were made by the Pawnee, according to Weltfish,[65] but no traces of basketry have so far come to light in excavation. The foundation of the coil consisted of a single element made by splitting willow or cottonwood twigs radially into three segments, which were then used with the apex upward. Willow or elm splints supplied the sewing element. Viewed from the inside of the basket, the coiling was in a clockwise spiral. The stitches did not interlock. The usual form of basket appears to have been a shallow, flat-bottomed bowl, with flaring lips.[66] Scanty but unmistakable evidences of coiled basketry of a high order of workmanship have come from the prehistoric Missouri River earth lodges of Nebraska, in the form of impressions on lumps of clay, but the historic Pawnee sites have not yet shown the trait. (Strong, 1935, pl. 16, *f*.)

MORTUARY CUSTOMS

In disposing of their dead the Pawnee practiced inhumation ex- 172*
clusively, at least within historic times. For the most part the 764
rituals and general procedure were similar to those of their semi-
sedentary neighbors, such as the Omaha, Oto, Ponca, and Kansa.[67] [171]
The graves were almost invariably on the highest hills near each village; if the hills were more than a mile or so distant interment was sometimes along the edges of ravines or the immediate banks of streams nearer the village. Low tumuli were raised over the remains.[68] These have since been entirely obliterated, so that there is at present nothing whatever in the way of surface indications to mark the graves. Where two or more bands occupied the same village, each appears to have had its own cemetery. The burial customs of all of the bands were, however, identical, hence will be

---

[64] 1918, p. 600.

[65] 1930, pp. 277–286.

[66] Ibid., p. 286.

[67] Long, 1823, vol. II, pp. 281–282.

[68] Ibid., p. 281; Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 102; Oehler and Smith, 1851, p. 31; Clayton, 1921, p. 96; Bushnell, 1927, pl. 36.

619 131 They do not claim to have lived on the Missouri. They claim once to have owned all the land west of the Missouri from the Platt to the Kansas. The Loups went off from the principal band and went south of the Osage River where they remained for many years. The Republican Pawnees once occupied the Republican fork of the Kansas. They do not know where they came from. They say that there are the sites of [361] their villages still known to them on the Nemaha, Salt Creek, and on the Platt and Republican fork of the Kansas. The Keeches, so-called by the Pawnees, who now live in the west end of the Indian territory somewhere, are cognate. They live near the Pawnee Picts, south of the Osages and the Comanches.

Tribes [*Clans*]

614 He [Allis] thinks they are divided into tribes.[12] The marks which he has seen on their robes and lodges are the Eagle, Bear, Beaver, Owl, Buffalo, Deer. The son succeeds the father as chief. He was unable to give me any information upon this question. 764 He never saw but one burial. They excavated a grave or trench and then dug an opening in the side large enough to insert the body under the undisturbed earth, laid it in horizontally, covered it with a mat, and deposited by its side a number of articles, filled up the trench and raised a mound over it.

Pawnee Matting

● 285 He [Allis] showed me a specimen of their work in a floor matting made of a species of rush. It was coarse but strong, about two or three yards wide and five yards long. It was stitched or woven on bark threads and very creditable work. With instruction in the art of manufacturing and with reeds of a supe-

[P 136 (A)]

[12] [See cat. 116 p 220 (A) - Analyst]

285 461 rior quality they might produce an article which would have commercial value. Among all our Indian nations the industry of the woman is proverbial, and if it could be encouraged in the direction of domestic manufactures, the products of which were purchased by government factors at such prices as would reimburse the money an incalculable benefit would be conferred upon them. 000 The women would then support the whole of them. And after a time the men would unite with them in the labor. I talked with Mr. Allis about the Agency system as at present organized, and its results.

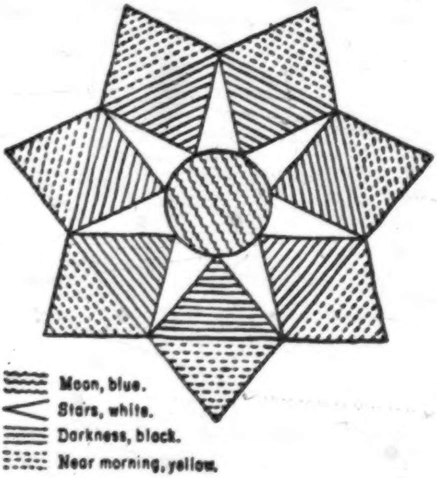
Indian Agency System

648 657 Mr. Allis agreed with me that the Agency System was a failure. His observation confirmed mine that many of them are dishonest, some incompetent, and but a few really useful. He is not at all satisfied with Mr. De Pau[?][13] the present agent of the Pawnees. He says he has sold the crops raised on the Indian farm, which ought to have been distributed among the Pawnees; that he has hired out the threshing machine, purchased

[p 136 (C)]

[13] [see cat. 116, p 220(B)-ANALYST]

parts were piled more thickly near the tail end, each layer covered with a layer of dried fat to keep the meat soft. The meat of a whole buffalo dried and packed in this way, was reduced to a weight of 80 pounds. A live bison weighed about 2,000 pounds. 251 [036]



[531]

FIGURE 27-2. A cosmic design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, to be painted only by a person with the necessary religious qualifications.

Other parts of the meat prepared were: 251

The flank. The sinews were removed and the membrane being taken off to be used in packing up the raw marrow that they took out when they cracked the long bones. 252

The foreleg and hind leg. The limbs were disjointed and the meat removed from the bones for drying.

The internal organs. These included the intestines, the lining of the stomach, the tripe (likened to the leaves of a book), the heart from which the membrane was carefully removed by cutting around the top for use as a tobacco pouch or for other treasures. The heart was split so that it would lie flat in drying. The tongue was blistered in the coals and the rough outer covering removed. Heart and tongue were boiled in water before being hung up to dry. Lungs were sometimes sliced like the backbone steaks and then dried. They made good pulverized dry meat. The stomach lining was washed in cold water and cut into long strips after it had dried, the strips woven into a checker-plaited mat, in which form they were stored in the rawhide container. [237] [415] [237] [285]

531
415

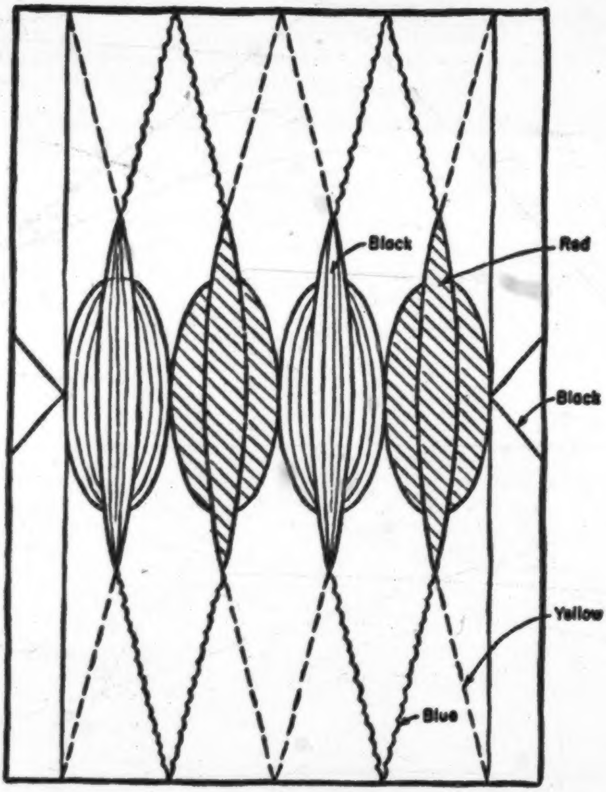


FIGURE 27-3. A design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, the significance of which is unknown.

251 252 [237] [285] Intestines were turned inside out and boiled in the kettle. Then they were hung on the rack so that the water ran out and they would dry. After they were dried, they were broken into a number of pieces and woven into a checker-plaited mat for storage. The intestines of two buffalo were used for one mat. Each intestine was 12 to 15 feet long and was broken into four pieces. The pieces hung over a stick to a length of about 2 feet on each side. The mat was ten strips wide with cross pieces [431] woven in. A mat would sometimes be given to a little girl as a special gift. For this purpose, they would leave the stick in the mat and fasten a boiled buffalo eye at each end. When they broke camp and a little girl was seen carrying her gift mat on her back, people would remark, "Look, that's hers! Are there eyes on it?"

244 middle-sized pumpkins, or twelve to fifteen small ones. A horse could
489 carry in only two parfleches filled with pumpkins at a trip. Using two
492 horses, they made five trips to the field, some in the morning and
some in the afternoon, carrying about twenty parfleches in all of the
different sizes. This represented the crop of White Woman's field and
amounted to about a wagon-load and a half, perhaps a little more, with
the wagon being level without sideboards.

The pumpkin rinds were removed by roasting them in the fire until
244 they could scrape off the outer rind with a fresh-water clamshell. Each
251 individual pumpkin was roasted and set aside to cool, then scraped.
252 Some people peeled them with a knife, but this was time-consuming and
was considered wasteful. Small pumpkins 4 inches or less in diameter
were neither roasted, peeled, nor halved—they were simply cut into
blocks, laid out on a tent skin and dried. They could be cooked any
time now with the large roasted corn to add flavor. The standard-size
pumpkins were cut in half, the pulp and seeds taken out, and the
halves cut into a series of circular rings each about 1½ inches wide.
These were hung on a rack and when they had dried somewhat were
pressed underfoot to express some of the water as was done with the
sliced buffalo meat, then hung up again to dry further. At night the
pumpkin rings were left on the rack covered with an old tent skin. By
• 285 the time the mature dried corn crop was coming in, the pumpkin strips
would be dry enough so that they could be woven into checker-plaited
mats. They would alternate the processing of this corn with the making of the pumpkin mats, *ri-katsitu,* "braid-woven."

The plaited pumpkin mats were arm's length and 2 feet wide. The individual strips had shrunk in the drying to an inch in width. It took
about two hours to weave a pumpkin mat. In an afternoon, each woman
would make two mats before supper. The dried pumpkin was used by
cutting off a number of the 2-foot strips in the width with small por-
252 tions of the cross pieces adhering to them. The very smallest pumpkins
262 about the size of tomatoes were boiled fresh and eaten in the morning for a breakfast during this harvest period. They were very much
relished.

243 The preparation of the mature corn that had been allowed to dry on
251 the stalk, was somewhat different from the ears that were gathered "in
the milk." No roasting was necessary. The ears were snapped off the
stalk, taken to camp, and husked that evening and the following day.
The ears were then spread out and allowed to dry until evening and
after supper the women began to remove the kernels. They used a small
pointed stick to pry them off, pushing it in between two rows and along
the cob from stub end to point so that in spreading the rows of kernels
they were readily pried off. In the evening the corn was winnowed and

512 people went on the hunt and still the corn lay there. A man going
173 through the village heard someone talking. He thought there must be
243 another man in the village. But he followed along to where the voice was coming from and got to the sweepings. There lay the good ear of corn. He stopped and picked it up and began to talk to it. He asked it to bless him and send him good luck for this corn is our Mother. He kept that ear of corn. That's how it was in the old days. Now since you've been wasting, the corn will become scarce."

512 That evening they husked the dry corn and continued next day until
243 about two in the afternoon. Then it was left spread out to dry on the
251 cob until evening and pried off after supper with a stick. Some men
joined them and helped and after the women had gone to bed they
252 continued to pry off the kernels, telling stories while they worked until late in the evening. The next day the shelling of the dry corn continued and that afternoon the men just wandered about the camp for a little recreation. Horse Rider had gone down to the grounds to watch the gambling. The women were tired and lay down to rest; their hands felt cramped from prying off the kernels.

[285] After they had collected the dry corn from No Corn's field, the women alternated work on it with making pumpkin mats as the strips were now dry enough. Then they proceeded to get the small nubbin ears for fattening the horses and collecting the sweet corn and braiding it to finish off the work.

356 While they were doing the pumpkins, the old ladies had already
887 made a plan to go up and begin the process of clearing the earth lodge in anticipation of the time when the harvest was done. They had to go up at intervals of four days successively and burn out the fleas with torches. "These fleas bite worse than bedbugs!"

The three old ladies met at the lodge in the morning as planned. They removed the brush that had been placed across the door to seal it before they left on the hunt. They took off their clothes and put on an old petticoat. They made a brush or short broom of dry *pakuts* (thatch) grass and tied it to a stick. Then each woman took her brush inside the lodge and lit the grass, each one going around one side of the room and being careful to stay near the floor as the dry grass in the roof thatch might catch fire. When the grass was burned up on their broom, they put some more grass on it and repeated the process throughout the day. They repeated this four days later, and then on subsequent days.
[824] They built a little fire in the fireplace and burnt some wild sage, kiwaut, (*Artemisia gnaphalodes* Nutt.) as incense to clear the air and make the room smell good. They would also burn some of the sage on their brooms along with the other grass. After the final smoking, they left the lodge empty for a day and on the following evening the lodge was quite habitable.

TABLE 33-1. *A Few Summary Figures of the Produce of the Women of the North Side of the Earth Lodge.*

251
592

Corn, sacks of dried kernels:		
White Woman	9	Stored 5
Grandma	13 (8 to White Woman)	
No Corn	7	Stored 3
Grieves-the-Enemy	8 (4 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 2
TOTAL	37 sacks	Stored 10
Corn, braided:		
White Woman	4 braids	Stored 2
No Corn	3 braids	Stored 2
Grieves-the-Enemy	6 braids (4 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 1
TOTAL	13 braids	Stored 5

Available for current use in the household—23 sacks of dried corn kernels (10 in pit, additional as reserve); 4 braids of corn for current use (5 in the pit, additional as reserve).

[285]

Pumpkins and Squashes:		
White Woman	3 plaited mats	Stored 1
Grandma	4 mats (2 to White Woman) 1 50-pound sack of dried pumpkin seeds stored)	
No Corn	3 mats	Stored 2
Grieves-the-Enemy	5 mats (3 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 1
TOTAL	15 mats	Stored 4

Available for current use in the household, 8 mats; 4 additional in the pit.

Beans, dried and in 50-lb sacks:		
White Woman	4 sacks	Stored 2
Grandma	4 sacks (2 for White Woman)	
No Corn	3 sacks	Stored 1
Grieves-the-Enemy	5 sacks (3 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 1
TOTAL	16 sacks	Stored 4

For current use in the household, 9 sacks of dried beans, and 4 additional in the pit.

000 and materials. European goods were first spread by itinerant traders who
439 carried their wares to the different villages and centers and finally set
443 up their own trade stores. Bishop and Matlock's was the favorite trade
[436] store for the Pawnees at this time, and the buffalo robe was the chief
medium of exchange. The trade value of a well-tanned robe of ordinary
[435] quality was ten to fifteen dollars. For one of prime quality, expertly
tanned, they might get thirty dollars worth of exchange goods. The national
market of the trader justified him in paying these prices. In 1848,
175 100,000 robes were shipped out of St. Louis, and the American Civil War
439 gave a special impetus to the buffalo leather trade for army needs. By
1874 even England was making use of the leather for its army. When supplies were running low in a Pawnee household, the man would point to an unworked buffalo hide and say to his wife, "Make up that buffalo robe so that we can get something at the store." In the past the same expedient probably served for trade with other tribes or villages.

237 The hair of the buffalo was intricately braided into a long rope known as Black Rope, which was used by the men to hold the buffalo robe in place as well as for other purposes. The horns provided the common eating and serving spoons and the bones were made into a number of important tools, notably the buffalo shoulder blade, which was the main spade or earth-digging tool as well as the hoe and the scythe. These bones also provided tools for skin working and for sizing and straightening the arrowshaft, as well as slivers for scraping and cutting. The sinews of the buffalo were used for sewing together the skins and for making bowstrings.

313 Second in importance as an industrial material was wood. In the open
prairie plains, trees grew only along the streams. The supply was heavily
drawn upon for fuel as well as for industry. Wood was used industrially
for building and for equipment and utensils. Cottonwood and willow
313 were the mainstay of the construction industries—the cottonwood because
824 it was light for its strength and bulk and the willow for its flexibility.
Elm was used for making the mortar and post oak for the pestle. They also used the post oak to make their common eating bowls. Dogwood was the material of the arrowshafts and ashwood for the bow as well as the gaming hoop and the pipestem. Wood was best gotten in the fall when the sap was running low.

824 Reeds and grasses were their third industrial resource. Grasses grew
along the streams and reeds in the limited number of ponds to be found
in the area. Since they matured about the same time as the cultivated
crops, they had to be processed as soon as the harvest was over. The
[285] most important product they made from these materials was the large
twined woven mat that they felt had to be spread on the dusty ground
[352] both in the earth lodge and in the tent while they were on the hunt. Next

463 Having consented, Old Lady Lucky Leader would say, "On so-and-
283 so day I am going to make it. Come in then." When the wife of Chief's-Road came in, the old lady directed her to sit down to her left and watch everything. As the work progressed she paid close attention to the manner of braiding and after some of the work had been completed, the teacher asked the pupil to try her hand at it. At first she was very clumsy and was corrected by the teacher and finally she got the idea. When she got home, she tried to do it by herself and from time to time came in to see the old lady saying she didn't quite remember about this and this detail and asking to be shown.

She told no one that she had learned, but on an occasion when someone came to the old lady to have a belt made, she would say, "Go to the wife of Chief's-Road. She can make it. I taught her." The man now would go to the wife of Chief's-Road and tell her that he had been sent by the old lady because she had too much work. She would make the belt for the man and the entire fee would be hers, with no further financial obligation to her teacher. From now on others would hear of it and begin to apply to her and she would be able to earn something for her family.

463 Most mature women knew the techniques of skin working with a
[281] knowledge of mat making being somewhat less common but still widely
• [285] known. Everyone could make buffalo-horn spoons. The weaving of the
[321] black rope and woven belts as well as the making of wooden bowls
[283] were known to a very limited number of craftswomen. In the men's
[322] crafts, the bow was made by everyone, but the extremely restricted
[411] number of arrowshaft makers has already been mentioned. The pipe
makers were equally specialized and they made both the stem and the
[276] bowl. Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most significant
things the man needed. Only six or seven men among all the Skidi
[292] could make them. Skin shirts could only be worn by men who had an
[554] outstanding social or military status and these were made by a very
limited number of specialists. These specialists were regarded like the
[294] village blacksmith of our early towns. They tried to have two or three
of them in each village. But even the most common craft techniques
could only be learned by a person who was sponsored by someone or
had the wherewithal to pay for his instruction.

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the
white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was
wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and
also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-four
feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidistant
intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled basket 773
made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to
carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the
germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony
immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous movement"
or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially
made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The
women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the
course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to
move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285 •
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learning [887]
to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling.
There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the
betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual
pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make
the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked
to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525
285

285 craftswoman who left some of them to season for two days. The technique
525 for the manufacture of the basket was coiling. The basket had a flat bottom with shallow walls. It was round and there were two basic elements used in the coiled sewing. There was a foundation element of a whole peeled willow twig that was carried around spirally for ten courses. These several courses of the spiral were overcast with flat strips of willow to hold them together. The awl was used in the sewing, the overcasting being done from the inner or convex surface. The stitches of the successive coils were made to interlock with one another. To make the flat sewing strips, the willow twig was split in the length, and an inner section bearing the pith was split away from each long section to make it flexible for the binding. Sometimes the bark was left on these strips and sometimes it was removed.

221 With all their equipment made and repaired, the Pawnees were ready to set out once more on their long migration to the buffalo hunting grounds.

53

PRODUCTS OF REEDS AND GRASS

000

The Twined Woven Mats, Their Use and Manufacture—the Grass Brush for the Care of Hair

THE REEDS AND GRASSES matured about the same time as the cultivated 824
crops, and everyone knew that as soon as possible after completing the harvest they would have to get to work gathering these materials before they passed their prime.

The twined woven mat of reeds was one of the most important items 285
of Pawnee house furnishing. It was considered indispensable to cleanli- 352
ness, and only the poorest people or the most slovenly would use skins on the ground instead. They were used both in the lodge and on the march, and old mats were offered to people who had none. Every morn- [356]
ing they were taken up and shaken to get the dust out; in the lodge the house was well swept and the sweepings carried out on a skin to be dumped at the base of the embankment before the mats would be replaced on the floor. When on the march, they were rolled up and tied in the middle with a string fastened there for the purpose by the women. When camp was set up, they were laid out to sit on; at night the beds were made on them. In the lodge they were placed inside the central pillars to sit on. Impromptu beds were made by putting them between [513]
the pillars at night as a base for the bedding. Each mat was 5 feet wide and 8 to 9 feet long. Ordinarily, there were two mats around the fireplace on each side; if there were special guests, an additional one was placed at the west. At a large feast, the mats were laid outside the house pillars against the beds to enlarge the circle. Mats for gala occasions had special [531]
decorations made by weaving in black or dark red-dyed wefts. These were kept rolled up until guests came. For everyday use the family sat on whatever mats happened to be around—the better ones being placed

• 285

352 nearer the west and those that were more worn, east toward the exit.

When a couple was newly married, they were always given a set of
285 mats—two for each side of the house and one for the west. They were
585 likely to get two from the girl's grandmother and two from the boy's.
431 Except in such intimate circumstances, the mats were not ordinarily considered
352 suitable gift items. They were regarded more as we look upon
linens—particularly bedsheets and towels. Suitable gift items on the
other hand were, from man to a man, a horse, and from a woman to a
man, leggings, moccasins, material for moccasins, or dried buffalo meat.

285 The mats received the heaviest wear during the winter hunt, when
352 they got all battered and broken up. In the fall, after the materials were
gathered they were placed in the roof of the lodge to season all winter.
In the spring, between planting and cultivating, they would feel they
had to make some new mats to take along on the summer hunt. Old mats
were left behind in the earth lodge.

285 The warp strands of the mat were of a three-sided prismatic grass
283 that grew in ponds (not cattail?). The long blades were made into a
double-twisted continuous rope of four strands.

[137] The wefts were of bulrush (*Scirpus validus* Vahl.), a round tubular
grass, spongy inside, 5 to 6 feet long. An alternative material was cattail
285 (*Typha latifolia* L.). Both these reeds grew in the bottomlands of the
824 streams, particularly along the Loup, but there were also a few patches
along Beaver Creek. On the way home from the summer hunt, some people
would gather the reeds on the Republican or the Loup and load the
horses and bring them home. Or, noting good locations on the way home,
they would return later.

Sometimes two old ladies would go out together and gather whatever
small patches they could find on Beaver Creek, pulling up the reeds and
piling them into two bundles about a foot in diameter. They would tie
them up with ropes and each bring one in and go out again for more, obtaining
[482] about four bundles each in this way. The reeds were very heavy
when green and a woman could not carry very much at a time. For
larger supplies, the family would make up a combined expedition, since
they had to go three to five miles from the village. A large party of men
and women would ride out on their horses to the sources of supply
they had spotted when returning from the hunt. The men went out to give
the women protection. On the way back the horses were loaded with
reeds. When one party went out, others would hear about it and be inspired
to follow their example.

285 The weft or (crosswise) threads needed very little preparation to be
283 ready for use. They had simply to be soaked in water overnight and then
taken out and left to dry for about half an hour before weaving.

The long continuous lengthwise warp required considerably more
preparation than the weft. The three-sided prismatic grass was soaked

all night in water, and in the morning it was twisted into a continuous 285
string which was wound onto a stick as the woman went along. When it 283
was all wound on, it formed a cylindrical roll like a bale of wire. Each
roll contained enough warp for one mat. The work was done by one
woman working alone. For example, Grandma would put the stick between her toes while twisting the warp and then wrap it onto the stick as
the string got longer. The roll was put away for a week or two to set before it was used for the weaving. It took an old woman a day and a half [461]
to twist the warp for one mat.

The weaving frame was set up at a slant, the far end being considerably higher than the near end. The warp beam at the far end was 2 to 2½ 285
feet high, constructed of two forked sticks placed upright in the ground 286
about 6 feet apart, with a horizontal stick resting in the forks. The cloth beam at the near side was set close to the ground and was controlled by pegs or pickets that could be adjusted to keep the warps taut. If the weather were good, they would work outdoors; if not, they would work in the lodge.

The first step was to carry the continuous bale of warp back and forth between the two beams in a simple under-and-over order. After the warping was complete, a long strip of elm bark was wrapped around each beam to include one warp thread in each wrapping so that all the warps lay on an even plane. No shedding would be required, as the weaving was twining of a pair of wefts.

The reeds for the wefts were used in whole strands 6 feet long and 285
the finished mat was more than 5 feet wide. It was very awkward for 476
one woman to try to weave a mat alone. It was best for two women to work together, one weaving from the middle out to the right edge of the mat and the other from the middle out to the left edge. The two women sat side by side in front of the low end at the cloth beam. Each row of weft was woven with a pair of bulrushes, the point end of one strand matching the stub end of the other. The woman on the right grasped the two wefts in the middle between her thumb and index finger and gave them a twist away from herself so that they crossed over at the center. She then placed the twist between the two central warp strands and proceeded to twine-weave rightward, the completed stitches leaning diagonally upward to the right. When she reached the right edge, she cut off the stub end of one of her wefts almost flush with the edge and the other she wove back into the warp for 1½ to 2½ inches, producing a thickened and reinforced edge. The woman at the left, beginning at the middle proceeded to twine leftward and at the left edge cut off one weft and wove the other back into the warps in the same way as the woman on the right. The woman on the left adjusts her weaving motions so that they are made in reverse in order to produce a consistent weave pattern across the entire mat—all stitches slanting upward to the right. This is a sophis-

• 285 ticated adaptation for weaving a wide twined fabric, as the normal direc-
476 tion for the progress of twined weaving is from left to right, the woman
on the left using a motor pattern equivalent in feeling to dancing the waltz
in reverse, with a view to getting a visual effect in the texture.

When the mat had been woven about one third of the way, the women, who had been kneeling in front of the lower cloth beam, now moved up and knelt on the already finished fabric to work on the rest. As the work progressed, they continued to move up on the fabric so that the working edge would be within reach.

[461] Two women could finish a mat in one day if they did nothing else. Beginning after breakfast, the weaving would be half done by noon. By a little after five in the evening, the work was complete.

285 Mat weaving was a household craft and the work would not ordinarily
868 be contracted for outside, unless a woman were learning for the first
time. Then she would call in an old woman and pay her to demonstrate
the technique. During the demonstration, the young woman would try
her hand at it from time to time. The finished mat would be hers. The
[465] teacher would receive four or five yards of calico and a layer of dried
buffalo meat, or a sack of corn (about a foot high) and half a braided
intestine mat.

285 In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each side took care of
592 its own needs for mats. White Woman and Grandma would start one
together, and when White Woman had to interrupt her work to prepare a meal, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy would take her place for a while, helping Grandma with the weaving. Any mats that Grandma made by herself were given to White Woman for the family. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy felt she should make at least one mat for herself and her grandson to use when they went on the hunt. No Corn also made one to take along, and, if Horse Rider was busy in the Doctor Lodge, the two old ladies would each contribute half the necessary materials, as she was too crippled to gather them for herself and under the circumstances Horse Rider was unable to get away. There was no question of compensation for this, as the old ladies felt that Horse Rider was helpful to the household at all times and No Corn also did what she could.

482 Carrying these mats on the march was very difficult for people with
285 no horses. This was the case with poor people. When people noticed that
they had no mats, someone would give them an old one and a man would
carry it on his back with a baby perched on top and his wife would do
[431] the same. The occasional woman who was too lazy to make one, was also
[554] given an old mat. People who didn't have mats to put on the ground
were considered poor indeed.

412 A brush made of stiff grass was indispensable to personal grooming.
824 The brush was made out of Porcupine Grass or Spanish Needles (*Stipa*

*172 439 177 later sites (pl. 12). The hoes were often cut up and the material remade into arrowpoints, scrapers, and similar objects. Gun barrels appear to have been likewise used as tent pins, stakes, and the like. Fluted lead rings are very common, though they may be of native casting. Coincident with the increase in metal goods there is a marked decline, quantitatively and qualitatively, in native products, such as pottery and stone work, and since the former are less durable the later sites are rather barren. Despite the Caucasian influences to which the Pawnee were subjected from very early times, however, they retained enough of their aboriginal material culture to furnish a fairly accurate picture of their pre-Columbian mode of life and to make possible the tracing of their culture back to its less well-defined antecedents.

WEAVING AND TEXTILES

*172 ● 286 CLOTH AND CORDAGE.—The only fiber woven by the Pawnee appears to have been the hair of the bison. Fragments of cloth made of this material and short pieces of cordage are occasionally taken from the graves (pl. 2, *g*, *i*), though none of the early observers seem to record the trait. The cloth is made of a moderately heavy 2-ply closely twisted yarn, each member of which in turn consists of a number of rather loosely spun fibers. There is no uniformity of weave, however; in the same piece may be found twilled or diagonal (over two under two) weaving and checkerwork (over and under). The cloth is fairly heavy, soft, and flexible; in color it varies from brown-black to black. It was used presumably for robes and winter clothing.

The yarn sometimes occurs in short, rope-like masses, of 10 or 12 cords twisted together but not braided (pl. 2, *h*). Whether these are indeed fragments of rope or merely skeins of yarn conveniently arranged for storing is uncertain. However, the low tensile strength of the material, and especially the readiness with which the "ropes" tend to untwist and become further weakened, argues against their use where strains were likely to occur. Braided ropes of bison hair have not come to light, although they may have been manufactured.

Spindle whorls, if used, were probably of wood or other perishable material, as none have yet been found.

*172 285 MATTING.—Pieces of rush matting were recovered by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey at the Hill site, mostly as a body wrapping in burial 3. Remains of a charred mat were also found on the west side of the lodge circle, as previously described. Additional fragments have been collected by Mr. A. T. Hill. All of the specimens are made of some narrow-leaved grass or rush, possibly cattail, and are in simple twined weaving (pl. 2, *j*–*l*). Each warp ele-

000

shield. Some men could make themselves a war bonnet with eagle feathers 237
(the traditional war bonnet of the plains symbolizing a comet). They
would buy long white beads in the store and at the base of the throat, 292
wear a big shiny disk about as large as a dollar made out of long black 301
oyster shell.

An indispensable element of ceremonial costuming was the Black Rope 463
made of buffalo hair. Only men could wear these. The process of braid- 283
ing was very complicated and required great concentration. If a woman [292]
came around inclined to converse, the maker would excuse herself and [237]
say she had to get through and wasn't able to talk at this time. The work
was done in the house and preferably in the fall when less interruptions
were likely. Only a few women had the skill to do it. The hair of which
the rope was made was from the mane or head of the buffalo. Four
twisted strands were braided together into a long rope or belt. Each of
the strands for braiding was wound onto a ball, and these balls were
manipulated in order to form the braid. Some women did fine even work
and some did it poorly and roughly. Working steadily at it, the work took [461]
about twelve days. If it had to be fitted in with other work, it would
take more time. A woman would come to the belt maker on behalf of
her husband and order one, bringing the materials. The maker would be
paid well.

There were some few women who could make a colorful braided belt 292
by interweaving five colors. They called it "red-woven." It was a wide [286]
flat belt that was made to order to fit the waist of the prospective wearer
with long fringes hanging down to the ankles. A belt like this was usually
made for boys and girls of good families and for young women. An older
woman would not consider it proper to wear one although among the [171]
Osage, they were commonly worn by all women. A few men twisted
these belts around their heads as a turban with the fringes hanging down
on both sides of the face and eagle feathers at the back of the head.
Most men regarded this as a "flashy" style of dressing.

The materials used were entirely commercial—wool for the body and cord for the concealed warps. A woman who wanted to have one made for her boy would ask her husband to buy the materials at the trade store so that she could take them to the weaver.

We do not know whether this skill is old or new among the Pawnee. 286
In general, on the American continent, it goes back several thousand 178
years as a fabric-producing technique. But the exclusive use of commercial materials and the reluctance of mature men and women to wear the belt suggests that its adoption is fairly new.

The work was usually done outdoors in the springtime for maximum 286
visibility. It required great concentration and one mistake might compel the weaver to rip the whole thing. If a woman was making one on order, her family would do her spring planting to free her for the work. It

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

286 [461] [465] It took ten days to make a belt along with other housework and the pay was five or six yards of calico, half a sack of dried corn and a slab of dried buffalo meat.

291 Except for this one last item, all the rest of the Pawnee clothing was made of leather and fur.

all night in water, and in the morning it was twisted into a continuous 285
string which was wound onto a stick as the woman went along. When it 283
was all wound on, it formed a cylindrical roll like a bale of wire. Each roll contained enough warp for one mat. The work was done by one woman working alone. For example, Grandma would put the stick between her toes while twisting the warp and then wrap it onto the stick as the string got longer. The roll was put away for a week or two to set before it was used for the weaving. It took an old woman a day and a half [461]
to twist the warp for one mat.

The weaving frame was set up at a slant, the far end being considera- 285
bly higher than the near end. The warp beam at the far end was 2 to 2½ 286
feet high, constructed of two forked sticks placed upright in the ground about 6 feet apart, with a horizontal stick resting in the forks. The cloth beam at the near side was set close to the ground and was controlled by pegs or pickets that could be adjusted to keep the warps taut. If the weather were good, they would work outdoors; if not, they would work in the lodge.

The first step was to carry the continuous bale of warp back and forth between the two beams in a simple under-and-over order. After the warping was complete, a long strip of elm bark was wrapped around each beam to include one warp thread in each wrapping so that all the warps lay on an even plane. No shedding would be required, as the weaving was twining of a pair of wefts.

The reeds for the wefts were used in whole strands 6 feet long and 285
the finished mat was more than 5 feet wide. It was very awkward for 476
one woman to try to weave a mat alone. It was best for two women to work together, one weaving from the middle out to the right edge of the mat and the other from the middle out to the left edge. The two women sat side by side in front of the low end at the cloth beam. Each row of weft was woven with a pair of bulrushes, the point end of one strand matching the stub end of the other. The woman on the right grasped the two wefts in the middle between her thumb and index finger and gave them a twist away from herself so that they crossed over at the center. She then placed the twist between the two central warp strands and proceeded to twine-weave rightward, the completed stitches leaning diagonally upward to the right. When she reached the right edge, she cut off the stub end of one of her wefts almost flush with the edge and the other she wove back into the warp for 1½ to 2½ inches, producing a thickened and reinforced edge. The woman at the left, beginning at the middle proceeded to twine leftward and at the left edge cut off one weft and wove the other back into the warps in the same way as the woman on the right. The woman on the left adjusts her weaving motions so that they are made in reverse in order to produce a consistent weave pattern across the entire mat—all stitches slanting upward to the right. This is a sophis-

784 teristic at a bundle ceremony would distract the attention of the
841 supernatural beings. If a menstruating woman were near a bundle
spread out as an altar, the supernatural power supposed to reside
in the objects on the altar would disappear; the corn mother would
be corn mother no longer but simply an ear of corn, the bird messenger
between the deities and man would become simply a bird skin, and
so on. The odor of blood was pleasing to the gods, but not this
kind of blood, which was associated with human passion. If a
menstruating woman should go into a ceremony of the medicine-
men, the strong human odor would cause the power of the medicine-
men to leave them, and they would fail in their sleight of hand.
The lodge where the ceremony was being held was for the time being
an animal's lodge; it was full of animal power, over which each
medicine-man was striving to make himself master. In this attempt
he would fail should a menstruating woman be present, for she
would cause him to become essentially human. What animal
power he had would quickly desert him.

881 The custom in vogue when a girl reached puberty has been noted.
882 When a boy reached this stage, there was no formal ceremony to
607 mark the event. He was, however, taken in charge by his mother's
836 brother's wife. From this time until his marriage, he maintained
sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately
after having had intercourse with this woman. When her real
husband was off hunting or on the warpath, the youth continued
marital relations with her. Thus it might happen that for four or
[595] five years a woman would have an additional "husband," or possibly
three or four, with a temporary state of polyandry thereby prevailing.
[834] No such custom as this existed for girls, as they were supposed to
remain virgins until marriage.

882 Up to this time the boy went naked, except for a blanket or robe
291 in cold weather. From then on he wore leggings, and otherwise
dressed as a man.

857 A further word should be said as to the relationship of the sexes.
Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they
neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small
grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents.
836 Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship
might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept
at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the
girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or
he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this

came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui 764
priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was 778
very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if
he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the
pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of 572 friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particu- 888 larly to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally 759
claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age.
They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the
Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the 562
priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of
the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her
position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great,
for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in
their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect.
She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle.
Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping
the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the
bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom
from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against
miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might
influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the 834
Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until [291] ●
well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the [515]
lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no [521]
subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee
[171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but
they understood the arts of pottery-making and basket-weaving.
29; During the summer the men usually
wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings
and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins,
leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned
on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe
do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The
302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made
301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced
the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings.
342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth
lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine
Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the
sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or
bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi.
The first three of these were closely related, but the
Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and
considered themselves more closely related to the
Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some distance
to the north. In their settlements along the river,
[361] the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi
being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest
downstream, and the other two bands between. Each
621 band was divided into a number of villages which were
social as well as geographical units. All the members
of a village believed themselves to be descended from
a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made
within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female
[778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) containing
[793] sacred objects, and priests who had charge of
the rituals and ceremonies connected with these objects.
622 It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a
council composed of its leading men. If the chief was
a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

462 pare the fields for cultivation with their hoes, plant the corn, weed 562 it, and finally, when ripe, gather it in; and take care of the horses of their lords, when not used by them.

The most difficult labor, however, that falls to their lot, is the 462 erecting of their lodges. As the upper village had been burnt by 562 their enemies during their absence, the labor of rebuilding of 342 course devolved upon the poor women, and in the course of about two months, when we visited them, they had completed nearly 150 lodges. When we observed, that the nearest timber to the site of the village was two or three miles off, and that they have [482] no beasts of burden, but that all the building material, much of which is very heavy, was carried so great a distance on the shoulders of the women, it seemed almost incredible to us. We noticed even girls of 12 or 14 years bearing baskets on their backs, filled with wet turf, to cover or repair their lodges, which must have been very heavy. Thus early the females are trained to [868] carry burdens, (either at home, or while travelling,) which inures them to hardships, but at the same time deforms them, rendering them low and bent in stature, and pitiable objects to the beholder. While the men, trained to no work whatever, are erect, tall, and [142] well-proportioned in their form, and almost feminine in their features, the women are short and low, with stooping gait, downcast looks, harsh features, and hair dishevelled; and dirty, ragged, and 000 filthy in their appearance. Such is a picture of heathenism! Have we not cause to be grateful for the benign influence of the gospel upon our land, so that we are elevated far above such a miserable state of heathenism? Unto the Lord be all the praise!

Though it is generally a feature among heathen nations, that it 462 is considered a shame for the men to labor, while all the work de-562 volves upon the females, still the Pawnees seem not altogether indisposed to be instructed. Mr. Sharpee, who has been acquainted with them and other Indians in these parts for nearly 20 years, told us, that the Pawnee men were unlike those of other tribes, since they were willing to lay hold of a plough, or any other farming utensil, and only the instruction was wanting to make them industrious. Mr. Allis too, who has been acquainted with them for the last 20 years, and has lived among them a great portion of this period, informed us, that when the missionaries were formerly living among them, several of the Pawnees had already commenced the use of the plough. The good beginning was, however, interrupted by their missionaries having to leave them.

Dress.—The dress of the men consists in nothing but a small 291 piece of cloth, fastened around their middle. This, we observed, was generally the only covering they had on, when in their lodges. When abroad, they had a buffalo robe or blanket wrapped around them. The females are more decently clothed than the men

Their dress consists of leggings, generally made of scarlet cloth ; 291
over which a piece of blue or brown woollen cloth is tied around
the waist, the ends lapping over each other, and extending a little
below the knees. The upper dress consists of a shirt or short
gown, made of calico, reaching to the middle. Over the whole a
blanket or robe is slung, above which, on the back, may frequently 854
be discovered the black sparkling eyes of a little "papoose"
peering forth.

Intoxicating drink.—It is somewhat remarkable, that the 273
Pawnees are not so fond of "fire water," as other tribes, who are
fast dwindling away from the demoralizing and debasing effects of
intoxicating drink. Nothing, perhaps, has aided more in diminishing
the population of different Indian tribes, than spirituous
liquors. To the missionary, it is always gratifying and encouraging
to observe, when a tribe takes a bold stand against the introduction
of this destructive poison. The Pawnees allow none to
be brought into their villages.

Burying their dead.—On the highest mounds in the prairie, 764
we often observed little hillocks of earth, which we were informed,
were the places of sepulture of their chiefs and others of their
tribe. A tall bush was frequently stuck in the ground, to designate
the spot. We were also informed, that among the Pawnees,
and other wild tribes, the cruel practice prevails, when they are 888
on their hunt, and their old people get so feeble, that they can no
longer accompany them, of leaving them behind, and even burying
them alive.—In allusion to this fact, Mr. Allis, pointing to
their old and feeble chief, addressed the other chiefs as follows :
"I have learned, that you intend to put aside your old chief, because
he is now feeble and sickly, and perhaps you will even think
of burying him, when he can no longer follow you ; but I want
you to take care of him. He has been like a father to you. When
he was yet strong, you know his kettle was always over the fire
with plenty. He has always been a friend of the whites, and you
ought to esteem him for the services he has rendered your nation,
and not to bury him before he is dead."

More might be added, to show the wretchedness of their present 000
state, but we should fear to become too tedious. Sufficient,
however, has been said, to prove, that these poor people need the
assistance of missionaries to better them in their outward condition.
But, when we consider their spiritual destitution,—their ignorance,
darkness, and superstition,—

Shall WE whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall WE to men benighted
The lamp of life deny?"

The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood 276
(*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer [824]
bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for
smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in
winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade [439]
store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared
patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of [249]
Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting 224*
expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their 276
pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so
that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½
feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would 224*
depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle 492
had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A
saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front
and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were
tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed
to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used
to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the
rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they
were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the
stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling
the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth 224*
for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently 291
on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was 412
an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. 224*
Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on 482
her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage 778
on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, 224*
dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, 251
coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concen- 262
trated foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes.
The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that [484]
time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would
now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegeta- 224*
ble provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the 251
cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One 252
batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were

chiefs of the several bands. With them would go their braves and 224*
other prominent men of their bands who were sufficiently wealthy to 484*
own fast horses and could give them the assistance they needed.

The scouting party had been led by Stolen Horses, and when his party had sighted the small buffalo herd they were looking for they returned to camp and notified Brave Chief, White Eagle's brother-in-law, who in turn got in touch with White Eagle, telling him where and how the herd had been sighted. The next morning they would go after it, and everyone was on the alert for this news that evening. White Eagle called in Roaming Scout to ask him to direct the attack on the herd next day. He was to climb a hill and survey the position of the herd and motion his instructions to the hunters, who would be waiting below.

Now that all arrangements had been made, White Eagle sent out the official chief's errand man, Know-His-Face, to go through the camp, calling out the announcement and then to carry it to the other bands. He announced the following message: "They saw ten to twenty buffalo out there about twelve miles out. Tomorrow while we move the camp, let's try to chase those buffalo." Then after giving the location of their next encampment, he continued with his instructions for the hunters:

> There by the schoolhouse—on the other side—on the northeast—there is a hill. You stop right there at this big hill, on this side of it where we'll all meet, and White Eagle will get there to meet us. All of you are to wait there, and one of us will go up on top of the hill to see if the herd is still in the same location as previously sighted or in what direction it has gone.

Early next morning Camp 9 broke up and the outstanding hunters from all the bands went to meet at the appointed place, while the line of march moved westward toward Camp 10, the last camp south of the Platte. There were fifteen to twenty hunters from each of the four bands, sixty to eighty in all. By contrast to the later hunt episodes, they were
dressed in plain working clothes. For the formal hunt, they dressed in [292]
decorated leggings and they decorated their horses, but in this instance [291]
they all wore plain leggings and moccasins, a brief, simple loincloth, and for the horse a blanket to ride on and other equipment—a whetstone, a knife, and some rope—one of buffalo hide to bridle horses that were rough, and one of buffalo hair for those that were easier to handle. Some because of a special vision experience or exploit had a right to wear a red or white cloth about their heads, while others went bareheaded. Some were privileged to wear a skin shirt because of special war exploits. Some took
their bow and quivers and others carried six-shooters. They brought no [262]
food, but would eat something raw after the kill. Meat was never eaten [252]
raw but they would eat the entrails—some raw liver, kidney, or tripe—

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

000 sheep." It was further reported that to the north there were many "cattle." The reports of Coronado's expedition of about the same period in the Southwest describe the details of buffalo hunting with great accuracy and show that even in the 1860's they had survived substantially as they were then. In 1599, Oñate of New Mexico hoped the Spaniards could also develop a thriving trade in buffalo wool and hides, but the Spanish empire was already too decadent.

175 439 [224] By the 1600's the big business in furs with Europe had been developed by France starting with the fateful beaver trade on the St. Lawrence. As we see from the present account, the Pawnees were still trapping the beaver with metal traps in 1867, in order to trade them for cash. By the end of the 1600's the Indians were no longer merely a source of raw materials for trade to Europe, but also a positive outlet for European manufactured goods. "The Indians were collecting sassafras, tanning buckskins, and building up a steady trade in buffalo wool." In 1702 seventeen Frenchmen left Tamaroa Mission near Cahokia, Illinois, east of St. Louis to ascend the Missouri about two hundred leagues to build a fort between the Pawnee and the Iowa. The French were attempting to control the inter-Indian trade to protect themselves from the encroachment upon the Indian trade by the Spaniards who were moving up from the Southwest. Their fears were not unfounded, for in 1706 the Spaniards were reported to have come to an Indian village to trade for buffalo hides with which to make harness for their mules.

[177] At a somewhat later period, fur traders were sent out from Council Bluffs (Iowa) to live with the Pawnees at their earth lodges and follow them on their hunting expeditions.

281 Before he became mature, every man and woman had learned how to prepare hides. Most of all they needed the buffalo robe. As stated by the informant:

> 291 237 The wind blew through the blankets, the buffalo robe kept you warm. Almost everyone needed a new buffalo robe every winter. Toward the summer, the hair would all wear off and by the late fall, there wouldn't be any wool on to keep a person warm. In Victory Call's family, they needed at least four robes in good condition for the winter—one for Victory Call himself, one for his wife, White Woman, one for Grandma and one for the boy, Otter. For the adults it took the skin of a whole buffalo. For children, the whole skin of a calf was used with the headskin and the two little horns left intact.
>
> 291 During the daytime, the robe was wrapped around the body horizontally with the head part overlapping at the left. At night, the same robe was used as a blanket the long way, with the hair against the body, the head part covering the head and the tail part the feet. One

robe could keep a person warm in winter if it were well tucked in all around. 291

There were three stages by which the hide was prepared for its different uses—rawhide, tanned, or dyed. 281

Rawhide was the first stage. While they were on hunt, the fresh hide was pegged out with the hair side down and the flesh scraped off. The defleshing tool was made of a buffalo shinbone with the small end broken off and discarded. The broken edge was cut into a row of fine teeth with which to scrape the hide. The thick end of the bone had a hole drilled in it through which a buckskin strap was threaded to be worn around the wrist while the tool was in use. It took about half an hour to peg down and flesh a skin. After it was thoroughly dry, it was rolled up and carried home to the village where it was stored in the food pit or kept in the lodge to be dressed at the first opportunity. The largest number were worked in the fall. The skin was dressed as rawhide by simply removing the hair. The skin was unrolled and spread on the ground and the pieces of dried flesh picked off with a knife and boiled in the soup. Now the hide was turned over and the hair removed with an elbow-shaped scraper. This tool was like an adze with a handle of elkhorn and a cutting blade fastened to the bent end. In the old days the cutting blade was of chipped flint but at this time the women had the blades made by the blacksmith. To dehair it, the woman stood directly on the hide and bent over holding the elbow-scraper crosswise with her left hand on the handle end and her right hand on the elbow so that she could push it across the skin. She removed hair, chips and shavings, striking and pushing upon the skin and scraping with a sidewise motion toward the left. If the blade were not sharp, she would have to sit down while she worked and this would take a good deal longer. The hide of a big bison was used to make rawhide. [413] [237] [413] [237]

Rawhide was used for the large envelope in which the dried buffalo meat was contained, for moccasin soles, saddles, and for cutting into long continuous strips for ropes and whips. Half a bull hide was also used for making a baggage raft or water package. [415] [291] [283]

Tanning the skin required many additional technical steps. All skins have three layers, a horny one on the outside, a soft fatty layer on the inside where the sweat and fat glands are embedded, and the middle layer, the corium, which is the true skin. The corium is made up of gelatinous fibers and it is the objective of the tanning process to enter into combination with these fibers so that they are preserved and still remain flexible. For this purpose the Pawnees used a decoction of elm bark and brains. The technical term for this mixture is *tann*, meaning "oak" in the old Celtic of Brittany. Besides brains, sour milk and various oils are alternative materials for improving the texture.

281 The skins were tanned either with or without the hair. The skins of
[415] old buffalo or with exceptionally thin wool had the hair removed and
were kept on hand to wrap things in, for bedding, skin bags, moccasins,
[513] and occasionally, if they were light enough, for skirts. The heavier quali-
ties were used especially for tent skins. Tanned hide with hair removed
[291] was used as a light wrap or blanket to be draped around the shoulders.
[531] When worn in this way it was often decorated with designs or colored.

In tanning the robe with the hair on, which was the main trade robe, the hide was unrolled the evening before. Next morning it was placed on the ground and scraped on the flesh side with the elbow-scraper. This was a more strenuous process than dehairing. The skin had to be thinned section by section and any irregularities removed. If no one interrupted and the work proceeded at top speed, it took three hours of back-breaking labor. After this, the skin was immediately sprinkled with water to keep it soft and by evening it was pliable enough to be folded up and put into a kettle with cold water poured over it and left to soak overnight.

417
281 The next morning after breakfast the woman prepared a stretching frame on which to fasten the skin so that she could apply the tanning mixture. The standing part of the frame was made of two pairs of tent poles, each pair being fastened together at the top, spread out at the bottom, and set apart at the proper distance to accommodate the length of the skin. The two sets of "bi-pods" were joined across the near arms by two additional tent poles, one above and one below to a distance of the width of the hide. The skin was bound onto this slanting rectangular frame by overcasting around the edges through the peg holes around the edge of the hide. The flesh surface was now uppermost and to this the tanning solution would be applied.

281 Some bark, used as a sort of sponge, was dipped into the tanning mixture, which was spilled and rubbed onto the hide until it was well soaked and the water was dripping down the surface. The solution was now pressed in and rubbed from the top downward with a special tool resembling the blade of an iron hoe. In this process of rubbing and scraping, a good deal of the excess water was removed. When the skin had dried somewhat, a pinch of flour was sprinkled on and rubbed all over the surface to make it white. While the skin remained on the stretcher to dry for about an hour, the equipment for the next step was prepared. The skin would be rubbed back and forth on a taut sinew rope in order to soften it. Two green sticks of uneven height, one 2 feet and one 5½ feet high, were set upright in the ground about 4½ feet apart. They were joined by a big sinew rope that was stretched between them and tied at each end. The skin was rubbed back and forth across the rope on the flesh side until it was softened. One woman could do this alone, but it was more convenient for two to work on it, one holding on to the hide at each end.

281 386 sides to keep the air from reaching the inner surface. When they first removed the skin from the frame, the smoked surface was somewhat black, but when it was exposed to the air it quickly turned yellow. Any smoky patches that remained were rubbed with the fingers, and these promptly turned yellow, too. In the past these dyed skin blankets were the forerunners of the later trade blanket.

291 221 The skins of the deer and elk were used for clothing because they were considerably lighter and softer than the buffalo hide. In the fall particularly, when the doctor performances were in prospect, they made a critical inspection of their wardrobes to see if they had something suitable to wear for the occasion. The women thought about a new dress and the men considered whether their clothing wasn't too shabby to wear and what ceremonial costumes they would need. They had been on the march all summer and busy with the harvest and they had had no time to think about such matters. They also had to consider the forthcoming winter hunt.

291 262 251 281 In the Plains climate, clothing was a pressing necessity. The fresh deer and elk meat was a welcome addition to their staple diet of dried vegetables and buffalo meat, but it was consumed immediately and never preserved. Economically, the hides were of greater practical value.

[462] There is some question whether it was the men or the women who dressed the deer and elkskins. Theoretically they both knew how, but the only accounts of the process I have seen or been able to collect refer to the work of the men. Apparently the hide was not treated with a tanning mixture but was simply dehaired and rubbed:

> [513] The first step in dressing the deer hide was to get it wet. A stick was put slantwise in the ground and the hide draped over it hair side up and fastened at the top. The hair which slanted upward was scraped off with a sharpened horse rib that was pushed from the top down. The deer hair was used as a stuffing for pillows; the buffalo hair was always thrown away. The skin was now turned over with the flesh side uppermost and rubbed with a sharp rock as rough as a file. Next they continued to rub the flesh side with another rock that was gray and white and very porous. They kept rubbing the flesh side until the skin had dried.

A description of preparing a moose hide for a robe is somewhat simpler; allowing the skin to soak in water for a day and a night, removing the hair with a horse rib as it rested on a slanting cottonwood stick, and then simply spreading the skin on the ground to dry.

When needed, the men dressed bear or fox skins and those of some other animals, stretching them on frames and overcasting them all around

the edges through a series of little holes. The beaver skins that they 281
trapped for sale to the traders, were treated in the same way.

The men made their own saddles and horse trappings, some of deer 282
and some of buffalo hide. All men made these for themselves and dressed 492
the deer hides, even Eagle Chief himself. But buffalo hide was gotten 462
from the women. They made saddles, bridles, stirrups, and saddle bags.
For saddle bags, discarded buffalo robes were obtained from the women.
The saddles were made either of deer and deer horns or wood and buffalo
hide. The horn saddle took four or five days; the buffalo hide ten to fifteen.
The men worked hard on their saddles and decorated them elaborately. [531]

The basic clothing was cut out and sewn with an awl and sinew by the 291•
women. The women wore a wrap-around skirt, an overblouse, leggings [294]
fastened at the knee, and moccasins. The skirt, of tanned deer hide,
reached just below the knee with the closing at the right side. It was
fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. If no deer hide was available,
they used a very soft buffalo hide.

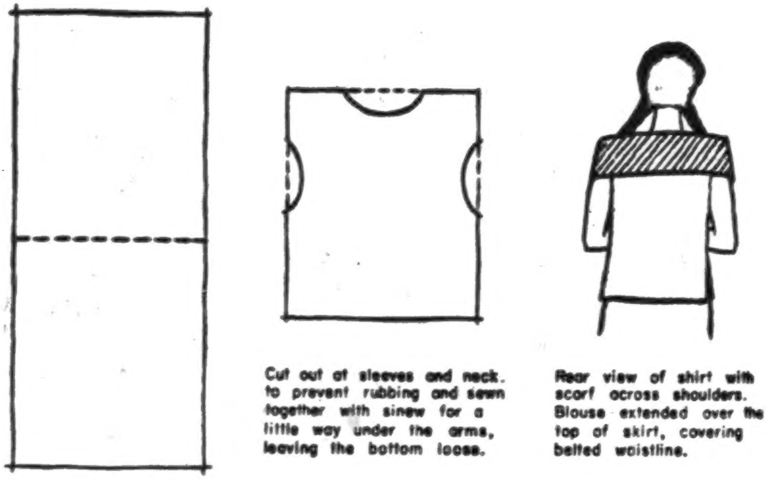
The blouse was a simple sleeveless pullover extending down over the waist so that it covered the top of the skirt and the belt that held it in place. It was made of an oblong piece of skin folded in two and cut out for the neck and armholes so that it would not rub against the underarm. (See Figure 48-1.) It was sewn along the sides with sinew, the seams extending just a little below the waist. The bottom section that reached toward the hips was left unsewn on the two sides. Around the neck was a scarf about 4 inches wide sewn across the back and reaching over the shoulders so that it could be turned up in cold weather for protection. The neck was provided with a drawstring whose ends hung down in front unless they wanted to draw the blouse close together around the throat.

Until the age of five or six, the little girls ran around naked, but then 855
they had to have a little wraparound skirt of buckskin with a drawstring 291
at the top. They would always complain that it was too loose, for it was
usually made to allow for growth; when the little girl complained her
mother would say, "Oh, go on, you'll grow soon," or "After all, it might
shrink."

Leggings of tanned deer or elk hide were worn by all the women, and 291
these were tied around under the knee and turned down over the tie
string at the top. For both men and women, they made two-piece moccasins
with hard soles and softer uppers. Those of the Skidi were below [184]
the ankle and those of the South Bands a little above.

The clothing of the men, besides the basic garments, included a number [292]
of ceremonial trappings or some that signified special rank or achievement.
The main clothes were a loincloth, leggings, and moccasins.

291 Around the waist they had an elkskin string. To it on each side they tied on the leggings which were of deer or elkskin, covering the whole leg and thigh. A strip of soft tanned deer hide was drawn between the legs and under the waist band so that the ends hung down in front and in back. One good deer skin made two pairs of leggings. Each legging took [294] an hour to make—two hours for the pair. In warm weather a man might [461] carry a tanned buffalo-hide blanket over the left shoulder when not in use. In winter they wore the furred buffalo robe for warmth.



Fold in two.

Cut out at sleeves and neck, to prevent rubbing and sewn together with sinew for a little way under the arms, leaving the bottom loose.

Rear view of shirt with scarf across shoulders. Blouse extended over the top of skirt, covering belted waistline.

FIGURE 48-1. The pattern of a woman's skin shirt. A scarf about 4 inches wide was fastened to the neck and across the shoulders; it could be turned up against the back of the neck and head in cold weather. A string that went all around the neck with both ends hanging down in front could be tied at the neck to draw the shirt close around the throat. There was a wrap-around skin skirt closing at the right side and reaching just below the knee; this was fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. The costume was completed by leggings fastened at the knees and moccasins.

291 294 Keeping the family in moccasins was a constant problem for the women. During the migrations on the hunt, moccasins wore out all the time and the woman had to carry along some cutout moccasin leather all ready to be sewn up. A sewing bag with sinew, an awl, and moccasin patterns was an essential of the hunting equipment. A man going on a long journey over the country would take along a similar kit.

291 [77] There were two kinds of moccasins in general use among North American tribes—one better adapted to rough open terrain, a hard-soled moccasin, the other with a soft sole suitable for forest dwellers. The hard-

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair
turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moc-
casin to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the
padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft- [294]
soled moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one
section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring [855]
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to pro-
tect them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accom-
modate the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of [465]
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstand- 554
ing symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

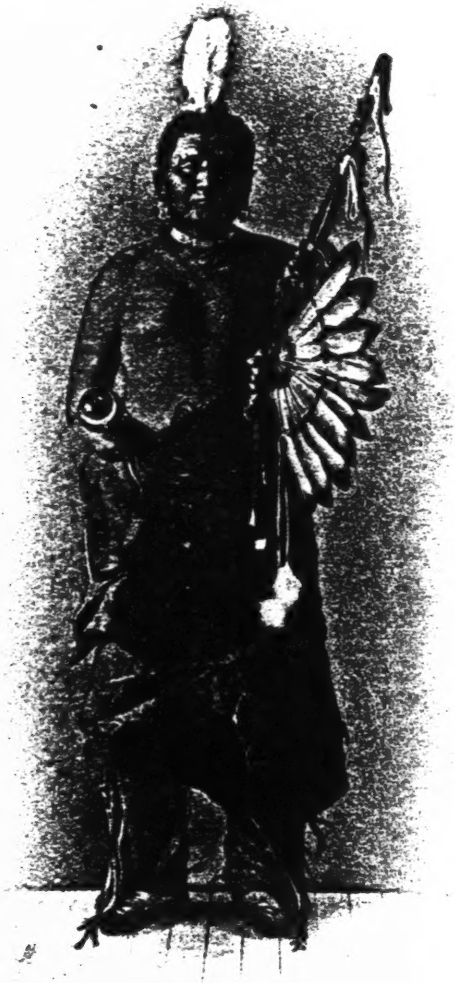
14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

286 It took ten days to make a belt along with other housework and the pay
[461] was five or six yards of calico, half a sack of dried corn and a slab of
[465] dried buffalo meat.

• 291 Except for this one last item, all the rest of the Pawnee clothing was
made of leather and fur.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

142
● 292
301
*796



THE KURAHUS IN CEREMONIAL DRESS

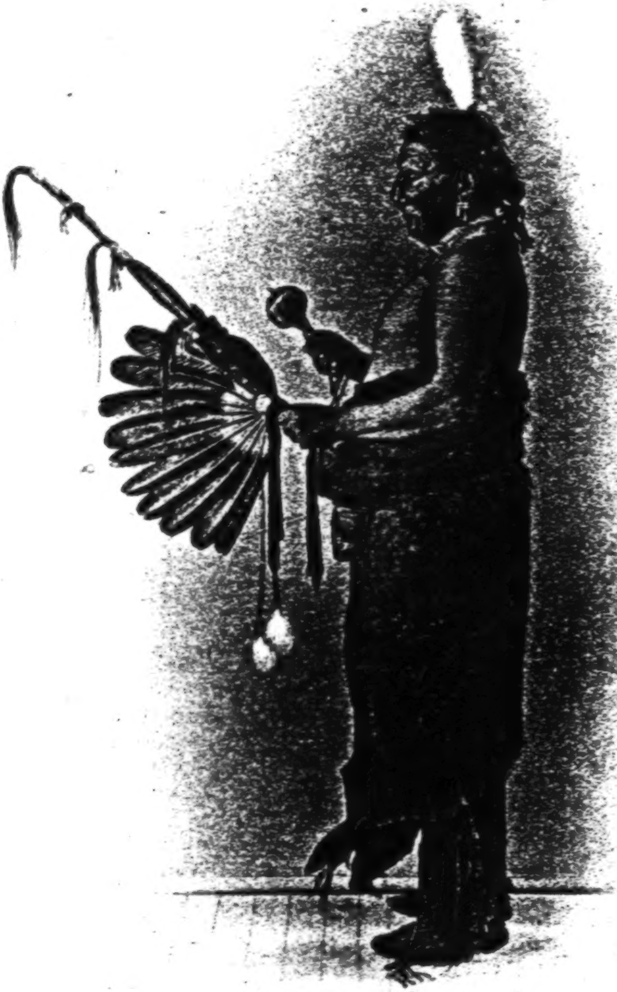
(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A. C. FLETCHER)

[p. 26(A)]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

142
•292
301
*796



THE KURAHUS IN CEREMONIAL DRESS

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C.FLETCHER)

[p. 26(B)]

792
be known as the Mother of the Seven Brothers. This was because 668
she clothed them according to directions which she received in a 796
Ghost Dance vision. 787

Mrs. Goodeagle saw two eagles in her vision, a white one and a black one. The black eagle did not speak to her. The white eagle told her to put up a feast and dress the Seven Brothers. She did so. She gave each of the seven a special shirt, and a white [292] sheet to wear. At the back of the head on the sheet two black ribbons were stitched, so that they hung down for about two feet in the back. All the seven were dressed alike.

Then later someone else fell into a trance and told afterward that Mrs. Goodeagle was the Mother of the Seven Brothers, and that the people must call her that. So all the Skiri considered her the Mother of the Seven Brothers.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF MARK EVARTS

In 1897 or 1898, Mark Evarts came home.[1] He had been away 159 a number of years, first at the Carlisle school, and then working as a harness maker in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. When he got to Oklahoma, the ghost dancing had been flourishing both among the South Bands and among the Skiri. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri was already existent. Mark was not unacquainted with the Ghost Dance. He had heard about it at the time it began to spread among the tribes. He had made a brief visit home at the height of the excitement. But the rest of his story after his arrival in Oklahoma is best told in Mark's own words:

"I told them I did not believe it. I said, 'You can't make me believe it.' Because I was educated and because the white man taught me that the Indians were superstitious. But the white man didn't look at himself and see how superstitious he was.

"One day the Pawnee were all going up to the Oto. After a lot of them had gone, a fellow named Sam Thomson said to me, 'Mark, let's go up to where the Oto are camped now.' We went north to a place about seven miles south of Red Rock. We got there in the evening. We looked into the timber, and there on the other side of the creek we saw the smoke from the encampment. We didn't know where to eat and spend the night, but we found two old ladies in one tipi and we went in there. We asked them if we could sleep there, and stay around during the camping. While I was there I heard someone say, 'this tipi is a special hand

---

[1] Mark had been home on a visit in 1893.

178 the songs, whether specially costumed or not. I am told that on
575 occasion even women were known to join the dancing.

The Crazy Dog Dancers was revived before 1895 by Skiri Tom,
796 one of the survivors of the old organization. The original membership had been practically annihilated in Nebraska days while on the warpath against the Sioux; the misfortune was so great that a few members who survived hesitated to reorganize. Skiri Tom made Charley Box his main singer, with George Beaver to assist him; White Fox was also a singer. Skiri Tom reconstructed objects closely like the old paraphernalia, a crow-feathered dogwood lance, a pipe, drums and rattles. In the revival dance performances, the
[292] dancers were not naked, as in former times, although Skiri Tom himself is said to have worn only a loose jock which exposed the genitals from the rear and caused laughter among the women.
[577] Nudity in the old days was a sign of recklessness; those who courted death in war could be bold and foolhardy in the dance. Skiri Tom died about 1906 or 1907; his paraphernalia were buried with him, and the performance of the Crazy Dog Dancers ceased with his death. The songs, however, are still used.

The Roached Heads, originally a Skiri society, was revived on behalf of the tribe under the leadership of George Washington; a performance witnessed was held inside Washington's lodge; the north side was in control.

A performance of the Skiri Wolf Society,[1] witnessed by men and women about 1900, was a departure from its original forms. In aboriginal times this society never danced in the villages either before or after the hunt; on the war path itself, the war party leader organized the performance. As a result, and contrary to the forms of the other societies, no women participated as singers at Wolf Society performances, while in 1900 women singers were employed.

Murie has described the revival of the Horn Dance (raris arika).[2] The society was revived in a modernized form in 1893. "It took
[787] its form from the dreams of a woman..." In consecutive dreams she was told how to get an eagle skin, to make the crook crow-feathered lance, and the drum. "The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle

---

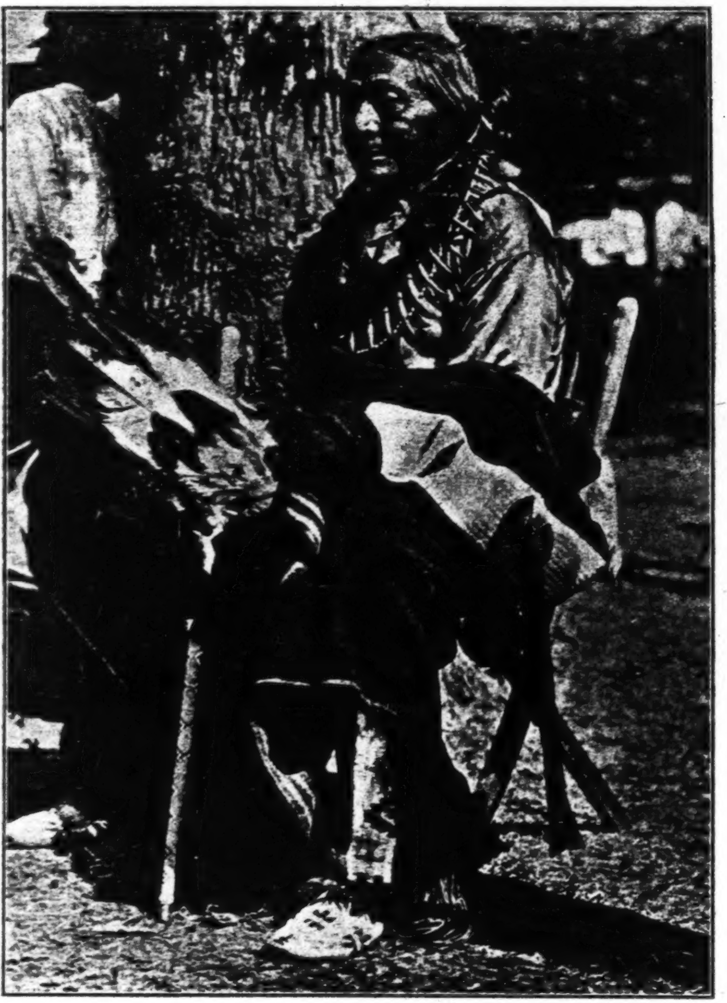
[1] The revival may have been led by Running Scout. A song recorded by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 85, reports a vision of Running Scout which probably refers to the Wolf Society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

[2] Murie, Societies, pp. 623, 638.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY BULLETIN 93 PLATE 1

115
142
● 292
302
293



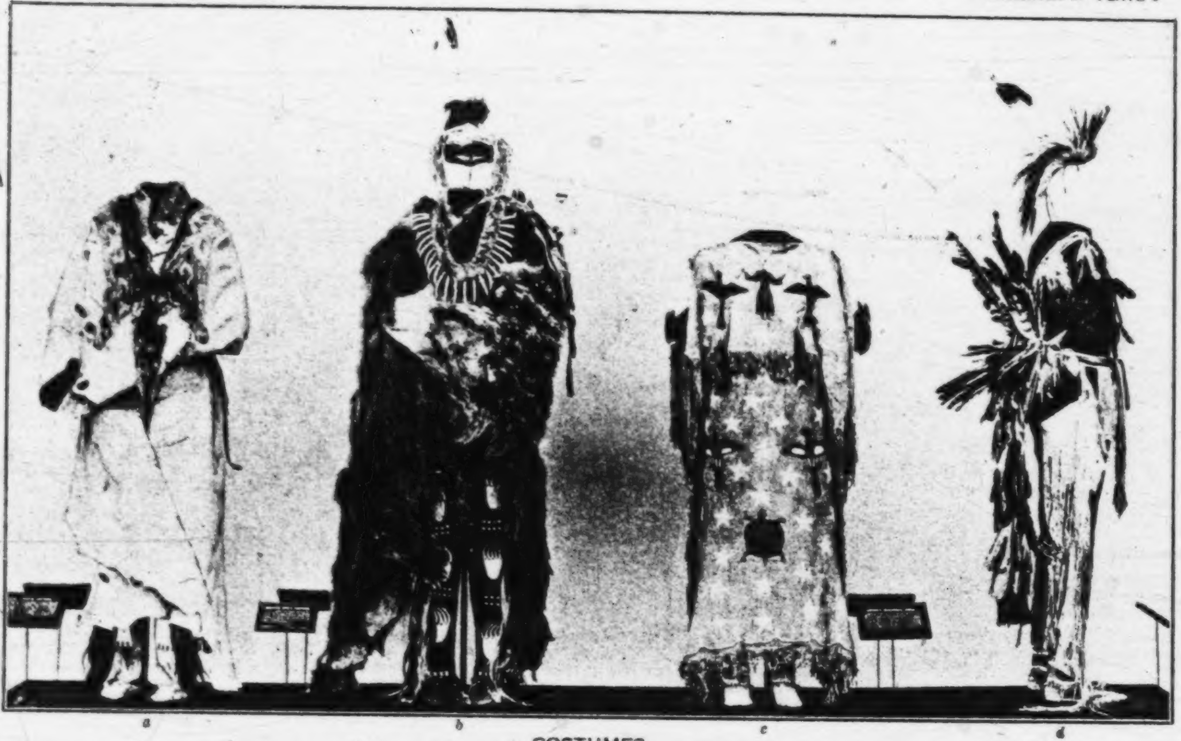
DOG CHIEF

[Facing p. xviii]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

292
301
532
2337

[Facing p. 69]



COSTUMES

a, War leader; b, bear medicine man; c, woman's Ghost dance dress; d, dancer wearing "crow" dance bustle.
Exhibited in Field Museum of Natural History

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

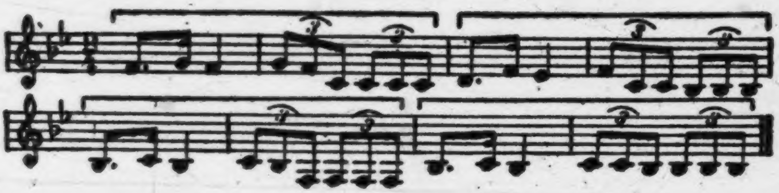
*533 The next song was said to have come down from a time when only men played the hand game.

No. 49. "You Came Near Finding Them"

(Catalogue No. 1095)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—The rhythm of this song is characteristic of the physical movements of persons playing the hand game. It is a rhythm that suggests alternation and the swaying of the players from side to side. There is also an energy in the ascending approach to the first count of each measure. The tones are those of the first 5-toned scale which omits the third and seventh tones of the octave and is always a particularly free melodic form. No change of measure length occurs and the song consists entirely of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. The song contains 11 ascending and 10 descending progressions, two of each being the interval of a fourth.

A song of Roaming Chief (No. 66) was also sung at a hand game.

GHOST DANCE SONGS

668
177
78
[181]
The Pawnee are deeply religious by nature and received the Ghost dance with sympathy. According to Mooney "The Ghost dance was brought to the Pawnee . . . by delegates from the Arapaho and Cheyenne in the west. The doctrine made slow progress for some time, but by February, 1892, the majority of the Pawnee were dancing in confident expectation of the speedy coming of the Messiah and the buffalo. Of all these tribes the Pawnee took most interest in the new doctrine, becoming as much devoted to the Ghost dance as the Arapaho themselves."[29] A woman's Ghost dance dress is shown in Plate 8, c; also other costumes. ● [292]

668
177
Ghost dance songs were recorded but the dance did not form a subject of study by the present writer. As stated, certain Ghost

*533

---

[29] Mooney, James, op. cit., p. 902.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used 787
fox skins in hypnotizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running 533*
Scout always wore a fox skin in the Ghost dance. The skin was not [292]
made into a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and
hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested
on his shoulder. He also gave the call of the fox while he was [201]
dancing.

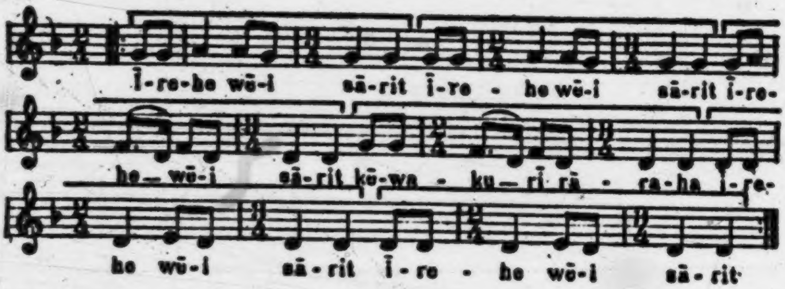
No. 58. Running Scout's Ghost Dance Song

(Catalogue No. 1088)

Recorded by Effie Blain

533*

Voice ♩ = 96
Drum not recorded


Ī-re-he wē-i sā-rit Ī-re - he wē-i sā-rit Ī-re-
he — wē-i sā-rit kō-wa - ku — rī rā - ra-ha Ī-re-
he wē-i sā-rit Ī-re - he wē-i sā-rit

Irehe	wēi	sārit	kōwaku	rī	rāraha
Now there	they	are	fox	they	have

Analysis.—This song, like others of the hand game and Ghost dance, consists of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. In this instance there are two units, the second occurring only in the middle part of the song. It is interesting to compare the third measure from the beginning with the second measure from the close, the ascent to the accented tone in the first instance expressing a certain restlessness while the second phrase is more restful. This song contains the minor triad and fourth and progresses chiefly by whole tones.

The final song of this group is concerning the Ghost dance and, according to Mr. Murie, was sung in the Young Dog Society. The words "the father's child" refer to the messiah whose coming was expected in the Ghost dance. [575 668 796]

Analysis.—The three renditions of this song are alike in every respect except that the intonation on D in the upper octave is variable, occasionally being sung almost as D sharp. The time was maintained steadily and the renditions were separated by

793 of the important features of the ritual; yet in all ceremonies except that of
the four-pole, she is barred from so much as looking inside while the bundle
is open. All the men and boys are at liberty to come in and sit with the
bundles at their respective villages.[1]

Finally, it may be noted that there is a chief for each village bundle
622 (counting the four leading bundles as one) and he is theoretically at least
793 the custodian, but there is another man in his village who is the keeper of
the ritual, or the priest. He conducts the ceremonies. In last resort, he is superior to the chief, especially the priests of the calf bundle and the four leading bundles. Hence, a chief is chief by virtue of his being the custodian of a bundle. This is why the society of chiefs has its seats in the same order as the priests in the four-pole ceremony. It also makes clear the significance of the initial statement that the bundle scheme of the Skidi is the basis of their political and social organization. Likewise, while it is true that the chiefs are all of equal rank, the chief of the four-bundle village who by the way, is attached to the yellow-tipi bundle, sits at the head as may be seen from the diagram for the four-pole ceremony, and so is the leading, or, head chief. He is master of ceremonies, but the chief occupying the seat of Big Black Meteoric Star is the one to conduct all the ritualistic parts of the ceremony.

THE SOCIETY OF CHIEFS.

Among the Pitahaurata there was a special organization of chiefs,
622 which had its less formal counterparts among the other divisions. The first
575 part of the society's ceremony is held privately by the members, or chiefs;
i. e., those now holding office and men who have descended from deceased
chiefs. The membership is strictly hereditary. In the ceremony the leader,
[292] or head chief, must wear an old style beaver hat with a red plume. The hat
is covered with a dark neck cloth such as was formerly worn by sailors. The
meetings are secret and we have no data; but after these ceremonies the
women descended from chiefs were called into the lodge. Each woman has
to part her hair and tie it back, painting the part red. Woven sashes are
[301] worn over the shoulders and wound around for a belt. Many strands of
beads are worn around the neck. The men all have the roached hair and
wear feathers through the roach, but the young men wear down feathers
[237] only. Some wear leggings bordered with scalplocks and eagle feathers, and
black moccasins. Each man and woman carries the skin of an eagle. In
arranging the places for the women, a line of two abreast is formed: first
[602] the two leading men, behind them their sisters or nearest female relatives;

---

[184] [1] Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, the regulations are the same, except that men must pay a fee to the priests for witnessing a bundle ceremony.

when one ties his feather to the cord, he is binding up his future, for each 575 must tie his own, if it is poorly done and drops off, so will be his career. In addition this lecture is usually a general sermon upon the ethical ideals of [867] the society. Each man should add one feather for each time he helped dress the lance, or for each year of his membership. Each feather symbolically represented a part of the owner's life which he tied, or joined, to the fortunes of the lance.

In tying a feather, each member is permitted to use but three knots. The leader ties first and then each member in succession on the two sides. [284] The two errand men are last, holding the ends; these they return to the leader and then take up the ends once more, thus making a four-strand cord. This is placed outside upon a pole and food is brought in for a feast.

On the third day the cord is taken down and the ceremonial dressing of the new lance performed. The new staff is brought in and set up before the leader, who at the proper time ties one end of the cord to the tip of the staff and winds it on spirally, covering almost the entire length. All this time the old lance has been standing before the leader, but now it is dismantled and disposed of as before stated. The new one is then set up in its place and properly installed. The day's proceedings are again closed by a feast.

The most spectacular part of the ceremony occurs on the fourth day. During the night the lance is supported upon a pole as before. Early in the morning the members assemble. [302] The leader paints his entire body with soot and marks down with the fingers. He then takes up the feather bustle, or belt, stating that [292] this thing is to be shown to the powers in the heavens and that no enemy may enter, he must circle the [789] village with it; also that his running through the village will drive away sickness, improve the corn crop, and increase the buffalo. After this lecture, two men begin to sing and beat upon the water drums, the leader dances circling the fire four times, then passes out at the door. Once outside he runs north until outside the village, then runs around until by a spiral course he is again brought back to the door, thus traversing all parts of the village. As he enters, he gives three crow calls, two men spring up, catch him, take the lance and put him in his seat.

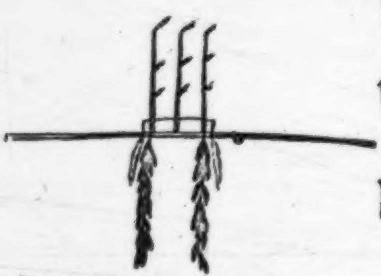


Fig. 11. Bustle for the Raven Braves. The uprights are sticks wrapped with porcupine quills and tufted with horse hair. The belt is of buffalo hide and bears a few sleigh bells. The pendants are wolf tails and strings of crow feathers.

575 two for each side. The pipe-man is the chief, but there is another man who
is charged with directing the ritual. All members carry ring-shaped rattles,
and certain members carry short lances bearing feathers. As to the number
of these lances, we have no data. The members danced nude and tied
[292] a string to the foreskin to the end of which feathers were attached. (See
Catlin's drawings of the Okipa.) On this account they were sometimes
called the "tied-penis society." It is said that in battle some of the mem-
[726] bers would take a stake and a rope, plant the stake before the enemy and
tie the penis string to the rope. They were forbidden to release themselves
and must then stand fast until released.

As to adornment and body painting each man did as he chose. Four hand drums were used.

There were no renewal ceremonies but this society would usually dance
[535] in public after the bundle societies had made their appearance. In dancing
they formed in front of their lodge in a circle. There were two mounted
men to call out their own deeds and encourage others to do likewise. In
one part of the dance the horsemen ride among the dancers back and forth
(p. 387). Also, there were two whip men, carrying green switches with which
[292] to whip up the dancers. If a member enters the ceremony wearing clothes
he is set upon by these whip bearers and his clothes torn to pieces. Only
the members who captured a blanket or cut the covering from a captured
bundle, could take a hand in this. However, if a member has been in a
battle and saved his robe, he may carry it folded under his arm.

[888] In the dance a dancer may remove his moccasins and put them on an old
needy bystander.

CHILDREN OF THE IRUSKA.

In this organization there were but six or seven members. They carried quivers full of arrows which were very highly prized, so when an arrow was shot they went to hunt it. They were known as saaro, youths.

They did things by contraries. If a woman said, "Do not get water,"
[524] they went after it. They were given to playing the wheel game and because
of their peculiarities no one played with them. If an enemy attacked the
village, the members would continue to play the wheel game and pay no
attention to the fighting. If a person came up and said, "Do not go out to
[302] fight," they rushed out at once. They were always painted black as if
ready to fight. On the head each wore the skin of a blackbird. The
society is said to have been handed down by this bird. The leader so
appointed by the bird went through the camp and selected boys who seemed
queer, or even insane. These he organized into a society.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand
that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly 776
responsible. 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of consecrating 292
buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were ceremonial 796
and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies.

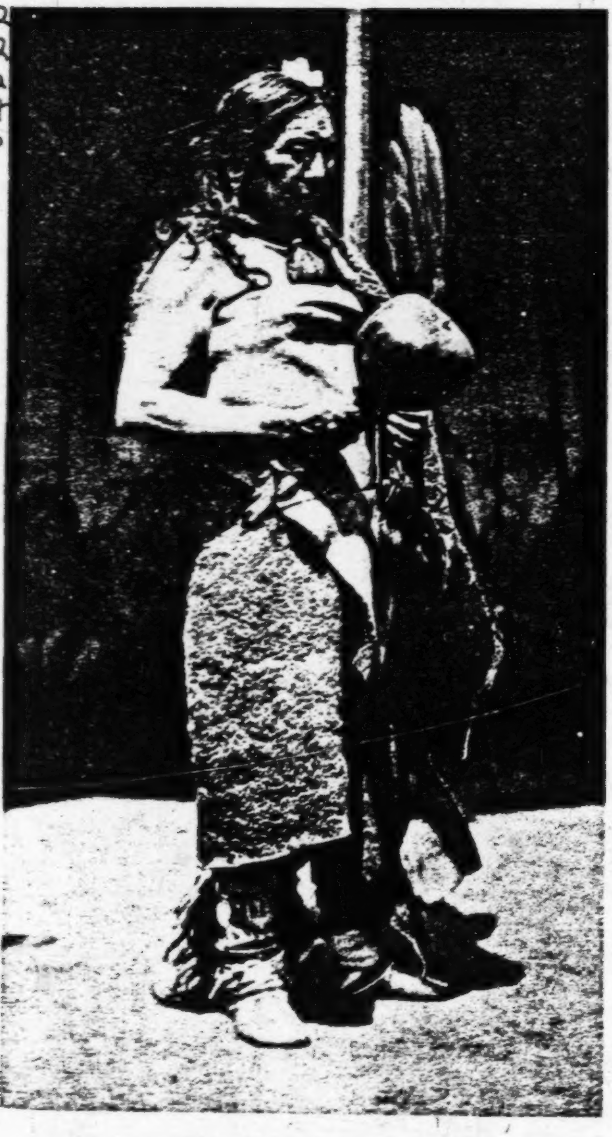
Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected 224
to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the
lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his
hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires.

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the 361
ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according
to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme.
Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a
circular or any definite camp form was observed.

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must 622
pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and 756
what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water 782
animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers
through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with
these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social intercourse. [565]
The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but
otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that
at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called [773]
on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called
upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at
the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The
chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he
jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through
his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen
never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.)

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

142
●292
302
534
793



A PAWNEE PRIEST IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME.

[facing p. 14]

about to be prepared for the sacrifice, and that it was 727
time for everyone to set out for the scaffold. The chief 782
priest undressed the girl, went through the motions of 796
washing her and combing her hair, and painted the [302]
right half of her body red and the left half black. Her [292]
skirt was then replaced, black moccasins were put on
her feet, and a black robe fastened around her shoulders.
Lastly a head-dress of twelve black-tipped eagle
feathers, arranged like a fan, was fastened on her
head.

When the girl had been dressed, all resumed their [533]
seats and sang another song at the conclusion of which she was told to rise; and two men, chosen to lead her to the scaffold, came forward and placed thongs around her wrists. All then passed out of the lodge, with the girl in the lead and the priests following behind chanting.

The rate at which the procession moved toward the scaffold depended largely upon the disposition of the girl. Everything was done to conceal the truth from her, and force was not used unless absolutely necessary.
If she mounted the scaffold of her own free [787]
will, it was considered an especially auspicious omen. The procession was timed to reach the scaffold a few minutes before the Morning Star rose, so that the men who tied her to it could complete their work and leave her alone when the star appeared.

While the girl was being tied to the scaffold, the men chosen for the last rites had assembled in the ravine to the east of it, where they were concealed from her view. A small fire was kindled there, and they prepared their paraphernalia. At the moment the Morning Star appeared, two men came forward bearing firebrands. They were dressed as priests, and had owl skins hung from their necks, showing that they represented the messengers of the Morning Star.

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were of 796
two sorts, ceremonies which centered around the sacred 756
bundles and were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe, and ceremonies which were performed by societies whose members had some secret in common. In the ceremonies of the first class, the most important of which have been described in Leaflets 5-7, an appeal was made primarily to the great heavenly deities. In the ceremonies of the second class, the appeal was made to the less powerful, but more intimate earthly gods who were believed to have bestowed power upon the performers. Among the ceremonies of the second class, those of the medicine men were the most important.

In every Indian tribe there were a number of per- 756
sons, called medicine men by the whites, who were regarded as the possessors of supernatural powers which enabled them to recognize and cure disease. They were believed to have received their powers from some supernatural being either as a direct gift or as the result of instruction by some person who had received such powers. Although they frequently employed sleight of hand and other trickery to impress the uninitiated, many of them believed that they really possessed the powers attributed to them, and performed their ceremonies in good faith. In some cases they combined the functions of a shaman or priest with that of a healer, and thus exercised great influence over the people. In most of the populous tribes they were organized into guilds or societies.

Among the Pawnee, the medicine men ranked [554]
socially next to the chiefs and priests. They usually
wore a distinctive costume consisting of a buffalo robe [292]
with the hair out, a bear's-claw necklace, and a cap of
beaver skin. They also wore charms or amulets con- 751
sisting of the tail and claws of the wild cat, badger, or 756
bear, bear's ears, miniature pipes, and downy feathers,

dies, and as they were busily working an old neighbor woman came by 512
and offered to help them. "You've got a lot of corn to attend to there." 251
"Yes I do," said White Woman. Although there were some general standard 356
varieties, each woman had her own special breeds of corn and of the 476
other crops. As she sat down to join them, the old lady remarked, "I
don't have seeds like that!" indicating that she would be very glad to [241]
have some. They cleaned and winnowed the seeds for several hours,
working diligently together. Finally the other women went in to prepare
the supper, and White Woman remained outside with the old neighbor
woman to finish up the work. When they called out to announce that supper
was ready, White Woman called back that she and her friend would
be in later and to please set something aside for them. Meanwhile she had
indicated to the old woman that she wanted her to stay and that they
would eat later. As they filled each sack, White Woman put aside a little
pile of each kind of corn and other seeds, remarking that she was going
to give her some seeds and that she might go home and get herself a sack
to hold them. When the woman returned she pointed to the piles of seeds
and said, "This is yours. Tie it here. I'm going to put corn of another
color on top. Do you have anything to tie it with?" "No, I'll use my
garters," said the old woman. Then White Woman said, "Let's put the bag
back in the pit," and climbed down into it, using a tree trunk with branch
stubs as a ladder. When she got to the bottom, the old woman handed her
the large skin bag that contained all the smaller bags of the different
kinds of corn and beans. White Woman punched it down to settle the load
and came up out of the pit and began to close it up. First she covered
everything with a skin cover, then a layer of thatch grass, then she
wedged some sticks across the opening into the side walls, then another
layer of thatch grass and then earth that she trampled down hard to keep
out the rain and to conceal the place of opening. "Let's go eat now," said
White Woman. Inside they sat down and ate the food that had been set
aside for them, while the others, particularly the older women, sat by to
converse with their guest. "How are the folks in your lodge?" they
asked, "Oh, they're all right," said the old woman. Meanwhile, White
Woman was feeling very friendly toward the old woman for helping her
out, and as they sat there she noticed that the old woman's moccasins
were worn out. She had a nice piece of black-dyed tanned skin that was [292]
ordinarily used for holiday moccasins, and she said, "I'm going to give
you a piece of black-dyed skin so that you can make yourself some moccasins."
"Oh, I thank you, I thank you. Oh, daughter, thanks. You have
taken pity on me. I'll wear it. Now I've got to go, daughter." When the
old woman left, the rest of the people in the lodge would say, "That old
lady is always good, always trying to help other people out." When the
old lady got back to her own lodge she reported where she had been all
afternoon and that she had received a big bag of corn and her dinner besides.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

773
796
782
[821]
[787]

to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used in the sacrifice ceremony.

Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

• [292]
[825]

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm, northeast; boxelder, southwest; [illegible]tonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for de[illegible] the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spr[illegible] the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

[823]
[824]

The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Tuwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

chiefs of the several bands. With them would go their braves and 224*
other prominent men of their bands who were sufficiently wealthy to 484*
own fast horses and could give them the assistance they needed.

The scouting party had been led by Stolen Horses, and when his party had sighted the small buffalo herd they were looking for they returned to camp and notified Brave Chief, White Eagle's brother-in-law, who in turn got in touch with White Eagle, telling him where and how the herd had been sighted. The next morning they would go after it, and everyone was on the alert for this news that evening. White Eagle called in Roaming Scout to ask him to direct the attack on the herd next day. He was to climb a hill and survey the position of the herd and motion his instructions to the hunters, who would be waiting below.

Now that all arrangements had been made, White Eagle sent out the official chief's errand man, Know-His-Face, to go through the camp, calling out the announcement and then to carry it to the other bands. He announced the following message: "They saw ten to twenty buffalo out there about twelve miles out. Tomorrow while we move the camp, let's try to chase those buffalo." Then after giving the location of their next encampment, he continued with his instructions for the hunters:

> There by the schoolhouse—on the other side—on the northeast—there is a hill. You stop right there at this big hill, on this side of it where we'll all meet, and White Eagle will get there to meet us. All of you are to wait there, and one of us will go up on top of the hill to see if the herd is still in the same location as previously sighted or in what direction it has gone.

Early next morning Camp 9 broke up and the outstanding hunters from all the bands went to meet at the appointed place, while the line of march moved westward toward Camp 10, the last camp south of the Platte. There were fifteen to twenty hunters from each of the four bands, sixty to eighty in all. By contrast to the later hunt episodes, they were
dressed in plain working clothes. For the formal hunt, they dressed in [292]
decorated leggings and they decorated their horses, but in this instance [291]
they all wore plain leggings and moccasins, a brief, simple loincloth, and for the horse a blanket to ride on and other equipment—a whetstone, a knife, and some rope—one of buffalo hide to bridle horses that were rough, and one of buffalo hair for those that were easier to handle. Some because of a special vision experience or exploit had a right to wear a red or white cloth about their heads, while others went bareheaded. Some were privileged to wear a skin shirt because of special war exploits. Some took
their bow and quivers and others carried six-shooters. They brought no [262]
food, but would eat something raw after the kill. Meat was never eaten [252]
raw but they would eat the entrails—some raw liver, kidney, or tripe—

796 each one. The second part of the ceremony consisted in the recitation by a chief of certain events in the creation ritual that represented the essential nature of the world.

In the first episode, the four war parties went out for the poles. When everyone was assembled, four warriors took positions at the semicardinal [292] places. Each was dressed in full regalia. He wore an otter fur collar, a sacred ear of corn on the left shoulder, and a hawkskin on the right shoulder. On the head, each wore a ball of white down feathers and, transversely in the scalplock, an eagle feather. Each element of their costume had a symbolic meaning—the otter collar, awakening of life in the spring; the ear of corn, Mother Corn to guide them over the world; the hawk, to symbolize strength and fierceness; the eagle feather in the scalplock, Heaven during the creation; the white downy feathers, the clouds [302] on which he rode. Their faces were painted with red streaks along the sides and a bird's-foot mark on their foreheads which was also the name of a constellation in the Milky Way. Each warrior carried a war club and a pipe from one of the leading sacred bundles.

While the warriors were being costumed, four scouts had gone in four different directions to locate the trees for the posts. The White Pole [824] was located in the southwest direction and was a cottonwood. The Yellow Pole was found in the northwest and was a willow. The Red Pole of the southeast was a box elder, and the Black Pole of the northeast, an elm. The warriors came outside the enclosure and danced in their appropriate positions and a group of people gathered around each of them. The warriors now led their parties in their different directions and were met by their respective scouts who reported that they had located an enemy standing among the timber. Each warrior now led his party as if stealing upon an enemy. When the tree was sighted, they rushed in and the first man to reach the tree acted as if he were touching an enemy in battle, meriting a special war honor.

[782] Standing at the east, the warrior made a smoke offering to the tree. Then he carried the smoked-out pipe to the west where he deposited the ashes. Then another man, in similar fashion, made an offering of buffalo meat. Then a virgin took up her ax and symbolically cut down the tree. She motioned four times in each of the four directions, cutting off a chip in each. The tree was then actually cut down by her uncles and brothers amid the shouts of the people. As the tree fell they made as much noise as possible.

Now the warriors took up the tree and started toward the village, the [831] crowd following. On the way in they stopped to rest at four different intervals when they were beset by old women who encircled them making suggestive remarks referring to sexual intercourse and speaking of sexual acts as deeds of war. None of these remarks were personal. When the party tried to bring the pole into the enclosure, someone blocked

463 Having consented, Old Lady Lucky Leader would say, "On so-and-
283 so day I am going to make it. Come in then." When the wife of Chief's-Road came in, the old lady directed her to sit down to her left and watch everything. As the work progressed she paid close attention to the manner of braiding and after some of the work had been completed, the teacher asked the pupil to try her hand at it. At first she was very clumsy and was corrected by the teacher and finally she got the idea. When she got home, she tried to do it by herself and from time to time came in to see the old lady saying she didn't quite remember about this and this detail and asking to be shown.

She told no one that she had learned, but on an occasion when someone came to the old lady to have a belt made, she would say, "Go to the wife of Chief's-Road. She can make it. I taught her." The man now would go to the wife of Chief's-Road and tell her that he had been sent by the old lady because she had too much work. She would make the belt for the man and the entire fee would be hers, with no further financial obligation to her teacher. From now on others would hear of it and begin to apply to her and she would be able to earn something for her family.

463 Most mature women knew the techniques of skin working with a
[281] knowledge of mat making being somewhat less common but still widely
[285] known. Everyone could make buffalo-horn spoons. The weaving of the
[321] black rope and woven belts as well as the making of wooden bowls
[283] were known to a very limited number of craftswomen. In the men's
[322] crafts, the bow was made by everyone, but the extremely restricted
[411] number of arrowshaft makers has already been mentioned. The pipe
makers were equally specialized and they made both the stem and the
[276] bowl. Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most significant things the man needed. Only six or seven men among all the Skidi
[292] could make them. Skin shirts could only be worn by men who had an
[554] outstanding social or military status and these were made by a very
limited number of specialists. These specialists were regarded like the
[294] village blacksmith of our early towns. They tried to have two or three
of them in each village. But even the most common craft techniques
could only be learned by a person who was sponsored by someone or
had the wherewithal to pay for his instruction.

the edges through a series of little holes. The beaver skins that they 281
trapped for sale to the traders, were treated in the same way.

The men made their own saddles and horse trappings, some of deer 282
and some of buffalo hide. All men made these for themselves and dressed 492
the deer hides, even Eagle Chief himself. But buffalo hide was gotten 462
from the women. They made saddles, bridles, stirrups, and saddle bags.
For saddle bags, discarded buffalo robes were obtained from the women.
The saddles were made either of deer and deer horns or wood and buffalo
hide. The horn saddle took four or five days; the buffalo hide ten to
fifteen. The men worked hard on their saddles and decorated them elaborately. [531]

The basic clothing was cut out and sewn with an awl and sinew by the 291
women. The women wore a wrap-around skirt, an overblouse, leggings [294]
fastened at the knee, and moccasins. The skirt, of tanned deer hide, reached just below the knee with the closing at the right side. It was fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. If no deer hide was available, they used a very soft buffalo hide.

The blouse was a simple sleeveless pullover extending down over the waist so that it covered the top of the skirt and the belt that held it in place. It was made of an oblong piece of skin folded in two and cut out for the neck and armholes so that it would not rub against the underarm. (See Figure 48-1.) It was sewn along the sides with sinew, the seams extending just a little below the waist. The bottom section that reached toward the hips was left unsewn on the two sides. Around the neck was a scarf about 4 inches wide sewn across the back and reaching over the shoulders so that it could be turned up in cold weather for protection. The neck was provided with a drawstring whose ends hung down in front unless they wanted to draw the blouse close together around the throat.

Until the age of five or six, the little girls ran around naked, but then 855
they had to have a little wraparound skirt of buckskin with a drawstring 291
at the top. They would always complain that it was too loose, for it was usually made to allow for growth; when the little girl complained her mother would say, "Oh, go on, you'll grow soon," or "After all, it might shrink."

Leggings of tanned deer or elk hide were worn by all the women, and 291
these were tied around under the knee and turned down over the tie string at the top. For both men and women, they made two-piece moc-
casins with hard soles and softer uppers. Those of the Skidi were below [84]
the ankle and those of the South Bands a little above.

The clothing of the men, besides the basic garments, included a num- [292]
ber of ceremonial trappings or some that signified special rank or achievement. The main clothes were a loincloth, leggings, and moccasins.

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moccasin to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of [294]
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-soled moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in [855]
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to protect them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accommodate the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of [465]
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstand- 554
ing symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

292 work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done
554 by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such
[531] a shirt.

[461] The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237 The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign
554 of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest
825 men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught.
[411] Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one,
the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281 Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their
756 special ceremonics. The bear meat was considered inedible and was left
in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would
262 soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237 Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-
293 wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough
eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage
[223] to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring
it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237 Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a
554 shield.
714

shield. Some men could make themselves a war bonnet with eagle feathers 237
(the traditional war bonnet of the plains symbolizing a comet). They 292
would buy long white beads in the store and at the base of the throat, 301
wear a big shiny disk about as large as a dollar made out of long black
oyster shell.

An indispensable element of ceremonial costuming was the Black Rope 463
made of buffalo hair. Only men could wear these. The process of braiding 283
was very complicated and required great concentration. If a woman [292]
came around inclined to converse, the maker would excuse herself and [237]
say she had to get through and wasn't able to talk at this time. The work
was done in the house and preferably in the fall when less interruptions
were likely. Only a few women had the skill to do it. The hair of which
the rope was made was from the mane or head of the buffalo. Four
twisted strands were braided together into a long rope or belt. Each of
the strands for braiding was wound onto a ball, and these balls were
manipulated in order to form the braid. Some women did fine even work
and some did it poorly and roughly. Working steadily at it, the work took [461]
about twelve days. If it had to be fitted in with other work, it would
take more time. A woman would come to the belt maker on behalf of
her husband and order one, bringing the materials. The maker would be
paid well.

There were some few women who could make a colorful braided belt 292
by interweaving five colors. They called it "red-woven." It was a wide [286]
flat belt that was made to order to fit the waist of the prospective wearer
with long fringes hanging down to the ankles. A belt like this was usually
made for boys and girls of good families and for young women. An older [171]
woman would not consider it proper to wear one although among the
Osage, they were commonly worn by all women. A few men twisted
these belts around their heads as a turban with the fringes hanging down
on both sides of the face and eagle feathers at the back of the head.
Most men regarded this as a "flashy" style of dressing.

The materials used were entirely commercial—wool for the body and cord for the concealed warps. A woman who wanted to have one made for her boy would ask her husband to buy the materials at the trade store so that she could take them to the weaver.

We do not know whether this skill is old or new among the Pawnee. 286
In general, on the American continent, it goes back several thousand 178
years as a fabric-producing technique. But the exclusive use of commercial
materials and the reluctance of mature men and women to wear the
belt suggests that its adoption is fairly new.

The work was usually done outdoors in the springtime for maximum 286
visibility. It required great concentration and one mistake might compel
the weaver to rip the whole thing. If a woman was making one on order,
her family would do her spring planting to free her for the work. It

554 727 357-358 Like other Plains tribes, the Pawnee had the tradition of honoring a warrior for touching a fallen enemy. In anthropological literature, this has come to be known as "counting coup." The first one to touch the fallen enemy among the Pawnees as among the other Plains tribes, got the greatest honor. It was said of him, *wi-ti-ki*, "now-he-strikes." The second to touch the fallen enemy got a secondary honor and the third was the final strike that could count. Taking the scalp could count as a "strike." As the strike is being made, the warrior must call out "I strike" at the scene of battle itself if possible with witnesses to the deed. Otherwise, only if there were some concrete evidence, could the deed be counted. For example, if one struck a dead Sioux, one would put him in a sheltered place until you could bring witnesses or people who came to see tracks of horses in the place where the exploit occurred and some blood to show there had been a skirmish. However, even if such proof could not be made, later when peace was made and the erstwhile enemies were sitting together at peace, they might recount their former war exploits and the deeds of the brave would be confirmed by the enemy so that the warrior's own people would know.

172 412 363 On polished stone axes, celts, etc. see Wedel, 1936, pp. 77-78: In the archaeological Pawnee and proto-Pawnee sites, polished stone axes and celts are rare, and there seems to be a preponderance of crude stone mauls. Also see Strong, 1935, pp. 59-60, 66-67.

292 821 375-376 The comet of 1882, *upirik-kiskuxka*, "feather headdress," was so named to indicate the identification of the traditional Plains war bonnet with a comet.

000 403-406 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of a bulrush mat, pp. 151-152.

382, 385 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of wooden bowls, pp. 47-51, and the mortar and pestle.

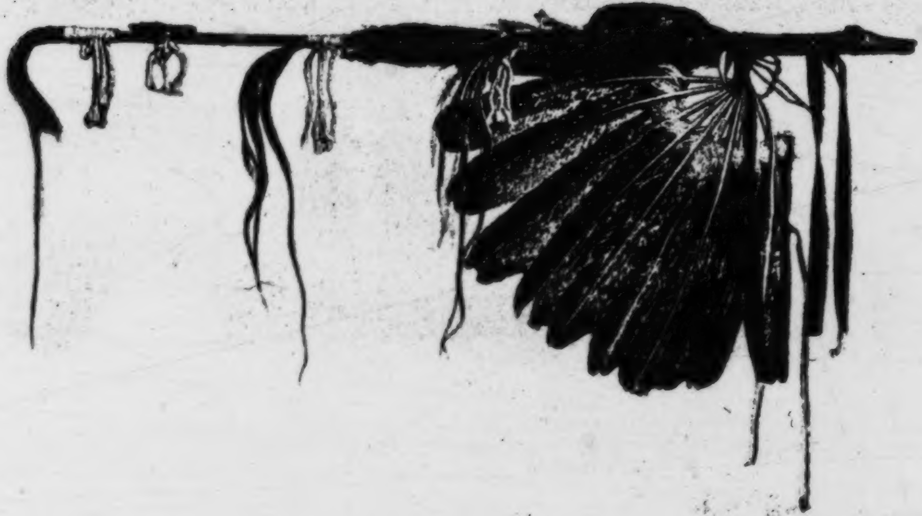
As this book went to press, there appeared in *Science* (July 10, 1964, 145, No. 3628, 117-136) a definitive article, "Economics and the Quality of Life" by the outstanding economist, John Kenneth Galbraith, that so closely parallels the general viewpoint that I have tried to express here that I feel it should be especially mentioned.

In the *New York Times* (July 12, 1964), an article appeared which was entitled "Landlord to Hire Social Worker to Help His Tenants Live Better." The realtor referred to is Mr. Howard Offit, one of Baltimore's largest landlords, who owns about 1,000 red-brick-row or attached houses. The social worker hired by Mr. Offit will work in a West Baltimore neighborhood. Harold C. Edelston, executive director of Baltimore's Health and Welfare Council, who is one of the program's advisers, states its purpose: "to have the social worker provide brief counseling service for tenants with personal family

*796
293
237

I: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[FACING P. 38]



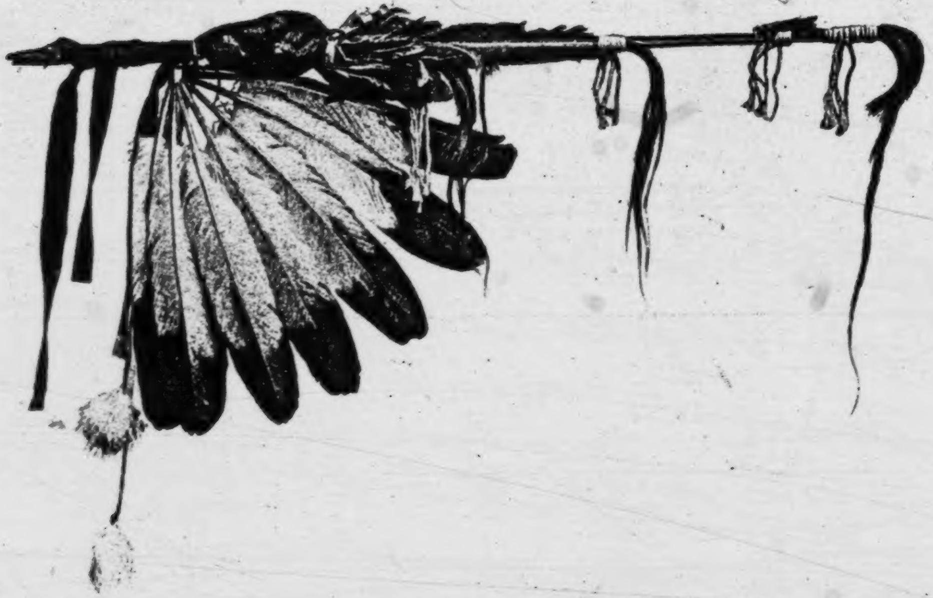
KAWAS, THE BROWN FEATHERED STEM (FEMALE)

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C. FLETCHER)

*796
293
2337

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[facing p40]



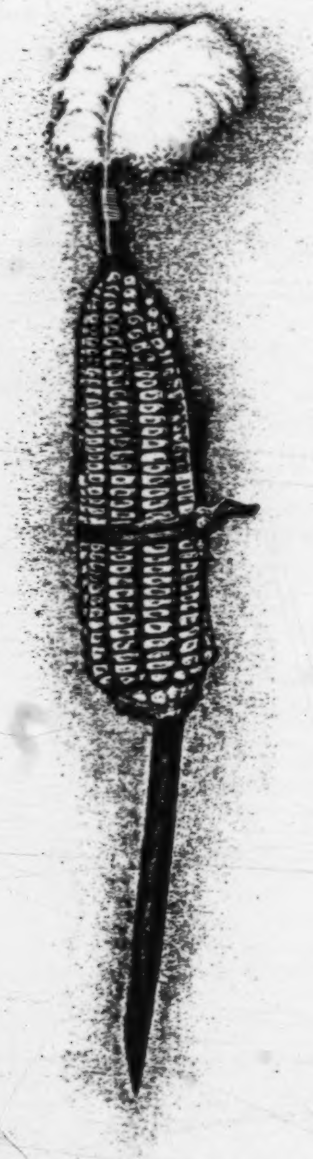
THE WHITE FEATHERED STEM (MALE)

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY" BY A. C. FLETCHER)

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796
●293
237
243



"MOTHER CORN"

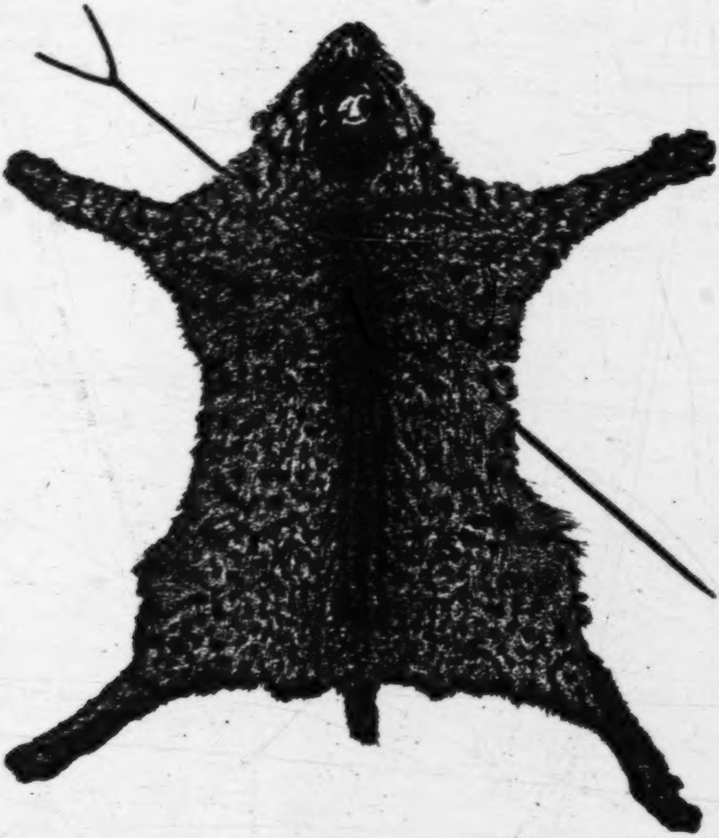
(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C.FLETCHER)

[FACING p. 44]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796
● 293
237



THE WILDCAT SKIN AND CROTCHED STICK ON WHICH
THE TWO FEATHERED STEMS ARE PLACED
WHEN AT CEREMONIAL REST

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C.FLETCHER)

[FACING P. 48]

796
533 thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that
539 he had been to the Messiah who told him to 'go to the village.'
[787] Following this instruction, he saw many men dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypno-
[237] tizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always wore a fox skin in the Ghost Dance. The skin was not made into
● [293] a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder.
[198] He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing."[1]

1— *ṭrịhe we ɩaurit*
so here now stop!
1— "
1— "

2— *kiwaku ṛiraraxra*
fox (es) they have them

1— *ṭrịhe we ɩaurat*
so here now stop!
1— "

Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
They are holding fox skins
Here now you must stop!
Here non you must stop!

Densmore in one case records a free translation of a song without text[2]:

> "The yellow star has noticed me,
> Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather.
> That yellow star."

[787] The reference is apparently to one of the old star powers and reflects the gift of an ornament of "power" in a Ghost Dance vision.

[787] A song without texts used at victory dances was "'in the style of the Lance dance songs'... The words mean, 'They are coming yonder, the men who belong to the Lance Society (Tirupa)[3].'" The reference here is to the resurrection of the membership of the old Fighting Lance Society (tirupahe), and to the revival which took place in the Ghost Dance years.[4]

---

[1] Densmore, pp. 84—85, no. 58.
[2] Densmore, p. 84, no. 57.
[3] Densmore, p. 68.
[4] See Chapter III, Revivals of Societies, pp. 112—115.

178
feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her 575
face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff 796
who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one Horn
Dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals.
The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat [782]
and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this
woman." (1914).

The Horse Society (raris arusa) was revived early, probably by
Frank Leader. Murie describes at length a ceremony for renewing
the society lances held May 23, 1902.[1] The paraphernalia included [293]
two lances, four rattles, four hand drums, and a red pipestone bowl [778]
with tubular dogwood stem, the stem incised with black bands to [276]
resemble trachea markings.[2]

Of certain societies we cannot be sure that the revival was extensive. All the societies mentioned were used as sources for the content of Ghost Dance visions, and the visionaries made facsimiles of old society objects which they carried in the dance. When the visions were as well bestowals of special rituals, such as hand games, the society objects became part of the bundle and altar. The Crow Lance Society (hatuxka) was revived in this way by Mark Rudder; a lance was placed at the altar, and a brief dance led by Rudder opened the game occasion (See Chapter X). The Society of Crows (raris kaka), a derivative of the hatuxka of aboriginal times, was independently revived by George Beaver, and it is probable that paraphernalia made by him were integrated with his game set.[3] Fancy Eagle is credited with the making of a hand drum which was associated with the old Fighting Lances (tirupahe[4]) and used in hand games.

In addition to the use of paraphernalia, songs of these revived [533]
societies were used in the intervals of the hand game ceremonies. It
is also probable that the use of drums in the hand game ceremonies
was based on old society forms.

---

[1] Murie, Societies 561ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 567, p. 566 fig. 5. Two hand drums in the Field Museum (F M 79368—1,2) are probably those of Leader; the face bears in red a representation of the raris arusa sheathed lance with its sets of fringed feathers.

[3] F M 73962 is the revival lance; it is not encased in buckskin. F M 79364 and 79365 are hand drums decorated with Ghost Dance symbols, which are said to have been used for the raris kaka by Beaver.

[4] F M 71934. Reference is made by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 68 to a song which apparently concerns the revival of this society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

115
142
292
302
● 293

DOG CHIEF

[Facing p. xviii]

539 rainbow. The evening star provided a bag. The council discussed what these 575 people should take with them. Morningstar said: "I will supply a sacred bundle and I wish eveningstar to contribute someone to carry it and four men to care for it."

Eveningstar brought an ear of corn which was transformed into a girl, the bearer of the bundle. First the four men were put into the bag, then the girl with the bundle, then people, and finally, the two lance men. The bag was tied so the man could carry it on his back.

It was now time for Paruxti to visit the earth. Eveningstar commanded the four powers in the west, clouds formed, lightning and thunder were placed into the clouds. Paruxti was placed upon the clouds and the wind slowly blew them along towards the earth. Soon the clouds rested on the earth and Paruxti stood upon it. He went towards the east leaving footprints so the gods knew he was on his way.

One time when he was tired and lonesome he remembered what the gods had told him about the bag. He sat down near a stream, placed the bag in front of himself, and opened it. First the two lance bearers, carrying the lances, jumped out. They stopped some distance off, one standing at the south and one at the north side. Soon people sprang out and took their places behind the two lance men. Then came the girl with the sacred bundle on her back. Behind her the four men walked abreast.

The two lance men lead the people to some level ground. They stuck the lances into the ground while the rest of the people put up their tipis. The first one was set up facing east, for the bundle girl and the old men. The bundle was hung up inside the tipi on the west wall. The girl sat beneath it. Two of the old men sat on the north and two on the south side of the tipi. Throughout the village all was bustle and confusion. The boys, young men, and old men were playing with their sticks and rings. For the boys the ring was small and the sticks had two hooks on one end. The sticks used by the older men were hooked at one end and had two cross bars while the ring was smaller than that used by the young boys. The oldest men played with large rings and straight sticks. The women sat in circles and played a game with plum seeds and a basket while others played shafts.

[293]
[411]
[778]

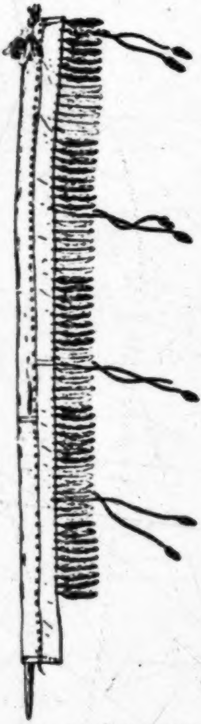


Fig. 3 (50.1-7191). Lance for the Two Lance Society, one of two. The cloth is red, the feathers white (goose) and black (crow). The pendant feathers are crow and the tuft at the top, owl. Length, 2.387 m.

Messengers were sent through the village to call out the men to look for game. The runners notified the people that they had seen many buffalo. The men went out to hunt them and returned with the meat. The first buffalo killed was taken to the holy tipi.

They stayed at this place four days when the holy being told the four old men that it was time to move. Camp was broken and everyone returned to the bag, the two lance bearers last of all.

side and the one on the south side in front of the south men. Then he placed the 276
second bowl from both the north and south sides before the third and fourth men on
either side and so on until all the bowls were in front of them and then they ate. 575
The bowls were passed down towards the entrance and what remained was the share of the two assistants. When the corn was all eaten the assistants gathered up the bowls and put them away. Then the meat, bread, and coffee were passed without any ceremony.

Known-the-leader said, "Men, old men, and young men, our fathers are now complete. Tomorrow we will have the dance. We have made the smoke offering to the gods and they will be thankful. We have also offered our corn to the gods and they will watch over us.[1] We will now prepare to leave this tipi. We have eaten and smoked."

This ends the ceremony for the making of the lances.

The regalia are two lances, four rattles, and four hand drums (Fig. 3). 575
There is also a special pipe as shown in the sketch, Fig. 5. The four singers [293]
wore foxskin caps and painted their faces white, marking down with the
fingers. The members have no fixed painting, being permitted to follow [302]
their fancy. Formerly, they danced nude and carried weapons at their pleasure. The mode of dancing through the village and conducting the buffalo hunt has been described, these procedures being the same for each society.

As noted in the table the Chaui also had this society, though with them it was of minor importance. There were also small differences in the arrangement of the feathers on the lance.

THE SKIDI RED LANCE SOCIETY.

The rarispahat, red lance or otter lance society among the Skidi had two lances as shown in the sketch. Here the one for the north side of the lodge
was wrapped with dark otter fur, the one for the south side with reddish [293]
fur. The leader had a pipe, there were four rattles and four hand drums. The renewing of the lances and other ceremonies were as described for the bundle societies in general. This society does not occur elsewhere except in the Wolf-standing-in-water village, but here there is but one lance and the stone on the bowstring is wanting. There were probably important differences in the ritual but there are no data available.

This society was almost never called upon to act as hunting police, but [721]
was often called upon to lead in war. It will be noted that the lances, in contrast to those of the preceding, carry real spear points. Their power

---

[1] The smoke and food offerings have practically the same form in all ceremonies.

dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in 756
their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry
rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow [534]
mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes. [386]

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws.
The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the [293]
lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in [778]
black. There were no feathers or other decorations.

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished
old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature [888]
of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times.

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

THE DEER SOCIETY.

The raris ta, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual 276
seems to be in keeping of the Skidi organizations. The fundamental ele- 756
ments of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer (ta), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamental is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls unconscious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed jaw of a gar [illegible]; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once for all.

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may
be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the [789]
leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced

175 575 796 *The Kit'kaháxki Iruska.* About 1894 while the ghost dance was still intense a man named Sitting-bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and lead it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the hands of Little-sun, one of the leading singers. According to this ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-fly-high, also a pupil of Sitting-bear.

575 796 In the Kit'kaháxki society there were four chiefs, as among the Skidí. The dancers are on both sides, north and south. At the south side entrance there are four chiefs and four pipes. Next to the chiefs on the north side are two old men. The director of the ceremony sits near the pipes and his assistant, or the whip man, by his side. The singers sit around the drum. [533] Unlike the Skidí when they have sung a set of songs, all smoke receiving no smoke from the chiefs. The songs go in sets of ten.

At a certain point in the ceremony all rise and stand in a circle with the chiefs holding pipes in the center. Then with songs the smoke offerings are made. This is similar to the preceding. After the offering the pipes are delivered to the pipe keepers. In the two last dances everybody takes part and makes them as violent as possible. The ending is as in the preceding. The food is brought in as before. A man and woman are now selected to make the corn offering. The woman receives a small wooden bowl with a horn spoon, she is the donor of the food. The movement to the kettle is different, the man dips out the food into the bowl held by the women. A little from every kettle is taken. Then they go to the west side of the fireplace. The man and woman here offer the food as before. The bowl and spoon are returned to the keeper, while the whip man selects men to hand out the food as before. The head chief at the south side recites part of the ritual and announces the close of the ceremony.

The regalia are the same as for the preceding. The songs and procedures are, however, quite original.

The Chauí Iruska. During the ghost dance excitement Roaming-chief began to dream songs and a form of the modern iruska ritual. Later, he started the organization which spread to the Pítahauírata. Unlike the other iruska societies the drum is set at the west end, or head of the lodge, the old original Pawnee form. The drumsticks are beaded and bear feathers on the end. [293] One chief on each side, some of them have short sticks covered with beads and decked with feathers. The sticks for the two sides are of different colors. There are four of these sticks, and hooked at the end, on the north side; three on the south. No whip man. The smoke ceremony here is before the singing. The staff men rise and hold them as

292 work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done
554 by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such
[531] a shirt.

[461] The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237 The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign
554 of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest
825 men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught.
[411] Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one, the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281 Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their
756 special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered incedible and was left
262 in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237 Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-
293 wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough
[223] eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237 Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a
554 shield.
714

*224 They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The
264 contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four
sets.

*224 The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four
623 Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each
628 and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat
in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates from the villages.

*224 The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning
623 each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this
793 tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in
summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during
[701] the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose
[625] the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was
[778] under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening Star bundle.

*224 Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was
623 going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War
628 Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the
793 other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill.
[625] Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now
officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief.
[574] The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was
[264] carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief, who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

*224 The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south
623 pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head police-
625 man War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh
574 bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could
make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people
[293] to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

*224 Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the
623 old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was
562 in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and
Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they
[251] could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very
*224 early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican.
[793] When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of
[825]

463 Having consented, Old Lady Lucky Leader would say, "On so-and-
283 so day I am going to make it. Come in then." When the wife of Chief's-Road came in, the old lady directed her to sit down to her left and watch everything. As the work progressed she paid close attention to the manner of braiding and after some of the work had been completed, the teacher asked the pupil to try her hand at it. At first she was very clumsy and was corrected by the teacher and finally she got the idea. When she got home, she tried to do it by herself and from time to time came in to see the old lady saying she didn't quite remember about this and this detail and asking to be shown.

She told no one that she had learned, but on an occasion when someone came to the old lady to have a belt made, she would say, "Go to the wife of Chief's-Road. She can make it. I taught her." The man now would go to the wife of Chief's-Road and tell her that he had been sent by the old lady because she had too much work. She would make the belt for the man and the entire fee would be hers, with no further financial obligation to her teacher. From now on others would hear of it and begin to apply to her and she would be able to earn something for her family.

463 Most mature women knew the techniques of skin working with a
[281] knowledge of mat making being somewhat less common but still widely
[285] known. Everyone could make buffalo-horn spoons. The weaving of the
[321] black rope and woven belts as well as the making of wooden bowls
[283] were known to a very limited number of craftswomen. In the men's
[322] crafts, the bow was made by everyone, but the extremely restricted
[411] number of arrowshaft makers has already been mentioned. The pipe
makers were equally specialized and they made both the stem and the
[276] bowl. Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most significant things the man needed. Only six or seven men among all the Skidi
[292] could make them. Skin shirts could only be worn by men who had an
[554] outstanding social or military status and these were made by a very
limited number of specialists. These specialists were regarded like the
[294] village blacksmith of our early towns. They tried to have two or three
of them in each village. But even the most common craft techniques
could only be learned by a person who was sponsored by someone or
had the wherewithal to pay for his instruction.

the edges through a series of little holes. The beaver skins that they 281
trapped for sale to the traders, were treated in the same way.

The men made their own saddles and horse trappings, some of deer 282
and some of buffalo hide. All men made these for themselves and dressed 492
the deer hides, even Eagle Chief himself. But buffalo hide was gotten 462
from the women. They made saddles, bridles, stirrups, and saddle bags.
For saddle bags, discarded buffalo robes were obtained from the women.
The saddles were made either of deer and deer horns or wood and buffalo
hide. The horn saddle took four or five days; the buffalo hide ten to fifteen. The men worked hard on their saddles and decorated them elaborately. [531]

The basic clothing was cut out and sewn with an awl and sinew by the 291
women. The women wore a wrap-around skirt, an overblouse, leggings [294]
fastened at the knee, and moccasins. The skirt, of tanned deer hide,
reached just below the knee with the closing at the right side. It was
fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. If no deer hide was available, they used a very soft buffalo hide.

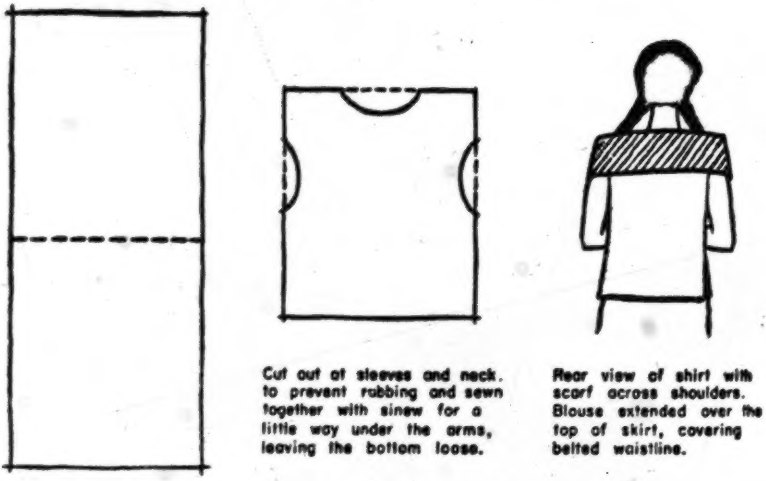
The blouse was a simple sleeveless pullover extending down over the waist so that it covered the top of the skirt and the belt that held it in place. It was made of an oblong piece of skin folded in two and cut out for the neck and armholes so that it would not rub against the underarm. (See Figure 48-1.) It was sewn along the sides with sinew, the seams extending just a little below the waist. The bottom section that reached toward the hips was left unsewn on the two sides. Around the neck was a scarf about 4 inches wide sewn across the back and reaching over the shoulders so that it could be turned up in cold weather for protection. The neck was provided with a drawstring whose ends hung down in front unless they wanted to draw the blouse close together around the throat.

Until the age of five or six, the little girls ran around naked, but then 855
they had to have a little wraparound skirt of buckskin with a drawstring 291
at the top. They would always complain that it was too loose, for it was usually made to allow for growth; when the little girl complained her mother would say, "Oh, go on, you'll grow soon," or "After all, it might shrink."

Leggings of tanned deer or elk hide were worn by all the women, and 291
these were tied around under the knee and turned down over the tie
string at the top. For both men and women, they made two-piece moccasins with hard soles and softer uppers. Those of the Skidi were below [184]
the ankle and those of the South Bands a little above.

The clothing of the men, besides the basic garments, included a num- [292]
ber of ceremonial trappings or some that signified special rank or achievement. The main clothes were a loincloth, leggings, and moccasins.

291 Around the waist they had an elkskin string. To it on each side they tied on the leggings which were of deer or elkskin, covering the whole leg and thigh. A strip of soft tanned deer hide was drawn between the legs and under the waist band so that the ends hung down in front and in back. One good deer skin made two pairs of leggings. Each legging took [294] an hour to make—two hours for the pair. In warm weather a man might [461] carry a tanned buffalo-hide blanket over the left shoulder when not in use. In winter they wore the furred buffalo robe for warmth.



Fold in two.

Cut out at sleeves and neck to prevent rubbing and sewn together with sinew for a little way under the arms, leaving the bottom loose.

Rear view of shirt with scarf across shoulders. Blouse extended over the top of skirt, covering belted waistline.

FIGURE 48-1. The pattern of a woman's skin shirt. A scarf about 4 inches wide was fastened to the neck and across the shoulders; it could be turned up against the back of the neck and head in cold weather. A string that went all around the neck with both ends hanging down in front could be tied at the neck to draw the shirt close around the throat. There was a wrap-around skin skirt closing at the right side and reaching just below the knee; this was fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. The costume was completed by leggings fastened at the knees and moccasins.

291
294 Keeping the family in moccasins was a constant problem for the women. During the migrations on the hunt, moccasins wore out all the time and the woman had to carry along some cutout moccasin leather all ready to be sewn up. A sewing bag with sinew, an awl, and moccasin patterns was an essential of the hunting equipment. A man going on a long journey over the country would take along a similar kit.

291 There were two kinds of moccasins in general use among North Ameri-
[171] can tribes—one better adapted to rough open terrain, a hard-soled moccasin, the other with a soft sole suitable for forest dwellers. The hard-

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair
turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moccasin
to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the
padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of [294]
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-soled
moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one
section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in [855]
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to protect
them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accommodate
the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other [465]
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstanding 554
symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

796 221 241 778 "Priest"; it was performed when the sacred corn plants were about two inches high and had four good leaves. This ceremony was in charge of one of the two "south" bundles of the semicardinal directions—in alternate years, the southwest and the southeast. The crux of the ceremony was the uprooting of one of the young sacred corn plants, in which the act of birth was symbolized and the young plant carried as an infant on the visionary's back from the field to the ceremonial lodge, where it was attached to a stick fashioned by an arrowshaft maker and painted to represent a person. The plant was now carried through a cycle of childhood and young girlhood and breathed on by the priests to give it life. It was now Young Mother Corn, watching over the tribe. Only when this ceremony had been performed were the women permitted to go out into the fields and weed the corn plants and hill up the earth around them to protect them as they grew. A second weeding and hilling process in the latter part of June was the last attention the corn plants received before being "laid by." The people were then ready to leave for the summer buffalo hunt.

796 221 Without this ceremonial cycle, the coordination of the people in their orderly round of life could not go on. While it was primarily a religious frame, it was also of basic practical value since it was based on the seasonal progression. Without it it would have been almost impossible to coordinate people's lives with one another and with external events.

Some of the activities that were necessary during the spring season were fitted into the cycle rather than being part of it. This was particularly true of the manufacturing and maintenance functions, while the ceremonial cycle referred especially to the planting of the crops.

221 [356] • [296] All winter while the people had been wandering over the country on the tribal buffalo hunt the house had stood idle and their clothes and equipment had taken heavy wear. These had to be put in order and repaired before planting time.

356 476 221 554 622 The average life of a house was twelve years, but before the end of that time water might leak through the roof and rot some of the radial roof beams. These would have to be replaced, and in order to do this the whole roof covering of thatch and earth had to be removed and reassembled. This task would require more than the personnel of the household. Where the men of the house had little social status they would have few social contacts to draw on, but men like Old Bull and Victory Call were in a much better position to get help from the community. Because of their status as chiefs many more people were likely to volunteer to help. The following section shows some of the social mechanisms involved in the process. However, it should be noted that the assistance given was neither on the basis of power authority nor fundamentally for the sake of gaining social status by association, but rather in appreciation

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291 sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moccasin to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. [294] To make a soft-soled moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296] was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced. On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring [855] were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to protect them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accommodate the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294 pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476 time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461] to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins. Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602] likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other [465] women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291 Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721 need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

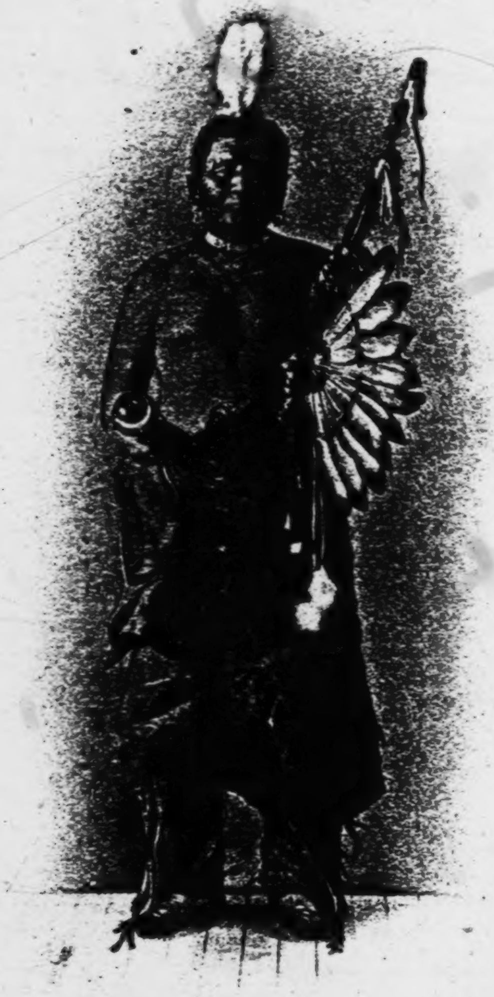
There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292 to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstand- 554 ing symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them. Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family, while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463] specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465] maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727] sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237] work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

7

142
292
● 301
*796



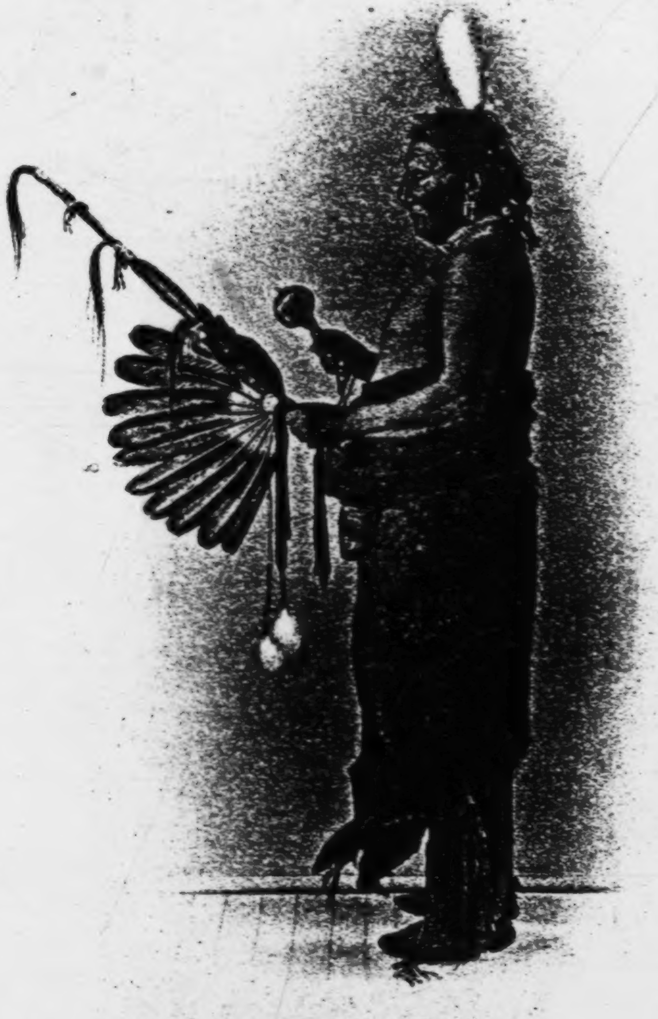
THE KURAHUS IN CEREMONIAL DRESS

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C.FLETCHER)

[p.26(A)]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

142
292
● 301
*796



THE KURAHUS IN CEREMONIAL DRESS

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C.FLETCHER)

[p.26(B)]

668 177 seen them dancing in a circle.[1] Nothing authentic and substantiated reached the tribe, however, until the fall of 1891[2] when Frank White came home to the Pawnee after his stay with the Wichita.

The Pawnee tell of White's learning the Ghost Dance among the southern tribes in the following way:

668 177 796 "One time Frank White went over to the Comanche, who were dancing the Ghost Dance. He went inside and sat down on the north side. He ate peyote, a great deal, until he was nearly overcome. He bent his head and covered his eyes. He was a good-looking man who used to wear decorative red twine over his brow. [276 301] The Comanche did not know him, and the next morning they asked him who he was, and he said he was a Pawnee. Then he left them and went to the Wichita. He ate peyote there, and watched them dance the Ghost Dance and learned it. Then he came home and brought it to the South Bands. He told them what he had learned."

668 177 The period during which Frank White studied the Ghost Dance among the Comanche and the Wichita was in the year following the great Ghost Dance of the fall of 1890, led by Sitting-Bull. The forms of leadership and organization he learned were those preached by Sitting-Bull, and initiated by him personally among the Caddo and Wichita.

Muric has spoken of White's experiences in the south. "Frank White... joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream, [787] the tree, the Messiah and then the village of people.[3] He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in [533 539] Pawnee. The first song was as follows[4]:

we	*rịhi*	*iraši·ra*
now	place where	yonder you come

wetịkuwatu	*rawahe*
now I long for	the {village region

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 630—632 recounts a long narrative of the story which was supposed to have reached the Pawnee in 1890.

[114] [2] Murie, Societies, p. 633, says "in the fall of 1892." This is a misprint or a slip on Murie's part. In the account which follows Murie describes events of a winter and summer which intervene between White's return to the Pawnee and his arrest; White was arrested in 1892. Furthermore, we can date the time White left the Wichita by the fact that he left before the Arapaho delegation arrived in the fall of 1891 with the message from Wovoka, which, in spite of the objections of Sitting-Bull, necessitated a change in the form of the Ghost Dancing.

[3] Murie is doubtless referring here to the narrative of Wovoka's vision as known to the Pawnee which he gives, pp. 630—632.

[4] The form I quote here is a retranscription and retranslation of Murie's printed version, written by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

contemporary Pawnee informants as to who the originals singers 668
were. According to Joseph Carrion, they were, in the order of their 796
selection and importance, Whitehorse (Pitahawirat^{a}), Sam Cover 177
(Skiri), Ezra Tilden (Skiri), Tom Yellowhorse (Skiri), Henry Shooter (Kitkahaxki^{x}), Brigham Young (Tcawi), and Jim Keys (Skiri). In addition, however, Carrion corrects himself by agreeing with other informants that Joseph Long was the first of these "crows" selected. Mark Evarts believes that all the original singers belonged to the South Bands, and claims that the first four, after White himself, were Joseph Long, Rubin Wilson, Lester Pratt and White Elk, none of whom are Skiri. The presence of Skiri men in the group of main singers should however be anticipated because all the bands joined in the Ghost Dance under White's leadership. Also, when the Skiri later organized and led their own Ghost Dancing, the singers who were selected by the Skiri to take charge were men who knew the songs because of their earlier participation in the South Band Ghost Dancing, hence some Skiris must have belonged to the original group of singers. The men actually selected to form the organizations of the Seven Eagles and Seven Crows (see below) included several who are mentioned in this list of Carrion's. Those whom Knifechief and Mrs. Washington selected were chosen because they knew the songs.

In addition to face paintings, the early Ghost Dance forms [302
included the use of feathers as hair ornaments. Two types were 301]
prominent, eagle feathers and crow feathers. These birds were used because of a definite symbolism which attached to them. Both [825]
birds were conceived to fly high and far, and to see and know many things. The Pawnee have always thought of the crow as a bird which finds what it seeks. Hence the crow can help people find what is lost lost beliefs, lost ways of life.

In trance visions of the Ghost Dance, the visionary usually found 668
himself associated either with the eagle or the crow, and thereafter 787
wore the feather of one or the other. White wore eagle feathers,
and when he constituted the seven men as the official singers, he 796
gave them special crow feathers to wear. White did not himself lead the singing after this, but acted as general director, dancing in the center of the circle and putting subjects into trances.

A story is told of how White and Joseph Long were put to a 668
test in early Ghost Dance days. There was a woman who went to 796
Camp Creek. On the way she lost a strap with which she was going 825
to bind up a load of wood. She wanted to find out if it was true that crows could find things, so she went to the tipi of the leaders and told them about her lost strap. Frank White said, "All right, sit

796 668 782 When each house-group had ready its quota of wood, meat and all else necessary, everything was in order and the dance could begin.

276 A sacred smoke offering opened the dance. If the people wished to begin dancing on an evening, the usual form was to hold the smoke ceremony, then dance a little, perhaps ten songs, and adjourn until morning. At the continuation of the dancing in the morning no smoke offering would be made; but if dancing were begun for the first time in the morning, a preliminary offering was necessary.

[301] Inside the main tipi were the Seven Brothers seated on the south side. Four chiefs were selected to carry pipes and make a smoke offering. These came out of the tent leading the way, followed by the Seven Brothers, each wearing an eagle feather in his hair. They were directed by Knifechief. This was the first occasion on which the Skiri Ghost Dancers saw the Seven Eagle Brothers as an organization.

796 668 554 823 Outside, the arrangement in relation to the clearing followed the form already described for White's South Band Ghost-Dancing. The Seven Brothers were in the center of an arc-like line of men which stood at the east of the clearing facing west (for an evening smoke-offering). In front of this line stood the four chiefs with pipes, also facing west. While the Seven Brothers were in the center of the line, Sam Cover who was No. 1 Eagle Brother was not in the center of the seven, but at the south end of the seven: the others followed in the order given above, from south to north: this was the order of their selection. The significance of this arrangement is that now there was no main one who must be in the center—all were equal. In the row of men four chiefs took special places: two south of the Seven Brothers and two north.

796 668 782 823 Each of the four smokers had a special function. Their arrangement was from south to north as they faced west: Number 1 smoker at the south end of the row of four smoked to heaven; number 2 to the west (Christ); number 3 to the east (position of the rising sun); and number 4 at the north end of the row of four smokers, to the south, the noon sun.

276 The four smokers proceeded with their movements simultaneously. Number 1 took the filled pipe, (phase 1[1]) walked through a half circuit clockwise to the west where he faced east and offered a pinch of tobacco upward, placing it on the ground; (lighting the pipe) then he continued clockwise to the northeast, where he squatted toward the east, holding the pipe in his mouth. Here it was lit from a brand brought forward by another. (Phase 2; first

[1] See Chapter 8, pp. 186–207.

159 "After that I had to join the Ghost Dance. I used to paint my
[302] face with yellow and two blue streaks across each cheek.

"The reason this made me feel the Ghost Dance was true, was because it all began with my father and my mother, and they were
[787] both dead. That's why—because they were ghosts—that we call it the Ghost Dance, and that I had to go and join it. After this I believed it was all true."

After his vision, Mark Evarts was sick for some time, and did not begin to dance with the Ghost Dancers at once. He lived some time alone at Osage City.

Once he was on his way back to Pawnee when he met the Pawnee camped at Skeedee. Mark Rudder and others were there. They told him it was a good thing he had come, because they were going to make feathers for the Crows.

159 Mark Rudder organized and led a brief hand game that night.
524 People from the town heard about the game and came out, swelling the crowd. Rudder avoided the ceremonial complications of the game: it was played for enjoyment, and people who joined in sat as they pleased.

159 It was a full moonlit night. The game was played in a tent, and
787 after each game they went outside to dance. The moon was in the southeast. "Louis Behaile was touched, he got shaky, all at once he cried. He stood crying with his hands up toward the moon. After we came back inside the tent, he told it. 'I felt something in my mind, when we went out. It seemed I was going to see something. It's coming. We went out. When we were dancing around, all at once I looked up at the moon, and the moon looked down and saw me and laughed at me. That's why I cried.'"

159 At the hand game Rudder told all the men to come the next morning. "We've got something to do here. We've got the crow feathers and the cedar. We're going to make feathers for the Crows, for each one of you. And those who are outsiders, if you want me to make them for you, you come and I can do it. We're going to take a whole week to camp here. We're going to make these feathers."

The place at which they were meeting belonged to Jonathan Eustace. Jonathan told Mark Evarts to stay right at the camp, and unsaddle his horse. So Mark stayed there. At that time Mark Evarts had nothing to do, and usually lived at Rush Roberts' farm.

159 The next morning, the men came about ten o'clock to Rudder's
301 tent. His tent faced east. Inside, Rudder sat at the west, with a wooden cross set up behind him, and a small pile of crow feathers

in front of him on a spread. Rudder set one man to work preparing 159
cedar sticks, another to work preparing the horn ends of the 301
feathers so they could be attached to the sticks with sinew. Still another was called and told to get sinew ready for use as thong. While the work proceeded the other men present told stories. One man said that he heard the crows calling "ka-ka-ka," and understood what they meant, so he came to the camp and there sure enough he found them all working on the crow feathers. The others laughed. The men preparing the things took their time. They were working at it all day. When dinner came in the evening, Mark Rudder had all the things wrapped up and put aside. The work was finished the next day.

Only wing and tail feathers of the crow were used. Four feathers, [237]
either from the wing or tail, were attached to the stick. Each man present was asked which kind of feathers he wanted put on his. The [283]
sinew was soaked in a bowl of water to soften it for use. The head end of the cedar stick was spread or thickened so that when the feathers were tied on they spread outward. Across the top of the sticks indentations were made in the form of a cross and when these crow sticks are used ceremonially and set in the ground, the ends of this cross must point in the cardinal directions. Red paint was put in the grooves of the cross. The feathers were bound onto the sticks while the sinew was wet, after which the sticks with the feathers attached were hung out in the wind to dry. The sinew tightened in drying. Each man who wanted a crow stick came forward and took one.

THE SEVEN CROWS AND AFTER

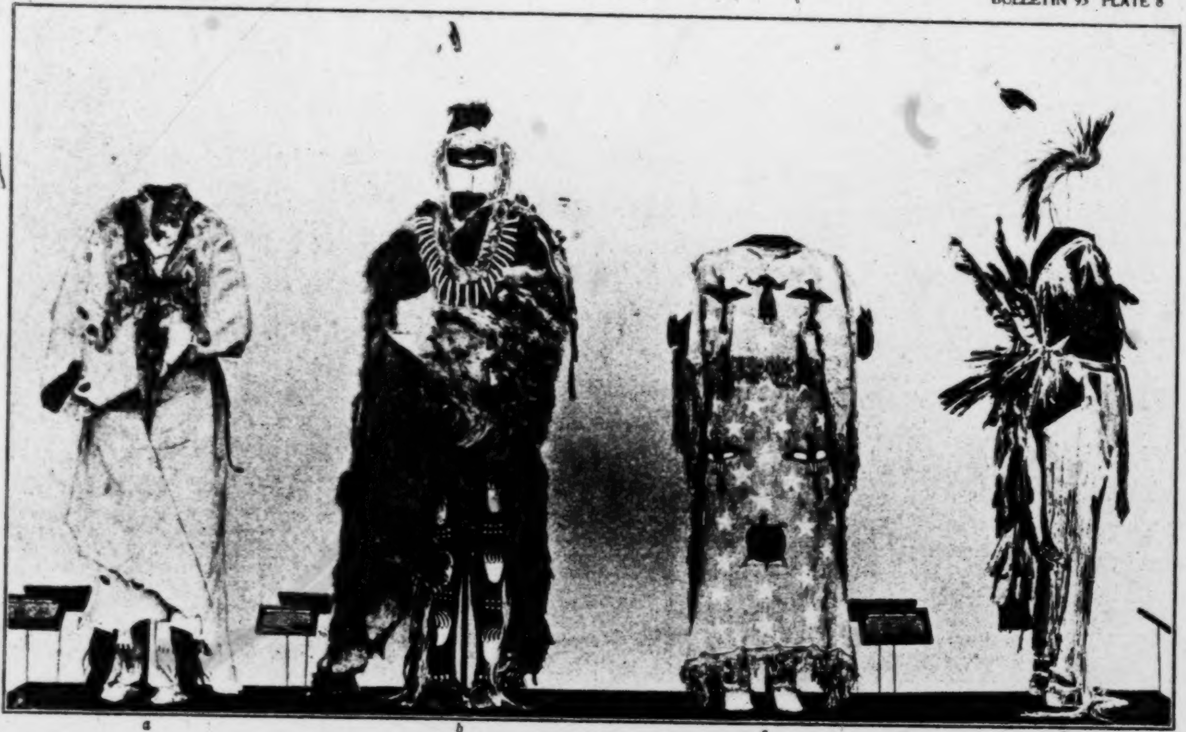
Mark Rudder was thus instrumental in developing the decoration 668
and recognition of Crows. As yet, however, there was no official 796
organization among the Crows, similar to the Seven Brothers of the Eagles.

Once when they were Ghost Dancing near the north round house, 668
a young woman "got the shakes" and fell. When she recovered, 796
she sat there crying. The old man crier went to her and blessed her. 787
Then he asked her if she had something to say. She said, "Yes. When I fell, I went down a road leading west and saw a big hill across my way, and the road went up the hill. I went up that hill. When I got on top of the hill I looked down below on the other side. There was a big camp there. As I went down the hill I saw a man coming out of that camp. He met me before I got to the camp, and told me to stop, not to come any further. I

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

292
301
532
237

[Facing p. 69]



COSTUMES

a, War leader; *b*, bear medicine man; *c*, woman's Ghost dance dress; *d*, dancer wearing "crow" dance bustle.
Exhibited in Field Museum of Natural History

793 of the important features of the ritual; yet in all ceremonies except that of
the four-pole, she is barred from so much as looking inside while the bundle
is open. All the men and boys are at liberty to come in and sit with the
bundles at their respective villages.[1]

Finally, it may be noted that there is a chief for each village bundle
622 (counting the four leading bundles as one) and he is theoretically at least
793 the custodian, but there is another man in his village who is the keeper of
the ritual, or the priest. He conducts the ceremonies. In last resort, he is
superior to the chief, especially the priests of the calf bundle and the four
leading bundles. Hence, a chief is chief by virtue of his being the custodian of a bundle. This is why the society of chiefs has its seats in the same
order as the priests in the four-pole ceremony. It also makes clear the
significance of the initial statement that the bundle scheme of the Skidi is
the basis of their political and social organization. Likewise, while it is
true that the chiefs are all of equal rank, the chief of the four-bundle village
who by the way, is attached to the yellow-tipi bundle, sits at the head as
may be seen from the diagram for the four-pole ceremony, and so is the leading, or, head chief. He is master of ceremonies, but the chief occupying the
seat of Big Black Meteoric Star is the one to conduct all the ritualistic parts
of the ceremony.

THE SOCIETY OF CHIEFS.

Among the Pitahauirata there was a special organization of chiefs,
622 which had its less formal counterparts among the other divisions. The first
575 part of the society's ceremony is held privately by the members, or chiefs;
i. e., those now holding office and men who have descended from deceased
chiefs. The membership is strictly hereditary. In the ceremony the leader,
[292] or head chief, must wear an old style beaver hat with a red plume. The hat
is covered with a dark neck cloth such as was formerly worn by sailors. The
meetings are secret and we have no data; but after these ceremonies the
women descended from chiefs were called into the lodge. Each woman has
to part her hair and tie it back, painting the part red. Woven sashes are
[301] worn over the shoulders and wound around for a belt. Many strands of
beads are worn around the neck. The men all have the roached hair and
wear feathers through the roach, but the young men wear down feathers
[237] only. Some wear leggings bordered with scalplocks and eagle feathers, and
black moccasins. Each man and woman carries the skin of an eagle. In
arranging the places for the women, a line of two abreast is formed: first
[602] the two leading men, behind them their sisters or nearest female relatives;

---

[184] [1] Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, the regulations are the same, except that men must pay a fee to the priests for witnessing a bundle ceremony.

C

THE BEAR SOCIETY.

756 Among the very highest of shamans and doctors were the bear men. Among their regalia were four bearskins, a grizzly, cinnamon, the large black bear, and the small black bear. There were also four bear-claw neck- [301] laces. Eight rawhide rattles were used. Preparatory to a ceremony two piles of cedar brush were placed in the lodge, one for each side. When the members have assembled a sprig is given to each, set up before his seat, and carried in the dance. The sprig is carried home, the leaves stripped and the [789] wood cast into the fire. The leaves are placed in a bag and used for ceremonial smudges; thus if a thunderstorm threatens, a smudge is made to protect the lodge.

When called to a ceremony, the members enter, take their seats and place [302] their professional bundles in front. Then they paint. One set of men paints red, one white, and another a kind of pink. All make black eye marks, a diagonal line from the inner corner of the eye down across the cheek. If feathers are worn in the hair, they are of the same color as the face.

When all are ready, the leader designates two men from each side, to wear the bearskins. These were worn merely as robes, the head on one side, the tail on the other. Sometimes two small boys are selected to dance with [53] very small bearskins. Four water drums are used; these are passed, or moved around the circle at intervals. While the songs are rendered, the members dance around the fireplace and during the intervals walk around the fire, or mill like bears.

At the feast which follows the kettle of corn is brought in and as in all ceremonies is set upon the median line of the lodge between the door and the fire. (Fig. 4). Eight bowls are placed around it in a circle, those in [264] the north half going to that side in order, etc. After the corn is served, the kettle of meat is brought in and served in a similar manner. Thus each side eats in four groups. No one is permitted to use a knife while eating. After the feast each makes up his bundle and departs.

While all the divisions seem to have had a bear society, its full ritual was in the keeping of the Skidi organization.

BUFFALO DOCTORS.

Another important society found among the Skidi and Chaui is known as [778] kura taraha, buffalo doctors. On their altar is a buffalo skull, one half white, one half red; also a wand with seven eagle feathers, at the top a tiny bag of native tobacco and four strings of blue beads hanging down. The

105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee
[171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but
they understood the arts of pottery-making and
291 basket-weaving. During the summer the men usually
wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings
and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins,
leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned
on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe
do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The
302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made
301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced
the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings.
342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth
lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine
Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the
sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or
bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi.
The first three of these were closely related, but the
Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and
considered themselves more closely related to the
Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some
[361] distance to the north. In their settlements along the river,
the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi
being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest
downstream, and the other two bands between. Each
621 band was divided into a number of villages which were
social as well as geographical units. All the members
of a village believed themselves to be descended from
a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made
within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female
[778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle)
[793] containing sacred objects, and priests who had charge of
the rituals and ceremonies connected with these
622 objects. It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a
council composed of its leading men. If the chief was
a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

vidual, as a part of the deer-tail headdress. Similar devices are 172*
used by the Dakota and other Plains tribes. One complete specimen 321
and a few in various degrees of completion have been recovered, all 412
from the Hill site. They are in the Hill collection at the Hastings Museum.

Roach spreader.—This piece, from the Hill site, is carved of thin bone or antler and is about 5 inches long (fig. 12). It bears several [30]
rows of tiny pits filled with red pigment and is pierced by 8 small holes, 5 of them at the round end. It was undoubtedly used to spread the deer's hair crest or roach sometimes worn as a headdress by the men; the 5 holes at the smaller end were for attachment of a plume holder of the type above described. In 1933 the present writer saw similar objects in use near Walters, Okla., among the Comanche, who claimed to have borrowed the idea from the Pawnee or Osage (cf. Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pl. 55 (Omaha); and Skinner, 1921, a, p. 113 and fig. 2 (Menominee)).

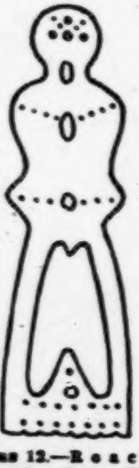


Figure 12.—Roach spreader from Hill site (Hill collection).

Chipping implements.—Deer-horn flakers are relatively scarce in Pawnee sites but were very common in earlier times. They are from 4 to 6 inches in length, less than an inch in diameter, and are slightly curved. Usually they appear to have been cut from the basal portion of the antler and are very much worn; the end is commonly nicked and cut, as by small flakes of flint. They [171]
occur commonly in eastern Nebraska and have been reported from south-central Missouri (Pulaski County)[74] as well as from Cayuga, Seneca, and Neutral sites in New York.[75]

In addition to the foregoing type there is one made by cutting a semicircular piece diagonally out of a heavy leg bone of bison or elk. These pieces fit the fingers very conveniently, are much worn, and usually are deeply scored about the edges and at either extremity. They are quite abundant at all sites, but are not usually regarded as of any consequence by amateur collectors.

Teeth.—A number of teeth have been found on the surface at the 172+
old Skidi village north of Palmer as well as in caches at the Hill
site. A single specimen, presumably the canine tooth of a bear, has [301]
a perforated root for suspension; otherwise all are unmodified.

---

[74] Fowke, 1922, pl. 35.

[75] Skinner, 1921, p. 92.

*172 Molar teeth of bison and elk are also very common, but were not worked for ornamental uses.

Corn shellers.—A rather common find in caches is either half of the lower jaw of a deer, wolf, or some similar animal, in which the teeth have been very much worn down on one side. The jawbone also frequently shows signs of much friction and wear. There is a possibility that these objects were grasped in the hand and used to scrape the corn from the cob in preparing it for cooking. [171] None of the early writers mention this as a method, but it is entirely feasible, and has been reported for the Iroquois (Parker, N. Y. State Mus. Bull. 117, p. 544, 1907).

*172 415 321 **Horn spoons.**—Bison horn was commonly used in making ladle-like spoons, by the simple expedient of cutting the horn in two lengthwise and then trimming off the edges of each piece; sometimes the small end was pierced as for suspension. Irving records them as being used by each individual,[78] and they are not infrequently found in graves, though their thinness renders them rather perishable. No mountain sheep horn has been found as yet, probably due to the presence of hostile tribes between the Pawnee and the range of that animal.

Work in Shell

Clamshells.—Large Unio shells are fairly common in Pawnee villages, both as surface finds and in the graves and houses; a cache of about a dozen was found in the north edge of the lodge excavated by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, as has been previously mentioned. Two species of shells from this site have been identified by Dr. Frank C. Baker of the University of Illinois. They are *Proptera alata megaptera* (Raf.) and *Lampsilis ventricosa occidens* (Lea). Generally these shells are unworked, but a few are notched as though for attachment of a handle; incised or carved specimens are extremely rare. They are commonly found in graves and caches with paint materials in them, and probably served principally as receptacles. [412] A few show pronounced wear on the edges and were apparently used as digging or scraping tools.

● 301 Ornaments of historic Pawnee workmanship, so far as the archeological record is concerned, seem rarely to have been made of shell.

*172 321 **Tubular beads (?).**—A rather interesting class of shell objects is illustrated in plate 8, *m*. They are long white cylinders, very often tapering slightly toward the ends, and are perforated longitudinally. In length they vary; the upper two in the illustration are 4½ inches long, while the shortest is less than 3 inches; they average from one-fourth to three-eighths inch in diameter. Usually they are covered

---

[78] 1835, vol. ii, p. 13.

with a rusty coating, readily removed, and some are rather badly 172*
weathered; all are soft and chalky in texture. Sometimes, as in the 301 ●
second specimen from the bottom (pl. 8, *m*), they are unperforated 321
but have a groove about one end. They were probably made from the columella of the conch or from some very thick-walled bivalve. They occur as grave finds, always in pairs, and are nearly always found one on each side of the head; doubtless their purpose was for ear or hair ornamentation.

Identical objects are described by Holmes[77] as common on the Pacific coast, where they were made "from the thick valves of the *Pachydesma crassatelloides* or the *Amiantis callosa*." As to their use, the same observer says, "They were probably used as beads for the neck and as pendant ornaments for the ears. The longer specimens may have been worn in the nose. It is also said that beads of this class were used as money."[78] A specimen 4½ inches long in the Dinsmore collection at the University of Kansas Museum probably comes from an early historic Kansa village on the Missouri.
For the most part the workmanship and drilling of those from the [172
Pawnee area are so perfect that there is a strong possibility of their
being trade pieces from the whites rather than of actual aboriginal 439]
manufacture. They do not occur in prehistoric cultures of Nebraska, so far as known at present.

A string of small tubular shell beads, each three-eighths inch long by less than one-eighth inch in diameter, are the only approach to "wampum" yet found; they are from a historic grave. Irving, in describing the appearance of the Republican Pawnee chief in 1833, states that "a long string of wampum, the only ornament he ever wore, hung from his neck . . ."[79] Disk shell beads are altogether absent in Pawnee sites, although prehistoric ossuaries in southern Nebraska have yielded thousands of them. In general, beads and shell work of any kind represent a very minor phase in Pawnee culture, in historic times at least.

WORK IN WOOD

MORTARS.—A large wooden mortar from a grave at the Hill site 172+
is the sole representative of this class of utensil. It is made from a 412
section of tree or log, standing 14 inches high, and is between 9 and 322
10 inches in diameter. The grinding cavity in the top is 6½ inches deep by 8½ inches in diameter and is encircled by a square lip. The mortar stands on three legs, each about 2 inches high, and the under side is much worn by long use. No pestle was found with it. While

---

[77] 1883, p. 226.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 120.

The border is carved with zigzag lightning symbols. The emblem 172*
of the sun, 5 inches in diameter, with 4 long and 12 short rays, 322
is neatly cut into the upper part of the piece, which is further embellished 854
with brass-headed tacks (Nebr. Hist. Mag., x, 3, 1927, p. 192).
It is a most unusual and attractive piece of work and was very likely
made by Indian craftsmen. Fragments of other nicely decorated
boards have been recovered, but none is sufficiently large to permit a
good reconstruction.

Miscellaneous.—Wooden boxes and chests, bound with leather or 172*
metal and studded with large-headed nails, are not uncommon, 322
though always in fragmentary condition. Wooden-backed mirrors,
sheaths, and numerous other odds and ends are frequently found,
nearly always with rows of nails as ornamental features. The clumsy
workmanship probably indicates that most of them were made by
the Indians themselves, in imitation of the white man's articles.
Occasionally a better piece is recovered, perhaps with a lock or
hinge, these being probably imported and trade articles. Pipestems [276]
of light carved wood have been found in a few cases but were too
fragmentary for accurate restoration.

Miscellaneous Objects

Glass beads.—These were in very extensive use by the Pawnee 172*
after the arrival among them of white traders. Small white, blue, 301
and red beads, of transparent glass, are by far the commonest, especially 439
in graves, while black appears relatively infrequently. Tubular
porcelain beads, less than one-half inch long, are also found,
though not very plentiful. Large, irregularly shaped blue, red, and
colorless beads, mostly translucent, have been regarded as of Indian
manufacture because of their crudity (pl. 8, *n*). Samples of these
were submitted to M. W. Stirling, of the Smithsonian Institution,
for examination and were pronounced by him to be trade material
from the Hudson Bay Co., probably via the Missouri.[82] All of these
were from the Hill site, abandoned about 1810. There is thus no
positive evidence that the Pawnee ever manufactured their own
glass beads, though the custom was followed by the Arikara, Mandan,
and other upper Missouri River tribes in historic times.[83]

Metal work.—Iron and copper become increasingly common with 172*
recency. Iron "squaw" hoes, gun parts, axes, chisels, bridles, stir- 439
rups, knives, and innumerable other odds and ends abound on the 177

---

[82] Letter of Oct. 13, 1930.

[83] Lewis and Clark, 1922, vol. I, p. 238. However, excavation at the Burkett site
in April 1931 yielded a number of turquoise-blue, glass beads of rough manufacture [114]
and imperfect glass. According to Dr. W. D. Strong, these are closely similar to a native-made
specimen of glass work secured by Dr. Mathew among the Arikara in 1870, now
in the National Museum.

*172 collectively treated as a tribal trait. For the most part information comes from the Hill site, and is based primarily upon the researches
764 of Mr. A. T. Hill and of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey.

Three graves were opened by the survey party at the Hill site, in August 1930, all on the west slope of the main burial hill south of the village. Burial 1 was that of a very young child. It lay at a depth of 3 feet, in a small, ill-defined grave. The bones were so badly decayed that the orientation of the body was not deter-
[301 mined. A single broken iron ring, a metal disk, and a tiny catlinite
276] pipe with one notch on the stem were the sole offerings.

Burial 2 (pl. 11, *c*) was that of a subadolescent about 10 or 12 years old and was in very good condition. The grave was 3 feet 6 inches deep, 4 feet long, and some 18 inches wide. The skeleton lay on its left side, the feet drawn up toward the buttocks, and the knees and arms extended toward the front; the head was to the north. Immediately at the back of the cranium lay a half-cylindrical iron vessel with a small spout, apparently an army canteen of early nineteenth century type (pl. 12, *a*). Lumps of red ochre were found about the waist and to a lesser extent near the feet. All traces of clothing had
[307] long since disappeared, save for a quantity of colored glass beads about the feet, which probably came from moccasins.

Burial 3 (pl. 11, *a*, *b*) was the richest of the group. It was that of a small child, poorly preserved. The grave was 4 feet deep, 34 inches long, and 18 inches wide. The skull, rather badly broken, lay to the south; the rest of the skeleton was too fragmentary to yield any clues as to the arrangement of the body and limbs. The body had been completely wrapped in twined reed matting and then covered with bark. Over the whole, in disorderly fashion, lay several broken slats of worked wood about 2¼ inches wide and less than a half inch thick; the longest measured 17 inches, another 9 inches, the latter with two holes near one unbroken end. All of the wood was painted a dark purple and was very nicely smoothed; it was probably the framework of a cradle board. Near the middle of the body were a number of glass beads, apparently from a beaded belt or shirt front. The soil about the feet was literally impregnated
[301] with more beads, mostly white, blue, and red, doubtless from the decayed moccasins. Several heavy lead rings about three-eighths of an inch wide, a broken shell or bone gorget, and small fragments of other shell trinkets complete the list of funerary offerings.

A week after the operations just described the writer opened a grave discovered by Mr. A. T. Hill at the Palmer site. The grave was about a quarter of a mile due north of the village near the summit of one of the principal burial hills and had been revealed in cross section by recent deepening of a roadside ditch. The total

depth was 5 feet 6 inches, of which 4 or 5 inches was due to downward creep of the hillside soil subsequent to interment. The burial cavity measured 33 inches east to west by 24 inches north to south; it had been undercut quite noticeably toward the north, so that the contents did not lie directly below the original mouth of the grave. The remains were those of a young child not over 6 or 7 years of age, and were exceptionally well preserved (pl. 11, *d*). The skeleton lay on its right side, with the head toward the east. The feet were folded closely against the buttocks, with the knees partially drawn up toward the body. The right arm lay fully extended just in front of and along the body; the left arm was folded over the pelvis. Immediately in front of the knees was a small gray pot, inverted and empty (pls. 3, *c*; 11, *d*). The only other objects were fragmentary lead rings, two of which lay on either side of the cranium in such a position as to predicate their use as ear pendants. 172* 764 [301]●

Bushnell,[illegible] in discussing Pawnee burial customs, states that "according to Francis La Flesche the bodies were placed in the graves in a sitting position." This statement is wholly at variance with the results of archeological work in the historic sites. Upward of 40 graves have been opened at the Hill site in the past 8 years, yet not one instance of a skeleton in a sitting position has come to light. Similarly the work at the Palmer, Linwood, and other important sites has failed to disclose any verification of La Flesche's statement, and present indications are that so far as the Nebraska Pawnee were concerned interment in a sitting position was uncommon. [114]

As was noted in each of the cases above described, the bodies were usually flexed, wholly or in part, doubtless to conserve space. The bodies were never consistently oriented with reference to any of the cardinal points of the compass, nor were they laid any more frequently on the right side than on the left, or vice versa. Undercutting of the grave, especially toward the north, was quite common; the amount varied with the depth, which was usually between 3 and 6 feet. The soil covering the bodies is generally mottled and mixed with organic material and of a looser texture than that elsewhere.

The bodies were usually wrapped in matting or bark for interment and were always accompanied by mortuary offerings. Shaped stones (pl. 7) from 3 to 6 inches in length are nearly always found in or near the left hand of adult males. The offerings are most commonly found in front of the body if lying on its side, or on the chest if lying face upward. At the Hill site flints and steel, glass beads, lead rings, wooden-backed mirrors, knives, shell gorgets, Spanish, British, and American peace medals, military buttons, cloth, foodstuffs, and innumerable other odds and ends were used as offer-

---

[illegible] 1927, p. 79.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 1.—Pawnee earth lodge and house site. *a*, earth lodge near Pawnee, 342
Okla., in 1905. Photo by Nebraska Historical Society. *b*, general appearance 172
of lodge floor, house 1, Hill site; diameter 44 feet, depth 16 inches. The center
has been excavated slightly below the floor level.

PLATE 2.—Vegetal material and textiles from the Hill site. *a*, tubers of
Apios tuberosa; *b*, seeds of bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*); 172
c, pits of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*); *d*, pits of wild plum (*Prunus ameri- 137
cana*); *e*, grains of charred flint corn (*Zea mays*); *f*, charred corncobs; *g*, *i*, 28
fragments of bison-hair textile; *h*, hank or rope of bison hair; *j–l*, rush
matting.

PLATE 3.—Pawnee vessels from various sites. *a* and *c* are from Palmer 173
site; *a* is 4½ inches high and 4⅞ inches in maximum diameter; *c* is 4⅛ 415
inches high by 4⅞ inches in diameter; *b* and *d* are from the Hill site, both
restored; *b* is 3¾ inches by 3¼ inches across; *d* is 7 inches tall and 6 inches in
diameter.

PLATE 4.—Complete vessels, probably Pawnee. *a* is 9 inches tall and 7¾ 172
inches in diameter and shows all of the best diagnostics for Pawnee ware in
both form and ornamentation; found on Prairie Creek, near Archer, Nebr. 415
b is 5¾ inches high by 5⅞ inches across; found in the Cedar River, near 531
Fullerton, Nebr., and is of uncertain origin. Nebraska Historical Society
collections.

PLATE 5.—Pawnee type rim sherds from various historic sites. *a–f*, Hill site; 172
g, Horse Creek; *h–n*, Palmer site. *b*, *d–f*, *i*, *k*, illustrate the typical rim design; 531
a, *h*, *l*, *n*, show the herringbone motif, second in abundance. Nearly all have lip
indentations.

PLATE 6.—Selected rim sherds from Burkett site. All bear lip indentations.
Note similarity of *b*, *h*, *j*, *l*, to historic Pawnee motifs (preceding plate).
Handles occur on all but *h*, *j*, *l*, *n*.

PLATE 7.—Stonework from Hill site. *a–m* are from graves, one being nearly 172
always in or near the left hand of every adult male skeleton. *a*, *f* 2½ inches 324
long; *j* is 5½ inches long. *n–t* are arrowshaft buffers, of dark-brown coarse
sandstone. In *p*, *q*, *r* are shown three perfectly matched pairs, each as found;
they measure 4½, 7½, and 5 inches in length, respectively.

PLATE 8.—Pipes and mortuary offerings, various sites. *h*, *i* are from Burkett
site; all others from Hill site. They are made of catlinite or some other fine- 172
grained red stone; *a* is of gray material, *g* of coarse red sandstone. *f* is 4¾ 276
inches long with a square-topped bowl 1⅝ inches tall; found with a child 301 ●
burial. *i* is less than 1 inch long. Note straight specimen of cloudblower type,
b; also perforated keel in *j*, groove about outer end of *h*, and small loop on top 532
of *i*, for attachment of a thong. *l*, gray sandstone pipe, 2⅝ inches tall by 1¾
inches long. *m*, perforated or grooved shell objects probably worn as ear or
hair ornaments; longest pair 4½ inches long and three-eighths inch in diameter.
n, blue glass trade beads, probably obtained from Hudson Bay Company; they
are about the size of a pea, very crude, and blue, red, or transparent in color.

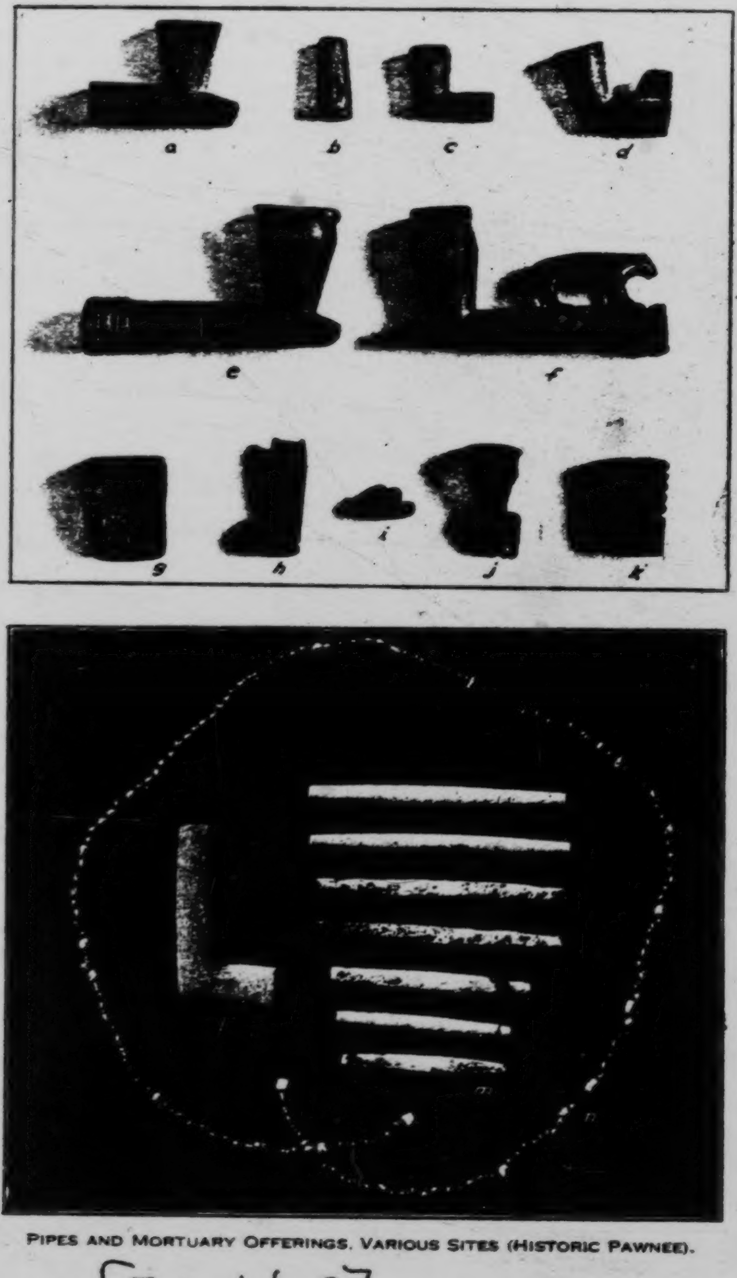
P

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
276
532
764

172
276
● 301



PIPES AND MORTUARY OFFERINGS, VARIOUS SITES (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

[End plate 8]

where we were hiding to-day, and wait for me there. I have seen 539x
another fine spotted horse that I want to get; I will go back for it and 538
will meet you before morning at that place."

He went back, as if to get the spotted horse, but returned to the lodge where the girl was. He went all around it, and looked at it carefully. He saw that there were feathers on the lodge, and rows of animals hoofs hanging down the sides, which rattled in the wind, and to one of the lodge-poles was tied a buffalo tail, which hung down. Then he went back to the door and looked in at the girl again. She had braided her hair and was sitting there by the fire. He stayed there a long time that night looking at her. Toward morning he went to look for his companion. When he met him he told him that some one had taken the spotted horse before he got to it; he could not find it. When the party all met next morning, they found that they had taken a lot of horses, and they started north to go home. They reached the Pawnee village, and every one was glad of their success.

After this, whenever this young man saw anything that was nice
or pretty, such as medals, ear-rings, finger rings for women, beadwork [301]
leggings, bracelets, necklaces, wampum, beads—things that the Comanches did not have—he would give a pony for it. For one year he went on like this, gathering together these pretty things. When the year had gone by he had no horses left; he had given them all away to get these presents. He packed all these things up in a bundle, and then spoke one night to his friend, saying, "I intend to go off on the war-path again, and I would like to have you go with me; we two will go alone." His friend agreed to go.

II

Before the time came to start, other young men heard of it, and several joined them. There were eight of them in all. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* was the leader. He told his young men that they were going to a certain place where he knew there were lots of spotted horses to steal. They started out on foot. After traveling many days, they came to the place where the camp had been at the time he saw the girl. There was now no camp there.

They went on further, and at length came to a camp and hid them-

shield. Some men could make themselves a war bonnet with eagle feathers 000
(the traditional war bonnet of the plains symbolizing a comet). They 237
would buy long white beads in the store and at the base of the throat, 292
wear a big shiny disk about as large as a dollar made out of long black 301
oyster shell.

An indispensable element of ceremonial costuming was the Black Rope 463
made of buffalo hair. Only men could wear these. The process of braid- 283
ing was very complicated and required great concentration. If a woman [292]
came around inclined to converse, the maker would excuse herself and [237]
say she had to get through and wasn't able to talk at this time. The work
was done in the house and preferably in the fall when less interruptions
were likely. Only a few women had the skill to do it. The hair of which
the rope was made was from the mane or head of the buffalo. Four
twisted strands were braided together into a long rope or belt. Each of
the strands for braiding was wound onto a ball, and these balls were
manipulated in order to form the braid. Some women did fine even work
and some did it poorly and roughly. Working steadily at it, the work took [461]
about twelve days. If it had to be fitted in with other work, it would
take more time. A woman would come to the belt maker on behalf of
her husband and order one, bringing the materials. The maker would be
paid well.

There were some few women who could make a colorful braided belt 292
by interweaving five colors. They called it "red-woven." It was a wide [286]
flat belt that was made to order to fit the waist of the prospective wearer
with long fringes hanging down to the ankles. A belt like this was usually
made for boys and girls of good families and for young women. An older [171]
woman would not consider it proper to wear one although among the
Osage, they were commonly worn by all women. A few men twisted
these belts around their heads as a turban with the fringes hanging down
on both sides of the face and eagle feathers at the back of the head.
Most men regarded this as a "flashy" style of dressing.

The materials used were entirely commercial—wool for the body and
cord for the concealed warps. A woman who wanted to have one made
for her boy would ask her husband to buy the materials at the trade store
so that she could take them to the weaver.

We do not know whether this skill is old or new among the Pawnee. 286
In general, on the American continent, it goes back several thousand 178
years as a fabric-producing technique. But the exclusive use of commer-
cial materials and the reluctance of mature men and women to wear the
belt suggests that its adoption is fairly new.

The work was usually done outdoors in the springtime for maximum 286
visibility. It required great concentration and one mistake might compel
the weaver to rip the whole thing. If a woman was making one on order,
her family would do her spring planting to free her for the work. It

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of Third Stanza

539 *
796*

1202 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1203 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri tukuka ha!
hiri! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
tukuka, touching.
ha! behold!
1204, 1205 See line 1203.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the third stanza the old man touches the forehead with the blue paint. The blue sky has reached the child; its forehead has been touched by the abode of Tira'wa atius.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

1206 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1207 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta iwa ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
iwa, downward movement.
ha! behold!
1208, 1209 See line 1207.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing the fourth stanza the old man traces with the blue paint the lines he has made with the water, the brush of grass, the sacred ointment, and the red paint. In these lines we see the face of Tira'wa atius, the giver of life and power to all things (see figure 179).

302
772
796*

The lines forming an arch across the forehead and down each cheek of the child represents the dome of the sky, the abode of Tira'wa atius. The line from the middle of the forehead, the center of the arch, down the ridge of the nose is the breath of Tira'wa atius. It descends from the zenith, passing down the nose to the heart, giving life to the child.

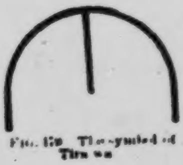


FIG. 179. The symbol of Tira'wa

Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here,
Behold, my child! waiting here to bring the gift of life to you.
*796 Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint waits, the vigor of life to bring.

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here,
Behold, my child! flying here to bring the gift of life to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint flies, the vigor of life to bring.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here,
Behold, my child! touching here your head to bring the gift of life.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint touches, the vigor of life to bring.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who now follows here.
Behold, my child! Now the path it follows, paths where gods descend.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint follows, vigor of life to bring.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is spreading here,
Behold, my child! over you is spread the glowing gift of life.
Give heed, my child. See! Red paint brings the vigor of life to you.

VI

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has brought you life.
Behold, my child! Life you have received and finished is the task.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint leaves the vigor of life with you.

*796 The next act was the painting of the child's face with blue, the color of the sky, the abode of Tira'wa atius.

● 302 531 The design outlined by the water, the grass, the ointment, and the red paint was now clearly seen—an arch, crossing the forehead and resting on the cheeks, from the middle of which a line was drawn downward on the nose. This design was said to "picture the face of Tira'wa." The arch was the dome of the sky, his abode; the line, falling from the zenith, was the breath of Tira'wa descending on the child, meeting its breath.

[622 821] We are told that this design came from the constellation Corona Borealis and was the insignia of a chief, as he who leads does so by the authority of Tira'wa and must bear his sign on the face. In this ceremony this design, taken in connection with the symbols next placed on the child, seems to represent the presence of the power, "the father of all things."

668

we *ri̥hi* *irawì·ra* 177
a *tsiksu* *wétatù·tu* *hi i* [533
and {mind now I do 539]
{spirit

The place whence you come.
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come.
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxki^x^. When he returned home to the Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours." 668 177 792 794

When Frank White instituted regular dances. these were among the South Bands; the Skiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds which gathered were small. but many of them shook as the spirits took possession of them and fell. White had great power over them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change. [152 786]

Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. Many were converted rapidly. and the crowds which came to dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna- 668 177 [792] 796 794 [302]

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

contemporary Pawnee informants as to who the originals singers 668
were. According to Joseph Carrion, they were, in the order of their 796
selection and importance, Whitehorse (Pitahawirat^{a}), Sam Cover 177
(Skiri), Ezra Tilden (Skiri), Tom Yellowhorse (Skiri), Henry
Shooter (Kitkahaxki^{x}), Brigham Young (Tcawi), and Jim Keys
(Skiri). In addition, however, Carrion corrects himself by agreeing
with other informants that Joseph Long was the first of these
"crows" selected. Mark Evarts believes that all the original singers
belonged to the South Bands, and claims that the first four, after
White himself, were Joseph Long, Rubin Wilson, Lester Pratt and
White Elk, none of whom are Skiri. The presence of Skiri men in
the group of main singers should however be anticipated because all
the bands joined in the Ghost Dance under White's leadership.
Also, when the Skiri later organized and led their own Ghost
Dancing, the singers who were selected by the Skiri to take charge
were men who knew the songs because of their earlier participation
in the South Band Ghost Dancing, hence some Skiris must have
belonged to the original group of singers. The men actually selected
to form the organizations of the Seven Eagles and Seven Crows
(see below) included several who are mentioned in this list of
Carrion's. Those whom Knifechief and Mrs. Washington selected
were chosen because they knew the songs.

In addition to face paintings, the early Ghost Dance forms [302
included the use of feathers as hair ornaments. Two types were 301]
prominent, eagle feathers and crow feathers. These birds were used
because of a definite symbolism which attached to them. Both [825]
birds were conceived to fly high and far, and to see and know many
things. The Pawnee have always thought of the crow as a bird
which finds what it seeks. Hence the crow can help people find
what is lost lost beliefs, lost ways of life

In trance visions of the Ghost Dance, the visionary usually found 668
himself associated either with the eagle or the crow, and thereafter 787
wore the feather of one or the other. White wore eagle feathers,
and when he constituted the seven men as the official singers, he 796
gave them special crow feathers to wear. White did not himself
lead the singing after this, but acted as general director, dancing in
the center of the circle and putting subjects into trances.

A story is told of how White and Joseph Long were put to a 668
test in early Ghost Dance days. There was a woman who went to 796
Camp Creek. On the way she lost a strap with which she was going 825
to bind up a load of wood. She wanted to find out if it was true that
crows could find things, so she went to the tipi of the leaders and
told them about her lost strap. Frank White said, "All right, sit

about the dance." Carrion, along with John Moses, Jim Keys, 668
Brigham Young and Henry Minthorn went to see Sitting Bull the 177
Arapaho. This was late in 1892, and they stayed there two months.

Carrion told Sitting Bull his story. Sitting Bull got a permit
from his agent to Ghost Dance for two days. The Arapaho painted
the Pawnee visitors with a rainbow around the forehead, a crow
on the right cheek (because, says Carrion, "a crow finds everything [302
he looks for, and when one is under the crow influence one can 825]
almost read minds"), and an eagle on the left cheek (which also
represents a bird that flies high above everything, sees all and
finds things).

That night in the Ghost Dancing among the Arapaho Joe
Carrion was overcome and fell unconscious on his back. "I saw a
big circle of people above." He awoke about two o'clock at night
after lying there for five hours. When he woke up, he found there
was a drum beside his head; an old man came over and asked him
what he had seen. "Nothing," he said; he didn't want to tell. The
old man told him, "you must tell." "I got up and said, 'I don't
believe it.' Then he hit a gourd against the ground, and I fell over
again. I got up and still said, 'I don't believe it,' so he hit the
gourd on the ground and again I fell over. The way he could do
this to me convinced me, and when I got up I believed it all. Then
I told him what I had seen. He said it was true. The next day
the Arapaho were told they would have to stop the Ghost Dancing. 786

"Two days afterward a boy came with hand game sticks, bringing 668
one round to each tent. He told everybody that there was to be 177
a big hand game at a certain place. It was to last four days, with [785]
a Squaw dance afterwards." 524

The man in charge of the hand game told Carrion to get certain [302]
things for himself. He told him that he must fast four days and
nights. Carrion wore only a g-string, and painted his body yellow.
He neither ate nor drank.

During the playing of the game, he often got thirsty and would be about to take a drink, when someone would remind him that he must not. He was chosen to serve the food, but he was not supposed to partake of it. He also would pass the bucket of water around. The smell of the food helped him, seemed to satisfy his hunger a little. The first night he felt weak and wanted to cry. "They told me to go ahead and cry, that this was the same as going to church."

At sunrise he stood outside the tent and prayed. 786

"The fourth day I went onto a hill. Behind me there was 668
someone sitting in the grass. I looked at the sun and saw things 787
177

159 "After that I had to join the Ghost Dance. I used to paint my
[302] face with yellow and two blue streaks across each cheek.

"The reason this made me feel the Ghost Dance was true, was because it all began with my father and my mother, and they were
[787] both dead. That's why—because they were ghosts—that we call it the Ghost Dance, and that I had to go and join it. After this I believed it was all true."

After his vision, Mark Evarts was sick for some time, and did not begin to dance with the Ghost Dancers at once. He lived some time alone at Osage City.

Once he was on his way back to Pawnee when he met the Pawnee camped at Skeedee. Mark Rudder and others were there. They told him it was a good thing he had come, because they were going to make feathers for the Crows.

159 Mark Rudder organized and led a brief hand game that night.
524 People from the town heard about the game and came out, swelling the crowd. Rudder avoided the ceremonial complications of the game; it was played for enjoyment, and people who joined in sat as they pleased.

159 It was a full moonlit night. The game was played in a tent, and
787 after each game they went outside to dance. The moon was in the southeast. "Louis Behaile was touched, he got shaky, all at once he cried. He stood crying with his hands up toward the moon. After we came back inside the tent, he told it. 'I felt something in my mind, when we went out. It seemed I was going to see something. It's coming. We went out. When we were dancing around, all at once I looked up at the moon, and the moon looked down and saw me and laughed at me. That's why I cried.'"

159 At the hand game Rudder told all the men to come the next morning. "We've got something to do here. We've got the crow feathers and the cedar. We're going to make feathers for the Crows, for each one of you. And those who are outsiders, if you want me to make them for you, you come and I can do it. We're going to take a whole week to camp here. We're going to make these feathers."

The place at which they were meeting belonged to Jonathan Eustace. Jonathan told Mark Evarts to stay right at the camp, and unsaddle his horse. So Mark stayed there. At that time Mark Evarts had nothing to do, and usually lived at Rush Roberts' farm.

159 The next morning, the men came about ten o'clock to Rudder's
tent. His tent faced east. Inside, Rudder sat at the west, with a
301 wooden cross set up behind him, and a small pile of crow feathers

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY BULLETIN 93 PLATE 1

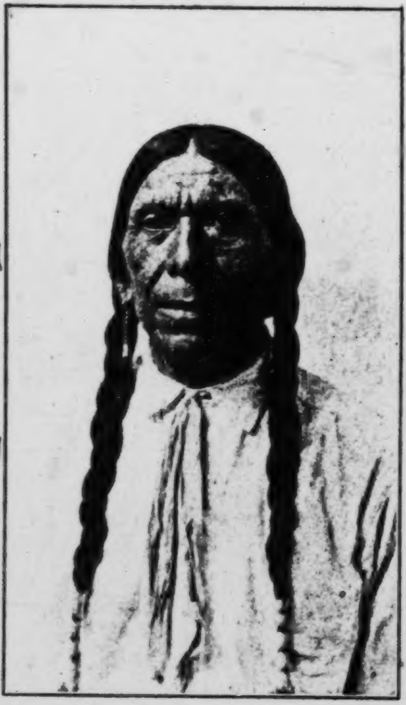
115
142
292
302
293

DOG CHIEF

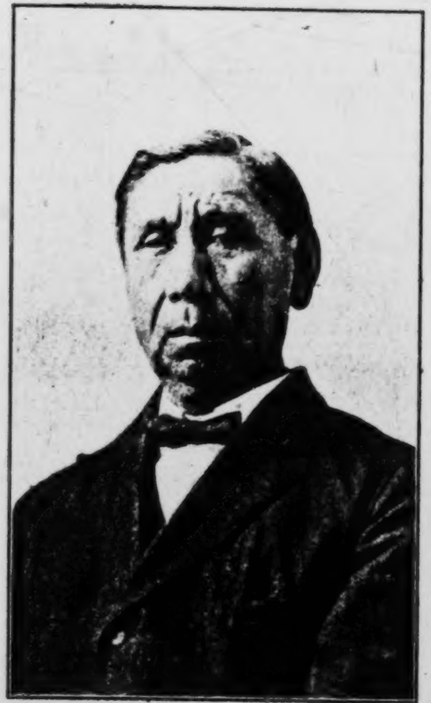
[Facing p. xviii]

115
142
302

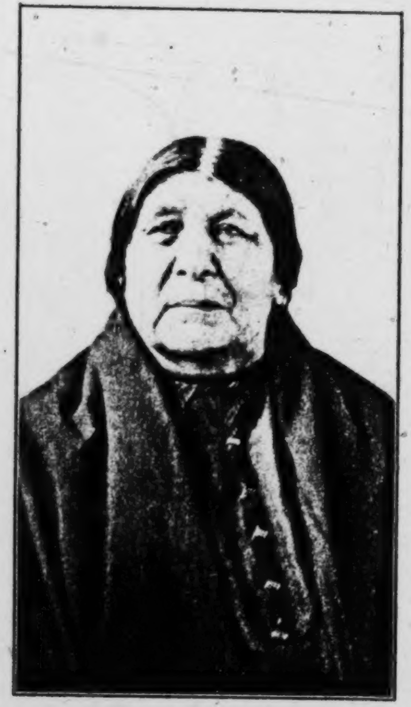
[facing p. 1]



a, John Luwak



b, Mark Evarts



c, Mrs. Good Eagle

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PAWNEE MUSIC

By Frances Densmore

THE PAWNEE TRIBE

The Pawnee is commonly regarded as the last of the Caddoan 101
Tribes which migrated in a general northeasterly direction at an
early date.[1] When the Siouan Tribes entered the valley of the
Platte River in Nebraska they found the Pawnee already established
in that region. The Pawnee called themselves by a term meaning
"men of men." Their present name was probably given by some
neighboring tribe and derived from *pariki*, meaning a horn, as it
was the Pawnee custom to shave the head except a narrow strip [302] ●
extending from the forehead to the scalplock and to stiffen this
ridge of hair with grease and paint, curving it upward like a horn.

While in Nebraska the Pawnee lived in earth lodges which were 361
in four permanent groups of villages, each having its geographical
location along the Platte River. The people of each group were a [342]
unit, representing a division of the tribe. The Skidi (Wolf Pawnee) 101
was in the northwest, its people considering themselves related to 619
the Arikara, another Caddoan Tribe living some distance to the
north. The Pitahauerat (Tapage Pawnee) were downstream, the
Kithahki (Republican Pawnee) were upstream, and the Chaui
(Grand Pawnee) were located between the two last named. The 134
soil of the region was dry and rather sandy with rough, broken land 241
toward the mountains in the west, yet the Pawnee were essentially
an agricultural people, cultivating corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins.
Buffalo and other game was abundant in the early days, and the Pawnee 136
were excellent hunters, their hunting expeditions covering a wide 224
area.

The first treaty between the Government of the United States and 648
the Pawnee Indians was made at St. Louis Trading Post in June, 1818.[2]

---

[1] In the classification of the North American races by John W. Powell the Pawnee is classified as one of [114]
the five independent groups of the Caddoan stock. Miss Alice C. Fletcher regards the Pawnee as a confederacy, the divisions or bands of the tribe being treated by her as separate tribes in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p 213. Cf also Linton, Ralph, The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee, The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee, and Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men, compiled chiefly from unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, published as leaflets Nos. 5, 6, and 8, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-23.

[2] Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kappler, ed., vol. II, pp. 156-159, Washington, 1904.

796 her into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village until the
782 time for her sacrifice. She was treated in a ceremonial manner but
kept in ignorance of her fate. At the appointed time her body was
● [302 painted, half red and half black, and she was tied to a scaffold and
417] shot through the heart with an arrow. It was said that the braided
thong used to bind the girl to the scaffold is now in the Morning
Star bundle.

173 Tradition states that on one occasion the intended victim was
rescued. On the night preceding her execution she was seated beside
782 some tall sunflowers. A young chief came through the tall weeds and
796 stole her away, putting her on his horse and taking her to Fort Leavenworth,
whence she was returned to her own people. She died within
three months, having been anointed for death with the sacred ointment
of red paint powder and buffalo fat. This occurred about the
year 1818. The man who rescued the intended victim was a warrior
of distinction and through his influence the custom was discontinued.
The ritual of the sacrifice is still rendered but no actual sacrifice has
taken place since that date.

796 Coming Sun, who sings the ceremonial songs, said that sometimes,
during the Morning Star ceremony he stops and says "Listen," and
[786] the people hear a woman's voice singing the songs above his head.

The Morning Star ceremony was held by the Skidi Band near Pawnee, Okla., on April 17, 1920. This ceremony formerly lasted four days and nights, ending when the morning star appeared in the east, but at the present time it is concluded in one day. On this occasion the writer had the honor of entering the lodge, through the courtesy of Coming Sun. It is said that only one other white person, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, has entered the lodge during the ceremony and seen the contents of the sacred bundle.

The ceremony was held in a tipi erected for the occasion in a quiet
[346] spot near the house of the keeper of the bundle, north of Pawnee.
This tipi had been used in the Ghost dance and was decorated with
Ghost dance symbols. (Pl. 5, *b*.) The adjacent landscape is shown in
Plate 3, *c*. The ceremony began at about 9 a. m. and continued until
4 p. m., the writer sitting outside the tipi except for the brief time
she was permitted to enter. Thus the entire songs of the ceremony
were heard, as well as the prayers and rituals, though only the principal
song was obtained. At the proper time Coming Sun, who
was in charge of the ceremony, sent a messenger to summon the
writer and she entered the lodge, passing to the right and standing
near the bundle, before which she laid gifts of calico, tobacco, and
[534] money. Coming Sun was seated back of the bundle, directly opposite
the entrance, and held one of the sacred gourd rattles. Two
796 men at either side of him held similar rattles. In front of the men
778 at Coming Sun's left and next the sacred bundle was a belt decorated

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of 796
"song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The 778
outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread
on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a
pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native
tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of
corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip inclined
toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and
the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a
white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws [825
of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal 821]
is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason
the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In [854]
accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her
arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She [201]
then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between
the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial
lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies [302] ●
were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder
mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire
was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was [372]
intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was 796
served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful
of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung [415]
on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled [262]
in the usual manner.

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning 796
Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and 778
were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening
Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle 173
and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side.
The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge
of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however,
forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close
the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured
four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black.
The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star
and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards
the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe
secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It
is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to
have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow [411]
is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[18]

---

[18] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533*

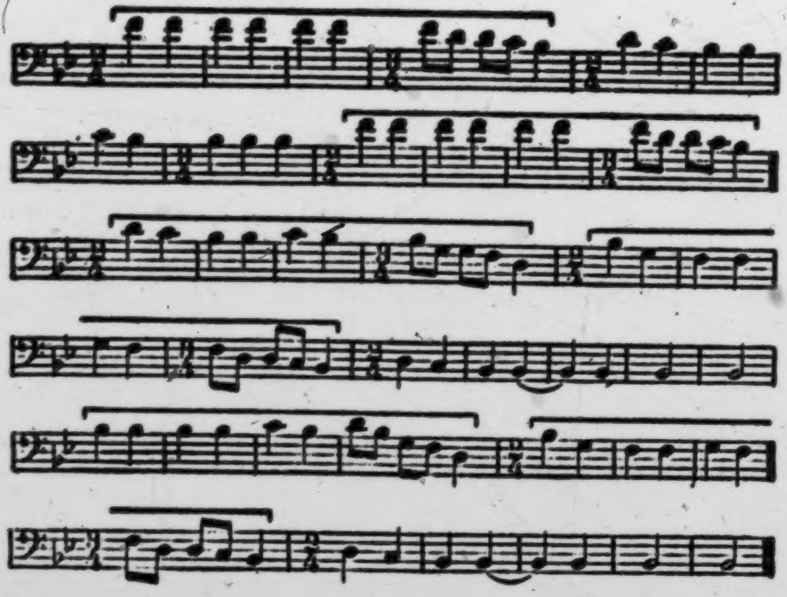
The use of the following song was not explained.

No. 22. "Spring is Opening"

(Catalogue No. 1160)

Recorded by Mark Evarts

Voice ♩ = 104
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

Spring is opening,
I can smell the different perfumes of the white weeds used in the dance.

Analysis.—This song is based on the fourth 5-toned scale and has a compass of 12 tones. About two-thirds of the progressions are downward. This proportion of descending intervals is not uncommon in Indian songs, but this melody contains, in several instances, a succession of four descending progressions, which is unusual. Almost the entire song consists of repetitions of the rhythmic unit.

SONG OF THE WHITE LANCE SOCIETY

533*
575
[115]
[302]

The ceremony and dance of this society were witnessed by Mrs. Blain when a child, the ceremony being called Naristaka (*naris*, ceremony; *taka*, white). She stated that the men taking part in the dance had half their bodies painted red and half black, and their position in dancing was such that the side of their bodies painted red was toward the sunrise and that painted black was toward the sunset. Each man held the hands of the men on either side of him, and it

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Analysis.—Four renditions were recorded. The first and second 533*
renditions were interrupted by the shrill cries given by women in a war dance, the interruptions occurring in the eighth measure of the first and the ninth measure of the second rendition. After the second rendition the singer spoke several sentences rapidly and after the third rendition she repeated the shrill cries. The third and fourth renditions were sung without interruption. The foregoing is an interesting example of the performance of this class of songs. The tempo is slow and the melody is marked by a steadily descending trend. The song is harmonic in structure, contains all the tones of the octave, and has a compass of 11 tones.

SONGS OF THE RAVEN LANCE SOCIETY

[171]
The custom of the Pawnee concerning the raven lance (*kakutsaa*) 411
was similar to that of the Mandan.[70] A warrior who carried this lance 726
into battle and planted it in the ground was obliged to defend its 778
position with his life. If he were killed, his comrades brought back
the lance. By the Pawnee informant the lance was described as a
staff wrapped with otter hide and having a crook at the upper end. [237]
It was decorated with eagle feathers and bore the body of a raven, commonly designated as a crow.

The dance of the Raven Lance Society was said to be "almost like 533*
that in which the dancers painted half their bodies red and half 575
black," referring to the White Lance Society. The original owner of [302] ●
this dance lived to extreme old age and, as he had no children, he 173
gave the dance to a young man who was one of his nearest relatives. 726
One day the people said, "Some Indians are coming to attack us."
The young man who had received the dance took his raven lance, [431]
mounted his pony, and went to get the old man. They rode together on the pony to a place near the fight and then went forward on foot, but the old man could not go as fast as the warriors. The old man called, "I am still coming," and the young man came back and helped him forward. The aged man was proud to see that the young man to whom he had given his dance was among the leaders in the fight. The enemy shot and killed the young man, and the lance was brought back with his body. Then the old man sang this song. In the manner of recording the song there was a wailing which was said to be "the old man crying because the young man had been killed and he had no more relatives," yet he loved the lance and all that it symbolized. He died soon afterwards and, as he was too old to give the dance to anyone else, the Pawnee do not have the dance at the present time.

---

[70] Cf. Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 48 and 49, including "Song to the Raven"; also Lowie, Societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, pp. 313-314.

then two men, and again two of their female relatives, and so on to the end of 622
the line. 575 Before the procession left the lodge two large strong young men were caught in the village, brought in, and the water drums strapped on [602] their backs with one pack strap across the forehead and one across the [482] breast. They then marched out dancing and singing. In leaving the lodge, the procession circles the fire four times and when outside of the door again circles four times. They then march back into the lodge and the women file out and go home, while the men take their seats. The drum bearers are relieved of their burden and sent out, but later they receive a portion of the meat from the feast. After the feast the society disbands.

This society seems to be based upon the bundle of the Pítahauírata village, which is probable considering that chiefs are the leading members. [302] The chiefs painted red with black rings around the face; if yellow, a green circle: these are the two paintings.

THE SOLDIERS OR POLICE.

Each chief selects one elderly warrior as his personal aid and advisor. 625 Only those who have reached a certain high grade of distinction can serve in this capacity. As a body, these aids were known as the braves, rahikuchu. There is thus one brave for each village and he selects three men to act as police under his direction (raripakusu, fighting for order). These are strong and aggressive men. Their function was purely that of village and camp police. Their only badge of office was a special form of club for which in recent years a sword was substituted. The braves and police served for life, unless dismissed for cause. It should be noted, however [224] that these police had nothing whatever to do with the buffalo hunt.

THE BUFFALO HUNT.

The general buffalo hunt at whatever season of the year was under the 224
direction of the priest of the leading bundle which happened at that time 575
to be in charge. Preparatory to the hunt a ceremony was held, with the chiefs present, in which the hunt was planned. The priest selected one of the bundle societies to act as soldiers for the hunt. The regular police still exercised their powers in the camp, but the enforcement of all regulations for the hunt and its conduct were in the hands of the selected society. The appointment was for the hunt only. A special lodge was set up for the [346] soldiers in the east part of the camp, near the center were the lodges of the chiefs society and of the priest. The methods of punishment employed by the soldiers were the same as among other tribes.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

side and the one on the south side in front of the south men. Then he placed the 276
second bowl from both the north and south sides before the third and fourth men on
either side and so on until all the bowls were in front of them and then they ate. 575
The bowls were passed down towards the entrance and what remained was the share of the two assistants. When the corn was all eaten the assistants gathered up the bowls and put them away. Then the meat, bread, and coffee were passed without any ceremony.

Known-the-leader said, "Men, old men, and young men, our fathers are now complete. Tomorrow we will have the dance. We have made the smoke offering to the gods and they will be thankful. We have also offered our corn to the gods and they will watch over us.[1] We will now prepare to leave this tipi. We have eaten and smoked."

This ends the ceremony for the making of the lances.

The regalia are two lances, four rattles, and four hand drums (Fig. 3). 575
There is also a special pipe as shown in the sketch, Fig. 5. The four singers [293]
wore foxskin caps and painted their faces white, marking down with the
fingers. The members have no fixed painting, being permitted to follow [302]
their fancy. Formerly, they danced nude and carried weapons at their
pleasure. The mode of dancing through the village and conducting the
buffalo hunt has been described, these procedures being the same for each
society.

As noted in the table the Chaui also had this society, though with them it was of minor importance. There were also small differences in the arrangement of the feathers on the lance.

THE SKIDI RED LANCE SOCIETY.

The rarispahat, red lance or otter lance society among the Skidi had two
lances as shown in the sketch. Here the one for the north side of the lodge
was wrapped with dark otter fur, the one for the south side with reddish [293]
fur. The leader had a pipe, there were four rattles and four hand drums.
The renewing of the lances and other ceremonies were as described for the
bundle societies in general. This society does not occur elsewhere except
in the Wolf-standing-in-water village, but here there is but one lance and
the stone on the bowstring is wanting. There were probably important
differences in the ritual but there are no data available.

This society was almost never called upon to act as hunting police, but [721]
was often called upon to lead in war. It will be noted that the lances, in
contrast to those of the preceding, carry real spear points. Their power

---

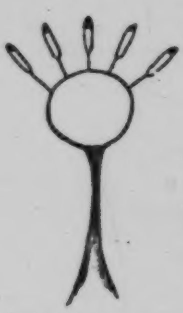
[1] The smoke and food offerings have practically the same form in all ceremonies.

out to the buffalo hunt, this society having renewed its lances, takes them 224
out on a horse as previously noted. They are thus ready for the society to 575
act in case of attack. In such a case, if the regular bearers are not present, 625
any member or anyone in fact, is expected to lay hold and act as bearer.
To facilitate this, the lances are placed against a pole outside the society
tent. If, however, a bearer fails to put in an appearance or shirks his duty
in any way he can be reprimanded or even expelled. The volunteer bearer
will be permitted to dance with the lance in future ceremonies, in contrast
to the preceding society where only the descendants of lance bearers were
allowed to enter the dance. As stated, the lances were expected always to
head the line in battle.

As winter approached these lances were dismantled and put away until 575
the renewing ceremony of spring. Each member makes it his business to
hunt for an otter and when one is caught takes it to the leader who skins it
with a special ceremony. His wife then dresses the skin and cares for it
until the time for renewing the lance in the spring.

THE RED LANCE SOCIETY.

Among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kitʼkaháxki divisions there were organizations known as the raris pahat, but differing from the Skidi society of that name. The two lances were wrapped with swans' down. These societies were all considered as derived from and sanctioned by the bundle of the Pítahauírata. This bundle controlled the ceremonies in that division and hence all but the public dancing in the camp was secret. Only the descendants of chiefs could be members. In the two sides of the organization, the chiefs sat upon the north side and the warriors upon the south. The lance for the north side was trimmed in black feathers, that for the south in white. The members painted in corresponding colors in the dance, but carried such weapons as they chose. When dancing, a rattle bearer faces the lance bearer of the opposite side and in the evolutions they pass each other. Water drums are used and in the dance around the village two boys are appointed to bear these upon their backs. The pipe of the society was originally that belonging to the bundle, but later a special pipe was provided.



[534]

[362]
[535]

Fig. 8. Rattle for the Skidi Red Lance, one of four. The bulb is of rawhide, the feathers are eagle.

It will be noted that the lance of this society bears no point and is not

when one ties his feather to the cord, he is binding up his future, for each 575 must tie his own, if it is poorly done and drops off, so will be his career. In addition this lecture is usually a general sermon upon the ethical ideals of [867] the society. Each man should add one feather for each time he helped dress the lance, or for each year of his membership. Each feather symbolically represented a part of the owner's life which he tied, or joined, to the fortunes of the lance.

In tying a feather, each member is permitted to use but three knots. [284] The leader ties first and then each member in succession on the two sides. The two errand men are last, holding the ends; these they return to the leader and then take up the ends once more, thus making a four-strand cord. This is placed outside upon a pole and food is brought in for a feast.

On the third day the cord is taken down and the ceremonial dressing of the new lance performed. The new staff is brought in and set up before the leader, who at the proper time ties one end of the cord to the tip of the staff and winds it on spirally, covering almost the entire length. All this time the old lance has been standing before the leader, but now it is dismantled and disposed of as before stated. The new one is then set up in its place and properly installed. The day's proceedings are again closed by a feast.

The most spectacular part of the ceremony occurs on the fourth day. During the night the lance is supported upon a pole as before. Early in the morning the members assemble. [302] The leader paints his entire body with soot and marks down with the fingers. [292] He then takes up the feather bustle, or belt, stating that this thing is to be shown to the powers in the heavens and that no enemy may enter, he must circle the [789] village with it; also that his running through the village will drive away sickness, improve the corn crop, and increase the buffalo. After this lecture, two men begin to sing and beat upon the water drums, the leader dances circling the fire four times, then passes out at the door. Once outside he runs north until outside the village, then runs around until by a spiral course he is again brought back to the door, thus traversing all parts of the village. As he enters, he gives three crow calls, two men spring up, catch him, take the lance and put him in his seat.

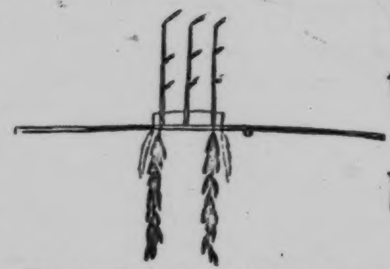


Fig. 11. Bustle for the Raven Braves. The uprights are sticks wrapped with porcupine quills and tufted with horse hair. The belt is of buffalo hide and bears a few sleigh bells. The pendants are wolf tails and strings of crow feathers.

535
575 All this time the members have been singing in the lodge but now they paint black also and prepare such arms as they wish to carry. The chief of
[302] the village then enters with the pipe from the bundle and starts the dance. First they are lead outside where they dance before their own lodge, then passing out at the north side march around the village once. Then they come into the village and dance before the lodges of the leading men. (As before, two boys are brought in to carry the water drum.) In each case the host comes out with a pipe which is passed to the lance bearer and the singers, but no presents are given. Finally, they dance before their own lodge and enter. A feast and certain smoke offerings to the lance close the ceremony.

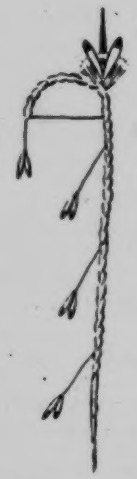


Fig. 12.

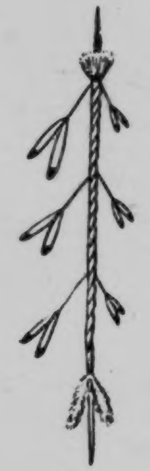


Fig. 13.

[411] Fig. 12. The Fighting Lance. The point is of iron, nested in owl and eagle feathers; the shaft wrapped with swanskin, small eagle feathers hang at the sides. The grip of the south side lance is of red strouding; that of the north, of black.

Fig. 13. The Wolf Lance. The point is of iron, the shaft wrapped with wolfskin, a bunch of owl feathers at the top, large and small eagle feathers at the sides, the grip near the lower end and two wolf tails below. Two of these are carried.

575
[648] As this was the leading society of the Chauí and the United States formally recognized the Chauí chief as the head of all the Pawnee, it came to have a certain precedence in all functions.

The Fighting Lance.

The tirupahe society is found among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kit'kaháxki. It is a war society as may be seen by its pointed lance.

The lance for the north side was black and for the south, white. There were 575
two rattle bearers who stood and danced as in the preceding. There were four singers and two water drums. Their war duties were as previously stated. This society was composed of chiefs and warriors, on different sides. [701]
At stated times, the members demonstrated their deeds, trophies, and war medicines.

It seems that there were three bundles in the Pítahauírata division at one time and the three feathers on the lance are supposed to be one for each. [778]
The members were members of the chiefs society, warriors and men who had consecrated eagles; hence the small eagle feathers are put on the lance. In the consecrating of eagles the heads are strung through the nose with sinew, all the members having gone through this ceremony; hence the string here symbolizes the consecration but it is not known if the hooked part of the lance is the eagle's head. The pipe of this society is borrowed from the warrior's bundle.

So far as known, the organizations in the three divisions were identical.

THE WOLF LANCE.

The rarisits skiri^{h}ki^{h} (society of wolves) was peculiar to the Wolf-standing-in-water village. There were two lances, four flat hand drums painted white, four singers wearing caps of wolfskin like roaches, four rattles (two for each side). [302]
All members painted white. The pipe bearer who sat in front of the four singers painted red, however. The lance bearers sat among the dancers, but the lances rested against the lodge posts. There was no regular dance evolution, each one going as he pleased. [535]
The old men and one messenger were on each side.

There were two war shields covered with wolfskin for each side. For each shield there was a bearer. It was a war organization and differed from the others in that as an organization it could go to war. [701]
The lances were left at home, however. So far as known they never acted as police of the hunt, but the members seem to have had the right to take the lances of the hunting society and scout for buffalo.

The lodge of this society had its door toward the west instead of east. [345]

THE BLACK HEADS.

The pakskatit society was peculiar to the Kit'kaháxki division. They [224]
seem to have been important for they could act both as police of the buffalo hunt and in the line of battle. [701]
While there were two sides as before, there

575 two for each side. The pipe-man is the chief, but there is another man who
is charged with directing the ritual. All members carry ring-shaped rattles,
and certain members carry short lances bearing feathers. As to the number
of these lances, we have no data. The members danced nude and tied
[292] a string to the foreskin to the end of which feathers were attached. (See
Catlin's drawings of the Okipa.) On this account they were sometimes
called the "tied-penis society." It is said that in battle some of the mem-
[726] bers would take a stake and a rope, plant the stake before the enemy and
tie the penis string to the rope. They were forbidden to release themselves
and must then stand fast until released.

As to adornment and body painting each man did as he chose. Four hand drums were used.

There were no renewal ceremonies but this society would usually dance
[535] in public after the bundle societies had made their appearance. In dancing
they formed in front of their lodge in a circle. There were two mounted
men to call out their own deeds and encourage others to do likewise. In
one part of the dance the horsemen ride among the dancers back and forth
(p. 387). Also, there were two whip men, carrying green switches with which
to whip up the dancers. If a member enters the ceremony wearing clothes
[292] he is set upon by these whip bearers and his clothes torn to pieces. Only
the members who captured a blanket or cut the covering from a captured
bundle, could take a hand in this. However, if a member has been in a
battle and saved his robe, he may carry it folded under his arm.

[888] In the dance a dancer may remove his moccasins and put them on an old needy bystander.

CHILDREN OF THE IRUSKA.

In this organization there were but six or seven members. They carried quivers full of arrows which were very highly prized, so when an arrow was shot they went to hunt it. They were known as saaro, youths.

They did things by contraries. If a woman said, "Do not get water,"
[524] they went after it. They were given to playing the wheel game and because
of their peculiarities no one played with them. If an enemy attacked the
village, the members would continue to play the wheel game and pay no
attention to the fighting. If a person came up and said, "Do not go out to
[302] fight," they rushed out at once. They were always painted black as if
ready to fight. On the head each wore the skin of a blackbird. The
society is said to have been handed down by this bird. The leader so
appointed by the bird went through the camp and selected boys who seemed
queer, or even insane. These he organized into a society.

They did not go into a fight until they were told not to; then they simply 575 shot their arrows toward the enemy without taking much aim and then went to get them; or in other words, an idiotic performance. At all times of their lives they did things in reverse order. They never married or had anything to do with women. Whenever strange or mysterious animals were reported which were feared by other people, they would try to kill them. It is said that the society became extinct by all being killed in a battle except one, who afterwards disappeared. There are, however, several different stories as to how they were destroyed.

THE WONDERFUL RAVENS.

This society of the kaka waruxti, or wonderful ravens, had two undressed lances except for a crowskin hanging near the point. All members, except the pipe-bearer, had the skins of crows upon their backs. All painted [302] black. The founder got the ritual and powers from a raven. There were four singers but no rattle bearers. Their chief function was to be ready [825] for war; they wore the crow because this bird is known to be wary and hence it was believed that the society could foretell attacks. When attacks were [787] predicted the society placed their lances outside against a pole. This was a public warning that precautions should be taken.

The society had a brief existence, as most of them were once killed in battle, the remnants failing to reorganize.

THE BIG HORSE SOCIETY.

Among the Chauí there was once an organization known as raris aruskutchu, big horse society. Many of the members bore plain long sticks and all wore caps of foxskin and painted themselves white. There were no [302] drums, but eight singers who beat upon a piece of rawhide with sticks instead of drums. The society was for war, but took the warpath for private forays and never acted as soldiers in any capacity. They became extinct by the loss of most of their members in an engagement.

SOCIETY OF CROWS.

The raris kaka, society of crows, was a lance society. They had two lances with war points and at four places on the shaft a string bearing crow feathers was tied. The members painted black but only on the joints of [302] the body.

575 They had ceremonies in the spring to get their regalia ready for war. There was one old man in the order who wore a special cap made of crowskin. [103] Members who had counted just one coup could wear a horizontal feather through the scalplock; for the second coup another feather in the same direction but from the opposite side; three coups, one crow feather upright; four coups, four feathers fixed on a small pointed stick, and stuck in the head. If one took but part of a scalp, he split one of the feathers half way; if a whole scalp, the whole feather was split. For each scalp taken a feather was split.

As the number of coups and scalps increased, feathers were added to a string and hung on the head. They also painted hands and other deed marks on their bodies.

This organization also had a brief existence, becoming extinct through losses in battle.

THE ROACHED HEADS.

The pakspahukasa, or roached heads, were peculiar to the Skidi. They [302] were also known as the fox society. They had a peculiar hair cut in that the hair on the back of the head was cut off, leaving only the roach on the top. All must wear coats of blue or red strouding cloth, feathers on the seams of shoulders and sleeves. They wore buckskin leggings and any kind of dress moccasins. All had small rattles, decorated with strands of different colored ribbons. No fixed form of face painting was used. Some of them wore beaded caps. Four hand drums were used, two red and two white. This was a war society and the songs refer to disregard of death.

YOUNG DOG SOCIETY.

539
575 Among the Skidi there was a society known as the asa kipi riru, or young dogs. The story of their origin is as follows: —

When the Skidi village was west of Fullerton, Nebraska, an old man lived there alone in his mud-lodge. He was very fond of the old dogs which the Skidi had used as pack animals. They lived with him and shared his food. During the buffalo hunt the dogs carried things for him. One time after returning from the hunt some puppies were born. The man was pleased, for he had no children. Every day he made a fresh bed for them and fed them.

The rest of the people remarked on his care of the dogs. One night, some boys planned to kill the old dog and steal the young ones. The next day they watched and finally caught the old dog outside the village and killed it. During the night they stole some of the puppies, but left four males. The following day, the man searched for the mother and the puppies but in vain. He fed the others as well as he could and sat sadly at his fireplace.

THE BEAR SOCIETY.

756 Among the very highest of shamans and doctors were the bear men. Among their regalia were four bearskins, a grizzly, cinnamon, the large black bear, and the small black bear. There were also four bear-claw neck- [301] laces. Eight rawhide rattles were used. Preparatory to a ceremony two piles of cedar brush were placed in the lodge, one for each side. When the members have assembled a sprig is given to each, set up before his seat, and carried in the dance. The sprig is carried home, the leaves stripped and the [789] wood cast into the fire. The leaves are placed in a bag and used for ceremonial smudges; thus if a thunderstorm threatens, a smudge is made to protect the lodge.

When called to a ceremony, the members enter, take their seats and place [302] their professional bundles in front. Then they paint. One set of men paints red, one white, and another a kind of pink. All make black eye marks, a diagonal line from the inner corner of the eye down across the cheek. If feathers are worn in the hair, they are of the same color as the face.

When all are ready, the leader designates two men from each side, to wear the bearskins. These were worn merely as robes, the head on one side, the tail on the other. Sometimes two small boys are selected to dance with [53] very small bearskins. Four water drums are used; these are passed, or moved around the circle at intervals. While the songs are rendered, the members dance around the fireplace and during the intervals walk around the fire, or mill like bears.

At the feast which follows the kettle of corn is brought in and as in all ceremonies is set upon the median line of the lodge between the door and the fire. (Fig. 4). Eight bowls are placed around it in a circle, those in [264] the north half going to that side in order, etc. After the corn is served, the kettle of meat is brought in and served in a similar manner. Thus each side eats in four groups. No one is permitted to use a knife while eating. After the feast each makes up his bundle and departs.

While all the divisions seem to have had a bear society, its full ritual was in the keeping of the Skidi organization.

BUFFALO DOCTORS.

Another important society found among the Skidi and Chaui is known as [778] kura taraha, buffalo doctors. On their altar is a buffalo skull, one half white, one half red; also a wand with seven eagle feathers, at the top a tiny bag of native tobacco and four strings of blue beads hanging down. The

539 set of songs was sung the dancers attacked the fire. Finally, Crow-feather
danced up to the kettle which was full of boiling soup and took a piece of
756 meat out with his bare hands. He gave it to one of the spectators who
burned his hands with it. The rest of the members also did this. At
length the dancers dipped bunches of corn husks into the kettle and whipped
each other with them but did not burn. The dancing ended when the fire
went out.

This was the first ceremony of this kind. After the dance Crow-feather said, "You must now make the headdresses and bustles. Some day we will give a public dance when all must bring spears, bows and arrows, war clubs, and shields so that you can imitate the attack on an enemy in your dance. It shall be known as iruska (fire inside of you). The red headdress represents fire, the black hair fringe represents smoke.[1] This will not be a social dance, neither will the members act as soldiers for the chiefs. We shall be known as medicinemen."

The One Horn Dance.

535

756 The members of the one horn dance (raris arika) were young men eligible
to go to war. For the dance, the regalia of all the societies were gathered:
721 the war clubs from the sacred bundles, spears, war shields, bows and arrows.
During the ceremony they called upon Pahukatawa (Hills along the banks of
a river) to help them kill or count coup on the enemy. Women were not
[783] admitted for Pahukatawa directed them to bar women for fear some would
be unclean.

The dance was held only when Pahukatawa ordered it and then only
[533] before an attack by the enemy. The songs imitated the bellowing of buffalo.
Each dancer seemed possessed with the spirit of a particular animal which he
imitated. The dancers wore their war regalia. Those who had war-bonnets
had to fasten a whole buffalo horn on the right side of the bonnet. Each
dancer was painted according to the dreams of visions he had experienced.
● [302] Those representing crows painted with charcoal or soot; jack-rabbits painted
with white earthen clay; buffalo were smeared over the mouth and nose
with buffalo urine mud; those with bear spirits were painted with red or
yellow which represented the sun for the bears sought power from the sun.

---

[1] The headdress is the imitation of fire, the red for the blaze, the black hair for smoke. The feather represents the iruska man who understands the fire. He is standing in the fire or has placed the fire about his whole body. The headdress represents the fireplace, the bone tube the medicine, and the feather, the man himself standing in the center of the fireplace. According to tradition, man came from an ear of corn and corn has life and life is fire. The original word for iruska is iriska (singular), iruska (plural), they are inside fire. The wood used for the iruska fire was cottonwood and willows.

kill her, and after he had followed her a long distance she changed 843
herself back into a woman. They lived together for several years. 538
In the meantime it was thought that the man had been killed. Finally she accompanied him to his village as his wife, where she gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl. They grew up and took their proper places in the village. At first the deer wife disliked living in the village and often tried to run away, but afterwards she became reconciled and gave birth to other twins. Thereafter her descendants in the female line always gave birth to twins, and from this woman are supposed to be descended all the twins ever born among the Skidi.

Finally, it may be noted that no pregnant woman could come 843
near the ceremonial contests where the medicine-men threw their 784
medicine "arrows" at each other. Ordinarily she might be a very powerful medicine-woman and be able to protect herself from the "arrows" of her opponents, but during this period her thought and mind were on her child and consequently she could not ward off the "arrows," which would fly to her and kill her.

On the first indication of labor the husband left the lodge and 844
did not return to his wife for four days, as his presence during this time was thought to increase the difficulty of birth. The husband continued to observe the restrictions on his conduct, such as abstention from hunting, which were in force during the period of pregnancy.
Also he unbraided his hair and wore it loose, for it was believed [302]
that Tirawa wore his hair in this manner when he was creating [773]
the universe.

With the approach of labor the wife herself selected an old woman, who was usually a medicine-woman or the keeper of a sacred bundle, to be midwife. The latter came, bringing her medicine bag and a wooden bowl in which to wash the child. Sometimes the bowl was covered with representations of a dog, goose, deer, or some other animal, so that when the child grew up it would possess the magic power of the animal depicted. On arriving at the lodge, the midwife brought in some fresh earth and spread it upon the floor. Over this she put a thick covering of soft grass. The flow of blood following delivery could thereby be absorbed by the earth and grass and the whole easily removed. Next several parfleches were piled for a head-rest, and the pregnant woman was laid in the place prepared for her.

With the beginning of labor the mother was given some medicine by the midwife and told that it would relieve her and make for an easy birth. Should the woman give birth before the arrival of

847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 842 831 753 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names, if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years. [727 782] As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner. This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after marriage, an individual was given another name by the father. This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726 553 159 538 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath, our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die. After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home. When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

622 mitted his authority along with his bundle to his eldest son. These
565 hereditary chiefs, representing each of the villages, selected from among the leading warriors and those of high rank a sufficient number to make up the thirty-one. [The manuscript also contains a note that the chiefs' council could reject the son of a deceased chief if it did not consider him worthy. Also, if the dead chief left no offspring, the bundle was supposed to descend to the next oldest brother or nearest male kin; the brother married the chief's widow.]

The eldest son of a chief theoretically inherited his father's position, and if he proved worthy was duly made chief on reaching the proper age. At this time the chief's bundle (North-Star bundle) was opened and a ceremony held. So far as known, the ritual accompanying the ceremony has not been sung for more than thirty years, and there is no Skidi living today (1907) who knows it.

It has been mentioned that the hereditary chiefs could invite men who had proved themselves worthy and make them chiefs. When this course was decided upon, the chiefs invited the one selected to the lodge four times. He declined the first three times, but on the fourth invitation went to the lodge, bringing with him ponies and parfleches of meat, which he presented to the chiefs. He was then made chief, but did not have his face painted, and his sons were not considered chiefs.

The son of a chief other than the eldest, or indeed any man, might make four deer holy and offer them to the four chiefs of the Four-Band village. With the consent of the other hereditary chiefs they then asked the candidate to the lodge and offered him a pipe to smoke, after which he could sit in the chief's council. [Presumably he did not have the rank of a chief, however.]

622 During council the chiefs were supposed to sit cross-legged in
[516] an erect attitude, never in a lounging position. The mark of office
623 was a red-painted face with a blue semi-circular line extending from
531 in front of each ear and passing over the forehead, and a symbol on
302 the forehead representing the so-called Turkey's Foot constellation.
565 An eagle feather was worn in the hair, while ordinarily the costume
consisted of leggings fringed with eagle feathers and human hair
from scalps, and a buffalo-skin robe on which were depicted stars,
the sun, or war scenes.

622 Perhaps the most important characteristic of a chief was that
[728] he was a peace-maker and guardian of the village rather than a
538 warrior; there are many incidents in the myths expressing the idea
565 that a man who has often been on the warpath becomes imbued with

the desire to take scalps and capture ponies and is no longer fit to be 622
chief. In the words of my informant: "Tirawa, after having created 538
people, gave them their bundles and said to the chief: 'You are to be 565
like me; you are to have many people to look after; you are to be guardian of the people on earth and the beings of the heavens will do your bidding.'" The custom did not prevail among the Skidi of making the chief an offering of food when on the hunt. He was obliged to look after himself, and could not claim more than the share which he himself or those riding his horses had won in the chase.

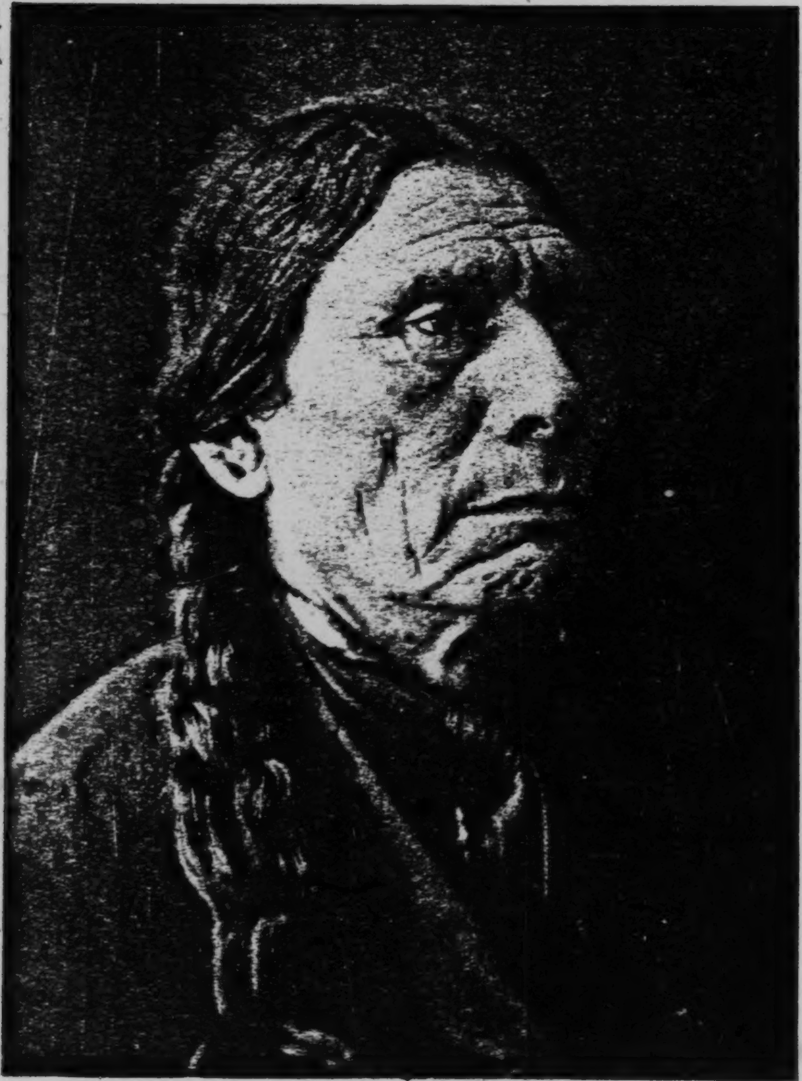
Like other societies, that of the chiefs had two errand men whose 624
duty it was to look after the fire, prepare and distribute meat, and 565
light the pyre for the smoke offerings. In his own village each chief also had at his command two errand men who performed similar duties.

In addition to the hereditary chief, each village had one or more *nahikuts*, or braves, whose number was usually four but varied according to the size of the village. The duty of these men was that of servants of the chiefs; they followed their directions, preserved order, helped in carrying out the laws of the band, and assisted in the preparation of the ceremonies. Their badge of office was a war-club or tomahawk. They held office for life. They were also considered as servants of the Morning Star, and like the other warriors of each village obtained their power directly from him or from some animal or spirit under the guidance of the Morning Star.

Another high-ranking class were the *narawiraris*, or warriors. These men had reached this position by their own efforts. They had made a certain number of sacrifices and thus won a victory over the powers of the heavens. They were eligible to election as chiefs and had the right to sit near the priest in ceremonies. When going on 624
the warpath, such men had the privilege of wearing the sacred war- 565
rior's costume of the warrior's bundle. The position of warrior was 778
said to have been created in the beginning, at which time the warrior was given five things—the otter skin, the hawk skin, the leg of an eagle, the eagle feather, and the sacred red paint made from red earth and buffalo fat. In using these objects, he was to attach the eagle leg to his belt, wear the eagle feather, and put the otter skin over his head, the hawk skin on his right shoulder, and the paint on his
face. In painting his face he was to make three dots above his nose [302]
in the center of his forehead, to represent the claw of the eagle's foot. [531]
He was to use the black otter because it was from the water, was

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

142
302



FOX, A SKIDI PAWNEE.

[facing p. 1]

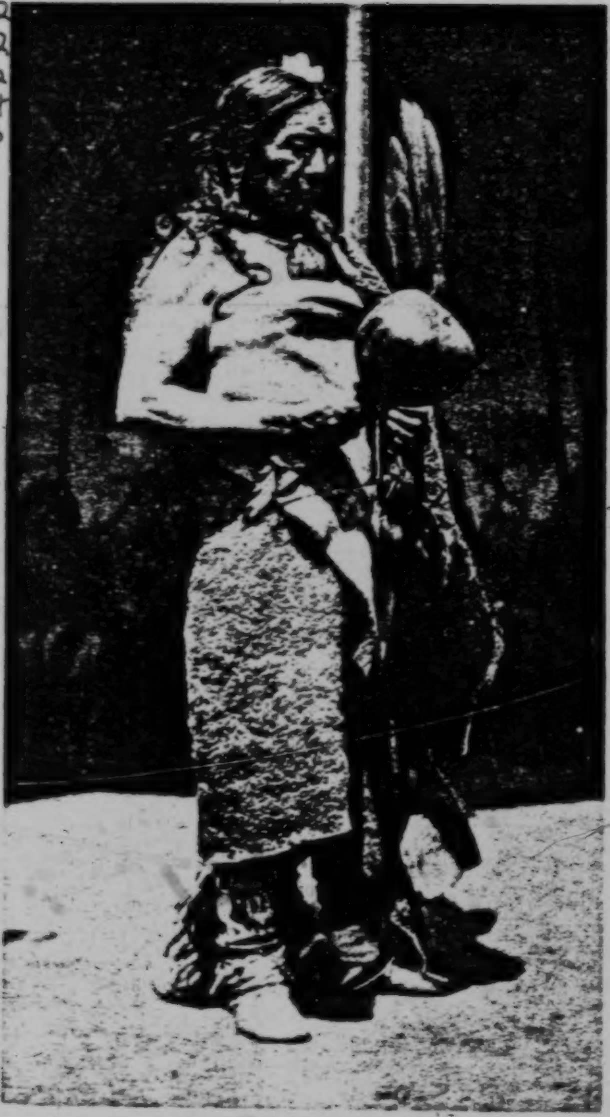
105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee
[171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but
they understood the arts of pottery-making and basket-weaving.
291 During the summer the men usually
wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings
and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins,
leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned
on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe
do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The
302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made
301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced
the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings.
342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth
lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine
Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the
sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or
bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi.
The first three of these were closely related, but the
Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and
considered themselves more closely related to the
Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some distance
[361] to the north. In their settlements along the river,
the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi
being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest
downstream, and the other two bands between. Each
621 band was divided into a number of villages which were
social as well as geographical units. All the members
of a village believed themselves to be descended from
a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made
within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female
[778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) containing
[793] sacred objects, and priests who had charge of
the rituals and ceremonies connected with these objects.
622 It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a
council composed of its leading men. If the chief was
a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

142
292
● 302
534
793



A PAWNEE PRIEST IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME.

[facing p. 14]

hind the altar. The girl, who was constantly attended 796
by a guardian, was brought in and seated on the south
side of the lodge. The chief of the village took his
place on the southwest, with the leader of the war
party on his left, while the man who had actually captured
the girl sat on the northeast.

The priest built two little fires of sweet grass, one 727
to the east, and the other to the west of the fireplace. 782
The girl was taken to the eastern fire, undressed, and 796
her body bathed in the smoke. Her guardian then [302]
painted her whole body red and dressed her in a black
skirt and robe which were kept in the sacred bundle between
sacrifices. The man who had captured the girl
then went to the altar, and was dressed by the priest
in another costume, also kept in the bundle. He was [302]
given black leggings and moccasins, his face and hair
were painted red, and a fan-shaped head-dress of
twelve eagle feathers was attached to his hair in such
a way that it stood out straight over the back of his
head at right angles to his body. This was the costume [776]
in which the Morning Star usually appeared in visions, [787]
and with its assumption the captor seems to have become
a personification of that deity.

After these ceremonies had been performed, the 796
captor left the lodge and passed through the village,
entering every lodge and warning those who were to
take part in the ceremony to come to the chief's lodge.
Each family gave him a little red and black paint and
certain other objects which were needed in the ceremony.
When he had completed the circuit, he returned
to the chief's lodge, and errand men were sent out
to invite the chiefs and priests of all the villages to
come to the ceremony. The Pawnee village was a social [361]
as well as a geographical unit. Several villages [621]
might live together. Each of the priests and chiefs
had his prescribed place in the circle, while the space

about to be prepared for the sacrifice, and that it was 727
time for everyone to set out for the scaffold. The chief 782
priest undressed the girl, went through the motions of 796
washing her and combing her hair, and painted the [302]
right half of her body red and the left half black. Her [292]
skirt was then replaced, black moccasins were put on
her feet, and a black robe fastened around her shoulders. Lastly a head-dress of twelve black-tipped eagle feathers, arranged like a fan, was fastened on her head.

When the girl had been dressed, all resumed their [533]
seats and sang another song at the conclusion of which she was told to rise; and two men, chosen to lead her to the scaffold, came forward and placed thongs around her wrists. All then passed out of the lodge, with the girl in the lead and the priests following behind chanting.

The rate at which the procession moved toward the scaffold depended largely upon the disposition of the girl. Everything was done to conceal the truth from her, and force was not used unless absolutely necessary. If she mounted the scaffold of her own free [787]
will, it was considered an especially auspicious omen. The procession was timed to reach the scaffold a few minutes before the Morning Star rose, so that the men who tied her to it could complete their work and leave her alone when the star appeared.

While the girl was being tied to the scaffold, the men chosen for the last rites had assembled in the ravine to the east of it, where they were concealed from her view. A small fire was kindled there, and they prepared their paraphernalia. At the moment the Morning Star appeared, two men came forward bearing firebrands. They were dressed as priests, and had owl skins hung from their necks, showing that they represented the messengers of the Morning Star.

and fat. The articles of clothing had to be new and unused, and the meat that of buffalo which had been dedicated to the gods at the time they were killed. The gifts could only be presented by men who were in favor with the gods. If the priests accepted them from men who were evil in their lives or negligent in their religious duties, the gods would be offended and refuse to send the buffalo. Before taking a gift to the lodge, a man painted himself red, so that all the people might know his errand; and, when the gift had been accepted, two messengers went through the village, thanking him publicly. 783 782 [302]

The priests and bundle keepers remained in the lodge for three days and nights, sleeping in their designated places. No ceremonies seem to have been performed during this period, and they passed the time in talk and in feasting on the food which was brought to them. No women were allowed to enter the lodge during the whole time of the ceremony. 783 [562]

On the morning of the fourth day the priests of the Four Direction bundles rose very early and dug a rectangular pit to the west of the fire-place, between it and the permanent altar of the lodge. The buffalo skull, which at ordinary times stood on this altar, was removed and placed north of the fire-place. The earth from the excavation was taken outside the lodge and piled in a mound before the door. When the pit was finished, the priests carpeted it with white downy feathers. This pit seems to have corresponded to the pit dug below the scaffold at the time of the human sacrifice to the Morning Star and, like it, represented the Evening Star's garden in the west, the source of all earthly fertility and increase.

When the pit had been completed, the priests directed the keepers of the various bundles to open them and take out the Mother-Corn. A sacred stick, kept in the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, was set up 778 783

197 cupying lands on the Red River and to the south, included the
619 closely related Wichita as well as the Waco, Caddo, Kichai, Anadarko,
and Tawakoni; there were several smaller groups also, now
virtually extinct. Alien linguistic stocks isolated these three Caddoan
groups more or less completely from each other. Siouan tribes,
[101] namely the Ponca, Omaha, and Dakota, occupied the territory between
the Pawnee and the Arikara, while between the Pawnee and
the southern Caddoans were still other tribes of diverse linguistic
affiliations; Kansa and Osage in the east and Cheyenne, Arapaho,
Kiowa, and other nomadic tribes in the west.

The latest and most radical linguistic amalgamation of speech families north of Mexico is that of Sapir,[7] who reduces the 55 separate stocks of the Powell classification to 6 major groupings. According to Sapir, the Caddoan tribes are linked with the Iroquoian tribes in one subfamily of the greater Hokan-Siouan linguistic stock. Based upon deep-lying structural and morphological parallels, this new classification carries very suggestive and far-reaching implications, certain of which will be touched on hereafter.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME PAWNEE

101 The name Pawnee is of somewhat uncertain origin. Dunbar[8] derives
114 it from *pa'-rik-i*, a horn, as an outgrowth of the typical Pawnee
mode of dressing the scalp lock. The head of the warrior was shaven
[302] except for a small tuft or topknot which was daubed with bison fat
and red ochre until stiff enough to stand erect, or curving slightly
backward, like a horn. Since this was the most conspicuous feature
of the individual it gave rise to the particular designation which
ultimately became the name of the tribe. Formerly, according to the
same authority, the term included the *Pawnee Picts*, or Wichita, and
the Arikara. Arache, Arahei, Arae, Harahey, and Ahuache, names
by which the Pawnee "kingdom" was known to the Spanish during
the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[9] are then probably derivatives
from *pa'-rik-i*, assuming this to have been actually the original
designation for the tribe. However, as early as 1673 Marquette[10]
used the term *Pana;* Valverde[11] speaks of the *Panana* in 1719; and
thereafter, at least until the end of the eighteenth century, *Panis* and
Panimaha are regularly employed in referring to the Pawnee. Just
how these names were derived from *pa'-rik-i*, if indeed they ever
were, is far from clear, nor does Dunbar show the orthographic and
phonetic changes that would have taken place in such a process. The

---

[7] 1929, pp. 138–140; see also Parker, 1916, p. 483.

[8] 1880, a, p. 245. Compare, however, Lesser and Weltfish, 1932, p. 5.

[9] Winship, 1896, pp. 529, 577, 588, 590; Margry Papers, vol. vi, p. 310

[10] 1900, map facing p. 108.

[11] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 185.

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885) 1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

HERO STORIES

COMANCHE CHIEF, THE PEACE-MAKER

I

539 MANY years ago there lived in the Ski'-di village a young man, about
538 sixteen years old. His name was *Kut-a'wi-kutz* (the hawk). At this
[302] time the Pawnees wore their hair in the ancient fashion, cut as the Osages wear theirs; the whole head was shaved except a roach running back from the forehead beyond the scalp lock.

A war party went off to the south and he joined them as a servant. They went a long way and a long way, traveling far, but they got no horses and came back. Afterward another party started off on the warpath, and he went with it. They traveled many days, going to the southwest, and at length they came to a camp, and hid themselves to wait until it was dark. It was a camp of the Comanches.

When night had come they all went into the camp to steal horses. This young man went to a lodge near which stood three horses, two spotted horses and one gray. They were tied near the door of the lodge, and from this he thought they must be fast, for the Indians usually tie up their best horses close to the lodge door, where they will be under their eyes as much as possible. He went to the lodge to cut the ropes, and just as he was about to do so he thought he heard some one inside. He stepped up close to the lodge, and looked in through a little opening between the door and the lodge, and saw a small fire burning, and on the other side of the fire was sitting a young girl, combing her long hair. The young man looked around the lodge to see who else was there, and saw only an old man and an old woman, and the firemaker. He cut the ropes of the two spotted horses standing outside, led the horses out of the camp, and met his companion. To him he said, "Now, brother, you take these horses and go to the hill

796 each one. The second part of the ceremony consisted in the recitation by a chief of certain events in the creation ritual that represented the essential nature of the world.

In the first episode, the four war parties went out for the poles. When everyone was assembled, four warriors took positions at the semicardinal [292] places. Each was dressed in full regalia. He wore an otter fur collar, a sacred ear of corn on the left shoulder, and a hawkskin on the right shoulder. On the head, each wore a ball of white down feathers and, transversely in the scalplock, an eagle feather. Each element of their costume had a symbolic meaning—the otter collar, awakening of life in the spring; the ear of corn, Mother Corn to guide them over the world; the hawk, to symbolize strength and fierceness; the eagle feather in the scalplock, Heaven during the creation; the white downy feathers, the clouds [302] on which he rode. Their faces were painted with red streaks along the sides and a bird's-foot mark on their foreheads which was also the name of a constellation in the Milky Way. Each warrior carried a war club and a pipe from one of the leading sacred bundles.

While the warriors were being costumed, four scouts had gone in four different directions to locate the trees for the posts. The White Pole [824] was located in the southwest direction and was a cottonwood. The Yellow Pole was found in the northwest and was a willow. The Red Pole of the southeast was a box elder, and the Black Pole of the northeast, an elm. The warriors came outside the enclosure and danced in their appropriate positions and a group of people gathered around each of them. The warriors now led their parties in their different directions and were met by their respective scouts who reported that they had located an enemy standing among the timber. Each warrior now led his party as if stealing upon an enemy. When the tree was sighted, they rushed in and the first man to reach the tree acted as if he were touching an enemy in battle, meriting a special war honor.

[782] Standing at the east, the warrior made a smoke offering to the tree. Then he carried the smoked-out pipe to the west where he deposited the ashes. Then another man, in similar fashion, made an offering of buffalo meat. Then a virgin took up her ax and symbolically cut down the tree. She motioned four times in each of the four directions, cutting off a chip in each. The tree was then actually cut down by her uncles and brothers amid the shouts of the people. As the tree fell they made as much noise as possible.

Now the warriors took up the tree and started toward the village, the [831] crowd following. On the way in they stopped to rest at four different intervals when they were beset by old women who encircled them making suggestive remarks referring to sexual intercourse and speaking of sexual acts as deeds of war. None of these remarks were personal. When the party tried to bring the pole into the enclosure, someone blocked

824

Next
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two es- 316
sential materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and 317
stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have 439
been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or
by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their
area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made 175
up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking 439
and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees 415
were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one 177
could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grin- [323]
nell got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery
in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it
well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 323

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron."
> This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they [252]
> boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They 172
have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular 415
body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick
"collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad
collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was 415
the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part 252
the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim
and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots
were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must 411
also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was 17
entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the
arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops
roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to
the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

spartea) known to the Pawnee as *pitsuts*. It grew like oats about 3 feet 412
high near the village, above the cemetary where the Skidi buried their [824]
dead. White Woman would ask Victory Call to go and gather it for her in
the fall. It had long stiff branches and at the tip of each branch there was
a sharp point fastened at a joint and surrounded with wooly fluff. The
point was broken off at the joint and discarded and the fluff cleared off.
The remaining bristle was very stiff and formed the working end of the
brush. The stems were grouped into four little bunches, each bunch
bent over at the top end and fastened down with a wrapping of buckskin.
The four bunches were put together with the bent-over ends inward,
and the whole bound around with buckskin to complete the brush. In
addition to keeping the hair in order, doctors would rub the brush on
top of the head to relieve headache or sleepiness. As generally with the
Pawnee crafts, there was no ceremony involved in gathering the material [796]
or in the manufacture, but the grass appears metaphorically in the Peace [824]
Pipe ceremony as symbolic of vegetation in general and of grasses in
particular.

Everyone went to a good deal of trouble to keep the hair in order and 302
to dress it attractively. The women's hair styles were relatively uniform.
It was parted in the middle and made into two braids hanging down over
the shoulders in front. The end of the braid was wound around with
buckskin. A relatively recent style was tying the braids together and [178]
flinging them to the back. The men's hair styles were more elaborate and
varied. A great many of the men wore roaches, a ridge of hair standing
up along the middle of the head with the hair removed on both sides and
a braid hanging down at the back. Most writers refer to this hair style as
characteristically Pawnee, but the Pawnees themselves speak of it as "like [171]
Osages." In the old days, each hair had to be pulled out one by one. Later
they used scissors. In former times, face hairs were also pulled out one [178]
by one with the fingers, while more recently they used a close coil of
brass with a stick through it so that it would be tied to the belt. The oldest
son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Sun Chief, had long curly hair
that he wore in two braids, one over each shoulder. He was known as
Long Hair or "Head-Hanging-Down-From." Victory Call also wore
two braids, but on the right side, in addition to the braid, he had his hair
cut in terraces. He was called "like Arikara" on account of it. War Cry
never seemed to comb his hair; he wore it loose and was always brushing
it back off his forehead. His younger brother, Brave Shield, pushed his
hair up so that it stood up stiff in back. People who were shabby or ill- [554]
groomed were regarded with considerable contempt by the Pawnees.

The industrial knowledge of the Pawnee transformed the meager ma- 433
terials of the plains environment into a setting that was worthy of their 182
religious and conceptual achievements. They worked hard but were se-

243 825 171 [244] 97 Maximillian reports that in the spring corn ceremony among the Mandan, wild goose signified maize, swans represented the gourds and the duck, the beans. It may well be that the deer and the loon represented the squash and beans respectively among the Pawnees at some time. There was no known symbolism connected with these essential food plants at the time of my report, the concentration being entirely on the maize.

533 126 100 The *Awari* songs are from the Murie-Wissler manuscript, in my retranscription and translation as it appears there.

512 243 102 Oehler and Smith, 1914. On May 8th, 1851: "Early in the morning we were awakened by the shrill voices of the Pawnee women, who were engaged in cleaning up the lodge and collecting their hoes, previous to going out to the fields to prepare the ground for planting corn."

243 105 Weltfish, 1937. From the Pawnee texts; old man speaks to the women (pp. 29-30); a little girl goes into the fields with her mother (p. 30); Pawnee women as horticulturists (pp. 27-28).
106 Adapted from Murie-Wissler, pp. 308-325, as well as from other
821 •302 107 sources. The foot painted on the warrior's forehead represented the Pawnee astronomical constellation known as bird, *rikutski*, which was said to be on the Milky Way itself, but is otherwise unidentified. The Tsawi Band calls Cassiopeia, turkey foot, but the Skidi Band calls it rabbit, *parus*. See Dunbar, 1881, p. 744.

000 113-114 Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98.

106 See Drucker, Heizer, and Squier, 1959, for the time depth of elaborate formal religion in Mexico at La Venta, Tabasco, southeastern Mexico near the Gulf. The structures have been radiocarbon dated at 800-400 B.C. and show a high degree of religious organization and complex symbolism that can be clearly inferred from the archaeological remains.

172 243 122 It took milennia to evolve the current uses of maize among the Pawnees. At La Perra cave where some of the earliest examples of North American domesticated corn have been found (radio-
121 carbon dated 4445 ± 180 B.C.) some steps in patterns of utilization indicated in the finds are: (a) chewing young ears husks and all shortly after pollination—wasteful, but quick and simple way of getting a little sugar; (b) roasting the ears of green corn; (c) making parched corn; (d) removing kernels from cob, shown with glumes battered and broken as though the ears were forced across a rough surface or beaten with a stick; (e) maize apparently pounded, inferred from the finding of stone mortars. (Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, Galinat, 1956, pp. 145-146).

000 121 Mangelsdorf, 1958; Mangelsdorf, 1964.

122 Walster, 1956.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

When the little boy was about half-grown he heard that a war 539 party was to start. He told his mother that he wanted to go, and he wanted her and his grandmother to make him some moccasins. He also wanted arrows, a bow and a quiver, and all the equipment of a warrior. When the old man heard this he called the boy and said, "Do you realize what you are doing?" 787

"Yes, I am grown to be a man."

"Do you have dreams at night?" 539

"Yes."

"Can you relate some of them?"

"Yes."

"Tell one to me."

"In my dream I was with a war party. I found myself coming toward home through deep snow."

"That is enough," said the old man. "You can go."

The women had sent the boy to his grandfather, thinking he would keep him at home, and they were greatly surprised to learn that the grandfather had told the boy to go with the warriors. It was fall when the war party started. As winter was coming near it was noised through the camp that all the war party had been killed and the people began to mourn. The women of this family 765 mourned exceedingly and cut their flesh with knives, but the old 152 man sat and laughed at them, or smoked his pipe. This went on for about 10 days. 304 Then his wife said, "You did not care for our grandchild," and his daughter said, "Why do you not mourn?" The old man said to his wife, "You remember that you turned the boy over to me when he wanted to go to war. You made moccasins for him and filled his quiver with arrows. I questioned him and found that he had had a dream in which he was returning alone through deep snow. That dream will come true. He is coming home, so I want you all to stop mourning."

They would not believe him, but one day, after a snow, some people going out from the village met the young man returning. He said, "All the warriors were killed except myself."

The man rode back and cried through the village, "Sarltsaris' grandchild is coming through the deep snow."

Everyone in the lodge was excited, except the old man. He did not rush out to meet his grandson. The women urged him to go, but he said, "He is coming; never mind."

When the young man entered the lodge his grandfather said, "Sit on my knees." 201 The old man passed his hands downward over the young man's head and body in the tribal manner of "blessing," and 782 said, "I believed in your dream and now you are here."

Then he told him to sit yonder and said, "I ask you—when attacked, 539 did you hide in a ravine? When you were a little boy and cooled my

brothers North had come to enlist a company of one hundred 175*
scouts, "They were without food, without clothing, without arms 648*
and without horses. Their sole covering consisted of cotton sheets, 701
which afforded no protection against cold and wet."[1] Every able-bodied man wanted to answer North's call. Every man who could wanted to get away from homes buried in suffering and disease, and to change the monotonous, restricted, and inactive life of the reservation for an active life in the army. Many who were not taken by North marched after his force on foot as far as Arkansas City, hoping to persuade him to enlist them.

Settled in camps of earth-lodges and tipis, with an inadequate 175*
food supply, insufficient clothing and no medical attention, ineffi- 648*
cient and impotent officials remained satisfied for years to report 657
the mortality and ascribe it to filthy habits of life, and the climate. 164
Occasionally we hear that the people had poor protection from the weather, and that in addition to tuberculosis, pneumonia carried off a number.

A slight but temporary improvement in health took place in
1880 when for a season the food supply was adequate. The old [262]
men of the tribe said it was the first time in their lives that they
had all the potatoes and vegetables they could eat. The people that fall looked well-nourished for the first time; the children fat and healthy.

The houses built for the Pawnee, and by the Pawnee under government instruction, made no sanitary provisions; as late as 1880 there were few if any outhouses, and luckily so, as the doctor commented, since the Pawnee without guidance were likely to
construct them without vaults. As the people became settled in
separate homes, the absence of suitable drinking water became a [312] ●
fertile source of disease. There were no wells; they used water from springs or creeks; they were not taught care in handling their water supply, and never cleaned out the springs. Even at the reservation school conditions for some years were bad.

In the reports, a doctor is first heard of in the tribe in 1881, but there are no indications of active medical aid until 1883. Then he began to teach them how to sink wells, and watch their water supply. He attributed fatalities in pneumonia cases to treatment by the native medicine men, and from this time forth there was a constant strife between the code of the medicine man and that of the agency physician. The diseases afflicting the tribe were ascribed to inherent taints, constitutional weakness, and inbreeding. It was not until 1897 that a Doctor Driesbach recognized that

---

[1] Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales, p. 300.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Kansas Monument site.—This site is located 1½ miles west and 1 mile south of Republic, Kans., on the south bank of the Republican River.[88] It derives its name from a granite shaft erected on the spot in 1901 by the State of Kansas "to mark the site of the Pawnee Republic, where Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike caused the Spanish flag to be lowered and the flag of the United States to be raised, September 29, 1806." The land has been set aside permanently as a State park. (172* 361

The site occupies an area of less than 10 acres on a high promontory, about 200 yards from the river's edge. Midway between the river and the village site, in a deep gully, is a good spring; another formerly existed in a draw to the east. There are no hills near the site, since the village is situated on the bluffs themselves; the river sweeps by directly at the base of the declivity, there being no first bottoms. The site has never been broken, except a narrow strip along the south edge. Twenty-five lodge circles, from 8 to 15 paces in diameter, are scattered irregularly about. Some of them are nearly contiguous, but in most cases they are from 10 to 30 feet apart. They average 18 inches in depth, are well defined, and show clearly the position of the former entrances. Among the lodge circles are scattered caches, 15 or 18 of which are clearly discernible. Along the northwest site is an old rampart perhaps 150 yards long. One of the lodge circles occurs outside the wall, along with several caches. The burial ground appears to be some 200 yards northwest of the fortification wall, about the heads of some of the ravines. [312]

Systematic investigation of this splendid site has never been undertaken, but many finds of surface material have been made. Sherds and quartzite scrapers of true Pawnee type occur, along with metal hoes, bridle bits, spurs, iron pots, and other evidence of commercial intercourse with white traders. The site is obviously historic and may be safely referred to the Republican band. That it is the site visited by Pike in 1806 seems highly improbable, as it tallies in nowise with the journals and map of the expedition. Lewis and Clark reported in 1802 that the Republicans had joined the Grands on the Platte, driven thither by the recurring attacks of the Kansa. Yet 2 years later Pike visited a village of 1,700 Republicans on the Republican River. By 1811 the entire band was on the Loup, at the Horse Creek site. Probably the Kansas Monument site was occupied contemporaneously with that visited by Pike, but being nearer the Kansa territory was subjected to more attacks, and hence was the first abandoned. The village seen by Pike was occupied for some years longer, but the expansion of the Kansa at last forced them to give up also and remove to the Loup. The abandonment of the site in Kansas would then antedate 1802. [162]

---

[88] NE¼ sec. 3, T. 2 S., R. 5 W., Republic County, Kans.

*172 the horses were at large. The corn was planted in hills and was
243 cultivated by means of a hoe made from the scapula of bison; it was
usually hoed twice each year. Artificial fertilizers seem to have
[242 been unknown, and irrigation was likewise never practiced.

312] According to Mrs. E. G. Platt, missionary to the tribe on the Loup, "corn known among all the Indians as Pawnee corn, was a great rarity to us, and its luxuriant growth a great marvel, ears 16 and 18 inches long being not uncommon."[27] Most of the charred cobs recovered by Mr. A. T. Hill from caches and graves at the Hill site are much smaller than this, seldom over 4 inches in length and not much thicker than a man's thumb; they exhibit usually from 8 to 12 or 14 rows of kernels. In general, where cobs have been taken from Pawnee sites, the smaller size seems to prevail to the exclusion of larger specimens. Charred kernels have also been recovered from graves at the Hill site; a few are shown in plate 2, *e*.

*172 In addition to maize, the Pawnee cultivated beans, pumpkins, and
244 squash.[28] Seeds of the latter have been recovered by excavation,
and definitely identified. Beans have not yet been found and the
varieties utilized are not positively known.

*172 Corn was gathered while still green; it was then boiled, cut from
251 the cob, dried, placed in leather bags, and stored in caches for future
use. In times of prosperity it was cooked in bison fat. Pumpkins
[252] were cut into strips, dried in the sun, and then often woven into mats
for convenient transportation.[29] When setting forth on their semiannual hunt they took along "several sacks of sweet corn and beans, dry corn for mush, (and) dried pumpkins.[30]

*172 Of uncultivated vegetal foods the wild potato appears to have
been in most common use. These tubers grew plentifully in the sand
222 of the Platte and Loup Valleys; they were dug up, boiled, peeled,
262 dried, and cooked with dried pumpkins. They were usually taken
[261] along on the hunting trips. The wild potato, as such, is mentioned
frequently but with what plant it is to be identified cannot be
certainly stated. Long[31] says:

> We saw among them the Pomme blanche . . . which is the root of the *Psoralea esculenta*. It is eaten either boiled or roasted, and somewhat resembles the sweet potato.

Possibly, though not necessarily, this has reference to the wild potato of other writers.[32]

---

[27] 1892, p. 129.
[28] Allis, 1887, p. 140.
[29] Long, 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.
[30] Allis, 1887, p. 144.
[31] 1823, vol. 1, p. 447.
[32] Allis, 1887, pp. 140, 144; Platt, Mrs. E. G., 1892, p. 129.

the altar there. Out of delicacy, she did not offer corn to the sacred ears in 264
the bundle; if they had had buffalo meat she would have offered it there 782
but not to the buffalo skull.

Now the meal began, and it was proper that they have light conversa- 264
tion while eating. Their conversation turned to getting water for the 521
household and wood for fuel, the care of the horses, and the food pit. White Woman remarked to Clear Day, who was sitting on the other side of the fireplace, "After breakfast, let's take two kettles and get some water." The other women talked about opening up the food pit and sorting out the good corn from the rotten and about exposing dry meat to the wind and sun. Victory Call talked to Horse Rider, who was sitting at his left, about the horses. He said, "Right up near where the horses are you might find some mushrooms and milkweed so that the women can cook the tops." Then the women chimed in, "I wish you could get some milkweed. That's good mixed with corn." Then Victory Call spoke of the horses: "If there's a good runner among them, get on him and give him some exercise so that we can train him as a buffalo horse. You must look around meanwhile and see if you see some deer tracks. We might go hunting. In the evening take the horses to a safe hiding place and hobble them so that the Sioux won't steal them. Look way off in all directions and if you see anyone lurking about bring them right home and put them in the corral. They won't starve for one night. In the morning we'll turn them loose and they can make up for it." "All right, I'll look around," said Horse Rider, "I'll be home late." Victory Call had some further reminders for him. He asked him if he had any parched corn with salt so that the horses would get thirsty and drink. He also reminded him that he should wet the sides of the horses and then they would rub themselves on the grass and shed their old hair. This was a necessary precaution, as they had no curry comb. Horse Rider actually knew all this, but he listened respectfully.

The meal now over, White Woman cleaned up the dishes and started 264
out with Clear Day to get the water. It was a mile to Beaver Creek, and it 512
was necessary to go at least twice a day to get water for the household. 312
Horse Rider usually helped by making at least one of these trips. The 482
two women now set out with two buckets hanging on a seven-foot-long stick which rested on their right shoulders, one woman walking in front and one behind, with the buckets between. The stick, ordinarily used as a digging iron, had one end fire-hardened and sharpened to a point, the other end being forked. At this time after breakfast and especially just before eating supper, many people were walking toward the creek for the same purpose.

Horse Rider left the lodge to take care of the horses, and Old Bull and 512
Victory Call remained seated in their place, smoking their pipe and con- 462
tinuing their conversation. The old ladies who were left behind looked [887]

*175 a basically horticultural people in the plains of North America
*648 even before the buffalo hunting era.[1] The whole round of life, with
its conceptual and religious meanings, was to the Pawnee bound
657 up with group life in a village. Their ceremonies were village rituals
621 in intent and action; their dances called for gatherings on a large scale. In opposing a destruction of the village communities, the chiefs were supporting traditional Pawnee values. In addition, it must not be forgotten that even after the settlement of the Pawnee on a Nebraska reservation in 1859 the tribe had been permitted to continue the old village organization. To be sure, it was not in line with government policy that they did so, but because, as we have seen, the government failed to give the tribe protection and did not dare to scatter the people and render them defenceless. Nevertheless, the effect was the same. The Pawnee were not opposed to farming. They were proud in 1884 of their independence of government aid, of their ownership of horses, cattle and farming implements. What was good and useful to a productive and happy life was not lost on the Pawnee. But their past experience inclined them to the belief that reservation life, based on farming, could be carried on successfully without the break-up of their villages. In dealing with such village tribes as the pueblo peoples, the United States government did not destroy the village organization and settlements; as a result, much of value and significance in their ancient culture has continued into the present among the Southwestern Indians. The implication here is that the Pawnee chiefs were right; and that in the case of their tribe the government was attempting a more violent and rapid change than was good for their cultural health.

*175 In 1880 there were only a few individual farms held by Pawnee.
*648 The government reapers and mowers were used on these as well
657 as on the band farms. The band farms were still cooperatively planted and worked. In 1882 the concerted drive of the officials persuaded a number of enterprising families to locate. With a family on an allotted tract, the agent proceeded to build a frame
[342] house for them. The Indians hewed logs and brought them to the saw-mill. The government carpenter directed the work of erecting the house, with Pawnee men assisting. The latter did a good share of the work, and as time went by put up their own houses. From 1886 on, all the frame houses built on the Pawnee reservation are reported to have been erected by the Pawnee themselves.

● [313] Until 1884 there was a scarcity of timber and cut wood for building, and many families camped on allotments. Those who

---

[1] W. D. Strong, Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology.

Again Paruxti went on his way. Several times he opened the bag, camp was 539
pitched. He rested only when the bag was opened. He had traveled far to the east
and had returned by the north. 575

Fools-wolves, the wolf star, had seen Paruxti on his journey and said, "I will undo what the others wish to do. I will send a being to the earth who will ruin what the others have accomplished." He put a wolf on the earth who became hungry and ran hither and thither until he discovered the tracks of Paruxti which he followed. The wonderful being, who had become tired and sleepy, lay down. As he lay there, the wolf came up to him and noticed the bag. He thought, "There must be something to eat in the bag. I will take it away and open it and find something to eat." He dragged it to some prairie where there was neither water nor timber and untied it.

The two lance men jumped out first. Wolf was frightened and jumped sidewise. Soon people came out of the bag and he heard them say that they were going to camp and get something to eat. The two lance men selected a camping place and as usual stuck their lances into the ground. The people played their games, but found no buffalo. The men shouted: "Something is wrong. Our wonderful being must be in an ill-humor. Take him something to eat."

Some men carried dried meat to the wolf which he ate. The people marveled at this and did not know what to make of it. The wolf was brought to camp and given a place in the tipi where the wonderful man sat. Just as they were about to burn incense in his honor someone shouted, "Our wonderful being is coming over the hills, crying. Watch the being in our tipi, for he is not our wonderful being." The wolf tried to get away, but the people surrounded the tipi and killed him.

The four men then burned some incense before the wonderful being and anointed him with red ointment, buffalo fat mixed with red earth. All the people were gathered around the tipi and the wonderful being asked what had become of the wolf. They replied, "We killed it." Then Paruxti said, "Bring it and skin it. When the skin is dry, put it on the bundle where it must remain. You will always be known as the skiri (Skidi) or wolf people. Because you killed the first animal on earth you will die too. The gods in the heavens intended that you live forever. You will always have the lances. Those who carry them will be soldiers."

Known-the-leader sent the assistant on the north side to the morningstar bundle 575
tipi for owl feathers which are kept in this bundle and to the left hand bundle tipi for
the crow feathers kept in that bundle. When these were brought, the assistant
called for one crow feather and one white goose feather from each of the other tipis. [237]
These were brought in and piled up in front of the singers by young boys. Near the
feathers were placed two strips of red cloth about sixteen inches wide together with
buckskin, sinew, and an awl. Two men were selected to procure cedar poles for the [824]
lances. Cedar was used because the cedar tree "has life all the time."

When the men arose, Known-the-leader took up one of the drums. The other
drummers each took up the drum in front. They sang a song relating to the search [533]
for timber. After they sang four times, the drums were set down. Then the men
went out with axes to cut the trees. Before actually cutting the poles four cutting
motions were made. When the poles were brought in they were placed one at each
side of the tipi where the young men sat. They started to cut down the pole, one [313]
man on each side, and when these were tired, others took their places. When the
poles were cut and smoothed down they were placed crosswise in front of the drums.

The cloth was given to the men on either side who sewed it with buckskin string.

512 462 887 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder. When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter, I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar. Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

313 484 623 [726] Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Victory Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful supply of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the immediate neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy. The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the chiefs had gathered there.

512 252 262 [237] The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buffalo meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

(415) 512 251 356 The main business of the women of the household that day was to give the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold, and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in; besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for [192] food pit, *tahaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all. [476] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

623
574
522
[601]
[602]
each other by the kin terms of grandfather and grandchild—thereby permitting a great deal of free-wheeling slapstick behavior. This was incongruous because of the social position of some of the individuals involved and was considered quite humorous. Eagle Chief addressed Lone Chief as grandson in this way, and he would say, "That's the laziest fellow I ever saw. He sleeps till mid-morning every day. I wish I were at his house. I'd throw him in the water." This evoked considerable laughter because of the incongruity of the situation, and, now that the South Side had made its joke, it was the turn of somebody on the north side. It was decorum to wait a few minutes, and then Leading Chief at the northwest took up the thread and said, "Look at that fellow over there," pointing to someone on the north side. "When I went out with my horses, I saw his horses standing there in a terrible condition. They were turning round and round with flies all over them and they must have been thirsty." (It was the work of the young boys to take care of the horses.) The man on the north side against whom the joke was leveled replied with, "I always hobble my horses, but he took my lariat and unhobbled them. That's the fellow who unhobbled my horses!" During the actual meeting, women were not present, but now the women of the lodge began to return and they too would join in the jokes with the men who happened to stand to them in the appropriate relationship.

623
574
This was the end of the meeting, and Leading Chief of Bottomlands Village sitting at the northwest presided over the closing. He said, "Now we are to get wood. Some of you, Lone Chief in particular (object of the last joke), must be in a hurry to go tend their horses. Any who wish can stay and tell stories, but now we have eaten [and the meeting is at an end]." Everyone said *nawa* and most of them rose and left the lodge. A few lingered. Enough extra boiled buffalo meat was usually portioned out at such a feast so that everyone had a substantial piece to take home to the family. Food from a chiefs' council was thought to have the special virtue of conveying a blessing of plenty to the women and children, and some of the men were eager to get home and share what they had with their wives and children. It was for this reason that they had been requested to bring their own bowls when they were invited that morning.

623
203
722
313
The decisions reached by the chiefs at their councils were always announced to the people soon after the meeting was over. One old man for each village with a somewhat resounding voice usually acted as the village crier. He would stand on the roof of his earth lodge between the smokehole and the entrance passageway facing east and call out:

"Day after tomorrow, we're all going for wood—the whole bunch of us. You young men—after breakfast take your bow and arrows. Go up on a high hill and be on the lookout to picket for Sioux or any other kind of danger. Women have to fix up their packstraps and everyone should

sharpen up his axe, fix up the ropes, borrow a horse to haul the wood if 623
you need one. If two or three lodges are going afoot together, they must 203
keep in line so that we know where you are." (Those with horses were in 722
less danger and might go in any order.) There was another thing he 313
warned them against—that is, taking young girls along. They were just the ones the Sioux would be trying to capture, and the old man remarked, they weren't really strong enough to carry wood anyway! Another danger was a magical one. The spirits of men who had been scalped by an [775]
enemy were very much feared. They were thought to lurk all around, trying to capture women or steal whatever else they could get their hands on. So the old man cautioned, "If a woman hasn't kept up, the line must wait for her until she arrives. She might be captured by one of the scalped men. This is the time you have to look out for that."

When the young men heard the crier's announcement, five or six of 722
them would gather together at a favorite rendezvous and say, "Let's go together with our bows and arrows real early before the others and stay up there until everyone comes home." According to their plan, on the appointed morning they would go out before the others and disburse over the area to see whether the enemy was lurking about. They would leave the villages about 7:30 in the morning and stay out all day.

The chiefs' meeting had come to an end that afternoon while it was 574
still full daylight. Old Bull had gone off to tend his horses. Victory Call, 521
having nothing in particular to do since he had Horse Rider to help him, wandered over to the gaming grounds where some of the men were clustered about making their bets on the outcome of the hoop and spear game, while others were just watching on the sidelines. Victory Call sat down at some distance from the game and two of the spectators came to join him. The man who sat down at his left filled up his pipe and offered [276]
it to Victory Call, lighting it for him. Victory Call offered the mouthpiece upward for the first puff to the cosmic powers in the heavens saying, [782]
"Greetings, all of you spread out up there." Then he offered the mouthpiece to the earth and said, "Greetings, my mother." Now he took two puffs on the pipe and began to share it with the men on each side of him in the alternation: first to the right, then himself, then to the left, and so on. When the pipe was smoked out, Victory Call was feeling in a genial mood. He made a special arrangement of his robe that had up to now been carelessly draped around his shoulders. He drew it down to his waist and, crossing his legs with the robe folded in a certain order, showed by this token that he was ready to tell a story. The men who had sat down with him were anxious to hear what the chief had to say, and particularly what had gone on in the meeting he had just attended before the crier got around to announcing it. Several more men joined the party with the same idea in mind. Victory Call might begin directly, or one of the men would suggest it obliquely saying, "I heard you had a feast."

356 roof of their house. He noted that seven of the radial timbers were rotting,
and he remarked that they needed replacement. Old Bull made no
comment, but he knew that they would carry on this enterprise together.
[283] During the winter buffalo hunt, each of them killed a buffalo bull so that
they could keep the hides to make rawhide strips for use when the roof
[237] was rebuilt the following spring. Around the smokehole, fastening the
radial roof rafters together, were two stout willow hoops, one on the inside
and one on the outside. These were tied in place on the radial rafters
with the rawhide strips. It was this mechanism that gave the symmetrical
form and strength to the whole cone of the roof, and the tying was therefore
important. At the same time as the hides were obtained, the women
[251] made sure to dry plenty of buffalo intestine so that they would have
[262] enough to make soup for the volunteers. While the bison hide was still
[281] fresh, the women removed the hair.

Now during the spring Victory Call and Old Bull kept an eye out for
356 elm trees from which they could strip the bark to use in tying on the willow
314 circuits around the roof frame. A cut was made near the bottom of
283 the elm tree so that the bark could be loosened; a strip about two inches
wide was ripped upward from the bottom. Five or six strips were taken from each elm. The strips were dried and stored until the actual time of building, when they were soaked in water and used wet so that they would make a tight bind when they dried in place. It took a large number of these elm strips to fasten the circuits in place around the roof.

356 Now Victory Call went into the timber to locate seven suitable willow
trees. The next day he returned with his wife, White Woman, and
313 his retainer, Horse Rider. The trip to the Loup River was five or six miles.
Victory Call cut down the trees with his axe, and Horse Rider and White Woman proceeded to lop off all the branches with a hatchet. After the trees were cut and the branches removed, they went home. Next day White Woman and Horse Rider returned and began to remove the bark, hacking it off from stub end to point; the man worked with an axe, the woman with a hatchet. Two trees were debarked, and they returned until they had finished the seven. After debarking, the poles were left in the timber to season for three days.

356 Meanwhile, without further discussion, Old Bull had gone off to look
313 for willow withes to make the circuits. When he got home he remarked
to his younger wife, Clear Day, "There are some nice willows down at
824 Beaver Creek. Tomorrow we can go out and cut them." In the evening
when Victory Call and the others got home from the Loup where they were fixing the radials, Old Bull remarked that he had been looking around and had seen some willows and that the next day they were going to cut them. Queen Woman and Old Lady Blue Calico of the South Side decided that since the women of the North Side were working so hard on the construction work, they would take over all the cooking for the family.

592 Clear Day and Blue Calico, "I can take care of the housework myself.
You two go plant your field." On the North Side, White Woman had a
double role to play and was hard pressed for time. She had "to take care
of her husband" and was also the main provisioner of the North Side of
the household. She was responsible for repairing her husband's moccasins
[437] when they wore out; when he went to the trade store to trade in a buffalo
robe for supplies of flour, coffee, sugar, prunes, or dried apples she
would accompany him to do most of the carrying. Whether he went on
horseback or on foot, he would carry only small items, being poised for
any threatened attack. When she became overburdened with work in this
way at the crucial time of planting, the two old women on her side,
Grandma Chase-the-Enemy and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, would
come to her aid. "Let's get through with our 'daughter's' field first. She
has to do the cooking for the whole family and take care of her husband."
The three of them would then go out together and finish up White
Woman's field and then the two old women would work each other's
fields in turn cooperatively.

517 On the way home from the fields they all washed their hoes and took
a swim in Beaver Creek. Heads would be bobbing up and down all over
526 as they swam back and forth. When they finished their swim and cleaned
313 their hoes, they would pick up whatever driftwood they could find and
515 take it home. High water sometimes left good sticks at the bend of the
creek. This moist wood was piled way at the back of the woodpile, since
unless it was left to dry out it would smoke and hurt the eyes. The
young women sat on the banks of the creek and slapped the surface
with their feet to see who could make the loudest noise. This was considered
quite a trick, and sometimes they tried it with their hands. It was
like the sound of the dried corn kernels when they were threshed at the
time of harvest, and expressed the hope that the corn might ripen.

343 Sometimes a sweat bath was preferred to a swim in the creek. When
515 they got home tired and dirty they would then build a sweat lodge inside
the earth lodge on the north side. All during planting time an old man
888 would sit on the roof of his earth lodge in the evening and call out various
521 items of advice. He would particularly recommend a sweat bath. He
would say, "If you're tired it's best to sweat. Then you will feel better
[757] next day. If you should have a headache, you must sweat. When you get
in from the fields, take a sweat bath. It cleans you up better than the
[515] creek." There were many other things the old man had to say, particularly
complimentary remarks to the women to bolster their morale. After
some general praises, he would cite some particular women specifically,
saying how industrious they were and what fine crops they raised. Presently
a little boy or girl would come and invite the old man to a little treat
in the home of the woman he had mentioned, usually some bread and
coffee.

224*

was made in oblong form about three feet long and a foot and a half wide, 484*
with its long axis running north-south. 342

The next step was to get everything in order for cooking. They had 354
enough water, and now they needed wood for fuel. As she was pegging 313
down the tent, No Corn remarked to her husband, Horse Rider, 224*
"We're pretty nearly finished now and we have no wood." Then he 484*
would go off carrying a long rope. He used the rope as a kind of lasso:
attaching a stick about a foot long to the end, he would throw it up
around a dry cottonwood limb and the cord would wind itself around
the limb so that it could be pulled down. It would take considerable skill
to pull it down without having it fall on your head, which sometimes happened
despite the best of care. Horse Rider tried to get enough wood to
last them for that evening and the next day while they stayed at the rendezvous
camp. Some of the wood he gathered from the ground, tied it up
with his cord, and came into camp carrying it on his back. As soon as he 224*
got in, he made the fire and White Woman began to cook. They had a 484*
simple meal of bread and coffee and some sand cherries for dessert. No 252
Corn volunteered to make the coffee. While the cooking was going on, [272]
the old ladies were stretched out resting, and Victory Call was doing the
same. Everyone was very tired. It was proper to joke a bit while the [522]
food was being prepared and during the meal. Horse Rider began to
tease No Corn about how she had fallen in the water.

Immediately after supper the women cleared up the dishes and sat 224*
down to rest—tired from all their work. Horse Rider went off to see 484*
how the horses were getting along and Victory Call went up and sat on
top of one of the sand hills to have a smoke and to look around and at the
encampment below. Presently five or six men joined him for a smoke and
some conversation.

The boy Otter ran off at once to the river to go swimming with the rest 224*
of the children. On the way he saw some other little boys leaning over a 484*
pond. "See the sunfish. Let's 'choke' them!" They tied some bread to the 857
end of a string and let it down into the pond and as the fish bit, they pulled
them up and 'choked' them. Then the boys went off and gave the fish to 224*
an old woman who was living alone in a shelter she had built for herself. 484*
Her relatives gave her something, but would not take care of her and she 888
had no other place to go. "Here, grandma," they said, "Here's some
fish." "That's fine," said the old lady. Later that summer while they were
setting up camp one day, the boys came to give her fish and she was dead.
They dug a hole in the embankment against which she had been leaning [764]
and buried her there. Man Chief, who was Eagle Chief's son, and a generous
young man, gave a red blanket to wrap her in. There were only
one or two old women alone like this. Sometimes while they were on the
hunt, such old people would say, "Just give me enough to eat and go on."

000 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there. The
243 younger women whose husbands had horses for transportation would
476 often go out together with another couple and bring the crop back to
252 camp, where they would do the processing in a coordinated group. Victory Call and White Woman along with Horse Rider and No Corn formed such a work group, first in White Woman's fields and then in those of No Corn, carrying the crops into camp on their horses. The old
[887] lady sat in her field all day and brought the finished product back to camp when it was completely prepared for storage. Families with only
[492] one horse or with no horses also processed the entire crop in the field before packing it into camp.

313 While the women were at the food pit, the men had been out piling
462 wood in the fields and in camp so that it would be ready for roasting the green corn. They preferred to get dead willows and driftwood; Horse Rider was at the creek piling up the driftwood while Victory Call was bringing the willows into the camp. Some men would say, "I don't care—that's women's work," but a good man would help his wife.

222 At this time of year they gathered a plant, *parus-asu*, "rabbit-foot,"
272 used for making a brown tea that they drank if they didn't happen to have coffee (*Lespedeza Capitata* Michx.) At the top in a cluster are some fruits looking like tiny rabbit feet. The plant grew on a bush about 3 feet high. They brewed the tea by breaking up the dry twig with the leaves on and steeping it in a coffee pot. Now everything was ready for harvesting and roasting the green corn.

243 Very early next morning Grandma went out to her field and there pre-
342 pared a place for her work. She built herself an ample shade, *kipasiu*, of willows—a circular enclosure, open at the top with an entrance at the
252 east. The leaves were a bit interlaced to make the fencing solid, the side branches beginning about a foot from the ground. When she left for the night, she put a willow sapling with leaves at the top in the doorway so that the shelter was closed in and well protected from horses. People who did not work in the field sometimes built themselves a more temporary shelter by arranging four or five willows in an arc. In her enclosure Grandma roasted all her corn and would leave it overnight in bags to be husked there next day and the kernels removed before bringing it to camp. During the harvest she cooked all her meals there. She left before breakfast and ate whenever it was convenient. She had a kettle along and a small mortar and pestle for preparing her meals. She would pound some of the fresh corn kernels from the roasted cobs and wrap them in corn husks, putting them in the boiling water to make dumplings. After she removed the dumplings she would add some dried meat scraps that had been scraped from the hide at the hunting grounds, *kstasi'u*, to make a good soup. Sometimes she took her grandson, Otter, into the field and shared her meals with him.

756 796 [824]

they ate a feast together. That evening, with a special ritual, it was stood in the ground next to the Bear Booth.

At the feast that afternoon, Big Doctor had given an accounting of how their meat supplies were holding up. Sixty rawhide containers of dried buffalo meat had been donated and these had to last for the whole proceedings. Including the present meal, they had used up fifteen. The doctors had been working for nine days. Two more were used cleaning the lodge of fleas, and, for the two days used in building the serpent, the turtle, and the witch woman, they had used up four containers.

796 756 • 313 [462]

The question of wood for fuel also came up at this time. As the meal was coming to a close, the north errand man whispered into Big Doctor's ear that he should menton this matter in his closing speech, particularly as a number of chiefs were present at the session. Getting wood was normally the function of the women and now they would have to enlist the help of a considerble party of women to lay in a supply. The two chiefs present would tell the various members of their families asking the women to get wood for the doctors and then word would readily get around. Old Man High Water was also instructed to go from house to house soliciting volunteers, saying, "The doctors want you to go for wood for them." He was cautioned not to mention any particular amount lest the women feel they were being pressured into going. The chiefs would arrange to have scouts go out with the women to protect them. Other young men would go voluntarily and picket on the hills.

36

THE WOMEN GET WOOD FOR THE DOCTORS

000 *Women Volunteer to Get Wood—Women Invited to Entertainment and Feast at Doctor Lodge—Quartz Crystal Sleight of Hand*

756 796 •313 462 WHEN OLD-MAN-HIGH-WATER went around the village notifying the women, he told them to meet outside the village and that two men would go along to protect them. Meanwhile Eagle Chief had sent one of his wives to ask Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy to take over this task. They knew they would be asked and they were all ready to go. They were given instructions to lead the women south of the creek rather than to the west where the enemy was likely to be lurking. As the women started for the appointed meeting place, other men set out for the surrounding hills to picket.

[482] Twenty women had volunteered. There was a standard backload of wood that the women usually carried (¼ cord or 2 cubic feet—2 armloads; eight armloads = 1 cord or 4 backloads). For each night that the doctors performed, they would need four backloads. Besides their preparations during the current week, the doctors were likely to give five performances, so that the women have to go on three more such expeditions to keep them supplied.

While the women were in the timber cutting the wood, the two scouts were standing on a hill watching them closely. Some women were saying, "Don't take too much. Take a light load. There are a lot of us." As one woman would get loaded up, she would stand aside and wait for the others. Finally when most of them had gathered, the men called out, "All of you here yet?"

One was found to be missing and when she finally emerged they all

lined up one behind the other and set out for the village. As they ap- 756
proached, people were watching from the housetops, saying, "They're 796
coming with wood." A ridge ran east and west above the village and the 313
women sat down there to rest before coming in. They were wishing they 462
could take a bath in the lake beside the road. "Have you rested enough?" asked Roaming Scout. "Yes." "Come on, then." When they had gone halfway into the village, their scouts left them and went home and the women proceeded to the Doctor Lodge where they dumped the wood, some of it inside and some outside to the north of the door. Big Doctor said, "Now you ladies go home and change your clothes. Dress up in your best. Paint your cheeks and then come back because you are going to have a feast. Tell those two men who went with you to dress up and come. Who were they?" "Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy?" "All right."

By about three or four in the afternoon, the children who were wait- 756
ing around to see everything sighted the line of women with the two 796
men in the lead going to the Doctor Lodge. The women were carrying 574
their wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons. They were seated along the north side of the lodge, the two men at the western end of the line. Wonderful Old Bull of the north side was doing the honors for the four main doctors. The wives of the doctors had contributed four buckets of boiled corn which were now brought in and the meat was given by one of the designated donors. An offering of corn was made to all the objects in the lodge, and it was served to the guests. After the second helping some of the women were patting their stomachs and saying, "My, I ate too much!" Those with more foresight had brought a bucket along to take the extra food home.

All the doctors except the four at the west remained in their booths. In anticipation of the forthcoming entertainment, some were calling out, "I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of that good-looking woman over there!" The women, who were apt to be shy on such occasions, were whispering among themselves instead of speaking out as the men usually did. The three big doctors at the west supplied the talk. "That one—I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of her!" "No you won't. That's the one I want." While they were eating the corn, twenty-two pieces of the cooked meat were spread out on a tent skin ready to be served, and as the women finished their corn they were served soup in their bowls. Wonderful Old Bull, representing all the head doctors, served them with the meat. Finally the dishes and pots were cleared away, the women put their bowls behind their backs, and the entertainment began.

At the west, Wonderful Old Bull and Sitting Hawk began to drum and sing doctor songs, while the doctors in different booths made all sorts of animal sounds. The little boys ran in to see what was going on. They were saying, "Now they're taking their quartz crystals." At this juncture,

000 and materials. European goods were first spread by itinerant traders who
439 carried their wares to the different villages and centers and finally set
443 up their own trade stores. Bishop and Matlock's was the favorite trade
[436 store for the Pawnees at this time, and the buffalo robe was the chief
medium of exchange. The trade value of a well-tanned robe of ordinary
[435] quality was ten to fifteen dollars. For one of prime quality, expertly
tanned, they might get thirty dollars worth of exchange goods. The national
market of the trader justified him in paying these prices. In 1848,
175 100,000 robes were shipped out of St. Louis, and the American Civil War
439 gave a special impetus to the buffalo leather trade for army needs. By
1874 even England was making use of the leather for its army. When
supplies were running low in a Pawnee household, the man would
point to an unworked buffalo hide and say to his wife, "Make up that
buffalo robe so that we can get something at the store." In the past the
same expedient probably served for trade with other tribes or villages.

237 The hair of the buffalo was intricately braided into a long rope known
as Black Rope, which was used by the men to hold the buffalo robe in
place as well as for other purposes. The horns provided the common eating
and serving spoons and the bones were made into a number of important
tools, notably the buffalo shoulder blade, which was the main
spade or earth-digging tool as well as the hoe and the scythe. These
bones also provided tools for skin working and for sizing and straightening
the arrowshaft, as well as slivers for scraping and cutting. The sinews
of the buffalo were used for sewing together the skins and for making
bowstrings.

•313 Second in importance as an industrial material was wood. In the open
prairie plains, trees grew only along the streams. The supply was heavily
drawn upon for fuel as well as for industry. Wood was used industrially
for building and for equipment and utensils. Cottonwood and willow
313 were the mainstay of the construction industries—the cottonwood because
824 it was light for its strength and bulk and the willow for its flexibility.
Elm was used for making the mortar and post oak for the pestle.
They also used the post oak to make their common eating bowls. Dogwood
was the material of the arrowshafts and ashwood for the bow as
well as the gaming hoop and the pipestem. Wood was best gotten in the
fall when the sap was running low.

824 Reeds and grasses were their third industrial resource. Grasses grew
along the streams and reeds in the limited number of ponds to be found
in the area. Since they matured about the same time as the cultivated
crops, they had to be processed as soon as the harvest was over. The
[285] most important product they made from these materials was the large
twined woven mat that they felt had to be spread on the dusty ground
[352] both in the earth lodge and in the tent while they were on the hunt. Next

50

OBJECTS OF WOOD FOR THE HOME

000

Women Made the Wood Objects for Home Use—Scarcity of Wood—Making the Wooden Bowl, Ladles, Spoons, Mortar, Pestle, Digging Iron, Tent Pegs, Bracket for Hanging Pots over Fire, Tipi Poles

462 WOMEN WERE THE MAIN MANUFACTURERS of objects made of wood. Not
322 only did they gather the fuel and the building materials, but they also
made all the objects of general utility in the household. The men were
directly concerned only with those things that were for their own im-
mediate use—their weapons and their ceremonial objects. In no other
group that I know of, except among the Woodland Indians, are the
women the woodsmen and the woodcrafters to the extent that they were
[752] among the Pawnees. Like other lumbermen in the world, Pawnee
[761] women would sometimes be killed while felling trees, and a story is told
of a woman responsible for another woman's death in such an accident
who grieved so deeply that she wandered off never to be seen again.

137 In the Pawnee prairie plains country, the only place that trees grow is
462 along the streams, and in the distance one can readily identify the rivers
• 313 and streams by the green belt of trees that grow along their banks. This
limited distribution of the trees meant that the women often had to travel
considerable distances to get the wood they needed. In 1867 they had to
have military protection. How matters stood earlier is not known. They
[492] also had the advantage of horse transport. The likelihood is that in the
[374] past their dogs had this function and a good deal was packed on their
backs, water-floated, or simply dragged over the country. When women
313 went to the woods they took their pack ropes which they also made into

313 [412] a kind of lasso with a stick tied to the end as a weight for pulling down branches from the trees. They took with them their hatchets—the men usually working with axes—and from their present woodworking methods one can only speculate that in the past they felled the trees by a combination of burning, gouging, and scraping.

415 412 The utensils and equipment that the women made for the household were all-year round equipment, used both in the earth lodge and on the march. The wooden bowl and the wooden ladles for serving, along with the individual buffalo-horn spoon, were a necessity for every meal, and the mortar and pestle were carried along on the march as well as being in frequent use in the earth lodge for the preparation of meals. The [414] wooden bracket and hook to suspend the pot over the fire were also common equipment in both domestic situations. The forked seven-foot-long 412 *biku* stick with the sharp fire-hardened point was primarily for making holes in the ground for the tent pegs and for the tipi poles, but it had many other domestic uses particularly as a carrying pole and as a digging iron in general.

322 415 [461] *The Wooden Bowl.* The following are two different accounts, one given by Mark Evarts of the Skidi Band and one by Effie Blane of the Pitahawirata. Evarts gives an estimate of eight days that it took to make the bowl, while Effie Blane cites three days. The different estimate is probably between spare time and full-time work (Weltfish, 1937, pp. 47-48).

> [463] There were only six or seven old women among all the Skidi villages who knew how to make these bowls. In Victory Call's family, Grandma knew and in Old Bull's family on the south side of the lodge, Old-Lady-Blue-Calico who had come from Village-in-the-Bottomlands, also knew how. In order to get a bowl made, one had to have a knot ("wood knob") of cottonwood or black post oak that could be taken to the maker. The making took about eight days. Suitable payment for this work was either a combination of half a pumpkin mat and a bag of dried roasted corn kernels about six inches high, or some cutout skins for moccasins and leggings instead.
>
> For a wooden bowl or *rakaraki*, one would select the knot according to the size of the bowl one wanted. After the knot is cut with a sharp hatchet, the woman would begin to chip it from the middle out, and finally while the wood was still damp and not hard she would make a [412] hole on the inner surface of the requisite size. Next she trimmed it all over with a crooked knife, *retsi-pirus*, "knife-crooked," leaving a projection on the rim to be formed into a handle. When the surface was all smooth, she carved the handle called *rak-u-paks-tar-u-kita-ku*, "plate-with-head-plural-up-on top-sitting," the handle being toothed

diameter, and the round excavated fireplace in the center and the shape 342 and insulation of the walls made it warm in winter. The life of a set of tipi poles was five to seven years, and within that interval three or four of them were likely to bend or weaken and have to be replaced. They [824] used cottonwood, which was light and easy to carry, and as an alternative, [313] cedar, which was also rather light. The best supply was on Grand Island in the Platte and the best time to gather these was on the return journey from the winter hunt.

The first task was to select the trees which should be 6 to 7 inches in 313 diameter as they stood with the bark on. From their encampment on the 342 island, Victory Call, White Woman, and Horse Rider would go into the timber, and when Victory Call had selected his first tree he would start to cut it down with the ax. When Horse Rider would come up, he would say, "Let me do that," and take the ax and cut it down in his place. Victory Call now went further to select the other trees and Horse Rider followed cutting each one down in turn. Now White Woman got to work on the felled trees, cutting off the boughs and branches with her hatchet so that the bare trunk was left with the bark on.

Now Horse Rider began to drag in the bare trunks to camp, while Victory [483] Call cut down the fourth tree that they needed and White Woman got to work lopping off the branches. Victory Call now pulled in the fourth trunk, returning to camp with White Woman. With a good sharp ax this operation had taken them a total of half an hour for all four trunks.

Back at camp, they removed the bark and this took a good deal longer. 322 If one person worked at it alone, it took two to three hours to remove the 342 bark from one trunk of this kind. Two people working together on one tree could do it in about an hour and a half. While White Woman worked from the bottom upward with the hatchet, the other person could work near the top end using a knife, because the bark is softer near the top. It sometimes happened that White Woman was able to make a convenient flap near the bottom, ripping off a strip of bark up the whole length. Horse Rider or Grandma might be free to give White Woman a hand at this work. After the bark was off, the whole stick had to be roasted. All four were first debarked and then all four roasted at the same time. A little fire was made outdoors and each stick turned around in it until the whole length was roasted. To roast the four sticks in this way took about an hour and a half. Now they were left to cool and the ashes and burnt places rubbed over with a stick to remove loose cinders. The next step was to even their length. The stub ends had been sharpened to points, and these were placed together and the heads all cut off to the same length to make them even.

The new tipi poles were now tied together and transported back to the 342 earth lodge where, tied together tight, they were fastened to the ceiling

356 roof of their house. He noted that seven of the radial timbers were rotting,
and he remarked that they needed replacement. Old Bull made no
comment, but he knew that they would carry on this enterprise together.
[283] During the winter buffalo hunt, each of them killed a buffalo bull so that
[237] they could keep the hides to make rawhide strips for use when the roof
was rebuilt the following spring. Around the smokehole, fastening the
radial roof rafters together, were two stout willow hoops, one on the inside
and one on the outside. These were tied in place on the radial rafters
with the rawhide strips. It was this mechanism that gave the symmetrical
form and strength to the whole cone of the roof, and the tying was therefore
important. At the same time as the hides were obtained, the women
[251] made sure to dry plenty of buffalo intestine so that they would have
[262] enough to make soup for the volunteers. While the bison hide was still
[281] fresh, the women removed the hair.

Now during the spring Victory Call and Old Bull kept an eye out for
356 elm trees from which they could strip the bark to use in tying on the willow
314 circuits around the roof frame. A cut was made near the bottom of
283 the elm tree so that the bark could be loosened; a strip about two inches
wide was ripped upward from the bottom. Five or six strips were taken
from each elm. The strips were dried and stored until the actual time of
building, when they were soaked in water and used wet so that they
would make a tight bind when they dried in place. It took a large number
of these elm strips to fasten the circuits in place around the roof.

Now Victory Call went into the timber to locate seven suitable willow
356 trees. The next day he returned with his wife, White Woman, and
313 his retainer, Horse Rider. The trip to the Loup River was five or six miles.
Victory Call cut down the trees with his axe, and Horse Rider and White
Woman proceeded to lop off all the branches with a hatchet. After the
trees were cut and the branches removed, they went home. Next day
White Woman and Horse Rider returned and began to remove the bark,
hacking it off from stub end to point; the man worked with an axe, the
woman with a hatchet. Two trees were debarked, and they returned until
they had finished the seven. After debarking, the poles were left in the
timber to season for three days.

356 Meanwhile, without further discussion, Old Bull had gone off to look
313 for willow withes to make the circuits. When he got home he remarked
824 to his younger wife, Clear Day, "There are some nice willows down at
Beaver Creek. Tomorrow we can go out and cut them." In the evening
when Victory Call and the others got home from the Loup where they
were fixing the radials, Old Bull remarked that he had been looking
around and had seen some willows and that the next day they were going
to cut them. Queen Woman and Old Lady Blue Calico of the South
Side decided that since the women of the North Side were working so
hard on the construction work, they would take over all the cooking for
the family.

Next 824
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two es- 316
sential materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and 317
stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have 439
been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or
by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their
area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made 175
up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking 439
and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees 415
were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one 177
could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grin- [323]
nell got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery
in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it
well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 323

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron."
> This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they [252]
> boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They 172
have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular 415
body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick
"collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad
collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was 415
the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part 252
the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim
and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots
were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must 411
also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was 17
entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the
arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops
roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to
the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-
177 shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological cir-
[172] cles as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people
was "Big Knife."

Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
17 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
412 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
324 continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrow-
shafts and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sand-
stone buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from south-
west Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
[439] Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to re-
veal their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard
electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

796 The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
463 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
322 arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the
essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots
from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when
the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was
referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the
pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic
terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
796 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
171 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

For personal use a man would go to one of the six or seven men who 276
were the only ones that could make them among all the Skidi. An order 463
for a pipe included both the wooden stem and the stone bowl. As usual, 316
the materials had to be assembled by the man who wanted the pipe and taken to the maker. When he placed his order, he was sent to get the necessary ashwood stick.[1] The stone for the bowl was Catlinite or red pipestone from the famous pipestone quarry in the extreme southwestern part of Minnesota, located northeast of Pawnee territory. When men went out on the warpath stealing horses in this vicinity, they were likely to get as much of the stone as they could carry. Nearer home there was a green rock (serpentine?) that could be used; it was soft and was blackened by the maker while the other kind was left red. A man who wanted 276
to order a pipe made had to go to someone who had gotten it in this way:

> He would say, "I want you to give me a stone for a pipe." When the warrior gave his consent, the man went home and waited and presently the warrior sent his wife with the block of stone to give to the man's wife. The wife of the warrior now returns home, having accomplished her mission. The man ordering the pipe, not wanting to take the stone for nothing, sends his wife to the home of the warrior with twenty arrows, a blanket and she adds some buffalo meat. She now sets out for the warrior's house and approaching his wife she says, "This is for your husband. He gave us that pipe." The warrior's wife demurs, saying, "Oh, don't do that." "Yes, keep it. It's for your husband." The warrior's family now enjoys eating the gift of dry meat and they put the arrows and the blanket up on the wall. Later on when the two men meet, the warrior says to the man who is ordering the pipe, "What did you do that for? I didn't want anything for the stone." "Oh, that's all right. I wanted you to have something for it." "Well, all right, thank you," says the warrior, "We ate it!"

With the stone in hand, the man would now go to the pipe maker 276
whose work he considered best and speak to him about it. Each pipe 463
maker had his own distinctive way of making a pipe and one would ei- 531
ther come with his own specifications or simply accept the style of the 324
pipe maker himself. The man would say, "With a horse on it," etc., or "I want just a plain pipe," in which case it would be made in the maker's style. Two alternative kinds were one with rings (like a windpipe) or one with a flat part on the half below the mouthpiece, then a thick ring of wood and the rest of the length round to the bowl end. Kind Warrior who was a leader of the Deer Dance, *Raris-ta*, had a pipestem with half the length from the bowl end to the middle flat, and three ridges from the middle up to the mouthpiece. This was something like the ridges on an arrow where the feathers were to be attached and may have had some symbolic reference connected with this. Some men ordered their stone

756 the southeast lodge pole. Sometimes a woman would come in and give
796 the "boss" of one of the animal booths a gift of corn bread so that later
[346] on during the performance they would be permitted to sit near the
booth and get a better view instead of crowding in at the entryway.

When the food was ready, Big Doctor spoke and told them they were going to interrupt their activity and eat now, and that they could resume their work later. He said that he himself would make the offering to the powers with the corn and save time. The errand men were instructed to distribute the food.

The meal over, Big Doctor said, "Now we have eaten. Now you can go and tend to anything you want to. But after that, return here and get back to work!" They went off home to take their extra dry meat to their families, to tend their horses, and to take a little rest before going on with the work in the evening. The four main doctors did not linger long away from the ceremonial lodge. They had to fix up the gourd rattles, drums, and other things. Old-Man-That-Chief who has elk (*pax*) power was too old to wander about. If he should want to go home, someone must lead him. Most of the time he remained in the lodge throughout the ceremonial period.

756 That night and the next they built the serpent, the witch, and the
796 turtle. They worked at night when they would not be observed. The
532 serpent would take a whole night, the witch and the turtle perhaps
[317] another night. They had to bring in quantities of clay from the river
bottom to do all this modeling. Twelve of them did the modeling—the four doctors at the west, and Old Bull and also the son of the subleader at the north, Wonderful Old Bison; the son of Sitting Hawk, Misery; also Angry Horse of the Bear Lodge. Bringing Horses was called in by Pipe Offering to assist him. On the next night, after the serpent was done they divided up, six working on the witch woman and six on the turtle-fireplace. Then the skin cutouts of the celestial powers were hung in place and the two loon skins put before the altar. Finally they were to set out for the cedar tree. They followed the same kind of procedure as for the cottonwoods, except that only one tree was obtained on this occasion.

756 A suitable cedar had been spotted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy
796 on the Loup River, and before sunrise the next day a party of twenty
[824] doctors led by Strikes-the-Enemy set out to cut it down and bring it
back to the lodge. Symbolically the cedar represented the Bear whose celestial affiliation was with the sun and the moon. The cottonwood symbolized the Beaver and the waters of the earth. Strikes-the-Enemy led the party, carrying a bear-hide rattle. On the return journey, they stopped half way and had a hypnotic contest as described in Chapter 34.

[824] When the party reached within four feet of the lodge, they halted and

Next 824
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two es- 316
sential materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and 317
stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have 439
been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or
by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their
area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made 175
up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking 439
and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees 415
were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one 177
could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grin- [323]
nell got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery
in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it
well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 323

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron."
> This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they [252]
> boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They 172
have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular 415
body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick
"collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad
collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was 415
the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part 252
the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim
and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots
were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must 411
also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was 17
entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the
arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops
roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to
the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

about the end of the pipe. These devices were presumably for the attachment of a cord, which could be used to lash the pipes firmly onto their stems when in use, or to secure them against loss when carried with the sacred bundles on war and hunting trips. The comb in *d* may have served a similar purpose. 172* 276

Unusual types are seen in *b*, *g*, and *k*. The first is slightly less than 1½ inches long, straight, and has a very slight taper; it is ornamented with a very well-executed face. The shape is reminiscent of the cloud blower of the pueblo area, though this particular pipe was undoubtedly fitted with a wooden stem; it is not at all typical of our area. As for the other two specimens, *g* and *k*, both have the bowl at right angles to the stem, but are fashioned from plain, subrectangular blocks of stone; *k* bears five notches on the outer side and two on the inner.

The specimens seen in *d* and *j* are also very nicely made and are remarkably symmetrical and well balanced. Added beauty is attained through the use of ornamental combs and keels, as already indicated, but these features appear not to have been very common.

[114] According to Charlevoix,[64] the Pawnee claimed to have received the calumet directly from the sun. From this he concluded that the tribe "paid the sun a more ancient and distinguished worship than the other nations of that part of America, and that they were the first who thought of making the calumet a symbol of alliance." The priority in use here postulated has not yet been demonstrated, but there is a marked similarity between certain of the Pawnee pipes and those from earlier cultures of the area, save that the latter are not ordinarily of catlinite. It is quite possible that the elaborate calumets figured in our series will ultimately be traced back through the sandstone and limestone types of southern Nebraska to an earlier curved form of clay so far known in the State only from the Missouri Valley. [171] These latter, while crude and roughly made, are suggestive of the trumpet-shaped pipes of the Iroquois,[65] to which they may bear a genetic relationship. The long-stemmed clay pipes of the southern Caddoans[66] are apparently lacking in Nebraska, although certain of the short-stemmed "variants" do resemble the pipes of the Pawnee.[67]

WORK IN BONE AND HORN

172*
412
321

AWLS.—These are to be found nearly everywhere in the area but are most common on the prehistoric and protohistoric sites. There is no fixed type, although the majority of specimens appear to have

---

[64] 1903, vol. I, p. 306.

[65] Skinner, 1921, pp. 89–103 and figure 13.

[66] Harrington, 1920, pls. CI and CII.

[67] Ibid., pl. CIV, *a*.

*172 been made of whole bones, with the joints constituting the butts
412 (pl. 9, *e*). Extremely long awls are not found, but there is nevertheless a considerable variation in their length and massiveness.
321 Relatively few are made out of splinters, nor are they as a rule ground down to a perfectly round shape.

Shaft straighteners.—Sections of bison and elk rib from 3 to 9 inches long were pierced by one or more small, perfectly round holes about three-eighths inch in diameter; in nearly every specimen the edges of the holes are well worn as by abrasion (pl. 9, *d*). These implements were presumably for straightening thin sticks, such as arrow shafts; they may also have served as gauges to assist in securing uniformity in the size of the shaft. Similar objects are found in the Mandan area [66] as well as in the prehistoric earth lodges of eastern and southern Nebraska, though commonly replaced in the latter areas by elk or deer antler; the latter type is almost never found in historic Pawnee sites.

Picks.—The largest picks, possibly used as digging tools, were made of the ulnae of the bison, the upper end forming a very convenient hand grip. The specimen illustrated (pl. 9, *a*) is 12½ inches long and is much worn about the point. Smaller picks were of deer horn, readily made by simply cutting off a suitable tine. Those here illustrated (pl. 9, *c*) are each 7 inches long and still bear the marks of the tools used in cutting them off; the points are much worn down by long use.

Hide scrapers.—The typical adze-like scraper of the buffalo hunting tribes was also used by the historic Pawnee. It consists of heavy elk antler, with a straight handle some 10 inches in length, and a short, wedge-shaped extension at right angles to one end (pl. 9, *f*). Formerly blades of chipped stone were lashed to the inner or under side of the handle, but later this was replaced by iron. The specimen here shown is 12 inches long, with a diameter of 1⅝ inches; it is from the Hill site. Earlier cultures of the Republican and Loup Valleys have so far yielded none of these tools, suggesting that the type was of late prehistoric or early historic origin, at least among the Pawnee.

Paint brushes.—These were made from the cancellous inner portions of large bones and joints. They are thin, flat, often more or less wedge-like in form. One side is brought to a thin, fairly sharp edge, as though for making fine lines; the remaining three sides are broader. All of the specimens figured (pl. 9, *g-n*) are from graves at the Hill site and the majority of them still bear quantities of unused red, green, or yellow coloring matter in the interstices of the bone. They were probably used for painting the face and body, as for ceremonial purposes; the porosity of the bone acted as a sort of

---

[66] Will and Spinden, 1906, p. 170.

172* 412 321

reservoir to hold quantities of paint, while broad or fine lines could be secured through proper manipulation of the tool. Similar brushes were reported by Will and Spinden from the Mandan area;[69] they occur in protohistoric sites but have not been found in prehistoric cultures of the Pawnee region.

Hide tanners (?).—This term is tentatively employed to designate a group of objects made by cutting off the end of a large bison or other bone, through the spongy portion of the joint (pl. 9, *b*). Sometimes they are simply hemispheres prepared by trimming from the ball of such a joint. The spongy under side is usually much worn, with small sand grains firmly embedded in the interstices. Very often the bone is permeated, especially on its under side, by some sort of animal matter, grease, or similar substance. The tool was obviously used for rubbing, and it is quite probable that in the process of tanning hides some such implement was utilized for working animal brains and other dressing substances into the fresh skins. Skinner reports a similar find from a Cayuga grave near Scipio, N. Y., but as the specimen appears to be partially drilled he was inclined to regard it as an ornament.[70] Those from the Pawnee area are never perforated and their use as ornaments is questionable.

Beaming tools.—Several of these tools were secured from cache 2 at the Hill site by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey in the summer of 1930. They consist simply of the long ribs of the bison with the broad end trimmed to a convenient size for grasping; all were of this one uniform type. According to Wissler,[71] they were used in the preparation of buckskin; the skin was placed over a rounded tree section or log and scraped thin with a beaming tool. The latter was grasped at both ends and was manipulated in the same manner as a drawshave, the motion being toward the operator. This particular type has not as yet been found in prehistoric cultures in Nebraska and does not appear to be especially common at any of the historic villages, though, on account of its unworked appearance, it is easily overlooked. (See Strong, 1935, pl. 1, fig. 2, *b*.)

Digging tools.—The characteristic digging tool and hoe of the Plains area was the bison scapula (pl. 10, *a–d*), which was practically the only type used by the Pawnee. They were made by trimming the scapula to a square or rounded spade-like blade at one end and usually cutting off the joint end to provide a round butt. Of those illustrated, *a* and *b* are typical Pawnee, with the square blade; they come from the Hill and Palmer sites, respectively. The other two, *c* and *d*, are from a cache some 3 miles east of Genoa, Nebr.,

---

[69] Will and Spinden, 1906, p. 171.

[70] Skinner, 1921, p. 74. See also Wissler, 1910, p. 70.

[71] 1927, p. 64. According to Dr. W. D. Strong the beaming tool is used primarily for dehairing the hide among the Naskapi Indians of Labrador.

*172 and while probably of Pawnee make are much less typical of the
● 321 culture, as the spade-like type has never yet been found in the known
412 Pawnee sites. In size they vary considerably; *a* is 14 inches long by 7 inches wide, *b* is 11 inches by 6 inches, *d* is 15 inches long by slightly less than 6 inches. In all cases the ridges on the reverse side have been cut off, mostly very roughly, and all show signs of much wear. They are also found in earlier sites along the Republican, Loup, and Platte Valleys, and are by no means confined to the Pawnee.

FLESHING TOOLS.—These were made from the metapodial bones of the bison, deer, or elk, and are mostly of good workmanship. They are gouge-shaped, with the butt formed of the natural joint, and the working end is almost invariably provided with tiny notches to give a finely toothed edge (pl. 10, *e–k*). Occasionally they were pierced by a small hole near the working edge, doubtless for insertion of a thong which was looped over the wrist for added security in operation. In length they vary from 6 to 9 inches, but in all other respects they are highly uniform. When in use they were held in the hand like a pick or dagger, and were drawn toward the operator; as indicated by the name, they were used in removing clinging flesh and fat from hides prior to tanning them. The specimens illustrated are from the following sites: *e*, *j*, and *k* from Palmer, *f* and *g* from the Hill site, *h* and *i* from Clarks. They have been found so far only in post-Columbian Pawnee sites, in Nebraska at least, never in prehistoric cultures of the area. They represent, however, a type very widespread throughout Canada and in parts of the United States east of the Rockies.[72] Archeologically, they have been reported from the Mandans,[73] and identical specimens in the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum are from shell heaps in the vicinity of Tarpon Springs on the west coast of Florida.

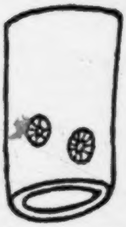


FIGURE 11.—Tubular bone object, probably a plume holder, from Hill site (Hill collection).

PLUME HOLDERS.—These are short, cylindrical sections of animal bone, not more than 1¾ inches long, with four conical perforations near one end (fig. 11). They are well polished and are represented by specimens in various stages of manufacture.

According to information secured by Mr. A. T. Hill from old Pawnees, these objects were used as plume holders in the headdresses. They were lashed, by means of the perforations, to a thin plate of bone about 2 inches wide by 4 or 5 inches long, bent so as to fit the top of the head longitudinally. Plumes were then set into the cylinders, which held them upright; a single plume and plume holder were used by each individual, as a part of the deer-tail headdress. Similar devices are 172* used by the Dakota and other Plains tribes. One complete specimen 321 ● and a few in various degrees of completion have been recovered, all 412 from the Hill site. They are in the Hill collection at the Hastings Museum.

---

[72] Wissler, 1927, p. 64.
[73] Will and Spinden, 1906, p. 169.

Roach spreader.—This piece, from the Hill site, is carved of thin [301] bone or antler and is about 5 inches long (fig. 12). It bears several rows of tiny pits filled with red pigment and is pierced by 8 small holes, 5 of them at the round end. It was undoubtedly used to spread the deer's hair crest or roach sometimes worn as a headdress by the men; the 5 holes at the smaller end were for attachment of a plume holder of the type above described. In 1933 the present writer saw similar objects in use near Walters, Okla., among the Comanche, who claimed to have borrowed the idea from the Pawnee or Osage (cf. Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pl. 55 (Omaha); and Skinner, 1921, a, p. 113 and fig. 2 (Menominee)).

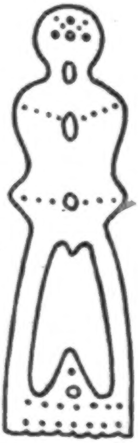


FIGURE 12.—Roach spreader from Hill site (Hill collection). [171]

Chipping implements.—Deer-horn flakers are relatively scarce in Pawnee sites but were very common in earlier times. They are from 4 to 6 inches in length, less than an inch in diameter, and are slightly curved. Usually they appear to have been cut from the basal portion of the antler and are very much worn; the end is commonly nicked and cut, as by small flakes of flint. They occur commonly in eastern Nebraska and have been reported from south-central Missouri (Pulaski County)[76] as well as from Cayuga, Seneca, and Neutral sites in New York.[77]

In addition to the foregoing type there is one made by cutting a semicircular piece diagonally out of a heavy leg bone of bison or elk. These pieces fit the fingers very conveniently, are much worn, and usually are deeply scored about the edges and at either extremity. They are quite abundant at all sites, but are not usually regarded as of any consequence by amateur collectors.

Teeth.—A number of teeth have been found on the surface at the 172* old Skidi village north of Palmer as well as in caches at the Hill site. A single specimen, presumably the canine tooth of a bear, has [301] a perforated root for suspension; otherwise all are unmodified.

---

[76] Fowke, 1922, pl. 35.

[77] Skinner, 1921, p. 92.

*172 Molar teeth of bison and elk are also very common, but were not worked for ornamental uses.

CORN SHELLERS.—A rather common find in caches is either half of the lower jaw of a deer, wolf, or some similar animal, in which the teeth have been very much worn down on one side. The jawbone also frequently shows signs of much friction and wear. There is a possibility that these objects were grasped in the hand and used to scrape the corn from the cob in preparing it for cooking. [171] None of the early writers mention this as a method, but it is entirely feasible, and has been reported for the Iroquois (Parker, N. Y. State Mus. Bull. 117, p. 544, 1907).

*172 415 ●321 HORN SPOONS.—Bison horn was commonly used in making ladle-like spoons, by the simple expedient of cutting the horn in two lengthwise and then trimming off the edges of each piece; sometimes the small end was pierced as for suspension. Irving records them as being used by each individual,[10] and they are not infrequently found in graves, though their thinness renders them rather perishable. No mountain sheep horn has been found as yet, probably due to the presence of hostile tribes between the Pawnee and the range of that animal.

WORK IN SHELL

CLAMSHELLS.—Large Unio shells are fairly common in Pawnee villages, both as surface finds and in the graves and houses; a cache of about a dozen was found in the north edge of the lodge excavated by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, as has been previously mentioned. Two species of shells from this site have been identified by Dr. Frank C. Baker of the University of Illinois. They are *Proptera alata megaptera* (Raf.) and *Lampsilis ventricosa occidens* (Lea). Generally these shells are unworked, but a few are notched as though for attachment of a handle; incised or carved specimens are extremely rare. They are commonly found in graves and caches with paint materials in them, and probably served principally as receptacles. [412] A few show pronounced wear on the edges and were apparently used as digging or scraping tools.

301 *172 Ornaments of historic Pawnee workmanship, so far as the archeological record is concerned, seem rarely to have been made of shell.

321 TUBULAR BEADS (?).—A rather interesting class of shell objects is illustrated in plate 8, *m*. They are long white cylinders, very often tapering slightly toward the ends, and are perforated longitudinally. In length they vary; the upper two in the illustration are 4½ inches long, while the shortest is less than 3 inches; they average from one-fourth to three-eighths inch in diameter. Usually they are covered

---

[10] 1835, vol. II, p. 13.

with a rusty coating, readily removed, and some are rather badly weathered; all are soft and chalky in texture. Sometimes, as in the second specimen from the bottom (pl. 8, *m*), they are unperforated but have a groove about one end. They were probably made from the columella of the conch or from some very thick-walled bivalve. They occur as grave finds, always in pairs, and are nearly always found one on each side of the head; doubtless their purpose was for ear or hair ornamentation. 172* 301 321 ●

Identical objects are described by Holmes[77] as common on the Pacific coast, where they were made "from the thick valves of the *Pachydesma crassatelloides* or the *Amiantis callosa.*" As to their use, the same observer says, "They were probably used as beads for the neck and as pendant ornaments for the ears. The longer specimens may have been worn in the nose. It is also said that beads of this class were used as money."[78] A specimen 4½ inches long in the Dinsmore collection at the University of Kansas Museum probably comes from an early historic Kansa village on the Missouri. [For the most part the workmanship and drilling of those from the Pawnee area are so perfect that there is a strong possibility of their being trade pieces from the whites rather than of actual aboriginal manufacture.] 177 439 They do not occur in prehistoric cultures of Nebraska, so far as known at present.

A string of small tubular shell beads, each three-eighths inch long by less than one-eighth inch in diameter, are the only approach to "wampum" yet found; they are from a historic grave. Irving, in describing the appearance of the Republican Pawnee chief in 1833, states that "a long string of wampum, the only ornament he ever wore, hung from his neck . . ."[79] Disk shell beads are altogether absent in Pawnee sites, although prehistoric ossuaries in southern Nebraska have yielded thousands of them. In general, beads and shell work of any kind represent a very minor phase in Pawnee culture, in historic times at least.

WORK IN WOOD

MORTARS.—A large wooden mortar from a grave at the Hill site is the sole representative of this class of utensil. It is made from a section of tree or log, standing 14 inches high, and is between 9 and 10 inches in diameter. The grinding cavity in the top is 6½ inches deep by 8½ inches in diameter and is encircled by a square lip. The mortar stands on three legs, each about 2 inches high, and the under side is much worn by long use. No pestle was found with it. While 172* 412 322

---

[77] 1883, p. 226.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 120.

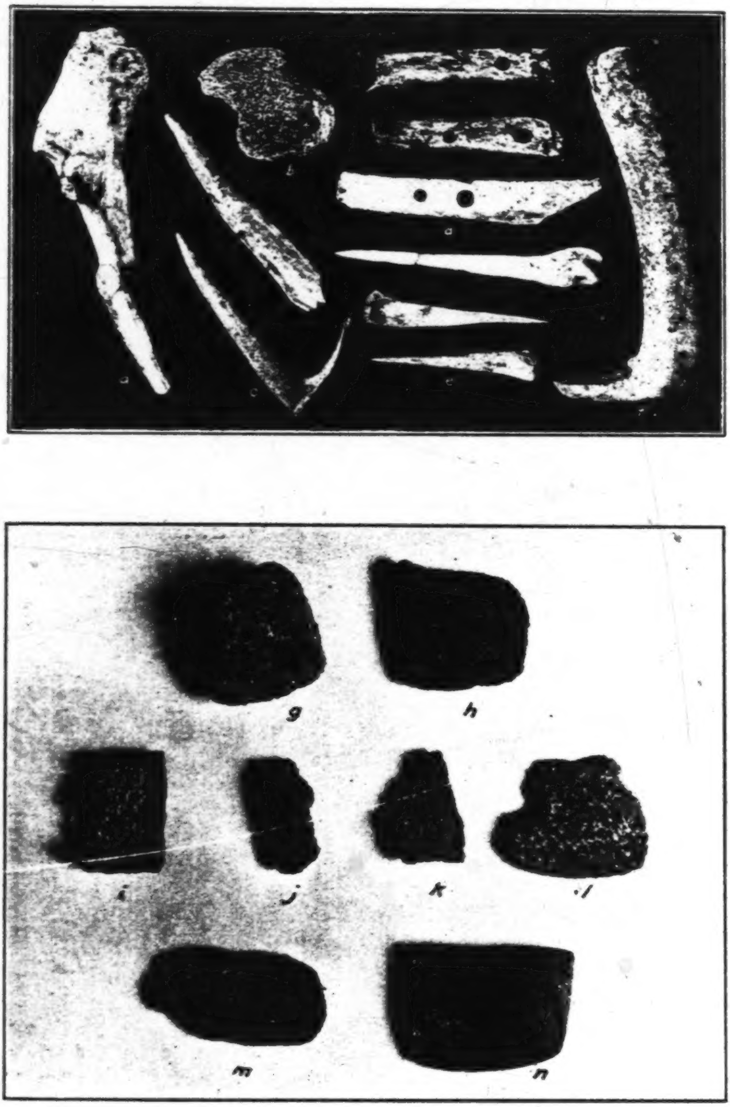
172 321 412 PLATE 9.—Bonework from historic Pawnee sites. *a* is a 12½-inch pick made of the ulna of a bison; *b*, hide-tanning tool; *c*, two small picks made of deer antler, each about 7 inches long; *d*, arrowshaft straighteners made of bison rib; *e*, bone awls; *f*, hide scraper of elk horn, 12 inches long. *g–n*, bone paint brushes cut from joints of bison and other large animals; none measures more than 2 inches in greatest dimensions. *f*, is from the Palmer site; the other specimens are from the Hill site.

PLATE 10.—Bone tools from historic Pawnee sites. *a–d*, digging tools made from bison scapulae. *a*, from the Hill site, measures 14 inches by 7 inches and was originally square-bladed; *b*, from the Palmer site, is 11 inches long and 6 inches wide; *c* and *d* are from a cache east of Genoa, *d* measuring 15 inches by 6 inches. *e–k*, fleshing tools; *e* and *k* are each 9 inches long, *i* is 6½ inches, and all are finely notched on the edges. Note perforation in *j* for passage of a thong about the wrist of the operator. *e*, *j*, and *k* from Palmer site; *f*, *g*, Hill site; *h*, *i*, Clarks site.

172 764 PLATE 11.—Pawnee burials. *a*, burial 3, Hill site, showing fragments of broken cradle board (?) and rush matting which covered remains; *b*, burial 3, Hill site, after removal of covering; *c*, burial 2, Hill site, showing old powder cannister or canteen back of head; *d*, burial at the Palmer site, with a complete pot as the sole mortuary offering.

172 177 411 412 PLATE 12.—Metal trade material from the Hill site. Historic Pawnee. *a*, army canteen of early nineteenth century type from burial 2 (see p. 92 and pl. 11, *c*); *b*, *e*, iron lance heads from caches; *c*, hammer from flintlock; *d*, bridle bit; *f*, arrowpoints cut from iron hoe blades; *g*, three lead rings (see pp. 79 and 92); *h*, lead pistol ball; *i*, piece of gun barrel; *j*, belt buckle; *k*, small chisel; *l*, *frizel* from flintlock; *m*, iron hoe of type usually found on historic Pawnee sites, this specimen with remains of charred wooden handle still visible in the socket.

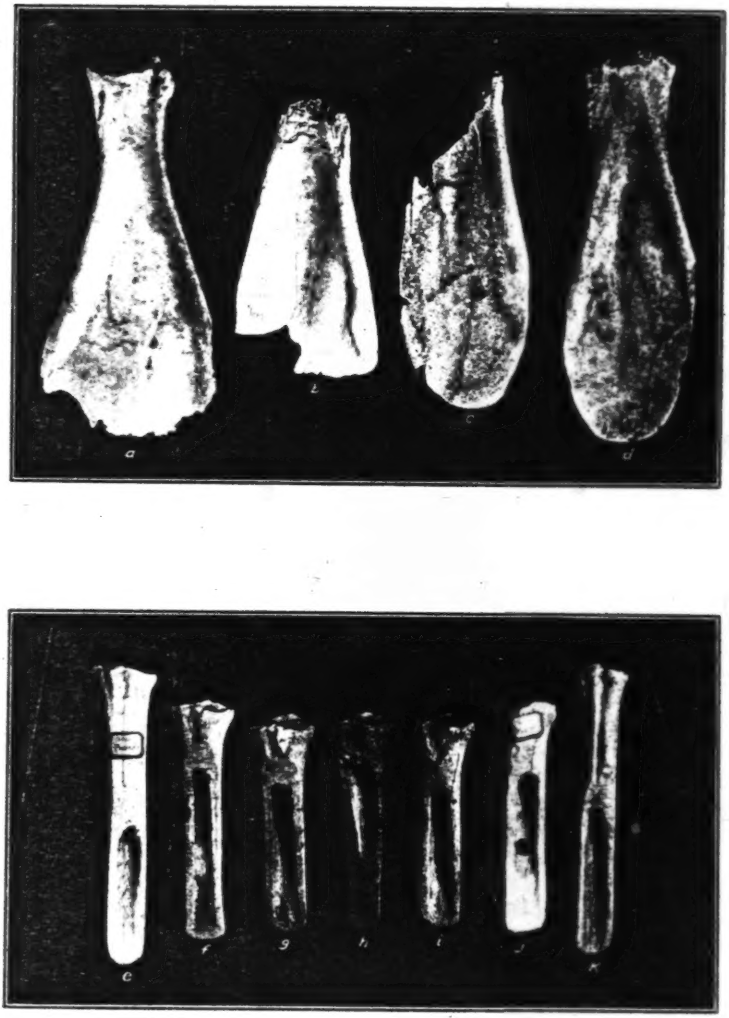
172
321 ●
412



BONEWORK FROM HISTORIC PAWNEE SITES.

[End Plate 9]

172
● 321
412



BONE TOOLS FROM HISTORIC PAWNEE SITES.

[End Plate 10]

463 Having consented, Old Lady Lucky Leader would say, "On so-and-
283 so day I am going to make it. Come in then." When the wife of Chief's-
Road came in, the old lady directed her to sit down to her left and
watch everything. As the work progressed she paid close attention to
the manner of braiding and after some of the work had been completed, the teacher asked the pupil to try her hand at it. At first she was very clumsy and was corrected by the teacher and finally she got the idea. When she got home, she tried to do it by herself and from time to time came in to see the old lady saying she didn't quite remember about this and this detail and asking to be shown.

She told no one that she had learned, but on an occasion when someone came to the old lady to have a belt made, she would say, "Go to the wife of Chief's-Road. She can make it. I taught her." The man now would go to the wife of Chief's-Road and tell her that he had been sent by the old lady because she had too much work. She would make the belt for the man and the entire fee would be hers, with no further financial obligation to her teacher. From now on others would hear of it and begin to apply to her and she would be able to earn something for her family.

463 Most mature women knew the techniques of skin working with a
[281] knowledge of mat making being somewhat less common but still widely
[285] known. Everyone could make buffalo-horn spoons. The weaving of the
[321] black rope and woven belts as well as the making of wooden bowls
[283] were known to a very limited number of craftswomen. In the men's
[322] crafts, the bow was made by everyone, but the extremely restricted
[411] number of arrowshaft makers has already been mentioned. The pipe
makers were equally specialized and they made both the stem and the
[276] bowl. Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most significant things the man needed. Only six or seven men among all the Skidi
[292] could make them. Skin shirts could only be worn by men who had an
[554] outstanding social or military status and these were made by a very
[294] limited number of specialists. These specialists were regarded like the
village blacksmith of our early towns. They tried to have two or three of them in each village. But even the most common craft techniques could only be learned by a person who was sponsored by someone or had the wherewithal to pay for his instruction.

322
415
on top. After the carving was done, it was scraped and polished until it was a beautiful bowl. Then it was well greased. Several bowls were made at the same time. A bowl took at least three days to make.

415 The bowl for individual service at meals was estimated to be about 15 inches in diameter and 3 inches deep.

Ladles and Spoons. Larger wooden spoons or ladles were made for serving at feasts, and while I have no description, they were probably carved with the crooked knife like the bowl.

412
321
The spoons used for individual eating and the daily serving spoon were of buffalo horn. (See Figure 50-1.) The buffalo-horn spoon was called *taraha-ariki*, "buffalo-horn." Buffalo horns were kept on hand so that the spoons could be made at any time. Spring was the time most preferred as they all especially like to eat soup while on the summer hunt. Practically everyone knew how to make buffalo-horn spoons. In the period from nine o'clock in the morning until noon—three hours—one could make four spoons. The following is a free translation of the account of their manufacture by Effie Blane of the Pitahawirata Band (Weltfish, 1937, pp. 59-61).

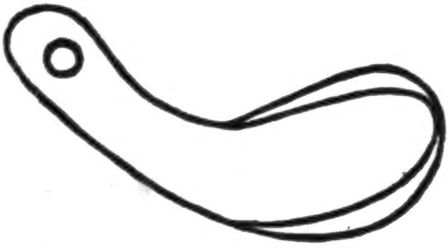


FIGURE 50-1. Buffalo-horn spoon for ordinary use. When not being used the spoons were kept strung in sets. The ordinary eating spoons are 5 inches long with a bowl diameter of 3 inches. Large serving spoons are 8 inches long, the bowl being 4½ inches in diameter and 1½ inches in depth. (The dimensions and the drawings were supplied by informants.)

> Buffalo horns were placed near the fire with the large ends extending into the coals. The heat softened the horn so that it could be more readily worked. The horn was expanded by pressing the foot on it. Then the small end was notched and scraped and the whole thing greased. When several were finished, holes were bored into the handles and they were strung on a buckskin string to be hung up when out of use.

with a rusty coating, readily removed, and some are rather badly 172* weathered; all are soft and chalky in texture. Sometimes, as in the 301 second specimen from the bottom (pl. 8, *m*), they are unperforated 321 but have a groove about one end. They were probably made from the columella of the conch or from some very thick-walled bivalve. They occur as grave finds, always in pairs, and are nearly always found one on each side of the head; doubtless their purpose was for ear or hair ornamentation.

Identical objects are described by Holmes[77] as common on the Pacific coast, where they were made "from the thick valves of the *Pachydesma crassatelloides* or the *Amiantis callosa*." As to their use, the same observer says, "They were probably used as beads for the neck and as pendant ornaments for the ears. The longer specimens may have been worn in the nose. It is also said that beads of this class were used as money."[78] A specimen 4½ inches long in the Dinsmore collection at the University of Kansas Museum probably comes from an early historic Kansa village on the Missouri. For the most part the workmanship and drilling of those from the [172 Pawnee area are so perfect that there is a strong possibility of their being trade pieces from the whites rather than of actual aboriginal 439] manufacture. They do not occur in prehistoric cultures of Nebraska, so far as known at present.

A string of small tubular shell beads, each three-eighths inch long by less than one-eighth inch in diameter, are the only approach to "wampum" yet found; they are from a historic grave. Irving, in describing the appearance of the Republican Pawnee chief in 1833, states that "a long string of wampum, the only ornament he ever wore, hung from his neck . . ."[79] Disk shell beads are altogether absent in Pawnee sites, although prehistoric ossuaries in southern Nebraska have yielded thousands of them. In general, beads and shell work of any kind represent a very minor phase in Pawnee culture, in historic times at least.

WORK IN WOOD

MORTARS.—A large wooden mortar from a grave at the Hill site 172* is the sole representative of this class of utensil. It is made from a 412 section of tree or log, standing 14 inches high, and is between 9 and 322 10 inches in diameter. The grinding cavity in the top is 6½ inches deep by 8½ inches in diameter and is encircled by a square lip. The mortar stands on three legs, each about 2 inches high, and the under side is much worn by long use. No pestle was found with it. While

---

[77] 1883, p. 226.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 120.

*172 ● 322 412 in a somewhat fragmentary condition when found, it has been quite accurately restored by Mr. Hill, and all of the features, such as the legs and the cavity, were reconstructed on the basis of pieces that clearly showed the original shape.

Though scarce in an archeological way, these mortars were apparently in common use in historic times. According to Irving,[80] they were hollowed out "by kindling a fire upon the top of a block of wood, into which it gradually sinks itself, until it forms a sort of bowl." They were usually of about the size above described or slightly larger, and were used for grinding corn, "by using a billet of wood as a pestle".[81] From this report it would appear that the wooden mortar was used in place of the stone metate, which is further indicated by the almost total absence of the latter; the perishable nature of the wood accounts for the rarity of mortars of that material.

*172 322 415 Bowls.—Three of these have been recovered from graves at the Hill site and are almost complete. One specimen is 8 inches in diameter, 2½ inches deep, and a half inch in thickness, with a sharp lip; one side is continued up an inch or so higher and prolonged into a sort of unperforated lug or tab. Another vessel is 5½ inches across, 2½ inches deep, and three-eighths inch thick, with a rounded lip. The third is deeper and more like a mug; it measures 4 inches in diameter, 3 inches in minimum and 5 inches in maximum depth, with a flat bottom. On the highest side is an ear; the walls are quite thin and the lip flares outward somewhat. None of the pieces shows the concentric growth rings, thus suggesting that they were made by steaming and bending into shape slabs from the side rather than from the cross section of the tree.

Fragments of small, thin-walled wooden vessels were recovered from burial 3 at the Hill site by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, but were inadequate for a proper reconstruction.

Platters.—The one example so far found is 11 inches in diameter, less than an inch deep, and has a thickness of a half inch or thereabouts. The edge is round and shows much wear, as in fact does the vessel in general. It tends to crack in a somewhat parallel fashion entirely across the width, rather than radially from the center, suggesting that it is made of a slab from the side of a tree. It was found in a grave at the Hill site.

*172 322 854 Cradle board (?).—Few whole or even nearly complete cradle boards have been recovered. The finest specimen, which may or may not be correctly designated, was found in a grave at the Hill site. It measures 30 inches long by 11 inches wide, with a 1¼-inch border.

---

[80] 1835, vol. II, p. 85.
[81] Ibid.

The border is carved with zigzag lightning symbols. The emblem 172*
of the sun, 5 inches in diameter, with 4 long and 12 short rays, 322 ●
is neatly cut into the upper part of the piece, which is further embellished 854
with brass-headed tacks (Nebr. Hist. Mag., x, 3, 1927, p. 192).
It is a most unusual and attractive piece of work and was very likely
made by Indian craftsmen. Fragments of other nicely decorated
boards have been recovered, but none is sufficiently large to permit a
good reconstruction.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Wooden boxes and chests, bound with leather or 172*
metal and studded with large-headed nails, are not uncommon, 322
though always in fragmentary condition. Wooden-backed mirrors,
sheaths, and numerous other odds and ends are frequently found,
nearly always with rows of nails as ornamental features. The clumsy
workmanship probably indicates that most of them were made by
the Indians themselves, in imitation of the white man's articles.
Occasionally a better piece is recovered, perhaps with a lock or
hinge, these being probably imported and trade articles. Pipestems [276]
of light carved wood have been found in a few cases but were too
fragmentary for accurate restoration.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

GLASS BEADS.—These were in very extensive use by the Pawnee 172*
after the arrival among them of white traders. Small white, blue, 301
and red beads, of transparent glass, are by far the commonest, especially 439
in graves, while black appears relatively infrequently. Tubular porcelain beads, less than one-half inch long, are also found,
though not very plentiful. Large, irregularly shaped blue, red, and
colorless beads, mostly translucent, have been regarded as of Indian
manufacture because of their crudity (pl. 8, *n*). Samples of these
were submitted to M. W. Stirling, of the Smithsonian Institution,
for examination and were pronounced by him to be trade material
from the Hudson Bay Co., probably via the Missouri.[52] All of these
were from the Hill site, abandoned about 1810. There is thus no
positive evidence that the Pawnee ever manufactured their own
glass beads, though the custom was followed by the Arikara, Mandan,
and other upper Missouri River tribes in historic times.[53]

METAL WORK.—Iron and copper become increasingly common with 172*
recency. Iron "squaw" hoes, gun parts, axes, chisels, bridles, stir- 439
rups, knives, and innumerable other odds and ends abound on the 177

---

[52] Letter of Oct. 13, 1930.

[53] Lewis and Clark, 1922, vol. I, p. 233. However, excavation at the Burkett site [114]
in April 1931 yielded a number of turquoise-blue, glass beads of rough manufacture
and imperfect glass. According to Dr. W. D. Strong, these are closely similar to a native-made specimen of glass work secured by Dr. Mathew among the Arikara in 1870, now
in the National Museum.

wool covering and placed it on the ground before him, offering his pipe 243
to it to smoke. [793]

The next steps involved the transformation of a dogwood stick into a [322]
"body" for the plant, by an expert arrowshaft maker, for whom tools were ready in the sacred bundle—a new knife, an elkhorn arrowshaft straightener, a grooved sandstone smoother, some sinew, and different-colored paints. After the shaft was made, red and white paints were applied, and it was anointed with milk from the breasts of a young nursing mother who was called in to volunteer this donation. In their proceedings, they were symbolically creating a young mother out of the corn plant which was tied onto the head of the shaft. The shaft was painted with a little red groove near the top to signify the face, and a red line drawn down the length signified the windpipe, breath, and the principle of life. First the priest spoke to the new young mother corn, after which
it was passed around among the other bundle ministers in the lodge who [793]
spoke of it as "the voice." Then it was passed around a second time and all breathed upon it—the Evening Star priest first, followed by all the others.

Now the errand man went through the village crying out that the new [624]
mother needed a robe, a cowskin in the hair, and a buffalo hair belt. The donor brought them to the lodge. The last act of the ceremony consisted in wrapping Mother in her new robe with her face exposed so that she might watch over the people. She was tied to the outside of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle.

Just before this final step, the visionary was dressed up by the priest 243
for his second role that he would carry throughout the summer buffalo 787
hunt until they arrived back at the village. He would now impersonate
Paruksti, Wonderful Power, the Thunderstorm. He was wrapped in a [776]
buffalo skin that he had specially prepared, and wore special moccasins and a buffalo-hair rope belt tied in the back in four loops to represent the rain. His duties would be very trying, for all summer while they were on the march he would have to remain wrapped tightly in his robe, refrain from washing or bathing, handling knives, scratching himself, or participating in any acts of violence. He must think only gentle and noble thoughts. If his feet were allowed to touch water, there would be violent thunderstorms. In his person he held the great force of the creative power of all the universe. When they reached the buffalo herd, as the hunters stood lined up ready to surround it, this holy man would have to kneel facing the herd and pray to the cosmic powers, naming the buffalo and the eagles that he had consecrated to them in the past. Should anyone be injured in the course of the attack on the herd, the people would blame him and feel that he had had evil thoughts and had not been sincere. Throughout the hunt one or the other of the prominent old men would stay with him, talking to him and seeing that he did not transgress

came off easily. They were considerably lighter to carry than the 342
rigid tipi poles. For the summer shelter they also needed two upright posts forked at the top and a cross piece to connect them to form a frame, onto which the saplings would be tied and through which the summer tent was entered. Wooden pegs were needed for both summer and winter tents to hold the skin tight by driving them through the loops at the base of the cover. They were usually gotten at the last minute.

A very necessary implement for these operations was a long 7-foot [412]
stick to be used as a digging iron. It was forked at the top and had a strong fire-hardened point to make holes in the ground for the poles of the frame.

Furniture for the tent included five large mats finely woven of bul- 352
rush to be used as floor covering. These were carried rolled up and tied with a string in the middle that had been provided for the purpose.

A wooden mortar was also needed for making mush and corn flour 412
and for other cookery. It was made of a section of elm log, the bottom 492
whittled into a point so that it could be stuck upright into the ground. 322
There was a hole drilled through this part of the mortar so that it could be tied onto the horse with the other baggage. The working end at the top was excavated by charring and scraping into a deep bowl shape. With it they had to carry a long pestle made of a small tree trunk with both ends left intact and the middle portion cut down for a handhold. This was carried grouped with the long tent poles and the digging iron; the poles were tied at one end to the horse's back with the other end dragging on the ground.

Other household utensils were six or seven wooden bowls made by the 415
women as were the other wooden objects for the household, a string of [439]
buffalo-horn spoons for tableware and perhaps some small enamel bowls gotten at the trade store for their coffee. Also included was a larger wooden ladle for serving.

All the cooking vessels in Mark Evart's time were of metal replacing 415
the older pottery and they had to be gotten from the trader. As late as 439
1835–1856, a few clay pots were being made, but by 1867 there were 323
none at all. By 1928 almost all memory of how they were made was gone. 175
Metal came into use among the ancestors of the Pawnees by 1650 or be- 177
fore, when sheet metal was being cut up to make some of their arrow points. In 1833 the Pawnees had an extensive trade with the Kiowas in brass buckets. For the present expedition, they needed a large brass kettle for cooking corn, soup, or mush, two standard metal buckets—one for water and one for coffee—and a metal frying pan to make grease bread.

In order to get these latter items, Victory Call rode up to Bishop and 439
Matlock's trade store on his best-looking horse to establish his credit, saying to Mr. Bishop, "Grandpa, come out and take a look at my horse.

513 disarranging the bedding. In the warmer weather, a mat might be placed
on top of the skin as a "sheet." In addition to these appointments, some of
352 the beds had an additional screen of willows built in front of them to
• 322 make them especially private. Some married women preferred these—
824 in this household for example, White Woman and Old Bull's older wife,
Queen Woman. These screens, *kawiriwisisu*, were a permanent part of the bed structure. Six tall uprights were fixed in the ground, reaching from floor to ceiling, and across them close together were tied on with willow bark, 6-foot-long horizontal willow saplings. The horizontals were laid in alternate order, one with the stub end to the left and its point end to the right, and the one above it in the opposite position to ensure evenness. These were gathered in spring, peeled, and the irregular stems or knots cut off. Before they could be fastened to the uprights, they had to be briefly seasoned for a few days so that they would be neither too green when they would shrink too much and leave the fastenings loose, nor too dry, when they could not be properly straightened out
[531] in place. For decorative effect, six black were alternated with six natural
horizontals, the peeled saplings being passed through a decoction of
[386] sumach that had been boiled to make a black dye. After all the horizontals were tied in place, they were trimmed off on both edges to make the screen even. The entrance through the screen was made by cutting a low narrow opening in it at bed level, the vertical for this portion being hung from the roof.

353 As for the rest of the furnishings of the house, the buffalo skull had been left resting on the altar at the west and above it they now hung whatever sacred bundles they had. To the east of the fireplace they set up the bracket from which the pot was hung over the fire to boil. This was a forked stick stuck in the ground at a slant or having a natural curve; to one arm of the fork a wooden hook was suspended by a rawhide strap that could be raised and lowered by winding, depending on how close to the fire they wanted the pot to hang.

Against each side, on the east wall, was a woodpile supported by two tall forked sticks stuck in the ground. A little farther along the wall, leaning against it was a tree trunk with lopped off branches from which strings of braided corn were hung.

512 Now as the women were through with their cleaning, examining the
353 beds and generally getting things in order, they brought in the parfleches of meat and the bags and placed the twined-woven rush mats on the floor. Two mats were put down on their "side"; the better one near the west end and the more worn-out one near the east. Some pumpkins were stored on the intervening platforms between the beds, some were placed under the beds and others on the floor near the doorway. One of the parfleches had been placed in a handy position and left open as it contained current supplies. The rest were all closed up.

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the 17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the 1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they 412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-177 shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological cir-[72] cles as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal [01] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people was "Big Knife."

17 Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls, 412 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological 324 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrowshafts and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sandstone buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was [316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from south-[439] west Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

796 The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of 463 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when 322 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic terms.

463 784 796 171 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins 531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older 782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

463 Having consented, Old Lady Lucky Leader would say, "On so-and-so
283 day I am going to make it. Come in then." When the wife of Chief's-Road came in, the old lady directed her to sit down to her left and watch everything. As the work progressed she paid close attention to the manner of braiding and after some of the work had been completed, the teacher asked the pupil to try her hand at it. At first she was very clumsy and was corrected by the teacher and finally she got the idea. When she got home, she tried to do it by herself and from time to time came in to see the old lady saying she didn't quite remember about this and this detail and asking to be shown.

She told no one that she had learned, but on an occasion when someone came to the old lady to have a belt made, she would say, "Go to the wife of Chief's-Road. She can make it. I taught her." The man now would go to the wife of Chief's-Road and tell her that he had been sent by the old lady because she had too much work. She would make the belt for the man and the entire fee would be hers, with no further financial obligation to her teacher. From now on others would hear of it and begin to apply to her and she would be able to earn something for her family.

463 Most mature women knew the techniques of skin working with a
[281] knowledge of mat making being somewhat less common but still widely
[285] known. Everyone could make buffalo-horn spoons. The weaving of the
[321] black rope and woven belts as well as the making of wooden bowls
[283] were known to a very limited number of craftswomen. In the men's
[322] crafts, the bow was made by everyone, but the extremely restricted
[411] number of arrowshaft makers has already been mentioned. The pipe
makers were equally specialized and they made both the stem and the
[276] bowl. Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most significant
things the man needed. Only six or seven men among all the Skidi
[292] could make them. Skin shirts could only be worn by men who had an
[554] outstanding social or military status and these were made by a very
limited number of specialists. These specialists were regarded like the
[294] village blacksmith of our early towns. They tried to have two or three
of them in each village. But even the most common craft techniques could only be learned by a person who was sponsored by someone or had the wherewithal to pay for his instruction.

50

OBJECTS OF WOOD FOR THE HOME

000

Women Made the Wood Objects for Home Use—Scarcity of Wood—Making the Wooden Bowl, Ladles, Spoons, Mortar, Pestle, Digging Iron, Tent Pegs, Bracket for Hanging Pots over Fire, Tipi Poles

462 WOMEN WERE THE MAIN MANUFACTURERS of objects made of wood. Not
322 only did they gather the fuel and the building materials, but they also
made all the objects of general utility in the household. The men were
directly concerned only with those things that were for their own immediate use—their weapons and their ceremonial objects. In no other
group that I know of, except among the Woodland Indians, are the
women the woodsmen and the woodcrafters to the extent that they were
[752] among the Pawnees. Like other lumbermen in the world, Pawnee
[761] women would sometimes be killed while felling trees, and a story is told
of a woman responsible for another woman's death in such an accident
who grieved so deeply that she wandered off never to be seen again.

137 In the Pawnee prairie plains country, the only place that trees grow is
462 along the streams, and in the distance one can readily identify the rivers
313 and streams by the green belt of trees that grow along their banks. This
limited distribution of the trees meant that the women often had to travel
considerable distances to get the wood they needed. In 1867 they had to
have military protection. How matters stood earlier is not known. They
[492] also had the advantage of horse transport. The likelihood is that in the
[774] past their dogs had this function and a good deal was packed on their
backs, water-floated, or simply dragged over the country. When women
313 went to the woods they took their pack ropes which they also made into

313 a kind of lasso with a stick tied to the end as a weight for pulling down
[412] branches from the trees. They took with them their hatchets—the men
usually working with axes—and from their present woodworking methods
one can only speculate that in the past they felled the trees by a
combination of burning, gouging, and scraping.

415 The utensils and equipment that the women made for the household
412 were all-year round equipment, used both in the earth lodge and on the
march. The wooden bowl and the wooden ladles for serving, along with
the individual buffalo-horn spoon, were a necessity for every meal, and
the mortar and pestle were carried along on the march as well as being
in frequent use in the earth lodge for the preparation of meals. The
[414] wooden bracket and hook to suspend the pot over the fire were also common
equipment in both domestic situations. The forked seven-foot-long
412 *biku* stick with the sharp fire-hardened point was primarily for making
holes in the ground for the tent pegs and for the tipi poles, but it had
many other domestic uses particularly as a carrying pole and as a digging
iron in general.

• 322 *The Wooden Bowl.* The following are two different accounts, one
415 given by Mark Evarts of the Skidi Band and one by Effie Blane of the
Pitahawirata. Evarts gives an estimate of eight days that it took to make
[461] the bowl, while Effie Blane cites three days. The different estimate is
probably between spare time and full-time work (Weltfish, 1937, pp. 47-48).

> [463] *There were only six or seven old women among all the Skidi villages who knew how to make these bowls. In Victory Call's family, Grandma knew and in Old Bull's family on the south side of the lodge, Old-Lady-Blue-Calico who had come from Village-in-the-Bottomlands, also knew how. In order to get a bowl made, one had to have a knot ("wood knob") of cottonwood or black post oak that could be taken to the maker. The making took about eight days. Suitable payment for this work was either a combination of half a pumpkin mat and a bag of dried roasted corn kernels about six inches high, or some cutout skins for moccasins and leggings instead.*
>
> For a wooden bowl or *rakaraki*, one would select the knot according
> to the size of the bowl one wanted. After the knot is cut with a sharp
> hatchet, the woman would begin to chip it from the middle out, and
> finally while the wood was still damp and not hard she would make a
> [412] hole on the inner surface of the requisite size. Next she trimmed it all
> over with a crooked knife, *retsi-pirus*, "knife-crooked," leaving a
> projection on the rim to be formed into a handle. When the surface
> was all smooth, she carved the handle called *rak-u-paks-tar-u-kita-ku*,
> "plate-with-head-plural-up-on top-sitting," the handle being toothed

• 322 415 on top. After the carving was done, it was scraped and polished until it was a beautiful bowl. Then it was well greased. Several bowls were made at the same time. A bowl took at least three days to make.

415 The bowl for individual service at meals was estimated to be about 15 inches in diameter and 3 inches deep.

Ladles and Spoons. Larger wooden spoons or ladles were made for serving at feasts, and while I have no description, they were probably carved with the crooked knife like the bowl.

412 321 The spoons used for individual eating and the daily serving spoon were of buffalo horn. (See Figure 50-1.) The buffalo-horn spoon was called *taraba-ariki*, "buffalo-horn." Buffalo horns were kept on hand so that the spoons could be made at any time. Spring was the time most preferred as they all especially like to eat soup while on the summer hunt. Practically everyone knew how to make buffalo-horn spoons. In the period from nine o'clock in the morning until noon—three hours—one could make four spoons. The following is a free translation of the account of their manufacture by Effie Blane of the Pitahawirata Band (Weltfish, 1937, pp. 59-61).

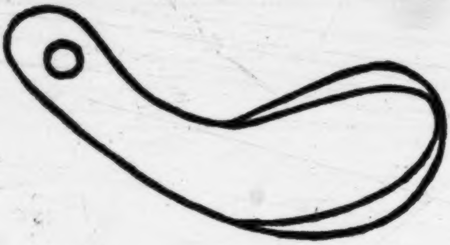


FIGURE 50-1. Buffalo-horn spoon for ordinary use. When not being used the spoons were kept strung in sets. The ordinary eating spoons are 5 inches long with a bowl diameter of 3 inches. Large serving spoons are 8 inches long, the bowl being 4½ inches in diameter and 1½ inches in depth. (The dimensions and the drawings were supplied by informants.)

Buffalo horns were placed near the fire with the large ends extending into the coals. The heat softened the horn so that it could be more readily worked. The horn was expanded by pressing the foot on it. Then the small end was notched and scraped and the whole thing greased. When several were finished, holes were bored into the handles and they were strung on a buckskin string to be hung up when out of use.

322 412 *The Mortar, kitutu.* To make the mortar, they cut down an elm tree about a foot in diameter and cut off a section about 2 feet high. The small end was whittled to a point so that it could be stuck upright in the ground. In the broader end of the section, they formed a pit by charring the surface with hot coals and then scraping out the charred wood. The first step in this process was to coat the rim with wet clay so that it didn't burn. Then they put the hot coals in the center, turning the surface toward the direction from which the wind was coming to keep the coals glowing. Now they dumped out the coals and scraped away the charred wood with an oyster (?) shell (probably fresh-water clam). Again they put in hot coals, and again they scraped away the charred wood with the shell, and they repeated this process until the pit was deep enough. While the coals were inside, one had to keep them carefully scattered about so that they didn't burn the surface too unevenly. The pit was somewhat paraboloid in cross section, or a blunt-pointed V-shape. After the final scraping on the inside, "the foot" was scraped and the wet mud from around the rim removed. The mortar was now ready for use in pounding corn or, more occasionally, dry buffalo meat.

[461] It took about five days to make a mortar along with the ordinary housework.

The Pestle, iks-ka-wi-itsa-ku, "hand-upon-sitting-on the end or point-sitting." When the mortar was completed, they would say, "Now the pestle." A search of the thicket was made to find a post oak with a large body. A tree with many limbs was preferred because then the top end of the pestle would be sturdy enough to stand the strain of the pounding. The tree was cut as close to the roots as possible so that the grain of the roots would be contained in the pounding end for toughness. The pestle was about 4 feet long. After the tree was felled, they smoothed it with an ax. The wood was seasoned in the fire and finished off by scraping with [237] an oyster shell until it was very smooth.

[465] Suitable pay for a woman's services in making a mortar was 5 yards of calico, and for the pestle, some dried corn; or alternatively, for the mortar a blanket and corn, or corn and some checker plaited strips of stomach lining (*pararitskusu*), and for the pestle, 5 yards of calico. "Something for the person to wear and something for the family to eat."

The Hiku Stick or "Digging iron." This was a stick 7 feet long and about 2½ inches in diameter, forked at one end and with a fire-hardened point at the other. It was grasped in the middle and thrust into the ground to make holes for the tent pegs and for the tipi poles. The fall was the time for making the *hiku* stick before setting out on the winter hunt. Every woman young or old knew how to prepare one, and it took about a day to do so. The wood was taken green, the bark removed with an ax, and the bottom end sharpened to a point. Then the stick was seasoned in the fire. A small fire was made outdoors and the stick passed

322 412 through it, turning it over and over so that it was a little charred in places. These charred places were scraped off with another stick. The stick was now left leaning against the lodge outside for at least a week, so that it could dry out. Sometimes it was taken in and put out a second time. When it was finally ready for use, all the moisture had evaporated and it was light to carry but very strong.

414 322 The making of *tent pegs* of dogwood saplings has been described in connection with the rendezvous camp of the summer hunt. They might alternatively be made in the earth lodge before setting out, tied up in a set and carried along.

414 417 322 [354] *The Bracket for Hanging the Pot over the Fire.* This was only needed in the earth lodge and on the winter hunt as its purpose was to suspend the pot over the hot flame of the fireplace. Such a hot flame was made for light and heat as well as for cooking only in the excavated circular basin-shaped fireplace, the earth lodge, and the pointed tipi. On the summer hunt with the open curve-roofed tent, a long rectangular fireplace was made outside to the north of the doorway and oriented north–south. In this long trenchlike arrangement, a log was kept smoldering and the pot was set directly on the coals, so that the bracket and hook were not needed. The bracket consisted of two parts—a more or less vertical post, forked at the top and pointed at the bottom so that it could be inserted in the ground, and a wooden hook suspended from one arm of the fork by a string of bison rawhide that could be wound around the arm so that the pot that was suspended from the hook could hang closer or further away from the flames. The vertical post was driven into the ground due east of the fireplace at a slant so that the hook hung directly over the fire, or else a trunk was chosen for the bracket that had a natural curvature. The process of treating and seasoning the vertical bracket was the same as for the *hiku* stick.

342 [221] *Tipi Poles.* The conical pointed tent or tipi was used by the Pawnees only for their winter migration. The same tent skin was used as for the summer, but the wooden frame was different. The frame of the summer tent comprised a rack of two forked sticks at the front with a horizontal between, and, outlining a semiellipse, a series of flexible saplings stuck in the ground that were drawn down onto the rack and fastened there to form the characteristic curved roof. The Pawnee name for this summer tent was *kax-kata-sa,* "dwelling-upon-lying." The frame for the conical-pointed tipi was based on a tripod of rather heavy poles more than 15 feet long and made from trees 6 to 7 inches in diameter before removing the bark. Once the tripod was set up and a fourth stick added for the entrance, the other poles of equal thickness were leaned against it all around. The tipi was called *kax-ta-pe,* "dwelling-against-leaning," or *karrats-a-pe,* "dwelling-they-against-leaning." The tipi might be 18 feet in

diameter, and the round excavated fireplace in the center and the shape and insulation of the walls made it warm in winter. The life of a set of tipi poles was five to seven years, and within that interval three or four of them were likely to bend or weaken and have to be replaced. They used cottonwood, which was light and easy to carry, and as an alternative, cedar, which was also rather light. The best supply was on Grand Island in the Platte and the best time to gather these was on the return journey from the winter hunt. 342 [824] [313]

The first task was to select the trees which should be 6 to 7 inches in diameter as they stood with the bark on. From their encampment on the island, Victory Call, White Woman, and Horse Rider would go into the timber, and when Victory Call had selected his first tree he would start to cut it down with the ax. When Horse Rider would come up, he would say, "Let me do that," and take the ax and cut it down in his place. Victory Call now went further to select the other trees and Horse Rider followed cutting each one down in turn. Now White Woman got to work on the felled trees, cutting off the boughs and branches with her hatchet so that the bare trunk was left with the bark on. 313 342

Now Horse Rider began to drag in the bare trunks to camp, while Victory Call cut down the fourth tree that they needed and White Woman got to work lopping off the branches. Victory Call now pulled in the fourth trunk, returning to camp with White Woman. With a good sharp ax this operation had taken them a total of half an hour for all four trunks. [483]

Back at camp, they removed the bark and this took a good deal longer. If one person worked at it alone, it took two to three hours to remove the bark from one trunk of this kind. Two people working together on one tree could do it in about an hour and a half. While White Woman worked from the bottom upward with the hatchet, the other person could work near the top end using a knife, because the bark is softer near the top. It sometimes happened that White Woman was able to make a convenient flap near the bottom, ripping off a strip of bark up the whole length. Horse Rider or Grandma might be free to give White Woman a hand at this work. After the bark was off, the whole stick had to be roasted. All four were first debarked and then all four roasted at the same time. A little fire was made outdoors and each stick turned around in it until the whole length was roasted. To roast the four sticks in this way took about an hour and a half. Now they were left to cool and the ashes and burnt places rubbed over with a stick to remove loose cinders. The next step was to even their length. The stub ends had been sharpened to points, and these were placed together and the heads all cut off to the same length to make them even. 322 342

The new tipi poles were now tied together and transported back to the earth lodge where, tied together tight, they were fastened to the ceiling 342

51

THINGS OF WOOD MADE BY MAN

000

The Bow—the Bowstring—the Arrow—the Pipestems—the Stone Bowl—the Individual Styles of Bowls

462
THE MEN MADE THE BOWS, arrowshafts, pipestems, and cottonwood water 322
drums.

The Bow. In the past the Osage Orange (*Toxylon pomiferum*) was 411
the most highly valued wood for bows. At this time they used ash 824
(*Fraxinus pennsylvanica*) known as *kirik-taka*, "eye-white." Every man
made his own bow, though some were more and some less skilled. Little [857]
boys also made bows of ashwood to shoot birds. Ashwood was best gathered in the fall, generally in October before they left on the winter hunt. The ashwood saplings were left sticking among the willows in the ceiling to season, until they got back in the spring.

It took two days to make a bow. By splitting it in two down the length, 411
two bows could be made from one sapling, unless it were not quite 322
straight, when only one could be made. In each case, the outer surface of [461]
the tree became the outer surface of the bow.

The shaping was done by heating the stick in the coals until it was warm throughout and pliable. Putting the foot on the middle of the outside surface, the two ends were drawn very gently upward, and then each end was recurved with the foot so that the bow had a wide shallow dent in its back. The sinew bowstring was fastened to one end permanently, [283]
and at the other there was a series of notches in the bow so that the string could be tightened when in use and loosened at other times. (See Figure 51-1.)

Once, after Victory Call had died, Otter's adoptive father caught a 411
panther and decided to honor the boy by making him a quiver of it. Not

411 boiled hide and the feathers bent onto the stick and pasted down and
[237] tied in place with some more wet sinew at their lower end.

411 After the feathers were in place, the shafts were buffed by passing
them between the two grooved sandstone buffers that were pressed to-
412 gether—the arrow being turned back and forth so that it was well
rounded.

The next process was the use of the bone arrowshaft straightener
[172] that was a little bit like a fork. [Archaeological specimens from the
Hill site of 1806 are pieces of bison rib with holes of different sizes
[178] drilled through them. In recent times, a tin can punched with holes
was sometimes substituted.]

411 After straightening, downy feathers were fastened on at the lower
[237] end of the feathers that had already been attached.

The final step was to split the end for inserting the point. After the
[284] point was inserted, the end was bound with sinew to make it fast. Different kinds of shafts were called "black-lying-on," "red-lying-on,"
referring to the colors of the feathers.

276 *The Pipestem.* Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most
significant things the man used. The pipe was smoked both for relaxation
and in every ceremony. The stem was symbolic of the human windpipe
[192] and the breath was considered the essence of life itself. *Tsiksu*, the word
for "throat," was also the verb stem for "to think, to feel," *-atsiks-*. In the
ceremony of the Peace Pipe, the main emblems were the two pipestems,
a bowl from a sacred bundle being attached to one of them and smoked
in the course of the ceremony. The pipestems were decorated with
[237] eagle feathers and other ceremonial insignia—one with the feathers of the
[825] brown eagle, signifying "night," "female," "fruitfulness" and known as
ra-hak-katitu, "one-mouth-black"; and the other with feathers of the
white eagle, signifying "day," "male," "defense," "war" and called
ra-hak-takaru, "one-mouth-white." At various stages in the ceremony
these were waved about so that they symbolized the flight of the eagles.
276 The pipestems were ceremonially fashioned after instructions from the
322 priests. He sent two men to bring in two sticks of ash, and as they sat
east of the fireplace they prepared the sticks, warming them over the fire
so that they could be straightened and cut to length, viz., four spans
from thumb to third finger. The stems were peeled, scraped, and the
pith removed by boring them from end to end with a reed so that the
breath could pass through unobstructed. The pith was then burned out
with a wire. The men cut a straight groove the entire length of each
stick to represent the lifeline. Finally all scrapings and every particle of
ashwood was placed carefully on the fire, and as the flame rose the two
sticks were passed through the blaze so that the word of the fire might
enter and be with them.

276 pipe bowls to be made with five ridges to denote that they had sacri-
463 ficed five buffalo, others three. A man who had a horse head carved on
531 his pipe might do this to indicate that he gives away a lot of horses. On
324 the other hand some people just had things put on their pipes "to be
fancy."

276 To hollow out the wooden stem they burned out the pith with the
824 same stiff weed used in making brooms, *kibax-piriwus*, "room-brusher,"
Artemisia dracunculoides Pursh., or fuzzy weed. The plant had a pleasant
322 odor like sage which is also a variety of *Artemisia*. The weed was sharp
and after the pith had been burned all the way through down the length,

276
324

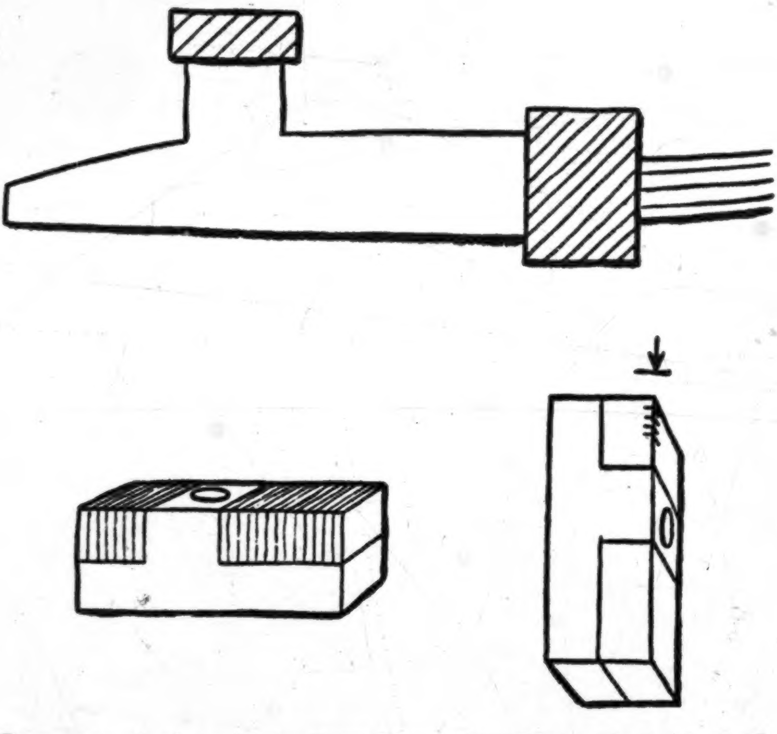


FIGURE 51-2. A pipe made by Brave Horse, *Asa-rabikutsu*, the bowl of red Catlinite or pipestone and the stem of ashwood. The first step of the pipemaker in fashioning the bowl was the marking off of the block with charcoal so that he could sculpt the bowl in the rough. Next the two blocks, one in front and one behind the bowl, were removed (hatched areas). In the old days this was a laborious task. There were no metal drills, files, or rasps; the two blocks of stone were chipped off from the outer edges inward piece by piece by sawing back and forth with a flint knife.

the same weed was used to scrape out the inside. Then the man blew through the stem to remove the small pieces from the inside. 276 824 322

Making the Stone Bowl of Catlinite or Red Pipestone. (See Figure 51-2.) A block of stone of the appropriate size was marked off with charcoal so that the bowl could be sculptured out in the rough. Two blocks of stone had to be removed, one in front and one behind the upward projecting bowl. The removal of these two blocks was a laborious task. When no metal drills, files, or rasps were available, each step took a long time and required a great deal of patience. In the old days to remove the two blocks of stone, the "pipe" was set up on end and a flint knife was sawed back and forth across the corner, making a shallow cut. Then a second cut was made underneath it until a series of three or four shallow cuts had been made one beneath the other. These "corners" were then chipped off from the top edge down. This operation of chiseling off small pieces was continued until the whole block had been removed. Then the second block on the other side of the bowl was removed. All red powder resulting from the sawing process was saved to be used as red paint. 276 324 [386]

The bore for the stem as well as for the bowl was begun by using a well-dried, fire-hardened stick. The stick was held stable pressed onto the surface where the hole was to be and the stone turned back and forth until a hole had been dug into it. The bowl was widened and deepened by using a sharp sliver of a buffalo femur in the same way, pressing it into the stone and twisting the stone itself until the bowl was the shape and size desired. The outer surfaces were shaped by rubbing with a rough stone.

After the bowl was shaped, the pipe was passed through the smoke of a small grass fire and the surface rubbed with grease. This data on making the stone bowl is condensed from a demonstration by Charles Allen at Pawnee, Oklahoma, in 1935. It took almost eight days, working the usual day of nine to five o'clock with an hour for lunch. [461]

Each pipe maker introduced special features of his own. Rarawikita, Charles Allen's father, made them so that there was a hump on the bowl near where the stem was inserted and the pointed end of the bowl was five-sided. Chief's Road made pipes with three raised ridges around the head end of the bowl where the stem was to be inserted. Sometimes the pointed end was cut down at a downward slant, sometimes it was cut straight off. Good Bear made a pipe that was thick where the bowl was and tapered markedly at the point end and again at the end where the stem fitted. Brave Horse (*Asa-rahikuts*, "horse-brave") would make a wide ridge or collar around the mouth of the bowl and another one at the opening where the stem fitted in; on these "collars" he engraved diagonals trending upward toward the left. He was a left-handed man. [531]

For the work of manufacturing the pipe, pay was expected though never stipulated. This might be tobacco or calico and a little food. For 276 465 437

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the
white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was
wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and
also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-
four feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidis-
tant intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled bas- 773
ket made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to
carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the
germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony
immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous move-
ment" or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially
made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The
women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the
course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to
move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learn- [887]
ing to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling.
There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the
betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual
pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make
the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked
to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525
285

539*
796*

1094 Ho-o-o-o!
1095 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata;
1096 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata;
1097 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata.

Translation

1094 Ho-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

1095 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata.

ihari, a term for young; it here refers to the little child.
ha! an exclamation, calling attention.
h', an abbreviation of ha, your.
ars, a modification of atius, father.
sire, carrying, refers to the child.
rata, walking with.

1096, 1097. See line 1095.

SEVENTEENTH RITUAL

PART I. TOUCHING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

796*

When the Hako party, led by the man carrying the child, arrived at the lodge, the child was taken to the west, behind the holy place, and set upon the ground, facing the east, and clad in gala dress.

The warriors ranged themselves in a curved line, both ends of which touched the walls of the lodge, thus inclosing a space within which was the holy place, the child, the singers and the drum, the Ku'rahus and his assistant, the chief, the doctors, and an old man selected by the Ku'rahus. The warriors stood close together, letting their robes drop until the lower edge touched the ground, making a screen over which no one could look to see what was taking place within the inclosure.

On the preceding evening, before the Children had gathered within the lodge, the Ku'rahus had sent a young man to fill a vessel from a running stream. The vessel was at once covered closely and put beside the holy place and no one was permitted to even touch it. (In old times pottery vessels made by our women were used. They were shaped small at the bottom, larger in the middle, and smaller again at the neck. The handles on the sides had holes through which sticks could be thrust to lift the vessel from the fire. They were ornamented by lines drawn by a stick in the soft clay.)

[323●
[531
462]

The chief now approached the vessel, lifted the cover and poured some of the water into a wooden bowl set aside for this purpose, and put it down before the old man. This man had been chosen because of his long life, and his having received many favors from the powers above, in order that similar gifts might be imparted to the child.

The preparation of the child, which took place within the line of warriors, was concealed from their view by an inner group closely

*172 262 teeth of both elk and deer occur rather commonly in caches, as do those of beaver and badger. Dogs were sometimes eaten, though some of the canine teeth and maxillae found in excavation may be those of wolves or coyotes. Remains of small mammals, such as rabbit and squirrel, are fairly common. Fish appear to have been used but little, as their bones are seldom present in the refuse-filled caches.

The excavations of the Nebraska Archeological Survey at the Hill site yielded bones of the following animals, most of which were doubtless used for food:[40]

[825]
Dog (*Canis familiaris*).
Wildcat (*Lynx rufus.*)
Bison (*Bison bison*).
Pronghorn antelope (*Antilocapra americana*).
White-tail deer (*Odocoileus virginianus macrourus*).
Horse (*Equus caballus*).
Rodentia (sp. unidentified).

CERAMICS

*172 323 ● Singularly enough, in spite of the considerable amount of literature pertaining to the Pawnee, there is very little extant in regard to their pottery making. Dunbar[41] states that the women "made rude pottery of sand and a certain kind of clay, which after being burned was quite serviceable." According to information gathered by Comfort[42] from the old men, the Sisseton and Wahpeton Dakota secured their pottery from the Pawnee and Omaha. Yet none of the early explorers or missionaries, some of whom spent months and even years with the tribe and must have had ample opportunity to observe the trait, have left any detailed description of either the processes or the appearances of the completed wares.

Fortunately we have the account given by Grinnell which runs as follows:

> Years ago, on the sites of abandoned Pawnee villages, on the Loup Fork and on the Platte, fragments of pottery used to be found among the debris of the fallen lodges. The manufacture of this pottery was no doubt abandoned long ago, and has probably not been practiced to any considerable extent since they met the whites. A man about 50 years of age stated to me that he had never seen these pots in use, but that his grandmother had told him that in her days they made and used them. He said that they were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mold. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone they mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of the proper consistency they smeared it over the rounded mold, which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and

---

[40] For the identification of skeletal material the writer is indebted to Mr. Paul O. McGrew, of the Department of Paleontology, University of Nebraska.

[41] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, p. 279.

[42] 1873, p. 401.

172* 323 smooth on the outside, they took a small, sharp stone, and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mold and burned it in the fire, and while it was baking, "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it hard as iron." This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they boiled food of all kinds. Mr. Dunbar informs me that these pots were also made in later times within a framework of willow twigs. The clay, made very stiff, was smeared on this frame, the inside being repeatedly smoothed with the moistened hand, and but little attention being given to the appearance of the outside. After they had been sun-dried, such pots were baked without removing the frame, which burned away in the fire, leaving the marks of the twigs visible on the outside of the pot.[illegible]

The above description of tempering and the use of grease and boiled corn fit in with the appearance of known Pawnee pottery. The use of a wooden mold seems more problematical, while Dunbar's statement concerning the use of a woven willow twig form stands by itself. So far, no traces of this last process have been observed on known Pawnee ceramics.

[177] While the Pawnee were doubtless among the first of the tribes of the Missouri Valley to adopt the copper and iron vessels of the white man in preference to their own earthenware, yet the abundance of sherds on many of the historic sites indicates that the native products were manufactured until well into the last century.

Data for the present discussion of Pawnee pottery have been drawn very largely from the Hill collection at the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. This collection includes 4 vessels, 2 complete and 2 restored (pl. 3), a large number of sherds from the Hill site, and sample series from nearly all identified Pawnee villages on the Loup River. The excellent sherd collection of Mr. Alfred Tichacek, from the early site at Linwood, was studied on two different occasions; it consists principally of pieces turned up in plowing, but is unmistakably Pawnee. A selected series of sherds was secured by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey during the excavations at the Hill site, in addition to a small, broken bowl. The large vessel, plate 4, *a*, is the property of the Nebraska Historical Society. Finally, a number of small private sherd collections, for the most part surface material from various sites, have been available; these have been checked wherever possible through personal observations at the villages concerned.

Save for the superiority of the art in early times, quantitatively as well as qualitatively, and its decline with recency, there is a general uniformity in all Pawnee ware that makes it impossible to distinguish the product of one band from that of another. Accordingly we shall treat the remains in their totality, and through a combina-

---

[illegible] Grinnell, 1893, pp. 255–256.

*772 tion of all studied material from the various sites endeavor to determine the nature of Pawnee ceramics.

323 The two vessels from the Skidi site north of Palmer, shown in plate 3, *a* and *c*, are the only whole pieces of unquestionable Pawnee provenience yet found. The first, *a*, was dug out of the Loup River bank at the south edge of the village; it is 4½ inches high, 4⅞ inches across at the point of greatest diameter, and has an orifice 2½ inches wide. It is light brown or buff in color with fine hard paste and a partially smoothed surface finish. The walls are rather thin, but the rounded bottom is thickened sufficiently to make the piece return automatically to its proper upright position whenever it is laid on one side. The shoulder and the simple, direct neck are rather unusual in Pawnee pottery. Four vertically placed loop handles are luted to the vessel just beneath the lip; each has two vertical incisions, which give it a "three-finger" effect. Decoration consists of small indentations made by a blunt round tool held obliquely to the surface, this motif occurring on the lip and also just below it on the outside of the neck. A very crude and incomplete hatched design is incised into the upper body, just above the shoulder. Everything considered, it is one of the best of all Pawnee pieces, though it fails to illustrate certain of the fundamental diagnostics of the ware.

The second pot (pl. 3, *c*) was taken from the grave opened by Mr. A. T. Hill and the writer immediately north of the Palmer village (pl. 11, *d*). It stands 4½ inches high, is a trifle more in maximum diameter, and the mouth is 3 inches across. In color it is dark gray, with a clouded appearance. The paste is dark, moderately fine, with sand tempering, and the surface is rough, with very slight ridges running from rim to bottom. The body is globular, with a uniform curvature from rim to rim in cross section. The rim is vertical, and its lower edge is slightly thickened so as to overhang the body a very little; in width it measures about three-fourths of an inch. The lower edge of the rim is extended at regular intervals to form rather inconspicuous tabs, six in all. Only the rim is ornamented; the motif is simple, consisting of groups of parallel diagonally incised lines, those in each group being oblique to those of the next; the arrangement is based upon the position of the tabs, as will be obvious from a study of the illustration.

From the Hill site, occupied solely by the Republican Pawnee, come the two restored specimens in plate 3, *b* and *d*. The former is 3¾ inches in height, 2⅛ inches across the mouth, and has a diameter at the shoulder of 3¼ inches. It is a very dark gray, with fine paste sparingly tempered with small sand particles; the surface is somewhat uneven. The bottom, which is reconstructed, is flattened somewhat, and there is a sharp shoulder giving way to a constricted neck. The rim is about five-eighths of an inch wide,

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

slightly concave, and has a sharp outward-curving lower edge. Actually the neck and rim proper are continuous, being broken only by the collar forming the lower edge of the rim. Incised lines apparently covered the rim and neck; they show no particular patterning.

1727
323

The fourth vessel, shown as *d*, is also largely a restoration, but is not as open to doubt as is *b*. The original fragments were found in a house site; they include a portion of the rim and enough of the body to give a reasonably close approximation as to the correct curve of the lower part. The piece is 7 inches tall, 5 inches across the mouth, and the body reaches a maximum diameter of slightly over 6 inches. It is made of light buff finely ground clay with grit tempering; the surface is chalky to the touch but is not polished. The bottom is round, on the same curve as the body in general; there is a very slight incurve immediately below the rim. The rim is 2¼ inches wide, with the characteristic collarlike thickness at the lower edge. The decoration, consisting of triangles filled in with parallel lines in oblique groups, is an extremely common Pawnee motif; it occurs here on both rim and upper body. This form is quite common, to judge from sherd collections, though few of the fragments show any evidences of use in culinary pursuits.

Two other complete or nearly complete pots found in the heart of the Pawnee area are shown in plate 4; both are the property of the Nebraska Historical Society. The larger specimen, *a*, was dug up some 15 or 18 years ago on Prairie Creek near Archer, Nebr., and shows very nicely the outstanding characteristics of Pawnee ware. It stands 9 inches high, with a maximum diameter of 7¾ inches; the orifice is somewhat irregular, averaging 5 inches across. The body is not quite globular, having a subconical bottom that renders the vessel unstable when set on a flat surface; the neck is constricted. The paste is fine, dark gray in color, hard, and is tempered with angular bits of granite and sand. The surface is gray, clouded with black, and is well polished; the black areas are shiny, as though the result of firing after application of a grease coating. The walls are about one-fourth inch thick, increasing to one-half inch at the bottom. The rim is about 1½ inches wide, of the modified collar type, and bears the herringbone design. Four loop handles, each 1 inch wide, extend from the lower edge of the collar to the upper body; tabs, also four in number, alternate with them. Small indentations, averaging four to the inch, occur on the lip, which is square. On the shoulder and upper body is a 3½-inch zone of decoration, consisting of the ubiquitous triangle motif filled in with subparallel lines, those of each figure oblique to the next. The piece is well made and despite the uncertainty attending its discovery can hardly be anything else than Pawnee.

*772 The other vessel, *b*, is rather more questionable. It was found in Cedar River, near Fullerton, having apparently been washed
● 323 down the stream from a cave-in higher up. However, since there are Pawnee camps and old village sites for some distance up this river, the piece is tentatively assigned to that tribe. It is 5¾ inches high, 5⅞ inches in greatest diameter, and has a slightly flaring mouth 4 inches across. The body is very nicely shaped, having an even curvature from shoulder to shoulder, in profile; the bottom is round. The paste is gray, fine, and tempered with grit. The surface is irregular but well polished and very dark gray. The rim flares slightly outward; it is about three-fourths inch wide, and is decorated by a series of pinched-up nodes at ½-inch intervals along the lower edge. The lip is narrow but bears small diagonal incisions all around. The walls are unusually thin, averaging little more than one-eighth inch. There is no body ornamentation.

Technologically considered, Pawnee ceramics may be divided at present into two major wares, both presumably hand-molded from lumps of clay.[44] The more common type is characterized by a very fine, smooth, even-textured paste, which fractures saccharoidally, and is very slightly friable on a freshly broken face. In color it varies from light buff to very dark gray, the lighter tones probably the result of prolonged firing. Tempering is usually of fine sand, sparingly used, but crushed granite, fine white siliceous material, and possibly mica were also employed; ground shell appears to be uniformly absent. The ware is generally quite hard and does not tend to flake off readily.

Surfaces are usually rough, often ridged (paddle-marked?), but the irregularities have been somewhat subdued by rubbing while the clay was still moist; all are slightly gritty or chalky to the touch. Slip was never applied, nor is there any indication whatever of glazing; even a lustrous polish is rarely attained. Some of the sherds show tiny flecks of mica all over the surface; this feature appears to be particularly prominent in pottery from the earlier sites on the Loup River and is probably due primarily to environmental factors.

Shapes were few and simple. As illustrated by the whole vessels previously described, the most common was a small or medium sized globular pot, round bottomed, with a more or less constricted neck and a rather characteristic rim. Ladles, bowls, mugs, platters, and
[415] high-necked forms do not appear, nor do there seem to have been many very large vessels. Sherd studies bear out these generalizations for practically all sites, but there is a possibility that some of the earlier villages may ultimately yield a somewhat greater variety in forms.

---

[44] Wissler, 1922, p. 69.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

A noteworthy diagnostic for this type of Pawnee ware is the collarlike rim. 172* It varies in width from 1 to 3 inches, is nearly or quite vertical on the inside, 323 and tends to increase gradually in thickness from the lip to its lower edge. The resultant effect is that of an overhanging collar (fig. 7, *a*). A modification of this type is shown in *b*; the rim is here of the same thickness as the body, but is slightly concave, and its lower edge is formed by a simple outward bending of the wall of the vessel. Occasionally the thickened lower edge of the rim is elaborated into tabs or protuberances, 4, 6, 8, or 12 in number (pl. 3, *c*). These are generally plain and unperforated, but where eight or more occur, alternate tabs are often extended downward to the body of the vessel to form broad loop handles (pl. 4, *a*). The simple, direct rim is also found, though not commonly in the class of ware here under discussion.

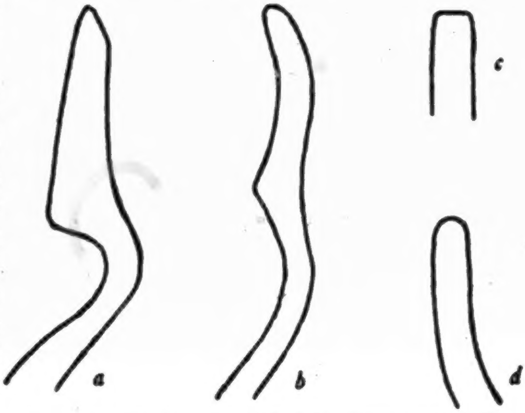


Figure 7.—Rim types characteristic of Pawnee pottery.

The distribution of this particular form of collared rim is of considerable interest and may be briefly mentioned at this point. It is found on sherds from early prehistoric cultures of the Republican Valley in southern Nebraska, but there the rims are seldom more than 1 or 1½ inches wide and bear a somewhat more varied style of ornamentation. 171 It does not occur along the Missouri River in eastern Nebraska, is virtually unknown in Kansas, and is not mentioned as a trait of Mandan ceramics.[45] 172* When we turn to the Iroquois area of New York and Pennsylvania, however, the characteristic 323 Iroquoian rim is startingly similar to that of the Pawnee pieces.[46] The latter tribe, it is true, never made vessel mouths square in outline, whereas the former often did so. But in the matter of an overhanging, collar-like rim, thinnest at the lip and thickest at the lower edge, the two areas are virtually identical. Tabs are not infrequently found on Iroquois rims also.[47] Decoration shows further similarities, as will be evident presently. The parallels thus existent between Pawnee and Iroquois wares seem too close to be purely for-

---

[45] Will and Spinden, 1906, pp. 173–179 (see, however, pl. 39, *l*; also pl. 40, *e*).

[46] Holmes, 1903, p. 160; Parker, 1916, pp. 485–487; Skinner, 1921, pp. 86, 89; 141–170.

[47] Holmes, 1903, p. 160, pl. CXLIV, *d*.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

171 tuitous and may well be indicative of some sort of former cultural
172 and geographic connection between the two complexes.

●323 In the matter of decoration Pawnee pottery is characterized by
great uniformity and simplicity. The patterns are generally applied
*172 to the face of the rim, less commonly to the upper body. All orna-
323 mentation is incised. The commonest motifs are basically triangular.
A line is drawn diagonally across the rim from lip to collar and back
531 to lip, entirely about the vessel, and the triangles thus formed are filled in with hachuring. The hatched lines in any group are usually parallel to one side of the triangle rather than to the lip; also they are oblique to those of the adjacent figures (fig. 8, *a*). A slight modification consists of a series of chevrons produced by filling in the triangles with V-shaped figures of progressive size (*b*). The herringbone design ranks second in abundance. It is usually applied continuously around the rim, with the points toward the left in perhaps 75 percent of the sherds so ornamented. A third motif consists simply in diagonal parallel lines across the rim (*d*). All of these designs are used on the rim, but where body ornamentation occurs it is almost invariably in the hatched triangle pattern first described (fig. 8, *a;* pl. 3, *d*). The neatness and accuracy of the work varies greatly, but there is little modification of design (pls. 3–5). Cord marking has never yet been found on rims of Pawnee vessels, but nearly obliterated traces sometimes occur on the body.

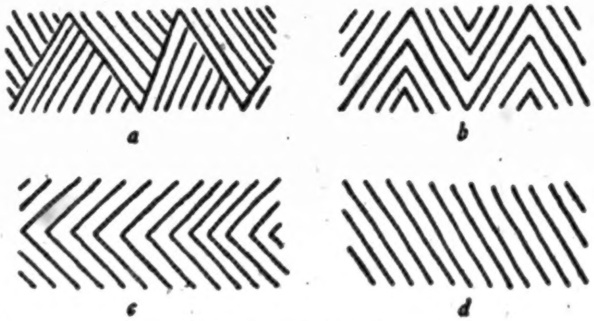


FIGURE 8.—Incised rim designs of Pawnee type.

Lips of vessels are very commonly ornamented, in addition to the rim proper. This involves the use of small indented elements repeated all about the lip, or if the latter be too sharp and narrow, of short diagonal incisions inside and just below the edge. This characteristic of small, repeated indentations closely set all along the lip is very common also on earlier wares of the Pawnee area, particularly along the Loup and Republican Rivers; but it is seldom found on the pottery of the Missouri Valley in eastern Nebraska.

171 172* 323● 531

Parker, in describing rim decoration of the Iroquois of New York, says that the "collar is frequently decorated by a series of triangles within which have been drawn lines close together and parallel with one side of the triangle. These triangles contrast with one another as the parallel lines slant obliquely, either right or left, in the adjacent space."[48] Many of the vessels and rim sherds illustrated by Holmes[49] and Skinner[50] bear like or similar designs, sometimes made with cords but usually by simple incising. In Nebraska this motif appears also in earlier cultures west of the Missouri River, but is almost, if not quite, always associated with the collared rim. Curvilinear figures are absent alike in Iroquoian and Pawnee decorative art, and in keeping with the generally more simple character of their work the Pawnee never used the human face or figure as a part of their ornamentative products. But even allowing for the greater complexity and elaboration of Iroquoian pottery decoration, there is obviously a basic similarity in the most common motifs of the two groups that is highly suggestive, particularly in view of the likenesses in rim form noted above.

172* 323

The second major type of Pawnee ware differs markedly from that just described and is in most respects much inferior to it. The paste apparently contains much iron and, according to the intensity of the firing process, varies in color from light yellowish gray to a bright orange-red. It is characteristically very finely ground, hard, and tends to fracture in flakes. Tempering is of very fine sand, so sparingly used that it can often be detected only with the aid of a good lens.

Surface finish is invariably very rough and poorly executed. The rubbing stone was never used, and as a result the walls of vessels are of very uneven thickness. Occasionally the fingerprints of the potter can be detected in the depressions. In thickness the walls vary from three-eighths inch up; those of the preceding type are seldom more than one-fourth or at most three-eighths inch thick. The ware tends to crack along the midline of the walls, as though the inner and outer surfaces have been expanded or contracted unequally. The tendency of these pieces to crack is so marked as to lead one to the conclusion that they were either not dried thoroughly before firing or else that the baking process was very improperly carried out.

The only vessel shape so far determined for this ware is a rather deep bowl, 4 or 5 inches in diameter, about 3 inches deep, and having a direct undecorated rim (fig. 7, *c*, *d*). No fragments of pots

---

[48] Parker, 1916, p. 486.

[49] Holmes, 1903, pl. CXLV, *a–d*, CXLIX, *f–g*; and figures.

[50] Skinner, 1921, pls. XII, XIII, XXVI, XXVIII–XXXII and figure 38.

*[172 have yet been found, nor is there a single trace of the ornamental collared rim described for the preceding ware. (See Strong, 1935, 323 pl. 1, *h*.)

The most interesting feature of this pottery is a thick, deep-red coloring matter with which the interiors of vessels are invariably covered; it is very rarely applied to the exterior also. This coating consists of red ocher, applied after the baking of the vessel, and in nearly all cases can be readily rubbed off. In this respect it resembles the "fugitive red" wash found on Late Basket Maker bowls of the southwestern United States.[61] It differs, however, from the latter in being much thicker and generally restricted to bowl interiors. A similar wash has been noted, but not very fully described, on some Mandan pottery from North and South Dakota.[62] It occurs also on earlier prehistoric wares of the Pawnee area, along with the collar type of rim, but is not found in eastern Nebraska save where Pawnee influences are recognizable. Apparently it increased in later historic times, as earlier sites have yielded a much smaller number of such sherds. This may be due to the lack of adequate research in the latter, however. Du Pratz found the Natchez coating their pottery with red ocher which caused it "to become red after the burning."[63] This refers to a slip rather than to an impermanent wash, and apparently represents a different technique from that followed by the historic Pawnee.[64]

[531] Aside from the interior application of ocher, little effort was made to decorate this pottery. Paddle marking, where applied to the body, was usually so carelessly done as to have little artistic value. Incised and modeled ornamentation were not employed. The vessels may have been purely ceremonial in purpose, perhaps serving primarily as receptacles for small articles; possibly they were used for mixing paint.

The Pawnee ceramicists seldom extended their efforts beyond the realm of utilitarian pot-making. Very few figurines are found, though one or two crude representations of horses or other quadrupeds have been picked up at the Hill site by Mr. A. T. Hill. Disk beads, made by grinding sherds to a circular shape and then piercing them, have been found at the Schuyler and Burkett sites, but nowhere else; they obviously are no indication of the potter's skill. Thickened perforated circular objects, resembling spindle whorls and especially made, are not uncommon near St. Paul on the Loup, but there is nothing to indicate that they were of Pawnee origin. Modeled clay pipes have not yet been found in the historic Pawnee sites of the region; judging from the occurrence of stone pipes

---

[61] Roberts, 1929, pp. 110–111.
[62] Will and Spinden, 1906, p. 174.
[63] Du Pratz, 1758, vol. 1, p. 124.
[64] 1920, p. 166.

172*
323

in various prehistoric sites, stone was apparently used from very early times. This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that along the Missouri River in eastern Nebraska clay pipes of curved and elbow type are the rule. The Mandans also used pottery pipes in addition to those of stone.[65]

The foregoing résumé of Pawnee pottery, though in its finer details based almost entirely upon collections from the Hill and Linwood sites, is substantiated by the sherds available from the other historic villages. Careful research may yet develop local differences, although the fact that Pawnee pottery making was generally on the decline precludes the probability of any very radical variations within the tribe during the historic period. However, certain of the early sites show a far more varied and elaborate ceramic complex than that just treated, hence merit a few generalizations at this point.

Considered from the standpoint of ceramic excellence at large, the Burkett site stands foremost in the Pawnee area and probably in Nebraska generally. As was noted in the description of the site, sherds are by far the most abundant remains, in spite of the fact that "relic" hunters have made it a favorite hunting ground for many years. As early as 1867 Hayden commented upon the great quantities of pottery fragments and stonework here, assigning them to the early Pawnee.[66] Thirty years later sherds collected from this site by Hayden were described and illustrated by Holmes, who mentions them as coming from "a Pawnee village site on Beaver Creek, Nebr."[67]

The paste of this pottery is usually gray. It is not infrequently fired to a light brown on the surfaces, and in some of the better pieces it is light tan throughout. It is rather sparingly tempered with sand, or in a few instances with crushed granite. Dark firing clouds may be noted on many of the pieces. Surface finish is but little superior to that of the better grade of Pawnee ware. However, on some of the lighter sherds may be noted a pseudoslip. This appears to have been produced by rubbing the vessel while the clay was still quite moist, thus bringing the finer particles to the surface and securing a smooth, nicely polished finish. This pseudoslip is usually tan or reddish brown in color, very seldom black. Occasionally vessel interiors are painted with impermanent red ochre, similar to that found in later Pawnee pieces.

No unbroken vessels have yet been recovered from this site. To judge from the sherds the prevalent form appears to have been a globular pot of rather small to medium size, with a direct or narrow

---

[65] Will and Spinden, 1906, p. 118.

[66] 1872, p. 412.

[67] 1903, pp. 199-200, pl. CLXXVII.

*172 323 collared rim and very often with several loop handles at regular intervals about the neck.[58] The last feature is much more pronounced than in the case of historic Pawnee pottery and is strongly reminiscent of pots from western Tennessee and Arkansas,[59] and to a somewhat lesser degree of the Missouri River wares of eastern Nebraska.

An analysis of 191 rim sherds collected from this site by the writer and others of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey yielded the following results. Of the total of 191 rims, 133 were plain and direct, with little or no thickening and no decoration on the rim proper; 93 of these, however, were ornamented on the lip by means of small diagonal indentations, minutely incised herringbone or other motifs, or with impressions made by holding a blunt instrument oblique with the surface. In a few instances this decoration extended down inside the vessel for one-fourth to three-fourths inch. Incised rims numbered 36, all but 4 of which bore lip decoration similar to that above described. Thickening of the rim to produce a collar effect occurred on 23 pieces, but less than half of these were anywhere near as pronounced as the Pawnee type; all bore incised decoration and only two showed no lip incisions. Loop handles or traces of them were found on 20 fragments, or slightly more than 10 percent of the total. Practically all of the latter, however, were ornamented, whereas the typical Pawnee handle is plain.

A series of selected rim sherds from this site is shown in plate 6, all but four of them with handles; a similar group, with nearly identical sherds, is illustrated by Holmes.[60] While representing the better class of wares rather than the more numerous, these show all of the common design motifs as well as the types of handles. Certain of the designs are nearly identical with the typical Pawnee motifs of historic times (pl. 6, *b*, *h*, *j*, *l*; cf. pl. 5), whereas others remind one of prehistoric cultures of the Republican Valley of southern Nebraska (pl. 6, *k*, *p*, *q*, *r*); all bear indentations about the lip. A very limited amount of relief work also occurs (pl. 6, *d*, *j*).

Body ornamentation appears to have been more common than on Pawnee vessels. Paddle marks, very often partially obliterated, are rather common; incised linear motifs are likewise abundant. There are a few traces of curvilinear and circular elements, as well as sug-

---

[58] See Holmes, 1903, p. 199. In the light of specimens recovered by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey from this site, it may be pointed out that Holmes' reconstruction of vessel forms is remarkably accurate. Several restorable pots are characterized by small or large globular bodies, narrow necks, and two or more loop handles in opposed series about the mouth. Fragments of a multiple-necked, flat-bodied vessel of canteen form were also found.

[59] Holmes, 1903, pl. xii; Harrington, 1920, pls. LXI–LXIII.

[60] 1903, pl. CLXXVII.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172*
323

gestions of the "fern frond", all of which are absent from historic wares of the region. The most common patterns consist simply of groups of parallel lines and strokes surrounded by other similar groups, triangular or otherwise, in which the units are at a different angle. Always, however, the work is very tastefully executed, and most of the decorated pieces are very attractive.

Holmes also figures a roughly made pottery pipestem from this site.[61] Such objects are relatively unusual, however, and in spite of their skill in pottery making the aboriginal occupants seem to have done very little along other lines of ceramic endeavor.

The Schuyler site, apparently a connecting link between the well-known historic Pawnee culture and that of the Burkett type, is nowhere very well represented ceramically.[62] From the specimens available in small surface collections, however, it is possible to give at least the major facts relative to it.

The paste of this ware is usually gray, sometimes lighter on the surfaces. It is quite fine, hard, and is tempered with crushed granite or sand. The surface is rather rough, but as in the case of the Burkett ware, the necks, handles, and other conspicuous parts have often been especially smoothed to receive the decoration. In a few pieces a good degree of smoothness is attained, but it very seldom equals the pseudoslip of earlier types.

Vessel shapes are not known, but probably did not differ greatly from the preceding. Globular handled pots are the only pieces of which traces have so far been found.

A selected series of 194 potsherds, all collected from the surface of the site, yielded the following results upon analysis. Rim fragments numbered 117, body pieces 77, and whole or fragmentary handles 24. Of the 117 rim sherds, 53 (45 percent) were simple and direct in form with no decoration on the rim proper, but 37 of these in turn bore finely incised and indented lip ornamentation. Rims bearing regular patterns numbered 24, all but 2 with decorated lips; in two instances the patterns extended nearly an inch down the inside of the rim. Collar rims, foreshadowing the later Pawnee type, occurred in 20 specimens; they were mostly rather narrow and all were incised. Loop handles were present on 24 of the rim pieces, or 20 percent. Of the total number of rim pieces, 79 (68 percent) show lip designs. The motifs are quite similar to those from the Burkett site, but show a slightly more pronounced similarity to Pawnee ware.

Body decoration is also present. Of the 77 more or less selected body sherds available, 40 are plain and undecorated, 29 are incised,

---

[61] Op. cit., p. 199.

[62] As previously noted, large collections were subsequently made here during the University of Nebraska Archaeological Survey excavations of 1931.

*172 323 6 are paddle marked, and 2 bear a heavy coating of red ochre on the interior. The patterns are simple and for the most part not to be distinguished from those of the Burkett ware, save perhaps in their greater simplicity. Curvilinear elements have not yet been found. This, together with the presence of ochre pigment on some of the pieces, is reminiscent of Pawnee ware.

Circular objects made by grinding down sherds to a disk shape and then perforating them are found at the Schuyler site. They vary in diameter from five-eighths to 1½ inches and probably represent beads, gaming disks, or ornaments; they are too small and light to have served as spindle whorls. None of the later historic Pawnee sites has yet yielded similar specimens.

To summarize: Pawnee pottery in historic times was often crude and unfinished, suggesting ceramic decadence. The earlier sites, however, show a progressive increase in complexity and variety of wares in inverse ratio to the amount of Caucasian influence to be noted in each. Thus, the Schuyler site, where only traces of Caucasian contact have been found, surpasses the later historic sites in the grade of pottery encountered, while the still earlier but also protohistoric Burkett site excels both in this regard. Reasons have already been given for regarding both of the above sites as closely related to the Pawnee culture of historic times. Logically one might expect a decline in ceramic activity following the acquisition of the horse and the impetus thus given to a more wandering hunting life. The introduction of metal utensils would have the same effect, and the observed decadence of historic Pawnee pottery is in line with this conclusion.

171 *172 323 More surprising is the resemblance noted between the ceramic art of the Pawnee and that of the Iroquois of New York. So striking is this resemblance in matters of rim form and designs that some sort of a basic relation between these two historically isolated groups is suggested. The prehistoric Pawnee-like cultures in south central Nebraska show these same tendencies and an interesting possibility of earlier southeastern connections between the two peoples is thus indicated. The pottery of the prehistoric rectangular earth lodges along the Missouri River in eastern Nebraska, however, is quite different from that of the Pawnee and shows little resemblance to any known Iroquoian ware.

WORK IN STONE[66]

*172 412 MANOS AND METATES.— Metates are very uncommon at any of the Pawnee sites, though rectangular manos are sometimes found. A

---

[66] Based largely upon the Hill collection, Hastings (Nebr.) Museum, and information supplied by Mr. A. T. Hill.

came off easily. They were considerably lighter to carry than the 342
rigid tipi poles. For the summer shelter they also needed two upright posts forked at the top and a cross piece to connect them to form a frame, onto which the saplings would be tied and through which the summer tent was entered. Wooden pegs were needed for both summer and winter tents to hold the skin tight by driving them through the loops at the base of the cover. They were usually gotten at the last minute.

A very necessary implement for these operations was a long 7-foot [412]
stick to be used as a digging iron. It was forked at the top and had a strong fire-hardened point to make holes in the ground for the poles of the frame.

Furniture for the tent included five large mats finely woven of bulrush 352
to be used as floor covering. These were carried rolled up and tied with a string in the middle that had been provided for the purpose.

A wooden mortar was also needed for making mush and corn flour 412
and for other cookery. It was made of a section of elm log, the bottom 492
whittled into a point so that it could be stuck upright into the ground. 322
There was a hole drilled through this part of ~~the mortar~~ so that it could
be tied onto the horse with the other baggage. The working end at the top was excavated by charring and scraping into a deep bowl shape. With it they had to carry a long pestle made of a small tree trunk with both ends left intact and the middle portion cut down for a handhold. This was carried grouped with the long tent poles and the digging iron; the poles were tied at one end to the horse's back with the other end dragging on the ground.

Other household utensils were six or seven wooden bowls made by the 415
women as were the other wooden objects for the household, a string of [439]
buffalo-horn spoons for tableware and perhaps some small enamel bowls gotten at the trade store for their coffee. Also included was a larger wooden ladle for serving.

All the cooking vessels in Mark Evart's time were of metal replacing 415
the older pottery and they had to be gotten from the trader. As late as 439
1835–1856, a few clay pots were being made, but by 1867 there were 323
none at all. By 1928 almost all memory of how they were made was gone.
Metal came into use among the ancestors of the Pawnees by 1650 or be- 175
fore, when sheet metal was being cut up to make some of their arrow 177
points. In 1833 the Pawnees had an extensive trade with the Kiowas in brass buckets. For the present expedition, they needed a large brass kettle for cooking corn, soup, or mush, two standard metal buckets—one for water and one for coffee—and a metal frying pan to make grease bread.

In order to get these latter items, Victory Call rode up to Bishop and 439
Matlock's trade store on his best-looking horse to establish his credit, saying to Mr. Bishop, "Grandpa, come out and take a look at my horse.

Next 824
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two essential 316
materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and 317
stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have 439
been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or
by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their
area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made 175
up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking 439
and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees 415
were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one 177
could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grinnell [323]
got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery
in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it
well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 323

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron."
> This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they [252]
> boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They 172
have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular 415
body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick
"collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad
collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was 415
the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part 252
the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim
and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots
were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must 411
also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was 17
entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the
arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops
roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to
the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

*172 412 slight though obvious traces of a groove. The polished axes appear to be of the straight-backed, three-quarter groove type, nicely polished, and made of diorite or other dark material. Most of the latter have fairly long blades, similar to the grooved axes from Iowa, and are not unlike the fine specimens from the middle Gila area of southern Arizona.

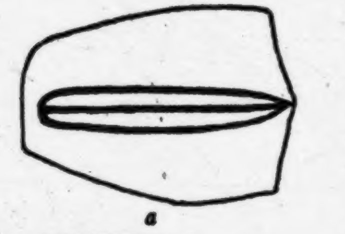


Figure 9.—Incised tablets ("molds") of stone from the Hill site (Hill collection).

Celts.—Celts, either chipped or polished, are rarely found. Two specimens have been secured at the Palmer site and several others from the early village at Linwood. Chipped celts are usually somewhat almond-shaped, and made of yellowish-brown chert; they are seldom over 4 inches in length, with one side nearly flat, the other slightly convex. Polished celts are similar to those from the eastern United States generally. They vary in length from 2 to 5 inches, in width from 1½ to 3 inches, and are oval in cross section. The width is greatest at the blade and tends to taper toward the opposite end; the butt is generally rounded and in several instances appears to have been used as a pecking stone. Black diorite or other porphyritic materials were used for this type of celt, and invariably they have been well ground down and polished. A few small hematite celts have been found at the Linwood site, whence have come most of the polished celts as well.

The apparent concentration of this type of tool at the eastern edge of the Pawnee area, and in the early sites particularly, suggests that the tribe was formerly in much closer and more direct contact with tribes east of the Missouri and farther to the southeast. Save as paint, hematite occurs very rarely in Nebraska as a working material for primitive man, and to the historic Pawnee at least was apparently almost unknown.

*172 324 Incised tablets ("molds").—This comprises a group of stone objects of unknown function. They are small flat slabs of limestone, shale, or some hard red rock, apparently catlinite. Into the

surfaces have been cut various designs, for the most part of simple geometric character. [172* 324] The lines are deeply incised and give a very sharp, clear-cut cast of the various figures. The work may have been purely decorative in nature but there is a possibility that the incised slabs were used as molds. Heavy lead rings with three or more parallel flutings or ribs are one of the most common of grave finds (pl. 12, *g*); they are nearly identical with the cast obtainable from the mold represented by figure 9, *a*. Similarly, belt buckles could be easily cast by the use of the other molds figured, the shaded lines representing depressions and incisions (fig. 9, *b*, *c*). All of these designs are on specimens from the Hill site but far more elaborate and involved motifs cut into polished red stone occur at the early Linwood village (fig. 10). None of the stones, however, show the effect of heat, as would be expected if they had been subjected to treatment with molten metals, hence they may be merely decorated tablets. They have been found in graves as well as on the surface about village locations. (See Strong, 1935, p. 286.)

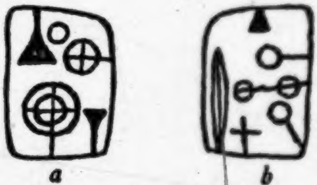


FIGURE 10.—Incised tablets ("molds"), Linwood site.

172* 412

DRILLS.—Small T-shaped flint drills occur but rarely on the later Pawnee sites. They are usually less than 1½ inches in length, the transverse portion being slightly concave. A few simple drills of straight elongate form are also found.

PESTLE.—A single pestle has been recovered from the Skidi site near Palmer. It is of black gneissoid material, 12 inches long, 3 inches in greatest diameter and tapering to slightly less than 2 inches at the other extremity. The large end is much abraded and battered but otherwise the specimen is well worn, highly polished, and very nicely shaped. It represents a surface find.

CRYSTALS.—Two small quartz crystals, each about 1½ inches long with a yellowish, semitranslucent cast, were recovered at the Hill site. They are natural pebbles, unmodified, but have a smooth, worn [778] appearance as though from long carrying in a pouch or cloth. They presumably represent fetishes.

"WHETSTONES."—These are always found as grave offerings and [172* 764 324] have been associated with the left hand of more than 80 percent of the adult male skeletons found at the Hill site. They are from 2 to 6 inches long and up to an inch wide. In cross section they are square, rectangular, and oval. A few are worn on the flat surfaces, as though from use as a whetstone, but the majority are merely shaped and slightly smoothed. They are of various materials, but usually of limestone, schist, or sandstone. It is doubtful whether

*172 most of the stones were intended for utilitarian purposes, and they
● 324 may very well have been made for funerary or other ceremonial func-
764 tions expressly (pl. 7, *a–m*).

*172 **Shaft polishers.**—These are always of dark brown, medium coarse sandstone, and are of one uniform type. They occur in pairs (pl.
412 7, *n*, *t*) and vary in length from 4 to 7½ inches. Almost invariably they are of the "nail-buffer" type, with a single longitudinal groove. Specimens with two grooves are absent, as are those with transverse grooves. All of the specimens figured are from the Hill site and are of unusually fine shape and workmanship; they have been used to only a slight extent but the grooves are nicely marked. Similar smoothers are found at most other sites and are in fact exceedingly widespread over the plains and adjoining areas.

*172 **Pipes.**—Stone pipes are the rule on all Pawnee village sites, with catlinite the most common material. The specimens figured (pl. 8,
276 *a–k*) are from the Hill village on the Republican, with the exception of *h* and *i*, both of which are from the Burkett site. With two exceptions they are made of catlinite or some similar polished red stone; *a* is of gray, fine-grained material, and *g* is of coarse, friable red sandstone. In form they are nearly always of the elbow type, with the bowl at right angles to the stem, and commonly the stem is extended a short distance beyond the bowl. All were probably fitted with detachable stems of carved wood or reed, of which obviously few traces have survived.

The two large specimens in the center of the illustration, *e* and *f*, are of unusually fine workmanship, particularly as regards *f*. This pipe is 4¾ inches long with a bowl 1⅞ inches high by 1 inch square at the top; the bowl is still caked from much use. The effigy is about 2 inches long. The other pipe is a trifle shorter, but also has a square-topped bowl. According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the square bowl was indicative of chieftainship on the part of the owner, whereas the round-bowled pipes were the property of the medicine men and priests. The effigy pipe, *f*, was found with the remains of a child, over which lay the outspread skeleton of an eagle; *g* was in the same grave.

The tiny pipe, *i*, in the bottom row, is 1 inch long and has a squarish bowl with scalloped rim. Such small pipes are still highly prized by the older men of the Pawnee Tribe, and may hark back to the days when tobacco was used in very small quantities only in their ceremonies, instead of being smoked for pleasure. Two or three puffs would suffice to burn up all of the tobacco that would go into such a bowl.

Immediately in front of the bowl of this small pipe, i. e., nearest the smoker, may be seen a tiny vertical projection, which is pierced. The keel of *j* is similarly perforated and *h* has a deep groove cut

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 1.—Pawnee earth lodge and house site. *a*, earth lodge near Pawnee, Okla., in 1905. Photo by Nebraska Historical Society. *b*, general appearance of lodge floor, house 1, Hill site; diameter 44 feet, depth 16 inches. The center has been excavated slightly below the floor level. 342 172

PLATE 2.—Vegetal material and textiles from the Hill site. *a*, tubers of *Apios tuberosa; b*, seeds of bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*); *c*, pits of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*); *d*, pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*); *e*, grains of charred flint corn (*Zea mays*); *f*, charred corncobs; *g*, *i*, fragments of bison-hair textile; *h*, hank or rope of bison hair; *j–l*, rush matting. 172 137 28

PLATE 3.—Pawnee vessels from various sites. *a* and *c* are from Palmer site; *a* is 4½ inches high and 4⅝ inches in maximum diameter; *c* is 4⅛ inches high by 4⅛ inches in diameter; *b* and *d* are from the Hill site, both restored; *b* is 3¾ inches by 3¼ inches across; *d* is 7 inches tall and 6 inches in diameter. 173 415

PLATE 4.—Complete vessels, probably Pawnee. *a* is 9 inches tall and 7⅝ inches in diameter and shows all of the best diagnostics for Pawnee ware in both form and ornamentation; found on Prairie Creek, near Archer, Nebr. *b* is 5⅝ inches high by 5⅛ inches across; found in the Cedar River, near Fullerton, Nebr., and is of uncertain origin. Nebraska Historical Society collections. 172 415 531

PLATE 5.—Pawnee type rim sherds from various historic sites. *a–f*, Hill site; *g*, Horse Creek; *h–n*, Palmer site. *b*, *d–f*, *i*, *k*, illustrate the typical rim design; *a*, *h*, *l*, *n*, show the herringbone motif, second in abundance. Nearly all have lip indentations. 172 531

PLATE 6.—Selected rim sherds from Burkett site. All bear lip indentations. Note similarity of *b*, *h*, *j*, *l*, to historic Pawnee motifs (preceding plate). Handles occur on all but *h*, *j*, *l*, *n*.

PLATE 7.—Stonework from Hill site. *a–m* are from graves, one being nearly always in or near the left hand of every adult male skeleton. *a*, *f* 2½ inches long; *j* is 5½ inches long. *n–t* are arrowshaft buffers, of dark-brown coarse sandstone. In *p*, *q*, *r* are shown three perfectly matched pairs, each as found; they measure 4½, 7¼, and 5 inches in length, respectively. 172 324 ●

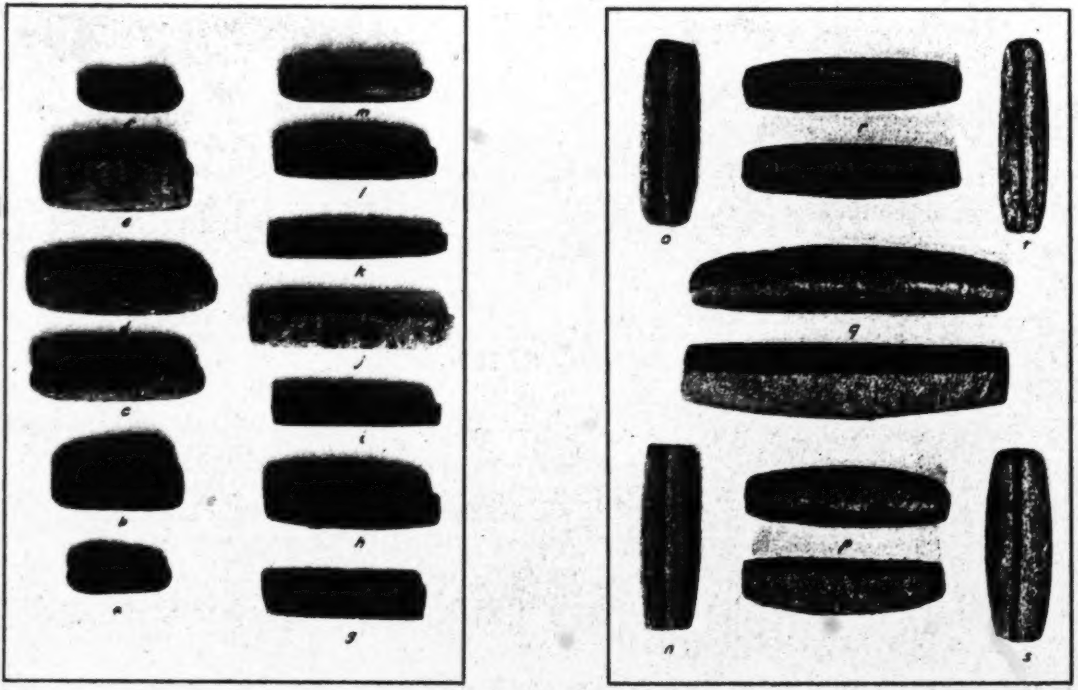
PLATE 8.—Pi[illegible]ortuary offerings, various sites. *h*, *i* are from Burkett site; all others from Hill site. They are made of catlinite or some other fine-grained red stone; *a* is of gray material, *g* of coarse red sandstone. *f* is 4⅝ inches long with a square-topped bowl 1⅛ inches tall; found with a child burial. *i* is less than 1 inch long. Note straight specimen of cloudblower type, *b*; also perforated keel in *f*, groove about outer end of *h*, and small loop on top of *i*, for attachment of a thong. *l*, gray sandstone pipe, 2⅝ inches tall by 1⅜ inches long. *m*, perforated or grooved shell objects probably worn as ear or hair ornaments; longest pair 4½ inches long and three-eighths inch in diameter. *n*, blue glass trade beads, probably obtained from Hudson Bay Company; they are about the size of a pea, very crude, and blue, red, or transparent in color. 172 276 301 532

P

172
324

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[End Plate 7


f
e
d
c
b
a
m
l
k
j
i
h
g
o
r
q
n
p
s

STONEWORK FROM HILL SITE (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-
177 shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological circles
[172] as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people
was "Big Knife."

Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
17 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
412 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
324 continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrow-shafts
and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sand-stone
buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from south-west
Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
[439] Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal
their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard
electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
796 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
463 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
322 arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the
essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots
from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when
the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was
referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the
pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic
terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
796 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
171 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

For personal use a man would go to one of the six or seven men who 276
were the only ones that could make them among all the Skidi. An order 463
for a pipe included both the wooden stem and the stone bowl. As usual, 316
the materials had to be assembled by the man who wanted the pipe and taken to the maker. When he placed his order, he was sent to get the necessary ashwood stick. The stone for the bowl was Catlinite or red pipestone from the famous pipestone quarry in the extreme southwestern part of Minnesota, located northeast of Pawnee territory. When men went out on the warpath stealing horses in this vicinity, they were likely to get as much of the stone as they could carry. Nearer home there was a green rock (serpentine?) that could be used; it was soft and was blackened by the maker while the other kind was left red. A man who wanted 276
to order a pipe made had to go to someone who had gotten it in this way:

> He would say, "I want you to give me a stone for a pipe." When the warrior gave his consent, the man went home and waited and presently the warrior sent his wife with the block of stone to give to the man's wife. The wife of the warrior now returns home, having accomplished her mission. The man ordering the pipe, not wanting to take the stone for nothing, sends his wife to the home of the warrior with twenty arrows, a blanket and she adds some buffalo meat. She now sets out for the warrior's house and approaching his wife she says, "This is for your husband. He gave us that pipe." The warrior's wife demurs, saying, "Oh, don't do that." "Yes, keep it. It's for your husband." The warrior's family now enjoys eating the gift of dry meat and they put the arrows and the blanket up on the wall. Later on when the two men meet, the warrior says to the man who is ordering the pipe, "What did you do that for? I didn't want anything for the stone." "Oh, that's all right. I wanted you to have something for it." "Well, all right, thank you," says the warrior, "We ate it!"

With the stone in hand, the man would now go to the pipe maker 276
whose work he considered best and speak to him about it. Each pipe 463
maker had his own distinctive way of making a pipe and one would ei- 531
ther come with his own specifications or simply accept the style of the 324
pipe maker himself. The man would say, "With a horse on it," etc., or "I want just a plain pipe," in which case it would be made in the maker's style. Two alternative kinds were one with rings (like a windpipe) or one with a flat part on the half below the mouthpiece, then a thick ring of wood and the rest of the length round to the bowl end. Kind Warrior who was a leader of the Deer Dance, *Raris-ta*, had a pipestem with half the length from the bowl end to the middle flat, and three ridges from the middle up to the mouthpiece. This was something like the ridges on an arrow where the feathers were to be attached and may have had some symbolic reference connected with this. Some men ordered their stone

276 pipe bowls to be made with five ridges to denote that they had sacri-
463 ficed five buffalo, others three. A man who had a horse head carved on
531 his pipe might do this to indicate that he gives away a lot of horses. On
• 324 the other hand some people just had things put on their pipes "to be
fancy."

276 To hollow out the wooden stem they burned out the pith with the
824 same stiff weed used in making brooms, *kibax-piriwus*, "room-brusher,"
Artemisia dracunculoides Pursh., or fuzzy weed. The plant had a pleasant
322 odor like sage which is also a variety of *Artemisia*. The weed was sharp
and after the pith had been burned all the way through down the length,

276
324

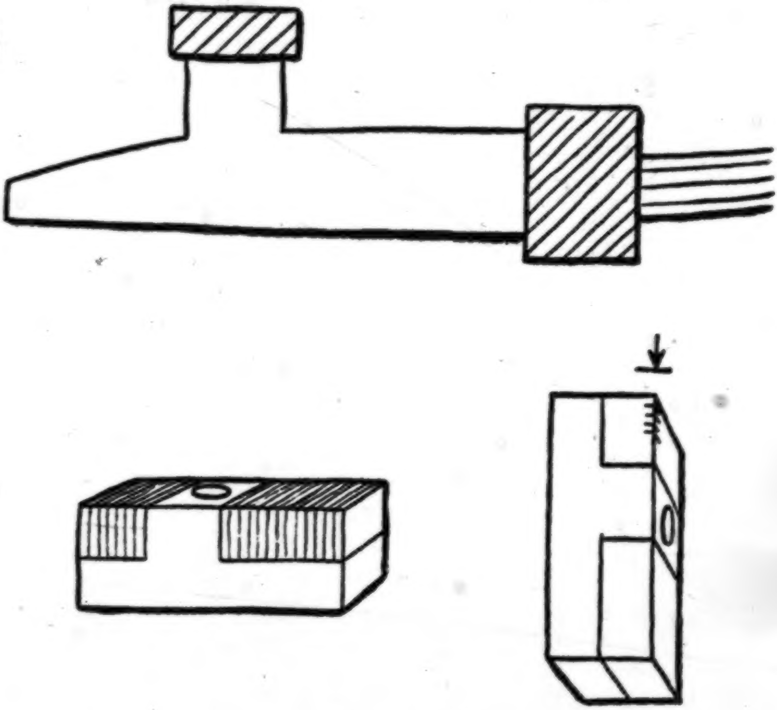


FIGURE 51-2. A pipe made by Brave Horse, *Asa-rahikutsu*, the bowl of red Catlinite or pipestone and the stem of ashwood. The first step of the pipe-maker in fashioning the bowl was the marking off of the block with charcoal so that he could sculpt the bowl in the rough. Next the two blocks, one in front and one behind the bowl, were removed (hatched areas). In the old days this was a laborious task. There were no metal drills, files, or rasps; the two blocks of stone were chipped off from the outer edges inward piece by piece by sawing back and forth with a flint knife.

the same weed was used to scrape out the inside. Then the man blew 276
through the stem to remove the small pieces from the inside. 324
322

Making the Stone Bowl of Catlinite or Red Pipestone. (See Figure 51-
2.) A block of stone of the appropriate size was marked off with charcoal 276
so that the bowl could be sculptured out in the rough. Two blocks of 324
stone had to be removed, one in front and one behind the upward projecting bowl. The removal of these two blocks was a laborious task. When no metal drills, files, or rasps were available, each step took a long time and required a great deal of patience. In the old days to remove the two blocks of stone, the "pipe" was set up on end and a flint knife was sawed back and forth across the corner, making a shallow cut. Then a second cut was made underneath it until a series of three or four shallow cuts had been made one beneath the other. These "corners" were then chipped off from the top edge down. This operation of chiseling off small pieces was continued until the whole block had been removed. Then the
second block on the other side of the bowl was removed. All red powder [386]
resulting from the sawing process was saved to be used as red paint.

The bore for the stem as well as for the bowl was begun by using a well-dried, fire-hardened stick. The stick was held stable pressed onto the surface where the hole was to be and the stone turned back and forth until a hole had been dug into it. The bowl was widened and deepened by using a sharp sliver of a buffalo femur in the same way, pressing it into the stone and twisting the stone itself until the bowl was the shape and size desired. The outer surfaces were shaped by rubbing with a rough stone.

After the bowl was shaped, the pipe was passed through the smoke of a small grass fire and the surface rubbed with grease. This data on making the stone bowl is condensed from a demonstration by Charles Allen at
Pawnee, Oklahoma, in 1935. It took almost eight days, working the [461]
usual day of nine to five o'clock with an hour for lunch.

Each pipe maker introduced special features of his own. Rarawikita,
Charles Allen's father, made them so that there was a hump on the bowl [531]
near where the stem was inserted and the pointed end of the bowl was five-sided. Chief's Road made pipes with three raised ridges around the head end of the bowl where the stem was to be inserted. Sometimes the pointed end was cut down at a downward slant, sometimes it was cut straight off. Good Bear made a pipe that was thick where the bowl was and tapered markedly at the point end and again at the end where the stem fitted. Brave Horse (*Asa-rahikuts*, "horse-brave") would make a wide ridge or collar around the mouth of the bowl and another one at the opening where the stem fitted in; on these "collars" he engraved diagonals trending upward toward the left. He was a left-handed man.

For the work of manufacturing the pipe, pay was expected though 276
never stipulated. This might be tobacco or calico and a little food. For 465
437

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Dhegiha NQ12

P
224

141 The surround on foot was called *tut-kawi-pitabaku,*" it-to-them-inside-moving-round-and-round." In summer the buffalo tended to be scattered in smaller bunches. In winter the buffalo traveled in closer formation. They also would try to drive them over the ice during the winter: *situks-ukita-bai-iwarit*, "they-used-to-upon-water-or-ice-aim-or-direct." In winter, in the deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow and could readily be killed. The north wind was called Lucky Wind because it chased the buffalo to them. When the second party was going to Oklahoma (1876), old man Frost, *Huriru'us,* held a doctor dance. Then Lucky Wind began to blow and a lot of buffalo came close to the camp. At one time, east of the Missouri River, a bit east of Omaha, Nebraska, there were villages of Pumpkin-Vine people and further eastward the village of Bones-Sticking-Up, *Kis-karaswa,* of the Tsawi Band. Buffalo came into these villages.

P
[821]
[796]
[361]

P
482

Even in Oklahoma in the 1920's women continued to pack heavy loads on their backs. In 1928 I met an old Pawnee grandmother of delicate build trudging along the road out of the town of Pawnee one Saturday afternoon with a huge load of groceries—a sack of flour, a lard pail full, and other sundries—done up in a blanket, the ends tied across her forehead and the weight of the bundle resting on her protruded buttocks and backbone. She refused an offer of a lift in a Ford Car, preferring to continue with her moccasined walk for the two miles to the house.

P
172
•325

145, 363 In Lower Loup archaeological villages sheet metal was found for the first time (about 1600), possibly for arrow points (Dunlevy, 1936, p. 201).

P
162

138 Dunbar, 1918, p. 632, gives an estimate of the number of males and females among the Skidi (1840): total 1906; males over 10 years, 469; females over 10 years, 598; children, males under 10 years, 367, females under 10 years, 472.

P
439
D
[726]
[727]

P
[726]

145, 363-364 Although pottery was still in use in Old Village (Allis, 1887, p. 140) the Pawnees had for some time been carrying on a trade in brass buckets with other tribes. Mooney, 1898, pp. 257-259, describes a gruesome incident when the Osage attacked the unprotected Kiowa camp, cutting off the heads of their dead victims and placing them one each in a brass kettle, "which had been obtained by the Kiowa from the Pawnee, who procured them on the Missouri and traded them to the southern tribes." This was the year 1833 "Summer They Cut Off Their Heads." During the attack "A party of women was saved by a brave Pawnee living in the camp, who succeeded in fighting off the pursuers long enough to enable the women to reach a place of safety" (p. 258).

14

PRACTICAL PREPARATIONS FOR THE BUFFALO HUNT

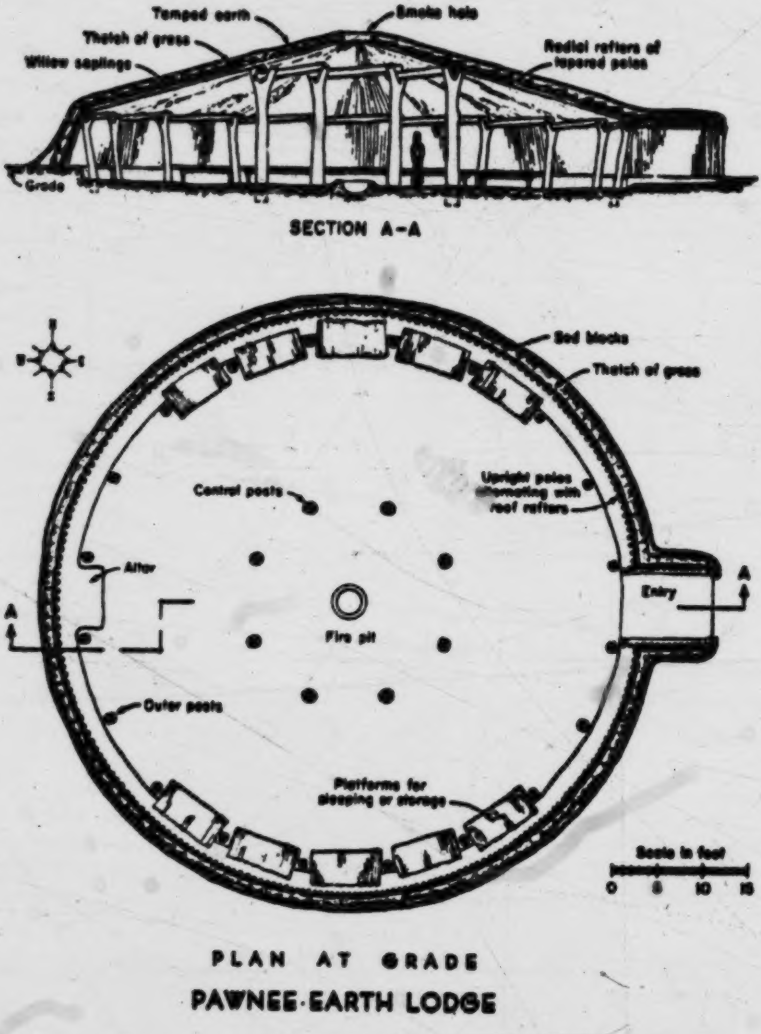
000

The Arrowshaft Makers—the Problem of Horses—Patterns of Cooperation on the Hunt—the Value of Horses to the Pawnees—the Tent Skin and Implements Needed with the Tent—Furniture—Household Utensils—Household Grouping for the Hunt—the Stay-at-Homes

BEFORE LEAVING ON THE HUNT, one of the Pawnees' primary considera- 411
tions was the weapons they would need for hunting and for their pro-
tection. Guns were expensive and sources of ammunition were not
readily available while they were on the march. And so they used the
bow and arrow, which could be made from local materials. Every 411
hunter made his own bow of ashwood and his own sinew bowstring, but
the making of the arrowshaft was a highly specialized craft. The shaft it- 463
self fashioned of dogwood sticks had to be carefully shaped and the
feathering skillfully applied so that it would shoot true. In 1867, there
were only five arrowshaft makers for the whole Skidi Band. Everyone
who needed arrows had to place his order with one of them and arrange
to compensate him for his work. They also had to bring the craftsman
the dogwood sticks well seasoned. They had collected them some
time beforehand and left them in the rafters of the house so that
they would be ready. When Old-Man-That-Chief stood on the roof of
the earth lodge and reported on the chiefs' ritual meeting and exhorted
them all to hurry, the arrowshaft makers were the first to feel the pres-
sure. The arrow point required a different kind of negotiation. In the 411
past they were made of chipped flint that no doubt had to be traded for 439
at some distance. At this time they were using iron barrel hoops that 177
they got from the trader in the tradestore, which they had rough-shaped 326
by the blacksmith.

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

342
356
335

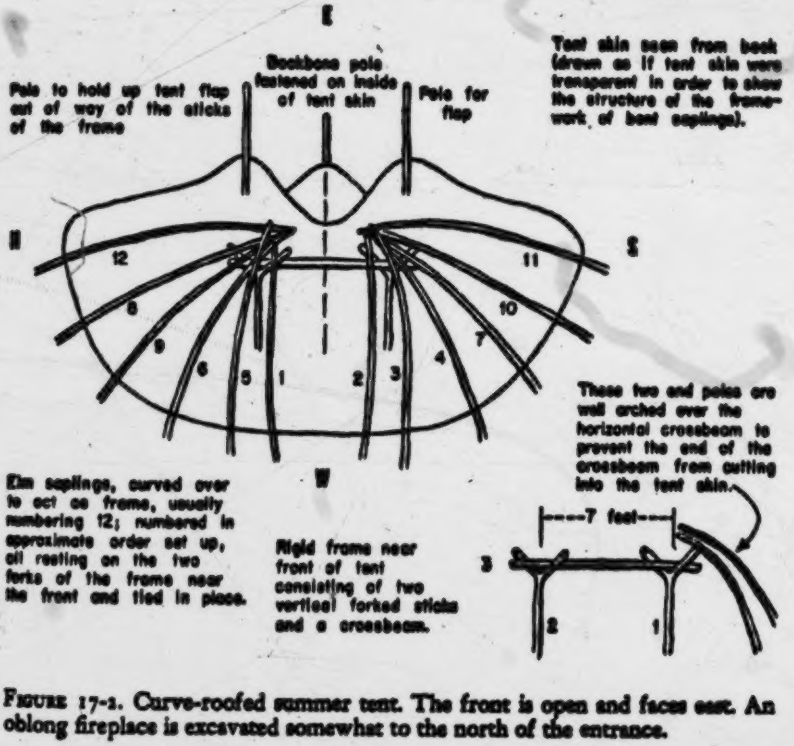

Tamped earth
Smoke hole
Thatch of grass
Willow saplings
Radial rafters of tapered poles
Grade
SECTION A-A
N
W
E
S
Sod blocks
Thatch of grass
Central posts
Upright poles alternating with roof rafters
Altar
A
Entry
A
Fire pit
Outer posts
Platforms for sleeping or storage
Scale in feet
0 5 10 15
PLAN AT GRADE
PAWNEE EARTH LODGE

342
352
353

Figure 8-1. Architect's plan of a Pawnee earth lodge.

her. On his way out Horse Rider saw some sand cherries among the sandhills, and as he turned back toward camp he gathered them up in his blanket. They grew on low bushes, and those that were covered up with sand were yellow while the ones that had been exposed were a rich dark red like big ox-heart cherries sold commercially today. They would make a nice dessert for supper. 224* 484* 492 [262]

Meanwhile White Woman and No Corn were busy putting up the tent. (See Figure 17-2.) This was harder to erect than the pointed tipi, but the open front made it cooler in the summer weather. 224* 484* 342


E
Backbone pole fastened on inside of tent skin
Pole to hold up tent flap out of way of the sticks of the frame
Pole for flap
Tent skin seen from back (drawn as if tent skin were transparent in order to show the structure of the framework of bent saplings).
N
S
12
11
8
10
9
7
6
4
5
1
2
3
W
These two end poles are well arched over the horizontal crossbeam to prevent the end of the crossbeam from cutting into the tent skin.
Elm saplings, curved over to act as frame, usually numbering 12; numbered in approximate order set up, all resting on the two forks of the frame near the front and tied in place.
Rigid frame near front of tent consisting of two vertical forked sticks and a crossbeam.
7 feet
3
2
1

342 335

FIGURE 17-2. Curve-roofed summer tent. The front is open and faces east. An oblong fireplace is excavated somewhat to the north of the entrance.

The first step was to set up the frame in front. Two forked sticks were set vertically in the ground about 7 feet apart. Before each stick was inserted, White Woman punched a hole in the ground with the long pointed stick that she used as a digging iron. When the sticks were in place she joined them with a horizontal cross stick that rested in the forks. Now twelve sticks were stuck in the ground to form the outer frame. They were set in the form of a long half-oval. Before each stick was inserted, White Woman grasped her digging iron and punched a hole in the 224* 484* 342

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The first act of a man must be to set apart a place that can be 539* made sacred and holy, that can be consecrated to Tira'wa; a place 796* where a man can be quiet and think—think about the mighty power and the place where the lesser powers dwell; a place where a man can put his sacred articles, those objects which enable him to approach the powers. Kusharu means such a place.

In this stanza we are taught that before a man can build a dwelling [342] he must select a spot and make it sacred and then, about that consecrated spot, he can erect a dwelling where his family can live peaceably. Kusharu represents the place where a man can seek the powers [778] and where the powers can come near to man. Such a place is necessary for all ceremonies.

We are now to set aside a place where we shall put the sacred articles we are to prepare and make it holy. We are not only thinking of the holy place where we shall lay the sacred articles, but we think of all that holy place will mean. It will represent the place where new life will be given.

Translation of Eighth Stanza

36, 37, 38 See lines 1, 2, 3.

39 Heru! H' Akaru. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.

h', the sign of breath, the giving of life.

Akaru, a modified form of akaro, a dwelling place; the earth lodge with its dome-shaped roof is likened to the stretch of land bounded by the horizon and roofed by the dome of the sky.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See line 4.

40 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on H' Akaru!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza we are told to think of the dwelling place Tira'wa has given to man. Upon this place man must build a lodge in accordance with the rites given to our fathers. It is by the observance of these rites in the building of a lodge that life is given to the dwelling and it is made a place where the lesser powers can come to those who dwell therein. H' Akaru means the giving of life to the dwelling place.

Translation of Ninth Stanza

41, 42, 43 See lines 1, 2, 3.

44 Heru! Keharu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.

Keharu, an enclosure, as a room, having walls and roof, like an earth lodge. The word does not refer to any enclosure or lodge, but is typical in its meaning.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See line 4.

45 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Keharu!"

cultivated eight hundred acres of corn, beans and squash in their 175* old manner. The farmer duplicated his effort in 1861, but not until 648* the summer of 1862 did he give any actual instruction to the Pawnee 241 in farming. That year the agency farm crops and the Pawnee native 657 crops both suffered from a grasshopper pestilence. It was planned that summer to proceed as rapidly as possible to break up enough land for cultivation, so that the head of each Pawnee family could take over a plot and learn by actively operating it.

In 1863 the government farmers had ploughed up for this purpose 725 acres. Meanwhile the native women had a bountiful crop, for the first time in years a surplus. In 1864 and 1865 the government demonstration proved a failure; drought and severe grasshopper pestilences destroyed the greater part of the crop. But the Pawnee crop of corn, beans and squash was much less affected in these years. In 1867 the government farm consisted of 114 acres in corn, wheat, oats and potatoes, while the Pawnee had 1000 acres under cultivation, mostly in corn, with patches of beans and squash. That year saw a bountiful crop all round, with so large a surplus for the Pawnee that they gave food to the Ponca, whose crop had failed, sold a considerable amount, and still retained a store. The following year misfortune visited the whole land in the form of a [731] grasshopper plague of such severity as had never been known. "They came in a cloud so thick as to obscure the sun." They left not a green thing.

In spite of the fact that the government farming demonstration was not strikingly successful during these years, the Pawnee were becoming increasingly conscious of the gradual disappearance of the buffalo, and the need for basing their economic life on a sure agricultural supply. They observed the value and usefulness of wagons, plows, mowing machinery and the like, and in 1868 began to request that large sums of their annuity payment be spent for the purchase of such things. Part of the annuity was being paid to them in merchandise. Inasmuch as no attempt was made to send the people what they specifically needed, a great part of the goods annuity was waste; the Pawnee would sell off most of it to traders [439] for things they needed more, losing considerably in the exchange. The agents pointed out that along with their purchase of agricultural implements, wagons and harness, the Pawnee from 1865 on were asking for cooking stoves and household articles, and began to take an interest in houses.

Building on the reservation had not been active. In addition 175* to the farm buildings erected in 1860, a number of buildings were 648* taken over which had been erected by the Mormons during their 657
342

*175 two year stay in the region on their movement westward. A brick
*648 school building planned in 1860 was finally in service in 1862.
657 By 1867 the agency structures included eight frame houses and
three log houses. But throughout this period and until the removal
● 342 to Oklahoma practically no Pawnee family lived in a house. All
still used the traditional earth lodge and the tipi. The only exceptions seem to have been the children who lived at the school and the Pawnee who were employed at or around the agency and lived in agency buildings.

*175 Considerable blundering handicapped the use of the mills on
177 the reservation. Hardly a year had passed after the installation
of a steam grist and saw mill in 1862 before it was noticed that wood,
*648 the only fuel available, was scarce, and that most of the timber of
the region was being eaten up by the mill. Recommendations that it be changed to one run by water power, which was available three-fourths of a mile from the agency, were made over a period of years. Finally in 1869 and 1870 a mill dam and raceway were installed at Pawnee expense, the tribe appropriating $ 7000 of their annuity funds for the purpose and themselves doing the labor. Unfortunately the spring and summer floods of the region had not been considered. The Beaver River overflowed so frequently in the next two years, ruining the dam and raceway, that by 1873 the decision had been reached to abandon the attempt to use water power, and substitute wind power.

*175 Civilization of the tribe by means of education in farm life
177 was accompanied during these years by demonstration in certain
useful manual arts and by an attempt at schooling. Blacksmith
*648 and tinsmith shops were set up on the reservation and equipped by
657 the government. The government furnished the blacksmiths, but
in order to teach the Pawnee, the strikers were Pawnee youths, employed at fair pay. From this period on, the interest of government policy became increasingly centered on teaching trades to the Indian, and a constant attempt was made to employ Pawnee apprentices in all the government or agency managed activities. The blacksmith and tinsmith shops were flooded with work by the Pawnee, more than they could handle.

The first school on the Pawnee reservation was established and began functioning July 16, 1862. The teacher with the agent's help succeeded in persuading parents of sixteen children, eight boys and eight girls, to send them to school. They were supplied with suitable clothes. The boys were taught some farming and mechanical pursuits, the girls instructed in varied household duties. Both were instructed in reading. The first reports indicated that the Pawnee

*175 a basically horticultural people in the plains of North America
*648 even before the buffalo hunting era.[1] The whole round of life, with
657 its conceptual and religious meanings, was to the Pawnee bound
621 up with group life in a village. Their ceremonies were village rituals in intent and action; their dances called for gatherings on a large scale. In opposing a destruction of the village communities, the chiefs were supporting traditional Pawnee values. In addition, it must not be forgotten that even after the settlement of the Pawnee on a Nebraska reservation in 1859 the tribe had been permitted to continue the old village organization. To be sure, it was not in line with government policy that they did so, but because, as we have seen, the government failed to give the tribe protection and did not dare to scatter the people and render them defenceless. Nevertheless, the effect was the same. The Pawnee were not opposed to farming. They were proud in 1884 of their independence of government aid, of their ownership of horses, cattle and farming implements. What was good and useful to a productive and happy life was not lost on the Pawnee. But their past experience inclined them to the belief that reservation life, based on farming, could be carried on successfully without the break-up of their villages. In dealing with such village tribes as the pueblo peoples, the United States government did not destroy the village organization and settlements; as a result, much of value and significance in their ancient culture has continued into the present among the Southwestern Indians. The implication here is that the Pawnee chiefs were right; and that in the case of their tribe the government was attempting a more violent and rapid change than was good for their cultural health.

*175 In 1880 there were only a few individual farms held by Pawnee.
*648 The government reapers and mowers were used on these as well
657 as on the band farms. The band farms were still cooperatively planted and worked. In 1882 the concerted drive of the officials persuaded a number of enterprising families to locate. With a family on an allotted tract, the agent proceeded to build a frame
●[342] house for them. The Indians hewed logs and brought them to the saw-mill. The government carpenter directed the work of erecting the house, with Pawnee men assisting. The latter did a good share of the work, and as time went by put up their own houses. From 1886 on, all the frame houses built on the Pawnee reservation are reported to have been erected by the Pawnee themselves.

[313] Until 1884 there was a scarcity of timber and cut wood for building, and many families camped on allotments. Those who

---

[1] W. D. Strong. Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PAWNEE MUSIC

By Frances Densmore

THE PAWNEE TRIBE

The Pawnee is commonly regarded as the last of the Caddoan 101
Tribes which migrated in a general northeasterly direction at an
early date.[1] When the Siouan Tribes entered the valley of the
Platte River in Nebraska they found the Pawnee already established
in that region. The Pawnee called themselves by a term meaning
"men of men." Their present name was probably given by some
neighboring tribe and derived from *pariki*, meaning a horn, as it
was the Pawnee custom to shave the head except a narrow strip [302]
extending from the forehead to the scalplock and to stiffen this
ridge of hair with grease and paint, curving it upward like a horn.

While in Nebraska the Pawnee lived in earth lodges which were 361
in four permanent groups of villages, each having its geographical
location along the Platte River. The people of each group were a [342]
unit, representing a division of the tribe. The Skidi (Wolf Pawnee) 101
was in the northwest, its people considering themselves related to 619
the Arikara, another Caddoan Tribe living some distance to the
north. The Pitahauerat (Tapage Pawnee) were downstream, the
Kithahki (Republican Pawnee) were upstream, and the Chaui
(Grand Pawnee) were located between the two last named. The 134
soil of the region was dry and rather sandy with rough, broken land 241
toward the mountains in the west, yet the Pawnee were essentially
an agricultural people, cultivating corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins.
Buffalo and other game was abundant in the early days, and the Pawnee 136
were excellent hunters, their hunting expeditions covering a wide 224
area.

The first treaty between the Government of the United States and 648
the Pawnee Indians was made at St. Louis Trading Post in June, 1818.[2]

---

[1] In the classification of the North American races by John W. Powell the Pawnee is classified as one of [114]
the five independent groups of the Caddoan stock. Miss Alice C. Fletcher regards the Pawnee as a confederacy, the divisions or bands of the tribe being treated by her as separate tribes in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p 213. Cf also Linton, Ralph, The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee, The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee, and Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men, compiled chiefly from unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, published as leaflets Nos. 5, 6, and 8, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-23.

[2] Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kappler, ed., vol. II, pp. 156-159, Washington, 1904.

648 At that time a separate treaty was made with each band of Pawnee, designated as Grand, Noisy, Republic, and Marhar, the treaties being respectively on June 18, 19, 20, and 22. Peace was then concluded with all tribes of the region which had been disturbed by the war of 1812. A treaty with the Pawnee Tribe was made at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs, September 30, 1825, its purpose being "to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension."[3] By the treaty of October 9, 1833, the Pawnee ceded to the United States "all the land lying south of the Platt River."[4] A reservation in Nebraska was provided for the Pawnee who remained in that State until 1876, the sale of their reservation in Nebraska being approved on June 5 of that year. The setting apart of a reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) was approved April 10, 1876. The Pawnee were removed to that reservation and "each head of a family or single person over 21 years of age residing upon said reserve, who shall so elect," was entitled to receive an allotment of 160 acres of land.[5] In a table compiled by the Office of Indian Affairs in 1908 it is stated that "112,859.84 acres were allotted to 821 [Pawnee] Indians, 840 acres reserved for school, agency, and cemetery purposes, and the residue of 169,320 acres was opened to settlement," the agreement being ratified by act of March 3, 1893.[6]

161 The number of Pawnee in 1702 was estimated by Iberville at 2,000 families. In 1838 they numbered about 10,000 persons, but the
[164] opening of a principal emigrant trail directly through the country in the forties introduced disease and dissipation and left the people less
[177] able to defend themselves against their enemies, the Sioux.[7] They decreased in numbers and in 1928 the Pawnee population was 2,766.[8]

133 The reservation of the Pawnee is beautifully diversified, with many streams and tracts of woods. There are outcroppings of stone in the region south of the town of Pawnee (pl. 3, *a*, *b*) while north of the town
[136] are broad, smooth fields. (Pl. 3, *c*.) On a private ranch near Pawnee a picturesque herd of buffalo was seen near a "buffalo wallow." (Pl. 4, *a*, *b*.)

342 The earth lodge of the Pawnee was about 40 feet in diameter and 15 feet high, and was occupied by several related families, each having
[592] its appointed space along the wall. "At the west side of the lodge a
[778] space was always reserved, which was considered sacred, and was called *wikaru* (place-for-the-wonderful-things), this being the name which is applied to the garden of the Evening Star, where the corn is always ripening and where are stored many parflêches of buffalo

---

[3] Ibid., pp. 258-260.
[4] Ibid., pp. 416-418.
[5] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 159-161.
[6] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 213.
[7] Ibid., p. 216.
[8] Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the year 1928, p. 58.

meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance 342
of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and [778]
suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and
other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the
altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, [554
the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, 513]
which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two
below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a
"skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending
upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward
to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This
framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow
rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was
protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered
roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when [484]
a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially
anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family
usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer
abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was
made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered
with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four 619
bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary
chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had 621
also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its [778
priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with 793]
those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and
symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a
medium of communication was believed to be opened between the
people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and
prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the 621
head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced 622
by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus 624
or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the
Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were
the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council 623
was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands,
and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of
the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a 611
man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family. 591

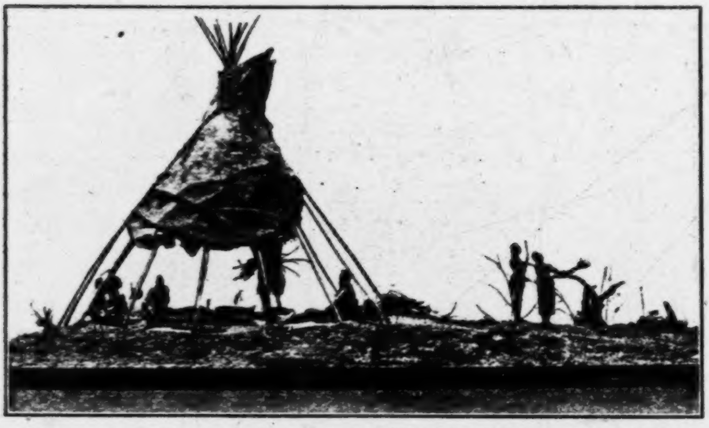
---

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. xv, New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

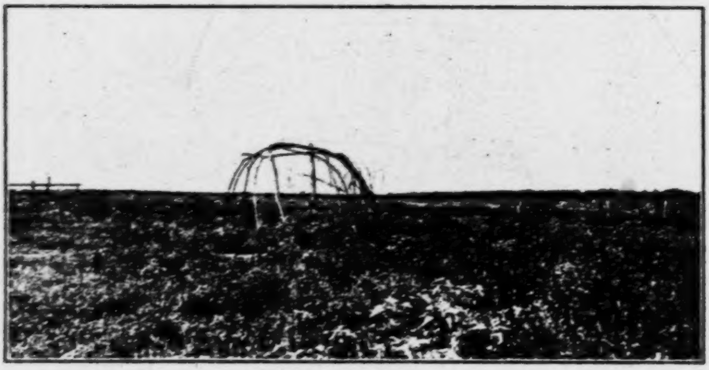
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

● 342



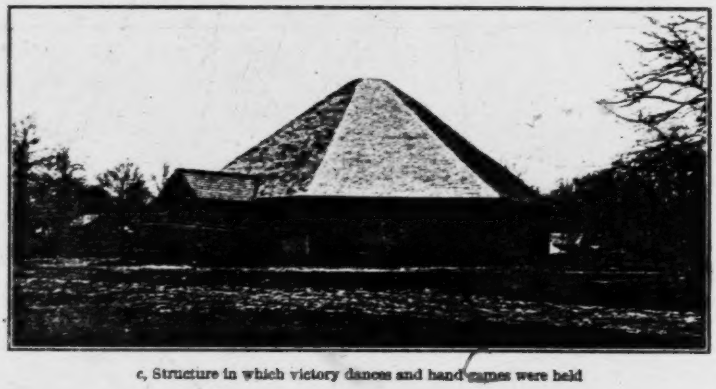
a, Miniature group of Pawnee Thunder ceremony exhibited in Field Museum of Natural History

343



b, Framework (probably sweat lodge) near ceremonial earth lodge

345



c, Structure in which victory dances and hand games were held

[Facing p. 68]

622
756 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers
778 and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular impor-
554 tance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have con-
726 secrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pítahauírata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of
756 wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and
837 not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice. Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicineman in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies
224 for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle
[223] trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern
838 Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

No-flight Idea. A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and
726 taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

342 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of
532 medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint
834 in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had
276 performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

III. THE LODGE

The size of the Skidi lodge varied according to the number of 342
families residing in it. Although an individual family composed of 592
a man, his wife or wives, and their children, might be the sole
occupants, often more than one family lived in a single lodge and
there apparently was no definite rule regarding the number of
residents and consequently the size of the lodge itself. The latter
might contain two beds for a small family or might be spacious [352]
enough to accommodate as many as eighteen beds for several families.
Also, chiefs' lodges and those of priests and medicine-men were of
exceptional size, for they were often required to accommodate a [346]
ceremonial gathering.

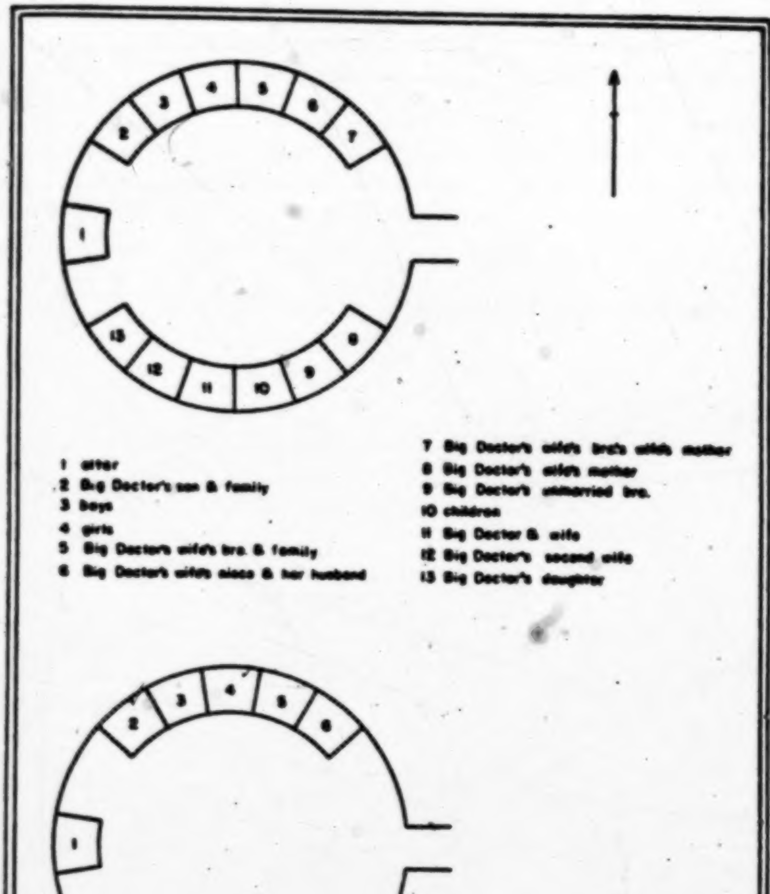
The construction and interior arrangements of the Pawnee earth 352
lodge have been briefly described in a previous report (Dorsey, 1904).
At the west was the altar, around the north and south sides were
the beds, and at the east, on either side of the doorway, were cache
holes, corn mills, sweathouses, and piles of firewood. The beds
were supported by two upright forked posts on the inner side; these
were connected by a hewn timber placed in the forks and from this
crosspiece short poles extended to the wall or banquette. Over this
frame was placed a mattress of young willows netted together and
covered by buffalo robes and pillows. Usually the children had
their beds nearest the altar, and the grandparents those closest the [592]
door; the parents reserved those in the middle area. In case a man [513]
had more than one wife living in his lodge, each wife had a bed of
her own [Fig. 26]. [Lesser (1930) has diagramed the usual disposition [595]
of the family according to their beds. The accompanying diagrams
furnished by Mr. Murie are of interest, however, for so far as I can
determine they represent actual cases. Unfortunately, the exact
relationships of the individuals referred to is not always clear.]

In the summer the people moved out of the lodge and slept 513
under an arbor. Each individual family made its own arbor, or all 342
the families together built a single large one for their joint use. 592
[This was in addition to the tipi, and a grass-like structure sometimes
used when on the march.]

FAMILY CUSTOMS

On rising in the morning the entire family visited a near-by 512
creek or river to bathe. In olden times all were early risers, and in [515]
the spring and autumn the men and women usually repaired at once

342
352
592



1 altar
2 Big Doctor's son & family
3 boys
4 girls
5 Big Doctor's wife's bro. & family
6 Big Doctor's wife's niece & her husband
7 Big Doctor's wife's bro's wife's mother
8 Big Doctor's wife's mother
9 Big Doctor's unmarried bro.
10 children
11 Big Doctor & wife
12 Big Doctor's second wife
13 Big Doctor's daughter

1 altar
2 fourth wife
3 second wife's children
4 second wife
5 third wife
6 Chief's parents
7 first wife's parents
8 young children
9 Chief & first wife
10 Chief's daughter
11 Chief's son

FIG. 26. Disposition of beds in two Skidi Pawnee earth lodges.

On his marriage the husband lived with his wife in her parents' 591
lodge until such time as he had proved himself capable of protecting and 885
providing for his own family. At that time the parents of the two united in making him a tipi. The man then took the first opportunity of going on the warpath, during which time he placed his wife and children, if any, under the care of his own parents. Thereafter he and his family lived in their lodge, except when upon the hunt, when he used his own tipi. As soon as the man became a good warrior, medicine- 342 ●
man, or priest, or as soon as his father's lodge became crowded, the two families of the couple came together to build them a lodge, one family constructing the north half and the other the south half. On the completion of the lodge the husband himself fashioned the altar, while he and his wife together constructed the fireplace.

DIVORCE

It was said that divorce was formerly rare among the Skidi. If 586
on the wedding night the husband found his bride was not a virgin, he could leave her at once. Also, should a wife prove unfaithful, the husband effected a divorce merely by leaving the lodge. The wife's relatives, however, might prepare a feast and invite him to partake of it. If he accepted, it was equivalent to remarriage. Barrenness on the part of the woman ("her spring has gone dry") was not considered grounds for divorce.

If the husband committed adultery, his mother-in-law or the wife's grandmother could order him out of the lodge, in which case he was obliged to depart. The man who was lazy or an incompetent provider could also be driven out. In both cases the children remained with the wife.

DEATH

We may first consider the Skidi conception of the soul. All 775
living beings have souls, which are closely associated with the wind. [774]
After death those of some people ascend to the heavens and become stars. The souls of others, including those who die of disease or die cowardly in battle, travel the dusty Milky-Way to the village of the spirits in the south. The souls of warriors who die bravely on the battlefield and of those who die in sacrifice travel a bloody trail to the village of the warriors. Anyone who tries to make the human sacrifice and fails, or does not perform the rite correctly, becomes burning flint under the feet of the Morning Star. The souls of chiefs and priests travel a road of flowers until they come to the guardian spirit who influenced them upon earth. On this road

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee [171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but they understood the arts of pottery-making and basket-weaving. 291 During the summer the men usually wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins, leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The 302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made 301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings. 342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi. The first three of these were closely related, but the Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and considered themselves more closely related to the Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some distance to the north. [361] In their settlements along the river, the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest downstream, and the other two bands between. Each 621 band was divided into a number of villages which were social as well as geographical units. All the members of a village believed themselves to be descended from a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female [778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) containing sacred objects, and priests who had charge of [793] the rituals and ceremonies connected with these ob- 622 jects. It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a council composed of its leading men. If the chief was a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY 1
CHICAGO, 1923

LEAFLET NUMBER 8

Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men

A general description of the Pawnee, with an account of their religious beliefs and social organization, has been given in Leaflet No. 5 of this series. Although geographically a Plains tribe, they differed in several respects from the typical tribes of the region. While the latter were all nomadic hunters, the Pawnee were settled agriculturists, inhabiting permanent towns and subsisting largely on their crops. When on hunting trips, they used the typical skin-covered tent of the plains, but in their towns they built large houses of wood covered with earth. A model of one of these houses is shown in the miniature group illustrating the annual ceremony of the Medicine Men. 101 [171]

The earth lodges of the Pawnee were dome-shaped, about forty feet in diameter and fifteen feet high. The roof was supported by two concentric rows of uprights, the outer row being planted just in front of a ledge, about a foot and a half high, which entirely surrounded the inside of the lodge. The outer posts, which varied in number according to the size of the lodge, were about seven feet high, and were placed about the same distance apart. The inner row of posts stood about half way between the outer wall of the lodge and its center, and were about twelve feet high. They varied in number from four to ten. All the uprights were forked and bore a row of cross beams, which supported rafters extending from the outer uprights to a point 342

342 just over the center of the lodge, where an opening about two feet in diameter was left as a smoke-hole. Long willow rods, closely spaced, were laid transversely over the rafters, and these in turn were covered with a thick layer of bunch grass. The sides of the lodge were built of timbers whose lower ends were planted in a trench, while their upper ends leaned against the cross beams of the outer uprights. The whole lodge was then covered with earth and sod.

The entrance was protected by a covered way, built like the lodge, which extended out from it. In all but one of the Skidi villages this entrance faced the
[354] east. In the center of the floor there was a circular fire-pit surrounded by a slight embankment. At the west side of the lodge, opposite the entrance, a space
[778] was always reserved. This space was called *wiharu*, the garden of the Evening Star, and was considered sacred. In it a buffalo skull was placed, facing the entrance, and above it the sacred bundles and other religious paraphernalia of the family were hung.
352 Around the north and south sides of the lodges, sleeping platforms were built. These platforms were made of poles whose inner ends rested on the earth ledge, while their outer ends were supported by forked posts and
[513] beams. Over the poles were laid willow mats, coarse rush mats, and lastly tanned buffalo-skins. Each bed was screened off from those adjoining by willow mats. A lodge of ordinary size would have from eight to ten beds on a side. Those next the altar, which were considered most honorable, were occupied by the older children. Next were the beds of the aunts and uncles, then those of the parents, and lastly those of the old
[592] people. As many as ten families, all related by blood, sometimes occupied a single house. The sleeping platforms and other furniture were removed when the lodge was to be used for ceremonies, and are not shown in the miniature group.

539 was in session, they would come in and ask the medicine
773 men to help them, and they would give them a place in the lodge. In this way the society grew. People from other bands also heard about it and came begging to learn the mysteries. The medicine men taught them, and they went back to their own people and started other medicine lodges."

756 The ceremonies of the historic medicine lodge
796 agreed in a general way with those last described in the legendary account of its origin, but there were several features not mentioned in the story just given. The preparations for the great fall ceremony were begun while the people were still on the spring buffalo hunt. At this time the leading medicine men selected two members of the society to make two bows and four arrows. When these were completed, they were given to two other medicine men with instructions for one to kill a bull and the other a cow. The animals had to be killed with a single arrow, but it is said that because of the magic powers of the arrows the hunters never failed to do this. The bull's hide was to be used to cover
[532] the head of the water-monster image, the cow's hide
[778] to cloth the figure of the witch woman. Two more buffalo, also a bull and a cow, were then killed in the same way, the hide of the former being saved to make an image of the Morning Star, and that of the latter, to make nine small images which represented the important heavenly gods. When the buffalo had been
[778] killed, the bows and arrows were returned to the leading medicine men who placed them among their sacred objects.

On the return from the hunt, the four leading medicine men went to the medicine lodge and ordered
● [342] that it be cleared for the ceremony. The same lodge
[346] seems to have been used for the ceremony year after year, but was occupied as a dwelling between ceremonies.

361 161 80 lodges, with a population of nearly 2,500; and in the upper village there are between 140 and 150 lodges, the population amounting perhaps to 3,500. On approaching a village, the lodges have the appearance of so many small hillocks, of a conical form, huddled up together in the closest possible manner, with only narrow passages between for walking, and the rest of the space filled up by pens, formed of stakes, for confining their ponies during the night, to guard them from being suddenly taken off by a warlike party of another tribe.

342 The Pawnee lodges are of a circular form, large and spacious in the interior; many of them being 50 feet in diameter. Three and sometimes four circular rows of forked trunks of trees are placed upright, at appropriate distances from each other. The row nearest the centre consists of only four such upright timbers, about 15 or 20 feet high, while the crotches in the more exterior rows are shorter and more numerous, in proportion as the circumference is greater. These forks or crotches support thick cross-beams, upon which a frame of long poles is laid, extending from the ground at the outer circumference of the lodge to the top, leaving only an opening at the apex, of about four feet in diameter, to answer the double purpose of letting in the light, and letting out the smoke. Upon the frame work of poles, willow osiers are laid, and the whole is then covered with prairie sod from 12 to 18 inches thick. Immediately below the opening above, a hole is sunk in the centre for the fire-place, common to all the residents of the [592] lodge. From five to ten families, generally related together, have a common occupancy of one lodge, governed by a head man, who may be styled the lodge chief. Around the circumference of the 352 lodge are recesses for sleeping, partitioned off for each family, resembling the berths on board of steamboats, many of which are screened in front and on the sides by willow-twigs laid above each other, tied fast to a frame, which, partly with the reddish bark on, and partly white from having the bark taken off, exhibit considerable taste in those who wrought them. When thus ornamented with twigs, a small opening about two by three feet is left in front to admit the occupants. The bottom of the berth is raised about two feet above the ground by means of large hewn sills, overlaid by thick willow twigs, which are then covered with buffalo-robes. [342] The entrance of the lodge is always on the East side, protected by a passage, closed above and on the sides, of about 15 feet in length,—the door being a large buffalo robe, or several sewed together, hanging before the inner entrance. On the side opposite to the door of each lodge, a recess is reserved, for depositing the skull of a buffalo, surmounted by shields, quivers of arrows, spears, bows, skins, feathers, etc., used fur hunting, for medicinal, or religious purposes, as the case may require. In the interme-

462 pare the fields for cultivation with their hoes, plant the corn, weed 562 it, and finally, when ripe, gather it in; and take care of the horses of their lords, when not used by them.

The most difficult labor, however, that falls to their lot, is the 462 erecting of their lodges. As the upper village had been burnt by 562 their enemies during their absence, the labor of rebuilding of course devolved upon the poor women, and in the course of about 342 two months, when we visited them, they had completed nearly 150 lodges. When we observed, that the nearest timber to the site of the village was two or three miles off, and that they have [482] no beasts of burden, but that all the building material, much of which is very heavy, was carried so great a distance on the shoulders of the women, it seemed almost incredible to us. We noticed even girls of 12 or 14 years bearing baskets on their backs, filled with wet turf, to cover or repair their lodges, which must have been very heavy. Thus early the females are trained to [868] carry burdens, (either at home, or while travelling,) which inures them to hardships, but at the same time deforms them, rendering them low and bent in stature, and pitiable objects to the beholder. While the men, trained to no work whatever, are erect, tall, and [142] well-proportioned in their form, and almost feminine in their features, the women are short and low, with stooping gait, downcast looks, harsh features, and hair dishevelled; and dirty, ragged, and 000 filthy in their appearance. Such is a picture of heathenism! Have we not cause to be grateful for the benign influence of the gospel upon our land, so that we are elevated far above such a miserable state of heathenism? Unto the Lord be all the praise!

Though it is generally a feature among heathen nations, that it 462 is considered a shame for the men to labor, while all the work de- 562 volves upon the females, still the Pawnees seem not altogether indisposed to be instructed. Mr. Sharpee, who has been acquainted with them and other Indians in these parts for nearly 20 years, told us, that the Pawnee men were unlike those of other tribes, since they were willing to lay hold of a plough, or any other farming utensil, and only the instruction was wanting to make them industrious. Mr. Allis too, who has been acquainted with them for the last 20 years, and has lived among them a great portion of this period, informed us, that when the missionaries were formerly living among them, several of the Pawnees had already commenced the use of the plough. The good beginning was, however, interrupted by their missionaries having to leave them.

Dress.—The dress of the men consists in nothing but a small 291 piece of cloth, fastened around their middle. This, we observed, was generally the only covering they had on, when in their lodges. When abroad, they had a buffalo robe or blanket wrapped around them. The females are more decently clothed than the men

The promised protection was soon withdrawn, however, and by 1860 175
the Pawnee were again suffering from the harassment of their relentless foes, the Dakota.[32] In addition, the encroachments of the whites 648
from the east and south led to endless bickering and ill feeling between the two races. In 1870 a party of Republican Pawnee visited the Wichita Reservation in Indian Territory, meeting with a kindly reception, and on their return north agitation was begun within the tribe as well as from without for removal to the Territory. A crushing defeat by Teton and Oglala Dakota, while a portion of the Pawnee Tribe was engaged in their last buffalo hunt near what is now Trenton, in southwestern Nebraska, almost unnerved the remainder of the Pawnee, and in 1876, by common consent, the reservation was exchanged for lands in Indian Territory. The southward trek had actually begun nearly 2 years earlier, so that by late 1874 or 1875 the movement was practically consummated. The former reservation became Nance County, Nebr., and the once powerful Pawnee had passed forever from the territory they had for centuries known as their own.

ARCHEOLOGY

HISTORIC VILLAGE SITES

Ancient village sites, almost always attributed locally to the 172*
Pawnee, are to be found on virtually every stream of any consequence
in eastern and southern Nebraska. These remains are especially 131
numerous along the north bank of the Loup below St. Paul, on the Platte between Prairie Island and Ashland, and on the Republican throughout its entire length in Nebraska, including also a short stretch of the latter stream in northern Kansas. Within historic times the permanent villages of the Pawnee were located in the lower Loup and Platte Valleys and on the Republican both north and south of the Kansas-Nebraska line, so that in all probability many of the so-called "Pawnee sites" in the area will ultimately prove to be correctly designated. However, in view of the fact that archeology here is still in the nascent stage, with little or no material from the vast majority of such sites, it is absurd to label as Pawnee all Indian remains found in the region. The specific tribal name should be applied only to sites known by documentary references or through careful archeological investigation to have been occupied by the Pawnee; any other sites should be differently and distinctively designated.

The characteristic form of habitation of the Pawnee when in their 172*
permanent villages was the earth lodge, of which a detailed descrip- 342 ●
tion will be given later. Here it may be pointed out that the lodge

---

[32] Gillis, 1860, pp. 93–95.

*172 consisted of a main framework of timbers and posts, supporting a
342 thatch of grass and, finally, a covering of turf, erected over a shallow, circular, saucerlike excavation; the entrance projected from one side, usually but not always the southeast or east. When such a structure was abandoned and the continual vigilance required for its upkeep removed, the outer shell of earth was soon washed off and deposited about the base of the wall, while the timbers might remain standing for years before rotting away. Thus, there would result in course of time a raised ring of soil, indicating the periphery of the erstwhile lodge; within this ring was a depression somewhat lower than the normal ground surface outside. Prior to the breaking up of the bottom lands along the rivers these lodge circles were to be seen on every Pawnee site of the past century. Where subterranean caches or "Indian cellars" occur the soil within them has often settled to such an extent that the mouth is revealed as a small circular depression. These occur both inside and outside the
[712] lodge circles. Defensive walls were constructed around nearly every historic village, but with few exceptions these have now been wholly obliterated. Long cultivation obviously tends to destroy all traces of either lodge circles or earthworks, though very shallow depressions and slight elevations may persist for a number of years. Frequently, even after repeated plowing, the sites of the lodges are still clearly indicated by sherds, charred wood, burned earth, bones, and similar detrital material, which litters each particular spot formerly occupied by a dwelling. The contrast between these circular discolored areas and the surrounding natural soil is especially marked after the site has been freshly plowed.

In the following discussion 13 Pawnee sites, grouped according
*172 to their band affiliations, will be briefly described. Ten of these
121 have been identified with villages recorded by the various American explorers after 1800. Another, the Kansas Monument site, probably dates just prior to that year and, while not specifically documented, is unquestionably of rather late historic date. The other two sites were occupied approximately contemporaneously, and are post-Columbian; they have, however, never been placed with any degree of accuracy in the historical scheme, hence are designated as protohistoric.[18]

---

[18] In conformity to the system of nomenclature suggested at the first Plains Archeological Conference held at Vermillion, S. Dak., on Aug. 31–Sept. 1, 1931, village sites in the Pawnee area have been tentatively divided into three sequential groups, viz, the historic, the protohistoric, and the prehistoric. Historic sites are those which have been quite definitely identified with villages visited or reported by American and European explorers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—i. e., between 1775 and 1874. Protohistoric sites are those dating from the very beginning of the European conquest; they show traces of trade relations with white men, bear strong basic cultural resemblances to the historic villages, but were never specifically documented; and in point of time they fall between the years 1540 and 1775. Prehistoric

entirely filled, for in the Pawnee area there are no caves or rock shelters where things of a perishable nature might have been preserved. 172* A study of the large Pawnee ethnological collections in eastern museums will help in this regard but is outside the province of this report.

In the present treatment the major portion of the data have been drawn from the Hill collection at the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. The majority of the specimens were taken from the Hill site near Red Cloud. Small series from most of the other villages are also represented, furnishing valuable if limited comparative material. During the summer of 1930 the Nebraska Archaeological Survey secured a small, carefully excavated collection from the Hill site, corroborating for the most part the conclusions drawn from the larger collection. At Linwood the collection of surface material made by Mr. Alfred Tichacek at the early historic village site on his farm afforded a good representation from the early Pawnee culture on its eastern margin. The Nebraska Historical Society collections, where documented, were also of value. Wherever possible, the findings of archeology have been correlated with the accounts of early explorers so as to secure a final check on all material.

HABITATIONS

The Pawnee, in common with other semisedentary tribes of the 172*
Missouri Valley and eastern plains area, used two and possibly three
very distinct types of dwellings. In their permanent villages, occu- 342●
pied 4 or 5 months of each year, the familiar communal earth lodge
was characteristic. Periodically, however, usually twice each year, [221]
the entire community abandoned the village to hunt bison, and at such times recourse was had to the skin tipi so typical of the nomadic tribes of the plains. Both types are superficially like those of neighboring tribes, but because of certain distinctive features in each it will be well to discuss them in some detail. A recent Pawnee earth lodge in Oklahoma appears in plate 1, *a*, while an idealized cross-section of such an earth lodge, with four center posts, appears in figure 1. In regard to the latter sketch it should be noted that the extreme outer (i. e., third) row of posts do not appear to have been driven into the ground, for in none of the following excavations were traces of them observed.

EARTH LODGE.—Of the various early descriptions of the Pawnee earth lodge,[4] or *akkaros*,[5] that contained in Clayton's journal[6] is perhaps the most complete. It was written in 1847, among the

---

[4] Pike, 1810, App. to pt. II, p. 15; see also Bushnell, 1922, pp. 155-167.

[5] De Smet, 1905, vol. III, p. 974.

[6] Clayton, 1921, pp. 97-99.

+172 342 ruins of the Skidi village on the Loup at the mouth of the Cedar, and describes the only lodge left undamaged when the Dakota burned the village during the absence of the Pawnee on their summer hunt. Clayton wrote as follows:

> In the first place, the earth is dug out a little, slanting to the depth of about 18 inches in the form of a perfect circle about 44 feet in diameter. This forms the floor of the dwelling. Then there are 17 crotch posts let into the floor in a direction slanting outward so that the top of the crotch is about perpendicular with the outside of the circle, the foot being set about 18 or 20 inches from the base of the circle. In the crotches poles are laid across from crotch to crotch, and are sufficiently high for the tallest man to stand upright under them. At the distance of 18 or 20 inches from the outside of the circle are many smaller poles let into the surface of the ground, on an average of about a foot apart and leaning inward so that the top of the poles rest on the crosspieces which are supported by the crotches. The space between the foot of these poles and the edge of the circle forms a bench for seats entirely around the house, and there is room sufficient for more than a hundred men to seat themselves on it very comfortably. On the outside of these last-mentioned poles are laid a number of still smaller poles horizontally from the bottom to top from about 9 inches to a foot apart. These are lashed fast to the upright poles by strings made of bark. On the outside of these is laid a thick layer of long prairie grass and occasionally lashed through to the upright poles also. The whole is then covered with earth about 2 feet in thickness at the bottom and gradually thinner toward the top. This forms an enclosure when completed around the whole area about 7 feet high, a place being left sufficiently large for the door. The next process is to place erect 10 upright poles or crotches, very stout, being about a foot in diameter, about 7 feet nearer the center of the circle than the first crotches. These are set perpendicular, deep in the ground and also arranged at about equal distances from each other, and form a strong foundation which is the design and use to which they are appropriated. On the top of these pillars are also horizontal poles laid strong and firm, the top of the pillars being about 11 or 12 feet above the floor. Long small poles are then laid from the outside horizontal poles over the inner ones and sufficiently long to meet at the top within about 2 feet of each other, forming a hole for the smoke from the fire to ascend through. These long poles are laid pretty close together all around the build-

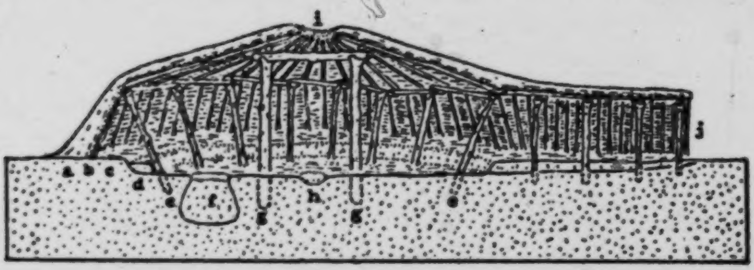


FIGURE 1.—Cross section of a Pawnee earth lodge, showing interior arrangement of posts and beams. *a*, Earth covering; *b*, grass, willows, and outer poles; *c*, edge of house pit; *d*, altar; *e*, secondary roof supports; *f*, cache pit; *g*, primary or central roof supports; *h*, firepit; *i*, smoke hole; *j*, entrance passage.

> ing, and across them smaller ones are lashed with bark as in the first instance, only they are much closer together. The operation of lashing on a layer of long grass and finally covering the whole with earth completes the roof of the building. The door or entrance is a long porch formed by placing in the earth four upright posts or crotches far enough apart to extend outwards from the circle, about 18 or 20 feet. There are four upright crotches on each side of the porch and in the crotches poles are laid horizontally as in the other parts of the building. The process of lashing sticks across, then a thick coat of long grass, and lastly a stout coat of earth is the same as the other parts of the building. The roof of the porch is flat and is about 7 feet high and 6 feet wide. The porch is dug down about half as deep as the main building, making a short step at the mouth of the porch and another at the entrance into the house. The fire has been made in the center of the house directly under the hole in the roof. 172* 342
>
> At the farther side of the building, exactly opposite the porch, is a projection of sod left about a foot from the outside of the circle which is said to have been the seat of the chief, and over which hung his medicine bag and other implements.
>
> The crotches are arranged so that there is a free passage into the center of the hall from the porch, one standing on each side of the entrance about 6 feet apart and the others appear to be arranged from them. The smaller houses have not so many pillars as this one. Some have 8 in the center and 16 outside the circle. Others have 4 in the center and 10 outside. The entrances are also smaller in proportion, but all are constructed on the same principle. It looks a little singular to note that nearly all the entrances to these lodges front to the southeast, except in one or two instances where they front in other directions for lack of room. It is probable that this is done to avoid the effects of the severe cold northwest winds so prevalent in winter.

The interpretation placed by Clayton upon certain features inside the lodge as regards their function is, of course, open to question, as his experience with Indians in general and the Pawnee in particular amounted to virtually nothing. However, in the matter of structural details his description leaves little to be desired, being without doubt the best ever written by an eyewitness.

The best account of the arrangement of a lodge interior is that by Dunbar,[7] written in 1835, during his sojourn as a missionary at the Grand Pawnee village on the Clarks site. 172* 342 352

> Within these buildings the earth is beat down hard and forms the floor. In the center a circular place is dug about 8 inches deep and 3 feet in diameter. This is the fireplace. The earth that is taken from it is spatted down around it and forms the hearth. Near the fireplace a stake is firmly fixed in the earth in an inclined position and serves all the purposes of a crane. Mats made of rushes are spread down round the fire on which they sit. Back next the walls are the sleeping apartments. A framework is raised about 2 feet from the floor; on this are placed small rods, interwoven with slips of elm bark. On these rods a rush mat is spread. At proper distances partitions are set up, composed of small willow rods interwoven with slips of bark. In front of these apartments, either a partition of willow rods is erected, or rush mats are hung up as curtains. But this is not always the case. In some lodges

---

[7] 1918, p. 600; see also Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 85.

> *172 the simple platform alone is to be seen without either partitions or curtains.
> ● 342 In others there is not even the platform, and the inmates sleep on the ground.
> In these lodges several families frequently live together. I believe there are
> 352 as many as three different families in the lodge where I stop. Each family has
> [592] its particular portion of the dwelling, and the furniture of each is kept separate.

*172 342 During the summer of 1930 a Pawnee lodge circle was completely excavated by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey party at the Hill site near Red Cloud. In measurements, interior arrangement of posts, and other details it coincided remarkably with the lodge described by Clayton, thus affording an interesting and unusual opportunity for comparison.

The lodge in which excavations were carried on was in the southeastern part of the village, lying at the base of a gentle slope which culminated in the principal burial hill 400 yards distant. When cleared it proved to be not quite circular in outline. It measured 46 feet from north to south by 44 feet 6 inches from east to west. The floor near the periphery lay 12 to 20 inches beneath the adjoining ground surface, deepest at the south side, and sloped very slightly toward the center. At the outer edge it curved sharply upward to form a vertical wall, or bench, as described by Clayton. The floor was somewhat rough, but generally well packed and hard, and like the vertical wall showed the effects of baking to a depth of nearly a half inch. No difficulty was experienced in tracing out the original excavation, once the cultivated topsoil had been removed.

Eighteen postholes were ranged about the periphery of the floor, 3 feet 6 inches inside the house wall. They were from 5 to 7 feet apart, i. e., far enough to permit an adult to lie at full length between them. Each was 6 to 8 inches in diameter, about 2 feet in depth, and slanted inward toward the bottom instead of descending vertically; the posts had very clearly leaned toward the edge of the pit. Two short sections of charred post were found on the south side, in situ;[a] otherwise, only decayed wood and light, loose dirt filled each hole.

Eight large postholes formed an inner circle about 8 or 10 feet inside the outer row. The distance from hole to hole averaged 7 feet, with two intervals of double length where posts were normally to be expected. Three additional posts were set triangularly within this circle, 15 feet apart. The posts in the central group were all much heavier than those in the outer circle, the holes averaging 10 to 12 inches in diameter, about 2 feet in depth, and descending

---

[a] This wood was submitted to Mr. E. W. Haury of Gila Pueblo, Globe, Ariz., for a comparison of the growth rings with those of trees in the pueblo area. The specimens proved, however, to be those "of some fast-growing tree whose seasonal rings (are) not strongly marked," and could not be correlated with the southwestern dendrochronology.—Personal communication from E. W. Haury, Jan. 16, 1931.

172*

312 ●

vertically, indicating that the posts stood upright (pl. I, *b*; figs. 1, 2).

Some difficulty was entailed in locating the doorway, even after a trench had been dug about the east, south, and west sides of the house in hopes of cutting through the passage. It was at first thought to lie near cache D, where 2 extra postholes occurred 5 feet apart and just outside the regular outer circle of posts. This anomalous configuration suggested strongly the reinforced inner end of the covered passageway, but the most persistent search failed to reveal any further traces in support of the hypothesis. As finally determined, the entrance was toward the south; it was 7 feet wide at the inner end, 4 feet at the outer, and could be traced for about 12 feet. On either side were 4 poles, from 3 to 6 inches in diameter. The floor was streaked with ashes and sweepings and was quite hard; it lay several inches beneath the surrounding ground surface.

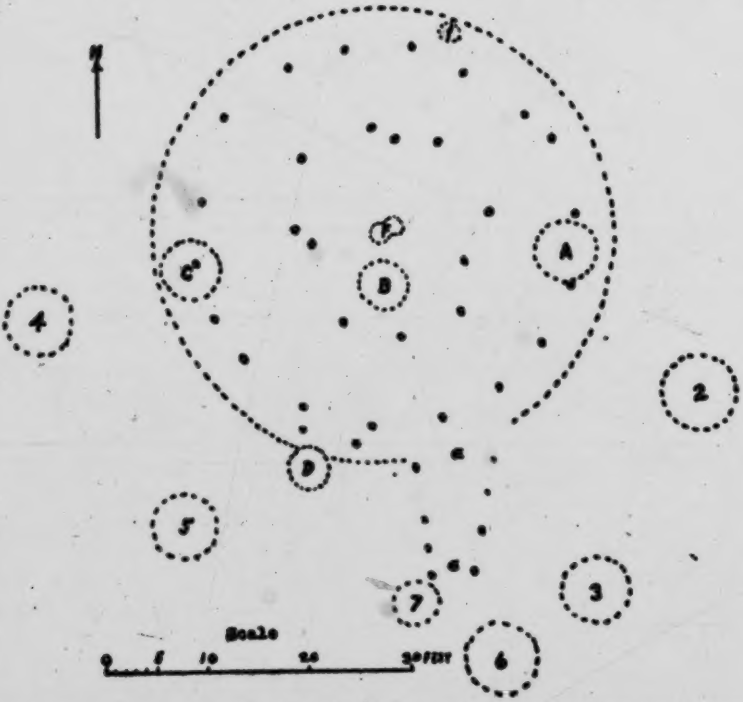


FIGURE 2.—Ground plan of historic Pawnee earth lodge, house 1, Hill site. ee, Entrance passage; *ABCD*, interior caches; *F*, main firepit; *f*, shrine firepit (?); 2–7, exterior caches; dots indicate postholes and broken line is edge of housepit.

floor next the wall; it contained 10 large unworked Unio shells. 172* Six feet north of cache C, on the west side of the house, were uncovered the charred remains of a rush mat. Though in a rather fragmentary [285] state, it measured nearly 3 feet long by 15 inches wide, and, as will be brought out presently, consisted of a sort of twined work. It lay on the floor between the outer row of postholes and the house wall, and in all probability once represented a part of the sleeping paraphernalia in one of the curtained-off compartments next the wall. The matting lay next to a row of 8 small holes, each about 3 inches in diameter and the same distance apart; 2 holes slightly larger lay about 4 feet and 6 feet, respectively, farther to the north, in line with the outer circle of postholes. Somewhat similar secondary poleholes were noted near cache D, always near the outer wall. [342] Their purpose is unknown, though they may have served some end in connection with the sleeping platforms.

Nothing was found to indicate the situation of the family shrine, save for the second fireplace; even the altar, if present, was so obscure as to have passed unnoticed. Little else was to be expected, as the sacred character of the objects would render it extremely unlikely that they would have been left behind, with the possible exception of the ubiquitous bison skull.

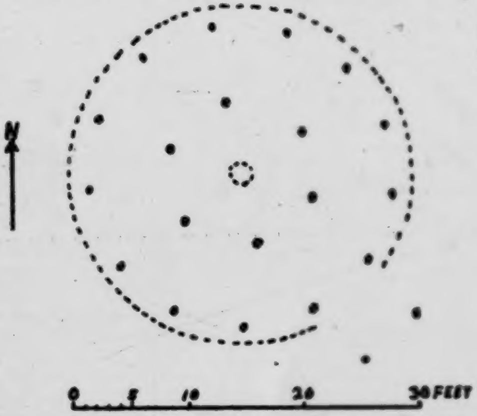


FIGURE 3.—Ground plan of historic Pawnee earth lodge, Hill site.

Two earth lodge sites were excavated at this same village by Mr. A. T. Hill, prior to the work of the Survey. In general, they corroborated the ground plans and general findings of the later investigations, but appear to have been somewhat better laid out. 172* 342

The first house (fig. 3) was 30 feet in diameter and its floor lay 16 inches below the ground surface. There were 13 posts in the outer circle, set at 7-foot intervals. The central group numbered 6 posts, also about 7 feet apart. All of the posts averaged from 6 to 10 inches in diameter and were sunken 12 to 15 inches into the floor. An 18-inch fireplace occupied the center, but no altar could be located. The doorway was to the southeast, and it will be noted that there were no posts between its inner end and the fireplace, to which access was

172 readily had by one entering the lodge. Very few artifacts were found on the floor and no subfloor caches were located.

342 The second circle (fig. 4) was larger, measuring 36 feet in diameter and about 18 inches deep. The outer row of posts included 16; the inner group, 8. The fireplace, 30 inches across, was in the center, and to the northwest between the two circles of posts was a cache 4 feet 6 inches in diameter by 6 feet deep. The entrance was toward the southeast, and at its inner end may be seen a configuration of two extra posts strikingly similar to that found in the southwest portion of the house opened by the Survey. Exactly opposite the entrance, and in line with the fireplace and cache, was an earth platform or altar 13 inches high, occupying the full space between two posts. The posts were about 6 feet 6 inches apart, and from those of the inner to those of the outer row the distance was 10 feet. As in the other house, there were no posts between the door and the fireplace, so that from the end of the passageway to the altar at the rear wall there was a clear vista. Potsherds, bones, flints, burned charcoal, and some metal were found. The entire plans and laying out of the two circles were very nicely done and bespeak a rather high quality of architectural precision and symmetry.

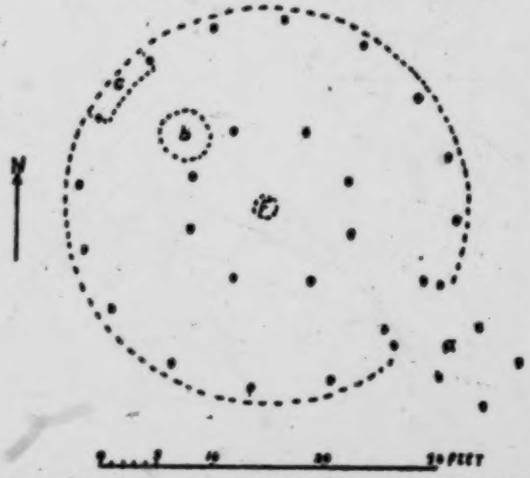


FIGURE 4.—Ground plan of historic Pawnee earth lodge, Hill site. *a*, Entrance passage; *b*, interior cache; *c*, raised platform altar; *F*, firepit.

342 [173] TIPI; OTHER TYPES OF SHELTER.—According to Skidi traditions, the band dwelt originally in skin tipis,[9] later adopting the earth lodge. The tipi has been very well described by Dunbar.[10] It measured approximately 18 feet in diameter at the base. Three poles, 16 feet or more in length, were set up in tripodal fashion and lashed together near the top by a long cord. Other poles, to the number of 12 or 15, were then successively set up against the first three so as to form a circle; they too were fastened securely at the top by means of the

---

[9] Dorsey, G. A., 1904, p. 14.
[10] 1918, p. 603.

cord. The cover, of thinly scraped translucent bison skins, was then 342
tied to one end of a long pole, by means of which it was carried
about and over the framework, and the two ends fastened together
with pins or cord. A smoke vent was left at the top; it could be
opened or closed at will by proper manipulation of the pole to which
the cover was attached. The entrance, usually toward the east, was
merely an opening at the bottom where the overlapping ends of the
tent cover were left unfastened; it was about 3 feet high and could
be closed by means of a bearskin flap. The furniture was piled [352]
against the back of the tipi; rush mats were spread over the floor;
the fireplace and cooking crane occupied the center, immediately
below the smoke vent. When the camp moved the tent poles were
fastened together at one end across the horses' backs and permitted [492]
to trail behind the pack animals; sometimes they served secondarily
the uses of the travois. The skin covers were commonly painted;
they were used as pack covers during the travels of the village.

Murray, who accompanied the Pawnee on their hunt in the summer of 1835, describes a different type of summer shelter.[11] This was constructed as follows:

> They . . . arrange all their bales, saddles, etc., in a semicircular form, and pile them from 2 to 3 feet high. Around the exterior of these they drive into the ground 8 or 10 curved willow rods, from 2 to 3 feet distant from each other, but all firmly bound by leather thongs to four large, upright poles, that form the front of the lodge, and along which run transverse willow rods, to which the extremities of the curved ones are fastened. When the frame, or skeleton, is thus finished, they stretch the cover (made of buffalo hides, sewed together) tight over the whole, leaving an aperture for entrance and egress in the center of the front; and in fine weather, the whole front open.
>
> . . . the dimensions vary according to the number and wealth of the families
> residing therein; in some tents I have observed the front consisting of 6 or 8
> upright poles to which were fixed more skins for additional shelter or shade. [352]
> On the grass, in the interior, are spread mats, made by the squaws from reeds,
> and skins of buffalo or bear.

Each individual had his own particular portion of this shelter; the medicine bundle was suspended from the center, and in front of the door was a skin shield bearing the crest of the chief.

According to Dorsey,[12] the skin tipi and heraldic devices were used [554]
largely by the richer families, while the poor contented themselves
with the dome-shaped brush shelter. The same authority mentions
the use of a ramada-like drying platform and summer shelter, open [343]
at the sides and flat-roofed; it was used in connection with the earth
lodge.

---

[11] Murray, 1839, pp. 199–200.

[12] 1904, p. 16.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate 1.—Pawnee earth lodge and house site. *a*, earth lodge near Pawnee, 342
Okla., in 1905. Photo by Nebraska Historical Society. *b*, general appearance 172
of lodge floor, house 1, Hill site; diameter 44 feet, depth 16 inches. The center has been excavated slightly below the floor level.

Plate 2.—Vegetal material and textiles from the Hill site. *a*, tubers of 172
Apios tuberosa; *b*, seeds of bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*);
c, pits of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*); *d*, pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*); 137
e, grains of charred flint corn (*Zea mays*); *f*, charred corncobs; *g*, *i*, 28
fragments of bison-hair textile; *h*, hank or rope of bison hair; *j–l*, rush matting.

Plate 3.—Pawnee vessels from various sites. *a* and *c* are from Palmer 173
site; *a* is 4½ inches high and 4⅞ inches in maximum diameter; *c* is 4½ 415
inches high by 4⅞ inches in diameter; *b* and *d* are from the Hill site, both restored; *b* is 3¾ inches by 3¼ inches across; *d* is 7 inches tall and 6 inches in diameter.

Plate 4.—Complete vessels, probably Pawnee. *a* is 9 inches tall and 7⅝ 172
inches in diameter and shows all of the best diagnostics for Pawnee ware in 415
both form and ornamentation; found on Prairie Creek, near Archer, Nebr.
b is 5¾ inches high by 5⅞ inches across; found in the Cedar River, near 531
Fullerton, Nebr., and is of uncertain origin. Nebraska Historical Society collections.

Plate 5.—Pawnee type rim sherds from various historic sites. *a–f*, Hill site; 172
g, Horse Creek; *h–n*, Palmer site. *b*, *d–f*, *i*, *k*, illustrate the typical rim design; 531
a, *h*, *l*, *n*, show the herringbone motif, second in abundance. Nearly all have lip indentations.

Plate 6.—Selected rim sherds from Burkett site. All bear lip indentations. Note similarity of *b*, *h*, *j*, *l*, to historic Pawnee motifs (preceding plate). Handles occur on all but *h*, *j*, *l*, *n*.

Plate 7.—Stonework from Hill site. *a–m* are from graves, one being nearly 172
always in or near the left hand of every adult male skeleton. *a*, *f* 2½ inches 324
long; *f* is 5½ inches long. *n–t* are arrowshaft buffers, of dark-brown coarse sandstone. In *p*, *q*, *r* are shown three perfectly matched pairs, each as found; they measure 4½, 7½, and 5 inches in length, respectively.

Plate 8.—Pipes and mortuary offerings, various sites. *h*, *i* are from Burkett 172
site; all others from Hill site. They are made of catlinite or some other fine-
grained red stone; *a* is of gray material, *g* of coarse red sandstone. *f* is 4¾ 276
inches long with a square-topped bowl 1⅞ inches tall; found with a child 301
burial. *i* is less than 1 inch long. Note straight specimen of cloudblower type, 532
b; also perforated keel in *j*, groove about outer end of *h*, and small loop on top of *i*, for attachment of a thong. *l*, gray sandstone pipe, 2⅝ inches tall by 1¾ inches long. *m*, perforated or grooved shell objects probably worn as ear or hair ornaments; longest pair 4½ inches long and three-eighths inch in diameter. *n*, blue glass trade beads, probably obtained from Hudson Bay Company; they are about the size of a pea, very crude, and blue, red, or transparent in color.

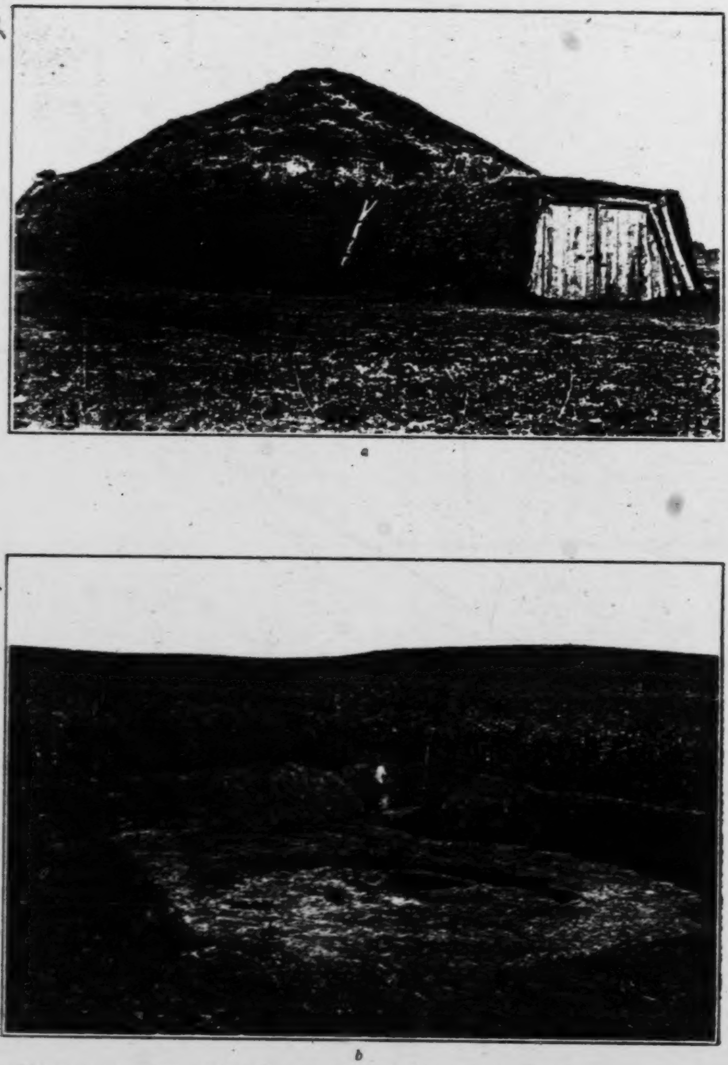
P

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

342

342
172

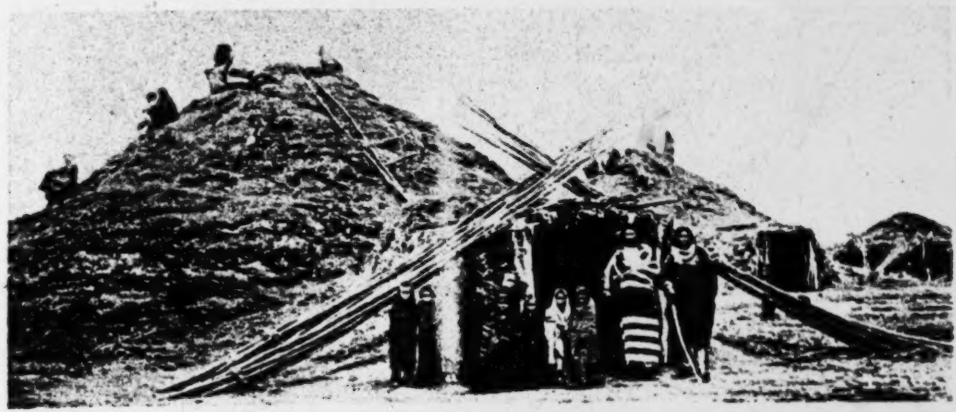


Modern Pawnee Earth Lodge and Excavated Historic House Site.

[End Plate 1]

13:Morgan E-5 (1859-1860, 1862) 1959
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

342



Pawnee earth lodges. This photograph, by the admirable pioneer photographer William H. Jackson, was taken in the Pawnee village at Loup Fork, Nebraska, 1869-70. The variety of housing adopted by the various Indian tribes seems to have interested Morgan.

[p 136 (B)]

5

THE WORLD OF A PAWNEE BOY: SPRING 1867

000

The Day Begins in the Earth Lodge—Breakfast Preparations—Seating at the Meal—Daytime Activities of Women—Chiefs' Council—Supper and Evening Conversation—Plan for Deer Hunt the Next Day—End of Day's Activities

IN THE YEAR 1867, the villages of the Pawnees were strung along the 131
west bank of Beaver Creek. (Beaver Creek flows southeastward into the 361
Loup River that flows east to join the Platte which continues eastward to
the Missouri. In the Skidi village of Pumpkin-Vine was the house of [103]
Chief Victory Call and his friend Old Bull with their families.)

It was a morning late in March, and the high dome-shaped earth lodges 512
were huddled together in the predawn darkness. On this as on other morn- [342]
ings, Otter was wakened by the sound of his father's voice saying, "Fire's
made." The dawn had not yet broken, and it was still cold; Otter bur-
rowed down deeper under his little calfskin cover. He hated to leave the [513]
warmth of his bed that he shared with his grandmother. Just as the dawn
began to break, Victory Call went outside through the long vestibule
that was the entrance to the house to look at the position of the stars and
to see what kind of a day it would be. Meanwhile his wife, White Woman,
had gotten up to prepare breakfast. She would be cooking for twelve peo- [252]
ple and an extra guest, and the preparations would take at least an hour.

On both sides of the house along the low circular walls, the people
were still asleep in their beds. There had been a long storytelling session [538]
the night before and Old-Man-That-Chief, who was one of the principal [574]
raconteurs, was too feeble to go home late at night, so a temporary bed [354]
was made for him near the fireplace where the fire was now burning
brightly in the center of the room. High above the fireplace a shaft of

512 [354] light came in through the smokehole and, as the day broke, the long radial ribs of the slanting roof stood out clearly like the frame of a huge umbrella, reaching out from the central ring at the top to the edge of the low circular wall.

342
35

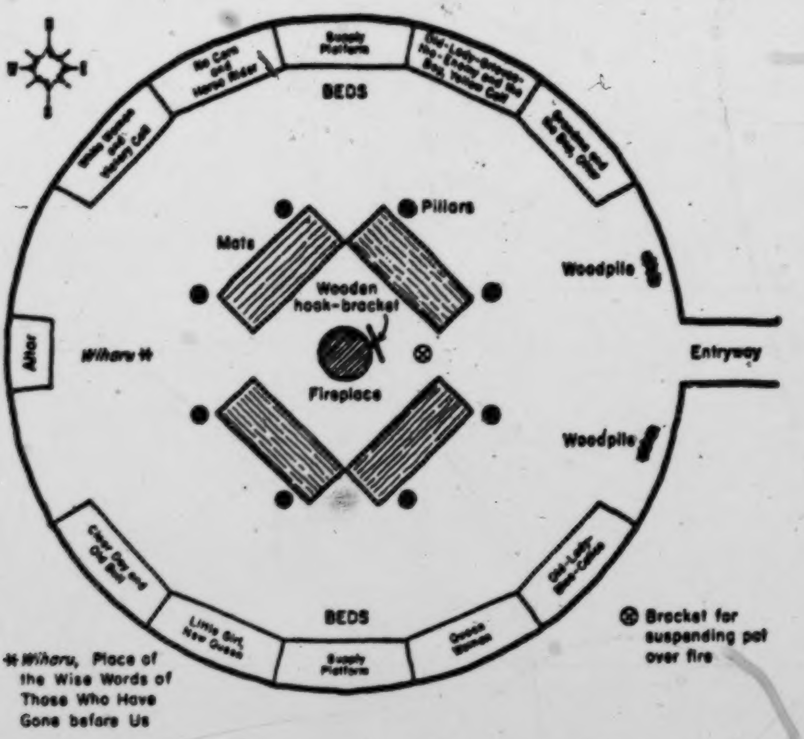

N
W
E
S
Supply Platform
No Corn and Horse Rider
White Woman and Victory Call
BEDS
Pillars
Mats
Woodpile
Wooden hook-bracket
Altar
Wiharu ‡
Fireplace
Entryway
Woodpile
Clear Day and Old Bull
Little Girl, New Queen
BEDS
Supply Platform
⊗ Bracket for suspending pot over fire
‡ Wiharu, Place of the Wise Words of Those Who Have Gone before Us

FIGURE 5-1. Groundplan of the house where the boy, Otter, lived with his father, Victory Call, and his mother, White Woman.

342 352 353 About halfway between the fireplace and the walls stood a series of stout pillars made of whole tree trunks with the bark removed, forked at the top and connected together by crosspieces so that they gave support to the heavy slanting roof. The tall pillars made a convenient division between the sleeping quarters around the outer edge of the circle and the eating and living quarters around the central fireplace. Here near the fireplace the earthen floor was covered with large reed mats where they sat, using pillars as a backrest.

352 353 Around the outside, each bed platform was divided from the other by a series of skin curtains that hung at the head and foot of each bed; a reed

screen stood in front of the beds of the mature women to give them pri- 352
vacy. The series of beds was interrupted by an open platform at each side 353
to store current food supplies and household articles.

The long vestibule that gave entrance to the house projected outward 342 •
from the eastern side of the circular walls. Inside, on both sides of the 353
door to the house, was a working area in each of which a woodpile was braced against the walls. The rear or western wall of the house was the sacred area, the beds being ranged along the north and south walls. There were five platforms along each wall, the middle one for supplies and the four others fitted out as beds.

The boy, Otter, and his grandmother were sleeping on the north side 513
of the house in the easternmost bed nearest the entranceway. The sec- 353
ond bed next to theirs was occupied by another little boy, Yellow Calf, 592
and his grandmother, Grieves-the-Enemy. Then came the supply platform for the north side and beyond that the bed of Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn. Horse Rider was an assistant to Otter's father, Victory Call, a prominent chief and religious leader. Victory Call and White Woman had the bed that was in the place of honor near the west.

Along the south wall of the house was another family. The head of that family was Old Bull, friend and associate of Victory Call and also a chief and religious leader. He occupied the west bed with his younger wife, Clear Day, and the next bed was occupied by the little girl, New Queen, their daughter. Then came the supply platform for the south side, and beyond that the bed of Queen Woman, Old Bull's senior wife with her little boy of three, and finally the easternmost bed on the south side for the grandmother, Blue Calico, who was the mother of the younger wife, Clear Day, and had the youngest child sleeping with her.

Everyone in the house knew his appointed place and where he could go 353
and where he could not go. In the sacred area at the west was an earthen 778
platform with a buffalo skull resting on it and above it hung a long, skin-wrapped bundle containing their most sacred objects, including two specially bred ears of corn. Between the fireplace and the buffalo altar, there was a sacred spot that was invisible—the *wi-haru*, "the place where the wise words of those who have gone before us are resting." Rather than step over this place in order to pass from one side of the house to the other, everyone walked around the entire house by way of the east. When the heads of the household sat down to rest or when they entertained important guests, it was near the west that they sat and no one would want to pass in front of them.

The house was a microcosm of the universe and as one was at home in- 342
side, one was also at home in the outside world. For the dome of the sky 772
was the high-arching roof of the universe and the horizon all around was the circular wall of the cosmic house. Through the roof of the house the star gods poured down their strength from their appropriate directions in

342 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman,
772 Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo
were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in
the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle
with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the
Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning
he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire
in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the
Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight
off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself.
Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening
Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on
earth.

The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a
342 woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive powers.
772 The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately
353 ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the youngest
84 women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located,
the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due
south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their
age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being
"inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe,
ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse
776 of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his
342 power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in
[823] the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and
southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that
[782] they would be readily received.

361 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear consciousness
342 of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed,
the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred
houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver
Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy.
342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch
and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke
[354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cooking
[252] breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the draw-
252 string of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the
262 skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a
[251] large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed
the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them
into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

623
342
35
554

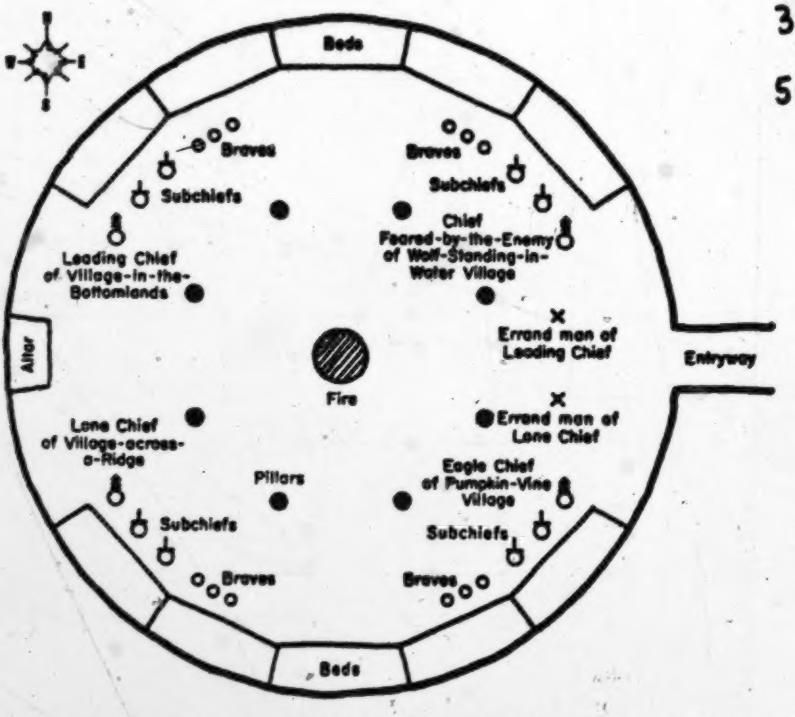

N
W
E
S
Beds
Braves
Braves
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Chief
Feared-by-the-Enemy
of Wolf-Standing-in-
Water Village
Leading Chief
of Village-in-the-
Bottomlands
Errand man of
Leading Chief
Altar
Fire
Entryway
Errand man of
Lone Chief
Lone Chief
of Village-across-
a-Ridge
Pillars
Eagle Chief
of Pumpkin-Vine
Village
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Braves
Braves
Beds

FIGURE 5-1. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. Mats are [631]
placed in the outer circuit against the beds to accommodate larger numbers.
Of the supposed twelve villages that formed the Skidi Federation in the past,
four villages remained in 1867. Villages must have combined as their numbers
were decimated. The original twelve sacred village bundles remained, and [778]
some of the subchiefs probably represented these assimilated villages.

This was the time for joking "so that everyone could laugh during the 623
meal." The jokes were of a somewhat slapstick variety as they wanted 574
to be sure that no one's feelings were hurt in any way. Ordinarily, while 522
the social relationship with one's parents was quite formal and restrained, [593]
the relationship with the grandparents was in sharp contrast. It was a [603]
relationship of lively familiarity. Physical handling was rough-and-tumble,
a grandfather sometimes pulling his grandson out of bed of a cold morning
and dumping him in the snow to harden him; jokes were often leveled
at the grandchild and answered in kind. The mode of kin reckoning often [601]
involved an extension of the immediate kin terms to more distant blood [602]
relatives, and it worked out so that people of similar ages might address

of the role of the chief in public service. For the house of the chief was the place where administrative activities were carried on for the benefit of the people, as we have seen in the meeting described above in the home of Eagle Chief.

356
476
221
554
622
[342]
[344]

8

000

REPAIRING THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE

Repairing the Roof a Spring Task—Cooperative Nature of Work—Detailed Description of Repairing Roof—Project Is Completed with Wide Cooperation from Villagers

356 All winter long the house had stood unoccupied, the roof covered
with snow while the people were away on the hunt. By spring, when the
• [342] snow began to melt, the water seeping through the hard-packed earth and
the thick layer of thatch might reach some of the radial timbers and
rot them. Each household had to come to a decision as to whether to rebuild the whole house or just to mend the roof. This depended on the
age of the house and the extent of the damage. They would count only
on fifteen years as the maximum life of the house, and, when they anticipated a need for rebuilding they had to plan at least two years in advance
to locate, process, and season the timbers, grass, and other materials. (See
Figure 8-1 for an architect's plan of the earth lodge.) A man who was in-
[476] fluential in the community could count on extra help from his fellow vil-
[554] lagers who would gladly volunteer, while a less important person had to
depend on whatever labor force was available in the house itself.

356 It took eighty-six to ninety man-woman days of labor to repair the
roof of an earth lodge. It was a construction job that was accomplished
461 with no overseer and no commands. A great deal of individual labor was
476 consumed in preparing the materials, and this was done mainly by members of the household over a period of time. The actual construction
work took only three days and was accomplished with a large number of
volunteers. By way of compensation, the women of the household had
to feed from thirty to fifty people for at least three meals.

356 One day in the fall of the year, Victory Call had been observing the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 90]

342
356
335

342
352
353

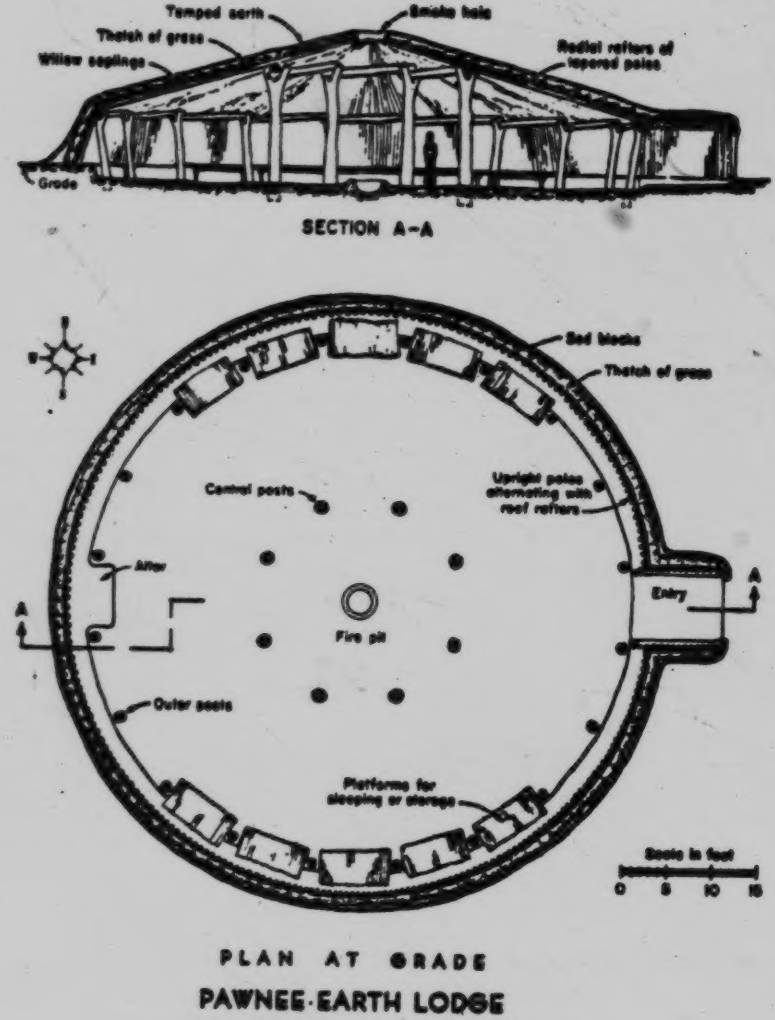

Tamped earth
Smoke hole
Thatch of grass
Willow saplings
Radial rafters of tapered poles
Grade
SECTION A-A
N
W
E
S
Sod blocks
Thatch of grass
Central posts
Upright poles alternating with roof rafters
Altar
A
Entry
A
Fire pit
Outer posts
Platforms for sleeping or storage
Scale in feet
0
5
10
15
PLAN AT GRADE
PAWNEE EARTH LODGE

FIGURE 8-1. Architect's plan of a Pawnee earth lodge.

555 universe. The Pawnees had great contempt for extreme poverty and
231 raggedness, but no great desire or awe for wealth in large quantities.
[735] Historically the likelihood is that the cooperative social patterns of the
[556] Pawnees go back to a time when practically every person had an important
[174] function in the material economy, while a person of outstanding
value was one who had special insights and knowledge.

342 But for all the value the Pawnees placed on knowledge and the things
281 of the spirit, a tent was an absolute necessity as they traveled over the
country. The making of the tent skin was one of their most complex
technical achievements. It was a major enterprise to get one made, which
had to be anticipated at least two years in advance. Eight skins had to
be accumulated over four successive hunting periods—a sunmer hunt, a
winter hunt, and on the following year again, a summer and a winter
hunt. Sinew of eight buffalo for sewing the skins together also had to be
saved. As signs of wear would appear in their tent skin, a woman would
remind her husband of their need. Then he would set aside two good
skins in each of the four seasons. The average life of a tent skin was no
more than ten or twelve years.

463 Seven buffalo hides were used to make the body of the tent; an eighth
281 was cut up for gussets, loops for the pegs at the bottom, and a double
thickness at the door. In order to fit the skins together in the smoothest
and most economical way and to arrange the pattern of the applied parts,
a woman specialist in this field had to be called in to supervise the work.
There were only a limited number of women with such knowledge in
the tribe. In addition, it would take four or five women working pretty
[461] steadily for three or four days to do the actual sewing of the skins. The
workers all had to be compensated with gifts of dried buffalo meat, skin
[437] clothing, and trade store goods that had to be purchased with buffalo
products. In the course of the hunt, the hunter had to anticipate these
needs as well as the need for the skins and the sinews. Payment for the
work of planning and sewing amounted to at least the sale value of a
good buffalo robe.

342 The same tent skin was used for both the winter and the summer
hunts, but the framework was different. In winter they used the standard
pointed skin tipi, supported by a frame of thirteen tall and heavy rigid
poles that were leaned against one another at the top to form the conical
frame. With its fire burning in the middle, this tent provided an excellent
protection against the winter cold, but it was too warm for summer. For
the summer frame they used a series of flexible saplings to make an
open-faced shelter. The making of the heavy tipi poles was a long and
difficult process and had to be planned well in advance, whereas the
saplings for the summer framework could be gathered near the time of
leaving for the summer hunt. Elm or willow saplings were available near
the creek in the late spring or early summer and at this time the bark

came off easily. They were considerably lighter to carry than the 342
rigid tipi poles. For the summer shelter they also needed two upright posts forked at the top and a cross piece to connect them to form a frame, onto which the saplings would be tied and through which the summer tent was entered. Wooden pegs were needed for both summer and winter tents to hold the skin tight by driving them through the loops at the base of the cover. They were usually gotten at the last minute.

A very necessary implement for these operations was a long 7-foot [412]
stick to be used as a digging iron. It was forked at the top and had a strong fire-hardened point to make holes in the ground for the poles of the frame.

Furniture for the tent included five large mats finely woven of bulrush 352
to be used as floor covering. These were carried rolled up and tied with a string in the middle that had been provided for the purpose.

A wooden mortar was also needed for making mush and corn flour 412
and for other cookery. It was made of a section of elm log, the bottom 492
whittled into a point so that it could be stuck upright into the ground. 322
There was a hole drilled through this part of the mortar so that it could
be tied onto the horse with the other baggage. The working end at the top was excavated by charring and scraping into a deep bowl shape. With it they had to carry a long pestle made of a small tree trunk with both ends left intact and the middle portion cut down for a handhold. This was carried grouped with the long tent poles and the digging iron; the poles were tied at one end to the horse's back with the other end dragging on the ground.

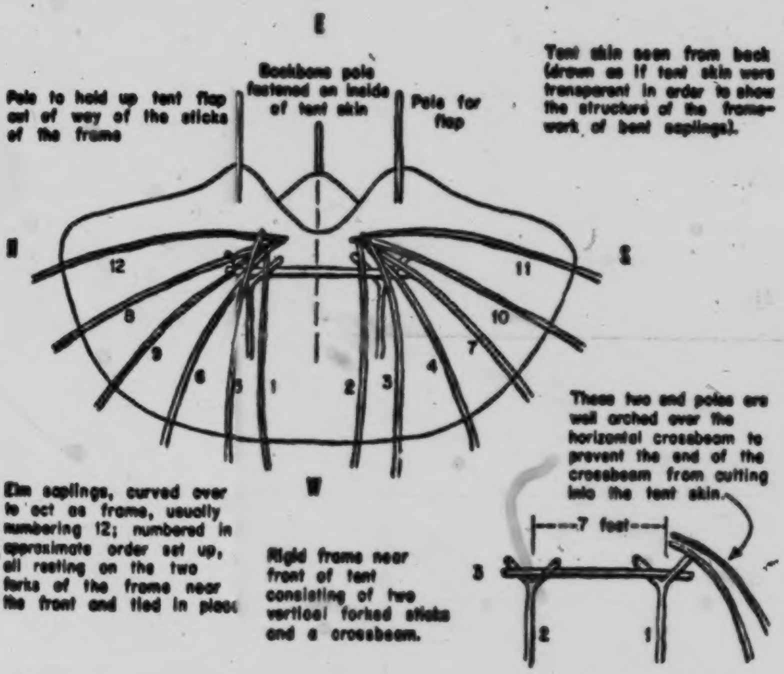
Other household utensils were six or seven wooden bowls made by the 415
women as were the other wooden objects for the household, a string of [439]
buffalo-horn spoons for tableware and perhaps some small enamel bowls gotten at the trade store for their coffee. Also included was a larger wooden ladle for serving.

All the cooking vessels in Mark Evart's time were of metal replacing 415
the older pottery and they had to be gotten from the trader. As late as 439
1835–1856, a few clay pots were being made, but by 1867 there were 323
none at all. By 1928 almost all memory of how they were made was gone.
Metal came into use among the ancestors of the Pawnees by 1650 or before, 175
when sheet metal was being cut up to make some of their arrow 177
points. In 1833 the Pawnees had an extensive trade with the Kiowas in brass buckets. For the present expedition, they needed a large brass kettle for cooking corn, soup, or mush, two standard metal buckets—one for water and one for coffee—and a metal frying pan to make grease bread.

In order to get these latter items, Victory Call rode up to Bishop and 439
Matlock's trade store on his best-looking horse to establish his credit, saying to Mr. Bishop, "Grandpa, come out and take a look at my horse.

her. On his way out Horse Rider saw some sand cherries among the sand- 224*
hills, and as he turned back toward camp he gathered them up in his 484*
blanket. They grew on low bushes, and those that were covered up with 492
sand were yellow while the ones that had been exposed were a rich [262]
dark red like big ox-heart cherries sold commercially today. They would
make a nice dessert for supper.

Meanwhile White Woman and No Corn were busy putting up the 224*
tent. (See Figure 17-2.) This was harder to erect than the pointed tipi, but 484*
the open front made it cooler in the summer weather.
342


E
Backbone pole fastened on inside of tent skin
Pole to hold up tent flap out of way of the sticks of the frame
Pole for flap
Tent skin seen from back (drawn as if tent skin were transparent in order to show the structure of the framework of bent saplings).
N
S
12
11
8
10
9
7
6
4
5
1
2
3
W
Elm saplings, curved over to act as frame, usually numbering 12; numbered in approximate order set up, all resting on the two forks of the frame near the front and tied in place
Rigid frame near front of tent consisting of two vertical forked sticks and a crossbeam.
These two end poles are well arched over the horizontal crossbeam to prevent the end of the crossbeam from cutting into the tent skin.
7 feet
3
2
1

342
335

FIGURE 17-2. Curve-roofed summer tent. The front is open and faces east. An oblong fireplace is excavated somewhat to the north of the entrance.

The first step was to set up the frame in front. Two forked sticks 224*
were set vertically in the ground about 7 feet apart. Before each stick 484*
was inserted, White Woman punched a hole in the ground with the long 342
pointed stick that she used as a digging iron. When the sticks were in
place she joined them with a horizontal cross stick that rested in the forks.
Now twelve sticks were stuck in the ground to form the outer frame.
They were set in the form of a long half-oval. Before each stick was inserted, White Woman grasped her digging iron and punched a hole in the

*224 ground in front of her. Then the stick for the framework was inserted.
*484 These sticks were long flexible elm saplings about 2½ inches in diameter.
• 342 She set all twelve of them in place. The tent must be so oriented that the entrance faced east and the rear was at the west. The first two sticks were set up at the west, the next two alternately on each side until the curved outline was complete with six uprights on each side. White Woman threw the far ends of each two sticks she inserted onto the entrance frame, fastening them with rawhide rope onto the fork, those on the southside onto the south fork and those on the northside to the north fork. She was careful to draw them over the fork so that they protuded well beyond it in order that the horizontal stick of the entrance frame would not cut the tent skin. The curved framework was now ready for the tent skin.

The first step was to spread out the skin on the ground to the west of the frame. A long elm sapling was placed upon it to act as the "backbone" of the tent and to raise the cover. The cover was provided with rawhide strings at the top and bottom to tie the stick in place. She then raised the stick with the tent skin on it and rested it at the back of the curved framework. Now No Corn would come and help with the next steps.

White Woman went inside and stretched the skin over the frame, while No Corn fastened it on the outside with wooden pegs. The rawhide loops for the pegs were all around the outside bottom of the tent cover about 1½ to 2 feet apart. The tent cover was pegged down at both sides to stretch it, then in the middle and then in the intervening spaces. The pegs were driven into the ground with an ax-head.

In the front of the tent, the skin hung rather loosely on both sides. There was a hole in each side into which a long stick was introduced that held the skin stretched out neatly. In the pointed tent, this part of the skin controlled the smokehole over the entrance and was held open or closed with similar long sticks.

Sometimes when they arrived White Woman discovered that she had forgotten to bring tent pegs. She would have to get three or four dogwood saplings in the timber, about 2 or 3 inches in diameter at the base. She would cut them close to the bottom. Each peg was about a foot long, and she might get three pegs out of a sapling. Each peg was sharpened at the thick end. If she happened to see a man anywhere around, she would remark, "Say, we have no pegs." Then he would simply go off and get them for her. If they thought of it they would get them beforehand and allow them to season. But in an emergency they could be used green.

[353] Finally, the tent being set up, the rawhide containers were carried in
and piled in twos at the rear of the shelter close together all around. The
[352] woven bulrush mats were brought in, unrolled, and laid down. Then a
[354] fireplace was made on the outside a little to the north of the entrance. It

224*

was made in oblong form about three feet long and a foot and a half wide, 484*
with its long axis running north–south. 342•

The next step was to get everything in order for cooking. They had 354
enough water, and now they needed wood for fuel. As she was pegging 313
down the tent, No Corn remarked to her husband, Horse Rider, 224*
"We're pretty nearly finished now and we have no wood." Then he 484*
would go off carrying a long rope. He used the rope as a kind of lasso:
attaching a stick about a foot long to the end, he would throw it up
around a dry cottonwood limb and the cord would wind itself around
the limb so that it could be pulled down. It would take considerable skill
to pull it down without having it fall on your head, which sometimes happened
despite the best of care. Horse Rider tried to get enough wood to
last them for that evening and the next day while they stayed at the rendezvous
camp. Some of the wood he gathered from the ground, tied it up
with his cord, and came into camp carrying it on his back. As soon as he 224*
got in, he made the fire and White Woman began to cook. They had a 484*
simple meal of bread and coffee and some sand cherries for dessert. No 252
Corn volunteered to make the coffee. While the cooking was going on, [272]
the old ladies were stretched out resting, and Victory Call was doing the
same. Everyone was very tired. It was proper to joke a bit while the [522]
food was being prepared and during the meal. Horse Rider began to
tease No Corn about how she had fallen in the water.

Immediately after supper the women cleared up the dishes and sat 224*
down to rest—tired from all their work. Horse Rider went off to see 484*
how the horses were getting along and Victory Call went up and sat on
top of one of the sand hills to have a smoke and to look around and at the
encampment below. Presently five or six men joined him for a smoke and
some conversation.

The boy Otter ran off at once to the river to go swimming with the rest 224*
of the children. On the way he saw some other little boys leaning over a 484*
pond. "See the sunfish. Let's 'choke' them!" They tied some bread to the 857
end of a string and let it down into the pond and as the fish bit, they pulled
them up and 'choked' them. Then the boys went off and gave the fish to 224*
an old woman who was living alone in a shelter she had built for herself. 484*
Her relatives gave her something, but would not take care of her and she 888
had no other place to go. "Here, grandma," they said, "Here's some
fish." "That's fine," said the old lady. Later that summer while they were
setting up camp one day, the boys came to give her fish and she was dead.
They dug a hole in the embankment against which she had been leaning [764]
and buried her there. Man Chief, who was Eagle Chief's son, and a generous
young man, gave a red blanket to wrap her in. There were only
one or two old women alone like this. Sometimes while they were on the
hunt, such old people would say, "Just give me enough to eat and go on."

Star. If during the night one had dreamed a bad dream, one might swallow 484* a great deal of water and regurgitate it before eating. 512

White Woman was making the grease bread and No Corn was making [787] the coffee. During these preparations, Victory Call sat by smoking his pipe.

By the time Horse Rider was through bringing in the horses, breakfast was ready. After they had all eaten, the women cleaned the dishes, using [264] the plant known as water string or "false indigo" (*Amorpha fruticosa*, [824] Gilmore, p. 93) to rub on the dishes and buckets to sweeten them while washing. This plant grew close to the creeks with its roots in the water; the leaves and stems were used and the roots discarded. In winter, strips of the bark were taken from the dry stalks. False indigo was invaluable, particularly on the march; you might find nothing but boggy water in a depression and the plant would freshen it. It could also be used [263] to make palatable meat that had a gamey flavor like wildcat, by boiling it in two waters with the plant and pouring off the water each time, after which it could be cooked in the ordinary way and tasted good. The plant was spread on the ground while butchering to keep the pieces of meat clean.

The dishes having been cleaned, they were ready to dismantle the camp and load the horses. Two or three old ladies were waiting nearby for Grandma to join them. They would set out at once to get an early start, [262] carrying a little ration of pounded up sweet corn and sugar to sustain them on the way.

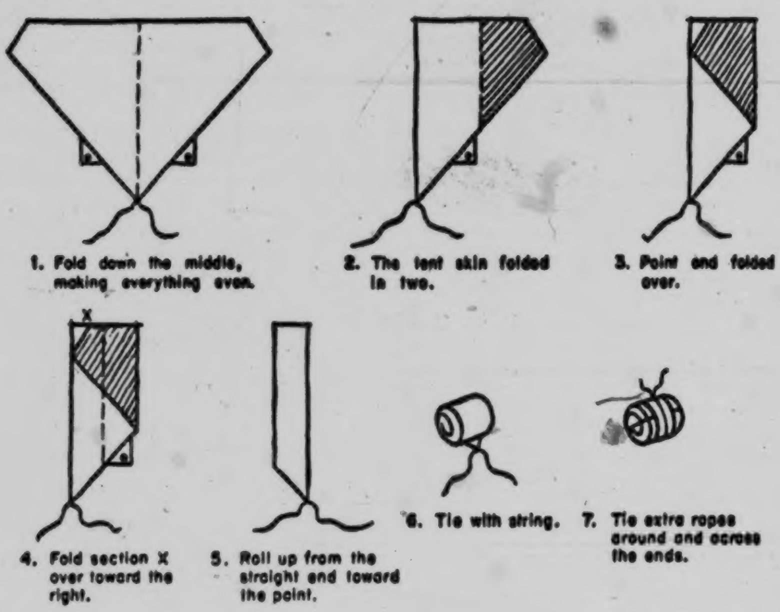
As soon as they had eaten, the two men saddled up the horses while 484* White Woman prepared to dismantle the tent. She shook the tent pegs 512 loose and pulled them out, then began to fold over the tent cover while it 342 was still on the frame, first pulling one side around to the back and 492 folding it over and then the other side; pulling down the "backbone" pole with folded cover on it, she untied the stick where it was attached at the top and bottom and put it aside. The tent skin was then folded down the middle lengthwise and evenly rolled from the bottom end toward the top, then tied around the middle with the string that was there for the purpose (see Figure 19-1). Additional ropes were used to tie the roll securely across the ends. Now White Woman dismantled the wooden frame, and the poles were divided evenly so that they could be tied to the horse's back in two even bunches.

Only the oblong rawhide containers were now left standing, as they 484* had been placed next to the back wall of the tent. Meanwhile No Corn 512 had been rolling up the bulrush mats that were on the ground and tying them in the middle with the strings that were provided there. She was also rolling up the blankets.

Now that everything had been dismantled in the camp, the next job 484* was loading up. The horse was brought around close to where the con- 512 tainers were. Horse Rider and No Corn stood on one side and Victory Call 492

*484 and White Woman on the other. While the women held up the contain-
512 ers, the men tied them on. Now everything was loaded and they could join
492 the line of march.

*484
• 342



1. Fold down the middle, making everything even.
2. The tent skin folded in two.
3. Point end folded over.
4. Fold section X over toward the right.
5. Roll up from the straight end toward the point.
6. Tie with string.
7. Tie extra ropes around and across the ends.

Figure 19-1. The method of folding the tent skin.

*484 Every morning the crier would go through the camps to repeat the in-
203 structions he had called out the night before. He would tell how far they
*224 were going and where they expected to camp. Until after Camp 9, individual hunters would ride off from the line of march as soon as their families were packed up and go hunting by themselves to get some fresh meat. While they were out, the group would have arrived at the designated camping place and set up camp, to which the hunters would come with their kill, usually in the late afternoon.

*484 In the evening each hunter entertained his own friends at a feast with
*224 the meat he had gotten that day. This was parallel to the household rou-
574 tine for the man in the villages. The administrative procedures were also
62 similar to those in the settlements. The chiefs of each of the bands more or less kept open house, and every evening there was an informal council where notable happenings of the day were recounted. The official braves, who policed the villages on behalf of their respective chiefs, now performed the same service while they were on the march.

31

HARVEST TIME IN THE VILLAGE

000

Encampment in the Bottomlands—Grandma Opens the Cache Pit—Fall Harvest—Grandma Builds a Work Enclosure in the Field—Roasting the Corn and Pumpkin—Her Round of Activities—Treatment of Corn, Beans, Pumpkin—Sioux Attack—Earth Lodges Prepared for Reentering—Stories

243 EVERYONE'S THOUGHTS were now upon their gardens and their corn. In
[821] the sky, the South Star, Canopus, had appeared and they knew it was time
for harvest. By our calendar it was about the first of September. The time
[221] of the hunt was over; the time of the harvest begun.

Before they left the village at the end of June, the corn had grown
about knee high and the earth was hilled up around the young plants so
that they looked like little earth lodges with smoke issuing from their
smokeholes. Now the stalks were ten feet tall and the ears were not quite
mature but "in the milk." The corn harvest was in two stages: some of
243 the corn was treated at once in this early stage by roasting and drying,
252 and some left to mature completely on the stalk before being dried and
251 processed. Between the first and second corn drying, they harvested and
244 dried the beans and then the pumpkins.

When they camped in the bottomlands near the fields, they set up a
•342 commodious tent as they knew they wouldn't have to move it for at least
251 three weeks, and they needed room to keep their meat and dried crops
under cover. Their earth lodges were infested with fleas and they
couldn't spare the time to clear them up until they had gotten on with
251 the work of the harvest. However, they did go up to the villages and
open up and inspect and clean their storage pits that they had left with

000 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there. The
243 younger women whose husbands had horses for transportation would
476 often go out together with another couple and bring the crop back to
252 camp, where they would do the processing in a coordinated group. Vic-
tory Call and White Woman along with Horse Rider and No Corn
formed such a work group, first in White Woman's fields and then in
those of No Corn, carrying the crops into camp on their horses. The old
[887] lady sat in her field all day and brought the finished product back to
camp when it was completely prepared for storage. Families with only
[492] one horse or with no horses also processed the entire crop in the field
before packing it into camp.

313 While the women were at the food pit, the men had been out piling
462 wood in the fields and in camp so that it would be ready for roasting the
green corn. They preferred to get dead willows and driftwood; Horse
Rider was at the creek piling up the driftwood while Victory Call was
bringing the willows into the camp. Some men would say, "I don't care
—that's women's work," but a good man would help his wife.

222 At this time of year they gathered a plant, *parus-asu*, "rabbit-foot,"
272 used for making a brown tea that they drank if they didn't happen to
have coffee (*Lespedeza Capitata* Michx.) At the top in a cluster are some
fruits looking like tiny rabbit feet. The plant grew on a bush about 3
feet high. They brewed the tea by breaking up the dry twig with the
leaves on and steeping it in a coffee pot. Now everything was ready for
harvesting and roasting the green corn.

243 Very early next morning Grandma went out to her field and there pre-
342 pared a place for her work. She built herself an ample shade, *kipasiu*, of
252 willows—a circular enclosure, open at the top with an entrance at the
east. The leaves were a bit interlaced to make the fencing solid, the side
branches beginning about a foot from the ground. When she left for the
night, she put a willow sapling with leaves at the top in the doorway so
that the shelter was closed in and well protected from horses. People
who did not work in the field sometimes built themselves a more tempo-
rary shelter by arranging four or five willows in an arc. In her enclosure
Grandma roasted all her corn and would leave it overnight in bags to
be husked there next day and the kernels removed before bringing it to
camp. During the harvest she cooked all her meals there. She left before
breakfast and ate whenever it was convenient. She had a kettle along
and a small mortar and pestle for preparing her meals. She would pound
some of the fresh corn kernels from the roasted cobs and wrap them in
corn husks, putting them in the boiling water to make dumplings. After
she removed the dumplings she would add some dried meat scraps that
had been scraped from the hide at the hunting grounds, *kstaři'u*, to make
a good soup. Sometimes she took her grandson, Otter, into the field and
shared her meals with him.

time or not up to technical standards, or if the person failed to remain 531
even-tempered during the work, direct consequences to the health and 782
well-being of the craftswoman and her family would inevitably follow.
The guild was in the charge of a woman who made sure that these conditions were met. The woman who supervised the fitting of the skins to 463
make the tent—the tent architect—also belonged to a religious guild of a [281]
similar sort. The conventional character of Pawnee technical processes was [342]
just as firmly established as among these other peoples, most of them going back to very old practices, and their work was as fine and as precisely done but there were no religious connotations of any kind.

The mature women did most of the craft work that pertained to the 463
domestic economy. The men made most of the things they used in hunt- [462]
ing, war, and ceremonials. The crafts were not taught to the young people as a normal part of their education. A young man or a young woman had to be very eager to learn and only if an older person was willing to sponsor them were they able to do so. The teacher had to receive ample payment as well as a clear indication of a very real desire to learn. Both
for the manufacture of a craft object and for teaching as well as other [465]
kinds of assistance, "payment" should provide the craftsman with "something to wear and something with which to feed the family." This consisted in skin clothing or commercial cloth, blankets or shawls, and the standard food stuffs, either native or trade.

The following is my informant's account of the circumstances of 463
learning the craft of making a black rope of braided buffalo hair: 283

> If a woman wanted to learn how to make a buffalo hair belt from Old Lady Lucky Leader, for example, one would go to her and put a necklace about her neck, and ask to be taught. She would certainly not consent at once. She might answer, "Some day I will teach you." This signified that if the applicant went quietly away and asked again another day, then repeated her request on subsequent occasions, she might finally give in. If she said, "I'll think about it," this meant she might capitulate if asked again. On the other hand, if she said, "I can't do it," this constituted an absolute refusal.
>
> There were situations in which she would feel impelled to grant the request. This was particularly the case if the woman were a close and respected relative, especially an in-law. On the other hand, she might also feel impelled to teach a woman whose family fortunes were low and who needed to earn something to help out. Such a woman was the wife of Chief's-Road. Giving the old lady a gift she said, "I want you to take pity on me and teach me to make a buffalo hair belt. You know that I am poor and we can't seem to work out anything. What I want is for you to take pity on me so that it may earn something for us. My husband can't make much and my sister can't do anything."

49

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TENT COVER

000

Tents Made by Specialists—the Time Involved and the Payment—the Process of Making the Tent under Old Lady Lucky Leader's Direction

342 237 THE BUFFALO-HIDE TENT COVER was a major family possession. It was made of at least eight tanned hides, with sinew from an equal number of buffalo to sew them together. The body of the tent was formed of seven skins and the eighth was cut up for gussets, loops for pegs around the bottom edge, and a double thickness on both sides of the doorway. Twelve years represented the life of a tent, and some of the skins wore out in the meantime and had to be replaced. About three years before the cover was worn out, they would have to think about acquiring the necessary tanned skins. It took at least two years to accumulate the eight skins—a summer and a winter hunt and then again a summer and a winter hunt and in each of the four hunts, two skins were saved for the tent.

342 463 In order to cut out the pattern of the skins and give directions for putting them together and sewing them, a specialist had to be called in by the family. Old Lady Lucky Leader, in addition to her many other accomplishments in the Doctor Lodge and as keeper of the Evening Star bundle, was also one of the outstanding tent architects. She would have to cut out the several buffalo skins and fit them together in the most economical way and direct the other women in sewing them together with sinew.

[461] It took four days of steady work for the four women of Victory Call's household to complete the sewing of the cover under the old lady's direction.

342 464 465 But before she could be called in, in addition to having all the necessary materials prepared, they had to get ready the payment for the vari-

342 ous services that would be involved. Lady Lucky Leader herself would
464 get a good amount of flour, sugar, coffee, and some calico, and the other
465 women of the household who helped with the sewing were given gifts
of calico and special meals were prepared for entertaining them. These
439 items had to be obtained at the trade store in exchange for a tanned buffalo
[437] robe. This was prepared by White Woman, and the day before the
work was to begin Victory Call and she each mounted a horse and rode
over to the store about two miles away, taking the robe with them. The
[492] two horses would be needed to bring home the supplies, otherwise White
[562] Woman would have walked, Victory Call ridden. At the trade store they
439 got a sack of flour, some coffee, sugar, baking powder, prunes, dry apples,
435 and about five yards of calico. At this time a hundred-pound sack of
flour was worth $7.00 at the store. For the family alone without special
events or guests, such a sack of flour lasted about two weeks (two
double-handfuls for each meal). Amounts of the other items usually
bought were fifty cents worth of coffee, fifty cents worth of sugar,
439 twenty-five cents worth of baking powder. Five or six yards of calico
were $1.00 so that, excluding the cost of the prunes and dry apples, the
342 gift to Lady Lucky Leader would amount to about $9.25 worth of
464 merchandise. An exceptionally well-tanned buffalo robe would bring
465 $20-30 worth of value at the store. After providing payment for Lady
[435] Lucky Leader with the remaining value of the buffalo robe, they had to
buy supplies for the special meals—an additional sack of flour, more
sugar, coffee, baking powder, and some lard and prunes. Finally to each
of the three women of the household that helped with the sewing—
Grandma, No Corn, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy—they would give
five yards of calico to each (worth a dollar for the five yards), and some
needles and thread. The buffalo robe would just about cover the labor
costs for sewing together the tent.

463 About a week before the work was to begin, White Woman would
342 have gone to see Lady Lucky Leader and have said to her, "Atira (my
mother), I've come to ask you to make a new tent for me." "Well," she
answered, "I have something to do right now, but I could do it a little
later. Are you in a hurry?" "No, a week's time will be all right." "Well,
then, have two good sharp knives ready," said the old lady.

At the appointed day, she arrived at Victory Call's lodge after breakfast.
The skins and tools were taken outdoors, and while White Woman
cleared up the breakfast dishes, the other three women went out with her
and Lady Lucky Leader cut out the skins. She placed them in the most
economical manner and then she assigned each of the women a particular
seam to sew. Each woman had prepared herself with her own awl and a
quantity of prepared sinew. Presently White Woman joined them and
[364] was also assigned a seam to sew. Before noon she had to retire to prepare
[362] the meal. They were served grease bread, coffee, and prunes. For sup-

463 per she prepared boiled corn kernels, grease bread, and coffee. After supper,
342 the old lady went home.

[262] The second day the same procedure was followed. When White
[264] Woman retired to prepare the meal of grease bread, prunes, and coffee,
War Cry and his brother Brave Shield heard that they were having a special
meal in Victory Call's house and they proceeded to come in with the
remark, "I see you're working here," and were promptly invited to join
them for lunch. They would probably stay on talking to Victory Call
463 and also stay for supper. This would make about eighteen people, including
342 the guests for the evening meal. For this group they needed
252 three double handfuls of dried corn kernels (one of these double handfuls
262 represented eight ears of corn). For the eighteen large round disks
of fried grease bread, it took three generous double handfuls of store
574 flour (a meal for a family ordinarily required two). If meat were to be
served instead of the corn they would need half a sheet of dry buffalo
meat cut into long strips 7 inches long and 3½ inches wide. This meat
would be boiled with a sheet of fat and served with the soup.

463 The third day was similar with the Old Lady going home after supper.
342 By the evening of the fourth day the tent was completed. A process mentioned
by another Pawnee informant, but not in this account, stated that
before the cover was used, girls were sent inside to make a fire so that
the skin would get permeated with soot, which would keep it from leaking
in the rain or drying up in the sun.

463 Supper for the evening of the fourth and final day consisted of boiled
corn kernels with boiled dried pumpkin strips mixed in. After the Old
465 Lady Lucky Leader had gone home, a half-hour passed and then White
342 Woman and Grandma took the food and goods for her payment. White
[262] Woman led the way and Grandma walked behind, carrying the gifts to
her house. They set them down before her saying, "Here's flour, coffee,
sugar, calico. You helped us with our tent." "Oh, I thank you for
giving me this material. My spirit is glad for this food that we will eat,"
said the old lady. When the two women got home they reported to
Victory Call, the old lady's appreciation. Victory Call again went to the
store and got the three pieces of calico of five yards each and the needles
and thread for the three women of his own household who have helped
out—Grandma, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, and No Corn.

342 The tent was now in good order for the winter hunt.

322 412 through it, turning it over and over so that it was a little charred in places. These charred places were scraped off with another stick. The stick was now left leaning against the lodge outside for at least a week, so that it could dry out. Sometimes it was taken in and put out a second time. When it was finally ready for use, all the moisture had evaporated and it was light to carry but very strong.

414 322 The making of *tent pegs* of dogwood saplings has been described in connection with the rendezvous camp of the summer hunt. They might alternatively be made in the earth lodge before setting out, tied up in a set and carried along.

414 417 322 [354] *The Bracket for Hanging the Pot over the Fire.* This was only needed in the earth lodge and on the winter hunt as its purpose was to suspend the pot over the hot flame of the fireplace. Such a hot flame was made for light and heat as well as for cooking only in the excavated circular basin-shaped fireplace, the earth lodge, and the pointed tipi. On the summer hunt with the open curve-roofed tent, a long rectangular fireplace was made outside to the north of the doorway and oriented north–south. In this long trenchlike arrangement, a log was kept smoldering and the pot was set directly on the coals, so that the bracket and hook were not needed. The bracket consisted of two parts—a more or less vertical post, forked at the top and pointed at the bottom so that it could be inserted in the ground, and a wooden hook suspended from one arm of the fork by a string of bison rawhide that could be wound around the arm so that the pot that was suspended from the hook could hang closer or further away from the flames. The vertical post was driven into the ground due east of the fireplace at a slant so that the hook hung directly over the fire, or else a trunk was chosen for the bracket that had a natural curvature. The process of treating and seasoning the vertical bracket was the same as for the *biku* stick.

342 [221] *Tipi Poles.* The conical pointed tent or tipi was used by the Pawnees only for their winter migration. The same tent skin was used as for the summer, but the wooden frame was different. The frame of the summer tent comprised a rack of two forked sticks at the front with a horizontal between, and, outlining a semiellipse, a series of flexible saplings stuck in the ground that were drawn down onto the rack and fastened there to form the characteristic curved roof. The Pawnee name for this summer tent was *kax-kata-sa*, "dwelling-upon-lying." The frame for the conical-pointed tipi was based on a tripod of rather heavy poles more than 15 feet long and made from trees 6 to 7 inches in diameter before removing the bark. Once the tripod was set up and a fourth stick added for the entrance, the other poles of equal thickness were leaned against it all around. The tipi was called *kax-ta-pe*, "dwelling-against-leaning," or *kar-ratt-a-pe*, "dwelling-they-against-leaning." The tipi might be 18 feet in

diameter, and the round excavated fireplace in the center and the shape 342
and insulation of the walls made it warm in winter. The life of a set of
tipi poles was five to seven years, and within that interval three or four
of them were likely to bend or weaken and have to be replaced. They [824]
used cottonwood, which was light and easy to carry, and as an alternative, [313]
cedar, which was also rather light. The best supply was on Grand Island
in the Platte and the best time to gather these was on the return journey
from the winter hunt.

The first task was to select the trees which should be 6 to 7 inches in 313
diameter as they stood with the bark on. From their encampment on the 342
island, Victory Call, White Woman, and Horse Rider would go into the
timber, and when Victory Call had selected his first tree he would start
to cut it down with the ax. When Horse Rider would come up, he would
say, "Let me do that," and take the ax and cut it down in his place. Victory
Call now went further to select the other trees and Horse Rider followed
cutting each one down in turn. Now White Woman got to work on the
felled trees, cutting off the boughs and branches with her hatchet so that
the bare trunk was left with the bark on.

Now Horse Rider began to drag in the bare trunks to camp, while Vic- [483]
tory Call cut down the fourth tree that they needed and White Woman
got to work lopping off the branches. Victory Call now pulled in the
fourth trunk, returning to camp with White Woman. With a good sharp
ax this operation had taken them a total of half an hour for all four trunks.

Back at camp, they removed the bark and this took a good deal longer. 322
If one person worked at it alone, it took two to three hours to remove the 342
bark from one trunk of this kind. Two people working together on one
tree could do it in about an hour and a half. While White Woman worked
from the bottom upward with the hatchet, the other person could work
near the top end using a knife, because the bark is softer near the top. It
sometimes happened that White Woman was able to make a convenient
flap near the bottom, ripping off a strip of bark up the whole length.
Horse Rider or Grandma might be free to give White Woman a hand at
this work. After the bark was off, the whole stick had to be roasted. All
four were first debarked and then all four roasted at the same time. A
little fire was made outdoors and each stick turned around in it until the
whole length was roasted. To roast the four sticks in this way took about
an hour and a half. Now they were left to cool and the ashes and burnt
places rubbed over with a stick to remove loose cinders. The next step
was to even their length. The stub ends had been sharpened to points,
and these were placed together and the heads all cut off to the same
length to make them even.

The new tipi poles were now tied together and transported back to the 342
earth lodge where, tied together tight, they were fastened to the ceiling

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

342 to season until the next hunt. When they were in use, the thin ends of the poles would rest on the ground and the thicker end stand upward. Holes were drilled near the top in the thick end so that they could be tied together with rope, particularly for transport.

231
857
taking half a sack of flour, some sugar, coffee, and baking powder as provisions. He went to the place on the Union Pacific Railroad known as Windmill and then across the sandhills on the north edge of the island, meeting the others at about two in the afternoon.

[342]
[3[illegible]3]
[262]
The men and boys had a good time of it on these expeditions. They built themselves dome-shaped grass houses, *kaharuut*, of big willow twigs. Their saddles served as pillows and the saddle blankets as bedding. If they wanted an especially soft bed, they put hay and willows underneath. The older men got up very early and looked around on the sandhills. Some of them cooked the bread and coffee that comprised their main diet. Otter had a cup and he shared a plate with another boy who had brought one along. Sometimes a white man, having killed a beef, would give them a chunk of it. They had great times!

231
552
Considering their dependence on the horses, the Pawnees were remarkably unsentimental about them. They never called them by name, only referring to them in conversation by such names as Spotted Horse, Spotted Black Horse, Spotted Red Horse, Black Face Horse, White Hoof, Spotted on the Side, Black Nose, White Horse, Yellow Horse, Roan Horse, Red Head, High Forehead. There was no personal identification with them.

59

THE POINTED SKIN TIPI

000

Transporting the Tipi—the Women Set Up the Tipi with Help from the Men—the Arrangements in the Tipi

• 342 ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT TECHNICAL achievements that made this trip
*[484] possible across the open prairie in the cold of winter was the pointed
skin tipi. With its fire burning in the middle, its skin cover tight and its
poles firmly set on the ground, it was a warm shelter against wind and
weather. It was named for its framework of poles, viz., *kax-ta-pe*, "house-against-leaning,"
or the Against-Leaning House. An alternative name was
kar-rat-sa-pe, the infix *-rat-* referring to the plurality of the poles, viz.,
492 They-against-Leaning House. For transportation, the poles were divided
493 into two equal groups, laced through the thick end with rawhide rope
*484 and placed one on each side of the horse and tied to the saddle horn.
The thinner ends dragged on the ground. The two groups of poles were
fastened together across the lower part with cross sticks and the space
covered over with skin placed underneath with the edges lapped over on
top. This made a convenient carryall where they placed extra packages
and sometimes the baby on top. In former times dogs were similarly
packed and they were still in active use for this purpose in the late 1830's
—a usage reminiscent of a time before they had horses and the women
[175] and the dogs did most of the packing. This is vividly shown by the
painter Alfred Jacob Miller in 1837 and described by the missionary to
the Skidi, Allis, on the winter hunt of 1835, who claims that the dog carried
[175] seventy to a hundred pounds of meat. For the time before horses, we
have an account of the use of the dog travois in the report of the Coronado
expedition across the Plains in 1541.

*224 When the line of march would set out in the morning after breakfast,
*484 the common routine was for the hunters to leave the line of march and go
on their individual hunts or the mass attack on the buffalo herd and for

the rest of the party to continue to the appointed place and set up camp. 224*
They tried to have it ready by around noon so that the men could have 484*
a place to rest when they came in and the meat could be treated. In summer the mass attack on the herd usually took place about eleven o'clock in the morning when the herd had returned from the water to the pasture; in winter it was somewhat earlier.

342 •

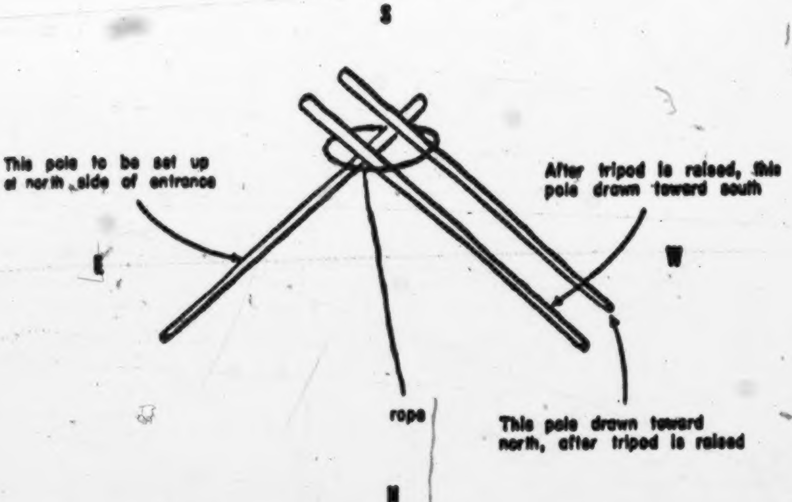

S
This pole to be set up at north side of entrance
After tripod is raised, this pole drawn toward south
E
W
rope
This pole drawn toward north, after tripod is raised
N

FIGURE 59-1. Erecting the framework of the pointed tipi. Three poles were laid on the ground as shown, the east pole first and the two west poles on top of it. The rope was tied around the poles at the crossing toward the top. Someone at the south end pushed up the frame while an assistant at the north end pulled the rope. The thick ends of the poles were near the top, tapering to the base. The poles were about 15 feet long, the trees being 6 to 7 inches in diameter before the bark was removed. The west was the rear of the tent, and these two poles were set 2 to 3 feet apart. A fourth pole that matched the one at the north was rested in the crossing at the apex of the tripod to form the south post of the doorway. Now other poles were placed all around, also resting in the tripod, and the woman grasped the end of the rope that was hanging down in the middle and carried it around from the south by west by north until she had made four circuits. She tossed it up from time to time and jerked it in place to make sure it was tight around the apex. She fastened the rope at the south doorway pole by winding it three or four times around the pole and tying it at the bottom.

At the campsite that had been agreed upon, the woman of the house [484]*
would select a place for her tipi and begin by excavating a circular [354]
fireplace with the earth banked up all around it. She then proceeded to erect over it the pointed skin tipi. This could be set up by one person if necessary, but two made it more convenient and four still better. As was

342 usual with the Pawnees, the back of the tent would be placed toward the west and the opening to the east. In our current way of drawing maps, we think of the top of the paper as the north, the bottom south, the west toward the left edge and the east toward the right. The beginning of the installation was the construction of a tripod of tall poles fastened together at the top. The first step was to lay these three poles parallel on the ground with their thin ends pointing north and the thick ends at which they were fastened, pointing south. From the place at the south where the three poles were fastened, a long rope extended with its free end pointing northward. In forming the tripod, the thick ends of the poles were to be elevated for the apex and the thin ends rested on the ground. They now drew the thin ends of the poles apart, two of them toward the west and one toward the east to form an acute angle. The long rope still pointed due north between them.

No Corn stood at the free end of the rope at the north, and her husband Horse Rider at the south where the thick ends of the sticks were tied. Now White Woman gave the instruction, "We've got to raise them up," and Horse Rider lifted the tied end of the poles while No Corn who stood opposite him, pulled at her end of the rope. Victory Call was standing at the east pole which was to be the entrance, while White Woman was stationed at the west where the two poles for the back had been placed. As the frame was elevated, Victory Call steadied the east pole with his foot and White Woman called out, "Hold steady and try to part the two poles at the west!" Horse Rider then ran over to the west to assist her, and they drew the two rear poles about 3 feet apart. The tripod now stood firm. There were now two poles for the back of the tent, but only one for the entranceway at the northeast. White Woman now selected a pole to match it and rested it in the tripod to form the southeast door pole.

The rest of the poles, four along the north side and four along the south, were now leaned in the tripod. A space at the west was left free of poles. Meanwhile, the long rope was hanging down the middle from the apex with a weight on the end of it. White Woman took it up now and carried it all around in a clockwise circuit beginning at the southeast, through south, west, etc., to bind the sticks in place at the apex. Tossing the rope upward toward the apex, she would pull it tight from time to time, making four circuits and then fastening the end of the rope at the southeast doorway pole, winding it three or four times around the pole and then tying it at the bottom.

Now the skin cover was put on the frame. The skin cover had been carried folded in two down the length and rolled up (see pp.179-180, Figure 19-1). It was unrolled and opened out with the inner surface uppermost and a long pole placed upon it which was tied to the cover with two

rawhide strips found near the top end and two more near the bottom. This 342 pole was to act as a kind of "backbone" when the skin cover was elevated onto the frame. It was lifted with the cover attached and rested in the tripod at the west. The cover was carried first around the south side, then around the north until they met at the front where they were either laced together with thin sticks above the doorway or with strips of rawhide. If the cover was a little loose, White Woman now straightened it up at the top.

The next step was to tighten up the frame again. This she did by driving holes in the ground into which each individual tent pole could rest. First at the northeast entrance pole she took her seven-foot-long *biku* stick with its fire-hardened point and punched it down into the ground before her, putting the pole in the hole. Next she did the same for the southeast entrance pole, then the one due west with the cover attached to it, then the one due north and the one due south. She fixed up the rest of the poles in any order that was convenient. She tried to make a nice even circle.

The final step was to tighten the cover by pegging it down with the tent pegs. All around the tent cover there were strap loops of rawhide through which she drove the tent pegs. The pegs were of dogwood, each about a foot long, with the thick end sharpened to a point. They were driven into the ground with the ax head in the same order used in stabilizing the poles, viz., northeast, southeast, west, north, south.

Two more poles, *tsuxtsakatawisu*, were used to hold the flaps around the smokehole open at the top. These were placed on the outside, one on each side of the entrance and hooked into the holes of the smokehole flaps so that they could be adjusted to make the smokehole more or less open, depending on the wind. Sometimes they forgot to get these two sticks beforehand, and Horse Rider had to go out into the woods to get some for current use. Either inside or outside, over the door, a blanket was hung.

While the tent was being pegged down, Horse Rider would have been 342 reminded by his wife that they had no wood. He would have brought a 352 supply of water before that. Now with wood and water available and the 353 whole tent firmly in order, the inside was furnished. First the parfleches were taken in and placed around the walls in piles of two from west to east. Then the twined woven rush mats were laid down to the north and south of the fireplace. The proportions of the tent given by Allis in 1835 are 18 feet in diameter and 14 feet high.

Victory Call's family occupied the south side of the tipi, and Horse 342 Rider and his wife, No Corn, the north side. At meals, White Woman sat 592 due south and did the cooking and serving, while Victory Call occupied the southwest position on her left and little Otter, the southeast position

342
592
[353]

on her right. On the north side, the northwest position was vacant, leaving room for piling kettles, mortars, and other things—Horse Rider sitting in the due north position and No Corn at the northeast position. They sat close enough around the fire to simply pass the food around at mealtimes.

*224 343 at the top, then carrying the rope all around the frame spirally from top to bottom. The frame was then entirely covered over with buffalo grass and a large smokehole left at the east for an [417] entrance. Over the central fireplace a wooden grate or drying rack like the one in the tipi would be built high up so that the meat could dry. Donations for the council tent could also be kept in there to keep them *224 [623] from freezing. When the tipis were all set up, the chiefs, braves, and boys would meet in the council tent in the evening to discuss tactics and have a feast on ribs. Eagle Chief had sent out two scouts to climb a high hill now covered with snow to look far to the west up the river and determine where the herds were. They would report that night at the council tent.

[203] [624] Meanwhile, when the men arrived back at Camp 11 with the horses so that they could move the encampment from Turkey Creek westward to Many Deer, at Eagle Chief's direction, the errand man, Know-His-Face went announcing through the camp:

> They killed many buffalo up there and Eagle Chief says we must move from here to there. The meat is sleeping up there and they have a camping place all prepared. People do not need to wait for one another in the morning but can start out any time they are ready as the trail has already been broken by the men coming over here with the horses.

*224 *484 When Horse Rider got into camp where White Woman, No Corn, and the boy were, he tethered the horses outside the tipi and the women covered them and gave them cottonwood tops and bark to eat, leaving them there for the night. Horse Rider told of what a good camping place they had at Many Deer, the problem of how they had to transport the meat across the ice from the south of the river, and how much wood Victory Call had gathered for them. In the morning, right after breakfast, the horses were saddled up and loaded by Horse Rider while the two women dismantled the tent. Some of the meat was still moist (*kiparu*) and he bundled this up in an extra package and piled it on top of the saddle. It would not spoil because the weather was so cold. The two parfleches of meat that were completely dried were fastened one on each side of the saddle.

*224 *484 • 342 Meanwhile White Woman was shaking the tent pegs loose and pulling them out. No Corn was inside rolling up the mats and tying them and whatever blankets they had. The two sticks from outside the smokehole were removed. Next they removed the pegs laced over the door flap, rolling them up with it for further use. Now they could remove the tent cover. First the south half was pulled to the back and folded over, then the north half was carried around and also folded over at the back. They

now pulled down the "backbone" pole at the west so that it lay on the 224*
ground with the partially folded cover underneath it. The pole was untied 484*
at the top and bottom ends and removed and the cover folded down 342
the length in two. The shape of the cover was something of an equilateral triangle with broad squat arms and a point at the top and two extra flanges with a hole in each for the smokehole. After the cover had been folded once in the length, the two broad ends near the base were folded in, and then the cover was folded in the length once more and tightly rolled from the bottom up toward the point when it was tied with two attached straps around the middle. It was now tied around and across each end with extra ropes.

The frame was still standing and they had to be careful not to break the poles in taking them down. First they unwound the rope that bound them at the top: it was untied at the bottom of the south doorway pole, unwound four times and then left hanging in the middle. After the other poles were removed from the sides and south doorway, the three poles of the tripod were left standing with the rope hanging from the top. The two poles at the west were gently drawn together while someone stood at the north and held the end of the rope, slowly letting the three poles down. They were now untied and the poles bound together six for one side and six for the other side of the horse to be ready after the loading. With the tipi dismantled, the parfleches were still on the ground and the horses were backed up nearby and loaded with them and then they set out for Many Deer.

As soon as the tipis were up at Many Deer, the men got together in 224*
the council tent. The two scouts sent out by Eagle Chief to locate the 623
herd were now ready with their report. They said that the buffalo were
coming from the west along the south side of the river very slowly.
Nevertheless they thought they would get there that night. This meant 224*
that the police had to get into action and keep the camp quiet. War Cry 625
as chief of police sent his deputy Roaming Scout to notify the people. 623
He walked quietly through the encampment, stopping now at this tipi,
now at that, telling them that on that evening the dogs had to be muzzled
and the children cautioned not to make too much noise as the buffalo
would be passing near that night. "That's the order of the chief of
police," he said. "Don't try to cut wood with an ax. Break it or use what
you have already cut. Don't let the baby cry too long. You must nurse it
right away." Then he returned to the council tent reporting that his message
had been delivered. Now War Cry gave further directions. He said, 224*
"I want Shot Arm and Leading Downhill to go out early tomorrow 623
morning and see where the herd is. We must chase them tomorrow morning
about nine or ten o'clock so that we can have the meat ready to be
thinned all afternoon. Some of the women have been having to thin meat
during the night. When we come across the river with the meat, we

*224 lage. It was relatively warm and pleasant there and they could well use
*484 the rest.

Victory Call and the others of the family were glad to see Grandma
*224 who now moved in with them from the tent of Misery where she had
*484 been staying. She showed them the nice sack of dried potatoes and one of
222 dried beans that she had accumulated and she said, "I'm not the only
one. Everyone in camp went looking for potatoes." They also had the
roasted corn that she had been keeping for them. The vegetable food
tasted good as their supplies had given out by this time. White Woman
was busy cooking the dry meat and bread and Grandma made her potatoes to go with the soup.

*224 By the time they got to the island it was February and one could hear
*484 the ice cracking from time to time in the river. It sounded like a shot.
Because of this, Eagle Chief thought they had better try to cross over right away and get home before the ice cracked up. A small minority in the different bands felt like lingering, but most of the people wanted to get back to the village. Some wanted to see their children that they had left at school.

Eagle Chief announced, "Day after tomorrow we'll go. We must cross where the white people have already roughened the ice when they carried their wood and ice across." When the tents were all down, those who were staying behind said, "I hope you folks have good luck on your way back." "I hope you get along well here too," said Eagle Chief. "If anything happens, see the officer at Fort Kearney." Others were saying to the Stay-Behinds, "You make us lonesome, letting us return like this without you." Then they set off for home.

From Grand Island to the railroad station (Clarks?) where they would turn north, it took four days. Then it took another day to reach the village.

> We walked right through water and snow. Sometimes women took off their moccasins to go through the water and we never caught cold. When we got to the railroad station, everyone was happy. We would soon be home. We would feel glad at the very sight of the schoolhouse. The waterways were all frozen at this time about a foot to a foot and a half thick. Earth had to be sprinkled on the ice to get across.
>
> The Loup River was awfully slippery and smooth and we had to get the boys to go to the other side and begin making a roadway by sprinkling earth. "Hold the horses steady. Go slow. Throw some more dirt," people would be saying when the first horse went over. Old ladies slipped on the ice and slipped around before they could get up.

• [342] As soon as they got home they moved into the earth lodge. There were
no fleas or vermin there such as they had gotten during the summer.

White Woman and after pleading his cause with her, Shot Arm came 159
to live with them. The boy was told that "his father" had come. When 587
he demurred and said that he thought Victory Call was his father, he
was quieted. Shot Arm gave him gifts and did his best to father him.
White Woman had had some reservations as Shot Arm already had a wife,
but he convinced her that he was determined to part from the other
woman in any event. Later there were recriminations from this quarter.

Once on the winter hunt, Shot Arm was invited to bring his new 159
family to live in the household of White Eagle. He had been formally 587
invited by "his two old mothers" who were the official owners of the 591
house. In their new home the family occupied a place at the west and had [572]
status and Otter had new friends—David Gillingham, son of White
Eagle, and the two brothers, Luther and Andy Coons.

In the Sioux massacre of 1873 during the summer hunt, when from 60 159
to 120 Pawnees lost their lives while butchering their kill in a canyon 175
near Trenton, Nebraska, Otter and White Woman were guided to safety 721
through the Sioux lines by a young warrior at the request of Mad Bear.

Finally the Pawnees moved to Oklahoma in three contingents. White 167
Eagle went with the first group, while Shot Arm and his family were true 159
to the faction of Lone Chief who wanted to remain on their old land
and stayed to the last. The two old ladies who owned White Eagle's [342] •
earth lodge gave over the pillars and materials to Shot Arm who set up
a hexagonal frame of six forked pillars and no outer sod collar or wall, so
that they had a high pointed lodge to live in.

When the last group decided to go, the government assigned them ten 167
wagons for the poor people who had no horses for transport, and some 159
beeves to be killed every Saturday for their food. 648
484

In Oklahoma, the three contingents had set up three earth-lodge villages
in different locations: Lone Chief set up one on the Arkansas River 167
three or four miles this side of Ralston where there was a ferryboat. 159
White Eagle built a log house on top of a hill near the big pond west of the 361
present town of Pawnee, with the earth lodges of his following on the
east side of the hill toward the pond. Half a mile east of the agency,
Misery and his father-in-law Comanche Chief, along with War Cry, were
the leading spirits of another log-house village.

Shot Arm, who had become agency policeman, settled his family in a 159
tent near the school. All winter they lived in the tent. Then in spring, 763
April 1876, without any outward sign of illness, White Woman died. [625]
She asked to have her grandchild brought to her and then spoke to its [342]
mother, telling her that she was bidding them farewell and that she should
take good care of the child. And so she fell asleep and never awakened.

Victory Call's former retainer, Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn, 159
were living in a frame house with No Corn's oldest daughter. The girl 591
had married a man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band known as Abraham

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Hidatsa NQ14

P
252
262

65 Pawnee text version of making "beans-inside" bread, Weltfish, 1937, pp. 37-38.

P
• 342

P
[756]

21, 62 In the settlement near Fremont, Nebraska (Pahaku), the oldest brother of the three, Rotten House, and Sitting Hawk, the second oldest, and Victory Call, the youngest, established a huge earth lodge, 90 feet in diameter with two sets of central pillars, concentrically arranged. In it he assembled a large group of "brothers," most of them doctors.

P
114
797

P
595

14-15 The integrity of the account of Pawnee life obtained from informants by the field ethnologist is clearly validated by the account of an eyewitness, the missionary Samuel Allis, 1887, who lived with the Skidi in Old Village more than a hundred years before this record was made. He comments on the efficiency with which the domestic arrangements operate:

> [H]e lives with her in her father's lodge. It is customary for a young man to marry in a family, and if there is more than one daughter, he takes the oldest and so on as fast as they mature and gives a horse for each additional wife. In this way one sometimes gets as many as six or seven wives. They are like the Mormons in some ways. The oldest wife is "Sister Young" or "Sister Kimball" and so on and is mistress of the lodge. Each woman, however, has her own bundle of meat, corn, etc. and takes her turn in cooking; and the lord sleeps by turns in different parts of the lodge to avoid jealousy. Some of them have their women in different lodges and own a share in each lodge. In this way they fare better. *They have so much system in cooking, dressing robes, cornfields and other work that they get along better than one would suppose.**

H
462
593

This outlook on the fluidity of the division of labor was not confined to the Pawnees. Wolf Chief, an old man of the Hidatsa tribe, a Siouan group of North Dakota, stated in 1910, "In my tribe in old times, some men helped their wives in their gardens. Others did not. Those who did not help their wives talked against those who did saying, 'That man's wife makes him her servant!' And others retorted, 'Look, that man puts all the hard work on his wife!'" "Men were not all alike; some did not like to work in the garden at all, and cared for nothing but to go around visiting or to be off on a hunt. My father Small Ankle liked to garden and often helped his wives. He told me that was the best way to do. 'Whatever you do,' he said, 'help your wife in all things!' He taught me to clean the garden, to help gather the corn, to hoe and to rake. My father said that that man lived best and had plenty to eat who helped his wife. One who did not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

---

* Italics mine.

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wil- 000
son, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, 462
considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not 251
hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of
the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not
affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife
was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244).
Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civiliza- 462
tions—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern 171
Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men
among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern
Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women.

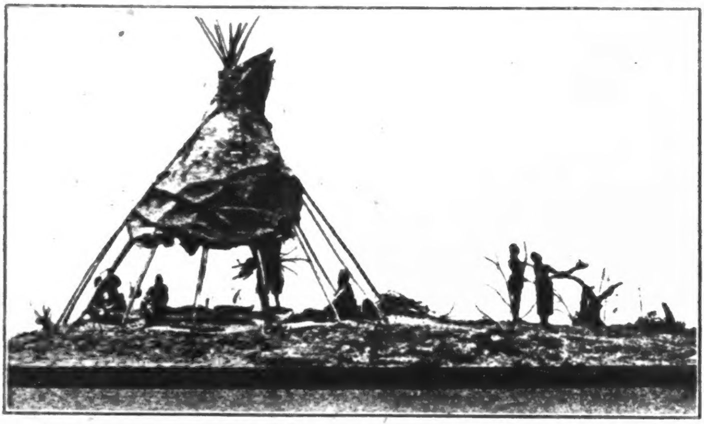
57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and 006
Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9.

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the in- 342
side of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The 772
sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within,
then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand
as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people."

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song 796
sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 535
1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and 787
wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder 821
spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'"
He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when
he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of
the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's
account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of 157
the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones 821
the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit 721
to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old
friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She 114
remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on 821
the contrary they were part of it and went out into it.

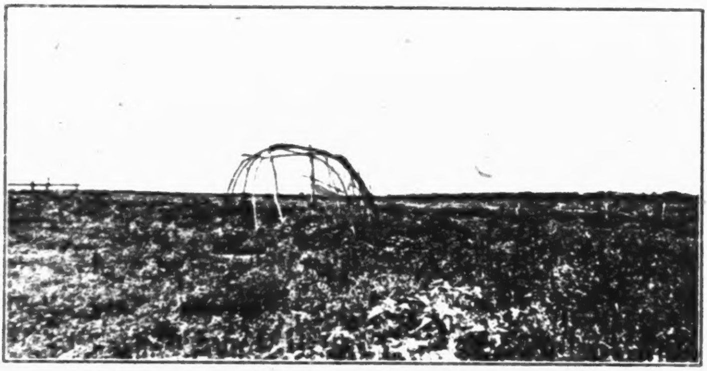
68, 238, 268- On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On 172
270 archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, 251
pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10
feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric ex-
amples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten
walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a
slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present
beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the
Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp.

342



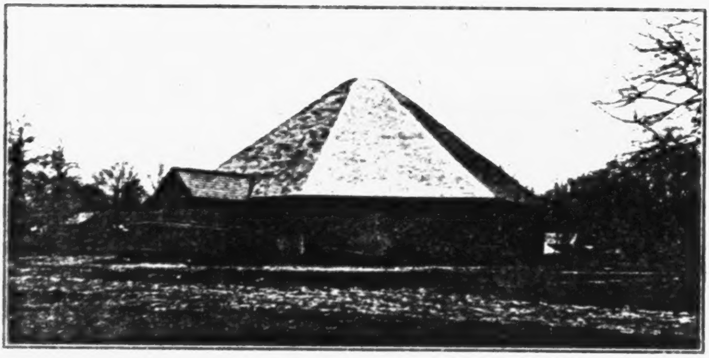
a, Miniature group of Pawnee Thunder ceremony exhibited in Field Museum of Natural History

343



b, Framework (probably sweat lodge) near ceremonial earth lodge

345



c, Structure in which victory dances and hand games were held

[FACING p 68]

affair. This is not the time to go into a detailed account of it, but the fol-
756 lowing general sketch of the procedure seems necessary.

796 The native name for the ceremony is tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand,
but we shall for convenience speak of it as the twenty-day ceremony, as in
fact it is often called by the Pawnee themselves. It is found among all the
divisions, but seems to have originated with the Squash Vine village, to
whose medicinemen alone certain parts of the ritual were known. From the
originators it passed to the Skidi and then to the other divisions. The
twenty-day ceremony proper is given in the early autumn after all the bundle
ceremonies have been performed, the corn harvested, etc. At the proper
time the lodge is cleared and the altar arranged as before. After certain
preliminary ceremonies, it is in order for each medicineman to build a booth
[343] of green willows in the lodge. They proceed ceremonially to a thicket
where each gathers his willows, with which they march back and then con-
struct their booths.

It may be stated that each medicineman sets up a booth for himself, but if he has attached to him one or more younger men in the capacity of students, these assist. Each booth, therefore, really represents a group of men. Further, all the people of the village to which a given medicineman belongs may at times enter, take seats around the booth, and offer assistance. In this way the whole people may be said to participate.

Among the Skidi there is a special feature since they are not content with
184 merely dancing to the mythical water monster, but construct his image
532 encircling the fireplace. In this all the medicinemen's groups take shares.
756 The head is begun on the south side of the door. The mouth is open, with
778 teeth of willow. The head is covered with buffalo skin. There are two
long "feelers," decorated with bands of bright colors. On the crown of the
796 head is a large erect plume of down feathers. The body of the monster is
formed of bowed willows, plastered over with mud. The tail is at the north
side of the door and is forked like that of a fish.

The fireplace is cleared out and a large turtle modeled there, his head toward the altar. A new fireplace is then made on his back. While the water monster was peculiar to the Skidi the following were found among all divisions. A tree was cut and brought in with a ceremony almost identical with that found in the sun dances of other tribes. The Skidi plant the tree (a cedar) in the forked tail of the monster, the others put it (a cottonwood) at the altar. A life-sized woman is built up of clay, dressed in regular costume and set up on the south side of the lodge. A large figure of a man is cut from rawhide and placed upon a pole above the lodge. Numerous small human figures are cut from rawhide, strung upon cords and stretched about overhead in the lodge. All these objects are highly symbolic: thus, the fire

cord. The cover, of thinly scraped translucent bison skins, was then tied to one end of a long pole, by means of which it was carried about and over the framework, and the two ends fastened together with pins or cord. A smoke vent was left at the top; it could be opened or closed at will by proper manipulation of the pole to which the cover was attached. The entrance, usually toward the east, was merely an opening at the bottom where the overlapping ends of the tent cover were left unfastened; it was about 3 feet high and could be closed by means of a bearskin flap. The furniture was piled against the back of the tipi; rush mats were spread over the floor; the fireplace and cooking crane occupied the center, immediately below the smoke vent. When the camp moved the tent poles were fastened together at one end across the horses' backs and permitted to trail behind the pack animals; sometimes they served secondarily the uses of the travois. The skin covers were commonly painted; they were used as pack covers during the travels of the village. 342 [352] [492]

Murray, who accompanied the Pawnee on their hunt in the summer of 1835, describes a different type of summer shelter.[11] This was constructed as follows:

> They . . . arrange all their bales, saddles, etc., in a semicircular form, and pile them from 2 to 3 feet high. Around the exterior of these they drive into the ground 8 or 10 curved willow rods, from 2 to 3 feet distant from each other, but all firmly bound by leather thongs to four large, upright poles, that form the front of the lodge, and along which run transverse willow rods, to which the extremities of the curved ones are fastened. When the frame, or skeleton, is thus finished, they stretch the cover (made of buffalo hides, sewed together) tight over the whole, leaving an aperture for entrance and egress in the center of the front; and in fine weather, the whole front open.
>
> . . . the dimensions vary according to the number and wealth of the families residing therein; in some tents I have observed the front consisting of 6 or 8 upright poles to which were fixed more skins for additional shelter or shade. On the grass, in the interior, are spread mats, made by the squaws from reeds, and skins of buffalo or bear. [352]

Each individual had his own particular portion of this shelter; the medicine bundle was suspended from the center, and in front of the door was a skin shield bearing the crest of the chief.

According to Dorsey,[12] the skin tipi and heraldic devices were used largely by the richer families, while the poor contented themselves with the dome-shaped brush shelter. The same authority mentions the use of a ramada-like drying platform and summer shelter, open at the sides and flat-roofed; it was used in connection with the earth lodge. [554] [343]

---

[11] Murray, 1839, pp. 199–200.

[12] 1904, p. 16.

CACHES

*172 343 In common with most tribes of the central and northern Great Plains who depended to a greater or lesser degree upon the fruits of the chase, as well as upon the cultivation of maize, the Pawnee made very extensive use of the subterranean storage pit or cache. Every village was characterized by numbers of these structures, both between the earth lodges and inside them. They appear not to have been associated with the tipi settlements, nor were the Pawnee in the habit of caching the results of each day's hunting wherever night overtook them. Nevertheless the cache must be regarded as highly characteristic of Pawnee culture, particularly in connection with the food complex and the permanent village.

Eleven caches were opened by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey party at the Hill site in 1930. Four of these were indoors, beneath the floor of the lodge previously described. Six were found just outside about 15 feet from the outer edge of the floor, on the east, south, and west sides; they were discovered as a result of the trench dug about the house in search of the entrance. The eleventh cache was about 100 yards northeast of the house; its presence was revealed through the settling of the earth within and its consequent cracking away from the cache wall on all sides. These caches, though variable in size, nearly all conformed to the usual Pawnee type in other respects, hence may be taken as illustrative of the type at large.

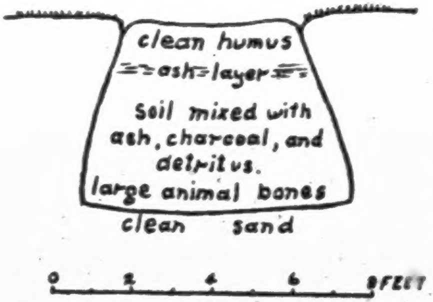


FIGURE 5.—Cross section of cache 1, Hill site.

Cache 1 (fig. 5), northeast of the lodge excavation, was the first to be cleared. The mouth was circular, with a diameter of 4 feet 7 inches. The sides had been undercut smoothly all around, so that the floor measured 6 feet 4 inches in diameter. The depth of the pit was 4 feet 6 inches. The floor was of clean white sand, covered with bark, and was depressed some 3 inches at the center. A collar of rich black soil, 4 inches wide and 8 inches thick, encircled the interior 15 inches below the mouth; its significance is not known.

The contents of the cache included little save discarded material. The soil was heavily impregnated with charcoal, ashes, and similar organic material. Animal bones, particularly those of the dog, horse, and bison, were abundant; the large leg joints of the latter were common in every cache opened. Iron and copper were present,

mostly in small pieces; blue and white glass beads were scattered 172*
through the fill. Most of the bones were found on or near the floor, 343
especially about the edges next the wall; very few of them were charred or showed any indications of having been cooked.

In general, the foregoing suffices to illustrate the average cache and its contents. There exist, of course, great individual variations, as for example, in size. Thus, cache 6 measured 5 feet across the mouth, slightly over 5 feet in depth, and 7 feet 4 inches across the bottom; cache 5 was 5 feet wide at the top, 4 feet 9 inches deep, and 7 feet in diameter at the bottom. Others have been reported of much greater size; one 11 feet in depth by nearly 10 feet across the bottom is said to have been opened in the early village site at Linwood. All are of the usual bell shape, however, with smooth, beaten walls curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, and a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered, floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site.

Smaller caches sometimes took a different form, especially if shallow. Thus, cache 3 was some 4 feet in diameter and 3 feet in depth, but was bowl-shaped; i. e., diminished in size toward the bottom. Cache B was 5 feet across and 2 feet deep, with almost vertical walls. Such small, shallow pits are, however, rather unusual, the majority resembling quite closely cache 1, as above described.

Cache 5 was of more than ordinary interest. At a depth of 3 feet was encountered a false floor, consisting of 6 or 8 inches of clean sand covered with bark. The space above contained large masses of what appeared to be corn meal. Beneath the false floor the soil was mixed with bones, ashes, and other detritus, but no artifacts. Bark covered the true floor also.

None of the caches were found to contain side pockets, as reported by Will and Spinden from the Mandan,[16] nor were any two of them ever found connected. The walls frequently showed the tool marks of the original excavators. They appear never to have been artificially hardened, as by burning of brush in them, though some were apparently beaten to a compact smoothness.

Most of the caches were not very prolific. Immediately below the zone reached by the plow a layer of fine wood ash was usually found, presumably as a protective measure against percolating dampness. Sherds, fragments of stonework, bits of metal, and above all, animal bones, were invariably scattered all through the fill. Occasionally, though, good artifacts were brought to light. Thus, in cache 2 were found a number of beaming tools made from bison ribs; from caches 3 and 4 were taken two well-made lance heads of iron;

---

[16] 1906, pp. 157-158.

*172 343 cache 7 yielded three excellent digging tools made from bison scapulae; and cache 5, as already indicated, contained corn meal or some similar ground cereal. Much richer pits are, of course, sometimes found. One opened by Mr. A. M. Brooking, of the Hastings Museum, in an old village east of Genoa, yielded 10 scapula digging tools, bone awls, 5 bone knives, 2 grooved hammers, 2 elkhorn shaft-straighteners, many large mollusk shells filled with yellow and red paint, and 13 small mollusk shells in matched pairs.[14] Such finds are, however, the exception rather than the rule, and many disappointingly sterile caches are encountered for every one that yields worth-while returns.

[488 251] Normally the caches were used for the storage and concealment of surplus corn and household furniture, particularly during the periods when the tribe was absent from its villages on the seasonal bison hunts. When earth had been thrown in on top of the contents and the opening sodded over the location of the cache was perfectly hidden from any stranger. Generally they were emptied when the family permanently removed, and all usable articles were carried away. Occasionally the owner never returned to claim his goods, perhaps because of forgetfulness as to the exact location, death, or from some other cause; or attacks by hostiles compelled flight too precipitate to permit emptying of the caches. In such cases the investigator may be better rewarded with pottery, flint and bone tools, ornaments, foodstuffs, and the like.

[727 765] Caches occasionally serve a secondary purpose as places of interment. In June 1843, when the Dakota raided the Pawnee village near the Plum Creek mission, with such disastrous results for the latter tribe,[15] the terrified survivors threw the bodies of the dead into the caches,[16] covered them hastily with earth, and then fled to their kindred, the Grand Pawnee, south of the Platte. Such a function was, of course, purely accidental and was wholly foreign to the original purpose which the structure was intended to serve.

EARTHWORKS

*172 712 Walls of circumvallation were constructed about practically every Pawnee village of the nineteenth century. Sixty years ago, according to early settlers, these were still plainly to be seen on many of the old sites, but with cultivation they have shared the fate of other remains and become rare indeed. Leveling of these old fortification walls was one of the first steps in breaking the land; hence their obliteration has been woefully complete. In fact the only remaining

---

[14] Brooking, A. M., unpublished manuscript.

[15] Dunbar, 1918, p. 656. Occurrences similar to the above probably account for the "burials of Morning Star Sacrifice victims" occasionally reported in the press.

[16] Allis, 1887, p. 155.

592 Clear Day and Blue Calico, "I can take care of the housework myself.
You two go plant your field." On the North Side, White Woman had a
double role to play and was hard pressed for time. She had "to take care
of her husband" and was also the main provisioner of the North Side of
the household. She was responsible for repairing her husband's moccasins
[437] when they wore out; when he went to the trade store to trade in a buffalo
robe for supplies of flour, coffee, sugar, prunes, or dried apples she
would accompany him to do most of the carrying. Whether he went on
horseback or on foot, he would carry only small items, being poised for
any threatened attack. When she became overburdened with work in this
way at the crucial time of planting, the two old women on her side,
Grandma Chase-the-Enemy and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, would
come to her aid. "Let's get through with our 'daughter's' field first. She
has to do the cooking for the whole family and take care of her husband."
The three of them would then go out together and finish up White
Woman's field and then the two old women would work each other's
fields in turn cooperatively.

On the way home from the fields they all washed their hoes and took
517 a swim in Beaver Creek. Heads would be bobbing up and down all over
526 as they swam back and forth. When they finished their swim and cleaned
313 their hoes, they would pick up whatever driftwood they could find and
515 take it home. High water sometimes left good sticks at the bend of the
creek. This moist wood was piled way at the back of the woodpile, since
unless it was left to dry out it would smoke and hurt the eyes. The
young women sat on the banks of the creek and slapped the surface
with their feet to see who could make the loudest noise. This was considered
quite a trick, and sometimes they tried it with their hands. It was
like the sound of the dried corn kernels when they were threshed at the
time of harvest, and expressed the hope that the corn might ripen.

343 Sometimes a sweat bath was preferred to a swim in the creek. When
515 they got home tired and dirty they would then build a sweat lodge inside
the earth lodge on the north side. All during planting time an old man
888 would sit on the roof of his earth lodge in the evening and call out various
521 ous items of advice. He would particularly recommend a sweat bath. He
would say, "If you're tired it's best to sweat. Then you will feel better
[757] next day. If you should have a headache, you must sweat. When you get
in from the fields, take a sweat bath. It cleans you up better than the
[515] creek." There were many other things the old man had to say, particularly
complimentary remarks to the women to bolster their morale. After
some general praises, he would cite some particular women specifically,
saying how industrious they were and what fine crops they raised. Presently
a little boy or girl would come and invite the old man to a little treat
in the home of the woman he had mentioned, usually some bread and
coffee.

796 time touching it to his mouth, nose, forehead, and down his face, alter-
783 nately first with the right and then with the left hand. Then he went back
778 through the group and stood facing the village ready to lead them back.
The others followed suit, the men of first rank pretending to wash their objects and their bodies, then walking through the line to stand behind the chief and the others in order. The chief led them back to the village and the objects were replaced in the bundles in the ceremonial lodge. The little boys ran away at once, and the other men retrieved the robes they had left behind in order to race to the water before they went home. The priests and bundle keepers tied their things and had a meal of cornmeal mush that had been donated by one of the women. Then they all took their mats, pillows, bowls, and sacred bundles and went home.

796 The town crier went through the town telling all the people to clean
783 their lodges and the streets and to carry all the dirt far away. The next
[203] step was for everyone to wash and clean themselves. The priests who
had led the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood out-
[515] side shaking his rattle and singing. All the people assembled there and
[343] raced to the river as fast as they could go. They waited there for the
priests who waded in and came out at once and went to their sweat lodge to take a steam bath. All the rest of the people—men, women, and children—stayed at the river, swimming and playing in the water.

The horses were still tethered on the south bank, and when all the 224*
meat was over, Eagle Chief would ask "the boys" to sprinkle soil or earth 484*
on the ice so that the horses could be led over. They would organize into 231
two parties, one from each shore, each man with a supply of earth in his
buffalo robe or blanket to sprinkle on the ice. The two parties would
meet in the middle of the river and then the horses could be led across.
The next day the earth would have melted into the ice and the crossing
would be easier. Even though they were not loaded, the horses had a
hard time to keep from slipping as they had no shoes. When the horses
arrived on the north shore they were again loaded with the meat and led
to the place selected for the encampment. Each man chose a site for his 224*
family's camp and cleared it of snow and gathered plenty of wood. The 484*
meat was put on the hide and bundled up in it. As soon as the meat was
unloaded, Eagle Chief called out that the horses better be sent back to the
camp at Turkey Creek so that the people could join them early next
morning. Victory Call sent Horse Rider back with the two horses for the
family, while he stayed at Many Deer, going on with the work of preparing
the camping place and looking after the meat.

After the hunters at Many Deer had completed their duties, they made
five big fires, one for each of the four Skidi villages, and an extra one.
The men of each village sat around them wrapped up well in their buffalo
robes and stayed up all night smoking and talking. If one should doze [513]
off, his neighbor awakened him. They were accustomed to staying up [727]
like this on the warpath as much as three days and nights to get out of
range of the enemy with the booty and horses. The next morning while
the line of march was on the way from the camp on Turkey Creek, some
of the men like War Cry, Victory Call, and Eagle Chief would decide to
begin to slice and dry the buffalo meat so that no time would be lost. At [522]
some of the other fires, when they saw War Cry with his meat drying,
they would tease him with, "Look at that War Cry. He has his *takaski*.
He's just like an old woman." But he was totally impervious to such remarks.

As soon as Frank Leader and his brother-in-law Roaming Leader had
decided where they were going to set up the council tent, Eagle Chief
said, "Don't wait. As soon as the council tent is set up, come in any [344]
time. We have a home there. This is where we come to tell stories and
make reports." As the returning hunters had come in, they donated ribs
for the Council that evening by hanging them on a nearby tree. Old 224*
Lady Lucky Leader realized that she and her family would have to be up 343
all night again slicing meat, and she decided that when she got to Many
Deer she would build herself a grass house beside their large tipi with the
help of the two men, so that she could carry on her work while they
were in the council tent. A grass house, *haharutu*, was made by sticking
supple withes upright in the ground in a circle and tying them together

• 343 at the top, then carrying the rope all around the frame spirally from top
to bottom. The frame was then entirely covered over with buffalo grass
and a large smokehole left at the top and an opening at the east for an
[417] entrance. Over the central fireplace a wooden grate or drying rack like
the one in the tipi would be built high up so that the meat could dry. Do-
nations for the council tent could also be kept in there to keep them
*224 from freezing. When the tipis were all set up, the chiefs, braves, and boys
would meet in the council tent in the evening to discuss tactics and have
[623] a feast on ribs. Eagle Chief had sent out two scouts to climb a high hill
now covered with snow to look far to the west up the river and deter-
mine where the herds were. They would report that night at the council
tent.

[803] [624] Meanwhile, when the men arrived back at Camp 11 with the horses so that they could move the encampment from Turkey Creek westward to Many Deer, at Eagle Chief's direction, the errand man, Know-His-Face went announcing through the camp:

> They killed many buffalo up there and Eagle Chief says we must move from here to there. The meat is sleeping up there and they have a camping place all prepared. People do not need to wait for one another in the morning but can start out any time they are ready as the trail has already been broken by the men coming over here with the horses.

*224 *484 When Horse Rider got into camp where White Woman, No Corn, and the boy were, he tethered the horses outside the tipi and the women covered them and gave them cottonwood tops and bark to eat, leaving them there for the night. Horse Rider told of what a good camping place they had at Many Deer, the problem of how they had to transport the meat across the ice from the south of the river, and how much wood Victory Call had gathered for them. In the morning, right after breakfast, the horses were saddled up and loaded by Horse Rider while the two women dismantled the tent. Some of the meat was still moist (*kiparu*) and he bundled this up in an extra package and piled it on top of the saddle. It would not spoil because the weather was so cold. The two parfleches of meat that were completely dried were fastened one on each side of the saddle.

*224 *484 342 Meanwhile White Woman was shaking the tent pegs loose and pulling them out. No Corn was inside rolling up the mats and tying them and whatever blankets they had. The two sticks from outside the smokehole were removed. Next they removed the pegs laced over the door flap, rolling them up with it for further use. Now they could remove the tent cover. First the south half was pulled to the back and folded over, then the north half was carried around and also folded over at the back. They

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

of the role of the chief in public service. For the house of the chief was the place where administrative activities were carried on for the benefit of the people, as we have seen in the meeting described above in the home of Eagle Chief.

356
476
221
554
622
[342]
[344]

26

THE MEETING IN THE COUNCIL TENT

000

Selection and Installation of Military Police—Description of Council Meeting—Duties of Military Pilice—a Second Meeting after Second Attack on Herd—Stories Told

623
628 WHILE HIS FAMILY WAS BUSY slicing the meat and processing the hides, Victory Call went to the council tent to meet with the other chiefs, braves, and prominent hunters. His usual practice was to set out about three-thirty in the afternoon after he had eaten and rested and go to White Eagle's large council tent where others would be congregated. On the first night the camp was set up on Turkey Creek, the council [625] meeting was of a more formal character. It was for the selection and installation of the military police.

[344] White Eagle's wives had set up an exceptionally large curve-roofed tent to accommodate the council. They had to rush with their work for the family when White Eagle arrived with the meat in order to be ready to leave when the council came in. On this particular evening White Eagle sent for his chief errand man, Know-His-Face. He was to go to the head chief of each of the four Skidi villages to ask him to come in the evening with ten of his prominent men. Each chief in his turn called his [344] subchiefs, braves, and "boys" to his tent. When they were all there, they lined up in order of rank and walked over to the council tent, where they seated themselves formally in their appointed positions. The tent was open to the east, and had a sacred area at the west. The four chiefs sat in the semicardinal positions, their respective braves ranging inward toward the cardinal positions at the north and south. At the northwest was Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, his braves ranging in an arc from northwest to north. At the northeast was Feared-by-the-Enemy

61

THE COUNCIL TENT

000

Ceremonial Observances of the Hunt—the Meat Is Delivered—a More Informal Procedure Than the Summer Hunt—Police Chosen—Four Official Scouts Chosen Also—the Hunt

*224 778 [625] EVERYONE KNEW THAT the council tent would be set up at Turkey Creek while the men were out attacking the herd, and that that evening the special police would be appointed to take charge during the subsequent attacks. During the summer, with White Eagle in the lead, the hunt had been conducted under the religious sponsorship of his left hand bundle, whose tradition was a special form of the creation legend. The present hunt was being carried on under the auspices of the Evening Star and its sacred bundle, which was also known as Yellow Calf. Its tradition was the official creation legend of the Skidi Federation. The "keeper" of this [794] bundle was Old Lady Lucky Leader of Pumpkin-Vine Village and she was assisted by her son, Frank Leader (also known as Dog-at-the-West), and her son-in-law, Roaming Leader. The old lady had built a particu- [344] larly large tent but even then only about thirty could gather in there at a time.

*224 793 As soon as the tent was set up and while the men were still off chasing the herd, the five priests came in and sat down at the west. Due west was Heavy Trophies, the head priest. To his left on the north side were Pipe Offering and Bringing Horses. To his right on the south side were Angry Horse and then Wonderful Old Bull.

*224 793 869 On this occasion, Bringing Horses was sitting as an apprentice priest. From time to time the head priest would say, "If there is anyone in this room who wants to learn, he should come closer and sit with us. It is necessary that someone should do this as we are likely to die at any time. We are old and after we die, the world will go on and on and this is the word of Heaven and should be carried on after we are gone. Anyone

The horses were still tethered on the south bank, and when all the 224* meat was over, Eagle Chief would ask "the boys" to sprinkle soil or earth 484* on the ice so that the horses could be led over. They would organize into 231 two parties, one from each shore, each man with a supply of earth in his buffalo robe or blanket to sprinkle on the ice. The two parties would meet in the middle of the river and then the horses could be led across. The next day the earth would have melted into the ice and the crossing would be easier. Even though they were not loaded, the horses had a hard time to keep from slipping as they had no shoes. When the horses arrived on the north shore they were again loaded with the meat and led to the place selected for the encampment. Each man chose a site for his 224* family's camp and cleared it of snow and gathered plenty of wood. The 484* meat was put on the hide and bundled up in it. As soon as the meat was unloaded, Eagle Chief called out that the horses better be sent back to the camp at Turkey Creek so that the people could join them early next morning. Victory Call sent Horse Rider back with the two horses for the family, while he stayed at Many Deer, going on with the work of preparing the camping place and looking after the meat.

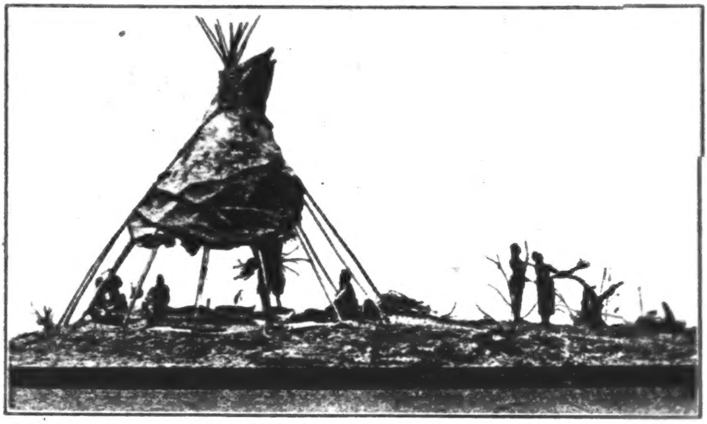
After the hunters at Many Deer had completed their duties, they made five big fires, one for each of the four Skidi villages, and an extra one. The men of each village sat around them wrapped up well in their buffalo robes and stayed up all night smoking and talking. If one should doze [513] off, his neighbor awakened him. They were accustomed to staying up [727] like this on the warpath as much as three days and nights to get out of range of the enemy with the booty and horses. The next morning while the line of march was on the way from the camp on Turkey Creek, some of the men like War Cry, Victory Call, and Eagle Chief would decide to begin to slice and dry the buffalo meat so that no time would be lost. At some of the other fires, when they saw War Cry with his meat drying, [522] they would tease him with, "Look at that War Cry. He has his *takaski*. He's just like an old woman." But he was totally impervious to such remarks.

As soon as Frank Leader and his brother-in-law Roaming Leader had decided where they were going to set up the council tent, Eagle Chief said, "Don't wait. As soon as the council tent is set up, come in any [344] • time. We have a home there. This is where we come to tell stories and make reports." As the returning hunters had come in, they donated ribs for the Council that evening by hanging them on a nearby tree. Old 224* Lady Lucky Leader realized that she and her family would have to be up 343 all night again slicing meat, and she decided that when she got to Many Deer she would build herself a grass house beside their large tipi with the help of the two men, so that she could carry on her work while they were in the council tent. A grass house, *haharutu*, was made by sticking supple withes upright in the ground in a circle and tying them together

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

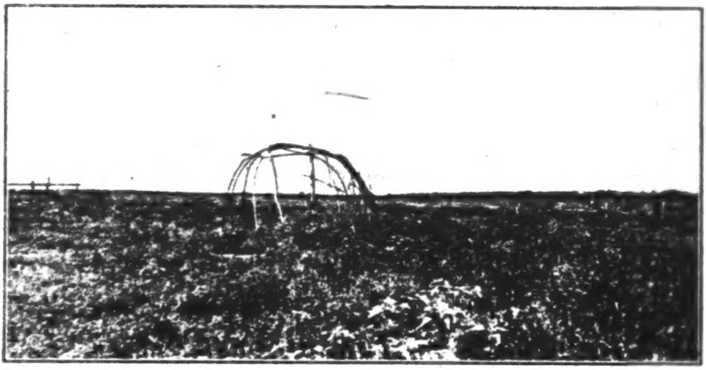
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

342



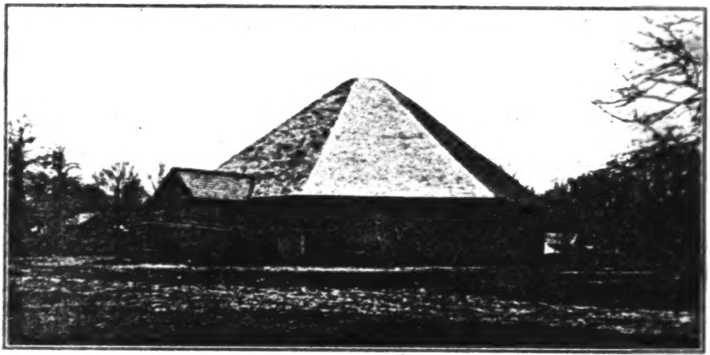
a, Miniature group of Pawnee Thunder ceremony exhibited in Field Museum of Natural History

343



b, Framework (probably sweat lodge) near ceremonial earth lodge

● 345



c, Structure in which victory dances and hand games were held

[Facing p. 68]

The lance for the north side was black and for the south, white. There were 575 two rattle bearers who stood and danced as in the preceding. There were four singers and two water drums. Their war duties were as previously stated. This society was composed of chiefs and warriors, on different sides. [701] At stated times, the members demonstrated their deeds, trophies, and war medicines.

It seems that there were three bundles in the Pitahaufrata division at one time and the three feathers on the lance are supposed to be one for each. [778] The members were members of the chiefs society, warriors and men who had consecrated eagles; hence the small eagle feathers are put on the lance. In the consecrating of eagles the heads are strung through the nose with sinew, all the members having gone through this ceremony; hence the string here symbolizes the consecration but it is not known if the hooked part of the lance is the eagle's head. The pipe of this society is borrowed from the warrior's bundle.

So far as known, the organizations in the three divisions were identical.

THE WOLF LANCE.

The rarisits skiri^{h}ki^h (society of wolves) was peculiar to the Wolf-standing-in-water village. There were two lances, four flat hand drums painted white, four singers wearing caps of wolfskin like roaches, four rattles (two for each side). [302] All members painted white. The pipe bearer who sat in front of the four singers painted red, however. The lance bearers sat among the dancers, but the lances rested against the lodge posts. There [535] was no regular dance evolution, each one going as he pleased. The old men and one messenger were on each side.

There were two war shields covered with wolfskin for each side. For each shield there was a bearer. It was a war organization and differed [701] from the others in that as an organization it could go to war. The lances were left at home, however. So far as known they never acted as police of the hunt, but the members seem to have had the right to take the lances of the hunting society and scout for buffalo.

The lodge of this society had its door toward the west instead of east. [345]

THE BLACK HEADS.

The pakskatit society was peculiar to the Kit'kaháxki division. They [224] seem to have been important for they could act both as police of the buffalo [701] hunt and in the line of battle. While there were two sides as before, there

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796
other on the south of the Ku'rahus, where he sits in the west, and there these stems are decorated in the manner taught by our fathers (figure 171).

346

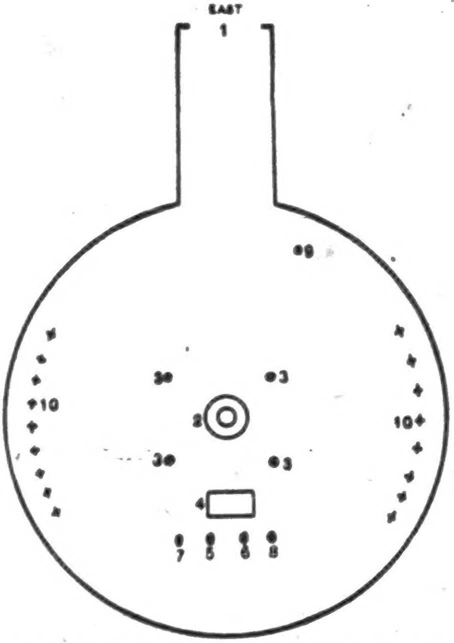


FIG. 171. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the decoration of the feathered stems.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the holy place; 5, the Ku'rahus; 6, his assistant; 7, the man with the blue feathered stem; 8, the man with the green feathered stem; 9, the server; 10, members of the Hako party.

Translation of Thirteenth Stanza

61, 62, 63 See lines 1, 2, 3.

64 Heru! Hiwaturu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.

Hiwaturu, the entranceway to the lodge. Hiwaturu is composed of a part of the words hutturaru, a road, and hiwa, a hollow or depression. The word hiwaturu implies a sunken pathway.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See line 4.

65 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Hiwaturu."

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SECOND RITUAL. PREFIGURING THE JOURNEY TO THE SON

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

796*
571

Honor is conferred upon a man who leads a Hako party to a distant tribe and there makes a Son, while to the Son help is given from all the powers represented by the sacred objects. Between the Father

[346]

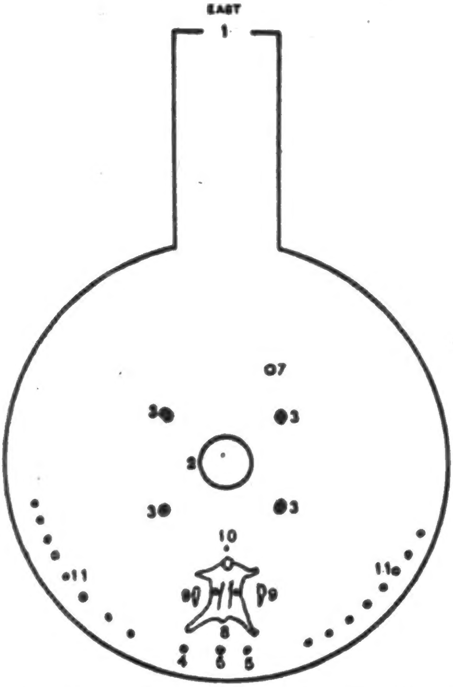


FIG. 172. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the second ritual.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the Ku'rahus; 5, his assistant; 6, the Father (a chief); 7, the server; 8, the wildcat skin, on which are the feathered stems and rattles; 9, the eagle wings; 10, the ear of corn; 11, members of the Hako party.

and the Son and their immediate families a relationship similar to that which exists between kindred is established through this ceremony. It is a sacred relationship, for it is made by the supernatural powers that are with the Hako.

Mc. Bot. [illegible]
1905

We do this that Tira'wa and all the lesser powers—the Winds, the Sun, the Earth, and the four at the west which control the storm—may see that all is complete and ready for the ceremony. 796*

It is all done in silence before the day dawns. No song is sung when we put the objects on the pole and raise it nor when we take it down and remove them. We must let them stay up there for some time in order that all the powers may surely see that everything is correct, so the sun is well up when the Ku'rahus goes out to the pole, lowers it, and removes the sacred objects and carries them into the lodge and puts them on the holy place. [776 821]

Part II. Mother Corn Assumes Leadership

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As I told you before, the Ku'rahus at the beginning of the ceremony anointed himself with the sacred ointment and fastened upon his head

[346]

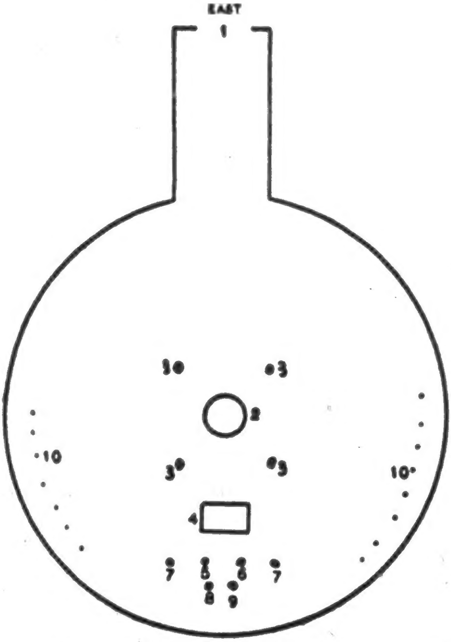


Fig. 173. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the singing of the first stanza of the song of the fourth ritual, part II.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the holy place; 5, the Ku'rahus; 6, his assistant; 7, the bearers of the eagle wings; 8, the Father (a chief); 9, the second chief; 10, members of the Hako party.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 *796 chief. When this is done, the Ku'rahus and his assistant and the two doctors form a line behind the two chiefs; then we sing the following stanza (see figure 174).

346

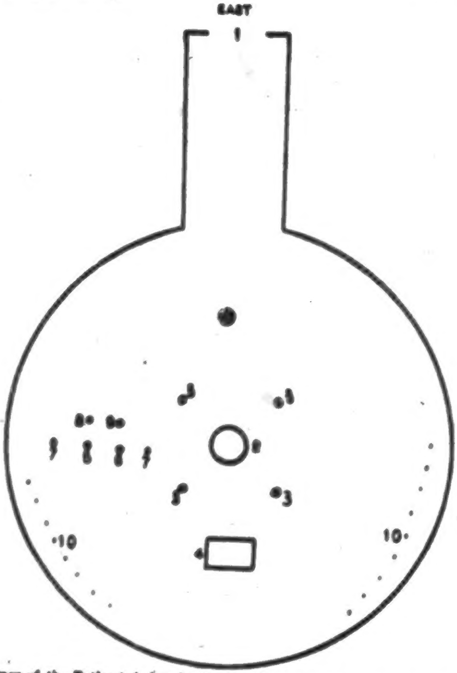


FIG. 174. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the singing of the second stanza of the song of the fourth ritual, part II.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the holy place; 5, the Ku'rahus; 6, his assistant; 7, the bearers of the eagle wings; 8, the Father (a chief); 9, the second chief; 10, members of the Hako party.

Translation of Second Stanza

178 H'Atira hu weti arisut!

h', the sign of breath, of giving forth life.

atira, mother; the term applied to the ear of corn.

hu; ha, yonder; the vowel is changed for euphony.

weti, starting forward. The object which was coming toward one has overtaken the speaker and has started onward before him.

arisut, a living thing that is starting or has started to go a long distance, as into future time or on a long journey.

179-182 See line 178.

*539 616 Pirao rati hao.
pirao, child, a general term, anybody's child.
*796 rati, a part of the word hirati, my.
hao, my own child.
617 Ti kiri ka. Ha! Wita hesha!
ti kiri ka. See line 614.
ha! behold!
wita, coming.
hesha, a part of the word tahesha, daylight.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While the messengers are going from one lodge to another to awake the people and bid them come to the lodge where the ceremony is being performed, we sing this second stanza.

It tells that the Son, now become as our own offspring, has gone forth to awake the Children, who have heard his call, and now, behold! they come forth to look upon the light of day.

This stanza is sung four times.

ELEVENTH RITUAL (SECOND DAY). THE MALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. CHANT TO THE SUN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 821 On this, the second day of the ceremony, we remember our father the Sun. The sun comes directly from Tira'wa atius, and whoever is touched by the first rays of the sun in the morning receives new life and strength which have been brought straight from the power above. The first rays of the sun are like a young man, they have not yet spent their force or grown old, so, to be touched by them is to receive an accession of strength.

*796 ●[346] The door of the lodge where the ceremony is performed must face the east, so that the first rays of the sun can enter and reach the Children. I believe that as we sing this song and as the first rays touch the Children they will receive help and strength. I was told by my predecessor that it would be so, and he was taught by those who had received the knowledge from the fathers; therefore I tell the same to the Children. All the time I am singing this song I remember the [776 782] Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn; all these were made by Tira'wa atius, and I ask them to give us success and plenty; success in hunting and in war; plenty of food, of children, and of health. The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn, are powerful.

The Children, who have been aroused by the messengers of the Son, gather at the lodge before the sun is up. They must be there when the first ray appears if they would gain its blessing.

As soon as we who are standing at the west of the lodge, looking through the doorway, catch sight of the first ray of the sun on the horizon, we take up the Hako and move by the north to make a first circuit of the lodge, and sing the first verse of this chant.

668 down." Joseph Long had crow feathers. He put them on his head. 796 Then he got up like a crow, and danced around the tipi. Imitating 825 the crow, he danced his way outside and went along the path by which the woman had gone through the timber, and found the strap. He picked it up and brought it back into the tipi, and the woman took her strap.

The relation of this crow-concept to the Ghost Dancing is direct. The crow feather (as also the eagle) is one of the objects used by leaders, as they dance inside the circle, for hypnotizing subjects. It is moved back and forth directly before the eyes of the subject. It helps the dancer to fall into a trance, and this means that it helps the subject to see or find his lost relatives. In the trance-vision itself the bird may guide the visionary to his dear ones. In the same way the old Indian customs, the dances, the songs, the rituals, are found among the deceased people, or recovered in trance visions which are induced in part through the instrumentality of the birds.

In this early use of eagle and crow, those who learned about one or the other bird wore a feather of that bird. There was no organization or orientation of these except for White's seven crow singers. But there came to be felt an opposition between crow and eagle, analogous to the actions of the birds themselves, and this was carried over into the sides of the hand game arrangements. The opposition involved the question of which was abler or luckier in finding things.

668 For the Ghost Dance, White arranged to have a large cleared 796 dancing ground. West of this was set up a special tipi. Herein [346] White gathered the people, particularly the leaders. Those who gathered inside the tent were only men. The old men sat near the [554] eastern entranceway on both sides, with the chiefs next to them to the west, and then the braves[1]; while other men present sat about anywhere. White himself would sit with his seven crow leaders at the west facing east. The only sacred objects kept on a [778] covering at the western altar-place were the feathers and paints of the leaders, and several pipes (two or four). Two men were selected by White and the chiefs to act as tarutsius ("fire-tenders") and at the same time as policemen. They carried long sticks to whip the dogs with, driving them away from the dance ground while the dancing went on. They also controlled the dancers. [276] After all the men had gathered, a smoke offering initiated the performance. White gave pipes to two or four chiefs and told them step by step what to do. The performance could begin either in the

---

[1] These are generic Pawnee patterns.

for most. Some sat about a while longer, however, and sang Ghost Dance songs. 527 594

This introductory or inaugural feast at which a decision is made as to the time for a regular ceremony, is a fundamental Pawnee pattern. Such feasts precede the actual performance of doctor dances and ceremonies, society gatherings and performances, and many other ritual activities. In all such cases the pattern is the same. An individual man or woman "puts up" the feast for the gathering, and obtains as a result certain definite rights of proprietorship over the actual ceremonial occasion which is to follow[1]: [424] This "host" invites leading men such as chiefs to be present, and requests selected ones to come to a decision as to the time for the performance itself.

After this feast-gathering had broken up, the people got ready for the actual dance. Three days were allowed for moving into camp because the people lived scattered over a large area, and had to come in wagons and on horseback. They needed time to arrange things at home so they could be absent for more than a week, to pack, and to come. After all had gathered, at least three more days intervened before the dance proper began, so that the preparation of food, wood, and all other necessary things could be finished. Once it is begun, the dance must not be interrupted by such labors.

Mrs. Washington must be the first to move officially into camp. The chief who finally set the date for the gathering inquired if she was ready, and after she had said yes, and moved her tent, others would begin to follow her into the camping place.

For the dance the tipis and tents were set up in a half circle 361 from south to north around the west. There was no special order 796 of tipis. In the center a space thirty to forty feet in diameter was 668 cleared of grass. Here the dancing began, but as more and more people joined in and the circle of dancers expanded, it would be pushed back beyond the edge of the cleared space onto the grass. The cleared space alone, however, was considered the sacred dancing ground.

One large tipi was set up west of the cleared ground at a distance [346] of thirty feet, its doorway facing east. This was the tent used by the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Washington and other leaders.

---

[1] Neither vision nor vow is essential in all cases to give an individual the right to "put up" a ritual affair. It is sufficient in most cases among the Pawnee that an individual wants to do so, either because he or she wants to secure thereby whatever benefits in health, luck and prosperity accrue from the performance (and particularly to the one who has "put it up") or because he or she wants to see the ritual demonstrated and learn something about it, or both.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

668 stopped. He stood right there in the road. He said, 'Now my girl,
796 I came to meet you here. I'm the one who told you to come. We
are dancing over here. We know you folks are dancing over there
787 and I want you to tell them to have Seven Brothers of the Crows just as well as the Eagles. Now when you go back you can tell them. Sometimes when the Seven Eagles are tired singing, you have to turn over the singing to the Crows to help out. That's why I say you should have Seven Crows. One more thing: When you have the Seven Eagles sing, you must put one woman between each two Eagle brothers, because when they sing the women must sing too. And you must do the same way with the Seven Crows.' I wanted to turn my head to look around, and as I did that, I woke up, and got up."

668 796 In accordance with this vision, Mark Rudder as the main Crow selected six to join with him as the Seven Crows. Five of the Skiri selected were: John Moses, Jonathan Eustace, George Beaver, Yellowcalf, White Fox. Mark Evarts himself became one of the Seven Crows later, succeeding one man who died.[1]

After that when they held the Ghost Dancing, the Seven Eagles were put on one side (the south), the Seven Crows on the other side (the north). Still later, someone had a trance vision and saw that it should be done the same way in the hand games.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, Mrs. Cover was made the Mother of the Seven Crows by analogy with the Mother of the Seven Brothers organization. Mark Rudder selected her. She was not chosen as the result of a vision, or because she clothed the Crows.[2]

Thus the ground plan arrangements finally became among the Skiri: A central clearing for the dancing; a special Ghost Dance
[346] tipi due west of it; a sacred tipi south of the cleared ground for the Seven Eagle Brothers; and a sacred tipi north of the clearing for the Seven Crow Brothers. Certain alignments of the games were later determined by these orientations (see for example, Boy Chief's game).

---

[1] John Moses and Mark Evarts are the only ones still living.

[2] A dream of Mrs. Cover's of this general period illustrates certain con-
[787] cepts of the Pawnee Ghost Dance:

"She dreamed she saw Christ standing at the west, facing east. Before him were many little children. At the extreme south was Emmet Pierson and other chiefs, at the extreme north were Mark Evarts, Eaglechief and others. A voice spoke, saying, 'As you see those standing, these are the ones to take care of Christ's children, his people.'"

[622 The Pawnee speak of a chief as a "father" to all his tribespeople, and here
177] this idea has been interwoven with Christian beliefs.

668 Mark Evarts led several times, and says that whenever he had
the lead he had good luck. One time a baby was born while the
796 dance was in progress—that was good luck. Tobacco was being
777 ceremonially prepared to be handed to Mark for making a smoke
offering. While they were praying that good luck might go with
[276 the tobacco, a grandchild of Linford Smith's was born. So all
782] present thanked God, and hoped it would be that way throughout
the dancing.

While these developments were taking place among the Skiri,
[184] the Ghost Dancing of the South Bands continued to follow the
formal arrangements which had been instituted by Frank White.
As members of the organization of seven singers which had been
developed by White died, new members were selected to take their
places. The smoke offering was not altered.

Murie, in discussing Pawnee ceremonial Ghost Dance forms,
668 states[1]:

796 "In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take
instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they
[484] learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the cere-
●[346] monies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set
up near the center of the camp as the temple... The modern Ghost
Dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off
center toward the north or south side according to the place of the
host..."

The arrangement of which Murie speaks, in terms of which the leading tent was on the north or south according to the place of the host, refers to Ghost Dance hand games, rather than Ghost Dances proper; for in the hand games, as will be described below, one side (either north or south, viz., either Crow or Eagle) is "host" and in charge.

GHOST DANCE SONGS[2]

796 The songs "dreamed" or secured in visions in the Ghost Dance
ranged over all the subjects that could naturally come to mind.
533 Some emphasized aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine, viz., that
in the other world all was as in former days, that the Christ was

---

affair, viz., supply the bulk of the meat and other food necessary, as well as the method of selecting one man to be in charge, are general Pawnee patterns.

[1] Murie, p. 636.

[2] The song texts of this section have been retranscribed and retranslated from the Densmore versions by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

796 her into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village until the
782 time for her sacrifice. She was treated in a ceremonial manner but
kept in ignorance of her fate. At the appointed time her body was
[302 painted, half red and half black, and she was tied to a scaffold and
417] shot through the heart with an arrow. It was said that the braided
thong used to bind the girl to the scaffold is now in the Morning
Star bundle.

Tradition states that on one occasion the intended victim was
173 rescued. On the night preceding her execution she was seated beside
782 some tall sunflowers. A young chief came through the tall weeds and
796 stole her away, putting her on his horse and taking her to Fort Leavenworth,
whence she was returned to her own people. She died within
three months, having been anointed for death with the sacred ointment
of red paint powder and buffalo fat. This occurred about the
year 1818. The man who rescued the intended victim was a warrior
of distinction and through his influence the custom was discontinued.
The ritual of the sacrifice is still rendered but no actual sacrifice has
taken place since that date.

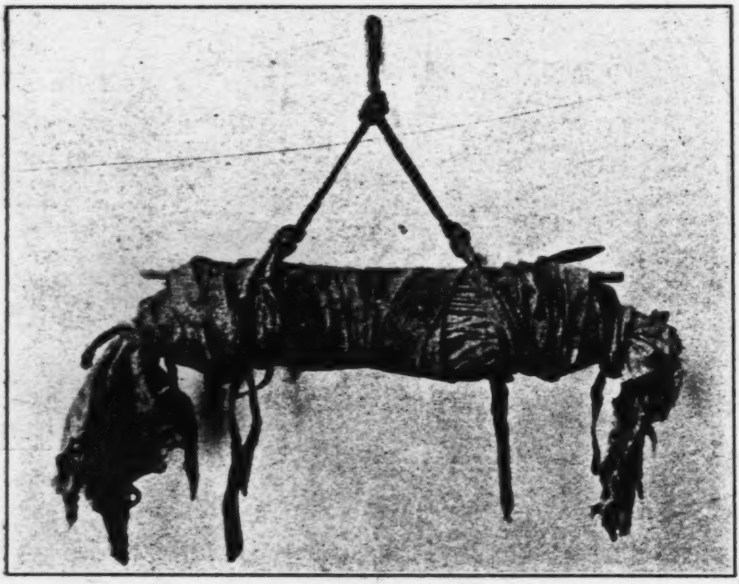
796 Coming Sun, who sings the ceremonial songs, said that sometimes,
during the Morning Star ceremony he stops and says "Listen," and
[782] the people hear a woman's voice singing the songs above his head.

The Morning Star ceremony was held by the Skidi Band near Pawnee, Okla., on April 17, 1920. This ceremony formerly lasted four days and nights, ending when the morning star appeared in the east, but at the present time it is concluded in one day. On this occasion the writer had the honor of entering the lodge, through the courtesy of Coming Sun. It is said that only one other white person, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, has entered the lodge during the ceremony and seen the contents of the sacred bundle.

The ceremony was held in a tipi erected for the occasion in a quiet
[346] spot near the house of the keeper of the bundle, north of Pawnee.
This tipi had been used in the Ghost dance and was decorated with
Ghost dance symbols. (Pl. 5, *b*.) The adjacent landscape is shown in
Plate 3, *c*. The ceremony began at about 9 a. m. and continued until
4 p. m., the writer sitting outside the tipi except for the brief time
she was permitted to enter. Thus the entire songs of the ceremony
were heard, as well as the prayers and rituals, though only the principal
song was obtained. At the proper time Coming Sun, who
was in charge of the ceremony, sent a messenger to summon the
writer and she entered the lodge, passing to the right and standing
near the bundle, before which she laid gifts of calico, tobacco, and
[534] money. Coming Sun was seated back of the bundle, directly opposite
the entrance, and held one of the sacred gourd rattles. Two
796 men at either side of him held similar rattles. In front of the men
778 at Coming Sun's left and next the sacred bundle was a belt decorated

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778
284



a, Sacred bundle

346
532
231

b, Tipi in which Morning Star ceremony was held

[Facing p. 24]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUFFALO DANCE

796 The ceremony of Painting the Buffalo Skull is held every spring by the Chaui Band of Pawnee and is in charge of Mr. Stacy Matlock, a prominent member of that band. The closing events of the ceremony are the Buffalo and Lance dances, which were witnessed by the writer through the courtesy of Mr. Matlock, no other ● [346] white person being present. The ceremony and dances were held in a large earth lodge, several miles south of the town of Pawnee. (Pl. 6, *a*, *b*, *c*.) The opening of the lodge was toward the east. At some distance was a framework, probably that of a sweat lodge. (Pl. 7, *b*.) Only members of the Buffalo Society were admitted to [778] the painting of the skull, but during the Buffalo dance the skull, painted a few days previously, lay on a folded blanket in front of the "altar" which was opposite the entrance. This occasion and the Lance dance held a few days later afforded exceptional opportunities to listen to Pawnee songs, but the semidarkness of the lodge and the solemnity of the occasion precluded the taking of notes upon either the music or the details of the ceremonial dances.

[424] The chief singer at both of these dances was Wicita Blain, a blind man who received the songs by inheritance. He led the songs 796 which were sung at a certain position back of the altar. At a later 115 time he recorded the ceremonial songs here presented, also certain songs of the Bear dance, which is held in equally high esteem by the Pawnee. John Luwak, chief of the Chaui Band, was prominent at the Lance dance and later recorded numerous songs, including those of the Crow Lance Society. (Pl. 2, *a*.)

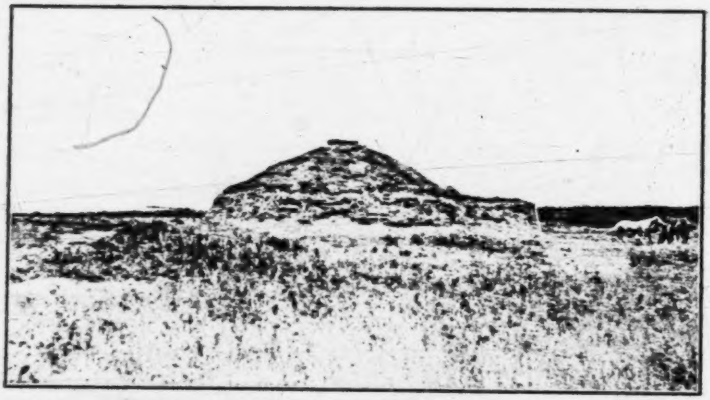
*533 The following song was led by Mr. Blain at the Buffalo dance attended by the writer and is a very old song concerning Mrs. 173 Blain's uncle, whose name was Naru'dapadi. A great herd of buffalo came to the place where the Indians were encamped and threatened the destruction of the village. Her uncle rode toward them, shouting and firing his gun in an attempt to divert them from their course, but he was caught in the herd. There were buffalo on all sides of him as the herd swept through the camp and across a stream, carrying him with them.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth. These are the tones omitted in the fourth 5-toned scale which is major while the present song is minor in tonality. It is interesting to note that 25 per cent of the intervals are fourths. This interval, in songs of other tribes, has been found to characterize songs associated with motion or connected with animals. The most frequent interval is the whole tone. This song has a compass of 11 tones and contains the fourth below the final tone. Table 4 shows that the final tone is the lowest tone in a majority of the Indian songs under analysis.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

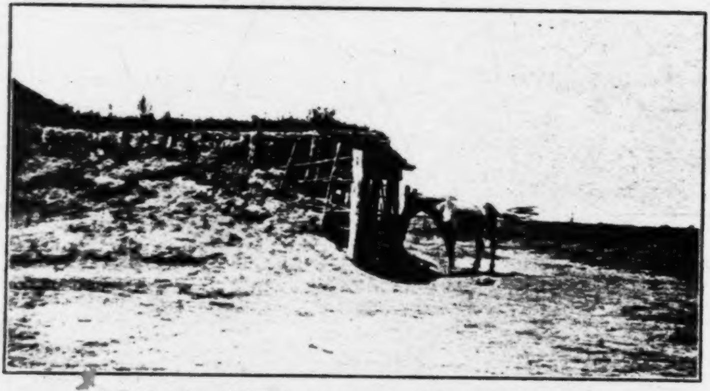
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

346



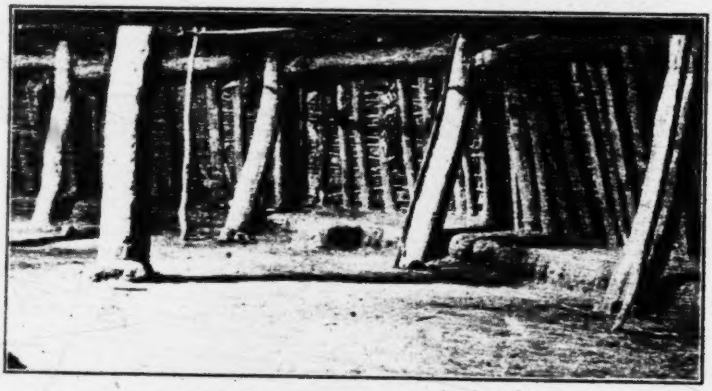
a, Exterior of earth lodge in which Buffalo and Lance dances were held

346
231



b, Entrance to earth lodge in which Buffalo and Lance dances were held

346
778



c, Interior of ceremonial earth lodge, showing "altar"

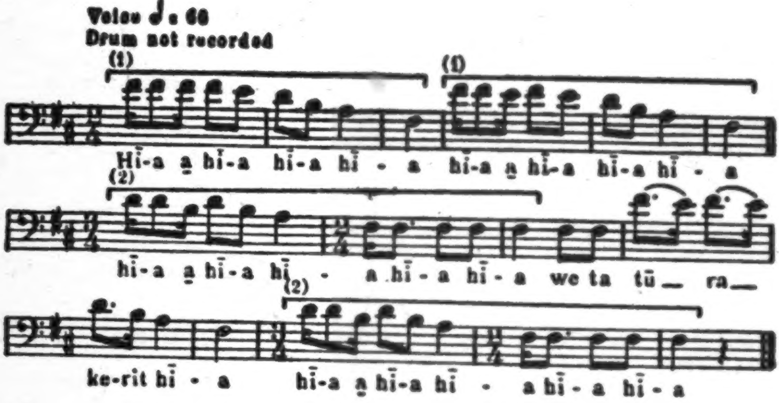
[facing p. 25]

727 A woman's pleasure at the return of victorious warriors is expressed
*533 in the following song which was sung at the Scalp dances. Among the Pawnee, as in other tribes, the scalps of slain warriors were carried in the victory dance.

No. 35. "A Woman Welcomes the Warriors"

(Catalogue No. 1104)

*533 Recorded by Wicita Blain


Voice ♩= 60
Drum not recorded
(1)
(1)
Hi-a a hi-a hi-a hi - a hi-a a hi-a hi-a hi - a
(2)
hi-a a hi-a hi - a hi-a hi - a we ta tū ra
(2)
ke-rit hi - a hi-a a hi-a hi - a hi - a hi - a

His	we	ta	tū	ra	kerit
A woman's exclamation of surprise	now	I	you	have	seen

TRANSLATION

Ah, now I have seen you.

Analysis.—This song contains two phrases designated as rhythmic units, each of which comprises three measures. The first phrase consists entirely of descending intervals and has a compass of an octave. The second phrase begins with the same count division as the first and comprises almost three measures, but it differs from the first phrase in containing one ascending interval and having a compass of only six tones. These rhythmic phrases were accurately given in all the renditions. The melody tones are those of the fourth 5-toned scale.

701 Two dances of historic interest to the Pawnee were held in honor
727 of members of the tribe who had served in the World War. These dances were held on June 6 and 7, 1919, and were attended by the writer. The place of the gatherings was a large wooden structure, north of Pawnee and located among the members of the Skidi Band.
● 346 (Pl. 7, c.) It was six-sided, with a dirt floor, and had an entrance toward the east which resembled the covered entrance to the earth lodge.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

authority resided in the evening star bundle[1] of the center village, but at 631
the time of the federation of these villages, powers were delegated to four 778
special or main bundles which in turn served as the basis of the governing
power. These were:—

1. The Yellow Tipi, or Yellow Star bundle, pertaining to the powers of the Northwest (akarákata, yellow tipi).
2. The Mother-born-again, or White Star bundle, the powers of the Southwest (atíratatariwáta, mother born again).
3. The Leading Cornstalk, or Red Star bundle, the power cf the Southeast (skawá"ha kitáwi, literally, a lucky woman as leader, but refers to a corn symbol).
4. The Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, or the bundle "with a round thing tied on" pertains to the Northeast (riwiruchaku, round thing on).

To this list may be added the Human Skull bundle and the North Star bundle. These bundles may be said to be general in the sense that they are attached to no particular village but minister to the Skidí at large.

There were, however, two independent Skidí villages that refused to enter the federation. These were the Squash Vine village (pahukstatu) and Wolf-standing-in-water village (skirirara). Each of these villages had a bundle, but little in common with the ritual scheme of the federated villages.

The federation of the thirteen villages is represented and formalized in a 346
ceremony known as the four-pole ceremony. For this a circular embank-
ment was thrown up with an opening to the east. Out in front of this 631
entrance was a small mound of earth taken from the fire pit and inside at 796
the west a raised altar platform. Around the inside of the ring of earth was a screen of green branches set up in the ground. Arranged around the fireplace were four poles bearing a tuft of branches at the top; a white pole of cottonwood, a red of box elder, a black of elm, and a yellow of willow. In the ceremony the bundles enumerated above and their keepers had fixed positions according to their rank and the geographical relations of the respective villages. As will be noted in the diagram most of the bundles are upon the north side of the enclosure, these lived on the north side of the Loupe River, the others upon the south side. The positions of the priests of the bundles are shown in the diagram and in the ceremony the bundles are opened before them in order (Fig. 1).

631
The leading bundles are associated with the four poles, according to the 778
colors as stated in their enumeration. These bundles, poles, colors, etc., 796

---

[1] The Evening Star, or red calf bundle (arípahat, red calf) may be called upon in time of need to supplement the powers of a leading bundle. Because of this relation to the four leading bundles it is sometimes called rakatira (lay across them).

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

overcame all of these in turn. Thus, he secured Evening Star. Then follows the familiar vanquishing of vaginal teeth. In course of time, a daughter was born. The earth was then created for the home of this child. The Sun and Moon became parents of a boy and he also was placed upon the earth. 631 773

[346] [778] [796]

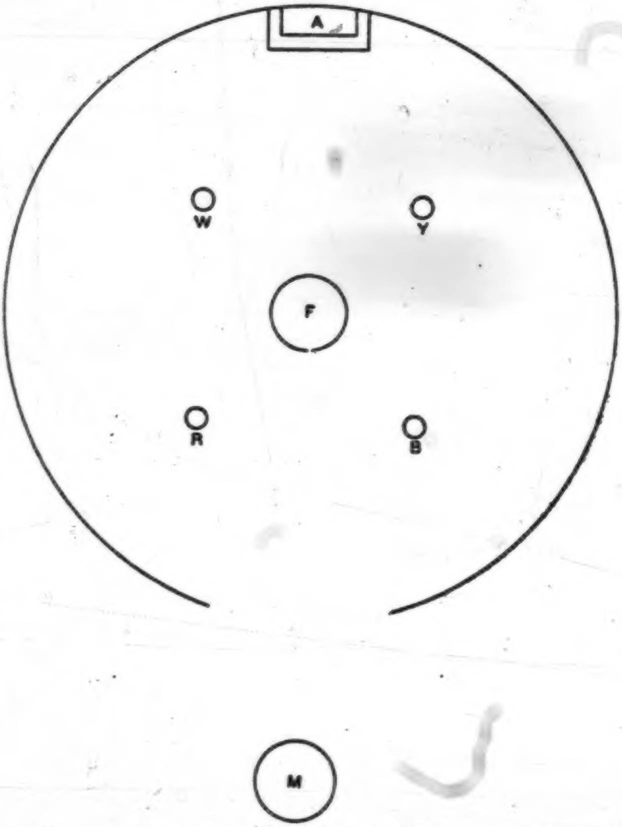


Fig. 2. Diagram of the earthwork Enclosure for the Four-pole Ceremony: A, altar for the buffalo skull; W, white pole (cottonwood); Y, yellow pole (willow); R, red pole (box alder); B, black pole (elm); F, fire pit; M, earth taken from the fire pit. During the ceremony a screen of green branches is set up inside the embankment. The poles are young trees trimmed to a few branches at the top. The seats and positions of bundles were as shown in Fig. 1.

After many years when the people were numerous, Morning Star demanded a human sacrifice as a return for his trials. Evening Star gave one man and woman directions for making the Yellow Calf bundle. Then Evening Star told him that there were many people scattered over the earth and that he should call them to-

then two men, and again two of their female relatives, and so on to the end of 622 575 the line. Before the procession left the lodge two large strong young men [602] were caught in the village, brought in, and the water drums strapped on their backs with one pack strap across the forehead and one across the [482] breast. They then marched out dancing and singing. In leaving the lodge, the procession circles the fire four times and when outside of the door again circles four times. They then march back into the lodge and the women file out and go home, while the men take their seats. The drum bearers are relieved of their burden and sent out, but later they receive a portion of the meat from the feast. After the feast the society disbands.

This society seems to be based upon the bundle of the Pítahauírata village, which is probable considering that chiefs are the leading members. [302] The chiefs painted red with black rings around the face; if yellow, a green circle: these are the two paintings.

THE SOLDIERS OR POLICE.

Each chief selects one elderly warrior as his personal aid and advisor. 625 Only those who have reached a certain high grade of distinction can serve in this capacity. As a body, these aids were known as the braves, rahikuchu. There is thus one brave for each village and he selects three men to act as police under his direction (raripakusu, fighting for order). These are strong and aggressive men. Their function was purely that of village and camp police. Their only badge of office was a special form of club for which in recent years a sword was substituted. The braves and police served for life, unless dismissed for cause. It should be noted, however [224] that these police had nothing whatever to do with the buffalo hunt.

THE BUFFALO HUNT.

The general buffalo hunt at whatever season of the year was under the 224 direction of the priest of the leading bundle which happened at that time 575 to be in charge. Preparatory to the hunt a ceremony was held, with the chiefs present, in which the hunt was planned. The priest selected one of the bundle societies to act as soldiers for the hunt. The regular police still exercised their powers in the camp, but the enforcement of all regulations for the hunt and its conduct were in the hands of the selected society. The appointment was for the hunt only. A special lodge was set up for the [346] soldiers in the east part of the camp, near the center were the lodges of the chiefs society and of the priest. The methods of punishment employed by the soldiers were the same as among other tribes.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

668 796 and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. [177] According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days. There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now [346] regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple. [361] Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise, the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical [787] belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog [524] dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the iruska. Some time after 1904 the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated. The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their hereditary sides of north and south.

THE PEYOTE.

276 794 About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to [177] him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked with Christ.

III. THE LODGE

The size of the Skidi lodge varied according to the number of 342
families residing in it. Although an individual family composed of 592
a man, his wife or wives, and their children, might be the sole occupants, often more than one family lived in a single lodge and there apparently was no definite rule regarding the number of residents and consequently the size of the lodge itself. The latter [352]
might contain two beds for a small family or might be spacious enough to accommodate as many as eighteen beds for several families. Also, chiefs' lodges and those of priests and medicine-men were of [346]
exceptional size, for they were often required to accommodate a ceremonial gathering.

The construction and interior arrangements of the Pawnee earth 352
lodge have been briefly described in a previous report (Dorsey, 1904). At the west was the altar, around the north and south sides were the beds, and at the east, on either side of the doorway, were cache holes, corn mills, sweathouses, and piles of firewood. The beds were supported by two upright forked posts on the inner side; these were connected by a hewn timber placed in the forks and from this crosspiece short poles extended to the wall or banquette. Over this frame was placed a mattress of young willows netted together and covered by buffalo robes and pillows. Usually the children had [592]
their beds nearest the altar, and the grandparents those closest the door; the parents reserved those in the middle area. In case a man [513]
had more than one wife living in his lodge, each wife had a bed of [595]
her own [Fig. 26]. [Lesser (1930) has diagramed the usual disposition of the family according to their beds. The accompanying diagrams furnished by Mr. Murie are of interest, however, for so far as I can determine they represent actual cases. Unfortunately, the exact relationships of the individuals referred to is not always clear.]

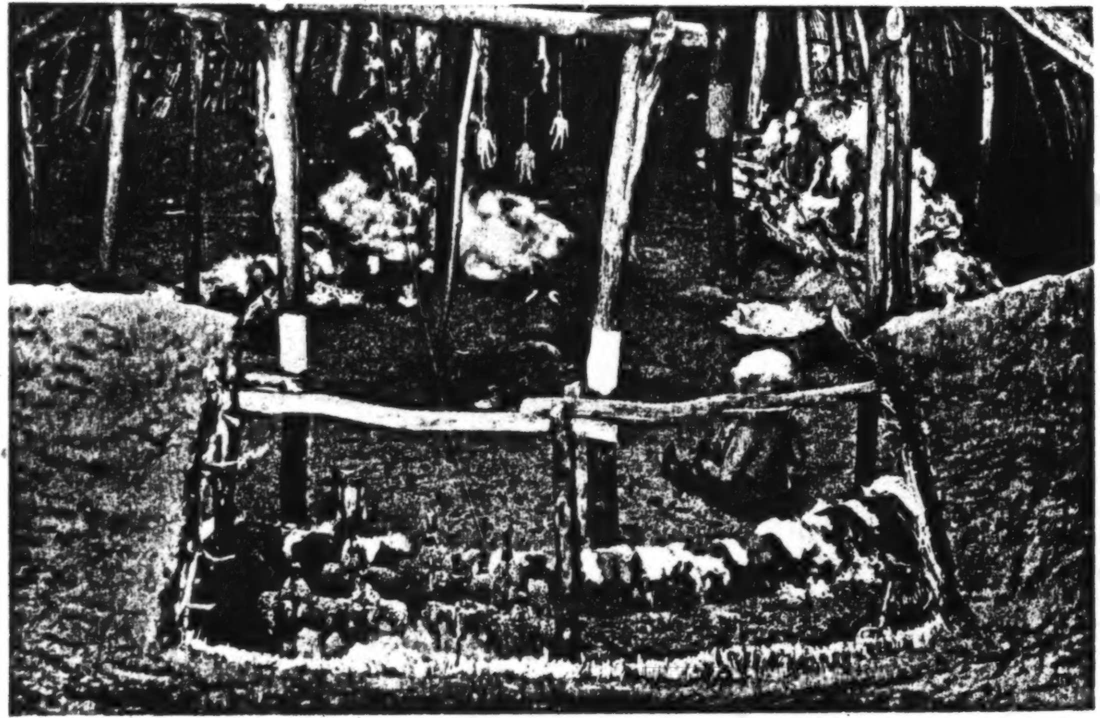
In the summer the people moved out of the lodge and slept 513
under an arbor. Each individual family made its own arbor, or all 342
the families together built a single large one for their joint use. 592
[This was in addition to the tipi, and a grass-like structure sometimes used when on the march.]

FAMILY CUSTOMS

On rising in the morning the entire family visited a near-by 512
creek or river to bathe. In olden times all were early risers, and in [515]
the spring and autumn the men and women usually repaired at once

346

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18



INTERIOR OF MEDICINE LODGE, PAWNEE.
MINIATURE GROUP IN CASE 49, HALL 5.

[Facing p. 14 (66)]

539 773 was in session, they would come in and ask the medicine men to help them, and they would give them a place in the lodge. In this way the society grew. People from other bands also heard about it and came begging to learn the mysteries. The medicine men taught them, and they went back to their own people and started other medicine lodges."

756 796 The ceremonies of the historic medicine lodge agreed in a general way with those last described in the legendary account of its origin, but there were several features not mentioned in the story just given. The preparations for the great fall ceremony were begun while the people were still on the spring buffalo hunt. At this time the leading medicine men selected two members of the society to make two bows and four arrows. When these were completed, they were given to two other medicine men with instructions for one to kill a bull and the other a cow. The animals had to be killed with a single arrow, but it is said that because of the magic powers of the arrows the hunters never failed to do this. [532] [778] The bull's hide was to be used to cover the head of the water-monster image, the cow's hide to cloth the figure of the witch woman. Two more buffalo, also a bull and a cow, were then killed in the same way, the hide of the former being saved to make an image of the Morning Star, and that of the latter, to make nine small images which represented the important heavenly gods. [778] When the buffalo had been killed, the bows and arrows were returned to the leading medicine men who placed them among their sacred objects.

On the return from the hunt, the four leading medicine men went to the medicine lodge and ordered [342] [346] that it be cleared for the ceremony. The same lodge seems to have been used for the ceremony year after year, but was occupied as a dwelling between ceremonies.

With the installation of the New Mother Corn accomplished, steps were taken to shift the cosmic power to the North Direction bundle for the winter. The priest announced that the change was at hand, went to the northwest house post, and took down the sacred stalks that were tied there, giving them to the chief who was in charge of the newly appointed North Direction bundle. He addressed the chief briefly upon the import of the procedure and formally charged him with the office. The new chief replaced the stalks on the post and then divided the harvest offerings that the women had brought among the chiefs and priests present at the ceremony. 243 778 793

Following this ceremony, all the sacred bundles changed their ears of Mother Corn for those of the new harvest. This ceremony was conducted very simply in each case, the usual smoke and meat offerings being made to the appropriate powers and a feast shared. In all the sacred bundles the pipe was turned so that when the bundle hung on the west wall of the house over the altar the mouthpiece of the pipe would be pointing north, so that the winter powers located in that direction could smoke. [782]

The Pawnee year opened in the spring with a ceremony celebrating the creation of the universe and within it the uniting of all the people under one religion and society. Now as the harvest was done, a closing ceremony commemorated their unity and the common defense of their land. The four house posts in the semicardinal positions symbolized the entire world and its peoples. It was under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person and its four special ministers. 796 619 [778]

The setting for the ceremony was a special circular structure—a low circular embankment opening to the east. First the priests marked out the circle with a compass consisting of two sticks with a long string between; they also marked out the fireplace in the center in the same way. The fireplace was 3 feet in diameter and the excavated earth from it was dumped outside the east entrance to form a small mound. They dug four holes about a foot deep in the semicardinal positions within the circle to receive the posts that would be planted later on. All around the inside of the circular embankment saplings were set up in the ground, forming a screen that shaded the participants as they sat around during the ceremony. The chiefs who were the owners of the sacred bundles sat along the north and along the south side of the circle, each representing one of the villages that was a member of the original federation. Most of them sat on the north side, as the original villages were mainly on the Loup River, only one having come from the Platte to the south. At the west sat the keepers of the four direction bundles as they had originally come from Old Village in the west. 796 346

The ceremony itself comprised two major episodes. One was the getting of the four poles, a war party setting out in a different direction for 796

wished to share in the cult knowledge apprenticed themselves to a doctor 756
and gradually learned his lore, adding their own variations in the course [173]
of time. Each of the different cults held their own special ceremonies at
least twice a year—in the spring before going out on the summer buffalo [796]
hunt and in the fall before leaving for the winter hunt. In addition, all
these cults were organized into one big "Doctor Lodge." It is said that in [173]
the past there were two separate doctor lodges within the Skidi Band
that would stage big hypnotic contests between them. They were called
"East Doctors" and "West Doctors."

At the time of this narrative in 1867 there was one combined Doctor Lodge with two major leaders, one for the south side, Pipe Offering of Pumpkin-Vine Village, and one for the north side, Big Doctor of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. Despite their location in the lodge, they were still referred to as West and East Doctors respectively, coinciding with the relative location of their villages in the settlement. Big Doctor was considered the more authoritative of the two, which may have been due to personal factors rather than formal or ceremonial ones. Each of these leaders had an assistant from his village to help him manage his side. Sitting Hawk of Pumpkin-Vine assisted Good Pipe and Wonderful Old Bull of Bottomlands Village assisted Big Doctor. These men were both prominent in their own right—Sitting Hawk, for example, being a prominent member of the Bear Cult and a senior member of his family in the chiefs' council. The apprentices to these prominent doctors acted as errand men and cooked and served the meals. They were stationed on each side of the entrance at the east. Theoretically the head men should be willing to give them any information they wanted in return for their services, and eventually they would move up to a position in one of the animal cults in which the doctor had a vested interest. Several subapprentices sat
next to them waiting to assume the position of errand man when they
should move. Venerable old men who were not currently members of the [888]
cults sat in the northeast and southeast positions, further in the lodge [622]
than the apprentices. Chiefs who were invited to witness a performance
were seated next to the old men still further in. [554]

The bed platforms had all been uprooted and put outside on the roof of 756
the entry way and along the sides a series of booths had been built for 346
the animal cults. The booths were constructed with partition walls of willow saplings and main outer posts of cottonwood logs. Each booth was completely screened in, with a tiny entranceway cut near the bottom of the front wall so that the doctors could crawl in and out. Each cult was directed by a leader who had a series of apprentices and subapprentices with different degrees of knowledge of the cult tradition.

At this time eight cults were represented in the different booths, four on each side.

756
• 346

On the South Side	*On the North Side*
A *reindeer cult* in charge of Old Bull	*An eagle cult*
A *black-tailed deer* cult led by Old Lady Tsitawa (see p. 45)	A *fish hawk cult*
A *buffalo lodge* led by Wonderful Old Bull	A *coyote* lodge (including wolves and foxes)
Another *buffalo lodge* led by Leading Buffalo	A *bear* lodge jointly lead by Sitting Hawk and Angry Horse

173 The origin of the Associated Doctor Lodge was said to be in Pump-
756 kin-Vine Village where they would conduct a twenty-day ceremony.
178 When they joined the Skidi Federation, they incorporated the other
[631] doctors and extended the term to thirty days. The formation of the as-
756 sociation was attributed to an original visionary and images were con-
796 structed to commemorate various aspects of his vision. The most elabor-
532 ate was one that represented the serpentlike water monster that led him
to the earth lodge of the animals under the Missouri. The body of the serpent, which was nearly 60 feet long, curved around the outside of the houseposts with its head at the southeast, a forked tail at the northeast, and its body curved toward the west. The body was constructed of a framework of pieces of ashwood tied with sinew, covered over with a layer of grass and plastered with clay, smoothed and painted in different colors. Its mouth, large enough for a man to crawl inside, was built of two rawhide containers, covered over with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with white downy eagle feathers. The open mouth was provided with large wedge-shaped cottonwood teeth and on each side of the mouth long slender willow rods to represent feelers or antennae.

They also had to model the figure of the witch woman who was in the visionary animal lodge under the Missouri. First they built up a willow frame and then covered it with grass and clay. They provided the witch with a realistically modeled face and pumpkin-seed eyes, blackened in the center to represent pupils. On her head they put a buffalo scalp to which they attached two long braids of human hair; for clothing she wore a buffalo-hide dress.

Next they modeled the fireplace into the shape of a turtle, with its head pointing east, its tail west and the four legs in the semicardinal directions. They scooped out the back for the fire pit.

It took twelve of the leading doctors two nights running to build these figures, for which large quantities of clay had to be brought in. They worked at night so that they would not be observed. These were the main figures that represented the vision in the animal lodge.

[776] The next task was to represent the star gods from whom everything

came, including the animals. For these, two consecrated buffalo skins 756
were shot with a special bow and arrow during the preceding summer. 776
The gods were represented as cutouts suspended from the roof of the 796
lodge. Each was hung approximately where it appeared in the heavens. 532
The female gods of the western skies were cut out of the buffalo cowskin. The bull hide was used for a large cutout figure of the Morning Star fastened to a stick and raised above the smokehold outside just before the star rose in the sky.

The tasks of the doctors in preparing the ceremonial lodge were sum- 756
marized by my informant as: 346
796

> Now that the booths, the drums and gourds (rattles) were done, the pictures hung, the serpent, witch, and turtle modeled, there was one more thing to do—to get the cedar tree.

Each one of these elements of ceremonial furniture represented an in- 756
volved ideological network of religious beliefs. The theology of the 796
celestial gods and the creation has already been sufficiently elaborated 77
on. The ideology of the Doctor Spirits concerned chiefly the waters as the primordial source, followed by the earth, the plants, and the animals —all however, ultimately subject to and derived from Heaven as denoted by the cutout figures of the cosmic gods.

The ideology of the doctors was greatly valued from a humanistic as 756
well as from a practical point of view. Theoretically, chiefs with heredi- 622
tary status should not want to be doctors as to some extent we might not expect a Grand Duke to want to go to medical school and set up an office for general practice. The degree of apprenticeship and subordination to an established practitioner seemed hardly consonant with the dignity of a chief from the point of view of the Pawnee, but nevertheless some of the chiefs did seek out doctor knowledge and participated actively in the apprentice roles. When a chief applied to a doctor to become his pupil, the doctor would try to dissuade him saying, "You're a chief. I don't sleep at night. I am always working. You don't want to be that way. I have to watch the sick at night." But if the chief is determined his wish will finally be granted. The doctor again would test him, saying, "You're good-looking. You don't want to have mud all over your face!" At last after all these probing questions, if the applicant said, "That's what I want," the doctor, convinced of his sincerity, would bless him and receive him under his tutelage. White Eagle, who had led the previous summer hunt, and his brother Charley Box were both chiefs and also deer doctors. Old Bull and Victory Call were both chiefs and practicing doctors; Victory Call's senior brother Sitting Hawk had an important place in the chief's council and was also a leading doctor in the lodge.

35

ORGANIZING THE EARTH LODGE FOR THE CEREMONIAL PERFORMANCE–REHEARSALS AND CONSTRUCTION WORK

000

Work Corps to Prepare Earth Lodge for Ceremony—Fleas Burnt—Drums Repaired—Practice Sing—Meat Served the Singers—Building of Booths in Lodge—Building the Images

Of the four leaders of the Doctor Lodge, Sitting Hawk had the largest 756
and most conveniently located earth lodge, and it was in his lodge that 796
they decided to conduct the ceremony. The following are the details of 346
the way in which they managed to get the work done and the ceremonial procedures connected with it. 356

As soon as they got back from the hunt and set up camp, the three other doctors called on Sitting Hawk and discussed the matter; two weeks later he made arrangements to begin to get the lodge ready. Like all the others in the village, his lodge was infested with fleas that had to be smoked out. He organized his work corps, first calling in the two doctors' errand men and then sending each of them in turn to bring in another young man to assist. The five had dinner at Sitting Hawk's camp, then met next morning at the lodge and got to work. They pulled up the beds and piled them outside on the roof of the long entrance passageway. Sitting Hawk supervising, two of them got to work with burning torches to smoke out the fleas on each side. The floor was carefully swept and the dust carried far from the lodge to be dumped. Dusty and tired, their legs red with flea bites, about five o'clock they

756 took a swim in Beaver Creek and set out for Sitting Hawk's tent where
796 they would be served dinner. Meanwhile, since word had gone all
• 346 around the camp of what they were doing, other doctors decided to join
356 them for supper. From this point on, all activities connected with the Doctor Lodge would be charged to the "Doctor Fund" of sixty parfleches of buffalo meat that had been pledged for the purpose. At each event the leader stated how much was being used for the current proceedings and how much of the total. At this meal, half a parfleche of buffalo meat was used up and it was so stated by Sitting Hawk.

The fleas would have to be burnt out one more time, and Sitting Hawk had told them that they would allow a day to pass in between and then do it on the subsequent day. As they were leaving the dinner that night, two other young doctors decided to join the work corps. The other two assistants, Man Chief and Fox Chief, decided to relax and do some gambling in the interim, before resuming their work next day.

When people in camp heard about what the doctors were doing, they all talked about speeding up their harvest. Someone would say, "Oh I'd like to see Bear!" Old ladies would say, "Oh, so they're cleaning the Doctor Lodge. Well it's high time. There ought to be a session in there already. When I was younger I used to be a good singer. When they went through the village, I used to sing." Other old ladies would reminisce about old times and about how many doctors there used to be in Old Village, Kitkehax-pakuxtu.

Now the men gathered at the lodge for the second bout with the fleas. Again Sitting Hawk supervised and two smoked them out on each side. The two additional young men cleared off the spider webs near the roof, for they were going to hang the cutouts up there; since they would have a large fire all during the sessions, the sparks might ignite the webs. Sitting Hawk wanted to keep them all busy so that during that day they didn't go off and gamble. They proceeded at a leisurely pace, sitting down for a smoke and telling stories every now and then. He sent his son Misery down to the Loup River to check the condition of the cedars and to locate a straight one about 4 inches in diameter. By late afternoon they took a long bath in Beaver Creek and then went to Sitting Hawk's tent for supper. On this occasion, the second half of the parfleche of meat from the Doctor's Fund was used up.

When everyone moved back into their earth lodges, Sitting Hawk's family had to divide up and move in with others. The women and children moved in with Chief's Road whose house was immediately to the west of theirs, and the boys went to the earth lodge of Comanche Chief into which Sitting Hawk's oldest son, Misery, was married.

While the others were cleaning the ceremonial lodge, the three other leading doctors had been working on the drums and other things. This had been mentioned among the guests at the dinner. Sitting Hawk had

said, "Now while we're cleaning, it's only right that Big Doctor, Won- 756
derful Old Bull, Pipe Offering, and Old Bull should be fixing their 796
drums and other things so that the boys can go into the lodge and prac- 346
tice as soon as it is fixed up. We'd like the drums to sound good when 356
we get in there." "That's right," some one else would say, "I've been wanting to sing even now, but the drum isn't fixed yet. It doesn't sound good."

At last everything was in order and the four leading doctors moved 756
into the ceremonial lodge for the duration of the ceremony with the two 796
errand men to do the cooking. That night they would have a practice 624
sing with all the doctors who wanted to participate. The two leading doctors sent the two errand men out to invite them. They saw that the two men were appropriately clothed to go through the village, providing each with a buffalo robe which they wrapped around themselves with the hair side out, and an eagle-wing fan to carry. They filed out of the lodge one behind the other at a trot, and as they entered a lodge where a doctor lived they sat down one behind the other at the east with their eagle-wing fans in front of their faces. The appropriate response was for someone in the lodge to whisper into their right ear the question as to what they wished. They would answer also in a whisper that the doctor was to come right away. Then the two errand men would get up and trot out again, moving on to the next lodge where a doctor lived. Their mission did not always proceed with dispatch. Sometimes the two errand men got to a lodge where everyone was sleeping and the occupants would say, "Oh, I hate to get up," but they had to get up anyway and whisper their question and receive the whispered reply. In some lodges there were just young girls about and they said to each other, "You go and do it." "No, you go." Finally one would sit down next to the errand man and ask the question. He would whisper his reply, but not knowing the proper decorum, the girl would call right out loud, "Oh, I'll tell him." All these incidents were recounted in detail when the two men returned to the Doctor Lodge. In some places the people were eating and they made the errand men take a few bits of food before they would let them go. If the doctor happened to be home and was smoking, he would make them smoke with him a while before whispering his question and receiving his reply. Should the errand men meet a man outside the lodge on his way somewhere or toward the house, they would not discuss their business with him but would proceed to his lodge and notify the people there. As soon as the doctor was notified, he went straight to the Doctor Lodge. Everyone knew that on that night they were going to start by singing the doctor songs.

Twenty-six doctors came to the ceremonial lodge and Big Doctor 796
opened the evening with a speech. He said, "Tonight we are going to 756
practice our first songs so that we can send the birds, the winds, and

on the south. When they had gone halfway down the line, Big Doctor 756
appointed someone to get up and cut the meat into portions while the 796
errand man put up the water to boil. As the singing continued, the [533]
errand man finally announced that the meat was all cooked and a spread was laid down east of the fireplace and 43 portions were set out for the singers. It was midnight or later when the singing was over and the four drums and a number of gourd rattles were brought back to Big Doctor. He made a brief speech: "Now in three days we are going to get the wood for our booths. We must look to the future and make our plans. Now we are going to eat." Then he appointed two men for each side to do the serving of the meat. One portion was sent to the house where Sitting Hawk's wife was staying, "for the lodge." Before they could eat, [782]
an offering of meat and fat was made to the spirits in the significant directions of the universe. When the offering was completed, all said, "Nawa."

One more matter had to be attended to before the meat could finally be served. The meat was arranged on the spread according to where the people were sitting, and a stick was placed in the middle to act as a divider between the north and south halves. The pieces of meat were of two different sizes, some particularly large and some of ordinary proportions. Big Doctor asked Sitting Hawk to see that the special portions were placed in position so that they would be properly assigned. There were to be special portions for the four doctors at the west and their wives, for the eight chiefs, the two errand men, one each for the person sitting at the north on behalf of the North Star and at the south on behalf of the South Star, and for the four men who had been specially appointed to do the serving. Three or four extra pieces were set aside for possible mistakes in the count; if no mistakes had been made, these extra portions were placed on top of those that had already been set out for the chiefs. The smaller-size pieces were set out for the rest of the people. The meat was passed out in formal order and then the soup, in the same way. The feast this time consisted of meat and soup only.

By now it was extremely late and Big Doctor made some very brief closing remarks. He said, "Now we know what we have to do (viz., come back in three days and get wood for the booths). Now we have eaten. Now we can go." All got up and went home. It would take six or seven days more before the dance preparations were complete.

The next stage in their preparations was the building of the booths [346]
and other structures in the ceremonial lodge. As announced, this would be three days after the practice sing. On the appointed morning before daybreak, Big Doctor told the errand men to go to certain specified lodges and get four parfleches of dried buffalo meat that had been pledged so that they could have their feast that evening. The four donors had already been alerted at the previous meeting.

stand at the west. After the smoke offerings, he made a series of cuts in the tree at the four cardinal points in the standard order—first at the west, then north, then east and then south, cutting it so that it would fall gently to the east where two men were standing to catch it so that the limbs would not break. They sharpened it at the stub end so that it would stand up in the lodge. All chips were gathered and either thrown into the creek or carried home and burned in the fire. After gathering as many willow saplings as they could carry, the procession for the Doctor Lodge set out with Sitting Hawk in the lead and two men each carrying the six cottonwoods, one at each end of the tree. 756 796 824

Halfway home, they stopped. They began to make animal motions and to try to hypnotize one another (*patsaku*, "shoot one another"). Some of them had their buffalo robes on, some did not. They made peculiar motions with their eagle-wing fans, touching the ground. Then some were knocked down and got up growling and grunting. One of them "hypnotized" another by trying to put a corn cob in his throat, making his mouth all bloody. Another attempted to put fish bones in someone's throat, with the same result. The victims vomited up these things without too much damage being done and continued to move along with the cottonwoods. When the little boys saw this they got excited and said, "Look at those fellows! Look at that big bear over there!" As they arrived at the village, they made a second stop and again hypnotized each other. Then they took up the trees once more and went toward the ceremonial lodge. As they were arriving, Big Doctor took up his gourd rattle and began to sing. They came in and when the singing was over, Sitting Hawk gave the pipe back to Pipe Offering at the west. The cottonwood that had been ceremonially gathered was carefully placed to the east of the fireplace with its stub end pointing west and the head end eastward toward the exit. The second "west" tree was placed in the same position beside it and the others in any order on the ground, nearer the entrance. Now Big Doctor, getting the pipe from Pipe Offering, smoked all the trees ceremonially, treating each one in turn as in the woods.

They could now proceed to build the booths. Meanwhile, the errand men did the cooking. First the six cottonwoods were erected, three on each side. Then the willow partitions and fronts were added. Everyone was arguing—"This is our lot; move over a bit." "Well, we have a lot of buffalo!" "Well, we have a lot of deer too!" The leaders stood on the inside directing the apprentices who were doing their work. The willows were all piled up on the north side of the entrance while they proceed with the job. At the southeast the errand men were preparing the kettle so that they could cook their meat. They had had nothing to eat all day. The wives of the four leading doctors had brought in four buckets of boiled dried corn kernels and set them down on either side of 756 796 346 [624] [252]

756 the southeast lodge pole. Sometimes a woman would come in and give
796 the "boss" of one of the animal booths a gift of corn bread so that later
• [346] on during the performance they would be permitted to sit near the
booth and get a better view instead of crowding in at the entryway.

When the food was ready, Big Doctor spoke and told them they were going to interrupt their activity and eat now, and that they could resume their work later. He said that he himself would make the offering to the powers with the corn and save time. The errand men were instructed to distribute the food.

The meal over, Big Doctor said, "Now we have eaten. Now you can go and tend to anything you want to. But after that, return here and get back to work!" They went off home to take their extra dry meat to their families, to tend their horses, and to take a little rest before going on with the work in the evening. The four main doctors did not linger long away from the ceremonial lodge. They had to fix up the gourd rattles, drums, and other things. Old-Man-That-Chief who has elk (*pax*) power was too old to wander about. If he should want to go home, someone must lead him. Most of the time he remained in the lodge throughout the ceremonial period.

756 That night and the next they built the serpent, the witch, and the
796 turtle. They worked at night when they would not be observed. The
532 serpent would take a whole night, the witch and the turtle perhaps
[317] another night. They had to bring in quantities of clay from the river
bottom to do all this modeling. Twelve of them did the modeling—the four doctors at the west, and Old Bull and also the son of the subleader at the north, Wonderful Old Bison; the son of Sitting Hawk, Misery; also Angry Horse of the Bear Lodge. Bringing Horses was called in by Pipe Offering to assist him. On the next night, after the serpent was done they divided up, six working on the witch woman and six on the turtle-fireplace. Then the skin cutouts of the celestial powers were hung in place and the two loon skins put before the altar. Finally they were to set out for the cedar tree. They followed the same kind of procedure as for the cottonwoods, except that only one tree was obtained on this occasion.

756 A suitable cedar had been spotted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy
796 on the Loup River, and before sunrise the next day a party of twenty
[824] doctors led by Strikes-the-Enemy set out to cut it down and bring it
back to the lodge. Symbolically the cedar represented the Bear whose celestial affiliation was with the sun and the moon. The cottonwood symbolized the Beaver and the waters of the earth. Strikes-the-Enemy led the party, carrying a bear-hide rattle. On the return journey, they stopped half way and had a hypnotic contest as described in Chapter 34.

[824] When the party reached within four feet of the lodge, they halted and

him around a little bit." "Oh, I got on him like a horse. He's a good run- 756
ner." 796

By this time the Bear leader, Angry Horse, was all crumpled up and 536
quieted down. Standing at the west of the fireplace facing east, he warmed his rock over the fire and then went to his seat near the Bear Booth at the northeast of the Doctor Lodge. There he removed his whole costume, including the cedar wreath, leaving only his blackened face. Now the two ex-Bears, Man Chief and Fox Chief, also came out of the booth without their Bear costumes. Man Chief went to the north of the fireplace, extending his right hand over the fire, then putting it on top of his head. Then he did the same with his left hand. He went through the same procedure with his abdomen and also his knees as he stood up. At the south of the fireplace, Fox Chief did the same thing. Now both men returned to their Bear Booth, Man Chief directly from his station at the north and Fox Chief from his south station around the west and north.

This was the closing act of the whole show, and now Big Doctor made his final address to them all. He said, "Now spectators, young men, women, now you have seen, during these several nights, this, 'our playing.' Young men, tribespeople, now I am through with this playing of. ours." (He included the audience as well as the doctors in his statement, expressed through the grammatical first person, plural inclusive form, *ti-wi-rikuhuritsa-witsat*, "this-now-it us all-complete." He thus acknowledged the help of the spectators in examining the paraphernalia when offered to them to affirm that they were authentic.) "Now that's all." This was the signal for all spectators to leave.

That night the doctors would take the first step toward dismantling the 756
ceremonial appointments of the lodge. Each of the doctors would bundle 796
up the sacred objects he had used in carrying out his performance and 346
wrap them in a skin cover to form a long-shaped bundle. These must be 778
taken to their respective homes that evening. The four doctors at the west would wrap up everything pertaining to the Doctor Lodge in general—the loons and other birds, etc. That night only the four leading doctors would remain in the lodge, sending home their bundles with the errand men.

Very early next morning all the doctors would return so that they could 756
remove and dismantle all the special ceremonial figures and structures 796
they had built. Insofar as possible these would be carried intact to the wa- 778
ter where they would be deposited in a certain position, approximating 532
their position in the ceremonial lodge. The serpent figure, the witch woman, and the cedar would be carried out as they were and the sticks of the booths used to make them into a booth in the bottom of the creek. While the Bear ceremony was going on, some men had been delegated to find a suitable place for this.

796 177 Warrior had Victory Call's help in all this and the two men liked each other. Victory Call gave Kind Warrior a horse, a beaver when he trapped it and other gifts to show his appreciation for what Kind Warrior had done for him. Kind Warrior told the members that Victory Call was to lead them when he died.

796 346

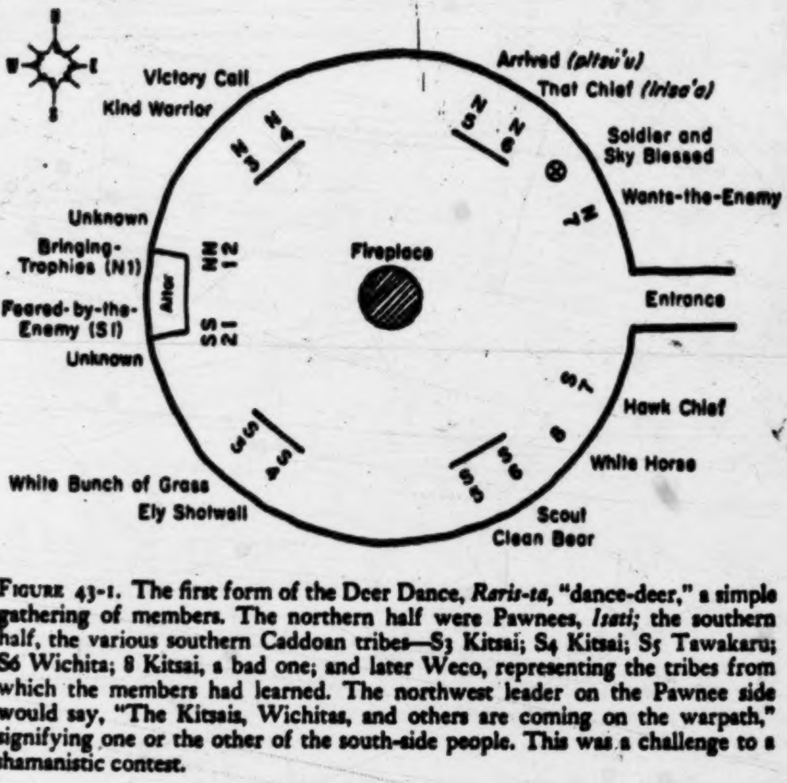

N
W
E
S
Victory Call
Kind Warrior
Arrived (pitsu'u)
That Chief (iriso'a)
Soldier and Sky Blessed
Wants-the-Enemy
N3
N4
N5
N6
N7
Unknown
Bringing-Trophies (N1)
Altar
N1
N2
S1
S2
Fireplace
Entrance
Feared-by-the-Enemy (S1)
Unknown
S7
8
Hawk Chief
White Horse
S3
S4
S5
S6
White Bunch of Grass
Ely Shotwell
Scout
Clean Bear

FIGURE 43-1. The first form of the Deer Dance, *Raris-ta*, "dance-deer," a simple gathering of members. The northern half were Pawnees, *Isati;* the southern half, the various southern Caddoan tribes—S3 Kitsai; S4 Kitsai; S5 Tawakaru; S6 Wichita; 8 Kitsai, a bad one; and later Weco, representing the tribes from which the members had learned. The northwest leader on the Pawnee side would say, "The Kitsais, Wichitas, and others are coming on the warpath," signifying one or the other of the south-side people. This was a challenge to a shamanistic contest.

796 The singing was carried out in four sets. There were four men at each of the semicardinal stations. There were four gourd rattles and four bows. These were carried first to the four at the southeast who would rattle and sing a set of songs and then the paraphernalia was passed to the next station at the southwest, then to the northwest and then to the northeast, each group rattling and singing a set of songs. The four successive semicardinal stations represented the course of a man's life—southeast, youth; southwest, maturity; northwest, getting old; and northeast, old man. As the singing proceeded, whichever of the members felt moved, would get up and give a sleight-of-hand performance. Spec-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796
346

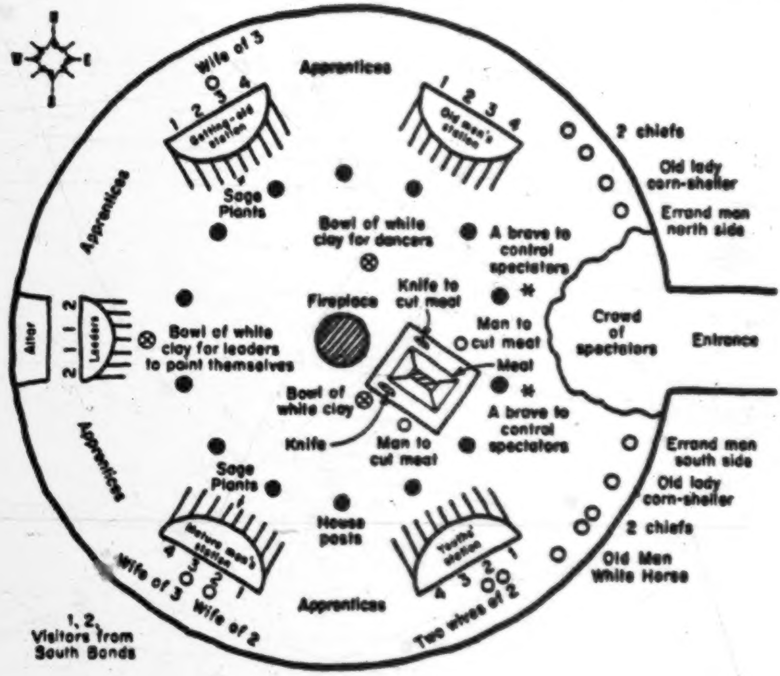

N
W
E
S
Wife of 3
Apprentices
1 2 3 4
Getting-old station
1 2 3 4
Old men's station
2 chiefs
Old lady corn-sheller
Errand man north side
Sage Plants
Bowl of white clay for dancers
A brave to control spectators
Apprentices
Knife to cut meat
Fireplace
Altar
Leaders
2 1 1 2
Bowl of white clay for leaders to paint themselves
Man to cut meat
Meat
Crowd of spectators
Entrance
Bowl of white clay
A brave to control spectators
Knife
Man to cut meat
Apprentices
Sage Plants
Errand man south side
Old lady corn-sheller
House posts
2 chiefs
Mature men's station
Youths' station
4 3 2 1
1 2 3 4
Old Man White Horse
Wife of 3
Wife of 2
Apprentices
Two wives of 2
1, 2, Visitors from South Bands

FIGURE 43-2. The developed form of the Deer Dance. It took place in a large ten-post earth lodge. There were sage plants all around to sit on with root ends pointing outward; the thickest bunches were at the stations and the thinner layers between. The circuit of singing is clockwise—southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast, as the circuit of the stars around the North Star. Note the development of specialized personnel.

796
533
825

Then one of the eagles sat on the eggs while the other flew around. The deer dancers of the several Pawnee bands would invite one another to their dances and in this way, the Skidi acquired some of the songs about the Fort Scott expedition, while Skidi experiences found their way into the repertoire of the other bands. One Skidi song concerned a time when the Comanche came to attack. They could see them coming a long way off, and they came down and hid and stole many horses.

Another song was composed by Warrior. He was an old man who had been highly successful in his war expeditions. Most people wondered why such a man would join the Deer Dance, since one of its major interests was success in war. But Warrior had another purpose. He was particularly interested in learning the sleight-of-hand feat in which a wonderful rabbit could turn into a human being. The story was that

7

THE SPRING AWAKENING

000

Creation Ceremony—Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—Ceremony of Sacred Corn Seeds—Ground-breaking Ceremony—Pawnee Ceremonial Acts Discussed—Planting Cycle Ceremonies Discussed—Significance with Seasonal Progression Noted

THE PAWNEES HAD MANY TASKS to accomplish in the early spring before 796 the time of planting. Some of them were practical and some ceremonial, but to the Pawnees who believed that nothing on earth could move without the heavens, no practical task could be undertaken unless the appropriate ceremony had preceded it.

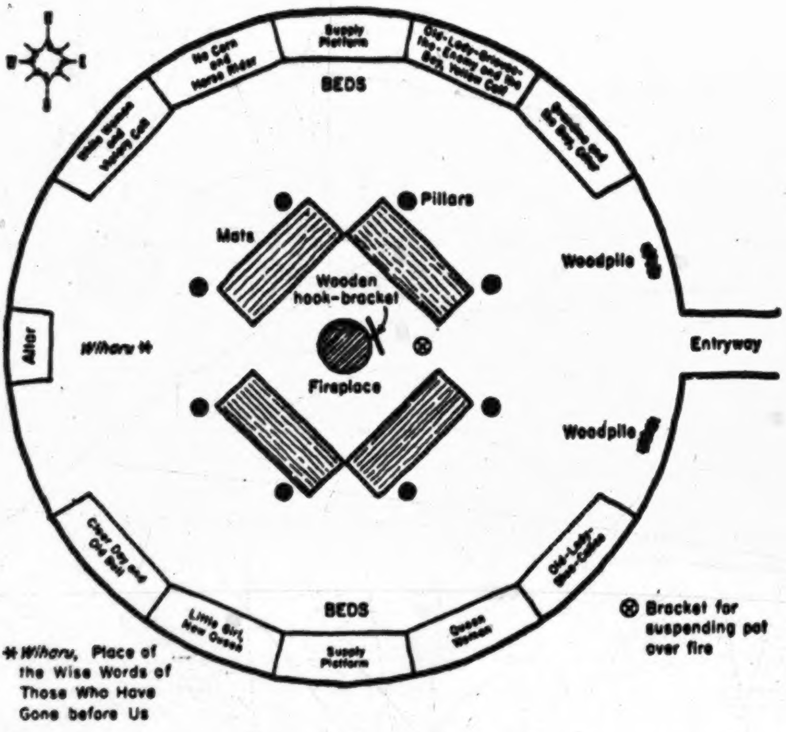
The first ceremonial act of the year was to awaken the whole earth from its winter sleep. After their long and arduous travels over the plains on their winter buffalo hunt, the Pawnees returned to their villages at the end of February or the beginning of March. The year began about the time of the spring equinox with the ritual recitation of the creation by the five priests, repeated for each of the twelve sacred bundles of the original villages that formed the Skidi federation. The position of [821] the stars was an important guide to the time when this ceremony should be held. The earth lodge served as an astronomical observatory and as [349] the priests sat inside at the west, they could observe the stars in certain positions through the smokehole and through the long east-oriented entranceway. They also kept careful watch of the horizon right after sunset and just before dawn to note the order and position of the stars.

The round of spring renewal ceremonies was heralded by the ap- 796
pearance of two small twinkling stars known as the Swimming Ducks in 821
the northeastern horizon near the Milky Way. They notified the animals [221]
that they must awaken from their winter sleep, break through the ice,
and come out into the world again. At this time the Pleiades began to

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

512 [354] light came in through the smokehole and, as the day broke, the long radial ribs of the slanting roof stood out clearly like the frame of a huge umbrella, reaching out from the central ring at the top to the edge of the low circular wall.

342
35



S
W
E
N
Supply Platform
No Corn and Horse Rider
Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy and the Boy, Yellow Calf
BEDS
White Woman and Victory Call
Pillars
Mats
Woodpile
Wooden hook-bracket
Altar
Wiharu ⁂
Fireplace
Entryway
Woodpile
Clear Day and Old Bull
Old-Lady-Blue-Calico
BEDS
Little Girl, New Queen
Supply Platform
Queen Woman

⁂ Wiharu, Place of the Wise Words of Those Who Have Gone before Us

⊗ Bracket for suspending pot over fire

Figure 5-1. Groundplan of the house where the boy, Otter, lived with his father, Victory Call, and his mother, White Woman.

342 352 353 About halfway between the fireplace and the walls stood a series of stout pillars made of whole tree trunks with the bark removed, forked at the top and connected together by crosspieces so that they gave support to the heavy slanting roof. The tall pillars made a convenient division between the sleeping quarters around the outer edge of the circle and the eating and living quarters around the central fireplace. Here near the fireplace the earthen floor was covered with large reed mats where they sat, using pillars as a backrest.

352 353 Around the outside, each bed platform was divided from the other by a series of skin curtains that hung at the head and foot of each bed; a reed

623
342
35
554

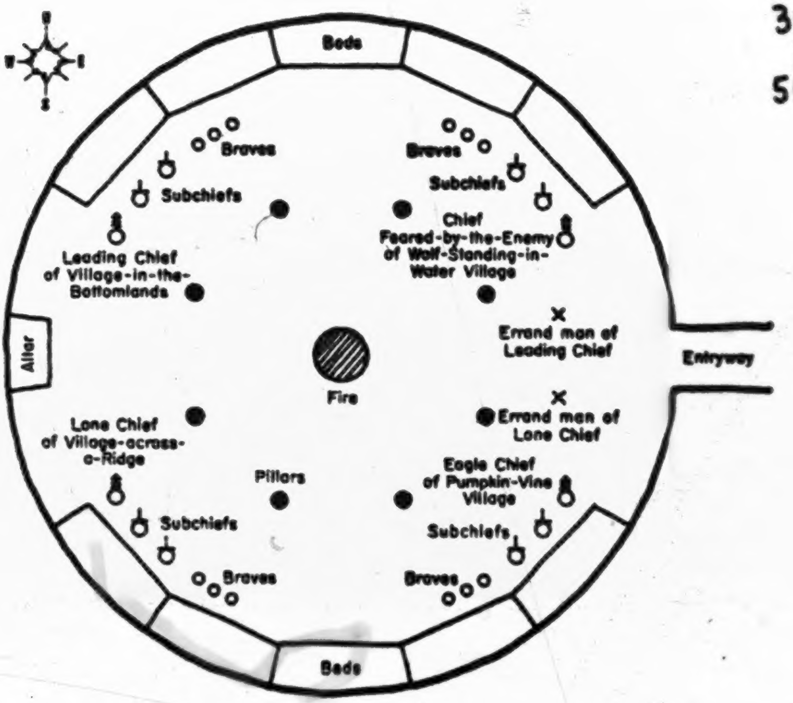

N
W
E
S
Beds
Braves
Braves
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Chief
Feared-by-the-Enemy
of Wolf-Standing-in-
Water Village
Leading Chief
of Village-in-the-
Bottomlands
Altar
Fire
Errand man of
Leading Chief
Entryway
Errand man of
Lone Chief
Lone Chief
of Village-across-
a-Ridge
Pillars
Eagle Chief
of Pumpkin-Vine
Village
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Braves
Braves
Beds

FIGURE 5-2. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. Mats are [631]
placed in the outer circuit against the beds to accommodate larger numbers.
Of the supposed twelve villages that formed the Skidi Federation in the past,
four villages remained in 1867. Villages must have combined as their numbers [778]
were decimated. The original twelve sacred village bundles remained, and
some of the subchiefs probably represented these assimilated villages.

This was the time for joking "so that everyone could laugh during the 623
meal." The jokes were of a somewhat slapstick variety as they wanted 574
to be sure that no one's feelings were hurt in any way. Ordinarily, while 522
the social relationship with one's parents was quite formal and restrained, [593]
the relationship with the grandparents was in sharp contrast. It was a [603]
relationship of lively familiarity. Physical handling was rough-and-tumble,
a grandfather sometimes pulling his grandson out of bed of a cold morning
and dumping him in the snow to harden him; jokes were often leveled
at the grandchild and answered in kind. The mode of kin reckoning often [601]
involved an extension of the immediate kin terms to more distant blood [602]
relatives, and it worked out so that people of similar ages might address

III. THE LODGE

The size of the Skidi lodge varied according to the number of 342
families residing in it. Although an individual family composed of 592
a man, his wife or wives, and their children, might be the sole
occupants, often more than one family lived in a single lodge and
there apparently was no definite rule regarding the number of
residents and consequently the size of the lodge itself. The latter
might contain two beds for a small family or might be spacious [352] ●
enough to accommodate as many as eighteen beds for several families.
Also, chiefs' lodges and those of priests and medicine-men were of [346]
exceptional size, for they were often required to accommodate a
ceremonial gathering.

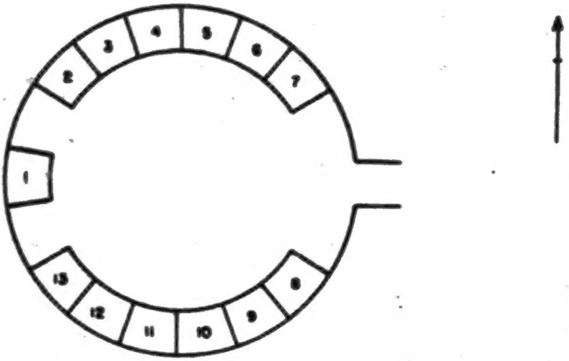
The construction and interior arrangements of the Pawnee earth 352
lodge have been briefly described in a previous report (Dorsey, 1904).
At the west was the altar, around the north and south sides were
the beds, and at the east, on either side of the doorway, were cache
holes, corn mills, sweathouses, and piles of firewood. The beds
were supported by two upright forked posts on the inner side; these
were connected by a hewn timber placed in the forks and from this
crosspiece short poles extended to the wall or banquette. Over this
frame was placed a mattress of young willows netted together and
covered by buffalo robes and pillows. Usually the children had
their beds nearest the altar, and the grandparents [illegible] closest the [592]
door; the parents reserved those in the middle area. [illegible] case a man [513]
had more than one wife living in his lodge, each wife had a bed of [595]
her own [Fig. 26]. [Lesser (1930) has diagramed the usual disposition
of the family according to their beds. The accompanying diagrams
furnished by Mr. Murie are of interest, however, for so far as I can
determine they represent actual cases. Unfortunately, the exact
relationships of the individuals referred to is not always clear.]

In the summer the people moved out of the lodge and slept 513
under an arbor. Each individual family made its own arbor, or all 342
the families together built a single large one for their joint use. 592
[This was in addition to the tipi, and a grass-like structure sometimes
used when on the march.]

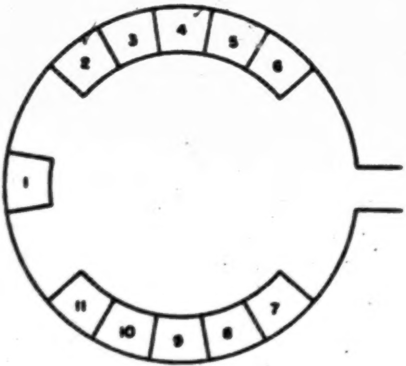
FAMILY CUSTOMS

On rising in the morning the entire family visited a near-by 512
creek or river to bathe. In olden times all were early risers, and in [515]
the spring and autumn the men and women usually repaired at once

342
352
592



1	altar
2	Big Doctor's son & family
3	boys
4	girls
5	Big Doctor's wife's bro. & family
6	Big Doctor's wife's niece & her husband
7	Big Doctor's wife's bro's wife's mother
8	Big Doctor's wife's mother
9	Big Doctor's unmarried bro.
10	children
11	Big Doctor & wife
12	Big Doctor's second wife
13	Big Doctor's daughter



1	altar
2	fourth wife
3	second wife's children
4	second wife
5	third wife
6	Chief's parents
7	first wife's parents
8	young children
9	Chief & first wife
10	Chief's daughter
11	Chief's son

FIG. 26. Disposition of beds in two Skidi Pawnee earth lodges.

342 just over the center of the lodge, where an opening about two feet in diameter was left as a smoke-hole. Long willow rods, closely spaced, were laid transversely over the rafters, and these in turn were covered with a thick layer of bunch grass. The sides of the lodge were built of timbers whose lower ends were planted in a trench, while their upper ends leaned against the cross beams of the outer uprights. The whole lodge was then covered with earth and sod.

The entrance was protected by a covered way, built like the lodge, which extended out from it. In all but one of the Skidi villages this entrance faced the [354] east. In the center of the floor there was a circular fire-pit surrounded by a slight embankment. At the west side of the lodge, opposite the entrance, a space [778] was always reserved. This space was called *wiharu*, the garden of the Evening Star, and was considered sacred. In it a buffalo skull was placed, facing the entrance, and above it the sacred bundles and other religious paraphernalia of the family were hung. ● 352 Around the north and south sides of the lodges, sleeping platforms were built. These platforms were made of poles whose inner ends rested on the earth ledge, while their outer ends were supported by forked posts and [513] beams. Over the poles were laid willow mats, coarse rush mats, and lastly tanned buffalo-skins. Each bed was screened off from those adjoining by willow mats. A lodge of ordinary size would have from eight to ten beds on a side. Those next the altar, which were considered most honorable, were occupied by the older children. Next were the beds of the aunts and uncles, then those of the parents, and lastly those of the old [592] people. As many as ten families, all related by blood, sometimes occupied a single house. The sleeping platforms and other furniture were removed when the lodge was to be used for ceremonies, and are not shown in the miniature group.

and Customs of The Pawnees

361 161 80 lodges, with a population of nearly 2,500; and in the upper village there are between 140 and 150 lodges, the population amounting perhaps to 3,500. On approaching a village, the lodges have the appearance of so many small hillocks, of a conical form, huddled up together in the closest possible manner, with only narrow passages between for walking, and the rest of the space filled up by pens, formed of stakes, for confining their ponies during the night, to guard them from being suddenly taken off by a warlike party of another tribe.

342 The Pawnee lodges are of a circular form, large and spacious in the interior; many of them being 50 feet in diameter. Three and sometimes four circular rows of forked trunks of trees are placed upright, at appropriate distances from each other. The row nearest the centre consists of only four such upright timbers, about 15 or 20 feet high, while the crotches in the more exterior rows are shorter and more numerous, in proportion as the circumference is greater. These forks or crotches support thick crossbeams, upon which a frame of long poles is laid, extending from the ground at the outer circumference of the lodge to the top, leaving only an opening at the apex, of about four feet in diameter, to answer the double purpose of letting in the light, and letting out the smoke. Upon the frame work of poles, willow osiers are laid, and the whole is then covered with prairie sod from 12 to 18 inches thick. Immediately below the opening above, a hole is sunk in the centre for the fire-place, common to all the residents of the [592] lodge. From five to ten families, generally related together, have a common occupancy of one lodge, governed by a head man, who may be styled the lodge chief. 352 Around the circumference of the lodge are recesses for sleeping, partitioned off for each family, resembling the berths on board of steamboats, many of which are screened in front and on the sides by willow-twigs laid above each other, tied fast to a frame, which, partly with the reddish bark on, and partly white from having the bark taken off, exhibit considerable taste in those who wrought them. When thus ornamented with twigs, a small opening about two by three feet is left in front to admit the occupants. The bottom of the berth is raised about two feet above the ground by means of large hewn sills, overlaid by thick willow twigs, which are then covered with buffalo-robes. [342] The entrance of the lodge is always on the East side, protected by a passage, closed above and on the sides, of about 15 feet in length,—the door being a large buffalo robe, or several sewed together, hanging before the inner entrance. On the side opposite to the door of each lodge, a recess is reserved, for depositing the skull of a buffalo, surmounted by shields, quivers of arrows, spears, bows, skins, feathers, etc., used fur hunting, for medicinal, or religious purposes, as the case may require. In the interme-

In the intermediate space between the recesses and the fireplace, mats, about 352
three by five feet, made of rushes, are laid, at convenient distances, 285
for seats; while an extra supply of them, rolled up, and set aside
at different places in the lodge, are reserved for extraordinary occasions, as for instance councils or feasts.

SUBSISTENCE.—What the *seal* is to the Greenlander, the *buffa-* 262
lo is to the Pawnees and other Prairie Indians; and many of 825
their songs, in which reference is made to the buffalo, show that this animal is held in high estimation among them. It will no doubt be a difficult undertaking to wean them from an occupation, which is at the same time a gratifying and exciting sport to them, and which imparts to an individual who distinguishes himself in its pursuit, a character of high standing among his tribe. The great scarcity of the buffalo, however, of late years, since the immense emigration to the far west, has pinched them with want and hunger, and it is evident that they cannot subsist much longer by depending mainly upon this animal as heretofore. This circumstance, though calling forth our warmest sympathies in behalf of their wretched condition, may perhaps be the means, in the hands of an Allwise Providence, of shaking that tenacity and attachment so strongly developed in the Indian character, for long cherished customs, and making them more pliable in adopting the arts of civilization. Their attention must soon be directed to agriculture and the raising of stock, or they must starve.—

While on the hunt, in the buffalo country, the Pawnees general- 251
ly have a good supply of fresh meat to subsist on. That portion
of their meat which is intended to be jerked, in order to take home [262]
with them, they cut into narrow slips, and dry it over the fire, without any salt, where, by the action of the smoke and sun, it soon dries. Several slips are then plaited together, when it is put away into a skin, and reserved for future use. The reason why no salt is added, is probably, first, because it is a scarce article, and secondly, because anything that is salted and dried, imbibes moisture in damp weather, and sooner becomes rancid, than meat dried without salt.

Besides the buffalo, as their main subsistence, they raise some 241
corn, beans, and pumpkins. As they use no other agricultural
implements than hoes, their fields are not very extensive. For 262
suitable spots of cultivation they generally select the mouth of a ravine or any spot where, by the washing of the rains, the ground has become loose and mellow, and consequently the sod may more easily be extirpated than in the prairies generally, where the ground can only be prepared by turning the thick sod by means of a large prairie plough, and three or four yoke of oxen.—

Their fields are not enclosed by fences, or any other kind of 241
protection. Having no other stock but horses, which are con- 231

*8

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ing, and across them smaller ones are lashed with bark as in the first instance, only they are much closer together. The operation of lashing on a layer of long grass and finally covering the whole with earth completes the roof of the building. The door or entrance is a long porch formed by placing in the earth four upright posts or crotches far enough apart to extend outwards from the circle, about 18 or 20 feet. There are four upright crotches on each side of the porch and in the crotches poles are laid horizontally as in the other parts of the building. The process of lashing sticks across, then a thick coat of long grass, and lastly a stout coat of earth is the same as the other parts of the building. The roof of the porch is flat and is about 7 feet high and 6 feet wide. The porch is dug down about half as deep as the main building, making a short step at the mouth of the porch and another at the entrance into the house. The fire has been made in the center of the house directly under the hole in the roof. 172* 342

At the farther side of the building, exactly opposite the porch, is a projection of sod left about a foot from the outside of the circle which is said to have been the seat of the chief, and over which hung his medicine bag and other implements.

The crotches are arranged so that there is a free passage into the center of the hall from the porch, one standing on each side of the entrance about 6 feet apart and the others appear to be arranged from them. The smaller houses have not so many pillars as this one. Some have 8 in the center and 16 outside the circle. Others have 4 in the center and 10 outside. The entrances are also smaller in proportion, but all are constructed on the same principle. It looks a little singular to note that nearly all the entrances to these lodges front to the southeast, except in one or two instances where they front in other directions for lack of room. It is probable that this is done to avoid the effects of the severe cold northwest winds so prevalent in winter.

The interpretation placed by Clayton upon certain features inside the lodge as regards their function is, of course, open to question, as his experience with Indians in general and the Pawnee in particular amounted to virtually nothing. However, in the matter of structural details his description leaves little to be desired, being without doubt the best ever written by an eyewitness.

The best account of the arrangement of a lodge interior is that by Dunbar,[7] written in 1835, during his sojourn as a missionary at the Grand Pawnee village on the Clarks site. 172* 342 352

Within these buildings the earth is beat down hard and forms the floor. In the center a circular place is dug about 8 inches deep and 3 feet in diameter. This is the fireplace. The earth that is taken from it is spatted down around it and forms the hearth. Near the fireplace a stake is firmly fixed in the earth in an inclined position and serves all the purposes of a crane. Mats made of rushes are spread down round the fire on which they sit. Back next the walls are the sleeping apartments. A framework is raised about 2 feet from the floor; on this are placed small rods, interwoven with slips of elm bark. On these rods a rush mat is spread. At proper distances partitions are set up, composed of small willow rods interwoven with slips of bark. In front of these apartments, either a partition of willow rods is erected, or rush mats are hung up as curtains. But this is not always the case. In some lodges

---

[7] 1918, p. 600; see also Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 85.

> *172 the simple platform alone is to be seen without either partitions or curtains.
> 342 In others there is not even the platform, and the inmates sleep on the ground.
> In these lodges several families frequently live together. I believe there are
> ● 352 as many as three different families in the lodge where I stop. Each family has
> [592] its particular portion of the dwelling, and the furniture of each is kept separate.

During the summer of 1930 a Pawnee lodge circle was completely
*172 excavated by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey party at the Hill
342 site near Red Cloud. In measurements, interior arrangement of posts, and other details it coincided remarkably with the lodge described by Clayton, thus affording an interesting and unusual opportunity for comparison.

The lodge in which excavations were carried on was in the southeastern part of the village, lying at the base of a gentle slope which culminated in the principal burial hill 400 yards distant. When cleared it proved to be not quite circular in outline. It measured 46 feet from north to south by 44 feet 6 inches from east to west. The floor near the periphery lay 12 to 20 inches beneath the adjoining ground surface, deepest at the south side, and sloped very slightly toward the center. At the outer edge it curved sharply upward to form a vertical wall, or bench, as described by Clayton. The floor was somewhat rough, but generally well packed and hard, and like the vertical wall showed the effects of baking to a depth of nearly a half inch. No difficulty was experienced in tracing out the original excavation, once the cultivated topsoil had been removed.

Eighteen postholes were ranged about the periphery of the floor, 3 feet 6 inches inside the house wall. They were from 5 to 7 feet apart, i. e., far enough to permit an adult to lie at full length between them. Each was 6 to 8 inches in diameter, about 2 feet in depth, and slanted inward toward the bottom instead of descending vertically; the posts had very clearly leaned toward the edge of the pit. Two short sections of charred post were found on the south side, in situ;[8] otherwise, only decayed wood and light, loose dirt filled each hole.

Eight large postholes formed an inner circle about 8 or 10 feet inside the outer row. The distance from hole to hole averaged 7 feet, with two intervals of double length where posts were normally to be expected. Three additional posts were set triangularly within this circle, 15 feet apart. The posts in the central group were all much heavier than those in the outer circle, the holes averaging 10 to 12 inches in diameter, about 2 feet in depth, and descending

cord. The cover, of thinly scraped translucent bison skins, was then tied to one end of a long pole, by means of which it was carried about and over the framework, and the two ends fastened together with pins or cord. A smoke vent was left at the top; it could be opened or closed at will by proper manipulation of the pole to which the cover was attached. The entrance, usually toward the east, was merely an opening at the bottom where the overlapping ends of the tent cover were left unfastened; it was about 3 feet high and could be closed by means of a bearskin flap. The furniture was piled against the back of the tipi; rush mats were spread over the floor; the fireplace and cooking crane occupied the center, immediately below the smoke vent. When the camp moved the tent poles were fastened together at one end across the horses' backs and permitted to trail behind the pack animals; sometimes they served secondarily the uses of the travois. The skin covers were commonly painted; they were used as pack covers during the travels of the village. 342 [352] [492]

---

[8] This wood was submitted to Mr. E. W. Haury of Gila Pueblo, Globe, Ariz., for a comparison of the growth rings with those of trees in the pueblo area. The specimens proved, however, to be those "of some fast-growing tree whose seasonal rings (are) not strongly marked," and could not be correlated with the southwestern dendrochronology.—Personal communication from E. W. Haury, Jan. 16, 1931.

Murray, who accompanied the Pawnee on their hunt in the summer of 1835, describes a different type of summer shelter.[11] This was constructed as follows:

> They . . . arrange all their bales, saddles, etc., in a semicircular form, and pile them from 2 to 3 feet high. Around the exterior of these they drive into the ground 8 or 10 curved willow rods, from 2 to 3 feet distant from each other, but all firmly bound by leather thongs to four large, upright poles, that form the front of the lodge, and along which run transverse willow rods, to which the extremities of the curved ones are fastened. When the frame, or skeleton, is thus finished, they stretch the cover (made of buffalo hides, sewed together) tight over the whole, leaving an aperture for entrance and egress in the center of the front; and in fine weather, the whole front open.
>
> . . . the dimensions vary according to the number and wealth of the families residing therein; in some tents I have observed the front consisting of 6 or 8 upright poles to which were fixed more skins for additional shelter or shade. On the grass, in the interior, are spread mats, made by the squaws from reeds, and skins of buffalo or bear. [352]

Each individual had his own particular portion of this shelter; the medicine bundle was suspended from the center, and in front of the door was a skin shield bearing the crest of the chief.

According to Dorsey,[12] the skin tipi and heraldic devices were used largely by the richer families, while the poor contented themselves with the dome-shaped brush shelter. The same authority mentions the use of a ramada-like drying platform and summer shelter, open at the sides and flat-roofed; it was used in connection with the earth lodge. [554] [343]

---

[11] Murray, 1839, pp. 199–200.
[12] 1904, p. 16.

512
[354] light came in through the smokehole and, as the day broke, the long radial ribs of the slanting roof stood out clearly like the frame of a huge umbrella, reaching out from the central ring at the top to the edge of the low circular wall.

342
35

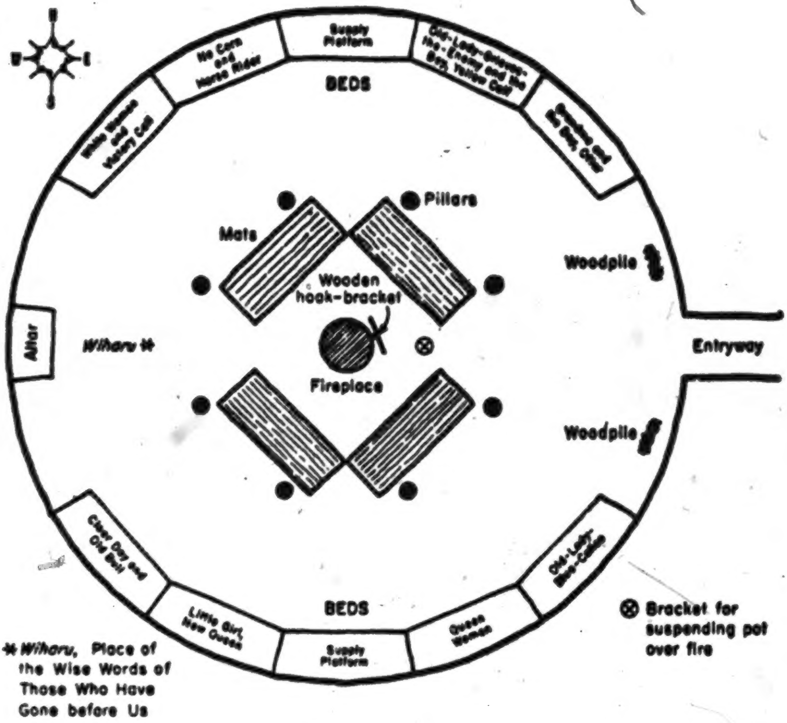

N
E
S
W
Supply Platform
No Corn and Horse Rider
Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy and the Boy, Yellow Calf
White Woman and Victory Call
Grandma and the Boy, Otter
BEDS
Pillars
Mats
Woodpile
Wooden hook-bracket
Altar
Wiharu ✱
Fireplace
⊗
Entryway
Woodpile
Clear Day and Old Bull
Old-Lady-Blue-Calling
BEDS
Little Girl, New Queen
Queen Woman
Supply Platform
⊗ Bracket for suspending pot over fire
✱ Wiharu, Place of the Wise Words of Those Who Have Gone before Us

FIGURE 5-1. Groundplan of the house where the boy, Otter, lived with his father, Victory Call, and his mother, White Woman.

342
352
353 About halfway between the fireplace and the walls stood a series of stout pillars made of whole tree trunks with the bark removed, forked at the top and connected together by crosspieces so that they gave support to the heavy slanting roof. The tall pillars made a convenient division between the sleeping quarters around the outer edge of the circle and the eating and living quarters around the central fireplace. Here near the fireplace the earthen floor was covered with large reed mats where they sat, using pillars as a backrest.

352
353 Around the outside, each bed platform was divided from the other by a series of skin curtains that hung at the head and foot of each bed; a reed

screen stood in front of the beds of the mature women to give them privacy. 352
The series of beds was interrupted by an open platform at each side 353
to store current food supplies and household articles.

The long vestibule that gave entrance to the house projected outward 342
from the eastern side of the circular walls. Inside, on both sides of the 353
door to the house, was a working area in each of which a woodpile was braced against the walls. The rear or western wall of the house was the sacred area, the beds being ranged along the north and south walls. There were five platforms along each wall, the middle one for supplies and the four others fitted out as beds.

The boy, Otter, and his grandmother were sleeping on the north side 513
of the house in the easternmost bed nearest the entranceway. The second 353
bed next to theirs was occupied by another little boy, Yellow Calf, 592
and his grandmother, Grieves-the-Enemy. Then came the supply platform for the north side and beyond that the bed of Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn. Horse Rider was an assistant to Otter's father, Victory Call, a prominent chief and religious leader. Victory Call and White Woman had the bed that was in the place of honor near the west.

Along the south wall of the house was another family. The head of that family was Old Bull, friend and associate of Victory Call and also a chief and religious leader. He occupied the west bed with his younger wife, Clear Day, and the next bed was occupied by the little girl, New Queen, their daughter. Then came the supply platform for the south side, and beyond that the bed of Queen Woman, Old Bull's senior wife with her little boy of three, and finally the easternmost bed on the south side for the grandmother, Blue Calico, who was the mother of the younger wife, Clear Day, and had the youngest child sleeping with her.

Everyone in the house knew his appointed place and where he could go 353
and where he could not go. In the sacred area at the west was an earthen 778
platform with a buffalo skull resting on it and above it hung a long, skin-wrapped bundle containing their most sacred objects, including two specially bred ears of corn. Between the fireplace and the buffalo altar, there was a sacred spot that was invisible—the *wi-haru*, "the place where the wise words of those who have gone before us are resting." Rather than step over this place in order to pass from one side of the house to the other, everyone walked around the entire house by way of the east. When the heads of the household sat down to rest or when they entertained important guests, it was near the west that they sat and no one would want to pass in front of them.

The house was a microcosm of the universe and as one was at home inside, 342
one was also at home in the outside world. For the dome of the sky 772
was the high-arching roof of the universe and the horizon all around was the circular wall of the cosmic house. Through the roof of the house the star gods poured down their strength from their appropriate directions in

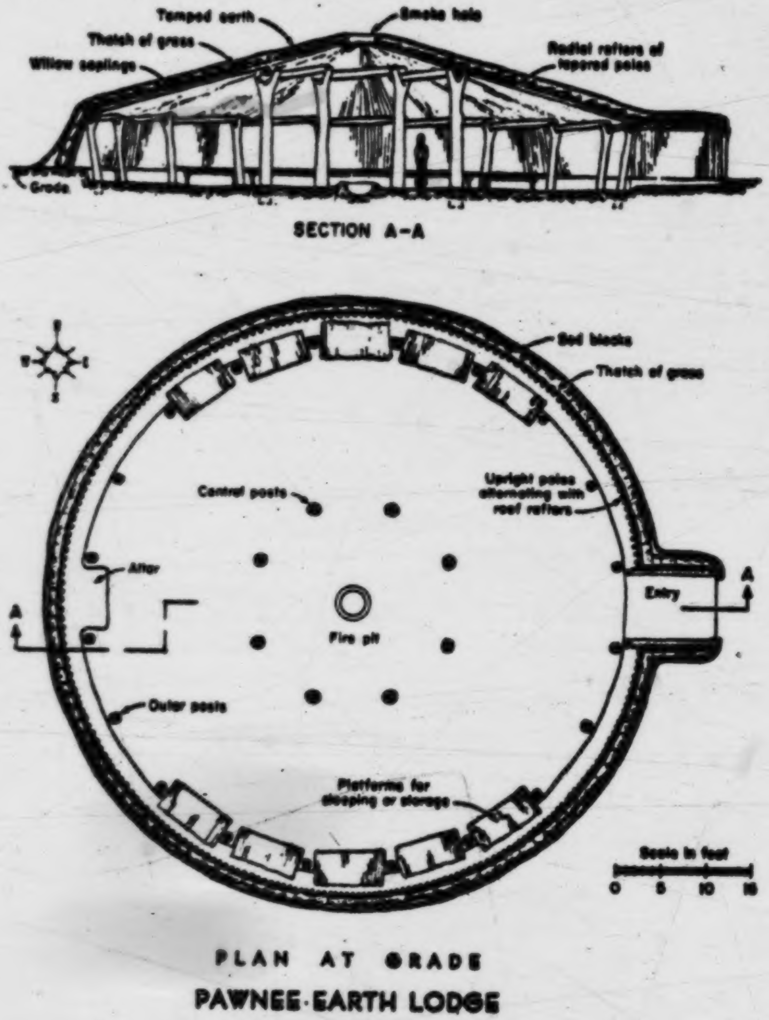
262 coffee and frying bread to supplement the meat course for their guests
574 when they arrived. In the old days they would be baking corn bread in
252 the ashes to be served with the soup.

Four buckskin cushions were placed at the west for the guests of honor,
574 and the rest sat around along both sides on the mats. By the time the
• [352] guests came in, the ribs were cooked and the two largest ones were carried to Eagle Chief and his brave War Cry, who were sitting at the northwest. The next two went to Chief White Eagle and his brave in the southwest seats. The rest of the ribs were carried two by two, first to two guests on the north side, then to two on the south side, and so on until all had been served. A very small top rib was given to any little boy who might be visiting or to the boys of the house, Otter or Yellow Calf.

The food served, Victory Call began to talk to his guests. He told of the highlights of the hunt and that after he had gotten the deer the other fellow came and found him. His horse began to move around and he thought a Sioux was coming, but then he saw who it was and called him over. On such occasions an old man usually invited or just wandered in, knowing he would be welcome. Horse Rider had invited That-Chief, and the old man told them stories of war and old customs continuing after the feast was over. Anyone who wanted to leave right after eating was free to do so. He would get up and say, "I have to go. I have something to do." The old man would stay all night and get his breakfast there. Except for the four guests of honor, there was less pro-
[512] tocol required than in the more formal feasts. After the dishes were cleaned and put away some of the women would go to bed, while others would join the men and listen to the conversation. Sometimes boys and their grandmothers would sit on the sidelines, keeping themselves warm with a pan of coals. When everyone had gone, they would come up close to the fire and warm themselves. The session went on quite late. By mid-
574 night everyone would leave, and they all went to bed. In the home of
512 Victory Call's helper on the hunt, the same kind of entertaining would
513 have gone on. Past midnight and everyone would be sleeping. Tomorrow it would begin again—the fire lit, the man at his work and his leisure, the women busy, the children playing.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

342
356
335


Tamped earth
Smoke hole
Thatch of grass
Willow saplings
Radial rafters of tapered poles
Grade
SECTION A-A
Sod blocks
Thatch of grass
Upright poles alternating with roof rafters
Central posts
Altar
A
A
Entry
Fire pit
Outer posts
Platforms for sleeping or storage
Scale in feet
0
5
10
15
N
W
E
S
PLAN AT GRADE
PAWNEE EARTH LODGE

342
352
353

FIGURE 8-1. Architect's plan of a Pawnee earth lodge.

came off easily. They were considerably lighter to carry than the 342
rigid tipi poles. For the summer shelter they also needed two upright
posts forked at the top and a cross piece to connect them to form a
frame, onto which the saplings would be tied and through which the
summer tent was entered. Wooden pegs were needed for both summer
and winter tents to hold the skin tight by driving them through the loops
at the base of the cover. They were usually gotten at the last minute.

A very necessary implement for these operations was a long 7-foot [412]
stick to be used as a digging iron. It was forked at the top and had a
strong fire-hardened point to make holes in the ground for the poles of
the frame.

Furniture for the tent included five large mats finely woven of bul- 352
rush to be used as floor covering. These were carried rolled up and tied
with a string in the middle that had been provided for the purpose.

A wooden mortar was also needed for making mush and corn flour 412
and for other cookery. It was made of a section of elm log, the bottom 492
whittled into a point so that it could be stuck upright into the ground.
There was a hole drilled through this part of the mortar so that it could 322
be tied onto the horse with the other baggage. The working end at the
top was excavated by charring and scraping into a deep bowl shape.
With it they had to carry a long pestle made of a small tree trunk with
both ends left intact and the middle portion cut down for a handhold.
This was carried grouped with the long tent poles and the digging iron;
the poles were tied at one end to the horse's back with the other end
dragging on the ground.

Other household utensils were six or seven wooden bowls made by the 415
women as were the other wooden objects for the household, a string of [439]
buffalo-horn spoons for tableware and perhaps some small enamel bowls
gotten at the trade store for their coffee. Also included was a larger
wooden ladle for serving.

All the cooking vessels in Mark Evart's time were of metal replacing 415
the older pottery and they had to be gotten from the trader. As late as 439
1835–1856, a few clay pots were being made, but by 1867 there were 323
none at all. By 1928 almost all memory of how they were made was gone.
Metal came into use among the ancestors of the Pawnees by 1650 or be- 175
fore, when sheet metal was being cut up to make some of their arrow 177
points. In 1833 the Pawnees had an extensive trade with the Kiowas in
brass buckets. For the present expedition, they needed a large brass
kettle for cooking corn, soup, or mush, two standard metal buckets—
one for water and one for coffee—and a metal frying pan to make grease
bread.

In order to get these latter items, Victory Call rode up to Bishop and 439
Matlock's trade store on his best-looking horse to establish his credit,
saying to Mr. Bishop, "Grandpa, come out and take a look at my horse.

*224 *484 342 ground in front of her. Then the stick for the framework was inserted. These sticks were long flexible elm saplings about 2½ inches in diameter. She set all twelve of them in place. The tent must be so oriented that the entrance faced east and the rear was at the west. The first two sticks were set up at the west, the next two alternately on each side until the curved outline was complete with six uprights on each side. White Woman threw the far ends of each two sticks she inserted onto the entrance frame, fastening them with rawhide rope onto the fork, those on the southside onto the south fork and those on the northside to the north fork. She was careful to draw them over the fork so that they protuded well beyond it in order that the horizontal stick of the entrance frame would not cut the tent skin. The curved framework was now ready for the tent skin.

The first step was to spread out the skin on the ground to the west of the frame. A long elm sapling was placed upon it to act as the "backbone" of the tent and to raise the cover. The cover was provided with rawhide strings at the top and bottom to tie the stick in place. She then raised the stick with the tent skin on it and rested it at the back of the curved framework. Now No Corn would come and help with the next steps.

White Woman went inside and stretched the skin over the frame, while No Corn fastened it on the outside with wooden pegs. The rawhide loops for the pegs were all around the outside bottom of the tent cover about 1½ to 2 feet apart. The tent cover was pegged down at both sides to stretch it, then in the middle and then in the intervening spaces. The pegs were driven into the ground with an ax-head.

In the front of the tent, the skin hung rather loosely on both sides. There was a hole in each side into which a long stick was introduced that held the skin stretched out neatly. In the pointed tent, this part of the skin controlled the smokehole over the entrance and was held open or closed with similar long sticks.

Sometimes when they arrived White Woman discovered that she had forgotten to bring tent pegs. She would have to get three or four dogwood saplings in the timber, about 2 or 3 inches in diameter at the base. She would cut them close to the bottom. Each peg was about a foot long, and she might get three pegs out of a sapling. Each peg was sharpened at the thick end. If she happened to see a man anywhere around, she would remark, "Say, we have no pegs." Then he would simply go off and get them for her. If they thought of it they would get them beforehand and allow them to season. But in an emergency they could be used green.

[353] Finally, the tent being set up, the rawhide containers were carried in and piled in twos at the rear of the shelter close together all around. The
[352] woven bulrush mats were brought in, unrolled, and laid down. Then a
[354] fireplace was made on the outside a little to the north of the entrance. It

It took three trips to get everything back to the lodge and, on the last 512
one, White Woman piled some of the remainder on her back and admonished [482]
Horse Rider to bring up whatever wood they had around as someone else might appropriate it. The women went into the lodge and at once removed the grass padding from the bed platforms to see how the willow sticks of the frame were. Next day they would get some new willow sticks to replace any that were found to be rotted.

Each low bedstead was made of three forked uprights stuck in the 352
ground between the central pillars and the wall of the housepit; a long [353]
sturdy willow rod rested on the forks of the uprights to form the edge of the bedstead. Shorter sections of willow sapling were laid on crosswise, at 3-inch intervals, one end resting on the outer rod and the other end on the shelf all around the housepit, which was actually the ground level remaining within the circular collar or sod wall inside its sloping radial skeleton. This low slope-roofed area was called *ti-ka-ka-wi'u*, "it-lodge-inside-sits." Upon the bed frame with its cross sticks was placed another layer of willow saplings in the length, and upon this in the width, a layer of thatch (*pakuts*) grass. Each bed was built between a pair of the short outer houseposts that were placed in the ground at an outward slant and 7 feet apart. These were the permanent bedsteads, and when they left on the hunt these were left intact. The only time they were dismantled was when a ceremony was to take place in the lodge when all the sticks were pulled up and carried outside until the ceremony was over.

The bedding was designed to keep the occupants warm and to ensure a 513
certain amount of privacy. The basic bedclothes comprised two layers 237
of tanned hide. At the head were skin pillows stuffed with turkey feathers or deer hair. Sometimes a roll of discarded skin clothing was used instead. At the foot was also a roll of worn out skin clothing against which one could rest one's feet. A skin curtain hung at the head and the foot of every bed, suspended from the roof for privacy. These were tucked in underneath before putting down the bed clothes to keep anything natural or supernatural from coming into the bed at night. In the more luxuriously appointed beds, an extra skin curtain was suspended against the wall so that should any mice living in the thatch loosen any earth, it would fall behind the curtain. The curtains were usually made of discarded pieces of tanned buffalo-hide tent skin. When they went to bed, everyone disrobed. In the warmer weather they covered themselves with a tanned skin—preferably elk or deerskin for really soft tan. This was commonly dyed black and was worn as a wraparound garment during the day. At the time of this account most people used trade-store blankets instead for this purpose. In winter they used a double-purpose buffalo robe with its hair and wool left on for warmth. In the morning when they got up the covers were folded up toward the head or foot end of the bed so that one could sit on the bed during the day or lie down without disarranging the bedding.

513 disarranging the bedding. In the warmer weather, a mat might be placed
on top of the skin as a "sheet." In addition to these appointments, some of
352 the beds had an additional screen of willows built in front of them to
322 make them especially private. Some married women preferred these—
824 in this household for example, White Woman and Old Bull's older wife, Queen Woman. These screens, *kawiriwisisu*, were a permanent part of the bed structure. Six tall uprights were fixed in the ground, reaching from floor to ceiling, and across them close together were tied on with willow bark, 6-foot-long horizontal willow saplings. The horizontals were laid in alternate order, one with the stub end to the left and its point end to the right, and the one above it in the opposite position to ensure evenness. These were gathered in spring, peeled, and the irregular stems or knots cut off. Before they could be fastened to the uprights, they had to be briefly seasoned for a few days so that they would be neither too green when they would shrink too much and leave the fastenings loose, nor too dry, when they could not be properly straightened out
[531] in place. For decorative effect, six black were alternated with six natural
horizontals, the peeled saplings being passed through a decoction of
[386] sumach that had been boiled to make a black dye. After all the horizontals were tied in place, they were trimmed off on both edges to make the screen even. The entrance through the screen was made by cutting a low narrow opening in it at bed level, the vertical for this portion being hung from the roof.

353 As for the rest of the furnishings of the house, the buffalo skull had been left resting on the altar at the west and above it they now hung whatever sacred bundles they had. To the east of the fireplace they set up the bracket from which the pot was hung over the fire to boil. This was a forked stick stuck in the ground at a slant or having a natural curve; to one arm of the fork a wooden hook was suspended by a rawhide strap that could be raised and lowered by winding, depending on how close to the fire they wanted the pot to hang.

Against each side, on the east wall, was a woodpile supported by two tall forked sticks stuck in the ground. A little farther along the wall, leaning against it was a tree trunk with lopped off branches from which strings of braided corn were hung.

512 Now as the women were through with their cleaning, examining the
353 beds and generally getting things in order, they brought in the parfleches of meat and the bags and placed the twined-woven rush mats on the floor. Two mats were put down on their "side"; the better one near the west end and the more worn-out one near the east. Some pumpkins were stored on the intervening platforms between the beds, some were placed under the beds and others on the floor near the doorway. One of the parfleches had been placed in a handy position and left open as it contained current supplies. The rest were all closed up.

000 and materials. European goods were first spread by itinerant traders who
439 carried their wares to the different villages and centers and finally set
443 up their own trade stores. Bishop and Matlock's was the favorite trade
[436] store for the Pawnees at this time, and the buffalo robe was the chief
medium of exchange. The trade value of a well-tanned robe of ordinary
[435] quality was ten to fifteen dollars. For one of prime quality, expertly
tanned, they might get thirty dollars worth of exchange goods. The national
market of the trader justified him in paying these prices. In 1848,
175 100,000 robes were shipped out of St. Louis, and the American Civil War
439 gave a special impetus to the buffalo leather trade for army needs. By
1874 even England was making use of the leather for its army. When supplies were running low in a Pawnee household, the man would point to an unworked buffalo hide and say to his wife, "Make up that buffalo robe so that we can get something at the store." In the past the same expedient probably served for trade with other tribes or villages.

237 The hair of the buffalo was intricately braided into a long rope known as Black Rope, which was used by the men to hold the buffalo robe in place as well as for other purposes. The horns provided the common eating and serving spoons and the bones were made into a number of important tools, notably the buffalo shoulder blade, which was the main spade or earth-digging tool as well as the hoe and the scythe. These bones also provided tools for skin working and for sizing and straightening the arrowshaft, as well as slivers for scraping and cutting. The sinews of the buffalo were used for sewing together the skins and for making bowstrings.

313 Second in importance as an industrial material was wood. In the open
prairie plains, trees grew only along the streams. The supply was heavily
drawn upon for fuel as well as for industry. Wood was used industrially
for building and for equipment and utensils. Cottonwood and willow
313 were the mainstay of the construction industries—the cottonwood be-
824 cause it was light for its strength and bulk and the willow for its flexibility. Elm was used for making the mortar and post oak for the pestle. They also used the post oak to make their common eating bowls. Dogwood was the material of the arrowshafts and ashwood for the bow as well as the gaming hoop and the pipestem. Wood was best gotten in the fall when the sap was running low.

824 Reeds and grasses were their third industrial resource. Grasses grew
along the streams and reeds in the limited number of ponds to be found
in the area. Since they matured about the same time as the cultivated
crops, they had to be processed as soon as the harvest was over. The
[285] most important product they made from these materials was the large
twined woven mat that they felt had to be spread on the dusty ground
[352] both in the earth lodge and in the tent while they were on the hunt. Next

53

PRODUCTS OF REEDS AND GRASS

000

The Twined Woven Mats, Their Use and Manufacture—the Grass Brush for the Care of Hair

THE REEDS AND GRASSES matured about the same time as the cultivated 824 crops, and everyone knew that as soon as possible after completing the harvest they would have to get to work gathering these materials before they passed their prime.

The twined woven mat of reeds was one of the most important items 285 of Pawnee house furnishing. It was considered indispensable to cleanli- 352 ness, and only the poorest people or the most slovenly would use skins on the ground instead. They were used both in the lodge and on the march, and old mats were offered to people who had none. Every morn- [356] ing they were taken up and shaken to get the dust out; in the lodge the house was well swept and the sweepings carried out on a skin to be dumped at the base of the embankment before the mats would be replaced on the floor. When on the march, they were rolled up and tied in the middle with a string fastened there for the purpose by the women. When camp was set up, they were laid out to sit on; at night the beds were made on them. In the lodge they were placed inside the central pillars to sit on. Impromptu beds were made by putting them between [513] the pillars at night as a base for the bedding. Each mat was 5 feet wide and 8 to 9 feet long. Ordinarily, there were two mats around the fireplace on each side; if there were special guests, an additional one was placed at the west. At a large feast, the mats were laid outside the house pillars against the beds to enlarge the circle. Mats for gala occasions had special [531] decorations made by weaving in black or dark red-dyed wefts. These were kept rolled up until guests came. For everyday use the family sat on whatever mats happened to be around—the better ones being placed

285
352 nearer the west and those that were more worn, east toward the exit.

When a couple was newly married, they were always given a set of
285 mats—two for each side of the house and one for the west. They were
585 likely to get two from the girl's grandmother and two from the boy's.
431 Except in such intimate circumstances, the mats were not ordinarily considered
352 suitable gift items. They were regarded more as we look upon
linens—particularly bedsheets and towels. Suitable gift items on the
other hand were, from man to a man, a horse, and from a woman to a
man, leggings, moccasins, material for moccasins, or dried buffalo meat.

285 The mats received the heaviest wear during the winter hunt, when
352 they got all battered and broken up. In the fall, after the materials were
gathered they were placed in the roof of the lodge to season all winter.
In the spring, between planting and cultivating, they would feel they
had to make some new mats to take along on the summer hunt. Old mats
were left behind in the earth lodge.

285 The warp strands of the mat were of a three-sided prismatic grass
283 that grew in ponds (not cattail?). The long blades were made into a
double-twisted continuous rope of four strands.

[137] The wefts were of bulrush (*Scirpus validus* Vahl.), a round tubular
grass, spongy inside, 5 to 6 feet long. An alternative material was cattail
285 (*Typha latifolia* L.). Both these reeds grew in the bottomlands of the
824 streams, particularly along the Loup, but there were also a few patches
along Beaver Creek. On the way home from the summer hunt, some people
would gather the reeds on the Republican or the Loup and load the
horses and bring them home. Or, noting good locations on the way home,
they would return later.

Sometimes two old ladies would go out together and gather whatever
small patches they could find on Beaver Creek, pulling up the reeds and
piling them into two bundles about a foot in diameter. They would tie
them up with ropes and each bring one in and go out again for more, obtaining
[482] about four bundles each in this way. The reeds were very heavy
when green and a woman could not carry very much at a time. For
larger supplies, the family would make up a combined expedition, since
they had to go three to five miles from the village. A large party of men
and women would ride out on their horses to the sources of supply
they had spotted when returning from the hunt. The men went out to give
the women protection. On the way back the horses were loaded with
reeds. When one party went out, others would hear about it and be inspired
to follow their example.

285 The weft or (crosswise) threads needed very little preparation to be
283 ready for use. They had simply to be soaked in water overnight and then
taken out and left to dry for about half an hour before weaving.

The long continuous lengthwise warp required considerably more
preparation than the weft. The three-sided prismatic grass was soaked

rawhide strips found near the top end and two more near the bottom. This 342
pole was to act as a kind of "backbone" when the skin cover was elevated onto the frame. It was lifted with the cover attached and rested in the tripod at the west. The cover was carried first around the south side, then around the north until they met at the front where they were either laced together with thin sticks above the doorway or with strips of rawhide. If the cover was a little loose, White Woman now straightened it up at the top.

The next step was to tighten up the frame again. This she did by driving holes in the ground into which each individual tent pole could rest. First at the northeast entrance pole she took her seven-foot-long *biku* stick with its fire-hardened point and punched it down into the ground before her, putting the pole in the hole. Next she did the same for the southeast entrance pole, then the one due west with the cover attached to it, then the one due north and the one due south. She fixed up the rest of the poles in any order that was convenient. She tried to make a nice even circle.

The final step was to tighten the cover by pegging it down with the tent pegs. All around the tent cover there were strap loops of rawhide through which she drove the tent pegs. The pegs were of dogwood, each about a foot long, with the thick end sharpened to a point. They were driven into the ground with the ax head in the same order used in stabilizing the poles, viz., northeast, southeast, west, north, south.

Two more poles, *tsuxtsakatawisu*, were used to hold the flaps around the smokehole open at the top. These were placed on the outside, one on each side of the entrance and hooked into the holes of the smokehole flaps so that they could be adjusted to make the smokehole more or less open, depending on the wind. Sometimes they forgot to get these two sticks beforehand, and Horse Rider had to go out into the woods to get some for current use. Either inside or outside, over the door, a blanket was hung.

While the tent was being pegged down, Horse Rider would have been 342
reminded by his wife that they had no wood. He would have brought a 352 •
supply of water before that. Now with wood and water available and the 353
whole tent firmly in order, the inside was furnished. First the parfleches were taken in and placed around the walls in piles of two from west to east. Then the twined woven rush mats were laid down to the north and south of the fireplace. The proportions of the tent given by Allis in 1835 are 18 feet in diameter and 14 feet high.

Victory Call's family occupied the south side of the tipi, and Horse 342
Rider and his wife, No Corn, the north side. At meals, White Woman sat 592
due south and did the cooking and serving, while Victory Call occupied the southwest position on her left and little Otter, the southeast position

512 [354] light came in through the smokehole and, as the day broke, the long radial ribs of the slanting roof stood out clearly like the frame of a huge umbrella, reaching out from the central ring at the top to the edge of the low circular wall.

342
35

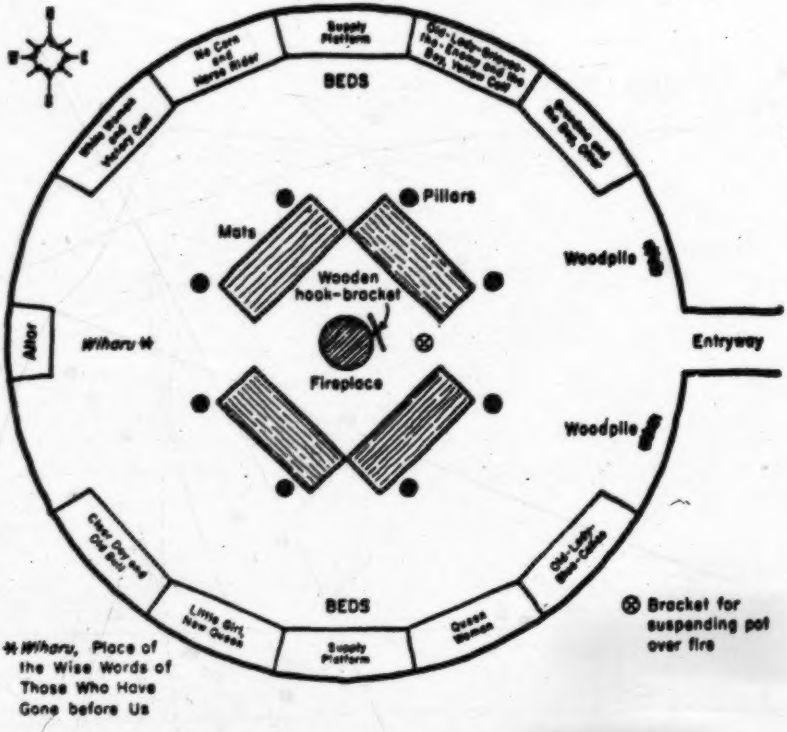

N
W
E
S
Supply Platform
No Corn and Horse Rider
Old-Lady-Grows-the-Enemy and the Boy, Yellow Calf
White Woman and Victory Call
BEDS
Pillars
Mats
Woodpile
Wooden hook-bracket
Altar
Wiharu ⌘
Fireplace
Entryway
Woodpile
Clear Day and Old Bull
Little Girl, New Queen
BEDS
Supply Platform
Queen Woman
⊗ Bracket for suspending pot over fire
⌘ Wiharu, Place of the Wise Words of Those Who Have Gone before Us

FIGURE 5-1. Groundplan of the house where the boy, Otter, lived with his father [illegible] Call, and his mother, White Woman.

342 352 353 About halfway between the fireplace and the walls stood a series of stout pillars made of whole tree trunks with the bark removed, forked at the top and connected together by crosspieces so that they gave support to the heavy slanting roof. The tall pillars made a convenient division between the sleeping quarters around the outer edge of the circle and the eating and living quarters around the central fireplace. Here near the fireplace the earthen floor was covered with large reed mats where they sat, using pillars as a backrest.

352 353 Around the outside, each bed platform was divided from the other by a series of skin curtains that hung at the head and foot of each bed; a reed

screen stood in front of the beds of the mature women to give them privacy. 352
The series of beds was interrupted by an open platform at each side 353
to store current food supplies and household articles.

The long vestibule that gave entrance to the house projected outward 342
from the eastern side of the circular walls. Inside, on both sides of the 353
door to the house, was a working area in each of which a woodpile was braced against the walls. The rear or western wall of the house was the sacred area, the beds being ranged along the north and south walls. There were five platforms along each wall, the middle one for supplies and the four others fitted out as beds.

The boy, Otter, and his grandmother were sleeping on the north side 513
of the house in the easternmost bed nearest the entranceway. The second 353
bed next to theirs was occupied by another little boy, Yellow Calf, 592
and his grandmother, Grieves-the-Enemy. Then came the supply platform for the north side and beyond that the bed of Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn. Horse Rider was an assistant to Otter's father, Victory Call, a prominent chief and religious leader. Victory Call and White Woman had the bed that was in the place of honor near the west.

Along the south wall of the house was another family. The head of that family was Old Bull, friend and associate of Victory Call and also a chief and religious leader. He occupied the west bed with his younger wife, Clear Day, and the next bed was occupied by the little girl, New Queen, their daughter. Then came the supply platform for the south side, and beyond that the bed of Queen Woman, Old Bull's senior wife with her little boy of three, and finally the easternmost bed on the south side for the grandmother, Blue Calico, who was the mother of the younger wife, Clear Day, and had the youngest child sleeping with her.

Everyone in the house knew his appointed place and where he could go 353
and where he could not go. In the sacred area at the west was an earthen 778
platform with a buffalo skull resting on it and above it hung a long, skin-wrapped bundle containing their most sacred objects, including two specially bred ears of corn. Between the fireplace and the buffalo altar, there was a sacred spot that was invisible—the *wi-haru*, "the place where the wise words of those who have gone before us are resting." Rather than step over this place in order to pass from one side of the house to the other, everyone walked around the entire house by way of the east. When the heads of the household sat down to rest or when they entertained important guests, it was near the west that they sat and no one would want to pass in front of them.

The house was a microcosm of the universe and as one was at home inside, 342
one was also at home in the outside world. For the dome of the sky 772
was the high-arching roof of the universe and the horizon all around was the circular wall of the cosmic house. Through the roof of the house the star gods poured down their strength from their appropriate directions in

342 772 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman, Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself. Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on earth.

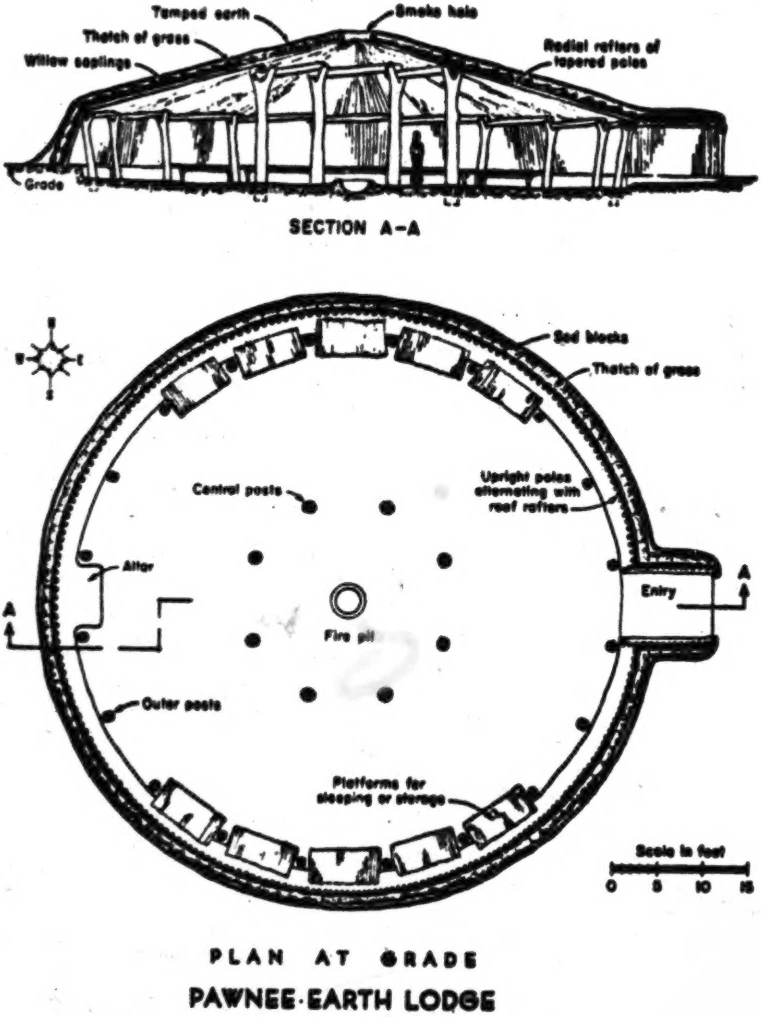
342 772 •353 84 The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive powers. The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the youngest women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located, the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being "inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe, ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

776 342 [823] [182] The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that they would be readily received.

361 342 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear consciousness of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed, the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy. 342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke [354] [252] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cooking breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

252 262 [251] White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the drawstring of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

342
356
335


Tamped earth
Smoke hole
Thatch of grass
Willow saplings
Radial rafters of tapered poles
Grade
SECTION A-A
N
W
E
S
Sod blocks
Thatch of grass
Central posts
Upright poles alternating with roof rafters
Altar
A
Entry
A
Fire pit
Outer posts
Platforms for sleeping or storage
Scale in feet
0
5
10
15
PLAN AT GRADE
PAWNEE EARTH LODGE

342
352
353

FIGURE 8-1. Architect's plan of a Pawnee earth lodge.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 *484 342 ground in front of her. Then the stick for the framework was inserted. These sticks were long flexible elm saplings about 2½ inches in diameter. She set all twelve of them in place. The tent must be so oriented that the entrance faced east and the rear was at the west. The first two sticks were set up at the west, the next two alternately on each side until the curved outline was complete with six uprights on each side. White Woman threw the far ends of each two sticks she inserted onto the entrance frame, fastening them with rawhide rope onto the fork, those on the southside onto the south fork and those on the northside to the north fork. She was careful to draw them over the fork so that they protuded well beyond it in order that the horizontal stick of the entrance frame would not cut the tent skin. The curved framework was now ready for the tent skin.

The first step was to spread out the skin on the ground to the west of the frame. A long elm sapling was placed upon it to act as the "backbone" of the tent and to raise the cover. The cover was provided with rawhide strings at the top and bottom to tie the stick in place. She then raised the stick with the tent skin on it and rested it at the back of the curved framework. Now No Corn would come and help with the next steps.

White Woman went inside and stretched the skin over the frame, while No Corn fastened it on the outside with wooden pegs. The rawhide loops for the pegs were all around the outside bottom of the tent cover about 1½ to 2 feet apart. The tent cover was pegged down at both sides to stretch it, then in the middle and then in the intervening spaces. The pegs were driven into the ground with an ax-head.

In the front of the tent, the skin hung rather loosely on both sides. There was a hole in each side into which a long stick was introduced that held the skin stretched out neatly. In the pointed tent, this part of the skin controlled the smokehole over the entrance and was held open or closed with similar long sticks.

Sometimes when they arrived White Woman discovered that she had forgotten to bring tent pegs. She would have to get three or four dogwood saplings in the timber, about 2 or 3 inches in diameter at the base. She would cut them close to the bottom. Each peg was about a foot long, and she might get three pegs out of a sapling. Each peg was sharpened at the thick end. If she happened to see a man anywhere around, she would remark, "Say, we have no pegs." Then he would simply go off and get them for her. If they thought of it they would get them beforehand and allow them to season. But in an emergency they could be used green.

[353] [352] [354] Finally, the tent being set up, the rawhide containers were carried in and piled in twos at the rear of the shelter close together all around. The woven bulrush mats were brought in, unrolled, and laid down. Then a fireplace was made on the outside a little to the north of the entrance. It

512 [482] It took three trips to get everything back to the lodge and, on the last one, White Woman piled some of the remainder on her back and admonished Horse Rider to bring up whatever wood they had around as someone else might appropriate it. The women went into the lodge and at once removed the grass padding from the bed platforms to see how the willow sticks of the frame were. Next day they would get some new willow sticks to replace any that were found to be rotted.

352 [353] Each low bedstead was made of three forked uprights stuck in the ground between the central pillars and the wall of the housepit; a long sturdy willow rod rested on the forks of the uprights to form the edge of the bedstead. Shorter sections of willow sapling were laid on crosswise, at 3-inch intervals, one end resting on the outer rod and the other end on the shelf all around the housepit, which was actually the ground level remaining within the circular collar or sod wall inside its sloping radial skeleton. This low slope-roofed area was called *ti-ka-ka-wi'u*, "it-lodge-inside-sits." Upon the bed frame with its cross sticks was placed another layer of willow saplings in the length, and upon this in the width, a layer of thatch (*pakuts*) grass. Each bed was built between a pair of the short outer houseposts that were placed in the ground at an outward slant and 7 feet apart. These were the permanent bedsteads, and when they left on the hunt these were left intact. The only time they were dismantled was when a ceremony was to take place in the lodge when all the sticks were pulled up and carried outside until the ceremony was over.

513 237 The bedding was designed to keep the occupants warm and to ensure a certain amount of privacy. The basic bedclothes comprised two layers of tanned hide. At the head were skin pillows stuffed with turkey feathers or deer hair. Sometimes a roll of discarded skin clothing was used instead. At the foot was also a roll of worn out skin clothing against which one could rest one's feet. A skin curtain hung at the head and the foot of every bed, suspended from the roof for privacy. These were tucked in underneath before putting down the bed clothes to keep anything natural or supernatural from coming into the bed at night. In the more luxuriously appointed beds, an extra skin curtain was suspended against the wall so that should any mice living in the thatch loosen any earth, it would fall behind the curtain. The curtains were usually made of discarded pieces of tanned buffalo-hide tent skin. When they went to bed, everyone disrobed. In the warmer weather they covered themselves with a tanned skin—preferably elk or deerskin for really soft tan. This was commonly dyed black and was worn as a wraparound garment during the day. At the time of this account most people used trade-store blankets instead for this purpose. In winter they used a double-purpose buffalo robe with its hair and wool left on for warmth. In the morning when they got up the covers were folded up toward the head or foot end of the bed so that one could sit on the bed during the day or lie down without disarranging the bedding.

513 disarranging the bedding. In the warmer weather, a mat might be placed
352 on top of the skin as a "sheet." In addition to these appointments, some of
the beds had an additional screen of willows built in front of them to
322 make them especially private. Some married women preferred these—
824 in this household for example, White Woman and Old Bull's older wife,
Queen Woman. These screens, *kawiriwisisu*, were a permanent part of the bed structure. Six tall uprights were fixed in the ground, reaching from floor to ceiling, and across them close together were tied on with willow bark, 6-foot-long horizontal willow saplings. The horizontals were laid in alternate order, one with the stub end to the left and its point end to the right, and the one above it in the opposite position to ensure evenness. These were gathered in spring, peeled, and the irregular stems or knots cut off. Before they could be fastened to the uprights, they had to be briefly seasoned for a few days so that they would be neither too green when they would shrink too much and leave the fastenings loose, nor too dry, when they could not be properly straightened out
[531] in place. For decorative effect, six black were alternated with six natural
horizontals, the peeled saplings being passed through a decoction of
[386] sumach that had been boiled to make a black dye. After all the horizontals were tied in place, they were trimmed off on both edges to make the screen even. The entrance through the screen was made by cutting a low narrow opening in it at bed level, the vertical for this portion being hung from the roof.

• 353 As for the rest of the furnishings of the house, the buffalo skull had been left resting on the altar at the west and above it they now hung whatever sacred bundles they had. To the east of the fireplace they set up the bracket from which the pot was hung over the fire to boil. This was a forked stick stuck in the ground at a slant or having a natural curve; to one arm of the fork a wooden hook was suspended by a rawhide strap that could be raised and lowered by winding, depending on how close to the fire they wanted the pot to hang.

Against each side, on the east wall, was a woodpile supported by two tall forked sticks stuck in the ground. A little farther along the wall, leaning against it was a tree trunk with lopped off branches from which strings of braided corn were hung.

512 Now as the women were through with their cleaning, examining the
353 beds and generally getting things in order, they brought in the parfleches
of meat and the bags and placed the twined-woven rush mats on the floor. Two mats were put down on their "side"; the better one near the west end and the more worn-out one near the east. Some pumpkins were stored on the intervening platforms between the beds, some were placed under the beds and others on the floor near the doorway. One of the parfleches had been placed in a handy position and left open as it contained current supplies. The rest were all closed up.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

rawhide strips found near the top end and two more near the bottom. This 342 pole was to act as a kind of "backbone" when the skin cover was elevated onto the frame. It was lifted with the cover attached and rested in the tripod at the west. The cover was carried first around the south side, then around the north until they met at the front where they were either laced together with thin sticks above the doorway or with strips of rawhide. If the cover was a little loose, White Woman now straightened it up at the top.

The next step was to tighten up the frame again. This she did by driving holes in the ground into which each individual tent pole could rest. First at the northeast entrance pole she took her seven-foot-long *biku* stick with its fire-hardened point and punched it down into the ground before her, putting the pole in the hole. Next she did the same for the southeast entrance pole, then the one due west with the cover attached to it, then the one due north and the one due south. She fixed up the rest of the poles in any order that was convenient. She tried to make a nice even circle.

The final step was to tighten the cover by pegging it down with the tent pegs. All around the tent cover there were strap loops of rawhide through which she drove the tent pegs. The pegs were of dogwood, each about a foot long, with the thick end sharpened to a point. They were driven into the ground with the ax head in the same order used in stabilizing the poles, viz., northeast, southeast, west, north, south.

Two more poles, *tsuxtsakatawisu*, were used to hold the flaps around the smokehole open at the top. These were placed on the outside, one on each side of the entrance and hooked into the holes of the smokehole flaps so that they could be adjusted to make the smokehole more or less open, depending on the wind. Sometimes they forgot to get these two sticks beforehand, and Horse Rider had to go out into the woods to get some for current use. Either inside or outside, over the door, a blanket was hung.

While the tent was being pegged down, Horse Rider would have been 342 reminded by his wife that they had no wood. He would have brought a 352 supply of water before that. Now with wood and water available and the 353 whole tent firmly in order, the inside was furnished. First the parfleches were taken in and placed around the walls in piles of two from west to east. Then the twined woven rush mats were laid down to the north and south of the fireplace. The proportions of the tent given by Allis in 1835 are 18 feet in diameter and 14 feet high.

Victory Call's family occupied the south side of the tipi, and Horse 342 Rider and his wife, No Corn, the north side. At meals, White Woman sat 592 due south and did the cooking and serving, while Victory Call occupied the southwest position on her left and little Otter, the southeast position

342 on her right. On the north side, the northwest position was vacant, leaving
592 room for piling kettles, mortars, and other things—Horse Rider sitting in
[353] the due north position and No Corn at the northeast position. They sat
close enough around the fire to simply pass the food around at mealtimes.

342 just over the center of the lodge, where an opening about two feet in diameter was left as a smoke-hole. Long willow rods, closely spaced, were laid transversely over the rafters, and these in turn were covered with a thick layer of bunch grass. The sides of the lodge were built of timbers whose lower ends were planted in a trench, while their upper ends leaned against the cross beams of the outer uprights. The whole lodge was then covered with earth and sod.

The entrance was protected by a covered way, built like the lodge, which extended out from it. In all but one of the Skidi villages this entrance faced the
[354] east. In the center of the floor there was a circular fire-pit surrounded by a slight embankment. At the west side of the lodge, opposite the entrance, a space
[778] was always reserved. This space was called *wiharu*, the garden of the Evening Star, and was considered sacred. In it a buffalo skull was placed, facing the entrance, and above it the sacred bundles and other religious paraphernalia of the family were hung.
352 Around the north and south sides of the lodges, sleeping platforms were built. These platforms were made of poles whose inner ends rested on the earth ledge, while their outer ends were supported by forked posts and
[513] beams. Over the poles were laid willow mats, coarse rush mats, and lastly tanned buffalo-skins. Each bed was screened off from those adjoining by willow mats. A lodge of ordinary size would have from eight to ten beds on a side. Those next the altar, which were considered most honorable, were occupied by the older children. Next were the beds of the aunts and uncles, then those of the parents, and lastly those of the old
[592] people. As many as ten families, all related by blood, sometimes occupied a single house. The sleeping platforms and other furniture were removed when the lodge was to be used for ceremonies, and are not shown in the miniature group.

*172 354 The main fireplace lay just north of the center. It measured 4 feet by 2 feet, with the long axis northeast-southwest. Wood ashes to a depth of 3 or 4 inches still occupied the depression, while the brick-red fire-baked clay beneath was nearly 10 inches thick in places and almost as hard as rock. No traces were noted of the cooking crane beside the fireplace, as mentioned by Dunbar.

Eighteen feet to the north and slightly east was a second fireplace, lying between the outer row of postholes and the edge of the excavation. It measured approximately 12 inches in diameter and contained a 2-inch bed of ashes. Beneath the ashes was red, baked earth nearly 4 inches deep. From the size of the fireplace, as well as from its proximity to the inflammable wall of the lodge, it would appear that small fires only could be built therein; at the same time the depth to which baking had penetrated indicated the presence of many hot fires or else a fairly continuous one.

A point worthy of note arises in connection with the two fireplaces. A line drawn to bisect both hearths cuts the outer house wall just over cache D, and would constitute thus the diameter of the lodge. More significant still, it would be the midline for an entrance whose inner end fell at the peculiar arrangement of postholes previously mentioned, near cache D. The large central fireplace was probably for domestic purposes; the smaller may have been for ceremonial uses exclusively. The altar, referred to in Clayton's description as the "seat of the chief", was not noted, though the smaller fireplace appeared to be on a very slight rise in the floor. If the latter was actually the shrine hearth, as seems probable, then the possibility presents itself that the entrance may have originally been more toward the southwest in line with the fireplaces, or at least that such was the plan of the builders. Later, for some unknown reason, a new entrance was constructed. As will be seen from the ground plan, the doorway, as at last determined, in no way aligns with the two fireplaces, nor does it give unobstructed access to the central fireplace, as would the other situation.

*172 Four interior subfloor caches were opened. They were of the usual Pawnee type, bell-shaped, and for the most part were not especially rich. Cache A was 5 feet wide at the mouth, 6 feet across the floor, and 2 feet deep. Cache C was slightly more than 3 feet deep, approximately 4 feet across the top, and nearly 7 feet wide at the floor. Cache B was 5 feet wide and 2 feet deep; D was rather smaller. Sherds, animal bones, some flints, and a little iron work were taken from these, including one iron spear point, but for the most part they had been divested of everything valuable before final abandonment of the house.

Of interior furnishings and artifacts but little remained. Three feet west of the smaller fireplace a pocket was found beneath the

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

5

THE WORLD OF A PAWNEE BOY: SPRING 1867

000

The Day Begins in the Earth Lodge—Breakfast Preparations—Seating at the Meal—Daytime Activities of Women—Chiefs' Council—Supper and Evening Conversation—Plan for Deer Hunt the Next Day—End of Day's Activities

In the year 1867, the villages of the Pawnees were strung along the west bank of Beaver Creek. (Beaver Creek flows southeastward into the Loup River that flows east to join the Platte which continues eastward to the Missouri. In the Skidi village of Pumpkin-Vine was the house of Chief Victory Call and his friend Old Bull with their families.) 131 361 [103]

It was a morning late in March, and the high dome-shaped earth lodges were huddled together in the predawn darkness. On this as on other mornings, Otter was wakened by the sound of his father's voice saying, "Fire's made." The dawn had not yet broken, and it was still cold; Otter burrowed down deeper under his little calfskin cover. He hated to leave the warmth of his bed that he shared with his grandmother. Just as the dawn began to break, Victory Call went outside through the long vestibule that was the entrance to the house to look at the position of the stars and to see what kind of a day it would be. Meanwhile his wife, White Woman, had gotten up to prepare breakfast. She would be cooking for twelve people and an extra guest, and the preparations would take at least an hour. 512 [342] [513] [252]

On both sides of the house along the low circular walls, the people were still asleep in their beds. There had been a long storytelling session the night before and Old-Man-That-Chief, who was one of the principal raconteurs, was too feeble to go home late at night, so a temporary bed was made for him near the fireplace where the fire was now burning brightly in the center of the room. High above the fireplace a shaft of [538] [574] [354]

512 [354] light came in through the smokehole and, as the day broke, the long radial ribs of the slanting roof stood out clearly like the frame of a huge umbrella, reaching out from the central ring at the top to the edge of the low circular wall.

342
35

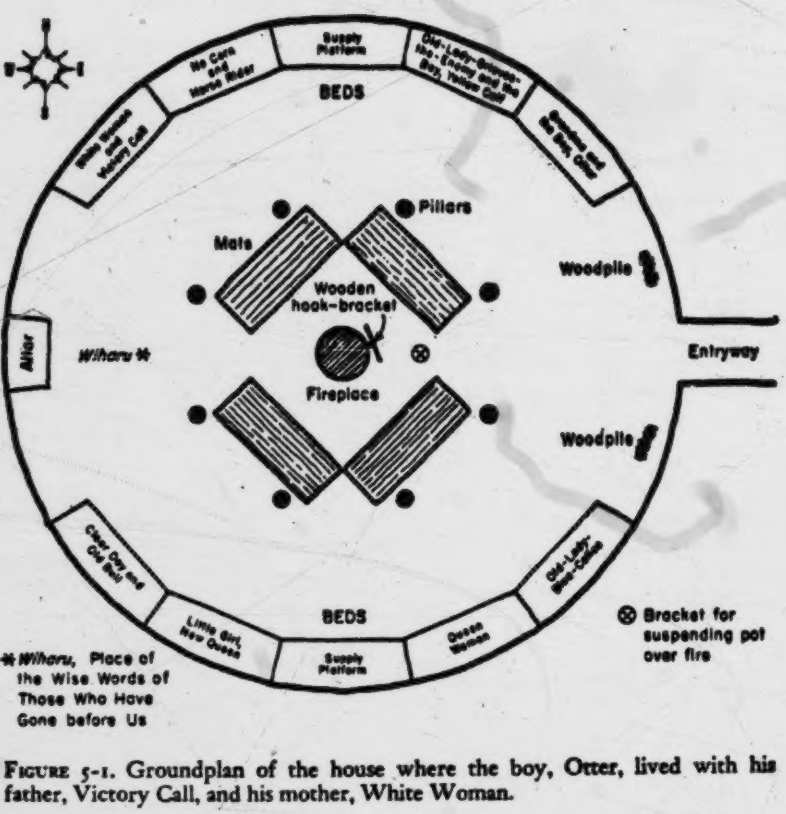

W
E
Supply Platform
No Corn and Horse Rider
Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy and the Boy, Yellow Calf
White Woman and Victory Call
BEDS
Pillars
Mats
Woodpile
Wooden hook-bracket
Altar
Wiharu ⌘
Fireplace
⊗
Entryway
Woodpile
Clear Day and Old Bull
Little Girl, New Queen
BEDS
Supply Platform
Queen Woman
⊗ Bracket for suspending pot over fire
⌘ Wiharu, Place of the Wise Words of Those Who Have Gone before Us

FIGURE 5-1. Groundplan of the house where the boy, Otter, lived with his father, Victory Call, and his mother, White Woman.

342 352 353 About halfway between the fireplace and the walls stood a series of stout pillars made of whole tree trunks with the bark removed, forked at the top and connected together by crosspieces so that they gave support to the heavy slanting roof. The tall pillars made a convenient division between the sleeping quarters around the outer edge of the circle and the eating and living quarters around the central fireplace. Here near the fireplace the earthen floor was covered with large reed mats where they sat, using pillars as a backrest.

352 353 Around the outside, each bed platform was divided from the other by a series of skin curtains that hung at the head and foot of each bed; a reed

342 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman,
772 Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo
were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in
the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle
with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the
Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning
he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire
in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the
Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight
off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself.
Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening
Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on
earth.

The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a
342 woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive powers.
772 The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately
353 ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the youngest
84 women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located,
the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due
south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their
age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being
"inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a-ka-ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe,
ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse
776 of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his
342 power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in
[823] the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and
southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that
[782] they would be readily received.

361 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear consciousness
342 of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed,
the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred
houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver
Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy.
342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch
and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke
[354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cooking
[252] breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the drawstring
252 of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the
262 skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a
[251] large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed
the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them
into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

*224 *484 342 ground in front of her. Then the stick for the framework was inserted. These sticks were long flexible elm saplings about 2½ inches in diameter. She set all twelve of them in place. The tent must be so oriented that the entrance faced east and the rear was at the west. The first two sticks were set up at the west, the next two alternately on each side until the curved outline was complete with six uprights on each side. White Woman threw the far ends of each two sticks she inserted onto the entrance frame, fastening them with rawhide rope onto the fork, those on the southside onto the south fork and those on the northside to the north fork. She was careful to draw them over the fork so that they protuded well beyond it in order that the horizontal stick of the entrance frame would not cut the tent skin. The curved framework was now ready for the tent skin.

The first step was to spread out the skin on the ground to the west of the frame. A long elm sapling was placed upon it to act as the "backbone" of the tent and to raise the cover. The cover was provided with rawhide strings at the top and bottom to tie the stick in place. She then raised the stick with the tent skin on it and rested it at the back of the curved framework. Now No Corn would come and help with the next steps.

White Woman went inside and stretched the skin over the frame, while No Corn fastened it on the outside with wooden pegs. The rawhide loops for the pegs were all around the outside bottom of the tent cover about 1½ to 2 feet apart. The tent cover was pegged down at both sides to stretch it, then in the middle and then in the intervening spaces. The pegs were driven into the ground with an ax-head.

In the front of the tent, the skin hung rather loosely on both sides. There was a hole in each side into which a long stick was introduced that held the skin stretched out neatly. In the pointed tent, this part of the skin controlled the smokehole over the entrance and was held open or closed with similar long sticks.

Sometimes when they arrived White Woman discovered that she had forgotten to bring tent pegs. She would have to get three or four dogwood saplings in the timber, about 2 or 3 inches in diameter at the base. She would cut them close to the bottom. Each peg was about a foot long, and she might get three pegs out of a sapling. Each peg was sharpened at the thick end. If she happened to see a man anywhere around, she would remark, "Say, we have no pegs." Then he would simply go off and get them for her. If they thought of it they would get them beforehand and allow them to season. But in an emergency they could be used green.

[353] [352] [354] Finally, the tent being set up, the rawhide containers were carried in and piled in twos at the rear of the shelter close together all around. The woven bulrush mats were brought in, unrolled, and laid down. Then a fireplace was made on the outside a little to the north of the entrance. It

224*
was made in oblong form about three feet long and a foot and a half wide, 484*
with its long axis running north-south. 342

The next step was to get everything in order for cooking. They had 359•
enough water, and now they needed wood for fuel. As she was pegging 313
down the tent, No Corn remarked to her husband, Horse Rider, 224*
"We're pretty nearly finished now and we have no wood." Then he 484*
would go off carrying a long rope. He used the rope as a kind of lasso: attaching a stick about a foot long to the end, he would throw it up around a dry cottonwood limb and the cord would wind itself around the limb so that it could be pulled down. It would take considerable skill to pull it down without having it fall on your head, which sometimes happened despite the best of care. Horse Rider tried to get enough wood to last them for that evening and the next day while they stayed at the rendezvous camp. Some of the wood he gathered from the ground, tied it up
with his cord, and came into camp carrying it on his back. As soon as he 224*
got in, he made the fire and White Woman began to cook. They had a 484*
simple meal of bread and coffee and some sand cherries for dessert. No 252
Corn volunteered to make the coffee. While the cooking was going on, [272]
the old ladies were stretched out resting, and Victory Call was doing the
same. Everyone was very tired. It was proper to joke a bit while the [522]
food was being prepared and during the meal. Horse Rider began to tease No Corn about how she had fallen in the water.

Immediately after supper the women cleared up the dishes and sat 224*
down to rest—tired from all their work. Horse Rider went off to see 484*
how the horses were getting along and Victory Call went up and sat on top of one of the sand hills to have a smoke and to look around and at the encampment below. Presently five or six men joined him for a smoke and some conversation.

The boy Otter ran off at once to the river to go swimming with the rest 224*
of the children. On the way he saw some other little boys leaning over a 484*
pond. "See the sunfish. Let's 'choke' them!" They tied some bread to the 857
end of a string and let it down into the pond and as the fish bit, they pulled
them up and 'choked' them. Then the boys went off and gave the fish to 224*
an old woman who was living alone in a shelter she had built for herself. 484*
Her relatives gave her something, but would not take care of her and she 888
had no other place to go. "Here, grandma," they said, "Here's some fish." "That's fine," said the old lady. Later that summer while they were setting up camp one day, the boys came to give her fish and she was dead.
They dug a hole in the embankment against which she had been leaning [764]
and buried her there. Man Chief, who was Eagle Chief's son, and a generous young man, gave a red blanket to wrap her in. There were only one or two old women alone like this. Sometimes while they were on the hunt, such old people would say, "Just give me enough to eat and go on."

322 through it, turning it over and over so that it was a little charred in
412 places. These charred places were scraped off with another stick. The
stick was now left leaning against the lodge outside for at least a week, so
that it could dry out. Sometimes it was taken in and put out a second
time. When it was finally ready for use, all the moisture had evaporated and it was light to carry but very strong.

414 The making of *tent pegs* of dogwood saplings has been described in
322 connection with the rendezvous camp of the summer hunt. They might
alternatively be made in the earth lodge before setting out, tied up in a
set and carried along.

414 *The Bracket for Hanging the Pot over the Fire.* This was only needed
417 in the earth lodge and on the winter hunt as its purpose was to suspend
the pot over the hot flame of the fireplace. Such a hot flame was made for
322 light and heat as well as for cooking only in the excavated circular basin-
[354] shaped fireplace, the earth lodge, and the pointed tipi. On the summer
hunt with the open curve-roofed tent, a long rectangular fireplace was made outside to the north of the doorway and oriented north-south. In this long trenchlike arrangement, a log was kept smoldering and the pot was set directly on the coals, so that the bracket and hook were not needed. The bracket consisted of two parts—a more or less vertical post, forked at the top and pointed at the bottom so that it could be inserted in the ground, and a wooden hook suspended from one arm of the fork by a string of bison rawhide that could be wound around the arm so that the pot that was suspended from the hook could hang closer or further away from the flames. The vertical post was driven into the ground due east of the fireplace at a slant so that the hook hung directly over the fire, or else a trunk was chosen for the bracket that had a natural curvature. The process of treating and seasoning the vertical bracket was the same as for the *biku* stick.

342 *Tipi Poles.* The conical pointed tent or tipi was used by the Pawnees
[221] only for their winter migration. The same tent skin was used as for the
summer, but the wooden frame was different. The frame of the summer tent comprised a rack of two forked sticks at the front with a horizontal between, and, outlining a semiellipse, a series of flexible saplings stuck in the ground that were drawn down onto the rack and fastened there to form the characteristic curved roof. The Pawnee name for this summer tent was *kax-kata-sa*, "dwelling-upon-lying." The frame for the conical-pointed tipi was based on a tripod of rather heavy poles more than 15 feet long and made from trees 6 to 7 inches in diameter before removing the bark. Once the tripod was set up and a fourth stick added for the entrance, the other poles of equal thickness were leaned against it all around. The tipi was called *kax-ta-pe*, "dwelling-against-leaning," or *kar-rats-a-pe*, "dwelling-they-against-leaning." The tipi might be 18 feet in

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

the rest of the party to continue to the appointed place and set up camp. 224
They tried to have it ready by around noon so that the men could have 484
a place to rest when they came in and the meat could be treated. In summer the mass attack on the herd usually took place about eleven o'clock in the morning when the herd had returned from the water to the pasture; in winter it was somewhat earlier.

342

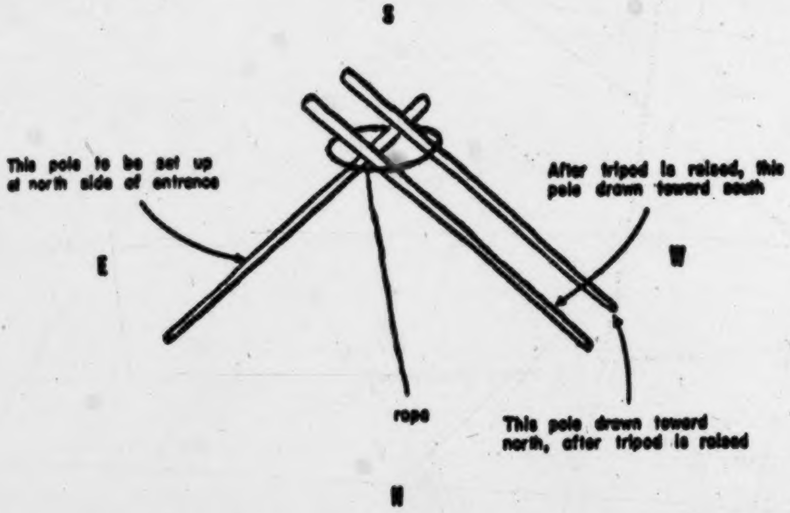

S
This pole to be set up at north side of entrance
After tripod is raised, this pole drawn toward south
E
W
rope
This pole drawn toward north, after tripod is raised
N

FIGURE 59-1. Erecting the framework of the pointed tipi. Three poles were laid on the ground as shown, the east pole first and the two west poles on top of it. The rope was tied around the poles at the crossing toward the top. Someone at the south end pushed up the frame while an assistant at the north end pulled the rope. The thick ends of the poles were near the top, tapering to the base. The poles were about 15 feet long, the trees being 6 to 7 inches in diameter before the bark was removed. The west was the rear of the tent, and these two poles were set 2 to 3 feet apart. A fourth pole that matched the one at the north was rested in the crossing at the apex of the tripod to form the south post of the doorway. Now other poles were placed all around, also resting in the tripod, and the woman grasped the end of the rope that was hanging down in the middle and carried it around from the south by west by north until she had made four circuits. She tossed it up from time to time and jerked it in place to make sure it was tight around the apex. She fastened the rope at the south doorway pole by winding it three or four times around the pole and tying it at the bottom.

At the campsite that had been agreed upon, the woman of the house [484]
would select a place for her tipi and begin by excavating a circular [354]
fireplace with the earth banked up all around it. She then proceeded to erect over it the pointed skin tipi. This could be set up by one person if necessary, but two made it more convenient and four still better. As was

60

PROCESSING THE MEAT

Getting Forage for the Horses—Working on the Meat inside the Tent

After the tent was set up, White Woman and No Corn got some cottonwood 231
tops and bark for the horses to eat when the men got in from
the chase. They went out and cut down a few trees and dragged them in
two loads, taking one at a time into the tent, cutting off the tops and making
a number of cuts with the ax along the trunk to loosen the bark.
Most of the time the bark could then be struck off easily, but if it was too
tough, it was macerated a bit with the ax head. They also gathered whatever
hay they could find and got wood and water for their cooking. High 354
over the fire, they built a grate to warm the meat through after slicing, as 252
in winter the meat had to be treated inside the tent before it was finally 417
dried outdoors.

When the hunters got in they immediately brought the meat inside lest 252
it freeze so that it could not be sliced. The horses were tethered outside 231
the tent, each one covered over with a skin spread so that he would not
catch cold, and left out all night to eat their cottonwood tops and bark
that had been placed before them on a hide. Sometimes if the horses did
not have enough, the Pawnees had to feed them corn. When the meal was 252
over, the men went to the council tent and the women began to slice
the meat.

They made a low fire, and after the meat was sliced they put it on the
grate to warm through. Outside they built another rack of a different 251
form. This had an elliptical ridge pole and withes along one side on 417
which the meat rested under which they placed hot coals in order to dry
the meat thoroughly.

Sometimes they built another grate similar to the one indoors so that
the meat could finally be exposed to the sun and wind. In this condition [252]
the meat was thoroughly cooked and could be eaten without further
cooking as well as being preserved for storage.

512 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder.
462 When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter,
887 I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar. Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

313 Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Victory
Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were
484 to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful supply
623 of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the immediate
[726] neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy. The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the chiefs had gathered there.

512 The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the
252 household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver
262 Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buffalo
[237] meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

(415) The main business of the women of the household that day was to give
512 the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing
251 the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold,
356 and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in; besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for
[192] food pit, *tahaksu,* means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all.
[476] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

dies, and as they were busily working an old neighbor woman came by 512
and offered to help them. "You've got a lot of corn to attend to there." 251
"Yes I do," said White Woman. Although there were some general standard 356
varieties, each woman had her own special breeds of corn and of the 476
other crops. As she sat down to join them, the old lady remarked, "I
don't have seeds like that!" indicating that she would be very glad to [241]
have some. They cleaned and winnowed the seeds for several hours,
working diligently together. Finally the other women went in to prepare
the supper, and White Woman remained outside with the old neighbor
woman to finish up the work. When they called out to announce that supper
was ready, White Woman called back that she and her friend would
be in later and to please set something aside for them. Meanwhile she had
indicated to the old woman that she wanted her to stay and that they
would eat later. As they filled each sack, White Woman put aside a little
pile of each kind of corn and other seeds, remarking that she was going
to give her some seeds and that she might go home and get herself a sack
to hold them. When the woman returned she pointed to the piles of seeds
and said, "This is yours. Tie it here. I'm going to put corn of another
color on top. Do you have anything to tie it with?" "No, I'll use my
garters," said the old woman. Then White Woman said, "Let's put the bag
back in the pit," and climbed down into it, using a tree trunk with branch
stubs as a ladder. When she got to the bottom, the old woman handed her
the large skin bag that contained all the smaller bags of the different
kinds of corn and beans. White Woman punched it down to settle the load
and came up out of the pit and began to close it up. First she covered
everything with a skin cover, then a layer of thatch grass, then she
wedged some sticks across the opening into the side walls, then another
layer of thatch grass and then earth that she trampled down hard to keep
out the rain and to conceal the place of opening. "Let's go eat now," said
White Woman. Inside they sat down and ate the food that had been set
aside for them, while the others, particularly the older women, sat by to
converse with their guest. "How are the folks in your lodge?" they
asked, "Oh, they're all right," said the old woman. Meanwhile, White
Woman was feeling very friendly toward the old woman for helping her
out, and as they sat there she noticed that the old woman's moccasins
were worn out. She had a nice piece of black-dyed tanned skin that was [292]
ordinarily used for holiday moccasins, and she said, "I'm going to give
you a piece of black-dyed skin so that you can make yourself some moccasins."
"Oh, I thank you, I thank you. Oh, daughter, thanks. You have
taken pity on me. I'll wear it. Now I've got to go, daughter." When the
old woman left, the rest of the people in the lodge would say, "That old
lady is always good, always trying to help other people out." When the
old lady got back to her own lodge she reported where she had been all
afternoon and that she had received a big bag of corn and her dinner besides.

796 221 241 778 "Priest"; it was performed when the sacred corn plants were about two inches high and had four good leaves. This ceremony was in charge of one of the two "south" bundles of the semicardinal directions—in alternate years, the southwest and the southeast. The crux of the ceremony was the uprooting of one of the young sacred corn plants, in which the act of birth was symbolized and the young plant carried as an infant on the visionary's back from the field to the ceremonial lodge, where it was attached to a stick fashioned by an arrowshaft maker and painted to represent a person. The plant was now carried through a cycle of childhood and young girlhood and breathed on by the priests to give it life. It was now Young Mother Corn, watching over the tribe. Only when this ceremony had been performed were the women permitted to go out into the fields and weed the corn plants and hill up the earth around them to protect them as they grew. A second weeding and hilling process in the latter part of June was the last attention the corn plants received before being "laid by." The people were then ready to leave for the summer buffalo hunt.

796 221 Without this ceremonial cycle, the coordination of the people in their orderly round of life could not go on. While it was primarily a religious frame, it was also of basic practical value since it was based on the seasonal progression. Without it it would have been almost impossible to coordinate people's lives with one another and with external events.

Some of the activities that were necessary during the spring season were fitted into the cycle rather than being part of it. This was particularly true of the manufacturing and maintenance functions, while the ceremonial cycle referred especially to the planting of the crops.

221 • [356] [296] All winter while the people had been wandering over the country on the tribal buffalo hunt the house had stood idle and their clothes and equipment had taken heavy wear. These had to be put in order and repaired before planting time.

356 476 221 554 622 The average life of a house was twelve years, but before the end of that time water might leak through the roof and rot some of the radial roof beams. These would have to be replaced, and in order to do this the whole roof covering of thatch and earth had to be removed and reassembled. This task would require more than the personnel of the household. Where the men of the house had little social status they would have few social contacts to draw on, but men like Old Bull and Victory Call were in a much better position to get help from the community. Because of their status as chiefs many more people were likely to volunteer to help. The following section shows some of the social mechanisms involved in the process. However, it should be noted that the assistance given was neither on the basis of power authority nor fundamentally for the sake of gaining social status by association, but rather in appreciation

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

of the role of the chief in public service. For the house of the chief was the place where administrative activities were carried on for the benefit of the people, as we have seen in the meeting described above in the home of Eagle Chief.

356
476
221
554
622
[342]
[344]

8

000

REPAIRING THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE

Repairing the Roof a Spring Task—Cooperative Nature of Work—Detailed Description of Repairing Roof—Project Is Completed with Wide Cooperation from Villagers

356 [342] All winter long the house had stood unoccupied, the roof covered with snow while the people were away on the hunt. By spring, when the snow began to melt, the water seeping through the hard-packed earth and the thick layer of thatch might reach some of the radial timbers and rot them. Each household had to come to a decision as to whether to rebuild the whole house or just to mend the roof. This depended on the age of the house and the extent of the damage. They would count only on fifteen years as the maximum life of the house, and, when they anticipated a need for rebuilding they had to plan at least two years in advance to locate, process, and season the timbers, grass, and other materials. (See Figure 8-1 for an architect's plan of the earth lodge.) [426] [554] A man who was influential in the community could count on extra help from his fellow villagers who would gladly volunteer, while a less important person had to depend on whatever labor force was available in the house itself.

356 461 476 It took eighty-six to ninety man-woman days of labor to repair the roof of an earth lodge. It was a construction job that was accomplished with no overseer and no commands. A great deal of individual labor was consumed in preparing the materials, and this was done mainly by members of the household over a period of time. The actual construction work took only three days and was accomplished with a large number of volunteers. By way of compensation, the women of the household had to feed from thirty to fifty people for at least three meals.

356 One day in the fall of the year, Victory Call had been observing the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 90]

342
356
335

342
352
353

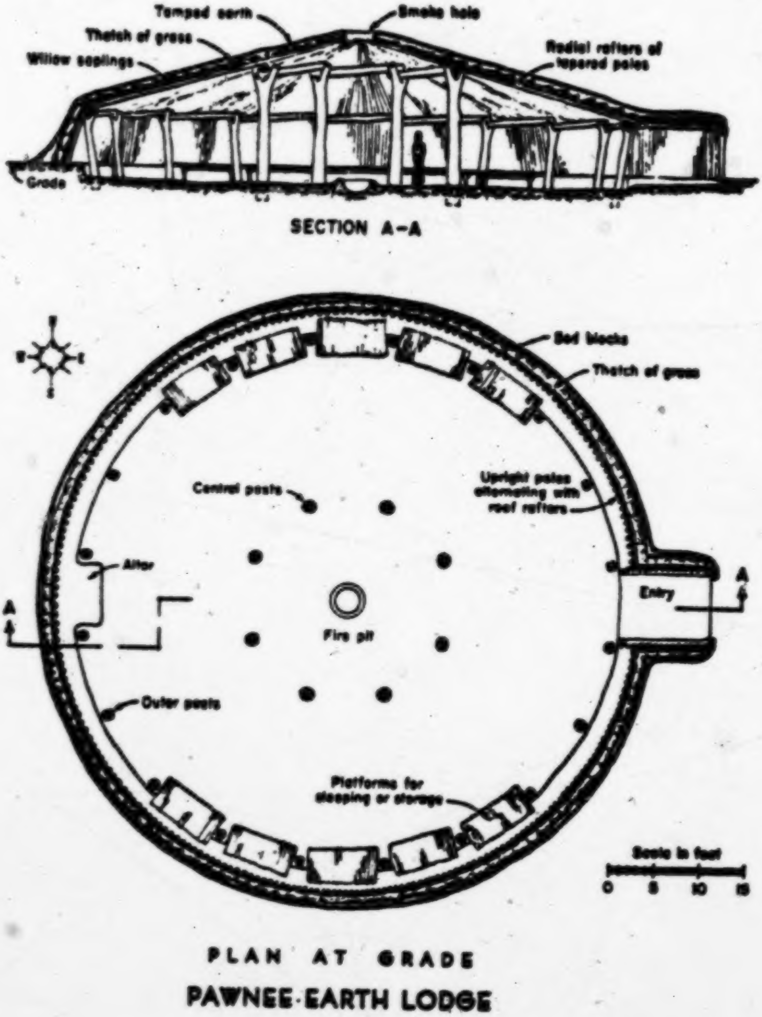

Tamped earth
Smoke hole
Thatch of grass
Willow saplings
Radial rafters of tapered poles
Grade
SECTION A-A
Bed blocks
Thatch of grass
Central posts
Upright poles alternating with roof rafters
Altar
A
Entry
A
Fire pit
Outer posts
Platforms for sleeping or storage
Scale in feet
0
5
10
15
PLAN AT GRADE
PAWNEE EARTH LODGE

FIGURE 8-1. Architect's plan of a Pawnee earth lodge.

356 roof of their house. He noted that seven of the radial timbers were rotting, and he remarked that they needed replacement. Old Bull made no comment, but he knew that they would carry on this enterprise together. [283] During the winter buffalo hunt, each of them killed a buffalo bull so that they could keep the hides to make rawhide strips for use when the roof [237] was rebuilt the following spring. Around the smokehole, fastening the radial roof rafters together, were two stout willow hoops, one on the inside and one on the outside. These were tied in place on the radial rafters with the rawhide strips. It was this mechanism that gave the symmetrical form and strength to the whole cone of the roof, and the tying was therefore important. At the same time as the hides were obtained, the women [251] made sure to dry plenty of buffalo intestine so that they would have [262] enough to make soup for the volunteers. While the bison hide was still [281] fresh, the women removed the hair.

Now during the spring Victory Call and Old Bull kept an eye out for 356 elm trees from which they could strip the bark to use in tying on the willow 314 circuits around the roof frame. A cut was made near the bottom of 283 the elm tree so that the bark could be loosened; a strip about two inches wide was ripped upward from the bottom. Five or six strips were taken from each elm. The strips were dried and stored until the actual time of building, when they were soaked in water and used wet so that they would make a tight bind when they dried in place. It took a large number of these elm strips to fasten the circuits in place around the roof.

356 Now Victory Call went into the timber to locate seven suitable willow trees. The next day he returned with his wife, White Woman, and 313 his retainer, Horse Rider. The trip to the Loup River was five or six miles. Victory Call cut down the trees with his axe, and Horse Rider and White Woman proceeded to lop off all the branches with a hatchet. After the trees were cut and the branches removed, they went home. Next day White Woman and Horse Rider returned and began to remove the bark, hacking it off from stub end to point; the man worked with an axe, the woman with a hatchet. Two trees were debarked, and they returned until they had finished the seven. After debarking, the poles were left in the timber to season for three days.

356 Meanwhile, without further discussion, Old Bull had gone off to look 313 for willow withes to make the circuits. When he got home he remarked to his younger wife, Clear Day, "There are some nice willows down at 824 Beaver Creek. Tomorrow we can go out and cut them." In the evening when Victory Call and the others got home from the Loup where they were fixing the radials, Old Bull remarked that he had been looking around and had seen some willows and that the next day they were going to cut them. Queen Woman and Old Lady Blue Calico of the South Side decided that since the women of the North Side were working so hard on the construction work, they would take over all the cooking for the family.

the family. Hauling in the materials was a considerable task. The two 000
families were fortunate in having enough horses so that two could be 492
used to transport the seven radials over the six-mile journey in one day. 356
These radials were leaned outside the house against the roof until needed. It required a wagonload or four large double armfuls of the willow saplings to make the circuits. These had to be hauled in from Beaver Creek about a mile away, a task carried out by Old Bull and his wives.

With these materials in place, Victory Call went out prospecting for 356
thatch grass. He had to travel five miles southwest of the village near the 824
Loup River where the grass grew near the edge of the timber in a little hollow place with some sand hills. Nearer the villages, the horses had eaten it up. That night the women on the North Side, White Woman and the two grandmothers, sharpened up the edges of their buffalo shoulder-blade hoes so that they could cut the thatch grass next day. No Corn, Horse Rider's older wife, was crippled with arthritis and was unable to do that type of work. She remained at home and did necessary household chores. Meanwhile, the women on the South Side continued to provide the meals for all of them. Next morning the two men and three women went with their two horses to the grass patch. The women cut the grass and the men saw that it was properly piled up. The grass was gathered into five bunches, each 3 feet high, the layers being laid down, one layer with stub ends one way, the next layer with pointed ends in the same direction so that the bundle would be even in thickness. The grass was tied into tight bundles and loaded one on each side of the horse. The two horses were loaded, White Woman packing one of the bundles, and when they arrived home the grass bundles were placed next to the bundles of willow withes and weighted down with sticks so that they didn't scatter in the wind. The materials were now ready and they could arrange for the actual construction.

Arrangements were now made to move in with other families until the 356
roof was fixed. Old Bull spoke to their neighbor, Coming-Downhill- 574
Bringing-Trophies, whose house was located just across from theirs, and 476
Victory Call made arrangements with Chief's Road whose lodge was 571
right next door. There was a friendly relationship between the households of Victory Call and Chief's Road. Chief's Road had the social rank of commoner, but he was a very successful warrior and hoped that someday his ambition to be an administrative officer would be realized through his friendship with Victory Call. He hoped that should Victory Call become head chief of their village, he would select him as his official brave. He was the most skillful arrowmaker in the Skidi Band, and he often made arrows for Victory Call and rendered him many other services. Victory Call returned the courtesy with gifts of wood for fuel and portions of meat from his hunting. The children of the two lodges also played together. Chief's Road had the lodge with his brother, and

356 476 574 571 both their families lived there together and were glad to offer their hospitality to Victory Call and to the North Side family.

The first step in the process of roof repair was demolition, the earth and thatch having to be removed. The North Side worked on its half and 356 476 the south side on the south half. There were seven women for removing the earth on the north side. White Woman and the two grandmothers, two women from Chief's Road's household and two women who were the wives of White Woman's brother, Uncle War Cry. Uncle War Cry, as he was known to the boy Otter, was a frequent visitor to White Woman's house, often dropping in for meals, as was appropriate to their relationship. He was the head brave of the Skidi Band, assisting Eagle Chief. He was a huge man of brusque and forthright temperament as [571] befitted his station as executive officer. Victory Call and all the others in the lodge liked him very much, and there was a very relaxed relationship between the two households. He had three wives and a large number of children from whom he often sought relief in White Woman's household. Now two of his wives came to help out, and he was also on hand to watch the proceedings.

From the South Side, Old Bull had four women available to do the work of removing the earth—his younger wife, Clear Day and her mother Blue Calico and two women from the household of Bringing [164] Trophies where they were staying. His senior wife, Queen Woman, was unable to do this work as she was crippled with arthritis, a common affliction among the Pawnees. Each side had a number of important men who stood around and supervised the proceedings, giving advice to the women; it was beneath their dignity to climb up on the roof themselves. On Victory Call's side on the north stood, in addition to Uncle War Cry himself, his younger brother Brave Shield (also known as High Noon) who was a prominent member of the Skidi Doctor Association. Also present was the head of the association, Big Doctor, and their neighbor, Chief's Road at whose house they were staying.

On Old Bull's side stood Eagle Chief, head chief of the Skidi Band, White Eagle, another prominent Skidi Chief, Bringing Trophies, at whose house the family was staying, and Rider, who was keeper of the sacred bundle of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village.

Assistance with the work itself was given by a group of young men in their twenties who came as volunteers. They had varying social connections with the people involved. When Eagle Chief got home one evening, he remarked that they planned to fix up the roof at Victory Call's house. On hearing this his son, Man Chief, got together a group of young men and they were glad to go. As Mark Evarts remarked, "They didn't have to be told. They just did things willingly. Such people should not have to be asked. The older men would say, 'When I was a boy, I used to do such things without being asked,' meaning that one hears of some-

356 476 thing of this kind that has to be done and one simply volunteers." A person who acts in this way is referred to as "A-Person-Whose-Ears-Are-Standing-Erect," viz., an alert person. Living in Eagle Chief's household was the older son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Fox Chief. He was also helpful in gathering in the young men to help out his father. Fine Horse, son of Victory Call's older brother Sitting Hawk, also came, and a younger brother of Chief White Eagle, who was standing on the south side with the influential men.

356 554 476 A number of older men who were also referred to as "boys" came. They were men who had little interest in having a prominent social status. They preferred to go hunting, to go on the warpath, to be free and easy in their manner. They were helpful to anyone who needed help and had little interest in social dignity or administrative functions. They freely gave away what they had and had no interest in accumulating anything or in having a well-appointed home. Because of their manner and attitude toward the social formalities, they were somewhat affectionately referred to as "boys" whatever their age might be. They commonly took over the responsibility of dangerous scouting assignments when these were called for. Four of these men came, and they climbed on the roof and helped out with the work. They were: Advance Scout (also known as Skidi Jake); Horse Finder; Riding-ahead-Coming; and Wants-the-Enemy.

356 476 [462] About eight o'clock in the morning the women were stationed on the roof near the top and they began to scratch off the earth with their buffalo shoulder-blade hoes. They scratched around one circuit down to the thatch grass and then began on the next one, pushing the earth down each time to the lower course. Finally the earth accumulated close to the sod collar at the bottom, where it was left so that they could pile it up again after they had repaired the frame. The men stood around giving advice, telling the women to scratch here or there; it took until nearly noon to get all the earth off the roof. Meanwhile the young men were removing the thatch grass and cutting the bark tyings that held the willow withe circuits and removed them while the women were scraping on the lower circuits. The thatch grass was placed around the outside of the circle of earth and the willow withes in a circle outside the thatch. Then the young men examined the radials and removed the rotten ones, and the men standing below handed up the new radials which were put in their places.

356 476 283 Horse Rider had been preparing the elm bark strips that he had soaking overnight so that they could be tied on the new circuits of willow withe. They also had the bison hide that Old Bull and Victory Call had gotten on the winter hunt for making the rawhide rope needed to tie on the hoops around the smokehole. War Cry inquired whether they had been cut into strips, and, if this was not already done, Brave Shield, War

356 Cry's younger brother, would immediately set to work and do it. The
476 young men climbed to the top and fastened the two hoops in place.
283 Meanwhile White Woman had been cooking a meal for all of them
356 in the house of Chief's Road where they were staying. She entertained
the family of the house and everyone who had helped on the North Side.
574 The meal consisted of grease bread and soup made of dried intestine.
476 Some of the women had brought their own bowls out of consideration
[262] for the number she needed to feed. Old Bull's senior wife, Queen
Woman, was cooking and serving a similar meal in the house of Bringing
Trophies, to entertain all who had helped on the South Side. No one lingered
over the meal, as they were anxious to get back to work.

356 The women took their bowls home and came back. They rested while
476 the young men tied on the new circuits of willow withe to the radials
with the moistened elm strips. They began at the bottom circuit and proceeded
462 to the next circuit upward. When they reached the higher circuits,
the "boys," Advance Scout and the others, began to fasten the
thatch grass to the bottom circuit. As they got further up, the young
men now took up this work, while the older "boys" began to pile the
earth on the lower circuits, the women filling up their pans with earth
and handing them up to the men on the roof. In households of less social
status, the women would have had to do a good deal of the work on the
roof themselves; in this case they were spared any need to climb up
356 further. When the work was completed, there was usually a dinner meal
574 for a large number of people, including some who had merely come
to watch the proceedings. Each of the hostesses usually had a party of
about fifty to feed. Everyone was tired and they waited until the following
morning to sweep out the house and move back in. Now the time for
221 planting was drawing near and they began to think of the immediate
241 preparations that remained.

In the whole course of this large construction job there was no foreman
356 to oversee the work; not a single order was issued nor a command
46 given; the work was performed with precision, and no inspection was
needed to check its quality or workmanship.

512 people went on the hunt and still the corn lay there. A man going
173 through the village heard someone talking. He thought there must be
243 another man in the village. But he followed along to where the voice was coming from and got to the sweepings. There lay the good ear of corn. He stopped and picked it up and began to talk to it. He asked it to bless him and send him good luck for this corn is our Mother. He kept that ear of corn. That's how it was in the old days. Now since you've been wasting, the corn will become scarce."

512 That evening they husked the dry corn and continued next day until
243 about two in the afternoon. Then it was left spread out to dry on the
cob until evening and pried off after supper with a stick. Some men
251 joined them and helped and after the women had gone to bed they
252 continued to pry off the kernels, telling stories while they worked until late in the evening. The next day the shelling of the dry corn continued and that afternoon the men just wandered about the camp for a little recreation. Horse Rider had gone down to the grounds to watch the gambling. The women were tired and lay down to rest; their hands felt cramped from prying off the kernels.

[285] After they had collected the dry corn from No Corn's field, the women alternated work on it with making pumpkin mats as the strips were now dry enough. Then they proceeded to get the small nubbin ears for fattening the horses and collecting the sweet corn and braiding it to finish off the work.

356 While they were doing the pumpkins, the old ladies had already
made a plan to go up and begin the process of clearing the earth
887 lodge in anticipation of the time when the harvest was done. They had to go up at intervals of four days successively and burn out the fleas with torches. "These fleas bite worse than bedbugs!"

The three old ladies met at the lodge in the morning as planned. They removed the brush that had been placed across the door to seal it before they left on the hunt. They took off their clothes and put on an old petticoat. They made a brush or short broom of dry *pakuts* (thatch) grass and tied it to a stick. Then each woman took her brush inside the lodge and lit the grass, each one going around one side of the room and being careful to stay near the floor as the dry grass in the roof thatch might catch fire. When the grass was burned up on their broom, they put some more grass on it and repeated the process throughout the day. They repeated this four days later, and then on subsequent days.
[824] They built a little fire in the fireplace and burnt some wild sage, kiwaut, (*Artemisia gnaphalodes* Nutt.) as incense to clear the air and make the room smell good. They would also burn some of the sage on their brooms along with the other grass. After the final smoking, they left the lodge empty for a day and on the following evening the lodge was quite habitable.

512 252 Toward evening, Horse Rider made a fire in the fireplace and went to get water. Then No Corn cooked some dry meat for the family and began to prepare the "grease bread" when White Woman said, "Give it to me. I'll make it. You get the coffee ready." The South Side family had not yet moved back in, and White Woman sat in the southeast position to do the cooking and serving, passing the food around to the north. When they returned, she would take her place northeast of the fireplace for this purpose. After they had finished with supper, Horse Rider went out to get some water for the morning and then everyone went to bed, as they were all tired.

356 [824] [789] It took about a week to get the earth lodge warm and lived-in. When they first moved in, it was cool like a dugout. During the first week, in the evening about every other day, they made a small fire near the doorway and burned sage weed (*kiwaut*) so that the draft would carry in the fragrant odor and sweeten the air in the lodge. It was also a protection against evil spirits that might have entered while they were away on the hunt.

356 462 The day after they had moved in, Uncle War Cry had moved his family up from the camp. He came in and joined them for supper while his house was being set up by the women. He sat down next to Victory Call near the west and while White Woman sat down at the southeast doing the cooking, he said, "When we started out, we didn't have much. But now we've accumulated a lot of stuff—old moccasins and whatnot—old pots and pans. They're still trying to arrange things at home. A man just picks up his bow and arrows, but a woman always has all sorts of stuff she gathers up, like old horns. She says she'll make spoons of them." "Same thing here," said Victory Call. White Woman did not let these remarks remain unanswered. She said, "Of course you men don't know how to load things up. That's why you're always complaining of the amount of stuff we accumulate. If you could pack right, you wouldn't talk that way." War Cry, undeterred, went right on talking. "A woman picks up everything she sees. The women are working in my home. I don't want to get mixed up in it. Now I'm going, nephew (*tiwat*)." "All right," said Victory Call, and just after he had gone, he added, "He always has something to say to make a man laugh." The women comment, "Tomorrow we must pick out those beans we pulled up in the [244] pods with our fingers. If we use sticks to thresh them, it'll make dirt outside the lodge. We ought to pick them by hand."

In the next day or so, Old Bull met Victory Call and said they wanted to move back into the lodge next morning. "That's good," said Victory Call, "you ought to be in by now. There'll be something going on soon." (He is referring to the Doctor Dance Ceremonies.) Victory Call tells his folks at supper that Old Bull is moving in next day.

The following morning the South Side family rode up to the lodge, 356

356 dumped their goods outside, set up the beds, and laid the mats. Then they brought in the rest of their things, and the house was crowded with parfleches of dry meat, corn, beans, and everything they had gathered. 251 The women talked of storing them in the cache pit. Grandma and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy told about how they had looked over the pit when they first got home from the hunt and cleared off some mold that had developed on the grass lining and that it was now clean and ready to be filled. After the pit was filled this time, it would not be open until the middle of November when they were ready to go off on the winter hunt. It did not do to open the pit more than once a month at the most. Otherwise, if one opened it often, a storm might come up and water might leak in. In the wintertime there was less danger of this. From time to time one would hear that a certain woman had not put enough earth on the lid of the pit and water had leaked in, with the resulting tragic consequence that all her corn was destroyed—the bags and everything having turned moldy (*us-kutu*, "hair-rotten," viz., mold). Two years of hard work and the security it could bring destroyed by one careless oversight. In the Pawnee way of life, vigilance could seldom be relaxed!

The storage pit was built nearby when the earth lodge was constructed. It was an indispensable part of the earth-lodge economy. The usual size was about 10 feet deep. It was bell-shaped, with a narrow neck and a round bottom about 10 feet in diameter. The north side of the pit was for [592] the use of the people who inhabited that side of the earth lodge, and the south side for the South Side families. In the case of an exceptionally important public figure, the household might have two cache pits. The bottom was covered with clean sand and on top of this some sticks as a sort of grating and these covered with grass. The walls were lined with thatch grass fastened in place with sticks that were shored up against it.

251 Tanned hide sacks of various sizes were used to store the corn and 415 beans in the pit. The largest was the *hax-kaitu*, made by sewing two buffalo hides together, folding them over and sewing them along the [237] bottom and the long side. It was 6 feet high and 3 feet in diameter when full and was used only to store the mature dried corn kernels known as *rikis-tahis*, "corn-dry," that had been pried off the cob after the corn had matured on the stalk.

The second size was the "large sack," about 3 feet high and 2 feet in diameter when filled, containing 1½ bushels or more. The next size, "the small sack," *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack," stood about 3 feet high and 1½ feet in diameter when full, holding about a bushel or 50 to 60 pounds of dried corn kernels. In size, it was approximately equivalent to the 50-pound flour sack. A still smaller sack was called *rits-a-kusu*, "intestine-of-sack," standing about 8 inches high and a foot in diameter when full.

35

ORGANIZING THE EARTH LODGE FOR THE CEREMONIAL PERFORMANCE–REHEARSALS AND CONSTRUCTION WORK

000

Work Corps to Prepare Earth Lodge for Ceremony—Fleas Burnt—Drums Repaired—Practice Sing—Meat Served the Singers—Building of Booths in Lodge—Building the Images

OF THE FOUR LEADERS of the Doctor Lodge, Sitting Hawk had the largest 756
and most conveniently located earth lodge, and it was in his lodge that 796
they decided to conduct the ceremony. The following are the details of 346
the way in which they managed to get the work done and the ceremonial procedures connected with it. 356

As soon as they got back from the hunt and set up camp, the three other doctors called on Sitting Hawk and discussed the matter; two weeks later he made arrangements to begin to get the lodge ready. Like all the others in the village, his lodge was infested with fleas that had to be smoked out. He organized his work corps, first calling in the two doctors' errand men and then sending each of them in turn to bring in another young man to assist. The five had dinner at Sitting Hawk's camp, then met next morning at the lodge and got to work. They pulled up the beds and piled them outside on the roof of the long entrance passageway. Sitting Hawk supervising, two of them got to work with burning torches to smoke out the fleas on each side. The floor was carefully swept and the dust carried far from the lodge to be dumped. Dusty and tired, their legs red with flea bites, about five o'clock they

756
796
346
356

took a swim in Beaver Creek and set out for Sitting Hawk's tent where they would be served dinner. Meanwhile, since word had gone all around the camp of what they were doing, other doctors decided to join them for supper. From this point on, all activities connected with the Doctor Lodge would be charged to the "Doctor Fund" of sixty parfleches of buffalo meat that had been pledged for the purpose. At each event the leader stated how much was being used for the current proceedings and how much of the total. At this meal, half a parfleche of buffalo meat was used up and it was so stated by Sitting Hawk.

The fleas would have to be burnt out one more time, and Sitting Hawk had told them that they would allow a day to pass in between and then do it on the subsequent day. As they were leaving the dinner that night, two other young doctors decided to join the work corps. The other two assistants, Man Chief and Fox Chief, decided to relax and do some gambling in the interim, before resuming their work next day.

When people in camp heard about what the doctors were doing, they all talked about speeding up their harvest. Someone would say, "Oh I'd like to see Bear!" Old ladies would say, "Oh, so they're cleaning the Doctor Lodge. Well it's high time. There ought to be a session in there already. When I was younger I used to be a good singer. When they went through the village, I used to sing." Other old ladies would reminisce about old times and about how many doctors there used to be in Old Village, Kitkehax-pakuxtu.

Now the men gathered at the lodge for the second bout with the fleas. Again Sitting Hawk supervised and two smoked them out on each side. The two additional young men cleared off the spider webs near the roof, for they were going to hang the cutouts up there; since they would have a large fire all during the sessions, the sparks might ignite the webs. Sitting Hawk wanted to keep them all busy so that during that day they didn't go off and gamble. They proceeded at a leisurely pace, sitting down for a smoke and telling stories every now and then. He sent his son Misery down to the Loup River to check the condition of the cedars and to locate a straight one about 4 inches in diameter. By late afternoon they took a long bath in Beaver Creek and then went to Sitting Hawk's tent for supper. On this occasion, the second half of the parfleche of meat from the Doctor's Fund was used up.

When everyone moved back into their earth lodges, Sitting Hawk's family had to divide up and move in with others. The women and children moved in with Chief's Road whose house was immediately to the west of theirs, and the boys went to the earth lodge of Comanche Chief into which Sitting Hawk's oldest son, Misery, was married.

While the others were cleaning the ceremonial lodge, the three other leading doctors had been working on the drums and other things. This had been mentioned among the guests at the dinner. Sitting Hawk had

said, "Now while we're cleaning, it's only right that Big Doctor, Won- 756
derful Old Bull, Pipe Offering, and Old Bull should be fixing their 796
drums and other things so that the boys can go into the lodge and prac- 346
tice as soon as it is fixed up. We'd like the drums to sound good when 356
we get in there." "That's right," some one else would say, "I've been wanting to sing even now, but the drum isn't fixed yet. It doesn't sound good."

At last everything was in order and the four leading doctors moved 756
into the ceremonial lodge for the duration of the ceremony with the two 796
errand men to do the cooking. That night they would have a practice 624
sing with all the doctors who wanted to participate. The two leading doctors sent the two errand men out to invite them. They saw that the two men were appropriately clothed to go through the village, providing each with a buffalo robe which they wrapped around themselves with the hair side out, and an eagle-wing fan to carry. They filed out of the lodge one behind the other at a trot, and as they entered a lodge where a doctor lived they sat down one behind the other at the east with their eagle-wing fans in front of their faces. The appropriate response was for someone in the lodge to whisper into their right ear the question as to what they wished. They would answer also in a whisper that the doctor was to come right away. Then the two errand men would get up and trot out again, moving on to the next lodge where a doctor lived. Their mission did not always proceed with dispatch. Sometimes the two errand men got to a lodge where everyone was sleeping and the occupants would say, "Oh, I hate to get up," but they had to get up anyway and whisper their question and receive the whispered reply. In some lodges there were just young girls about and they said to each other, "You go and do it." "No, you go." Finally one would sit down next to the errand man and ask the question. He would whisper his reply, but not knowing the proper decorum, the girl would call right out loud, "Oh, I'll tell him." All these incidents were recounted in detail when the two men returned to the Doctor Lodge. In some places the people were eating and they made the errand men take a few bits of food before they would let them go. If the doctor happened to be home and was smoking, he would make them smoke with him a while before whispering his question and receiving his reply. Should the errand men meet a man outside the lodge on his way somewhere or toward the house, they would not discuss their business with him but would proceed to his lodge and notify the people there. As soon as the doctor was notified, he went straight to the Doctor Lodge. Everyone knew that on that night they were going to start by singing the doctor songs.

Twenty-six doctors came to the ceremonial lodge and Big Doctor 796
opened the evening with a speech. He said, "Tonight we are going to 756
practice our first songs so that we can send the birds, the winds, and

53

PRODUCTS OF REEDS AND GRASS

000

The Twined Woven Mats, Their Use and Manufacture—the Grass Brush for the Care of Hair

THE REEDS AND GRASSES matured about the same time as the cultivated 824 crops, and everyone knew that as soon as possible after completing the harvest they would have to get to work gathering these materials before they passed their prime.

The twined woven mat of reeds was one of the most important items 285 of Pawnee house furnishing. It was considered indispensable to cleanli- 352 ness, and only the poorest people or the most slovenly would use skins on the ground instead. They were used both in the lodge and on the march, and old mats were offered to people who had none. Every morn- [356] ing they were taken up and shaken to get the dust out; in the lodge the house was well swept and the sweepings carried out on a skin to be dumped at the base of the embankment before the mats would be replaced on the floor. When on the march, they were rolled up and tied in the middle with a string fastened there for the purpose by the women. When camp was set up, they were laid out to sit on; at night the beds were made on them. In the lodge they were placed inside the central pillars to sit on. Impromptu beds were made by putting them between [513] the pillars at night as a base for the bedding. Each mat was 5 feet wide and 8 to 9 feet long. Ordinarily, there were two mats around the fireplace on each side; if there were special guests, an additional one was placed at the west. At a large feast, the mats were laid outside the house pillars against the beds to enlarge the circle. Mats for gala occasions had special [531] decorations made by weaving in black or dark red-dyed wefts. These were kept rolled up until guests came. For everyday use the family sat on whatever mats happened to be around—the better ones being placed

*175 of fruit trees, in addition to farming. Education in the rudiments
*648 of common schooling, along with training in manual arts, was
177 combined later with an effort to stimulate self government. Finally
a persistent campaign was instituted against forms of the old
657 Pawnee life which were considered barbaric and detrimental to
their new life as citizens; their unsanitary mode of life, the methods of the medicine men, their polygamous marriage customs, their wasteful mourning customs, their Indian clothing, their religious dances and ceremonies, their indolent social gatherings for dancing and gambling, their intemperate feasting.

The major objective of the government, however, was directed toward the division of the tribal lands into tracts held in severalty, which would introduce individual property ownership and inheritance, and break down the communal forms of life around which centered, from the white man's standpoint, the barbaric tribal customs which barred the Indian from an imperceptible and gradual absorption into the white population of the United States.

*175 The government program could not be initiated upon the arrival
*648 of the Pawnee. They came in several contingents during winter
months to a territory uninhabited and still virgin to the plow. The
177 first Pawnee to arrive, including by arrangement the strongest men
● 361 and women, taking new heart with the possibilities of peaceful and
secure life in their new home, began at once to build their settlement
657 close to the agency location on Black Bear Creek. Accustomed still
to the tipi and the earth-lodge, the former for temporary shelter on the march and the hunt, the latter for more permanent habitations, they built villages in their old way. The first winters were difficult, the Pawnee suffering severely from exposure, after their long migration, and from the changed climatic conditions. The building of frame houses with government aid and direction was contingent on the settling of individual families on individual tracts of land, a condition which could not be met immediately upon arrival.

*175 It was essential to begin cultivation at once. Large sums had
*648 been expended to provision the tribe during the years of removal,
241 and they had to become self-sustaining soon. Government farmers
began the agency farm. The bands chose the locations in which they
657 would settle, and as rapidly as possible the government farmers
broke land for them to cultivate.

The Pawnee camped around the agency until land was ready for them. Two bands removed to land broken for them in 1877; the other two the following spring. By the summer of 1888 all were cultivating their lands.

[361] As they removed, the bands transferred their village encampments
to their separate tracts.

175*
allotment, inalienable for fifteen years thereafter. In this way the 648*
Indians were to be transformed gradually into individual holders of 657
land. 241

Enterprising Pawnee, young and progressive, had taken over 423
individual farm lands as soon as these could be surveyed and made available for them. For such families frame houses were erected on their allotments, the agency carpenter managing the work, assisted by the Pawnee. This development was sluggish before 1880, owing partly to indolent management on the part of the agents. Families who chose tracts of land often camped for long periods near them in tipis, before the surveying and alloting could be done, and aid given them in house-building. By 1881 only forty such houses had been built and occupied by Pawnee families: and the
allotments seem not to have been officially registered. 175*

The main body of the tribe, however, continued to reside in the 648*
band villages. Once established in villages the Pawnee were loath 657
to break up their social life for a life on scattered farms. The agents [361]
found stubborn resistance to their program of change. From the official standpoint village life was the center of stability for the old barbaric customs. Polygamous marriage, gambling, inveterate dancing and indolence, superstitious awe of the medicine men, were aspects of Pawnee life which could not be eliminated unless the villages were broken up. The conditions of band farming which were natural to the Pawnee were obnoxious from the white standpoint. In the native view the chief controlled the farm in the interest of the general welfare, and all shared its produce according to need. In the agent's view the chief was an exploiter, and under his rule indolence flourished and individual initiative was submerged. The indolent and lazy, supported by the labor of others, could hang out around the agency waiting for the distribution of rations and goods, and money payments.

While after 1881 the agents were making a concentrated drive 175*
to get the Pawnee on individual allotments, there seem to have been 648*
two extreme parties in the tribe, a radically progressive group who 657
were in favor of separate farms and homes, and the conservative
majority content with band village life. The chiefs, priests and 621
medicine men of the tribe seem to have been in the main opposed to a change to individualized farming. The government agents claimed their obstructionism was born of a desire to maintain their own power and influence, which would fade with the people scattered in isolated homes. But it was more than this. The Pawnee had been accustomed to sedentary village life as far back as tradition could go. Recent archaeological evidence indicates that they had been

for most. Some sat about a while longer, however, and sang Ghost 527 574
Dance songs.

This introductory or inaugural feast at which a decision is made as to the time for a regular ceremony, is a fundamental Pawnee pattern. Such feasts precede the actual performance of doctor dances and ceremonies, society gatherings and performances, and many other ritual activities. In all such cases the pattern is the same. An individual man or woman "puts up" the feast for the gathering, and obtains as a result certain definite rights of proprietorship [424] over the actual ceremonial occasion which is to follow[1]. This "host" invites leading men such as chiefs to be present, and requests selected ones to come to a decision as to the time for the performance itself.

After this feast-gathering had broken up, the people got ready for the actual dance. Three days were allowed for moving into camp because the people lived scattered over a large area, and had to come in wagons and on horseback. They needed time to arrange things at home so they could be absent for more than a week, to pack, and to come. After all had gathered, at least three more days intervened before the dance proper began, so that the preparation of food, wood, and all other necessary things could be finished. Once it is begun, the dance must not be interrupted by such labors.

Mrs. Washington must be the first to move officially into camp. The chief who finally set the date for the gathering inquired if she was ready, and after she had said yes, and moved her tent, others would begin to follow her into the camping place.

For the dance the tipis and tents were set up in a half circle 361
from south to north around the west. There was no special order 796
of tipis. In the center a space thirty to forty feet in diameter was
cleared of grass. Here the dancing began, but as more and more 668
people joined in and the circle of dancers expanded, it would be pushed back beyond the edge of the cleared space onto the grass. The cleared space alone, however, was considered the sacred dancing ground.

One large tipi was set up west of the cleared ground at a distance [346]
of thirty feet, its doorway facing east. This was the tent used by the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Washington and other leaders.

---

[1] Neither vision nor vow is essential in all cases to give an individual the right to "put up" a ritual affair. It is sufficient in most cases among the Pawnee that an individual wants to do so, either because he or she wants to secure thereby whatever benefits in health, luck and prosperity accrue from the performance (and particularly to the one who has "put it up") or because he or she wants to see the ritual demonstrated and learn something about it, or both.

PAWNEE MUSIC

By Frances Densmore

THE PAWNEE TRIBE

The Pawnee is commonly regarded as the last of the Caddoan 101
Tribes which migrated in a general northeasterly direction at an
early date.[1] When the Siouan Tribes entered the valley of the
Platte River in Nebraska they found the Pawnee already established
in that region. The Pawnee called themselves by a term meaning
"men of men." Their present name was probably given by some
neighboring tribe and derived from *pariki*, meaning a horn, as it
was the Pawnee custom to shave the head except a narrow strip [302]
extending from the forehead to the scalplock and to stiffen this
ridge of hair with grease and paint, curving it upward like a horn.

While in Nebraska the Pawnee lived in earth lodges which were 361
in four permanent groups of villages, each having its geographical [342]
location along the Platte River. The people of each group were a
unit, representing a division of the tribe. The Skidi (Wolf Pawnee) 101
was in the northwest, its people considering themselves related to 619
the Arikara, another Caddoan Tribe living some distance to the
north. The Pitahauerat (Tapage Pawnee) were downstream, the
Kithahki (Republican Pawnee) were upstream, and the Chaui
(Grand Pawnee) were located between the two last named. The 134
soil of the region was dry and rather sandy with rough, broken land 241
toward the mountains in the west, yet the Pawnee were essentially
an agricultural people, cultivating corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins.
Buffalo and other game was abundant in the early days, and the Pawnee 136
were excellent hunters, their hunting expeditions covering a wide 224
area.

The first treaty between the Government of the United States and 648
the Pawnee Indians was made at St. Louis Trading Post in June, 1818.[2]

---

[1] In the classification of the North American races by John W. Powell the Pawnee is classified as one of [114]
the five independent groups of the Caddoan stock. Miss Alice C. Fletcher regards the Pawnee as a confederacy, the divisions or bands of the tribe being treated by her as separate tribes in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p 213. *Cf* also Linton, Ralph, The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee, The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee, and Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men, compiled chiefly from unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, published as leaflets Nos. 5, 6, and 8, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-23.

[2] Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kappler, ed., vol. ii, pp. 156-159, Washington, 1904.

778 come. While all these bundles had their individualities, they had certain
ceremonies in common: thus at the sound of the first thunder in spring,
[782] the keeper of each bundle must immediately open it with the proper procedure and make an offering of dried buffalo meat to the powers in the west.[1] This offering is burned, but after the ceremony the remaining meat is cooked and served.

As to how far this applied to the other divisions of the Pawnee, cannot
184 be determined for they have not preserved their bundles and rituals to the
778 same extent as have the Skidi. The Chaui are known to have had three bundles, the Pitahauirata, two; but those of the Kit'kaháxki passed out so long ago that no definite number can be enumerated. The rituals of all these bundles were seemingly different from those of the Skidi in that so far as we know they did not have the regular thunder ceremony, but consecrated the bundles to certain animals. It is not known for certain if the sacred ears of corn were kept in these bundles as in those of the Skidi, but there are some reasons for believing that they were.

103 In the Skidi scheme there were thirteen villages, each of which had a bundle:—

361 1 Tu^{h}rikaku^{h}, center village; the Evening Star bundle.

631 2 Kitkahapaku^{h}tu, old village; the four leading bundles are kept in
778 this village.

3 Tu^{h}hitspiat, stretching out in the bottom lands.

4 Tu^{h}kitskita, village on branch of a river.

5 Tu^{h}wahukasa, village stretching across a hill; the Morningstar bundle. (This bundle was finally divided into two.)

6 Arikararikuchu, big antlered elk standing.

7 Arikarariki^{h}, small antlered elk standing.

8 Tu^{h}huchaku, village in a ravine; the left hand bundle, all use left hands in the ceremony.

9 Tu^{h}warakaku, village in thick timber.

10 Akapaxsawa, skull painted on tipi.

11 Skisa rikus, fish hawk.

12 Stixkautit, black ear of corn.

13 Turawi, part of a village.

631 These thirteen villages were organized or federated under this bundle
778 scheme and so had a common government. The supreme, or original

---

[821] [1] The Evening Star (calf bundle) is the chief power in the west. Four other stars in the west represent the clouds, thunders, lightning, and the winds, or the four leading bundles. These four stars are supposedly sitting in the west, acting as priests. They are sitting there with a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat; also, they are sitting with a hill of corn, the stalks always green, and a place in front of them as the altar.

668
796
and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. [177] According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days. There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now [346] regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple. [361] Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise, the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical [787] belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog [524] dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the iruska. Some time after 1904 the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated. The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their hereditary sides of north and south.

THE PEYOTE.

276
794
About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to [177] him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked with Christ.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand 776
that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly 825
responsible.

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of conse- 292
crating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were cere- 796
monial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies.

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected 224
to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires.

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the 361
ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed.

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must 622
pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and 756
what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water 782
animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with
these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social inter- [565]
course. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but
otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that [773]
at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.)

II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE

The Skidi formed one of the four bands comprising the Pawnee 619
tribe, the others being the Chaui, the Kitkehahki, and the Pita- 621
hauirat. [In the manuscript the Skidi are spoken of as a tribe. [101]
However, I have followed more recent usage and substituted the
term band, reserving tribe for the Pawnee as a whole (Lesser, 1933).]
The Skidi, however, considered themselves independent and actually
felt closer to the Arikara than to the other three Pawnee bands.
Politically the Skidi were a federation of villages, of which at least
thirteen are known to have existed, though there were probably
others which have been forgotten. The federation was held together
by a governing council of chiefs and by a ceremonial organization [623]
involving the participation of the band in a round of ceremonies
associated with sacred bundles.

The village was a distinct local group consisting of a cluster of 621
earth-lodges housing the component families. Each village possessed 361
its own fields, whose ownership was allotted among the villagers by 622
the chief, a supposed lineal descendant of the original owner of the 423
sacred bundle of the village. [I am inclined to believe that the chief
allotted the use of the fields rather than their ownership.] On the
death of an individual, his land was re-allotted by the chief. Each
village also had its own burial ground in which were buried only
those belonging to the village.

In principle the village was endogamous. Since the Pawnee 621
moved to Oklahoma the old restriction on marriage has been grad- 582
ually disappearing. This is due to the fact that the population of [178]
certain villages has dwindled and it is no longer possible for the few
remaining individuals of some villages to obtain mates within their
own village. Even in this breaking down of the system, however,
the old fashion of reckoning descent is maintained. Thus, in the 611
marriage of a man from Big-Elk village with a woman of Little-Elk
village, the children would belong to Big-Elk village. [However,
according to the manuscript, both these villages were extinct by
1907.] An exception to this general rule is at the present time [1907] [184]
under consideration among the Skidi. Mr. Murie's son, now about
of age, properly belongs by the laws of the tribe to the Village-on-
the-Hill, that being the village of his father. His mother, however,
belongs to the Pumpkin-Vine village and her brother, Skidi-Good-
Chief, is the last representative of that village. To prevent the
village from becoming extinct, Skidi-Good-Chief has asked per-

105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee
[171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but
they understood the arts of pottery-making and basket-weaving.
291 During the summer the men usually
wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings
and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins,
leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned
on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe
do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The
302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made
301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced
the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings.
342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth
lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine
Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the
sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or
bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi.
The first three of these were closely related, but the
Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and
considered themselves more closely related to the
Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some distance
[361] to the north. In their settlements along the river,
the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi
being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest
downstream, and the other two bands between. Each
621 band was divided into a number of villages which were
social as well as geographical units. All the members
of a village believed themselves to be descended from
a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made
within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female
[778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) containing
[793] sacred objects, and priests who had charge of
the rituals and ceremonies connected with these objects.
622 It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a
council composed of its leading men. If the chief was
a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

776 transmitted the mandates of Tirawa to the people upon earth. From her union with the god of next rank, the Morning Star, Opirikata, sprang the first being upon earth.

The Morning Star seems to have been a personification of the Male, as the Evening Star was of the female principle. He was conceived of as a warrior who drove the other stars before him from the sky. It was [782] to him that the Skidi band offered a human sacrifice.

Next in rank to the Evening and Morning Stars were the gods of the four world-quarters, who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest, and supported the heavens. To them Tirawa gave the task of dividing up the earth into the divisions which we find at present. Next in rank to these were the three gods of the north,—the North Star, who presided over the council of the stars, and who gave the ceremony for the creation of chiefs to men; the North Wind, who sent men the buffalo, and Hikus, who gave the breath of life. Below these in turn were the Sun and Moon, from whose union had sprung the second being on earth who, mating with the offspring of the Morning and Evening Stars, produced the human race.

There were a number of minor heavenly gods,—the second Morning Star, who assisted the Morning Star, the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who was the special god of medicine-men, the Star of the South, who stood at the southern end of the Milky Way and received the spirits of the dead, Skiritiuhuts ("Fool-Wolf"), who felt slighted in the councils of the gods, and, who, in revenge, introduced death into the world, and several others.

The greater part of the heavenly gods were iden-
[778 tified with stars. The sacred bundle of each village
361] was believed to have been given to its ancestor by one of these heavenly beings; and when the villages of the

band assembled for ceremonies, they arranged themselves [778
according to the positions of their guardian 361]
stars in the heavens. 776

Only less powerful than the gods of the heavens were the gods of the earth. These were for the most part identified with animals in the same way that the heavenly gods were identified with stars. The earthly gods were organized into four lodges each of which had its leaders and its messengers, who served as intermediaries between the earthly gods and men. In these lodges they gathered in council to make or mar the fortunes of men, and to them favored mortals were taken to be instructed in the mysteries of earth-craft. The earthly gods were the special patrons of medicine-men and warriors.

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were 796
numerous and varied. They may be divided into two main classes,—ceremonies, which were in charge of societies whose members had certain secrets in common, and ceremonies which were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe. To the first class belong the ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine-men. To the second class belong those which had to do with the welfare of the people.

Practically all the ceremonies of the second class 796
centered about collections of sacred objects, called by 778
the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were two additional bundles which were the property of the whole tribe. The objects in the bundles varied, but had a general similarity, each bundle containing at least one pipe, tobacco, paints, the skins of certain birds, and the Mother-Corn. The last consisted of two ears of corn, which were the most sacred objects in the bundle. When not in use, the objects were wrapped in a buffalo hide and hung from the wall of the lodge. In connec-

hind the altar. The girl, who was constantly attended 796 by a guardian, was brought in and seated on the south side of the lodge. The chief of the village took his place on the southwest, with the leader of the war party on his left, while the man who had actually captured the girl sat on the northeast.

The priest built two little fires of sweet grass, one 727 to the east, and the other to the west of the fireplace. 782 The girl was taken to the eastern fire, undressed, and 796 her body bathed in the smoke. Her guardian then [302] painted her whole body red and dressed her in a black skirt and robe which were kept in the sacred bundle between sacrifices. The man who had captured the girl then went to the altar, and was dressed by the priest in another costume, also kept in the bundle. He was [302] given black leggings and moccasins, his face and hair were painted red, and a fan-shaped head-dress of twelve eagle feathers was attached to his hair in such a way that it stood out straight over the back of his head at right angles to his body. This was the costume [776] in which the Morning Star usually appeared in visions, [787] and with its assumption the captor seems to have become a personification of that deity.

After these ceremonies had been performed, the 796 captor left the lodge and passed through the village, entering every lodge and warning those who were to take part in the ceremony to come to the chief's lodge. Each family gave him a little red and black paint and certain other objects which were needed in the ceremony. When he had completed the circuit, he returned to the chief's lodge, and errand men were sent out to invite the chiefs and priests of all the villages to come to the ceremony. The Pawnee village was a social [361] as well as a geographical unit. Several villages [621] might live together. Each of the priests and chiefs had his prescribed place in the circle, while the space

DESCRIPTION
of the
Manners and Customs of the Pawnee Indians.

(By Br. D. Z. Smith.)

619 **Bands or Clans.**—All the Indian tribes are subdivided into
bands or clans. The *Pawnees* have among them four distinct
643 bands, viz: the Loups (pronounced *Loos*,) the Republicans, the
Topages, (Tuppays,) and the Grand Pawnees. Each band has
at its head a Chief, among whom, however, the Chief of the
Grand Pawnees, Asseruregarrigu, is considered the Principal
Chief of the whole tribe.

Villages, Localities, former Missionaries, &c.—The Pawnees
131 live in two villages at present, both on the South side of the
Platte or Nebraska river. The lower village lies about 50 miles
from Bellevue, and about 10 or 15 miles above the mouth of the
Elkhorn river, the first important tributary of the Platte from the
North; and the upper village is situated about 20 or 25 miles
above the lower, nearly opposite the mouth of the Loup Fork of
the Platte, the next branch of any consequence above the Elkhorn.
361 Both villages are situated on eminences, so that the approach of
an enemy can easily be observed, and a sharp lookout is constantly
kept in order to guard against any sudden surprise from a hostile
force. Sentinels are constantly posted on all the surrounding
648 heights, who can immediately by signs, known among the Indians,
726 transmit intelligence in case of impending danger. During the
night, sentinels are constantly perched upon the tops of the lodges,
to guard against any unexpected nocturnal attack.—When we were
on our return, and remained over night at the Loup village, a report,
probably a false alarm, had reached there during the day,
that a large war-party of Sioux had lately been seen near the
head waters of the Elkhorn river. During the night the sentinels
were as usual posted upon the lodges, a little more noisy, however,
than generally, yelling to one another and singing, nearly the whole
night. Upon our inquiring why the sentinels made so much noise,
we were informed, that it was to let the Sioux know, should they
be near, that they might not expect to find them off their guard.

Thus it will be observed, that a certain kind of military organization
is constantly kept up at each village, rendered necessary
by their wars with their enemies. This unpleasant state of things
000 can only be removed through the benign influence of the Gospel,
when "they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their
spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against
nation, neither shall they *learn* war any more. But they shall sit

every man under his vine and fig-tree; and *none* shall make them 000
afraid." Mic. 4. 3, 4.

As hinted in a note in a previous communication, (see February 131
Miscellany, p. 62.) the Pawnee villages are not located on their 648
own land. Formerly the land on both sides of the Platte river
belonged to them. But about the year 1835 they concluded a
treaty with the United States, in which they ceded to the latter all
their territory on the South side of the river. Their villages were
then situated about 150 miles further up the Platte on the North
side. The missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. were then residing 797
with them, their mission stations being situated in the vicinity
of these villages. When the Pawnees were at their homes, which
is only four or five months of the year, (the remaining months [221]
being consumed on their summer and fall hunts) the missionaries
were engaged in teaching such of their children as could be induced
to attend school, and in instructing the people in the truths of
religion, as well as they could according to their limited knowledge
of the language. About six years ago, the powerful Sioux made 648
repeated incursions into the Pawnee country, and the strength of 797
the latter being very much weakened by their frequent wars with
their enemies, they were obliged to succomb, and at length forced
to leave their former location on the North side of the Platte, and
to remove to the South side, nearer to the white settlements on
the Missouri river. The missionaries too found it unsafe to remain,
and it was thought advisable to suspend their missionary
operations among them. Mr. and Mrs. Allis (See August Misc.
1851, pp. 221, 222, and also February Misc. 1852, p. 64.) are
remnants of this noblé band of missionaries, and, still cherishing
the desire, that these benighted but very interesting people might
be enlightened by the gospel, have, while their fellow-laborers
have long ago left for other fields of usefulness, still lingered behind,—and
toiled on, amidst many self-denials, privations, and discouragements,
in doing whatever lay in their power for the good
of these Indians. Lately the government has established Fort
Kearney, not far distant from their former villages, which, it is
hoped, will be a security against future incursions, and prove a
safeguard, when our mission will once be established among them.

LANGUAGE.—The Pawnee language is said to be altogether different 197
from the languages of the surrounding prairie tribes. The
Otoes, the Ioways, the Osages, the Kanzas or Caws, the Omahaws,
the Puncaws, etc., seem all to speak dialects of the same
language, the Dakota; while the Pawnee language seems, by its
great difference, to point back to the earliest periods of the residence
of the Indians in this country, when a disruption may have taken
place, that formed them into a distinct nation.

POPULATION, LODGES, etc.—The lower village consists of about 361 161

361 80 lodges, with a population of nearly 2,500; and in the upper
161 village there are between 140 and 150 lodges, the population amounting perhaps to 3,500. On approaching a village, the lodges have the appearance of so many small hillocks, of a conical form, huddled up together in the closest possible manner, with only narrow passages between for walking, and the rest of the space filled up by pens, formed of stakes, for confining their ponies during the night, to guard them from being suddenly taken off by a warlike party of another tribe.

342 The Pawnee lodges are of a circular form, large and spacious in the interior; many of them being 50 feet in diameter. Three and sometimes four circular rows of forked trunks of trees are placed upright, at appropriate distances from each other. The row nearest the centre consists of only four such upright timbers, about 15 or 20 feet high, while the crotches in the more exterior rows are shorter and more numerous, in proportion as the circumference is greater. These forks or crotches support thick cross-beams, upon which a frame of long poles is laid, extending from the ground at the outer circumference of the lodge to the top, leaving only an opening at the apex, of about four feet in diameter, to answer the double purpose of letting in the light, and letting out the smoke. Upon the frame work of poles, willow osiers are laid, and the whole is then covered with prairie sod from 12 to 18 inches thick. Immediately below the opening above, a hole is sunk in the centre for the fire-place, common to all the residents of the
[592] lodge. From five to ten families, generally related together, have a common occupancy of one lodge, governed by a head man, who may be styled the lodge chief. Around the circumference of the
352 lodge are recesses for sleeping, partitioned off for each family, resembling the berths on board of steamboats, many of which are screened in front and on the sides by willow-twigs laid above each other, tied fast to a frame, which, partly with the reddish bark on, and partly white from having the bark taken off, exhibit considerable taste in those who wrought them. When thus ornamented with twigs, a small opening about two by three feet is left in front to admit the occupants. The bottom of the berth is raised about two feet above the ground by means of large hewn sills, overlaid by thick willow twigs, which are then covered with buffalo-robes.
[342] The entrance of the lodge is always on the East side, protected by a passage, closed above and on the sides, of about 15 feet in length,—the door being a large buffalo robe, or several sewed together, hanging before the inner entrance. On the side opposite to the door of each lodge, a recess is reserved, for depositing the skull of a buffalo, surmounted by shields, quivers of arrows, spears, bows, skins, feathers, etc., used for hunting, for medicinal, or religious purposes, as the case may require. In the interme-

101 much more limited. On the west the *Padouca* (Comanche) were
131 firmly established in the forks of the Dismal River,[16] on the shores
of some of the lakes in the sandhill region of the present Cherry
County, Nebr.,[17] and on the upper reaches of the Smoky Hill River[18]
in the present northern Kansas. Between Pawnee and *Padouca*
101 there was incessant warfare, and it is unlikely that the former at
648 any time ventured far beyond the forks of the Platte, save on
131 occasional war or hunting trips. Early in the nineteenth century
the *Padouca* were pushed southward by the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and
Teton Dakota, who formed an equally effective check against westward
movements by the Pawnee. On the east the Omaha controlled
a large area north of the Platte from Shell Creek to the
mouth of the Niobrara, and south of the Platte the Oto claimed as
theirs the lands lying east of the Big Blue and north of the Big
Nemaha. From the Big Nemaha south to the Kansas River and
west to the Republican the Kansa were in undisputed possession,
and south of this tribe the equally hostile Osage roamed westward
nearly to the great bend of the Arkansas. The actual area over
101 which the Pawnee hunted and exercised chief control was thus a
131 strip, as follows: Commencing with the Niobrara (between its mouth
and Plum Creek) and extending southward to include the Platte
between Shell Creek and the present city of North Platte, thence
into Kansas to include the Smoky Hill drainage between the Republican
River and the ninety-ninth meridian, with the western
periphery then swinging westward by south toward the upper
reaches of the Arkansas, while the eastern limit ran toward the
southwestern corner of present Kansas. (See map 1. Compare
[361] Strong, 1935, fig. 2.) The permanent villages of the tribe were located
in the valleys of the lower Loup and Platte Rivers, and on the
Republican, in the present State of Nebraska; the region to the south
served solely as hunting and wintering grounds, and Pawnee claims
were often disputed or ignored by neighboring tribes.

133 Generally speaking, the region which formerly constituted the Pawnee demesne, as above described, is a high, dry, grass-covered plain, or more accurately, a series of plains interspersed with river valleys. The northern portion, lying within the borders of the present State of Nebraska, includes several thousand square miles of the great loess mantle deposited during or shortly following the Pleistocene glaciation of the region. North of the Platte erosion has progressed sufficiently to produce a hilly and broken topography, consisting of small loess plains and canyons grading into loess-capped hills toward the east. A great wedge of dune lands and sand

---

[16] Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pp. 88, 91. However, compare Grinnell, 1920, p. 260.
[17] Dorsey, J. O., 1886, p. 220.
[18] Margry Papers, vol. vi, pp. 398–448.

136 of their value as food sources. Smaller animals, such as rabbits, opossum, raccoon, and squirrel, were also to be had. Ducks, geese, and other waterfowl were plentiful and fish abounded in most of the streams.

133 All of the major streams carry water the year round, although the Platte during the summer months becomes largely a subterranean river above its junction with the Loup. With the exception of those in the sand hills, the streams flow characteristically in broad, flat alluvial valleys, from 3 to 15 miles wide, and bordered by bluffs up to 250 feet in height. The historic villages were apparently all
[361] located in the large river valleys rather than on the small tributary creeks; only the chase, war forays, or migrations seem to have led village tribes such as the Pawnee out upon the interfluvial areas.

778 It may be noted here that the "sacred places" of the Pawnee, where the *Nahu'rac*, or miraculously endowed animals, met in coun-
823 cil, were all associated with the streams. There were five of these,
825 according to Grinnell.[20] One was "at *Pa-hŭk'*, on the south side of the Platte River, opposite the town of Fremont, in Nebraska. The word *Pa-hŭk'* means 'hill island.' Another animal home is under an island in the Platte River, near the town of Central City. It is called by the Pawnee *La-la-wa-koh-ti-to*, meaning 'dark island.' The third of these sacred places is on the Loup Fork, opposite the mouth of the Cedar River, and under a high white cut bank. It is called *Ah-ka-wit-akol*, 'white bank.' Another is on the Solomon River, *Kitz-a-witz-ŭk*, 'water on a bank'; it is called *Pa'howa* sometimes. This is a mound, shaped like a dirt lodge. At the top of the mound, in the middle, is a round hole, in which, down below,
[782] can be seen water. At certain times the people gather there and throw into this hole their offerings to *Ti-ra'-wa*, blankets and robes, blue beads, tobacco, eagle feathers, and moccasins. Sometimes, when they are gathered there, the water rises to the top of the hole and flows out, running down the side of the mound into the river. Then the mothers take their little children and sprinkle the water over them and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* to bless them. The water running out of the hole often carries with it the offerings, and the ground is covered with the old rotten things that have been thrown in. [This clearly refers to the mineral spring now known as Waconda, or Great Spirit, Springs, situated 2½ miles southeast of Cawker City, Mitchell County, Kans.[21]] The fifth place is a hard, smooth, flinty rock, sticking up out of the ground. They call it *Pa-hŭr'*, 'hill that points the way.' In the side of the hill there is a great hole where the *Nahu'rac* hold councils. This hill is in Kansas and can be

---

[20] 1893, p. 358.

[21] Bailey, 1902, pp. 167-200.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

With the exception of the Cottonwood Creek village, all of these sites, where definitely located, have been visited by the writer, who was accompanied in all but two instances by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings. Several of the locations were first identified by Mr. Hill many years ago, and through the medium of sample collections he has acquired a first-hand acquaintance with each site that made his assistance invaluable. So far as systematic excavation is concerned, Mr. Hill's activities have been largely confined to the Hill site. The Nebraska Archeological Survey, of which the writer was a member, spent the first 2 weeks in August 1930 in intensive work at the same place, the results of which are included in this paper. Excavations by the Survey at the Burkett and Schuyler sites in 1931 were made subsequent to the writing of this paper. However, certain of these findings have been incorporated here, although the main results await future publication. The only other extended excavations were made by E. E. Blackman, of the Nebraska Historical Society, at the Burkett site, in 1907. For the rest, as already stated, the sites have been visited and their chief features noted, as well as surface collections of specimens wherever available. 172* 121 [114]

SKIDI PAWNEE SITES

The Skidi band, known in early literature as the *Panimaha*, is by some considered to have been the first to occupy the northern habitat. According to their own claim, they were formerly a very powerful and numerous tribe, consisting of four bands, each numbering 5,000 souls.[84] This number is doubtless excessive, but to quote Grinnell, "There are yet to be seen on the Loup Fork, in Nebraska, innumerable remains of Skidi villages, some of which are very ancient."[85] To date only three sites have been definitely shown to be Skidi, although there is a very strong probability that archeology will bring to light many more of prehistoric age, possibly substantiating the greater antiquity of the Skidi in the area.[86] 101 172* [162]

PALMER SITE.—This was discovered by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings, in 1922, and has been identified by him as the probable site of the Skidi village reported by Major Sibley in 1811,[87] and subsequently 172* 361

---

sites are those exhibiting only the pure native cultural traits with no traces whatever of Caucasian contact; they antedate the arrival of the Spanish in 1541. In the above discussion only historic and protohistoric Pawnee sites are considered. Various sites in the last category are discussed in Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, by W. D. Strong, entitled "An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology"; also in Wedel, 1935, pp. 132–237.

[84] Grinnell, 1893, p. 238.

[85] Ibid., p. 239.

[86] All of the sites described are indicated on map 2 which shows their situation relative to the streams and river bluffs. The names are those in general use among local investigators; the numbers are for convenience in use of the map only.

[87] 1927, p. 202.

172

361

visited by Long (1820),[38] Morse (1820),[39] Irving (1833),[40] and Dunbar (1836).[41] It is located 4 miles north and slightly more than a mile west of the town of Palmer, on the north side of the Loup River,[42] and occupies a high flat plain, or second bottoms, about 30 feet above and immediately overlooking the stream. The site has been under cultivation for many years, but along the edge of the bank next the river is an unbroken strip 30 yards wide by 200 long, containing 10 well-preserved lodge circles. The village covered a much larger area, however, extending some distance back from the river to include perhaps 15 acres or more.[43] Flints, arrowpoints (mostly triangular), bits of clamshell, bones, and potsherds are scattered over the area, while the plow brings to the surface bits of charcoal, lumps of wood ashes, burned stones and clay, iron hoes, axes, parts of guns, and various other vestiges of former occupation. Plowing also reveals the sites of many additional lodges, in the form of large circles of dark, discolored soil, permeated with detrital material. Two short gullies cut into the site from the bank of the river appear to have served a dual purpose, primarily perhaps as refuse dumps and secondarily as a convenient means of gaining access to the river's edge, the bank elsewhere being too abrupt for easy descent. The accumulation of rubbish in the west midden is reported to extend down to bedrock, with a depth of more than 5 feet. A deposit of such depth, occurring as it does in an area where middens are absent or ill-defined, not only indicates a long period of occupancy but promises interesting stratigraphic possibilities.

The lodge circles which have so far escaped destruction by the plow vary in diameter from 27 to 48 feet, approximately. The center varies from 1 to nearly 3 feet lower than the crest of the ring, which is in turn about a foot higher than the surface of the surrounding ground. Formerly there is said to have been a great circle over 200 feet across in the center of the site, but this has been obliterated. Scattered among these circles, and in one or two instances within them, are smaller depressions from 2 to 4 feet across, where the soil has settled within subterranean caches. From each circle is a raised extension roughly equal in length to the radius of the circle, indicating the position of the former entrance. Contrary to certain generalizations, these do not all face the east, nearly half being toward the west and most of the others to the southeast.

---

[38] 1823, vol. i, p. 354.

[39] 1822, p. 238.

[40] 1835, vol. ii, p. 125.

[41] 1918, pp. 617–618.

[42] SE. ¼ sec. 12, T. 15 N., R. 9 W., in Howard County, Nebr.

[43] In 1820, according to Morse (op. cit.), the village contained 120 lodges; in 1836 Dunbar (op. cit.) found only 70.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172* 764 To the north of the village site, perhaps a half mile from the river, are three prominent hills, the summit of each being covered with burials. These have been repeatedly dug into by local "relic hunters" and much valuable material thoughtlessly destroyed in the quest for medals, pots, and the like. A county highway crosses the central hill, and nearly every widening of the road or deepening of the side ditches has resulted in the exposure of graves. At the time of the writer's visit to the site in 1930 Mr. A. T. Hill located in one of the ditches the grave of a young child. From this was taken a very well-preserved skeleton, a small complete vessel, and other articles, to be treated at length in another portion of this paper. Most of the burials found have been accompanied by glass beads, lead rings, [177] and other objects indicative of white contact. However, pre-Caucasian graves should be diligently sought as the site appears to have been early historic and may strike back into the late prehistoric.

172* 361 FULLERTON SITE.—This site, first settled by the Skidi in 1842[44] and abandoned by them in 1846 or soon thereafter because of Dakota raids,[45] is situated on the north bank of the Loup River, immediately below the mouth of the Cedar, about 2 miles east and a half mile north of the town of Fullerton.[46] It, too, occupies a bench some 30 feet high, with the river flowing immediately at the base. Clayton's description of the site, written in 1847 while the Mormon emigrants were crossing the Loup at this point, sums up the situation very nicely:

> This village is situated on the north bank of the Loup Fork of the Nebraska or Platte River, about 4 miles southwest of the mission station on Plumb Creek [now Council Creek] and 138 miles from Winter Quarters [at Florence, Nebr.] . . . . On the east and west of the village is a beautiful level bench of prairie extending many miles, and to the ridge of bluffs which run east and west touching within a mile of the village [on the north]. On the top of the bluffs can be seen a number of Indian graves. To the northwest about a mile distant, and at the foot of the bluffs, is an extensive cornfield, the stalks still standing. On the south [i. e., across the Loup] is a beautiful view of the nice level prairie extending to the main branch of the Platte, the timber on the banks can be faintly, but plainly seen. . . . The village occupies a space of about 40 acres of land and is mostly enclosed by a ditch about 5 feet wide and a bank inside the ditch about 4 feet high, running from the bank of the river around the village till it again strikes the bank, and when perfect has formed a good fortification. A number of lodges are built outside the ditch on the east end on account of want of room inside when the bands from the other village joined them. The village is composed of about 200 houses or lodges [of which but one remained intact] . . . .[47]

---

[44] Dunbar, 1918, pp. 648, 654.

[45] Clayton, 1921, p. 95.

[46] NE. ¼ sec. 7, T. 16 N., R. 5 W., in Nance County, Nebr.

[47] 1921, pp. 95–97.

*172 Most of the site has long been under cultivation, and there are but few remaining traces of the lodge circles; no evidence whatever exists of the surrounding wall. Bits of shell, bone, stones, flints, and some sherds are found, together with iron hoes, gun parts, knives, and other evidences of white trade. Plowing reveals the presence of many otherwise undiscernible house sites. The shortness of occupancy of the village precludes probability of much material remaining on the house floors. However, a systematic search of caches and graves, if such could be found, might be more profitably pursued.

*172 ● 361 After the abandonment of the Fullerton village the Skidi appear to have wandered slowly down the Loup. For a time they resided on the south bank of that stream, on an unidentified location about 5 or 6 miles west of the present town of Columbus. Since this village consisted largely of skin lodges,[48] it is hardly probable that it will ever be definitely located; it may not have been occupied more than a few months.

[191] At any rate, by 1851 the band was established on the south bank of the Platte, about 10 miles above the mouth of the Elkhorn River at the McClaine site.[49] They were still here in 185[illegible],[50] and probably did not leave until their final removal to the reservation on the Loup.

McClaine site.—This, the spot where Oehler and Smith in 1851 and Thayer in 1855 visited the Skidi, lies 3 miles south of Fremont, on the southwest bank of the Platte.[51] It occupies some 30 or 40 acres on a high, commanding cliff. It was formerly enclosed by a sod wall, or rampart, but this has long since been obliterated along with surface signs of lodges. A road skirts the edge of the bluff, cutting through a house site and several caches. One of the latter was opened by the writer in the fall of 1930, and from it were taken a few sherds, a scissors blade, the tooth of a horse, and a badly rusted triangular file. The house site showed little of interest in the cursory examination accorded it; it had obviously burned down, and the floor was remarkably destitute of artifacts. Material remains are scarce over the entire site, and but seldom consist of objects of genuine aboriginal cast.

Five miles downstream, to the southeast, is the Leshara site,[52] which is probably nothing more than an overflow from the village at the McClaine site. Early settlers state that groups of earth lodges were formerly scattered over the whole length of valley between the two, making a single, straggling community.

---

[48] Clayton, 1921, pp. 83–87.
[49] Oehler and Smith, 1851, p. 25.
[50] Thayer, 1907, p. 121.
[51] SE¼ of NE¼ sec. 2, T. 16 N., R. 8 E., Saunders County, Nebr.
[52] Blackman, 1903, p. 296.

GENOA SITE.—After the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee gradually became concentrated in one great, rambling village on the Loup. This lay about 1½ miles south of Genoa, on a broad, flat plain between Beaver Creek and the Loup.[53] The Skidi occupied the western part of the village; the other three bands located in what is now the Genoa Cemetery. A sod wall protected the settlement on the south and west sides, with the portions nearest Genoa left open. Each band is said to have had its own burial ground. That of the Grands was to the south, across the Loup River. The Skidi interred their dead on bluffs northwest of their village. The Tappage Cemetery was on a hill in what is now the north edge of Genoa and that of the Republicans was northeast of the city. All traces of the village have been obliterated and the cemeteries have suffered extensively at the hands of vandals. Few objects of native production have been found, as the Pawnee were very much under the influence of the Americans at this late date and were rapidly losing their own arts and industries. 172+ 361 [764] [177]

GRAND PAWNEE SITES

The Grand Pawnee are often designated in early literature and on maps prior to 1800 as *Panis*. The main villages of the band were always on the south bank of the Platte, save for a short period between 1806 and 1824 (the latter date being approximate), and another from 1860 to 1875. During both of these periods they were on the north bank of the Loup, at the Horse Creek and Genoa sites, respectively. Two pure Grand Pawnee locations are recognized, viz, the Linwood and the Clarks sites; the Plum Creek site was occupied by members of at least two of the other bands. The Horse Creek site was dominantly Republican, hence is included in that section. 131 [101]

LINWOOD SITE.—This site is located approximately a mile south and slightly west of the town of Linwood, on the east bank of Skull Creek 3 miles south of the Platte River.[54] It occupies the western portion of an alluvial flat, a small embaymentlike arm of the Platte Valley extending perhaps three-quarters of a mile up Skull Creek, and is inclosed on the west, south, and east by high bluffs. Skull Creek, at least in former times, probably carried water at all seasons of the year, and immediately below the site an excellent spring provided water sufficient to meet the domestic needs for a considerable community. 172* 361 [133]

The site, though extending nearly half a mile continuously along the creek, actually consists of two contiguous sites of very different age. The early phase of occupation, designated on map 2 as 9 A,

---

[53] SW¼ sec. 24 and SE¼ sec. 23, T. 17 N., R. 4 W., Nance County, Nebr.

[54] SW¼ sec. 35, T. 17 N., R. 4 E., Butler County, Nebr.

*172
361

comprises the southwestern portion. It includes some 18 or 20 acres of ground, on a gently sloping tongue of land skirted on the west and north sides by the creek, and rising toward the south to a burial hill perhaps 200 yards distant. The larger part of this site has been farmed for years, but a small unbroken tract of pasture still contains a few lodge circles and caches. Near the center of the old village is a great circle, some 90 feet or more across, but quite shallow, perhaps the remains of an unroofed ceremonial lodge. Nearby and lying at right angles to the slope of the land are traces of a linear excavation upward of 50 yards long, strongly suggesting an artificially leveled gaming ground or race course. Little excavation has been done on this site, save for lamentable looting in the hilltop burial ground, but an extraordinarily fine collection of surface material has been made by Mr. Alfred Tichacek, owner of the farm, and additional specimens are to be found in abundance after each plowing. According to Mr. Tichacek, all of the material from this area is definitely pre-Caucasian, glass beads, metal, iron hoes. and other evidences of white contact being absent alike from the burials and from the village site, whereas pottery and stonework of probable Pawnee origin are very abundant.[33]

The late phase at the Linwood site (9 B on map 2) falls late within the historic period. The village at that time was on the flat immediately northeast of the older site and about 20 feet below the bench on which the latter stood. According to J. B. Tichacek, who homesteaded the land in 1871, "a sod wall nearly 3 feet high enclosed 40 acres which was thickly covered with lodge circles . . . the village contained over a thousand circles . . ."[34] Today all vestiges of lodges and wall have been obliterated, but pieces of cedar house posts, iron arrowpoints, hoes, gun parts, and the like are annually plowed out, while from the graves on the hills to the southeast come glass beads, metal ornaments, and kindred evidences of white contact. On the lower slope of the burial hill is another great raised circle of earth, similar to the one previously described from the early site, but with the north quadrant cut away by the road. Several short, inconspicuous linear tumuli may be seen some distance west of the circle. Nearby a deeply worn trail may be seen descending the burial hill in the direction of the village site; a similar trail is also discernible between the older cemetery and village about 200 yards farther west.

---

[33] Since the above was written the Nebraska Archaeological Survey has had the opportunity of excavating at this very promising site. The work included the uncovering of two lodge sites, one partially superimposed upon the other, but both of the usual historic Pawnee type and showing very little difference in age; the opening of one grave containing a flexed child burial; and considerable surface survey work over the area after heavy rains. Contrary to local expectations, however, some trade material was secured, including iron hoes and axes, fragments of a copper kettle, bits of brass, and glass. While there is probably a prehistoric or protohistoric phase of occupancy here, it would appear that the site was more or less continuously occupied, at least by small bands, throughout the later historic period. General conclusions reached as a result of the work were that the village was definitely of Pawnee origin, was very probably inhabited about the year 1800, and may date, in part, from a much earlier period. A full discussion of the investigations awaits a later report.

[34] Blackman, 1907, p. 329.

The later village here was doubtless the one visited by Oehler and Smith in 1851, while the locations given for the Grand Pawnee by Le Seuer, Collot, Du Lac, and Lewis and Clark also appear to fit the general locality. The scarcity of Caucasian material on the early site suggests that it was occupied during the latter part of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, and may have been the village visited or reported by these last-named explorers.

CLARKS SITE.—Three miles southeast of Clarks, on the right bank of the Platte, is the site occupied by the Grand Pawnee village from approximately 1820 to 1845.[57] At this point the river flows in a northeasterly direction, skirting the right-hand bluffs so closely that the second bottoms form only a narrow flat bench less than half a mile wide. About 3 miles below the site the line of bluffs swings abruptly to the east and the bottoms widen to 5 or 6 miles. To one approaching across these bottoms the angle of the bluffs gives very much the effect of a promontory or headland, which is readily seen from a distance of 10 miles or more.[58]

The site occupies some 30 acres or more, all at present under cultivation save for a 50-foot strip along the edge of the bench. Six or seven small house depressions, none over 30 feet across, and a dozen or so caches are the only visible remains, although charred house posts are not infrequently plowed out. Sherds, flints, and bone tools are singularly scarce, but iron hoes, gun parts, and other trade ware is rather plentiful. In the graves which cover the hilltops behind the site the same paucity of aboriginal material occurs, while glass beads, metal rings, and the like are correspondingly more numerous. Evidently the Pawnee here were already very strongly under the influence of the white man's culture and had abandoned many elements of their own.

The site was burned by the Delawares in 1832, during the absence of the Pawnee on their summer hunt, but was rebuilt by 1833, at the time of Irving's[59] visit. It was also visited by Major Wharton in 1844, who noted among other things the appearance of regularly posted sentries on some of the elevated points both above and below the village.[60] Inasmuch as the village was burned there is a possibility that careful search would reveal well-stocked caches in some of the

---

[57] SW¼ sec. 17, T. 14 N., R. 4 W., Polk County, Nebr.

[58] Wharton, 1844, p. 20.

[59] Irving, 1835, vol. ii, p. 10.

[60] Wharton, 1844, p. 21.

*172 361 lodges. The burial grounds have been looted to only a limited extent. However, the lateness of occupancy makes it seem improbable that the site would repay detailed investigation as it falls entirely within the historic period and presents few of the true native traits of the Pawnee.

PLUM CREEK SITE.—Approximately coincident with the establishment of the Skidi village at the mouth of the Cedar, as previously noted, the greater portion of the Grands, with the Republican and Tappage bands, jointly took up their residence 8 miles farther down the Loup, also on the north bank of the stream, and within a mile [797] of the Presbyterian mission station on Plum Creek.[61] The spot where the mission formerly stood has been recently located on the west bank of the present Council Creek, perhaps 200 yards below the point where the latter leaves the bluffs. The Pawnee site has not been definitely determined, but since it was visible from the mission, and only a mile distant,[62] it would appear that the site is to be sought just north of the Union Pacific Railroad about 8 miles southwest of Genoa. There is here a slight bench, all under cultivation, on which the village was probably located. Since the site was occupied for but a few years it is doubtful whether there remains much village detritus. This, together with the very limited search that has been made, probably accounts for the uncertainty regarding its location, and also renders it unlikely that the site possesses much of real archeological value.

REPUBLICAN PAWNEE SITES

175 The Republican Pawnee, an offshoot of the Grands, first appear in literature in 1777 as one of the tribes receiving presents at the Spanish post of St. Louis.[63] Their habitat even at that early date was the Republican Valley, which they abandoned during the first decade of the nineteenth century for a more secure location with the Grands on the Platte and Loup Rivers.[64] It is extremely doubtful [648] whether this band, as such, ever resided much farther south than the valley of the Republican, as its history is one of continual warfare with the hostile Kansa on the Kansas and lower Republican Rivers. After 1812 they were nearly always intimately associated with the parent band of Grand Pawnee, and during much of the time they occupied the same village. At least two and possibly three sites *172 361 may be regarded as predominantly Republican Pawnee, although others were used from time to time in conjunction with other bands.

---

[61] Now known as "Council Creek," the names of the two streams having been reversed since that time. "The next stream west of the Beaver is Plum Creek, on which was the mission station."—Platt, E. G., 1892, p. 131.

[62] Dunbar, 1918, pp. 648, 656.

[63] Houck, 1909, vol. I, p. 143.

[64] Lewis and Clark, 1832, p. 709; Long, 1823, vol. I, p. 440.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Kansas Monument site.—This site is located 1½ miles west and 1 mile south of Republic, Kans., on the south bank of the Republican River.[66] It derives its name from a granite shaft erected on the spot in 1901 by the State of Kansas "to mark the site of the Pawnee Republic, where Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike caused the Spanish flag to be lowered and the flag of the United States to be raised, September 29, 1806." The land has been set aside permanently as a State park. 172* 361

The site occupies an area of less than 10 acres on a high promontory, about 200 yards from the river's edge. Midway between the river and the village site, in a deep gully, is a good spring; another formerly existed in a draw to the east. There are no hills near the site, since the village is situated on the bluffs themselves; the river sweeps by directly at the base of the declivity, there being no first bottoms. The site has never been broken, except a narrow strip along the south edge. Twenty-five lodge circles, from 8 to 15 paces in diameter, are scattered irregularly about. Some of them are nearly contiguous, but in most cases they are from 10 to 30 feet apart. They average 18 inches in depth, are well defined, and show clearly the position of the former entrances. Among the lodge circles are scattered caches, 15 or 18 of which are clearly discernible. Along the northwest site is an old rampart perhaps 150 yards long. One of the lodge circles occurs outside the wall, along with several caches. The burial ground appears to be some 200 yards northwest of the fortification wall, about the heads of some of the ravines. 312

Systematic investigation of this splendid site has never been undertaken, but many finds of surface material have been made. Sherds and quartzite scrapers of true Pawnee type occur, along with metal hoes, bridle bits, spurs, iron pots, and other evidence of commercial intercourse with white traders. The site is obviously historic and may be safely referred to the Republican band. That it is the site visited by Pike in 1806 seems highly improbable, as it tallies in nowise with the journals and map of the expedition. Lewis and Clark reported in 1802 that the Republicans had joined the Grands on the Platte, driven thither by the recurring attacks of the Kansa. Yet 2 years later Pike visited a village of 1,700 Republicans on the Republican River. By 1811 the entire band was on the Loup, at the Horse Creek site. Probably the Kansas Monument site was occupied contemporaneously with that visited by Pike, but being nearer the Kansa territory was subjected to more attacks, and hence was the first abandoned. The village seen by Pike was occupied for some years longer, but the expansion of the Kansa at last forced them to give up also and remove to the Loup. The abandonment of the site in Kansas would then antedate 1802. 162

---

[66] NE¼ sec. 3, T. 2 S., R. 5 W., Republic County, Kans.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*172 There is unfortunately little or no information available on the Pawnee in Kansas, despite the fact that additional sites should be present on the Republican River, and probably also on the Blue.[66] •361 Blackman[67] reports a site in Kansas about 3 miles south of Hardy, Nebr., which occupied an eminence about a mile from the Republican River, at "Big Spring"; lodge circles were visible here in 1860. Two miles to the west was another old ruin, not described.[68] According to J. B. Dunbar:

> In 1848 the remains of a considerable village were plainly discernible near where Wolf River empties into the Missouri in northeastern Kansas. The Iowas . . . assigned these remains . . . to the Pawnees.[69]

Efforts to verify this identification have been unsuccessful. In 1836 the Tappages pointed out to Mr. Dunbar some of their old villages on the Smoky Hill River in western Kansas.[70] Undoubtedly many other sites remain to be discovered and investigated in this area, and probably very significant early locations will also come to light as investigation progresses.

Hill site.—Seven miles east and 2 miles south of Red Cloud, on the south bank of the Republican River,[71] is the probable site of the Republican Pawnee village visited by Pike in 1806. Though known to local residents for many years, it was first identified by A. T. Hill in 1923. The land was subsequently purchased by Mr. Hill, through whose efforts a large collection of excellent material has been recovered from house sites, caches, and graves. Some two weeks were spent here in intensive excavation by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey in the summer of 1930.

The site occupies some 25 acres of flat, second-bottom land about 400 yards from the river. The first bottom, or flood plain, is perhaps 30 feet lower, beginning immediately at the north edge of the site, and may have been used for agricultural purposes. On either side of the site—that is, to the east and west—a small creek issues from the bluffs and pursues an uncertain, meandering course across the flats. An excellent spring immediately above the village formerly insured a steady supply of running water in the creek on the west side. Immediately south of the village site is a prominent hill more than 100 feet high, its summit utilized extensively for burial of the dead. Farther west are two more eminences which served a like purpose.

---

[66] Hayden, 1872, p. 411.

[67] 1907, p. 349.

[68] Ibid., p. 350.

[69] 1880, a, p. 250. J. O. Dorsey, 1886, map 8, locates an Iowa site near the mouth of this same Wolf River. Compare Strong, 1935, p. 244.

[70] Ibid., p. 260.

[71] NW¼ sec. 13, T. 1 N., R. 10 W., Webster County, Nebr.

At present the entire site is under cultivation, which after more than forty years has obliterated all surface traces. Mr. George De Witt, who now farms the place, states that "when his father, who homesteaded the land in 1872, broke the land it was covered with lodge rings, fortification walls, caches, and the like. They gathered great numbers of stone mauls, axes, war clubs, and such like, threw them in the holes and plowed over them. . . . The land was literally covered with such relics of Indian life."[18] Subsequently, curio hunters have picked over the surface so thoroughly that the detritus usually found in abundance on old sites is comparatively scarce. However, every plowing reveals the presence of nearly a hundred lodge sites as discolored areas, and, as will be shown later, some of these well repay careful excavation. Caches are common and readily found, though usually these prove to be rather barren.

The cemeteries have been extensively worked by Mr. Hill and others, and in most cases they show clear evidences of white contact. Glass beads and metal work are common as mortuary offerings, and also in the ornamentation of clothing and the body. The discussion of specific features of the site will be deferred until a later section.

There can be little doubt that this was the Pawnee village visited by Pike in the summer of 1806; it coincides in every respect with both the descriptions in the journal and the map of the expedition. According to his map, Pike approached the village from the southeast, crossing en route the Smoky Hill, Grand and Little Saline, and Solomon Rivers. Since he erroneously represents both the Grand Saline and the Solomon as emptying into the Republican, it follows that he must have crossed them some distance above their mouths. Had the village been located at the Kansas Monument site the last 25 miles of the route would have lain immediately along the Republican itself, the Saline and Solomon Rivers would have been left far to the west, and Pike would have indicated them correctly as affluents of the Smoky Hill instead of as tributaries of the Republican. The village, furthermore, is located at a considerable distance above the point where the Republican swings toward the south, which is precisely the case at the Hill site; at the Kansas site, on the other hand, the eye can easily follow the tree-fringed course of the river for miles almost due south, a glaring inconsistency so far as the map is concerned.

As regards the site itself there are further substantiating factors. For example, the Kansas site is on top of the only "hills" within miles, the land to the south being flat and unbroken, whereas Lieutenant Wilkinson states that—

---

[18] Nebraska History Magazine, vol. x, no. 3, 1927, p. 183.

*172
361

> About midday we reached the summit of a lofty chain of ridges. . . . We moved on about a mile farther, and having gained the summit of a considerable hill, we discovered the village directly at its base.[73]

This statement describes exactly the topography immediately to the south of the Hill site; the "considerable hill" is the principal burial hill previously described. The expedition established its camp "on the opposite bank of the Republican fork of the Kansas River, on a commanding hill",[74] but subsequently "moved down onto the prairie hill, about three-fourths of a mile nearer the village . . . upon a beautiful eminence, from whence we had a view of the town."[75] Directly across the river from the Hill site, about 1½ miles distant, is a high, bald hill, with a narrow, steep-sided tongue projecting toward the south. On this tongue or promontory, from which the Hill site is clearly visible, are nine small depressions, which it has been suggested were used as rifle pits by Pike's troops.

Graves on the central burial hill have yielded Spanish, English, and French medals, as well as buttons and gold braid from military uniforms. One Spanish medal dates 1797, bearing the likeness of Charles IV; an English medal, with the figure of George III, dates from 1762; an American medal is identical in type with those issued by the Government after 1801;[76] a military button bears the raised figure "1", the battalion number of Pike's infantry.[77] Taking all of these finds and others which cannot be mentioned here into consideration, and combining the archeological, historical, and geographic factors, one is forced to the conclusion that the Hill site is in all probability the scene of Pike's visit to the Pawnee in 1806.

HORSE CREEK SITE.—The Horse Creek site was discovered by Mr. E. E. Blackman in 1902 and was regarded by him as a Skidi site.[78] Actually, it appears to have been founded by the Grands and part of the Republicans about 1810,[79] to have been a pure Grand Pawnee site in 1820,[80] to have become a Republican site shortly after that date,[81] which it remained until its abandonment in 1842.[82] Clayton in 1847 speaks of "remains of an old village or Indian fort", 10 miles above the Fullerton village, referring doubtless to this site.[83]

---

[73] Pike, 1810, App. to pt. II, p. 22.
[74] Ibid., p. 23.
[75] Pike, 1810, p. 144.
[76] Nebraska History Magazine vol. x, no. 3, 1927, p. 187.
[77] Ibid., p. 186; Pike, 1810, p. 204.
[78] 1903, p. 297.
[79] Sibley, 1927, p. 202.
[80] Long, 1823, vol. I, p. 350.
[81] Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 57.
[82] Dunbar, 1918, p. 648.
[83] 1921, p. 105.

The site is located 9 miles southwest of Fullerton, on the north bank of the Loup immediately below the mouth of Horse Creek.[44] It occupies a high flat bench, at the base of which flows the river; the bluffs are nearly 2 miles distant, to the north. Upward of 40 acres are included in the site, all under cultivation save a small area at the east end. Near the mouth of Horse Creek, at the west edge of the site, five large shallow lodge depressions can be seen; others occur along a deep gully a short distance to the north. A quarter of a mile farther east are the remnants of a system of earthworks. On the edge of the bench is a rectangular enclosure 60 yards long by 25 yards wide, the long axis paralleling the stream; the side next the river appears to have been open. There is a large spring at the foot of the bench, about 30 feet lower than the enclosure, and separated from it by a steep declivity. Ten yards from the northwest corner of the same enclosure commences another low wall, running due north about 30 yards, then swinging slightly to the west for another 50 yards or more, where it ends abruptly. From near the southwest corner another wall runs 60 yards west by north, terminating at the edge of a broken field. Formerly this rampart is said to have continued in the same direction for several hundred yards, finally swinging back toward the south to form a defensive wall along the entire north side of the village. The lodge sites are scattered thickly over the entire area enclosed by the wall and the river, although surface traces have been almost entirely obliterated. The gully on the west, already mentioned, has cut through one house site, hence is apparently fairly recent, at least in its upper portion. On the small, uncultivated tongues of land projecting from the bench riverward are a number of caches; a few have been rifled. The burial ground has not been located, but skeletons have been uncovered just east of the site along the margins of several ravines, and also to the west on the banks of Horse Creek. The bluffs to the north might repay investigation also, though somewhat remote from the village.

Comparatively little digging has been done at this site, even by "relic" hunters, and there is still ample opportunity for securing valuable information by careful research. However, since the site is entirely historic, it will be necessary to locate the burials and house sites of the earlier period in order to obtain a view of Pawnee culture here prior to the predominance of white culture.

COTTONWOOD CREEK SITE.—This site is located on the north bank of the Loup River, 4 miles north and 2 miles east of Palmer.[45] It

---

[44] NW¼ sec. 3, T. 15 N., R. 7 W., Nance County, Nebr.

[45] NE¼ sec. 15, T. 15 N., R. 8 W., Nance County, Nebr.

*172
361

was reported as a Republican village in 1820,[86] as Tappage in 1833,[87] and again as Republican in 1836;[88] it was abandoned about 1842,[89] and was seen as a ruin by Clayton in 1847.[90]

The site is now practically obliterated and is very difficult to find. It lies on a low bench a short distance north of the river, just east of the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. According to J. F. Forbes,[91] who homesteaded in the vicinity in 1884, the remains of an old Indian village were plainly visible at that time and consisted of a sod wall enclosing some 50 lodge circles. In all, approximately 20 acres were covered by the site. Metal artifacts are quite common; sherds and stone objects rather less so. The location of the burial ground is uncertain, but it is probably either along the bank of the river or on the bluffs a mile to the north. The site has never received much attention, so far as actual excavation is concerned, hence it is impossible to say whether any worth-while material remains on the house floors or in the caches.

Four miles above the Clarks site on the bluffs east of the Platte there is a small pit, 10 or 12 feet across, representing either the site of a sentry outpost or an eagle trap. Perhaps 200 yards to the north a tongue projects from the line of bluffs; its summit has yielded a number of Indian burials. There is no trace of a village nearby, although the bottoms between the cemetery and the river provide an ideal location. Dunbar wrote in 1839 that the Republicans had mostly removed from the Loup Valley and had "settled on the south side of the Platte, a short distance above the village of the Grand Pawnees."[92] In 1844 Wharton, on his visit to the village of the Grands, reported "another of the Pawnee Republics a few miles above."[93] The lack of success that has attended every effort to locate the exact site must be attributed in large measure to the sandy, shifting nature of the soil at this point, which, combined with cultivation, has effectively removed all surface indications. Doubtless it was somewhere on the bottoms near the burial ground, as this is the general locality to which reference is made in the accounts cited.

PROTOHISTORIC SITES

*172 To this class are at present assigned two ruins in the Pawnee area which, while showing definite traits suggesting this tribe, cannot be historically identified with it. Both of these are unquestionably

---

[86] Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 440; Morse, 1822, p. 238.
[87] Irving, 1835, vol. ii, p. 119.
[88] Dunbar, 1918, p. 617.
[89] Ibid., p. 648.
[90] 1921, p. 106.
[91] From an unpublished manuscript by A. M. Brooking.
[92] 1918, p. 637.
[93] 1844, p. 29.

114 I went on to Omaha partly to see as much of the upper Missouri as possible, and partly with hope of finding some Omahas or Pawnees at the village whom I was informed were frequently there. I found a band of [361] Pawnees some thinly encamped near the village and they were over at the boat and squads of them remained about the boat during the day and night. I went down to 124 the encampment, tried to find their interpreter who has the respectable name of John Rogers, but could not find him. Unfortunately for me a theft had been committed the day before by the Shawnees and he for some reason thought best to leave and to keep out of the way. I found a Pawnee who could talk some English and commenced a schedule with him, but I soon found out it would not answer and gave it up, and offered him pay if he would hunt up and bring Rogers to me during the day, which he promised to but did not do.

181 The Pawnees are said to be demoralized as a nation. Their women are universally prostitutes, they all steal and beg and are idle and profligate. This character is given to the nation and not to the few who wander about. How far it is just to the mass of the Pawnees who remain at their village at

[p 66 (A)]
[pp 1-65 not processed]

619 131 They do not claim to have lived on the Missouri. They claim once to have owned all the land west of the Missouri from the Platt to the Kansas. The Loups went off from the principal band and went south of the Osage River where they remained for many years. The Republican Pawnees once occupied the Republican fork of the Kansas. They do not know where they came from. They say that there are the sites of [361] their villages still known to them on the Nemaha, Salt Creek, and on the Platt and Republican fork of the Kansas. The Keeches, so-called by the Pawnees, who now live in the west end of the Indian territory somewhere, are cognate. They live near the Pawnee Picts, south of the Osages and the Comanches.

Tribes [Clans]

614 He [Allis] thinks they are divided into tribes.[12] The marks which he has seen on their robes and lodges are the Eagle, Bear, Beaver, Owl, Buffalo, Deer. The son succeeds the father as chief. He was unable to give me any information upon this question. 764 He never saw but one burial. They excavated a grave or trench and then dug an opening in the side large enough to insert the body under the undisturbed earth, laid it in horizontally, covered it with a mat, and deposited by its side a number of articles, filled up the trench and raised a mound over it.

Pawnee Matting

285 He [Allis] showed me a specimen of their work in a floor matting made of a species of rush. It was coarse but strong, about two or three yards wide and five yards long. It was stitched or woven on bark threads and very creditable work. With instruction in the art of manufacturing and with reeds of a supe-

[P 136 (A)]

---

[12] [see cat. 116 p 220 (A) - Analyst]

12 115 narrator was Mark Evarts, a Pawnee of the Skidi Band, whose childhood was spent on the reservation in Nebraska from 1861 to 1875, when Pawnee culture was still very much an integral polity and way of life. His personal identity is embodied in the "Boy Otter" as he appears in the following narrative.

101 114 115 My relationship with Mark Evarts began casually in the course of my grammatical researches. Historically there were four political groups of Pawnees known as bands, the Skidi or Wolf Band, the Kitkehaxki or Little-Earth-Lodge Band, the Tsawi or Asking-for-Meat Band and the Pitahawirata or Man-Going-Downstream Band. Each of these traditionally pronounced the language somewhat differently, but it was always known that the major difference was between the Skidi and the other three known collectively as the South Bands because of their former more southern location. From linguistic samples I took of each of the four, the distinctions among the South Bands were not clear enough to identify at that time. Only the Skidi difference was clear. Mark Evarts served as my Skidi informant with Henry Chapman as interpreter in my attempt to find any grammatical and pronunciation distinctions. Evarts' English was broken and so heavily overlaid with a Pawnee accent that it was understandable only with considerable difficulty. As my Pawnee vocabulary improved, we developed a Pawnee-English mode of communication that made the interpreter no longer necessary. As I extended my research into the semantic and cultural background of the language, Evarts became a major resource and ally in my investigations and our work extended over seven years and involved the entire Oklahoma Pawnee community.

114 115 At this time (1928–1936) Evarts was living with friends and relatives. His wife and child had died tragically only a few years before, and he had lost his little farm to the bank. The crises that had beset his life as a member of his tribe and times were epic in their proportions; as a man in the decline of his years, he had many questions to ask, and I, as a novice in life's ills and trials, had many questions to ask of him. Many of his questions concerned the white culture and its values, and, as a young anthropologist, mine sought answers through the cross-cultural perspective I hoped to find in studying the Pawnee way. Together we established the language of our common humanity and communicated what we wanted to know about the special character of each other's culture as well as of life in general. It was my purpose to understand the Pawnees as people, not as Indians or as social categories and certainly not as historical antiques.

161 178 197 361 423 000 Although in the 1920's only seven hundred Pawnees survived, some Pawnee customs remained among them and at least eight of the older people spoke no other language than Pawnee. The town of Pawnee, Oklahoma, was surrounded by the allotted lands of the Pawnees, the lands of each band being located in a different direction. The bands were still

ized were concentrated along the banks of Beaver Creek, a northern 101
tributary of the Loup River near the present town of Genoa, Nebraska.
They had moved to this place in 1859 as a result of their treaty
with the United States Government. Each of the bands had its separate
location, the Skidi villages in the westernmost position and the three
South Bands ranged along the stream to the east about half a mile away.
From west to east they were: Kitkehaxki (Little-Earth-Lodge), Tsawi
(Asking-for-Meat), and Pitahawirata (Man-Going-Downstream, or East).
Each of the bands is said to have comprised a number of villages;
for the three South Bands this cannot be documented. From 1700 on,
when our historical records are clear, the Skidi were the largest of the
four bands and were composed of a number of distinct villages, estimated
between twelve and nineteen. In 1867 the Skidi had four distinct villages, 361 •
Tuwahukasa (Village-across-a-Ridge), Tuhitspiat (Village-in-the-Bottomlands),
Tskirirara (Wolf-in-Water), and Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine). [103]
The villages were made up of ten to twelve earth lodges, each a high
spacious dome-shaped building housing thirty to fifty people. Besides
containing thirty to fifty people under one roof, the personnel was likely
to change from season to season after each migration to the buffalo hunting
grounds. The basic Pawnee household was as different from ours as 592
it is possible for a human arrangement to be. And yet it gave personal
satisfaction to its members and within itself produced the whole material
and social base for an ongoing community. In fact, this is what we
wish our family life would do. Sibling rivalries, partial or total rejection
of child by parent or smothering attention, demands on the child for the
unfulfilled ambitions of the parents, or overprotection because of resented
parental hardships, heavy-handed control of parent over child in a
severely restricted social environment—these are ills that are intimately
linked with the very physical arrangements of our present family living.
There are things about Pawnee life that suggest that an enlarged home
environment for our children would improve our lives—a matter to be
considered in the concluding chapter.

Even more startling to me than the contrast in home life was the question 626
of political control among the Pawnees. They were a well-disciplined
people, maintaining public order under many trying circumstances. 182
And yet they had none of the power mechanisms that we consider essential
to a well-ordered life. No orders were ever issued. No assignments for
work were ever made nor were over-all plans discussed. There was no
code of rules of conduct nor punishment for infraction. There were no
commandments nor moralizing proverbs. The only instigator of action 796
was the consenting person. In religion, the regular round of ceremonies 182
that followed the seasons was in charge of a priesthood, but no one of
these ceremonies was ever instigated by them. Only when a single 626
person had the call through visions and invited the priesthood to discuss

of the Skidi villages of Village-across-a-Ridge and Pumpkin-Vine 609
would join the Wolf-in-Water and Bottomland Village, and they 621
would play rough and kick one another. 539

The location of the four bands was along the west side of Beaver 621
Creek and the Skidi were in the westernmost position, the other three 361
bands about half a mile away to the east. While according to past tradition, they always lived south of the Skidi and were referred to generally as "South Bands," they were now actually located to the east:

> "The Skidi chief would sit on a high bluff and the Eastward (*tuhawit*, 621
> "Settlement-east" chiefs sat on a bluff near their home and they 524
> would watch the boys. They said, "When we were boys we used to play like that and kick."
>
> It would begin in the evening when the boys would call out, *hu-hu-hu*. Then the boys would hear and come outside. Folks would say to the small boys, "Don't go there, you'll get hurt," but some would steal out and join the fight anyway. When one side would be chased back, the older people would laugh and say, "Go back again. . . ."
>
> When it got darker the little boys were told to go back and run home because the big boys were going to fight now—the sixteen-to-eighteen-year-olds. Then in the moonlight sometimes, the men of about thirty years old would fight, and then afterward the old men forty and over. The men would take blankets from one another and kick one another, but afterward they had to return the blankets.
>
> This game was never played with the Skidi villages alone opposing one another, only between the Skidi Band as one party and the South Bands as the other. They never kicked hard—just for fun. If the South Band boys met the Skidi boys, there was always a kicking contest."

A similar game is reported between different divisions of the Comanches. [171]

The Pawnee Person

There is no simple formula for describing the intricate logic of the 156
Pawnee people's lives. One thing is clear—that no one is caught within the social code. Against the backdrop of his natural environment, each individual stands as his own person. The Old World design for the human personality does not apply to this New World Man. The Pawnee 156
child was born into a community from the beginning, and he never ac- 772
quired the notion that he was closed in "within four walls." He was lit- 829
erally trained to feel that the world around him was his home—*kahuraru*,

5

THE WORLD OF A PAWNEE BOY: SPRING 1867

000

The Day Begins in the Earth Lodge—Breakfast Preparations—Seating at the Meal—Daytime Activities of Women—Chiefs' Council—Supper and Evening Conversation—Plan for Deer Hunt the Next Day—End of Day's Activities

IN THE YEAR 1867, the villages of the Pawnees were strung along the 131
west bank of Beaver Creek. (Beaver Creek flows southeastward into the 361
Loup River that flows east to join the Platte which continues eastward to
the Missouri. In the Skidi village of Pumpkin-Vine was the house of [103]
Chief Victory Call and his friend Old Bull with their families.)

It was a morning late in March, and the high dome-shaped earth lodges 512
were huddled together in the predawn darkness. On this as on other mornings, [342]
Otter was wakened by the sound of his father's voice saying, "Fire's
made." The dawn had not yet broken, and it was still cold; Otter burrowed
down deeper under his little calfskin cover. He hated to leave the [513]
warmth of his bed that he shared with his grandmother. Just as the dawn
began to break, Victory Call went outside through the long vestibule
that was the entrance to the house to look at the position of the stars and
to see what kind of a day it would be. Meanwhile his wife, White Woman,
had gotten up to prepare breakfast. She would be cooking for twelve people [252]
and an extra guest, and the preparations would take at least an hour.

On both sides of the house along the low circular walls, the people
were still asleep in their beds. There had been a long storytelling session [538]
the night before and Old-Man-That-Chief, who was one of the principal [574]
raconteurs, was too feeble to go home late at night, so a temporary bed
was made for him near the fireplace where the fire was now burning [354]
brightly in the center of the room. High above the fireplace a shaft of

342 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman,
772 Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo
were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself. Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on earth.

The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a
342 woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive pow-
772 ers. The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately
353 ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the young-
84 est women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located, the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being "inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe, ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse
776 of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his
342 power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in
[823] the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and
southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that
[782] they would be readily received.

361 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear conscious-
ness of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed,
342 the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy.
342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch
and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke
[354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cook-
[252] ing breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the draw-
252 string of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the
262 skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a
[251] large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

*224 *484 492

This was the place for No Corn, who was too disabled with arthritis to walk.

The mare, in addition to all the large soft bags, carried the long elm saplings to be used for the framework of the tent, divided into two bunches and tied across her shoulders by the stub ends, the thinner ends dragging on the ground behind her. The two cross pieces that kept them from splaying out were used as a carrying frame by wrapping them around with a large tanned hide cover. Here small children might ride and sometimes drop off to sleep; an old woman always followed to keep them from falling off. It was said that in the past when the poles were dragged by the dog instead of by the horse, the dogs would sometimes run away, carrying the children with them. The digging iron, almost seven feet long, was grouped on one side of the horse where the smaller number of poles were. The mortar was tied on by a string which was drawn through a hole in the pointed end and could be seen swinging near the ground under the tent poles. The tent cover was tied in place over the saddle horns with the rawhide strings and with what was left of the strings, the kettles were tied on the sides of the tent cover—unless one of them happened to be black with soot and had to be tied to the back. Finally they were very happy if they could get a gunny sack to hold all the extra things. In it they would put the big brass kettle with the wooden bowls inside. They might wedge in other things if they fitted—spoons, plates, frying pan. "Oh, that's handy," they would say, "you can put anything that's left over right here." "Now is that all? Well, look around. Is it fixed all right? Well, now we're going to move!" "We can tell how well it's packed after we start off." They put some brush across the door of the lodge in such a fashion that they could tell when they got home whether it had been disturbed.

Grandma had left for the encampment much earlier. Horse Rider helped his wife No Corn up onto the less heavily laden horse, and Victory Call said, "Let's go," mounting his horse and helping little Otter up by using his foot as a stirrup; behind him was a blanket where the boy sat. The procession consisted of:

(1) White Woman leading the horse packed with the four rawhide containers;
(2) No Corn riding the horse with the two containers loaded on the sides;
(3) Horse Rider leading the mare all loaded up; and
(4) Victory Call on his racing horse with little Otter sitting behind him.

*224 *484 • 361

Their destination was about five or six miles to the south of the villages. The villages were strung along the west side of Beaver Creek, a small southeastward-flowing stream that joins the Loup River some miles down. The Loup is an east-flowing river, and the camp was to be set up on its south bank. Groups of people from each of the four bands were

224* 361 • 484* moving southward to the river. The villages of the Skidi were furthest westward and the line going southward was west of the others. The villages of the other three bands were located downstream on Beaver Creek about half a mile east of the Skidi. There the three bands stretched eastward with the Little-Earth-Lodge Band nearest the Skidi, the Beggars-for-Meat Band beyond them, and the Man-Going-Downstream Band in the location furthest east. In former times these three bands were located south of Skidi territory and were still referred to as the "South Bands."

The Loup River could be seen far off, with a few white tents in the distance already set up. The chiefs, particularly White Eagle who was to lead the hunt, had gone ahead very early and set up camp. If others happened to be prepared before the chiefs, they waited until they had set out. Victory Call's party, after making sure that everything was securely packed, moved along through the villages and then southward at a leisurely pace, arriving at the north bank of the Loup in about two hours. As they moved along the bottom bench of the embankment, the South Bands people kept coming along to the east of them and were crossing at their regular crossing place further downstream.

224* 484* [487] Both banks of the Loup were lined with people to watch them and help them get across safely. Some of the young men had put stakes in the water to mark out the boggy places where they might get stuck. People shouted to them, "Hello there, it's kind of boggy in the sand here. Go on this side, not there!" "All right, thanks." The water was quite deep and people had to take off their moccasins even if they were riding on horseback.

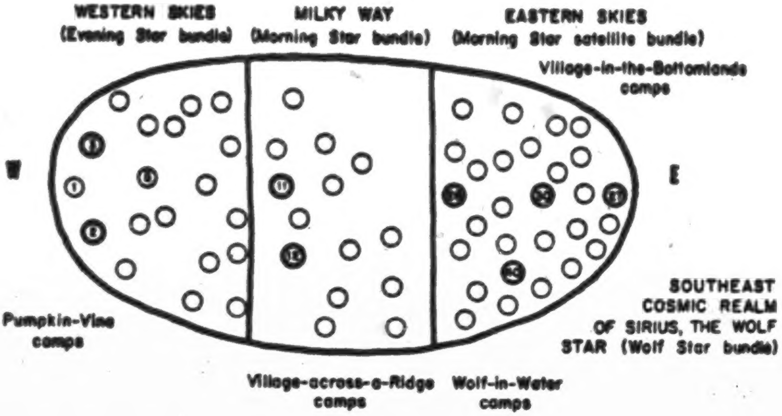
When a horse got stuck, everyone would come and help get him out. Even quite close to the bank there were some very muddy places. As Victory Call's party was crossing, everyone was shouting, "Look out, look out. Pull the horse to the right side. You're getting into boggy sand!" But before they could get out of the way, No Corn's horse got caught and she fell off. Everyone called out, "Don't let her drown!" "Look out," they shouted, "there's a baby on horseback. Take that baby off. It's muddy here." "No, it's all right. It's tied on."

When No Corn got to camp she might spread her clothes out to dry or simply let them dry on her. Tanned hide can be dried after it's been wet, but it gets somewhat wrinkled.

224* 484* 492 [361] At last Victory Call's family arrived on the south side of the Loup, White Woman and Horse Rider fording the stream and leading their loaded horses and the others riding in. Eagle Chief and White Eagle had set up camp for the Pumpkin-Vine Village at the western part of the encampment, and Victory Call found a little hilly place in the area for their tent that would be dry. (See Figure 17-1 for the plan of encampment.) "Here's a place," he called and got off his horse, removing the bridle and allowing the animal to graze. He left the saddle on, going over to help un-

*224 load the other horses. Horse Rider helped No Corn to dismount and at
*484 once began to unload the mare. They untied the straps and removed the
492 tent cover first and then the buckets so that Horse Rider could go and fill them with water from the river. Everyone was thirsty and wanted a drink.

*224
• 361
*484
772


WESTERN SKIES
(Evening Star bundle)
MILKY WAY
(Morning Star bundle)
EASTERN SKIES
(Morning Star satellite bundle)
Village-in-the-Bottomlands camps
W
E
SOUTHEAST COSMIC REALM OF SIRIUS, THE WOLF STAR (Wolf Star bundle)
Pumpkin-Vine camps
Village-across-a-Ridge camps
Wolf-in-Water camps

Pumpkin-Vine camps

3. White Eagle
*2. Eagle Chief
1. Victory Call
5. Old Bull

Village-across-a-Ridge camps

*11. Lone Chief
12. Brother of Lone Chief

Village-in-the-Bottomlands camps

*27. Leading Chief
28. Comanche Chief
30. Brother of Leading Chief

Wolf-in-Water camps

*40. Chief-Feared-by-the-Enemy

FIGURE 17-1. Pawnee plan of encampment while on the hunt, following a cosmic pattern as in the Skidi earth-lodge villages.

*224 Now Victory Call and White Woman untied and took off all the raw-
*484 hide containers, and Victory Call removed the saddle from his horse and
492 let him go. The next job was to remove and tie up all the rawhide ropes that were hanging from the saddles of the packhorses so that the saddles could be removed and the horses set free. White Woman began tightening the first rope on the front right side of one of the horses, then the rear right, then the rear left, and finally the front left. No Corn was helping her, and, if Horse Rider was back, he would pitch in and help too. The men removed the saddles and set everything out so that the sun would strike them where the horses had sweated and they were damp.

When Horse Rider had arrived with the buckets of fresh water, he said, "This water is still cold. Better take a drink." Everyone was thirsty and they were all glad to get it. Then Victory Call would say, "Go hobble the horses," and Horse Rider went directly. It was important to hobble the mare, especially since all the horses were likely to stay around

133 covered with a deep, compacted layer of sand. Both rivers have changed their courses numbers of times in the past and the marks of their winding fossil beds are deeply carved into the sandy layer, forming a series of shallow but sharply defined canyons and troughs. Reaching north and south between the two rivers, the curves and canyons of the two fossil beds almost meet, cutting up the whole land surface so that there is no level land and the trip across has to be made over a few narrow land bridges. The later pioneers who tried to cross this area going southward aptly named one of the best of these land bridges "Devil's Gap" (southwestern Nebraska between Lexington and Arapahoe).

*224 *484 823 [888] The Pawnees had a detailed knowledge of every aspect of the land they would traverse. Its topography was in their minds like a series of vivid pictorial images, each a configuration where this or that event had happened in the past to make it memorable. This was especially true of the old men who had the richest store of knowledge in this respect. Their journey out was about ten miles a day and eight on the way back when they were more heavily laden with the dried meat. Anticipating these distances, they had to plan on stopping places where there was enough level land, wood for fuel, and available water for their whole large encampment of several thousand people and many more animals. They estimated the journey out as twenty days and the return journey twenty-seven days.

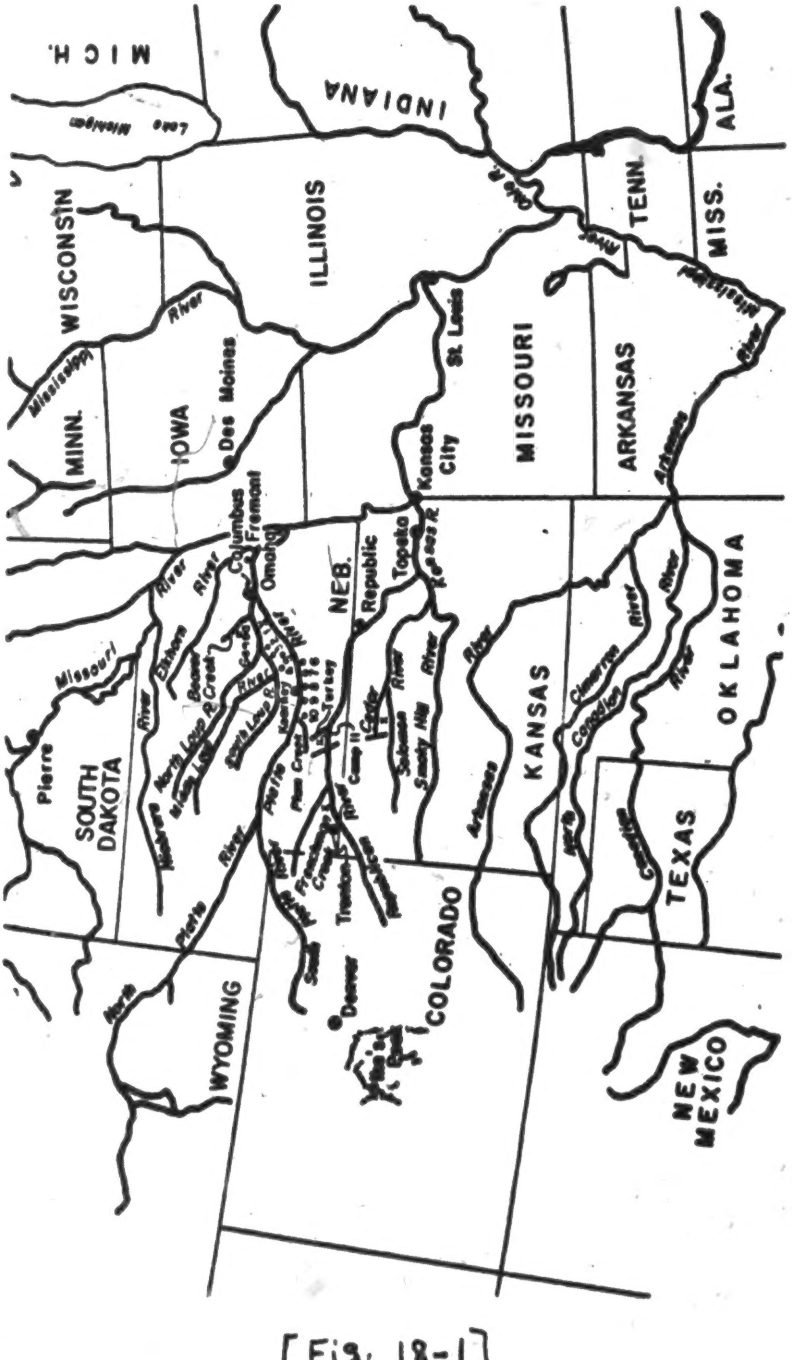
*224 *484 184 Each of the four bands had different routes that they preferred. From their rendezvous camp south of the Loup, the Skidi preferred to go several camps westward along the south bank, before turning south to the Platte. The South Bands preferred to leave the settlements and go directly south to the north bank of the Platte River where they made their rendezvous camp. When they were ready to go west, they would cross over the Platte and proceed along the south bank all the way west until they came to the place where they turned and crossed the country south-

*224 *484 •361 FIGURE 18-1. Approximate campsites of the Pawnee summer hunt in Nebraska. Starting from Genoa on Beaver Creek, X is the first rendezvous camp south of the Loup. Camps 2, 3, and 4 proceed west from Camp 1 along the south bank of the Loup. Camp 5 turns southward toward the head of Grand Island in the Platte River. They camped overnight between the Loup and the Platte because the sandhills between the rivers make the journey hard. Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte after crossing Grand Island and Fort Kearney. Between camps 5 and 6 a small reconnoitering party went south of the Republican to sight buffalo; they brought meat to Camp 6. Camps 7, 8, 9, 10—four camps west of Fort Kearney along south bank of the Platte, arriving at Plum Creek near Lexington, Nebraska. At camps 7, 8, and 9 individual hunters went after deer, elk, and antelope. Setting out from Camp 9, the chiefs and braves hunted a small herd in order to "feed the people." They brought meat to Camp 10. They went along Plum Creek and then southeast overland to find Turkey Creek. Camp 11—the hunting camp, where the main herd was attacked by all the hunters of the tribe. The people moved south along the west bank of Turkey Creek and encamped at its confluence with the Republican River. X near Trenton is Massacre Canyon.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[P. 173]

102
224*
484*
361
131


Pierre
SOUTH DAKOTA
Missouri
MINN.
Mississippi
WISCONSIN
MICH.
Lake Michigan
WYOMING
North
Platte
River
Niobrara
River
North Loup R.
Middle Loup
Beaver Creek
Elkhorn
River
Cedar
South Loup R.
River
Columbus
Fremont
Omaha
IOWA
Des Moines
River
South
Platte
River
Platte
Plum Creek
Kearney
Frenchman Creek
Trenton
Turkey
Denver
Pike's Peak
Republican
River
Camp II
Cedar
NEB.
Republic
Topeka
Solomon
River
Smoky Hill
River
Kansas R.
Kansas City
St. Louis
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
Ohio R.
COLORADO
Arkansas
River
KANSAS
MISSOURI
North
Canadian
Cimarron
River
River
Canadian
River
ARKANSAS
Arkansas
River
Mississippi
TENN.
NEW MEXICO
TEXAS
OKLAHOMA
MISS.
ALA.

[Fig. 18-1]

*224 ward to the hunting grounds on the Republican. Each of the bands had
*484 its own well-known landmarks. As White Eagle was leading the four
184 bands on this hunt, they all had to follow the south bank of the Loup for
the first part of their journey in the Skidi tradition.

*224 A major landmark of the trip was Grand Island in the Platte River.
*484 There were a number of long, sandy islands in the Platte, some of them
131 covered with lush grass and grazing animals and with trees growing on
439 them. Grand Island is one of the largest of these (more than twice the
size of Manhattan Island). It is about 20 miles long and 5 or 6 miles wide, with a narrow channel on the north and south sides between the island and the mainland. On the island the United States had established Fort Kearney, where there was also a trade center.

*224 The trip to the hunting grounds was usually made in ten encampments.
*484 The hunting camp, not uncommonly within sight of the migrating herd,
• 361 was called Camp 11. By the Skidi route traveling west along the south
bank of the Loup, they would make three camps beyond the first one and arrive 32 miles out. This would put them just due north of the west end of Grand Island over which they planned to cross the Platte. Because of the sandhills between the Loup and the Platte, the crossing southward was slow and they would make one camp between the two rivers (Camp 5).

Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte and two miles westward of the place of crossing. This was done so that the camp could be set up on high ground to avoid the mosquitoes and bugs that abounded in the lowland. This was the stop they usually referred to as "Fort Kearney" because the chiefs would go over there and collect their government allotments while the line of march continued two miles west and set up camp.

Continuing along the south bank of the Platte, they made four camps "west of Fort Kearney," viz., camps 7, 8, 9, and 10. At Camp 10 they reached another important landmark, Plum Creek, a small creek that was a southern tributary of the Platte (near present Lexington, Nebraska). Up to this point the individual hunters went out privately and got deer, elk, or antelope to supply fresh meat for their own camps. While the line was en route to Camp 6, a small group of independent hunters made a long trip southward to the Republican to scout around and they killed three buffalo and brought the meat to Camp 6. As the line of march was moving toward Camp 10, the ablest hunters of all four bands went out and surrounded a small herd of about twenty buffalo, bringing in the
[622] meat to Camp 10. This group of hunters included all the chiefs, other ad-
ministrative officials and prominent men. The meat they obtained was
[431] widely distributed in the form of gifts and symbolized the fact that "the
chiefs feed the people buffalo meat."

The next stop was Camp 11 on the Republican. While the previous

buffalo surround had been made exclusively by the elite, now while they 224*
were en route to Camp 11, every able-bodied hunter in the entire tribe 484*
would make a concerted attack on the herd. To guide the line of march 361
overland from Camp 10 to Camp 11 took considerable skill. They
left the Platte by following southeast and upstream along Plum Creek almost
to its source, and then headed somewhat in the same direction overland
to the head of another small stream, Turkey Creek, that flows due
south into the Republican. They traveled southward along the west bank
of Turkey Creek, and the line of march halted about midway and combined
all the baggage they could so as to free as many horses as possible
for the hunters. The line of march proceeded to the confluence of Turkey
Creek and the Republican, where they set up Camp 11 in preparation
for the arrival of the hunters with the meat and hides. They would remain
there for some days as they would have a great quantity of meat
and hides to process. This was about the end of July. The place is west
of the present town of Naponee, Nebraska. Four mass forays would be
made by all the bands in concert, after which the bands would separate
and follow their own fortunes.

Officially, White Eagle was in charge of all the bands. However, he 224*
chose to make a number of diplomatic gestures in this connection. On 622
two occasions he deferred his leadership of the hunt episode to chiefs of 628
the other bands, with whom the Skidi had a special kind of political relationship. 276
This was a relationship established through the calumet or 574
peace pipe. The calumet was not so much a treaty-making symbol as an
elaborate ceremonial through which interband and intertribal trade was
carried on, the pipe, therefore, being a sign of peaceful intention and
thus a safe-conduct pass through alien territory. In 1672, Marquette [175]
carried one down the Mississippi and was able to establish peaceful relations
with all the tribes along the way. Other tribes agree that the ceremonial 574
originated with the Pawnees. The ceremony was always carried 276
on in terms of a visiting party bringing gifts. The visitors, who were
called "fathers" by their hosts, brought with them dried vegetables, [431]
bowls, and cooking utensils; decorated clothing, and blankets; "jewelry"
and ornamental objects; and—most valued of all—the highly decorated
pipe stems that were symbolic of the male and female eagle. The visiting
party might number a hundred or more. An earth lodge was set
aside by the hosts for the ceremonial and for the leaders of the party.
The rest of the visitors had brought their own tents and camping equipment
as well as all the food supplies and utensils that they would need. It
took almost a year for a man to initiate such an enterprise. In the party
were always included a chief, a priest, and a doctor. The hosts who received
the party were called "Children" by the visitors, who assisted the
hosts with their planting and other work so that they would be free to
attend the ceremonies. When the ceremony was over, the guests, in [431]

574 addition to the gifts, left all their equipment behind, and also the two
276 sacred pipes. The "Children" on their own account gave their parting
431 "Fathers" a large number of horses they had elaborately decorated for
the occasion. In the past they had given quantities of dried buffalo meat.
[554] Only people of some prominence and wealth could participate in these
operations. At this time the Skidi Band were the "Children" of the Begging-
622 for-Meat Band, while the Skidi were "Fathers" to the Man-Going-
628 Downstream Band having recently paid them a trading visit. In view of
574 the mutual courtesies involved, for the Chiefs' Hunt and the first major
276 hunt episode, White Eagle deferred his leadership to his "father," Man
*224 Chief of the Begging-for-Meat Band. The fourth episode he placed in
charge of his "child" Many Trophies, chief of the Man-Going-Downstream
Band.

*224 They stayed north of the Republican River for the first two mass attacks
*484 on the herd. By this time the herd on the north side was pretty well
scattered, and the hunters had to cross over the river for the attack and
bring the meat back over the water into camp. For the fourth mass attack
on the herd, under the leadership of Many Trophies of Man-Going-
• [361] Downstream Band, they moved their camping location from Camp 11 to
a place on the Solomon River to the south, a branch of the Kansas. This
was a site preferred by the Man-Going-Downstream Band. It was a difficult
overland journey for which they had to carry water with them.
They would finally locate a small south-flowing stream, the Cedar, which
led them directly to the Solomon. They made their camp in the angle
where the Cedar joined the Solomon, hunting the herd further up the
river. When the bands parted, they mainly went to separate locations
further to the west along the Republican as the herds in the more eastern
648 location would have been scattered. This territory in the west was dangerous
as the nomadic tribes, Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, and others
were constantly poised to attack for what they considered to be an encroachment
[175] on their hunting grounds. In 1873 the Sioux attacked the
Pawnees while they were on such a venture, butchering their kill in a
[727] canyon near Trenton, Nebraska. The death toll was so severe that this
[167] event tipped the balance in their decision to leave their traditional territory
and migrate to Oklahoma.

On the way out and the way back from the buffalo hunting territory
*224 they moved their camp in fairly regular succession one day after another.
*484 But sometimes it rained and they had to remain where they were
132 for several days, or they might be delayed by the sickness of a prominent
man. Rain, of course, was an inevitable factor. It could delay the camp
for several days. If they were caught in a rain while on the march, everyone
had to spread his things out to dry and this operation might require
the next day or even two before they could resume their journey.
[281] Tanned hide becomes hard and has to be tanned again with grease and

20

HUNTING THE FIRST BUFFALO AND BUTCHERING IT

000

Five Scouts Decide to Hunt the First Buffalo—They Ask and Receive Permission for This Hunt—Description of Hunt—Butchering the Buffalo—Return to Camp

224* 484* 361 WHEN THEY REACHED the fourth encampment, White Eagle began to be very worried. His hunters were bringing in nothing but deer, elk, and antelope. Not a single buffalo had been sighted. They were now 32 miles west of the rendezvous camp, having traveled an extra two miles beyond the customary ten that day. This placed them in the position for leaving the Loup and traveling southward toward the Platte. The difficulty of crossing the sand hills made it necessary to set up Camp 5, at a halfway point, before completing the journey south to the Platte.

[203] That night the crier went through the camp to notify them of their itinerary for the next day. Since the camp was none too comfortable, they would get up especially early and proceed southward to the Platte, cross over to Grand Island, and proceed two miles west on the south bank, where they would make Camp 6 or Fort Kearney camp on some high ground—much better than the boggy camp they were now occupying.

224* 484* In the Skidi encampment, five scouts made up their minds they would get up well before dawn the next morning and ride 12 miles south to the Republican to find out for themselves whether there were any signs of buffalo there. The leader of the group was Roaming Leader of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. This expedition would be of material assistance to White Eagle, who was much concerned about their failure to find buffalo so far. White Eagle, a subchief of Pumpkin-Vine Village, was "married into" Bottomlands Village, and his in-laws gave him substantial assistance throughout the hunt.

> 753 said he could do nothing more about it and wanted to die. Then he got on his horse and tried to make it ride off the high bank, but the horse shied back. However, the rider was catapulted off into the water and when he came out, he was cured. So he found out the cure for this disease.

751
515 There was a great deal of faith in the virtue of bathing as a preventative and as a cure of disease. "In the old days people used to go and bathe in the creek and take sweat baths and there was no sickness."

751
753 Finally, it was thought that living on a high bluff was healthier than living in the lowlands.

> • 361 They said that in the old days, there was no disease, for the villages were on top of a high bluff, and sickness follows along the creek. Whenever a sickness seemed to be coming, people would move up on top, for there the air was fresh and sickness would not come up there. It only stayed near the creek.

753 In more recent times it was said that many people died of rheumatism and stomach trouble. But from the Pawnee point of view, natural causation of disease and death was a relatively less important aspect of these
756 basic human problems. The field of the emotions was considered the
[052] major element in the doctor's calling.

[757] However, despite these other factors, when Otter was about twelve years old the doctors were able to save his life by direct physical therapy.

58

CAMP 6 ON GRAND ISLAND

000

Problems with Stay-at-Homes—Rearrangement of Groups for Hunt—the Journey South—the Hunt

Traveling along the south bank of the Platte, when they arrived oppo- 224*
site the middle of Grand Island, they crossed the channel northward and 484*
camped there. They set up a large encampment of all four bands with the 361
Skidi furthest west. Some people had planned to remain behind before
they left the village, but others, particularly old people, would decide
that it was too cold to go on and would seek a place in one of the tents of
those who were staying.

But sometimes the defections were more serious. A prominent man 224*
like Misery, for example, would have a lapse of public spirit and secretly 484*
plan to stay behind before they left the village. Misery was the son of 592
Sitting Hawk, Victory Call's oldest brother. He was married to three 621
daughters of a prominent chief of Bottomlands Village, Comanche
Chief, and lived in their household. As was the common situation in
such a lodge, there were a number of untitled "boys" who made their
home there. Four of them formed a small group together, their leader being
Horse Finder who owned a number of horses while the others had
none. Horse Finder would ordinarily be the nucleus of a hunting group
with the other three to assist him. Misery had been able to induce him to
remain on the island with him along with his group. On the other hand,
he had not been successful in keeping another of the "boys" that lived
in the household, Jim Bear, from going along to the hunting grounds. Jim
Bear had two horses and a wife who could slice the buffalo meat. When
he got wind of the secret plans, he made arrangements to join the hunt
group of White Eagle. Misery's decision meant that his father, Sitting
Hawk, would also have to stay behind. There were a number of other 224*
planned defections of this kind with the intention being to ride out as a 484*
621

calf with a long body that they called "Calf-That-Has-a-Rope" signifying that it was a calf around whom the herd gathers like a circular rope. 224* 825
They believed that when this calf was killed, all the buffalo were impelled to come seeking it. On the other hand, if they did not succeed in killing it, the herd would turn back when attacked. It took an exceptionally fast horse to kill this calf and Jim Bear (also known as In-the-Front-Line) managed to overtake it and kill it because, as he said with characteristic modesty, "the calf got tired running in the deep snow." Now the buffalo were running eastward in a vast herd along the south side of the river. 224* They knew they wouldn't have to go any further for this hunting expedition, but could set up a permanent encampment at a place called Many Deer to the west of Turkey Creek, for the herd were sure to continue coming in this direction. [361] When they set up camp at Many Deer they could hear the roar of the herd. The skin of the special calf who had been herd leader was donated to Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village as a wrap for its sacred bundle.

Meanwhile, at Turkey Creek, after the Skidi scouts had gone out, Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band announced his plan to go to a place to the south that the South Bands preferred. 224* 628 Eagle Chief sent back a message that they were unable to join him as his scouts had already killed some buffalo to the west. It was then understood that the four bands would part, and no rancor whatever was involved. The Man-Going-Downstream Band joined Man Chief, while the Little-Earth-Lodge Band had a place they liked to camp they called, "Where-the-Cane-Plants-Are-Sitting-up-Against." This was located on the south side of the Republican just about opposite the Skidi camp of Many Deer that was on the north bank of the river. They all stayed at Turkey Creek for an extra day to give the women a chance to cure the meat and prepare the hides, and then the bands went to their several destinations.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

62

THE MAIN HUNT

000

Handling the Meat after the Hunt—Winter Problems—Storytelling—Camp Moves to Many Deer—Dismantling the Tent—Meeting in Council Tent—the Hunt at Many Deer—Donations to the Sacred Bundles—Scouts Return to Grand Island to Report

*224 VERY EARLY THAT MORNING after the scouts had ridden west, most of
462 the other men rode out after them, leaving the women in camp to finish
251 drying the meat with only a few men to protect them. The men took only the horses they rode to the chase; the rest were left to the care of the women. In warmer weather, a boy might ride an extra horse so that it would be ready for packing after the chase, but at this time the weather was too bad. In Victory Call's camp, White Woman, No Corn, and the boy remained and the two men rode west.

*224 At Many Deer, Eagle Chief had decided that they would stake out a
*484 camping place on the north shore, sheltered by timber and big hills from
the cold winds, and lead their horses over the ice to the south bank for
• [361] the chase. After the buffalo had been killed and butchered, the meat was
[492] loaded on the horses and carried to the south bank of the Republican.
There the meat was unloaded and the horses tethered. Then the men
[493] made "hand travois," *raku-rarahu-kita-hukhu*, in order to-pack of buffalo
meat-upon-water or ice-carry. This was a dead cottonwood with a fork at the top. Sticks were fastened across the fork and upon this the meat was loaded and tied with the man pulling the travois across the ice by
[501] the trunk. (In summer they made a "water package" raft of half the rawhide of a bison to float across the water in a similar situation.) When a man had pulled all his meat across the ice, someone on the north shore would ask him for his travois. He would say, "All right, that's a good horse!"

White Woman and after pleading his cause with her, Shot Arm came 159
to live with them. The boy was told that "his father" had come. When 587
he demurred and said that he thought Victory Call was his father, he was quieted. Shot Arm gave him gifts and did his best to father him. White Woman had had some reservations as Shot Arm already had a wife, but he convinced her that he was determined to part from the other woman in any event. Later there were recriminations from this quarter.

Once on the winter hunt, Shot Arm was invited to bring his new 159
family to live in the household of White Eagle. He had been formally 587
invited by "his two old mothers" who were the official owners of the 591
house. In their new home the family occupied a place at the west and had [572]
status and Otter had new friends—David Gillingham, son of White Eagle, and the two brothers, Luther and Andy Coons.

In the Sioux massacre of 1873 during the summer hunt, when from 60 159
to 120 Pawnees lost their lives while butchering their kill in a canyon 175
near Trenton, Nebraska, Otter and White Woman were guided to safety 721
through the Sioux lines by a young warrior at the request of Mad Bear.

Finally the Pawnees moved to Oklahoma in three contingents. White 167
Eagle went with the first group, while Shot Arm and his family were true 159
to the faction of Lone Chief who wanted to remain on their old land and stayed to the last. The two old ladies who owned White Eagle's [342]
earth lodge gave over the pillars and materials to Shot Arm who set up a hexagonal frame of six forked pillars and no outer sod collar or wall, so that they had a high pointed lodge to live in.

When the last group decided to go, the government assigned them ten 167
159
wagons for the poor people who had no horses for transport, and some 648
beeves to be killed every Saturday for their food. 484

In Oklahoma, the three contingents had set up three earth-lodge villages in different locations. Lone Chief set up one on the Arkansas River 167
three or four miles this side of Ralston where there was a ferryboat. 159
White Eagle built a log house on top of a hill near the big pond west of the 361 •
present town of Pawnee, with the earth lodges of his following on the east side of the hill toward the pond. Half a mile east of the agency, Misery and his father-in-law Comanche Chief, along with War Cry, were the leading spirits of another log-house village.

Shot Arm, who had become agency policeman, settled his family in a 159
tent near the school. All winter they lived in the tent. Then in spring, 783
April 1876, without any outward sign of illness, White Woman died. [625]
She asked to have her grandchild brought to her and then spoke to its [342]
mother, telling her that she was bidding them farewell and that she should take good care of the child. And so she fell asleep and never awakened.

Victory Call's former retainer, Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn, 159
were living in a frame house with No Corn's oldest daughter. The girl 591
had married a man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band known as Abraham

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P
648
167
177
175
439
W
175
439
165
177
648
169
P
648
177
431
574

3 The Pawnees and other Caddoan peoples were an integral part of European trading plans. The Wichita played the part of middlemen in the trade between the Spaniards in the Southwest and the French to the east along the Mississippi. By 1777 the Wichita were so heavily depleted in numbers by disease and war that the Spanish authorities induced a considerable contingent of Skidi Pawnees to come and live permanently in the territory and join the Wichitas so that they could defend themselves against the tribes to the east who were aligned with the British. The fact that they have "kin" among the Wichita is remembered among the Pawnees today, and gift-giving relations are maintained among them along with formal intergroup visiting. See Weltfish, 1959, pp. 332-333; Hodge, 1912, p. 706.

W
P
361

3 Both the Pawnees and the Wichitas changed the locations of their villages at intervals of from twelve to fifteen years; this was considered a necessary sanitary measure. The direction of these movements was determined by a variety of social and political causes, but military and trade reasons were the most common ones. My informants gave me a list of the successive Pawnee villages in recent times and the contemporary locations of the Wichita villages. I have added, in parenthesis, Wichita locations cited in Wedel, 1959, pp. 67-68, for approximately these time periods:

P
W
361
103

Wichita	*Pawnee*
Rio Grande in Texas (Wedel, north fork of Red River, Kiowa County, Oklahoma)	Old Village or Kitkehax-Pakuxtu before 1842
Chickasaw on the Washita River east of Anadarko (Wedel, the Washita drainage, Leeper Creek)	Willows-along-a-Stream or Kitapatuat, near Fullerton, Nebraska 1842-1846
	Hill-in-Water-Sitting or Pahaku, near Fremont, Nebraska 1851
Wichita, Kansas (also Wedel, 1863)	Reservation Village near Genoa, Nebraska October 1859
Anadarko, Oklahoma (also Wedel, 1867)	

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

5, 79 James R. Murie, 1914, pp. 550-551, lists the names of thirteen villages, each of which he states had a sacred bundle, excepting the thirteenth, *Turawiu*, which was part of a village. The village names are: 361 103 778 631

1) *Turikaku* (Center Village), Evening Star bundle
2) *Kitkehaxpakuxtu* (Old Village), the four semicardinal direction bundles
3) *Tuhitspiat* (Stretching-Out-in-the-Bottomlands)
4) *Tukitskita* (Village-on-Branch-of-a-River)
5) *Tuwahukasa* (Village-Stretching-across-a-Hill), the Morning Star bundle (This bundle was divided into two.)
6) *Arikararikutsu* (Big-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
7) *Arikarariki* (Small-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
8) *Tuhutsaku* (Village-in-a-Ravine), the left hand bundle (All use left hands in the ceremony.)
9) *Tuwarakaku* (Village-in-Thick-Timber)
10) *Akapaxtsawa* (Buffalo-Skull-Painted-on-Tipi), Black Star bundle
11) *Tskisarikus* (Fish-Hawk) (Bundle buried with White Hawk.)
12) *Tstiks-kaatit* (Black-Ear-of-Corn), meaning corn-black
13) *Turawiu*, part of a village.

These were the known member villages of the Skidi political federation. According to tradition, two villages did not join—Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine) and Tskirirara (Wolf-Standing-in-Water). These two villages survived into the time of our narrative together with only two of the other thirteen, numbers 3 and 5, Tuhitspiat and Tuwahukasa. Tu- is the prefix signifying village or settlement; eight of Murie's thirteen are village names, [193] seven of them beginning with this prefix and indicating a location, the eighth, number 2, meaning Old-Earth-Lodge Village. Four are animal names, and one, a corn name.

5 In the article by Levy and Fallers, 1959, the authors comment on departures from our working model of the "nuclear" or "biological" family, questioning whether it is in fact as basic as we assume. I suggest that our working model of family life stems from the Adam and Eve story and that of the Pawnee from their interpretation of the cosmos and the nature of human life which derives from it. This fundamental difference in our viewpoints does not depend on an ignorance on the part of the Pawnees of the basic fact of physiological paternity. They believed that conception took place as a result of the combination of a male and a female substance similar to egg white in consistency—red in the case of the female and white in that of the male. 114 842

52 The "worm" love song adapted from Dunbar, 1881, p. 745 000

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Dhegiha NQ12

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P 224

141 The surround[illegible] was called *tut-kawi-pitabaku,*" it-to-them-inside-mov[illegible]nd-round." In summer the buffalo tended to be scattere[illegible]aller bunches. In winter the buffalo traveled in closer formation. They also would try to drive them over the ice during the winter: *situks-ukita-hai-iwarit*, "they-used-to-upon-water-or-ice-aim-or-direct." In winter, in the deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow and could readily be killed. The north wind was called Lucky Wind because it chased the buffalo to them. When the second party was going to Oklahoma (1876), old man Frost, *Huriru'us*, held a doctor dance. Then Lucky Wind began to blow and a lot of buffalo came close to the camp. At one time, east of the Missouri River, a bit east of Omaha, Nebraska, there were villages of Pumpkin-Vine people and further eastward the village of Bones-Sticking-Up, *Kis-kararwa*, of the Tsawi Band. Buffalo came into these villages.

P
[821]
[796]
[361]

P 482

Even in Oklahoma in the 1920's women continued to pack heavy loads on their backs. In 1928 I met an old Pawnee grandmother of delicate build trudging along the road out of the town of Pawnee one Saturday afternoon with a huge load of groceries—a sack of flour, a lard pail full, and other sundries—done up in a blanket, the ends tied across her forehead and the weight of the bundle resting on her protruded buttocks and backbone. She refused an offer of a lift in a Ford Car, preferring to continue with her moccasined walk for the two miles to the house.

P 172 325

145, 363 In Lower Loup archaeological villages sheet metal was found for the first time (about 1600), possibly for arrow points (Dunlevy, 1936, p. 201).

P 162

138 Dunbar, 1918, p. 632, gives an estimate of the number of males and females among the Skidi (1840): total 1906; males over 10 years, 469; females over 10 years, 598; children, males under 10 years, 367, females under 10 years, 472.

P 439

D
[726]
[727]

P
[726]

145, 363-364 Although pottery was still in use in Old Village (Allis, 1887, p. 140) the Pawnees had for some time been carrying on a trade in brass buckets with other tribes. Mooney, 1898, pp. 257-259, describes a gruesome incident when the Osage attacked the unprotected Kiowa camp, cutting off the heads of their dead victims and placing them one each in a brass kettle, "which had been obtained by the Kiowa from the Pawnee, who procured them on the Missouri and traded them to the southern tribes." This was the year 1833 "Summer They Cut Off Their Heads." During the attack "A party of women was saved by a brave Pawnee living in the camp, who succeeded in fighting off the pursuers long enough to enable the women to reach a place of safety" (p. 258).

145, 363-364 Trade was carried on by the Pawnees with the Kiowas through the Calumet or Pipe Dance. (See Fletcher, 1904, pp. 280-281, where the purpose of the ritual is described.) 439

149 In an informal conversation with Prof. John L. Champe, he pointed out that in the neighborhood where the Stay-at-Homes set up their impromptu village near Columbus where the Loup River empties into the Platte was the area of some old archaeological sites: Bellwood, occupied by the Tsawi Band about 1800, overlapping and overlaying an older protohistoric site of the Burkett type (Lower Loup) (see Wedel, 1936, p. 40). The Pawnees claimed that this was an old Pawnee home. They claimed that about five miles west of Columbus was *Kitkeharawits-a-ku*, "Earth-Lodge-Village-Adjacent-to-a-Spring-Sitting." 172 361

159 Hyde, 1951, pp. 96-97, feels that the tobacco of the northern Indians might have been an attractive trade item for the southern tribes. He feels that trade with the Arikara in this item may go back to 1680 and cites Tabeau for such trade c. 1802, southern Indians coming north to trade horses for tobacco with the Arikara. 276 439 171

159 Gilmore, 1919, pp. 113-114, states that Pawnee tobacco was *Nicotiana quadrivalus* Pursh. and was cultivated by all the tribes of Nebraska. "Since the advent of the Europeans, tobacco is one of the crops whose culture has been abandoned by these tribes, and they have all lost the seed of it, so that the oldest living Omaha have never seen it growing; but they sometimes receive presents of the prepared tobacco from other tribes to the north who are still growing it." Gilmore obtained seeds from an old Hidatsa man in 1908 which he succeeded in growing. Gilmore, 1919, plate 27, pictures an old Arikara man gathering his tobacco. 249 171

> A Pawnee informant said that his people in old time prepared the ground for planting this tobacco by gathering a quantity of dried grass, which was burned where the patch was to be sown. This kept the ground clear of weeds so that nothing grew except the tobacco which was planted. The crop was allowed to grow thick, and then the whole plant—leaves, unripe fruit capsules, and the tender small parts of the stems—was dried for smoking. The unripe seed capsules, dried separately were specially prized for smoking on account of the flavor, pronounced by the Indians to be like the flavor now found in the imported Turkish tobacco." (Gilmore, 1919, p. 114.) 249

359-360 The need for a good knowledge of the stars and constellations on the Plains as well as at sea and the possibility of getting lost is indicated by a modern incident reported in the *Sunday World* 000

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 978 As we sing this stanza we think of the lodge erected about the holy place in accordance with the rites given to our fathers upon the earth, which Tirawa made to be our dwelling place.

In such a lodge this ceremony must take place, and as we sing we ask that the lodge in which we are assembled to prepare the sacred articles may be kept free from all hurtful influences and that the lesser powers which bring life and strength may come near us as we sit within.

We also think of the lodge to which we will go for the further performance of this ceremony, for we desire that the presence of the lesser powers may be there also.

In this ceremony the lodge represents the nest, the place where the young are enclosed. They are protected by the male; the male eagle guards his nest; within its walls there is safety.

Translation of Tenth Stanza

*539 46, 47, 48 See lines 1, 2, 3.
*796 49 Heru! Kataharu. He!
   heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
   Kataharu, part of the word itkataharu, fireplace. The dropping of the initial syllable, it, changes the meaning; the word here refers to the place where fire is to be kindled in the sacred manner for the performance of sacred rites.
   he! part of I'hare! give heed! See line 4.
50 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Katharu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 372 978 As we sing this stanza we think of the place set apart for the kindling of fire after the manner taught our fathers, by rubbing two sticks together. Fire kindled in this way is sacred; it comes direct from the power granted to Toharu (Vegetation), in answer to man's appeal as he rubs the sticks. The sticks used to make this fire are kept in a shrine.

The sacred fire must come in a place set apart for it. All sacred things must have their place. Katharu is the place set apart for the sacred fire, where it can come and bring good to man; without it he could hardly live. We make the fire in the center of the lodge, where all within can share in its benefits.

*539 *796 As I told you, the lodge in this ceremony represents the nest where the young are cared for and protected. The male eagle protects the nest, the female eagle broods over it, and there she nourishes her young. As we are asking for the gift of children to bind the people together as one family, so we sing about the fireplace, that fire may come as we prepare the sacred articles.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

upon the edge of the central opening in the roof of the lodge, right over the fireplace. We see the spot (ta), the sign of its touch, and we know that the ray is there. 539* 796*

The fire holds an important place in the lodge; you remember we sang about it when we were preparing the sacred objects (first ritual, first song, line 49). Father Sun is sending life by his messenger to this central place in the lodge. [821] [372]

As we sing we look at the bright spot where the ray has alighted, and we know that life from our father the Sun will come to us by the ray.

We sing this verse four times, and when we have completed the second circuit of the lodge and have reached the west we pause.

Translation of Third Verse

622 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

623 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta wira ka-a hukawi, ta wira hukawi, hukawi ta wira ha.

hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.

ta, the spot, the place that is touched by the ray

wira, climbing down, descending into.

ka, a part of the word akaro, lodge.

a, a vowel prolongation.

hukawi, the ray or beam.

ta wira hukawi, hukawi ta wira. Translated above.

ha, a vocable to fill out the measure.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the sun rises higher we turn toward the north and begin the third circuit of the lodge. The ray is now climbing down into the lodge. We watch the spot where it has alighted. It moves over the edge of the opening above the fireplace and descends into the lodge, and we sing that life from our father the Sun will come to us by his messenger, the ray, which is now climbing down into the space within the lodge where we are gathered together.

We sing this verse four times, and after the third circuit we pause at the west.

Translation of Fourth Verse

624 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

625 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ka hakidhihi hukawi, ka hakidhiki hukawi, hukawi ka hakidhihi.

hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.

ka, a part of the word akaro, lodge, particularly the space within the lodge, about the fire.

hakidhiki, walking, moving about the room, the open space within the lodge.

hukawi, the ray.

ka hakidhiki hukawi, hukawi ka hakidhiki. Translated above.

with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of 796
"song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The 778
outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread
on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a
pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native
tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of
corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip inclined
toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and
the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a
white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws [825]
of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal [821]
is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason
the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In [854]
accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her
arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She [201]
then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between
the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial
lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies [302]
were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder
mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire
was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was [372]
intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was 796
served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful
of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung [415]
on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled [262]
in the usual manner.

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning 796
Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and 778
were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening
Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle 173
and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side.
The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge
of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however,
forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close
the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured
four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black.
The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star
and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards
the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe
secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It
is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to
have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow [411]
is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

---

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Grandma built herself a corn-roasting pit inside her shelter. It was an oblong pit with an embankment along each long side or a log for the ears to rest on—the pit lying across the shelter with the long dimension running north and south; the back of the shelter being west and its entry east. 252

Before putting up the shelter, on the way to the fields she had looked for some wood so that it would be ready for the roasting. If she was unable to find wood, she used sunflower stalks. Now with the shelter all prepared and the pit ready, she fixed up a parfleche as a container for the ears she picked by closing one end and leaving the other open, and since it was of stiff rawhide, she stood it up ready to throw the ears of corn in. When it was full, she carried it on her back with a packstrap which she had fastened to it. The ears of corn from one parfleche-full make a pile about 3 feet high by 2½ feet in diameter. She would gather about two parfleches of corn at a time which she would roast before gathering the next batch. 243 252 [372] [415]

Now she built a fire in the pit. If it was morning, she would sit near the west edge facing east, the raw corn piled at her right (at the south end of the pit). The corn was set in the pit resting along the near side with the stub end down and the point end up—the ears lined up one next to the other. While they were roasting, she had to keep turning the ears, and it was hard to keep her hands from getting burnt while this was going on. With one woman working alone she could utilize only one of the long sides of the pit at any one sitting, because of the need to turn the ears. In the morning she worked along the west edge and in the afternoon after the sun went down she worked along the east edge, sitting with her back to the door, facing the rear of the shelter. She again piled the raw corn to her right (the north end) and proceeded to roast it. When two women worked together they could use both sides of the pit simultaneously.

The husks of the corn were considerably charred after the roasting, but the corn inside was not burnt. The ears were left in their husks in a pile to cool off, and this very much improved their flavor. Only if the woman was in a great hurry would she begin to husk the ears before they had cooled off.

After all the corn was husked, the kernels were cut off row by row with a fresh water clamshell. Some of the ears had such small kernels that they could not be cut off, and these ears were left aside in a pile for any guests who happened to come in and visit.

While the roasted corn was cooling, Grandma would pick the ripe beans. She swept the place clean and spread them out to let them dry in the sun and as they dried, you could hear them pop. She also went to the pumpkin patch and got two or three pumpkins that were hard enough. Like the beans, she would gather these up in her skirt. She 244 [251]

796 756 272 An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756 273 See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796 [574] [782] [184] [752] [726] 241 The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

824 825 171 277 On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

• 372 482 280, 290 Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads would equal one cord of wood. 372 Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

727 305 Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home

*539 74 H'arori, 'haro! I'haro re! H'arori. All the words are translated above. See lines 72 and 73.

*796 75 Hure-e! An abbreviation of the word haurae, coming from above. The vowel changes and prolongation are for greater ease in singing and also for euphony.

76, 77 See lines 74, 75.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[822] The color green represents Toharu (Vegetation), the covering of H'Uraru, Mother Earth. As we sing, we ask that life be breathed into the symbol, that it may have power as we use these sacred articles. "H'arori" is a prayer that living power may be where we place this symbol of the covering of Mother Earth. We remember as we sing that the power of Mother Earth to bring forth comes from above, "Hure-e."

The Ku'rahus paints the groove red in the same way, for the same reason as on the other ash stick, and when he has finished he hands the green stem back to the man on his right, toward the south, who holds it.

The Ku'rahus rubs upon his hands the sacred ointment which has been made by mixing red clay with fat from a deer or buffalo that has been consecrated to Tira'wa. He is now ready to tie the symbolic articles upon the two painted stems.

381 824 825 He splits long feathers, taken from the wings of an eagle, and glues them to each stem as feathers are glued upon the shaft of an arrow. He uses for this purpose pitch from the pine tree. These wing feathers are to remind us that the eagle flies near to Tira'wa.

About one end of the stem (the mouthpiece) he fastens soft blue feathers, in color like the sky where the powers dwell. He ties a woodpecker's head on the stem near the mouthpiece and turns the upper mandible back upon the red crest. The mandible covers the red crest and keeps it from rising. This shows that the bird may not be angry. The inner side of the mandible, which is exposed by being turned back upon the crest, is painted blue, to show that Tirawa is looking down upon the open bill as the spirit of the bird travels along the red groove to reach the people.

About the middle of the stem the Ku'rahus binds feathers from the owl. The other end of the stem he thrusts through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck, the breast reaching to the owl feathers. The end of the stem protrudes a very little through the bill of the duck, so that the bowl of a pipe could be fitted to it. The duck's head, therefore, is always downward, looking toward the earth and the water.

[825] All the birds on the stems are leaders: the eagle is chief of the day; the owl is chief of the night; the woodpecker is chief of the trees; the duck is chief of the water.

513 disarranging the bedding. In the warmer weather, a mat might be placed
352 on top of the skin as a "sheet." In addition to these appointments, some of
322 the beds had an additional screen of willows built in front of them to
824 make them especially private. Some married women preferred these—
in this household for example, White Woman and Old Bull's older wife,
Queen Woman. These screens, *kawiriwisisu*, were a permanent part of
the bed structure. Six tall uprights were fixed in the ground, reaching
from floor to ceiling, and across them close together were tied on with
willow bark, 6-foot-long horizontal willow saplings. The horizontals
were laid in alternate order, one with the stub end to the left and its
point end to the right, and the one above it in the opposite position to
ensure evenness. These were gathered in spring, peeled, and the irregular
stems or knots cut off. Before they could be fastened to the uprights,
they had to be briefly seasoned for a few days so that they would be
neither too green when they would shrink too much and leave the fastenings
loose, nor too dry, when they could not be properly straightened out
[531] in place. For decorative effect, six black were alternated with six natural
horizontals, the peeled saplings being passed through a decoction of
[386] sumach that had been boiled to make a black dye. After all the horizontals
were tied in place, they were trimmed off on both edges to make the
screen even. The entrance through the screen was made by cutting a
low narrow opening in it at bed level, the vertical for this portion being
hung from the roof.

353 As for the rest of the furnishings of the house, the buffalo skull had been left resting on the altar at the west and above it they now hung whatever sacred bundles they had. To the east of the fireplace they set up the bracket from which the pot was hung over the fire to boil. This was a forked stick stuck in the ground at a slant or having a natural curve; to one arm of the fork a wooden hook was suspended by a rawhide strap that could be raised and lowered by winding, depending on how close to the fire they wanted the pot to hang.

Against each side, on the east wall, was a woodpile supported by two tall forked sticks stuck in the ground. A little farther along the wall, leaning against it was a tree trunk with lopped off branches from which strings of braided corn were hung.

512 Now as the women were through with their cleaning, examining the
353 beds and generally getting things in order, they brought in the parfleches
of meat and the bags and placed the twined-woven rush mats on the floor.
Two mats were put down on their "side"; the better one near the west
end and the more worn-out one near the east. Some pumpkins were
stored on the intervening platforms between the beds, some were placed
under the beds and others on the floor near the doorway. One of the
parfleches had been placed in a handy position and left open as it contained
current supplies. The rest were all closed up.

The stretching of the skin on the frame took all morning, the tanning the noon hour and the afternoon the rubbing and softening. By evening, although the skin was still quite wet it was taken indoors so that no one would appropriate it. It was beaten with a stick on the fur side to sprinkle out some of the water. 281 [461]

Next morning when the sun was quite high, the skin was again rubbed on the sinew and set on the ground with the hair side up to get completely dry. Then it was placed on a mat and the margin trimmed all around with a sharp knife to remove any peg holes or other irregularities. The robe was now complete and was rolled up ready for wear or sale.

The skins that were less prime were tanned without the hair on, as the tanning process differed somewhat from the fur robe. After the hair was scraped off with the elbow-scraper, the flesh side was scraped and thinned with the same tool. The hide was soaked over night and next morning, stretched on the frame to be treated with the tanning mixture. The skin was left on the frame until the flesh side was thoroughly dry and even though the dehaired surface remained a bit wet, the skin was removed from the frame and rubbed between the fingers to soften it, then twisted with a wringing motion as we twist our bedsheets. It was not necessary to rub the skin as violently as the fur robe as in the dehairing process the horny outer epidermis had been removed. Eight of these skins went into the construction of the tent cover; they were used for bedding, curtains, packages, and bags.

The skins to be worn as blankets were usually dyed. If a white blanket was desired, white clay was sprinkled on the wet surface while it was still stretched on the frame and allowed to dry in thoroughly before it was removed and twisted. 281 386

More commonly, for wear as blankets, the tanned hide was dyed black. The black dye was made by boiling sumach leaves in water, the dye being allowed to cool before being applied to the surface of the tanned hide. The dye was rubbed in with a rag, first on one surface and when this was dry, on the other. When both sides were thoroughly dry, the skin was rubbed between the fingers to soften it and hung across a horizontal pole and beaten with a stick to remove the excess dye that had dried onto the surface. Interspersed with the other housework of the fall season, it took four days to make a black-dyed blanket.

It was also possible to dye the tanned hide a light yellow. This was done by smoking it over a rotten log of any kind of wood. They dug a long rectangular trench in the ground and put the log into it with some hot coals. They built an archway of supple twigs over the trench by sticking a series of twigs in the ground along both sides and joining them at the top. A number of long sticks were fastened on top and on the long sides of the archway to strengthen the structure. The tanned hide was laid onto the framework and weighted down with earth or sticks on all [417]

281 sides to keep the air from reaching the inner surface. When they first
• 386 removed the skin from the frame, the smoked surface was somewhat black, but when it was exposed to the air it quickly turned yellow. Any smoky patches that remained were rubbed with the fingers, and these promptly turned yellow, too. In the past these dyed skin blankets were the forerunners of the later trade blanket.

291 The skins of the deer and elk were used for clothing because they
221 were considerably lighter and softer than the buffalo hide. In the fall particularly, when the doctor performances were in prospect, they made a critical inspection of their wardrobes to see if they had something suitable to wear for the occasion. The women thought about a new dress and the men considered whether their clothing wasn't too shabby to wear and what ceremonial costumes they would need. They had been on the march all summer and busy with the harvest and they had had no time to think about such matters. They also had to consider the forthcoming winter hunt.

291 In the Plains climate, clothing was a pressing necessity. The fresh deer
262 and elk meat was a welcome addition to their staple diet of dried vegeta-
251 bles and buffalo meat, but it was consumed immediately and never pre-
281 served. Economically, the hides were of greater practical value.

There is some question whether it was the men or the women who
[462] dressed the deer and elkskins. Theoretically they both knew how, but the only accounts of the process I have seen or been able to collect refer to the work of the men. Apparently the hide was not treated with a tanning mixture but was simply dehaired and rubbed:

> The first step in dressing the deer hide was to get it wet. A stick was put slantwise in the ground and the hide draped over it hair side up and fastened at the top. The hair which slanted upward was scraped off with a sharpened horse rib that was pushed from the top down.
> [513] The deer hair was used as a stuffing for pillows; the buffalo hair was always thrown away. The skin was now turned over with the flesh side uppermost and rubbed with a sharp rock as rough as a file. Next they continued to rub the flesh side with another rock that was gray and white and very porous. They kept rubbing the flesh side until the skin had dried.

A description of preparing a moose hide for a robe is somewhat simpler; allowing the skin to soak in water for a day and a night, removing the hair with a horse rib as it rested on a slanting cottonwood stick, and then simply spreading the skin on the ground to dry.

When needed, the men dressed bear or fox skins and those of some other animals, stretching them on frames and overcasting them all around

the same weed was used to scrape out the inside. Then the man blew through the stem to remove the small pieces from the inside. 276 824 322

Making the Stone Bowl of Catlinite or Red Pipestone. (See Figure 51-2.) A block of stone of the appropriate size was marked off with charcoal so that the bowl could be sculptured out in the rough. Two blocks of stone had to be removed, one in front and one behind the upward projecting bowl. The removal of these two blocks was a laborious task. When no metal drills, files, or rasps were available, each step took a long time and required a great deal of patience. In the old days to remove the two blocks of stone, the "pipe" was set up on end and a flint knife was sawed back and forth across the corner, making a shallow cut. Then a second cut was made underneath it until a series of three or four shallow cuts had been made one beneath the other. These "corners" were then chipped off from the top edge down. This operation of chiseling off small pieces was continued until the whole block had been removed. Then the second block on the other side of the bowl was removed. All red powder resulting from the sawing process was saved to be used as red paint. 276 324 [386]

The bore for the stem as well as for the bowl was begun by using a well-dried, fire-hardened stick. The stick was held stable pressed onto the surface where the hole was to be and the stone turned back and forth until a hole had been dug into it. The bowl was widened and deepened by using a sharp sliver of a buffalo femur in the same way, pressing it into the stone and twisting the stone itself until the bowl was the shape and size desired. The outer surfaces were shaped by rubbing with a rough stone.

After the bowl was shaped, the pipe was passed through the smoke of a small grass fire and the surface rubbed with grease. This data on making the stone bowl is condensed from a demonstration by Charles Allen at Pawnee, Oklahoma, in 1935. It took almost eight days, working the usual day of nine to five o'clock with an hour for lunch. [461]

Each pipe maker introduced special features of his own. Rarawikita, Charles Allen's father, made them so that there was a hump on the bowl near where the stem was inserted and the pointed end of the bowl was five-sided. Chief's Road made pipes with three raised ridges around the head end of the bowl where the stem was to be inserted. Sometimes the pointed end was cut down at a downward slant, sometimes it was cut straight off. Good Bear made a pipe that was thick where the bowl was and tapered markedly at the point end and again at the end where the stem fitted. Brave Horse (*Asa-rahikuts*, "horse-brave") would make a wide ridge or collar around the mouth of the bowl and another one at the opening where the stem fitted in; on these "collars" he engraved diagonals trending upward toward the left. He was a left-handed man. [531]

For the work of manufacturing the pipe, pay was expected though never stipulated. This might be tobacco or calico and a little food. For 276 465 437

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539* 796* We sing of the entranceway of the lodge because it is through this way that man goes to and fro. It is the place made for all to enter into the lodge; through it come those powers which are represented on the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako. Through it come the promises of the Hako, and through it the visions come.

The long passageway represents the days of man's life.

PART II. PREPARING THE FEATHERED STEMS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Before the next song is sung the Ku'rahus prepares the blue paint which is to be put on one of the sticks of ash. The water with which the blue clay is mixed must be taken from a running stream. Water from a spring or well can not be used. Running water represents the continuity of life from one generation to another. [386] [823]

The paint is mixed in a white shell. The shell must be white; it is used because it was once a living thing. It lived in the water; it had no disease or sickness. As we use the shell we ask that disease and sickness may be kept from us and that our life may be long.

Before the people knew anything about vessels they used shells as spoons and to put their food in. Tira'wa gave us the shells and gave them long life and the power to keep away disease and sickness. [173]

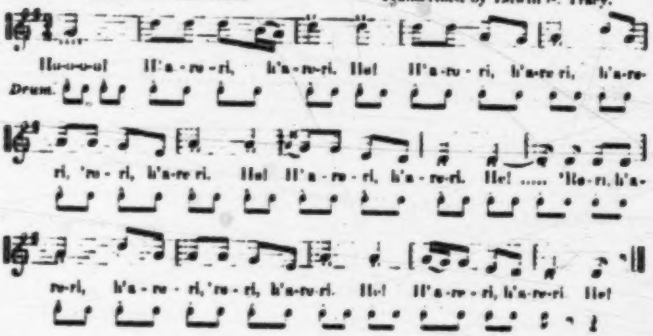
When the Ku'rahus has mixed the blue paint in the shell, he hands it to the man at his left, who is sitting toward the north. This man applies the mixture with his finger to the stick of ash, spreading the paint over its entire length, but being very particular not to let any of it get into the straight groove that runs from one end of the stick to the other, while the following song is sung.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 120.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. [533*]


Ho-o-o-o! H'a-re-ri, h'a-re-ri. He! H'a-re-ri, h'a-re-ri, h'a-re-
Drum.
ri, 're-ri, h'a-re-ri. He! H'a-re-ri, h'a-re-ri. He! ..... 'He-ri, h'a-
re-ri, h'a-re-ri, 're-ri, h'a-re-ri. He! H'a-re-ri, h'a-re-ri. He!

*539
*796

VI

1170 Ho-o-o!
1171 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri ta witshpa ha!
1172 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri ta witshpa ha!
1173 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri ta witshpa ha.

Translation of First Stanza

1170 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1171 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat we re kusi hi!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitspahat; kits, from kitsu, water; pahat, red. The term means red paint.
we, now.
re, am.
kusi, sitting.
hi! from hiri! give heed!
1172, 1173 See line 1171.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[386] The Ku'rahus had prepared the paint by mixing red clay with running water. He mixes it rather dry so that what is left can remain in the shell. Only the right half of a shell can be used to hold the paint. You remember what I told you of the shell and why we use it (first ritual, part II). The red clay we use for paint was made by Tira'wa for this purpose.

[822] The paint symbolizes the red clouds of the dawn, the coming of the new day, the rising sun, the vigor of life. The power of the new day, the new life, is now standing before the child.

Translation of Second Stanza

1174 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1175 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat re ru ata ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitspahat, red paint.
re, is.
ru, it.
ata, flying.
ha! behold!
1176, 1177 See line 1175.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of Fifth Stanza

*539 1186 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1187 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri ta wawe he!
hiri! harken! give heed!
'hari, a part of of iha'ri, child.
hiri! harken!
kitspahat, red paint.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
wawe, spreading over.
he! from hiri! give heed!
1188, 1189 See line 1187.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the fifth stanza the old man touches the child's face here and there, and then spreads the red paint entirely over it. This symbolizes the full radiance of the sun with all its power, giving to the child its vigor of life.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

1190 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1191 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri ta witshpa ha!
hiri! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitspahat, red paint.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
witshpa, accomplished; completed.
ha! behold!
1192, 1193 See line 1191.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We sing in this stanza that it is accomplished, that the child is encompassed by the power which Tira'wa atius has given to the sun and the vigor imparted to its day.

[386 The old man now takes a shell containing blue paint which had been prepared by the Ku'rahus from blue clay and running water, and while we sing the first stanza of the following song he holds it before the child. This is a very sacred act.

dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes. 756 [534] [386]

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws. The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in black. There were no feathers or other decorations. [293] [778]

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times. [888]

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

THE DEER SOCIETY.

The raris ta, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual seems to be in keeping of the Skidi organizations. The fundamental elements of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer (ta), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamental is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls unconscious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed jaw of a gar fish; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once for all. 276 756

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced [789] other. By the winter of 1872 it was felt on the Pawnee reservation 175* and in the surrounding country that the worst was over.

"A feeling of perfect security pervades the whole community for 648* many miles around, and the citizens who were clamorous for the removal of the Indians from the State are now satisfied that they shall remain . . ."[1]

This feeling of security was shaken by a Sioux attack upon the Pawnee winter hunt of 1872—73, in which on January 10, 1873 one Pawnee was killed and 100 horses captured. All thought of security was shattered in the summer of 1873 by what took place in Massacre Canyon, Hitchcock County, Nebraska, which took its name from the event.

A Pawnee hunting party left the reservation on the second of July, 1873, with full permission from government officials for the hunt, and accompanied by a white man. Its numbers have been variously placed at 700 including 350 men; 400, including 250 men; and 300. Significant about these figures is the fact that the "security" of the previous year had so lulled the Pawnee that on this occasion we find only a small part of the tribe organized for the hunt. If danger were expected, it is likely that, as in days past, the whole tribe would have organized, in order to present a united front to their common enemy. Most of the men were armed merely [411 ● with bows and arrows, but here and there warriors carried muzzle- 177] loading rifles or carbines. The intention of the party was to hunt in the valley of the Republican River. They were unusually successful and had found several herds and made killings, when they started back toward the reservation with their hundreds of pack horses loaded with meat. On August 4 rumors reached them through white men that Dakota scouts were spying upon them, and that large war parties were not far off. It is said that the Pawnee chiefs put little credence in these reports, claiming that they were intended only to scare the Pawnee out of the country so that the white man could have the hunting grounds to himself. On the morning of August 5 a buffalo scout sighted a large herd, and the Pawnee hunters rode for the herd, and were scattered out making their kills when word spread that the Sioux were coming. The numbers of the attacking party have been placed at 600 warriors and at 1200 to 1500 warriors, but the latter is undoubtedly too large a figure. They were Oglalla and Brulé Dakotas, said to have been under Chief Snow Flake. The surprise of the Pawnee was so complete that Sky-Chief, in charge of the Pawnee hunting party,

---

[1] Agent J. M. Troth, from the Pawnee Agency, September, 1872. Annual Report, 1871—72.

with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of 796
"song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The 778
outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread
on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a
pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native
tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of
corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip in-
clined toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and
the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a
white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws [825
of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal 821]
is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason
the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In [854]
accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her
arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She [201]
then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between
the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial
lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies [302]
were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder
mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire
was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was [372]
intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was 796
served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful
of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung [415]
on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled [262]
in the usual manner.

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning 796
Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and 778
were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening
Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle 173
and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side.
The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge
of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however,
forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close
the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured
four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black.
The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star
and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards
the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe
secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It
is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to
have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow [411]
is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

---

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

Analysis.—Four renditions were recorded. The first and second 533*
renditions were interrupted by the shrill cries given by women in a war dance, the interruptions occurring in the eighth measure of the first and the ninth measure of the second rendition. After the second rendition the singer spoke several sentences rapidly and after the third rendition she repeated the shrill cries. The third and fourth renditions were sung without interruption. The foregoing is an interesting example of the performance of this class of songs. The tempo is slow and the melody is marked by a steadily descending trend. The song is harmonic in structure, contains all the tones of the octave, and has a compass of 11 tones.

SONGS OF THE RAVEN LANCE SOCIETY

[171]
The custom of the Pawnee concerning the raven lance (*kakutsaa*) 411 ●
was similar to that of the Mandan.[20] A warrior who carried this lance 726
into battle and planted it in the ground was obliged to defend its 778
position with his life. If he were killed, his comrades brought back
the lance. By the Pawnee informant the lance was described as a
staff wrapped with otter hide and having a crook at the upper end. [237]
It was decorated with eagle feathers and bore the body of a raven,
commonly designated as a crow.

The dance of the Raven Lance Society was said to be "almost like 533*
that in which the dancers painted half their bodies red and half 575
black," referring to the White Lance Society. The original owner of [302]
this dance lived to extreme old age and, as he had no children, he 173
gave the dance to a young man who was one of his nearest relatives. 726
One day the people said, "Some Indians are coming to attack us."
The young man who had received the dance took his raven lance, [431]
mounted his pony, and went to get the old man. They rode together on the pony to a place near the fight and then went forward on foot, but the old man could not go as fast as the warriors. The old man called, "I am still coming," and the young man came back and helped him forward. The aged man was proud to see that the young man to whom he had given his dance was among the leaders in the fight. The enemy shot and killed the young man, and the lance was brought back with his body. Then the old man sang this song. In the manner of recording the song there was a wailing which was said to be "the old man crying because the young man had been killed and he had no more relatives," yet he loved the lance and all that it symbolized. He died soon afterwards and, as he was too old to give the dance to anyone else, the Pawnee do not have the dance at the present time.

---

[20] Cf. Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 48 and 49, including "Song to the Raven"; also Lowie, Societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, pp. 313-314.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

led into the dance lodge by women. Some of the young men were in 727
the full costume of Indian warriors, others were in civilian clothing, [177]
and Lawrence Murie wore the khaki uniform in which he had served
with the artillery at the front. The young soldier who directed the [411]
dancing carried a sword which had belonged to one of his ancestors.
The principal dance was the grass dance, followed by the war dance. [535
The former is common to all the tribes of the northern plains, extending even to the Kutenai. 171] According to Miss Fletcher, the dance originally was connected with the Hethushka Society of the Omaha, a society whose object was "to stimulate an heroic spirit among the people and to keep alive the memory of historic and valorous acts."[24]

A touching event in the second day's gathering was the expression 765
of sympathy for the parents of the young man who died in France. 727
They stood before the assembly while the chief and other leading [201]
men talked to them. The speaker placed his hands on the man's head, drawing them down the man's arms to his hands; he also held the man's hands closely in his own as he talked to him in a tender, earnest manner.

Numerous speeches were made, and the occasion was marked by 727
dignity as well as rejoicing. The young soldiers appeared to be in excellent health, were friendly toward all, and made a good impression upon the white people who attended the gathering.

The song next following was sung by the women on the second day 533*
of the victory dance. It is an "honor song" and belonged to an old 727
man named Brown Bear (*guruks*, bear; *narahata*, brown), who died [424]
not long ago. At a war dance he used to rise and sing this song without the drum, and "when he sang everybody cried." The custom of weeping and even wailing aloud at public gatherings has not been noted in tribes previously studied. The words of the song meant, "Nobody knows when the world will end." The informant added, "The old man used to say 'there is one person who knows when the world will end.'"

Analysis.—This is one of the "crying songs," and the sliding tone, 533*
especially in measures 7, 8, 13, and 14, is impossible to transcribe. The time was well maintained throughout the song. Attention is directed to a comparison of the count-divisions in the two rhythmic units and in the fifth and sixth measures from the close of the song. All the tones of the octave occur in the melody which progresses by a wide variety of intervals.

---

[24] Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, Twenty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 459.

539 rainbow. The evening star provided a bag. The council discussed what these
575 people should take with them. Morningstar said: "I will supply a sacred bundle and I wish eveningstar to contribute someone to carry it and four men to care for it."

[293]
[411]
[778]

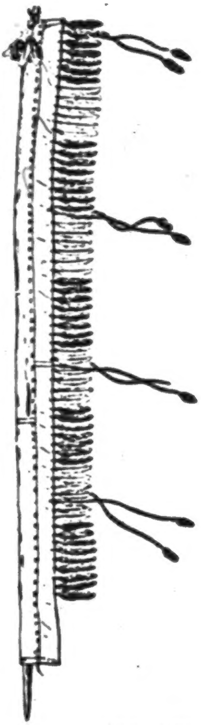


Fig. 3 (50.1-7191). Lance for the Two Lance Society, one of two. The cloth is red, the feathers white (goose) and black (crow). The pendant feathers are crow and the tuft at the top, owl. Length, 2.387 m.

Eveningstar brought an ear of corn which was transformed into a girl, the bearer of the bundle. First the four men were put into the bag, then the girl with the bundle, then people, and finally, the two lance men. The bag was tied so the man could carry it on his back.

It was now time for Paruxti to visit the earth. Eveningstar commanded the four powers in the west, clouds formed, lightning and thunder were placed into the clouds. Paruxti was placed upon the clouds and the wind slowly blew them along towards the earth. Soon the clouds rested on the earth and Paruxti stood upon it. He went towards the east leaving footprints so the gods knew he was on his way.

One time when he was tired and lonesome he remembered what the gods had told him about the bag. He sat down near a stream, placed the bag in front of himself, and opened it. First the two lance bearers, carrying the lances, jumped out. They stopped some distance off, one standing at the south and one at the north side. Soon people sprang out and took their places behind the two lance men. Then came the girl with the sacred bundle on her back. Behind her the four men walked abreast.

The two lance men lead the people to some level ground. They stuck the lances into the ground while the rest of the people put up their tipis. The first one was set up facing east, for the bundle girl and the old men. The bundle was hung up inside the tipi on the west wall. The girl sat beneath it. Two of the old men sat on the north and two on the south side of the tipi. Throughout the village all was bustle and confusion. The boys, young men, and old men were playing with their sticks and rings. For the boys the ring was small and the sticks had two hooks on one end. The sticks used by the older men were hooked at one end and had two cross bars while the ring was smaller than that used by the young boys. The oldest men played with large rings and straight sticks. The women sat in circles and played a game with plum seeds and a basket while others played shafts.

Messengers were sent through the village to call out the men to look for game. The runners notified the people that they had seen many buffalo. The men went out to hunt them and returned with the meat. The first buffalo killed was taken to the holy tipi.

They stayed at this place four days when the holy being told the four old men that it was time to move. Camp was broken and everyone returned to the bag, the two lance bearers last of all.

575 was supposed to give protection in battles. The otter wrapped on the pole could also be used to call upon the powers to send rain to the earth. The two stones on the strings of the lances are to symbolize two powers or stars in the east on each side of the sun, the white for the one on the north side of the sun and the red for the one on the south side. By this, the members of the society know that they are under the protection of the two powers in the sky. If the people have a battle and win, the scalps and other trophies
[727] are given to this society which then conducts the victory dance, carrying the lances in the dance. As the dance proceeds the women take charge, even carrying the lances. The only men remaining in the dance are the four drummers

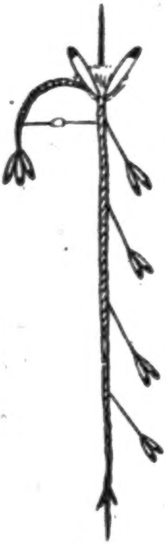


Fig. 6.

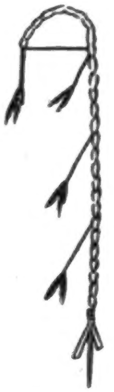


Fig. 7.

[411] Fig. 6. The Skidi Red Society Lance. The war point is of iron rising from a tuft of owl feathers between a tuft of eagle feathers. On the string to the crook is a red stone. The pendant feathers are eagle. The shaft is wrapped with otter fur; dark for the north side
[237] lance, reddish for the south. The grip is wrapped with bear gut.

Fig. 7. The Red Lance. The shaft is wrapped with swanskin, a buffalo tail at the tip of the crook and also hung from strings at the sides; the grip of one lance is wrapped with red strouding and the other with black. These are the colors of the south and north sides respectively.

575
625
224 Perhaps the most important point is that this society is chosen to act as police of a military procedure, or man hunt, in the same way as the preceding society was chosen for the buffalo hunt. When the camp moves

535
575
[302] All this time the members have been singing in the lodge but now they paint black also and prepare such arms as they wish to carry. The chief of the village then enters with the pipe from the bundle and starts the dance. First they are lead outside where they dance before their own lodge, then passing out at the north side march around the village once. Then they come into the village and dance before the lodges of the leading men. (As before, two boys are brought in to carry the water drum.) In each case the host comes out with a pipe which is passed to the lance bearer and the singers, but no presents are given. Finally, they dance before their own lodge and enter. A feast and certain smoke offerings to the lance close the ceremony.

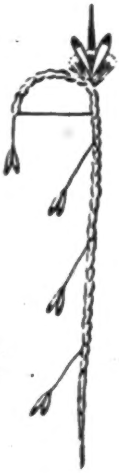


Fig. 12.

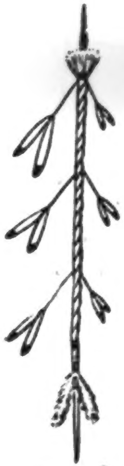


Fig. 13.

[411] **Fig. 12. The Fighting Lance.** The point is of iron, nested in owl and eagle feathers; the shaft wrapped with swanskin, small eagle feathers hang at the sides. The grip of the south side lance is of red strouding; that of the north, of black.

Fig. 13. The Wolf Lance. The point is of iron, the shaft wrapped with wolfskin, a bunch of owl feathers at the top, large and small eagle feathers at the sides, the grip near the lower end and two wolf tails below. Two of these are carried.

575
[648] As this was the leading society of the Chauí and the United States formally recognized the Chauí chief as the head of all the Pawnee, it came to have a certain precedence in all functions.

THE FIGHTING LANCE.

The tirupahe society is found among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kit'kaháxki. It is a war society as may be seen by its pointed lance.

575 was but one lance wrapped with swanskin. Each member wore a large tuft of crow feathers, hence the name. There were no rattles, but two water drums, four singers, and pipe men. The members painted white.

The Knife Lance.

The kichita was found among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and the Kit'-kaháxki. Its function was on the line of battle and not concerned with the hunt. There were two lances as shown in the drawing, decorated with cloth. The colored sections were reversed in order on the second lance. In painting the north side men were black and the south, red. There were four rattles, fringed with crow and swan feathers, four hand drums, and four singers. In the dance, two rattle bearers faced the lance bearers with the usual evolutions, while the other pair of rattle bearers stayed with the singers. In membership the chiefs constituted one side and warriors the other.

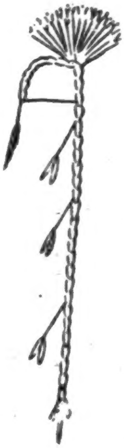


Fig. 14.

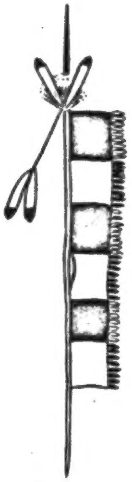


Fig. 15.

[411] Fig. 14. The Black Head Lance. The shaft is wrapped with swanskin, a crown of raven feathers, a buffalo tail at the end of the crook, crow feathers at the sides, bear gut grip at the bottom. The headgear of the society is similar to the crown above.

Fig. 15. The Knife Lance. The point is of iron nested in owl and eagle wing feathers, the shaft is trimmed with alternating squares of red and black strouding, a fringe of crow feathers to the red sections, goose feathers to the black; two eagle tail feathers hang from the top. The only difference in the two lances is that the order of colors is reversed in the second. Red was the color for the south side, black for the north.

slab of dark sandstone 3 inches thick, 11 inches long, and 9 inches wide, shaped like a horseshoe with one square edge, was taken from a cache at the Hill site; the surfaces are well-worn and slightly hollowed, apparently as a result of much grinding. A smaller, somewhat similar specimen is from the Skidi site near Palmer. Manos are rectangular in form, resembling quite closely those found in the pueblo area of the Southwest. 172* 412

The scarcity of metates at Pawnee villages is rather remarkable as they are abundant in central and northeastern Kansas and occur in prehistoric cultures of the Republican Valley in southern Nebraska. Those from Kansas are often very large and deeply worn, whereas the Republican Valley specimens are smaller and flat.

Anvil stones.—These are very common everywhere in the historic Pawnee villages. They are irregular bowlders of granite, quartzite, or other tough crystalline rock up to 10 pounds in weight. One or two faces are usually cupped, sometimes as much as half an inch, and give clear indication of having been subjected to much abrasion. Occasionally discarded mauls and hammerstones were similarly treated.

The abundance of anvil stones, as contrasted to the scarcity of metates, suggests that the Pawnee may have pulverized dried meat, seeds, and berries by pounding rather than by grinding. In such a case the anvil stone was probably set in a sort of rawhide "pannier" and the food substance placed on it to be crushed with a stone-headed pounder. This was the method followed by the Dakota, who in some instances at least used anvils almost identical to those of the Pawnee.

Arrowpoints.—On the more recent sites arrowpoints are not common. Notched points are typical; they vary up to 2 inches in length, are rather slender, made usually of reddish-brown or brown chert, and in rare instances have a notch in the base. An unusually fine point from a grave at the Hill site is made of translucent white quartzite; it is 2½ inches long, 1 inch wide at the base, which is concave, and has a single pair of notches. It is thin and well made and may have been used as a talisman or for some similar nonutilitarian purpose. 172* 411

Triangular unnotched points appear to be the rule at the earlier sites. They are seldom more than 1¼ inches long or more than five-eighths of an inch wide, quite thin, and are generally of good workmanship; the material is gray or brown chert. This type exclusively is found at the Burkett site; it predominates in the early phase at Linwood and at Schuyler, is fairly plentiful at the Palmer site, but becomes comparatively scarce at other historic Pawnee villages. It also occurs plentifully in protohistoric villages in Rice,

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*172
●411

McPherson, and Harvey Counties, Kans., and along the Kansas and Missouri Rivers in northeastern Kansas.

*172
412

SCRAPERS.—The typical Pawnee scraper is roughly elliptical in shape, usually with one side more or less straight. It measures from 3 to 5 inches in width, 2 to 3 inches in depth, and is thick and heavy. It is chipped to a rough edge around three sides; the fourth is left blunt for grasping with the hand. For the most part these are of dark quartzite or sandstone but show relatively few signs of wear. They were probably used primarily for rough scraping of hides; universally present on Pawnee sites, they are rare in protohistoric and absent from prehistoric cultures of the area. (Strong, 1935, pl. 1, *a*, *d*.)

Keeled or plano-convex scrapers are found but rarely, save on early sites. A few large, rather coarse specimens, 3 inches or so in length, have come from the Hill site. Small, nicely made end scrapers of the planoconvex type are very plentiful on the Burkett site, where they are usually made of brown chert. They appear to be associated quite closely with the triangular unnotched points, with which they occur at Linwood, Schuyler, and Palmer; and, like them they decrease in later historic times.

RUBBING STONES.—These are usually flat, round stones, such as occur everywhere in the Republican, Platte, and Loup Rivers. They measure up to 5 inches in diameter by nearly 2 inches thick and were generally used without any retouching. A few specimens have been worked into discoidal form by pecking about the edges and appear also to have been secondarily smoothed and reworked on one or both faces. They were probably used in rubbing down hides; more rarely perhaps in grinding raw food materials.

DISCOIDAL HAMMERSTONES.—These are nearly always of quartz or some hard crystalline rock. They are from 3 to 4 inches in diameter and 1½ to 2 inches thick. The two faces are flat, while the edges are square with them. Many specimens are pitted in the center of each side, as though intended to be held between the thumb and forefinger for hammering with the edge. In a few cases the entire surface is slightly cupped. Sometimes the stones are somewhat elongated; in others, the edge is rounded instead of square with the faces. Discoidals are especially common at the Burkett site, where they are often much smaller than those of later date.

PECKING STONES.—Pecking stones are small granite, quartzite, or diorite pebbles, sometimes of discoidal form but more often elongate. They are usually 3 inches or less in length, with the ends much battered and abraded. Small, flat, circular pebbles are similarly worn about the edges. They were probably used in finer stone chipping, as, for example, to put grooves on stone axes and the like, and are found on all sites.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172 **Plate 9.**—Bonework from historic Pawnee sites. *a* is a 12½-inch pick made
of the ulna of a bison; *b*, hide-tanning tool; *c*, two small picks made of deer
321 antler, each about 7 inches long; *d*, arrowshaft straighteners made of bison
412 rib; *e*, bone awls; *f*, hide scraper of elk horn, 12 inches long. *g–n*, bone paint
brushes cut from joints of bison and other large animals; none measures more
than 2 inches in greatest dimensions. *f*, is from the Palmer site; the other
specimens are from the Hill site.

Plate 10.—Bone tools from historic Pawnee sites. *a–d*, digging tools made from bison scapulae. *a*, from the Hill site, measures 14 inches by 7 inches and was originally square-bladed; *b*, from the Palmer site, is 11 inches long and 6 inches wide; *c* and *d* are from a cache east of Genoa, *d* measuring 15 inches by 6 inches. *e–k*, fleshing tools; *e* and *k* are each 9 inches long, *i* is 6½ inches, and all are finely notched on the edges. Note perforation in *j* for passage of a thong about the wrist of the operator. *e*, *j*, and *k* from Palmer site; *f*, *g*, Hill site; *h*, *i*, Clarks site.

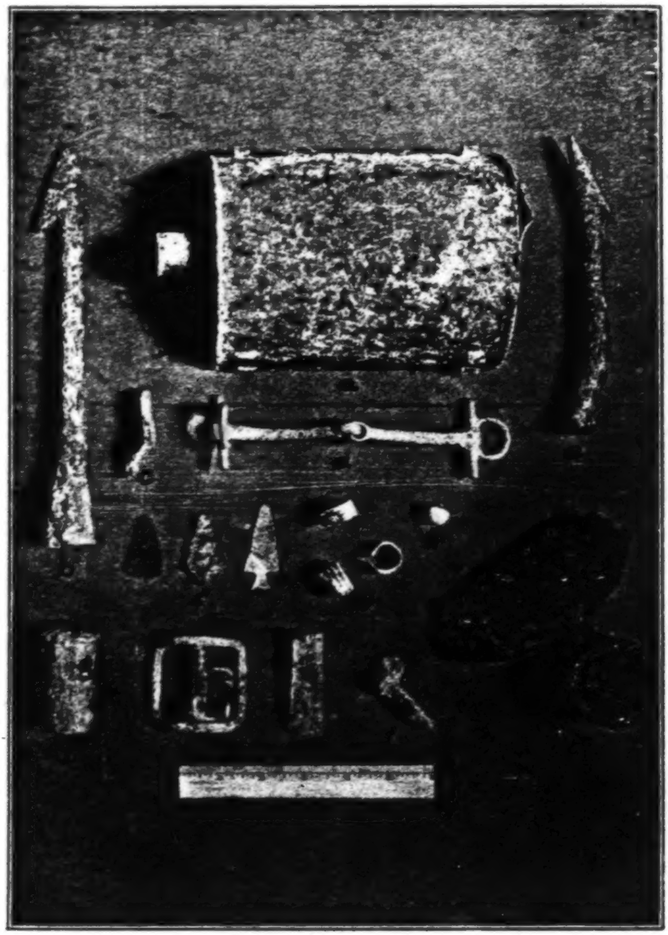
172 **Plate 11.**—Pawnee burials. *a*, burial 3, Hill site, showing fragments of
broken cradle board (?) and rush matting which covered remains; *b*, burial 3,
764 Hill site, after removal of covering; *c*, burial 2, Hill site, showing old powder
cannister or canteen back of head; *d*, burial at the Palmer site, with a complete pot as the sole mortuary offering.

Plate 12.—Metal trade material from the Hill site. Historic Pawnee.
172 *a*, army canteen of early nineteenth century type from burial 2 (see p. 92 and
177 pl. 11, *c*); *b*, *e*, iron lance heads from caches; *c*, hammer from flintlock; *d*,
●411 bridle bit; *f*, arrowpoints cut from iron hoe blades; *g*, three lead rings (see pp.
79 and 92); *h*, lead pistol ball; *i*, piece of gun barrel; *j*, belt buckle; *k*, small
412 chisel; *l*, *frizel* from flintlock; *m*, iron hoe of type usually found on historic
Pawnee sites, this specimen with remains of charred wooden handle still visible
in the socket.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
177
●411
412



METAL TRADE MATERIAL FROM THE HILL SITE (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

[End Plate 12]

492 then they charge backward and forward in wild affright, neighing
484 shrilly, until they have again found their proper place in the line of
224 march. Many of the yearling colts have very small and light packs tied on their backs, while the two-year-olds are often ridden by the tiniest of Indian boys, who are now giving them their first lesson in weight-carrying. Loose horses of all ages roam about at will, and their continual cries mingle with the barking of dogs, the calls of women and the yells of boys, and make an unceasing noise.

484 The boys are boiling over with animal spirits, and, like their civil-
224 ized brothers of the same age, are continually running about, chas-
[857] ing each other, wrestling, shooting arrows and playing games, of which the familiar stick game seems the favorite.

Whenever the column draws near any cover, which may shelter game, such as a few bushes in a ravine, or the fringe of low willows along some little watercourse, the younger men and boys scatter out and surround it. They beat it in the most thorough manner, and any game which it contains is driven out on the prairie, surrounded and killed. The appearance even of a jackass rabbit throws the boys into a fever of excitement, and causes them to shriek and yell as if in a frenzy.

All the morning I rode with the Indians, either at the head of the column, chatting as best I could with *Pi'ta Le-shar* and other chiefs, or falling back and riding among the women and children, whom
224 I never tired of watching. Frequently during the day I saw at a distance, on the prairie, small bunches of buffalo in full flight, hotly pursued by dark-skinned riders, and occasionally two or three men would ride up to the marching columns with heavy loads of freshly-killed meat. The quick-heaving, wet flanks of the ponies told a story of sharp, rapid chases, and their tossing heads and eager, excited looks showed how much interest they took in the hunt.

224 The report of firearms was seldom heard. Most of the Indians
411 hunted with the primitive weapon of their forefathers—the bow and arrow. For buffalo running an arrow is nearly as effective as lead. The power of the bow in expert hands is tremendous. Riding within half a dozen yards of the victim's side, the practiced bowman will drive the dart so far through the body of the buffalo that its shaft may project a foot or more from the opposite side—some-

times indeed may pass quite through. Besides, the bow can be used 224
very rapidly and accurately. I have seen an Indian take a sheaf of 411
six arrows in his hand, and discharge them at a mark more rapidly and with more certainty of hitting his target than I could fire the six barrels of a revolver.

It was nearly noon, and I was riding along at the head of the 224
column. I had but one horse, and did not care to wear him out by chasing around over the prairie, preferring to save him for some great effort. We were traveling along a smooth divide between two sets of ravines, which ran off, one to the east and the other to the west. *Pi'ta Le-shar* had just informed me by signs that we should make camp about two miles further on, by a stream whose course we could trace from where we then were. Suddenly, without the slightest warning, the huge dark bodies of half a dozen buffalo sprang into view, rising out of a ravine on our left not a hundred yards distant. When they saw the multitude before them, they stopped and stared at us.

They were too close for me to resist the temptation to pursue. As I lifted the reins from my pony's neck and bent forward, the little animal sprang into a sharp gallop toward the game, and as he did so I saw half a dozen Indians shoot out from the column and follow me. The buffalo wheeled, and in an instant were out of sight, but when I reached the edge of the bank down which they had plunged, I could see through the cloud of dust, which they left behind them, their uncouth forms dashing down the ravine. My nimble pony, as eager for the race as his rider, hurled himself down the steep pitch, and sped along the narrow broken bed of the gully. I could feel that sometimes he would lengthen his stride to leap wide ditches, where the water from some side ravine had cut away the ground, but I never knew of these until they were passed. My eyes were fixed on the fleeing herd; my ears were intent on the pursuing horsemen. Close behind me I could hear the quick pounding of many hoofs, and could feel that one of the horses, nearer than the rest, was steadily drawing up to me—but I was gaining on the buffalo. Already the confused rumble of their hoof-beats almost drowned those of the horses behind me, and the air was full of the dust and small pebbles thrown up by their hurrying feet. But they

14

PRACTICAL PREPARATIONS FOR THE BUFFALO HUNT

000

The Arrowshaft Makers—the Problem of Horses—Patterns of Cooperation on the Hunt—the Value of Horses to the Pawnees—the Tent Skin and Implements Needed with the Tent—Furniture—Household Utensils—Household Grouping for the Hunt—the Stay-at-Homes

Before leaving on the hunt, one of the Pawnees' primary considerations 411
was the weapons they would need for hunting and for their protection.
Guns were expensive and sources of ammunition were not
readily available while they were on the march. And so they used the
bow and arrow, which could be made from local materials. Every 411
hunter made his own bow of ashwood and his own sinew bowstring, but
the making of the arrowshaft was a highly specialized craft. The shaft itself 463
fashioned of dogwood sticks had to be carefully shaped and the
feathering skillfully applied so that it would shoot true. In 1867, there
were only five arrowshaft makers for the whole Skidi Band. Everyone
who needed arrows had to place his order with one of them and arrange
to compensate him for his work. They also had to bring the craftsman
the dogwood sticks well seasoned. They had collected them some
time beforehand and left them in the rafters of the house so that
they would be ready. When Old-Man-That-Chief stood on the roof of
the earth lodge and reported on the chiefs' ritual meeting and exhorted
them all to hurry, the arrowshaft makers were the first to feel the pressure.
The arrow point required a different kind of negotiation. In the 411
past they were made of chipped flint that no doubt had to be traded for 439
at some distance. At this time they were using iron barrel hoops that 177
they got from the trader in the tradestore, which they had rough-shaped 326
by the blacksmith.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

411

439 by the blacksmith. They would sharpen them to their taste with a metal
177 file that they also obtained in trade.

The arrowshaft makers had a monumental task to keep everyone sup-
411 plied. They considered it a social service and made sure everyone had
463 them whether they were compensated or not. The Pawnee community was always more or less in a state of siege, and the arrowshaft makers felt that their work was essential to their common survival. As Mark Evarts expressed it, "Sometimes the arrowmaker made up his mind himself to make some arrows for someone. They want to supply the whole camp with arrows out of public spirit so that if the enemy comes on the warpath, everyone will have arrows. Even if they don't get any special compensation, they will do it to protect their children and others."

Practically the entire supply of arrows that they needed for the summer had to be made while they were still in the village as there was no time for such work while they were on the march or attacking the herd. A craftsman could produce about ten a day and he usually made them in lots of twenty, working them all in successive stages for the whole lot. With the limited leisure they had on the march they could barely finish one in a day, and this would only be done in case of emergency. They did take some dogwood sticks along for such a contingency. A hunter would consider twenty to forty arrows a reasonable number to keep
[162] in his arsenal. In 1840 the Skidi population was estimated to have 469
males over the age of ten years. If 200 of these were adult hunters, this would mean that each of the five craftsmen would have 40 of them to take care of, and supplying each with 20 arrows would mean that he
[461] had to produce 800 arrows to keep his group supplied once around. This
was eighty full days of work.

When a man decided he needed to replenish his stock, he took the dogwood sticks that he had seasoning in the rafters of his house and went to the arrowmaker and asked him to make him twenty. It would be tacitly
[437] understood that if in time he got a buffalo, he would make him a gift of a
buffalo robe, or perhaps a blanket, some dried buffalo meat, leggings, or a pair of good moccasins.

Sometimes, without having a special order on hand, the craftsman would ask a young man to get him forty to sixty dogwood sticks and would compensate him when he had finished, with a gift of ten completed shafts. He wanted to make sure that everyone was supplied whether they made a special request or not. They had to get their own
[237] feathers—turkey for the most part, but if they could not get one, a buz-
zard or a goose was a substitute.

In the latter part of May just before the chief's council, they were likely to accelerate their efforts. One of them would be sitting at the gaming grounds watching the hoop and spear game, and then another would be likely to sit down and join him. They would begin to talk

about arrows. Presently all five would have congregated there and they 411
would continue the conversation. People at the gambling grounds would 463
remark, "See those fellows over there? I guess they're talking about arrows and who makes the best ones." Meanwhile the arrowmakers would be talking about how many arrows they had made during the spring and how many more they would have to make. They would talk about how many they had given as gifts. With the younger men, arrowshafts [525] were a favorite item for gambling; the older ones played for higher stakes, like horses and dried buffalo meat. One of the makers would remark, "I gave one fellow so and so many, but he's a great gambler and he's already lost them." "I gave that fellow arrows too," another would say, "and I'm sure he'll also lose those!"

The most skilled arrowmaker of the group was Chief's Road, who shared the lodge next to that of Victory Call and Old Bull with his brother, Horse Thief. His shafts were slender and graceful and had black feathers on the ends. He was jealous of his skill; when someone tried to approach him when he was working, he would turn and conceal what he was doing. He had probably learned the craft from his father. He was a commoner in hereditary rank, but ambitious to rise in the social scale. He would supply Chief Victory Call, Otter's father, with arrows and do other services for him in the hope of gaining status. The arrowshafts made by his brother, Horse Thief, were also of fine workmanship.

Two other craftsmen were also grouped and made shafts that were similar. Path-of-the-Enemy made arrowshafts that tended to be large and not as fine as those of the two brothers. He had been born as a brave, the rank second to that of chief, but he had little interest in validating his public position. He was good-natured, with a pleasant disposition, and well liked. He had taught New Young Dog his craft, and he also made rather large shafts. He was a man of great courage and was always off on hunting and scouting expeditions that at times took him far from the village.

The fifth arrowmaker was Careless-of-the-Enemy. He would go off long distances by himself on hunting and scouting expeditions. He had no interest in public recognition or status problems.

Besides the characteristic shape of the shafts that each of these men made, they each put a slightly different-colored marking on his shafts. [422] The distinctive character of the shafts were confined to the makers, not the owners. Everyone knew who got shafts from which maker and when and how many. While out on the buffalo hunt, everyone was conscious of who chased which animal, and when they came up to a fallen buffalo and examined the arrowshaft, they put together the circumstances and knew who had killed that particular bull or cow. Nobody needed a personal property mark for this purpose. [422]

Horses were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact 000

east or any want to go west, just go ahead. There are lots of buffalo. 224*
As for me, I'm going right over the hill." Only those with the best horses could go right over the hill. One could see the buffalo in the distance here and there as they were coming up from the water to graze on the other side of the hill. Some of the Man-Going-Downstream Band decided to go eastward across Turkey Creek, even though the creek was muddy to cross, as there were many buffalo there and less hunters to attack them. The holy man, who had to remain still in order not to disturb the effect of his magic, sat at the base of the hill and waited. He could not go back to camp, since it would not be set up until the attack on the herd was over.

As soon as the signal was given, the hunters all rode to the chase. The herds were very scattered and had to be chased by men in small groups. In the past they chased the buffalo on foot and there was still a man, Charley Buffalo, who was such a fast runner that he could overtake a buffalo on foot and shoot him. [147]

Now each hunter selected his own buffalo to chase, depending on his skill as a hunter and the speed of his horse. There was little value in trying to get more than one buffalo or at most two—though a good hunter could conceivably get more—as there was no help to be gotten with the butchering and he would not be able to haul in the extra meat in any case. A second animal might be consecrated to a sacred bundle, in which case as the hunter shot it he would say, "It is sacred!" The South Bands designated such a sacred animal by crossing its forelegs and tying them together as the animal lay on its back, then tying the hind legs, but the Skidi did not follow this practice. A man who had the misfortune to fall off his horse and could not get back on in time would be enlisted to help butcher and receive half an animal, although the ribs would not be given him at this time. [778]

The chase was carefully timed to the habits of the buffalo. At this season the buffalo spent most of the time scattered about in the uplands where the buffalo grass was. (In winter they stayed closer together in the timber.) In the morning, the buffalo went down to the water and between ten-thirty and eleven o'clock they were back in the pasture grazing. At noon they were all sitting down resting and by evening had gone down to the water again before returning to the uplands. [825]

The hunters usually lined up for the attack about ten-thirty in the morning and by eleven rode to the chase. Everywhere a cloud of dust would rise as they rushed forward except after a rain when big clods and mud would hit them in the face. They never hunted when it was actually raining, as the sinew bowstring stretched and was ineffectual when wet. [411]

It was easy to tell which were the most desirable buffalo. Those with their bellies still swollen with water had been the last to get down to the [825]

625 armed with his special club, rode back and forth in front of the council
tent waiting for White Eagle to lead off the hunt. His club or whip
625 (see Figure 26-1) was of hickory, 3 feet long, 4 inches wide and
• 411 wedge-shaped, with the thick back edge about an inch and a half wide,
sloping down to the thin edge that had teeth cut into it. Through a hole
in the handle end was a rawhide strap so that the club could be hung
over the wrist and another hole near the head held several strips of rawhide for whipping.

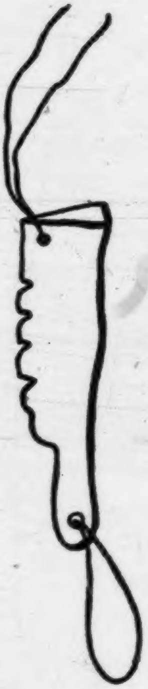


FIGURE 26-1. The whip or warclub, *tabipirus-tax karax-kitawa*, "whip-teeth-upon it," carried by the "Hunt Police." Made of hickory it is 3 feet long, 4 inches wide, with the back of the unserrated edge being about 1½ inches thick, sloping to the thin toothed edge. The rawhide loop allowed it to be hung on the wrist. The strips of rawhide at the top for whipping were usually plain, but sometimes striped or covered with white clay. (The dimensions and the drawing were supplied by informants.)

*224 A group of Tsawi once tried to anticipate the tribal attack on the herd
689 and were severely whipped. The leader of the party was beaten over the
head with the club until he lay unconscious and his head was bleeding.
625 When he appealed to Man Chief, he was told that it was "the law" and
that he had to submit to his punishment. At a later time, the Tsawi police had a chance for reprisal on some Skidi hunters who were struck across the mouth with the rawhide whip, as their infringement was not at such a critical phase of the hunt. The only escape from such a beating was to take sanctuary on a buffalo wallow—if the culprit could find one in time.

Next 824
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two essential 316
materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and 317
stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have 439
been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or
by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their
area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made 175
up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking 439
and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees 415
were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one 177
could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grinnell [323]
got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery
in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it
well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 323

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron."
> This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they [252]
> boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They 172
have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular 415
body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick
"collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad
collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was 415
the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part 252
the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim
and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots
were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must 411
also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was 17
entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the
arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops
roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to
the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-
177 shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological cir-
[172] cles as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people
was "Big Knife."

Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
17 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
412 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
324 continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrow-
shafts and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sand-
stone buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from south-
[439] west Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to re-
veal their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard
electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
796 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
463 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
322 arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the
essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots
from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when
the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was
referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the
pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic
terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
796 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
171 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

463 Having consented, Old Lady Lucky Leader would say, "On so-and-
283 so day I am going to make it. Come in then." When the wife of Chief's-
Road came in, the old lady directed her to sit down to her left and watch everything. As the work progressed she paid close attention to the manner of braiding and after some of the work had been completed, the teacher asked the pupil to try her hand at it. At first she was very clumsy and was corrected by the teacher and finally she got the idea. When she got home, she tried to do it by herself and from time to time came in to see the old lady saying she didn't quite remember about this and this detail and asking to be shown.

She told no one that she had learned, but on an occasion when someone came to the old lady to have a belt made, she would say, "Go to the wife of Chief's-Road. She can make it. I taught her." The man now would go to the wife of Chief's-Road and tell her that he had been sent by the old lady because she had too much work. She would make the belt for the man and the entire fee would be hers, with no further financial obligation to her teacher. From now on others would hear of it and begin to apply to her and she would be able to earn something for her family.

463 Most mature women knew the techniques of skin working with a
[281] knowledge of mat making being somewhat less common but still widely
[285] known. Everyone could make buffalo-horn spoons. The weaving of the
[321] black rope and woven belts as well as the making of wooden bowls
[283] were known to a very limited number of craftswomen. In the men's
[322] crafts, the bow was made by everyone, but the extremely restricted
• [411] number of arrowshaft makers has already been mentioned. The pipe
makers were equally specialized and they made both the stem and the
[276] bowl. Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most significant things the man needed. Only six or seven men among all the Skidi
[292] could make them. Skin shirts could only be worn by men who had an
[554] outstanding social or military status and these were made by a very
limited number of specialists. These specialists were regarded like the
[294] village blacksmith of our early towns. They tried to have two or three of them in each village. But even the most common craft techniques could only be learned by a person who was sponsored by someone or had the wherewithal to pay for his instruction.

292 work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done
554 by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such
[531] a shirt.

[461] The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237 The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign
554 of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest
825 men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught.
[411] Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one,
the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281 Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their
756 special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered inedible and was left
in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would
262 soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237 Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-
293 wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough
eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage
[223] to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring
it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237 Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a
554 shield.
714

51

THINGS OF WOOD MADE BY MAN

000

The Bow—the Bowstring—the Arrow—the Pipestems—the Stone Bowl—the Individual Styles of Bowls

THE MEN MADE THE BOWS, arrowshafts, pipestems, and cottonwood water 462 322
drums.

The Bow. In the past the Osage Orange (*Toxylon pomiferum*) was 411
the most highly valued wood for bows. At this time they used ash 824
(*Fraxinus pennsylvanica*) known as *kirik-taks*, "eye-white." Every man
made his own bow, though some were more and some less skilled. Little [857]
boys also made bows of ashwood to shoot birds. Ashwood was best gathered in the fall, generally in October before they left on the winter hunt. The ashwood saplings were left sticking among the willows in the ceiling to season, until they got back in the spring.

It took two days to make a bow. By splitting it in two down the length, 411
two bows could be made from one sapling, unless it were not quite 322
straight, when only one could be made. In each case, the outer surface of [461]
the tree became the outer surface of the bow.

The shaping was done by heating the stick in the coals until it was warm throughout and pliable. Putting the foot on the middle of the outside surface, the two ends were drawn very gently upward, and then each end was recurved with the foot so that the bow had a wide shallow dent in its back. The sinew bowstring was fastened to one end perma- [283]
nently, and at the other there was a series of notches in the bow so that the string could be tightened when in use and loosened at other times. (See Figure 51-1.)

Once, after Victory Call had died, Otter's adoptive father caught a 411
panther and decided to honor the boy by making him a quiver of it. Not

• 411 to be outdone, another man made him a sinew-backed bow. It was known as *atskats-tax-ka-sa*, "sinew-plural-between-lying." It was mentioned at times, but seldom actually made.

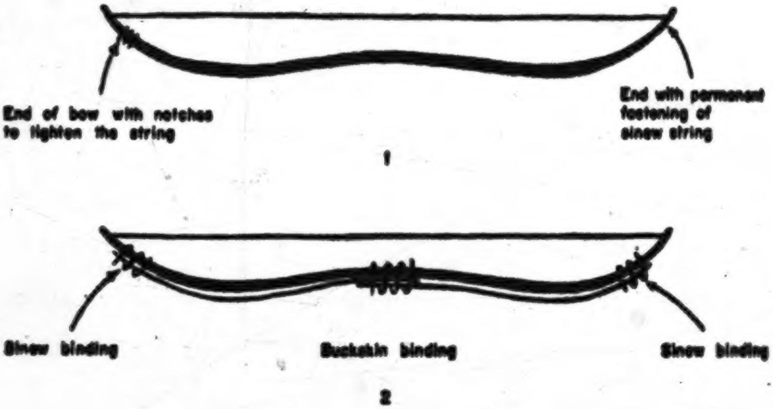

End of bow with notches to tighten the string
End with permanent fastening of sinew string
1
Sinew binding
Buckskin binding
Sinew binding
2

FIGURE 51-1. (1) A simple bow of ashwood. (2) A sinew-backed bow, *tskatstaxkasa*. Two pieces of sinew, crossed at the middle could be permanently pasted on when wet.

[237] Two pieces of sinew, crossed at the middle were placed on the back of the bow when wet and could thus be pasted on permanently. The sinew was bound on in the middle by overcasting with buckskin and at both ends with a wrapping of sinew. Then the bow was colored black. It was easy to draw and could shoot far.

411 283 *The Bowstring of Sinew.* Every man made his own bowstring out of sinew. The first step was to soak the short pieces of sinew overnight. The next step was joining them, first by taking two of the short strands and overlapping their ends and giving them a preliminary twist between the fingers and then continuing the twist by rolling them on the thigh with the palm. Then they added the next piece in the same way, and so on until one long continuous string was formed.

Then they doubled over the string and began to twist it together, beginning with the loose ends, first between the fingers and then on the thigh. The twist was held by winding it on a stick a little thicker than a pencil—the string being wound on as the stick was turned in the direction away from the body. When one section of the string had been twisted and wound on the stick, they would proceed to twist and wind on the next section until the entire length was completed. The twisting [461] of a bowstring took a morning and an afternoon.

When the entire string was wound onto the stick, the string would be

stretched between two short stakes that were driven into the ground 411
the requisite distance apart and the ends of the bowstring were fastened 283
firmly to them. The string was left to dry for the rest of the afternoon until the dew came up in the evening. Then it had to be taken inside and again stretched outdoors the next day. It was well to fasten it up high out of the way of the dogs, who might eat it up.

The Making of Arrowshafts. Five arrow makers comprised the official 411
body responsible for making all the arrowshafts used by the entire Skidi 463
Band. They kept track of the needs of all the men and saw that they were met. None of the other technical industries, even those in which only a limited number of individuals were skilled, were of this public character. Just before leaving for the summer and for the winter hunts, they accelerated their activities. The arrow makers themselves saw to it that they had plenty of dogwood sticks on hand and kept on making the shafts, sometimes on special order, but often to have them on hand when called for. In almost all other crafts, the customer provided the materials and contracted only for the skilled services of the craftsman.

The following is paraphrased from an account given in my Caddoan 411
Texts by Effie Blane:

> The man making ready to fashion arrowshafts, will first get some
> needed materials together. He will assemble: a stick with a hide wound [412]
> around it which has been boiled down to a gummy consistency to be used as a paste; two flat stones each with a long groove, used to abraid the stick by putting the stones together and pulling the stick back and forth in the groove (*rax-ka'is*, "going-between within," buffers); the bone shaft-straightener, *kis-kats*, "bone-very white"; also *rasats*, possibly pieces of split bone with the rough spongy inner surface exposed to smooth the surface (or a pulverized plant?).
>
> These materials being ready, the man went into the timber and gathered some dogwood twigs. He then took them home and peeled off the bark (with a knife). Now he hung the debarked twigs over the fire from the bracket east of the fireplace on which the pot ordinarily hangs, so that the twigs could season and dry in the smoke of the fire. They were left there to smoke overnight and in the morning they were removed and each twig was "eyed up and down" to find any bumps or irregularities, which were removed with the *rasats* abrasive.
>
> The next step was to attach the feathers to the blunt end. Turkey [237]
> feathers were best because they tore straight, but turkey was hard to get, and if you didn't have them you used buzzard. While he was split-
> ting the feather, he was chewing some sinew so that it would be soft [284]
> enough to bind on the feathers. The three splints of feather were
> placed against the arrow and tied with the wet sinew. The feathered [237]
> end of the arrow was then smeared with the gummy paste made of

411 boiled hide and the feathers bent onto the stick and pasted down and
[237] tied in place with some more wet sinew at their lower end.

After the feathers were in place, the shafts were buffed by passing
411 them between the two grooved sandstone buffers that were pressed to-
412 gether—the arrow being turned back and forth so that it was well
rounded.

The next process was the use of the bone arrowshaft straightener
[172] that was a little bit like a fork. [Archaeological specimens from the
Hill site of 1806 are pieces of bison rib with holes of different sizes
[178] drilled through them. In recent times, a tin can punched with holes
was sometimes substituted.]

411 After straightening, downy feathers were fastened on at the lower
[237] end of the feathers that had already been attached.

The final step was to split the end for inserting the point. After the
[284] point was inserted, the end was bound with sinew to make it fast. Different kinds of shafts were called "black-lying-on," "red-lying-on," referring to the colors of the feathers.

276 *The Pipestem.* Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most
significant things the man used. The pipe was smoked both for relaxation
and in every ceremony. The stem was symbolic of the human windpipe
and the breath was considered the essence of life itself. *Tsiksu*, the word
[192] for "throat," was also the verb stem for "to think, to feel," *-atsiks-*. In the
ceremony of the Peace Pipe, the main emblems were the two pipestems,
a bowl from a sacred bundle being attached to one of them and smoked
in the course of the ceremony. The pipestems were decorated with
[237] eagle feathers and other ceremonial insignia—one with the feathers of the
[825] brown eagle, signifying "night," "female," "fruitfulness" and known as
ra-hak-katitu, "one-mouth-black"; and the other with feathers of the
white eagle, signifying "day," "male," "defense," "war" and called
ra-hak-takaru, "one-mouth-white." At various stages in the ceremony
these were waved about so that they symbolized the flight of the eagles.
276 The pipestems were ceremonially fashioned after instructions from the
322 priests. He sent two men to bring in two sticks of ash, and as they sat
east of the fireplace they prepared the sticks, warming them over the fire so that they could be straightened and cut to length, viz., four spans from thumb to third finger. The stems were peeled, scraped, and the pith removed by boring them from end to end with a reed so that the breath could pass through unobstructed. The pith was then burned out with a wire. The men cut a straight groove the entire length of each stick to represent the lifeline. Finally all scrapings and every particle of ashwood was placed carefully on the fire, and as the flame rose the two sticks were passed through the blaze so that the word of the fire might enter and be with them.

141-142 On the buffalo jump, see Forbis, 1958; Lowie, 1954, pp. 14-15, Fig. 3, Assiniboin buffalo pound at the foot of the bluffs or cut bank. P 224

209 "The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids, but only used to repel or meet a general attack." (Murie, 1914, p. 560.) P 411 726

209 One of the five Skidi military societies had no war functions at all, but was specialized in the role of hunt police. It was known as *Raris arusa*, "Society Horse," and was also referred to as "Two Lance." While most of the decorated lances had crooks on their tops, this one was unique in lacking this feature. Among the three South Bands, there was also a military society with a similarly specialized function. It was the *Raris pahat*, "society red." This society was said to have been derived from and sanctioned from the main sacred bundle of the *Pitahauirata*, where only the descendants of chiefs could belong. (Murie, 1914, p. 569.) P 701 [625] [411]

223 The Skidi, Tsawi, and Kitkehaxki, each had a society with combined war-hunt functions, and each band had several exclusively for war. Every spring when the decorations on the official lances were renewed, the lances were put outside the door on a pole where the people could see them. In the course of the several society ceremonies, the people were told that the lances were to bring the buffalo and to protect the lives of the people (Murie, 1914, p. 559). The hunt police were appointed after the first big kill on the Republican River when the encampment on Turkey Creek was set up right within the path of buffalo migration. P 701 411 625

176, 227-228 For a description of Massacre Can[illegible] the dangers of the Western territory see Hyde, 1951, pp. 244-248; Williamson, 1925; *Massacre Canyon Number*, 1936 (Nebraska History Magazine). 000

241 On the roasting pit for corn, see the Pawnee texts, Weltfish, 1937, p. 34.

243-244 Among the Hidatsa, a man would request one of the young men's military societies (Fox or Dog Society) to come to his fields to husk the corn. One of the society's officials would announce from the roof of the lodge and the members would line up and go singing to the designated field. The young men would hope their sweethearts would hear them and that perhaps they would get a chance to see them working in an adjacent field. They marched to the fields carrying guns for fear the Sioux would attack. "If a society went early, they got through just after midday. By early I mean nine o'clock in the morning." "We worked late, by moonlight even." (Wilson, 1917, p. 43, footnote.) H 701 243 476

512 to the fields after the early morning swim. They returned to the
lodge at about eleven o'clock for the first meal, the other meal being
around five in the afternoon. Men and women sat apart at meal-
264 times, the former being together in the west of the lodge and the
women sitting east of the fireplace. Any food out of the ordinary,
[562] such as melons in season, was given to the men first. As a rule the
children ate by themselves near the women and had to be content
with what remained after their parents had finished. Where several
[252] families occupied a single lodge, each family in turn cooked for the
others in the lodge. [The separation of the sexes at mealtimes is
not entirely clear. The manuscript also contains the following
statement: "The food was prepared in large quantities and divided
among the families, each receiving a wooden bowl, and each member
[412] of the family eating from this bowl by means of an individual sheep-
horn spoon."]

262 Corn was generally eaten mixed with beans, or sometimes boiled
with the tops of milkweed. In the winter, the nests of ground
784 rats were hunted and robbed of their stores of ground beans. Al-
though most animals were eaten, especially the buffalo and deer,
the Pawnee eschewed the meat of the wolf, coyote, otter, wildcat,
and mountain lion. Certain other food restrictions also prevailed.
Fish was prohibited to chiefs and medicine-men. The tender meat
about the buffalo's anus was a prized delicacy of the old people,
but tabooed for children, as the violation of this restriction would
bring them failure in after years when they attempted raids on
enemy villages. Nor were young men and girls supposed to eat
the stomach of the buffalo cow. To do so would cause the former
to receive many wounds on the warpath, while a girl ran the risk
of falling in a hole and injuring her leg, if, in later life, she doubted
the faithfulness of her husband and followed him to the lodge of
another woman to whom she suspected he was paying improper
attention.

224 When any of the men were away on a buffalo hunt, certain
784 restrictions on conduct were imposed on those who remained at
home. The lodge must be kept clean, especially the part about
the altar. Just before mealtimes sacrifices of corn must be made
to the skull on the altar. No menstruating woman could approach
[841] the skull, as it would anger the buffalo spirit that resided in the skull
and cause the buffalo to elude the hunters. The people at home
must always talk as though the hunters were having great success.
Especially they should speak of consecrating buffalo sacrifices to

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*172 323 6 are paddle marked, and 2 bear a heavy coating of red ochre on the interior. The patterns are simple and for the most part not to be distinguished from those of the Burkett ware, save perhaps in their greater simplicity. Curvilinear elements have not yet been found. This, together with the presence of ochre pigment on some of the pieces, is reminiscent of Pawnee ware.

Circular objects made by grinding down sherds to a disk shape and then perforating them are found at the Schuyler site. They vary in diameter from five-eighths to 1½ inches and probably represent beads, gaming disks, or ornaments; they are too small and light to have served as spindle whorls. None of the later historic Pawnee sites has yet yielded similar specimens.

To summarize: Pawnee pottery in historic times was often crude and unfinished, suggesting ceramic decadence. The earlier sites, however, show a progressive increase in complexity and variety of wares in inverse ratio to the amount of Caucasian influence to be noted in each. Thus, the Schuyler site, where only traces of Caucasian contact have been found, surpasses the later historic sites in the grade of pottery encountered, while the still earlier but also protohistoric Burkett site excels both in this regard. Reasons have already been given for regarding both of the above sites as closely related to the Pawnee culture of historic times. Logically one might expect a decline in ceramic activity following the acquisition of the horse and the impetus thus given to a more wandering hunting life. The introduction of metal utensils would have the same effect, and the observed decadence of historic Pawnee pottery is in line with this conclusion.

171 *172 323 More surprising is the resemblance noted between the ceramic art of the Pawnee and that of the Iroquois of New York. So striking is this resemblance in matters of rim form and designs that some sort of a basic relation between these two historically isolated groups is suggested. The prehistoric Pawnee-like cultures in south central Nebraska show these same tendencies and an interesting possibility of earlier southeastern connections between the two peoples is thus indicated. The pottery of the prehistoric rectangular earth lodges along the Missouri River in eastern Nebraska, however, is quite different from that of the Pawnee and shows little resemblance to any known Iroquoian ware.

WORK IN STONE[66]

*172 ●412 MANOS AND METATES.— Metates are very uncommon at any of the Pawnee sites, though rectangular manos are sometimes found. A

---

[66] Based largely upon the Hill collection, Hastings (Nebr.) Museum, and information supplied by Mr. A. T. Hill.

172* 412 slab of dark sandstone 3 inches thick, 11 inches long, and 9 inches wide, shaped like a horseshoe with one square edge, was taken from a cache at the Hill site; the surfaces are well-worn and slightly hollowed, apparently as a result of much grinding. A smaller, somewhat similar specimen is from the Skidi site near Palmer. Manos are rectangular in form, resembling quite closely those found in the pueblo area of the Southwest.

The scarcity of metates at Pawnee villages is rather remarkable as they are abundant in central and northeastern Kansas and occur in prehistoric cultures of the Republican Valley in southern Nebraska. Those from Kansas are often very large and deeply worn, whereas the Republican Valley specimens are smaller and flat.

Anvil stones.—These are very common everywhere in the historic Pawnee villages. They are irregular bowlders of granite, quartzite, or other tough crystalline rock up to 10 pounds in weight. One or two faces are usually cupped, sometimes as much as half an inch, and give clear indication of having been subjected to much abrasion. Occasionally discarded mauls and hammerstones were similarly treated.

The abundance of anvil stones, as contrasted to the scarcity of metates, suggests that the Pawnee may have pulverized dried meat, seeds, and berries by pounding rather than by grinding. In such a case the anvil stone was probably set in a sort of rawhide "pannier" and the food substance placed on it to be crushed with a stone-headed pounder. This was the method followed by the Dakota, who in some instances at least used anvils almost identical to those of the Pawnee.

172* 411 Arrowpoints.—On the more recent sites arrowpoints are not common. Notched points are typical; they vary up to 2 inches in length, are rather slender, made usually of reddish-brown or brown chert, and in rare instances have a notch in the base. An unusually fine point from a grave at the Hill site is made of translucent white quartzite; it is 2½ inches long, 1 inch wide at the base, which is concave, and has a single pair of notches. It is thin and well made and may have been used as a talisman or for some similar nonutilitarian purpose.

Triangular unnotched points appear to be the rule at the earlier sites. They are seldom more than 1¼ inches long or more than five-eighths of an inch wide, quite thin, and are generally of good workmanship; the material is gray or brown chert. This type exclusively is found at the Burkett site; it predominates in the early phase at Linwood and at Schuyler, is fairly plentiful at the Palmer site, but becomes comparatively scarce at other historic Pawnee villages. It also occurs plentifully in protohistoric villages in Rice,

*172 411 McPherson, and Harvey Counties, Kans., and along the Kansas and Missouri Rivers in northeastern Kansas.

*172 412 Scrapers.—The typical Pawnee scraper is roughly elliptical in shape, usually with one side more or less straight. It measures from 3 to 5 inches in width, 2 to 3 inches in depth, and is thick and heavy. It is chipped to a rough edge around three sides; the fourth is left blunt for grasping with the hand. For the most part these are of dark quartzite or sandstone but show relatively few signs of wear. They were probably used primarily for rough scraping of hides; universally present on Pawnee sites, they are rare in protohistoric and absent from prehistoric cultures of the area. (Strong, 1935, pl. 1, *a*, *d*.)

Keeled or plano-convex scrapers are found but rarely, save on early sites. A few large, rather coarse specimens, 3 inches or so in length, have come from the Hill site. Small, nicely made end scrapers of the planoconvex type are very plentiful on the Burkett site, where they are usually made of brown chert. They appear to be associated quite closely with the triangular unnotched points, with which they occur at Linwood, Schuyler, and Palmer; and, like them they decrease in later historic times.

Rubbing stones.—These are usually flat, round stones, such as occur everywhere in the Republican, Platte, and Loup Rivers. They measure up to 5 inches in diameter by nearly 2 inches thick and were generally used without any retouching. A few specimens have been worked into discoidal form by pecking about the edges and appear also to have been secondarily smoothed and reworked on one or both faces. They were probably used in rubbing down hides; more rarely perhaps in grinding raw food materials.

Discoidal hammerstones.—These are nearly always of quartz or some hard crystalline rock. They are from 3 to 4 inches in diameter and 1½ to 2 inches thick. The two faces are flat, while the edges are square with them. Many specimens are pitted in the center of each side, as though intended to be held between the thumb and forefinger for hammering with the edge. In a few cases the entire surface is slightly cupped. Sometimes the stones are somewhat elongated; in others, the edge is rounded instead of square with the faces. Discoidals are especially common at the Burkett site, where they are often much smaller than those of later date.

Pecking stones.—Pecking stones are small granite, quartzite, or diorite pebbles, sometimes of discoidal form but more often elongate. They are usually 3 inches or less in length, with the ends much battered and abraded. Small, flat, circular pebbles are similarly worn about the edges. They were probably used in finer stone chipping, as, for example, to put grooves on stone axes and the like, and are found on all sites.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Balls.—Stone balls are artificially shaped out of granite or quartzitic material and occur naturally as small quartz pebbles. The shaped balls are from 1 to 2½ inches in diameter and generally are perfectly round; occasionally they are slightly flattened. They are not polished and generally show the dimpled texture of the fine secondary pecking. Their use is not known; they may have been for gaming or ceremonial purposes. In size and appearance, however, they suggest those used as heads for clubs, and it is possible that they were employed in meat pounding or in warfare, or possibly in stone boiling.

172 *

412

Natural quartz pebbles which show little evidence of retouching have also been found. They are usually whitish or pink in color, translucent, and about as large as a pigeon egg. One or two are highly polished, as though carried in a bag for a considerable time, but none were used as pecking stones. These, like the shaped balls, usually come from graves; they were probably fetishes.

Natural discoidals of iron pyrites, 2 inches in diameter, 1 inch thick in the center, and very heavy, have been found at the Hill and Linwood sites. They occur in pairs, with quartz crystals and other odds and ends, and were doubtless valuable talismans. Their use for fire making has not been reported from the area but may have occurred.

Grooved mauls and axes.—While fairly common, grooved mauls are generally of inferior workmanship with very few perfect specimens. For the most part they are irregularly shaped bowlders of granite or chert, somewhat smoothed and slightly grooved about the center for hafting. Very few required much modification and none appear to have been polished or even carefully smoothed by grinding. In weight they vary from 2 pounds or less to as much as 8 or 10 pounds. All bear abundant evidences of heavy battering and fragmentary pieces have usually been split lengthwise.

Two unusually fine mauls in the Hastings Museum may be noted here; one comes from the Hill site, the other from the Skidi village north of Palmer. The two are nearly identical in form and size, are perfect, and exhibit very good workmanship. They are of grayish crystalline stone, each about 4½ inches in diameter in the middle and tapering slightly to either face; the two faces are flat, measuring about 4 inches across. The length from face to face is 5 inches, with a well-worn groove about the middle. They weigh 4½ and 4¾ pounds, respectively, and have a finely dimpled surface texture; no effort has been made to grind or polish either implement.

Grooved axes are much less common than mauls. Several have been found at the early Linwood site, according to local residents, and include both chipped and polished specimens. The former are of chert, coarsely chipped, triangular in shape, and have only

*172 412 slight though obvious traces of a groove. The polished axes appear to be of the straight-backed, three-quarter groove type, nicely polished, and made of diorite or other dark material. Most of the latter have fairly long blades, similar to the grooved axes from Iowa, and are not unlike the fine specimens from the middle Gila area of southern Arizona.

CELTS.—Celts, either chipped or polished, are rarely found. Two specimens have been secured at the Palmer site and several others from the early village at Linwood. Chipped celts are usually somewhat almond-shaped, and made of yellowish-brown chert; they are seldom over 4 inches in length, with one side nearly flat, the other slightly convex. Polished celts are similar to those from the eastern United States generally. They vary in length from 2 to 5 inches, in width from 1½ to 3 inches, and are oval in cross section. The width is greatest at the blade and tends to taper toward the opposite end; the butt is generally rounded and in several instances appears to have been used as a pecking stone. Black diorite or other porphyritic materials were used for this type of celt, and invariably they have been well ground down and polished. A few small hematite celts have been found at the Linwood site, whence have come most of the polished celts as well.

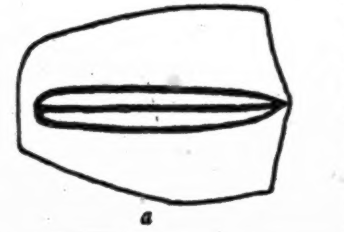


FIGURE 9.—Incised tablets ("molds") of stone from the Hill site (Hill collection).

The apparent concentration of this type of tool at the eastern edge of the Pawnee area, and in the early sites particularly, suggests that the tribe was formerly in much closer and more direct contact with tribes east of the Missouri and farther to the southeast. Save as paint, hematite occurs very rarely in Nebraska as a working material for primitive man, and to the historic Pawnee at least was apparently almost unknown.

*172 324 INCISED TABLETS ("MOLDS").—This comprises a group of stone objects of unknown function. They are small flat slabs of limestone, shale, or some hard red rock, apparently catlinite. Into the

surfaces have been cut various designs, for the most part of simple geometric character. The lines are deeply incised and give a very sharp, clear-cut cast of the various figures. [172* 324] The work may have been purely decorative in nature but there is a possibility that the incised slabs were used as molds. Heavy lead rings with three or more parallel flutings or ribs are one of the most common of grave finds (pl. 12, *g*); they are nearly identical with the cast obtainable from the mold represented by figure 9, *a*. Similarly, belt buckles could be easily cast by the use of the other molds figured, the shaded lines representing depressions and incisions (fig. 9, *b*, *c*). All of these designs are on specimens from the Hill site but far more elaborate and involved motifs cut into polished red stone occur at the early Linwood village (fig. 10). None of the stones, however, show the effect of heat, as would be expected if they had been subjected to treatment with molten metals, hence they may be merely decorated tablets. They have been found in graves as well as on the surface about village locations. (See Strong, 1935, p. 286.)

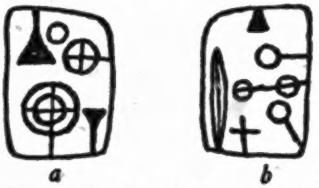


FIGURE 10.—Incised tablets ("molds"), Linwood site.

DRILLS.—Small T-shaped flint drills occur but rarely on the later Pawnee sites. [172* 412] They are usually less than 1½ inches in length, the transverse portion being slightly concave. A few simple drills of straight elongate form are also found.

PESTLE.—A single pestle has been recovered from the Skidi site near Palmer. It is of black gneissoid material, 12 inches long, 3 inches in greatest diameter and tapering to slightly less than 2 inches at the other extremity. The large end is much abraded and battered but otherwise the specimen is well worn, highly polished, and very nicely shaped. It represents a surface find.

CRYSTALS.—Two small quartz crystals, each about 1½ inches long with a yellowish, semitranslucent cast, were recovered at the Hill site. [778] They are natural pebbles, unmodified, but have a smooth, worn appearance as though from long carrying in a pouch or cloth. They presumably represent fetishes.

"WHETSTONES."—These are always found as grave offerings and have been associated with the left hand of more than 80 percent of the adult male skeletons found at the Hill site. [172* 764 324] They are from 2 to 6 inches long and up to an inch wide. In cross section they are square, rectangular, and oval. A few are worn on the flat surfaces, as though from use as a whetstone, but the majority are merely shaped and slightly smoothed. They are of various materials, but usually of limestone, schist, or sandstone. It is doubtful whether

*772 most of the stones were intended for utilitarian purposes, and they
324 may very well have been made for funerary or other ceremonial func-
764 tions expressly (pl. 7, *a–m*).

Shaft polishers.—These are always of dark brown, medium coarse
*772 sandstone, and are of one uniform type. They occur in pairs (pl.
●412 7, *n*, *t*) and vary in length from 4 to 7½ inches. Almost invariably they are of the "nail-buffer" type, with a single longitudinal groove. Specimens with two grooves are absent, as are those with transverse grooves. All of the specimens figured are from the Hill site and are of unusually fine shape and workmanship; they have been used to only a slight extent but the grooves are nicely marked. Similar smoothers are found at most other sites and are in fact exceedingly widespread over the plains and adjoining areas.

*772 **Pipes.**—Stone pipes are the rule on all Pawnee village sites, with catlinite the most common material. The specimens figured (pl. 8,
276 *a–k*) are from the Hill village on the Republican, with the exception of *h* and *i*, both of which are from the Burkett site. With two exceptions they are made of catlinite or some similar polished red stone; *a* is of gray, fine-grained material, and *g* is of coarse, friable red sandstone. In form they are nearly always of the elbow type, with the bowl at right angles to the stem, and commonly the stem is extended a short distance beyond the bowl. All were probably fitted with detachable stems of carved wood or reed, of which obviously few traces have survived.

The two large specimens in the center of the illustration, *e* and *f*, are of unusually fine workmanship, particularly as regards *f*. This pipe is 4¾ inches long with a bowl 1⅞ inches high by 1 inch square at the top; the bowl is still caked from much use. The effigy is about 2 inches long. The other pipe is a trifle shorter, but also has a square-topped bowl. According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the square bowl was indicative of chieftainship on the part of the owner, whereas the round-bowled pipes were the property of the medicine men and priests. The effigy pipe, *f*, was found with the remains of a child, over which lay the outspread skeleton of an eagle; *g* was in the same grave.

The tiny pipe, *i*, in the bottom row, is 1 inch long and has a squarish bowl with scalloped rim. Such small pipes are still highly prized by the older men of the Pawnee Tribe, and may hark back to the days when tobacco was used in very small quantities only in their ceremonies, instead of being smoked for pleasure. Two or three puffs would suffice to burn up all of the tobacco that would go into such a bowl.

Immediately in front of the bowl of this small pipe, i. e., nearest the smoker, may be seen a tiny vertical projection, which is pierced. The keel of *j* is similarly perforated and *h* has a deep groove cut

about the end of the pipe. These devices were presumably for the 172*
attachment of a cord, which could be used to lash the pipes firmly 276
onto their stems when in use, or to secure them against loss when carried with the sacred bundles on war and hunting trips. The comb in *d* may have served a similar purpose.

Unusual types are seen in *b*, *g*, and *k*. The first is slightly less than 1½ inches long, straight, and has a very slight taper; it is ornamented with a very well-executed face. The shape is reminiscent of the cloud blower of the pueblo area, though this particular pipe was undoubtedly fitted with a wooden stem; it is not at all typical of our area. As for the other two specimens, *g* and *k*, both have the bowl at right angles to the stem, but are fashioned from plain, subrectangular blocks of stone; *k* bears five notches on the outer side and two on the inner.

The specimens seen in *d* and *j* are also very nicely made and are remarkably symmetrical and well balanced. Added beauty is attained through the use of ornamental combs and keels, as already indicated, but these features appear not to have been very common.

[114]
According to Charlevoix,[64] the Pawnee claimed to have received the calumet directly from the sun. From this he concluded that the tribe "paid the sun a more ancient and distinguished worship than the other nations of that part of America, and that they were the first who thought of making the calumet a symbol of alliance." The priority in use here postulated has not yet been demonstrated, but there is a marked similarity between certain of the Pawnee pipes and those from earlier cultures of the area, save that the latter are not ordinarily of catlinite. It is quite possible that the elaborate calumets figured in our series will ultimately be traced back through the sandstone and limestone types of southern Nebraska to an earlier curved form of clay so far known in the State only from the Missouri Valley. These latter, while crude and [171]
roughly made, are suggestive of the trumpet-shaped pipes of the Iroquois,[65] to which they may bear a genetic relationship. The long-stemmed clay pipes of the southern Caddoans[66] are apparently lacking in Nebraska, although certain of the short-stemmed "variants" do resemble the pipes of the Pawnee.[67]

Work in Bone and Horn

172*
Awls.—These are to be found nearly everywhere in the area but 412●
are most common on the prehistoric and protohistoric sites. There 321
is no fixed type, although the majority of specimens appear to have

---

[64] 1903, vol. I, p. 308.
[65] Skinner, 1921, pp. 80–103 and figure 13.
[66] Harrington, 1920, pls. CI and CII.
[67] Ibid., pl. CIV, *e*.

*172 been made of whole bones, with the joints constituting the butts
● 412 (pl. 9, *e*). Extremely long awls are not found, but there is never-
theless a considerable variation in their length and massiveness.
321 Relatively few are made out of splinters, nor are they as a rule
ground down to a perfectly round shape.

Shaft straighteners.—Sections of bison and elk rib from 3 to 9 inches long were pierced by one or more small, perfectly round holes about three-eighths inch in diameter; in nearly every specimen the edges of the holes are well worn as by abrasion (pl. 9, *d*). These implements were presumably for straightening thin sticks, such as arrow shafts; they may also have served as gauges to assist in securing uniformity in the size of the shaft. Similar objects are found in the Mandan area[66] as well as in the prehistoric earth lodges of eastern and southern Nebraska, though commonly replaced in the latter areas by elk or deer antler; the latter type is almost never found in historic Pawnee sites.

Picks.—The largest picks, possibly used as digging tools, were made of the ulnae of the bison, the upper end forming a very convenient hand grip. The specimen illustrated (pl. 9, *a*) is 12½ inches long and is much worn about the point. Smaller picks were of deer horn, readily made by simply cutting off a suitable tine. Those here illustrated (pl. 9, *c*) are each 7 inches long and still bear the marks of the tools used in cutting them off; the points are much worn down by long use.

Hide scrapers.—The typical adze-like scraper of the buffalo hunting tribes was also used by the historic Pawnee. It consists of heavy elk antler, with a straight handle some 10 inches in length, and a short, wedge-shaped extension at right angles to one end (pl. 9, *f*). Formerly blades of chipped stone were lashed to the inner or under side of the handle, but later this was replaced by iron. The specimen here shown is 12 inches long, with a diameter of 1⅝ inches; it is from the Hill site. Earlier cultures of the Republican and Loup Valleys have so far yielded none of these tools, suggesting that the type was of late prehistoric or early historic origin, at least among the Pawnee.

Paint brushes.—These were made from the cancellous inner portions of large bones and joints. They are thin, flat, often more or less wedge-like in form. One side is brought to a thin, fairly sharp edge, as though for making fine lines; the remaining three sides are broader. All of the specimens figured (pl. 9, *g-n*) are from graves at the Hill site and the majority of them still bear quantities of unused red, green, or yellow coloring matter in the interstices of the bone. They were probably used for painting the face and body, as for ceremonial purposes; the porosity of the bone acted as a sort of reservoir to hold quantities of paint, while broad or fine lines could be secured through proper manipulation of the tool. Similar brushes were reported by Will and Spinden from the Mandan area;[69] they occur in protohistoric sites but have not been found in prehistoric cultures of the Pawnee region.

---

[66] Will and Spinden, 1906, p. 170.

172*
412
321

HIDE TANNERS (?).—This term is tentatively employed to designate a group of objects made by cutting off the end of a large bison or other bone, through the spongy portion of the joint (pl. 9, *b*). Sometimes they are simply hemispheres prepared by trimming from the ball of such a joint. The spongy under side is usually much worn, with small sand grains firmly embedded in the interstices. Very often the bone is permeated, especially on its under side, by some sort of animal matter, grease, or similar substance. The tool was obviously used for rubbing, and it is quite probable that in the process of tanning hides some such implement was utilized for working animal brains and other dressing substances into the fresh skins. Skinner reports a similar find from a Cayuga grave near Scipio, N. Y., but as the specimen appears to be partially drilled he was inclined to regard it as an ornament.[70] Those from the Pawnee area are never perforated and their use as ornaments is questionable.

BEAMING TOOLS.—Several of these tools were secured from cache 2 at the Hill site by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey in the summer of 1930. They consist simply of the long ribs of the bison with the broad end trimmed to a convenient size for grasping; all were of this one uniform type. According to Wissler,[71] they were used in the preparation of buckskin; the skin was placed over a rounded tree section or log and scraped thin with a beaming tool. The latter was grasped at both ends and was manipulated in the same manner as a drawshave, the motion being toward the operator. This particular type has not as yet been found in prehistoric cultures in Nebraska and does not appear to be especially common at any of the historic villages, though, on account of its unworked appearance, it is easily overlooked. (See Strong, 1935, pl. 1, fig. 2, *b*.)

DIGGING TOOLS.—The characteristic digging tool and hoe of the Plains area was the bison scapula (pl. 10, *a–d*), which was practically the only type used by the Pawnee. They were made by trimming the scapula to a square or rounded spade-like blade at one end and usually cutting off the joint end to provide a round butt. Of those illustrated, *a* and *b* are typical Pawnee, with the square blade; they come from the Hill and Palmer sites, respectively. The other two, *c* and *d*, are from a cache some 3 miles east of Genoa, Nebr.,

---

[69] Will and Spinden, 1906, p. 171.

[70] Skinner, 1921, p. 74. See also Wissler, 1910, p. 70.

[71] 1927, p. 64. According to Dr. W. D. Strong the beaming tool is used primarily for dehairing the hide among the Naskapi Indians of Labrador.

*172 and while probably of Pawnee make are much less typical of the
culture, as the spade-like type has never yet been found in the known
321 Pawnee sites. In size they vary considerably; *a* is 14 inches long by
412 7 inches wide, *b* is 11 inches by 6 inches, *d* is 15 inches long by slightly less than 6 inches. In all cases the ridges on the reverse side have been cut off, mostly very roughly, and all show signs of much wear. They are also found in earlier sites along the Republican, Loup, and Platte Valleys, and are by no means confined to the Pawnee.

FLESHING TOOLS.—These were made from the metapodial bones of the bison, deer, or elk, and are mostly of good workmanship. They are gouge-shaped, with the butt formed of the natural joint, and the working end is almost invariably provided with tiny notches to give a finely toothed edge (pl. 10, *e–k*). Occasionally they were pierced by a small hole near the working edge, doubtless for insertion of a thong which was looped over the wrist for added security in operation. In length they vary from 6 to 9 inches, but in all other respects they are highly uniform. When in use they were held in the hand like a pick or dagger, and were drawn toward the operator; as indicated by the name, they were used in removing clinging flesh and fat from hides prior to tanning them. The specimens illustrated are from the following sites: *e*, *j*, and *k* from Palmer, *f* and *g* from the Hill site, *h* and *i* from Clarks. They have been found so far only in post-Columbian Pawnee sites, in Nebraska at least, never in prehistoric cultures of the area. They represent, however, a type very widespread throughout Canada and in parts of the United States east of the Rockies.[72] Archeologically, they have been reported from the Mandans,[73] and identical specimens in the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum are from shell heaps in the vicinity of Tarpon Springs on the west coast of Florida.

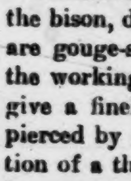


FIGURE 11.—Tubular bone object, probably a plume holder, from Hill site (Hill collection).

PLUME HOLDERS.—These are short, cylindrical sections of animal bone, not more than 1¾ inches long, with four conical perforations near one end (fig. 11). They are well polished and are represented by specimens in various stages of manufacture.

According to information secured by Mr. A. T. Hill from old Pawnees, these objects were used as plume holders in the headdresses. They were lashed, by means of the perforations, to a thin plate of bone about 2 inches wide by 4 or 5 inches long, bent so as to fit the top of the head longitudinally. Plumes were then set into the cylinders, which held them upright; a single plume and plume holder were used by each indi-

---

[72] Wissler, 1927, p. 64.

[73] Will and Spinden, 1906, p. 169.

vidual, as a part of the deer-tail headdress. Similar devices are 172*
used by the Dakota and other Plains tribes. One complete specimen 321
and a few in various degrees of completion have been recovered, all 412
from the Hill site. They are in the Hill collection at the Hastings Museum.

Roach spreader.—This piece, from the Hill site, is carved of thin [301]
bone or antler and is about 5 inches long (fig. 12). It bears several rows of tiny pits filled with red pigment and is pierced by 8 small holes, 5 of them at the round end. It was undoubtedly used to spread the deer's hair crest or roach sometimes worn as a headdress by the men; the 5 holes at the smaller end were for attachment of a plume holder of the type above described. In 1933 the present writer saw similar objects in use near Walters, Okla., among the Comanche, who claimed to have borrowed the idea from the Pawnee or Osage (cf. Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pl. 55 (Omaha); and Skinner, 1921, a, p. 113 and fig. 2 (Menominee)).

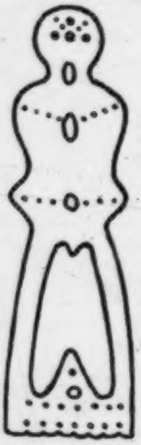


Figure 12.—Roach spreader from Hill site (Hill collection). [171]

Chipping implements.—Deer-horn flakers are relatively scarce in Pawnee sites but were very common in earlier times. They are from 4 to 6 inches in length, less than an inch in diameter, and are slightly curved. Usually they appear to have been cut from the basal portion of the antler and are very much worn; the end is commonly nicked and cut, as by small flakes of flint. They occur commonly in eastern Nebraska and have been reported from south-central Missouri (Pulaski County)[74] as well as from Cayuga, Seneca, and Neutral sites in New York.[75]

In addition to the foregoing type there is one made by cutting a semicircular piece diagonally out of a heavy leg bone of bison or elk. These pieces fit the fingers very conveniently, are much worn, and usually are deeply scored about the edges and at either extremity. They are quite abundant at all sites, but are not usually regarded as of any consequence by amateur collectors.

Teeth.—A number of teeth have been found on the surface at the 172†
old Skidi village north of Palmer as well as in caches at the Hill
site. A single specimen, presumably the canine tooth of a bear, has [301]
a perforated root for suspension; otherwise all are unmodified.

---

[74] Fowke, 1922, pl. 35.

[75] Skinner, 1921, p. 92.

*172 Molar teeth of bison and elk are also very common, but were not worked for ornamental uses.

CORN SHELLERS.—A rather common find in caches is either half of the lower jaw of a deer, wolf, or some similar animal, in which the teeth have been very much worn down on one side. The jawbone also frequently shows signs of much friction and wear. There is a possibility that these objects were grasped in the hand and used to scrape the corn from the cob in preparing it for cooking. [171] None of the early writers mention this as a method, but it is entirely feasible, and has been reported for the Iroquois (Parker, N. Y. State Mus. Bull. 117, p. 544, 1907).

*172 HORN SPOONS.—Bison horn was commonly used in making ladle-172 like spoons, by the simple expedient of cutting the horn in two 415 lengthwise and then trimming off the edges of each piece; sometimes 321 the small end was pierced as for suspension. Irving records them as being used by each individual,[76] and they are not infrequently found in graves, though their thinness renders them rather perishable. No mountain sheep horn has been found as yet, probably due to the presence of hostile tribes between the Pawnee and the range of that animal.

WORK IN SHELL

CLAMSHELLS.—Large Unio shells are fairly common in Pawnee villages, both as surface finds and in the graves and houses; a cache of about a dozen was found in the north edge of the lodge excavated by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, as has been previously mentioned. Two species of shells from this site have been identified by Dr. Frank C. Baker of the University of Illinois. They are *Proptera alata megaptera* (Raf.) and *Lampsilis ventricosa occidens* (Lea). Generally these shells are unworked, but a few are notched as though for attachment of a handle; incised or carved specimens are extremely rare. They are commonly found in graves and caches with paint materials in them, and probably served principally as receptacles. ● [412] A few show pronounced wear on the edges and were apparently used as digging or scraping tools.

301 Ornaments of historic Pawnee workmanship, so far as the archeo-*172 logical record is concerned, seem rarely to have been made of shell.

TUBULAR BEADS (?).—A rather interesting class of shell objects is 321 illustrated in plate 8, *m*. They are long white cylinders, very often tapering slightly toward the ends, and are perforated longitudinally. In length they vary; the upper two in the illustration are 4½ inches long, while the shortest is less than 3 inches; they average from one-fourth to three-eighths inch in diameter. Usually they are covered

---

[76] 1835, vol. II, p. 12.

with a rusty coating, readily removed, and some are rather badly 172*
weathered; all are soft and chalky in texture. Sometimes, as in the 301
second specimen from the bottom (pl. 8, *m*), they are unperforated 321
but have a groove about one end. They were probably made from the columella of the conch or from some very thick-walled bivalve. They occur as grave finds, always in pairs, and are nearly always found one on each side of the head; doubtless their purpose was for ear or hair ornamentation.

Identical objects are described by Holmes[77] as common on the Pacific coast, where they were made "from the thick valves of the *Pachydesma crassatelloides* or the *Amiantis callosa*." As to their use, the same observer says, "They were probably used as beads for the neck and as pendant ornaments for the ears. The longer specimens may have been worn in the nose. It is also said that beads of this class were used as money."[78] A specimen 4½ inches long in the Dinsmore collection at the University of Kansas Museum probably comes from an early historic Kansa village on the Missouri.
For the most part the workmanship and drilling of those from the [177
Pawnee area are so perfect that there is a strong possibility of their
being trade pieces from the whites rather than of actual aboriginal 439]
manufacture. They do not occur in prehistoric cultures of Nebraska, so far as known at present.

A string of small tubular shell beads, each three-eighths inch long by less than one-eighth inch in diameter, are the only approach to "wampum" yet found; they are from a historic grave. Irving, in describing the appearance of the Republican Pawnee chief in 1833, states that "a long string of wampum, the only ornament he ever wore, hung from his neck . . ."[79] Disk shell beads are altogether absent in Pawnee sites, although prehistoric ossuaries in southern Nebraska have yielded thousands of them. In general, beads and shell work of any kind represent a very minor phase in Pawnee culture, in historic times at least.

WORK IN WOOD

MORTARS.—A large wooden mortar from a grave at the Hill site 172+
is the sole representative of this class of utensil. It is made from a 412●
section of tree or log, standing 14 inches high, and is between 9 and 322
10 inches in diameter. The grinding cavity in the top is 6½ inches deep by 8½ inches in diameter and is encircled by a square lip. The mortar stands on three legs, each about 2 inches high, and the under side is much worn by long use. No pestle was found with it. While

---

[77] 1883, p. 226.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 120.

*172 322 412 in a somewhat fragmentary condition when found, it has been quite accurately restored by Mr. Hill, and all of the features, such as the legs and the cavity, were reconstructed on the basis of pieces that clearly showed the original shape.

Though scarce in an archeological way, these mortars were apparently in common use in historic times. According to Irving,[60] they were hollowed out "by kindling a fire upon the top of a block of wood, into which it gradually sinks itself, until it forms a sort of bowl." They were usually of about the size above described or slightly larger, and were used for grinding corn, "by using a billet of wood as a pestle".[61] From this report it would appear that the wooden mortar was used in place of the stone metate, which is further indicated by the almost total absence of the latter; the perishable nature of the wood accounts for the rarity of mortars of that material.

*172 322 415 BOWLS.—Three of these have been recovered from graves at the Hill site and are almost complete. One specimen is 8 inches in diameter, 2½ inches deep, and a half inch in thickness, with a sharp lip; one side is continued up an inch or so higher and prolonged into a sort of unperforated lug or tab. Another vessel is 5½ inches across, 2½ inches deep, and three-eighths inch thick, with a rounded lip. The third is deeper and more like a mug; it measures 4 inches in diameter, 3 inches in minimum and 5 inches in maximum depth, with a flat bottom. On the highest side is an ear; the walls are quite thin and the lip flares outward somewhat. None of the pieces shows the concentric growth rings, thus suggesting that they were made by steaming and bending into shape slabs from the side rather than from the cross section of the tree.

Fragments of small, thin-walled wooden vessels were recovered from burial 3 at the Hill site by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, but were inadequate for a proper reconstruction.

PLATTERS.—The one example so far found is 11 inches in diameter, less than an inch deep, and has a thickness of a half inch or thereabouts. The edge is round and shows much wear, as in fact does the vessel in general. It tends to crack in a somewhat parallel fashion entirely across the width, rather than radially from the center, suggesting that it is made of a slab from the side of a tree. It was found in a grave at the Hill site.

*172 322 854 CRADLE BOARD (?).—Few whole or even nearly complete cradle boards have been recovered. The finest specimen, which may or may not be correctly designated, was found in a grave at the Hill site. It measures 30 inches long by 11 inches wide, with a 1¼-inch border.

---

[60] 1835, vol. ii, p. 85.

[61] Ibid.

172 PLATE 9.—Bonework from historic Pawnee sites. *a* is a 12½-inch pick made
of the ulna of a bison; *b*, hide-tanning tool; *c*, two small picks made of deer
321 antler, each about 7 inches long; *d*, arrowshaft straighteners made of bison
●412 rib; *e*, bone awls; *f*, hide scraper of elk horn, 12 inches long. *g–n*, bone paint
brushes cut from joints of bison and other large animals; none measures more
than 2 inches in greatest dimensions. *f*, is from the Palmer site; the other
specimens are from the Hill site.

PLATE 10.—Bone tools from historic Pawnee sites. *a–d*, digging tools made from bison scapulae. *a*, from the Hill site, measures 14 inches by 7 inches and was originally square-bladed; *b*, from the Palmer site, is 11 inches long and 6 inches wide; *c* and *d* are from a cache east of Genoa, *d* measuring 15 inches by 6 inches. *e–k*, fleshing tools; *e* and *k* are each 9 inches long, *i* is 6½ inches, and all are finely notched on the edges. Note perforation in *j* for passage of a thong about the wrist of the operator. *e*, *j*, and *k* from Palmer site; *f*, *g*, Hill site; *h*, *i*, Clarks site.

172 PLATE 11.—Pawnee burials. *a*, burial 3, Hill site, showing fragments of
764 broken cradle board (?) and rush matting which covered remains; *b*, burial 3,
Hill site, after removal of covering; *c*, burial 2, Hill site, showing old powder
cannister or canteen back of head; *d*, burial at the Palmer site, with a complete pot as the sole mortuary offering.

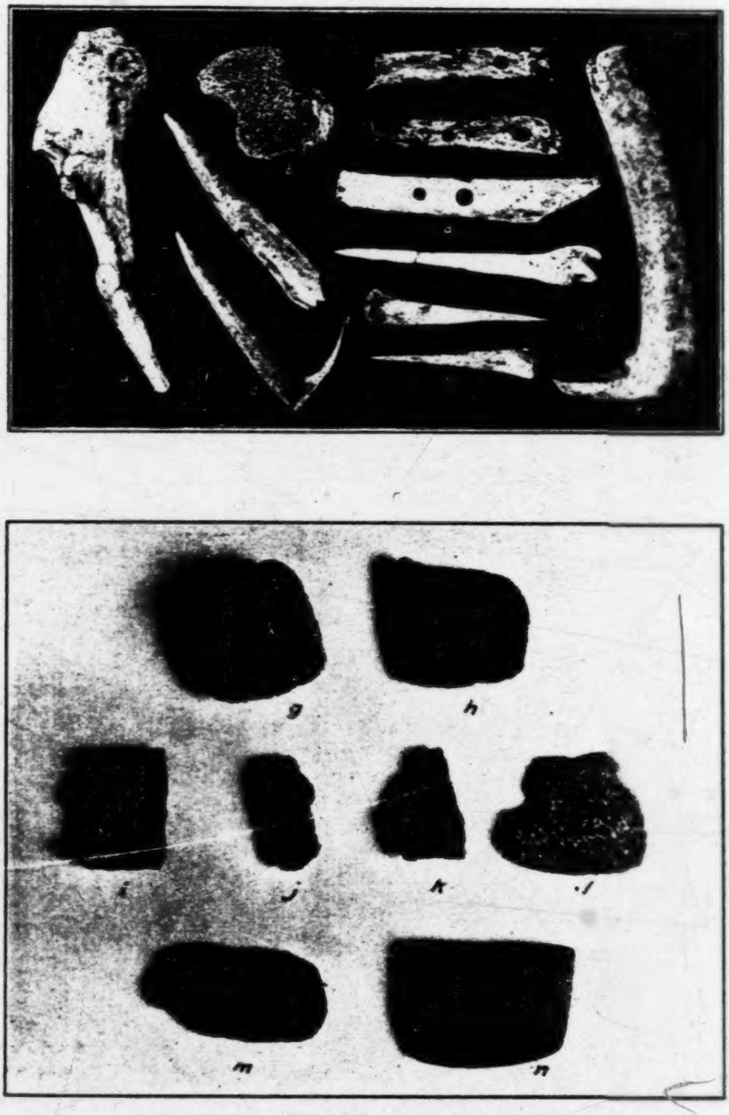
PLATE 12.—Metal trade material from the Hill site. Historic Pawnee.
172 *a*, army canteen of early nineteenth century type from burial 2 (see p. 92 and
177 pl. 11, *c*); *b*, *e*, iron lance heads from caches; *c*, hammer from flintlock; *d*,
411 bridle bit; *f*, arrowpoints cut from iron hoe blades; *g*, three lead rings (see pp.
79 and 92); *h*, lead pistol ball; *i*, piece of gun barrel; *j*, belt buckle; *k*, small
412 chisel; *l*, *frizzl* from flintlock; *m*, iron hoe of type usually found on historic
Pawnee sites, this specimen with remains of charred wooden handle still visible
in the socket.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY BULLETIN 112 PLATE 9

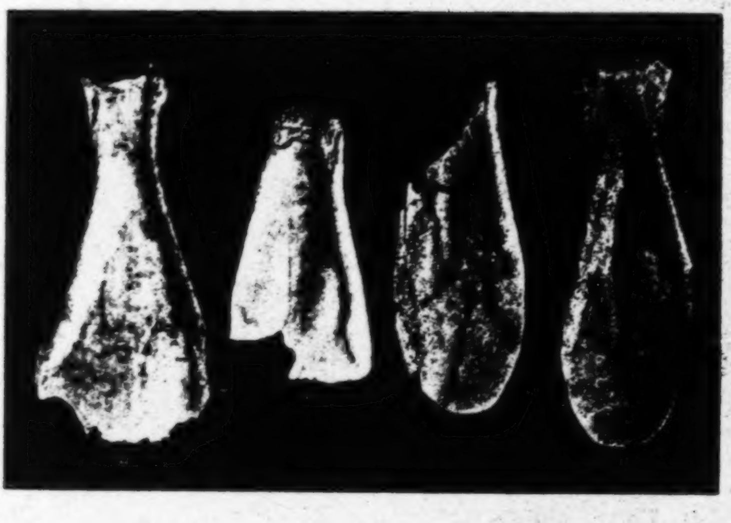
172
321
412

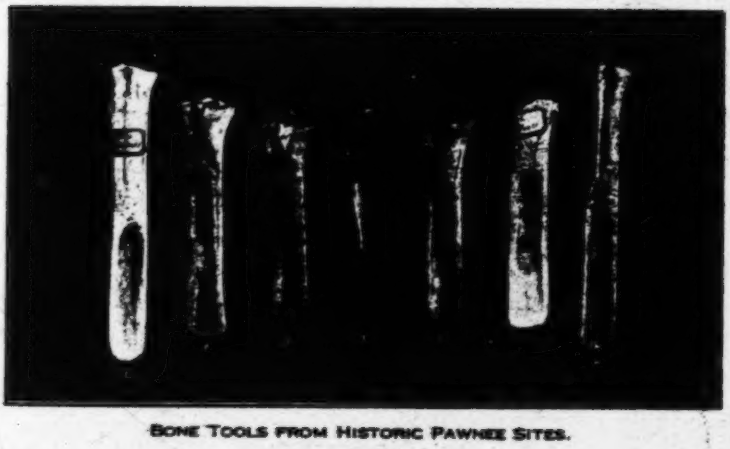


BONEWORK FROM HISTORIC PAWNEE SITES.

[End Plate 9]

172
321
412





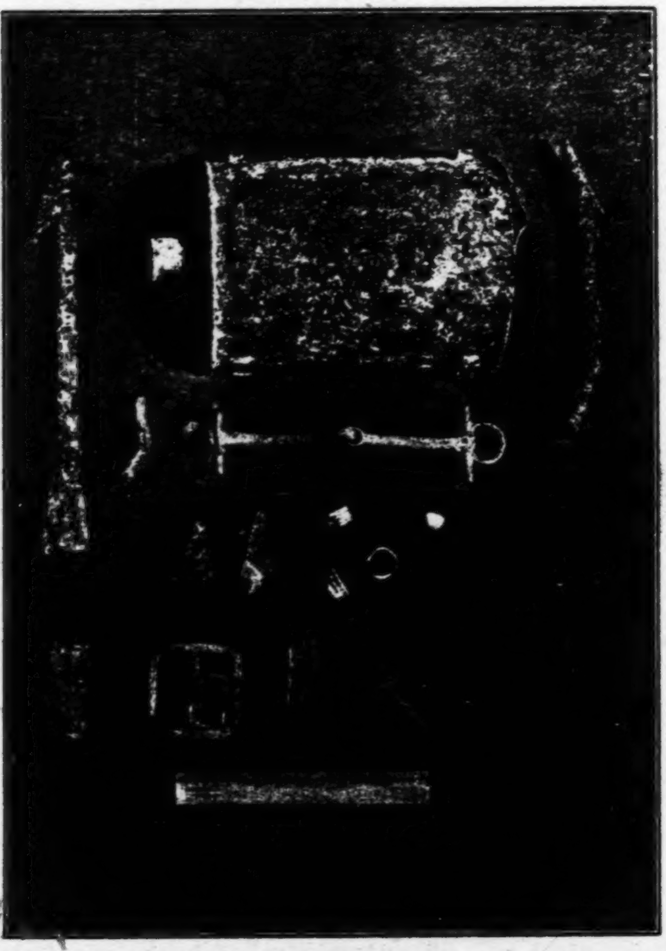
BONE TOOLS FROM HISTORIC PAWNEE SITES.

[End Plate 10]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
177
411
412



METAL TRADE MATERIAL FROM THE HILL SITE (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

[End Plate 12]

272 After the other foods were ready, the coffee was cooked in a bucket with sugar to be served later in small bowls. This was a task that No Corn was likely to undertake. She would mix a handful of ground coffee with a handful of sugar and boil them together with water in the bucket. The meal would be finished off with sweet coffee served hot and black.

512 While all these preparations were going on, the people began to get up one by one and sit down in their places around the fire. Now only the boys were still in bed. Grandma warmed her hands over the fire, went
[522] over to the bed, put them on Otter's warm nose and "took it off" remarking to Old Bull, "Here's his nose." Then she offered it all around to the assembled company. Sometimes it was his ears that she offered instead. With things about done, Victory Call said, "Boys, breakfast is ready, you can go to bed again later if you want to."

264 White Woman removed the bucket of corn from the fire and put eleven bowls around it to serve the family. The grandmother–grandchild pairs
[412] each got a bowl together and everyone else got a bowl for himself. With each bowl there was a buffalo-horn spoon and two spoons in the bowl
[415] for grandma and grandchild. White Woman, who was sitting east and slightly north of the fireplace, dished out the corn with a large buffalo-horn spoon 8 inches long with a bowl that was 4½ inches across and 1½ inches deep. A ladleful or one and a half ladles of corn along with the liquor was a serving, the grandmother–grandchild bowls receiving an extra large portion. For feasts, large wooden ladles were used for serving.

The order in which the members of the household sat at their meal was
264 pretty much in the position of their beds. Old Bull sat at the southwest
554 and Victory Call at the northwest position. Ordinarily a man's senior wife
592 sat next to him, and his junior wives sat beyond. Old Bull and his wives sat in this order, but White Woman had moved down to the east end of the north side so that she could do the serving. The grandmothers and
[574] their grandchildren sat at the east end. Old-Man-That-Chief, although a guest, took up the southeast position of humility, for he was old and
[588] nearly blind. The bowls were passed around to the people from hand to hand, unless the circle was too large, in which case a young woman would be asked to do the serving. The men were served first in order of importance, the "guest side" always being given priority. In this instance the order was Old Bull, Victory Call, Old-Man-That-Chief, Horse Rider, Queen Woman, the senior wife, then Clear Day, the junior wife, Blue Calico, the grandmother, on the south side; then the women on the north—No Corn, Yellow Calf and his Grandma, Otter and his Grandma, and finally White Woman herself.

264 Before they began their meal, White Woman made an offering of corn
782 at the west. She took some kernels of corn in a spoon from Victory Call's bowl and offered them to the nose of the buffalo skull that rested on

came off easily. They were considerably lighter to carry than the 342
rigid tipi poles. For the summer shelter they also needed two upright posts forked at the top and a cross piece to connect them to form a frame, onto which the saplings would be tied and through which the summer tent was entered. Wooden pegs were needed for both summer and winter tents to hold the skin tight by driving them through the loops at the base of the cover. They were usually gotten at the last minute.

A very necessary implement for these operations was a long 7-foot [412]
stick to be used as a digging iron. It was forked at the top and had a strong fire-hardened point to make holes in the ground for the poles of the frame.

Furniture for the tent included five large mats finely woven of bulrush to be used as floor covering. These were carried rolled up and tied with a string in the middle that had been provided for the purpose. 352

A wooden mortar was also needed for making mush and corn flour 412
and for other cookery. It was made of a section of elm log, the bottom 492
whittled into a point so that it could be stuck upright into the ground. 322
There was a hole drilled through this part of the mortar so that it could be tied onto the horse with the other baggage. The working end at the top was excavated by charring and scraping into a deep bowl shape. With it they had to carry a long pestle made of a small tree trunk with both ends left intact and the middle portion cut down for a handhold. This was carried grouped with the long tent poles and the digging iron; the poles were tied at one end to the horse's back with the other end dragging on the ground.

Other household utensils were six or seven wooden bowls made by the 415
women as were the other wooden objects for the household, a string of [439]
buffalo-horn spoons for tableware and perhaps some small enamel bowls gotten at the trade store for their coffee. Also included was a larger wooden ladle for serving.

All the cooking vessels in Mark Evart's time were of metal replacing 415
the older pottery and they had to be gotten from the trader. As late as 439
1835–1856, a few clay pots were being made, but by 1867 there were 323
none at all. By 1928 almost all memory of how they were made was gone. 175
Metal came into use among the ancestors of the Pawnees by 1650 or before, when sheet metal was being cut up to make some of their arrow 177
points. In 1833 the Pawnees had an extensive trade with the Kiowas in brass buckets. For the present expedition, they needed a large brass kettle for cooking corn, soup, or mush, two standard metal buckets—one for water and one for coffee—and a metal frying pan to make grease bread.

In order to get these latter items, Victory Call rode up to Bishop and 439
Matlock's trade store on his best-looking horse to establish his credit, saying to Mr. Bishop, "Grandpa, come out and take a look at my horse.

The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood 276
(*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer [824]
bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for
smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in
winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade [439]
store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared
patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of [249]
Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting 224*
expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their 276
pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so
that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½
feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would 224*
depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle 492
had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A
saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front
and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were
tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide
envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed
to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used
to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the
rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they
were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the
stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling
the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth 224*
for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently 291
on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was 412
an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. 224*
Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on 482
her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage 778
on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles
had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, 224*
dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, 251
coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concentrated 262
foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes.
The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that [484]
time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would
now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegetable 224*
provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the 251
cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One
batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were 252

*224 *484 ages tied to the sides of the horses would get wet. Then the question was, "Was the water on the rise, or was it going down?" People said if it were warm on Pike's Peak in the Rockies, the water level would soon be low. In order to find out whether the river was rising or subsiding, [823] the women would set up a stick in it; if the river was rising, it would soon be covered over, or vice versa if falling. They also knew that if the river was muddy soon after getting a bucket of clear water, it was rising. The men, on the other hand, were inclined to be more impulsive and didn't bother with such observations; they simply forded the river. If the river was rising, they would have to change their plan and continue west along the north bank of the Platte until it subsided. This time they were able to cross directly. The crossing was over the western end of Grand Island, the largest of the "sand-bar islands" in the Platte. In winter it was a good place to camp, but in summer it was full of mosquitoes. Grandma would have arrived long ago and gone onto the island to pick plums and grapes. The channel is wider and shallower on the north side of the island and deeper and narrower on the south side. The island itself is five or six miles wide.

*224 *484 883 [237] • [412] When they were ready to cross, some young men volunteers who were from eighteen to twenty years old would go ahead and stake out the path with willow sticks to show where the deep holes were. If there was a steep sand bank on either side, they would chop at it with a buffalo shoulder blade and kick it down so that there would be a sloping path for the horses. Sometimes on the return journey in August the river bed would be dry, and in this way they came to know the best way to ford the river. A group of young men of this sort would volunteer for all sorts of services, including picket duty. They always carried their bows and arrows and were constantly on the alert to see if the enemy [571] were coming on the warpath. Sometimes as the years passed, they would continue in this way, remaining as a group even after they had become mature men. Such a group was that of Roaming Leader and his friends who had gone out on the buffalo-scouting expedition that day.

*224 *484 When the line of march finally got across the river, they climbed ashore and up the first bank which was relatively steep and then the second bank that had a more gentle slope. They continued west along the high bank for about two miles until they came to the place where they planned to camp.

*224 By about four or four-thirty in the afternoon they were all encamped. A man was out taking care of his horses, and as he looked onto the horizon he happened to sight Roaming Leader and his party, silhouetted against the sky, coming over some sand hills about two miles off. From their outline against the sky, he could see that the horses were all bulging out with meat and the legs of the riders were sticking far out as they sat on top of the packs. As they rode he could also see the hides swing-

The tripe was boiled at the same time as the intestines. It was not 251 otherwise treated, but simply hung on the rack to dry. 252

The internal organs, particularly the tripe, took several days before they were dry enough for storage. They had to be hung on the rack on several successive days, while the rest of the meat usually cured in a day or so. These dried internal organs were used for mixing with dried corn kernels to make soup.

The drying rack had been completed and ready to hang up the meat 251 by the time the men got in from the hunt. It had three upright forked 417 sticks planted in the ground, with three cross sticks, one resting in the forks at the top and two tied on at intervals below with strips of inner bark or of hide. A double-length rack was sometimes made to accommodate all the meat prepared in their camp. The rack was erected with its broad side facing east so that the sun would strike the meat directly. The meat was hung on the rack with the two long steaks in the center and the other parts out toward the ends, pieces of kidney fat and other parts of the fat in between.

As soon as the camp was set up, they brought in plenty of water in 251 anticipation of the fact that the intestines and other parts would have 252 to be boiled. When the men had arrived, Grandma set them to boil at once and began slicing the meat. White Woman was helping and when No Corn had fed the men, she came out and joined them, while Horse Rider got to work disjointing the limbs and removing the meat from the bones. Having joined forces, the meat began to pile up and White Woman hung the meat on the rack while the others sliced. With three women and Horse Rider working together, the meat of each buffalo took about an hour and a half to get on the rack, and from two-thirty to five-thirty they had prepared the meat of both buffalo that the men had brought in. Thus it would take a single worker five or six hours for each animal.

The hides had to be pegged out onto the ground and defleshed simul- 252 taneously with the slicing of the meat as they had to be stretched out 281 while they were still fresh. After they had made considerable progress with slicing the meat, Grandma suggested to White Woman that she would continue with the meat and that White Woman might go and tend to the hides. This was the most strenuous part of the work and since No Corn was crippled, White Woman had to process both the hides. No Corn continued to help Grandma slice the meat, and while White Woman was pegging down one of the hides, Horse Rider offered to peg down the other. White Woman then proceeded to deflesh both of them. 281 The fleshing tool was made of the shaft of a buffalo tibia, the small end [412] cut to a fine-toothed edge and the thick end with a hole through which [237] a rawhide strap was drawn to go around the wrist. White Woman bent

field, and then next day by Horse Rider and No Corn in her field, the two 243
teams staying alternately at home and watching as well as processing the 251
crops. Sweet corn was mainly made into double braids. Quantity production 476
depended on team work, of course, but the women had to sort [244]
out the eight varieties of beans after everything was done, as the men [462]
would not bother with such a detail and would pay no attention to the selection of the best ears for braiding. When all the corn was in, the [825]
blackbirds began to fly over the fields, presaging the cold weather.

The following are some of the processes used in preserving the crops, 243
together with a breakdown of how these were coordinated with the activities 244
of gathering. 251

The green corn was gathered from the stalk "in the milk" and roasted 243
in a long roasting pit in which a fire was built. It was allowed to cool 251
off and the husks removed. The kernels were cut off the cob row by row [237]
with a fresh-water clamshell and spread on a tanned hide to dry. At night [412]
the kernels were first winnowed to remove any chaff, gathered up and put in a flour sack, and then taken into the tent. They were put in a wooden bowl and spilled out from a height so that the wind would blow the chaff away. Next morning they were again spread out on the tanned hide. After several days, as they were being spilled for winnowing in the evening, they would make a tapping noise when they hit the hide, showing that the kernels were completely dry.

When the beans were picked off the vines and brought into camp, 244
they were dumped onto the spread and allowed to dry in the sun. As 251
they dried, one could hear the popping of the pods. At night they were left outdoors, covered only with a spread of tanned hide, and in
the morning uncovered and allowed to dry again. Then they were [412]
flailed with a peeled willow rod about 4 feet long and 1 inch thick to remove the pods as much as possible. Some of the beans had to be picked out by hand—a small pile of beans was always picked this way. If there was a large pile the woman would strike them with the stick, then stop and pick out the loose pods and pile them to one side, push the beans together again and further beat them with the stick. The beans were winnowed by spilling from a height from a wooden bowl, in this way loose pieces of dry pod blew away and the pods still containing some beans fell to the ground and were opened by hand—an operation in which someone usually gave her help if they were available. After winnowing, the beans were spread out to dry thoroughly. When all the other work had been done, the beans were sorted into their eight varieties.

After the beans, they brought in the pumpkin harvest. The women 244
spent most of one day hauling them from the field. First they brought 439
the largest, then the next largest, and so on. One parfleche in which 492
they were transported carried five large pumpkins, or seven to eight

Next 824
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two es- 316
sential materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and 317
stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have 439
been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or
by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their
area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made 175
up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking 439
and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees 415
were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one 177
could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grin- [323]
nell got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery
in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it
well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 323

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A
> hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward
> pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine
> clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it
> well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with
> buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout,
> and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on
> the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they
> lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking
> "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron."
> This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they [252]
> boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They 172
have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular 415
body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick
"collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad
collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was 415
the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part 252
the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim
and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots
were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must 411
also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was 17
entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the
arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops
roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to
the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
• 412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-
177 shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological cir-
[172] cles as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people
was "Big Knife."

Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
17 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
412 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
324 continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrow-
shafts and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sand-
stone buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from south-
west Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
[439] Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
796 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
463 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
322 arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
796 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
171 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

313 a kind of lasso with a stick tied to the end as a weight for pulling down
[412] branches from the trees. They took with them their hatchets—the men
usually working with axes—and from their present woodworking methods one can only speculate that in the past they felled the trees by a combination of burning, gouging, and scraping.

415 The utensils and equipment that the women made for the household
412 were all-year round equipment, used both in the earth lodge and on the
march. The wooden bowl and the wooden ladles for serving, along with the individual buffalo-horn spoon, were a necessity for every meal, and the mortar and pestle were carried along on the march as well as being in frequent use in the earth lodge for the preparation of meals. The
[414] wooden bracket and hook to suspend the pot over the fire were also common equipment in both domestic situations. The forked seven-foot-long
412 *biku* stick with the sharp fire-hardened point was primarily for making holes in the ground for the tent pegs and for the tipi poles, but it had many other domestic uses particularly as a carrying pole and as a digging iron in general.

322 *The Wooden Bowl.* The following are two different accounts, one
415 given by Mark Evarts of the Skidi Band and one by Effie Blane of the
Pitahawirata. Evarts gives an estimate of eight days that it took to make
[461] the bowl, while Effie Blane cites three days. The different estimate is probably between spare time and full-time work (Weltfish, 1937, pp. 47-48).

> [463] There were only six or seven old women among all the Skidi villages who knew how to make these bowls. In Victory Call's family, Grandma knew and in Old Bull's family on the south side of the lodge, Old-Lady-Blue-Calico who had come from Village-in-the-Bottomlands, also knew how. In order to get a bowl made, one had to have a knot ("wood knob") of cottonwood or black post oak that could be taken to the maker. The making took about eight days. Suitable payment for this work was either a combination of half a pumpkin mat and a bag of dried roasted corn kernels about six inches high, or some cutout skins for moccasins and leggings instead.
>
> For a wooden bowl or *rakaraki*, one would select the knot according to the size of the bowl one wanted. After the knot is cut with a sharp hatchet, the woman would begin to chip it from the middle out, and finally while the wood was still damp and not hard she would make a hole on the inner surface of the requisite size. Next she trimmed it all
> [412] over with a crooked knife, *retsi-pirus*, "knife-crooked," leaving a projection on the rim to be formed into a handle. When the surface was all smooth, she carved the handle called *rak-u-paks-tar-u-kita-ku*, "plate-with-head-plural-up-on top-sitting," the handle being toothed

322
415
on top. After the carving was done, it was scraped and polished until it was a beautiful bowl. Then it was well greased. Several bowls were made at the same time. A bowl took at least three days to make.

415 The bowl for individual service at meals was estimated to be about 15 inches in diameter and 3 inches deep.

Ladles and Spoons. Larger wooden spoons or ladles were made for serving at feasts, and while I have no description, they were probably carved with the crooked knife like the bowl.

412
321
The spoons used for individual eating and the daily serving spoon were of buffalo horn. (See Figure 50-1.) The buffalo-horn spoon was called *taraha-ariki*, "buffalo-horn." Buffalo horns were kept on hand so that the spoons could be made at any time. Spring was the time most preferred as they all especially like to eat soup while on the summer hunt. Practically everyone knew how to make buffalo-horn spoons. In the period from nine o'clock in the morning until noon—three hours—one could make four spoons. The following is a free translation of the account of their manufacture by Effie Blane of the Pitahawirata Band (Weltfish, 1937, pp. 59-61).

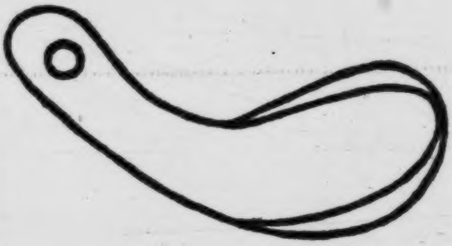


FIGURE 50-1. Buffalo-horn spoon for ordinary use. When not being used the spoons were kept strung in sets. The ordinary eating spoons are 5 inches long with a bowl diameter of 3 inches. Large serving spoons are 8 inches long, the bowl being 4½ inches in diameter and 1½ inches in depth. (The dimensions and the drawings were supplied by informants.)

Buffalo horns were placed near the fire with the large ends extending into the coals. The heat softened the horn so that it could be more readily worked. The horn was expanded by pressing the foot on it. Then the small end was notched and scraped and the whole thing greased. When several were finished, holes were bored into the handles and they were strung on a buckskin string to be hung up when out of use.

322 412 *The Mortar, kitutu.* To make the mortar, they cut down an elm tree about a foot in diameter and cut off a section about 2 feet high. The small end was whittled to a point so that it could be stuck upright in the ground. In the broader end of the section, they formed a pit by charring the surface with hot coals and then scraping out the charred wood. The first step in this process was to coat the rim with wet clay so that it didn't burn. Then they put the hot coals in the center, turning the surface toward the direction from which the wind was coming to keep the coals glowing. Now they dumped out the coals and scraped away the charred wood with an oyster (?) shell (probably fresh-water clam). Again they put in hot coals, and again they scraped away the charred wood with the shell, and they repeated this process until the pit was deep enough. While the coals were inside, one had to keep them carefully scattered about so that they didn't burn the surface too unevenly. The pit was somewhat paraboloid in cross section, or a blunt-pointed V-shape. After the final scraping on the inside, "the foot" was scraped and the wet mud from around the rim removed. The mortar was now ready for use in pounding corn or, more occasionally, dry buffalo meat.

[461] It took about five days to make a mortar along with the ordinary housework.

The Pestle, iks-ka-wi-itsa-ku, "hand-upon-sitting-on the end or point-sitting." When the mortar was completed, they would say, "Now the pestle." A search of the thicket was made to find a post oak with a large body. A tree with many limbs was preferred because then the top end of the pestle would be sturdy enough to stand the strain of the pounding. The tree was cut as close to the roots as possible so that the grain of the roots would be contained in the pounding end for toughness. The pestle was about 4 feet long. After the tree was felled, they smoothed it with an ax. The wood was seasoned in the fire and finished off by scraping with an oyster shell until it was very smooth. [237]

[465] Suitable pay for a woman's services in making a mortar was 5 yards of calico, and for the pestle, some dried corn; or alternatively, for the mortar a blanket and corn, or corn and some checker plaited strips of stomach lining (*pararitskusu*), and for the pestle, 5 yards of calico. "Something for the person to wear and something for the family to eat."

The Hiku Stick or "Digging iron." This was a stick 7 feet long and about 2½ inches in diameter, forked at one end and with a fire-hardened point at the other. It was grasped in the middle and thrust into the ground to make holes for the tent pegs and for the tipi poles. The fall was the time for making the *hiku* stick before setting out on the winter hunt. Every woman young or old knew how to prepare one, and it took about a day to do so. The wood was taken green, the bark removed with an ax, and the bottom end sharpened to a point. Then the stick was seasoned in the fire. A small fire was made outdoors and the stick passed

322 412 through it, turning it over and over so that it was a little charred in places. These charred places were scraped off with another stick. The stick was now left leaning against the lodge outside for at least a week, so that it could dry out. Sometimes it was taken in and put out a second time. When it was finally ready for use, all the moisture had evaporated and it was light to carry but very strong.

414 322 The making of *tent pegs* of dogwood saplings has been described in connection with the rendezvous camp of the summer hunt. They might alternatively be made in the earth lodge before setting out, tied up in a set and carried along.

414 417 322 [354] *The Bracket for Hanging the Pot over the Fire.* This was only needed in the earth lodge and on the winter hunt as its purpose was to suspend the pot over the hot flame of the fireplace. Such a hot flame was made for light and heat as well as for cooking only in the excavated circular basin-shaped fireplace, the earth lodge, and the pointed tipi. On the summer hunt with the open curve-roofed tent, a long rectangular fireplace was made outside to the north of the doorway and oriented north–south. In this long trenchlike arrangement, a log was kept smoldering and the pot was set directly on the coals, so that the bracket and hook were not needed. The bracket consisted of two parts—a more or less vertical post, forked at the top and pointed at the bottom so that it could be inserted in the ground, and a wooden hook suspended from one arm of the fork by a string of bison rawhide that could be wound around the arm so that the pot that was suspended from the hook could hang closer or further away from the flames. The vertical post was driven into the ground due east of the fireplace at a slant so that the hook hung directly over the fire, or else a trunk was chosen for the bracket that had a natural curvature. The process of treating and seasoning the vertical bracket was the same as for the *biku* stick.

342 [221] *Tipi Poles.* The conical pointed tent or tipi was used by the Pawnees only for their winter migration. The same tent skin was used as for the summer, but the wooden frame was different. The frame of the summer tent comprised a rack of two forked sticks at the front with a horizontal between, and, outlining a semiellipse, a series of flexible saplings stuck in the ground that were drawn down onto the rack and fastened there to form the characteristic curved roof. The Pawnee name for this summer tent was *kax-kata-sa*, "dwelling-upon-lying." The frame for the conical-pointed tipi was based on a tripod of rather heavy poles more than 15 feet long and made from trees 6 to 7 inches in diameter before removing the bark. Once the tripod was set up and a fourth stick added for the entrance, the other poles of equal thickness were leaned against it all around. The tipi was called *kax-ta-pe*, "dwelling-against-leaning," or *kar-rats-a-pe*, "dwelling-they-against-leaning." The tipi might be 18 feet in

stretched between two short stakes that were driven into the ground 411
the requisite distance apart and the ends of the bowstring were fastened 283
firmly to them. The string was left to dry for the rest of the afternoon until the dew came up in the evening. Then it had to be taken inside and again stretched outdoors the next day. It was well to fasten it up high out of the way of the dogs, who might eat it up.

The Making of Arrowshafts. Five arrow makers comprised the official 411
body responsible for making all the arrowshafts used by the entire Skidi 463
Band. They kept track of the needs of all the men and saw that they were met. None of the other technical industries, even those in which only a limited number of individuals were skilled, were of this public character. Just before leaving for the summer and for the winter hunts, they accelerated their activities. The arrow makers themselves saw to it that they had plenty of dogwood sticks on hand and kept on making the shafts, sometimes on special order, but often to have them on hand when called for. In almost all other crafts, the customer provided the materials and contracted only for the skilled services of the craftsman.

The following is paraphrased from an account given in my Caddoan 411
Texts by Effie Blane:

> The man making ready to fashion arrowshafts, will first get some needed materials together. He will assemble: a stick with a hide wound
> around it which has been boiled down to a gummy consistency to be [412]
> used as a paste; two flat stones each with a long groove, used to abraid the stick by putting the stones together and pulling the stick back and forth in the groove (*rax-ka'is*, "going-between within," buffers); the bone shaft-straightener, *kis-kats*, "bone-very white"; also *rasats*, possibly pieces of split bone with the rough spongy inner surface exposed to smooth the surface (or a pulverized plant?).
>
> These materials being ready, the man went into the timber and gathered some dogwood twigs. He then took them home and peeled off the bark (with a knife). Now he hung the debarked twigs over the fire from the bracket east of the fireplace on which the pot ordinarily hangs, so that the twigs could season and dry in the smoke of the fire. They were left there to smoke overnight and in the morning they were removed and each twig was "eyed up and down" to find any bumps or irregularities, which were removed with the *rasats* abrasive.
>
> The next step was to attach the feathers to the blunt end. Turkey [237]
> feathers were best because they tore straight, but turkey was hard to get, and if you didn't have them you used buzzard. While he was splitting the feather, he was chewing some sinew so that it would be soft [284]
> enough to bind on the feathers. The three splints of feather were
> placed against the arrow and tied with the wet sinew. The feathered [237]
> end of the arrow was then smeared with the gummy paste made of

411 boiled hide and the feathers bent onto the stick and pasted down and
[237] tied in place with some more wet sinew at their lower end.

After the feathers were in place, the shafts were buffed by passing
411 them between the two grooved sandstone buffers that were pressed to-
412 gether—the arrow being turned back and forth so that it was well
rounded.

The next process was the use of the bone arrowshaft straightener
[172] that was a little bit like a fork. [Archaeological specimens from the
Hill site of 1806 are pieces of bison rib with holes of different sizes
[178] drilled through them. In recent times, a tin can punched with holes
was sometimes substituted.]

411 After straightening, downy feathers were fastened on at the lower
end of the feathers that had already been attached.

[237] The final step was to split the end for inserting the point. After the
[284] point was inserted, the end was bound with sinew to make it fast. Different kinds of shafts were called "black-lying-on," "red-lying-on," referring to the colors of the feathers.

276 *The Pipestem.* Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most significant things the man used. The pipe was smoked both for relaxation and in every ceremony. The stem was symbolic of the human windpipe
[192] and the breath was considered the essence of life itself. *Tsiksu*, the word for "throat," was also the verb stem for "to think, to feel," *-atsiks-*. In the ceremony of the Peace Pipe, the main emblems were the two pipestems, a bowl from a sacred bundle being attached to one of them and smoked in the course of the ceremony. The pipestems were decorated with
[237] eagle feathers and other ceremonial insignia—one with the feathers of the
[825] brown eagle, signifying "night," "female," "fruitfulness" and known as *ra-hak-katitu*, "one-mouth-black"; and the other with feathers of the white eagle, signifying "day," "male," "defense," "war" and called *ra-hak-takaru*, "one-mouth-white." At various stages in the ceremony these were waved about so that they symbolized the flight of the eagles.
276 The pipestems were ceremonially fashioned after instructions from the
322 priests. He sent two men to bring in two sticks of ash, and as they sat east of the fireplace they prepared the sticks, warming them over the fire so that they could be straightened and cut to length, viz., four spans from thumb to third finger. The stems were peeled, scraped, and the pith removed by boring them from end to end with a reed so that the breath could pass through unobstructed. The pith was then burned out with a wire. The men cut a straight groove the entire length of each stick to represent the lifeline. Finally all scrapings and every particle of ashwood was placed carefully on the fire, and as the flame rose the two sticks were passed through the blaze so that the word of the fire might enter and be with them.

285 476 ticated adaptation for weaving a wide twined fabric, as the normal direction for the progress of twined weaving is from left to right, the woman on the left using a motor pattern equivalent in feeling to dancing the waltz in reverse, with a view to getting a visual effect in the texture.

When the mat had been woven about one third of the way, the women, who had been kneeling in front of the lower cloth beam, now moved up and knelt on the already finished fabric to work on the rest. As the work progressed, they continued to move up on the fabric so that the working edge would be within reach.

[461] Two women could finish a mat in one day if they did nothing else. Beginning after breakfast, the weaving would be half done by noon. By a little after five in the evening, the work was complete.

285 868 Mat weaving was a household craft and the work would not ordinarily be contracted for outside, unless a woman were learning for the first time. Then she would call in an old woman and pay her to demonstrate the technique. During the demonstration, the young woman would try her hand at it from time to time. The finished mat would be hers. The [465] teacher would receive four or five yards of calico and a layer of dried buffalo meat, or a sack of corn (about a foot high) and half a braided intestine mat.

285 592 In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each side took care of its own needs for mats. White Woman and Grandma would start one together, and when White Woman had to interrupt her work to prepare a meal, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy would take her place for a while, helping Grandma with the weaving. Any mats that Grandma made by herself were given to White Woman for the family. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy felt she should make at least one mat for herself and her grandson to use when they went on the hunt. No Corn also made one to take along, and, if Horse Rider was busy in the Doctor Lodge, the two old ladies would each contribute half the necessary materials, as she was too crippled to gather them for herself and under the circumstances Horse Rider was unable to get away. There was no question of compensation for this, as the old ladies felt that Horse Rider was helpful to the household at all times and No Corn also did what she could.

482 285 Carrying these mats on the march was very difficult for people with no horses. This was the case with poor people. When people noticed that they had no mats, someone would give them an old one and a man would carry it on his back with a baby perched on top and his wife would do [431] the same. The occasional woman who was too lazy to make one, was also [554] given an old mat. People who didn't have mats to put on the ground were considered poor indeed.

412 824 A brush made of stiff grass was indispensable to personal grooming. The brush was made out of Porcupine Grass or Spanish Needles (*Stipa*

spartea) known to the Pawnee as *pitsuts*. It grew like oats about 3 feet 412
high near the village, above the cemetary where the Skidi buried their [824]
dead. White Woman would ask Victory Call to go and gather it for her in
the fall. It had long stiff branches and at the tip of each branch there was
a sharp point fastened at a joint and surrounded with wooly fluff. The
point was broken off at the joint and discarded and the fluff cleared off.
The remaining bristle was very stiff and formed the working end of the
brush. The stems were grouped into four little bunches, each bunch
bent over at the top end and fastened down with a wrapping of buckskin.
The four bunches were put together with the bent-over ends inward,
and the whole bound around with buckskin to complete the brush. In
addition to keeping the hair in order, doctors would rub the brush on
top of the head to relieve headache or sleepiness. As generally with the [796]
Pawnee crafts, there was no ceremony involved in gathering the material
or in the manufacture, but the grass appears metaphorically in the Peace [824]
Pipe ceremony as symbolic of vegetation in general and of grasses in
particular.

Everyone went to a good deal of trouble to keep the hair in order and 302
to dress it attractively. The women's hair styles were relatively uniform.
It was parted in the middle and made into two braids hanging down over
the shoulders in front. The end of the braid was wound around with
buckskin. A relatively recent style was tying the braids together and [178]
flinging them to the back. The men's hair styles were more elaborate and
varied. A great many of the men wore roaches, a ridge of hair standing
up along the middle of the head with the hair removed on both sides and
a braid hanging down at the back. Most writers refer to this hair style as
characteristically Pawnee, but the Pawnees themselves speak of it as "like [171]
Osages." In the old days, each hair had to be pulled out one by one. Later
they used scissors. In former times, face hairs were also pulled out one [178]
by one with the fingers, while more recently they used a close coil of
brass with a stick through it so that it would be tied to the belt. The oldest
son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Sun Chief, had long curly hair
that he wore in two braids, one over each shoulder. He was known as
Long Hair or "Head-Hanging-Down-From." Victory Call also wore
two braids, but on the right side, in addition to the braid, he had his hair
cut in terraces. He was called "like Arikara" on account of it. War Cry
never seemed to comb his hair; he wore it loose and was always brushing
it back off his forehead. His younger brother, Brave Shield, pushed his
hair up so that it stood up stiff in back. People who were shabby or ill- [554]
groomed were regarded with considerable contempt by the Pawnees.

The industrial knowledge of the Pawnee transformed the meager ma- 433
terials of the plains environment into a setting that was worthy of their 182
religious and conceptual achievements. They worked hard but were se-

*224 large flat bean on leafless colorless branches that push into the earth.
*484 These are the ones garnered by the vole, their hoards amounting to a pint
222 or more in each place. Only part of the store was appropriated by the women. Sometimes the beans had to be dug out with a shovel where they grew underground like peanuts. About half of them would be cooked
*224 immediately and half left simply to dry out like cultivated beans. Those
*484 that were dried were winnowed and then put in a sack for future use.
222 For immediate use, the fresh beans were first washed, rubbed between
251 the hands to remove the hulls, and then boiled and eaten. Their Pawnee
252 name was *atik-uraru*, "bean-earth."

Artichokes (Jerusalem artichoke, *Helianthus tuberosus* L.) known as *kisusit*, were also gotten, but they could not be dried; they had to be eaten fresh. The most important wild crop was the potato, known as *its*. The Loup River was known in Pawnee as Many-Potatoes, *Its-kari*, "potato-many," from the abundance of this useful vegetable that flourished along its banks. These grew in the sand among the willows. A considerable number of these Indian potatoes were boiled, smoked, and dried for preservation and stored in skin bags. In addition to the larger-size potatoes, they gathered some small ones that were strung along the vine; these were called potato-many-tied-up, *its-kari-piru*, and were given to the small children to eat after boiling. They were bundled up and tied with a vine into little bunches and boiled in water, covered with a layer of grass along with the larger ones. The larger potatoes were then peeled, "strung" on a very thin willow twig, and placed across two forked sticks in the tipi so that the smoke would permeate them and improve their flavor. The potatoes prepared in this way could be eaten at any time without further preparation, and would not rot.

*224 Quantities of potatoes were found on Grand Island and on both sides
*484 of the Republican River. Those who stayed on Grand Island, especially the old ladies, as well as any who went all the way out to the hunting
222 grounds, would make sure to take a file along so that they could sharpen
[237] up their buffalo shoulder-blade "hoes" to dig up the potatoes.

• [412] These wild plant foods were a very important element of their provisions. The group that remained on Grand Island could be a kind of half-way station where they could leave extra baggage on the way out and where the people could be actively gathering and preparing the wild foods so that they would be sustained on the rest of the journey home. The men who remained on the island were actively trapping and could supply extra meat. Thus in the winter the Stay-at-Homes played a useful role, while in the summer they had no function in the enterprise.

*224 In the family of Victory Call, Grandma planned to stay on Grand Is-
*484 land where she could do some useful work while the rest of the family went on. Those who proceeded all the way to the hunting grounds were Victory Call, White Woman, Horse Rider, and No Corn—viz., two couples—and the boy Otter.

554 727 357-358 Like other Plains tribes, the Pawnee had the tradition of honoring a warrior for touching a fallen enemy. In anthropological literature, this has come to be known as "counting coup." The first one to touch the fallen enemy among the Pawnees as among the other Plains tribes, got the greatest honor. It was said of him, *wi-ti-ki*, "now-he-strikes." The second to touch the fallen enemy got a secondary honor and the third was the final strike that could count. Taking the scalp could count as a "strike." As the strike is being made, the warrior must call out "I strike" at the scene of battle itself if possible with witnesses to the deed. Otherwise, only if there were some concrete evidence, could the deed be counted. For example, if one struck a dead Sioux, one would put him in a sheltered place until you could bring witnesses or people who came to see tracks of horses in the place where the exploit occurred and some blood to show there had been a skirmish. However, even if such proof could not be made, later when peace was made and the erstwhile enemies were sitting together at peace, they might recount their former war exploits and the deeds of the brave would be confirmed by the enemy so that the warrior's own people would know.

172 412 363 On polished stone axes, celts, etc. see Wedel, 1936, pp. 77-78: In the archaeological Pawnee and proto-Pawnee sites, polished stone axes and celts are rare, and there seems to be a preponderance of crude stone mauls. Also see Strong, 1935, pp. 59-60, 66-67.

292 821 375-376 The comet of 1881, *upirik-kiskuxka*, "feather headdress," was so named to indicate the identification of the traditional Plains war bonnet with a comet.

000 403-406 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of a bulrush mat, pp. 151-152.

381, 385 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of wooden bowls, pp. 47-51, and the mortar and pestle.

As this book went to press, there appeared in *Science* (July 10, 1964, 145, No. 3628, 117-136) a definitive article, "Economics and the Quality of Life" by the outstanding economist, John Kenneth Galbraith, that so closely parallels the general viewpoint that I have tried to express here that I feel it should be especially mentioned.

In the *New York Times* (July 12, 1964), an article appeared which was entitled "Landlord to Hire Social Worker to Help His Tenants Live Better." The realtor referred to is Mr. Howard Offit, one of Baltimore's largest landlords, who owns about 1,000 red-brick-row or attached houses. The social worker hired by Mr. Offit will work in a West Baltimore neighborhood. Harold C. Edelston, executive director of Baltimore's Health and Welfare Council, who is one of the program's advisers, states its purpose: "to have the social worker provide brief counseling service for tenants with personal family

robe could keep a person warm in winter if it were well tucked in all 291
around.

There were three stages by which the hide was prepared for its differ- 281
ent uses—rawhide, tanned, or dyed.

Rawhide was the first stage. While they were on hunt, the fresh hide
was pegged out with the hair side down and the flesh scraped off. The [413]
defleshing tool was made of a buffalo shinbone with the small end
broken off and discarded. The broken edge was cut into a row of fine [237]
teeth with which to scrape the hide. The thick end of the bone had a hole drilled in it through which a buckskin strap was threaded to be worn around the wrist while the tool was in use. It took about half an hour to peg down and flesh a skin. After it was thoroughly dry, it was rolled up and carried home to the village where it was stored in the food pit or kept in the lodge to be dressed at the first opportunity. The largest number were worked in the fall. The skin was dressed as rawhide by simply removing the hair. The skin was unrolled and spread on the ground and the pieces of dried flesh picked off with a knife and boiled in the soup. Now the hide was turned over and the hair removed with an elbow-
shaped scraper. This tool was like an adze with a handle of elkhorn and [413]
a cutting blade fastened to the bent end. In the old days the cutting [237]
blade was of chipped flint but at this time the women had the blades made by the blacksmith. To dehair it, the woman stood directly on the hide and bent over holding the elbow-scraper crosswise with her left hand on the handle end and her right hand on the elbow so that she could push it across the skin. She removed hair, chips and shavings, striking and pushing upon the skin and scraping with a sidewise motion toward the left. If the blade were not sharp, she would have to sit down while she worked and this would take a good deal longer. The hide of a big bison was used to make rawhide.

Rawhide was used for the large envelope in which the dried buffalo [415]
meat was contained, for moccasin soles, saddles, and for cutting into long [291]
continuous strips for ropes and whips. Half a bull hide was also used for [283]
making a baggage raft or water package.

Tanning the skin required many additional technical steps. All skins have three layers, a horny one on the outside, a soft fatty layer on the inside where the sweat and fat glands are embedded, and the middle layer, the corium, which is the true skin. The corium is made up of gelatinous fibers and it is the objective of the tanning process to enter into combination with these fibers so that they are preserved and still remain flexible. For this purpose the Pawnees used a decoction of elm bark and brains. The technical term for this mixture is *tann*, meaning "oak" in the old Celtic of Brittany. Besides brains, sour milk and various oils are alternative materials for improving the texture.

313 a kind of lasso with a stick tied to the end as a weight for pulling down
[412] branches from the trees. They took with them their hatchets—the men
usually working with axes—and from their present woodworking methods one can only speculate that in the past they felled the trees by a combination of burning, gouging, and scraping.

415 The utensils and equipment that the women made for the household
412 were all-year round equipment, used both in the earth lodge and on the
march. The wooden bowl and the wooden ladles for serving, along with the individual buffalo-horn spoon, were a necessity for every meal, and the mortar and pestle were carried along on the march as well as being in frequent use in the earth lodge for the preparation of meals. The
[414] wooden bracket and hook to suspend the pot over the fire were also common equipment in both domestic situations. The forked seven-foot-long
412 *biku* stick with the sharp fire-hardened point was primarily for making holes in the ground for the tent pegs and for the tipi poles, but it had many other domestic uses particularly as a carrying pole and as a digging iron in general.

322 *The Wooden Bowl.* The following are two different accounts, one
415 given by Mark Evarts of the Skidi Band and one by Effie Blane of the
Pitahawirata. Evarts gives an estimate of eight days that it took to make
[461] the bowl, while Effie Blane cites three days. The different estimate is probably between spare time and full-time work (Weltfish, 1937, pp. 47-48).

> [463] There were only six or seven old women among all the Skidi villages who knew how to make these bowls. In Victory Call's family, Grandma knew and in Old Bull's family on the south side of the lodge, Old-Lady-Blue-Calico who had come from Village-in-the-Bottomlands, also knew how. In order to get a bowl made, one had to have a knot ("wood knob") of cottonwood or black post oak that could be taken to the maker. The making took about eight days. Suitable payment for this work was either a combination of half a pumpkin mat and a bag of dried roasted corn kernels about six inches high, or some cutout skins for moccasins and leggings instead.
>
> For a wooden bowl or *rakaraki*, one would select the knot according to the size of the bowl one wanted. After the knot is cut with a sharp hatchet, the woman would begin to chip it from the middle out, and finally while the wood was still damp and not hard she would make a
> [412] hole on the inner surface of the requisite size. Next she trimmed it all over with a crooked knife, *retsi-pirus*, "knife-crooked," leaving a projection on the rim to be formed into a handle. When the surface was all smooth, she carved the handle called *rak-u-paks-tar-u-kita-ku*, "plate-with-head-plural-up-on top-sitting," the handle being toothed

322 412 through it, turning it over and over so that it was a little charred in places. These charred places were scraped off with another stick. The stick was now left leaning against the lodge outside for at least a week, so that it could dry out. Sometimes it was taken in and put out a second time. When it was finally ready for use, all the moisture had evaporated and it was light to carry but very strong.

414 322 The making of *tent pegs* of dogwood saplings has been described in connection with the rendezvous camp of the summer hunt. They might alternatively be made in the earth lodge before setting out, tied up in a set and carried along.

414 417 322 [354] *The Bracket for Hanging the Pot over the Fire.* This was only needed in the earth lodge and on the winter hunt as its purpose was to suspend the pot over the hot flame of the fireplace. Such a hot flame was made for light and heat as well as for cooking only in the excavated circular basin-shaped fireplace, the earth lodge, and the pointed tipi. On the summer hunt with the open curve-roofed tent, a long rectangular fireplace was made outside to the north of the doorway and oriented north–south. In this long trenchlike arrangement, a log was kept smoldering and the pot was set directly on the coals, so that the bracket and hook were not needed. The bracket consisted of two parts—a more or less vertical post, forked at the top and pointed at the bottom so that it could be inserted in the ground, and a wooden hook suspended from one arm of the fork by a string of bison rawhide that could be wound around the arm so that the pot that was suspended from the hook could hang closer or further away from the flames. The vertical post was driven into the ground due east of the fireplace at a slant so that the hook hung directly over the fire, or else a trunk was chosen for the bracket that had a natural curvature. The process of treating and seasoning the vertical bracket was the same as for the *biku* stick.

342 [221] *Tipi Poles.* The conical pointed tent or tipi was used by the Pawnees only for their winter migration. The same tent skin was used as for the summer, but the wooden frame was different. The frame of the summer tent comprised a rack of two forked sticks at the front with a horizontal between, and, outlining a semiellipse, a series of flexible saplings stuck in the ground that were drawn down onto the rack and fastened there to form the characteristic curved roof. The Pawnee name for this summer tent was ***kax-kata-sa***, "dwelling-upon-lying." The frame for the conical-pointed tipi was based on a tripod of rather heavy poles more than 15 feet long and made from trees 6 to 7 inches in diameter before removing the bark. Once the tripod was set up and a fourth stick added for the entrance, the other poles of equal thickness were leaned against it all around. The tipi was called ***kax-ta-pe***, "dwelling-against-leaning," or ***kar-rats-a-pe***, "dwelling-they-against-leaning." The tipi might be 18 feet in

Translation of First Stanza

539
796

82 Ha-a-a-a-a! Introduction. An exclamation.

83 H'Atira, weri hra riki.

h', an aspiration, a breathing forth, as the giving of life.

atira, mother.

weri, I am. The singular pronoun refers to the party which is taking the initiative in this ceremony and not merely to the Ku'rahus.

hra, an abbreviated form of the word rararit, to hold.

riki, standing. This word not only refers to the position of the person who holds the ear of corn and to the position of the corn itself, but it indicates the present time, now.

84, 85 See line 83.

86 H'Atira, hra riki re.

h'Atira, hra riki. See line 83.

re, a sign of the plural. This plural sign indicates the impersonation of the ear of corn; h'Atira and Ku'rahus are standing as two persons.

87 Weri hra riki. See line 83.

88 See line 83.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The ear of corn represents the supernatural power that dwells in H'Uraru, the earth which brings forth the food that sustains life; so we speak of the ear of corn as h'Atira, mother breathing forth life.

The power in the earth which enables it to bring forth comes from above; for that reason we paint the ear of corn with blue. Blue is the color of the sky, the dwelling place of Tira'wahut.

[415] The running water with which the blue clay is mixed is put into a round, wooden bowl, not in a shell, as when we painted the stems. The bowl is of wood, taken from the trees, a part of the living covering of Mother Earth, representing the power of Toharu (see explanation of line 24).

The bowl is round, like the dome shape of the sky, and holds the blue paint, which also represents the sky. The bowl is a vessel from which we eat when we have the sacred feast of the corn. Tira'wa taught us how to get the corn.

As we sing the first stanza the Ku'rahus stands in front of the bowl containing the blue paint and holds in his hand, by the butt, h'Atira, the ear of corn.

Translation of Second Stanza

89 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

90 H'Atira, weri ruata.

h'Atira, weri. See line 83.

ruata, flying. Ruata indicates that the ear of corn is moving through the air, not touching the ground; the fact that the ear is in the hand of the Ku'rahus is ignored. Throughout this ceremony the ear of corn is a person.

lodge in charge of the Hako go to their tents. Soon all is quiet within 539* the lodge, the fire burns down to coals and every one sleeps except the man on guard. He must watch through the night and give warning 796* of the first sign of a change in the appearance of the east. As soon as this is seen the skins that hang over the doors of the lodge are lifted and the Ku'rahus makes ready to repeat the songs to the Dawn (tenth ritual). We sing these sacred songs at the dawn of the second day, the day when we chant to our father the Sun, and we sing them again at the dawn of the third day, when we sing to our mother the Earth.

THIRTEENTH RITUAL (THIRD DAY). THE FEMALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. THE SACRED FEAST OF CORN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

With the morning sun the Children gather at the lodge to receive 796* their morning meal given them by the Fathers. Soon afterward the sacred feast of the Corn takes place. For this feast the Children prepare 252 the food in the manner our fathers did. They pound the dried corn in a wooden mortar and boil the coarse meal until it is thoroughly cooked. They do this in their own homes and then carry the food in the kettles in which it has been cooked to the lodge where the ceremony is being performed, and set them near the fireplace toward [415] ● the southeast, where wooden bowls and horn spoons have been provided for the occasion.

When all the company have been seated the Fathers ladle out the 782 food into the bowls. The Ku'rahus takes up a little of the food on 796* the tip of a spoon, offers it toward the east, flipping a particle toward the horizon line. He then passes to the north, drops a bit on the rim of the fireplace, and goes to the west, where, facing the east, he lifts the spoon toward the zenith, pauses, waves it to the four quarters and slowly lowers it to the earth and drops a bit on the rim of the fireplace. After this ceremony of offering thanks the filled bowls are placed before the people. Two or more persons take a few spoonfuls from the same bowl, then, hanging the spoons on the edge to prevent their falling into the food, they pass the bowl on to the next group at the left. In this way all the people partake of a common feast.

PART II. SONG TO THE EARTH

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

On the third day of the ceremony it is the duty of the Ku'rahus to 539* teach the Children concerning h'Uraru, Mother Earth, and of those 776*
773

539*
796*
[237
415]

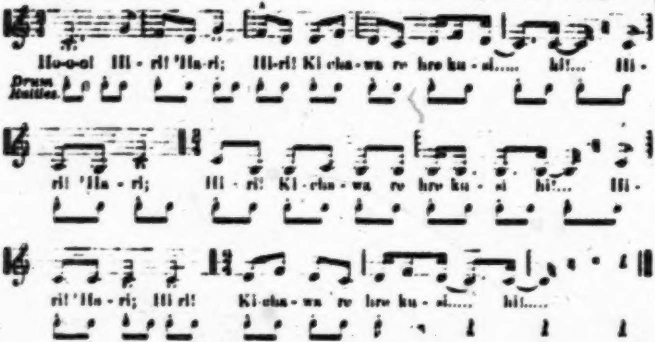
The ointment is kept in a kind of bag made of the covering of the animal's heart, dried and prepared for this purpose. (It is said that insects do not attack this skin covering.)

Before anyone can take part in a religious ceremony he must be anointed with this sacred ointment.

SONG

Words and Music

(b) M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o! Hi - ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! Ki-cha-wa re hre ku - si..... hi!.... Hi -
Drum Rattles.
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi - ri! Ki - cha - wa re hre ku - si hi!.... Hi -
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi ri! Ki-cha - wa re hre ku - si..... hi!.....

[533*]

I

1146 Ho-o-o!
1147 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re hre kusi hi!
1148 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re hre kusi hi!
1149 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re hre kusi hi!

II

1150 Ho-o-o!
1151 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re ru ata ha!
1152 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re ru ata ha!
1153 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa re ru ata ha!

III

1154 Ho-o-o!
1155 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri tukuka ha!
1156 Hiri!' Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri tukuka ha!
1157 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri tukuka ha!

IV

1158 Ho-o-o!
1159 Hiri!' Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta iwa ha!
1160 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta iwa ha!
1161 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta iwa ha!

V

1162 Ho-o-o!
1163 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta wawe he!
1164 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta wawe he!
1165 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kichawa ri ta wawe he!

to come and join the dancing. Some chiefs walked around the 668
circle of dancers carrying pipes in their folded arms, but no smoke 796
offering was made. Should the singers pause for a rest, pipes (but [276]
not these sacred pipes) were often smoked non-ceremonially.

After ten or twenty songs, the people ended the dancing with
the finishing song, and returned to their tipis for breakfast. When [203]
they stopped the old man crier went through the camp calling out
to the people to be ready to dance about one o'clock.

At one o'clock the dancers reassembled. The Seven Brothers took their places at the west side of the clearing, in order, each with special face-painting and wearing his eagle feather. Sam Cover led the singing, and the dancing began at the west, circling clockwise. Sam Cover and Emmet Pierson, the number 2 Brother, carried leather rattles which they shook in time to the dancing.

The dancing continued until about five in the afternoon, or just before sundown. The evening meal was prepared by women while the dancing went on, so that everything was ready when the finishing song concluded the dancing for the day.

After the dancing, the people gathered in the space between the cleared dance ground and the sacred tipi to the west of it. The Seven Brothers sat down on the east side of this space, facing west (this would of course be west of the cleared ground), while the chiefs sat on the west side facing east. In this way the chiefs and the seven brothers faced each other across this cleared space. The people gathered around the sides forming more or less of a circle. One chief was selected to talk. He said:

"We have all come together today to worship God. Now you [537
must try to think what you are here for. Now the ground is open, 539]
there is nothing in the way (i. e. it is outdoors), God can look straight
down upon us. Here's the sunlight over us, he's the one who
knows all about it, and he knows also what you think about; you
can't ever hide it. Now we are going to eat." 782

The main tarutsius now came forward. This chief gave the 668
tarutsius a horn spoon which he had been holding while he spoke. 796
In the center of the space around which the people had gathered, [415]
the food had been set out in buckets. The tarutsius received the
spoon. (Filling the spoon[1]) He walked clockwise around, passing
behind the food and around it, then with the spoon took some corn
from the buckets, made a clockwise circuit and passed outside of the
circle of people between the Seventh Brother (who is at the north
end of the seated row of Seven Brothers) and the people at his
right. (First Phase[1]) Outside the circle the tarutsius walked clock-

---

[1] See Chapter 8; the Food Offering and Service, pp. 220—228.

with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of 796
"song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The 778
outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread
on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a
pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native
tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of
corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip inclined
toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and
the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a
white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws [825
of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal 821]
is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason
the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In [854]
accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her [201]
arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She
then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between
the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial
lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies [302]
were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder
mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire
was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was [372]
intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was 796
served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful
of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung [415] ●
on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled [262]
in the usual manner.

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning 796
Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and 778
were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening
Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle 173
and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side.
The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge
of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however,
forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close
the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured
four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black.
The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star
and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards
the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe
secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It
is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to
have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow [411]
is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

---

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. V, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

584 539 relatives together, the mother's relatives being seated on the south and the father's on the north side of the lodge. The father's relatives left the decision with the mother's relatives, who decided that the girl should be allowed to marry the young man. Many presents were [431] distributed. The young man's relatives gave presents, and the young man gave a fine horse to the father and mother of the girl. The next day the old man gave the horse to his wife. There were buffalo robes and many valuable articles among the presents.

539 593 All went well for a time, and then the young man began to beat his wife and abuse her. The girl's mother begged her father to interfere, but he refused to do so. She said, "You claim to be a brave man; why do you not make our son-in-law stop beating his wife?"

He said, "Do you remember one beautiful morning when you said the young man was handsome, that he came of good family, had many horses, and his arms were strong?"

"Yes."

"Do you remember that my relatives sat on the north and yours on the south side of the lodge, and that my relatives left the decision to yours?"

"Yes."

"So your people sold our daughter to that man. We have no right to interfere with his property. He gave the ponies. He gave a fine pony to us. Didn't I give you that pony?"

"Yes."

"Get a kettle. Put it on the fire and put water in it." She did so.

[415 251] "Now take your parflèche bag and put the finest of your dried meat in the pot. When the soup is done you must bring me some in a wooden bowl."

When she brought the soup he told her to sit beside him and eat. As they ate he said, "What nice fat! What fine meat this is! Who got it for you?"

"Our son-in-law."

"You like the meat that our son-in-law brings us? He punishes our daughter for her own good. He does not want her to run around the camp foolishly. He wants her to be a good cook and to look after things in the lodge."

Then the woman stopped finding fault with her son-in-law.

The young man was well liked by the chiefs. They asked him to join their societies and later he became a chief. He and his wife had one child, a boy. This little boy liked to stay with his grandfather, who told him stories. His grandfather was Sarītsaris (Mad Chief), a brave man of the Chaui Band. The little boy cooled his [264 867] grandfather's mush or soup by swinging the dish back and forth, then he set it before the old man.

BIRTH

843 The first signs of pregnancy were received with rejoicing by the
married couple and their families, who at once began preparing
suitable presents for the child. During this period certain restrictions
were placed upon the expectant mother and her husband. One of
the most important of these prohibited the husband from killing
or looking at animals other than the red deer, the flesh of which
[825] only his wife was permitted to eat. If the man killed a deer, he
jumped over it twice from right to left and twice from left to right,
and then scattered a handful of dust over the animal; otherwise
the child would be influenced by the deer. If he killed or looked
at other animals, they would cause the child's appearance to be like
that of an animal.

843 This restriction is illustrated by the following two tales. Once,
538 the husband of a pregnant woman was trapping beaver and otter.
One day the man killed an otter, took it home, and skinned it in
825 the presence of his wife, so that the woman saw all that he did.
When she gave birth, the child was part otter and part human,
and died soon after. At another time a man went hunting during
his wife's pregnancy. He found a badger, shot it through the eye,
and took the skin home, showing it to his wife and relating the
circumstances of how he got it. Though she tried to prevent his
telling about it and tried not to see the skin, her child was born blind.

843 During pregnancy the wife was forbidden the use of any form
of knife in the preparation and cutting of food, for to do so would
sever the umbilical cord and cause the child to bleed to death.
The husband was also careful in the care of his ponies and kept
away from those that were lariated. Should he become entangled
[825] in the lariat the child would be strangled or injured in the delivery.
A pregnant woman refrained from drinking with a horn spoon or
[415] from a small earthenware vessel which was used as a dipper, as she
would drink in the sound supposed to reside in the utensil. The
noise would enter the embryo's ears and the child would be born
[826] deaf. In other words, practically all forms of congenital deformity
843 were ascribed to the violation of restrictions imposed during preg-
538 nancy. Even twins were supposed to owe their origin to the fact
[845] that in ancient mythological times a woman seduced a man, he
believing her to be a woman of whom he was very fond. When
they had lain together in the timber beyond the village, she jumped
up and laughed at him. In her shadow he saw her ears move and
looking closer saw a deer running away. The man in vain tried to

*772 323 The other vessel, *b*, is rather more questionable. It was found in Cedar River, near Fullerton, having apparently been washed down the stream from a cave-in higher up. However, since there are Pawnee camps and old village sites for some distance up this river, the piece is tentatively assigned to that tribe. It is 5¾ inches high, 5⅞ inches in greatest diameter, and has a slightly flaring mouth 4 inches across. The body is very nicely shaped, having an even curvature from shoulder to shoulder, in profile; the bottom is round. The paste is gray, fine, and tempered with grit. The surface is irregular but well polished and very dark gray. The rim flares slightly outward; it is about three-fourths inch wide, and is decorated by a series of pinched-up nodes at ½-inch intervals along the lower edge. The lip is narrow but bears small diagonal incisions all around. The walls are unusually thin, averaging little more than one-eighth inch. There is no body ornamentation.

Technologically considered, Pawnee ceramics may be divided at present into two major wares, both presumably hand-molded from lumps of clay.[44] The more common type is characterized by a very fine, smooth, even-textured paste, which fractures saccharoidally, and is very slightly friable on a freshly broken face. In color it varies from light buff to very dark gray, the lighter tones probably the result of prolonged firing. Tempering is usually of fine sand, sparingly used, but crushed granite, fine white siliceous material, and possibly mica were also employed; ground shell appears to be uniformly absent. The ware is generally quite hard and does not tend to flake off readily.

Surfaces are usually rough, often ridged (paddle-marked?), but the irregularities have been somewhat subdued by rubbing while the clay was still moist; all are slightly gritty or chalky to the touch. Slip was never applied, nor is there any indication whatever of glazing; even a lustrous polish is rarely attained. Some of the sherds show tiny flecks of mica all over the surface; this feature appears to be particularly prominent in pottery from the earlier sites on the Loup River and is probably due primarily to environmental factors.

Shapes were few and simple. As illustrated by the whole vessels previously described, the most common was a small or medium sized globular pot, round bottomed, with a more or less constricted neck and a rather characteristic rim. Ladles, bowls, mugs, platters, and [415] high-necked forms do not appear, nor do there seem to have been many very large vessels. Sherd studies bear out these generalizations for practically all sites, but there is a possibility that some of the earlier villages may ultimately yield a somewhat greater variety in forms.

---

[44] Wissler, 1922, p. 69.

*172 Molar teeth of bison and elk are also very common, but were not worked for ornamental uses.

[171] Corn shellers.—A rather common find in caches is either half of the lower jaw of a deer, wolf, or some similar animal, in which the teeth have been very much worn down on one side. The jawbone also frequently shows signs of much friction and wear. There is a possibility that these objects were grasped in the hand and used to scrape the corn from the cob in preparing it for cooking. None of the early writers mention this as a method, but it is entirely feasible, and has been reported for the Iroquois (Parker, N. Y. State Mus. Bull. 117, p. 544, 1907).

*172 ● 415 321 Horn spoons.—Bison horn was commonly used in making ladle-like spoons, by the simple expedient of cutting the horn in two lengthwise and then trimming off the edges of each piece; sometimes the small end was pierced as for suspension. Irving records them as being used by each individual,[78] and they are not infrequently found in graves, though their thinness renders them rather perishable. No mountain sheep horn has been found as yet, probably due to the presence of hostile tribes between the Pawnee and the range of that animal.

Work in Shell

[412] Clamshells.—Large Unio shells are fairly common in Pawnee villages, both as surface finds and in the graves and houses; a cache of about a dozen was found in the north edge of the lodge excavated by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, as has been previously mentioned. Two species of shells from this site have been identified by Dr. Frank C. Baker of the University of Illinois. They are *Proptera alata megaptera* (Raf.) and *Lampsilis ventricosa occidens* (Lea). Generally these shells are unworked, but a few are notched as though for attachment of a handle; incised or carved specimens are extremely rare. They are commonly found in graves and caches with paint materials in them, and probably served principally as receptacles. A few show pronounced wear on the edges and were apparently used as digging or scraping tools.

301 Ornaments of historic Pawnee workmanship, so far as the archeological record is concerned, seem rarely to have been made of shell.

*172 321 Tubular beads (?).—A rather interesting class of shell objects is illustrated in plate 8, *m*. They are long white cylinders, very often tapering slightly toward the ends, and are perforated longitudinally. In length they vary; the upper two in the illustration are 4½ inches long, while the shortest is less than 3 inches; they average from one-fourth to three-eighths inch in diameter. Usually they are covered

---

[78] 1835, vol. II, p. 13.

*172 322 412 in a somewhat fragmentary condition when found, it has been quite accurately restored by Mr. Hill, and all of the features, such as the legs and the cavity, were reconstructed on the basis of pieces that clearly showed the original shape.

Though scarce in an archeological way, these mortars were apparently in common use in historic times. According to Irving,[80] they were hollowed out "by kindling a fire upon the top of a block of wood, into which it gradually sinks itself, until it forms a sort of bowl." They were usually of about the size above described or slightly larger, and were used for grinding corn, "by using a billet of wood as a pestle".[81] From this report it would appear that the wooden mortar was used in place of the stone metate, which is further indicated by the almost total absence of the latter; the perishable nature of the wood accounts for the rarity of mortars of that material.

*172 322 ●415 Bowls.—Three of these have been recovered from graves at the Hill site and are almost complete. One specimen is 8 inches in diameter, 2½ inches deep, and a half inch in thickness, with a sharp lip; one side is continued up an inch or so higher and prolonged into a sort of unperforated lug or tab. Another vessel is 5½ inches across, 2½ inches deep, and three-eighths inch thick, with a rounded lip. The third is deeper and more like a mug; it measures 4 inches in diameter, 3 inches in minimum and 5 inches in maximum depth, with a flat bottom. On the highest side is an ear; the walls are quite thin and the lip flares outward somewhat. None of the pieces shows the concentric growth rings, thus suggesting that they were made by steaming and bending into shape slabs from the side rather than from the cross section of the tree.

Fragments of small, thin-walled wooden vessels were recovered from burial 3 at the Hill site by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, but were inadequate for a proper reconstruction.

Platters.—The one example so far found is 11 inches in diameter, less than an inch deep, and has a thickness of a half inch or thereabouts. The edge is round and shows much wear, as in fact does the vessel in general. It tends to crack in a somewhat parallel fashion entirely across the width, rather than radially from the center, suggesting that it is made of a slab from the side of a tree. It was found in a grave at the Hill site.

*172 322 854 Cradle board (?).—Few whole or even nearly complete cradle boards have been recovered. The finest specimen, which may or may not be correctly designated, was found in a grave at the Hill site. It measures 30 inches long by 11 inches wide, with a 1¼-inch border.

---

[80] 1835, vol. ii, p. 85.

[81] Ibid.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 1.—Pawnee earth lodge and house site. *a*, earth lodge near Pawnee, 342
Okla., in 1905. Photo by Nebraska Historical Society. *b*, general appearance 172
of lodge floor, house 1, Hill site; diameter 44 feet, depth 16 inches. The center has been excavated slightly below the floor level.

PLATE 2.—Vegetal material and textiles from the Hill site. *a*, tubers of 172
Apios tuberosa; *b*, seeds of bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*);
c, pits of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*); *d*, pits of wild plum (*Prunus ameri-* 137
cana); *e*, grains of charred flint corn (*Zea mays*); *f*, charred corncobs; *g*, *i*, 28
fragments of bison-hair textile; *h*, hank or rope of bison hair; *j–l*, rush matting.

PLATE 3.—Pawnee vessels from various sites. *a* and *c* are from Palmer 172
site; *a* is 4½ inches high and 4⅞ inches in maximum diameter; *c* is 4⅛ 415
inches high by 4⅞ inches in diameter; *b* and *d* are from the Hill site, both restored; *b* is 3⅝ inches by 3¼ inches across; *d* is 7 inches tall and 6 inches in diameter.

PLATE 4.—Complete vessels, probably Pawnee. *a* is 9 inches tall and 7⅝ 172
inches in diameter and shows all of the best diagnostics for Pawnee ware in 415
both form and ornamentation; found on Prairie Creek, near Archer, Nebr.
b is 5¾ inches high by 5⅛ inches across; found in the Cedar River, near 531
Fullerton, Nebr., and is of uncertain origin. Nebraska Historical Society collections.

PLATE 5.—Pawnee type rim sherds from various historic sites. *a–f*, Hill site; 172
g, Horse Creek; *h–n*, Palmer site. *b*, *d–f*, *i*, *k*, illustrate the typical rim design; 531
a, *h*, *l*, *n*, show the herringbone motif, second in abundance. Nearly all have lip indentations.

PLATE 6.—Selected rim sherds from Burkett site. All bear lip indentations. Note similarity of *b*, *h*, *j*, *l*, to historic Pawnee motifs (preceding plate). Handles occur on all but *h*, *j*, *l*, *n*.

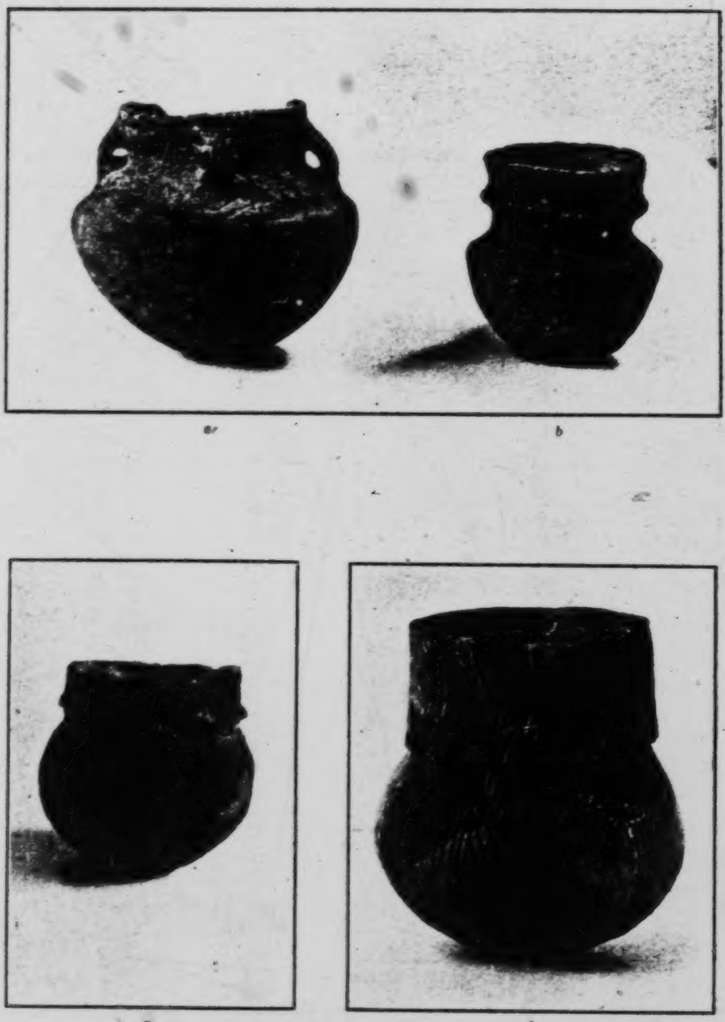
PLATE 7.—Stonework from Hill site. *a–m* are from graves, one being nearly 172
always in or near the left hand of every adult male skeleton. *a*, *f* 2½ inches 324
long; *j* is 5½ inches long. *n–t* are arrowshaft buffers, of dark-brown coarse sandstone. In *p*, *q*, *r* are shown three perfectly matched pairs, each as found; they measure 4½, 7½, and 5 inches in length, respectively.

PLATE 8.—Pipes and mortuary offerings, various sites. *h*, *i* are from Burkett 172
site; all others from Hill site. They are made of catlinite or some other fine-
grained red stone; *a* is of gray material, *g* of coarse red sandstone. *f* is 4¾ 276
inches long with a square-topped bowl 1⅞ inches tall; found with a child 301
burial. *i* is less than 1 inch long. Note straight specimen of cloudblower type, 532
b; also perforated keel in *j*, groove about outer end of *h*, and small loop on top of *i*, for attachment of a thong. *l*, gray sandstone pipe, 2⅝ inches tall by 1¾ inches long. *m*, perforated or grooved shell objects probably worn as ear or hair ornaments; longest pair 4½ inches long and three-eighths inch in diameter. *n*, blue glass trade beads, probably obtained from Hudson Bay Company; they are about the size of a pea, very crude, and blue, red, or transparent in color.

p

172
415

[53]



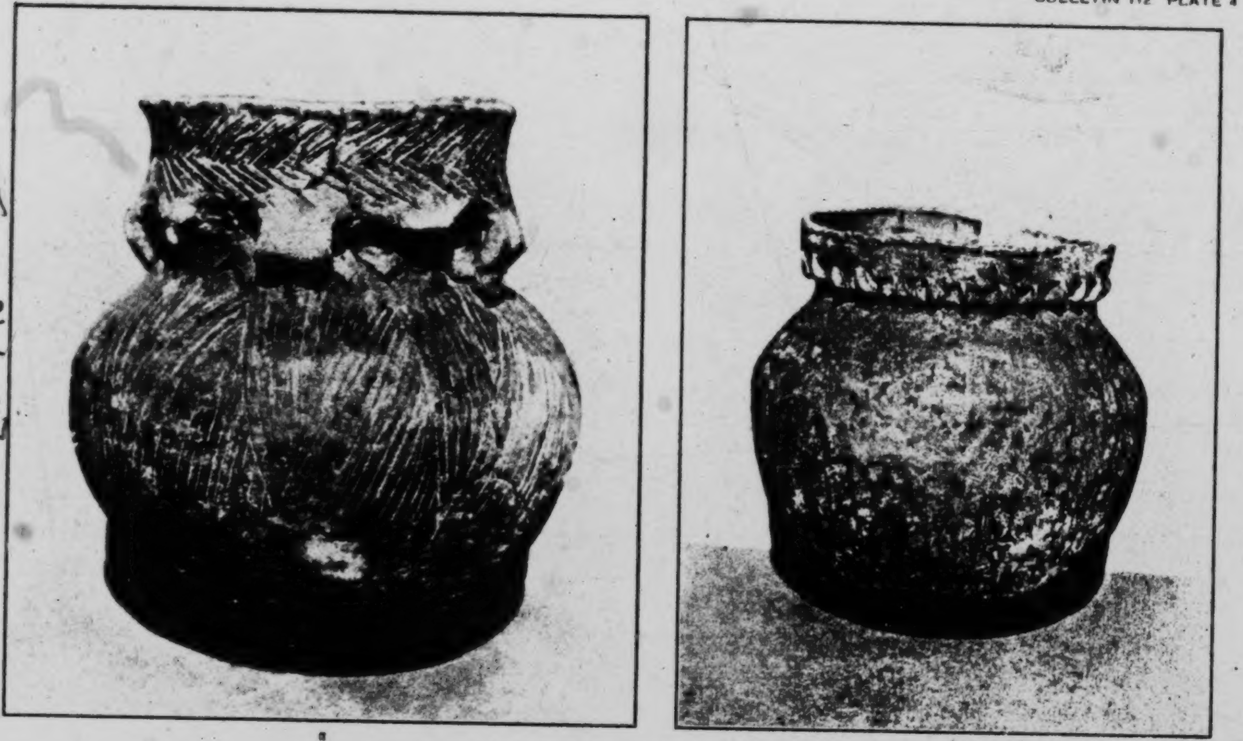
HISTORIC PAWNEE VESSELS FROM VARIOUS SITES.

[End Plate 3]

172
415
531

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[End Plate 4]



a

b

COMPLETE VESSELS, PROBABLY PAWNEE.

272 After the other foods were ready, the coffee was cooked in a bucket with sugar to be served later in small bowls. This was a task that No Corn was likely to undertake. She would mix a handful of ground coffee with a handful of sugar and boil them together with water in the bucket. The meal would be finished off with sweet coffee served hot and black.

512 While all these preparations were going on, the people began to get up
one by one and sit down in their places around the fire. Now only the
boys were still in bed. Grandma warmed her hands over the fire, went
[522] over to the bed, put them on Otter's warm nose and "took it off" remarking
to Old Bull, "Here's his nose." Then she offered it all around to the assembled company. Sometimes it was his ears that she offered instead. With things about done, Victory Call said, "Boys, breakfast is ready, you can go to bed again later if you want to."

264 White Woman removed the bucket of corn from the fire and put eleven
bowls around it to serve the family. The grandmother–grandchild pairs
[412] each got a bowl together and everyone else got a bowl for himself. With
[415] each bowl there was a buffalo-horn spoon and two spoons in the bowl
for grandma and grandchild. White Woman, who was sitting east and slightly north of the fireplace, dished out the corn with a large buffalo-horn spoon 8 inches long with a bowl that was 4½ inches across and 1½ inches deep. A ladleful or one and a half ladles of corn along with the liquor was a serving, the grandmother–grandchild bowls receiving an extra large portion. For feasts, large wooden ladles were used for serving.

The order in which the members of the household sat at their meal was
264 pretty much in the position of their beds. Old Bull sat at the southwest
554 and Victory Call at the northwest position. Ordinarily a man's senior wife
592 sat next to him, and his junior wives sat beyond. Old Bull and his wives
sat in this order, but White Woman had moved down to the east end of
the north side so that she could do the serving. The grandmothers and
[574] their grandchildren sat at the east end. Old-Man-That-Chief, although a
[888] guest, took up the southeast position of humility, for he was old and
nearly blind. The bowls were passed around to the people from hand to hand, unless the circle was too large, in which case a young woman would be asked to do the serving. The men were served first in order of importance, the "guest side" always being given priority. In this instance the order was Old Bull, Victory Call, Old-Man-That-Chief, Horse Rider, Queen Woman, the senior wife, then Clear Day, the junior wife, Blue Calico, the grandmother, on the south side; then the women on the north—No Corn, Yellow Calf and his Grandma, Otter and his Grandma, and finally White Woman herself.

264 Before they began their meal, White Woman made an offering of corn
782 at the west. She took some kernels of corn in a spoon from Victory
Call's bowl and offered them to the nose of the buffalo skull that rested on

512 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder.
462 When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter,
887 I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next
meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar.
Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Victory
313 Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were
484 to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful supply
623 of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the immediate
[726] neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more
to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary
and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy.
The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite
you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you
when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up
and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the
chiefs had gathered there.

512 The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the
252 household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver
Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buffalo
262 meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They
[237] made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

[415] The main business of the women of the household that day was to give
512 the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing
251 the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and
for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold,
356 and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep
the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in;
besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of
the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for
[192] food pit, *tahaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women
all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed
between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left
open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the
old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make
a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then
we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly
and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large
skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had
to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy
spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes
they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all.
[476] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

came off easily. They were considerably lighter to carry than the 342
rigid tipi poles. For the summer shelter they also needed two upright
posts forked at the top and a cross piece to connect them to form a
frame, onto which the saplings would be tied and through which the
summer tent was entered. Wooden pegs were needed for both summer
and winter tents to hold the skin tight by driving them through the loops
at the base of the cover. They were usually gotten at the last minute.

A very necessary implement for these operations was a long 7-foot [412]
stick to be used as a digging iron. It was forked at the top and had a
strong fire-hardened point to make holes in the ground for the poles of
the frame.

Furniture for the tent included five large mats finely woven of bulrush 352
to be used as floor covering. These were carried rolled up and tied
with a string in the middle that had been provided for the purpose.

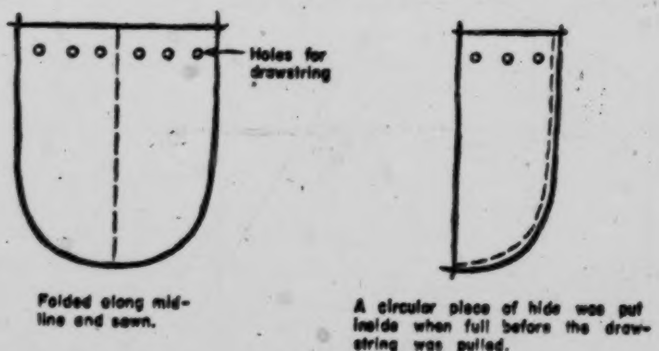
A wooden mortar was also needed for making mush and corn flour 412
and for other cookery. It was made of a section of elm log, the bottom 492
whittled into a point so that it could be stuck upright into the ground. 322
There was a hole drilled through this part of the mortar so that it could
be tied onto the horse with the other baggage. The working end at the
top was excavated by charring and scraping into a deep bowl shape.
With it they had to carry a long pestle made of a small tree trunk with
both ends left intact and the middle portion cut down for a handhold.
This was carried grouped with the long tent poles and the digging iron;
the poles were tied at one end to the horse's back with the other end
dragging on the ground.

Other household utensils were six or seven wooden bowls made by the 415
women as were the other wooden objects for the household, a string of [439]
buffalo-horn spoons for tableware and perhaps some small enamel bowls
gotten at the trade store for their coffee. Also included was a larger
wooden ladle for serving.

All the cooking vessels in Mark Evart's time were of metal replacing 415
the older pottery and they had to be gotten from the trader. As late as 439
1835–1856, a few clay pots were being made, but by 1867 there were 323
none at all. By 1928 almost all memory of how they were made was gone. 175
Metal came into use among the ancestors of the Pawnees by 1650 or before, 177
when sheet metal was being cut up to make some of their arrow
points. In 1833 the Pawnees had an extensive trade with the Kiowas in
brass buckets. For the present expedition, they needed a large brass
kettle for cooking corn, soup, or mush, two standard metal buckets—
one for water and one for coffee—and a metal frying pan to make grease
bread.

In order to get these latter items, Victory Call rode up to Bishop and 439
Matlock's trade store on his best-looking horse to establish his credit,
saying to Mr. Bishop, "Grandpa, come out and take a look at my horse.

*224 roasted in the husks. The kernels were then cut from the cob with a clamshell
251 and dried. Corn prepared in this way, known as *rawaritu*, "roasted,"
252 required little soaking and could be boiled in an hour. When the camp
was moving along quickly, this was the corn they depended on for the
[243] basic staple. While some of the corn crop was thus gathered early when it
was "in the milk," the rest of the crop was allowed to mature and dry
on the stalk, *rikis-tahis*, "corn-dry." After the cobs were snapped off the
stalk and carried in, the kernels were pried off with a pointed stick. Any
of the nine varieties might be treated in either way, but the blue flour
corn was particularly favored for maturing on the stalk to be processed
as dry corn. Dry corn took considerably longer to prepare than roasted. It
had to be soaked for some time before it could be boiled, and they used
it when they stayed over at a place, arrived early, or stayed at camp late
one morning. Although it took longer to prepare, this kind of corn was
heavier and more satisfying. The sticky, yellow sweet corn pounded
with sugar was taken along as a kind of sweet meat or served when they
[887] had no time at all to cook a meal. This was most commonly prepared by
the old ladies who had more time to pound things in the mortar. Thin
sheets of dry buffalo meat were also pounded in the mortar with a little
fat and served as an alternative uncooked meal. Old women who sometimes
started very early and went ahead of the line carried these foods in
a skin bag as rations. Dried spotted corn was particularly preferred for
parching, to be eaten like popcorn or with soup. In addition, they took
along several varieties of dried beans to be boiled with the corn and some
dried pumpkin and buffalo intestine for the same purpose, in order to add
a variety of flavors. Dried buffalo meat from the previous winter hunt
*224 was also included. Each of these foods was separately packed in a
25 tanned skin bag with a piece of skin on top to cover the opening and
• 415



Folded along midline and sewn.

A circular piece of hide was put inside when full before the drawstring was pulled.

FIGURE 16-1. The small sack, *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack." Slightly larger than our 50-pound flour sack, it is used for carrying pounded-up sweet corn, dried pieces of meat, scraps, and so forth.

closed up with a drawstring before placing them together in the rawhide 224*
envelope or in a larger sack. The tanned hide sacks were of two sizes, 251
the smaller known as *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack," standing 3 feet high and 1½ 415•
feet in diameter when full and containing about a bushel or 50-60 pounds of dried corn kernels (see Figure 16-1); the other "almost twice the size," standing about 3 feet high and 2 feet in diameter when filled, containing 1½ bushels or more.

The camping household of Victory Call comprised five adults and the 224*

262

TABLE 16-1. *Two Months' Supply of Dried Food Carried on the Hunt.* 592

484*

WHITE WOMAN'S SUPPLIES, INCLUDING GRANDMA'S CONTRIBUTION

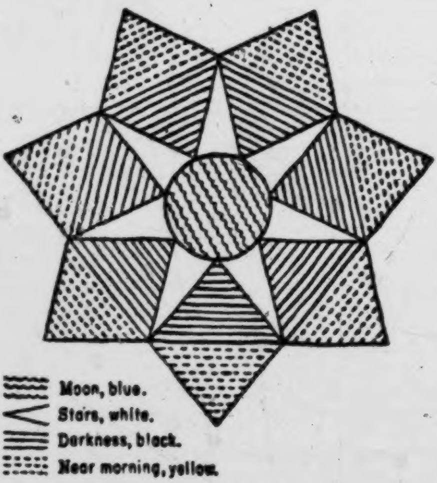
Corn, roasted, quicker cooking variety.	2 small sacks
Corn, dried, longer cooking variety, mostly blue flour.	1 large sack
Corn, dried, spotted, mostly for parching.	1 small sack
Sweet corn pounded with sugar.	2 small sacks
Beans, done up in small bundles, each containing a different variety—spotted, red, black-head.	2 or 3 sacks
Pumpkin, dried, cut into circuits, the strips braided into simple checker-plaited mats about arm's length and 2 feet wide.	1 or 2 mats
Dried buffalo meat, a slab of dried meat, 1½ feet long and 4 inches thick, comprising thin sheets of buffalo meat alternating with layers of dried fat, most of the family supply being left in the food pit.	½ a package
Trade-store goods: in the package with the slab of dried meat, ½ sack of flour, sugar, coffee, baking powder, dried fruits; if there was any room left in the package, little bags of corn, beans, or a pumpkin mat were included.	

NO CORN'S SUPPLEMENTARY SUPPLIES

The corn was all in small sacks and there was no meat, merely dried buffalo entrails:

Corn, roasted.	1 sack
Corn, dry.	1 sack
Corn, dry, spotted.	1 sack
Pounded sweet corn with sugar.	1 sack
Pumpkin.	1 mat
Beans, two or three kinds, a bundle of each.	1 sack
Dried buffalo entrails:	
Buffalo paunch, similar to pumpkin cut into strips and made into a checker-plaited mat.	1 mat
Intestine, cut into sections, dried and plaited into a mat about 2 feet long and 1 foot wide, both adding flavor to the soup when cooked with corn.	1 mat

parts were piled more thickly near the tail end, each layer covered 251
with a layer of dried fat to keep the meat soft. The meat of a whole buffalo dried and packed in this way, was reduced to a weight of 80 [036]
pounds. A live bison weighed about 2,000 pounds.



[531]

FIGURE 27-2. A cosmic design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, to be painted only by a person with the necessary religious qualifications.

Other parts of the meat prepared were: 251

The flank. The sinews were removed and the membrane being taken 252
off to be used in packing up the raw marrow that they took out when they cracked the long bones.

The foreleg and hind leg. The limbs were disjointed and the meat removed from the bones for drying.

The internal organs. These included the intestines, the lining of the [237]
stomach, the tripe (likened to the leaves of a book), the heart from [415]
which the membrane was carefully removed by cutting around the top for use as a tobacco pouch or for other treasures. The heart was split so that it would lie flat in drying. The tongue was blistered in the coals and the rough outer covering removed. Heart and tongue were boiled in water before being hung up to dry. Lungs were sometimes sliced like the backbone steaks and then dried. They made good pulverized dry meat. The stomach lining was washed in cold water and cut into long [237]
strips after it had dried, the strips woven into a checker-plaited mat, in [285]
which form they were stored in the rawhide container.

531
• 415

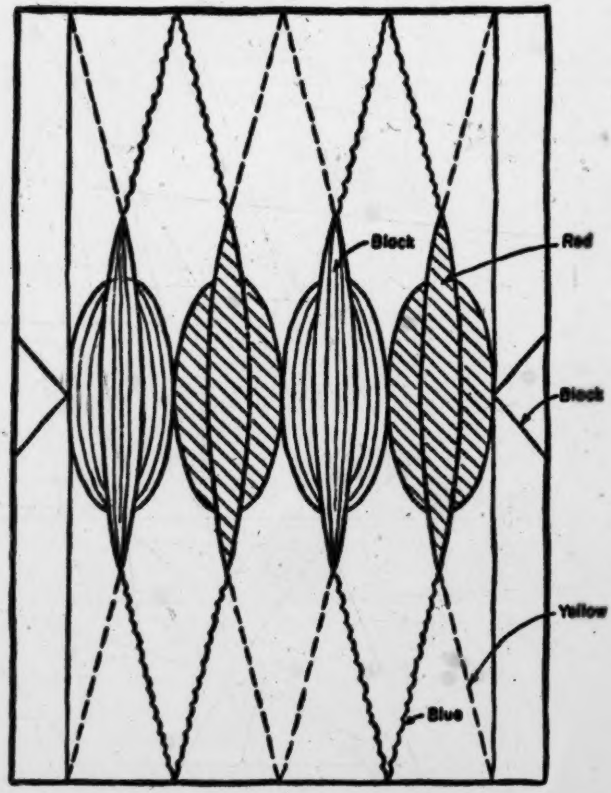


Figure 27-3. A design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, the significance of which is unknown.

251 Intestines were turned inside out and boiled in the kettle. Then they
252 were hung on the rack so that the water ran out and they would dry.
[237] After they were dried, they were broken into a number of pieces and
woven into a checker-plaited mat for storage. The intestines of two buf-
[285] falo were used for one mat. Each intestine was 12 to 15 feet long and
was broken into four pieces. The pieces hung over a stick to a length of
about 2 feet on each side. The mat was ten strips wide with cross pieces
[431] woven in. A mat would sometimes be given to a little girl as a special
gift. For this purpose, they would leave the stick in the mat and fasten a
boiled buffalo eye at each end. When they broke camp and a little girl
was seen carrying her gift mat on her back, people would remark,
"Look, that's hers! Are there eyes on it?"

Grandma built herself a corn-roasting pit inside her shelter. It was an 252
oblong pit with an embankment along each long side or a log for the ears to rest on—the pit lying across the shelter with the long dimension running north and south; the back of the shelter being west and its entry east.

Before putting up the shelter, on the way to the fields she had looked 243
for some wood so that it would be ready for the roasting. If she was un- 252
able to find wood, she used sunflower stalks. Now with the shelter all [372]
prepared and the pit ready, she fixed up a parfleche as a container for the [415]
ears she picked by closing one end and leaving the other open, and since it was of stiff rawhide, she stood it up ready to throw the ears of corn in. When it was full, she carried it on her back with a packstrap which she had fastened to it. The ears of corn from one parfleche-full make a pile about 3 feet high by 2½ feet in diameter. She would gather about two parfleches of corn at a time which she would roast before gathering the next batch.

Now she built a fire in the pit. If it was morning, she would sit near the west edge facing east, the raw corn piled at her right (at the south end of the pit). The corn was set in the pit resting along the near side with the stub end down and the point end up—the ears lined up one next to the other. While they were roasting, she had to keep turning the ears, and it was hard to keep her hands from getting burnt while this was going on. With one woman working alone she could utilize only one of the long sides of the pit at any one sitting, because of the need to turn the ears. In the morning she worked along the west edge and in the afternoon after the sun went down she worked along the east edge, sitting with her back to the door, facing the rear of the shelter. She again piled the raw corn to her right (the north end) and proceeded to roast it. When two women worked together they could use both sides of the pit simultaneously.

The husks of the corn were considerably charred after the roasting, but the corn inside was not burnt. The ears were left in their husks in a pile to cool off, and this very much improved their flavor. Only if the woman was in a great hurry would she begin to husk the ears before they had cooled off.

After all the corn was husked, the kernels were cut off row by row with a fresh water clamshell. Some of the ears had such small kernels that they could not be cut off, and these ears were left aside in a pile for any guests who happened to come in and visit.

While the roasted corn was cooling, Grandma would pick the ripe 244
beans. She swept the place clean and spread them out to let them dry in [251]
the sun and as they dried, you could hear them pop. She also went to the pumpkin patch and got two or three pumpkins that were hard enough. Like the beans, she would gather these up in her skirt. She

356 dumped their goods outside, set up the beds, and laid the mats. Then they brought in the rest of their things, and the house was crowded with parfleches of dry meat, corn, beans, and everything they had gathered. 251 The women talked of storing them in the cache pit. Grandma and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy told about how they had looked over the pit when they first got home from the hunt and cleared off some mold that had developed on the grass lining and that it was now clean and ready to be filled. After the pit was filled this time, it would not be open until the middle of November when they were ready to go off on the winter hunt. It did not do to open the pit more than once a month at the most. Otherwise, if one opened it often, a storm might come up and water might leak in. In the wintertime there was less danger of this. From time to time one would hear that a certain woman had not put enough earth on the lid of the pit and water had leaked in, with the resulting tragic consequence that all her corn was destroyed—the bags and everything having turned moldy (*us-kutu*, "hair-rotten," viz., mold). Two years of hard work and the security it could bring destroyed by one careless oversight. In the Pawnee way of life, vigilance could seldom be relaxed!

The storage pit was built nearby when the earth lodge was constructed. It was an indispensable part of the earth-lodge economy. The usual size was about 10 feet deep. It was bell-shaped, with a narrow neck and a [592] round bottom about 10 feet in diameter. The north side of the pit was for the use of the people who inhabited that side of the earth lodge, and the south side for the South Side families. In the case of an exceptionally important public figure, the household might have two cache pits. The bottom was covered with clean sand and on top of this some sticks as a sort of grating and these covered with grass. The walls were lined with thatch grass fastened in place with sticks that were shored up against it.

251 415 [237] Tanned hide sacks of various sizes were used to store the corn and beans in the pit. The largest was the *hax-kaitu*, made by sewing two buffalo hides together, folding them over and sewing them along the bottom and the long side. It was 6 feet high and 3 feet in diameter when full and was used only to store the mature dried corn kernels known as *rikis-tahis*, "corn-dry," that had been pried off the cob after the corn had matured on the stalk.

The second size was the "large sack," about 3 feet high and 2 feet in diameter when filled, containing 1½ bushels or more. The next size, "the small sack," *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack," stood about 3 feet high and 1½ feet in diameter when full, holding about a bushel or 50 to 60 pounds of dried corn kernels. In size, it was approximately equivalent to the 50-pound flour sack. A still smaller sack was called *rits-a-kusu*, "intestine-of-sack," standing about 8 inches high and a foot in diameter when full.

Sometimes the supplies were simply wrapped around with a piece of tanned hide or old tent skin. 251 [415]

The most pressing matter was to get the stores into the food pit. This was the last time they would open it until November in preparation for leaving on the winter hunt. It was fifteen to twenty days since the corn had been harvested, and it was good and dry and ready for storage. A great many calculations had to be made before the storage pit could be organized. The forthcoming month of performances would require everyone's support, and food would be taken from the pit and held in readiness in the lodge to feed the many performers and other participants. Meat from the hunt had been pledged and this too would be held in reserve. Some people made it a policy to remove all of last year's crops that were still in the pit and contribute the excess over current needs to the performance. They would keep it in the lodge in the east sector in very large skin bags which were tightly closed at the top to protect the food from mice and snakes. Some of the held-over dried [252] buffalo meat in the rawhide containers would be so hard that it could only be prepared by being separated into sheets and pulverized with a pestle in the wooden mortar. In this form it was quite tasty when eaten [262] with bites from a lump of solidified buffalo bone grease.

The new supplies were placed in the pit in a traditional order. Before the bags were put in, the grass lining of the pit was carefully checked and also the bottom which had a layer of clean sand and some sticks laid across to keep any moisture from reaching the skin bags. At the very bottom some sacks of the mature dry corn were placed. These sacks were laid so that they pointed radially inward from the wall. The layer above this consisted of sacks of roasted green corn which were placed crosswise upon the lower layer so that they were parallel to the wall. The third layer was sacks of beans again in radial order, pointing inward from the wall. Finally, they put in the oblong rawhide containers of dried buffalo meat crosswise on the beans lying parallel to the wall.

An attempt was made to set the various layers steady one upon the other so that when the woman went down into the pit she could step down from one layer to the other. On top of the material laying all around the pit in packages and sacks they piled pumpkin mats and braids of corn on the cob. Sometimes instead of piling the corn braids in this fashion, they put a stick with stubs of branches in the pit leaning against the wall and hung the corn braids on it. Also leaning against the wall were rolled-up buffalo skins that they had not yet tanned, which they planned to process just before going on the winter hunt so that they could be taken to the trade store for the groceries and other equipment they might need for the expedition. Odds and ends were put in the space that was left in the middle—pumpkin rings that had not been braided,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

Next 824
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two essential materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grinnell got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 316 317 439 175 439 415 177 [323] 323

> ... They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron." This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they boiled food of all kinds. [252]

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick "collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities. 172 415 415 252

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com- 411 17

robe could keep a person warm in winter if it were well tucked in all 291
around.

There were three stages by which the hide was prepared for its different uses—rawhide, tanned, or dyed. 281

Rawhide was the first stage. While they were on hunt, the fresh hide was pegged out with the hair side down and the flesh scraped off. The [413] defleshing tool was made of a buffalo shinbone with the small end [237] broken off and discarded. The broken edge was cut into a row of fine teeth with which to scrape the hide. The thick end of the bone had a hole drilled in it through which a buckskin strap was threaded to be worn around the wrist while the tool was in use. It took about half an hour to peg down and flesh a skin. After it was thoroughly dry, it was rolled up and carried home to the village where it was stored in the food pit or kept in the lodge to be dressed at the first opportunity. The largest number were worked in the fall. The skin was dressed as rawhide by simply removing the hair. The skin was unrolled and spread on the ground and the pieces of dried flesh picked off with a knife and boiled in the soup. Now the hide was turned over and the hair removed with an elbow-shaped scraper. This tool was like an adze with a handle of elkhorn and [413] a cutting blade fastened to the bent end. In the old days the cutting [237] blade was of chipped flint but at this time the women had the blades made by the blacksmith. To dehair it, the woman stood directly on the hide and bent over holding the elbow-scraper crosswise with her left hand on the handle end and her right hand on the elbow so that she could push it across the skin. She removed hair, chips and shavings, striking and pushing upon the skin and scraping with a sidewise motion toward the left. If the blade were not sharp, she would have to sit down while she worked and this would take a good deal longer. The hide of a big bison was used to make rawhide.

Rawhide was used for the large envelope in which the dried buffalo [415] meat was contained, for moccasin soles, saddles, and for cutting into long [291] continuous strips for ropes and whips. Half a bull hide was also used for [283] making a baggage raft or water package.

Tanning the skin required many additional technical steps. All skins have three layers, a horny one on the outside, a soft fatty layer on the inside where the sweat and fat glands are embedded, and the middle layer, the corium, which is the true skin. The corium is made up of gelatinous fibers and it is the objective of the tanning process to enter into combination with these fibers so that they are preserved and still remain flexible. For this purpose the Pawnees used a decoction of elm bark and brains. The technical term for this mixture is *tann*, meaning "oak" in the old Celtic of Brittany. Besides brains, sour milk and various oils are alternative materials for improving the texture.

281 The skins were tanned either with or without the hair. The skins of
old buffalo or with exceptionally thin wool had the hair removed and
• [415] were kept on hand to wrap things in, for bedding, skin bags, moccasins,
[513] and occasionally, if they were light enough, for skirts. The heavier quali-
ties were used especially for tent skins. Tanned hide with hair removed
[291] was used as a light wrap or blanket to be draped around the shoulders.
[531] When worn in this way it was often decorated with designs or colored.

In tanning the robe with the hair on, which was the main trade robe, the hide was unrolled the evening before. Next morning it was placed on the ground and scraped on the flesh side with the elbow-scraper. This was a more strenuous process than dehairing. The skin had to be thinned section by section and any irregularities removed. If no one interrupted and the work proceeded at top speed, it took three hours of back-breaking labor. After this, the skin was immediately sprinkled with water to keep it soft and by evening it was pliable enough to be folded up and put into a kettle with cold water poured over it and left to soak overnight.

417 The next morning after breakfast the woman prepared a stretching
281 frame on which to fasten the skin so that she could apply the tanning
mixture. The standing part of the frame was made of two pairs of tent poles, each pair being fastened together at the top, spread out at the bottom, and set apart at the proper distance to accommodate the length of the skin. The two sets of "bi-pods" were joined across the near arms by two additional tent poles, one above and one below to a distance of the width of the hide. The skin was bound onto this slanting rectangular frame by overcasting around the edges through the peg holes around the edge of the hide. The flesh surface was now uppermost and to this the tanning solution would be applied.

281 Some bark, used as a sort of sponge, was dipped into the tanning mixture, which was spilled and rubbed onto the hide until it was well soaked and the water was dripping down the surface. The solution was now pressed in and rubbed from the top downward with a special tool resembling the blade of an iron hoe. In this process of rubbing and scraping, a good deal of the excess water was removed. When the skin had dried somewhat, a pinch of flour was sprinkled on and rubbed all over the surface to make it white. While the skin remained on the stretcher to dry for about an hour, the equipment for the next step was prepared. The skin would be rubbed back and forth on a taut sinew rope in order to soften it. Two green sticks of uneven height, one 2 feet and one 5½ feet high, were set upright in the ground about 4½ feet apart. They were joined by a big sinew rope that was stretched between them and tied at each end. The skin was rubbed back and forth across the rope on the flesh side until it was softened. One woman could do this alone, but it was more convenient for two to work on it, one holding on to the hide at each end.

313 a kind of lasso with a stick tied to the end as a weight for pulling down
[412] branches from the trees. They took with them their hatchets—the men
usually working with axes—and from their present woodworking methods one can only speculate that in the past they felled the trees by a combination of burning, gouging, and scraping.

415 The utensils and equipment that the women made for the household
412 were all-year round equipment, used both in the earth lodge and on the
march. The wooden bowl and the wooden ladles for serving, along with the individual buffalo-horn spoon, were a necessity for every meal, and the mortar and pestle were carried along on the march as well as being in frequent use in the earth lodge for the preparation of meals. The
[414] wooden bracket and hook to suspend the pot over the fire were also com-
mon equipment in both domestic situations. The forked seven-foot-long
412 *biku* stick with the sharp fire-hardened point was primarily for making holes in the ground for the tent pegs and for the tipi poles, but it had many other domestic uses particularly as a carrying pole and as a digging iron in general.

322 *The Wooden Bowl.* The following are two different accounts, one
415 given by Mark Evarts of the Skidi Band and one by Effie Blane of the
Pitahawirata. Evarts gives an estimate of eight days that it took to make
[461] the bowl, while Effie Blane cites three days. The different estimate is probably between spare time and full-time work (Weltfish, 1937, pp. 47-48).

[463] There were only six or seven old women among all the Skidi villages who knew how to make these bowls. In Victory Call's family, Grandma knew and in Old Bull's family on the south side of the lodge, Old-Lady-Blue-Calico who had come from Village-in-the-Bottomlands, also knew how. In order to get a bowl made, one had to have a knot ("wood knob") of cottonwood or black post oak that could be taken to the maker. The making took about eight days. Suitable payment for this work was either a combination of half a pumpkin mat and a bag of dried roasted corn kernels about six inches high, or some cutout skins for moccasins and leggings instead.

For a wooden bowl or *rakaraki*, one would select the knot according to the size of the bowl one wanted. After the knot is cut with a sharp hatchet, the woman would begin to chip it from the middle out, and finally while the wood was still damp and not hard she would make a
[412] hole on the inner surface of the requisite size. Next she trimmed it all
over with a crooked knife, *retsi-pirus*, "knife-crooked," leaving a projection on the rim to be formed into a handle. When the surface was all smooth, she carved the handle called *rak-u-paks-tar-u-kita-ku*, "plate-with-head-plural-up-on top-sitting," the handle being toothed

322
• 415 on top. After the carving was done, it was scraped and polished until it was a beautiful bowl. Then it was well greased. Several bowls were made at the same time. A bowl took at least three days to make.

415 The bowl for individual service at meals was estimated to be about 15 inches in diameter and 3 inches deep.

Ladles and Spoons. Larger wooden spoons or ladles were made for serving at feasts, and while I have no description, they were probably carved with the crooked knife like the bowl.

412
321 The spoons used for individual eating and the daily serving spoon were of buffalo horn. (See Figure 50-1.) The buffalo-horn spoon was called *taraha-ariki*, "buffalo-horn." Buffalo horns were kept on hand so that the spoons could be made at any time. Spring was the time most preferred as they all especially like to eat soup while on the summer hunt. Practically everyone knew how to make buffalo-horn spoons. In the period from nine o'clock in the morning until noon—three hours—one could make four spoons. The following is a free translation of the account of their manufacture by Effie Blane of the Pitahawirata Band (Weltfish, 1937, pp. 59-61).

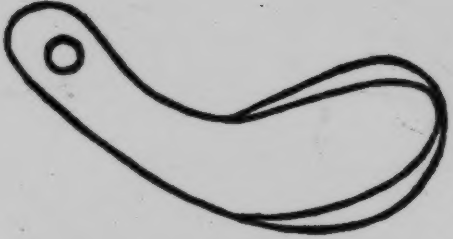


FIGURE 50-1. Buffalo-horn spoon for ordinary use. When not being used the spoons were kept strung in sets. The ordinary eating spoons are 5 inches long with a bowl diameter of 3 inches. Large serving spoons are 8 inches long, the bowl being 4½ inches in diameter and 1½ inches in depth. (The dimensions and the drawings were supplied by informants.)

> Buffalo horns were placed near the fire with the large ends extending into the coals. The heat softened the horn so that it could be more readily worked. The horn was expanded by pressing the foot on it. Then the small end was notched and scraped and the whole thing greased. When several were finished, holes were bored into the handles and they were strung on a buckskin string to be hung up when out of use.

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the
white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was
wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and
also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-
four feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidis-
tant intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled bas- 773
ket made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to
carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the
germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony
immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous move-
ment" or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially
made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The
women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the
course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to
move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learn- [887]
ing to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling.
There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the
betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual
pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make
the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked
to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525
285

chance of the season to make bone grease, as they were unlikely to stay 262
long enough in any one place and be so close to the hunting grounds as 251
to have all these large bones around and the time to treat them. The bone 252
grease was made by cracking up the backbone and boiling it in a large
kettle of water along with the knuckle bones. The grease, skimmed off
with a spoon, was kept in a buffalo paunch, prepared by peeling off the
inner lining, which left a smooth surface on the inside. The paunch, with
a wide slit cut into it for an opening, was placed in a depression in the
ground and the opening flaps spread out at the top. In summer it was
hard to get the grease to solidify, but in the evening when a cool breeze
came up from the river it became solid enough to transport. Though
they seldom did so, if they wanted to make bone grease en route they
put it into the large intestine and tied it up at both ends for transporta-
tion. The winter was a more propitious time for making bone grease as [416]
it hardened more readily; sometimes they would stay up at night and
work by the light of a burning brand while on the winter hunt in order
to make it. The soup was spilled out at some distance from camp along
with the boiled bones. Before they got rid of the soup, Horse Rider liked
to eat a bowl of it with a handful or two of parched corn. Sometimes
when it cooked for a long time, certain soft parts from the bones around
the lower part of the foreleg were also eaten.

Now as Horse Rider was coming into camp with a backbone for Grandma to boil up for bone grease, she set him to work first picking off the small pieces of meat and fat. He sat down directly with his legs extended and wedged the backbone between his feet and got to work digging out the meat. They used the meat for soup at supper. The long bones were cracked and the marrow removed and wrapped in a membrane taken from the flank. The marrow was eaten raw with dry meat.

They now had the partially dried buffalo meat to supplement the supplies of dried corn, beans, and squash and the dried meat they had brought with them from the previous winter hunt. For the camping family of six, they would use a thin sheet of dried buffalo meat with its covering layer of fat. The dried piece of meat was 12 inches wide by 30 inches long and would be cut into eight portions, 6 inches wide, 7 inches long and ⅛ to ¼ inch thick. The fat was a little thicker and with each portion went a piece of fat—2½ by 5 inches. The portions of meat and fat were washed with cold water and then put in the kettle which was placed on the coals to boil. The fat tended to disintegrate into the soup. When they were cooking dry meat for supper, a guest, usually a close friend or relative was very likely to drop in. In Victory Call's camp, Uncle War Cry, White Woman's brother, was the one most likely to appear.

For feasts at official or ceremonial occasions, the backbone steaks were 574
used, a number being donated for each occasion (see Figure 17-4). A 258

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 221]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 her into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village until the
782 time for her sacrifice. She was treated in a ceremonial manner but
kept in ignorance of her fate. At the appointed time her body was
[302 painted, half red and half black, and she was tied to a scaffold and
●417] shot through the heart with an arrow. It was said that the braided
thong used to bind the girl to the scaffold is now in the Morning
Star bundle.

Tradition states that on one occasion the intended victim was
173 rescued. On the night preceding her execution she was seated beside
782 some tall sunflowers. A young chief came through the tall weeds and
796 stole her away, putting her on his horse and taking her to Fort Leavenworth,
whence she was returned to her own people. She died within
three months, having been anointed for death with the sacred ointment
of red paint powder and buffalo fat. This occurred about the
year 1818. The man who rescued the intended victim was a warrior
of distinction and through his influence the custom was discontinued.
The ritual of the sacrifice is still rendered but no actual sacrifice has
taken place since that date.

796 Coming Sun, who sings the ceremonial songs, said that sometimes,
during the Morning Star ceremony he stops and says "Listen," and
[782] the people hear a woman's voice singing the songs above his head.

The Morning Star ceremony was held by the Skidi Band near Pawnee, Okla., on April 17, 1920. This ceremony formerly lasted four days and nights, ending when the morning star appeared in the east, but at the present time it is concluded in one day. On this occasion the writer had the honor of entering the lodge, through the courtesy of Coming Sun. It is said that only one other white person, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, has entered the lodge during the ceremony and seen the contents of the sacred bundle.

The ceremony was held in a tipi erected for the occasion in a quiet
[346] spot near the house of the keeper of the bundle, north of Pawnee.
This tipi had been used in the Ghost dance and was decorated with
Ghost dance symbols. (Pl. 5, *b*.) The adjacent landscape is shown in
Plate 3, *c*. The ceremony began at about 9 a. m. and continued until
4 p. m., the writer sitting outside the tipi except for the brief time
she was permitted to enter. Thus the entire songs of the ceremony
were heard, as well as the prayers and rituals, though only the principal
song was obtained. At the proper time Coming Sun, who
was in charge of the ceremony, sent a messenger to summon the
writer and she entered the lodge, passing to the right and standing
near the bundle, before which she laid gifts of calico, tobacco, and
[534] money. Coming Sun was seated back of the bundle, directly opposite
the entrance, and held one of the sacred gourd rattles. Two
796 men at either side of him held similar rattles. In front of the men
778 at Coming Sun's left and next the sacred bundle was a belt decorated

her suspicions and keep her in a pleasant frame of mind. 727 782 796

On the afternoon of the fourth day, the chief priest 417 782 796 selected four men from the Four Band village to secure the materials for the scaffold. Under the direction of the leader of the war party which had captured the girl, they went to the nearest thick timber and searched until they found a hackberry tree near the center of the grove. At this tree they made an offering of smoke to the gods, and then went northeast from it to find an [824] elm, northwest to find a box elder, southwest to find a cotton wood, and southeast to find a willow. These were to serve for the lower cross-bars of the scaffold. They then went east until they found an elm and a cottonwood large enough to be used as uprights. Finally, they went west and cut a willow to serve as the top cross-bar.

When the men had departed to search for the timber, [533] the priests sang a song describing their actions. At its conclusion the chief priest sent the two chiefs of the Morning Star village, accompanied by a warrior, to select the site of the scaffold. This had to be some place near the village which had, to the east of it, a depression or ravine large enough to conceal several men. When the chiefs had made their choice, the warrior accompanying them gave his war-cry. An errand man had been stationed outside the lodge to listen for this, and as soon as he heard and reported it, the priest of the Skull bundle ran to the place, bearing the sacred bow and two arrows. The two chiefs had stationed themselves at the points where the uprights of the scaffold were to stand, and the priest shot an arrow into the ground in front of each of them, thus marking the place where the hole was to be dug. Between these arrows four priests then dug away the soil to a depth of about a foot, making a rectangular pit ap-

417 proximately the size of the wrapper of a sacred bundle
782 when fully unfolded. The floor of the excavation was
796 then covered with white, downy feathers. This pit was
called *kusaru*, and represented the garden which the Evening Star kept in the west, or, according to another account, the reproductive organs of the Evening Star. The white feathers with which it was lined symbolized the milk of women and animals and the juice of young corn. After the pit had been completed, the holes for the uprights of the scaffold were dug by two young girls.

While the digging was going on, the party sent after the timbers had returned. The two uprights of the scaffold were first erected, then each cross-bar was tied on by a warrior from the village of the direction which it represented. Before tying it, the warrior would recount some deed. One would say, "I made a sacrifice of meat and carried it to the priest on my back. After the ceremony was performed, the priest whispered to me, 'You, young man, have brought meat here by means of the pack string. You will have an opportunity before the summer is over to lasso a pony in the enemy's country. The gods now know you. Do not fear to go on the war path.' I went. We found a village, and others became afraid and ran. I went east by myself and found the enemy's horses. I went among them and found one with an eagle-wing fan tied to its tail. I captured it and rode home. Since then I have made many sacrifices." The top cross-bar was tied by two men each of whom had made a sacrifice, but these did not recount any adventures in war.

It is probable that the scaffold was also painted at this time, although the ceremonies connected with the painting are not remembered. The two uprights were painted red and black, the former symbolizing
[822] day, and the latter, night. The lowest cross-bar was

black, and symbolized the northeast; and its animal guardian, the bear. 417 The second was red, symbolizing the southeast and the wolf. 782 The third was yellow, symbolizing the northwest and the mountain lion; 796 and the fourth white, symbolizing the southwest and the wildcat. 822 The top cross-bar represented the west, and was painted blue or black and white, symbolizing clouds and rain.

By the time the scaffold was completed, it was about sunset, and the people dispersed. 796 All spectators were sent out of the lodge, and the door was closed. 773 The chief priest then drew upon the floor of the lodge four circles, one for each of the world quarters, and outlined them with white downy feathers. Each of these circles represented a region penetrated by the Morning Star in his search for the Evening Star and also the magic animal which he had overcome there. The white feathers symbolized the foam about their mouths when they attacked him. [533] When the circles had been made, the spectators were re-admitted, and the [535] priests sang a song descriptive of the journey of the Morning Star, while the chief priest danced around the lodge with a war club, destroying the circles one by one. When the song was finished, he straightened up and said, "Chiefs, priests, warriors, old men, I have destroyed the regions once controlled by the mysterious woman who wanted darkness forever. These animals were under her control, when the Morning Star traveled in darkness looking for her. She placed an obstacle in the southeast, which was controlled by the wolf. The Morning Star destroyed this obstacle, but preserved the mysterious animal. He continued his journey, traveled to the southwest, and again met an obstacle which he destroyed, but preserved the animal, a wildcat. He continued his journey, and when he came to the northwest, he again met an obstacle. He des-

*172 231 175 horses in them.[20] La Salle possibly, and La Harpe probably, referred to the *Pawnee Picts*, or Wichita, rather than to the Pawnee proper. Bandelier, however, states that the Pawnee were well and unfavorably known to the Spanish through much of the seventeenth century,[21] and in all probability their raiding propensities had made them familiar with the horse quite as early as La Salle's time. At any rate, by 1800 every village on the Platte and Loup Rivers possessed several thousand animals, and their use had become an integral part of Pawnee culture.

*172 231 417 According to early accounts the horses were pastured during the day in great droves on the grassy bottoms and were tended by young boys. At night, as a precautionary measure against predatory Dakota raiders, they were brought into the village and placed in corrals among the lodges. According to Clayton,[22] there was a pen in conjunction with each lodge; they were constructed of small, closely set upright poles, bound together by crosspieces. Most of the enclosures were square, but a few were circular; the gate was merely a few poles laid across a gap on one side. Morse[23] states that there was a circular pen adjacent to each dwelling.

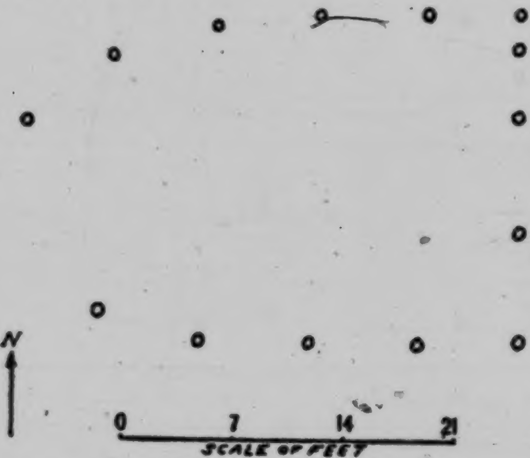


FIGURE 6.—Plan of horse corral (?), Hill site.

172 417 Several years ago, during the course of excavations at the Hill site, Mr. A. T. Hill uncovered remains of a somewhat unique character (fig. 6). At a depth of 10 inches was encountered a very hard-packed stratum some 4 inches thick which was traced over an oblong area some 33 feet east to west by 21 feet in width. The edge was marked by a row of 15 postholes, normally 10 to 18 inches deep, about 7 feet apart, and each from 4 to 7 inches in diameter; bits of charred wood occurred at each hole and also between them. The east end was square; at the west end was a 12-foot gap where one post had very obviously been omitted. There were no inside post-holes, nor was there any fireplace, and the usual debris found in a lodge site was conspicuously absent. The situation was low, unsuited for a dwelling, yet the hard-packed soil had effectively resisted the action of water draining into the hollow in times of heavy rain. There was quite clearly no roof, nor is there anything to suggest a house pit such as occurs as a foundation for every lodge. From all appearances, therefore, it would seem that the structure was a stock corral, with its entrance toward the west. Transverse poles were doubtless lashed from post to post, and the gate closed by means of movable cross poles. This reconstruction is confirmed by the occurrence of charcoal almost exclusively about or between the post holes. Such a corral, though unlike that described by Clayton, would be entirely practicable, and where timber was scarce would also be highly advisable. 172 417 ●

---

[20] Margry Papers, vol. II, p. 310.

[21] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 185. Compare Thomas, 1935, pp. 172 and 277 (note 144).

[22] 1921, p. 100.

[23] 1822, p. 240.

FOODS: AGRICULTURE

The food complex of the Pawnee centered about two staples, viz, maize and the bison. Since the two were very nearly equally stressed, though conducive to wholly dissimilar habits of life, they were directly responsible for many of the varied elements of Pawnee culture. Thus they made the people alternately roving hunters and settled agriculturists, and led, correspondingly, to the use of two entirely distinct house types, of the cache, and of numerous other traits. It was to this combination of hunting with horticultural life that much of the richness of Pawnee culture is due. 172* 262

The Pawnee were essentially a corn-growing people. Corn was their Mother; it figured in their rituals and in their mythology, even more prominently than did the bison. Two ears of corn went into the sacred bundles of the tribe, and were renewed annually.[24] The most important ceremonies, including the sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning Star by the Skidi, were directed as much toward securing a bountiful corn crop as toward success on the bison hunt. 172* 243 [778]

The cornfields were of necessity small, seldom including more than an acre or so. They were usually situated at the mouth of a ravine or in similar spots where the soil was loose and fertile. Owing to the primitive nature of the tools used, the prairie bottomlands with their heavy turf were impractical, consequently, the women were often compelled to go as far as 5 and 8 miles from the village to find a suitable plot of ground.[25] Occasionally the fields were protected by a wicker fence,[26] but as a rule they were left open, the women remaining to guard them during the daytime while the horses were at large. [47]

---

[24] Dorsey, G. A., 1904, p. 20; Linton, 1923, a, p. 2.
[25] Irving, 1835, vol. ii, p. 27; Oehler and Smith, 1851, p. 29.
[26] Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 447.

Next they planted the beans, sometimes in the same hills with the corn 244
so that the vines could entwine themselves around the cornstalks. If they
planted them in separate hills, they set in willow sticks for the vines to
cling to.

Last of all, they planted pumpkins, squashes, and watermelons [*Citrullus, citrullus* (L.) Karst., indigenous variety—Gilmore, 1919, pp. 120-
129.]. These were planted in separate patches and served to separate the [243]
different varieties of corn in order to preserve the breeds. There would
be a planting of blue corn, then a pumpkin patch, then spotted corn, then
a melon patch, and so on in this order.

Between two adjacent fields, there was a hill or ridge where the sun- 241
flowers grew by themselves without planting. Some women surrounded 423
their fields with a fence built of stakes connected with rawhide ropes. 578
Disputes about the boundaries of their fields sometimes occurred among
the women. Some women would pile the earth further and further on the [417]
far side of the field and encroach on the field of a neighbor. Some women
stole crops, whereupon arguments would ensue and they would curse
one another and call one another names. The woman from whom the corn
had been stolen would strike the other woman with her hands or with a
stick. The informant said that stealing was actually unnecessary, as a poor [476]
women could easily get some corn by appealing to her neighbor di- [735]
rectly, saying, "I want you to take pity on me and give me some corn."

Women always went to the fields in groups for their own protection; 241
the Sioux made a particular point of attacking and scalping them as they 476
were going into the fields or coming home. This was presumably to ex- 722
ert sufficient pressure to chase the Pawnees from their territory and in- 648
duce them to abandon it entirely. The mortality among the women from
this cause was heavy. In 1861 in one such attack eighteen Skidi women
were killed. One group of women would say to the other, "We're going
to clear our fields, how about you?" Then the two groups would set out
together, any woman who finished first helping the others so that all
would be ready to return at the same time. The young men, without be-
ing told, knew that this was the time to picket around the fields.

In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each of the mature 241
women had at least one field. Clear Day, the younger wife, and her 423
mother, Blue Calico, worked one field together, as was customary with 592
mother and daughter until the younger woman was considered responsi-
ble enough to manage her own. Fields were located along the bottom-
lands on both banks of Beaver Creek, and some women had a closer and
a more distant field. The ones that were closer to the villages were, of
course, the more desirable both for transport and for military reasons. An
individual field was from half an acre to one and a half acres in area.

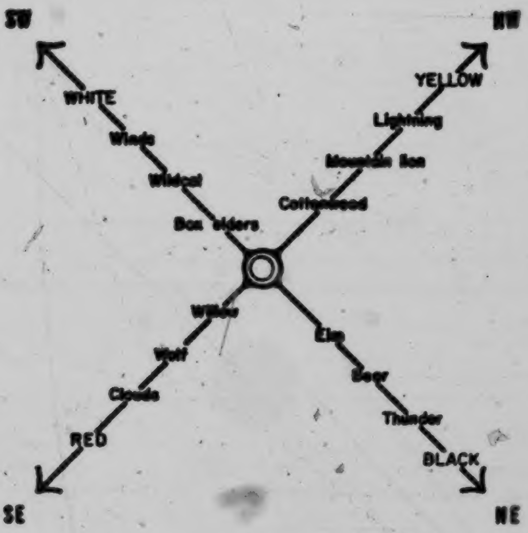
Patterns of cooperation were well developed in each household so that 592
the women would get through quickly. Queen Woman would say to

with red buffalo-fat ointment. Four circles were made on the ground one 773
in each of the semicardinal directions to symbolize the four quarters of 796
the universe that the Morning Star had to pass as he approached the 782
Evening Star. The circles were made by a man who stood in the middle [823]
and extended his toe as far as possible, drawing his foot on the ground as [772]
he turned. The tracks were filled with soft down feathers from the bundle. The priest smeared himself with red buffalo-fat ointment and suffused himself with sweet grass smoke. The actual ceremony could begin.

The priest of the Evening Star bundle sang the first part of the ritual and after a pause, the Morning Star priest took charge. He sang two songs. Then they had their meal. The Wolf man opened the next phase, bringing the girl to the altar where she was anointed by the priest with red ointment given to him by the war leader. They returned to their seats and the ceremony continued all night. The second day's ceremony was of the same kind. On the third day they continued to sing and dance, the war leader beginning the dance and then being joined by the others. The war leader took up the northeast pole from the fireplace with the fire still burning on its end and pointed it at the girl without touching her, first toward her right side then toward her left. Next he took first the southwest pole following the same procedure, then the northwest pole and then the southeast pole, following the prescribed order. Now, on the third day, the crowd of spectators became heavy and began to push into the lodge and tear holes in the roof so that they could witness the proceedings.

While the ceremony was going on in the lodge the priest gave direc- 773
tions for the preparation of the sacrificial scaffold. He sent men to find a 796
suitable location a mile or two east of the village with a ravine or a 782
series of dips in the ground to the east of it where the attacking war- 417
riors could hide during the ceremony. Wood for each part of the sacrifi-
cial frame had to be of special kinds: cottonwood for the two uprights; 824
the four crossbars near the bottom serving as steps, each symbolizing one of the four semicardinal directions, the bottommost elm, then box elder, cottonwood, and willow, each associated with an animal power. Elm represented the bear and the northeast; box elder, the mountain lion and the southwest; cottonwood, the wildcat and the northwest; and willow, the wolf and the southeast. When the men reported back to the priest that they had located the wood, he gave them four strips of animal skin, each one of the appropriate animal with which to tie the crossbars to the frame. Near the top of the two uprights was another crossbar of willow, symbolizing Heaven, which was tied on with otter-
skin to symbolize the renewal of life. They were instructed by the 773
priest to dig a rectangular pit under the scaffold in area about the size 796
of a buffalo robe commonly used to wrap a sacred bundle and 5 inches 782
417

796 782 773 417 deep, the bottom to be covered with soft down feathers. The pit symbolized the Garden of the Evening Star from which all life originates. The pit was called *Kusaru*, which in Pawnee simply means bed.



[82] Figure 10-1. Association of symbolisms for the four semicardinal directions: colors, natural forces, animals, trees.

796 773 782 In the ceremonial lodge, the dancing and singing continued on the fourth day. Whenever they ate during the ceremonies, the girl was served, and once in a while she was taken out to walk around, always accompanied by Wolf man. The main theme of the fourth day was the destruction of the four semicardinal circles in the appropriate order as Morning Star had done in the creation as he warred on the Evening Star. The priest, impersonating the Morning Star wore leggings decorated with scalps. First he arose and sang and danced around the north side, then the south side, then back to the altar. He danced around the lodge again and when he arrived at the east he whirled around suddenly and destroyed the northeast circle scattering the white feathers around the lodge, then the southwest, the northwest, and the southeast circles, making a grunting sound each time as if attacking an enemy. Then all sang the fifth song and the girl was taken to the altar to be costumed for her last role.

[822] Her body was painted, red on the right side, black on the left, the red to symbolize day, the time of the Morning Star, and the black to

The tripe was boiled at the same time as the intestines. It was not 251
otherwise treated, but simply hung on the rack to dry. 252

The internal organs, particularly the tripe, took several days before they were dry enough for storage. They had to be hung on the rack on several successive days, while the rest of the meat usually cured in a day or so. These dried internal organs were used for mixing with dried corn kernels to make soup.

The drying rack had been completed and ready to hang up the meat 251
by the time the men got in from the hunt. It had three upright forked 417
sticks planted in the ground, with three cross sticks, one resting in the forks at the top and two tied on at intervals below with strips of inner bark or of hide. A double-length rack was sometimes made to accommodate all the meat prepared in their camp. The rack was erected with its broad side facing east so that the sun would strike the meat directly. The meat was hung on the rack with the two long steaks in the center and the other parts out toward the ends, pieces of kidney fat and other parts of the fat in between.

As soon as the camp was set up, they brought in plenty of water in 251
anticipation of the fact that the intestines and other parts would have 252
to be boiled. When the men had arrived, Grandma set them to boil at once and began slicing the meat. White Woman was helping and when No Corn had fed the men, she came out and joined them, while Horse Rider got to work disjointing the limbs and removing the meat from the bones. Having joined forces, the meat began to pile up and White Woman hung the meat on the rack while the others sliced. With three women and Horse Rider working together, the meat of each buffalo took about an hour and a half to get on the rack, and from two-thirty to five-thirty they had prepared the meat of both buffalo that the men had brought in. Thus it would take a single worker five or six hours for each animal.

The hides had to be pegged out onto the ground and defleshed 252
simultaneously with the slicing of the meat as they had to be stretched out 281
while they were still fresh. After they had made considerable progress with slicing the meat, Grandma suggested to White Woman that she would continue with the meat and that White Woman might go and tend to the hides. This was the most strenuous part of the work and since No Corn was crippled, White Woman had to process both the hides. No Corn continued to help Grandma slice the meat, and while White Woman was pegging down one of the hides, Horse Rider offered to peg
down the other. White Woman then proceeded to deflesh both of them. 281
The fleshing tool was made of the shaft of a buffalo tibia, the small end [412]
cut to a fine-toothed edge and the thick end with a hole through which [237]
a rawhide strap was drawn to go around the wrist. White Woman bent

considerable quantities of dried corn, vegetables, meat, and some skins 251 and clothing, and they took out some of the dried corn and beans for current use, until the green corn would be ready.

As soon as the encampment was set up, Grandma had a visit from Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy who was camping way over east with the Village-in-the-Bottomlands group where she had been all summer with her son. She came to talk to Grandma about going up to the cache pit the next morning, cleaning it up and getting out a few supplies. Old-Lady-Blue-Calico who was the grandmother in Old Bull's family that occupied the south side of the earth lodge, also came with a similar proposal and early next morning the three old ladies went up there and got to work. White Woman and No Corn said they would join them later after they had finished the household chores in order to get a few supplies of dried corn and pumpkin.

When they first opened the pit, the air smelled moldy and they had to let it air a bit before anyone could enter. Then they put down a tree ladder, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, who was the tallest, went into the pit to look things over. The ladder was a tree trunk with stubs of [417] branches left on for a foothold and two extra notches at the bottom. The pit was 10 feet deep. The moldy smell might have come from the thatch grass that lined the pit or from the actual supplies. When she got down inside, the old lady discovered a moldy place in the grass which she proceeded to rub off with a broom and throw out of the pit. The women had each brought along a small sack, *ritsakusu,* in which to carry home their supplies. This was about 8 inches high and a foot in diameter when full (compare with sack carried on the hunt, *asakarusu,* 3 feet high and 1½ feet diameter when full). In the pit each woman had a very large sack of tanned hide in which her provisions were stored, and each one asked Grieves-the-Enemy to dip out some from her store into the small sack. No Corn who had arrived with White Woman by this time, asked for some green roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*) and a half a checker-plaited pumpkin mat. White Woman asked for the same. Grandma reminded them that they shouldn't take too much at this time, as they would very soon have fresh roasted green corn from their current crop. Since the other women in the household had taken roasted corn, Grandma asked for a different kind—mature dried blue flour corn, [252] *uraaxkatit,* that she could pound up and make into mush with buffalo soup, *u-taraba* "mush-buffalo." She also asked for dried sweet corn, the rather sticky yellow variety, *rikis-karus,* "corn-sweet," that she intended to pound up in the mortar with sugar which could then be eaten without further preparation.

The younger women carried their supplies back to camp and the three older women lingered a while to close up the pit securely and to talk over their plans. They had decided that each of the old women would 243 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there.

887
252

281 The skins were tanned either with or without the hair. The skins of
[415] old buffalo or with exceptionally thin wool had the hair removed and
were kept on hand to wrap things in, for bedding, skin bags, moccasins,
[513] and occasionally, if they were light enough, for skirts. The heavier qualities were used especially for tent skins. Tanned hide with hair removed
[291] was used as a light wrap or blanket to be draped around the shoulders.
[531] When worn in this way it was often decorated with designs or colored.

In tanning the robe with the hair on, which was the main trade robe, the hide was unrolled the evening before. Next morning it was placed on the ground and scraped on the flesh side with the elbow-scraper. This was a more strenuous process than dehairing. The skin had to be thinned section by section and any irregularities removed. If no one interrupted and the work proceeded at top speed, it took three hours of back-breaking labor. After this, the skin was immediately sprinkled with water to keep it soft and by evening it was pliable enough to be folded up and put into a kettle with cold water poured over it and left to soak overnight.

• 417 The next morning after breakfast the woman prepared a stretching
281 frame on which to fasten the skin so that she could apply the tanning mixture. The standing part of the frame was made of two pairs of tent poles, each pair being fastened together at the top, spread out at the bottom, and set apart at the proper distance to accommodate the length of the skin. The two sets of "bi-pods" were joined across the near arms by two additional tent poles, one above and one below to a distance of the width of the hide. The skin was bound onto this slanting rectangular frame by overcasting around the edges through the peg holes around the edge of the hide. The flesh surface was now uppermost and to this the tanning solution would be applied.

281 Some bark, used as a sort of sponge, was dipped into the tanning mixture, which was spilled and rubbed onto the hide until it was well soaked and the water was dripping down the surface. The solution was now pressed in and rubbed from the top downward with a special tool resembling the blade of an iron hoe. In this process of rubbing and scraping, a good deal of the excess water was removed. When the skin had dried somewhat, a pinch of flour was sprinkled on and rubbed all over the surface to make it white. While the skin remained on the stretcher to dry for about an hour, the equipment for the next step was prepared. The skin would be rubbed back and forth on a taut sinew rope in order to soften it. Two green sticks of uneven height, one 2 feet and one 5½ feet high, were set upright in the ground about 4½ feet apart. They were joined by a big sinew rope that was stretched between them and tied at each end. The skin was rubbed back and forth across the rope on the flesh side until it was softened. One woman could do this alone, but it was more convenient for two to work on it, one holding on to the hide at each end.

The stretching of the skin on the frame took all morning, the tanning 281 [461] the noon hour and the afternoon the rubbing and softening. By evening, although the skin was still quite wet it was taken indoors so that no one would appropriate it. It was beaten with a stick on the fur side to sprinkle out some of the water.

Next morning when the sun was quite high, the skin was again rubbed on the sinew and set on the ground with the hair side up to get completely dry. Then it was placed on a mat and the margin trimmed all around with a sharp knife to remove any peg holes or other irregularities. The robe was now complete and was rolled up ready for wear or sale.

The skins that were less prime were tanned without the hair on, as the tanning process differed somewhat from the fur robe. After the hair was scraped off with the elbow-scraper, the flesh side was scraped and thinned with the same tool. The hide was soaked over night and next morning, stretched on the frame to be treated with the tanning mixture. The skin was left on the frame until the flesh side was thoroughly dry and even though the dehaired surface remained a bit wet, the skin was removed from the frame and rubbed between the fingers to soften it, then twisted with a wringing motion as we twist our bedsheets. It was not necessary to rub the skin as violently as the fur robe as in the dehairing process the horny outer epidermis had been removed. Eight of these skins went into the construction of the tent cover; they were used for bedding, curtains, packages, and bags.

The skins to be worn as blankets were usually dyed. If a white blanket 281 386 was desired, white clay was sprinkled on the wet surface while it was still stretched on the frame and allowed to dry in thoroughly before it was removed and twisted.

More commonly, for wear as blankets, the tanned hide was dyed black. The black dye was made by boiling sumach leaves in water, the dye being allowed to cool before being applied to the surface of the tanned hide. The dye was rubbed in with a rag, first on one surface and when this was dry, on the other. When both sides were thoroughly dry, the skin was rubbed between the fingers to soften it and hung across a horizontal pole and beaten with a stick to remove the excess dye that had dried onto the surface. Interspersed with the other housework of the fall season, it took four days to make a black-dyed blanket.

It was also possible to dye the tanned hide a light yellow. This was done by smoking it over a rotten log of any kind of wood. They dug a long rectangular trench in the ground and put the log into it with some hot coals. They built an archway of supple twigs over the trench by [417] sticking a series of twigs in the ground along both sides and joining them at the top. A number of long sticks were fastened on top and on the long sides of the archway to strengthen the structure. The tanned hide was laid onto the framework and weighted down with earth or sticks on all

322 through it, turning it over and over so that it was a little charred in
412 places. These charred places were scraped off with another stick. The stick was now left leaning against the lodge outside for at least a week, so that it could dry out. Sometimes it was taken in and put out a second time. When it was finally ready for use, all the moisture had evaporated and it was light to carry but very strong.

414 The making of *tent pegs* of dogwood saplings has been described in
322 connection with the rendezvous camp of the summer hunt. They might alternatively be made in the earth lodge before setting out, tied up in a set and carried along.

414 *The Bracket for Hanging the Pot over the Fire.* This was only needed
417 in the earth lodge and on the winter hunt as its purpose was to suspend
322 the pot over the hot flame of the fireplace. Such a hot flame was made for
[354] light and heat as well as for cooking only in the excavated circular basin-shaped fireplace, the earth lodge, and the pointed tipi. On the summer hunt with the open curve-roofed tent, a long rectangular fireplace was made outside to the north of the doorway and oriented north–south. In this long trenchlike arrangement, a log was kept smoldering and the pot was set directly on the coals, so that the bracket and hook were not needed. The bracket consisted of two parts—a more or less vertical post, forked at the top and pointed at the bottom so that it could be inserted in the ground, and a wooden hook suspended from one arm of the fork by a string of bison rawhide that could be wound around the arm so that the pot that was suspended from the hook could hang closer or further away from the flames. The vertical post was driven into the ground due east of the fireplace at a slant so that the hook hung directly over the fire, or else a trunk was chosen for the bracket that had a natural curvature. The process of treating and seasoning the vertical bracket was the same as for the *biku* stick.

342 *Tipi Poles.* The conical pointed tent or tipi was used by the Pawnees
[221] only for their winter migration. The same tent skin was used as for the summer, but the wooden frame was different. The frame of the summer tent comprised a rack of two forked sticks at the front with a horizontal between, and, outlining a semiellipse, a series of flexible saplings stuck in the ground that were drawn down onto the rack and fastened there to form the characteristic curved roof. The Pawnee name for this summer tent was ***kax-kata-sa***, "dwelling-upon-lying." The frame for the conical-pointed tipi was based on a tripod of rather heavy poles more than 15 feet long and made from trees 6 to 7 inches in diameter before removing the bark. Once the tripod was set up and a fourth stick added for the entrance, the other poles of equal thickness were leaned against it all around. The tipi was called ***kax-ta-pe***, "dwelling-against-leaning," or ***kar-rats-a-pe***, "dwelling-they-against-leaning." The tipi might be 18 feet in

231 177 The problem of the horses was especially acute and of major concern. From archaeology and written history we know that the Pawnees had acquired horses nearly two hundred years before this time. But apparently there were many essential techniques of horse care that they had not adopted from the European. For example, Lone Chief had only recently found out that they should store hay for their horses in the winter. There were no shoes for the horses. When a horse broke his hoof they tied on a "shoe" of hide.

231 [857] If it snowed before they left the village or after they got back, the horses had to have special care. The young boys who took care of them in summer could not be utilized at this season for the purpose. Anyway, they were more interested in sliding on the ice. The women had to go a mile south to get whatever hay they could, and in the evening the horses [417] were put in a corral near the lodge—a round structure of upright sticks with a gate that was closed across with five sticks. Inside there was a manger that was filled with hay when the horses were settled in for the night. They tried to economize on feed by taking them to graze at intervals during the day. In the morning, after being fed some more hay, they were taken from the corral to the bend of Beaver Creek where there was good grass. By noon they were brought back to the village and hobbled close by. Then toward evening, if snow were expected, they were again taken to Beaver Creek to graze in order to save the hay in the corral where they would have to be kept while it was snowing. If it got too cold, they would have to take the horses into the earth lodge and settle them near the wood pile. The long entrance passageway was quite large enough to accommodate them. While they were on the hunt, the horses had to be covered with an old tent skin during the night.

Some families tried to anticipate these problems by putting their horses in the best possible condition during the fall. Toward the end of September or the beginning of October, they would send them out to Grand Island for about six weeks under the care of a group of men and boys. On the island the horses could wander more or less freely, graze, rest, and water at will. Near the villages the grass was dry at this time, but here it was green and fresh and the horses would fatten. Allowed to run [232] loose, they mated freely. No selective breeding was practiced. Some people had their horses gelded by one of the men who knew how. He tied up the horse and used certain medicines, tying up the wound with sticks which would fall off by themselves later. A buffalo robe and dry meat [465] were paid for the operation. When he was about twelve, Otter was sent 231 on such an expedition. He was told to take the mare, a colt, and a gray 857 horse and join the others. They said to him, "If the Sioux overtake you, you must get on the gray horse and you will get away unless you are thrown off. Then, since you have no weapons, you will be killed." With this cheerful admonition, Otter set out about ten in the morning,

60

PROCESSING THE MEAT

Getting Forage for the Horses—Working on the Meat inside the Tent

AFTER THE TENT WAS SET UP, White Woman and No Corn got some cottonwood tops and bark for the horses to eat when the men got in from the chase. They went out and cut down a few trees and dragged them in two loads, taking one at a time into the tent, cutting off the tops and making a number of cuts with the ax along the trunk to loosen the bark. Most of the time the bark could then be struck off easily, but if it was too tough, it was macerated a bit with the ax head. They also gathered whatever hay they could find and got wood and water for their cooking. High over the fire, they built a grate to warm the meat through after slicing, as in winter the meat had to be treated inside the tent before it was finally dried outdoors. 231 354 252 417

When the hunters got in they immediately brought the meat inside lest it freeze so that it could not be sliced. The horses were tethered outside the tent, each one covered over with a skin spread so that he would not catch cold, and left out all night to eat their cottonwood tops and bark that had been placed before them on a hide. Sometimes if the horses did not have enough, the Pawnees had to feed them corn. When the meal was over, the men went to the council tent and the women began to slice the meat. 252 231 252

They made a low fire, and after the meat was sliced they put it on the grate to warm through. Outside they built another rack of a different form. This had an elliptical ridge pole and withes along one side on which the meat rested under which they placed hot coals in order to dry the meat thoroughly. 251 417

Sometimes they built another grate similar to the one indoors so that the meat could finally be exposed to the sun and wind. In this condition the meat was thoroughly cooked and could be eaten without further cooking as well as being preserved for storage. [252]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 343 at the top, then carrying the rope all around the frame spirally from top to bottom. The frame was then entirely covered over with buffalo grass and a large smokehole left at the top and an opening at the east for an entrance. Over the central fireplace a wooden grate or drying rack like • [417] the one in the tipi would be built high up so that the meat could dry. Donations for the council tent could also be kept in there to keep them from freezing. When the tipis were all set up, the chiefs, braves, and boys *224 [623] would meet in the council tent in the evening to discuss tactics and have a feast on ribs. Eagle Chief had sent out two scouts to climb a high hill now covered with snow to look far to the west up the river and determine where the herds were. They would report that night at the council tent.

Meanwhile, when the men arrived back at Camp 11 with the horses so [803] [624] that they could move the encampment from Turkey Creek westward to Many Deer, at Eagle Chief's direction, the errand man, Know-His-Face went announcing through the camp:

> They killed many buffalo up there and Eagle Chief says we must move from here to there. The meat is sleeping up there and they have a camping place all prepared. People do not need to wait for one another in the morning but can start out any time they are ready as the trail has already been broken by the men coming over here with the horses.

*224 *484 When Horse Rider got into camp where White Woman, No Corn, and the boy were, he tethered the horses outside the tipi and the women covered them and gave them cottonwood tops and bark to eat, leaving them there for the night. Horse Rider told of what a good camping place they had at Many Deer, the problem of how they had to transport the meat across the ice from the south of the river, and how much wood Victory Call had gathered for them. In the morning, right after breakfast, the horses were saddled up and loaded by Horse Rider while the two women dismantled the tent. Some of the meat was still moist (*kiparu*) and he bundled this up in an extra package and piled it on top of the saddle. It would not spoil because the weather was so cold. The two parfleches of meat that were completely dried were fastened one on each side of the saddle.

*224 *484 342 Meanwhile White Woman was shaking the tent pegs loose and pulling them out. No Corn was inside rolling up the mats and tying them and whatever blankets they had. The two sticks from outside the smokehole were removed. Next they removed the pegs laced over the door flap, rolling them up with it for further use. Now they could remove the tent cover. First the south half was pulled to the back and folded over, then the north half was carried around and also folded over at the back. They

61 mission to have young Murie take his place in the ceremonial circuit in the lodge with the understanding that he be made chief on the death of Skidi-Good-Chief, thus continuing the Pumpkin-Vine village in the circuit.

621 A marriage outside the village occurred about sixty years ago
582 [sixty years prior to 1907], and, as the result bears directly on the
591 question of descent, the facts are worth quoting. A man of the
428 Pumpkin-Vine village, having obtained the consent of his uncles,
778 married a young woman of the Morning-Star village. He lived with
his wife in the Morning-Star village for several years, during which time he made sacrifices to the Morning-Star bundle and learned its ceremony. Then he returned to his own village and took his children with him, the children being considered members of the Pumpkin-Vine village. But while living in the Morning-Star village he was considered to have obtained certain rights in that bundle, and he demanded recognition of these rights. On his return to his own village, the Morning-Star bundle was divided, and he carried part of it to the Pumpkin-Vine village. Thus, there exist today two Morning-Star bundles. The ultimate fate of his half of the Morning-Star bundle is interesting. His children all died except one daughter, who married Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village [Wolves-Standing-in-Water village?], who claims ownership in the bundle today. She came by it in this manner: On the death of the husband—that is, the member of the Pumpkin-Vine village—his widow lived with her daughter's husband; she, as keeper of this Morning-Star bundle, ultimately turned it over to her daughter, whose husband, Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village, learned its ceremony and sacrificed scalps to it and so claimed it. Thus it happens today that the priests of Coyote-in-Water village and the Pumpkin-Vine village have a right to be present when either of the Morning-Star bundles is opened.

611 [This statement that descent in the village group followed the
421 paternal line is in direct contradiction to a later one by Murie. In
778 his report on Pawnee societies (1914), Murie wrote: "... if a man
114 married a woman from another village, he must go there to live.
His children were always considered members of the mother's village." The contradiction may be due to confusing the inheritance of sacred bundles, which generally followed the paternal line, and descent in a village group, which may well have been maternal. Also, in cases where the inheritance of a sacred bundle was involved, the pattern of descent might have been modified in favor of patri-

lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may 611
have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, 421
if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of 778
descent in the village group would arise only as the result of in- 114
frequent inter-village marriages.]

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that 621
one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where 778
it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village 773
it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each 621
village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the 778
ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi 796
villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the 621
villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly 778
had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were 103
extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

were comfortably settled in homes on individual plots remained 175*
on them and worked them faithfully. Living in houses, they were 648*
soon asking for tables and chairs and bedsteads. Ponies being their 657
chief form of property, the homesteaders would offer ponies for [422]
cooking stoves and culinary implements. Some exchanged ponies
for hogs. A great change was coming into Pawnee life.

The chiefs, priests and medicine men stubbornly opposed the [622
change. Their resistance was strengthened by lax and inefficient
methods of government officials. Agents were political appointees, 756]
subject to the changing winds of political control. In the eight-year period from 1876 to 1884 seven agents were successively in charge of the Pawnee. The indications are that often they were lax and indolent, occasionally viciously dishonest. The great suffering for lack of adequate provisions in the early years was in part a result of such maladministration. In 1883 supervision became worse, when the independent Pawnee agency was merged into a combined agency for the Ponca, Pawnee and Oto (later to include the Tonkawa), which was located at Ponca City, many miles from the Pawnee Reservation. Only one or two days of the week could be spent with the Pawnee. The agency fell into disrepair, and procrastination ruled in the affairs of the Pawnee.

On the positive side there were the younger progressive spirits among the Pawnee themselves, who worked untiringly to persuade the people to adjust themselves to new conditions. They found opposition not only in their own ranks, but among white people in the Territory, who, sympathetic to Indian ideas, urged the Pawnee here and there to resist allotments. 175*

The Skiri were the most progressive of the four bands. By 1887 648*
a great many families were located on farms distributed all over the 177
reservation, and a large proportion of these were Skiri. By 1890 621
most of the Skiri lived on their own farms, furnished their houses 657
and dressed like white people, and spoke English in ordinary
intercourse. The Tcawi ran them a close second. Of the other bands, while most were on allotted tracts, there were still many earth-lodges in evidence, and only those who were being educated in the schools were dressing and acting like white people. The Pitahawirat[a] proved most conservative and resisted change longest.

By the close of the decade the chiefs had accepted the inevitable. 175*
They blocked the agent in some minor measures, but for the most 648*
part expressed themselves eager to see the people educated and 657
civilized. Officials were able to report that the tribe was anxious to 177
have an allotting officer come to the reservation to register their
individual tracts and issue certificates: the people were puzzled

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band 778
were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" [621]
belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor [614]
by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging to the several bands there were two bundles which were the [619
property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one 422]
or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning Star, while the other symbolized the female element, or Evening Star. These ears of corn were shelled and given to the people as seed corn at the first ceremony in the spring. Next in importance [237]
were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies, tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained other articles, and the skins of birds other than those mentioned. [611]

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary 422
keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the 428
owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped 778
in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on 621
the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always 778
placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey considers the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to [171]
the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. 778
The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in 796
the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl. 7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not [793]
fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

---

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. S. C. Simms, Director of the Field Museum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 8).

685 missible to steal from another Pawnee band.] Such a person was whipped or beaten by the aggrieved. It is said that those of the [565] upper class did not desire to steal, while those of the lower class were restrained by fear of detection. Occasionally women of the lower classes robbed the corn fields. Poor people, especially those who did not own ponies and hence were handicapped in the buffalo chase, sometimes would find a dead buffalo with the arrow which had killed the animal. They would remove the arrow, shoot it off a long distance, and insert their own. When the one who had killed the buffalo returned to claim his property his mark of ownership had [422] been destroyed. All arrows bore special property signs, being marked either with distinctive paints or by the arrangement of the feathers. It is said, however, that it was not easy to steal a buffalo in this manner, for it usually fell on the side where it had been struck by the arrow of the slayer[?]. The end of the arrow would be broken off and it would be difficult to extract.

To steal from another tribe was in no way contrary to prevailing ethics, though the one who stole ponies was supposed to use them to assist him in getting buffalo and scalps to sacrifice to the deities.

778 "rains-wrapped-up." The tribe was divided into a 621 number of villages all of whose members traced their (611) descent in the female line from a single ancestor. Each 778 of these villages possessed a sacred bundle, while there were two others which were considered the property of the tribe as a whole. The Four Direction village had four sacred bundles one of which was sacred to each of the cardinal points. These points were, to [823] the Pawnee, southwest, southeast, northwest, and northeast. The sacred bundle of each village was believed to have been given to its first ancestor by one of the heavenly beings, and constituted a link between 778 its members and the divine donor. From their traditions the "gift" seems to have consisted rather in explicit directions for its making than in an actual presentation of the objects. The bundles were inherited [422] in the female line so that their owners were always [428] women. Their keepers, and the priests who performed their ceremonies, were, on the other hand, men.

All the village bundles contained much the same objects. The most important of these were one or two ears of corn, which were called Mother-Corn and were believed to give life to the bundle. They were shelled in the spring and distributed for seed, being replaced at harvest time. When the Mother-Corn consisted of two ears, one of these was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element or Morning Star, while the other symbolized the female element or Evening Star. Next in importance to the Mother-Corn were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls. The hawk sym- [825] bolized a warrior; the owl, a chief, because it was always awake and watchful. The owl seems to have also symbolized the watchfulness of Tirawa, the supreme being. One or more scalps, taken from slain enemies, were found in every bundle. Pieces cut from them were used in various ceremonies, and they had to be renewed from time to time. Four skins, each of

about arrows. Presently all five would have congregated there and they 411
would continue the conversation. People at the gambling grounds would 463
remark, "See those fellows over there? I guess they're talking about arrows and who makes the best ones." Meanwhile the arrowmakers would be talking about how many arrows they had made during the spring and how many more they would have to make. They would talk about
how many they had given as gifts. With the younger men, arrowshafts [525]
were a favorite item for gambling; the older ones played for higher stakes, like horses and dried buffalo meat. One of the makers would remark, "I gave one fellow so and so many, but he's a great gambler and he's already lost them." "I gave that fellow arrows too," another would say, "and I'm sure he'll also lose those!"

The most skilled arrowmaker of the group was Chief's Road, who shared the lodge next to that of Victory Call and Old Bull with his brother, Horse Thief. His shafts were slender and graceful and had black feathers on the ends. He was jealous of his skill; when someone tried to approach him when he was working, he would turn and conceal what he was doing. He had probably learned the craft from his father. He was a commoner in hereditary rank, but ambitious to rise in the social scale. He would supply Chief Victory Call, Otter's father, with arrows and do other services for him in the hope of gaining status. The arrowshafts made by his brother, Horse Thief, were also of fine workmanship.

Two other craftsmen were also grouped and made shafts that were similar. Path-of-the-Enemy made arrowshafts that tended to be large and not as fine as those of the two brothers. He had been born as a brave, the rank second to that of chief, but he had little interest in validating his public position. He was good-natured, with a pleasant disposition, and well liked. He had taught New Young Dog his craft, and he also made rather large shafts. He was a man of great courage and was always off on hunting and scouting expeditions that at times took him far from the village.

The fifth arrowmaker was Careless-of-the-Enemy. He would go off long distances by himself on hunting and scouting expeditions. He had no interest in public recognition or status problems.

Besides the characteristic shape of the shafts that each of these men
made, they each put a slightly different-colored marking on his shafts. [422]
The distinctive character of the shafts were confined to the makers, not the owners. Everyone knew who got shafts from which maker and when and how many. While out on the buffalo hunt, everyone was conscious of who chased which animal, and when they came up to a fallen buffalo and examined the arrowshaft, they put together the circumstances and
knew who had killed that particular bull or cow. Nobody needed a per- [422]
sonal property mark for this purpose.

Horses were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact 000

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Horses
231 were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact.
177 that horses were introduced to this continent by the Spaniards in the
early 1500's, and whatever use was made of them by American Indians
had to develop after that time. Even though it was a considerable length
of time, the Pawnee practices in connection with the use and care of
horses were not as advanced as those of the Spaniards. As regards the
*224 buffalo hunt, at the time of our narrative horses were used in the chase
492 when they were attacking the herd in a group and also to carry their
food and camping equipment. The strategy of the mass attack upon the
herd was to develop a "surround" by the mounted hunters who had
been lined up behind a hill out of sight. No doubt they had previously
492 used a similar technique on foot. As to carrying the food and equipment,
493 a good deal of it was packed on the backs of the women and girls. How-
482 ever, the women had dogs who were trained to drag the tent poles be-
hind them, the heavy ends of the poles tied to a harness on the dog's
back. The tent poles were grouped into two sets, one on each side of
the dog, and connected by two cross sticks toward the lower ends. Upon
these a skin cover was wrapped where other luggage was placed. A dog
492 could drag as much as 70 pounds. The custom of dog traction and ex-
482 tensive carrying on the back by the women was in full operation as late
175 as 1837 when a famous painter, Alfred Jacob Miller, portrayed the
178 Pawnees in this manner. After 1850, however, dogs were no longer used
[782] for this purpose, and it was mostly the men who kept them around so
that the puppies could be sacrificed and eaten at a special ceremonial.
Some, of course, were kept by the women as pets. By 1867, the horse had
taken over the carrying function almost entirely except for a few poor
single or old people who had to do some packing of their dried buffalo
meat on the way home. The packing of the horse resembled that for-
[493] merly used in connection with the dog; the horse travois or carrying
frame was also the same as that of the dog. All the leather trappings for
keeping the luggage in place had now to be carefully prepared before they
left for the hunt.

231 The Pawnees were relatively poor in horses compared with other
• 422 Plains tribes at this time. This may have been due to constant attacks by
171 the Sioux and the other nomadic tribes, although this is not certain. At
any rate while among the Blackfoot or the Kiowa twenty-five horses at
least were considered an average number for a family on the move.
Eagle Chief, who was head of the Skidi Band, had only ten, and a reason-
ably comfortable family like that of Victory Call had only four or five.
Some families had only one or two horses and it was with great difficulty
726 that they went on the hunt at all. Even in their war practices, the
*482 Pawnee retained some of their prehorse habits. It was well known that
178 they set out on their war expeditions on foot and they were known to the
Kiowa as "Walkers." The rationale given for this by students of the sub-

*224 492 178 From some of these accounts of the hunt without horses, it is clear that the social patterning of the buffalo hunt was probably quite ancient. Yet by 1867 horses had become a necessity for the hunt.

*224 492 *484 592 If a man had only one horse, only the man and one of his wives could go on the summer hunt. He would have to leave his other wife and all the children at home and any old people or other dependents. The couple that were going would pack their one horse with food and goods and join someone else's tent, taking just their covers along by way of household equipment. If a family had no horses at all, they could not go. Unmarried or widowed individuals who had no horses could join a household where they could work their way, simply getting their board and keep "for going." They would go on foot wearing a double blanket for their covers. It was said that they went "just to eat."

If a man had two horses, he would also be able to take only one wife along, leaving the rest of the family home. She would go along to process the meat.

*224 492 571 There were some rough-and-ready characters who, even though they had two horses, would decide to go alone, leaving their wives behind. They were men who were not averse to doing all kinds of work, including the hunting and preparing the meat besides. Such a man would say to his wife, "You'll only be in my way." No insult was intended. For example, Mad Bear would team up with his friend Many People who had a small tent and two or three horses. Together they could bring back a
[572] great deal of dried meat in this way. Two men of this kind were friends and equal partners. Sometimes two men would team up, one of whom was the senior buffalo hunter of the two. Then the more prominent hunter would ride the buffalo horse to the hunting grounds while his assistant rode the pack horse. During the chase the assistant stood back, holding the pack horse, while the hunter went after the buffalo. The assistant then helped him butcher and they packed the extra horse with the meat. The senior hunter rode the hunting horse back to the encampment and the assistant rode the pack horse on top of the meat. If they got two buffalo, both horses were packed with meat and they both rode on top.

*224 492 A man with two horses and no assistant could manage by riding the pack horse and leading the hunting horse by a rope. When he got to the herd, he hobbled the pack horse on the sidelines. When he got the buffalo, he rode over on his fast horse and led his pack horse to where the buffalo lay. Then he loaded the pack horse and led it by a rope, riding to the camp on his fast horse.

*224 492 •422 426 The possession of three horses made it possible for a man to take his whole family along, while four horses made it possible to manage easily. Ordinarily he would not have a guest traveling with them, but if he did he would assign him one of the horses so that he could pack his things on

it. A man like Eagle Chief who had eight or nine horses and whose son- 224*
in-law had a similar number, could afford to lend two or three to out- 492
siders, although this did not mean they would also share in the family 422
tent, as his administrative functions required that he take his entire 426
family along.

In the Pawnee language, the word horse means "super-dog," the only 482
pack animal the Pawnees had before the impact of European culture. 492
With all due respect to the capacities of the dog, however, it was the people 177
themselves that did most of the carrying on their own backs. They 224*
had to pack not only the things they needed for camping—food, tents, and equipment—but they had to carry back the dried buffalo meat and the large hides. Every able-bodied person they took along with them could earn his way by carrying things on his back. The men, whether first-rate hunters or not, could play a useful role in the surround of the herd. The only people they would leave behind in the villages were the old and disabled. But the horse had made quite a difference in the social economy. A horse could be packed with the dried and packaged meat of four buffalo while a person could not carry more than one—about 80 pounds. If need be the horse could carry still more goods on his back. Unless they could be of substantial assistance in the work of the camp, a
person would only be an extra mouth to feed. In the case of a chief or 574
a man who was socially ambitious, there would be a great deal of enter- 554
taining to do in the camp; women, in addition to their work in preparing 224*
the meat and skins would also assist with the entertaining. In a family 462
which had no social ambitions, like that of Mad Bear cited above, two 224*
men in partnership taking a minimum of housing and utensils and a
maximum of horses could return with a great deal of buffalo meat and 571
hides, to the general benefit of their families. The wife left behind under 492
these circumstances could hardly resent it.

The horse also represented a unique and highly valuable item of capi- 551
tal that had the unprecedented value of not having to be carried, but of 231
moving itself. In the past, differences in wealth would depend on a much [556]
more direct kind of personal skill. The man who was swiftest on his feet and the most skilled with the bow and arrow got the best buffalo, and his wife could produce the finest packaged meat and the best skins. These in turn could be traded for other valuable things—valued ornaments or participation in the sacred ceremonies. Now skill in horsemanship, which had become an indispensable factor in hunting the buffalo, implied also major successes on the warpath and the capturing of horses as well as
their subsequent care and protection. The horse thus provided a material [556]
basis for a greater degree of social differentiation. The horse was an item
of personal property, but unlike property in our society it was by no [422]
means as much of a factor in developing differential status as other aspects of experience, chiefly knowledge of man, the world, and the universe.

*175 The meat rations supplied the Pawnee by the government were
until 1880 delivered on the hoof, and the Indians, gathered round
*648 the agency to receive their oxen, would turn the day into one of
657 carnage and slaughter, killing and dressing their own beeves. The
"oxy kill 'em day," as this was known to the Indian service, ended
in 1880 after which the rations were turned over to the tribe in the
form of dressed meat.

*175 Not more than one-third of the Pawnee reservation was suitable
*648 for farming, but there was a great deal of good pasture land.
Cows and calves were issued to the Pawnee in 1878, and received
657 such good care that with the Indians asking for cattle the govern-
233 ment made an attempt to develop stock-raising. In the summer
of 1880 four hundred head of two-year-old heifers and bulls were
brought from northern Texas and distributed among the Pawnee.
[731] The tribe hailed their coming with delight. Unfortunately a scourge
carried off many oxen the first winter. The Pawnee were not yet
free of their hunting complex. When they wanted meat, they
killed cattle, and finding that traders would buy the hides, so
many were slaughtered that by 1882 only a few head of the cattle
issued to the tribe remained. Stock-raising by the Pawnee was
admittedly a failure.

[245 A great need in the food supply was fresh fruit, for want of
262] which various ailments afflicted the Pawnee. To obviate this fruit
trees were bought and small orchards planted on the reservation,
but they did not flourish.

*175 The food rations, supplies, and implements distributed to the
*648 tribe had to be shipped to the reservation by freighting from the
nearest railroad point. At first this was at Coffeyville, Kansas,
657 a distance of one hundred miles; the route went northward through
[489] the Osage Agency. Later there was a shipping point at Arkansas
City, a distance of seventy miles. The agent turned the freighting
over to the Pawnee, who handled it with wagons and teams on
their own responsibility.

x 175 As conditions on the reservation became more settled, the govern-
x 648 ment farm program was renewed. A major provision of the Con-
gressional Act of 1876 which established the Pawnee reservation
657 applied to allotments in severalty. Each head of a family, or
241 single person over 21 years of age, who so desired, was to be allotted
423 160 acres of land. Certificates were to be issued by the Commission-
er of Indian Affairs recognizing the individual ownership of such
tracts. An allotee occupying and cultivating his land for five
successive years, who had at least twenty-five acres fenced and in
crop, was to be entitled to receive a patent in fee simple for his

175*
allotment, inalienable for fifteen years thereafter. In this way the 648*
Indians were to be transformed gradually into individual holders of 657
land. 241

Enterprising Pawnee, young and progressive, had taken over 423
individual farm lands as soon as these could be surveyed and made available for them. For such families frame houses were erected on their allotments, the agency carpenter managing the work, assisted by the Pawnee. This development was sluggish before 1880, owing partly ~~to~~ indolent management on the part of the agents. Families who chose tracts of land often camped for long periods near them in tipis, before the surveying and alloting could be done, and aid given them in house-building. By 1881 only forty such houses had been built and occupied by Pawnee families; and the allotments seem not to have been officially registered. 175*

The main body of the tribe, however, continued to reside in the 648*
band villages. Once established in villages the Pawnee were loath 657
to break up their social life for a life on scattered farms. The agents [361]
found stubborn resistance to their program of change. From the official standpoint village life was the center of stability for the old barbaric customs. Polygamous marriage, gambling, inveterate dancing and indolence, superstitious awe of the medicine men, were aspects of Pawnee life which could not be eliminated unless the villages were broken up. The conditions of band farming which were natural to the Pawnee were obnoxious from the white standpoint. In the native view the chief controlled the farm in the interest of the general welfare, and all shared its produce according to need. In the agent's view the chief was an exploiter, and under his rule indolence flourished and individual initiative was submerged. The indolent and lazy, supported by the labor of others, could hang out around the agency waiting for the distribution of rations and goods, and money payments.

While after 1881 the agents were making a concentrated drive 175*
to get the Pawnee on individual allotments, there seem to have been 648*
two extreme parties in the tribe, a radically progressive group who 657
were in favor of separate farms and homes, and the conservative
majority content with band village life. The chiefs, priests and 621
medicine men of the tribe seem to have been in the main opposed to a change to individualized farming. The government agents claimed their obstructionism was born of a desire to maintain their own power and influence, which would fade with the people scattered in isolated homes. But it was more than this. The Pawnee had been accustomed to sedentary village life as far back as tradition could go. Recent archaeological evidence indicates that they had been

II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE

The Skidi formed one of the four bands comprising the Pawnee 619
tribe, the others being the Chaui, the *Kitkehahki*, and the Pitahauirat. 621
[In the manuscript the Skidi are spoken of as a tribe. [101]
However, I have followed more recent usage and substituted the
term band, reserving tribe for the Pawnee as a whole (Lesser, 1933).]
The Skidi, however, considered themselves independent and actually
felt closer to the Arikara than to the other three Pawnee bands.
Politically the Skidi were a federation of villages, of which at least
thirteen are known to have existed, though there were probably
others which have been forgotten. The federation was held together
by a governing council of chiefs and by a ceremonial organization [623]
involving the participation of the band in a round of ceremonies
associated with sacred bundles.

The village was a distinct local group consisting of a cluster of 621
earth-lodges housing the component families. Each village possessed 361
its own fields, whose ownership was allotted among the villagers by 622
the chief, a supposed lineal descendant of the original owner of the 423
sacred bundle of the village. [I am inclined to believe that the chief
allotted the use of the fields rather than their ownership.] On the
death of an individual, his land was re-allotted by the chief. Each
village also had its own burial ground in which were buried only
those belonging to the village.

In principle the village was endogamous. Since the Pawnee 621
moved to Oklahoma the old restriction on marriage has been gradually 582
disappearing. This is due to the fact that the population of
certain villages has dwindled and it is no longer possible for the few [178]
remaining individuals of some villages to obtain mates within their
own village. Even in this breaking down of the system, however,
the old fashion of reckoning descent is maintained. Thus, in the 611
marriage of a man from Big-Elk village with a woman of Little-Elk
village, the children would belong to Big-Elk village. [However,
according to the manuscript, both these villages were extinct by
1907.] An exception to this general rule is at the present time [1907] [184]
under consideration among the Skidi. Mr. Murie's son, now about
of age, properly belongs by the laws of the tribe to the Village-on-the-Hill,
that being the village of his father. His mother, however,
belongs to the Pumpkin-Vine village and her brother, Skidi-Good-Chief,
is the last representative of that village. To prevent the
village from becoming extinct, Skidi-Good-Chief has asked per-

12 narrator was Mark Evarts, a Pawnee of the Skidi Band, whose childhood was spent on the reservation in Nebraska from 1861 to 1875, when Pawnee
115 culture was still very much an integral polity and way of life. His personal identity is embodied in the "Boy Otter" as he appears in the following narrative.

101 My relationship with Mark Evarts began casually in the course of my grammatical researches. Historically there were four political groups of
114 Pawnees known as bands, the Skidi or Wolf Band, the Kitkehaxki or Little-
115 Earth-Lodge Band, the Tsawi or Asking-for-Meat Band and the Pitahawirata or Man-Going-Downstream Band. Each of these traditionally pronounced the language somewhat differently, but it was always known that the major difference was between the Skidi and the other three known collectively as the South Bands because of their former more southern location. From linguistic samples I took of each of the four, the distinctions among the South Bands were not clear enough to identify at that time. Only the Skidi difference was clear. Mark Evarts served as my Skidi informant with Henry Chapman as interpreter in my attempt to find any grammatical and pronunciation distinctions. Evarts' English was broken and so heavily overlaid with a Pawnee accent that it was understandable only with considerable difficulty. As my Pawnee vocabulary improved, we developed a Pawnee-English mode of communication that made the interpreter no longer necessary. As I extended my research into the semantic and cultural background of the language, Evarts became a major resource and ally in my investigations and our work extended over seven years and involved the entire Oklahoma Pawnee community.

114 At this time (1928–1936) Evarts was living with friends and relatives. His wife and child had died tragically only a few years before, and he had
115 lost his little farm to the bank. The crises that had beset his life as a member of his tribe and times were epic in their proportions; as a man in the decline of his years, he had many questions to ask, and I, as a novice in life's ills and trials, had many questions to ask of him. Many of his questions concerned the white culture and its values, and, as a young anthropologist, mine sought answers through the cross-cultural perspective I hoped to find in studying the Pawnee way. Together we established the language of our common humanity and communicated what we wanted to know about the special character of each other's culture as well as of life in general. It was my purpose to understand the Pawnees as people, not as Indians or as social categories and certainly not as historical antiques.

161 Although in the 1920's only seven hundred Pawnees survived, some
178 Pawnee customs remained among them and at least eight of the older peo-
197 ple spoke no other language than Pawnee. The town of Pawnee, Oklahoma, was surrounded by the allotted lands of the Pawnees, the lands of
361 each band being located in a different direction. The bands were still
423
000

Next they planted the beans, sometimes in the same hills with the corn 244
so that the vines could entwine themselves around the cornstalks. If they planted them in separate hills, they set in willow sticks for the vines to cling to.

Last of all, they planted pumpkins, squashes, and watermelons [*Citrullus, citrullus* (L.) Karst., indigenous variety—Gilmore, 1919, pp. 120-
129.]. These were planted in separate patches and served to separate the [243]
different varieties of corn in order to preserve the breeds. There would be a planting of blue corn, then a pumpkin patch, then spotted corn, then a melon patch, and so on in this order.

Between two adjacent fields, there was a hill or ridge where the sunflowers 241
grew by themselves without planting. Some women surrounded 423
their fields with a fence built of stakes connected with rawhide ropes. 578
Disputes about the boundaries of their fields sometimes occurred among
the women. Some women would pile the earth further and further on the [417]
far side of the field and encroach on the field of a neighbor. Some women stole crops, whereupon arguments would ensue and they would curse one another and call one another names. The woman from whom the corn had been stolen would strike the other woman with her hands or with a
stick. The informant said that stealing was actually unnecessary, as a poor [476]
women could easily get some corn by appealing to her neighbor directly, [735]
saying, "I want you to take pity on me and give me some corn."

Women always went to the fields in groups for their own protection; 241
the Sioux made a particular point of attacking and scalping them as they 476
were going into the fields or coming home. This was presumably to exert 722
sufficient pressure to chase the Pawnees from their territory and induce
them to abandon it entirely. The mortality among the women from 648
this cause was heavy. In 1861 in one such attack eighteen Skidi women were killed. One group of women would say to the other, "We're going to clear our fields, how about you?" Then the two groups would set out together, any woman who finished first helping the others so that all would be ready to return at the same time. The young men, without being told, knew that this was the time to picket around the fields.

In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each of the mature 241
women had at least one field. Clear Day, the younger wife, and her 423
mother, Blue Calico, worked one field together, as was customary with 592
mother and daughter until the younger woman was considered responsible enough to manage her own. Fields were located along the bottomlands on both banks of Beaver Creek, and some women had a closer and a more distant field. The ones that were closer to the villages were, of course, the more desirable both for transport and for military reasons. An individual field was from half an acre to one and a half acres in area.

Patterns of cooperation were well developed in each household so that 592
the women would get through quickly. Queen Woman would say to

*796 follows and does the same, then the assistant comes, then the two doctors and the prominent men of the Father's party. After thanking the Son they all pass round the south side of the lodge to thank the prominent men of the Son's party; then they return to the north side of the lodge and sit down.

#431 *796 After they are seated, the Children express the wish that the distribution of the ponies, waiting without, may be happily accomplished, to which the Fathers reply, "Nawairi!" "Thanks!" The Children now rise and go out of the lodge and leave the Fathers alone during the distribution of the gifts.

[554] [577] The Ku'rahus appoints two influential men to go out and divide the gift of ponies, setting apart a number for the chiefs and the leading men who do not wish to do this for themselves, lest the people think them selfish. Two ponies are for the Ku'rahus; that is his portion ordinarily. If there are a great number of horses he is given more. The chiefs and leading men select from the ponies set apart for them, each man taking one until all the ponies are apportioned. The rest of the party choose from the other ponies, one at a time, the men first and then the women. After this the sticks representing ponies are divided.

All the saddles, bridles, feathers, that may have been on the horses given away are piled on the north side of the lodge. These belong to the Ku'rahus. He keeps what he wants and divides the rest between his assistant, the server, and other members of the party.

*796 When the distribution has been made the Fathers leave the lodge and go to their camp, where they break their long fast and seek some rest. The next day all the party start for home except the chief. He remains to collect the ponies which have not been brought in.

[571] The Son, to whom the Hako has been presented, can give the eagle wings to a doctor or the pipe to a friend, but he must keep for himself the sacred objects of the ceremony. They have brought to him the promise of long life and children, and have established peace and security through a tie as strong as that of kinship.

INCIDENTAL RITUALS

The following four rituals can be sung during the public ceremony whenever they are called for by the Children.

COMFORTING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 424 I have told you before that in order to be instructed in this ceremony, to be taught its songs and their meaning, one must make many gifts, pay a great deal to the Ku'rahus who teaches him. This is our custom, for a man must make sacrifices, must give large presents in payment for what he receives, in order to show that he places a value upon the knowledge he wishes to acquire. I have paid a great deal

424 ●

to the Ku'rahus who taught me. [illegible] ed to promise him that I would not give the teachings away [illegible] d hold them as they had been held, teaching them only to those who would pay me. I give these (incidental rituals) to you, so that they may be preserved and kept with all the other songs that belong to the Hako. 796*

Long ago there lived a holy man who knew all the songs and the rites of this ceremony, and to him came a vision wherein he was taught how to bring comfort to a little child when, during the ceremony, it cried and could not be pacified. In this vision he was shown what he must do to bring comfort to the little child, and he heard the songs that he must sing. The songs which he heard have been handed down through many generations. 796* 773 787 861

When during the ceremony a child cries and can not be comforted, the mother, or some one sent by her, can approach the Ku'rahus who carries the brown-eagle stem and ask him to come and quiet the child. The Ku'rahus must comply with this request, so he rises and stands before the holy place, takes up the feathered stem and sings this song, which tells the brown eagle, Kawas, that its baby is crying. 796* 861

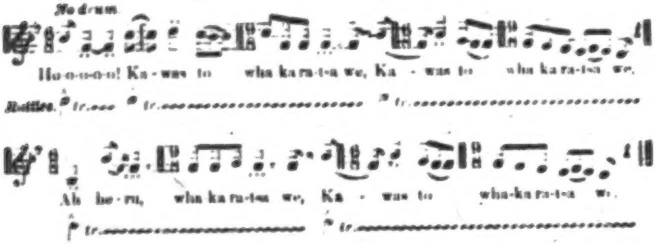
All the people hear the song and know that help for the child is being asked.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 60.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

539*
796*
861
[533*]


No drum.
Ho-o-o-o-o! Ka - was to wha ka ra-tsa we, Ka - was to wha ka ra-tsa we.
Rattles. tr.
Ah he - ru, wha ka ra-tsa we, Ka - was to wha-ka ra-tsa we.
tr.

1302 Ho-o-o-o-o!
1303 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.
1304 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.
1305 Ah heru, whaka ratsa we.
1306 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.

Translation

1302 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1303 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.

Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the feminine principle.
to, its, denoting ownership of the child that is crying.
whaka, voice, noise from the mouth.
ratsa, a high pitch, screaming.
we, personal pronoun; refers to the child.

stops at the north facing south; the rest of the circle dance through an equivalent part of the circuit. 668 796

3. The leader repeats the song, while the whole circle of dancers moves through another quadrant, the leader finishing at the east, facing west. 533

4. A third quadrant is similarly completed with the leader at the south facing north.

5. The fourth quadrant is completed when the leader is once more in his original position at the west facing east.

6. All now step back a few paces, widening the circle, and as they sing the circle closes in again. Throughout this singing the leader maintains his orientation at the west, and each dancer his or her relative position in the circle. Now, as the song finishes with the circle narrowed to its original dimensions, all break their handclasps, and shake off the blankets they wear, and the dance is over. The closing in of the circle during this last song signifies the coming together of the people, and the shaking out of the blankets expresses their desire to shake off them the bad ways, the new ways, the white man's ways.

The closing song is the Arapaho song as given by Mooney[1]. [177]

FIRST FORMS OF THE SKIRI GHOST DANCE

792

As we have seen, Frank White brought the Ghost Dance to the South Bands primarily, being himself a Kitkahaxkiˣ. When a Skiri wished to hold a dance among the Skiri proper, he was in the same position as any individual among the South Bands who felt he had the right to do so. The Skiri had to get sanction from White, and to invite White and his leaders to come over to initiate and lead the dancing. 668 177 [424]

After the visit of the five Pawnee to Sitting-Bull, the Arapaho, a change came over the Pawnee attitude toward the general Ghost Dance doctrine. The whole religious movement was liberated from the domination of White. An individual's own conscience and experience was the individual's guide to what he could and could not do, to what sanctions he had obtained supernaturally. It became unnecessary to pay White for rights, and the only checks upon the number of prophets who began to appear among the Pawnee with messages from the deceased were the natural ones: the force of character and the temperament of the claimant; the

for most. Some sat about a while longer, however, and sang Ghost Dance songs. 527 574

---

[1] Mooney, pp. 1011—1012, no. 73. Note that this song was used as the closing song after the return of the delegation of Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne in the fall of 1891.

This introductory or inaugural feast at which a decision is made as to the time for a regular ceremony, is a fundamental Pawnee pattern. Such feasts precede the actual performance of doctor dances and ceremonies, society gatherings and performances, and many other ritual activities. In all such cases the pattern is the same. An individual man or woman "puts up" the feast for the gathering, and obtains as a result certain definite rights of proprietorship over the actual ceremonial occasion which is to follow[1]. [424] ● This "host" invites leading men such as chiefs to be present, and requests selected ones to come to a decision as to the time for the performance itself.

After this feast-gathering had broken up, the people got ready for the actual dance. Three days were allowed for moving into camp because the people lived scattered over a large area, and had to come in wagons and on horseback. They needed time to arrange things at home so they could be absent for more than a week, to pack, and to come. After all had gathered, at least three more days intervened before the dance proper began, so that the preparation of food, wood, and all other necessary things could be finished. Once it is begun, the dance must not be interrupted by such labors.

Mrs. Washington must be the first to move officially into camp. The chief who finally set the date for the gathering inquired if she was ready, and after she had said yes, and moved her tent, others would begin to follow her into the camping place.

For the dance the tipis and tents were set up in a half circle from south to north around the west. There was no special order of tipis. In the center a space thirty to forty feet in diameter was cleared of grass. Here the dancing began, but as more and more people joined in and the circle of dancers expanded, it would be pushed back beyond the edge of the cleared space onto the grass. The cleared space alone, however, was considered the sacred dancing ground. 361 796 668

One large tipi was set up west of the cleared ground at a distance of thirty feet, its doorway facing east. This was the tent used by the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Washington and other leaders. [346]

---

[1] Neither vision nor vow is essential in all cases to give an individual the right to "put up" a ritual affair. It is sufficient in most cases among the Pawnee that an individual wants to do so, either because he or she wants to secure thereby whatever benefits in health, luck and prosperity accrue from the performance (and particularly to the one who has "put it up") or because he or she wants to see the ritual demonstrated and learn something about it, or both.

778

Bear Dance, and a number of sacred bundles were opened and an 796
attempt made to put them in physical order. 178

The bundles and bundle rituals were esoteric possessions and knowledge, controlled by individuals. As such their inheritance and [424]
transmission followed traditional modes, and according to the orthodox old Pawnee doctrine no revival of extinct forms was possible. The sanction of the Ghost Dance doctrines and visions was in definite conflict with old customs of transmission, and came to predominate.

In the traditional view, the knowledge and learning of an individual 778
had to be handed down by actual instruction of the young. 793
This was somewhat different for the two kinds of bundles, typified
by the sacred bundles (with which the society bundles can be 424
associated, as essentially derivative), and the medicine men's 622
bundles. For the sacred bundle type the offices of ownership and 869
priesthood were independent: A chief owned the bundle physically, and his wife took care of it. He did not necessarily know the ritual lore of the bundle. A priest controlled the ritual, demonstrated it on the proper occasions, and advised the owner of his bundle obligations. The physical bundle was ordinarily inherited directly in the male line. The ritual knowledge, however, was transmitted by the priest to his successor by means of instruction over many years. The priest usually taught a close relative (not necessarily in the male line exclusively) because of the desire to hand on his learning in his own family line. But lacking close kin of suitable temperament, the priest taught whom he pleased. For the medicine men's type of bundle, ownership and priesthood centered in the same individual. The doctor himself was owner of the physical bundle, and of its associated teachings, and officiated as his own demonstrating "priest" on ritual occasions. In the course of his life he taught a man to be his successor, and gradually turned over
the ritual functions to him. The successor was usually a close [602]
relative, such as a "son" or "nephew", etc., but here too the medicine man was at liberty to instruct whom he would, and on occasion chose more distant relatives when near relations proved unwilling to attend seriously to the learning of the traditional material.

Ordinarily a man taught his successor largely by demonstration. 778
That is, the apprentice took part in the actual demonstrations of 793
the ritual (and the curing of the doctor) watching what went on. In the course of the procedure the master explained the detail. As the teacher found his pupil mastering phases of the activity, he turned over to the pupil such parts as were understood. In

778 this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course
793 of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher
lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that
as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that
[828] when he had given over all his teachings, he *would die. Hence the*
old and learned always held back something until they were ready
to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught
his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on
his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told
him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When
upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part
[764 of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by
428] the heir were retained; the rest was buried with the deceased
medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest,
a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance:
the physical bundle survived, though it might be less
and less understood with the passing generations. .

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained
182 as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through
178 cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through
the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of
the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid
increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was
in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals,
which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction
rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there
was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young
men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase
of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their
time; and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an
early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode
of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

● The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of
424 private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost
793 through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no
sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who
attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

182 The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance
visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would
178 "see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision
668 then became a command upon himself and others around him to
787 carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life
could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

178
796 a vision. I saw Bear Chief wearing the bear robe over his shoulders
756 and the bear claw neckpiece around his neck. He was painted with
787 yellow earthen clay, and had black streaks from each eye down the
face. He said, 'My sister, Father (bear) and Mother (cedar-tree) have not had any smoke for many years. We (dead people) are watching for our people to have the ceremony. The people think the ceremony is lost. It is not, for one of the Bear men who knows the ceremony is still with you. I ask that you tell the people so that they can have the ceremony, for it is time.' I woke up and the last few days have been crying to think that I should be the one to tell you. I have a cow which you can have so you can have the ceremony."[1]

178 "The leaders of the Bear ceremony each in their turn arose, went
to the woman and blessed her... They said, 'My sister, this is
756 very hard. None of us know the ceremony, but Father (bear) and
796 Mother (cedar-tree) will plan a way themselves so we can have the
ceremony...

"Some days later the members of the Bear society met and compared their knowledge of the ceremony. When all had spoken a man named Big Star... questioned the others as to their knowledge of the ceremony. He found that none in the meeting knew the ceremony. So he said, 'Brothers, this is hard. You see I am paralyzed, and I could not sit and carry the ceremony out. If you will all agree I will try it. Before we do anything we must select men to be the leaders. You and I know that there are some men here who are descendants of deceased men who were leaders in the Bear Society...' So he selected... Little Warchief... Little Sun...., Good Buffalo...., and Roaming Chief..."

(These men were then ceremonially inducted into office. Big Star then seated himself with these leaders at the altar, and made arrangements to collect among the people the ceremonial utensils, etc. for a set of things needed to carry out the ceremony).

"When all the others had gone out, Big Star told the four men to watch as he carried on the ceremony, that he would carry on the ceremony for them. He also told that Tirawahat^{a} had planned through the woman for them to have the ceremony, so he was
178 willing to carry the ceremony on for them without pay; that in
756 olden times men paid to learn the secrets of the Bear ceremony,
796 especially in going after Mother Cedar-tree; that he himself did not
424 purchase the right to carry the ceremony on, but that Bear Chief
who was the last man to know the ceremony had given him the

---

[1] Indicating that the one whose vision caused the revival felt obligated at the same time to put up the ceremony.

right to sit near him and watch; that Bear Chief took pity on him 178
and taught him the ceremony and songs without pay. He then 756
told them to go to their homes, that on the morrow when they 796
entered the lodge each one was to take his seat. They were then
dismissed with the exception of Little Warchief. [424]

"When they were alone Big Star questioned Little Warchief about the songs and asked if he knew them. Little Warchief said, 'Yes, I know the songs.' Big Star was glad of this for although he could carry on the ceremony, he was afraid that he would not be able to sing the cedar-tree songs."

(Later at the preliminary feast to set the date of the ceremony). "when all were in, Big Star said, 'You, who are sitting at the altar and those of you at the stations, old men and chiefs. Today we sit in this lodge as men of the Bear Society. We are gathered together here, through Woman Yellow Corn, who had a vision of one of our departed relatives, who asked that we have this ceremony, that Father and Mother might receive our smoke...'"

The medicine men's activities which had not ceased, such as the Doctor Dances and the Buffalo Dance, took a new lease on life as a result of the Ghost Dance impetus. The people attended and participated enthusiastically, and young men began again to learn the doctors' ways.

It is probable that reconstructions of sacred bundle ceremonies 178
were attempted, but we have unfortunately no record. The main 778
effort of revival, as regards the sacred bundles, was directed toward 793
bringing to the attention of the people the bundles still in the possession of the Pawnee, (viz., neither buried nor sold), and to open these in order to renew the contents. I do not know with how many bundles this was attempted. The procedure of renewal was also ritually and physically difficult. In the old days the main priests took charge, and the necessary materials were made available in advance. In Oklahoma neither priests nor materials were available. Mark Evarts described for me the events which took place in 1903 when an attempt was made to renew the tuhutsaku or Left-handed bundle. I quote a few passages:

Frank Leader was the main priest, assisted by Running Scout, Goodeagle, Knifechief (the elder), and John Box. When the bundle was lying open on the altar, Leader spoke:

"Now what you see here, it's a long time since we opened it. Now this here sweet grass," (picking it up), "it's been here a long time. That's what they used to light pipes many years ago. Now these things before me that I have, God put them before us. What-

---

[1] Referring to the Ghost Dance prophecy of a coming change.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

NAMES OF SINGERS

115
551

Common name	Pawnee name	Translation	Number of songs recorded
Mrs. Wicita Blain (Effie Blain).	Taastawinahilgat	She led a pony into the ceremony.	25
Wicita Blain [1]	Tutukrawitsu	He overtook the enemy.	20
John Luwak [2]	Laduda desadu	He does everything as a chief.	15
Horse Chief (Spotted Horse Chief).[3]			12
Dog Chief (Simond Adams).			5
Mrs. Mary Murie [4]			3
Fannie Chapman			2
Mark Evarts			2
Mrs. Good Eagle (Nora White).			1
Coming Sun [5]			1
Total			86

---

[1] Died Dec. 20, 1927.

[2] This singer is commonly known as John Rowak, according to the pronunciation of the Skidi Band. He is a chief of the Chaui Band and requested that his name be presented with the letter *L* used by the Chaui. The words of his songs are presented in the form used by the Skidi in order that they may be uniform with the majority of recorded Pawnee songs.

[3] Died June 13, 1923.

[4] Died June 12, 1928.

[5] Died Nov. 18, 1921.

CHARACTERIZATION OF SINGERS

A majority of these songs were recorded by Wicita Blain and his wife, who are members of the Skidi Band and spent their early years in Nebraska, before the removal of the tribe to Oklahoma. Both were afflicted with blindness and, when recording their songs, were led by a granddaughter who acted as interpreter. Mr. Blain recorded songs of the Lance and Buffalo dances which are his by right of inheritance. In the Buffalo dance attended by the writer he led the songs, being seated back of the "altar"; he also took a prominent part in the Lance dance. Mrs. Effie Blain is considered an equally reliable singer of the old songs. 115 [424]

John Luwak (pl. 2, *a*), who recorded many songs, is chief of the Chaui Band and a fine example of the old-time Indian. He speaks practically no English, but is ambitious to accept the best customs of the white man. In accordance with his request, the phonograph [126]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 in order that the music of the entire tribe may be represented. All
171 these songs are combined in the analyses and the latter class, to some
extent, affects the total numbers.

An important point, made evident in this comparative analysis, is the individuality of Pawnee music. It is distinct, in its entirety, from the songs of other tribes, though bearing a resemblance to one tribe or another in separate characteristics. The study of Indian music by an established system of analysis shows there are characteristics that are common to Indian songs of various tribes and different from the music of the white race, and also characteristics which distinguish the songs of one tribe from those of another. Among the former is the change of measure-lengths found in many Indian songs and the downward trend of the melody. The latter are indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. A characteristic of Pawnee music that evades, to some extent, the tabulated analysis, is its simplicity of both melody and rhythm. This can only be appreciated by a study of the melodies themselves. Pawnee music is the plainest of any thus far recorded in its rhythmic divisions and general content. This characteristic of the group may, however, be due to the absence of songs used in treating the sick, which are usually songs of complicated rhythms.

MORNING STAR CEREMONY

778 A sacred bundle of the Skidi Pawnee was associated with Morning
796 Star and its ceremony was held in the early spring, having for its
object the securing of good crops in the coming season. It was the
writer's privilege to see the Morning Star bundle in the house of the
woman who was its keeper, and also to see its contents exposed in the
ceremony. The bundle, in accordance with custom, was hung on the
[776] west wall of its owner's house, and with it were hung four large
gourds, symbolizing the four deities who were the special guardians
of Evening Star and also representing the breasts of the two women in
the west, Evening Star and Moon.[15]

773 The legend from which the Morning Star ceremony arose was
related by Coming Sun, whose grandfather was a high priest in the
● [424 Morning Star village and who received his name by inheritance from
551] this ancestor. With Coming Sun's narrative is combined a limited
number of details mentioned by Linton in "Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee."

As already stated, Morning Star ruled in the east and Evening Star in the west. All the stars west of the Milky Way were feminine and those to the east were masculine, but the most powerful were Morning Star and Evening Star. Sun was with the former and Moon was a companion of the latter. One after another the eastern

---

[15] Cf. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 52-55.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUFFALO DANCE

796 The ceremony of Painting the Buffalo Skull is held every spring by the Chaui Band of Pawnee and is in charge of Mr. Stacy Matlock, a prominent member of that band. The closing events of the ceremony are the Buffalo and Lance dances, which were witnessed by the writer through the courtesy of Mr. Matlock, no other
246 white person being present. The ceremony and dances were held in a large earth lodge, several miles south of the town of Pawnee. (Pl. 6, *a*, *b*, *c*.) The opening of the lodge was toward the east. At some distance was a framework, probably that of a sweat lodge. (Pl. 7, *b*.) Only members of the Buffalo Society were admitted to
778 the painting of the skull, but during the Buffalo dance the skull, painted a few days previously, lay on a folded blanket in front of the "altar" which was opposite the entrance. This occasion and the Lance dance held a few days later afforded exceptional opportunities to listen to Pawnee songs, but the semidarkness of the lodge and the solemnity of the occasion precluded the taking of notes upon either the music or the details of the ceremonial dances.

424 The chief singer at both of these dances was Wicita Blain, a blind man who received the songs by inheritance. He led the songs
796 which were sung at a certain position back of the altar. At a later
115 time he recorded the ceremonial songs here presented, also certain songs of the Bear dance, which is held in equally high esteem by the Pawnee. John Luwak, chief of the Chaui Band, was prominent at the Lance dance and later recorded numerous songs, including those of the Crow Lance Society. (Pl. 2, *a*.)

*533 The following song was led by Mr. Blain at the Buffalo dance attended by the writer and is a very old song concerning Mrs.
173 Blain's uncle, whose name was Naru'dapadi. A great herd of buffalo came to the place where the Indians were encamped and threatened the destruction of the village. Her uncle rode toward them, shouting and firing his gun in an attempt to divert them from their course, but he was caught in the herd. There were buffalo on all sides of him as the herd swept through the camp and across a stream, carrying him with them.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth. These are the tones omitted in the fourth 5-toned scale which is major while the present song is minor in tonality. It is interesting to note that 25 per cent of the intervals are fourths. This interval, in songs of other tribes, has been found to characterize songs associated with motion or connected with animals. The most frequent interval is the whole tone. This song has a compass of 11 tones and contains the fourth below the final tone. Table 4 shows that the final tone is the lowest tone in a majority of the Indian songs under analysis.

Analysis.—This song was recorded on two phonographic cylinders, the only difference in the renditions being in the opening phrase. The second renditions were the clearer and the transcription is from that group. The song opens with a three-measure phrase which is designated as a rhythmic unit. This is repeated, and is followed by two phrases in a different rhythm which bring the song to a satisfactory close. Although the song has a compass of 10 tones the largest interval is a fourth. About two-thirds of the progressions are whole tones. The melody contains all the tones of the octave. An abrupt change in the tempo of the drumbeat occurs in the fourth measure. Other Buffalo and Bear dance songs containing a similar change are Nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. After this change the drum and voice apparently have the same metric unit but do not always coincide. The metric unit of an Indian's musical performance often contains variations too small to be indicated. Thus in the present instance it can not be said that the drum consistently follows or precedes the voice. The general tempo of each is measured by the metronome and it can only be stated that they do not exactly coincide throughout the renditions of the song. 533* [126]

This and the three songs next following were inherited by the singer from his grandfather and his father. The name of the former was Tida'kawidik (House-full-of-people) and the name of the latter was Kiwi'kude' epaku (Buffalo-fighting). In this song the singer's grandfather is represented as driving the buffalo in the hunt. It was said that he "rode a white horse and frightened the buffalo for other men to shoot." 533* 424● 224 773

Analysis.—The change of tempo in the drum is similar to that described with the song next preceding. The drum and voice rarely coincide except on the word *wia*, wherever it occurs. The drumbeat at the close of the song is as follows: The drum ceases after the first stroke on the final syllable of *wia* and begins rapidly at the close of the last measure, continuing in that tempo until the voice begins the repetition of the song. There is no uniformity in the space of time between the renditions of the song. The only tones occurring in this song are D, E, G, and A, and its melodic form resembles that of No. 1. Except for an ascending ninth the only intervals are fourths and whole tones, the latter comprising more than three-fourths of the progressions. The rhythmic unit is long and occupies only a portion of the song. 533*

3:'Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533

FREE TRANSLATION

He said, unreal the buffalo is standing,
These are his sayings,
Unreal the buffalo is standing,
Unreal he stands in the open space,
Unreal he is standing.

LANCE DANCE

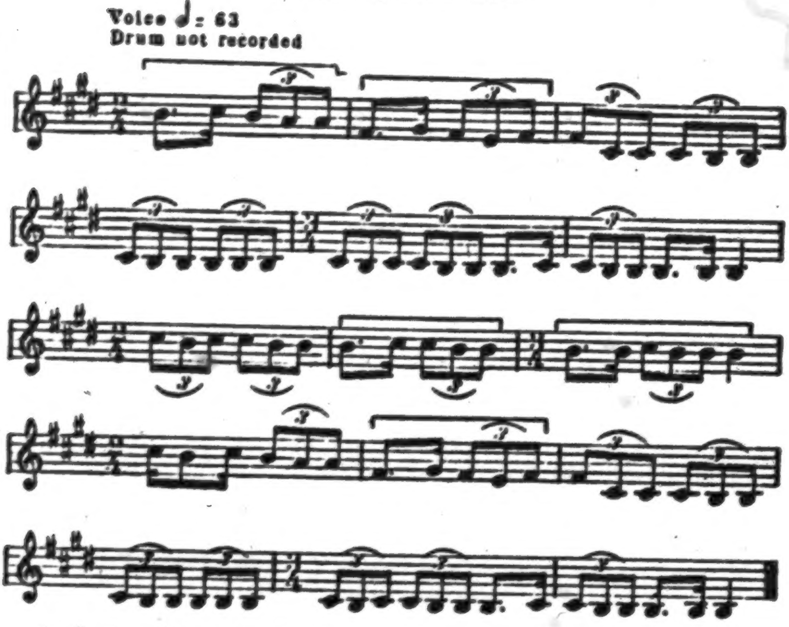
796 *533 ● [424] At a certain point in the Lance dance witnessed by the writer the decorated lances were carried around the lodge and the following song was sung. This constituted one of the most impressive portions of the ceremony. The song is very old and belonged to a woman who had two sons, the song being sung whenever they danced. The woman lived to be so old that she could not stand erect but she "was always singing this song while she was cooking or working." The words mean "Father, the band of the dead is coming." The woman who recorded the song was blind.

No. 10. "The Band of the Dead Is Coming"

(Catalogue No. 1091)

Recorded by Effie Blain

*533



Analysis.—Exactness in the repetition of an Indian song is shown in the renditions of this melody. Eight renditions were recorded without a break in the time except that the final tone was sometimes prolonged to the value of three quarter notes. In each rendition the

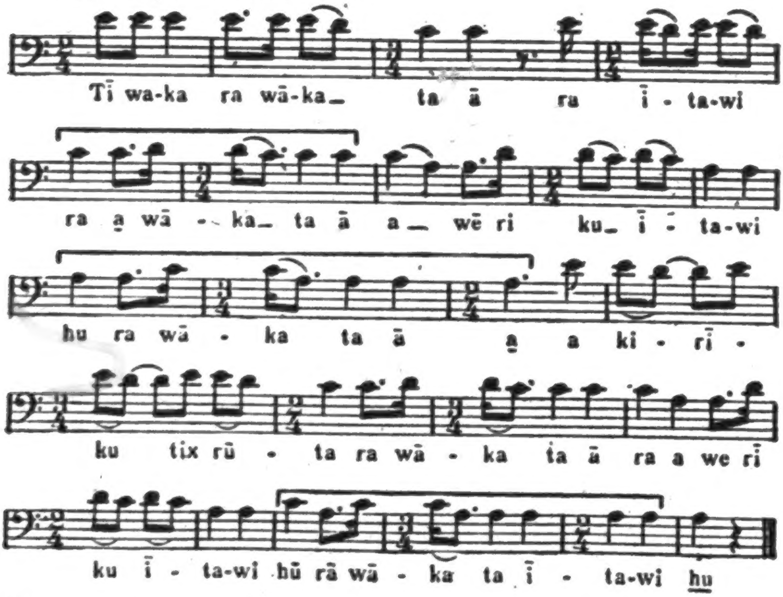
Many years ago the Pawnee fought the Sioux, killing many. 648
Among the Pawnee warriors was a man named Nada'kutade (Eagle 173
Chief), father-in-law of the man who recorded the following song. 533*
Eagle Chief owned this song and sang it in the Bear dance. The fight [424]
with the Sioux was said to have taken place in a part of the country which was thickly wooded, the battle resulting in a victory for the Pawnee.

No. 14. "The Horse is Shouting"

(Catalogue No. 1120) 533*

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 120
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 138 Changing to 𝅗𝅥 = 120
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Tī wa-ka ra wā-ka_ ta ā ra ī - ta-wi
ra a wā -- ka_ ta ā a_ wē ri ku_ ī - ta-wi
hu ra wā - ka ta ā a a ki - rī -
ku tix rū - ta ra wā - ka ta ā ra a we rī
ku ī - ta-wi hū rā wā - ka ta ī - ta-wi hu

Tī	waka	ra	wāka	ta	ā	ra	Itawi
He	said	have	shouting	going	on	have	telling

a	wē	ri	ku	Itawi	hū	a	kiriku	tix	rūta
about	now	it		mentioning	do	and	something	he	did

rā	wāka	ta	ā	ra
have	shouting	going	on	have

a	we	ri	ku	Itawi	hū
about	now	it		mentioning	do

FREE TRANSLATION

He said, the horse is shouting,
I am telling it, the horse is shouting,
Now I am telling it,
The horse is shouting at something he did.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song has a compass of only five tones and contains the tones of the minor triad and fourth. In structure it is melodic. The form of the melody is peculiar, the first seven measures containing the descent from E to A and the next two measures being framed on the descent from D to A. This structure is repeated and the song closes with three measures on the descent from C to A. Only four intervals larger than a minor third occur in the song. The gradual decrease in the tempo of the drum is similar to that in the song next preceding.

887
481
787
*533
● 424

The singer said that when he was a young man living in Nebraska he saw a very old man who used a cane. Even with this aid he could scarcely walk. This old man had a dream in which he ascended a high hill and sat down. The clouds were below him and he saw rain falling from the clouds; he also saw about 40 white horses and drove them; the white horses were probably the shapes assumed by the clouds in his dream. The following song belonged to this old man but was not related to the foregoing dream. It was sung in the Bear dance.

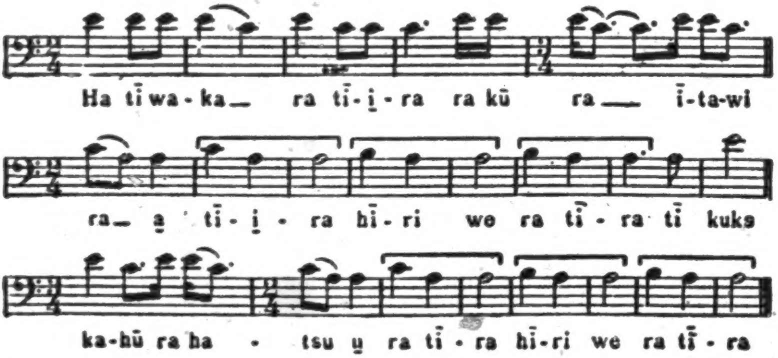
No. 15. "I Was Lost in the Timber"

(Catalogue No. 1121)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

*533

Voice ♩ = 138
Drum ♩ = 144, changing to ♩ = 138
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Ha tī wa-ka— ra tī-i̱-ra ra kū ra— ī-ta-wi
ra— a̱ tī-i̱-ra hī-ri we ra tī-ra tī kuks
ka-hū ra ha - tsu u̱ ra tī-ra hī-ri we ra tī-ra

Ha	tī	waka	ra	tira	ra	kū	ra
Listen	he	said	do	I come	do	did	have
Itawi	hiri	we	ra	tira	tī	kuks	
mentioning	place	now	do	I come	I	was	
kahū	ra	hatsu					
timber	have	lost					

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said, I come,
He told this to me,
I came to a place where I was lost in the timber,
I came to the place,
Now I come.

Analysis.—This song has a compass of five tones and contains only the tones of the minor triad and second. It is interesting to note that major thirds are more frequent than minor thirds, though the song is minor in tonality. Only one interval larger than a major third occurs in the melody. The time was broken between the renditions of this song. 533*

The five remaining songs of the Bear dance were recorded by Dog Chief (pl. 1), whose father was one of the leading singers at the Bear dance in old times and who therefore has inherited the right to sing these songs. 115 424 533*

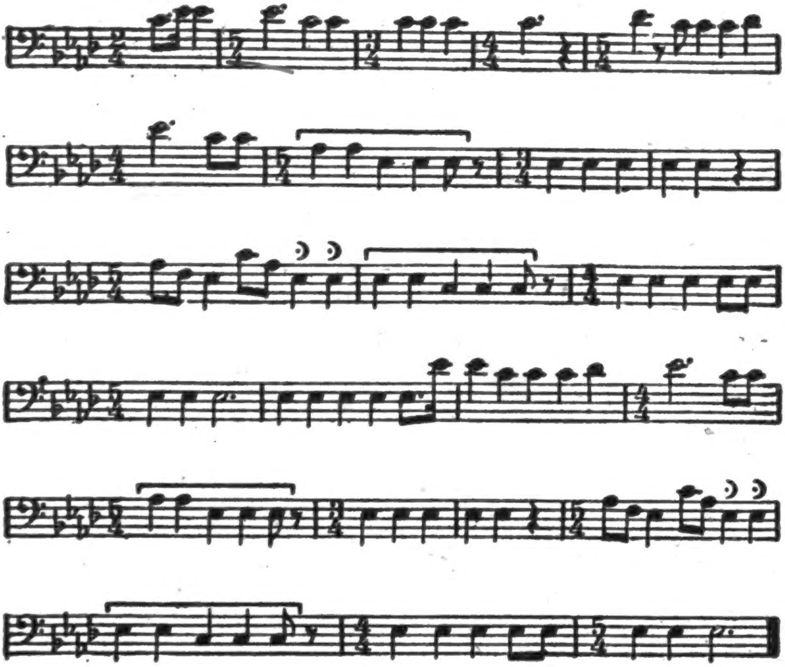
No. 16. "I Am Like a Bear"

(Catalogue No. 1149)

Recorded by Dog Chief

533*

Voice ♩ = 138
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

I am like a bear,
I hold up my hands waiting for the sun to rise.

Analysis.—This song is harmonic in structure, the melody being based on the triad A flat–C–E flat, other tones occurring only as passing tones. The rhythmic interest lies in the 5–4 measures and in the

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 24. "Beloved Emblem"

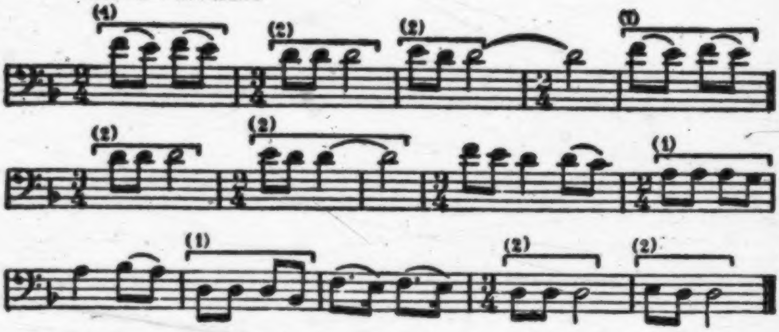
*533

(Catalogue No. 1133)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 66

Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

(An exclamation of endearment)
Beloved emblem, they are carrying it forward,
Beloved emblem, they are bringing it back.

Analysis.—This is a plaintive melody with a compass of 12 tones. The first tone is the highest in the compass and the trend of the melody is steadily downward to the final tone, which is the lowest in the compass. If this song were transcribed in accordance with the pitch of the phonograph record it would have a signature of six sharps. For convenience of observation it is presented with a signature of one flat, changing the key from D sharp minor to D minor. Songs with a similar change of signature are Nos. 29, 30, 36, 39, 51, 52, 62, and 85.

● [424
729]

The next song belonged to the singer's father and was his war song.

Analysis.—This song has a compass of 12 tones and contains all the tones of the octave. The third occurs only twice, both occurrences being as short unaccented tones in the first half of the song. The intervals which characterize the song are the major second as an interval of progression and the fourth and fifth as portions of the framework of the melody. Thus the first six measures are based on the descending fifth C to F, followed by B flat to F; the next four measures are on the descending fifth G to C, and the song closes with the intervals C to F and B flat to F in the lower octave. The major second constitutes about 83 per cent of the entire number of intervals. The tempo was well sustained but the intonation was not steady. Six renditions were recorded with no break in the time

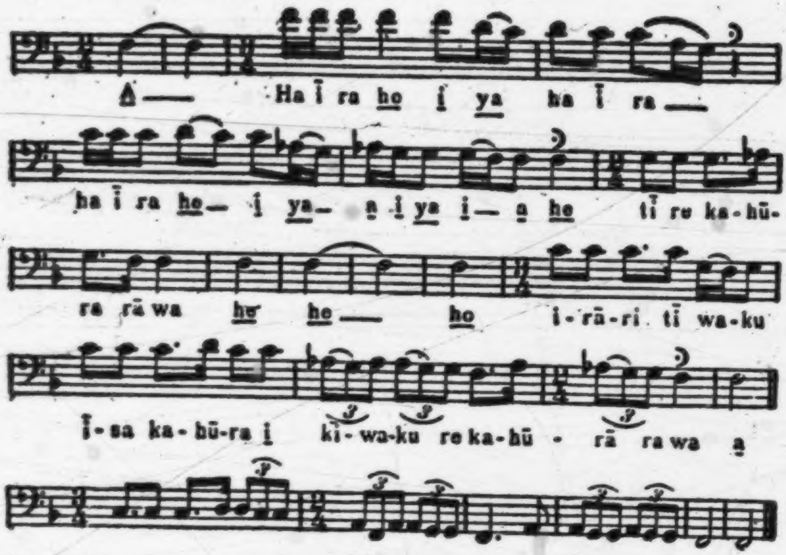
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 29. "The White Fox"

(Catalogue No. 1103) 533*

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩= 69
Drum not recorded


A——
Ha ī ra ho ī ya ha ī ra——
ha ī ra he— ī ya— a ī ya ī— a he tī re ka-hū-
ra rā wa he he—— ho ī-rā-ri tī wa-ku
ī-sa ka-hū-ra ī ki-wa-ku re ka-hū - rā ra wa a
3
3
3
3
3
3
3

Ha	ī	ra	ti	re	kahūra	rā
Yonder	it	comes	this	then	the expanse of earth	has

wa	irāri	ti	waku	isa	kahūra
width	my brother	he	spoke	behold.	the expanse

kiwaku	re	kahūra	rā	wa
the white foxes	they	the expanse of earth	has	width

FREE TRANSLATION

Yonder it comes.
The expanse of earth is wide,
My brother the fox spoke and said,
"Behold and see the wideness of the earth,
The white foxes know the earth is wide."

[575
424]

[173]

The second Wolf Society song was said to belong to an old man who lived many years ago. In explanation it was said, "Before the people had horses they traveled on foot and often became tired out from walking." The old man to whom this song belonged said "Tirawa gave us this land to walk upon and he gave us the light. I can see my way, but I am so tired that I can go no farther." According to Mr. Murie this song might be sung in reference to any unfor-

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

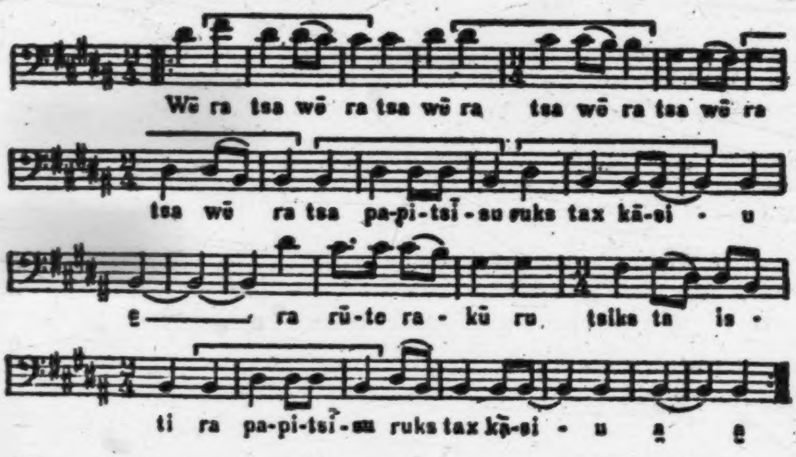
No. 31. Song Concerning Iron Shirt

*533

(Catalogue No. 1108)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 108
Drum ♩ = 126
Drum rhythm similar to No. 28


Wō ra tsa wō ra tsa wō ra tsa wō ra tsa wō ra
tsa wō ra tsa pa-pi-tsi-su ruks tax kā-si - u
e ra rū-te ra - kū ru tsiks ta is -
ti ra pa-pi-tsi-su ruks tax kā-si - u a e

Wō	ra	tsa	papitsisu	rūks	tax
Now	yonder	lie	metal	did	have
kāsiu	ra	rūte	rakū	ru	
shirt on	have	is	sitting, put one side	have	
tsiks	ta	isti	ra	papitsisu	
him	have	protection	have	metal	
ruks	tax	kāsiu			
did	have	shirt on			

FREE TRANSLATION

Now he lies yonder.
He who has on a metal shirt.
The protection in which he trusted is set aside.

622 ●424 *533 Three generations of Pawnee chiefs bore the name of Eagle Shield and the song next following was said to have belonged to the chief of the first generation. The day after he returned from a war expedition he mounted his best horse and rode around the camp singing this song. The words mean "I wonder how long I am to live in this world." In explanation it was said the old warrior was wondering what his fate might be when he again took the warpath.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song comprises four periods, the rhythmic unit occurring in the first three while the last period opens with the same count division as the rhythmic unit but changes to a succession of eighth notes. No change of measure length occurs in the song.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FREE TRANSLATION

*533 Beloved, it is good,
He is saying quietly,
The thunder, it is good.

Analysis.—The tempo of this song was slightly *rubato*, but the accents were clearly given. A portion of the song lies above the fundamental tone and a portion below it, which is somewhat unusual in Pawnee songs, although occurring frequently in the songs of certain other tribes. Progression is by a wide variety of intervals, one-third of which are intervals of a fourth. The song is minor in tonality and contains only the tones of the minor triad and second.

575 In explanation of the following song it was said that long ago there
*533 was a society called *Iruska Virāū* (or *Pirāū*), translated "children of the Iruska." Members of this society did everything contrariwise. Thus in a fight they would not fire at the enemy unless commanded *not* to do so.[23] The song next following was said to be a song of that society and was recorded by the chief of the Chaui Band. The same melody with different words was used by the Skidi Band, the words of their version stating that a young man was told in a dream that he
*533 would be killed the next day, but felt no fear. John Luwak (pl. 2, *a*),
775 who recorded the song, said it was his own war-dance song, explaining the words as follows: "A dead person wanted a certain warrior to do
[424] right, so he said to him, 'If anyone is kind-hearted and good to the poor he is made a chief and has a great name. When he dies we in
[622] the spirit land are glad and want to go and meet him because he was kind and good.'"

*533 *Analysis.*—Attention is directed to the rhythmic form of this song and a comparison of the rhythmic units. The song opens with a rather long phrase, which is repeated. The following tones represent a repetition of the rhythmic unit, but a second unit is introduced and continues to the end of the song. This is shorter and livelier than the first, though bearing some resemblance to it. The song is harmonic in structure and contains the tones of the second 5-toned scale. Only three intervals occur which are larger than a minor third. The tempo of the drum is slightly faster than that of the voice, this appearing in all renditions of the song.

---

[23] Cf. Teton Sioux Music, p. 157, concerning the Heyoka Kaga (Fool impersonation).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

led into the dance lodge by women. Some of the young men were in 727
the full costume of Indian warriors, others were in civilian clothing, [177]
and Lawrence Murie wore the khaki uniform in which he had served
with the artillery at the front. The young soldier who directed the [411]
dancing carried a sword which had belonged to one of his ancestors.
The principal dance was the grass dance, followed by the war dance. [535
The former is common to all the tribes of the northern plains, extending even to the Kutenai. According to Miss Fletcher, the dance 171]
originally was connected with the Hethushka Society of the Omaha, a society whose object was "to stimulate an heroic spirit among the people and to keep alive the memory of historic and valorous acts."[24]

A touching event in the second day's gathering was the expression 765
of sympathy for the parents of the young man who died in France. 727
They stood before the assembly while the chief and other leading
men talked to them. The speaker placed his hands on the man's [201]
head, drawing them down the man's arms to his hands; he also held the man's hands closely in his own as he talked to him in a tender, earnest manner.

Numerous speeches were made, and the occasion was marked by 727
dignity as well as rejoicing. The young soldiers appeared to be in excellent health, were friendly toward all, and made a good impression upon the white people who attended the gathering.

The song next following was sung by the women on the second day 533*
of the victory dance. It is an "honor song" and belonged to an old 727
man named Brown Bear (*guruks*, bear; *narahata*, brown), who died
not long ago. At a war dance he used to rise and sing this song [424]
without the drum, and "when he sang everybody cried." The custom of weeping and even wailing aloud at public gatherings has not been noted in tribes previously studied. The words of the song meant, "Nobody knows when the world will end." The informant added, "The old man used to say 'there is one person who knows when the world will end.' "

Analysis.—This is one of the "crying songs," and the sliding tone, 533*
especially in measures 7, 8, 13, and 14, is impossible to transcribe. The time was well maintained throughout the song. Attention is directed to a comparison of the count-divisions in the two rhythmic units and in the fifth and sixth measures from the close of the song. All the tones of the octave occur in the melody which progresses by a wide variety of intervals.

---

[24] Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, Twenty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 459.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The first song of this group belonged to Blue Hawk. When he gave a game this was always sung at the first "hiding."

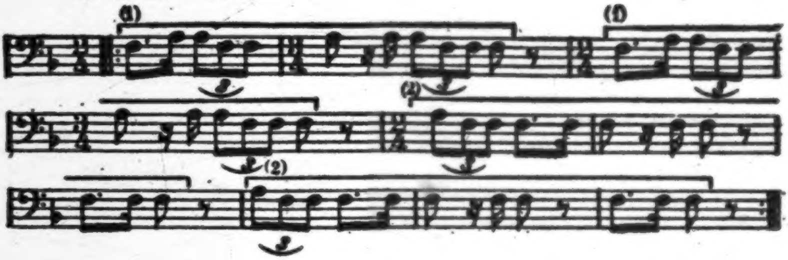
533*
[424]

No. 39. Blue Hawk's Hand Game Song

(Catalogue No. 1137)

Recorded by Horse Chief

Voice ♩ = 108
Drum ~~not recorded~~.



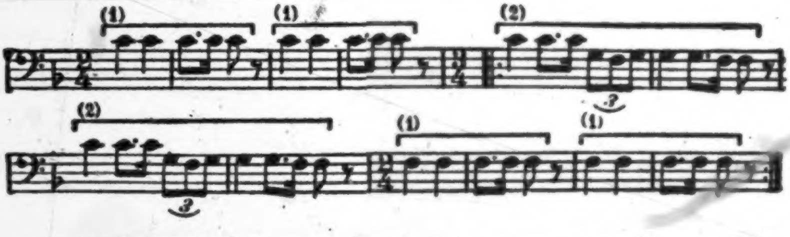
Analysis.—This is an interesting example of a song with scanty melodic material and well-developed rhythm. Only two tones occur in the melody, a fundamental and its major third. The song contains, however, four phrases, the first and second having one rhythmic unit and the third and fourth another rhythmic unit. These did not vary in the renditions of the song. It will be noted that the first two phrases each contains two measures. The rests occurring in these phrases were clearly given. It is interesting to note that the first unit contains a triplet of eighth notes on the second count and the second unit contains such a triplet on the first count. The first unit contains a change of time, while the measure lengths are uniform in the second rhythmic unit.

No. 40. Hand Game Guessing Song (a)

(Catalogue No. 1138)

Recorded by Horse Chief

Voice ♩ = 108
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This song, as transcribed, is composed of three periods, each of which contains two phrases, but the latter part is repeated,

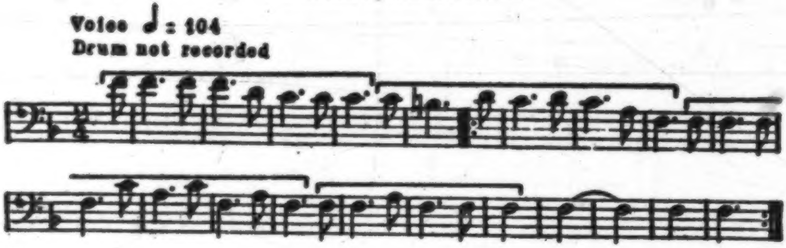
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The next song contains the same idea of the "ruling power in the heavens." 533*

No. 62. "O Expanse of the Heavens"

(Catalogue No. 1129)

Recorded by JOHN LUWAK



Iri	hawa	wī	tas	ta	kitawi	ras
There	almost always	are	you	have	powers (or leaders)	you

ta	kāwaha	ki	wē	tas	ta	kitawi
have	heavens	expand	are	you	have	powers

FREE TRANSLATION

I believe that in you, O heavens, dwell the ruling powers.

Analysis.—This song is major in tonality and contains one accidental, the fourth raised a semitone. The rhythm presents an unusual monotony as the only count-divisions, except in the final measures, are dotted quarter notes followed by eighth notes. The song has a compass of an octave and progresses by a variety of intervals.

The song next following was used as an old war dance. 885

It was the custom of the young men, in former times, to make known that they had arrived at an age of realization and had "put their trust in the heavens." James R. Murie said that he, as a young man, went around the village singing this song with other young men, so that all the people might hear and know they had assumed the attitude of men toward life. It is an Iruska but not a dancing song and belonged to Man Chief. 533* 424

Analysis.—With a range of 10 tones this song contains the tone material of the second 5-toned scale. As in several other songs with large compass, it begins on the highest tone of its compass and ends on the lowest. The song consists of four periods, the third differing slightly from the others in rhythm, a form which occurs frequently in the simpler songs of the Indians. 533*

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

introduces the interval of a semitone, and was sung with distinctness. 533* The song contains no change of measure lengths and has a compass of 13 tones, beginning on the highest and ending on the lowest tone of this compass.

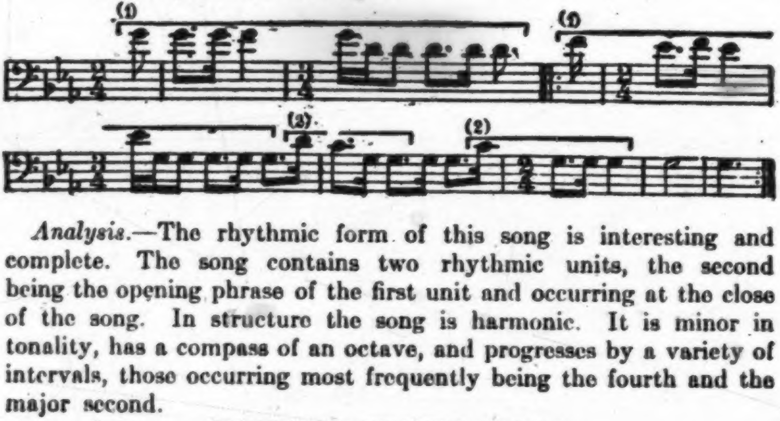
The final song belonging to Man Chief is similar to those already [424] presented, though the words are not translated.

No. 65. Man Chief's Song

(Catalogue No. 1131)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩= 63
Drum ♩= 63
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Analysis.—The rhythmic form of this song is interesting and complete. The song contains two rhythmic units, the second being the opening phrase of the first unit and occurring at the close of the song. In structure the song is harmonic. It is minor in tonality, has a compass of an octave, and progresses by a variety of intervals, those occurring most frequently being the fourth and the major second.

ROAMING CHIEF'S SONGS

787
The two songs next following belonged to a comparatively recent 622 chief of the Chaui Band. The grief of his wife at the death of a 533* daughter is mentioned in connection with her song (No. 83). Roaming Chief was hereditary chief of this band and was a nephew of the [643 famous Pitalesaru, who was appointed chief of the confederated 648] bands of the Pawnee by the Government of the United States.

It was said that "Tirawa had pity on Roaming Chief" and that, during a Ghost dance, he fell in a trance. Visions appeared to him in this trance, the present song referring to such an experience. A Ghost dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he "cried as he sang this song." It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game.

Analysis.—This song is in a form already noted, the third period 533* being in rhythm different from that of the first, second, and fourth. The compass is 13 tones and more than half the progressions are

3; Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

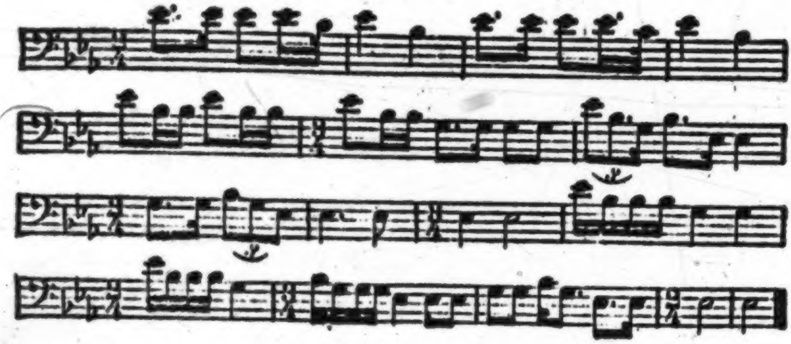
No. 81. "The Message of a Star"

(Catalogue No. 1126)

Recorded by John Luwak

*533

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 76
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 76
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 20



*533 765 The singer who recorded the next song spent his childhood in Nebraska, before the Pawnee moved to Oklahoma. His mother died when he was 3 years old and he grieved a long time for her. His father sang this song to comfort him and said, "We can do nothing when a person dies; we can only pray. Perhaps some day you will be a man and have children around you." When he grew [424] up his father, who was still living, taught him the song and told him of its early use. He made it into a war dance and it is known as his song.

*533 *Analysis.*—This is one of the songs in which the Indians "cry as they sing," making the intonation unsteady in a portion of the melody. In this instance the first three and last three measures were sung with good intonation but a *glissando* was used on the descending progressions in the fourth and fifth measures. In some of the renditions this was exaggerated and produced a wailing effect. The song is characterized by a large compass and a descending trend.

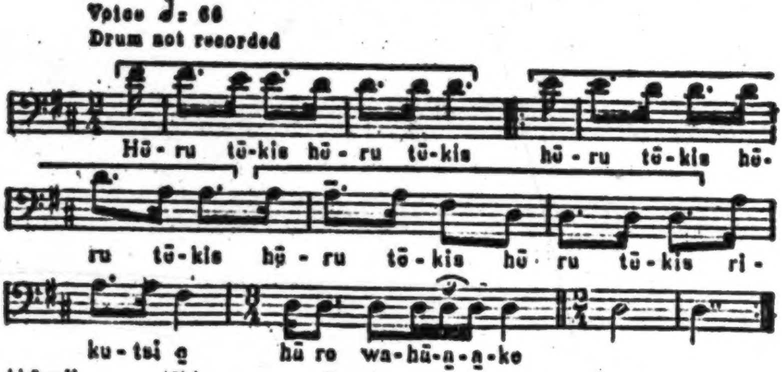
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 82. Song to Comfort a Child's Grief

(Catalogue No. 1105) 533*

Recorded by Wicita Blain



Voice ♩= 66
Drum not recorded
Hū-ru tū-kis hū-ru tū-kis hū-ru tū-kis hū-
ru tū-kis hū-ru tū-kis hū-ru tū-kis ri-
ku-tsi a hū re wa-hū-a-a-ko

Ahōru[34]	tōkis	rikūtsi	hū	re
Dear	child	stop crying	yonder	there
wahāko				
heavens				

FREE TRANSLATION

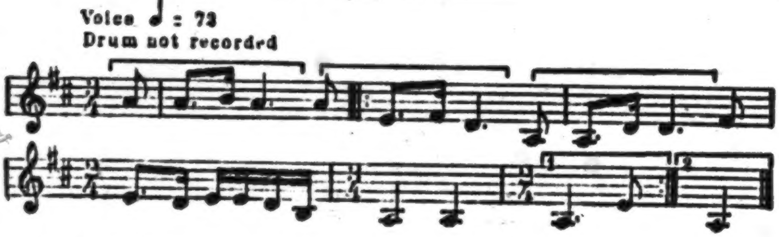
My dear child, stop crying,
Yonder there, in the expanse of the heavens, is where power dwells.

The next song belonged to the first wife of Roaming Chief, who was a close friend of the singer. She had a little girl who died when about 8 months old. Although she had several other children she grieved for this baby and sang the following song about it. The woman's name was Curuk'siwa. 765 424

No. 83. Mother's Song for a Dead Baby

(Catalogue No. 1009)

Recorded by Effie Blain



Voice ♩ = 72
Drum not recorded

Analysis.—This melody is exceedingly simple in both melody and rhythm. The rhythmic unit occurs three times, followed by a phrase which begins like the rhythmic unit but changes to a descending

---

[34] The first syllable of this word was omitted by the singer.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 wail in which the tones transcribed E–D–B are clearly discernible but are connected by a *glissando*. The melody tones are those of the fourth five-toned scale and the repeated portion, as in many Indian songs, begins with the second phrase.

*533 787 A certain man had a dream and in that dream one of his dead relatives appeared and said, "I have come back into this world. You see me." At the same time he heard and learned the following song. When the man awoke he remembered the song and understood what it meant. He dreamed a second time, and the same dead relative appeared, saying, "Remember when we pass from the old earth we pass to a new earth where we are now." The two songs were recorded and the melodies found to be the same. The words of the first were translated, "I am coming," and the words of the second were, "Yonder, whence I came, our relatives are walking."

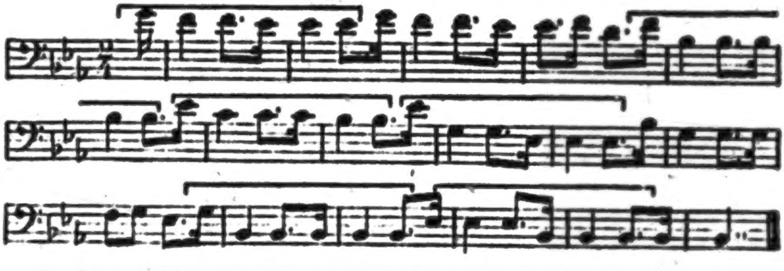
*533

No. 84. Song Received from a Dead Relative

(Catalogue No. 1132)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 116
Drum ♩ = 116
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 26



Analysis.—The chief interest of this song lies in the two phrases which do not contain the rhythmic unit. The first of these phrases is the more energetic, and both bear a resemblance to the unit. The song has a compass of 10 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is by an unusually large variety of intervals but the whole tone is the interval of most frequent occurrence.

● 424 622 535 The next song belongs to a very old woman named Cilha'rureŭs whose father was a chief. The singers at the drum sometimes start this song so that she can dance. It was formerly used in a "dance of the chiefs" in which the daughters of chiefs took part.

was in the field of religion. It was he who built up the cult of the Deer 159
Dance (*Raris-ta*, "dance-deer"). Taking it over from his predecessor who
had obtained it by studying among the Wichita to the south, Victory 575
Call was largely responsible for its reorganization into the Pawnee religious 794
style and for the wide popularity it enjoyed at that time. He had
built it up to such a degree that it posed a serious challenge to the
monopoly of the long-established Doctor Association, where heretofore
all the medicine cults had been organized. The association was under the
leadership of Big Doctor and Sitting Hawk; Victory Call's older brother
had a prominent place in it as leader of the Bear Cult. The rivalry between
Big Doctor and Victory Call was bitter as some young men began to
move over from the association to join the Deer Dance. In his dying moments
in the 1860's, Victory Call saw a vision of Big Doctor upon whose
sorcery he blamed his sickness and his death. The cult lasted under new
leadership for a while, but after the tribe got to Oklahoma in 1876, its
popularity continued to decline, while the Doctor Association maintained
its vigor some time longer. Victory Call was also a skilled rattlesnake [424]
doctor and he was able to make a trade with his brother Sitting
Hawk for knowledge of the Bear Cult in return for Rattlesnake knowledge.
Victory Call's retainer, Horse Rider, had come to serve him in his household
in the hope that Victory Call might give him a place in the Deer
Dance and perhaps share other cult knowledge with him.

Victory Call had a friend, Chief's Road (*raru-hatur-risaru*, "the one that 159
is-road-chief"), whose name implied that he was going on the road
which he hoped would lead to chieftainship. Chief's Road had no hereditary 557
social status, but he was ambitious for administrative advancement. 572
He hoped that if Victory Call gained first place in the chiefs' council, he
would appoint him his official brave. This was possible as when a chief
retired or died, the new chief did not carry over the former incumbent,
but appointed his own brave to assist him. Chief's Road was an excellent
arrowshaft maker and supplied Victory Call with all his needs. On
the other hand, he was not too good at acquiring horses, and Victory Call
often helped him out by giving him some of their wood and other household
needs that were more easily acquired when one had horses for transportation.
He had built his house immediately adjoining Victory Call's
lodge, and there were generally friendly relations between the two households;
their children played together.

As a provider for his family, Victory Call was an accomplished hunter, 159
both of individual big game and as a leading member of the tribal buffalo
hunt. He also managed to make some extra cash by trapping beaver. He 622
had some income from gifts he received for his religious activities and he
maintained a modest herd of four or five horses. He was a good and able
husband and father, inclined at times to be somewhat solemn and a little
pompous, though not overbearing. He was about sixty years old at the

*224 From some of these accounts of the hunt without horses, it is clear
492 that the social patterning of the buffalo hunt was probably quite ancient.
178 Yet by 1867 horses had become a necessity for the hunt.

*224 If a man had only one horse, only the man and one of his wives could
492 go on the summer hunt. He would have to leave his other wife and all the children at home and any old people or other dependents. The
*484 couple that were going would pack their one horse with food and
592 goods and join someone else's tent, taking just their covers along by way of household equipment. If a family had no horses at all, they could not go. Unmarried or widowed individuals who had no horses could join a household where they could work their way, simply getting their board and keep "for going." They would go on foot wearing a double blanket for their covers. It was said that they went "just to eat."

If a man had two horses, he would also be able to take only one wife along, leaving the rest of the family home. She would go along to process the meat.

*224 There were some rough-and-ready characters who, even though they
492 had two horses, would decide to go alone, leaving their wives behind. They were men who were not averse to doing all kinds of work, in-
571 cluding the hunting and preparing the meat besides. Such a man would say to his wife, "You'll only be in my way." No insult was intended. For example, Mad Bear would team up with his friend Many People who had a small tent and two or three horses. Together they could bring back a
[572] great deal of dried meat in this way. Two men of this kind were friends and equal partners. Sometimes two men would team up, one of whom was the senior buffalo hunter of the two. Then the more prominent hunter would ride the buffalo horse to the hunting grounds while his assistant rode the pack horse. During the chase the assistant stood back, holding the pack horse, while the hunter went after the buffalo. The assistant then helped him butcher and they packed the extra horse with the meat. The senior hunter rode the hunting horse back to the encampment and the assistant rode the pack horse on top of the meat. If they got two buffalo, both horses were packed with meat and they both rode on top.

*224 A man with two horses and no assistant could manage by riding the pack
492 horse and leading the hunting horse by a rope. When he got to the herd, he hobbled the pack horse on the sidelines. When he got the buffalo, he rode over on his fast horse and led his pack horse to where the buffalo lay. Then he loaded the pack horse and led it by a rope, riding to the camp on his fast horse.

*224 The possession of three horses made it possible for a man to take his
492 whole family along, while four horses made it possible to manage easily.
422 Ordinarily he would not have a guest traveling with them, but if he did
426 he would assign him one of the horses so that he could pack his things on

it. A man like Eagle Chief who had eight or nine horses and whose son- 224*
in-law had a similar number, could afford to lend two or three to out- 492
siders, although this did not mean they would also share in the family 422
tent, as his administrative functions required that he take his entire 426
family along.

In the Pawnee language, the word horse means "super-dog," the only 482
pack animal the Pawnees had before the impact of European culture. 492
With all due respect to the capacities of the dog, however, it was the peo- 177
ple themselves that did most of the carrying on their own backs. They 224*
had to pack not only the things they needed for camping—food, tents, and equipment—but they had to carry back the dried buffalo meat and the large hides. Every able-bodied person they took along with them could earn his way by carrying things on his back. The men, whether first-rate hunters or not, could play a useful role in the surround of the herd. The only people they would leave behind in the villages were the old and disabled. But the horse had made quite a difference in the social economy. A horse could be packed with the dried and packaged meat of four buffalo while a person could not carry more than one—about 80 pounds. If need be the horse could carry still more goods on his back. Unless they could be of substantial assistance in the work of the camp, a
person would only be an extra mouth to feed. In the case of a chief or 574
a man who was socially ambitious, there would be a great deal of enter- 554
taining to do in the camp; women, in addition to their work in preparing 224*
the meat and skins would also assist with the entertaining. In a family 462
which had no social ambitions, like that of Mad Bear cited above, two 224*
men in partnership taking a minimum of housing and utensils and a 571
maximum of horses could return with a great deal of buffalo meat and 492
hides, to the general benefit of their families. The wife left behind under these circumstances could hardly resent it.

The horse also represented a unique and highly valuable item of capi- 551
tal that had the unprecedented value of not having to be carried, but of 231
moving itself. In the past, differences in wealth would depend on a much [556]
more direct kind of personal skill. The man who was swiftest on his feet and the most skilled with the bow and arrow got the best buffalo, and his wife could produce the finest packaged meat and the best skins. These in turn could be traded for other valuable things—valued ornaments or participation in the sacred ceremonies. Now skill in horsemanship, which had become an indispensable factor in hunting the buffalo, implied also major successes on the warpath and the capturing of horses as well as
their subsequent care and protection. The horse thus provided a material [556]
basis for a greater degree of social differentiation. The horse was an item [422]
of personal property, but unlike property in our society it was by no means as much of a factor in developing differential status as other aspects of experience, chiefly knowledge of man, the world, and the universe.

if he wandered over to his parents' tent and asked his mother to fix a 606
bed for him it was accepted as a normal thing. His wife would under- 593
stand that "he felt like being childish for a while" and that next morn-
ing he would be back with them. Sometimes the sounds of fighting would
be heard inside a tent—a father-in-law and a son-in-law in conflict.

Although he might live elsewhere in the village, an unmarried 593
younger brother was likely to join his older brother for the hunt. This 224*
was his obligation. When he married, however, he would be impelled to
go with his wife's family. Sometimes two brothers and their families [592]
lived in an earth lodge jointly and they might very well also go jointly
on the hunt.

The household of Old Bull and Victory Call broke up into three 592
groupings. Each of the four villages of the Skidi Band had a separate 621
section of the encampment. Old Bull and Victory Call both camped in
the Pumpkin-Vine Village section in the west, but each had a separate
encampment and ran their households entirely independently. The camp
of Old Bull included his two wives and the grandmother and their
young children. In Victory Call's camp were his wife White Woman, his
assistant Horse Rider, his wife No Corn, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy,
and the boy Otter. The old lady Grieves-the-Enemy and the boy Yellow
Calf went far over to the east section where her son was encamped in
Village-in-the-Bottomlands with his father-in-law, Path-of-the-Enemy.
The two little boys did not see each other all summer, as there were hun-
dreds of tents between them. When they returned to the village in the
fall, it was optional whether they rejoined the household or not.

In the past, the people who were left behind in the village were in 224*
great danger and they all cried bitterly as the expedition departed. The 888
Stay-at-Homes were usually the sick and the old. Some men would stay 734
longer to give a little more protection to an old grandmother or someone
of whom they were fond. The Stay-at-Homes would congregate in a few
earth lodges in the village, knowing where to find food in the storage
pits. Leaving the slow and the sick at home was a necessary step, as the
line of march had to move with precision because other tribes were also
pressing in on the buffalo herds. They might move entirely out of reach,
whereupon the tribe would be faced with the danger of losing all of
the effort they had invested in the expedition. Nevertheless, sometimes
a soft-hearted chief would say, "Let's all go, even if we have to camp
every five miles!" Others would demur, saying that was too slow; finally
the old people themselves would say, "No, we can't go along. We're old
anyhow," and having made this concession of their own accord, they
would be permitted to return to the village. Sometimes noticing that a 224*
perfectly able-bodied family he liked was not coming along, Eagle Chief 622
would inquire and, finding they were staying behind because they had 426
no horses, would lend them two of his own.

648 657 [273] stop the Ghost Dance. For another, they found themselves well off financially, with the white settlers among them eager to deal with them. In the town of Pawnee some were able in spite of preventive measures to get drunk at will, at which times as the agent observed, they would proclaim aloud their rights as citizens of the United States.

The allotment of lands had been made per capita. 797 allotments were recorded. A fair estimate would place the 797 as including about 160 families, and 160 to 200 would probably total the number of able-bodied men available for farming. As each family of five members controlled 800 acres of allotted land, it was impossible for the government to expect that the full acreage would be cultivated by the Pawnee men. At the same time the new status of the people left the government with no financial obligations toward the tribe except the permanent annuity, and the payment of interest on trust funds. The Pawnee had to become self-supporting, and if they could not win their sustenance from their own lands, the lands must be put to work for them. As landowners they were allowed to lease large parts of their allotted lands to white farmers and cattlemen: in theory every able-bodied man was to retain a plot of forty acres worked by himself.

● 427 648 657 175 The lease system grew by leaps and bounds. At first the lands rented by the year at twenty-five cents an acre for grazing land to one dollar for farming land. The Pawnee land was one fourth rich bottom land, one fourth hilly and rough land, and about one half level upland. The Pawnee reserve was suited to corn and fruit, and in 1897 a trial of cotton was begun. The farm lands continued to rise in rental value. The leases provided for improvements on the land as well as the money rental, and as unplowed land was broken it became more valuable. Rental values rose by 1905 to $ 4.50 an acre for the best farm land. The leasing began in 1894; in 1895 there were 97 leases of Pawnee allotment land and the number increased year by year. At first the payment of lease money was made directly to the Indian, or was paid by the lessee to the agent and by the latter turned over to the Pawnee lessor at once; later as the government found the Indians squandering their money as fast as they received it, the money was kept on deposit for the Pawnee by the agent and drawn on as needed.

There were two reasons for the rapid increase of the lease system: the white man wanted to lease the land from the Indian, because it was profitable land, and at a low rental. The Indian wanted to lease the land to the white man because it brought him money without a kind of labor which was disagreeable to him, especially

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

at the time of the Ghost Dance faith. As time went by Indians 648
and white farmers resorted to various subterfuges to get around 557
the ruling that certain lands they held could not be leased. The 427
Indian would claim that he was employing a white man and 175
intended to pay him, but when harvest time came, instead of the
Indian paying the white farmer money, the white farmer gave the
Indian a part of the crop.

The immediate results of the lease system were two-fold: on
the one hand, for the first time in their lives the Pawnee had plenty
of money; on the other hand, they had to make no effort at all to
support themselves. In 1897 the Pawnee leases brought an income [434]
of $ 12,114.95. In 1900 the income of the tribe from their annuity
($ 30,000), interest on their two trust funds (from the sale of the
Nebraska reservation; and from the sale of the surplus Oklahoma [161]
lands); and leases, was over $ 75,000. In that year the population
had dwindled to 650, so that the per capita income was about [511]
$ 116 or the income of the average family of five close to $ 600
annually, a substantial and adequate income in 1900 on the Okla-
homa frontier.

Year by year the Pawnee labored less and less on their own lands: 175
in 1904 their self-maintenance was 42 per cent from their annuity
and interests, 43 per cent from leases, and 15 per cent from "labor 461
in civilized pursuits." By 1899 the agents had fully realized the 657
extent of the blunder which had been made: they were aware that
the Pawnee could not be made to labor when he had all he needed
without it, and pointed out in their reports that white men would
have acted in the same way.

Along with the disappearance of all demands upon them to be
self-reliant and self-maintaining, the Pawnee were stripped of their
last outlets for self management. Leases were made not by the [427]
Indian but by the agent: lease money was paid not to the Indian
but to the agent. All that the Indian had to do was to draw his
income. At the same time with the change of status to citizens, [698
the function of the Court of Indian Offenses vanished, and the
court was abolished April 21, 1894; the Indian police were disband- 625]
ed in October of the same year.

Temporarily with their increased income, the living conditions 175
of the Pawnee improved; they ate better, they dressed better, and 511
they lived better. But the idleness which had come to them 161
was in keeping with their desire during these years to congregate
in encampments for Ghost Dances and other performances, so that
they leased their houses with their lands and made shift to live
here or there as the occasion demanded. During these years there

778 this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course
793 of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher
lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that
as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that
[828] when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the
old and learned always held back something until they were ready
to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught
his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on
his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told
him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When
upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part
[764 of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by
428] the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased
medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest,
a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance:
the physical bundle survived, though it might be less
and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained
182 as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through
178 cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through
the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of
the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid
increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was
in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals,
which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction
rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there
was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young
men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase
of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their
time: and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an
early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode
of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

424 The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of
private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost
793 through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no
sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who
attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

182 The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance
visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would
178 "see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision
668 then became a command upon himself and others around him to
787 carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life
could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band 778
were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" [621]
belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor [614]
by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging
to the several bands there were two bundles which were the [619
property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one 422]
or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most
sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one
was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning
Star, while the other symbolized the female element, or Evening
Star. These ears of corn were shelled and given to the people as
seed corn at the first ceremony in the spring. Next in importance [237]
were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin
symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be
awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet
grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies,
tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained
other articles, and the skins of birds other than those
mentioned. [611]

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary 422
keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the 428
owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped 778
in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on 621
the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always 778
placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning
Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent
paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from
those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey considers
the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to [171]
the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine
bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. 778
The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in 796
the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl.
7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by
a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony
the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the
freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances
there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not [793]
fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the
people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization
of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

---

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Simms, Director of the Field Meusum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 8).

611 mission to have young Murie take his place in the ceremonial circuit in the lodge with the understanding that he be made chief on the death of Skidi-Good-Chief, thus continuing the Pumpkin-Vine village in the circuit.

621 A marriage outside the village occurred about sixty years ago
582 [sixty years prior to 1907], and, as the result bears directly on the
591 question of descent, the facts are worth quoting. A man of the
●428 Pumpkin-Vine village, having obtained the consent of his uncles, married a young woman of the Morning-Star village. He lived with
778 his wife in the Morning-Star village for several years, during which time he made sacrifices to the Morning-Star bundle and learned its ceremony. Then he returned to his own village and took his children with him, the children being considered members of the Pumpkin-Vine village. But while living in the Morning-Star village he was considered to have obtained certain rights in that bundle, and he demanded recognition of these rights. On his return to his own village, the Morning-Star bundle was divided, and he carried part of it to the Pumpkin-Vine village. Thus, there exist today two Morning-Star bundles. The ultimate fate of his half of the Morning-Star bundle is interesting. His children all died except one daughter, who married Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village [Wolves-Standing-in-Water village?], who claims ownership in the bundle today. She came by it in this manner: On the death of the husband—that is, the member of the Pumpkin-Vine village—his widow lived with her daughter's husband; she, as keeper of this Morning-Star bundle, ultimately turned it over to her daughter, whose husband, Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village, learned its ceremony and sacrificed scalps to it and so claimed it. Thus it happens today that the priests of Coyote-in-Water village and the Pumpkin-Vine village have a right to be present when either of the Morning-Star bundles is opened.

611 [This statement that descent in the village group followed the
421 paternal line is in direct contradiction to a later one by Murie. In
778 his report on Pawnee societies (1914), Murie wrote: "... if a man
114 married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village." The contradiction may be due to confusing the inheritance of sacred bundles, which generally followed the paternal line, and descent in a village group, which may well have been maternal. Also, in cases where the inheritance of a sacred bundle was involved, the pattern of descent might have been modified in favor of patri-

224 the deities, for a sacrificed buffalo is reborn, and the buffalo, liking
784 this, would approach nearer and nearer. In the absence of the
hunting party dried buffalo meat could not be roasted, as the odor
[825] of the roasting meat would reach the animals and they might be
frightened. However, the meat could be prepared by boiling.

428 In the inheritance of personal property, a woman theoretically
562 had no rights. As a matter of fact, however, she was generally
considered to be the owner of the lodge, the tipi, and her tools and utensils. Children did not inherit personal property such as robes, blankets, ponies, and saddle trappings, all of which were supposed to belong to the brother, though they were usually claimed by the sons of the deceased's sister.

778 "rains-wrapped-up." The tribe was divided into a
621 number of villages all of whose members traced their
(611) descent in the female line from a single ancestor. Each
778 of these villages possessed a sacred bundle, while
there were two others which were considered the
property of the tribe as a whole. The Four Direction
village had four sacred bundles one of which was sacred
to each of the cardinal points. These points were, to
[823] the Pawnee, southwest, southeast, northwest, and
northeast. The sacred bundle of each village was believed
to have been given to its first ancestor by one
of the heavenly beings, and constituted a link between
778 its members and the divine donor. From their traditions
the "gift" seems to have consisted rather in explicit
directions for its making than in an actual presentation
of the objects. The bundles were inherited
[422] in the female line so that their owners were always
[428] women. Their keepers, and the priests who performed
their ceremonies, were, on the other hand, men.

All the village bundles contained much the same
objects. The most important of these were one or two
ears of corn, which were called Mother-Corn and were
believed to give life to the bundle. They were shelled
in the spring and distributed for seed, being replaced
at harvest time. When the Mother-Corn consisted of
two ears, one of these was attached to a stick and symbolized
the male element or Morning Star, while the
other symbolized the female element or Evening Star.
Next in importance to the Mother-Corn were the tobacco-filled
[825] skins of hawks and owls. The hawk symbolized
a warrior; the owl, a chief, because it was
always awake and watchful. The owl seems to have
also symbolized the watchfulness of Tirawa, the supreme
being. One or more scalps, taken from slain enemies,
were found in every bundle. Pieces cut from
them were used in various ceremonies, and they had to
be renewed from time to time. Four skins, each of

household, even though his marriage might lead him to take up residence 593 elsewhere. For this reason, according to Pawnee ideas, the brother owed his sister a special lifelong debt. In recognition of his indebtedness, when 604 the sister had a son, she might send him to live in her brother's married-in household when he was about ten years old. There his maternal uncle would teach him whatever he needed to know in life, and as he reached adolescence he would receive his first sex instruction from one of his uncle's wives. If his uncle had several wives, the boy might extend his attentions to the others from time to time. The term for maternal nephew [601] was *tiwat* and maternal uncle, *tiwatciriks*, super- or real-*tiwat*.

Another basic Pawnee family pattern concerning the man, was the 593 identification of a whole group of brothers. Through the rule of primogeniture the oldest brother inherited all the family property and as senior [428] member of the group was responsible for the well-being of all his younger brothers. A younger brother who availed himself of the sexual favors of his older brother's wife upon occasion was not considered out of order, and theoretically the older brother should act like a gentleman, paying no attention and making no mention of it. This ideal, however, 596 was not always realized. It was fairly usual form for two or more brothers to set up a joint household, sharing their wives and their property. 601 The children addressed them all as fathers and mothers and they in turn addressed all the children as their own. A similar but not identical condition might exist among a group of sisters married to the same man, the children addressing all the sisters as mother. A group of brothers would address each other as *irari*, and the same term was used among a group of sisters. But across the line of sex different terms that were more precise were used: a man's sister was referred to as *itahi* and a woman's brother, as *iratsti*. Under the difficult conditions of Pawnee life, a child gained considerable security from this multiple parenthood. As the Pawnees phrased it: "We think a child should not be too closely bound to its own mother, for should she have to be away or should she die, it would break the child's heart."

As each person was introduced into a child's life, the child was given 867 an idea of how to act toward that person. One of the ways in which this was conveyed was through the kin term by which the child was instructed to address the newcomer. Along with the term of address, a style of conduct was indicated so that the child received a code of manners as he came in contact with one after another of his normal associates.

As the depth of the relationship merits, the Pawnee child was taught to 593 treat his mother with profound respect. The term *atira*, "my mother," [601] carried with it a high degree of reverence among the Pawnees. However, the mode of acting toward a mother was far more formal than it is ordinarily in our society. The mother was concerned at all times for her child. She provided for him and instructed him in how to act in his own

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24]

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water. Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation (1925, pp. 142-161). 773 551 821

137, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making. 000

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof, *Askats;* Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the horse. 231 552 [556] 231 764 428 [766]

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They were: Wide Feet, *As-kataribu'*; White Spotted, *Paras-taka*; Bear Head, *Kuruks-paksu*; Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat*; Hate-His-Tail, *Pits-tatur-ritku*; Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats*; Wooly, *Pararus*; Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku*; Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.* Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross, 1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march pulling the travois in 1834–1836. The Pawnees were able to identify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties. 231 552 231 [262] [825]

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee 231 726 177

*202 *539 tobacco and the messengers will be told to return and say to the *796 Father, "I am ready!"

[571] The messengers start back immediately, and when they are in sight of their village the news of their arrival is proclaimed. Then all the men of the Father's party hasten to his lodge. The Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the Father put on their buffalo robes in the ceremonial manner, with the hair outside, and take their places back of the Hako. The other members of the party range themselves against the wall of the lodge, on either side, and all await the coming of the messengers.

[201] As the four men enter the lodge the people cry, "Nawairi!" ("Thanks!") while the Ku'rahus lifts his hands, palms upward, and then brings them down slowly. This movement means thanks, and the calling down of help from above.

The leader of the messengers, addressing the Ku'rahus, delivers the words sent by the Son, "I am ready!" This closes the ceremony.

FOURTH RITUAL

Part I. Vivifying the Sacred Objects

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 When the messengers return from the Son with the words, "I am ready," there is rejoicing in the lodge.

The young men of the Father's party rise and dance. From these dancers two are selected, by the Ku'rahus and the chief, to perform the final dance, which takes place on the morning of the fifth day of the ceremony. The choice of these two dancers is signified by tying on their hair a downy white eagle's feather (see plate XLI). Meanwhile the other members of the party are busy with their final preparations. They tie in packs, ready for transportation, the gifts they [431] are to carry to the Children. The singers make ready the drum, while outside the women are engaged preparing food and other necessaries for the long journey.

The Ku'rahus orders a straight tent pole to be selected and brought to the lodge of the Father.

On the morning of the day the journey is to begin the Ku'rahus rises from his place in the lodge behind the Hako and goes outside. There he ties the sacred objects on the selected tent pole. He puts the two feathered stems near the top—the brown eagle toward the north and the white eagle toward the south—and he spreads out their feather pendants. Below these he fastens the ear of corn, and underneath it the two rattles and, lastly, the wildcat skin. These objects must face the east when the pole is raised. Behind them, so as to ~~face the west~~, the right and left wing of an eagle are fastened and spread out.

The rope of buffalo hair is used to tie these sacred objects to the pole, which is then set up at the entrance of the lodge. Here it stands where the wind of the dawn may breathe upon the Hako and the first rays of the sun strike the sacred objects and give them life.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

II

539*
796*

348 A tira saka riki awa rashihri whicha.
a, a vowel sound used for euphony.
tira, this.
saka, sun; part of the word tara saka, sun.
riki, standing. tira saka riki, to-day, this present time.
awa, again.
rashihri, you have brought.
whicha, arrived, come.

349 See line 348.

350 Iri! Hawa rashihri whicha.
iri! an exclamation of thanks or thankfulness. A part of the word na'wairi, thanks, it is good.
hawa, again.
rashihri, you have brought.
whicha, arrived.

351, 352 See line 348.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The second stanza says that Mother Corn has arrived, bringing gifts for the Children. These gifts are not only the things in our packs; but they are the promise of long life, of children, of plenty, and of peace. It is for these that the Children will give thanks, and we sing their thanks in this song.

THIRD DIVISION. ENTERING THE VILLAGE OF THE SON AND CONSECRATING HIS LODGE

SIXTH RITUAL

PART I. THE SON'S MESSENGERS RECEIVED

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

796*

[231
431
602]

When the messengers sent by the Fathers (third ritual) turned homeward the Son began his preparations to receive the Hako party. Each of his relatives selected from among his ponies those which he desired to present to the Fathers. The Son chose a messenger as his representative to go out and receive the Hako party when it should arrive within sight of the village. He also selected the little child necessary to the performance of certain rites belonging to the fifth morning of the ceremony. It could be one of his own children or the child of a near relative. Finally, an earth lodge of suitable size was secured, the occupants with all their belongings moving out for the occasion.

In this vacated lodge the ceremony was to be performed and the Fathers were to live day and night, for no member of the Hako party ever separated himself from the sacred objects from the time of starting on the journey until the close of the entire ceremony.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza we speak of the messenger as "my own child" (ti hao), because he represents the Son, to whom we are being led by Mother Corn. Although the man who is the Son is not and can not be of any blood kinship to us, yet by the power of the sacred objects in this ceremony he is to be made as our own child, as our offspring, we are to be bound to him by a tie as unalterable as that which exists between father and son. So we sing, "My own child, my offspring, is sitting here." 539* 796* [571 608]

When we sing "Tiwe rakushe hawa ti hao," we are thinking that our child has again said "I am ready."

Translation of Second Stanza

359 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
360 Tiwe riata ti hao.
  tiwe, here.
  riata, he walking.
  ti, my.
  hao, my own child.
361 See line 360.
362 Tiwe riata hawa ti hao.
  tiwe, here.
  riata, he walking.
  hawa, again.
  ti, my.
  hao, my own child.
363 See line 360.
364 Tiwe riata. See line 360.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The pack containing the clothing provided for this representative of the Son is now opened. After the messenger has finished eating he is dressed in the new clothing. 431 ● 539* 796*

We clothe him because that is an act which marks the care of a father for his child. The garments we put upon him are fine and embroidered; these fine and carefully made garments show that we have been thinking of him, that we regard him highly and wish to do him honor.

After the messenger is clothed he walks toward the village; we follow, walking slowly and singing the second stanza. The words tell that the Son is walking before us and that we again are walking toward the lodge of the Son.

Just before we reach the village we halt and sing the next song.

*796 face the open entrance way and flirt the wings toward the opening, as though brushing out something from the lodge. These motions mean that Kawas has now cleared the lodge of all that is bad, of all disease and trouble, and made the place ready for the coming ceremony.

Then the doctors join the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief.

At the west, back of the fire, a space is now set apart and made sacred. Here the wildcat skin is spread and at its head the crotched stick is thrust into the ground; one end of the feathered stems is laid against the crotch, the other upon the skin, and the rattles are placed under the eagle pendants. The wings are laid on the edge of the skin. In front of the wildcat the ear of corn is held in an upright position by one of the sticks to which it is tied being thrust into the ground. The sacred objects are always laid at rest in this position, and are never left alone or unguarded.

The members of the Hako party now enter and place the packs containing the ceremonial gifts at the north side of the lodge. Meanwhile the women of the party are busy pitching tents, for, as only a few of the Hako party remain and live within the lodge, all the other men must camp with their families in a place set apart for them.

The Ku'rahus at this time appoints certain men to attend to special duties.

Some are to bring wood and water and attend to the cooking. They divide themselves into different groups, one for each day of the ceremony, so that the work will be evenly distributed and there will be no confusion or delays.

Others are appointed to fill the pipes for the Children to smoke. To attend to this duty they are required to be always present in the lodge.

Some eight or ten men are chosen to be in readiness to do any work that may be demanded of them. For instance, if the crops of the Children are being planted or gathered, these men are to attend to this work, so that the Children can at all times be present at the ceremony and suffer no loss.

[43
211] A man is selected to notch a stick as a record of the number of ponies presented to the Fathers and to whom each pony is given.

In this way the labor attendant upon the long ceremony is planned and divided so that nothing will be neglected and there will be no dispute or confusion.

While these appointments are being made the Son dispatches runners to notify the people that the Hako party has arrived and to bid his relatives come to the lodge.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART III. CLOTHING THE SON AND OFFERING SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The Ku'rahus orders that the pack containing the new garments brought for the Son be opened, and he directs the chief to clothe the Son. The embroidered shirt, leggings, and moccasins are then put upon him and he is wrapped in a fine robe. 796* [431] ●

The Ku'rahus asks the priest of the shrine which controls the rain to take its sacred pipe and direct the Son how to offer tobacco and smoke to Tira'wa. [782 793]

The priest fills the sacred pipe and carries it toward the south, where he sits down beside the Son and instructs him what to do.

The Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief, bearing the sacred objects, follow the priest and halt before the Son.

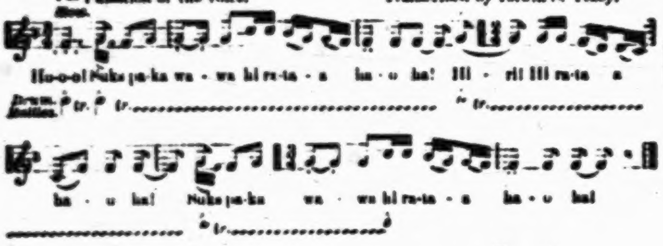
The priest puts the sacred pipe in the hand of the Son, and the first stanza of the following song is sung.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*
[533*]

M. M. ♪ = 82.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Slow.
Ho-o-o! Suks pa-ka wa - wa hi ra-ta - a ha - o ha! Hi - ri! Hi ra-ta a
Drum. Rattles. tr. tr.
ha - o ha! Suks pa-ka wa - wa hi ra-ta - a ha - o ha!
tr.

I

417 Ho-o-o!
418 Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
419 Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!
420 Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!

II

421 Ho-o-o!
422 Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
423 Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!
424 Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!

Translation of First Stanza

417 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

418 Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!

suks, a command; you must.

paka, pako, speak. The change in the last vowel is for euphony.

wawa, part of rawawa, to send something; in this instance, to send the words or thoughts of the prayer.

hi, that person.

rata, my or mine.

a, vowel prolongation.

hao, child; offspring.

ha, a musical vocable used to fill out the measure.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 The words tell us that the smoke offered by the Son is now passing by, leaving us and going on its way to the different places where the
*796 powers dwell that guard the rain.

We sing this stanza four times as the smoke passes by us.

Translation of Second Stanza

431 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
432 Rawis kaha witshpa.
  rawis, part of the word rawisu, smoke.
  kaha, part of the word kaharu, smell, savor, odor.
  witshpa, reached, arrived at, completed.
433 Ti weri witshpa rawis kaha witshpa.
  ti, he or it.
  weri; we, now; ri, is; denotes present time.
  witshpa, has completed, reached, arrived.
  rawis kaha witshpa. See line 432.
434 Ti weri witshpa. See line 433.
435 Rawis kaha witshpa ti weri witshpa. See lines 432, 433.
436 See line 432.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the smoke disappears we sing the second stanza, which tells that the odor of the smoke has reached the abode of the mighty powers and that our offering to them is now completed.

We sing this song four times.

The ceremony of offering smoke over, the priest with the sacred pipe of the Rain shrine, and the Ku'rahus with his assistant and the chief, bearing the sacred objects, [illegible]rn to the west and there, upon the space set apart and made ho[illegible] them down.

● [431] The Son takes off the fine garmen[illegible] which the Father has clothed him and places them in a pile before a chief of his village, that they may be distributed to the young men of the receiving party—that is, the Children.

The lodge has now been opened by Mother Corn and cleansed of all bad influences by Kawas; the Son, clothed as a child by the Father, has offered prayer and smoke to the powers above; the garments worn during this act have been removed and given away; and now everything is ready for the public ceremony to begin.

*796 facing the entrance at the east. They who have brought gifts to the
Fathers go around to the sacred place and lay them down upon the
● 431 ground between the central fire and the Hako. All gifts are received
*796 silently unless someone brings a present of food; for such an offering
the Ku'rahus gives thanks.

In old days it was not unusual for the Children to bring packs filled with dried buffalo meat; sometimes the packs contained the entire product of a hunt.

*796 When all the Children are gathered within the lodge the Ku'rahus directs that the Hako be taken up. When this is done, the five men stand facing the east. The chief, in the center, holds the wildcat skin and the ear of corn; on his left and toward the north is the Ku'rahus with the brown-eagle feathered stem, and at his left is the doctor with the left wing of the eagle. On the right of the chief and toward the south is the Ku'rahus's assistant holding the white-eagle feathered stem, and at his right the doctor with the right wing of the eagle. The Ku'rahus now addresses the Children:

"Mother Corn has led us to the border of your land. Mother Corn has brought us to your village. Mother Corn has guided us to the entrance of this lodge. Mother Corn has crossed the threshold and entered. The lodge has been swept and made ready for the ceremony. Kawas has flown about the lodge seeking its child, and here he has been found.

"You must all help me by reverent conduct as I try to perform faithfully the rite handed down from our fathers, so that all the promise of good which follows the Hako may come to us here."

No particular form of speech was taught me to be used on this occasion. Every Ku'rahus can choose his own words, but he must at this time tell the people of the sacredness of this ceremony and call upon them to give reverent attention that the rite may go forward to the end and be the means of bringing good to all who take part in it.

By this time those appointed to attend to the cooking have prepared food outside of the lodge. This is now brought in and placed near the fireplace, toward the east.

Before anyone can be served the thoughts of the Fathers and of the Children must be turned toward Tira'wa, the father of all things, so we sing the following song as we carry the Hako around the lodge and wave the feathered stems over the heads of the people.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Hako are at rest, the food which has been standing beside the fire is served by the Fathers to the Children. Certain men are appointed for this task. 796*

It is the duty of a father to provide food for his child, and not to partake himself until the child is satisfied. As we are to simulate the relation of father to child, we prepare a meal for the Children twice and sometimes thrice a day during the continuance of this ceremony. We are obliged to bring much food for this purpose, as the Children are sometimes many, and we have also ourselves to feed. [593] [264]

Where we must travel far to reach the tribe of the Son, the burden of carrying so much food is hard upon our ponies. So much cooking for the Children keeps the women very busy, but they are willing, for the ceremony brings good to them. [492] [462]

After the Children have eaten they rest a while and then go home, returning to the lodge when the sun has set. Before they go they generally make gifts of ponies to the Fathers. [431]

When the Fathers are left alone in the lodge they eat their evening meal.

The Hako throughout this ceremony are never left unattended by night or day. When the Ku'rahus, or his assistant, or the chief needs to leave the lodge, someone is requested to take his place during his absence.

NINTH RITUAL (FIRST NIGHT). INVOKING THE VISIONS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the sun has set and it is dark and the stars are shining, then the Children gather in the lodge. Some, as they come in, will advance to the holy place and there drop a stick; this means the gift of a pony. For every such gift the Ku'rahus returns thanks to the giver. [431]

After all are seated, wood is piled upon the fire, and when the flames leap high the Ku'rahus rises, then his assistant and the chief rise and the Hako are taken up.

The singers carrying the drum follow the Hako bearers as they move slowly around the lodge, singing the following song.

reached the lodge, and now they have entered and are in the presence of the Children. 539*

796*

Kawas now goes to her nest, so we lay the Hako down with the movements and songs which belong to this act,[a] and then we sit down behind the Hako and are quiet.

Perhaps some one of the Children may rise and come to the holy place and there lay down a stick, signifying the gift of a horse to the Fathers in recognition of their having called the visions which are now present. [431]

Translation of Fifth Stanza

514 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

515 Hitkasharu! The visions that attend the Hako. See line 491.

516 We rakawa hitkasharu!

we, part of weri, they.

rakawa, walking, moving; conveys the idea of spreading through, pervading the space within the lodge.

hitkasharu, the visions that attend the Hako.

517 We rakawa! See line 516.

518 See line 516.

519 See line 517.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Near midnight the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief rise and take up the Hako, and we go around the lodge again and sing this stanza four times.

As we walk, the visions walk; they fill all the space within the lodge; they are everywhere, all about us.

When we reach the west we pause.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

520 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

521 Hitkasharu! The visions that attend the Hako. See line 491.

522 We riteri hitkasharu!

we, a part of the word weri, they.

riteri, touching in different places, touching here and there.

hitkasharu, the visions that attend the Hako.

523 We riteri! See line 522.

524 See line 522.

525 See line 523.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we go around the second time we sing the next stanza four times.

The visions which attend the Hako are now touching the Children, touching them here and there and by their touch giving them dreams, which will bring them health, strength, happiness, and all good things.

---

[a] See pages 111-116.

539*
796*

Translation of First Stanza

634 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
635 Ha! Rerireawa; Ha! Rerireawa, piraski ka siri hura.
ha! an exclamation directing attention; in this instance, hark! listen!
rerireawa, the sound made by the flapping of wings, as in the alighting of birds.
piraski, boys.
ka, now, a form of command.
siri, you.
hura, come.
636 See line 635.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This song likens the bustle and stir of the Hako party as it comes into the village to the flapping of the wings of a flock of birds as they come to a place and alight. It refers also to the birds represented on the feathered stems—the eagle, the duck, the woodpecker, and the owl. The noise of the wings of these birds is what is meant, for they are moving with the Fathers toward the Children.

In this stanza the Fathers speak: "Hark to the sound of wings! The Hako is here. Now, boys, you are to come forward!" That is, the Children are now to send their gifts of ponies to the Fathers as a return for the promised good brought to them by the Hako. The ponies are always led up to the Fathers by a small boy, the child of the man making the gift.

[431]

Translation of Second Stanza

637 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
638 Ha! Rerireawa; Ha! Rerireawa, piraski kat tsiri huwa.
ha! hark! listen!
rerireawa, the sound of the wings of birds as they alight.
piraski, boys.
kat, come, the response to the command ka, come.
tsiri, we.
huwa, go.
639 See line 638.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The second stanza is a response to the call made by the Fathers. The people in the camp say, "Hark! The Hako comes. Now we go to meet the Fathers with our gifts."

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*
[431 ●
554]

It may happen during the ceremony that a young man of the village who is not a relative of the Son may desire to lay up for himself an honor which will help him to advance his social position in the tribe. He mounts a horse, rides to the lodge, and there makes a gift of the animal to the Fathers. On such an occasion this song is sung.

The words are few, but the meaning of the song has been handed down to the Ku'rahus. It is not intended that everyone should know all that these songs imply.

The first stanza means: Whence has he come? Where does he go, he who rides his horse so fast? Who is the man?

The second stanza means: He is coming this way on his horse. He is bringing it to the Fathers; he is in earnest to make them a gift.

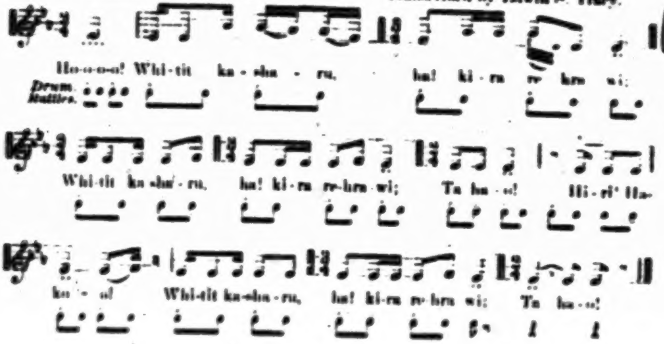
TWELFTH RITUAL (SECOND NIGHT). THE RITES CAME BY A VISION

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
• • Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! Whi-tit ka-sha-ru, ha! ki-ra re-hra wi;
Drum. Rattles.
Whi-tit ka-sha-ru, ha! ki-ra re-hra wi; Ta ha-o! Hi-ri! Ha-
ko-o! Whi-tit ka-sha-ru, ha! ki-ra re-hra wi; Ta ha-o!

[533*]

I

672 Ho-o-o-o!
673 Whitit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
674 Whitit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
675 Ta hao!
676 Hiri! Hako-o!
677 Whitit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
678 Ta hao!

II

679 Ho-o-o-o!
680 Kutit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
681 Kutit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
682 Ta hao!
683 Hiri! Hako-o!
684 Kutit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
685 Ta hao!

Translation of Seventh Stanza

*539 884 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
885 Raraḫ whara.
*796
raraḫ, walking from one.
whara, going away, going from a person or place.
886 Hitkasharu raraḫ whara. See lines 850 and 885.
887 Hitkasharu. See line 850.
888 Hiri! H'Atira si hawa raraḫ whara. See lines 852 and 885.
889 Hitkasharu. See line 850.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The visions are walking away from us as we sing the seventh stanza. We are thanking them in our hearts as we sing, and while they are leaving the lodge. At the west we pause.

Translation of Eighth Stanza

890 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
891 Raraḫ whishpa.
raraḫ, walking from one.
whishpa, arrived at the place from which one started.
892 Hitkasharu raraḫ whishpa. See lines 850 and 891.
893 Hitkasharu. See line 850.
894 Hiri! H'Atira si hawa raraḫ whishpa. See lines 852 and 891.
895 Hitkasharu. See line 850.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In a little while we start and go again around the lodge and sing the eighth stanza. The visions of our fathers have left the lodge; they are walking away from us, passing over the sleeping earth, and at last they reach their dwelling place, the place from which they descended when they started to come to us. As we think of them we again thank them for coming to us.

At the west we lay the Hako down to rest with the songs and movements belonging to that action.[a]

After singing this song the Children usually rise and go to their homes and the Fathers take a rest during the remainder of the night.

431 *796 There are no ceremonies at the dawn of the fourth day. During the forenoon the Fathers are busy unpacking the various articles they have brought for their final gifts to the Children. They place in a pile the robes, embroidered shirts, leggings, and ornaments.

About noon the food is cooked for the last meal to be given by the Fathers to the Children. After the Fathers have served the food, they put the cooking utensils beside the pile of gifts and then present the heap to the Children and walk out of the lodge, leaving the Children to distribute the gifts among themselves.

---

[a] See pages 111-118.

There is a very general scattering of the gifts, and songs of thanks are sung by those who receive them. When this ceremony of distribution and acknowledgment is over, the Children return to their several lodges. By this time the afternoon is well advanced. 431 ● 796*

The Fathers now enter the empty lodge and begin preparations for the last night of the ceremony and for the following morning. At this time they partake of their last meal before the close of the ceremony at about noon the next day. 796*

The best dancers in the party are chosen to perform the final dance, which occurs on the morning of the fifth day. The songs which accompany this dance are rehearsed and everything necessary for the closing acts of the ceremony is put in readiness.

If a tent has been used for the ceremony, the Fathers on this afternoon must build around the tent at a little distance from it a wall of saplings and brush, to keep off outsiders and prevent anyone from looking in. If the ceremony takes place in an earth lodge, then both the outer and inner doors are closed, for on this last night no one is allowed to be present but the Fathers, the Son, and his near relatives.

On this night a sixth man is added to the five who carry the sacred objects—the two feathered stems, the ear of Corn wrapped in the wild cat skin, and the two eagle wings. The sixth man has a whistle, [534] made from the wing bone of the eagle, which he blows in rhythm of [237] the songs. The whistle imitates the scream of the eagle over its young.

Second Division: The Secret Ceremonies

FIFTEENTH RITUAL (FOURTH NIGHT)

Part I. The Flocking of the Birds

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

At sunset the Fathers call the Children to the lodge. When all have been seated, the Children on the south side, the Fathers on the north, the Ku'rahus, who sits at the west, back of the holy place where the Hako are at rest, addresses the Children in the name of the Fathers. He explains the meaning of the ceremony about to take place, for on this last night and the following morning everything that is done refers to the nest and to the direct promise of Children to the Son, who is also to be bound by a symbolic tie to the Father.

The chief, the Father of the Hako party, now takes the little child 796* in his arms and, going outside of the lodge, sits down near the door, where he remains during the final dance and the presentation of gifts [431] by the children.

THIRD DIVISION. THE DANCE OF THANKS

NINETEENTH RITUAL

PART I. THE CALL TO THE CHILDREN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Before the entrance to the lodge mats are spread, on which sit those who are to take part in the coming ceremony.

The Ku'rahus and his assistant are directly before the door. At the left of them are two doctors who have not heretofore taken part. They carry their large rattles, and have lent two similar ones to the [534] Ku'rahus and his assistant. They have also lent for this occasion their peculiar drums to the singers. These drums are made of the section of a tree hollowed out by fire, over the open end of which a skin has been stretched and securely tied. The singers are seated in a semicircle about each of the two drums (see figure 180). In front of the Ku'rahus and the singers sits the chief, and before him is the little child. The doctors with the eagle wings are on either side, the one with the left wing toward the north, the one with the right wing toward the south. In front of them are the two dancers. The space within which they are to dance is inclosed on the south by a line of prominent men from the Son's party, and on the north by a line from the Father's. These lines beginning at the lodge end each with a warrior selected by the Ku'rahus for his valorous record. These warriors wear buffalo robes with the hair side out and are girded about the waist with a hair lariat, which is to be used in leading the horses brought as gifts to the Fathers. Beyond these lines of prominent men, who are seated, are gathered the people, those belonging to the tribe of the Son on the south and those of the Hako party on the north.

The Ku'rahus gives a small tuft of white down to a man whose hands have not been painted with sacred ointment, and directs him where to place it on the head of the chief. The place is on the spot where a baby's skull is open, and you can see it breathe. The white down represents the white clouds which lie near the abode of Tira'wa atius, whence he sends down the breath of life to man. Chiefs were appointed by Tira'wa through the North Star. The tuft of down also signifies that the chief's office is from above.

The two feathered stems, the rattles, the wildcat skin, and the ear of corn are given to the chief to hold.

The two young men who have been selected to dance are stripped to the breechcloth, and red circles are made with the sacred paint on their backs and breasts. The circles are outlined faintly, so as not to

*796 follows and does the same, then the assistant comes, then the two doctors and the prominent men of the Father's party. After thanking the Son they all pass round the south side of the lodge to thank the prominent men of the Son's party; then they return to the north side of the lodge and sit down.

431 *796 After they are seated, the Children express the wish that the distribution of the ponies, waiting without, may be happily accomplished, to which the Fathers reply, "Nawairi!" "Thanks!" The Children now rise and go out of the lodge and leave the Fathers alone during the distribution of the gifts.

[554] [577] The Ku'rahus appoints two influential men to go out and divide the gift of ponies, setting apart a number for the chiefs and the leading men who do not wish to do this for themselves, lest the people think them selfish. Two ponies are for the Ku'rahus; that is his portion ordinarily. If there are a great number of horses he is given more. The chiefs and leading men select from the ponies set apart for them, each man taking one until all the ponies are apportioned. The rest of the party choose from the other ponies, one at a time, the men first and then the women. After this the sticks representing ponies are divided.

All the saddles, bridles, feathers, that may have been on the horses given away are piled on the north side of the lodge. These belong to the Ku'rahus. He keeps what he wants and divides the rest between his assistant, the server, and other members of the party.

*796 When the distribution has been made the Fathers leave the lodge and go to their camp, where they break their long fast and seek some rest. The next day all the party start for home except the chief. He remains to collect the ponies which have not been brought in.

[571] The Son, to whom the Hako has been presented, can give the eagle wings to a doctor or the pipe to a friend, but he must keep for himself the sacred objects of the ceremony. They have brought to him the promise of long life and children, and have established peace and security through a tie as strong as that of kinship.

Incidental Rituals

The following four rituals can be sung during the public ceremony whenever they are called for by the Children.

COMFORTING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 424 I have told you before that in order to be instructed in this ceremony, to be taught its songs and their meaning, one must make many gifts, pay a great deal to the Ku'rahus who teaches him. This is our custom, for a man must make sacrifices, must give large presents in payment for what he receives, in order to show that he places a value upon the knowledge he wishes to acquire. I have paid a great deal

*539
*796

V

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! Our journey's end now is near, we look
O'er the strange land,
Seeking Children there! Mother Corn, hear!

VI

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! Our eyes behold where they dwell. In their
Village we walk,
Seeking there the Son. Mother Corn, hear!

VII

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! His lodge we find, through the door we pass.
Sleeping he lies,
Knows not we are there. Mother Corn, hear!

VIII

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! Now at her touch comes a dream; then a
Bird calls, "My Son!"
While his soul responds. Mother Corn, hear!

THIRD RITUAL. SENDING THE MESSENGERS

*796 [602 202] The four messengers were selected informally by the Father from among his near relatives. They were generally young men, lithe and strong of limb, and able to make a long journey quickly. The distance to be traveled varied from a few miles to a hundred or more, and as they must carry all their provisions, it became necessary for them to get over the ground as rapidly as possible.

The formal appointment of these messengers took place in the lodge of the Father, in the presence of the sacred objects spread at ceremonial rest.

[602] When the messengers arrived at the lodge of the Son, he sent for his kindred and consulted with them. Only a recent death in his family or some catastrophe which deprived him of his property would be accepted as sufficient excuse for his not receiving the Hako party. If he accepted the tobacco he would bid the messengers return to the Father and say, "I am ready." In either case he must make gifts to the messengers in recognition of the proffered honor. [431]

The homeward journey was made as quickly as possible, for during the absence of the messengers nothing could be done. As soon, however, as the returning young men were discerned on the prairie the village was astir, and the men of the Father's party, with the Ku'rahus, assembled at his lodge to receive them ceremonially and to hear their tidings.

The messenger dispatched on such errands was called Rawiska'rarahoru, One who walks carrying the tobacco.

*533 *539 *796 The music of the song of this ritual is in three phrases. Like other songs in this ceremony having the same number, it accompanies acts

*539
*796

This is the teaching, this is the word sent
Down to us from our fathers:
All of the wise words, all of the good gifts,
Now brought to you as my Son,
Verily, as of old, all of these things,
All, by the east descended.

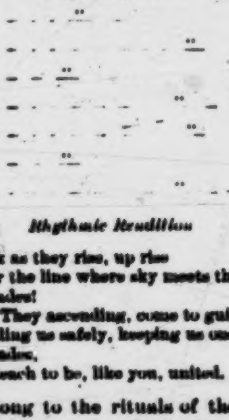
*539 *796 821 The song addressed to the Pleiades held a peculiar place in the ceremony. It had to be substituted for the last stanza of any song which was being sung when the constellation was reported as rising above the horizon. This right to set aside the stanza of a regular song preceding the act of laying down the Hako seems to bear out the explanation of the Ku'rahus, that the song to the Pleiades belonged "to the time when the ceremony was being made," and would imply that it was part of a ceremony from which the Hako drew authority.

[174] "Tira'wa," the Ku'rahus said, "appointed the stars to guide their steps." The Pleiades not only guided but taught the people, as by an object lesson, "to remain together." The song would seem to have been received in some locality to the south of the dwelling place of the Pawnees, since the man who obtained it "turned to the north and reached his country." This song is one among many indications that earlier forms of the Hako ceremony will probably be found among the people of the Mexican plateau.

SONG TO THE PLEIADES[a]

*533
*796

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

Look as they rise, up rise
Over the line where sky meets the earth;
Pleiades!
Lo! They ascending, come to guide us,
Leading us safely, keeping us one;
Pleiades,
Us teach to be, like you, united.

431 *533 *796 The songs which belong to the rituals of the night did not fill up the entire time, and extra songs could therefore be requested by the Children, provided a gift was made when the song was called for. A man would step up to the holy place, lay there a small stick, representing the gift of a horse, and say, "Father, sing for us!"

---

[a] Music on page 181.

EXTRA NIGHT SONG[a] 533* 796*

Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Rendition

I 539* 796*

As I lay sleeping, as I lay dreaming,
Out of the distance came one advancing
One whom I ne'er had seen before, but when her voice addressed me, straightway I knew her—
Lo! 'Twas our Mother, she whom we know.

II

I rose from sleeping, my dream remem'b'ring
Her words I pondered, words of our mother,
Then I asked of each one I met, Tell me, how far may her shrine be? When I found it
Sweet smoke I offered unto our Mother.

THIRTEENTH RITUAL (THIRD DAY). THE FEMALE ELEMENT INVOKED

Part I. The Sacred Feast of Corn

On the morning of the third day the ritual of the Dawn was repeated. The Children gathered at the lodge before sunrise and their morning meal was given them by the Fathers. 796*

On the preceding day the masculine principle, the sun, had been "remembered." On this day the feminine, the earth, was to be honored.

The ceremonies began by the sacred feast of Corn. It followed closely upon the morning meal and was wholly ceremonial and communal in form, the people taking a spoonful from bowls that were passed around the lodge from one group to another. [264]

The corn was provided and prepared by the Children, they who were to be the recipients of the good promised by the Hako and prefigured by this act—the gift of plenty that they were to receive. [431]

Part II. Song to the Earth

The song to the Earth followed the rite. Its responsive liturgical form calls to mind the song which opens the first ritual. Its theme is similar. As the ceremony proceeds, its purpose, the perpetuation of the clan or tribe by the gift of children, is brought more and more clearly to light. [533* 539*]

---

[a] Music on page 150.

that tribe were present among the Pawnee when the Skiri Brother- 668
hoods were conceived; the Wichita seem to have brought to the 796
Pawnee the change to a Ghost Dance every six weeks for four
nights, continuing the last night until the dawn of the fifth day. 177
This they had adopted in accordance with the change among the 182
Cheyenne, Arapaho, Caddo and Wichita, after the message from
the Messiah was received. At the same time, a conflict of doctrine
over the teachings of White, which culminated in a new conception
of the significance of the Ghost Dance brought directly from the
major Arapaho prophets by Pawnee delegations, seems to have
contributed to the release of the Pawnee Ghost Dance from White's
exclusive control. This doctrinal change occurred before Frank
White's death in 1893.

In the early days after the dancing for the day was over, the people as a whole broke apart and went home, or went to their own tipis. But White, his seven co-leaders, and some of the chiefs would reenter the leading tipi. There they were served food. Before eating, a simple corn offering was made; corn was offered to Tirawahat^{a} and placed on the ground; then motions of blessing were made with the horn spoon over the altar objects.

After this feast, someone would begin to talk about his trance
experiences. He would tell what he saw, and then sing songs which
he had learned in his trance. In this way songs were added to the [533]
repertoire, and gradually the Wichita and Arapaho songs became
only a minor phase (save for the closing song) of the Pawnee
Ghost Dance songs.

CONFLICT OF DOCTRINE; REORGANIZATION OF CEREMONY

According to the conception of the Ghost Dance which Frank 668
White brought among the Pawnee, Frank White himself was the 796
sole authentic prophet of the dance and doctrine, and it was 792
necessary for all sanctions to come through Frank White as inter-
mediary. Those who had visions in trances reported the content
and character to White, and in terms of his interpretation and
permission made use of the vision. Feathers to wear in the hair,
paints for the face, special symbolisms of dress, and the like, were
possible only with White's approval. If a dancer wished to use
a face painting, in accordance with his trance experiences, he had [431]
first to go to White and pay him for the privilege, or in any case,
to offer him gifts. Individuals who had learned about the Ghost
Dance in visions, and felt authorized to put on a dance, could do so
only after conferring with White. He would teach the visionary

of life in the waters and upon earth, the villages were plunged into 221
a round of activities. The young men got ready to go on the warpath, 796
and all their moccasins, garments and weapons had to be put in 668
order. The women made the moccasins, and helped them in other
ways to prepare. Meanwhile the games had begun among children 178
and adults. As the time neared for the departure of the war parties, the great war society dances and performances were held. A visitor to the villages at this season would have been directly impressed with three phases of the outdoor scene: the work of individuals, in view here and there; the games; and the spectacular and colorful dances of the warriors before their departure. These aspects of Pawnee life, being old and familiar, dominated the imagery of the Ghost Dance visions.

NEW CULTURAL FORMS

The Ghost Dance proved not only a force for cultural revival, 178
but with a return to the past as an inspirational source and guide, 796
and vision sanctions as immediate drives, the doctrine was an impetus to cultural development. Several noteworthy forms are on record. The Ghost Dance ceremonial forms themselves have already been described. The rapid development of the many Ghost Dance hand game ceremonies were the most striking development and reintegration of the old and new; these form the subject of the
entire second part of this study and need not concern us here. In [276
addition the development of the modern iruska, or new war dance. 431]
among all four bands, a form of social gathering for feasting and gift-giving; and the spread of the peyote ritual, began at this period.[1]

---

[1] An anecdote told by Murie (Ceremonies of the Pawnee, in press, Bureau of Ethnology) indicates in a lighter vein, the freedom to make ritual changes which came with the Ghost Dance doctrine, and the occasional results: "It is said that in 1893, the husband of the Skull bundle keeper, a rather
young man, took a notion he would shell the corn for the people and distrib- [787
ute it in a new way. He gathered some men, shelled the ear of corn from 688]
the bundle, and distributed it himself. The people remonstrated, but he told them he had had a vision and was going to do just as he was told. In June he started to Wichita Mountains. When he got about 35 miles south of Pawnee (it was very hot and dry; the dust was about five inches thick) his wagon broke down and he had to stay there several days, but at last got his wheels repaired and started out again. Travelling was very hard. The old woman who was keeper of the Skull Bundle, struck him on the back and said, 'You will shell corn, will you. See what you have done.' That year the crops burned up, it was so hot."

Pawnee group against another tribe with whom they were friends 525
traditionally, or with whom they had recently established friendly 648
relations. Among those with whom the hand game was played by the 574
Skiri Pawnee in relatively recent times, one informant remembers participating in games with the Osage, Ponca and Omaha, Oto, Kiowa, and Arapaho. Friendly gaming relations are remembered with the Sac and Fox, but with them the moccasin game was played, not the hand game. The following narrative of a game between the Skiri Pawnee and the Kiowa, played in Oklahoma many years ago, probably before 1880, will make the procedure clear:

The story is told by Mark Evarts.

One time a large party of Skiri Pawnee were on a buffalo hunt. They were led by Bowchief. While they were out hunting, they came near to the place where the Kiowa were encamped, and went over to visit them. It was not an anticipated visit, so that the traditional forms of visiting were not involved.[1] The chief of the Kiowa was Bigbow.[2] Bowchief of the Skiri Pawnee and Bigbow of the Kiowa were friends.[3]

At the Kiowa encampment, the Skiri Pawnee danced their Crazy Dog Dance, led by Bowchief on horseback. He was the only mounted Skiri in the dance.[4] After the performance the Kiowa gave [431]
the Pawnee buffalo meat and buffalo hides.[5] Then the Pawnee left with these gifts and came home.

Two days later, in the afternoon, the Pawnee saw a party of Kiowa coming to visit them. They were received in friendly fashion, and they danced the Kiowa Crazy Dog Dance for the Pawnee. This time Bigbow led the dance, mounted. He was the only Kiowa on horseback. Bigbow, in the dance, called aloud his exploits on old warpaths. After the dance the Pawnee gave the [431]
Kiowa calico and corn.[5] Then the Kiowa went home. The Pawnee hunters who had visited the Kiowa were all men. The Kiowa who returned the visit were mostly men: a few had wives with them.

---

[1] The traditional forms would have required sending a gift of tobacco in advance, and other formalities.

[2] otakáyot in Evarts' rendition of his Kiowa name.

[3] Inter-tribal friendship was a definite formalized relationship in former [572]
times. It was of paramount importance, as through interlocking friendships tribes traditionally hostile to each other were drawn into peaceful relations.

[4] It is said that in the old form of the Crazy Dog Dance, a man mounted [554]
indicated thereby that he had captured horses on a warpath.

[5] This giving away after the dancing is similar to the old forms of intertribal [703]
visiting of friends, at which lavish giving away was done. In the above case the formal arrangements preceding the visits seem to have been omitted because it was a chance meeting.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

525 told the boys in sign language that the man outside, the crier,
574 had announced that the Pawnee were here and had come on the
648 warpath for the hand game; that they had come bringing a pipe.
The crier had said too that as it was getting late, the people had better come at once, women and all, for the hand game. It was to be played inside the big tent of the Kiowa chief.

[431] When they had eaten enough, the Kiowa told the boys to take with them the meat that was left. By signs he said that if they felt hungry later, they would have it to eat. He gave them a pointed stick, and showed them how to stick it into the meat and so carry
[482] it. He said, "I'm in a hurry now, I want to get a place there to sit." All three went over to the chief's tipi. The tent was big, but the crowd was so large that there was not room enough inside for all, so the bottom of the tent cover was rolled up all around, and those who couldn't get in settled themselves around outside. Many had to sit outside this way in the cold. If such a large crowd had been anticipated, the hand game would have been played in the open around a huge fire, but it was too late to gather enough wood to build such a big fire.

The Pawnee were sitting around the north side of the tipi, inside and out, Knifechief, as the leader, sitting at the west. The Kiowa sat around the south side, with the Kiowa chief at the west next to Knifechief. In the middle was a large round fire. The Skiri
[823] Pawnee were on the north because the tribe was camped north of the Kiowa and had come south to play.

The game began at once. There was no pipe smoking. The Kiowa chief had received the pipe when Knifechief had entered his tent upon arriving.

Between the leaders at the west are the tally sticks. Alongside them lies the Pawnee pipe, now empty, pointing to the north.

The betting begins, of vests, shirts, blankets, anything of value. Each man bets against one of the other side; the two things are tied together; the bundles are heaped at the west before the leaders. In the excitement of the game, the cold is forgotten, even by those who must squat outside. The first guessers are chosen and play begins.

When they hide the bones, the Kiowa sing old hand game songs, accompanied by the beating of one hand drum. When the Pawnee have the bones, they sing their old hand game songs. They clap their hands; they do not beat a drum.

The Pawnee won the first game and took the stakes. Then they sang one Crazy Dog Dance song. Two Pawnee danced. One told of a war exploit, "Once when I was in the army,[1] we charged the

---

[1] Referring to an episode while a Pawnee scout with the U. S. army.

Cheyenne camp early in the morning, and they fled. When I got into the Cheyenne camp I took blankets and other things away from them." The Pawnee sing and dance only one song, because it is late and cold, and the Pawnee have a long way to go to return home after the game. They want to hurry, and play quickly. Should the Kiowa win a game, they would dance their Crazy Dog Dance to the songs of their society and their leader would rise to recite an exploit, holding the Pawnee pipe. But the Pawnee when they dance, do not carry the pipe they have brought.[1] On this occasion, the Kiowa did not win, and had no chance to dance carrying the pipe. 525 574 648

Wagers were made for a second game, the Kiowa betting against their losings. Again the Pawnee won. Again they sang a Crazy Dog Dance song, and another Pawnee recited a war exploit.

In the third game Knifechief rose and sprinkled ashes to hide the tracks, and the Kiowa guesser searched for the trail.

The Pawnee won three straight games, and that was all they played. There was no fighting over the bones in these games: that was only the way that small boys played.

Knifechief rose. He said, "Now my brother, I beat you. That's all. We're going home." All the Skiri took up their winnings and started for home.

While the game had been going on, Mark and David had found time to eat up the meat they had received so that no one could ask for some. They managed to finish it by the time the game was over.

On the way home, one of the Skiri who was a friend of Mark's gave him a pair of leggings he had just won. Mark says that because of the good fortune of the Pawnee that night he believed the Pawnee would always have good luck in hand games, but subsequently he found out he had been mistaken. In later games they often lost. [572 431] ●

---

[1] Carrying the pipe while counting coup was correct only if the reciter had carried a pipe at the time of the exploit. This meant essentially that he had been the leader of a war party. If the exploit had occurred when no pipe was carried, he could count coup, but without holding the pipe. In the above narrative the special significance of the distinction drawn between the right of the Kiowa leader to carry the pipe, and the Pawnee lack of that right, is that it represents dramatically the fact that for generations past, as a result of their treaties, which the Pawnee held sacred, few if any war parties had been sent out ceremonially by the Pawnee. War exploits during the Nineteenth Century were limited essentially to defensive tactics, or to fighting as members of the United States army (see Chapter 1). [703 554 727 721]

Analysis.—Four renditions were recorded. The first and second 533*
renditions were interrupted by the shrill cries given by women in a war dance, the interruptions occurring in the eighth measure of the first and the ninth measure of the second rendition. After the second rendition the singer spoke several sentences rapidly and after the third rendition she repeated the shrill cries. The third and fourth renditions were sung without interruption. The foregoing is an interesting example of the performance of this class of songs. The tempo is slow and the melody is marked by a steadily descending trend. The song is harmonic in structure, contains all the tones of the octave, and has a compass of 11 tones.

SONGS OF THE RAVEN LANCE SOCIETY [171]

The custom of the Pawnee concerning the raven lance (*kakutsaa*) 411
was similar to that of the Mandan.[20] A warrior who carried this lance 726
into battle and planted it in the ground was obliged to defend its 778
position with his life. If he were killed, his comrades brought back
the lance. By the Pawnee informant the lance was described as a
staff wrapped with otter hide and having a crook at the upper end. [237]
It was decorated with eagle feathers and bore the body of a raven, commonly designated as a crow.

The dance of the Raven Lance Society was said to be "almost like 533*
that in which the dancers painted half their bodies red and half 575
black," referring to the White Lance Society. The original owner of [302]
this dance lived to extreme old age and, as he had no children, he 173
gave the dance to a young man who was one of his nearest relatives. 726
One day the people said, "Some Indians are coming to attack us."
The young man who had received the dance took his raven lance, [431] ●
mounted his pony, and went to get the old man. They rode together on the pony to a place near the fight and then went forward on foot, but the old man could not go as fast as the warriors. The old man called, "I am still coming," and the young man came back and helped him forward. The aged man was proud to see that the young man to whom he had given his dance was among the leaders in the fight. The enemy shot and killed the young man, and the lance was brought back with his body. Then the old man sang this song. In the manner of recording the song there was a wailing which was said to be "the old man crying because the young man had been killed and he had no more relatives," yet he loved the lance and all that it symbolized. He died soon afterwards and, as he was too old to give the dance to anyone else, the Pawnee do not have the dance at the present time.

---

[20] Cf. Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 48 and 49, including "Song to the Raven"; also Lowie, Societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, pp. 313-314.

*533 He had never seen white people behave in this manner, and it sur-
787 prised him greatly. A few days later he heard of the signing of the
armistice and the scenes of its celebration. The next night he
727 dreamed again, and in his dream he saw a circle of Indians dancing and heard them sing the same melody. In the middle of the dance circle was a tall pole, and on top of it was a skull. Two white women stood near him watching the dance, and one of them pointed to the skull, saying, "Look, I wonder what that can be." When he awoke he thought perhaps the skull indicated that many of the enemy had been killed but later he interpreted the skull as representing a helmet. As already mentioned, a helmet was carried in the victory dance.

Soon after these dreams there was a gathering of the Pawnee at the earth lodge and Luwak rose, told his dreams, and sang the song, which was readily learned by the people and sung at subsequent gatherings prior to the return of the soldiers. The words heard in his first dream are those presented with the transcription. The words with his second dream were addressed to the skull: "At this, whoever you may have belonged to, you are now hung on a pole." The words of the song when sung at the victory dance were connected with events of the recent war.

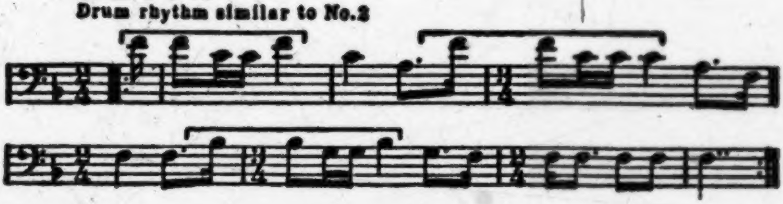
*533
727

No. 36. Song for Returned Pawnee Soldiers

(Catalogue No. 1134)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum ♩ = 76
Drum rhythm similar to No. 2



FREE TRANSLATION

You are coming.
You are the ones for whom I am looking

Analysis.—The frequency of the fourth characterizes this song, which contains only the tones of the major triad and fourth. It is a vigorous melody, progressing freely within its compass of an octave.

727 The dance on the second day (June 7) was opened ceremonially,
[276] a pipe being lighted with a coal from the central fire and smoked by the chief and the men seated near him. Many gifts were bestowed
●[431] upon the returned soldiers, among these gifts being two white horses
led into the dance lodge by women.

584 relatives together, the mother's relatives being seated on the south
539 and the father's on the north side of the lodge. The father's relatives left the decision with the mother's relatives, who decided that the girl should be allowed to marry the young man. Many presents were
[431] distributed. The young man's relatives gave presents, and the young man gave a fine horse to the father and mother of the girl. The next day the old man gave the horse to his wife. There were buffalo robes and many valuable articles among the presents.

539 All went well for a time, and then the young man began to beat his
593 wife and abuse her. The girl's mother begged her father to interfere, but he refused to do so. She said, "You claim to be a brave man; why do you not make our son-in-law stop beating his wife?"

He said, "Do you remember one beautiful morning when you said the young man was handsome, that he came of good family, had many horses, and his arms were strong?"

"Yes."

"Do you remember that my relatives sat on the north and yours on the south side of the lodge, and that my relatives left the decision to yours?"

"Yes."

"So your people sold our daughter to that man. We have no right to interfere with his property. He gave the ponies. He gave a fine pony to us. Didn't I give you that pony?"

"Yes."

"Get a kettle. Put it on the fire and put water in it." She did so.

[415 "Now take your parflêche bag and put the finest of your dried meat in the pot. When the soup is done you must bring me some in a
251] wooden bowl."

When she brought the soup he told her to sit beside him and eat. As they ate he said, "What nice fat! What fine meat this is! Who got it for you?"

"Our son-in-law."

"You like the meat that our son-in-law brings us? He punishes our daughter for her own good. He does not want her to run around the camp foolishly. He wants her to be a good cook and to look after things in the lodge."

Then the woman stopped finding fault with her son-in-law.

The young man was well liked by the chiefs. They asked him to join their societies and later he became a chief. He and his wife had one child, a boy. This little boy liked to stay with his grandfather, who told him stories. His grandfather was Sarítsaris (Mad
[264 Chief), a brave man of the Chaui Band. The little boy cooled his grandfather's mush or soup by swinging the dish back and forth,
867] then he set it before the old man.

the smoke ceremony, so will it be done in all our iruska dances, for I have 276
whispered to the men who shall offer the smoke. I now select Sun-chief 575
to offer the smoke. He will now rise and take the pipe."

Sun-chief arose and took the pipe from Coming-sun. Then he went 796
around the fireplace and stood to the west. He took a pinch of tobacco from the pipe, raised up his hand and gradually lowered it to the rim of the fireplace where he placed the tobacco. Next he went northeast by the south and east of the fireplace and squatted down. The south side whip man went to the fireplace, took a live coal and placed it upon the bowl of the pipe. When the pipe was lit, Sun-chief arose and went west of the fireplace, here he stood facing east and gave four whiffs of smoke to the skies; then four whiffs to mother earth. Then he dumped the ashes from the bowl of the pipe and passed his hands over the pipestem toward the skies, twice with his right hand and twice with his left hand. He passed his hands upon the pipestem to the rim of the fireplace, twice with his right and twice with his left hand. Then he turned towards the west and walked to Coming-sun and handed him the pipe. Coming-sun said, "Rawa"; all repeated "Rawa." The second pipe was given to Lone-chief of the south side and the same ceremony gone through.

When the smoke ceremony was over the outside man came in and per- 575
mitted those outside to come in. Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old 796
men, and iruska, we are about to dance. You dancers must be careful with the things you are wearing for if you drop anything, one of those old men will have to take it up and tell of his deeds. Then you must pay. Each man who has a song must dance when his song is sung and must give a small present to some old man or woman. We will have five sets of songs, ten in each set. Everyone must dance. Anyone receiving a present must say, 'rawa iruska.' After each ten songs we will smoke and rest." [533]

So the singers began their songs. Every time the whip men rose everyone had to dance.

After the dance, Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, this is now our iruska dance. Visiting parties, if they wish, may tie tobacco upon the drum, then the keeper of the drum must notify the leaders, who [535]
will plan a dance to give presents to visitors. This is now a popular dance among the Pawnee for at these dances people give presents to one another [431]
and there is a general good time for all.[1]

---

[1] This form of the iruska was originated by the writer who may be said to be entirely responsible for the organization. He knew very little of the procedure among the Dakota but was fairly familiar with the form of the Osage. From the latter he took his main ideas and the various officers with their respective duties. Also like the Osage he adopted strict rules for conducting the dance. Yet the manouvers and serious parts of the ceremony were all taken from bundle rituals of the Pawnee.— Ed. [177]

mother's hair, while the husband also braided his. If the midwife's 846
services were no longer required she was given a gift, usually consisting
of a bowl of corn, dried pumpkins, and perhaps a parfleche [431]
of meat.

Should a woman die in childbirth or shortly thereafter, the death 844
was generally ascribed to the violation on the woman's part of one [784]
of the taboos, especially the drinking of water, which was prohibited 847
from the first labor pains until four days after delivery. Children
were never killed in case the mother died in childbirth. Infanticide
seems not to have been practiced by the Skidi, and in fact all inquiries
upon this point elicited astonishment that such a thing could be
imagined possible. If the mother had died while giving birth, the
child was taken care of by its grandmothers, generally the maternal
grandmother.

Stillbirth was also considered to be the result of the mother's 845
infraction of some rule restricting her conduct during pregnancy.
In such cases the child was interred in the burial ground of the [553]
parents' village, though it was never given a name.

In olden times, at the first signs of pregnancy of the wife, the 854
grandmothers notified the wife's relatives to prepare an elm baby-board
and the husband's a board of cottonwood. After the child 846
had been born and was about to be laid on the baby-board for the 852
first time, a wildcat's skin was placed on the board and the child
wrapped in clothing and put upon the skin. The midwife said:
"I place you upon this board; (if a boy) you shall grow up to make
many meat offerings to the gods; (if a girl) you shall grow up to
increase, so that your children will do many things for the gods."
The wildcat's skin was then wrapped around the child. This was
equivalent to saying, "I wrap the child with the heavens," for the
hide represented the sky and stars. At the time of this little ceremony
the lodge was filled with both father's and mother's relatives, who
had brought with them robes, ear-rings, and other presents of all [431]
sorts for the child. Friends were also happy over the birth and came,
bringing additional gifts. The young couple was especially pleased
if the old women took the baby in their arms, for they believed it
would increase the child's chance of reaching old age and being
blessed with offspring. A few days later, the gifts brought by
friends and relatives were given away, usually to poor women who
had had many children and grandchildren. Thus the parents
expressed their own desire for sons and daughters.

Although the Skidi medicine-men claimed to be able to cause 847
abortion by the use of roots, it was not attempted by married

585 We are poor." The priest took the pipe, smoked, and passed it to the boy and errand man, each of whom took it in turn. The uncle received the pipe again, sat down, and smoked. Then he addressed the priest: "We hope that the young man will be good to the girl. He is now to be married; we hope that he will always be ready to support the family he has come to join." The priest answered, and thanked the men for giving their consent to the marriage. He said: "You have taken pity on me: I have nothing in return to give you." Then they rose. The priest put the pillows to one side, took one of the buffalo robes, and put it on, keeping it as his pay. The errand man took the other robe for himself. The two of them and the youth left and went to the latter's lodge, where the boy's relatives were gathered, sitting in a circle. They had brought presents of ponies, buffalo
● 431 robes, bows and arrows and quivers, or anything they wished to give. The priest and the errand man led the ponies with the presents packed upon them to the girl's lodge, where the mother and grandmother met them and received the gifts. These were distributed among the male relatives of the girl, one pony being reserved for the use of her father. The greater the number of gifts, the greater was the honor shown to the bride. The young man did not go to the girl's lodge until sent for by her parents. When they asked for him, he came, and on entering the lodge found that a buffalo robe had been spread, with two cushions upon it. He was told to sit on one cushion, the girl on the other. Food was placed before them and they ate together. There they remained for the rest of the day, and that night the marriage was consummated. This brought the ceremony to an end.

606 A man was supposed to accord his father-in-law and mother-in-law the same treatment that characterized his behavior towards his own parents. His wife's parents likewise were supposed to treat him with the same affection they showed to their own son. A man spoke of both his father-in-law and mother-in-law and his wife's brothers as *tatukak*, which means that he sits in their lodge. As has been
593 noted, he addressed his wife's sisters as he did his wife. He was never to be angry with her, for it was through two women, the Evening Star and the Moon, that man received buffalo and corn; should he treat his wife meanly, these two deities would withhold the buffalo and the rain, and famine would ensue. [The manuscript also contains the following more realistic statement: "A man had the right to whip his wife without fear of intervention unless he should show undue cruelty without good cause, in which case the wife's relatives would be likely to interfere.]

affection, denoting how far one could count on the tie. The use of the 602
kin word on meeting might simply be withheld altogether—an absolute 601
disclaimer of the relationship.

A second cue as to how valuable a person considered a given kin tie 604
could be taken from the manner in which the typical kin behavior was carried out. In the joking grandfather-grandchild type of behavior, the jokes might be mean, sarcastic, or mildly jocular, but if the person showed no reaction at all it was most damaging to the relationship. Careless behavior within the "respect" categories would simply be taken as a personal insult, but no response whatever to the other person that should have a kin status, canceled the relationship entirely as a personal bond.

There were no normal interpersonal relations among the Pawnees that 602
did not carry with them a kin designation. People with whom one 608
dealt as equals had to be placed in some kin category; lack of such a relation could only imply slave or enemy status. In the various trade or gift exchange ceremonials that were conducted between tribes or bands, a whole kin structure was built up so that they could communicate on a peaceful level. The most notable example was the Calumet or Peace Pipe Ceremony, in which the visiting trade party represented Fathers, while the ones they visited were designated their Children. Many of the ceremonial acts were designed to carry out this idea. There was no way of communicating with peaceful strangers unless they were fitted into the kin structure, and it is for this reason that the President of the United States is referred to as the Great White Father and that white friends are adopted into the tribe.

A third aspect of kin reactivity was the exchange of gifts and this 159
too was an index of cordiality or lack of it between two kinsmen. It 593
sometimes happened that a distant relative was so warmly cultivated
that the relationship took on a degree of intimacy that was considerably 602
greater than would ordinarily be implied in the genetic tie. Such a case [431]
happened with the mother of the boy Otter, White Woman. As was customary, Otter's maternal uncles—his mother's brothers—were frequent visitors to the household. Uncle War Cry and his younger brothers High Noon and Noted Fox would come in often to meals. Uncle War Cry was head brave of the Skidi, and he would often linger to smoke and talk with Victory Call. Uncle War Cry was solicitous for Otter's welfare at all times, and the boy was welcome to his uncle's home at any time. Whenever they passed each other in the village, Uncle War Cry would call out to him, "*Nawa tiwat*," and Otter would reply with "*Nawa tiwat-ciriks*." The same was true of the other two uncles.

From time to time something would happen that puzzled the boy very much. Two men in particular would insist on greeting him in the same terms as his own uncles, saying, "*Nawa tiwat*," and they came up to him and stated that they were his *real* uncles and that his mother was mean

603 each other *irari*, "brother." Old Bull teased Otter referring to his younger
602 wife, Clear Day, and she would always play along. The relation between
nephews and maternal uncles was also considered analogous to that of
604 brothers. As the Pawnees stated it, "They would love each other like own
431 brothers and give things to each other." Gift giving was a special factor
in this relationship, and many kinds of mutual help, especially the teaching
of skills. After they had moved to Oklahoma and Otter was a young
man, he was favored with a nice gift by two boys who called him uncle.
One of the boys had cut wheat for Eagle Chief and received $3.00 for his
work. He said to Otter, "Uncle, I was working for Eagle Chief binding
wheat and he gave me this three dollars. I want to give it to you." The
relationship went back to the old earth lodge in Nebraska when the boys
were very small. They were the sons of Queen Woman, the older wife of
Old Bull, and Otter used to call her *itabi*, "sister," through a distant kin tie.
The boys, accordingly, were his nephews or *tiwat*, and Otter had taught
them how to make arrows when they were out on the hunt and other
skills. Now, long after in Oklahoma, they were expressing their gratitude.
This happened in the presence of the actual mother's brother of the
boys, the agency interpreter, Deteyr, but there was no resentment at all
on his part, for he had been less able to function as uncle to the boys than
Otter. It was considered normal that this should be recognized.

574 In close relationships, failure to visit once in a while was considered
a personal slight. White Woman would complain to Victory Call that
while he often went to visit his older brother, Sitting Hawk, his brother
did not return the courtesy. She would say, "He never comes here.
Why go over there so much?" And so the casual visiting between the two
brothers stopped. On one of the rare occasions when Sitting Hawk did
come to visit, White Woman would caustically remark after he had gone,
"What happened that he came to visit us today. I guess we can expect
some cosmic event like rain or snow to mark the occasion. A man should
come in once in a while just to say, 'brother.'" White Woman on her
607 part avoided visiting Sitting Hawk's wives. Ordinarily the wives of
574 brothers should be close companions. But when Victory Call was invited
over there and the usual invitation was extended to include his wife,
431 White Woman would refuse to go on the grounds that Sitting Hawk's
wives were given to gossip, something she didn't care to engage in. As a
result these women did not visit her either. Nevertheless, they would
regularly send each other gifts. They would send and receive from each
other moccasins, a blanket, or some dried buffalo meat. This showed that
there was good will between them but simply a personal disinclination
to go visiting.

574 An invitation to visit a household was always given through a relative.
The person issuing the invitation would come to the house and seek
out his relative there and suggest that he bring along his wife, his son,

his nephew, etc., as the case might be. A man would feel free to issue the 574
invitation if he had gotten some meat by hunting or bought some supplies
at the trade store. Otherwise the invitation would come from the
woman, since she would be providing the food. However, when guests 574
came in at the husband's invitation in order to transact some business
or political affairs, the husband had the right to ask the wife to cook 431
something for his guests. If one were simply to "drop in" on a relative
without a business reason or an invitation, it would appear as a hint that
you wanted a gift or some other service. In order to forestall this impression,
one came bringing a gift, opening the visit with the presentation and
thus making it appear as the ostensible reason for the visit. The nature and
value of the gift was to some extent an index of the regard the donor
felt for the recipient.

On the whole, kin ties called forth strong emotions, especially in the 602
presence of a stranger. Where strangers and kin were involved, kin 609
loyalty aroused immediate reactions and was very strong. Outside the kin
group it was assumed that people must be mean, unreliable, and treacherous.
The household and immediate kin was the closest unit and the village
pretty much the outer limit. Intervillage ties did exist, however, and 628
occasionally intervillage marriages. As the population began to dwindle 582
in the last years in Nebraska, such intermarriages became more frequent
than heretofore.

Personal Names and Aspirations

A person was never addressed by his personal name; a kin term was 551
always used. This served to indicate the expected behavior and, through [601]
the mode of its use, the nuances that could be expected within the
category. A personal name among the Pawnees was of an entirely different
character from our own. It was an honorary title of an extremely personal
nature. The significance of the personal name was stated by a priest
(see Fletcher, 1904, p. 365) as follows:

> A man's life is an onward movement. . . . If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the help of the powers, his life will "climb up." . . . Some men can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level. Men having power to advance, climb step by step. . . . the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life, an upper level—such a one as reached by the ancient men who are spoken of in the (name-changing) ritual, who threw away the names by which they had been known before (because of new and higher achievements). *Ru-tsu-a-wits-pari*, "in a direction-he is actively-moving-to a point or goal-traveling"; this is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by doing like deeds.

241 778 now dressed the skull in a black skin turban with a knot on the forehead. Inside the turban were soft down feathers mixed with red paint (to represent the visionary's brains), and on top, a soft feather as a plume.

[531]

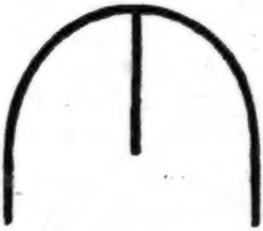


FIGURE 9-1. Representation of face painting symbolizing the vault of the heavens and the breath of Heaven.

[431] [782] Gifts began to come in: kettles of corn and meat were placed at the south, buffalo robes and other offerings between the fireplace and the skull.

[203] [431] [782] The woman's brother and a young man were sent out to all the lodges to invite the people. They dressed in their best and everyone that came brought a gift. Soon they crowded outside the door of the ceremonial lodge, and after the brother had made a smoke offering with the pipe toward the heavens and the skull the people were allowed to come in. They piled their gifts in front of the skull.

The paraphernalia were handed out to the women who were to do the dancing, and a special coiled basket was handed to the woman visionary and one to her assistant. This basket, especially made by a woman under the direction of the minister, symbolized the container ordained by Heaven to carry earth from which the world was created and the germs of life. At the time of the creation, Heaven caused this basket to move of itself through space.

The four ministers of the Skull bundle now took up their rattles and sang, "Now we are going to start to dance. Everyone wants to dance and shake the earth."

241 535 At the first song the women stood ready to scrape the earth with their hoes, right foot forward, arms extended. They were followed by the woman visionary and her partner, who now got up and danced with the coiled baskets. Next followed women with loon necks and then young women with deer necks. These had to be chaste young women. Now the hoes were taken over by the old women, for they were early risers and good workers in the fields. When these got tired, other women came over and took the hoes, carrying out the motions of hoeing all the time:

439 Do you think it can get a good buffalo? Well, you can have a buffalo
435 robe when I get back and my wife can tan it." Mr. Matlock would
then join them and the traders would say, "Sure." "Well, I need two
buckets," Victory Call would say. "And what else do you need?" the
traders would ask. At the same time there would be an old lady in the
439 store trying to establish some credit so that she could get some sugar to
435 make sweet corn pounded up with sugar. She would promise that when
262 they got back from the hunt she would bring in a sack of pounded-up
dry meat. This was the equivalent of the better-known pemmican and
was bought by travelers at the trade store for emergency rations. When
[705] warriors went on the warpath they took extra pairs of moccasins filled
with pounded sweet corn and sugar and some of the pounded-up dry
meat as concentrated supplies.

*224 Not everyone had the skill or the diligence to accumulate all this
476 equipment. Every man or woman who did not have it yet wanted to go
on the hunt had to try to attach themselves to someone who did. This
practical consideration had an important effect on how the individual
encampments were set up. Sometimes a family had enough horses but
no tent. The man would send his mother-in-law or his wife to inquire
of a woman who owned a tent whether they could join her encampment.
If it was agreed that they should camp together they would discuss how
they would combine their needs for equipment—a mortar, a kettle, dishes,
etc. Sometimes a woman would make such arrangements, only to find at
the last minute that her husband had already committed them with someone
else, and then one of the families would have to remain behind.

606 The general rule was that a man had to take care of his father-in-law
and the family into which he was married. It was understood that he
would travel with his father-in-law and his wife's family. This is what
his marriage implied—that he was to serve and care for the family of his
wife. The son-in-law was called by the family into which he married
kustawixtsu, "he who sits among (them)." The son-in-law would refer
to himself as *rat-ut-ka-ku*, "I-for-you-inside-sit," meaning that it his func-
606 tion to serve their house. This was an obligation greater than that to his
593 own parents. If his parents were old and alone, he would give half of his
kill to them after his wife had picked out what she wanted. When they
[591] first married, the couple normally lived in the girl's house and went out
on the hunt with them. As they got older, the young man might want
[431] to set up a tent of his own and hunt separately and his father-in-law
might consent, but he would send a gift of a leg from whatever buffalo
he killed. When they got back to the village, they would rejoin the girl's
family. If the girl's father was getting very old and his tent was worn
out he would say, "Son-in-law, I want to go with you. You came here
to take care of us." "Certainly, that's good," the younger man would
say. This marriage responsibility sometimes got on a man's nerves, and

*224 ward to the hunting grounds on the Republican. Each of the bands had
*484 its own well-known landmarks. As White Eagle was leading the four
184 bands on this hunt, they all had to follow the south bank of the Loup for
the first part of their journey in the Skidi tradition.

*224 A major landmark of the trip was Grand Island in the Platte River.
*484 There were a number of long, sandy islands in the Platte, some of them
131 covered with lush grass and grazing animals and with trees growing on
439 them. Grand Island is one of the largest of these (more than twice the
size of Manhattan Island). It is about 20 miles long and 5 or 6 miles wide, with a narrow channel on the north and south sides between the island and the mainland. On the island the United States had established Fort Kearney, where there was also a trade center.

*224 The trip to the hunting grounds was usually made in ten encampments.
*484 The hunting camp, not uncommonly within sight of the migrating herd,
361 was called Camp 11. By the Skidi route traveling west along the south
bank of the Loup, they would make three camps beyond the first one and arrive 32 miles out. This would put them just due north of the west end of Grand Island over which they planned to cross the Platte. Because of the sandhills between the Loup and the Platte, the crossing southward was slow and they would make one camp between the two rivers (Camp 5).

Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte and two miles westward of the place of crossing. This was done so that the camp could be set up on high ground to avoid the mosquitoes and bugs that abounded in the lowland. This was the stop they usually referred to as "Fort Kearney" because the chiefs would go over there and collect their government allotments while the line of march continued two miles west and set up camp.

Continuing along the south bank of the Platte, they made four camps "west of Fort Kearney," viz., camps 7, 8, 9, and 10. At Camp 10 they reached another important landmark, Plum Creek, a small creek that was a southern tributary of the Platte (near present Lexington, Nebraska). Up to this point the individual hunters went out privately and got deer, elk, or antelope to supply fresh meat for their own camps. While the line was en route to Camp 6, a small group of independent hunters made a long trip southward to the Republican to scout around and they killed three buffalo and brought the meat to Camp 6. As the line of march was moving toward Camp 10, the ablest hunters of all four bands went out and surrounded a small herd of about twenty buffalo, bringing in the
(622) meat to Camp 10. This group of hunters included all the chiefs, other ad-
ministrative officials and prominent men. The meat they obtained was
(431) widely distributed in the form of gifts and symbolized the fact that "the
chiefs feed the people buffalo meat."

The next stop was Camp 11 on the Republican. While the previous

buffalo surround had been made exclusively by the elite, now while they 224*
were en route to Camp 11, every able-bodied hunter in the entire tribe 484*
would make a concerted attack on the herd. To guide the line of march 361
overland from Camp 10 to Camp 11 took considerable skill. They
left the Platte by following southeast and upstream along Plum Creek almost
to its source, and then headed somewhat in the same direction overland
to the head of another small stream, Turkey Creek, that flows due
south into the Republican. They traveled southward along the west bank
of Turkey Creek, and the line of march halted about midway and combined
all the baggage they could so as to free as many horses as possible
for the hunters. The line of march proceeded to the confluence of Turkey
Creek and the Republican, where they set up Camp 11 in preparation
for the arrival of the hunters with the meat and hides. They would remain
there for some days as they would have a great quantity of meat
and hides to process. This was about the end of July. The place is west
of the present town of Naponee, Nebraska. Four mass forays would be
made by all the bands in concert, after which the bands would separate
and follow their own fortunes.

Officially, White Eagle was in charge of all the bands. However, he 224*
chose to make a number of diplomatic gestures in this connection. On 622
two occasions he deferred his leadership of the hunt episode to chiefs of 628
the other bands, with whom the Skidi had a special kind of political relationship. 276
This was a relationship established through the calumet or 574
peace pipe. The calumet was not so much a treaty-making symbol as an
elaborate ceremonial through which interband and intertribal trade was
carried on, the pipe, therefore, being a sign of peaceful intention and
thus a safe-conduct pass through alien territory. In 1672, Marquette [175]
carried one down the Mississippi and was able to establish peaceful relations
with all the tribes along the way. Other tribes agree that the ceremonial 574
originated with the Pawnees. The ceremony was always carried 276
on in terms of a visiting party bringing gifts. The visitors, who were
called "fathers" by their hosts, brought with them dried vegetables, [431]
bowls, and cooking utensils; decorated clothing, and blankets; "jewelry"
and ornamental objects; and—most valued of all—the highly decorated
pipe stems that were symbolic of the male and female eagle. The visiting
party might number a hundred or more. An earth lodge was set
aside by the hosts for the ceremonial and for the leaders of the party.
The rest of the visitors had brought their own tents and camping equipment
as well as all the food supplies and utensils that they would need. It
took almost a year for a man to initiate such an enterprise. In the party
were always included a chief, a priest, and a doctor. The hosts who received
the party were called "Children" by the visitors, who assisted the
hosts with their planting and other work so that they would be free to
attend the ceremonies. When the ceremony was over, the guests, in [431]

574 addition to the gifts, left all their equipment behind, and also the two
276 sacred pipes. The "Children" on their own account gave their parting
• 431 "Fathers" a large number of horses they had elaborately decorated for
the occasion. In the past they had given quantities of dried buffalo meat.
[554] Only people of some prominence and wealth could participate in these
622 operations. At this time the Skidi Band were the "Children" of the Begging-for-Meat
628 Band, while the Skidi were "Fathers" to the Man-Going-
574 Downstream Band having recently paid them a trading visit. In view of
the mutual courtesies involved, for the Chiefs' Hunt and the first major
276 hunt episode, White Eagle deferred his leadership to his "father," Man
*224 Chief of the Begging-for-Meat Band. The fourth episode he placed in
charge of his "child" Many Trophies, chief of the Man-Going-Downstream
Band.

*224 They stayed north of the Republican River for the first two mass attacks
*484 on the herd. By this time the herd on the north side was pretty well
scattered, and the hunters had to cross over the river for the attack and
bring the meat back over the water into camp. For the fourth mass attack
on the herd, under the leadership of Many Trophies of Man-Going-
[361] Downstream Band, they moved their camping location from Camp 11 to
a place on the Solomon River to the south, a branch of the Kansas. This
was a site preferred by the Man-Going-Downstream Band. It was a difficult
overland journey for which they had to carry water with them.
They would finally locate a small south-flowing stream, the Cedar, which
led them directly to the Solomon. They made their camp in the angle
where the Cedar joined the Solomon, hunting the herd further up the
river. When the bands parted, they mainly went to separate locations
further to the west along the Republican as the herds in the more eastern
648 location would have been scattered. This territory in the west was dangerous
as the nomadic tribes, Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, and others
were constantly poised to attack for what they considered to be an encroachment
[175] on their hunting grounds. In 1873 the Sioux attacked the
Pawnees while they were on such a venture, butchering their kill in a
[127] canyon near Trenton, Nebraska. The death toll was so severe that this
[167] event tipped the balance in their decision to leave their traditional territory
and migrate to Oklahoma.

On the way out and the way back from the buffalo hunting territory
*224 they moved their camp in fairly regular succession one day after another.
*484 But sometimes it rained and they had to remain where they were
132 for several days, or they might be delayed by the sickness of a prominent
man. Rain, of course, was an inevitable factor. It could delay the camp
for several days. If they were caught in a rain while on the march, everyone
had to spread his things out to dry and this operation might require
the next day or even two before they could resume their journey.
[281] Tanned hide becomes hard and has to be tanned again with grease and

be used for water or dried as a tobacco container when they went on a 224* 252 Peace Pipe expedition.

While the cooking of the meal was in process, the brother returned from 224* tending the horse and Roaming Leader motioned him to sit down at his 521 left. The place at his right was reserved for his wife. Roaming Leader was sitting on the north side. He told his brother how far they had had to go in order to get the bison, how fast the horse was, and other details of the chase—of how three of them had chased two of the bison and the other two, the third animal—of how they butchered and divided up the meat and who got which pieces.

Before he had quite finished with his account, his wife announced that 264 she was through with the cooking. He had to interrupt his story, as they must eat at once because the buffalo meat was still lying outside on the spread. His wife's mother, Lady Lucky Leader, had come in meanwhile and her son, Dog-Sitting-at-the-West (also known as Frank Leader), and they joined the family for dinner. The tongue would have been adequate to feed the three of them, but with five they also needed to use the heart. Each one received a small piece of each kind of meat. The Pawnees believed that the first meat of the season should be cooked rare so that the [827] digestive system could become accustomed to it. Roaming Leader remarked this to his wife, "Cook it a little rare. Don't overcook it—it's [252] easier to digest that way." The meat was cut into long thin strips at this time so that it would boil quickly.

As soon as they were through eating, Lady Lucky Leader went outside 224* to tend to the meat. She gave some to the Meat-Askers and at Roaming Leader's instruction, prepared half of the backbone steak as a gift for 252 White Eagle. First she removed the sinews and cut the steak in two. Since 431 her daughter was busy with the dishes, she carried it to White Eagle's tent herself. As she approached, an old lady from White Eagle's tent noticed her coming and came out to meet her. She said, "I'm bringing meat," and the old lady replied, "Oh, thank you, thank you." As she handed over the meat she said, "Oh, they got three of them—three bison." As White Eagle's mother-in-law entered the tent she told him the news. "They found three bison so and so far." "That's all right!" he said. Some of the meat was cut into long strips and boiled right away, White Eagle making the usual remark about cooking it rare, and the rest of the steak was sliced up by the old lady preparatory to making it into dried meat for storage.

After the families of each of the hunters had eaten their meal, they 574 would prepare for their several banquets. Each of the five invited friends and prominent people from his own village—Mad Bear from Pumpkin-Vine, Running Scout from Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge, and Roaming Leader from his own Village-in-the-Bottomlands. New Young

531
415

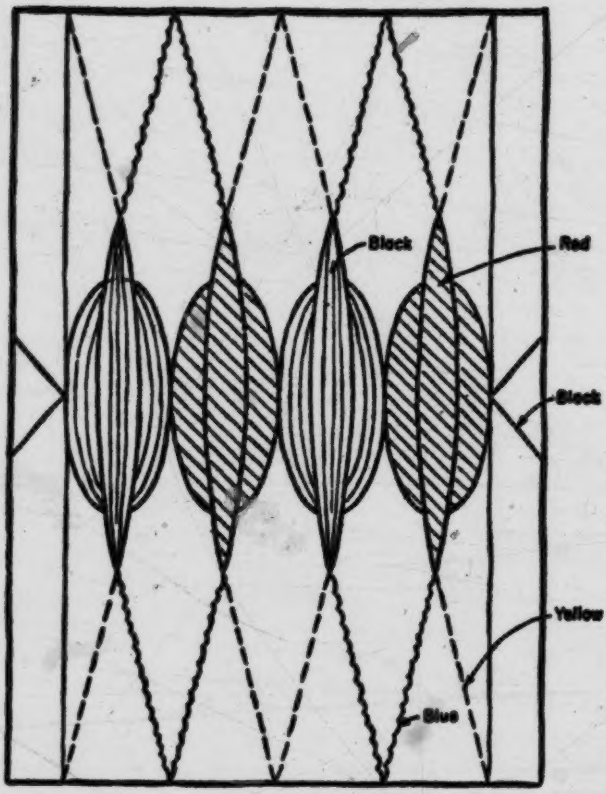


FIGURE 27-3. A design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, the significance of which is unknown.

251 Intestines were turned inside out and boiled in the kettle. Then they
252 were hung on the rack so that the water ran out and they would dry.
[237] After they were dried, they were broken into a number of pieces and
woven into a checker-plaited mat for storage. The intestines of two buf-
[285] falo were used for one mat. Each intestine was 12 to 15 feet long and
was broken into four pieces. The pieces hung over a stick to a length of
about 2 feet on each side. The mat was ten strips wide with cross pieces
woven in. A mat would sometimes be given to a little girl as a special
[431] gift. For this purpose, they would leave the stick in the mat and fasten a
boiled buffalo eye at each end. When they broke camp and a little girl
was seen carrying her gift mat on her back, people would remark,
"Look, that's hers! Are there eyes on it?"

from where they were camping. "That's what we want," they said, and 224*
sat down to smoke together. They went close and saw a big lake. When 484*
they got to the Post Hunt Camp 3, about four in the afternoon, they
went directly to the council tent and made their report. They said, "We
went about ten miles from here." "Well, sit down. Have you good news?"
"Yes, we have." "Errand man," said White Eagle, "go through the village
and call grandpa Angry Horse and the other men of the village. Have
them all come in. Three men came in with good news." After due cere-
monies and greetings from the chiefs and important men the leader of
the scouts described the place. He said, "The buffalo can't get away be-
cause the lake is in a valley between two steep hills and they must come
for water." The older people recognize and know of the place. They re-
fer to it as *ru-ti-wa-tatar-ariks*, "there-it-hill-down-standing." Now White 224*
Eagle, realizing that they were all thinking about the two who were 484*
killed by the Sioux, said, "What happened we must stop thinking of. Re-
member that we are still living. Here are these men. They have good 726
news for us, for our tribe and for our women and children. I hope we
will have no more such disasters. When a day comes and something like
that happens we can't help it. Sometimes you may be walking along and
just simply fall over. Remember, that's the way things are. But now we
are still living."

A message was sent to Curly Chief of the Kitkehaxki and the other 224*
Bands and the announcement made through the Skidi encampment. They
decided to attack the herd early in the morning at seven o'clock. Insofar
as they could, they would chase the buffalo toward the camp. Now peo-
ple were in a good mood and began to joke. They said that the three
scouts probably had "scared eyes," *ti-kiriki-tiruut*, "it is-eyes-frightened."
Perhaps they had seen *pakuts* grass and thought they were buffalo!

Early next morning they made the mass attack on the herd as planned.
Back at camp, some of them left ribs at the council tent. Among the
South Bands, when they leave ribs, they line up one behind the other
and say bird names. Here and there in the different tents where there
were sacred bundles someone would give consecrated meat and the
priest would be called in to perform the ceremony.

Some people left meat and ribs at the Society of Lucky Children, *Pira-* 575
kawaharu, "child-lucky." They have no sacred bundle. They simply sit [431]
and recount lucky events that have happened to them or to their pred- [778]
ecessors from whom they had inherited their place. The headquarters
of this society was in the tent of Old-Lady-among-Queens, *Ts-tawi-ku*,
"woman-among-sits," signifying that she always associates with queens
or influential women. She had inherited the place from her grandmother.
The Old-Man-That-Chief also belonged, and he conducted the pro-
ceedings. He tells of how the society came to be, though he says he only
surmises—doesn't really know. He says, "One might be thinking, 'Luck,

They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," 224 *
they had to pack and go on. They arrived at the river about five in the 484 *
evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As
soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often [226]
done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. Some men
used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took
buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and [225]
brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were [252]
they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were
officially headed for home. The night before, the military police had [625]
officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from [622]
his leadership of the hunt. He thanked them all and reviewed the events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and
helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buffalo [787]
leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Republican they would have to make before they could start north for the Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sacred 796
bundles and the cults, but of special interest to everybody was the 431
Grand Opera that the associated doctors would give after the harvest, 756
lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the 624
association, called for his two errand men to go to all members, apprentices, 211
and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand man would pick a dry weed, *hawartatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil, and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute, the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent, dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and
proceeded to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. At 796
an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and 431
756

796 forty parfleches had been pledged. After the pledges were counted, the
• 431 word went from tent to tent and everyone was full of anticipation of the
756 color and excitement of the ceremony. In addition to this big medical
794 association there were a number of private cults that the people generally took an interest in.

756 The kind of experience involved had a profound personal value. The way in which this knowledge was conceived is perhaps indicated by the personality attributed to the doctor—slow, deliberate, thoughtful and, to a considerable degree, introspective. As a more practical measure of social
[796] esteem perhaps was the fact that during the previous summer buffalo
[431] hunt, 60 parfleches of dried buffalo meat had been pledged in support
[178] of the performance, and in former times, before the population had been
so heavily reduced, 140 parfleches were donated in one season.

756 The mode in which the doctors operated during their ceremony was of
796 two kinds. One was the inducing of a trance state in the other doctors:
utilizing the motions of the animal that was their special cult mentor.
789 This was called *patsaku*, "shooting," and was also metaphorically referred to as "fighting." The second kind of activity of the doctors was a highly skilled sleight-of-hand performance, *tawaruku*, so expertly carried out that the illusion was completely convincing to the spectators. The metaphor for this kind of performance was "playing" or "romping," as of a child. The skill of the illusion in both cases has been attested to by the most hard-headed outside observers and this required extensive preparation and a long process of learning. The props were carefully designed to achieve the desired illusory effect and the strategy was planned with great precision, involving accomplices in the audience and special lighting effects developed by regulating the fire in the fireplace.

In view of these deliberate and extensive preparations for illusion, the question has often been raised of how these ceremonies could be regarded as religious in character. From my long experience with my informant, who retained a good deal of his old belief, it was the success in creating the illusion that was the mark of favor of the supernatural mentor, and therefore the performance was sincerely believed to be a religious experience. He would say, "If one does not have faith, he will fail." He cited examples where people of insufficient faith caused injury to themselves and to others while trying to perform. The success of the illusion depended upon the dexterity and agility of the performer and his ability to deflect the attention of the spectator just long enough for
[787] him to make the necessary shifts. There may possibly have been some
measure of self-induced trance such as occurred to the priests incidentally in the course of the creation ceremony. (Our own knowledge of the subject is too elementary to identify the situation psychologically.)

A major difference between our experience and theirs should be es-
787 pecially noted. The Pawnees as well as many peoples who practiced
825 these arts were in constant association with wild animals in their natural habitat, an experience which is entirely absent in our own world. They lived within a world of wild animals in their hunting and even in defense of their settlements, they had to have an intimate knowledge of the emo-

42

DISMANTLING THE CEREMONIAL DOCTOR LODGE

000

Ceremonial Objects Are Dismantled—All Things Carried to Creek—Serpent Placed in Water within Curved Fence—an Additional Hypnotic Contest—a Banquet Given—the Final Details Settled

756
796
778
532

THE FINAL PHASE of the Doctor Lodge was the removal of the figures they had built and the animal booths. All these things had to be deposited at the bottom of Beaver Creek in an appropriate order and fastened in place. It took about a hundred people, including the sixty doctors, to do this work. For the final banquet that they would share, they used six or seven containers of dried buffalo meat and an equal number of buckets of corn.

The night before, while the Bear ceremonial had been going on, a number of men were sent to choose the place in Beaver Creek where they would set up their things.

756
796
778
431
532

During the ceremony and as the figures were being carried out, people offered them gifts. These were placed in the water with the figures. Once, while the performance was going on, a woman made up her mind to give a gift to the serpent on behalf of her son. She took a piece of calico and as she entered the lodge, opened up the cloth and dragged it across the floor, placing it on the inside of the serpent's neck. The errand man came over and took the calico to one of the four doctors at the west. The doctor set the material aside and came directly to where the woman was standing, walking along the outside of the serpent and jumping over it to where the woman was standing. Now he said, "You have a boy. Maybe someday he will grow up to be a big man and everybody will notice him." The woman left and the doctor returned to his seat.

When the doctors got in that morning, they detached the figures so that 756
they could be carried to the water. The serpent went first. It was simply 796
pegged to the ground and was freed by pulling up the pegs. The men 778
ranged themselves along both sides of the 60-foot length—the head being 532
pointed conveniently southeast toward the exit. The men waited, ready to lift it up when the signal was given. The witch woman was lifted up and set down on a spread of tanned hide so that they could carry her out on it. The turtle that had been modeled on the fireplace, was crumbled up and also placed on a skin spread.

It took a lot of men to carry out the cedar gently, as it was loaded with 756
gifts that had been placed on it when it was first brought into the lodge. 796
The birds and cutouts suspended from the rafters were left there, because 778
they did not belong in the water. After everything else had been de- [431]
tached, the sticks of the animal booths had to be uprooted, and any woman that wanted to help would carry these things out.

Now the process got under way with the four main doctors leading. Most of the men were dressed only in their breechcloths, although some doctors were foolish enough to wear their buffalo robes and to carry their eagle-wing fans despite the strenuous work they had to do. They made two stops along the way to rest—one about halfway toward their destination and then another one further along. The four doctors had gone ahead and were already in the water, building, out of sticks from the doctor booths standing upright in the bed of the creek, a kind of curved fence open at the east. This was the beginning of a whole structure that would enclose all the objects.

As the serpent lay along the shore waiting to be deposited in the water, 756
people came up and made offerings to it. One person who hoped for long 796
life said, "I give you this. I hope to see you this way a year from now." 778
A mother, giving a gift on behalf of her son said, "I hope to see my boy 532
grow up and be a great man." A mother hoped her two daughters would [431]
grow up to be married and have many children. Each girl carried a gift of calico to give and the mother said, "You, serpent, are going to rest here under the water. I want my children to grow up and have many children when they get married." Some people thought the serpent should be identified as a whale and some as an alligator. The latter seems the more likely from the word for it, "dry-tongue." The forked tail somewhat interferes with this latter identification. In this instance the mother was thinking of the fecundity of fish who have many eggs which hatch in large numbers.

Now they placed the serpent in the water, its head resting inside the curved fence the doctors had prepared. The head was pointing upstream (westward) the direction in which all the fish swim. The body extended eastward or downstream. Everyone got into the water and pegged the ser- [431]
pent and its various gifts to the bed of the stream. All the gifts of goods—

756 796 [778] [532] calico, shawls, and blankets—were also fastened to the bottom. The whole thing was encased in a wicker frame of willows under the water. The stakes from the doctor booths were stuck all along the sides of the serpent and bent over across it and interlaced at the top.

[431] Now that the objects were all in the water, the people stepped aside to permit the doctors to engage in one more hypnotic contest. One after the other, as they stood by the water, they caused one another to fall in.

756 796 574 Then the whole group of doctors and any others who had given them assistance repaired to the Doctor Lodge for the banquet. The lodge was empty and they could make a big circle sitting close to the outside walls. The groups of doctors were ranged in from the west. Beyond them along the sides were the general public who had helped them. And last of all to the east were the chiefs, two each from the four Skidi villages. Furthest toward the door of the guests, were two old men, That-Chief at the southeast and Good Land at the northeast. Finally there was one errand man stationed at each side of the entrance. As they were assembled there, some of the people expressed regret that the whole thing was over, for they had had such a good time.

It took eight people to prepare and serve the meal including the two regular errand men. Each of these was provided with an assistant to do the cooking and serving. They had to borrow two of the largest brass kettles they could get, and after they got the water they put in the meat and set them to boil, one at the northeast and one at the southeast of the fire. While the meat was cooking, the donated corn was served after the appropriate offerings had been made, then soup and then the meat. Extra large pieces were set aside for the guests of honor and one for "the house" —that is, for Sitting Hawk's wife to whom the lodge belonged.

[521] During the meal the doctors made conversation about the happenings of the morning—about what had occurred at the river, and so forth. Then Big Doctor made his closing speech, addressing them all. He said, "Now young doctors, doctors, and all members of the Doctor Lodge and the animals that we have imitated here, and you chiefs sitting here watching over your people, and Heaven that has taken pity on us so that we could successfully complete our performance, and you head doctors here who have helped carry out our performance, now we have had our feast—now the Doctor Lodge is over."

A number of business details remained to be attended to. The head doctors had to apportion the meat that they had kept for the final arrangements. The owners of the house would have to fill in all the holes and set up the beds and then entertain the members of the families among whom they had been staying while the lodge was in session. They would need a quantity of dried meat for this. What was left would be divided

285 352 nearer the west and those that were more worn, east toward the exit.

285 585 431 352 When a couple was newly married, they were always given a set of mats—two for each side of the house and one for the west. They were likely to get two from the girl's grandmother and two from the boy's. Except in such intimate circumstances, the mats were not ordinarily considered suitable gift items. They were regarded more as we look upon linens—particularly bedsheets and towels. Suitable gift items on the other hand were, from man to a man, a horse, and from a woman to a man, leggings, moccasins, material for moccasins, or dried buffalo meat.

285 352 The mats received the heaviest wear during the winter hunt, when they got all battered and broken up. In the fall, after the materials were gathered they were placed in the roof of the lodge to season all winter. In the spring, between planting and cultivating, they would feel they had to make some new mats to take along on the summer hunt. Old mats were left behind in the earth lodge.

285 283 The warp strands of the mat were of a three-sided prismatic grass that grew in ponds (not cattail?). The long blades were made into a double-twisted continuous rope of four strands.

[137] 285 824 The wefts were of bulrush (*Scirpus validus* Vahl.), a round tubular grass, spongy inside, 5 to 6 feet long. An alternative material was cattail (*Typha latifolia* L.). Both these reeds grew in the bottomlands of the streams, particularly along the Loup, but there were also a few patches along Beaver Creek. On the way home from the summer hunt, some people would gather the reeds on the Republican or the Loup and load the horses and bring them home. Or, noting good locations on the way home, they would return later.

[482] Sometimes two old ladies would go out together and gather whatever small patches they could find on Beaver Creek, pulling up the reeds and piling them into two bundles about a foot in diameter. They would tie them up with ropes and each bring one in and go out again for more, obtaining about four bundles each in this way. The reeds were very heavy when green and a woman could not carry very much at a time. For larger supplies, the family would make up a combined expedition, since they had to go three to five miles from the village. A large party of men and women would ride out on their horses to the sources of supply they had spotted when returning from the hunt. The men went out to give the women protection. On the way back the horses were loaded with reeds. When one party went out, others would hear about it and be inspired to follow their example.

285 283 The weft or (crosswise) threads needed very little preparation to be ready for use. They had simply to be soaked in water overnight and then taken out and left to dry for about half an hour before weaving.

The long continuous lengthwise warp required considerably more preparation than the weft. The three-sided prismatic grass was soaked

285 ticated adaptation for weaving a wide twined fabric, as the normal direc-
476 tion for the progress of twined weaving is from left to right, the woman on the left using a motor pattern equivalent in feeling to dancing the waltz in reverse, with a view to getting a visual effect in the texture.

When the mat had been woven about one third of the way, the women, who had been kneeling in front of the lower cloth beam, now moved up and knelt on the already finished fabric to work on the rest. As the work progressed, they continued to move up on the fabric so that the working edge would be within reach.

[461] Two women could finish a mat in one day if they did nothing else. Beginning after breakfast, the weaving would be half done by noon. By a little after five in the evening, the work was complete.

285 Mat weaving was a household craft and the work would not ordinarily
868 be contracted for outside, unless a woman were learning for the first time. Then she would call in an old woman and pay her to demonstrate the technique. During the demonstration, the young woman would try her hand at it from time to time. The finished mat would be hers. The
[465] teacher would receive four or five yards of calico and a layer of dried buffalo meat, or a sack of corn (about a foot high) and half a braided intestine mat.

285 In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each side took care of
592 its own needs for mats. White Woman and Grandma would start one together, and when White Woman had to interrupt her work to prepare a meal, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy would take her place for a while, helping Grandma with the weaving. Any mats that Grandma made by herself were given to White Woman for the family. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy felt she should make at least one mat for herself and her grandson to use when they went on the hunt. No Corn also made one to take along, and, if Horse Rider was busy in the Doctor Lodge, the two old ladies would each contribute half the necessary materials, as she was too crippled to gather them for herself and under the circumstances Horse Rider was unable to get away. There was no question of compensation for this, as the old ladies felt that Horse Rider was helpful to the household at all times and No Corn also did what she could.

482 Carrying these mats on the march was very difficult for people with
285 no horses. This was the case with poor people. When people noticed that they had no mats, someone would give them an old one and a man would carry it on his back with a baby perched on top and his wife would do
[431] the same. The occasional woman who was too lazy to make one, was also
[554] given an old mat. People who didn't have mats to put on the ground were considered poor indeed.

412 A brush made of stiff grass was indispensable to personal grooming.
824 The brush was made out of Porcupine Grass or Spanish Needles (*Stipa*

They had made two killings already and still the buffalo were coming. 224*
Eagle Chief stated that the next day they would not go out, but simply 623
keep an eye on the herd as there was so much meat in the camp that they [251]
had to give it a chance to dry. He also mentioned that the hides should [281]
be treated and thinned down. Some of the old men remarked that this
was a good time to make bone grease by boiling the bones and skimming [252]
off the fat as there were lots of bones about at this time and the grease
would harden easily in the cold weather. Almost all the old women in [251]
camp would busy themselves with this work, storing the grease in a
paunch. Some would make dried intestines and dried and braided strips of
stomach (*pararitskusu*).

They made five killings while they were camped at Many Deer and 224*
along with the killing at Turkey Creek, they felt that this was enough
and they should turn toward home. They had made killings almost every
other day and stayed about fifteen days. Victory Call killed six in all
and Horse Rider five.

Now that they were considering turning back, they must decide what 224*
donations of buffalo meat were to be pledged for the sacred bundle ceremonies 431 •
in the spring. Each sacred bundle must have at least one *raraburu*, 796
a parfleche containing the dried meat of a whole buffalo. The different 778
doctor cults also needed pledges of meat for their spring renewal
rites, but they simply needed backbone steaks. For example, the two [756]
leaders of the Bear Cult reserved two steaks for their cult. Victory Call
set aside one steak for his Deer or Whistle Dance and one for the Bear
Cult.

There were twelve major sacred bundles, each of which had to be provided 224*
for with a parfleche of dried meat. The Evening Star bundle 431
owned by Old Lady Lucky Leader would be provided for by her son 778
Frank Leader in some years, and by her son-in-law Roaming Leader in
others, according to the circumstances of the kill on a particular hunt.
Lone Chief and Shot Arm alternated in this way for the Morning Star
bundle. War Cry and his younger brother Brave Shield alternated in supplying
the meat for War Cry's war bundle (*karaxkata karusu*) that had
been derived from the Evening Star bundle, etc.

Everyone was interested in the news of how the donations had gone and Eagle Chief sent out his errand man Know-His-Face to find out at the different tipis where the sacred bundles were kept.

Sometimes a man couldn't manage to get a good buffalo for his bundle. He approached a man who had just killed a fat cow and said, "I want you to take pity on me. I have a sacred bundle and I want to make *raraburu* [a parfleche of meat]." "Go ahead, take it," said the hunter, and went off, leaving the bundle owner to butcher the sacred buffalo himself. When he got home with the meat he told his wife, "*ra-wuruksti-ti*" ("one

C

*224 that is-sacred-it is"). Then she would know that it is to be preserved, but
• 431 not eaten by the family—except possibly only some very inferior part
778 like the leg.

One of the main sacred bundles was owned by Misery—the Elk (*Arikariki*) bundle—and some of his friends were concerned since he had remained on Grand Island and they thought he might not get the necessary buffalo meat to hold the ceremony. There were three of them and Bringing Horses who had a good horse agreed to get the necessary buffalo for the purpose. He and the two other friends, Running Scout and Blue Hawk, made up their minds to ride together back to Grand Island as soon as possible to reassure Misery that his Elk bundle was taken
[484] care of. Such a group of three men could arrive at Grand Island in a day from their camp on the Republican while it took the pack train at least seven days to get there. The men would take a diagonal course across the country and avoid stopping at Fort Kearney, but it was still a strenuous journey and took a whole day of hard fast riding until evening. When they came to ride downhill crossing the hills, they had to proceed cautiously as the ground was slippery.

Hearing of their plans, Eagle Chief wanted to send a message to Sitting Hawk, one of the main chiefs who had remained on the island. He delegated Running Scout who was one of the three men, to carry back the news. He especially stated that "with the consecrated meat, it is this way: there are twelve parfleches, one for each sacred bundle." When the three men arrived at Grand Island that night they went straight to Sitting Hawk's tipi. As the three men came in one after another, Misery, Sitting Hawk's son, was surprised. He said, "Kira, what's up?" "Well, we started from this side of Many Deer early this morning and just got here tonight." As soon as he heard this, Advance Scout went through the camp calling out, "The three hunters (*parisu*) are here. There is lots of meat. There are twelve consecrated parfleches for the sacred bundles."

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P
648
167
177
175
439
W
175
439
165
177
648
167

3 The Pawnees and other Caddoan peoples were an integral part of European trading plans. The Wichita played the part of middlemen in the trade between the Spaniards in the Southwest and the French to the east along the Mississippi. By 1777 the Wichita were so heavily depleted in numbers by disease and war that the Spanish authorities induced a considerable contingent of Skidi Pawnees to come and live permanently in the territory and join the Wichitas so that they could defend themselves against the tribes to the east who were aligned with the British. The fact that they have "kin" among the Wichita is remembered among the Pawnees today, and gift-giving relations are maintained among them along with formal intergroup visiting. See Weltfish, 1959, pp. 332-333; Hodge, 1912, p. 706.

P
648
177
431
574
W
P
361

3 Both the Pawnees and the Wichitas changed the locations of their villages at intervals of from twelve to fifteen years; this was considered a necessary sanitary measure. The direction of these movements was determined by a variety of social and political causes, but military and trade reasons were the most common ones. My informants gave me a list of the successive Pawnee villages in recent times and the contemporary locations of the Wichita villages. I have added, in parenthesis, Wichita locations cited in Wedel, 1959, pp. 67-68, for approximately these time periods:

P
W
361
103

Wichita	*Pawnee*
Rio Grande in Texas (Wedel, north fork of Red River, Kiowa County, Oklahoma)	Old Village or Kitkehax-Pakuxtu before 1842
Chickasaw on the Washita River east of Anadarko (Wedel, the Washita drainage, Leeper Creek)	Willows-along-a-Stream or Kitapatuat, near Fullerton, Nebraska 1842–1846
	Hill-in-Water-Sitting or Pahaku, near Fremont, Nebraska 1851
Wichita, Kansas (also Wedel, 1863)	Reservation Village near Genoa, Nebraska October 1859
Anadarko, Oklahoma (also Wedel, 1867)	

Pawnee NQ18
Winnebago NP12

N W 171 and Kiowa. Mooney was present at a palaver at which a Kiowa reported upon his visit to Wovoka. The Kiowa was told by the Paiute prophet to stop dancing; consequently, he branded the Plains Ghost Dance leaders as frauds. "Sitting Bull insisted on the truth of his own representations, and when accused by A'peatan of deceiving the Indians in order to obtain their property, he replied that he had never asked them for ponies which they had given him. . . ." (p. 914). Another Arapaho leader, Black Coyote, appeared to Mooney to be a man who "wishes to be a great priest and medicine man. At the same time he keeps a sharp lookout for his temporal affairs and has managed to accumulate considerable property" and three wives. He was leader of the Ghost Dance and other Indian ceremonies, tribal delegate to Washington, captain of Indian police and county deputy sheriff. He repeatedly asked Mooney "to get him a permanent license . . . to enable him to visit the various reservations at will as a general evangel of Indian medicine and ceremony" (pp. 897–898).

P 668 797 P [276] [431] [578] Lesser's (pp. 60–76) data on the Pawnee Ghost Dance leave no doubt that Frank White, its introducer, used the dance for personal aggrandizement. Some of his special doctrines and practices were the following: he was sole authentic prophet; he demanded payment for use of designs seen in visions; he sold all paraphernalia; he was paid for the privilege of holding dances; a small face painting by him cost $5.00. In spite of his eating peyote and drinking whiskey, the Ghost Dancers lavished gifts, money, and pretty girls on him. The revolt against him seemed to result partly from jealousy of his wealth.

N W 171 The leader of the Caddo Ghost Dance was John Wilson, who was also a shaman and a peyotist.[25] The fact that Wilson later modified the peyote cult in order to collect hundreds of dollars certainly places him in the class of proselyters for gain par excellence. La Barre (p. 158) tells of the wealth he received and makes a classic understatement: "The economic motive seems evident in much of Wilson's behavior."

Except for the case of John Wilson, missionary to the Shawnee, Quapaw, Caddo, Delaware, Osage, Potawatomi, and others, the literature contains but few direct statements suggesting that financial gain motivated agents to spread the peyote cult.[26] However, the very fact that peyote is universally considered to be a cure and that leaders are often looked upon similarly to shamans suggests that carriers of the cult could have been paid for their services. A great many other Indians are known to have proselyted beyond their own tribes.

Wi. [795] [797] The Winnebago, John Rave, went to South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to preach the new religion after establishing the cult among his own people in Nebraska. A Kiowa, Jim Aton, a famous peyote doctor, held meetings for the Creek, Yuchi, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Mescalero-Apache, and Quapaw; also whites and Mexicans.[27] Have these men and other famous proselyters spread the gospel of peyote solely out of love for their fellow men? No doctrine of the peyote cult commands members to go forth and convert other tribes.

That believers have gone out to spread the cult because of possible economic gain is established in the case of Ben Lancaster. It is almost impossible to conclude that Leo Okio and Lone Bear had no other ideas than religion when they held meetings in Nevada. My Uintah Ute informants accused the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, of spreading peyotism for money, and when the members were broke, he did not

---

[25] Mooney, 1896*b*, 914–915; La Barre, 1938, 65, 151; Petrullo, 1934, 158.

[26] La Barre; Schultes, 1938.

[27] *La Barre*, 52, *fn*. 114.

47

EQUIPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL MANUFACTURES

000

The Fall of the Year a Time for Manufacture—Buffalo a Chief Source—History of Their Trading—Wood of Second Importance—Reeds and Grasses Third in Importance—Clay and Stone Scarce—History of Transition from Stone to Metal—Crafts Highly Regarded but No Religious Taboos—Learning to Make a Black Rope

THE FALL OF THE YEAR was the time when the Pawnees made most of the 221
things they used. There was a plentiful supply of food and in the protected environment of the earth lodge, they could manufacture the various items of furnishings, clothing, and equipment they needed. Moreover, with the winter hunt and migration in prospect, they had to make sure that everything was in order, as there would be little time in the short daylight hours for more than setting up camp and processing the meat and skins.

There were very few materials in the Pawnee environment that they 433
could use to make the things they needed. Their top resource for in- 237
dustry as well as for food was the buffalo. Hides, hair, horns, and bones 825
each found a number of essential uses. Hides made their all-important tent cover, their blankets, curtains, containers, moccasin soles, and other clothing. And even beyond their domestic needs, it gave them their major item of external trade, the buffalo robe.

There is clear evidence that this was a leading trade item before the 174
Spaniards moved up into the Plains in 1540. Long before the advent of the 438
European on the continent, the settled villages were centers of trade for 439
the more nomadic peoples and there were seasonal trade fairs in recog- 443
nized locations where peoples came to exchange their special products and materials.

spartea) known to the Pawnee as *pitsuts*. It grew like oats about 3 feet 412
high near the village, above the cemetary where the Skidi buried their [824]
dead. White Woman would ask Victory Call to go and gather it for her in
the fall. It had long stiff branches and at the tip of each branch there was
a sharp point fastened at a joint and surrounded with wooly fluff. The
point was broken off at the joint and discarded and the fluff cleared off.
The remaining bristle was very stiff and formed the working end of the
brush. The stems were grouped into four little bunches, each bunch
bent over at the top end and fastened down with a wrapping of buckskin.
The four bunches were put together with the bent-over ends inward,
and the whole bound around with buckskin to complete the brush. In
addition to keeping the hair in order, doctors would rub the brush on
top of the head to relieve headache or sleepiness. As generally with the [796]
Pawnee crafts, there was no ceremony involved in gathering the material
or in the manufacture, but the grass appears metaphorically in the Peace [824]
Pipe ceremony as symbolic of vegetation in general and of grasses in
particular.

Everyone went to a good deal of trouble to keep the hair in order and 302
to dress it attractively. The women's hair styles were relatively uniform.
It was parted in the middle and made into two braids hanging down over
the shoulders in front. The end of the braid was wound around with
buckskin. A relatively recent style was tying the braids together and [178]
flinging them to the back. The men's hair styles were more elaborate and
varied. A great many of the men wore roaches, a ridge of hair standing
up along the middle of the head with the hair removed on both sides and
a braid hanging down at the back. Most writers refer to this hair style as
characteristically Pawnee, but the Pawnees themselves speak of it as "like [171]
Osages." In the old days, each hair had to be pulled out one by one. Later
they used scissors. In former times, face hairs were also pulled out one [178]
by one with the fingers, while more recently they used a close coil of
brass with a stick through it so that it would be tied to the belt. The oldest
son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Sun Chief, had long curly hair
that he wore in two braids, one over each shoulder. He was known as
Long Hair or "Head-Hanging-Down-From." Victory Call also wore
two braids, but on the right side, in addition to the braid, he had his hair
cut in terraces. He was called "like Arikara" on account of it. War Cry
never seemed to comb his hair; he wore it loose and was always brushing
it back off his forehead. His younger brother, Brave Shield, pushed his
hair up so that it stood up stiff in back. People who were shabby or ill-groomed [554]
were regarded with considerable contempt by the Pawnees.

The industrial knowledge of the Pawnee transformed the meager materials 433
of the plains environment into a setting that was worthy of their 182
religious and conceptual achievements. They worked hard but were se-

433 cure in the knowledge that their labors would bring them fulfillment.
182 The hardships of the winter buffalo hunt would be intense in many ways as they traveled over the snow-covered prairie through the winter winds. But the buffalo they caught would give them food, clothing, housing, tools, and deep emotional value as well.

at the time of the Ghost Dance faith. As time went by Indians 648
and white farmers resorted to various subterfuges to get around 557
the ruling that certain lands they held could not be leased. The 427
Indian would claim that he was employing a white man and 175
intended to pay him, but when harvest time came, instead of the
Indian paying the white farmer money, the white farmer gave the
Indian a part of the crop.

The immediate results of the lease system were two-fold: on
the one hand, for the first time in their lives the Pawnee had plenty
of money; on the other hand, they had to make no effort at all to
support themselves. In 1897 the Pawnee leases brought an income [434]
of $ 12,114.95. In 1900 the income of the tribe from their annuity
($ 30,000), interest on their two trust funds (from the sale of the
Nebraska reservation; and from the sale of the surplus Oklahoma
lands); and leases, was over $ 75,000. In that year the population [161]
had dwindled to 650, so that the per capita income was about
$ 116 or the income of the average family of five close to $ 600 [511]
annually, a substantial and adequate income in 1900 on the Oklahoma frontier.

Year by year the Pawnee labored less and less on their own lands: 175
in 1904 their self-maintenance was 42 per cent from their annuity
and interests, 43 per cent from leases, and 15 per cent from "labor 461
in civilized pursuits." By 1899 the agents had fully realized the 657
extent of the blunder which had been made: they were aware that
the Pawnee could not be made to labor when he had all he needed
without it, and pointed out in their reports that white men would
have acted in the same way.

Along with the disappearance of all demands upon them to be
self-reliant and self-maintaining, the Pawnee were stripped of their
last outlets for self management. Leases were made not by the [427]
Indian but by the agent; lease money was paid not to the Indian
but to the agent. All that the Indian had to do was to draw his
income. At the same time with the change of status to citizens, [698
the function of the Court of Indian Offenses vanished, and the
court was abolished April 21, 1894; the Indian police were disbanded in October of the same year. 625]

Temporarily with their increased income, the living conditions 175
of the Pawnee improved; they ate better, they dressed better, and 511
they lived better. But the idleness which had come to them 161
was in keeping with their desire during these years to congregate
in encampments for Ghost Dances and other performances, so that
they leased their houses with their lands and made shift to live
here or there as the occasion demanded. During these years there

439 Do you think it can get a good buffalo? Well, you can have a buffalo
• 435 robe when I get back and my wife can tan it." Mr. Matlock would
then join them and the traders would say, "Sure." "Well, I need two
buckets," Victory Call would say. "And what else do you need?" the
traders would ask. At the same time there would be an old lady in the
439 store trying to establish some credit so that she could get some sugar to
435 make sweet corn pounded up with sugar. She would promise that when
262 they got back from the hunt she would bring in a sack of pounded-up
dry meat. This was the equivalent of the better-known pemmican and
was bought by travelers at the trade store for emergency rations. When
[705] warriors went on the warpath they took extra pairs of moccasins filled
with pounded sweet corn and sugar and some of the pounded-up dry
meat as concentrated supplies.

*224 Not everyone had the skill or the diligence to accumulate all this
476 equipment. Every man or woman who did not have it yet wanted to go
on the hunt had to try to attach themselves to someone who did. This
practical consideration had an important effect on how the individual
encampments were set up. Sometimes a family had enough horses but
no tent. The man would send his mother-in-law or his wife to inquire
of a woman who owned a tent whether they could join her encampment.
If it was agreed that they should camp together they would discuss how
they would combine their needs for equipment—a mortar, a kettle, dishes,
etc. Sometimes a woman would make such arrangements, only to find at
the last minute that her husband had already committed them with someone else, and then one of the families would have to remain behind.

606 The general rule was that a man had to take care of his father-in-law
and the family into which he was married. It was understood that he
would travel with his father-in-law and his wife's family. This is what
his marriage implied—that he was to serve and care for the family of his
wife. The son-in-law was called by the family into which he married
kustawixtsu, "he who sits among (them)." The son-in-law would refer
to himself as *rat-ut-ka-ku*, "I-for-you-inside-sit," meaning that it his func-
606 tion to serve their house. This was an obligation greater than that to his
593 own parents. If his parents were old and alone, he would give half of his
kill to them after his wife had picked out what she wanted. When they
[591] first married, the couple normally lived in the girl's house and went out
on the hunt with them. As they got older, the young man might want
[431] to set up a tent of his own and hunt separately and his father-in-law
might consent, but he would send a gift of a leg from whatever buffalo
he killed. When they got back to the village, they would rejoin the girl's
family. If the girl's father was getting very old and his tent was worn
out he would say, "Son-in-law, I want to go with you. You came here
to take care of us." "Certainly, that's good," the younger man would
say. This marriage responsibility sometimes got on a man's nerves, and

000 and materials. European goods were first spread by itinerant traders who
439 carried their wares to the different villages and centers and finally set
443 up their own trade stores. Bishop and Matlock's was the favorite trade
[436] store for the Pawnees at this time, and the buffalo robe was the chief medium of exchange. The trade value of a well-tanned robe of ordinary
[435] quality was ten to fifteen dollars. For one of prime quality, expertly tanned, they might get thirty dollars worth of exchange goods. The national market of the trader justified him in paying these prices. In 1848,
175 100,000 robes were shipped out of St. Louis, and the American Civil War
439 gave a special impetus to the buffalo leather trade for army needs. By 1874 even England was making use of the leather for its army. When supplies were running low in a Pawnee household, the man would point to an unworked buffalo hide and say to his wife, "Make up that buffalo robe so that we can get something at the store." In the past the same expedient probably served for trade with other tribes or villages.

237 The hair of the buffalo was intricately braided into a long rope known as Black Rope, which was used by the men to hold the buffalo robe in place as well as for other purposes. The horns provided the common eating and serving spoons and the bones were made into a number of important tools, notably the buffalo shoulder blade, which was the main spade or earth-digging tool as well as the hoe and the scythe. These bones also provided tools for skin working and for sizing and straightening the arrowshaft, as well as slivers for scraping and cutting. The sinews of the buffalo were used for sewing together the skins and for making bowstrings.

313 Second in importance as an industrial material was wood. In the open prairie plains, trees grew only along the streams. The supply was heavily drawn upon for fuel as well as for industry. Wood was used industrially for building and for equipment and utensils. Cottonwood and willow
313 were the mainstay of the construction industries—the cottonwood because
824 it was light for its strength and bulk and the willow for its flexibility. Elm was used for making the mortar and post oak for the pestle. They also used the post oak to make their common eating bowls. Dogwood was the material of the arrowshafts and ashwood for the bow as well as the gaming hoop and the pipestem. Wood was best gotten in the fall when the sap was running low.

824 Reeds and grasses were their third industrial resource. Grasses grew along the streams and reeds in the limited number of ponds to be found in the area. Since they matured about the same time as the cultivated crops, they had to be processed as soon as the harvest was over. The
[285] most important product they made from these materials was the large
[352] twined woven mat that they felt had to be spread on the dusty ground both in the earth lodge and in the tent while they were on the hunt. Next

342 ous services that would be involved. Lady Lucky Leader herself would
464 get a good amount of flour, sugar, coffee, and some calico, and the other
465 women of the household who helped with the sewing were given gifts
of calico and special meals were prepared for entertaining them. These
439 items had to be obtained at the trade store in exchange for a tanned buffalo
[437] robe. This was prepared by White Woman, and the day before the
work was to begin Victory Call and she each mounted a horse and rode
over to the store about two miles away, taking the robe with them. The
[492] two horses would be needed to bring home the supplies, otherwise White
[562] Woman would have walked, Victory Call ridden. At the trade store they
439 got a sack of flour, some coffee, sugar, baking powder, prunes, dry apples,
435 and about five yards of calico. At this time a hundred-pound sack of
flour was worth $7.00 at the store. For the family alone without special
events or guests, such a sack of flour lasted about two weeks (two
double-handfuls for each meal). Amounts of the other items usually
bought were fifty cents worth of coffee, fifty cents worth of sugar,
twenty-five cents worth of baking powder. Five or six yards of calico
439 were $1.00 so that, excluding the cost of the prunes and dry apples, the
342 gift to Lady Lucky Leader would amount to about $9.25 worth of
464 merchandise. An exceptionally well-tanned buffalo robe would bring
465 $20-30 worth of value at the store. After providing payment for Lady
[435] Lucky Leader with the remaining value of the buffalo robe, they had to
buy supplies for the special meals—an additional sack of flour, more
sugar, coffee, baking powder, and some lard and prunes. Finally to each
of the three women of the household that helped with the sewing—
Grandma, No Corn, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy—they would give
five yards of calico to each (worth a dollar for the five yards), and some
needles and thread. The buffalo robe would just about cover the labor
costs for sewing together the tent.

463 About a week before the work was to begin, White Woman would
342 have gone to see Lady Lucky Leader and have said to her, "Atira (my
mother), I've come to ask you to make a new tent for me." "Well," she
answered, "I have something to do right now, but I could do it a little
later. Are you in a hurry?" "No, a week's time will be all right." "Well,
then, have two good sharp knives ready," said the old lady.

At the appointed day, she arrived at Victory Call's lodge after breakfast.
The skins and tools were taken outdoors, and while White Woman
cleared up the breakfast dishes, the other three women went out with her
and Lady Lucky Leader cut out the skins. She placed them in the most
economical manner and then she assigned each of the women a particular
seam to sew. Each woman had prepared herself with her own awl and a
quantity of prepared sinew. Presently White Woman joined them and
[264] was also assigned a seam to sew. Before noon she had to retire to prepare
[262] the meal. They were served grease bread, coffee, and prunes. For sup-

honesty. No such meaning attaches to the Indian equivalent of this 721
phrase. They take horses by stratagem or secretly, by the usual, and to
them legitimate, methods of warfare. To speak of their stealing horses,
using that verb in the sense which we commonly give it, would be
like saying that an army stole the cannon which it captured in an engagement
with the enemy. Captured horses were the legitimate spoils [556]
of war. The wealth of the Indians was in their horses. They had no
fortified places, no ships of war, no cannon, no works of art. Their
only valuable possessions were their horses. These were the only
property that could be carried off. Therefore, when an expedition was
made against a hostile tribe, scalps and horses were naturally its object.
Horses, being their only valuable possessions, constituted their 436
medium of exchange, so far as they had any. Did a man wish to 231
purchase an ornament, or an article of dress which took his fancy,
he gave a horse for it. If he bought a wife he paid for her in horses. [583]
The most valuable present that could be made was a good horse; and
horses were often given by the well-to-do to their friends and relations
who had been sick or unfortunate. On the other hand, when, as was
sometimes the case, a conquered tribe was condemned to pay a war [728]
indemnity, they paid it in horses. It is related that when the Skidi
broke their treaty with the other bands, and were afterward conquered
by them, they were obligated to pay such a fine.

This view of Indian warfare being understood, the motive of the 538
hero stories here given, and of many of the folk-tales, becomes plain.

The Pawnees are essentially a religious people. They worship 771
Ti-ra'-wa, who is in and of everything. Unlike many of the Indian 776
tribes of the West, they do not adore any material thing. They regard certain places as sacred, but these are so only because blessed by the Divine presence. The Pawnee Deity is not personified. He is intangible, quite as much so as the God of the Christians. The sacred character of *Ti-ra'-wa* extends to animal nature. The fishes which swim in the rivers, the birds of the air and the beasts which roam over the prairie, have sometimes intelligence, knowledge and power far beyond those of man. But they are not gods. Their miraculous attributes are given them by the Ruler, whose servants they are, and who often makes them the medium of his communications to man. They are his messengers—his angels—and their powers are always used for good.

000 and materials. European goods were first spread by itinerant traders who
439 carried their wares to the different villages and centers and finally set
443 up their own trade stores. Bishop and Matlock's was the favorite trade
[436] store for the Pawnees at this time, and the buffalo robe was the chief
medium of exchange. The trade value of a well-tanned robe of ordinary
[435] quality was ten to fifteen dollars. For one of prime quality, expertly
tanned, they might get thirty dollars worth of exchange goods. The national
market of the trader justified him in paying these prices. In 1848,
175 100,000 robes were shipped out of St. Louis, and the American Civil War
439 gave a special impetus to the buffalo leather trade for army needs. By
1874 even England was making use of the leather for its army. When
supplies were running low in a Pawnee household, the man would
point to an unworked buffalo hide and say to his wife, "Make up that
buffalo robe so that we can get something at the store." In the past the
same expedient probably served for trade with other tribes or villages.

237 The hair of the buffalo was intricately braided into a long rope known
as Black Rope, which was used by the men to hold the buffalo robe in
place as well as for other purposes. The horns provided the common eating
and serving spoons and the bones were made into a number of important
tools, notably the buffalo shoulder blade, which was the main
spade or earth-digging tool as well as the hoe and the scythe. These
bones also provided tools for skin working and for sizing and straightening
the arrowshaft, as well as slivers for scraping and cutting. The sinews
of the buffalo were used for sewing together the skins and for making
bowstrings.

313 Second in importance as an industrial material was wood. In the open
prairie plains, trees grew only along the streams. The supply was heavily
drawn upon for fuel as well as for industry. Wood was used industrially
for building and for equipment and utensils. Cottonwood and willow
313 were the mainstay of the construction industries—the cottonwood because
824 it was light for its strength and bulk and the willow for its flexibility.
Elm was used for making the mortar and post oak for the pestle.
They also used the post oak to make their common eating bowls. Dogwood
was the material of the arrowshafts and ashwood for the bow as
well as the gaming hoop and the pipestem. Wood was best gotten in the
fall when the sap was running low.

824 Reeds and grasses were their third industrial resource. Grasses grew
along the streams and reeds in the limited number of ponds to be found
in the area. Since they matured about the same time as the cultivated
crops, they had to be processed as soon as the harvest was over. The
[285] most important product they made from these materials was the large
twined woven mat that they felt had to be spread on the dusty ground
[352] both in the earth lodge and in the tent while they were on the hunt. Next

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FOURTH DIVISION. PRESENTATION OF THE HAKO

TWENTIETH RITUAL.

PART I. BLESSING THE CHILD

At the close of the dance and the reception of gifts by the Fathers, the little child was again taken to the holy place and once more touched with the Hako upon all sides, from the east, the south, the west, and the north. 796*

The song accompanying these movements was "a prayer to call down the breath of Tira'wa" upon the child that had been consecrated. [782]

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

533*
796*

Rythmic Rendition

539*
796*

Breathe on him!
Breathe on him!
Life thou alone canst give to him.
Long life, we pray, Oh Father, give unto him!

PART II. PRESENTING THE HAKO TO THE SON AND THANKS TO THE CHILDREN

796*

The Father (the chief) then removed the emblems from the face of the child, using for the purpose the fur of the wildcat, and took the covering and the symbols from its head. These with the Hako he rolled together within the wildcat skin and placed the bundle in the arms of the child.

The Hako, which had been the medium of bringing the promises, was carried by the recipient of these promises, the little child, to its father, the Son, who received them from the hands of his offspring.

The tie had now been formed, and the little child was released from its symbolic duties and ran out into the sunlight to join its playmates. Within the lodge the Fathers thanked the Children, and the people departed to their daily avocations.

778
796*
[437]

While the various articles of the Hako were generally scattered at the close of the ceremony, the two feathered stems were preserved intact and frequently passed from tribe to tribe as long as they held together. Sometimes the Son was unwilling to part with those presented him, so, when he inaugurated a party, he had a new set made with the proper ceremony. At all times and under all conditions the feathered stems were never handled carelessly, but were treated with respect and their sacred character was remembered. During the entire time Tahi'rûssawichi was engaged upon this ceremony he never allowed

---

[a] Music on p. 76.

592 Clear Day and Blue Calico, "I can take care of the housework myself.
You two go plant your field." On the North Side, White Woman had a
double role to play and was hard pressed for time. She had "to take care
of her husband" and was also the main provisioner of the North Side of
the household. She was responsible for repairing her husband's moccasins
[437] when they wore out; when he went to the trade store to trade in a buffalo
robe for supplies of flour, coffee, sugar, prunes, or dried apples she would accompany him to do most of the carrying. Whether he went on horseback or on foot, he would carry only small items, being poised for any threatened attack. When she became overburdened with work in this way at the crucial time of planting, the two old women on her side, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, would come to her aid. "Let's get through with our 'daughter's' field first. She has to do the cooking for the whole family and take care of her husband." The three of them would then go out together and finish up White Woman's field and then the two old women would work each other's fields in turn cooperatively.

517 On the way home from the fields they all washed their hoes and took
a swim in Beaver Creek. Heads would be bobbing up and down all over
526 as they swam back and forth. When they finished their swim and cleaned
313 their hoes, they would pick up whatever driftwood they could find and
515 take it home. High water sometimes left good sticks at the bend of the
creek. This moist wood was piled way at the back of the woodpile, since unless it was left to dry out it would smoke and hurt the eyes. The young women sat on the banks of the creek and slapped the surface with their feet to see who could make the loudest noise. This was considered quite a trick, and sometimes they tried it with their hands. It was like the sound of the dried corn kernels when they were threshed at the time of harvest, and expressed the hope that the corn might ripen.

343 Sometimes a sweat bath was preferred to a swim in the creek. When
515 they got home tired and dirty they would then build a sweat lodge inside
the earth lodge on the north side. All during planting time an old man
888 would sit on the roof of his earth lodge in the evening and call out various
521 items of advice. He would particularly recommend a sweat bath. He
[757] would say, "If you're tired it's best to sweat. Then you will feel better
next day. If you should have a headache, you must sweat. When you get
[515] in from the fields, take a sweat bath. It cleans you up better than the
creek." There were many other things the old man had to say, particularly complimentary remarks to the women to bolster their morale. After some general praises, he would cite some particular women specifically, saying how industrious they were and what fine crops they raised. Presently a little boy or girl would come and invite the old man to a little treat in the home of the woman he had mentioned, usually some bread and coffee.

439 177 by the blacksmith. They would sharpen them to their taste with a metal file that they also obtained in trade.

411 463 The arrowshaft makers had a monumental task to keep everyone supplied. They considered it a social service and made sure everyone had them whether they were compensated or not. The Pawnee community was always more or less in a state of siege, and the arrowshaft makers felt that their work was essential to their common survival. As Mark Evarts expressed it, "Sometimes the arrowmaker made up his mind himself to make some arrows for someone. They want to supply the whole camp with arrows out of public spirit so that if the enemy comes on the warpath, everyone will have arrows. Even if they don't get any special compensation, they will do it to protect their children and others."

Practically the entire supply of arrows that they needed for the summer had to be made while they were still in the village as there was no time for such work while they were on the march or attacking the herd. A craftsman could produce about ten a day and he usually made them in lots of twenty, working them all in successive stages for the whole lot. With the limited leisure they had on the march they could barely finish one in a day, and this would only be done in case of emergency. They did take some dogwood sticks along for such a contingency. A hunter would consider twenty to forty arrows a reasonable number to keep [162] in his arsenal. In 1840 the Skidi population was estimated to have 469 males over the age of ten years. If 200 of these were adult hunters, this would mean that each of the five craftsmen would have 40 of them to take care of, and supplying each with 20 arrows would mean that he [461] had to produce 800 arrows to keep his group supplied once around. This was eighty full days of work.

When a man decided he needed to replenish his stock, he took the dogwood sticks that he had seasoning in the rafters of his house and went to the arrowmaker and asked him to make him twenty. It would be tacitly [437] understood that if in time he got a buffalo, he would make him a gift of a buffalo robe, or perhaps a blanket, some dried buffalo meat, leggings, or a pair of good moccasins.

Sometimes, without having a special order on hand, the craftsman would ask a young man to get him forty to sixty dogwood sticks and would compensate him when he had finished, with a gift of ten completed shafts. He wanted to make sure that everyone was supplied whether they made a special request or not. They had to get their own [237] feathers—turkey for the most part, but if they could not get one, a buzzard or a goose was a substitute.

In the latter part of May just before the chief's council, they were likely to accelerate their efforts. One of them would be sitting at the gaming grounds watching the hoop and spear game, and then another would be likely to sit down and join him. They would begin to talk

555 231 [735] [556] [174] universe. The Pawnees had great contempt for extreme poverty and raggedness, but no great desire or awe for wealth in large quantities. Historically the likelihood is that the cooperative social patterns of the Pawnees go back to a time when practically every person had an important function in the material economy, while a person of outstanding value was one who had special insights and knowledge.

342 281 But for all the value the Pawnees placed on knowledge and the things of the spirit, a tent was an absolute necessity as they traveled over the country. The making of the tent skin was one of their most complex technical achievements. It was a major enterprise to get one made, which had to be anticipated at least two years in advance. Eight skins had to be accumulated over four successive hunting periods—a summer hunt, a winter hunt, and on the following year again, a summer and a winter hunt. Sinew of eight buffalo for sewing the skins together also had to be saved. As signs of wear would appear in their tent skin, a woman would remind her husband of their need. Then he would set aside two good skins in each of the four seasons. The average life of a tent skin was no more than ten or twelve years.

463 281 Seven buffalo hides were used to make the body of the tent; an eighth was cut up for gussets, loops for the pegs at the bottom, and a double thickness at the door. In order to fit the skins together in the smoothest and most economical way and to arrange the pattern of the applied parts, a woman specialist in this field had to be called in to supervise the work. There were only a limited number of women with such knowledge in the tribe. In addition, it would take four or five women working pretty [461] steadily for three or four days to do the actual sewing of the skins. The workers all had to be compensated with gifts of dried buffalo meat, skin [437] clothing, and trade store goods that had to be purchased with buffalo products. In the course of the hunt, the hunter had to anticipate these needs as well as the need for the skins and the sinews. Payment for the work of planning and sewing amounted to at least the sale value of a good buffalo robe.

342 The same tent skin was used for both the winter and the summer hunts, but the framework was different. In winter they used the standard pointed skin tipi, supported by a frame of thirteen tall and heavy rigid poles that were leaned against one another at the top to form the conical frame. With its fire burning in the middle, this tent provided an excellent protection against the winter cold, but it was too warm for summer. For the summer frame they used a series of flexible saplings to make an open-faced shelter. The making of the heavy tipi poles was a long and difficult process and had to be planned well in advance, whereas the saplings for the summer framework could be gathered near the time of leaving for the summer hunt. Elm or willow saplings were available near the creek in the late spring or early summer and at this time the bark

342 ous services that would be involved. Lady Lucky Leader herself would
464 get a good amount of flour, sugar, coffee, and some calico, and the other
465 women of the household who helped with the sewing were given gifts
of calico and special meals were prepared for entertaining them. These
439 items had to be obtained at the trade store in exchange for a tanned buffalo
[437] robe. This was prepared by White Woman, and the day before the
work was to begin Victory Call and she each mounted a horse and rode
over to the store about two miles away, taking the robe with them. The
[492] two horses would be needed to bring home the supplies, otherwise White
[562] Woman would have walked, Victory Call ridden. At the trade store they
439 got a sack of flour, some coffee, sugar, baking powder, prunes, dry apples,
435 and about five yards of calico. At this time a hundred-pound sack of
flour was worth $7.00 at the store. For the family alone without special
events or guests, such a sack of flour lasted about two weeks (two
double-handfuls for each meal). Amounts of the other items usually
bought were fifty cents worth of coffee, fifty cents worth of sugar,
439 twenty-five cents worth of baking powder. Five or six yards of calico
342 were $1.00 so that, excluding the cost of the prunes and dry apples, the
464 gift to Lady Lucky Leader would amount to about $9.25 worth of
465 merchandise. An exceptionally well-tanned buffalo robe would bring
$20-30 worth of value at the store. After providing payment for Lady
[435] Lucky Leader with the remaining value of the buffalo robe, they had to
buy supplies for the special meals—an additional sack of flour, more
sugar, coffee, baking powder, and some lard and prunes. Finally to each
of the three women of the household that helped with the sewing—
Grandma, No Corn, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy—they would give
five yards of calico to each (worth a dollar for the five yards), and some
needles and thread. The buffalo robe would just about cover the labor
costs for sewing together the tent.

463 About a week before the work was to begin, White Woman would
342 have gone to see Lady Lucky Leader and have said to her, "Atira (my
mother), I've come to ask you to make a new tent for me." "Well," she
answered, "I have something to do right now, but I could do it a little
later. Are you in a hurry?" "No, a week's time will be all right." "Well,
then, have two good sharp knives ready," said the old lady.

At the appointed day, she arrived at Victory Call's lodge after breakfast.
The skins and tools were taken outdoors, and while White Woman
cleared up the breakfast dishes, the other three women went out with her
and Lady Lucky Leader cut out the skins. She placed them in the most
economical manner and then she assigned each of the women a particular
seam to sew. Each woman had prepared herself with her own awl and a
quantity of prepared sinew. Presently White Woman joined them and
[364] was also assigned a seam to sew. Before noon she had to retire to prepare
[362] the meal. They were served grease bread, coffee, and prunes. For sup-

the same weed was used to scrape out the inside. Then the man blew through the stem to remove the small pieces from the inside. 276 324 322

Making the Stone Bowl of Catlinite or Red Pipestone. (See Figure 51-2.) A block of stone of the appropriate size was marked off with charcoal so that the bowl could be sculptured out in the rough. Two blocks of stone had to be removed, one in front and one behind the upward projecting bowl. The removal of these two blocks was a laborious task. When no metal drills, files, or rasps were available, each step took a long time and required a great deal of patience. In the old days to remove the two blocks of stone, the "pipe" was set up on end and a flint knife was sawed back and forth across the corner, making a shallow cut. Then a second cut was made underneath it until a series of three or four shallow cuts had been made one beneath the other. These "corners" were then chipped off from the top edge down. This operation of chiseling off small pieces was continued until the whole block had been removed. Then the second block on the other side of the bowl was removed. All red powder resulting from the sawing process was saved to be used as red paint. 276 324 [386]

The bore for the stem as well as for the bowl was begun by using a well-dried, fire-hardened stick. The stick was held stable pressed onto the surface where the hole was to be and the stone turned back and forth until a hole had been dug into it. The bowl was widened and deepened by using a sharp sliver of a buffalo femur in the same way, pressing it into the stone and twisting the stone itself until the bowl was the shape and size desired. The outer surfaces were shaped by rubbing with a rough stone.

After the bowl was shaped, the pipe was passed through the smoke of a small grass fire and the surface rubbed with grease. This data on making the stone bowl is condensed from a demonstration by Charles Allen at Pawnee, Oklahoma, in 1935. It took almost eight days, working the usual day of nine to five o'clock with an hour for lunch. [461]

Each pipe maker introduced special features of his own. Rarawikita, Charles Allen's father, made them so that there was a hump on the bowl near where the stem was inserted and the pointed end of the bowl was five-sided. Chief's Road made pipes with three raised ridges around the head end of the bowl where the stem was to be inserted. Sometimes the pointed end was cut down at a downward slant, sometimes it was cut straight off. Good Bear made a pipe that was thick where the bowl was and tapered markedly at the point end and again at the end where the stem fitted. Brave Horse (*Asa-rahikuts,* "horse-brave") would make a wide ridge or collar around the mouth of the bowl and another one at the opening where the stem fitted in; on these "collars" he engraved diagonals trending upward toward the left. He was a left-handed man. [531]

For the work of manufacturing the pipe, pay was expected though never stipulated. This might be tobacco or calico and a little food. For 276 465 437

276 example about a quarter's worth or one block of tobacco, six yards of
465 calico, and half a braided intestine mat were considered reasonable com-
437 pensation. Sometimes a generous man would give a man who made a pipe
for him a blanket that was used but not too old and still good enough to
wear. This would be considered sufficient in itself. Or he might give some
broadcloth along with a belt instead.

47

EQUIPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL MANUFACTURES

The Fall of the Year a Time for Manufacture—Buffalo a Chief Source—History of Their Trading—Wood of Second Importance—Reeds and Grasses Third in Importance—Clay and Stone Scarce—History of Transition from Stone to Metal—Crafts Highly Regarded but No Religious Taboos—Learning to Make a Black Rope 000

THE FALL OF THE YEAR was the time when the Pawnees made most of the 221
things they used. There was a plentiful supply of food and in the protected environment of the earth lodge, they could manufacture the various items of furnishings, clothing, and equipment they needed. Moreover, with the winter hunt and migration in prospect, they had to make sure that everything was in order, as there would be little time in the short daylight hours for more than setting up camp and processing the meat and skins.

There were very few materials in the Pawnee environment that they 433
could use to make the things they needed. Their top resource for in- 237
dustry as well as for food was the buffalo. Hides, hair, horns, and bones 825
each found a number of essential uses. Hides made their all-important tent cover, their blankets, curtains, containers, moccasin soles, and other clothing. And even beyond their domestic needs, it gave them their major item of external trade, the buffalo robe.

There is clear evidence that this was a leading trade item before the 174
Spaniards moved up into the Plains in 1540. Long before the advent of the 438
European on the continent, the settled villages were centers of trade for 439
the more nomadic peoples and there were seasonal trade fairs in recog- 443
nized locations where peoples came to exchange their special products and materials.

male principle. The same treatment of the corn is observed. The 772
ear of corn, which is born of Mother Earth, is symbolically painted to 796*
represent a living contact with the heavens.

These symbolic articles thus treated are peculiar to this ceremony and essential to its rites. They express with unmistakable clearness the original instigating desire for children.

The second purpose of this ceremony, that of establishing a bond 571
between two distinct groups of persons belonging to different clans, 648
gentes, or tribes, which should insure between them friendship and
peace, was probably an outgrowth of the first purpose and may have 796*
been based upon tribal experience in the practice of exogamy.

In a tribe composed of clans or gentes, where exogamy prevailed, two factors tended to promote peace and security among the people, namely, children born to parents representing two distinct political groups, and rites which recognized a common dependence upon the supernatural and were obligatory upon all.

With the growth of social ideas the thought seems to have arisen that ties might be made between two tribes differing from and even competing with each other, through a device which should simulate those influences which had proved so effective within the tribe. The Father, representing one tribe, was the incentive force; he inaugurated the Hako party. The tie was made by a ceremony in which the feminine principle, represented by the corn and Kawas, was the dominant factor. Through this mother element life was given and a bond was established between the Father and a Son of another tribe. It is remarkable how close to the model this device of an artificial tie has been made to correspond.

Apart from the social and religious significance of the ceremony, it 182
became a means of exchange of commodities between tribes. The 439●
garments, regalia, and other presents brought by the Fathers to the
Children were taken by the latter to some other tribe, when they in 796*
turn became the Fathers. Thus manufactures peculiar to one tribe were often spread over a wide territory, and the handicraft of one region became known to different sections of the country.

STRUCTURE OF THE CEREMONY

The perpetuation and distribution of a ceremony is dependent upon 796*
its structure, its symbolism, and its purpose. Its parts must be so coordinated as to make it possible to keep the rite intact during oral transmission, while its symbolism must appeal to common beliefs and its purpose to common desires.

Examining the ceremony of the Hako, we find it to possess these requisites. Its purpose awoke a response in every human heart, its symbolism appealed to the people wherever corn ripened and eagles flew; and though its structure was elaborate, it was built upon a sim-

cultivated eight hundred acres of corn, beans and squash in their 175*
old manner. The farmer duplicated his effort in 1861, but not until 648*
the summer of 1862 did he give any actual instruction to the Pawnee 241
in farming. That year the agency farm crops and the Pawnee native 657
crops both suffered from a grasshopper pestilence. It was planned that summer to proceed as rapidly as possible to break up enough land for cultivation, so that the head of each Pawnee family could take over a plot and learn by actively operating it.

In 1863 the government farmers had ploughed up for this purpose 725 acres. Meanwhile the native women had a bountiful crop, for the first time in years a surplus. In 1864 and 1865 the government demonstration proved a failure: drought and severe grasshopper pestilences destroyed the greater part of the crop. But the Pawnee crop of corn, beans and squash was much less affected in these years. In 1867 the government farm consisted of 114 acres in corn, wheat, oats and potatoes, while the Pawnee had 1000 acres under cultivation, mostly in corn, with patches of beans and squash. That year saw a bountiful crop all round, with so large a surplus for the Pawnee that they gave food to the Ponca, whose crop had failed, sold a considerable amount, and still retained a store. The following year misfortune visited the whole land in the form of a [731]
grasshopper plague of such severity as had never been known. "They came in a cloud so thick as to obscure the sun." They left not a green thing.

In spite of the fact that the government farming demonstration was not strikingly successful during these years, the Pawnee were becoming increasingly conscious of the gradual disappearance of the buffalo, and the need for basing their economic life on a sure agricultural supply. They observed the value and usefulness of wagons, plows, mowing machinery and the like, and in 1868 began to request that large sums of their annuity payment be spent for the purchase of such things. Part of the annuity was being paid to them in merchandise. Inasmuch as no attempt was made to send the people what they specifically needed, a great part of the goods
annuity was waste; the Pawnee would sell off most of it to traders [439]
for things they needed more, losing considerably in the exchange. The agents pointed out that along with their purchase of agricultural implements, wagons and harness, the Pawnee from 1865 on were asking for cooking stoves and household articles, and began to take an interest in houses.

Building on the reservation had not been active. In addition 175*
to the farm buildings erected in 1860, a number of buildings were 648*
taken over which had been erected by the Mormons during their 657
342

hills, representing the eastward extension of the Sandhill province 133 of central Nebraska, covers much of the territory north of the Platte, especially the northern and western parts. The Loup, tributary to the Platte, with its North, Middle, and South Forks, augmented by the Dismal and Calamus Rivers, effects the drainage. These streams all have their sources in the sand hills and are characterized by a steady, abundant flow of excellent water, relatively deep valleys, and scant fringes of timber. Between the Platte and the Republican Rivers lies the high, monotonously flat loess plain of southern Nebraska, but little modified by erosion save where the margins have been deeply incised by short creeks tributary to larger bordering rivers. The Blue River, on the east, is the only stream of any size between the Platte and the Republican. South of the Republican the terrain becomes rather more uniform. A succession of broad grassy upland divides, trending generally west-east, and separating valleys of the Solomon, Saline, Smoky Hill, and Arkansas Rivers, are the principal physiographic features, culminating in the flat, featureless plains of western and southern Kansas.

As everywhere on the great plains, grasses are, or were formerly, 137 the dominant plant forms in the Pawnee area. Trees were almost universally absent on the uplands, and at least as late as 1833 the Platte and Loup Valleys were almost devoid of timber, save on some of the larger islands.[19] In the Republican Valley and also in the Smoky Hill drainage, however, timber was more abundant. Cottonwood, several species of willow, burr oak, and elm dominated the more immediate river banks and islands, while less commonly black walnut, honey locust, hackberry, boxelder, ash, and red cedar were encountered. For the most part the tree forms represented the westward extension of the forests of Missouri, following up the valleys especially of streams draining through the Kansas River into the Missouri, and interfingering with the prairie uplands more typical of the western plains. Chokecherries, wild plums, grapes, and wild black cherries grew plentifully along the smaller streams and creeks, and wild potatoes, turnips, and turkey peas flourished in the sandy valleys of the Platte, Loup, and Republican Rivers. All of the last-named plants provided important articles of diet. Of game there 136 was also ample variety. Herds of bison wandered northward beyond the Platte, becoming more plentiful to the west and south, and [262] their meat, next to maize, formed the main food staple. Beaver formerly abounded in the Elkhorn, Republican, Smoky Hill, and other wooded streams, and, along with elk, deer, bear, wolves, and [439 wildcat, in early historic times formed the basis for a traffic in 281] peltries amounting to thousands of dollars annually, to say nothing of their value as food sources.

---

[19] Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 10; also Long, 1823, vol. I, p. 446.

172* 301 321 with a rusty coating, readily removed, and some are rather badly weathered; all are soft and chalky in texture. Sometimes, as in the second specimen from the bottom (pl. 8, *m*), they are unperforated but have a groove about one end. They were probably made from the columella of the conch or from some very thick-walled bivalve. They occur as grave finds, always in pairs, and are nearly always found one on each side of the head; doubtless their purpose was for ear or hair ornamentation.

Identical objects are described by Holmes[77] as common on the Pacific coast, where they were made "from the thick valves of the *Pachydesma crassatelloides* or the *Amiantis callosa*." As to their use, the same observer says, "They were probably used as beads for the neck and as pendant ornaments for the ears. The longer specimens may have been worn in the nose. It is also said that beads of this class were used as money."[78] A specimen 4½ inches long in the Dinsmore collection at the University of Kansas Museum probably comes from an early historic Kansa village on the Missouri. [177 439] For the most part the workmanship and drilling of those from the Pawnee area are so perfect that there is a strong possibility of their being trade pieces from the whites rather than of actual aboriginal manufacture. They do not occur in prehistoric cultures of Nebraska, so far as known at present.

A string of small tubular shell beads, each three-eighths inch long by less than one-eighth inch in diameter, are the only approach to "wampum" yet found; they are from a historic grave. Irving, in describing the appearance of the Republican Pawnee chief in 1833, states that "a long string of wampum, the only ornament he ever wore, hung from his neck . . ."[79] Disk shell beads are altogether absent in Pawnee sites, although prehistoric ossuaries in southern Nebraska have yielded thousands of them. In general, beads and shell work of any kind represent a very minor phase in Pawnee culture, in historic times at least.

WORK IN WOOD

172* 412 322 MORTARS.—A large wooden mortar from a grave at the Hill site is the sole representative of this class of utensil. It is made from a section of tree or log, standing 14 inches high, and is between 9 and 10 inches in diameter. The grinding cavity in the top is 6½ inches deep by 8½ inches in diameter and is encircled by a square lip. The mortar stands on three legs, each about 2 inches high, and the under side is much worn by long use. No pestle was found with it. While

---

[77] 1883, p. 226.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 120.

The border is carved with zigzag lightning symbols. The emblem 172* of the sun, 5 inches in diameter, with 4 long and 12 short rays, 322 is neatly cut into the upper part of the piece, which is further embellished with brass-headed tacks (Nebr. Hist. Mag., x, 3, 1927, p. 192). 854 It is a most unusual and attractive piece of work and was very likely made by Indian craftsmen. Fragments of other nicely decorated boards have been recovered, but none is sufficiently large to permit a good reconstruction.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Wooden boxes and chests, bound with leather or 172* metal and studded with large-headed nails, are not uncommon, 322 though always in fragmentary condition. Wooden-backed mirrors, sheaths, and numerous other odds and ends are frequently found, nearly always with rows of nails as ornamental features. The clumsy workmanship probably indicates that most of them were made by the Indians themselves, in imitation of the white man's articles. Occasionally a better piece is recovered, perhaps with a lock or hinge, these being probably imported and trade articles. Pipestems [276] of light carved wood have been found in a few cases but were too fragmentary for accurate restoration.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

GLASS BEADS.—These were in very extensive use by the Pawnee 172* after the arrival among them of white traders. Small white, blue, 301 and red beads, of transparent glass, are by far the commonest, especially in graves, while black appears relatively infrequently. 439 ● Tubular porcelain beads, less than one-half inch long, are also found, though not very plentiful. Large, irregularly shaped blue, red, and colorless beads, mostly translucent, have been regarded as of Indian manufacture because of their crudity (pl. 8, *n*). Samples of these were submitted to M. W. Stirling, of the Smithsonian Institution, for examination and were pronounced by him to be trade material from the Hudson Bay Co., probably via the Missouri.[83] All of these were from the Hill site, abandoned about 1810. There is thus no positive evidence that the Pawnee ever manufactured their own glass beads, though the custom was followed by the Arikara, Mandan, and other upper Missouri River tribes in historic times.[84]

METAL WORK.—Iron and copper become increasingly common with 172* recency. Iron "squaw" hoes, gun parts, axes, chisels, bridles, stir- 439 rups, knives, and innumerable other odds and ends abound on the 177

---

[83] Letter of Oct. 13, 1930.

[84] Lewis and Clark, 1922, vol. I, p. 238. However, excavation at the Burkett site in April 1931 yielded a number of turquoise-blue, glass beads of rough manufacture and imperfect glass. According to Dr. W. D. Strong, these are closely similar to a native-made specimen of glass work secured by Dr. Mathew among the Arikara in 1870, now in the National Museum. [114]

*172 later sites (pl. 12). The hoes were often cut up and the material
● 439 remade into arrowpoints, scrapers, and similar objects. Gun barrels
177 appear to have been likewise used as tent pins, stakes, and the like. Fluted lead rings are very common, though they may be of native casting. Coincident with the increase in metal goods there is a marked decline, quantitatively and qualitatively, in native products, such as pottery and stone work, and since the former are less durable the later sites are rather barren. Despite the Caucasian influences to which the Pawnee were subjected from very early times, however, they retained enough of their aboriginal material culture to furnish a fairly accurate picture of their pre-Columbian mode of life and to make possible the tracing of their culture back to its less well-defined antecedents.

WEAVING AND TEXTILES

*172 CLOTH AND CORDAGE.—The only fiber woven by the Pawnee appears
286 to have been the hair of the bison. Fragments of cloth made of this material and short pieces of cordage are occasionally taken from the graves (pl. 2, *g*, *i*), though none of the early observers seem to record the trait. The cloth is made of a moderately heavy 2-ply closely twisted yarn, each member of which in turn consists of a number of rather loosely spun fibers. There is no uniformity of weave, however; in the same piece may be found twilled or diagonal (over two under two) weaving and checkerwork (over and under). The cloth is fairly heavy, soft, and flexible; in color it varies from brown-black to black. It was used presumably for robes and winter clothing.

The yarn sometimes occurs in short, rope-like masses, of 10 or 12 cords twisted together but not braided (pl. 2, *h*). Whether these are indeed fragments of rope or merely skeins of yarn conveniently arranged for storing is uncertain. However, the low tensile strength of the material, and especially the readiness with which the "ropes" tend to untwist and become further weakened, argues against their use where strains were likely to occur. Braided ropes of bison hair have not come to light, although they may have been manufactured.

Spindle whorls, if used, were probably of wood or other perishable material, as none have yet been found.

*172 MATTING.—Pieces of rush matting were recovered by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey at the Hill site, mostly as a body wrapping
285 in burial 3. Remains of a charred mat were also found on the west side of the lodge circle, as previously described. Additional fragments have been collected by Mr. A. T. Hill. All of the specimens are made of some narrow-leaved grass or rush, possibly cattail, and are in simple twined weaving (pl. 2, *j–l*). Each warp ele-

The boy was also taught that his paternal aunt whom he called *atira*, 604
"my mother," would also give him a home. If the relationship were good
he would come to her house and say, "*Tatiriraka*, I have a home here,"
and he could request a permanent or a temporary home with these relatives.
He might remark, "*Atira*, I'm hungry," or "mother, I'm tired. I want
a place to sleep here." The brothers of these women were called *atias*,
"my father," but no fatherly conduct was expected of them as they
were married into different households. Formal behavior such as characterized
the relation between father and son was the only thing expected
of them. The husbands of these kindly paternal aunts were called *atipat*,
"grandpa," possibly to denote their unfailing benevolence toward the
"child" to match that of their wives. Periodically, while the individuals [574]
in this relationship were still children, they would be invited to the house
and "grandpa" would feast them on some delicacies that he had bought at
the trade store, joking with them all the while.

The boy Otter enjoyed such a place in the home of Eagle Chief. The 602
three wives of Eagle Chief were sisters to Victory Call, who often went 574
there to relax and to enjoy their hospitality. Otter called these women, *atira*
and he called Eagle Chief *atipat*. Eagle Chief would decide upon occasion
to entertain four or five children who were in this relation to him as a
courtesy to his wives and incidentally as a good public relations gesture
for himself, for a chief had to maintain the good will of his constituency.
He would go to the trade store and get some favorite foods [439]
such as dried prunes, flour, sugar, and coffee and then would send
his wives to invite the children. The children sat lined up in a row
and Eagle Chief began to tease them. He said, "Look at that fellow. He
has two heads. See how he's looking all around the room to see what he
can find." Then he would speak to the girls, "Look at that girl painting
her face. Is that my paint?" Or he would say to his wives, "Don't give
this fellow too many prunes. I think I'll eat them myself this evening."
The women would answer with mock hostility, "Well, it's *theirs.* You
bought it for *them* to eat." "Say," Eagle Chief would continue, "this fellow
eats too fast." "Let them eat!" said the women. "The way you go on,
the children might choke. Say, let them eat. Now children don't listen to [857]
him!" If they had a piece of fried bread left from the feast the children
would try to carry it home to their mothers, but most of the time the older
children would grab it as they went through the village.

The joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild was an 603
important social resource. At a family meal where they should have
light and cheerful conversation, they would prod a small boy into teasing 602
his "grandpa." If no grandfather were available, they would indicate
to the boy that he ought to pay more attention to his brother's wife—
the "brother" usually being a quite distant blood relative and an older
man. Otter was in such a relationship with Old Bull and they called

14

PRACTICAL PREPARATIONS FOR THE BUFFALO HUNT

000

The Arrowshaft Makers—the Problem of Horses—Patterns of Cooperation on the Hunt—the Value of Horses to the Pawnees—the Tent Skin and Implements Needed with the Tent—Furniture—Household Utensils—Household Grouping for the Hunt—the Stay-at-Homes

BEFORE LEAVING ON THE HUNT, one of the Pawnees' primary considerations 411
was the weapons they would need for hunting and for their protection.
Guns were expensive and sources of ammunition were not
readily available while they were on the march. And so they used the
bow and arrow, which could be made from local materials. Every 411
hunter made his own bow of ashwood and his own sinew bowstring, but
the making of the arrowshaft was a highly specialized craft. The shaft itself 463
fashioned of dogwood sticks had to be carefully shaped and the
feathering skillfully applied so that it would shoot true. In 1867, there
were only five arrowshaft makers for the whole Skidi Band. Everyone
who needed arrows had to place his order with one of them and arrange
to compensate him for his work. They also had to bring the craftsman
the dogwood sticks well seasoned. They had collected them some
time beforehand and left them in the rafters of the house so that
they would be ready. When Old-Man-That-Chief stood on the roof of
the earth lodge and reported on the chiefs' ritual meeting and exhorted
them all to hurry, the arrowshaft makers were the first to feel the pressure.
The arrow point required a different kind of negotiation. In the 411
past they were made of chipped flint that no doubt had to be traded for 439
at some distance. At this time they were using iron barrel hoops that 177
they got from the trader in the tradestore, which they had rough-shaped 326
by the blacksmith.

439 by the blacksmith. They would sharpen them to their taste with a metal
177 file that they also obtained in trade.

411 The arrowshaft makers had a monumental task to keep everyone sup-
463 plied. They considered it a social service and made sure everyone had them whether they were compensated or not. The Pawnee community was always more or less in a state of siege, and the arrowshaft makers felt that their work was essential to their common survival. As Mark Evarts expressed it, "Sometimes the arrowmaker made up his mind himself to make some arrows for someone. They want to supply the whole camp with arrows out of public spirit so that if the enemy comes on the warpath, everyone will have arrows. Even if they don't get any special compensation, they will do it to protect their children and others."

Practically the entire supply of arrows that they needed for the summer had to be made while they were still in the village as there was no time for such work while they were on the march or attacking the herd. A craftsman could produce about ten a day and he usually made them in lots of twenty, working them all in successive stages for the whole lot. With the limited leisure they had on the march they could barely finish one in a day, and this would only be done in case of emergency. They did take some dogwood sticks along for such a contingency. A hunter would consider twenty to forty arrows a reasonable number to keep
[162] in his arsenal. In 1840 the Skidi population was estimated to have 469 males over the age of ten years. If 200 of these were adult hunters, this would mean that each of the five craftsmen would have 40 of them to take care of, and supplying each with 20 arrows would mean that he
[461] had to produce 800 arrows to keep his group supplied once around. This was eighty full days of work.

When a man decided he needed to replenish his stock, he took the dogwood sticks that he had seasoning in the rafters of his house and went to the arrowmaker and asked him to make him twenty. It would be tacitly
[437] understood that if in time he got a buffalo, he would make him a gift of a buffalo robe, or perhaps a blanket, some dried buffalo meat, leggings, or a pair of good moccasins.

Sometimes, without having a special order on hand, the craftsman would ask a young man to get him forty to sixty dogwood sticks and would compensate him when he had finished, with a gift of ten completed shafts. He wanted to make sure that everyone was supplied whether they made a special request or not. They had to get their own
[237] feathers—turkey for the most part, but if they could not get one, a buzzard or a goose was a substitute.

In the latter part of May just before the chief's council, they were likely to accelerate their efforts. One of them would be sitting at the gaming grounds watching the hoop and spear game, and then another would be likely to sit down and join him. They would begin to talk

came off easily. They were considerably lighter to carry than the 342
rigid tipi poles. For the summer shelter they also needed two upright posts forked at the top and a cross piece to connect them to form a frame, onto which the saplings would be tied and through which the summer tent was entered. Wooden pegs were needed for both summer and winter tents to hold the skin tight by driving them through the loops at the base of the cover. They were usually gotten at the last minute.

A very necessary implement for these operations was a long 7-foot [412]
stick to be used as a digging iron. It was forked at the top and had a strong fire-hardened point to make holes in the ground for the poles of the frame.

Furniture for the tent included five large mats finely woven of bulrush to be used as floor covering. These were carried rolled up and tied with a string in the middle that had been provided for the purpose. 352

A wooden mortar was also needed for making mush and corn flour 412
and for other cookery. It was made of a section of elm log, the bottom 492
whittled into a point so that it could be stuck upright into the ground.
There was a hole drilled through this part of the mortar so that it could 322
be tied onto the horse with the other baggage. The working end at the top was excavated by charring and scraping into a deep bowl shape. With it they had to carry a long pestle made of a small tree trunk with both ends left intact and the middle portion cut down for a handhold. This was carried grouped with the long tent poles and the digging iron; the poles were tied at one end to the horse's back with the other end dragging on the ground.

Other household utensils were six or seven wooden bowls made by the 415
women as were the other wooden objects for the household, a string of [439]
buffalo-horn spoons for tableware and perhaps some small enamel bowls gotten at the trade store for their coffee. Also included was a larger wooden ladle for serving.

All the cooking vessels in Mark Evart's time were of metal replacing 415
the older pottery and they had to be gotten from the trader. As late as 439
1835–1856, a few clay pots were being made, but by 1867 there were 323
none at all. By 1928 almost all memory of how they were made was gone. 175
Metal came into use among the ancestors of the Pawnees by 1650 or before, when sheet metal was being cut up to make some of their arrow 177
points. In 1833 the Pawnees had an extensive trade with the Kiowas in brass buckets. For the present expedition, they needed a large brass kettle for cooking corn, soup, or mush, two standard metal buckets—one for water and one for coffee—and a metal frying pan to make grease bread.

In order to get these latter items, Victory Call rode up to Bishop and 439
Matlock's trade store on his best-looking horse to establish his credit, saying to Mr. Bishop, "Grandpa, come out and take a look at my horse.

• 439 Do you think it can get a good buffalo? Well, you can have a buffalo
435 robe when I get back and my wife can tan it." Mr. Matlock would then join them and the traders would say, "Sure." "Well, I need two buckets," Victory Call would say. "And what else do you need?" the traders would ask. At the same time there would be an old lady in the
439 store trying to establish some credit so that she could get some sugar to
435 make sweet corn pounded up with sugar. She would promise that when
262 they got back from the hunt she would bring in a sack of pounded-up dry meat. This was the equivalent of the better-known pemmican and was bought by travelers at the trade store for emergency rations. When
[105] warriors went on the warpath they took extra pairs of moccasins filled with pounded sweet corn and sugar and some of the pounded-up dry meat as concentrated supplies.

*224 Not everyone had the skill or the diligence to accumulate all this
476 equipment. Every man or woman who did not have it yet wanted to go on the hunt had to try to attach themselves to someone who did. This practical consideration had an important effect on how the individual encampments were set up. Sometimes a family had enough horses but no tent. The man would send his mother-in-law or his wife to inquire of a woman who owned a tent whether they could join her encampment. If it was agreed that they should camp together they would discuss how they would combine their needs for equipment—a mortar, a kettle, dishes, etc. Sometimes a woman would make such arrangements, only to find at the last minute that her husband had already committed them with someone else, and then one of the families would have to remain behind.

606 The general rule was that a man had to take care of his father-in-law and the family into which he was married. It was understood that he would travel with his father-in-law and his wife's family. This is what his marriage implied—that he was to serve and care for the family of his wife. The son-in-law was called by the family into which he married *kustawixtsu*, "he who sits among (them)." The son-in-law would refer to himself as *rat-ut-ka-ku*, "I-for-you-inside-sit," meaning that it his func-
606 tion to serve their house. This was an obligation greater than that to his
593 own parents. If his parents were old and alone, he would give half of his kill to them after his wife had picked out what she wanted. When they
[591] first married, the couple normally lived in the girl's house and went out on the hunt with them. As they got older, the young man might want
[431] to set up a tent of his own and hunt separately and his father-in-law might consent, but he would send a gift of a leg from whatever buffalo he killed. When they got back to the village, they would rejoin the girl's family. If the girl's father was getting very old and his tent was worn out he would say, "Son-in-law, I want to go with you. You came here to take care of us." "Certainly, that's good," the younger man would say. This marriage responsibility sometimes got on a man's nerves, and

The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood 276
(*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer [824]
bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for
smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in
winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade [439]
store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared
patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of [249]
Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting 224*
expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their 276
pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so
that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½
feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would 224*
depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle 492
had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A
saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front
and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were
tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide
envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed
to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used
to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the
rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they
were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the
stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling
the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth 224*
for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently 291
on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was 412
an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. 224*
Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on 482
her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage 778
on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles
had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, 224*
dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, 251
coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concentrated 262
foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes.
The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that [484]
time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would
now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegetable 224*
provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the 251
cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One
batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were 252

*224 ward to the hunting grounds on the Republican. Each of the bands had
*484 its own well-known landmarks. As White Eagle was leading the four
184 bands on this hunt, they all had to follow the south bank of the Loup for
the first part of their journey in the Skidi tradition.

*224 A major landmark of the trip was Grand Island in the Platte River.
*484 There were a number of long, sandy islands in the Platte, some of them
131 covered with lush grass and grazing animals and with trees growing on
•439 them. Grand Island is one of the largest of these (more than twice the
size of Manhattan Island). It is about 20 miles long and 5 or 6 miles wide, with a narrow channel on the north and south sides between the island and the mainland. On the island the United States had established Fort Kearney, where there was also a trade center.

*224 The trip to the hunting grounds was usually made in ten encampments.
*484 The hunting camp, not uncommonly within sight of the migrating herd,
361 was called Camp 11. By the Skidi route traveling west along the south
bank of the Loup, they would make three camps beyond the first one and arrive 32 miles out. This would put them just due north of the west end of Grand Island over which they planned to cross the Platte. Because of the sandhills between the Loup and the Platte, the crossing southward was slow and they would make one camp between the two rivers (Camp 5).

Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte and two miles westward of the place of crossing. This was done so that the camp could be set up on high ground to avoid the mosquitoes and bugs that abounded in the lowland. This was the stop they usually referred to as "Fort Kearney" because the chiefs would go over there and collect their government allotments while the line of march continued two miles west and set up camp.

Continuing along the south bank of the Platte, they made four camps "west of Fort Kearney," viz., camps 7, 8, 9, and 10. At Camp 10 they reached another important landmark, Plum Creek, a small creek that was a southern tributary of the Platte (near present Lexington, Nebraska). Up to this point the individual hunters went out privately and got deer, elk, or antelope to supply fresh meat for their own camps. While the line was en route to Camp 6, a small group of independent hunters made a long trip southward to the Republican to scout around and they killed three buffalo and brought the meat to Camp 6. As the line of march was moving toward Camp 10, the ablest hunters of all four bands went out and surrounded a small herd of about twenty buffalo, bringing in the
[622] meat to Camp 10. This group of hunters included all the chiefs, other administrative officials and prominent men. The meat they obtained was
[431] widely distributed in the form of gifts and symbolized the fact that "the chiefs feed the people buffalo meat."

The next stop was Camp 11 on the Republican. While the previous

30

THE RETURN HOME FROM THE HUNT

000 *"Village Scouts" Return to Village for Reports—Main Body of Encampment Moves Homeward—Their Diet—Young Men Leave for Warpath and Horse Stealing—Village Scouts Return to Encampment—Tell of Stay-at-Homes and Crops—Releasing the Holy Man of the Hunt—Chief's Remarks at End of Hunt*

224* 484* EVERYONE WAS LADEN with meat and hides, and now that they had completed a successful hunt, all thoughts were turned toward home—particularly toward their crops and the people they had left behind. A group of young men decided they would ride ahead and see how the *Kakusu*, "Stay-at-Homes," had fared and how the crops were doing in the fields, and then come back and meet the line of march halfway, about two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), and report back to the people. These young men took up their mission on a purely voluntary and spontaneous basis. They were called *kitkehax-wiriksu*, "village-scouts." Sometimes one of them had a grandmother left behind that he wanted to know about or a girl. People were also anxious about the children who had been left at the school. The young man would tell his mother or grandmother of his plan and she would make him some pounded-up dried meat and some slabs of dried meat to take along with him. The boys took a short cut, going in a group and getting quickly back to the village.

[251] [281] [439] Meanwhile in the encampments, the women were packing up the meat in the parfleches for permanent storage and strapping them up. Others were thinning buffalo robes by scraping them down—for barter at Fort Kearney in exchange for flour, coffee, sugar, and other trade goods. In

*224 this area now, north of the Republican, they were in Pawnee territory
*484 and were less concerned about danger of attack. As the South Bands had
their villages to the east of the Skidi on Beaver Creek, they moved ahead
while the Skidi lagged behind. They ate mainly dried buffalo meat at
[262] this time and a little parched corn in soup. If anyone happened to have
[252] any roasted corn kernels on hand, they boiled them and ate them, but
most people had used up their supply by now. The old women were al-
*224 ways busy when they stopped, pulverizing dried buffalo meat in the
*484 mortar with a pestle. They made a flat package, *tsat-katus*, "package-
251 flat," of tanned hide (see Figure 30-1) and filled it up with the pounded-
887 up dried meat. The package could be carried on the back with a strap
[482] that ran across the chest. It was 2 feet long by 1½ feet wide, and was
•[439] often carried on their backs by the old women. It was a good trade
item. Sometimes they also included some dried meat. Both kinds could
[262] be eaten without cooking as they were already thoroughly cured. One
could simply break off a piece of the dried meat and eat it.

237
251
482

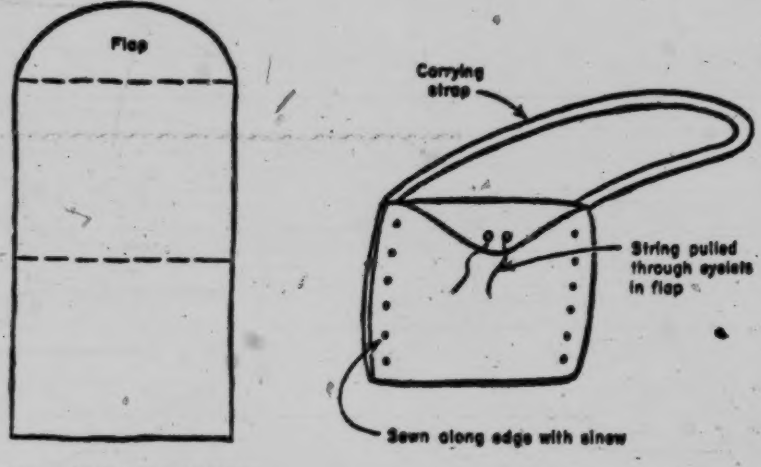

Flap
Pattern to be folded up in middle
Carrying strap
String pulled through eyelets in flap
Sewn along edge with sinew

FIGURE 30-1. The pattern of a skin knapsack, *tsat-katus*, "package-flat."

*224 Some old women made a *hu-tsaku*, "water-package," of half a buffalo
*484 bull hide made into rawhide, with sticks fastened underneath and the
[237] baggage wrapped inside envelope-fashion, to be floated across a swollen
[281] stream. Most of the women were busy tanning buffalo robes and scraping
hides all the way home.

726 Some young men were saying that when they got to the Platte River
they would set out on the warpath. There were plenty of Sioux around

from whom they could well steal horses, and some young men thought 726
they would like to go to the Osage country. The women of their house- 726
hold would outfit them with three or four pairs of new moccasins, tan- 705
ning some hides especially for the purpose. Each pair would be filled
with supplies—pulverized dried meat, parched corn, and dried meat. The
young man would have a large flat package, especially wide to carry on
his back with straps across the chest to carry his baggage. Under his belt [276]
he carried his tobacco and his pipe, and every time he sat down while he
was on the warpath he must smoke. When he went off to steal horses
he hung his flat-package on a tree and sometimes did not get a chance to
retrieve it at all.

In Victory Call's household, they had gotten eight hides. A small one 281
would be tanned by White Woman to get supplies at Fort Kearney. One 439 •
was reserved for Mr. Bishop, the trader near home, to whom a good
one had been promised before they left in payment for supplies Victory
Call had obtained at his store for their journey.

While they were going east along the Platte River after their arrival 224*
two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), the village scouts came back 484*
with their report of how things were back home. They came in directly 283
to the tent of Leading Chief who now had charge of their return jour-
ney and reported:

> We went down to the village. We couldn't go in, it was full of fleas. Toward evening we went to the different corn fields. The corn is pretty ripe in some places. The pumpkins are hard yet. There are lots of beans of all different kinds. One fellow got on a freight and went to Columbus to see how the Stay-at-Homes were. Everything looks good. From there we went to the school. We gave the children some pulverized dried meat and some plain. We told them you folks were coming home. We stopped in Bishop and Matlock's store for the night and said it would be about eight or ten days before we got to the village. Everyone looks all right.

Now Know-His-Face went through the encampment, announcing this
message to all. In one of the other bands a rougish old lady called out [824]
"And how about the sunflowers? How are they doing?" The boy said,
"The sunflowers are way high!" The byplay is that the sunflowers were [522]
the place where clandestine affairs were carried on. These grew as weeds
in the boundaries between the fields.

One of the scouts brought five or six ears of corn that were ripe from 224*
different fields, and gave them to the ones to whom they belonged. One 484*
ear had come from the field of Otter's grandmother, and before she took [788]
off the husks she blessed him with it four times. Then she removed the [252]
husks, roasted the ear in the coals, and broke it into three pieces, one for [262]

752 afterward. One Sioux was killed and one Pawnee killed or scalped.
726 This is why Mad Bear was known as a brave man, heedless of any
danger to himself, like a boy, a *piraski.*

244 All the time that this struggle was going on, Victory Call, White Woman,
512 and No Corn were in No Corn's field picking beans. Horse Rider had
had to go quite a way to find the horses and when he got back to camp
to saddle them, they had left him a bite of breakfast and then he joined
them in the field. First he inspected the pumpkins and then they all
went around picking up the vines, and when a vine wrapped around a
cornstalk, they had to look all around for the ripe pods. This took until
noon and on the way home they took a swim in the creek. Arriving at
camp, they prepared a modest lunch of bread, coffee, and bits of ready-
244 cooked meat saved in a sack for such purposes—pieces of dried heart,
512 leg muscle, pieces of paunch, fat, etc. They called this *tsuspakahu.* They
262 opened the sack and dumped the pieces of meat on a spread and simply
264 picked up one and ate it with the bread and coffee. Sometimes they
had pulverized dried meat, *tapaharus,* with some bone grease instead of
the meat. They decided to have the same kind of meal in the evening, as
their backs ached from picking the beans. After the meal, the newly
244 picked beans were spread out to dry, and about three in the afternoon
512 White Woman decided that her beans were dry enough to thresh with
251 the long willow stick to get the beans out of the pods. Victory Call wan-
dered up to the store and Horse Rider either went to the gambling
grounds or just sat on a bluff smoking and looking around. The women
kept working with the beans.

512 That evening, Victory Call came in with supplies from the store for
439 supper: prunes, dry apples and some candy sticks for Otter—a gift of
the trader. People had seen Victory Call coming in while they were at
the gambling grounds watching the game, and they decided to come
over and have some dinner there. War Cry's younger brother, Brave
Shield, and Wants-the-Enemy dropped in for a visit. Some decided to
visit with Misery (*Akapakis*) instead, and White Woman felt slighted be-
cause the youngest brother of War Cry, Leading Fox, had decided to go
there as also had Sun Chief, Victory Call's older son. She scolded Lead-
ing Fox saying, "Why don't you come in. People will think I don't
take care of you." "Well," he said, "the boys wanted me to come with
them." She remarked about Sun Chief to Victory Call who reassured
her saying, "That's nothing. You have to watch girls, but you can't
keep boys home like that."

512 At dinner, Brave Shield mentioned that some of the Kitkehaxki
796 doctors were preparing to go back into the earth lodges to prepare for
the forthcoming doctor dances. Victory Call said that it was a bit too
756 early. It was better to finish the work so that they didn't have all this rub-

47

EQUIPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL MANUFACTURES

The Fall of the Year a Time for Manufacture—Buffalo a Chief Source—History of Their Trading—Wood of Second Importance—Reeds and Grasses Third in Importance—Clay and Stone Scarce—History of Transition from Stone to Metal—Crafts Highly Regarded but No Religious Taboos—Learning to Make a Black Rope 000

THE FALL OF THE YEAR was the time when the Pawnees made most of the 221
things they used. There was a plentiful supply of food and in the protected environment of the earth lodge, they could manufacture the various items of furnishings, clothing, and equipment they needed. Moreover, with the winter hunt and migration in prospect, they had to make sure that everything was in order, as there would be little time in the short daylight hours for more than setting up camp and processing the meat and skins.

There were very few materials in the Pawnee environment that they 433
could use to make the things they needed. Their top resource for in- 237
dustry as well as for food was the buffalo. Hides, hair, horns, and bones 825
each found a number of essential uses. Hides made their all-important tent cover, their blankets, curtains, containers, moccasin soles, and other clothing. And even beyond their domestic needs, it gave them their major item of external trade, the buffalo robe.

There is clear evidence that this was a leading trade item before the 174
Spaniards moved up into the Plains in 1540. Long before the advent of the 438
European on the continent, the settled villages were centers of trade for 439
the more nomadic peoples and there were seasonal trade fairs in recog- 443
nized locations where peoples came to exchange their special products and materials.

000 and materials. European goods were first spread by itinerant traders who
439 carried their wares to the different villages and centers and finally set
443 up their own trade stores. Bishop and Matlock's was the favorite trade
[436] store for the Pawnees at this time, and the buffalo robe was the chief
medium of exchange. The trade value of a well-tanned robe of ordinary
[435] quality was ten to fifteen dollars. For one of prime quality, expertly
tanned, they might get thirty dollars worth of exchange goods. The national
market of the trader justified him in paying these prices. In 1848,
175 100,000 robes were shipped out of St. Louis, and the American Civil War
439 gave a special impetus to the buffalo leather trade for army needs. By
1874 even England was making use of the leather for its army. When
supplies were running low in a Pawnee household, the man would
point to an unworked buffalo hide and say to his wife, "Make up that
buffalo robe so that we can get something at the store." In the past the
same expedient probably served for trade with other tribes or villages.

237 The hair of the buffalo was intricately braided into a long rope known as Black Rope, which was used by the men to hold the buffalo robe in place as well as for other purposes. The horns provided the common eating and serving spoons and the bones were made into a number of important tools, notably the buffalo shoulder blade, which was the main spade or earth-digging tool as well as the hoe and the scythe. These bones also provided tools for skin working and for sizing and straightening the arrowshaft, as well as slivers for scraping and cutting. The sinews of the buffalo were used for sewing together the skins and for making bowstrings.

313 Second in importance as an industrial material was wood. In the open
prairie plains, trees grew only along the streams. The supply was heavily
drawn upon for fuel as well as for industry. Wood was used industrially
for building and for equipment and utensils. Cottonwood and willow
313 were the mainstay of the construction industries—the cottonwood because
824 it was light for its strength and bulk and the willow for its flexibility.
Elm was used for making the mortar and post oak for the pestle.
They also used the post oak to make their common eating bowls. Dogwood
was the material of the arrowshafts and ashwood for the bow as
well as the gaming hoop and the pipestem. Wood was best gotten in the
fall when the sap was running low.

824 Reeds and grasses were their third industrial resource. Grasses grew
along the streams and reeds in the limited number of ponds to be found
in the area. Since they matured about the same time as the cultivated
crops, they had to be processed as soon as the harvest was over. The
[285] most important product they made from these materials was the large
twined woven mat that they felt had to be spread on the dusty ground
[352] both in the earth lodge and in the tent while they were on the hunt. Next

Next 824
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two es- 316
sential materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and 317
stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have 439
been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or
by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their
area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made 175
up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking 439
and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees 415
were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one 177
could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grin- [323]
nell got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery
in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it
well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 323

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron." This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they [252]
> boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They 172
have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular 415
body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick
"collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad
collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was 415
the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part 252
the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim
and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots
were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must 411
also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was 17
entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the
arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops
roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to
the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-
177 shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological cir-
[172] cles as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people
was "Big Knife."

Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
17 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
412 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
324 continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrow-
shafts and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sand-
stone buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from south-
west Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
• [439] Pipestone.

Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
463 was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to re-
veal their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard
electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
796 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
463 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
322 arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the
essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots
from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when
the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was
referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the
pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic
terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
796 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
171 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

48

THE PROCESS OF MAKING LEATHER AND FURS

000

Background Information of Indian Trading—the Preparation of Hides—Rawhide and Tanning Processes—Dressing the Deer—Saddle and Bridle Making—Clothing of Women and Men—Moccasin—Special Clothing: Eagle Feathers, Braided Belts

THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE from archaeological and early historical 172
evidence that formerly Indian trade involved a variety of regionally 439
limited raw materials and items that were regarded as luxury foods and ornaments. In the archaeological Ohio Hopewell sites of a culture that flourished around the beginning of the Christian era there are raw materials from the Rockies to the Atlantic Coast and from the Gulf of Mexico and possibly even Middle America.

In 1738 the Mandans to the northeast of Pawnee territory, gave the 000
Assiniboine middlemen painted buffalo robes, clusters of feathers, headdresses, garters, and girdles in exchange for muskets, axes, kettles, powder, bullets, knives, and bodkins which they had gotten from the British at Hudson's Bay.

In 1812, the Comanches chewed pieces of checker-plaited dried pump- [439]
kin mat as they rode, which they had received from the Pawnees and [075]
paid for in buffalo robes and horses.

From the accounts of first European contacts, the dressed buffalo hide was also an important item of native trade. The presumably Caddoan-speaking Tula who in 1541 were defeated by De Soto south of Hot Springs, Arkansas, were sent by their chiefs with tribute of "many cowhides as a gift which were useful because it was a cold land and they were serviceable for coverlets as they were very soft and the wool like that of

000 sheep." It was further reported that to the north there were many "cattle."
The reports of Coronado's expedition of about the same period in the Southwest describe the details of buffalo hunting with great accuracy and show that even in the 1860's they had survived substantially as they were then. In 1599, Oñate of New Mexico hoped the Spaniards could also develop a thriving trade in buffalo wool and hides, but the Spanish empire was already too decadent.

By the 1600's the big business in furs with Europe had been developed
175 by France starting with the fateful beaver trade on the St. Lawrence. As
• 439 we see from the present account, the Pawnees were still trapping the
[224] beaver with metal traps in 1867, in order to trade them for cash. By the
end of the 1600's the Indians were no longer merely a source of raw materials for trade to Europe, but also a positive outlet for European manufactured goods. "The Indians were collecting sassafras, tanning buckskins, and building up a steady trade in buffalo wool." In 1702 seventeen Frenchmen left Tamaroa Mission near Cahokia, Illinois, east of St. Louis to ascend the Missouri about two hundred leagues to build a fort between the Pawnee and the Iowa. The French were attempting to control the inter-Indian trade to protect themselves from the encroachment upon the Indian trade by the Spaniards who were moving up from the Southwest. Their fears were not unfounded, for in 1706 the Spaniards were reported to have come to an Indian village to trade for buffalo hides with which to make harness for their mules.

[177] At a somewhat later period, fur traders were sent out from Council Bluffs (Iowa) to live with the Pawnees at their earth lodges and follow them on their hunting expeditions.

281 Before he became mature, every man and woman had learned how to prepare hides. Most of all they needed the buffalo robe. As stated by the informant:

> 291 The wind blew through the blankets, the buffalo robe kept you
> 237 warm. Almost everyone needed a new buffalo robe every winter. Toward the summer, the hair would all wear off and by the late fall, there wouldn't be any wool on to keep a person warm. In Victory Call's family, they needed at least four robes in good condition for the winter—one for Victory Call himself, one for his wife, White Woman, one for Grandma and one for the boy, Otter. For the adults it took the skin of a whole buffalo. For children, the whole skin of a calf was used with the headskin and the two little horns left intact.
>
> 291 During the daytime, the robe was wrapped around the body horizontally with the head part overlapping at the left. At night, the same robe was used as a blanket the long way, with the hair against the body, the head part covering the head and the tail part the feet. One

342 ous services that would be involved. Lady Lucky Leader herself would
464 get a good amount of flour, sugar, coffee, and some calico, and the other
465 women of the household who helped with the sewing were given gifts
of calico and special meals were prepared for entertaining them. These
439 items had to be obtained at the trade store in exchange for a tanned buffalo
[437] robe. This was prepared by White Woman, and the day before the
work was to begin Victory Call and she each mounted a horse and rode
over to the store about two miles away, taking the robe with them. The
[492] two horses would be needed to bring home the supplies, otherwise White
[562] Woman would have walked, Victory Call ridden. At the trade store they
439 got a sack of flour, some coffee, sugar, baking powder, prunes, dry apples,
435 and about five yards of calico. At this time a hundred-pound sack of
flour was worth $7.00 at the store. For the family alone without special
events or guests, such a sack of flour lasted about two weeks (two
double-handfuls for each meal). Amounts of the other items usually
bought were fifty cents worth of coffee, fifty cents worth of sugar,
twenty-five cents worth of baking powder. Five or six yards of calico
439 were $1.00 so that, excluding the cost of the prunes and dry apples, the
342 gift to Lady Lucky Leader would amount to about $9.25 worth of
464 merchandise. An exceptionally well-tanned buffalo robe would bring
465 $20-30 worth of value at the store. After providing payment for Lady
[435] Lucky Leader with the remaining value of the buffalo robe, they had to
buy supplies for the special meals—an additional sack of flour, more
sugar, coffee, baking powder, and some lard and prunes. Finally to each
of the three women of the household that helped with the sewing—
Grandma, No Corn, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy—they would give
five yards of calico to each (worth a dollar for the five yards), and some
needles and thread. The buffalo robe would just about cover the labor
costs for sewing together the tent.

463 About a week before the work was to begin, White Woman would
342 have gone to see Lady Lucky Leader and have said to her, "Atira (my
mother), I've come to ask you to make a new tent for me." "Well," she
answered, "I have something to do right now, but I could do it a little
later. Are you in a hurry?" "No, a week's time will be all right." "Well,
then, have two good sharp knives ready," said the old lady.

At the appointed day, she arrived at Victory Call's lodge after breakfast.
The skins and tools were taken outdoors, and while White Woman
cleared up the breakfast dishes, the other three women went out with her
and Lady Lucky Leader cut out the skins. She placed them in the most
economical manner and then she assigned each of the women a particular
seam to sew. Each woman had prepared herself with her own awl and a
quantity of prepared sinew. Presently White Woman joined them and
[764] was also assigned a seam to sew. Before noon she had to retire to prepare
[762] the meal. They were served grease bread, coffee, and prunes. For sup-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Wichita NO10

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P
648
167
177
175
.439
W
175
439
165
177
648
167
P
648
177
431
574

3 The Pawnees and other Caddoan peoples were an integral part of European trading plans. The Wichita played the part of middlemen in the trade between the Spaniards in the Southwest and the French to the east along the Mississippi. By 1777 the Wichita were so heavily depleted in numbers by disease and war that the Spanish authorities induced a considerable contingent of Skidi Pawnees to come and live permanently in the territory and join the Wichitas so that they could defend themselves against the tribes to the east who were aligned with the British. The fact that they have "kin" among the Wichita is remembered among the Pawnees today, and gift-giving relations are maintained among them along with formal intergroup visiting. See Weltfish, 1959, pp. 332-333; Hodge, 1912, p. 706.

W
P
361

3 Both the Pawnees and the Wichitas changed the locations of their villages at intervals of from twelve to fifteen years; this was considered a necessary sanitary measure. The direction of these movements was determined by a variety of social and political causes, but military and trade reasons were the most common ones. My informants gave me a list of the successive Pawnee villages in recent times and the contemporary locations of the Wichita villages. I have added, in parenthesis, Wichita locations cited in Wedel, 1959, pp. 67-68, for approximately these time periods:

P
W
361
103

Wichita	*Pawnee*
Rio Grande in Texas (Wedel, north fork of Red River, Kiowa County, Oklahoma)	Old Village or Kitkehax-Pakuxtu before 1842
Chickasaw on the Washita River east of Anadarko (Wedel, the Washita drainage, Leeper Creek)	Willows-along-a-Stream or Kitapatuat, near Fullerton, Nebraska 1842–1846
	Hill-in-Water-Sitting or Pahaku, near Fremont, Nebraska 1851
Wichita, Kansas (also Wedel, 1863)	Reservation Village near Genoa, Nebraska October 1859
Anadarko, Oklahoma (also Wedel, 1867)	

231
726
177

140 horses over the prairie, "trampling over skins, dried meat and some of the smaller tents." At the same time Murray's host had only five or six horses of the poorest kind for he had been robbed of his many good horses by the Sioux. He reports that another chief had "at least thirty, among which some were wild, some Spanish and three of American breed." Pike found the Pawnee horses far superior to those of the Osages. In 1829 an American

000

141 horseman among the Osages on the Verdigris River in Oklahoma reported a most beautiful iron gray stallion captured from the Pawnees (*American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, Baltimore, 1833, 501-503). In 1778-1779, Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, was avid to acquire Spanish horses from the west. He wrote to Colonel George Rogers Clark, who had been sent by Virginia to the Northwest Territory, that without valuing "the cost of the horses or the expense of sending them in," Patrick Henry wanted "two Horses" and "Eight Mares" of "the true Spanish Blood." He wrote that Clark was not to "lose a moment in agreeing for them, for vast numbers of people are about to go out after them from here and will soon pick them all up and raise the price very high." He asked that he be quick and suggests that the horses might be obtained from either Indian tribes or Spanish settlements. After months Clark replied, "you have conceived a greater opinion of the Horses in this country than I have." True he had an excellent stallion from New Mexico a thousand miles to the west and south, but could not at the time send him across the drowned lands of the Wabash. The Pawnees six hundred miles away had superior horses. Maybe later he could get some of them. Of Illiniois mares he writes that he had seen some good ones, but hard usage from their barbarous horse masters had ruined them (Clark, 1912, pp. 75-78, 88-89, 303-304).

648
231
439
175

In 1724, De Bourgmond, an established Illinois trader, was commissioned by the French government to induce the Skidi Pawnees, Otos, and Padoucas (Comanche or Apache?) to set up working relations so that the French could use them as intermediaries for obtaining Spanish horses. He called a meeting at Doniphan Kansas on the Missouri and such a peace was concluded:

> One of the chiefs spoke, stating that the women and little girls of his tribe were broken down from carrying heavy loads on their backs when the tribe went on its semi-annual hunts, and that he was willing to make peace with the Padoucas, solely to obtain horses in trade so that his women would not have to walk and carry heavy burdens. The other chiefs seemed to have approved of this view of the matter; one by one they gave their assent. The peace pipe was filled and passed around the circle and peace with the Padoucas was concluded. (Hyde, 1951, note 35, p. 48, p. 44.)

141 By 1746 the Pawnee had become emissaries for establishing 648 friendly relations of the French with the Comanche: "About 231 1746 friendly relations of the French with the Comanche were 439 greatly facilitated through the peace which the latter tribe made with the Jumano of the Arkansas country and the Pawnee of 175 the Platte. Now French traders, hunters and deserters, guided by Jumano and Pawnee, began to make their way to the Comanche in considerable numbers, some of them even going to Santa Fe." (Bolton, 1914, Vol. I, p. 58.) And finally, from Murray, 1839, of his visit to the Tsawi in 1834, states that the horse-poor chief he was with was waiting anxiously for the return of his son from a trading expedition among the Ute to the west for horses. "I learned distinctly from the Pawnees that many of their horses had come from the Haitans (Ute); and as certainly that a great proportion of the guns and other articles annually distributed among the Pawnees find their way to this rambling tribe in payment for their horses." (Murray, 1939, p. 365.)

Many Pawnee horses were also acquired on the warpath. 231 Tixier (McDermott, 1940, p. 225) states that "The Maha (Skidi 721 Pawnees) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five or six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe." The name *raripakusu*, warrior, was sometimes translated for me as explorer. Tixier contrasts the Osage practice of war raiding with the 721 Pawnees in the following terms: "The Osage do not make war 171 like the Pawnee; their aims are more noble; they want scalps. Horse stealing is far less important in their eyes. The Osage sometimes go out on a war expedition on foot; but usually their troops are on horseback and always rather numerous—seldom less than twenty-five men strong."

> The Pancé-Maha who live on the banks of the Nebraska or 721 Platte River, are today the greatest enemies of the Osage. 231 They do esteem the stealing of horses more highly than bringing back scalps. The purpose of their expeditions is to bring back the horses of the other nations. They risk their lives by going through the huge desert which separates them from the villages, and hunting where other nations spend part of the year. The war parties of the Pawnees are not numerous; six, eight, fifteen men at most, armed with knives, arrows, axes, seldom with guns, set out without any provision. They expect Oua-Kondah to provide them daily with a buffalo, and they prepare ambushes for bison and shoot them with their bows and arrows. . . . Hardship, hunger, heat, do not discourage them. Some young men die without seeing the enemy during their first expedition." (Tixier, pp. 221-224.)

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Dhegiha NQ12

P 224 141 The surround on foot was called *tut-kawi-pitahaku*," it-to-them-inside-moving-round-and-round." In summer the buffalo tended to be scattered in smaller bunches. In winter the buffalo traveled in closer formation. They also would try to drive them over the ice during the winter: *situks-ukita-hai-iwarit*, "they-used-to-upon-water-or-ice-aim-or-direct." In winter, in the deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow and could readily be killed. The north wind was called Lucky Wind because it chased the buffalo to them. When the second party was going to Oklahoma (1876), old man Frost, *Huriru'us*, held a doctor dance. Then Lucky Wind began to blow and a lot of buffalo came close to the camp. At one time, east of the Missouri River, a bit east of Omaha, Nebraska, there were villages of Pumpkin-Vine people and further eastward the village of Bones-Sticking-Up, *Kis-kararwa*, of the Tsawi Band. Buffalo came into these villages.

P [821] [796] [361]

P 482 Even in Oklahoma in the 1920's women continued to pack heavy loads on their backs. In 1928 I met an old Pawnee grandmother of delicate build trudging along the road out of the town of Pawnee one Saturday afternoon with a huge load of groceries—a sack of flour, a lard pail full, and other sundries—done up in a blanket, the ends tied across her forehead and the weight of the bundle resting on her protruded buttocks and backbone. She refused an offer of a lift in a Ford Car, preferring to continue with her moccasined walk for the two miles to the house.

P 172 325 145, 363 In Lower Loup archaeological villages sheet metal was found for the first time (about 1600), possibly for arrow points (Dunlevy, 1936, p. 201).

P 162 138 Dunbar, 1918, p. 632, gives an estimate of the number of males and females among the Skidi (1840): total 1906; males over 10 years, 469; females over 10 years, 598; children, males under 10 years, 367, females under 10 years, 472.

P •439 145, 363-364 Although pottery was still in use in Old Village (Allis, 1887, p. 140) the Pawnees had for some time been carrying on a trade in brass buckets with other tribes. Mooney, 1898, pp. 257-259, describes a gruesome incident when the Osage attacked the unprotected Kiowa camp, cutting off the heads of their dead victims and placing them one each in a brass kettle, "which had been obtained by the Kiowa from the Pawnee, who procured them on the Missouri and traded them to the southern tribes." This was the year 1833 "Summer They Cut Off Their Heads." During the attack "A party of women was saved by a brave Pawnee living in the camp, who succeeded in fighting off the pursuers long enough to enable the women to reach a place of safety" (p. 258).

D [726] [727]

P [726]

145, 363-364 Trade was carried on by the Pawnees with the Kiowas through the Calumet or Pipe Dance. (See Fletcher, 1904, pp. 280-281, where the purpose of the ritual is described.) 439

149 In an informal conversation with Prof. John L. Champe, he pointed out that in the neighborhood where the Stay-at-Homes set up their impromptu village near Columbus where the Loup River empties into the Platte was the area of some old archaeological sites: Bellwood, occupied by the Tsawi Band about 1800, overlapping and overlaying an older protohistoric site of the Burkett type (Lower Loup) (see Wedel, 1936, p. 40). The Pawnees claimed that this was an old Pawnee home. They claimed that about five miles west of Columbus was *Kitkebarawits-a-ku*, "Earth-Lodge-Village-Adjacent-to-a-Spring-Sitting." 172 361

159 Hyde, 1951, pp. 96-97, feels that the tobacco of the northern Indians might have been an attractive trade item for the southern tribes. He feels that trade with the Arikara in this item may go back to 1680 and cites Tabeau for such trade c. 1802, southern Indians coming north to trade horses for tobacco with the Arikara. 276 439 171

159 Gilmore, 1919, pp. 113-114, states that Pawnee tobacco was *Nicotiana quadrivalus* Pursh. and was cultivated by all the tribes of Nebraska. "Since the advent of the Europeans, tobacco is one of the crops whose culture has been abandoned by these tribes, and they have all lost the seed of it, so that the oldest living Omaha have never seen it growing; but they sometimes receive presents of the prepared tobacco from other tribes to the north who are still growing it." Gilmore obtained seeds from an old Hidatsa man in 1908 which he succeeded in growing. Gilmore, 1919, plate 27, pictures an old Arikara man gathering his tobacco. 249 171

> A Pawnee informant said that his people in old time prepared the ground for planting this tobacco by gathering a quantity of dried grass, which was burned where the patch was to be sown. This kept the ground clear of weeds so that nothing grew except the tobacco which was planted. The crop was allowed to grow thick, and then the whole plant—leaves, unripe fruit capsules, and the tender small parts of the stems—was dried for smoking. The unripe seed capsules, dried separately were specially prized for smoking on account of the flavor, pronounced by the Indians to be like the flavor now found in the imported Turkish tobacco." (Gilmore, 1919, p. 114.) 249

359-360 The need for a good knowledge of the stars and constellations on the Plains as well as at sea and the possibility of getting lost is indicated by a modern incident reported in the *Sunday World* 000

47

EQUIPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL MANUFACTURES

The Fall of the Year a Time for Manufacture—Buffalo a Chief Source—History of Their Trading—Wood of Second Importance—Reeds and Grasses Third in Importance—Clay and Stone Scarce—History of Transition from Stone to Metal—Crafts Highly Regarded but No Religious Taboos—Learning to Make a Black Rope 000

THE FALL OF THE YEAR was the time when the Pawnees made most of the 221
things they used. There was a plentiful supply of food and in the protected environment of the earth lodge, they could manufacture the various items of furnishings, clothing, and equipment they needed. Moreover, with the winter hunt and migration in prospect, they had to make sure that everything was in order, as there would be little time in the short daylight hours for more than setting up camp and processing the meat and skins.

There were very few materials in the Pawnee environment that they 433
could use to make the things they needed. Their top resource for in- 237
dustry as well as for food was the buffalo. Hides, hair, horns, and bones 825
each found a number of essential uses. Hides made their all-important tent cover, their blankets, curtains, containers, moccasin soles, and other clothing. And even beyond their domestic needs, it gave them their major item of external trade, the buffalo robe.

There is clear evidence that this was a leading trade item before the 174
Spaniards moved up into the Plains in 1540. Long before the advent of the 438
European on the continent, the settled villages were centers of trade for 439
the more nomadic peoples and there were seasonal trade fairs in recog- 443
nized locations where peoples came to exchange their special products and materials.

000 and materials. European goods were first spread by itinerant traders who
439 carried their wares to the different villages and centers and finally set
•443 up their own trade stores. Bishop and Matlock's was the favorite trade
[436] store for the Pawnees at this time, and the buffalo robe was the chief
medium of exchange. The trade value of a well-tanned robe of ordinary
[435] quality was ten to fifteen dollars. For one of prime quality, expertly
tanned, they might get thirty dollars worth of exchange goods. The national
market of the trader justified him in paying these prices. In 1848,
175 100,000 robes were shipped out of St. Louis, and the American Civil War
439 gave a special impetus to the buffalo leather trade for army needs. By
1874 even England was making use of the leather for its army. When
supplies were running low in a Pawnee household, the man would
point to an unworked buffalo hide and say to his wife, "Make up that
buffalo robe so that we can get something at the store." In the past the
same expedient probably served for trade with other tribes or villages.

237 The hair of the buffalo was intricately braided into a long rope known as Black Rope, which was used by the men to hold the buffalo robe in place as well as for other purposes. The horns provided the common eating and serving spoons and the bones were made into a number of important tools, notably the buffalo shoulder blade, which was the main spade or earth-digging tool as well as the hoe and the scythe. These bones also provided tools for skin working and for sizing and straightening the arrowshaft, as well as slivers for scraping and cutting. The sinews of the buffalo were used for sewing together the skins and for making bowstrings.

313 Second in importance as an industrial material was wood. In the open
prairie plains, trees grew only along the streams. The supply was heavily
drawn upon for fuel as well as for industry. Wood was used industrially
for building and for equipment and utensils. Cottonwood and willow
313 were the mainstay of the construction industries—the cottonwood be-
824 cause it was light for its strength and bulk and the willow for its flexibility.
Elm was used for making the mortar and post oak for the pestle.
They also used the post oak to make their common eating bowls. Dogwood
was the material of the arrowshafts and ashwood for the bow as
well as the gaming hoop and the pipestem. Wood was best gotten in the
fall when the sap was running low.

824 Reeds and grasses were their third industrial resource. Grasses grew
along the streams and reeds in the limited number of ponds to be found
in the area. Since they matured about the same time as the cultivated
crops, they had to be processed as soon as the harvest was over. The
[285] most important product they made from these materials was the large
twined woven mat that they felt had to be spread on the dusty ground
[352] both in the earth lodge and in the tent while they were on the hunt. Next

356 Cry's younger brother, would immediately set to work and do it. The
476 young men climbed to the top and fastened the two hoops in place.

283 Meanwhile White Woman had been cooking a meal for all of them
in the house of Chief's Road where they were staying. She entertained
356 the family of the house and everyone who had helped on the North Side.
574 The meal consisted of grease bread and soup made of dried intestine.
476 Some of the women had brought their own bowls out of consideration
[262] for the number she needed to feed. Old Bull's senior wife, Queen
Woman, was cooking and serving a similar meal in the house of Bringing
Trophies, to entertain all who had helped on the South Side. No one lingered
over the meal, as they were anxious to get back to work.

The women took their bowls home and came back. They rested while
356 the young men tied on the new circuits of willow withe to the radials
476 with the moistened elm strips. They began at the bottom circuit and proceeded
462 to the next circuit upward. When they reached the higher circuits,
the "boys," Advance Scout and the others, began to fasten the
thatch grass to the bottom circuit. As they got further up, the young
men now took up this work, while the older "boys" began to pile the
earth on the lower circuits, the women filling up their pans with earth
and handing them up to the men on the roof. In households of less social
status, the women would have had to do a good deal of the work on the
roof themselves; in this case they were spared any need to climb up
356 further. When the work was completed, there was usually a dinner meal
574 for a large number of people, including some who had merely come
to watch the proceedings. Each of the hostesses usually had a party of
about fifty to feed. Everyone was tired and they waited until the following
morning to sweep out the house and move back in. Now the time for
221 planting was drawing near and they began to think of the immediate
241 preparations that remained.

In the whole course of this large construction job there was no foreman
356 to oversee the work; not a single order was issued nor a command
46 given; the work was performed with precision, and no inspection was
needed to check its quality or workmanship.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

southward to Indian Territory. They had a long-standing invitation 175* from their kinsmen the Wichita, which they now took advantage 648* of. Thirty lodges of families, numbering about 300 individuals went; most of these were members of the Kitkahaxki^x band. 167 They were received heartily by the Wichita, and settled themselves among the Wichita on the Wichita reservation. Through the leader of this party an invitation was extended to the rest of the Pawnee still in Nebraska to remove to Indian Territory and settle with the Wichita. Reports sent back were glowing with the promise of the land in the south, and the Pawnee in Nebraska, accustomed to struggling against drought and the grasshopper pestilence to secure a crop, believed that the country in the south offered not only a haven from extermination at the hands of the Sioux, but a life of plenty.

This migration of part of the Pawnee was not only conceived by the people themselves, but was undertaken and carried out in spite of the remonstrances and objections of their agent and other officials. Once they were settled with the Wichita, however, there was nothing for the government officials to do but to accept the situation. Since they could not compel them to return to Nebraska, they were "allowed to remain". They drew rations at the Wichita agency along with the tribes located there, and joined the Wichita in farming.

In Nebraska the government gave the Pawnee partial indemnification 175* for the losses sustained in the massacre by expending 648* $ 9,000 for cattle and supplies, with which aid the bands in the north were made comfortable during the winter of 1873. The desire 241 to move to Indian Territory was not as yet general that winter: the promise of the south had not yet reached them. The tribe in council, assuming that they were to continue to struggle in Nebraska, asked that $ 10,000 of their annuity be spent the next year for agricultural implements and labor. In the spring of 1874, the agency officials made a herculean effort on their behalf. The government farmers broke 350 acres for the Pawnee to farm, while the Pawnee cultivated 1,000 acres on their own behalf; in addition the agency farm of 315 acres was planted, and the school farm of 25 acres, a total of 1,690 acres in cultivation. The Pawnee were [461] ● said that year to show a greater willingness to labor than ever before. Unfortunately, the prospects of a fine crop were destroyed by [731] drought, Colorado beetles and grasshoppers, and the harvest yielded only 1,400 bushels of wheat, less than half a crop, and a few beets and potatoes. By fall the destitution of the people was great, and [735] the officials reported to the government that aid must be given them.

at the time of the Ghost Dance faith. As time went by Indians 648
and white farmers resorted to various subterfuges to get around 557
the ruling that certain lands they held could not be leased. The 427
Indian would claim that he was employing a white man and 175
intended to pay him, but when harvest time came, instead of the
Indian paying the white farmer money, the white farmer gave the
Indian a part of the crop.

The immediate results of the lease system were two-fold: on
the one hand, for the first time in their lives the Pawnee had plenty
of money; on the other hand, they had to make no effort at all to
support themselves. In 1897 the Pawnee leases brought an income [434]
of $ 12,114.95. In 1900 the income of the tribe from their annuity
($ 30,000), interest on their two trust funds (from the sale of the
Nebraska reservation; and from the sale of the surplus Oklahoma [161]
lands); and leases, was over $ 75,000. In that year the population
had dwindled to 650, so that the per capita income was about [511]
$ 116 or the income of the average family of five close to $ 600
annually, a substantial and adequate income in 1900 on the Oklahoma frontier.

Year by year the Pawnee labored less and less on their own lands; 175
in 1904 their self-maintenance was 42 per cent from their annuity 461 ●
and interests, 43 per cent from leases, and 15 per cent from "labor
in civilized pursuits." By 1899 the agents had fully realized the 657
extent of the blunder which had been made; they were aware that
the Pawnee could not be made to labor when he had all he needed
without it, and pointed out in their reports that white men would
have acted in the same way.

Along with the disappearance of all demands upon them to be
self-reliant and self-maintaining, the Pawnee were stripped of their
last outlets for self management. Leases were made not by the [427]
Indian but by the agent; lease money was paid not to the Indian
but to the agent. All that the Indian had to do was to draw his
income. At the same time with the change of status to citizens,
the function of the Court of Indian Offenses vanished, and the [698
court was abolished April 21, 1894; the Indian police were disband- 625]
ed in October of the same year.

Temporarily with their increased income, the living conditions 175
of the Pawnee improved; they ate better, they dressed better, and 511
they lived better. But the idleness which had come to them 161
was in keeping with their desire during these years to congregate
in encampments for Ghost Dances and other performances, so that
they leased their houses with their lands and made shift to live
here or there as the occasion demanded. During these years there

175 was a constant fall of the population. From 797 at the time of the
511 allotments in severalty the Pawnee were reduced to 633 in 1904.
161 The decrease was steady. The diseases which had persisted in the
tribe continued to take their toll during these years. Doctors
ascribed failure to control them to their inheritability, to the
conditions of continual exposure incident to camp life and contin-
[756] ual dancing, and to the pernicious influence and control of the
Pawnee medicine men who as a result of the Ghost Dance revival
had regained their status with the people.

175 The Pawnee not only did not have to work to live, but were in
● 46 a position to pay white men to do their necessary work for them.
They paid high prices, and their money went as fast as it came.
178 Their funds were augmented from time to time by the sale of
inherited allotment lands.

The conditions of idleness only served to reinforce the revival
of the old cultural forms. The Pawnee disliked isolation most of
all, and gladly leased their scattered allotments, coming together
for a continual round of Ghost Dances, performances, games, and
hand game ceremonies. Stripped of their last vestige of responsibil-
ity, with no activities that were meaningful or satisfying save
these old and new forms of Indian life, they turned to these with
a kind of desperation. The experiences of these years, even while
[762] the Ghost Dance brought some hope into their lives, caused a
number of young men to commit suicide. Eight suicides were
recorded in the period from 1892 to 1898. They were reported as
occasioned by slight causes, and were traced to the "pernicious
influence of the Ghost Dance."

The indolence of the Pawnee became such that in the early years of the century the officials and missionaries began to plead for a change of program. They held that the only solution possible was to throw the Indians on their own resources entirely. Some agents developed the suggestion that at least those Pawnee men who could manage their own affairs should be allowed to lease their own lands and receive the payments themselves. This movement to take away entirely the guidance and control of the agency resulted later (after 1916) in issuing many titles in fee simple to Indians, often without their consent.

Under these conditions, at the turn of the century, the cultural revival of the Pawnee was doomed. It could not take roots in any soil: it was based on no firm way of life. It gradually passed, leaving the Indians still with an empty life, living off the funds which came from the government, and the payments of white far-

mers who leased their land. But those forms of life which had 175
arisen in answer to their need for social gatherings remained. The 178
modern iruska, with its large scale intertribal visiting parties, the 461
peyote ritual, and the hand games. Later still the modern pow-wow was to arise to draw the Indians of the entire state into a continual round of visiting. To the continuing hand game ceremonies, the major intellectual product of the Ghost Dance years, we can now turn to see in what way they were formed, and what needs they filled.

V. THE INDIVIDUAL

According to Pawnee standards, a successful life depended not 181
only on the inheritance of an elevated social position, but also on 554
individual initiative. From the beginning, a man looked upon his 461
life's career as a contest whose outcome depended upon his own efforts. Success was a matter of industry, of honesty in dealing with other members of his society, of zeal in the hunt and upon the warpath, and of maintaining satisfactory relations with the deities. He had to work and fight constantly in this life for whatever he obtained.

Likewise, a woman must keep her lodge clean, and be honest, industrious in the fields, successful in the rearing of a family, and careful to observe the restrictions imposed on her conduct. In return for this, her days would be comfortable, the birth of her children would be without pain, and a definite place would await her in the life after death.

PERIODS OF LIFE

The Skidi recognized five distinct periods or epochs in the life 888
history of an individual of either sex. For the male these periods 884
were as follows: (1) *Pirau.* This means "child," or more properly, 858
"baby," carried no distinction of sex, and was applicable only to a child during the nursing period. (2) *Piruski,* "boy." This term covered the period from the termination of childhood to the age of puberty. The word *pisiks,* "covered up" (closed-foreskin), was also used as a nickname for a boy of this period, referring to the fact that he had not yet had connection with women. (3) *Pitisutki.* This term was applied to a boy after he had reached the age of puberty but had not yet married, and means "grown or straight up." (4) *Pita.* This referred to the period after marriage until old age, and is the general term for "man." (5) *Kurahus,* meaning "old man," was applicable to that period of a man's life when he no longer took active part in the hunt or went out with the warriors.

The corresponding names for the female were: (1) *Pirau.* (2) *Tcoraki,* "girl." (3) *Tcoras.* This corresponded to the third period of the man; that is, the period after reaching puberty and extending up to marriage. (4) *Tcapat,* "woman" (blood-from-delivery), especially referred to the fact that she had given birth. (5) *Tcostit* applied to all women after the menopause.

285 rior quality they might produce an article which would have commercial value. Among
461 all our Indian nations the industry of the woman is proverbial, and if it could be encouraged in the direction of domestic manufactures, the products of which were purchased by government factors at such prices as would reimburse the money an incalculable benefit would be conferred upon them.
000 The women would then support the whole of them. And after a time the men would unite with them in the labor. I talked with Mr. Allis about the Agency system as at present organized, and its results.

Indian Agency System

648 Mr. Allis agreed with me that the Agency
657 System was a failure. His observation confirmed mine that many of them are dishonest, some incompetent, and but a few really useful. He is not at all satisfied with Mr. De Pau [?][13] the present agent of the Pawnees. He says he has sold the crops raised on the Indian farm, which ought to have been distributed among the Pawnees; that he has hired out the threshing machine, purchased

[p 136 (C)]

[13] [see cat. 116, p 220(B) - ANALYST]

8

.000 REPAIRING THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE

Repairing the Roof a Spring Task—Cooperative Nature of Work—Detailed Description of Repairing Roof—Project Is Completed with Wide Cooperation from Villagers

356 [342] ALL WINTER LONG the house had stood unoccupied, the roof covered with snow while the people were away on the hunt. By spring, when the snow began to melt, the water seeping through the hard-packed earth and the thick layer of thatch might reach some of the radial timbers and rot them. Each household had to come to a decision as to whether to rebuild the whole house or just to mend the roof. This depended on the age of the house and the extent of the damage. They would count only on fifteen years as the maximum life of the house, and, when they anticipated a need for rebuilding they had to plan at least two years in advance to locate, process, and season the timbers, grass, and other materials. (See Figure 8-1 for an architect's plan of the earth lodge.) A man who was in- [476] fluential in the community could count on extra help from his fellow vil- [554] lagers who would gladly volunteer, while a less important person had to depend on whatever labor force was available in the house itself.

356 •461 476 It took eighty-six to ninety man-woman days of labor to repair the roof of an earth lodge. It was a construction job that was accomplished with no overseer and no commands. A great deal of individual labor was consumed in preparing the materials, and this was done mainly by members of the household over a period of time. The actual construction work took only three days and was accomplished with a large number of volunteers. By way of compensation, the women of the household had to feed from thirty to fifty people for at least three meals.

356 One day in the fall of the year, Victory Call had been observing the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 90]

411 439 177 by the blacksmith. They would sharpen them to their taste with a metal file that they also obtained in trade.

411 463 The arrowshaft makers had a monumental task to keep everyone supplied. They considered it a social service and made sure everyone had them whether they were compensated or not. The Pawnee community was always more or less in a state of siege, and the arrowshaft makers felt that their work was essential to their common survival. As Mark Evarts expressed it, "Sometimes the arrowmaker made up his mind himself to make some arrows for someone. They want to supply the whole camp with arrows out of public spirit so that if the enemy comes on the warpath, everyone will have arrows. Even if they don't get any special compensation, they will do it to protect their children and others."

Practically the entire supply of arrows that they needed for the summer had to be made while they were still in the village as there was no time for such work while they were on the march or attacking the herd. A craftsman could produce about ten a day and he usually made them in lots of twenty, working them all in successive stages for the whole lot. With the limited leisure they had on the march they could barely finish one in a day, and this would only be done in case of emergency. They did take some dogwood sticks along for such a contingency. A hunter would consider twenty to forty arrows a reasonable number to keep [162] in his arsenal. In 1840 the Skidi population was estimated to have 469 males over the age of ten years. If 200 of these were adult hunters, this would mean that each of the five craftsmen would have 40 of them to take care of, and supplying each with 20 arrows would mean that he [461] had to produce 800 arrows to keep his group supplied once around. This was eighty full days of work.

When a man decided he needed to replenish his stock, he took the dogwood sticks that he had seasoning in the rafters of his house and went to the arrowmaker and asked him to make him twenty. It would be tacitly [437] understood that if in time he got a buffalo, he would make him a gift of a buffalo robe, or perhaps a blanket, some dried buffalo meat, leggings, or a pair of good moccasins.

Sometimes, without having a special order on hand, the craftsman would ask a young man to get him forty to sixty dogwood sticks and would compensate him when he had finished, with a gift of ten completed shafts. He wanted to make sure that everyone was supplied whether they made a special request or not. They had to get their own [237] feathers—turkey for the most part, but if they could not get one, a buzzard or a goose was a substitute.

In the latter part of May just before the chief's council, they were likely to accelerate their efforts. One of them would be sitting at the gaming grounds watching the hoop and spear game, and then another would be likely to sit down and join him. They would begin to talk

555 universe. The Pawnees had great contempt for extreme poverty and
231 raggedness, but no great desire or awe for wealth in large quantities.
[735] Historically the likelihood is that the cooperative social patterns of the
[556] Pawnees go back to a time when practically every person had an important
[174] function in the material economy, while a person of outstanding
value was one who had special insights and knowledge.

342 But for all the value the Pawnees placed on knowledge and the things
281 of the spirit, a tent was an absolute necessity as they traveled over the
country. The making of the tent skin was one of their most complex technical achievements. It was a major enterprise to get one made, which had to be anticipated at least two years in advance. Eight skins had to be accumulated over four successive hunting periods—a sunmer hunt, a winter hunt, and on the following year again, a summer and a winter hunt. Sinew of eight buffalo for sewing the skins together also had to be saved. As signs of wear would appear in their tent skin, a woman would remind her husband of their need. Then he would set aside two good skins in each of the four seasons. The average life of a tent skin was no more than ten or twelve years.

463 Seven buffalo hides were used to make the body of the tent; an eighth
281 was cut up for gussets, loops for the pegs at the bottom, and a double
thickness at the door. In order to fit the skins together in the smoothest and most economical way and to arrange the pattern of the applied parts, a woman specialist in this field had to be called in to supervise the work. There were only a limited number of women with such knowledge in the tribe. In addition, it would take four or five women working pretty
[461] steadily for three or four days to do the actual sewing of the skins. The
workers all had to be compensated with gifts of dried buffalo meat, skin
[437] clothing, and trade store goods that had to be purchased with buffalo
products. In the course of the hunt, the hunter had to anticipate these needs as well as the need for the skins and the sinews. Payment for the work of planning and sewing amounted to at least the sale value of a good buffalo robe.

342 The same tent skin was used for both the winter and the summer hunts, but the framework was different. In winter they used the standard pointed skin tipi, supported by a frame of thirteen tall and heavy rigid poles that were leaned against one another at the top to form the conical frame. With its fire burning in the middle, this tent provided an excellent protection against the winter cold, but it was too warm for summer. For the summer frame they used a series of flexible saplings to make an open-faced shelter. The making of the heavy tipi poles was a long and difficult process and had to be planned well in advance, whereas the saplings for the summer framework could be gathered near the time of leaving for the summer hunt. Elm or willow saplings were available near the creek in the late spring or early summer and at this time the bark

243 corn. They worked fast and had no time for refinements like picking
252 out the ears suitable for braiding as Grandma had done. They kept at it
476 all day, and if anyone was hungry he ate some roasted corn. Sometimes
one of the women stopped and made bread and coffee while the others
kept right on working. They allowed the problem of cleaning dishes
and other household chores to rest for the time being.

In the *evening* Uncle War Cry came along and observed, "What are you folks doing? Oh, roasting corn!" Then he sat down and lent a hand, husking away until he found an especially good ear that he would eat up on the way. Soon his younger brother, Brave Shield (also known as High Noon) joined the party. Victory Call said to Grandma, "Old Lady, go to sleep, You must be tired. You don't have to help us. We have two boys to help." Grandma went to bed and the men sat up husking together and telling stories until quite late. Moonlight nights were particularly likely to invite such husking parties.

For the next three weeks their pattern of work continued in the same way. The four would go out into the fields for the morning, come home at noon and the women set to work with the processing, the men going out again returning in the afternoon, and helping in the evening with the processing. Grandma came in, in the late afternoon or evening, and set down her processed material in a pile next to the rest.

The crops were gathered in the order of their readiness, first from
White Woman's fields, then from No Corn's, and the various processing
was carried on while other gathering was taking place. The *first green
corn* was gathered for two days from White Woman's and then another
244 two days from No Corn's fields. For the *first bean crop*, a day each was
476 spent in each of the fields. Now a *final load of green corn* was gathered
with the team splitting up two and two to each field on the same day.
[243] For the *second bean crop* all four worked one day in White Woman's
field and then another day in No Corn's field. This was tedious work, as
[461] one had to bend down and search for the beans all along the vines. Now
all four spent a day each gathering the *pumpkins*, bringing them back to
[252] camp. Then the pumpkins were roasted and cut into circular rings the
next day. After the pumpkins, for which about three days had been
243 spent, the team of four spent two days getting in and husking the
476 *mature corn* that had been left to dry on the stalks from each of the two
fields, and prying the kernels from the cobs with a pointed stick. The
next step was to gather in the small *nubbin ears* to be fed to the horses
so that they would get fat; Horse Rider gathered some and chopped them
up and fed them to a horse that was thin and then let them loose in the
field to find and eat them. Poor families sent their boys into other
people's fields to glean these small ears to supplement their meager
[251] supplies. Finally the *sticky sweet corn* that was left longest on the stalk
to dry was gathered, one day by Victory Call and White Woman in her

512 243 was left in the several piles, loading it onto the horses and bringing it back into camp. The women continued to roast and the men began to do the husking.

251 252 That evening Sun Chief and Leading Fox, older sons of Victory Call by a previous marriage, came in to help with the husking.

476 *Fourth day*. Men continued to husk the corn, while the women now cut the kernels from the cobs with a clamshell. They all helped to spread out the kernels to dry. All the green corn from both sets of fields that was ripe enough, had now been gathered, roasted, and set out to dry. It was usual to finish this task in the first four or five days.

512 244 476 [461] [526] [515] *Fifth day*. This was the time for the first bean harvest in White Woman's field. This was hard work as most of the vines didn't climb on anything but grew close to the ground. Sometimes they grew in separate patches and sometimes in a patch with the corn. The women gathered the pods in their skirts; the men threw them in whenever they got a handful. All four worked in the field until late afternoon. On the way home, they stopped and took a swim in Beaver Creek. Again as in the time of planting, they slapped the water with their feet, making as loud a noise as possible. As the women slapped the surface of the water with their soles, it resounded all along the creek like the report of a gun. "They are slapping the water with their feet" (*tutastaxkitspiru*). The girls used their hands for this (*tutikstaxkitspiru*), and Otter had a hard time learning the trick from them. Possibly it was a kind of sympathetic magic for the tapping of the dry beans and corn on the threshing floor. They went home about 4:30 in the afternoon, having gathered about four parfleches of the beans in the pod in a good year. At home one of War Cry's wives or daughters had been serving as Room Watcher for their tent. It was five o'clock by the time the pods were all spread out to dry. Everyone was tired and took a rest. Inside the tent, Horse Rider and No Corn were wrestling playfully together and saying, "Now we have some roasted corn" (*rawaritu*).

244 512 In the evening the beans were covered up where they lay and the corn kernels were winnowed and taken inside for the night in flour sacks. Now grandma came in carrying her sack of corn or beans that she spread out. White Woman offered to come out and help her in her field but she refused saying, "Oh, no. If you help me I'll get through too soon and I won't have anything else to do. So I'd just like to do it myself."

White Woman made the fire and cooked some grease bread and No Corn prepared the coffee and dried apples for their supper. Uncle War Cry came to join them and began to tease Grandma about how tired she was; Grandma asked to have her dinner brought to her. War Cry then began to talk about the trade store and Victory Call remembered he owed them a buffalo robe, but War Cry observed that he was sure they would wait until the harvest work was done. He promised to mention

some dried meat that wouldn't fit into the rawhide containers, some 251
dried intestines folded up, and perhaps some clothing they wanted to
store.

The work of arranging the pit took a group of women in a household 251
from about ten in the morning until about three in the afternoon, with a 592
brief recess for lunch. There was no time in the household when the [461]
women were not fully aware of their capital in provisions and goods and
the rate at which they were using them. Practically every meal was a [264]
large-scale operation and portions were carefully calculated. The men [571]
had to be aware of this too as it was their major resource for public and
social relations. Except for horses, or perhaps even more important, the
main current capital they had was the preserved food. In the forthcoming round of ceremonies, the doctors calculated with great care their
donations of meat and how they were going to apportion them.

It was in the light of a knowledge of the amounts they had produced 796
and accumulated, that the men now planned their forthcoming extensive ceremony—the Grand Opera of the Doctors that would last for thirty days and involve the feeding and the giving of gifts to a large corps of performers and participants. For these ceremonies, the cooking and apportioning was done by the errand men, *tarutsubus*, who were regularly constituted officers of the societies, and the chiefs, priests, or doctors had to keep exact account of the amount of food pledged and make their plans according to what they could afford. The food was their most important current capital for the support of their program.

While the implications of this great annual festival were certainly religious, deliberate showmanship was not neglected and the production was well planned and highly organized as such. It was remarked by the informant that they waited until the harvest was entirely complete "as they liked to have a good crowd."

The stretching of the skin on the frame took all morning, the tanning the noon hour and the afternoon the rubbing and softening. By evening, although the skin was still quite wet it was taken indoors so that no one would appropriate it. It was beaten with a stick on the fur side to sprinkle out some of the water. 281 [461]

Next morning when the sun was quite high, the skin was again rubbed on the sinew and set on the ground with the hair side up to get completely dry. Then it was placed on a mat and the margin trimmed all around with a sharp knife to remove any peg holes or other irregularities. The robe was now complete and was rolled up ready for wear or sale.

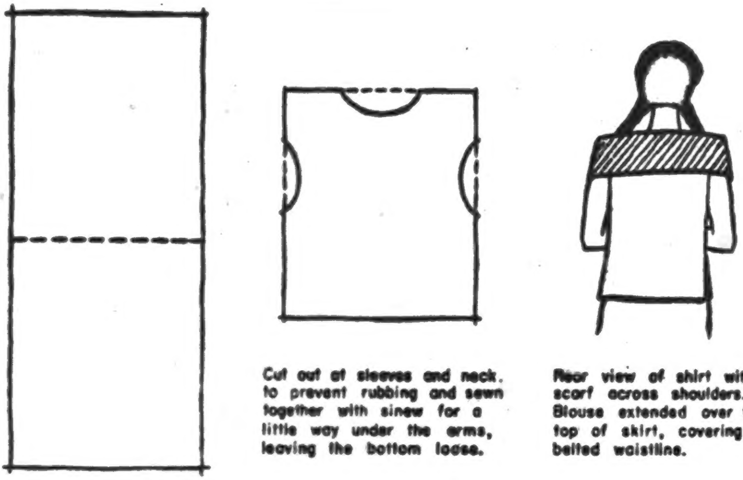
The skins that were less prime were tanned without the hair on, as the tanning process differed somewhat from the fur robe. After the hair was scraped off with the elbow-scraper, the flesh side was scraped and thinned with the same tool. The hide was soaked over night and next morning, stretched on the frame to be treated with the tanning mixture. The skin was left on the frame until the flesh side was thoroughly dry and even though the dehaired surface remained a bit wet, the skin was removed from the frame and rubbed between the fingers to soften it, then twisted with a wringing motion as we twist our bedsheets. It was not necessary to rub the skin as violently as the fur robe as in the dehairing process the horny outer epidermis had been removed. Eight of these skins went into the construction of the tent cover; they were used for bedding, curtains, packages, and bags.

The skins to be worn as blankets were usually dyed. If a white blanket was desired, white clay was sprinkled on the wet surface while it was still stretched on the frame and allowed to dry in thoroughly before it was removed and twisted. 281 386

More commonly, for wear as blankets, the tanned hide was dyed black. The black dye was made by boiling sumach leaves in water, the dye being allowed to cool before being applied to the surface of the tanned hide. The dye was rubbed in with a rag, first on one surface and when this was dry, on the other. When both sides were thoroughly dry, the skin was rubbed between the fingers to soften it and hung across a horizontal pole and beaten with a stick to remove the excess dye that had dried onto the surface. Interspersed with the other housework of the fall season, it took four days to make a black-dyed blanket.

It was also possible to dye the tanned hide a light yellow. This was done by smoking it over a rotten log of any kind of wood. They dug a long rectangular trench in the ground and put the log into it with some hot coals. They built an archway of supple twigs over the trench by sticking a series of twigs in the ground along both sides and joining them at the top. A number of long sticks were fastened on top and on the long sides of the archway to strengthen the structure. The tanned hide was laid onto the framework and weighted down with earth or sticks on all [417]

291 Around the waist they had an elkskin string. To it on each side they tied
on the leggings which were of deer or elkskin, covering the whole leg
and thigh. A strip of soft tanned deer hide was drawn between the legs
and under the waist band so that the ends hung down in front and in
back. One good deer skin made two pairs of leggings. Each legging took
[294] an hour to make—two hours for the pair. In warm weather a man might
[461] carry a tanned buffalo-hide blanket over the left shoulder when not in
use. In winter they wore the furred buffalo robe for warmth.



Cut out at sleeves and neck, to prevent rubbing and sewn together with sinew for a little way under the arms, leaving the bottom loose.

Rear view of shirt with scarf across shoulders. Blouse extended over the top of skirt, covering belted waistline.

Fold in two.

FIGURE 48-1. The pattern of a woman's skin shirt. A scarf about 4 inches wide was fastened to the neck and across the shoulders; it could be turned up against the back of the neck and head in cold weather. A string that went all around the neck with both ends hanging down in front could be tied at the neck to draw the shirt close around the throat. There was a wrap-around skin skirt closing at the right side and reaching just below the knee; this was fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. The costume was completed by leggings fastened at the knees and moccasins.

291 294 Keeping the family in moccasins was a constant problem for the women. During the migrations on the hunt, moccasins wore out all the time and the woman had to carry along some cutout moccasin leather all ready to be sewn up. A sewing bag with sinew, an awl, and moccasin patterns was an essential of the hunting equipment. A man going on a long journey over the country would take along a similar kit.

291 [171] There were two kinds of moccasins in general use among North American tribes—one better adapted to rough open terrain, a hard-soled moccasin, the other with a soft sole suitable for forest dwellers. The hard-

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair
turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moccasin
to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the
padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of [294]
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-soled
moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one
section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in [855]
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to protect
them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accommodate
the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other [465]
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstanding 554
symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

292 554 [531] [461] work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such a shirt.

The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237 554 825 [411] The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught. Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one, the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281 756 262 Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered inedible and was left in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237 293 [223] Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237 554 714 Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a shield.

shield. Some men could make themselves a war bonnet with eagle feathers 000 237
(the traditional war bonnet of the plains symbolizing a comet). They 292
would buy long white beads in the store and at the base of the throat,
wear a big shiny disk about as large as a dollar made out of long black 301
oyster shell.

An indispensable element of ceremonial costuming was the Black Rope 463
made of buffalo hair. Only men could wear these. The process of braiding 283
was very complicated and required great concentration. If a woman [292]
came around inclined to converse, the maker would excuse herself and [237]
say she had to get through and wasn't able to talk at this time. The work
was done in the house and preferably in the fall when less interruptions
were likely. Only a few women had the skill to do it. The hair of which
the rope was made was from the mane or head of the buffalo. Four
twisted strands were braided together into a long rope or belt. Each of
the strands for braiding was wound onto a ball, and these balls were
manipulated in order to form the braid. Some women did fine even work
and some did it poorly and roughly. Working steadily at it, the work took [461]
about twelve days. If it had to be fitted in with other work, it would
take more time. A woman would come to the belt maker on behalf of
her husband and order one, bringing the materials. The maker would be
paid well.

There were some few women who could make a colorful braided belt 292
by interweaving five colors. They called it "red-woven." It was a wide [286]
flat belt that was made to order to fit the waist of the prospective wearer
with long fringes hanging down to the ankles. A belt like this was usually
made for boys and girls of good families and for young women. An older [171]
woman would not consider it proper to wear one although among the
Osage, they were commonly worn by all women. A few men twisted
these belts around their heads as a turban with the fringes hanging down
on both sides of the face and eagle feathers at the back of the head.
Most men regarded this as a "flashy" style of dressing.

The materials used were entirely commercial—wool for the body and cord for the concealed warps. A woman who wanted to have one made for her boy would ask her husband to buy the materials at the trade store so that she could take them to the weaver.

We do not know whether this skill is old or new among the Pawnee. 286
In general, on the American continent, it goes back several thousand 178
years as a fabric-producing technique. But the exclusive use of commercial
materials and the reluctance of mature men and women to wear the
belt suggests that its adoption is fairly new.

The work was usually done outdoors in the springtime for maximum 286
visibility. It required great concentration and one mistake might compel
the weaver to rip the whole thing. If a woman was making one on order,
her family would do her spring planting to free her for the work. It

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

286 It took ten days to make a belt along with other housework and the pay
[461] was five or six yards of calico, half a sack of dried corn and a slab of
[465] dried buffalo meat.

291 Except for this one last item, all the rest of the Pawnee clothing was made of leather and fur.

49

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TENT COVER

000 *Tents Made by Specialists—the Time Involved and the Payment—the Process of Making the Tent under Old Lady Lucky Leader's Direction*

342 237 The buffalo-hide tent cover was a major family possession. It was made of at least eight tanned hides, with sinew from an equal number of buffalo to sew them together. The body of the tent was formed of seven skins and the eighth was cut up for gussets, loops for pegs around the bottom edge, and a double thickness on both sides of the doorway. Twelve years represented the life of a tent, and some of the skins wore out in the meantime and had to be replaced. About three years before the cover was worn out, they would have to think about acquiring the necessary tanned skins. It took at least two years to accumulate the eight skins—a summer and a winter hunt and then again a summer and a winter hunt and in each of the four hunts, two skins were saved for the tent.

342 463 In order to cut out the pattern of the skins and give directions for putting them together and sewing them, a specialist had to be called in by the family. Old Lady Lucky Leader, in addition to her many other accomplishments in the Doctor Lodge and as keeper of the Evening Star bundle, was also one of the outstanding tent architects. She would have to cut out the several buffalo skins and fit them together in the most economical way and direct the other women in sewing them together with sinew.

[461] It took four days of steady work for the four women of Victory Call's household to complete the sewing of the cover under the old lady's direction.

342 464 465 But before she could be called in, in addition to having all the necessary materials prepared, they had to get ready the payment for the vari-

313 a kind of lasso with a stick tied to the end as a weight for pulling down
[412] branches from the trees. They took with them their hatchets—the men
usually working with axes—and from their present woodworking methods
one can only speculate that in the past they felled the trees by a
combination of burning, gouging, and scraping.

415 The utensils and equipment that the women made for the household
412 were all-year round equipment, used both in the earth lodge and on the
march. The wooden bowl and the wooden ladles for serving, along with
the individual buffalo-horn spoon, were a necessity for every meal, and
the mortar and pestle were carried along on the march as well as being
in frequent use in the earth lodge for the preparation of meals. The
[414] wooden bracket and hook to suspend the pot over the fire were also common
equipment in both domestic situations. The forked seven-foot-long
412 *biku* stick with the sharp fire-hardened point was primarily for making
holes in the ground for the tent pegs and for the tipi poles, but it had
many other domestic uses particularly as a carrying pole and as a digging
iron in general.

322 *The Wooden Bowl.* The following are two different accounts, one
415 given by Mark Evarts of the Skidi Band and one by Effie Blane of the
Pitahawirata. Evarts gives an estimate of eight days that it took to make
[461] the bowl, while Effie Blane cites three days. The different estimate is
probably between spare time and full-time work (Weltfish, 1937, pp. 47-48).

> [463] There were only six or seven old women among all the Skidi villages who knew how to make these bowls. In Victory Call's family, Grandma knew and in Old Bull's family on the south side of the lodge, Old-Lady-Blue-Calico who had come from Village-in-the-Bottomlands, also knew how. In order to get a bowl made, one had to have a knot ("wood knob") of cottonwood or black post oak that could be taken to the maker. The making took about eight days. Suitable payment for this work was either a combination of half a pumpkin mat and a bag of dried roasted corn kernels about six inches high, or some cutout skins for moccasins and leggings instead.
>
> For a wooden bowl or *rakaraki*, one would select the knot according
> to the size of the bowl one wanted. After the knot is cut with a sharp
> hatchet, the woman would begin to chip it from the middle out, and
> finally while the wood was still damp and not hard she would make a
> [412] hole on the inner surface of the requisite size. Next she trimmed it all
> over with a crooked knife, *retsi-pirus*, "knife-crooked," leaving a
> projection on the rim to be formed into a handle. When the surface
> was all smooth, she carved the handle called *rak-u-paks-tar-u-kita-ku*,
> "plate-with-head-plural-up-on top-sitting," the handle being toothed

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

322 412 *The Mortar, kitutu.* To make the mortar, they cut down an elm tree about a foot in diameter and cut off a section about 2 feet high. The small end was whittled to a point so that it could be stuck upright in the ground. In the broader end of the section, they formed a pit by charring the surface with hot coals and then scraping out the charred wood. The first step in this process was to coat the rim with wet clay so that it didn't burn. Then they put the hot coals in the center, turning the surface toward the direction from which the wind was coming to keep the coals glowing. Now they dumped out the coals and scraped away the charred wood with an oyster (?) shell (probably fresh-water clam). Again they put in hot coals, and again they scraped away the charred wood with the shell, and they repeated this process until the pit was deep enough. While the coals were inside, one had to keep them carefully scattered about so that they didn't burn the surface too unevenly. The pit was somewhat paraboloid in cross section, or a blunt-pointed V-shape. After the final scraping on the inside, "the foot" was scraped and the wet mud from around the rim removed. The mortar was now ready for use in pounding corn or, more occasionally, dry buffalo meat.

• [461] It took about five days to make a mortar along with the ordinary housework.

The Pestle, iks-ka-wi-itsa-ku, "hand-upon-sitting-on the end or point-sitting." When the mortar was completed, they would say, "Now the pestle." A search of the thicket was made to find a post oak with a large body. A tree with many limbs was preferred because then the top end of the pestle would be sturdy enough to stand the strain of the pounding. The tree was cut as close to the roots as possible so that the grain of the roots would be contained in the pounding end for toughness. The pestle was about 4 feet long. After the tree was felled, they smoothed it with an ax. The wood was seasoned in the fire and finished off by scraping with [237] an oyster shell until it was very smooth.

[465] Suitable pay for a woman's services in making a mortar was 5 yards of calico, and for the pestle, some dried corn; or alternatively, for the mortar a blanket and corn, or corn and some checker plaited strips of stomach lining (*pararitskusu*), and for the pestle, 5 yards of calico. "Something for the person to wear and something for the family to eat."

The Hiku Stick or "Digging iron." This was a stick 7 feet long and about 2½ inches in diameter, forked at one end and with a fire-hardened point at the other. It was grasped in the middle and thrust into the ground to make holes for the tent pegs and for the tipi poles. The fall was the time for making the *hiku* stick before setting out on the winter hunt. Every woman young or old knew how to prepare one, and it took about a day to do so. The wood was taken green, the bark removed with an ax, and the bottom end sharpened to a point. Then the stick was seasoned in the fire. A small fire was made outdoors and the stick passed

51

THINGS OF WOOD MADE BY MAN

000

The Bow—the Bowstring—the Arrow—the Pipestems—the Stone Bowl—the Individual Styles of Bowls

THE MEN MADE THE BOWS, arrowshafts, pipestems, and cottonwood water 462
drums. 322

The Bow. In the past the Osage Orange (*Toxylon pomiferum*) was 411
the most highly valued wood for bows. At this time they used ash 824
(*Fraxinus pennsylvanica*) known as *kirik-taka*, "eye-white." Every man
made his own bow, though some were more and some less skilled. Little [857]
boys also made bows of ashwood to shoot birds. Ashwood was best gathered in the fall, generally in October before they left on the winter hunt. The ashwood saplings were left sticking among the willows in the ceiling to season, until they got back in the spring.

It took two days to make a bow. By splitting it in two down the length, 411
two bows could be made from one sapling, unless it were not quite 322
straight, when only one could be made. In each case, the outer surface of [461]
the tree became the outer surface of the bow.

The shaping was done by heating the stick in the coals until it was warm throughout and pliable. Putting the foot on the middle of the outside surface, the two ends were drawn very gently upward, and then each end was recurved with the foot so that the bow had a wide shallow
dent in its back. The sinew bowstring was fastened to one end perma- [283]
nently, and at the other there was a series of notches in the bow so that the string could be tightened when in use and loosened at other times. (See Figure 51-1.)

Once, after Victory Call had died, Otter's adoptive father caught a 411
panther and decided to honor the boy by making him a quiver of it. Not

411 to be outdone, another man made him a sinew-backed bow. It was known as *atskats-tax-ka-sa*, "sinew-plural-between-lying." It was mentioned at times, but seldom actually made.

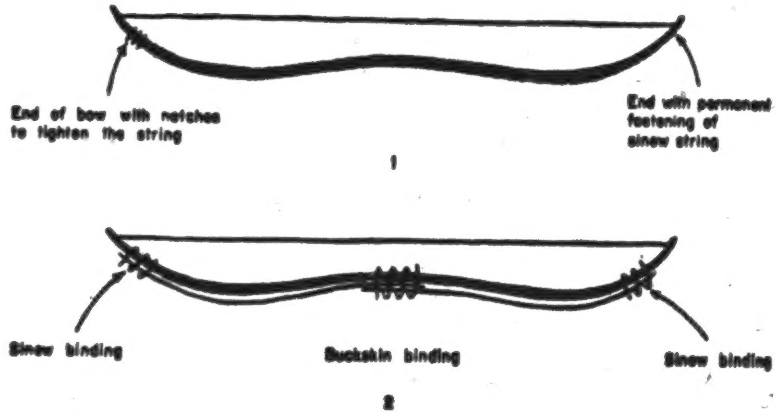

End of bow with notches to tighten the string
End with permanent fastening of sinew string
1
Sinew binding
Buckskin binding
Sinew binding
2

FIGURE 51-1. (1) A simple bow of ashwood. (2) A sinew-backed bow, *tskatstaxkasa*. Two pieces of sinew, crossed at the middle could be permanently pasted on when wet.

[237] Two pieces of sinew, crossed at the middle were placed on the back of the bow when wet and could thus be pasted on permanently. The sinew was bound on in the middle by overcasting with buckskin and at both ends with a wrapping of sinew. Then the bow was colored black. It was easy to draw and could shoot far.

411
283 *The Bowstring of Sinew.* Every man made his own bowstring out of sinew. The first step was to soak the short pieces of sinew overnight. The next step was joining them, first by taking two of the short strands and overlapping their ends and giving them a preliminary twist between the fingers and then continuing the twist by rolling them on the thigh with the palm. Then they added the next piece in the same way, and so on until one long continuous string was formed.

Then they doubled over the string and began to twist it together, beginning with the loose ends, first between the fingers and then on the thigh. The twist was held by winding it on a stick a little thicker than a pencil—the string being wound on as the stick was turned in the direction away from the body. When one section of the string had been twisted and wound on the stick, they would proceed to twist and wind on the next section until the entire length was completed. The twisting [461] of a bowstring took a morning and an afternoon.

When the entire string was wound onto the stick, the string would be

the same weed was used to scrape out the inside. Then the man blew 276 824 through the stem to remove the small pieces from the inside. 322

Making the Stone Bowl of Catlinite or Red Pipestone. (See Figure 51-2.) A block of stone of the appropriate size was marked off with charcoal 276 so that the bowl could be sculptured out in the rough. Two blocks of 324 stone had to be removed, one in front and one behind the upward projecting bowl. The removal of these two blocks was a laborious task. When no metal drills, files, or rasps were available, each step took a long time and required a great deal of patience. In the old days to remove the two blocks of stone, the "pipe" was set up on end and a flint knife was sawed back and forth across the corner, making a shallow cut. Then a second cut was made underneath it until a series of three or four shallow cuts had been made one beneath the other. These "corners" were then chipped off from the top edge down. This operation of chiseling off small pieces was continued until the whole block had been removed. Then the second block on the other side of the bowl was removed. All red powder [386] resulting from the sawing process was saved to be used as red paint.

The bore for the stem as well as for the bowl was begun by using a well-dried, fire-hardened stick. The stick was held stable pressed onto the surface where the hole was to be and the stone turned back and forth until a hole had been dug into it. The bowl was widened and deepened by using a sharp sliver of a buffalo femur in the same way, pressing it into the stone and twisting the stone itself until the bowl was the shape and size desired. The outer surfaces were shaped by rubbing with a rough stone.

After the bowl was shaped, the pipe was passed through the smoke of a small grass fire and the surface rubbed with grease. This data on making the stone bowl is condensed from a demonstration by Charles Allen at Pawnee, Oklahoma, in 1935. It took almost eight days, working the [461] usual day of nine to five o'clock with an hour for lunch.

Each pipe maker introduced special features of his own. Rarawikita, [531] Charles Allen's father, made them so that there was a hump on the bowl near where the stem was inserted and the pointed end of the bowl was five-sided. Chief's Road made pipes with three raised ridges around the head end of the bowl where the stem was to be inserted. Sometimes the pointed end was cut down at a downward slant, sometimes it was cut straight off. Good Bear made a pipe that was thick where the bowl was and tapered markedly at the point end and again at the end where the stem fitted. Brave Horse (*Asa-rahikuts*, "horse-brave") would make a wide ridge or collar around the mouth of the bowl and another one at the opening where the stem fitted in; on these "collars" he engraved diagonals trending upward toward the left. He was a left-handed man.

For the work of manufacturing the pipe, pay was expected though 276 465 never stipulated. This might be tobacco or calico and a little food. For 437

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the
white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was
wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and
also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-four
feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidistant
intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled basket 773
made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to
carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the
germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony
immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous movement"
or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially
made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The
women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the
course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to
move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learning [887]
to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling.
There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the
betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual
pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make
the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked
to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525
285

all night in water, and in the morning it was twisted into a continuous 285
string which was wound onto a stick as the woman went along. When it 283
was all wound on, it formed a cylindrical roll like a bale of wire. Each
roll contained enough warp for one mat. The work was done by one
woman working alone. For example, Grandma would put the stick be-
tween her toes while twisting the warp and then wrap it onto the stick as
the string got longer. The roll was put away for a week or two to set be-
fore it was used for the weaving. It took an old woman a day and a half [461]
to twist the warp for one mat.

The weaving frame was set up at a slant, the far end being considera- 285
bly higher than the near end. The warp beam at the far end was 2 to 2½ 286
feet high, constructed of two forked sticks placed upright in the ground
about 6 feet apart, with a horizontal stick resting in the forks. The cloth
beam at the near side was set close to the ground and was controlled by
pegs or pickets that could be adjusted to keep the warps taut. If the
weather were good, they would work outdoors; if not, they would work
in the lodge.

The first step was to carry the continuous bale of warp back and forth between the two beams in a simple under-and-over order. After the warping was complete, a long strip of elm bark was wrapped around each beam to include one warp thread in each wrapping so that all the warps lay on an even plane. No shedding would be required, as the weaving was twining of a pair of wefts.

The reeds for the wefts were used in whole strands 6 feet long and 285
the finished mat was more than 5 feet wide. It was very awkward for 476
one woman to try to weave a mat alone. It was best for two women to
work together, one weaving from the middle out to the right edge of the
mat and the other from the middle out to the left edge. The two women
sat side by side in front of the low end at the cloth beam. Each row of
weft was woven with a pair of bulrushes, the point end of one strand
matching the stub end of the other. The woman on the right grasped the
two wefts in the middle between her thumb and index finger and gave
them a twist away from herself so that they crossed over at the center.
She then placed the twist between the two central warp strands and pro-
ceeded to twine-weave rightward, the completed stitches leaning diag-
onally upward to the right. When she reached the right edge, she cut off
the stub end of one of her wefts almost flush with the edge and the other
she wove back into the warp for 1½ to 2½ inches, producing a thickened
and reinforced edge. The woman at the left, beginning at the middle
proceeded to twine leftward and at the left edge cut off one weft and
wove the other back into the warps in the same way as the woman on the
right. The woman on the left adjusts her weaving motions so that they
are made in reverse in order to produce a consistent weave pattern across
the entire mat—all stitches slanting upward to the right. This is a sophis-

285 476 ticated adaptation for weaving a wide twined fabric, as the normal direction for the progress of twined weaving is from left to right, the woman on the left using a motor pattern equivalent in feeling to dancing the waltz in reverse, with a view to getting a visual effect in the texture.

When the mat had been woven about one third of the way, the women, who had been kneeling in front of the lower cloth beam, now moved up and knelt on the already finished fabric to work on the rest. As the work progressed, they continued to move up on the fabric so that the working edge would be within reach.

• [461] Two women could finish a mat in one day if they did nothing else. Beginning after breakfast, the weaving would be half done by noon. By a little after five in the evening, the work was complete.

285 868 Mat weaving was a household craft and the work would not ordinarily be contracted for outside, unless a woman were learning for the first time. Then she would call in an old woman and pay her to demonstrate the technique. During the demonstration, the young woman would try her hand at it from time to time. The finished mat would be hers. The
[465] teacher would receive four or five yards of calico and a layer of dried buffalo meat, or a sack of corn (about a foot high) and half a braided intestine mat.

285 592 In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each side took care of its own needs for mats. White Woman and Grandma would start one together, and when White Woman had to interrupt her work to prepare a meal, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy would take her place for a while, helping Grandma with the weaving. Any mats that Grandma made by herself were given to White Woman for the family. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy felt she should make at least one mat for herself and her grandson to use when they went on the hunt. No Corn also made one to take along, and, if Horse Rider was busy in the Doctor Lodge, the two old ladies would each contribute half the necessary materials, as she was too crippled to gather them for herself and under the circumstances Horse Rider was unable to get away. There was no question of compensation for this, as the old ladies felt that Horse Rider was helpful to the household at all times and No Corn also did what she could.

482 285 Carrying these mats on the march was very difficult for people with no horses. This was the case with poor people. When people noticed that they had no mats, someone would give them an old one and a man would carry it on his back with a baby perched on top and his wife would do
[431] the same. The occasional woman who was too lazy to make one, was also
[554] given an old mat. People who didn't have mats to put on the ground were considered poor indeed.

412 824 A brush made of stiff grass was indispensable to personal grooming. The brush was made out of Porcupine Grass or Spanish Needles (*Stipa*

000
461
56

for the lash. Pawnee impetus to work came not from this type of pressures but from a sense of community. The internalized process was a search by each individual for his own goals, as we see in the naming process and in the vision that he deliberately sought. Our present circumstances of overproduction and automation call for drastic revisions in our age-old motivations. The Pawnee way is now actually more suitable for us than our own.

Ironically, just at this time when gross human labor becomes unnecessary we are also faced with the population explosion, when rather than producing and raising as many children as possible in order to provide a labor force and an army, women are called upon to limit these traditional activities and to supplement them with other kinds of work. As the traditional work categories dwindle, youth also finds itself hard-pressed to find a place in the only activities in the community that can really mark them as adults—for however mature a level school activities may reach, the school student is still immature in our community. Only the breadwinner can enjoy full dignity. On the other end of the age spectrum, people are being pressed to retire earlier and earlier, and here again they face the loss of social dignity as they give over their status as full breadwinners.

The permanence of this problem has not been faced. I know of only one major breakthrough by social scientists in our approach to the logistics of work in recent times, i.e., that of Herbert R. Shepherd of the Case Institute of Cleveland and Robert R. Blake of Texas ("Changing Behavior through Cognitive Change," *Human Organization*, special issue, summer, 1962, pp. 88-96; *Human Organization* is the publication of the Society for Applied Anthropology). Describing our present type of bureaucratic management structure the authors state that:

> . . . they can learn only at the top where control is centralized and . . . they demand passive conformity of most of their members. . . . Conflict is normally resolved by automatic suppression of the less powerful party to the conflict.

On the grounds of its actual inefficiency as a work form, the authors tried a social experiment within the Esso organization, consisting of the withdrawal of a group of workers from the prevailing management structure and development of a new type of interpersonal coordination among them. Although this experiment was conducted within a limited setting, it has an important relevance to the larger questions of work patterns in general that we must necessarily face at this stage of our social development.

Each person within himself will have a hard time getting beyond the built-in acceptance of our traditional work attitudes as inevitable or at

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Hako are at rest, the food which has been standing 796*
beside the fire is served by the Fathers to the Children. Certain men
are appointed for this task.

It is the duty of a father to provide food for his child, and not to [593]
partake himself until the child is satisfied. As we are to simulate the
relation of father to child, we prepare a meal for the Children twice [264]
and sometimes thrice a day during the continuance of this ceremony.
We are obliged to bring much food for this purpose, as the Children
are sometimes many, and we have also ourselves to feed.

Where we must travel far to reach the tribe of the Son, the burden [492]
of carrying so much food is hard upon our ponies. So much cooking
for the Children keeps the women very busy, but they are willing, for [462]
the ceremony brings good to them.

After the Children have eaten they rest a while and then go home,
returning to the lodge when the sun has set. Before they go they [431]
generally make gifts of ponies to the Fathers.

When the Fathers are left alone in the lodge they eat their evening meal.

The Hako throughout this ceremony are never left unattended by night or day. When the Ku'rahus, or his assistant, or the chief needs to leave the lodge, someone is requested to take his place during his absence.

NINTH RITUAL (FIRST NIGHT). INVOKING THE VISIONS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the sun has set and it is dark and the stars are shining, then
the Children gather in the lodge. Some, as they come in, will advance [431]
to the holy place and there drop a stick; this means the gift of a pony.
For every such gift the Ku'rahus returns thanks to the giver.

After all are seated, wood is piled upon the fire, and when the flames leap high the Ku'rahus rises, then his assistant and the chief rise and the Hako are taken up.

The singers carrying the drum follow the Hako bearers as they move slowly around the lodge, singing the following song.

539*
796*

1094 Ho-o-o-o!
1095 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata;
1096 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata;
1097 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata.

Translation

1094 **Ho-o-o-o!** An exclamation introductory to the song.
1095 **Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata.**
ihari, a term for young; it here refers to the little child.
ha! an exclamation, calling attention.
h', an abbreviation of ha, your.
ars, a modification of atius, father.
sire, carrying, refers to the child.
rata, walking with.
1096, 1097. See line 1095.

SEVENTEENTH RITUAL

PART I. TOUCHING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Hako party, led by the man carrying the child, arrived at the lodge, the child was taken to the west, behind the holy place, and set upon the ground, facing the east, and clad in gala dress. 796*

The warriors ranged themselves in a curved line, both ends of which touched the walls of the lodge, thus inclosing a space within which was the holy place, the child, the singers and the drum, the Ku'rahus and his assistant, the chief, the doctors, and an old man selected by the Ku'rahus. The warriors stood close together, letting their robes drop until the lower edge touched the ground, making a screen over which no one could look to see what was taking place within the inclosure.

On the preceding evening, before the Children had gathered within the lodge, the Ku'rahus had sent a young man to fill a vessel from a running stream. The vessel was at once covered closely and put beside the holy place and no one was permitted to even touch it. (In old times pottery vessels made by our women were used. They were shaped small at the bottom, larger in the middle, and smaller again at the neck. The handles on the sides had holes through which sticks could be thrust to lift the vessel from the fire. They were ornamented by lines drawn by a stick in the soft clay.) [323 [531] 462

The chief now approached the vessel, lifted the cover and poured some of the water into a wooden bowl set aside for this purpose, and put it down before the old man. This man had been chosen because of his long life, and his having received many favors from the powers above, in order that similar gifts might be imparted to the child.

The preparation of the child, which took place within the line of warriors, was concealed from their view by an inner group closely

*175 Pawnee medicine men did effect relief and cures in many cases, and
*648 that the sure way to bring the tribe to faith in white man's medi-
657 cine was to prove its superiority. We may judge from this the
efficiency of much of the treatment afforded the Pawnee for years.
164 In 1890 Dr. Phillips ascribed some part of Pawnee ailments to the
fact that at feasts many gorged themselves and then lay dormant
for two or three days, tending to derange the proper functioning
of the digestive system. The Pawnee habits of eating went back
to a time when an active, roving life made heavy eating a necessity.
Without the hunt, without warfare, the men were confined, inactive
● [462] and indolent. Farming was not yet an adequate substitute.
Without skinworking, and the activities of camp life and the
march, the women were limited to housework and household duties.
The change of daily routine was severe and called for a difficult
constitutional adjustment.

582 The question of inbreeding deserves brief comment. Pawnee
marriage customs did involve the mating of kin at a certain
621 distance removed. In their old life, families who were the proud
possessers of sacred and esoteric lore attempted to retain control
of these things by regulating intermarriage. The bands had been
for the most part endogamous, and intermarriage with other tribes
[162] was infrequent. On the average a band numbered no more than
2,500. The inbreeding, however, seems not to have had ill effects
until inheritable weaknesses of a major sort were among the tribe.

*175 As the years passed, the Pawnee came to look to the government
*648 physicians more and more for help when sick. Their medicine men
were unable to cope with the illnesses which afflicted them. In a
657 few outstanding cases, such as the use of quinine for malarial
fevers, the white man's medicine had "power."

*175 The educational program was neither more efficient nor more
successful for many years than the development of farms and homes.
*648 The Pawnee Industrial Boarding School on the Pawnee Reser-
657 vation in Nebraska suspended operations at the time of removal. The
871 funds saved were applied to the erection of a new brick school
building on the Oklahoma reservation. This was not in operation
until several years after the tribe located in Indian Territory. Its
facilities were severely inadequate. Not more than one-fourth of
the Pawnee children of school age could be accomodated. As
a result, officials were not able to enforce treaty provisions; they
could not compel continuous attendance even of those registered
for schooling, since they could not provide facilities. There was
a move to organize a day school, which would not only make
provision for fifty additional pupils, but would obviate the objection

Description of the Manners

574 609 **Hospitality.**—The Indian has always been renowned for his hospitality. This trait of character is noticeable among all the tribes. Thus the Pawnees too, though in actual want themselves, showed their good will towards us, by preparing for us the best they could afford. One chief placed before us, besides dried buffalo meat, a small dish of marrow, which by them is considered a great delicacy.—

462 562 **Labor.**—The more enlightened a people has become through the benign influence of religion, and the cultivation of the arts and sciences, the more the weaker sex attains to that rank in society, which the Creator intended for them; but the more debased and sunk in heathenism a Nation lies, the more is woman enslaved, and held in subjection. So among the Pawnees too, the men are the lords, who, while they themselves are not disposed to do any work, and generally consider it a shame to labor, direct the women, as inferior beings, how everything must be done.—The females, besides attending to the housework, generally incumbent upon their sex, are obliged to cut and carry all the fire-wood; pre-

---

251 coverings, are spread over the surrounding grass and bushes, to prevent foot-tracks, or any other derangement; and as few hands as possible are employed. A circle of about two feet in diameter is then nicely cut in the sod, which is carefully removed, with the loose soil immediately beneath it, and laid aside in a place where it will be safe from anything that may change its appearance. The uncovered area is then digged perpendicularly to the depth of about three feet, and is then gradually widened so as to form a conical chamber of six or seven feet deep. The whole of the earth displaced by this process, being of a different color from that on the surface, is handed up in a vessel, and heaped into a skin or cloth, in which it is conveyed to the stream and thrown into the midst of the current, that it may be entirely carried off. Should the cache not be formed in the vicinity of a stream, the earth thus thrown up is carried to a distance, and scattered in such a manner as not to leave the minutest trace. The cave being formed, is well lined with dry grass, bark, sticks, and poles, and occasionally a dried hide. The property intended to be hidden is then laid in, after having been well aired: a hide is spread over it, and dried grass, brush, and stones, thrown in, and trampled down until the pit is filled to the neck. The loose soil, which had been put aside, is then brought, and rammed down firmly, to prevent its caving in, and is frequently sprinkled with water, to destroy the scent, lest the wolves and bears should be attracted to the place, and root up the concealed treasure. When the neck of the cache is nearly level with the surrounding surface, the sod is again fitted in with the utmost exactness, and any bushes, stocks, or stones, that may have originally been about the spot, are restored to their former places. The blankets and other coverings are then removed from the surrounding herbage: all tracks are obliterated: the grass is gently raised by the hand to its natural position, and the minutest chip or straw is scrupulously gleaned up and thrown into the stream. After all is done, the place is abandoned for the night, and, if all be right next morning, is not visited again, until there be a necessity for re-opening the cache. Four men are sufficient in this way, to conceal the amount of three tons weight of provisions or merchandize, in the course of two days.—*Washington Irving's Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains.*

462 pare the fields for cultivation with their hoes, plant the corn, weed
562 it, and finally, when ripe, gather it in; and take care of the horses
of their lords, when not used by them.

The most difficult labor, however, that falls to their lot, is the
462 erecting of their lodges. As the upper village had been burnt by
562 their enemies during their absence, the labor of rebuilding of
course devolved upon the poor women, and in the course of about
342 two months, when we visited them, they had completed nearly
150 lodges. When we observed, that the nearest timber to the
site of the village was two or three miles off, and that they have
[482] no beasts of burden, but that all the building material, much of
which is very heavy, was carried so great a distance on the shoulders
of the women, it seemed almost incredible to us. We noticed
even girls of 12 or 14 years bearing baskets on their backs,
filled with wet turf, to cover or repair their lodges, which must
have been very heavy. Thus early the females are trained to
[868] carry burdens, (either at home, or while travelling,) which inures
them to hardships, but at the same time deforms them, rendering
them low and bent in stature, and pitiable objects to the beholder.
While the men, trained to no work whatever, are erect, tall, and
[142] well-proportioned in their form, and almost feminine in their features,
the women are short and low, with stooping gait, downcast
looks, harsh features, and hair dishevelled; and dirty, ragged, and
filthy in their appearance. Such is a picture of heathenism!
000 Have we not cause to be grateful for the benign influence of the
gospel upon our land, so that we are elevated far above such a
miserable state of heathenism? Unto the Lord be all the praise!

Though it is generally a feature among heathen nations, that it
462 is considered a shame for the men to labor, while all the work devolves
562 upon the females, still the Pawnees seem not altogether indisposed
to be instructed. Mr. Sharpee, who has been acquainted
with them and other Indians in these parts for nearly 20 years,
told us, that the Pawnee men were unlike those of other tribes,
since they were willing to lay hold of a plough, or any other farming
utensil, and only the instruction was wanting to make them
industrious. Mr. Allis too, who has been acquainted with them
for the last 20 years, and has lived among them a great portion of
this period, informed us, that when the missionaries were formerly
living among them, several of the Pawnees had already commenced
the use of the plough. The good beginning was, however,
interrupted by their missionaries having to leave them.

Dress.—The dress of the men consists in nothing but a small
291 piece of cloth, fastened around their middle. This, we observed,
was generally the only covering they had on, when in their lodges.
When abroad, they had a buffalo robe or blanket wrapped around
them. The females are more decently clothed than the men

Pawnee, Blackfoot and Cheyenne

224 With the gray dawn of morning, the camp, as usual, is astir. By
484 the time our little party have turned out of our blankets, some of the Indians have already finished eating, and are catching up their
● [462] horses and preparing to ride off over the bluffs, leaving the squaws to take down the lodges, pack the ponies, and pursue the designated line of march. Before we are ready to "pull out," most of the ponies have been packed, and a long, irregular line of Indians is creeping across the level valley, and beginning to wind up the face of the bluffs. The procession moves slowly, proceeding at a walk. Most of those who remain with the column are on foot, the squaws leading the ponies, and many of the men, wrapped in their blankets, and with only their bows and arrows on their backs, walking briskly
[735] over the prairie, a little to one side. These last are the poorer Indians —those who have but few horses. They travel on foot, letting their horses run without burdens, so that they may be fresh and strong, whenever they shall be needed for running the buffalo.

224 Side by side, at the head of the column, walk eight men who carry
778 the buffalo staves. These are slender spruce poles, like a short lodge-
484 pole, wrapped with blue and red cloth, and elaborately ornamented with bead work, and with the feathers of hawks, and of the war eagle. These sticks are carried by men selected by the chiefs and doctors in private council, and are religiously guarded. Upon the care of these emblems, and the respect paid to them, depends, in a great measure, the success of the hunt. While borne before the moving column, no one is permitted to cross the line of march in front of them.

224 Close behind the staff bearers follow a number of the principal
484 men of the tribe; the head chief, old *Pi'ta Le-shar*, and a dozen or
[622] fifteen sub-chiefs or head men, all mounted on superb horses. Behind them comes the camp at large, a fantastically mingled multitude, marching without any appearance of order. Here most of the individuals are women, young girls and children, for the men who accompany the camp usually march singly, or by twos and threes, a little apart from the mob. Most of those rich enough in horses to be able to ride at all times, are scattered over the prairie for miles in every direction, picking up the small bands of buffalo, which have been passed by the scouts as not large enough to call for a general surround. The hunters are careful, however, not to follow too close

plain, its strength became exhausted, it came to the ground, and 223
was at once dispatched by those nearest to it.

Almost before the turkey's fate had been decided, many of the 484
lodges had been pitched, and now the slender gray columns from a
hundred camp-fires began to climb up through the still air toward
the blue above. The women were hard at work cooking, or spreading
out freshly killed robes, or putting up drying scaffolds, while the [462]
men lounged in the shade and smoked or chatted. Our wagon was
halted at one side of the camp, and the tired horses and mules
were stripped of saddles and harness, and picketed near at hand. The
Indian pack ponies were collected and driven off on the upland in
charge of several boys.

We had invitations to eat meat at several lodges that day. Usually 574
we did not accept these freely proffered hospitalities, because we
had no means of returning them, but one of these invitations came
from a particular friend, and to-day we broke through our rule.
We feasted on roast ribs, *ka'wis*, and dried meat, and really had a
delightful time. It was about three o'clock when we finished the
meal, and we were lounging about the lodge, smoking and chatting,
in lazy after-dinner fashion, when we were startled by a series of yells
and shouts, among which I distinguished the words "*Cha'-ra-rat wa-ta'* 648
—The Sioux are coming." Our Indian companions snatched up their 721
arms, and rushed out of the lodge, and we were not slow in following.
"*Sūks-e-kitta-wit wis-kūts*—Get on your horses quick," shouted
our host. The camp was in a state of wild excitement. Naked men
were running to their horses, and jerking their lariats from the picket
pins, sprang on their backs and rode hard for the hills; while women
and boys rushed about, catching horses, and bringing them in among
the lodges, where they were securely fastened. Less than a mile
away, we saw the horse herd dashing along at top speed, and a little
to one side of it a horseman riding in circles, and waving his blanket
before him. It was evident that the Sioux were trying to run off the
herd. We ran as hard as we could to the wagon, caught up rifles
and cartridge belts, and buckling on the latter as we ran, kept on to
the horses. There was no time to saddle up. We looped the ropes
around their jaws, sprang on their naked backs, and were off. As

577 727 uted his favors more broadly. Now on the fourth occasion, the Pawnees lay in wait in their village and sure enough the young Fox warrior stealthily crept into the encampment ready to collect and run. This time the Pawnees were lying in wait for him, and they seized him and took him to the tent of the head chief. There the young warrior trembled within himself, prepared for the worst. One by one, the Pawnees began to remove his garments as the chief had ordered. Then they painted up his face, put on a new loincloth, a new shirt, new leggings, and new moccasins and loaded him with additional goods saying, "You have favored us three times already, now go home and don't come back for a while." As the Fox report, he never did return to the Pawnees. In fact, was there anything worse that a people could do to an attacking enemy soldier?

592 512 462 Let us now look at the household of the Pawnee—his home life. Most earth lodges housed from thirty to fifty people. The lodge was a production workshop in which, with few exceptions, everything required for use was produced, including the collection and processing of raw materials. A substantial part of this work was done by the women. The house was conceived as being divided into two duplicate halves—the north sector and the south sector—each of which carried out the essential household functions in alternation. [264] There were two main meals a day, for example, the one being provided by the north side, the other by the south side, both serving all. In operation this meant that the woman who cooked the meal had raised all the vegetables in her own gardens, had dried and preserved them and kept them in her storage pit, and that all the meat she served was dried and packed by her on the buffalo hunt, carried back to the village (formerly on her back or by the dogs she raised), and also stored in the pit. In the past, the clay pot she cooked in would have been made by her (now a brass kettle from the trade store), and she was still making the large buffalo-horn ladle with which she served, the wooden mortar and pestle in which the mush was pounded, and for her "side" alone the wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons in which the food was served, the rush mats on which the people sat, and all the clothing they wore. Every day, morning or evening, she would serve twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty people a meal.

264 571 The way in which the morning and evening meal was allocated to one or the other "side" was a clear example of the characteristic Pawnee mode of personal interaction. There was no prearranged schedule at all as to which side would take the morning, which the evening meal. This was determined on each individual occasion by the inclinations of the principals most directly involved. From our point of view a plan would be made and the people fitted into it—from the Pawnee view, the plan emerged from the feelings of the people. This difference of approach is so basic that I feel impelled to stress it particularly. The Pawnee indi-

vidual embraced responsibility; he had no inclination to shirk it. In a 264
sense, the rhythm of Pawnee work life was like a ballet, whereas ours is 571
like a prison lockstep: "You must, you must, you must get to work!"

The day's routine in our Pawnee household began when either Victory 512
Call or Old Bull happened to awaken; this depended on which one 592
decided to get out of bed first. Or else White Woman or Queen Woman might be the first to awaken, and then she would remind her husband that it was morning. From the time one or the other of the two men got out of bed, the day's program was set; the others simply followed the initial cue. When the man had gotten out of his bed he went outside and inspected the horizon and the stars, came in and kindled the fire, and said, "Fire's made." His senior wife then got up and started the breakfast. As observed by one of the contemporary missionaries in 1837, the rest followed with precision. The minor cycles of household operation were also conducted in a similar mode. Someone felt impelled to take care of a needed task and mentioned it and volunteers were forthcoming without further ado. Pressure and compulsion are implicit in our attitude toward work; voluntarism was the Pawnee way.

The functions of the women in the earth lodge were subdivided 462
roughly according to age. The north and south quarters of the circumference
of the house were each subdivided into three "stations." The 562
central one of these (due north and due south) was the core position 592
and it was occupied by the mature women of the lodge. They furnished 561
the main provisions and directed the necessary work. At the inner or western station on each side was the place of the immature girls and newly married young women. The outer or eastern station on each side was for the old women, symbolically on the way out and physically nearest to the exit (or entryway) of the lodge. Most commonly each of these stations was occupied by several women who carried out its special functions jointly.

The details of the function of the central station have been mentioned 855
above in connection with general household operations. The other two
stations supplemented it in very different ways. At the east stations for 603
the old women, the children past the age of infancy were cared for, the 887
old women being referred to by the children as "grandmothers," regardless 592
of the actual biological kinship. The children slept in the beds with their "grandmothers" and shared a bowl of food with them at meals. Grandma saw that they were warm and well fed and tried to help them in every way. She was a permissive, familiar, kind person to whom the child could always appeal. Between grandma and grandchild there was neither formality nor constraint. Jokes were made about a boy saying, "Look how close he sticks to his grandma; he wants to marry her!" or "There
he goes always running to his grandma." Besides child care, the grandmother 887
would give a good deal of assistance to "the senior women of the 592

887 house." She supplemented their supplies of vegetables from her own garden from time to time, saying, "Daughter, cook this for our supper." 592 She would also have a small private stock of dried meat that she had gotten by helping with its preparation during the hunt season, and she would also offer this at various times when it seemed a good idea. Again there was no regular schedule for this, nor any amount that was standard. Grandma already rendered considerable services to the house and was considered entitled to her "keep." She also gave substantive help with skin working, sewing, getting firewood, special manufacturing, and so on.

• 462 592 883 The young women and girls at the west stations did minor household tasks, but had a far more significant contribution to make to its ongoing. They were there to please and care for a capable man who would protect the people in the lodge, provide them with fresh meat by his almost daily hunting expeditions for deer, elk, or antelope, participate in the tribal buffalo hunts in the summer and winter each year so that they would all have dried buffalo meat, and carry on the official interrelationships with the community outside the household, including those with the village officials.

582 An influential and capable man might be given one of these girls in marriage with the understanding that her younger sisters would also be given to him when they came of age. If he were adjudged too old, the family was unlikely to agree to these further marriages. In the case of Old Bull, the family of his junior wife, Clear Day, was unwilling to give him her younger sister on this account. Fifteen years was considered a suitable age for marriage in a girl, and eighteen for a boy. However, the probability is remote that the couple would be of these ages respectively. First marriages for both a boy and a girl were almost always of a "May–September" type. A boy of eighteen was considered altogether incapable of playing a suitable married role in a household. A man contracted a mar- 583 riage in terms of services he could render to the family of the girl that he 591 married. Normally he was expected to come to live in her household and "take care of them," i.e., render them major services.

601 606 The son-in-law, i.e., the man married into a household, was known as *kustawixtsu*," the one that is sitting among [us]." The man on his part referred to his in-laws as *tatutkaku*, "I sit inside for you," that is, "I am in the house for your benefit." The reward he receives is his wife whom he calls *tatiraktaku*, "I own her," and she in turn refers to her husband as *tikuktaku*, "he owns me." These terms are not normally used under informal circumstances, the couple addressing each other by the common term for spouse, *raku*, or if they are on particularly pleasant terms, the man calls his wife *tsustit*, "old lady," and she refers to her husband as *kurahus*, "old man."

58 Because of the services required on both sides, a young man would have little alternative but to marry a capable older woman, and a young

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you)	539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.	
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)	

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tihi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562
fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the house-
hold routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [684]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 885
occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 526
ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de-
velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi [887]
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521
[997]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

the altar there. Out of delicacy, she did not offer corn to the sacred ears in 264
the bundle; if they had had buffalo meat she would have offered it there 782
but not to the buffalo skull.

Now the meal began, and it was proper that they have light conversa- 264
tion while eating. Their conversation turned to getting water for the 521
household and wood for fuel, the care of the horses, and the food pit. White Woman remarked to Clear Day, who was sitting on the other side of the fireplace, "After breakfast, let's take two kettles and get some water." The other women talked about opening up the food pit and sorting out the good corn from the rotten and about exposing dry meat to the wind and sun. Victory Call talked to Horse Rider, who was sitting at his left, about the horses. He said, "Right up near where the horses are you might find some mushrooms and milkweed so that the women can cook the tops." Then the women chimed in, "I wish you could get some milkweed. That's good mixed with corn." Then Victory Call spoke of the horses: "If there's a good runner among them, get on him and give him some exercise so that we can train him as a buffalo horse. You must look around meanwhile and see if you see some deer tracks. We might go hunting. In the evening take the horses to a safe hiding place and hobble them so that the Sioux won't steal them. Look way off in all directions and if you see anyone lurking about bring them right home and put them in the corral. They won't starve for one night. In the morning we'll turn them loose and they can make up for it." "All right, I'll look around," said Horse Rider, "I'll be home late." Victory Call had some further reminders for him. He asked him if he had any parched corn with salt so that the horses would get thirsty and drink. He also reminded him that he should wet the sides of the horses and then they would rub themselves on the grass and shed their old hair. This was a necessary precaution, as they had no curry comb. Horse Rider actually knew all this, but he listened respectfully.

The meal now over, White Woman cleaned up the dishes and started 264
out with Clear Day to get the water. It was a mile to Beaver Creek, and it 512
was necessary to go at least twice a day to get water for the household. 312
Horse Rider usually helped by making at least one of these trips. The 482
two women now set out with two buckets hanging on a seven-foot-long stick which rested on their right shoulders, one woman walking in front and one behind, with the buckets between. The stick, ordinarily used as a digging iron, had one end fire-hardened and sharpened to a point, the other end being forked. At this time after breakfast and especially just before eating supper, many people were walking toward the creek for the same purpose.

Horse Rider left the lodge to take care of the horses, and Old Bull and 512
Victory Call remained seated in their place, smoking their pipe and con- 462
tinuing their conversation. The old ladies who were left behind looked [887]

512 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder.
462 When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter,
887 I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next
meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar.
Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

313 Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Victory
Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were
484 to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful supply
623 of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the immediate
[726] neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more
to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary
and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy.
The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite
you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you
when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up
and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the
chiefs had gathered there.

512 The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the
252 household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver
262 Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buffalo
meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They
[237] made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

[415] The main business of the women of the household that day was to give
512 the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing
251 the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and
for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold,
356 and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep
the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in;
besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of
the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for
[192] food pit, *tahaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women
all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed
between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left
open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the
old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make
a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then
we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly
and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large
skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had
to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy
spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes
they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all.
[476] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

356 476 thing of this kind that has to be done and one simply volunteers." A person who acts in this way is referred to as "A-Person-Whose-Ears-Are-Standing-Erect," viz., an alert person. Living in Eagle Chief's household was the older son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Fox Chief. He was also helpful in gathering in the young men to help out his father. Fine Horse, son of Victory Call's older brother Sitting Hawk, also came, and a younger brother of Chief White Eagle, who was standing on the south side with the influential men.

356 554 476 A number of older men who were also referred to as "boys" came. They were men who had little interest in having a prominent social status. They preferred to go hunting, to go on the warpath, to be free and easy in their manner. They were helpful to anyone who needed help and had little interest in social dignity or administrative functions. They freely gave away what they had and had no interest in accumulating anything or in having a well-appointed home. Because of their manner and attitude toward the social formalities, they were somewhat affectionately referred to as "boys" whatever their age might be. They commonly took over the responsibility of dangerous scouting assignments when these were called for. Four of these men came, and they climbed on the roof and helped out with the work. They were: Advance Scout (also known as Skidi Jake); Horse Finder; Riding-ahead-Coming; and Wants-the-Enemy.

356 476 [462] About eight o'clock in the morning the women were stationed on the roof near the top and they began to scratch off the earth with their buffalo shoulder-blade hoes. They scratched around one circuit down to the thatch grass and then began on the next one, pushing the earth down each time to the lower course. Finally the earth accumulated close to the sod collar at the bottom, where it was left so that they could pile it up again after they had repaired the frame. The men stood around giving advice, telling the women to scratch here or there; it took until nearly noon to get all the earth off the roof. Meanwhile the young men were removing the thatch grass and cutting the bark tyings that held the willow withe circuits and removed them while the women were scraping on the lower circuits. The thatch grass was placed around the outside of the circle of earth and the willow withes in a circle outside the thatch. Then the young men examined the radials and removed the rotten ones, and the men standing below handed up the new radials which were put in their places.

356 476 283 Horse Rider had been preparing the elm bark strips that he had soaking overnight so that they could be tied on the new circuits of willow withe. They also had the bison hide that Old Bull and Victory Call had gotten on the winter hunt for making the rawhide rope needed to tie on the hoops around the smokehole. War Cry inquired whether they had been cut into strips, and, if this was not already done, Brave Shield, War

356 Cry's younger brother, would immediately set to work and do it. The
476 young men climbed to the top and fastened the two hoops in place.

283 Meanwhile White Woman had been cooking a meal for all of them
in the house of Chief's Road where they were staying. She entertained
356 the family of the house and everyone who had helped on the North Side.
574 The meal consisted of grease bread and soup made of dried intestine.
476 Some of the women had brought their own bowls out of consideration
[262] for the number she needed to feed. Old Bull's senior wife, Queen
Woman, was cooking and serving a similar meal in the house of Bringing
Trophies, to entertain all who had helped on the South Side. No one lingered over the meal, as they were anxious to get back to work.

356 The women took their bowls home and came back. They rested while
476 the young men tied on the new circuits of willow withe to the radials
with the moistened elm strips. They began at the bottom circuit and pro-
462 ceeded to the next circuit upward. When they reached the higher circuits, the "boys," Advance Scout and the others, began to fasten the thatch grass to the bottom circuit. As they got further up, the young men now took up this work, while the older "boys" began to pile the earth on the lower circuits, the women filling up their pans with earth and handing them up to the men on the roof. In households of less social status, the women would have had to do a good deal of the work on the roof themselves; in this case they were spared any need to climb up
356 further. When the work was completed, there was usually a dinner meal
574 for a large number of people, including some who had merely come
to watch the proceedings. Each of the hostesses usually had a party of about fifty to feed. Everyone was tired and they waited until the following morning to sweep out the house and move back in. Now the time for
221 planting was drawing near and they began to think of the immediate
241 preparations that remained.

In the whole course of this large construction job there was no fore-
356 man to oversee the work; not a single order was issued nor a command
46 given; the work was performed with precision, and no inspection was
needed to check its quality or workmanship.

it. A man like Eagle Chief who had eight or nine horses and whose son-in-law 224*
had a similar number, could afford to lend two or three to outsiders, 492
although this did not mean they would also share in the family 422
tent, as his administrative functions required that he take his entire 426
family along.

In the Pawnee language, the word horse means "super-dog," the only 482
pack animal the Pawnees had before the impact of European culture. 492
With all due respect to the capacities of the dog, however, it was the people 177
themselves that did most of the carrying on their own backs. They 224*
had to pack not only the things they needed for camping—food, tents,
and equipment—but they had to carry back the dried buffalo meat and
the large hides. Every able-bodied person they took along with them
could earn his way by carrying things on his back. The men, whether
first-rate hunters or not, could play a useful role in the surround of the
herd. The only people they would leave behind in the villages were the
old and disabled. But the horse had made quite a difference in the social
economy. A horse could be packed with the dried and packaged meat of
four buffalo while a person could not carry more than one—about 80
pounds. If need be the horse could carry still more goods on his back.
Unless they could be of substantial assistance in the work of the camp, a
person would only be an extra mouth to feed. In the case of a chief or 574
a man who was socially ambitious, there would be a great deal of entertaining 554
to do in the camp; women, in addition to their work in preparing 224*
the meat and skins would also assist with the entertaining. In a family 462
which had no social ambitions, like that of Mad Bear cited above, two 224*
men in partnership taking a minimum of housing and utensils and a
maximum of horses could return with a great deal of buffalo meat and 571
hides, to the general benefit of their families. The wife left behind under 492
these circumstances could hardly resent it.

The horse also represented a unique and highly valuable item of capital 551
that had the unprecedented value of not having to be carried, but of 231
moving itself. In the past, differences in wealth would depend on a much [556]
more direct kind of personal skill. The man who was swiftest on his feet
and the most skilled with the bow and arrow got the best buffalo, and
his wife could produce the finest packaged meat and the best skins. These
in turn could be traded for other valuable things—valued ornaments or
participation in the sacred ceremonies. Now skill in horsemanship, which
had become an indispensable factor in hunting the buffalo, implied also
major successes on the warpath and the capturing of horses as well as
their subsequent care and protection. The horse thus provided a material [556]
basis for a greater degree of social differentiation. The horse was an item [422]
of personal property, but unlike property in our society it was by no
means as much of a factor in developing differential status as other
aspects of experience, chiefly knowledge of man, the world, and the
universe.

000 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there. The
243 younger women whose husbands had horses for transportation would
476 often go out together with another couple and bring the crop back to
252 camp, where they would do the processing in a coordinated group. Victory Call and White Woman along with Horse Rider and No Corn formed such a work group, first in White Woman's fields and then in those of No Corn, carrying the crops into camp on their horses. The old
[887] lady sat in her field all day and brought the finished product back to camp when it was completely prepared for storage. Families with only
[492] one horse or with no horses also processed the entire crop in the field before packing it into camp.

313 While the women were at the food pit, the men had been out piling
• 462 wood in the fields and in camp so that it would be ready for roasting the green corn. They preferred to get dead willows and driftwood; Horse Rider was at the creek piling up the driftwood while Victory Call was bringing the willows into the camp. Some men would say, "I don't care—that's women's work," but a good man would help his wife.

222 At this time of year they gathered a plant, *parus-asu*, "rabbit-foot,"
272 used for making a brown tea that they drank if they didn't happen to have coffee (*Lespedeza Capitata* Michx.) At the top in a cluster are some fruits looking like tiny rabbit feet. The plant grew on a bush about 3 feet high. They brewed the tea by breaking up the dry twig with the leaves on and steeping it in a coffee pot. Now everything was ready for harvesting and roasting the green corn.

243 Very early next morning Grandma went out to her field and there pre-
342 pared a place for her work. She built herself an ample shade, *kipasiu*, of willows—a circular enclosure, open at the top with an entrance at the
252 east. The leaves were a bit interlaced to make the fencing solid, the side branches beginning about a foot from the ground. When she left for the night, she put a willow sapling with leaves at the top in the doorway so that the shelter was closed in and well protected from horses. People who did not work in the field sometimes built themselves a more temporary shelter by arranging four or five willows in an arc. In her enclosure Grandma roasted all her corn and would leave it overnight in bags to be husked there next day and the kernels removed before bringing it to camp. During the harvest she cooked all her meals there. She left before breakfast and ate whenever it was convenient. She had a kettle along and a small mortar and pestle for preparing her meals. She would pound some of the fresh corn kernels from the roasted cobs and wrap them in corn husks, putting them in the boiling water to make dumplings. After she removed the dumplings she would add some dried meat scraps that had been scraped from the hide at the hunting grounds, *kstasi'u*, to make a good soup. Sometimes she took her grandson, Otter, into the field and shared her meals with him.

field, and then next day by Horse Rider and No Corn in her field, the two 243
teams staying alternately at home and watching as well as processing the 251
crops. Sweet corn was mainly made into double braids. Quantity pro- 476
duction depended on team work, of course, but the women had to sort [244]
out the eight varieties of beans after everything was done, as the men [462]
would not bother with such a detail and would pay no attention to the
selection of the best ears for braiding. When all the corn was in, the [825]
blackbirds began to fly over the fields, presaging the cold weather.

The following are some of the processes used in preserving the crops, 243
together with a breakdown of how these were coordinated with the ac- 244
tivities of gathering. 251

The green corn was gathered from the stalk "in the milk" and roasted 243
in a long roasting pit in which a fire was built. It was allowed to cool 251
off and the husks removed. The kernels were cut off the cob row by row [237]
with a fresh-water clamshell and spread on a tanned hide to dry. At night [412]
the kernels were first winnowed to remove any chaff, gathered up and put in a flour sack, and then taken into the tent. They were put in a wooden bowl and spilled out from a height so that the wind would blow the chaff away. Next morning they were again spread out on the tanned hide. After several days, as they were being spilled for winnowing in the evening, they would make a tapping noise when they hit the hide, showing that the kernels were completely dry.

When the beans were picked off the vines and brought into camp, 244
they were dumped onto the spread and allowed to dry in the sun. As 251
they dried, one could hear the popping of the pods. At night they were left outdoors, covered only with a spread of tanned hide, and in
the morning uncovered and allowed to dry again. Then they were [412]
flailed with a peeled willow rod about 4 feet long and 1 inch thick to remove the pods as much as possible. Some of the beans had to be picked out by hand—a small pile of beans was always picked this way. If there was a large pile the woman would strike them with the stick, then stop and pick out the loose pods and pile them to one side, push the beans together again and further beat them with the stick. The beans were winnowed by spilling from a height from a wooden bowl, in this way loose pieces of dry pod blew away and the pods still containing some beans fell to the ground and were opened by hand—an operation in which someone usually gave her help if they were available. After winnowing, the beans were spread out to dry thoroughly. When all the other work had been done, the beans were sorted into their eight varieties.

After the beans, they brought in the pumpkin harvest. The women 244
spent most of one day hauling them from the field. First they brought 489
the largest, then the next largest, and so on. One parfleche in which 492
they were transported carried five large pumpkins, or seven to eight

Toward evening, Horse Rider made a fire in the fireplace and went to 512
get water. Then No Corn cooked some dry meat for the family and 252
began to prepare the "grease bread" when White Woman said, "Give it to me. I'll make it. You get the coffee ready." The South Side family had not yet moved back in, and White Woman sat in the southeast position to do the cooking and serving, passing the food around to the north. When they returned, she would take her place northeast of the fireplace for this purpose. After they had finished with supper, Horse Rider went out to get some water for the morning and then everyone went to bed, as they were all tired.

It took about a week to get the earth lodge warm and lived-in. When 356
they first moved in, it was cool like a dugout. During the first week, in [824]
the evening about every other day, they made a small fire near the doorway and burned sage weed (*kiwaut*) so that the draft would carry in the fragrant odor and sweeten the air in the lodge. It was also a protection [789]
against evil spirits that might have entered while they were away on the hunt.

The day after they had moved in, Uncle War Cry had moved his 356
family up from the camp. He came in and joined them for supper while 462
his house was being set up by the women. He sat down next to Victory Call near the west and while White Woman sat down at the southeast doing the cooking, he said, "When we started out, we didn't have much. But now we've accumulated a lot of stuff—old moccasins and whatnot—old pots and pans. They're still trying to arrange things at home. A man just picks up his bow and arrows, but a woman always has all sorts of stuff she gathers up, like old horns. She says she'll make spoons of them." "Same thing here," said Victory Call. White Woman did not let these remarks remain unanswered. She said, "Of course you men don't know how to load things up. That's why you're always complaining of the amount of stuff we accumulate. If you could pack right, you wouldn't talk that way." War Cry, undeterred, went right on talking. "A woman picks up everything she sees. The women are working in my home. I don't want to get mixed up in it. Now I'm going, nephew (*tiwat*)." "All right," said Victory Call, and just after he had gone, he added, "He always has something to say to make a man laugh." The women comment, "Tomorrow we must pick out those beans we pulled up in the [244]
pods with our fingers. If we use sticks to thresh them, it'll make dirt outside the lodge. We ought to pick them by hand."

In the next day or so, Old Bull met Victory Call and said they wanted to move back into the lodge next morning. "That's good," said Victory Call, "you ought to be in by now. There'll be something going on soon." (He is referring to the Doctor Dance Ceremonies.) Victory Call tells his folks at supper that Old Bull is moving in next day.

The following morning the South Side family rode up to the lodge, 356

756 796 [824] they ate a feast together. That evening, with a special ritual, it was stood in the ground next to the Bear Booth.

At the feast that afternoon, Big Doctor had given an accounting of how their meat supplies were holding up. Sixty rawhide containers of dried buffalo meat had been donated and these had to last for the whole proceedings. Including the present meal, they had used up fifteen. The doctors had been working for nine days. Two more were used cleaning the lodge of fleas, and, for the two days used in building the serpent, the turtle, and the witch woman, they had used up four containers.

796 756 313 • [462] The question of wood for fuel also came up at this time. As the meal was coming to a close, the north errand man whispered into Big Doctor's ear that he should mention this matter in his closing speech, particularly as a number of chiefs were present at the session. Getting wood was normally the function of the women and now they would have to enlist the help of a considerable party of women to lay in a supply. The two chiefs present would tell the various members of their families asking the women to get wood for the doctors and then word would readily get around. Old Man High Water was also instructed to go from house to house soliciting volunteers, saying, "The doctors want you to go for wood for them." He was cautioned not to mention any particular amount lest the women feel they were being pressured into going. The chiefs would arrange to have scouts go out with the women to protect them. Other young men would go voluntarily and picket on the hills.

36

THE WOMEN GET WOOD FOR THE DOCTORS

000 *Women Volunteer to Get Wood—Women Invited to Entertainment and Feast at Doctor Lodge—Quartz Crystal Sleight of Hand*

756 796 313 • 462 WHEN OLD-MAN-HIGH-WATER went around the village notifying the women, he told them to meet outside the village and that two men would go along to protect them. Meanwhile Eagle Chief had sent one of his wives to ask Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy to take over this task. They knew they would be asked and they were all ready to go. They were given instructions to lead the women south of the creek rather than to the west where the enemy was likely to be lurking. As the women started for the appointed meeting place, other men set out for the surrounding hills to picket.

[482] Twenty women had volunteered. There was a standard backload of wood that the women usually carried (¼ cord or 2 cubic feet—2 armloads; eight armloads = 1 cord or 4 backloads). For each night that the doctors performed, they would need four backloads. Besides their preparations during the current week, the doctors were likely to give five performances, so that the women have to go on three more such expeditions to keep them supplied.

While the women were in the timber cutting the wood, the two scouts were standing on a hill watching them closely. Some women were saying, "Don't take too much. Take a light load. There are a lot of us." As one woman would get loaded up, she would stand aside and wait for the others. Finally when most of them had gathered, the men called out, "All of you here yet?"

One was found to be missing and when she finally emerged they all

lined up one behind the other and set out for the village. As they ap- 756
proached, people were watching from the housetops, saying, "They're 796
coming with wood." A ridge ran east and west above the village and the 313
women sat down there to rest before coming in. They were wishing they 462
could take a bath in the lake beside the road. "Have you rested enough?" asked Roaming Scout. "Yes." "Come on, then." When they had gone halfway into the village, their scouts left them and went home and the women proceeded to the Doctor Lodge where they dumped the wood, some of it inside and some outside to the north of the door. Big Doctor said, "Now you ladies go home and change your clothes. Dress up in your best. Paint your cheeks and then come back because you are going to have a feast. Tell those two men who went with you to dress up and come. Who were they?" "Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy?" "All right."

By about three or four in the afternoon, the children who were wait- 756
ing around to see everything sighted the line of women with the two 796
men in the lead going to the Doctor Lodge. The women were carrying
their wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons. They were seated along 574
the north side of the lodge, the two men at the western end of the line. Wonderful Old Bull of the north side was doing the honors for the four main doctors. The wives of the doctors had contributed four buckets of boiled corn which were now brought in and the meat was given by one of the designated donors. An offering of corn was made to all the objects in the lodge, and it was served to the guests. After the second helping some of the women were patting their stomachs and saying, "My, I ate too much!" Those with more foresight had brought a bucket along to take the extra food home.

All the doctors except the four at the west remained in their booths. In anticipation of the forthcoming entertainment, some were calling out, "I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of that good-looking woman over there!" The women, who were apt to be shy on such occasions, were whispering among themselves instead of speaking out as the men usually did. The three big doctors at the west supplied the talk. "That one—I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of her!" "No you won't. That's the one I want." While they were eating the corn, twenty-two pieces of the cooked meat were spread out on a tent skin ready to be served, and as the women finished their corn they were served soup in their bowls. Wonderful Old Bull, representing all the head doctors, served them with the meat. Finally the dishes and pots were cleared away, the women put their bowls behind their backs, and the entertainment began.

At the west, Wonderful Old Bull and Sitting Hawk began to drum and sing doctor songs, while the doctors in different booths made all sorts of animal sounds. The little boys ran in to see what was going on. They were saying, "Now they're taking their quartz crystals." At this juncture,

time or not up to technical standards, or if the person failed to remain 531
even-tempered during the work, direct consequences to the health and 782
well-being of the craftswoman and her family would inevitably follow.
The guild was in the charge of a woman who made sure that these conditions
were met. The woman who supervised the fitting of the skins to 463
make the tent—the tent architect—also belonged to a religious guild of a [281]
similar sort. The conventional character of Pawnee technical processes was [342]
just as firmly established as among these other peoples, most of them going
back to very old practices, and their work was as fine and as precisely
done but there were no religious connotations of any kind.

The mature women did most of the craft work that pertained to the 463
domestic economy. The men made most of the things they used in hunting, [462]
war, and ceremonials. The crafts were not taught to the young people
as a normal part of their education. A young man or a young woman
had to be very eager to learn and only if an older person was willing to
sponsor them were they able to do so. The teacher had to receive ample
payment as well as a clear indication of a very real desire to learn. Both
for the manufacture of a craft object and for teaching as well as other [465]
kinds of assistance, "payment" should provide the craftsman with "something
to wear and something with which to feed the family." This consisted
in skin clothing or commercial cloth, blankets or shawls, and the
standard food stuffs, either native or trade.

The following is my informant's account of the circumstances of 463
learning the craft of making a black rope of braided buffalo hair: 283

> If a woman wanted to learn how to make a buffalo hair belt from Old Lady Lucky Leader, for example, one would go to her and put a necklace about her neck, and ask to be taught. She would certainly not consent at once. She might answer, "Some day I will teach you." This signified that if the applicant went quietly away and asked again another day, then repeated her request on subsequent occasions, she might finally give in. If she said, "I'll think about it," this meant she might capitulate if asked again. On the other hand, if she said, "I can't do it," this constituted an absolute refusal.
>
> There were situations in which she would feel impelled to grant the request. This was particularly the case if the woman were a close and respected relative, especially an in-law. On the other hand, she might also feel impelled to teach a woman whose family fortunes were low and who needed to earn something to help out. Such a woman was the wife of Chief's-Road. Giving the old lady a gift she said, "I want you to take pity on me and teach me to make a buffalo hair belt. You know that I am poor and we can't seem to work out anything. What I want is for you to take pity on me so that it may earn something for us. My husband can't make much and my sister can't do anything."

281 386 sides to keep the air from reaching the inner surface. When they first removed the skin from the frame, the smoked surface was somewhat black, but when it was exposed to the air it quickly turned yellow. Any smoky patches that remained were rubbed with the fingers, and these promptly turned yellow, too. In the past these dyed skin blankets were the forerunners of the later trade blanket.

291 221 The skins of the deer and elk were used for clothing because they were considerably lighter and softer than the buffalo hide. In the fall particularly, when the doctor performances were in prospect, they made a critical inspection of their wardrobes to see if they had something suitable to wear for the occasion. The women thought about a new dress and the men considered whether their clothing wasn't too shabby to wear and what ceremonial costumes they would need. They had been on the march all summer and busy with the harvest and they had had no time to think about such matters. They also had to consider the forthcoming winter hunt.

291 262 251 In the Plains climate, clothing was a pressing necessity. The fresh deer and elk meat was a welcome addition to their staple diet of dried vegetables and buffalo meat, but it was consumed immediately and never preserved. Economically, the hides were of greater practical value.

281 [462] There is some question whether it was the men or the women who dressed the deer and elkskins. Theoretically they both knew how, but the only accounts of the process I have seen or been able to collect refer to the work of the men. Apparently the hide was not treated with a tanning mixture but was simply dehaired and rubbed:

> [515] The first step in dressing the deer hide was to get it wet. A stick was put slantwise in the ground and the hide draped over it hair side up and fastened at the top. The hair which slanted upward was scraped off with a sharpened horse rib that was pushed from the top down. The deer hair was used as a stuffing for pillows; the buffalo hair was always thrown away. The skin was now turned over with the flesh side uppermost and rubbed with a sharp rock as rough as a file. Next they continued to rub the flesh side with another rock that was gray and white and very porous. They kept rubbing the flesh side until the skin had dried.

A description of preparing a moose hide for a robe is somewhat simpler; allowing the skin to soak in water for a day and a night, removing the hair with a horse rib as it rested on a slanting cottonwood stick, and then simply spreading the skin on the ground to dry.

When needed, the men dressed bear or fox skins and those of some other animals, stretching them on frames and overcasting them all around

the edges through a series of little holes. The beaver skins that they 281
trapped for sale to the traders, were treated in the same way.

The men made their own saddles and horse trappings, some of deer 282
and some of buffalo hide. All men made these for themselves and dressed 492
the deer hides, even Eagle Chief himself. But buffalo hide was gotten 462
from the women. They made saddles, bridles, stirrups, and saddle bags. For saddle bags, discarded buffalo robes were obtained from the women. The saddles were made either of deer and deer horns or wood and buffalo hide. The horn saddle took four or five days; the buffalo hide ten to fifteen. The men worked hard on their saddles and decorated them elabo- [531]
rately.

The basic clothing was cut out and sewn with an awl and sinew by the 291
women. The women wore a wrap-around skirt, an overblouse, leggings [294]
fastened at the knee, and moccasins. The skirt, of tanned deer hide, reached just below the knee with the closing at the right side. It was fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. If no deer hide was available, they used a very soft buffalo hide.

The blouse was a simple sleeveless pullover extending down over the waist so that it covered the top of the skirt and the belt that held it in place. It was made of an oblong piece of skin folded in two and cut out for the neck and armholes so that it would not rub against the underarm. (See Figure 48-1.) It was sewn along the sides with sinew, the seams extending just a little below the waist. The bottom section that reached toward the hips was left unsewn on the two sides. Around the neck was a scarf about 4 inches wide sewn across the back and reaching over the shoulders so that it could be turned up in cold weather for protection. The neck was provided with a drawstring whose ends hung down in front unless they wanted to draw the blouse close together around the throat.

Until the age of five or six, the little girls ran around naked, but then 855
they had to have a little wraparound skirt of buckskin with a drawstring 291
at the top. They would always complain that it was too loose, for it was usually made to allow for growth; when the little girl complained her mother would say, "Oh, go on, you'll grow soon," or "After all, it might shrink."

Leggings of tanned deer or elk hide were worn by all the women, and 291
these were tied around under the knee and turned down over the tie string at the top. For both men and women, they made two-piece moc-
casins with hard soles and softer uppers. Those of the Skidi were below [184]
the ankle and those of the South Bands a little above.

The clothing of the men, besides the basic garments, included a num- [292]
ber of ceremonial trappings or some that signified special rank or achievement. The main clothes were a loincloth, leggings, and moccasins.

50

OBJECTS OF WOOD FOR THE HOME

000

Women Made the Wood Objects for Home Use—Scarcity of Wood—Making the Wooden Bowl, Ladles, Spoons, Mortar, Pestle, Digging Iron, Tent Pegs, Bracket for Hanging Pots over Fire, Tipi Poles

462 WOMEN WERE THE MAIN MANUFACTURERS of objects made of wood. Not
322 only did they gather the fuel and the building materials, but they also made all the objects of general utility in the household. The men were directly concerned only with those things that were for their own immediate use—their weapons and their ceremonial objects. In no other group that I know of, except among the Woodland Indians, are the women the woodsmen and the woodcrafters to the extent that they were
[752] among the Pawnees. Like other lumbermen in the world, Pawnee
[761] women would sometimes be killed while felling trees, and a story is told of a woman responsible for another woman's death in such an accident who grieved so deeply that she wandered off never to be seen again.

137 In the Pawnee prairie plains country, the only place that trees grow is
462 along the streams, and in the distance one can readily identify the rivers
313 and streams by the green belt of trees that grow along their banks. This limited distribution of the trees meant that the women often had to travel considerable distances to get the wood they needed. In 1867 they had to have military protection. How matters stood earlier is not known. They
[492] also had the advantage of horse transport. The likelihood is that in the
[774] past their dogs had this function and a good deal was packed on their backs, water-floated, or simply dragged over the country. When women
313 went to the woods they took their pack ropes which they also made into

51

THINGS OF WOOD MADE BY MAN

000

The Bow—the Bowstring—the Arrow—the Pipestems—the Stone Bowl—the Individual Styles of Bowls

THE MEN MADE THE BOWS, arrowshafts, pipestems, and cottonwood water drums. 462 322

The Bow. In the past the Osage Orange (*Toxylon pomiferum*) was the most highly valued wood for bows. At this time they used ash (*Fraximus pennsylvanica*) known as *kirik-taka*, "eye-white." Every man made his own bow, though some were more and some less skilled. Little boys also made bows of ashwood to shoot birds. Ashwood was best gathered in the fall, generally in October before they left on the winter hunt. The ashwood saplings were left sticking among the willows in the ceiling to season, until they got back in the spring. 411 824 [857]

It took two days to make a bow. By splitting it in two down the length, two bows could be made from one sapling, unless it were not quite straight, when only one could be made. In each case, the outer surface of the tree became the outer surface of the bow. 411 322 [461]

The shaping was done by heating the stick in the coals until it was warm throughout and pliable. Putting the foot on the middle of the outside surface, the two ends were drawn very gently upward, and then each end was recurved with the foot so that the bow had a wide shallow dent in its back. The sinew bowstring was fastened to one end permanently, and at the other there was a series of notches in the bow so that the string could be tightened when in use and loosened at other times. (See Figure 51-1.) [283]

Once, after Victory Call had died, Otter's adoptive father caught a panther and decided to honor the boy by making him a quiver of it. Not 411

62

THE MAIN HUNT

000 *Handling the Meat after the Hunt—Winter Problems—Storytelling—Camp Moves to Many Deer—Dismantling the Tent—Meeting in Council Tent—the Hunt at Many Deer—Donations to the Sacred Bundles—Scouts Return to Grand Island to Report*

*224 VERY EARLY THAT MORNING after the scouts had ridden west, most of
• 462 the other men rode out after them, leaving the women in camp to finish
251 drying the meat with only a few men to protect them. The men took only
the horses they rode to the chase; the rest were left to the care of the
women. In warmer weather, a boy might ride an extra horse so that it
would be ready for packing after the chase, but at this time the weather
was too bad. In Victory Call's camp, White Woman, No Corn, and the
boy remained and the two men rode west.

*224 At Many Deer, Eagle Chief had decided that they would stake out a
camping place on the north shore, sheltered by timber and big hills from
*484 the cold winds, and lead their horses over the ice to the south bank for
[361] the chase. After the buffalo had been killed and butchered, the meat was
[492] loaded on the horses and carried to the south bank of the Republican.
There the meat was unloaded and the horses tethered. Then the men
[493] made "hand travois," *raku-rarahu-kita-hukhu*, in order to-pack of buffalo
meat-upon-water or ice-carry. This was a dead cottonwood with a fork
at the top. Sticks were fastened across the fork and upon this the meat
was loaded and tied with the man pulling the travois across the ice by
[501] the trunk. (In summer they made a "water package" raft of half the rawhide of a bison to float across the water in a similar situation.) When a
man had pulled all his meat across the ice, someone on the north shore
would ask him for his travois. He would say, "All right, that's a good
horse!"

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.) 000

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244). Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civilizations—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women. 462-251 462 171

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9. 000

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the inside of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within, then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people." 342 772

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'" He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on the contrary they were part of it and went out into it. 776 53[illegible] 787 821 157 821 721 114 821

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10 feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric examples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp. 172 251

14

PRACTICAL PREPARATIONS FOR THE BUFFALO HUNT

000

The Arrowshaft Makers—the Problem of Horses—Patterns of Cooperation on the Hunt—the Value of Horses to the Pawnees—the Tent Skin and Implements Needed with the Tent—Furniture—Household Utensils—Household Grouping for the Hunt—the Stay-at-Homes

Before leaving on the hunt, one of the Pawnees' primary considera- 411
tions was the weapons they would need for hunting and for their protection. Guns were expensive and sources of ammunition were not readily available while they were on the march. And so they used the
bow and arrow, which could be made from local materials. Every 411
hunter made his own bow of ashwood and his own sinew bowstring, but
the making of the arrowshaft was a highly specialized craft. The shaft it- 463
self fashioned of dogwood sticks had to be carefully shaped and the feathering skillfully applied so that it would shoot true. In 1867, there were only five arrowshaft makers for the whole Skidi Band. Everyone who needed arrows had to place his order with one of them and arrange to compensate him for his work. They also had to bring the craftsman the dogwood sticks well seasoned. They had collected them some time beforehand and left them in the rafters of the house so that they would be ready. When Old-Man-That-Chief stood on the roof of the earth lodge and reported on the chiefs' ritual meeting and exhorted them all to hurry, the arrowshaft makers were the first to feel the pres-
sure. The arrow point required a different kind of negotiation. In the 411
past they were made of chipped flint that no doubt had to be traded for 439
at some distance. At this time they were using iron barrel hoops that 177
they got from the trader in the tradestore, which they had rough-shaped 326
by the blacksmith.

411 439 177 by the blacksmith. They would sharpen them to their taste with a metal file that they also obtained in trade.

411 The arrowshaft makers had a monumental task to keep everyone supplied. They considered it a social service and made sure everyone had 463 them whether they were compensated or not. The Pawnee community was always more or less in a state of siege, and the arrowshaft makers felt that their work was essential to their common survival. As Mark Evarts expressed it, "Sometimes the arrowmaker made up his mind himself to make some arrows for someone. They want to supply the whole camp with arrows out of public spirit so that if the enemy comes on the warpath, everyone will have arrows. Even if they don't get any special compensation, they will do it to protect their children and others."

Practically the entire supply of arrows that they needed for the summer had to be made while they were still in the village as there was no time for such work while they were on the march or attacking the herd. A craftsman could produce about ten a day and he usually made them in lots of twenty, working them all in successive stages for the whole lot. With the limited leisure they had on the march they could barely finish one in a day, and this would only be done in case of emergency. They did take some dogwood sticks along for such a contingency. A hunter would consider twenty to forty arrows a reasonable number to keep [162] in his arsenal. In 1840 the Skidi population was estimated to have 469 males over the age of ten years. If 200 of these were adult hunters, this would mean that each of the five craftsmen would have 40 of them to take care of, and supplying each with 20 arrows would mean that he [461] had to produce 800 arrows to keep his group supplied once around. This was eighty full days of work.

When a man decided he needed to replenish his stock, he took the dogwood sticks that he had seasoning in the rafters of his house and went to the arrowmaker and asked him to make him twenty. It would be tacitly [437] understood that if in time he got a buffalo, he would make him a gift of a buffalo robe, or perhaps a blanket, some dried buffalo meat, leggings, or a pair of good moccasins.

Sometimes, without having a special order on hand, the craftsman would ask a young man to get him forty to sixty dogwood sticks and would compensate him when he had finished, with a gift of ten completed shafts. He wanted to make sure that everyone was supplied whether they made a special request or not. They had to get their own [237] feathers—turkey for the most part, but if they could not get one, a buzzard or a goose was a substitute.

In the latter part of May just before the chief's council, they were likely to accelerate their efforts. One of them would be sitting at the gaming grounds watching the hoop and spear game, and then another would be likely to sit down and join him. They would begin to talk

about arrows. Presently all five would have congregated there and they 411
would continue the conversation. People at the gambling grounds would 463
remark, "See those fellows over there? I guess they're talking about arrows and who makes the best ones." Meanwhile the arrowmakers would be talking about how many arrows they had made during the spring and how many more they would have to make. They would talk about
how many they had given as gifts. With the younger men, arrowshafts [525]
were a favorite item for gambling; the older ones played for higher stakes, like horses and dried buffalo meat. One of the makers would remark, "I gave one fellow so and so many, but he's a great gambler and he's already lost them." "I gave that fellow arrows too," another would say, "and I'm sure he'll also lose those!"

The most skilled arrowmaker of the group was Chief's Road, who shared the lodge next to that of Victory Call and Old Bull with his brother, Horse Thief. His shafts were slender and graceful and had black feathers on the ends. He was jealous of his skill; when someone tried to approach him when he was working, he would turn and conceal what he was doing. He had probably learned the craft from his father. He was a commoner in hereditary rank, but ambitious to rise in the social scale. He would supply Chief Victory Call, Otter's father, with arrows and do other services for him in the hope of gaining status. The arrowshafts made by his brother, Horse Thief, were also of fine workmanship.

Two other craftsmen were also grouped and made shafts that were similar. Path-of-the-Enemy made arrowshafts that tended to be large and not as fine as those of the two brothers. He had been born as a brave, the rank second to that of chief, but he had little interest in validating his public position. He was good-natured, with a pleasant disposition, and well liked. He had taught New Young Dog his craft, and he also made rather large shafts. He was a man of great courage and was always off on hunting and scouting expeditions that at times took him far from the village.

The fifth arrowmaker was Careless-of-the-Enemy. He would go off long distances by himself on hunting and scouting expeditions. He had no interest in public recognition or status problems.

Besides the characteristic shape of the shafts that each of these men
made, they each put a slightly different-colored marking on his shafts. [422]
The distinctive character of the shafts were confined to the makers, not the owners. Everyone knew who got shafts from which maker and when and how many. While out on the buffalo hunt, everyone was conscious of who chased which animal, and when they came up to a fallen buffalo and examined the arrowshaft, they put together the circumstances and
knew who had killed that particular bull or cow. Nobody needed a per- [422]
sonal property mark for this purpose.

Horses were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact 000

555 universe. The Pawnees had great contempt for extreme poverty and
231 raggedness, but no great desire or awe for wealth in large quantities.
[735] Historically the likelihood is that the cooperative social patterns of the
[556] Pawnees go back to a time when practically every person had an impor-
[174] tant function in the material economy, while a person of outstanding
value was one who had special insights and knowledge.

342 But for all the value the Pawnees placed on knowledge and the things
281 of the spirit, a tent was an absolute necessity as they traveled over the
country. The making of the tent skin was one of their most complex technical achievements. It was a major enterprise to get one made, which had to be anticipated at least two years in advance. Eight skins had to be accumulated over four successive hunting periods—a summer hunt, a winter hunt, and on the following year again, a summer and a winter hunt. Sinew of eight buffalo for sewing the skins together also had to be saved. As signs of wear would appear in their tent skin, a woman would remind her husband of their need. Then he would set aside two good skins in each of the four seasons. The average life of a tent skin was no more than ten or twelve years.

463 Seven buffalo hides were used to make the body of the tent; an eighth
281 was cut up for gussets, loops for the pegs at the bottom, and a double
thickness at the door. In order to fit the skins together in the smoothest and most economical way and to arrange the pattern of the applied parts, a woman specialist in this field had to be called in to supervise the work. There were only a limited number of women with such knowledge in the tribe. In addition, it would take four or five women working pretty
[461] steadily for three or four days to do the actual sewing of the skins. The
workers all had to be compensated with gifts of dried buffalo meat, skin
[437] clothing, and trade store goods that had to be purchased with buffalo
products. In the course of the hunt, the hunter had to anticipate these needs as well as the need for the skins and the sinews. Payment for the work of planning and sewing amounted to at least the sale value of a good buffalo robe.

342 The same tent skin was used for both the winter and the summer hunts, but the framework was different. In winter they used the standard pointed skin tipi, supported by a frame of thirteen tall and heavy rigid poles that were leaned against one another at the top to form the conical frame. With its fire burning in the middle, this tent provided an excellent protection against the winter cold, but it was too warm for summer. For the summer frame they used a series of flexible saplings to make an open-faced shelter. The making of the heavy tipi poles was a long and difficult process and had to be planned well in advance, whereas the saplings for the summer framework could be gathered near the time of leaving for the summer hunt. Elm or willow saplings were available near the creek in the late spring or early summer and at this time the bark

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-shaped,
177 bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological circles
[172] as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people
was "Big Knife."

Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
17 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
412 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
324 continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrowshafts
and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sandstone
buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from southwest
[439] Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal
their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard
electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
796 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
463 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
322 arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the
essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots
from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when
the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was
referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the
pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic
terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
796 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
471 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

time or not up to technical standards, or if the person failed to remain 531
even-tempered during the work, direct consequences to the health and 782
well-being of the craftswoman and her family would inevitably follow.
The guild was in the charge of a woman who made sure that these con-
ditions were met. The woman who supervised the fitting of the skins to 463
make the tent—the tent architect—also belonged to a religious guild of a [281]
similar sort. The conventional character of Pawnee technical processes was [342]
just as firmly established as among these other peoples, most of them going
back to very old practices, and their work was as fine and as precisely
done but there were no religious connotations of any kind.

The mature women did most of the craft work that pertained to the 463
domestic economy. The men made most of the things they used in hunt- [462]
ing, war, and ceremonials. The crafts were not taught to the young peo-
ple as a normal part of their education. A young man or a young woman
had to be very eager to learn and only if an older person was willing to
sponsor them were they able to do so. The teacher had to receive ample
payment as well as a clear indication of a very real desire to learn. Both
for the manufacture of a craft object and for teaching as well as other [465]
kinds of assistance, "payment" should provide the craftsman with "some-
thing to wear and something with which to feed the family." This con-
sisted in skin clothing or commercial cloth, blankets or shawls, and the
standard food stuffs, either native or trade.

The following is my informant's account of the circumstances of 463
learning the craft of making a black rope of braided buffalo hair: 283

> If a woman wanted to learn how to make a buffalo hair belt from Old Lady Lucky Leader, for example, one would go to her and put a necklace about her neck, and ask to be taught. She would certainly not consent at once. She might answer, "Some day I will teach you." This signified that if the applicant went quietly away and asked again another day, then repeated her request on subsequent occasions, she might finally give in. If she said, "I'll think about it," this meant she might capitulate if asked again. On the other hand, if she said, "I can't do it," this constituted an absolute refusal.
>
> There were situations in which she would feel impelled to grant the request. This was particularly the case if the woman were a close and respected relative, especially an in-law. On the other hand, she might also feel impelled to teach a woman whose family fortunes were low and who needed to earn something to help out. Such a woman was the wife of Chief's-Road. Giving the old lady a gift she said, "I want you to take pity on me and teach me to make a buffalo hair belt. You know that I am poor and we can't seem to work out anything. What I want is for you to take pity on me so that it may earn something for us. My husband can't make much and my sister can't do anything."

• 463 283 Having consented, Old Lady Lucky Leader would say, "On so-and-so day I am going to make it. Come in then." When the wife of Chief's-Road came in, the old lady directed her to sit down to her left and watch everything. As the work progressed she paid close attention to the manner of braiding and after some of the work had been completed, the teacher asked the pupil to try her hand at it. At first she was very clumsy and was corrected by the teacher and finally she got the idea. When she got home, she tried to do it by herself and from time to time came in to see the old lady saying she didn't quite remember about this and this detail and asking to be shown.

She told no one that she had learned, but on an occasion when someone came to the old lady to have a belt made, she would say, "Go to the wife of Chief's-Road. She can make it. I taught her." The man now would go to the wife of Chief's-Road and tell her that he had been sent by the old lady because she had too much work. She would make the belt for the man and the entire fee would be hers, with no further financial obligation to her teacher. From now on others would hear of it and begin to apply to her and she would be able to earn something for her family.

463 Most mature women knew the techniques of skin working with a
[281] knowledge of mat making being somewhat less common but still widely
[285] known. Everyone could make buffalo-horn spoons. The weaving of the
[321] black rope and woven belts as well as the making of wooden bowls
[283] were known to a very limited number of craftswomen. In the men's
[322] crafts, the bow was made by everyone, but the extremely restricted
[411] number of arrowshaft makers has already been mentioned. The pipe
makers were equally specialized and they made both the stem and the
[276] bowl. Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most significant
things the man needed. Only six or seven men among all the Skidi
[292] could make them. Skin shirts could only be worn by men who had an
[554] outstanding social or military status and these were made by a very
[294] limited number of specialists. These specialists were regarded like the
village blacksmith of our early towns. They tried to have two or three
of them in each village. But even the most common craft techniques
could only be learned by a person who was sponsored by someone or
had the wherewithal to pay for his instruction.

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair
turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moccasin
to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the
padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of [294]
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-soled
moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one
section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in [855]
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to protect
them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accommodate
the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other [465]
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstanding 554
symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

000
shield. Some men could make themselves a war bonnet with eagle feathers 237
(the traditional war bonnet of the plains symbolizing a comet). They 292
would buy long white beads in the store and at the base of the throat, 301
wear a big shiny disk about as large as a dollar made out of long black
oyster shell.

An indispensable element of ceremonial costuming was the Black Rope 463
made of buffalo hair. Only men could wear these. The process of braid- 283
ing was very complicated and required great concentration. If a woman [292]
came around inclined to converse, the maker would excuse herself and [237]
say she had to get through and wasn't able to talk at this time. The work
was done in the house and preferably in the fall when less interruptions
were likely. Only a few women had the skill to do it. The hair of which
the rope was made was from the mane or head of the buffalo. Four
twisted strands were braided together into a long rope or belt. Each of
the strands for braiding was wound onto a ball, and these balls were
manipulated in order to form the braid. Some women did fine even work
and some did it poorly and roughly. Working steadily at it, the work took [461]
about twelve days. If it had to be fitted in with other work, it would
take more time. A woman would come to the belt maker on behalf of
her husband and order one, bringing the materials. The maker would be
paid well.

There were some few women who could make a colorful braided belt 292
by interweaving five colors. They called it "red-woven." It was a wide [286]
flat belt that was made to order to fit the waist of the prospective wearer
with long fringes hanging down to the ankles. A belt like this was usually
made for boys and girls of good families and for young women. An older [171]
woman would not consider it proper to wear one although among the
Osage, they were commonly worn by all women. A few men twisted
these belts around their heads as a turban with the fringes hanging down
on both sides of the face and eagle feathers at the back of the head.
Most men regarded this as a "flashy" style of dressing.

The materials used were entirely commercial—wool for the body and cord for the concealed warps. A woman who wanted to have one made for her boy would ask her husband to buy the materials at the trade store so that she could take them to the weaver.

We do not know whether this skill is old or new among the Pawnee. 286
In general, on the American continent, it goes back several thousand 178
years as a fabric-producing technique. But the exclusive use of commer-
cial materials and the reluctance of mature men and women to wear the
belt suggests that its adoption is fairly new.

The work was usually done outdoors in the springtime for maximum 286
visibility. It required great concentration and one mistake might compel
the weaver to rip the whole thing. If a woman was making one on order,
her family would do her spring planting to free her for the work. It

49

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TENT COVER

000

Tents Made by Specialists—the Time Involved and the Payment—the Process of Making the Tent under Old Lady Lucky Leader's Direction

342 237 THE BUFFALO-HIDE TENT COVER was a major family possession. It was made of at least eight tanned hides, with sinew from an equal number of buffalo to sew them together. The body of the tent was formed of seven skins and the eighth was cut up for gussets, loops for pegs around the bottom edge, and a double thickness on both sides of the doorway. Twelve years represented the life of a tent, and some of the skins wore out in the meantime and had to be replaced. About three years before the cover was worn out, they would have to think about acquiring the necessary tanned skins. It took at least two years to accumulate the eight skins—a summer and a winter hunt and then again a summer and a winter hunt and in each of the four hunts, two skins were saved for the tent.

342 463 In order to cut out the pattern of the skins and give directions for putting them together and sewing them, a specialist had to be called in by the family. Old Lady Lucky Leader, in addition to her many other accomplishments in the Doctor Lodge and as keeper of the Evening Star bundle, was also one of the outstanding tent architects. She would have to cut out the several buffalo skins and fit them together in the most economical way and direct the other women in sewing them together with sinew.

[461] It took four days of steady work for the four women of Victory Call's household to complete the sewing of the cover under the old lady's direction.

342 464 465 But before she could be called in, in addition to having all the necessary materials prepared, they had to get ready the payment for the vari-

342 ous services that would be involved. Lady Lucky Leader herself would
464 get a good amount of flour, sugar, coffee, and some calico, and the other
465 women of the household who helped with the sewing were given gifts
of calico and special meals were prepared for entertaining them. These
439 items had to be obtained at the trade store in exchange for a tanned buf-
[437] falo robe. This was prepared by White Woman, and the day before the
work was to begin Victory Call and she each mounted a horse and rode
over to the store about two miles away, taking the robe with them. The
[492] two horses would be needed to bring home the supplies, otherwise White
[562] Woman would have walked, Victory Call ridden. At the trade store they
439 got a sack of flour, some coffee, sugar, baking powder, prunes, dry ap-
435 ples, and about five yards of calico. At this time a hundred-pound sack of
flour was worth $7.00 at the store. For the family alone without special
events or guests, such a sack of flour lasted about two weeks (two
double-handfuls for each meal). Amounts of the other items usually
bought were fifty cents worth of coffee, fifty cents worth of sugar,
439 twenty-five cents worth of baking powder. Five or six yards of calico
342 were $1.00 so that, excluding the cost of the prunes and dry apples, the
464 gift to Lady Lucky Leader would amount to about $9.25 worth of
merchandise. An exceptionally well-tanned buffalo robe would bring
465 $20-30 worth of value at the store. After providing payment for Lady
[435] Lucky Leader with the remaining value of the buffalo robe, they had to
buy supplies for the special meals—an additional sack of flour, more
sugar, coffee, baking powder, and some lard and prunes. Finally to each
of the three women of the household that helped with the sewing—
Grandma, No Corn, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy—they would give
five yards of calico to each (worth a dollar for the five yards), and some
needles and thread. The buffalo robe would just about cover the labor
costs for sewing together the tent.

• 463 About a week before the work was to begin, White Woman would
342 have gone to see Lady Lucky Leader and have said to her, "Atira (my
mother), I've come to ask you to make a new tent for me." "Well," she
answered, "I have something to do right now, but I could do it a little
later. Are you in a hurry?" "No, a week's time will be all right." "Well,
then, have two good sharp knives ready," said the old lady.

At the appointed day, she arrived at Victory Call's lodge after breakfast. The skins and tools were taken outdoors, and while White Woman cleared up the breakfast dishes, the other three women went out with her and Lady Lucky Leader cut out the skins. She placed them in the most economical manner and then she assigned each of the women a particular seam to sew. Each woman had prepared herself with her own awl and a quantity of prepared sinew. Presently White Woman joined them and
[264] was also assigned a seam to sew. Before noon she had to retire to prepare
[262] the meal. They were served grease bread, coffee, and prunes. For sup-

463 per she prepared boiled corn kernels, grease bread, and coffee. After supper,
342 the old lady went home.

[268] The second day the same procedure was followed. When White
[264] Woman retired to prepare the meal of grease bread, prunes, and coffee,
War Cry and his brother Brave Shield heard that they were having a special
meal in Victory Call's house and they proceeded to come in with the
remark, "I see you're working here," and were promptly invited to join
them for lunch. They would probably stay on talking to Victory Call
463 and also stay for supper. This would make about eighteen people, including
342 the guests for the evening meal. For this group they needed
252 three double handfuls of dried corn kernels (one of these double handfuls
262 represented eight ears of corn). For the eighteen large round disks
574 of fried grease bread, it took three generous double handfuls of store
flour (a meal for a family ordinarily required two). If meat were to be
served instead of the corn they would need half a sheet of dry buffalo
meat cut into long strips 7 inches long and 3½ inches wide. This meat
would be boiled with a sheet of fat and served with the soup.

463 The third day was similar with the Old Lady going home after supper.
342 By the evening of the fourth day the tent was completed. A process mentioned
by another Pawnee informant, but not in this account, stated that
before the cover was used, girls were sent inside to make a fire so that
the skin would get permeated with soot, which would keep it from leaking
in the rain or drying up in the sun.

463 Supper for the evening of the fourth and final day consisted of boiled
465 corn kernels with boiled dried pumpkin strips mixed in. After the Old
342 Lady Lucky Leader had gone home, a half-hour passed and then White
[262] Woman and Grandma took the food and goods for her payment. White
Woman led the way and Grandma walked behind, carrying the gifts to
her house. They set them down before her saying, "Here's flour, coffee,
sugar, calico. You helped us with our tent." "Oh, I thank you for
giving me this material. My spirit is glad for this food that we will eat,"
said the old lady. When the two women got home they reported to
Victory Call, the old lady's appreciation. Victory Call again went to the
store and got the three pieces of calico of five yards each and the needles
and thread for the three women of his own household who have helped
out—Grandma, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, and No Corn.

342 The tent was now in good order for the winter hunt.

313 a kind of lasso with a stick tied to the end as a weight for pulling down [412] branches from the trees. They took with them their hatchets—the men usually working with axes—and from their present woodworking methods one can only speculate that in the past they felled the trees by a combination of burning, gouging, and scraping.

415 412 The utensils and equipment that the women made for the household were all-year round equipment, used both in the earth lodge and on the march. The wooden bowl and the wooden ladles for serving, along with the individual buffalo-horn spoon, were a necessity for every meal, and the mortar and pestle were carried along on the march as well as being in frequent use in the earth lodge for the preparation of meals. The [414] wooden bracket and hook to suspend the pot over the fire were also common equipment in both domestic situations. The forked seven-foot-long 412 *biku* stick with the sharp fire-hardened point was primarily for making holes in the ground for the tent pegs and for the tipi poles, but it had many other domestic uses particularly as a carrying pole and as a digging iron in general.

322 415 [461] *The Wooden Bowl.* The following are two different accounts, one given by Mark Evarts of the Skidi Band and one by Effie Blane of the Pitahawirata. Evarts gives an estimate of eight days that it took to make the bowl, while Effie Blane cites three days. The different estimate is probably between spare time and full-time work (Weltfish, 1937, pp. 47-48).

> • [463] There were only six or seven old women among all the Skidi villages who knew how to make these bowls. In Victory Call's family, Grandma knew and in Old Bull's family on the south side of the lodge, Old-Lady-Blue-Calico who had come from Village-in-the-Bottomlands, also knew how. In order to get a bowl made, one had to have a knot ("wood knob") of cottonwood or black post oak that could be taken to the maker. The making took about eight days. Suitable payment for this work was either a combination of half a pumpkin mat and a bag of dried roasted corn kernels about six inches high, or some cutout skins for moccasins and leggings instead.
>
> For a wooden bowl or *rakaraki*, one would select the knot according to the size of the bowl one wanted. After the knot is cut with a sharp hatchet, the woman would begin to chip it from the middle out, and finally while the wood was still damp and not hard she would make a hole on the inner surface of the requisite size. Next she trimmed it all [412] over with a crooked knife, *retsi-pirus*, "knife-crooked," leaving a projection on the rim to be formed into a handle. When the surface was all smooth, she carved the handle called *rak-u-paks-tar-u-kita-ku*, "plate-with-head-plural-up-on top-sitting," the handle being toothed

stretched between two short stakes that were driven into the ground 411
the requisite distance apart and the ends of the bowstring were fastened 283
firmly to them. The string was left to dry for the rest of the afternoon until the dew came up in the evening. Then it had to be taken inside and again stretched outdoors the next day. It was well to fasten it up high out of the way of the dogs, who might eat it up.

The Making of Arrowshafts. Five arrow makers comprised the official 411
body responsible for making all the arrowshafts used by the entire Skidi 463
Band. They kept track of the needs of all the men and saw that they were met. None of the other technical industries, even those in which only a limited number of individuals were skilled, were of this public character. Just before leaving for the summer and for the winter hunts, they accelerated their activities. The arrow makers themselves saw to it that they had plenty of dogwood sticks on hand and kept on making the shafts, sometimes on special order, but often to have them on hand when called for. In almost all other crafts, the customer provided the materials and contracted only for the skilled services of the craftsman.

The following is paraphrased from an account given in my Caddoan 411
Texts by Effie Blane:

> The man making ready to fashion arrowshafts, will first get some needed materials together. He will assemble: a stick with a hide wound [412] around it which has been boiled down to a gummy consistency to be used as a paste; two flat stones each with a long groove, used to abraid the stick by putting the stones together and pulling the stick back and forth in the groove (*rax-ka'is,* "going-between within," buffers); the bone shaft-straightener, *kis-kats,* "bone-very white"; also *rasats,* possibly pieces of split bone with the rough spongy inner surface exposed to smooth the surface (or a pulverized plant?).
>
> These materials being ready, the man went into the timber and gathered some dogwood twigs. He then took them home and peeled off the bark (with a knife). Now he hung the debarked twigs over the fire from the bracket east of the fireplace on which the pot ordinarily hangs, so that the twigs could season and dry in the smoke of the fire. They were left there to smoke overnight and in the morning they were removed and each twig was "eyed up and down" to find any bumps or irregularities, which were removed with the *rasats* abrasive.
>
> The next step was to attach the feathers to the blunt end. Turkey [237]
> feathers were best because they tore straight, but turkey was hard to get, and if you didn't have them you used buzzard. While he was splitting the feather, he was chewing some sinew so that it would be soft [284]
> enough to bind on the feathers. The three splints of feather were placed against the arrow and tied with the wet sinew. The feathered [237]
> end of the arrow was then smeared with the gummy paste made of

For personal use a man would go to one of the six or seven men who 276
were the only ones that could make them among all the Skidi. An order 463
for a pipe included both the wooden stem and the stone bowl. As usual, 316
the materials had to be assembled by the man who wanted the pipe and taken to the maker. When he placed his order, he was sent to get the necessary ashwood stick. The stone for the bowl was Catlinite or red pipestone from the famous pipestone quarry in the extreme southwestern part of Minnesota, located northeast of Pawnee territory. When men went out on the warpath stealing horses in this vicinity, they were likely to get as much of the stone as they could carry. Nearer home there was a green rock (serpentine?) that could be used; it was soft and was blackened by the maker while the other kind was left red. A man who wanted 276
to order a pipe made had to go to someone who had gotten it in this way:

> He would say, "I want you to give me a stone for a pipe." When the warrior gave his consent, the man went home and waited and presently the warrior sent his wife with the block of stone to give to the man's wife. The wife of the warrior now returns home, having accomplished her mission. The man ordering the pipe, not wanting to take the stone for nothing, sends his wife to the home of the warrior with twenty arrows, a blanket and she adds some buffalo meat. She now sets out for the warrior's house and approaching his wife she says, "This is for your husband. He gave us that pipe." The warrior's wife demurs, saying, "Oh, don't do that." "Yes, keep it. It's for your husband." The warrior's family now enjoys eating the gift of dry meat and they put the arrows and the blanket up on the wall. Later on when the two men meet, the warrior says to the man who is ordering the pipe, "What did you do that for? I didn't want anything for the stone." "Oh, that's all right. I wanted you to have something for it." "Well, all right, thank you," says the warrior, "We ate it!"

With the stone in hand, the man would now go to the pipe maker 276
whose work he considered best and speak to him about it. Each pipe 463
maker had his own distinctive way of making a pipe and one would ei- 531
ther come with his own specifications or simply accept the style of the 324
pipe maker himself. The man would say, "With a horse on it," etc., or "I want just a plain pipe," in which case it would be made in the maker's style. Two alternative kinds were one with rings (like a windpipe) or one with a flat part on the half below the mouthpiece, then a thick ring of wood and the rest of the length round to the bowl end. Kind Warrior who was a leader of the Deer Dance, *Raris-ta*, had a pipestem with half the length from the bowl end to the middle flat, and three ridges from the middle up to the mouthpiece. This was something like the ridges on an arrow where the feathers were to be attached and may have had some symbolic reference connected with this. Some men ordered their stone

276 pipe bowls to be made with five ridges to denote that they had sacri-
• 463 ficed five buffalo, others three. A man who had a horse head carved on
531 his pipe might do this to indicate that he gives away a lot of horses. On
324 the other hand some people just had things put on their pipes "to be
fancy."

276 To hollow out the wooden stem they burned out the pith with the
824 same stiff weed used in making brooms, *kibax-piriwuu*, "room-brusher,"
Artemisia dracunculoides Pursh., or fuzzy weed. The plant had a pleasant
322 odor like sage which is also a variety of *Artemisia*. The weed was sharp
and after the pith had been burned all the way through down the length,

276
324

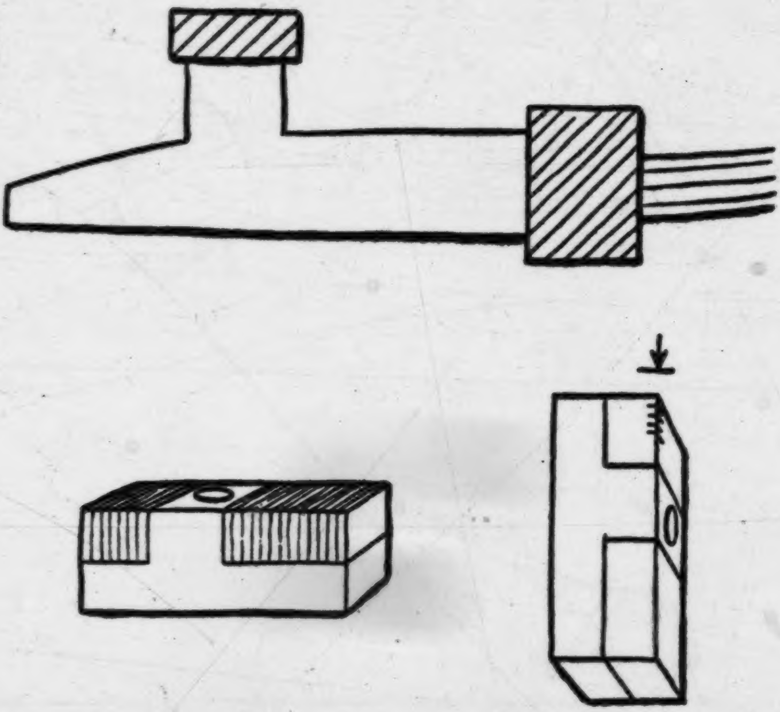


FIGURE 51-2. A pipe made by Brave Horse, *Asa-rabikutsu*, the bowl of red Catlinite or pipestone and the stem of ashwood. The first step of the pipemaker in fashioning the bowl was the marking off of the block with charcoal so that he could sculpt the bowl in the rough. Next the two blocks, one in front and one behind the bowl, were removed (hatched areas). In the old days this was a laborious task. There were no metal drills, files, or rasps; the two blocks of stone were chipped off from the outer edges inward piece by piece by sawing back and forth with a flint knife.

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the
white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was
wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and
also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-four
feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidistant
intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled basket 773
made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to
carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the
germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony
immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous movement"
or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially
made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The
women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the
course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to
move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learning [887]
to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling.
There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the
betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual
pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make
the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked
to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525
285

64

POSTSCRIPT INTO THE PRESENT

000 *The Modern Pawnee—Otter's Later Life—the Arrival in Oklahoma—the Fate of Otter's Family and Friends—His Marriage—the Modern Day Pawnee Powwow*

177 Some might wonder how the modern Pawnees came into being, seeing
• 463 that they are thoroughly integrated citizens of the present United States,
many of them living as residents of various urban centers. The Pawnees count among their numbers teachers, artisans, business managers, engineers, journalists, artists, nurses, social workers, professional entertainers, and one former Big League baseball player.

159 Perhaps the fate of some of the principal characters I have mentioned
761 offers a good means of illustrating the process of transition. The boy, Otter,
is a good case in point. When he was about seven years old his father,
754 Victory Call, died. He felt he had been bewitched by his anxious rival in the religious field, Big Doctor, leader of the Doctor Association, whose hegemony the success of Victory Call's Deer Dance cult was challenging. In his dying vision, Victory Call saw a man with an eagle-wing fan before his face that he positively identified as Big Doctor.

159 White Woman, Grandma, and the boy were given a home by Uncle
736 War Cry in whose house they settled, taking a subordinate position near
its eastern end. The old house was left to the other inhabitants. The boy
[572] was warned to break off all relationships with his old friends who might insult him with mention of the fact that he had no father. His mother kept him close to the house. He tried to get acquainted with some of the children nearby, but he found it hard.

159 Two years later, Shot Arm, a brave of Lone Chief's Village-across-a-
587 Ridge, came and sued for his mother's hand. Shot Arm approached War Cry and said, "Victory Call was my uncle and he has a son here. He is as my own son and I'd like to raise him." Finally he was told to speak to

49

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TENT COVER

000

Tents Made by Specialists—the Time Involved and the Payment—the Process of Making the Tent under Old Lady Lucky Leader's Direction

342 237 THE BUFFALO-HIDE TENT COVER was a major family possession. It was made of at least eight tanned hides, with sinew from an equal number of buffalo to sew them together. The body of the tent was formed of seven skins and the eighth was cut up for gussets, loops for pegs around the bottom edge, and a double thickness on both sides of the doorway. Twelve years represented the life of a tent, and some of the skins wore out in the meantime and had to be replaced. About three years before the cover was worn out, they would have to think about acquiring the necessary tanned skins. It took at least two years to accumulate the eight skins—a summer and a winter hunt and then again a summer and a winter hunt and in each of the four hunts, two skins were saved for the tent.

342 463 In order to cut out the pattern of the skins and give directions for putting them together and sewing them, a specialist had to be called in by the family. Old Lady Lucky Leader, in addition to her many other accomplishments in the Doctor Lodge and as keeper of the Evening Star bundle, was also one of the outstanding tent architects. She would have to cut out the several buffalo skins and fit them together in the most economical way and direct the other women in sewing them together with sinew.

[461] It took four days of steady work for the four women of Victory Call's household to complete the sewing of the cover under the old lady's direction.

342 464 465 But before she could be called in, in addition to having all the necessary materials prepared, they had to get ready the payment for the vari-

342 ous services that would be involved. Lady Lucky Leader herself would
• 464 get a good amount of flour, sugar, coffee, and some calico, and the othe
465 women of the household who helped with the sewing were given gi
of calico and special meals were prepared for entertaining them. These
439 items had to be obtained at the trade store in exchange for a tanned buffalo
[437] robe. This was prepared by White Woman, and the day before the
work was to begin Victory Call and she each mounted a horse and rode
over to the store about two miles away, taking the robe with them. The
[492] two horses would be needed to bring home the supplies, otherwise White
[562] Woman would have walked, Victory Call ridden. At the trade store they
439 got a sack of flour, some coffee, sugar, baking powder, prunes, dry apples,
435 and about five yards of calico. At this time a hundred-pound sack of
flour was worth $7.00 at the store. For the family alone without special
events or guests, such a sack of flour lasted about two weeks (two
double-handfuls for each meal). Amounts of the other items usually
bought were fifty cents worth of coffee, fifty cents worth of sugar,
twenty-five cents worth of baking powder. Five or six yards of calico
439 were $1.00 so that, excluding the cost of the prunes and dry apples, the
342 gift to Lady Lucky Leader would amount to about $9.25 worth of
464 merchandise. An exceptionally well-tanned buffalo robe would bring
465 $20-30 worth of value at the store. After providing payment for Lady
[435] Lucky Leader with the remaining value of the buffalo robe, they had to
buy supplies for the special meals—an additional sack of flour, more
sugar, coffee, baking powder, and some lard and prunes. Finally to each
of the three women of the household that helped with the sewing—
Grandma, No Corn, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy—they would give
five yards of calico to each (worth a dollar for the five yards), and some
needles and thread. The buffalo robe would just about cover the labor
costs for sewing together the tent.

463 About a week before the work was to begin, White Woman would
342 have gone to see Lady Lucky Leader and have said to her, "Atira (my
mother), I've come to ask you to make a new tent for me." "Well," she
answered, "[illegible] something to do right now, but I could do it a little
later. Are you in a hurry?" "No, a week's time will be all right." "Well,
then, have two good sharp knives ready," said the old lady.

At the appointed day, she arrived at Victory Call's lodge after breakfast.
The skins and tools were taken outdoors, and while White Woman
cleared up the breakfast dishes, the other three women went out with her
and Lady Lucky Leader cut out the skins. She placed them in the most
economical manner and then she assigned each of the women a particular
seam to sew. Each woman had prepared herself with her own awl and a
quantity of prepared sinew. Presently White Woman joined them and
[264] was also assigned a seam to sew. Before noon she had to retire to prepare
[262] the meal. They were served grease bread, coffee, and prunes. For sup-

844 the midwife, it was said that the child was afraid of her and so hurried and was born before she came. On the other hand, if the birth were delayed and the confined woman in great pain, it was the duty of her relatives to send for one or two other women to assist the midwife. These helped in trying to hasten the birth. If they [755] failed, the medicine-men were called. The latter came into the lodge with gourd rattles and sang their medicine songs. Then they gave medicine to the woman. If it was time for her to give birth, it was thought that delivery would speedily follow; if it was not time, she would at least be relieved.

In delivery the woman usually rested on her knees, leaning forward on a stick brought for that purpose by the midwife. Those of high rank, belonging to the Four-Band village, were always permitted to use a short round stake from the Northeast, or Big [778] Black Meteoric-Star bundle, on which was fastened a buffalo scalp [821] containing a chart of the constellations, and which was supposed to have the effect of making delivery exceedingly easy.

When the child was born, the midwife cut the umbilical cord, [465] using a new knife given her as part of her pay. She rubbed ashes upon the cord until it shrank, then she twisted it around upon the child's navel, and tied a string around it. Contrary to the custom much in vogue among the Plains Indians, the mother retained the cord, wrapping it in a buckskin in a work-box; it was buried with her and never given to the child.

846 The midwife then washed the infant with warm water and dried [854] it with buffalo wool, wrapped it in a blanket, and placed it on a [553] cradleboard. Next she bestowed a name upon the baby and gave it to the mother's relatives. The afterbirth she disposed of in the following manner: placing it on a bunch of grass, and wrapping it in a piece of tanned buffalo-hide, she carried it outside into the woods. There she put it on a tree, saying: "I place this afterbirth upon you, that the animals may not eat it, nor the birds. You stand here firmly; let this child that I have attended grow up without sickness to be a man (or woman)." Next she said to the afterbirth: "I place you securely upon this tree, so that nothing will touch you, and so that you will turn into dust. If the mother who is sick yonder should give birth to another, make the delivery easy." The midwife then returned to the lodge.

After the dried cord broke off from the child's navel, the baby was washed in the little wooden bowl and turned over to the mother. The old woman who had acted as midwife combed and braided the

time or not up to technical standards, or if the person failed to remain 531
even-tempered during the work, direct consequences to the health and 782
well-being of the craftswoman and her family would inevitably follow. The guild was in the charge of a woman who made sure that these conditions were met. The woman who supervised the fitting of the skins to 463
make the tent—the tent architect—also belonged to a religious guild of a [281]
similar sort. The conventional character of Pawnee technical processes was [342]
just as firmly established as among these other peoples, most of them going back to very old practices, and their work was as fine and as precisely done but there were no religious connotations of any kind.

The mature women did most of the craft work that pertained to the 463
domestic economy. The men made most of the things they used in hunt- [462]
ing, war, and ceremonials. The crafts were not taught to the young people as a normal part of their education. A young man or a young woman had to be very eager to learn and only if an older person was willing to sponsor them were they able to do so. The teacher had to receive ample payment as well as a clear indication of a very real desire to learn. Both for the manufacture of a craft object and for teaching as well as other [465]
kinds of assistance, "payment" should provide the craftsman with "something to wear and something with which to feed the family." This consisted in skin clothing or commercial cloth, blankets or shawls, and the standard food stuffs, either native or trade.

The following is my informant's account of the circumstances of 463
learning the craft of making a black rope of braided buffalo hair: 283

> If a woman wanted to learn how to make a buffalo hair belt from Old Lady Lucky Leader, for example, one would go to her and put a necklace about her neck, and ask to be taught. She would certainly not consent at once. She might answer, "Some day I will teach you." This signified that if the applicant went quietly away and asked again another day, then repeated her request on subsequent occasions, she might finally give in. If she said, "I'll think about it," this meant she might capitulate if asked again. On the other hand, if she said, "I can't do it," this constituted an absolute refusal.
>
> There were situations in which she would feel impelled to grant the request. This was particularly the case if the woman were a close and respected relative, especially an in-law. On the other hand, she might also feel impelled to teach a woman whose family fortunes were low and who needed to earn something to help out. Such a woman was the wife of Chief's-Road. Giving the old lady a gift she said, "I want you to take pity on me and teach me to make a buffalo hair belt. You know that I am poor and we can't seem to work out anything. What I want is for you to take pity on me so that it may earn something for us. My husband can't make much and my sister can't do anything."

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair
turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moccasin
to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the
padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of [294]
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-soled
moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one
section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in [855]
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to protect
them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accommodate
the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other [465]
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstanding 554
symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

It
286 took ten days to make a belt along with other housework and the pay
[461] was five or six yards of calico, half a sack of dried corn and a slab of
[465] dried buffalo meat.

291 Except for this one last item, all the rest of the Pawnee clothing was
made of leather and fur.

49

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TENT COVER

000

Tents Made by Specialists—the Time Involved and the Payment—the Process of Making the Tent under Old Lady Lucky Leader's Direction

342 237 THE BUFFALO-HIDE TENT COVER was a major family possession. It was made of at least eight tanned hides, with sinew from an equal number of buffalo to sew them together. The body of the tent was formed of seven skins and the eighth was cut up for gussets, loops for pegs around the bottom edge, and a double thickness on both sides of the doorway. Twelve years represented the life of a tent, and some of the skins wore out in the meantime and had to be replaced. About three years before the cover was worn out, they would have to think about acquiring the necessary tanned skins. It took at least two years to accumulate the eight skins—a summer and a winter hunt and then again a summer and a winter hunt and in each of the four hunts, two skins were saved for the tent.

342 463 In order to cut out the pattern of the skins and give directions for putting them together and sewing them, a specialist had to be called in by the family. Old Lady Lucky Leader, in addition to her many other accomplishments in the Doctor Lodge and as keeper of the Evening Star bundle, was also one of the outstanding tent architects. She would have to cut out the several buffalo skins and fit them together in the most economical way and direct the other women in sewing them together with sinew.

[461] It took four days of steady work for the four women of Victory Call's household to complete the sewing of the cover under the old lady's direction.

342 464 465 But before she could be called in, in addition to having all the necessary materials prepared, they had to get ready the payment for the vari-

342 ous services that would be involved. Lady Lucky Leader herself would
464 get a good amount of flour, sugar, coffee, and some calico, and the other
465 women of the household who helped with the sewing were given gifts
of calico and special meals were prepared for entertaining them. These
439 items had to be obtained at the trade store in exchange for a tanned
[437] buffalo robe. This was prepared by White Woman, and the day before the
work was to begin Victory Call and she each mounted a horse and rode
over to the store about two miles away, taking the robe with them. The
[492] two horses would be needed to bring home the supplies, otherwise White
[562] Woman would have walked, Victory Call ridden. At the trade store they
439 got a sack of flour, some coffee, sugar, baking powder, prunes, dry
435 apples, and about five yards of calico. At this time a hundred-pound sack of
flour was worth $7.00 at the store. For the family alone without special
events or guests, such a sack of flour lasted about two weeks (two
double-handfuls for each meal). Amounts of the other items usually
bought were fifty cents worth of coffee, fifty cents worth of sugar,
twenty-five cents worth of baking powder. Five or six yards of calico
439 were $1.00 so that, excluding the cost of the prunes and dry apples, the
342 gift to Lady Lucky Leader would amount to about $9.25 worth of
464 merchandise. An exceptionally well-tanned buffalo robe would bring
465 $20-30 worth of value at the store. After providing payment for Lady
[435] Lucky Leader with the remaining value of the buffalo robe, they had to
buy supplies for the special meals—an additional sack of flour, more
sugar, coffee, baking powder, and some lard and prunes. Finally to each
of the three women of the household that helped with the sewing—
Grandma, No Corn, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy—they would give
five yards of calico to each (worth a dollar for the five yards), and some
needles and thread. The buffalo robe would just about cover the labor
costs for sewing together the tent.

463 About a week before the work was to begin, White Woman would
342 have gone to see Lady Lucky Leader and have said to her, "Atira (my
mother), I've come to ask you to make a new tent for me." "Well," she
answered, "I have something to do right now, but I could do it a little
later. Are you in a hurry?" "No, a week's time will be all right." "Well,
then, have two good sharp knives ready," said the old lady.

At the appointed day, she arrived at Victory Call's lodge after breakfast. The skins and tools were taken outdoors, and while White Woman cleared up the breakfast dishes, the other three women went out with her and Lady Lucky Leader cut out the skins. She placed them in the most economical manner and then she assigned each of the women a particular seam to sew. Each woman had prepared herself with her own awl and a quantity of prepared sinew. Presently White Woman joined them and
[364] was also assigned a seam to sew. Before noon she had to retire to prepare
[362] the meal. They were served grease bread, coffee, and prunes. For sup-

463 342 per she prepared boiled corn kernels, grease bread, and coffee. After supper, the old lady went home.

[268] [264] The second day the same procedure was followed. When White Woman retired to prepare the meal of grease bread, prunes, and coffee, War Cry and his brother Brave Shield heard that they were having a special meal in Victory Call's house and they proceeded to come in with the remark, "I see you're working here," and were promptly invited to join them for lunch. They would probably stay on talking to Victory Call 463 and also stay for supper. This would make about eighteen people, 342 including the guests for the evening meal. For this group they needed 252 three double handfuls of dried corn kernels (one of these double 262 handfuls represented eight ears of corn). For the eighteen large round disks of fried grease bread, it took three generous double handfuls of store 574 flour (a meal for a family ordinarily required two). If meat were to be served instead of the corn they would need half a sheet of dry buffalo meat cut into long strips 7 inches long and 3½ inches wide. This meat would be boiled with a sheet of fat and served with the soup.

463 342 The third day was similar with the Old Lady going home after supper. By the evening of the fourth day the tent was completed. A process mentioned by another Pawnee informant, but not in this account, stated that before the cover was used, girls were sent inside to make a fire so that the skin would get permeated with soot, which would keep it from leaking in the rain or drying up in the sun.

463 465 342 [262] Supper for the evening of the fourth and final day consisted of boiled corn kernels with boiled dried pumpkin strips mixed in. After the Old Lady Lucky Leader had gone home, a half-hour passed and then White Woman and Grandma took the food and goods for her payment. White Woman led the way and Grandma walked behind, carrying the gifts to her house. They set them down before her saying, "Here's flour, coffee, sugar, calico. You helped us with our tent." "Oh, I thank you for giving me this material. My spirit is glad for this food that we will eat," said the old lady. When the two women got home they reported to Victory Call, the old lady's appreciation. Victory Call again went to the store and got the three pieces of calico of five yards each and the needles and thread for the three women of his own household who have helped out—Grandma, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, and No Corn.

342 The tent was now in good order for the winter hunt.

322 412 *The Mortar, kitutu.* To make the mortar, they cut down an elm tree about a foot in diameter and cut off a section about 2 feet high. The small end was whittled to a point so that it could be stuck upright in the ground. In the broader end of the section, they formed a pit by charring the surface with hot coals and then scraping out the charred wood. The first step in this process was to coat the rim with wet clay so that it didn't burn. Then they put the hot coals in the center, turning the surface toward the direction from which the wind was coming to keep the coals glowing. Now they dumped out the coals and scraped away the charred wood with an oyster (?) shell (probably fresh-water clam). Again they put in hot coals, and again they scraped away the charred wood with the shell, and they repeated this process until the pit was deep enough. While the coals were inside, one had to keep them carefully scattered about so that they didn't burn the surface too unevenly. The pit was somewhat paraboloid in cross section, or a blunt-pointed V-shape. After the final scraping on the inside, "the foot" was scraped and the wet mud from around the rim removed. The mortar was now ready for use in pounding corn or, more occasionally, dry buffalo meat.

[461] It took about five days to make a mortar along with the ordinary housework.

The Pestle, iks-ka-wi-itsa-ku, "hand-upon-sitting-on the end or point-sitting." When the mortar was completed, they would say, "Now the pestle." A search of the thicket was made to find a post oak with a large body. A tree with many limbs was preferred because then the top end of the pestle would be sturdy enough to stand the strain of the pounding. The tree was cut as close to the roots as possible so that the grain of the roots would be contained in the pounding end for toughness. The pestle was about 4 feet long. After the tree was felled, they smoothed it with an ax. The wood was seasoned in the fire and finished off by scraping with an oyster shell until it was very smooth. [237]

[465] Suitable pay for a woman's services in making a mortar was 5 yards of calico, and for the pestle, some dried corn; or alternatively, for the mortar a blanket and corn, or corn and some checker plaited strips of stomach lining (*pararitskusu*), and for the pestle, 5 yards of calico. "Something for the person to wear and something for the family to eat."

The Hiku Stick or "Digging iron." This was a stick 7 feet long and about 2½ inches in diameter, forked at one end and with a fire-hardened point at the other. It was grasped in the middle and thrust into the ground to make holes for the tent pegs and for the tipi poles. The fall was the time for making the *hiku* stick before setting out on the winter hunt. Every woman young or old knew how to prepare one, and it took about a day to do so. The wood was taken green, the bark removed with an ax, and the bottom end sharpened to a point. Then the stick was seasoned in the fire. A small fire was made outdoors and the stick passed

the same weed was used to scrape out the inside. Then the man blew through the stem to remove the small pieces from the inside. 276 824 322

276 324 *Making the Stone Bowl of Catlinite or Red Pipestone.* (See Figure 51-1.) A block of stone of the appropriate size was marked off with charcoal so that the bowl could be sculptured out in the rough. Two blocks of stone had to be removed, one in front and one behind the upward projecting bowl. The removal of these two blocks was a laborious task. When no metal drills, files, or rasps were available, each step took a long time and required a great deal of patience. In the old days to remove the two blocks of stone, the "pipe" was set up on end and a flint knife was sawed back and forth across the corner, making a shallow cut. Then a second cut was made underneath it until a series of three or four shallow cuts had been made one beneath the other. These "corners" were then chipped off from the top edge down. This operation of chiseling off small pieces was continued until the whole block had been removed. Then the second block on the other side of the bowl was removed. All red powder resulting from the sawing process was saved to be used as red paint. [386]

The bore for the stem as well as for the bowl was begun by using a well-dried, fire-hardened stick. The stick was held stable pressed onto the surface where the hole was to be and the stone turned back and forth until a hole had been dug into it. The bowl was widened and deepened by using a sharp sliver of a buffalo femur in the same way, pressing it into the stone and twisting the stone itself until the bowl was the shape and size desired. The outer surfaces were shaped by rubbing with a rough stone.

After the bowl was shaped, the pipe was passed through the smoke of a small grass fire and the surface rubbed with grease. This data on making the stone bowl is condensed from a demonstration by Charles Allen at Pawnee, Oklahoma, in 1935. It took almost eight days, working the usual day of nine to five o'clock with an hour for lunch. [461]

[531] Each pipe maker introduced special features of his own. Rarawikita, Charles Allen's father, made them so that there was a hump on the bowl near where the stem was inserted and the pointed end of the bowl was five-sided. Chief's Road made pipes with three raised ridges around the head end of the bowl where the stem was to be inserted. Sometimes the pointed end was cut down at a downward slant, sometimes it was cut straight off. Good Bear made a pipe that was thick where the bowl was and tapered markedly at the point end and again at the end where the stem fitted. Brave Horse (*Asa-rahikuts*, "horse-brave") would make a wide ridge or collar around the mouth of the bowl and another one at the opening where the stem fitted in; on these "collars" he engraved diagonals trending upward toward the left. He was a left-handed man.

For the work of manufacturing the pipe, pay was expected though never stipulated. This might be tobacco or calico and a little food. For 276 465 437

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

276
465
437
example about a quarter's worth or one block of tobacco, six yards of calico, and half a braided intestine mat were considered reasonable compensation. Sometimes a generous man would give a man who made a pipe for him a blanket that was used but not too old and still good enough to wear. This would be considered sufficient in itself. Or he might give some broadcloth along with a belt instead.

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the
white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was
wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and
also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-four
feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidistant
intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled basket 773
made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to
carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the
germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony
immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous movement"
or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially
made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The
women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the
course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to
move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learning [887]
to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling.
There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the
betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual
pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make
the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked
to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525
285

285 476 ticated adaptation for weaving a wide twined fabric, as the normal direction for the progress of twined weaving is from left to right, the woman on the left using a motor pattern equivalent in feeling to dancing the waltz in reverse, with a view to getting a visual effect in the texture.

When the mat had been woven about one third of the way, the women, who had been kneeling in front of the lower cloth beam, now moved up and knelt on the already finished fabric to work on the rest. As the work progressed, they continued to move up on the fabric so that the working edge would be within reach.

[461] Two women could finish a mat in one day if they did nothing else. Beginning after breakfast, the weaving would be half done by noon. By a little after five in the evening, the work was complete.

285 868 Mat weaving was a household craft and the work would not ordinarily be contracted for outside, unless a woman were learning for the first time. Then she would call in an old woman and pay her to demonstrate the technique. During the demonstration, the young woman would try her hand at it from time to time. The finished mat would be hers. The (• [465] teacher would receive four or five yards of calico and a layer of dried buffalo meat, or a sack of corn (about a foot high) and half a braided intestine mat.

285 592 In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each side took care of its own needs for mats. White Woman and Grandma would start one together, and when White Woman had to interrupt her work to prepare a meal, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy would take her place for a while, helping Grandma with the weaving. Any mats that Grandma made by herself were given to White Woman for the family. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy felt she should make at least one mat for herself and her grandson to use when they went on the hunt. No Corn also made one to take along, and, if Horse Rider was busy in the Doctor Lodge, the two old ladies would each contribute half the necessary materials, as she was too crippled to gather them for herself and under the circumstances Horse Rider was unable to get away. There was no question of compensation for this, as the old ladies felt that Horse Rider was helpful to the household at all times and No Corn also did what she could.

482 285 Carrying these mats on the march was very difficult for people with no horses. This was the case with poor people. When people noticed that they had no mats, someone would give them an old one and a man would carry it on his back with a baby perched on top and his wife would do [431] [554] the same. The occasional woman who was too lazy to make one, was also given an old mat. People who didn't have mats to put on the ground were considered poor indeed.

412 824 A brush made of stiff grass was indispensable to personal grooming. The brush was made out of Porcupine Grass or Spanish Needles (*Stipa*

231 The problem of the horses was especially acute and of major concern.
177 From archaeology and written history we know that the Pawnees had acquired horses nearly two hundred years before this time. But apparently there were many essential techniques of horse care that they had not adopted from the European. For example, Lone Chief had only recently found out that they should store hay for their horses in the winter. There were no shoes for the horses. When a horse broke his hoof they tied on a "shoe" of hide.

231 If it snowed before they left the village or after they got back, the
horses had to have special care. The young boys who took care of them
[857] in summer could not be utilized at this season for the purpose. Anyway,
they were more interested in sliding on the ice. The women had to go a
mile south to get whatever hay they could, and in the evening the horses
[417] were put in a corral near the lodge—a round structure of upright sticks
with a gate that was closed across with five sticks. Inside there was a manger that was filled with hay when the horses were settled in for the night. They tried to economize on feed by taking them to graze at intervals during the day. In the morning, after being fed some more hay, they were taken from the corral to the bend of Beaver Creek where there was good grass. By noon they were brought back to the village and hobbled close by. Then toward evening, if snow were expected, they were again taken to Beaver Creek to graze in order to save the hay in the corral where they would have to be kept while it was snowing. If it got too cold, they would have to take the horses into the earth lodge and settle them near the wood pile. The long entrance passageway was quite large enough to accommodate them. While they were on the hunt, the horses had to be covered with an old tent skin during the night.

Some families tried to anticipate these problems by putting their horses in the best possible condition during the fall. Toward the end of September or the beginning of October, they would send them out to Grand Island for about six weeks under the care of a group of men and boys. On the island the horses could wander more or less freely, graze, rest, and water at will. Near the villages the grass was dry at this time, but
here it was green and fresh and the horses would fatten. Allowed to run
[232] loose, they mated freely. No selective breeding was practiced. Some people had their horses gelded by one of the men who knew how. He tied up
the horse and used certain medicines, tying up the wound with sticks
which would fall off by themselves later. A buffalo robe and dry meat
• [465] were paid for the operation. When he was about twelve, Otter was sent
231 on such an expedition. He was told to take the mare, a colt, and a gray
857 horse and join the others. They said to him, "If the Sioux overtake you,
you must get on the gray horse and you will get away unless you are thrown off. Then, since you have no weapons, you will be killed." With this cheerful admonition, Otter set out about ten in the morning,

to their separate tracts. The land broken for each band was but 175*
a small part of their sector; it was neither large enough nor so 648*
situated as to make practicable a division of it into individual 241
tracts for family groups. Each band therefore began to farm the 657
band tract cooperatively. In theory each man did his share of the
work and each took his share of the harvest. The band lived together [476]
on the tract, and their encampments rapidly became permanent
villages of tipis and earth-lodges.

This redevelopment of village life, instituted by the Pawnee as an 175*
adjustment to the conditions of their settlement in Indian Territory, 648*
and intentionally overlooked by agency officials, who considered it a
temporary expedient, was to continue for some years. To the 178
Pawnee it was a satisfactory adjustment, approximating as it did 657
their accustomed way of life. In these villages something of the
old tribal life continued: the chiefs, priests and medicine men
functioned, the old social gatherings and ceremonies were possible.

The produce of the band farms, together with that at the agency, 175*
constituted the basic food supply of the Pawnee. For years this 648*
was inadequate and insecure: the people suffered greatly for lack
of food, and some of the mortalities of the period were due to 262
starvation and malnutrition. The principle crop was corn, supplemented 241
by some beans and squash, and increasing cultivation of
wheat, oats, potatoes and other vegetables. Most of the farms were
in the bottom lands and along the streams, and yet the usual
hazards of cultivation caused crop failures a number of times. The [132]
country in which the Pawnee had settled is in a belt which is
subject to periodic hot, dry summers, when rain is at a premium.
Droughts were severe in 1880, 1887, and 1890. On occasion bugs [731]
destroyed much of the crop, while once, in 1885, a terrific hailstorm
broke the stand of grain. Crop failures left the Pawnee dependent [657]
on government aid, in the form of rations, or food purchased for
them with money from their annuity funds.

For a meat supply the Pawnee had to depend primarily on 175*
government rations. The first winter the Pawnee were together in
Oklahoma, that of 1875 to 1876, the tribe attempted a buffalo hunt, 648*
but the herds were too remote to be reached with the limited 657
preparations the Pawnee were able to make. While the buffalo
were reported on the plains in considerable numbers the next 224
summer, only occasional buffalo were captured by straggling 262
parties of Pawnee. In a few years the tribe was persuaded to
forego the hunt; they talked of it the winter of 1878, but did not go.
From this time on we hear of no buffalo hunting. The organized
tribal hunt was a thing of the past.

512 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder.
462 When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter,
887 I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next
meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar.
Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Vic-
313 tory Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were
484 to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful sup-
623 ply of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the im-
[726] mediate neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more
to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy. The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the chiefs had gathered there.

512 The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the
252 household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver
262 Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buffalo
[237] meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They
[415] made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

The main business of the women of the household that day was to give
512 the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing
251 the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and
356 for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold,
and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep
the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in;
besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of
the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for
[192] food pit, *tahaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women
all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes
they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all.
[476] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

dies, and as they were busily working an old neighbor woman came by 512
and offered to help them. "You've got a lot of corn to attend to there." 251
"Yes I do," said White Woman. Although there were some general stand- 356
ard varieties, each woman had her own special breeds of corn and of the 476
other crops. As she sat down to join them, the old lady remarked, "I
don't have seeds like that!" indicating that she would be very glad to [241]
have some. They cleaned and winnowed the seeds for several hours,
working diligently together. Finally the other women went in to prepare
the supper, and White Woman remained outside with the old neighbor
woman to finish up the work. When they called out to announce that sup-
per was ready, White Woman called back that she and her friend would
be in later and to please set something aside for them. Meanwhile she had
indicated to the old woman that she wanted her to stay and that they
would eat later. As they filled each sack, White Woman put aside a little
pile of each kind of corn and other seeds, remarking that she was going
to give her some seeds and that she might go home and get herself a sack
to hold them. When the woman returned she pointed to the piles of seeds
and said, "This is yours. Tie it here. I'm going to put corn of another
color on top. Do you have anything to tie it with?" "No, I'll use my
garters," said the old woman. Then White Woman said, "Let's put the bag
back in the pit," and climbed down into it, using a tree trunk with branch
stubs as a ladder. When she got to the bottom, the old woman handed her
the large skin bag that contained all the smaller bags of the different
kinds of corn and beans. White Woman punched it down to settle the load
and came up out of the pit and began to close it up. First she covered
everything with a skin cover, then a layer of thatch grass, then she
wedged some sticks across the opening into the side walls, then another
layer of thatch grass and then earth that she trampled down hard to keep
out the rain and to conceal the place of opening. "Let's go eat now," said
White Woman. Inside they sat down and ate the food that had been set
aside for them, while the others, particularly the older women, sat by to
converse with their guest. "How are the folks in your lodge?" they
asked, "Oh, they're all right," said the old woman. Meanwhile, White
Woman was feeling very friendly toward the old woman for helping her
out, and as they sat there she noticed that the old woman's moccasins
were worn out. She had a nice piece of black-dyed tanned skin that was [292]
ordinarily used for holiday moccasins, and she said, "I'm going to give
you a piece of black-dyed skin so that you can make yourself some moc-
casins." "Oh, I thank you, I thank you. Oh, daughter, thanks. You have
taken pity on me. I'll wear it. Now I've got to go, daughter." When the
old woman left, the rest of the people in the lodge would say, "That old
lady is always good, always trying to help other people out." When the
old lady got back to her own lodge she reported where she had been all
afternoon and that she had received a big bag of corn and her dinner be-
sides.

000 sides. "Oh, you got good pay," they said. Then she added the news about
512 the gift of black tanned skin, and her husband teased her and said, "Let's
476 see that. Just right to make me a pair. You can patch up yours."

522 Back at the lodge, the old ladies said they were tired and went to bed,
512 and White Woman waited for her husband to come home.

While the women were busy with the minor household work and the
623 storage pit, Old Bull and Victory Call had been at a meeting of the Skidi chiefs at the home of Eagle Chief. There were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages—chiefs, subchiefs, and their attendant braves. Eagle Chief yielded his place at the west to the two most important guests and took the southeast position. At the southwest was Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge and in the northwest position, Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. The subchiefs and braves of each of these chiefs sat next to them in a line extending toward the east. At the southeast position, sat Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village with his subchiefs and braves extending inward toward the west along the side of the lodge. On the north side in a symmetrical arrangement was Chief Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village sitting in the northeast position with his subchiefs and braves extending inward along the northside. (See Figure 5-2 for the positions of representatives at the council meeting.)

623 Eagle Chief was the first to address the company, stating the purpose
722 for which he had called them together: "The Sioux are likely to come around any time. Don't each go individually to get wood. We must all go at a stated time when we can have our scouts on the lookout and bring in enough wood to be piled up while the planting is begun, that is at least four days' supply." Discussion from the others present followed, and then Eagle Chief announced that they would have another meeting in about two weeks or more to discuss the matter of clearing the fields in preparation for planting. He now turned over the conduct of the meeting to the chiefs at the west, and Lone Chief took charge, stating that if anyone had anything to say about the business at hand they should do so at this time as they were to have a feast and then talk of other matters.
623 After everyone had spoken his mind they waited two or three minutes
574 and then Lone Chief said, "Now we are going to eat." At the entrance
[624] near the east were the two errand men of both presiding chiefs at the west, and they had prepared the food and were ready to serve. The bowls were piled up near the kettle in which the food had been boiling, and, while one of the men dished it out, the other served. He carried two
[554] bowls to the west, one for each of the presiding chiefs. Then he returned to the east, carried the next bowl to the next chief on the south side, then returned to the east and gave the next bowl to the next chief to the north side, and so on in alternation, one by one on each side. Then the braves were served, one on the south, one on the north, until everyone had received his food, whereupon the errand men served each other.

796 "Priest"; it was performed when the sacred corn plants were about two
221 inches high and had four good leaves. This ceremony was in charge of
241 one of the two "south" bundles of the semicardinal directions—in alter-
nate years, the southwest and the southeast. The crux of the ceremony
778 was the uprooting of one of the young sacred corn plants, in which the act of birth was symbolized and the young plant carried as an infant on the visionary's back from the field to the ceremonial lodge, where it was attached to a stick fashioned by an arrowshaft maker and painted to represent a person. The plant was now carried through a cycle of childhood and young girlhood and breathed on by the priests to give it life. It was now Young Mother Corn, watching over the tribe. Only when this ceremony had been performed were the women permitted to go out into the fields and weed the corn plants and hill up the earth around them to protect them as they grew. A second weeding and hilling process in the latter part of June was the last attention the corn plants received before being "laid by." The people were then ready to leave for the summer buffalo hunt.

796 Without this ceremonial cycle, the coordination of the people in their
221 orderly round of life could not go on. While it was primarily a religious frame, it was also of basic practical value since it was based on the seasonal progression. Without it it would have been almost impossible to coordinate people's lives with one another and with external events.

Some of the activities that were necessary during the spring season were fitted into the cycle rather than being part of it. This was particularly true of the manufacturing and maintenance functions, while the ceremonial cycle referred especially to the planting of the crops.

221 All winter while the people had been wandering over the country on
the tribal buffalo hunt the house had stood idle and their clothes and
[356] equipment had taken heavy wear. These had to be put in order and re-
[296] paired before planting time.

The average life of a house was twelve years, but before the end of
356 that time water might leak through the roof and rot some of the radial
476 roof beams. These would have to be replaced, and in order to do this the
221 whole roof covering of thatch and earth had to be removed and reas-
554 sembled. This task would require more than the personnel of the house-
622 hold. Where the men of the house had little social status they would have few social contacts to draw on, but men like Old Bull and Victory Call were in a much better position to get help from the community. Because of their status as chiefs many more people were likely to volunteer to help. The following section shows some of the social mechanisms involved in the process. However, it should be noted that the assistance given was neither on the basis of power authority nor fundamentally for the sake of gaining social status by association, but rather in appreciation

of the role of the chief in public service. For the house of the chief was the place where administrative activities were carried on for the benefit of the people, as we have seen in the meeting described above in the home of Eagle Chief.

356
476
221
554
622
[342]
[344]

8

000

REPAIRING THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE

Repairing the Roof a Spring Task—Cooperative Nature of Work—Detailed Description of Repairing Roof—Project Is Completed with Wide Cooperation from Villagers

356 [342] ALL WINTER LONG the house had stood unoccupied, the roof covered with snow while the people were away on the hunt. By spring, when the snow began to melt, the water seeping through the hard-packed earth and the thick layer of thatch might reach some of the radial timbers and rot them. Each household had to come to a decision as to whether to rebuild the whole house or just to mend the roof. This depended on the age of the house and the extent of the damage. They would count only on fifteen years as the maximum life of the house, and, when they anticipated a need for rebuilding they had to plan at least two years in advance to locate, process, and season the timbers, grass, and other materials. (See Figure 8-1 for an architect's plan of the earth lodge.) A man who was influential in the community could count on extra help from his fellow villagers who would gladly volunteer, while a less important person had to depend on whatever labor force was available in the house itself. [476] [554]

356 461 476 It took eighty-six to ninety man-woman days of labor to repair the roof of an earth lodge. It was a construction job that was accomplished with no overseer and no commands. A great deal of individual labor was consumed in preparing the materials, and this was done mainly by members of the household over a period of time. The actual construction work took only three days and was accomplished with a large number of volunteers. By way of compensation, the women of the household had to feed from thirty to fifty people for at least three meals.

356 One day in the fall of the year, Victory Call had been observing the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 90]

the family. Hauling in the materials was a considerable task. The two 000
families were fortunate in having enough horses so that two could be 492
used to transport the seven radials over the six-mile journey in one day. 356
These radials were leaned outside the house against the roof until needed. It required a wagonload or four large double armfuls of the willow saplings to make the circuits. These had to be hauled in from Beaver Creek about a mile away, a task carried out by Old Bull and his wives.

With these materials in place, Victory Call went out prospecting for 356
thatch grass. He had to travel five miles southwest of the village near the 824
Loup River where the grass grew near the edge of the timber in a little hollow place with some sand hills. Nearer the villages, the horses had eaten it up. That night the women on the North Side, White Woman and the two grandmothers, sharpened up the edges of their buffalo shoulder-blade hoes so that they could cut the thatch grass next day. No Corn, Horse Rider's older wife, was crippled with arthritis and was unable to do that type of work. She remained at home and did necessary household chores. Meanwhile, the women on the South Side continued to provide the meals for all of them. Next morning the two men and three women went with their two horses to the grass patch. The women cut the grass and the men saw that it was properly piled up. The grass was gathered into five bunches, each 3 feet high, the layers being laid down, one layer with stub ends one way, the next layer with pointed ends in the same direction so that the bundle would be even in thickness. The grass was tied into tight bundles and loaded one on each side of the horse. The two horses were loaded, White Woman packing one of the bundles, and when they arrived home the grass bundles were placed next to the bundles of willow withes and weighted down with sticks so that they didn't scatter in the wind. The materials were now ready and they could arrange for the actual construction.

Arrangements were now made to move in with other families until the 356
roof was fixed. Old Bull spoke to their neighbor, Coming-Downhill- 574
Bringing-Trophies, whose house was located just across from theirs, and 476
Victory Call made arrangements with Chief's Road whose lodge was 571
right next door. There was a friendly relationship between the households of Victory Call and Chief's Road. Chief's Road had the social rank of commoner, but he was a very successful warrior and hoped that someday his ambition to be an administrative officer would be realized through his friendship with Victory Call. He hoped that should Victory Call become head chief of their village, he would select him as his official brave. He was the most skillful arrowmaker in the Skidi Band, and he often made arrows for Victory Call and rendered him many other services. Victory Call returned the courtesy with gifts of wood for fuel and portions of meat from his hunting. The children of the two lodges also played together. Chief's Road had the lodge with his brother, and

356 476 574 both their families lived there together and were glad to offer their hospitality to Victory Call and to the North Side family.

571 The first step in the process of roof repair was demolition, the earth and thatch having to be removed. The North Side worked on its half and 356 the south side on the south half. There were seven women for removing 476 the earth on the north side. White Woman and the two grandmothers, two women from Chief's Road's household and two women who were the wives of White Woman's brother, Uncle War Cry. Uncle War Cry, as he was known to the boy Otter, was a frequent visitor to White Woman's house, often dropping in for meals, as was appropriate to their relationship. He was the head brave of the Skidi Band, assisting Eagle Chief. He was a huge man of brusque and forthright temperament as befitted his station as executive officer. Victory Call and all the others in [571] the lodge liked him very much, and there was a very relaxed relationship between the two households. He had three wives and a large number of children from whom he often sought relief in White Woman's household. Now two of his wives came to help out, and he was also on hand to watch the proceedings.

From the South Side, Old Bull had four women available to do the work of removing the earth—his younger wife, Clear Day and her mother Blue Calico and two women from the household of Bringing [164] Trophies where they were staying. His senior wife, Queen Woman, was unable to do this work as she was crippled with arthritis, a common affliction among the Pawnees. Each side had a number of important men who stood around and supervised the proceedings, giving advice to the women; it was beneath their dignity to climb up on the roof themselves. On Victory Call's side on the north stood, in addition to Uncle War Cry himself, his younger brother Brave Shield (also known as High Noon) who was a prominent member of the Skidi Doctor Association. Also present was the head of the association, Big Doctor, and their neighbor, Chief's Road at whose house they were staying.

On Old Bull's side stood Eagle Chief, head chief of the Skidi Band, White Eagle, another prominent Skidi Chief, Bringing Trophies, at whose house the family was staying, and Rider, who was keeper of the sacred bundle of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village.

Assistance with the work itself was given by a group of young men in their twenties who came as volunteers. They had varying social connections with the people involved. When Eagle Chief got home one evening, he remarked that they planned to fix up the roof at Victory Call's house. On hearing this his son, Man Chief, got together a group of young men and they were glad to go. As Mark Evarts remarked, "They didn't have to be told. They just did things willingly. Such people should not have to be asked. The older men would say, 'When I was a boy, I used to do such things without being asked,' meaning that one hears of some-

thing of this kind that has to be done and one simply volunteers." A person 356
who acts in this way is referred to as "A-Person-Whose-Ears-Are-Standing-Erect," 476
viz., an alert person. Living in Eagle Chief's household was the older son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Fox Chief. He was also helpful in gathering in the young men to help out his father. Fine Horse, son of Victory Call's older brother Sitting Hawk, also came, and a younger brother of Chief White Eagle, who was standing on the south side with the influential men.

A number of older men who were also referred to as "boys" came. 356
They were men who had little interest in having a prominent social status. 554
They preferred to go hunting, to go on the warpath, to be free and easy 476
in their manner. They were helpful to anyone who needed help and had little interest in social dignity or administrative functions. They freely gave away what they had and had no interest in accumulating anything or in having a well-appointed home. Because of their manner and attitude toward the social formalities, they were somewhat affectionately referred to as "boys" whatever their age might be. They commonly took over the responsibility of dangerous scouting assignments when these were called for. Four of these men came, and they climbed on the roof and helped out with the work. They were: Advance Scout (also known as Skidi Jake); Horse Finder; Riding-ahead-Coming; and Wants-the-Enemy.

About eight o'clock in the morning the women were stationed on the 356
roof near the top and they began to scratch off the earth with their buffalo 476
shoulder-blade hoes. They scratched around one circuit down to the [462]
thatch grass and then began on the next one, pushing the earth down each time to the lower course. Finally the earth accumulated close to the sod collar at the bottom, where it was left so that they could pile it up again after they had repaired the frame. The men stood around giving advice, telling the women to scratch here or there; it took until nearly noon to get all the earth off the roof. Meanwhile the young men were removing the thatch grass and cutting the bark tyings that held the willow withe circuits and removed them while the women were scraping on the lower circuits. The thatch grass was placed around the outside of the circle of earth and the willow withes in a circle outside the thatch. Then the young men examined the radials and removed the rotten ones, and the men standing below handed up the new radials which were put in their places.

Horse Rider had been preparing the elm bark strips that he had soaking 356
overnight so that they could be tied on the new circuits of willow 476
withe. They also had the bison hide that Old Bull and Victory Call had 283
gotten on the winter hunt for making the rawhide rope needed to tie on the hoops around the smokehole. War Cry inquired whether they had been cut into strips, and, if this was not already done, Brave Shield, War

356 Cry's younger brother, would immediately set to work and do it. The
• 476 young men climbed to the top and fastened the two hoops in place.
283 Meanwhile White Woman had been cooking a meal for all of them
in the house of Chief's Road where they were staying. She entertained
356 the family of the house and everyone who had helped on the North Side.
574 The meal consisted of grease bread and soup made of dried intestine.
476 Some of the women had brought their own bowls out of consideration
[262] for the number she needed to feed. Old Bull's senior wife, Queen
Woman, was cooking and serving a similar meal in the house of Bringing
Trophies, to entertain all who had helped on the South Side. No one lingered over the meal, as they were anxious to get back to work.

The women took their bowls home and came back. They rested while
356 the young men tied on the new circuits of willow withe to the radials
476 with the moistened elm strips. They began at the bottom circuit and pro-
462 ceeded to the next circuit upward. When they reached the higher circuits, the "boys," Advance Scout and the others, began to fasten the thatch grass to the bottom circuit. As they got further up, the young men now took up this work, while the older "boys" began to pile the earth on the lower circuits, the women filling up their pans with earth and handing them up to the men on the roof. In households of less social status, the women would have had to do a good deal of the work on the roof themselves; in this case they were spared any need to climb up
356 further. When the work was completed, there was usually a dinner meal
574 for a large number of people, including some who had merely come
to watch the proceedings. Each of the hostesses usually had a party of about fifty to feed. Everyone was tired and they waited until the following morning to sweep out the house and move back in. Now the time for
221 planting was drawing near and they began to think of the immediate
241 preparations that remained.

In the whole course of this large construction job there was no fore-
356 man to oversee the work; not a single order was issued nor a command
46 given; the work was performed with precision, and no inspection was
needed to check its quality or workmanship.

Next they planted the beans, sometimes in the same hills with the corn 244
so that the vines could entwine themselves around the cornstalks. If they
planted them in separate hills, they set in willow sticks for the vines to
cling to.

Last of all, they planted pumpkins, squashes, and watermelons [*Citrullus, citrullus* (L.) Karst., indigenous variety—Gilmore, 1919, pp. 120-
129.]. These were planted in separate patches and served to separate the [243]
different varieties of corn in order to preserve the breeds. There would
be a planting of blue corn, then a pumpkin patch, then spotted corn, then
a melon patch, and so on in this order.

Between two adjacent fields, there was a hill or ridge where the sun- 241
flowers grew by themselves without planting. Some women surrounded 423
their fields with a fence built of stakes connected with rawhide ropes. 578
Disputes about the boundaries of their fields sometimes occurred among
the women. Some women would pile the earth further and further on the [417]
far side of the field and encroach on the field of a neighbor. Some women
stole crops, whereupon arguments would ensue and they would curse
one another and call one another names. The woman from whom the corn
had been stolen would strike the other woman with her hands or with a
stick. The informant said that stealing was actually unnecessary, as a poor [476]
women could easily get some corn by appealing to her neighbor di- [735]
rectly, saying, "I want you to take pity on me and give me some corn."

Women always went to the fields in groups for their own protection; 241
the Sioux made a particular point of attacking and scalping them as they 476
were going into the fields or coming home. This was presumably to ex- 722
ert sufficient pressure to chase the Pawnees from their territory and in- 648
duce them to abandon it entirely. The mortality among the women from
this cause was heavy. In 1861 in one such attack eighteen Skidi women
were killed. One group of women would say to the other, "We're going
to clear our fields, how about you?" Then the two groups would set out
together, any woman who finished first helping the others so that all
would be ready to return at the same time. The young men, without being told, knew that this was the time to picket around the fields.

In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each of the mature 241
women had at least one field. Clear Day, the younger wife, and her 423
mother, Blue Calico, worked one field together, as was customary with 592
mother and daughter until the younger woman was considered responsible enough to manage her own. Fields were located along the bottomlands on both banks of Beaver Creek, and some women had a closer and a more distant field. The ones that were closer to the villages were, of course, the more desirable both for transport and for military reasons. An individual field was from half an acre to one and a half acres in area.

Patterns of cooperation were well developed in each household so that 592
the women would get through quickly. Queen Woman would say to

The following is a simplified translation of an old Pawnee woman's statement of her experience of planting when she was a little girl in Nebraska, and a more exact statement of the old man's speech: 887 521 539

> An old man sitting on top of the earth lodge would be talking to the women at the time when they were going into the fields. He would say, "Now dear ladies, now you are disfiguring your bodies (getting them all muddy). Heaven has placed the wonderful bow and arrows in your hands. Heaven made it for you to be wonderful. You are wonderful! You repeatedly keep 'swelling me up.' When you put the corn in and it comes peeping out, that's what you fatten me with, my dear ladies."
>
> Then we women began to cut the grass, that is, clear the field. And when I was not yet mature, they would get me up early in the morning while it was still dark, and we two, my mother and I, would be in her field. She would have some porridge there for me. When mother was planting, oh, the corn mound would be big! Then she would dig a hole in the top and place inside the mound, seven seeds—not bunched together, but separately spaced. Then she covered it over with earth and the mound would be smooth. [241]

One of the only common instances of group planting was "planting for the daughter-in-law." The women relatives of the newly married groom would plant, cultivate, and harvest the bride's first crop. As many as twenty-five women would be gathered in her field and they would go to her house and get her seeds and line up in the field ready to plant. The field, about "half a block" long was hoed and planted by the women more or less in unison while two old women sat at the far end singing a song from one of the sacred bundle ceremonies: 241 476 602 [533] [539]

You are just hoeing around,
Big ground, lucky ground.

They were ranged in rows and while the women sang they made the mounds. Then they put in the seeds and then they all went to the home of the daughter-in-law where they were entertained at a feast of corn and dried buffalo meat. They repeated this performance when the corn sprouted, when they cultivated the field, and again at harvest. [574]

together and again enjoying a festive meal at their daughter-in-law's house 243
afterward. [806]

Now at the beginning of June everyone's mind was turned to completing [221]
the preparations for leaving on the summer hunt. They would weed
and cultivate the corn plants and hill up the earth once more just before
leaving, when the plants were about 3½ feet high. The present Nebraska
farmer says, "Knee high by the fourth of July" and the Pawnee said, "Tall
enough to tickle the horse's belly."

The corn and the buffalo that sustained the Pawnee placed heavy demands 22
upon him. Only by carrying out his year's round with great precision 476
and by careful coordination of his activities with other people of 243
the tribe could he combine these two major food resources. The administrative
activities of the priests and the chiefs were as vital to his enterprise 622
as the physical resources themselves. Few administrative structures have 182
commended themselves so directly to the people as that of the Pawnees. [793]
Respect for the chief was a cardinal tenet of every Pawnee's life, in return [183]
for which the chief demonstrated a dedicated concern for his people.

439 Do you think it can get a good buffalo? Well, you can have a buffalo
435 robe when I get back and my wife can tan it." Mr. Matlock would
then join them and the traders would say, "Sure." "Well, I need two
buckets," Victory Call would say. "And what else do you need?" the
439 traders would ask. At the same time there would be an old lady in the
store trying to establish some credit so that she could get some sugar to
435 make sweet corn pounded up with sugar. She would promise that when
262 they got back from the hunt she would bring in a sack of pounded-up
dry meat. This was the equivalent of the better-known pemmican and
was bought by travelers at the trade store for emergency rations. When
[705] warriors went on the warpath they took extra pairs of moccasins filled
with pounded sweet corn and sugar and some of the pounded-up dry
meat as concentrated supplies.

*224 Not everyone had the skill or the diligence to accumulate all this
• 476 equipment. Every man or woman who did not have it yet wanted to go
on the hunt had to try to attach themselves to someone who did. This
practical consideration had an important effect on how the individual
encampments were set up. Sometimes a family had enough horses but
no tent. The man would send his mother-in-law or his wife to inquire
of a woman who owned a tent whether they could join her encampment.
If it was agreed that they should camp together they would discuss how
they would combine their needs for equipment—a mortar, a kettle, dishes,
etc. Sometimes a woman would make such arrangements, only to find at
the last minute that her husband had already committed them with someone
else, and then one of the families would have to remain behind.

606 The general rule was that a man had to take care of his father-in-law
and the family into which he was married. It was understood that he
would travel with his father-in-law and his wife's family. This is what
his marriage implied—that he was to serve and care for the family of his
wife. The son-in-law was called by the family into which he married
kustawixtsu, "he who sits among (them)." The son-in-law would refer
to himself as *rat-ut-ka-ku*, "I-for-you-inside-sit," meaning that it his func-
606 tion to serve their house. This was an obligation greater than that to his
593 own parents. If his parents were old and alone, he would give half of his
kill to them after his wife had picked out what she wanted. When they
[591] first married, the couple normally lived in the girl's house and went out
on the hunt with them. As they got older, the young man might want
[431] to set up a tent of his own and hunt separately and his father-in-law
might consent, but he would send a gift of a leg from whatever buffalo
he killed. When they got back to the village, they would rejoin the girl's
family. If the girl's father was getting very old and his tent was worn
out he would say, "Son-in-law, I want to go with you. You came here
to take care of us." "Certainly, that's good," the younger man would
say. This marriage responsibility sometimes got on a man's nerves, and

21

CROSSING THE RIVER AND THE RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

000

Crossing the Railroad and the Platte River—Hunters Arrive at the New Encampment—Leader of Hunt Gives Thanks for Buffalo

WHILE THE FIVE SCOUTS were off hunting the buffalo, the people broke their fifth encampment among the sand hills between the Loup and the Platte and started south. As they were taking down their tents, the people noticed that these men were absent. Realizing what they had gone for, the people would give their wives a hand in packing up, offering to help by taking some of their baggage for them. They would say, "You can't keep those men home. They're always off somewhere—that whole bunch!" 224* 484* [476]

The line of march was usually in four parallel columns, the chiefs of each of the bands in the lead ranged from west to east—westernmost, the Skidi, then Little-Earth-Lodge Band, then Meat-Beggars, and Man-Going-Downstream furthest eastward. When they had gotten about three miles out, someone would yell, "Oh, my, we've got to cross the railroad!" This was a great nuisance as there was an embankment and ties and sometimes a freight train or a passenger train would be coming. They called the freight train *mule*, "long ears," and a passenger train, "These-Chiefs-Traveling," referring to the fact that each passenger was so wealthy that they were all chiefs. [552]

Three miles more and they arrived at the Platte. As the first group got there the word would go down the line, "The water isn't high. The sand bottom is hard." "That's good," everyone said, for it meant that the crossing would be easy. Sometimes they got to the bank and found there was deep water in the river. It was seldom deeper than a man's knee or thigh, but if it were chest-high they could not cross, as the pack-

000 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there. The
243 younger women whose husbands had horses for transportation would
• 476 often go out together with another couple and bring the crop back to
252 camp, where they would do the processing in a coordinated group. Victory Call and White Woman along with Horse Rider and No Corn
formed such a work group, first in White Woman's fields and then in
those of No Corn, carrying the crops into camp on their horses. The old
[887] lady sat in her field all day and brought the finished product back to
camp when it was completely prepared for storage. Families with only
[492] one horse or with no horses also processed the entire crop in the field
before packing it into camp.

313 While the women were at the food pit, the men had been out piling
462 wood in the fields and in camp so that it would be ready for roasting the green corn. They preferred to get dead willows and driftwood; Horse Rider was at the creek piling up the driftwood while Victory Call was bringing the willows into the camp. Some men would say, "I don't care —that's women's work," but a good man would help his wife.

222 At this time of year they gathered a plant, *parus-asu*, "rabbit-foot,"
272 used for making a brown tea that they drank if they didn't happen to have coffee (*Lespedeza Capitata* Michx.) At the top in a cluster are some fruits looking like tiny rabbit feet. The plant grew on a bush about 3 feet high. They brewed the tea by breaking up the dry twig with the leaves on and steeping it in a coffee pot. Now everything was ready for harvesting and roasting the green corn.

243 Very early next morning Grandma went out to her field and there pre-
342 pared a place for her work. She built herself an ample shade, *kipasiu*, of
252 willows—a circular enclosure, open at the top with an entrance at the east. The leaves were a bit interlaced to make the fencing solid, the side branches beginning about a foot from the ground. When she left for the night, she put a willow sapling with leaves at the top in the doorway so that the shelter was closed in and well protected from horses. People who did not work in the field sometimes built themselves a more temporary shelter by arranging four or five willows in an arc. In her enclosure Grandma roasted all her corn and would leave it overnight in bags to be husked there next day and the kernels removed before bringing it to camp. During the harvest she cooked all her meals there. She left before breakfast and ate whenever it was convenient. She had a kettle along and a small mortar and pestle for preparing her meals. She would pound some of the fresh corn kernels from the roasted cobs and wrap them in corn husks, putting them in the boiling water to make dumplings. After she removed the dumplings she would add some dried meat scraps that had been scraped from the hide at the hunting grounds, *kstasi'u*, to make a good soup. Sometimes she took her grandson, Otter, into the field and shared her meals with him.

double row with more ears to the string. Most of all they braided the 251
sweet corn, *rikis-karus*, "corn-sweet." Later when they gathered the 243
mature corn that had been left to dry on the stalk and not roasted, they also selected some prime ears and braided them together. In the earth lodge on each side leaning against the wall was a sapling with lopped-off branches on which they hung some of these corn braids. Even if this corn was not cooked until December or January, it tasted as fresh as if it had just been plucked. From a braid of mature dried corn, anyone who wanted an occasional bite could break off an ear and roast it. Those braids that were not hung up in the lodge were put in the storage pit along with the dried kernels and other dried crops.

All day Grandma worked in the fields, and in the evening she loaded [482]
her parfleche container of roasted corn kernels on her back and carried them to the camp. She would bring six or seven corn stalks with her that had been stripped of their ears for the little boy to chew on "like sugar cane." The old lady said, "Here, that's good for you!" He bit between the joints and twisted the stalk to get out the sweet juice. While he was enjoying them, some boys would come along and say, "Give me one." At camp an old tent cover had been spread on the ground so that the corn kernels could be spread out to dry. The next morning she said to White Woman, "Tsuat Tstaka, Daughter White Woman, here's some corn. Spread it out to dry." On the way home from her fields, Grandma always took a swim in Beaver Creek.

Back at camp, they had a team approach to the harvesting that in- 243
volved somewhat different steps from Grandma's. The two fields, White 476
Woman's and No Corn's, were harvested in succession, at least two going into a field at a time, while the others might remain behind for the processing. Also all the crops were loaded on horseback rather than [492]
being packed on the back from the field to the camp as Grandma did. Husking was also done in a group, people from other camps joining them from time to time.

The team of four—Horse Rider and his wife No Corn and Victory Call and his wife White Woman—worked in the following way:

Morning of the first day, White Woman and Horse Rider went out to her field and brought in eight parfleches of corn ears that they had picked. They took along two horses and loaded them with four parfleches each. It was estimated that in our terms, eight parfleches of corn ears amounted to a wagon load, level and without the side boards up.

When they got back to camp, White Woman and No Corn im- 243
mediately set to work roasting. The two men, Horse Rider and Victory 252
Call, went back into the field and brought back two more horseloads— 476
eight parfleches full of corn ears. In one day they had gathered in two wagonloads as stated above.

In the *afternoon*, they kept on roasting all day. The men shucked the

243 corn. They worked fast and had no time for refinements like picking
252 out the ears suitable for braiding as Grandma had done. They kept at it
• 476 all day, and if anyone was hungry he ate some roasted corn. Sometimes
one of the women stopped and made bread and coffee while the others
kept right on working. They allowed the problem of cleaning dishes
and other household chores to rest for the time being.

In the *evening* Uncle War Cry came along and observed, "What are you folks doing? Oh, roasting corn!" Then he sat down and lent a hand, husking away until he found an especially good ear that he would eat up on the way. Soon his younger brother, Brave Shield (also known as High Noon) joined the party. Victory Call said to Grandma, "Old Lady, go to sleep. You must be tired. You don't have to help us. We have two boys to help." Grandma went to bed and the men sat up husking together and telling stories until quite late. Moonlight nights were particularly likely to invite such husking parties.

For the next three weeks their pattern of work continued in the same way. The four would go out into the fields for the morning, come home at noon and the women set to work with the processing, the men going out again returning in the afternoon, and helping in the evening with the processing. Grandma came in, in the late afternoon or evening, and set down her processed material in a pile next to the rest.

The crops were gathered in the order of their readiness, first from
White Woman's fields, then from No Corn's, and the various processing
was carried on while other gathering was taking place. The *first green
corn* was gathered for two days from White Woman's and then another
244 two days from No Corn's fields. For the *first bean crop*, a day each was
476 spent in each of the fields. Now a *final load of green corn* was gathered
[243] with the team splitting up two and two to each field on the same day.
For the *second bean crop* all four worked one day in White Woman's
[461] field and then another day in No Corn's field. This was tedious work, as
one had to bend down and search for the beans all along the vines. Now
all four spent a day each gathering the *pumpkins*, bringing them back to
[252] camp. Then the pumpkins were roasted and cut into circular rings the
next day. After the pumpkins, for which about three days had been
243 spent, the team of four spent two days getting in and husking the
476 *mature corn* that had been left to dry on the stalks from each of the two
fields, and prying the kernels from the cobs with a pointed stick. The
next step was to gather in the small *nubbin ears* to be fed to the horses
so that they would get fat; Horse Rider gathered some and chopped them
up and fed them to a horse that was thin and then let them loose in the
field to find and eat them. Poor families sent their boys into other
people's fields to glean these small ears to supplement their meager
[251] supplies. Finally the *sticky sweet corn* that was left longest on the stalk
to dry was gathered, one day by Victory Call and White Woman in her

field, and then next day by Horse Rider and No Corn in her field, the two 243
teams staying alternately at home and watching as well as processing the 251
crops. Sweet corn was mainly made into double braids. Quantity production 476
depended on team work, of course, but the women had to sort [244]
out the eight varieties of beans after everything was done, as the men [462]
would not bother with such a detail and would pay no attention to the
selection of the best ears for braiding. When all the corn was in, the [825]
blackbirds began to fly over the fields, presaging the cold weather.

The following are some of the processes used in preserving the crops, 243
together with a breakdown of how these were coordinated with the activities 244
of gathering. 251

The green corn was gathered from the stalk "in the milk" and roasted 243
in a long roasting pit in which a fire was built. It was allowed to cool 251
off and the husks removed. The kernels were cut off the cob row by row [237]
with a fresh-water clamshell and spread on a tanned hide to dry. At night [412]
the kernels were first winnowed to remove any chaff, gathered up and put in a flour sack, and then taken into the tent. They were put in a wooden bowl and spilled out from a height so that the wind would blow the chaff away. Next morning they were again spread out on the tanned hide. After several days, as they were being spilled for winnowing in the evening, they would make a tapping noise when they hit the hide, showing that the kernels were completely dry.

When the beans were picked off the vines and brought into camp, 244
they were dumped onto the spread and allowed to dry in the sun. As 251
they dried, one could hear the popping of the pods. At night they
were left outdoors, covered only with a spread of tanned hide, and in
the morning uncovered and allowed to dry again. Then they were [412]
flailed with a peeled willow rod about 4 feet long and 1 inch thick to remove the pods as much as possible. Some of the beans had to be picked out by hand—a small pile of beans was always picked this way. If there was a large pile the woman would strike them with the stick, then stop and pick out the loose pods and pile them to one side, push the beans together again and further beat them with the stick. The beans were winnowed by spilling from a height from a wooden bowl, in this way loose pieces of dry pod blew away and the pods still containing some beans fell to the ground and were opened by hand—an operation in which someone usually gave her help if they were available. After winnowing, the beans were spread out to dry thoroughly. When all the other work had been done, the beans were sorted into their eight varieties.

After the beans, they brought in the pumpkin harvest. The women 244
spent most of one day hauling them from the field. First they brought 489
the largest, then the next largest, and so on. One parfleche in which 492
they were transported carried five large pumpkins, or seven to eight

taken into the tent. The next day the removal of the kernels continued. They were spread out to dry along with those removed the day before. In the late afternoon they were again winnowed and kept in the tent for the night, and again spread out to dry further. When the kernels made a tapping sound on the hide during winnowing they were judged to be dry. 243 251

These were the technical steps taken to process the crops. The general scheme of events among the household personnel was as follows: 512 243

First day. White Woman and Horse Rider went into her field and brought in the corn loaded on two horses. White Woman and No Corn stayed and roasted the corn. Victory Call and Horse Rider went back into the field and got a second load. In the afternoon women kept on roasting and the men removed the husks. In the evening two more men came in and helped with the husking while the women went to bed. The four men stayed up doing the husking and telling stories. 251 252 476

Second day. In the morning two men continued husking until eleven A.M.; the two women continued cutting off the kernels. After this time the two men spread out the kernels to dry. The two women continued to cut off the kernels from the cobs.

If Victory Call was tired, he rested and White Woman took over the spreading of the kernels while No Corn continued to cut the kernels from the cob. Horse Rider might have to go and tend the horses.

In the afternoon, Grandma came in with her parfleche of shelled corn, having crossed Beaver Creek and stopped for a swim. She dumped her corn kernels on the skin spread in a separate heap and spread them out to dry.

In the evening, having gathered in most of the green corn that was ready from White Woman's fields, they made a plan to go into No Corn's field the next morning. All four would go off into the field and they needed someone to keep watch over their corn against stealing. Also, should anyone need Victory Call for official business, it was necessary to tell them where he could be reached. White Woman asked her brother War Cry to send over one of his three wives as "Room-Watcher," *ratut-kihar-atsiksta*, "I that am for him-room-watcher." She could also spread out any corn kernels that still needed to be dried while she was there.

Third day. They go to No Corn's field to get the green corn. Victory Call, White Woman and No Corn set out on foot and pick whatever was ripe in No Corn's field, leaving it here and there in little piles. Horse Rider meanwhile had gone out to get the horses and saddle them up; then he joined them in the field. When one load was ready they went back to camp and the two women stayed there, beginning at once to roast the ears. Horse Rider went back to the field and brought what

512 was left in the several piles, loading it onto the horses and bringing it
243 back into camp. The women continued to roast and the men began to
251 do the husking.

That evening Sun Chief and Leading Fox, older sons of Victory Call
252 by a previous marriage, came in to help with the husking.

• 476 *Fourth day*. Men continued to husk the corn, while the women now cut the kernels from the cobs with a clamshell. They all helped to spread out the kernels to dry. All the green corn from both sets of fields that was ripe enough, had now been gathered, roasted, and set out to
512 dry. It was usual to finish this task in the first four or five days.

244 *Fifth day*. This was the time for the first bean harvest in White Woman's
476 field. This was hard work as most of the vines didn't climb on anything
[461] but grew close to the ground. Sometimes they grew in separate patches
and sometimes in a patch with the corn. The women gathered the pods in their skirts; the men threw them in whenever they got a handful. All four worked in the field until late afternoon. On the way home, they
[526] stopped and took a swim in Beaver Creek. Again as in the time of
[515] planting, they slapped the water with their feet, making as loud a noise
as possible. As the women slapped the surface of the water with their soles, it resounded all along the creek like the report of a gun. "They are slapping the water with their feet" (*tutastaxkitspiru*). The girls used their hands for this (*tutikstaxkitspiru*), and Otter had a hard time learning the trick from them. Possibly it was a kind of sympathetic magic for the tapping of the dry beans and corn on the threshing floor. They went home about 4:30 in the afternoon, having gathered about four parfleches of the beans in the pod in a good year. At home one of War Cry's wives or daughters had been serving as Room Watcher for their tent. It was five o'clock by the time the pods were all spread out to dry. Everyone was tired and took a rest. Inside the tent, Horse Rider and No Corn were wrestling playfully together and saying, "Now we have some roasted corn" (*rawaritu*).

244 In the evening the beans were covered up where they lay and the
512 corn kernels were winnowed and taken inside for the night in flour sacks.
Now grandma came in carrying her sack of corn or beans that she spread out. White Woman offered to come out and help her in her field but she refused saying, "Oh, no. If you help me I'll get through too soon and I won't have anything else to do. So I'd just like to do it myself."

White Woman made the fire and cooked some grease bread and No Corn prepared the coffee and dried apples for their supper. Uncle War Cry came to join them and began to tease Grandma about how tired she was; Grandma asked to have her dinner brought to her. War Cry then began to talk about the trade store and Victory Call remembered he owed them a buffalo robe, but War Cry observed that he was sure they would wait until the harvest work was done. He promised to mention

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair
turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moccasin
to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the
padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of [294]
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-soled
moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one
section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in [855]
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to protect
them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accommodate
the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other [465]
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstanding 554
symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

all night in water, and in the morning it was twisted into a continuous 285
string which was wound onto a stick as the woman went along. When it 283
was all wound on, it formed a cylindrical roll like a bale of wire. Each
roll contained enough warp for one mat. The work was done by one
woman working alone. For example, Grandma would put the stick between
her toes while twisting the warp and then wrap it onto the stick as
the string got longer. The roll was put away for a week or two to set before
it was used for the weaving. It took an old woman a day and a half [461]
to twist the warp for one mat.

The weaving frame was set up at a slant, the far end being considerably 285
higher than the near end. The warp beam at the far end was 2 to 2½ 286
feet high, constructed of two forked sticks placed upright in the ground
about 6 feet apart, with a horizontal stick resting in the forks. The cloth
beam at the near side was set close to the ground and was controlled by
pegs or pickets that could be adjusted to keep the warps taut. If the
weather were good, they would work outdoors; if not, they would work
in the lodge.

The first step was to carry the continuous bale of warp back and
forth between the two beams in a simple under-and-over order. After
the warping was complete, a long strip of elm bark was wrapped around
each beam to include one warp thread in each wrapping so that all the
warps lay on an even plane. No shedding would be required, as the weaving
was twining of a pair of wefts.

The reeds for the wefts were used in whole strands 6 feet long and 285
the finished mat was more than 5 feet wide. It was very awkward for 476
one woman to try to weave a mat alone. It was best for two women to
work together, one weaving from the middle out to the right edge of the
mat and the other from the middle out to the left edge. The two women
sat side by side in front of the low end at the cloth beam. Each row of
weft was woven with a pair of bulrushes, the point end of one strand
matching the stub end of the other. The woman on the right grasped the
two wefts in the middle between her thumb and index finger and gave
them a twist away from herself so that they crossed over at the center.
She then placed the twist between the two central warp strands and proceeded
to twine-weave rightward, the completed stitches leaning diagonally
upward to the right. When she reached the right edge, she cut off
the stub end of one of her wefts almost flush with the edge and the other
she wove back into the warp for 1½ to 2½ inches, producing a thickened
and reinforced edge. The woman at the left, beginning at the middle
proceeded to twine leftward and at the left edge cut off one weft and
wove the other back into the warps in the same way as the woman on the
right. The woman on the left adjusts her weaving motions so that they
are made in reverse in order to produce a consistent weave pattern across
the entire mat—all stitches slanting upward to the right. This is a sophis-

285 476 ticated adaptation for weaving a wide twined fabric, as the normal direction for the progress of twined weaving is from left to right, the woman on the left using a motor pattern equivalent in feeling to dancing the waltz in reverse, with a view to getting a visual effect in the texture.

When the mat had been woven about one third of the way, the women, who had been kneeling in front of the lower cloth beam, now moved up and knelt on the already finished fabric to work on the rest. As the work progressed, they continued to move up on the fabric so that the working edge would be within reach.

[461] Two women could finish a mat in one day if they did nothing else. Beginning after breakfast, the weaving would be half done by noon. By a little after five in the evening, the work was complete.

285 868 Mat weaving was a household craft and the work would not ordinarily be contracted for outside, unless a woman were learning for the first time. Then she would call in an old woman and pay her to demonstrate the technique. During the demonstration, the young woman would try her hand at it from time to time. The finished mat would be hers. The [465] teacher would receive four or five yards of calico and a layer of dried buffalo meat, or a sack of corn (about a foot high) and half a braided intestine mat.

285 592 In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each side took care of its own needs for mats. White Woman and Grandma would start one together, and when White Woman had to interrupt her work to prepare a meal, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy would take her place for a while, helping Grandma with the weaving. Any mats that Grandma made by herself were given to White Woman for the family. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy felt she should make at least one mat for herself and her grandson to use when they went on the hunt. No Corn also made one to take along, and, if Horse Rider was busy in the Doctor Lodge, the two old ladies would each contribute half the necessary materials, as she was too crippled to gather them for herself and under the circumstances Horse Rider was unable to get away. There was no question of compensation for this, as the old ladies felt that Horse Rider was helpful to the household at all times and No Corn also did what she could.

482 285 Carrying these mats on the march was very difficult for people with no horses. This was the case with poor people. When people noticed that they had no mats, someone would give them an old one and a man would carry it on his back with a baby perched on top and his wife would do [431] the same. The occasional woman who was too lazy to make one, was also [554] given an old mat. People who didn't have mats to put on the ground were considered poor indeed.

412 824 A brush made of stiff grass was indispensable to personal grooming. The brush was made out of Porcupine Grass or Spanish Needles (*Stipa*

525 While the Kiowa were visiting the Pawnee, some Skiri youths 574 thought of visiting the Kiowa to play a hand game against them. 648 They decided to go over to challenge the Kiowa the day after the Kiowa went home. Mark was with them and became exited about the anticipated hand game. His father was sick, but he paid very little attention because his head was full of the hand game and he wanted to go.

The Kiowa were then camping about two miles from the Pawnee. Late in the afternoon, the day after the Kiowa had gone, Mark saw men gathering at the edge of camp. They were ready to go; they had bundles of things with them to bet. When Mark stepped out [593] of the lodge, these youths motioned to him to come on. So he forgot all about how sick his father was inside, and went. He persuaded himself that his father wasn't very sick anyhow.

The whole party went on foot, carrying their stakes. There were twenty-five or thirty in the group. They took no horses to ride because all who were going wanted to play, which would leave no one to take care of the horses. Some mean fellows among the Kiowa might steal some. And if they had horses with them they might be tempted to wager them and lose the horses.[1]

After dark they reached the Kiowa camp. They were directed to the chief's tent. Knifechief, leading the Skiri party, carried a pipe, already filled with tobacco. Knifechief and a few others went into the chief's tipi. From outside Mark heard a Kiowa in the tipi call, "hakahi"—"all right, that's good."

This was in December. It was very cold, and outside the men waiting wanted to get into tents to warm up. David Gillingham, Mark's chum, went with Mark into one tent. A Kiowa man sitting at the west called out a welcome, hakahí. From the south side, where she had been sitting, his wife rose and spread a blanket for the two visitors on the north side of the tipi close up to the west [276 where the Kiowa was sitting. She put two pillows on it. David and Mark sat down there. The Kiowa filled a black pipe and gave 788] it to David to smoke. Mark nudged David and whispered to him that he should not make any gestures with the pipe. Both knew that the Kiowa had special ways and motions in using their pipes; Mark was afraid David would try them and make a mistake. He knew David was a great show-off. The Kiowa pipe-smoking was very complicated. David nudged Mark back and told him to keep quiet. David wanted to show off, so he made some motions [481] with the pipe, imitating Kiowa motions he had seen somewhere.

---

[726] [1] Incidentally, the Pawnee warparty always travelled on foot, with the object of returning riding captured horses.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song has a compass of only five tones and contains the tones of the minor triad and fourth. In structure it is melodic. The form of the melody is peculiar, the first seven measures containing the descent from E to A and the next two measures being framed on the descent from D to A. This structure is repeated and the song closes with three measures on the descent from C to A. Only four intervals larger than a minor third occur in the song. The gradual decrease in the tempo of the drum is similar to that in the song next preceding.

887
●481
787
*533
[424]

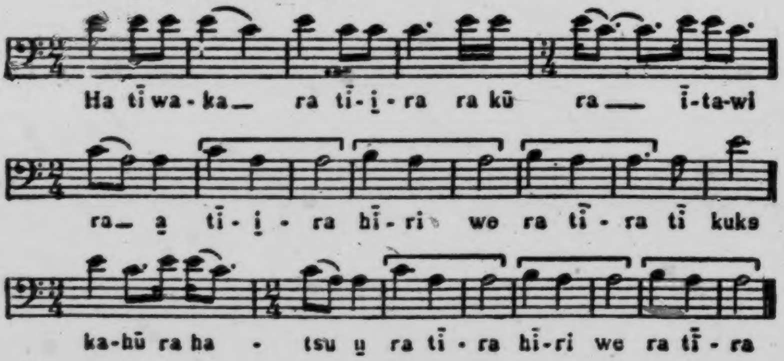
The singer said that when he was a young man living in Nebraska he saw a very old man who used a cane. Even with this aid he could scarcely walk. This old man had a dream in which he ascended a high hill and sat down. The clouds were below him and he saw rain falling from the clouds; he also saw about 40 white horses and drove them; the white horses were probably the shapes assumed by the clouds in his dream. The following song belonged to this old man but was not related to the foregoing dream. It was sung in the Bear dance.

No. 15. "I Was Lost in the Timber"

(Catalogue No. 1121)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

*533 **Voice ♩ = 138**
Drum ♩ = 144, changing to ♩ = 138
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Ha ti wa-ka— ra ti-i-ra ra kū ra— ī-ta-wi
ra— a ti-i-ra hi-ri we ra tī-ra ti kuks
ka-hū ra ha - tsu u ra tī-ra hi-ri we ra tī-ra

Ha	ti	waka	ra	tira	ra	kū	ra
Listen	he	said	do	I come	do	did	have
itawi	hiri	we	ra	tira	ti	kuks	
mentioning	place	now	do	I come	I	was	
kahū	ra	hatsu					
timber	have	lost					

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said, I come,
He told this to me,
I came to a place where I was lost in the timber,
I came to the place,
Now I come.

796*

a path would be strewn with drops of fat. Red is the color typical of 778
life. The ointment signified a prayer for abundance and life.

The wildcat skin (plate XC, page 48) served as a covering for these [822]
objects when they were to be wrapped up and it was always spread
on the ground for them to rest on.

The significance of the wildcat in this ceremony is of peculiar inter- 796*
est. This animal, we are told, never misses his prey, never fails to
attain the object of his pursuit, and accomplishes this end quietly, 778
tactfully, without arousing antagonism. From conversations with the 825
Ku'rahus it became clear that it was these qualities and not the
savageness and stealthily cruelty of the animal that were to be kept
in mind. To be able to accomplish a purpose without offending, without
raising opposition, seems to have been regarded as the special
attribute vouchsafed by Tira'wa to the wildcat. It is because of this
attribute that it was chosen to be always with the sacred objects during 796*
this ceremony. The sacred objects symbolized not only an appeal from 778
man to certain powers, but the presence of the powers themselves, while
the nature of the appeal, a desire for children, long life, and plenty, was
such that the enjoyment of the benefits craved must depend largely
on the successful exercise by man of those qualities which were
regarded as characteristic of the wildcat. So the skin of the wildcat
was the cover of the sacred objects when they were wrapped up; it
was spread on the ground as their guard and support when they were
laid at ceremonial rest, and when they were carried about the lodge
during the ceremony it was borne by the chief, who walked between
the Kurahus and his assistant, each of whom held a feathered stem.

Only a chief could carry the wildcat skin and the ear of corn. There- [622
fore, if the Father was not himself a chief he had to secure the service
of one in order that the wildcat could be borne by a man possessing 482]
the authority of a ruler in the tribe. As the wildcat stood for the
ability to accomplish a purpose with tact and without exciting opposition,
qualities essential to the successful ruler, it would seem that the
imperative association of the wildcat with a chief was intended to convey
the idea that only under the administration of such a man could
the tribe have internal peace and enjoy the abundance and prosperity
represented by Mother Corn.

As every article belonging to the ceremony and the position and movements of those who conducted the rites had a special significance, the position given to the wildcat, as explained by the Kurahus, reveals the mind of the native in regard to this animal, which figures conspicuously in other rites and ceremonies, and which controls one of the sacred shrines of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

TIME OF THE CEREMONY

There was no stated time for the performance of the Hako ceremony. 796*
It was not connected with planting or harvesting, hunting, or war, or
any tribal festival. The Ku'rahus said, "We take up the Hako in

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 represent the circle Tira'wa atius has made for the dwelling place of all the people. The circles also stand for the kinship group, the clan, and the tribe.

The down represents the light clouds near the dwelling place of Tira'wa—the dome of the sky over the dwelling place of the people—and it stands for the protection of Tira'wa. When there is no down to be had, white ashes can be used. I do not know what the ashes mean, but I think they are to make the outline distinct and to represent the white down.

The nests are four, because at the four directions are the paths down which the powers from above descend. The four winds guard these paths and protect the life of man.

After the four nests are made, the feathered stems are laid at rest. The Ku'rahus then takes bits of fat which have been preserved from an animal consecrated to Tira'wa and puts them with some native tobacco into an oriole's nest and hands the nest to the chief, who conceals it in his hands.

237 The bits of fat represent the droppings that mark the trail made by the hunters as they carry the meat home from the field. This trail is called the path dropping fatness, and means plenty. Fat, therefore, stands for the promise of abundant food.

773 825 The oriole's nest is used because Tira'wa made this bird build its nest so that no harm could come to it. It hangs high, is skillfully made, and is secure. An eagle's nest may be torn away by a storm, but the oriole's nest sways in the wind and is not hurt.

PART II. SYMBOLIC FULFILMENT

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

482 Now a robe is spread on the ground and the child is placed on it with his feet and legs projecting beyond the edge. Four men are appointed to carry the child. One goes on each side and takes hold of the robe and lifts it; a man at the back of the child steadies it as it is raised and carried, while the fourth man holds another robe over its feet and legs.

The chief and the Ku'rahus precede the child to the circle at the northwest, where it is held over the nest so that its feet rest within the circle. The chief puts his hands under the robe held over the child's legs and drops the oriole's nest within the circle so that the child's feet rest on it. No one but the chief and the Ku'rahus know what is being done beneath the robe. The chief takes up the nest, concealing it from view, and goes to the circle at the northeast, to which the child has also been carried, and in the same way places its feet on it. The same act is repeated at the circles in the southeast and the southwest.

The child represents the young generation, the continuation of life,

525 told the boys in sign language that the man outside, the crier,
574 had announced that the Pawnee were here and had come on the
648 warpath for the hand game; that they had come bringing a pipe.
The crier had said too that as it was getting late, the people had better come at once, women and all, for the hand game. It was to be played inside the big tent of the Kiowa chief.

[431] When they had eaten enough, the Kiowa told the boys to take
with them the meat that was left. By signs he said that if they felt hungry later, they would have it to eat. He gave them a pointed stick, and showed them how to stick it into the meat and so carry
● [482] it. He said, "I'm in a hurry now, I want to get a place there to
sit." All three went over to the chief's tipi. The tent was big, but the crowd was so large that there was not room enough inside for all, so the bottom of the tent cover was rolled up all around, and those who couldn't get in settled themselves around outside. Many had to sit outside this way in the cold. If such a large crowd had been anticipated, the hand game would have been played in the open around a huge fire, but it was too late to gather enough wood to build such a big fire.

The Pawnee were sitting around the north side of the tipi, inside and out, Knifechief, as the leader, sitting at the west. The Kiowa sat around the south side, with the Kiowa chief at the west
next to Knifechief. In the middle was a large round fire. The Skiri
[823] Pawnee were on the north because the tribe was camped north of
the Kiowa and had come south to play.

The game began at once. There was no pipe smoking. The Kiowa chief had received the pipe when Knifechief had entered his tent upon arriving.

Between the leaders at the west are the tally sticks. Alongside them lies the Pawnee pipe, now empty, pointing to the north.

The betting begins, of vests, shirts, blankets, anything of value. Each man bets against one of the other side; the two things are tied together; the bundles are heaped at the west before the leaders. In the excitement of the game, the cold is forgotten, even by those who must squat outside. The first guessers are chosen and play begins.

When they hide the bones, the Kiowa sing old hand game songs, accompanied by the beating of one hand drum. When the Pawnee have the bones, they sing their old hand game songs. They clap their hands; they do not beat a drum.

The Pawnee won the first game and took the stakes. Then they sang one Crazy Dog Dance song. Two Pawnee danced. One told of a war exploit, "Once when I was in the army,[1] we charged the

---

[1] Referring to an episode while a Pawnee scout with the U. S. army.

then two men, and again two of their female relatives, and so on to the end of 622 575
the line. Before the procession left the lodge two large strong young men [602]
were caught in the village, brought in, and the water drums strapped on
their backs with one pack strap across the forehead and one across the [482]
breast. They then marched out dancing and singing. In leaving the lodge, the procession circles the fire four times and when outside of the door again circles four times. They then march back into the lodge and the women file out and go home, while the men take their seats. The drum bearers are relieved of their burden and sent out, but later they receive a portion of the meat from the feast. After the feast the society disbands.

This society seems to be based upon the bundle of the Pitahauirata village, which is probable considering that chiefs are the leading members. [302]
The chiefs painted red with black rings around the face; if yellow, a green circle: these are the two paintings.

THE SOLDIERS OR POLICE.

Each chief selects one elderly warrior as his personal aid and advisor. 625
Only those who have reached a certain high grade of distinction can serve in this capacity. As a body, these aids were known as the braves, rahikuchu. There is thus one brave for each village and he selects three men to act as police under his direction (raripakusu, fighting for order). These are strong and aggressive men. Their function was purely that of village and camp police. Their only badge of office was a special form of club for which in recent years a sword was substituted. The braves and police served for life, unless dismissed for cause. It should be noted, however, [224]
that these police had nothing whatever to do with the buffalo hunt.

THE BUFFALO HUNT.

The general buffalo hunt at whatever season of the year was under the 224
direction of the priest of the leading bundle which happened at that time 575
to be in charge. Preparatory to the hunt a ceremony was held, with the chiefs present, in which the hunt was planned. The priest selected one of the bundle societies to act as soldiers for the hunt. The regular police still exercised their powers in the camp, but the enforcement of all regulations for the hunt and its conduct were in the hands of the selected society. The appointment was for the hunt only. A special lodge was set up for the [346]
soldiers in the east part of the camp, near the center were the lodges of the chiefs society and of the priest. The methods of punishment employed by the soldiers were the same as among other tribes.

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 just east of the pit. The keeper of that bundle then 783 brought the Mother-Corn from it and placed it in the pit, thrusting the stick to which the male ear was attached into the earth so that it stood upright and leaning the other ear against its base. The keepers of the other bundles then came forward in turn and did the same. A wooden bowl filled with water was then placed to the east of the pit, between it and the fire-place. A clam shell was laid in the bowl, and a turtle, supported by a framework of sticks, was placed upon it. To the northeast and northwest of the bowl [825] were laid the heads and necks of loons, to the southeast the head and neck of a swan, and to the southwest a gar fish. The meaning of these objects is not perfectly understood. The bowl seems to have represented earth and water; the turtle, fire and also one of the important earthly gods. The loons and swan represented earthly gods, guardians of medicine men; and the gar fish, the great sea monster which first gave the medicine men's ceremony to human beings.

After these objects had been arranged, the chief priest selected four men to sit at the northeast, northwest, southeast and southwest corners of the bowl. The sacred stick from the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, and a star chart, kept in a bag attached to that bundle, were taken outside and placed on the mound in front of the doorway. The priest then took four smooth stones from the same bundle and gave one to each of the four men. These stones were extremely sacred, and were believed to have been given to the people at the beginning of the world. They were provided [482] with withe handles so that they could be carried without touching them. When they had been distributed, the priest said, "It is now time for these men to go outside and look at the heavens and over the earth. They will take with them these four stones, which were given to our people when the earth was

462 pare the fields for cultivation with their hoes, plant the corn, weed
562 it, and finally, when ripe, gather it in; and take care of the horses of their lords, when not used by them.

The most difficult labor, however, that falls to their lot, is the
462 erecting of their lodges. As the upper village had been burnt by
562 their enemies during their absence, the labor of rebuilding of
342 course devolved upon the poor women, and in the course of about two months, when we visited them, they had completed nearly 150 lodges. When we observed, that the nearest timber to the site of the village was two or three miles off, and that they have
[482] no beasts of burden, but that all the building material, much of which is very heavy, was carried so great a distance on the shoulders of the women, it seemed almost incredible to us. We noticed even girls of 12 or 14 years bearing baskets on their backs, filled with wet turf, to cover or repair their lodges, which must have been very heavy. Thus early the females are trained to
[868] carry burdens, (either at home, or while travelling,) which inures them to hardships, but at the same time deforms them, rendering them low and bent in stature, and pitiable objects to the beholder. While the men, trained to no work whatever, are erect, tall, and
[142] well-proportioned in their form, and almost feminine in their features, the women are short and low, with stooping gait, downcast looks, harsh features, and hair dishevelled; and dirty, ragged, and
000 filthy in their appearance. Such is a picture of heathenism! Have we not cause to be grateful for the benign influence of the gospel upon our land, so that we are elevated far above such a miserable state of heathenism? Unto the Lord be all the praise!

Though it is generally a feature among heathen nations, that it
462 is considered a shame for the men to labor, while all the work de-
562 volves upon the females, still the Pawnees seem not altogether indisposed to be instructed. Mr. Sharpee, who has been acquainted with them and other Indians in these parts for nearly 20 years, told us, that the Pawnee men were unlike those of other tribes, since they were willing to lay hold of a plough, or any other farming utensil, and only the instruction was wanting to make them industrious. Mr. Allis too, who has been acquainted with them for the last 20 years, and has lived among them a great portion of this period, informed us, that when the missionaries were formerly living among them, several of the Pawnees had already commenced the use of the plough. The good beginning was, however, interrupted by their missionaries having to leave them.

Dress.—The dress of the men consists in nothing but a small
291 piece of cloth, fastened around their middle. This, we observed, was generally the only covering they had on, when in their lodges. When abroad, they had a buffalo robe or blanket wrapped around them. The females are more decently clothed than the men

the altar there. Out of delicacy, she did not offer corn to the sacred ears in 264
the bundle; if they had had buffalo meat she would have offered it there 782
but not to the buffalo skull.

Now the meal began, and it was proper that they have light conversa- 264
tion while eating. Their conversation turned to getting water for the 521
household and wood for fuel, the care of the horses, and the food pit. White Woman remarked to Clear Day, who was sitting on the other side of the fireplace, "After breakfast, let's take two kettles and get some water." The other women talked about opening up the food pit and sorting out the good corn from the rotten and about exposing dry meat to the wind and sun. Victory Call talked to Horse Rider, who was sitting at his left, about the horses. He said, "Right up near where the horses are you might find some mushrooms and milkweed so that the women can cook the tops." Then the women chimed in, "I wish you could get some milkweed. That's good mixed with corn." Then Victory Call spoke of the horses: "If there's a good runner among them, get on him and give him some exercise so that we can train him as a buffalo horse. You must look around meanwhile and see if you see some deer tracks. We might go hunting. In the evening take the horses to a safe hiding place and hobble them so that the Sioux won't steal them. Look way off in all directions and if you see anyone lurking about bring them right home and put them in the corral. They won't starve for one night. In the morning we'll turn them loose and they can make up for it." "All right, I'll look around," said Horse Rider, "I'll be home late." Victory Call had some further reminders for him. He asked him if he had any parched corn with salt so that the horses would get thirsty and drink. He also reminded him that he should wet the sides of the horses and then they would rub themselves on the grass and shed their old hair. This was a necessary precaution, as they had no curry comb. Horse Rider actually knew all this, but he listened respectfully.

The meal now over, White Woman cleaned up the dishes and started 264
out with Clear Day to get the water. It was a mile to Beaver Creek, and it 512
was necessary to go at least twice a day to get water for the household. 312
Horse Rider usually helped by making at least one of these trips. The 482
two women now set out with two buckets hanging on a seven-foot-long stick which rested on their right shoulders, one woman walking in front and one behind, with the buckets between. The stick, ordinarily used as a digging iron, had one end fire-hardened and sharpened to a point, the other end being forked. At this time after breakfast and especially just before eating supper, many people were walking toward the creek for the same purpose.

Horse Rider left the lodge to take care of the horses, and Old Bull and 512
Victory Call remained seated in their place, smoking their pipe and con- 462
tinuing their conversation. The old ladies who were left behind looked [887]

Horses

231 were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact.
177 that horses were introduced to this continent by the Spaniards in the
early 1500's, and whatever use was made of them by American Indians
had to develop after that time. Even though it was a considerable length
of time, the Pawnee practices in connection with the use and care of
horses were not as advanced as those of the Spaniards. As regards the
*224 buffalo hunt, at the time of our narrative horses were used in the chase
492 when they were attacking the herd in a group and also to carry their
food and camping equipment. The strategy of the mass attack upon the
herd was to develop a "surround" by the mounted hunters who had
been lined up behind a hill out of sight. No doubt they had previously
492 used a similar technique on foot. As to carrying the food and equipment,
493 a good deal of it was packed on the backs of the women and girls. How-
ever, the women had dogs who were trained to drag the tent poles be-
• 482 hind them, the heavy ends of the poles tied to a harness on the dog's
back. The tent poles were grouped into two sets, one on each side of
the dog, and connected by two cross sticks toward the lower ends. Upon
these a skin cover was wrapped where other luggage was placed. A dog
492 could drag as much as 70 pounds. The custom of dog traction and ex-
482 tensive carrying on the back by the women was in full operation as late
175 as 1837 when a famous painter, Alfred Jacob Miller, portrayed the
Pawnees in this manner. After 1850, however, dogs were no longer used
178 for this purpose, and it was mostly the men who kept them around so
[782] that the puppies could be sacrificed and eaten at a special ceremonial.
Some, of course, were kept by the women as pets. By 1867, the horse had
taken over the carrying function almost entirely except for a few poor
single or old people who had to do some packing of their dried buffalo
meat on the way home. The packing of the horse resembled that for-
[493] merly used in connection with the dog; the horse travois or carrying
frame was also the same as that of the dog. All the leather trappings for
keeping the luggage in place had now to be carefully prepared before they
left for the hunt.

231 The Pawnees were relatively poor in horses compared with other
422 Plains tribes at this time. This may have been due to constant attacks by
the Sioux and the other nomadic tribes, although this is not certain. At
171 any rate while among the Blackfoot or the Kiowa twenty-five horses at
least were considered an average number for a family on the move,
Eagle Chief, who was head of the Skidi Band, had only ten, and a reason-
ably comfortable family like that of Victory Call had only four or five.
Some families had only one or two horses and it was with great difficulty
726 that they went on the hunt at all. Even in their war practices, the
*484 Pawnee retained some of their prehorse habits. It was well known that
178 they set out on their war expeditions on foot and they were known to the
Kiowa as "Walkers." The rationale given for this by students of the sub-

it. A man like Eagle Chief who had eight or nine horses and whose son- 224*
in-law had a similar number, could afford to lend two or three to out- 492
siders, although this did not mean they would also share in the family 422
tent, as his administrative functions required that he take his entire 426
family along.

In the Pawnee language, the word horse means "super-dog," the only 482
pack animal the Pawnees had before the impact of European culture. 492
With all due respect to the capacities of the dog, however, it was the peo- 177
ple themselves that did most of the carrying on their own backs. They 224*
had to pack not only the things they needed for camping—food, tents,
and equipment—but they had to carry back the dried buffalo meat and
the large hides. Every able-bodied person they took along with them
could earn his way by carrying things on his back. The men, whether
first-rate hunters or not, could play a useful role in the surround of the
herd. The only people they would leave behind in the villages were the
old and disabled. But the horse had made quite a difference in the social
economy. A horse could be packed with the dried and packaged meat of
four buffalo while a person could not carry more than one—about 80
pounds. If need be the horse could carry still more goods on his back.
Unless they could be of substantial assistance in the work of the camp, a
person would only be an extra mouth to feed. In the case of a chief or 574
a man who was socially ambitious, there would be a great deal of enter- 554
taining to do in the camp; women, in addition to their work in preparing 224*
the meat and skins would also assist with the entertaining. In a family 462
which had no social ambitions, like that of Mad Bear cited above, two 224*
men in partnership taking a minimum of housing and utensils and a
maximum of horses could return with a great deal of buffalo meat and 571
hides, to the general benefit of their families. The wife left behind under 492
these circumstances could hardly resent it.

The horse also represented a unique and highly valuable item of capi- 551
tal that had the unprecedented value of not having to be carried, but of 231
moving itself. In the past, differences in wealth would depend on a much [556]
more direct kind of personal skill. The man who was swiftest on his feet
and the most skilled with the bow and arrow got the best buffalo, and
his wife could produce the finest packaged meat and the best skins. These
in turn could be traded for other valuable things—valued ornaments or
participation in the sacred ceremonies. Now skill in horsemanship, which
had become an indispensable factor in hunting the buffalo, implied also
major successes on the warpath and the capturing of horses as well as
their subsequent care and protection. The horse thus provided a material [556]
basis for a greater degree of social differentiation. The horse was an item [422]
of personal property, but unlike property in our society it was by no
means as much of a factor in developing differential status as other
aspects of experience, chiefly knowledge of man, the world, and the
universe.

The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood 276
(*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer [824]
bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for
smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in
winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade [439]
store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared
patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of [249]
Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting 224*
expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their 276
pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so
that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½
feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would 224*
depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle 492
had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A
saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front
and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were
tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide
envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed
to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used
to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the
rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they
were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the
stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling
the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth 224*
for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently 291
on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was 412
an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. 224*
Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on 482
her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage 778
on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles
had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, 224*
dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, 251
coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concentrated
foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes. 262
The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that [484]
time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would
now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegetable 224*
provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the 251
cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One 252
batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were

*224 this area now, north of the Republican, they were in Pawnee territory
*484 and were less concerned about danger of attack. As the South Bands had
their villages to the east of the Skidi on Beaver Creek, they moved ahead
while the Skidi lagged behind. They ate mainly dried buffalo meat at
[262] this time and a little parched corn in soup. If anyone happened to have
[252] any roasted corn kernels on hand, they boiled them and ate them, but
most people had used up their supply by now. The old women were al-
*224 ways busy when they stopped, pulverizing dried buffalo meat in the
*484 mortar with a pestle. They made a flat package, *tsat-katus*, "package-
251 flat," of tanned hide (see Figure 30-1) and filled it up with the pounded-
887 up dried meat. The package could be carried on the back with a strap
• [482] that ran across the chest. It was 2 feet long by 1½ feet wide, and was
[439] often carried on their backs by the old women. It was a good trade
item. Sometimes they also included some dried meat. Both kinds could
[262] be eaten without cooking as they were already thoroughly cured. One
could simply break off a piece of the dried meat and eat it.

237
251
482

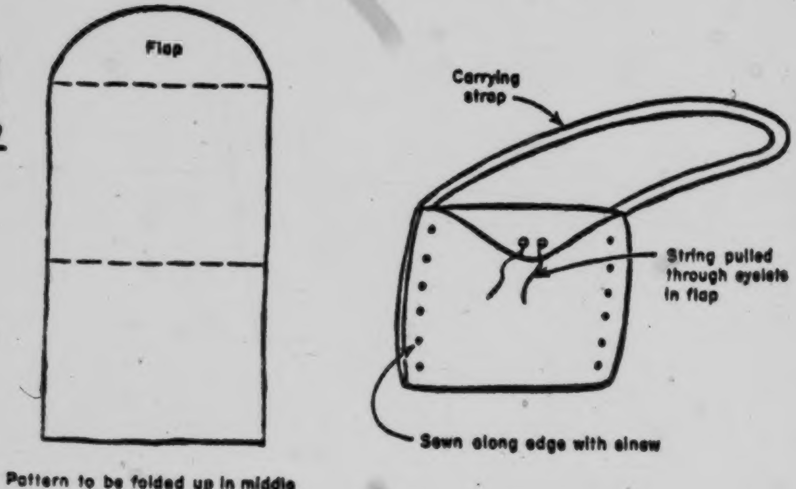

Flap
Pattern to be folded up in middle
Carrying strap
String pulled through eyelets in flap
Sewn along edge with sinew

FIGURE 30-1. The pattern of a skin knapsack, *tsat-katus*, "package-flat."

*224 Some old women made a *hu-tsaku*, "water-package," of half a buffalo
*484 bull hide made into rawhide, with sticks fastened underneath and the
[237] baggage wrapped inside envelope-fashion, to be floated across a swollen
[281] stream. Most of the women were busy tanning buffalo robes and scraping
hides all the way home.

726 Some young men were saying that when they got to the Platte River
they would set out on the warpath. There were plenty of Sioux around

double row with more ears to the string. Most of all they braided the 251
sweet corn, *rikis-karus,* "corn-sweet." Later when they gathered the 243
mature corn that had been left to dry on the stalk and not roasted, they also selected some prime ears and braided them together. In the earth lodge on each side leaning against the wall was a sapling with lopped-off branches on which they hung some of these corn braids. Even if this corn was not cooked until December or January, it tasted as fresh as if it had just been plucked. From a braid of mature dried corn, anyone who wanted an occasional bite could break off an ear and roast it. Those braids that were not hung up in the lodge were put in the storage pit along with the dried kernels and other dried crops.

All day Grandma worked in the fields, and in the evening she loaded [482]
her parfleche container of roasted corn kernels on her back and carried them to the camp. She would bring six or seven corn stalks with her that had been stripped of their ears for the little boy to chew on "like sugar cane." The old lady said, "Here, that's good for you!" He bit between the joints and twisted the stalk to get out the sweet juice. While he was enjoying them, some boys would come along and say, "Give me one." At camp an old tent cover had been spread on the ground so that the corn kernels could be spread out to dry. The next morning she said to White Woman, "Tsuat Tstaka, Daughter White Woman, here's some corn. Spread it out to dry." On the way home from her fields, Grandma always took a swim in Beaver Creek.

Back at camp, they had a team approach to the harvesting that in- 243
volved somewhat different steps from Grandma's. The two fields, White 476
Woman's and No Corn's, were harvested in succession, at least two going into a field at a time, while the others might remain behind for the
processing. Also all the crops were loaded on horseback rather than [492]
being packed on the back from the field to the camp as Grandma did. Husking was also done in a group, people from other camps joining them from time to time.

The team of four—Horse Rider and his wife No Corn and Victory Call and his wife White Woman—worked in the following way:

Morning of the first day, White Woman and Horse Rider went out to her field and brought in eight parfleches of corn ears that they had picked. They took along two horses and loaded them with four parfleches each. It was estimated that in our terms, eight parfleches of corn ears amounted to a wagon load, level and without the side boards up.

When they got back to camp, White Woman and No Corn im- 243
mediately set to work roasting. The two men, Horse Rider and Victory 252
Call, went back into the field and brought back two more horseloads— 476
eight parfleches full of corn ears. In one day they had gathered in two wagonloads as stated above.

In the *afternoon,* they kept on roasting all day. The men shucked the

It took three trips to get everything back to the lodge and, on the last 512
one, White Woman piled some of the remainder on her back and ad- [482]
monished Horse Rider to bring up whatever wood they had around as someone else might appropriate it. The women went into the lodge and at once removed the grass padding from the bed platforms to see how the willow sticks of the frame were. Next day they would get some new willow sticks to replace any that were found to be rotted.

Each low bedstead was made of three forked uprights stuck in the 352
ground between the central pillars and the wall of the housepit; a long [353]
sturdy willow rod rested on the forks of the uprights to form the edge of the bedstead. Shorter sections of willow sapling were laid on crosswise, at 3-inch intervals, one end resting on the outer rod and the other end on the shelf all around the housepit, which was actually the ground level remaining within the circular collar or sod wall inside its sloping radial skeleton. This low slope-roofed area was called *ti-ka-ka-wi'u*, "it-lodge-inside-sits." Upon the bed frame with its cross sticks was placed another layer of willow saplings in the length, and upon this in the width, a layer of thatch (*pakuts*) grass. Each bed was built between a pair of the short outer houseposts that were placed in the ground at an outward slant and 7 feet apart. These were the permanent bedsteads, and when they left on the hunt these were left intact. The only time they were dismantled was when a ceremony was to take place in the lodge when all the sticks were pulled up and carried outside until the ceremony was over.

The bedding was designed to keep the occupants warm and to ensure a 513
certain amount of privacy. The basic bedclothes comprised two layers 237
of tanned hide. At the head were skin pillows stuffed with turkey feathers or deer hair. Sometimes a roll of discarded skin clothing was used instead. At the foot was also a roll of worn out skin clothing against which one could rest one's feet. A skin curtain hung at the head and the foot of every bed, suspended from the roof for privacy. These were tucked in underneath before putting down the bed clothes to keep anything natural or supernatural from coming into the bed at night. In the more luxuriously appointed beds, an extra skin curtain was suspended against the wall so that should any mice living in the thatch loosen any earth, it would fall behind the curtain. The curtains were usually made of discarded pieces of tanned buffalo-hide tent skin. When they went to bed, everyone disrobed. In the warmer weather they covered themselves with a tanned skin—preferably elk or deerskin for really soft tan. This was commonly dyed black and was worn as a wraparound garment during the day. At the time of this account most people used trade-store blankets instead for this purpose. In winter they used a double-purpose buffalo robe with its hair and wool left on for warmth. In the morning when they got up the covers were folded up toward the head or foot end of the bed so that one could sit on the bed during the day or lie down without disarranging the bedding.

36

THE WOMEN GET WOOD FOR THE DOCTORS

000 *Women Volunteer to Get Wood—Women Invited to Entertainment and Feast at Doctor Lodge—Quartz Crystal Sleight of Hand*

756 796 313 462 WHEN OLD-MAN-HIGH-WATER went around the village notifying the women, he told them to meet outside the village and that two men would go along to protect them. Meanwhile Eagle Chief had sent one of his wives to ask Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy to take over this task. They knew they would be asked and they were all ready to go. They were given instructions to lead the women south of the creek rather than to the west where the enemy was likely to be lurking. As the women started for the appointed meeting place, other men set out for the surrounding hills to picket.

[482] Twenty women had volunteered. There was a standard backload of wood that the women usually carried (¼ cord or 2 cubic feet—2 armloads; eight armloads = 1 cord or 4 backloads). For each night that the doctors performed, they would need four backloads. Besides their preparations during the current week, the doctors were likely to give five performances, so that the women have to go on three more such expeditions to keep them supplied.

While the women were in the timber cutting the wood, the two scouts were standing on a hill watching them closely. Some women were saying, "Don't take too much. Take a light load. There are a lot of us." As one woman would get loaded up, she would stand aside and wait for the others. Finally when most of them had gathered, the men called out, "All of you here yet?"

One was found to be missing and when she finally emerged they all

285 352 nearer the west and those that were more worn, east toward the exit.

When a couple was newly married, they were always given a set of
285 mats—two for each side of the house and one for the west. They were
585 likely to get two from the girl's grandmother and two from the boy's.
431 Except in such intimate circumstances, the mats were not ordinarily con-
352 sidered suitable gift items. They were regarded more as we look upon linens—particularly bedsheets and towels. Suitable gift items on the other hand were, from man to a man, a horse, and from a woman to a man, leggings, moccasins, material for moccasins, or dried buffalo meat.

285 The mats received the heaviest wear during the winter hunt, when
352 they got all battered and broken up. In the fall, after the materials were gathered they were placed in the roof of the lodge to season all winter. In the spring, between planting and cultivating, they would feel they had to make some new mats to take along on the summer hunt. Old mats were left behind in the earth lodge.

285 The warp strands of the mat were of a three-sided prismatic grass
283 that grew in ponds (not cattail?). The long blades were made into a double-twisted continuous rope of four strands.

[137] The wefts were of bulrush (*Scirpus validus* Vahl.), a round tubular grass, spongy inside, 5 to 6 feet long. An alternative material was cattail
285 (*Typha latifolia* L.). Both these reeds grew in the bottomlands of the
824 streams, particularly along the Loup, but there were also a few patches along Beaver Creek. On the way home from the summer hunt, some people would gather the reeds on the Republican or the Loup and load the horses and bring them home. Or, noting good locations on the way home, they would return later.

Sometimes two old ladies would go out together and gather whatever small patches they could find on Beaver Creek, pulling up the reeds and piling them into two bundles about a foot in diameter. They would tie them up with ropes and each bring one in and go out again for more, ob-
[482] taining about four bundles each in this way. The reeds were very heavy when green and a woman could not carry very much at a time. For larger supplies, the family would make up a combined expedition, since they had to go three to five miles from the village. A large party of men and women would ride out on their horses to the sources of supply they had spotted when returning from the hunt. The men went out to give the women protection. On the way back the horses were loaded with reeds. When one party went out, others would hear about it and be inspired to follow their example.

285 The weft or (crosswise) threads needed very little preparation to be
283 ready for use. They had simply to be soaked in water overnight and then taken out and left to dry for about half an hour before weaving.

The long continuous lengthwise warp required considerably more preparation than the weft. The three-sided prismatic grass was soaked

285 476 ticated adaptation for weaving a wide twined fabric, as the normal direction for the progress of twined weaving is from left to right, the woman on the left using a motor pattern equivalent in feeling to dancing the waltz in reverse, with a view to getting a visual effect in the texture.

When the mat had been woven about one third of the way, the women, who had been kneeling in front of the lower cloth beam, now moved up and knelt on the already finished fabric to work on the rest. As the work progressed, they continued to move up on the fabric so that the working edge would be within reach.

[461] Two women could finish a mat in one day if they did nothing else. Beginning after breakfast, the weaving would be half done by noon. By a little after five in the evening, the work was complete.

285 868 Mat weaving was a household craft and the work would not ordinarily be contracted for outside, unless a woman were learning for the first time. Then she would call in an old woman and pay her to demonstrate the technique. During the demonstration, the young woman would try her hand at it from time to time. The finished mat would be hers. The
[465] teacher would receive four or five yards of calico and a layer of dried buffalo meat, or a sack of corn (about a foot high) and half a braided intestine mat.

285 592 In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each side took care of its own needs for mats. White Woman and Grandma would start one together, and when White Woman had to interrupt her work to prepare a meal, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy would take her place for a while, helping Grandma with the weaving. Any mats that Grandma made by herself were given to White Woman for the family. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy felt she should make at least one mat for herself and her grandson to use when they went on the hunt. No Corn also made one to take along, and, if Horse Rider was busy in the Doctor Lodge, the two old ladies would each contribute half the necessary materials, as she was too crippled to gather them for herself and under the circumstances Horse Rider was unable to get away. There was no question of compensation for this, as the old ladies felt that Horse Rider was helpful to the household at all times and No Corn also did what she could.

• 482 285 Carrying these mats on the march was very difficult for people with no horses. This was the case with poor people. When people noticed that they had no mats, someone would give them an old one and a man would carry it on his back with a baby perched on top and his wife would do
[431] the same. The occasional woman who was too lazy to make one, was also
[554] given an old mat. People who didn't have mats to put on the ground were considered poor indeed.

412 824 A brush made of stiff grass was indispensable to personal grooming. The brush was made out of Porcupine Grass or Spanish Needles (*Stipa*

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Dhegiha NQ12

P
224

141 The surround on foot was called *tut-kawi-pitahaku*," it-to-them-inside-moving-round-and-round." In summer the buffalo tended to be scattered in smaller bunches. In winter the buffalo traveled in closer formation. They also would try to drive them over the ice during the winter: *situks-ukita-hai-iwarit*, "they-used-to-upon-water-or-ice-aim-or-direct." In winter, in the deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow and could readily be killed. The north wind was called Lucky Wind because it chased the buffalo to them. When the second party was going to Oklahoma (1876), old man Frost, *Huriru'us*, held a doctor dance. Then Lucky Wind began to blow and a lot of buffalo came close to the camp. At one time, east of the Missouri River, a bit east of Omaha, Nebraska, there were villages of Pumpkin-Vine people and further eastward the village of Bones-Sticking-Up, *Kis-kararwa*, of the Tsawi Band. Buffalo came into these villages.

P
[821]
[796]
[361]

P
482

Even in Oklahoma in the 1920's women continued to pack heavy loads on their backs. In 1928 I met an old Pawnee grandmother of delicate build trudging along the road out of the town of Pawnee one Saturday afternoon with a huge load of groceries—a sack of flour, a lard pail full, and other sundries—done up in a blanket, the ends tied across her forehead and the weight of the bundle resting on her protruded buttocks and backbone. She refused an offer of a lift in a Ford Car, preferring to continue with her moccasined walk for the two miles to the house.

P
172
325

145, 363 In Lower Loup archaeological villages sheet metal was found for the first time (about 1600), possibly for arrow points (Dunlevy, 1936, p. 201).

P
162

138 Dunbar, 1918, p. 632, gives an estimate of the number of males and females among the Skidi (1840): total 1906; males over 10 years, 469; females over 10 years, 598; children, males under 10 years, 367, females under 10 years, 472.

P
439

145, 363-364 Although pottery was still in use in Old Village (Allis, 1887, p. 140) the Pawnees had for some time been carrying on a trade in brass buckets with other tribes. Mooney, 1898, pp. 257-259, describes a gruesome incident when the Osage attacked the unprotected Kiowa camp, cutting off the heads of their dead victims and placing them one each in a brass kettle, "which had been obtained by the Kiowa from the Pawnee, who procured them on the Missouri and traded them to the southern tribes." This was the year 1833 "Summer They Cut Off Their Heads." During the attack "A party of women was saved by a brave Pawnee living in the camp, who succeeded in fighting off the pursuers long enough to enable the women to reach a place of safety" (p. 258).

D
[726]
[727]

P
[726]

NOTES AND COMMENTS

796 756 272 An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756 273 See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796 [574] [782] [184] [752] [726] 241 The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

824 825 171 277 On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372 482 280, 290 Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads would equal one cord of wood. 372 Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

727 305 Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home

diameter, and the round excavated fireplace in the center and the shape 342
and insulation of the walls made it warm in winter. The life of a set of
tipi poles was five to seven years, and within that interval three or four
of them were likely to bend or weaken and have to be replaced. They [824]
used cottonwood, which was light and easy to carry, and as an alternative, [313]
cedar, which was also rather light. The best supply was on Grand Island
in the Platte and the best time to gather these was on the return journey
from the winter hunt.

The first task was to select the trees which should be 6 to 7 inches in 313
diameter as they stood with the bark on. From their encampment on the 342
island, Victory Call, White Woman, and Horse Rider would go into the
timber, and when Victory Call had selected his first tree he would start
to cut it down with the ax. When Horse Rider would come up, he would
say, "Let me do that," and take the ax and cut it down in his place. Victory
Call now went further to select the other trees and Horse Rider followed
cutting each one down in turn. Now White Woman got to work on the
felled trees, cutting off the boughs and branches with her hatchet so that
the bare trunk was left with the bark on.

Now Horse Rider began to drag in the bare trunks to camp, while Vic- [483]
tory Call cut down the fourth tree that they needed and White Woman
got to work lopping off the branches. Victory Call now pulled in the
fourth trunk, returning to camp with White Woman. With a good sharp
ax this operation had taken them a total of half an hour for all four trunks.

Back at camp, they removed the bark and this took a good deal longer. 322
If one person worked at it alone, it took two to three hours to remove the 342
bark from one trunk of this kind. Two people working together on one
tree could do it in about an hour and a half. While White Woman worked
from the bottom upward with the hatchet, the other person could work
near the top end using a knife, because the bark is softer near the top. It
sometimes happened that White Woman was able to make a convenient
flap near the bottom, ripping off a strip of bark up the whole length.
Horse Rider or Grandma might be free to give White Woman a hand at
this work. After the bark was off, the whole stick had to be roasted. All
four were first debarked and then all four roasted at the same time. A
little fire was made outdoors and each stick turned around in it until the
whole length was roasted. To roast the four sticks in this way took about
an hour and a half. Now they were left to cool and the ashes and burnt
places rubbed over with a stick to remove loose cinders. The next step
was to even their length. The stub ends had been sharpened to points,
and these were placed together and the heads all cut off to the same
length to make them even.

The new tipi poles were now tied together and transported back to the 342
earth lodge where, tied together tight, they were fastened to the ceiling

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THIRD SONG

Diagram of Time

533*
796*

Rythmic Rendition

I

539*
796*

Hark! She speaks, and quickly we turn to her,
Looking toward the west to the spot where we
Passed 'neath the eyes of gods; and now do we heed her words:
"Yonder is the place in the distant west
Whence I have come out of the past to you."

II

"Born of the earth and touched by the deep blue sky,
Have I chosen been by the gods to lead.
You are to hear my voice and follow my strict commands,
As your fathers did in the days gone by.
Thence come I to open your pathway here."

These three songs, the first part of the fifth ritual, seem to have been disciplinary in their influence. They tended to restrain the individual from self-seeking by placing over the party a supernatural leader, on whom all minds must be fixed and to whom all must give obedience. Thus, from the very outset, an authority was established against which none dared rebel. [626]

PART II. SONGS AND CEREMONIES OF THE WAY

796*
484 ●

The Hako party was an impressive sight as it journeyed over the country. It could never be mistaken for an ordinary group of hunters, warriors, or travelers. At the head of the long procession, sufficiently in advance to be distinguished from the others, walked three men—the Ku'rahus, holding before him the brown-eagle feathered stem, on his right the chief, grasping with both hands the wildcat skin and Mother Corn, and at his left the assistant Ku'rahus, bearing the white-eagle feathered stem. These three men wore buffalo robes with the hair outside. On their heads was the white downy feather of their office and their faces were anointed with the sacred ointment and red paint. They bore the sacred objects forward steadily and silently, looking neither to the right nor left, believing that they were under supernatural guidance. Behind them walked the doctors with their insignia, the eagle wings; then the singers with the drum, and behind them the

*796 men and women of the party with the ponies laden with gifts and
needed supplies of food.

Over the wide prairie for miles and miles this order was preserved
day after day until the journey came to an end. If from some dis-
[726] tant vantage point a war party should descry the procession, the
leader would silently turn his men that they might not meet the Hako
party, for the feathered stems are mightier than the warrior; before
them he must lay down his weapon, forget his anger, and be at peace.

771 No object met on the journey to the Son presented its ordinary
aspect to the Hako party. Everything seen was regarded as a mani-
*796 festation of the supernatural powers under whose favor this ceremony
484 was to take place; hence the trees, the streams, the mountains, the
buffalo were each addressed in song. This attitude toward nature is
strikingly brought out in the two songs, which are in sequence, sung
at the crossing of a stream.

484 Throughout this ceremony water is treated as one of the lesser
771 powers. It is employed only for sacred purposes, and is never used in
the ordinary way. To profane water would bring punishment upon
*796 the whole party (see the first ritual, line 29), and consequently when
a stream ran across a line of travel no person could step into it as he
823 commonly would do. A halt was called and the Ku'rahus led in the
singing of the song in which Kawas is asked to grant the party permis-
[773] sion to ford the stream. According to Pawnee rituals, water at the
creation was given to the woman, so Kawas, representing the mother,
could grant permission. The request is embodied in four stanzas.
*[539] In the first the water touches the feet; in the second the feet stand in
the water; in the third the feet move in the water; in the fourth the
water covers the feet (note the resemblance of entering the stream to
entering the lodge, seventh ritual, part 1).

771 After the stream was crossed the people halted on the bank to sing
*539 the song to the wind, led by the Ku'rahus. It also is in four stanzas.
The wind is called upon to come and dry the water which the people
*796 may not irreverently touch. In the first stanza the wind touches the
821 people; in the second it lightly brushes their bodies; in the third it
circles about them; in the fourth it envelops them. Thus the wind,
484 one of the lesser powers, comes between the people and the penalty
incurred by profanely touching water.

*539 In these ceremonies the people were constantly reminded that they
771 were in the presence of the unseen powers manifested to them in the
natural objects met upon the journey. To those initiated into the
*796 inner meaning of the rite, the appeal at the crossing of the stream to
Kawas (the feminine element) and to the wind (typical of the breath
of life) was connected with the symbolism of running water, explained
in the seventh ritual as representing the giving of life from genera-
tion to generation.

*539 The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth songs originally belonged to
*796 the journey, but we are told the buffalo are no longer seen; neither

668 Mark Evarts led several times, and says that whenever he had
796 the lead he had good luck. One time a baby was born while the dance was in progress—that was good luck. Tobacco was being
777 ceremonially prepared to be handed to Mark for making a smoke offering. While they were praying that good luck might go with
[276 the tobacco, a grandchild of Linford Smith's was born. So all
783] present thanked God, and hoped it would be that way throughout the dancing.

[184] While these developments were taking place among the Skiri, the Ghost Dancing of the South Bands continued to follow the formal arrangements which had been instituted by Frank White. As members of the organization of seven singers which had been developed by White died, new members were selected to take their places. The smoke offering was not altered.

668 Murie, in discussing Pawnee ceremonial Ghost Dance forms, states[1]:

796 "In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take
[484] instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the cere-
[346] monies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple... The modern Ghost Dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host..."

The arrangement of which Murie speaks, in terms of which the leading tent was on the north or south according to the place of the host, refers to Ghost Dance hand games, rather than Ghost Dances proper: for in the hand games, as will be described below, one side (either north or south, viz., either Crow or Eagle) is "host" and in charge.

GHOST DANCE SONGS[2]

796 The songs "dreamed" or secured in visions in the Ghost Dance ranged over all the subjects that could naturally come to mind.
533 Some emphasized aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine, viz., that in the other world all was as in former days, that the Christ was

---

affair, viz., supply the bulk of the meat and other food necessary, as well as the method of selecting one man to be in charge, are general Pawnee patterns.

[1] Murie, p. 636.

[2] The song texts of this section have been retranscribed and retranslated from the Densmore versions by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance 342
of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and [778]
suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, [554
the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, 513]
which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a "skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when
a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family [484]
usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four 619
bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had 621
also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its [778
priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with 793]
those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a medium of communication was believed to be opened between the people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the 621
head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced 622
by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus 624
or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council 623
was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands, and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a 611
man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family. 591

---

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. xv, New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

and bears no resemblance to it, and the third is still shorter, resembling the second unit. Drum and voice are in the same tempo. 533*

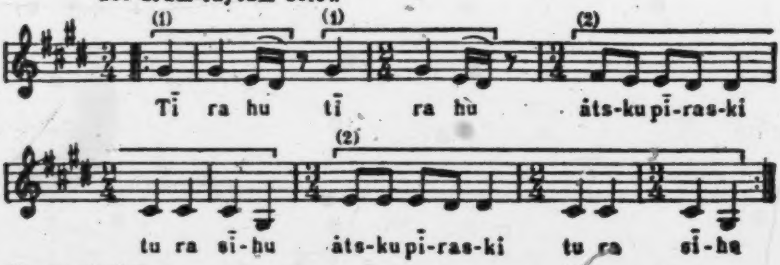
Long ago, when the Pawnee "used to go traveling," they stopped 524
at night to rest and frequently played the hand game. Among them [484]
was a little boy, too young to play, who loved to watch the game. 533*
He was so little that he wore no clothing. As soon as night came this little boy ran to get wood and made a big fire so that everyone would come and play the hand game. He did not even want to eat he was so anxious for them to play. The men made this song about the little boy and sang it as they played the game.

No. 48. Hand Game Song Concerning a Little Boy

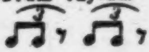
(Catalogue No. 1097) 533*

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 108
Drum ♩ = 112
See drum-rhythm below


(1)
(1)
(2)
Tī ra hu tī ra hu àts-ku pī-ras-ki
(2)
tu ra sī-hu àts-ku pī-ras-ki tu ra sī-hu

Drum-rhythm



Tī	ra	hu	àtsku	pīraski	tu	ra	sīhu
This	have	coming	one	boy	do	have	running

FREE TRANSLATION

They (the men) are coming,
One boy is running.

Analysis.—Ten renditions of this song were recorded with no break in the time except a pause for breath between the eighth and ninth renditions. It is interesting to note that the drum is slightly faster than the voice, maintaining this tempo in all the renditions. Part of the song is above and part is below the keynote. Two rhythmic units occur, the second being much longer than the first. The song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the seventh. The descent at the close of the first and second measures was given with a sliding of the voice which can not be represented in musical notation.

*172 824 [251] The chokecherry was greatly esteemed for food. It was cooked as a sauce while fresh, and also reduced to pulp with a stone hammer, and this paste was shaped into cakes and dried to preserve for winter use, somewhat in the manner of the dried prune paste of Bulgaria and Serbia.

The insect galls of the wild rose were supposed to possess medicinal value.

No. 6. Two tubers of *Apios tuberosa*. Apios tubers were highly valued as a food vegetable by tribes throughout the extensive range of this plant over all eastern North America. It was mentioned by Beverly and other writers of the English colony of Virginia, under the name "Openauk", which is a corruption of the name of the tubers in the language of one of the tribes of Algonkian stock in that region. Later, after the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) had been introduced into North America, readers of these early writings erroneously construed them to refer to the potato. Hence arose the myth of potatoes having been grown by Indians of Virginia.

Peter Kalm, a Swedish botanist, in his visit to North America, mentions the common use of these tubers by the colonists of New Sweden (New Jersey) as they had learned from their Indian neighbors.

When the French Jesuit missionaries saw the Indians in New France (Quebec) harvesting these wild tubers they noticed their characteristic growth in long strings like a string of beads, hence they called them *les racines des chapelets*, "rosary roots."

When the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) was first introduced to the people of the Dakota Nation, they compared them to the tubers of Apios, which was one of their important native food plants. The Dakota name of Apios, which is *blo*, was applied to the potato, and finally was completely transferred to it, so that now in common Dakota use the word *blo* signifies potato.

No. 7. A number of seeds of the Bush Summer Squash (*Cucurbita pepo* of the *melopepo* type). This type of cucurbit was of coextensive distribution with corn in the aboriginal agriculture of North America. In later prehistoric and historic cultures, many tribes possessed *Cucurbita maxima* (Winter Squash), *Cucurbita pepo* (Pumpkin) and *Cucurbita pepo melopepo* (Summer Squash), but in earlier prehistoric cultures *Cucurbita maxima* and *C. pepo* might be lacking, [while] it appears that *C. pepo melopepo* was not lacking in any cultures which possessed corn and beans.

No. 8. A small quantity of seeds of a chenopodiaceous plant, apparently *Chenopodium* sp. But these seeds are much larger than the seeds of any native Chenopodium of that region. The seeds of most species of chenopodiaceous plants indigenous in the region are 1 mm or less in diameter, but these are 3 mm in diameter. In the Journal of the Washington Academy of Science, volume VIII, no. 15, September 1918, W. E. Safford describes under the title "Chenopodium nuttaliae, a Food Plant of the Aztecs", a chenopodium which is cultivated in Mexico as a food grain. The seeds of our specimen more nearly agree with this description and illustrations of *Chenopodium nutalliae* Safford, sp. nov., than with the seeds of any chenopodiaceous plant now growing in the region where these specimens were found. The puzzling and interesting question arises: How came these seeds here? Were they cultivated by the Pawnees at that time? Were they of direct importation from Mexico? [484] It is well known that the Pawnee made expeditions into Mexico in historic time, well on into the nineteenth century. Did they bring seeds of cultivated plants thence, and was this Aztec crop plant introduced by Pawnee farmers into their farming operations in Nebraska?

White men who traveled among the Pawnee have mentioned their cultivated crops, but only corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins, those already familiar to these white men in their own homes. It may well be that here was another

Pawnee, Blackfoot and Cheyenne

224 With the gray down of morning, the camp, as usual, is astir. By
484 the time our little party have turned out of our blankets, some of
the Indians have already finished eating, and are catching up their
[462] horses and preparing to ride off over the bluffs, leaving the squaws
to take down the lodges, pack the ponies, and pursue the designated
line of march. Before we are ready to "pull out," most of the ponies
have been packed, and a long, irregular line of Indians is creeping
across the level valley, and beginning to wind up the face of the
bluffs. The procession moves slowly, proceeding at a walk. Most
of those who remain with the column are on foot, the squaws leading
the ponies, and many of the men, wrapped in their blankets,
and with only their bows and arrows on their backs, walking briskly
[735] over the prairie, a little to one side. These last are the poorer Indians
—those who have but few horses. They travel on foot, letting their
horses run without burdens, so that they may be fresh and strong,
whenever they shall be needed for running the buffalo.

224 Side by side, at the head of the column, walk eight men who carry
778 the buffalo staves. These are slender spruce poles, like a short lodge-
484 pole, wrapped with blue and red cloth, and elaborately ornamented
with bead work, and with the feathers of hawks, and of the war
eagle. These sticks are carried by men selected by the chiefs and
doctors in private council, and are religiously guarded. Upon the care
of these emblems, and the respect paid to them, depends, in a great
measure, the success of the hunt. While borne before the moving
column, no one is permitted to cross the line of march in front of
them.

224 Close behind the staff bearers follow a number of the principal
484 men of the tribe; the head chief, old *Pi'ta Le-shar*, and a dozen or
[622] fifteen sub-chiefs or head men, all mounted on superb horses. Behind them comes the camp at large, a fantastically mingled multitude, marching without any appearance of order. Here most of the individuals are women, young girls and children, for the men who accompany the camp usually march singly, or by twos and threes, a little apart from the mob. Most of those rich enough in horses to be able to ride at all times, are scattered over the prairie for miles in every direction, picking up the small bands of buffalo, which have been passed by the scouts as not large enough to call for a general surround. The hunters are careful, however, not to follow too close

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885) 1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

upon the advance line, whose movements they can readily observe upon the bare bluffs far ahead of them. 224 484 ●

At the time of which I am writing, the Pawnees had no wagons, all their possessions being transported on pack horses. The Indian pack pony is apt to be old and sedate, requiring no special guidance nor control. A strip of rawhide, knotted about the lower jaw, serves as a bridle, and is either tied up to the saddle or held in the rider's hand. In packing the animals a bundle of lodge-poles is tied on either side of the saddle, one end projecting forward toward the horse's head, the other dragging on the ground behind. This is the *travois.* Cross poles are often tied between these two dragging bundles, and on these are carried packages of meat and robes. Often, too, on a robe stretched between them, a sick or wounded Indian, unable to ride, is transported. The lodge-poles having been fastened to the saddle, the lodge is folded up and placed on it between them, and blankets, robes, and other articles are piled on top of this, until the horse has on its back what appears to be about as much as it can carry. The pack is then lashed firmly in position, and pots, buckets and other utensils are tied about it wherever there is room. 492 484 224

On top of the load so arranged one or two women, or three or four children, clamber and settle themselves comfortably there, and the old horse is turned loose. Each rider carries in her hand a whip, with which she strikes the horse at every step, not cruelly at all, but just from force of habit. If the pack is low, so that her feet reach down to the animal's sides, she keeps up also a constant drumming on his ribs with her heels. The old horse pays not the slightest attention to any of these demonstrations of impatience, but plods steadily along at a quiet walk, his eyes half closed and his ears nodding at each step. If the riders are women, each one holds a child or two in her arms, or on her back, or perhaps the baby board is hung over the end of a lodge-pole, and swings free. If the living load consists of children, they have in their arms a lot of puppies; for puppies occupy with relation to the small Indian girls the place which dolls hold among the white children. Many of the pack animals are mares with young colts, and these last, instead of following quietly at their mothers' heels, range here and there, sometimes before and sometimes behind their dams. They are thus constantly getting lost in the crowd, and [231]

492 484 224 then they charge backward and forward in wild affright, neighing shrilly, until they have again found their proper place in the line of march. Many of the yearling colts have very small and light packs tied on their backs, while the two-year-olds are often ridden by the tiniest of Indian boys, who are now giving them their first lesson in weight-carrying. Loose horses of all ages roam about at will, and their continual cries mingle with the barking of dogs, the calls of women and the yells of boys, and make an unceasing noise.

484 224 [857] The boys are boiling over with animal spirits, and, like their civilized brothers of the same age, are continually running about, chasing each other, wrestling, shooting arrows and playing games, of which the familiar stick game seems the favorite.

Whenever the column draws near any cover, which may shelter game, such as a few bushes in a ravine, or the fringe of low willows along some little watercourse, the younger men and boys scatter out and surround it. They beat it in the most thorough manner, and any game which it contains is driven out on the prairie, surrounded and killed. The appearance even of a jackass rabbit throws the boys into a fever of excitement, and causes them to shriek and yell as if in a frenzy.

All the morning I rode with the Indians, either at the head of the column, chatting as best I could with *Pi'ta Le-shar* and other chiefs, or falling back and riding among the women and children, whom
224 I never tired of watching. Frequently during the day I saw at a distance, on the prairie, small bunches of buffalo in full flight, hotly pursued by dark-skinned riders, and occasionally two or three men would ride up to the marching columns with heavy loads of freshly-killed meat. The quick-heaving, wet flanks of the ponies told a story of sharp, rapid chases, and their tossing heads and eager, excited looks showed how much interest they took in the hunt.

224 411 The report of firearms was seldom heard. Most of the Indians hunted with the primitive weapon of their forefathers—the bow and arrow. For buffalo running an arrow is nearly as effective as lead. The power of the bow in expert hands is tremendous. Riding within half a dozen yards of the victim's side, the practiced bowman will drive the dart so far through the body of the buffalo that its shaft may project a foot or more from the opposite side—some-

224 Often it was impossible to determine whether these figures were horsemen or buffalo, but sometimes, far away, I could see a mimic chase in which pursuer and pursued appeared no larger than ants.

857 As I came up with the Indians, they were just descending into
223 the stream bottom, where camp was to be made. The small boys
484 had, as usual, dispersed themselves over the valley and among the underbrush. Many of the squaws, leaving the ponies and packs to their sister-wives or children, were hurrying up or down the stream to gather wood. Already the leading ponies were being relieved of their loads. Suddenly, from the mouth of a little ravine coming down into the stream bottom, rose a chorus of shrill yelps and shrieks from childish throats, and a gang of wild turkeys were seen, running rapidly through the high grass toward the hills. A moment later, with a loud *quit-quit* of alarm, they took wing, but not before several of their number had fallen before the missiles of the boys. Most of them went up or down the creek, but one inexperienced bird took its course directly over our heads.

223 Those who have seen the Indian only on dress parade, talk of his
[152] stolidity, impassiveness, and his marvelous control over his countenance and his emotions. This demeanor he can and does assume,
[609] and when he is with white men, or among strangers, he is usually all that he has been pictured; but take him by himself, and he expresses his feelings with as little restraint as a child. So it was now. No grave chief, nor battle-scarred warrior, nor mighty worker of *ti-war'-uks-ti* (magic) was too dignified to express his interest at the appearance of this great bird sailing laboriously along, thirty or forty feet above him. It was as if the turkey had flown over a great company of schoolboys, and the utter abandonment of the excited multitude, the entire absence of restraint, the perfect naturalness of the expression of feeling, had in them something very delightful and infectious. Every Indian, who held in his hand anything that was light enough to throw, hurled it at the bird, and a cloud of whips, sticks, hatchets, fleshers, and arrows, rose to meet it as it passed along. One missile knocked from its tail a few long feathers, which drifted slowly down on the heads of the people. It kept on, but before it had passed beyond the long line of Indians extending back over the

plain, its strength became exhausted, it came to the ground, and 223 was at once dispatched by those nearest to it.

Almost before the turkey's fate had been decided, many of the 484 lodges had been pitched, and now the slender gray columns from a hundred camp-fires began to climb up through the still air toward the blue above. The women were hard at work cooking, or spreading out freshly killed robes, or putting up drying scaffolds, while the [462] men lounged in the shade and smoked or chatted. Our wagon was halted at one side of the camp, and the tired horses and mules were stripped of saddles and harness, and picketed near at hand. The Indian pack ponies were collected and driven off on the upland in charge of several boys.

We had invitations to eat meat at several lodges that day. Usually 574 we did not accept these freely proffered hospitalities, because we had no means of returning them, but one of these invitations came from a particular friend, and to-day we broke through our rule. We feasted on roast ribs, *ka'wis*, and dried meat, and really had a delightful time. It was about three o'clock when we finished the meal, and we were lounging about the lodge, smoking and chatting, in lazy after-dinner fashion, when we were startled by a series of yells and shouts, among which I distinguished the words "*Cha'-ra-rat wa-ta'* 648 —The Sioux are coming." Our Indian companions snatched up their 721 arms, and rushed out of the lodge, and we were not slow in following. "*Sūks-e-kitta-wit wis-kūts*—Get on your horses quick," shouted our host. The camp was in a state of wild excitement. Naked men were running to their horses, and jerking their lariats from the picket pins, sprang on their backs and rode hard for the hills; while women and boys rushed about, catching horses, and bringing them in among the lodges, where they were securely fastened. Less than a mile away, we saw the horse herd dashing along at top speed, and a little to one side of it a horseman riding in circles, and waving his blanket before him. It was evident that the Sioux were trying to run off the herd. We ran as hard as we could to the wagon, caught up rifles and cartridge belts, and buckling on the latter as we ran, kept on to the horses. There was no time to saddle up. We looped the ropes around their jaws, sprang on their naked backs, and were off. As

14: Weltfish

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

● 484

[For information on the various preparatory aspects of the Pawnee camp in getting ready for the trip to the buffalo hunting areas, see category 224.]

14: Weltfish

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

● 484

[For information on the various aspects of travel encountered in the Pawnee summer buffalo hunt, see category 116, pp. 140-142, 161-183, 186-188, 195-198, 200, 202, 211, 222-231, and 233-236; for comparable data on the winter buffalo hunt, see pp. 409, 415-425, 434-437, and 441-443.]

512 462 887 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder. When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter, I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar. Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

313 • 484 623 [726] Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Victory Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful supply of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the immediate neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy. The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the chiefs had gathered there.

512 252 262 [237] The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buffalo meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

(415) 512 251 356 The main business of the women of the household that day was to give the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold, and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in; besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for
[192] food pit, *tahaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all.
[476] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood 276
(*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer [824]
bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for
smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in
winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade [439]
store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared
patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of [249]
Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting 224*
expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their 276
pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so
that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½
feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would 224*
depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle 492
had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A
saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front
and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were
tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide
envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed
to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used
to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the
rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they
were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the
stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling
the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth 224*
for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently 291
on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was 412
an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. 224*
Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on 482
her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage 778
on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles
had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, 224*
dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, 251
coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concentrated 262
foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes.
The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that [484] •
time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would
now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegetable 224*
provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the 251
cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One 252
batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were

43

THE DEER DANCE

000

The Deer Dance a New Addition to Pawnee Ritual—Kind Warrior Visits the Wichita—He Learns the Deer Dance from Them—the Learning of the Dance Explained—He Returns to the Pawnees and They Learn from Him—the Form of the Dance Undergoes Changes—the Songs They Sing—Differences with Other Animal Lodge Ceremonies—Mythology of Deer Dance—Popularity of Deer Dance

796 536 INVESTIGATORS HAVE LONG REALIZED that the Pawnees had a culture that was unusually rich in ceremony and metaphor. It was particularly in the theater arts connected with their ceremonies that their aesthetic culture had its main expression. In the ceremonies, the sustained patterning of the episodes, the costuming, and the underlying ideology and symbolism represented an aesthetic composite of great richness, which was assiduously cultivated and appreciated by the people for its beauty.

796 177 [484] [167] The Deer Dance was a comparatively new addition to the Pawnee ceremonial repertoire. For more than a century certainly, and no doubt considerably longer, Pawnee men had gone south on extended visits to the several tribes of their Caddoan-speaking kinsmen. While they were there they commonly participated in the ceremonies as well as in other activities. Some remained there permanently such as the brother of Eagle Chief, Noted-Tent (*Iseru-rikariku*), who became a distinguished Wichita chief. A man of the Kitkehaxki Band, *Tiraritaka'as*, became a chief of the Kitsai. For a rich source of new ideological and aesthetic material the Pawnees were conscious that they must go south to the Wichita, the Wichita probably looking south to the Caddo and the Caddo in turn to Mexico. It is probable that in this manner, passing from group to

Some of their families would want to go along and
some old women to collect wild potatoes and the wild beans that 221
were stored by the wood rat. The women could help with hauling 224
wood and cooking and boys could make themselves useful hauling 484
water and tending the horses. Eventually ten to fifteen tipis in two or [222]
three bunches would set out in this way, traveling five or six miles a day and staying two or three days in one place. Individual men would join tents with families, going out during the day with their horses and joining the camp at night at the appointed place. Every evening an old man would walk among them announcing the next day's plans. They camped on the north side of the Loup where they could get wood as it might snow at any time. Those who trapped beaver would clean their traps in the evening and set them from the north side of the river, while the deer hunters went either north or south. Whenever any-
one caught anything, they would have a big feast all through the camp. [574]
Eagle Chief and War Cry who excelled in buffalo hunting did not care for shooting with guns and trapping, but Victory Call, and his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and also Old Bull were good hunters and trappers. They did not believe in exposing their families to enemy attack in this way and so they would come along by themselves. After they had made five or six camps, someone would come from the village and tell them that they would soon be setting out for the winter buffalo hunt and then they would all return and prepare.

It was such an informal hunting and trapping group that Kind War- 796
rior joined when he returned from the Wichita. In his tipi he was sing- 177
ing his Deer Dance songs in Wichita, and when Victory Call, who was feeling lonesome, heard him, he went into the tipi where Kind Warrior was lying on his back and singing as he beat time on his thigh. Kind Warrior got up and welcomed Victory Call and after he said he was attracted by the singing, invited him to lie down and join him. Lying to the left of Kind Warrior he sang along with him and whenever he had nothing to do, he would just go in and sing. Others came in too and sang with them. Back at the village these men would sing together in the lodge and as others heard them, they also came in. These were men who had also been among the Wichita and had learned only individual songs but not the whole ritual. Some had learned polecat teaching, others buzzard, etc., and as they sang together, they taught one another. While Kind Warrior knew the most, he also learned new things from them. When there were about ten members, Kind Warrior could set them out in a formal arrangement (see Figure 43-1). He assigned two to each of the four semicardinal positions, two at the west as *rixkita*, leaders, and one errand man for the north, one for the south. More people came in and filled in the places. They made four rattles of wild squash with green and white wavy stripes to imitate the Wichita version. They also got four bows in accordance with the original version. Kind

braced Lone Chief as he got off the horse and directed him to sit 539
down on the buffalo robe. Then the braves got hold of the buffalo 727
robe and carried him into the lodge, setting him down in his place near the door. Now all the Tsawis were singing—the old men and the old women, and when the rest of us seven arrived in a crowd, they gave us everything they were wearing—their blankets, leggings, and finally the Tsawis had almost nothing on.

"Now three old Skidi women came led by Grieves-the-Enemy. She was dressed to commemorate her war deed, when she had saved the village from the attacking Poncas by impersonating a medicine man. She had her hair all tied up in a knot at the front of her head to one side. She had black soot across her eyes. She was saying to the other two old women, 'Here's his lodge. I want you two old women to sing.' As soon as they sang and danced with their sticks, the Tsawis gave the three old ladies calico and other gifts."

This was the end of the story that War Cry had started and Shot Arm 538
continued. The Pipe of Peace, beloved of Heaven, had brought them victory as they defended their village.

Now the real session that they had all been waiting for would begin and continue all night. First Old-Man-That-Chief and then the others told real old time stories. For the most part they described their experiences as they moved from place to place abroad in the land in times past. With vivid imagery and detail they described each location and its events. It was in just such a meeting right after they returned from the [805]
winter hunt, after the warriors and chiefs had told their stories that the old men would take up the question of the calendar and whether they needed to introduce the thirteenth intercalary month that year. Warrior would tell an old war story and also That-Chief and then Good-Land would begin to speak of what year it is. He would talk of the stars 538
—of how when people are lost, they must find their way back by 821
following them. Then he would say of the moon that when it is low, we 484
must put on something warm for it might rain or snow at any time. If you are far off you will need something warm to weather the storm. And after the storm is over you look at the stars and find your way back. Now the conversation turned to specific stars—which ones are appearing now, and how one star that shines brightly in spring brings a big wind when it gets to a certain place. Also, that there are sometimes two or three stars that act together. Good-Land continued with some experiences that had taught him about these things. He told of how a man who went south to Oklahoma with a big party strayed off on the way back. In the day he was able to follow the sun and calculate the east and north, going by north and a little eastward. At night he walked right under

538 the north star, and going a little to the east, even though it was night, he
821 was able to overtake his companions. "This happened many times," he
• 484 said.

Another old man would take up where he left off and tell more stories
538 in the same vein. "Because the stars and the planets appear to be moving,
821 the Indians believe the earth is still." Then they began to argue about
805 the question of "the thirteenth month." Some said, "Not now," others
thought this was the time. They spoke of the position of the constellations,
"first one snake, then two ducks and then the real rattlesnakes
(Scorpio). That marks the beginning of the year—the spring. The
months should coincide with these constellations." Of the regular twelve
538 months, nine were named for familiar activities—clearing, planting, cultivating,
821 hunting, and harvest—while the tenth and eleventh were paired
805 and named after the constellations—little duck (*kiwakski*) and big duck
192 (*kiwaks-kutsu*). The twelfth month was called *kaata*, darkness. It was
through the observation of the position of the constellations that the regular month names had to be set in their proper course for the various activities for which they were named. In the year when the intercalary month was introduced, the two duck months were thought of as being paired, and then *kaata*, darkness, paired with the introduced month; the rest of the months of the year being paired accordingly, with the fifth month, viz., the June 19–July 18 month "standing alone." This was the month when one went off on the summer hunt. The thirteenth or intercalary month, had a variety of names, the most usual being Entrance Passageway to the earth lodge, *Puhuweturukut*, or the Skidi version, *Puhuwaturukat*, the long 10- or 15-foot entranceway. Alternative names had various references: If it had thundered from the north (rather than the south) when they got back, they thought the cold weather would last late into the spring and they called the month, *Paruks-ti-taka*, Thunder or Storm-It-Is-White, for the snow they expected to have. Another name for this month was Hidden Child, *pira-paru*, "child-hidden," the Pawnee equivalent of our "illegitimate child." The reference was to abortion for it was said that the abandoned foetus was more conspicuous on the snow during that season than on the bare ground. A further name, *atatpiiwa*, is of unknown significance. From this example, it should be
538 clear that the storytelling session was not a mere leisure pastime. Through
517 it was transmitted history, climatology, theology, the logistics of war,
topography, and many other important facets of Pawnee knowledge.
[224] Such a session was an invaluable preamble to setting out on the winter
hunt.

*224 431 778 that is-sacred-it is"). Then she would know that it is to be preserved, but not eaten by the family—except possibly only some very inferior part like the leg.

One of the main sacred bundles was owned by Misery—the Elk (*Arikariki*) bundle—and some of his friends were concerned since he had remained on Grand Island and they thought he might not get the necessary buffalo meat to hold the ceremony. There were three of them and Bringing Horses who had a good horse agreed to get the necessary buffalo for the purpose. He and the two other friends, Running Scout and Blue Hawk, made up their minds to ride together back to Grand Island as soon as possible to reassure Misery that his Elk bundle was taken care of. Such a group of three men could arrive at Grand Island in a day
• [484] from their camp on the Republican while it took the pack train at least seven days to get there. The men would take a diagonal course across the country and avoid stopping at Fort Kearney, but it was still a strenuous journey and took a whole day of hard fast riding until evening. When they came to ride downhill crossing the hills, they had to proceed cautiously as the ground was slippery.

Hearing of their plans, Eagle Chief wanted to send a message to Sitting Hawk, one of the main chiefs who had remained on the island. He delegated Running Scout who was one of the three men, to carry back the news. He especially stated that "with the consecrated meat, it is this way: there are twelve parfleches, one for each sacred bundle." When the three men arrived at Grand Island that night they went straight to Sitting Hawk's tipi. As the three men came in one after another, Misery, Sitting Hawk's son, was surprised. He said, "Kira, what's up?" "Well, we started from this side of Many Deer early this morning and just got here tonight." As soon as he heard this, Advance Scout went through the camp calling out, "The three hunters (*parisu*) are here. There is lots of meat. There are twelve consecrated parfleches for the sacred bundles."

White Woman and after pleading his cause with her, Shot Arm came 159
to live with them. The boy was told that "his father" had come. When 587
he demurred and said that he thought Victory Call was his father, he
was quieted. Shot Arm gave him gifts and did his best to father him.
White Woman had had some reservations as Shot Arm already had a wife,
but he convinced her that he was determined to part from the other
woman in any event. Later there were recriminations from this quarter.

Once on the winter hunt, Shot Arm was invited to bring his new 159
family to live in the household of White Eagle. He had been formally 587
invited by "his two old mothers" who were the official owners of the 591
house. In their new home the family occupied a place at the west and had [572]
status and Otter had new friends—David Gillingham, son of White
Eagle, and the two brothers, Luther and Andy Coons.

In the Sioux massacre of 1873 during the summer hunt, when from 60 159
to 120 Pawnees lost their lives while butchering their kill in a canyon 175
near Trenton, Nebraska, Otter and White Woman were guided to safety 721
through the Sioux lines by a young warrior at the request of Mad Bear.

Finally the Pawnees moved to Oklahoma in three contingents. White 167
Eagle went with the first group, while Shot Arm and his family were true 159
to the faction of Lone Chief who wanted to remain on their old land
and stayed to the last. The two old ladies who owned White Eagle's [342]
earth lodge gave over the pillars and materials to Shot Arm who set up
a hexagonal frame of six forked pillars and no outer sod collar or wall, so
that they had a high pointed lodge to live in.

When the last group decided to go, the government assigned them ten 167
wagons for the poor people who had no horses for transport, and some 159 648
beeves to be killed every Saturday for their food. 484

In Oklahoma, the three contingents had set up three earth-lodge vil-
lages in different locations. Lone Chief set up one on the Arkansas River 167
three or four miles this side of Ralston where there was a ferryboat. 159
White Eagle built a log house on top of a hill near the big pond west of the 361
present town of Pawnee, with the earth lodges of his following on the
east side of the hill toward the pond. Half a mile east of the agency,
Misery and his father-in-law Comanche Chief, along with War Cry, were
the leading spirits of another log-house village.

Shot Arm, who had become agency policeman, settled his family in a 159
tent near the school. All winter they lived in the tent. Then in spring, 763
April 1876, without any outward sign of illness, White Woman died. [625]
She asked to have her grandchild brought to her and then spoke to its [342]
mother, telling her that she was bidding them farewell and that she should
take good care of the child. And so she fell asleep and never awakened.

Victory Call's former retainer, Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn, 159
were living in a frame house with No Corn's oldest daughter. The girl 591
had married a man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band known as Abraham

moving southward to the river. The villages of the Skidi were furthest 224*
westward and the line going southward was west of the others. The vil- 361
lages of the other three bands were located downstream on Beaver Creek 484*
about half a mile east of the Skidi. There the three bands stretched eastward with the Little-Earth-Lodge Band nearest the Skidi, the Beggars-for-Meat Band beyond them, and the Man-Going-Downstream Band in the location furthest east. In former times these three bands were located south of Skidi territory and were still referred to as the "South Bands."

The Loup River could be seen far off, with a few white tents in the distance already set up. The chiefs, particularly White Eagle who was to lead the hunt, had gone ahead very early and set up camp. If others happened to be prepared before the chiefs, they waited until they had set out. Victory Call's party, after making sure that everything was securely packed, moved along through the villages and then southward at a leisurely pace, arriving at the north bank of the Loup in about two hours. As they moved along the bottom bench of the embankment, the South Bands people kept coming along to the east of them and were crossing at their regular crossing place further downstream.

Both banks of the Loup were lined with people to watch them and help 224*
them get across safely. Some of the young men had put stakes in the wa- 484*
ter to mark out the boggy places where they might get stuck. People [487]
shouted to them, "Hello there, it's kind of boggy in the sand here. Go on this side, not there!" "All right, thanks." The water was quite deep and people had to take off their moccasins even if they were riding on horseback.

When a horse got stuck, everyone would come and help get him out. Even quite close to the bank there were some very muddy places. As Victory Call's party was crossing, everyone was shouting, "Look out, look out. Pull the horse to the right side. You're getting into boggy sand!" But before they could get out of the way, No Corn's horse got caught and she fell off. Everyone called out, "Don't let her drown!" "Look out," they shouted, "there's a baby on horseback. Take that baby off. It's muddy here." "No, it's all right. It's tied on."

When No Corn got to camp she might spread her clothes out to dry or simply let them dry on her. Tanned hide can be dried after it's been wet, but it gets somewhat wrinkled.

At last Victory Call's family arrived on the south side of the Loup, 224*
White Woman and Horse Rider fording the stream and leading their 484*
loaded horses and the others riding in. Eagle Chief and White Eagle had 492
set up camp for the Pumpkin-Vine Village at the western part of the en- [361]
campment, and Victory Call found a little hilly place in the area for their tent that would be dry. (See Figure 17-1 for the plan of encampment.) "Here's a place," he called and got off his horse, removing the bridle and allowing the animal to graze. He left the saddle on, going over to help un-

*172 343 cache 7 yielded three excellent digging tools made from bison scapulae; and cache 5, as already indicated, contained corn meal or some similar ground cereal. Much richer pits are, of course, sometimes found. One opened by Mr. A. M. Brooking, of the Hastings Museum, in an old village east of Genoa, yielded 10 scapula digging tools, bone awls, 5 bone knives, 2 grooved hammers, 2 elkhorn shaft-straighteners, many large mollusk shells filled with yellow and red paint, and 13 small mollusk shells in matched pairs.[14] Such finds are, however, the exception rather than the rule, and many disappointingly sterile caches are encountered for every one that yields worth-while returns.

[488 251] Normally the caches were used for the storage and concealment of surplus corn and household furniture, particularly during the periods when the tribe was absent from its villages on the seasonal bison hunts. When earth had been thrown in on top of the contents and the opening sodded over the location of the cache was perfectly hidden from any stranger. Generally they were emptied when the family permanently removed, and all usable articles were carried away. Occasionally the owner never returned to claim his goods, perhaps because of forgetfulness as to the exact location, death, or from some other cause; or attacks by hostiles compelled flight too precipitate to permit emptying of the caches. In such cases the investigator may be better rewarded with pottery, flint and bone tools, ornaments, foodstuffs, and the like.

[727 766] Caches occasionally serve a secondary purpose as places of interment. In June 1843, when the Dakota raided the Pawnee village near the Plum Creek mission, with such disastrous results for the latter tribe,[15] the terrified survivors threw the bodies of the dead into the caches,[16] covered them hastily with earth, and then fled to their kindred, the Grand Pawnee, south of the Platte. Such a function was, of course, purely accidental and was wholly foreign to the original purpose which the structure was intended to serve.

EARTHWORKS

*172 712 Walls of circumvallation were constructed about practically every Pawnee village of the nineteenth century. Sixty years ago, according to early settlers, these were still plainly to be seen on many of the old sites, but with cultivation they have shared the fate of other remains and become rare indeed. Leveling of these old fortification walls was one of the first steps in breaking the land; hence their obliteration has been woefully complete. In fact the only remaining

---

[14] Brooking, A. M., unpublished manuscript.

[15] Dunbar, 1918, p. 656. Occurrences similar to the above probably account for the "burials of Morning Star Sacrifice victims" occasionally reported in the press.

[16] Allis, 1887, p. 155.

*175 The meat rations supplied the Pawnee by the government were
until 1880 delivered on the hoof, and the Indians, gathered round
*648 the agency to receive their oxen, would turn the day into one of
657 carnage and slaughter, killing and dressing their own beeves. The
"oxy kill 'em day," as this was known to the Indian service, ended
in 1880 after which the rations were turned over to the tribe in the
form of dressed meat.

*175 Not more than one-third of the Pawnee reservation was suitable
*648 for farming, but there was a great deal of good pasture land.
Cows and calves were issued to the Pawnee in 1878, and received
657 such good care that with the Indians asking for cattle the government
233 made an attempt to develop stock-raising. In the summer
of 1880 four hundred head of two-year-old heifers and bulls were
brought from northern Texas and distributed among the Pawnee.
[731] The tribe hailed their coming with delight. Unfortunately a scourge
carried off many oxen the first winter. The Pawnee were not yet
free of their hunting complex. When they wanted meat, they
killed cattle, and finding that traders would buy the hides, so
many were slaughtered that by 1882 only a few head of the cattle
issued to the tribe remained. Stock-raising by the Pawnee was
admittedly a failure.

[245 A great need in the food supply was fresh fruit, for want of
262] which various ailments afflicted the Pawnee. To obviate this fruit
trees were bought and small orchards planted on the reservation,
but they did not flourish.

*175 The food rations, supplies, and implements distributed to the
*648 tribe had to be shipped to the reservation by freighting from the
657 nearest railroad point. At first this was at Coffeyville, Kansas,
a distance of one hundred miles; the route went northward through
●[489] the Osage Agency. Later there was a shipping point at Arkansas
City, a distance of seventy miles. The agent turned the freighting
over to the Pawnee, who handled it with wagons and teams on
their own responsibility.

X175 As conditions on the reservation became more settled, the government
Y648 farm program was renewed. A major provision of the Congressional
Act of 1876 which established the Pawnee reservation
657 applied to allotments in severalty. Each head of a family, or
241 single person over 21 years of age, who so desired, was to be allotted
423 160 acres of land. Certificates were to be issued by the Commissioner
of Indian Affairs recognizing the individual ownership of such
tracts. An allotee occupying and cultivating his land for five
successive years, who had at least twenty-five acres fenced and in
crop, was to be entitled to receive a patent in fee simple for his

field, and then next day by Horse Rider and No Corn in her field, the two 243
teams staying alternately at home and watching as well as processing the 251
crops. Sweet corn was mainly made into double braids. Quantity production 476
depended on team work, of course, but the women had to sort [244]
out the eight varieties of beans after everything was done, as the men [462]
would not bother with such a detail and would pay no attention to the
selection of the best ears for braiding. When all the corn was in, the [825]
blackbirds began to fly over the fields, presaging the cold weather.

The following are some of the processes used in preserving the crops, 243
together with a breakdown of how these were coördinated with the activities 244
of gathering. 251

The green corn was gathered from the stalk "in the milk" and roasted 243
in a long roasting pit in which a fire was built. It was allowed to cool 251
off and the husks removed. The kernels were cut off the cob row by row [237]
with a fresh-water clamshell and spread on a tanned hide to dry. At night [412]
the kernels were first winnowed to remove any chaff, gathered up and put in a flour sack, and then taken into the tent. They were put in a wooden bowl and spilled out from a height so that the wind would blow the chaff away. Next morning they were again spread out on the tanned hide. After several days, as they were being spilled for winnowing in the evening, they would make a tapping noise when they hit the hide, showing that the kernels were completely dry.

When the beans were picked off the vines and brought into camp, 244
they were dumped onto the spread and allowed to dry in the sun. As 251
they dried, one could hear the popping of the pods. At night they
were left outdoors, covered only with a spread of tanned hide, and in
the morning uncovered and allowed to dry again. Then they were [412]
flailed with a peeled willow rod about 4 feet long and 1 inch thick to remove the pods as much as possible. Some of the beans had to be picked out by hand—a small pile of beans was always picked this way. If there was a large pile the woman would strike them with the stick, then stop and pick out the loose pods and pile them to one side, push the beans together again and further beat them with the stick. The beans were winnowed by spilling from a height from a wooden bowl, in this way loose pieces of dry pod blew away and the pods still containing some beans fell to the ground and were opened by hand—an operation in which someone usually gave her help if they were available. After winnowing, the beans were spread out to dry thoroughly. When all the other work had been done, the beans were sorted into their eight varieties.

After the beans, they brought in the pumpkin harvest. The women 244
spent most of one day hauling them from the field. First they brought 489
the largest, then the next largest, and so on. One parfleche in which 492
they were transported carried five large pumpkins, or seven to eight

244 middle-sized pumpkins, or twelve to fifteen small ones. A horse could
489 carry in only two parfleches filled with pumpkins at a trip. Using two
492 horses, they made five trips to the field, some in the morning and
some in the afternoon, carrying about twenty parfleches in all of the
different sizes. This represented the crop of White Woman's field and
amounted to about a wagon-load and a half, perhaps a little more, with
the wagon being level without sideboards.

The pumpkin rinds were removed by roasting them in the fire until
244 they could scrape off the outer rind with a fresh-water clamshell. Each
251 individual pumpkin was roasted and set aside to cool, then scraped.
252 Some people peeled them with a knife, but this was time-consuming and
was considered wasteful. Small pumpkins 4 inches or less in diameter
were neither roasted, peeled, nor halved—they were simply cut into
blocks, laid out on a tent skin and dried. They could be cooked any
time now with the large roasted corn to add flavor. The standard-size
pumpkins were cut in half, the pulp and seeds taken out, and the
halves cut into a series of circular rings each about 1½ inches wide.
These were hung on a rack and when they had dried somewhat were
pressed underfoot to express some of the water as was done with the
sliced buffalo meat, then hung up again to dry further. At night the
pumpkin rings were left on the rack covered with an old tent skin. By
285 the time the mature dried corn crop was coming in, the pumpkin strips
would be dry enough so that they could be woven into checker-plaited
mats. They would alternate the processing of this corn with the making
of the pumpkin mats, *ri-katsitu*, "braid-woven."

The plaited pumpkin mats were arm's length and 2 feet wide. The individual
strips had shrunk in the drying to an inch in width. It took
about two hours to weave a pumpkin mat. In an afternoon, each woman
would make two mats before supper. The dried pumpkin was used by
cutting off a number of the 2-foot strips in the width with small portions
252 of the cross pieces adhering to them. The very smallest pumpkins
262 about the size of tomatoes were boiled fresh and eaten in the morning
for a breakfast during this harvest period. They were very much
relished.

243 The preparation of the mature corn that had been allowed to dry on
251 the stalk, was somewhat different from the ears that were gathered "in
the milk." No roasting was necessary. The ears were snapped off the
stalk, taken to camp, and husked that evening and the following day.
The ears were then spread out and allowed to dry until evening and
after supper the women began to remove the kernels. They used a small
pointed stick to pry them off, pushing it in between two rows and along
the cob from stub end to point so that in spreading the rows of kernels
they were readily pried off. In the evening the corn was winnowed and

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Hako are at rest, the food which has been standing 796*
beside the fire is served by the Fathers to the Children. Certain men
are appointed for this task.

It is the duty of a father to provide food for his child, and not to [593]
partake himself until the child is satisfied. As we are to simulate the
relation of father to child, we prepare a meal for the Children twice [264]
and sometimes thrice a day during the continuance of this ceremony.
We are obliged to bring much food for this purpose, as the Children
are sometimes many, and we have also ourselves to feed.

Where we must travel far to reach the tribe of the Son, the burden [492]
of carrying so much food is hard upon our ponies. So much cooking
for the Children keeps the women very busy, but they are willing, for [462]
the ceremony brings good to them.

After the Children have eaten they rest a while and then go home,
returning to the lodge when the sun has set. Before they go they [431]
generally make gifts of ponies to the Fathers.

When the Fathers are left alone in the lodge they eat their evening meal.

The Hako throughout this ceremony are never left unattended by night or day. When the Ku'rahus, or his assistant, or the chief needs to leave the lodge, someone is requested to take his place during his absence.

NINTH RITUAL (FIRST NIGHT). INVOKING THE VISIONS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the sun has set and it is dark and the stars are shining, then
the Children gather in the lodge. Some, as they come in, will advance [431]
to the holy place and there drop a stick; this means the gift of a pony.
For every such gift the Ku'rahus returns thanks to the giver.

After all are seated, wood is piled upon the fire, and when the flames leap high the Ku'rahus rises, then his assistant and the chief rise and the Hako are taken up.

The singers carrying the drum follow the Hako bearers as they move slowly around the lodge, singing the following song.

among many tribes of the Missouri Valley, and missionaries and adventurers were but little behind. 175

The earliest reference to the Pawnee, beyond the disputed Coronado narratives, is by the Jesuit priest, Marquette. This observer never visited the tribe, nor is it anywhere mentioned in his journals. On his map, however, prepared in 1673,[44] the *Pana* (Pawnee) are located northwest of the *Otontanta* (Oto), east of the *Pahotet* (Iowa) and some distance north of the Kansa (map 3). Unfortunately, Marquette omitted the Missouri River and its major tributaries; but if these be superimposed on his map, the relative position of these various tribes corresponds generally with their later historic habitat. It will be noted also that on the map a part of the *Paniassa* (Wichita) are west and north of the Kansa tribe, presumably in what is now northern Kansas. This is rather farther to the north than the habitat generally accorded the Wichita, and, if correct, may not be wholly valueless in tracing out the former relationships of that tribe to the Pawnee.

The La Salle brothers were the first to specifically mention the Pawnee tribe in their writings. In 1682 Robert La Salle wrote of—

> the Pana Nation who lives more than 200 leagues to the west, on one of the branches of the Mississippi, and lives there in two villages, one near the other. They are neighbors and allies of the Gattacka [Kiowa-Apache] and Manrhoat [Kiowa], who are to the south of their villages and who sell them horses which they steal apparently from the Spaniards of New Mexico.[45] [492]

Since it is not certain whether this was written while La Salle was on the upper or on the lower Mississippi, there is a possibility that it refers to the southern *Pana*, or *Paniouassa*—i. e., the Wichita.[46] Three years later, in 1685, Nicholas La Salle wrote during a descent of the Mississippi:

> We camped near the mouth of a river which falls into the Mississippi. It is called the river of the Missouris. The river comes from the northwest, and is thickly settled from what the savages say. The Panis are on this river very far from its mouth.[47]

Father Louis Hennepin, writing in 1687, located the *Panimaha* (Skidi) on several navigable tributaries of the Missouri. At that time they had "but one Captain and twenty-two villages, the least of which contains two hundred Cabbins." [48] He also speaks of "the Paneassa [Wichita], the Pana [Pawnee proper], the Panaloga [Comanche], and the Metotantes [Oto], each of which is as considerable as the Panimaha." Hennepin did not visit these tribes in

cord. The cover, of thinly scraped translucent bison skins, was then tied to one end of a long pole, by means of which it was carried about and over the framework, and the two ends fastened together with pins or cord. A smoke vent was left at the top; it could be opened or closed at will by proper manipulation of the pole to which the cover was attached. The entrance, usually toward the east, was merely an opening at the bottom where the overlapping ends of the tent cover were left unfastened; it was about 3 feet high and could be closed by means of a bearskin flap. The furniture was piled against the back of the tipi; rush mats were spread over the floor; the fireplace and cooking crane occupied the center, immediately below the smoke vent. When the camp moved the tent poles were fastened together at one end across the horses' backs and permitted to trail behind the pack animals; sometimes they served secondarily the uses of the travois. The skin covers were commonly painted; they were used as pack covers during the travels of the village. 342 [352] [492]

---

[44] Marquette, 1900, p. 108.
[45] Translated from the Margry Papers, vol. II, p. 201–202.
[46] Cf. Du Tisne, in Margry Papers, vol. VI, p. 311.
[47] La Salle, 1927, p. 5.
[48] Hennepin, 1903, vol. II, p. 443.

Murray, who accompanied the Pawnee on their hunt in the summer of 1835, describes a different type of summer shelter.[11] This was constructed as follows:

> They . . . arrange all their bales, saddles, etc., in a semicircular form, and pile them from 2 to 3 feet high. Around the exterior of these they drive into the ground 8 or 10 curved willow rods, from 2 to 3 feet distant from each other, but all firmly bound by leather thongs to four large, upright poles, that form the front of the lodge, and along which run transverse willow rods, to which the extremities of the curved ones are fastened. When the frame, or skeleton, is thus finished, they stretch the cover (made of buffalo hides, sewed together) tight over the whole, leaving an aperture for entrance and egress in the center of the front; and in fine weather, the whole front open.
>
> . . . the dimensions vary according to the number and wealth of the families residing therein; in some tents I have observed the front consisting of 6 or 8 upright poles to which were fixed more skins for additional shelter or shade. On the grass, in the interior, are spread mats, made by the squaws from reeds, and skins of buffalo or bear. [352]

Each individual had his own particular portion of this shelter; the medicine bundle was suspended from the center, and in front of the door was a skin shield bearing the crest of the chief.

According to Dorsey,[12] the skin tipi and heraldic devices were used largely by the richer families, while the poor contented themselves with the dome-shaped brush shelter. The same authority mentions the use of a ramada-like drying platform and summer shelter, open at the sides and flat-roofed; it was used in connection with the earth lodge. [554] [343]

---

[11] Murray, 1839, pp. 199-200.
[12] 1904, p. 16.

upon the advance line, whose movements they can readily observe 224 484
upon the bare bluffs far ahead of them.

At the time of which I am writing, the Pawnees had no wagons, 492
all their possessions being transported on pack horses. The Indian pack 484
pony is apt to be old and sedate, requiring no special guidance nor 224
control. A strip of rawhide, knotted about the lower jaw, serves as a bridle, and is either tied up to the saddle or held in the rider's hand. In packing the animals a bundle of lodge-poles is tied on either side of the saddle, one end projecting forward toward the horse's head, the other dragging on the ground behind. This is the *travois*. Cross poles are often tied between these two dragging bundles, and on these are carried packages of meat and robes. Often, too, on a robe stretched between them, a sick or wounded Indian, unable to ride, is transported. The lodge-poles having been fastened to the saddle, the lodge is folded up and placed on it between them, and blankets, robes, and other articles are piled on top of this, until the horse has on its back what appears to be about as much as it can carry. The pack is then lashed firmly in position, and pots, buckets and other utensils are tied about it wherever there is room.

On top of the load so arranged one or two women, or three or four children, clamber and settle themselves comfortably there, and the old horse is turned loose. Each rider carries in her hand a whip, with which she strikes the horse at every step, not cruelly at all, but just from force of habit. If the pack is low, so that her feet reach down to the animal's sides, she keeps up also a constant drumming on his ribs with her heels. The old horse pays not the slightest attention to any of these demonstrations of impatience, but plods steadily along at a quiet walk, his eyes half closed and his ears nodding at each step. If the riders are women, each one holds a child or two in her arms, or on her back, or perhaps the baby board is hung over the end of a lodge-pole, and swings free. If the living load consists of children,
they have in their arms a lot of puppies; for puppies occupy with rela- [231]
tion to the small Indian girls the place which dolls hold among the white children. Many of the pack animals are mares with young colts, and these last, instead of following quietly at their mothers' heels, range here and there, sometimes before and sometimes behind their dams. They are thus constantly getting lost in the crowd, and

492 then they charge backward and forward in wild affright, neighing
484 shrilly, until they have again found their proper place in the line of
224 march. Many of the yearling colts have very small and light packs
tied on their backs, while the two-year-olds are often ridden by the
tiniest of Indian boys, who are now giving them their first lesson in
weight-carrying. Loose horses of all ages roam about at will, and
their continual cries mingle with the barking of dogs, the calls of
women and the yells of boys, and make an unceasing noise.

484 The boys are boiling over with animal spirits, and, like their civil-
224 ized brothers of the same age, are continually running about, chas-
[857] ing each other, wrestling, shooting arrows and playing games, of
which the familiar stick game seems the favorite.

Whenever the column draws near any cover, which may shelter game, such as a few bushes in a ravine, or the fringe of low willows along some little watercourse, the younger men and boys scatter out and surround it. They beat it in the most thorough manner, and any game which it contains is driven out on the prairie, surrounded and killed. The appearance even of a jackass rabbit throws the boys into a fever of excitement, and causes them to shriek and yell as if in a frenzy.

All the morning I rode with the Indians, either at the head of the
column, chatting as best I could with *Pi'ta Le-shar* and other chiefs,
or falling back and riding among the women and children, whom
I never tired of watching. Frequently during the day I saw at a dis-
224 tance, on the prairie, small bunches of buffalo in full flight, hotly
pursued by dark-skinned riders, and occasionally two or three men
would ride up to the marching columns with heavy loads of freshly-
killed meat. The quick-heaving, wet flanks of the ponies told a story
of sharp, rapid chases, and their tossing heads and eager, excited looks
showed how much interest they took in the hunt.

224 The report of firearms was seldom heard. Most of the Indians
411 hunted with the primitive weapon of their forefathers—the bow and
arrow. For buffalo running an arrow is nearly as effective as lead.
The power of the bow in expert hands is tremendous. Riding within
half a dozen yards of the victim's side, the practiced bowman
will drive the dart so far through the body of the buffalo that its
shaft may project a foot or more from the opposite side—some-

eventful. Once or twice the huge bodies of a small band of buffalo 224 loomed up through the white mist about us, their size and shape greatly exaggerated and distorted by its deceptive effect. As the sun climbed toward the zenith, the air grew brighter, and by mid-day the fog had risen from the ground, and though still clinging in white cottony wreaths about the tops of the higher bluffs near us, we now could see for quite a long distance over the prairie. A little later the sun burst forth, and the sky became clear. Soon after noon we went into camp.

We had but just begun our dinner, when a runner was seen coming at full gallop down the bluffs. It was one of the scouts. He dashed through the village, and did not check his pony's speed until he had reached old *Pi'ta Le-shar's* lodge. Here he stopped, and bending from his horse spoke a few words very earnestly, gesticulating and pointing back over the prairie in the direction whence he had come. As he rode on and past us, he called out, "*Te-co'di tŭt-tu-ta-rik ti-ra-hah*—I saw many buffalo," and we shouted back to him, "*Tū-ra-heh*—It is good."

At once the women began to take down the lodges and pack the ponies. Buffalo had been discovered about fifteen miles to the southwest, and orders had been issued to move the village to the creek on which they were feeding, while the men should go on at once and make the surround. Our teamster, to whom the Indians had already, from his occupation, given the name "Jackass Chief," was directed to move with the camp; and leaving everything save guns and ammunition belts in the wagon, we joined the crowd of men who were riding out of the village.

The scene that we now beheld was such as might have been witnessed here a hundred years ago. It is one that can never be seen again. Here were eight hundred warriors, stark naked, and mounted on naked animals. A strip of rawhide, or a lariat, knotted about the [492] lower jaw, was all their horses' furniture. Among all these men there was not a gun nor a pistol, nor any indication that they had ever met with the white men. For the moment they had put aside whatever they had learned of civilization. Their bows and arrows they held in their hands. Armed with these ancestral weapons, they had become once more the simple children of the plains, about to slay the

the family. Hauling in the materials was a considerable task. The two 000
families were fortunate in having enough horses so that two could be 492
used to transport the seven radials over the six-mile journey in one day. 356
These radials were leaned outside the house against the roof until needed. It required a wagonload or four large double armfuls of the willow saplings to make the circuits. These had to be hauled in from Beaver Creek about a mile away, a task carried out by Old Bull and his wives.

With these materials in place, Victory Call went out prospecting for 356
thatch grass. He had to travel five miles southwest of the village near the 824
Loup River where the grass grew near the edge of the timber in a little hollow place with some sand hills. Nearer the villages, the horses had eaten it up. That night the women on the North Side, White Woman and the two grandmothers, sharpened up the edges of their buffalo shoulder-blade hoes so that they could cut the thatch grass next day. No Corn, Horse Rider's older wife, was crippled with arthritis and was unable to do that type of work. She remained at home and did necessary household chores. Meanwhile, the women on the South Side continued to provide the meals for all of them. Next morning the two men and three women went with their two horses to the grass patch. The women cut the grass and the men saw that it was properly piled up. The grass was gathered into five bunches, each 3 feet high, the layers being laid down, one layer with stub ends one way, the next layer with pointed ends in the same direction so that the bundle would be even in thickness. The grass was tied into tight bundles and loaded one on each side of the horse. The two horses were loaded, White Woman packing one of the bundles, and when they arrived home the grass bundles were placed next to the bundles of willow withes and weighted down with sticks so that they didn't scatter in the wind. The materials were now ready and they could arrange for the actual construction.

Arrangements were now made to move in with other families until the 356
roof was fixed. Old Bull spoke to their neighbor, Coming-Downhill- 574
Bringing-Trophies, whose house was located just across from theirs, and 476
Victory Call made arrangements with Chief's Road whose lodge was 571
right next door. There was a friendly relationship between the households of Victory Call and Chief's Road. Chief's Road had the social rank of commoner, but he was a very successful warrior and hoped that someday his ambition to be an administrative officer would be realized through his friendship with Victory Call. He hoped that should Victory Call become head chief of their village, he would select him as his official brave. He was the most skillful arrowmaker in the Skidi Band, and he often made arrows for Victory Call and rendered him many other services. Victory Call returned the courtesy with gifts of wood for fuel and portions of meat from his hunting. The children of the two lodges also played together. Chief's Road had the lodge with his brother, and

231 Horses were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact.
177 that horses were introduced to this continent by the Spaniards in the
early 1500's, and whatever use was made of them by American Indians
had to develop after that time. Even though it was a considerable length
of time, the Pawnee practices in connection with the use and care of
horses were not as advanced as those of the Spaniards. As regards the
*224 buffalo hunt, at the time of our narrative horses were used in the chase
• 492 when they were attacking the herd in a group and also to carry their
food and camping equipment. The strategy of the mass attack upon the
herd was to develop a "surround" by the mounted hunters who had
been lined up behind a hill out of sight. No doubt they had previously
used a similar technique on foot. As to carrying the food and equipment,
492 a good deal of it was packed on the backs of the women and girls. However,
493 the women had dogs who were trained to drag the tent poles behind
482 them, the heavy ends of the poles tied to a harness on the dog's
back. The tent poles were grouped into two sets, one on each side of
the dog, and connected by two cross sticks toward the lower ends. Upon
these a skin cover was wrapped where other luggage was placed. A dog
492 could drag as much as 70 pounds. The custom of dog traction and extensive
482 carrying on the back by the women was in full operation as late
as 1837 when a famous painter, Alfred Jacob Miller, portrayed the
175 Pawnees in this manner. After 1850, however, dogs were no longer used
178 for this purpose, and it was mostly the men who kept them around so
[782] that the puppies could be sacrificed and eaten at a special ceremonial.
Some, of course, were kept by the women as pets. By 1867, the horse had
taken over the carrying function almost entirely except for a few poor
single or old people who had to do some packing of their dried buffalo
meat on the way home. The packing of the horse resembled that formerly
[493] used in connection with the dog; the horse travois or carrying
frame was also the same as that of the dog. All the leather trappings for
keeping the luggage in place had now to be carefully prepared before they
left for the hunt.

231 The Pawnees were relatively poor in horses compared with other
422 Plains tribes at this time. This may have been due to constant attacks by
the Sioux and the other nomadic tribes, although this is not certain. At
171 any rate while among the Blackfoot or the Kiowa twenty-five horses at
least were considered an average number for a family on the move,
Eagle Chief, who was head of the Skidi Band, had only ten, and a reasonably
comfortable family like that of Victory Call had only four or five.
Some families had only one or two horses and it was with great difficulty
726 that they went on the hunt at all. Even in their war practices, the
*484 Pawnee retained some of their prehorse habits. It was well known that
they set out on their war expeditions on foot and they were known to the
178 Kiowa as "Walkers." The rationale given for this by students of the sub-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ject has often been that they kept themselves free to take the horses of the enemy and ride them home. They did gain in stealth of approach, but this is no doubt a secondary explanation of what was probably a survival of older custom. The fact that the men looked for booty or various kinds of valuables in the places they attacked and carried them home on their backs is indicated in some of the well-known names that were current, such as He-Comes-Carrying-Sitting-Down-from-Time-to-Time-Coming—implying that the things brought home as war trophies were so heavy that the bearer had to sit down from time to time and rest. Another such name is He-Brings-Many-Trophies-from-Over-the-Wide-World, or again, He-Comes-Bringing-Them-Down-a-Hill, or still another, He-Comes-Carrying-His-Trophies-Today. 726 484* 178 721 727 551

It is clear that the actual pattern of cooperation on the migration and hunt was established long before they had horses and present practices were adapted but not substantially changed. In 1540 Coronado's expedition met a party of buffalo-hunting Indians on the Plains who were using the dog travois and carrying dried buffalo meat. Mark Evarts describes some of the traditions remembered by the Pawnees at the time of our narrative, when they had no horses: 175 224* 492 224*

> Near Old Village there was a hill called Calf-Against-Upon-Standing. The calf referred to was a certain kind of yellow calf with a long body and the people knew that when they saw him standing on the hill, the herd would be right beyond him. The people would line up on each side and surround the herd and make the buffalo circle about inside. They would kill them and butcher, and carry the meat home on their backs. They had no horses. There was no trade store. [103]
>
> The North Wind was called Lucky Wind because when it blew it sent the buffalo. In winter in deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep, and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow, and could readily be killed. This was particularly the case before we hunted with horses. [821]
>
> In summer the buffalo went scattered in small bunches and this was difficult, but in winter they traveled in closer formation when we could also drive them onto the ice.

The Pawnee surround is described by George Bird Grinnell (1925, pp. 249-250):

> Choosing a still day, they would surround a small bunch of buffalo, stretching out in a long line whose extremities would gradually draw together, as the hunters, disguised as wolves, stole from hill to hill around the unconscious prey. When the circle was complete some man would shout and startle the buffalo.

*224
• 492
178
From some of these accounts of the hunt without horses, it is clear that the social patterning of the buffalo hunt was probably quite ancient. Yet by 1867 horses had become a necessity for the hunt.

*224
492
*484
592
If a man had only one horse, only the man and one of his wives could go on the summer hunt. He would have to leave his other wife and all the children at home and any old people or other dependents. The couple that were going would pack their one horse with food and goods and join someone else's tent, taking just their covers along by way of household equipment. If a family had no horses at all, they could not go. Unmarried or widowed individuals who had no horses could join a household where they could work their way, simply getting their board and keep "for going." They would go on foot wearing a double blanket for their covers. It was said that they went "just to eat."

If a man had two horses, he would also be able to take only one wife along, leaving the rest of the family home. She would go along to process the meat.

*224
492
571
There were some rough-and-ready characters who, even though they had two horses, would decide to go alone, leaving their wives behind. They were men who were not averse to doing all kinds of work, including the hunting and preparing the meat besides. Such a man would say to his wife, "You'll only be in my way." No insult was intended. For example, Mad Bear would team up with his friend Many People who had a small tent and two or three horses. Together they could bring back a great deal of dried meat in this way. [572] Two men of this kind were friends and equal partners. Sometimes two men would team up, one of whom was the senior buffalo hunter of the two. Then the more prominent hunter would ride the buffalo horse to the hunting grounds while his assistant rode the pack horse. During the chase the assistant stood back, holding the pack horse, while the hunter went after the buffalo. The assistant then helped him butcher and they packed the extra horse with the meat. The senior hunter rode the hunting horse back to the encampment and the assistant rode the pack horse on top of the meat. If they got two buffalo, both horses were packed with meat and they both rode on top.

*224
492
A man with two horses and no assistant could manage by riding the pack horse and leading the hunting horse by a rope. When he got to the herd, he hobbled the pack horse on the sidelines. When he got the buffalo, he rode over on his fast horse and led his pack horse to where the buffalo lay. Then he loaded the pack horse and led it by a rope, riding to the camp on his fast horse.

*224
492
422
426
The possession of three horses made it possible for a man to take his whole family along, while four horses made it possible to manage easily. Ordinarily he would not have a guest traveling with them, but if he did he would assign him one of the horses so that he could pack his things on

it. A man like Eagle Chief who had eight or nine horses and whose son-in-law 224*
had a similar number, could afford to lend two or three to outsiders, 492 •
although this did not mean they would also share in the family 422
tent, as his administrative functions required that he take his entire 426
family along.

In the Pawnee language, the word horse means "super-dog," the only 482
pack animal the Pawnees had before the impact of European culture. 492
With all due respect to the capacities of the dog, however, it was the people 177
themselves that did most of the carrying on their own backs. They 224*
had to pack not only the things they needed for camping—food, tents, and equipment—but they had to carry back the dried buffalo meat and the large hides. Every able-bodied person they took along with them could earn his way by carrying things on his back. The men, whether first-rate hunters or not, could play a useful role in the surround of the herd. The only people they would leave behind in the villages were the old and disabled. But the horse had made quite a difference in the social economy. A horse could be packed with the dried and packaged meat of four buffalo while a person could not carry more than one—about 80 pounds. If need be the horse could carry still more goods on his back. Unless they could be of substantial assistance in the work of the camp, a
person would only be an extra mouth to feed. In the case of a chief or 574
a man who was socially ambitious, there would be a great deal of entertaining 554
to do in the camp; women, in addition to their work in preparing 224*
the meat and skins would also assist with the entertaining. In a family 462
which had no social ambitions, like that of Mad Bear cited above, two 224*
men in partnership taking a minimum of housing and utensils and a 571
maximum of horses could return with a great deal of buffalo meat and 492
hides, to the general benefit of their families. The wife left behind under these circumstances could hardly resent it.

The horse also represented a unique and highly valuable item of capital 551
that had the unprecedented value of not having to be carried, but of 231
moving itself. In the past, differences in wealth would depend on a much [556]
more direct kind of personal skill. The man who was swiftest on his feet and the most skilled with the bow and arrow got the best buffalo, and his wife could produce the finest packaged meat and the best skins. These in turn could be traded for other valuable things—valued ornaments or participation in the sacred ceremonies. Now skill in horsemanship, which had become an indispensable factor in hunting the buffalo, implied also major successes on the warpath and the capturing of horses as well as
their subsequent care and protection. The horse thus provided a material [556]
basis for a greater degree of social differentiation. The horse was an item [422]
of personal property, but unlike property in our society it was by no means as much of a factor in developing differential status as other aspects of experience, chiefly knowledge of man, the world, and the universe.

came off easily. They were considerably lighter to carry than the 342
rigid tipi poles. For the summer shelter they also needed two upright
posts forked at the top and a cross piece to connect them to form a
frame, onto which the saplings would be tied and through which the
summer tent was entered. Wooden pegs were needed for both summer
and winter tents to hold the skin tight by driving them through the loops
at the base of the cover. They were usually gotten at the last minute.

A very necessary implement for these operations was a long 7-foot [412]
stick to be used as a digging iron. It was forked at the top and had a
strong fire-hardened point to make holes in the ground for the poles of
the frame.

Furniture for the tent included five large mats finely woven of bulrush 352
to be used as floor covering. These were carried rolled up and tied
with a string in the middle that had been provided for the purpose.

A wooden mortar was also needed for making mush and corn flour 412
and for other cookery. It was made of a section of elm log, the bottom 492
whittled into a point so that it could be stuck upright into the ground. 322
There was a hole drilled through this part of the mortar so that it could
be tied onto the horse with the other baggage. The working end at the
top was excavated by charring and scraping into a deep bowl shape.
With it they had to carry a long pestle made of a small tree trunk with
both ends left intact and the middle portion cut down for a handhold.
This was carried grouped with the long tent poles and the digging iron;
the poles were tied at one end to the horse's back with the other end
dragging on the ground.

Other household utensils were six or seven wooden bowls made by the 415
women as were the other wooden objects for the household, a string of [439]
buffalo-horn spoons for tableware and perhaps some small enamel bowls
gotten at the trade store for their coffee. Also included was a larger
wooden ladle for serving.

All the cooking vessels in Mark Evart's time were of metal replacing 415
the older pottery and they had to be gotten from the trader. As late as 439
1835–1856, a few clay pots were being made, but by 1867 there were 323
none at all. By 1928 almost all memory of how they were made was gone. 175
Metal came into use among the ancestors of the Pawnees by 1650 or before, 177
when sheet metal was being cut up to make some of their arrow
points. In 1833 the Pawnees had an extensive trade with the Kiowas in
brass buckets. For the present expedition, they needed a large brass
kettle for cooking corn, soup, or mush, two standard metal buckets—
one for water and one for coffee—and a metal frying pan to make grease
bread.

In order to get these latter items, Victory Call rode up to Bishop and 439
Matlock's trade store on his best-looking horse to establish his credit,
saying to Mr. Bishop, "Grandpa, come out and take a look at my horse.

The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood 276
(*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer [824]
bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for
smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in
winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade [439]
store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared
patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of [249]
Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting 224*
expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their 276
pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so
that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½
feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would 224*
depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle 492
had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A
saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front
and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were
tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed
to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used
to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the
rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they
were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the
stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling
the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth 224*
for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently 291
on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was 412
an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. 224*
Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on 482
her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage 778
on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, 224*
dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, 251
coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concen- 262
trated foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes.
The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that [484]
time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would
now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegeta- 224*
ble provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the 251
cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One 252
batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

17

THE RENDEZVOUS CAMP

000

They Leave the Village for the Hunt—Packing the Equipment—the Order of March—Crossing the Loup River—Setting Up the Camp—Raising the Tent—Supper and Afterward

THE MORNING FOR LEAVING THE VILLAGE had finally arrived. Victory Call got up early and made the fire, and White Woman cooked the breakfast. Meanwhile Horse Rider had gone out to get the horses and put them in the corral so that they would be ready for loading. They had been hobbled nearby where there was plenty of good grass available at this season. Right after the horses were in, White Woman served the breakfast. After the meal, saddles and saddle blankets were gotten and the loading began. It was important to systematize the process of loading at this time, for it would set the pattern for the rest of the journey. 224* 484*

Three of Victory Call's four horses were to be loaded; he would ride the racing horse. One of the horses was loaded with four of the rawhide containers and another with two. The mare took the heaviest load, consisting of the softer bundles with the tent cover on top to keep it from rubbing. She also dragged the tent poles and other items behind her. First one of the horses was loaded with the four rawhide containers. Four long rawhide strips were hanging down from the saddle, to tie them on. As Horse Rider brought out the first container, Victory Call and White Woman lifted it up against the right side of the horse and tied it in place with the rawhide straps, then quickly turned the horse around, tying on the other container so that it would be evenly balanced. The other two containers were laid flat—one on each side resting on the first two against the saddle horns—and were tied in place with the remaining lengths of rawhide. The second horse was similarly laden, but with only two containers, one against each side to leave room for a rider on top. 224* 484* 492

*224 *484 This was the place for No Corn, who was too disabled with arthritis to walk.

• 492 The mare, in addition to all the large soft bags, carried the long elm saplings to be used for the framework of the tent, divided into two bunches and tied across her shoulders by the stub ends, the thinner ends dragging on the ground behind her. The two cross pieces that kept them from splaying out were used as a carrying frame by wrapping them around with a large tanned hide cover. Here small children might ride and sometimes drop off to sleep; an old woman always followed to keep them from falling off. It was said that in the past when the poles were dragged by the dog instead of by the horse, the dogs would sometimes run away, carrying the children with them. The digging iron, almost seven feet long, was grouped on one side of the horse where the smaller number of poles were. The mortar was tied on by a string which was drawn through a hole in the pointed end and could be seen swinging near the ground under the tent poles. The tent cover was tied in place over the saddle horns with the rawhide strings and with what was left of the strings, the kettles were tied on the sides of the tent cover—unless one of them happened to be black with soot and had to be tied to the back. Finally they were very happy if they could get a gunny sack to hold all the extra things. In it they would put the big brass kettle with the wooden bowls inside. They might wedge in other things if they fitted—spoons, plates, frying pan. "Oh, that's handy," they would say, "you can put anything that's left over right here." "Now is that all? Well, look around. Is it fixed all right? Well, now we're going to move!" "We can tell how well it's packed after we start off." They put some brush across the door of the lodge in such a fashion that they could tell when they got home whether it had been disturbed.

Grandma had left for the encampment much earlier. Horse Rider helped his wife No Corn up onto the less heavily laden horse, and Victory Call said, "Let's go," mounting his horse and helping little Otter up by using his foot as a stirrup; behind him was a blanket where the boy sat. The procession consisted of:

(1) White Woman leading the horse packed with the four rawhide containers;

(2) No Corn riding the horse with the two containers loaded on the sides;

(3) Horse Rider leading the mare all loaded up; and

(4) Victory Call on his racing horse with little Otter sitting behind him.

*224 *484 361 Their destination was about five or six miles to the south of the villages. The villages were strung along the west side of Beaver Creek, a small southeastward-flowing stream that joins the Loup River some miles down. The Loup is an east-flowing river, and the camp was to be set up on its south bank. Groups of people from each of the four bands were

moving southward to the river. The villages of the Skidi were furthest 224*
westward and the line going southward was west of the others. The vil- 361
lages of the other three bands were located downstream on Beaver Creek 484*
about half a mile east of the Skidi. There the three bands stretched eastward with the Little-Earth-Lodge Band nearest the Skidi, the Beggars-for-Meat Band beyond them, and the Man-Going-Downstream Band in the location furthest east. In former times these three bands were located south of Skidi territory and were still referred to as the "South Bands."

The Loup River could be seen far off, with a few white tents in the distance already set up. The chiefs, particularly White Eagle who was to lead the hunt, had gone ahead very early and set up camp. If others happened to be prepared before the chiefs, they waited until they had set out. Victory Call's party, after making sure that everything was securely packed, moved along through the villages and then southward at a leisurely pace, arriving at the north bank of the Loup in about two hours. As they moved along the bottom bench of the embankment, the South Bands people kept coming along to the east of them and were crossing at their regular crossing place further downstream.

Both banks of the Loup were lined with people to watch them and help 224*
them get across safely. Some of the young men had put stakes in the wa- 484*
ter to mark out the boggy places where they might get stuck. People [487]
shouted to them, "Hello there, it's kind of boggy in the sand here. Go on this side, not there!" "All right, thanks." The water was quite deep and people had to take off their moccasins even if they were riding on horseback.

When a horse got stuck, everyone would come and help get him out. Even quite close to the bank there were some very muddy places. As Victory Call's party was crossing, everyone was shouting, "Look out, look out. Pull the horse to the right side. You're getting into boggy sand!" But before they could get out of the way, No Corn's horse got caught and she fell off. Everyone called out, "Don't let her drown!" "Look out," they shouted, "there's a baby on horseback. Take that baby off. It's muddy here." "No, it's all right. It's tied on."

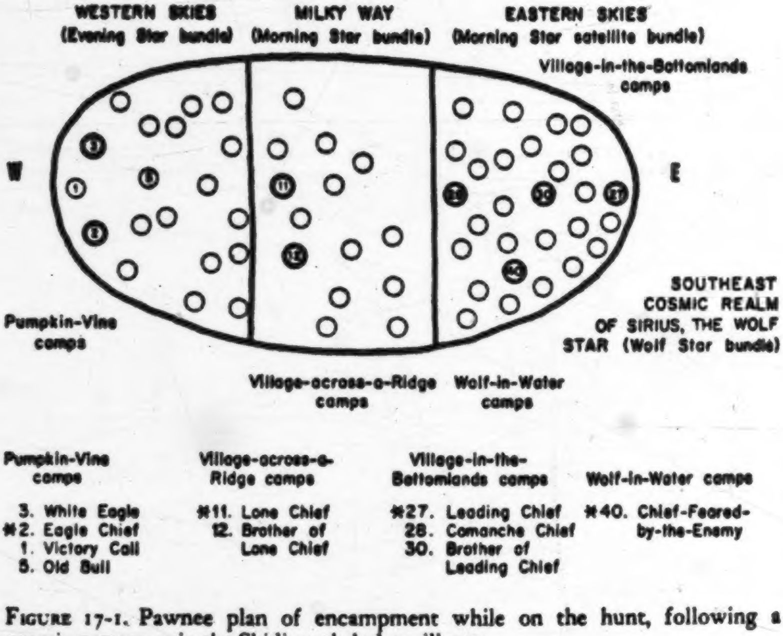
When No Corn got to camp she might spread her clothes out to dry or simply let them dry on her. Tanned hide can be dried after it's been wet, but it gets somewhat wrinkled.

At last Victory Call's family arrived on the south side of the Loup, 224*
White Woman and Horse Rider fording the stream and leading their 484*
loaded horses and the others riding in. Eagle Chief and White Eagle had 492
set up camp for the Pumpkin-Vine Village at the western part of the en- [361]
campment, and Victory Call found a little hilly place in the area for their tent that would be dry. (See Figure 17-1 for the plan of encampment.) "Here's a place," he called and got off his horse, removing the bridle and allowing the animal to graze. He left the saddle on, going over to help un-

*224
*484
• 492

load the other horses. Horse Rider helped No Corn to dismount and at once began to unload the mare. They untied the straps and removed the tent cover first and then the buckets so that Horse Rider could go and fill them with water from the river. Everyone was thirsty and wanted a drink.

*224
361
*484
772


WESTERN SKIES
(Evening Star bundle)
MILKY WAY
(Morning Star bundle)
EASTERN SKIES
(Morning Star satellite bundle)
Village-in-the-Bottomlands camps
W
E
SOUTHEAST COSMIC REALM OF SIRIUS, THE WOLF STAR (Wolf Star bundle)
Pumpkin-Vine camps
Village-across-a-Ridge camps
Wolf-in-Water camps

Pumpkin-Vine camps	Village-across-a-Ridge camps	Village-in-the-Bottomlands camps	Wolf-in-Water camps
3. White Eagle	*11. Lone Chief	*27. Leading Chief	*40. Chief-Feared-by-the-Enemy
*2. Eagle Chief	12. Brother of Lone Chief	28. Comanche Chief	
1. Victory Call		30. Brother of Leading Chief	
5. Old Bull			

FIGURE 17-1. Pawnee plan of encampment while on the hunt, following a cosmic pattern as in the Skidi earth-lodge villages.

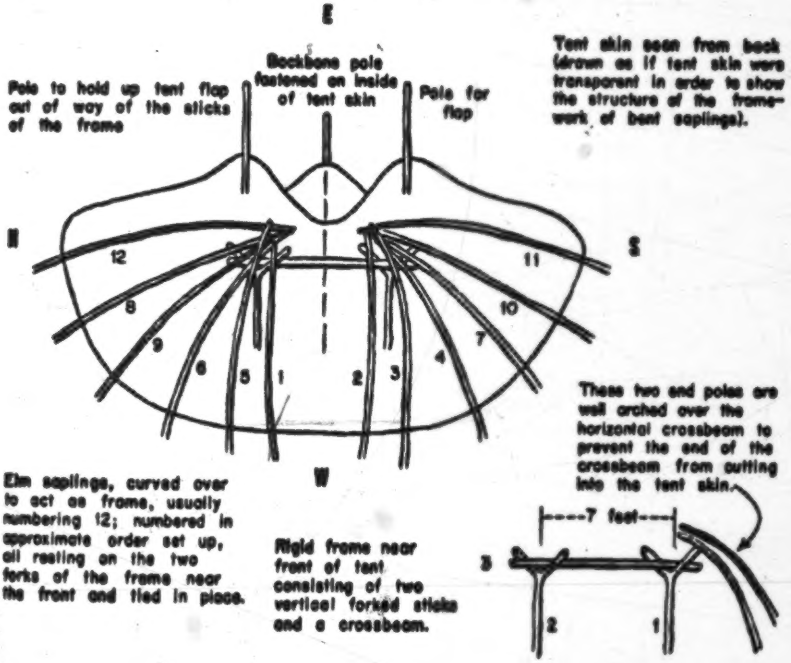
*224
*484
492

Now Victory Call and White Woman untied and took off all the rawhide containers, and Victory Call removed the saddle from his horse and let him go. The next job was to remove and tie up all the rawhide ropes that were hanging from the saddles of the packhorses so that the saddles could be removed and the horses set free. White Woman began tightening the first rope on the front right side of one of the horses, then the rear right, then the rear left, and finally the front left. No Corn was helping her, and, if Horse Rider was back, he would pitch in and help too. The men removed the saddles and set everything out so that the sun would strike them where the horses had sweated and they were damp.

When Horse Rider had arrived with the buckets of fresh water, he said, "This water is still cold. Better take a drink." Everyone was thirsty and they were all glad to get it. Then Victory Call would say, "Go hobble the horses," and Horse Rider went directly. It was important to hobble the mare, especially since all the horses were likely to stay around

her. On his way out Horse Rider saw some sand cherries among the sandhills, and as he turned back toward camp he gathered them up in his blanket. They grew on low bushes, and those that were covered up with sand were yellow while the ones that had been exposed were a rich dark red like big ox-heart cherries sold commercially today. They would make a nice dessert for supper. 224* 484* 492 • [262]

Meanwhile White Woman and No Corn were busy putting up the tent. (See Figure 17-2.) This was harder to erect than the pointed tipi, but the open front made it cooler in the summer weather. 224* 484* 342


E
Backbone pole fastened on inside of tent skin
Pole to hold up tent flap out of way of the sticks of the frame
Pole for flap
Tent skin seen from back (drawn as if tent skin were transparent in order to show the structure of the framework of bent saplings).
N
S
12
11
8
10
9
7
6
4
5
1
2
3
W
These two end poles are well arched over the horizontal crossbeam to prevent the end of the crossbeam from cutting into the tent skin.
Elm saplings, curved over to act as frame, usually numbering 12; numbered in approximate order set up, all resting on the two forks of the frame near the front and tied in place.
Rigid frame near front of tent consisting of two vertical forked sticks and a crossbeam.
7 feet
3
2
1

342
335

FIGURE 17-2. Curve-roofed summer tent. The front is open and faces east. An oblong fireplace is excavated somewhat to the north of the entrance.

The first step was to set up the frame in front. Two forked sticks were set vertically in the ground about 7 feet apart. Before each stick was inserted, White Woman punched a hole in the ground with the long pointed stick that she used as a digging iron. When the sticks were in place she joined them with a horizontal cross stick that rested in the forks. Now twelve sticks were stuck in the ground to form the outer frame. They were set in the form of a long half-oval. Before each stick was inserted, White Woman grasped her digging iron and punched a hole in the 224* 484* 342

Star. If during the night one had dreamed a bad dream, one might swallow a great deal of water and regurgitate it before eating. 484* 512 [787]

White Woman was making the grease bread and No Corn was making the coffee. During these preparations, Victory Call sat by smoking his pipe.

By the time Horse Rider was through bringing in the horses, breakfast was ready. After they had all eaten, the women cleaned the dishes, using the plant known as water string or "false indigo" (*Amorpha fruticosa*, Gilmore, p. 93) to rub on the dishes and buckets to sweeten them while washing. This plant grew close to the creeks with its roots in the water; the leaves and stems were used and the roots discarded. In winter, strips of the bark were taken from the dry stalks. False indigo was invaluable, particularly on the march; you might find nothing but boggy water in a depression and the plant would freshen it. It could also be used to make palatable meat that had a gamey flavor like wildcat, by boiling it in two waters with the plant and pouring off the water each time, after which it could be cooked in the ordinary way and tasted good. The plant was spread on the ground while butchering to keep the pieces of meat clean. [264] [824] [263]

The dishes having been cleaned, they were ready to dismantle the camp and load the horses. Two or three old ladies were waiting nearby for Grandma to join them. They would set out at once to get an early start, carrying a little ration of pounded up sweet corn and sugar to sustain them on the way. [262]

As soon as they had eaten, the two men saddled up the horses while White Woman prepared to dismantle the tent. She shook the tent pegs loose and pulled them out, then began to fold over the tent cover while it was still on the frame, first pulling one side around to the back and folding it over and then the other side; pulling down the "backbone" pole with folded cover on it, she untied the stick where it was attached at the top and bottom and put it aside. The tent skin was then folded down the middle lengthwise and evenly rolled from the bottom end toward the top, then tied around the middle with the string that was there for the purpose (see Figure 19-1). Additional ropes were used to tie the roll securely across the ends. Now White Woman dismantled the wooden frame, and the poles were divided evenly so that they could be tied to the horse's back in two even bunches. 484* 512 342 492

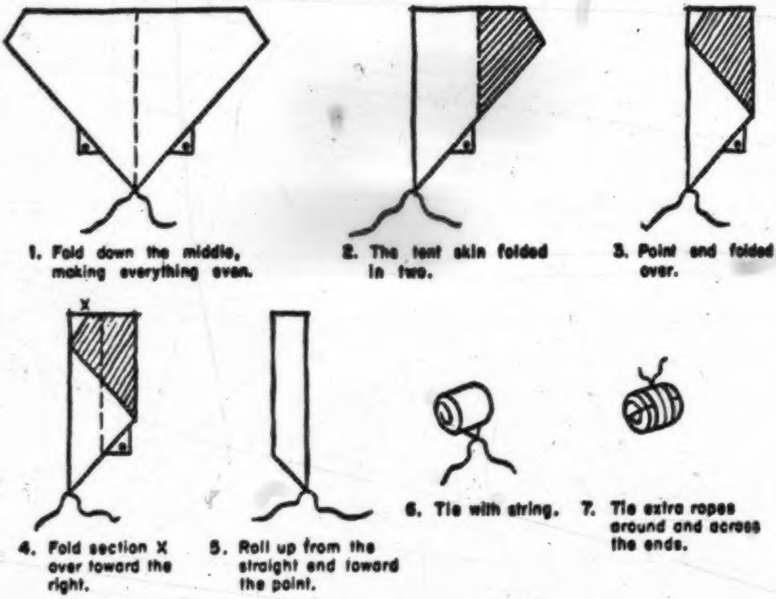
Only the oblong rawhide containers were now left standing, as they had been placed next to the back wall of the tent. Meanwhile No Corn had been rolling up the bulrush mats that were on the ground and tying them in the middle with the strings that were provided there. She was also rolling up the blankets. 484* 512

Now that everything had been dismantled in the camp, the next job was loading up. The horse was brought around close to where the containers were. Horse Rider and No Corn stood on one side and Victory Call 484* 512 492

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*484 512 • 492 and White Woman on the other. While the women held up the containers, the men tied them on. Now everything was loaded and they could join the line of march.

*484 342



1. Fold down the middle, making everything even.
2. The tent skin folded in two.
3. Point end folded over.
4. Fold section X over toward the right.
5. Roll up from the straight end toward the point.
6. Tie with string.
7. Tie extra ropes around and across the ends.

FIGURE 19-1. The method of folding the tent skin.

*484 203 *224 Every morning the crier would go through the camps to repeat the instructions he had called out the night before. He would tell how far they were going and where they expected to camp. Until after Camp 9, individual hunters would ride off from the line of march as soon as their families were packed up and go hunting by themselves to get some fresh meat. While they were out, the group would have arrived at the designated camping place and set up camp, to which the hunters would come with their kill, usually in the late afternoon.

*484 *224 574 62 In the evening each hunter entertained his own friends at a feast with the meat he had gotten that day. This was parallel to the household routine for the man in the villages. The administrative procedures were also similar to those in the settlements. The chiefs of each of the bands more or less kept open house, and every evening there was an informal council where notable happenings of the day were recounted. The official braves, who policed the villages on behalf of their respective chiefs, now performed the same service while they were on the march.

their joints near the back. They turned the carcass over and removed 224* the ribs from the other side in the same way. Then they removed the collarbone and first rib.

This whole process was accomplished with a single knife. As far back 175 as 1540, Casteñeda gives an almost identical description of butchering 224* with a flint. "They cut the hide open at the back," he writes, "and pull it off at the joints, using a flint as large as a finger, tied in a little stick, with as much ease as if working with a good iron tool. They give it an edge with their own teeth. The quickness with which they do this is something worth seeing and noting."

The butchering completed, there was a pile of meat; it remained to portion 224* it out among them. The initiative in this distribution belonged entirely to the man who had actually killed the animal. Legally the animal belonged to him. However, it was the custom to give half of the meat to any who had been present at the kill and helped with the butchering. A generous [577] man—in Pawnee terms, "a good man"—would give something to a person who arrived after the killing but helped with the butchering. Late arrivals could expect no such courtesy. The rule also held in this case. The bison was readily divided in two, including the skin, with two doing the butchering. If three had butchered, "the nonkillers" would have had to divide the half between them. Such a quarter bison skin could be used [237] for moccasin soles or a small rawhide envelope-shaped container. Out of an undivided half skin of the bison, a robe might be made, or a water package. This was a skin folded like an envelope with sticks fastened underneath to be used to float things across the stream in high water.

After the butchering and distribution, the horses were packed with 224* the meat so that they could return to camp. In order to load, they saddled 492 the horses and put the meat on top; the skin, which had been too slippery, had been allowed to dry somewhat and was now put across the saddle, hair side down, with the flaps hanging down on both sides of the horse. The long backbone steaks were placed on top of the hide, and upon this the flank meat from over the ribs and forelegs. In order to balance the load on both sides of the horse, the thighs were cut across in two, each threaded with an eyeletted piece of rawhide drawn through a hole in the meat and tied to the back of the horse so that they hung down against the sides. Each rib cage was tied in a similar way with a string through it so that it hung down on each side toward the rear. The sharp edges were up so that they did not cut the sides of the horse. The brains were tied inside the rib cage to protect them. The other entrails were tied together with a rope and placed on top and tied near the back. A person taking a whole buffalo by himself couldn't take the backbone but could take the back of the neck. He had to leave "the hips and backbone" behind. Everything now being in place on the horse, the skin was folded over to make a cover. First the back half was folded forward

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 •492 toward the front and then the front half folded backward and lapped over it. It was possible to ride on top of such a package, as was necessary whenever they had a considerable distance to go. A man who had not received a hide had to use his saddle blanket in the same way. Entrails and paunch were always tied near the back so that they would not get in the way.

*224 *484 The five hunters now set out for Camp 6, the Fort Kearney encampment on the south bank of the Platte. They rode in close formation, the leader in front, with one man on each side of him and two in the rear. As they rode they would look around to see if they could sight any more buffalo so that they could make their report when they got to camp.

22

THE RETURN OF THE HUNTERS AND THE BANQUETS OF BUFFALO MEAT

000

Meat Is Cooked—Account of Hunt Given—Hunters' Families Entertain—Conversation during the Meal—Other Hunting Expeditions Formed—Family Relationships

*224 As THE FIVE HUNTERS came in, each of their families began to prepare for the family meal and the feast that would follow in their respective camps. In each case, a brother or a brother-in-law was waiting at the hunter's tent to take care of his horse. As the hunter dismounted, he took off his quiver and bow sack from his back and handed it to his wife, asking her to bring out a skin spread for the meat. The brother who had come to help came out of the tent and put the meat on the spread, took off
• [492] the saddle, and took the horse to water. The hunter said to his brother, "When you water it, wash the blood off his sides." The brother went off to tend the horse and hobbled it in the place where the hunter was accustomed to keeping it. The hunter had gone inside the tent where he sat down to rest and smoke while his wife began to cook for him.

*224 252 Roaming Leader, because he was leader of the expedition, had been given the heart and tongue by the man who had had charge of cleaning the entrails. Now his wife was cooking them for their meal. The tongue was first put in the coals until the rough outer covering had blistered off. When it was puffed up, the covering came off easily and the tongue was then boiled. This made good soup and the tongue itself was "smooth eating." To prepare the heart, it was first cut around the rim and the outer skin carefully peeled off so as not to tear it. This little sack could

Pipe trade relations. As the east party would have a prior advantage, he 224*
was leaving it open for Man Chief to take it for his own group. "All 202
right," said Man Chief, "I'll take a group around east," and Curly Chief
of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band said, "I'll go with him." White Eagle then
agreed to take a group by way of the west and Many Trophies of the
Man-Going-Downstream Band agreed to go with him.

Having decided, the different chiefs motioned to their hunters waiting lined up below. In each case the individual hunters were free to join either party as they wished. The various hand motions made by the chiefs graphically indicated their plans. As each chief motioned, his brave went down to the hunters and again told them what the motions were about. The extra pack horses were hobbled right there and the boys taking care of them were nearby.

The next step was a ritual, performed by a holy man known as a 224*
"hand-waver," named for the manner in which he made his vow. White 788
Eagle chose He-Sees-the-Sky because he had consecrated five or six 792
buffalo to the sacred bundle ceremonies in the past and in general seemed [778]
to be lucky in whatever he did. He had established "credit" with the
supernatural powers. Now he knelt down on both knees facing toward
the hill with his back to the lineup of hunters. One of the men from the
line was selected by White Eagle to keep watch on the holy man and
signal them immediately when he was through. The watcher stood about
ten feet back, leading his horse while the prophet was kneeling, settling
himself comfortably with his open hands resting on his thighs. Now he
extended his right arm and as he was moving it outward he said, "This
time of year I sacrificed a whole white eagle and that is what is going
to lead you (west)." Then he made a similar motion with his left hand
and mentioned a wildcat hide and a whole buffalo and the fact that this
would lead those going east. Then he repeated each direction with an
Otter and Buffalo (west), and a young spotted deer and buffalo (east).
The watcher, seeing the holy man's hands back in his lap and his head 224*
down, signaled that that was all and as soon as he turned around, the line 792
formed into two parties, the watcher coming down to join them. The
holy man started for home, being required to remain as quiet as possible
so that nothing should disturb the good fortune of the hunters, for
he would be blamed for any accidents that occurred. White Eagle or one
of the successful hunters would see that he got half a buffalo for his
service. The hunters rode to the chase from both sides of the hill so that 224*
the herd was surrounded and all were killed. Then they butchered and
distributed the meat according to who had actually killed the animal
and who had assisted with the butchering.

As soon as they were through butchering, they packed their horses 224*
and waited until they had a group of two of three so that they could 492
travel together for protection from attack. The horses were lightly

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 packed and everyone could ride home on top of the load. Gifts were
• 492 generously sent by everyone, and everyone that had gone on the hunt got some meat. In their turn the hunters shared it so that every tent had some. The chiefs had fed the people as they had promised in their ritual.

*224 The next move was to the Republican River and their main buffalo
*484 hunting grounds, where everyone would join in getting the meat.

Every available hunter would get a horse if he could and leave the line 224*
of march to go to the hunting grounds. Even if the horse were not fast, [492]
there were enough buffalo for everyone to hunt. In order to free as many horses as possible, the people were to combine and reload all their baggage, doubling up with their neighbors if necessary for the balance of the journey into camp. Man Chief and White Eagle, the first to be ready, rode off a little distance to await the others. The scout now rode all along the line telling all the hunters to get their horses and go where Man Chief and White Eagle were waiting to start.

As the scout turned back to rejoin the waiting chiefs, an old doctor 224*
of the Asking-for-Meat Band began to go among the people to perform a 536
pantomime of sympathetic magic. He followed the path that the scout had taken and, impersonating a buffalo, he went in a trot with his arms flexed at his sides, chanting:

Now you are going to trot
Buffalo who are killed falling.

As he went among the people of each of the four bands, he sang his song each time. The children would try to trip him and make him fall down. When the boy Otter tried this, the old man asked, "Have you any tobacco to give me?" The boy shamefacedly answered no, but the old man fell down for him anyway.

Man Chief had appointed his prophet or "hand waver" who was to 224*
make the incantation to the powers as the hunters were poised ready to 792
make the attack on the herd. Now this man was holding back, reluctant [782]
to ride out to the hunting grounds, worrying whether his luck would be
good. Finally he joined the hunters, as they were in a hurry to get 224*
started. Then Man Chief called out, "Now we're going ahead!" and with White Eagle he started off a little ahead while the others followed in a bunch. They all galloped their horses as they hurried on. The scout went
on ahead to guide them to the place. As soon as they got in sight, the head [202]
scout signaled with his blanket from the hill where he was stationed. If he threw his blanket up leisurely and caught it, there was no hurry, but if he threw it up and pulled it down quickly to his left, they had to hurry because the buffalo would be close and coming on.

000 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there. The
243 younger women whose husbands had horses for transportation would
476 often go out together with another couple and bring the crop back to
252 camp, where they would do the processing in a coordinated group. Victory Call and White Woman along with Horse Rider and No Corn formed such a work group, first in White Woman's fields and then in those of No Corn, carrying the crops into camp on their horses. The old
[887] lady sat in her field all day and brought the finished product back to camp when it was completely prepared for storage. Families with only
[492] one horse or with no horses also processed the entire crop in the field before packing it into camp.

313 While the women were at the food pit, the men had been out piling
462 wood in the fields and in camp so that it would be ready for roasting the green corn. They preferred to get dead willows and driftwood; Horse Rider was at the creek piling up the driftwood while Victory Call was bringing the willows into the camp. Some men would say, "I don't care—that's women's work," but a good man would help his wife.

222 At this time of year they gathered a plant, *parus-asu*, "rabbit-foot,"
272 used for making a brown tea that they drank if they didn't happen to have coffee (*Lespedeza Capitata* Michx.) At the top in a cluster are some fruits looking like tiny rabbit feet. The plant grew on a bush about 3 feet high. They brewed the tea by breaking up the dry twig with the leaves on and steeping it in a coffee pot. Now everything was ready for harvesting and roasting the green corn.

243 Very early next morning Grandma went out to her field and there pre-
342 pared a place for her work. She built herself an ample shade, *kipasiu*, of
252 willows—a circular enclosure, open at the top with an entrance at the east. The leaves were a bit interlaced to make the fencing solid, the side branches beginning about a foot from the ground. When she left for the night, she put a willow sapling with leaves at the top in the doorway so that the shelter was closed in and well protected from horses. People who did not work in the field sometimes built themselves a more temporary shelter by arranging four or five willows in an arc. In her enclosure Grandma roasted all her corn and would leave it overnight in bags to be husked there next day and the kernels removed before bringing it to camp. During the harvest she cooked all her meals there. She left before breakfast and ate whenever it was convenient. She had a kettle along and a small mortar and pestle for preparing her meals. She would pound some of the fresh corn kernels from the roasted cobs and wrap them in corn husks, putting them in the boiling water to make dumplings. After she removed the dumplings she would add some dried meat scraps that had been scraped from the hide at the hunting grounds, *kstasi'u*, to make a good soup. Sometimes she took her grandson, Otter, into the field and shared her meals with him.

double row with more ears to the string. Most of all they braided the 251
sweet corn, *rikis-karus*, "corn-sweet." Later when they gathered the 243
mature corn that had been left to dry on the stalk and not roasted, they also selected some prime ears and braided them together. In the earth lodge on each side leaning against the wall was a sapling with lopped-off branches on which they hung some of these corn braids. Even if this corn was not cooked until December or January, it tasted as fresh as if it had just been plucked. From a braid of mature dried corn, anyone who wanted an occasional bite could break off an ear and roast it. Those braids that were not hung up in the lodge were put in the storage pit along with the dried kernels and other dried crops.

All day Grandma worked in the fields, and in the evening she loaded [482]
her parfleche container of roasted corn kernels on her back and carried them to the camp. She would bring six or seven corn stalks with her that had been stripped of their ears for the little boy to chew on "like sugar cane." The old lady said, "Here, that's good for you!" He bit between the joints and twisted the stalk to get out the sweet juice. While he was enjoying them, some boys would come along and say, "Give me one." At camp an old tent cover had been spread on the ground so that the corn kernels could be spread out to dry. The next morning she said to White Woman, "Tsuat Tstaka, Daughter White Woman, here's some corn. Spread it out to dry." On the way home from her fields, Grandma always took a swim in Beaver Creek.

Back at camp, they had a team approach to the harvesting that in- 243
volved somewhat different steps from Grandma's. The two fields, White 476
Woman's and No Corn's, were harvested in succession, at least two going into a field at a time, while the others might remain behind for the processing. Also all the crops were loaded on horseback rather than [492]
being packed on the back from the field to the camp as Grandma did. Husking was also done in a group, people from other camps joining them from time to time.

The team of four—Horse Rider and his wife No Corn and Victory Call and his wife White Woman—worked in the following way:

Morning of the first day, White Woman and Horse Rider went out to her field and brought in eight parfleches of corn ears that they had picked. They took along two horses and loaded them with four parfleches each. It was estimated that in our terms, eight parfleches of corn ears amounted to a wagon load, level and without the side boards up.

When they got back to camp, White Woman and No Corn im- 243
mediately set to work roasting. The two men, Horse Rider and Victory 252
Call, went back into the field and brought back two more horseloads— 476
eight parfleches full of corn ears. In one day they had gathered in two wagonloads as stated above.

In the *afternoon*, they kept on roasting all day. The men shucked the

field, and then next day by Horse Rider and No Corn in her field, the two 243
teams staying alternately at home and watching as well as processing the 251
crops. Sweet corn was mainly made into double braids. Quantity pro- 476
duction depended on team work, of course, but the women had to sort [244]
out the eight varieties of beans after everything was done, as the men [462]
would not bother with such a detail and would pay no attention to the
selection of the best ears for braiding. When all the corn was in, the [825]
blackbirds began to fly over the fields, presaging the cold weather.

The following are some of the processes used in preserving the crops, 243
together with a breakdown of how these were coordinated with the ac- 244
tivities of gathering. 251

The green corn was gathered from the stalk "in the milk" and roasted 243
in a long roasting pit in which a fire was built. It was allowed to cool 251
off and the husks removed. The kernels were cut off the cob row by row [237]
with a fresh-water clamshell and spread on a tanned hide to dry. At night [412]
the kernels were first winnowed to remove any chaff, gathered up and
put in a flour sack, and then taken into the tent. They were put in a
wooden bowl and spilled out from a height so that the wind would
blow the chaff away. Next morning they were again spread out on
the tanned hide. After several days, as they were being spilled for win-
nowing in the evening, they would make a tapping noise when they
hit the hide, showing that the kernels were completely dry.

When the beans were picked off the vines and brought into camp, 244
they were dumped onto the spread and allowed to dry in the sun. As 251
they dried, one could hear the popping of the pods. At night they
were left outdoors, covered only with a spread of tanned hide, and in
the morning uncovered and allowed to dry again. Then they were [412]
flailed with a peeled willow rod about 4 feet long and 1 inch thick to
remove the pods as much as possible. Some of the beans had to be
picked out by hand—a small pile of beans was always picked this way.
If there was a large pile the woman would strike them with the stick,
then stop and pick out the loose pods and pile them to one side, push the
beans together again and further beat them with the stick. The beans
were winnowed by spilling from a height from a wooden bowl, in
this way loose pieces of dry pod blew away and the pods still containing
some beans fell to the ground and were opened by hand—an opera-
tion in which someone usually gave her help if they were available.
After winnowing, the beans were spread out to dry thoroughly. When
all the other work had been done, the beans were sorted into their
eight varieties.

After the beans, they brought in the pumpkin harvest. The women 244
spent most of one day hauling them from the field. First they brought 489
the largest, then the next largest, and so on. One parfleche in which 492
they were transported carried five large pumpkins, or seven to eight

244 middle-sized pumpkins, or twelve to fifteen small ones. A horse could
489 carry in only two parfleches filled with pumpkins at a trip. Using two
492 horses, they made five trips to the field, some in the morning and some in the afternoon, carrying about twenty parfleches in all of the different sizes. This represented the crop of White Woman's field and amounted to about a wagon-load and a half, perhaps a little more, with the wagon being level without sideboards.

The pumpkin rinds were removed by roasting them in the fire until
244 they could scrape off the outer rind with a fresh-water clamshell. Each
251 individual pumpkin was roasted and set aside to cool, then scraped.
252 Some people peeled them with a knife, but this was time-consuming and was considered wasteful. Small pumpkins 4 inches or less in diameter were neither roasted, peeled, nor halved—they were simply cut into blocks, laid out on a tent skin and dried. They could be cooked any time now with the large roasted corn to add flavor. The standard-size pumpkins were cut in half, the pulp and seeds taken out, and the halves cut into a series of circular rings each about 1½ inches wide. These were hung on a rack and when they had dried somewhat were pressed underfoot to express some of the water as was done with the sliced buffalo meat, then hung up again to dry further. At night the pumpkin rings were left on the rack covered with an old tent skin. By
285 the time the mature dried corn crop was coming in, the pumpkin strips would be dry enough so that they could be woven into checker-plaited mats. They would alternate the processing of this corn with the making of the pumpkin mats, *ri-katsitu*, "braid-woven."

The plaited pumpkin mats were arm's length and 2 feet wide. The individual strips had shrunk in the drying to an inch in width. It took about two hours to weave a pumpkin mat. In an afternoon, each woman would make two mats before supper. The dried pumpkin was used by cutting off a number of the 2-foot strips in the width with small por-
252 tions of the cross pieces adhering to them. The very smallest pumpkins
262 about the size of tomatoes were boiled fresh and eaten in the morning for a breakfast during this harvest period. They were very much relished.

243 The preparation of the mature corn that had been allowed to dry on the stalk, was somewhat different from the ears that were gathered "in
251 the milk." No roasting was necessary. The ears were snapped off the stalk, taken to camp, and husked that evening and the following day. The ears were then spread out and allowed to dry until evening and after supper the women began to remove the kernels. They used a small pointed stick to pry them off, pushing it in between two rows and along the cob from stub end to point so that in spreading the rows of kernels they were readily pried off. In the evening the corn was winnowed and

512 [252] [264] White Woman got up and joined in, making the breakfast coffee. The cooking was going on near the long oblong fireplace somewhat to the north of the curve-roofed shelter that opened to the east. Across the front of the tent and just inside, the long twined-woven rush mats were lined up. Now Victory Call got up and sat near the south end and began to smoke his pipe. He remarked, "Now leave the tent here for last. We can take everything into the lodge first." With that, Uncle War Cry looked over from his tent and, seeing the activity, thought he would wander over and see what it was. "Nawa," he greeted them. "Nawa," [576] answered Victory Call, "sit down over here" (viz., to his left). "Looks as if-you're-about to travel" (***kura-tas-takuhu'u***), said the visitor. "Oh, yes, we're going to try to move in this morning, that is rather—today." "That's what we've been thinking too. But I think we'll go in tomorrow." Now Horse Rider arrived with the water and after greetings of "Nawa, nawa," were exchanged, he sat down and joined the men. War Cry repeated his observation about their moving in and Horse Rider made his acknowledgment, War Cry adding, "Now you're going to make-us-feel-lonesome" (left behind, ***wi-tas-kurak-atsiks-awahu***). "Oh, just one day. Just this evening, that's all," said Horse Rider.

Now Grandma began to sit up on her bed and White Woman handed her a small basin of water. "Mother wash your face," she said and Grandma poured some of the water into her hand and washed up.

Everyone arranged themselves on the mat—White Woman at the south end, Victory Call next to her, War Cry next to him, Horse Rider next, No Corn who was doing the cooking and serving, and on the northernmost end of the line Grandma and then Otter. The dishes of food were passed first to Victory Call, then War Cry and then Horse Rider, and now the boy Otter was given a dish to carry to his mother at the south end. He got up and made a wide circle so that he wouldn't pass too close in front of the men. Dishes were next passed by No Corn to Grandma and through her to Otter, and then they all began to eat.

As soon as breakfast was over, Horse Rider went to get the two horses that would be needed for the hauling and War Cry went back to his tent, remarking as he went off, "Tomorrow we must move in, too." White Woman and No Corn began to bundle up their things. Grandma had already taken most of hers into the lodge. The mare and the horse were [492] loaded up with parfleches of corn, pumpkin, rolled-up mats, and dishes. The two men went up and piled the goods outside the doorway and came back directly for their next load. As they began to load up, the women were saying, "Our men don't know how to load these things." The men on the other hand were likely to say, "When we first came home, we had hardly anything. Now look at that pile we've got around to fix up." The children were running back and forth among the piles of goods.

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

the edges through a series of little holes. The beaver skins that they trapped for sale to the traders, were treated in the same way. 281

The men made their own saddles and horse trappings, some of deer and some of buffalo hide. All men made these for themselves and dressed the deer hides, even Eagle Chief himself. But buffalo hide was gotten from the women. They made saddles, bridles, stirrups, and saddle bags. For saddle bags, discarded buffalo robes were obtained from the women. The saddles were made either of deer and deer horns or wood and buffalo hide. The horn saddle took four or five days; the buffalo hide ten to fifteen. The men worked hard on their saddles and decorated them elaborately. 282 492 462 [531]

The basic clothing was cut out and sewn with an awl and sinew by the women. The women wore a wrap-around skirt, an overblouse, leggings fastened at the knee, and moccasins. The skirt, of tanned deer hide, reached just below the knee with the closing at the right side. It was fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. If no deer hide was available, they used a very soft buffalo hide. 291 [294]

The blouse was a simple sleeveless pullover extending down over the waist so that it covered the top of the skirt and the belt that held it in place. It was made of an oblong piece of skin folded in two and cut out for the neck and armholes so that it would not rub against the underarm. (See Figure 48-1.) It was sewn along the sides with sinew, the seams extending just a little below the waist. The bottom section that reached toward the hips was left unsewn on the two sides. Around the neck was a scarf about 4 inches wide sewn across the back and reaching over the shoulders so that it could be turned up in cold weather for protection. The neck was provided with a drawstring whose ends hung down in front unless they wanted to draw the blouse close together around the throat.

Until the age of five or six, the little girls ran around naked, but then they had to have a little wraparound skirt of buckskin with a drawstring at the top. They would always complain that it was too loose, for it was usually made to allow for growth; when the little girl complained her mother would say, "Oh, go on, you'll grow soon," or "After all, it might shrink." 855 291

Leggings of tanned deer or elk hide were worn by all the women, and these were tied around under the knee and turned down over the tie string at the top. For both men and women, they made two-piece moccasins with hard soles and softer uppers. Those of the Skidi were below the ankle and those of the South Bands a little above. 291 [184]

The clothing of the men, besides the basic garments, included a number of ceremonial trappings or some that signified special rank or achievement. The main clothes were a loincloth, leggings, and moccasins. [292]

342 ous services that would be involved. Lady Lucky Leader herself would
464 get a good amount of flour, sugar, coffee, and some calico, and the other
465 women of the household who helped with the sewing were given gifts
of calico and special meals were prepared for entertaining them. These
439 items had to be obtained at the trade store in exchange for a tanned buffalo
[437] robe. This was prepared by White Woman, and the day before the
work was to begin Victory Call and she each mounted a horse and rode
over to the store about two miles away, taking the robe with them. The
[492] two horses would be needed to bring home the supplies, otherwise White
[562] Woman would have walked, Victory Call ridden. At the trade store they
439 got a sack of flour, some coffee, sugar, baking powder, prunes, dry apples,
435 and about five yards of calico. At this time a hundred-pound sack of
flour was worth $7.00 at the store. For the family alone without special
events or guests, such a sack of flour lasted about two weeks (two
double-handfuls for each meal). Amounts of the other items usually
bought were fifty cents worth of coffee, fifty cents worth of sugar,
twenty-five cents worth of baking powder. Five or six yards of calico
439 were $1.00 so that, excluding the cost of the prunes and dry apples, the
342 gift to Lady Lucky Leader would amount to about $9.25 worth of
464 merchandise. An exceptionally well-tanned buffalo robe would bring
465 $20-30 worth of value at the store. After providing payment for Lady
[435] Lucky Leader with the remaining value of the buffalo robe, they had to
buy supplies for the special meals—an additional sack of flour, more
sugar, coffee, baking powder, and some lard and prunes. Finally to each
of the three women of the household that helped with the sewing—
Grandma, No Corn, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy—they would give
five yards of calico to each (worth a dollar for the five yards), and some
needles and thread. The buffalo robe would just about cover the labor
costs for sewing together the tent.

463 About a week before the work was to begin, White Woman would
have gone to see Lady Lucky Leader and have said to her, "Atira (my
342 mother), I've come to ask you to make a new tent for me." "Well," she
answered, "I have something to do right now, but I could do it a little
later. Are you in a hurry?" "No, a week's time will be all right." "Well,
then, have two good sharp knives ready," said the old lady.

At the appointed day, she arrived at Victory Call's lodge after breakfast. The skins and tools were taken outdoors, and while White Woman
cleared up the breakfast dishes, the other three women went out with her
and Lady Lucky Leader cut out the skins. She placed them in the most
economical manner and then she assigned each of the women a particular
seam to sew. Each woman had prepared herself with her own awl and a
quantity of prepared sinew. Presently White Woman joined them and
[264] was also assigned a seam to sew. Before noon she had to retire to prepare
[262] the meal. They were served grease bread, coffee, and prunes. For sup-

50

OBJECTS OF WOOD FOR THE HOME

000

Women Made the Wood Objects for Home Use—Scarcity of Wood—Making the Wooden Bowl, Ladles, Spoons, Mortar, Pestle, Digging Iron, Tent Pegs, Bracket for Hanging Pots over Fire, Tipi Poles

462 WOMEN WERE THE MAIN MANUFACTURERS of objects made of wood. Not
322 only did they gather the fuel and the building materials, but they also
made all the objects of general utility in the household. The men were
directly concerned only with those things that were for their own immediate use—their weapons and their ceremonial objects. In no other group that I know of, except among the Woodland Indians, are the women the woodsmen and the woodcrafters to the extent that they were
[752] among the Pawnees. Like other lumbermen in the world, Pawnee
[761] women would sometimes be killed while felling trees, and a story is told
of a woman responsible for another woman's death in such an accident who grieved so deeply that she wandered off never to be seen again.

137 In the Pawnee prairie plains country, the only place that trees grow is
462 along the streams, and in the distance one can readily identify the rivers
313 and streams by the green belt of trees that grow along their banks. This
limited distribution of the trees meant that the women often had to travel considerable distances to get the wood they needed. In 1867 they had to have military protection. How matters stood earlier is not known. They
[492 also had the advantage of horse transport. The likelihood is that in the
74] past their dogs had this function and a good deal was packed on their
backs, water-floated, or simply dragged over the country. When women
313 went to the woods they took their pack ropes which they also made into

*224 *484 262 each parfleche that they carried with them contained four bushels of corn or eighty pounds of dried buffalo meat. The proportions of the dry meat he describes as 3 feet long and 2 feet wide per sheet.

[797] [175] [252] It should be noted that some of the trade store supplies had their analogies in the native foods. Flour was analogous to finely pounded-up corn made into corn bread that was baked in the ashes, and the dried fruits with traditional dried wild plums and sand cherries, while sugar was obtained from the box elder.

*224 *484 492 The cache pit being in order and the provisions packed for travel, the horse gear was all gotten in order, the saddles and straps mended so that the goods could be securely packed on the horse. Finally the long-awaited announcement for leaving would come. The specific directions were from Man Chief of the Tsawi Band who was leading the hunt.

The night before it would be stated that rainy conditions would have to be taken account of. If they had a hard rain early in the morning, then they would have to delay their departure until the next day, but "If it rains only a little in the morning, as soon as the rain stops, we can go on." On the other hand, should it rain during the night, they would certainly go on next morning. If they had already started and it began to rain they would cover up the loaded horses with an old tent skin they carried along for the purpose and say, "It's on the way," and continue, unless it kept on raining hard all through the day, when they would have to unload the horses, cover up the baggage with a tent skin, and all crawl under it until the rain was over. Then they would reload and go on.

[721] Another cause for delay in their departure would be an enemy attack when they could do nothing else but stay and defend themselves. This would delay them for a day or two.

Meanwhile everyone was anxious to be on their way. On the appointed morning or the night before, Horse Rider tethered the horses right outside the door of the lodge. They would be loaded as for the summer hunt, a place being arranged for No Corn to ride because of her arthritis.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

59

THE POINTED SKIN TIPI

000

Transporting the Tipi—the Women Set Up the Tipi with Help from the Men—the Arrangements in the Tipi

342 ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT TECHNICAL achievements that made this trip
*[484] possible across the open prairie in the cold of winter was the pointed
skin tipi. With its fire burning in the middle, its skin cover tight and its
poles firmly set on the ground, it was a warm shelter against wind and
weather. It was named for its framework of poles, viz., *kax-ta-pe*, "house-
against-leaning," or the Against-Leaning House. An alternative name was
kar-rat-sa-pe, the infix *-rat-* referring to the plurality of the poles, viz.,
• 492 They-against-Leaning House. For transportation, the poles were divided
493 into two equal groups, laced through the thick end with rawhide rope
*484 and placed one on each side of the horse and tied to the saddle horn.
The thinner ends dragged on the ground. The two groups of poles were
fastened together across the lower part with cross sticks and the space
covered over with skin placed underneath with the edges lapped over on
top. This made a convenient carryall where they placed extra packages
and sometimes the baby on top. In former times dogs were similarly
packed and they were still in active use for this purpose in the late 1830's
—a usage reminiscent of a time before they had horses and the women
[175] and the dogs did most of the packing. This is vividly shown by the
painter Alfred Jacob Miller in 1837 and described by the missionary to
the Skidi, Allis, on the winter hunt of 1835, who claims that the dog carried
[175] seventy to a hundred pounds of meat. For the time before horses, we
have an account of the use of the dog travois in the report of the Coronado
expedition across the Plains in 1541.

*224 When the line of march would set out in the morning after breakfast,
*484 the common routine was for the hunters to leave the line of march and go
on their individual hunts or the mass attack on the buffalo herd and for

who is willing should come and sit closer and observe and listen to the 224*
way these things should be done." This was considered a major public 793
service and no payment was involved nor considerations of kin relationship. 869
Bringing Horses was a brave and apparently had had a call to
carry out this mission.

The five priests sat smoking and talking together informally. They were 224*
old men and had traveled over this same ground many times. They knew 793
just how far apart the rivers were and which were the quickest routes to
follow. Now they were reminiscing about the past. One would say, "One [521]
summertime we camped way down there in this and this direction from
here and so and so happened," for example a warpath came or some other
notable event. Meanwhile Old Lady Lucky Leader was taking care of 224*
the practical affairs since the menfolks of her family were still out on the 794
hunt. She was a vigorous old woman and a good manager. One of the 574
men coming in early from the hunt reined in his horse outside her tent
and called out, "Lady Lucky Leader, here are ribs!" throwing down the
ribs as his contribution to the forthcoming council meeting and riding
off home to his own tent. The old lady went out and got them at once and
put them inside the tent on the north side near the entrance so that they
wouldn't freeze. Now she decided to get the meal under way for the
council. The boy Might-Be-Chief was passing by and she called him in [624]
and asked him to get the chief's errand man Know-His-Face, who came
in and, after exchanging greetings with the priests, began to roast the ribs [252]
to the northeast of the fireplace as directed by the old lady. She asked
her daughter to sit down to the south and fry some bread so that the
men would have something to eat as soon as they got in before the council
began.

Now the men could be heard coming and the meat creaking a little as 224*
it was packed on the horse since it was a bit frozen. The two men of the [492] •
family knew they had better get in early and Frank Leader called out to
his mother, "Atira [my mother], spread something out here for the meat."
The old lady came out and put a skin spread on the snow in front of the
tent and her son tethered his horse to a stake nearby. She covered the
horse and put down another spread with cottonwood tops and bark on it
for the horse to eat. She saved some of the cottonwood for her son-in-law's
horse and he arrived soon after. As soon as the two men entered the [515]
tent they asked their mother for some water to wash their hands with,
and Frank tied his quiver and bow to the southwest post while Roaming
Leader tied his at the northwest. Then they sat down on either side of
the entrance. The men talked about how they had killed the buffalo that
day and how there had been good herds north of the river. The family [264]
had its meal of bread and ribs and then the boy Might-Be-Chief was sent
around to call in the other members of the council. He also called in
Horse Rider to help the errand man Know-His-Face to cook for the feast.

62

THE MAIN HUNT

000 *Handling the Meat after the Hunt—Winter Problems—Storytelling—Camp Moves to Many Deer—Dismantling the Tent—Meeting in Council Tent—the Hunt at Many Deer—Donations to the Sacred Bundles—Scouts Return to Grand Island to Report*

*224 Very early that morning after the scouts had ridden west, most of
462 the other men rode out after them, leaving the women in camp to finish
251 drying the meat with only a few men to protect them. The men took only
the horses they rode to the chase; the rest were left to the care of the women. In warmer weather, a boy might ride an extra horse so that it would be ready for packing after the chase, but at this time the weather was too bad. In Victory Call's camp, White Woman, No Corn, and the boy remained and the two men rode west.

*224 At Many Deer, Eagle Chief had decided that they would stake out a
camping place on the north shore, sheltered by timber and big hills from
*484 the cold winds, and lead their horses over the ice to the south bank for
[361] the chase. After the buffalo had been killed and butchered, the meat was
• [492] loaded on the horses and carried to the south bank of the Republican.
There the meat was unloaded and the horses tethered. Then the men
[493] made "hand travois," *raku-rarahu-kita-hukhu*, in order to-pack of buffalo
meat-upon-water or ice-carry. This was a dead cottonwood with a fork
at the top. Sticks were fastened across the fork and upon this the meat
was loaded and tied with the man pulling the travois across the ice by
[501] the trunk. (In summer they made a "water package" raft of half the raw-
hide of a bison to float across the water in a similar situation.) When a
man had pulled all his meat across the ice, someone on the north shore
would ask him for his travois. He would say, "All right, that's a good
horse!"

Horses

231 were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact. that horses were introduced to this continent by the Spaniards in the 177 early 1500's, and whatever use was made of them by American Indians had to develop after that time. Even though it was a considerable length of time, the Pawnee practices in connection with the use and care of horses were not as advanced as those of the Spaniards. As regards the *224 buffalo hunt, at the time of our narrative horses were used in the chase 492 when they were attacking the herd in a group and also to carry their food and camping equipment. The strategy of the mass attack upon the herd was to develop a "surround" by the mounted hunters who had been lined up behind a hill out of sight. No doubt they had previously used a similar technique on foot. As to carrying the food and equipment, 492 a good deal of it was packed on the backs of the women and girls. However, •493 the women had dogs who were trained to drag the tent poles behind 482 them, the heavy ends of the poles tied to a harness on the dog's back. The tent poles were grouped into two sets, one on each side of the dog, and connected by two cross sticks toward the lower ends. Upon these a skin cover was wrapped where other luggage was placed. A dog 492 could drag as much as 70 pounds. The custom of dog traction and extensive 482 carrying on the back by the women was in full operation as late as 1837 when a famous painter, Alfred Jacob Miller, portrayed the 175 Pawnees in this manner. After 1850, however, dogs were no longer used 178 for this purpose, and it was mostly the men who kept them around so [782] that the puppies could be sacrificed and eaten at a special ceremonial. Some, of course, were kept by the women as pets. By 1867, the horse had taken over the carrying function almost entirely except for a few poor single or old people who had to do some packing of their dried buffalo meat on the way home. The packing of the horse resembled that formerly [493] used in connection with the dog; the horse travois or carrying frame was also the same as that of the dog. All the leather trappings for keeping the luggage in place had now to be carefully prepared before they left for the hunt.

231 The Pawnees were relatively poor in horses compared with other 422 Plains tribes at this time. This may have been due to constant attacks by the Sioux and the other nomadic tribes, although this is not certain. At 171 any rate while among the Blackfoot or the Kiowa twenty-five horses at least were considered an average number for a family on the move, Eagle Chief, who was head of the Skidi Band, had only ten, and a reasonably comfortable family like that of Victory Call had only four or five. Some families had only one or two horses and it was with great difficulty 726 that they went on the hunt at all. Even in their war practices, the *484 Pawnee retained some of their prehorse habits. It was well known that they set out on their war expeditions on foot and they were known to the 178 Kiowa as "Walkers." The rationale given for this by students of the sub-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

59

THE POINTED SKIN TIPI

000

Transporting the Tipi—the Women Set Up the Tipi with Help from the Men—the Arrangements in the Tipi

342 *[484] ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT TECHNICAL achievements that made this trip possible across the open prairie in the cold of winter was the pointed skin tipi. With its fire burning in the middle, its skin cover tight and its poles firmly set on the ground, it was a warm shelter against wind and weather. It was named for its framework of poles, viz., *kax-ta-pe*, "house-against-leaning," or the Against-Leaning House. An alternative name was *kar-rat-sa-pe*, the infix *-rat-* referring to the plurality of the poles, viz., 492 • 493 *484 They-against-Leaning House. For transportation, the poles were divided into two equal groups, laced through the thick end with rawhide rope and placed one on each side of the horse and tied to the saddle horn. The thinner ends dragged on the ground. The two groups of poles were fastened together across the lower part with cross sticks and the space covered over with skin placed underneath with the edges lapped over on top. This made a convenient carryall where they placed extra packages and sometimes the baby on top. In former times dogs were similarly packed and they were still in active use for this purpose in the late 1830's —a usage reminiscent of a time before they had horses and the women [175] and the dogs did most of the packing. This is vividly shown by the painter Alfred Jacob Miller in 1837 and described by the missionary to the Skidi, Allis, on the winter hunt of 1835, who claims that the dog carried seventy to a hundred pounds of meat. For the time before horses, we [175] have an account of the use of the dog travois in the report of the Coronado expedition across the Plains in 1541.

*224 *484 When the line of march would set out in the morning after breakfast, the common routine was for the hunters to leave the line of march and go on their individual hunts or the mass attack on the buffalo herd and for

62

THE MAIN HUNT

000 *Handling the Meat after the Hunt—Winter Problems—Storytelling—Camp Moves to Many Deer—Dismantling the Tent—Meeting in Council Tent—the Hunt at Many Deer—Donations to the Sacred Bundles—Scouts Return to Grand Island to Report*

*224 462 251 VERY EARLY THAT MORNING after the scouts had ridden west, most of the other men rode out after them, leaving the women in camp to finish drying the meat with only a few men to protect them. The men took only the horses they rode to the chase; the rest were left to the care of the women. In warmer weather, a boy might ride an extra horse so that it would be ready for packing after the chase, but at this time the weather was too bad. In Victory Call's camp, White Woman, No Corn, and the boy remained and the two men rode west.

*224 *484 [361] [492] [493] [501] At Many Deer, Eagle Chief had decided that they would stake out a camping place on the north shore, sheltered by timber and big hills from the cold winds, and lead their horses over the ice to the south bank for the chase. After the buffalo had been killed and butchered, the meat was loaded on the horses and carried to the south bank of the Republican. There the meat was unloaded and the horses tethered. Then the men made "hand travois," *raku-rarahu-kita-hukhu*, in order to-pack of buffalo meat-upon-water or ice-carry. This was a dead cottonwood with a fork at the top. Sticks were fastened across the fork and upon this the meat was loaded and tied with the man pulling the travois across the ice by the trunk. (In summer they made a "water package" raft of half the rawhide of a bison to float across the water in a similar situation.) When a man had pulled all his meat across the ice, someone on the north shore would ask him for his travois. He would say, "All right, that's a good horse!"

62

THE MAIN HUNT

000 *Handling the Meat after the Hunt—Winter Problems—Storytelling—Camp Moves to Many Deer—Dismantling the Tent—Meeting in Council Tent—the Hunt at Many Deer—Donations to the Sacred Bundles—Scouts Return to Grand Island to Report*

*224 462 251 VERY EARLY THAT MORNING after the scouts had ridden west, most of the other men rode out after them, leaving the women in camp to finish drying the meat with only a few men to protect them. The men took only the horses they rode to the chase; the rest were left to the care of the women. In warmer weather, a boy might ride an extra horse so that it would be ready for packing after the chase, but at this time the weather was too bad. In Victory Call's camp, White Woman, No Corn, and the boy remained and the two men rode west.

*224 *484 [361] [492] [493] • [501] At Many Deer, Eagle Chief had decided that they would stake out a camping place on the north shore, sheltered by timber and big hills from the cold winds, and lead their horses over the ice to the south bank for the chase. After the buffalo had been killed and butchered, the meat was loaded on the horses and carried to the south bank of the Republican. There the meat was unloaded and the horses tethered. Then the men made "hand travois," *raku-rarahu-kita-hukhu*, in order to-pack of buffalo meat-upon-water or ice-carry. This was a dead cottonwood with a fork at the top. Sticks were fastened across the fork and upon this the meat was loaded and tied with the man pulling the travois across the ice by the trunk. (In summer they made a "water package" raft of half the rawhide of a bison to float across the water in a similar situation.) When a man had pulled all his meat across the ice, someone on the north shore would ask him for his travois. He would say, "All right, that's a good horse!"

at the time of the Ghost Dance faith. As time went by Indians 648
and white farmers resorted to various subterfuges to get around 557
the ruling that certain lands they held could not be leased. The 427
Indian would claim that he was employing a white man and 175
intended to pay him, but when harvest time came, instead of the
Indian paying the white farmer money, the white farmer gave the
Indian a part of the crop.

The immediate results of the lease system were two-fold: on
the one hand, for the first time in their lives the Pawnee had plenty
of money; on the other hand, they had to make no effort at all to
support themselves. In 1897 the Pawnee leases brought an income [434]
of $ 12,114.95. In 1900 the income of the tribe from their annuity
($ 30,000), interest on their two trust funds (from the sale of the
Nebraska reservation; and from the sale of the surplus Oklahoma
lands); and leases, was over $ 75,000. In that year the population [161]
had dwindled to 650, so that the per capita income was about
$ 116 or the income of the average family of five close to $ 600 [511]
annually, a substantial and adequate income in 1900 on the Oklahoma frontier.

Year by year the Pawnee labored less and less on their own lands; 175
in 1904 their self-maintenance was 42 per cent from their annuity
and interests, 43 per cent from leases, and 15 per cent from "labor 461
in civilized pursuits." By 1899 the agents had fully realized the 657
extent of the blunder which had been made: they we[illegible]are that
the Pawnee could not be made to labor when he had [illegible]ceeded
without it, and pointed out in their reports that whit[illegible] would
have acted in the same way.

Along with the disappearance of all demands upon them to be
self-reliant and self-maintaining, the Pawnee were stripped of their
last outlets for self management. Leases were made not by the [427]
Indian but by the agent; lease money was paid not to the Indian
but to the agent. All that the Indian had to do was to draw his
income. At the same time with the change of status to citizens,
the function of the Court of Indian Offenses vanished, and the [698
court was abolished April 21, 1894; the Indian police were disbanded 625]
in October of the same year.

Temporarily with their increased income, the living conditions 175
of the Pawnee improved; they ate better, they dressed better, and 511
they lived better. But the idleness which had come to them 161
was in keeping with their desire during these years to congregate
in encampments for Ghost Dances and other performances, so that
they leased their houses with their lands and made shift to live
here or there as the occasion demanded. During these years there

175 was a constant fall of the population. From 797 at the time of the
allotments in severalty the Pawnee were reduced to 633 in 1904.
●511 The decrease was steady. The diseases which had persisted in the
161 tribe continued to take their toll during these years. Doctors
ascribed failure to control them to their inheritability, to the
conditions of continual exposure incident to camp life and contin-
[256] ual dancing, and to the pernicious influence and control of the
Pawnee medicine men who as a result of the Ghost Dance revival
had regained their status with the people.

175 The Pawnee not only did not have to work to live, but were in
a position to pay white men to do their necessary work for them.
464 They paid high prices, and their money went as fast as it came.
178 Their funds were augmented from time to time by the sale of
inherited allotment lands.

The conditions of idleness only served to reinforce the revival of the old cultural forms. The Pawnee disliked isolation most of all, and gladly leased their scattered allotments, coming together for a continual round of Ghost Dances, performances, games, and hand game ceremonies. Stripped of their last vestige of responsibility, with no activities that were meaningful or satisfying save these old and new forms of Indian life, they turned to these with a kind of desperation. The experiences of these years, even while
[762] the Ghost Dance brought some hope into their lives, caused a number of young men to commit suicide. Eight suicides were recorded in the period from 1892 to 1898. They were reported as occasioned by slight causes, and were traced to the "pernicious influence of the Ghost Dance."

The indolence of the Pawnee became such that in the early years of the century the officials and missionaries began to plead for a change of program. They held that the only solution possible was to throw the Indians on their own resources entirely. Some agents developed the suggestion that at least those Pawnee men who could manage their own affairs should be allowed to lease their own lands and receive the payments themselves. This movement to take away entirely the guidance and control of the agency resulted later (after 1916) in issuing many titles in fee simple to Indians, often without their consent.

Under these conditions, at the turn of the century, the cultural revival of the Pawnee was doomed. It could not take roots in any soil: it was based on no firm way of life. It gradually passed, leaving the Indians still with an empty life, living off the funds which came from the government, and the payments of white far-

224 drum sounded, and a dozen or twenty young warriors sprang into the
796 circle and began the buffalo dance. This was kept up without intermission for three days, and as soon as it was over, the tribe moved out of the village on the hunt.

224 From the village on the Loup, we traveled southward; for in those days the region between the Platte and the Smoky rivers swarmed with buffalo. With the Pawnees were a few Poncas, Omahas and Otoes, so that there were about four thousand Indians in the camp.
[221] It was the summer hunt of the tribe. Twice each year the agent permitted them to visit the buffalo range. The meat which they killed
[251 and dried on these hunts, the corn and squashes which they grew
511] on their farms, and the small annuities received from the Government, were all they had to subsist on from season to season. Thus the occasion was one of importance to the Indians. Perhaps only the older heads among them fully appreciated its economic interest; but for all it was a holiday time; a temporary escape from confinement.
[512 Life on the reservation was monotonous. There was nothing to do
521] except to sit in the sun and smoke, and tell stories of the former glories of the nation; of successful fights with the Sioux and Cheyennes, and of horse stealing expeditions, from which the heroes had returned with great herds of ponies and much glory. Now, for a little while, they returned to the old free life of earlier years, when the land had been all their own, and they had wandered at will over the broad expanse of the rolling prairie. Now, for a time, it was as it had been before the cornfields of the white man had begun to dot their river bottoms, before the sound of his rifle had made wild their game, before the locomotive's whistle had shrieked through the still, hot summer air. Half a year's provision was now to be secured. The comfort—almost the existence—of the tribe for the next six months depended on the accumulation of an abundant supply of dried buffalo meat, and no precaution was omitted to make the hunt successful. It would not do to permit each individual to hunt independently. Indiscriminate buffalo running by six or eight hundred men scattered over the prairie, each one working for himself alone, would result in the killing of some few buffalo, but would terrify and drive away all the others in the neighborhood. This matter was too important to be trusted to chance. The hunting was systematized.

III. THE LODGE

The size of the Skidi lodge varied according to the number of 342
families residing in it. Although an individual family composed of 592
a man, his wife or wives, and their children, might be the sole
occupants, often more than one family lived in a single lodge and
there apparently was no definite rule regarding the number of
residents and consequently the size of the lodge itself. The latter [352]
might contain two beds for a small family or might be spacious
enough to accommodate as many as eighteen beds for several families.
Also, chiefs' lodges and those of priests and medicine-men were of [346]
exceptional size, for they were often required to accommodate a
ceremonial gathering.

The construction and interior arrangements of the Pawnee earth 352
lodge have been briefly described in a previous report (Dorsey, 1904).
At the west was the altar, around the north and south sides were
the beds, and at the east, on either side of the doorway, were cache
holes, corn mills, sweathouses, and piles of firewood. The beds
were supported by two upright forked posts on the inner side; these
were connected by a hewn timber placed in the forks and from this
crosspiece short poles extended to the wall or banquette. Over this
frame was placed a mattress of young willows netted together and
covered by buffalo robes and pillows. Usually the children had
their beds nearest the altar, and the grandparents those closest the [592]
door; the parents reserved those in the middle area. In case a man [513]
had more than one wife living in his lodge, each wife had a bed of [595]
her own [Fig. 26]. [Lesser (1930) has diagramed the usual disposition
of the family according to their beds. The accompanying diagrams
furnished by Mr. Murie are of interest, however, for so far as I can
determine they represent actual cases. Unfortunately, the exact
relationships of the individuals referred to is not always clear.]

In the summer the people moved out of the lodge and slept 513
under an arbor. Each individual family made its own arbor, or all 342
the families together built a single large one for their joint use. 592
[This was in addition to the tipi, and a grass-like structure sometimes
used when on the march.]

FAMILY CUSTOMS

On rising in the morning the entire family visited a near-by 512
creek or river to bathe. In olden times all were early risers, and in [515]
the spring and autumn the men and women usually repaired at once

512 to the fields after the early morning swim. They returned to the lodge at about eleven o'clock for the first meal, the other meal being around five in the afternoon. Men and women sat apart at mealtimes, 264 the former being together in the west of the lodge and the women sitting east of the fireplace. Any food out of the ordinary, [562] such as melons in season, was given to the men first. As a rule the children ate by themselves near the women and had to be content with what remained after their parents had finished. Where several [252] families occupied a single lodge, each family in turn cooked for the others in the lodge. [The separation of the sexes at mealtimes is not entirely clear. The manuscript also contains the following statement: "The food was prepared in large quantities and divided among the families, each receiving a wooden bowl, and each member [412] of the family eating from this bowl by means of an individual sheephorn spoon."]

262 784 Corn was generally eaten mixed with beans, or sometimes boiled with the tops of milkweed. In the winter, the nests of ground rats were hunted and robbed of their stores of ground beans. Although most animals were eaten, especially the buffalo and deer, the Pawnee eschewed the meat of the wolf, coyote, otter, wildcat, and mountain lion. Certain other food restrictions also prevailed. Fish was prohibited to chiefs and medicine-men. The tender meat about the buffalo's anus was a prized delicacy of the old people, but tabooed for children, as the violation of this restriction would bring them failure in after years when they attempted raids on enemy villages. Nor were young men and girls supposed to eat the stomach of the buffalo cow. To do so would cause the former to receive many wounds on the warpath, while a girl ran the risk of falling in a hole and injuring her leg, if, in later life, she doubted the faithfulness of her husband and followed him to the lodge of another woman to whom she suspected he was paying improper attention.

224 784 When any of the men were away on a buffalo hunt, certain restrictions on conduct were imposed on those who remained at home. The lodge must be kept clean, especially the part about the altar. Just before mealtimes sacrifices of corn must be made to the skull on the altar. No menstruating woman could approach [841] the skull, as it would anger the buffalo spirit that resided in the skull and cause the buffalo to elude the hunters. The people at home must always talk as though the hunters were having great success. Especially they should speak of consecrating buffalo sacrifices to

224 drum sounded, and a dozen or twenty young warriors sprang into the
796 circle and began the buffalo dance. This was kept up without inter-
mission for three days, and as soon as it was over, the tribe moved
out of the village on the hunt.

224 From the village on the Loup, we traveled southward; for in those
days the region between the Platte and the Smoky rivers swarmed
with buffalo. With the Pawnees were a few Poncas, Omahas and
Otoes, so that there were about four thousand Indians in the camp.
[221] It was the summer hunt of the tribe. Twice each year the agent per-
mitted them to visit the buffalo range. The meat which they killed
[251 and dried on these hunts, the corn and squashes which they grew
511] on their farms, and the small annuities received from the Govern-
ment, were all they had to subsist on from season to season. Thus
the occasion was one of importance to the Indians. Perhaps only the
older heads among them fully appreciated its economic interest; but
for all it was a holiday time; a temporary escape from confinement.
● [512 Life on the reservation was monotonous. There was nothing to do
521] except to sit in the sun and smoke, and tell stories of the former
glories of the nation; of successful fights with the Sioux and Cheyennes, and of horse stealing expeditions, from which the heroes had returned with great herds of ponies and much glory. Now, for a little while, they returned to the old free life of earlier years, when the land had been all their own, and they had wandered at will over the broad expanse of the rolling prairie. Now, for a time, it was as it had been before the cornfields of the white man had begun to dot their river bottoms, before the sound of his rifle had made wild their game, before the locomotive's whistle had shrieked through the still, hot summer air. Half a year's provision was now to be secured. The comfort—almost the existence—of the tribe for the next six months depended on the accumulation of an abundant supply of dried buffalo meat, and no precaution was omitted to make the hunt successful. It would not do to permit each individual to hunt independently. Indiscriminate buffalo running by six or eight hundred men scattered over the prairie, each one working for himself alone, would result in the killing of some few buffalo, but would terrify and drive away all the others in the neighborhood. This matter was too important to be trusted to chance. The hunting was systematized.

221
● 512

[To organize her data and findings from her reconstruction of Pawnee culture as it was thought to exist in 1867, the author selects the semi-fictional device of discussing the daily routine and annual cycle of some hypothetical or imaginary families in one of the village communities of the Skidi band of the Pawnee. Ethnographic data relevant to these two categories are built into her entire narration.]

577 727 uted his favors more broadly. Now on the fourth occasion, the Pawnees lay in wait in their village and sure enough the young Fox warrior stealthily crept into the encampment ready to collect and run. This time the Pawnees were lying in wait for him, and they seized him and took him to the tent of the head chief. There the young warrior trembled within himself, prepared for the worst. One by one, the Pawnees began to remove his garments as the chief had ordered. Then they painted up his face, put on a new loincloth, a new shirt, new leggings, and new moccasins and loaded him with additional goods saying, "You have favored us three times already, now go home and don't come back for a while." As the Fox report, he never did return to the Pawnees. In fact, was there anything worse that a people could do to an attacking enemy soldier?

592 512 462 [264] Let us now look at the household of the Pawnee—his home life. Most earth lodges housed from thirty to fifty people. The lodge was a production workshop in which, with few exceptions, everything required for use was produced, including the collection and processing of raw materials. A substantial part of this work was done by the women. The house was conceived as being divided into two duplicate halves—the north sector and the south sector—each of which carried out the essential household functions in alternation. There were two main meals a day, for example, the one being provided by the north side, the other by the south side, both serving all. In operation this meant that the woman who cooked the meal had raised all the vegetables in her own gardens, had dried and preserved them and kept them in her storage pit, and that all the meat she served was dried and packed by her on the buffalo hunt, carried back to the village (formerly on her back or by the dogs she raised), and also stored in the pit. In the past, the clay pot she cooked in would have been made by her (now a brass kettle from the trade store), and she was still making the large buffalo-horn ladle with which she served, the wooden mortar and pestle in which the mush was pounded, and for her "side" alone the wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons in which the food was served, the rush mats on which the people sat, and all the clothing they wore. Every day, morning or evening, she would serve twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty people a meal.

264 571 The way in which the morning and evening meal was allocated to one or the other "side" was a clear example of the characteristic Pawnee mode of personal interaction. There was no prearranged schedule at all as to which side would take the morning, which the evening meal. This was determined on each individual occasion by the inclinations of the principals most directly involved. From our point of view a plan would be made and the people fitted into it—from the Pawnee view, the plan emerged from the feelings of the people. This difference of approach is so basic that I feel impelled to stress it particularly. The Pawnee indi-

vidual embraced responsibility; he had no inclination to shirk it. In a 264
sense, the rhythm of Pawnee work life was like a ballet, whereas ours is 571
like a prison lockstep: "You must, you must, you must get to work!"

The day's routine in our Pawnee household began when either Vic- 512
tory Call or Old Bull happened to awaken; this depended on which one 592
decided to get out of bed first. Or else White Woman or Queen Woman might be the first to awaken, and then she would remind her husband that it was morning. From the time one or the other of the two men got out of bed, the day's program was set; the others simply followed the initial cue. When the man had gotten out of his bed he went outside and inspected the horizon and the stars, came in and kindled the fire, and said, "Fire's made." His senior wife then got up and started the breakfast. As observed by one of the contemporary missionaries in 1837, the rest followed with precision. The minor cycles of household operation were also conducted in a similar mode. Someone felt impelled to take care of a needed task and mentioned it and volunteers were forthcoming without further ado. Pressure and compulsion are implicit in our attitude toward work; voluntarism was the Pawnee way.

The functions of the women in the earth lodge were subdivided 462
roughly according to age. The north and south quarters of the circum- 562
ference of the house were each subdivided into three "stations." The
central one of these (due north and due south) was the core position 592
and it was occupied by the mature women of the lodge. They furnished 561
the main provisions and directed the necessary work. At the inner or western station on each side was the place of the immature girls and newly married young women. The outer or eastern station on each side was for the old women, symbolically on the way out and physically nearest to the exit (or entryway) of the lodge. Most commonly each of these stations was occupied by several women who carried out its special functions jointly.

The details of the function of the central station have been mentioned 855
above in connection with general household operations. The other two 603
stations supplemented it in very different ways. At the east stations for
the old women, the children past the age of infancy were cared for, the 887
old women being referred to by the children as "grandmothers," regard- 592
less of the actual biological kinship. The children slept in the beds with their "grandmothers" and shared a bowl of food with them at meals. Grandma saw that they were warm and well fed and tried to help them in every way. She was a permissive, familiar, kind person to whom the child could always appeal. Between grandma and grandchild there was neither formality nor constraint. Jokes were made about a boy saying, "Look how close he sticks to his grandma; he wants to marry her!" or "There
he goes always running to his grandma." Besides child care, the grand- 887
mother would give a good deal of assistance to "the senior women of the 592

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you) 539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.
5.	*biru bira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku biru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa biru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tibi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562
fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the house-
hold routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [684]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 562
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 585
occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 525
ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de- [887]
velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521 [797]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

5

THE WORLD OF A PAWNEE BOY: SPRING 1867

000

The Day Begins in the Earth Lodge—Breakfast Preparations—Seating at the Meal—Daytime Activities of Women—Chiefs' Council—Supper and Evening Conversation—Plan for Deer Hunt the Next Day—End of Day's Activities

In the year 1867, the villages of the Pawnees were strung along the 131
west bank of Beaver Creek. (Beaver Creek flows southeastward into the 361
Loup River that flows east to join the Platte which continues eastward to
the Missouri. In the Skidi village of Pumpkin-Vine was the house of [103]
Chief Victory Call and his friend Old Bull with their families.)

It was a morning late in March, and the high dome-shaped earth lodges 512
were huddled together in the predawn darkness. On this as on other mornings, [342]
Otter was wakened by the sound of his father's voice saying, "Fire's
made." The dawn had not yet broken, and it was still cold; Otter burrowed
down deeper under his little calfskin cover. He hated to leave the [513]
warmth of his bed that he shared with his grandmother. Just as the dawn
began to break, Victory Call went outside through the long vestibule
that was the entrance to the house to look at the position of the stars and
to see what kind of a day it would be. Meanwhile his wife, White Woman, [252]
had gotten up to prepare breakfast. She would be cooking for twelve people
and an extra guest, and the preparations would take at least an hour.

On both sides of the house along the low circular walls, the people
were still asleep in their beds. There had been a long storytelling session [538]
the night before and Old-Man-That-Chief, who was one of the principal [574]
raconteurs, was too feeble to go home late at night, so a temporary bed [354]
was made for him near the fireplace where the fire was now burning
brightly in the center of the room. High above the fireplace a shaft of

512
[354] light came in through the smokehole and, as the day broke, the long radial ribs of the slanting roof stood out clearly like the frame of a huge umbrella, reaching out from the central ring at the top to the edge of the low circular wall.

342
35

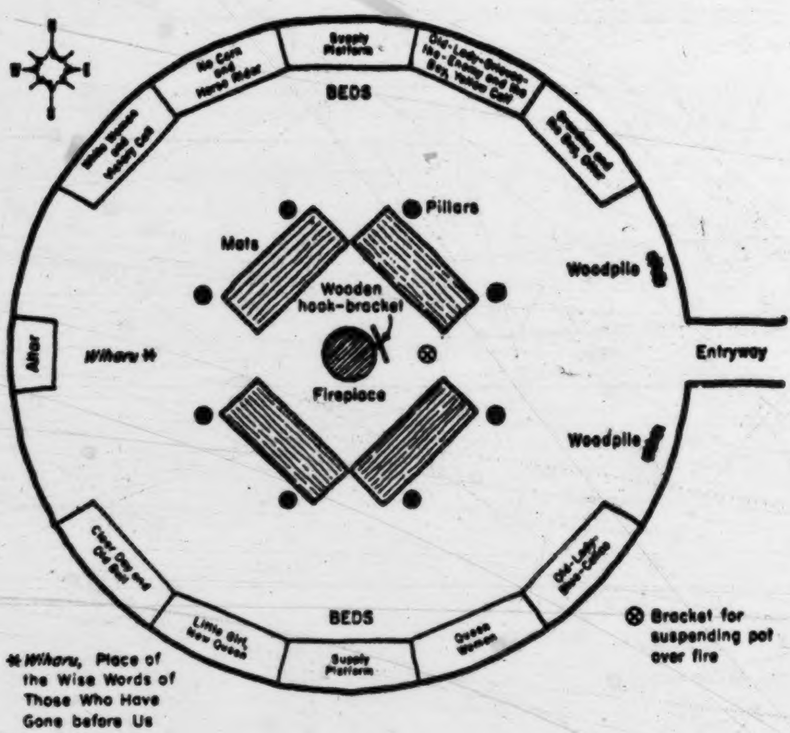

W
E
Supply Platform
Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy and the Boy, Yellow Calf
BEDS
Pillars
Mats
Woodpile
Wooden hook-bracket
Altar
Wiharu ⌘
Fireplace
⊗
Entryway
Woodpile
Clear Day and Old Bull
Little Girl, New Queen
BEDS
Supply Platform
Queen Woman
Old-Lady-Blue-Calico
⊗ Bracket for suspending pot over fire
⌘ Wiharu, Place of the Wise Words of Those Who Have Gone before Us

FIGURE 5-1. Groundplan of the house where the boy, Otter, lived with his father, Victory Call, and his mother, White Woman.

342
352
353 About halfway between the fireplace and the walls stood a series of stout pillars made of whole tree trunks with the bark removed, forked at the top and connected together by crosspieces so that they gave support to the heavy slanting roof. The tall pillars made a convenient division between the sleeping quarters around the outer edge of the circle and the eating and living quarters around the central fireplace. Here near the fireplace the earthen floor was covered with large reed mats where they sat, using pillars as a backrest.

352
353 Around the outside, each bed platform was divided from the other by a series of skin curtains that hung at the head and foot of each bed; a reed

272 After the other foods were ready, the coffee was cooked in a bucket with sugar to be served later in small bowls. This was a task that No Corn was likely to undertake. She would mix a handful of ground coffee with a handful of sugar and boil them together with water in the bucket. The meal would be finished off with sweet coffee served hot and black.

512 While all these preparations were going on, the people began to get up one by one and sit down in their places around the fire. Now only the boys were still in bed. Grandma warmed her hands over the fire, went [522] over to the bed, put them on Otter's warm nose and "took it off" remarking to Old Bull, "Here's his nose." Then she offered it all around to the assembled company. Sometimes it was his ears that she offered instead. With things about done, Victory Call said, "Boys, breakfast is ready, you can go to bed again later if you want to."

264 White Woman removed the bucket of corn from the fire and put eleven bowls around it to serve the family. The grandmother–grandchild pairs [412] each got a bowl together and everyone else got a bowl for himself. With [415] each bowl there was a buffalo-horn spoon and two spoons in the bowl for grandma and grandchild. White Woman, who was sitting east and slightly north of the fireplace, dished out the corn with a large buffalo-horn spoon 8 inches long with a bowl that was 4½ inches across and 1½ inches deep. A ladleful or one and a half ladles of corn along with the liquor was a serving, the grandmother–grandchild bowls receiving an extra large portion. For feasts, large wooden ladles were used for serving.

264 The order in which the members of the household sat at their meal was pretty much in the position of their beds. Old Bull sat at the southwest 554 and Victory Call at the northwest position. Ordinarily a man's senior wife 592 sat next to him, and his junior wives sat beyond. Old Bull and his wives sat in this order, but White Woman had moved down to the east end of the north side so that she could do the serving. The grandmothers and [579] their grandchildren sat at the east end. Old-Man-That-Chief, although a guest, took up the southeast position of humility, for he was old and [888] nearly blind. The bowls were passed around to the people from hand to hand, unless the circle was too large, in which case a young woman would be asked to do the serving. The men were served first in order of importance, the "guest side" always being given priority. In this instance the order was Old Bull, Victory Call, Old-Man-That-Chief, Horse Rider, Queen Woman, the senior wife, then Clear Day, the junior wife, Blue Calico, the grandmother, on the south side; then the women on the north—No Corn, Yellow Calf and his Grandma, Otter and his Grandma, and finally White Woman herself.

264 Before they began their meal, White Woman made an offering of corn 782 at the west. She took some kernels of corn in a spoon from Victory Call's bowl and offered them to the nose of the buffalo skull that rested on

the altar there. Out of delicacy, she did not offer corn to the sacred ears in 264
the bundle; if they had had buffalo meat she would have offered it there 782
but not to the buffalo skull.

Now the meal began, and it was proper that they have light conversa- 264
tion while eating. Their conversation turned to getting water for the 521
household and wood for fuel, the care of the horses, and the food pit. White Woman remarked to Clear Day, who was sitting on the other side of the fireplace, "After breakfast, let's take two kettles and get some water." The other women talked about opening up the food pit and sorting out the good corn from the rotten and about exposing dry meat to the wind and sun. Victory Call talked to Horse Rider, who was sitting at his left, about the horses. He said, "Right up near where the horses are you might find some mushrooms and milkweed so that the women can cook the tops." Then the women chimed in, "I wish you could get some milkweed. That's good mixed with corn." Then Victory Call spoke of the horses: "If there's a good runner among them, get on him and give him some exercise so that we can train him as a buffalo horse. You must look around meanwhile and see if you see some deer tracks. We might go hunting. In the evening take the horses to a safe hiding place and hobble them so that the Sioux won't steal them. Look way off in all directions and if you see anyone lurking about bring them right home and put them in the corral. They won't starve for one night. In the morning we'll turn them loose and they can make up for it." "All right, I'll look around," said Horse Rider, "I'll be home late." Victory Call had some further reminders for him. He asked him if he had any parched corn with salt so that the horses would get thirsty and drink. He also reminded him that he should wet the sides of the horses and then they would rub themselves on the grass and shed their old hair. This was a necessary precaution, as they had no curry comb. Horse Rider actually knew all this, but he listened respectfully.

The meal now over, White Woman cleaned up the dishes and started 264
out with Clear Day to get the water. It was a mile to Beaver Creek, and it 512
was necessary to go at least twice a day to get water for the household. 312
Horse Rider usually helped by making at least one of these trips. The 482
two women now set out with two buckets hanging on a seven-foot-long stick which rested on their right shoulders, one woman walking in front and one behind, with the buckets between. The stick, ordinarily used as a digging iron, had one end fire-hardened and sharpened to a point, the other end being forked. At this time after breakfast and especially just before eating supper, many people were walking toward the creek for the same purpose.

Horse Rider left the lodge to take care of the horses, and Old Bull and 512
Victory Call remained seated in their place, smoking their pipe and con- 462
tinuing their conversation. The old ladies who were left behind looked [887]

512 462 887 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder. When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter, I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar. Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

313 484 623 [726] Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Victory Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful supply of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the immediate neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy. The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the chiefs had gathered there.

512 252 262 [237] The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buffalo meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

(415) 512 251 356 The main business of the women of the household that day was to give the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold, and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in; besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. [192] The Pawnee name for food pit, *tahaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all. [476] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

dies, and as they were busily working an old neighbor woman came by 512
and offered to help them. "You've got a lot of corn to attend to there." 251
"Yes I do," said White Woman. Although there were some general stand- 356
ard varieties, each woman had her own special breeds of corn and of the 476
other crops. As she sat down to join them, the old lady remarked, "I
don't have seeds like that!" indicating that she would be very glad to [241]
have some. They cleaned and winnowed the seeds for several hours, working diligently together. Finally the other women went in to prepare the supper, and White Woman remained outside with the old neighbor woman to finish up the work. When they called out to announce that supper was ready, White Woman called back that she and her friend would be in later and to please set something aside for them. Meanwhile she had indicated to the old woman that she wanted her to stay and that they would eat later. As they filled each sack, White Woman put aside a little pile of each kind of corn and other seeds, remarking that she was going to give her some seeds and that she might go home and get herself a sack to hold them. When the woman returned she pointed to the piles of seeds and said, "This is yours. Tie it here. I'm going to put corn of another color on top. Do you have anything to tie it with?" "No, I'll use my garters," said the old woman. Then White Woman said, "Let's put the bag back in the pit," and climbed down into it, using a tree trunk with branch stubs as a ladder. When she got to the bottom, the old woman handed her the large skin bag that contained all the smaller bags of the different kinds of corn and beans. White Woman punched it down to settle the load and came up out of the pit and began to close it up. First she covered everything with a skin cover, then a layer of thatch grass, then she wedged some sticks across the opening into the side walls, then another layer of thatch grass and then earth that she trampled down hard to keep out the rain and to conceal the place of opening. "Let's go eat now," said White Woman. Inside they sat down and ate the food that had been set aside for them, while the others, particularly the older women, sat by to converse with their guest. "How are the folks in your lodge?" they asked, "Oh, they're all right," said the old woman. Meanwhile, White Woman was feeling very friendly toward the old woman for helping her out, and as they sat there she noticed that the old woman's moccasins
were worn out. She had a nice piece of black-dyed tanned skin that was [292]
ordinarily used for holiday moccasins, and she said, "I'm going to give you a piece of black-dyed skin so that you can make yourself some moccasins." "Oh, I thank you, I thank you. Oh, daughter, thanks. You have taken pity on me. I'll wear it. Now I've got to go, daughter." When the old woman left, the rest of the people in the lodge would say, "That old lady is always good, always trying to help other people out." When the old lady got back to her own lodge she reported where she had been all afternoon and that she had received a big bag of corn and her dinner besides.

000 sides. "Oh, you got good pay," they said. Then she added the news about
512 the gift of black tanned skin, and her husband teased her and said, "Let's
476 see that. Just right to make me a pair. You can patch up yours."

522 Back at the lodge, the old ladies said they were tired and went to bed,
512 and White Woman waited for her husband to come home.

623 While the women were busy with the minor household work and the storage pit, Old Bull and Victory Call had been at a meeting of the Skidi chiefs at the home of Eagle Chief. There were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages—chiefs, subchiefs, and their attendant braves. Eagle Chief yielded his place at the west to the two most important guests and took the southeast position. At the southwest was Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge and in the northwest position, Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. The subchiefs and braves of each of these chiefs sat next to them in a line extending toward the east. At the southeast position, sat Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village with his subchiefs and braves extending inward toward the west along the side of the lodge. On the north side in a symmetrical arrangement was Chief Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village sitting in the northeast position with his subchiefs and braves extending inward along the northside. (See Figure 5-2 for the positions of representatives at the council meeting.)

623
722 Eagle Chief was the first to address the company, stating the purpose for which he had called them together: "The Sioux are likely to come around any time. Don't each go individually to get wood. We must all go at a stated time when we can have our scouts on the lookout and bring in enough wood to be piled up while the planting is begun, that is at least four days' supply." Discussion from the others present followed, and then Eagle Chief announced that they would have another meeting in about two weeks or more to discuss the matter of clearing the fields in preparation for planting. He now turned over the conduct of the meeting to the chiefs at the west, and Lone Chief took charge, stating that if anyone had anything to say about the business at hand they should do so at this time as they were to have a feast and then talk of other matters.
623 After everyone had spoken his mind they waited two or three minutes
574 and then Lone Chief said, "Now we are going to eat." At the entrance
[624] near the east were the two errand men of both presiding chiefs at the west, and they had prepared the food and were ready to serve. The bowls were piled up near the kettle in which the food had been boiling, and, while one of the men dished it out, the other served. He carried two
[554] bowls to the west, one for each of the presiding chiefs. Then he returned to the east, carried the next bowl to the next chief on the south side, then returned to the east and gave the next bowl to the next chief to the north side, and so on in alternation, one by one on each side. Then the braves were served, one on the south, one on the north, until everyone had received his food, whereupon the errand men served each other.

262 coffee and frying bread to supplement the meat course for their guests
574 when they arrived. In the old days they would be baking corn bread in
252 the ashes to be served with the soup.

Four buckskin cushions were placed at the west for the guests of honor,
574 and the rest sat around along both sides on the mats. By the time the
[352] guests came in, the ribs were cooked and the two largest ones were carried
to Eagle Chief and his brave War Cry, who were sitting at the northwest.
The next two went to Chief White Eagle and his brave in the southwest
seats. The rest of the ribs were carried two by two, first to two
guests on the north side, then to two on the south side, and so on until
all had been served. A very small top rib was given to any little boy who
might be visiting or to the boys of the house, Otter or Yellow Calf.

The food served, Victory Call began to talk to his guests. He told of
the highlights of the hunt and that after he had gotten the deer the
other fellow came and found him. His horse began to move around and
he thought a Sioux was coming, but then he saw who it was and called
him over. On such occasions an old man usually invited or just wandered
in, knowing he would be welcome. Horse Rider had invited
That-Chief, and the old man told them stories of war and old customs
continuing after the feast was over. Anyone who wanted to leave right
after eating was free to do so. He would get up and say, "I have to go. I
have something to do." The old man would stay all night and get his
breakfast there. Except for the four guests of honor, there was less protocol
[512] required than in the more formal feasts. After the dishes were
cleaned and put away some of the women would go to bed, while others
would join the men and listen to the conversation. Sometimes boys and
their grandmothers would sit on the sidelines, keeping themselves warm
with a pan of coals. When everyone had gone, they would come up close
to the fire and warm themselves. The session went on quite late. By midnight
574 everyone would leave, and they all went to bed. In the home of
512 Victory Call's helper on the hunt, the same kind of entertaining would
513 have gone on. Past midnight and everyone would be sleeping. Tomorrow
it would begin again—the fire lit, the man at his work and his leisure,
the women busy, the children playing.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 *484 888 Some old people just walked off because they were tired of living. "I'm old. I don't care what becomes of me," they would say. In this case, people thought it was a shame for the old lady's relatives to leave her all by herself like that.

*224 *484 512 515 Most of the women and children were swimming in the river. By sundown they began to wander back toward their encampment. When little Otter came in after his sun-fishing adventures they all said, "Minwu, you smell of fish. You'd better go wash your hands." There was no soap so he had to rub his hands with sand and then wash them with water. Horse Rider had been looking after the horses, and again he passed through the sand hills and gathered in some sand cherries. Victory Call was still sitting and smoking on top of the sand hills with his friends and they looked down contentedly upon the women and children swimming in the river. By sundown all had gone home; the men would go swimming late in the evening by themselves.

*224 203 *484 Now at evening the crier went through the encampment and made his announcement. He said, "We'll be here all day tomorrow. If you have any business at the store, attend to it, because day after tomorrow, we'll be moving on." It had been a long day and everyone went to sleep.

*224 *484 512 Next morning Grandma got up earlier than anyone else, before dawn, saying everyone must practice getting up early. They passed the day pleasantly, swimming in the river or doing whatever they liked. For breakfast they had a modest meal of fried bread and coffee and for lunch a good soup of roasted corn mixed with braided intestine. At supper, they had boiled dried buffalo meat with bread and coffee.

[203] When evening came, the crier went through the encampment calling out, "They have decided to move tomorrow. We're going about ten miles from here."

*224 *484 The next morning their travels would begin in earnest. They would travel and encamp this way for the next twenty days before they reached the main herd of buffalo.

19

COMMON CAMPING ROUTINES

000

Description of Camping Routines—Starting the Day—Breakfast—Loading the Horses—Striking the Tent—the Camp Crier—Entertainment

*484 •512 [887] THE ROUTINE OF CAMPING and decamping followed the same pattern throughout the summer. Advance scouts left the encampment about four in the morning to survey the route and to protect the old women who preceded the line of march in order to be sure to keep up with the group. As dawn was breaking, everyone had had breakfast and was under way. The families of the chiefs got up earliest in order to lead the line of march.

In Victory Call's camp, Grandma got up before anyone else—she made a low fire and put the bucket of corn to warm up on the glowing embers. Then she brought in an armful of wood and put it down next to the fireplace and went to the creek to get a bucket of water.

Now Horse Rider would begin to grunt and growl and say, "It's morning now," so that everyone would get up. The horses were hobbled and picketed [illegible] the encampment; he got into his moccasins, picked up his lariat, and went off to tend to them. He watered them since he wouldn't have a chance after breakfast, bringing them close to the tent and hobbling them there so that they would be ready for loading.

By the time the old lady was coming with the bucket of water, White Woman had gotten up, washed her hands and face, and begun to prepare breakfast.

[821] [515] Now Victory Call arose, went out, and looked at the sky to see if there were clouds far out over the hills. He came in and took a little basin of water and washed his hands and face, drying them on the hairy part of a buffalo robe—the leg and arm parts, and then shaking off the water. Some men went to the creek to wash, gargled with some water, and blew it out. While doing this, one had to face west toward the Evening

Star. If during the night one had dreamed a bad dream, one might swal- 484*
low a great deal of water and regurgitate it before eating. 512 •
[787]

White Woman was making the grease bread and No Corn was making the coffee. During these preparations, Victory Call sat by smoking his pipe.

By the time Horse Rider was through bringing in the horses, breakfast
was ready. After they had all eaten, the women cleaned the dishes, using [264]
the plant known as water string or "false indigo" (*Amorpha fruticosa*, [824]
Gilmore, p. 93) to rub on the dishes and buckets to sweeten them while washing. This plant grew close to the creeks with its roots in the water; the leaves and stems were used and the roots discarded. In winter, strips of the bark were taken from the dry stalks. False indigo was invaluable, particularly on the march; you might find nothing but boggy
water in a depression and the plant would freshen it. It could also be used [263]
to make palatable meat that had a gamey flavor like wildcat, by boiling it in two waters with the plant and pouring off the water each time, after which it could be cooked in the ordinary way and tasted good. The plant was spread on the ground while butchering to keep the pieces of meat clean.

The dishes having been cleaned, they were ready to dismantle the camp and load the horses. Two or three old ladies were waiting nearby for
Grandma to join them. They would set out at once to get an early start, [262]
carrying a little ration of pounded up sweet corn and sugar to sustain them on the way.

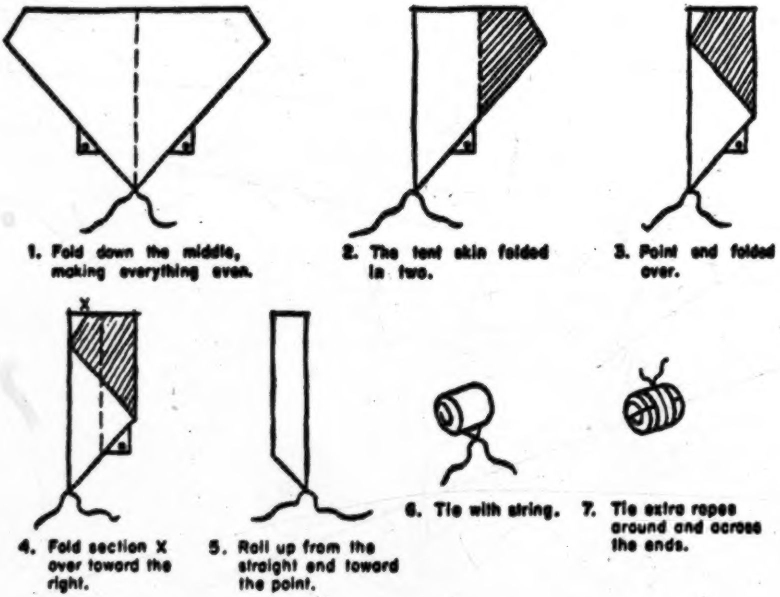
As soon as they had eaten, the two men saddled up the horses while 484*
White Woman prepared to dismantle the tent. She shook the tent pegs 512
loose and pulled them out, then began to fold over the tent cover while it 342
was still on the frame, first pulling one side around to the back and 492
folding it over and then the other side; pulling down the "backbone" pole with folded cover on it, she untied the stick where it was attached at the top and bottom and put it aside. The tent skin was then folded down the middle lengthwise and evenly rolled from the bottom end toward the top, then tied around the middle with the string that was there for the purpose (see Figure 19-1). Additional ropes were used to tie the roll securely across the ends. Now White Woman dismantled the wooden frame, and the poles were divided evenly so that they could be tied to the horse's back in two even bunches.

Only the oblong rawhide containers were now left standing, as they 484*
had been placed next to the back wall of the tent. Meanwhile No Corn 512
had been rolling up the bulrush mats that were on the ground and tying them in the middle with the strings that were provided there. She was also rolling up the blankets.

Now that everything had been dismantled in the camp, the next job 484*
was loading up. The horse was brought around close to where the con- 512
tainers were. Horse Rider and No Corn stood on one side and Victory Call 492

*484 and White Woman on the other. While the women held up the contain-
• 512 ers, the men tied them on. Now everything was loaded and they could join
492 the line of march.

*484
342



1. Fold down the middle, making everything even.
2. The tent skin folded in two.
3. Point and folded over.
4. Fold section X over toward the right.
5. Roll up from the straight end toward the point.
6. Tie with string.
7. Tie extra ropes around and across the ends.

FIGURE 19-1. The method of folding the tent skin.

*484 Every morning the crier would go through the camps to repeat the in-
203 structions he had called out the night before. He would tell how far they
*224 were going and where they expected to camp. Until after Camp 9, in-
dividual hunters would ride off from the line of march as soon as their families were packed up and go hunting by themselves to get some fresh meat. While they were out, the group would have arrived at the designated camping place and set up camp, to which the hunters would come with their kill, usually in the late afternoon.

*484 In the evening each hunter entertained his own friends at a feast with
*224 the meat he had gotten that day. This was parallel to the household rou-
574 tine for the man in the villages. The administrative procedures were also
similar to those in the settlements. The chiefs of each of the bands
62 more or less kept open house, and every evening there was an informal council where notable happenings of the day were recounted. The official braves, who policed the villages on behalf of their respective chiefs, now performed the same service while they were on the march.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

27

PRESERVING THE MEAT AND PROCESSING THE HIDES

000

Women Slice the Meat for Preserving—Preserving of Flank, Legs, Internal Organs—Boiling and Drying—Processing the Hides—Grease from the Bones—Ultimate Use of the Meat

As soon as the men got in from the hunt, each tent became the scene of busy activity. The time was usually between two and four in the afternoon. In Victory Call's tent, from the first killing, they had two buffalo, one by Victory Call and the other by Horse Rider. As they came in, the women spread a tanned hide on the ground for the meat that was taken off the horses, and Horse Rider then went off to hobble the horses nearby. Victory Call went into the tent where No Corn was cooking a meal of grease bread and coffee; she called out that Horse Rider was to come right in as the food was ready. 224* 512 •

While the men were resting and having a meal that No Corn had prepared, Grandma and White Woman began at once to work on the meat, coming in for a quick snack whenever they felt they could pause in the work. Grandma devoted herself entirely to this work. She built herself a small sunshade of three willow branches on which, later in the hunt, they sometimes left some roasted buffalo ribs for anyone who wanted a bite between meals. The most highly skilled work was the thinning of the two long backbone steaks. After removing the fat and the sinews, they would make a series of cuts in the meat with a sharp knife. Holding the long column of meat in the hand, they made a series of short cuts into it, first on one side and then on the other in alternate order. The cuts were so made that they did not quite sever the slice, and the meat could be stretched out into a broad continuous sheet 3½ feet long by 2½ feet wide and half an inch thick. After drying, these large sheets 251 252

taken into the tent. The next day the removal of the kernels continued. 243
They were spread out to dry along with those removed the day 251
before. In the late afternoon they were again winnowed and kept in the tent for the night, and again spread out to dry further. When the kernels made a tapping sound on the hide during winnowing they were judged to be dry.

These were the technical steps taken to process the crops. The general 512
scheme of events among the household personnel was as follows: 243
First day. White Woman and Horse Rider went into her field and 251
brought in the corn loaded on two horses. White Woman and No Corn 252
stayed and roasted the corn. Victory Call and Horse Rider went back into 476
the field and got a second load. In the afternoon women kept on roasting and the men removed the husks. In the evening two more men came in and helped with the husking while the women went to bed. The four men stayed up doing the husking and telling stories.

Second day. In the morning two men continued husking until eleven A.M.; the two women continued cutting off the kernels. After this time the two men spread out the kernels to dry. The two women continued to cut off the kernels from the cobs.

If Victory Call was tired, he rested and White Woman took over the spreading of the kernels while No Corn continued to cut the kernels from the cob. Horse Rider might have to go and tend the horses.

In the afternoon, Grandma came in with her parfleche of shelled corn, having crossed Beaver Creek and stopped for a swim. She dumped her corn kernels on the skin spread in a separate heap and spread them out to dry.

In the evening, having gathered in most of the green corn that was ready from White Woman's fields, they made a plan to go into No Corn's field the next morning. All four would go off into the field and they needed someone to keep watch over their corn against stealing. Also, should anyone need Victory Call for official business, it was necessary to tell them where he could be reached. White Woman asked her brother War Cry to send over one of his three wives as "Room-Watcher," *ratut-kibar-attsiksta*, "I that am for him-room-watcher." She could also spread out any corn kernels that still needed to be dried while she was there.

Third day. They go to No Corn's field to get the green corn. Victory Call, White Woman and No Corn set out on foot and pick whatever was ripe in No Corn's field, leaving it here and there in little piles. Horse Rider meanwhile had gone out to get the horses and saddle them up; then he joined them in the field. When one load was ready they went back to camp and the two women stayed there, beginning at once to roast the ears. Horse Rider went back to the field and brought what

• 512 was left in the several piles, loading it onto the horses and bringing it
243 back into camp. The women continued to roast and the men began to
do the husking.

251 That evening Sun Chief and Leading Fox, older sons of Victory Call
252 by a previous marriage, came in to help with the husking.

476 *Fourth day*. Men continued to husk the corn, while the women now cut the kernels from the cobs with a clamshell. They all helped to spread out the kernels to dry. All the green corn from both sets of fields that was ripe enough, had now been gathered, roasted, and set out to dry. It was usual to finish this task in the first four or five days.

512 *Fifth day*. This was the time for the first bean harvest in White Woman's
244 field. This was hard work as most of the vines didn't climb on anything
476 but grew close to the ground. Sometimes they grew in separate patches
[461] and sometimes in a patch with the corn. The women gathered the pods
in their skirts; the men threw them in whenever they got a handful. All
four worked in the field until late afternoon. On the way home, they
[526] stopped and took a swim in Beaver Creek. Again as in the time of
planting, they slapped the water with their feet, making as loud a noise
[515] as possible. As the women slapped the surface of the water with their soles, it resounded all along the creek like the report of a gun. "They are slapping the water with their feet" (*tutastaxkitspiru*). The girls used their hands for this (*tutikstaxkitspiru*), and Otter had a hard time learning the trick from them. Possibly it was a kind of sympathetic magic for the tapping of the dry beans and corn on the threshing floor. They went home about 4:30 in the afternoon, having gathered about four parfleches of the beans in the pod in a good year. At home one of War Cry's wives or daughters had been serving as Room Watcher for their tent. It was five o'clock by the time the pods were all spread out to dry. Everyone was tired and took a rest. Inside the tent, Horse Rider and No Corn were wrestling playfully together and saying, "Now we have some roasted corn" (*rawaritu*).

244 In the evening the beans were covered up where they lay and the
corn kernels were winnowed and taken inside for the night in flour sacks.
512 Now grandma came in carrying her sack of corn or beans that she spread
out. White Woman offered to come out and help her in her field but she refused saying, "Oh, no. If you help me I'll get through too soon and I won't have anything else to do. So I'd just like to do it myself."

White Woman made the fire and cooked some grease bread and No Corn prepared the coffee and dried apples for their supper. Uncle War Cry came to join them and began to tease Grandma about how tired she was; Grandma asked to have her dinner brought to her. War Cry then began to talk about the trade store and Victory Call remembered he owed them a buffalo robe, but War Cry observed that he was sure they would wait until the harvest work was done. He promised to mention

it to them. Everyone went to bed early, for next day they would be picking the beans in No Corn's field and this meant another day of back-breaking work. 244 512

Sixth day. All during this time young men would go out very early in the morning with their bow and arrows to act as sentinels, watching particularly for the Sioux, who lurked about to attack women going to and from the fields. Victory Call always took along his bow and arrows should there be a surprise attack. The Skidi fields were located northwest of the villages. Going out early in the morning, one could see the boys picketing about on the high bluff to the west. That morning as they looked up at a big hill west of Genoa, they would also see someone stationed, scouting around for the enemy. The night before Mad Bear and another man had made up their minds to do this. Before dawn they climbed the high bluff west of Beaver Creek and sat down and looked toward where they were roasting corn. "Look at that smoke. Afterward, we can get some corn," they said. Their legs were hanging over the bluff. There was a little creek that ran from the southwest into Beaver Creek running parallel with the edge of the bluff where the two men were sitting, and a Sioux had been hiding in a trough and watching them. The two men were talking about the cherries on the side of the bluff and the big yellow plums in the bottom and how they would eat them next day. As they were talking, they heard the Sioux making a noise like a crow. 512 726

Later Mad Bear told his story. "I got frightened and I never thought of my bow and arrows. I was transfixed with fear when I saw all of them. But all at once I got over it. The other man didn't get over it. We ran down the bluff to the creek. The other man left his bow and arrows there." Mad Bear continued: "I don't see why the other fellow left me and ran away to get under the brush. The Sioux caught him. As I ran down the bluff, I felt a shot through my back. It came out of my chest, but I got into the water anyway and they let me go. The other fellow had disappeared." We looked in the water for him but couldn't find him. Long after when someone came back to Nebraska, they thought they saw him and he had been scalped and was ashamed to come back. 159 726

The Pawnees took Mad Bear over the creek and he was doctored by Heavy-Trophies and Herd-of-Horses. As Mad Bear described it, "The doctor put his mouth against mine and blew some water with some medicine in it into my mouth and made me swallow it. I had been sleepy all along, but this woke me up. Then they gave me some medicine to chew and water to drink and I felt better and never worried about it again. I sent the doctors home." Finally the Pawnees came out and killed a big tall Sioux. His bones remained there a long time 752 726

752 afterward. One Sioux was killed and one Pawnee killed or scalped.
726 This is why Mad Bear was known as a brave man, heedless of any
danger to himself, like a boy, a *piraski*.

244 All the time that this struggle was going on, Victory Call, White Woman,
512 and No Corn were in No Corn's field picking beans. Horse Rider had
had to go quite a way to find the horses and when he got back to camp
to saddle them, they had left him a bite of breakfast and then he joined
them in the field. First he inspected the pumpkins and then they all
went around picking up the vines, and when a vine wrapped around a
cornstalk, they had to look all around for the ripe pods. This took until
noon and on the way home they took a swim in the creek. Arriving at
camp, they prepared a modest lunch of bread, coffee, and bits of ready-
244 cooked meat saved in a sack for such purposes—pieces of dried heart,
512 leg muscle, pieces of paunch, fat, etc. They called this *tsuspakahu*. They
262 opened the sack and dumped the pieces of meat on a spread and simply
264 picked up one and ate it with the bread and coffee. Sometimes they
had pulverized dried meat, *tapaharus*, with some bone grease instead of
the meat. They decided to have the same kind of meal in the evening, as
their backs ached from picking the beans. After the meal, the newly
244 picked beans were spread out to dry, and about three in the afternoon
512 White Woman decided that her beans were dry enough to thresh with
251 the long willow stick to get the beans out of the pods. Victory Call wan-
dered up to the store and Horse Rider either went to the gambling
grounds or just sat on a bluff smoking and looking around. The women
kept working with the beans.

512 That evening, Victory Call came in with supplies from the store for
439 supper: prunes, dry apples and some candy sticks for Otter—a gift of
the trader. People had seen Victory Call coming in while they were at
the gambling grounds watching the game, and they decided to come
over and have some dinner there. War Cry's younger brother, Brave
Shield, and Wants-the-Enemy dropped in for a visit. Some decided to
visit with Misery (*Akapakis*) instead, and White Woman felt slighted be-
cause the youngest brother of War Cry, Leading Fox, had decided to go
there as also had Sun Chief, Victory Call's older son. She scolded Lead-
ing Fox saying, "Why don't you come in. People will think I don't
take care of you." "Well," he said, "the boys wanted me to come with
them." She remarked about Sun Chief to Victory Call who reassured
her saying, "That's nothing. You have to watch girls, but you can't
keep boys home like that."

512 At dinner, Brave Shield mentioned that some of the Kitkehaxki
796 doctors were preparing to go back into the earth lodges to prepare for
the forthcoming doctor dances. Victory Call said that it was a bit too
756 early. It was better to finish the work so that they didn't have all this rub-

bish in their yards at home and then go up to the village. He said the 512
leading doctors would wait until people got all through before begin- 796
ning as "They liked to have a good crowd to attend the dances." At the 756
gambling grounds the talk was about the same subject. Presently two or three men came in from the South Bands and joined them at supper and talked about how things were going with them. "What are your folks doing over there?" they were asked. "We are working hard making roasted corn. The village is full of fleas. You have to clean it out two or three times before you can get in," said the South Bands men. "Same with us," the Skidis said.

Next morning Victory Call went to the field to see if there was much 244
of a load of green corn left to be gathered and roasted. The following 243
day they went to the two fields and brought them in. 251

After that a second bean crop was picked from each field on successive 252
days—the vines being almost entirely cleared with this picking. Then 512
the pumpkins were hauled in by all four of them and roasted: one day from White Woman's field, the next from No Corn's. They were all roasted and cut into rings.

About the *eleventh day* they got the mature corn from White Woman's field in two double horse loads—one in the morning and one in the afternoon. They got home about two o'clock in the afternoon, and being very tired dumped the load of dry ears and rested till supper
time. Then Old-Man-That-Chief joined them for supper and talked of 512
the old days in Old Village. He said: 173

> In the old days, an old lady like grandma would see an ear of corn 243
> or a single bean lying on the ground and she would be half-crying to see it lying there. Nowadays it's different. They leave things to waste on the ground. If they were roasting corn and they scraped an ear and left the kernels on one side, they would pick it up from the discarded pile again and clear it off. For if you didn't, the corn would talk about you. It was like a person. But nowadays they don't care.

Horse Rider and Victory Call listened with respectful attention to what the old man said. He continued, "You Horse Rider, are two steps behind me, but Victory Call—he is nearly on top (in the middle of life). He will be able to look around in all directions to see how he has come up there.

"A story is like a little seed. From it all sorts of other stories branch off for you. A story gives you life. Now that I am old, people invite me to come and eat good things with them and then they ask me to tell stories. So these stories keep me alive."

Now he told another story of the past. He said: "I heard that once way back when corn first came to our village, a good ear of corn had been thrown out with the rubbish and swept aside. The

512 173 243 people went on the hunt and still the corn lay there. A man going through the village heard someone talking. He thought there must be another man in the village. But he followed along to where the voice was coming from and got to the sweepings. There lay the good ear of corn. He stopped and picked it up and began to talk to it. He asked it to bless him and send him good luck for this corn is our Mother. He kept that ear of corn. That's how it was in the old days. Now since you've been wasting, the corn will become scarce."

512 243 251 252 That evening they husked the dry corn and continued next day until about two in the afternoon. Then it was left spread out to dry on the cob until evening and pried off after supper with a stick. Some men joined them and helped and after the women had gone to bed they continued to pry off the kernels, telling stories while they worked until late in the evening. The next day the shelling of the dry corn continued and that afternoon the men just wandered about the camp for a little recreation. Horse Rider had gone down to the grounds to watch the gambling. The women were tired and lay down to rest; their hands felt cramped from prying off the kernels.

[285] After they had collected the dry corn from No Corn's field, the women alternated work on it with making pumpkin mats as the strips were now dry enough. Then they proceeded to get the small nubbin ears for fattening the horses and collecting the sweet corn and braiding it to finish off the work.

356 887 While they were doing the pumpkins, the old ladies had already made a plan to go up and begin the process of clearing the earth lodge in anticipation of the time when the harvest was done. They had to go up at intervals of four days successively and burn out the fleas with torches. "These fleas bite worse than bedbugs!"

The three old ladies met at the lodge in the morning as planned. They removed the brush that had been placed across the door to seal it before they left on the hunt. They took off their clothes and put on an old petticoat. They made a brush or short broom of dry *pakuts* (thatch) grass and tied it to a stick. Then each woman took her brush inside the lodge and lit the grass, each one going around one side of the room and being careful to stay near the floor as the dry grass in the roof thatch might catch fire. When the grass was burned up on their broom, they put some more grass on it and repeated the process throughout the day. They repeated this four days later, and then on subsequent days.
[824] They built a little fire in the fireplace and burnt some wild sage, kiwaut, (*Artemisia gnaphalodes* Nutt.) as incense to clear the air and make the room smell good. They would also burn some of the sage on their brooms along with the other grass. After the final smoking, they left the lodge empty for a day and on the following evening the lodge was quite habitable.

33

THE HOUSE REESTABLISHED AND THE FOOD STORED

000

The Move into the Earth Lodge—Final Meal in the Tent—Beds in the Lodge Are Repaired—Bedding Explained—South Side Family Moves In—Storage Pit Opened—Harvest and Meat Stored—List of the Contents—Importance of the Storage Pit

OVERHEAD THE BLACKBIRDS were flying south and everyone knew that it would soon be cold. The tents were crowded with parfleches of dried buffalo meat and tanned skin bags of corn kernels and dried beans. The harvest ceremonies were done and the cosmic powers had received their thanks. All over the encampment people began to think of moving back into the earth lodges where they would have better protection for themselves and their stores. The men were thinking about the forthcoming Grand Doctor Ceremony and their part in its thirty-day round of ceremonies and performances. The needed food supplies would have to be gotten ready and their paraphernalia gotten in order. 221

Victory Call was one of the early ones in the encampment to plan to go back into the village. One morning he announced, "Tomorrow we're going to move into the earth lodge." "Well," said Grandma, "it's ready for us. Grieves-the-Enemy, Blue-Calico, and I got it all cleared out." White Woman, going on with the plans remarked, "We'll need two horses to do the hauling. The parfleches must go in first. You men will go up first and pile them up outside."

Horse Rider, who got up that next morning before anyone else, announced to his wife, No Corn, "Fire's made"; directly she got to work boiling some buffalo meat for their breakfast and preparing the grease bread. Horse Rider went to the creek for more water and then 512 252 264

512 White Woman got up and joined in, making the breakfast coffee. The
[252] cooking was going on near the long oblong fireplace somewhat to the
[264] north of the curve-roofed shelter that opened to the east. Across the front of the tent and just inside, the long twined-woven rush mats were lined up. Now Victory Call got up and sat near the south end and began to smoke his pipe. He remarked, "Now leave the tent here for last. We can take everything into the lodge first." With that, Uncle War Cry looked over from his tent and, seeing the activity, thought he would
[576] wander over and see what it was. "Nawa," he greeted them. "Nawa," answered Victory Call, "sit down over here" (viz., to his left). "Looks as if-you're-about to travel" (*kura-tas-takubu'u*), said the visitor. "Oh, yes, we're going to try to move in this morning, that is rather—today." "That's what we've been thinking too. But I think we'll go in tomorrow." Now Horse Rider arrived with the water and after greetings of "Nawa, nawa," were exchanged, he sat down and joined the men. War Cry repeated his observation about their moving in and Horse Rider made his acknowledgment, War Cry adding, "Now you're going to make-us-feel-lonesome" (left behind, *wi-tas-kurak-atsiks-awahu*). "Oh, just one day. Just this evening, that's all," said Horse Rider.

Now Grandma began to sit up on her bed and White Woman handed her a small basin of water. "Mother wash your face," she said and Grandma poured some of the water into her hand and washed up.

Everyone arranged themselves on the mat—White Woman at the south end, Victory Call next to her, War Cry next to him, Horse Rider next, No Corn who was doing the cooking and serving, and on the northernmost end of the line Grandma and then Otter. The dishes of food were passed first to Victory Call, then War Cry and then Horse Rider, and now the boy Otter was given a dish to carry to his mother at the south end. He got up and made a wide circle so that he wouldn't pass too close in front of the men. Dishes were next passed by No Corn to Grandma and through her to Otter, and then they all began to eat.

As soon as breakfast was over, Horse Rider went to get the two horses that would be needed for the hauling and War Cry went back to his tent, remarking as he went off, "Tomorrow we must move in, too." White Woman and No Corn began to bundle up their things. Grandma had already taken most of hers into the lodge. The mare and the horse were
[492] loaded up with parfleches of corn, pumpkin, rolled-up mats, and dishes. The two men went up and piled the goods outside the doorway and came back directly for their next load. As they began to load up, the women were saying, "Our men don't know how to load these things." The men on the other hand were likely to say, "When we first came home, we had hardly anything. Now look at that pile we've got around to fix up." The children were running back and forth among the piles of goods.

It took three trips to get everything back to the lodge and, on the last one, White Woman piled some of the remainder on her back and admonished Horse Rider to bring up whatever wood they had around as someone else might appropriate it. The women went into the lodge and at once removed the grass padding from the bed platforms to see how the willow sticks of the frame were. Next day they would get some new willow sticks to replace any that were found to be rotted. 512 [482]

Each low bedstead was made of three forked uprights stuck in the ground between the central pillars and the wall of the housepit; a long sturdy willow rod rested on the forks of the uprights to form the edge of the bedstead. Shorter sections of willow sapling were laid on crosswise, at 3-inch intervals, one end resting on the outer rod and the other end on the shelf all around the housepit, which was actually the ground level remaining within the circular collar or sod wall inside its sloping radial skeleton. This low slope-roofed area was called *ti-ka-ka-wi'u*, "it-lodge-inside-sits." Upon the bed frame with its cross sticks was placed another layer of willow saplings in the length, and upon this in the width, a layer of thatch (*pakuts*) grass. Each bed was built between a pair of the short outer houseposts that were placed in the ground at an outward slant and 7 feet apart. These were the permanent bedsteads, and when they left on the hunt these were left intact. The only time they were dismantled was when a ceremony was to take place in the lodge when all the sticks were pulled up and carried outside until the ceremony was over. 352 [353]

The bedding was designed to keep the occupants warm and to ensure a certain amount of privacy. The basic bedclothes comprised two layers of tanned hide. At the head were skin pillows stuffed with turkey feathers or deer hair. Sometimes a roll of discarded skin clothing was used instead. At the foot was also a roll of worn out skin clothing against which one could rest one's feet. A skin curtain hung at the head and the foot of every bed, suspended from the roof for privacy. These were tucked in underneath before putting down the bed clothes to keep anything natural or supernatural from coming into the bed at night. In the more luxuriously appointed beds, an extra skin curtain was suspended against the wall so that should any mice living in the thatch loosen any earth, it would fall behind the curtain. The curtains were usually made of discarded pieces of tanned buffalo-hide tent skin. When they went to bed, everyone disrobed. In the warmer weather they covered themselves with a tanned skin—preferably elk or deerskin for really soft tan. This was commonly dyed black and was worn as a wraparound garment during the day. At the time of this account most people used trade-store blankets instead for this purpose. In winter they used a double-purpose buffalo robe with its hair and wool left on for warmth. In the morning when they got up the covers were folded up toward the head or foot end of the bed so that one could sit on the bed during the day or lie down without disarranging the bedding. 513 237

513 disarranging the bedding. In the warmer weather, a mat might be placed
352 on top of the skin as a "sheet." In addition to these appointments, some of
322 the beds had an additional screen of willows built in front of them to
824 make them especially private. Some married women preferred these—
in this household for example, White Woman and Old Bull's older wife, Queen Woman. These screens, *kawiriwisisu*, were a permanent part of the bed structure. Six tall uprights were fixed in the ground, reaching from floor to ceiling, and across them close together were tied on with willow bark, 6-foot-long horizontal willow saplings. The horizontals were laid in alternate order, one with the stub end to the left and its point end to the right, and the one above it in the opposite position to ensure evenness. These were gathered in spring, peeled, and the irregular stems or knots cut off. Before they could be fastened to the uprights, they had to be briefly seasoned for a few days so that they would be neither too green when they would shrink too much and leave the fastenings loose, nor too dry, when they could not be properly straightened out
[531] in place. For decorative effect, six black were alternated with six natural
horizontals, the peeled saplings being passed through a decoction of
[386] sumach that had been boiled to make a black dye. After all the horizontals were tied in place, they were trimmed off on both edges to make the screen even. The entrance through the screen was made by cutting a low narrow opening in it at bed level, the vertical for this portion being hung from the roof.

353 As for the rest of the furnishings of the house, the buffalo skull had been left resting on the altar at the west and above it they now hung whatever sacred bundles they had. To the east of the fireplace they set up the bracket from which the pot was hung over the fire to boil. This was a forked stick stuck in the ground at a slant or having a natural curve; to one arm of the fork a wooden hook was suspended by a rawhide strap that could be raised and lowered by winding, depending on how close to the fire they wanted the pot to hang.

Against each side, on the east wall, was a woodpile supported by two tall forked sticks stuck in the ground. A little farther along the wall, leaning against it was a tree trunk with lopped off branches from which strings of braided corn were hung.

512 Now as the women were through with their cleaning, examining the
353 beds and generally getting things in order, they brought in the parfleches of meat and the bags and placed the twined-woven rush mats on the floor. Two mats were put down on their "side"; the better one near the west end and the more worn-out one near the east. Some pumpkins were stored on the intervening platforms between the beds, some were placed under the beds and others on the floor near the doorway. One of the parfleches had been placed in a handy position and left open as it contained current supplies. The rest were all closed up.

512 252 Toward evening, Horse Rider made a fire in the fireplace and went to get water. Then No Corn cooked some dry meat for the family and began to prepare the "grease bread" when White Woman said, "Give it to me. I'll make it. You get the coffee ready." The South Side family had not yet moved back in, and White Woman sat in the southeast position to do the cooking and serving, passing the food around to the north. When they returned, she would take her place northeast of the fireplace for this purpose. After they had finished with supper, Horse Rider went out to get some water for the morning and then everyone went to bed, as they were all tired.

356 [824] [789] It took about a week to get the earth lodge warm and lived-in. When they first moved in, it was cool like a dugout. During the first week, in the evening about every other day, they made a small fire near the doorway and burned sage weed (*kiwaut*) so that the draft would carry in the fragrant odor and sweeten the air in the lodge. It was also a protection against evil spirits that might have entered while they were away on the hunt.

356 462 [244] The day after they had moved in, Uncle War Cry had moved his family up from the camp. He came in and joined them for supper while his house was being set up by the women. He sat down next to Victory Call near the west and while White Woman sat down at the southeast doing the cooking, he said, "When we started out, we didn't have much. But now we've accumulated a lot of stuff—old moccasins and whatnot—old pots and pans. They're still trying to arrange things at home. A man just picks up his bow and arrows, but a woman always has all sorts of stuff she gathers up, like old horns. She says she'll make spoons of them." "Same thing here," said Victory Call. White Woman did not let these remarks remain unanswered. She said, "Of course you men don't know how to load things up. That's why you're always complaining of the amount of stuff we accumulate. If you could pack right, you wouldn't talk that way." War Cry, undeterred, went right on talking. "A woman picks up everything she sees. The women are working in my home. I don't want to get mixed up in it. Now I'm going, nephew (*tiwat*)." "All right," said Victory Call, and just after he had gone, he added, "He always has something to say to make a man laugh." The women comment, "Tomorrow we must pick out those beans we pulled up in the pods with our fingers. If we use sticks to thresh them, it'll make dirt outside the lodge. We ought to pick them by hand."

In the next day or so, Old Bull met Victory Call and said they wanted to move back into the lodge next morning. "That's good," said Victory Call, "you ought to be in by now. There'll be something going on soon." (He is referring to the Doctor Dance Ceremonies.) Victory Call tells his folks at supper that Old Bull is moving in next day.

356 The following morning the South Side family rode up to the lodge,

243 825 171 [244] 97 Maximillian reports that in the spring corn ceremony among the Mandan, wild goose signified maize, swans represented the gourds and the duck, the beans. It may well be that the deer and the loon represented the squash and beans respectively among the Pawnees at some time. There was no known symbolism connected with these essential food plants at the time of my report, the concentration being entirely on the maize.

533 126 100 The *Awari* songs are from the Murie-Wissler manuscript, in my retranscription and translation as it appears there.

512 243 101 Oehler and Smith, 1914. On May 8th, 1851: "Early in the morning we were awakened by the shrill voices of the Pawnee women, who were engaged in cleaning up the lodge and collecting their hoes, previous to going out to the fields to prepare the ground for planting corn."

243 105 Weltfish, 1937. From the Pawnee texts; old man speaks to the women (pp. 29-30); a little girl goes into the fields with her mother (p. 30); Pawnee women as horticulturists (pp. 27-28).

106 Adapted from Murie-Wissler, pp. 308-325, as well as from other sources.

821 302 107 The foot painted on the warrior's forehead represented the Pawnee astronomical constellation known as bird, *rikutski*, which was said to be on the Milky Way itself, but is otherwise unidentified. The Tsawi Band calls Cassiopeia, turkey foot, but the Skidi Band calls it rabbit, *parus*. See Dunbar, 1881, p. 744.

000 113-114 Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98.

106 See Drucker, Heizer, and Squier, 1959, for the time depth of elaborate formal religion in Mexico at La Venta, Tabasco, southeastern Mexico near the Gulf. The structures have been radiocarbon dated at 800–400 B.C. and show a high degree of religious organization and complex symbolism that can be clearly inferred from the archaeological remains.

172 243 122 It took milennia to evolve the current uses of maize among the Pawnees. At La Perra cave where some of the earliest examples of North American domesticated corn have been found (radiocarbon dated 4445 ± 180 B.C.) some steps in patterns of utiliza-

121 tion indicated in the finds are: (a) chewing young ears husks and all shortly after pollination—wasteful, but quick and simple way of getting a little sugar; (b) roasting the ears of green corn; (c) making parched corn; (d) removing kernels from cob, shown with glumes battered and broken as though the ears were forced across a rough surface or beaten with a stick; (e) maize apparently pounded, inferred from the finding of stone mortars. (Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, Galinat, 1956, pp. 145-146).

000 121 Mangelsdorf, 1958; Mangelsdorf, 1964.

122 Walster, 1956.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART III. DAYLIGHT

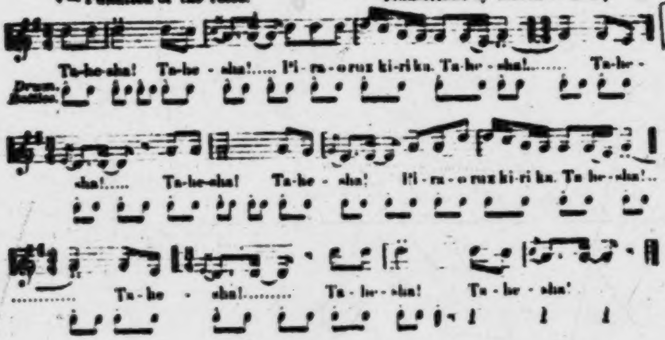
539*
796*

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ta-he-sha! Ta-he - sha!..... Pi - ra - o rux ki-ri ka. Ta-he - sha!...... Ta-he -
Drum.
sha!..... Ta-he-sha! Ta-he - sha! Pi - ra - o rux ki-ri ka. Ta-he-sha!...
Ta - he - sha!......... Ta - he - sha! Ta - he - sha!

[533]

I

598 Tahesha! Tahesha!
599 Pirao rux kiri ka. Tahesha! Tahesha!
600 Tahesha! Tahesha!
601 Pirao rux kiri ka. Tahesha! Tahesha!
602 Tahesha! Tahesha!

II

603 Ta ira! Ta ira!
604 Ira, ta ira! Heru rera, ta ira!
605 Ta ira! Ta ira!
606 Ira, ta ira! Heru rera, ta ira!
607 Ta ira! Ta ira!

Translation of First Stanza

598 Tahesha! Tahesha!

tahesha, daylight, the light of day, before the sun rises.

599 Pirao rux kiri ka. Tahesha! Tahesha!

pirao, child, son.

rux, let; a command or a bidding, as, let him, or, do this.

kiri, a part of kiriku, eyes.

ka, a part of taka, to come out, to be seen by coming out from under a covering. The meaning of these words becomes clear when the custom of sleeping with the robe over the head is remembered; the Son is bidden to throw the robe off his head and let his eyes be free to behold the day. [513]

tahesha, the light of day.

600 See line 598.

601 See line 599.

602 See line 598.

668 796 782 wise around the sacred dance ground (not the space around which the people are gathered) which was now vacant, and came to the west of it where he stopped facing east. At this point his back was to the back of the Seven seated Brothers. Here he offered corn upward to heaven, then bent down and pushed some off the spoon onto the ground, then turned to the west to which he offered the spoon of corn slantwise, then pushed some more off onto the ground, and finally placed the rest on the ground as an offering to the earth. (Second phase; first mode[1]) He then put the spoon on the ground beside him, and touching and pressing the corn into the earth, made three sets of motions with his hands and arms: four upward to heaven, four westward, and four to the earth. (Self-blessing; return of spoon[1]) Then he picked up the spoon and went through the motions of the final self-blessing with it, pressing his feet firmly to the ground. With the spoon he turned and reentered the circle of people between the First Brother (who is at the south end of the row of seven seated brothers) and those at his left, walked through a half circuit clockwise until he faced the chiefs sitting at the west, and returned the spoon to the chief who had given it to him. All the people say, "Nawa."

668 796 [264 554] The food was then served. A number of men were selected to do the serving, some serving the chiefs, others the Seven Brothers, and still others the people in general. The chiefs must be served first, and then the Seven Brothers, and then the public at large.

After all had eaten the dishes were put away. The people might come back and dance on the dance-ground until the sun had fully set. They stopped finally at full sundown. Many of the people did not camp on the grounds and had to go home for the night. Others had to look out for their horses.

In this way the people danced at the encampment for four days, and the last day they continued dancing all night. As individuals had trance visions, they would begin to wear different feathers and paints according to what they saw; and at later Ghost Dances would bring out these Ghost Dance things and use them.

[513] After the entire dance was over, the people generally slept a full day. Later they might decide to hold a hand game. In these early Ghost Dance times among the Skiri, a hand game could only be held after a full Ghost Dance had been carried out. Later hand games were interspersed in the Ghost Dancing.

Such were the ceremonial forms of the first Ghost Dancing among the Skiri proper.

792 668 796 787 Although Mrs. Washington was in this way responsible for the first organization of the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Goodeagle came to

meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance 342
of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and [778]
suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and
other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the
altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, [554
the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, 513]
which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two
below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a
"skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending
upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward
to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This
framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow
rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was
protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered
roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when [484]
a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially
anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family
usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer
abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was
made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered
with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four 619
bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary
chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had 621
also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its [778
priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with 793]
those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and
symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a
medium of communication was believed to be opened between the
people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and
prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the 621
head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced 622
by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus 624
or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the
Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were
the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council 623
was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands,
and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of
the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a 611
man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family. 591

---

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. xv. New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

III. THE LODGE

The size of the Skidi lodge varied according to the number of 342
families residing in it. Although an individual family composed of 592
a man, his wife or wives, and their children, might be the sole
occupants, often more than one family lived in a single lodge and
there apparently was no definite rule regarding the number of
residents and consequently the size of the lodge itself. The latter
might contain two beds for a small family or might be spacious [352]
enough to accommodate as many as eighteen beds for several families.
Also, chiefs' lodges and those of priests and medicine-men were of [346]
exceptional size, for they were often required to accommodate a
ceremonial gathering.

The construction and interior arrangements of the Pawnee earth 352
lodge have been briefly described in a previous report (Dorsey, 1904).
At the west was the altar, around the north and south sides were
the beds, and at the east, on either side of the doorway, were cache
holes, corn mills, sweathouses, and piles of firewood. The beds
were supported by two upright forked posts on the inner side; these
were connected by a hewn timber placed in the forks and from this
crosspiece short poles extended to the wall or banquette. Over this
frame was placed a mattress of young willows netted together and
covered by buffalo robes and pillows. Usually the children had
their beds nearest the altar, and the grandparents those closest the [592]
door; the parents reserved those in the middle area. In case a man [513]
had more than one wife living in his lodge, each wife had a bed of [595]
her own [Fig. 26]. [Lesser (1930) has diagramed the usual disposition
of the family according to their beds. The accompanying diagrams
furnished by Mr. Murie are of interest, however, for so far as I can
determine they represent actual cases. Unfortunately, the exact
relationships of the individuals referred to is not always clear.]

In the summer the people moved out of the lodge and slept 513
under an arbor. Each individual family made its own arbor, or all 342
the families together built a single large one for their joint use. 592
[This was in addition to the tipi, and a grass-like structure sometimes
used when on the march.]

FAMILY CUSTOMS

On rising in the morning the entire family visited a near-by 512
creek or river to bathe. In olden times all were early risers, and in [515]
the spring and autumn the men and women usually repaired at once

342 just over the center of the lodge, where an opening about two feet in diameter was left as a smoke-hole. Long willow rods, closely spaced, were laid transversely over the rafters, and these in turn were covered with a thick layer of bunch grass. The sides of the lodge were built of timbers whose lower ends were planted in a trench, while their upper ends leaned against the cross beams of the outer uprights. The whole lodge was then covered with earth and sod.

The entrance was protected by a covered way, built like the lodge, which extended out from it. In all but one of the Skidi villages this entrance faced the
[354] east. In the center of the floor there was a circular fire-pit surrounded by a slight embankment. At the west side of the lodge, opposite the entrance, a space
[778] was always reserved. This space was called *wiharu*, the garden of the Evening Star, and was considered sacred. In it a buffalo skull was placed, facing the entrance, and above it the sacred bundles and other religious paraphernalia of the family were hung.
352 Around the north and south sides of the lodges, sleeping platforms were built. These platforms were made of poles whose inner ends rested on the earth ledge, while their outer ends were supported by forked posts and
[513] beams. Over the poles were laid willow mats, coarse rush mats, and lastly tanned buffalo-skins. Each bed was screened off from those adjoining by willow mats. A lodge of ordinary size would have from eight to ten beds on a side. Those next the altar, which were considered most honorable, were occupied by the older children. Next were the beds of the aunts and uncles, then those of the parents, and lastly those of the old
[592] people. As many as ten families, all related by blood, sometimes occupied a single house. The sleeping platforms and other furniture were removed when the lodge was to be used for ceremonies, and are not shown in the miniature group.

159 habitual gambler was likely to lose her blouse, her shawl, or her earrings.
554 A man who noticed a crowd of women playing together like that would
have to move along and mind his own business.

602

525 Clear Day had her own basket and plum seed dice with which to play the game—tossing up the marked plum seeds in the tray basket. Even when she herself didn't think of going out to gamble, the others would come in and get her. She would go out early in the morning and come back late in the evening, betting whatever she had, i.e., calico, a necklace, or her earrings. Old Bull didn't get angry. He was a chief and it wouldn't have been right for him to express any strong disapproval of his wife.

Sometimes a man whose wife was out gambling would get angry because he got hungry. When the woman came home feeling badly because she had lost, there would be trouble. She would say to her husband, "It was because of you. You were thinking about your hunger and then I lost the game." She gave no thought to her home—only to her playing. Sometimes she would win a nice piece of calico so that she could make her husband a new shirt. Then the reaction at home would be quite different. The husband would say, "That's good. But don't go so often. You might lose your luck." But try as she would to obey her husband's injunction, she would be caught up in it eventually. When the gamblers came around, she would make some excuse and say, "No, I have such and such to do. Why don't you go and ask so and so?" But eventually the other gamblers knew she would succumb. That was the way of Clear Day, Old Bull's younger wife. She was an habitual gambler.

159 Clear Day had two little daughters with Old Bull. The youngest was a
• 513 very small child and was in the care of Clear Day's mother, Blue Calico.
The older girl, New Queen, was five or six years old and had a bed of
593 her own near the west on the south side of the lodge, adjacent to that of Clear Day. This was in anticipation of the time when the little girl would be fifteen and old enough to marry and her husband would join the household. It was considered desirable to give a little girl a bed of her own as soon as possible. With a little boy it was quite different. He might sleep with his grandmother until he was ten and then have a bed made for him between the central houseposts near the fireplace.

159 Queen Woman, senior wife of Old Bull, was of an entirely different
595 temperament from Clear Day. Her name in Pawnee was *Ts-taru-ri'u*,
"woman-merely-by herself," signifying "one does something great by
[551] oneself, single-handed." One translation was "self-made queen," signifying that although not born a queen or woman of chief's rank, her social accomplishments were so creditable that she deserved this high

5

THE WORLD OF A PAWNEE BOY: SPRING 1867

000

The Day Begins in the Earth Lodge—Breakfast Preparations—Seating at the Meal—Daytime Activities of Women—Chiefs' Council—Supper and Evening Conversation—Plan for Deer Hunt the Next Day—End of Day's Activities

IN THE YEAR 1867, the villages of the Pawnees were strung along the 131
west bank of Beaver Creek. (Beaver Creek flows southeastward into the 361
Loup River that flows east to join the Platte which continues eastward to
the Missouri. In the Skidi village of Pumpkin-Vine was the house of [103]
Chief Victory Call and his friend Old Bull with their families.)

It was a morning late in March, and the high dome-shaped earth lodges 512
were huddled together in the predawn darkness. On this as on other mornings, [342]
Otter was wakened by the sound of his father's voice saying, "Fire's
made." The dawn had not yet broken, and it was still cold; Otter burrowed
down deeper under his little calfskin cover. He hated to leave the [513]
warmth of his bed that he shared with his grandmother. Just as the dawn
began to break, Victory Call went outside through the long vestibule
that was the entrance to the house to look at the position of the stars and
to see what kind of a day it would be. Meanwhile his wife, White Woman,
had gotten up to prepare breakfast. She would be cooking for twelve people [252]
and an extra guest, and the preparations would take at least an hour.

On both sides of the house along the low circular walls, the people
were still asleep in their beds. There had been a long storytelling session [538]
the night before and Old-Man-That-Chief, who was one of the principal [574]
raconteurs, was too feeble to go home late at night, so a temporary bed
was made for him near the fireplace where the fire was now burning [354]
brightly in the center of the room. High above the fireplace a shaft of

screen stood in front of the beds of the mature women to give them pri- 352
vacy. The series of beds was interrupted by an open platform at each side 353
to store current food supplies and household articles.

The long vestibule that gave entrance to the house projected outward 342
from the eastern side of the circular walls. Inside, on both sides of the 353
door to the house, was a working area in each of which a woodpile was braced against the walls. The rear or western wall of the house was the sacred area, the beds being ranged along the north and south walls. There were five platforms along each wall, the middle one for supplies and the four others fitted out as beds.

The boy, Otter, and his grandmother were sleeping on the north side 513
of the house in the easternmost bed nearest the entranceway. The sec- 353
ond bed next to theirs was occupied by another little boy, Yellow Calf, 592
and his grandmother, Grieves-the-Enemy. Then came the supply platform for the north side and beyond that the bed of Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn. Horse Rider was an assistant to Otter's father, Victory Call, a prominent chief and religious leader. Victory Call and White Woman had the bed that was in the place of honor near the west.

Along the south wall of the house was another family. The head of that family was Old Bull, friend and associate of Victory Call and also a chief and religious leader. He occupied the west bed with his younger wife, Clear Day, and the next bed was occupied by the little girl, New Queen, their daughter. Then came the supply platform for the south side, and beyond that the bed of Queen Woman, Old Bull's senior wife with her little boy of three, and finally the easternmost bed on the south side for the grandmother, Blue Calico, who was the mother of the younger wife, Clear Day, and had the youngest child sleeping with her.

Everyone in the house knew his appointed place and where he could go 353
and where he could not go. In the sacred area at the west was an earthen 778
platform with a buffalo skull resting on it and above it hung a long, skin-wrapped bundle containing their most sacred objects, including two specially bred ears of corn. Between the fireplace and the buffalo altar, there was a sacred spot that was invisible—the *wi-baru*, "the place where the wise words of those who have gone before us are resting." Rather than step over this place in order to pass from one side of the house to the other, everyone walked around the entire house by way of the east. When the heads of the household sat down to rest or when they entertained important guests, it was near the west that they sat and no one would want to pass in front of them.

The house was a microcosm of the universe and as one was at home in- 342
side, one was also at home in the outside world. For the dome of the sky 772
was the high-arching roof of the universe and the horizon all around was the circular wall of the cosmic house. Through the roof of the house the star gods poured down their strength from their appropriate directions in

262 coffee and frying bread to supplement the meat course for their guests
574 when they arrived. In the old days they would be baking corn bread in
the ashes to be served with the soup.

252 Four buckskin cushions were placed at the west for the guests of honor,
574 and the rest sat around along both sides on the mats. By the time the
[352] guests came in, the ribs were cooked and the two largest ones were carried
to Eagle Chief and his brave War Cry, who were sitting at the northwest.
The next two went to Chief White Eagle and his brave in the southwest
seats. The rest of the ribs were carried two by two, first to two
guests on the north side, then to two on the south side, and so on until
all had been served. A very small top rib was given to any little boy who
might be visiting or to the boys of the house, Otter or Yellow Calf.

The food served, Victory Call began to talk to his guests. He told of
the highlights of the hunt and that after he had gotten the deer the
other fellow came and found him. His horse began to move around and
he thought a Sioux was coming, but then he saw who it was and called
him over. On such occasions an old man usually invited or just wandered
in, knowing he would be welcome. Horse Rider had invited
That-Chief, and the old man told them stories of war and old customs
continuing after the feast was over. Anyone who wanted to leave right
after eating was free to do so. He would get up and say, "I have to go. I
have something to do." The old man would stay all night and get his
breakfast there. Except for the four guests of honor, there was less protocol
[512] required than in the more formal feasts. After the dishes were
cleaned and put away some of the women would go to bed, while others
would join the men and listen to the conversation. Sometimes boys and
their grandmothers would sit on the sidelines, keeping themselves warm
with a pan of coals. When everyone had gone, they would come up close
to the fire and warm themselves. The session went on quite late. By midnight
574 everyone would leave, and they all went to bed. In the home of
512 Victory Call's helper on the hunt, the same kind of entertaining would
513 have gone on. Past midnight and everyone would be sleeping. Tomorrow
it would begin again—the fire lit, the man at his work and his leisure,
the women busy, the children playing.

It took three trips to get everything back to the lodge and, on the last one, White Woman piled some of the remainder on her back and admonished Horse Rider to bring up whatever wood they had around as someone else might appropriate it. The women went into the lodge and at once removed the grass padding from the bed platforms to see how the willow sticks of the frame were. Next day they would get some new willow sticks to replace any that were found to be rotted. 512 [482]

Each low bedstead was made of three forked uprights stuck in the ground between the central pillars and the wall of the housepit; a long sturdy willow rod rested on the forks of the uprights to form the edge of the bedstead. Shorter sections of willow sapling were laid on crosswise, at 3-inch intervals, one end resting on the outer rod and the other end on the shelf all around the housepit, which was actually the ground level remaining within the circular collar or sod wall inside its sloping radial skeleton. This low slope-roofed area was called *ti-ka-ka-wi'u*, "it-lodge-inside-sits." Upon the bed frame with its cross sticks was placed another layer of willow saplings in the length, and upon this in the width, a layer of thatch (*pakuts*) grass. Each bed was built between a pair of the short outer houseposts that were placed in the ground at an outward slant and 7 feet apart. These were the permanent bedsteads, and when they left on the hunt these were left intact. The only time they were dismantled was when a ceremony was to take place in the lodge when all the sticks were pulled up and carried outside until the ceremony was over. 352 [353]

The bedding was designed to keep the occupants warm and to ensure a certain amount of privacy. The basic bedclothes comprised two layers of tanned hide. At the head were skin pillows stuffed with turkey feathers or deer hair. Sometimes a roll of discarded skin clothing was used instead. At the foot was also a roll of worn out skin clothing against which one could rest one's feet. A skin curtain hung at the head and the foot of every bed, suspended from the roof for privacy. These were tucked in underneath before putting down the bed clothes to keep anything natural or supernatural from coming into the bed at night. In the more luxuriously appointed beds, an extra skin curtain was suspended against the wall so that should any mice living in the thatch loosen any earth, it would fall behind the curtain. The curtains were usually made of discarded pieces of tanned buffalo-hide tent skin. When they went to bed, everyone disrobed. In the warmer weather they covered themselves with a tanned skin—preferably elk or deerskin for really soft tan. This was commonly dyed black and was worn as a wraparound garment during the day. At the time of this account most people used trade-store blankets instead for this purpose. In winter they used a double-purpose buffalo robe with its hair and wool left on for warmth. In the morning when they got up the covers were folded up toward the head or foot end of the bed so that one could sit on the bed during the day or lie down without disarranging the bedding. 513 237

• 513 disarranging the bedding. In the warmer weather, a mat might be placed
352 on top of the skin as a "sheet." In addition to these appointments, some of
the beds had an additional screen of willows built in front of them to
322 make them especially private. Some married women preferred these—
824 in this household for example, White Woman and Old Bull's older wife,
Queen Woman. These screens, *kawiriwisisu*, were a permanent part of
the bed structure. Six tall uprights were fixed in the ground, reaching
from floor to ceiling, and across them close together were tied on with
willow bark, 6-foot-long horizontal willow saplings. The horizontals
were laid in alternate order, one with the stub end to the left and its
point end to the right, and the one above it in the opposite position to
ensure evenness. These were gathered in spring, peeled, and the irregular
stems or knots cut off. Before they could be fastened to the uprights,
they had to be briefly seasoned for a few days so that they would be
neither too green when they would shrink too much and leave the fastenings
loose, nor too dry, when they could not be properly straightened out
[531] in place. For decorative effect, six black were alternated with six natural
horizontals, the peeled saplings being passed through a decoction of
[386] sumach that had been boiled to make a black dye. After all the horizontals
were tied in place, they were trimmed off on both edges to make the
screen even. The entrance through the screen was made by cutting a
low narrow opening in it at bed level, the vertical for this portion being
hung from the roof.

353 As for the rest of the furnishings of the house, the buffalo skull had
been left resting on the altar at the west and above it they now hung
whatever sacred bundles they had. To the east of the fireplace they set
up the bracket from which the pot was hung over the fire to boil. This
was a forked stick stuck in the ground at a slant or having a natural
curve; to one arm of the fork a wooden hook was suspended by a rawhide
strap that could be raised and lowered by winding, depending on
how close to the fire they wanted the pot to hang.

Against each side, on the east wall, was a woodpile supported by two
tall forked sticks stuck in the ground. A little farther along the wall,
leaning against it was a tree trunk with lopped off branches from which
strings of braided corn were hung.

512 Now as the women were through with their cleaning, examining the
353 beds and generally getting things in order, they brought in the parfleches
of meat and the bags and placed the twined-woven rush mats on the floor.
Two mats were put down on their "side"; the better one near the west
end and the more worn-out one near the east. Some pumpkins were
stored on the intervening platforms between the beds, some were placed
under the beds and others on the floor near the doorway. One of the
parfleches had been placed in a handy position and left open as it contained
current supplies. The rest were all closed up.

571

terms of interpersonal hostilities and the specific temper of the people 578
involved. Only in these terms can we understand their sensitivity to 829
these hostilities and the prevalent fear of their personal social consequences. 626
The "witchcraft" atmosphere was a function of this situation.
The doctors brought to bear the idea that a person could have unfailing 756
personal allies in the animal community. Thus Old-Man-That-Chief in 626
practicing his performance for the next day's session of the Deer Dance, 829
addressed the bundle of chicken-hawk feathers that he was to make come
alive in the ceremony. The bunch of feathers were lying tied up at the
ends which pointed toward the fireplace, with the tips toward That-Chief. As he smoked he asked the feathers for their help, saying, "I want
you to help me in every way. This is my son and my grandson," who
were to assist him. By him sat his son, Herd-of-Horses, and his grandson,
Might-Be-Chief, and he passed the pipe to them in turn and pointed the
mouthpiece toward the feathers so that they might all smoke together.

Despite these psychological causes, the physical symptoms of illness 753
were correlated by the Pawnees directly with physical objects that had 754
been projected by sleight of hand into the body of the person. It was presumed that the doctor would hover about at night outside the dwelling of
his intended victim and act as he did in the Doctor Lodge to send the
object into the person. "In the old days people slept with the covers [513]
drawn up over their heads so that should they open their mouths, no
witch could put anything down into them this way."

The different deadly witch-missiles were thought to produce varying
physical symptoms. Uncomfortable and painful "movement" of the [755]
stomach was one important effect, and coughing up or vomiting was
necessary for their cure.

The procedure for preparing such pellets was attested to by Roaming 754
Leader who said that he had inadvertently been an eyewitness to such a
process.

> It was after sundown when one could barely see well and there stood That-Chief with his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, along with White Horse near a grave. They had dug it up and That-Chief was showing White Horse that one gets the tough skin of the heel of the corpse, lets it dry out flat, and then greases it with buffalo fat so that it can slide right in. Then it is wrapped up in buffalo wool and painted all over with red paint and tied up real tight and small with horse hair so that it approximates the size of a large capsule. "Then grease it well once more," he said. Now any time White Horse wanted to kill someone by witching, he knew what to do. He put the capsule in among the feathers of his eagle-wing fan, and while he was moving back and forth at the door after midnight doing his witching, he shook his fan so that the capsule flew through the air and into the victim's mouth.

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

281 The skins were tanned either with or without the hair. The skins of old buffalo or with exceptionally thin wool had the hair removed and [415] were kept on hand to wrap things in, for bedding, skin bags, moccasins, [513] and occasionally, if they were light enough, for skirts. The heavier qualities were used especially for tent skins. Tanned hide with hair removed [291] was used as a light wrap or blanket to be draped around the shoulders. [531] When worn in this way it was often decorated with designs or colored.

In tanning the robe with the hair on, which was the main trade robe, the hide was unrolled the evening before. Next morning it was placed on the ground and scraped on the flesh side with the elbow-scraper. This was a more strenuous process than dehairing. The skin had to be thinned section by section and any irregularities removed. If no one interrupted and the work proceeded at top speed, it took three hours of back-breaking labor. After this, the skin was immediately sprinkled with water to keep it soft and by evening it was pliable enough to be folded up and put into a kettle with cold water poured over it and left to soak overnight.

417 281 The next morning after breakfast the woman prepared a stretching frame on which to fasten the skin so that she could apply the tanning mixture. The standing part of the frame was made of two pairs of tent poles, each pair being fastened together at the top, spread out at the bottom, and set apart at the proper distance to accommodate the length of the skin. The two sets of "bi-pods" were joined across the near arms by two additional tent poles, one above and one below to a distance of the width of the hide. The skin was bound onto this slanting rectangular frame by overcasting around the edges through the peg holes around the edge of the hide. The flesh surface was now uppermost and to this the tanning solution would be applied.

281 Some bark, used as a sort of sponge, was dipped into the tanning mixture, which was spilled and rubbed onto the hide until it was well soaked and the water was dripping down the surface. The solution was now pressed in and rubbed from the top downward with a special tool resembling the blade of an iron hoe. In this process of rubbing and scraping, a good deal of the excess water was removed. When the skin had dried somewhat, a pinch of flour was sprinkled on and rubbed all over the surface to make it white. While the skin remained on the stretcher to dry for about an hour, the equipment for the next step was prepared. The skin would be rubbed back and forth on a taut sinew rope in order to soften it. Two green sticks of uneven height, one 2 feet and one 5½ feet high, were set upright in the ground about 4½ feet apart. They were joined by a big sinew rope that was stretched between them and tied at each end. The skin was rubbed back and forth across the rope on the flesh side until it was softened. One woman could do this alone, but it was more convenient for two to work on it, one holding on to the hide at each end.

281 sides to keep the air from reaching the inner surface. When they first
386 removed the skin from the frame, the smoked surface was somewhat black, but when it was exposed to the air it quickly turned yellow. Any smoky patches that remained were rubbed with the fingers, and these promptly turned yellow, too. In the past these dyed skin blankets were the forerunners of the later trade blanket.

291 The skins of the deer and elk were used for clothing because they
221 were considerably lighter and softer than the buffalo hide. In the fall particularly, when the doctor performances were in prospect, they made a critical inspection of their wardrobes to see if they had something suitable to wear for the occasion. The women thought about a new dress and the men considered whether their clothing wasn't too shabby to wear and what ceremonial costumes they would need. They had been on the march all summer and busy with the harvest and they had had no time to think about such matters. They also had to consider the forthcoming winter hunt.

291 In the Plains climate, clothing was a pressing necessity. The fresh deer
262 and elk meat was a welcome addition to their staple diet of dried vegeta-
251 bles and buffalo meat, but it was consumed immediately and never pre-
281 served. Economically, the hides were of greater practical value.

There is some question whether it was the men or the women who
[462] dressed the deer and elkskins. Theoretically they both knew how, but the only accounts of the process I have seen or been able to collect refer to the work of the men. Apparently the hide was not treated with a tanning mixture but was simply dehaired and rubbed:

> The first step in dressing the deer hide was to get it wet. A stick was put slantwise in the ground and the hide draped over it hair side up and fastened at the top. The hair which slanted upward was scraped off with a sharpened horse rib that was pushed from the top down.
> • [515] The deer hair was used as a stuffing for pillows; the buffalo hair was always thrown away. The skin was now turned over with the flesh side uppermost and rubbed with a sharp rock as rough as a file. Next they continued to rub the flesh side with another rock that was gray and white and very porous. They kept rubbing the flesh side until the skin had dried.

A description of preparing a moose hide for a robe is somewhat simpler; allowing the skin to soak in water for a day and a night, removing the hair with a horse rib as it rested on a slanting cottonwood stick, and then simply spreading the skin on the ground to dry.

When needed, the men dressed bear or fox skins and those of some other animals, stretching them on frames and overcasting them all around

53

PRODUCTS OF REEDS AND GRASS

000

The Twined Woven Mats, Their Use and Manufacture—the Grass Brush for the Care of Hair

THE REEDS AND GRASSES matured about the same time as the cultivated 824
crops, and everyone knew that as soon as possible after completing the harvest they would have to get to work gathering these materials before they passed their prime.

The twined woven mat of reeds was one of the most important items 285
of Pawnee house furnishing. It was considered indispensable to cleanliness, 352
and only the poorest people or the most slovenly would use skins on
the ground instead. They were used both in the lodge and on the
march, and old mats were offered to people who had none. Every morning [356]
they were taken up and shaken to get the dust out; in the lodge the
house was well swept and the sweepings carried out on a skin to be
dumped at the base of the embankment before the mats would be replaced
on the floor. When on the march, they were rolled up and tied
in the middle with a string fastened there for the purpose by the women.
When camp was set up, they were laid out to sit on; at night the beds
were made on them. In the lodge they were placed inside the central
pillars to sit on. Impromptu beds were made by putting them between [513]
the pillars at night as a base for the bedding. Each mat was 5 feet wide
and 8 to 9 feet long. Ordinarily, there were two mats around the fireplace
on each side; if there were special guests, an additional one was placed at
the west. At a large feast, the mats were laid outside the house pillars
against the beds to enlarge the circle. Mats for gala occasions had special [531]
decorations made by weaving in black or dark red-dyed wefts. These
were kept rolled up until guests came. For everyday use the family sat on
whatever mats happened to be around—the better ones being placed

taking half a sack of flour, some sugar, coffee, and baking powder as provisions. He went to the place on the Union Pacific Railroad known as Windmill and then across the sandhills on the north edge of the island, meeting the others at about two in the afternoon. 231 857

The men and boys had a good time of it on these expeditions. They built themselves dome-shaped grass houses, *kabaruut*, of big willow twigs. Their saddles served as pillows and the saddle blankets as bedding. If they wanted an especially soft bed, they put hay and willows underneath. The older men got up very early and looked around on the sandhills. Some of them cooked the bread and coffee that comprised their main diet. Otter had a cup and he shared a plate with another boy who had brought one along. Sometimes a white man, having killed a beef, would give them a chunk of it. They had great times! [342] [513] [262]

Considering their dependence on the horses, the Pawnees were remarkably unsentimental about them. They never called them by name, only referring to them in conversation by such names as Spotted Horse, Spotted Black Horse, Spotted Red Horse, Black Face Horse, White Hoof, Spotted on the Side, Black Nose, White Horse, Yellow Horse, Roan Horse, Red Head, High Forehead. There was no personal identification with them. 231 552

The horses were still tethered on the south bank, and when all the 224* meat was over, Eagle Chief would ask "the boys" to sprinkle soil or earth 484* on the ice so that the horses could be led over. They would organize into 231 two parties, one from each shore, each man with a supply of earth in his buffalo robe or blanket to sprinkle on the ice. The two parties would meet in the middle of the river and then the horses could be led across. The next day the earth would have melted into the ice and the crossing would be easier. Even though they were not loaded, the horses had a hard time to keep from slipping as they had no shoes. When the horses arrived on the north shore they were again loaded with the meat and led to the place selected for the encampment. Each man chose a site for his 224* family's camp and cleared it of snow and gathered plenty of wood. The 484* meat was put on the hide and bundled up in it. As soon as the meat was unloaded, Eagle Chief called out that the horses better be sent back to the camp at Turkey Creek so that the people could join them early next morning. Victory Call sent Horse Rider back with the two horses for the family, while he stayed at Many Deer, going on with the work of preparing the camping place and looking after the meat.

After the hunters at Many Deer had completed their duties, they made five big fires, one for each of the four Skidi villages, and an extra one. The men of each village sat around them wrapped up well in their buffalo robes and stayed up all night smoking and talking. If one should doze [513] off, his neighbor awakened him. They were accustomed to staying up [727] like this on the warpath as much as three days and nights to get out of range of the enemy with the booty and horses. The next morning while the line of march was on the way from the camp on Turkey Creek, some of the men like War Cry, Victory Call, and Eagle Chief would decide to begin to slice and dry the buffalo meat so that no time would be lost. At [522] some of the other fires, when they saw War Cry with his meat drying, they would tease him with, "Look at that War Cry. He has his *takaski*. He's just like an old woman." But he was totally impervious to such remarks.

As soon as Frank Leader and his brother-in-law Roaming Leader had decided where they were going to set up the council tent, Eagle Chief said, "Don't wait. As soon as the council tent is set up, come in any [344] time. We have a home there. This is where we come to tell stories and make reports." As the returning hunters had come in, they donated ribs for the Council that evening by hanging them on a nearby tree. Old 224* Lady Lucky Leader realized that she and her family would have to be up 343 all night again slicing meat, and she decided that when she got to Many Deer she would build herself a grass house beside their large tipi with the help of the two men, so that she could carry on her work while they were in the council tent. A grass house, ***haharutu***, was made by sticking supple withes upright in the ground in a circle and tying them together

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

low the track, the deer went that way. I shot at him and missed." Now he told of how he had hidden the deer so that he wouldn't have to share it. Now Riding-In joined in and said, "I did the same thing once. I killed a buck and put him in a trough and when my kinsman came along I said, "I shot at that deer and missed him, but you're on horseback, so you can go after him." If either of the aggrieved kinsmen were present the guilty hunter would remark, "Now I wish I had given you half." There would be no hard feelings on anyone's part as they would feel that bygones were bygones. The talk went on for some hours and finally all the women had gone to bed. Midnight was the customary time to stop. Someone went outside and looked at the stars. He came in and remarked, "It's midnight. We're all sleepy. We'd better go to bed." They would all go out together and look at the stars and the guests would leave for their own homes. The men of the lodge went out together to tend to their needs before going to bed. This was for their mutual protection, as there was always the possibility of a Sioux lurking in the shadows ready to attack an individual alone. Before going to bed, the women would also go in a group with a man along for their protection. 574 521 [722] [514]

Victory Call planned to go deer hunting next day. He made lead bullets, cleaned his gun, and loaded it with shavings along with the bullets so that they would ignite. He filled his horn with powder and now he was ready for the morning. Old Bull took note of his preparations and planned to be near the house that day for protection in case of attack. Next morning, Victory Call got up way before down. He made the fire and left before breakfast. White Woman would get up later and prepare the breakfast for the lodge. 224

III. THE LODGE

The size of the Skidi lodge varied according to the number of 342
families residing in it. Although an individual family composed of 592
a man, his wife or wives, and their children, might be the sole
occupants, often more than one family lived in a single lodge and
there apparently was no definite rule regarding the number of
residents and consequently the size of the lodge itself. The latter [352]
might contain two beds for a small family or might be spacious
enough to accommodate as many as eighteen beds for several families.
Also, chiefs' lodges and those of priests and medicine-men were of [346]
exceptional size, for they were often required to accommodate a
ceremonial gathering.

The construction and interior arrangements of the Pawnee earth 352
lodge have been briefly described in a previous report (Dorsey, 1904).
At the west was the altar, around the north and south sides were
the beds, and at the east, on either side of the doorway, were cache
holes, corn mills, sweathouses, and piles of firewood. The beds
were supported by two upright forked posts on the inner side; these
were connected by a hewn timber placed in the forks and from this
crosspiece short poles extended to the wall or banquette. Over this
frame was placed a mattress of young willows netted together and
covered by buffalo robes and pillows. Usually the children had
their beds nearest the altar, and the grandparents those closest the [592]
door; the parents reserved those in the middle area. In case a man [513]
had more than one wife living in his lodge, each wife had a bed of [595]
her own [Fig. 26]. [Lesser (1930) has diagramed the usual disposition
of the family according to their beds. The accompanying diagrams
furnished by Mr. Murie are of interest, however, for so far as I can
determine they represent actual cases. Unfortunately, the exact
relationships of the individuals referred to is not always clear.]

In the summer the people moved out of the lodge and slept 513
under an arbor. Each individual family made its own arbor, or all 342
the families together built a single large one for their joint use. 592
[This was in addition to the tipi, and a grass-like structure sometimes
used when on the march.]

FAMILY CUSTOMS

On rising in the morning the entire family visited a near-by 512
creek or river to bathe. In olden times all were early risers, and in [515]
the spring and autumn the men and women usually repaired at once

came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui 764 priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was 778 very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of 572 friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particularly 888 to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally 759 claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age. They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the 562 priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the 834 Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until [291] well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the [515] lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no [521] subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

778 nose, and forehead, and then drew it down his face. 783 These movements were repeated four times, with the right and left hands alternately. When he had done this, he came up out of the water, passed through the ranks, and took his place behind the rearmost, with his face toward the village. The men of the first rank then waded down into the stream and went through the same performance with the sacred objects they carried. They then passed through the other ranks and took their place behind the chief. The other two ranks did the same. When all had finished, the chief led them back to the village. As they entered it, the small boys dispersed, but the men continued on to the ceremonial lodge, where they returned the objects they carried to the keepers of the bundles and put on their robes, which they had left behind during the race. They then returned to their own lodges.

All the women who were bundle owners had ground corn during the preceding night and made mush. [262] This mush had been brought to the lodge and given to the chief priest early in the morning, before the commencement of the ceremonies just described. He now offered a little of it to the gods and distributed the rest to the priests and keepers. They ate, and then tied their sacred bundles, took up their mats, pillows, and bowls, and returned to their own lodges.

783 After they had left the ceremonial lodge, a crier went through the town, telling the people to clean their lodges and the streets of their villages and carry the filth away. When this had been done, the priests who had taken part in the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood outside it, shaking his gourd rattle and singing. All the people assembled and ran a race down to the river. When they reached [515] it, the priests waded in, came out at once, and went to the sweat lodge, where they took a steam bath. The

592 Clear Day and Blue Calico, "I can take care of the housework myself.
You two go plant your field." On the North Side, White Woman had a
double role to play and was hard pressed for time. She had "to take care
of her husband" and was also the main provisioner of the North Side of
the household. She was responsible for repairing her husband's moccasins
[437] when they wore out; when he went to the trade store to trade in a buffalo
robe for supplies of flour, coffee, sugar, prunes, or dried apples she
would accompany him to do most of the carrying. Whether he went on
horseback or on foot, he would carry only small items, being poised for
any threatened attack. When she became overburdened with work in this
way at the crucial time of planting, the two old women on her side,
Grandma Chase-the-Enemy and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, would
come to her aid. "Let's get through with our 'daughter's' field first. She
has to do the cooking for the whole family and take care of her husband."
The three of them would then go out together and finish up White
Woman's field and then the two old women would work each other's
fields in turn cooperatively.

517 On the way home from the fields they all washed their hoes and took
a swim in Beaver Creek. Heads would be bobbing up and down all over
526 as they swam back and forth. When they finished their swim and cleaned
313 their hoes, they would pick up whatever driftwood they could find and
515 take it home. High water sometimes left good sticks at the bend of the
creek. This moist wood was piled way at the back of the woodpile, since
unless it was left to dry out it would smoke and hurt the eyes. The
young women sat on the banks of the creek and slapped the surface
with their feet to see who could make the loudest noise. This was considered
quite a trick, and sometimes they tried it with their hands. It was
like the sound of the dried corn kernels when they were threshed at the
time of harvest, and expressed the hope that the corn might ripen.

343 Sometimes a sweat bath was preferred to a swim in the creek. When
515 they got home tired and dirty they would then build a sweat lodge inside
the earth lodge on the north side. All during planting time an old man
888 would sit on the roof of his earth lodge in the evening and call out various
521 ous items of advice. He would particularly recommend a sweat bath. He
would say, "If you're tired it's best to sweat. Then you will feel better
[757] next day. If you should have a headache, you must sweat. When you get
[515] in from the fields, take a sweat bath. It cleans you up better than the
creek." There were many other things the old man had to say, particularly
complimentary remarks to the women to bolster their morale. After
some general praises, he would cite some particular women specifically,
saying how industrious they were and what fine crops they raised. Presently
a little boy or girl would come and invite the old man to a little treat
in the home of the woman he had mentioned, usually some bread and
coffee.

243 787 any taboos. He was always fed first before the others at every meal so that his mood would remain pleasant. He lived and moved in the encampment of the chief who was leading the hunt during that season.

[092] In the previous ceremony, when the seeds of the sacred corn had been distributed to the ministers of the various bundles for planting, the visionary of that ceremony had been constituted a holy man for the well-being of the corn crop. He also had to remain wrapped in his buffalo robe all summer and to observe similar taboos until the harvest was in. Presumably, as he remained wrapped in his robe, he was impersonating the ear of corn itself in its husk.

In the final stages of the young corn ceremony, the priest went through the village, praising the donor of the cowskin and buffalo-hair belt in which they dressed the young Mother Corn, referring to the robe as the symbolic wrapper into which a germ of life could be thrust and the buffalo-hair rope as the string.

The ceremony of the Young Mother Corn was concluded with a feast in which all who had participated shared in the meat of the buffalo that the visionary had consecrated on the previous winter hunt. His wife usually added a donation of boiled corn to round out the banquet.

243 Until this ceremony was completed, no woman could go into her field and begin to weed and cultivate it. Now the women all went into their fields carrying their hoes. First they would pull out the weeds one by one from the corn hills by hand and then pile up the earth around the young growing plants. The corn was hilled up so high around the plant that the leaves barely stuck out at the top; they were compared with an earth lodge with the smoke issuing out of the smokehole in the roof.

It was early morning and the dew had fallen, and as the women worked around and around the corn hills their bodies would get soaking wet. After they had hilled up the earth around the plants, the women would kneel close to the hill and pat it all around with their hands to make it smooth and even. The woman's left side, as well as her face and hands, would become covered with mud. To mention this fact to a woman on her way home from the fields would be the height of presumption. On the way home everyone took a swim in Beaver Creek and [515] washed off their hoes. Again the young women splashed with their feet on the surface of the water and tried to make as loud a report as possible by slapping the surface of the water with their hands. The old man again sat up on his earth lodge and addressed the community at large. He reminded everyone that the women were now "disfiguring themselves" for him, getting all muddy, and that while their hoes were still full of mud, all of them would be eating the food that the women [606] had raised. Some of the women went in groups to cultivate the previously planted fields of their new daughters-in-law, singing while they worked

796 time touching it to his mouth, nose, forehead, and down his face, alternately
783 first with the right and then with the left hand. Then he went back
through the group and stood facing the village ready to lead them back.
778 The others followed suit, the men of first rank pretending to wash their objects and their bodies, then walking through the line to stand behind the chief and the others in order. The chief led them back to the village and the objects were replaced in the bundles in the ceremonial lodge. The little boys ran away at once, and the other men retrieved the robes they had left behind in order to race to the water before they went home. The priests and bundle keepers tied their things and had a meal of cornmeal mush that had been donated by one of the women. Then they all took their mats, pillows, bowls, and sacred bundles and went home.

796 The town crier went through the town telling all the people to clean
783 their lodges and the streets and to carry all the dirt far away. The next
[203] step was for everyone to wash and clean themselves. The priests who
had led the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood out-
● [515] side shaking his rattle and singing. All the people assembled there and
[343] raced to the river as fast as they could go. They waited there for the priests who waded in and came out at once and went to their sweat lodge to take a steam bath. All the rest of the people—men, women, and children—stayed at the river, swimming and playing in the water.

*224 *484 888 Some old people just walked off because they were tired of living. "I'm old. I don't care what becomes of me," they would say. In this case, people thought it was a shame for the old lady's relatives to leave her all by herself like that.

*224 *484 512 • 515 Most of the women and children were swimming in the river. By sundown they began to wander back toward their encampment. When little Otter came in after his sun-fishing adventures they all said, "Minwu, you smell of fish. You'd better go wash your hands." There was no soap so he had to rub his hands with sand and then wash them with water. Horse Rider had been looking after the horses, and again he passed through the sand hills and gathered in some sand cherries. Victory Call was still sitting and smoking on top of the sand hills with his friends and they looked down contentedly upon the women and children swimming in the river. By sundown all had gone home; the men would go swimming late in the evening by themselves.

*224 203 *484 Now at evening the crier went through the encampment and made his announcement. He said, "We'll be here all day tomorrow. If you have any business at the store, attend to it, because day after tomorrow, we'll be moving on." It had been a long day and everyone went to sleep.

*224 *484 512 Next morning Grandma got up earlier than anyone else, before dawn, saying everyone must practice getting up early. They passed the day pleasantly, swimming in the river or doing whatever they liked. For breakfast they had a modest meal of fried bread and coffee and for lunch a good soup of roasted corn mixed with braided intestine. At supper, they had boiled dried buffalo meat with bread and coffee.

[203] When evening came, the crier went through the encampment calling out, "They have decided to move tomorrow. We're going about ten miles from here."

*224 *484 The next morning their travels would begin in earnest. They would travel and encamp this way for the next twenty days before they reached the main herd of buffalo.

19

COMMON CAMPING ROUTINES

000

Description of Camping Routines—Starting the Day—Breakfast—Loading the Horses—Striking the Tents—the Camp Crier—Entertainment

*484 512 [887] THE ROUTINE OF CAMPING and decamping followed the same pattern throughout the summer. Advance scouts left the encampment about four in the morning to survey the route and to protect the old women who preceded the line of march in order to be sure to keep up with the group. As dawn was breaking, everyone had had breakfast and was under way. The families of the chiefs got up earliest in order to lead the line of march.

In Victory Call's camp, Grandma got up before anyone else—she made a low fire and put the bucket of corn to warm up on the glowing embers. Then she brought in an armful of wood and put it down next to the fireplace and went to the creek to get a bucket of water.

Now Horse Rider would begin to grunt and growl and say, "It's morning now," so that everyone would get up. The horses were hobbled and picketed around the encampment; he got into his moccasins, picked up his lariat, and went off to tend to them. He watered them since he wouldn't have a chance after breakfast, bringing them close to the tent and hobbling them there so that they would be ready for loading.

By the time the old lady was coming with the bucket of water, White Woman had gotten up, washed her hands and face, and begun to prepare breakfast.

[821] [515] Now Victory Call arose, went out, and looked at the sky to see if there were clouds far out over the hills. He came in and took a little basin of water and washed his hands and face, drying them on the hairy part of a buffalo robe—the leg and arm parts, and then shaking off the water. Some men went to the creek to wash, gargled with some water, and blew it out. While doing this, one had to face west toward the Evening

512 was left in the several piles, loading it onto the horses and bringing it
243 back into camp. The women continued to roast and the men began to
do the husking.

251 That evening Sun Chief and Leading Fox, older sons of Victory Call
252 by a previous marriage, came in to help with the husking.

476 *Fourth day*. Men continued to husk the corn, while the women now
cut the kernels from the cobs with a clamshell. They all helped to spread
out the kernels to dry. All the green corn from both sets of fields
that was ripe enough, had now been gathered, roasted, and set out to
dry. It was usual to finish this task in the first four or five days.

513 *Fifth day*. This was the time for the first bean harvest in White Woman's
244 field. This was hard work as most of the vines didn't climb on anything
476 but grew close to the ground. Sometimes they grew in separate patches
[461] and sometimes in a patch with the corn. The women gathered the pods
in their skirts; the men threw them in whenever they got a handful. All
four worked in the field until late afternoon. On the way home, they
[526] stopped and took a swim in Beaver Creek. Again as in the time of
planting, they slapped the water with their feet, making as loud a noise
[515] as possible. As the women slapped the surface of the water with their
soles, it resounded all along the creek like the report of a gun. "They
are slapping the water with their feet" (*tutastaxkitspiru*). The girls used
their hands for this (*tutikstaxkitspiru*), and Otter had a hard time
learning the trick from them. Possibly it was a kind of sympathetic magic
for the tapping of the dry beans and corn on the threshing floor. They
went home about 4:30 in the afternoon, having gathered about four parfleches of the beans in the pod in a good year. At home one of War Cry's
wives or daughters had been serving as Room Watcher for their tent.
It was five o'clock by the time the pods were all spread out to dry.
Everyone was tired and took a rest. Inside the tent, Horse Rider and
No Corn were wrestling playfully together and saying, "Now we have
some roasted corn" (*rawaritu*).

244 In the evening the beans were covered up where they lay and the
512 corn kernels were winnowed and taken inside for the night in flour sacks.
Now grandma came in carrying her sack of corn or beans that she spread
out. White Woman offered to come out and help her in her field but
she refused saying, "Oh, no. If you help me I'll get through too soon
and I won't have anything else to do. So I'd just like to do it myself."

White Woman made the fire and cooked some grease bread and No Corn prepared the coffee and dried apples for their supper. Uncle War Cry came to join them and began to tease Grandma about how tired she was; Grandma asked to have her dinner brought to her. War Cry then began to talk about the trade store and Victory Call remembered he owed them a buffalo robe, but War Cry observed that he was sure they would wait until the harvest work was done. He promised to mention

753 said he could do nothing more about it and wanted to die. Then he got on his horse and tried to make it ride off the high bank, but the horse shied back. However, the rider was catapulted off into the water and when he came out, he was cured. So he found out the cure for this disease.

751 There was a great deal of faith in the virtue of bathing as a preventative
515 and as a cure of disease. "In the old days people used to go and bathe in the creek and take sweat baths and there was no sickness."

751 Finally, it was thought that living on a high bluff was healthier than
753 living in the lowlands.

361

> They said that in the old days, there was no disease, for the villages were on top of a high bluff, and sickness follows along the creek. Whenever a sickness seemed to be coming, people would move up on top, for there the air was fresh and sickness would not come up there. It only stayed near the creek.

753 In more recent times it was said that many people died of rheumatism and stomach trouble. But from the Pawnee point of view, natural causation of disease and death was a relatively less important aspect of these
756 basic human problems. The field of the emotions was considered the
[052] major element in the doctor's calling.

However, despite these other factors, when Otter was about twelve
[757] years old the doctors were able to save his life by direct physical therapy.

who is willing should come and sit closer and observe and listen to the 224*
way these things should be done." This was considered a major public 793
service and no payment was involved nor considerations of kin relationship. 869
Bringing Horses was a brave and apparently had had a call to
carry out this mission.

The five priests sat smoking and talking together informally. They were 224*
old men and had traveled over this same ground many times. They knew 793
just how far apart the rivers were and which were the quickest routes to
follow. Now they were reminiscing about the past. One would say, "One [521]
summertime we camped way down there in this and this direction from
here and so and so happened," for example a warpath came or some other
notable event. Meanwhile Old Lady Lucky Leader was taking care of 224*
the practical affairs since the menfolks of her family were still out on the 794
hunt. She was a vigorous old woman and a good manager. One of the 574
men coming in early from the hunt reined in his horse outside her tent
and called out, "Lady Lucky Leader, here are ribs!" throwing down the
ribs as his contribution to the forthcoming council meeting and riding
off home to his own tent. The old lady went out and got them at once and
put them inside the tent on the north side near the entrance so that they
wouldn't freeze. Now she decided to get the meal under way for the
council. The boy Might-Be-Chief was passing by and she called him in [624]
and asked him to get the chief's errand man Know-His-Face, who came
in and, after exchanging greetings with the priests, began to roast the ribs [252]
to the northeast of the fireplace as directed by the old lady. She asked
her daughter to sit down to the south and fry some bread so that the
men would have something to eat as soon as they got in before the council
began.

Now the men could be heard coming and the meat creaking a little as 224*
it was packed on the horse since it was a bit frozen. The two men of the [492]
family knew they had better get in early and Frank Leader called out to
his mother, "Atira [my mother], spread something out here for the meat."
The old lady came out and put a skin spread on the snow in front of the
tent and her son tethered his horse to a stake nearby. She covered the
horse and put down another spread with cottonwood tops and bark on it
for the horse to eat. She saved some of the cottonwood for her son-in-law's
horse and he arrived soon after. As soon as the two men entered the [515]
tent they asked their mother for some water to wash their hands with,
and Frank tied his quiver and bow to the southwest post while Roaming
Leader tied his at the northwest. Then they sat down on either side of
the entrance. The men talked about how they had killed the buffalo that
day and how there had been good herds north of the river. The family [264]
had its meal of bread and ribs and then the boy Might-Be-Chief was sent
around to call in the other members of the council. He also called in
Horse Rider to help the errand man Know-His-Face to cook for the feast.

THE HAKO

THE PREPARATION

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The ceremony of the Hako is a prayer for children, in order that the tribe may increase and be strong; and also that the people may [782] have long life, enjoy plenty, and be happy and at peace.

The articles that are used in the ceremony can be prepared only under the direction and supervision of a man who has been taught the sacred songs in their sequence and instructed as to their meaning. Such a man is called Ku'rahus, which means a man of years, venerated for his knowledge and experience.

When a man intends to inaugurate a party for the performance of this ceremony, he selects a Ku'rahus to have complete charge of it, and fixes a day when the preliminary rites are to be performed. On [783] that day the Ku'rahus goes into the sweat lodge and there purifies himself. When he has come out of the sweat bath and has cooled off a little, he places sweet grass on a small pile of coals. Then he sits ● [516] down (on his heels) and draws a robe about himself and the coals, so that the smoke of the sweet grass may reach every part of his body. He then takes a bit of fat which has been preserved from a deer or buffalo consecrated to Tira'wa, and mixes it with red paint and anoints himself. Then he puts on his leggings and moccasins, and a buffalo robe, with the hair outside, tying it about the waist with a rope made of buffalo hair. He fastens a white, downy eagle feather in his scalp lock and goes to the lodge of the man who has inaugurated the party. [793] He takes with him a man as assistant; he is also accompanied by another man, who is learning the songs and the details of the ceremony, preparatory to becoming himself able to conduct this rite, but whose present duty is to minister to the wants of the Ku'rahus.

At the lodge the chiefs and leading men of the village have been assembled, with those who have agreed to be of the party and have contributed the requisite gifts. This lodge has been swept clean and put in order for the occasion. The Ku'rahus takes his seat at the west end of the lodge, facing the east, and before him, spread out on a mat, are the materials for the preparation of the ceremonial articles.

After the Ku'rahus has begun to sing the songs belonging to the act of preparing these articles there must be no coming in or going out of the lodge, and no one can move from his place until this (the first ritual) has been completed. An exception is made in the case of two men who are sent out by the Ku'rahus to cut and bring in two sticks of ash. They go out during the singing of a certain stanza of the first song and must return while another particular stanza of the same song is being sung.

525 "All right now, let's go ahead." Knifechief gets up and gives 619 one bone to a Skiri man; the Kitkahaxkiˣ leader rises and gives one to a Kitkahaxkiˣ man. In this way the two are selected as guessers for their respective sides.

Now all the players begin to sing and yell. The two guessers are on their feet facing each other. The Skiri hides the bone first, the Kitkahaxkiˣ must guess first. The one who wins them gives them out to hide to any two players on his side regardless of where they sit. He picks them because they are clever at hiding the bones, at deceiving the guessers, at confusing them by shifting the bone almost invisibly from one hand to another. The guesser watches closely. He notes the gestures with the hands and arms, the body movements; he watches eyes for a hint.

As soon as one guesser has won the two bones he takes them to his side of the fire to two players. His opponent crosses into enemy territory to follow the trail and find them. His side is quiet now, [516 while the players of the side hiding the bones are all singing and 825] clapping hands. Some are yelling to frighten the guesser. Others make gestures to confuse him. The hiders imitate some animal in their body movements and the positions of their clenched hands.

[201 He wins them back. At once his side begins to yell with their hands over their mouths, he-e-e-e- in a high loud voice. Then they 533] begin to sing. Old hand game songs, songs caricaturing things and people, funny songs, coarse songs.

To follow the trail of the bones when they are won and carried across to the other side is to trail the enemy. The guesser searches for tracks. A player on the hiding side goes to the fire for handfuls [789] of cold ashes from the fire's edge. He sprinkles it like falling snow. He calls aloud, "The snow covers up the tracks now, you cannot see them."

Thus after an enemy raid in late fall when men started after the retreating warparty to regain captured horses the falling snow obliterated the trail. To the Pawnee the little dramatic act has similar power to obliterate the unseen trail of the bones from hand to hand, to blind the guesser. The guesser shields his eyes with his hand and peers through the falling ashes to see the tracks.

In time to the clapping of hands and the rhythm of singing, the [825] hiders and all the players of that side move their arms and bodies back and forth, back and forth. When they hide some imitate crows, some deer, some buffalo, some turkeys.

The Skiri win the first game. Their side carries off the stakes.

525 Now the Skiri begin to sing Crazy Dog dance songs, songs of 533 reckless bravery, self-abandonment on the warpath. Men careless
619

622 mitted his authority along with his bundle to his eldest son. These
565 hereditary chiefs, representing each of the villages, selected from among the leading warriors and those of high rank a sufficient number to make up the thirty-one. [The manuscript also contains a note that the chiefs' council could reject the son of a deceased chief if it did not consider him worthy. Also, if the dead chief left no offspring, the bundle was supposed to descend to the next oldest brother or nearest male kin; the brother married the chief's widow.]

The eldest son of a chief theoretically inherited his father's position, and if he proved worthy was duly made chief on reaching the proper age. At this time the chief's bundle (North-Star bundle) was opened and a ceremony held. So far as known, the ritual accompanying the ceremony has not been sung for more than thirty years, and there is no Skidi living today (1907) who knows it.

It has been mentioned that the hereditary chiefs could invite men who had proved themselves worthy and make them chiefs. When this course was decided upon, the chiefs invited the one selected to the lodge four times. He declined the first three times, but on the fourth invitation went to the lodge, bringing with him ponies and parfleches of meat, which he presented to the chiefs. He was then made chief, but did not have his face painted, and his sons were not considered chiefs.

The son of a chief other than the eldest, or indeed any man, might make four deer holy and offer them to the four chiefs of the Four-Band village. With the consent of the other hereditary chiefs they then asked the candidate to the lodge and offered him a pipe to smoke, after which he could sit in the chief's council. [Presumably he did not have the rank of a chief, however.]

622 During council the chiefs were supposed to sit cross-legged in
● [516] an erect attitude, never in a lounging position. The mark of office
623 was a red-painted face with a blue semi-circular line extending from
531 in front of each ear and passing over the forehead, and a symbol on
302 the forehead representing the so-called Turkey's Foot constellation.
565 An eagle feather was worn in the hair, while ordinarily the costume consisted of leggings fringed with eagle feathers and human hair from scalps, and a buffalo-skin robe on which were depicted stars, the sun, or war scenes.

622 Perhaps the most important characteristic of a chief was that
[928] he was a peace-maker and guardian of the village rather than a
538 warrior; there are many incidents in the myths expressing the idea
565 that a man who has often been on the warpath becomes imbued with

571 plan was applied to any larger gathering as well as to more casual encoun-
574 ters. The seating was aways according to relative social status and the
[521] right of priority in conversation was always determined by rank. There
[554] was little room for simple, spontaneous, social contact in the life of a
mature man. Except for the intimacies of marriage, there was no opportunity for easy conversation between mature men and women either. Missionary Dunbar (1881, pp. 745-746) describes the conduct of the men:

> 571 [The Pawnees] were . . . among themselves very sociable. With the men
> 574 there was apt to be perhaps, an excess of formality in their formal gather-
> 517 ings, but this is a natural consequence of their oft-recurring feasts and
> councils. It was quite common for several men in the evening to meet in some house where tobacco was to be had, and there sit smoking and recounting their exploits. One of the party kept up a monotonous thumping upon a drum. Another would dance for a while, make a speech, and sit down. Another would follow with the same role, etc. At certain seasons such gatherings were of nightly occurrence, lasting usually well-nigh till daylight.
>
> 571 Akin to this trait of storytelling, was their delight in discussion. They
> 537 were extravagantly fond of debating what might be termed questions of
> 623 general principle, often exhibiting considerable tact in their manner of
> sustaining an argument. Their principal efforts of this kind were reserved for public occasions, such as councils. It was impossible to attend a tribal council where any important matter was pending and not be impressed with the power and cogency of their eloquence. The reputation of being
> [554] an orator was coveted, and a man, when once recognized as such, was sure
> to wield great influence. An orator when addressing a council upon a question in which he was thoroughly interested, seemed to appreciate fully the dignity of his position, and identifying himself with the cause he advocated, and addressing himself directly to the person he was attempting to answer or convince, his speech would become vividly dramatic.

Tribal Fun and Games

609 Theoretically, friendships were best formed within one's own village
621 for beyond that was a kind of social "No-Man's Land." Sometimes,
[572] however, the wall of suspicion broke down, as in one story we heard related:

> 609 The members of the different bands didn't like each other as a rule.
> 621 We would say, "Don't bother with them (referring to people of another
> 539 village or band), they're mean."
>
> But some nice evening the Man-Going-Downstream Band and the Meat-Beggars would join the Little-Earth-Lodge Band and the children

592 Clear Day and Blue Calico, "I can take care of the housework myself. You two go plant your field." On the North Side, White Woman had a double role to play and was hard pressed for time. She had "to take care of her husband" and was also the main provisioner of the North Side of
[437] the household. She was responsible for repairing her husband's moccasins when they wore out; when he went to the trade store to trade in a buffalo robe for supplies of flour, coffee, sugar, prunes, or dried apples she would accompany him to do most of the carrying. Whether he went on horseback or on foot, he would carry only small items, being poised for any threatened attack. When she became overburdened with work in this way at the crucial time of planting, the two old women on her side, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, would come to her aid. "Let's get through with our 'daughter's' field first. She has to do the cooking for the whole family and take care of her husband." The three of them would then go out together and finish up White Woman's field and then the two old women would work each other's fields in turn cooperatively.

• 517 On the way home from the fields they all washed their hoes and took a swim in Beaver Creek. Heads would be bobbing up and down all over
526 as they swam back and forth. When they finished their swim and cleaned
313 their hoes, they would pick up whatever driftwood they could find and
515 take it home. High water sometimes left good sticks at the bend of the creek. This moist wood was piled way at the back of the woodpile, since unless it was left to dry out it would smoke and hurt the eyes. The young women sat on the banks of the creek and slapped the surface with their feet to see who could make the loudest noise. This was considered quite a trick, and sometimes they tried it with their hands. It was like the sound of the dried corn kernels when they were threshed at the time of harvest, and expressed the hope that the corn might ripen.

343 Sometimes a sweat bath was preferred to a swim in the creek. When
515 they got home tired and dirty they would then build a sweat lodge inside
888 the earth lodge on the north side. All during planting time an old man would sit on the roof of his earth lodge in the evening and call out vari-
521 ous items of advice. He would particularly recommend a sweat bath. He would say, "If you're tired it's best to sweat. Then you will feel better
[757] next day. If you should have a headache, you must sweat. When you get
[515] in from the fields, take a sweat bath. It cleans you up better than the creek." There were many other things the old man had to say, particularly complimentary remarks to the women to bolster their morale. After some general praises, he would cite some particular women specifically, saying how industrious they were and what fine crops they raised. Presently a little boy or girl would come and invite the old man to a little treat in the home of the woman he had mentioned, usually some bread and coffee.

46

A TIME FOR STORYTELLING AND FOR LEISURE

000 *Old Men Invited to Talk of Old Times—the Storytelling Sessions—after Eating, the Stories—Eagle Chief Begins—War Cry Tells of a Fight with the Sioux—Storytelling Continues through the Night*

517 THE SERIOUS BUSINESS of the season being over, the men would get together in one or another of the earth lodges to tell stories of the old times and to review past events. They had worked hard hunting the buffalo, making the harvest and performing their dances, and now it would be pleasant to sit around the fire and enjoy a little leisure before they set out again for the buffalo hunting grounds.

517
887
574
538 Old men especially are invited for they are going to talk of the Old Village, Kitahaxpakuxtu, and how things used to be and came to be. In the fall was the good time of year to be telling these stories when it's not too cold and not too hot, but just nice to have a fire—after the harvest. When people hear who is invited—old men, chiefs, warriors—they know there is going to be storytelling. These sessions would begin after supper about eight o'clock in the evening and continue on throughout the night. Refreshments would be served from time to time consisting of fried bread, cooked dried apples and coffee. The smell of the bread cooking would be wafted over the village if there was a wind blowing and someone would just follow his nose and come in. Or else he could see the smoke of the fire and would come in. As soon as he got inside they would all say, "Nawa, sit down on any side." The chiefs were ranged at the west, and on the east along both sides

sat the old men. Casual guests sat in the spaces in between. People from the other villages would also hear about it and wander in. Sometimes quite a large group would be gathered there. 517 887 574 538 [825]

Once Victory Call served as temporary Agency policeman and when he got an extra sack of flour for his services, he decided to have a storytelling session in his lodge. He sent Horse Rider especially to invite a number of old men: Pipe Offering, That-Chief, Heavy Trophies, Arrived, Warrior (also known as Big Knife, a name also used to refer to white people—a lively raconteur), Know-His-Face, Good-Land, Wonderful Old Buffalo Bull, and Buffalo Ghost—nine in all. Then he was sent to call in some chiefs—Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge and Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine as well as Sitting Hawk and Good Pipe—and braves—War Cry and Bringing Horses. From Bottomlands and Wolf-in-Water villages they would wander in without being invited, knowing what sort of group it was to be. While White Woman was doing the cooking, the old men were telling each other how many different places were calling them in to tell stories. The women would say, "We're through cooking," and put the bread and coffee near Victory Call a little off to his right. Now all the women retired to their beds, and as they lay there they would hear the stories.

Victory Call addressed his guests by name and kin term and said, "We have a little something here for you to eat. I thought I'd invite you here tonight so that I could see you here. Now this meeting is called simply because I want you folks to tell some old-time stories." All said, "Nawa," and Victory Call then turned over the meeting to Lone Chief and Eagle Chief who directed the proceedings from then on. They directed the two errand men to serve the food and by the time they had finished eating it was ten o'clock.

Now Eagle Chief spoke, urging Old Man Warrior to begin. But Old Man Warrior parried his suggestion with, "We old men here know how things should be done and the custom is that the leader has to tell the first story. Isn't that right, That-Chief?" "That's right," said That-Chief, "the leader has to tell the story first." "Well," said Eagle Chief laughing, "I thought I could get you to do it, but I guess I'll have to." "You start it out and we'll follow," said the old men.

When Eagle Chief began, he opened with a discussion of what sort of a story it ought to be, a long or a short one. "I have stories, but if I tell a war story, it will be a pretty long one. If I tell a story of the Sioux coming on the warpath to attack the village, it will be sort of a short one. If I tell of my trip to Washington, it will be of medium length." The old men were thinking they would rather have old-time stories so that they could reminisce about the past, but someone finally spoke up in favor

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

517 of a short story and said, "Let's hear stories about 'at home' [the Sioux
887 attacking the village]. After a while we'll get away from the village and
574 on the warpath." It was now understood that he would tell a story of at-
538 tack on the village and that he would be followed by a story on the same
theme by his brave, War Cry, after which the old men would begin. In both stories, the enemy was repulsed, not by main force alone, but by the power of the Peace Pipe, which is "beloved of Heaven."

539 "Now I'll tell a story," said Eagle Chief. "Now you all know when
721 you first took me as a chief and when I was going to Washington, on
(648) the morning of the day that was set for us to go, I was all dressed
up. I was wearing my government coat, and of course, my leggings and moccasins. I was wearing my government medal. Finally the delegation left the village and when we got about five miles east, all at once one of the men in the back said, 'Look back at the village. There must be a warpath coming!' We could see everyone standing on top of the earth lodges. 'Well boys,' I said, 'let's go back.' The Kitkehaxkis, Tsawis, Pitahawiratas and us Skidis all went back to our villages." As he told the story the old men sat smoking and they said, "That's the time. That's it."

"Well when I came to my earth lodge, I looked at my wives there and said, 'Dear wives, maybe Heaven doesn't want me to see the great government.' At the same time my horse was way out there and I had to get to it to go on the warpath. All I took was my bow and arrows. I walked over to the sacred bundle and there on top were the Pipe Dance sticks. I took the one with the black eagle feathers (the male pipestem). That was all I took with me. I said to my wives, 'Now if it's the will of Heaven, I'll come back. If not, I won't. I may not come back.' It was because I had heard old people say that Heaven loves these pipes, that I took it with me.

"I got on the horse and went to where the fighting was going on. 'Well, this is my last day,' I thought to myself. Because the pipestem has two soft feathers on it and I didn't want them to touch my horse, I raised it up out of the way. I rode right through where the Sioux were and to the fighting line. I arrived at the front line with a Sioux close on one side of me, one on the other side and one directly in front. When I arrived at the front line, the Sioux turned back their horses and started to flee. There I was facing the whole line of Sioux, holding my pipe up like this. As the retreating line was going, you could see the dust. But I still had my original Sioux escorts. Wedged in between them, they didn't dare to try and shoot me with their bow and arrow as they were likely to shoot each other in the attempt. I raised this pipe and hit the one that was riding in front of me right on the back of his head. I reined in my horse and they rode ahead. We had ridden way

538 the north star, and going a little to the east, even though it was night, he
821 was able to overtake his companions. "This happened many times," he
484 said.

538 Another old man would take up where he left off and tell more stories
in the same vein. "Because the stars and the planets appear to be moving,
821 the Indians believe the earth is still." Then they began to argue about
805 the question of "the thirteenth month." Some said, "Not now," others
thought this was the time. They spoke of the position of the constellations, "first one snake, then two ducks and then the real rattlesnakes (Scorpio). That marks the beginning of the year—the spring. The
538 months should coincide with these constellations." Of the regular twelve
months, nine were named for familiar activities—clearing, planting, cul-
821 tivating, hunting, and harvest—while the tenth and eleventh were paired
805 and named after the constellations—little duck (*kiwakski*) and big duck
192 (*kiwaks-kutsu*). The twelfth month was called *kaata*, darkness. It was
through the observation of the position of the constellations that the regular month names had to be set in their proper course for the various activities for which they were named. In the year when the intercalary month was introduced, the two duck months were thought of as being paired, and then *kaata*, darkness, paired with the introduced month; the rest of the months of the year being paired accordingly, with the fifth month, viz., the June 19–July 18 month "standing alone." This was the month when one went off on the summer hunt. The thirteenth or intercalary month, had a variety of names, the most usual being Entrance Passageway to the earth lodge, *Puhuweturukut*, or the Skidi version, *Puhuwaturukat*, the long 10- or 15-foot entranceway. Alternative names had various references: If it had thundered from the north (rather than the south) when they got back, they thought the cold weather would last late into the spring and they called the month, *Paruks-ti-taka*, Thunder or Storm-It-Is-White, for the snow they expected to have. Another name for this month was Hidden Child, *pira-paru*, "child-hidden," the Pawnee equivalent of our "illegitimate child." The reference was to abortion for it was said that the abandoned foetus was more conspicuous on the snow during that season than on the bare ground. A further name, *atatpiiwa*, is of unknown significance. From this example, it should be
538 clear that the storytelling session was not a mere leisure pastime. Through
517 it was transmitted history, climatology, theology, the logistics of war,
topography, and many other important facets of Pawnee knowledge.
[224] Such a session was an invaluable preamble to setting out on the winter
hunt.

In the village, it was a major leisure-time preoccupation of men of all ages. 526
Every village had one or two well-worn tracks. The gaming ground was 517
the place where men would meet informally to transact most of their social, 571
commercial, and political business. The formality of entertaining at home imposed more constraints and was commonly reserved for the more advanced stages of negotiations.

The basic paraphernalia for the game comprised a long "spear" and a 526
hoop which was rolled down the long track and at which the spear was aimed as the men ran alongside.

The smallest boys began with a plain hoop, *tawirus*, "wheel," made for them by their grandmothers. The wheel was made of a peeled ashwood stick formed into a ring and tied at the ends. It was then entirely wrapped with a rawhide string and greased with buffalo fat so that it would not harden. It is not clear whether the boys shot at the wheel with arrows as told in a myth, or simply threw a pole or "lance" at it.

The second grade for young men was played with a wheel of small size—the *tawirus-pitku-sukita*, "wheel-two-upon." It is not clear whether the basis of this wheel was of wood or several coils of rawhide as for the succeeding grade. The base was completely wrapped with a strip of buckskin. The rings were supposed to represent a buffalo cow and were to be made of the skin of the vulva of the buffalo. The fore end of the stick was carved with a kind of knob to signify the penis of a buffalo. These aspects 526
of the symbolism are recounted in a tale of how Coyote rescues a 773
maiden who has been captured by the buffalo and taken to their village and turned into a gaming ring. In the course of the story, the play of the game is described:

Coyote is sitting in the buffalo village as a spectator of the game at the north end of the gaming ground. The two buffalo now arise, one of them taking the ring. (The ground is about 60 paces long, 15 wide and runs in a north-south direction in the length.) The players begin to run at the south end and when they get to about the middle, the one holding the ring rolls it toward the north, releasing it from between his thumb and forefinger and changing his spear from his left to his right hand. The two players now aim simultaneously at the rolling hoop so that the spears glide along the ground and overtake it, the best score being made by catching the ring with one of the small hooks near the hand end of the spear. Other points were gained by hooking with the end of the stick one of the cross pieces near the handle end or the large hook. It often happened that the spear did not catch the hoop at all and then points were calculated by the position of the spear with relation to the hoop—measurements being taken with a straw by someone who acted as umpire.

When the two players have reached the north end of the grounds, they picked up the ring and the sticks and started for the south end, rolling the ring as before and throwing the spears to score. Each set of play-

came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui 764
priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was 778
very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if
he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the
pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of 572
friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particu- 888
larly to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally 759
claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age.
They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the
Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the 562
priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the 834
Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until [291]
well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the [515]
lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no [521]
subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

224 drum sounded, and a dozen or twenty young warriors sprang into the
796 circle and began the buffalo dance. This was kept up without intermission
for three days, and as soon as it was over, the tribe moved
out of the village on the hunt.

224 From the village on the Loup, we traveled southward; for in those
days the region between the Platte and the Smoky rivers swarmed
with buffalo. With the Pawnees were a few Poncas, Omahas and
Otoes, so that there were about four thousand Indians in the camp.
[221] It was the summer hunt of the tribe. Twice each year the agent permitted
them to visit the buffalo range. The meat which they killed
[251 and dried on these hunts, the corn and squashes which they grew
511] on their farms, and the small annuities received from the Government,
were all they had to subsist on from season to season. Thus
the occasion was one of importance to the Indians. Perhaps only the
older heads among them fully appreciated its economic interest; but
for all it was a holiday time; a temporary escape from confinement.
[512 Life on the reservation was monotonous. There was nothing to do
521] except to sit in the sun and smoke, and tell stories of the former
glories of the nation; of successful fights with the Sioux and Cheyennes,
and of horse stealing expeditions, from which the heroes had
returned with great herds of ponies and much glory. Now, for a
little while, they returned to the old free life of earlier years, when
the land had been all their own, and they had wandered at will over
the broad expanse of the rolling prairie. Now, for a time, it was as
it had been before the cornfields of the white man had begun to
dot their river bottoms, before the sound of his rifle had made wild
their game, before the locomotive's whistle had shrieked through
the still, hot summer air. Half a year's provision was now to be
secured. The comfort—almost the existence—of the tribe for the
next six months depended on the accumulation of an abundant supply
of dried buffalo meat, and no precaution was omitted to make the
hunt successful. It would not do to permit each individual to hunt
independently. Indiscriminate buffalo running by six or eight hundred
men scattered over the prairie, each one working for himself alone,
would result in the killing of some few buffalo, but would terrify
and drive away all the others in the neighborhood. This matter was
too important to be trusted to chance. The hunting was systematized.

rank. Her marriage to Old Bull was apparently a case of a more mature 159
woman taking a younger man for her second husband. Her children 595
by her first marriage were growing up and were off at school, and she
had started a second family with Old Bull. With him she had two small
boys, one three years old and one still younger. She carried the whole
responsibility for the household since the gambling habits of the
younger wife left her with very little help. Blue Calico, the mother of
the younger wife tried to compensate for this situation by being especially helpful to Queen Woman, giving her extra supplies to cook for all
of them and a great deal of extra help "beyond the call of duty."
Queen Woman was of French-Pawnee extraction, the French ancestor
being relatively recent as reflected in her rather light complexion and
mixed features. She was related to the family of the interpreter, Frank
Deteyr, who was killed by the Sioux in the fall of 1861. She was quiet 159
and conservative in her social approach and sometimes Old Bull would 521
jokingly remark, "Why don't you talk once in a while?" "Well," she replied quite literally, "I have nothing to say." Most Pawnee women countered such remarks with a more lively retort. Her character was described in the following terms:

> She just went about her work. If other women came to visit, they would tell her stories about what was going on, but she would never repeat them. She never went out except to get a bucket of water with White Woman. People said of her, "She's a nice woman. She doesn't say much or gossip about anyone. You might tell her something but she doesn't repeat it or make any remarks about it." The two wives got along nicely together. Queen Woman never did any gambling herself, and she never made any remarks to Clear Day about her gambling.

Old Lady Blue Calico was the mother of Old Bull's younger wife 159
Clear Day and grandmother of the south half of the house. The Paw- 592
nee name of Blue Calico was *Ts-tapit-tarius*, "woman-bought goods-blue,"
referring probably to a time when her uncle was portioning out a government allotment of goods or the spoils of a profitable trading expedition of his own and gave her a particularly nice piece of blue calico in the process.

Her personality was more lively than Grandma Chase-the-Enemy 159
but less so than the rough and ready Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy. 574
Her joking remarks and her general activity were a little more con-
spicuous than Otter's quieter grandmother. Blue Calico always went off 592
to the Village-in-the-Bottomlands where she had come from to visit a special old lady friend there. The two old women on the north side had their own friends in Pumpkin-Vine Village. If Blue Calico wanted to

3.	*aritit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you)	539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.	
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)	

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiktu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tihi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562
fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the house-
hold routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [584]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 885
occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 525
ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de- [587]
velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521
[597]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

571 and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and
521 often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque grouping and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for
[551] a tall, slender person, *asu-katu-has-tawiu* ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of a shoe string), or *karastiat* ("I will not go out"); *kusatsua* ("it will rain"). In reply, *A* ("well"), *uksawatsatsua* ("even if it were to rain"), *kaiit* ("salt"); *karas* ("are you?").

857 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and
858 types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in
867 early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not
[601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term
[551] of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey, etc.

883 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out
572 to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the
[726] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous occasions.

533 Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the
[726] night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching. Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting, and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar,
[539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

sirawari i	They two who are traveling, 533
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a	Alone, they two who are traveling, 539
tsapat-i witiwaku	A young woman, it is said that she says:
sikatasiwaktiks-a	I wonder if they two are true (to each other).
tskara, siraawari-i-a-a-a-a	

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their 883
parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not uncommonly 572
grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, 554
a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally
from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46-50) 539
of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of 883
wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the 572
son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys 554
liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all, while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys
a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to induce [829]
boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some historical [867]
basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the mature 571
Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured 574
within the house even when only two were sitting together. First [782]
there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the [276]
pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversation [521]
or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

571 574 [521] [554] plan was applied to any larger gathering as well as to more casual encounters. The seating was aways according to relative social status and the right of priority in conversation was always determined by rank. There was little room for simple, spontaneous, social contact in the life of a mature man. Except for the intimacies of marriage, there was no opportunity for easy conversation between mature men and women either. Missionary Dunbar (1881, pp. 745-746) describes the conduct of the men:

> 571 574 517 [The Pawnees] were . . . among themselves very sociable. With the men there was apt to be perhaps, an excess of formality in their formal gatherings, but this is a natural consequence of their oft-recurring feasts and councils. It was quite common for several men in the evening to meet in some house where tobacco was to be had, and there sit smoking and recounting their exploits. One of the party kept up a monotonous thumping upon a drum. Another would dance for a while, make a speech, and sit down. Another would follow with the same role, etc. At certain seasons such gatherings were of nightly occurrence, lasting usually well-nigh till daylight.
>
> 571 537 623 Akin to this trait of storytelling, was their delight in discussion. They were extravagantly fond of debating what might be termed questions of general principle, often exhibiting considerable tact in their manner of sustaining an argument. Their principal efforts of this kind were reserved for public occasions, such as councils. It was impossible to attend a tribal council where any important matter was pending and not be impressed with the power and cogency of their eloquence. The reputation of being [554] an orator was coveted, and a man, when once recognized as such, was sure to wield great influence. An orator when addressing a council upon a question in which he was thoroughly interested, seemed to appreciate fully the dignity of his position, and identifying himself with the cause he advocated, and addressing himself directly to the person he was attempting to answer or convince, his speech would become vividly dramatic.

Tribal Fun and Games

609 62 [572] Theoretically, friendships were best formed within one's own village for beyond that was a kind of social "No-Man's Land." Sometimes, however, the wall of suspicion broke down, as in one story we heard related:

> 609 621 539 The members of the different bands didn't like each other as a rule. We would say, "Don't bother with them (referring to people of another village or band), they're mean."
>
> But some nice evening the Man-Going-Downstream Band and the Meat-Beggars would join the Little-Earth-Lodge Band and the children

the altar there. Out of delicacy, she did not offer corn to the sacred ears in 264
the bundle; if they had had buffalo meat she would have offered it there 782
but not to the buffalo skull.

Now the meal began, and it was proper that they have light conversation 264
while eating. Their conversation turned to getting water for the 521
household and wood for fuel, the care of the horses, and the food pit. White Woman remarked to Clear Day, who was sitting on the other side of the fireplace, "After breakfast, let's take two kettles and get some water." The other women talked about opening up the food pit and sorting out the good corn from the rotten and about exposing dry meat to the wind and sun. Victory Call talked to Horse Rider, who was sitting at his left, about the horses. He said, "Right up near where the horses are you might find some mushrooms and milkweed so that the women can cook the tops." Then the women chimed in, "I wish you could get some milkweed. That's good mixed with corn." Then Victory Call spoke of the horses: "If there's a good runner among them, get on him and give him some exercise so that we can train him as a buffalo horse. You must look around meanwhile and see if you see some deer tracks. We might go hunting. In the evening take the horses to a safe-hiding place and hobble them so that the Sioux won't steal them. Look way off in all directions and if you see anyone lurking about bring them right home and put them in the corral. They won't starve for one night. In the morning we'll turn them loose and they can make up for it." "All right, I'll look around," said Horse Rider, "I'll be home late." Victory Call had some further reminders for him. He asked him if he had any parched corn with salt so that the horses would get thirsty and drink. He also reminded him that he should wet the sides of the horses and then they would rub themselves on the grass and shed their old hair. This was a necessary precaution, as they had no curry comb. Horse Rider actually knew all this, but he listened respectfully.

The meal now over, White Woman cleaned up the dishes and started 264
out with Clear Day to get the water. It was a mile to Beaver Creek, and it 512
was necessary to go at least twice a day to get water for the household. 312
Horse Rider usually helped by making at least one of these trips. The 482
two women now set out with two buckets hanging on a seven-foot-long stick which rested on their right shoulders, one woman walking in front and one behind, with the buckets between. The stick, ordinarily used as a digging iron, had one end fire-hardened and sharpened to a point, the other end being forked. At this time after breakfast and especially just before eating supper, many people were walking toward the creek for the same purpose.

Horse Rider left the lodge to take care of the horses, and Old Bull and 512
Victory Call remained seated in their place, smoking their pipe and con- 462
tinuing their conversation. The old ladies who were left behind looked [887]

sharpen up his axe, fix up the ropes, borrow a horse to haul the wood if 623
you need one. If two or three lodges are going afoot together, they must 203
keep in line so that we know where you are." (Those with horses were in 722
less danger and might go in any order.) There was another thing he 313
warned them against—that is, taking young girls along. They were just
the ones the Sioux would be trying to capture, and the old man remarked,
they weren't really strong enough to carry wood anyway! Another dan-
ger was a magical one. The spirits of men who had been scalped by an [775]
enemy were very much feared. They were thought to lurk all around,
trying to capture women or steal whatever else they could get their hands
on. So the old man cautioned, "If a woman hasn't kept up, the line must
wait for her until she arrives. She might be captured by one of the
scalped men. This is the time you have to look out for that."

When the young men heard the crier's announcement, five or six of 722
them would gather together at a favorite rendezvous and say, "Let's go
together with our bows and arrows real early before the others and stay
up there until everyone comes home." According to their plan, on the ap-
pointed morning they would go out before the others and disburse over
the area to see whether the enemy was lurking about. They would leave
the villages about 7:30 in the morning and stay out all day.

The chiefs' meeting had come to an end that afternoon while it was 574
still full daylight. Old Bull had gone off to tend his horses. Victory Call, 521
having nothing in particular to do since he had Horse Rider to help him,
wandered over to the gaming grounds where some of the men were clus-
tered about making their bets on the outcome of the hoop and spear
game, while others were just watching on the sidelines. Victory Call sat
down at some distance from the game and two of the spectators came to
join him. The man who sat down at his left filled up his pipe and offered [276]
it to Victory Call, lighting it for him. Victory Call offered the mouth-
piece upward for the first puff to the cosmic powers in the heavens say- [782]
ing, "Greetings, all of you spread out up there." Then he offered the
mouthpiece to the earth and said, "Greetings, my mother." Now he took
two puffs on the pipe and began to share it with the men on each side of
him in the alternation: first to the right, then himself, then to the left, and
so on. When the pipe was smoked out, Victory Call was feeling in a ge-
nial mood. He made a special arrangement of his robe that had up to now
been carelessly draped around his shoulders. He drew it down to his waist
and, crossing his legs with the robe folded in a certain order, showed by
this token that he was ready to tell a story. The men who had sat down
with him were anxious to hear what the chief had to say, and particu-
larly what had gone on in the meeting he had just attended before the
crier got around to announcing it. Several more men joined the party
with the same idea in mind. Victory Call might begin directly, or one of
the men would suggest it obliquely saying, "I heard you had a feast."

574 "Yes, we had a feast. It was about having the whole tribe go out for
521 wood." "Yes," one of the men would say, "springtime is coming now and it's about time we got the wood ready. Womenfolk have to go to the fields." Now they would exchange stories until sundown—about war exploits and the horses they had succeeded in getting from the enemy, in which direction they went when they got them, about scouting in the U.S. Army and other similar topics. After about half an hour, the man
[276] on his right filled the pipe, but Victory Call ceded it to him. He made
[782] the offering to heaven and to earth, and the pipe was passed between them back and forth until they had smoked the tobacco in it. While the storytelling was going on, one of the men decided that he would entertain the chief at his house for dinner and sent a little boy with a message for his wife to prepare a meal for their honored guest. When he was notified that the meal was ready he said to Victory Call, "I want you to come up to my lodge. We're going to have a little bite." The host would call over one or two more and invite them to join the party, saying "I want you to come up. We're going to have something to eat."

574 Victory Call was seated in the place of honor at the northwest and the
[554] host at the southeast. The women of the house dished out the food and passed it around. After they had eaten, Victory Call got up first and left walking out by the north side of the lodge. After he had gone they would say, "He's a good chief. He goes about and sees what's going on."

When Victory Call got home that evening, he found White Woman waiting up for him. "I've already eaten," he said. White Woman retorted by way of banter, "I didn't ask you if you had eaten." Then he sat down by the fire and she brought him his tobacco pouch. Guests were likely to come in soon and join him for the rest of the evening for a smoke and some talk. Before the guests arrived, they divided into very small pieces the meat that Victory Call had brought home from the chiefs' meeting so that everyone could have a taste.

When the first guest arrived, Victory Call offered him his pipe and said to White Woman, "Cook something." The guest had just had his dinner and said, "No, no, I've already eaten." Then a little time passed and another guest wandered in. He happened to be hungry and he remarked, "I'd like something to eat," and then White Woman had to get to work and prepare something. By this time all the others who were sitting around would have worked up an appetite and Victory Call would say, "Maybe those fellows are hungry. Maybe they can eat." And so the cooking started up again.

574 They talked about hunting, trapping, the warpath, chasing the buffalo,
521 and some other incidents that they had seen or heard. Sitting Bull would begin by telling a story on himself. He told that once he had killed a deer and his kinsman came along. Ordinarily he would be expected to give him half the kill, but he had diverted his attention saying, "Go fol-

low the track, the deer went that way. I shot at him and missed." Now he 574
told of how he had hidden the deer so that he wouldn't have to share
it. Now Riding-In joined in and said, "I did the same thing once. I killed 521
a buck and put him in a trough and when my kinsman came along I said, "I shot at that deer and missed him, but you're on horseback, so you can go after him." If either of the aggrieved kinsmen were present the guilty hunter would remark, "Now I wish I had given you half." There would be no hard feelings on anyone's part as they would feel that bygones were bygones. The talk went on for some hours and finally all the women had gone to bed. Midnight was the customary time to stop. Someone went outside and looked at the stars. He came in and remarked, "It's midnight. We're all sleepy. We'd better go to bed." They would all go out together and look at the stars and the guests would leave for their
own homes. The men of the lodge went out together to tend to their [722]
needs before going to bed. This was for their mutual protection, as [514]
there was always the possibility of a Sioux lurking in the shadows ready to attack an individual alone. Before going to bed, the women would also go in a group with a man along for their protection.

Victory Call planned to go deer hunting next day. He made lead bul- 224
lets, cleaned his gun, and loaded it with shavings along with the bullets so that they would ignite. He filled his horn with powder and now he was ready for the morning. Old Bull took note of his preparations and planned to be near the house that day for protection in case of attack. Next morning, Victory Call got up way before down. He made the fire and left before breakfast. White Woman would get up later and prepare the breakfast for the lodge.

592 Clear Day and Blue Calico, "I can take care of the housework myself.
You two go plant your field." On the North Side, White Woman had a
double role to play and was hard pressed for time. She had "to take care
of her husband" and was also the main provisioner of the North Side of
the household. She was responsible for repairing her husband's moccasins
[437] when they wore out; when he went to the trade store to trade in a buf-
falo robe for supplies of flour, coffee, sugar, prunes, or dried apples she
would accompany him to do most of the carrying. Whether he went on
horseback or on foot, he would carry only small items, being poised for
any threatened attack. When she became overburdened with work in this
way at the crucial time of planting, the two old women on her side,
Grandma Chase-the-Enemy and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, would
come to her aid. "Let's get through with our 'daughter's' field first. She
has to do the cooking for the whole family and take care of her husband."
The three of them would then go out together and finish up White
Woman's field and then the two old women would work each other's
fields in turn cooperatively.

517 On the way home from the fields they all washed their hoes and took
a swim in Beaver Creek. Heads would be bobbing up and down all over
526 as they swam back and forth. When they finished their swim and cleaned
313 their hoes, they would pick up whatever driftwood they could find and
515 take it home. High water sometimes left good sticks at the bend of the
creek. This moist wood was piled way at the back of the woodpile, since
unless it was left to dry out it would smoke and hurt the eyes. The
young women sat on the banks of the creek and slapped the surface
with their feet to see who could make the loudest noise. This was con-
sidered quite a trick, and sometimes they tried it with their hands. It was
like the sound of the dried corn kernels when they were threshed at the
time of harvest, and expressed the hope that the corn might ripen.

343 Sometimes a sweat bath was preferred to a swim in the creek. When
515 they got home tired and dirty they would then build a sweat lodge inside
the earth lodge on the north side. All during planting time an old man
888 would sit on the roof of his earth lodge in the evening and call out vari-
•521 ous items of advice. He would particularly recommend a sweat bath. He
would say, "If you're tired it's best to sweat. Then you will feel better
[757] next day. If you should have a headache, you must sweat. When you get
[515] in from the fields, take a sweat bath. It cleans you up better than the
creek." There were many other things the old man had to say, particu-
larly complimentary remarks to the women to bolster their morale. After
some general praises, he would cite some particular women specifically,
saying how industrious they were and what fine crops they raised. Pres-
ently a little boy or girl would come and invite the old man to a little treat
in the home of the woman he had mentioned, usually some bread and
coffee.

The following is a simplified translation of an old Pawnee woman's statement of her experience of planting when she was a little girl in Nebraska, and a more exact statement of the old man's speech: 887 521 539

> An old man sitting on top of the earth lodge would be talking to the women at the time when they were going into the fields. He would say, "Now dear ladies, now you are disfiguring your bodies (getting them all muddy). Heaven has placed the wonderful bow and arrows in your hands. Heaven made it for you to be wonderful. You are wonderful! You repeatedly keep 'swelling me up.' When you put the corn in and it comes peeping out, that's what you fatten me with, my dear ladies."
>
> Then we women began to cut the grass, that is, clear the field. And when I was not yet mature, they would get me up early in the morning while it was still dark, and we two, my mother and I, would be in her field. She would have some porridge there for me. When mother was planting, oh, the corn mound would be big! Then she would dig a hole in the top and place inside the mound, seven seeds—not bunched together, but separately spaced. Then she covered it over with earth and the mound would be smooth. [241]

One of the only common instances of group planting was "planting for the daughter-in-law." The women relatives of the newly married groom would plant, cultivate, and harvest the bride's first crop. As many as twenty-five women would be gathered in her field and they would go to her house and get her seeds and line up in the field ready to plant. The field, about "half a block" long was hoed and planted by the women more or less in unison while two old women sat at the far end singing a song from one of the sacred bundle ceremonies: 241 476 602 [533] [539]

You are just hoeing around,
Big ground, lucky ground.

They were ranged in rows and while the women sang they made the mounds. Then they put in the seeds and then they all went to the home of the daughter-in-law where they were entertained at a feast of corn and dried buffalo meat. They repeated this performance when the corn sprouted, when they cultivated the field, and again at harvest. [574]

224* 252

be used for water or dried as a tobacco container when they went on a Peace Pipe expedition.

While the cooking of the meal was in process, the brother returned from tending the horse and Roaming Leader motioned him to sit down at his left. The place at his right was reserved for his wife. Roaming Leader was sitting on the north side. He told his brother how far they had had to go in order to get the bison, how fast the horse was, and other details of the chase—of how three of them had chased two of the bison and the other two, the third animal—of how they butchered and divided up the meat and who got which pieces. 224* 521

Before he had quite finished with his account, his wife announced that she was through with the cooking. He had to interrupt his story, as they must eat at once because the buffalo meat was still lying outside on the spread. His wife's mother, Lady Lucky Leader, had come in meanwhile and her son, Dog-Sitting-at-the-West (also known as Frank Leader), and they joined the family for dinner. The tongue would have been adequate to feed the three of them, but with five they also needed to use the heart. Each one received a small piece of each kind of meat. The Pawnees believed that the first meat of the season should be cooked rare so that the digestive system could become accustomed to it. Roaming Leader remarked this to his wife, "Cook it a little rare. Don't overcook it—it's easier to digest that way." The meat was cut into long thin strips at this time so that it would boil quickly. 264 [827] [252]

As soon as they were through eating, Lady Lucky Leader went outside to tend to the meat. She gave some to the Meat-Askers and at Roaming Leader's instruction, prepared half of the backbone steak as a gift for White Eagle. First she removed the sinews and cut the steak in two. Since her daughter was busy with the dishes, she carried it to White Eagle's tent herself. As she approached, an old lady from White Eagle's tent noticed her coming and came out to meet her. She said, "I'm bringing meat," and the old lady replied, "Oh, thank you, thank you." As she handed over the meat she said, "Oh, they got three of them—three bison." As White Eagle's mother-in-law entered the tent she told him the news. "They found three bison so and so far." "That's all right!" he said. Some of the meat was cut into long strips and boiled right away, White Eagle making the usual remark about cooking it rare, and the rest of the steak was sliced up by the old lady preparatory to making it into dried meat for storage. 224* 252 431

After the families of each of the hunters had eaten their meal, they would prepare for their several banquets. Each of the five invited friends and prominent people from his own village—Mad Bear from Pumpkin-Vine, Running Scout from Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge, and Roaming Leader from his own Village-in-the-Bottomlands. New Young 574

talk, Comanche Chief. You have helped me a lot. I wanted someone of experience 574
to talk to Roaming Leader as you did. I could not have done
anything by myself. Only if Heaven is willing can we have good luck. The
other four hunters are sitting and feasting as we are. I can hardly
speak for I am so filled with joy. My food is right here and I am going
to eat these ribs here, and I thank your wife for doing the cooking.
That's all I want to say." Comanche Chief had an idea that his brave,
Strikes-the-Enemy, might want to make a few remarks and he nudged
him to get on with it. Finally Comanche Chief concluded the predinner
speeches and asked one of the men from his own village to serve.
The old lady, Roaming Leader's mother-in-law, had gone outside to tend
to the meat that was lying there and after the guests had received theirs,
and the host and his wife had their portions, meat was carried outside
for her.

During the meal, pleasant conversation was always the order of 574
the day. Stories were told and the events of the hunt recounted again 521 •
in detail. Then Comanche Chief made the closing speech, again mentioning
them all by name and thanking the host and his wife. "As you
and your wife intended, we have now partaken of this feast. White Eagle
has spoken and good luck may come to you. Now we have eaten. Now
we are going to go." As they got up to leave, Roaming Leader's wife
made a bantering remark to one of the men to whom she had a kin relationship
for which relaxed behavior was appropriate. She said, "What's
your hurry? Maybe you're in a hurry to go gambling." "No, I forgot
to hobble my horses. They're just about to go back to the last camp
where we came from." Roaming Leader told them to leave the rib bones
right in their places and his wife would tend to that. As they filed out, [576]
each one stopped before Roaming Leader and said, "Thank you for having
us to dinner."

This degree of formality was by no means the general rule among the 224*
less status-conscious members of the tribe. After this episode, any of [576]
the hunters who chose to could go out without special permission from
White Eagle. A man who had a gun was likely to go by himself, while
those with bows and arrows would go in small groups. They hoped to
find a stray buffalo or perhaps an antelope that had strayed from the
herds that were gathered on the plains like sheep. Young men twenty-eight
to thirty years old would be inclined to go together on such informal
expeditions. Very much like young white men who say, "Let's
go fishing," they would just go for the sport, and they would sit around
the fire and eat up whatever they had caught. Sometimes an older man
would feel in the same spirit and he would join in with them. "Never mind
about the chiefs and big fellows," they would say, "they won't invite
us. Let's eat." Then they would hold a mock feast and say, "I'll eat like
Comanche Chief." "And I'll eat like War Cry." "Here's your meat,

quite habitable. Each of the old ladies brought in her dried corn and put it on her side of the lodge. They slept over and talked that night about the events of the past summer. They had a good deal to tell one another. 000 521 887

Grandma began: "The first time we got buffalo, we had two, and my, I was slicing away to make the dry meat and White Woman was busy at the drying rack. Then we made bone grease. We had a hard time getting the flesh we scraped off the hides to dry." Grieves-the-Enemy commented: "I went out and got lots of intestines from the men after the kill." Grandma said, "I never got a chance to get out there, but Horse Rider brought in plenty of entrails. When we were south across the Republican, three of us old ladies found some wonderful turnips. Oh, I wish we had them now! We were shouting to each other, 'Here are some!' and everyone said the officers should have punished us for yelling like that (the buffalo might have been frightened), but they finally decided to let us alone to have our good time." They talked about how they would get Indian potatoes after they were well settled and what else they might do then. Old-Lady-Blue Calico then talked of her hunt experiences: "Oh my, we didn't get a chance to eat ribs very much. My very public-spirited son-in-law, Old Bull thought he should give White Eagle his support so that nearly every day that they got buffalo, he would leave the ribs at the council tent and sometimes the backbone steak too. Once in a while Old Bull brought home two or three ribs from the feast for the family to eat. My daughter Clear Day and I made dry meat. Queen Woman, who isn't too strong, we gave the job of hanging up the slices to dry and turning them over. Clear Day had to wash the paunch after she sliced the meat. I tried to make bone grease, but I barely got it made. It was too hot." Grandma now chimed in with, "I have mine all right. I made it the first night we got to the Republican River. Horse Rider brought in the bones." "My, that woman knows how to do everything," Blue-Calico remarked. They might sit up most of the night talking until they got too sleepy. In the morning they came down to the camp and joined the family for breakfast. Even before the family finally moved in, they took the corn and beans up there to protect them from rain. They were not worried about stealing as everyone had plenty of the same kind of supplies at this time. 521 887 222 224* 521 224* 251

756 calico, shawls, and blankets—were also fastened to the bottom. The
796 whole thing was encased in a wicker frame of willows under the water.
[778] The stakes from the doctor booths were stuck all along the sides of the
[532] serpent and bent over across it and interlaced at the top.

[431] Now that the objects were all in the water, the people stepped aside
to permit the doctors to engage in one more hypnotic contest. One
after the other, as they stood by the water, they caused one another to
fall in.

756 Then the whole group of doctors and any others who had given them
796 assistance repaired to the Doctor Lodge for the banquet. The lodge was
574 empty and they could make a big circle sitting close to the outside walls.
The groups of doctors were ranged in from the west. Beyond them along the sides were the general public who had helped them. And last of all to the east were the chiefs, two each from the four Skidi villages. Furthest toward the door of the guests, were two old men, That-Chief at the southeast and Good Land at the northeast. Finally there was one errand man stationed at each side of the entrance. As they were assembled there, some of the people expressed regret that the whole thing was over, for they had had such a good time.

It took eight people to prepare and serve the meal including the two regular errand men. Each of these was provided with an assistant to do the cooking and serving. They had to borrow two of the largest brass kettles they could get, and after they got the water they put in the meat and set them to boil, one at the northeast and one at the southeast of the fire. While the meat was cooking, the donated corn was served after the appropriate offerings had been made, then soup and then the meat. Extra large pieces were set aside for the guests of honor and one for "the house" —that is, for Sitting Hawk's wife to whom the lodge belonged.

During the meal the doctors made conversation about the happenings
[521] of the morning—about what had occurred at the river, and so forth. Then
Big Doctor made his closing speech, addressing them all. He said, "Now young doctors, doctors, and all members of the Doctor Lodge and the animals that we have imitated here, and you chiefs sitting here watching over your people, and Heaven that has taken pity on us so that we could successfully complete our performance, and you head doctors here who have helped carry out our performance, now we have had our feast—now the Doctor Lodge is over."

A number of business details remained to be attended to. The head doctors had to apportion the meat that they had kept for the final arrangements. The owners of the house would have to fill in all the holes and set up the beds and then entertain the members of the families among whom they had been staying while the lodge was in session. They would need a quantity of dried meat for this. What was left would be divided

days until his stomach is in order. Then the other four doctors who have sung with the patient are called in and perhaps one or two more, and they speak of the animals and their ways and have a ceremonial smoke and distribute the goods that That-Chief has received in payment. Of the three horses, That-Chief will give one to the owner of the earth lodge where he is living, one he will keep for himself and give one to Horse Finder. The other doctors will note his special generosity, but may explain it merely by the fact that they both have the same bundle powers. Even if they were to suspect, they would not reveal the secrets of their fellow professionals to the lay public. 75

The Pawnees were thus not immune to the common suspicion that comes to all people in the desperation of sickness, that the doctor is not doing everything possible to cure the patient and that somehow more could have been done if the doctor had willed it. 756

In view of some of these rather bizarre descriptions, I questioned my informant who was familiar with our methods of gathering evidence and attempting to establish reasonable proof, as to what evidence people had that witchcraft was at the bottom of so much death and sickness among the Pawnees. His reply in substance was that basically they just knew, no proof in our terms being possible. He said: "When men sit around talking, they would talk about these things. They would *know*, but they couldn't prove it." 754 753 124 [521]

Rarely would the Pawnees attribute a death to our type of "natural cause." With old people of little social importance, they wouldn't bother to press the question but with anyone of any social position, people were concerned to place the responsibility for the death on the hostility of someone in the community. It was thought that when the person was dying, the hostile person would appear to them as a witch who was hiding his face so that the dying man had to identify him by his body. The dying man or woman would then recognize and name the person. Then the news would get around but no further action would be taken. 761 554

The Pawnees recognized that anxiety and hostility were major causes of disease. From the Pawnee point of view, active witchcraft practices were the culmination of sustained, interpersonal hostility and the constant fear of witchcraft represented the anxiety felt in the face of such a threat. 753 754 578

> People got sick to their stomach, or when something stuck them, got blood poisoning, or so the white people call it—but we say, "Someone witched you." Long afterwards if the man recovered, he would be sure to find out who witched him.

The reasoning here being that an important characteristic of his disease —and therefore cause—had been anxiety, and that this could be traced to

who is willing should come and sit closer and observe and listen to the 224*
way these things should be done." This was considered a major public 793
service and no payment was involved nor considerations of kin relation- 869
ship. Bringing Horses was a brave and apparently had had a call to
carry out this mission.

The five priests sat smoking and talking together informally. They were 224*
old men and had traveled over this same ground many ~~times.~~ They knew 793
just how far apart the rivers were and which were the quickest routes to
follow. Now they were reminiscing about the past. One would say, "One [521]
summertime we camped way down there in this and this direction from
here and so and so happened," for example a warpath came or some other
notable event. Meanwhile Old Lady Lucky Leader was taking care of 224*
the practical affairs since the menfolks of her family were still out on the 794
hunt. She was a vigorous old woman and a good manager. One of the 574
men coming in early from the hunt reined in his horse outside her tent
and called out, "Lady Lucky Leader, here are ribs!" throwing down the
ribs as his contribution to the forthcoming council meeting and riding
off home to his own tent. The old lady went out and got them at once and
put them inside the tent on the north side near the entrance so that they
wouldn't freeze. Now she decided to get the meal under way for the
council. The boy Might-Be-Chief was passing by and she called him in [624]
and asked him to get the chief's errand man Know-His-Face, who came
in and, after exchanging greetings with the priests, began to roast the ribs [252]
to the northeast of the fireplace as directed by the old lady. She asked
her daughter to sit down to the south and fry some bread so that the
men would have something to eat as soon as they got in before the coun-
cil began.

Now the men could be heard coming and the meat creaking a little as 224*
it was packed on the horse since it was a bit frozen. The two men of the [492]
family knew they had better get in early and Frank Leader called out to
his mother, "Atira [my mother], spread something out here for the meat."
The old lady came out and put a skin spread on the snow in front of the
tent and her son tethered his horse to a stake nearby. She covered the
horse and put down another spread with cottonwood tops and bark on it
for the horse to eat. She saved some of the cottonwood for her son-in-
law's horse and he arrived soon after. As soon as the two men entered the [515]
tent they asked their mother for some water to wash their hands with,
and Frank tied his quiver and bow to the southwest post while Roaming
Leader tied his at the northwest. Then they sat down on either side of
the entrance. The men talked about how they had killed the buffalo that
day and how there had been good herds north of the river. The family [264]
had its meal of bread and ribs and then the boy Might-Be-Chief was sent
around to call in the other members of the council. He also called in
Horse Rider to help the errand man Know-His-Face to cook for the feast.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

is the sun; the mud woman, the moon; the large rawhide image, the morn- 184
ingstar; the many small images, stars. 532

All this construction was part of the ritual and so controlled by a definite 756 778
program. When everything was in place, a general dedication ceremony 796
followed in connection with which is a spectacular march through the village
in two lines, according to their sides. In front, two men carry the sacred 756
animals from the altar, dancing. (For the Skidí, two loons are used, for 796
the other divisions, two beavers.) All medicinemen are supposed to derive
their powers from living creatures and their booths are spoken of as animal
lodges. In this procession each man costumes himself so as to represent
his animal mentor, often in very realistic fashion. There were also a few [522]
clowns dressed like wolves.

After the tour of the village, the procession enters the lodge and holds a secret ceremony upon which we have no data. Those on the outside hear a great uproar and a riot of hideous noises, while clouds of white dust rise from the smoke hole. When all is quiet again, the door is opened. The leader then performs a ceremony in which he sprinkles water about to consecrate the lodge.

It is then in order for the various medicinemen to demonstrate their animal powers. This is the time when remarkable feats of juggling were performed; thus it is told that stalks of corn were made to grow up and mature in a moment, likewise plums and cherries, the bear men tore out a man's liver and ate it, after which he rose unharmed, and so on, in bewildering variety.

Finally, a certain number of days were given to ceremonial visits to the sacred bundles, each in turn, where certain ceremonies were performed.

At the end the animal powers and images are taken down and carried to a stream or lake. Here they are heaped up in the water something like a beaver's house and the mud woman placed on top.[1]

Places or booths in this ceremony were assigned by the leaders. A man having set himself up as a medicineman would apply for a place. He would be assigned one provisionally and at the proper time called upon to demonstrate; if he failed to carry his trick through successfully he was ejected, but otherwise given a permanent seat. As may be anticipated from the foregoing, medicinemen were trained and not made suddenly through dreams or visions. It is true that such experience counted for much, but the usual way to become a medicineman was to succeed one's teacher at his death. Thus, it is clear that the seats in the twenty-day ceremony were practically fixed in form and number.

---

[1] It may be significant that the animal painted tipis of the Blackfoot and Dakota were [171]
always disposed of by sinking in water and that many ceremonial objects among the Arikara,
Hidatsa, and Mandan were similarly treated.— Ed.

756 796 occupied in the lodge. As the procession went down to the river, the medicine men mesmerized one another, and performed sleight of hand. It was customary, before the witch woman's image was placed in the water, for some woman among the bystanders to remove all her clothing and ornaments and place them upon it. When this ceremony was finished, they returned to the medicine lodge, offered smoke to the animal gods, and sprinkled the floor of the lodge with water to cleanse it and free it from the powers that had been summoned there during the ceremony. After the lodge had been purified in this way, the medicine men held a feast and returned to their homes. The two medicine men to whom the altar belonged remained behind to take it down and roll the various objects up in the bundle in which they were kept between ceremonies. This completed the ceremony, and the owners of the lodge were free to live in it as before.

522 796 In addition to the serious performers in the medicine men's ceremonies there were certain men, called *kitscoa,* who acted as clowns. They wore masks made from corn husks, rawhide, wood, and feathers, dressed grotesquely, and daubed their bodies with mud. It seems to have been their duty to perform strange antics during the ceremonies to amuse the people, and particularly to imitate in a mocking spirit the serious acts of the others. They were said to represent hairy dwarfs or supernatural beings who had mysterious ways and of whom the people were afraid. [171] Similar clowns play an important part in the ceremonies of some of the Pueblo tribes.

756 796 The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight of hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers at-

272 After the other foods were ready, the coffee was cooked in a bucket
with sugar to be served later in small bowls. This was a task that No
Corn was likely to undertake. She would mix a handful of ground coffee
with a handful of sugar and boil them together with water in the bucket.
The meal would be finished off with sweet coffee served hot and black.

While all these preparations were going on, the people began to get up
512 one by one and sit down in their places around the fire. Now only the
boys were still in bed. Grandma warmed her hands over the fire, went
[522] over to the bed, put them on Otter's warm nose and "took it off" remark-
ing to Old Bull, "Here's his nose." Then she offered it all around to the
assembled company. Sometimes it was his ears that she offered instead.
With things about done, Victory Call said, "Boys, breakfast is ready,
you can go to bed again later if you want to."

264 White Woman removed the bucket of corn from the fire and put eleven
bowls around it to serve the family. The grandmother–grandchild pairs
[412] each got a bowl together and everyone else got a bowl for himself. With
[415] each bowl there was a buffalo-horn spoon and two spoons in the bowl
for grandma and grandchild. White Woman, who was sitting east
and slightly north of the fireplace, dished out the corn with a large
buffalo-horn spoon 8 inches long with a bowl that was 4½ inches across
and 1½ inches deep. A ladleful or one and a half ladles of corn along
with the liquor was a serving, the grandmother–grandchild bowls receiv-
ing an extra large portion. For feasts, large wooden ladles were used for
serving.

The order in which the members of the household sat at their meal was
264 pretty much in the position of their beds. Old Bull sat at the southwest
554 and Victory Call at the northwest position. Ordinarily a man's senior wife
592 sat next to him, and his junior wives sat beyond. Old Bull and his wives
sat in this order, but White Woman had moved down to the east end of
the north side so that she could do the serving. The grandmothers and
[574] their grandchildren sat at the east end. Old-Man-That-Chief, although a
guest, took up the southeast position of humility, for he was old and
[888] nearly blind. The bowls were passed around to the people from hand to
hand, unless the circle was too large, in which case a young woman
would be asked to do the serving. The men were served first in order of
importance, the "guest side" always being given priority. In this instance
the order was Old Bull, Victory Call, Old-Man-That-Chief, Horse
Rider, Queen Woman, the senior wife, then Clear Day, the junior wife,
Blue Calico, the grandmother, on the south side; then the women on the
north—No Corn, Yellow Calf and his Grandma, Otter and his Grandma,
and finally White Woman herself.

264 Before they began their meal, White Woman made an offering of corn
782 at the west. She took some kernels of corn in a spoon from Victory
Call's bowl and offered them to the nose of the buffalo skull that rested on

000 sides. "Oh, you got good pay," they said. Then she added the news about
512 the gift of black tanned skin, and her husband teased her and said, "Let's
476 see that. Just right to make me a pair. You can patch up yours."

522 Back at the lodge, the old ladies said they were tired and went to bed,
512 and White Woman waited for her husband to come home.

623 While the women were busy with the minor household work and the
storage pit, Old Bull and Victory Call had been at a meeting of the Skidi
chiefs at the home of Eagle Chief. There were representatives of each of
the four Skidi villages—chiefs, subchiefs, and their attendant braves.
Eagle Chief yielded his place at the west to the two most important
guests and took the southeast position. At the southwest was Lone Chief
of Village-across-a-Ridge and in the northwest position, Leading Chief
of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. The subchiefs and braves of each of these
chiefs sat next to them in a line extending toward the east. At the southeast
position, sat Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village with his subchiefs
and braves extending inward toward the west along the side of the
lodge. On the north side in a symmetrical arrangement was Chief
Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village sitting in the
northeast position with his subchiefs and braves extending inward along
the northside. (See Figure 5-2 for the positions of representatives at the
council meeting.)

623 Eagle Chief was the first to address the company, stating the purpose
722 for which he had called them together: "The Sioux are likely to come
around any time. Don't each go individually to get wood. We must all go
at a stated time when we can have our scouts on the lookout and bring in
enough wood to be piled up while the planting is begun, that is at least
four days' supply." Discussion from the others present followed, and
then Eagle Chief announced that they would have another meeting in
about two weeks or more to discuss the matter of clearing the fields in
preparation for planting. He now turned over the conduct of the meeting
to the chiefs at the west, and Lone Chief took charge, stating that if
anyone had anything to say about the business at hand they should do so
at this time as they were to have a feast and then talk of other matters.
623 After everyone had spoken his mind they waited two or three minutes
574 and then Lone Chief said, "Now we are going to eat." At the entrance
[624] near the east were the two errand men of both presiding chiefs at the
west, and they had prepared the food and were ready to serve. The bowls
were piled up near the kettle in which the food had been boiling, and,
while one of the men dished it out, the other served. He carried two
[554] bowls to the west, one for each of the presiding chiefs. Then he returned
to the east, carried the next bowl to the next chief on the south
side, then returned to the east and gave the next bowl to the next chief to
the north side, and so on in alternation, one by one on each side. Then the
braves were served, one on the south, one on the north, until everyone
had received his food, whereupon the errand men served each other.

623
342
35
554

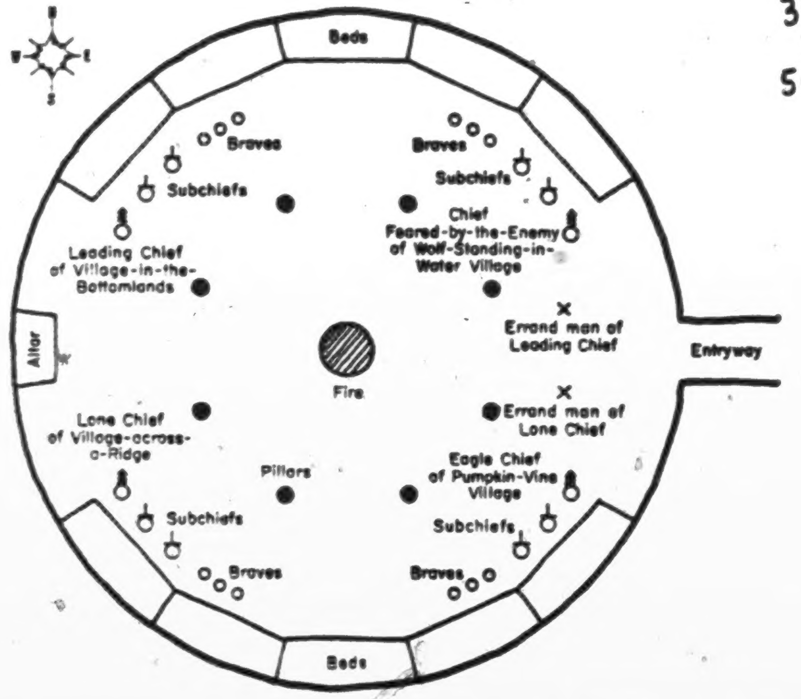

N
W
E
S
Beds
Braves
Braves
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Chief
Feared-by-the-Enemy
of Wolf-Standing-in-
Water Village
Leading Chief
of Village-in-the-
Bottomlands
Errand man of
Leading Chief
Altar
Fire
Entryway
Lone Chief
of Village-across-
a-Ridge
Errand man of
Lone Chief
Eagle Chief
of Pumpkin-Vine
Village
Pillars
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Braves
Braves
Beds

FIGURE 5-2. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. Mats are placed in the outer circuit against the beds to accommodate larger numbers. Of the supposed twelve villages that formed the Skidi Federation in the past, four villages remained in 1867. Villages must have combined as their numbers were decimated. The original twelve sacred village bundles remained, and some of the subchiefs probably represented these assimilated villages. [631] [778]

This was the time for joking "so that everyone could laugh during the meal." The jokes were of a somewhat slapstick variety as they wanted to be sure that no one's feelings were hurt in any way. Ordinarily, while the social relationship with one's parents was quite formal and restrained, the relationship with the grandparents was in sharp contrast. It was a relationship of lively familiarity. Physical handling was rough-and-tumble, a grandfather sometimes pulling his grandson out of bed of a cold morning and dumping him in the snow to harden him; jokes were often leveled at the grandchild and answered in kind. The mode of kin reckoning often involved an extension of the immediate kin terms to more distant blood relatives, and it worked out so that people of similar ages might address

623
574
522
[593]
[603]
[601]
[602]

623 each other by the kin terms of grandfather and grandchild—thereby per-
574 mitting a great deal of free-wheeling slapstick behavior. This was incon-
• 522 gruous because of the social position of some of the individuals involved
[601] and was considered quite humorous. Eagle Chief addressed Lone Chief as
[602] grandson in this way, and he would say, "That's the laziest fellow I ever
saw. He sleeps till mid-morning every day. I wish I were at his house. I'd throw him in the water." This evoked considerable laughter because of the incongruity of the situation, and, now that the South Side had made its joke, it was the turn of somebody on the north side. It was decorum to wait a few minutes, and then Leading Chief at the northwest took up the thread and said, "Look at that fellow over there," pointing to someone on the north side. "When I went out with my horses, I saw his horses standing there in a terrible condition. They were turning round and round with flies all over them and they must have been thirsty." (It was the work of the young boys to take care of the horses.) The man on the north side against whom the joke was leveled replied with, "I always hobble my horses, but he took my lariat and unhobbled them. That's the fellow who unhobbled my horses!" During the actual meeting, women were not present, but now the women of the lodge began to return and they too would join in the jokes with the men who happened to stand to them in the appropriate relationship.

623 This was the end of the meeting, and Leading Chief of Bottomlands
574 Village sitting at the northwest presided over the closing. He said,
"Now we are to get wood. Some of you, Lone Chief in particular (object of the last joke), must be in a hurry to go tend their horses. Any who wish can stay and tell stories, but now we have eaten [and the meeting is at an end]." Everyone said *nawa* and most of them rose and left the lodge. A few lingered. Enough extra boiled buffalo meat was usually portioned out at such a feast so that everyone had a substantial piece to take home to the family. Food from a chiefs' council was thought to have the special virtue of conveying a blessing of plenty to the women and children, and some of the men were eager to get home and share what they had with their wives and children. It was for this reason that they had been requested to bring their own bowls when they were invited that morning.

623 The decisions reached by the chiefs at their councils were always an-
203 nounced to the people soon after the meeting was over. One old man for
each village with a somewhat resounding voice usually acted as the vil-
722 lage crier. He would stand on the roof of his earth lodge between the
313 smokehole and the entrance passageway facing east and call out:

"Day after tomorrow, we're all going for wood—the whole bunch of us. You young men—after breakfast take your bow and arrows. Go up on a high hill and be on the lookout to picket for Sioux or any other kind of danger. Women have to fix up their packstraps and everyone should

224*

was made in oblong form about three feet long and a foot and a half wide, 484*
with its long axis running north–south. 342

359
The next step was to get everything in order for cooking. They had 313
enough water, and now they needed wood for fuel. As she was pegging down the tent, No Corn remarked to her husband, Horse Rider, 224*
"We're pretty nearly finished now and we have no wood." Then he 484*
would go off carrying a long rope. He used the rope as a kind of lasso: attaching a stick about a foot long to the end, he would throw it up around a dry cottonwood limb and the cord would wind itself around the limb so that it could be pulled down. It would take considerable skill to pull it down without having it fall on your head, which sometimes happened despite the best of care. Horse Rider tried to get enough wood to last them for that evening and the next day while they stayed at the rendezvous camp. Some of the wood he gathered from the ground, tied it up
with his cord, and came into camp carrying it on his back. As soon as he 224*
got in, he made the fire and White Woman began to cook. They had a 484*
simple meal of bread and coffee and some sand cherries for dessert. No 252
Corn volunteered to make the coffee. While the cooking was going on, [272]
the old ladies were stretched out resting, and Victory Call was doing the
same. Everyone was very tired. It was proper to joke a bit while the [522] •
food was being prepared and during the meal. Horse Rider began to tease No Corn about how she had fallen in the water.

Immediately after supper the women cleared up the dishes and sat 224*
down to rest—tired from all their work. Horse Rider went off to see 484*
how the horses were getting along and Victory Call went up and sat on top of one of the sand hills to have a smoke and to look around and at the encampment below. Presently five or six men joined him for a smoke and some conversation.

The boy Otter ran off at once to the river to go swimming with the rest 224*
of the children. On the way he saw some other little boys leaning over a 484*
pond. "See the sunfish. Let's 'choke' them!" They tied some bread to the 857
end of a string and let it down into the pond and as the fish bit, they pulled
them up and 'choked' them. Then the boys went off and gave the fish to 224*
an old woman who was living alone in a shelter she had built for herself. 484*
Her relatives gave her something, but would not take care of her and she 888
had no other place to go. "Here, grandma," they said, "Here's some fish." "That's fine," said the old lady. Later that summer while they were setting up camp one day, the boys came to give her fish and she was dead.
They dug a hole in the embankment against which she had been leaning [764]
and buried her there. Man Chief, who was Eagle Chief's son, and a generous young man, gave a red blanket to wrap her in. There were only one or two old women alone like this. Sometimes while they were on the hunt, such old people would say, "Just give me enough to eat and go on."

from whom they could well steal horses, and some young men thought 726
they would like to go to the Osage country. The women of their house- 726
hold would outfit them with three or four pairs of new moccasins, tan- 705
ning some hides especially for the purpose. Each pair would be filled
with supplies—pulverized dried meat, parched corn, and dried meat. The
young man would have a large flat package, especially wide to carry on
his back with straps across the chest to carry his baggage. Under his belt [276]
he carried his tobacco and his pipe, and every time he sat down while he
was on the warpath he must smoke. When he went off to steal horses
he hung his flat-package on a tree and sometimes did not get a chance to
retrieve it at all.

In Victory Call's household, they had gotten eight hides. A small one 281
would be tanned by White Woman to get supplies at Fort Kearney. One 439
was reserved for Mr. Bishop, the trader near home, to whom a good
one had been promised before they left in payment for supplies Victory
Call had obtained at his store for their journey.

While they were going east along the Platte River after their arrival 224*
two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), the village scouts came back 484*
with their report of how things were back home. They came in directly 203
to the tent of Leading Chief who now had charge of their return journey and reported:

> We went down to the village. We couldn't go in, it was full of fleas. Toward evening we went to the different corn fields. The corn is pretty ripe in some places. The pumpkins are hard yet. There are lots of beans of all different kinds. One fellow got on a freight and went to Columbus to see how the Stay-at-Homes were. Everything looks good. From there we went to the school. We gave the children some pulverized dried meat and some plain. We told them you folks were coming home. We stopped in Bishop and Matlock's store for the night and said it would be about eight or ten days before we got to the village. Everyone looks all right.

Now Know-His-Face went through the encampment, announcing this
message to all. In one of the other bands a rougish old lady called out [824]
"And how about the sunflowers? How are they doing?" The boy said, [522]
"The sunflowers are way high!" The byplay is that the sunflowers were
the place where clandestine affairs were carried on. These grew as weeds
in the boundaries between the fields.

One of the scouts brought five ~~or six~~ ears of corn that were ripe from 224*
different fields, and gave them to the ones to whom they belonged. One 484*
ear had come from the field of Otter's grandmother, and before she took [788]
off the husks she blessed him with it four times. Then she removed the [252]
husks, roasted the ear in the coals, and broke it into three pieces, one for [262]

The horses were still tethered on the south bank, and when all the 224* meat was over, Eagle Chief would ask "the boys" to sprinkle soil or earth 484* on the ice so that the horses could be led over. They would organize into 231 two parties, one from each shore, each man with a supply of earth in his buffalo robe or blanket to sprinkle on the ice. The two parties would meet in the middle of the river and then the horses could be led across. The next day the earth would have melted into the ice and the crossing would be easier. Even though they were not loaded, the horses had a hard time to keep from slipping as they had no shoes. When the horses arrived on the north shore they were again loaded with the meat and led to the place selected for the encampment. Each man chose a site for his 224* family's camp and cleared it of snow and gathered plenty of wood. The 484* meat was put on the hide and bundled up in it. As soon as the meat was unloaded, Eagle Chief called out that the horses better be sent back to the camp at Turkey Creek so that the people could join them early next morning. Victory Call sent Horse Rider back with the two horses for the family, while he stayed at Many Deer, going on with the work of preparing the camping place and looking after the meat.

After the hunters at Many Deer had completed their duties, they made five big fires, one for each of the four Skidi villages, and an extra one. The men of each village sat around them wrapped up well in their buffalo robes and stayed up all night smoking and talking. If one should doze [513] off, his neighbor awakened him. They were accustomed to staying up [727] like this on the warpath as much as three days and nights to get out of range of the enemy with the booty and horses. The next morning while the line of march was on the way from the camp on Turkey Creek, some of the men like War Cry, Victory Call, and Eagle Chief would decide to begin to slice and dry the buffalo meat so that no time would be lost. At [522] some of the other fires, when they saw War Cry with his meat drying, they would tease him with, "Look at that War Cry. He has his *takaski*. He's just like an old woman." But he was totally impervious to such remarks.

As soon as Frank Leader and his brother-in-law Roaming Leader had decided where they were going to set up the council tent, Eagle Chief said, "Don't wait. As soon as the council tent is set up, come in any [344] time. We have a home there. This is where we come to tell stories and make reports." As the returning hunters had come in, they donated ribs for the Council that evening by hanging them on a nearby tree. Old 224* Lady Lucky Leader realized that she and her family would have to be up 343 all night again slicing meat, and she decided that when she got to Many Deer she would build herself a grass house beside their large tipi with the help of the two men, so that she could carry on her work while they were in the council tent. A grass house, *haherutu*, was made by sticking supple withes upright in the ground in a circle and tying them together

about the dance." Carrion, along with John Moses, Jim Keys, 668
Brigham Young and Henry Minthorn went to see Sitting Bull the 177
Arapaho. This was late in 1892, and they stayed there two months.

Carrion told Sitting Bull his story. Sitting Bull got a permit
from his agent to Ghost Dance for two days. The Arapaho painted
the Pawnee visitors with a rainbow around the forehead, a crow [302
on the right cheek (because, says Carrion, "a crow finds everything
he looks for, and when one is under the crow influence one can 825]
almost read minds"), and an eagle on the left cheek (which also
represents a bird that flies high above everything, sees all and
finds things).

That night in the Ghost Dancing among the Arapaho Joe Carrion was overcome and fell unconscious on his back. "I saw a big circle of people above." He awoke about two o'clock at night after lying there for five hours. When he woke up, he found there was a drum beside his head; an old man came over and asked him what he had seen. "Nothing," he said; he didn't want to tell. The old man told him, "you must tell." "I got up and said, 'I don't believe it.' Then he hit a gourd against the ground, and I fell over again. I got up and still said, 'I don't believe it,' so he hit the gourd on the ground and again I fell over. The way he could do this to me convinced me, and when I got up I believed it all. Then I told him what I had seen. He said it was true. The next day
the Arapaho were told they would have to stop the Ghost Dancing. 796

"Two days afterward a boy came with hand game sticks, bringing 668
one round to each tent. He told everybody that there was to be 177
a big hand game at a certain place. It was to last four days, with [785]
a Squaw dance afterwards." 524

The man in charge of the hand game told Carrion to get certain [302]
things for himself. He told him that he must fast four days and nights. Carrion wore only a g-string, and painted his body yellow. He neither ate nor drank.

During the playing of the game, he often got thirsty and would be about to take a drink, when someone would remind him that he must not. He was chosen to serve the food, but he was not supposed to partake of it. He also would pass the bucket of water around. The smell of the food helped him, seemed to satisfy his hunger a little. The first night he felt weak and wanted to cry. "They told me to go ahead and cry, that this was the same as going to church."

At sunrise he stood outside the tent and prayed. 796

"The fourth day I went onto a hill. Behind me there was 668
someone sitting in the grass. I looked at the sun and saw things 787
177

159 [302] "After that I had to join the Ghost Dance. I used to paint my face with yellow and two blue streaks across each cheek.

[787] "The reason this made me feel the Ghost Dance was true, was because it all began with my father and my mother, and they were both dead. That's why—because they were ghosts—that we call it the Ghost Dance, and that I had to go and join it. After this I believed it was all true."

After his vision, Mark Evarts was sick for some time, and did not begin to dance with the Ghost Dancers at once. He lived some time alone at Osage City.

Once he was on his way back to Pawnee when he met the Pawnee camped at Skeedee. Mark Rudder and others were there. They told him it was a good thing he had come, because they were going to make feathers for the Crows.

159 524 Mark Rudder organized and led a brief hand game that night. People from the town heard about the game and came out, swelling the crowd. Rudder avoided the ceremonial complications of the game; it was played for enjoyment, and people who joined in sat as they pleased.

159 787 It was a full moonlit night. The game was played in a tent, and after each game they went outside to dance. The moon was in the southeast. "Louis Behaile was touched, he got shaky, all at once he cried. He stood crying with his hands up toward the moon. After we came back inside the tent, he told it. 'I felt something in my mind, when we went out. It seemed I was going to see something. It's coming. We went out. When we were dancing around, all at once I looked up at the moon, and the moon looked down and saw me and laughed at me. That's why I cried.'"

159 At the hand game Rudder told all the men to come the next morning. "We've got something to do here. We've got the crow feathers and the cedar. We're going to make feathers for the Crows, for each one of you. And those who are outsiders, if you want me to make them for you, you come and I can do it. We're going to take a whole week to camp here. We're going to make these feathers."

The place at which they were meeting belonged to Jonathan Eustace. Jonathan told Mark Evarts to stay right at the camp, and unsaddle his horse. So Mark stayed there. At that time Mark Evarts had nothing to do, and usually lived at Rush Roberts' farm.

159 301 The next morning, the men came about ten o'clock to Rudder's tent. His tent faced east. Inside, Rudder sat at the west, with a wooden cross set up behind him, and a small pile of crow feathers

REVIVALS OF GAMES

524 526 The games[1] most important in the old social life of the Pawnee were for men the large hoop and pole game, the hand game,[2] and the moccasin game[3]: for the women, the stick dice game, the plum seed dice game, shinny and double-ball. Boys played at the hand game of the men among themselves[2], and played a boys' form of the hoop and pole game; girls played the womens' games.

668 178 524 [796 787] All three revival phases took place with the games, paralleling the ritual revivals. The activities were renewed, viz., the games were again played, and played with renewed enthusiasm; the paraphernalia were renewed and reconstructed in that game sets began to be made again in the old way: such were essential for the hoop and pole games, the plum seed and stick dice games, shinny and doubleball: and lastly the games becoming vision sources, sets of paraphernalia were ceremonialized: On the one hand such developments as the ritual hand games took place, and on the other game objects like shinny balls, hoops, etc. were used as vision embodiments and symbols, carried in the dance and employed to induce visions in others. (See Chapter II)

In these revivals of old forms, we see that those forms were stressed which were most overt and apparent in the old culture: games basically, the non-esoteric activities of the societies (songs and performances) next, and the bundle activities least of all. This weighting follows the probabilities, in terms of the degree to which the old activities were shared by all the people in aboriginal life: those which were common and familiar possessions of the people were readily remembered and revived, while those calling for special traditional learning were difficult to recapture.

221 796 668 178 When individuals in Ghost Dance trances were transported to the other world they came there upon villages of Pawnee living as they had of old. The whole concept of the doctrine being an awakening or renewal, the type of life most often visualized in the trances was the tribal life of the early spring and early summer. In aboriginal days the spring was a season of reawakening. With the first thunder came the opening of the great bundles and the chanting of the creation ritual. This ushered in the spring activities of the people. With the passing of winter, and the renewal

---

[1] For descriptions of these games consult Culin, Games, pp. 274, 409, 463, 625, 657.

[2] See Chapters V, VI.

[3] The moccasin game was played by the Pawnee, instead of the hand game, with Central Algonquian tribes.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Analysis.—Four renditions of this song were recorded without a break in the time. This is interesting because of the 7–8 measures which were always sung in correct time. The transcription is from the first rendition. The only differences were that in the later renditions the seventh measure was omitted and the first tone in the next to the last measure was sung as C instead of E. Such differences are slight but are important to observe in a study of Indian music. The keynote is more prominent in this song than in a majority of the songs under analysis, this tone occurring in every measure except the first. Nine of the 32 intervals are fourths, which is an unusually large proportion of this interval. The melody tones are those of the second 5-toned scale. A downward sliding of the voice, impossible to transcribe, occurred at the end of the first and third measures. 533*

HAND GAME SONGS

On two occasions the writer had the privilege of attending a hand game of the Pawnee held in the same lodge where the victory dances for returned soldiers had been held. (Pl. 7, *c*.) The first of these games was in 1919 and the second in the following year. The number of Indians in attendance was more than 200. In former times this game was played only by men and the objects hidden were short sticks, but at the present time both men and women take part in the game, hiding small balls, slightly larger than bullets. The man holding the balls moves his hands above his head, puts them behind his back, and does everything possible to mystify and confuse his opponent, while the songs grow more excited as the moment for making the guess approaches. Ghost dance songs are sung in the dancing which takes place at intervals during the game. The balls are hidden by players of one side until the opponents have made five correct guesses in succession. 524● 533* 796

The games are often of long duration, the first game attended by the writer continuing about six hours. This game was opened in a ceremonial manner by James R. Murie, chief of the Skidi Band, who also recorded the guesses by means of decorated sticks. Seven feathered sticks were placed upright in the ground before him,[25] and this was said to be "as in the Ghost dance."[26] The woman who "gave the dance" stood in the center of the lodge and appointed

---

[25] Two sets of such sticks are illustrated by Culin, each set consisting of eight sticks. In one set these are 17 inches long, four painted yellow and four painted blue, and all feathered like arrows. In the other set each stick bears a little hoop at its end, decorated with feathers. The same authority illustrates a set of four hiding sticks, 1¾ inches long, marked in pairs alike, one pair with six notches on one side and one notch on the other side, and the other pair with an incised cross on each side of the sticks. (Culin, Stewart, Games of the North American Indians, Twenty-fourth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 274, 275, Washington, 1907.)

[26] The number seven is particularly sacred in the Ghost dance. Thus there were seven Ghost dance leaders, wearing sacred crow feathers as emblems of their leadership. [801]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

524 those who should lead the two opposing sides. These in turn selected
*533 those who should hide the balls. It was customary to give the balls to persons sitting next each other, the guesser indicating by a gesture
796 whether he (or she) believed the balls to be in the two outer hands, the two inner, or one outer and one inner hand. The writer was invited to sit beside a member of the tribe and join in the game, attempting to hide the balls in the manner of the Indians.

An unfortunate though not unusual circumstance took place in
[152] the dances which occurred during this game. The woman who gave the hand game was afflicted with what was termed a "Ghost dance fit."[27] She staggered and moaned in a pitiful manner but did not fall to the ground. Several persons went to her aid and restored her in the manner peculiar to the Ghost dance.[28]

The second hand game attended by the writer took place on April 16, 1921, and was given by Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*), who recorded Song No. 80. This was said to be her hand game, not only
[787] because she gave the invitations and provided the feast, but because certain features of the game, as played that day, had been revealed to her in a dream. The symbolism of certain articles used in that game was not made known to the singers and perhaps is known only to herself. The game was held in the same 6-sided lodge as the former hand game and the victory dances. (Pl. 7, *c*.) As on the former occasion, Mr. Murie opened the game in a ceremonial manner. The doors were closed and a filled pipe was offered to the earth and the sky. Mrs. Good Eagle was a dignified hostess, standing in the center of the lodge and appointing those who should lead the two sides of players. After the game the doors were again closed and a tiny portion of each sort of food was ceremonially offered and then laid beside the fire space, opposite the door. A bountiful
[264] feast was then served. According to Indian custom, each person provided his own utensils and the food was served in large containers. The writer shared in the feast.

*533 Eight of the songs used at this game, during the hiding of the balls, were later recorded by Horse Chief, a prominent singer at the drum. In some of these songs there were no words and in others the words are obsolete, the singer repeating them but having no knowledge of their meaning.

---

[27] The woman undoubtedly suffered from the early stages of what, in the Ghost dance, would have been a trance. Mooney states that he "was able to note all the stages of the phenomenon . . . through the staggering, the rigidity, the unconsciousness, and back again to wakefulness. On two occasions my partner in the dance, each time a woman, came under the influence and I was thus enabled to note the very first nervous tremor of her hand and mark it as it increased in violence until she broke away and staggered toward the medicine man within the circle. Young women are usually the first to be affected, then older women, and lastly men." (Mooney, James, The Ghost Dance Religion, Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 923, Washington, 1896.)

[28] The "Shaker religion" has been introduced among the Indians at Neah Bay, Wash., and at a gathering in that village the writer saw a woman afflicted in a manner similar to the "Ghost dance fit." A slave woman went to her, stroked her arms and head, and gradually quieted her.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

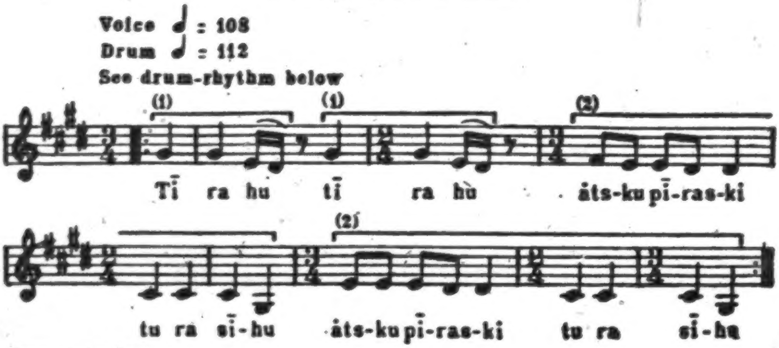
and bears no resemblance to it, and the third is still shorter, resembling the second unit. Drum and voice are in the same tempo. 533*

Long ago, when the Pawnee "used to go traveling," they stopped at night to rest and frequently played the hand game. Among them was a little boy, too young to play, who loved to watch the game. He was so little that he wore no clothing. As soon as night came this little boy ran to get wood and made a big fire so that everyone would come and play the hand game. He did not even want to eat he was so anxious for them to play. The men made this song about the little boy and sang it as they played the game. 524 ● [484] 533*

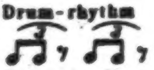
No. 48. Hand Game Song Concerning a Little Boy

(Catalogue No. 1097) 533*

Recorded by Effie Blain


Voice ♩ = 108
Drum ♩ = 112
See drum-rhythm below
(1)
(1)
(2)
Tī ra hu tī ra hù âts-ku pī-ras-ki
(2)
tu ra sī-hu âts-ku pī-ras-ki tu ra sī-hu

Drum-rhythm



Tī	ra	hu	âtsku	pīraski	tu	ra	sīhu
This	have	coming	one	boy	do	have	running

FREE TRANSLATION

They (the men) are coming,
One boy is running.

Analysis.—Ten renditions of this song were recorded with no break in the time except a pause for breath between the eighth and ninth renditions. It is interesting to note that the drum is slightly faster than the voice, maintaining this tempo in all the renditions. Part of the song is above and part is below the keynote. Two rhythmic units occur, the second being much longer than the first. The song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the seventh. The descent at the close of the first and second measures was given with a sliding of the voice which can not be represented in musical notation.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

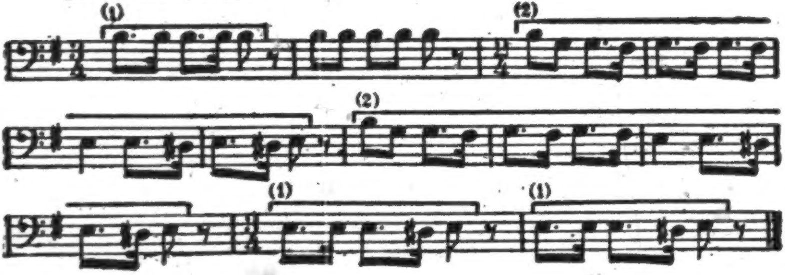
Analysis.—The only accented tones in this song are the keynote and fifth. The song comprises three periods, the first and last having the same rhythmic unit and the second period having a longer unit with a change of time. The interest and force of the song lie in the second rhythmic unit which contains a triple measure. The first rhythmic unit begins on an unaccented tone and the second begins on an accented tone. This peculiarity occurs also in two songs of the hand game (Nos. 43 and 47). The song contains eight descending and only three ascending intervals. 533*

No. 56. Ghost Dance Song (d)

(Catalogue No. 1148)

Recorded by HORSE CHIEF

Voice ♩ = 96
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—In this song we feel the pathos of the Ghost dance. More than four-fifths of the intervals are semitones which occur only between F sharp and G, and D sharp and E. Rests occur with some frequency and were given uniformly in all the renditions. It is interesting to compare the close of the first rhythmic unit with that of the second which contains the same count division with a different accent.

This and the succeeding song were not used in the hand game. 787
The singer said that he composed this song when waking from a 533*
trance in the Ghost dance. He dreamed of a yellow star which came
to him and said, "I am the star which you see in the sky at night." [524]
The star was in the form of a woman holding in her hand an eagle feather painted yellow. She gave him the feather, saying, "All the stars in the sky are people." A dream of the yellow star was induced by watching the star when in a Ghost dance trance. The favor of "yellow star" was greatly desired as she does not appear to many
dancers, but she gives to her favored friends the right to wear a yellow [786]
eagle feather upright in their hair and to use it in hypnotizing other dancers. If such a feather is used under a false pretense no results can be obtained.

575 two for each side. The pipe-man is the chief, but there is another man who
is charged with directing the ritual. All members carry ring-shaped rattles,
and certain members carry short lances bearing feathers. As to the number
of these lances, we have no data. The members danced nude and tied
[292] a string to the foreskin to the end of which feathers were attached. (See
Catlin's drawings of the Okipa.) On this account they were sometimes
called the "tied-penis society." It is said that in battle some of the mem-
[726] bers would take a stake and a rope, plant the stake before the enemy and
tie the penis string to the rope. They were forbidden to release themselves
and must then stand fast until released.

As to adornment and body painting each man did as he chose. Four hand drums were used.

There were no renewal ceremonies but this society would usually dance
[535] in public after the bundle societies had made their appearance. In dancing
they formed in front of their lodge in a circle. There were two mounted
men to call out their own deeds and encourage others to do likewise. In
one part of the dance the horsemen ride among the dancers back and forth
(p. 387). Also, there were two whip men, carrying green switches with which
[292] to whip up the dancers. If a member enters the ceremony wearing clothes
he is set upon by these whip bearers and his clothes torn to pieces. Only
the members who captured a blanket or cut the covering from a captured
bundle, could take a hand in this. However, if a member has been in a
battle and saved his robe, he may carry it folded under his arm.

[888] In the dance a dancer may remove his moccasins and put them on an old
needy bystander.

CHILDREN OF THE IRUSKA.

In this organization there were but six or seven members. They carried quivers full of arrows which were very highly prized, so when an arrow was shot they went to hunt it. They were known as saaro, youths.

They did things by contraries. If a woman said, "Do not get water,"
[524] they went after it. They were given to playing the wheel game and because
of their peculiarities no one played with them. If an enemy attacked the
village, the members would continue to play the wheel game and pay no
attention to the fighting. If a person came up and said, "Do not go out to
[302] fight," they rushed out at once. They were always painted black as if
ready to fight. On the head each wore the skin of a blackbird. The
society is said to have been handed down by this bird. The leader so
appointed by the bird went through the camp and selected boys who seemed
queer, or even insane. These he organized into a society.

668 and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring
tribes. It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the
796 fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after
White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony.
[177] According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances
could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days.
There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair
and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions
of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now
[346] regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula,
a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple.
[361] Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost
dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center
toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise, the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical
[787] belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed
out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost
dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog
[524] dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the iruska. Some time after 1904
the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a
devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated. The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their hereditary sides of north and south.

The Peyote.

About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned
276 something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the
794 buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they
practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho
taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued
a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to
[177] him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and
gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian
conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked
with Christ.

of the Skidi villages of Village-across-a-Ridge and Pumpkin-Vine 609
would join the Wolf-in-Water and Bottomland Village, and they 621
would play rough and kick one another. 539

The location of the four bands was along the west side of Beaver 621
Creek and the Skidi were in the westernmost position, the other three 361
bands about half a mile away to the east. While according to past tradition, they always lived south of the Skidi and were referred to generally as "South Bands," they were now actually located to the east:

> "The Skidi chief would sit on a high bluff and the Eastward (*tuhawit*, "Settlement-east" chiefs sat on a bluff near their home and they would watch the boys. They said, "When we were boys we used to play like that and kick." 621 524
>
> It would begin in the evening when the boys would call out, *hu-hu-hu*. Then the boys would hear and come outside. Folks would say to the small boys, "Don't go there, you'll get hurt," but some would steal out and join the fight anyway. When one side would be chased back, the older people would laugh and say, "Go back again. . . ."
>
> When it got darker the little boys were told to go back and run home because the big boys were going to fight now—the sixteen-to-eighteen-year-olds. Then in the moonlight sometimes, the men of about thirty years old would fight, and then afterward the old men forty and over. The men would take blankets from one another and kick one another, but afterward they had to return the blankets.
>
> This game was never played with the Skidi villages alone opposing one another, only between the Skidi Band as one party and the South Bands as the other. They never kicked hard—just for fun. If the South Band boys met the Skidi boys, there was always a kicking contest."

A similar game is reported between different divisions of the Comanches. [171]

The Pawnee Person

There is no simple formula for describing the intricate logic of the 156
Pawnee people's lives. One thing is clear—that no one is caught within the social code. Against the backdrop of his natural environment, each individual stands as his own person. The Old World design for the human personality does not apply to this New World Man. The Pawnee 156
child was born into a community from the beginning, and he never ac- 772
quired the notion that he was closed in "within four walls." He was lit- 829
erally trained to feel that the world around him was his home—*kahuraru*,

keeping on the alert for mushrooms and milkweed, whose tender tops 222
were relished when cooked with corn. Some of the mushrooms were
yellow or green under the head, and these were known to be poisonous.
The edible ones were solid pure white. Any with worms were discarded.
Some men became so absorbed in this search that they wandered too far [648]
out and would be killed by the Sioux. This was particularly likely with
men whose food at home was in short supply.

If Victory Call and his kinsman had the good fortune to track down 224
another deer and Victory Call killed it, he would assign the major portion to his helper. Legally, the entire kill belonged to Victory Call and the division was entirely at his discretion. Sometimes he would be planning to have leggings made out of the skins and then he would apologize and say, "Excuse me. I can't give you the hide." His helper would reply, "That's all right. I just came around to help you. You gave me meat anyway."

The meat was all packed and the two men set out for the village. It [524]
was nearly sundown and they had to pass the village gaming ground where the men gathered watching the hoop and pole game. The players and spectators would remark, "Look at those fellows. They have a lot of deer meat. I'm going up there to get some soup."

The two hunters separated and each went to his own house. As soon as Victory Call approached, a hide was spread inside to receive the meat, and Horse Rider was waiting outside to unload the horse and bring it in.

When Victory Call arrived inside, the first thing he said was, "The 264
folks down there saw me coming. Hurry up and fix our dinner so that we 252
can eat before they all get here." The family had barely finished eating 574
when the people began to crowd in. If it were the first fresh meat of the season in the village, some women would come and say to White Woman, "Daughter, I am begging some meat." "That's good," Victory Call would say, indicating that they were welcome. White Woman and the other women of the house were cooking the meat in large kettles, and men and women were sitting around waiting to be fed when the meat boiled. Some people preferred strips of meat roasted in the coals, and they were sitting around roasting it for themselves.

Then the fire began to burn up brighter and someone remarked, "How 262
about getting to work and roasting the ribs?" Horse Rider then took the 574
ribs and leaned them on stakes around the fire. These would be served at [252]
a more formal feast after the casual guests had left. Otter was sent to invite the guests. Each of the men would invite two honored guests. Victory Call inquired of Old Bull whom he would like to entertain, and he requested that Chief White Eagle be called with his brave, Bringing Trophies, with whom Old Bull was associated in his doctor practice. Victory Call invited Eagle Chief, head chief of his village, Pumpkin-Vine,
and his principal brave, War Cry. Meanwhile the women were cooking [252]

14: **Weltfish** E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 **Pawnee** NQ18

525 Then if you're both gambling, who will cook for you? Who will take care of you?

"If you want to, go ahead. But at first you'll be lucky and then the sticks will try to draw you in. Then when they have you, you'll lose.

"If you want to, go ahead. But if you are lucky, just play for a month. Then leave it because your luck must change.

"If you have lost and want to retrieve your losses, do it and when you have won back what you lost, stop gambling."

• 524 525 The hand game was played by young men ranged along both sides of a trenchlike fireplace with a smoldering log in it. Facing each other on the opposite sides of the fire were "two opposing war parties." The crux of the game was the hiding of a white bead in the hands of a member of one party with the guesser from the other side trying to determine in which hand it was hidden. War songs were sung and in the motioning of the hands of the line in which the bead was hidden, the bead might be transferred by sleight of hand during the guessing. That-Chief also mentioned the hand game, addressing his remarks especially to Otter. Evarts observed that:

> "At hand game you might bet your shirt and when the other fellow wins, you might not want to give up your shirt. Then he would get angry and tear at your shirt and he might even take a stick from the fire and burn your head. That would be the worst thing. Once I was in a game and I was the loser to Jim Murie. There I learned the real meaning of That-Chief's advice. Osborne was on the winning side and he began to brag saying, 'Look at those fellows. They can't do much.' Then he made disparaging remarks about my cousin, Sam Townsend, that I call child, *piirau*. Then I really got angry. I felt particularly sensitive as I had lost my leggings, my moccasins and many other things. I said, 'I can't stand all that talk,' and I took a stick from the fire and hit him. The coals flopped all over his head and I was about to hit him again, when they stopped me. To avoid further trouble, they sent Osborne home saying to him, 'You're the cause of the trouble. You talked too much.' "

526 224 825 However, there was quite a different aspect to these games that was implicit in their religious symbolism, with the gambling an extraneous feature. The rolling of the hoop along the long game grounds and aiming at it with the stick or "spear" was an act of sympathetic magic both for the increase of the buffalo and for the successful outcome of the buffalo hunt. Originally the game was played for the direct purpose of calling the buffalo, and when they were out on the summer buffalo hunt, wherever
000 they could find a smooth patch of grass, they would set up a game. In

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the
white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was
wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and
also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-four
feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidistant
intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled bas- 773
ket made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to
carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the
germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony
immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous movement"
or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially
made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The
women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the
course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to
move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learn- [887]
ing to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling.
There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the
betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual
pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make
the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked
to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525
285

668 796 The smoke offering of the Skiri Ghost-Dance was not altered by this new organization. Only the Seven Eagle Brothers participated directly. The Seven Crows organization was an alternative one, to assist in the singing. After a day of Ghost Dancing, Sam Cover, the leader of the Seven Eagles, might officially turn over to the Seven Crows the singing and leadership of the dancing for the following day. With the Crows leading, the formal positions for beginning and ending the songs and dancing remained the same.

Every day after the dancing, the people gathered outside for the formal food offering and blessing before eating (see above). The chiefs talked. The arrangement outside was the same as that previously described, except that now instead of the Seven Eagle Brothers on the east facing west, the two organizations were seated together, the Seven Eagles south of the mid-point, the Seven Crows just north of it, making a row of fourteen seated side by side.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, the form of Skiri Ghost-Dancing passed through only minor alterations; so far as memory of informants goes, it remained constant—constant at least while the Ghost-Dancing was a serious belief and practise of the Pawnee.

668 796 525 With the alternative organizations of Seven Brothers and Seven Crows for the Ghost-Dance singing, in the event that both groups of singers were tired at the end of a day of dancing, and neither was anxious to take over the leadership the next morning, a custom of playing a hand game to decide who would carry the burden the next day tended to develop. In the central leading tent in the evening, the Ghost Dance leaders and the two organizations ate together, with the Seven Crows on the north side, the Seven Eagles on the south. Here in the talk which accompanied the meal, the members of the two brotherhoods might challenge each other to play a hand game that night. The losers would get up early and begin the dancing; the winners could sleep late.

668 796 Each formal occasion of four-days' Ghost-Dancing was in general charge of one man, and was "put up" in the main by one woman. After a woman had offered to put the dance up, the chiefs gathered and selected one man to be in charge. This man's job was to handle all matters which came up during the entire period of dancing, a hard task and a great risk, because whatever happened while the dance was in progress was credited to the one in charge for blame or praise. If there was good luck, people spoke well of him; and if there was bad luck, people agreed it was his fault.[1] [777]

---

[1] Such responsibility of the leader is true for all Pawnee ceremonial venture. The method of having someone, usually a woman "put up" the

II

IV.

THE HAND GAME. DISTRIBUTION AND CHARACTER

668 525 In this part I have traced the changes in the Pawnee hand game which were functions of the Ghost Dance revival and the renaissance of culture. As a preliminary, this chapter sketches the place of the hand game in the aboriginal culture of North America. It was part of a wide distribution of guessing games, and the principles of chance play involved in the hand games may well have been basic to the principles of chance involved in other forms of guessing games. The consideration herein is not exhaustive: while a new treatment and re-classification of American Indian games seems called for by modern study, such a discussion, amplifying and correcting Culin,[1] must be intensive, and is necessarily irrelevant to the present theme.

525 The hand game is one of the guessing games of the North American Indians. These games, along with dice games, were, according to Culin, the only games of chance played by the American Indians. The guessing games present considerable variety: differences in objectives of play, paraphernalia used, forms of play, methods of concealment, methods of scoring, type and form of accompanying music, and ritualisation, are widespread. This variability in the guessing games is if anything increased by the errors and misunderstandings of early travelers on whose accounts Culin had to depend for information from some regions. In some cases modern information has superseded the early accounts: in others the cultures are extinct, and confusions must remain.

525 171 The guessing games of North American Indians have a contiguous and continuous distribution throughout certain regions of the continent. Guessing games are absent throughout the cultures of the arctic and sub-arctic regions: the Eskimo, the Athapascan peoples of Alaska and northwestern Canada, and the Algonquian peoples of northeastern Canada, the Hudson Bay region and Maine.

---

[1] Culin, Games.

These games are also absent throughout the southeastern United States. Conversely, in one or another form, guessing games are present throughout the Northwest Coast, California, the Plateau, the Great Basin, the Southwest, the Plains, and in the Eastern Woodlands from the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence southward to the edges of southeastern culture. This contiguous distribution of the presence and absence of guessing games implies historical relations of one or another sort. Such a major development of guessing games is unknown from other primitive regions of the world, so that the American Indian guessing games must be considered an indigenous development.

This does not mean that the guessing games must have had a unit origin in time and space and then diffused over the continent. Any guessing game is a complex combination of themes which have no necessary or inherent relation to one another; for example, a method of scoring points won, and the associated guessing objective by which points are won; the objects used in play, as sticks, discs, bones, and the associated method of scoring; the fact and form of musical accompaniment, and the associated type of play. The exact historical understanding of the development of the guessing games must be based upon a consideration of these independent themes, in their special distributions, and the elaboration and integration which they have undergone in special complexes. I shall not attempt this here.

Culin has considered the guessing games under four heads: stick games, hand games, the four stick game, and the hidden-ball game. This classification is not thorough. While it is true that the four-stick game is undoubtedly a unit form which has developed out of the background of guessing games, the hidden-ball game, as Spier has argued,[1] has two typical forms which we have no reason to identify. The stick games appear in several variant forms, which could be considered as different from one another as the two types of hidden-ball game, or the hand game and the hidden-ball game.

The four stick game has a limited and localized distribution. It occurs among contiguous tribes of northeastern California, western Nevada, and Oregon. In this game four sticks consisting of two pairs of like sticks are arranged in a serial order under a basket tray or blanket, and the opposition must guess the arrangement. There are six possible arrangements, of which four are identical with the four possible arrangements of the hiding counters in a four-hand hand game. Among the Klamath Dorsey reports

---

[1] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 351.

525
171

that the two additional positions are ruled out of the scoring.[1] These are the positions in which the similars lie paired. This indicates that these positions are actually additional and not fully integrated in the game.

Of the hidden-ball game, the northern type is the moccasin game. This is played by Algonquian tribes of the Eastern Woodlands and Great Lakes, by the Iroquois, and by several Plains Siouan tribes. An object is concealed under one of four moccasins, the opposition having to locate or avoid it. Scoring methods are variable. The essential chance is a one-out-of-four, which is identical with the chance of full success in a four-hand hand game, or the four stick game of the Klamath.

The southern type of hidden-ball game is the canute or reed game of the Pueblo region. Eliminating special variations, the type is played by all the pueblo tribes, the southern Athapascans, the Yuman tribes of Arizona, the Pima, the Papago and the Ute. A small round object is hidden in one of four receptacles or places -- these being other than moccasins - and the opposition attempts either to locate or avoid the hidden object, or to locate it on a particular guess. Among most pueblo tribes four reed tubes are used as places of concealment; the Hopi variation is a tubular shaped cup instead of a reed. At Zuni and among several of the Rio Grande pueblos the reeds are further concealed in mounds; while the Hano, Pima and Papago fill their tubes or cups with sand. The Yumans bury the object in one of four heaps of sand. An anomalous form is used by the Navaho, who conceal the object in one of four moccasins and then bury the moccasins in sand, suggesting, as remarked by Spier,[2] a combination of the southern and northern types of hidden-ball game. In general, locating the concealed object on the first guess is associated with the use of mounds of sand, while the reed game proper employs the principle of locating the hidden object on the third guess, with which is associated a complicated manner of scoring.

The two most widely distributed guessing games are the stick games and the hand games. The stick games are absent in the entire southern region of guessing games, that is, among Caddoans and Kiowans of the Plains, all groups of the Southwest, all Shoshoneans (including the entire region of the Great Basin), and southern California. This confines the stick games to the Northwest Coast, northern and central California, the Plateau, and a sporadic belt of occurrences through the Plains and the Eastern Woodlands to the Algonquians of the New England Coast.

---

[1] Culin, Games, p. 329.

[2] op. cit.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

525
171

The most typical developments of the stick games occur on the Northwest Coast, in northern California, and in the Plateau region. Two types are distinguishable here on the basis of the paraphernalia of play; while the principle of play is the same. On the Northwest Coast, among the Interior Salish, the Athapascans of California, the Klamath, and sporadically in northern California (as well as among the Teton Dakota of the Plains), a varying number of sticks among which is included an ace is divided into two parts, and the opponent guesses to locate or avoid the ace. Centering among the Coast Salish, but occurring also among the Klickitat, Chinook and Makah, is a variant in which the sets consist of ten wooden discs, one of which is an ace. The pack is divided while concealed under shredded cedar bark, and the guesser tries to choose the ace.

Variants of the stick games which occur in California, the Plains and the Eastern Woodlands, include one very general form in which an odd number of sticks is divided into two packs, and the opposition guesses for the odd number, the even number, or optionally even or odd. Other variants involve the guessing of the exact number of sticks in a bunch, or special manners of guessing chance distributions.

The basic principle of play of the typical stick games, the western stick and disc games, and the odd or even game, is a choice between two alternatives, some form of hiding or concealment (large numbers of sticks in the odd or even form being a method of concealment) being a preliminary.

The hand games proper are those which employ the hands as places in which an object to be guessed for is concealed. Such games are absent east of the Mississippi, among the pueblo and Athapascan peoples of the Southwest, and among most of the Algonquian tribes who play either the moccasin or stick game. Hand games occur in the Plains, throughout the Great Basin, California, the Plateau and the Northwest Coast. Hand games to the exclusion of other guessing games are played by all Shoshonean peoples save the Paiute of Pyramid Lake (who share with their Washo neighbors the four-stick game), and the Hopi (who like other pueblo groups play the reed game); by Caddoans; by Kiowans; by several Algonquian and Siouan tribes of the Plains; by the Kutenai; and by all Shahaptians except the Klickitat. Except for the development of the Ghost Dance ceremonial hand games, whose distribution is considered in Chapter XII, the hand game, wherever played, is a gambling game.

Reported information on the hand game, particularly the early material used by Culin, is especially weak in failing to distinguish two types of play. When an individual plays a hand game, he

525
171

hides a counter in one hand, or he hides two different counters one in each hand, and his opponent guesses for the hidden counter, or a given one of the two differing counters. As soon as more than two individual opponents play the game becomes more complicated. Typically, two players of one side each hide one counter or two differing counters, and opposing players guess the distribution. Probably both forms of play occur side by side in many more tribes than we have on record, the former for individual play, the latter for team play.

Some variants should be mentioned. Among some Californian tribes play is side against side, four players composing each side, but the guessing is individual player against opposing individual, as they sit; this form is consistent with the patterns for betting, which elsewhere even with team play, is individual against individual. Occasionally, as among one Pomo group, two players hide counters but the opposing guesser may optionally try to locate the whole distribution or the separate arrangement of either opponent's hands; this optional manner seems intermediate between two-hand and four-hand forms. The Achomawi, Haida and some others use one counter, and the opposition guesses in which hand (usually of four) it is located. Among some tribes one counter is passed along the players of a side (number not clearly stated) and opponents must locate the counter as to player, or hand. Among Yuman peoples, each member of a side conceals a counter, and the guesser tries for the whole distribution at once (apparently the sides usually consist of four members), and the guessing continues only for those unlocated. These variants, based on Culin, are local developments, and probably specializations of the hand game theme.

The type forms are the two-hand and four-hand manners of play already mentioned. In the two-hand form whether one counter or two is concealed the principle is the same; and in the four-hand form whether two counters or four are concealed the principle is the same. In the first case, the chance is one out of two, in the second one out of four (for a perfect guess). It is probable that the Plains method of play for the four-hand form, in which, if the guesser locates the counter of one opponent only, his side loses one tally and he continues to guess only for the counter not found, would prove more widespread if better information were available.

The early data used by Culin emphasizes predominantly the two-hand form. Later information on hand games of the Plains, Basin, California and the Plateau, of Kroeber, Lowie, Wissler, Spier, Gunther, Dorsey and others, as well as Powers' early material on California, in most cases reverses the emphasis, describing

525
171

primarily the four-hand form. This form, being more complicated, undoubtedly confused the casual observer of earlier days. As a result we cannot be sure of independent distributions of the two forms, or the distribution of their coexistence. What Gunther states for the Klallam, "... they play with two bones, guessing for the marked one. Occasionally in a big game four bones are put into play, being held by two people,"[1] is likely to be an option much more widespread in the Plains, California, the Basin and the Plateau than our records show. Culin's data indicates a definite emphasis upon the two-hand form among tribes of the North Pacific Coast, and Boas has confirmed this.[2] The material sets of bones to hide catalogued by Culin, are for the most part of four bones, two pairs of similars, suggesting the four-hand form as the mode; nor does the occurrence of sets of two bones rule out the four-hand form, in view of the manner of giving each player one bone.

Before discussing the problem offered by the principles of play of the hand games and guessing games, some important characteristics of the distributions should be noted. No American Indian tribe plays all four types of guessing game. Four tribes play three games: The Klamath, Achomawi and Washo, play the local four stick game as well as the stick and hand games; and the Plains Cree play the stick game, the hand game and the moccasin game. With such rare exceptions, the American Indian tribes who play guessing games play at most two variants. The overlapping in the Eastern Woodlands is between the moccasin and stick games; in the Plains either between the moccasin and stick games or the stick and hand games, not between the hand and moccasin games[3]: while the main overlapping occurs in the Northwest Coast area, the Plateau and California, where stick and hand games occur side by side.

The stick games involve typically the chance principle of one out of two; the moccasin game, the reed game, and the four stick game,[4] involve a one out of four chance for a perfect guess. Hand games may involve either: two-hand hand games offer the one-of-two chance principle, four-hand hand games the one-of-four chance principle. The overlappings of the game distributions, except for the Northwest Coast and sporadic cases elsewhere, are

---

[1] Gunther, Klallam, p. 274.

[2] In conversation.

[3] In some cases, tribes of the Plains whose native game was the hand game played the moccasin game when opposed to tribes more accustomed to the moccasin game. (Pawnee).

[4] I assume here that the limitation of positions of the Paiute four stick game (Culin, 334) or of tallying for only four positions by the Klamath (Culin, 329) are typical of the four-stick game.

525 primarily between a two-alternative game and a four-alternative
171 game. This suggests that as regards the chance principles involved the stick games may be related to the two-hand hand game, and the moccasin, reed and four stick games to the four-hand hand game. An individual hand game must be a two-alternative game. As soon as a four-chance principle game is required four hands are necessary. To utilize the same principle for individual play, the objects must be objectified (four-stick game) or the receptacles objectified (moccasin and reed games).

In terms then of the principles of chance involved, the guessing games of the American Indians are probably differing developments of associations of other themes to the two chance themes which appear in the hand games. These two chance themes, the two alternative and four alternative manners, might be considered in terms of limited possibilities to be accidentally re-invented principles if our distribution showed a reasonably chance occurrence of the one-out-of-three or one-out-of-five principles. Two cases are on record suggesting a one-out-of-three chance: Meeker and Prescott report that the Oglala and Santee Dakota used three moccasins in the moccasin game: Meeker makes optional the use of two, three or four moccasins by the Oglala: Prescott describes three as the Santee norm. Prescott's statement is disputed by the reports of Neill and Riggs, who both state that four moccasins are the number used.[1] In addition to these statements, Catlin describes the Iowa as using three or four moccasins.[2] These are the only cases in which a one out of three chance is mentioned, and it seems at best an option. Five alternatives do not occur. These facts support the theory that the two-alternative and four-alternative chance themes have usurped the development of Indian guessing games because of the two-hand and four-hand forms of the hand game.

This theory concerns only the principles of chance involved in the play of the games. Such associated themes as paraphernalia, forms of scoring, musical accompaniment, etc., must be considered separately before statements relative to the total game complexes as such can be made. Furthermore, some specialized developments call for special explanation: the third-guess manner of the Pueblo reed game, associated with elaborate scoring devices, may have to be considered in relation to sources quite different from those of the general North American guessing game development. Such detailed problems require a more relevant place for discussion.

The Pawnee hand game, described in the next chapter, is primarily of the four-hand form, and belongs to the central area of distribution of the hand games, the Plains and the Basin.

---

[1] Culin. 364—365.

[2] ibid., 366.

V.

PLAY OF THE PAWNEE HAND GAME

To understand the changes which make up the history of the Pawnee hand game, as considered in this study, it is essential that the skeleton of the game play itself be clearly understood. Only in this way can the ritualization which occurred in ghost dance times be visualized against the old game background. The game itself is interesting on its own account. In actual play it has its own excitements and exhilarations, and the pleasure of winning and annoyance of losing can be readily shared by an outsider who participates for a short time. 525

The Game Sets: Culin catalogs hand game sets in various museums.[1] The Pawnee and Wichita sets pictured and described by him are all Ghost Dance hand game sets, not sets used for the early gambling game. Pawnee sets always consist of eight sticks used as *tally sticks* with which to keep score, and two special bones or die, used as *counters* in hiding. [668 796]

Sides and Officials: In the playing of the game, two sides oppose each other; any number of players may be joined to either side, even numbers being immaterial. They are definitely immaterial in the Ghost Dance hand games where the affiliation of the individual in the Ghost Dance determines on which side that individual plays. In the old men's gambling game even numbers as regards the players were also immaterial, the visitors or guests always being considerably outnumbered by their hosts; but since in placing wagers individuals bet with individuals, the numbers of those who wagered was the same for both sides. When the boys played and chose sides, the sides were usually more or less even in numbers. The two sides form two halves of a circle, the head end being either at the west or at the north. In all Ghost Dance hand games but one it is at the west; in that one it is at the north. In the old hand game the orientation of the sides was determined by the direction from which the guests or visitors came, with the head end always either west or north. At this head end sit two tallyers, who are the leaders of their respective sides, usually with two 525 668

---

[1] Culin, p. 276ff.

525 468 [276] assistants. These leaders are called *rixku*^{a}. Leadership is important in both the old games and the Ghost Dance games. In the old game the main leader of the visiting side is the man who comes bringing the pipe. In Ghost Dance games there are always four individuals behind the altar, following the generic ceremonial pattern of the Pawnee. The two inner ones — next the east-west line, or the north-south line in the one case — are the main leaders, the two outer men being their assistants. These tallyers keep the score with the tally sticks. The leader of each side selects one player to do the guessing for that side.

[276] *Putting the counters in play:* There are preliminaries to the actual playing of the game proper: in the old games, the smoking of the pipe brought by the leader of the visiting party, the betting, and often a special dance by the visitors; in the ghost dance hand games, the smoke offering, the selection of the guessers, and usually an old dance song sung by the drummers of the host side. The leader of each side selects a guesser for that side by arising, going to one player and giving him a counter.

When the game proper is ready to begin the two guessers arise and face each other across the head end of the arena, each on his side of the midline. Each has one counter. The guesser of the host side puts his hands behind his back while he conceals the counter in one hand, then brings both clenched hands forward and moves them in rhythm while his opponent guesses. Then whatever the outcome, the opponent hides his counter and the first guesses. Calling the guesser of the host side A, and that of the guest side B, there are now four possibilities:

1) A found B's counter and B failed to find A's. In this case they are won by A who puts them in play on his side.

2) A failed to find B's counter and B found A's. In this case they are won by B, who puts them in play on his side.

3) A found B's counter and B found A's counter. In this case the procedure is repeated, until possibility 1) or 2) as above is realized, with the exception noted below.

4) A failed to find B's counter and B failed to find A's counter. In this case the procedure is repeated, until possibility 1) or 2) as above is realized, with the exception noted below.

If either possibility 3) or possibility 4), as above, occurs four times in succession, it is customary for the guessers to yield their office to two others, who try all over again.[1]

---

[1] In one Skiri Ghost Dance hand game, that of George Beaver, it is said that no change made after four misguesses, but the procedure continued until was one guesser had won both counters.

When in this way, the guesser of one side has won both counters, he takes them to two players—usually two seated side by side—of his side and gives one to each. These two players conceal the counters, and the opposing guesser comes across the arena to locate them.

The Play. The two counters when won by the guesser of one side are given to two players of that side, one to each. Each player conceals the counter given to him in one hand so that there is no evidence from his closed fists in which hand it is held. Usually the counter is concealed while the hands are held behind the back, or for a woman, under the skirt. The players who have the counters then bring their fists forward and shake their clenched hands back and forth before the guesser of the opposing side, who stands at a little distance, watching their movements and trying to add to mere chance some significant slip or move which may reveal to him which hand to choose.

In making a choice, with two counters concealed each one in either of two hands, there are four possible combinations: the two outer hands, the two inner hands, the two right hands of the hiders, and the two left hands of the hiders. There are special motions used by the guessers to indicate which of these possibilities is chosen.

To indicate the two outer hands, the guesser spreads his arms slightly outward to the sides, *or* raises both hands with erect thumbs and points the thumbs outward from his body, *or* raises the right hand with the thumb and index finger spread. To indicate the inner hands the guesser extends the right arm as if slicing between the players with the open right hand. To indicate the two right hands of the players, the guesser motions with his own right hand leftwards, *or* raises his right hand with index finger erect. To guess the two left hands of the players, the guesser motions with his own right hand to the right, *or* raises his right hand with index and third finger erect.

As soon as the guesser's choice has been indicated in one of the above ways, the players who hold the counters open the indicated hands so that all may see whether or not the guess has been successful. The player may if he wishes when the guess has been unsuccessful also open the hand containing the counter.

There are three possible results of the guess:

1) The guesser is fully successful if with his single guess he has chosen the two hands in which the two counters are concealed. In this case he wins the counters for his own side. Neither side scores points. The guesser who has won the counters takes them

525
668

across the arena to two players of his side, and the opposing guesser must now come across to try to find them.

2) The guesser is completely unsuccessful if his guess has indicated the two empty hands. In this case the players holding the counters score two points for their side, which are recorded by the keeper of the tally sticks for that side. Usually the guesser of the side in possession of the counters stands near the play, and, otherwise inactive, he indicates to the tallyer at the head end whether one or two points have been scored by holding up his right hand with index finger erect, or with index and third finger erect. In the excitement of play, other players of the side scoring points who are close to the play usually also indicate to the tallyer what has happened, and many shout "asku", one, or "pitku", two, as well. If the side holding the counters scores two points, the same two players conceal the counters again, and the guesser of the opposing side must try his luck again.

3) The third possibility is that the guesser locates one counter, and misses the other. In this case the side holding the counters scores one point (for the one not found). Then the successful player whose counter was not indicated hides again, while the unsuccessful player awaits the outcome. The guesser now has only to indicate which hand the one counter is concealed in, and has a one out of two chance. If he finds this one counter, he has now won both for his own side, and takes them across the arena to two players of his side. No further points are scored. If, on the other hand, the guesser fails to find this single counter in play, the side holding the counters scores another single point. Now both players (the same two) hide again, including the one who lost the first time, and the other who has twice scored single points. With both hiding again the guesser must try his luck once more with all the possibilities open.

525
533
668

The Musical Accompaniment: Besides the special songs which are sung before the game proper begins, and the songs sung in the intervals between the games, hand game songs are sung to the actual play of the game. The side holding and hiding the counters sings continuously while the counters remain in their possession. As soon as the guesser has won both, the song ceases abruptly, while the opposing side begins as abruptly to sing. In the old Pawnee hand game the clapping of hands was the only instrumental accompaniment. In the Ghost Dance hand games, drums are used. The songs in the intervals are sung by the side which has just won the game.

525
668

Scoring: As will be seen from the account of the game *in play* points are scored by the side in possession of the counters when the guesser of the opposing side fails to find the counters. Success in guessing does not score points but wins possession of the counters.

The record of the scoring is kept with the eight tally sticks which lie at the head end (altar end) before the two leaders. In the old hand games these eight sticks are in one heap between the tallyers or leaders; in the Ghost Dance hand games, four are bunched in front of the leader of each side. When his side scores a point, the tallyer takes one of the sticks and places it before him in a separate group, until the eight sticks have all been put in scoring play by having been won by one side or the other. Thus in the old hand game the tallyer would take sticks from the bunch of eight lying between the leaders; while in the Ghost Dance hand game he would take sticks first from the bunch of four not in play lying before his opponent, and then from the bunch of four not in play lying before himself. After the sticks are all in scoring play, a point is recorded for one side by taking one of the sticks already won or scored by the other side and adding it to the "score" bunch of the first side.

A hypothetical illustration of scoring will make the method clearer:

1) ////////
A B

2) //// ////
A B

1) represents the arrangement of tally sticks before scoring occurs in the old handgames. 2) represents the same in the Ghost Dance hand games.

If A's side scores two points the respective arrangements are:

1) // //////
A B

2) // //// //
A B

If B then scores two points:

1) // //// //
A B

2) // // // //
A B

are the respective arrangements. Then should B again score let us say one point:

525
668

1) // /// ///
A B

2) // / // ///
A B

illustrate the way the tally sticks would lie.

Now suppose that A scores three points. The resultant arrangements:

1) ///// ///
A B

2) ///// ///
A B

show that the original groups of sticks in both cases are now all in play. From this point on the scoring consists merely of moving the number of sticks won from one side to the other until as a result of the run of play all the eight sticks cluster on one side or the other. Thus at the point represented above, if one side or the other were lucky enough to run out the game in one turn, A's side would need three points in a row to do so, B's side five.

The only difficulty in following the method of scoring is that it must be remembered that all the tally sticks must have been put in scoring play by having been once won by either side, before accumulating all the sticks wins the game. This is obvious in the case of arrangement 1) of the old hand game where the sticks lie in one bunch between the tallyers. Here if both sides have already scored points the side which is running out first scores by winning the sticks not as yet in play, and then the sticks already won by the opponent. In the Ghost Dance games where each leader has four sticks before him, these belong only ceremonially, as it were, to his side, and have no reference to the scoring of the game. They must be put in scoring play in the same way that the eight bunched sticks are in the old game. Thus when one side wins four sticks in its first turn, all eight are in front of the tallyer of that side, but only four have been put in scoring play. These lie in a separate bunch, and the side must win in addition the four sticks which lie in front of their own leader, but which are not yet in scoring play, before the game has been won. If in these Ghost Dance games each side has already scored, a side running out tallies sticks in the following order: first, those before the opponent not yet in scoring play, then those before the side's own leader not in scoring play, then those which the opponent has scored.

After winning a game: A hand game occasion, whether in the old form or the Ghost Dance form, is never ended by merely winning

a game. To use an analogy, one of these games is like a "rubber" 525
in bridge. In the old game, such "rubber" games are played until 668
the possessions that one side can bet are exhausted, or until, because it is late, all agree to stop. In the Ghost Dance games, special arrangements of the number of "rubber" games to be played are made beforehand. Some of the Ghost Dance hand games have a fixed number of games to be played, usually seven, and regardless of the final outcome, viz., whether one side has won four, the other three, or one side has won all seven, the usual custom is to cease playing when the seven games have been finished. Other Ghost Dance hand games have variant methods which are optional, such as to play "even up" a certain number, which means that one side must win so many *more* games than the other. [533

When one game has been won, there is an interval during which 535]
dancing and singing takes place, led by the winning side.

After this a second game begins. For this second game, the guesser of the winning side retains his office, while the guesser of the losing side, by giving another player of his side the counter, inducts him into office as guesser for the side. So that in *putting the counters in play* for a second or later game, there will always be one guesser who participated in the previous game—the guesser of the side which has won—and one new guesser for the other side.

After the counters have been put in play in a second game or later, the players to whom they are first given by the guesser who wins both, are, in the Ghost Dance hand games, those whose turn it is to play.

Taking Turns to Play: In the old games there is essentially no formal method of taking turns. As will be detailed below, the main object being to win actual stakes which are valuable, the counters are given to hide to players who are thought to be lucky or especially able in deceiving the guesser. These will be any two chosen by the guesser, regardless of what positions they are seated in. That is, the individuals may be next each other, or widely separated in the row of players. But, after such individuals have had a turn, and have lost the counters, the custom would be for the guesser, when he had rewon the counters from players of the opposing side, to give them to hide to two other players of his side.

In the Ghost Dance hand games the whole routine is formalized. For each hand game there is an order in which the players seated around the arena take turns. This order may or may not differ from one game to another. The most general form is for the players to take turns as they are seated from the head end to the doorway.

525 thus usually from west to east. The counters are always given,
668 in such a case, to two players sitting alongside each other.

Each player who is given a counter to hide has a continuous turn until he and his partner have finally lost the counters. Then when they are rewon by the guesser of that side, they are given to the next two players in order. This method of allowing continuous turns overrides the interval between games. Thus not only is the guesser of the winning side retained, but the first time in the second game that he gives the counters to two players of his side, he gives them to the two players who "ran out" the previous game, and whose turn was not over, but was interrupted by the winning of the game. On the other hand, on the side which has just lost the game, the first two players to hide are the next two to those who last played.

VI.

THE OLD PAWNEE HAND GAME[1]

When the Pawnee lived in Nebraska, and for some time after 525
they removed to Oklahoma, the hand game kept its traditional
place in Pawnee life as a gambling game. It was a game for men
only, and primarily an adults' game; the women did not participate [562]
and were not supposed to come near where the men were playing.
The game was conceived as a warpath, and so dramatized: and
warpaths for the Pawnee were activities excluding the participation
of women. The men's game was usually a contest between two [574]
Pawnee bands, in which one would visit the other for the express
purpose of playing a hand game and gambling on the result.
Small boys, in imitation of their elders, would play hand games and
gamble. And in the same way that one Pawnee band visited
another to challenge them to play the hand game, men of one
Pawnee band would visit a tribe with whom they were on friendly
terms for a hand-game contest. For the most part, it was a game
for the younger men; maturer men, like chiefs and braves, usually [885]
did not gamble.

The three old types of play will be more lucid from short narratives[2]:

THE BOYS' HAND GAME

When small boys played a hand game, it came about as part of 525
their play around the village. Some group of boys would decide to 857
play the way their elders did, and as many or as few as there were,

---

[1] The old Pawnee gambling hand game has not heretofore been described. Culin, in his monographic treatment of Games of the North American Indians, quotes, p. 276, on Pawnee a passage from G. B. Grinnell, Story of the Indian, p. 27. The description of the method of play in the passage differs fundamentally from that herein reported. Examination shows that the quoted passage is a generalized description by Grinnell of the hand game among Indian tribes of the Plains. No reference suggests that he intended it as a description of play among the Pawnee. Culin was no doubt misled by the fact that, following the passage quoted, Grinnell tells the story of a game between Pawnee and Cheyenne scouts in the army, in which a Cheyenne was caught cheating; but in recounting this episode Grinnell does not describe the form of play. Grinnell was familiar with the game among more than eight tribes, and was probably not overconcerned in a popular treatment with the local tribal variations in play. [114]

[2] As told by Mark Evarts; somewhat edited.

525 857 they would go off somewhat from the village and choose sides. Someone of them would find sticks and break up eight sticks to make a tally set, and would make two little rings of willow to use as the counters to hide. Some of the boys would steal wood from the woodpiles in the lodges or around the tipis, and build a fire where the boys had decided to play.

When they had the place ready and the fire going, each boy would make up his own mind which side he would be on, so long as the division came out evenly; and each side selected its own leader. To the boys it made no difference what the orientation of their arrangements were: if the sides were north of the fire and south of the fire, or east of the fire and west of it, made little difference to them. Usually they had the scorekeepers at the west, in imitation of their elders. The boys would bet anything they had, such as things they wore, betting on the outcome of the individual games, and would go on playing games as long as a losing side had anything they could put up against the winnings of their opponents. They picked their guessers and decided for themselves which side should guess first. In the play of the game, they followed out the game as given above, playing it and scoring it the usual way. They kept no order in giving the willow rings to players to hide, giving them as much as possible to boys who were known to be good hiders and quick and adept at deception. Their principal object was to win the game, on the outcome of which they had wagered shirts, rings and other things that could not well be spared.

525 533 857 The boys sang songs to the play of the game, and accompanied the singing with hand-clapping. The side which held the willow-rings did the singing and hand-clapping, using it to confuse the guesser. The songs were boys' songs essentially, that they had made up at one time or another, or that they had learned from other boys, although when possible they learned and used adult songs. They were often coarse and always more or less funny. Such refrains as the following are typical:

"My grandmother's out of joint" etc. (referring to her knee).

"My grandmother fell—she raised a cloud of dust", etc.

[831] "Hurry up grandma and come, come quick we want to win."

"The balls swing round, swing round," etc. (referring to the [603] testicles).

The songs indicate the license in speech and action between boys and their grandmothers, which accurately reflects the family conditions.

525 857 The boys who held the willow-rings to hide would motion with their hands back and forth; they made efforts to deceive as well

as confuse, and it seems likely, that, as in the adults' game, the 525
hidden rings were shifted back and forth from hand to hand as 857
adeptly as possible. Often the boys would fight over the play of
the game. The guesser particularly had to be bold and fearless
because even when he won the willow-rings, those who held them [156
would often refuse to give them up. Then he had to fight for them.

THE INTER-BAND GAME

The men's game as played by Pawnee bands against each other 525
is illustrated by the following narrative of a game played in Okla- 619
homa in early days by the Kitkahaxki^x against the Skiri.

A Kitkahaxki^x man who wanted to go to play the Skiri, asked a friend to join him as assistant leader, and got together a party of Kitkahaxki^x youths. Mark Evarts, a Skiri, was then a boy at school, and a friend of the Kitkahaxki^x organizer. This man asked Mark to join the party so Mark started off with the Kitkahaxki^x. As he passed under the windows of the girls' dormitory building, a girl leaned out and called, "Where are you going, Mark?" He answered, "We're going to play a hand game, give me something to take along," whereat she threw down a shawl of hers for him to take along to bet with. Each member of the party carried a supply of articles to wager. The leader carried a pipe.

The leader spoke of their going saying, "Well, we're going on the warpath to play the Skiri a hand game."

When they got to the Skiri village, the village crier came out and asked, "What is it?" The Kithahaxki^x leader, carrying the pipe, replied, "We've come on the warpath for the hand game." At that the old crier ran back and began calling out through the encampment, "there's a party from the west have come to our Skiri camp on the warpath for the hand game. Now boys get the wood and pile it up right here." Boys began to haul wood and heap it up in one place outdoors. A crowd of Skiri gathered around the visiting party. Knifechief, as the Skiri leader, took the Kitkahaxki^x leader and two or three others home to supper. Other members of the party were taken into other lodges to eat. While they were eating, a large fire was started outside on the game ground. Soon the announcer could be heard outside calling, "Come on everybody."

They form two halves of a circle. The Kitkahaxki^x sit in a semi-circle on the west side of the fire, from north to south, the Skiri on the east side from north to south. The two leaders of their sides sit at the north with the eight tally sticks in one bunch between them. All the Skiri players are seated. (Fig. 1) They are the home players. They outnumber the visiting challengers. Skiri

525 chiefs, warriors and braves stand around to watch the game; they
619 do not play. An important Skiri chief may come to look on, may
sit at a distance and smoke calmly. By his presence he expresses his interest in the welfare and doings of his people. Some Skiri players, perhaps the leader, leave the circle to sit beside him and smoke with him, to show their appreciation of his presence.

The Kitkahaxki^{x} leader has the pipe in his hand. All who are
going to play have found their places. Women come and stand
[562] at a little distance to look on. They must not sit down or join
the circle. They never play the hand game.

The fire forms a long narrow line between the sides, fifteen feet long from north to south, only two to three feet wide (see Fig. 1) At the south ends of the lines are two men who function as tarutsius, "fire tenders."

Now the players place their bets. Blankets, shirts, vests, horses are waged on the outcome. Each bets against a friendly enemy of the other side, individual against individual. The two articles are tied together, making one bundle. The bundles are thrown down in one heap before the leaders. The winning side will carry off the whole pile of plunder, and each winning player takes from it his individual stake and his winning.

The leader of the Kitkahaxki^{x} party begins to speak,

619 "Brother, I thought of coming to see you for the hand game.
Well, my brother, we are here. I've brought this pipe for you.
525 I want you to accept it to smoke."

276 He rises. He takes the filled pipe to the fire and lights it with
788 a brand. He draws a few puffs himself, then, standing before
Knifechief, the Skiri leader in the game, gives him the pipe to smoke without releasing it, then takes it to his left and lets the assistant leader on the Kitkahaxki^{x} side take a few puffs. Then he carries it back to Knifechief, gives it to him, and sits down in his own place.

Knifechief smokes and then passes the pipe to the Skiri at his left, and from him it is passed on down the Skiri side from north to south. Each one smokes and passes it on. By the time it reaches the tarutsius of the Skiri side it is likely to be smoked out. This smoke is a gift of the Kitkahaxki^{x} to the Skiri. Except for the two Kitkahaxki^{x} leaders, no Kitkahaxki^{x} smoke, only the Skiri.

When the pipe has reached the Skiri tarutsius, the Kitkahaxki^{x}
leader arises, walks around the east side of the fire and receives
the pipe back from him. He carries it with him around west of the
fire, and stops north of the fire where facing south, he loosens the
[782] ashes with a pipe tamper, and twice raises the pipe bowl upward.

276
525
619
788

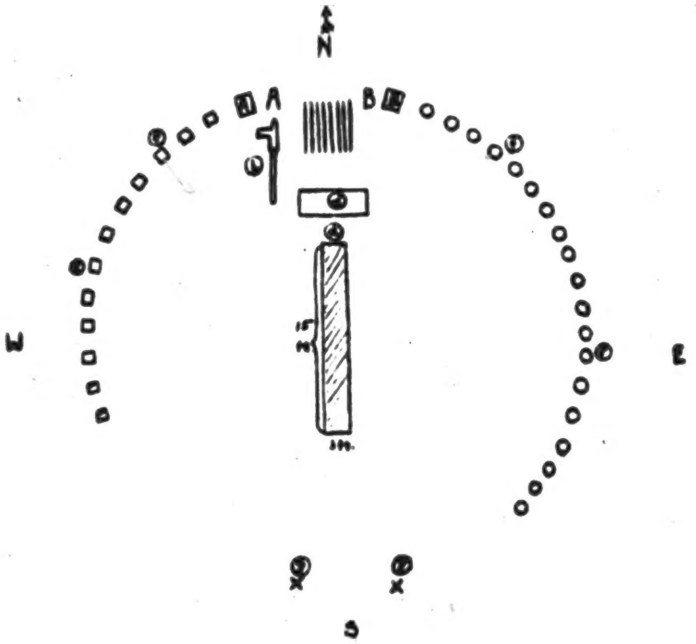


Figure 1. Plan of Game between Kitkahaxki^{x} and Skiri

A - Kitkahaxki^{x} leader, $\boxed{A}$ - Kitkahaxki^{x} assistant
B - Skiri leader $\boxed{B}$ - Skiri assistant
a - long fire
b - Kitkahaxki^{x} pipe in position after smoking
c - tally sticks
d - position of stakes
$\boxed{e}$ - Kitkahaxki^{x} men (guests)
$\boxed{f}$ - Skiri men (hosts)
g x - farutsius (fire-tenders)

[782]

an offering to heaven, each time emptying some of the ashes on the ground before the fire; then he loosens the ashes a third time and deposits all that remains on the ground, an offering to the earth. Without further motions or gestures he takes the pipe with him to his place and sits down. He now places the pipe on the ground before him, mouthpiece pointing south, bowl turned to the west (see figure 1). He can put the pipe on the ground because now it is empty. Up to the time he began the smoking he had to carry the pipe and hold it in his arms.

The set used by the Skiri consists of eight dogwood sticks and two white bones; these are not decorated in any special way. The Skiri leader Knifechief now announces: 525 619

525 614 "All right now, let's go ahead." Knifechief gets up and gives one bone to a Skiri man; the Kitkahaxki^x leader rises and gives one to a Kitkahaxki^x man. In this way the two are selected as guessers for their respective sides.

Now all the players begin to sing and yell. The two guessers are on their feet facing each other. The Skiri hides the bone first, the Kitkahaxki^x must guess first. The one who wins them gives them out to hide to any two players on his side regardless of where they sit. He picks them because they are clever at hiding the bones, at deceiving the guessers, at confusing them by shifting the bone almost invisibly from one hand to another. The guesser watches closely. He notes the gestures with the hands and arms, the body movements; he watches eyes for a hint.

As soon as one guesser has won the two bones he takes them to his side of the fire to two players. His opponent crosses into enemy territory to follow the trail and find them. His side is quiet now, [516 825] while the players of the side hiding the bones are all singing and clapping hands. Some are yelling to frighten the guesser. Others make gestures to confuse him. The hiders imitate some animal in their body movements and the positions of their clenched hands.

[201 533] He wins them back. At once his side begins to yell with their hands over their mouths, he-e-e-e- in a high loud voice. Then they begin to sing. Old hand game songs, songs caricaturing things and people, funny songs, coarse songs.

To follow the trail of the bones when they are won and carried across to the other side is to trail the enemy. The guesser searches for tracks. A player on the hiding side goes to the fire for handfuls [789] of cold ashes from the fire's edge. He sprinkles it like falling snow. He calls aloud, "The snow covers up the tracks now, you cannot see them."

Thus after an enemy raid in late fall when men started after the retreating warparty to regain captured horses the falling snow obliterated the trail. To the Pawnee the little dramatic act has similar power to obliterate the unseen trail of the bones from hand to hand, to blind the guesser. The guesser shields his eyes with his hand and peers through the falling ashes to see the tracks.

In time to the clapping of hands and the rhythm of singing, the [825] hiders and all the players of that side move their arms and bodies back and forth, back and forth. When they hide some imitate crows, some deer, some buffalo, some turkeys.

The Skiri win the first game. Their side carries off the stakes. 525 533 619 Now the Skiri begin to sing Crazy Dog dance songs, songs of reckless bravery, self-abandonment on the warpath. Men careless

525
of death sang such songs before they set out for the country of the 533
enemy, sang such songs before they went into battle, before they 619
broke into the enemy camp. Knifechief gets up to dance. He
dances the steps of the Crazy Dog Dance. It is his place to dance
first, he is a brave man and the leader. Others join him from the 525
Skiri side. They do not dance out in the circle, but standing at 535
their places. Knifechief carries a stick in his hand. 619

As the dancing ends, all the Skiri yell, he-he-he-he-e-e-e-, hitting [201]
their hands on their mouths. Knifechief speaks.

"I can remember when I was in the army and we chased the 525
Cheyenne. We chased them out of their camp. They ran and left 619
their blankets behind. I took the blankets away from them."

Knifechief sits down.

"Well, bet some more."

The Skiri who have won stakes bring back their winnings. The Kitkahaxkiˣ have to bet other things against what they have lost. The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader bets his blanket, a squaw cloth with one side red and the other black. All the Kitkahaxkiˣ bet again. They have come to play the hand game and have a lot of stuff with them to bet. The bets pile up again. The betting is even, man against man, and the pile comes out even.

The guesser who won for the Skiri plays again. The Kitkahaxkiˣ choose a new man to try his luck against the victor.

Again the Skiri win and carry off the stakes.

The Skiri sing Crazy Dog Dance songs. Knifechief dances. He [533]
calls, "We charged again and chased out the Cheyenne, and they [727]
left everything behind, tents and horses, and we carried them away.
And a pair of leggings I took away from them."

He is recalling victory in battle and the garnering of the spoils. He is gloating over the victory in the game. The game is a battle; the Skiri have carried off the plunder.

Knifechief sits down.

The bets are laid for a third game. The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader says, "I'm going to bet a beef." He puts up a beef against the squaw cloth Knifechief has just won from him. All bet again.

The game begins. Again the Skiri are winning.

All this while Mark has been standing on the Skiri side. They have given him no place to sit and play.

The guesser for the Kitkahaxkiˣ in the third game is a friend of his. He calls out to Mark. "Come over here." He asks him to sit on the Kitkahaxkiˣ side next to him. Mark walks around through the north outside the circle of players and sits down.

The Kitkahaxkiˣ are losing again. The Skiri have won six

525
619 points; only two sticks are left in the center. The Kitkahaxkiˣ guesser calls out to the leader of his side, "I want him to guess now." He shows them Mark. He says, "You're a good boy; everything you do is lucky. Go ahead."

The Skiri begin to yell. The Kitkahaxkiˣ pat Mark on the back and wish him luck.

[789] Mark arises. He goes to the fire and leans forward over it. He touches the ashes and rubs his hands together. He touches fire to his eyes to warm them and make him see clearly. He watches the guessers. He chooses quickly. He finds the bones.

Now the Skiri are trying to confuse him. They yell. They want him to put up the shawl he has with him. He tells them he doesn't have to now. He goes on guessing against the Skiri man who has won two games. The Kitkahaxkiˣ players begin to come to life. They win the game.

[533] Now the Kitkahaxkiˣ sing the Crazy Dog Dance songs. The Skiri are slient. The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader gets up to dance. He tells how he went on a warpath and captured many horses. This time the Kitkahaxkiˣ have carried off the spoils.

There is a fourth game. The bets are laid again. The Skiri choose a new guesser. Mark is against him now and wins again.

The games are even. The Kitkahaxkiˣ have won back their losings. They decide to stop now. It is late. The Kitkahaxkiˣ go home.

Later the Skiri set upon Mark because he played with the
Kitkahaxkiˣ and won for them. For a long time he couldn't go
[578] near the Skiri camp. They would get hold of him and scold him
angrily. Mark says he joined the Kitkahaxkiˣ side because the
man who asked him was a friend of his, and because the Skiri did
not give him a place and ask him to join in.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OLD GAME

525
533 Competitions like the above between the bands of the Pawnee were played in this way in the old days. Women never played. The games were always outdoors. The songs sung were old type hand game songs. They were coarse but not about women. One ran:

"They're bathing in the water now...
They're bathing in the water now..."

All would laugh because of the reference to washing, bringing up a picture of one scrubbing himself all over and around the loins.

525 Those who hid, many of them, imitated animals. Some of these
825 imitations:
536

Crow: Each hand clasped with index finger erect. The arms are bent so that the hands are held out about shoulder high like wings. The player calls ka-ka-ka like the crow while he motions with his hands back and forth like flapping wings. 525 825 536

Turkey: Right hand clasped, index finger extended, is brought to forehead to imitate the beak; left hand with index finger out is placed behind like tail. The player calls tut-tut-tut like a turkey.

Deer: The hands clasped palm side down, held bent at wrists about waist high, imitating the forefeet; the index fingers are curled down; the arms are moved alternately, gracefully and slowly, forward and back. No sound.

Buffalo calf: Two hands tight shut in fists with thumbs erect: the bottoms of the fists are set to the sides of the head above the ears, the head bent forward, the thumbs moved like little horns, slight motions. The calf makes no noise unless caught, then "br-r-r-rrr."

Buffalo: The two hands clenched at the sides of the head as for calf, but the index fingers erect for larger horns: the head is moved slowly around to one side and another as the animal peers this way and that.

These animal imitations are by some wholly in fun. But those who use a certain imitation usually retain it throughout the play of hand games, and are known as such and such an animal player. And there are some among the players who have the right to characterizations because of their knowledge and power. In the hand game above described, one man who imitated the deer was a deer performer in the Doctor Dance.

The structure of the old hand game comes out clearly in the above narration. The play of the game has been detailed heretofore. Points of significance: 525

The games were always played outdoors. [562]

Women never participated.

The long fire outdoors with each side in a semi-circle.

The leaders as tallyers at the head end.

The tally sticks in one heap between them.

The betting.

The selection of hiders in any orders.

The attempts to trick and deceive.

The singing of old hand game songs for the play accompanied only by handclapping, without instruments. [533]

The Crazy Dog Dance between the games, danced by the winning side, the winning leader counting a coup. [535]

The animal imitations. [536]

525 The host side starting the play, the guest side initiating the guessing.

The visitors bringing a pipe smoked only by the hosts.

As to the alignment of the sides:

There is no such thing in these games as hereditary or traditional
525 sides.[1] The Kitkahaxkiˣ came from the west and occupied the west
621 half of the circle, the head end being at the north. Original geo-
619 graphical band arrangements in Oklahoma may be indicated as
823 follows:

N
Skiri
W Tcawi E
Kitkahaxkiˣ
Pitahawiratᵃ
S

These geographical positions would determine the arrangement of the hand game play. A division into east and west sides meant the head end was the north; a division into north and south sides meant the head end was the west. Pitahawiratᵃ against Kitkahaxkiˣ would put the Kitkahaxkiˣ on the north, the Pitahawiratᵃ on the south, with the leaders and tally sticks at the west. The other bands would have divisions into east and west sides with the leaders and sticks at the north.

In Nebraska the arrangement also follows geographical locations, but these were different:

N
W Skiri Kitkahaxkiˣ Tcawi Pitahawiratᵃ E
S

In Nebraska all games would have an east-west division of sides with the head end at the north. A game played in Nebraska between the same two bands as above, the Kitkahaxkiˣ visiting the Skiri would put the Skiri on the west, the Kitkahaxkiˣ on the east (the exact opposite of what was played in Oklahoma) with the tally sticks and leaders at the north.

Such were the arrangements and characteristics of games played by one Pawnee band against another.

THE INTER-TRIBAL HAND GAME

525 In earlier days, before the Pawnee were removed to Oklahoma,
648 and for some time thereafter, the hand game was a contest, not only
574 between the bands ofthe Pawnee, but a contest played by any

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

Pawnee group against another tribe with whom they were friends 525
traditionally, or with whom they had recently established friendly 648
relations. Among those with whom the hand game was played by the 574
Skiri Pawnee in relatively recent times, one informant remembers participating in games with the Osage, Ponca and Omaha, Oto, Kiowa, and Arapaho. Friendly gaming relations are remembered with the Sac and Fox, but with them the moccasin game was played, not the hand game. The following narrative of a game between the Skiri Pawnee and the Kiowa, played in Oklahoma many years ago, probably before 1880, will make the procedure clear:

The story is told by Mark Evarts.

One time a large party of Skiri Pawnee were on a buffalo hunt. They were led by Bowchief. While they were out hunting, they came near to the place where the Kiowa were encamped, and went over to visit them. It was not an anticipated visit, so that the traditional forms of visiting were not involved.[1] The chief of the Kiowa was Bigbow.[2] Bowchief of the Skiri Pawnee and Bigbow of the Kiowa were friends.[3]

At the Kiowa encampment, the Skiri Pawnee danced their Crazy Dog Dance, led by Bowchief on horseback. He was the only
mounted Skiri in the dance.[4] After the performance, the Kiowa gave [431]
the Pawnee buffalo meat and buffalo hides.[5] Then the Pawnee left
with these gifts and came home.

Two days later, in the afternoon, the Pawnee saw a party of Kiowa coming to visit them. They were received in friendly fashion, and they danced the Kiowa Crazy Dog Dance for the Pawnee. This time Bigbow led the dance, mounted. He was the only Kiowa on horseback. Bigbow, in the dance, called aloud his
exploits on old warpaths. After the dance the Pawnee gave the [431]
Kiowa calico and corn.[5] Then the Kiowa went home. The Pawnee
hunters who had visited the Kiowa were all men. The Kiowa who returned the visit were mostly men: a few had wives with them.

---

[1] The traditional forms would have required sending a gift of tobacco in advance, and other formalities.

[2] otakáyot in Evarts' rendition of his Kiowa name.

[3] Inter-tribal friendship was a definite formalized relationship in former [572]
times. It was of paramount importance, as through interlocking friendships
tribes traditionally hostile to each other were drawn into peaceful relations.

[4] It is said that in the old form of the Crazy Dog Dance, a man mounted [554]
indicated thereby that he had captured horses on a warpath.

[5] This giving away after the dancing is similar to the old forms of intertribal [703]
visiting of friends, at which lavish giving away was done. In the above case the formal arrangements preceding the visits seem to have been omitted because it was a chance meeting.

525 While the Kiowa were visiting the Pawnee, some Skiri youths 574 thought of visiting the Kiowa to play a hand game against them. 648 They decided to go over to challenge the Kiowa the day after the Kiowa went home. Mark was with them and became exited about the anticipated hand game. His father was sick, but he paid very little attention because his head was full of the hand game and he wanted to go.

The Kiowa were then camping about two miles from the Pawnee. Late in the afternoon, the day after the Kiowa had gone, Mark saw men gathering at the edge of camp. They were ready to go; they had bundles of things with them to bet. When Mark stepped out [593] of the lodge, these youths motioned to him to come on. So he forgot all about how sick his father was inside, and went. He persuaded himself that his father wasn't very sick anyhow.

The whole party went on foot, carrying their stakes. There were twenty-five or thirty in the group. They took no horses to ride because all who were going wanted to play, which would leave no one to take care of the horses. Some mean fellows among the Kiowa might steal some. And if they had horses with them they might be tempted to wager them and lose the horses.[1]

After dark they reached the Kiowa camp. They were directed to the chief's tent. Knifechief, leading the Skiri party, carried a pipe, already filled with tobacco. Knifechief and a few others went into the chief's tipi. From outside Mark heard a Kiowa in the tipi call, "hækahi"—"all right, that's good."

This was in December. It was very cold, and outside the men waiting wanted to get into tents to warm up. David Gillingham, Mark's chum, went with Mark into one tent. A Kiowa man sitting at the west called out a welcome, hækahi. From the south side, where she had been sitting, his wife rose and spread a blanket for the two visitors on the north side of the tipi close up to the west [276 where the Kiowa was sitting. She put two pillows on it. David and Mark sat down there. The Kiowa filled a black pipe and gave 788] it to David to smoke. Mark nudged David and whispered to him that he should not make any gestures with the pipe. Both knew that the Kiowa had special ways and motions in using their pipes; Mark was afraid David would try them and make a mistake. He knew David was a great show-off. The Kiowa pipe-smoking was very complicated. David nudged Mark back and told him to keep quiet. David wanted to show off, so he made some motions [481] with the pipe, imitating Kiowa motions he had seen somewhere.

---

[726] [1] Incidentally, the Pawnee warparty always travelled on foot, with the object of returning riding captured horses.

The Kiowa watched him with astonishment. Then David handed the pipe to Mark, who took it and smoked it quietly and without ceremony. When it was handed back to the Kiowa he made several gestures with it before he put it down. Then his wife picked up a bowl of pounded meat which was on the south side, brought it over and placed it before them. Mark tried to make David talk to their Kiowa host in sign language to keep David's hands busy. Meanwhile Mark ate as fast as he could. Then the woman took a kettle, put dried meat and fat in it, and hung it over the fire suspended from a horizontal bar across two forked uprights. 525 648 574

When the meat was cooked the boys were given meat and fat to eat, and soup to drink. David told Mark not to eat so fast. While they were eating and drinking, outside a Kiowa was heard shouting. When he heard the announcement, their Kiowa host grunted. He

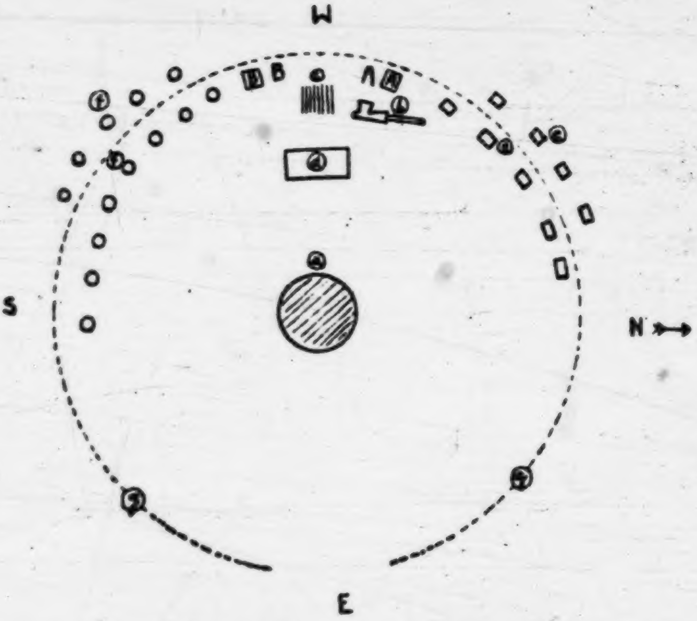


Figure 2. Plan of Game between Skiri and Kiowa

A - Skiri leader and assistant
B - Kiowa leader and assistant
a - round fire
b - Skiri pipe in position after smoking
c - tally sticks
d - position of stakes
e - Skiri men (guests)
f - Kiowa men (hosts)
g - outlines of tipi

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

525 told the boys in sign language that the man outside, the crier, 574 had announced that the Pawnee were here and had come on the 648 warpath for the hand game; that they had come bringing a pipe. The crier had said too that as it was getting late, the people had better come at once, women and all, for the hand game. It was to be played inside the big tent of the Kiowa chief.

[431] When they had eaten enough, the Kiowa told the boys to take with them the meat that was left. By signs he said that if they felt hungry later, they would have it to eat. He gave them a pointed stick, and showed them how to stick it into the meat and so carry [482] it. He said, "I'm in a hurry now, I want to get a place there to sit." All three went over to the chief's tipi. The tent was big, but the crowd was so large that there was not room enough inside for all, so the bottom of the tent cover was rolled up all around, and those who couldn't get in settled themselves around outside. Many had to sit outside this way in the cold. If such a large crowd had been anticipated, the hand game would have been played in the open around a huge fire, but it was too late to gather enough wood to build such a big fire.

The Pawnee were sitting around the north side of the tipi, inside and out, Knifechief, as the leader, sitting at the west. The Kiowa sat around the south side, with the Kiowa chief at the west next to Knifechief. In the middle was a large round fire. The Skiri [823] Pawnee were on the north because the tribe was camped north of the Kiowa and had come south to play.

The game began at once. There was no pipe smoking. The Kiowa chief had received the pipe when Knifechief had entered his tent upon arriving.

Between the leaders at the west are the tally sticks. Alongside them lies the Pawnee pipe, now empty, pointing to the north.

The betting begins, of vests, shirts, blankets, anything of value. Each man bets against one of the other side; the two things are tied together; the bundles are heaped at the west before the leaders. In the excitement of the game, the cold is forgotten, even by those who must squat outside. The first guessers are chosen and play begins.

When they hide the bones, the Kiowa sing old hand game songs, accompanied by the beating of one hand drum. When the Pawnee have the bones, they sing their old hand game songs. They clap their hands; they do not beat a drum.

The Pawnee won the first game and took the stakes. Then they sang one Crazy Dog Dance song. Two Pawnee danced. One told of a war exploit, "Once when I was in the army,[1] we charged the

---

[1] Referring to an episode while a Pawnee scout with the U. S. army.

Cheyenne camp early in the morning, and they fled. When I got 525
into the Cheyenne camp I took blankets and other things away 574
from them." The Pawnee sing and dance only one song, because 648
it is late and cold, and the Pawnee have a long way to go to return
home after the game. They want to hurry, and play quickly.
Should the Kiowa win a game, they would dance their Crazy Dog
Dance to the songs of their society and their leader would rise to
recite an exploit, holding the Pawnee pipe. But the Pawnee when
they dance, do not carry the pipe they have brought.[1] On this
occasion, the Kiowa did not win, and had no chance to dance
carrying the pipe.

Wagers were made for a second game, the Kiowa betting against their losings. Again the Pawnee won. Again they sang a Crazy Dog Dance song, and another Pawnee recited a war exploit.

In the third game Knifechief rose and sprinkled ashes to hide the tracks, and the Kiowa guesser searched for the trail.

The Pawnee won three straight games, and that was all they played. There was no fighting over the bones in these games: that was only the way that small boys played.

Knifechief rose. He said, "Now my brother, I beat you. That's all. We're going home." All the Skiri took up their winnings and started for home.

While the game had been going on, Mark and David had found time to eat up the meat they had received so that no one could ask for some. They managed to finish it by the time the game was over.

On the way home, one of the Skiri who was a friend of Mark's [572
gave him a pair of leggings he had just won. Mark says that
because of the good fortune of the Pawnee that night he believed 431]
the Pawnee would always have good luck in hand games, but
subsequently he found out he had been mistaken. In later games
they often lost.

---

[1] Carrying the pipe while counting coup was correct only if the reciter [703
had carried a pipe at the time of the exploit. This meant essentially that
he had been the leader of a war party. If the exploit had occurred when no [554]
pipe was carried, he could count coup, but without holding the pipe. In the
above narrative the special significance of the distinction drawn between [727]
the right of the Kiowa leader to carry the pipe, and the Pawnee lack of
that right, is that it represents dramatically the fact that for generations 721]
past, as a result of their treaties, which the Pawnee held sacred, few if any
war parties had been sent out ceremonially by the Pawnee. War exploits
during the Nineteenth Century were limited essentially to defensive tactics,
or to fighting as members of the United States army (see Chapter I).

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

525 The essentials of this game follow those of the inter-band Pawnee
648 hand games. Interesting is the fact of the arrangements on sides
according to geographical locations. In playing Osage, Arapaho,
574 Ponca and Omaha, as well as Kiowa, the games were usually held
823 in tipis, though they could be held outdoors if the crowd was large. They were played around a round fire. Instruments were not used by the Pawnee for game-singing, but tribes opposing them followed their own custom. When the Skiri played the Osage, the Skiri were on the south, the Osage on the north; when the Skiri played the Arapaho, the Skiri were on the north, the Arapaho on the south; when the Skiri played the Ponca, the Skiri were on the north, the Ponca on the south. The Osage in the game in question came from the north to the Skiri. The Skiri went to the Arapaho going north – the Skiri camp was south of the Arapaho camp, hence my informant feels the alignment was in error, and that there must have been a special reason for it. Once the Skiri, on their way north to Arkansas City, met the Ponca for a hand game. They had stopped to camp south of Ponca City. The Ponca were all around them, but the particular party which came to play gathered to the southwest of the Pawnee camp, and came from that direction; hence they were placed on the south side.

VII.

THE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME

The old gambling hand game of the Pawnee, along with other 525
games, dances and social affairs, had gone the way of the rest of 178
Pawnee aboriginal culture by 1892. Occasionally games were
played, but the old life which began with early spring and included 668
one round of work and play that ended with the winter, was no
more. The Ghost Dance, with its doctrine of a return of the old
Indian life, and its mandate to stimulate that return by actively
reviving whatever could be recalled, amounted to a partial renaissance of Pawnee culture. We can judge what was lacking most in
Pawnee life before the Ghost Dance by considering some of the
revivals. Memories of the societies and brotherhoods with their
dances and songs were recaptured in reconstructions of the old
paraphernalia, and the singing again of the old songs. But games [171]
were preeminent, as they were also among the Arapaho. The joy
of play had gone from Pawnee life before this. All was somber and
hopeless, full of death, disease and constant frustration. Of these
game revivals the most notable was the hand game.

The game was revived first as a game. This is apparently the 668
significance of the constant iteration by informants that Tom 525
Morgan's game was not a ceremonial one originally, was the first
of them all, and did not come in response to a vision. The Arapaho 177
suggestion of a ceremonialized game combining Ghost Dance ideas
of the deceased playing in the beyond, with the game play, reached
the Pawnee.

Once the games were begun, whether it was by Morgan or by 668
Carrion, by direct inspiration or through borrowing from the 525
Arapaho, the idea of learning Ghost Dance hand games in visions
spread like wildfire and the games sprang up like mushrooms. This
radical development by individuals only came after the movement
to dethrone Frank White as the sole prophet of the Pawnee Ghost
Dance. As late as 1930 I was able to list twenty-two individual
game developments of the Pawnee. No doubt, if all the facts were
known, there were many more. For a game to persist after it was 668
once created, the owner had to be well thought of by his people, 525
so that someone would "put it up"; and the public had to believe 787

[p. 155]

668 in the supernatural sanction of the game. Many games were
● 525 probably demonstrated briefly and then forgotten.

The Pawnee developed an interesting check upon the validity
787 of these Ghost Dance hand game revelations. They knew that
any one could make up the game with sticks, altar arrangements, smoke offerings, and special complexities. For this reason the people were especially interested in watching the play of a game the *second* time it was demonstrated by the owner. Their contention was that if the game was just made up the owner would not be able to repeat his own arrangements accurately, while if the vision was a true one he would always remember his ways, could in fact never forget them.

The game visions were supposed to give full directions to the visionary as to the details of the game. This included the essentials of the ritual aspects, as offerings, and ceremonial arrangements, the character of the hand game set, the way to play the game. Each composite of these things constituted a set of teachings similar to the ritual lore of a bundle owner in former times, and the paraphernalia used in demonstrating the game constituted a bundle.

The Ghost Dance hand game was a ceremony, not a gambling game, and as such the elements of gambling of the earlier game were
777 eliminated. But the concept of luck involved in the play of the
game was carried along with a changed meaning: it may have been in fact the use of luck as an omen which stimulated the rapid growth and widespread playing of these games.

525 Gambling for the Pawnee, as doubtless for most primitive peoples,
777 is associated with feeling of the existence of luck as a definite
quality of the world. To win in a gambling game is to win not only the stakes: to win is to get a vote of confidence, a promise that the gods are on your side. The immediate benefit of the victory is of course the spoils. But beyond these immediate stakes there are greater stakes which have been won. You cannot know, you cannot guess what ultimate benefits of fortune will accrue. But you have assurance that *luck* is on your side. You must await the outcome of events and see what happens. Something good, something lucky and fortunate, is bound to happen to you. When
668 it does, that is because you won when you gambled. The need for
525 luck is everpresent because of the precariousness of life. This need
777 was acutely felt in Ghost Dance times. It was because luck was
787 against the Indian that the white man was conquering. The Ghost
Dance doctrine was a promise that fortune was to be on the other side. Now in addition one needed luck to be with the winning side. To be assured of the ultimate change of the Ghost Dance one needed

668

the luck of visions; and to be assured that one would be saved when 525
the great destruction came, one had to be in touch with the control- 777
ling influences of the spirit world, which could be had only through 787
visions.

In the early games, as we saw, the men who played imitated 668
various birds and animals as they played. The belief is that birds
and animals play hand games too, even as men. In the Ghost 525
Dance two birds were preeminently the choice of the dancers, the 825
eagle and the crow, because of the known characteristic traits 777
of these birds—their wide, far-flung flights, on which they saw the world below them and everything that went on in it. When you were influenced to fall into a trance because of either of these birds, or when in your trance either of these birds was your guide and helper to find lost relatives and lost ways of life, you became associated with that bird. When in the hand game you played as a "crow" or an "eagle", you played to find out which was luckier, which held promise of the greater good fortune. In the early Ghost Dance hand game days it is said by all that the losers cried desolately and the winners were jubilant. As there never were material stakes for a Ghost Dance hand game, clearly it was nothing won. Bad luck or good luck had been discovered as one's portion. To lose was an ill omen.

An incident by Mark Evarts illustrates the foregoing: 668

Once at a Ghost Dance game played by Mrs. Washington, Mark 525
held the counter in his left hand. The guesser indicated that hand 777
as his choice, when, as quickly as it was guessed, it seemed to pass to his right hand, and there it was. This, according to Mark, was a sign of good fortune. A while later Mark was given Ridingin's daughter to marry. Goodeagle, the girl's grandfather, told the people at the time Mark was married to the girl, that he had had Mark in mind for a long time. Mark feels that this was what his hand game luck forbode. He considers this connection of the events reinforced by an experience which had occurred to him some time before he played in this hand game of Mrs. Washington's. One
time when he was near a creek with a large clump of cottonwoods, [825]
an eagle came circling, looked at Mark and went off again. "Now Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle represent two eagles," says Mark, "and that may have been the time they thought about me and considered me." Thus the experience with the eagle is reinterpreted in the light of hand game luck and the good fortune which followed it.

An interesting aspect of the above experience is that Mark considered the fact that the counter changed hands miraculous. Not from Mark did I ever learn that in the old game changing the

668 counter from hand to hand in this way was a regular form of
● 525 deception and part of the game. Other informants told me about
7'11 this old method of play after I had recorded Mark's experience, and
only then did I become aware that in terms of Ghost Dance hand
game ethics Mark had cheated, unconsciously falling into the habits
[577] of play he had been used to in his boyhood.

The concept of luck associated with hand game play was broadened conceptually in the Ghost Dance. Winning was a sign of greater faith, and since the coming change could be attained through faith alone, losing was a bitter dose indeed. It marked one as a disbeliever, a sinner, an unfortunate who could not be saved.

121 In the chapters^ which follow I have considered the Ghost Dance
hand games in two ways. In the first discussion the material
525 facts of the games have been used to define the generic aspects of
668 game rituals and ceremonies, and to bring out the significance of the
various parts in order to consider in a later discussion the contrast with the old game and the meaning of the changes. In other chapters the details of the individual games are presented so far as known, in a form which makes them at once comparable with the analysis which precedes. In this way repetitions have been reduced to a minimum.

The order in which the games are presented, especially those of the Skiri, is an attempt at something of a chronology.

128 The exact order is of course impossible to determine at this date.
525 Many were developed well-nigh simultaneously. If the owners of
old games are interviewed each is likely to contend for the priority
668 of his or her own game. But certain games are known to be very
old, certain others to be very recent. In addition special traits of the individual games place them in one or another of relative periods of time, before which they could not have used certain forms, and after which they must have. In short, on the basis of internal evidence as well as tradition a fairly sure chronology of the games *as groups* had been obtained. The question of priority within the groups is problematical.

There are first of all the games of the South Bands. Of these I have heard of only five: Joseph Carrion's, Tom Morgan's, White Elk's, Charley Brown's (this and White Elk's are collaborative), and Annie Eustace's. Tom Morgan's game as we saw was probably a nonceremonial one, which he altered to suit the new fashion, while Carrion's was the game he learned among the Arapaho. These two are then definitely older than the White Elk-Brown game, and that of Annie Eustace, for both of the latter were developed *as* Ghost Dance hand games.

^ [not processed. -Analyst]

Of the seventeen Skiri games known to me at least by name, nine fall into an early period. These are the games belonging to Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Goodeagle, Goodeagle, George Beaver, Mark Rudder, John Moses (old form), Skidi Jake, Boychief's mother, and Pierson. Of these I know nothing of the proper place for Beaver's, Skiri Jake's and Goodeagle's games. Mrs. Goodeagle gave the order of the other six as: her own, Mrs. Washington, Rudder, Moses, Boychief's mother and Pierson. Her statement is probably correct as regards the subsequence of Rudder,[1] Moses and Boychief's mother, but as regards the priority of Mrs. Goodeagle's game over that of Mrs. Washington, there can be much question, in view of the part Mrs. Washington played in the Ghost Dance itself, and the general feeling among the Pawnee that there was considerable jealousy between the two women. 128 525 668

Subsequent to this early period, in a general middle period, after Pierson's game, come games of Emmet Pierson and Lonechief (collaborative), Barclay White (from Mrs. Washington), Boychief (from his mother), and Tom Yellowhorse. The Pierson-Lonechief games are definitely placed as just after the earliest developments. White's and Boychief's games follow Pierson's in time, inasmuch as these games were inherited, and their former owners were alive and or active at the time when Emmet Pierson derived his game; while that of Yellowhorse, perhaps the most played game today among the Pawnee, is said to have followed after Pierson's.

Finally we can be reasonably certain that four other games fall in a late to recent period: a second one of Pierson's, a new or changed game of John Moses, a game of Charley Allen's and one of Irene Goodeagle (made for her by her grandmother). The last was made up in the last few years. The Moses and Allen games followed their conversion to the Baptist Church of recent years, and Pierson's second game just preceded that time; it was a simplification of his older game.

While the exact order of these games is not of paramount importance, some conception of their relative order is, because there were gradual changes introduced in the Ghost-Dance hand games throughout the period of their creation, and these changes tell an interesting story.

---

[1] Tom Yellowhorse considers Mark Rudder's game earliest of the Skiri Ghost Dance hand games.

[pp. 160 ff. not processed]

7

dressed him before presuming to open any conversation with him, and 159
Old Bull on his part was bound to take the initiative in instructing
the boy. Old Bull, referring to his younger wife Clear Day, would say 554
to Otter, "This is our wife. Call her *tsustit* (old lady). Say to her, 602
'I'm starving. Get me something to eat.'" The young woman would answer, "What have you been doing that you're hungry?" Then Old Bull prompted him, "Tell her, 'Well, I've been playing.'" Then the woman answered, "That's all you're good for." A certain amount of teasing went back and forth from time to time after that. Then when Otter got older, he was again prompted by Old Bull to ask his younger wife to cook for him and she would reply, "Well, I have no water. I can't cook if I don't have any. Take two buckets and get me some. If you take only one, one of your arms will get long." "Well I could change about," the boy would answer in all innocence. "No you can't, you must take both at the same time." When he got back, water had splashed all over him from both buckets and Clear Day would say, "That's good. You got water. Don't ask me to cook if you have no water around." Old Bull would praise him then and say, "I have a smart little brother. He can carry the water," and the wife would add, "That's a good little boy after all. He brought the water." Old Bull would also express big-brotherly concern for him in another way. He would ask, "Well, who were you playing with?" "I played with so and so," Otter would answer. "That's good. Just play with those children and with no one else. I don't want you to play with those other boys. They're mean." "We played with the girls. They made a horse of me in our play," Otter related. Even though Otter's older brother Fox Chief was staying in another household the extended kinship system gave the boy the opportunity to learn the rules in his own home while he was small. Later this knowledge would stand him in good stead.

Clear Day, the younger wife of Old Bull, whose name in Pawnee was *Ts-takur-riwax*, "woman-day-clear," was inclined to be the "sporty" type, laughing and joking all the time and spending a good deal of her time out gambling. Her disposition was in marked contrast to the other women of the lodge. Old Bull had married her after he had been married to Queen Woman for quite a while. She was not from their own Pumpkin-Vine Village but from Village-in-the-Bottomlands, and Old Bull had married her because "she had taken his fancy." When the Pawnees moved from Fremont to the reservation village near Genoa, Old Bull brought in Clear Day's mother, Blue Calico, to take up the grandmother place in the new earth lodge that he and Victory Call had established. Clear Day
was an assiduous player of the plum-seed game. This was the most [525]
popular gambling game of the women, played with plum-seed dice tossed in a round coiled basket. The betting was always heavy and the

159 habitual gambler was likely to lose her blouse, her shawl, or her earrings.
554 A man who noticed a crowd of women playing together like that would have to move along and mind his own business.
602

525 Clear Day had her own basket and plum seed dice with which to play the game—tossing up the marked plum seeds in the tray basket. Even when she herself didn't think of going out to gamble, the others would come in and get her. She would go out early in the morning and come back late in the evening, betting whatever she had, i.e., calico, a necklace, or her earrings. Old Bull didn't get angry. He was a chief and it wouldn't have been right for him to express any strong disapproval of his wife.

Sometimes a man whose wife was out gambling would get angry because he got hungry. When the woman came home feeling badly because she had lost, there would be trouble. She would say to her husband, "It was because of you. You were thinking about your hunger and then I lost the game." She gave no thought to her home—only to her playing. Sometimes she would win a nice piece of calico so that she could make her husband a new shirt. Then the reaction at home would be quite different. The husband would say, "That's good. But don't go so often. You might lose your luck." But try as she would to obey her husband's injunction, she would be caught up in it eventually. When the gamblers came around, she would make some excuse and say, "No, I have such and such to do. Why don't you go and ask so and so?" But eventually the other gamblers knew she would succumb. That was the way of Clear Day, Old Bull's younger wife. She was an habitual gambler.

159 Clear Day had two little daughters with Old Bull. The youngest was a
513 very small child and was in the care of Clear Day's mother, Blue Calico.
593 The older girl, New Queen, was five or six years old and had a bed of her own near the west on the south side of the lodge, adjacent to that of Clear Day. This was in anticipation of the time when the little girl would be fifteen and old enough to marry and her husband would join the household. It was considered desirable to give a little girl a bed of her own as soon as possible. With a little boy it was quite different. He might sleep with his grandmother until he was ten and then have a bed made for him between the central houseposts near the fireplace.

159 Queen Woman, senior wife of Old Bull, was of an entirely different
595 temperament from Clear Day. Her name in Pawnee was *Ts-taru-ri'u*,
[551] "woman-merely-by herself," signifying "one does something great by oneself, single-handed." One translation was "self-made queen," signifying that although not born a queen or woman of chief's rank, her social accomplishments were so creditable that she deserved this high

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you) 539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuata*	My thoughts are
2.	*tihi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562
fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the house-
hold routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [584]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 885
occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 526
ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de-
velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi [887]
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521
[797]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

about arrows. Presently all five would have congregated there and they 411
would continue the conversation. People at the gambling grounds would 463
remark, "See those fellows over there? I guess they're talking about arrows and who makes the best ones." Meanwhile the arrowmakers would be talking about how many arrows they had made during the spring and how many more they would have to make. They would talk about
how many they had given as gifts. With the younger men, arrowshafts [525]
were a favorite item for gambling; the older ones played for higher stakes, like horses and dried buffalo meat. One of the makers would remark, "I gave one fellow so and so many, but he's a great gambler and he's already lost them." "I gave that fellow arrows too," another would say, "and I'm sure he'll also lose those!"

The most skilled arrowmaker of the group was Chief's Road, who shared the lodge next to that of Victory Call and Old Bull with his brother, Horse Thief. His shafts were slender and graceful and had black feathers on the ends. He was jealous of his skill; when someone tried to approach him when he was working, he would turn and conceal what he was doing. He had probably learned the craft from his father. He was a commoner in hereditary rank, but ambitious to rise in the social scale. He would supply Chief Victory Call, Otter's father, with arrows and do other services for him in the hope of gaining status. The arrowshafts made by his brother, Horse Thief, were also of fine workmanship.

Two other craftsmen were also grouped and made shafts that were similar. Path-of-the-Enemy made arrowshafts that tended to be large and not as fine as those of the two brothers. He had been born as a brave, the rank second to that of chief, but he had little interest in validating his public position. He was good-natured, with a pleasant disposition, and well liked. He had taught New Young Dog his craft, and he also made rather large shafts. He was a man of great courage and was always off on hunting and scouting expeditions that at times took him far from the village.

The fifth arrowmaker was Careless-of-the-Enemy. He would go off long distances by himself on hunting and scouting expeditions. He had no interest in public recognition or status problems.

Besides the characteristic shape of the shafts that each of these men
made, they each put a slightly different-colored marking on his shafts. [422]
The distinctive character of the shafts were confined to the makers, not
the owners. Everyone knew who got shafts from which maker and when
and how many. While out on the buffalo hunt, everyone was conscious
of who chased which animal, and when they came up to a fallen buffalo
and examined the arrowshaft, they put together the circumstances and
knew who had killed that particular bull or cow. Nobody needed a per- [422]
sonal property mark for this purpose.

Horses were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact 000

628 Just as the meeting was drawing to a close, as in all chiefs' meetings, an
623 old man would climb up onto the roof of the lodge and cry out to the vil-
203 lage what had been decided. In this case he did so early next morning.
*224 His wording was in a precise telegraphic style so that it could be clearly
understood by everyone. He said:

> This was what was decided in the chiefs' meeting. White Eagle decided we are going to hunt in four days. Anything you have to do, get finished in that time. On the fifth day, we'll go out of the village. We'll camp on the other (south) side of the Loup River (*its-kari*, "potatoes-many").
>
> We'll camp there a whole day so that any of you that aren't quite through can join us any time that day and up to the evening of the sixth day. On the seventh day we are going to be moving upstream (westward).

The old man, having completed his announcement, went back into his
*224 lodge.

887 Toward evening any old man who felt impelled might get up onto the
roof of his house and talk to the people. He would say whatever was on
537 his mind—about events in the past and their lessons for the future, or any
[789] other matters that seemed pertinent. Reviewing past events that were successful was considered a kind of sympathetic magic as well as of practical value. At this time the old man might talk about the fields and of how they were in the past. "All that," he would conclude "is in the past. But today we may have the same luck." Then he would continue in a different vein: "Try to help one another and take care of the children. The little ones like to swim and one must watch that they don't drown. I hope we come home well and find everything in good order."

*224 Such an old man was likely to speak gently and phrase his thoughts
• 525 diplomatically and people listened carefully and thought about what he
said. However, at the gambling grounds the gamblers had other matters on their minds. They were thinking about the good places they would come to along the way that were nice and smooth, with good buffalo grass growing on them—such a fine playing field for the hoop and pole game. They would discuss the different sites they were going to camp at where these would be found and agree between them that one would take along one stick and one the other so that they would have the equipment they needed for playing. For the inveterate gambler, this subject was always uppermost in his mind.

*224 Other men were thinking about how to get enough smoking tobacco
276 to fill their needs, and the doctors were occupied with the herbs and
756 medicines they would need to take along that were available only in this
area. The tobacco was needed for ritual as well as for social purposes.

52

OBJECTS MADE FOR RECREATION

000

Gambling among the Pawnees—the Hand Game—the Religious Symbolism in the Games—the Basic Equipment for the Game—the Game as Played by Different Ages—the Plum Seed Game of the Women

GAMBLING WAS A MAIN RECREATION for some Pawnees and an occasional one for others. It was recognized that habitual gambling was a compulsion that should be avoided as a psychologically destructive trait, and Old-Man-That-Chief could often be heard to give advice on how to regulate one's conduct to keep this impulse under control. He especially exhorted the chiefs to set a good example to the rest of the people. He would talk to the chiefs in the following way: 525 [828]

"You men are chiefs. It is a chief's place to talk to his people. You shouldn't gamble. You should set the people a good example. Having told the people that gambling is bad, if you gamble yourself, a boy of rough temperament will say to himself, 'There is my chief and he is gambling. There is no reason why I shouldn't gamble too.' Moreover, a gambling place is a fighting place and you might get involved in a fight and a man of low class might strike you. It would be a shame if some outsider were to hit you in the head and there would be blood all over your face. Then someone would say, 'Look at the chief with blood all over his face!' That would look bad.

"If you gamble you'll lose everything you have, perhaps even your wife's clothes. Then you'll have nothing. And another thing, if your wife sees you gambling she'll think, 'I can bet my clothes too,' and she'll go to the place where the women are playing the plum seed game.

525 Then if you're both gambling, who will cook for you? Who will take care of you?

"If you want to, go ahead. But at first you'll be lucky and then the sticks will try to draw you in. Then when they have you, you'll lose.

"If you want to, go ahead. But if you are lucky, just play for a month. Then leave it because your luck must change.

"If you have lost and want to retrieve your losses, do it and when you have won back what you lost, stop gambling."

524
525 The hand game was played by young men ranged along both sides of a trenchlike fireplace with a smoldering log in it. Facing each other on the opposite sides of the fire were "two opposing war parties." The crux of the game was the hiding of a white bead in the hands of a member of one party with the guesser from the other side trying to determine in which hand it was hidden. War songs were sung and in the motioning of the hands of the line in which the bead was hidden, the bead might be transferred by sleight of hand during the guessing. That-Chief also mentioned the hand game, addressing his remarks especially to Otter. Evarts observed that:

> "At hand game you might bet your shirt and when the other fellow wins, you might not want to give up your shirt. Then he would get angry and tear at your shirt and he might even take a stick from the fire and burn your head. That would be the worst thing. Once I was in a game and I was the loser to Jim Murie. There I learned the real meaning of That-Chief's advice. Osborne was on the winning side and he began to brag saying, 'Look at those fellows. They can't do much.' Then he made disparaging remarks about my cousin, Sam Townsend, that I call child, *piirau*. Then I really got angry. I felt particularly sensitive as I had lost my leggings, my moccasins and many other things. I said, 'I can't stand all that talk,' and I took a stick from the fire and hit him. The coals flopped all over his head and I was about to hit him again, when they stopped me. To avoid further trouble, they sent Osborne home saying to him, 'You're the cause of the trouble. You talked too much.'"

526
224
825 However, there was quite a different aspect to these games that was implicit in their religious symbolism, with the gambling an extraneous feature. The rolling of the hoop along the long game grounds and aiming at it with the stick or "spear" was an act of sympathetic magic both for the increase of the buffalo and for the successful outcome of the buffalo hunt. Originally the game was played for the direct purpose of calling the buffalo, and when they were out on the summer buffalo hunt, wherever
000 they could find a smooth patch of grass, they would set up a game. In

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the
white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was
wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and
also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-four
feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidistant
intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled basket 773
made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to
carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the
germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony
immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous movement"
or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially
made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The
women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the
course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to
move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learning [887]
to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling.
There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the
betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual
pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make
the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked
to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525
285

285 525 craftswoman who left some of them to season for two days. The technique for the manufacture of the basket was coiling. The basket had a flat bottom with shallow walls. It was round and there were two basic elements used in the coiled sewing. There was a foundation element of a whole peeled willow twig that was carried around spirally for ten courses. These several courses of the spiral were overcast with flat strips of willow to hold them together. The awl was used in the sewing, the overcasting being done from the inner or convex surface. The stitches of the successive coils were made to interlock with one another. To make the flat sewing strips, the willow twig was split in the length, and an inner section bearing the pith was split away from each long section to make it flexible for the binding. Sometimes the bark was left on these strips and sometimes it was removed.

221 With all their equipment made and repaired, the Pawnees were ready to set out once more on their long migration to the buffalo hunting grounds.

REVIVALS OF GAMES

524 The games[1] most important in the old social life of the Pawnee were for men the large hoop and pole game, the hand game,[2] and 526 the moccasin game[3]: for the women, the stick dice game, the plum seed dice game, shinny and double-ball. Boys played at the hand game of the men among themselves[2], and played a boys' form of the hoop and pole game; girls played the womens' games.

All three revival phases took place with the games, paralleling 668 the ritual revivals. The activities were renewed, viz., the games 178 were again played, and played with renewed enthusiasm; the 524 paraphernalia were renewed and reconstructed in that game sets began to be made again in the old way: such were essential for the hoop and pole games, the plum seed and stick dice games, shinny and doubleball: and lastly the games becoming vision sources, sets of paraphernalia were ceremonialized: On the one hand such [796 developments as the ritual hand games took place, and on the other game objects like shinny balls, hoops, etc. were used as 787] vision embodiments and symbols, carried in the dance and employed to induce visions in others. (See Chapter II)

In these revivals of old forms, we see that those forms were stressed which were most overt and apparent in the old culture: games basically, the non-esoteric activities of the societies (songs and performances) next, and the bundle activities least of all. This weighting follows the probabilities, in terms of the degree to which the old activities were shared by all the people in aboriginal life: those which were common and familiar possessions of the people were readily remembered and revived, while those calling for special traditional learning were difficult to recapture.

221 When individuals in Ghost Dance trances were transported to the other world they came there upon villages of Pawnee living 796 as they had of old. The whole concept of the doctrine being an 668 awakening or renewal, the type of life most often visualized in the 178 trances was the tribal life of the early spring and early summer. In aboriginal days the spring was a season of reawakening. With the first thunder came the opening of the great bundles and the chanting of the creation ritual. This ushered in the spring activities of the people. With the passing of winter, and the renewal

---

[1] For descriptions of these games consult Culin, Games, pp. 274, 409, 463, 625, 657.

[2] See Chapters V, VI.

[3] The moccasin game was played by the Pawnee, instead of the hand game, with Central Algonquian tribes.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

pumpkin, corn, mush, and other food. The lad replied, "O grandfather, I am full; I have had my breakfast; I will take this home to my grandmother." Coyote went with him and waited while the old woman emptied and washed the bowls. Then Coyote took the bowls back to the chief. After the boy refused to eat the food, the chief wanted him to play the "stick game."[30] He refused at first but finally he said that he would play in two days, saying he must wait because he was so tired. The chief said, "Choose a day and we will play." The boy went home and told the old woman that he was to play the stick game with the chief. She said, "O my boy, you did wrong to consent. You saw those heads in the chief's tent. He will kill you and all our people." 539

Before daylight on the day of the game Coyote opened the old woman's door and said, "The chief is at the place for the game, he is waiting for you." The boy replied, "I will go when I am ready." Later they began to play the stick game. The boy had people on his side and also a bird-man (bird turned into a man), who watched everything. Coyote watched everything on the chief's side. The boy had nothing to wager so he bet the people who were on his side, and at last he was obliged to bet himself. The old chief won, so the people on the chief's side killed all the people on the boy's side. They even killed the boy. Then they cut off all the heads and put them up with the other heads in the chief's lodge.

While this was happening the elder of the two boys, mentioned at the beginning of this story, grew uneasy about his brother. He determined to find him and traced him to the village, then he went home, got his bow and arrows, and went to the old woman's tipi. The old woman did as before, sending the same girl to see if anyone were outside. The girl returned and said, "It looks as though that good-looking boy had come to life." The old woman invited him into the tent but said as before, "O my grandson, why do you come

---

[30] In the story of "Blood-clot boy," Doctor Dorsey described the boy as making a ring of ash stick which he wound with a string made of boiled buffalo hide so that it looked like a spider's web. The grandmother rolled the ring and the boy shot it with arrows and killed buffalo. The same authority states that "The ring and javelin game . . . was originally played for the direct purpose of calling the buffalo. . . . The two sticks represent young buffalo bulls which turned into the gaming sticks, leaving first full instructions as to how they were to be treated, how the game was to be played, how the songs were to be sung, and how they were to be anointed with the buffalo fat. The ring, according to the story, was originally a buffalo cow." (Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 84, 344.) [526]

Maj. Stephen H. Long witnessed the playing of this game and described it as follows: "The instruments used are a small hoop about 6 inches in diameter, which is usually wound with thongs of leather, and a pole 5 or 6 feet long, on the larger end of which a limb is left to project about 8 inches. . . . The game is played upon a smooth beaten path, at one end of which the gamester commences, and running at full speed, he first rolls from him the hoop, then discharges after it the pole, which slides along the path pursuing the hoop until both stop together, at the distance of about 30 yards from the place whence they were thrown. After throwing them from him the gamester continues his pace and the Indian, the hoop, and the pole arrive at the end of the path about the same time. The effort appears to be to place the end of the pole either in the ring, or as near as possible, and we could perceive that those casts were considered best when the ring was caught by the hook at the end of the pole." (James, Edwin, Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains under command of Maj. Stephen H. Long, Vol. I, p. 444. Philadelphia, 1823.)

592 Clear Day and Blue Calico, "I can take care of the housework myself. You two go plant your field." On the North Side, White Woman had a double role to play and was hard pressed for time. She had "to take care of her husband" and was also the main provisioner of the North Side of the household. [437] She was responsible for repairing her husband's moccasins when they wore out; when he went to the trade store to trade in a buffalo robe for supplies of flour, coffee, sugar, prunes, or dried apples she would accompany him to do most of the carrying. Whether he went on horseback or on foot, he would carry only small items, being poised for any threatened attack. When she became overburdened with work in this way at the crucial time of planting, the two old women on her side, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, would come to her aid. "Let's get through with our 'daughter's' field first. She has to do the cooking for the whole family and take care of her husband." The three of them would then go out together and finish up White Woman's field and then the two old women would work each other's fields in turn cooperatively.

517 On the way home from the fields they all washed their hoes and took
526 a swim in Beaver Creek. Heads would be bobbing up and down all over
313 as they swam back and forth. When they finished their swim and cleaned
515 their hoes, they would pick up whatever driftwood they could find and take it home. High water sometimes left good sticks at the bend of the creek. This moist wood was piled way at the back of the woodpile, since unless it was left to dry out it would smoke and hurt the eyes. The young women sat on the banks of the creek and slapped the surface with their feet to see who could make the loudest noise. This was considered quite a trick, and sometimes they tried it with their hands. It was like the sound of the dried corn kernels when they were threshed at the time of harvest, and expressed the hope that the corn might ripen.

343 Sometimes a sweat bath was preferred to a swim in the creek. When
515 they got home tired and dirty they would then build a sweat lodge inside
888 the earth lodge on the north side. All during planting time an old man
521 would sit on the roof of his earth lodge in the evening and call out various items of advice. He would particularly recommend a sweat bath. He [757] would say, "If you're tired it's best to sweat. Then you will feel better next day. If you should have a headache, you must sweat. When you get [515] in from the fields, take a sweat bath. It cleans you up better than the creek." There were many other things the old man had to say, particularly complimentary remarks to the women to bolster their morale. After some general praises, he would cite some particular women specifically, saying how industrious they were and what fine crops they raised. Presently a little boy or girl would come and invite the old man to a little treat in the home of the woman he had mentioned, usually some bread and coffee.

512 was left in the several piles, loading it onto the horses and bringing it
243 back into camp. The women continued to roast and the men began to
do the husking.

251 That evening Sun Chief and Leading Fox, older sons of Victory Call
252 by a previous marriage, came in to help with the husking.

476 *Fourth day*. Men continued to husk the corn, while the women now cut the kernels from the cobs with a clamshell. They all helped to spread out the kernels to dry. All the green corn from both sets of fields that was ripe enough, had now been gathered, roasted, and set out to dry. It was usual to finish this task in the first four or five days.

512 *Fifth day*. This was the time for the first bean harvest in White Woman's
244 field. This was hard work as most of the vines didn't climb on anything
476 but grew close to the ground. Sometimes they grew in separate patches
[461] and sometimes in a patch with the corn. The women gathered the pods
in their skirts; the men threw them in whenever they got a handful. All
four worked in the field until late afternoon. On the way home, they
[526] stopped and took a swim in Beaver Creek. Again as in the time of
planting, they slapped the water with their feet, making as loud a noise
[515] as possible. As the women slapped the surface of the water with their
soles, it resounded all along the creek like the report of a gun. "They are slapping the water with their feet" (*tutastaxkitspiru*). The girls used their hands for this (*tutikstaxkitspiru*), and Otter had a hard time learning the trick from them. Possibly it was a kind of sympathetic magic for the tapping of the dry beans and corn on the threshing floor. They went home about 4:30 in the afternoon, having gathered about four parfleches of the beans in the pod in a good year. At home one of War Cry's wives or daughters had been serving as Room Watcher for their tent. It was five o'clock by the time the pods were all spread out to dry. Everyone was tired and took a rest. Inside the tent, Horse Rider and No Corn were wrestling playfully together and saying, "Now we have some roasted corn" (*rawaritu*).

244 In the evening the beans were covered up where they lay and the
512 corn kernels were winnowed and taken inside for the night in flour sacks.
Now grandma came in carrying her sack of corn or beans that she spread out. White Woman offered to come out and help her in her field but she refused saying, "Oh, no. If you help me I'll get through too soon and I won't have anything else to do. So I'd just like to do it myself."

White Woman made the fire and cooked some grease bread and No Corn prepared the coffee and dried apples for their supper. Uncle War Cry came to join them and began to tease Grandma about how tired she was; Grandma asked to have her dinner brought to her. War Cry then began to talk about the trade store and Victory Call remembered he owed them a buffalo robe, but War Cry observed that he was sure they would wait until the harvest work was done. He promised to mention

525 Then if you're both gambling, who will cook for you? Who will take care of you?

"If you want to, go ahead. But at first you'll be lucky and then the sticks will try to draw you in. Then when they have you, you'll lose.

"If you want to, go ahead. But if you are lucky, just play for a month. Then leave it because your luck must change.

"If you have lost and want to retrieve your losses, do it and when you have won back what you lost, stop gambling."

524
525 The hand game was played by young men ranged along both sides of a trenchlike fireplace with a smoldering log in it. Facing each other on the opposite sides of the fire were "two opposing war parties." The crux of the game was the hiding of a white bead in the hands of a member of one party with the guesser from the other side trying to determine in which hand it was hidden. War songs were sung and in the motioning of the hands of the line in which the bead was hidden, the bead might be transferred by sleight of hand during the guessing. That-Chief also mentioned the hand game, addressing his remarks especially to Otter. Evarts observed that:

> "At hand game you might bet your shirt and when the other fellow wins, you might not want to give up your shirt. Then he would get angry and tear at your shirt and he might even take a stick from the fire and burn your head. That would be the worst thing. Once I was in a game and I was the loser to Jim Murie. There I learned the real meaning of That-Chief's advice. Osborne was on the winning side and he began to brag saying, 'Look at those fellows. They can't do much.' Then he made disparaging remarks about my cousin, Sam Townsend, that I call child, *piirau*. Then I really got angry. I felt particularly sensitive as I had lost my leggings, my moccasins and many other things. I said, 'I can't stand all that talk,' and I took a stick from the fire and hit him. The coals flopped all over his head and I was about to hit him again, when they stopped me. To avoid further trouble, they sent Osborne home saying to him, 'You're the cause of the trouble. You talked too much.' "

526
224
825 However, there was quite a different aspect to these games that was implicit in their religious symbolism, with the gambling an extraneous feature. The rolling of the hoop along the long game grounds and aiming at it with the stick or "spear" was an act of sympathetic magic both for the increase of the buffalo and for the successful outcome of the buffalo hunt. Originally the game was played for the direct purpose of calling the buffalo, and when they were out on the summer buffalo hunt, wherever
000 they could find a smooth patch of grass, they would set up a game. In

In
the village, it was a major leisure-time preoccupation of men of all ages. 526
Every village had one or two well-worn tracks. The gaming ground was 517
the place where men would meet informally to transact most of their so- 571
cial, commercial, and political business. The formality of entertaining at
home imposed more constraints and was commonly reserved for the
more advanced stages of negotiations.

The basic paraphernalia for the game comprised a long "spear" and a 526
hoop which was rolled down the long track and at which the spear was
aimed as the men ran alongside.

The smallest boys began with a plain hoop, *tawirus*, "wheel," made for them by their grandmothers. The wheel was made of a peeled ashwood stick formed into a ring and tied at the ends. It was then entirely wrapped with a rawhide string and greased with buffalo fat so that it would not harden. It is not clear whether the boys shot at the wheel with arrows as told in a myth, or simply threw a pole or "lance" at it.

The second grade for young men was played with a wheel of small
size—the *tawirus-pitku-sukita*, "wheel-two-upon." It is not clear whether
the basis of this wheel was of wood or several coils of rawhide as for the
succeeding grade. The base was completely wrapped with a strip of buck-
skin. The rings were supposed to represent a buffalo cow and were to be
made of the skin of the vulva of the buffalo. The fore end of the stick was
carved with a kind of knob to signify the penis of a buffalo. These as- 526
pects of the symbolism are recounted in a tale of how Coyote rescues a 773
maiden who has been captured by the buffalo and taken to their village
and turned into a gaming ring. In the course of the story, the play of the
game is described:

Coyote is sitting in the buffalo village as a spectator of the game at the north end of the gaming ground. The two buffalo now arise, one of them taking the ring. (The ground is about 60 paces long, 15 wide and runs in a north-south direction in the length.) The players begin to run at the south end and when they get to about the middle, the one holding the ring rolls it toward the north, releasing it from between his thumb and forefinger and changing his spear from his left to his right hand. The two players now aim simultaneously at the rolling hoop so that the spears glide along the ground and overtake it, the best score being made by catching the ring with one of the small hooks near the hand end of the spear. Other points were gained by hooking with the end of the stick one of the cross pieces near the handle end or the large hook. It often happened that the spear did not catch the hoop at all and then points were calculated by the position of the spear with relation to the hoop—measurements being taken with a straw by someone who acted as umpire.

When the two players have reached the north end of the grounds, they picked up the ring and the sticks and started for the south end, rolling the ring as before and throwing the spears to score. Each set of play-

• 526 [773] ers played the field once toward the north and once toward the south and then two other players got up and played their round.

The paraphernalia of *the mature men* differed from that of the youths in the size of the ring and in the complexity of the spear. The ring of the youths was about 8 inches in diameter, probably built on a wooden hoop wrapped in buckskin, while the mature men used a very small hoop, 4 inches in diameter, with strips of rawhide as a base, wrapped around with the buckskin string. The mature men's wheel was called, *ks-tats-awi-karus*, "hand-down-hanging-flat." The spear was about 5½ feet long. The pole was completely wound around with a strip of buckskin and at the hand end there was a large hook completely wrapped around with the same material. The shaft was slightly tapered from the hand end to the point. About three-eighths of the length in from the point the shaft was somewhat flattened and a cross piece was lashed onto it with a small hook fastened on top in the lashings. A similar cross piece with hook was fastened about one-eighth way in from the point end. It was with these small hooks that they aimed to catch onto the hoop or else with the ends of the cross pieces. The shaft used by the youths was plain wood with a knob on the end to represent the bison penis. At the hand end were fastened two hooks wrapped around with buckskin.

526 887 There was a game *played by old men* with a very large hoop (possibly 25 inches in diameter) with no spear. The hoop itself was rolled and aimed at one of the players of the opposing side as a kind of tag. The players lined up along both sides of the grounds and when the player had rolled the wheel and it struck one of the men standing on the opposing side to his, the man who was hit would spread his blanket and begin to run, while the other man pursued him. If he stumbled and tripped on his blanket, he would be caught and would then have to roll the hoop and try to tag a man of the other side. If the pursuer stumbled, he would have to roll the hoop again. The special play of the game was called *kiskiru'*.

526 821 The wheel itself was called *ka-huraru*, literally, inside-land or "land of inside" which in Pawnee referred to the universe. The circumference of the wheel represented the horizon and it was marked off into twelve sections with bunches of feathers that were fastened on at equal intervals. [805] Each section represented a thirty-day lunar month of the twelve-month year. The four seasons of the year were marked off on the hoop by different colors for each quarter-arc. The winter quarter was white, the spring quarter light green, the summer quarter darker green, and the autumn, reddish-yellow. The universe was conceived as having a flat base and rotating around the motionless earth, the progression of the seasons resulting from this rotation. This had been inferred from the fact that the stars and the planets appear to have changed their positions with the seasons. Across the diameter was stretched a string of buckskin or sinew

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the
white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was
wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and
also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-four
feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidistant
intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled basket 773
made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to
carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the
germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony
immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous movement"
or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially
made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The
women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the
course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to
move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learning [887]
to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling.
There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the
betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual
pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make
the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked
to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525
285

668 that a suggestion of the Wichita was in part responsible for Mrs.
796 Washington's determination to organize the Ghost-Dancing with
533 regular singers while the Wichita were present.

Frank White died in 1893, and he is known to have been alive at the time Mrs. Washington inaugurated these developments, which places the time of the first Seven Eagle Brothers as sometime in late 1892 or early 1893.

As one informant describes Mrs. Washington's activities: "When
668 they used to dance among the South Bands, all would go there,
792 and while the dancing went on, old Mrs. Washington fell in a trance.
796 She found out something about the Seven Brothers, but not
everything right away. Afterwards, every time she fell she would
787 see something about the Seven Brothers.[1] The spirit told her to go
ahead and put up the Seven Brothers. She used to have her own cattle. Once when they came home from the dancing, she was told that when she got home she should put up the Seven Brothers at a dance. So she killed her own beef, and put up the dance, and they told her how to go, everything, the smoke and all."

Mrs. Washington put up a special feast. She asked the chiefs and these seven men to be present, as well as others. Each of the seven sat on the south side with the eagle feather given him by Knifechief stuck into the ground before him. Along the north side were congregated the "crow" people, including those who played as "crows" in the hand games, as well as the men who later were organized into the Seven Crows; while along the south side the "eagle" people sat. As yet, however, there was no "crow" organization: the "crows" were merely an amorphous group who played the hand game together, and who had this affiliation because of Ghost Dance experiences.

Mrs. Washington stood at the doorway of the tipi. Up to this time she had been learning. Now she spoke, "Now, I want to tell you what I have in mind. We are going to have a Ghost Dance. A spirit told me to do it. I am going to do it today. These Seven Brothers are going to take the lead for us, and we're going to call them Fathers. Now I want you chiefs to decide when we should begin the dance."

Then the chiefs talked together and decided and one announced,
527 "Let us move the camp and all come together on the third day."
574 This inaugural feast was not a ceremonial affair. After the
decision of the chiefs was announced all those present partook of the feast provided by Mrs. Washington; this concluded the occasion

---

[1] This "serial story" form of learning in visions is the sort of thing about Mrs. Washington's claims that Carrion resented; see above.

527 594 for most. Some sat about a while longer, however, and sang Ghost Dance songs.

[424] This introductory or inaugural feast at which a decision is made as to the time for a regular ceremony, is a fundamental Pawnee pattern. Such feasts precede the actual performance of doctor dances and ceremonies, society gatherings and performances, and many other ritual activities. In all such cases the pattern is the same. An individual man or woman "puts up" the feast for the gathering, and obtains as a result certain definite rights of proprietorship over the actual ceremonial occasion which is to follow[1]: This "host" invites leading men such as chiefs to be present, and requests selected ones to come to a decision as to the time for the performance itself.

After this feast-gathering had broken up, the people got ready for the actual dance. Three days were allowed for moving into camp because the people lived scattered over a large area, and had to come in wagons and on horseback. They needed time to arrange things at home so they could be absent for more than a week, to pack, and to come. After all had gathered, at least three more days intervened before the dance proper began, so that the preparation of food, wood, and all other necessary things could be finished. Once it is begun, the dance must not be interrupted by such labors.

Mrs. Washington must be the first to move officially into camp. The chief who finally set the date for the gathering inquired if she was ready, and after she had said yes, and moved her tent, others would begin to follow her into the camping place.

361 796 668 For the dance the tipis and tents were set up in a half circle from south to north around the west. There was no special order of tipis. In the center a space thirty to forty feet in diameter was cleared of grass. Here the dancing began, but as more and more people joined in and the circle of dancers expanded, it would be pushed back beyond the edge of the cleared space onto the grass. The cleared space alone, however, was considered the sacred dancing ground.

[346] One large tipi was set up west of the cleared ground at a distance of thirty feet, its doorway facing east. This was the tent used by the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Washington and other leaders.

---

[1] Neither vision nor vow is essential in all cases to give an individual the right to "put up" a ritual affair. It is sufficient in most cases among the Pawnee that an individual wants to do so, either because he or she wants to secure thereby whatever benefits in health, luck and prosperity accrue from the performance (and particularly to the one who has "put it up") or because he or she wants to see the ritual demonstrated and learn something about it, or both.

MODERN CEREMONIES.

527 Among the northern Plains tribes there are a number of associations for
social dancing and entertainment. Such seem to be wanting among the
796 Pawnee, as the following pages will show, but certain more or less serious
ceremonies are now made the occasion for considerable social enjoyment. The widely diffused Omaha, or grass dance, forms of the ghost dance, and of the peyote almost exhaust the list of modern ceremonies. We heard of no women's guilds or clubs and no dances of any kind save those mentioned above.

The Modern Iruska.

175
177 The well-known Omaha, or grass dance, is generally known among the
Pawnee as a variation of their own iruska (p. 608), though in its present
648 form it was introduced through Oglala influence.

796 *The Skidi Iruska.* In 1887 three Pawnee Skidi men went to visit the
Oglala Indians. Arriving there, they were entertained by Young-man-afraid-of-his-horses and were feasted throughout the village for several days. On the last day an iruska dance was held for their benefit. The Sioux gathered in a large round house built for dancing. The drum was carried in and the dancers filed in. The Sioux began to sing and the Pawnee noted that the songs were different from their own. However, they danced with the Sioux and received many presents, moccasins, pipes, and beaded objects. The Sioux singers asked the Pawnee to sing some of their songs which the Pawnee did. The Sioux were pleased with the Pawnee singing and gave them more presents.

When the three Pawnee men returned to their home they began to teach other young men the Sioux songs they had learned. One day some Skidi young men came together and Knife-chief told them about the Sioux dance. The old Pawnee iruska dancers never used sleigh bells upon their bodies; but did use them around the drum. The Sioux dancers also wore ornamental clothes while the Pawnee did not. All the Pawnee dancers wore was the headgear and the bustles. The Sioux bustle was also different.

175 Knife-chief had a bass drum brought in and began to teach the Sioux
575 songs. Those who were not singing, danced, but they did not know how
796 to keep time. After the singing, the dance society was organized. Knife-chief was the drum keeper and leader of the singers. Then two chiefs were

The Pawnee version of the revivalist Ghost Dance religion was in full force. Through it the people 668
hoped that the new would be swept away and old conditions return. It 796
was invested with many of the old and rich Pawnee ceremonial constructs
that were vividly recalled in memory and in visions. As one of their fond
remembrances, they thought of the old Hand Game, and this became
the framework for a new and elaborate ceremonial synthesis of old religious patterns. With the beginning of the twentieth century, the religious [178]
elements diminished in importance.

In World War I and again in World War II, the Pawnees for whom defense 648
of country had always been a leitmotif enlisted generously, and 177
their war veterans became an important element of modern Pawnee life.
Following World War II and their extensive contacts abroad, a considerable number of Pawnees availed themselves of the educational benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights, acquiring college degrees and specialized professional training.

The Pawnee powwow held in the beginning of July, when the Pawnees 527
used to leave on their summer buffalo hunt, takes place at Pawnee, 177
Oklahoma. It is a colorful combination of traditional and adapted Indian dances and music under the auspices of the Pawnee war veterans. The Pawnees, from wherever their lives have taken them, come by car, train, or plane to this their homecoming, where there is a brief period of camping in tents and cooking over an open fire or a charcoal grill, renewing social contacts and kin reminiscences. The rest of the year's round is in another place and in the present, just as the old people had envisioned their future.

The Bear Society.

756 [301] [789] Among the very highest of shamans and doctors were the bear men. Among their regalia were four bearskins, a grizzly, cinnamon, the large black bear, and the small black bear. There were also four bear-claw necklaces. Eight rawhide rattles were used. Preparatory to a ceremony two piles of cedar brush were placed in the lodge, one for each side. When the members have assembled a sprig is given to each, set up before his seat, and carried in the dance. The sprig is carried home, the leaves stripped and the wood cast into the fire. The leaves are placed in a bag and used for ceremonial smudges; thus if a thunderstorm threatens, a smudge is made to protect the lodge.

[302] When called to a ceremony, the members enter, take their seats and place their professional bundles in front. Then they paint. One set of men paints red, one white, and another a kind of pink. All make black eye marks, a diagonal line from the inner corner of the eye down across the cheek. If feathers are worn in the hair, they are of the same color as the face.

[53] When all are ready, the leader designates two men from each side, to wear the bearskins. These were worn merely as robes, the head on one side, the tail on the other. Sometimes two small boys are selected to dance with very small bearskins. Four water drums are used; these are passed, or moved around the circle at intervals. While the songs are rendered, the members dance around the fireplace and during the intervals walk around the fire, or mill like bears.

[264] At the feast which follows the kettle of corn is brought in and as in all ceremonies is set upon the median line of the lodge between the door and the fire. (Fig. 4). Eight bowls are placed around it in a circle, those in the north half going to that side in order, etc. After the corn is served, the kettle of meat is brought in and served in a similar manner. Thus each side eats in four groups. No one is permitted to use a knife while eating. After the feast each makes up his bundle and departs.

While all the divisions seem to have had a bear society, its full ritual was in the keeping of the Skidi organization.

Buffalo Doctors.

[778] Another important society found among the Skidi and Chaui is known as kura taraha, buffalo doctors. On their altar is a buffalo skull, one half white, one half red; also a wand with seven eagle feathers, at the top a tiny bag of native tobacco and four strings of blue beads hanging down. The

539*
796*

1094 Ho-o-o-o!
1095 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata:
1096 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata:
1097 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata.

Translation

1094 Ho-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

1095 Ihari, ha! H'ars sire rata.

ihari, a term for young; it here refers to the little child.
ha! an exclamation, calling attention.
h', an abbreviation of ha, your.
ars, a modification of atius, father.
sire, carrying, refers to the child.
rata, walking with.

1096, 1097. See line 1095.

SEVENTEENTH RITUAL

PART I. TOUCHING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

796*

When the Hako party, led by the man carrying the child, arrived at the lodge, the child was taken to the west, behind the holy place, and set upon the ground, facing the east, and clad in gala dress.

The warriors ranged themselves in a curved line, both ends of which touched the walls of the lodge, thus inclosing a space within which was the holy place, the child, the singers and the drum, the Ku'rahus and his assistant, the chief, the doctors, and an old man selected by the Ku'rahus. The warriors stood close together, letting their robes drop until the lower edge touched the ground, making a screen over which no one could look to see what was taking place within the inclosure.

On the preceding evening, before the Children had gathered within the lodge, the Ku'rahus had sent a young man to fill a vessel from a running stream. The vessel was at once covered closely and put beside the holy place and no one was permitted to even touch it. (In old times pottery vessels made by our women were used. They were shaped small at the bottom, larger in the middle, and smaller again at the neck. The handles on the sides had holes through which sticks could be thrust to lift the vessel from the fire. They were ornamented by lines drawn by a stick in the soft clay.)

[323
[531 ●
462]

The chief now approached the vessel, lifted the cover and poured some of the water into a wooden bowl set aside for this purpose, and put it down before the old man. This man had been chosen because of his long life, and his having received many favors from the powers above, in order that similar gifts might be imparted to the child.

The preparation of the child, which took place within the line of warriors, was concealed from their view by an inner group closely

Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here,
Behold, my child! waiting here to bring the gift of life to you.
*796 Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint waits, the vigor of life to bring.

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here,
Behold, my child! flying here to bring the gift of life to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint flies, the vigor of life to bring.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here,
Behold, my child! touching here your head to bring the gift of life.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint touches, the vigor of life to bring.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who now follows here,
Behold, my child! Now the path it follows, paths where gods descend.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint follows, vigor of life to bring.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is spreading here,
Behold, my child! over you is spread the glowing gift of life.
Give heed, my child. See! Red paint brings the vigor of life to you.

VI

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has brought you life.
Behold, my child! Life you have received and finished is the task.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint leaves the vigor of life with you.

*796 The next act was the painting of the child's face with blue, the color of the sky, the abode of Tira'wa atius.

302 ● 531 The design outlined by the water, the grass, the ointment, and the red paint was now clearly seen—an arch, crossing the forehead and resting on the cheeks, from the middle of which a line was drawn downward on the nose. This design was said to "picture the face of Tira'wa." The arch was the dome of the sky, his abode; the line, falling from the zenith, was the breath of Tira'wa descending on the child, meeting its breath.

[622 821] We are told that this design came from the constellation Corona Borealis and was the insignia of a chief, as he who leads does so by the authority of Tira'wa and must bear his sign on the face. In this ceremony this design, taken in connection with the symbols next placed on the child, seems to represent the presence of the power, "the father of all things."

are whole tones between B flat and C, and between F and G. A 533+ similar melodic form occurs in Nos. 5 and 53. This song is transcribed with the signature of the key of F and classified with songs lacking the third above the keynote. The repetitions of the rhythmic unit are six in number and comprise the entire melody. Slight differences in the note values of the rhythmic unit occur in the latter part of the song.

The tenth obstacle was not encountered by Morning Star until after 773 he entered the lodge of Evening Star. The obstacle was a snake, but he overcame it, as he had overcome the others, by means of the ball of fire and the song.

Evening Star saw that his power was greater than hers, but she determined to hold him aloof as long as possible. Finally she insisted that he make provision for the child that should be born; she even [854] required him to provide perfumed water for bathing the child and a cradle board in which it should be placed. On the hoop, or arch, of [531] this cradle board was painted a morning star and the lightnings, this custom being followed by the Pawnee at the present time. Evening Star also required him to plant a tree in front of the lodge so that the mocking birds might nest there and sing to the child. From this union a daughter was born. She came down to earth and wandered about in fear. As she was running hither and thither she met a boy, the child of Sun and Moon, and these two became the ancestors of the human race.

Morning Star made a bundle and placed in it various articles con- 778 nected with the obstacles he had overcome on his westward journey. 773 He left this bundle with Evening Star and for that reason a woman has always been the keeper of the sacred bundle. Other articles have been added from time to time and will be noted in this paper.

It is said that Evening Star required a human sacrifice as her reward. 796 This sacrifice must be a pure and beautiful maiden and she demanded 773 that the sacrifice be repeated annually. Long ago, Morning Star 782 sometimes appeared to a man in a dream and told him to secure a maiden for this sacrifice. [787] According to Linton, a man who had this vision went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received the warrior's costume and the sacred objects kept for such an ex- 796 pedition. 782 Other warriors joined him and, preliminary to the expedition, they enacted the journey of the Morning Star, and sang the song with which he overcame the obstacles placed in his way. (Cf. Song No. 1.) When the ceremony ended it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise and the leader went outside the lodge and addressed an invocation to him. After dancing furiously around their fire and offering a last prayer to Morning Star the warriors started forth and captured a maiden from the enemy. Returning, they gave

622 mitted his authority along with his bundle to his eldest son. These
565 hereditary chiefs, representing each of the villages, selected from
among the leading warriors and those of high rank a sufficient number to make up the thirty-one. [The manuscript also contains a note that the chiefs' council could reject the son of a deceased chief if it did not consider him worthy. Also, if the dead chief left no offspring, the bundle was supposed to descend to the next oldest brother or nearest male kin; the brother married the chief's widow.]

The eldest son of a chief theoretically inherited his father's position, and if he proved worthy was duly made chief on reaching the proper age. At this time the chief's bundle (North-Star bundle) was opened and a ceremony held. So far as known, the ritual accompanying the ceremony has not been sung for more than thirty years, and there is no Skidi living today (1907) who knows it.

It has been mentioned that the hereditary chiefs could invite men who had proved themselves worthy and make them chiefs. When this course was decided upon, the chiefs invited the one selected to the lodge four times. He declined the first three times, but on the fourth invitation went to the lodge, bringing with him ponies and parfleches of meat, which he presented to the chiefs. He was then made chief, but did not have his face painted, and his sons were not considered chiefs.

The son of a chief other than the eldest, or indeed any man, might make four deer holy and offer them to the four chiefs of the Four-Band village. With the consent of the other hereditary chiefs they then asked the candidate to the lodge and offered him a pipe to smoke, after which he could sit in the chief's council. [Presumably he did not have the rank of a chief, however.]

622 During council the chiefs were supposed to sit cross-legged in
[516] an erect attitude, never in a lounging position. The mark of office
623 was a red-painted face with a blue semi-circular line extending from
531 in front of each ear and passing over the forehead, and a symbol on
302 the forehead representing the so-called Turkey's Foot constellation.
565 An eagle feather was worn in the hair, while ordinarily the costume
consisted of leggings fringed with eagle feathers and human hair from scalps, and a buffalo-skin robe on which were depicted stars, the sun, or war scenes.

622 Perhaps the most important characteristic of a chief was that
[928] he was a peace-maker and guardian of the village rather than a
538 warrior; there are many incidents in the myths expressing the idea
565 that a man who has often been on the warpath becomes imbued with

the desire to take scalps and capture ponies and is no longer fit to be 622
chief. In the words of my informant: "Tirawa, after having created 538
people, gave them their bundles and said to the chief: 'You are to be 565
like me; you are to have many people to look after; you are to be guardian of the people on earth and the beings of the heavens will do your bidding.'" The custom did not prevail among the Skidi of making the chief an offering of food when on the hunt. He was obliged to look after himself, and could not claim more than the share which he himself or those riding his horses had won in the chase.

Like other societies, that of the chiefs had two errand men whose 624
duty it was to look after the fire, prepare and distribute meat, and 565
light the pyre for the smoke offerings. In his own village each chief also had at his command two errand men who performed similar duties.

In addition to the hereditary chief, each village had one or more *nahikuts*, or braves, whose number was usually four but varied according to the size of the village. The duty of these men was that of servants of the chiefs; they followed their directions, preserved order, helped in carrying out the laws of the band, and assisted in the preparation of the ceremonies. Their badge of office was a war-club or tomahawk. They held office for life. They were also considered as servants of the Morning Star, and like the other warriors of each village obtained their power directly from him or from some animal or spirit under the guidance of the Morning Star.

Another high-ranking class were the *narawiraris*, or warriors.
These men had reached this position by their own efforts. They had
made a certain number of sacrifices and thus won a victory over the
powers of the heavens. They were eligible to election as chiefs and
had the right to sit near the priest in ceremonies. When going on 624
the warpath, such men had the privilege of wearing the sacred war- 565
rior's costume of the warrior's bundle. The position of warrior was 778
said to have been created in the beginning, at which time the warrior
was given five things—the otter skin, the hawk skin, the leg of an
eagle, the eagle feather, and the sacred red paint made from red
earth and buffalo fat. In using these objects, he was to attach the
eagle leg to his belt, wear the eagle feather, and put the otter skin
over his head, the hawk skin on his right shoulder, and the paint on his
face. In painting his face he was to make three dots above his nose [302]
in the center of his forehead, to represent the claw of the eagle's foot. [531]
He was to use the black otter because it was from the water, was

171
172 tuitous and may well be indicative of some sort of former cultural
323 and geographic connection between the two complexes.

In the matter of decoration Pawnee pottery is characterized by
great uniformity and simplicity. The patterns are generally applied
*172 to the face of the rim, less commonly to the upper body. All orna-
323 mentation is incised. The commonest motifs are basically triangular.
A line is drawn diagonally across the rim from lip to collar and back
531 to lip, entirely about the vessel, and the triangles thus formed are
filled in with hachuring. The hatched lines in any group are usually parallel to one side of the triangle rather than to the lip; also they are oblique to those of the adjacent figures (fig. 8, *a*). A slight modification consists of a series of chevrons produced by filling in the triangles with V-shaped figures of progressive size (*b*). The herringbone design ranks second in abundance. It is usually applied continuously around the rim, with the points toward the left in perhaps 75 percent of the sherds so ornamented. A third motif consists simply in diagonal parallel lines across the rim (*d*). All of these designs are used on the rim, but where body ornamentation occurs it is almost invariably in the hatched triangle pattern first described (fig. 8, *a;* pl. 3, *d*). The neatness and accuracy of the work varies greatly, but there is little modification of design (pls. 3–5). Cord marking has never yet been found on rims of Pawnee vessels, but nearly obliterated traces sometimes occur on the body.

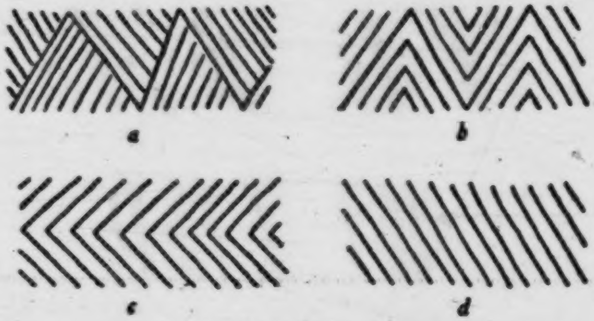


FIGURE 8.—Incised rim designs of Pawnee type.

Lips of vessels are very commonly ornamented, in addition to the rim proper. This involves the use of small indented elements repeated all about the lip, or if the latter be too sharp and narrow, of short diagonal incisions inside and just below the edge. This characteristic of small, repeated indentations closely set all along the lip is very common also on earlier wares of the Pawnee area, particularly along the Loup and Republican Rivers; but it is seldom found on the pottery of the Missouri Valley in eastern Nebraska.

Parker, in describing rim decoration of the Iroquois of New York, 171
says that the "collar is frequently decorated by a series of triangles 172*
within which have been drawn lines close together and parallel 323
with one side of the triangle. These triangles contrast with one 531
another as the parallel lines slant obliquely, either right or left, in the adjacent space."[48] Many of the vessels and rim sherds illustrated by Holmes[49] and Skinner[50] bear like or similar designs, sometimes made with cords but usually by simple incising. In Nebraska this motif appears also in earlier cultures west of the Missouri River, but is almost, if not quite, always associated with the collared rim. Curvilinear figures are absent alike in Iroquoian and Pawnee decorative art, and in keeping with the generally more simple character of their work the Pawnee never used the human face or figure as a part of their ornamentative products. But even allowing for the greater complexity and elaboration of Iroquoian pottery decoration, there is obviously a basic similarity in the most common motifs of the two groups that is highly suggestive, particularly in view of the likenesses in rim form noted above.

The second major type of Pawnee ware differs markedly from 172*
that just described and is in most respects much inferior to it.
The paste apparently contains much iron and, according to the in- 323
tensity of the firing process, varies in color from light yellowish gray to a bright orange-red. It is characteristically very finely ground, hard, and tends to fracture in flakes. Tempering is of very fine sand, so sparingly used that it can often be detected only with the aid of a good lens.

Surface finish is invariably very rough and poorly executed. The rubbing stone was never used, and as a result the walls of vessels are of very uneven thickness. Occasionally the fingerprints of the potter can be detected in the depressions. In thickness the walls vary from three-eighths inch up; those of the preceding type are seldom more than one-fourth or at most three-eighths inch thick. The ware tends to crack along the midline of the walls, as though the inner and outer surfaces have been expanded or contracted unequally. The tendency of these pieces to crack is so marked as to lead one to the conclusion that they were either not dried thoroughly before firing or else that the baking process was very improperly carried out.

The only vessel shape so far determined for this ware is a rather deep bowl, 4 or 5 inches in diameter, about 3 inches deep, and having a direct undecorated rim (fig. 7, *c*, *d*). No fragments of pots

---

[48] Parker, 1916, p. 486.

[49] Holmes, 1903, pl. CXLV, *a–d*, CXLIX, *f–g*; and figures.

[50] Skinner, 1921, pls. XII, XIII, XXVI, XXVIII–XXXII and figure 38.

*772 have yet been found, nor is there a single trace of the ornamental collared rim described for the preceding ware. (See Strong, 1935, 323 pl. 1, *h*.)

The most interesting feature of this pottery is a thick, deep-red coloring matter with which the interiors of vessels are invariably covered; it is very rarely applied to the exterior also. This coating consists of red ocher, applied after the baking of the vessel, and in nearly all cases can be readily rubbed off. In this respect it resembles the "fugitive red" wash found on Late Basket Maker bowls of the southwestern United States.[81] It differs, however, from the latter in being much thicker and generally restricted to bowl interiors. A similar wash has been noted, but not very fully described, on some Mandan pottery from North and South Dakota.[82] It occurs also on earlier prehistoric wares of the Pawnee area, along with the collar type of rim, but is not found in eastern Nebraska save where Pawnee influences are recognizable. Apparently it increased in later historic times, as earlier sites have yielded a much smaller number of such sherds. This may be due to the lack of adequate research in the latter, however. Du Pratz found the Natchez coating their pottery with red ocher which caused it "to become red after the burning."[83] This refers to a slip rather than to an impermanent wash, and apparently represents a different technique from that followed by the historic Pawnee.[84]

●[531] Aside from the interior application of ocher, little effort was made to decorate this pottery. Paddle marking, where applied to the body, was usually so carelessly done as to have little artistic value. Incised and modeled ornamentation were not employed. The vessels may have been purely ceremonial in purpose, perhaps serving primarily as receptacles for small articles; possibly they were used for mixing paint.

The Pawnee ceramicists seldom extended their efforts beyond the realm of utilitarian pot-making. Very few figurines are found, though one or two crude representations of horses or other quadrupeds have been picked up at the Hill site by Mr. A. T. Hill. Disk beads, made by grinding sherds to a circular shape and then piercing them, have been found at the Schuyler and Burkett sites, but nowhere else; they obviously are no indication of the potter's skill. Thickened perforated circular objects, resembling spindle whorls and especially made, are not uncommon near St. Paul on the Loup, but there is nothing to indicate that they were of Pawnee origin. Modeled clay pipes have not yet been found in the historic Pawnee sites of the region; judging from the occurrence of stone pipes

---

[81] Roberts, 1929, pp. 110–111.

[82] Will and Spinden, 1906, p. 174.

[83] Du Pratz, 1758, vol. I, p. 124.

[84] 1920, p. 166.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate 1.—Pawnee earth lodge and house site. *a*, earth lodge near Pawnee, Okla., in 1905. Photo by Nebraska Historical Society. *b*, general appearance of lodge floor, house 1, Hill site; diameter 44 feet, depth 16 inches. The center has been excavated slightly below the floor level. 342 172

Plate 2.—Vegetal material and textiles from the Hill site. *a*, tubers of *Apios tuberosa*; *b*, seeds of bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*); *c*, pits of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*); *d*, pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*); *e*, grains of charred flint corn (*Zea mays*); *f*, charred corncobs; *g*, *i*, fragments of bison-hair textile; *h*, hank or rope of bison hair; *j–l*, rush matting. 172 137 28

Plate 3.—Pawnee vessels from various sites. *a* and *c* are from Palmer site; *a* is 4½ inches high and 4⅞ inches in maximum diameter; *c* is 4⅛ inches high by 4⅞ inches in diameter; *b* and *d* are from the Hill site, both restored; *b* is 3¾ inches by 3¼ inches across; *d* is 7 inches tall and 6 inches in diameter. 172 415

Plate 4.—Complete vessels, probably Pawnee. *a* is 9 inches tall and 7¾ inches in diameter and shows all of the best diagnostics for Pawnee ware in both form and ornamentation; found on Prairie Creek, near Archer, Nebr. *b* is 5¾ inches high by 5⅞ inches across; found in the Cedar River, near Fullerton, Nebr., and is of uncertain origin. Nebraska Historical Society collections. 172 415 531

Plate 5.—Pawnee type rim sherds from various historic sites. *a–f*, Hill site; *g*, Horse Creek; *h–n*, Palmer site. *b*, *d–f*, *i*, *k*, illustrate the typical rim design; *a*, *h*, *l*, *n*, show the herringbone motif, second in abundance. Nearly all have lip indentations. 172 531

Plate 6.—Selected rim sherds from Burkett site. All bear lip indentations. Note similarity of *b*, *h*, *j*, *l*, to historic Pawnee motifs (preceding plate). Handles occur on all but *h*, *j*, *l*, *n*.

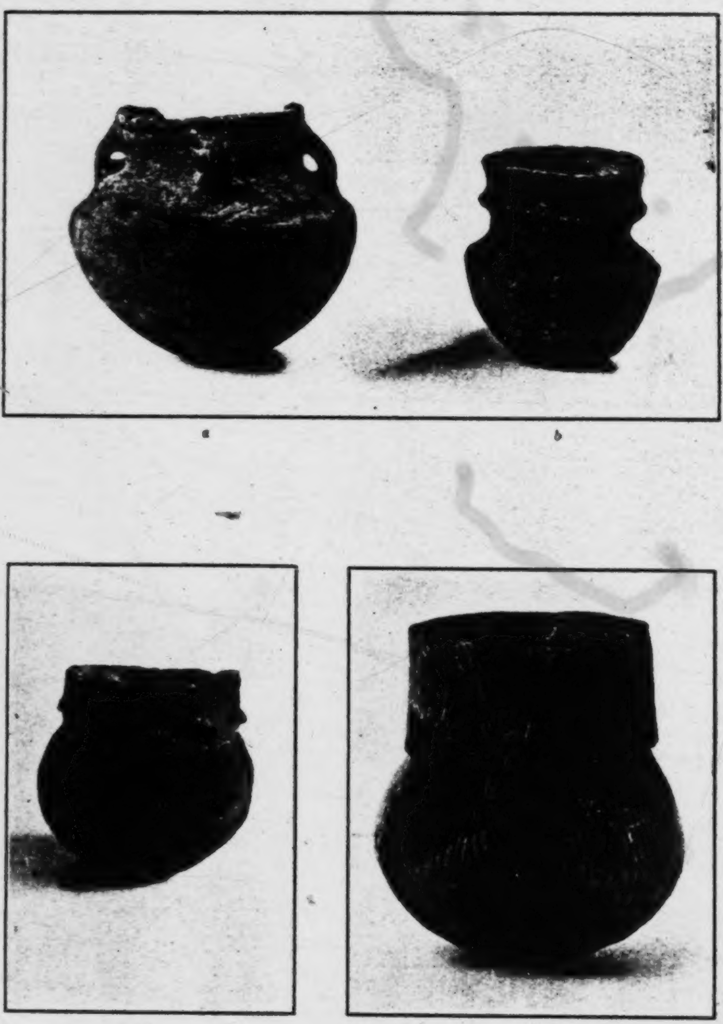
Plate 7.—Stonework from Hill site. *a–m* are from graves, one being nearly always in or near the left hand of every adult male skeleton. *a*, *f* 2½ inches long; *j* is 5½ inches long. *n–t* are arrowshaft buffers, of dark-brown coarse sandstone. In *p*, *q*, *r* are shown three perfectly matched pairs, each as found; they measure 4½, 7½, and 5 inches in length, respectively. 172 324

Plate 8.—Pipes and mortuary offerings, various sites. *h*, *i* are from Burkett site; all others from Hill site. They are made of catlinite or some other fine-grained red stone; *a* is of gray material, *g* of coarse red sandstone. *f* is 4¾ inches long with a square-topped bowl 1⅛ inches tall; found with a child burial. *i* is less than 1 inch long. Note straight specimen of cloudblower type, *b*; also perforated keel in *j*, groove about outer end of *h*, and small loop on top of *i*, for attachment of a thong. *l*, gray sandstone pipe, 2⅜ inches tall by 1¾ inches long. *m*, perforated or grooved shell objects probably worn as ear or hair ornaments; longest pair 4½ inches long and three-eighths inch in diameter. *n*, blue glass trade beads, probably obtained from Hudson Bay Company; they are about the size of a pea, very crude, and blue, red, or transparent in color. 172 276 301 532

P

172
415

● [531]



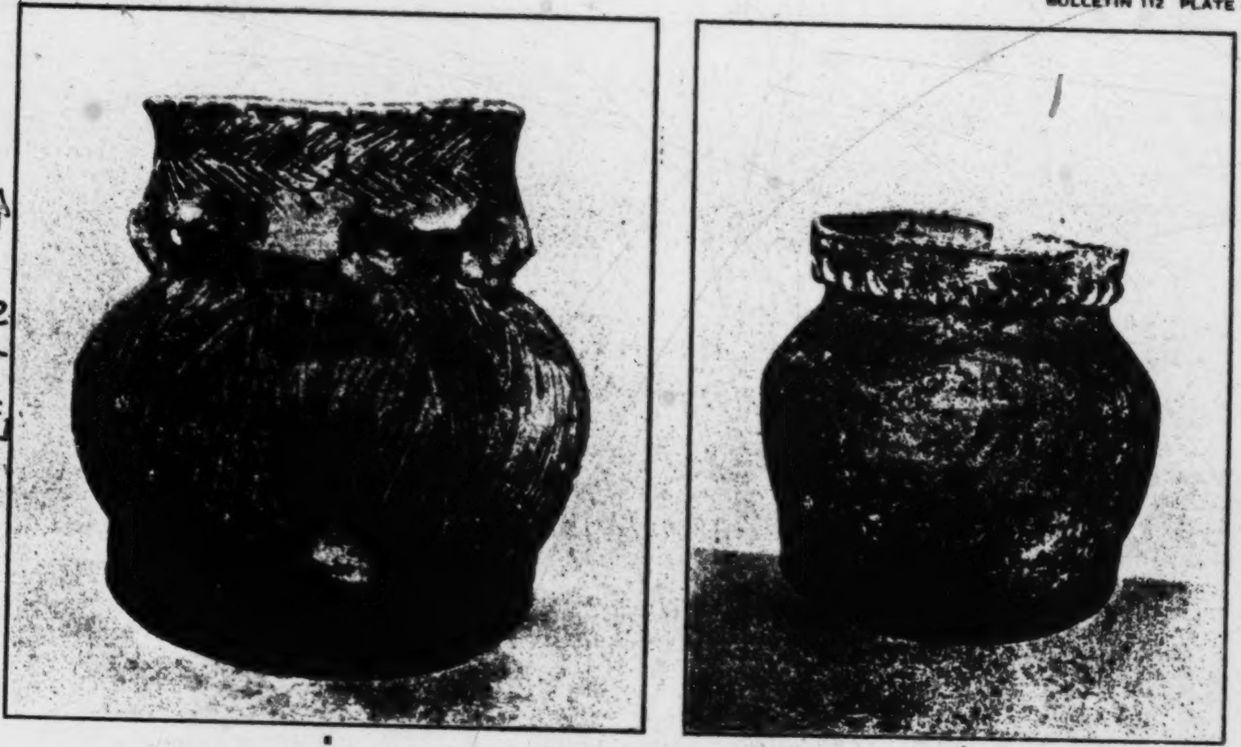
HISTORIC PAWNEE VESSELS FROM VARIOUS SITES.

[End Plate 3]

172
415
531

11: Wedel A-4,5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[End Plate 4]

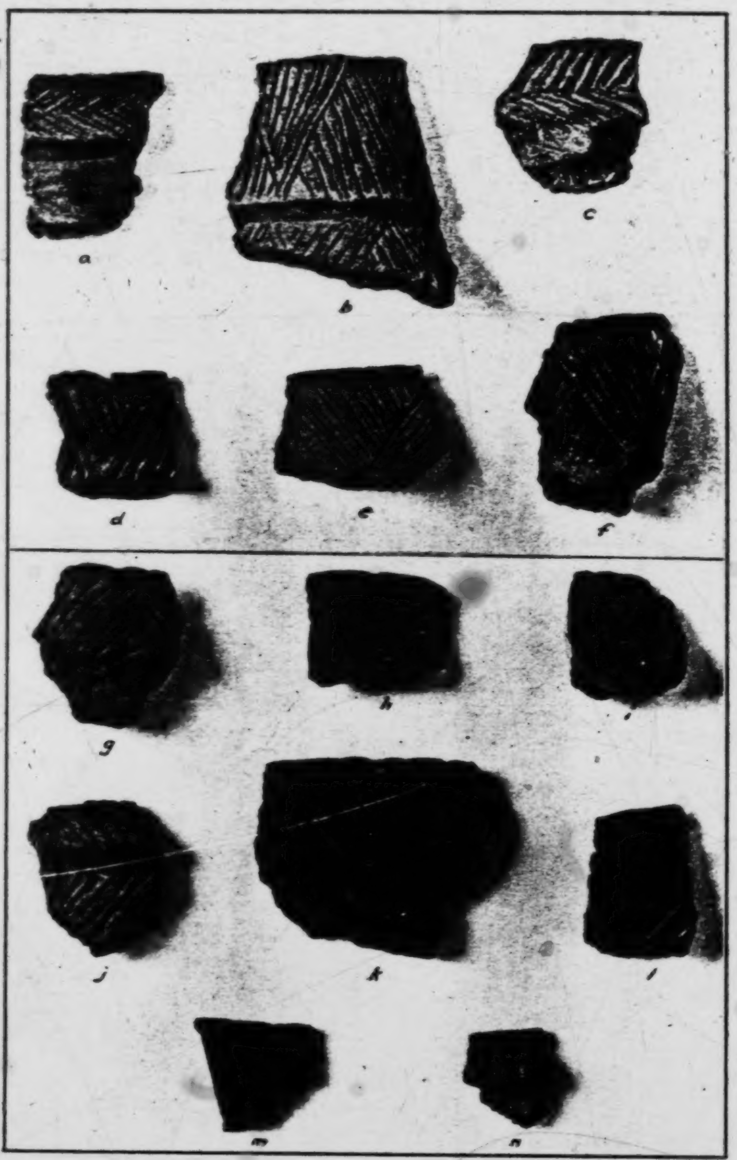


COMPLETE VESSELS, PROBABLY PAWNEE.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
●531



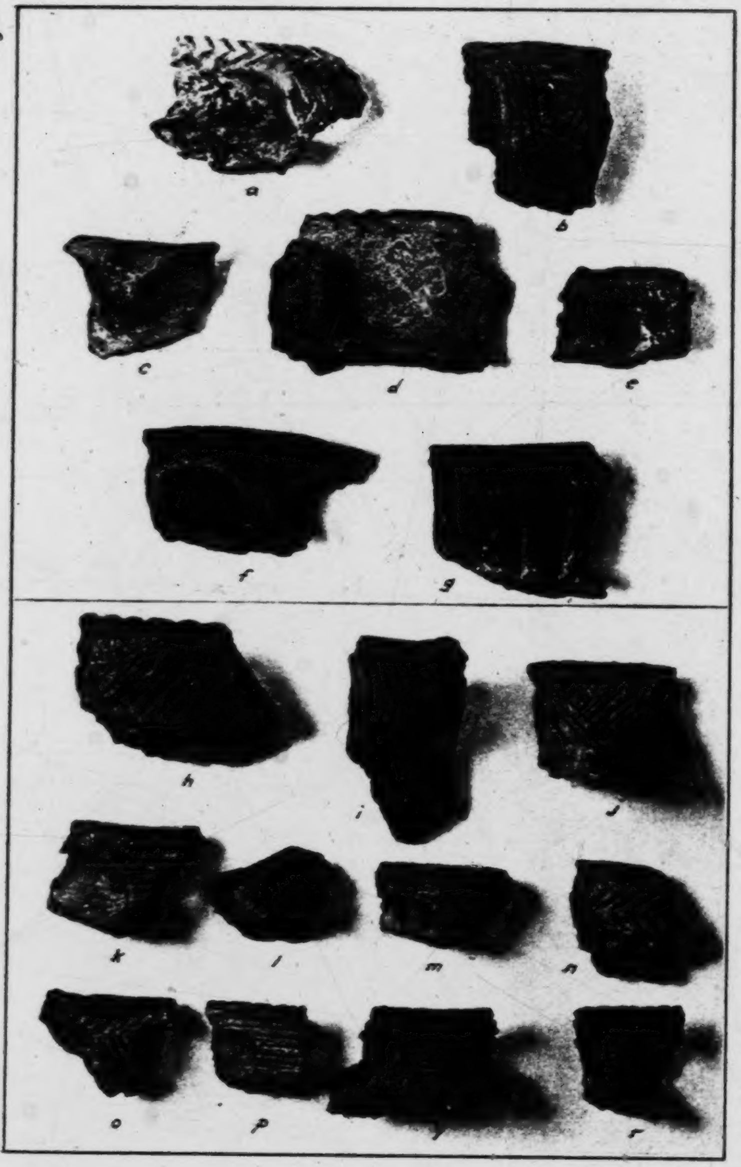
Pawnee Type Rim Sherds from Various Historic Sites.

[End Plate 5]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
531


a
b
c
d
e
f
g
h
i
j
k
l
m
n
o
p
q
r

SELECTED RIM SHERDS FROM BURKETT SITE (PROTOHISTORIC PAWNEE).

[End Plate 6]

achievement of the original visionary of the Skull bundle. This was celebrated by decorating the four pillars of the earth lodge that were in the semicardinal directions. 241 778 To each of them was tied a bundle of willows and some dried buffalo meat and fat—tied on with buffalo-hair ropes. On each pillar under the offering was painted a colored stripe in the color appropriate to its semicardinal direction. The woman visionary was not invited, but was asked to send the consecrated buffalo meat which was set down at the south side of the fireplace. The Skull bundle owners were sent for and four selected to go out and gather the willows. Then they went in procession around the houseposts, one line on the outside, one on the inside, proceeding in a counterclockwise direction, (southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast) tying on the offerings to each post in succession and then painting them.

The sacred objects were next suffused with incense from burnt sweet grass mixed with fat, and the buffalo skull that usually rested there was removed from the altar and the skull of Wonderful Person put in its place. This was the first object to be "incensed"; then came the other objects in the bundle, then the ministers themselves, and then the errand men. After the incensing, all went home except the ministers and errand men, who had their breakfast there of meat and corn.

After breakfast and for the next four hours the lodge was prepared for the public ceremony. The major feature of the public ceremony would be a pantomime of hoeing to break the ground for planting, and the woman visionary was now called in to take part in the preparations. She came in with her brother, who was dressed in his best because he was to go through the village asking for gifts on behalf of their undertaking. He would walk through the village calling upon their relatives and saying that Wonderful Person needed wood and his sister needed help in her enterprise—would they please cook something? In answer to his request, they would bring gifts to the ceremonial lodge.

Meanwhile the errand men were sent out to borrow four sacred shoulder-blade hoes that were kept in the four direction bundles. When they brought these in they were placed in pairs on the north and south of the altar. From the Skull bundle itself were taken two deer necks [825] placed at the south and two loon necks placed at the north of the altar. These symbolized the fact that loons fly high against the sky and bring us messages from Heaven, which Wonderful Person would now be representing in the ceremony. A pure young man who had shed no blood would be selected to decorate the skull for this role. He first painted the [531] face red and on it a line design in blue, bow-shaped and extending across the forehead and down the cheeks, representing the vault of the heavens, and a blue line down the center and along the nose for the breath of Heaven descending from the zenith, passing down the nose to the heart and giving life to the child (see Figure 9-1). The minister

241 now dressed the skull in a black skin turban with a knot on the forehead.
778 Inside the turban were soft down feathers mixed with red paint (to
represent the visionary's brains), and on top, a soft feather as a plume.

[531]

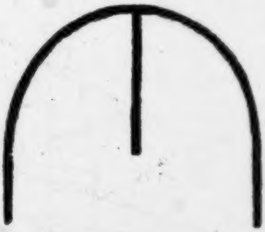


FIGURE 9-1. Representation of face painting symbolizing the vault of the heavens and the breath of Heaven.

[431] Gifts began to come in: kettles of corn and meat were placed at the
[782] south, buffalo robes and other offerings between the fireplace and the
skull.

The woman's brother and a young man were sent out to all the lodges
[203] to invite the people. They dressed in their best and everyone that came
[431] brought a gift. Soon they crowded outside the door of the ceremonial
[782] lodge, and after the brother had made a smoke offering with the pipe
toward the heavens and the skull the people were allowed to come in.
They piled their gifts in front of the skull.

The paraphernalia were handed out to the women who were to do the dancing, and a special coiled basket was handed to the woman visionary and one to her assistant. This basket, especially made by a woman under the direction of the minister, symbolized the container ordained by Heaven to carry earth from which the world was created and the germs of life. At the time of the creation, Heaven caused this basket to move of itself through space.

The four ministers of the Skull bundle now took up their rattles and sang, "Now we are going to start to dance. Everyone wants to dance and shake the earth."

241 At the first song the women stood ready to scrape the earth with their
hoes, right foot forward, arms extended. They were followed by the
535 woman visionary and her partner, who now got up and danced with the
coiled baskets. Next followed women with loon necks and then young
women with deer necks. These had to be chaste young women. Now the
hoes were taken over by the old women, for they were early risers and
good workers in the fields. When these got tired, other women came over
and took the hoes, carrying out the motions of hoeing all the time:

251 [252] of meat were each covered with a slab of dried fat that was not quite as large—3¼ feet long by 1½ feet wide and an inch thick. The edges of the meat were folded down over the fat like an open-faced envelope, first the top edge, then the bottom edge, and then the two sides (see Figure 27-1). Folded in this way, they were just the right size for the rawhide container in which they would be stored. The two steaks with their layers of fat were placed one on top of the other on the rawhide with other pieces of dried meat and fat on top of them, and the container was folded over them, first the top edge, then the bottom edge and then the two sides which met in the middle where they were tied together, laced with [531] hide strips. The surface of these two short ends were painted with large designs in bright colors, but unlike the usual angular designs of the other Indian tribes of the Plains, the Pawnee painted cosmic symbols on these containers—the moon and its rays, the sun, the dawn, and the stars (see figures 27-2–27-3). Such a container held the dried meat of a whole buffalo. When the meat was fully dried and packed, it was 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep. The "neck" end of the long backbone steak was thicker than the tail end, and the dried pieces of the other

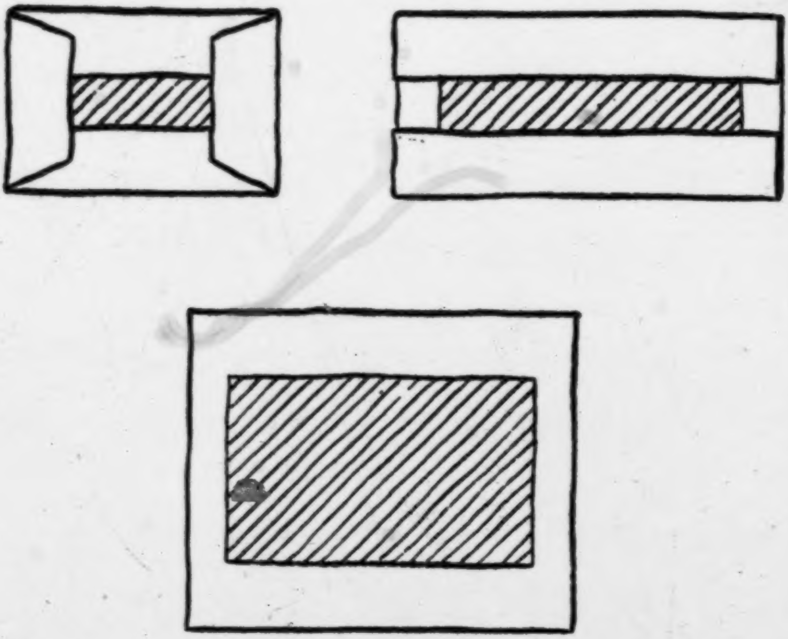
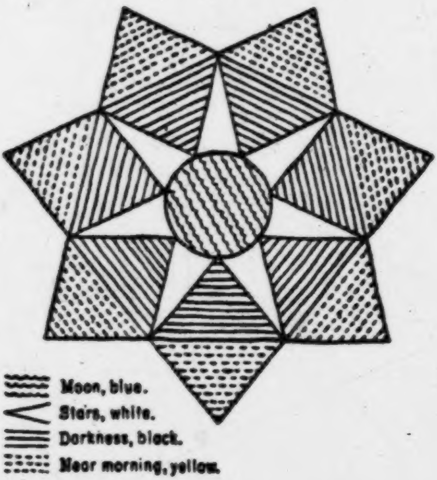


FIGURE 27-1. The manner of folding dried buffalo steak from along the backbone, *kisatsu.* A layer of dried fat (diagonal shading) is placed on top.

parts were piled more thickly near the tail end, each layer covered 251
with a layer of dried fat to keep the meat soft. The meat of a whole buf-
falo dried and packed in this way, was reduced to a weight of 80
pounds. A live bison weighed about 2,000 pounds. [036]



[531]

FIGURE 27-2. A cosmic design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, to be painted only by a person with the necessary religious qualifications.

Other parts of the meat prepared were: 251
The flank. The sinews were removed and the membrane being taken 252
off to be used in packing up the raw marrow that they took out when
they cracked the long bones.

The foreleg and hind leg. The limbs were disjointed and the meat removed from the bones for drying.

The internal organs. These included the intestines, the lining of the [237]
stomach, the tripe (likened to the leaves of a book), the heart from
which the membrane was carefully removed by cutting around the top [415]
for use as a tobacco pouch or for other treasures. The heart was split
so that it would lie flat in drying. The tongue was blistered in the coals
and the rough outer covering removed. Heart and tongue were boiled in
water before being hung up to dry. Lungs were sometimes sliced like
the backbone steaks and then dried. They made good pulverized dry
meat. The stomach lining was washed in cold water and cut into long [237]
strips after it had dried, the strips woven into a checker-plaited mat, in [285]
which form they were stored in the rawhide container.

**14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18**

• 531
415

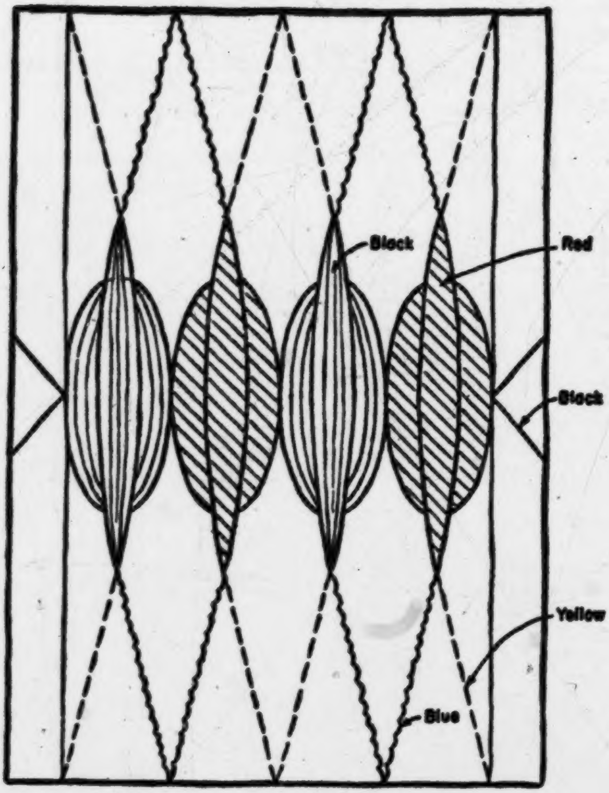


FIGURE 27-3. A design painted on a rawhide container for dried buffalo meat, the significance of which is unknown.

251
252
[237]
[285]
[431]

Intestines were turned inside out and boiled in the kettle. Then they were hung on the rack so that the water ran out and they would dry. After they were dried, they were broken into a number of pieces and woven into a checker-plaited mat for storage. The intestines of two buffalo were used for one mat. Each intestine was 12 to 15 feet long and was broken into four pieces. The pieces hung over a stick to a length of about 2 feet on each side. The mat was ten strips wide with cross pieces woven in. A mat would sometimes be given to a little girl as a special gift. For this purpose, they would leave the stick in the mat and fasten a boiled buffalo eye at each end. When they broke camp and a little girl was seen carrying her gift mat on her back, people would remark, "Look, that's hers! Are there eyes on it?"

513 disarranging the bedding. In the warmer weather, a mat might be placed on top of the skin as a "sheet." In addition to these appointments, some of 352 the beds had an additional screen of willows built in front of them to 322 make them especially private. Some married women preferred these— 824 in this household for example, White Woman and Old Bull's older wife, Queen Woman. These screens, *kawiriwisisu*, were a permanent part of the bed structure. Six tall uprights were fixed in the ground, reaching from floor to ceiling, and across them close together were tied on with willow bark, 6-foot-long horizontal willow saplings. The horizontals were laid in alternate order, one with the stub end to the left and its point end to the right, and the one above it in the opposite position to ensure evenness. These were gathered in spring, peeled, and the irregular stems or knots cut off. Before they could be fastened to the uprights, they had to be briefly seasoned for a few days so that they would be neither too green when they would shrink too much and leave the fastenings loose, nor too dry, when they could not be properly straightened out [531] in place. For decorative effect, six black were alternated with six natural horizontals, the peeled saplings being passed through a decoction of [386] sumach that had been boiled to make a black dye. After all the horizontals were tied in place, they were trimmed off on both edges to make the screen even. The entrance through the screen was made by cutting a low narrow opening in it at bed level, the vertical for this portion being hung from the roof.

353 As for the rest of the furnishings of the house, the buffalo skull had been left resting on the altar at the west and above it they now hung whatever sacred bundles they had. To the east of the fireplace they set up the bracket from which the pot was hung over the fire to boil. This was a forked stick stuck in the ground at a slant or having a natural curve; to one arm of the fork a wooden hook was suspended by a rawhide strap that could be raised and lowered by winding, depending on how close to the fire they wanted the pot to hang.

Against each side, on the east wall, was a woodpile supported by two tall forked sticks stuck in the ground. A little farther along the wall, leaning against it was a tree trunk with lopped off branches from which strings of braided corn were hung.

512 Now as the women were through with their cleaning, examining the 353 beds and generally getting things in order, they brought in the parfleches of meat and the bags and placed the twined-woven rush mats on the floor. Two mats were put down on their "side"; the better one near the west end and the more worn-out one near the east. Some pumpkins were stored on the intervening platforms between the beds, some were placed under the beds and others on the floor near the doorway. One of the parfleches had been placed in a handy position and left open as it contained current supplies. The rest were all closed up.

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-shaped,
177 bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological circles
[172] as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people
was "Big Knife."

Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
17 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
412 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
324 continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrowshafts
and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sandstone
buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from south-west
[439] Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal
their technical secrets. They were looked upon ~~much~~ as we regard
electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
796 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
463 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
322 arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the
essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots
from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when
the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was
referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the
pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic
terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
784 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
796 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
171 Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

time or not up to technical standards, or if the person failed to remain 531
even-tempered during the work, direct consequences to the health and 782
well-being of the craftswoman and her family would inevitably follow.
The guild was in the charge of a woman who made sure that these conditions were met. The woman who supervised the fitting of the skins to 463
make the tent—the tent architect—also belonged to a religious guild of a [281]
similar sort. The conventional character of Pawnee technical processes was [342]
just as firmly established as among these other peoples, most of them going back to very old practices, and their work was as fine and as precisely done but there were no religious connotations of any kind.

The mature women did most of the craft work that pertained to the 463
domestic economy. The men made most of the things they used in hunt- [462]
ing, war, and ceremonials. The crafts were not taught to the young people as a normal part of their education. A young man or a young woman had to be very eager to learn and only if an older person was willing to sponsor them were they able to do so. The teacher had to receive ample payment as well as a clear indication of a very real desire to learn. Both
for the manufacture of a craft object and for teaching as well as other [465]
kinds of assistance, "payment" should provide the craftsman with "something to wear and something with which to feed the family." This consisted in skin clothing or commercial cloth, blankets or shawls, and the standard food stuffs, either native or trade.

The following is my informant's account of the circumstances of 463
learning the craft of making a black rope of braided buffalo hair: 283

> If a woman wanted to learn how to make a buffalo hair belt from Old Lady Lucky Leader, for example, one would go to her and put a necklace about her neck, and ask to be taught. She would certainly not consent at once. She might answer, "Some day I will teach you." This signified that if the applicant went quietly away and asked again another day, then repeated her request on subsequent occasions, she might finally give in. If she said, "I'll think about it," this meant she might capitulate if asked again. On the other hand, if she said, "I can't do it," this constituted an absolute refusal.
>
> There were situations in which she would feel impelled to grant the request. This was particularly the case if the woman were a close and respected relative, especially an in-law. On the other hand, she might also feel impelled to teach a woman whose family fortunes were low and who needed to earn something to help out. Such a woman was the wife of Chief's-Road. Giving the old lady a gift she said, "I want you to take pity on me and teach me to make a buffalo hair belt. You know that I am poor and we can't seem to work out anything. What I want is for you to take pity on me so that it may earn something for us. My husband can't make much and my sister can't do anything."

281 The skins were tanned either with or without the hair. The skins of
[415] old buffalo or with exceptionally thin wool had the hair removed and
were kept on hand to wrap things in, for bedding, skin bags, moccasins,
[513] and occasionally, if they were light enough, for skirts. The heavier quali-
ties were used especially for tent skins. Tanned hide with hair removed
[291] was used as a light wrap or blanket to be draped around the shoulders.
[531] When worn in this way it was often decorated with designs or colored.

In tanning the robe with the hair on, which was the main trade robe, the hide was unrolled the evening before. Next morning it was placed on the ground and scraped on the flesh side with the elbow-scraper. This was a more strenuous process than dehairing. The skin had to be thinned section by section and any irregularities removed. If no one interrupted and the work proceeded at top speed, it took three hours of back-breaking labor. After this, the skin was immediately sprinkled with water to keep it soft and by evening it was pliable enough to be folded up and put into a kettle with cold water poured over it and left to soak overnight.

417
281 The next morning after breakfast the woman prepared a stretching frame on which to fasten the skin so that she could apply the tanning mixture. The standing part of the frame was made of two pairs of tent poles, each pair being fastened together at the top, spread out at the bottom, and set apart at the proper distance to accommodate the length of the skin. The two sets of "bi-pods" were joined across the near arms by two additional tent poles, one above and one below to a distance of the width of the hide. The skin was bound onto this slanting rectangular frame by overcasting around the edges through the peg holes around the edge of the hide. The flesh surface was now uppermost and to this the tanning solution would be applied.

281 Some bark, used as a sort of sponge, was dipped into the tanning mixture, which was spilled and rubbed onto the hide until it was well soaked and the water was dripping down the surface. The solution was now pressed in and rubbed from the top downward with a special tool resembling the blade of an iron hoe. In this process of rubbing and scraping, a good deal of the excess water was removed. When the skin had dried somewhat, a pinch of flour was sprinkled on and rubbed all over the surface to make it white. While the skin remained on the stretcher to dry for about an hour, the equipment for the next step was prepared. The skin would be rubbed back and forth on a taut sinew rope in order to soften it. Two green sticks of uneven height, one 2 feet and one 5½ feet high, were set upright in the ground about 4½ feet apart. They were joined by a big sinew rope that was stretched between them and tied at each end. The skin was rubbed back and forth across the rope on the flesh side until it was softened. One woman could do this alone, but it was more convenient for two to work on it, one holding on to the hide at each end.

the edges through a series of little holes. The beaver skins that they 281
trapped for sale to the traders, were treated in the same way.

The men made their own saddles and horse trappings, some of deer 282
and some of buffalo hide. All men made these for themselves and dressed 492
the deer hides, even Eagle Chief himself. But buffalo hide was gotten 462
from the women. They made saddles, bridles, stirrups, and saddle bags.
For saddle bags, discarded buffalo robes were obtained from the women.
The saddles were made either of deer and deer horns or wood and buffalo
hide. The horn saddle took four or five days; the buffalo hide ten to fif-
teen. The men worked hard on their saddles and decorated them elabo- [531]
rately.

The basic clothing was cut out and sewn with an awl and sinew by the 291
women. The women wore a wrap-around skirt, an overblouse, leggings [294]
fastened at the knee, and moccasins. The skirt, of tanned deer hide,
reached just below the knee with the closing at the right side. It was
fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. If no deer hide was availa-
ble, they used a very soft buffalo hide.

The blouse was a simple sleeveless pullover extending down over the waist so that it covered the top of the skirt and the belt that held it in place. It was made of an oblong piece of skin folded in two and cut out for the neck and armholes so that it would not rub against the underarm. (See Figure 48-1.) It was sewn along the sides with sinew, the seams extending just a little below the waist. The bottom section that reached toward the hips was left unsewn on the two sides. Around the neck was a scarf about 4 inches wide sewn across the back and reaching over the shoulders so that it could be turned up in cold weather for protection. The neck was provided with a drawstring whose ends hung down in front unless they wanted to draw the blouse close together around the throat.

Until the age of five or six, the little girls ran around naked, but then 855
they had to have a little wraparound skirt of buckskin with a drawstring 291
at the top. They would always complain that it was too loose, for it was
usually made to allow for growth; when the little girl complained her
mother would say, "Oh, go on, you'll grow soon," or "After all, it might
shrink."

Leggings of tanned deer or elk hide were worn by all the women, and 291
these were tied around under the knee and turned down over the tie
string at the top. For both men and women, they made two-piece moc-
casins with hard soles and softer uppers. Those of the Skidi were below [184]
the ankle and those of the South Bands a little above.

The clothing of the men, besides the basic garments, included a num- [292]
ber of ceremonial trappings or some that signified special rank or achieve-
ment. The main clothes were a loincloth, leggings, and moccasins.

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair
turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moccasin
to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the
padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of [294]
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-soled
moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one
section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in [855]
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to protect
them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accommodate
the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other [465]
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstanding 554
symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

292 554 [531] work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such a shirt.

[461] The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237 554 825 [411] The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught. Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one, the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281 756 262 Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered inedible and was left in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237 293 [223] Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237 554 714 Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a shield.

For personal use a man would go to one of the six or seven men who were the only ones that could make them among all the Skidi. An order for a pipe included both the wooden stem and the stone bowl. As usual, the materials had to be assembled by the man who wanted the pipe and taken to the maker. When he placed his order, he was sent to get the necessary ashwood stick. The stone for the bowl was Catlinite or red pipestone from the famous pipestone quarry in the extreme southwestern part of Minnesota, located northeast of Pawnee territory. When men went out on the warpath stealing horses in this vicinity, they were likely to get as much of the stone as they could carry. Nearer home there was a green rock (serpentine?) that could be used; it was soft and was blackened by the maker while the other kind was left red. A man who wanted to order a pipe made had to go to someone who had gotten it in this way: 276 463 316 276

> He would say, "I want you to give me a stone for a pipe." When the warrior gave his consent, the man went home and waited and presently the warrior sent his wife with the block of stone to give to the man's wife. The wife of the warrior now returns home, having accomplished her mission. The man ordering the pipe, not wanting to take the stone for nothing, sends his wife to the home of the warrior with twenty arrows, a blanket and she adds some buffalo meat. She now sets out for the warrior's house and approaching his wife she says, "This is for your husband. He gave us that pipe." The warrior's wife demurs, saying, "Oh, don't do that." "Yes, keep it. It's for your husband." The warrior's family now enjoys eating the gift of dry meat and they put the arrows and the blanket up on the wall. Later on when the two men meet, the warrior says to the man who is ordering the pipe, "What did you do that for? I didn't want anything for the stone." "Oh, that's all right. I wanted you to have something for it." "Well, all right, thank you," says the warrior, "We ate it!"

With the stone in hand, the man would now go to the pipe maker whose work he considered best and speak to him about it. Each pipe maker had his own distinctive way of making a pipe and one would either come with his own specifications or simply accept the style of the pipe maker himself. The man would say, "With a horse on it," etc., or "I want just a plain pipe," in which case it would be made in the maker's style. Two alternative kinds were one with rings (like a windpipe) or one with a flat part on the half below the mouthpiece, then a thick ring of wood and the rest of the length round to the bowl end. Kind Warrior who was a leader of the Deer Dance, *Raris-ta*, had a pipestem with half the length from the bowl end to the middle flat, and three ridges from the middle up to the mouthpiece. This was something like the ridges on an arrow where the feathers were to be attached and may have had some symbolic reference connected with this. Some men ordered their stone 276 463 531 324

276 pipe bowls to be made with five ridges to denote that they had sacrificed
463 five buffalo, others three. A man who had a horse head carved on
531 his pipe might do this to indicate that he gives away a lot of horses. On
324 the other hand some people just had things put on their pipes "to be
fancy."

276 To hollow out the wooden stem they burned out the pith with the
824 same stiff weed used in making brooms, *kibax-piriwus*, "room-brusher,"
Artemisia dracunculoides Pursh., or fuzzy weed. The plant had a pleasant
322 odor like sage which is also a variety of *Artemisia*. The weed was sharp
and after the pith had been burned all the way through down the length,

276
324

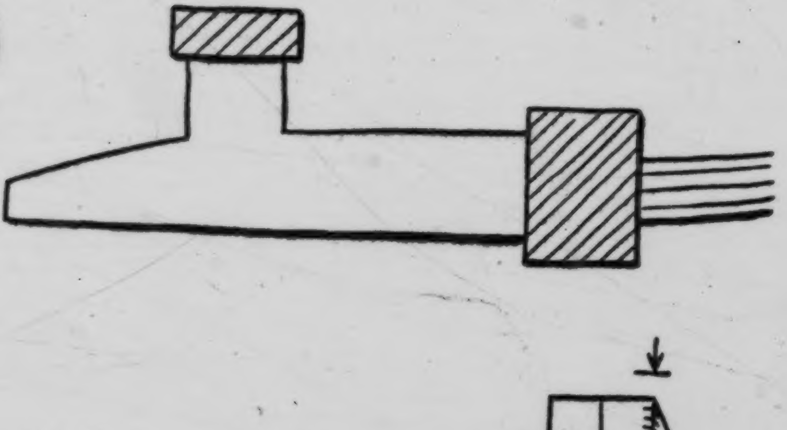


FIGURE 51-2. A pipe made by Brave Horse, *Asa-rabikutsu*, the bowl of red Catlinite or pipestone and the stem of ashwood. The first step of the pipemaker in fashioning the bowl was the marking off of the block with charcoal so that he could sculpt the bowl in the rough. Next the two blocks, one in front and one behind the bowl, were removed (hatched areas). In the old days this was a laborious task. There were no metal drills, files, or rasps; the two blocks of stone were chipped off from the outer edges inward piece by piece by sawing back and forth with a flint knife.

the same weed was used to scrape out the inside. Then the man blew 276 824 through the stem to remove the small pieces from the inside. 322

Making the Stone Bowl of Catlinite or Red Pipestone. (See Figure 51-2.) A block of stone of the appropriate size was marked off with charcoal 276 so that the bowl could be sculptured out in the rough. Two blocks of 324 stone had to be removed, one in front and one behind the upward projecting bowl. The removal of these two blocks was a laborious task. When no metal drills, files, or rasps were available, each step took a long time and required a great deal of patience. In the old days to remove the two blocks of stone, the "pipe" was set up on end and a flint knife was sawed back and forth across the corner, making a shallow cut. Then a second cut was made underneath it until a series of three or four shallow cuts had been made one beneath the other. These "corners" were then chipped off from the top edge down. This operation of chiseling off small pieces was continued until the whole block had been removed. Then the second block on the other side of the bowl was removed. All red powder [386] resulting from the sawing process was saved to be used as red paint.

The bore for the stem as well as for the bowl was begun by using a well-dried, fire-hardened stick. The stick was held stable pressed onto the surface where the hole was to be and the stone turned back and forth until a hole had been dug into it. The bowl was widened and deepened by using a sharp sliver of a buffalo femur in the same way, pressing it into the stone and twisting the stone itself until the bowl was the shape and size desired. The outer surfaces were shaped by rubbing with a rough stone.

After the bowl was shaped, the pipe was passed through the smoke of a small grass fire and the surface rubbed with grease. This data on making the stone bowl is condensed from a demonstration by Charles Allen at Pawnee, Oklahoma, in 1935. It took almost eight days, working the [461] usual day of nine to five o'clock with an hour for lunch.

Each pipe maker introduced special features of his own. Rarawikita, Charles Allen's father, made them so that there was a hump on the bowl [531] near where the stem was inserted and the pointed end of the bowl was five-sided. Chief's Road made pipes with three raised ridges around the head end of the bowl where the stem was to be inserted. Sometimes the pointed end was cut down at a downward slant, sometimes it was cut straight off. Good Bear made a pipe that was thick where the bowl was and tapered markedly at the point end and again at the end where the stem fitted. Brave Horse (*Asa-rahikuts*, "horse-brave") would make a wide ridge or collar around the mouth of the bowl and another one at the opening where the stem fitted in; on these "collars" he engraved diagonals trending upward toward the left. He was a left-handed man.

For the work of manufacturing the pipe, pay was expected though 276 never stipulated. This might be tobacco or calico and a little food. For 465 437

53

PRODUCTS OF REEDS AND GRASS

000

The Twined Woven Mats, Their Use and Manufacture—the Grass Brush for the Care of Hair

THE REEDS AND GRASSES matured about the same time as the cultivated crops, and everyone knew that as soon as possible after completing the harvest they would have to get to work gathering these materials before they passed their prime. 824

The twined woven mat of reeds was one of the most important items of Pawnee house furnishing. It was considered indispensable to cleanliness, and only the poorest people or the most slovenly would use skins on the ground instead. They were used both in the lodge and on the march, and old mats were offered to people who had none. Every morning they were taken up and shaken to get the dust out; in the lodge the house was well swept and the sweepings carried out on a skin to be dumped at the base of the embankment before the mats would be replaced on the floor. When on the march, they were rolled up and tied in the middle with a string fastened there for the purpose by the women. When camp was set up, they were laid out to sit on; at night the beds were made on them. In the lodge they were placed inside the central pillars to sit on. Impromptu beds were made by putting them between the pillars at night as a base for the bedding. Each mat was 5 feet wide and 8 to 9 feet long. Ordinarily, there were two mats around the fireplace on each side; if there were special guests, an additional one was placed at the west. At a large feast, the mats were laid outside the house pillars against the beds to enlarge the circle. Mats for gala occasions had special decorations made by weaving in black or dark red-dyed wefts. These were kept rolled up until guests came. For everyday use the family sat on whatever mats happened to be around—the better ones being placed 285 352 [356] [513] [531]

*539
*796

1278 'Hare ra, 'hare ra-a, ra i 'hare;
1279 'Hare ra, 'hare ra-a, ra i 'hare;
1280 'Hare ra, ra i 'hare;
1281 'Hare ra!
1282 'Hare ra-a, ra-a i 'hare, ra i 'hare;
1283 'Hare ra, 'hare ra-a, ra i 'hare;
1284 'Hare ra! 'Hare ra!

Translation

1278 'Hare ra, 'hare ra-a, ra i 'hare.
'hare, a part of the word iha're, children, young.
ra, coming.
'hare ra. Translated above.
a, vowel prolongation.
ra, come, or coming.
i, a part of the word titako, here, where I am.
'hare, children.

1279 See line 1278.

1280 'Hare ra, ra i hare. See line 1278.

1281 'Hare ra! See line 1278.

1282 'Hare ra-a, ra-a i 'hare, ra i 'hare. See line 1278.

1283 See line 1278.

1284 'Hare ra! 'Hare ra! See line 1278.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The words of this song mean: "The Children are coming, coming here where I am sitting."

At the close of this song a man selected by the Ku'rahus utters a long, loud cry: "Ho-o-o-o-o-o-o!" It is answered by all the Hako party; their shout is broken by the hands beating on the mouth: "Ha-a-a-a-a-a-a!" The drums and rattles sound at the same time.

It is a cry of thanks and of welcome by the Fathers to the Children as they approach bearing gifts.

As soon as the cries cease the Ku'rahus begins one of the dance songs.

PART II. THE DANCE AND RECEPTION OF GIFTS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

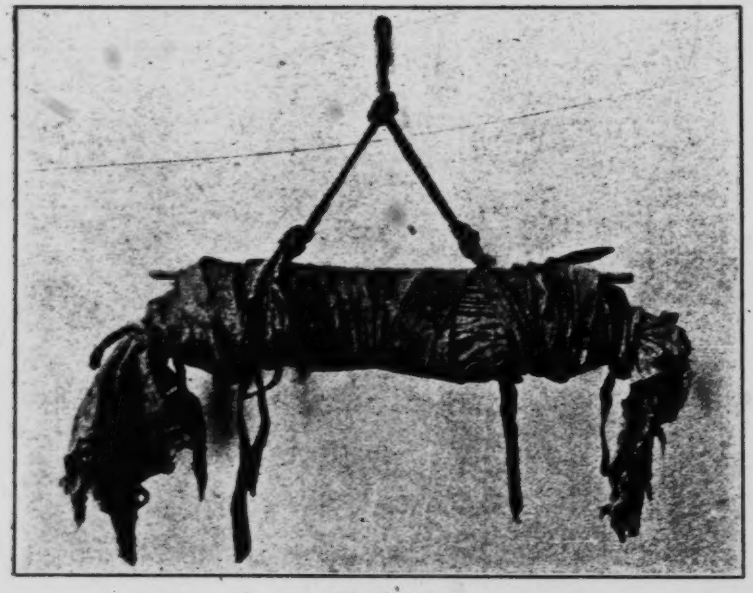
*796 [532] On the fourth night (of the Hako ceremony), while the lodge was being circled sixteen times, some young men, at the direction of the Ku'rahus, went out and made the figure of a man from grass and old garments and fastened it to a small sapling so that it could be made to stand upright. This figure, which has been concealed, is now brought out and set up in front of all the people (see figure 180).

[714] The men of the tribe of the Children, dressed in their regalia and war bonnets, and painted with the symbols of the society to which they belong, come up with their horses, which are led by one of the owner's little children.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

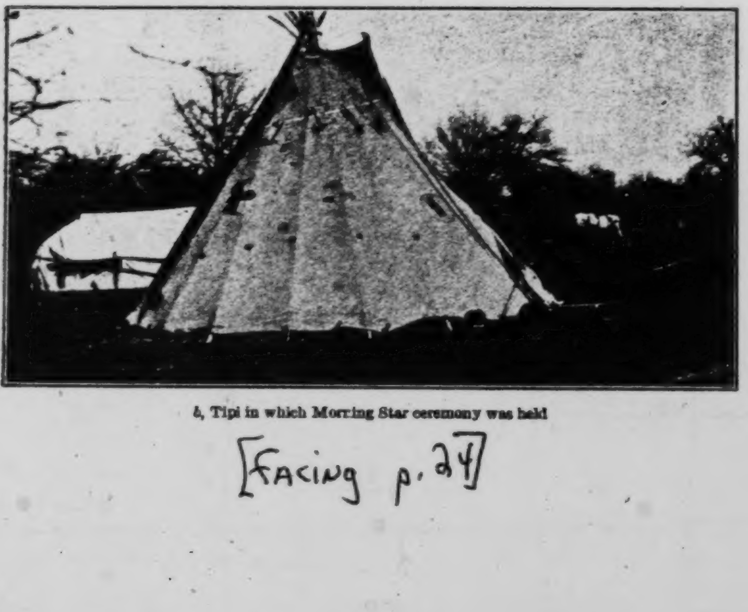
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778
284



a, Sacred bundle

346
● 532
231



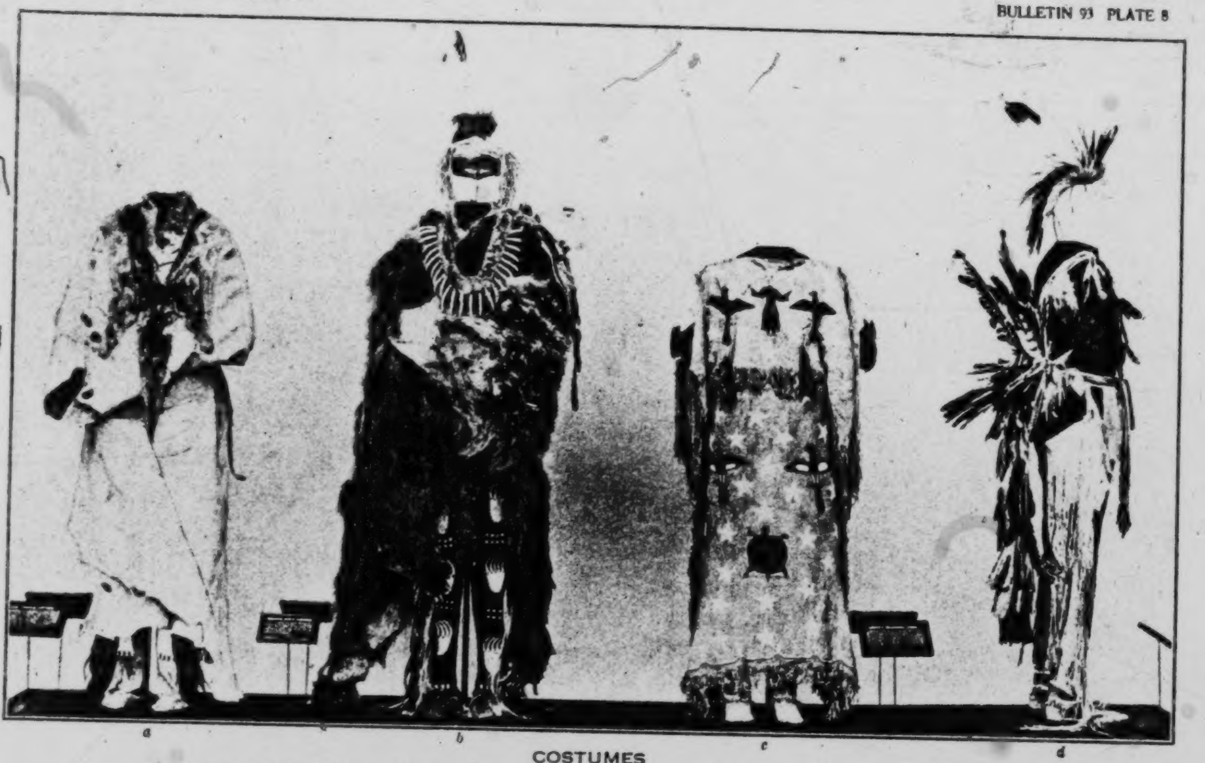
b, Tipi in which Morning Star ceremony was held

[Facing p. 24]

292
301
532
237

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[Facing p. 69]



COSTUMES

a, War leader; *b*, bear medicine man; *c*, woman's Ghost dance dress; *d*, dancer wearing "crow" dance bustle.
Exhibited in Field Museum of Natural History

affair. This is not the time to go into a detailed account of it, but the fol- 756 lowing general sketch of the procedure seems necessary.

796 The native name for the ceremony is tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand, but we shall for convenience speak of it as the twenty-day ceremony, as in fact it is often called by the Pawnee themselves. It is found among all the divisions, but seems to have originated with the Squash Vine village, to whose medicinemen alone certain parts of the ritual were known. From the originators it passed to the Skidi and then to the other divisions. The twenty-day ceremony proper is given in the early autumn after all the bundle ceremonies have been performed, the corn harvested, etc. At the proper time the lodge is cleared and the altar arranged as before. After certain preliminary ceremonies, it is in order for each medicineman to build a booth [343] of green willows in the lodge. They proceed ceremonially to a thicket where each gathers his willows, with which they march back and then construct their booths.

It may be stated that each medicineman sets up a booth for himself, but if he has attached to him one or more younger men in the capacity of students, these assist. Each booth, therefore, really represents a group of men. Further, all the people of the village to which a given medicineman belongs may at times enter, take seats around the booth, and offer assistance. In this way the whole people may be said to participate.

184 Among the Skidi there is a special feature since they are not content with merely dancing to the mythical water monster, but construct his image 532 encircling the fireplace. In this all the medicinemen's groups take shares. 756 The head is begun on the south side of the door. The mouth is open, with 778 teeth of willow. The head is covered with buffalo skin. There are two 796 long "feelers" decorated with bands of bright colors. On the crown of the head is a large erect plume of down feathers. The body of the monster is formed of bowed willows, plastered over with mud. The tail is at the north side of the door and is forked like that of a fish.

The fireplace is cleared out and a large turtle modeled there, his head toward the altar. A new fireplace is then made on his back. While the water monster was peculiar to the Skidi the following were found among all divisions. A tree was cut and brought in with a ceremony almost identical with that found in the sun dances of other tribes. The Skidi plant the tree (a cedar) in the forked tail of the monster, the others put it (a cottonwood) at the altar. A life-sized woman is built up of clay, dressed in regular costume and set up on the south side of the lodge. A large figure of a man is cut from rawhide and placed upon a pole above the lodge. Numerous small human figures are cut from rawhide, strung upon cords and stretched about overhead in the lodge. All these objects are highly symbolic: thus, the fire

is the sun; the mud woman, the moon; the large rawhide image, the morn- 184
ingstar; the many small images, stars. 532 756

All this construction was part of the ritual and so controlled by a definite 778 program. When everything was in place, a general dedication ceremony 796 followed in connection with which is a spectacular march through the village in two lines, according to their sides. In front, two men carry the sacred 756 animals from the altar, dancing. (For the Skidi, two loons are used, for 796 the other divisions, two beavers.) All medicinemen are supposed to derive their powers from living creatures and their booths are spoken of as animal lodges. In this procession each man costumes himself so as to represent his animal mentor, often in very realistic fashion. There were also a few [522] clowns dressed like wolves.

After the tour of the village, the procession enters the lodge and holds a secret ceremony upon which we have no data. Those on the outside hear a great uproar and a riot of hideous noises, while clouds of white dust rise from the smoke hole. When all is quiet again, the door is opened. The leader then performs a ceremony in which he sprinkles water about to consecrate the lodge.

It is then in order for the various medicinemen to demonstrate their animal powers. This is the time when remarkable feats of juggling were performed; thus it is told that stalks of corn were made to grow up and mature in a moment, likewise plums and cherries, the bear men tore out a man's liver and ate it, after which he rose unharmed, and so on, in bewildering variety.

Finally, a certain number of days were given to ceremonial visits to the sacred bundles, each in turn, where certain ceremonies were performed.

At the end the animal powers and images are taken down and carried to a stream or lake. Here they are heaped up in the water something like a beaver's house and the mud woman placed on top.[1]

Places or booths in this ceremony were assigned by the leaders. A man having set himself up as a medicineman would apply for a place. He would be assigned one provisionally and at the proper time called upon to demonstrate; if he failed to carry his trick through successfully he was ejected, but otherwise given a permanent seat. As may be anticipated from the foregoing, medicinemen were trained and not made suddenly through dreams or visions. It is true that such experience counted for much, but the usual way to become a medicineman was to succeed one's teacher at his death. Thus, it is clear that the seats in the twenty-day ceremony were practically fixed in form and number.

---

[1] It may be significant that the animal painted tipis of the Blackfoot and Dakota were always disposed of by sinking in water and that many ceremonial objects among the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan were similarly treated.— Ed. [171]

622
756 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers
778 and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular impor-
554 tance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have con-
726 secrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pitahaufrata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of
756 wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and
837 not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice. Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicineman in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies
224 for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle
[223] trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern
838 Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

726 *No-flight Idea.* A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

342 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of
● 532 medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint
834 in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had
276 performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

539 was in session, they would come in and ask the medicine
773 men to help them, and they would give them a place in
the lodge. In this way the society grew. People from
other bands also heard about it and came begging to
learn the mysteries. The medicine men taught them,
and they went back to their own people and started
other medicine lodges."

756 The ceremonies of the historic medicine lodge
796 agreed in a general way with those last described in
the legendary account of its origin, but there were
several features not mentioned in the story just given.
The preparations for the great fall ceremony were
begun while the people were still on the spring buffalo
hunt. At this time the leading medicine men selected
two members of the society to make two bows and four
arrows. When these were completed, they were given
to two other medicine men with instructions for one to
kill a bull and the other a cow. The animals had to be
killed with a single arrow, but it is said that because of
the magic powers of the arrows the hunters never
failed to do this. The bull's hide was to be used to cover
532 the head of the water-monster image, the cow's hide
778 to cloth the figure of the witch woman. Two more
buffalo, also a bull and a cow, were then killed in the
same way, the hide of the former being saved to make
an image of the Morning Star, and that of the latter, to
make nine small images which represented the important heavenly gods. When the buffalo had been
778 killed, the bows and arrows were returned to the leading medicine men who placed them among their sacred
objects.

On the return from the hunt, the four leading
medicine men went to the medicine lodge and ordered
342 that it be cleared for the ceremony. The same lodge
346 seems to have been used for the ceremony year after
year, but was occupied as a dwelling between ceremonies.

monies. All the beds and other furniture were carried 756
out by the women, and the floor swept. When this had 796
been done, the medicine men seated themselves in front of the lodge altar and sent their errand men to notify the other members of the society. After these had arrived and taken their places, the leaders went to each of them in turn and directed them, in a whisper, to [785]
prepare for the ceremony by a four-day fast. Each man, when he received this notification, returned to his own lodge, took his medicine bag, and left the village to spend that time in solitary fasting and prayer. At the expiration of the fast they bathed in the river and returned to the medicine lodge, where each took his appointed place.

The following morning, all the members of the society went to the river bottom to cut willows and cotton woods for the small booths which were to be built inside the large lodge. When they reached the timber, one of the two leading medicine men prayed and offered smoke to the heavenly gods, while the other, after he had finished, paid the same honors to the earthly gods. When this had been done, the timbers were cut and carried back to the main lodge, and the booths built.

The next morning the image of the water monster 756
was made, the leaders assigning to different men the 778
task of getting the things needed and making the 796
different parts. This image was nearly sixty feet in 532
length and encircled the lodge, with its head and tail on either side of the entrance. The framework was made of pieces of ashwood lashed together with sinew. Over these a layer of grass was laid, and the whole covered with mud which was smoothed and painted in different colors. The mouth of the figure was so large that a man could crawl into it, and was provided with pointed teeth, also of ashwood. On each side of the mouth, long, slender willow-rods were stuck to represent

756 778 796 532 feelers. The head was covered with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with downy feathers. The image of the turtle, in the center of which was the fire place, and that of the witch woman, were made the next day. The woman's image consisted of a willow frame covered with grass and surfaced with clay. The features were modeled, and the eyes were made with pumpkin seeds blackened in the center. A buffalo scalp was placed on the head, and to this were attached long braids of human hair which hung down to the knees. The figure was dressed in a buffalo robe.

756 796 When the images had been made, a ceremony was held by which each of the medicine men received power from either the monster or the witch woman. Some chose one, and some the other. On the day following, they went to cut the cedar tree which was to be placed just inside the entrance. When they found a suitable tree, they formed a circle around it, prayed to it, made presents to it of robes and other things, and finally took power from it. When this had been done, they cut it down. As it fell, they began to hypnotize each other and work sleight of hand. They then picked it up and carried it back to the village singing. As they neared the village, a second party of medicine men came out to meet them, and began to hypnotize them and try to drive them back. The party with the tree were more powerful, and gradually drove the others back to the edge of the village. There the tree was laid down, and all the people came and threw offerings on it. These offerings were gathered up, and were finally given to the medicine men. The tree was then taken to the lodge and set up, and its branches were covered with white [532] [778] downy feathers. That night they made the images of the Morning Star and the heavenly gods. These were flat pieces of hide, cut in the outline of a man. The image of the Morning Star was fastened to a long pole

and raised above the smoke-hole just before the star [532]
rose. The other images were fastened to the tops of [778]
the main posts or on a cord running across the upper 756
part of the lodge. 796

It is uncertain at what stage in the ceremony the altar of loon skins was set up, but it seems to have been after the various images had been made. The sticks bearing the skins were thrust in the ground on the west side of the lodge, and the space between them sprinkled with water and then covered with downy feathers. When this had been done, the leader of the medicine men raised his face to the sky and cried, "Father, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, now stand on the altar. Give us plenty of rain this summer." Then dropping his voice to a whisper and bowing down to the ground, he said, "Mother Earth, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, are now upon you. Let our crops grow so that we may be fed." When he had done this, he went outside the lodge and called upon all the gods to give power to the loons so that they, in turn, could give power to the people.

At dawn of the day following that on which the last of the images had been made and set up, the various medicine men dressed themselves to represent their guardian animals and marched, in order of the importance of their guardians, around the outside of the lodge and then around the inside. They did this four times, dancing and imitating the cries and actions of their guardians. They then held a feast in the lodge. That night they once more marched out in procession and visited all the lodges which contained sacred bundles, dancing in each. When they had returned to the medicine lodge, the leaders selected certain medicine men to go through the village once more, visit every lodge, and report if any one was sick. When

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate 1.—Pawnee earth lodge and house site. *a*, earth lodge near Pawnee, 342
Okla., in 1905. Photo by Nebraska Historical Society. *b*, general appearance 172
of lodge floor, house 1, Hill site; diameter 44 feet, depth 16 inches. The center
has been excavated slightly below the floor level.

Plate 2.—Vegetal material and textiles from the Hill site. *a*, tubers of
Apios tuberosa; *b*, seeds of bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*); 172
c, pits of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*); *d*, pits of wild plum (*Prunus ameri-* 137
cana); *e*, grains of charred flint corn (*Zea mays*); *f*, charred corncobs; *g*, *i*, 28
fragments of bison-hair textile; *h*, hank or rope of bison hair; *j–l*, rush
matting.

Plate 3.—Pawnee vessels from various sites. *a* and *c* are from Palmer 173
site; *a* is 4½ inches high and 4⅝ inches in maximum diameter; *c* is [illegible]½ 415
inches high by 4⅞ inches in diameter; *b* and *d* are from the Hill site, both
restored; *b* is 3⅝ inches by 3¼ inches across; *d* is 7 inches tall and 6 inches in
diameter.

Plate 4.—Complete vessels, probably Pawnee. *a* is 9 inches tall and 7⅝ 172
inches in diameter and shows all of the best diagnostics for Pawnee ware in
both form and ornamentation; found on Prairie Creek, near Archer, Nebr. 415
b is 5⅝ inches high by 5⅞ inches across; found in the Cedar River, near 531
Fullerton, Nebr., and is of uncertain origin. Nebraska Historical Society
collections.

Plate 5.—Pawnee type rim sherds from various historic sites. *a–f*, Hill site; 172
g, Horse Creek; *h–n*, Palmer site. *b*, *d–f*, *i*, *k*, illustrate the typical rim design; 531
a, *h*, *l*, *n*, show the herringbone motif, second in abundance. Nearly all have lip
indentations.

Plate 6.—Selected rim sherds from Burkett site. All bear lip indentations.
Note similarity of *b*, *h*, *j*, *l*, to historic Pawnee motifs (preceding plate).
Handles occur on all but *h*, *j*, *l*, *n*.

Plate 7.—Stonework from Hill site. *a–m* are from graves, one being nearly 172
always in or near the left hand of every adult male skeleton. *a*, *f* 2½ inches 324
long; *j* is 5½ inches long. *n–t* are arrowshaft buffers, of dark-brown coarse
sandstone. In *p*, *q*, *r* are shown three perfectly matched pairs, each as found;
they measure 4½, 7½, and 5 inches in length, respectively.

Plate 8.—Pipes and mortuary offerings, various sites. *h*, *i* are from Burkett 172
site; all others from Hill site. They are made of catlinite or some other fine-
grained red stone; *a* is of gray material, *g* of coarse red sandstone. *f* is 4⅝ 276
inches long with a square-topped bowl 1⅞ inches tall; found with a child 301
burial. *i* is less than 1 inch long. Note straight specimen of cloudblower type, 532
b; also perforated keel in *j*, groove about outer end of *h*, and small loop on top
of *i*, for attachment of a thong. *l*, gray sandstone pipe, 2⅝ inches tall by 1⅝
inches long. *m*, perforated or grooved shell objects probably worn as ear or
hair ornaments; longest pair 4½ inches long and three-eighths inch in diameter.
n, blue glass trade beads, probably obtained from Hudson Bay Company; they
are about the size of a pea, very crude, and blue, red, or transparent in color.

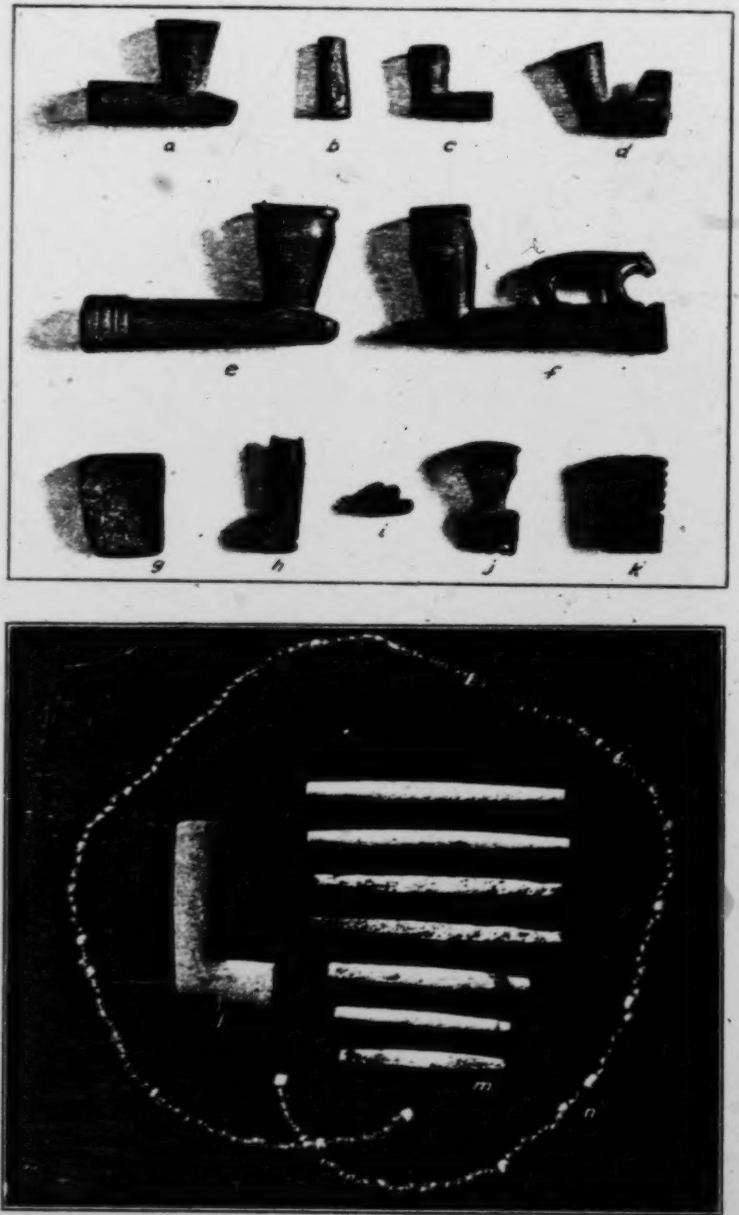
P

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
276
●532
764

172
276
301



PIPES AND MORTUARY OFFERINGS. VARIOUS SITES (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

[End plate 8]

756 346

On the South Side	*On the North Side*
A *reindeer cult* in charge of Old Bull	*An eagle cult*
A *black-tailed deer* cult led by Old Lady Tsitawa (see p. 45)	A *fish hawk cult*
A *buffalo lodge* led by Wonderful Old Bull	A *coyote* lodge (including wolves and foxes)
Another *buffalo lodge* led by Leading Buffalo	A *bear* lodge jointly lead by Sitting Hawk and Angry Horse

173 756 178 [631] 756 796 532 The origin of the Associated Doctor Lodge was said to be in Pumpkin-Vine Village where they would conduct a twenty-day ceremony. When they joined the Skidi Federation, they incorporated the other doctors and extended the term to thirty days. The formation of the association was attributed to an original visionary and images were constructed to commemorate various aspects of his vision. The most elaborate was one that represented the serpentlike water monster that led him to the earth lodge of the animals under the Missouri. The body of the serpent, which was nearly 60 feet long, curved around the outside of the houseposts with its head at the southeast, a forked tail at the northeast, and its body curved toward the west. The body was constructed of a framework of pieces of ashwood tied with sinew, covered over with a layer of grass and plastered with clay, smoothed and painted in different colors. Its mouth, large enough for a man to crawl inside, was built of two rawhide containers, covered over with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with white downy eagle feathers. The open mouth was provided with large wedge-shaped cottonwood teeth and on each side of the mouth long slender willow rods to represent feelers or antennae.

They also had to model the figure of the witch woman who was in the visionary animal lodge under the Missouri. First they built up a willow frame and then covered it with grass and clay. They provided the witch with a realistically modeled face and pumpkin-seed eyes, blackened in the center to represent pupils. On her head they put a buffalo scalp to which they attached two long braids of human hair; for clothing she wore a buffalo-hide dress.

Next they modeled the fireplace into the shape of a turtle, with its head pointing east, its tail west and the four legs in the semicardinal directions. They scooped out the back for the fire pit.

It took twelve of the leading doctors two nights running to build these figures, for which large quantities of clay had to be brought in. They worked at night so that they would not be observed. These were the main figures that represented the vision in the animal lodge.

[776] The next task was to represent the star gods from whom everything

came, including the animals. For these, two consecrated buffalo skins 756
were shot with a special bow and arrow during the preceding summer. 776
The gods were represented as cutouts suspended from the roof of the 796
lodge. Each was hung approximately where it appeared in the heavens. 532
The female gods of the western skies were cut out of the buffalo cowskin. The bull hide was used for a large cutout figure of the Morning Star fastened to a stick and raised above the smokehold outside just before the star rose in the sky.

The tasks of the doctors in preparing the ceremonial lodge were summarized 756
by my informant as: 346
796

> Now that the booths, the drums and gourds (rattles) were done, the pictures hung, the serpent, witch, and turtle modeled, there was one more thing to do—to get the cedar tree.

Each one of these elements of ceremonial furniture represented an involved 756
ideological network of religious beliefs. The theology of the 796
celestial gods and the creation has already been sufficiently elaborated 77
on. The ideology of the Doctor Spirits concerned chiefly the waters as the primordial source, followed by the earth, the plants, and the animals —all however, ultimately subject to and derived from Heaven as denoted by the cutout figures of the cosmic gods.

The ideology of the doctors was greatly valued from a humanistic as 756
well as from a practical point of view. Theoretically, chiefs with hereditary 622
status should not want to be doctors as to some extent we might not expect a Grand Duke to want to go to medical school and set up an office for general practice. The degree of apprenticeship and subordination to an established practitioner seemed hardly consonant with the dignity of a chief from the point of view of the Pawnee, but nevertheless some of the chiefs did seek out doctor knowledge and participated actively in the apprentice roles. When a chief applied to a doctor to become his pupil, the doctor would try to dissuade him saying, "You're a chief. I don't sleep at night. I am always working. You don't want to be that way. I have to watch the sick at night." But if the chief is determined his wish will finally be granted. The doctor again would test him, saying, "You're good-looking. You don't want to have mud all over your face!" At last after all these probing questions, if the applicant said, "That's what I want," the doctor, convinced of his sincerity, would bless him and receive him under his tutelage. White Eagle, who had led the previous summer hunt, and his brother Charley Box were both chiefs and also deer doctors. Old Bull and Victory Call were both chiefs and practicing doctors; Victory Call's senior brother Sitting Hawk had an important place in the chief's council and was also a leading doctor in the lodge.

756 796 [346] the southeast lodge pole. Sometimes a woman would come in and give the "boss" of one of the animal booths a gift of corn bread so that later on during the performance they would be permitted to sit near the booth and get a better view instead of crowding in at the entryway.

When the food was ready, Big Doctor spoke and told them they were going to interrupt their activity and eat now, and that they could resume their work later. He said that he himself would make the offering to the powers with the corn and save time. The errand men were instructed to distribute the food.

The meal over, Big Doctor said, "Now we have eaten. Now you can go and tend to anything you want to. But after that, return here and get back to work!" They went off home to take their extra dry meat to their families, to tend their horses, and to take a little rest before going on with the work in the evening. The four main doctors did not linger long away from the ceremonial lodge. They had to fix up the gourd rattles, drums, and other things. Old-Man-That-Chief who has elk (*pax*) power was too old to wander about. If he should want to go home, someone must lead him. Most of the time he remained in the lodge throughout the ceremonial period.

756 796 532 [317] That night and the next they built the serpent, the witch, and the turtle. They worked at night when they would not be observed. The serpent would take a whole night, the witch and the turtle perhaps another night. They had to bring in quantities of clay from the river bottom to do all this modeling. Twelve of them did the modeling—the four doctors at the west, and Old Bull and also the son of the subleader at the north, Wonderful Old Bison; the son of Sitting Hawk, Misery; also Angry Horse of the Bear Lodge. Bringing Horses was called in by Pipe Offering to assist him. On the next night, after the serpent was done they divided up, six working on the witch woman and six on the turtle-fireplace. Then the skin cutouts of the celestial powers were hung in place and the two loon skins put before the altar. Finally they were to set out for the cedar tree. They followed the same kind of procedure as for the cottonwoods, except that only one tree was obtained on this occasion.

756 796 [824] A suitable cedar had been spotted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy on the Loup River, and before sunrise the next day a party of twenty doctors led by Strikes-the-Enemy set out to cut it down and bring it back to the lodge. Symbolically the cedar represented the Bear whose celestial affiliation was with the sun and the moon. The cottonwood symbolized the Beaver and the waters of the earth. Strikes-the-Enemy led the party, carrying a bear-hide rattle. On the return journey, they stopped half way and had a hypnotic contest as described in Chapter 34.

-[824] When the party reached within four feet of the lodge, they halted and him around a little bit.” “Oh, I got on him like a horse. He's a good runner.” 756 796

536 By this time the Bear leader, Angry Horse, was all crumpled up and quieted down. Standing at the west of the fireplace facing east, he warmed his rock over the fire and then went to his seat near the Bear Booth at the northeast of the Doctor Lodge. There he removed his whole costume, including the cedar wreath, leaving only his blackened face. Now the two ex-Bears, Man Chief and Fox Chief, also came out of the booth without their Bear costumes. Man Chief went to the north of the fireplace, extending his right hand over the fire, then putting it on top of his head. Then he did the same with his left hand. He went through the same procedure with his abdomen and also his knees as he stood up. At the south of the fireplace, Fox Chief did the same thing. Now both men returned to their Bear Booth, Man Chief directly from his station at the north and Fox Chief from his south station around the west and north.

This was the closing act of the whole show, and now Big Doctor made his final address to them all. He said, “Now spectators, young men, women, now you have seen, during these several nights, this, ‘our playing.’ Young men, tribespeople, now I am through with this playing of. ours.” (He included the audience as well as the doctors in his statement, expressed through the grammatical first person, plural inclusive form, *ti-wi-rikuhuritsa-witsat*, “this-now-it us all-complete.” He thus acknowledged the help of the spectators in examining the paraphernalia when offered to them to affirm that they were authentic.) “Now that's all.” This was the signal for all spectators to leave.

756 796 346 778 That night the doctors would take the first step toward dismantling the ceremonial appointments of the lodge. Each of the doctors would bundle up the sacred objects he had used in carrying out his performance and wrap them in a skin cover to form a long-shaped bundle. These must be taken to their respective homes that evening. The four doctors at the west would wrap up everything pertaining to the Doctor Lodge in general—the loons and other birds, etc. That night only the four leading doctors would remain in the lodge, sending home their bundles with the errand men.

756 796 778 532 Very early next morning all the doctors would return so that they could remove and dismantle all the special ceremonial figures and structures they had built. Insofar as possible these would be carried intact to the water where they would be deposited in a certain position, approximating their position in the ceremonial lodge. The serpent figure, the witch woman, and the cedar would be carried out as they were and the sticks of the booths used to make them into a booth in the bottom of the creek. While the Bear ceremony was going on, some men had been delegated to find a suitable place for this.

42

DISMANTLING THE CEREMONIAL DOCTOR LODGE

000

Ceremonial Objects Are Dismantled—All Things Carried to Creek—Serpent Placed in Water within Curved Fence—an Additional Hypnotic Contest—a Banquet Given—the Final Details Settled

756 THE FINAL PHASE of the Doctor Lodge was the removal of the figures
796 they had built and the animal booths. All these things had to be deposited
778 at the bottom of Beaver Creek in an appropriate order and fastened in
532 place. It took about a hundred people, including the sixty doctors, to do
this work. For the final banquet that they would share, they used six or seven containers of dried buffalo meat and an equal number of buckets of corn.

The night before, while the Bear ceremonial had been going on, a number of men were sent to choose the place in Beaver Creek where they would set up their things.

756 During the ceremony and as the figures were being carried out, people
796 offered them gifts. These were placed in the water with the figures.
778 Once, while the performance was going on, a woman made up her mind
431 to give a gift to the serpent on behalf of her son. She took a piece of calico
532 and as she entered the lodge, opened up the cloth and dragged it across the
floor, placing it on the inside of the serpent's neck. The errand man came over and took the calico to one of the four doctors at the west. The doctor set the material aside and came directly to where the woman was standing, walking along the outside of the serpent and jumping over it to where the woman was standing. Now he said, "You have a boy. Maybe someday he will grow up to be a big man and everybody will notice him." The woman left and the doctor returned to his seat.

When the doctors got in that morning, they detached the figures so that 756
they could be carried to the water. The serpent went first. It was simply 796
pegged to the ground and was freed by pulling up the pegs. The men 778
ranged themselves along both sides of the 60-foot length—the head being 532
pointed conveniently southeast toward the exit. The men waited, ready to lift it up when the signal was given. The witch woman was lifted up and set down on a spread of tanned hide so that they could carry her out on it. The turtle that had been modeled on the fireplace, was crumbled up and also placed on a skin spread.

It took a lot of men to carry out the cedar gently, as it was loaded with 756
gifts that had been placed on it when it was first brought into the lodge. 796
The birds and cutouts suspended from the rafters were left there, because 778
they did not belong in the water. After everything else had been de- [431]
tached, the sticks of the animal booths had to be uprooted, and any woman that wanted to help would carry these things out.

Now the process got under way with the four main doctors leading. Most of the men were dressed only in their breechcloths, although some doctors were foolish enough to wear their buffalo robes and to carry their eagle-wing fans despite the strenuous work they had to do. They made two stops along the way to rest—one about halfway toward their destination and then another one further along. The four doctors had gone ahead and were already in the water, building, out of sticks from the doctor booths standing upright in the bed of the creek, a kind of curved fence open at the east. This was the beginning of a whole structure that would enclose all the objects.

As the serpent lay along the shore waiting to be deposited in the water, 756
people came up and made offerings to it. One person who hoped for long 796
life said, "I give you this. I hope to see you this way a year from now." 778
A mother, giving a gift on behalf of her son said, "I hope to see my boy 532
grow up and be a great man." A mother hoped her two daughters would
grow up to be married and have many children. Each girl carried a gift of [431]
calico to give and the mother said, "You, serpent, are going to rest here under the water. I want my children to grow up and have many children when they get married." Some people thought the serpent should be identified as a whale and some as an alligator. The latter seems the more likely from the word for it, "dry-tongue." The forked tail somewhat interferes with this latter identification. In this instance the mother was thinking of the fecundity of fish who have many eggs which hatch in large numbers.

Now they placed the serpent in the water, its head resting inside the curved fence the doctors had prepared. The head was pointing upstream (westward) the direction in which all the fish swim. The body extended eastward or downstream. Everyone got into the water and pegged the ser- [431]
pent and its various gifts to the bed of the stream. All the gifts of goods—

756 796 [778] [532] calico, shawls, and blankets—were also fastened to the bottom. The whole thing was encased in a wicker frame of willows under the water. The stakes from the doctor booths were stuck all along the sides of the serpent and bent over across it and interlaced at the top.

[431] Now that the objects were all in the water, the people stepped aside to permit the doctors to engage in one more hypnotic contest. One after the other, as they stood by the water, they caused one another to fall in.

756 796 574 Then the whole group of doctors and any others who had given them assistance repaired to the Doctor Lodge for the banquet. The lodge was empty and they could make a big circle sitting close to the outside walls. The groups of doctors were ranged in from the west. Beyond them along the sides were the general public who had helped them. And last of all to the east were the chiefs, two each from the four Skidi villages. Furthest toward the door of the guests, were two old men, That-Chief at the southeast and Good Land at the northeast. Finally there was one errand man stationed at each side of the entrance. As they were assembled there, some of the people expressed regret that the whole thing was over, for they had had such a good time.

It took eight people to prepare and serve the meal including the two regular errand men. Each of these was provided with an assistant to do the cooking and serving. They had to borrow two of the largest brass kettles they could get, and after they got the water they put in the meat and set them to boil, one at the northeast and one at the southeast of the fire. While the meat was cooking, the donated corn was served after the appropriate offerings had been made, then soup and then the meat. Extra large pieces were set aside for the guests of honor and one for "the house" —that is, for Sitting Hawk's wife to whom the lodge belonged.

[521] During the meal the doctors made conversation about the happenings of the morning—about what had occurred at the river, and so forth. Then Big Doctor made his closing speech, addressing them all. He said, "Now young doctors, doctors, and all members of the Doctor Lodge and the animals that we have imitated here, and you chiefs sitting here watching over your people, and Heaven that has taken pity on us so that we could successfully complete our performance, and you head doctors here who have helped carry out our performance, now we have had our feast—now the Doctor Lodge is over."

A number of business details remained to be attended to. The head doctors had to apportion the meat that they had kept for the final arrangements. The owners of the house would have to fill in all the holes and set up the beds and then entertain the members of the families among whom they had been staying while the lodge was in session. They would need a quantity of dried meat for this. What was left would be divided

1: Fletcher
533

[Materials on music connected with the Hako ceremony will be found in category 116, pp. 18-364.]

668 seen them dancing in a circle.[1] Nothing authentic and substantiated
177 reached the tribe, however, until the fall of 1891[2] when Frank
White came home to the Pawnee after his stay with the Wichita.

The Pawnee tell of White's learning the Ghost Dance among the southern tribes in the following way:

"One time Frank White went over to the Comanche, who were
668 dancing the Ghost Dance. He went inside and sat down on the
177 north side. He ate peyote, a great deal, until he was nearly over-
796 come. He bent his head and covered his eyes. He was a good-
looking man who used to wear decorative red twine over his brow.
[276 The Comanche did not know him, and the next morning they asked
him who he was, and he said he was a Pawnee. Then he left them
301] and went to the Wichita. He ate peyote there, and watched them
dance the Ghost Dance and learned it. Then he came home and
brought it to the South Bands. He told them what he had learned."

The period during which Frank White studied the Ghost Dance
668 among the Comanche and the Wichita was in the year following
177 the great Ghost Dance of the fall of 1890, led by Sitting-Bull.
The forms of leadership and organization he learned were those
preached by Sitting-Bull, and initiated by him personally among
the Caddo and Wichita.

Murie has spoken of White's experiences in the south. "Frank
White... joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream,
[787] the tree, the Messiah and then the village of people.[3] He also saw
them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in
● [533 Pawnee. The first song was as follows[4]:
539]

we	*rihi*	*irasi·ra*
now	place where	yonder you come

wetikuwatu	*rawahe*
now I long for	the {village region

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 630—632 recounts a long narrative of the story which was supposed to have reached the Pawnee in 1890.

[2] Murie, Societies, p. 633, says "in the fall of 1892." This is a misprint
[114] or a slip on Murie's part. In the account which follows Murie describes events of a winter and summer which intervene between White's return to the Pawnee and his arrest; White was arrested in 1892. Furthermore, we can date the time White left the Wichita by the fact that he left before the Arapaho delegation arrived in the fall of 1891 with the message from Wovoka, which, in spite of the objections of Sitting-Bull, necessitated a change in the form of the Ghost Dancing.

[3] Murie is doubtless referring here to the narrative of Wovoka's vision as known to the Pawnee which he gives, pp. 630—632.

[4] The form I quote here is a retranscription and retranslation of Murie's printed version, written by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

668

we	*rįhi*	*irasi·ra*		177
a	*tsiksu*	*wétatŭ·tu*	*hi i*	[533
and	mind spirit	now I do		539]

The place whence you come.
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come.
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxkiˣ. When he returned home to the Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours." 668 177 792 794

When Frank White instituted regular dances, these were among the South Bands; the Skiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits took possession of them and fell. White had great power over them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change. [152 786]

Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna- 668 177 [792] 796 794 [302]

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

668 mouthpiece upward and bowl inward toward the body, he takes
782 it in his left hand and runs his right hand up it from bowl to mouth-
796 piece, opening the palm upward and outward toward heaven, then
places the hand on the right side of his head and runs his palm down
276 the head and side and leg to the instep which is pressed against the ground. This motion is then made with the left hand for the left side etc. while the right hand holds the pipe, and repeated once again with the right and once again with the left, making four motions. Then the smoker turns and returns the pipe to another chief in the line of men, who receives it with an *arm blessing*.[1] When the offerings have been completed, the pipes are taken inside the tipi and replaced on the altar-space at the west.

Now the arc-like line at the west closes around the clearing to
● [533 form a circle of dancers, and women who have not up to this point
participated join the circle. They may, however, sing two songs
535] before forming a circle of dancers, and these are special ghost-dance songs which are never danced to. Then the dancing begins from the east, facing west, circling clockwise.

668 Before describing the movements of the dancers, attention must
782 be called to the form of the smoke offering which would be made
if the dance were to begin in the morning.

796 If the dancing is to begin with a smoke-offering in the morning
276 the orientations for the smoke would be reversed. That is, the
823 arc-line of leaders and men would form around White on the west, facing east; the smoker would begin all his circuits from the west, and the motions with the pipe which he made slantwise to the west, while he stood at the east side of the clearing and faced west, would become motions slantwise to the east which he would make standing at the west of the clearing and facing east. Finally the pipes would be handed along the line of leaders and men from south to north, instead of from north to south.

This shift of direction also changes the position for starting the dance, which is now at the point directly west, facing east. Here White stands and leads, and the circle proceeds clockwise. This is the generic position for beginning Ghost Dancing and singing, and even if the evening orientations are followed, only the first song begins at the east facing west; it then ends at the west, facing east, and all subsequent songs begin at the west.

It will be seen at once that the whole smoking ritual involves two basic orientation concepts: upward and either slantwise to the west or slantwise to the east. The upward offering is to Tirawahat[a] or the expanse of the heavens; the other is to the sun, according to

---

[1] See chapter 8, p. 200.

that tribe were present among the Pawnee when the Skiri Brother- 668
hoods were conceived; the Wichita seem to have brought to the 796
Pawnee the change to a Ghost Dance every six weeks for four
nights, continuing the last night until the dawn of the fifth day. 177
This they had adopted in accordance with the change among the 182
Cheyenne, Arapaho, Caddo and Wichita, after the message from
the Messiah was received. At the same time, a conflict of doctrine
over the teachings of White, which culminated in a new conception
of the significance of the Ghost Dance brought directly from the
major Arapaho prophets by Pawnee delegations, seems to have
contributed to the release of the Pawnee Ghost Dance from White's
exclusive control. This doctrinal change occurred before Frank
White's death in 1893.

In the early days after the dancing for the day was over, the people as a whole broke apart and went home, or went to their own tipis. But White, his seven co-leaders, and some of the chiefs would reenter the leading tipi. There they were served food. Before eating, a simple corn offering was made; corn was offered to Tirawahat^a and placed on the ground; then motions of blessing were made with the horn spoon over the altar objects.

After this feast, someone would begin to talk about his trance
experiences. He would tell what he saw, and then sing songs which
he had learned in his trance. In this way songs were added to the [533]
repertoire, and gradually the Wichita and Arapaho songs became
only a minor phase (save for the closing song) of the Pawnee
Ghost Dance songs.

CONFLICT OF DOCTRINE; REORGANIZATION OF CEREMONY

According to the conception of the Ghost Dance which Frank 668
White brought among the Pawnee, Frank White himself was the 796
sole authentic prophet of the dance and doctrine, and it was
necessary for all sanctions to come through Frank White as inter- 792
mediary. Those who had visions in trances reported the content
and character to White, and in terms of his interpretation and
permission made use of the vision. Feathers to wear in the hair,
paints for the face, special symbolisms of dress, and the like, were
possible only with White's approval. If a dancer wished to use
a face painting, in accordance with his trance experiences, he had [43]
first to go to White and pay him for the privilege, or in any case,
to offer him gifts. Individuals who had learned about the Ghost
Dance in visions, and felt authorized to put on a dance, could do so
only after conferring with White. He would teach the visionary

668 of Pawnee forms, or whether the Wichita taught the Pawnee
177 directly, the four-day ceremony was the formal Ghost Dance
114 among the Pawnee by 1895.

This regular Ghost Dance of the Pawnee was arranged to last
668 four days. It began the evening of one day, or the late afternoon.
Among the South Bands, all arose early in the morning, and faced
184 the sun for a brief period, (during which the smoke offering would
796 be made if the dance was to begin that day); but they did not dance.
Then in the afternoon the people danced from three to midnight.
786 The Skiri say that in their band there was a brief period of dancing
each morning, as well as a longer period of dancing through the
afternoon and evening. Both bands continued the fourth night until
the dawn of the fifth day, bathed and dispersed.

As each song was sung, the circle of dancers, holding hands, moved clockwise through one complete circuit, returning to the original starting point. This is determined by the main singer's position: he begins at the west and finishes at the west (except for the first afternoon song, as above). During the dancing period of the day, the dancers could carry out as many songs as they wished; there was no special number. The singing was initiated and led by the seven crow-feathered singers, and the others joined in. While the dancing went on, some "hypnotizers" would dance inside the circle directly in front of individuals they wished to throw into a trance, using feathers or other objects to focus and fix the eyesight of the subject, thus transfixing them. Usually the subject fell when he or she was touched with the object used. When individuals fell into a trance, they were laid down and the others continued to dance.

668 In these trances, the visionaries followed a general pattern. In
one way or another the subject was guided to the other world,
787 where all the deceased Pawnee were living together in the old way.
796 There some special phase of the life would imprint itself upon the
subject's mind, the playing of games, the hunting of buffalo, war
societies and dances, and the like. When the subject awoke, such
aspects of the trance vision, along with the bird or messenger who
had guided the individual to the beyond, would become the subjects of songs, costuming, and paraphernalia.

The closing song was carried out in a special way. It is the
668 special closing song of all Ghost Dances. As sung to conclude the
796 occasion, it is repeated six times as follows:

1. The leader remains stationary at the west facing east, and
●533 leads the singing of the song once; all the dancers keep their places.

2. The leader dances from west to north, singing the song, and

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

stops at the north facing south; the rest of the circle dance through 668
an equivalent part of the circuit. 796

3. The leader repeats the song, while the whole circle of dancers 533
moves through another quadrant, the leader finishing at the east, facing west.

4. A third quadrant is similarly completed with the leader at the south facing north.

5. The fourth quadrant is completed when the leader is once more in his original position at the west facing east.

6. All now step back a few paces, widening the circle, and as they sing the circle closes in again. Throughout this singing the leader maintains his orientation at the west, and each dancer his or her relative position in the circle. Now, as the song finishes with the circle narrowed to its original dimensions, all break their handclasps, and shake off the blankets they wear, and the dance is over. The closing in of the circle during this last song signifies the coming together of the people, and the shaking out of the blankets expresses their desire to shake off them the bad ways, the new ways, the white man's ways.

The closing song is the Arapaho song as given by Mooney[1]. [177]

FIRST FORMS OF THE SKIRI GHOST DANCE

792

As we have seen, Frank White brought the Ghost Dance to the 668
South Bands primarily, being himself a Kitkahaxki^x. When a Skiri 177
wished to hold a dance among the Skiri proper, he was in the same position as any individual among the South Bands who felt he had the right to do so. The Skiri had to get sanction from White, and [424]
to invite White and his leaders to come over to initiate and lead the dancing.

After the visit of the five Pawnee to Sitting-Bull, the Arapaho, a change came over the Pawnee attitude toward the general Ghost Dance doctrine. The whole religious movement was liberated from the domination of White. An individual's own conscience and experience was the individual's guide to what he could and could not do, to what sanctions he had obtained supernaturally. It became unnecessary to pay White for rights, and the only checks upon the number of prophets who began to appear among the Pawnee with messages from the deceased were the natural ones: the force of character and the temperament of the claimant: the

---

[1] Mooney, pp. 1011—1012, no. 73. Note that this song was used as the closing song after the return of the delegation of Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne in the fall of 1891.

the smoke offering. Those who had crow or eagle feathers from 184
the Ghost Dance wore them, and usually a group of seven singers 668
led the singing. These were men who knew the Ghost Dance songs. 796
But at first there was no official organization of singers, policemen
and the like. Each occasion was organized in the usual patterns,
according to immediate needs. The first phase of the organization
of Skiri Ghost Dances concerns the official constitution of a fixed
group of singers, the Seven Eagle Brothers.

THE SEVEN EAGLE BROTHERS

As with many cultural formalizations, the Seven Eagle Brothers 668
were not institutionalized by revolutionary act or decree, but by 796
gradual changes. There were first of all a great many people who
considered themselves "eagles" and a great many who considered 533
themselves "crows". Among the Skiri there were in each of these
classes men who were gifted as singers and leaders, whose knowledge
of the ways of the Ghost Dance had grown through continuous and
regular experience and participation. Seven singers were the number
usually employed, following White's pattern, and by habitual
practice there was general acceptance of certain men as naturally
more proficient for the function. In other words the men who were
chosen as the official Seven Eagle Brothers were probably seven
main singers for the Skiri by custom and practice before the group
was institutionalized as a brotherhood.

Knifechief is recalled as the man who first expressed the general attitude toward these seven men. At a hand game he selected them formally to be the main singers. Knifechief went to the place each one occupied in the hand game circle and told him to rise and follow him. Then he led the selected man around a circuit of the fireplace, and seated him in his new position in a row on the south side toward the west. The seven in their order were, according to Ezra Tilden[1]: Sam Cover, Emmett Pierson, Walter Keys (the senior), Tom Yellowhorse, Ezra Tilden, Leadingfox, and Harry Sergeant. These seven, when they were seated in a row on the south side, led the singing for the hand game.

Mrs. Washington was officially responsible for the organization of these seven as the Seven Eagle Brothers of the Skiri Ghost Dance. The first occasion on which Mrs. Washington managed a large Ghost Dance among the Skiri was one which occurred when many Wichita had come to visit the Pawnee; and it said by some

---

[1] Ezra Tilden and Tom Yellowhorse are the only ones of the seven still living.

668 that a suggestion of the Wichita was in part responsible for Mrs.
796 Washington's determination to organize the Ghost-Dancing with
regular singers while the Wichita were present.

533 Frank White died in 1893, and he is known to have been alive at the time Mrs. Washington inaugurated these developments, which places the time of the first Seven Eagle Brothers as sometime in late 1892 or early 1893.

As one informant describes Mrs. Washington's activities: "When
668 they used to dance among the South Bands, all would go there,
792 and while the dancing went on, old Mrs. Washington fell in a trance.
796 She found out something about the Seven Brothers, but not
everything right away. Afterwards, every time she fell she would
787 see something about the Seven Brothers.[1] The spirit told her to go ahead and put up the Seven Brothers. She used to have her own cattle. Once when they came home from the dancing, she was told that when she got home she should put up the Seven Brothers at a dance. So she killed her own beef, and put up the dance, and they told her how to go, everything, the smoke and all."

Mrs. Washington put up a special feast. She asked the chiefs and these seven men to be present, as well as others. Each of the seven sat on the south side with the eagle feather given him by Knifechief stuck into the ground before him. Along the north side were congregated the "crow" people, including those who played as "crows" in the hand games, as well as the men who later were organized into the Seven Crows; while along the south side the "eagle" people sat. As yet, however, there was no "crow" organization: the "crows" were merely an amorphous group who played the hand game together, and who had this affiliation because of Ghost Dance experiences.

Mrs. Washington stood at the doorway of the tipi. Up to this time she had been learning. Now she spoke. "Now, I want to tell you what I have in mind. We are going to have a Ghost Dance. A spirit told me to do it. I am going to do it today. These Seven Brothers are going to take the lead for us, and we're going to call them Fathers. Now I want you chiefs to decide when we should begin the dance."

Then the chiefs talked together and decided and one announced,
527 "Let us move the camp and all come together on the third day."
574 This inaugural feast was not a ceremonial affair. After the decision of the chiefs was announced all those present partook of the feast provided by Mrs. Washington; this concluded the occasion

---

[114] [1] This "serial story" form of learning in visions is the sort of thing about Mrs. Washington's claims that Carrion resented; see above.

184

771
778 South Bands there are ancient bundles which each possess a group of functions that among the Skiri are differentiated and associated with separate bundles.

668 After the smoke offering, Sam Cover led the Seven Brothers in
796 singing one or two Ghost Dance songs, without any dancing. Then
the line closed around the clearing to form a circle of dancers,
782 women came to join in, and the regular dancing began. Usually
[533] on a first evening of Ghost Dancing, only ten or twenty songs were sung. After the closing song, the general public would break up, each group of people returning to the family tipi. The Seven Brothers, the four chiefs who smoked, other chiefs, Mrs. Goodeagle, Mrs. Cover, Mrs. Washington, and some individuals who were special leaders, gathered in the main tipi of the dance. Here two old men acted as tarutsius, fire-tenders and servers. Food was brought in and set out in buckets at the east of the tipi near the door. Sam Cover then made an offering with corn before the group ate. It was a simple offering: He took some of the corn in his hands, stood behind the collected food and made inclusive arm motions (to indicate that this food was offered on behalf of all the food being partaken of), then came clockwise to the west of the fireplace where he raised the corn aloft to heaven and then placed it on the ground before him. He pressed it into the ground, rubbed his hands together and made four motions upward to heaven with both hands, touching his fingers to the corn on the ground before each motion. Then he made four similar motions towards the earth; blessed himself, walked through a circuit to his own place on the south, and sat down. All present said "Nawa" and then the
food was served. The tarutsius must serve the food in a special
[554] order: first the chiefs at the west (the four smokers), then the seven brothers on the south, then old men who are seated on both sides of the entrance-way at the east, then all others present, serving them from west to east down both sides of the tipi.[1]

At this gathering the order and time of the events of the next
668 morning were announced.

796 The next morning dancing began before sunrise. Two or three of the Seven Brothers went out onto the dance grounds, stood at the west facing east, and sang several Ghost Dance songs. As the people awoke and heard these they came out hurriedly to join in. As soon as four or five came, including women, all began to dance around clockwise. Gradually as the people gathered, the circle expanded. An old man walked around crying out to the people

---

[1] There is for every Pawnee ceremony an *order* in which those present are served; see chapter 8, pp. 220—229.

668 Mark Evarts led several times, and says that whenever he had
796 the lead he had good luck. One time a baby was born while the
dance was in progress—that was good luck. Tobacco was being
777 ceremonially prepared to be handed to Mark for making a smoke
offering. While they were praying that good luck might go with
[276 the tobacco, a grandchild of Linford Smith's was born. So all
782] present thanked God, and hoped it would be that way throughout
the dancing.

While these developments were taking place among the Skiri,
[184] the Ghost Dancing of the South Bands continued to follow the
formal arrangements which had been instituted by Frank White.
As members of the organization of seven singers which had been
developed by White died, new members were selected to take their
places. The smoke offering was not altered.

668 Murie, in discussing Pawnee ceremonial Ghost Dance forms,
states[1]:

796 "In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take
[484] instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they
learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the cere-
[346] monies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set
up near the center of the camp as the temple... The modern Ghost
Dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off
center toward the north or south side according to the place of the
host..."

The arrangement of which Murie speaks, in terms of which the leading tent was on the north or south according to the place of the host, refers to Ghost Dance hand games, rather than Ghost Dances proper: for in the hand games, as will be described below, one side (either north or south, viz., either Crow or Eagle) is "host" and in charge.

GHOST DANCE SONGS[2]

796 The songs "dreamed" or secured in visions in the Ghost Dance
ranged over all the subjects that could naturally come to mind.
● 533 Some emphasized aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine, viz., that
in the other world all was as in former days, that the Christ was

---

affair, viz., supply the bulk of the meat and other food necessary, as well as the method of selecting one man to be in charge, are general Pawnee patterns.

[1] Murie, p. 636.

[2] The song texts of this section have been retranscribed and retranslated from the Densmore versions by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

coming, that there would be a reunion with the departed, that a great change was coming. Others embodied the memory of societies of former days, the gift of paraphernalia, or of hand games. No attempt has been made to transcribe songs for this study; a few representative songs are available from Densmore and Murie. 796 533

Frank White's first Ghost Dance song has already been given. The free rendering: 796

533
539

"The place whence you come
Now I am longing for.

"The place whence you come
Now I am ever-mindful of."

refers to the land of the departed from which a messenger came in White's vision. [787]

A song of Roaming Chief recorded by Densmore from the version of Effie Blaine, reports a Ghost Dance trance vision of Roaming Chief.[1] The reference is to the coming of Christ, and the feeling among the people that all was to be well. [177]

ra a (hi i i a) he i ra a (hi i i a)
he comes yonder he comes!

he ra (i hi i a) he ra (a e ee)
he comes! he comes!

heru (u u) kitu tixwakiā·hu
then all they are saying

rihi weturahe
here now it is good!

ra a (hi i) i ra a (hi i i a)
he comes yonder he comes

herā (i) hera hera
he comes! he comes! he comes!

He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming!
And so all the people say
All is well here now.
He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming! He is coming!

---

[1] Densmore, Pawnee Music, song no. 66, p. 92. "A Ghost Dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he cried as he sang this

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 533 539 A song recorded by Effie Blane[1] reports a vision of a boy crying for his mother, and asking from the depths of his sorrow, if his mother is really to return to him:

piraski *rawakukawitiku*
boy crying sits down
piraski *rawakukawitiku*
atira *kawe rá̱à·hu*[2] *atira kawe rá̱à·hu*
mother is she coming now, mother is she coming now?
tiratpá̱ri *tiratpá̱ri*
here I roam here I roam.

A little boy is sitting crying,
A little boy is sitting crying,
"Is mother coming now?
Is mother coming now?
Here I wander about, here I wander about."

Two songs recorded by Effie Blane[3] refer to the Crow as the messenger from the beyond. One, without Pawnee text, is given in free translation by Densmore as:

"The crow, we see his likeness moving inside the circle of dancers."

The other song is given in full:

ka·ka *ti̱wa·ku* *ka·ka* *ti̱wa·ku*
Crow he says crow he says,
wétatù·ta *(tu)* *tátù·ta*
now I do I do
atira *t̲rira·a* *atira* *t̲rira·a*
Mother (Moon), whence she comes Mother (Moon) whence she comes

The crow is calling, the crow is calling,
"Now I am active, I am active
In the place whence Mother Moon comes, in the place whence Mother Moon comes."

---

song.' It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game." (p. 91). The song would not be sung to hand game play, but in the Ghost Dance intervals.

[114]

[1] Densmore, p. 76, no. 47. The explanation which precedes this song in Densmore's account is misconceived, and may refer to another song; a piraski is a boy up to the age of puberty.

[2] This is not the interrogative used in ordinary speech or in text material. I am thus unable to control the form of the question grammatically, but since the substance of the song calls for an interrogative I leave it as it stands and have translated it in that way. The complex *we rá̱à·hu* would be the declarative form, "now she is coming." G. Weltfish.

[3] Densmore, nos. 50, 51; pp. 79—80.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The song embodies the relationship of the crow to the Moon 796
from which the bird's power comes, and indicates also that the 533 ●
Moon is the night overseer of things on earth, reporting them in 539
the beyond. The crow is telling the people on earth of the activities in the land of the departed.

The song was based on a Ghost Dance vision of Effie Blane herself. Used at a hand game it was probably not sung to the play of the game.

Several songs reflect the vision of old societies, and their subsequent revival (See Chapter III—Revivals of Societies).

A song recorded by Wichita Blane[1] reports a vision in which [177
Christ gave the Young Dog Dance society pipe (probably) to the 787]
visionary:

we ra a (i ya)
now he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (hi a)
See! yonder he comes See! yonder he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (ho hi a)

he tiweri̯haktsa
(Emphasis) here now it stick lies!

atias pira̯u kura (u)
father child his

kura̯ha·kuˣ tikuha·ku'
his own stick he to me stick gives

i·ra a
Yonder he comes.

Now he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming.
This stick that is lying here,
The son of the father
His own stick he gave to me.
Yonder he is coming.

A song recorded by Effie Blane belonged to Running Scout and referred (probably) to the revival of the Wolf Society. Of this song, Densmore writes: Running Scout "was very religious and [787]
remained in a Ghost Dance trance for several days. His friends

---

[1] Densmore, no. 59, p. 86.

796 533 539 thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that he had been to the Messiah who told him to 'go to the village.' 787 Following this instruction, he saw many men dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypnotizing their fellow dancers. 237 For this reason Running Scout always wore a fox skin in the Ghost Dance. 293 The skin was not made into a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder. 198 He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing."[1]

1— *ṭrihe we tsarat*
so here now stop!
1— ''
1— ''

2— *kiwaku riraraxra*
fox (es) they have them

1— *ṭrihe we tsarat*
so here now stop!
1— ''

Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
They are holding fox skins
Here now you must stop!
Here non you must stop!

Densmore in one case records a free translation of a song without text[2]:

"The yellow star has noticed me,
Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather.
That yellow star."

787 The reference is apparently to one of the old star powers and reflects the gift of an ornament of "power" in a Ghost Dance vision.

727 A song without texts used at victory dances was "'in the style of the Lance dance songs'... The words mean, 'They are coming yonder, the men who belong to the Lance Society (Tirupa)[3].'" The reference here is to the resurrection of the membership of the old Fighting Lance Society (tirupahe), and to the revival which took place in the Ghost Dance years.[4]

---

[1] Densmore, pp. 84—85, no. 58.
[2] Densmore, p. 84, no. 57.
[3] Densmore, p. 68.
[4] See Chapter III, Revivals of Societies, pp. 112—115.

feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her 178
face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff 575
who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one Horn 796
Dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals.
The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat 782
and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this
woman." (1914).

The Horse Society (raris arusa) was revived early, probably by
Frank Leader. Murie describes at length a ceremony for renewing
the society lances held May 23, 1902.[1] The paraphernalia included 293
two lances, four rattles, four hand drums, and a red pipestone bowl 778
with tubular dogwood stem, the stem incised with black bands to 276
resemble trachea markings.[2]

Of certain societies we cannot be sure that the revival was extensive. All the societies mentioned were used as sources for the content of Ghost Dance visions, and the visionaries made facsimiles of old society objects which they carried in the dance. When the visions were as well bestowals of special rituals, such as hand games, the society objects became part of the bundle and altar. The Crow Lance Society (hatuxka) was revived in this way by Mark Rudder; a lance was placed at the altar, and a brief dance led by Rudder opened the game occasion (See Chapter X). The Society of Crows (raris kaka), a derivative of the hatuxka of aboriginal times, was independently revived by George Beaver, and it is probable that paraphernalia made by him were integrated with his game set.[3] Fancy Eagle is credited with the making of a hand drum which was associated with the old Fighting Lances (tirupahe[4]) and used in hand games.

In addition to the use of paraphernalia, songs of these revived 533
societies were used in the intervals of the hand game ceremonies. It
is also probable that the use of drums in the hand game ceremonies
was based on old society forms.

---

[1] Murie, Societies 561ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 567, p. 566 fig. 5. Two hand drums in the Field Museum (F M 79368—1,2) are probably those of Leader; the face bears in red a representation of the raris arusa sheathed lance with its sets of fringed feathers.

[3] F M 73962 is the revival lance; it is not encased in buckskin. F M 79364 and 79365 are hand drums decorated with Ghost Dance symbols, which are said to have been used for the raris kaka by Beaver.

[4] F M 71934. Reference is made by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 68 to a song which apparently concerns the revival of this society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

525 across the arena to two players of his side, and the opposing guesser
668 must now come across to try to find them.

2) The guesser is completely unsuccessful if his guess has indicated the two empty hands. In this case the players holding the counters score two points for their side, which are recorded by the keeper of the tally sticks for that side. Usually the guesser of the side in possession of the counters stands near the play, and, otherwise inactive, he indicates to the tallyer at the head end whether one or two points have been scored by holding up his right hand with index finger erect, or with index and third finger erect. In the excitement of play, other players of the side scoring points who are close to the play usually also indicate to the tallyer what has happened, and many shout "asku", one, or "pitku", two, as well. If the side holding the counters scores two points, the same two players conceal the counters again, and the guesser of the opposing side must try his luck again.

3) The third possibility is that the guesser locates one counter, and misses the other. In this case the side holding the counters scores one point (for the one not found). Then the successful player whose counter was not indicated hides again, while the unsuccessful player awaits the outcome. The guesser now has only to indicate which hand the one counter is concealed in, and has a one out of two chance. If he finds this one counter, he has now won both for his own side, and takes them across the arena to two players of his side. No further points are scored. If, on the other hand, the guesser fails to find this single counter in play, the side holding the counters scores another single point. Now both players (the same two) hide again, including the one who lost the first time, and the other who has twice scored single points. With both hiding again the guesser must try his luck once more with all the possibilities open.

525 *The Musical Accompaniment:* Besides the special songs which
● 533 are sung before the game proper begins, and the songs sung in the
668 intervals between the games, hand game songs are sung to the actual play of the game. The side holding and hiding the counters sings continuously while the counters remain in their possession. As soon as the guesser has won both, the song ceases abruptly, while the opposing side begins as abruptly to sing. In the old Pawnee hand game the clapping of hands was the only instrumental accompaniment. In the Ghost Dance hand games, drums are used. The songs in the intervals are sung by the side which has just won the game.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

a game. To use an analogy, one of these games is like a "rubber" 525
in bridge. In the old game, such "rubber" games are played until 668
the possessions that one side can bet are exhausted, or until, because it is late, all agree to stop. In the Ghost Dance games, special arrangements of the number of "rubber" games to be played are made beforehand. Some of the Ghost Dance hand games have a fixed number of games to be played, usually seven, and regardless of the final outcome, viz., whether one side has won four, the other three, or one side has won all seven, the usual custom is to cease playing when the seven games have been finished. Other Ghost Dance hand games have variant methods which are optional, such as to play "even-up" a certain number, which means that one side must win so many *more* games than the other. [533

When one game has been won, there is an interval during which 535]
dancing and singing takes place, led by the winning side.

After this a second game begins. For this second game, the guesser of the winning side retains his office, while the guesser of the losing side, by giving another player of his side the counter, inducts him into office as guesser for the side. So that in *putting the counters in play* for a second or later game, there will always be one guesser who participated in the previous game—the guesser of the side which has won—and one new guesser for the other side.

After the counters have been put in play in a second game or later, the players to whom they are first given by the guesser who wins both, are, in the Ghost Dance hand games, those whose turn it is to play.

Taking Turns to Play: In the old games there is essentially no formal method of taking turns. As will be detailed below, the main object being to win actual stakes which are valuable, the counters are given to hide to players who are thought to be lucky or especially able in deceiving the guesser. These will be any two chosen by the guesser, regardless of what positions they are seated in. That is, the individuals may be next each other, or widely separated in the row of players. But, after such individuals have had a turn, and have lost the counters, the custom would be for the guesser, when he had rewon the counters from players of the opposing side, to give them to hide to two other players of his side.

In the Ghost Dance hand games the whole routine is formalized. For each hand game there is an order in which the players seated around the arena take turns. This order may or may not differ from one game to another. The most general form is for the players to take turns as they are seated from the head end to the doorway.

525 857 they would go off somewhat from the village and choose sides. Someone of them would find sticks and break up eight sticks to make a tally set, and would make two little rings of willow to use as the counters to hide. Some of the boys would steal wood from the woodpiles in the lodges or around the tipis, and build a fire where the boys had decided to play.

When they had the place ready and the fire going, each boy would make up his own mind which side he would be on, so long as the division came out evenly; and each side selected its own leader. To the boys it made no difference what the orientation of their arrangements were; if the sides were north of the fire and south of the fire, or east of the fire and west of it, made little difference to them. Usually they had the scorekeepers at the west, in imitation of their elders. The boys would bet anything they had, such as things they wore, betting on the outcome of the individual games, and would go on playing games as long as a losing side had anything they could put up against the winnings of their opponents. They picked their guessers and decided for themselves which side should guess first. In the play of the game, they followed out the game as given above, playing it and scoring it the usual way. They kept no order in giving the willow rings to players to hide, giving them as much as possible to boys who were known to be good hiders and quick and adept at deception. Their principal object was to win the game, on the outcome of which they had wagered shirts, rings and other things that could not well be spared.

525 533 857 The boys sang songs to the play of the game, and accompanied the singing with hand-clapping. The side which held the willow-rings did the singing and hand-clapping, using it to confuse the guesser. The songs were boys' songs essentially, that they had made up at one time or another, or that they had learned from other boys, although when possible they learned and used adult songs. They were often coarse and always more or less funny. Such refrains as the following are typical:

"My grandmother's out of joint" etc. (referring to her knee).

"My grandmother fell—she raised a cloud of dust", etc.

[831] "Hurry up grandma and come, come quick we want to win."

[603] "The balls swing round, swing round," etc. (referring to the testicles).

The songs indicate the license in speech and action between boys and their grandmothers, which accurately reflects the family conditions.

525 857 The boys who held the willow-rings to hide would motion with their hands back and forth; they made efforts to deceive as well

525 "All right now, let's go ahead." Knifechief gets up and gives
619 one bone to a Skiri man; the Kitkahaxkiˣ leader rises and gives
one to a Kitkahaxkiˣ man. In this way the two are selected as
guessers for their respective sides.

Now all the players begin to sing and yell. The two guessers are on their feet facing each other. The Skiri hides the bone first, the Kitkahaxkiˣ must guess first. The one who wins them gives them out to hide to any two players on his side regardless of where they sit. He picks them because they are clever at hiding the bones, at deceiving the guessers, at confusing them by shifting the bone almost invisibly from one hand to another. The guesser watches closely. He notes the gestures with the hands and arms, the body movements; he watches eyes for a hint.

As soon as one guesser has won the two bones he takes them to
his side of the fire to two players. His opponent crosses into enemy
territory to follow the trail and find them. His side is quiet now,
[516 while the players of the side hiding the bones are all singing and
825] clapping hands. Some are yelling to frighten the guesser. Others
make gestures to confuse him. The hiders imitate some animal in
their body movements and the positions of their clenched hands.

[201 He wins them back. At once his side begins to yell with their
hands over their mouths, he-e-e-e- in a high loud voice. Then they
533] begin to sing. Old hand game songs, songs caricaturing things
and people, funny songs, coarse songs.

To follow the trail of the bones when they are won and carried
across to the other side is to trail the enemy. The guesser searches
for tracks. A player on the hiding side goes to the fire for handfuls
[789] of cold ashes from the fire's edge. He sprinkles it like falling snow.
He calls aloud. "The snow covers up the tracks now, you cannot
see them."

Thus after an enemy raid in late fall when men started after the retreating warparty to regain captured horses the falling snow obliterated the trail. To the Pawnee the little dramatic act has similar power to obliterate the unseen trail of the bones from hand to hand, to blind the guesser. The guesser shields his eyes with his hand and peers through the falling ashes to see the tracks.

In time to the clapping of hands and the rhythm of singing, the
[825] hiders and all the players of that side move their arms and bodies
back and forth, back and forth. When they hide some imitate
crows, some deer, some buffalo, some turkeys.

The Skiri win the first game. Their side carries off the stakes.
525 Now the Skiri begin to sing Crazy Dog dance songs, songs of
533 reckless bravery, self-abandonment on the warpath. Men careless
619

of death sang such songs before they set out for the country of the 525
enemy, sang such songs before they went into battle, before they 533
broke into the enemy camp. Knifechief gets up to dance. He 619
dances the steps of the Crazy Dog Dance. It is his place to dance
first, he is a brave man and the leader. Others join him from the 525
Skiri side. They do not dance out in the circle, but standing at 535
their places. Knifechief carries a stick in his hand. 619

As the dancing ends, all the Skiri yell, he-he-he-he-e-e-e-, hitting [201]
their hands on their mouths. Knifechief speaks.

"I can remember when I was in the army and we chased the
Cheyenne. We chased them out of their camp. They ran and left 525
their blankets behind. I took the blankets away from them." 619

Knifechief sits down.

"Well, bet some more."

The Skiri who have won stakes bring back their winnings. The Kitkahaxkiˣ have to bet other things against what they have lost. The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader bets his blanket, a squaw cloth with one side red and the other black. All the Kitkahaxkiˣ bet again. They have come to play the hand game and have a lot of stuff with them to bet. The bets pile up again. The betting is even, man against man, and the pile comes out even.

The guesser who won for the Skiri plays again. The Kitkahaxkiˣ choose a new man to try his luck against the victor.

Again the Skiri win and carry off the stakes.

The Skiri sing Crazy Dog Dance songs. Knifechief dances. He [533]
calls: "We charged again and chased out the Cheyenne, and they [727]
left everything behind, tents and horses, and we carried them away.
And a pair of leggings I took away from them."

He is recalling victory in battle and the garnering of the spoils. He is gloating over the victory in the game. The game is a battle; the Skiri have carried off the plunder.

Knifechief sits down.

The bets are laid for a third game. The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader says, "I'm going to bet a beef." He puts up a beef against the squaw cloth Knifechief has just won from him. All bet again.

The game begins. Again the Skiri are winning.

All this while Mark has been standing on the Skiri side. They have given him no place to sit and play.

The guesser for the Kitkahaxkiˣ in the third game is a friend of his. He calls out to Mark. "Come over here." He asks him to sit on the Kitkahaxkiˣ side next to him. Mark walks around through the north outside the circle of players and sits down.

The Kitkahaxkiˣ are losing again. The Skiri have won six

525 points: only two sticks are left in the center. The Kitkahaxki^{x}
guesser calls out to the leader of his side, "I want him to guess
619 now." He shows them Mark. He says, "You're a good boy:
everything you do is lucky. Go ahead."

The Skiri begin to yell. The Kitkahaxki^{x} pat Mark on the back and wish him luck.

[789] Mark arises. He goes to the fire and leans forward over it. He touches the ashes and rubs his hands together. He touches fire to his eyes to warm them and make him see clearly. He watches the guessers. He chooses quickly. He finds the bones.

Now the Skiri are trying to confuse him. They yell. They want him to put up the shawl he has with him. He tells them he doesn't have to now. He goes on guessing against the Skiri man who has won two games. The Kitkahaxki^{x} players begin to come to life. They win the game.

[533] Now the Kitkahaxki^{x} sing the Crazy Dog Dance songs. The Skiri are slient. The Kitkahaxki^{x} leader gets up to dance. He tells how he went on a warpath and captured many horses. This time the Kitkahaxki^{x} have carried off the spoils.

There is a fourth game. The bets are laid again. The Skiri choose a new guesser. Mark is against him now and wins again.

The games are even. The Kitkahaxki^{x} have won back their losings. They decide to stop now. It is late. The Kitkahaxki^{x} go home.

Later the Skiri set upon Mark because he played with the Kitkahaxki^{x} and won for them. For a long time he couldn't go
[578] near the Skiri camp. They would get hold of him and scold him angrily. Mark says he joined the Kitkahaxki^{x} side because the man who asked him was a friend of his, and because the Skiri did not give him a place and ask him to join in.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OLD GAME

525 Competitions like the above between the bands of the Pawnee
533 were played in this way in the old days. Women never played.
The games were always outdoors. The songs sung were old type
hand game songs. They were coarse but not about women. One ran:

> "They're bathing in the water now...
> They're bathing in the water now..."

All would laugh because of the reference to washing, bringing up a picture of one scrubbing himself all over and around the loins.

525 Those who hid, many of them, imitated animals. Some of these
825 imitations:
536

Crow: Each hand clasped with index finger erect. The arms are bent so that the hands are held out about shoulder high like wings. The player calls ka-ka-ka like the crow while he motions with his hands back and forth like flapping wings. 525 825 536

Turkey: Right hand clasped, index finger extended, is brought to forehead to imitate the beak; left hand with index finger out is placed behind like tail. The player calls tut-tut-tut like a turkey.

Deer: The hands clasped palm side down, held bent at wrists about waist high, imitating the forefeet; the index fingers are curled down; the arms are moved alternately, gracefully and slowly, forward and back. No sound.

Buffalo calf: Two hands tight shut in fists with thumbs erect: the bottoms of the fists are set to the sides of the head above the ears, the head bent forward, the thumbs moved like little horns, slight motions. The calf makes no noise unless caught, then "br-r-r-rrr."

Buffalo: The two hands clenched at the sides of the head as for calf, but the index fingers erect for larger horns: the head is moved slowly around to one side and another as the animal peers this way and that.

These animal imitations are by some wholly in fun. But those who use a certain imitation usually retain it throughout the play of hand games, and are known as such and such an animal player. And there are some among the players who have the right to characterizations because of their knowledge and power. In the hand game above described, one man who imitated the deer was a deer performer in the Doctor Dance.

The structure of the old hand game comes out clearly in the above narration. The play of the game has been detailed heretofore. Points of significance: 525

The games were always played outdoors. [562]

Women never participated.

The long fire outdoors with each side in a semi-circle.

The leaders as tallyers at the head end.

The tally sticks in one heap between them.

The betting.

The selection of hiders in any orders.

The attempts to trick and deceive.

The singing of old hand game songs for the play accompanied only by handclapping, without instruments. [533]

The Crazy Dog Dance between the games, danced by the winning side, the winning leader counting a coup. [535]

The animal imitations. [536]

SPECIAL SIGNS USED IN TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SONGS

104
533 These signs are intended simply as aids to the student in becoming acquainted with the songs. They should be understood as supplementary to the descriptive analysis rather than a part of the musical notation.

+ placed above a note shows that the tone was sung slightly higher than the indicated pitch. In many instances the tones designated by this and the following sign were "unfocused tones," or were tones whose intonation varied in the several renditions of the song. The intonation of these tones was not such as to suggest the intentional use of "fractional intervals" by the singer.

− placed above a note shows that the tone was sung slightly lower than the indicated pitch.

(· placed above a note shows that the tone was prolonged slightly beyond the indicated time. This and the following sign are used only when the deviation from strict time is less than half the time unit of the song and appears to be unimportant. In many instances the duration of the tones thus marked is variable in the several renditions of the song.

·) placed above a note shows that the tone was given slightly less than the indicated time.

┌──────┐ placed above a series of notes indicates that these tones constitute a rhythmic unit.

PHONETICS

194 All consonants have the English sounds except that x represents the palatal spirant.

All vowels have the continental sounds except that ă is a obscure.

A͡u (diphthong) is pronounced as *ow* in *how*.

3: Densmore
●533, 539

Pawnee NQ18

[For information on Pawnee music, songs and texts, see category 116, pp. 6-21, 24-97, 100-104, 106, 108-115, and 118-125--Analyst]

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Again Paruxti went on his way. Several times he opened the bag, camp was 539 pitched. He rested only when the bag was opened. He had traveled far to the east 575 and had returned by the north.

Fools-wolves, the wolf star, had seen Paruxti on his journey and said, "I will undo what the others wish to do. I will send a being to the earth who will ruin what the others have accomplished." He put a wolf on the earth who became hungry and ran hither and thither until he discovered the tracks of Paruxti which he followed. The wonderful being who had become tired and sleepy, lay down. As he lay there, the wolf came up to him and noticed the bag. He thought, "There must be something to eat in the bag. I will take it away and open it and find something to eat." He dragged it to some prairie where there was neither water nor timber and untied it.

The two lance men jumped out first. Wolf was frightened and jumped sidewise. Soon people came out of the bag and he heard them say that they were going to camp and get something to eat. The two lance men selected a camping place and as usual stuck their lances into the ground. The people played their games, but found no buffalo. The men shouted: "Something is wrong. Our wonderful being must be in an ill humor. Take him something to eat."

Some men carried dried meat to the wolf which he ate. The people marveled at this and did not know what to make of it. The wolf was brought to camp and given a place in the tipi where the wonderful man sat. Just as they were about to burn incense in his honor someone shouted, "Our wonderful being is coming over the hills, crying. Watch the being in our tipi, for he is not our wonderful being." The wolf tried to get away, but the people surrounded the tipi and killed him.

The four men then burned some incense before the wonderful being and anointed him with red ointment, buffalo fat mixed with red earth. All the people were gathered around the tipi and the wonderful being asked what had become of the wolf. They replied, "We killed it." Then Paruxti said, "Bring it and skin it. When the skin is dry, put it on the bundle where it must remain. You will always be known as the skiri (Skidi) or wolf people. Because you killed the first animal on earth you will die too. The gods in the heavens intended that you live forever. You will always have the lances. Those who carry them will be soldiers."

Known-the-leader sent the assistant on the north side to the morningstar bundle 575 tipi for owl feathers which are kept in this bundle and to the left hand bundle tipi for the crow feathers kept in that bundle. When these were brought, the assistant called for one crow feather and one white goose feather from each of the other tipis. [237] These were brought in and piled up in front of the singers by young boys. Near the feathers were placed two strips of red cloth about sixteen inches wide together with buckskin, sinew, and an awl. Two men were selected to procure cedar poles for the [824] lances. Cedar was used because the cedar tree "has life all the time."

When the men arose, Known-the-leader took up one of the drums. The other drummers each took up the drum in front. They sang a song relating to the search [533] for timber. After they sang four times, the drums were set down. Then the men went out with axes to cut the trees. Before actually cutting the poles four cutting motions were made. When the poles were brought in they were placed one at each side of the tipi where the young men sat. [313] They started to cut down the pole, one man on each side, and when these were tired, others took their places. When the poles were cut and smoothed down they were placed crosswise in front of the drums.

The cloth was given to the men on either side who sewed it with buckskin string.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

276
575

The pipe was passed to those on the north and the south sides, each person taking four whiffs. Knife-chief then strewed the ashes from the pipebowl west of the fireplace and facing west passed his hands over the pipestem, then over his own body, and handed the pipe to Known-the-leader who said, "Nawa." All the rest of the people said, "Nawa." This ended the first smoke ceremony.

Known-the-leader again addressed the assemblage: "Men, old men, and young men, another smoke offering is near. Our fathers are completed and stand before us.

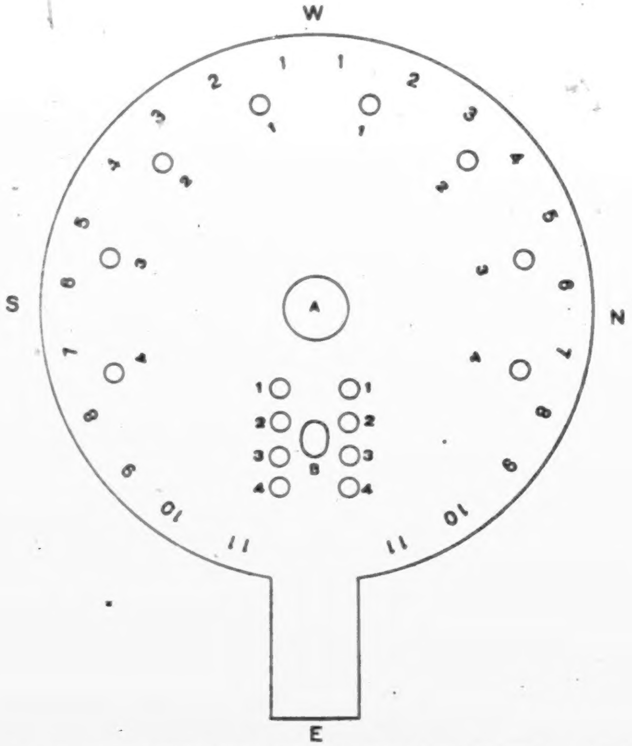


Fig. 4. Arrangement of the Food Bowls in the Two Lance Ceremony: A, fireplace; B, kettle of cooked maize; 1–11, the seats of members; 1–4, the serving bowls in position and as served. This order is followed in most ceremonies.

We must offer them smoke. I have filled this pipe. I have selected Brave-chief to carry on the smoke for he took part in war parties when these two lances were carried."

Brave-chief rose and took up the pipe. In the meantime, Known-the-leader's assistants took up the drums. At this point a song was sung about father owl, one about father crow, one about the thunderbirds, while the last related to the lances. [533]

726 ever-changing course. The members of the party paint their faces and robes heavily with white clay, which is the war paint of the Pawnee and symbolizes the wolf. The scouts also wear two white eagle feathers in the hair so set as to resemble the ears of the wolf.

Thus when one looked over the crest of a hill, he would appear as a wolf. Wolfskin caps were often worn by these scouts to heighten the illusion. Since in course of time other Indians knew the wolf cry signals, different animals were imitated according to orders of the leader.

When the enemy has been located, the leaders conduct the party into a thicket and hold a ceremony. The inexperienced members of the party (youths) gather the wood and act as servants. One young man goes out to cut the drumsticks, these he rolls up in his robe and with wolf cries runs into camp, placing the sticks before those who are to be singers. The rolled up robe he also places there for them to beat upon. A small circular altar is made by clearing the sod and exposing fresh earth. The ear of corn, the otterskin collar, the pipe and the hawkskin taken from the bundle at the start, are placed in position. All then arrange themselves in two sides as in the regular ceremony. One goes out and hunts up a buffalo skull which also has a place upon the altar. The ceremony is opened with the regular smoke offering. The leader sends one to cut a number of small sticks, at least one for each member of the party. With these sticks, offerings are to be made for which each member brought certain trinkets. These offerings are formally dedicated to all the powers of the earth, sky, etc. Each ties his present to a stick and plants it at the altar. The offerings for the powers above are set up vertically and the others in corresponding positions. The drumsticks are then taken up for beating upon a robe and singing and dancing follow. The four soldiers drive out the dancers and keep them dancing around the fire.

The songs are largely derisive of those who stayed at home. The members also sing of their sweethearts. ● [533] All these songs have a peculiar rhythm and end with wolf calls, from which they take the name of wolf songs (see vol. 7, 267). On the journey no one is permitted to speak of home and relations with women, lest he lose heart.

At the close a council is held to develop the plan of action. Thus, it is decided as to whether they will simply run off horses by stealth, or make an attack. If the enemy seems numerous, the former is most desirable. In this case a few men are selected to go for the horses while the others wait. Usually the scouts and the soldiers are sent on this mission, temporary soldiers being appointed to hold the men in camp. The scouts endeavor to drive out the horses toward the main body who catch what they can and mounting, drive off at high speed. The leader rides ahead, the others hold

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 set of songs was sung the dancers attacked the fire. Finally, Crow-feather 756 danced up to the kettle which was full of boiling soup and took a piece of meat out with his bare hands. He gave it to one of the spectators who burned his hands with it. The rest of the members also did this. At length the dancers dipped bunches of corn husks into the kettle and whipped each other with them but did not burn. The dancing ended when the fire went out.

This was the first ceremony of this kind. After the dance Crow-feather said, "You must now make the headdresses and bustles. Some day we will give a public dance when all must bring spears, bows and arrows, war clubs, and shields so that you can imitate the attack on an enemy in your dance. It shall be known as iruska (fire inside of you). The red headdress represents fire, the black hair fringe represents smoke.[1] This will not be a social dance, neither will the members act as soldiers for the chiefs. We shall be known as medicinemen."

THE ONE HORN DANCE.

535

756 The members of the one horn dance (raris arika) were young men eligible 721 to go to war. For the dance, the regalia of all the societies were gathered: the war clubs from the sacred bundles, spears, war shields, bows and arrows. During the ceremony they called upon Pahukatawa (Hills along the banks of a river) to help them kill or count coup on the enemy. Women were not [783] admitted for Pahukatawa directed them to bar women for fear some would be unclean.

The dance was held only when Pahukatawa ordered it and then only ● [533] before an attack by the enemy. The songs imitated the bellowing of buffalo. Each dancer seemed possessed with the spirit of a particular animal which he imitated. The dancers wore their war regalia. Those who had war-bonnets had to fasten a whole buffalo horn on the right side of the bonnet. Each dancer was painted according to the dreams of visions he had experienced. [302] Those representing crows painted with charcoal or soot; jack-rabbits painted with white earthen clay; buffalo were smeared over the mouth and nose with buffalo urine mud; those with bear spirits were painted with red or yellow which represented the sun for the bears sought power from the sun.

---

[1] The headdress is the imitation of fire, the red for the blaze, the black hair for smoke. The feather represents the iruska man who understands the fire. He is standing in the fire or has placed the fire about his whole body. The headdress represents the fireplace, the bone tube the medicine, and the feather, the man himself standing in the center of the fireplace. According to tradition, man came from an ear of corn and corn has life and life is fire. The original word for iruska is iriska (singular), iruska (plural), they are inside fire. The wood used for the iruska fire was cottonwood and willows.

They had one large drum which was made according to the directions of 534
Pahukatawa. Several men cut down a large water willow tree which was 721
split into several pieces. The best piece was planed down then bent over 756
and fastened together with sinew. Four flints were tied inside the drum.
The head was covered with buffalo hide and sewed with a rawhide string.
When dried it was painted black, the rim red, and four buffalo skulls were
marked on the sides.

There were four regular singers and two assistants. Any of the singers [533]
was permitted to dance.

This war dance was held to teach the men how to act during battle and 721
to remind them that there was a being who watched over them and gave 756
them courage.

The origin myth is as follows: —

One day when the Skidi' lived in their old village in Nebraska, seven men went 539
out hunting toward the west. After a few days they came to a willow-covered 721
ravine where they camped. Before sunrise the next morning the youngest among 756
the hunters went up in the hills. As he came to the top of a hill he saw the enemy
approaching. Instead of running towards camp he ran towards some heavy timber.
The enemy followed. As the young man was afoot they soon overtook and surrounded
him. He fought until all his arrows were gone and then they killed him.

The other hunters remained in the ravine and when the enemy left went to the place where the young man had been killed. They found arrows stuck in the ground and long poles scattered about. The young man's body seemed missing, but finally they found it cut up and strewn over the ground. They gathered up the pieces and laid him out. They went home and told the people how the young man had been killed. All the village started out to bury the young man. When they arrived at the scene of the fight they found the arrows and poles but not a sign of the young man. They camped here for several days and searched for the man's bones, but in vain. They continued to the west to hunt buffalo.

Several years passed and the incident was forgotten. One winter evening when the people were living in their mud-lodges some men who were singing round the village noticed flashes of light here and there. They took this to be a warning that the enemy was coming to attack them.

Finally the village quieted down. One man only could not sleep. As he lay awake he heard a sound like rattling buffalo hoofs. The sound came into the lodge and then stopped. As he watched and listened, the man felt first a cold wind and then warm wind against his face and someone whispered: "My brother, I am here. I am the one who was killed a few years ago. I am not dead. I am alive. When I was killed and my body was cut up and pieced together again, the powers in the heavens, on the earth and beneath it, pitied me. They caused all the birds and animals to congregate and make me live again. They promised to return the parts of me they had eaten. Everything but my brains was returned. An eagle and a buffalo bull wished to give me life so they suggested that the thunderbirds (swans) give me their down for brains. You see I cannot speak well for I have no brains. I am everything. When the lights appeared they saw me. I am part of the winds."

"Before sunrise tomorrow you must go to the hills where I will meet you. Fill

the smoke ceremony, so will it be done in all our iruska dances, for I have 276
whispered to the men who shall offer the smoke. I now select Sun-chief 575
to offer the smoke. He will now rise and take the pipe."

Sun-chief arose and took the pipe from Coming-sun. Then he went 796
around the fireplace and stood to the west. He took a pinch of tobacco
from the pipe, raised up his hand and gradually lowered it to the rim of the
fireplace where he placed the tobacco. Next he went northeast by the south
and east of the fireplace and squatted down. The south side whip man
went to the fireplace, took a live coal and placed it upon the bowl of the pipe.
When the pipe was lit, Sun-chief arose and went west of the fireplace, here
he stood facing east and gave four whiffs of smoke to the skies; then four
whiffs to mother earth. Then he dumped the ashes from the bowl of the
pipe and passed his hands over the pipestem toward the skies, twice with
his right hand and twice with his left hand. He passed his hands upon the
pipestem to the rim of the fireplace, twice with his right and twice with his
left hand. Then he turned towards the west and walked to Coming-sun
and handed him the pipe. Coming-sun said, "Rawa"; all repeated "Rawa."
The second pipe was given to Lone-chief of the south side and the same
ceremony gone through.

When the smoke ceremony was over the outside man came in and per- 575
mitted those outside to come in. Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old 796
men, and iruska, we are about to dance. You dancers must be careful with
the things you are wearing for if you drop anything, one of those old men
will have to take it up and tell of his deeds. Then you must pay. Each
man who has a song must dance when his song is sung and must give a small
present to some old man or woman. We will have five sets of songs, ten in [533]
each set. Everyone must dance. Anyone receiving a present must say,
'rawa iruska.' After each ten songs we will smoke and rest."

So the singers began their songs. Every time the whip men rose every-
one had to dance.

After the dance, Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska,
this is now our iruska dance. Visiting parties, if they wish, may tie tobacco
upon the drum, then the keeper of the drum must notify the leaders, who [535]
will plan a dance to give presents to visitors. This is now a popular dance
among the Pawnee for at these dances people give presents to one another [431]
and there is a general good time for all.[1]

---

[1] This form of the iruska was originated by the writer who may be said to be entirely [177]
responsible for the organization. He knew very little of the procedure among the Dakota
but was fairly familiar with the form of the Osage. From the latter he took his main ideas
and the various officers with their respective duties. Also like the Osage he adopted strict
rules for conducting the dance. Yet the maneuvers and serious parts of the ceremony were
all taken from bundle rituals of the Pawnee.— Ed.

175 *The Kit'kaháxki Iruska.* About 1894 while the ghost dance was still
575 intense a man named Sitting-bear began to have dreams of songs and the
forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and lead it until
796 his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the
hands of Little-sun, one of the leading singers. According to this ritual,
the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in case
of the bundles. In 1912 Little-sun revived the ceremony with the assistance
of Eagle-fly-high, also a pupil of Sitting-bear.

575 In the Kit'kaháxki society there were four chiefs, as among the Skidi.
796 The dancers are on both sides, north and south. At the south side entrance
there are four chiefs and four pipes. Next to the chiefs on the north side
are two old men. The director of the ceremony sits near the pipes and his
assistant, or the whip man, by his side. The singers sit around the drum.
●[533] Unlike the Skidi when they have sung a set of songs, all smoke receiving no
smoke from the chiefs. The songs go in sets of ten.

At a certain point in the ceremony all rise and stand in a circle with the chiefs holding pipes in the center. Then with songs the smoke offerings are made. This is similar to the preceding. After the offering the pipes are delivered to the pipe keepers. In the two last dances everybody takes part and makes them as violent as possible. The ending is as in the preceding. The food is brought in as before. A man and woman are now selected to make the corn offering. The woman receives a small wooden bowl with a horn spoon, she is the donor of the food. The movement to the kettle is different, the man dips out the food into the bowl held by the women. A little from every kettle is taken. Then they go to the west side of the fireplace. The man and woman here offer the food as before. The bowl and spoon are returned to the keeper, while the whip man selects men to hand out the food as before. The head chief at the south side recites part of the ritual and announces the close of the ceremony.

The regalia are the same as for the preceding. The songs and procedures are, however, quite original.

The Chaui Iruska. During the ghost dance excitement Roaming-chief
began to dream songs and a form of the modern iruska ritual. Later, he
started the organization which spread to the Pitahauirata. Unlike the
other iruska societies the drum is set at the west end, or head of the lodge,
the old original Pawnee form. The drumsticks are beaded and bear feath-
ers on the end. One chief on each side, some of them have short sticks
[293] covered with beads and decked with feathers. The sticks for the two sides
are of different colors. There are four of these sticks, and hooked at the
end, on the north side; three on the south. No whip man. The smoke
ceremony here is before the singing. The staff men rise and hold them as

776 796 [821] Tirawa and combined in himself the essence of the four servants of the Evening Star,—Wind, Cloud, Lightning, and Thunder. He passed over the land in a storm, and as he spoke, the earth awakened, and life was kindled anew. Returning to his lodge in the west, he kindled new fire and offered smoke to the great heavenly gods, thereby informing them that he had visited the earth, and that all was well. The gods then turned their attention earthward, and prepared to receive the prayers and offerings of men.

796 As soon as the thunder had been heard, the priests of the Four Direction bundles assembled and prepared for the ceremony, which was held even if the tribe were away from their permanent villages on the hunt. Going to the lodge where the Aripahut bundle was kept, they took it down, and, when they were seated, the chief priest opened it and spread out the sacred objects. He then took up the rattles which had been fastened to the bundle, and giving them to the four other priests, said, "Priests, Tirawa has spoken. We must now sing the songs that were given to us with this bundle. It is a long time since we sang them, and we will make some mistakes, but Tirawa will help us with the ceremony." Shaking their rattles as an accompaniment, they then sang,— 533 [539] 796

First Song.

"They sang this song above, they have spoken.
They have put new life into the earth.
Paruxti speaks through the clouds,
And the power has entered Mother Earth.
The earth has received the powers from above."

This verse was repeated 56 times, a single word being changed at each singing. At the end of the singing the priests made four grunting sounds, symbolizing the noise of the thunder in the four world-quarters, and laid down their rattles. After each of the songs of the ritual this was repeated, and after

each song they smoked, and rested for a time before beginning the next. 533 796

After finishing the first song, they sang the following songs in order, repeating each ten times with the change of a single word each time,—

533
539
796

Second Song.

"It is you who speak, you who stand in the west.
Let them now take possession of the earth.
Let them now have the sacred bundle containing the wonderful things."

Third Song.

"The clouds looking like many tipis are coming from the west.
The clouds shall touch the earth and the earth shall receive power from Paruxti."

Fourth Song.

"The earth shook.
It was Paruxti's power that made the earth shake.
It is the earth that is shaken by the wonderful power of Paruxti."

Fifth Song.

"The power is now hidden in the earth.
The power is now hidden in the earth.
The earth now possesses the power.
Paruxti's power is the power in the earth."

At the completion of the songs there was a pause, and then the chief priest said, "It is now time for us to make a sacrifice of a heart and a tongue to Tirawa."

During the singing one of the priest's assistants had gone into the timber, and cut a number of slender willow wands. He gave these to one of the men participating in the ceremony, who stripped them of their bark, cut them into arrow lengths, and passed them to a second man who painted them red. The second man passed them to a third, who attached a little sack of tobacco to each and passed them to a fourth, who attached two strings of blue beads. The fourth man passed them to a fifth, who tied on pieces cut from scalps, kept in the bundle for that purpose. When the wands had been prepared, the man who had 796

796 painted them went to a buffalo skull, placed north of the fireplace, and painted it with designs symbolizing the garden of the Evening Star. While this was going on, one of the priests took a dried buffalo heart and tongue, and cut each in nine pieces, arranging the pieces in nine little piles, in a row.

When these preparations were finished, the chief priest said,—"Chiefs sitting around in a circle, this offering is to be made to Tirawa, our father in the heavens, who made all things for himself. He it was who gave us the sacred things here before us. He is listening to us. We are sitting, as he told us to sit. We are doing, as he told us to do. Now we shall make the first offering to Tirawa." The priest of the Yellow Calf bundle then went to the chief priest, and was dressed by him in the buffalo robe which had been around the bundle. The sacred pipe from the bundle had previously been decorated and filled, and this was now given to the priest of the Yellow Calf bundle, together with one of the piles of dry meat and one of the decorated wands. With these he passed out of the lodge followed by an assistant (errand man), who bore a live coal from the fireplace in a bunch of grass. The earth taken from the fireplace of the lodge had been piled up in a small mound outside the entrance, which faced the east. Beyond this mound the two kindled a small fire, the fuel for which had been laid ready. On this fire they placed the dried meat, and thrust the wand into the ground between it and the mound. As they did this, they, and the priests within the lodge, sang,—

533
796
[539]

"Smoke for the Above is wavering.
The wonderful smoke is wavering.
Smoke for the Above is being eaten.
The wonderful smoke is being eaten."

The meaning of this song is that when the offering is first placed on the fire, the smoke hesitates and

wavers, but soon it begins to ascend straight upward, a sign that it is being drawn into the mouth of Paruxti and eaten.

The errand man then made a circuit of the fire, and standing on the northeast blew puffs of smoke from the sacred pipe to the four world-quarters. Then he lifted the pipe slowly toward the sky, and lowering it, poured the tobacco from it upon the fire. This completed the first sacrifice, and both re-entered the lodge, and resumed their seats in the circle.

The chief priest then said, "Priests, this offering is now to be made to the god who presided over the other gods, when the council was held, deciding what the people should have, and what they should not have. This offering of meat and a wonderful stick are to be made to the god in the east, who will bless us, and who rules us aright, so that our people will be under the special care of this god." This god was the Morning Star. The same priest, who had made the first sacrifice, then took the offering out of the lodge, and placed the meat upon the fire where the offering to Tirawa had been made, thrusting the wand into the ground to the east of it.

When this priest and his errand man had returned, the materials for the third offering were prepared, and the chief priest said, "This offering is to be made to the Evening Star, the mother who has made all things. She has a garden in the west, where corn is green, and where the ear of corn is the leader of all men, where there is a bundle of dried meat, and where all good things of life exist. The errand man and this priest will make the offering, and the gods will look down upon the errand men. These gods will help the errand men. They will make our fields green. They will loosen some bundles of meat and cover the land with buffalo." The priest and his er-

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 The women and children shall have plenty to eat, and we shall all be happy." The priest who had made the last sacrifice then placed the wand by the buffalo skull. This completed the sacrifice portion of the ceremony.

When the sacrifices had all been made, the chief priest took up a pipe filled with tobacco and, holding it in his left hand, said, "Priests, chiefs, young men and old men, we have been singing of what the gods did when they first created all things. We are now about to sing about the only being who visits the earth and brings his power to us from the gods in heaven. This power is Paruxti's. It is a long time since we sang the songs about Paruxti, but we shall do the best
533 we can." He told the priests to take up their rattles,
539 and then all sang the last ritual of the ceremony. This
796 ritual was in three parts. The first part symbolized Paruxti's visit to earth; the second, his hunting of the buffalo; and the third, his return from the hunt. The first part was repeated seventy times; the second, thirty-four times; and the third, seventy-four times. At each repetition there was a change in a single word or phrase, the change being of a sort to indicate progression. The first part runs thus:—

"Getting ready to come, yonder he sits down,
The Wonderful Being, my dear father,
Yonder." (Grunting in imitation of thunder.)

At the first repetition, the phrase "yonder he sits down," in the first line, was changed to "He is now sitting down;" at the second repetition, to "He is now seated;" at the third, to "He moves," and so forth. As the song went on, he was said to rise, to look around, to walk, to leave his lodge, to think of coming to the earth, to begin his journey, to travel over hills and bottom lands, to cross rivers, to reach the village, to walk through it, to cross the country, and finally to seat himself in his lodge once more.

The second part of the ritual was identical with 533
the first part, except that a new series of changes were 539
substituted for the phrase, "Yonder he sits down." 796
The third part was like the first and second parts, except that the first line of the first verse was changed to, "Now he is returning." In the succeeding verses, this was changed to indicate his passage over the country, his return to his lodge, his lighting of his pipe, and his offering of smoke to the heavenly gods.

When the whole of this long ritual had been sung, 796
the priests laid their rattles down gently, and all were silent for a time. Then the chief priest said, "We have sung about Paruxti with his power, who has touched the earth, the timber, and the streams of water. He has gone through our fields, and has walked through our villages, and has returned to his lodge in the heavens above. We will now offer the smoke, offering to the different gods in the ceremonies." A man then rose, and taking the sacred pipe used in the sacrifices, made an offering of smoke to the gods. The errand man then made a small fire of sweet grass in the lodge, to the southwest, kindling it with coals from the fireplace. Another man then took the objects from the sacred bundle one by one, and passed them through the fragrant smoke, returning them to their proper places. After this the participants in the ceremony came one at a time and bathed their bodies in the smoke, the chief priest coming last. When he had incensed himself, the chief priest left the lodge and stood in front of it, facing the east. The errand man thereupon extinguished the fire, and obliterated all traces of where it had been.

During the latter part of the ritual, women had 533
brought in kettles of corn and other food for the par- 796
ticipants. As soon as the chief priest knew that the fire of sweet grass had been extinguished, he sang a

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533 ritual to inform the gods that these good people were 796 providing for those who had made offerings to them, and were therefore entitled to their help. He sang,—

[539] "I come! Now we raise our voices for Mother-Corn.
Mother-Born-Again.
Mother-Corn-who-carries-them-through-obstacles.
It is our father who sits in the pathway to receive prayers.
Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.
Yonder the Wonderful Being dwells in the heavens.
Yonder their father dwells in the heavens, where the thunders are to be heard.
Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.
Yonder in the heavens stands Ready-to-Give.
Mother-Corn's kettles are filled with corn brought by a child.
Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.
Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.
It is through him that I walk around the circle of the village and call upon the gods to look down upon this boy.
I come!"

As he sang, he made the circuit of the village, repeating the song over and over, and finally returned 796 to the lodge where the ceremony had been held. He entered and sat down, and then said, "Let us, priests, chiefs, young and old men, know that this ceremony is now ended. It is now the time to tell stories and to [264] eat." The corn, which had been brought in cooked, was dished out in a prescribed way, and the meat was cooked over the fire by one of the errand men. When it was done, it was divided among the priests, who ate a little, but saved the greater part to take away with them. Small portions of the corn, and of the meat and fat, were offered to the gods.

When all had eaten, the chief priest said, "Priests, we have now gone through the ceremony that was given to us by Paruxti. A young boy wished to see this ceremony. It is for that reason that you, priests, entered this lodge, and sit upright in a circle in the lodge, sitting in the places of the gods; that you sit upright, as they do, sitting close together. You sit in their places, and we offer stories and rituals that they

came to magic animals which attacked them, first 539
snakes, then water animals, then buffalo, and last 773
bears. Each of these in turn the Morning Star killed with his club. Then the Moon had no more powers left, and the Morning Star and the Sun entered the village of the women stars. The Morning Star married the Evening Star, and the Sun married the Moon. They took them back to their own village. After a time a child was born to each couple, and these children were placed on earth. They married, and from them sprang the human race.

The Moon put all these obstacles in the way of the Morning Star, because she did not want the people on earth, in after times, to live forever. All these obstacles were sicknesses and troubles which would be brought down upon the people. But the Morning Star and the Sun can give power to men to destroy these ills just as they themselves destroyed the obstacles.

It has already been said that the sacrifice was most 787
commonly made as a result of a dream or vision in 796
which the Morning Star demanded it. Immediately on waking in the morning, the man who had had the dream went outside his lodge and began crying and mourning, his cries gradually becoming a song. He [533]
sang:— [539]

"When he comes.
When he comes.
Father, I am seeking for you."

By this song he let the people know that he had seen the Morning Star in a vision.

It is said that the man who had had the vision 721
sometimes did not obey the Morning Star, but more 796
often he could neither sleep nor rest until he had captured a maiden for sacrifices. As soon as possible after the vision he went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received from him the warrior's cos-

721 tume and sacred objects kept in the bundle for such
796 expeditions. Many warriors usually volunteered to go
with him, for it was thought that the object of the expedition
insured its success.

726 When the party had assembled, they set out for the
796 country of the enemy, sending scouts constantly in advance.
[782] If they killed any game on the way, they offered
part of it to the Morning Star to remind him
that they were on his business. The leader carried the
[778] sacred objects from the Morning Star bundle on his
back.

When the scouts returned with word that they had found an enemy village, the party retired to some sheltered place and prepared for a ceremony. A circle was cleared, and a fireplace excavated as for a lodge. The leader then opened his pack and put on the sacred warrior's costume, and laid out the other objects to the west of the fireplace. A fire was kindled, and smoke
[533] offered to the heavenly gods. All then sang a song
symbolizing the overcoming of the Evening Star by the Morning Star and how, from their union, a girl was born. In the course of this song the leader rose and circled the fireplace, acting in pantomime the journey of the Morning Star. At its conclusion he passed out of the circle, and standing facing the east addressed
[782] the Morning Star as follows: "I am praying to you as
you directed, and we are seeking a sacrifice as you wished. I ask you to show yourself." In answer to
[821] this prayer the star was thought to shine with brighter
light. The leader then addressed his party thus:—

"Warriors, young men, we are now sitting in a place dedicated to the Morning Star. We are about to sing the song that the Morning Star himself sang when he was in search of a woman, who put obstacles in his way. I want you all to dance with all your might and to be brave. Whoever shall be so lucky as to catch

the girl must call her Opirikuts as he touches her. 726
Others must move away and not touch her. The life 796
of anyone who touches her afterward will be in danger. Everyone must now dance toward the center. Let the fire be like the enemy."

All then sang a song symbolizing the obstacles [533
overcome by the Morning Star, the refrain being, "This [539]
is the way I did when I became angry." A red-painted stick like those used in the Thunder Ceremony had meanwhile been prepared, and this was now offered to
the Morning Star by the leader with the words, "See, [782]
I offer you only this stick with tobacco. It is all I have. Help me to obtain a real sacrifice."

By the end of this ceremony it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise, and the leader went outside the circle to the east and addressed a long invocation to him. He then returned, and all put on their war paint
and ornaments. A fourth song was then sung in which [533]
four of the great heavenly spirits were called upon to [539]
give the warriors their powers. As they sang, the [535]
warriors danced around the fire, leaping upward and giving their war cries, while the leader ran about encouraging them to dance harder. At the end of the dance the leader made a last prayer to the Morning Star, and all set out for the village.

The war party surrounded the village quietly. The leader, who at this time was considered a personification of the Morning Star, took his post to the east, with his back to the village, while a second man took his place at the southeast, and was directed to howl like a wolf, as soon as the Morning Star rose. As soon as his call was heard, the leader turned toward the village, and the attack began from all sides. The first man to capture a young woman touched her and called out, "I pronounce you Opirikuts." As soon as this was done, the attackers drew off and started toward home.

her suspicions and keep her in a pleasant frame of mind. 727 782 796

On the afternoon of the fourth day, the chief priest selected four men from the Four Band village to secure the materials for the scaffold. 417 782 796 Under the direction of the leader of the war party which had captured the girl, they went to the nearest thick timber and searched until they found a hackberry tree near the center of the grove. At this tree they made an offering of smoke to the gods, and then went northeast from it to find an [824] elm, northwest to find a box elder, southwest to find a cotton wood, and southeast to find a willow. These were to serve for the lower cross-bars of the scaffold. They then went east until they found an elm and a cottonwood large enough to be used as uprights. Finally, they went west and cut a willow to serve as the top cross-bar.

When the men had departed to search for the timber, [533] the priests sang a song describing their actions. At its conclusion the chief priest sent the two chiefs of the Morning Star village, accompanied by a warrior, to select the site of the scaffold. This had to be some place near the village which had, to the east of it, a depression or ravine large enough to conceal several men. When the chiefs had made their choice, the warrior accompanying them gave his war-cry. An errand man had been stationed outside the lodge to listen for this, and as soon as he heard and reported it, the priest of the Skull bundle ran to the place, bearing the sacred bow and two arrows. The two chiefs had stationed themselves at the points where the uprights of the scaffold were to stand, and the priest shot an arrow into the ground in front of each of them, thus marking the place where the hole was to be dug. Between these arrows four priests then dug away the soil to a depth of about a foot, making a rectangular pit ap-

black, and symbolized the northeast; and its animal 417
guardian, the bear. The second was red, symboliz- 782
ing the southeast and the wolf. The third was yellow, 796
symbolizing the northwest and the mountain lion; and 822
the fourth white, symbolizing the southwest and the wildcat. The top cross-bar represented the west, and was painted blue or black and white, symbolizing clouds and rain.

By the time the scaffold was completed, it was 796
about sunset, and the people dispersed. All spectators 773
were sent out of the lodge, and the door was closed. The chief priest then drew upon the floor of the lodge four circles, one for each of the world quarters, and outlined them with white downy feathers. Each of these circles represented a region penetrated by the Morning Star in his search for the Evening Star and also the magic animal which he had overcome there. The white feathers symbolized the foam about their
mouths when they attacked him. When the circles had [533]
been made, the spectators were re-admitted, and the [535]
priests sang a song descriptive of the journey of the Morning Star, while the chief priest danced around the lodge with a war club, destroying the circles one by one. When the song was finished, he straightened up and said, "Chiefs, priests, warriors, old men, I have destroyed the regions once controlled by the mysterious woman who wanted darkness forever. These animals were under her control, when the Morning Star traveled in darkness looking for her. She placed an obstacle in the southeast, which was controlled by the wolf. The Morning Star destroyed this obstacle, but preserved the mysterious animal. He continued his journey, traveled to the southwest, and again met an obstacle which he destroyed, but preserved the animal, a wildcat. He continued his journey, and when he came to the northwest, he again met an obstacle. He des-

796 troyed it, but preserved the animal, a mountain lion.
773 He went on to the northeast, and again destroyed an obstacle, but preserved its guardian, the bear. In the center of the earth in darkness he found the woman, conquered her, touched her with his war club, and turned her into the earth. The Morning Star then called the mysterious animals to him and said, "You beings are now under my control. Stand in the places where I found you, and watch over the people who shall be placed upon the earth and guard them. All powers you have you shall keep. You shall exist as long as the earth lasts. You are now placed as upright posts so that you will always hold up the heavens. Priests, chiefs, warriors, old men, I have this night followed the journey of the Morning Star. We will not forget these beings which he placed in the four directions, for he promised that they should partake of all offerings which the people made to the heavens. Let us begin singing the songs given to us by Mother White Star in the west (the Evening Star)."

● 533 When the chief priest had finished his speech, all
796 began to sing the prescribed songs, resting and smoking
782 informally after each. Like most ceremonial songs, these were long, with many repetitions, and were often
[211] obscure in meaning. As each song was finished, a tally stick, taken from a bunch kept in the sacred bundle, was laid down. The idea underlying this part of the ritual seems to have been that the girl at first belonged to the people and to the world of human affairs, but that, as each song was sung, she became more removed from them until, when the last tally was laid down, she had been won from the people, like a prize in a game, and belonged to the gods.

The singing usually lasted until about two hours
717 before dawn. A priest then climbed on the roof of the
782 lodge and announced to the people that the girl was
796

about to be prepared for the sacrifice, and that it was 727
time for everyone to set out for the scaffold. The chief 782
priest undressed the girl, went through the motions of 796
washing her and combing her hair, and painted the [302]
right half of her body red and the left half black. Her [292]
skirt was then replaced, black moccasins were put on her feet, and a black robe fastened around her shoulders. Lastly a head-dress of twelve black-tipped eagle feathers, arranged like a fan, was fastened on her head.

When the girl had been dressed, all resumed their [533]
seats and sang another song at the conclusion of which she was told to rise; and two men, chosen to lead her to the scaffold, came forward and placed thongs around her wrists. All then passed out of the lodge, with the girl in the lead and the priests following behind chanting.

The rate at which the procession moved toward the scaffold depended largely upon the disposition of the girl. Everything was done to conceal the truth from her, and force was not used unless absolutely necessary. If she mounted the scaffold of her own free [787]
will, it was considered an especially auspicious omen. The procession was timed to reach the scaffold a few minutes before the Morning Star rose, so that the men who tied her to it could complete their work and leave her alone when the star appeared.

While the girl was being tied to the scaffold, the men chosen for the last rites had assembled in the ravine to the east of it, where they were concealed from her view. A small fire was kindled there, and they prepared their paraphernalia. At the moment the Morning Star appeared, two men came forward bearing firebrands. They were dressed as priests, and had owl skins hung from their necks, showing that they represented the messengers of the Morning Star.

created." Turning to the men, he told them to rise 778
and go out of the lodge. When they had risen, he went 783
to the man who stood on the northeast and gave him the sacred pipe from the bundle which was the leader in that year and a strip of dried buffalo fat about one foot long and four inches wide. After this the men passed out of the lodge, while the priests sang a song describing their looking at the heavens and earth.

The four men seated themselves around the mound of earth taken from the pit in the same positions they had occupied around the bowl in the lodge. An errand man then kindled a small fire to the east of the mound, and the man who sat on the northeast placed the dried fat upon it. As soon as the grease began to run out, the other three men caught some of it in their hands and greased their hands and faces. They also greased the sacred stones and passed them through the smoke. When this had been done, the fat was removed from the fire, and all four smoked the sacred pipe, passing it from one to another. At the conclusion of the smoking, the pipe was laid on the mound, and all stood up slowly, looking at the sky in all directions. They then picked up the fat, the pipe, and the sacred stones, and re-entered the lodge.

While the men were outside, the priests had sung a [533]
series of songs, but ceased singing as they entered. The man from the northeast, who was the leader of the four, went to the bowl of water, picked up the bird's head which lay northeast of the bowl, dipped its bill in the water, and drank from it. He then pressed it first to his right and then to his left breast, and replaced it on the ground. He took up the turtle and did the same with it, except that he pressed it against his abdomen instead of his breast. When he had finished, he stood a short distance away on the west, and the other three men came from their respective directions and went through the same performance. After this

one behind the other, near the entrance of the lodge, the 778
man with the star chart being in the lead. The various 783
objects in the bundles were then distributed to the men from their villages. The chief of the band, in his ceremonial costume, left the lodge, and began to muster the small boys of the tribe outside. All who were old enough to take part were expected to be present, and in performing this duty the chief was supposed to show his watchfulness over the people.

During the distribution of the sacred objects the [533]
priests had been shaking their rattles and singing. Three songs were sung, and when they reached a certain word in the fourth, the man who carried the star chart jumped up and ran toward the river, closely followed by the men with the quivers. All the others followed them, with much crowding and fighting at the doorway. The priests and the keepers of the bundles remained behind. The men raced to the river bank, and there lined up in four ranks. Anyone who overtook the runner with the star chart snatched it from him, the idea being to carry it to the stream in the least possible time. At the river bank it was returned to its original bearer. The man with the star chart, and those with the quivers, stood in the center of the front rank, with the men who carried the Mother-Corn on either side. Behind them stood the men with the owl and hawk skins from the bundles, and behind these in turn the bearers of the less important objects. The last rank was made up of small boys, who carried racoon bones and arrows. When all had taken their places, the ranks opened in the center, and the chief came through, carrying the sacred pipe. He waded down into the water and went through the motions of bathing the pipe four times, although he did not wet it. He then pretended to wash first his right and then his left hand, and finally dipped his right hand in the water and touched it to his mouth,

571 and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and
521 often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque group-
ing and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for
[551] a tall, slender person, *asu-katu-has-tawiu* ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of
a shoe string), or *karastiat* ("I will not go out"); *kusatsua* ("it will rain").
In reply, *A* ("well"), *uksawatsatsua* ("even if it were to rain"), *kaiit*
("salt"); *karas* ("are you?").

857 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and
types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous
858 than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in
867 early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their
boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them
with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was
said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the
trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom
retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not
[601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small
group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term
[551] of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would
use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey,
etc.

883 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out
572 to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more
lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen
or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the
[726] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the coun-
tryside for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expedi-
tions into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various
Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these
contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous
occasions.

533 Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the
song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the
[726] night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through
the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching.
Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs
that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do
not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself con-
cerns the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two
young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting,
and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true
to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar,
[539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

sirawari i	They two who are traveling,	533
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a	Alone, they two who are traveling,	539
tsapat-i witiwaku	A young woman, it is said that she says:	
sikatasiwaktiks-a	I wonder if they two are true (to each other).	
tskara, siraawari-i-a-a-a-a-a		

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their 883
parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not un- 572
commonly grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, 554
a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally
from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46- 539
50) of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of 883
wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the 572
son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys 554
liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all, while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys
a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to in- [829]
duce boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some his- [867]
torical basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the ma- 571
ture Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured 574
within the house even when only two were sitting together. First [782]
there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the [276]
pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversa- [521]
tion or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

241 daughter, when you get married and your husband leaves you, don't go after him. Let him go." The girl takes the pipe from him and says, "I thank you grandpa, I'll do that." The girl returns the pipe to the four ministers of the Skull bundle and the warrior gives her a gift.

TABLE 9-1. *Some Songs of the Ground-breaking Ritual, the* Awari.

241
192
533 The term *awari* is a compound stem, the first part, *a-* signifying "being" or "living" and the second part, *-wari*, to go actively about, such as traveling. The Pawnee used this stem as we do "up and about" meaning to be in good health. The combination *awari* indicates the principles of life and motion *par excellence*, the vigor of life.

Like all the songs of the sacred bundle ceremonies, each song is repeated in at least ten stanzas or "steps." The stanzas are identical except for the substitution of a single word at each repetition: These substitutions are the words that symbolize the basic realms of the universe in their order of creation, *uraru*, "land"; *tuharu*, "natural vegetation"; *tsaharu*, "waters"; *kakiu*, "seeds"—the four major realms of the women—and *asuru*, "moccasin"; *kstaripiru*, "string of moccasin"; *rawitat*, "robe, covering"; *waruksti*, "something holy"; *atira*, "my mother" (corn); *kiriki*, "thunder"—the six major realms of the men. In each case, the word is substituted for *huraru*, "land," in the version given here.

241
533
539

EIGHT SONGS OF THE GROUND-BREAKING *Awari* RITUAL

Song I

1. *huraru* *wirahawati*
the land now the one that plucks it (clears)

Song II

1. *huraru* *katit* *witasikaru* (sung as *-rau*)
the land black now you distribute them
2. *awari* *katit* *rasikara'u*
movement black you that distribute them

The significance of Song II is that the Evening Star as it appears sparkling and wavering is the power that animates the earth when it generates in darkness. The dancers try to flit about like the sparkling stars.

FIRST INTERMISSION

Song III

1. *wirahurariri̇wisisa*
now the earth sidewise comes
2. *hatira* *rahurariri̇wisisa*
my mother earth that sidewise comes

Song IV

1. *huraru* *ra'a*
earth the one that is coming
2. *hi* *awari* *ra'a*
there movement that is coming

241
533
539

In the third and fourth songs, the earth comes sidewise from the basket and is endowed with life.

Song V

1. *wirispixkawi'*
   now you aim
2. *i* *huraru* *tasiwixkawi'u*
   there land you aim at it

The act of planting is compared to a kind of shooting with the bow and arrow into the earth.

SECOND INTERMISSION

Song VI

1. same as (1) of Song V.
2. *wirahuraraxkawuhu* *atira*
   when she is putting them in the earth my mother
3. *huraru* *awari* *atira'a*
   earth movement, life my mother corn

Song VII

1. *kutihawaktu'*
   Now it is budding
2. *huraru* ti' ((u))
   the earth it is

Second Episode of Song VII

1. *rahawaktariwata*
   sprouts come out (peeping)
2. *i* *huraru* *rawakararuahu*
   there earth the one that is giving forth sounds, implying that the earth is shouting, viz., that the plants are calling for life

THIRD INTERMISSION

Song VIII

1. *huraru* (*ta-*) *sutiriku*
   earth you are looking at it
2. *i·ri* *atira* *i·ri* *huraru*
   here it is mother here it is earth
3. *awari* *rahu·ka*
   movement that comes in
4. *i·ri'i* *atira*
   here it is my mother

Second Episode of Song VIII

1. *huraru* *sirirua·hu*
   earth they two are tossing it about
2. *kaixtsu* *hu* *siriraruahu*
   coiled gambling basket see they two are tossing them about
3. *awari* *hi* *siriraruahu* *awari*
   movement there they two are tossing them about movement, life
4. *siriruahu* *awari*
   they two are tossing it about movement. life

The following is a simplified translation of an old Pawnee woman's statement of her experience of planting when she was a little girl in Nebraska, and a more exact statement of the old man's speech: 887 521 539

> An old man sitting on top of the earth lodge would be talking to the women at the time when they were going into the fields. He would say, "Now dear ladies, now you are disfiguring your bodies (getting them all muddy). Heaven has placed the wonderful bow and arrows in your hands. Heaven made it for you to be wonderful. You are wonderful! You repeatedly keep 'swelling me up.' When you put the corn in and it comes peeping out, that's what you fatten me with, my dear ladies."
>
> Then we women began to cut the grass, that is, clear the field. And when I was not yet mature, they would get me up early in the morning while it was still dark, and we two, my mother and I, would be in her field. She would have some porridge there for me. When mother was planting, oh, the corn mound would be big! Then she would dig a hole in the top and place inside the mound, seven seeds—not bunched together, but separately spaced. Then she covered it over with earth and the mound would be smooth. [241]

One of the only common instances of group planting was "planting for the daughter-in-law." The women relatives of the newly married groom would plant, cultivate, and harvest the bride's first crop. As many as twenty-five women would be gathered in her field and they would go to her house and get her seeds and line up in the field ready to plant. The field, about "half a block" long was hoed and planted by the women more or less in unison while two old women sat at the far end singing a song from one of the sacred bundle ceremonies: 241 476 602 [533] [539]

You are just hoeing around,
Big ground, lucky ground.

They were ranged in rows and while the women sang they made the mounds. Then they put in the seeds and then they all went to the home of the daughter-in-law where they were entertained at a feast of corn and dried buffalo meat. They repeated this performance when the corn sprouted, when they cultivated the field, and again at harvest. [574]

243

was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the 778
altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo 782
might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could 772
not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of 221
alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic.
The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other
in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers
of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As [823]
these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their [778]
biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for
each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through
the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different 243
aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under 778
the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when
the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four
semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression [776]
of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity,
Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in 796
their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under 628
the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented [778]
the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all
together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-* [823]
Pole Ceremony—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken
together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony
warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was
safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial sym- 796
bolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant 778
"ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of 243
its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Eve- 243
ning Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the 778
priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to 793
settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four [533]
[535]

243 harvest offering. Then the women left the lodge and the ceremony was
778 carried on entirely by the men. Now a man was sent to the sacred corn
776 hill to uproot any stalks that remained there with the ears still on them.
793 They were tied to the northwest post of the lodge, which symbolized
the Garden of the Gods. When the new winter direction priest was in-
[782] stalled at the end of the proceedings, he would receive these as a sign of
his office.

The priest was now ready to conduct the ceremony. He sat at the west
with his bundle open before him. He put aside the stick with the Young
Mother Corn Plant tied to it that they had made in the spring and the
two sacred ears in their respective wrappings. He also had before him
the four new sacred ears that were brought in that morning. The new
sacred ears had been cut with the first section of the stem left on to
symbolize the windpipe and the voice of the Mother Corn which was the
[822] "breath of life." After singing four songs mentioning the different
colors, black, red, yellow, and white for the semicardinal directions, he
[533] sang a fifth song and cut off the stem. Then he sang another song wel-
coming the new Mother Corn. He embraced the new ear, passing it to
the other priests who were sitting to the south and to the north of him,
and then passed it down the south side and then the north of the lodge,
everyone in turn embracing the new Mother Corn. When the ear was re-
turned to the priest, he sang a seventh song stating that the voice of the
corn was raised to the heavens.

[782] At the close of the songs, the pipe was filled and the mouthpiece pointed toward Mother Corn as an offering to share in the smoking. Then the ear was passed to the people on each side of the lodge and each person blew his breath on it four times, symbolizing its new life in the world.

The next symbolic act was to concentrate all the power in the world into Mother Corn herself. The priest took a buffalo-hair rope about a yard long from his sacred bundle. It was said to have been made of "hair from beneath the waters." Taking one of the new Mother Corn ears in each hand, he knelt before the altar holding the ends of the rope against the ears. Then moving his hands, he made the rope circle around into a loop to represent the horizon as it had circled out from the gods in the west during the original creation. He now made movements as if he were throwing the rope over objects and drawing them to his breast. This was spoken of as "trapping the powers of the Heavens" for Mother Corn and all the sacred objects.

The ears of sacred corn whose "lives had been ended" were now given over to a distinguished warrior, who would carry them on the warpath to guide him to success, or to the entrepreneur of the Peace Pipe Ceremony, who would carry them on his expedition to give him success in trade and international relations.

their way and touched the tree as if it were an enemy, claiming war honors and stating that they were entering the territory of the enemy. Then they brought it inside. 796

While the war parties were out, the priests had prepared the postholes. In each they placed a cake of buffalo fat sprinkled with some tobacco, the fat representing the earth and the tobacco the people. A similar cake of fat sprinkled with tobacco was placed in the center of the fireplace. These cakes were then taken outside and buried under the little mound outside to the east of the enclosure.

As each war party came in with its pole, the priest of that semicardinal-direction bundle offered it the pipe to smoke and sang the song ritual while the warrior danced four times and planted the tree in the posthole. All the branches had been trimmed from the posts except the very top ones. The priests sang songs referring to the appropriate colors connected with the semicardinal directions and each post was painted its proper color. [782] [533]

The next phase of the ceremony was considered its most vital part. The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person now recited certain acts of the creation by Heaven. The skull, fastened to a stick, was costumed to represent Heaven as in the first episode of the ground-breaking (*awari*), ceremony in the spring. The paraphernalia for decorating the skull, including the paints, was kept inside the bundle in a bladder bag when not in use. 796 778

Another symbolic object was a wooden bowl filled with water to represent a primordial pond or the waters in general. In the water was a shell to represent running water and the continuity of life. On the shell was placed the jaw of a gar pike, the head of a (thunder?) bird and the image of a turtle, all symbolizing the denizens of the water and the rains. The skull rested to the west, and to the east of it the bowl of water with the objects connected by a framework of sticks on which the turtle was placed with a clamshell over his middle. There were four smooth stones that were either meteorites or buffalo maw stones which came from the sacred bundle of the former Village Partly-on-a-Hill. The turtle and the shell were from the Southwest Direction bundle. The four smooth stones stood for the four quarters of the world.

The chief who had charge of the Skull bundle now stood up with the skull in his hands and, facing the bowl, recited the acts of the creation that had been performed by Heaven. The main part of the ceremony was now complete.

During the following night there were additional dramatic acts. Certain doctors appeared dressed in the skins of bears, loons, wildcats, and wolves, each connected with one of the four semicardinal directions. During the creation, as the Morning Star went out to conquer the Evening Star, he had to overcome each of these primordial animals who were 796 [756]

756 796 everything on their way south for the coming winter. I have sent men out to see about willows for our booths. They report that there are good trees for us. I wanted you to know that in a few days we are going to start to set up the lodge. Now the leaves are turning yellow and they are falling. This is the way the year goes round and that's why I wanted to tell you so that you can get ready. In two or three days you can come up here and get the wood to build your booths. Meanwhile you must fix up your paraphernalia, your whistles, and anything else you will need. I don't want to take up too much time talking this evening, as we have a great deal to do."

[824] Now he instructed the errand men to go to two of the men who had pledged meat and to bring it to the lodge. They went, carrying a piece of tent skin between them, and when they got to the lodges the meat was removed from the parfleches and placed on the skin, then carried by the errand men to the ceremonial lodge where it was set down near the southeast pillar. Now Sitting Hawk stated how their account stood. He said, "We used half a parfleche of meat cleaning up the lodge the first time, then the rest of the parfleche when we did the second cleaning. Now with these two, three parfleches will be used up."

756 796 • 533 Now the first song was begun and men, women, and children crowded in around the outside doorway to listen. They would say, "Oh, I like a good song." "Oh, I wish I could sing that song." A woman would remark, "I wonder when they'll put in the booths. I'd like to see the Bear." Inside the singing and dancing continued. The men were not costumed but simply painted, as this was a practice dance.

After the first round of singing, the spectators were told they had to leave. Big Doctor said, "It's all over." This was because they were now [782] going to make their ceremonial smoke offerings to the powers and outsiders could not be permitted to witness this. Some doctors refrained from singing in the first round altogether because they wanted to keep their songs from the public.

756 796 At the west were sitting the four leading doctors with their wives sitting directly behind them. On each side, along the north and south, the rest of the doctors were ranged. At the east ends on each side were eight chiefs, two from each of the four villages, viz., at the southeast, two from Village-across-a-Ridge and two from Pumpkin-Vine, and at the northeast, two chiefs from Bottomlands Village and two from Wolf-in-Water. Beyond these at the southeast were the old men, and an errand man at each side.

In the interim between the first and second round of singing, one of the eight chiefs got up and spoke on behalf of all of them. The doctors on their part spoke and said, "The echo of the drum drives back sickness when it comes."

[533] The singing alternated between the sides, first on the north and then

on the south. When they had gone halfway down the line, Big Doctor 756
appointed someone to get up and cut the meat into portions while the 796
errand man put up the water to boil. As the singing continued, the [533]
errand man finally announced that the meat was all cooked and a spread
was laid down east of the fireplace and 43 portions were set out for the
singers. It was midnight or later when the singing was over and the four
drums and a number of gourd rattles were brought back to Big Doctor.
He made a brief speech: "Now in three days we are going to get the
wood for our booths. We must look to the future and make our plans.
Now we are going to eat." Then he appointed two men for each side to
do the serving of the meat. One portion was sent to the house where
Sitting Hawk's wife was staying, "for the lodge." Before they could eat, [782]
an offering of meat and fat was made to the spirits in the significant
directions of the universe. When the offering was completed, all said,
"Nawa."

One more matter had to be attended to before the meat could finally be served. The meat was arranged on the spread according to where the people were sitting, and a stick was placed in the middle to act as a divider between the north and south halves. The pieces of meat were of two different sizes, some particularly large and some of ordinary proportions. Big Doctor asked Sitting Hawk to see that the special portions were placed in position so that they would be properly assigned. There were to be special portions for the four doctors at the west and their wives, for the eight chiefs, the two errand men, one each for the person sitting at the north on behalf of the North Star and at the south on behalf of the South Star, and for the four men who had been specially appointed to do the serving. Three or four extra pieces were set aside for possible mistakes in the count; if no mistakes had been made, these extra portions were placed on top of those that had already been set out for the chiefs. The smaller-size pieces were set out for the rest of the people. The meat was passed out in formal order and then the soup, in the same way. The feast this time consisted of meat and soup only.

By now it was extremely late and Big Doctor made some very brief closing remarks. He said, "Now we know what we have to do (viz., come back in three days and get wood for the booths). Now we have eaten. Now we can go." All got up and went home. It would take six or seven days more before the dance preparations were complete.

The next stage in their preparations was the building of the booths [346]
and other structures in the ceremonial lodge. As announced, this would be three days after the practice sing. On the appointed morning before daybreak, Big Doctor told the errand men to go to certain specified lodges and get four parfleches of dried buffalo meat that had been pledged so that they could have their feast that evening. The four donors had already been alerted at the previous meeting.

756 796 [824] The doctors came in very early wearing only their moccasins and a loin cloth and carrying an ax. Before sunrise they were to go into the woods and get six cottonwood trees and a quantity of willow saplings to build up the booths. The cottonwood trees were symbolic of the beaver, and the trees were cut down with an involved ceremonial procedure. When the doctors had all assembled, Big Doctor, dressed in his buffalo robe with the hair side out and carrying an eagle-wing fan and a gourd rattle, said, "Now get ready!" They sang four songs, four rounds each, • [533] and then Big Doctor appointed Sitting Hawk to lead the men into the timber. He also wore a buffalo robe with the hair side out and carried an eagle-wing fan, gourd rattle, and a pipe that had been filled with tobacco by Good Pipe so that he could perform the ceremony when they cut down the first cottonwood. Pipe Offering instructed him: "Go by the east agency road. Before you get across Beaver Creek, all along the north side, you will find good willows and cottonwoods and also some very small thin willows. Cut a good many of those. Now go!"

756 796 824 276 782 They all filed out behind Sitting Hawk, and when they got to the timber they found a good cottonwood and sat down around it to perform the ceremony. Sitting Hawk, who was seated at the west, pointed the unlit pipe toward the tree—first toward the top, then the middle, and then the bottom. Now he moved to the north side, again offering the unlit pipe to the top, the middle, and the bottom of the tree and so similarly at the east and at the south. The next step was an offering of the smoke from the lit pipe in the same manner. Squatting at the northeast of the tree he lit the pipe with a flint and proceeded by north to west where he directed puffs of smoke to the top, middle, and bottom of the tree and then at the other stations as before. After the pipe was smoked out, he made the same offering with the ashes, rubbing first his right hand along the stem up toward the top of the tree, then his left hand, then the same to the middle, sitting at each of the four cardinal directions—west, north, east, and south. He now handed the pipe to the man at his right (south) and instructed him to find a cottonwood just like the one before them and to treat it ceremonially in the same way. These two cottonwoods were to stand near the western end of the lodge on both sides (north and south). He now instructed Bringing Horses to take his men and get two more cottonwoods, one to stand in the north position and one to the south as representatives of the beaver. (The ceremony was performed only for the two cottonwoods that would stand at the west.)

756 796 824 Finally, two other men were sent to get two cottonwoods that would stand one on each side of the lodge near the east. These men simply cut down the trees and sharpened them at the stub end so that they could be stood up in their appropriate positions in the lodge. Meanwhile, Sitting Hawk went on with his ceremony for the two trees that were to

756 796 789 and singing with all their might, he made a running jump over the fire, landing right in front of Yellow Calf on the south side where he released his arrow. The arrow jumped back over the lodge with its head mashed and bent. Now the boy proceeded through the west to the north side, facing eastward with his arms extended, while his father remained on the south. Again Brave Shield jumped over the fire close to the boy and shot his arrow and again it glanced off and flew across the room—the point all bent and broken. The buffalo dancers now instructed the boy to stand at the west facing north, while his father was at the east, and the same performance was repeated. Finally the boy stood at the east with his father at the west—the father jumping over the fireplace and making his final shot. The shooting being over, the father led the boy to the south position and, warming his hands over the fireplace, placed them on the boy's chest where he had been shot, repeating this four times. Then he shook the boy out of his daze a bit and sent him off to the Buffalo Booth. Brave Shield moved around the fireplace by west, north, and then east where tne spectators were and showed them all how the heads of the arrows were broken and macerated. On inquiring of my informant how this was done, he said he thought that someone had been planted among the spectators to help change the arrows before they were passed around, or they might have been changed when they glanced off the boy's side and flew all the way across the room, either before they began their journey through the air or when they were picked up.

756 796 By this time it was midnight or one o'clock in the morning and the doctors all sang:

Tatix-kusisari, I am-playing (like a child) [533]
Witi-ratku-tawaki, myself-for-me-to enjoy [539]

Big Doctor made a final announcement to the crowd: "There'll be no performance tomorrow night. After that we'll have one again. Well now that's all!" Everyone left. Late the next afternoon they would have a big dance on the plaza outside the ceremonial lodge.

756 tanned-hide shawl. The other actors impersonating the *kitsaburuksu*, the
796 scalped ones, were plastered all over with mud, including a thick plastering
536 of mud on their heads and all over their faces. As they approached
they looked like a veritable mud bank.

535 A big crowd had gathered outside the lodge in anticipation of the performance.
The two drummers ran out first and putting their drums between
their knees, sat facing each other. As they began to beat the drum,
a crowd of scalped ones ran out of the Doctor Lodge. The drumming
[533] was in all sorts of irregular beats and the little boys were frightened
when they first saw the scalped ones approaching. They motioned erratically
and jumped every which way in scary ways. The drummers were
[539] singing "Scalped-Ones-Speech":

Hiru-rihi	here-is
Hiru-rihi	here-is, *wakarawi* (speech)
Hiru-rihi, hiru-rihi, wakarawi	
Kitsaburuks-pakarawi	scalped one-speech
Kitsaburuks-pakarawi	

The song was sung to an irregular tune and as soon as the drummers
had finished the song, they all ran suddenly into the lodge and just as
suddenly out again, the drummers again coming out and sitting facing
each other, singing the Scalped-Ones-Speech with the crowd of actors
running out after them. This running in and out was repeated four
times and on the fourth round the actors all came out dancing backward,
making peculiar motions and finally falling down. Even the drummers
[534] fell and kicked over their drums (water drums made of a hollow log.) At
last they looked up dazed and as soon as they became aware of the people
around, they jumped up and ran back into the lodge.

No one would provide a meal for "Scalped-Ones." As everyone knew, "They were the biggest thieves and stole anything they could get a chance to!" They ate in their booths whatever donations of corn had been made. "As for dry meat, they would provide it for themselves if they could steal some."

Between the second and third Outdoor Big Dance, there were one or two of these special outdoor Scalped-Ones dances with a performance in the night indoors intervening. Afterward the third Big Dance was given, and then after that the two nighttime performances with free days intervening.

tatators (*rariwaatuksa*) crowded in, and seeing what they were doing became interested, and began to fill up the membership ranks. Others now went to the southern Caddoan-speaking tribes—the Wichitas, Kitsais, Tawakaru, and Weco—learned their sleight-of-hand tricks, and returned to join the Deer Dance. The ranks thus became full. 796 [177]

In the south half of the lodge, at the west and in the semicardinal positions, each of the men had a tribal name according to where he had acquired his teachings. The north side that represented the Pawnee was called as a whole, *isati* (a noted one, or northerner in the Wichita language). The leader from the Pawnee side at the northwest station would say (mentioning one or the other of the southern Caddoan tribes), "The Kitsais [or the Wichitas, etc.] are coming on the warpath!" This would be a challenge to a shamanistic contest.

The year after the Pawnee moved from Fremont (*Pahaku*) to the reservation near Genoa, Kind Warrior died (1861). Victory Call survived him by seven years and during this time he controlled the Deer Dance and it had many members with performances going full force. Many new features were added to the ceremony, particularly two—the contest between members on the north and those on the south and the addition of two women members, one near the north entrance and one near the south. (See Figure 43-2.) This latter feature came about after someone reported that the Wichita included women, who took part and also gave performances. Then someone dreamed that they had been right in admitting the women and that they should have special duties of taking care of any corn that was donated and sweep the floor of the lodge every morning during the ceremony. Every morning during the ceremonial period, the old ladies would get up very early and tell the boys to get up. Then they gave the room a good sweeping. There were songs that told of this aspect of the ceremonial life in the Deer Lodge. 796 178

As Kind Warrior brought the Deer Dance to the Pawnee, most of the songs had Wichita words and reflected Wichita experiences. But in time the Pawnee dancers made new songs that were based on their own experiences and sung in the Pawnee language. 796 533 177

One war experience was of a war party of the Pitahawirata Band to Fort Scott, Kansas, led by Tikarahisat. They stayed on a high tableland for more than a year, hunting the buffalo and making a buffalo robe for their leader. They saw the ducks flying south in winter and then in spring when they flew north again, they flew in triangular formation with their leader at the apex and at the ends of the arms, the two errand men. Children used to ask these ducks, as they flew over the village, to give them moccasins or red bows and arrows. These experiences became the basis for a Pawnee song in the Deer Dance. Another song they sang was about two eagles that they saw, first one with a large log in his claws, then another with another log; they were building a nest. As they built, the eagles would whistle. 796 533 825

796
346

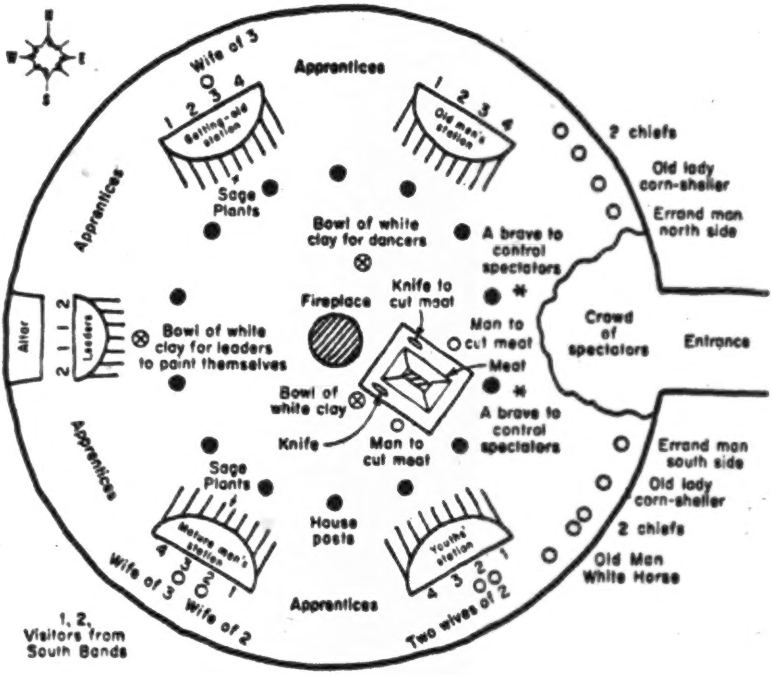

N
W
E
S
Wife of 3
Apprentices
1 2 3 4
Getting-old station
Sage Plants
1 2 3 4
Old men's station
? chiefs
Old lady corn-sheller
Errand man north side
Apprentices
Bowl of white clay for dancers
A brave to control spectators
Altar
2 1 1 2
Leaders
Bowl of white clay for leaders to paint themselves
Fireplace
Knife to cut meat
Man to cut meat
Meat
Crowd of spectators
Entrance
Bowl of white clay
Knife
Man to cut meat
A brave to control spectators
Apprentices
Sage Plants
House posts
Errand man south side
Old lady corn-sheller
2 chiefs
Old Man White Horse
Mature men's station
4 3 2 1
Wife of 3
Wife of 2
Youths' station
4 3 2 1
Two wives of 2
Apprentices
1, 2, Visitors from South Bands

FIGURE 43-2. The developed form of the Deer Dance. It took place in a large ten-post earth lodge. There were sage plants all around to sit on with root ends pointing outward; the thickest bunches were at the stations and the thinner layers between. The circuit of singing is clockwise—southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast, as the circuit of the stars around the North Star. Note the development of specialized personnel.

796
533
825

Then one of the eagles sat on the eggs while the other flew around. The deer dancers of the several Pawnee bands would invite one another to their dances and in this way, the Skidi acquired some of the songs about the Fort Scott expedition, while Skidi experiences found their way into the repertoire of the other bands. One Skidi song concerned a time when the Comanche came to attack. They could see them coming a long way off, and they came down and hid and stole many horses.

Another song was composed by Warrior. He was an old man who had been highly successful in his war expeditions. Most people wondered why such a man would join the Deer Dance, since one of its major interests was success in war. But Warrior had another purpose. He was particularly interested in learning the sleight-of-hand feat in which a wonderful rabbit could turn into a human being. The story was that

once when they were moving camp, a rabbit came in and out among the tents, threading his way here and there. However close the people were when they aimed at him, no one could hit him, even when the dogs joined in the chase. So a song was made about this wonderful rabbit who eluded all human pursuers. This was what Warrior wanted to learn. 796 533 825

The author of the original song was an old man, Arrived, who had a place at the northeast station. But instead of approaching him directly, Warrior went to his old friend, That-Chief for his advice as to how to go about it. He was told to come in next day when they had a practice meeting and address his request for membership in the lodge to all the members assembled and particularly to New Young Dog at the northwest. When Warrior entered the ceremonial lodge where the members were assembled for their practice sing, he stood at the east of the fireplace about halfway out to the door and facing west said, "All you Deer dancers, and New Young Dog at the west, I want to learn your Deer Dance. I will give a horse, some blankets, and some meat." New Young Dog, as was the usual practice, tried to deter him. He mentioned that, as Warrior was a successful warrior, everyone would laugh at him smearing himself with clay and participating in their ceremonies when he had no need for further luck either in war or in the hunt. But he remained determined, and finally New Young Dog led him to the old man's place at the northeast station where he took his place. 796 533

That evening Warrior went in quest of the rabbit learning that he wanted. New Young Dog had learned it from the original author, Arrived, and it was to him that Warrior went. When he got to the lodge, the people knew the two men wanted to be alone together so they all went to bed. The two men sat and smoked and talked and in the course of their conversation Warrior told New Young Dog about an experience he had had that impressed him deeply. Warrior always wore a white feather and once when the village was under attack as the war party struck, he felt like a feather floating in the wind so that no one could hurt him while he was aloft in the air. New Young Dog advised him that he could make a song about that when they were at the meeting. At the practice meeting, Warrior began slowly and then the next day he sang the song he had composed:

1. hiwiri witikuuwia [539]
Now I feel as if I were flying
2. " "
3. " "
4. " "
5. " "
6. " hia
feather flying

796
• 533
[539]

1.	hiwiri	Wiwitawia Now it comes flying
2.	"	"
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	hita feather-coming

The two men continued to talk together that night in the lodge and New Young Dog told Warrior about the rabbit learning that he wanted to know. Should anyone come in and see the sparks from their pipe and hear the whispering, they would know that the two men were to be left alone and would go straight to their beds as they were talking of something important. The next time the dance was held, Warrior followed after New Young Dog. After he had carried out his performance, New Young Dog addressed the assembled company saying, "What you have seen me do here today, I am giving to this fellow here, Warrior. This is my teaching." From this time on Warrior was able to do the rabbit dance and could make a rabbit skin come alive and be a rabbit.

796 721 [178] [177] In this way, the original Wichita Deer Dance took on its Pawnee form. By 1867 it had become a typically elaborate Pawnee ceremony. Sleight-of-hand performances and trance induction were both modes in which they operated as they did in the Doctor Lodge. But unlike the Doctor Lodge where animal costumes and animal impersonations celebrated their communion with the animals, in the Deer Dance, war was the predominant theme and each of the members at the stations bore the name of a tribe, the opposing north and south sides representing attack and counterattack. The ceremony was carried through ten consecutive sessions, nine in the night and a tenth in the daytime with a number of rest days between. Technically, they conceived that the all-day tenth and final episode was the actual ceremony and the nine night sessions simply preliminary to it. The nine night sessions comprised several different phases. In the first five, there was a program of four or more sleight-of-hand performances, chiefly in sequence. [789] [787] As in the Doctor Dance, sleight of hand was referred to as "playing." Following these "playing" sessions, going on very late into the night was a series of "fighting" or hypnotic episodes. But these differed from the Doctor Lodge "fighting" which was simple trance induction; in the Deer Dance, the fighting consisted of hypnotic interference with a sleight-of-hand performance while it was in progress, confusing the performer and making it impossible for him to complete his feat. The difference between the two kinds of "fighting" was recognized in the names they were called—the "fighting" of the Doctor Lodge was "I shoot at him," *wi-tatix-tsaaku*, "now-I at him-shoot" (abbreviated as *patsaaku*) while

whole story. The old doctor gave him some plants to chew, saying, 752
"You're a man and it won't hurt you. Just take the medicine." Then he 756
told him to turn his head aside and pulled out the bone that was sticking out. He cooked some leaves in water and where the hole was in his left leg, he blew some of the water in. He blew it in again and again and each time he asked his assistant if the water was clear. Finally it was. The old doctor said to the boy, "Young man, your leg will be well in two weeks." Finally the boy did get well except that the leg was somewhat crippled and this distressed his mother, White Woman, very much. Shot Arm mixed some grease with red paint and other medicines and rubbed it well into the leg. In a week or so the leg was better and the boy could walk again. He had suffered a year and a half, falling twice off a horse and stepping into a gopher hole and he had been in danger of having his leg amputated or of losing his life. Now at last he was healed.

For his treatment, Good-Land had been promised a fee of two horses, one from his uncle War Cry and one from his stepfather, Shot Arm, and a quantity of other goods, i.e., three blankets, some squaw cloth to make ladies' dresses, and some red shawls such as were issued by the government at that time. Before he had begun his treatment War Cry had said to the doctor, "If you doctor him, there's a horse over here for you." And Shot Arm said, "If you doctor him, there's also a horse here for you, and some goods." It was a very good fee. One could compare a horse to an automobile in our terms.

One evening the doctor and his assistant announced to War Cry, "Tomorrow sometime I'm going to quit the case. He's all right. He's getting well." As soon as he heard this, War Cry sent one of his wives to call in White Woman and Shot Arm. They would have to have the fee ready for payment next day. But before that, the doctor would release the boy psychologically from his illness. That evening four doctors would come in to sit down at the patient's bed and "sing to set him free." Big Doctor and Pipe Offering, the leaders of the Doctor Lodge were called in to join Good Land and White Fox who had treated the case.

The boy was wrapped in a tent skin and lain crosswise west of the fireplace, his head toward the south and his feet toward the north. The big doctors came in with their gourd rattles and sat at his feet ranged from west to east—Good Land westernmost, White Fox next to him, and then Big Doctor and Pipe Offering. At his head on the south side were his adopted father, Shot Arm, uncle War Cry, and White Woman. Ranged further along the north side were other doctors who had come to witness the ceremony. Good Land addressed Shot Arm, White Woman, and War Cry saying, "The songs that the animals have, these medicine [533]
bundles here, the gourd rattles and the eagle-wing fans, are all going to hear their songs through which Otter had been made to get up. Now he is going to get well. It is these songs that we are about to hear that made

752 him well. Now we're going to start to sing." Together in unison the
756 four doctors sing:
• 533

First song:	Here, here, they got him to get up.
[539] Second song:	They got him up and going about.
Third song:	They (our forefathers) said, that they (the animals) could get him up.
Fourth song:	Now as they, the old doctors said, they have raised him up.

Now they pause and smoke and then take up their gourd rattles and
[539] sing again:

1. "When first I came, the bone was broken.
2. "I had to use the eagle wing (*kauk'tu*, "down").
3. "The bone was broken. Just as they told me to do when a bone is broken, one must use soft down feathers.
4. "I call you back now, old doctors of long long ago; when a bone is broken, you can heal it."

They sang three more songs, making eight in all and then they said, "Now we're through."

756 Now they would all be entertained at an informal meal prepared by
574 War Cry's youngest wife, Bird Woman. While it was being served, War Cry and his wives took the host's position at the southeast of the lodge, while the others remained in their places. A woman carried one bowl of food to each of the doctors in succession and then to Shot Arm and White Woman at the west, and all the others, and finally the hosts. A little bread and coffee was at last given to the patient himself. While they were eating people told funny stories or recounted some familiar incidents. Then they went home.

The next evening Good-Land entertained the other doctors in his earth lodge at an informal feast upon the completion of his case and the receipt of his fee. A gift of a blanket was made to Big Doctor and a shawl to Pipe Offering by way of compensation for their participation in the previous night's ceremony. Either that morning or earlier in the evening White Woman had come to Good-Land's lodge, leading the two horses, while one of War Cry's wives was carrying the goods. They were greeted by a woman of the house who came outside, and White Woman said simply, "Here are the horses and the goods to pay for his cure" (*iriwirawirata*, "that which he has earned or won"). White Woman and her companion turned around and left and the woman of the house tied up the horses and took the goods inside the lodge and piled it up to the east of the fireplace. When the doctors were assembled, Good-Land addressed

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wil- 000
son, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, 462
considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not 251
hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of
the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not
affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife
was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244).
Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civiliza- 462
tions—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern 171
Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men
among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern
Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women.

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and 006
Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9.

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the in- 342
side of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The 772
sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within,
then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand
as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people."

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song 796
sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 53[illegible]
1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and 787
wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder 821
spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.' "
He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when
he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of
the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's
account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of 157
the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones 821
the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit 721
to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old
friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She 114
remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on 821
the contrary they were part of it and went out into it.

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On 172
archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, 251
pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10
feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric ex-
amples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten
walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a
slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present
beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the
Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp.

243 825 171 [244] 97 Maximillian reports that in the spring corn ceremony among the Mandan, wild goose signified maize, swans represented the gourds and the duck, the beans. It may well be that the deer and the loon represented the squash and beans respectively among the Pawnees at some time. There was no known symbolism connected with these essential food plants at the time of my report, the concentration being entirely on the maize.

533 126 100 The *Awari* songs are from the Murie-Wissler manuscript, in my retranscription and translation as it appears there.

512 243 102 Oehler and Smith, 1914. On May 8th, 1851: "Early in the morning we were awakened by the shrill voices of the Pawnee women, who were engaged in cleaning up the lodge and collecting their hoes, previous to going out to the fields to prepare the ground for planting corn."

243 105 Weltfish, 1937. From the Pawnee texts; old man speaks to the women (pp. 29-30); a little girl goes into the fields with her mother (p. 30); Pawnee women as horticulturists (pp. 27-28).
106 Adapted from Murie-Wissler, pp. 308-325, as well as from other
821 302 107 sources. The foot painted on the warrior's forehead represented the Pawnee astronomical constellation known as bird, *rikutski*, which was said to be on the Milky Way itself, but is otherwise unidentified. The Tsawi Band calls Cassiopeia, turkey foot, but the Skidi Band calls it rabbit, *parus*. See Dunbar, 1881, p. 744.

000 113-114 Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98.

106 See Drucker, Heizer, and Squier, 1959, for the time depth of elaborate formal religion in Mexico at La Venta, Tabasco, southeastern Mexico near the Gulf. The structures have been radiocarbon dated at 800-400 B.C. and show a high degree of religious organization and complex symbolism that can be clearly inferred from the archaeological remains.

172 243 122 It took milennia to evolve the current uses of maize among the Pawnees. At La Perra cave where some of the earliest examples of North American domesticated corn have been found (radio-
121 carbon dated 4445 ± 180 B.C.) some steps in patterns of utilization indicated in the finds are: (a) chewing young ears husks and all shortly after pollination—wasteful, but quick and simple way of getting a little sugar; (b) roasting the ears of green corn; (c) making parched corn; (d) removing kernels from cob, shown with glumes battered and broken as though the ears were forced across a rough surface or beaten with a stick; (e) maize apparently pounded, inferred from the finding of stone mortars. (Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, Galinat, 1956, pp. 145-146).

000 121 Mangelsdorf, 1958; Mangelsdorf, 1964.

122 Walster, 1956.

INTRODUCTION

Name of the Ceremony

The ceremony is called Skari by the Ku'rahus and by all who have 196* been taught its rites and sacred songs. This word is from ska, hand, 196 ri, many, and refers not merely to the many hands required for the preparation of the sacred articles used in the rites, but also to the culminating ceremony of touching the little child with the hand, which occurs on the morning of the fifth day (sixteenth and seventeenth rituals).

A peculiar expression is used to characterize the consultation which a man who desires to inaugurate this ceremony has with his kindred in reference to their assistance in the undertaking. This consultation is called "touching them." The Ku'rahus explained this expression as being connected with the meaning of the word Skari, many hands, in its double significance already noted.

Although the term Skari is said to be old, its descriptive character [174] seems to be against its acceptance as the original name of the ceremony.

Among the people at large of the Pawnee tribe the ceremony is spoken of as Ruktaraiwarius. This composite word can be analyzed as follows: ruk, from rukkis, wood, or a stick of wood; ta, from tita, hung upon; ra, coming; iwarius, shaking or waving. This descriptive term refers to the two objects peculiar to this ceremony, the two feathered stems which are waved to the rhythm of the songs. The Pawnees who receive those who bring the sacred articles call the ceremony Haktara. The word is composed of hak, from hakkow, translated below; ta, have; ra, coming: haktara, they who have the [171] breathing mouth of wood are coming. The Osages speak of it as "Bringing the drum," and the Omahas as "To sing with."

Hako is a comprehensive term used to designate all the articles which belong to the ceremony. The term is derived from the composite word hakkowpirus, meaning drum. Hakkow is from akow, mouth, with the aspirate prefix h, signifying breath, and the k added to the first syllable represents the word rukkis, wood. Hakkow may then be said to mean a breathing mouth of wood. Pirus means to whip or beat.

Three customs among the Indians can be traced in the composition [194] of this word: first, the peculiarity of pulsating the voice on a note that is sustained over more than one count of the measure, by which [534]

*796 196 [194 ●534] a beating effect is produced; second, the custom of waving the hand to and from the mouth or beating the lips, so as to break a continuous note or call into a series of sounds or beats; third, the making of the drum from a section of a tree, hollowed out, with a skin stretched over the open end. From this analysis of the word hakkowpirus we discern that the pulsating voice and the beaten lips were the first means employed to produce an effect which was afterward emphasized in an instrument, the drum (hakkowpirus, the breathing mouth of wood), which was made to give forth a series of sounds by the same device of whipping by the hand.

*[533] In Indian music the rhythm of the drum always follows closely the emotion expressed in the song; it is like a great pulsating voice.

In the term Hako the k of the first syllable in hakkow is dropped for the sake of euphony, and for the same reason the rough sound ow is changed to o. The word Hako carries the idea of the breathing, vibrating tones from the wooden mouth. It is applied to all the articles used in the ceremony, because, according to the explanations of the Ku'rahus, "everything speaks; the eagle, Kawas, speaks; the corn speaks; so we say Hako—the voice of all these things."

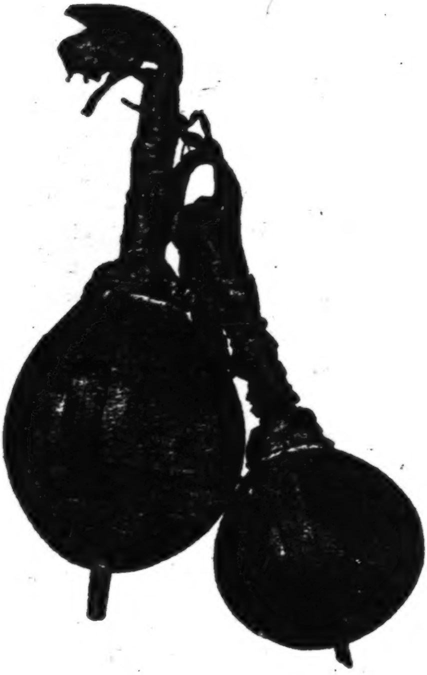
*796 126 In the preparation of the record of the different rites, rituals, and songs of this ceremony it became necessary to adopt a convenient term which should apply to the ceremony as a whole, including the party inaugurating the ceremony, the rites, the rituals, and the articles used. The term "Hako" has been chosen as best fitted for the purpose. Three considerations influenced the choice: first, the fact that Hako is the native name by which the articles used in the ceremony are spoken of collectively; second, the meaning of the term Hako, as revealed by an analysis of the word and by the explanation given by the Ku'rahus; third, the ease with which this word can be spoken and remembered by the English reader.

PERSONNEL OF THE CEREMONY

*796 [602] [556] Two distinct groups of persons were essential to the performance of this ceremony. These two groups could not belong to the same clan or gens of a tribe, and they were often of different tribes. One group, called the Fathers, was composed of the kindred of the man who had taken the initiative in organizing a party for the performance of the ceremony. This man was called the Father. His party comprised from 20 to 100 persons, and represented the well-to-do class in the tribe, the requisites for the ceremony being of such a character that only skillful hunters and thrifty households could supply them. The second group, called the Children, was made up of the relatives of the man chosen by the Father to receive the visiting party of the Fathers. The leader of this group of Children was called the Son. Each of the two groups, as well as the leaders of each group, had peculiar

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796
● 534



THE RATTLES

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C.FLETCHER)

[FACING p. 46]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*
[825]

In the early spring the birds lay their eggs in their nests, in the summer they rear their young, in the fall all the young ones are grown, the nests are deserted and the birds fly in flocks over the country. One can hear the fluttering of a startled flock, the birds suddenly rise and their wings make a noise like distant thunder. Everywhere the flocks are flying. In the fall it seems as though new life were put into the people as well as into the birds; there is much activity in coming and going.

[534]

This song tells of the flocking of birds. We do not use the drum as we sing it, but we blow the whistle. The whistle is made from the wing bone of an eagle. In this song we are singing of the eagle and the other birds, so we use the whistle.

When the eggs are hatched and the young are grown, the birds flock; the promise of young has been fulfilled. In this song, which we sing toward the close of the ceremony, we are thinking of the fulfilling of the promise given by the Hako, that children will be granted to the people, so that they may be many and strong, and we sing that the great flocks are coming.

Translation of Second Stanza

901 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
902 Wera kosha hushta wiki rira.
    wera, they yonder; ra gives the idea that the flock is at a distance.
    kosha, flock.
    hushta, the noise made by the birds in flying and in alighting; hush, the noise; ta, to alight.
    wiki, descriptive of the manner of flight. See translation of the word in the first stanza, line 897.
    rira, coming.
903 See line 902.
904 Kosha hushta wiki rira. See line 902.
905 See line 902.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the second stanza we are thinking of the great flocks of birds. The noise of their wings is a mighty noise. As they fly from one tree to another they shake the branches as they alight, and the tree quivers as they rise. The flocks are many and powerful; so, through the promises of the Hako, the people will become many and powerful.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

There is a very general scattering of the gifts, and songs of thanks are sung by those who receive them. When this ceremony of distribution and acknowledgment is over, the Children return to their several lodges. By this time the afternoon is well advanced. 431 796*

The Fathers now enter the empty lodge and begin preparations for the last night of the ceremony and for the following morning. At this time they partake of their last meal before the close of the ceremony at about noon the next day. 796*

The best dancers in the party are chosen to perform the final dance, which occurs on the morning of the fifth day. The songs which accompany this dance are rehearsed and everything necessary for the closing acts of the ceremony is put in readiness.

If a tent has been used for the ceremony, the Fathers on this afternoon must build around the tent at a little distance from it a wall of saplings and brush, to keep off outsiders and prevent anyone from looking in. If the ceremony takes place in an earth lodge, then both the outer and inner doors are closed, for on this last night no one is allowed to be present but the Fathers, the Son, and his near relatives.

On this night a sixth man is added to the five who carry the sacred objects—the two feathered stems, the ear of Corn wrapped in the wild cat skin, and the two eagle wings. The sixth man has a whistle, made from the wing bone of the eagle, which he blows in rhythm of the songs. The whistle imitates the scream of the eagle over its young. [534] [237]

SECOND DIVISION. THE SECRET CEREMONIES

FIFTEENTH RITUAL (FOURTH NIGHT)

PART I. THE FLOCKING OF THE BIRDS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

At sunset the Fathers call the Children to the lodge. When all have been seated, the Children on the south side, the Fathers on the north, the Ku'rahus, who sits at the west, back of the holy place where the Hako are at rest, addresses the Children in the name of the Fathers. He explains the meaning of the ceremony about to take place, for on this last night and the following morning everything that is done refers to the nest and to the direct promise of Children to the Son, who is also to be bound by a symbolic tie to the Father.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 on them and knows all that they mean. We do not look on them, for they are holy.[a]

*796 The Ku'rahus, handing the bowl of water to the young man who brought it into the lodge, tells him what to do before he throws it away.

The young man with the bowl passes through the circle of warriors and goes by the south to the east, then to the northeast, where he lifts a few drops to that direction and lets them fall on the rim of the fireplace. Then he passes to the northwest and repeats his action. At the west he lifts a few drops to the zenith and lets them fall on the rim of the fireplace. Then he passes on to the southwest, offering the water as before, and then to the southeast, where he repeats his offering. Thence he goes to the inner door of the lodge, where he pauses, then passes through the entrance way, and when he is out under the early morning sky he throws the water toward the east.

[823] This is done because all the rivers flow toward the east.

EIGHTEENTH RITUAL. FULFILMENT PREFIGURED

Part I. Making the Nest

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The old man who has been preparing the child now rises from his position and, stepping to one side, leaves the Ku'rahus and his assistant standing directly in front of the little child.

[534] These two lift the feathered stems and the rattles and wave their arms like the wings of a bird as the following song is sung three times. No drum is used, but the rattles and the whistle accompany the song.

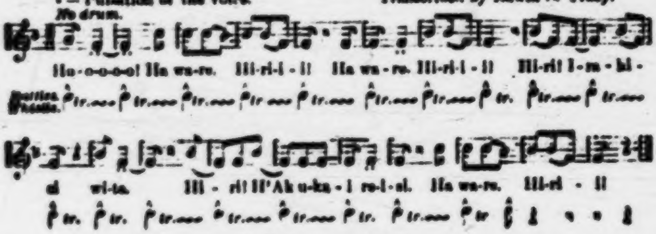
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 192.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*583]


Ho-o-o-o-o! Ha wa-re. Hi-ri-i-i! Ha wa-re. Hi-ri-i-i! Hi-ri! I-ra-hi-si wi-ta. Hi-ri! H'Ak u-ka-i ro-i-si. Ha wa-re. Hi-ri-i!
Rattles. Whistle.
tr.

1258 Ho-o-o-o-o!
1259 Ha ware. Hiri-i-i!
1260 Ha ware. Hiri-i-i!
1261 Hiri! Irahisi wita.
1262 Hiri! H'Ak ukai roisi.
1263 Ha ware. Hiri-i!

---

[177] [a] The Ku'rahus did not remember what was formerly used as a covering for the head of the child; latterly it has been a black silk handkerchief.

796*

The chief, the Father of the Hako party, now takes the little child in his arms and, going outside of the lodge, sits down near the door, where he remains during the final dance and the presentation of gifts by the children. [431]

THIRD DIVISION. THE DANCE OF THANKS

NINETEENTH RITUAL

PART I. THE CALL TO THE CHILDREN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Before the entrance to the lodge mats are spread, on which sit those who are to take part in the coming ceremony.

The Ku'rahus and his assistant are directly before the door. At the left of them are two doctors who have not heretofore taken part. They carry their large rattles, and have lent two similar ones to the [534] Ku'rahus and his assistant. They have also lent for this occasion their peculiar drums to the singers. These drums are made of the section of a tree hollowed out by fire, over the open end of which a skin has been stretched and securely tied. The singers are seated in a semicircle about each of the two drums (see figure 180). In front of the Ku'rahus and the singers sits the chief, and before him is the little child. The doctors with the eagle wings are on either side, the one with the left wing toward the north, the one with the right wing toward the south. In front of them are the two dancers. The space within which they are to dance is inclosed on the south by a line of prominent men from the Son's party, and on the north by a line from the Father's. These lines beginning at the lodge end each with a warrior selected by the Ku'rahus for his valorous record. These warriors wear buffalo robes with the hair side out and are girded about the waist with a hair lariat, which is to be used in leading the horses brought as gifts to the Fathers. Beyond these lines of prominent men, who are seated, are gathered the people, those belonging to the tribe of the Son on the south and those of the Hako party on the north.

The Ku'rahus gives a small tuft of white down to a man whose hands have not been painted with sacred ointment, and directs him where to place it on the head of the chief. The place is on the spot where a baby's skull is open, and you can see it breathe. The white down represents the white clouds which lie near the abode of Tira'wa atius, whence he sends down the breath of life to man. Chiefs were appointed by Tira'wa through the North Star. The tuft of down also signifies that the chief's office is from above.

The two feathered stems, the rattles, the wildcat skin, and the ear of corn are given to the chief to hold.

The two young men who have been selected to dance are stripped to the breechcloth, and red circles are made with the sacred paint on their backs and breasts. The circles are outlined faintly, so as not to

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SECOND DIVISION. THE SECRET CEREMONIES

FIFTEENTH RITUAL (FOURTH NIGHT)

PART I. THE FLOCKING OF THE BIRDS

The last meal given by the Fathers was eaten by the Children during the forenoon of the fourth day. Afterward gifts were presented to the Children and they went to their homes. 796*

The afternoon was occupied in preparation for the approaching secret ceremonies, which began at sunset and at which no one could be present but the Fathers, the Son, and his near relatives—those primarily concerned in the promises of the Hako.

These ceremonies opened with a song suggesting the fulfilment of the promises and the joy of the people. Again we note the use of prefiguration at the beginning of a rite. 539* 796*

This song—the flocking of birds—is in three groups of two stanzas each.

The first group speaks of the flock, the old birds, with their young now grown, moving about with strength and power, shaking the trees by their numbers as they alight and rise; so shall the people increase and be powerful by their numbers.

The second group speaks of Kawas as bringing from the powers the gift of this increase. She comes as a special messenger. Leaving the flock she flies direct to the people, as the eagle flies straight to its nest. The lodge of the Son is her nest, and she is coming to fulfil the promise of increase.

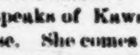
The third group deals with the rejoicing of the people over the promise received through this ceremony. The joyful noise which they make as they bring their thank offerings to the Fathers is like that of a great flock of birds.

The song not only pictures the increased power which is to come to the people through the Hako; it also refers to the immediate joyous influence of the ceremony on the people, in the happiness and gratitude felt in the giving and receiving of the required gifts.

The realistic whistle, made from the wing bone of the eagle, used [534]● to accompany the songs of these secret ceremonies, emphasizes the prophetic assurances of Kawas.

SONG[a] 533* 796*

Diagram of Time



---

[a] Music on page 194.

These old societies were concerned primarily with war and 178 hunting, and, becoming functionless, had practically ceased their 575 activities by 1892. Each society was controlled by a bundle, from 778 which the powers necessary to the activities of the members were derived, and which in turn derived its powers from greater sources in the major sacred bundles. A full and complete revival of a society would have meant a recreation of the structure of membership, in some cases involving hereditary seating plans, the renewal of the society paraphernalia, the carrying out of the society performances preliminary to regular seasonal activities of its members, and the war path and hunt itself. Some of these societies were entrusted with the policing of the organized hunt. Hence a complete revival could not be accomplished. But a number of societies were reconstructed to a point just short of completion. These were the Horse Society, the Young Dog Dance, the Horn Dance, the Crazy Dog Dance, the Roached Heads, the hatuxka, and possibly the old War Dance. No reconstruction of the membership arrangements was attempted, but led by men who had been connected with a society in former times, leaderships were instituted, singers were taught the old songs, and the dance performances of the society were carried out more or less exactly. Where old paraphernalia was available a renewal ceremony for its physical repair was attempted; while in some cases replicas of the old sacred objects of a society were made. My informants had witnessed regular participations of revival forms of the Horn Dance, Roached Heads, Crazy Dog Dance, Young Dog Dance,[1] Horse Society and old War Dance in the great gathering of bundles for Emmet Pierson's hand game. (See Chapter X). At this game the altars of these societies were [534] arranged generically: each had one or more pipes and drums, and lances and other sacred objects were set out before the altar. The dancing to society songs in the game intervals required that the drum of the society be moved to the regular drum position, the hand game drum being moved aside.

My informants recalled witnessing in the Ghost Dance period, 178 four or five performances of the Crazy Dog Dance, performances of 575 the Horse Society, the Wolf Society, the Roached Heads and the 786 Young Dog Dancers. In Nebraska days, since these societies were for men only, and for masculine functions, such performances could only be participated in by men and by men who were members. The Oklahoma revivals in terms of the Ghost Dance, were on behalf of all the people, and all who wished joined in dancing to

---

[1] A song recorded by Densmore reports a Ghost Dance vision in which the Young Dog Dance pipe was given. See Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

178 According to Murie's[1] account the modern Skiri iruska was taken
over from the Oglala Sioux, but went back to a form of the Omaha
796 grass dance. It began to appear among the Pawnee in 1897, and
177 was fully organized by Eagle Chief in 1911. An independent
development of the iruska took place among the Kitkahaxki^{x}.
"About 1894 while the Ghost Dance was still intense a man named
Sitting Bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the
iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and led it until his death
in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the
[778 hands of Little-Sun, one of the leading singers. According to this
ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the
534] ritual as in the case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-Sun revived the
ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-Fly-High, also a pupil of
Sitting-Bear." An independent development of the modern iruska
took place among the Tcawi under the leadership of Roaming-Chief,[2] and thence spread to the Pitahawirat^{a}.[3]

Murie has described how the peyote ritual reaching the Pawnee
668 in 1890 was stimulated by the Ghost Dance excitement; and how
796 some forms of the peyote worship were like Ghost Dance forms.[4]
Frank White, the great Pawnee Ghost Dance prophet, was also
276 a peyote devotee (See Chapter II). Murie adds, "it may be well to
note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the Ghost Dance excitement. One of his individual
[787] doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may
acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown
to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging
to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable
astronomical lore."[5] This indicates the extent to which the effort
to bring back cultural aspects buried and forgotten was a definite
part of the Ghost Dance doctrine.

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 624—625, 628. Cf. for a description of the forms of these rituals, pp. 624—630.

[2] Several shields in the Field Museum, depicting warriors' visions of Ghost Dance times are associated with the development of the modern iruska. F M 71844, and F M 59527 (two shields). One of the latter was identified as probably belonging to Roaming-Chief.

[3] The story of gradual changes in the form of Pawnee visiting party arrangements, associated with the modern iruska development, is a complex tale on its own account, and is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

[4] Murie, Societies, p. 636—637.

[5] ibid. p. 638.

796 her into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village until the
782 time for her sacrifice. She was treated in a ceremonial manner but
kept in ignorance of her fate. At the appointed time her body was
[302 painted, half red and half black, and she was tied to a scaffold and
417] shot through the heart with an arrow. It was said that the braided
thong used to bind the girl to the scaffold is now in the Morning
Star bundle.

Tradition states that on one occasion the intended victim was
173 rescued. On the night preceding her execution she was seated beside
782 some tall sunflowers. A young chief came through the tall weeds and
796 stole her away, putting her on his horse and taking her to Fort Leavenworth, whence she was returned to her own people. She died within three months, having been anointed for death with the sacred ointment of red paint powder and buffalo fat. This occurred about the year 1818. The man who rescued the intended victim was a warrior of distinction and through his influence the custom was discontinued. The ritual of the sacrifice is still rendered but no actual sacrifice has taken place since that date.

796 Coming Sun, who sings the ceremonial songs, said that sometimes,
during the Morning Star ceremony he stops and says "Listen," and
[782] the people hear a woman's voice singing the songs above his head.

The Morning Star ceremony was held by the Skidi Band near Pawnee, Okla., on April 17, 1920. This ceremony formerly lasted four days and nights, ending when the morning star appeared in the east, but at the present time it is concluded in one day. On this occasion the writer had the honor of entering the lodge, through the courtesy of Coming Sun. It is said that only one other white person, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, has entered the lodge during the ceremony and seen the contents of the sacred bundle.

The ceremony was held in a tipi erected for the occasion in a quiet
[346] spot near the house of the keeper of the bundle, north of Pawnee.
This tipi had been used in the Ghost dance and was decorated with
Ghost dance symbols. (Pl. 5, *b*.) The adjacent landscape is shown in
Plate 3, *c*. The ceremony began at about 9 a. m. and continued until
4 p. m., the writer sitting outside the tipi except for the brief time
she was permitted to enter. Thus the entire songs of the ceremony
were heard, as well as the prayers and rituals, though only the principal song was obtained. At the proper time Coming Sun, who
was in charge of the ceremony, sent a messenger to summon the
writer and she entered the lodge, passing to the right and standing
near the bundle, before which she laid gifts of calico, tobacco, and
● [534] money. Coming Sun was seated back of the bundle, directly opposite the entrance, and held one of the sacred gourd rattles. Two
796 men at either side of him held similar rattles. In front of the men
778 at Coming Sun's left and next the sacred bundle was a belt decorated

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

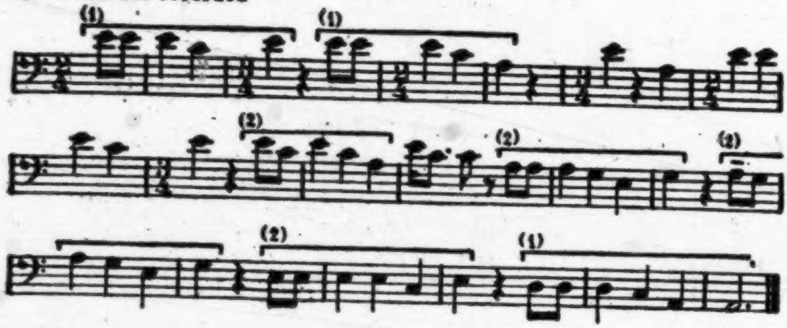
No. 20. Bear Dance Song (d)

(Catalogue No. 1151) 533*

Recorded by Dog Chief

Voice ♩ = 168

Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This song is clearly harmonic in feeling, though three measures in the latter part of the song begin with nonharmonic tones. It has a compass of 12 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is chiefly by major and minor thirds. Two rhythmic units occur, and a comparison of these units forms the principal interest of the rhythm. Rests occur at the end of each phrase and after a detached tone in the fifth measure. These rests were clearly given in both renditions of the song.

SONGS OF THE DEER SOCIETY

533*

575

[787]

The Wichita Indians are said to have originated this society, which has been discontinued for many years. The dance of the society was held in the autumn when the corn was ripe, and its purpose was "to find out whether a man would be killed when going on the warpath." The dances took place in an earth lodge. A custom of the society, described by James R. Murie, appears to have been a testing of the powers of its members. Mr. Murie said, "These men drank mescal, putting about half a bean in a kettle of water. After drinking it they fell unconscious. An attendant then ran the jaw of a garfish along the man's spine and if he recovered consciousness he was not considered fitted to belong to the society. Members of this society had power over snakes and their dance was allied to that of the Mokis.[a] Each dancer carried a fox skin and held in his mouth a plain bone or reed whistle on which he blew as he danced." There were four singers, each carrying a bow in one hand and a gourd rattle in the other.

[276]

[825]

[171]

[534]

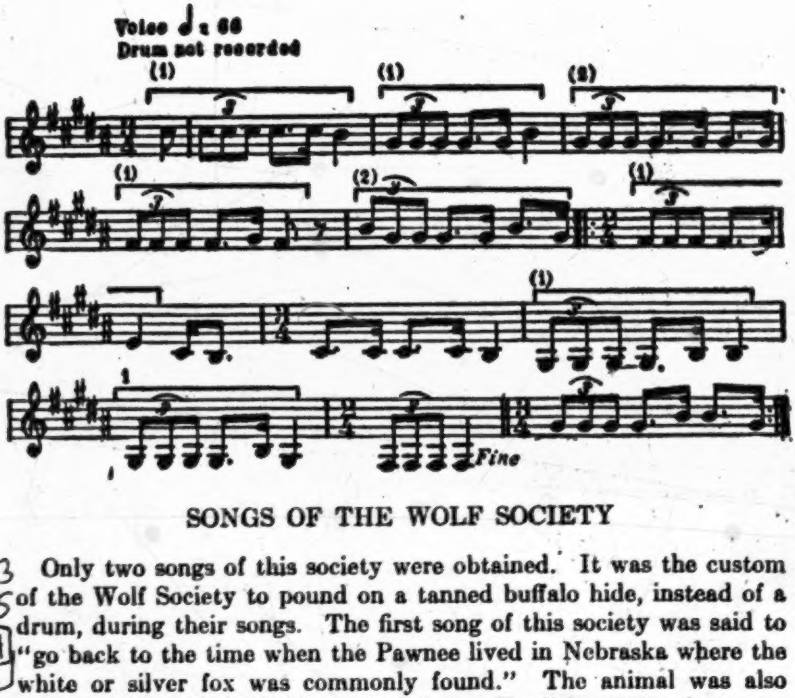
a [i.e., Hopi. – Analyst]

*533 Except for an ascending fourth the song progresses entirely by major seconds and minor thirds.

No. 28. Lance Dance Song (b)

(Catalogue No. 1093)

Recorded by Effie Blain



SONGS OF THE WOLF SOCIETY

*533 Only two songs of this society were obtained. It was the custom
575 of the Wolf Society to pound on a tanned buffalo hide, instead of a drum, during their songs. The first song of this society was said to
[534] "go back to the time when the Pawnee lived in Nebraska where the
[281] white or silver fox was commonly found." The animal was also designated as a kit fox by James R. Murie. Tradition states that a war party found a white fox singing this song.[21]

*533 *Analysis.*—The distinction between the tones transcribed as A natural and A flat was clearly given in all the renditions and the song is classified as both major and minor in tonality. The song is unusual in its initial progression of an octave and in its compass of two octaves, the lowest tones being sung with clearness. About two-thirds of the progressions are whole and half tones, the latter producing a peculiar wailing effect.

---

[21] Cf. Teton Sioux Music, p. 183, in which a man is taught a song by a wolf. The same work relates instances in which wolves appeared to warriors.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

7

tervals are fourths and major seconds. Drum and voice are different in tempo, each being maintained with regularity. 533*

No. 71. "Other Girls Are as Pretty as She"

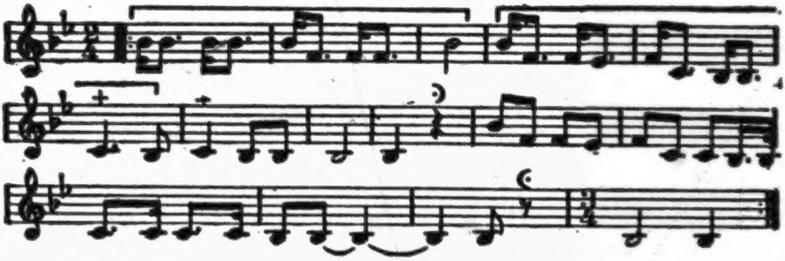
(Catalogue No. 1101)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 112

Drum ♩ = 120

Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



A modern love song (not transcribed) was translated as follows: "That lady loves me. I bet she is thinking of me." It was said to be the song of a man already married who wanted the person mentioned in the song to elope with him. 533* 832

Songs of this class were preceded by the syllable *ee-ee* on a low tone in imitation of a flute. The informant said "the flute was courting medicine of a bad kind." [534]

MYTHS AND FOLK TALES

The Pawnee possessed many stories pertaining to the origin of sacred bundles and the doings of mythological persons. Concerning such stories Doctor Dorsey states: "These tales, as a rule, are told only during ceremonies, especially during the intermissions or pauses in the ceremony which occur from time to time between rites, or during resting periods in the chanting of a long ritual. During such intermissions anyone of those present may ask the priests for such a tale. Especially is it the privilege of the one who has made the ceremony possible, by providing the food for the sacrifice and feast, to ask that such a tale be related. These tales may also, under certain circumstances, be told outside the ceremonial lodge . . . and the chief object in relating them is to furnish instruction."[34] Such stories gradually passed into current knowledge and were told as folk tales by any member of the tribe without mention of their religious significance. 773 538 out to the buffalo hunt, this society having renewed its lances, takes them 224 out on a horse as previously noted. They are thus ready for the society to 575 act in case of attack. In such a case, if the regular bearers are not present, 625 any member or anyone in fact, is expected to lay hold and act as bearer. To facilitate this, the lances are placed against a pole outside the society tent. If, however, a bearer fails to put in an appearance or shirks his duty in any way he can be reprimanded or even expelled. The volunteer bearer will be permitted to dance with the lance in future ceremonies, in contrast to the preceding society where only the descendants of lance bearers were allowed to enter the dance. As stated, the lances were expected always to head the line in battle.

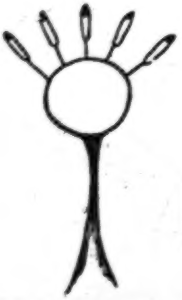
---

[34] Dorsey, The Pawnee: Mythology (Pt. 1), Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publ. No. 59, Washington, 1906.

As winter approached these lances were dismantled and put away until 575 the renewing ceremony of spring. Each member makes it his business to hunt for an otter and when one is caught takes it to the leader who skins it with a special ceremony. His wife then dresses the skin and cares for it until the time for renewing the lance in the spring.

THE RED LANCE SOCIETY.

Among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kit'kaháxki divisions there were organizations known as the raris pahat, but differing from the Skidí society of that name. The two lances were wrapped with swans' down. These societies were all considered as derived from and sanctioned by the bundle of the Pítahauírata. This bundle controlled the ceremonies in that division and hence all but the public dancing in the camp was secret. Only the descendants of chiefs could be members. In the two sides of the organization, the chiefs sat upon the north side and the warriors upon the south. The lance for the north side was trimmed in black feathers, that for the south in white. The members painted in corresponding colors in the dance, but carried such weapons as they chose. When dancing, a rattle bearer faces the lance bearer of the opposite side and in the evolutions they pass each other. Water drums are used and in the dance around the village two boys are appointed to bear these upon their backs. The pipe of the society was originally that belonging to the bundle, but later a special pipe was provided.



[534]

[362]
[535]

Fig. 8. Rattle for the Skidí Red Lance, one of four. The bulb is of rawhide, the feathers are eagle.

It will be noted that the lance of this society bears no point and is not

was derived from blackbirds, the kind that feed around grazing horses and buffalo. 575
A long time ago a hunter was walking along a ravine. Presently he heard war cries and shouting. He was badly scared and ran, but the cries still pursued him. 773
Becoming tired, he took his stand, bow in hand, for the enemy seemed near, singing and shouting. Finally, they came up. He heard one division going on one side of him, another on the opposite side, and stood ready to shoot down the first man to appear. But as they passed by he saw only flocks of crows, blackbirds, and packs of wolves. He saw no human beings among them. Yet he sat down and watched because he felt sure that they were human and that they had a lance among them.

He noticed that the birds came together as also did the wolves. The birds flew upward in a circle and then took a position resembling a lance, so the man thought. Then he fell asleep and dreamed of a blackbird. In his dream the blackbird told him that all that had happened was merely a test of his bravery. At first, he had appeared cowardly, but finally proved his courage. The birds and animals had decided to give him a lance with which he could originate the hatu^{h}ka society. The birds would teach him the songs, but there would be no dancing. The lance was to be of ash, hooked at the end, and wrapped with the tanned skin of a bull calf. Crow feathers which the birds would give him were to be attached at intervals, while the whole was to be daubed with white clay. The blackbird said that the man would obtain a medicine root for the use of the society. When painting, only soot was to be used. Thus, in his dream he was taught all the details of the regalia and practices of the hatu^{h}ka society.

When the man awoke he proceeded to the place where he had seen a tall weed which he took to be the medicine promised him. Here he gathered up the crow feathers which he took home. He did not tell the people of his vision on the plains. Instead, he wrapped the feathers and the medicine root in a piece of tanned buffalo hide which he tied to one of the lodge poles on the inside. At night he filled his pipe; first he gave a whiff to Tirawahat, a few whiffs to the bi[illegible] and then smoked non-ceremonially.

That night he dreamed again. He saw a line of singing [illegible] daubed with soot. They were strung along a buffalo rope drawn through th[illegible]ts. When he awoke he sang a peculiar song which aroused the curiosity of the other people. Again and again he dreamed of the same men and each time learned a new song. One time he sat in his lodge singing the songs he had learned and was joined by another man who learned them from him. They in turn were joined by others from time to time.

When quite a number knew the songs, the man told them his dream experiences and announced his intention of organizing the society about which he had dreamed. He told them it would be difficult, as evidenced by the songs they already knew; that bravery was necessary; that they should know no fear of death; and that they were to act as protectors of the tribe. In their ceremonies, two rattles were [534]
to be used. Drums were not permitted. Each member had a quiver with bow and arrows slung over his shoulder.

The society owned a buffalo hide rope. Each member was compelled to provide 575
a crow feather for the lance so that it would have a claim upon his bravery. The lance had to be covered with tanned buffalo calf skin.

The members of the society did not act as soldiers. Instead they were strung together in battle and marched in the rear of the tribe on all occasions.

While on a buffalo hunt they procured all the necessary paraphernalia. On their return to the village the new members met at the originator's lodge to sing the songs

the flanks of the loose horses while the scouts and soldiers bring up the rear. 726
They ride almost continuously for three days, or until exhaustion, and then camp in a sheltered place. Some hunt, others guard the horses. When 727
the first buffalo meat is brought in an altar is made, as before stated, and the regular smoke offering performed. Two men are then chosen by the leader to divide the spoils. They divide the horses according to the ranks of the members, inexperienced men getting but one horse. After the [553]
division the name-changing ceremony is performed for the young men on their first war party.

After sufficient rest, they set out for home. As they approach their village they set the grass afire at intervals so that their people may know [201]
that a war party is returning. When near the village they paint their faces black or dot over with black the white paint of the warpath. When in sight they signal the result of the expedition and are met by the chiefs who triumphantly conduct them into the village. Feasting and jollifying then follow. If coups have been counted or scalps taken, a victory dance will be held.

After an interval the leader of the party calls the members together and 575
any of those formerly in a party who now constitute a kind of society of the wolves. The altar is again constructed and the ceremony performed. 727
Two of the captured horses are brought out and loaded with presents, the objects from the bundle are also placed there and the horses lead to the keeper of the bundle where they are received by the priest. They are then returned to the bundle and the keeper goes at once to the place of ceremony; he stands by the altar and gives them his blessing.

On the warpath a man may vow to give one horse to the mother corn, in which case a horse is given to the keeper of the main bundle, who also gives his blessing.

With these acts the true wolf dance begins. In the dance all the young men may join, who hope to go out with the next war party and as they dance the old men sit around and ridicule their ardor. With this ceremony and the return of the sacred objects to the bundle, the war party ceases to exist.

It seems that those who have taken part in such a foray constitute a kind of wolf society which at various and sundry times conducts dances in the village in which all boys and young men may join. The object is to give practice in the songs and ritualistic parts of the ceremonies necessary to [534]
the warpath. In these dances pieces of rawhide were used for drums.

dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in 756
their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry
rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow [534]
mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes. [386]

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws.
The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the [293]
lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in [778]
black. There were no feathers or other decorations.

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished
old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature [888]
of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times.

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

THE DEER SOCIETY.

The raris ta, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual 276
seems to be in keeping of the Skidi organizations. The fundamental ele- 756
ments of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer (ta), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamental is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls unconscious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed jaw of a gar fish; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once for all.

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may
be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the [789]
leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced

They had one large drum which was made according to the directions of 534
Pahukatawa. Several men cut down a large water willow tree which was 721
split into several pieces. The best piece was planed down then bent over 756
and fastened together with sinew. Four flints were tied inside the drum. The head was covered with buffalo hide and sewed with a rawhide string. When dried it was painted black, the rim red, and four buffalo skulls were marked on the sides.

There were four regular singers and two assistants. Any of the singers [533]
was permitted to dance.

This war dance was held to teach the men how to act during battle and 721
to remind them that there was a being who watched over them and gave 756
them courage.

The origin myth is as follows: —

One day when the Skidi' lived in their old village in Nebraska, seven men went 539
out hunting toward the west. After a few days they came to a willow-covered 721
ravine where they camped. Before sunrise the next morning the youngest among 756
the hunters went up in the hills. As he came to the top of a hill he saw the enemy approaching. Instead of running towards camp he ran towards some heavy timber. The enemy followed. As the young man was afoot they soon overtook and surrounded him. He fought until all his arrows were gone and then they killed him.

The other hunters remained in the ravine and when the enemy left went to the place where the young man had been killed. They found arrows stuck in the ground and long poles scattered about. The young man's body seemed missing, but finally they found it cut up and strewn over the ground. They gathered up the pieces and laid him out. They went home and told the people how the young man had been killed. All the village started out to bury the young man. When they arrived at the scene of the fight they found the arrows and poles but not a sign of the young man. They camped here for several days and searched for the man's bones, but in vain. They continued to the west to hunt buffalo.

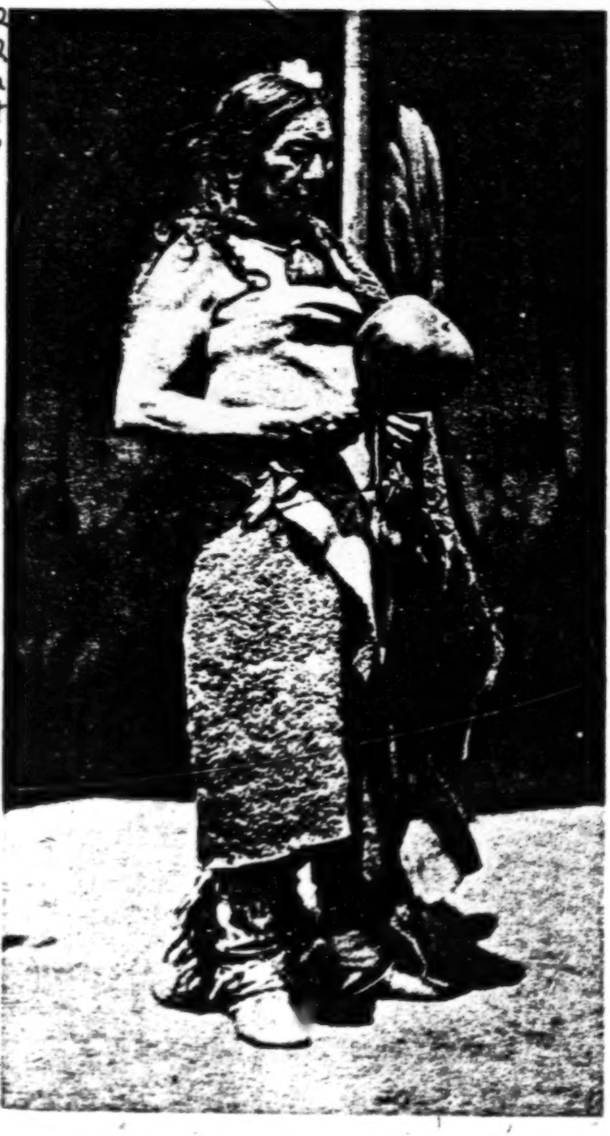
Several years passed and the incident was forgotten. One winter evening when the people were living in their mud-lodges some men who were singing round the village noticed flashes of light here and there. They took this to be a warning that the enemy was coming to attack them.

Finally the village quieted down. One man only could not sleep. As he lay awake he heard a sound like rattling buffalo hoofs. The sound came into the lodge and then stopped. As he watched and listened, the man felt first a cold wind and then warm wind against his face and someone whispered: "My brother, I am here. I am the one who was killed a few years ago. I am not dead. I am alive. When I was killed and my body was cut up and pieced together again, the powers in the heavens, on the earth and beneath it, pitied me. They caused all the birds and animals to congregate and make me live again. They promised to return the parts of me they had eaten. Everything but my brains was returned. An eagle and a buffalo bull wished to give me life so they suggested that the thunderbirds (swans) give me their down for brains. You see I cannot speak well for I have no brains. I am everything. When the lights appeared they saw me. I am part of the winds."

"Before sunrise tomorrow you must go to the hills where I will meet you. Fill

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

142
292
302
●534
793



A PAWNEE PRIEST IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME.

[facing p.14]

241 574 [778] early in the morning after the ministers had met, took the bundle from the west where it was hanging, and placed it outside on a tripod. She cleared the lodge of all the bedding and swept it with hyssops, while the four ministers each went to his separate house and sent boys out to collect willow sprouts to be delivered to the ceremonial lodge. There they were piled in two piles, one to the north and one to the south, and the woman spread them around the lodge radially with their pointed ends toward the fireplace, their stub ends outward toward the wall. She placed the floor mats on top of them, two on each side of the lodge and one at the west in front of the altar. The ministers seated themselves and sent for the woman visionary after inquiring if she had the bundle of consecrated dried buffalo meat ready. They also invited four prominent women—daughters of chiefs, warriors, or medicine men—who were wealthy enough to furnish a parfleche of dried buffalo meat and a kettle of corn and who would play a major role in the ceremony. The woman visionary was seated at the north, the four guests at the south, and the ministers then announced that they were about to conduct a ceremony so that the women could go into the field and plant their corn and that they had selected them to be leaders of the dance. Their acceptance of the role meant they were ready to make the necessary contribution.

That evening they all rehearsed their part in the forthcoming ceremony. The woman visionary was anointed by the ministers and the significance of the ritual explained to her. The four women who were to assist her were seated two to the south and two to the north. Other women who were attending were seated behind them. The descendants of the original Skull bundle owners were seated on the north side, other men scattered around the lodge.

[534] [778] The four ministers sent for the four gourd rattles that were attached to the Evening Star bundle, and when they were brought in they began to rattle and sing while the woman visionary practiced her dance. The spectators went home, and the four ministers, the woman visionary, and Skull bundle owners remained and had a dinner of corn and meat together, talking about past customs and the origin of the Skull bundle. At midnight the brother of the woman visionary came to escort her home while the ministers remained sleeping near the altar, the head minister remaining awake to watch for the dawn when the proceedings would begin.

241 The ritual was in three parts, one session from dawn to breakfast time, the second from breakfast time to ten in the morning, and the third in which there was major public participation, from ten till six-thirty in the evening. About seven-thirty in the evening there was a meal for everyone including the spectators to close the ceremony. [574]

[778] The dawn-to-breakfast part of the ceremony celebrated the original coming together of the villages, commemorating the special creative

brought. She yelled, "Take that away!" "He's all right," said Fox 756
Chief, "You people are foolish." "But he'll bite someone if you set him
free in the village," said his wife. "No, he knows we live here. He'll
go straight off to that rocky place over there." Then he released the
snake and the snake went directly away without disturbing anyone.
And so I lost my chance to learn—by not believing.

This story, told in Oklahoma in 1936, sixty years later, was sincerely believed.

With this confident knowledge of the herbs and roots connected with 756
it, the doctors did cure the sick, combining what must have been some 755
empirical observation of physical efficacy with personal influence and
suggestion. It was this latter aspect that was the subject of their cere- [796]
mony at this time and an affirmation of their faith in their calling.

Last of all they had to get the cedar tree that would stand just outside 756
the Bear Booth to the west of its entrance. The bear and the cedar were 796
associated together, and both belonged to the northeast direction. 824
Their celestial affiliation was with the sun and moon. All the trees that
were used in setting up the Doctor Lodge were brought in with a great
deal of ceremony. The six cottonwood trees that had been used to build [778]
the animal booths symbolized the beaver, and the waters and were con-
secrated accordingly. To get the cedar, twenty doctors set out before
sunrise for the Loup River where the cedar tree had been located the day
before. The leader of the party carried a bearhide rattle. [534]

On the return journey, they stopped halfway and practiced hypnotism 756
on one another. The doctors who had remained behind in the lodge would 796
try to prevent the incoming party from entering the village. One of the doctors was stationed at the top of the lodge to sight them as they were returning. The incoming party stopped in the timber and painted themselves so that they could rehearse in order to "put on a good show for the people of the village." They were sighted approaching from the southwest by the doctors in the lodge who went south through the village to meet them as they were about to enter and managed hypnotically to drive them back. The leader of the incoming party was sounding his bearhide rattle and the people climbed onto the roofs of their lodges to watch. The approaching party dropped the cedar, and, in their hypnotized condition some began to impersonate wolves, some deer, all imitating the motions of the different animals. As they came, one of the deer tumbled over, and the wolves tumbled on their noses and lay there kicking. Then they got up looked around dazed as they recovered from their trance. People came and threw offerings of calico and black handkerchiefs on the cedar tree as it lay on the ground.

Inside the lodge, Big Doctor stood ready to receive the cedar tree [824]
which was ceremonially treated and set down east of the fireplace while

756 tanned-hide shawl. The other actors impersonating the *kitsaburuksu*, the
796 scalped ones, were plastered all over with mud, including a thick plaster-
536 ing of mud on their heads and all over their faces. As they approached
535 they looked like a veritable mud bank.

A big crowd had gathered outside the lodge in anticipation of the performance. The two drummers ran out first and putting their drums between their knees, sat facing each other. As they began to beat the drum, a crowd of scalped ones ran out of the Doctor Lodge. The drumming
[533] was in all sorts of irregular beats and the little boys were frightened when they first saw the scalped ones approaching. They motioned erratically and jumped every which way in scary ways. The drummers were
[539] singing "Scalped-Ones-Speech":

Hiru-ribi	here-is
Hiru-ribi	here-is, *ʼwakarawi* (speech)
Hiru-ribi, hiru-ribi, ʼwakarawi	
Kitsaburuks-pakarawi	scalped one-speech
Kitsaburuks-pakarawi	

The song was sung to an irregular tune and as soon as the drummers had finished the song, they all ran suddenly into the lodge and just as suddenly out again, the drummers again coming out and sitting facing each other, singing the Scalped-Ones-Speech with the crowd of actors running out after them. This running in and out was repeated four times and on the fourth round the actors all came out dancing backward, making peculiar motions and finally falling down. Even the drummers
[534] fell and kicked over their drums (water drums made of a hollow log.) At last they looked up dazed and as soon as they became aware of the people around, they jumped up and ran back into the lodge.

No one would provide a meal for "Scalped-Ones." As everyone knew, "They were the biggest thieves and stole anything they could get a chance to!" They ate in their booths whatever donations of corn had been made. "As for dry meat, they would provide it for themselves if they could steal some."

Between the second and third Outdoor Big Dance, there were one or two of these special outdoor Scalped-Ones dances with a performance in the night indoors intervening. Afterward the third Big Dance was given, and then after that the two nighttime performances with free days intervening.

skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known 776
as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended 773
that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal
on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with
their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in [756]
the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The [782]
actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It [821]
was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the
rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely
begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears,
without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of 796
rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial 825
ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time.
Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be
decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer
because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to
send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been 796
occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and "fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is 796
completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. 241
Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until 262
the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat
green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a
vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in
a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to
bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The
corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were
all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and
the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the
taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive
"fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought
between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears
in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently [824]
the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild
plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the [534]
wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was
originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated
gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea- 000

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the
white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was
wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and
also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-four
feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidistant
intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled basket 773
made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to
carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the
germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony
immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous movement"
or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially
made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The
women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the
course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to
move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learning [887]
to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling.
There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the
betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual
pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make
the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked
to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525
285

778 126 80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwiru-tsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

787 80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 24, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of supernatural beings." 787 828 The Pawnee made a clear distinction between hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination. An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

775 •534 80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

773 171 83 Compare in Whorf, 1929, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 752, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four 80-81 Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of [821] course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

little children. Each man stops at the effigy and there, treating the figure as he did his enemy, he acts out a deed of valor and then recounts its story. He does this to honor his child, who is taking the gift of a horse to the Fathers. 796*

As the child approaches, the chief goes toward him with the wildcat skin and the ear of corn; he strokes the child's head with the ear of corn. This movement means thanks for the gift and the invoking of a blessing upon the child.

Meanwhile one of the warriors at the end of the line (see figure 180) comes forward, and with his hair rope leads the horse away and gives it in charge of some one, and the man appointed to keep count makes a record of it.

These things are all going on at once while the young men are dancing. When the dance song begins the two young men rise, each holding in his left hand, high up over his head, a feathered stem and in his right a rattle. Both start at the same time and as they leap and dance they wave the feathered stems to simulate the flight of the eagle. The dancer with the brown-eagle feathered stem goes from the north around by the south and pauses when he reaches the place where the dancer with the white-eagle feathered stem started, while the latter goes outside the path of the former by the south and pauses when he reaches the place at the north where the dancer bearing the brown-eagle feathered stem had stood. There the two dancers stand until the song is finished, when they cross over and take their own proper places, the brown eagle at the north and the white eagle at the south. Whenever the song is repeated, they rise and dance again in the same manner. 535 796*

The circle of the white eagle is always outside that of the brown eagle, for the white eagle is the male and its place is outside to defend the female. The brown eagle always moves from the north around to the south and the white eagle goes from the south to the north; the two move in opposite directions so that they may come together; the male and female must conjoin.

There are two dance songs; they both mean the same and there is no order in which they must be sung.

The words mean "Now fly, you eagles, as we give thanks to the Children."

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

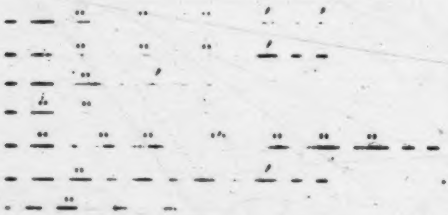
Rhythmic Rendition

*539 Ready and waiting, we call you, loud we call you, loudly call;
*796 "Come to us, Children," call we loudly, call we long: Oh, come!
Come! Come! Come!
Hear us calling, calling, Children! Oh, come!
Hear us calling, come to us here! Come!

THIRD SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

*539 Look, where they come, see them, see them, young ones and old ones!
*796 Look! Here they come, this way, that way flocking together.
Hither they come, shouting like eagles,
Shouting come.
Joyous, happy, gladly come they, gaily coming, coming hither.
See where they come, flocking like birds, shouting like eagles
As they come to the Fathers.

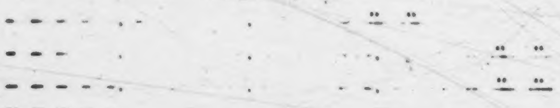
PART II. THE DANCE AND THE RECEPTION OF GIFTS

*796 ● 535 The two young men as they danced waved high above their heads the feathered stems and simulated by their movements the flying and sporting of birds. The lightness and beauty of this final dance can never be forgotten by one who has been so fortunate as to see it well executed.

DANCE SONG[b]

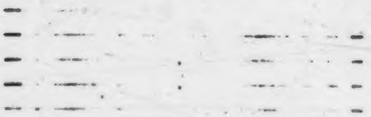
Diagram of Time

*533
*796



DANCE SONG[c]

Diagram of Time



---

[a] Music on p. [illegible].

[b] Music on p. [illegible].

[c] Music on p. [illegible].

668 mouthpiece upward and bowl inward toward the body, he takes
782 it in his left hand and runs his right hand up it from bowl to mouth-
796 piece, opening the palm upward and outward toward heaven, then
276 places the hand on the right side of his head and runs his palm down
the head and side and leg to the instep which is pressed against the ground. This motion is then made with the left hand for the left side etc. while the right hand holds the pipe, and repeated once again with the right and once again with the left, making four motions. Then the smoker turns and returns the pipe to another chief in the line of men, who receives it with an *arm blessing*.[1] When the offerings have been completed, the pipes are taken inside the tipi and replaced on the altar-space at the west.

Now the arc-like line at the west closes around the clearing to
[533 form a circle of dancers, and women who have not up to this point
participated join the circle. They may, however, sing two songs
● 535] before forming a circle of dancers, and these are special ghost-dance songs which are never danced to. Then the dancing begins from the east, facing west, circling clockwise.

668 Before describing the movements of the dancers, attention must
782 be called to the form of the smoke offering which would be made
if the dance were to begin in the morning.

796 If the dancing is to begin with a smoke-offering in the morning
276 the orientations for the smoke would be reversed. That is, the
823 arc-line of leaders and men would form around White on the west, facing east; the smoker would begin all his circuits from the west, and the motions with the pipe which he made slantwise to the west, while he stood at the east side of the clearing and faced west, would become motions slantwise to the east which he would make standing at the west of the clearing and facing east. Finally the pipes would be handed along the line of leaders and men from south to north, instead of from north to south.

This shift of direction also changes the position for starting the dance, which is now at the point directly west, facing east. Here White stands and leads, and the circle proceeds clockwise. This is the generic position for beginning Ghost Dancing and singing, and even if the evening orientations are followed, only the first song begins at the east facing west; it then ends at the west, facing east, and all subsequent songs begin at the west.

It will be seen at once that the whole smoking ritual involves two basic orientation concepts: upward and either slantwise to the west or slantwise to the east. The upward offering is to Tirawahat^{a} or the expanse of the heavens; the other is to the sun, according to a game. To use an analogy, one of these games is like a "rubber" in bridge. In the old game, such "rubber" games are played until the possessions that one side can bet are exhausted, or until, because it is late, all agree to stop. In the Ghost Dance games, special arrangements of the number of "rubber" games to be played are made beforehand. Some of the Ghost Dance hand games have a fixed number of games to be played, usually seven, and regardless of the final outcome, viz., whether one side has won four, the other three, or one side has won all seven, the usual custom is to cease playing when the seven games have been finished. Other Ghost Dance hand games have variant methods which are optional, such as to play "even up" a certain number, which means that one side must win so many *more* games than the other. 525 668

---

[1] See chapter 8, p. 200.

When one game has been won, there is an interval during which dancing and singing takes place, led by the winning side. [533 535]

After this a second game begins. For this second game, the guesser of the winning side retains his office, while the guesser of the losing side, by giving another player of his side the counter, inducts him into office as guesser for the side. So that in *putting the counters in play* for a second or later game, there will always be one guesser who participated in the previous game—the guesser of the side which has won—and one new guesser for the other side.

After the counters have been put in play in a second game or later, the players to whom they are first given by the guesser who wins both, are, in the Ghost Dance hand games, those whose turn it is to play.

Taking Turns to Play: In the old games there is essentially no formal method of taking turns. As will be detailed below, the main object being to win actual stakes which are valuable, the counters are given to hide to players who are thought to be lucky or especially able in deceiving the guesser. These will be any two chosen by the guesser, regardless of what positions they are seated in. That is, the individuals may be next each other, or widely separated in the row of players. But, after such individuals have had a turn, and have lost the counters, the custom would be for the guesser, when he had rewon the counters from players of the opposing side, to give them to hide to two other players of his side.

In the Ghost Dance hand games the whole routine is formalized. For each hand game there is an order in which the players seated around the arena take turns. This order may or may not differ from one game to another. The most general form is for the players to take turns as they are seated from the head end to the doorway.

of death sang such songs before they set out for the country of the 525
enemy, sang such songs before they went into battle, before they 533
broke into the enemy camp. Knifechief gets up to dance. He 619
dances the steps of the Crazy Dog Dance. It is his place to dance
first, he is a brave man and the leader. Others join him from the 525
Skiri side. They do not dance out in the circle, but standing at 535●
their places. Knifechief carries a stick in his hand. 619

As the dancing ends, all the Skiri yell, he-he-he-he-e-e-e-. hitting [201]
their hands on their mouths. Knifechief speaks.

"I can remember when I was in the army and we chased the 525
Cheyenne. We chased them out of their camp. They ran and left
their blankets behind. I took the blankets away from them." 619

Knifechief sits down.

"Well, bet some more."

The Skiri who have won stakes bring back their winnings. The Kitkahaxkiˣ have to bet other things against what they have lost. The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader bets his blanket, a squaw cloth with one side red and the other black. All the Kitkahaxkiˣ bet again. They have come to play the hand game and have a lot of stuff with them to bet. The bets pile up again. The betting is even, man against man, and the pile comes out even.

The guesser who won for the Skiri plays again. The Kitkahaxkiˣ choose a new man to try his luck against the victor.

Again the Skiri win and carry off the stakes.

The Skiri sing Crazy Dog Dance songs. Knifechief dances. He [533]
calls, "We charged again and chased out the Cheyenne, and they [727]
left everything behind, tents and horses, and we carried them away.
And a pair of leggings I took away from them."

He is recalling victory in battle and the garnering of the spoils. He is gloating over the victory in the game. The game is a battle; the Skiri have carried off the plunder.

Knifechief sits down.

The bets are laid for a third game. The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader says, "I'm going to bet a beef." He puts up a beef against the squaw cloth Knifechief has just won from him. All bet again.

The game begins. Again the Skiri are winning.

All this while Mark has been standing on the Skiri side. They have given him no place to sit and play.

The guesser for the Kitkahaxkiˣ in the third game is a friend of his. He calls out to Mark. "Come over here." He asks him to sit on the Kitkahaxkiˣ side next to him. Mark walks around through the north outside the circle of players and sits down.

The Kitkahaxkiˣ are losing again. The Skiri have won six

Crow: Each hand clasped with index finger erect. The arms are 525
bent so that the hands are held out about shoulder high like wings. 825
The player calls ka-ka-ka like the crow while he motions with his 536
hands back and forth like flapping wings.

Turkey: Right hand clasped, index finger extended, is brought to forehead to imitate the beak; left hand with index finger out is placed behind like tail. The player calls tut-tut-tut like a turkey.

Deer: The hands clasped palm side down, held bent at wrists about waist high, imitating the forefeet; the index fingers are curled down; the arms are moved alternately, gracefully and slowly, forward and back. No sound.

Buffalo calf: Two hands tight shut in fists with thumbs erect; the bottoms of the fists are set to the sides of the head above the ears, the head bent forward, the thumbs moved like little horns, slight motions. The calf makes no noise unless caught, then "br-r-r-rrr."

Buffalo: The two hands clenched at the sides of the head as for calf, but the index fingers erect for larger horns: the head is moved slowly around to one side and another as the animal peers this way and that.

These animal imitations are by some wholly in fun. But those who use a certain imitation usually retain it throughout the play of hand games, and are known as such and such an animal player. And there are some among the players who have the right to characterizations because of their knowledge and power. In the hand game above described, one man who imitated the deer was a deer performer in the Doctor Dance.

The structure of the old hand game comes out clearly in the 525
above narration. The play of the game has been detailed heretofore.
Points of significance:

The games were always played outdoors. [562]

Women never participated.

The long fire outdoors with each side in a semi-circle.

The leaders as tallyers at the head end.

The tally sticks in one heap between them.

The betting.

The selection of hiders in any orders.

The attempts to trick and deceive.

The singing of old hand game songs for the play accompanied only [533]
by handclapping, without instruments.

The Crazy Dog Dance between the games, danced by the winning [535]
side, the winning leader counting a coup.

The animal imitations. [536]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

led into the dance lodge by women. Some of the young men were in 727
the full costume of Indian warriors, others were in civilian clothing, [177]
and Lawrence Murie wore the khaki uniform in which he had served
with the artillery at the front. The young soldier who directed the [411]
dancing carried a sword which had belonged to one of his ancestors.
The principal dance was the grass dance, followed by the war dance. [536
The former is common to all the tribes of the northern plains, extending
even to the Kutenai. According to Miss Fletcher, the dance 171]
originally was connected with the Hethushka Society of the Omaha,
a society whose object was "to stimulate an heroic spirit among the
people and to keep alive the memory of historic and valorous acts."[24]

A touching event in the second day's gathering was the expression 765
of sympathy for the parents of the young man who died in France. 727
They stood before the assembly while the chief and other leading [201]
men talked to them. The speaker placed his hands on the man's
head, drawing them down the man's arms to his hands; he also held
the man's hands closely in his own as he talked to him in a tender,
earnest manner.

Numerous speeches were made, and the occasion was marked by 727
dignity as well as rejoicing. The young soldiers appeared to be in
excellent health, were friendly toward all, and made a good impression
upon the white people who attended the gathering.

The song next following was sung by the women on the second day 533*
of the victory dance. It is an "honor song" and belonged to an old 727
man named Brown Bear (*guruks*, bear; *narahata*, brown), who died
not long ago. At a war dance he used to rise and sing this song [424]
without the drum, and "when he sang everybody cried." The
custom of weeping and even wailing aloud at public gatherings has
not been noted in tribes previously studied. The words of the song
meant, "Nobody knows when the world will end." The informant
added, "The old man used to say 'there is one person who knows
when the world will end.'"

Analysis.—This is one of the "crying songs," and the sliding tone, 533*
especially in measures 7, 8, 13, and 14, is impossible to transcribe.
The time was well maintained throughout the song. Attention is
directed to a comparison of the count-divisions in the two rhythmic
units and in the fifth and sixth measures from the close of the song.
All the tones of the octave occur in the melody which progresses by a
wide variety of intervals.

---

[24] Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, Twenty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 459.

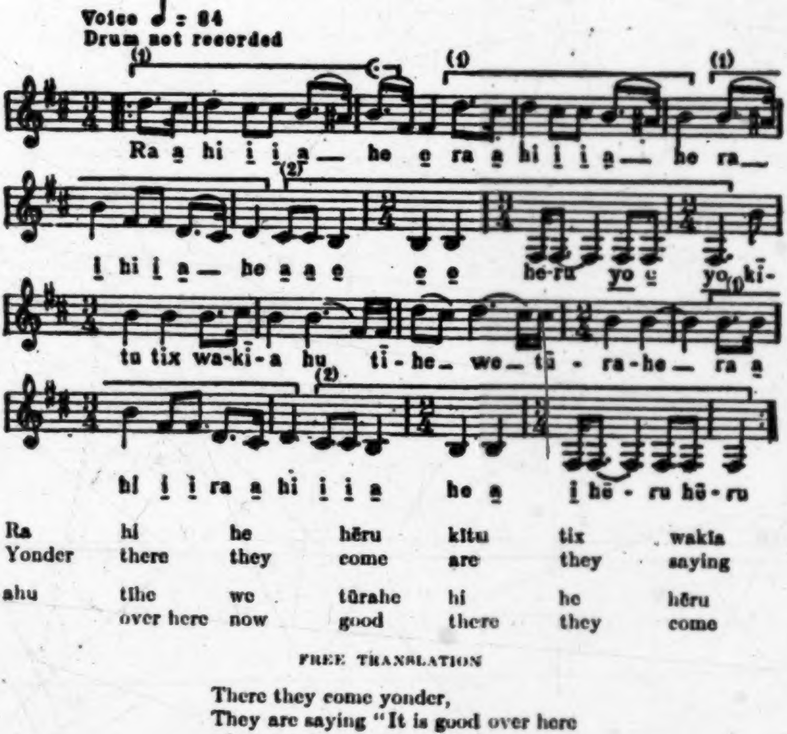
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 whole tones and semitones. The seventh is sharped in every occurrence, this accidental being of particular interest in a song with minor tonality. The song contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth.

No. 66. "It Is Good Where We Are Now"

(Catalogue No. 1090)

Recorded by Effie Blain


Voice ♩ = 84
Drum not recorded
(1)
(2)
Ra a hi i i a — he e ra a hi i i a — he ra —
i hi i a — he a a e e e he-ru yo e yo ki-
tu tix wa-ki-a hu ti-he — we — tū - ra-he — ra a
hi i i ra a hi i i a he a i hē - ru hē - ru

Ra	hi	he	hēru	kitu	tix	wakia
Yonder	there	they	come	are	they	saying
ahu	tihe	we	tūrahe	hi	he	hēru
	over here	now	good	there	they	come

FREE TRANSLATION

There they come yonder,
They are saying "It is good over here
where we are now."
There they come.

535
796
727
Roaming Chief sang the following song at the Pipe dance and it was sung at the Victory dance attended by the writer. It was said that "Mother Corn was carried on the warpath to give victory and was also used in the Pipe dance." The words are freely translated, "My whole trust is in Mother Corn."

Analysis.—The tempo of this song was slow and somewhat *rubato*, a slight prolonging of certain tones being indicated in the transcription. In some of the renditions the time values in the third

3; Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 wail in which the tones transcribed E–D–B are clearly discernible but are connected by a *glissando*. The melody tones are those of the fourth five-toned scale and the repeated portion, as in many Indian songs, begins with the second phrase.

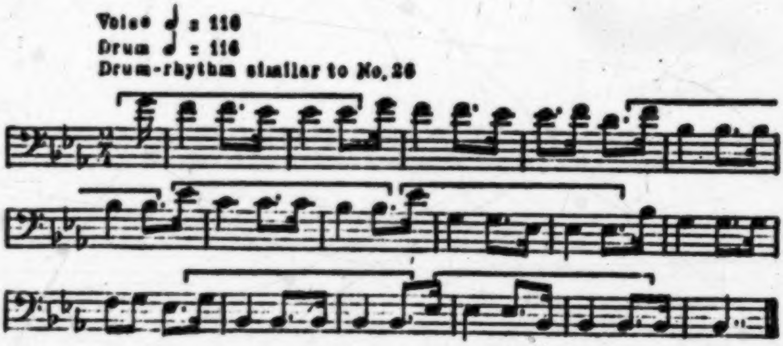
*533 787 A certain man had a dream and in that dream one of his dead relatives appeared and said, "I have come back into this world. You see me." At the same time he heard and learned the following song. When the man awoke he remembered the song and understood what it meant. He dreamed a second time, and the same dead relative appeared, saying, "Remember when we pass from the old earth we pass to a new earth where we are now." The two songs were recorded and the melodies found to be the same. The words of the first were translated, "I am coming," and the words of the second were, "Yonder, whence I came, our relatives are walking."

*533

No. 84. Song Received from a Dead Relative

(Catalogue No. 1132)

Recorded by John Luwak



Analysis.—The chief interest of this song lies in the two phrases which do not contain the rhythmic unit. The first of these phrases is the more energetic, and both bear a resemblance to the unit. The song has a compass of 10 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is by an unusually large variety of intervals but the whole tone is the interval of most frequent occurrence.

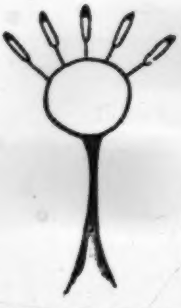
424 622 535 The next song belongs to a very old woman named Cilha'rureĉs whose father was a chief. The singers at the drum sometimes start this song so that she can dance. It was formerly used in a "dance of the chiefs" in which the daughters of chiefs took part.

out to the buffalo hunt, this society having renewed its lances, takes them 224
out on a horse as previously noted. They are thus ready for the society to 575
act in case of attack. In such a case, if the regular bearers are not present, 625
any member or anyone in fact, is expected to lay hold and act as bearer. To facilitate this, the lances are placed against a pole outside the society tent. If, however, a bearer fails to put in an appearance or shirks his duty in any way he can be reprimanded or even expelled. The volunteer bearer will be permitted to dance with the lance in future ceremonies, in contrast to the preceding society where only the descendants of lance bearers were allowed to enter the dance. As stated, the lances were expected always to head the line in battle.

As winter approached these lances were dismantled and put away until 575
the renewing ceremony of spring. Each member makes it his business to hunt for an otter and when one is caught takes it to the leader who skins it with a special ceremony. His wife then dresses the skin and cares for it until the time for renewing the lance in the spring.

THE RED LANCE SOCIETY.

Among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kit'kaháxki divisions there were organizations known as the raris pahat, but differing from the Skidí society of that name. The two lances were wrapped with swans' down. These societies were all considered as derived from and sanctioned by the bundle of the Pítahauírata. This bundle controlled the ceremonies in that division and hence all but the public dancing in the camp was secret. Only the descendants of chiefs could be members. In the two sides of the organization, the chiefs sat upon the north side and the warriors upon the south. The lance for the north side was trimmed in black feathers, that for the [illegible] in white. The members painted in corresponding colors in the dance, but carried such weapons as they chose. When dancing, a rattle bearer faces the lance bearer of the opposite side and in the evolutions they pass each other. Water drums are used and in the dance around the village two boys are appointed to bear these upon their backs. The pipe of the society was originally that belonging to the bundle, but later a special pipe was provided.



[534]

[362]
[535]

Fig. 8. Rattle for the Skidí Red Lance, one of four. The bulb is of rawhide, the feathers are eagle.

It will be noted that the lance of this society bears no point and is not

535
575
[302] All this time the members have been singing in the lodge but now they paint black also and prepare such arms as they wish to carry. The chief of the village then enters with the pipe from the bundle and starts the dance. First they are lead outside where they dance before their own lodge, then passing out at the north side march around the village once. Then they come into the village and dance before the lodges of the leading men. (As before, two boys are brought in to carry the water drum.) In each case the host comes out with a pipe which is passed to the lance bearer and the singers, but no presents are given. Finally, they dance before their own lodge and enter. A feast and certain smoke offerings to the lance close the ceremony.

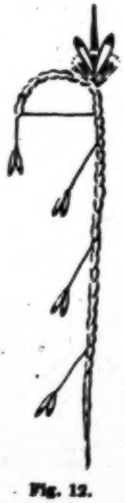


Fig. 12.

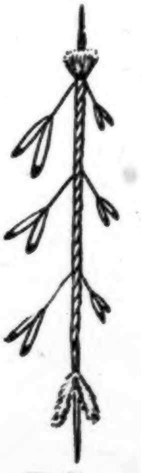


Fig. 13.

[411] Fig. 12. The Fighting Lance. The point is of iron, nested in owl and eagle feathers; the shaft wrapped with swanskin, small eagle feathers hang at the sides. The grip of the south side lance is of red strouding; that of the north, of black.

Fig. 13. The Wolf Lance. The point is of iron, the shaft wrapped with wolfskin, a bunch of owl feathers at the top, large and small eagle feathers at the sides, the grip near the lower end and two wolf tails below. Two of these are carried.

575
[648] As this was the leading society of the Chauí and the United States formally recognized the Chauí chief as the head of all the Pawnee, it came to have a certain precedence in all functions.

THE FIGHTING LANCE.

The tirupahe society is found among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kit'kaháxki. It is a war society as may be seen by its pointed lance.

The lance for the north side was black and for the south, white. There were 575 two rattle bearers who stood and danced as in the preceding. There were four singers and two water drums. Their war duties were as previously stated. This society was composed of chiefs and warriors, on different sides. [701] At stated times, the members demonstrated their deeds, trophies, and war medicines.

It seems that there were three bundles in the Pītahauīrata division at one time and the three feathers on the lance are supposed to be one for each. [778] The members were members of the chiefs society, warriors and men who had consecrated eagles; hence the small eagle feathers are put on the lance. In the consecrating of eagles the heads are strung through the nose with sinew, all the members having gone through this ceremony; hence the string here symbolizes the consecration but it is not known if the hooked part of the lance is the eagle's head. The pipe of this society is borrowed from the warrior's bundle.

So far as known, the organizations in the three divisions were identical.

THE WOLF LANCE.

The rarisits skiri^{h}ki^h (society of wolves) was peculiar to the Wolf-standing-in-water village. There were two lances, four flat hand drums painted white, four singers wearing caps of wolfskin like roaches, four rattles [302] (two for each side). All members painted white. The pipe bearer who sat in front of the four singers painted red, however. The lance bearers sat among the dancers, but the lances rested against the lodge posts. There [535] was no regular dance evolution, each one going as he pleased. The old men and one messenger were on each side.

There were two war shields covered with wolfskin for each side. For each shield there was a bearer. It was a war organization and differed [701] from the others in that as an organization it could go to war. The lances were left at home, however. So far as known they never acted as police of the hunt, but the members seem to have had the right to take the lances of the hunting society and scout for buffalo.

The lodge of this society had its door toward the west instead of east. [345]

THE BLACK HEADS.

The pakskatit society was peculiar to the Kit'kaháxki division. They [224] seem to have been important for they could act both as police of the buffalo [701] hunt and in the line of battle. While there were two sides as before, there

575 two for each side. The pipe-man is the chief, but there is another man who
is charged with directing the ritual. All members carry ring-shaped rattles,
and certain members carry short lances bearing feathers. As to the number
of these lances, we have no data. The members danced nude and tied
[292] a string to the foreskin to the end of which feathers were attached. (See
Catlin's drawings of the Okipa.) On this account they were sometimes
called the "tied-penis society." It is said that in battle some of the mem-
[726] bers would take a stake and a rope, plant the stake before the enemy and
tie the penis string to the rope. They were forbidden to release themselves
and must then stand fast until released.

As to adornment and body painting each man did as he chose. Four hand drums were used.

There were no renewal ceremonies but this society would usually dance
● [535] in public after the bundle societies had made their appearance. In dancing
they formed in front of their lodge in a circle. There were two mounted
men to call out their own deeds and encourage others to do likewise. In
one part of the dance the horsemen ride among the dancers back and forth
(p. 387). Also, there were two whip men, carrying green switches with which
to whip up the dancers. If a member enters the ceremony wearing clothes
[292] he is set upon by these whip bearers and his clothes torn to pieces. Only
the members who captured a blanket or cut the covering from a captured
bundle, could take a hand in this. However, if a member has been in a
battle and saved his robe, he may carry it folded under his arm.

[888] In the dance a dancer may remove his moccasins and put them on an old
needy bystander.

CHILDREN OF THE IRUSKA.

In this organization there were but six or seven members. They carried quivers full of arrows which were very highly prized, so when an arrow was shot they went to hunt it. They were known as saaro, youths.

They did things by contraries. If a woman said, "Do not get water,"
[524] they went after it. They were given to playing the wheel game and because
of their peculiarities no one played with them. If an enemy attacked the
village, the members would continue to play the wheel game and pay no
attention to the fighting. If a person came up and said, "Do not go out to
[302] fight," they rushed out at once. They were always painted black as if
ready to fight. On the head each wore the skin of a blackbird. The
society is said to have been handed down by this bird. The leader so
appointed by the bird went through the camp and selected boys who seemed
queer, or even insane. These he organized into a society.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

They drummed, sang, and danced around the fireplace out of the lodge. The 539
singing and drumming gradually ceased and when the fire was made there was no
one left in the lodge. After this the man often dreamed and found that the dance 575
was given to poor people, especially the poor boys of the village.

After the final dance, all the dogs disappeared. Every night the man and the two boys sang and other young men came in and assisted. When quite a number of young men knew the songs the man told them to come the next night and bring with them their quivers, bows and arrows, and moccasins. Among the young men who wished to join was a chief's son. He told them that they would go to the enemy's camp that night. They all agreed to go with him.

That night he wrapped up the dog skin, the string and whistle, the owl feathers, and the rope and placed them on his back. As they started off they sang the first song the man had heard the dog men singing. They sang four times and then went on their way. For several days they continued when some of the young men began to show signs of weariness. Then the man gave them a root to chew to revive them. When the chief's son became tired the man paid no attention to him. Finally, he turned back.

At length they came to the enemy's camp. The man put on his regalia and went to the camp. He captured some ponies on which they returned home. When they arrived the people said the young dog people were good travelers.

After this at night the young men met to sing the dog songs. When 575
the man heard them, he would have the two boys build a fire and the young men would come in and sing. One time, on their return to the village from a buffalo hunt some of the young men told the man that they each had a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat and they wished to dance. The man did not reply but consulted his two assistants who said: "Buffalo meat is good, but first we must get a reddish dog." One young man said, "My people have one, I can get it."

The dance was started and all the young men who danced and received
the string and whistle became members. This society became very impor- [177]
tant and when the Arikara joined the Skidí they saw the dance. Among [535]
the Arikara was one man who knew the sun dance. He met the leader of
the young dogs and they exchanged dances. The Skidí joined the two and had the young dog sun dance three times. All the dancers had to be cut and suspended three times.

This society became a great power among the people. One time during 224
a buffalo hunt the people were attacked by the Sioux and the soldiers were 575
all killed and the crow lance taken from them. The tribe was left without 625
police so the chiefs (not the priests) selected the dog society to act as police
on the hunt. Their old men cried through the village telling the people to [648]
keep quiet and not to drum or sing. The men were not permitted to hunt at any distance nor were guns to be shot. The women were not to chop wood but were to gather dry limbs. One night a man came to the village

539 756 set of songs was sung the dancers attacked the fire. Finally, Crow-feather danced up to the kettle which was full of boiling soup and took a piece of meat out with his bare hands. He gave it to one of the spectators who burned his hands with it. The rest of the members also did this. At length the dancers dipped bunches of corn husks into the kettle and whipped each other with them but did not burn. The dancing ended when the fire went out.

This was the first ceremony of this kind. After the dance Crow-feather said, "You must now make the headdresses and bustles. Some day we will give a public dance when all must bring spears, bows and arrows, war clubs, and shields so that you can imitate the attack on an enemy in your dance. It shall be known as iruska (fire inside of you). The red headdress represents fire, the black hair fringe represents smoke.[1] This will not be a social dance, neither will the members act as soldiers for the chiefs. We shall be known as medicinemen."

THE ONE HORN DANCE.

535 756 721 The members of the one horn dance (raris arika) were young men eligible to go to war. For the dance, the regalia of all the societies were gathered: the war clubs from the sacred bundles, spears, war shields, bows and arrows. During the ceremony they called upon Pahukatawa (Hills along the banks of a river) to help them kill or count coup on the enemy. Women were not [783] admitted for Pahukatawa directed them to bar women for fear some would be unclean.

The dance was held only when Pahukatawa ordered it and then only [533] before an attack by the enemy. The songs imitated the bellowing of buffalo. Each dancer seemed possessed with the spirit of a particular animal which he imitated. The dancers wore their war regalia. Those who had war-bonnets had to fasten a whole buffalo horn on the right side of the bonnet. Each dancer was painted according to the dreams of visions he had experienced. [302] Those representing crows painted with charcoal or soot; jack-rabbits painted with white earthen clay; buffalo were smeared over the mouth and nose with buffalo urine mud; those with bear spirits were painted with red or yellow which represented the sun for the bears sought power from the sun.

---

[1] The headdress is the imitation of fire, the red for the blaze, the black hair for smoke. The feather represents the iruska man who understands the fire. He is standing in the fire or has placed the fire about his whole body. The headdress represents the fireplace, the bone tube the medicine, and the feather, the man himself standing in the center of the fireplace. According to tradition, man came from an ear of corn and corn has life and life is fire. The original word for iruska is iriska (singular), iruska (plural), they are inside fire. The wood used for the iruska fire was cottonwood and willows.

Coming-sun died, Pahukatawa selected another man to talk to. One night 539
this man refused because he was sleepy. To another man Pahukatawa said 721
that he would go away never to return; that he would stay in the north 756
as one of the minor gods in the heavens. He said he would help the people
when they called on him.

Since the Pawnee came to Oklahoma they have revived this dance (p. 535
638). The drum is the same as the old one. At the altar is a whole eagle
and in front of it a crooked crow lance. When the ceremony was revived a 721
woman claimed to have seen flashes of light. The dance is still given by 756
the Skidi Pawnee. There is also a pair of leggings which was given to 166
Coming-sun. They have a ceremony known as the warrior's ceremony.
This one horn dance was copied by the other three bands, but lacked the
power of Pahukatawa. It was a religious dance in which they took part to
defend their villages from the enemy.

the smoke ceremony, so will it be done in all our iruska dances, for I have 276
whispered to the men who shall offer the smoke. I now select Sun-chief 575
to offer the smoke. He will now rise and take the pipe."

Sun-chief arose and took the pipe from Coming-sun. Then he went 796
around the fireplace and stood to the west. He took a pinch of tobacco from the pipe, raised up his hand and gradually lowered it to the rim of the fireplace where he placed the tobacco. Next he went northeast by the south and east of the fireplace and squatted down. The south side whip man went to the fireplace, took a live coal and placed it upon the bowl of the pipe. When the pipe was lit, Sun-chief arose and went west of the fireplace, here he stood facing east and gave four whiffs of smoke to the skies; then four whiffs to mother earth. Then he dumped the ashes from the bowl of the pipe and passed his hands over the pipestem toward the skies, twice with his right hand and twice with his left hand. He passed his hands upon the pipestem to the rim of the fireplace, twice with his right and twice with his left hand. Then he turned towards the west and walked to Coming-sun and handed him the pipe. Coming-sun said, "Rawa"; all repeated "Rawa." The second pipe was given to Lone-chief of the south side and the same ceremony gone through.

When the smoke ceremony was over the outside man came in and per- 575
mitted those outside to come in. Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old 796
men, and iruska, we are about to dance. You dancers must be careful with the things you are wearing for if you drop anything, one of those old men will have to take it up and tell of his deeds. Then you must pay. Each man who has a song must dance when his song is sung and must give a small present to some old man or woman. We will have five sets of songs, ten in [533]
each set. Everyone must dance. Anyone receiving a present must say, 'rawa iruska.' After each ten songs we will smoke and rest."

So the singers began their songs. Every time the whip men rose everyone had to dance.

After the dance, Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, this is now our iruska dance. Visiting parties, if they wish, may tie tobacco upon the drum, then the keeper of the drum must notify the leaders, who [535]
will plan a dance to give presents to visitors. This is now a popular dance
among the Pawnee for at these dances people give presents to one another [431]
and there is a general good time for all.[1]

---

[1] This form of the iruska was originated by the writer who may be said to be entirely [177]
responsible for the organization. He knew very little of the procedure among the Dakota but was fairly familiar with the form of the Osage. From the latter he took his main ideas and the various officers with their respective duties. Also like the Osage he adopted strict rules for conducting the dance. Yet the maneuvers and serious parts of the ceremony were all taken from bundle rituals of the Pawnee.— Ed.

622
756 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers
778 and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular importance.
554 They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have consecrated
726 buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

●535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pītahauīrata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of
756 wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and
837 not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice. Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicine-man in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies
224 for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle
[223] trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern
838 Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

726 *No-flight Idea.* A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

842 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of
532 medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint
834 in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicine-men. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had
276 performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

the girl must call her Opirikuts as he touches her. 726
Others must move away and not touch her. The life 796
of anyone who touches her afterward will be in danger. Everyone must now dance toward the center. Let the fire be like the enemy."

All then sang a song symbolizing the obstacles [533]
overcome by the Morning Star, the refrain being, "This [539]
is the way I did when I became angry." A red-painted stick like those used in the Thunder Ceremony had meanwhile been prepared, and this was now offered to the Morning Star by the leader with the words, "See, [782]
I offer you only this stick with tobacco. It is all I have. Help me to obtain a real sacrifice."

By the end of this ceremony it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise, and the leader went outside the circle to the east and addressed a long invocation to him. He then returned, and all put on their war paint and ornaments. A fourth song was then sung in which [533]
four of the great heavenly spirits were called upon to [539]
give the warriors their powers. As they sang, the [535]
warriors danced around the fire, leaping upward and giving their war cries, while the leader ran about encouraging them to dance harder. At the end of the dance the leader made a last prayer to the Morning Star, and all set out for the village.

The war party surrounded the village quietly. The leader, who at this time was considered a personification of the Morning Star, took his post to the east, with his back to the village, while a second man took his place at the southeast, and was directed to howl like a wolf, as soon as the Morning Star rose. As soon as his call was heard, the leader turned toward the village, and the attack began from all sides. The first man to capture a young woman touched her and called out, "I pronounce you Opirikuts." As soon as this was done, the attackers drew off and started toward home.

black, and symbolized the northeast; and its animal 417
guardian, the bear. The second was red, symbolizing 782
the southeast and the wolf. The third was yellow, 796
symbolizing the northwest and the mountain lion; and 822
the fourth white, symbolizing the southwest and the wildcat. The top cross-bar represented the west, and was painted blue or black and white, symbolizing clouds and rain.

By the time the scaffold was completed, it was 796
about sunset, and the people dispersed. All spectators 773
were sent out of the lodge, and the door was closed. The chief priest then drew upon the floor of the lodge four circles, one for each of the world quarters, and outlined them with white downy feathers. Each of these circles represented a region penetrated by the Morning Star in his search for the Evening Star and also the magic animal which he had overcome there. The white feathers symbolized the foam about their
mouths when they attacked him. When the circles had [533]
been made, the spectators were re-admitted, and the [535]
priests sang a song descriptive of the journey of the Morning Star, while the chief priest danced around the lodge with a war club, destroying the circles one by one. When the song was finished, he straightened up and said, "Chiefs, priests, warriors, old men, I have destroyed the regions once controlled by the mysterious woman who wanted darkness forever. These animals were under her control, when the Morning Star traveled in darkness looking for her. She placed an obstacle in the southeast, which was controlled by the wolf. The Morning Star destroyed this obstacle, but preserved the mysterious animal. He continued his journey, traveled to the southwest, and again met an obstacle which he destroyed, but preserved the animal, a wildcat. He continued his journey, and when he came to the northwest, he again met an obstacle. He des-

535

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[Facing p. 1 (53)]

DANCE OF THE MEDICINE MEN, PAWNEE.

MINIATURE GROUP IN CASE 49, HALL 8.

241 778 now dressed the skull in a black skin turban with a knot on the forehead. Inside the turban were soft down feathers mixed with red paint (to represent the visionary's brains), and on top, a soft feather as a plume.

[531]

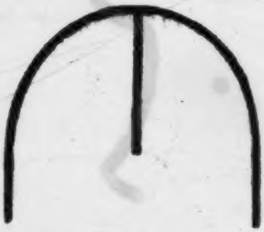


FIGURE 9-1. Representation of face painting symbolizing the vault of the heavens and the breath of Heaven.

[431] [782] Gifts began to come in: kettles of corn and meat were placed at the south, buffalo robes and other offerings between the fireplace and the skull.

[203] [431] [782] The woman's brother and a young man were sent out to all the lodges to invite the people. They dressed in their best and everyone that came brought a gift. Soon they crowded outside the door of the ceremonial lodge, and after the brother had made a smoke offering with the pipe toward the heavens and the skull the people were allowed to come in. They piled their gifts in front of the skull.

The paraphernalia were handed out to the women who were to do the dancing, and a special coiled basket was handed to the woman visionary and one to her assistant. This basket, especially made by a woman under the direction of the minister, symbolized the container ordained by Heaven to carry earth from which the world was created and the germs of life. At the time of the creation, Heaven caused this basket to move of itself through space.

The four ministers of the Skull bundle now took up their rattles and sang, "Now we are going to start to dance. Everyone wants to dance and shake the earth."

241 535 At the first song the women stood ready to scrape the earth with their hoes, right foot forward, arms extended. They were followed by the woman visionary and her partner, who now got up and danced with the coiled baskets. Next followed women with loon necks and then young women with deer necks. These had to be chaste young women. Now the hoes were taken over by the old women, for they were early risers and good workers in the fields. When these got tired, other women came over and took the hoes, carrying out the motions of hoeing all the time:

> The visionary moves her basket back and forth—dishing out. The 241
> four ladies with the loon necks swing them as if digging in the earth. 535
> The two girls with the deer heads dip them up and down, swinging back and forth.

As the women danced with the hoes, a few men danced among them with their bows and arrows poised as if aiming at something. If the women seemed to be getting tired, the men rubbed against them like buffalo bulls. After the dance was over, the minister asked if everything was all right, and when they looked around at the ground there were rolls of buffalo hair scattered all over. They knew that everything would be all right then, that they would succeed in the buffalo hunt, and that there would be plenty of corn.

There were eight song episodes in the entire series with three inter- 241
missions. In the intermissions, a special type of byplay took place that had nothing to do with the order of the ceremony itself. The special characters comprised four young virgins and four warriors on each side of the ceremonial lodge. As the women were dancing with their hoes, these virgins and warriors stood up and joined them, and at the time for intermission each virgin got a pipe filled with tobacco that was at the altar and gave it to a warrior. The connection between war and fertility
is a leitmotif that runs through much of Pawnee sacred ceremonialism as 181
elaborately exemplified in the human sacrifice to the Morning Star. In 782
this byplay between virgins and warriors this theme is also represented.
In the kin system, familiar behavior is characteristic of grandparents and 603
grandchildren only; otherwise people must maintain a formal position 602
with each other. Since familiar remarks are going to be made, the virgins address the warriors as grandpa and the warriors address them as granddaughter. Each virgin having handed a pipe to a warrior, the byplay began:

> Holding his pipe in his left hand, he flexes his arm and moves it back and forth in jerky movements as if running and stamping his right foot three times and then his left as if on the run. He might say, "I was east on the warpath and I killed a Sioux," or he might tell how he stole horses on the warpath. Now the warrior makes a smoke offering and addresses his "granddaughter." He is going to give her advice on how to conduct her sex and marital relations. "Don't let your husband kiss you unless he gives you a horse." "All right," the girl answers, "I'll do that." A warrior on the south side says to his girl partner, "Granddaughter, give me the pipe and I'll tell you what I did. On the Republican river I killed a Sioux and I left him there." Then everyone will say, "Well, why didn't you bring him home?" Then he makes a smoke offering with the pipe the virgin has given him and says, "Grand-

was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the 243 778
altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo 782
might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could 772
not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of 221
alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic.
The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other
in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers
of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As [823]
these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their [778]
biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for
each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through
the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household,
the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these
alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation
of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his
political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different 243
aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under 778
the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation
of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when
the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four [776]
semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression
of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity,
Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in 796
their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under 628
the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented [778]
the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all
together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Pole* [823]
Ceremony—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken
together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony
warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was
safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, 796
and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant 778
"ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of 243
its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening 243
Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the 778
priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to 793
settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four [533] [535]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

39

THE DANCE OF THE SCALPED ONES

000

Impersonate Scalped Warriors Instead of Animals in This Dance—the Song That Is Sung—the Dance Explained

THE DAY AFTER the first Big Dance there was to be an indoor perform- 756
ance in the evening like the first one but with four different acts. The 796
men who were to participate would start to prepare themselves in the 536
morning after they had finished their breakfast, refraining from eating 535
till the next morning. Just before dark they circled about before the lodge and sang as an announcement of what the performance was to be. A granddaughter of one of the performers, meeting him the night before his way home, inquired where his booth was located as she and her mother wanted to have the privilege of watching the performance sitting comfortably inside his booth. That evening before the performance she came to the lodge with corn bread, coffee, and dry meat. The errand man directed her, going past the first, second, and third booths on the north side and entering the fourth. (He made careful note of what food she would bring to see if he wanted to claim a share after the dance.) Now the girl and her mother were seated inside the booth as the crowd packed in to the rest of the lodge. After this performance the doctors would have a free day, then another performance and still another free day and then a second Big Dance outdoors. After this second Big Dance, instead of just the nighttime performances and free intervals, another kind of outdoor performance was introduced—the Dance of the Scalped Ones.

Instead of animals, the actors in the Dance of the Scalped Ones were the spirits of those who had been scalped by the enemy. Everything was done to develop a mood of weirdness. Old Lady Tsitawa, head of the black-tailed deer lodge, wore a short skirt of black tanned hide and a

756 tanned-hide shawl. The other actors impersonating the *kitsahuruksu*, the
796 scalped ones, were plastered all over with mud, including a thick plastering
536 of mud on their heads and all over their faces. As they approached
they looked like a veritable mud bank.

535 A big crowd had gathered outside the lodge in anticipation of the performance.
The two drummers ran out first and putting their drums between their knees, sat facing each other. As they began to beat the drum,
[533] a crowd of scalped ones ran out of the Doctor Lodge. The drumming was in all sorts of irregular beats and the little boys were frightened
when they first saw the scalped ones approaching. They motioned erratically and jumped every which way in scary ways. The drummers were
[539] singing "Scalped-Ones-Speech":

Hiru-ribi here-is
Hiru-ribi here-is, *wakarawi* (speech)
Hiru-ribi, hiru-ribi, wakarawi
Kitsahuruks-pakarawi scalped one-speech
Kitsahuruks-pakarawi

The song was sung to an irregular tune and as soon as the drummers had finished the song, they all ran suddenly into the lodge and just as suddenly out again, the drummers again coming out and sitting facing each other, singing the Scalped-Ones-Speech with the crowd of actors running out after them. This running in and out was repeated four times and on the fourth round the actors all came out dancing backward,
[534] making peculiar motions and finally falling down. Even the drummers fell and kicked over their drums (water drums made of a hollow log.) At
last they looked up dazed and as soon as they became aware of the people around, they jumped up and ran back into the lodge.

No one would provide a meal for "Scalped-Ones." As everyone knew, "They were the biggest thieves and stole anything they could get a chance to!" They ate in their booths whatever donations of corn had been made. "As for dry meat, they would provide it for themselves if they could steal some."

Between the second and third Outdoor Big Dance, there were one or two of these special outdoor Scalped-Ones dances with a performance in the night indoors intervening. Afterward the third Big Dance was given, and then after that the two nighttime performances with free days intervening.

756

among the doctors. The errand men and their assistants received gifts of 796
calico. [574]

The Doctor Lodge was one of the most intensive group ceremonies of
the year, extending to all the people. In the three South Bands at this time, 756
each had a similar twenty-day Doctor Ceremony that they referred to 796
as Big-Sleight-of-Hand. Apparently they only lacked the serpent or wa- 184
ter monster of the Skidi, which was the special feature of the federation of the Skidi villages.

After the Doctor Lodge, the separate animal cults that had been rep- 756
resented there should each have a three-day ceremony of its own—the 796
general one constituting a mandate for this. The ceremonial calendar was so crowded that it was extremely difficult to find three days when all the members would be free of other ceremonial involvements. The Bear and Buffalo cults were large organizations with thirty to forty members, and there were many overlappings in the personnel.

There was one private cult, however—the Deer Dance—that was en- 796
tirely outside the association. It had been imported a generation before 177
from the kindred Caddoan-speaking Wichita to the south and adapted to 535
the Pawnee ceremonial pattern. It had no obligation to the Doctor As-
sociation and was fast presenting a challenge to it for membership. Its 578
ceremony was held at a time that overlapped the Doctor Lodge, and sometimes members were spirited away from one to the other, causing considerable bitterness between the leaders. The Deer Dance, also known as Whistle Dance from the whistles the dancers blew at frequent intervals, celebrated the maturing of the wild sage and the mescal bean. Rattlesnake power was also part of the cult. The over-all pattern was of a Deer Lodge in the timber. In some ways it represented a quite different system of thought from the Doctor Association, and through it new and important developments might have occurred in Pawnee ceremonial thinking. But before this could be realized, its life was ended by the holocaust that overtook the Pawnee people and their culture and their wild animal world as white contact intensified (see p. 3).

Victory Call was the director of this cult and he was largely responsible
for its growth and success among the people. On his deathbed he [954]
accused his arch rival, Big Doctor, of causing his death through sorcery.

525 points: only two sticks are left in the center. The Kitkahaxki^x guesser calls out to the leader of his side, "I want him to guess
619 now." He shows them Mark. He says, "You're a good boy; everything you do is lucky. Go ahead."

The Skiri begin to yell. The Kitkahaxki^x pat Mark on the back and wish him luck.

[789] Mark arises. He goes to the fire and leans forward over it. He touches the ashes and rubs his hands together. He touches fire to his eyes to warm them and make him see clearly. He watches the guessers. He chooses quickly. He finds the bones.

Now the Skiri are trying to confuse him. They yell. They want him to put up the shawl he has with him. He tells them he doesn't have to now. He goes on guessing against the Skiri man who has won two games. The Kitkahaxki^x players begin to come to life. They win the game.

[533] Now the Kitkahaxki^x sing the Crazy Dog Dance songs. The Skiri are slient. The Kitkahaxki^x leader gets up to dance. He tells how he went on a warpath and captured many horses. This time the Kitkahaxki^x have carried off the spoils.

There is a fourth game. The bets are laid again. The Skiri choose a new guesser. Mark is against him now and wins again.

The games are even. The Kitkahaxki^x have won back their losings. They decide to stop n[illegible]. It is late. The Kitkahaxki^x go home.

Later the Skiri set upon Mark because he played with the Kitkahaxki^x and won for them. For a long time he couldn't go
[578] near the Skiri camp. They would get hold of him and scold him angrily. Mark says he joined the Kitkahaxki^x side because the man who asked him was a friend of his, and because the Skiri did not give him a place and ask him to join in.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OLD GAME

525 Competitions like the above between the bands of the Pawnee
533 were played in this way in the old days. Women never played. The games were always outdoors. The songs sung were old type hand game songs. They were coarse but not about women. One ran:

> "They're bathing in the water now...
> They're bathing in the water now..."

All would laugh because of the reference to washing, bringing up a picture of one scrubbing himself all over and around the loins.

525 Those who hid, many of them, imitated animals. Some of these
825 imitations:

• 536

Crow: Each hand clasped with index finger erect. The arms are bent so that the hands are held out about shoulder high like wings. The player calls ka-ka-ka like the crow while he motions with his hands back and forth like flapping wings. 525 825 536

Turkey: Right hand clasped, index finger extended, is brought to forehead to imitate the beak; left hand with index finger out is placed behind like tail. The player calls tut-tut-tut like a turkey.

Deer: The hands clasped palm side down, held bent at wrists about waist high, imitating the forefeet; the index fingers are curled down; the arms are moved alternately, gracefully and slowly, forward and back. No sound.

Buffalo calf: Two hands tight shut in fists with thumbs erect; the bottoms of the fists are set to the sides of the head above the ears, the head bent forward, the thumbs moved like little horns, slight motions. The calf makes no noise unless caught, then "br-r-r-rrr."

Buffalo: The two hands clenched at the sides of the head as for calf, but the index fingers erect for larger horns: the head is moved slowly around to one side and another as the animal peers this way and that.

These animal imitations are by some wholly in fun. But those who use a certain imitation usually retain it throughout the play of hand games, and are known as such and such an animal player. And there are some among the players who have the right to characterizations because of their knowledge and power. In the hand game above described, one man who imitated the deer was a deer performer in the Doctor Dance.

The structure of the old hand game comes out clearly in the above narration. The play of the game has been detailed heretofore. Points of significance: 525

The games were always played outdoors. [562]

Women never participated.

The long fire outdoors with each side in a semi-circle.

The leaders as tallyers at the head end.

The tally sticks in one heap between them.

The betting.

The selection of hiders in any orders.

The attempts to trick and deceive.

The singing of old hand game songs for the play accompanied only by handclapping, without instruments. [533]

The Crazy Dog Dance between the games, danced by the winning side, the winning leader counting a coup. [535]

The animal imitations. [536]

Every available hunter would get a horse if he could and leave the line 224*
of march to go to the hunting grounds. Even if the horse were not fast, [492]
there were enough buffalo for everyone to hunt. In order to free as many horses as possible, the people were to combine and reload all their baggage, doubling up with their neighbors if necessary for the balance of the journey into camp. Man Chief and White Eagle, the first to be ready, rode off a little distance to await the others. The scout now rode all along the line telling all the hunters to get their horses and go where Man Chief and White Eagle were waiting to start.

As the scout turned back to rejoin the waiting chiefs, an old doctor 224*
of the Asking-for-Meat Band began to go among the people to perform a 536
pantomime of sympathetic magic. He followed the path that the scout had taken and, impersonating a buffalo, he went in a trot with his arms flexed at his sides, chanting:

Now you are going to trot
Buffalo who are killed falling.

As he went among the people of each of the four bands, he sang his song each time. The children would try to trip him and make him fall down. When the boy Otter tried this, the old man asked, "Have you any tobacco to give me?" The boy shamefacedly answered no, but the old man fell down for him anyway.

Man Chief had appointed his prophet or "hand waver" who was to 224*
make the incantation to the powers as the hunters were poised ready to 792
make the attack on the herd. Now this man was holding back, reluctant [782]
to ride out to the hunting grounds, worrying whether his luck would be good. Finally he joined the hunters, as they were in a hurry to get 224*
started. Then Man Chief called out, "Now we're going ahead!" and with White Eagle he started off a little ahead while the others followed in a bunch. They all galloped their horses as they hurried on. The scout went on ahead to guide them to the place. As soon as they got in sight, the head [202]
scout signaled with his blanket from the hill where he was stationed. If he threw his blanket up leisurely and caught it, there was no hurry, but if he threw it up and pulled it down quickly to his left, they had to hurry because the buffalo would be close and coming on.

C

37

THE BIG DOCTOR PERFORMANCE

000

A Combination of Theater and Ceremony—the Form of the Performance—the "Scalped Ones" Mime—Swallowing a Deer Head—the Mud Duck—the Parade through the Village—the Round of Ceremonial Activities—the Sleight-of-Hand Performances

756
796
536
[801]

It must be remembered that the doctor performance was both ceremony and theater and so regarded by the doctors themselves. The whole organization of the acts, the costuming, and the stage effects were designed to impress and entertain the people while at the same time supporting the confidence of the doctors. While for us in analogous situations, a trilogy or three-act play is considered most satisfying, with a five-act performance secondarily acceptable, for the Pawnees the four-act or fourfold organization is fundamental and based on their cosmic ideology. For more complex organizational forms he would develop four units with a final unit added, an introduction with four basic units less often, or two double-fours, one four following the other with an interim unit between them. During the twenty-day period in which the actual performance would take place, the sequence of acts on subsequent days had a "double-four" character with an interim unit of a different kind, and an introductory unit to the whole series and one in closing. The sequence of the kinds of acts presented might be summarized as A-B A A B—C A C—B A A B-A conceived by the doctors as four B's with at least four-day intervals between each of them filled in either with A's or blank days, with the interim C A C being a special elaboration of the four-day interim theme between the second and third B. The B unit was a large-scale animal mime performed in the late afternoon in the outdoor

756 796 536 plaza before the Doctor Lodge with the crowd watching from the roofs of the surrounding earth lodges. It was called Big Dance, *Kiharkutsu*, dance-big, and the doctors were in a greater or lesser degree of trance while they carried out their performance.

The A's, the secondary acts between the Big Dances, were indoor performances comprising a series of sleight-of-hand feats including trance induction in one doctor by another. They were held in the night from about eight o'clock until midnight and included a sequence of acts by four different doctors with drumming, rattling, singing, and dancing in the intervals. All during the day the doctors who were to perform in the evening prepared themselves and their paraphernalia and refrained from eating until the following morning. The performances were interspersed with blank days during which they all rested and made other preparations for the Big Dance as well as for their subsequent performances. The entire series of performances was introduced by an initial indoor performance and ended with a finale that featured a lively battle between the Bears and the Buffalo Clowns, whose theme was, "Who's afraid of the great big bears? They're only little puppies after all!"

756 796 536 727 156 626 The C units were a special type of mime also given outdoors, featuring the "Scalped Ones," the *Kitsahuruksu*, who were thickly plastered with mud "so that they looked like mud banks approaching" and acted in weird and fearsome ways. It was a Pawnee belief that should a person who had been scalped survive, he could never return to his people. It was reasoned that if anyone did survive the process of being scalped by the enemy, he would become so malevolent that he could not live in society. Such a man would make himself a dugout in an embankment and live by attacking people and stealing what he needed. Frank North in his autobiography tells of a young woman who had been scalped by the Sioux in one of their raids in June 1861 while she was returning from her cornfield. Found to be alive, she was apparently buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left there to die. She was rescued and nursed back to health by the schoolmistress, Mrs. Platt. There is of course, no proof that this was the work of the Pawnees themselves, nor can anyone substantiate the subsequent report that she was dispatched with a tomahawk after her return to the tribe and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. It does indicate, however, that a person could survive scalping. A tribal belief was universally maintained that a scalped person could never return to the [775] tribe. Children were constantly warned about these mischievous spirits and alive or dead they were considered a threat to adults also. They lived by stealing whatever they could get and sometimes seized women and young people. Because of them people were afraid to go about in the dark, especially near the banks of streams.

One of the principal actors in this mime was Old Lady Tsitawa, who 756
was the leader of the black-tailed deer cult and the only woman leader 796
in the lodge. She appeared wearing a short black skirt of tanned hide and
a tanned hide shawl. Sometimes one and sometimes two of these "Scalped 536
Ones" outdoor performances would be given in the interval between the second and third Big Dance, an indoor performance (A) intervening between the two Scalped Dances, so that at least four days would pass between the two Big Dance episodes.

The night before each indoor performance (A), the doctors who were to perform on the next evening paraded through the village in costume, stopping in as many earth lodges as they could and singing their songs. The general sequence of the sessions was as follows:

A. Introductory performance indoors, to open the proceedings.
I. B. Outdoor Big Dance the following day in the late afternoon.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
II. B. Outdoor Big Dance, late afternoon (second big dance).
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, *Kitsahuruksu*—outdoors.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, outdoors.
III. B. Outdoor Big Dance (third big dance).
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
IV. B. Outdoor Big Dance, the fourth and final one.
A. Indoor performance at night, to close. Grand Finale with the Buffalo Clown warriors attacking the Bears and conquering them.

After the women who had gotten their advance fuel supply had gone home, Big Doctor announced to the other doctors, "Good Pipe and I are going to put on a regular performance the day after tomorrow in the evening. Tomorrow evening, we doctors are all going to parade through the village." He also reminded them that any doctors who were going to join the two head doctors in giving a performance would have to make their plans for the parade and for the performance the following evening.

As usual, there would be four acts. Big Doctor planned to demonstrate 756
how he swallowed a deer head whole. Pipe Offering was going to make a 796
mud duck come alive. The third on the program would be Brave 789
Horse, whose son would succeed in locating a horse's tail that would be 636
carried away during the performance by one of the audience and hidden

756 796 536 789 in an earth lodge in a place known only to himself. The fourth act was to be by Brave Shield or High Noon, who was a buffalo doctor. He would shoot an arrow into the chest of his young son, Yellow Calf, who would be impersonating a young buffalo.

756 796 536 789 177 [648] The Pawnee doctor, wearing nothing but his loin cloth, was apparently a highly successful illusionist, as attested by the number of hard-headed white spectators who were thoroughly mystified. Among them was Major Frank North who early became a clerk in the trade store on the Pawnee reservation and later rose to be the leader of the U.S. Battalion of Pawnee Scouts that were regularly inducted into the U.S. Army. North, having a good grasp of the language and being familiar with the personalities involved, on witnessing the act where "the Bear" rips open the abdomen of a boy and eats part of the liver, could only conclude either that a dummy had been used or that the boy had actually been murdered on the spot. George Bird Brinnell of Yale, who had been among the Pawnee in Nebraska, after their removal visited a medicine man in Oklahoma and he too was at a loss to explain what he had seen in broad daylight. Luther North, young brother of Frank, who was with him on this occasion said that while he was on duty with the Pawnee scouts in Nebraska some of his scouts would practice their illusionist feats while they were out on campaigns with him. "One man hid among the tall grass and appeared as a deer, then the next moment as a man," he reported. Another would simply take up a handful of mud and, rubbing his hands together, produce a live turtle, reconverting it into mud again. North asked him what would happen if he released the turtle and let him go. The man said he would die. North returned to the spot after such an episode and found the dead turtle there. There are also eyewitness accounts of such feats as cutting off a foot during the course of a performance, reattaching it backward and then restoring it to normal.

756 796 789 My informant who had participated in some of these feats from the operational side was by no means mystified. The illusions were carefully planned, with assistants planted in the audience and all the practical details organized with great precision. The methods for convincing the audience that are familiar to us, such as allowing the spectators to examine some of the objects involved, were freely used. Various lighting effects produced by lowering or brightening the fire were also employed. Knowing all this, Evarts continued to believe in the divine intervention in the process, while a friend of similar age, David Gillingham, remained an unbeliever from his boyhood on into later life.

756 796 Now on the first evening before their performance, the doctors got ready for their parade through the village, *wi-ti-kibar-rar-itsax-ka-wu,* "now-it-dance-they-through-the-village-among-going." The first contingent comprised the four leading doctors at the west. They made an extensive tour of the village, going into each earth lodge as far as they could

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

38

THE FIRST BIG DANCE

000

Procession of Doctors Impersonating Animals—the Bears Fight the Rest of the Animals—Victory Call's Participation—the Doctors' Meal

756 796 536 EVERYONE MADE SURE TO COME home early that evening so that they would be in time to see the show. By five o'clock there was a large crowd gathered around the space in front of the Doctor Lodge, including many little boys and people visiting from the South Bands.

One could hear the drums inside the lodge and then the doctors came out. In the lead were the two errand men, Good Eagle on the right and Big Bear at the left, each one holding a loon (*kuhut*). Right behind them came the four leading doctors, two by two—Big Doctor and Pipe Offering and then Wonderful Old Buffalo Bull and Sitting Hawk. Behind these came the drummers and then the other doctors two by two. As they circled the dance grounds, the two drummers sang, while the men ahead of them kept step to a dance, the two errand men swinging the loons forward.

Now as one looked in the doorway of the ceremonial lodge, one could see a "deer" jumping up inside. Different kinds of deer came out now; a black-tailed deer (played by Brave Bow), a reindeer (played by Fox Scarf), behind him an elk (played by Might-Be-a-Chief, son of That-Chief and trained by him). Each of these deer blew on a different kind of whistle. The next contingent to emerge were the horses led by Brave Horse with his boys following after him. They were running around here and there blowing their whistles when the black horse came. Next there were two wolves, one played by the son of Big Doctor, He-Kills-a-Person, and the other, *Hatuxka,* Won't-Flee-from-the-Enemy, who played the white wolf.

The procession was completed with the two men dressed in bearskins, one of them Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, and the other, Sitting Hawk's

brother Victory Call, who was Otter's father. The two bears blocked 756
the entrance so that the other animals would not be able to get back in. 796
Finally they moved aside just long enough for the doctors to get in and 536
then closed ranks again. As the doctors went inside, one could see smoke, dust, and ashes coming out of the smokehole of the ceremonial lodge, and one could hear noise inside. This was because the doctors were in there.

Now all the animals tried to get in too, but the bears blocked their way. The deer stood by pretending to be grazing casually, while the bear sat around looking equally casual. When the deer got close, he again had to jump away. The deer, horses, and wolves all wanted to get in but the bear stayed close to the door. The horses blew their whistles to get in, but the bear remained stationary. He tried to catch the colt, but the colt jumped back. Finally the bear looked the other way for a minute and some of the animals managed to run in. The deer got in but the white wolf had a hard time. The bears tried their best to catch him and they both blocked the way, but finally he squeezed in and only the other wolf was left. If the bears managed to catch him, they would rip open his abdomen and eat some of his liver. He huffed and puffed and tried his hardest to get into the lodge. White smoke (viz., clay) came out of his mouth with the effort. This got the bears angry and one could see the bristles of their hair standing up on the backs of their necks. Finally the wolf jumped right over the bear and got into the lodge, and this made everyone laugh.

At one of the later Big Dance episodes Sitting Hawk had instructed 756
"the two bears" to try their best to catch a deer, a horse, or a wolf. Misery 796
had all his implements ready inside his bear robe. Misery sat at the north
side of the entranceway to the lodge looking toward the inside, and 789
Victory Call at the south side somewhat away from the door looking 536
around outside. The animals circled around the dance grounds four times, then tried to get back into the lodge but were prevented by the bears. The horses had buffalo-hair ropes that they were dragging along the ground. The deer managed to skip in, but the white horse, blowing his whistle, was blocked by Misery, who looked very angry with the hairs on his bear neck bristling. Twice the horse approached and managed to escape, with Misery just missing catching the rope. He began to puff and blow. Everyone was yelling to the horse, "He might catch you yet!" Finally the horse made a quick turn and Misery grabbed him too. Everyone on the housetops yelled, "There old man, I told you they'd get you." Both bears laid him down on his back and held him with his arms and legs spread out. Then Misery stuck in his bear claw and made a slit downward, laying open the whole stomach. He pulled out a piece of liver and Victory Call came up and got a piece. Everyone was shouting, "Just look at that old man there. Now old man you can never get

756 enough to eat to fill you up any more!" (They meant that now that his
796 liver was gone his stomach had lots of room to expand.) After the two
536 bears got through, they jumped on their victim and healed him up. They
789 had medicine in their mouths for this purpose which they rubbed on the victim's stomach to heal him up. When they got off, the people could see that he was all right again. Then they shook him a bit and as he came out of his daze, he got up and thought there was nothing wrong with him. He just blew on his whistle and ran into the lodge. But the people knew better. They said, "He can whistle away all right, but he won't ever be able to get enough to eat to fill himself up now!"

756 This was the first time that Victory Call had participated in this act
796 and he went over to his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and caressed him
536 in blessing. "This is what I wanted to know," he said. From now on, Victory Call could don his bear suit and go through this performance on his own. In return, he had taught Sitting Hawk how to handle rattlesnakes.

After all the animals had gone into the lodge, the public show was over. Inside the errand men would be busy cooking the meal. All sixty doctors would be there and they would use up three parfleches of meat to feed them all.

39

THE DANCE OF THE SCALPED ONES

000

Impersonate Scalped Warriors Instead of Animals in This Dance—the Song That Is Sung—the Dance Explained

THE DAY AFTER the first Big Dance there was to be an indoor performance in the evening like the first one but with four different acts. The men who were to participate would start to prepare themselves in the morning after they had finished their breakfast, refraining from eating till the next morning. Just before dark they circled about before the lodge and sang as an announcement of what the performance was to be. A granddaughter of one of the performers, meeting him the night before his way home, inquired where his booth was located as she and her mother wanted to have the privilege of watching the performance sitting comfortably inside his booth. That evening before the performance she came to the lodge with corn bread, coffee, and dry meat. The errand man directed her, going past the first, second, and third booths on the north side and entering the fourth. (He made careful note of what food she would bring to see if he wanted to claim a share after the dance.) Now the girl and her mother were seated inside the booth as the crowd packed in to the rest of the lodge. After this performance the doctors would have a free day, then another performance and still another free day and then a second Big Dance outdoors. After this second Big Dance, instead of just the nighttime performances and free intervals, another kind of outdoor performance was introduced—the Dance of the Scalped Ones. 756 796 536 535

Instead of animals, the actors in the Dance of the Scalped Ones were the spirits of those who had been scalped by the enemy. Everything was done to develop a mood of weirdness. Old Lady Tsitawa, head of the black-tailed deer lodge, wore a short skirt of black tanned hide and a

756 tanned-hide shawl. The other actors impersonating the *kitsaburuksu*, the
796 scalped ones, were plastered all over with mud, including a thick plaster-
536 ing of mud on their heads and all over their faces. As they approached
they looked like a veritable mud bank.

535 A big crowd had gathered outside the lodge in anticipation of the performance. The two drummers ran out first and putting their drums between their knees, sat facing each other. As they began to beat the drum, a crowd of scalped ones ran out of the Doctor Lodge. The drumming [533] was in all sorts of irregular beats and the little boys were frightened when they first saw the scalped ones approaching. They motioned erratically and jumped every which way in scary ways. The drummers were [539] singing "Scalped-Ones-Speech":

Hiru-ribi	here-is
Hiru-ribi	here-is, *wakarawi* (speech)
Hiru-ribi, hiru-ribi, wakarawi	
Kitsahuruks-pakarawi	scalped one-speech
Kitsahuruks-pakarawi	

The song was sung to an irregular tune and as soon as the drummers had finished the song, they all ran suddenly into the lodge and just as suddenly out again, the drummers again coming out and sitting facing each other, singing the Scalped-Ones-Speech with the crowd of actors running out after them. This running in and out was repeated four times and on the fourth round the actors all came out dancing backward, making peculiar motions and finally falling down. Even the drummers [534] fell and kicked over their drums (water drums made of a hollow log.) At last they looked up dazed and as soon as they became aware of the people around, they jumped up and ran back into the lodge.

No one would provide a meal for "Scalped-Ones." As everyone knew, "They were the biggest thieves and stole anything they could get a chance to!" They ate in their booths whatever donations of corn had been made. "As for dry meat, they would provide it for themselves if they could steal some."

Between the second and third Outdoor Big Dance, there were one or two of these special outdoor Scalped-Ones dances with a performance in the night indoors intervening. Afterward the third Big Dance was given, and then after that the two nighttime performances with free days intervening.

his wife and then the doctors might go after him in this way. They would spirit him out onto the dance grounds outside the Doctor Lodge; then he would go home, get his buffalo robe, and return. 756

From these instances it should be clear that the Pawnee preoccupation with illusionism, hypnotism, and suggestion was neither mere theater nor pure ritual. The power of trance induction was regarded as a threat and a means of control. Possibly the hunter found in it a method of communication with the wild animals and control over them. It is very evident that it was considered a way of immobilizing the enemy. Trance induction was called "fighting" or "shooting at the image or shadow," and illusionism by sleight of hand as a milder form of psychological control was called "playing" or "romping" as of children. Our present preoccupation with psychology and psychosomatic problems should point the way to its connection with healing. The cultivation of these psychological states in the Doctor Lodge was obviously something more than pure supernaturalism. 756 787 [626]

The final episode in the Opera was a contest between the Buffaloes and the Bears in which the Buffaloes reduced the Bears psychologically to mere puppies, and in this way the Buffaloes are no longer afraid. 756 796 536

41

THE CLOSING EPISODE OF THE DOCTORS' GRAND OPERA

000

Contest between Bears and Buffalo Clown Warriors—Description of the Ceremony—the Closing Speech by Big Doctor—the Dismantling Begins

756
796
536

THE MONTH-LONG GRAND OPERA of the doctors ended with a closing performance inside the ceremonial lodge after the fourth Big Dance. Its main feature was a contest between the Bears and the attacking Buffalo Clown Warriors, dressed in mock war costume and led by members of the Buffalo Cult, with John Buffalo, Heavy Trophies, and others playing the several parts. They wore war bonnets made of corn husks and carried spears made of sticks decorated with corn husks to represent feathers. Their shields were also of corn husks, and they made a "chief's medal" for their chief Clown out of the round cover of a tin can. Everyone knew that on that evening the Clowns were going to stab the Bear with their sticks and "make a man of him." The young Bears were released from trance by their leader, Angry Horse, who had also "to awaken" himself. This was the final act.

On the last night the crowd surged into the entryway to see the performance. At the southeast near the wall stood a crowd of Clown-warriors wearing their corn-husk war bonnets with their chief standing proudly at the head of them with his spear. On the north side stood the party of the Bears. Angry Horse was the leading figure of the Bear Party. His face was blackened and he wore a wreath of cedars around his head. In his hand he carried a big rock tied to a string. (My informant did not know what he represented, but people said that his blackened face indicated that he knew everything.) Next to the leader were the two Bear Doctors of the second grade—Strikes-the-Enemy, lieutenant to Angry Horse, and Misery, Son of Sitting Hawk. These men had no other costume than a long

pole in the left hand of each and a cedar branch "fan" in the right. The two junior members of the Bear Lodge, Fox Chief and Man Chief, were to be the direct object of the attack and they remained inside the Bear Booth dressed in their bearskin costumes. 756 796 536

The show began with the Clowns. John Buffalo addressed the Clown chief who stood there proudly oblivious of anyone or anything that was going on around him:

> "Say Chief, I heard that other tribe say the Bear is going to come around. Over there, there's a bluff, and a Bear is coming there." "I know that but they're nothing but raccoons," said the chief. Then another fellow addressed him saying, "The other tribe is excited there because they say the Bears are coming." "Bear—talk about Bear—I could ride right on it any time I want to!" Next one of the Clown-warriors went and sat down next to the witch woman. He told her what was going to happen "over there" and he made everyone laugh. He said to her, "I heard the people over there say the Bear is going to come. Do you believe it? But the chief says he was up there and there is nothing but a raccoon in there—not a Bear. Are you afraid of Bears? Well, I guess if they come, I'm going to get one."

After this byplay with the witch, the Clown-warrior rejoined his group. Now the action moved to the Bears. All the other doctors came out of their booths. The Bear subleaders, Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, pushed their long poles into the Bear Booth to tease out the two Bears who are still inside. When they started to come out of their booth, the Wolf (played by He-Kills-a-Person) came around and got between the two Bears so that their way was blocked. They tried to catch him, but he jumped away with a quick motion and this made them all the more furious. In their anger, they came out of the booth, one at a time. First one came backing out and then the other one emerged head forward. All the doctors began to move about to blockade their escape. The Bears were very angry and they blew and puffed and the bristles on their necks rose straight up.

The Clowns way over on the other side said, "I got hold of his foot now!" John Buffalo said, "I'm holding their legs. They're nothing but raccoons!" Another clown chimed in with, "Oh, they're puppies—nothing but puppies!"

The Bears tried to escape and the crowd tried to blockade their way. The Clowns got caught between two groups of them. Then the doctors, Clowns, and everyone ran out of the lodge except one Clown that got stuck between the two Bears. He didn't know where to go so he looked around and saw that the serpent's mouth was big enough to get in. So he crawled in there, breaking all the teeth. Then he stuck out

756 his head, looking all around. When the two Bears finally left the
796 lodge, he got out of the serpent's mouth.

536 Outside the Clown-warriors were all yelling, "They're over here. There're nothing but little bits of puppies." Soon Angry Horse, the chief Bear Doctor, came staggering into the lodge, circling the fireplace as if he were drunk. He was carrying a rock tied to a string, and every now and then he would hit one of the house posts with it as he went around the fireplace. Next his lieutenants, Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, entered singing and holding their long sticks and cedar-branch fans. Next came the four main doctors who went to their place in the west and stood there holding their eagle-wing fans. In front of them at the west of the fireplace facing toward the east, stood Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, making sweeping and jerky movements with their cedar-branch fans. They were calling in the members of their own Bear Lodge who were still outside, with the assistance of the two main doctors who were standing behind them to reinforce their efforts with their eagle-wing fans.

Now one Bear comes backing in and the other comes in head foremost, one going around the north side of the fireplace, the other around the south side. The doctors, including those at the west, all try to get out of the way of the Bears, while Big Doctor reminds Pipe Offering to fill his pipe to get ready for the smoke offering.

Angry Horse, the Bear leader, was still staggering back and forth around the fireplace carrying a big stone on a string. When the Bear that was approaching from the south arrived at the west, Angry Horse was waiting for him there. The Bear fell down and he jumped over him and smashed him on the forehead with the big rock he was carrying. As soon as the prone Bear had been hit, Big Doctor told Pipe Offering to light up his pipe and offer the mouthpiece to the forehead of the prostrate Bear twice, then once to his chest (windpipe), then to his right palm, his left palm, and one to each of the soles of his feet. The whole procedure was repeated with the Bear that was approaching from the north side and the two Bears lay facing each other at the west. As soon as he fell, Pipe Offering had also "smoked" the second Bear in the same way as he had the first. Angry Horse was signing, "This is the way I do when I get angry!"

As the two Bears lay limp and lifeless at the west, the two main doctors assisted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy carried first one and then the other into the Bear Booth.

During this special act of the leader upon the two junior Bears, the rest of the doctors and spectators had remained outside. Now first the doctors, followed by the spectators and the Clowns in the rear, filed back into the lodge. The Clowns talked about what they did out there. They were saying, "Oh, I got hold of him by the leg and just shook

him around a little bit." "Oh, I got on him like a horse. He's a good runner." 756 796

By this time the Bear leader, Angry Horse, was all crumpled up and quieted down. Standing at the west of the fireplace facing east, he warmed his rock over the fire and then went to his seat near the Bear Booth at the northeast of the Doctor Lodge. There he removed his whole costume, including the cedar wreath, leaving only his blackened face. Now the two ex-Bears, Man Chief and Fox Chief, also came out of the booth without their Bear costumes. Man Chief went to the north of the fireplace, extending his right hand over the fire, then putting it on top of his head. Then he did the same with his left hand. He went through the same procedure with his abdomen and also his knees as he stood up. At the south of the fireplace, Fox Chief did the same thing. Now both men returned to their Bear Booth, Man Chief directly from his station at the north and Fox Chief from his south station around the west and north. 536

This was the closing act of the whole show, and now Big Doctor made his final address to them all. He said, "Now spectators, young men, women, now you have seen, during these several nights, this, 'our playing.' Young men, tribespeople, now I am through with this playing of ours." (He included the audience as well as the doctors in his statement, expressed through the grammatical first person, plural inclusive form, *ti-wi-rikuhuritsa-witsat*, "this-now-it us all-complete." He thus acknowledged the help of the spectators in examining the paraphernalia when offered to them to affirm that they were authentic.) "Now that's all." This was the signal for all spectators to leave.

That night the doctors would take the first step toward dismantling the ceremonial appointments of the lodge. Each of the doctors would bundle up the sacred objects he had used in carrying out his performance and wrap them in a skin cover to form a long-shaped bundle. These must be taken to their respective homes that evening. The four doctors at the west would wrap up everything pertaining to the Doctor Lodge in general—the loons and other birds, etc. That night only the four leading doctors would remain in the lodge, sending home their bundles with the errand men. 756 796 346 778

Very early next morning all the doctors would return so that they could remove and dismantle all the special ceremonial figures and structures they had built. Insofar as possible these would be carried intact to the water where they would be deposited in a certain position, approximating their position in the ceremonial lodge. The serpent figure, the witch woman, and the cedar would be carried out as they were and the sticks of the booths used to make them into a booth in the bottom of the creek. While the Bear ceremony was going on, some men had been delegated to find a suitable place for this. 756 796 778 532

43

THE DEER DANCE

000

The Deer Dance a New Addition to Pawnee Ritual—Kind Warrior Visits the Wichita—He Learns the Deer Dance from Them—the Learning of the Dance Explained—He Returns to the Pawnees and They Learn from Him—the Form of the Dance Undergoes Changes—the Songs They Sing—Differences with Other Animal Lodge Ceremonies—Mythology of Deer Dance—Popularity of Deer Dance

796 INVESTIGATORS HAVE LONG REALIZED that the Pawnees had a culture that
536 was unusually rich in ceremony and metaphor. It was particularly in the
theater arts connected with their ceremonies that their aesthetic culture
had its main expression. In the ceremonies, the sustained patterning of
the episodes, the costuming, and the underlying ideology and symbolism represented an aesthetic composite of great richness, which was assiduously cultivated and appreciated by the people for its beauty.

796 The Deer Dance was a comparatively new addition to the Pawnee
177 ceremonial repertoire. For more than a century certainly, and no doubt
considerably longer, Pawnee men had gone south on extended visits to
[484] the several tribes of their Caddoan-speaking kinsmen. While they were
there they commonly participated in the ceremonies as well as in other
[167] activities. Some remained there permanently such as the brother of Eagle
Chief, Noted-Tent (*Iseru-rikariku*), who became a distinguished Wichita chief. A man of the Kitkehaxki Band, *Tiraritaka'as*, became a chief of the Kitsai. For a rich source of new ideological and aesthetic material the Pawnees were conscious that they must go south to the Wichita, the Wichita probably looking south to the Caddo and the Caddo in turn to Mexico. It is probable that in this manner, passing from group to

The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea-
796 824 825 ture of the Pawnee Deer Dance ceremonial in the performances, and the entire floor was carpeted with the plant placed radially all around with the stub ends outward and the head ends pointing inward. The symbolism of the deer was maintained in the course of the performances when the performer would jump over the fireplace, from north to south and back again, and from west to east and back again, impersonating the deer in this way. Also in his closing speech, the leader told them that their Deer Lodge was now over and they were to follow their tracks home to the timber. They left, blowing their whistles all the way home, and the blowing could be heard all over the village so that the dance was sometimes referred to as the Whistle Dance.

796 789 536 After the sixth session, the "fighting" was entirely ended and the seventh, eighth, and ninth evenings were given over to illusionist sleight-of-hand feats of considerable intricacy, and the calendar eventually became so crowded that several performers might be performing simultaneously or with their performances overlapping. The rattling and singing would be begun at the southeast station, and sometimes no one would be inspired to get up and perform until the gourds and bows had reached a subsequent station in the clockwise round. In any case, if the spectators had not yet accumulated to a sufficient degree, some of the performers felt they wanted to wait "until they got a good crowd." The ceremony of the tenth day is entirely composed of a considerable series of sleight-of-hand performances.

796 756 578 At the time when Kind Warrior was its leader, the membership of the Deer Dance was becoming so considerable and the interest so great that the leaders of Doctor Lodge felt that it might develop into a rival organization to theirs. Sometimes when members were absent from the Doctor Lodge, others would go after them and finding them in the Deer Dance, would spirit them out, causing them to bleed at the mouth and desecrating the ground of the Deer Dance Lodge which had to be spotlessly clean and fresh. This almost developed into an open contest of power, which was finally averted when the doctors sent their apologies to the Deer Dance leaders admitting they had been wrong. At that period, the two ceremonies overlapped somewhat. Kind Warrior had taken a group of his members down to the pond where he summoned up a turtle, stating that if it came to an open fight he would go into the Doctor Lodge and, locking the entryway, make their turtle fireplace come alive. A report of this threat, finally brought the apology from the doctors.

The conflict was resolved at a later time, when Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, took over after Victory Call's death as leader of the Deer Dance and entered into an agreement with the leaders of the Doctor Lodge to hold his ceremony early, right after they arrived back from the summer hunt and before the Doctor Lodge should begin.

to come and join the dancing. Some chiefs walked around the 668
circle of dancers carrying pipes in their folded arms, but no smoke 796
offering was made. Should the singers pause for a rest, pipes (but [276]
not these sacred pipes) were often smoked non-ceremonially.

After ten or twenty songs, the people ended the dancing with the finishing song, and returned to their tipis for breakfast. When [203] they stopped the old man crier went through the camp calling out to the people to be ready to dance about one o'clock.

At one o'clock the dancers reassembled. The Seven Brothers took their places at the west side of the clearing, in order, each with special face-painting and wearing his eagle feather. Sam Cover led the singing, and the dancing began at the west, circling clockwise. Sam Cover and Emmet Pierson, the number 2 Brother, carried leather rattles which they shook in time to the dancing.

The dancing continued until about five in the afternoon, or just before sundown. The evening meal was prepared by women while the dancing went on, so that everything was ready when the finishing song concluded the dancing for the day.

After the dancing, the people gathered in the space between the cleared dance ground and the sacred tipi to the west of it. The Seven Brothers sat down on the east side of this space, facing west (this would of course be west of the cleared ground), while the chiefs sat on the west side facing east. In this way the chiefs and the seven brothers faced each other across this cleared space. The people gathered around the sides forming more or less of a circle. One chief was selected to talk. He said:

"We have all come together today to worship God. Now you [537
must try to think what you are here for. Now the ground is open, 539]
there is nothing in the way (i. e. it is outdoors), God can look straight down upon us. Here's the sunlight over us, he's the one who knows all about it, and he knows also what you think about; you can't ever hide it. Now we are going to eat." 782

The main tarutsius now came forward. This chief gave the 668
tarutsius a horn spoon which he had been holding while he spoke. 796
In the center of the space around which the people had gathered [415]
the food had been set out in buckets. The tarutsius received the spoon. (Filling the spoon[1]) He walked clockwise around, passing behind the food and around it, then with the spoon took some corn from the buckets, made a clockwise circuit and passed outside of the circle of people between the Seventh Brother (who is at the north end of the seated row of Seven Brothers) and the people at his right. (First Phase[1]) Outside the circle the tarutsius walked clock-

---

[1] See Chapter 8; the Food Offering and Service, pp. 220—228.

571 plan was applied to any larger gathering as well as to more casual encoun-
574 ters. The seating was aways according to relative social status and the
[521] right of priority in conversation was always determined by rank. There
[554] was little room for simple, spontaneous, social contact in the life of a
mature man. Except for the intimacies of marriage, there was no opportunity for easy conversation between mature men and women either. Missionary Dunbar (1881, pp. 745-746) describes the conduct of the men:

> 571 [The Pawnees] were . . . among themselves very sociable. With the men
> 574 there was apt to be perhaps, an excess of formality in their formal gather-
> 517 ings, but this is a natural consequence of their oft-recurring feasts and
> councils. It was quite common for several men in the evening to meet in some house where tobacco was to be had, and there sit smoking and recounting their exploits. One of the party kept up a monotonous thumping upon a drum. Another would dance for a while, make a speech, and sit down. Another would follow with the same role, etc. At certain seasons such gatherings were of nightly occurrence, lasting usually well-nigh till daylight.
>
> 571 Akin to this trait of storytelling, was their delight in discussion. They
> 537 were extravagantly fond of debating what might be termed questions of
> 623 general principle, often exhibiting considerable tact in their manner of
> sustaining an argument. Their principal efforts of this kind were reserved for public occasions, such as councils. It was impossible to attend a tribal council where any important matter was pending and not be impressed with the power and cogency of their eloquence. The reputation of being
> [554] an orator was coveted, and a man, when once recognized as such, was sure
> to wield great influence. An orator when addressing a council upon a question in which he was thoroughly interested, seemed to appreciate fully the dignity of his position, and identifying himself with the cause he advocated, and addressing himself directly to the person he was attempting to answer or convince, his speech would become vividly dramatic.

Tribal Fun and Games

609 Theoretically, friendships were best formed within one's own village
621 for beyond that was a kind of social "No-Man's Land." Sometimes,
[572] however, the wall of suspicion broke down, as in one story we heard related:

> 609 The members of the different bands didn't like each other as a rule.
> 621 We would say, "Don't bother with them (referring to people of another
> 539 village or band), they're mean."
>
> But some nice evening the Man-Going-Downstream Band and the Meat-Beggars would join the Little-Earth-Lodge Band and the children

628 623 203 *224 Just as the meeting was drawing to a close, as in all chiefs' meetings, an old man would climb up onto the roof of the lodge and cry out to the village what had been decided. In this case he did so early next morning. His wording was in a precise telegraphic style so that it could be clearly understood by everyone. He said:

> This was what was decided in the chiefs' meeting. White Eagle decided we are going to hunt in four days. Anything you have to do, get finished in that time. On the fifth day, we'll go out of the village. We'll camp on the other (south) side of the Loup River (*its-kari*, "potatoes-many").
>
> We'll camp there a whole day so that any of you that aren't quite through can join us any time that day and up to the evening of the sixth day. On the seventh day we are going to be moving upstream (westward).

The old man, having completed his announcement, went back into his lodge.

*224 887 *537 [789] Toward evening any old man who felt impelled might get up onto the roof of his house and talk to the people. He would say whatever was on his mind—about events in the past and their lessons for the future, or any other matters that seemed pertinent. Reviewing past events that were successful was considered a kind of sympathetic magic as well as of practical value. At this time the old man might talk about the fields and of how they were in the past. "All that," he would conclude "is in the past. But today we may have the same luck." Then he would continue in a different vein: "Try to help one another and take care of the children. The little ones like to swim and one must watch that they don't drown. I hope we come home well and find everything in good order."

*224 525 Such an old man was likely to speak gently and phrase his thoughts diplomatically and people listened carefully and thought about what he said. However, at the gambling grounds the gamblers had other matters on their minds. They were thinking about the good places they would come to along the way that were nice and smooth, with good buffalo grass growing on them—such a fine playing field for the hoop and pole game. They would discuss the different sites they were going to camp at where these would be found and agree between them that one would take along one stick and one the other so that they would have the equipment they needed for playing. For the inveterate gambler, this subject was always uppermost in his mind.

*224 276 756 Other men were thinking about how to get enough smoking tobacco to fill their needs, and the doctors were occupied with the herbs and medicines they would need to take along that were available only in this area. The tobacco was needed for ritual as well as for social purposes.

cred bundle ceremonies, and for them the success of the venture was a token of the favor they enjoyed with the powers above. 792

In his closing speech in the council tent, White Eagle had thanked his chiefs, braves and young men of the tribe who had helped him in every way to get all the dry meat that they now all had. For, he said, the horses were all heavily laden and every old man and old woman had some meat too. He spoke of the fact that they should now look to the future tasks that were ahead—their crops of corn beans and squash that they had left growing in their gardens and would harvest and preserve. There was no delay when they got to the village in getting to work on the drying and processing of the crop for storage. The star Canopus had risen in the southern sky and the harvest month of September was upon them. The Pawnee felt himself fortunate that by his work he could ensure himself so many of the good things of life. 622 537 221 [821]

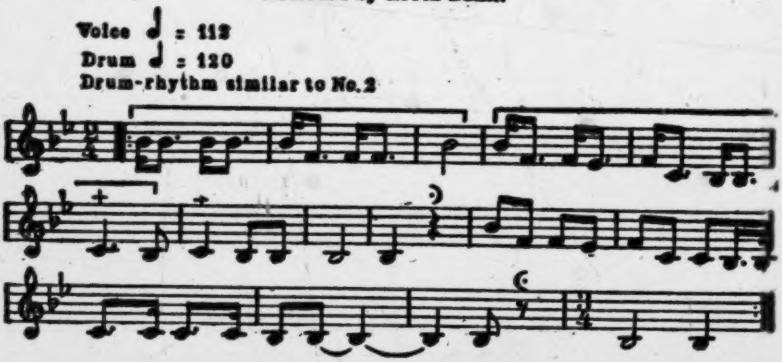
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

tervals are fourths and major seconds. Drum and voice are different in tempo, each being maintained with regularity. 533*

No. 71. "Other Girls Are as Pretty as She"

(Catalogue No. 1101)

Recorded by Effie Blain



A modern love song (not transcribed) was translated as follows: "That lady loves me. I bet she is thinking of me." It was said to be the song of a man already married who wanted the person mentioned in the song to elope with him. 533* 837

Songs of this class were preceded by the syllable *ee-ee* on a low tone in imitation of a flute. The informant said "the flute was courting medicine of a bad kind." 534

MYTHS AND FOLK TALES

The Pawnee possessed many stories pertaining to the origin of sacred bundles and the doings of mythological persons. Concerning such stories Doctor Dorsey states: "These tales, as a rule, are told only during ceremonies, especially during the intermissions or pauses in the ceremony which occur from time to time between rites, or during resting periods in the chanting of a long ritual. During such intermissions anyone of those present may ask the priests for such a tale. Especially is it the privilege of the one who has made the ceremony possible, by providing the food for the sacrifice and feast, to ask that such a tale be related. These tales may also, under certain circumstances, be told outside the ceremonial lodge . . . and the chief object in relating them is to furnish instruction."[34] Such stories gradually passed into current knowledge and were told as folk tales by any member of the tribe without mention of their religious significance. 773 538

---

[34] Dorsey, The Pawnee: Mythology (Pt. I), Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publ. No. 59, Washington, 1906.

773 The first three stories of the following group are versions of old
538 legends connected with the mythology of the tribe, while the fourth
539 story in the group appears to be an ordinary folk tale. It differs from the others in that the entire narrative was sung. (Cf. Rudimentary Songs, Northern Ute music, pp. 200–205.)

539 In the first story we find an interesting resemblance to a story recorded in southern Arizona.[38]

STORY OF THE GAMBLER

RELATED BY FANNIE CHAPMAN

In a certain village were two young boys. They were good-looking lads and wore their hair long on the right side of the head. One day the younger boy thought he would go to another village in the woods. When he came near this village he saw the smoke of a tipi that stood by itself among the willows. He went there and stood outside the entrance.

In this tipi lived an old woman and her three granddaughters. The old woman told the youngest girl to go outside and see if anyone was there. The girl saw the strange lad and returned, saying, "O grandmother, there is a good-looking young man outside." The old woman went to speak with him and said, "You had better go to some village where the people have more money. We are very poor." But the lad replied, "No. I came here and this is where I belong." The old woman said, "Well, come in," and the boy entered the tipi. Later the old woman said, "You had better go away for the chief of our band is very unkind to strangers. You must watch, for Long-nose (Coyote) will come before daylight to see if anyone is here. He will see you and tell the chief, who will ask you to breakfast. If he offers you dry pumpkin do not eat it, nor corn, nor mush. Bring it home with you."

Before daylight, as the old woman had predicted, Coyote came to see if anyone was in the tipi. The old woman said, "See my grandson, how good-looking he is. He ought to go where the big men are." Coyote ran at once to the chief and said, "O chief, there is a good looking young man down at the old woman's tipi. When you kill him he will be the leader of your heads." (Referring to a row of the heads of men killed by the chief that had been put in his tipi.) The chief said, "Run down to the old woman's tipi and bring the young man. I want to feast him." Coyote ran as fast as he could. The old woman saw him coming and again told the young man not to eat anything but to bring the food home. Coyote said to the young man, "You certainly are good-looking." When the chief saw the young man he said, "I sent for you to eat with me," and offered him dry

---

[38] Story of the Gambler, Papago Music, Bull. 90, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 25–34. Cf. also Dorsey, op. cit., pp. 185–191.

BIRTH

843 The first signs of pregnancy were received with rejoicing by the married couple and their families, who at once began preparing suitable presents for the child. During this period certain restrictions were placed upon the expectant mother and her husband. One of the most important of these prohibited the husband from killing or looking at animals other than the red deer, the flesh of which [825] only his wife was permitted to eat. If the man killed a deer, he jumped over it twice from right to left and twice from left to right, and then scattered a handful of dust over the animal; otherwise the child would be influenced by the deer. If he killed or looked at other animals, they would cause the child's appearance to be like that of an animal.

843 This restriction is illustrated by the following two tales. Once, 538 the husband of a pregnant woman was trapping beaver and otter. One day the man killed an otter, took it home, and skinned it in 825 the presence of his wife, so that the woman saw all that he did. When she gave birth, the child was part otter and part human, and died soon after. At another time a man went hunting during his wife's pregnancy. He found a badger, shot it through the eye, and took the skin home, showing it to his wife and relating the circumstances of how he got it. Though she tried to prevent his telling about it and tried not to see the skin, her child was born blind.

843 During pregnancy the wife was forbidden the use of any form of knife in the preparation and cutting of food, for to do so would sever the umbilical cord and cause the child to bleed to death. The husband was also careful in the care of his ponies and kept away from those that were lariated. Should he become entangled [825] in the lariat the child would be strangled or injured in the delivery. A pregnant woman refrained from drinking with a horn spoon or [415] from a small earthenware vessel which was used as a dipper, as she would drink in the sound supposed to reside in the utensil. The noise would enter the embryo's ears and the child would be born [826] deaf. In other words, practically all forms of congenital deformity 843 were ascribed to the violation of restrictions imposed during preg- 538 nancy. Even twins were supposed to owe their origin to the fact [845] that in ancient mythological times a woman seduced a man, he believing her to be a woman of whom he was very fond. When they had lain together in the timber beyond the village, she jumped up and laughed at him. In her shadow he saw her ears move and looking closer saw a deer running away. The man in vain tried to

kill her, and after he had followed her a long distance she changed 843
herself back into a woman. They lived together for several years. 538
In the meantime it was thought that the man had been killed. Finally she accompanied him to his village as his wife, where she gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl. They grew up and took their proper places in the village. At first the deer wife disliked living in the village and often tried to run away, but afterwards she became reconciled and gave birth to other twins. Thereafter her descendants in the female line always gave birth to twins, and from this woman are supposed to be descended all the twins ever born among the Skidi.

Finally, it may be noted that no pregnant woman could come 843
near the ceremonial contests where the medicine-men threw their 784
medicine "arrows" at each other. Ordinarily she might be a very powerful medicine-woman and be able to protect herself from the "arrows" of her opponents, but during this period her thought and mind were on her child and consequently she could not ward off the "arrows," which would fly to her and kill her.

On the first indication of labor the husband left the lodge and 844
did not return to his wife for four days, as his presence during this time was thought to increase the difficulty of birth. The husband continued to observe the restrictions on his conduct, such as abstention from hunting, which were in force during the period of pregnancy.
Also he unbraided his hair and wore it loose, for it was believed [302]
that Tirawa wore his hair in this manner when he was creating [773]
the universe.

With the approach of labor the wife herself selected an old woman, who was usually a medicine-woman or the keeper of a sacred bundle, to be midwife. The latter came, bringing her medicine bag and a wooden bowl in which to wash the child. Sometimes the bowl was covered with representations of a dog, goose, deer, or some other animal, so that when the child grew up it would possess the magic power of the animal depicted. On arriving at the lodge, the midwife brought in some fresh earth and spread it upon the floor. Over this she put a thick covering of soft grass. The flow of blood following delivery could thereby be absorbed by the earth and grass and the whole easily removed. Next several parfleches were piled for a head-rest, and the pregnant woman was laid in the place prepared for her.

With the beginning of labor the mother was given some medicine by the midwife and told that it would relieve her and make for an easy birth. Should the woman give birth before the arrival of

847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair
842 was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could
831 not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should
any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would
753 become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren
women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names, if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years.
[729] As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with
789 scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing
on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner. This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after marriage, an individual was given another name by the father. This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath,
553 our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands
159 of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best
horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man
● 538 between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off
my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die. After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home. When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

and thought that I was dead but found afterwards that I was only asleep. In my sleep, I saw a buffalo bull sitting by the water's edge waving his tongue in the water. As I went up to him I saw that he was watching me. He spoke to me and said: 'My son, you are wounded, but you are not going to die; I shall take care of you.' When I regained consciousness, I was feeling sick. I wanted to vomit. I vomited a lump of white stuff. The medicine-men cut it open, and there was a piece of strouding inside it. This was a piece that had been shot into me from my breech cloth. I soon became well. Then I took the name of Buffalo-waving-its-Mouth-in-Water." 726 553 159 538

"There was a young man who had never been on the warpath, but was always making fun of other young men who came back from the warpath without any ponies or scalps. This young man made up his mind one day that he would go on the warpath. So he sat down in his lodge and invited a few of his friends. He told them that he was thinking about going on the warpath, and if they wanted to go he would like to go with them. The young men all said they would go. The young man kept the others in his lodge all day and all night. Just before sunrise they started out. They travelled far and a little before noon they stopped in a hollow, and the young man selected scouts and sent them out. The scouts came back and reported that there was a war-party close by, that the men were holding some kind of a council, and that their ponies were not very close. The young man gave instructions for every one to get ready. They walked along the ravines until they came to the ponies, which they captured and mounted. Then they attacked the enemy while they were holding council. The boys killed several of the enemy and drove the others away, came back and took scalps, and then returned home. They set the prairies afire, took the charred grass and put it upon their faces and bodies. They were received by the people and the boy told the old men that he had taken a scalp, which he wanted to offer to the gods, and that he wanted his name changed. So the scalp was offered to the gods, and his name was changed to Noon, for he said: 'By noon time I had captured the enemy's ponies, killed several men, and taken their scalps, so I shall be known as Noon-Day Man.'" [782] [551]

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

The usual period of nursing was about three years; if a woman nursed a child for a longer time other women would make fun of her. Children were told by their mothers to bury their milk teeth, 853 854 856

622 mitted his authority along with his bundle to his eldest son. These
565 hereditary chiefs, representing each of the villages, selected from
among the leading warriors and those of high rank a sufficient number to make up the thirty-one. [The manuscript also contains a note that the chiefs' council could reject the son of a deceased chief if it did not consider him worthy. Also, if the dead chief left no offspring, the bundle was supposed to descend to the next oldest brother or nearest male kin; the brother married the chief's widow.]

The eldest son of a chief theoretically inherited his father's position, and if he proved worthy was duly made chief on reaching the proper age. At this time the chief's bundle (North-Star bundle) was opened and a ceremony held. So far as known, the ritual accompanying the ceremony has not been sung for more than thirty years, and there is no Skidi living today (1907) who knows it.

It has been mentioned that the hereditary chiefs could invite men who had proved themselves worthy and make them chiefs. When this course was decided upon, the chiefs invited the one selected to the lodge four times. He declined the first three times, but on the fourth invitation went to the lodge, bringing with him ponies and parfleches of meat, which he presented to the chiefs. He was then made chief, but did not have his face painted, and his sons were not considered chiefs.

The son of a chief other than the eldest, or indeed any man, might make four deer holy and offer them to the four chiefs of the Four-Band village. With the consent of the other hereditary chiefs they then asked the candidate to the lodge and offered him a pipe to smoke, after which he could sit in the chief's council. [Presumably he did not have the rank of a chief, however.]

622 During council the chiefs were supposed to sit cross-legged in
[516] an erect attitude, never in a lounging position. The mark of office
623 was a red-painted face with a blue semi-circular line extending from
531 in front of each ear and passing over the forehead, and a symbol on
302 the forehead representing the so-called Turkey's Foot constellation.
565 An eagle feather was worn in the hair, while ordinarily the costume
consisted of leggings fringed with eagle feathers and human hair from scalps, and a buffalo-skin robe on which were depicted stars, the sun, or war scenes.

622 Perhaps the most important characteristic of a chief was that
[928] he was a peace-maker and guardian of the village rather than a
538 warrior; there are many incidents in the myths expressing the idea
565 that a man who has often been on the warpath becomes imbued with

the desire to take scalps and capture ponies and is no longer fit to be 622
chief. In the words of my informant: "Tirawa, after having created 538
people, gave them their bundles and said to the chief: 'You are to be 565
like me; you are to have many people to look after; you are to be guardian of the people on earth and the beings of the heavens will do your bidding.'" The custom did not prevail among the Skidi of making the chief an offering of food when on the hunt. He was obliged to look after himself, and could not claim more than the share which he himself or those riding his horses had won in the chase.

Like other societies, that of the chiefs had two errand men whose 624
duty it was to look after the fire, prepare and distribute meat, and 565
light the pyre for the smoke offerings. In his own village each chief also had at his command two errand men who performed similar duties.

In addition to the hereditary chief, each village had one or more *nahikuts*, or braves, whose number was usually four but varied according to the size of the village. The duty of these men was that of servants of the chiefs; they followed their directions, preserved order, helped in carrying out the laws of the band, and assisted in the preparation of the ceremonies. Their badge of office was a war-club or tomahawk. They held office for life. They were also considered as servants of the Morning Star, and like the other warriors of each village obtained their power directly from him or from some animal or spirit under the guidance of the Morning Star.

Another high-ranking class were the *narawiraris*, or warriors. These men had reached this position by their own efforts. They had made a certain number of sacrifices and thus won a victory over the powers of the heavens. They were eligible to election as chiefs and
had the right to sit near the priest in ceremonies. When going on 624
the warpath, such men had the privilege of wearing the sacred war- 565
rior's costume of the warrior's bundle. The position of warrior was 778
said to have been created in the beginning, at which time the warrior was given five things—the otter skin, the hawk skin, the leg of an eagle, the eagle feather, and the sacred red paint made from red earth and buffalo fat. In using these objects, he was to attach the eagle leg to his belt, wear the eagle feather, and put the otter skin over his head, the hawk skin on his right shoulder, and the paint on his
face. In painting his face he was to make three dots above his nose [302]
in the center of his forehead, to represent the claw of the eagle's foot. [531]
He was to use the black otter because it was from the water, was

MEDICINE-MEN

Like the chief and the priest, the medicine-man held a position 791
of honor among the Skidi. His office was supposed to have been 756
created by Tirawa immediately after he had instituted the office of 565
chief, at which time Tirawa said: "I shall give you (chief) a companion [773]
who will understand certain beings who command all the
spirits of the earth. He shall learn from them the different curative [538]
powers, and shall be your equal, but he will not command, for it
will be his duty to wait on the sick." At this time Tirawa gave the
medicine-man the blue clay he wore over his body during ceremonies,
the wing of a black eagle to be used in his left hand, and a gourd [778].
rattle to be held in his right.

The medicine-men derived their powers from supernatural beings who were usually identified with animals. At birth a child came under the influence of a supernatural being—a particular star shining especially bright—who was supposed to manifest himself later in the child's life. Usually this manifestation occurred when the child fell ill, at which time medicine-men were sent for. When the right one appeared, he could cure the child, for he possessed the power from an animal which in turn had received its power from the star noted above. Thus the child was made aware of the particular animal guardian which was to influence his career. When he grew to be a young man he might become a medicine-man through a supernatural experience during which power was given him directly by his guardian, or, as was more common, he applied for instruction to some medicine-man who had received power from the same guardian. With the latter's consent, the young man became his pupil, paying for the knowledge received. [Further details regarding medicine-men have been published by Linton, 1923b.]

In many ways the medicine-men ingratiated themselves with the people. One of the best examples occurred during the fall performance of the great ceremony of the Skidi medicine-men. On the first night they visited all the village lodges containing sacred altars, and on the following night made a general tour of the village offering their services free of charge.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

This group probably represented less than one-half the members 554
of the band. They were distinguished by the fact that they were 565
without influence or power, their lodges were smaller and not so
completely furnished, they had few or no ponies, and were often the [736]
objects of charity.

honesty. No such meaning attaches to the Indian equivalent of this 721 phrase. They take horses by stratagem or secretly, by the usual, and to them legitimate, methods of warfare. To speak of their stealing horses, using that verb in the sense which we commonly give it, would be like saying that an army stole the cannon which it captured in an engagement with the enemy. Captured horses were the legitimate spoils [556] of war. The wealth of the Indians was in their horses. They had no fortified places, no ships of war, no cannon, no works of art. Their only valuable possessions were their horses. These were the only property that could be carried off. Therefore, when an expedition was made against a hostile tribe, scalps and horses were naturally its object. Horses, being their only valuable possessions, constituted their 436 medium of exchange, so far as they had any. Did a man wish to 231 purchase an ornament, or an article of dress which took his fancy, he gave a horse for it. If he bought a wife he paid for her in horses. [583] The most valuable present that could be made was a good horse; and horses were often given by the well-to-do to their friends and relations who had been sick or unfortunate. On the other hand, when, as was sometimes the case, a conquered tribe was condemned to pay a war [728] indemnity, they paid it in horses. It is related that when the Skidi broke their treaty with the other bands, and were afterward conquered by them, they were obligated to pay such a fine.

This view of Indian warfare being understood, the motive of the 538 hero stories here given, and of many of the folk-tales, becomes plain.

The Pawnees are essentially a religious people. They worship 771 *Ti-ra'-wa*, who is in and of everything. Unlike many of the Indian 776 tribes of the West, they do not adore any material thing. They regard certain places as sacred, but these are so only because blessed by the Divine presence. The Pawnee Deity is not personified. He is intangible, quite as much so as the God of the Christians. The sacred character of *Ti-ra'-wa* extends to animal nature. The fishes which swim in the rivers, the birds of the air and the beasts which roam over the prairie, have sometimes intelligence, knowledge and power far beyond those of man. But they are not gods. Their miraculous attributes are given them by the Ruler, whose servants they are, and who often makes them the medium of his communications to man. They are his messengers—his angels—and their powers are always used for good.

HERO STORIES

COMANCHE CHIEF, THE PEACE-MAKER

I

x 539 Many years ago there lived in the Ski'-di village a young man, about
● 538 sixteen years old. His name was *Kut-a'wi-kutz* (the hawk). At this
[302] time the Pawnees wore their hair in the ancient fashion, cut as the
Osages wear theirs; the whole head was shaved except a roach running back from the forehead beyond the scalp lock.

A war party went off to the south and he joined them as a servant. They went a long way and a long way, traveling far, but they got no horses and came back. Afterward another party started off on the warpath, and he went with it. They traveled many days, going to the southwest, and at length they came to a camp, and hid themselves to wait until it was dark. It was a camp of the Comanches.

When night had come they all went into the camp to steal horses. This young man went to a lodge near which stood three horses, two spotted horses and one gray. They were tied near the door of the lodge, and from this he thought they must be fast, for the Indians usually tie up their best horses close to the lodge door, where they will be under their eyes as much as possible. He went to the lodge to cut the ropes, and just as he was about to do so he thought he heard some one inside. He stepped up close to the lodge, and looked in through a little opening between the door and the lodge, and saw a small fire burning, and on the other side of the fire was sitting a young girl, combing her long hair. The young man looked around the lodge to see who else was there, and saw only an old man and an old woman, and the firemaker. He cut the ropes of the two spotted horses standing outside, led the horses out of the camp, and met his companion. To him he said, "Now, brother, you take these horses and go to the hill

where we were hiding to-day, and wait for me there. I have seen 539x
another fine spotted horse that I want to get; I will go back for it and 538●
will meet you before morning at that place."

He went back, as if to get the spotted horse, but returned to the lodge where the girl was. He went all around it, and looked at it carefully. He saw that there were feathers on the lodge, and rows of animals hoofs hanging down the sides, which rattled in the wind, and to one of the lodge-poles was tied a buffalo tail, which hung down. Then he went back to the door and looked in at the girl again. She had braided her hair and was sitting there by the fire. He stayed there a long time that night looking at her. Toward morning he went to look for his companion. When he met him he told him that some one had taken the spotted horse before he got to it; he could not find it. When the party all met next morning, they found that they had taken a lot of horses, and they started north to go home. They reached the Pawnee village, and every one was glad of their success.

After this, whenever this young man saw anything that was nice
or pretty, such as medals, ear-rings, finger rings for women, beadwork [301]
leggings, bracelets, necklaces, wampum, beads—things that the Comanches did not have—he would give a pony for it. For one year he went on like this, gathering together these pretty things. When the year had gone by he had no horses left; he had given them all away to get these presents. He packed all these things up in a bundle, and then spoke one night to his friend, saying, "I intend to go off on the war-path again, and I would like to have you go with me; we two will go alone." His friend agreed to go.

II

Before the time came to start, other young men heard of it, and several joined them. There were eight of them in all. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* was the leader. He told his young men that they were going to a certain place where he knew there were lots of spotted horses to steal. They started out on foot. After traveling many days, they came to the place where the camp had been at the time he saw the girl. There was now no camp there.

They went on further, and at length came to a camp and hid them-

539 selves. When night came the leader told his men to remain where they
538 were hiding, and he would go into the camp and see if there were any horses to take. He went through all the camp looking for the lodge in which he had seen the girl, but he did not find it. Then he went back to where the young men were hiding, and told them that this was not the camp they were looking for; that they did not have here the spotted horses that they wanted. In the camp of the year before there had been many spotted horses.

The young men did not understand this, and some of them did not like to leave this camp without taking any horses, but he was the leader and they did as he said. They left that camp and went on further.

After traveling some days they came to another camp, and hid themselves near it. When night came on *Kut-a'wi-kutz* said to his young men, "You stay here where you are hiding, and I will go into this camp and see if it is the one we are looking for." He went through the camp but did not find the lodge he sought. He returned to the hiding place, and told the party there that this was not the camp they were looking for, that the spotted horses were not there. They left the camp and went on.

When they had come close to the mountains they saw another camp. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* went into this camp alone, and when he had been through it, he went back to his party and told them that this was the camp they had been looking for. Then he sent the young men into the camp to steal horses, and he put on his fine leggings and moccasins that he had in his bundle, and painted himself and went with them. He took a horse and his friend took one. They met outside the village. He told his friend to get on his own horse and lead the other, and with the rest of the party to go off east from the camp to a certain place, and there to wait for him. "I have seen," he said, "another fine horse that I like, and I wish to go back and get it."

His friend looked sorrowfully at him and said, "Why are you all dressed up like this, and why is your face painted? What are you doing or what is in your mind? Perhaps you intend to do some great thing to-night that you do not want me, your friend, to know about. I have seen for a long time that you are hiding something from me."

Kut-a'wi-kutz caught his friend in his arms and hugged him and

kissed him and said, "You are my friend; who is so near to me as you 539x
are? Go on as I have said, and if it turns out well I will tell you all. 538●
I will catch up with you before very long."

His friend said, "No, I will stay with you. I will not go on. I love you as a brother, and I will stay with you, and if you are going to do some great thing I will die with you."

When *Kut-a'wi-kutz* found that his friend was resolved to remain with him, he yielded and told him his secret. He said to him, "My brother, when we were on the warpath a year ago, and I took those two spotted horses, I heard a little noise in the lodge by which they were tied. I looked in and I saw there a girl sitting by the fire combing her hair. She was very pretty. When I took the spotted horses away, I could not put that girl out of my mind. I remembered her. Brother, when we went back home that girl was constantly in my mind. I could not forget her. I came this time on purpose to get her, even if it shall cost me my life. She is in this camp, and I have found the lodge where she lives."

His friend said, "My brother, whatever you say shall be done. I stay with you. You go into the camp. I will take the horses and go to that high rocky hill east of the camp, and will hide the horses there. When you are in the village I will be up in one of the trees on the top of the hill, looking down on the camp. If I hear shooting and see lots of people running to the lodge I will know that you are killed, and I will kill myself. I will not go home alone. If I do not see you by noon, I will kill myself."

Kut-a'wi-kutz said, "It is good. If I am successful I will go up there after you, and take you down into the camp."

They parted. The friend hid the horses and went up on the hill. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* went into the camp.

III

It was now the middle of the night. When he came to the lodge, he saw there was a fire in it. He did not go in at once; he wanted the fire to go out. He stayed around the lodge, and gradually the fire died down. It was dark. He went into the lodge. He was painted and finely dressed, and had his bundle with him. He took his moccasins off and x539 538 his leggings, and hung them up over the girl's bed; then strings of beads, then five or six medals, bracelets, ear-bobs, beaded leggings, everything he had—his shirt. He took his blanket, and spread it over the bed where the girl was lying, stepped over the bed, and crept under his own blanket, and lay down by her side.

When he lay down she woke up, and found that there was some one lying by her, and she spoke to him, but he did not answer. He could not understand her, for he did not know Comanche. She talked for a long time, but he did not speak. Then she began to feel of him, and when she put her hands on his head—*Pi-ta'-da*—Pawnee—an enemy! Then she raised herself up, took a handful of grass from under the bed, spread the fire and put the grass on it. The fire blazed up and she saw him. Then she sprang up and took the top blanket, which was his, off the bed, and put it about her, and sat by the fire. She called her father and said, "Father get up; there is a man here."

The old man got up, and got his pipe and began smoking. This old man was the Head Chief of the Comanches. He called the servant, and told him to make a fire. The girl got up and went over to where her mother was lying and called her. The mother got up; and they all sat by the fire.

The old man smoked for a long time. Every now and then he would look at the bed to see who it could be that was lying there, and then he would look at all the things hanging up over the bed—at the medals and other things. He did not know what they were for, and he wondered. At length the old man told the servant to go and call the chiefs of the tribe, and tell them to come to his lodge.

Presently the chiefs came in one by one and sat down. When they had come there was still one brave who ought to have come that was not there. His name was Skin Shirt; the father wanted him. He sent for him three times. He sent word back to the chief to go on with the council, and that he would agree to whatever they decided. The fourth time he was sent for he came, and took a seat by the chief, the girl's father. This brave spoke to *Kut-a'wi-kutz,* and told him to get up, and take a seat among them. He did so. The girl was sitting on the other side of the fire. When he got up, he had to take the blanket that was left, which was the girl's. He put it around him, and sat down among them.

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

When the chiefs came in, there was among them a Pawnee who had 539x
been captured long ago and adopted by the Comanches, and was now 538
himself a chief; he talked with *Kut-a'wi-kutz* and interpreted for him, telling him everything that was said as each one spoke.

After the young man had seated himself, the chief filled his pipe, and gave the pipe to his brave to decide what should be done with this enemy. The brave took the pipe, but he did not wish to decide, so he did not light it, but passed it on to another chief to decide. He passed it on to another, and he to another, and so it went until the pipe came back to the Head Chief. When he got it again, he asked *Kut-a'wi-kutz*, "Why have you come here this night and lain down in my lodge, you who are an enemy to my people? And why have you hung up in the lodge all these strange things which we see here? I do not understand it, and I wish to know your reasons."

The boy said to him, "A long time ago I came south on the warpath to steal horses. I traveled until I came to your camp. I saw three horses tied outside a lodge, two spotted horses and a gray. While I was cutting one of the ropes, I heard a little noise inside the lodge, and pushing aside the door I looked in, and saw that girl combing her hair. I stole the two spotted horses, and took them out of the camp, and gave them to a friend of mine, and came back to your lodge, and kept looking at the girl. I stayed there until she went to bed. For a long year I have been buying presents; beads and many other things, for I had made up my mind that I would go after this girl. I came down here to find her. I have been to where you were camped last year, and to two other camps that I discovered. She was not in these and I left them, and came on until I found the right camp. This is the fourth place. Now I am here. I made up my mind to do this thing, and if her relations do not like it they can do as they please. I would be happy to die on her account."

When he had spoken the old chief laughed. He said: "Those two spotted horses that you stole I did not care much about. The gray horse was the best one of the three, and you left him. I was glad that you did not take him. He was the best of all." Then for a little while there was silence in the lodge.

Then the chief, the girl's father, began to talk again; he said, "If I wanted to decide what should be done with this man, I would decide

539 right now, but here is my brave, Skin Shirt, I want him to decide. If
538 I were to decide, it would be against this man, but he has my daughter's blanket on, and she has his, and I do not want to decide. I pass the pipe to my brave, and want him to light it."

The brave said, "I want this chief next to me to decide," and he passed him the pipe, and so it went on around the circle until it came to the Head Chief again. He was just about to take it and decide the question, when they heard outside the lodge the noise made by some one coming, shouting and laughing; then the door was pushed aside and an old man came in, and as he passed the door he stumbled and fell on his knees. It was the girl's grandfather. He had been outside the lodge, listening.

The pipe was passed to the chief, and he gave it again to his brave to decide. While the brave was sitting there, holding the pipe, the old grandfather said, "Give me the pipe; if you men cannot decide, let me do it. In my time we did not do things this way. I never passed the pipe; I could always decide for myself."

Then Skin Shirt passed him the pipe, and he lit it and smoked. Then he said, "I do not wish to condemn to death a man who is wearing my granddaughter's blanket." The interpreter began to tell *Kut-a'wi-kutz* that the old man was going to decide in his favor, and that when he got through speaking he must get up and pass his hands over him, and thank him for taking pity on him, and so to all the others. The old man continued, "Now, chiefs, do not think hardly of what I am going to say, nor be dissatisfied with my decision. I am old. I have heard in my time that there is a tribe up north that is raising from the ground something that is long and white, and something that is round; and that these things are good to eat. Now, chiefs, before I die, I want to eat of these things, and I want my granddaughter to go and take her seat by this man, and for them to be man and wife. Since I was young we have been enemies, but now I want the two tribes to come together, join hands and be friends." And so it was decided.

The young man got up and passed his hands over the old man, and over the brave, and passed around the circle and blessed them all. The Pawnee, who was interpreter, now told him to get up, and get a medal and put it on the brave, and then another and put it on the chief, and so on until all the presents were gone. And he did so, and put on them

~~539~~ right now, but here is my brave, Skin Shirt, I want him to decide. If
538 I were to decide, it would be against this man, but he has my daughter's
blanket on, and she has his, and I do not want to decide. I pass the pipe
to my brave, and want him to light it."

The brave said, "I want this chief next to me to decide," and he passed him the pipe, and so it went on around the circle until it came to the Head Chief again. He was just about to take it and decide the question, when they heard outside the lodge the noise made by some one coming, shouting ~~and~~ laughing; then the door was pushed aside and an old man came in, and as he passed the door he stumbled and fell on his knees. It was the girl's grandfather. He had been outside the lodge, listening.

The pipe was passed to the chief, and he gave it again to his brave to decide. While the brave was sitting there, holding the pipe, the old grandfather said, "Give me the pipe; if you men cannot decide, let me do it. In my time we did not do things this way. I never passed the pipe; I could always decide for myself."

Then Skin Shirt passed him the pipe, and he lit it and smoked. Then he said, "I do not wish to condemn to death a man who is wearing my granddaughter's blanket." The interpreter began to tell *Kut-a'wi-kutz* that the old man was going to decide in his favor, and that when he got through speaking he must get up and pass his hands over him, and thank him for taking pity on him, and so to all the others. The old man continued, "Now, chiefs, do not think hardly of what I am going to say, nor be dissatisfied with my decision. I am old. I have heard in my time that there is a tribe up north that is raising from the ground something that is long and white, and something that is round; and that these things are good to eat. Now, chiefs, before I die, I want to eat of these things, and I want my granddaughter to go and take her seat by this man, and for them to be man and wife. Since I was young we have been enemies, but now I want the two tribes to come together, join hands and be friends." And so it was decided.

The young man got up and passed his hands over the old man, and over the brave, and passed around the circle and blessed them all. The Pawnee, who was interpreter, now told him to get up, and get a medal and put it on the brave, and then another and put it on the chief, and so on until all the presents were gone. And he did so, and put on them

the medals, and ear-rings, and strings of beads, and breast-plates of 539x
wampum, until each had something. And these things were new to 538 ●
them, and they felt proud to be wearing them, and thought how nice they looked.

IV

By this time it was daylight, and it had got noised abroad through the camp that there was a Pawnee at the Head Chief's lodge, and all the people gathered there. They called out, "Bring him out; we want him out here." They crowded about the lodge, all the people, the old men and the women and the young men, so many that at last they pushed the lodge down. They shouted: "Let us have the Pawnee. Last night they stole many horses from us." The chiefs and braves got around the Pawnee, and kept the Comanches off from him, and protected him from the people. The Cheyennes were camped close by, near the hill southeast of the Comanches, and they, too, had heard that the Comanches had a Pawnee in the camp. They came over, and rode about in the crowd to try and get the Pawnee, and they rode over a Comanche or two, and knocked them down. So Skin Shirt got his bow and arrows, and jumped on his horse, and rode out and drove the Cheyennes away back to their camp again.

The Cheyennes saw that the Comanches did not want the Pawnee killed, so they sent a message inviting him over to a feast with them, intending to kill him, but Skin Shirt told them that he was married into the tribe. While the Cheyennes were parading round the Comanche camp, they were shooting off their guns in the air, just to make a noise. Now, the young Pawnee on the hill, who was watching the camp to see what would happen to his friend, saw the crowd and heard the shooting, and made up his mind that *Kut-a'wi-kutz* had been killed. So he took his knife, and put the handle against a tree and the point against his breast, and put his arms around the tree and hugged it, and the knife blade passed through his heart and he fell down and died.

In the afternoon when all the excitement had quieted down, the Cheyennes came over again to the Comanche camp, and invited the Pawnee and his wife to go to their village, and visit with them. Then

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885) 1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 538 Skin Shirt said, "All right, we will go." Three chiefs of the Comanches went ahead, the Pawnee followed with his wife, and Skin Shirt went behind. They went to the Cheyenne camp. The Cheyennes received them and made a great feast for them, and gave the Pawnee many horses. Then they went back to the Comanche camp. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* never went up to the hill until the next morning. Then he went, singing the song he had told his friend he would sing. He called to him, but there was no reply. He called again. It was all silent. He looked for his friend, and at last he found him there dead at the foot of the tree.

V

Kut-a'wi-kutz then stayed with the Comanches. The Cheyennes came north and east, and the Comanches went on west, nearer to the mountains. While the Pawnee was with the Comanches, they had
[648] several wars with the Utes, Lipans and Tonkaways. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* proved himself a brave man, and, as the son-in-law of the chief, he soon gained great influence, and was himself made a chief.

After some years the old man, his wife's grandfather, told the Pawnee that he thought it was time that he should eat some of those things that he had long wanted to eat that grew up north; that he was getting pretty old now. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* said, "It is time. We will go." So he had his horses packed, and with his immediate family and the old man, started north toward the Pawnee country. At this time he was called *Kut-a'wi-kutz-u si-ti'-da-rit,* which means "See! The Hawk." When going into battle he would ride straight out to strike his enemy, and the Comanches who were looking at him would say, "See! The Hawk." So that became his name.

They traveled a long time until they came to the Pawnee ground. As they were traveling along, they came to a field where were growing corn, beans and squashes. The Pawnee said to the old man, "Grandfather, look at that field. There are the things that you have desired to eat." He got off his horse and went into the field, and pulled some corn, some beans and some squashes, and took them to the old man, and gave them to him. The old man supposed they were to be eaten

just as they were, and he tried to bite the squashes. This made the 539x
Pawnee laugh. When they came to the village, the Pawnees were very 538
glad to see him who had been lost long ago. He told the people that he had brought these Indians to eat of the corn and other things; that they were his kinsfolk. He told them, too, about the young man who had killed himself. His relations went out into the fields, and gathered corn and beans and squashes, and cooked them for the Comanches.

They stayed there a long time at the Pawnee village. When they were getting ready to return, the Pawnees dried their corn, and gave a great deal of it to the Comanches, packing many horses with it for the Indians at home. Then the Comanches started south again, and some of the Pawnee young men, relations of *Kut-a'wi-kutz,* joined him, and went back with them. After they had returned to the Comanche camp, the old grandfather died, happy because he had eaten the things he wanted to eat.

Soon after this, *Kut-a'wi-kutz* started back to the Pawnee village, and some young men of the Comanches joined him. Some time after reaching the village he went south again, accompanied by some young Pawnees, but leaving most of the Comanches behind. He had arranged with the chiefs of the Pawnees that they should journey south, meet the Comanches on the plains and make peace. When he reached the Comanches, the whole village started north to visit the Pawnees, and met them on their way south. When they met, the two tribes made friends, smoked together, ate together, became friends.

After they had camped together for some time, some Comanches stayed in the Pawnee camp, and some Pawnees in the Comanche camp. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* was called by the Pawnees Comanche Chief. He would have remained with the Comanches, but when he went back with them his wife fell sick. The Comanche doctors could not help her, and he wanted to take her north to see the Pawnee doctors, but the Comanches would not let him. They kept him there, and his wife died. Then he was angry, for he thought if he had taken her north her life might have been saved.

So he left the Comanches, and went and lived with the Pawnees, and was known among them always as Comanche Chief, the Peace-Maker, because he made peace between the Pawnees and Comanches. He was

x539 chief of the Ski'-di band, and a progressive man of modern times. He
538 sent his children East to school at Carlisle, Pa.

Comanche Chief died September 9th, 1888.

THE PRISONERS OF COURT HOUSE ROCK

x539 538 133 COURT HOUSE ROCK is a high, square-shaped bluff, or butte, on the North Platte River. It is composed of a hard, yellowish clay, which is but slowly eroded by the weather, though soft enough to be cut readily with a knife. On all sides except one, this rock or butte is nearly or quite vertical, and its sides, smoothed and polished by the wind and the rain, offer no projecting points, to serve as foot or hand holds for one who might wish to climb up or down. On one side there is a way by which an active man may reach the summit, where he finds a flat tableland of moderate extent.

x539 538 A number of years ago a war party of Skidi, who were camped near Court House Rock, were surprised by a party of Sioux. There were many of them, and they drove the Skidi back, and at length these were obliged to climb the steep side of Court House Rock. The Sioux dared not follow them up on to the rock, but guarded the only place where it was possible to come down, and camped all around the rock below to starve the Skidi out. The Skidi had nothing to eat nor to drink, and suffered terribly from hunger and still more from thirst. The leader of the party suffered most of any, for he thought that he would surely lose all his men. He felt that this was the worst of all. He must not only die, but must also be disgraced, because under his leadership the young men of his party had been lost. He used to go off at night, apart from the others, and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* for help; for some way to save his party.

[787] One night while he was praying, something spoke to him, and said, "Look hard for a place where you may get down from this rock, and so save both your men and yourself." He kept on praying that night,

5

THE WORLD OF A PAWNEE BOY: SPRING 1867

000

The Day Begins in the Earth Lodge—Breakfast Preparations—Seating at the Meal—Daytime Activities of Women—Chiefs' Council—Supper and Evening Conversation—Plan for Deer Hunt the Next Day—End of Day's Activities

IN THE YEAR 1867, the villages of the Pawnees were strung along the 131
west bank of Beaver Creek. (Beaver Creek flows southeastward into the 361
Loup River that flows east to join the Platte which continues eastward to
the Missouri. In the Skidi village of Pumpkin-Vine was the house of [103]
Chief Victory Call and his friend Old Bull with their families.)

It was a morning late in March, and the high dome-shaped earth lodges 512
were huddled together in the predawn darkness. On this as on other mornings, [342]
Otter was wakened by the sound of his father's voice saying, "Fire's
made." The dawn had not yet broken, and it was still cold; Otter burrowed
down deeper under his little calfskin cover. He hated to leave the [513]
warmth of his bed that he shared with his grandmother. Just as the dawn
began to break, Victory Call went outside through the long vestibule
that was the entrance to the house to look at the position of the stars and
to see what kind of a day it would be. Meanwhile his wife, White Woman, [252]
had gotten up to prepare breakfast. She would be cooking for twelve people
and an extra guest, and the preparations would take at least an hour.

On both sides of the house along the low circular walls, the people
were still asleep in their beds. There had been a long storytelling session [538]
the night before and Old-Man-That-Chief, who was one of the principal [574]
raconteurs, was too feeble to go home late at night, so a temporary bed [354]
was made for him near the fireplace where the fire was now burning
brightly in the center of the room. High above the fireplace a shaft of

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 water and get a drink and were therefore the older and slower animals.
[825] The fatter and faster animals had been down and returned to the pasture to graze by the time these animals had gotten there.

The better the horse, the faster the animal one could try to chase. As two men sighted a good buffalo, one would remark, "That's mine," and his neighbor would observe, "When your horse gets there it will be yours!" The fat buffalo knew he was going to be chased and a contest began between the hunter and his prey. The hunter would test the metal of his horse by baiting the buffalo with "hae, hae, hae!" a sound that made the buffalo angry so that his tail stuck up and he shook it. Only a fast horse could get an angry buffalo. When the shot found its mark the hunter would say, "ex' hau!" or "uhe'e, ahe'e!" As soon as he saw blood coming out of the buffalo's mouth, he knew that the animal could not go far and he would go get his horse nearby to be convenient for loading and begin at once to butcher. If they were at any distance from camp and two were close together, they would save much needed time by butchering cooperatively, first the animal of one, then of the other.

If they were far from camp it would be best to drive the animal toward the water before killing it for convenience while butchering. Most desirable, however, was to drive the animal close to camp where they wouldn't have far to haul the meat. When they chased an animal close to camp, the women came out asking for intestine or kidneys. They would yell, "Here comes one over here!" Another advantage of killing the buffalo close to camp was that they could bring in the bones which would be too heavy to carry otherwise, especially the backbone. Then they
[262] could make marrow fat by boiling the bones and skimming off the
[251] grease. The fat was stored in a paunch and used to eat with pounded-up dried meat.

Some of the hunters of the Man-Going-Downstream Band had gone over east across Turkey Creek. After the camp was set up, two bison, apparently having escaped the hunters, had come across the creek and trotted right through the encampment. As the bison came through, there was great excitement in the camp. Women grabbed their babies and put them onto their backs, old people tried to get out of the way, and the dogs were barking as the bison tried to hook them. The men that remained in camp lined up two deep along both sides in their path saying, "Hah! e, hah!'e" to bait and anger the bison, but no one would do them any harm as it was felt that they had been brave and had some supernatural purpose in coming through the camp. When the hunters got home for their dinner, this incident would be recounted in great detail and similar incidents in the past recalled. One of the more "slapstick"
[538] types of story was told of an old man named Crazy who once decided he would be brave and would shoot one of these buffalo with his rifle. He only succeeded in being hooked by the buffalo and tossed up in the air

so that his loincloth broke and he landed on his face in the grass calling for his wife who came bringing his buffalo robe to rescue him from indecent exposure.

The hunters got into camp sometime between two and four in the afternoon. Those who wanted to stopped outside the council tent as they rode in and dropped the ribs as a contribution for the evening meeting. It was a great honor to be the first to arrive and drop the ribs there; this was mentioned later during the feast. The first ribs were made into a sort of archway, leaning against each other, while the others were laid chevron fashion piled up next to it. The hunters hurried with their butchering in order to be the first. Then they went to their own tent where they rested, ate a meal, and left the meat and hides to be processed. After that they could return to the council tent and recount the incidents of the hunt and sit around telling "tall stories" during and after the evening feast. The only exception was the evening of the first big hunt, when they would install the military police after they had had their conversations, as described in Chapter 26.

After the four major hunt episodes, the four bands went their own 224*
ways, but within the bands the military police continued their power 484*
until they were actually on their return journey. The sending of the 625
scouts early in the morning and the plan as to where they should go was 628
now assigned by White Eagle to the chief of the police, a similar plan being followed in each of the other two bands when their chiefs took the lead.

The next afternoon, after they had made a second major attack on the 623
buffalo herd, there was a very large meeting in the council tent. At least 574
five sets of ribs were donated by each of the four Skidi villages, and five 224*
or six buckets of boiled corn kernels by wives of the leading men in 628
their names. Two women, one in front and one behind, would come with the long "digging iron" stick resting between them on their right shoulders with the kettle of corn hanging from it, bringing it to the council tent and saying, "This is so-and-so's."

After proper offerings had been made to White Eagle's sacred Left 623
Hand bundle, they ate roasted ribs and then corn, and told in detail all 574
the happenings of the hunt. Some of the men then began to go back to 538
their own tents while the prominent citizens remained, the older men be-
ginning to tell "tall stories" of times gone by. They lingered so long in 224*
the Skidi council tent that night that Many Trophies of the Pitahawirata 628
Band had to send his errand man to find out what the plans for the next day were to be, and then trot off to tell the chiefs of the other two bands.

As they sat in the tent, one old man said, "When I was young, I came close to a buffalo once and shot it with my arrow and the arrow went right through and came out the other side." Another old man now tops that one and says, "I did that once and when my arrow came through it shot a jack rabbit sitting on the other side." Old Man Pitsu'u (Arrived) now adds his tale, "I chased a bison, and you know they have long hair and as I chased him I saw something shiny on his neck. I thought it was a rock, but after I killed him and tied my horse to his leg, I looked and saw that he had a chief's medal around his neck. 'I wonder how he got that medal,' I thought, 'that bull must have been to Washington!' It wasn't on a ribbon though, but on a buckskin string. Now how do you think that bison got that medal around his neck?"

Different answers were posed one of which gave an account of a chief who had been killed and the bison rolling nearby, thus acquired the medal. "Now," said That Chief, "tell us Eagle Chief what you think?" "I'll tell you what might have happened," says Eagle Chief, "A Cheyenne or Comanche might have roped this bison while he was young and maybe he wanted to be blessed and put his medal on the calf. He might say, 'I'm giving you this medal. I want you to bless me. I'll let you free.'"

It appears that no one was ready to top this, so this story rested. Then Charley Buffalo began to tell of his fancy exploits somewhat embel-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

628
623
*224
[574]
[538]

lished until it got very late and the old men fell asleep where they were sitting while the rest went home.

From now on they would meet in the council tent, especially the most prominent men, throughout the hunt.

46

A TIME FOR STORYTELLING AND FOR LEISURE

000 *Old Men Invited to Talk of Old Times—the Storytelling Sessions—after Eating, the Stories—Eagle Chief Begins—War Cry Tells of a Fight with the Sioux—Storytelling Continues through the Night*

517 THE SERIOUS BUSINESS of the season being over, the men would get together in one or another of the earth lodges to tell stories of the old times and to review past events. They had worked hard hunting the buffalo, making the harvest and performing their dances, and now it would be pleasant to sit around the fire and enjoy a little leisure before they set out again for the buffalo hunting grounds.

517 887 574 538 Old men especially are invited for they are going to talk of the Old Village, Kitahaxpakuxtu, and how things used to be and came to be. In the fall was the good time of year to be telling these stories when it's not too cold and not too hot, but just nice to have a fire—after the harvest. When people hear who is invited—old men, chiefs, warriors—they know there is going to be storytelling. These sessions would begin after supper about eight o'clock in the evening and continue on throughout the night. Refreshments would be served from time to time consisting of fried bread, cooked dried apples and coffee. The smell of the bread cooking would be wafted over the village if there was a wind blowing and someone would just follow his nose and come in. Or else he could see the smoke of the fire and would come in. As soon as he got inside they would all say, "Nawa, sit down on any side." The chiefs were ranged at the west, and on the east along both sides

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

sat the old men. Casual guests sat in the spaces in between. People from the other villages would also hear about it and wander in. Sometimes quite a large group would be gathered there.

517
887
574
538
[625]

Once Victory Call served as temporary Agency policeman and when he got an extra sack of flour for his services, he decided to have a storytelling session in his lodge. He sent Horse Rider especially to invite a number of old men: Pipe Offering, That-Chief, Heavy Trophies, Arrived, Warrior (also known as Big Knife, a name also used to refer to white people—a lively raconteur), Know-His-Face, Good-Land, Wonderful Old Buffalo Bull, and Buffalo Ghost—nine in all. Then he was sent to call in some chiefs—Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge and Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine as well as Sitting Hawk and Good Pipe—and braves—War Cry and Bringing Horses. From Bottomlands and Wolf-in-Water villages they would wander in without being invited, knowing what sort of group it was to be. While White Woman was doing the cooking, the old men were telling each other how many different places were calling them in to tell stories. The women would say, "We're through cooking," and put the bread and coffee near Victory Call a little off to his right. Now all the women retired to their beds, and as they lay there they would hear the stories.

Victory Call addressed his guests by name and kin term and said, "We have a little something here for you to eat. I thought I'd invite you here tonight so that I could see you here. Now this meeting is called simply because I want you folks to tell some old-time stories." All said, "Nawa," and Victory Call then turned over the meeting to Lone Chief and Eagle Chief who directed the proceedings from then on. They directed the two errand men to serve the food and by the time they had finished eating it was ten o'clock.

Now Eagle Chief spoke, urging Old Man Warrior to begin. But Old Man Warrior parried his suggestion with, "We old men here know how things should be done and the custom is that the leader has to tell the first story. Isn't that right, That-Chief?" "That's right," said That-Chief, "the leader has to tell the story first." "Well," said Eagle Chief laughing, "I thought I could get you to do it, but I guess I'll have to." "You start it out and we'll follow," said the old men.

When Eagle Chief began, he opened with a discussion of what sort of a story it ought to be, a long or a short one. "I have stories, but if I tell a war story, it will be a pretty long one. If I tell a story of the Sioux coming on the warpath to attack the village, it will be sort of a short one. If I tell of my trip to Washington, it will be of medium length." The old men were thinking they would rather have old-time stories so that they could reminisce about the past, but someone finally spoke up in favor

517 887 574 • 538 of a short story and said, "Let's hear stories about 'at home' [the Sioux attacking the village]. After a while we'll get away from the village and on the warpath." It was now understood that he would tell a story of attack on the village and that he would be followed by a story on the same theme by his brave, War Cry, after which the old men would begin. In both stories, the enemy was repulsed, not by main force alone, but by the power of the Peace Pipe, which is "beloved of Heaven."

539 721 (648) "Now I'll tell a story," said Eagle Chief. "Now you all know when you first took me as a chief and when I was going to Washington, on the morning of the day that was set for us to go, I was all dressed up. I was wearing my government coat, and of course, my leggings and moccasins. I was wearing my government medal. Finally the delegation left the village and when we got about five miles east, all at once one of the men in the back said, 'Look back at the village. There must be a warpath coming!' We could see everyone standing on top of the earth lodges. 'Well boys,' I said, 'let's go back.' The Kitkehaxkis, Tsawis, Pitahawiratas and us Skidis all went back to our villages." As he told the story the old men sat smoking and they said, "That's the time. That's it."

"Well when I came to my earth lodge, I looked at my wives there and said, 'Dear wives, maybe Heaven doesn't want me to see the great government.' At the same time my horse was way out there and I had to get to it to go on the warpath. All I took was my bow and arrows. I walked over to the sacred bundle and there on top were the Pipe Dance sticks. I took the one with the black eagle feathers (the male pipestem). That was all I took with me. I said to my wives, 'Now if it's the will of Heaven, I'll come back. If not, I won't. I may not come back.' It was because I had heard old people say that Heaven loves these pipes, that I took it with me.

"I got on the horse and went to where the fighting was going on. 'Well, this is my last day,' I thought to myself. Because the pipestem has two soft feathers on it and I didn't want them to touch my horse, I raised it up out of the way. I rode right through where the Sioux were and to the fighting line. I arrived at the front line with a Sioux close on one side of me, one on the other side and one directly in front. When I arrived at the front line, the Sioux turned back their horses and started to flee. There I was facing the whole line of Sioux, holding my pipe up like this. As the retreating line was going, you could see the dust. But I still had my original Sioux escorts. Wedged in between them, they didn't dare to try and shoot me with their bow and arrow as they were likely to shoot each other in the attempt. I raised this pipe and hit the one that was riding in front of me right on the back of his head. I reined in my horse and they rode ahead. We had ridden way

ahead of the fighting line. When I looked back all I could see of the 539
Pawnee was the cloud of dust they were raising. Now that's what I 721
did. Now you all know what I did.

The listeners said, "Nawa." Some said, "That's right, that's the time."

Now said Eagle Chief to his co-leader, Lone Chief, "Give it to War Cry!" Everyone laughed because they expected the story to be of a very different kind from that of Eagle Chief, since War Cry was a rough character. He didn't disappoint them. His story also concerned the power of the Peace Pipe to repulse an enemy attack upon the village, but the story had a quite different flavor from Eagle Chief's.

War Cry was a brave and his whole outlook was toward aggression 538
and violence compared with a chief who was a man of peace and con- 157
ciliation. To the stark combat realism of his story, Eagle Chief was moved to comment, "That War Cry is a wicked fellow!" War Cry's narrative was as follows: 539 721

"Now I'll tell a short story like he did. You all know that the Tsawis had come for a Pipe Dance to the Skidis. They had come to Pipe Dance on Lone Chief [the Tsawis coming as "fathers" with goods, clothing, etc.]. They had been dancing for three days and now on the fourth, they were to 'take the child out,' dancing outside. Lone Chief's daughter was all painted up and dressed as the 'queen.' She was seated at the west and ten or fifteen chiefs and braves were sitting inside to witness the proceedings. Man Chief of the visiting Tsawis was about to say, 'Now we're going to take her outside,' when someone cried out at the doorway, 'Warpath coming.' Some of the Skidis got up and ran out, but about half of them stopped. Man Chief said, 'You wait, you wait—' About eight of the Skidis sat still and waited.

"Man Chief walked up north of the fireplace where Lone Chief was and he said, 'Now child, I have heard this: That Heaven loves this Pipe Dance. Here's the child before you—your child. [Lone Chief's daughter is representing the "childhood" of the whole group of Skidis who are being visited]. 'If our faith is justified,' Man Chief continued, 'then when you go on the warpath, you are going to have good luck. Now we will see. It is as if I stood holding the child and the pipe, embracing them, and the Sioux came running over me. Now, my son, I don't want to talk too long, (some of the Tsawis had also slipped out), for I know you are all anxious to go. Now you're going on the warpath. If our faith is justified, then you're going to come back with success and conquer the enemy. Now you may go!'

"The Tsawi horses were far away and most of them had gone off. The Skidis tried to run for their horses. They had a lot of them tied up there nearby to present to the Tsawis after the ceremony. The

> 539 721 "Everyone was thinking of making a strike on him and getting war honors. Lone Chief was especially anxious to make the first strike on this occasion. He ran toward him down the hill as fast as he could. As I turned around, the Sioux had gotten up and fallen over on his back. The South Band man also made a strike on him and ran down the hill as fast as he could."

538 554 727 The war honors consisted of touching the fallen enemy and before eye witnesses stating, *tat-i-ki,* "I-at him-strike." Two more could succeed the first strike, these being spoken of as *wi-taruh-hukita-sa,* "now-it is-on top-lying." If there were no witnesses around, one could put the dead Sioux in a sheltered place and bring witnesses afterward, or people who came could be shown the tracks of horses in the place and some blood to show there had been a skirmish. Even if such proof could not be made, the story was likely to come out later when the two tribes concerned were at peace and they talked over their past experiences.

At this point, the story was taken over by Shot Arm, who for its next episode, had been more directly in the thick of the fight. He said:

> 539 727 "The Sioux had two six shooters in his belt, one on each side. The Sioux now threw away his bow and arrows and took out his guns. But I was right next to him and before he had a chance to do anything I grabbed both his hands. Meanwhile Brave Shield took the second strike on him and rode away.
>
> "While I was grappling with him you could hear someone coming grunting and panting. That was this fellow here, War Cry. [War Cry was heavily built.] When he arrived he said to the Sioux, 'You nearly killed my brother-in-law (meaning me) (*para-kaskur-rahux-kapakis,* almost-you mine-rotten-poor, viz., killed).' He put his hand to his left side and drew out his very sharp butcher knife. It was just as sharp as it could be. He cut off the whole scalp of that Sioux, ears and all. [The whole top and back of the headskin with the ears, viz., across the top of the forehead just under the hairline and way back to the base of the hair all around, including the ears.]
>
> "All this time I was grappling with the Sioux for his guns. War Cry put his right knee up against the Sioux's shoulders and pulled off the entire scalp. Swoosh, it went! The skin of the forehead fell over his eyes and as War Cry put his knee against the Sioux's back, he cracked the backbone and the Sioux cried out i! i! i! i! and let go the rifles.
>
> "Back at Lone Chief's lodge, all the time the fighting was going on Man Chief and two other Tsawis had remained. Man Chief sat without moving, his buffalo robe with the hair side out wrapped tight around him. He had asked the other two to remove the decorations from Lone Chief's daughter.

braced Lone Chief as he got off the horse and directed him to sit 539
down on the buffalo robe. Then the braves got hold of the buffalo 727
robe and carried him into the lodge, setting him down in his place
near the door. Now all the Tsawis were singing—the old men and the
old women, and when the rest of us seven arrived in a crowd, they
gave us everything they were wearing—their blankets, leggings, and
finally the Tsawis had almost nothing on.

"Now three old Skidi women came led by Grieves-the-Enemy. She was dressed to commemorate her war deed, when she had saved the village from the attacking Poncas by impersonating a medicine man. She had her hair all tied up in a knot at the front of her head to one side. She had black soot across her eyes. She was saying to the other two old women, 'Here's his lodge. I want you two old women to sing.' As soon as they sang and danced with their sticks, the Tsawis gave the three old ladies calico and other gifts."

This was the end of the story that War Cry had started and Shot Arm 538
continued. The Pipe of Peace, beloved of Heaven, had brought them
victory as they defended their village.

Now the real session that they had all been waiting for would begin
and continue all night. First Old-Man-That-Chief and then the others
told real old time stories. For the most part they described their experi-
ences as they moved from place to place abroad in the land in times past.
With vivid imagery and detail they described each location and its
events. It was in just such a meeting right after they returned from the [805]
winter hunt, after the warriors and chiefs had told their stories that the
old men would take up the question of the calendar and whether they
needed to introduce the thirteenth intercalary month that year. Warrior
would tell an old war story and also That-Chief and then Good-Land
would begin to speak of what year it is. He would talk of the stars 538
—of how when people are lost, they must find their way back by 821
following them. Then he would say of the moon that when it is low, we 484
must put on something warm for it might rain or snow at any time. If you
are far off you will need something warm to weather the storm. And
after the storm is over you look at the stars and find your way back.
Now the conversation turned to specific stars—which ones are appearing
now, and how one star that shines brightly in spring brings a big wind
when it gets to a certain place. Also, that there are sometimes two or
three stars that act together. Good-Land continued with some experi-
ences that had taught him about these things. He told of how a man who
went south to Oklahoma with a big party strayed off on the way back. In
the day he was able to follow the sun and calculate the east and north,
going by north and a little eastward. At night he walked right under

538 the north star, and going a little to the east, even though it was night, he
821 was able to overtake his companions. "This happened many times," he
484 said.

Another old man would take up where he left off and tell more stories
538 in the same vein. "Because the stars and the planets appear to be moving,
821 the Indians believe the earth is still." Then they began to argue about
805 the question of "the thirteenth month." Some said, "Not now," others thought this was the time. They spoke of the position of the constellations, "first one snake, then two ducks and then the real rattlesnakes (Scorpio). That marks the beginning of the year—the spring. The
538 months should coincide with these constellations." Of the regular twelve
821 months, nine were named for familiar activities—clearing, planting, cultivating,
805 hunting, and harvest—while the tenth and eleventh were paired
192 and named after the constellations—little duck (*kiwakski*) and big duck (*kiwaks-kutsu*). The twelfth month was called *kaata*, darkness. It was through the observation of the position of the constellations that the regular month names had to be set in their proper course for the various activities for which they were named. In the year when the intercalary month was introduced, the two duck months were thought of as being paired, and then *kaata*, darkness, paired with the introduced month; the rest of the months of the year being paired accordingly, with the fifth month, viz., the June 19–July 18 month "standing alone." This was the month when one went off on the summer hunt. The thirteenth or intercalary month, had a variety of names, the most usual being Entrance Passageway to the earth lodge, *Puhuweturukut*, or the Skidi version, *Puhuwaturukat*, the long 10- or 15-foot entranceway. Alternative names had various references: If it had thundered from the north (rather than the south) when they got back, they thought the cold weather would last late into the spring and they called the month, *Paruks-ti-taka*, Thunder or Storm-It-Is-White, for the snow they expected to have. Another name for this month was Hidden Child, *pira-paru*, "child-hidden," the Pawnee equivalent of our "illegitimate child." The reference was to abortion for it was said that the abandoned foetus was more conspicuous on the snow during that season than on the bare ground. A further name, *atatpiiwa*, is of unknown significance. From this example, it should be
538 clear that the storytelling session was not a mere leisure pastime. Through
517 it was transmitted history, climatology, theology, the logistics of war, topography, and many other important facets of Pawnee knowledge.
[224] Such a session was an invaluable preamble to setting out on the winter hunt.

1: Fletcher
539

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[Texts of Pawnee songs will be found in category 116, pp. 27-46, 50-58, 60-66, 68-104, 107-116, 118-82, 184-213, 215-243, 245-46, 249-52, 254-55, 257-59, 261-277, 283-291, 293-363.]

668 177 seen them dancing in a circle.[1] Nothing authentic and substantiated reached the tribe, however, until the fall of 1891[2] when Frank White came home to the Pawnee after his stay with the Wichita.

The Pawnee tell of White's learning the Ghost Dance among the southern tribes in the following way:

668 177 796 [276 301] "One time Frank White went over to the Comanche, who were dancing the Ghost Dance. He went inside and sat down on the north side. He ate peyote, a great deal, until he was nearly overcome. He bent his head and covered his eyes. He was a good-looking man who used to wear decorative red twine over his brow. The Comanche did not know him, and the next morning they asked him who he was, and he said he was a Pawnee. Then he left them and went to the Wichita. He ate peyote there, and watched them dance the Ghost Dance and learned it. Then he came home and brought it to the South Bands. He told them what he had learned."

668 177 The period during which Frank White studied the Ghost Dance among the Comanche and the Wichita was in the year following the great Ghost Dance of the fall of 1890, led by Sitting-Bull. The forms of leadership and organization he learned were those preached by Sitting-Bull, and initiated by him personally among the Caddo and Wichita.

[787] [533 539] Murie has spoken of White's experiences in the south. "Frank White . . . joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream, the tree, the Messiah and then the village of people.[3] He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in Pawnee. The first song was as follows[4]:

we *rịhi* *irasĭ·ra*
now place where yonder you come
wetiḳuwatu *rawahe*
now I long for the {village / region}

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 630—632 recounts a long narrative of the story which was supposed to have reached the Pawnee in 1890.

[114] [2] Murie, Societies, p. 633, says "in the fall of 1892." This is a misprint or a slip on Murie's part. In the account which follows Murie describes events of a winter and summer which intervene between White's return to the Pawnee and his arrest; White was arrested in 1892. Furthermore, we can date the time White left the Wichita by the fact that he left before the Arapaho delegation arrived in the fall of 1891 with the message from Wovoka, which, in spite of the objections of Sitting-Bull, necessitated a change in the form of the Ghost Dancing.

[3] Murie is doubtless referring here to the narrative of Wovoka's vision as known to the Pawnee which he gives, pp. 630—632.

[4] The form I quote here is a retranscription and retranslation of Murie's printed version, written by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

668
177
[533
539]

we	*rḁhi*	*irasi·ra*	
a	*tsiksu*	*wėtatù·tu*	*hi i*
and	mind spirit	now I do	

The place whence you come.
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come.
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxkiˣ. When he returned home to the Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours." 668 177 792 794

When Frank White instituted regular dances, these were among the South Bands; the Skiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits took possession of them and fell. White had great power over them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change. [152 786]

Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna- 668 177 [792] 796 794 [302]

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

to come and join the dancing. Some chiefs walked around the 668
circle of dancers carrying pipes in their folded arms, but no smoke 796
offering was made. Should the singers pause for a rest, pipes (but [276]
not these sacred pipes) were often smoked non-ceremonially.

After ten or twenty songs, the people ended the dancing with the finishing song, and returned to their tipis for breakfast. When [203] they stopped the old man crier went through the camp calling out to the people to be ready to dance about one o'clock.

At one o'clock the dancers reassembled. The Seven Brothers took their places at the west side of the clearing, in order, each with special face-painting and wearing his eagle feather. Sam Cover led the singing, and the dancing began at the west, circling clockwise. Sam Cover and Emmet Pierson, the number 2 Brother, carried leather rattles which they shook in time to the dancing.

The dancing continued until about five in the afternoon, or just before sundown. The evening meal was prepared by women while the dancing went on, so that everything was ready when the finishing song concluded the dancing for the day.

After the dancing, the people gathered in the space between the cleared dance ground and the sacred tipi to the west of it. The Seven Brothers sat down on the east side of this space, facing west (this would of course be west of the cleared ground), while the chiefs sat on the west side facing east. In this way the chiefs and the seven brothers faced each other across this cleared space. The people gathered around the sides forming more or less of a circle. One chief was selected to talk. He said:

"We have all come together today to worship God. Now you [537]
must try to think what you are here for. Now the ground is open, 539
there is nothing in the way (i. e. it is outdoors), God can look straight down upon us. Here's the sunlight over us, he's the one who knows all about it, and he knows also what you think about; you can't ever hide it. Now we are going to eat." 782

The main tarutsius now came forward. This chief gave the 668
tarutsius a horn spoon which he had been holding while he spoke. 796
In the center of the space around which the people had gathered, [415]
the food had been set out in buckets. The tarutsius received the spoon. (Filling the spoon[1]) He walked clockwise around, passing behind the food and around it, then with the spoon took some corn from the buckets, made a clockwise circuit and passed outside of the circle of people between the Seventh Brother (who is at the north end of the seated row of Seven Brothers) and the people at his right. (First Phase[1]) Outside the circle the tarutsius walked clock-

---

[1] See Chapter 8; the Food Offering and Service, pp. 220—228.

coming, that there would be a reunion with the departed, that a great change was coming. Others embodied the memory of societies of former days, the gift of paraphernalia, or of hand games. No attempt has been made to transcribe songs for this study; a few representative songs are available from Densmore and Murie. 796 533

Frank White's first Ghost Dance song has already been given. The free rendering: 796 533 539

> "The place whence you come
> Now I am longing for.
>
> "The place whence you come,
> Now I am ever-mindful of."

refers to the land of the departed from which a messenger came in White's vision. [787]

A song of Roaming Chief recorded by Densmore from the version of Effie Blaine, reports a Ghost Dance trance vision of Roaming Chief.[1] The reference is to the coming of Christ, and the feeling among the people that all was to be well. [177]

ra a (hi i i a) he i ra a (hi i i a)
he comes yonder he comes!

he ra (i hi i a) he ra (a e ee)
he comes! he comes!

heru (u u) kitu tixwakià·hu
then all they are saying

rihi weturahe
here now it is good!

ra a (hi i) i ra a (hi i i a)
he comes yonder he comes

hera (i) hera hera
he comes! he comes! he comes!

He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming!
And so all the people say
All is well here now.
He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming! He is coming!

---

[1] Densmore, Pawnee Music, song no. 66, p. 92. "A Ghost Dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he cried as he sang this

796
533
539

A song recorded by Effie Blane[1] reports a vision of a boy crying for his mother, and asking from the depths of his sorrow, if his mother is really to return to him:

piraski *rawakakawitiku*
boy crying sits down
piraski *rawakakawitiku*
atira *kawe rą́á·hu*[2] *atira kawe rą́á·hu*
mother is she coming now, mother is she coming now?
tiratpą́ri *tiratpą́ri*
here I roam here I roam.

A little boy is sitting crying,
A little boy is sitting crying,
"Is mother coming now?
Is mother coming now?
Here I wander about, here I wander about."

Two songs recorded by Effie Blane[3] refer to the Crow as the messenger from the beyond. One, without Pawnee text, is given in free translation by Densmore as:

"The crow, we see his likeness moving inside the circle of dancers."

The other song is given in full:

ka·ka *tiwa·ku* *ka·ka* *tiwa·ku*
Crow he says crow he says,
wétatú·ta *(tu)* *tátú·ta*
now I do I do
atira *irira·a* *atira* *irira·a*
Mother whence she comes Mother whence she comes
(Moon) (Moon)

The crow is calling, the crow is calling,
"Now I am active, I am active
In the place whence Mother Moon comes, in the place whence Mother Moon comes."

---

song.' It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game." (p. 91). The song would not be sung to hand game play, but in the Ghost Dance intervals.

[114]

[1] Densmore, p. 76, no. 47. The explanation which precedes this song in Densmore's account is misconceived, and may refer to another song; a piraski is a boy up to the age of puberty.

[2] This is not the interrogative used in ordinary speech or in text material. I am thus unable to control the form of the question grammatically, but since the substance of the song calls for an interrogative I leave it as it stands and have translated it in that way. The complex *we rą́á·hu* would be the declarative form, "now she is coming." G. Weltfish.

[3] Densmore, nos. 50, 51; pp. 79—80.

The song embodies the relationship of the crow to the Moon 796
from which the bird's power comes, and indicates also that the 533
Moon is the night overseer of things on earth, reporting them in 539
the beyond. The crow is telling the people on earth of the activities in the land of the departed.

The song was based on a Ghost Dance vision of Effie Blane herself. Used at a hand game it was probably not sung to the play of the game.

Several songs reflect the vision of old societies, and their subsequent revival ~~(See~~ Chapter III—Revivals of Societies).

A song recorded by Wichita Blane[1] reports a vision in which [177
Christ gave the Young Dog Dance society pipe (probably) to the 787]
visionary:

we ra a (i ya)
now he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (hi a)
See! yonder he comes See! yonder he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (ho hi a)

he tiwerihaktsa
(Emphasis) here now it stick lies!

atias pirau kura (u)
father child his

kuraha·kuˣ tikuha·ku'
his own stick he to me stick gives

i ra a
Yonder he comes.

Now he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming.
This stick that is lying here,
The son of the father
His own stick he gave to me.
Yonder he is coming.

A song recorded by Effie Blane belonged to Running Scout and referred (probably) to the revival of the Wolf Society. Of this song, Densmore writes: Running Scout "was very religious and [787]
remained in a Ghost Dance trance for several days. His friends

---

[1] Densmore, no. 59, p. 86.

796
533 thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that
539 he had been to the Messiah who told him to 'go to the village.'
[787] Following this instruction, he saw many men dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypnotizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always
[237] wore a fox skin in the Ghost Dance. The skin was not made into
[293] a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder.
[198] He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing."[1]

1— *ịrihe we tsarat*
so here now stop!
1— "
1— "

2— *kiwaku rirạraxra*
fox (es) they have them

1— *ịrihe we tsarat*
so here now stop!
1— "

Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
They are holding fox skins
Here now you must stop!
Here non you must stop!

Densmore in one case records a free translation of a song without text[2]:

> "The yellow star has noticed me,
> Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather.
> That yellow star."

[787] The reference is apparently to one of the old star powers and reflects the gift of an ornament of "power" in a Ghost Dance vision.

[727] A song without texts used at victory dances was "'in the style of the Lance dance songs'... The words mean, 'They are coming yonder, the men who belong to the Lance Society (Tirupa)[3].'" The reference here is to the resurrection of the membership of the old Fighting Lance Society (tirupahe), and to the revival which took place in the Ghost Dance years.[4]

---

[1] Densmore, pp. 84—85, no. 58.
[2] Densmore, p. 84, no. 57.
[3] Densmore, p. 68.
[4] See Chapter III, Revivals of Societies, pp. 112—115.

3: Densmore
533, 539

Pawnee NQ18

[For information on Pawnee music, songs and texts, see category 116, pp. 6-21, 24-97, 100-104, 106, 108-115, and 118-125--Analyst]

773 538 539 The first three stories of the following group are versions of old legends connected with the mythology of the tribe, while the fourth story in the group appears to be an ordinary folk tale. It differs from the others in that the entire narrative was sung. (Cf. Rudimentary Songs, Northern Ute music, pp. 200–205.)

539 In the first story we find an interesting resemblance to a story recorded in southern Arizona.[38]

STORY OF THE GAMBLER

RELATED BY FANNIE CHAPMAN

In a certain village were two young boys. They were good-looking lads and wore their hair long on the right side of the head. One day the younger boy thought he would go to another village in the woods. When he came near this village he saw the smoke of a tipi that stood by itself among the willows. He went there and stood outside the entrance.

In this tipi lived an old woman and her three granddaughters. The old woman told the youngest girl to go outside and see if anyone was there. The girl saw the strange lad and returned, saying, "O grandmother, there is a good-looking young man outside." The old woman went to speak with him and said, "You had better go to some village where the people have more money. We are very poor." But the lad replied, "No. I came here and this is where I belong." The old woman said, "Well, come in," and the boy entered the tipi. Later the old woman said, "You had better go away for the chief of our band is very unkind to strangers. You must watch, for Long-nose (Coyote) will come before daylight to see if anyone is here. He will see you and tell the chief, who will ask you to breakfast. If he offers you dry pumpkin do not eat it, nor corn, nor mush. Bring it home with you."

Before daylight, as the old woman had predicted, Coyote came to see if anyone was in the tipi. The old woman said, "See my grandson, how good-looking he is. He ought to go where the big men are." Coyote ran at once to the chief and said, "O chief, there is a good looking young man down at the old woman's tipi. When you kill him he will be the leader of your heads." (Referring to a row of the heads of men killed by the chief that had been put in his tipi.) The chief said, "Run down to the old woman's tipi and bring the young man. I want to feast him." Coyote ran as fast as he could. The old woman saw him coming and again told the young man not to eat anything but to bring the food home. Coyote said to the young man, "You certainly are good-looking." When the chief saw the young man he said, "I sent for you to eat with me," and offered him dry

---

[38] Story of the Gambler, Papago Music, Bull. 90, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 35-54. Cf. also Dorsey, op. cit., pp. 185-191.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

pumpkin, corn, mush, and other food. The lad replied, "O grandfather, I am full; I have had my breakfast; I will take this home to my grandmother." Coyote went with him and waited while the old woman emptied and washed the bowls. Then Coyote took the bowls back to the chief. After the boy refused to eat the food, the chief wanted him to play the "stick game."[38] He refused at first but finally he said that he would play in two days, saying he must wait because he was so tired. The chief said, "Choose a day and we will play." The boy went home and told the old woman that he was to play the stick game with the chief. She said, "O my boy, you did wrong to consent. You saw those heads in the chief's tent. He will kill you and all our people." 539

Before daylight on the day of the game Coyote opened the old woman's door and said, "The chief is at the place for the game, he is waiting for you." The boy replied, "I will go when I am ready." Later they began to play the stick game. The boy had people on his side and also a bird-man (bird turned into a man), who watched everything. Coyote watched everything on the chief's side. The boy had nothing to wager so he bet the people who were on his side, and at last he was obliged to bet himself. The old chief won, so the people on the chief's side killed all the people on the boy's side. They even killed the boy. Then they cut off all the heads and put them up with the other heads in the chief's lodge.

While this was happening the elder of the two boys, mentioned at the beginning of this story, grew uneasy about his brother. He determined to find him and traced him to the village, then he went home, got his bow and arrows, and went to the old woman's tipi. The old woman did as before, sending the same girl to see if anyone were outside. The girl returned and said, "It looks as though that good-looking boy had come to life." The old woman invited him into the tent but said as before, "O my grandson, why do you come

---

[38] In the story of "Blood-clot boy," Doctor Dorsey described the boy as making a ring of ash stick which he wound with a string made of boiled buffalo hide so that it looked like a spider's web. The grandmother rolled the ring and the boy shot it with arrows and killed buffalo. The same authority states that "The ring and javelin game . . . was originally played for the direct purpose of calling the buffalo. . . . The two sticks represent young buffalo bulls which turned into the gaming sticks, leaving first full instructions as to how they were to be treated, how the game was to be played, how the songs were to be sung, and how they were to be anointed with the buffalo fat. The ring, according to the story, was originally a buffalo cow." (Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 84, 344.) [526]

Maj. Stephen H. Long witnessed the playing of this game and described it as follows: "The instruments used are a small hoop about 6 inches in diameter, which is usually wound with thongs of leather, and a pole 5 or 6 feet long, on the larger end of which a limb is left to project about 6 inches. . . . The game is played upon a smooth beaten path, at one end of which the gamester commences, and running at full speed, he first rolls from him the hoop, then discharges after it the pole, which slides along the path pursuing the hoop until both stop together, at the distance of about 30 yards from the place whence they were thrown. After throwing them from him the gamester continues his pace and the Indian, the hoop, and the pole arrive at the end of the path about the same time. The effort appears to be to place the end of the pole either in the ring, or as near as possible, and we could perceive that those casts were considered best when the ring was caught by the hook at the end of the pole." (James, Edwin, Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains under command of Maj. Stephen H. Long, Vol. I, p. 444. Philadelphia, 1823.)

539 here. You ought to go where the rich people are." He replied as his brother had done, "No, I want to be here." They were so poor that they gave him only one bean from those they had gathered. At night the old woman said as before, "O my grandson, I wish you would go away. Go somewhere else or go home, for someone will come early in the morning to look all around the place."

Everything happened exactly as before. Coyote came, found the young man, and took him to the chief, who offered him food. The young man replied, as his brother had done, that he was not hungry, and he took the food home. The chief asked him to play the stick game and he said that he was too tired to play that day. It was decided that they would play in a few days. The boy went home and said to his grandmother, "I am going to play the stick game with the chief. To-morrow I want you to clean up the house and put everything one side, then I want you all to go into the woods. Do not try to look into the house until I call you." Then he asked, "Is there any place around here where the people used to kill buffalo?" She replied, "Yes, over there by the hill."

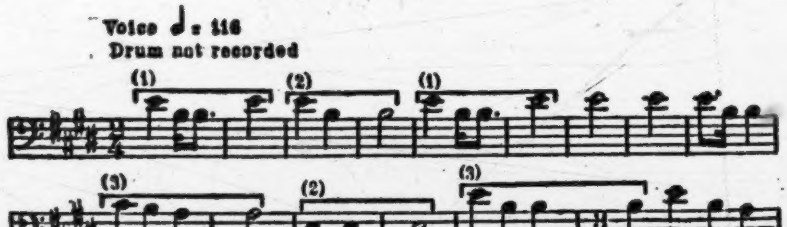
After they had gone the young man took the pipe out of the sacred bundle that the old woman kept. Before daylight he filled the pipe and went toward the place where they used to kill the buffalo. When he reached the place he found many buffalo bones. He held the stem of the pipe down toward the buffalo bones and sang the following song.

+533
539

No. 72. Folk Tale Song (a)

(Catalogue No. 1157)

Recorded by Fannie Chapman



FREE TRANSLATION

"Father, I have brought this pipe for you to smoke. I am lonely for my brother."

Analysis.—The interval of a fourth constitutes 68 per cent of the 533*
intervals in this song, which is an unusually large proportion of this 527 ●
interval. The song is harmonic in structure and contains the complete octave except the second and seventh. The rhythmic structure is interesting as the three rhythmic units occur in somewhat irregular order.

As the young man sang this song the bones came to life and made 539
a noise like a great many buffalo. He said, "Now, fathers, grandfathers and grandmothers, I want you to pity me. That is why I sang." They replied, "All right." Then a middle-aged buffalo with shining horns came toward him and said, "I will be the first to help you. We know about that wicked chief and what he has been doing." The buffalo threw himself down and when he got up he shook himself. Where he had been lying the boy saw a game stick. The buffalo said, "Take that stick." A young buffalo did the same and gave the boy another stick. Then a young buffalo cow did the same and when she arose the boy saw a game ring which she told him to use. The boy brought the two sticks and the ring home with him and hung them beside the sacred bundle. On the day of the game he told his grandmother that he would send someone for the sticks and the ring but did not want anyone to be at home when the messenger came.

In the morning Coyote came as before and said that all was ready for the game. Everything was the same as when the younger man played, the chief having Coyote and the man having the bird-man on his side. They began to play and the chief won as before. The boy had no goods so he bet the people, as his brother had done. The chief said, "Now you have bet all the people, you ought to bet yourself." The young man said "All right." Then his stick struck the chief's stick and broke it in two. The young man said, "Thanks. Now I will not be killed." The chief said, "Perhaps you have some gaming sticks somewhere." The man said, "Yes," and sent Coyote to get them, adding, "They are common sticks, lying on the floor." Coyote went to the old woman's lodge, opened the door and heard a noise as of many buffalo. He was frightened and ran back. The chief sent another messenger, who brought the same report. Then the boy sent the bird-man, who brought the sticks and the ring. They did not make any noise when he entered the lodge for they knew he was the right person.

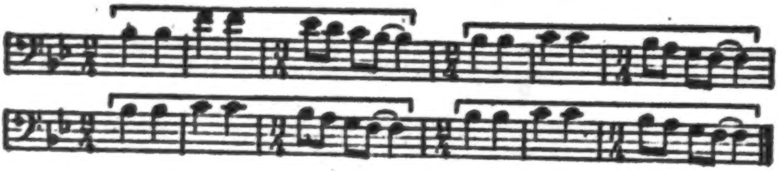
The boy played with the sticks and had good luck. He won back all the people, and the chief's leg was broken. Then the boy sang this song.

*533
● 539

No. 73. Folk Tale Song (b)

Recorded by Fannie Chapman (Catalogue No. 1158)

Voice ♩ = 132
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

"You are a good gambler. They say you are a good gambler. Get up and play."

Analysis.—This song comprises four periods, the rhythm being the same in each. The descent of the voice at the close of each phrase was somewhat *glissando* but kept the intervals with reasonable distinctness. The song is melodic in structure and contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth.

539 They played again and the chief said, "Throw the sticks toward the east." They threw the sticks toward the east and the boy's stick went through the hoop and went on and on, and finally it turned into a buffalo. As soon as the chief's people saw the stick turn into a buffalo they began to cry, but the boy's people began to rejoice.

The young man asked, "Where is my brother's head?" They told him. He asked, "Where are his bones?" They told him this also. Then he laid his brother's bones in order on the ground, with the head at one end. Then he stood below his brother's foot and kicked the foot, saying, "Why are you sleeping so long?" His brother arose and said, "Yes, I have been asleep a long time," and smoothed his hair.

They killed the chief where the game had been played and they killed all the chief's people.

Then the two brothers returned to their own village.

STORY OF COYOTE AND THE TURKEYS[37]

RELATED BY MRS. MARY MURIE

There was a village and a man who used to run around by himself. He was Coyote. He went and sat on a hill looking down and he saw a big flock of turkeys. He was hungry, as coyotes always are, and he thought, "I am going to get one of them." So he went down. The turkeys nudged each other and said, "There comes a

---

[37] Cf. "Coyote and the turkeys," Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 265. Also story of Wenabojo and the ducks, Chippewa Music, p. 206. Although there is a similarity in these stories of the Pawnee and Chippewa there is no resemblance in the song which was sung in connection with the story.

[171]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

thief. He looks hungry. We must look out for him. He is tricky." They all said that. Coyote said to the turkeys, "Grandchildren, let us have a little game." The turkeys said, "What kind of a game are we going to have?" Coyote said, "Well, don't let us have a game, let us have a dance." The turkeys said, "All right, let us have a dance." 539

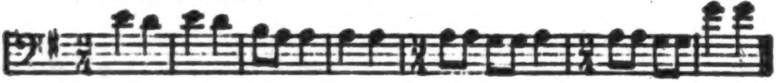
Coyote looked at the turkeys. Some were big, fat ones. He selected about six of the biggest and fattest and said, "You must stand in front." Then he arranged two rows back of them. Then he said, "I have a song. While you dance you must close your eyes. When I begin to sing you must all close your eyes." He kept his eyes open and he saw one turkey with its eyes open. He said, "Close your eyes, you are looking at me." He sang again, and after a while he saw they all had their eyes shut. He had a club in his hand but he kept on singing. The turkeys all had their eyes shut and he killed all in the front row. The rest flew away before he could kill them. Then he said that he would have a feast for his wives and his children. He said, "Turkeys have not much sense."

No. 74. Song of Coyote 533*

(Catalogue No. 1154) 539

Recorded by Mary Murie

Voice ♩= 100
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

Put your heads down, move your hips as you dance

Analysis.—The rhythm of this song is continuous from the first measure to the last, and is especially interesting in the latter portion. Attention is directed to the effective use of a triple measure followed by a double measure at the close of the melody. The tones occurring in the song are G and A, D and E, occurring in whole-toned progressions. The last two notes were sung to the syllables "tut, tut," supposed to represent the cry of the turkeys.

The narrator of the next story said that it did not originate with the Pawnee and she thought that it came from the Omaha in Nebraska. 539 [177]

STORY OF NURI AND HIS BROTHER

RELATED BY MRS. MARY MURIE

There was a man so jealous of his wife that he determined to take her away from the village. He told her to pack everything and they would go. They took plenty of dried meat, pounded meat, corn, and all kinds of food, and left the village. When night came

3; Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 they camped. They were far from any people and her husband said they would stay in that place. He was a good hunter and killed deer, turkeys, and other game. After a while they made an earth lodge to live in. Every morning the man put plenty of meat beside the fire, brought some water, and told his wife to stay in the lodge until his return. He was gone until night.

In time his wife bore a child and named it Nuri. Indeed she bore twin boys, but her husband did not notice the second child and buried it with the afterbirth. The second child crawled out of the ground and lived with the animals, but his mother never knew. Her husband told her, as before, that she must stay in the lodge. He said that he had seen some bad people prowling about. One day, when the man was away, these bad people came to the lodge. His wife was sitting beside the fire and the baby was asleep when she heard a sound and looked toward the door. Seven men entered the lodge and said, "Give us something to eat. We know that you have plenty of food." She did not reply but pointed to the meat that was cooking on sticks around the fire. They ate it all and went away. After they had gone she exclaimed, "Those horrid men ate all my meat." One heard it and said to the others, "She called us names." So they all went into the lodge and killed her. They did not see the baby but they carried the woman's body to their camp and devoured it. When the man came home he looked for his wife, and seeing the tracks he knew the wicked people had taken her. The man grieved greatly for his wife.

By this time the baby was old enough to walk and talk. Every morning before the man went to hunt he fixed the meat ready to cook and told the little boy to play inside the lodge. One day he went away as usual, after fixing the meat, and the little boy thought, "I will go outside. I never have seen what it is like out there." He went out and saw a little boy coming toward him. The boy was about his own size and was singing the following song.

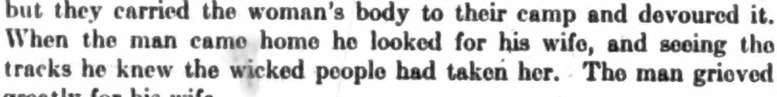
+533
539

No. 75. Song of the Strange Little Boy

(Catalogue No. 1155)

Recorded by Mary Murie

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum not recorded
Irregular in tonality



Analysis.—This song is classified as irregular in tonality. The only progressions are whole tones and fourths, and the sequence of tones can scarcely be said to suggest a keynote. Both the melody and rhythm are simple and childish.

539

The strange boy (who was his brother) said, "Nuri, you are having a good time with your father but I am here with my grandmothers, the wood rats. Your father is my father too. I have plenty of wild grapes and cherries but I do not have any meat to eat." Nuri said, "Come into the lodge and I will give you some." The strange boy sniffed the air and asked, "Is your father here?" "No," said Nuri. The strange boy went into the lodge and played until it was time for their father to return. Then he ran away, saying, "Forget, forget," so that Nuri would not tell their father. This child was a "wonder boy" and he came every day until both boys were quite grown. One day he failed to say "Forget" when he went away. As the boy and his father were eating their supper Nuri said, "Father, I want to tell you something. There is a little boy who comes every day to play with me while you are away." The man said to himself, "I will try to catch the boy." So one morning he hid instead of going away. The wonder boy came as usual, singing the same little song. He stopped and sniffed the air, saying to Nuri, "Your father is here." "No," said Nuri, "Perhaps you smell his blanket." "It is certainly he," said the boy, and ran away. The father determined to catch the boy by a trick and told Nuri how to tie a thong around his brother's scalplock. In the struggle that ensued the wonder-boy's scalplock was torn from his head and held by the thong. The father kept the scalplock gave the boys a good supper, and told them to stay in the lodge.

Nuri obeyed his father, but as time passed, his brother continually tried to lead him into danger. When Nuri objected his brother would say, "Give me my hair and I will go back to my grandmothers." Then Nuri would yield, but the boys always returned in safety. One day they brought snake rattles and hung them on the door of the lodge. Another day they went to a place where a boat was moored. If anyone went in this boat it upset, threw the people into the water, and then returned to its place by the shore. The wonder boy wanted to go in the boat but Nuri objected. The boy said as before, "Then you must give me my hair and I will go back to my grandmothers." Nuri yielded and they went in the boat, which soon began tipping endwise and sidewise. "Do as I do," cried the wonder-boy, moving his arms and making a noise like a wild goose. Nuri imitated him and the boys flew away. Before leaving the boat they sang the following song.

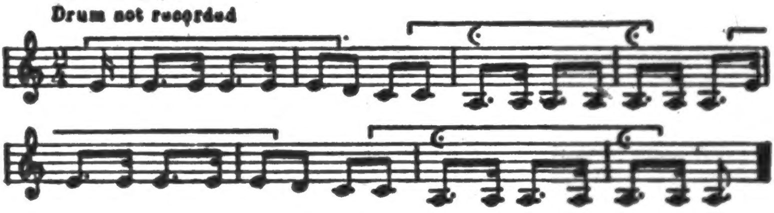
No. 76. Song as the Boys Flew Away

(Catalogue No. 1156)

*533
● 539

Recorded by Mary Murie

Voice ♩ = 69
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

Nuri, do this and we will turn into geese. We will not drown.

Analysis.—No ascending progressions occur in this melody, which contains the tones of the fourth 5-toned scale. It is harmonic in structure and has a rhythmic unit. Although the melody is short it has an interesting and characteristic rhythm.

539 After they flew away the boat returned to the landing.

Then the wonder boy wanted to go where the people lived who killed his mother. These people lived in straw huts and when they saw the boys they said, "These boys are fat; we will have a good feast." The wonder boy heard them talking. They called to the boys and said, "Come in soon, we will have the feast ready," and aside they said, "The boys have no sense." Nuri was afraid but his brother said, "Do not cry. We will destroy them. If we do not they will kill us." The boys went into the lodge and saw a kettle full of boiling water. The wonder boy said, "Do as I do." Then both boys jumped on the edge of the kettle and upset it. The boiling water fell on the people but the boys flew out of the lodge like burned leaves. The people fought and killed one another, thinking they were killing the boys, and the lodge burned up. These people had long sharp bones at the points of their elbows and heels and on the back of their heads. When they were dead the boys took off three or four of these points. The wonder boy said, "Let us take these home for father to use in sewing moccasins."

This frightened the father and that night he made up his mind to run away and leave the boys. The wonder boy knew that his father would do this but Nuri cried the next morning, when his father had gone. The brother said, "Father has left us but we will search until we find him." So the boys started to find their father. At first they saw no trace, and whenever they met a snake, a bear, or even a little bug the wonder boy would ask, "Have you seen my father?"

539

They replied "No." After the boys had traveled a long time the brother said to Nuri, "Are you tired?" Nuri said that he was tired, and his brother summoned a tiger (mountain lion?) and both boys rode on his back. When they had traveled a long way farther they came to a village and asked, "Have you seen our father?" The people replied, "Yes, we saw him going north." The boys traveled all that night but could not find him. The brother said, "Let us kill all the people in every village." Nuri cried, but yielded. The wonder boy said, "Nuri, do this." The boys turned their heads from side to side and they rattled. They said to the people, "If you see us you will die, and if you do not see us you will die." The people fell over and died, one after another. Then the boys looked all through the village but could not find their father. At the third village they found that their father had been killed by the people. Nuri cried but his brother said, "I would not cry. He left us to starve." They found their father's body and took it away to a high hill. They cut two willow poles, two cottonwood, two elm, and two walnut poles, and four cedar posts about as long as the height of a man. They worked all day doing this, and took them on the hill. Then they laid them crosswise in a pile with sweet grass underneath and put their father's body on top of the pile. The wonder boy said, "Father, we used to love you but now we are going to burn you up and the smoke will ascend to Tirawa; but, father, you are not dead forever, and some day we will see you again."

STORY OF THE LITTLE RATTLESNAKE

This story differs from the preceding in that the entire narrative was sung, a typical portion of the melody being transcribed. The story was as follows: In the place where the rattlesnakes lived there was a little rattlesnake who cried because he wanted his rattle to make a noise. He said to his father, "I do not see why I don't rattle. I am just like my brothers and sisters but their rattles rattle while mine does not." His father said, "You are not old enough. When you are as big as your brothers and sisters your rattle will rattle like theirs."

The little snake cried so hard that at last they "made medicine" for him so that his rattle would rattle. Then he wanted to rattle it all the time.

The little snake said to his father, "Tell me how a chief's daughter looks. I want to bite her foot." His father said, "A chief's daughter is very neat in her dress. Those who are not the daughters of chiefs are very careless. You can tell the difference in that way."

The snakes' house was located on a road along which the Pawnee used to travel. The oldest snake said, "Father, my little brother

539 rattles all the time. The Pawnee will hear him and kill us all. Make him stop." But the little snake kept on. He even went beside the road and rattled his rattle very loud.

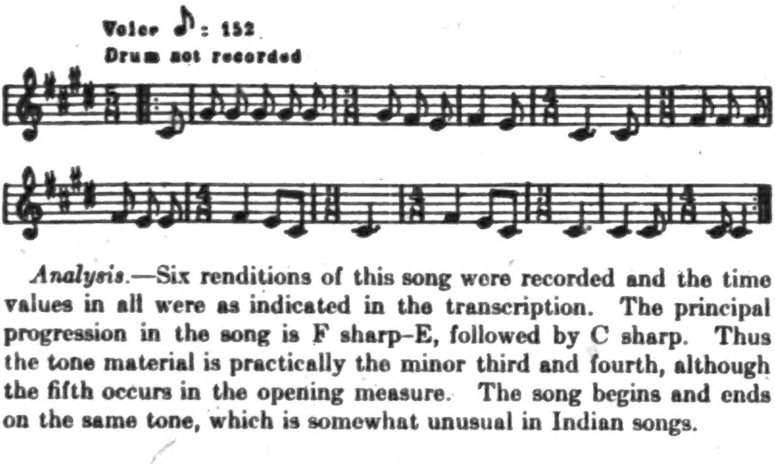
One day a girl came along the road and the little snake thought she was a chief's daughter. He bit her foot and she turned quickly and crushed his head. The other snakes found him and the brother said, "Father, didn't I tell you that one of us would be killed? There is my little brother with his head smashed." That is the end of the story.

No. 77. The Little Rattlesnake

(Catalogue No. 1077)

Recorded by Effie Blain

*533
539



Analysis.—Six renditions of this song were recorded and the time values in all were as indicated in the transcription. The principal progression in the song is F sharp–E, followed by C sharp. Thus the tone material is practically the minor third and fourth, although the fifth occurs in the opening measure. The song begins and ends on the same tone, which is somewhat unusual in Indian songs.

UNCLASSIFIED SONGS

773
231
825

When the Pawnee first saw a horse they were frightened. Some ran away and others said, "I wonder what he is dragging behind him" (referring to his tail). A great crowd of people was looking at the horse. At last someone said, "Why are you afraid of this animal. He is very useful. He can carry you and your packs. You can get on him and he will take you from place to place so that you can kill game." Ever since that time the Pawnee have owned horses, and found that horses could work for them.

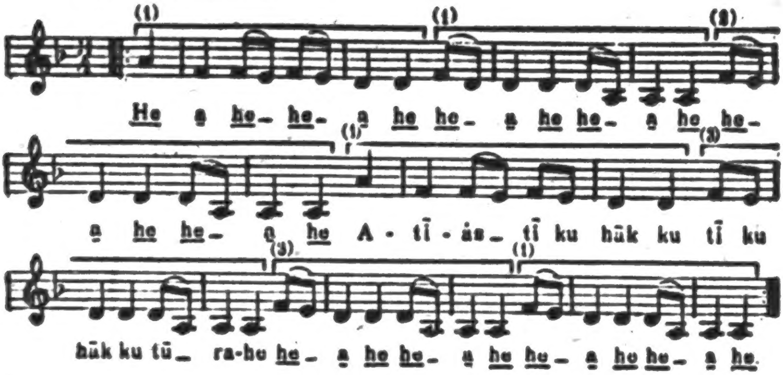
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 85. "Father Gave Me a Pipe" (Catalogue No. 1092)

533*

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 104
Drum not recorded


(1)
(1)
(2)
He a he- he- a he he- a he he- a he he-
(1)
(2)
a he he- a he A-tī-ás- tī ku hāk ku tī ku
(3)
(1)
hāk ku tū- ra-he he- a he he- a he he- a he he- a he.

He a he	atiás	ti	ku	hāk[30]
Exclamation	father	he	me	pipe

ku	ti	ku	hāk	ku	tū	raho
gave	he	me	pipe	gave	is	good

FREE TRANSLATION

Father is good,
He gave me a pipe,
He is good.

Analysis.—A comparison of the three rhythmic units occurring in this song will show that the differences are slight, yet they are sufficient to give variety to the rhythm. The song has a range of an octave and contains only the tones of the minor triad and second. It is harmonic in structure and progresses chiefly by whole tones.

Mr. Murie said that the story concerning the following song was recently told him by John Luwak: A man and his wife had one child, a daughter, who had many admirers. Sirirut Kawi (Pushed Forward) entered the lodge early one morning, after the manner of young men courting a maiden. The man said to his wife, "Did you notice that young man?" 584 539

He came again, and then the woman said to her husband, "The young man is handsome, he comes of a good family, he has plenty of horses and his arms are strong so that he would be good to support us." When he came the third time they told him to wait for his answer until the girl's relatives could discuss the matter. So they called their

---

[30] The last letter of this word was elided with the next word by the singer.

584 relatives together, the mother's relatives being seated on the south
and the father's on the north side of the lodge. The father's relatives
539 left the decision with the mother's relatives, who decided that the girl
should be allowed to marry the young man. Many presents were
[431] distributed. The young man's relatives gave presents, and the young
man gave a fine horse to the father and mother of the girl. The next
day the old man gave the horse to his wife. There were buffalo robes
and many valuable articles among the presents.

539 All went well for a time, and then the young man began to beat his
593 wife and abuse her. The girl's mother begged her father to interfere,
but he refused to do so. She said, "You claim to be a brave man; why
do you not make our son-in-law stop beating his wife?"

He said, "Do you remember one beautiful morning when you said the young man was handsome, that he came of good family, had many horses, and his arms were strong?"

"Yes."

"Do you remember that my relatives sat on the north and yours on the south side of the lodge, and that my relatives left the decision to yours?"

"Yes."

"So your people sold our daughter to that man. We have no right to interfere with his property. He gave the ponies. He gave a fine pony to us. Didn't I give you that pony?"

"Yes."

"Get a kettle. Put it on the fire and put water in it." She did so.

[415 "Now take your parflêche bag and put the finest of your dried meat
in the pot. When the soup is done you must bring me some in a
251] wooden bowl."

When she brought the soup he told her to sit beside him and eat. As they ate he said, "What nice fat! What fine meat this is! Who got it for you?"

"Our son-in-law."

"You like the meat that our son-in-law brings us? He punishes our daughter for her own good. He does not want her to run around the camp foolishly. He wants her to be a good cook and to look after things in the lodge."

Then the woman stopped finding fault with her son-in-law.

The young man was well liked by the chiefs. They asked him to
join their societies and later he became a chief. He and his wife
had one child, a boy. This little boy liked to stay with his grandfather, who told him stories. His grandfather was Saritsaris (Mad
[264 Chief), a brave man of the Chaui Band. The little boy cooled his
grandfather's mush or soup by swinging the dish back and forth,
867] then he set it before the old man.

When the little boy was about half-grown he heard that a war 539
party was to start. He told his mother that he wanted to go, and
he wanted her and his grandmother to make him some moccasins.
He also wanted arrows, a bow and a quiver, and all the equipment
of a warrior. When the old man heard this he called the boy and
said, "Do you realize what you are doing?" 787

"Yes, I am grown to be a man."

"Do you have dreams at night?" 539

"Yes."

"Can you relate some of them?"

"Yes."

"Tell one to me."

"In my dream I was with a war party. I found myself coming toward home through deep snow."

"That is enough," said the old man. "You can go."

The women had sent the boy to his grandfather, thinking he
would keep him at home, and they were greatly surprised to learn
that the grandfather had told the boy to go with the warriors. It
was fall when the war party started. As winter was coming near
it was noised through the camp that all the war party had been
killed and the people began to mourn. The women of this family 765
mourned exceedingly and cut their flesh with knives, but the old
man sat and laughed at them, or smoked his pipe. This went on 152
for about 10 days. Then his wife said, "You did not care for our 304
grandchild," and his daughter said, "Why do you not mourn?"
The old man said to his wife, "You remember that you turned the
boy over to me when he wanted to go to war. You made moccasins
for him and filled his quiver with arrows. I questioned him and
found that he had had a dream in which he was returning alone
through deep snow. That dream will come true. He is coming
home, so I want you all to stop mourning."

They would not believe him, but one day, after a snow, some people going out from the village met the young man returning. He said, "All the warriors were killed except myself."

The man rode back and cried through the village, "Sarītsaris' grandchild is coming through the deep snow."

Everyone in the lodge was excited, except the old man. He did not rush out to meet his grandson. The women urged him to go, but he said, "He is coming; never mind."

When the young man entered the lodge his grandfather said, "Sit
on my knees." The old man passed his hands downward over the 201
young man's head and body in the tribal manner of "blessing," and 782
said, "I believed in your dream and now you are here."

Then he told him to sit yonder and said, "I ask you—when attacked, 539
did you hide in a ravine? When you were a little boy and cooled my

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

● 539 mush I told you that I never wanted to hear that your body was found in a ravine. I said that if you must be killed, let it be on a hilltop, fighting in the open. I told you not to run away. Did you fight the enemy? Is it possible that you had gone on an errand and on your return found the fight going on and ran home instead of joining your comrades? I told you always to tell the truth. Don't lie to me now. Tell me the truth."

The young man said, "This will tell the story," and he exposed his arm, which was raw and sore from wrist to elbow, where the bowstring had stung him. The boy said, "I did not even throw away my buffalo robe. I fought until night and then they let me alone."

The old man said, "Now your name shall be Sirirut Kawi, the same as your father's. If you had been killed I would not have shed a tear, for I urged you to go on the warpath."

So the young man lived with his grandfather until the next summer, when the village was attacked by the enemy. The young man went out and was killed. The news was brought into the village and the old man heard it. He took his robe of bear skin, threw it over his shoulder, and went about the camp telling how kind the young man was to the old and sick. Returning home, he said, "You waved the bowl of mush to cool it. I shall miss you."

+533 People said his heart was like a stone until he sang this song. Then he wept. In the first portion of the words he sings about himself and
539 his pride in his grandson, and in the latter portion he sings about the young man.

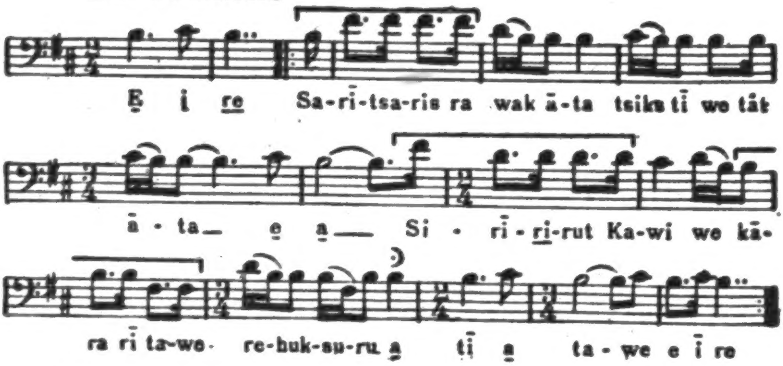
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 86. Mad Chief Mourns for His Grandson

(Catalogue No. 1096) 533*
539

Recored by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum not recorded


E i re Sa-ri-tsa-ris ra wak ā-ta tsiks tī we tât
ā - ta e a Si - rī - ri-rut Ka-wi we kā-
ra rī ta-we- re-huk-su-ru a tī a ta - we e ī re

Sarītsaris	ra	wak	āta	
Mad Chief	have	sing	walking	
tsika [48]	tī	we	tât	āta
spirit	glad	now	I am	walking
Sīrirut Kawi		we	kāra	
Pushed Forward (young man's name)		now	not have	
rī	tawe	rehuksuru	tī	tawe
him	among	of his image	him	among
e	ī	re		
yonder	he	comes		

FREE TRANSLATION

Mad Chief sings as he walks, his spirit is glad as he walks.
Pushed Forward is no longer among us, yet we seem to see him;
Yonder he comes.

Analysis. This melody lies partly above and partly below the keynote, a melodic form occurring less frequently among the Pawnee than in certain other tribes. The song begins and ends on the same tone and is based on the minor triad and second. It is minor in tonality and almost two-thirds of the intervals are whole tones. 533*

---

[48] The full form of the word is *tsikru*.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE TWO LANCE SOCIETY.

The following is an account of the ceremonies accompanying the renewal of the lances as observed by the writer, for the raris arusa, literally horse society, but which we shall call the two lance. 575

On May 23, 1902, the Skidi men were called to the tipi of Known-the-leader where the new lances were to be made to replace the old ones which were to pass away with the winter. This was the time for lances to be made because Tirawahat had sent rains upon the earth. The two lances were to be given new life so they might watch over and care for the people. In olden times two brave men were selected by the chief to carry these lances. These were the soldiers who were always obeyed by everyone, for the priest had sanctified and the gods breathed upon them.

The men entered the lodge which faced the east and seated themselves in a circle. Four priests who were drummers sat in the west. Known-the-leader, who acted as high priest, sat at the north. The two chiefs sat one to the north and one to the south of the drummers. Young-hawk whose father had formerly been a lance bearer was at the left of the chief while at his right sat Big-crow whose father had also been a lance carrier. The two men seated on either side of the priests were the lance bearers. Lone-chief, who owned the chief's pipe, sat on the south side and led the dance. Two errand men sat opposite each other at the north and south of the entrance, Skidi-man at the north and Good-eagle at the south.

Known-the-leader addressed the two assistants: "You two go to my lodge and bring the old lances, the four hand drums, and the four buffalo hoof rattles." They brought these and placed them before the singers. Then Skidi-man was sent for the sacred pipe which he placed crosswise in front of the drummers. The old lance staves were brought and set up near a pole that had been staked in the ground and tied, one on the north and one on the south side of the staked pole. Everything being in readiness, Known-the-leader said, "Drummers, chiefs, young and old men, we are about to renew the lances. You may wonder why we change. We have had the old ones many years, but I have dreamed that we must again replace them." [787]

Formerly, it was customary that the lances be kept until the priest dreamed that they be changed. This is the myth given for the lances:— 539 ●

Before the creation, the stars were human beings. Certain of them were given great powers. Tirawahat gave stars the power to create all things. When the earth was created, the stars agreed to send Paruxti (the wonder being) to the earth, to see if it were ready to be peopled. The stars held a council, but forgot to invite Fools-wolves (star). (Whenever this star comes up, the wolves howl because they think it is the morningstar.) 575

Paruxti was sent to the earth in the form of a long-haired giant. He was daubed all over with the sacred red paint. He wore large moccasins with the hair inside and big flaps. Over his shoulders he wore a buffalo robe which covered him completely. Around his waist was tied a buffalo hair rope with several pendant loops at the back which represented rain.

The council caused a thunderstorm which was followed by a rainbow. This they broke in two, placing one half in front and the other behind the giant as a companion. The north star and the south star each furnished a man to carry the

539 rainbow. The evening star provided a bag. The council discussed what these
575 people should take with them. Morningstar said: "I will supply a sacred bundle and I wish eveningstar to contribute someone to carry it and four men to care for it."

[293]
[411]
[778]

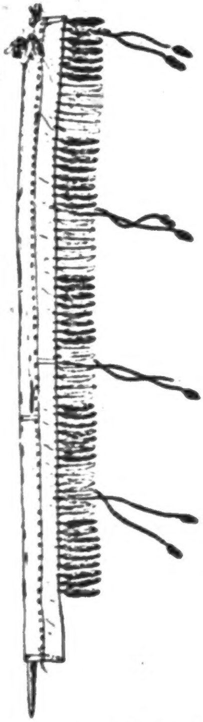


Fig. 3 (50.1-7191). Lance for the Two Lance Society, one of two. The cloth is red, the feathers white (goose) and black (crow). The pendant feathers are crow and the tuft at the top, owl. Length, 2.387 m.

Eveningstar brought an ear of corn which was transformed into a girl, the bearer of the bundle. First the four men were put into the bag, then the girl with the bundle, then people, and finally, the two lance men. The bag was tied so the man could carry it on his back.

It was now time for Paruxti to visit the earth. Eveningstar commanded the four powers in the west, clouds formed, lightning and thunder were placed into the clouds. Paruxti was placed upon the clouds and the wind slowly blew them along towards the earth. Soon the clouds rested on the earth and Paruxti stood upon it. He went towards the east leaving footprints so the gods knew he was on his way.

One time when he was tired and lonesome he remembered what the gods had told him about the bag. He sat down near a stream, placed the bag in front of himself, and opened it. First the two lance bearers, carrying the lances, jumped out. They stopped some distance off, one standing at the south and one at the north side. Soon people sprang out and took their places behind the two lance men. Then came the girl with the sacred bundle on her back. Behind her the four men walked abreast.

The two lance men lead the people to some level ground. They stuck the lances into the ground while the rest of the people put up their tipis. The first one was set up facing east, for the bundle girl and the old men. The bundle was hung up inside the tipi on the west wall. The girl sat beneath it. Two of the old men sat on the north and two on the south side of the tipi. Throughout the village all was bustle and confusion. The boys, young men, and old men were playing with their sticks and rings. For the boys the ring was small and the sticks had two hooks on one end. The sticks used by the older men were hooked at one end and had two cross bars while the ring was smaller than that used by the young boys. The oldest men played with large rings and straight sticks. The women sat in circles and played a game with plum seeds and a basket while others played shafts.

Messengers were sent through the village to call out the men to look for game. The runners notified the people that they had seen many buffalo. The men went out to hunt them and returned with the meat. The first buffalo killed was taken to the holy tipi.

They stayed at this place four days when the holy being told the four old men that it was time to move. Camp was broken and everyone returned to the bag, the two lance bearers last of all.

Again Paruxti went on his way. Several times he opened the bag, camp was pitched. He rested only when the bag was opened. He had traveled far to the east and had returned by the north. 539 575

Fools-wolves, the wolf star, had seen Paruxti on his journey and said, "I will undo what the others wish to do. I will send a being to the earth who will ruin what the others have accomplished." He put a wolf on the earth who became hungry and ran hither and thither until he discovered the tracks of Paruxti which he followed. The wonderful being who had become tired and sleepy, lay down. As he lay there, the wolf came up to him and noticed the bag. He thought, "There must be something to eat in the bag. I will take it away and open it and find something to eat." He dragged it to some prairie where there was neither water nor timber and untied it.

The two lance men jumped out first. Wolf was frightened and jumped sidewise. Soon people came out of the bag and he heard them say that they were going to camp and get something to eat. The two lance men selected a camping place and as usual stuck their lances into the ground. The people played their games, but found no buffalo. The men shouted: "Something is wrong. Our wonderful being must be in an ill humor. Take him something to eat."

Some men carried dried meat to the wolf which he ate. The people marveled at this and did not know what to make of it. The wolf was brought to camp and given a place in the tipi where the wonderful man sat. Just as they were about to burn incense in his honor someone shouted, "Our wonderful being is coming over the hills, crying. Watch the being in our tipi, for he is not our wonderful being." The wolf tried to get away, but the people surrounded the tipi and killed him.

The four men then burned some incense before the wonderful being and anointed him with red ointment, buffalo fat mixed with red earth. All the people were gathered around the tipi and the wonderful being asked what had become of the wolf. They replied, "We killed it." Then Paruxti said, "Bring it and skin it. When the skin is dry, put it on the bundle where it must remain. You will always be known as the skiri (Skidi) or wolf people. Because you killed the first animal on earth you will die too. The gods in the heavens intended that you live forever. You will always have the lances. Those who carry them will be soldiers."

Known-the-leader sent the assistant on the north side to the morningstar bundle 575
tipi for owl feathers which are kept in this bundle and to the left hand bundle tipi for
the crow feathers kept in that bundle. When these were brought, the assistant [237]
called for one crow feather and one white goose feather from each of the other tipis.
These were brought in and piled up in front of the singers by young boys. Near the
feathers were placed two strips of red cloth about sixteen inches wide together with
buckskin, sinew, and an awl. Two men were selected to procure cedar poles for the [824]
lances. Cedar was used because the cedar tree "has life all the time."

When the men arose, Known-the-leader took up one of the drums. The other
drummers each took up the drum in front. They sang a song relating to the search [533]
for timber. After they sang four times, the drums were set down. Then the men
went out with axes to cut the trees. Before actually cutting the poles four cutting
motions were made. When the poles were brought in they were placed one at each [313]
side of the tipi where the young men sat. They started to cut down the pole, one
man on each side, and when these were tired, others took their places. When the
poles were cut and smoothed down they were placed crosswise in front of the drums.

The cloth was given to the men on either side who sewed it with buckskin string.

575 They had ceremonies in the spring to get their regalia ready for war. There was one old man in the order who wore a special cap made of crowskin. [103] Members who had counted just one coup could wear a horizontal feather through the scalplock; for the second coup another feather in the same direction but from the opposite side; three coups, one crow feather upright; four coups, four feathers fixed on a small pointed stick, and stuck in the head. If one took but part of a scalp, he split one of the feathers half way; if a whole scalp, the whole feather was split. For each scalp taken a feather was split.

As the number of coups and scalps increased, feathers were added to a string and hung on the head. They also painted hands and other deed marks on their bodies.

This organization also had a brief existence, becoming extinct through losses in battle.

THE ROACHED HEADS.

The pakspahukasa, or roached heads, were peculiar to the Skidi. They [302] were also known as the fox society. They had a peculiar hair cut in that the hair on the back of the head was cut off, leaving only the roach on the top. All must wear coats of blue or red strouding cloth, feathers on the seams of shoulders and sleeves. They wore buckskin leggings and any kind of dress moccasins. All had small rattles, decorated with strands of different colored ribbons. No fixed form of face painting was used. Some of them wore beaded caps. Four hand drums were used, two red and two white. This was a war society and the songs refer to disregard of death.

YOUNG DOG SOCIETY.

● 539 575 Among the Skidi there was a society known as the asa kipi riru, or young dogs. The story of their origin is as follows: —

When the Skidi village was west of Fullerton, Nebraska, an old man lived there alone in his mud-lodge. He was very fond of the old dogs which the Skidi had used as pack animals. They lived with him and shared his food. During the buffalo hunt the dogs carried things for him. One time after returning from the hunt some puppies were born. The man was pleased, for he had no children. Every day he made a fresh bed for them and fed them.

The rest of the people remarked on his care of the dogs. One night, some boys planned to kill the old dog and steal the young ones. The next day they watched and finally caught the old dog outside the village and killed it. During the night they stole some of the puppies, but left four males. The following day, the man searched for the mother and the puppies but in vain. He fed the others as well as he could and sat sadly at his fireplace.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539

575

As he sat there, a boy he did not know came in and said, "Some boys killed your dog." After feeding the dogs the next day, he went to hunt for their mother. He found the body and buried it. On his return he made a bed for the young ones near his own and fed and cared for them as though they were his own children. They began to grow and the man was very happy.

One night he dreamed that the mother dog had advised him to go away from his own people. He decided to move and went south to the Platte River where he camped. He hunted every day and on his return his first care was to feed the dogs. After a time he moved on, camping at different places. Meanwhile the dogs grew up.

In camp one night the man heard singing from afar and took it to be an approaching enemy. The song was unfamiliar and it appeared as if several people were singing. He rose and went to the puppies, but they had disappeared. He went back to his bed and lay down afraid to move. He lay still for a long time listening, when the singing suddenly ceased at the entrance to his lodge. When all was quiet he crawled over to look for the dogs and found them. After this, when he heard the singing during the night he was not disturbed for he knew it was his puppies that were singing. Several nights the singing was repeated so the man soon learned the song which was an imitation of a dog howling: Ha-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-o ha-oa hey-i-i a-a hi-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-a-ha-o-a hoa hi-i-i-i. At the close of the song each time the dogs would return to the lodge. The man then returned to the village.

Soon after this, the people left the village and went on a hunt. Each time they made camp the singing was heard during the night. The people wondered who sang, for the song was unknown to them. This occurred every night until they returned to their village.

As soon as the man and his wife entered their lodge they swept it and made a bed for the dogs. For a time no singing was heard, but one night it recommenced and as it came nearer and nearer it seemed as if there were more men. The singing seemed to be right in the lodge passing around the fireplace.

The man rose and made a fire. He saw a circle of men standing around it, all covered with red paint. Some of them had rawhide ropes around their shoulders. The man returned to his bed. The singers began again; this time they were dancing, keeping time to the song. After some time they passed out of the lodge. The fire died down and the dogs returned to the lodge whining.

The man slept again and dreamed of the dancers just as he had seen them earlier in the night. Some stooped over and circled around, whining in imitation of dogs as they danced. At the end of the dance one of the men who seemed to be the leader said, "My father, you have been good to us and our people (the dogs). They have decided to give you a new dance. For the next three days you must have the lodge swept for we will continue the dance until the third night. We have already danced one night. You must borrow the four water drums from the medicinemen and place them at the altar. It is to your advantage to watch us and listen carefully." Then the man in his dream saw the men transformed into dogs which surrounded him, licking his mouth and nose. This frightened him.

Early the next day the man and his wife swept the lodge for all the dogs had left it. He placed some branches of cedar on the fire for incense. The dogs' beds were swept and cleaned. Towards evening the man procured the water drums from the medicineman and placed them at the altar. Everything was now in readiness. In the evening the man told his wife to take dried meat from the parfleches, cut it, and let it boil in the kettle on the fire. Then he told her to lie on her bed while he sat at the fire smoking.

539
575

During the day the dogs had disappeared but when darkness fell the man heard the singing again. At first it seemed outside the village, then it came closer, and finally stopped at the doorway. The man sat on his bed. The singers filed in and sat in a circle around the fireplace. Now, four old men entered and sat in front of the drums. One of them said, "Old men dogs at the altar and young dogs around the fireplace, we will now sing and dance." The old men drummed and sang and the others danced. The dancers were daubed all over with red paint. The man watched the dancers who were fine-looking men and learned the songs. They danced until the fire burned down and then quietly left the lodge. This was the second night they danced.

The man filled and lighted his pipe and before he smoked, blew smoke four times each to the skies, to Tirawahat, and to the altar. The dogs now came in whining and went to bed. The man knew when they returned and emptied his pipe and went to bed. As soon as he closed his eyes he fell into a trance and saw an old man standing near his bed. He wore no clothes but was painted all over with red paint. The old man said to him, "My son, I will take you to a far country and show you the father of the dog family. It is through him that the whole dog family has pity for you because of your kindness to the dogs. Come with me."

The man thought that he rose and walked out of the lodge with the stranger. They seemed to be traveling in space over a wide river. When they landed he saw that he was in a strange land. They arrived at a mud-lodge and the stranger told the man that they were about to enter the lodge of Tirawahat. He told him to notice everything and that certain things would be given him. They entered and he immediately noticed a large fire in the center of the lodge. West of the fireplace was a dark object, a large golden eagle, from which came sparks of fire. On its right sat a large dog. The two men sat down at the south side of the lodge. The eagle said, "My son, you are now with us. I sent for you that I might pity you. You have been kind to the dog family and I sent for you that you might see the dog that watches over all dogs. It will now speak to you."

The dog sat in the shadow but the man could see he was reddish. The dog said, "The young dogs of your village have prayed that I give you a new dance and that I make you a great warrior among your people because of your kindness to them. Dogs receive no smoke offering from the people. I gave power to the dogs to have pity upon you. I will make you great among your people. When you return to them tell them that you saw me and that I have taken pity on you. Watch my people and do as they do and we will give you power. Now return to your people.

At this point the man awoke. It was morning. He made a fire and noticed that the dogs had left the lodge. After he and his wife had eaten they swept the lodge and the man went out to where the young men were playing. There he saw two poor orphans whom he invited to his house. He gave them places near the fire and told them that he wished them to make his home their home. They were glad.

The young men were each given a place on either side of the entrance for they were to be assistants. During the day other well-to-do young men visited the lodge, but they were not allowed to stay there. Brave warriors also came, but the man would not admit them.

In the evening the young men were told to bring wood and keep up the fire so it would dimly light the lodge. When all was quiet throughout the village singing was heard outside of it. Young and old men went outside of their lodges to listen.

At the man's lodge the singing ceased. Then they heard the drumming and everyone 539 gathered around the lodge to watch. The singers and dancers took their places. The fire burned low, lighting the lodge but dimly so the dancers could not be plainly 575 seen.

The two assistants sat on either side of the entrance. When the drumming began the dancers arose and danced around the fireplace imitating dogs. Some circled around and whined. The dancing and singing continued until the fire burned out. Then the man told the spectators that the dance was over. When he was alone the man sat at the altar, filled his pipe, lighted it, and blew smoke four times to the skies, to the father dog, to the ground, to the dogs on earth. Then he smoked until the dogs returned to the lodge. He emptied the pipe and lay down at the altar, while the two assistants slept at the entrance.

Again he fell into a trance and saw the dancers and singers in their places. Between the entrance and the fireplace was a pot of meat. Each man took some grease from the pot and went to the altar where he received red paint from the leader. They mixed the grease and paint and daubed it over their bodies. Each man had a short buffalo rawhide rope painted red around his neck.

The leader addressed the men: "My children, young dogs, I have given you the paint for your bodies when you are ready to dance. When in battle you must use this paint for your bodies." The dog men were addressed in this manner for the benefit of the man so he could do the same for the men who would become members of the society.

Again the leader spoke: "My son, tomorrow is our last night with you. You must take one of your young dogs and kill it, scorch and clean it and put it in the kettle on the fire. Watch us and do as we do when you start the dance among your people."

The man awoke and found one of his dogs standing near him, whining. The dog stayed at the altar until daylight when he went out. The man followed and saw him sit and look at the sun which the man also did. They returned to the lodge and sat down at the altar. The boys rose and made a fire while the man smoked. Then he lay down with the dog at his head. He fell asleep and dreamed of a strange looking man who said, "My son, the dogs are all my children. See, I am painted red all over. I am the sun. Do as the dogs tell you. I am watching over you. I will give you power so that you will come out unscathed even from the hardest battle."

The man woke, looked around, and then fell asleep again and dreamed of the dog that was lying near him. The dog was transformed into a fine looking man and said "Father you have been good to us; you have fed us well; you gave us a good place to sleep. You mourned with us when our mother was killed. All this time we cried to the heavens where our father is and now he has taken pity upon us. He has given us power to give you a new dance. You must watch us and do as we tell you. Today you must kill me for I was selected to be with you and your people always. Place the flesh in a kettle and boil it. The singers and dancers will use the grease for mixing with the red paint. After the dance the singers give the meat to onlookers who eat it. Tomorrow all the singers and dancers will go away from here but there will be others to take our places. When you are ready to kill me take a rawhide rope and a pestle used in pounding corn and let the two boys go with you. They will make a loop in the middle of the rope and each will pull as hard as he can. Then you can strike me on the head. My brains will scatter and blood will flow, but I will not be killed. I will stagger around until I am able to run. I will teach you this trick so you can try it on

539 one of the boys in the medicine lodge and everyone will know that you received power from the dogs. Now rise and clean the lodge for father sun is high up."

575 The man awoke and saw the dog. He ate and ordered the boy to sweep the lodge with fresh bunches of hyssops. Only one dog was left. During the day the chief of the tribe visited the lodge to learn what was happening. The man did not tell. The chief wished his son to join but the man refused. The chief departed. The man took the rawhide rope and the pounder, and went out of the lodge with the two boys, the dog following. They stopped at some timber west of the village. The two assistants put the dog's head through the noose and pulled while the man struck it on the head. They could see the blood and brains ooze out, but the dog staggered about and after a while ran around. He put the dog's head through the loop again and faced him south with the boys on either side. The man filled his pipe and blew smoke four times to the father dog above, to the dog, and finally laid his pipe on the ground. Then he told the boys to pull on the rope again and he struck the dog on the head, killing it. The man gathered the foam from the dog's mouth, and placed it upon his nose and mouth, his head and his body. The dog fell with its head toward the south. They skinned it, cut up the meat placed it in the hide, and carried it to the lodge. The meat was put in a large kettle on the fire; the hide near where the dogs' bed used to be. Now the lodge was put in order for the events of the night.

In the evening, the two assistants let the fire die down. As usual, singing was heard outside the lodge. It came nearer and nearer and the singers stopped at the entrance and then filed in, the four singers in the lead. They took their places behind the drums. The others sat around the fireplace. The assistants made a fire and the drumming and singing was begun, the men around the fire dancing as before. The dancers stood in place while the drummers sang a certain song. The leader of the singers now began to dance, circling one of the dancers. Then the man jumped up and danced with the singer. Spectators began to crowd in.

The singer danced up to the dancer on the south side pretending to place something on his neck. A great shout arose and the singer danced backward. When he danced forward the fourth time he threw a string with a whistle attached around the man's head. The dancers shouted again and the singer threw a bunch of owl feathers on his head. Then he threw a rope painted red and about four feet long around the man's neck. All this was a reminder of how the dog was killed. Later, a red sash was used in place of the rope.

The singer returned to his place behind his drum while the others danced. At the close of the dancing, the leading singer addressed the men: "My son, you shall do these in your dancing. When the string is put around the neck of a new dancer you shall receive him into your dance. 'No matter how high a man stands among his people, if the string and whistle fall to the ground you shall send him out of the lodge. While we are singing the dancers may dance around the fireplace and take a piece of meat from the kettle and give it to the spectators who may divide it among themselves." After the meat was distributed the spectators were asked to leave.

The leading singer then asked the man to fill his pipe, light it, and stand west of the fireplace and blow smoke four times to father dog in the heavens, to the sun, to the entrance, and to the drums. Then he emptied the ashes on the rim of the fireplace. He was also told to place the dog skin at the altar when it was tanned and to blow smoke to it. Then he gave him the whistle with the string, the owl feathers, and the rope. The leading singer said, "We will now sing. All rise and dance toward the entrance and go where you wish. We have now taught him everything."

They drummed, sang, and danced around the fireplace out of the lodge. The 539
singing and drumming gradually ceased and when the fire was made there was no 575
one left in the lodge. After this the man often dreamed and found that the dance was given to poor people, especially the poor boys of the village.

After the final dance, all the dogs disappeared. Every night the man and the two boys sang and other young men came in and assisted. When quite a number of young men knew the songs the man told them to come the next night and bring with them their quivers, bows and arrows, and moccasins. Among the young men who wished to join was a chief's son. He told them that they would go to the enemy's camp that night. They all agreed to go with him.

That night he wrapped up the dog skin, the string and whistle, the owl feathers, and the rope and placed them on his back. As they started off they sang the first song the man had heard the dog men singing. They sang four times and then went on their way. For several days they continued when some of the young men began to show signs of weariness. Then the man gave them a root to chew to revive them. When the chief's son became tired the man paid no attention to him. Finally, he turned back.

At length they came to the enemy's camp. The man put on his regalia and went to the camp. He captured some ponies on which they returned home. When they arrived the people said the young dog people were good travelers.

After this at night the young men met to sing the dog songs. When 575
the man heard them, he would have the two boys build a fire and the young men would come in and sing. One time, on their return to the village from a buffalo hunt some of the young men told the man that they each had a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat and they wished to dance. The man did not reply but consulted his two assistants who said: "Buffalo meat is good, but first we must get a reddish dog." One young man said, "My people have one, I can get it."

The dance was started and all the young men who danced and received
the string and whistle became members. This society became very impor- [177]
tant and when the Arikara joined the Skidi they saw the dance. Among [535]
the Arikara was one man who knew the sun dance. He met the leader of the young dogs and they exchanged dances. The Skidi joined the two and had the young dog sun dance three times. All the dancers had to be cut and suspended three times.

This society became a great power among the people. One time during 224
a buffalo hunt the people were attacked by the Sioux and the soldiers were 575
all killed and the crow lance taken from them. The tribe was left without 625
police so the chiefs (not the priests) selected the dog society to act as police
on the hunt. Their old men cried through the village telling the people to [648]
keep quiet and not to drum or sing. The men were not permitted to hunt at any distance nor were guns to be shot. The women were not to chop wood but were to gather dry limbs. One night a man came to the village

224 with buffalo meat. He had consecrated it and taken it to one of the minor
575 bundles and that night the priests had a bundle ceremony. The dog soldiers
625 went into the lodge, took the meat, cut it up and gave it to the dogs. The owner of the meat was taken out and whipped and his gun broken. He became angry and drew his knife. They all attacked him and hurt him badly. After this occurred, the dog soldiers were dismissed and the lance men were again the tribal police.

554 The dog society was so important not only because the members were
575 good warriors, but great medicinemen. None of them were cowards, they were all brave men.

The Mischievous Society.

539 An organization generally known as the mischievous society, but also as the circumcised, once existed among the Chauí.

575 Many years ago when the Chauí were alone, two young men were always running around during the night, playing bad tricks upon anyone they met. At this time the people wore no clothing, especially the boys. In the winter time the boys wore a bull calf hide, if they were well-to-do; but if they were poor they wore half a bull hide, their moccasins and leggings. They had neither shirt nor covering for their privates.

In a village of mud-lodges there happened to be one mud-lodge that was empty for all the people who lived in it had died. These two mischievous boys made their home in this lodge. People, especially the young men, were afraid to go near this lodge in the night for it was said that ghosts dwelt there. These two young men frightened people when they came near the lodge by making strange noises, whistling, and throwing mud at them.

In the daytime they watched the young men in the village and when they saw certain ones who seemed fearless they invited them to meet them in the empty mud-lodge. When they spoke of the mud-lodge, those who were cowards would refuse to go, but those who were brave accepted the invitation. These meetings were held in the winter time when the people lived in mud-lodges, for in the summer time they lived in tipis away from the village. When these young men met they would plan to send out young men to scare those who were prowling through the village during the night. The two leading boys appeared as if circumcised and invited to their meetings only those of similar appearance.

In their meetings in the deserted lodge they would do all sorts of mischievous and obscene things. When on a buffalo hunt in the winter time they would get together and make a grass lodge in which to hold their

meetings. The boys in the village heard of their meetings and doings and many were anxious to join. When the people returned to their permanent village, the boys again held their meetings in their lodge. During the day the two leading young men would play with the boys of the village and whenever they observed one of circumcised appearance they would ask him to come to their meetings. Thus the society grew until they had many of the boys in the village. Every night they met in the lodge, each bringing a little dried buffalo meat and some parched corn, so that when their meeting was over they would have something to eat. 539 575

At last they became so numerous that one night in their meeting they talked of going on the warpath. (These boys never stole anything in the camp but kept others from stealing.) While they were discussing their war project, the boy who acted as a watcher announced that a young boy out there wanted to come to their meeting. The two leaders asked if he was of their kind, the answer was "no." Then the other boy was told to tell the boy to come to the lodge in the daytime.

The two leading boys now dismissed the others. When they were alone they began to plan for their altar. At last they agreed to have two long poles, about seven feet long and about one foot around. One end was to be forked, but the prongs trimmed off close, the whole shaped to serve as a phallus. When completed, both symbolic poles were blackened in the fire. After the altar had been arranged they considered how they could increase the membership and how young men wishing to join could be artificially circumcised. One of the eligible young men volunteered that his condition was due to accidental contact with the juice of the milkweed, causing a sore by which the foreskin was removed. This suggestion was adopted as part of future initiations.

The next day the two leaders entered the lodge each bearing a bunch of fresh milkweed. Here they sat down. Soon the other members came in. One of them was told to watch outside. When the candidate came to the lodge he was told to enter. When inside he was seized, thrown down upon the ground, and held while the two leaders applied the milkweed juice. He was then turned loose. He was told to sit among them and when tired to go home but that he must tell no one what had happened to him. This kind of work was carried on until there were many boys sick from the inflammation. People wondered why there were so many boys sick. The boys were not really sick but as they were naked in those days they did not want to go out and be seen in their condition.

Now the boys got the poles and prepared them as the two leaders wished. When completed they were placed at the altar in the lodge. They extended east and west, the head part toward the east. The leaders made clay pipes

539
575

and baked them. The stems were of ash. During their meetings the leaders filled their pipes with native tobacco and offered smoke to the poles. Then they would send other young men out to frighten people who were prowling around in the night. When the boys returned to the lodge, before they told what they had done, they passed their hands over the poles and offered thanks for their help. Then they sat down between the poles and told their story. All would laugh.

Several years afterwards these boys had grown to be young men and began to talk about going upon the warpath in earnest. While they were planning one day an alarm was given: the enemy were coming to attack their village. The boys were all in their lodge. They were told to remain there until ordered to go out. Some wanted to run out for they wished to get their bows and arrows, but the two leaders would not let them go. The leaders took some grass from the lodge and burned it to make soot. They told the boys to do likewise. After they were all smeared with the soot, they were told to get their bows and arrows and join them. When the boys returned to the lodge with their bow and arrows, the two leading men took up the two black poles and ran to the battlefield. The line of men was extended clear along the battle front. Most of the men were massed at each end of the line. So these boys selected the center as their place. The two with the poles stood in the center, but the members scattered out. When the enemy attacked the boys, the leaders told their followers to shoot to kill. When one of the boys killed an enemy, one of the pole bearers would run forward and strike him with the pole and then return to his place. In this the two pole bearers alternated. Through the heroism of these boys the enemy was finally driven away and pursued by the mounted men.

The boys returned to their lodge for they were afoot and could not follow the enemy. When all the men had returned to the village, each one told what he had done in the battle. Some told of the strange-looking people in the center of the battle line and all wondered who they were, for all the lances known to the people were in the battle. The boys were careful and never spoke of their doings. Some men said that they saw one of the boys carrying an odd looking pole, but the people could not find out who the boys were.

Some time after the battle, when all the victory dances were over, the boys met in their lodge. When all the young boys were seated around the fireplace, the leader said, "Brothers, we are in our own lodge. I have something to say to you and if what I say is good, I want to know. You can all see how men go on the warpath for five or six months to return with many ponies and perhaps several scalps waving upon their poles. The

people turn out to see them come in. The victorious party comes over the hills as if they were attacking the enemy. Chiefs and brave men go out to meet them. Women stand on the outskirts of the village giving their war cry. When the men are near the village we see their faces are smeared with charred grass, their lips white with clay. The black faces signify that they have traveled in the night and faced dangers; their white lips, that they were hungry for many days and finally came upon the enemy, conquered them, and captured their ponies. You have looked upon the leader who carried the sacred things upon his back. Chiefs and brave men honored him. I know all of you would like to be in his place. I know I would. Boys we can do the same. We have been meeting here night after night. We now have two poles to lead us into the enemy's country. I have it in my heart to lead you. If we die at the hands of the enemy it will be well. Some of you boys are better off than the rest of us, for you have grandfathers and fathers who tell you that it is better to die at the hands of the enemy than to die of sickness in the village and be put under mother earth and have dirt rest upon you. Who of you are willing to go with me?"

539
575

Each boy said, "I will go with you." The leader was glad and said, "Brothers when you go to your homes, let your sisters or grandmothers make you four pairs of moccasins and when they are completed let them fill them with parched corn or pemmican. Those of you who have neither sisters nor grandmothers go to your nearest of kin among the women and ask them for a piece of tanned buffalo hide, some sinew, and bring them to this lodge and make your own moccasins. Do not steal these things, but ask for them. We will make preparations for the next four days and on the fifth night we will start for the enemy's country."

Soon after this talk by their leader, the boys went to their homes. Most of them were orphans and it was hard to get anything from other people. The two leaders were orphans, they had no relatives or friends. They did not try to get anything from anybody. They sat in their lodge and made two small sticks to represent the two larger ones, so they could carry these sticks upon their backs. When the boys returned to the lodge the next day, some had more hide than they needed and some had several pairs of moccasins and they gave the leaders what they did not need.

The third night the boys met in their lodge, each brought his moccasins and other things he thought he might need. The leaders saw that each boy was provided with moccasins and provisions. Some of them had more and they willingly gave to others who had none. Now the leader said, "Brothers you can hang up your bundles upon the walls and then go to your homes or to your friends and get you a knife, some arrows and a bow. Bring the things to the lodge at night and we will get ready to start. You may now go home."

539
575
At night the boys came into the lodge with things they needed. When all were in, the leader told each boy to take a bunch of grass and place it in his belt. When this was done he told them all to paint their faces with burnt grass. Then the leader said, "Brothers, we are seated here as warriors. We are about to go on the warpath. Tonight after all is quiet, we will go through the village. We will enter every lodge and sing our songs. When we stop singing them one of the boys must light the grass, then all must take their breech cloths off and dance in the light, naked. We will do this so that when we go on the warpath if we are not successful we will not return. In case the enemy attack us, we will fight until everyone is killed. As soon as we have marched through the village, all must come to this lodge for we are to start from here. If anyone returns to his lodge he cannot go with us. We will now march through the village."

The two leaders led the young men and as they entered the lodge, they stood in a circle around the fireplace and sang. When they stopped singing, one of the boys went to the fireplace where there were coals and lit the grass. The boys all took their coverings off and the women jeered at them. When the fire died out they went to another lodge. After they had visited every lodge they returned to their own. When all were seated, the leader told the boys that he was pleased for now the tribe knew that all the boys were circumcised.

[831] The leader filled his pipe and offered four whiffs to the two large phallic poles and four whiffs to the two small ones which he was to take with him. As he offered smoke to the two large poles he said, "Fathers, we are about to go upon the warpath, we are to leave you in this lodge, but make us brave that we may conquer our enemy and make it easy for us to capture his ponies." Then he dumped the ashes at the ends of the poles. He wrapped the two small poles and the pipe in a coonskin, for he had dreamed that he was like a coon and had to get a coonskin to protect them. He tied the bundle on his back. Then he told the other leader to rise. Both stood at the altar. Then they told the other boys to take up their bundles and rise. They left the lodge and marched around the village by the north and west until they stood directly south of the village. Here they sang their songs, shouted, and ran towards the south. When they were some distance from the village, they squatted down and waited until daylight. The leader did not miss any of the boys and was glad Now they marched on again.

One night the leader selected four boys to act as scouts. It was to be the duty of these boys to go out before daylight and see what was in the country. They were to report again before daylight. In the night they were also to look over the country and report to the leaders. One day the scouts came in and reported seeing fourteen or more tipis and many ponies.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The leader now selected a thick timbered country. Here they cleared off 539 the ground, made a fireplace, and built a big fire. The leader made an altar and placed the two sticks on it. He offered his smoke. Then it was time 575 to have their mischievous doings which they kept up until dawn. The leader gave one of the sticks to the other leader and they started for the village. They stopped once and the leader selected seven boys to round up the ponies while the others attacked the village. Then they started. The seven men went to where the ponies were. The others surrounded the village. A shout went up, women and children ran out of the village, but the men were killed and scalped. The seven boys drove the ponies from the village. With scalps hung upon their belts the boys ran into tipis taking things that were of value. The enemy had run into the timber, but were now rallying so the boys ran to where the others were driving the ponies. Each boy caught a pony, mounted, and ran away. Two days and two nights, they journeyed north until they came to thick timbered country where they halted. When they jumped off their ponies, they were so sore they could hardly walk. Some of the young men were now sent out to get buffalo. When the meat was brought they all began to roast it for they were hungry. The boys with the scalps cut poles and hung the scalps upon them to dry. They all lay down and slept.

The next morning they were up at dawn and after eating some of the meat again took up their journey. So they kept on only stopping at night until they were near the village. Then they decorated themselves with soot for they had no other paint. Now they got upon their ponies and rode to a high hill. Here they began to sing and yell until the village turned out and wondered who they were. Presently a messenger was sent out to meet them. When the messenger was near the leader shouted to him, "Tell the people the mischievous boys are coming with many ponies." The messenger went to the village and shouted, "The mischievous boys are coming with many ponies." The village turned out. The chief was among them. The leader gave one pony to the chief. The young men entered the village, their parents and friends meeting them.

Several times they went on the warpath and each time they were successful. As time went on some of the young men married and raised families. On a buffalo hunt these young men having fine horses were able to kill their own buffalo meat, so they were well provided for. Sometimes they feasted the poor in the village, then feasted the old people, and at last they feasted the chiefs. These young men killed buffalo and consecrated the meat, so now they became great men. In battle they were brave.

One of the leaders was riding near the place where they were to camp when they saw boys playing the javelin game. They rode up and looked on.

539
575
The people were building their tipis. They called a young man and told him to go to the chief and tell him to place mats on the ground to have his ceremony. The chief, when notified, told the women to spread mats in a circle upon the ground. His soldier being there, the chief told him to call four other men. While the soldier was gone, the chief took the bustle, a spear, tomahawk, shield, and a war-bonnet and placed them on the mat. Then he brought out two water drums. As soon as the men came, two of them sat down by the drums, took up the drumsticks and began to sing. The chief himself was the first to take up the bustle and tied it around his waist. He now took up his bow and arrows; then he squatted down upon the ground; then he began to grunt, his head and shoulders shaking to keep time with the drumming. Finally, he arose and danced. When the singing ceased, the chief spoke in a loud voice, "I speak of a certain place I killed an eagle. I consecrated the eagle and that same year I killed an enemy, took his scalp, and consecrated the scalps to the gods in the heavens, and the gods received my smoke." Again he said, "I speak of a certain place I killed a wildcat and consecrated it and that same year I went upon the warpath and captured ponies. I was successful and when I returned to the village, I took one pony and gave it to the priest." Again he shouted, "I speak of a certain place. I killed a raccoon. I consecrated it to the gods in the heavens. That same year I went on the warpath and I captured many ponies. Upon my return to the village, I gave four horses to different men. To the men who want me to do this I have spoken. The gods in the heavens have heard me. They will make the path straight for you to do likewise." He then untied the bustle and threw it on the ground when the next man took and went through the same evolutions with it relating his deeds. Each man took up the bustle and told of his deeds.

Then the leading mischievous man came into the ring with two horses, eight robes, and two parfleches of meat. One parfleche was opened, the meat cut up and given to men, women, and children, who were looking on. The other parfleche was opened and the chiefs ate the meat. Then the presents were divided among the chiefs.

When the people returned to the village the mischievous men met in their lodge. The leader took up the poles, stood up and said, "Brothers, we all now have families, have attained places among our people and are respected. Our meetings must end. I now put these sticks into the fire. I ask that each of you join some of the societies and always be brave. My friend and I will join the brave lance people. You are all now released and we will not meet here again. This is all." They left the lodge and each went to his home.

756 snake doctors, though demonstrations are seldom made in the regular cere-
monies. The members claim absolute immunity from rattlesnake bites and
[825] complete power over the reptile himself. They will seize any snake they
meet and handle it without fear. No wands or instruments are used,
nothing but the hands. The writer has frequently observed snakes handled
in this way. According to reports they are able to cure all suffering from
snake bites.

BLOOD DOCTORS.

There was formerly a group of medicinemen known as kura patu (blood doctors). They were, however, considered as otter men, or an otter society. They seem to have been composed of five groups of dancers, each marching through the camp separately. Women accompanied them, bearing wooden bowls and spoons on their backs. In this manner the five groups proceeded independently to the lodge of the two leaders of the ceremonies where an altar had been prepared. When a group reached the lodge they paused and sang; the leaders on the inside then sang and danced, bearing otterskins in their right hands. After the dance the two leaders came out to receive the guests in their arms.

[789] The chief feature of a ceremony was the shamanistic vomiting of a red
liquid like blood. This was collected in bowls and used to paint the bodies
and otterskins of those present.

THE IRUSKA.

There was a very powerful medicine society among the Chauí known as
the pitararis iruska. However, the Pítahauírata division was also repre-
[184] sented in this society, they having the south side and the Chauí the north.
The Skidí had the same ceremony except that they used dog meat in the
kettle instead of buffalo. Also, the Skidí did not have the two forms of
painting, only one, painted black at the joints. The purpose of the dance
was to show the power of the members to extinguish the life in the fire, hence
the name. Among the Skidí at least, the term iruska has a symbolic or
double meaning. The idea is literally "the fire is in me" and the symbolic
meaning is that "I can extinguish the life in the fire," or can overcome the
[752] powers of other medicines. The members of the society were doctors for
they treated burns.

Originally, the society consisted of leaders of various animal medicine
● 539 societies. Among the members was one who was not a medicineman until
756 he had a curious experience. The story follows:—

539
756

* The man in question, Crow-feather, was very peculiar. He never took part in ceremonies; he never consecrated buffalo to propitiate the gods. Every night he went out in the hills, gazed at the sky, wondering at the powers there. When he was sleepy he lay down near the altar in his lodge. Before daylight, he went out into the hills again and sat facing the east. When the sun was high in the heavens he returned home.

One afternoon, when he went out and sat on a high hill overlooking the cornfields, he noticed black smoke rising. At dusk, the smoke was still rising. This caused him to wonder for he knew the people should be home at that time.

He went where he had seen the smoke rising and found some strange people sitting round the fire, laughing at one another as they roasted corn. When the corn husks burned, one of the men tore them off holding the corn until his hands burned. They all laughed at this. The man watched them for some time. When anyone dropped the hot corn, the others laughed and cried, "He is not an iruska." After a time, they sang four songs, repeating each four times. The men then played with the fire with their bare hands. Crow-feather soon learned the songs.

One of the men who acted as a servant saw Crow-feather looking on outside the circle. He arose and whispered to a man sitting at the west who appeared to be the leader. The servant asked Crow-feather to come within the circle and told him he would learn something from them. He was asked to remove his buffalo robe and other clothing and enter the circle, naked. He sat on the north side of the fire.

The leader said to him, "Brother, you have been wandering over the hills for some time. We heard your cries and were sad and agreed to pity you and give you a new dance. You will call this dance, iruska (fire inside of all things). Before we impart our secrets you must pass through something difficult. If you do we will teach you our secrets and you will know what fire is."

A bucket of water rested on the fire. The men now began to sing while four of them rose and danced, holding corn husks in their right hands. They danced around the fire toward the bucket of water. They pretended to be attacking an enemy. Finally, they dipped the corn husks into the boiling water and swung them against Crow-feather, scalding him. When the people noticed that he paid no attention to his burns, they shouted, trying to frighten him that way. This too was of no avail. They seized him and held him over the fire. He screamed but they held him and rolled him on the hot coals. After a time he ceased his clamor for he no longer felt the pain. Finally, they took him back to his place.

Another song was sung and all the men around the fire attacked it, now charging it and now retreating. During the third charge, Crow-feather noticed that the screaming and grunting was as of birds and animals. At the fourth charge, he saw that the dancers were imitating animals and birds. As they moved hastily toward the fire he saw each one drop something into it. They turned quickly: some flew away in the shape of eagles, turkeys, and crows, and others ran away as deer, wolves, and dogs. The remainder ran to the pile of burned corn and disappeared.

By this time, the fire was almost burned out. Crow-feather gathered some dry willows and rekindled it. One man stood where the singers had been, and said, "Brother, you must now return to your home. Take four ears of burned corn with the husks on. Tomorrow you must go to the hill where you sat so often. The people you saw here will come and explain what happened to you tonight. Now, go."

He went home. That night he did not sleep well but dreamed of fire. He wrapped up the four burnt ears of corn and placed them on the lodge wall. The

539 756 next day he went to his usual place on the hill and sat facing east. For a long time he waited there. He knew he had been among strange beings for there were blisters all over his body. While he sat there he heard crows calling, eagles screaming, and turkeys gobbling; wolves howled, dogs barked, and he heard the rattle of deer hoofs. He paid no attention to these sounds, but presently he heard someone walking. The steps came nearer and stopped behind him. He did not look up, but a voice said, "Brother, I came for you, follow me." He rose, turned around; and saw ahead of him a man whom he followed. He was lead through a ravine to a steep bank where they entered. Here the same people he had seen the day before were seated around a fire, singing. Nothing was said but he was given a seat at the south, near the fireplace.

The four men who had tortured him before rose and each took corn husks from a wooden bowl. They danced toward him and struck him on the back with the husks. Then they replaced them in the wooden bowl. Before dancing toward him again they dipped their hands into the contents of the bowl. They moved their hands toward him but failed to touch him. At this point the singing ceased and they asked him to rise. The four men led him to the bowl and rubbed the contents over his head, ears, nose, mouth, and feet. They put his hands into the mixture and he held them there a while. Then they led him back to his place south of the fireplace. Screaming and shouting, he was gradually pushed toward the fire. Finally, they put him on the fire and when they took him off painted him with red paint mixed with roots. Then he was given a place within the circle.

In the evening the dance was repeated, Crow-feather joining the others. When all was over the dancers disappeared in the form of birds and animals. One man only, the leader of the dance, remained. He asked Crow-feather to sit near him and said, "Brother I am a human being. This is my home. I cannot go among our people, for I have no scalplock. Some time ago our people were attacked and on the retreat I was thrown by my pony and stunned. When I revived my scalplock was gone. I had been scalped by the enemy. When I looked around I saw sitting about me, crows, eagles, wolves, and dogs. At night, the wolves lay near me. I wandered over the prairies for I knew I could not return to my people. I dreamed of the birds and animals and decided to try to follow the wolves. I was led to this cave and here the birds and animals came and taught me mysterious things. I stay here and procure my food from our people at night when they are asleep."

"When the birds had taught me they wished me to return home and teach our people what I had learned. When I told them I could not return because I lost my scalplock they said they would give me a headdress which was even more important than a scalplock.

The deer furnished the hair for weaving; the turkey, feathers from his breast to edge the deer hair (also the roots for dyeing it); and the eagle a single feather for the center of the headdress. The bone spreader for the hair I was told to get from the shoulder blade of a deer. They told me to get a two-inch shank bone to set on this. The eagle feather was to be passed through this and tied to the scalplock. When I had procured the materials for the headdress I was ready to make it but did not know how to proceed. I slept and in a vision, saw myself preparing the headdress. The next day I knew how to make it. When it was completed, with the strings on the bones and eagle feathers, I found I could not wear it, I had no scalplock. The animals were distressed at this. They met again and gave me materials for a belt: deerskin, crow feathers, and a wolf tail. I made this. Now I will give them to you to take home."

He went to the altar and took from the wall the headdress and the bustle. The belt consisted of a strip of deerskin to the middle of which were fastened three sticks about two feet long and decorated with deer hair. At each end of the opposite side hung two sets of crow feathers with wolf tails between each two feathers. 539 756

He gave these to Crow-feather with instructions to take them home and return the next day with his pipe and tobacco. When he returned to his lodge the people asked where he had been, but he did not reply. When his mother offered him food, he asked for a piece of tanned hide in which he placed the bustle and headdress and tied the bundle to the lodge wall.

Early the next morning, he returned to the cave where the man awaited him and said, "Fill the pipe and let us smoke." After they had smoked and the ashes were thrown away, the stranger said, "During your wanderings and peculiar behavior I was with you. I caused you to wander; I like your ways. The men in your village are attentive to women. You are not and for that reason I liked you. Those who wish to learn this dance must avoid women. If married men are to take part in a dance where fire is attacked, they must have no intercourse with their wives for thirty days. [834] They must bathe every morning and evening. Now, I will show you the herbs and roots you must rub on your body when you dance; also the kind of wood you are to use in your fire. The wood and roots are brothers, that is, the roots rubbed on the body make anyone impervious to fire."

They walked on the prairie and finally the man said, "Place four pinches of tobacco on the plant before digging the root." After this he had the privilege of digging as many plants as he wished for they had received tobacco. They returned to the cave and cut up the roots. In the meantime, the stranger instructed him in the performance of the dance. After the roots were dried, they were pounded up, mixed, and placed in a buckskin bag. He said, "This is the way you must prepare the medicine." Before the root is rubbed on the body, it should be put in a wooden bowl filled with water in which four live coals have been placed. Dip some of this up with a small buffalo horn spoon and put it in a wooden bowl and it is ready for use. If an enemy should attack your village do not mix the medicine in a bowl, chew some of the root, take it in your hands, and rub them on a kettle that is covered with soot and then rub the soot on your joints. You will have no fear of the enemy's fire. If anyone is burned by fire or scalded, chew some of the root and place it upon the affected part and the cure will be immediate. After a time the medicine may be mixed in a bowl and the burnt part bathed with the concoction. After the wound has dried, you must kill a dog, mix the grease from the dog's body with the medicine and apply it to the wound. This will hasten the cure. If a man be wounded in battle, he must chew the root and bathe the wound with a mixture of roots and charcoal. After this the mixture of root and grease should be applied. This is all I can do for you now, but come to me once in a while. I will always be with you. You may now take what I have given you and return to your people."

Crow-feather went home. The next day he returned to the cave and found the man sitting near the fire. He thanked him for what he had done. He gave him presents and said "Brother, I brought these things for you have done a great thing for me." The mysterious man thanked him.

Crow-feather went home. Several days later he determined to see whether the medicinemen understood the fire. He built a sweat lodge of eighteen willow poles. From the hill he brought back limestone which he

539 placed near the entrance to the sweat lodge. In the center he built a fire-
place. He put the stones in the fire. When the stones were red hot he
756 sent a messenger to invite eight medicinemen. Buffalo robes were spread
over the lodge. When the medicineman arrived he greeted each one saying,
"Nawa", and asked him to be seated.

When everyone had arrived, he addressed them, saying, "Brothers, I have made a sweat lodge. The stones are red hot. I sent for you that you may go into the sweat lodge with me. I will cover the sweat lodge with tanned hides and buffalo robes." He covered the lodge and told the men to take off their clothes; he took his off and went into the sweat lodge.. He appointed one man as assistant who now carried the hot stones into the lodge and put them on the fireplace. When everything was ready he said, "Brothers, I invited you into this sweat lodge for I have heard of your wonderful doings in the medicine lodge. I brought the timber which now stands over you; I gathered up our grandfathers who were seated upon mother earth and now they are ready to blow their hot breath upon us. The water is before us. We are seated in a dark place. Each of you prepare yourselves, for no one must leave because of the heat. We are now imitating animals and birds."

Each man took his medicine from his belt and chewed it. The owner of the sweat lodge chewed some root and spat four times on the stones, causing a bluish flame to spring up. Then he said, "Brothers, everything is ready. Our grandfathers (the stones) are now ready to listen to us." Every man held out his hands toward the stones and prayed. After the prayers, the owner dipped up water with a wooden ladle and poured it on the stones four times. He told them to wave the bunches of wild sage which they held in their hands. Some of the men enjoyed the heat while others appeared to be in pain. Those who had not applied any medicine suffered most. The owner of the lodge sang and when he stopped, the men who disliked the heat crawled out of the lodge, only four men remaining.

When all was over the owner of the sweat lodge told the four men that he had selected them as singers for a new dance. After they had dressed and eaten he sent them home.

The people began to hold medicine ceremonies during which sleight-of-hand tricks were performed. One night the crow imitators performed. They built a fire and put a large stone on it. When it was red hot they put it on the ground and each man stood on the stone. When all the medicine performances were over Crow-feather brought together men he knew who understood fire and taught them fire songs.

In the winter the people hunted buffalo. When they were near the buffalo he invited the four men he had selected for singers and told them

he wished one of them to kill a male buffalo whose flesh would be dried and used in a new dance. The man chosen killed the buffalo and the meat was brought to Crow-feather's tipi where it was dried and stored in a parfleche. When they returned to the village, he invited the four singers who came and sat around the fireplace. He said, "Brothers, I have invited you to my tipi. We are going to have a new dance. Before we begin, bring your medicine bags here. Each man must have before him his root for overpowering fire." 539 756

They brought their bags and set them down. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, you are about to learn my secret. I must see what medicine you have for overcoming fire. When I have seen your medicine I will show you mine." He showed his root. Some picked up live coals after applying the medicine to their hands. One man chewed the root, took up a coal with his teeth and lit another man's pipe. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, I am glad. I know you understand the medicine you have. You will help me. I can do as you have done. I will show you my medicine to prove I am not deceiving you." He put a root on the ground, went to the opposite side of the tipi and put a stick with coals on the ground; the root began to move around the fireplace until it stopped at the fire stick. The men were astonished and called the root, "Medicine walking around the fireplace." He put the medicine back in his bag and asked the men to return to his lodge in the evening so he could teach them some songs.

In the evening, they sat at the altar where there were four water drums. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, we are to have a new dance, a medicineman's dance, and not a war dance. I have decided that a chief shall lead us so the smoke ceremony may be held before the dance. Now, we will prepare. For thirty days we must not go near our women. We must take a bath in the creek every day and clean our finger nails. That is all. We will get the drums now and sing."

They sang forty times, ten sets of songs for each time. They were told to announce the dance and its requirements to the village.

After thirty days Crow-feather had his tipi prepared, all its furnishings were moved out. Two poor boys, Blue-bird and White-fox, were selected as assistants. White-fox made a fire for the new dance. The boys sat near the entrance and Crow-feather sat at the altar. The bustle and headdress hung from posts. When he had smoked, he said, "Blue-bird and White-fox, each of you take a pony and bring a lot of dry willows and some cottonwood. I will also send six women for wood." They did as they were told. The wood was placed inside the lodge on either side of the entrance.

Blue-bird was sent for Pitaraysare (Man-chief) and White-fox invited the other singers. The chief sat on the north side near the singers. Crow-feathers said, "Singers, I invited our chief to be with us so he can always

539
756
partake of our food. Chief, I ask you to lead in the ceremony we are about to have. We need a leader who is keeper of a sacred bundle who can bring the pipe and hold the smoke ceremony. Take pity on me and bring your pipe this evening so the gods may receive the smoke, for it is from the heavens that we have the knowledge of roots and herbs."

The chief replied, "I will do as you wish. I am thankful to be with you and witness what is about to take place. The sacred bundle belongs to the people, for the gods gave us the bundle with the pipe so we could offer them smoke in our ceremonies."

Crow-feather passed his hands over the chief's head and hands, thanked him and said, "Singers and assistants, the chief has consented to bring the sacred pipe. He will be our leader in everything. He will lead us and carry the sacred pipe when we dance through the village. He will not take part in our fire performance. I will teach him our secrets so that he may know what to do if he is requested to do something with the fire." The chief was glad and thanked Crow-feather who told the men to go home and return in the evening.

When Crow-feather and his two assistants were alone he asked them to cover the entrance of the lodge with a skin tent. Then they partook of their evening meal. The chief returned with the sacred pipe and he was given a place to the north of the singers. The pipe was placed in front of the singers who sat at the altar. The assistants built a fire. Crow-feather sat near the singers, and asked how many were prepared to join them. There were sixteen in all, so they could sit in four groups of four each. The assistants were sent for the candidates who were to wait outside and for two of the soldiers who were to remain outside and warn off any intruders.

Crow-feather said, "Singers and other members of the iruska society, we must now begin our ceremony. The chief will fill his pipe and offer smoke to the gods in the heavens." The chief filled the pipe, gave it to the north assistant who took it to the leading singer who said, "Now, iruska, the gods in the heavens will receive the smoke. We will ask our chief to make the smoke offering." The chief rose, went to the altar, and received the pipe from the leading singer. He walked to the east, holding the pipe bowl in his left hand. When half way to the entrance and fireplace he stopped, took a pinch of tobacco from the bowl, raised it toward the east, and placed the tobacco on the ground. He walked west by way of the north and stood near the fireplace, facing east, took some tobacco from the bowl, and offered it to the skies, to tirawahat. Then he placed the tobacco on the rim of the fireplace. He repeated this for each direction. The chief walked northeast of the fireplace by way of the south and sat down. The south assistant placed a coal on the pipe bowl. The chief walked to the

east with the pipe and took four whiffs blowing the smoke toward the east. 539 Then he stood west of the fireplace, faced east, blew smoke once each to the 756 heavens, to the north, and south, and four times to the west, and emptied the ashes on the rim of the fireplace. He gave the pipe to the leading singer who said, "Nawa."

Then the candidates were received one by one. The first one who came was told to bathe in the preparation made ready by Crow-feather. When he was ready, he was taken to the fireplace and forcibly placed on the fire. If he had blisters, it was proof that he had not complied with the rule of cleanliness for thirty days. Then he was put on the fire again to cure his blisters. If any candidate proved cowardly he was immediately turned out of the mud-lodge. When all had been initiated, the singers drummed and sang and all the new members danced. The two soldiers entered the lodge for outsiders were now admitted.

They danced until forty songs were sung. After each ten songs they stopped to smoke. After the forty songs the spectators went away. The members remained behind and Crow-feather said, "You who have gone through the fire may now smear your bodies with soot. You are not now afraid of the fire nor of an enemy. Those who wish to remain may do so, the others may come early tomorrow." The chief and the two soldiers went away. The next morning they all swam in the creek and on their return to the lodge were given their proper positions in the ceremony. The four singers were to be leaders. The chief was to be their leader. He was to carry the pipe when the people went through the village to dance at the most important places. Those at the northwest were to be painted yellow; those at the northeast with white clay; those at the south, dark red; and those at the northwest with black soot. The singers were to be painted with soot at their joints.

When everyone was painted and all was ready, the leader of the ceremony said, "Singers, iruska, and chief, we will now go through the smoking ceremony." The chief made the smoke offering and Crow-feathers said, "Now we will begin our dance; the assistants may make a big fire, cut the dried meat and have the brass kettle ready." When everything was prepared he put a new knife in the bottom of the kettle, added water and then the meat. Then the soldiers were called in.

The leader of the singers said, "Chief, soldiers, those of you at stations, and iruska. Something is now at hand. We will begin to sing and all dance. Watch Crow-feather and do as he does. The spectators came in. Crow-feather was the only one who had the bustle and headdress; the others were simply painted. When the singers had sung the third set of songs the assistants made a big fire. They hung the kettle over it. When the last

539 756 set of songs was sung the dancers attacked the fire. Finally, Crow-feather danced up to the kettle which was full of boiling soup and took a piece of meat out with his bare hands. He gave it to one of the spectators who burned his hands with it. The rest of the members also did this. At length the dancers dipped bunches of corn husks into the kettle and whipped each other with them but did not burn. The dancing ended when the fire went out.

This was the first ceremony of this kind. After the dance Crow-feather said, "You must now make the headdresses and bustles. Some day we will give a public dance when all must bring spears, bows and arrows, war clubs, and shields so that you can imitate the attack on an enemy in your dance. It shall be known as iruska (fire inside of you). The red headdress represents fire, the black hair fringe represents smoke.[1] This will not be a social dance, neither will the members act as soldiers for the chiefs. We shall be known as medicinemen."

THE ONE HORN DANCE.

535 756 721 The members of the one horn dance (raris arika) were young men eligible to go to war. For the dance, the regalia of all the societies were gathered: the war clubs from the sacred bundles, spears, war shields, bows and arrows. During the ceremony they called upon Pahukatawa (Hills along the banks of a river) to help them kill or count coup on the enemy. Women were not [783] admitted for Pahukatawa directed them to bar women for fear some would be unclean.

The dance was held only when Pahukatawa ordered it and then only [533] before an attack by the enemy. The songs imitated the bellowing of buffalo. Each dancer seemed possessed with the spirit of a particular animal which he imitated. The dancers wore their war regalia. Those who had war-bonnets had to fasten a whole buffalo horn on the right side of the bonnet. Each dancer was painted according to the dreams of visions he had experienced. [302] Those representing crows painted with charcoal or soot; jack-rabbits painted with white earthen clay; buffalo were smeared over the mouth and nose with buffalo urine mud; those with bear spirits were painted with red or yellow which represented the sun for the bears sought power from the sun.

---

[1] The headdress is the imitation of fire, the red for the blaze, the black hair for smoke. The feather represents the iruska man who understands the fire. He is standing in the fire or has placed the fire about his whole body. The headdress represents the fireplace, the bone tube the medicine, and the feather, the man himself standing in the center of the fireplace. According to tradition, man came from an ear of corn and corn has life and life is fire. The original word for iruska is iriska (singular), iruska (plural), they are inside fire. The wood used for the iruska fire was cottonwood and willows.

They had one large drum which was made according to the directions of 534
Pahukatawa. Several men cut down a large water willow tree which was 721
split into several pieces. The best piece was planed down then bent over 756
and fastened together with sinew. Four flints were tied inside the drum. The head was covered with buffalo hide and sewed with a rawhide string. When dried it was painted black, the rim red, and four buffalo skulls were marked on the sides.

There were four regular singers and two assistants. Any of the singers [533]
was permitted to dance.

This war dance was held to teach the men how to act during battle and 721
to remind them that there was a being who watched over them and gave 756
them courage.

The origin myth is as follows: —

One day when the Skidi' lived in their old village in Nebraska, seven men went 539
out hunting toward the west. After a few days they came to a willow-covered 721
ravine where they camped. Before sunrise the next morning the youngest among 756
the hunters went up in the hills. As he came to the top of a hill he saw the enemy approaching. Instead of running towards camp he ran towards some heavy timber. The enemy followed. As the young man was afoot they soon overtook and surrounded him. He fought until all his arrows were gone and then they killed him.

The other hunters remained in the ravine and when the enemy left went to the place where the young man had been killed. They found arrows stuck in the ground and long poles scattered about. The young man's body seemed missing, but finally they found it cut up and strewn over the ground. They gathered up the pieces and laid him out. They went home and told the people how the young man had been killed. All the village started out to bury the young man. When they arrived at the scene of the fight they found the arrows and poles but not a sign of the young man. They camped here for several days and searched for the man's bones, but in vain. They continued to the west to hunt buffalo.

Several years passed and the incident was forgotten. One winter evening when the people were living in their mud-lodges some men who were singing round the village noticed flashes of light here and there. They took this to be a warning that the enemy was coming to attack them.

Finally the village quieted down. One man only could not sleep. As he lay awake he heard a sound like rattling buffalo hoofs. The sound came into the lodge and then stopped. As he watched and listened, the man felt first a cold wind and then warm wind against his face and someone whispered: "My brother, I am here. I am the one who was killed a few years ago. I am not dead. I am alive. When I was killed and my body was cut up and pieced together again, the powers in the heavens, on the earth and beneath it, pitied me. They caused all the birds and animals to congregate and make me live again. They promised to return the parts of me they had eaten. Everything but my brains was returned. An eagle and a buffalo bull wished to give me life so they suggested that the thunderbirds (swans) give me their down for brains. You see I cannot speak well for I have no brains. I am everything. When the lights appeared they saw me. I am part of the winds."

"Before sunrise tomorrow you must go to the hills where I will meet you. Fill

539 your pipe and let me smoke. Do not fill it with sumach leaves but with tobacco
mixed with shavings from an old pipestem. When you light the pipe, hand it to me
721 saying 'Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa.' I will take it and smoke. You
will know me as Pahukatawa. Now prepare the smoke for me."
756

The man took an old pipestem from a sacred bundle and scraped it. He mixed the shavings with tobacco, filled the pipe, lighted it and handing it to the mysterious man said, "Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." All this took place in the dark. The man could see no one, he heard only the whispering. When he passed the pipe someone took it and began to smoke. His visitor took a few whiffs and whispered, "Take the pipe, it is empty. Fill it again and let me smoke." He refilled the pipe and after drawing on it a few times returned it and said, "Brother the smoke is good. Be sure to meet me in the hills tomorrow before sunrise. I chose you, for I like your spirit. I will come to speak to you often. You must have my smoke ready."

He heard buffalo hoofs rattle and could almost see a buffalo walk out of the lodge. Before sunrise the man went out to the hills. He climbed one hill and as he was going down another he came to a deep ravine. He heard a strange cry and as he looked towards the ravine saw a mountain lion ready to spring. He ran back and in a deeper canyon saw a grizzly tearing up the ground. He was frightened and as he looked about for a means of escape, canyon and bear disappeared, and a man stood before him, laughing. The man said, "Brother, why are you frightened? Didn't I ask you to meet me here? That mountain lion was I, so was the bear. Because you were afraid of these animals you will not receive their power. Go home and return tomorrow before sunrise."

The stranger disappeared and the man went home and slept throughout the day. In the evening he filled his pipe and standing outside, west of his lodge, he blew smoke four times to the west and said "Brother, Pahukatawa, I offer you this smoke, do not forget me. Pity me and I will do as you wish." He emptied the ashes from his pipe and went inside the lodge. At dawn he went west into the hills. When he had passed he heard strange sounds which he took to be shouting. The enemy was attacking him; he tried to hide, but could not. The leader carried a pole hung with human scalps. He was frightened and ran. Before him stood the man he had seen the day before. The stranger scolded him and told him that he was the leader of the supposed enemy and intended to endow him with bravery in battle, with power to take scalps and count coups.

Then he told the man to go into the ravine. When he arrived, he saw a buffalo bull charging him. He was not frightened this time. When the bull came close and was about to run him down he closed his eyes, when he opened them, the stranger stood there, wearing a buffalo robe and buckskin leggings. He carried a whole eagle on his back and in his right hand held a staff six feet long upon which was tied eagle down.

The stranger said, "Brother, you have chosen well. I will give you these things. You are to be neither a warrior nor a chief, but a prophet among your people. Repeat to them what I tell you. I have great power from the gods in the heavens and on the earth. I was brought to life again that I might save my people from starvation and from their enemies. If the people see flashes of light around the village tell them they must be quiet. Tell them I am near, and that I bring a message to them for their good. You receive my power as the sun rises. From now on you will be known as Coming-sun. Take these things to your home and I will tell you more about them."

The man disappeared but left the regalia on the ground.[1]

---

[1] For a different version see Grinnell, (b), 143.

The same day, Coming-sun invited Big-eagle, the chief of the village, to eat with him. Then he detailed all that had happened from the time of the first flashes of light. The chief examined the bundle of regalia and sent a crier through the village to tell the people not to fear the flashing light for it was Pahukatawa who was killed long ago. Some believed and some doubted the truth of this. 539 721 756

At night Pahukatawa came to Coming-sun and smoked with him and said, "I know our people do not believe you and me, but the time will come when they will." Then Pahukatawa disappeared. He visited Coming-sun now and then and told him that he could not live with the people because he had no brain, but would come when they needed him.

From that time flashes of light were a signal that Pahukatawa was near which was followed the next day by news of an approaching enemy. The people recognized the power of the lights. When Coming-sun heard the buffalo in his lodge he prepared the pipe in the usual way and passed it saying, "Take the pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." After he had smoked, he said, "Brother, I came a long way. I have been among our enemies. All the different tribes have received and smoked the war pipe from the Sioux. They will make war upon us. I have come to tell you so you can warn the people. They intend to wipe us out and burn our village. Tell the people I am coming into this lodge tomorrow. Every keeper of a sacred bundle must bring some native tobacco from it to this lodge. The gods in the heavens and your friends who have passed away wish this tobacco. Be sure that the people bring the tobacco."

The next day Coming-sun told Big-eagle what Pahukatawa had ordered. He sent a crier through the village with the announcement. During the day Coming-sun's lodge was prepared, the beds were removed. In the evening, Coming-sun, Big-eagle, and the crier sat in the lodge, smoking. A fire burned in the fireplace. Then Coming-sun heard a whisper, "Tell the cryer to go to each bundle keeper and ask him to bring tobacco to the lodge where Pahukatawa is waiting."

Soon the men began to come in with their tobacco which they placed in front of the altar which was west of the fireplace. The lodge faced east. When all the tobacco was brought in, it made a large pile extending north and south across the lodge. Spectators soon began to crowd into Coming-sun's lodge for they had heard Pahukatawa was there. They could not see him, but when the fire burned low they saw him in the form of a buffalo sitting down, as an eagle, and for an instant as a man.

Coming-sun said, "Pahukatawa says that it is now that the gods in the heavens and our dead relatives receive the tobacco. He says I must distribute it." Coming-sun sat behind the tobacco and threw it about, but it

539
721
756

did not fall on the ground. When the tobacco was scattered, he sat at the altar and said, "Pahukatawa says the gods are pleased with the tobacco." Coming-sun told the people that Pahukatawa had told him about a new society and dance, the one horn dance. The people wondered how Pahukatawa would leave the lodge. He knew what they were thinking about and whispered to Coming-sun. "Tell the people that Pahukatawa will leave now, and wishes them to come back in the morning and stay in the lodge all day and plan for the new ceremony." Then Coming-sun said, "Watch Pahukatawa leave us." They watched but instead of a man they saw a buffalo bull rise, shake itself, and disappear. Then they saw where the tobacco had spread. A whirlwind came up, passed through the lodge, and disappeared. The people knew he had gone and left the lodge. Coming-sun and Big-eagle remained behind.

In the afternoon they sent for men proficient in drum-making who were told to obtain timber and buffalo bull hides for constructing the drums. Weeping willow timber was split and planed; the hides were cut in circles and sewed with buffalo sinew. In the evening the drum was still incomplete. The men went to their respective lodges for food.

Coming-sun and Big-eagle sat at the altar. Chiefs and important men made their way to the lodge for they were convinced as to what they had seen. Coming-sun felt cold and warm winds and told Big-eagle that Pahukatawa was with them. Coming-sun prepared his pipe and said, "Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." In reply, he heard a whispered "Rawa rawa" (now, now). Someone took the pipe and both men heard the smoke inhaled. Then the pipe was returned. Pahukatawa whispered to Coming-sun that the enemy was approaching. He ordered that in the next three days the people join in building a high embankment around the village. On the fourth night Pahukatawa promised to return. Every man was to be prepared with plenty of arrows, bows, and spears for the dance to be held the next day. Then Pahukatawa disappeared in the form of a whirlwind.

Big-eagle said, "All those here present must help build the earthworks and prepare the bows, arrows, and spears." The next day the people did as they were bidden. At night, Coming-sun and Big-eagle sat in the lodge surrounded by a lot of men. When the drum was ready they taught them the song.

Towards evening of the fourth day Coming-sun told Big-eagle to have the men drive their ponies into camp and decorate their fast horses and then go to Coming-sun's lodge with all the regalia they used in battle. Women were not permitted to enter the lodge. The drum was placed near the altar and behind it sat Coming-sun and Big-eagle. A large fire was built. Then

Pahukatawa entered the lodge and the pipe was offered him as before. He whispered, "I have come from the enemy's camp which is very near. They will be here tomorrow and we must be ready to meet them. They are very numerous. I will sit before the singers and you two. I will whisper to you what to say to the people. You will see me in many forms. When I am in human form I will sit near you and talk to you. When the men come in have the singers sit around the drum and tell the men to prepare themselves as if they were going into battle. Tell them to wear their quivers over their shoulders but to carry their bows and arrows in their hands. All the men who are to dance must carry their weapons. They are now coming in and I must make myself visible to them for many still doubt me. They do not believe I am here." 539 721 756

Big-eagle saw Pahukatawa in the form of a buffalo, then as an eagle, a wolf, and finally as a man. Those who had known him when he was alive said, "It is he." When everything was ready, the drummers began to sing peculiar songs which the others soon learned. In dancing, they imitated animals, then the drum would be beaten and the men would raise their weapons and charge and then continue the dance.

Pahukatawa whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the men to jump up and down and circle the lodge as they dance. Shake the earth for they will receive strength from it. As he dances each man must decide what to do to the enemy the next day. At the end of each song one man should address me and say, 'Pahukatawa, I wish to kill so many; I wish to count so many coups, or take so many scalps.' If I can grant their wishes, I will do so."

After each dance some man stopped and made his request to Pahukatawa, who whispered to Coming-sun, "What he wishes to do, he will do." One young man said, "Pahukatawa I wish to kill nine men. When I attack the tenth man, I wish to be seriously wounded, but wish to recover." Pahukatawa said, "That young man has no faith in me, but what he says will come true." Coming-sun told the men they must not ask to be wounded or killed. The dance continued throughout the night. One feeble old man arose and said, "Pahukatawa, I am old. I have been a great man in my day. I am glad you are with us. I want to count coup once more. Before I die I wish to strike twelve men for I wish to be leader of the party. I want to capture the thirteenth man so that I can bring him home for the women to mock. Pahukatawa whispered, "Tell the man all that he has said will come true."

Towards dawn when the men were resting and smoking, Pahukatawa, whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the people our enemies are up now and are decorating themselves and their horses. I must go now. I will let the people see me before I disappear. I will go to our enemies. I will watch

539
721
756
them and when they start I will appear on yonder hills as a buffalo. When they are ready to attack your village, I will cause the rain to fall so their weapons will be wet. Do not fear them I will be near you. After you see the cloud, I will appear as a wolf and then get behind the breastworks and defend your women and children."

Then they danced again and Pahukatawa disappeared. Big-eagle dismissed the men and bade them prepare for the attack. As the sun rose someone shouted, "A buffalo is coming over the hills." Then the people knew that Pahukatawa's prophecy was being fulfilled. A small black cloud appeared in the west and a wolf was seen in the hills. Then the people ran to the breastworks. They saw the enemy approaching over the hills from every direction. They charged right into the village but the men shot and killed many of the enemy until their bowstrings were broken and their arrow-heads loose and then they retreated. The men rode after them with their ponies. Each one acted as he had wished during the dance.

The feeble old man was in the battle. When he killed a man he counted coup on him. He rode along until he came up to a man who seemed defiant. The old man waved his hand at him and he threw away his weapons. The old man jumped off his horse and threw the man to the ground with his face downward. He stood on his back, caught his right arm, pulled it out of its socket, and did the same with the left. Then he stood him up, tied a rope round his waist, and led the captive home. As he approached the village he met some old women singing the victory songs. The man threw the rope to them and said, "Take him, you braves, and do as you please with him. He was the leader of the war party."

The old woman took the prisoner. Men came in groups singing victory songs and told of daring deeds; some came with scalps tied to poles and some with scalps under their belts. Women dances, scalp dances, and victory dances were held for many days. The last dance was one by the women acting as men. Women were at liberty to go with any man and men with any woman.

After resting, the men gathered in Coming-sun's lodge and they held the dance during which Pahukatawa appeared at the altar. He whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the men they must keep this dance. They must dance whenever they see fire flashing round their village. The fire is a warning that the enemy is near. In the dance every man must wear a cap with one horn on the right side. Tell them I cannot always be with them, but they must do as I tell them." The men offered tobacco and smoke to Pahukatawa and thanked him for saving the people.

The dance was kept up for a long time, until the light flashes were seen no more. The dance was continued only by brave men and chiefs. After

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Coming-sun died, Pahukatawa selected another man to talk to. One night 539 721
this man refused because he was sleepy. To another man Pahukatawa said
that he would go away never to return; that he would stay in the north 756
as one of the minor gods in the heavens. He said he would help the people
when they called on him.

Since the Pawnee came to Oklahoma they have revived this dance (p. 535
638). The drum is the same as the old one. At the altar is a whole eagle 721
and in front of it a crooked crow lance. When the ceremony was revived a
woman claimed to have seen flashes of light. The dance is still given by 756
the Skidi Pawnee. There is also a pair of leggings which was given to 166
Coming-sun. They have a ceremony known as the warrior's ceremony.
This one horn dance was copied by the other three bands, but lacked the
power of Pahukatawa. It was a religious dance in which they took part to
defend their villages from the enemy.

668 796 The people were frightened by his return, but when he told his story they rejoiced. Four days after he told them to prepare for a dance. When they were all standing around in a circle, with hands joined, he told his story. Then he began to sing and all moved around in a circle and began to have queer feelings, shivering all through their bodies. When the prophet shouted, some of the weaker ones fell into a trance. Sometimes when he waved the cotton handkerchief at some of them they would go down while others danced on. Some who began to mourn, cried out, holding their hands towards the skies and cried and cried; seemingly they could not stop crying.

This dance was carried on by the Paiute in Nevada until a northern Indian came to visit them. The story is told that this northern Indian had lost his child and was wandering over the country when he finally came to the dance and there was able to see his lost child through the prophet, Jack Wilson. He also saw their strange doings and got the story from Jack Wilson, who claimed that he knew beforehand that he was coming. This northern Indian returned to his people and told them about the new religion. He claimed that he himself had seen the Messiah in the mountains, that he also had seen his own dead relatives, that the Messiah had talked to him and that through the Messiah he had seen the dead people. So a party of four men, Badger, a Sioux, Sitting-bull, a Northern Arapaho, and two others went to Nevada to visit the prophet.

When these men arrived at Walker Lake, they found Jack Wilson and his Indians dancing. They made him some presents and asked to see the Messiah and their dead relatives to which Wilson replied, "Go and dance with my people and you will see all you want to see." These men joined in the dance. In a few days they too fell into a trance and saw the Messiah and their dead relatives.

These four men then went north to their homes; Badger, the Sioux went to the Standing Rock Agency and started the dance. Sitting-bull, instead of going to his own people, the Northern Arapaho, came into Oklahoma. This was about 1890. Here he started the ghost dance among the Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne. Soon the news spread among the Wichita, Kiowa, and Comanche. At this time a young Pawnee Indian, Frank White, living among the Wichita, joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream, the tree, the Messiah, and then the village of people. He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in Pawnee. The first song was as follows: —

539 668 796
Wey rey hey iri si ra.
Now you are coming.

Weyti ku wa tura wa hey.
I am longing for the village (kingdom).

539

Wey ri hey iri si ra.
Now you are coming. 668 796

A sicks u wey ta tu ta hi i.
And now I place my spirit upon you.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, 668 he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-bull. 796

In the fall of 1892, Frank White came among the Pawnee and told his story to a few of his friends. He selected a few young men to whom he taught some of his own songs and also some Arapaho songs. As soon as they could sing a few songs they went to a camp to dance. There were about five singers, four women, and three boys. They selected a space east of the camp and started to dance. Whenever the prophet shouted, the dancers dropped to the ground in a trance. Some of the dancers began to mourn and others shook all over, for a mysterious spirit took possession of them. Then they danced a short time. The prophet told them of his experiences. He told the people that if they made up their minds to dance and see the Messiah, and their dead relatives, they would fall and see them; that the principal thing in the dance was to mourn and be humble in spirit. He then sent them home.

The next day, the people told of the dance they had and how they trembled and fell. The chiefs of the different bands took it up and set a day for the people to make their camp circle on Camp Creek. When the people had made camp, the chiefs met in council and invited the prophet. They asked that he start a dance and tell the people about the new religion. The prophet consented. A special tipi was set up for the prophet where he was to stay with the singers. The next day the prophet sent two of the singers through the camp to get some paint of all colors from each tipi. This paint was taken to the prophet who gave orders that all who wanted to dance must come into the tipi and have their faces painted. Each Indian now took presents to the tipi and was then painted. The singers painted their faces. Everybody was ready. The prophet went out of the lodge, the others following. They came to an open space where the prophet and singers joined hands and stood in a circle and sang. The people in the village came out of their tipis and ran to the circle. Some did not get into the ring for the unknown spirit took possession of them and stopped them. They raised their hands to the skies and began to cry. In the ring the dancers began to tremble; some seemed crazy. When the prophet went to them, they fell to the ground. Late in the evening they quit dancing, and then feasted.

776 Tirawa and combined in himself the essence of the
796 four servants of the Evening Star,—Wind, Cloud,
[821] Lightning, and Thunder. He passed over the land in a storm, and as he spoke, the earth awakened, and life was kindled anew. Returning to his lodge in the west, he kindled new fire and offered smoke to the great heavenly gods, thereby informing them that he had visited the earth, and that all was well. The gods then turned their attention earthward, and prepared to receive the prayers and offerings of men.

796 As soon as the thunder had been heard, the priests of the Four Direction bundles assembled and prepared for the ceremony, which was held even if the tribe were away from their permanent villages on the hunt. Going to the lodge where the Aripahut bundle was kept, they took it down, and, when they were seated, the chief priest opened it and spread out the sacred objects. He then took up the rattles which had been fastened to the bundle, and giving them to the four other priests, said, "Priests, Tirawa has spoken. We must now sing the songs that were given to us with this bundle. It is a long time since we sang them, and we will make some mistakes, but Tirawa will help
533 us with the ceremony." Shaking their rattles as an
[539] accompaniment, they then sang,—
796

First Song.

"They sang this song above, they have spoken.
They have put new life into the earth.
Paruxti speaks through the clouds,
And the power has entered Mother Earth.
The earth has received the powers from above."

This verse was repeated 56 times, a single word being changed at each singing. At the end of the singing the priests made four grunting sounds, symbolizing the noise of the thunder in the four world-quarters, and laid down their rattles. After each of the songs of the ritual this was repeated, and after

each song they smoked, and rested for a time before beginning the next. 533 796

After finishing the first song, they sang the following songs in order, repeating each ten times with the change of a single word each time,—

533
539
796

Second Song.

"It is you who speak, you who stand in the west.
Let them now take possession of the earth.
Let them now have the sacred bundle containing the wonderful things."

Third Song.

"The clouds looking like many tipis are coming from the west.
The clouds shall touch the earth and the earth shall receive power from Paruxti."

Fourth Song.

"The earth shook.
It was Paruxti's power that made the earth shake.
It is the earth that is shaken by the wonderful power of Paruxti."

Fifth Song.

"The power is now hidden in the earth.
The power is now hidden in the earth.
The earth now possesses the power.
Paruxti's power is the power in the earth."

At the completion of the songs there was a pause, and then the chief priest said, "It is now time for us to make a sacrifice of a heart and a tongue to Tirawa."

During the singing one of the priest's assistants had gone into the timber, and cut a number of slender willow wands. He gave these to one of the men participating in the ceremony, who stripped them of their bark, cut them into arrow lengths, and passed them to a second man who painted them red. The second man passed them to a third, who attached a little sack of tobacco to each and passed them to a fourth, who attached two strings of blue beads. The fourth man passed them to a fifth, who tied on pieces cut from scalps, kept in the bundle for that purpose. When the wands had been prepared, the man who had 796

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 painted them went to a buffalo skull, placed north of the fireplace, and painted it with designs symbolizing the garden of the Evening Star. While this was going on, one of the priests took a dried buffalo heart and tongue, and cut each in nine pieces, arranging the pieces in nine little piles, in a row.

When these preparations were finished, the chief priest said,—"Chiefs sitting around in a circle, this offering is to be made to Tirawa, our father in the heavens, who made all things for himself. He it was who gave us the sacred things here before us. He is listening to us. We are sitting, as he told us to sit. We are doing, as he told us to do. Now we shall make the first offering to Tirawa." The priest of the Yellow Calf bundle then went to the chief priest, and was dressed by him in the buffalo robe which had been around the bundle. The sacred pipe from the bundle had previously been decorated and filled, and this was now given to the priest of the Yellow Calf bundle, together with one of the piles of dry meat and one of the decorated wands. With these he passed out of the lodge followed by an assistant (errand man), who bore a live coal from the fireplace in a [illegible] of grass. The earth taken from the fireplace of the lodge had been piled up in a small mound outside the entrance, which faced the east. Beyond this mound the two kindled a small fire, the fuel for which had been laid ready. On this fire they placed the dried meat, and thrust the wand into the ground between it and the mound. As they did this, they, and the priests within the lodge,
533 sang,—

796
[539] "Smoke for the Above is wavering.
The wonderful smoke is wavering.
Smoke for the Above is being eaten.
The wonderful smoke is being eaten."

The meaning of this song is that when the offering is first placed on the fire, the smoke hesitates and

796 The women and children shall have plenty to eat, and we shall all be happy." The priest who had made the last sacrifice then placed the wand by the buffalo skull. This completed the sacrifice portion of the ceremony.

When the sacrifices had all been made, the chief priest took up a pipe filled with tobacco and, holding it in his left hand, said, "Priests, chiefs, young men and old men, we have been singing of what the gods did when they first created all things. We are now about to sing about the only being who visits the earth and brings his power to us from the gods in heaven. This power is Paruxti's. It is a long time since we sang the songs about Paruxti, but we shall do the best
533 we can." He told the priests to take up their rattles,
539 and then all sang the last ritual of the ceremony. This
796 ritual was in three parts. The first part symbolized Paruxti's visit to earth; the second, his hunting of the buffalo; and the third, his return from the hunt. The first part was repeated seventy times; the second, thirty-four times; and the third, seventy-four times. At each repetition there was a change in a single word or phrase, the change being of a sort to indicate progression. The first part runs thus:—

"Getting ready to come, yonder he sits down,
The Wonderful Being, my dear father,
Yonder." (Grunting in imitation of thunder.)

At the first repetition, the phrase "yonder he sits down," in the first line, was changed to "He is now sitting down;" at the second repetition, to "He is now seated;" at the third, to "He moves," and so forth. As the song went on, he was said to rise, to look around, to walk, to leave his lodge, to think of coming to the earth, to begin his journey, to travel over hills and bottom lands, to cross rivers, to reach the village, to walk through it, to cross the country, and finally to seat himself in his lodge once more.

The second part of the ritual was identical with the first part, except that a new series of changes were substituted for the phrase, "Yonder he sits down." The third part was like the first and second parts, except that the first line of the first verse was changed to, "Now he is returning." In the succeeding verses, this was changed to indicate his passage over the country, his return to his lodge, his lighting of his pipe, and his offering of smoke to the heavenly gods. 533 539 796

When the whole of this long ritual had been sung, the priests laid their rattles down gently, and all were silent for a time. Then the chief priest said, "We have sung about Paruxti with his power, who has touched the earth, the timber, and the streams of water. He has gone through our fields, and has walked through our villages, and has returned to his lodge in the heavens above. We will now offer the smoke, offering to the different gods in the ceremonies." A man then rose, and taking the sacred pipe used in the sacrifices, made an offering of smoke to the gods. The errand man then made a small fire of sweet grass in the lodge, to the southwest, kindling it with coals from the fireplace. Another man then took the objects from the sacred bundle one by one, and passed them through the fragrant smoke, returning them to their proper places. After this the participants in the ceremony came one at a time and bathed their bodies in the smoke, the chief priest coming last. When he had incensed himself, the chief priest left the lodge and stood in front of it, facing the east. The errand man thereupon extinguished the fire, and obliterated all traces of where it had been. 796

During the latter part of the ritual, women had brought in kettles of corn and other food for the participants. As soon as the chief priest knew that the fire of sweet grass had been extinguished, he sang a 533 796

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533 ritual to inform the gods that these good people were 796 providing for those who had made offerings to them, and were therefore entitled to their help. He sang,—

● [539] "I come! Now we raise our voices for Mother-Corn.
Mother-Born-Again.
Mother-Corn-who-carries-them-through-obstacles.
It is our father who sits in the pathway to receive prayers.
Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.
Yonder the Wonderful Being dwells in the heavens.
Yonder their father dwells in the heavens, where the thunders are to be heard.
Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.
Yonder in the heavens stands Ready-to-Give.
Mother-Corn's kettles are filled with corn brought by a child.
Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.
Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.
It is through him that I walk around the circle of the village and call upon the gods to look down upon this boy.
I come!"

As he sang, he made the circuit of the village, repeating the song over and over, and finally returned 796 to the lodge where the ceremony had been held. He entered and sat down, and then said, "Let us, priests, chiefs, young and old men, know that this ceremony is now ended. It is now the time to tell stories and to [264] eat." The corn, which had been brought in cooked, was dished out in a prescribed way, and the meat was cooked over the fire by one of the errand men. When it was done, it was divided among the priests, who ate a little, but saved the greater part to take away with them. Small portions of the corn, and of the meat and fat, were offered to the gods.

When all had eaten, the chief priest said, "Priests, we have now gone through the ceremony that was given to us by Paruxti. A young boy wished to see this ceremony. It is for that reason that you, priests, entered this lodge, and sit upright in a circle in the lodge, sitting in the places of the gods; that you sit upright, as they do, sitting close together. You sit in their places, and we offer stories and rituals that they

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

made as a result of some sign in the star itself, as when 796
it appeared especially bright, or in years when there 787
was a comet in the sky. It might also be performed 821
without any direct intervention of the Morning Star,
if some warrior had captured a suitable victim.

In this ceremony there was, coupled with the idea 796
of sacrifice, an attempt to repeat the acts performed by the Morning Star in ancient times. These acts are recorded in a number of myths, not always consistent, of which the following is a good example:—

LEGEND

A long time ago Tirawa made the stars and gave 539
them great power. He gave most of his power to the 773
Morning star, who had a younger brother, the Sun. The Morning Star helped the Sun to have light. When Tirawa placed the stars in the heavens, they were just like human beings. In the east he placed those stars which were like men and gave the Morning Star and the Sun rule over them. In the west he placed those which were like women, with the Evening Star and the Moon as their rulers. Each had their village in the heavens, and the eastern stars knew that the western stars were women. After awhile some of the eastern stars sought the western stars in marriage. When the women stars saw a man star coming, they would tell the Moon, and she would go out to meet him. She would ask him why he came, and he would say, "I come to marry one of the women." She would answer, "That is what we want, come with me." They would walk together till they came in sight of the village. Then the Moon would stop and make a motion, and the ground would open so that the man star fell through and was killed. At last the Morning Star decided to go. He took with him his younger brother, the Sun, who carried upon his back a sacred bundle with a war club. As they traveled, the Morning Star went before

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 the Sun just as he still does. After a while they came
773 within sight of the Evening Star village. They sat down and placed the sacred bundle in front of them. From where they sat, they could see the women stars playing all sorts of games outside their village. After a while the Moon came to them as she had come to the others. She asked, "Why do you come here?" The Morning Star said, "It is now time that we mingle and become one people. It is not right for part of us to be on the west and part on the east side." She said, "Good. I am glad you came and brought that bundle which you have in front of you. My thoughts are about that bundle." She invited them to come to the village, and they rose and followed. When they had gone a little way, she stopped them, and the Morning Star saw that the ground under them was cracking. The Moon called to them, "Come on! Are you afraid?" The Morning Star answered, "No. I am determined to have you." He took the war club from his younger brother and sang:—

"I become myself when I become angry.
With the war club I strike the earth.
I strike the ground and undo the power of the Moon."

Then he struck the ground, and the cracks closed up, and it became firm. The Moon cried, "These are powerful men. They have destroyed my mother." By her mother she meant the power which was her own. Her powers had been given her by the Evening Star.

After the first obstacle, they went on until they came to a bed of flints too sharp to be walked over, then to a thick wood of locust trees, then to a place where it was very hot, then to a bed of cactus, then to a long stretch of sword grass. At each of these obstacles the Morning Star sang his song and struck the ground with his war club so that the obstacle disappeared. When they had passed these dangers, they

came to magic animals which attacked them, first 539
snakes, then water animals, then buffalo, and last 773
bears. Each of these in turn the Morning Star killed with his club. Then the Moon had no more powers left, and the Morning Star and the Sun entered the village of the women stars. The Morning Star married the Evening Star, and the Sun married the Moon. They took them back to their own village. After a time a child was born to each couple, and these children were placed on earth. They married, and from them sprang the human race.

The Moon put all these obstacles in the way of the Morning Star, because she did not want the people on earth, in after times, to live forever. All these obstacles were sicknesses and troubles which would be brought down upon the people. But the Morning Star and the Sun can give power to men to destroy these ills just as they themselves destroyed the obstacles. /

It has already been said that the sacrifice was most 787
commonly made as a result of a dream or vision in 796
which the Morning Star demanded it. Immediately on waking in the morning, the man who had had the dream went outside his lodge and began crying and mourning, his cries gradually becoming a song. He [533]
sang:— [539]

> "When he comes.
> When he comes.
> Father, I am seeking for you."

By this song he let the people know that he had seen the Morning Star in a vision.

It is said that the man who had had the vision 721
sometimes did not obey the Morning Star, but more 796
often he could neither sleep nor rest until he had captured a maiden for sacrifices. As soon as possible after the vision he went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received from him the warrior's cos-

the girl must call her Opirikuts as he touches her. 726
Others must move away and not touch her. The life 796
of anyone who touches her afterward will be in danger.
Everyone must now dance toward the center. Let the
fire be like the enemy."

All then sang a song symbolizing the obstacles [533]
overcome by the Morning Star, the refrain being, "This [539]
is the way I did when I became angry." A red-painted
stick like those used in the Thunder Ceremony had
meanwhile been prepared, and this was now offered to
the Morning Star by the leader with the words, "See, [782]
I offer you only this stick with tobacco. It is all I have.
Help me to obtain a real sacrifice."

By the end of this ceremony it was almost time for
the Morning Star to rise, and the leader went outside
the circle to the east and addressed a long invocation to
him. He then returned, and all put on their war paint
and ornaments. A fourth song was then sung in which [533]
four of the great heavenly spirits were called upon to [539]
give the warriors their powers. As they sang, the [535]
warriors danced around the fire, leaping upward and
giving their war cries, while the leader ran about encouraging them to dance harder. At the end of the
dance the leader made a last prayer to the Morning
Star, and all set out for the village.

The war party surrounded the village quietly. The leader, who at this time was considered a personification of the Morning Star, took his post to the east, with his back to the village, while a second man took his place at the southeast, and was directed to howl like a wolf, as soon as the Morning Star rose. As soon as his call was heard, the leader turned toward the village, and the attack began from all sides. The first man to capture a young woman touched her and called out, "I pronounce you Opirikuts." As soon as this was done, the attackers drew off and started toward home.

wished, and in this way the women learned his secrets 756 and became able themselves to practice medicine. The origin of the medicine societies is described in the following legend:—

"Once there was a man who lived alone, and did 539
not mingle with the rest of the tribe. One night he 773
had a wonderful dream. He dreamed that he stood on the bank of a wide river, and that a water monster came to the surface and spoke to him. He was so much impressed by this dream that he decided to seek for the river. He had several pairs of moccasins made, filled them with dried meat and parched corn, and started out, traveling eastward. He traveled for many days until he came to a great stream of water which he called Kits-ta-rux-ti ('the Wonderful River'). He stood upon the bank looking down, and all at once the water monster he had seen in his dream rose to the surface. It was very large and long. On its head was hair of many colors, and around its mouth were many-colored feelers. It did not speak to him, but dived, and the man leaped into the river after it. He found himself in a lodge of animals. Beside the altar were an owl and a beaver, while all the other animals sat around in a circle. Near the entrance were two ponds and by each of these two big geese. In the west of the lodge sat a woman. The water monster which had led him to the lodge of the animals lay to the south of the entrance, and acted as spokesman for the other animals. He said, 'My son, I come to you from the Big Waters. I was sent to you by Tirawa to instruct you and to tell these animals to instruct you in their mysteries. When you go home, tell your people to make an image of me and lay it in the lodge as I am now lying. The fireplace you see is not a fireplace, but a wonderful turtle. The woman sitting in the west is not a woman, but a thing of clay. She is a witch woman. The geese that stand by the ponds, when they flap their wings, make a noise

5 39
773
that can be heard in the heavens. Their noise wakens the gods to a remembrance of their promise to pity mankind and give them power.'

"When the water monster had told the man these things, the other animals came forward one by one, and also taught him their mysteries. When all had finished, the water monster told the man to go home and build a lodge like the lodge he was then in. He was to live in this lodge alone, and the water monster would come to him in his dreams and tell him what to do next. The man left the animals' lodge and went home. He built himself a lodge of willows, and in it he made an image of the water monster. The image was complete except for one thing. The monster had something white on its head, and the man did not know what to use for this. In the night the monster came to him in a dream and told him that he must go upon a high hill and catch eagles. He was to dig a pit three or four feet deep and cover it with branches. He must then kill several rabbits, skin them, and lay them on the branches. He was then to crawl into the hole and wait there until an eagle came down to seize the rabbits.

"The man did all this and he was crouching in the hole when he heard a noise like the wind. He looked up through the branches and saw it was an eagle flying down to get the rabbits. When it settled and began to eat, the man slipped his hand between the branches and grasped its legs. He drew it down into the pit and wrung its neck, then straightened the branches and waited for another. After a time a second came, and he killed that also. Then he carried them home and stuck their downy white feathers on the head of the image with blue mud. The image was thus completed.

"Every night after this the man slept in the lodge with the image and had dreams of the monster. In these dreams the monster told him how the cere-

monies of the medicine lodge were to be performed. At last it told him to prepare for another journey. He must go east again, but to a different place, and there the animals would give him many things. The next day the man set out and went east until he came to the place where Freemont, Nebraska, now is. There he camped on the high bank of the Platte River. 539 773

"There was an island in the river, and the man saw, as soon as it was dark, that sparks of fire were coming up from it. He heard mysterious noises of drumming, singing and shouting, and then the rhythm of a dance. In the water he could see fish swimming about with fire in their mouths. He watched and listened for a long time, then he fell asleep. The island was another lodge of the animals, and when he awakened, he found himself inside. In the lodge he saw the beaver, the owl, the otter, the ermine, the bear, the buffalo, the wolf, the mountain lion, the wild cat, and all sorts of birds. He stayed with them for many days, and they taught him more mysteries. At last they told him to go to a nearby hill where they had cleared a site for a medicine lodge. The deer led him from the animals' lodge and put him safe on the dry land. When he came to the place for the medicine lodge, he found everything ready. All the animals had cleared away the grass. The badgers had dug the holes for the posts, the beavers had cut them down and peeled them, and the bears and mountain lions had carried them up the hill. The animals helped him to raise the framework and told him how to lay on the willows and grass and cover the whole with earth. They then told him to return to his village and to tell the chiefs to bring the people to the new place, which had been selected for them by the animals.

"When the man arrived at the village, he sent some one to ask the chiefs to come to his lodge. When they had entered it, he told them that he had a mes-

D

539
723
sage for them from the animals. They were to bring the village to the new place. The man told what the animals had done for him, and how they had built a new kind of house, and wanted the people to live in houses of this sort and keep in them the sacred things which they would give them. Before the animals made this house, the Skidi did not know how to build earth lodges. The chiefs listened to him and were glad. They said they would obey the animals.

"That night the man dreamed that, before the tribe set out for their new home, they must tear down the walls of his willow lodge and take the image of the monster and set both up in the river, just as they had been set up on dry land. By this they would show the animals in the water that they were trying to do as they had been told. When they had done this, they broke camp and moved down the river to the new place. They made their camp just to the east of the lodge the animals had built. All the people helped him to finish it in the way the animals had told him. When it was completed, he burned sweet grass in it to make it a sweet-smelling place.

"That night there were great noises heard in the island which was close to the village. The man waited in the new lodge, and the animals came and told him what to do next. They said that opposite the entrance of the lodge was to be the holy place. He was to dig a fire place and model around it a turtle with its head toward the east, its tail toward the west, and its legs toward the four world quarters. He was to make another image of the monster and lay it with its head and tail near the entrance and its body running around the lodge. He was also to make an image of the witch woman, like that he had seen in the first animals' lodge, and place it in the west. Lastly he was to tell the people to kill different kinds of birds and hang their skins from the posts of the lodge. The people helped

him to do all these things. When the lodge was ready, he went down to the river and waited until night. The animals took him into their lodge once more, and there he saw the loon standing in front of the altar and several loon skins lying at one side. The animals gave these to him and told him how they were to be set up, and taught him certain songs he was to sing.

"The man lived alone in the lodge for a long time. The animals came to him from the river at night and took him around over the country, showing him the different roots and herbs and telling him their uses. After a while he invited a few other men to come to his lodge and instructed them in the mysteries which had been taught him by the animals. In this way they also became medicine men. They stayed in the lodge, and whenever they went out, they painted themselves with blue clay and put eagle-down on their heads. Two of their number were selected as messengers and servants. One of these wore the skin of the magpie, and the other that of a muskrat for the magpie and muskrat were the errand men of the animals' lodge.

"In the autumn, when the crops had been gathered, and many buffalo had been killed, these first medicine men invited other men of the tribe to come to the lodge and learn the mysteries. These men were told to leave the village, purify themselves, and fast for four days. When they came to the medicine lodge, the man who had built it sang a song and recited a ritual, and then told them to go to the river bottom and cut young willows and cotton woods. One man he sent to the east to cut a cedar tree. They brought the trees to the lodge and with the willows and cottonwoods they made little lodges around the inside of the large building. The cedar tree was set up to the north of the entrance, and a little lodge of cedar bows was built on the south side. When the lodges were finished, the leader of the medicine men called a man from each lodge to him and

539 gave him the skin of the animal which was to be the 773 guardian of that lodge. The men stayed in the little lodges, fasting and singing until they fell from exhaustion, and went to sleep. When this happened, the leader took the skin of the animal to whose lodge the man belonged and laid it on him. This animal would tell the man in a dream what he was to do. When he awoke, he would tell his dream and would find that he could do this thing.

"After this had gone on for some time, the leader selected a night to have the mysterious dance. Before they commenced, he stood in front of the altar of loon skins, given him by the animals, and called the men to him one by one. He embraced each and breathed into his mouth. Then he went and sat by the altar. He had taught them a song, and now each man put on the skin of his guardian animal and began to sing this song and dance. At a certain place in the song every one of them fell to the ground as if shot. When the song was ended one of the men got up. He saw something lying beside him that looked like a small oval fragment of clear ice. Each of the other men found a thing of the same sort beside him, and all of them laid these things in a line on the west of the fire place. The leader told them that these things had been given to them by the animals. They must swallow them, and then they would have the power to hypnotize and influence the people. They did this and returned to their small lodges.

"They stayed in the big lodge for several days more, trying their powers and doing all sorts of sleight of hand. When the last day of the ceremony came, they all dressed up according to the animal that was their guardian. They went out and marched around the lodge once, with two men carrying loon skins from the altar in the lead. Then they entered the lodge again and crowded around the fire place, stamping to

awaken the turtle. Then they passed out of the lodge, 539
dancing, and each man imitating his guardian animal. 773
As they went, they did all sorts of sleight of hand so that the people could see they had magic powers. When they had shown their powers to the people, they entered the lodge once more and sang songs and imitated the cries of their guardians. They made a great commotion so that the people outside could see ashes flying up through the smoke-hole. That night they did more sleight of hand tricks in the lodge, and sang and worked magic until about two o'clock in the morning. Then they tore down the little lodges and carried them and the images of the water monster and witch woman down to the river. As they went along, they shouted and sang and hypnotized one another. They threw the mysterious things that gave them hypnotizing power into one another, and the men who were struck fell down as if shot. The rest of the village looked on, and were mystified by the wonderful things they did. When they came to the river, they put the little lodges and the images in the water in the positions they had had in the big lodge.

"When they had returned to the medicine lodge, the leader told them that they were to hold dances in the winter and spring and after the first thunder, but they were not to show their powers or do sleight of hand at these times. The great dance was to be in the fall, and then they would do sleight of hand, and work magic of all sorts and renew their powers. He told them to go back to their families and build themselves earth lodges like the medicine lodge. He went on living alone in the medicine lodge.

"The people lived in that place for a long time, and every fall they built new images in the medicine lodge and had their ceremonies. Each time the ceremonies lasted two or three months. Other men found other animals who gave them powers; and when the lodge

● 539 was in session, they would come in and ask the medicine
773 men to help them, and they would give them a place in the lodge. In this way the society grew. People from other bands also heard about it and came begging to learn the mysteries. The medicine men taught them, and they went back to their own people and started other medicine lodges."

756
796 The ceremonies of the historic medicine lodge agreed in a general way with those last described in the legendary account of its origin, but there were several features not mentioned in the story just given. The preparations for the great fall ceremony were begun while the people were still on the spring buffalo hunt. At this time the leading medicine men selected two members of the society to make two bows and four arrows. When these were completed, they were given to two other medicine men with instructions for one to kill a bull and the other a cow. The animals had to be killed with a single arrow, but it is said that because of the magic powers of the arrows the hunters never failed to do this. The bull's hide was to be used to cover
[532
778] the head of the water-monster image, the cow's hide to cloth the figure of the witch woman. Two more buffalo, also a bull and a cow, were then killed in the same way, the hide of the former being saved to make an image of the Morning Star, and that of the latter, to make nine small images which represented the important heavenly gods. When the buffalo had been
[778] killed, the bows and arrows were returned to the leading medicine men who placed them among their sacred objects.

On the return from the hunt, the four leading medicine men went to the medicine lodge and ordered
[342
346] that it be cleared for the ceremony. The same lodge seems to have been used for the ceremony year after year, but was occupied as a dwelling between ceremonies.

12: Grinnell
539

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[For the English texts of a number of Pawnee folk-tales and myths, see category 116, pp. 42-80.]

000 automation (*Life,* July 19, 1963). Referred to as "sudden" in the magazine article, it should surely not be sudden to most of us. With the advantage of a clear consciousness of a long past and its major changes, we must accept change and move intelligently into the future. We must prepare for our new needs in a new society by opening to the light of questioning even our most basic institutions—the family, the home, modes and institutions of work, the character of administration, and our whole evaluation of everyday human experience. The Pawnee way is one of thousands of ways of life that mankind has developed. As a springboard for a reexamination of our own way of life it has the advantage of being so different from our own, and in fact from the whole patterning of Eurasiatic civilization, that a study of its ways and social interactions helps us to throw into sharp relief our most widely accepted hypotheses on the nature of "the basic human character" and to test whether some of these assumptions are in reality universal human nature or rather limited modes of learned behavior that we have developed for needs that are now becoming obsolete.

In its very essence, the Pawnee outlook on reality differs from our
812 own. For us the material aspect is primary. On a second level of dis-
772 course, we place observed events; on a third level, which we count still
less sure, is the "human factor"; and finally furthest removed from solid
reality is the realm of ideas. In the Pawnee estimate of the world around
him, the primary level of reality is thought. In our own story of creation,
the deity shaped man out of clay, but the Pawnee deity—Vault-of-the-
Heavens—began the process of creation with thoughts and so created
the universe and the stars, and they in turn were to create man in their
own image. When a Pawnee individual wanted to organize his life goals,
he looked within himself in his thinking and was blessed by Heaven with
[829] a vision. In the Pawnee context, the *thinking* man was the essential human
being. The universe continued its seasonal round only when man willed
it through his thought of Heaven and its creative power. In creating man,
Heaven had also created the moving force of the universe. In this order
of things, events were an adjunct of *human* ongoing, and all the nonliving
things were a fluid manifestation of the universal life process. A thing
manufactured was a manifestation of a very personal skill, and a thing
used was equally personal. The skill of the priest who kept the universe
in motion and that of the arrowshaft maker had an analogous quality
which was inherent in the person himself, and both were considered as
dedicated public professions. For both living and nonliving things in the
time of the creation, there were always two storms—one to build the
empty structure and one for its continuity. This estimate of the nature of
reality is almost the complete reverse of our own and is one of the many
577 ways in which the Pawnee outlook contrasts rather sharply with ours.

539 As another contrast in values between the Pawnee and ourselves I

would offer a story in the realm of human affairs. In attempting to translate from the Pawnee language in which much of this account was first 577
obtained, we stopped to consider the word "courage." In order to give 539
an example of what the Pawnee meant by courage, Mark Evarts told the following story:

> A man became aware that a certain person was making slanderous remarks about him in many quarters. This distressed and irritated him deeply. One day he came to a decision as to what he would do. He had a wagon and a horse, and he painted his wagon and decorated his horse and then dressed himself up in his very best, painted his face, dressed his hair, put feathers in his hair, and then set out for the home of the slanderer. When he arrived he called out, "So and so, I want you to come out. I have something to show you." In the light of his actions, the slanderer hesitated to come out. But finally he made his appearance at the entryway of his lodge. Now the man he had slandered took him by the hand and said, "Do you see this horse and wagon?" "Yes," he replied with increasing trepidation. "Well, I give them to you," said his victim, and then departed. Needless to say, he never talked about him again.

"This," said Mark Evarts, "is a man of courage; that was the only horse and wagon he had."

Our first reaction to this story is one of rejection. How can one possibly 577
call this an act of courage? Let us look at this action through Pawnee eyes. 626
For one thing, by his action, the victim had cleared the society of a disruptive social element that could have grown into a more general network of hostilities and polluted the whole social climate so that they might no longer defend themselves effectively from outside attack nor coordinate their efforts for their mutual survival. It took real courage, from the Pawnee point of view, for a man to curb his anger and to make a material sacrifice as well. How different from our reaction which would lead a man to plant his fist forcibly into the face of the slanderer or perhaps counter with a more devious plan to get back at his opponent. The obvious result must necessarily be a continuation and augmentation of the social irritant.

This instance does not stand alone. In recent years the Fox Indians of 577
Tama, Iowa, told a story about the Pawnees in a similar vein. It was 727
customary for the young men to set out on the warpath in the fall or late summer. A young Fox warrior selected the Pawnees as the object of his attack. He made a rich haul and so decided to repeat his performance the next year. Then he went again a third time. This was decidedly against the recognized code according to which he should have distrib-

4

PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: III

000

Personal Relationships beyond Kin Ties—Love between Men and Women—Friendships of Girls to Girls, Women to Women, Boys to Boys, and Men to Men—Friendly Interband Kicking Match—the Pawnee Personality Compared with Our Own—Our Loneliness

Love and Friendship

831 572 [602] THE EMOTIONAL LIFE of the Pawnee was not channeled exclusively through kinship categories, but the concepts of love and friendship for their own sake were well recognized. They had a song that stated: "If even worms are inclined to be in love with one another, how can we expect people not to do so?" The statement was starkly simple and left the implication to be understood. It said:

539 831

tsasiri pirus	Even worms
he	(Pause indicating a comma)
witi-tirak-tap-piribu̧ru	each other-they them-love.

Their love songs were also in a similar vein, nakedly literal and entirely free of metaphor.

A man sings:

1.	*tsapat tiwakuhu*	Woman she is saying,
2.	*wetatatsiksta*	Now I love you.

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you)	539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.	
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)	

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tihi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562
fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the house-
hold routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [584]
were often [illegible]re. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 585
occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 526
ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de-
velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi [887]
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521
[797]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

571 and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and
521 often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque grouping
and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for
[551] a tall, slender person, *asu-katu-has-tawiu* ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of
a shoe string), or *karastiat* ("I will not go out"); *kusatsua* ("it will rain").
In reply, *A* ("well"), *uksawatsatsua* ("even if it were to rain"), *kaiit*
("salt"); *karas* ("are you?").

857 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and
types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous
858 than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in
867 early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their
boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them
with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was
said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the
trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom
retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not
[601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small
group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term
[551] of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would
use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey,
etc.

883 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out
572 to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more
lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen
or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the
[726] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside
for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions
into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various
Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these
contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous
occasions.

533 Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the
song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the
[726] night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through
the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching.
Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs
that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do
not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns
the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two
young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting,
and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true
to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar,
[539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

sirawari i	They two who are traveling,	533
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a	Alone, they two who are traveling,	539
tsapat-i witiwaku	A young woman, it is said that she says:	
sikatasiwaktiks-a	I wonder if they two are true (to each other).	
tskara, siraawari-i-a-a-a-a		

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their 883
parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not uncommonly 572
grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, 554
a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally
from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46-50) 539
of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of 883
wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the 572
son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys 554
liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy
suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally
the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels
they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing
the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too
well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be
taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were
taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until
the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the
boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last
the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all,
while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their
sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their
health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys
a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to induce [829]
boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some historical [867]
basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story
accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe
it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it
is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may
work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the mature 571
Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured 574
within the house even when only two were sitting together. First [782]
there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the [276]
pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversation [521]
or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a
woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for
the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

571 plan was applied to any larger gathering as well as to more casual encoun-
574 ters. The seating was aways according to relative social status and the
[521] right of priority in conversation was always determined by rank. There
[554] was little room for simple, spontaneous, social contact in the life of a
mature man. Except for the intimacies of marriage, there was no opportunity for easy conversation between mature men and women either. Missionary Dunbar (1881, pp. 745-746) describes the conduct of the men:

> 571 [The Pawnees] were . . . among themselves very sociable. With the men
> 574 there was apt to be perhaps, an excess of formality in their formal gather-
> 517 ings, but this is a natural consequence of their oft-recurring feasts and councils. It was quite common for several men in the evening to meet in some house where tobacco was to be had, and there sit smoking and recounting their exploits. One of the party kept up a monotonous thumping upon a drum. Another would dance for a while, make a speech, and sit down. Another would follow with the same role, etc. At certain seasons such gatherings were of nightly occurrence, lasting usually well-nigh till daylight.
>
> 571 Akin to this trait of storytelling, was their delight in discussion. They
> 537 were extravagantly fond of debating what might be termed questions of
> 623 general principle, often exhibiting considerable tact in their manner of sustaining an argument. Their principal efforts of this kind were reserved for public occasions, such as councils. It was impossible to attend a tribal council where any important matter was pending and not be impressed with the power and cogency of their eloquence. The reputation of being
> [554] an orator was coveted, and a man, when once recognized as such, was sure to wield great influence. An orator when addressing a council upon a question in which he was thoroughly interested, seemed to appreciate fully the dignity of his position, and identifying himself with the cause he advocated, and addressing himself directly to the person he was attempting to answer or convince, his speech would become vividly dramatic.

Tribal Fun and Games

609 Theoretically, friendships were best formed within one's own village
621 for beyond that was a kind of social "No-Man's Land." Sometimes,
[572] however, the wall of suspicion broke down, as in one story we heard related:

> 609 The members of the different bands didn't like each other as a rule.
> 621 We would say, "Don't bother with them (referring to people of another
> • 539 village or band), they're mean."
>
> But some nice evening the Man-Going-Downstream Band and the Meat-Beggars would join the Little-Earth-Lodge Band and the children

> of the Skidi villages of Village-across-a-Ridge and Pumpkin-Vine 609
> would join the Wolf-in-Water and Bottomland Village, and they 621
> would play rough and kick one another. 539

The location of the four bands was along the west side of Beaver 621
Creek and the Skidi were in the westernmost position, the other three 361
bands about half a mile away to the east. While according to past tradition, they always lived south of the Skidi and were referred to generally as "South Bands," they were now actually located to the east:

> "The Skidi chief would sit on a high bluff and the Eastward (*tu-* 621
> *hawit*, "Settlement-east" chiefs sat on a bluff near their home and they 524
> would watch the boys. They said, "When we were boys we used to play like that and kick."
>
> It would begin in the evening when the boys would call out, ***hu-hu-hu***. Then the boys would hear and come outside. Folks would say to the small boys, "Don't go there, you'll get hurt," but some would steal out and join the fight anyway. When one side would be chased back, the older people would laugh and say, "Go back again. . . ."
>
> When it got darker the little boys were told to go back and run home because the big boys were going to fight now—the sixteen-to-eighteen-year-olds. Then in the moonlight sometimes, the men of about thirty years old would fight, and then afterward the old men forty and over. The men would take blankets from one another and kick one another, but afterward they had to return the blankets.
>
> This game was never played with the Skidi villages alone opposing one another, only between the Skidi Band as one party and the South Bands as the other. They never kicked hard—just for fun. If the South Band boys met the Skidi boys, there was always a kicking contest."

A similar game is reported between different divisions of the Comanches. [171]

The Pawnee Person

There is no simple formula for describing the intricate logic of the 156
Pawnee people's lives. One thing is clear—that no one is caught within the social code. Against the backdrop of his natural environment, each individual stands as his own person. The Old World design for the human personality does not apply to this New World Man. The Pawnee 156
child was born into a community from the beginning, and he never ac- 772
quired the notion that he was closed in "within four walls." He was lit- 829
erally trained to feel that the world around him was his home—***kahuraru***,

241 daughter, when you get married and your husband leaves you, don't go after him. Let him go." The girl takes the pipe from him and says, "I thank you grandpa, I'll do that." The girl returns the pipe to the four ministers of the Skull bundle and the warrior gives her a gift.

TABLE 9-1. *Some Songs of the Ground-breaking Ritual, the* Awari.

241
192
533 The term *awari* is a compound stem, the first part, *a-* signifying "being" or "living" and the second part, *-wari*, to go actively about, such as traveling. The Pawnee used this stem as we do "up and about" meaning to be in good health. The combination *awari* indicates the principles of life and motion *par excellence*, the vigor of life.

Like all the songs of the sacred bundle ceremonies, each song is repeated in at least ten stanzas or "steps." The stanzas are identical except for the substitution of a single word at each repetition: These substitutions are the words that symbolize the basic realms of the universe in their order of creation, *uraru*, "land"; *tuharu*, "natural vegetation"; *tsaharu*, "waters"; *kakiu*, "seeds"—the four major realms of the women—and *asuru*, "moccasin"; *kstaripiru*, "string of moccasin"; *rawitat*, "robe, covering"; *waruksti*, "something holy"; *atira*, "my mother" (corn); *kiriki*, "thunder"—the six major realms of the men. In each case, the word is substituted for *huraru*, "land," in the version given here.

241
533
539

EIGHT SONGS OF THE GROUND-BREAKING *Awari* RITUAL

Song I

1. *huraru* *wirahawati*
the land now the one that plucks it (clears)

Song II

1. *huraru* *katit* *witasikaru* (sung as *-rau*)
the land black now you distribute them
2. *awari* *katit* *rasikara'u*
movement black you that distribute them

The significance of Song II is that the Evening Star as it appears sparkling and wavering is the power that animates the earth when it generates in darkness. The dancers try to flit about like the sparkling stars.

FIRST INTERMISSION

Song III

1. *wirahurarirwisisa*
now the earth sidewise comes
2. *hatira* *rahurarirwisisa*
my mother earth that sidewise comes

Song IV

1. *huraru* *ra·a*
earth the one that is coming
2. *hi* *awari* *ra·a*
there movement that is coming

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

In the third and fourth songs, the earth comes sidewise from the basket and is endowed with life. 241
533
539

Song V

1. *wirispixkawi?*
now you aim
2. *i* *huraru* *tasiwixkawi?u*
there land you aim at it

The act of planting is compared to a kind of shooting with the bow and arrow into the earth.

SECOND INTERMISSION

Song VI

1. same as (1) of Song V.
2. *wirahuraraxkawuhu* *atira*
when she is putting them in the earth my mother
3. *huraru* *awari* *atira'a*
earth movement, life my mother corn

Song VII

1. *kutihawaktu'*
Now it is budding
2. *huraru* ti' ((u))
the earth it is

Second Episode of Song VII

1. *rahawaktariwata*
sprouts come out (peeping)
2. i *huraru* *rawakararuahu*
there earth the one that is giving forth sounds, implying that the earth is shouting, viz., that the plants are calling for life

THIRD INTERMISSION

Song VIII

1. *huraru* (*ts-*) *rutiriku*
earth you are looking at it
2. *i·ri* *atira* *i·ri* *huraru*
here it is mother here it is earth
3. *awari* *rahu·ka*
movement that comes in
4. *i·ri?i* *atira*
here it is my mother

Second Episode of Song VIII

1. *huraru* *sirirua·hu*
earth they two are tossing it about
2. *kaixtsu* *hu* *sirirarua hu*
coiled gambling basket see they two are tossing them about
3. *awari* *hi* *sirirarua hu* *awari*
movement there they two are tossing them about movement, life
4. *siriruahu* *awari*
they two are tossing it about movement. life

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The following is a simplified translation of an old Pawnee woman's statement of her experience of planting when she was a little girl in Nebraska, and a more exact statement of the old man's speech: 887 521 539•

> An old man sitting on top of the earth lodge would be talking to the women at the time when they were going into the fields. He would say, "Now dear ladies, now you are disfiguring your bodies (getting them all muddy). Heaven has placed the wonderful bow and arrows in your hands. Heaven made it for you to be wonderful. You are wonderful! You repeatedly keep 'swelling me up.' When you put the corn in and it comes peeping out, that's what you fatten me with, my dear ladies."
>
> Then we women began to cut the grass, that is, clear the field. And when I was not yet mature, they would get me up early in the morning while it was still dark, and we two, my mother and I, would be in her field. She would have some porridge there for me. When mother was planting, oh, the corn mound would be big! Then she would dig a hole in the top and place inside the mound, seven seeds—not bunched together, but separately spaced. Then she covered it over with earth and the mound would be smooth. [241]

One of the only common instances of group planting was "planting for the daughter-in-law." The women relatives of the newly married groom would plant, cultivate, and harvest the bride's first crop. As many as twenty-five women would be gathered in her field and they would go to her house and get her seeds and line up in the field ready to plant. The field, about "half a block" long was hoed and planted by the women more or less in unison while two old women sat at the far end singing a song from one of the sacred bundle ceremonies: 241 476 602 [533] [539]

You are just hoeing around,
Big ground, lucky ground.

They were ranged in rows and while the women sang they made the mounds. Then they put in the seeds and then they all went to the home of the daughter-in-law where they were entertained at a feast of corn and dried buffalo meat. They repeated this performance when the corn sprouted, when they cultivated the field, and again at harvest. [574]

575 come to me, kawaharu, *rakuwaxtsa!*" and luck actually did come. For example: 575

•539

> It had snowed four days. Some men who had gone out on the warpath were starving. The men put up a grass house, for they didn't want to go out for fear of being detected by the enemy through their tracks. An old man among them went into the timber and saw three deer. The snow was hitting the deer in the face and blinding it. "We were starving. Nawa, akaa, kawaharu! Now, oh, luck! Then I aimed my bow and arrow and shot one through the shoulder. The others ran but the big buck fell over. Then I called the others and we all took the buck into the grass house. That was the time we had kawaharu. Kawaharu (luck) came to us."

These were the kind of stories they told, but someone decided to lighten the atmosphere and told the following:

> They were hungry and on the warpath. One of the party was a fine shot. Suddenly they saw two or three buffalo sitting there. Then we all put our hands up and said, "Nawa, Kawaharu." The man who was a good shot got angry, thinking to himself, "I do the shooting and here they're saying, 'Kawaharu.'" So he got up and frightened the buffalo away and said, "Well, let kawaharu shoot it now." So they all had to keep quiet after that.

*224 *484 Most men felt that they had enough buffalo meat for their needs and as much as they could transport. They did not go out to hunt on the lake but stayed behind to protect the women and children from the enemy. In Victory Call's family, it was agreed that Horse Rider should stay while Victory Call went out. They also decided that they would eat the roasted ribs that evening in the family instead of contributing them to the council tent, as this would be the last time they had a chance to get them.

At the council tent, White Eagle decided they would stay over one more day and then go on directly north and across the Republican. It was fifteen miles and a very hard journey. The other bands were notified. They arrived by night, having set out very early in the morning. Water had to be carried in a buffalo paunch. When they had gone half way they stopped, unloaded the horses, and let them graze while each little family camp group sat down in the open and had an informal lunch. Victory [262] [264] Call came and joined his family; White Woman took some pounded dry buffalo meat, *tapaharus*, from the tanned hide she had packed it in. Each one put a clean cloth or piece of hide in front of him, and she placed a little pile of the meat there and a piece of bone grease to eat it with.

and singing with all their might, he made a running jump over the fire, 756
landing right in front of Yellow Calf on the south side where he re- 796
leased his arrow. The arrow jumped back over the lodge with its head 789
mashed and bent. Now the boy proceeded through the west to the north side, facing eastward with his arms extended, while his father remained on the south. Again Brave Shield jumped over the fire close to the boy and shot his arrow and again it glanced off and flew across the room—the point all bent and broken. The buffalo dancers now instructed the boy to stand at the west facing north, while his father was at the east, and the same performance was repeated. Finally the boy stood at the east with his father at the west—the father jumping over the fireplace and making his final shot. The shooting being over, the father led the boy to the south position and, warming his hands over the fireplace, placed them on the boy's chest where he had been shot, repeating this four times. Then he shook the boy out of his daze a bit and sent him off to the Buffalo Booth. Brave Shield moved around the fireplace by west, north, and then east where the spectators were and showed them all how the heads of the arrows were broken and macerated. On inquiring of my informant how this was done, he said he thought that someone had been planted among the spectators to help change the arrows before they were passed around, or they might have been changed when they glanced off the boy's side and flew all the way across the room, either before they began their journey through the air or when they were picked up. 756

By this time it was midnight or one o'clock in the morning and the 796
doctors all sang:

Tatix-kusisari, I am-playing (like a child) [533]
Witi-ratku-tawaki, myself-for-me-to enjoy [539]

Big Doctor made a final announcement to the crowd: "There'll be no performance tomorrow night. After that we'll have one again. Well now that's all!" Everyone left. Late the next afternoon they would have a big dance on the plaza outside the ceremonial lodge.

756 796 536 535 tanned-hide shawl. The other actors impersonating the *kitsahuruksu*, the scalped ones, were plastered all over with mud, including a thick plastering of mud on their heads and all over their faces. As they approached they looked like a veritable mud bank.

A big crowd had gathered outside the lodge in anticipation of the performance. The two drummers ran out first and putting their drums between their knees, sat facing each other. As they began to beat the drum, [533] a crowd of scalped ones ran out of the Doctor Lodge. The drumming was in all sorts of irregular beats and the little boys were frightened when they first saw the scalped ones approaching. They motioned erratically and jumped every which way in scary ways. The drummers were • [539] singing "Scalped-Ones-Speech":

Hiru-ribi	here-is
Hiru-ribi	here-is, *wakarawi* (speech)
Hiru-ribi, hiru-ribi, wakarawi	
Kitsahuruks-pakarawi	scalped one-speech
Kitsahuruks-pakarawi	

The song was sung to an irregular tune and as soon as the drummers had finished the song, they all ran suddenly into the lodge and just as suddenly out again, the drummers again coming out and sitting facing each other, singing the Scalped-Ones-Speech with the crowd of actors running out after them. This running in and out was repeated four times and on the fourth round the actors all came out dancing backward, [534] making peculiar motions and finally falling down. Even the drummers fell and kicked over their drums (water drums made of a hollow log.) At last they looked up dazed and as soon as they became aware of the people around, they jumped up and ran back into the lodge.

No one would provide a meal for "Scalped-Ones." As everyone knew, "They were the biggest thieves and stole anything they could get a chance to!" They ate in their booths whatever donations of corn had been made. "As for dry meat, they would provide it for themselves if they could steal some."

Between the second and third Outdoor Big Dance, there were one or two of these special outdoor Scalped-Ones dances with a performance in the night indoors intervening. Afterward the third Big Dance was given, and then after that the two nighttime performances with free days intervening.

once when they were moving camp, a rabbit came in and out among 796
the tents, threading his way here and there. However close the people 533
were when they aimed at him, no one could hit him, even when the 825
dogs joined in the chase. So a song was made about this wonderful rabbit who eluded all human pursuers. This was what Warrior wanted to learn.

The author of the original song was an old man, Arrived, who had a 796
place at the northeast station. But instead of approaching him directly, 533
Warrior went to his old friend, That-Chief for his advice as to how to go about it. He was told to come in next day when they had a practice meeting and address his request for membership in the lodge to all the members assembled and particularly to New Young Dog at the northwest. When Warrior entered the ceremonial lodge where the members were assembled for their practice sing, he stood at the east of the fireplace about halfway out to the door and facing west said, "All you Deer dancers, and New Young Dog at the west, I want to learn your Deer Dance. I will give a horse, some blankets, and some meat." New Young Dog, as was the usual practice, tried to deter him. He mentioned that, as Warrior was a successful warrior, everyone would laugh at him smearing himself with clay and participating in their ceremonies when he had no need for further luck either in war or in the hunt. But he remained determined, and finally New Young Dog led him to the old man's place at the northeast station where he took his place.

That evening Warrior went in quest of the rabbit learning that he wanted. New Young Dog had learned it from the original author, Arrived, and it was to him that Warrior went. When he got to the lodge, the people knew the two men wanted to be alone together so they all went to bed. The two men sat and smoked and talked and in the course of their conversation Warrior told New Young Dog about an experience he had had that impressed him deeply. Warrior always wore a white feather and once when the village was under attack as the war party struck, he felt like a feather floating in the wind so that no one could hurt him while he was aloft in the air. New Young Dog advised him that he could make a song about that when they were at the meeting. At the practice meeting, Warrior began slowly and then the next day he sang the song he had composed:

[539]

1.	hiwiri	witikuuwia Now I feel as if I were flying
2.	"	"
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	'hia feather flying

796
533
[539]

1.	hiwiri	Wiwitawia Now it comes flying
2.	"	"
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	hita feather-coming

The two men continued to talk together that night in the lodge and New Young Dog told Warrior about the rabbit learning that he wanted to know. Should anyone come in and see the sparks from their pipe and hear the whispering, they would know that the two men were to be left alone and would go straight to their beds as they were talking of something important. The next time the dance was held, Warrior followed after New Young Dog. After he had carried out his performance, New Young Dog addressed the assembled company saying, "What you have seen me do here today, I am giving to this fellow here, Warrior. This is my teaching." From this time on Warrior was able to do the rabbit dance and could make a rabbit skin come alive and be a rabbit.

796
721
[178]
[177]

In this way, the original Wichita Deer Dance took on its Pawnee form. By 1867 it had become a typically elaborate Pawnee ceremony. Sleight-of-hand performances and trance induction were both modes in which they operated as they did in the Doctor Lodge. But unlike the Doctor Lodge where animal costumes and animal impersonations celebrated their communion with the animals, in the Deer Dance, war was the predominant theme and each of the members at the stations bore the name of a tribe, the opposing north and south sides representing attack and counterattack. The ceremony was carried through ten consecutive sessions, nine in the night and a tenth in the daytime with a number of rest days between. Technically, they conceived that the all-day tenth and final episode was the actual ceremony and the nine night sessions simply preliminary to it. The nine night sessions comprised several different phases. In the first five, there was a program of four or more sleight-of-hand performances, chiefly in sequence. As in the Doctor Dance, sleight of hand was referred to as "playing." Following these "playing" sessions, going on very late into the night was a series of "fighting" or hypnotic episodes. But these differed from the Doctor Lodge "fighting" which was simple trance induction; in the Deer Dance, the fighting consisted of hypnotic interference with a sleight-of-hand performance while it was in progress, confusing the performer and making it impossible for him to complete his feat. The difference between the two kinds of "fighting" was recognized in the names they were called—the "fighting" of the Doctor Lodge was "I shoot at him," *wi-tatix-tsaaku*, "now-I at him-shoot" (abbreviated as *patsaaku*) while

[789]
[787]

752 756 533 him well. Now we're going to start to sing." Together in unison the four doctors sing:

First song: Here, here, they got him to get up.
• [539] Second song: They got him up and going about.
Third song: They (our forefathers) said, that they (the animals) could get him up.
Fourth song: Now as they, the old doctors said, they have raised him up.

Now they pause and smoke and then take up their gourd rattles and [539] sing again:

1. "When first I came, the bone was broken.
2. "I had to use the eagle wing (*kauk'tu*, "down").
3. "The bone was broken. Just as they told me to do when a bone is broken, one must use soft down feathers.
4. "I call you back now, old doctors of long long ago; when a bone is broken, you can heal it."

They sang three more songs, making eight in all and then they said, "Now we're through."

756 574 Now they would all be entertained at an informal meal prepared by War Cry's youngest wife, Bird Woman. While it was being served, War Cry and his wives took the host's position at the southeast of the lodge, while the others remained in their places. A woman carried one bowl of food to each of the doctors in succession and then to Shot Arm and White Woman at the west, and all the others, and finally the hosts. A little bread and coffee was at last given to the patient himself. While they were eating people told funny stories or recounted some familiar incidents. Then they went home.

The next evening Good-Land entertained the other doctors in his earth lodge at an informal feast upon the completion of his case and the receipt of his fee. A gift of a blanket was made to Big Doctor and a shawl to Pipe Offering by way of compensation for their participation in the previous night's ceremony. Either that morning or earlier in the evening White Woman had come to Good-Land's lodge, leading the two horses, while one of War Cry's wives was carrying the goods. They were greeted by a woman of the house who came outside, and White Woman said simply, "Here are the horses and the goods to pay for his cure" (*iriwirawirata*, "that which he has earned or won"). White Woman and her companion turned around and left and the woman of the house tied up the horses and took the goods inside the lodge and piled it up to the east of the fireplace. When the doctors were assembled, Good-Land addressed

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

517 of a short story and said, "Let's hear stories about 'at home' [the Sioux
887 attacking the village]. After a while we'll get away from the village and
574 on the warpath." It was now understood that he would tell a story of at-
538 tack on the village and that he would be followed by a story on the same
theme by his brave, War Cry, after which the old men would begin. In both stories, the enemy was repulsed, not by main force alone, but by the power of the Peace Pipe, which is "beloved of Heaven."

• 539 "Now I'll tell a story," said Eagle Chief. "Now you all know when
721 you first took me as a chief and when I was going to Washington, on
(648) the morning of the day that was set for us to go, I was all dressed
up. I was wearing my government coat, and of course, my leggings and moccasins. I was wearing my government medal. Finally the delegation left the village and when we got about five miles east, all at once one of the men in the back said, 'Look back at the village. There must be a warpath coming!' We could see everyone standing on top of the earth lodges. 'Well boys,' I said, 'let's go back.' The Kitkehaxkis, Tsawis, Pitahawiratas and us Skidis all went back to our villages." As he told the story the old men sat smoking and they said, "That's the time. That's it."

"Well when I came to my earth lodge, I looked at my wives there and said, 'Dear wives, maybe Heaven doesn't want me to see the great government.' At the same time my horse was way out there and I had to get to it to go on the warpath. All I took was my bow and arrows. I walked over to the sacred bundle and there on top were the Pipe Dance sticks. I took the one with the black eagle feathers (the male pipestem). That was all I took with me. I said to my wives, 'Now if it's the will of Heaven, I'll come back. If not, I won't. I may not come back.' It was because I had heard old people say that Heaven loves these pipes, that I took it with me.

"I got on the horse and went to where the fighting was going on. 'Well, this is my last day,' I thought to myself. Because the pipestem has two soft feathers on it and I didn't want them to touch my horse, I raised it up out of the way. I rode right through where the Sioux were and to the fighting line. I arrived at the front line with a Sioux close on one side of me, one on the other side and one directly in front. When I arrived at the front line, the Sioux turned back their horses and started to flee. There I was facing the whole line of Sioux, holding my pipe up like this. As the retreating line was going, you could see the dust. But I still had my original Sioux escorts. Wedged in between them, they didn't dare to try and shoot me with their bow and arrow as they were likely to shoot each other in the attempt. I raised this pipe and hit the one that was riding in front of me right on the back of his head. I reined in my horse and they rode ahead. We had ridden way

ahead of the fighting line. When I looked back all I could see of the 539
Pawnee was the cloud of dust they were raising. Now that's what I 721
did. Now you all know what I did.

The listeners said, "Nawa." Some said, "That's right, that's the time."

Now said Eagle Chief to his co-leader, Lone Chief, "Give it to War Cry!" Everyone laughed because they expected the story to be of a very different kind from that of Eagle Chief, since War Cry was a rough character. He didn't disappoint them. His story also concerned the power of the Peace Pipe to repulse an enemy attack upon the village, but the story had a quite different flavor from Eagle Chief's.

War Cry was a brave and his whole outlook was toward aggression 538
and violence compared with a chief who was a man of peace and con- 157
ciliation. To the stark combat realism of his story, Eagle Chief was moved to comment, "That War Cry is a wicked fellow!" War Cry's narrative 539
was as follows: 721

"Now I'll tell a short story like he did. You all know that the Tsawis had come for a Pipe Dance to the Skidis. They had come to Pipe Dance on Lone Chief [the Tsawis coming as "fathers" with goods, clothing, etc.]. They had been dancing for three days and now on the fourth, they were to 'take the child out,' dancing outside. Lone Chief's daughter was all painted up and dressed as the 'queen.' She was seated at the west and ten or fifteen chiefs and braves were sitting inside to witness the proceedings. Man Chief of the visiting Tsawis was about to say, 'Now we're going to take her outside,' when someone cried out at the doorway, 'Warpath coming.' Some of the Skidis got up and ran out, but about half of them stopped. Man Chief said, 'You wait, you wait—' About eight of the Skidis sat still and waited.

"Man Chief walked up north of the fireplace where Lone Chief was and he said, 'Now child, I have heard this: That Heaven loves this Pipe Dance. Here's the child before you—your child. [Lone Chief's daughter is representing the "childhood" of the whole group of Skidis who are being visited]. 'If our faith is justified,' Man Chief continued, 'then when you go on the warpath, you are going to have good luck. Now we will see. It is as if I stood holding the child and the pipe, embracing them, and the Sioux came running over me. Now, my son, I don't want to talk too long, (some of the Tsawis had also slipped out), for I know you are all anxious to go. Now you're going on the warpath. If our faith is justified, then you're going to come back with success and conquer the enemy. Now you may go!'

"The Tsawi horses were far away and most of them had gone off. The Skidis tried to run for their horses. They had a lot of them tied up there nearby to present to the Tsawis after the ceremony. The

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539
721

horses were painted up with white clay across the eyes and at all the joints and down the backbone. Some were painted with red or black paint. Some had eagle feathers on the mane and some had feathers tied onto the tail. The Sioux just didn't realize that this pipe belongs to Heaven.

"Way off, the seven of us could see different bunches engaged in combat on the different hills. We began to set out in the direction of the enemy, when just then, the Sioux shone a mirror in our eyes as a farewell signal. We stopped in a bunch and all got off our horses. It was obviously too far to reach them in time.

"We were climbing a hill to the northeast of here near a place called Kira-rutsku while at the same time a young man of the South Bands was coming up on the opposite side. As soon as he got on top of the hill, instead of dismounting his horse, he just began to yell. In his hands he had two whips. He had seen a Sioux hiding in a trough nearby. The Sioux was running off thinking he had a chance to escape but all seven of us set out to attack him. At Kira-rutsku there is a kind of high bluff and right in the bend of it the Sioux was going up the high ridge and the South Band man was half way. Shot Arm and another fellow had horses that were good runners and they began to gain on him. Shot Arm called out to the South Band man to watch the Sioux and not let him get away. The Sioux rode his horse up the hill and as soon as he got to the top, Shot Arm and the other man shot at him. But they only succeeded in hitting the horse, which now began to buck. The Sioux jumped off onto his right leg and started coming toward them. The South Band man also jumped off his horse and he and the Sioux were face to face. The South Band man was brave and the rest of us just stood off to one side and watched. The Sioux's horse had remained at the top of the bluff, while the South Band man was standing next to his horse where he had dismounted. Shot Arm shouted a warning to the South Band man to look out or he would shoot his own horse. On the other hand, if the Sioux managed to get on it, they would never catch him.

"Now the South Band man and the Sioux started to fight. Both were jumping about like cats as they dodged each other's arrows. Shot Arm noticed that the South Band man was wearing a shirt and that the shirt sleeves diverted the arrow into a zigzag course so that it missed its mark. He called out to him, 'Undo your shirt sleeve.' After he had undone his sleeve and pulled it up he began to shoot straight. (We Skidis stood out of the way at a good distance where we would be wide of the mark.) At last the South Band man hit the Sioux with the arrow right in the stomach. He tried to pull the arrow out. He tried to go down the bluff. The Sioux was getting dizzy from his wound, and right near Lone Chief, he fell over.

> "Everyone was thinking of making a strike on him and getting war 539
> honors. Lone Chief was especially anxious to make the first strike on 721
> this occasion. He ran toward him down the hill as fast as he could. As I turned around, the Sioux had gotten up and fallen over on his back. The South Band man also made a strike on him and ran down the hill as fast as he could."

The war honors consisted of touching the fallen enemy and before eye 538
witnesses stating, *tat-i-ki,* "I-at him-strike." Two more could succeed the 554
first strike, these being spoken of as *wi-taruh-hukita-sa,* "now-it is-on 727
top-lying." If there were no witnesses around, one could put the dead Sioux in a sheltered place and bring witnesses afterward, or people who came could be shown the tracks of horses in the place and some blood to show there had been a skirmish. Even if such proof could not be made, the story was likely to come out later when the two tribes concerned were at peace and they talked over their past experiences.

At this point, the story was taken over by Shot Arm, who for its next episode, had been more directly in the thick of the fight. He said:

> "The Sioux had two six shooters in his belt, one on each side. The 539
> Sioux now threw away his bow and arrows and took out his guns. But 727
> I was right next to him and before he had a chance to do anything I grabbed both his hands. Meanwhile Brave Shield took the second strike on him and rode away.
>
> "While I was grappling with him you could hear someone coming grunting and panting. That was this fellow here, War Cry. [War Cry was heavily built.] When he arrived he said to the Sioux, 'You nearly killed my brother-in-law (meaning me) (*para-kaskur-rahux-kapakis,* almost-you mine-rotten-poor, viz., killed).' He put his hand to his left side and drew out his very sharp butcher knife. It was just as sharp as it could be. He cut off the whole scalp of that Sioux, ears and all. [The whole top and back of the headskin with the ears, viz., across the top of the forehead just under the hairline and way back to the base of the hair all around, including the ears.]
>
> "All this time I was grappling with the Sioux for his guns. War Cry put his right knee up against the Sioux's shoulders and pulled off the entire scalp. Swoosh, it went! The skin of the forehead fell over his eyes and as War Cry put his knee against the Sioux's back, he cracked the backbone and the Sioux cried out i! i! i! i! and let go the rifles.
>
> "Back at Lone Chief's lodge, all the time the fighting was going on Man Chief and two other Tsawis had remained. Man Chief sat without moving, his buffalo robe with the hair side out wrapped tight around him. He had asked the other two to remove the decorations from Lone Chief's daughter.

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539
727

"Out at the scene of battle, the man who had shot at the Sioux horse was told to take it as it was simply injured in the shoulder and would recover. Dog Chief asked War Cry for a little piece of the scalp—just enough to put on a stick, but he refused saying, 'Wait till we get home.' It was nearly sundown and all the warriors had returned except we seven. People in the village were asking, 'Did you see those seven fellows?' 'Oh, they chased the Sioux way off to Kirarutsku.' Man Chief was worried by now, and all the Tsawis that were there wanted 'their sons' to come home. The Tsawis came outside and sat on the high bank along the bluff outside Lone Chief's lodge.

"We started back from Kirarutsku in a bunch with the South Band man leading his horse and the rest of us Skidis following. Between nine and ten in the evening the Tsawis along the bluff could see us coming on a ridge about half a mile away. We were shooting off the six-shooters to announce our good luck and they could see the sparks and hear the report of the guns. As soon as we came in sight, Brave Shield who has the loudest voice called out, 'Lone Chief struck the enemy!' Someone else called, 'Brave Shield struck second!' and then another, 'War Cry scalped the whole head!'

"Everyone took up the cry and began to shout, 'Lone Chief struck the enemy' and the old ladies began to sing and dance and everyone heard it for it was in his lodge that the Pipe Dance was going on and there his daughter was being made 'the child.' All the visiting Tsawis, young and old, all along the bluff, began to yell, 'Lone Chief struck the enemy. Brave Shield made second strike!'

"Someone at the door of Lone Chief's lodge called out '*Piirau* (child), *wi-ti-ki*, now-he-make first strike!' Man Chief jumped up from where he had been sitting huddled in his robe and also some of the braves that were in there. They were saying, 'Cook right away. Get a bucket of water.' An old Tsawi man stood up and started to sing old war songs—victory songs. Some ladies began to sound the high shrill ululating victory cry.

"Man Chief selected one of his braves and said, 'Now you go and meet our sons and say to them, 'Sons, come right here to Lone Chief's lodge—all of you.' Halfway out the Tsawi brave called out, 'Children [*pirau*]' and they all answered, 'Father [*atias*].' 'Nawa, children, your father, Man Chief, has said that all of you are to come to Lone Chief's lodge. They are cooking now [*witirakaruriku*].' Now they followed on horseback after the Tsawi brave. Then as they got in, the returning warriors said, 'All right, we'll be there. But we must first take these horses home.'

"As Lone Chief was coming toward his lodge, a brave had been told to spread a buffalo robe on the ground outside. Man Chief em-

braced Lone Chief as he got off the horse and directed him to sit 539
down on the buffalo robe. Then the braves got hold of the buffalo 727
robe and carried him into the lodge, setting him down in his place near the door. Now all the Tsawis were singing—the old men and the old women, and when the rest of us seven arrived in a crowd, they gave us everything they were wearing—their blankets, leggings, and finally the Tsawis had almost nothing on.

"Now three old Skidi women came led by Grieves-the-Enemy. She was dressed to commemorate her war deed, when she had saved the village from the attacking Poncas by impersonating a medicine man. She had her hair all tied up in a knot at the front of her head to one side. She had black soot across her eyes. She was saying to the other two old women, 'Here's his lodge. I want you two old women to sing.' As soon as they sang and danced with their sticks, the Tsawis gave the three old ladies calico and other gifts."

This was the end of the story that War Cry had started and Shot Arm 538
continued. The Pipe of Peace, beloved of Heaven, had brought them victory as they defended their village.

Now the real session that they had all been waiting for would begin and continue all night. First Old-Man-That-Chief and then the others told real old time stories. For the most part they described their experiences as they moved from place to place abroad in the land in times past. With vivid imagery and detail they described each location and its
events. It was in just such a meeting right after they returned from the [805]
winter hunt, after the warriors and chiefs had told their stories that the old men would take up the question of the calendar and whether they needed to introduce the thirteenth intercalary month that year. Warrior would tell an old war story and also That-Chief and then Good-Land
would begin to speak of what year it is. He would talk of the stars 538
—of how when people are lost, they must find their way back by 821
following them. Then he would say of the moon that when it is low, we 484
must put on something warm for it might rain or snow at any time. If you are far off you will need something warm to weather the storm. And after the storm is over you look at the stars and find your way back. Now the conversation turned to specific stars—which ones are appearing now, and how one star that shines brightly in spring brings a big wind when it gets to a certain place. Also, that there are sometimes two or three stars that act together. Good-Land continued with some experiences that had taught him about these things. He told of how a man who went south to Oklahoma with a big party strayed off on the way back. In the day he was able to follow the sun and calculate the east and north, going by north and a little eastward. At night he walked right under

early intimacy would ultimately end in a marriage according to the 836 rites of the tribe, but the girl was not allowed to exercise much choice [582] in the selection of a husband.

Occasionally it happened that a boy and girl eluded the vigilance of the parents and lay together. If detected, this was at once checked. Should the girl become pregnant as a result of their union, and should the girl's relatives be predisposed to the boy and think him likely to become a good husband, he was asked to marry her. The relatives of the young man gathered together and sent presents [584] of ponies, robes, blankets, and other things to the girl's parents, and the two young people were married. If the boy was not considered 836 suitable, however, two men were sent to his lodge and he was severely 684 beaten, and on rare occasions died as a result of the punishment. 578 During the beating, tribal custom decreed that the boy's relatives must not defend him. The young man's parents sometimes tried to heal the breach between the two families by offering presents to the parents of the injured girl. If the girl's relatives refused to accept the boy for a son-in-law, they attempted to secure a husband for her, which was often a matter of great difficulty. Sometimes the girl refused to tell the name of the boy who had seduced her and was driven from her own lodge, in which case she generally went to the boy's lodge and tried to live there; [548] if they drove her out, she might be forced to live on the outskirts of the village as a prostitute. Often if a boy knew that he was about to be held responsible for betraying a [721] girl he would run away, especially to follow a war party. Occasionally a couple, realizing their union would displease their relatives, eloped to some other village. The illicit sexual relations of young people often resulted in family disputes and conflicts involving most of the relatives on both sides.

MARRIAGE

Marriage among the Skidi was not entered into lightly or at an 581 early age. The marriage tie was said to be enduring and faithfulness was expected and demanded. Skidi villages tended to be endogamous 582 and a man married a woman of his own village, to whom he was not related by close ties of blood. Marriage with a first cousin was forbidden and marriage with a second cousin, though tolerated, was not considered proper.

Courtship as we understand it did not play a very important 584 part in marriages among the higher class of Skidi. In fact, no friendship that might have been formed between a young couple ever resulted in legal marriage unless the proper relatives of both sides

834 freedom. [I doubt that this was so between all persons of opposite sex—especially not brothers and sisters.] This does not imply that there was no sense of morality or convention. One of the greatest reproaches that could be heaped upon a man was to speak of him as *tihakakits*, which meant that the saliva ran down his face and implied that he lacked decency and did not treat women with respect.

836 548 Chastity, particularly among unmarried women, was held in high esteem. At the outskirts of every village were widows or girls who had been driven from home on account of immorality and who lived as prostitutes.

838 So far as was determined, but a single berdache has been known among the Pawnee for many years. Such an individual was said to have the ways of a woman and was supposed to have been influenced by the moon.

828 156 The lazy man was the slow one, the man who, as a boy, never carried water, packed corn, took the ponies to water, gathered wood for the fire, or ran away with a war party. Such a one was despised.

The coward was the one afraid to go on the warpath. He was always hanging around camp and never went out on the high hills at night for power because he was afraid of ghosts, as the burying grounds were generally on hills.

The stingy man was the sort who, when it was his wife's turn to provide food for the occupants of the lodge, put on the fire a tiny pot of meat only sufficient for himself.

The liar was one who always deceived people. He constantly came in with false news of having seen buffalo near-by. He gave false alarms when sent out as a scout. He was generally a coward as well, for he never, if he could help it, went out in front when in the presence of the enemy; yet he was always the first to return home and boast of his deeds in the fight. Should he lie four times about having seen buffalo his word was forever after doubted and he was despised and no attention paid to him. His joints got large and he became a cripple. When the Skidi saw a man whose joints were swollen with arthritis they said that it was the penalty he paid for having been a liar.

158 Insane and crazy persons in old times were not known as such; at any rate it is not remembered that they existed. A woman was said to be "mixed up," "her spirit is not straight," when she was under the influence of love medicine and powerless to control herself.

C

181 home I cannot say, but I should think it
must [be] too strongly expressed. The spec-
imens I saw at Omaha were of a low, vile
[548] and filthy order. The women were all pros-
titutes and diseased, some of them clearly.
I saw men offer to sell the use of their wom-
en for a paltry compensation, which fact
[182] proves the entire completeness of the de-
moralization of this portion of the band.

[p. 66 (B)]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

NAMES OF SINGERS

115
551

Common name	Pawnee name	Translation	Number of songs recorded
Mrs. Wicita Blain (Effie Blain).	Tsastawinahiigat	She led a pony into the ceremony.	25
Wicita Blain [1]	Tutukrawitsu	He overtook the enemy.	20
John Luwak [2]	Laduda desadu	He does everything as a chief.	15
Horse Chief (Spotted Horse Chief).[3]			12
Dog Chief (Simond Adams).			5
Mrs. Mary Murie [4]			3
Fannie Chapman			2
Mark Evarts			2
Mrs. Good Eagle (Nora White).			1
Coming Sun [5]			1
Total			86

---

[1] Died Dec. 20, 1927.

[2] This singer is commonly known as John Rowak, according to the pronunciation of the Skidi Band. He is a chief of the Chaui Band and requested that his name be presented with the letter *L* used by the Chaui. The words of his songs are presented in the form used by the Skidi in order that they may be uniform with the majority of recorded Pawnee songs.

[3] Died June 13, 1923.

[4] Died June 12, 1928.

[5] Died Nov. 18, 1921.

CHARACTERIZATION OF SINGERS

A majority of these songs were recorded by Wicita Blain and his wife, who are members of the Skidi Band and spent their early years in Nebraska, before the removal of the tribe to Oklahoma. Both were afflicted with blindness and, when recording their songs, were led by a granddaughter who acted as interpreter. Mr. Blain recorded songs of the Lance and Buffalo dances which are his by right of inheritance. In the Buffalo dance attended by the writer he led the songs, being seated back of the "altar"; he also took a prominent part in the Lance dance. Mrs. Effie Blain is considered an equally reliable singer of the old songs. 115 [424]

John Luwak (pl. 2, *a*), who recorded many songs, is chief of the Chaui Band and a fine example of the old-time Indian. He speaks practically no English, but is ambitious to accept the best customs of the white man. In accordance with his request, the phonograph [DC]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 171 in order that the music of the entire tribe may be represented. All these songs are combined in the analyses and the latter class, to some extent, affects the total numbers.

An important point, made evident in this comparative analysis, is the individuality of Pawnee music. It is distinct, in its entirety, from the songs of other tribes, though bearing a resemblance to one tribe or another in separate characteristics. The study of Indian music by an established system of analysis shows there are characteristics that are common to Indian songs of various tribes and different from the music of the white race, and also characteristics which distinguish the songs of one tribe from those of another. Among the former [illegible] the change of measure-lengths found in many Indian songs and the downward trend of the melody. The latter are indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. A characteristic of Pawnee music that evades, to some extent, the tabulated analysis, is its simplicity of both melody and rhythm. This can only be appreciated by a study of the melodies themselves. Pawnee music is the plainest of any thus far recorded in its rhythmic divisions and general content. This characteristic of the group may, however, be due to the absence of songs used in treating the sick, which are usually songs of complicated rhythms.

MORNING STAR CEREMONY

778 796 A sacred bundle of the Skidi Pawnee was associated with Morning Star and its ceremony was held in the early spring, having for its object the securing of good crops in the coming season. It was the writer's privilege to see the Morning Star bundle in the house of the woman who was its keeper, and also to see its contents exposed in the ceremony. The bundle, in accordance with custom, was hung on the [776] west wall of its owner's house, and with it were hung four large gourds, symbolizing the four deities who were the special guardians of Evening Star and also representing the breasts of the two women in the west, Evening Star and Moon.[15]

773 [424 ● 551] The legend from which the Morning Star ceremony arose was related by Coming Sun, whose grandfather was a high priest in the Morning Star village and who received his name by inheritance from this ancestor. With Coming Sun's narrative is combined a limited number of details mentioned by Linton in "Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee."

As already stated, Morning Star ruled in the east and Evening Star in the west. All the stars west of the Milky Way were feminine and those to the east were masculine, but the most powerful were Morning Star and Evening Star. Sun was with the former and Moon was a companion of the latter. One after another the eastern

---

[15] Cf. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 53-56.

and thought that I was dead but found afterwards that I was only 726
asleep. In my sleep, I saw a buffalo bull sitting by the water's 553
edge waving his tongue in the water. As I went up to him I saw 159
that he was watching me. He spoke to me and said: 'My son, you 538
are wounded, but you are not going to die; I shall take care of you.'
When I regained consciousness, I was feeling sick. I wanted to
vomit. I vomited a lump of white stuff. The medicine-men cut
it open, and there was a piece of strouding inside it. This was a
piece that had been shot into me from my breech cloth. I soon
became well. Then I took the name of Buffalo-waving-its-Mouth-in-Water."

"There was a young man who had never been on the warpath,
but was always making fun of other young men who came back
from the warpath without any ponies or scalps. This young man
made up his mind one day that he would go on the warpath. So
he sat down in his lodge and invited a few of his friends. He told
them that he was thinking about going on the warpath, and if they
wanted to go he would like to go with them. The young men all
said they would go. The young man kept the others in his lodge
all day and all night. Just before sunrise they started out. They
travelled far and a little before noon they stopped in a hollow, and
the young man selected scouts and sent them out. The scouts came
back and reported that there was a war-party close by, that the
men were holding some kind of a council, and that their ponies were
not very close. The young man gave instructions for every one to
get ready. They walked along the ravines until they came to the
ponies, which they captured and mounted. Then they attacked
the enemy while they were holding council. The boys killed several
of the enemy and drove the others away, came back and took scalps,
and then returned home. They set the prairies afire, took the
charred grass and put it upon their faces and bodies. They were
received by the people and the boy told the old men that he had
taken a scalp, which he wanted to offer to the gods, and that he [782]
wanted his name changed. So the scalp was offered to the gods,
and his name was changed to Noon, for he said: 'By noon time I [551] ●
had captured the enemy's ponies, killed several men, and taken
their scalps, so I shall be known as Noon-Day Man.' "

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

The usual period of nursing was about three years; if a woman 853
nursed a child for a longer time other women would make fun of
her. Children were told by their mothers to bury their milk teeth, 854
856

772 and obtain a scalp. This was carried home to the village on a pole, and
765 scalp dances were inaugurated. The scalp was consecrated to one
[782] of the deities of the heavens, and the man who had taken it wrapped
a piece of it in a small buckskin sack with tobacco. This was tied to a long stick representing an arrow and thrust into the grave. Another small piece of the scalp was burned upon the grave.

551
765 The name of a dead person could not be mentioned during the mourning period. If anyone mentioned the name of an individual who had been killed in war, it was thought that he would probably suffer the same fate as the person killed.

764
778
821 Reference has been made to the fact that personal belongings were buried with the dead. However, there were certain exceptions to this practice. Personal war bundles containing meteorites or any objects supposed to have had their origin in the heavens were not buried. This was in accordance with the belief that these objects belonged in the heavens and not in the ground. Hence, when an individual possessing such objects died, and if the relatives did not want them, the bundle was unwrapped and the objects were placed on a high hill, whence they returned to the heavens. Such objects were supposed to be the children of stars, watched over by them, and it was believed that when people had no further use for these "children," they would return to their parents in the sky. Also, if a medicine-man died during the time he was giving instruction to his son, his medicine bundle was retained for the boy's use when he became of age.

764
778 A further illustration of the burial of belongings with the dead is contained in the following incident. A Skidi chief's daughter died. The father had received calumet pipe sticks from the Chaui band, and his daughter had participated in the ceremony accompanying the gift. Her death followed shortly after the ceremony and was attributed to the belief that the ceremony had not been properly performed. Consequently, over her grave her father placed the pipe sticks, oriole's nest, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, and tobacco bag that comprised the special objects used in the ceremony. That year drought prevailed, the crops withered, buffalo could not be found, and the Skidi were forced to depend on their cache reserves. The Chaui priest who had originally brought the pipe sticks visited the Skidi, and with the chief to whom he had presented them, went to the grave, removed the ceremonial objects, wrapped them in a bundle, and taking the earth from over the body, placed the bundle next to it. He then re-filled the grave. Shortly after, there

648 their ringing war whoop broke out upon the morning air. When the Cheyennes heard this war-cry, which told them that the attacking party were Pawnees, their hearts became like water, and they turned and fled. Already, however, seven of their number had fallen before the Pawnee bullets, and the fresher horses of the Pawnees easily overtook the tired ones ridden by the pursued. Of that party of Cheyennes not one escaped, and with twenty-seven scalps, and all the plunder, the victorious Pawnees returned that afternoon to their command.

Among the captured property were thirty-five horses and mules, some of which had been taken from a party of fifteen soldiers, killed to a man by these Cheyennes but a few days before; there were also the scalps of these soldiers, and wearing apparel belonging to white women and children, which justified the belief that they had recently massacred a party of emigrants.

[727 55] It was on the occasion of the scalp dance which followed this victory, and when the Scouts were changing their names, as was the custom after a successful encounter with the enemy, that the Pawnees gave to Major North the title *Pa'-ni Le-shar* (Chief of the Pawnees), a name which has been borne by only one other white man, General John C. Fremont, the Pathfinder.

The story of the killing of Tall Bull, and the fight with Turkey Leg's band of Sioux, illustrate the readiness and the daring of Major North in battle. Tall Bull was a chief who commanded a large village of renegade Sioux and Cheyennes, who had given great trouble by their depredations. Major North, with his Pawnees and some white United States troops, had been looking for this village for some time, and at length succeeded in surprising it near Summit Springs. The village was captured in the charge and many of the hostiles killed. Others fled or concealed themselves in the ravines and washouts, which seamed the prairie, and made a desperate fight. The Pawnees were scattered about in little parties, killing the Indians thus concealed, when Major North and his brother came riding rapidly along, side by side, over the open prairie. They had approached within fifty or sixty yards of a narrow steep-walled ravine, of the existence of which they were ignorant, when an Indian raised his head above its side and fired. The ball whistled between the heads of the two riders; Major North threw up his hands and reeled in the saddle as if about to fall, and the

his nephew, etc., as the case might be. A man would feel free to issue the 574 invitation if he had gotten some meat by hunting or bought some supplies at the trade store. Otherwise the invitation would come from the woman, since she would be providing the food. However, when guests 574 came in at the husband's invitation in order to transact some business or political affairs, the husband had the right to ask the wife to cook 431 something for his guests. If one were simply to "drop in" on a relative without a business reason or an invitation, it would appear as a hint that you wanted a gift or some other service. In order to forestall this impression, one came bringing a gift, opening the visit with the presentation and thus making it appear as the ostensible reason for the visit. The nature and value of the gift was to some extent an index of the regard the donor felt for the recipient.

On the whole, kin ties called forth strong emotions, especially in the 602 presence of a stranger. Where strangers and kin were involved, kin loyalty aroused immediate reactions and was very strong. 609 Outside the kin group it was assumed that people must be mean, unreliable, and treacherous. The household and immediate kin was the closest unit and the village pretty much the outer limit. Intervillage ties did exist, however, and 628 occasionally intervillage marriages. As the population began to dwindle 582 in the last years in Nebraska, such intermarriages became more frequent than heretofore.

Personal Names and Aspirations

A person was never addressed by his personal name; a kin term was 551 always used. [601] This served to indicate the expected behavior and, through the mode of its use, the nuances that could be expected within the category. A personal name among the Pawnees was of an entirely different character from our own. It was an honorary title of an extremely personal nature. The significance of the personal name was stated by a priest (see Fletcher, 1904, p. 365) as follows:

> A man's life is an onward movement. . . . If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the help of the powers, his life will "climb up." . . . Some men can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level. Men having power to advance, climb step by step. . . . the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life, an upper level—such a one as reached by the ancient men who are spoken of in the (name-changing) ritual, who threw away the names by which they had been known before (because of new and higher achievements). *Ru-tur-a-witz-pari*, "in a direction-he is actively-moving-to a point or goal-traveling"; this is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by doing like deeds.

551 The personal name was an act of self-recognition for a goal one had set oneself and achieved. One sponsored a special ceremony by making a donation of food to the priests, and in the course of the ceremony one's new name was publicly announced. But the substance of the name was strictly private and reserved to oneself. The name was cited only on the most formal occasions and from the name itself it was not possible to deduce its private significance. A person who had achieved such a name could lovingly bestow it on a son or a daughter in a ritual, or a son might give his name to his mother and then set out to earn a new and still more important one. Each of the people in the household of Old Bull and Victory Call had such a name, and while we cannot reconstruct the esoteric circumstances, a few facts about their lives gives a sense of their significance.

551 622 159 Victory Call was known for short as *Riwahut*, but his full name was *Siti-riwahut*, meaning "they are making the high trilling sound for victory." This sound was made by the women as the victorious warrior returned to the village. Publicly and socially Victory Call had made an important place for himself in the tribe. He was a younger son of a prominent Skidi chief of Old Village, Chief Big Eagle. His older brother Sitting Hawk (*Pia-tiwitit*, "hawk-he-sits-down") held the senior position in the family and occupied the family seat in the chiefs' council. As a cadet member of the family, Victory Call had to earn his social position in the community, and he had succeeded very well. People in the community said of him that he had almost surpassed his older brother by his achievements. Through his prowess in war and hunting, he had been able to entertain the chiefs and influential men at a number of formal banquets, and he had given them gifts of horses. In recognition of his deeds he was accorded one of the vacant seats in the chiefs' council, where he now sat regularly and had a voice in all administrative decisions for the band and tribe. He played the role of chief very well. He was considerate of people and concerned for their welfare. He was known to have entertained old people from time to time and to treat them with consideration and generosity. At one time when he had had a successful deer hunt, he sent Horse Rider to invite a number of old people, and when they were seated around the lodge he personally served them the deer meat and made sure that each had a generous portion. After the meal, as was customary, the guests began to talk and one old man expressed the sentiments of all when he said, "We thank you for having us here for dinner today. It is my wish to you that you will live to see your grandchildren grow up and do you honor, and that your great grandchildren will play about your feet." This was not to be, but perhaps he has gained a different kind of immortality through his son Otter
159 and through the stories he told of their life.

575 794 The most creative and socially significant achievement of Victory Call

159 593 622 fuse the call saying, "I'm a drunkard and have many other faults. I can't be a chief." To other men, Grieves-the-Enemy was gruff, even to priests, but not to the chiefs. Even her grown son, she ordered about. She would send him off to get a bucket of water and he would feel obliged to do as she said. Not that she was "mannish" in any way. She wasn't. Among the Skidis, this old lady was a person of note.

159 603 She was raising her grandson, Yellow Calf, whose mother had died and whose father, High Noon, had married into another household. She contributed many invaluable services to the household, and she and Otter's grandma liked each other and cooperated well together.

[551] Otter's grandmother was Old-Lady-Chase-the-Enemy. Her name, *Ts-ak-ta-bira'as*, "woman-them-chased-ahead," i.e., "chase the enemy ahead of the line of battle," was given to her by her brave sons in honor of a gallant war deed they had performed, chasing the enemy way ahead of the line of battle. All six of them were killed in battle by the Poncas, and she would think sadly of their death, "If my sons had lived they would have taken care of me." "But," said Otter, "in our household we didn't think of her as a burden. She was my own grandma who used to take care of me and we took care of her." Otter's grandmother was a very old woman. In fact, she was his great-great-grandmother, once removed. She was the sister of White Woman's own great-grandmother and accordingly, White Woman called her *atira*, and she was thus a grandmother to Otter. He would call her *atika*, "grandmother," having no consciousness that in fact she [582] was two generations beyond his mother's mother. Marriage at the age of fourteen or fifteen for girls made it quite feasible to be a great-great-grandmother between the ages of sixty-five and seventy. She may have been seventy-five at the time. Being in the mother's line, she was considered a particularly close relative. That she was a satisfactory grandmother to Otter there can be no doubt. When they walked out together, people would say to her, "That's your husband. He always watches his wife. They can't be parted." And Otter would retort, "Well I have to watch her. She might run away!"

Otter said the following of his grandmother:

> Grandma was left-handed and they would sometimes speak of her as *Tskusaski*, "Lefty-woman." She would do everything for me—grease my feet when they chapped and cracked, get me food at night. I wouldn't bother others to do these things. She would do anything in the way of work. She was very saving as she knew how hard it was to get anything. She wasted nothing as she felt hard times might come some time. I guess she was like some white women who don't waste anything, putting everything into the kettle. She would cook anything and make it taste good—turkey feet and some field corn that she had made into hominy—she

> would just put these together and it would be a good soup when you had nothing else to eat. We like to eat however it tastes, but we certainly like to eat a well-cooked dish. In the spring my grandmother went out and collected wild turnips and things to save up for the winter. She never went dancing. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy had a very different personality from my grandmother. She was not at all bashful like my grandmother, who was very good at doing all sorts of things, but didn't do much talking. The reason my grandmother was bashful in this way was because she was humble and sad on account of the death of her sons in the battles with the Poncas. 159 603

The little boy Yellow Calf, grandson of Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, was six or seven years old and the constant companion of Otter. His name *Ari-pahat*, "calf-red," referred not to a red color, but to a tawny yellow. The name had an important sacred reference—the calfskin wrapping around the Evening Star bundle, and it must have been given to him in the course of a ceremony to which his family contributed. His father, High Noon, was the middle one of White Woman's three brothers who always came to the house. Otter called High Noon *tiwatciriks*, "uncle," and as the nephew, Otter called Yellow Calf *piirau*, "child." High Noon sent meat to the house on behalf of his son. Otter describes him in the following terms: 159 551 602

> Yellow Calf was a bit livelier than me. We played together. He wanted to fight sometimes but I didn't want to. He wasn't rough though. When we got to Oklahoma we separated, and we never did get together again.
>
> His family was unfortunate for even when they succeeded in getting horses, the horses died. But afterward Yellow Calf had good luck. First he married an old lady who had no relatives of her own and he inherited all her land. Then when he married a younger woman, his wife got some land of her own. They had many daughters, all of whom married and went all over to live. When he died, he left a large family.

The occasion of Yellow Calf's first marriage is an interesting story. When he was about eighteen, Yellow Calf was seized with hysteria. He imagined he saw a kind of Pawnee Lorelei—a little deer called *tatatsiks* that turned into a woman. The family did all they could to cure him but everything they tried was in vain. Then a medicine woman of about fifty said she could cure him, providing they could get married (Old Lady Tsitawa—see pp. 294-295, 305). They did marry and the cure was successful, and Yellow Calf prospered after that. Otter's mother White Woman remarked at the time that it was a pity Yellow Calf's mother wasn't alive when he was having all that trouble or she could have told 159 756 [158] [776]

159 habitual gambler was likely to lose her blouse, her shawl, or her earrings.
554 A man who noticed a crowd of women playing together like that would
have to move along and mind his own business.
602

525 Clear Day had her own basket and plum seed dice with which to play the game—tossing up the marked plum seeds in the tray basket. Even when she herself didn't think of going out to gamble, the others would come in and get her. She would go out early in the morning and come back late in the evening, betting whatever she had, i.e., calico, a necklace, or her earrings. Old Bull didn't get angry. He was a chief and it wouldn't have been right for him to express any strong disapproval of his wife.

Sometimes a man whose wife was out gambling would get angry because he got hungry. When the woman came home feeling badly because she had lost, there would be trouble. She would say to her husband, "It was because of you. You were thinking about your hunger and then I lost the game." She gave no thought to her home—only to her playing. Sometimes she would win a nice piece of calico so that she could make her husband a new shirt. Then the reaction at home would be quite different. The husband would say, "That's good. But don't go so often. You might lose your luck." But try as she would to obey her husband's injunction, she would be caught up in it eventually. When the gamblers came around, she would make some excuse and say, "No, I have such and such to do. Why don't you go and ask so and so?" But eventually the other gamblers knew she would succumb. That was the way of Clear Day, Old Bull's younger wife. She was an habitual gambler.

159 Clear Day had two little daughters with Old Bull. The youngest was a
very small child and was in the care of Clear Day's mother, Blue Calico.
513 The older girl, New Queen, was five or six years old and had a bed of
593 her own near the west on the south side of the lodge, adjacent to that of Clear Day. This was in anticipation of the time when the little girl would be fifteen and old enough to marry and her husband would join the household. It was considered desirable to give a little girl a bed of her own as soon as possible. With a little boy it was quite different. He might sleep with his grandmother until he was ten and then have a bed made for him between the central houseposts near the fireplace.

159 Queen Woman, senior wife of Old Bull, was of an entirely different
595 temperament from Clear Day. Her name in Pawnee was *Ts-taru-ri'u*,
"woman-merely-by herself," signifying "one does something great by
[531] oneself, single-handed." One translation was "self-made queen," signifying that although not born a queen or woman of chief's rank, her social accomplishments were so creditable that she deserved this high

571 and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and 521 often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque grouping and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for [551] a tall, slender person, *aru-katu-has-tawiu* ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of a shoe string), or *karastiat* ("I will not go out"); *kusatrua* ("it will rain"). In reply, *A* ("well"), *uksawatsatrua* ("even if it were to rain"), *kaiit* ("salt"); *karas* ("are you?").

857 858 867 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not [601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term [551] of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey, etc.

883 572 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the [726] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous occasions.

533 Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the [726] night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching. Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting, and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar, [539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

726
ject has often been that they kept themselves free to take the horses of 484*
the enemy and ride them home. They did gain in stealth of approach,
but this is no doubt a secondary explanation of what was probably a 178
survival of older custom. The fact that the men looked for booty or 721
various kinds of valuables in the places they attacked and carried them 727
home on their backs is indicated in some of the well-known names that
were current, such as He-Comes-Carrying-Sitting-Down-from-Time-to- 551
Time-Coming—implying that the things brought home as war trophies
were so heavy that the bearer had to sit down from time to time and rest.
Another such name is He-Brings-Many-Trophies-from-Over-the-Wide-World, or again, He-Comes-Bringing-Them-Down-a-Hill, or still another,
He-Comes-Carrying-His-Trophies-Today.

It is clear that the actual pattern of cooperation on the migration and 175
hunt was established long before they had horses and present practices 224*
were adapted but not substantially changed. In 1540 Coronado's expedi- 492
tion met a party of buffalo-hunting Indians on the Plains who were using
the dog travois and carrying dried buffalo meat. Mark Evarts describes 224*
some of the traditions remembered by the Pawnees at the time of our
narrative, when they had no horses:

> Near Old Village there was a hill called Calf-Against-Upon-Stand- [103]
> ing. The calf referred to was a certain kind of yellow calf with a long body and the people knew that when they saw him standing on the hill, the herd would be right beyond him. The people would line up on each side and surround the herd and make the buffalo circle about inside. They would kill them and butcher, and carry the meat home on their backs. They had no horses. There was no trade store.
>
> The North Wind was called Lucky Wind because when it blew it [821]
> sent the buffalo. In winter in deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep, and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow, and could readily be killed. This was particularly the case before we hunted with horses.
>
> In summer the buffalo went scattered in small bunches and this was difficult, but in winter they traveled in closer formation when we could also drive them onto the ice.

The Pawnee surround is described by George Bird Grinnell (1925, pp. 249-250):

> Choosing a still day, they would surround a small bunch of buffalo, stretching out in a long line whose extremities would gradually draw together, as the hunters, disguised as wolves, stole from hill to hill around the unconscious prey. When the circle was complete some man would shout and startle the buffalo.

it. A man like Eagle Chief who had eight or nine horses and whose son-in-law 224*
had a similar number, could afford to lend two or three to out- 492
siders, although this did not mean they would also share in the family 422
tent, as his administrative functions required that he take his entire 426
family along.

In the Pawnee language, the word horse means "super-dog," the only 482
pack animal the Pawnees had before the impact of European culture. 492
With all due respect to the capacities of the dog, however, it was the peo- 177
ple themselves that did most of the carrying on their own backs. They 224*
had to pack not only the things they needed for camping—food, tents,
and equipment—but they had to carry back the dried buffalo meat and
the large hides. Every able-bodied person they took along with them
could earn his way by carrying things on his back. The men, whether
first-rate hunters or not, could play a useful role in the surround of the
herd. The only people they would leave behind in the villages were the
old and disabled. But the horse had made quite a difference in the social
economy. A horse could be packed with the dried and packaged meat of
four buffalo while a person could not carry more than one—about 80
pounds. If need be the horse could carry still more goods on his back.
Unless they could be of substantial assistance in the work of the camp, a
person would only be an extra mouth to feed. In the case of a chief or 574
a man who was socially ambitious, there would be a great deal of enter- 554
taining to do in the camp; women, in addition to their work in preparing 224*
the meat and skins would also assist with the entertaining. In a family 462
which had no social ambitions, like that of Mad Bear cited above, two 224*
men in partnership taking a minimum of housing and utensils and a 571
maximum of horses could return with a great deal of buffalo meat and 492
hides, to the general benefit of their families. The wife left behind under
these circumstances could hardly resent it.

The horse also represented a unique and highly valuable item of capi- 551
tal that had the unprecedented value of not having to be carried, but of 231
moving itself. In the past, differences in wealth would depend on a much [556]
more direct kind of personal skill. The man who was swiftest on his feet
and the most skilled with the bow and arrow got the best buffalo, and
his wife could produce the finest packaged meat and the best skins. These
in turn could be traded for other valuable things—valued ornaments or
participation in the sacred ceremonies. Now skill in horsemanship, which
had become an indispensable factor in hunting the buffalo, implied also
major successes on the warpath and the capturing of horses as well as
their subsequent care and protection. The horse thus provided a material [556]
basis for a greater degree of social differentiation. The horse was an item [422]
of personal property, but unlike property in our society it was by no
means as much of a factor in developing differential status as other
aspects of experience, chiefly knowledge of man, the world, and the
universe.

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, 773
p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explain- 55 [
ing that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of 821
a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water.
Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation
(1925, pp. 142-161).

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee 000
texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making.

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not gen- 231
uinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descrip- 552
tive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. [556]
Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-*
waki-pahat; Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof,
Askats; Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-*
katit; White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red
Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never 231
buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who 764
had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes 428
kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would [766]
often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the
horse.

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They 231
were: Wide Feet, *As-kataribu'*; White Spotted, *Paras-taka*; Bear 552
Head, *Kuruks-paksu*; Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat*; Hate-His-Tail,
Pits-tatur-ritku; Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats*; Wooly,
Pararus; Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku*; Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.*
Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked
when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were 231
never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the
time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, [262]
the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog
Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for
hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they
tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very
vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross,
1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march
pulling the travois in 1834–1836. The Pawnees were able to iden- [825]
tify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for
them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties.

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through 231
trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. 726
I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accom- 177
panied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced
a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee

21

CROSSING THE RIVER AND THE RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

000

Crossing the Railroad and the Platte River—Hunters Arrive at the New Encampment—Leader of Hunt Gives Thanks for Buffalo

WHILE THE FIVE SCOUTS were off hunting the buffalo, the people broke 224*
their fifth encampment among the sand hills between the Loup and the 484*
Platte and started south. As they were taking down their tents, the
people noticed that these men were absent. Realizing what they had [476]
gone for, the people would give their wives a hand in packing up, offering to help by taking some of their baggage for them. They would say, "You can't keep those men home. They're always off somewhere—that whole bunch!"

The line of march was usually in four parallel columns, the chiefs of each of the bands in the lead ranged from west to east—westernmost, the Skidi, then Little-Earth-Lodge Band, then Meat-Beggars, and Man-Going-Downstream furthest eastward. When they had gotten about three miles out, someone would yell, "Oh, my, we've got to cross the railroad!" This was a great nuisance as there was an embankment and ties
and sometimes a freight train or a passenger train would be coming. They
called the freight train *mule*, "long ears," and a passenger train, "These- [552]
Chiefs-Traveling," referring to the fact that each passenger was so wealthy that they were all chiefs.

Three miles more and they arrived at the Platte. As the first group got there the word would go down the line, "The water isn't high. The sand bottom is hard." "That's good," everyone said, for it meant that the crossing would be easy. Sometimes they got to the bank and found there was deep water in the river. It was seldom deeper than a man's knee or thigh, but if it were chest-high they could not cross, as the pack-

taking half a sack of flour, some sugar, coffee, and baking powder as provisions. He went to the place on the Union Pacific Railroad known as Windmill and then across the sandhills on the north edge of the island, meeting the others at about two in the afternoon. 231 857

The men and boys had a good time of it on these expeditions. They built themselves dome-shaped grass houses, *kaharuut*, of big willow twigs. Their saddles served as pillows and the saddle blankets as bedding. If they wanted an especially soft bed, they put hay and willows underneath. The older men got up very early and looked around on the sandhills. Some of them cooked the bread and coffee that comprised their main diet. Otter had a cup and he shared a plate with another boy who had brought one along. Sometimes a white man, having killed a beef, would give them a chunk of it. They had great times! [342] [3[illegible]3] [262]

Considering their dependence on the horses, the Pawnees were remarkably unsentimental about them. They never called them by name, only referring to them in conversation by such names as Spotted Horse, Spotted Black Horse, Spotted Red Horse, Black Face Horse, White Hoof, Spotted on the Side, Black Nose, White Horse, Yellow Horse, Roan Horse, Red Head, High Forehead. There was no personal identification with them. 231 552

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water. Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation (1925, pp. 142-161).

773
551
821

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making. 000

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof, *Askats;* Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the horse.

231
552
[556]

231
764
428
[766]

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They were: Wide Feet, *As-kataribu'*; White Spotted, *Paras-taka*; Bear Head, *Kuruks-paksu*; Red Puppy, *Kiras-pahat*; Hate-His-Tail, *Pits-tatur-ritku*; Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats*; Wooly, *Pararus*; Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku*; Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.* Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross, 1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march pulling the travois in 1834-1836. The Pawnees were able to identify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties.

231
552

231
[262]

[825]

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee

231
726
177

*539 *796 842

1356 Werawane ha! ka-a.
werawane, spreading out the arms.
ha! behold!
ka-a, part of the word hokai, entering.

1357 See line 1355.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the Father and the Son, wrapped in the white robe, turned toward the lodge, the Ku'rahus and his associates followed, and as they walked they sang the first stanza.

The words are, "Behold! He is coming! The Son is coming!"

At the door of the lodge they sang (second stanza), "Behold! He is entering!" With the word "werawane," the Father spread out his arms, loosening the white robe, but still holding it by the edges, while the Son slipped to the ground and returned to his place in the lodge, the place he had left at the beginning of the ceremony.

CHANGING A MAN'S NAME

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 553

If any man of the Son's party had achieved success in war, and his achievements had been acknowledged by the people, he could request the Son to have the ceremony of changing his name performed.

This act could take place in the afternoon of the fourth day. The Son would make the request known to the Father, the chief, who passed it on to the Ku'rahus.

If the Hako ceremony was held in an earth lodge, the Ku'rahus, accompanied by the Father and the Son, went outside and ascended the roof; there, standing before the people gathered below, the Ku'rahus recited in a loud voice the ritual used when changing a man's name.

If the Hako ceremony had been held in a tent, a semicircular inclosure was made with saplings and there, under the open sky, in the presence of all the people, the ritual was given and the name was changed.

Pawnee Text

1358 Hiri! Waku raruta shaura witi rarawa-a kiru sharu reru ki tawi rahwi-rahriso tira kahho ri wiri.

1359 Hiri! Raru ki tawi rahwi rahriso rao ti shira ruta rahwitz pari uss ru i re.

1360 Hiri! Ra ru ki tawi rahwi rahriso rao ti shire ra ki tawa uss ru.

1361 Hiri! Kiru tzirars: rasa rihsa pakara ra witz pari; hiri! ti ruta; hiri! ti rakiha tararawa hut, tiri.

1362 Hiri! Kiru tzirars: rasa rihsa pakara ra witz pari; hiri! ti ruta; hiri! Tira wa. ha! tiri.

1363 Hiri! Kiru tzirars: sira waku ri kata iwa hut; hiri! ti ruta; hiri! ti ra tius tararawa hut. tiri.

1364 Hiri! Riru'tziraru; sira waku rari sut: hiri! ti ruta: hiri! Tira wa. ha! tiri. 539*
1365 Hiri! Riru'tziraru; Rarari'tu, kata wi'tixsutta.
Raki'ris taka'ta wi'tixsutta. 796*
Raki'ris tarukûx'pa, raru'tura taka wiut tari.
1366 Hiri! Riru'tziraru; ruri Papapi'chus taka wi tixsutta. 553
Ruri Papapi'chus tarukûx pa raru tura taka wiut tari.
1367 Hiri! Riru'tziraru; ruchix kuso'ho riraka'ta kûx sata. Kaha'riwisiri, ku katit tiki; kaha'riwisiri, ku paha'ti tiki; kaha'riwisiri, ku raka'ta tiki; kaha'riwisiri, ku taka tiki.
1368 Hiri! Riru'tziraru; sira sura waarux para, raru tura taka wiut tari
1369 Rawa! Hawa urasharu we tatki wati.
1370 Hiri! Tatux tapakiaho; hawa, Karutska'tit! Hiri! Raro rikcha re re.
1371 Hiri! Wakoru ratora pako ûsto.
1372 Hiri! Akitaro hiwa werataweko.
1373 Hiri! Shaku'ru Wa'rukste. Hiriwa witi rakawa karu ko re.

Translation

1358 hiri! an exclamation, harken! give heed!
waku'raruta, it came to pass a long time ago.
sharu, part of u'rasha'ru, name.
witi, they.
rarawa-a, discarded, had done with, threw away.
kiru, ancient.
sharu, from kûssharu, a certain place known only by tradition.
reru, it came about, or it was.
ki'tawi, from ki, through, and ta'wi, them.
rahwi'rahriso, a title. This title was bestowed through certain ceremonies connected with one of the shrines. The man who had received this title was qualified to act as a leader, to have charge of a war expedition. [554 726]
tira, they.
kahho, a wide expanse; kah conveys the picture that this expanse is spanned, as by a roof; ho suggests an inclosed space, as a dwelling; kahho calls up the idea that the earth is a vast abode, roofed by the heavens, where dwell the powers.
ri'wiri, walking; the persons spoken of as walking are not present. Raru'wari is to travel, walking, like warriors, and the word in the text refers to such walking, to the rahwi'rahriso and the men under his leadership walking the wide earth beneath the arching sky.
1359 hiri! harken! give heed!
raru, a company, or a number of persons.
ki'tawi, through them. See same word in line 1358.
rahwi'rahriso, the leader. See translation in line 1358.
ra'o, a victory song. This class of songs could be composed and sung for the first time by a leader. They might afterward be sung by his followers and by other persons. [533*]
ti, part of tira, they.

*539 shira, from shire'ra, brought. The re is eliminated for euphony.

rutu'rahwitz, overtake.

*796 pari, walking; singular number, present tense.

●553 uss'ru, a place wherein an event took place or something occurred. Both the locality and the occurrence are known only by tradition and the tradition is preserved in song.

i re, singing vocables.

1300 hiri! harken.

ra'ru, a number of persons. The word as here used refers both to the leader and his men and to the people of their village.

ki'tawi, through them. The word has here a double reference similar to the preceding one.

rahwi'rahrisu, the leader.

rao, victory song.

ti, they. An abbreviated form of tira, they.

shire'ra, brought.

ki'tawa, from kit, the top; ta, coming; wa, part of waku, hill. Ki'tawa conveys the picture of the returning men singing their victory song as they reach the top of the hill near their village.

uss'ru; the word here means that the victory song commemorated the event at the time when the leader instituted the custom of changing the name.

1301 hiri! harken!

riru'tziraru, by reason of, by means of, because of. The word has a wide significance and force throughout the ritual.

rasa, the man stood.

rûxsa, he said or did.

pakara'ra, a loud call or chant, sending the voice to a great distance.

witz, from tawitz'sa, to reach or arrive.

pari, traveling. These five words tell of a religious rite performed by the leader. The first two refer to his going to a solitary place to fast and pray, seeking help and favor from the powers above; the last three describe his voice, bearing his petition, traveling on and on, striving to reach the abode of Tira'wa.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'ruta, special or assigned places, referring to the places where the lesser powers dwell, these having been assigned by Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'rakûse, sitting; present tense, plural number.

tararawa'hut, the sky or heavens. It implies a circle, a great distance, and the dwelling place of the lesser powers, those which can come near to man and be seen or heard or felt by him.

tiri, above, up there, as if the locality were designated by pointing upward. 539*

1302 hiri! harken! 796*

riru'tziraru, by reason of, because of.

rasa, the man stood. 553

rûxsa, did.

pakara'ra, send voice to a distance.

witz, reached.

pari, traveling.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'ruta, the abodes of the lesser powers.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

Tira'wa, Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

ha! an exclamation of awe.

tiri, above all; refers to Tira'wa atius being above all the powers.

1303 hiri! harken!

riru'tziraru, by reason of.

sira, they took.

waku, they said.

ri'kata, received.

iwa'hut, from iwa, to hand over or pass on to the one next, and tira'wahut, the circle above where the lesser powers are. Iwa'hut means handed or passed around the circle.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'ruta, abodes of the lesser powers.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'rakûse, sitting.

tirarawa'hut, the circle above of the lesser powers.

tiri, up above.

1304 hiri! harken!

riru'tziraru, because of, by reason of.

sira, they took.

waku, they said.

rari'sut, gave consent, granted.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'ruta, abodes of the lesser powers.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

Tira'wa, Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

ha! an exclamation of awe.

tiri, above all.

1305 hiri! harken!

riru'tziraru, by reason of, in consequence of.

Rarari'tu, an old term for Winds. It also means heavy storm clouds. Rari'tu, a cyclone. The word in the text has a double significance. It stands for the Winds, the lesser power, and for the summoning by this lesser power, the Winds, of the storm clouds, their messengers in the west. [821]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796
●553

kata, rising up, climbing up.
wi'tixsutta, reached there (whence the summons came).
Raki'ris, Thunders, plural form.
taka'ta, ascending, advancing.
wi'tixsutta, reached a given place.
Raki'ris, Thunders.
tarukûx'pa, an action concluded.
raru'tura, from raru, at that, and tura, ground. The word means that at the conclusion of the action (here understood) they, the Thunders, descended to the earth.
tuka'wiut, slantwise.
tari, the end of a mission or an action.
1366 hiri! harken!
riru'tziraru, by means of, or by the agency of.
ruri, at that time.
Papapi'chus, Lightning; papa, zigzag; pichus, darting, flashing.
taka, within, inclosed.
wi'tixsutta, reached there.
ruri, at that time.
Papapi'chus, Lightning.
tarukûx'pa, an action concluded.
raru'tura, and then they descended to earth. See translation of this word in line 1365.
tuka'wiut, slantwise.
tari, the end of their mission.
1367 hiri! harken!
riru'tziraru, by means of, by reason of.
ruchix, they did.
kuso'ko, flock.
riraka'ta, in front of.
kûx'sata, from side to side, as when ranging a path.
kaha'riwisiri, swallows.
ku, breast.
katit, black.
tiki, they were.
kaha'riwisiri, swallows.
ku, breast.
paha'ti, red.
tiki, they were.
kaha'riwisiri, swallows.
ku, breast.
raka'ta, yellow.
tiki, they were.
kaha'riwisiri, swallows.
ku, breast.
taka, white.
tiki, they were.

1368 hiri! harken. 539*
riru'tziraru, by reason of, because of.
sira, they took; refers to the leader and to the men who followed and depended on him. 796*
sura, possess; to become one's own. 553
waurux', grasped, as a staff.
para, walked.
raru'tura, refers to that which descended to earth.
tuka'wiut, slantwise.
tari, end, or accomplished mission.
1369 rawa! attend! a call for attention at the moment.
hawa, once more.
urasharu, name.
we, I.
taiki'wati, change.
1370 hiri! harken!
tatux, we used to.
tapakiaho, speak of him.
hawa, once more.
Karutska'tit, the former name, meaning black-feathered arrow.
hiri! harken!
raro, owner.
rikeha, lying. These words refer to the achievement commemorated by the name about to be thrown away.
ro re, vocables used for euphony and measure.
1371 hiri! harken!
wakoru, now we are.
ratora, all people.
pako'ūsto, speak out and say.
1372 hiri! harken!
akitaro, tribe.
hiwa, in the.
weraiaweko, prominent.
1373 hiri! harken!
Shaku'ru Wa'rukste, the new name now announced ("Sacred Sun").
hiriwa, in the process of making.
witi, himself.
rakawa'karu, what he is.
ko re, vocables used for euphony and measure.

Closing Remarks of the Ku'rahus

During the days I have been talking with you (the writer) I have been carried back in thought to the time when Estamaza (the father of Francis LaFlesche) came to the Chaui. I met him in this ceremony; he was the Father, and as I have worked here day and night, 115 123

Mr Murie spent three days in the translation and study of the 124
ritual, assisted by the Ku'rahus, who explained many points that
were somewhat obscure, owing to elisions, the employment of a single 195
word as a mnemonic to call up the picture of a complicated action, 196
and the forcing of words to a different application from that of ordinary
speech—a not uncommon occurrence in rituals. The latter
carefully watched the work lest mistakes should be made, remarking
that the ritual "speaks of the powers above, of whom man should be
careful what he says."

There is one aspect of the ritual, essential to its understanding, that 181
was carefully explained by the Ku'rahus, and the substance of many
conversations on the subject follows. A man's life is an onward movement. 555
If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the
help of the powers his life will "climb up." Here the Ku'rahus made 553 ●
a gesture indicating a line slanting upward; then, he arrested the 761
movement and, still holding his hand where he had stopped, went on
to say that as a man is climbing up he does something that marks a 829
place in his life where the powers have given him the opportunity to
express in acts his peculiar endowments, so this place, this act, forms
a stage in his career, and he takes a new name to indicate that he is
on a level different from that which he occupied previously. Some
men, he said, can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level,
and he illustrated his words by moving his hands horizontally. Men
having power to advance, climb step by step, and here again he made
his idea plain by a gesture picturing a slant, then a level, a slant, and
a level. In this connection he called attention to the words, in line
1359, "rutu'rahwitz pari," "to overtake walking," saying that the
people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must
strive to overtake in the walk of life an upper level, such a one as
these ancient men spoken of in the ritual had reached, where they
threw away the names by which they had been known before.
"Rutu'rahwitz pari," is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate
these men and overtake them by the doing of like deeds.

Three facts connected with the Pawnee custom of taking a new 553
name should be stated:

First. A man was permitted to take a name only after the perform- 555
ance of an act indicative of ability or strength of character. 796*

Second. The name had to be assumed openly before the people to
whom the act it commemorated was known.

Third. It was necessary that it should be announced in connection
with such a ritual as that here given.

These facts indicate (1) that a man's name stood for what he had
shown himself to be in the light of his actions; (2) that this was recognized
by his tribesmen; and (3) that it was proclaimed by one having
in charge the mediatory rites through which man could be approached
by the supernatural.

553 *796 The ritual is in three parts. The first gives a brief narration of the institution of the custom of changing the name in consequence of some new achievement. The second shows how the man was enabled to accomplish this act. It began with his lonely vigil and fast, when he cried to the powers for help. The scene then shifts to the circle of the lesser powers, who, in council, deliberate on the petition which makes its way to them and gains their consent. Then the Winds summon the messengers, and these, gathering at the lesser powers' command, are sent to earth to the man crying in lonely places, to grant his desire. This part closes with a few vivid words which set forth that only by the favor and help of the powers had the man been able to do the deed. The third deals with the man's names, the one to be discarded and the one now to be assumed.

128 *539 *796 [182 195] This dramatic poem is in a rhythmic form impossible to reproduce in English; neither is a literal translation adequate to convey its meaning, since a single word sometimes represents a complex action, to the understanding of which a knowledge of the customs and beliefs of the tribe is essential. The terseness of expression was also intended to close the meaning to the uninitiated, keeping it sacred from the common people. Although the form of the following ~~rhythmic~~ rendition could not be determined as heretofore by musical phrases, the English version contains nothing which is not in the original text explained and amplified by the Ku'rahus.

Rhythmic Rendition of Pawnee Text

*539 *796

1358 Harken! 'Twas thus it came to pass:
In ancient days, a Leader and his men
Walked this wide earth, man's vast abode
Roofed by the heavens, where dwell the gods.[a]
They reached a place, the spot no man can tell,
Faced dangers dread, and vanquished them:
Then, standing as if born anew to life,
Each warrior threw away the name
That had been his ere yet these deeds were done.

1359 Harken! The Leader and his men
Made there the Vict'ry Song, and set the mark
Ye must o'ertake, if ye would be like them!

1360 Harken! The Leader and his men
Turned then toward home. Their Vict'ry Song
Proclaimed them near; the village rose,
Looked toward the hill, where on the top
Stood the brave men singing their Song,
Heralding thus the favor of the gods
By which they had surpassed all former deeds,
Made new their claim to be accounted men.

---

[a] Gods, meaning powers, is used solely on account of the rhythm.

the flanks of the loose horses while the scouts and soldiers bring up the rear. 726
They ride almost continuously for three days, or until exhaustion, and then camp in a sheltered place. Some hunt, others guard the horses. When 727
the first buffalo meat is brought in an altar is made, as before stated, and the regular smoke offering performed. Two men are then chosen by the leader to divide the spoils. They divide the horses according to the ranks of the members, inexperienced men getting but one horse. After the [553]
division the name-changing ceremony is performed for the young men on their first war party.

After sufficient rest, they set out for home. As they approach their village they set the grass afire at intervals so that their people may know [201]
that a war party is returning. When near the village they paint their faces black or dot over with black the white paint of the warpath. When in sight they signal the result of the expedition and are met by the chiefs who triumphantly conduct them into the village. Feasting and jollifying then follow. If coups have been counted or scalps taken, a victory dance will be held.

After an interval the leader of the party calls the members together and 575
any of those formerly in a party who now constitute a kind of society of the wolves. The altar is again constructed and the ceremony performed. 727
Two of the captured horses are brought out and loaded with presents, the objects from the bundle are also placed there and the horses lead to the keeper of the bundle where they are received by the priest. They are then returned to the bundle and the keeper goes at once to the place of ceremony; he stands by the altar and gives them his blessing.

On the warpath a man may vow to give one horse to the mother corn, in which case a horse is given to the keeper of the main bundle, who also gives his blessing.

With these acts the true wolf dance begins. In the dance all the young men may join, who hope to go out with the next war party and as they dance the old men sit around and ridicule their ardor. With this ceremony and the return of the sacred objects to the bundle, the war party ceases to exist.

It seems that those who have taken part in such a foray constitute a kind of wolf society which at various and sundry times conducts dances in the village in which all boys and young men may join. The object is to give practice in the songs and ritualistic parts of the ceremonies necessary to [534]
the warpath. In these dances pieces of rawhide were used for drums.

844 the midwife, it was said that the child was afraid of her and so
hurried and was born before she came. On the other hand, if the
birth were delayed and the confined woman in great pain, it was the
duty of her relatives to send for one or two other women to assist
the midwife. These helped in trying to hasten the birth. If they
[755] failed, the medicine-men were called. The latter came into the lodge
with gourd rattles and sang their medicine songs. Then they gave
medicine to the woman. If it was time for her to give birth, it was
thought that delivery would speedily follow; if it was not time,
she would at least be relieved.

In delivery the woman usually rested on her knees, leaning
forward on a stick brought for that purpose by the midwife. Those
of high rank, belonging to the Four-Band village, were always
permitted to use a short round stake from the Northeast, or Big
[778] Black Meteoric-Star bundle, on which was fastened a buffalo scalp
[821] containing a chart of the constellations, and which was supposed
to have the effect of making delivery exceedingly easy.

When the child was born, the midwife cut the umbilical cord,
[465] using a new knife given her as part of her pay. She rubbed ashes
upon the cord until it shrank, then she twisted it around upon the
child's navel, and tied a string around it. Contrary to the custom
much in vogue among the Plains Indians, the mother retained the
cord, wrapping it in a buckskin in a work-box; it was buried with
her and never given to the child.

846 The midwife then washed the infant with warm water and dried
[854] it with buffalo wool, wrapped it in a blanket, and placed it on a
[553] cradleboard. Next she bestowed a name upon the baby and gave
it to the mother's relatives. The afterbirth she disposed of in the
following manner: placing it on a bunch of grass, and wrapping it
in a piece of tanned buffalo-hide, she carried it outside into the woods.
There she put it on a tree, saying: "I place this afterbirth upon you,
that the animals may not eat it, nor the birds. You stand here
firmly; let this child that I have attended grow up without sickness
to be a man (or woman)." Next she said to the afterbirth: "I place
you securely upon this tree, so that nothing will touch you, and so
that you will turn into dust. If the mother who is sick yonder
should give birth to another, make the delivery easy." The midwife
then returned to the lodge.

After the dried cord broke off from the child's navel, the baby was washed in the little wooden bowl and turned over to the mother. The old woman who had acted as midwife combed and braided the

mother's hair, while the husband also braided his. If the midwife's 846
services were no longer required she was given a gift, usually consisting
of a bowl of corn, dried pumpkins, and perhaps a parfleche [431]
of meat.

Should a woman die in childbirth or shortly thereafter, the death 844
was generally ascribed to the violation on the woman's part of one [784]
of the taboos, especially the drinking of water, which was prohibited 847
from the first labor pains until four days after delivery. Children
were never killed in case the mother died in childbirth. Infanticide
seems not to have been practiced by the Skidi, and in fact all inquiries
upon this point elicited astonishment that such a thing could be
imagined possible. If the mother had died while giving birth, the
child was taken care of by its grandmothers, generally the maternal
grandmother.

Stillbirth was also considered to be the result of the mother's 845
infraction of some rule restricting her conduct during pregnancy.
In such cases the child was interred in the burial ground of the [553]
parents' village, though it was never given a name.

In olden times, at the first signs of pregnancy of the wife, the 854
grandmothers notified the wife's relatives to prepare an elm baby-board
and the husband's a board of cottonwood. After the child 846
had been born and was about to be laid on the baby-board for the 852
first time, a wildcat's skin was placed on the board and the child
wrapped in clothing and put upon the skin. The midwife said:
"I place you upon this board; (if a boy) you shall grow up to make
many meat offerings to the gods; (if a girl) you shall grow up to
increase, so that your children will do many things for the gods."
The wildcat's skin was then wrapped around the child. This was
equivalent to saying, "I wrap the child with the heavens," for the
hide represented the sky and stars. At the time of this little ceremony
the lodge was filled with both father's and mother's relatives, who
had brought with them robes, ear-rings, and other presents of all [431]
sorts for the child. Friends were also happy over the birth and came,
bringing additional gifts. The young couple was especially pleased
if the old women took the baby in their arms, for they believed it
would increase the child's chance of reaching old age and being
blessed with offspring. A few days later, the gifts brought by
friends and relatives were given away, usually to poor women who
had had many children and grandchildren. Thus the parents
expressed their own desire for sons and daughters.

Although the Skidi medicine-men claimed to be able to cause 847
abortion by the use of roots, it was not attempted by married

847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair
842 was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could
831 not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would
753 become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names, if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years.
[729 As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with
780] scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner. This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after marriage, an individual was given another name by the father. This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath,
553 our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands
159 of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man
538 between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die. After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home. When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

and thought that I was dead but found afterwards that I was only 726
asleep. In my sleep, I saw a buffalo bull sitting by the water's 553 ●
edge waving his tongue in the water. As I went up to him I saw 159
that he was watching me. He spoke to me and said: 'My son, you 538
are wounded, but you are not going to die; I shall take care of you.' When I regained consciousness, I was feeling sick. I wanted to vomit. I vomited a lump of white stuff. The medicine-men cut it open, and there was a piece of strouding inside it. This was a piece that had been shot into me from my breech cloth. I soon became well. Then I took the name of Buffalo-waving-its-Mouth-in-Water."

"There was a young man who had never been on the warpath, but was always making fun of other young men who came back from the warpath without any ponies or scalps. This young man made up his mind one day that he would go on the warpath. So he sat down in his lodge and invited a few of his friends. He told them that he was thinking about going on the warpath, and if they wanted to go he would like to go with them. The young men all said they would go. The young man kept the others in his lodge all day and all night. Just before sunrise they started out. They travelled far and a little before noon they stopped in a hollow, and the young man selected scouts and sent them out. The scouts came back and reported that there was a war-party close by, that the men were holding some kind of a council, and that their ponies were not very close. The young man gave instructions for every one to get ready. They walked along the ravines until they came to the ponies, which they captured and mounted. Then they attacked the enemy while they were holding council. The boys killed several of the enemy and drove the others away, came back and took scalps, and then returned home. They set the prairies afire, took the charred grass and put it upon their faces and bodies. They were received by the people and the boy told the old men that he had
taken a scalp, which he wanted to offer to the gods, and that he [782]
wanted his name changed. So the scalp was offered to the gods,
and his name was changed to Noon, for he said: 'By noon time I [551]
had captured the enemy's ponies, killed several men, and taken
their scalps, so I shall be known as Noon-Day Man.'"

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

The usual period of nursing was about three years; if a woman 853
nursed a child for a longer time other women would make fun of
her. Children were told by their mothers to bury their milk teeth, 854
856

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

buildings he said were unfitted to contain the sacred symbols of the religion of his ancestors, in the service of which he had spent his long life. 115 He admired at a distance the Washington Monument, and when he visited it he measured the base, pacing and counting his [804] steps. Then he stood close to the white shaft and looked up, noting its great height. After going inside, he was asked which he would take, the elevator or the stairs, and replied: "I will not go up. The white man likes to pile up stones, and he may go to the top of them; I will not. I have ascended the mountains made by Tira´wa." Equally characteristic was his interview with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. When introduced, he said: "I am glad to see you and to take you by the hand. Many chiefs of my tribe have done so. I never expected to do it. I came here to talk of the religion of my fathers, which I follow. You can ask my sister (referring to me) what I have said."

Tahirŭssawichi had never been east of the Mississippi river until he came to Washington to engage in the preservation of this rite. Of the genuineness of his statements there can be no doubt. His position in the Pawnee tribe is that of a man worthy of respect—one versed in a knowledge of serious things, whose life has been devoted to the acquisition and maintenance of certain sacred rites. He is esteemed as a man of truth—one who has the favor of Tira´wa. He possesses a knowledge of curative roots, and often attends the sick, using herbs as medicine. He is the keeper of certain old and sacred objects, and leads in their attendant ceremonies. His great care in observing all the details of the intricate ceremony of the Hako is well known in the tribe, and much good fortune is believed to follow his leadership in this ceremony. [554] His title is Ku´rahus. This term is applied to a man of years who has been instructed in the meaning and use of sacred objects as well as their ceremonies. The word is sometimes employed as a synonym for a venerable man, one who commands respect, but throughout this paper it is used in its official sense—the leader of the ceremony.

It has taken four years of close friendly relations with my kind old friend to obtain this ceremony in its entirety. [123] Many of its rituals deal with very sacred subjects, and it has required much patience in the presentation of reasons why they should be explained to overcome the scruples born of the early training of the Ku´rahus. That he has finally made this record complete, so that the ceremony as known among his people can be preserved, is worthy of commendation. His work as it now stands shows Tahirŭssawichi to be broad-minded as well as thoughtful, reverent, and sincere.

Graphophone records were taken of all the songs belonging to this ceremony. 126 The music as here printed has been transcribed from the cylinders by Mr Edwin S. Tracy and each transcription has been verified by him from the singing of the Ku´rahus. It is to be regretted duties throughout the ceremony. Each had a special place in the 796* lodge, and was the recipient of peculiar benefits supposed to be derived from the ceremony.

The Father was usually a chief, or a man prominent in the tribe, [556 who not only had accumulated property, but had a large following of relatives who could contribute to the store of articles required for 554] these rites. The tribal standing of the Son was always equal to that of the Father.

The Father selected a man from among those who had been taught the rites and ritual songs to take charge of the ceremony from beginning to end. Such a man was called Ku'rahus, and to him the entire party was required to yield obedience in every particular. The Ku'rahus chose an assistant, and also took with him a third person, a sort of acolyte, to whom he was teaching the rites.

If the Father was a chief, then he had to invite one other chief 796* to be of his party, to act as substitute whenever he was obliged to be 622 absent from his post of duty. If, however, the Father was not himself a chief, then it became necessary for him to secure the attendance of two chiefs, one to act as substitute for the other, as the constant presence of a chief was required throughout the ceremony.

The priest who had charge of the shrine sacred to rain was also of 796* the Father's party. It was his duty to furnish the pipe and conduct the ceremony of offering smoke to Tira'wa. The Father's party also [793] included two doctors, men who had received a knowledge of healing [791 plants, either directly through visions or by initiation into certain rites by which this knowledge was communicated. Each was required 237] to bring an eagle's wing, one the right wing and the other the left. The wing of the eagle is the official mark of a doctor. The Father must also secure a number of singers, whose duty it was to carry the [533]* drum and act as a choir to accompany the Ku'rahus, who always led the singing. The rest of the party of the Father was made up of his [602] kindred, with such of his friends as might desire to contribute to the required food and gifts and thus to become entitled to share in the return gifts made to the Fathers by the Children.

The preliminary ceremonies (the first three rituals) took place at the lodge of the Father, and from it the party of the Fathers started on its journey.

REQUISITES OF THE CEREMONY AND THEIR SYMBOLISM

The objects peculiar to this ceremony were two feathered stems 796* about a meter in length, made of ash wood. They were rounded and smoothed, and the pith was burned out to leave an opening for the 192 breath to pass, as through a pipestem. One of these stems was 778 named Raha'katittu, from ra, the, this one; ha=hak, a part of the word hakkow, breathing mouth of wood, the k being dropped for euphony (see translation of hawkowpirus, drum, page 17); katit, dark,

571 Because of the sacred and binding character of this relationship,
*796 and the gifts brought by it to the Son, namely, long life and many
children to make his family strong, the selection of a man to be made
623 a Son is regarded as a serious and important act, one in which the
chiefs and the leading men of the Father's tribe must have a voice.
●[554] The Son should be a chief or a man who has the respect of the leading men of his tribe, and whom the Father's tribe would be glad to have bound to them by the tie of Son.

While the Father has been gathering the materials necessary for this ceremony, which may have taken him a year or more, he has had some particular person in his mind whom he desired to make a Son. When everything is ready he mentions this particular person to the chiefs and leading men, and when we are gathered together to sing this song we think of this chosen man and we ask the assistance of Mother Corn, and if he is the right person she will lead us to him.

The selection of the Son takes place soon after the preparation of
*796 the sacred objects, frequently on the night of the same day. It must
[828] always be in the night time, because the spirits can travel best at night.
The spirit of the corn and the spirits of the people present in the
[776] lodge at this time are to decide who shall be the Son, and Mother
Corn is to lead us to him. The same persons are present at this ceremony that were present at the preparation of the Hako.

In the west of the lodge, facing the east, sit the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the Father. Before them are the sacred objects arranged as at ceremonial rest. A little way in front of the crotched stick stands the ear of corn which has been painted in the sacred manner (see figure 172). It is held in position by one of the sticks to which it is tied being thrust into the ground. This ear of corn is the mother, and upon her everyone present must fix his mind.

The singing of the following stanzas occupies most of the night; they do not follow each other quickly, for we must pause after each one.

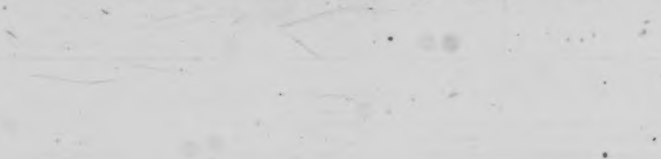
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*533
*539
*796


He-e-e-a! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri, h'A-ti-ra ha-ri! He! Chix-u ti
Drum. Rattles
chi-ti-ka ha-ri! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri, h'A-ti-ra. He!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When Mother Corn went in search of the Son (second ritual) she halted at the edge of the village where he lived. As we follow in the path that she opened for us, we must do as she did. So, when we are just outside the village, we halt and sing the first stanza. The words mean, "Where is the lodge of my Son wherein he sits waiting for me?" 539* 796*

By the time we have finished singing, the messenger, who has walked on in advance, has reached and entered the lodge set apart for the ceremony.

When Mother Corn had decided which was the lodge of the Son she made ready to enter the village and go to that lodge (second ritual). Now, we follow her again and sing, as we walk, the second stanza: "Here is the lodge of my Son wherein he sits waiting for me."

When we arrive at the lodge we halt, for we must enter ceremonially.

SEVENTH RITUAL

PART I. TOUCHING AND CROSSING THE THRESHOLD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Son has dispatched his messenger to the Hako party, he, with a few of his near relatives, enters the lodge set apart for the ceremony, there to await the return of his messenger and the coming of the Fathers. 796*

He seats himself at the south side of the lodge near the door. This is the humblest place, and he takes it to show that he is not seeking his own honor. By the choice of him as the Son a very high honor has been bestowed upon him, and his appreciation of this is shown by his taking the seat of the lowliest and not assuming prominence before the people. [554]

When the Hako party arrive at the door of the lodge they halt and await the ceremony of touching and crossing the threshold, for no one can pass into the lodge until this has been performed.

At the doorway the three men stand abreast—the chief with the ear of corn and the wildcat skin between the Ku'rahus and his assistant, each bearing a feathered stem—and behind these stand the two doctors, each with his eagle wing.

The Ku'rahus directs the chief to advance one step and to stand upon the threshold while the first stanza of the next song is sung.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*
[431
554]

It may happen during the ceremony that a young man of the village who is not a relative of the Son may desire to lay up for himself an honor which will help him to advance his social position in the tribe. He mounts a horse, rides to the lodge, and there makes a gift of the animal to the Fathers. On such an occasion this song is sung.

The words are few, but the meaning of the song has been handed down to the Ku'rahus. It is not intended that everyone should know all that these songs imply.

The first stanza means: Whence has he come? Where does he go, he who rides his horse so fast? Who is the man?

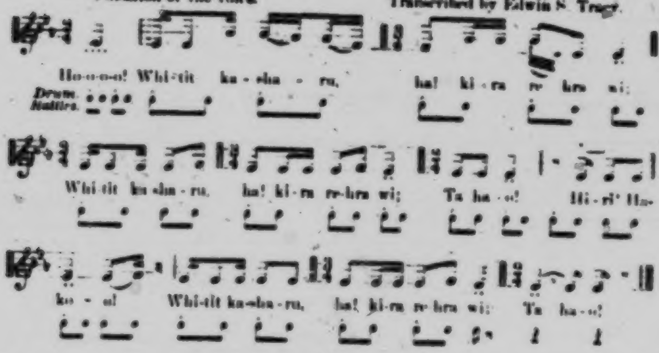
The second stanza means: He is coming this way on his horse. He is bringing it to the Fathers; he is in earnest to make them a gift.

TWELFTH RITUAL (SECOND NIGHT). THE RITES CAME BY A VISION

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
∴ Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! Whi-tit ka-sha-ru, ha! ki-ra re-hra wi;
Drum. Rattles.
Whi-tit ka-sha-ru, ha! ki-ra re-hra wi; Ta ha-o! Hi-ri! Ha-
ko-o! Whi-tit ka-sha-ru, ha! ki-ra re-hra wi; Ta ha-o!

1
[533*]

I

672 Ho-o-o-o!
673 Whitit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
674 Whitit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
675 Ta hao!
676 Hiri! Hako-o!
677 Whitit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
678 Ta hao!

II

679 Ho-o-o-o!
680 Kutit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
681 Kutit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
682 Ta hao!
683 Hiri! Hako-o!
684 Kutit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi;
685 Ta hao!

*796 follows and does the same, then the assistant comes, then the two doctors and the prominent men of the Father's party. After thanking the Son they all pass round the south side of the lodge to thank the prominent men of the Son's party; then they return to the north side of the lodge and sit down.

431 *796 After they are seated, the Children express the wish that the distribution of the ponies, waiting without, may be happily accomplished, to which the Fathers reply, "Nawairi!" "Thanks!" The Children now rise and go out of the lodge and leave the Fathers alone during the distribution of the gifts.

[554] [577] The Ku'rahus appoints two influential men to go out and divide the gift of ponies, setting apart a number for the chiefs and the leading men who do not wish to do this for themselves, lest the people think them selfish. Two ponies are for the Ku'rahus; that is his portion ordinarily. If there are a great number of horses he is given more. The chiefs and leading men select from the ponies set apart for them, each man taking one until all the ponies are apportioned. The rest of the party choose from the other ponies, one at a time, the men first and then the women. After this the sticks representing ponies are divided.

All the saddles, bridles, feathers, that may have been on the horses given away are piled on the north side of the lodge. These belong to the Ku'rahus. He keeps what he wants and divides the rest between his assistant, the server, and other members of the party.

*796 When the distribution has been made the Fathers leave the lodge and go to their camp, where they break their long fast and seek some rest. The next day all the party start for home except the chief. He remains to collect the ponies which have not been brought in.

[571] The Son, to whom the Hako has been presented, can give the eagle wings to a doctor or the pipe to a friend, but he must keep for himself the sacred objects of the ceremony. They have brought to him the promise of long life and children, and have established peace and security through a tie as strong as that of kinship.

INCIDENTAL RITUALS

The following four rituals can be sung during the public ceremony whenever they are called for by the Children.

COMFORTING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 424 I have told you before that in order to be instructed in this ceremony, to be taught its songs and their meaning, one must make many gifts, pay a great deal to the Ku'rahus who teaches him. This is our custom, for a man must make sacrifices, must give large presents in payment for what he receives, in order to show that he places a value upon the knowledge he wishes to acquire. I have paid a great deal

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

1364 Hiri! Riru'tziraru; siru waku rari sut: hiri! ti ruta: hiri! Tira wa. ha! tiri. 539*
1365 Hiri! Riru'tziraru; Rarari'tu, kata wi'tixsutta.
Raki'ris taka'ta wi'tixsutta. 796*
Raki'ris tarukûx'pa, raru tura taka wiut tari.
1366 Hiri! Riru'tziraru; ruri Papapi'chus taka wi tixsutta. 553
Ruri Papapi'chus tarukûx pa raru tura taka wiut tari.
1367 Hiri! Riru'tziraru; ruchix kuso'ho riruka'ta kûx sata. Kaha riwisiri, ku katit tiki; kaha'riwisiri, ku paha'ti tiki: kaha riwisiri, ku raka'ta tiki: kaha'riwisiri, ku taka tiki.
1368 Hiri! Riru'tziraru; sira sura waurux para, raru tura taka wiut tari

1369 Rawa! Hawa ûrasharu we tatki wati.
1370 Hiri! Tatux tapakiaho, hawa. Rarutska tit! Hiri! Raro rikcha ro re.
1371 Hiri! Wakoru ratora pake ûsto.
1372 Hiri! Akitaro hiwa werataweko.
1373 Hiri! Shaku'ru Wa'rukste. Hiriwa witi rakawa karu ko re.

Translation

1358 hiri! an exclamation, harken! give heed!
waku'raruta, it came to pass a long time ago.
sharu, part of u'rasha'ru, name.
witi, they.
rarawa-a, discarded, had done with, threw away.
kiru, ancient.
sharu, from kûssharu, a certain place known only by tradition.
reru, it came about, or it was.
ki'tawi, from ki, through, and ta wi, them.
rahwi'rahriso, a title. This title was bestowed through certain ceremonies connected with one of the shrines. The man who had received this title was qualified to act as a leader, to have charge of a war expedition. [564 726]
tira, they.
kahho, a wide expanse; kah conveys the picture that this expanse is spanned, as by a roof; ho suggests an inclosed space, as a dwelling; kahho calls up the idea that the earth is a vast abode, roofed by the heavens, where dwell the powers.
ri'wiri, walking; the persons spoken of as walking are not present. Rara wari is to travel, walking, like warriors, and the word in the text refers to such walking, to the rahwi'rahriso and the men under his leadership walking the wide earth beneath the arching sky.
1359 hiri! harken! give heed!
raru, a company, or a number of persons.
ki'tawi, through them. See same word in line 1358.
rahwi'rahriso, the leader. See translation in line 1358.
ra'o, a victory song. This class of songs could be composed and sung for the first time by a leader. They might afterward be sung by his followers and by other persons. [533*]
ti, part of tira, they.

668 796 825 down." Joseph Long had crow feathers. He put them on his head. Then he got up like a crow, and danced around the tipi. Imitating the crow, he danced his way outside and went along the path by which the woman had gone through the timber, and found the strap. He picked it up and brought it back into the tipi, and the woman took her strap.

The relation of this crow-concept to the Ghost Dancing is direct. The crow feather (as also the eagle) is one of the objects used by leaders, as they dance inside the circle, for hypnotizing subjects. It is moved back and forth directly before the eyes of the subject. It helps the dancer to fall into a trance, and this means that it helps the subject to see or find his lost relatives. In the trance-vision itself the bird may guide the visionary to his dear ones. In the same way the old Indian customs, the dances, the songs, the rituals, are found among the deceased people, or recovered in trance visions which are induced in part through the instrumentality of the birds.

In this early use of eagle and crow, those who learned about one or the other bird wore a feather of that bird. There was no organization or orientation of these except for White's seven crow singers. But there came to be felt an opposition between crow and eagle, analogous to the actions of the birds themselves, and this was carried over into the sides of the hand game arrangements. The opposition involved the question of which was abler or luckier in finding things.

668 796 [346] [554] For the Ghost Dance, White arranged to have a large cleared dancing ground. West of this was set up a special tipi. Herein White gathered the people, particularly the leaders. Those who gathered inside the tent were only men. The old men sat near the eastern entranceway on both sides, with the chiefs next to them to the west, and then the braves[1]; while other men present sat about anywhere. White himself would sit with his seven crow leaders at the west facing east. [778] The only sacred objects kept on a covering at the western altar-place were the feathers and paints of the leaders, and several pipes (two or four). Two men were selected by White and the chiefs to act as tarutsius ("fire-tenders") and at the same time as policemen. They carried long sticks to whip the dogs with, driving them away from the dance ground while the dancing went on. They also controlled the dancers. [276] After all the men had gathered, a smoke offering initiated the performance. White gave pipes to two or four chiefs and told them step by step what to do. The performance could begin either in the

---

[1] These are generic Pawnee patterns.

796 668 782 When each house-group had ready its quota of wood, meat and all else necessary, everything was in order and the dance could begin.

276 A sacred smoke offering opened the dance. If the people wished to begin dancing on an evening, the usual form was to hold the smoke ceremony, then dance a little, perhaps ten songs, and adjourn until morning. At the continuation of the dancing in the morning no smoke offering would be made; but if dancing were begun for the first time in the morning, a preliminary offering was necessary.

[301] Inside the main tipi were the Seven Brothers seated on the south side. Four chiefs were selected to carry pipes and make a smoke offering. These came out of the tent leading the way, followed by the Seven Brothers, each wearing an eagle feather in his hair. They were directed by Knifechief. This was the first occasion on which the Skiri Ghost Dancers saw the Seven Eagle Brothers as an organization.

796 668 554 823 Outside, the arrangement in relation to the clearing followed the form already described for White's South Band Ghost-Dancing. The Seven Brothers were in the center of an arc-like line of men which stood at the east of the clearing facing west (for an evening smoke-offering). In front of this line stood the four chiefs with pipes, also facing west. While the Seven Brothers were in the center of the line, Sam Cover who was No. 1 Eagle Brother was not in the center of the seven, but at the south end of the seven: the others followed in the order given above, from south to north: this was the order of their selection. The significance of this arrangement is that now there was no main one who must be in the center—all were equal. In the row of men four chiefs took special places: two south of the Seven Brothers and two north.

796 668 782 823 Each of the four smokers had a special function. Their arrangement was from south to north as they faced west: Number 1 smoker at the south end of the row of four smoked to heaven; number 2 to the west (Christ): number 3 to the east (position of the rising sun): and number 4 at the north end of the row of four smokers, to the south, the noon sun.

276 The four smokers proceeded with their movements simultaneously. Number 1 took the filled pipe, (phase 1[1]) walked through a half circuit clockwise to the west where he faced east and offered a pinch of tobacco upward, placing it on the ground; (lighting the pipe) then he continued clockwise to the northeast, where he squatted toward the east, holding the pipe in his mouth. Here it was lit from a brand brought forward by another. (Phase 2; first

---

[1] See Chapter 8, pp. 186–207.

771 778 South Bands there are ancient bundles which each possess a group of functions that among the Skiri are differentiated and associated with separate bundles.

668 796 After the smoke offering, Sam Cover led the Seven Brothers in singing one or two Ghost Dance songs, without any dancing. Then the line closed around the clearing to form a circle of dancers, 782 women came to join in, and the regular dancing began. Usually [533] on a first evening of Ghost Dancing, only ten or twenty songs were sung. After the closing song, the general public would break up, each group of people returning to the family tipi. The Seven Brothers, the four chiefs who smoked, other chiefs, Mrs. Goodeagle, Mrs. Cover, Mrs. Washington, and some individuals who were special leaders, gathered in the main tipi of the dance. Here two old men acted as tarutsius, fire-tenders and servers. Food was brought in and set out in buckets at the east of the tipi near the door. Sam Cover then made an offering with corn before the group ate. It was a simple offering: He took some of the corn in his hands, stood behind the collected food and made inclusive arm motions (to indicate that this food was offered on behalf of all the food being partaken of), then came clockwise to the west of the fireplace where he raised the corn aloft to heaven and then placed it on the ground before him. He pressed it into the ground, rubbed his hands together and made four motions upward to heaven with both hands, touching his fingers to the corn on the ground before each motion. Then he made four similar motions towards the earth: blessed himself, walked through a circuit to his own place on the south, and sat down. All present said "Nawa" and then the food was served. The tarutsius must serve the food in a special ● [554] order: first the chiefs at the west (the four smokers), then the seven brothers on the south, then old men who are seated on both sides of the entrance-way at the east, then all others present, serving them from west to east down both sides of the tipi.[1]

At this gathering the order and time of the events of the next 668 morning were announced.

796 The next morning dancing began before sunrise. Two or three of the Seven Brothers went out onto the dance grounds, stood at the west facing east, and sang several Ghost Dance songs. As the people awoke and heard these they came out hurriedly to join in. As soon as four or five came, including women, all began to dance around clockwise. Gradually as the people gathered, the circle expanded. An old man walked around crying out to the people

---

[1] There is for every Pawnee ceremony an *order* in which those present are served; see chapter 8, pp. 220—229.

668 796 782 wise around the sacred dance ground (not the space around which the people are gathered) which was now vacant, and came to the west of it where he stopped facing east. At this point his back was to the back of the Seven seated Brothers. Here he offered corn upward to heaven, then bent down and pushed some off the spoon onto the ground, then turned to the west to which he offered the spoon of corn slantwise, then pushed some more off onto the ground, and finally placed the rest on the ground as an offering to the earth. (Second phase; first mode¹) He then put the spoon on the ground beside him, and touching and pressing the corn into the earth, made three sets of motions with his hands and arms: four upward to heaven, four westward, and four to the earth. (Self-blessing; return of spoon¹) Then he picked up the spoon and went through the motions of the final self-blessing with it, pressing his feet firmly to the ground. With the spoon he turned and reentered the circle of people between the First Brother (who is at the south end of the row of seven seated brothers) and those at his left, walked through a half circuit clockwise until he faced the chiefs sitting at the west, and returned the spoon to the chief who had given it to him. All the people say, "Nawa."

668 796 [264 554] The food was then served. A number of men were selected to do the serving, some serving the chiefs, others the Seven Brothers, and still others the people in general. The chiefs must be served first, and then the Seven Brothers, and then the public at large. After all had eaten the dishes were put away. The people might come back and dance on the dance-ground until the sun had fully set. They stopped finally at full sundown. Many of the people did not camp on the grounds and had to go home for the night. Others had to look out for their horses.

In this way the people danced at the encampment for four days, and the last day they continued dancing all night. As individuals had trance visions, they would begin to wear different feathers and paints according to what they saw; and at later Ghost Dances would bring out these Ghost Dance things and use them.

[513] After the entire dance was over, the people generally slept a full day. Later they might decide to hold a hand game. In these early Ghost Dance times among the Skiri, a hand game could only be held after a full Ghost Dance had been carried out. Later hand games were interspersed in the Ghost Dancing.

Such were the ceremonial forms of the first Ghost Dancing among the Skiri proper.

792 668 796 787 Although Mrs. Washington was in this way responsible for the first organization of the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Goodeagle came to

Pawnee group against another tribe with whom they were friends 525
traditionally, or with whom they had recently established friendly 648
relations. Among those with whom the hand game was played by the 574
Skiri Pawnee in relatively recent times, one informant remembers participating in games with the Osage, Ponca and Omaha, Oto, Kiowa, and Arapaho. Friendly gaming relations are remembered with the Sac and Fox, but with them the moccasin game was played, not the hand game. The following narrative of a game between the Skiri Pawnee and the Kiowa, played in Oklahoma many years ago, probably before 1880, will make the procedure clear:

The story is told by Mark Evarts.

One time a large party of Skiri Pawnee were on a buffalo hunt. They were led by Bowchief. While they were out hunting, they came near to the place where the Kiowa were encamped, and went over to visit them. It was not an anticipated visit, so that the traditional forms of visiting were not involved.[1] The chief of the Kiowa was Bigbow.[2] Bowchief of the Skiri Pawnee and Bigbow of the Kiowa were friends.[3]

At the Kiowa encampment, the Skiri Pawnee danced their Crazy Dog Dance, led by Bowchief on horseback. He was the only
mounted Skiri in the dance.[4] After the performance, the Kiowa gave [431]
the Pawnee buffalo meat and buffalo hides.[5] Then the Pawnee left
with these gifts and came home.

Two days later, in the afternoon, the Pawnee saw a party of Kiowa coming to visit them. They were received in friendly fashion, and they danced the Kiowa Crazy Dog Dance for the Pawnee. This time Bigbow led the dance, mounted. He was the only Kiowa on horseback. Bigbow, in the dance, called aloud his
exploits on old warpaths. After the dance the Pawnee gave the [431]
Kiowa calico and corn.[5] Then the Kiowa went home. The Pawnee
hunters who had visited the Kiowa were all men. The Kiowa who returned the visit were mostly men: a few had wives with them.

---

[1] The traditional forms would have required sending a gift of tobacco in advance, and other formalities.

[2] otakáyot in Evarts' rendition of his Kiowa name.

[3] Inter-tribal friendship was a definite formalized relationship in former [572]
times. It was of paramount importance, as through interlocking friendships
tribes traditionally hostile to each other were drawn into peaceful relations.

[4] It is said that in the old form of the Crazy Dog Dance, a man mounted [554]
indicated thereby that he had captured horses on a warpath.

[5] This giving away after the dancing is similar to the old forms of intertribal [703]
visiting of friends, at which lavish giving away was done. In the above case the formal arrangements preceding the visits seem to have been omitted because it was a chance meeting.

525
574
648

Cheyenne camp early in the morning, and they fled. When I got into the Cheyenne camp I took blankets and other things away from them." The Pawnee sing and dance only one song, because it is late and cold, and the Pawnee have a long way to go to return home after the game. They want to hurry, and play quickly. Should the Kiowa win a game, they would dance their Crazy Dog Dance to the songs of their society and their leader would rise to recite an exploit, holding the Pawnee pipe. But the Pawnee when they dance, do not carry the pipe they have brought.[1] On this occasion, the Kiowa did not win, and had no chance to dance carrying the pipe.

Wagers were made for a second game, the Kiowa betting against their losings. Again the Pawnee won. Again they sang a Crazy Dog Dance song, and another Pawnee recited a war exploit.

In the third game Knifechief rose and sprinkled ashes to hide the tracks, and the Kiowa guesser searched for the trail.

The Pawnee won three straight games, and that was all they played. There was no fighting over the bones in these games: that was only the way that small boys played.

Knifechief rose. He said, "Now my brother, I beat you. That's all. We're going home." All the Skiri took up their winnings and started for home.

While the game had been going on, Mark and David had found time to eat up the meat they had received so that no one could ask for some. They managed to finish it by the time the game was over.

[573
431]

On the way home, one of the Skiri who was a friend of Mark's gave him a pair of leggings he had just won. Mark says that because of the good fortune of the Pawnee that night he believed the Pawnee would always have good luck in hand games, but subsequently he found out he had been mistaken. In later games they often lost.

[703
[554]
[727
721]

[1] Carrying the pipe while counting coup was correct only if the reciter had carried a pipe at the time of the exploit. This meant essentially that he had been the leader of a war party. If the exploit had occurred when no pipe was carried, he could count coup, but without holding the pipe. In the above narrative the special significance of the distinction drawn between the right of the Kiowa leader to carry the pipe, and the Pawnee lack of that right, is that it represents dramatically the fact that for generations past, as a result of their treaties, which the Pawnee held sacred, few if any war parties had been sent out ceremonially by the Pawnee. War exploits during the Nineteenth Century were limited essentially to defensive tactics, or to fighting as members of the United States army (see Chapter 1).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance 342
of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and [778]
suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and
other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the
altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, [554
the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, 513]
which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two
below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a
"skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending
upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward
to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This
framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow
rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was
protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered
roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when [484]
a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially
anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family
usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer
abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was
made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered
with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four 619
bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary
chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had 621
also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its [778
priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with 793]
those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and
symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a
medium of communication was believed to be opened between the
people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and
prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the 621
head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced 622
by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus 624
or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the
Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were
the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council 623
was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands,
and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of
the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a 611
man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family. 591

---

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. IV, New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 fact that in two instances they alternate with 2-4, 3-4, and 4-4 measures in a somewhat irregular manner. The time was steadily maintained, the two renditions differing only in the time values of the first measure, which were changed to conform to the words of a second verse. The song is major in tonality but about 40 per cent of the intervals are minor thirds.

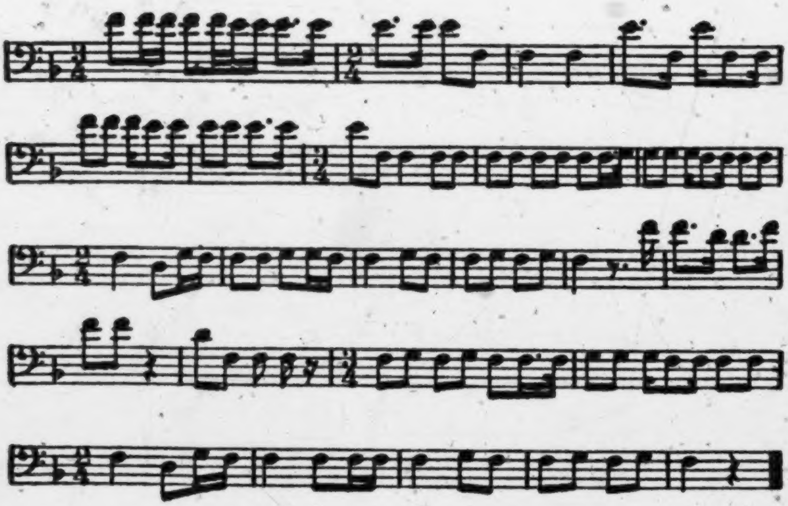
726 In describing the next song Dog Chief said that his father took
+533 part in the war against the Sioux and chased a member of that tribe who held a shield over his back as a protection. Dog Chief's father
[554] killed the Sioux and captured his horse, this song commemorating his deed of valor.

No. 17. Bear Dance Song (a)

(Catalogue No. 1153)

*533 Recorded by Dog Chief

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—In this, as in other instances of very peculiar songs, the test of the song is in the ability of the singer to repeat it accurately. The several renditions of this song were uniform in every respect. The rhythm has a general effect of determination but contains no unit nor even a characteristic phrase. Twenty-five of the 41 intervals are whole tones. The interval of a seventh occurs six times and was sung with good intonation. The song contains only the tones D, F sharp, and G sharp and has a compass of 10 tones.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The words of the following song (not translated) state that Dog Chief took horns like those of a buffalo and put them on the horse he had captured.

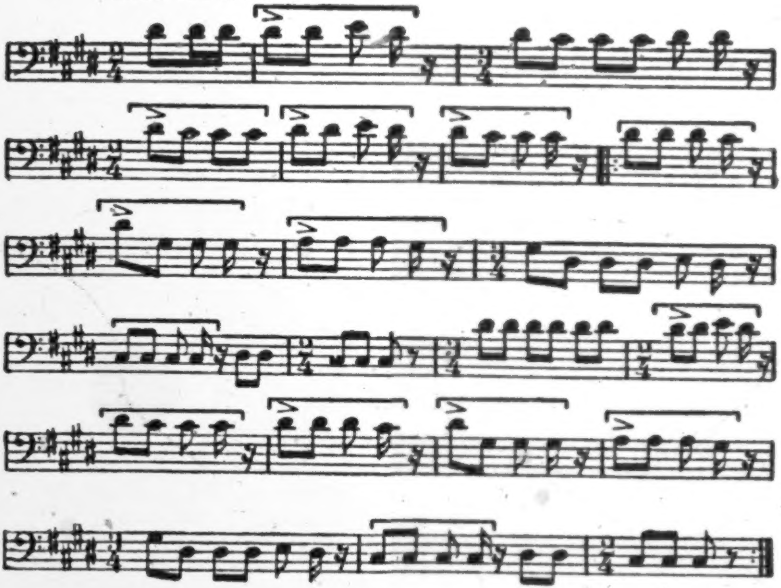
533*
[554]
[825]

No. 18. Bear Dance Song (b)

(Catalogue No. 1150)

Recorded by Dog Chief

Voice ♩ = 92
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—With the exception of two descending fifths and two descending fourths all the progressions in this song are whole tones and semitones. The first seven measures begin with the same tone, which is also the initial tone in five consecutive measures later in the song. This is next to the highest in the compass. A majority of the melody is on the tones C sharp, D sharp, and E, a few measures being on the tones G sharp and A. Thus the formation of the melody is seen to be based on intervals rather than on a scale or key. The rhythm is accurately repeated in the three renditions. The rhythmic unit is short and the rhythm of the song as a whole is "swung" by the triple measures occurring as measures 2, 9, 12, 18, and 19. It is interesting to note the irregular time spaces at which these triple measures occur. This shows that the rhythm of the entire song is an entity and offers a contrast to songs that consist of three or more distinct periods, each containing the same number of measures.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

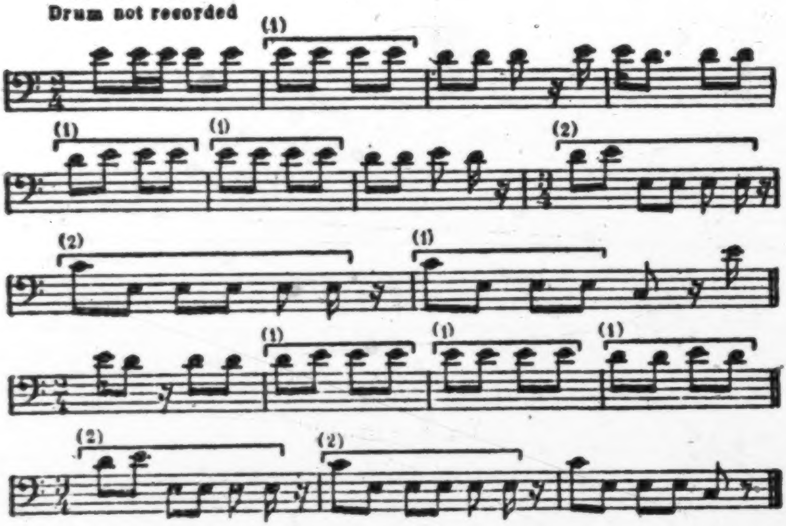
*533 [554] When the man returned with the horse he had captured, the people saw him running like a bear while the horse was galloping. This was commemorated in the following song.

No. 19. Bear Dance Song (c)

(Catalogue No. 1152)

Recorded by Dog Chief

Voice ♩ = 80
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This melody is peculiar in that about 40 per cent of its progressions are minor sixths or larger intervals. The intonation on these large intervals was fairly correct in all the renditions. The two most prominent tones are D and E, the former appearing as an accented tone in almost half the measures. Attention is directed to the descent of an octave which twice is accomplished in the space of a measure.

[115] [124] The words of the next song were said to mean "I am a brave man. I am acting like a bear." (The lack of a competent interpreter when Dog Chief's songs were recorded made it impossible to secure a more extended description and translation.)

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

WAR SONGS

Three classes of war songs are here presented and comprise a 533* song concerning a conquered warrior of the Cheyenne Tribe, several songs of Pawnee warriors, and songs which were sung at two gatherings of the tribe attended by the writer, these gatherings being in honor of Pawnee soldiers who had recently returned from the World War.

The first song commemorates a well-known event in Pawnee 175 history. About the year 1852 the Cheyenne and Arapaho returned 648 from Washington, where they had gone to make a treaty with the Government of the United States. Among them was a Cheyenne of great reputation named Touching Cloud, who, because of the incident to be related, was afterwards known among the Pawnee as [714 Iron Shirt. This man had in his employ a Mexican who could cut 177] round disks from the thin frying pans used at that time. Touching Cloud had these disks sewed on a shirt and cap, the pieces overlapping as in old-world armor. Soon after the return of the treaty party, the Cheyenne attacked the Pawnee, who were hunting buffalo. Touching Cloud felt so secure that he rode directly among the Pawnee. His arms were so stiffened by the metal disks on his sleeves that he could use no weapon except a sword but he used this so effectively that he and his party drove the Pawnee back to their village. The Pawnee were unable to explain the fearlessness of this man and talked of it among themselves. In the village was a young man named Carrying-the-shield who had not gone with the hunters. He listened to what they said and remembered something told him by his father, who was keeper of a sacred bundle. His father had [778] four sons and gave them four sacred arrows, each a different color. The arrow received by Carrying-the-shield was red. In giving the arrow his father said, "Use this arrow when you are in great danger and it will save your life." So Carrying-the-shield took the arrow and a bow, went out and met a party of Pawnee retreating with the Cheyenne in pursuit. The retreating party opened and let him through. Touching Cloud made ready to attack him but the youth shot him in the eye with the red arrow and he fell from his horse. The Pawnee "counted coup" on his body and found that he wore, [726 concealed beneath his outer raiment, the metal-covered shirt made 554] for him by the Mexican. Therefore he was known as Iron Shirt among the Pawnee.

Analysis.—An ascending tenth occurs in this song, representing 533* an ascent from the lowest to almost the highest tone of the compass. The rhythmic unit is interesting and of frequent occurrence. The song is major in tonality and the most frequent interval is a major third.

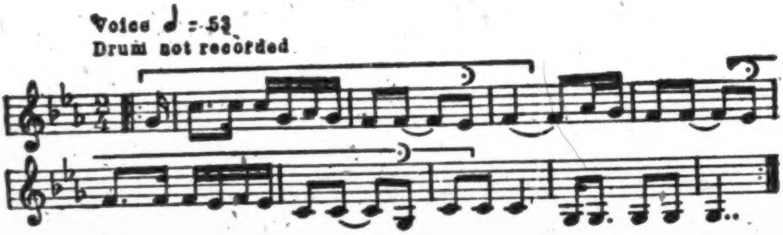
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

measure were changed to conform to different words but the duration 533* of the measure remained the same. The song contains 19 intervals, 10 of which are whole tones and 5 are fourths.

No. 67. "My Trust is in Mother Corn"

(Catalogue No. 1089)

Recorded by John Luwak



SONGS OF AFFECTION

533*

Songs rising from deep affection and respect were occasionally 554 ● sung by Indians in the old times, and might be concerning persons 593 who had been married for many years. The distinction between these and the modern "love song" is clearly drawn by the Indians and is evident from the words of the songs. The Sioux said that in old times they had a few songs concerning a man's qualification to wed, [581] this being determined by his success in war or on the buffalo hunt.[31] Otter Woman, an aged widow of the Mandan Tribe, recorded songs of loneliness for her husband, and two very old songs expressing a gentle longing. These were sung by young girls when at work in the gardens and are as delicate as the little plants which they tended so carefully.[32] The cause of the change from these songs of respectful affection to the modern "love song" is found in the general change from primitive customs.

In former times the marriages of young people were either arranged 584 by the parents or subject to parental approval. A period of transi- 533* tion began when the young people refused to recognize parental authority in the matter of their affections. This led to clandestine meetings. A few songs of this period were recorded among the Sioux, one containing the words "If you are truthful, come. Walks Visibly (woman's name) has said this."[33] The words of modern Indian love songs 533* usually express a lack of respect for women, and often boast of fas- 832 cinations and conquests. They are connected with intoxication and are [273] sung by young men of no standing among their own people. Many

---

[31] Teton Sioux Music, p. 370.

[32] Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 54-57.

[33] Teton Sioux Music, p. 510.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS.

These organizations may be said to have been rivals or imitators of the recognized or authorized societies. In the villages were at all times many ambitious men unable to attain membership in the regular organizations. When a man felt he had a call to organize a new society, i. e., had the necessary visions or dreams, he had no difficulty in securing a following. Naturally, these organizations have no public functions nor official recognitions; yet in time of need they might render service that would give them social prestige. As individuals, or even as volunteer organizations, they could carry their standards to the line of battle and win renown. In many cases, however, they were short-lived, since it was only the personality and enthusiasm of the leaders that held them together. A great misfortune or disaster was almost certain to end the organization.

575

[554)

The tabulated list gives the names and distribution of all the organizations for which data are available. No doubt there were others that have been forgotten.

	Skidi	Chaui	Pitahauirata	Kitkahaxki
Crazy Dog (asichakahuru)	×	×	×	×
Children of Iruska (iruska ipirau)	×	–	–	–
Wonderful Ravens (kaka waruxti)	×	×	×	×
Big Horse (raris aruskutchu)	–	×	–	–
Crows (raris kaka)	×	–	–	×
Roached Heads (pakspa hukasa)	×	–	–	–
Young Dog (asa kipiriru)	×	–	–	×
The Circumcised	–	×	–	–

The Crazy Dog Society.

A society found in all divisions was the asichakahuru, or crazy dog society. The members were men of any age. In organization they had the usual north and south sides. There were four singers or drummers,

224 575 625 with buffalo meat. He had consecrated it and taken it to one of the minor bundles and that night the priests had a bundle ceremony. The dog soldiers went into the lodge, took the meat, cut it up and gave it to the dogs. The owner of the meat was taken out and whipped and his gun broken. He became angry and drew his knife. They all attacked him and hurt him badly. After this occurred, the dog soldiers were dismissed and the lance men were again the tribal police.

554 575 The dog society was so important not only because the members were good warriors, but great medicinemen. None of them were cowards, they were all brave men.

THE MISCHIEVOUS SOCIETY.

539 An organization generally known as the mischievous society, but also as the circumcised, once existed among the Chauí.

575 Many years ago when the Chauí were alone, two young men were always running around during the night, playing bad tricks upon anyone they met. At this time the people wore no clothing, especially the boys. In the winter time the boys wore a bull calf hide, if they were well-to-do; but if they were poor they wore half a bull hide, their moccasins and leggings. They had neither shirt nor covering for their privates.

In a village of mud-lodges there happened to be one mud-lodge that was empty for all the people who lived in it had died. These two mischievous boys made their home in this lodge. People, especially the young men, were afraid to go near this lodge in the night for it was said that ghosts dwelt there. These two young men frightened people when they came near the lodge by making strange noises, whistling, and throwing mud at them.

In the daytime they watched the young men in the village and when they saw certain ones who seemed fearless they invited them to meet them in the empty mud-lodge. When they spoke of the mud-lodge, those who were cowards would refuse to go, but those who were brave accepted the invitation. These meetings were held in the winter time when the people lived in mud-lodges, for in the summer time they lived in tipis away from the village. When these young men met they would plan to send out young men to scare those who were prowling through the village during the night. The two leading boys appeared as if circumcised and invited to their meetings only those of similar appearance.

In their meetings in the deserted lodge they would do all sorts of mischievous and obscene things. When on a buffalo hunt in the winter time they would get together and make a grass lodge in which to hold their

622
756 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers
778 and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular importance.
554 They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have consecrated
726 buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup
among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of
these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pitahaufrata
division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of
756 wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and
837 not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice.
Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicine-man
in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the
woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that
she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue
of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred
bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies
224 for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping
party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was
cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must
be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown
into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle
[223] trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern
838 Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by
sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

No-flight Idea. A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and
726 taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself
down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

342 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of
532 medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so.
Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint
834 in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized
in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen.
Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern
iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had
276 performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

V. THE INDIVIDUAL

According to Pawnee standards, a successful life depended not 181
only on the inheritance of an elevated social position, but also on 554
individual initiative. From the beginning, a man looked upon his 461
life's career as a contest whose outcome depended upon his own efforts. Success was a matter of industry, of honesty in dealing with other members of his society, of zeal in the hunt and upon the warpath, and of maintaining satisfactory relations with the deities. He had to work and fight constantly in this life for whatever he obtained.

Likewise, a woman must keep her lodge clean, and be honest, industrious in the fields, successful in the rearing of a family, and careful to observe the restrictions imposed on her conduct. In return for this, her days would be comfortable, the birth of her children would be without pain, and a definite place would await her in the life after death.

PERIODS OF LIFE

The Skidi recognized five distinct periods or epochs in the life 888
history of an individual of either sex. For the male these periods 884
were as follows: (1) *Pirau.* This means "child," or more properly, 858
"baby," carried no distinction of sex, and was applicable only to a child during the nursing period. (2) *Piruski*, "boy." This term covered the period from the termination of childhood to the age of puberty. The word *pisiks*, "covered up" (closed-foreskin), was also used as a nickname for a boy of this period, referring to the fact that he had not yet had connection with women. (3) *Pitisutki.* This term was applied to a boy after he had reached the age of puberty but had not yet married, and means "grown or straight up." (4) *Pita.* This referred to the period after marriage until old age, and is the general term for "man." (5) *Kurahus*, meaning "old man," was applicable to that period of a man's life when he no longer took active part in the hunt or went out with the warriors.

The corresponding names for the female were: (1) *Pirau.* (2) *Tcoraki*, "girl." (3) *Tcoras.* This corresponded to the third period of the man; that is, the period after reaching puberty and extending up to marriage. (4) *Tcapat*, "woman" (blood-from-delivery), especially referred to the fact that she had given birth. (5) *Tcostit* applied to all women after the menopause.

584 favored the match, and opportunities for young people of different sexes to come together were often made as difficult as possible by the parents. Not only did the young man and woman as a rule play but a secondary part in their marriage arrangements, but also the girl's parents had little to say as to whether or not a prospective suitor should be accepted. The decision in the matter rested entirely with the girl's mother's brother. Should the girl have no uncle, or should he not be available, the question was decided by her brothers or her grandfathers. On the other side, the prospective husband also played a rather insignificant part in the selection of his mate, nor did his father have anything to say. The choice of the young man's wife was decided by his mother's brother. Thus his maternal uncle or uncles selected the wife, made application for her, and arranged the marriage with her maternal uncles. If a young man was not pleased with the girl chosen for him he often ran away from home to escape the marriage, remaining away for one or two years. As for the girl, her opinion carried little weight and she was not in a position to help herself. If she were disinclined to accept the decision of her mother's brother, her mother endeavored to persuade her to do so.

584
582 No uncle in a prominent Skidi family would select as a wife for his nephew any girl who bore a bad reputation for immodesty or lack of chastity. Rather, she should be known for her honesty and ability to work. Girls were not often married before twenty-two years of age, though when a man married several sisters in a family, those after the first one might be chosen when they were sixteen years old. A young man was not considered fit for marriage until he had reached maturity, killed buffalo, gone on at least one war expedition, and shown success in capturing ponies. After he had fulfilled the requirements, his uncle would inform him that it was time he should marry and that he had selected a wife for him; or the young man would tell his uncle of his readiness for marriage and that he favored a certain young woman, in which case the uncle, if he had no objection, would endeavor to arrange the marriage.

585
[554] The wedding ceremony itself was very formal among the more prominent families, such as those of chiefs and priests, though among people of inferior social standing it was largely a matter of convenience and much of the formality was dispensed with. The following account furnishes an example of the formal wedding service. When the preliminaries had been arranged, the young man and his mother's brother sent for the priest of the sacred bundle of their village. On being notified, the priest and his oldest errand man went

VII. CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Although Pawnee mythology abounds in tales of the poor boy 554
who achieved success, it appears that the rank of an individual was 565
determined to a large extent by the social position of his immediate ancestors. At any rate, certain classes of society were recognized and membership in these was to a certain degree hereditary. [In the manuscript the terms "caste" and "class" are both used indiscriminately. I have used "class" throughout.] This was especially true of the highest in rank, though they might be deposed for cause, and though a child born of poor parents of low rank might through his own efforts become a tribal chief. Before enumerating the specific classes in Skidi society, one should note that all positions and all rank were conceived as having supernatural origin. In fact, the higher of these were divinely instituted and instructions given the first holders as to their duties and prerogatives. Theoretically, Skidi society was divided into two great divisions: those who made war and protected the village from human enemies; and those who by sacred and supernatural means protected the village from disease, famine, and pestilence. To these two general divisions might be added a third class consisting of poor people who did not possess rank, power, influence, or any considerable amount of property. The real distinction as made by the Skidi, however, was that of the nobility as contrasted with the common people, one's position in one or the other divisions being, as already noted, largely a matter of ancestry. But it may be repeated that there was no tribal law that would prohibit the son of a poor man from becoming a chief, and, on the other hand, it was possible for the son of a chief to become an outcast, for the individual was judged by his own actions.

In the nobility were to be found the leaders in the material 554
affairs of the band—the chiefs, braves, and warriors; those who 565
looked out for the larger religious interests—the priests; and those 793
who kept the band free from sickness and drove out disease—the 622
medicine-men. The duties of these three groups were quite separate 759
and distinct. Occasionally, however, one individual might at the 756
same time be chief, priest, and medicine-man.

CHIEFS

The chiefs of the Skidi were thirty-one in number. Of these 622
thirty-one the representative of each village, who was the owner of 565
the sacred bundle of that village, was chief by heredity, and trans-

MEDICINE-MEN

Like the chief and the priest, the medicine-man held a position 791
of honor among the Skidi. His office was supposed to have been 756
created by Tirawa immediately after he had instituted the office of 565
chief, at which time Tirawa said: "I shall give you (chief) a com- [773]
panion who will understand certain beings who command all the
spirits of the earth. He shall learn from them the different curative [538]
powers, and shall be your equal, but he will not command, for it
will be his duty to wait on the sick." At this time Tirawa gave the
medicine-man the blue clay he wore over his body during ceremonies,
the wing of a black eagle to be used in his left hand, and a gourd [778].
rattle to be held in his right.

The medicine-men derived their powers from supernatural beings who were usually identified with animals. At birth a child came under the influence of a supernatural being—a particular star shining especially bright—who was supposed to manifest himself later in the child's life. Usually this manifestation occurred when the child fell ill, at which time medicine-men were sent for. When the right one appeared, he could cure the child, for he possessed the power from an animal which in turn had received its power from the star noted above. Thus the child was made aware of the particular animal guardian which was to influence his career. When he grew to be a young man he might become a medicine-man through a supernatural experience during which power was given him directly by his guardian, or, as was more common, he applied for instruction to some medicine-man who had received power from the same guardian. With the latter's consent, the young man became his pupil, paying for the knowledge received. [Further details regarding medicine-men have been published by Linton, 1923b.]

In many ways the medicine-men ingratiated themselves with the people. One of the best examples occurred during the fall performance of the great ceremony of the Skidi medicine-men. On the first night they visited all the village lodges containing sacred altars, and on the following night made a general tour of the village offering their services free of charge.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

This group probably represented less than one-half the members 554
of the band. They were distinguished by the fact that they were 565
without influence or power, their lodges were smaller and not so
completely furnished, they had few or no ponies, and were often the [736]
objects of charity.

554 objects of charity. On the outskirts of the village were those who
565 made up the lowest class of Skidi society and who were spoken of as
"those who live in the woods." They were near outcasts, having
violated tribal laws and customs. It may be noted here that as the
Skidi came in closer contact with white civilization the band was
too often judged from the actions of members of this last class. As
[736] white towns grew up in the vicinity these people found it easier to
become hangers-on of the town than to attempt to force their way
into a better position in Indian society.

567 [A few remarks are also accorded the treatment of slaves. "Slaves—that is, individuals captured in war—were rarely killed or mistreated. They generally served as helpers of the errand men for the captor (chief?) in his lodge, where they were received. Many incidents are related of slaves showing their fidelity to the Pawnee, and finally being considered as members of the tribe and marrying into it."]

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were of 796
two sorts, ceremonies which centered around the sacred 756
bundles and were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe, and ceremonies which were performed by societies whose members had some secret in common. In the ceremonies of the first class, the most important of which have been described in Leaflets 5-7, an appeal was made primarily to the great heavenly deities. In the ceremonies of the second class, the appeal was made to the less powerful, but more intimate earthly gods who were believed to have bestowed power upon the performers. Among the ceremonies of the second class, those of the medicine men were the most important.

In every Indian tribe there were a number of per- 756
sons, called medicine men by the whites, who were regarded as the possessors of supernatural powers which enabled them to recognize and cure disease. They were believed to have received their powers from some supernatural being either as a direct gift or as the result of instruction by some person who had received such powers. Although they frequently employed sleight of hand and other trickery to impress the uninitiated, many of them believed that they really possessed the powers attributed to them, and performed their ceremonies in good faith. In some cases they combined the functions of a shaman or priest with that of a healer, and thus exercised great influence over the people. In most of the populous tribes they were organized into guilds or societies.

Among the Pawnee, the medicine men ranked [554]
socially next to the chiefs and priests. They usually
wore a distinctive costume consisting of a buffalo robe [292]
with the hair out, a bear's-claw necklace, and a cap of
beaver skin. They also wore charms or amulets con- 751
sisting of the tail and claws of the wild cat, badger, or 756
bear, bear's ears, miniature pipes, and downy feathers,

cord. The cover, of thinly scraped translucent bison skins, was then 342
tied to one end of a long pole, by means of which it was carried about and over the framework, and the two ends fastened together with pins or cord. A smoke vent was left at the top; it could be opened or closed at will by proper manipulation of the pole to which the cover was attached. The entrance, usually toward the east, was merely an opening at the bottom where the overlapping ends of the tent cover were left unfastened; it was about 3 feet high and could be closed by means of a bearskin flap. The furniture was piled [352]
against the back of the tipi; rush mats were spread over the floor; the fireplace and cooking crane occupied the center, immediately below the smoke vent. When the camp moved the tent poles were fastened together at one end across the horses' backs and permitted [492]
to trail behind the pack animals; sometimes they served secondarily the uses of the travois. The skin covers were commonly painted; they were used as pack covers during the travels of the village.

Murray, who accompanied the Pawnee on their hunt in the summer of 1835, describes a different type of summer shelter.[11] This was constructed as follows:

> They . . . arrange all their bales, saddles, etc., in a semicircular form, and pile them from 2 to 3 feet high. Around the exterior of these they drive into the ground 8 or 10 curved willow rods, from 2 to 3 feet distant from each other, but all firmly bound by leather thongs to four large, upright poles, that form the front of the lodge, and along which run transverse willow rods, to which the extremities of the curved ones are fastened. When the frame, or skeleton, is thus finished, they stretch the cover (made of buffalo hides, sewed together) tight over the whole, leaving an aperture for entrance and egress in the center of the front; and in fine weather, the whole front open.
>
> . . . the dimensions vary according to the number and wealth of the families residing therein; in some tents I have observed the front consisting of 6 or 8 upright poles to which were fixed more skins for additional shelter or shade. [352]
> On the grass, in the interior, are spread mats, made by the squaws from reeds, and skins of buffalo or bear.

Each individual had his own particular portion of this shelter; the medicine bundle was suspended from the center, and in front of the door was a skin shield bearing the crest of the chief.

According to Dorsey,[12] the skin tipi and heraldic devices were used [554]
largely by the richer families, while the poor contented themselves with the dome-shaped brush shelter. The same authority mentions the use of a ramada-like drying platform and summer shelter, open [343]
at the sides and flat-roofed; it was used in connection with the earth lodge.

---

[11] Murray, 1839, pp. 199–200.

[12] 1904, p. 16.

three hundred to five hundred people and from ten to twelve households. 621
The village community centered around the chief who had his sanction 622
through a vision from Heaven. Every person within the village was also
under the tutelage of a given star, and the chief held the sacred bundle 821
that represented the supernatural story of its origin and gave the village 778
its continuity. In these terms, all the people in the village were considered
as a kindred, but their specific cosmic derivation gave them differing
social ranks. According to their star affiliations, some were born as 821
chiefs, some as braves, and some as commoners; their social functions in
the community were thus relatively preordained. When a chiefly infant 554 •
was born to two high-ranking parents, he was wrapped in a wildcat skin, 565
symbolizing the heavens with its panoply of stars and planets. When he
married, the priest and his senior errand man impersonated the Morning
Star and the sun respectively. High-ranking chiefly families provided the
administrators, whereas the families of braves—the next in rank—provided
the executive officers. The commoners, known collectively as
akitaru "the tribe or people," were often reminded by their officials that
only their support made it possible to carry out the responsibilities of
high office. However, one's life was not entirely cast in this mold. A chief 554
or brave might never be considered worthy of the office, or he himself 565
might not feel capable of dedicating himself to its responsibilities, while
a commoner could rise high in the social scale and acquire considerable
wealth by becoming a successful doctor and earning high fees from his
grateful patients. Some people of commoner rank had little use for prestige
positions and would say, "I don't care to be a noted person." Another
group would prefer a carefree life of adventure. They would go
out on long scouting expeditions, roaming about the country and exploring
to see what they could find. They were helpful to anyone in the village
who needed them, without considering it beneath their dignity to
perform any menial task and gave away what they had rather freely.
Such men were referred to as "boys" on the grounds that they were like
boys, having no care for accumulating anything or for providing for the
morrow. They were regarded with affection and sometimes rose to the
rank of brave in recognition of their long public service.

come as brothers a group of men that were so classified in a more 159
distant kin line. 593

These were kin on the mother's side—perhaps further back through 602
the old ladies—but *not on the father's side*. The three that were adopted as uncles were of our own village of Pumpkin-Vine. White Woman called them *iratsti*, "brother," and they called her *itabi*, "sister." They acted like real brothers to her.

There was still another "uncle" who was welcome to their household. 159
His name was Buffalo-Leader, *taraha-kitawiu*. He had been adopted into 597
the family as a surrogate for the brother that was killed by the Poncas. After the raid, White Woman and her sister mourned deeply for the death of their brother. Once White Woman took particular notice of a young man in the village, remarking to her mother that he looked like their own brother that was killed. Then the two mothers (i.e., co-wives of the old chief) invited the young man to the house for a special dinner, giving him a gift and caressing him in blessing. He was given to understand that they wanted him to come to the house at any time and be a brother to White Woman. If he didn't come for a while, the mothers would give him a gentle reminder saying, "You can come over any time." Now that White Woman had a substantial position and a household of her own, he came often and enjoyed her hospitality.

Kin categories, therefore, did not guarantee a fixed relationship. They 602
could only be valid if they were recognized by both parties. This recognition 571
could be of a more or less enthusiastic kind. As with us, poor relations might be treated with a shade less enthusiasm than those of greater wealth or status. Then there were other factors such as degree of common interest or personal liking. One could follow a minimal interpretation of the pattern in order to preserve "the decencies" without actually disowning the people concerned.

Added to the factors of wealth and personal congeniality was the matter 602
of hereditary status and family honor which was at times a very 593
important element in the behavior of relatives toward one another. Brothers 554
in particular were called on to preserve the reputation of the family. Since the Pawnees were especially sensitive on this point, brothers avoided going about together as much as possible, for should one be personally challenged or humiliated, the other would be bound to fight, and the conflict might spread to the several families concerned. On the other hand, if the other brother were not around, the two parties might be able to work out some way so that the incident could be passed over. Even after they had established themselves in different households, brothers were very careful to preserve appearances on behalf of the family. A man noticing that his brother's family did not have enough horses to go

602 on the tribal buffalo hunt in the style to which they were accustomed would tactfully indicate that he had an extra horse that he could make 593 available for the forthcoming hunting expedition.

554 If a man's supply of tobacco got too low for the necessary social entertaining that he felt he should carry on, he would ask his brother rather than an outsider in order to keep the matter within the family. A man who noticed his brother appearing in a worn-out buffalo robe or blanket would immediately send him a good one, for it would not do for anyone 578 to get the idea that the family was not prosperous. A term of great contempt among the Pawnee was poor, *kapakis*. The worst insult one could hurl at a man was to call him *ruti-kapakis-kawitat*, "the one who is-poor-ragged." As the final insult one might say *kapakis-kuut*, "poor-dead," or in our way of saying it, "dead-poor." Respect for seniority among a 593 group of brothers was preserved throughout life. The oldest brother 561 continued to be the surrogate for the entire family, and the cadet members would make particularly sure that their senior brother made a good appearance. Their personal conduct toward him always continued to be respectful. Even after Victory Call had achieved an important status apart from his older brother Sitting Hawk, he still respected his brother's seniority rights. As senior brother, Sitting Hawk would sometimes come to Victory Call's house and say, "Tomorrow at dawn we'll go hunting. We'll go in this and this direction." Or Sitting Hawk would feel free to ask Victory Call to go far out and find him some medicinal plants for his doctoring practice. He would say to Victory Call, "Before the birds eat it up, I want you to go way over there and get me so and so weed so that I'll have enough for this winter." As a man of prominence in the community, he had plenty of people who would willingly do this for him, but in this case he wanted to keep his medical secrets in the family, and he knew he could trust his brother not to reveal them or use them without his sanction. It was the part of a good father to instill these attitudes in his sons while they were young. For example, if the younger of two brothers had six horses and the elder only one, it would be proper for the younger man to put all seven horses together and say to his older brother, "Brother, take your choice." Original disagreements between parents might lead brothers to quarrel all their lives. It was generally felt that parents should be watchful of growing hostilities among their children and try to 595 remedy the situation before it was too late. In the plural marriage situation there was special danger of this as a co-wife who felt her husband preferred the other woman and her children would set the children against each other as had happened in the case of White Woman and her half-brothers. About their sister, a father would say to his sons, "You boys must take care of your sister. She's a girl and when she grows up she's going to take care of you." And this was indeed the case, for sister's house was a permanent home.

159 him to jump into the water and stay under, and when he came out, some
756 deer hair would have come up out of his throat and he would have been
well at once. The lesson was not lost on Otter, though he seems never to
have needed it.

762 The case of the old medicine woman is also of interest. Her son, a boy
of fourteen, had recently committed suicide. He had resented her second
husband and finally shot himself. Otter's older brother Fox Chief had
taken the occasion to point out to him that suicide solved nothing and
that all the boy had accomplished was to leave his mother all alone.

Old Bull was the leading man of the south half of the house. He was
159 a man of good-natured jocularity, about fifty years old. He was a
555 highly skilled buffalo hunter and on occasion he was known to outrun
a buffalo. His full name was *Hikuts-tarus*, "Old Buffalo Bull"—"Scabby"
or "Itchy." He was a man of good family who had begun life with a number
of advantages. His father was a prominent chief, and he was sitting in
his family's hereditary seat in the chiefs' council. In his boyhood he had
struck up a friendship with a poor boy named Small who was serving
in a chief's household. The poor boy had a vision and he had chosen to
share it with his wealthy friend, Old Bull (see pp. 322-335). Then,
while he was out tending the horses of his wealthy patron, Small was
killed by the Sioux and Old Bull continued with Small's teachings and
rose to prominence in the Doctor Association. He was currently a
leader of the Deer Cult of that body. Not only his skill as a buffalo
hunter, but his rise in the medical profession were notable personal
achievements.

159 Old Bull and Victory Call had a kin relationship that went back to past
554 family history. It was usual for every prominent man, particularly
592 among the important chiefs and doctors, to draw around him numbers
of young men who would come to live in his house and serve him in
various ways as apprentices or dependents. Chief Big Eagle was such a
159 man with a large household in Old Village in 1838. He had three sons
554 of his own of whom the oldest was *kax-kuutu*, "Rotten-House," the
602 second Sitting Hawk, and the third, Victory Call. Among the other young
men who were in the house it was always possible to find some kin line
that would make them brothers to the children of their host. Old Bull's
father was one of these young men and he had called Victory Call, *irari*,
"brother." Now that they were settled together in a common household,
Old Bull properly addressed Victory Call as *atias*, "my father," since
Old Bull's father had been counted as Victory Call's brother. Accordingly,
Victory Call addressed Old Bull as *piirau*, "my child." Otter, who also
called Victory Call father and was called by him *piirau*, was as a brother
to Old Bull, Old Bull assuming the role of older brother to the boy. As
younger brother, Otter would wait until his older brother Old Bull ad-

dressed him before presuming to open any conversation with him, and 159 Old Bull on his part was bound to take the initiative in instructing the boy. Old Bull, referring to his younger wife Clear Day, would say 554 • to Otter, "This is our wife. Call her *tsustit* (old lady). Say to her, 602 'I'm starving. Get me something to eat.'" The young woman would answer, "What have you been doing that you're hungry?" Then Old Bull prompted him, "Tell her, 'Well, I've been playing.'" Then the woman answered, "That's all you're good for." A certain amount of teasing went back and forth from time to time after that. Then when Otter got older, he was again prompted by Old Bull to ask his younger wife to cook for him and she would reply, "Well, I have no water. I can't cook if I don't have any. Take two buckets and get me some. If you take only one, one of your arms will get long." "Well I could change about," the boy would answer in all innocence. "No you can't, you must take both at the same time." When he got back, water had splashed all over him from both buckets and Clear Day would say, "That's good. You got water. Don't ask me to cook if you have no water around." Old Bull would praise him then and say, "I have a smart little brother. He can carry the water," and the wife would add, "That's a good little boy after all. He brought the water." Old Bull would also express big-brotherly concern for him in another way. He would ask, "Well, who were you playing with?" "I played with so and so," Otter would answer. "That's good. Just play with those children and with no one else. I don't want you to play with those other boys. They're mean." "We played with the girls. They made a horse of me in our play," Otter related. Even though Otter's older brother Fox Chief was staying in another household the extended kinship system gave the boy the opportunity to learn the rules in his own home while he was small. Later this knowledge would stand him in good stead.

Clear Day, the younger wife of Old Bull, whose name in Pawnee was *Ts-takur-riwax*, "woman-day-clear," was inclined to be the "sporty" type, laughing and joking all the time and spending a good deal of her time out gambling. Her disposition was in marked contrast to the other women of the lodge. Old Bull had married her after he had been married to Queen Woman for quite a while. She was not from their own Pumpkin-Vine Village but from Village-in-the-Bottomlands, and Old Bull had married her because "she had taken his fancy." When the Pawnees moved from Fremont to the reservation village near Genoa, Old Bull brought in Clear Day's mother, Blue Calico, to take up the grandmother place in the new earth lodge that he and Victory Call had established. Clear Day [525] was an assiduous player of the plum-seed game. This was the most popular gambling game of the women, played with plum-seed dice tossed in a round coiled basket. The betting was always heavy and the

159 habitual gambler was likely to lose her blouse, her shawl, or her earrings.
554 A man who noticed a crowd of women playing together like that would
have to move along and mind his own business.

602
525 Clear Day had her own basket and plum seed dice with which to play the game—tossing up the marked plum seeds in the tray basket. Even when she herself didn't think of going out to gamble, the others would come in and get her. She would go out early in the morning and come back late in the evening, betting whatever she had, i.e., calico, a necklace, or her earrings. Old Bull didn't get angry. He was a chief and it wouldn't have been right for him to express any strong disapproval of his wife.

Sometimes a man whose wife was out gambling would get angry because he got hungry. When the woman came home feeling badly because she had lost, there would be trouble. She would say to her husband, "It was because of you. You were thinking about your hunger and then I lost the game." She gave no thought to her home—only to her playing. Sometimes she would win a nice piece of calico so that she could make her husband a new shirt. Then the reaction at home would be quite different. The husband would say, "That's good. But don't go so often. You might lose your luck." But try as she would to obey her husband's injunction, she would be caught up in it eventually. When the gamblers came around, she would make some excuse and say, "No, I have such and such to do. Why don't you go and ask so and so?" But eventually the other gamblers knew she would succumb. That was the way of Clear Day, Old Bull's younger wife. She was an habitual gambler.

159 Clear Day had two little daughters with Old Bull. The youngest was a
very small child and was in the care of Clear Day's mother, Blue Calico.
513 The older girl, New Queen, was five or six years old and had a bed of
593 her own near the west on the south side of the lodge, adjacent to that of Clear Day. This was in anticipation of the time when the little girl would be fifteen and old enough to marry and her husband would join the household. It was considered desirable to give a little girl a bed of her own as soon as possible. With a little boy it was quite different. He might sleep with his grandmother until he was ten and then have a bed made for him between the central houseposts near the fireplace.

159 Queen Woman, senior wife of Old Bull, was of an entirely different
595 temperament from Clear Day. Her name in Pawnee was *Ts-taru-ri'u*,
"woman-merely-by herself," signifying "one does something great by
[551] oneself, single-handed." One translation was "self-made queen," signifying that although not born a queen or woman of chief's rank, her social accomplishments were so creditable that she deserved this high

sirawari i	They two who are traveling, 533
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a	Alone, they two who are traveling, 539
tsapat-i witiwaku	A young woman, it is said that she says:
sikatasiwaktiks-a	I wonder if they two are true (to each other).
tskara, sirawari-i-a-a-a-a-a	

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their 883
parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not uncommonly 572
grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, 554
a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally
from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46-50) 539
of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of 883
wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the 572
son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys 554
liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all, while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys
a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to induce [829]
boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some historical [867]
basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the mature 571
Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured 574
within the house even when only two were sitting together. First [782]
there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the [276]
pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversation [521]
or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

571 plan was applied to any larger gathering as well as to more casual encoun-
574 ters. The seating was aways according to relative social status and the
[521] right of priority in conversation was always determined by rank. There
• [554] was little room for simple, spontaneous, social contact in the life of a
mature man. Except for the intimacies of marriage, there was no opportunity for easy conversation between mature men and women either. Missionary Dunbar (1881, pp. 745-746) describes the conduct of the men:

> 571 [The Pawnees] were . . . among themselves very sociable. With the men
> 574 there was apt to be perhaps, an excess of formality in their formal gather-
> 517 ings, but this is a natural consequence of their oft-recurring feasts and councils. It was quite common for several men in the evening to meet in some house where tobacco was to be had, and there sit smoking and recounting their exploits. One of the party kept up a monotonous thumping upon a drum. Another would dance for a while, make a speech, and sit down. Another would follow with the same role, etc. At certain seasons such gatherings were of nightly occurrence, lasting usually well-nigh till daylight.
>
> 571 Akin to this trait of storytelling, was their delight in discussion. They
> 537 were extravagantly fond of debating what might be termed questions of
> 623 general principle, often exhibiting considerable tact in their manner of sustaining an argument. Their principal efforts of this kind were reserved for public occasions, such as councils. It was impossible to attend a tribal council where any important matter was pending and not be impressed with the power and cogency of their eloquence. The reputation of being
> [554] an orator was coveted, and a man, when once recognized as such, was sure to wield great influence. An orator when addressing a council upon a question in which he was thoroughly interested, seemed to appreciate fully the dignity of his position, and identifying himself with the cause he advocated, and addressing himself directly to the person he was attempting to answer or convince, his speech would become vividly dramatic.

Tribal Fun and Games

609 Theoretically, friendships were best formed within one's own village
621 for beyond that was a kind of social "No-Man's Land." Sometimes,
[572] however, the wall of suspicion broke down, as in one story we heard related:

> 609 The members of the different bands didn't like each other as a rule.
> 621 We would say, "Don't bother with them (referring to people of another
> 539 village or band), they're mean."
>
> But some nice evening the Man-Going-Downstream Band and the Meat-Beggars would join the Little-Earth-Lodge Band and the children

272 After the other foods were ready, the coffee was cooked in a bucket with sugar to be served later in small bowls. This was a task that No Corn was likely to undertake. She would mix a handful of ground coffee with a handful of sugar and boil them together with water in the bucket. The meal would be finished off with sweet coffee served hot and black.

512 While all these preparations were going on, the people began to get up
one by one and sit down in their places around the fire. Now only the
boys were still in bed. Grandma warmed her hands over the fire, went
[522] over to the bed, put them on Otter's warm nose and "took it off" remarking to Old Bull, "Here's his nose." Then she offered it all around to the assembled company. Sometimes it was his ears that she offered instead. With things about done, Victory Call said, "Boys, breakfast is ready, you can go to bed again later if you want to."

264 White Woman removed the bucket of corn from the fire and put eleven
bowls around it to serve the family. The grandmother–grandchild pairs
[412] each got a bowl together and everyone else got a bowl for himself. With
[415] each bowl there was a buffalo-horn spoon and two spoons in the bowl
for grandma and grandchild. White Woman, who was sitting east and slightly north of the fireplace, dished out the corn with a large buffalo-horn spoon 8 inches long with a bowl that was 4½ inches across and 1½ inches deep. A ladleful or one and a half ladles of corn along with the liquor was a serving, the grandmother–grandchild bowls receiving an extra large portion. For feasts, large wooden ladles were used for serving.

264 The order in which the members of the household sat at their meal was
pretty much in the position of their beds. Old Bull sat at the southwest
554 and Victory Call at the northwest position. Ordinarily a man's senior wife
592 sat next to him, and his junior wives sat beyond. Old Bull and his wives
sat in this order, but White Woman had moved down to the east end of
the north side so that she could do the serving. The grandmothers and
[579] their grandchildren sat at the east end. Old-Man-That-Chief, although a
guest, took up the southeast position of humility, for he was old and
[888] nearly blind. The bowls were passed around to the people from hand to hand, unless the circle was too large, in which case a young woman would be asked to do the serving. The men were served first in order of importance, the "guest side" always being given priority. In this instance the order was Old Bull, Victory Call, Old-Man-That-Chief, Horse Rider, Queen Woman, the senior wife, then Clear Day, the junior wife, Blue Calico, the grandmother, on the south side; then the women on the north—No Corn, Yellow Calf and his Grandma, Otter and his Grandma, and finally White Woman herself.

264 Before they began their meal, White Woman made an offering of corn
782 at the west. She took some kernels of corn in a spoon from Victory
Call's bowl and offered them to the nose of the buffalo skull that rested on

000 sides. "Oh, you got good pay," they said. Then she added the news about
512 the gift of black tanned skin, and her husband teased her and said, "Let's
476 see that. Just right to make me a pair. You can patch up yours."

522 Back at the lodge, the old ladies said they were tired and went to bed,
512 and White Woman waited for her husband to come home.

While the women were busy with the minor household work and the
623 storage pit, Old Bull and Victory Call had been at a meeting of the Skidi chiefs at the home of Eagle Chief. There were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages—chiefs, subchiefs, and their attendant braves. Eagle Chief yielded his place at the west to the two most important guests and took the southeast position. At the southwest was Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge and in the northwest position, Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. The subchiefs and braves of each of these chiefs sat next to them in a line extending toward the east. At the southeast position, sat Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village with his subchiefs and braves extending inward toward the west along the side of the lodge. On the north side in a symmetrical arrangement was Chief Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village sitting in the northeast position with his subchiefs and braves extending inward along the northside. (See Figure 5-2 for the positions of representatives at the council meeting.)

623 Eagle Chief was the first to address the company, stating the purpose
722 for which he had called them together: "The Sioux are likely to come around any time. Don't each go individually to get wood. We must all go at a stated time when we can have our scouts on the lookout and bring in enough wood to be piled up while the planting is begun, that is at least four days' supply." Discussion from the others present followed, and then Eagle Chief announced that they would have another meeting in about two weeks or more to discuss the matter of clearing the fields in preparation for planting. He now turned over the conduct of the meeting to the chiefs at the west, and Lone Chief took charge, stating that if anyone had anything to say about the business at hand they should do so at this time as they were to have a feast and then talk of other matters.
623 After everyone had spoken his mind they waited two or three minutes
574 and then Lone Chief said, "Now we are going to eat." At the entrance
[624] near the east were the two errand men of both presiding chiefs at the west, and they had prepared the food and were ready to serve. The bowls were piled up near the kettle in which the food had been boiling, and, while one of the men dished it out, the other served. He carried two
[554] bowls to the west, one for each of the presiding chiefs. Then he returned to the east, carried the next bowl to the next chief on the south side, then returned to the east and gave the next bowl to the next chief to the north side, and so on in alternation, one by one on each side. Then the braves were served, one on the south, one on the north, until everyone had received his food, whereupon the errand men served each other.

623
342
35
554

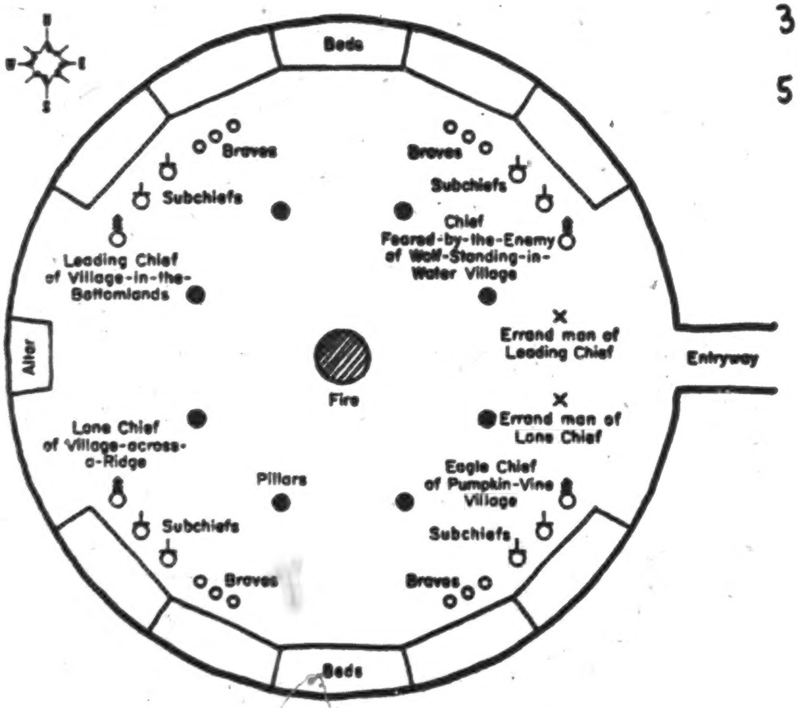

N
W
E
S
Beds
Braves
Braves
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands
Chief Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village
Errand man of Leading Chief
Altar
Fire
Entryway
Errand man of Lone Chief
Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
Pillars
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Braves
Braves
Beds

FIGURE 5-2. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. Mats are placed in the outer circuit against the beds to accommodate larger numbers. [631] Of the supposed twelve villages that formed the Skidi Federation in the past, four villages remained in 1867. Villages must have combined as their numbers were decimated. The original twelve sacred village bundles remained, and [778] some of the subchiefs probably represented these assimilated villages.

This was the time for joking "so that everyone could laugh during the 623 meal." The jokes were of a somewhat slapstick variety as they wanted 574 to be sure that no one's feelings were hurt in any way. Ordinarily, while 522 the social relationship with one's parents was quite formal and restrained, [593] the relationship with the grandparents was in sharp contrast. It was a [603] relationship of lively familiarity. Physical handling was rough-and-tumble, a grandfather sometimes pulling his grandson out of bed of a cold morning and dumping him in the snow to harden him; jokes were often leveled at the grandchild and answered in kind. The mode of kin reckoning often [601] involved an extension of the immediate kin terms to more distant blood [602] relatives, and it worked out so that people of similar ages might address

574 “Yes, we had a feast. It was about having the whole tribe go out for
521 wood.” “Yes,” one of the men would say, “springtime is coming now and it's about time we got the wood ready. Womenfolk have to go to the fields.” Now they would exchange stories until sundown—about war exploits and the horses they had succeeded in getting from the enemy, in which direction they went when they got them, about scouting in the U.S. Army and other similar topics. After about half an hour, the man
[276] on his right filled the pipe, but Victory Call ceded it to him. He made
[782] the offering to heaven and to earth, and the pipe was passed between them back and forth until they had smoked the tobacco in it. While the storytelling was going on, one of the men decided that he would entertain the chief at his house for dinner and sent a little boy with a message for his wife to prepare a meal for their honored guest. When he was notified that the meal was ready he said to Victory Call, “I want you to come up to my lodge. We're going to have a little bite.” The host would call over one or two more and invite them to join the party, saying “I want you to come up. We're going to have something to eat.”

574 Victory Call was seated in the place of honor at the northwest and the host at the southeast. The women of the house dished out the food and
[554] passed it around. After they had eaten, Victory Call got up first and left walking out by the north side of the lodge. After he had gone they would say, “He's a good chief. He goes about and sees what's going on.”

When Victory Call got home that evening, he found White Woman waiting up for him. “I've already eaten,” he said. White Woman retorted by way of banter, “I didn't ask you if you had eaten.” Then he sat down by the fire and she brought him his tobacco pouch. Guests were likely to come in soon and join him for the rest of the evening for a smoke and some talk. Before the guests arrived, they divided into very small pieces the meat that Victory Call had brought home from the chiefs' meeting so that everyone could have a taste.

When the first guest arrived, Victory Call offered him his pipe and said to White Woman, “Cook something.” The guest had just had his dinner and said, “No, no, I've already eaten.” Then a little time passed and another guest wandered in. He happened to be hungry and he remarked, “I'd like something to eat,” and then White Woman had to get to work and prepare something. By this time all the others who were sitting around would have worked up an appetite and Victory Call would say, “Maybe those fellows are hungry. Maybe they can eat.” And so the cooking started up again.

574 They talked about hunting, trapping, the warpath, chasing the buffalo,
521 and some other incidents that they had seen or heard. Sitting Bull would begin by telling a story on himself. He told that once he had killed a deer and his kinsman came along. Ordinarily he would be expected to give him half the kill, but he had diverted his attention saying, “Go fol-

796 "Priest"; it was performed when the sacred corn plants were about two
221 inches high and had four good leaves. This ceremony was in charge of
241 one of the two "south" bundles of the semicardinal directions—in alter-
nate years, the southwest and the southeast. The crux of the ceremony
778 was the uprooting of one of the young sacred corn plants, in which the act of birth was symbolized and the young plant carried as an infant on the visionary's back from the field to the ceremonial lodge, where it was attached to a stick fashioned by an arrowshaft maker and painted to represent a person. The plant was now carried through a cycle of childhood and young girlhood and breathed on by the priests to give it life. It was now Young Mother Corn, watching over the tribe. Only when this ceremony had been performed were the women permitted to go out into the fields and weed the corn plants and hill up the earth around them to protect them as they grew. A second weeding and hilling process in the latter part of June was the last attention the corn plants received before being "laid by." The people were then ready to leave for the summer buffalo hunt.

796 Without this ceremonial cycle, the coordination of the people in their
221 orderly round of life could not go on. While it was primarily a religious frame, it was also of basic practical value since it was based on the seasonal progression. Without it it would have been almost impossible to coordinate people's lives with one another and with external events.

Some of the activities that were necessary during the spring season were fitted into the cycle rather than being part of it. This was particularly true of the manufacturing and maintenance functions, while the ceremonial cycle referred especially to the planting of the crops.

221 All winter while the people had been wandering over the country on
[356] the tribal buffalo hunt the house had stood idle and their clothes and
[296] equipment had taken heavy wear. These had to be put in order and repaired before planting time.

356 The average life of a house was twelve years, but before the end of
476 that time water might leak through the roof and rot some of the radial
221 roof beams. These would have to be replaced, and in order to do this the
554 whole roof covering of thatch and earth had to be removed and reas-
622 sembled. This task would require more than the personnel of the household. Where the men of the house had little social status they would have few social contacts to draw on, but men like Old Bull and Victory Call were in a much better position to get help from the community. Because of their status as chiefs many more people were likely to volunteer to help. The following section shows some of the social mechanisms involved in the process. However, it should be noted that the assistance given was neither on the basis of power authority nor fundamentally for the sake of gaining social status by association, but rather in appreciation

of the role of the chief in public service. For the house of the chief was the place where administrative activities were carried on for the benefit of the people, as we have seen in the meeting described above in the home of Eagle Chief.

356
476
221
554
622
[342]
[344]

8

000

REPAIRING THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE

Repairing the Roof a Spring Task—Cooperative Nature of Work—Detailed Description of Repairing Roof—Project Is Completed with Wide Cooperation from Villagers

356 ALL WINTER LONG the house had stood unoccupied, the roof covered
[342] with snow while the people were away on the hunt. By spring, when the snow began to melt, the water seeping through the hard-packed earth and the thick layer of thatch might reach some of the radial timbers and rot them. Each household had to come to a decision as to whether to rebuild the whole house or just to mend the roof. This depended on the age of the house and the extent of the damage. They would count only on fifteen years as the maximum life of the house, and, when they anticipated a need for rebuilding they had to plan at least two years in advance to locate, process, and season the timbers, grass, and other materials. (See Figure 8-1 for an architect's plan of the earth lodge.) A man who was
[476] influential in the community could count on extra help from his fellow
[554] villagers who would gladly volunteer, while a less important person had to depend on whatever labor force was available in the house itself.

356 It took eighty-six to ninety man-woman days of labor to repair the roof of an earth lodge. It was a construction job that was accomplished
461 with no overseer and no commands. A great deal of individual labor was
476 consumed in preparing the materials, and this was done mainly by members of the household over a period of time. The actual construction work took only three days and was accomplished with a large number of volunteers. By way of compensation, the women of the household had to feed from thirty to fifty people for at least three meals.

356 One day in the fall of the year, Victory Call had been observing the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 90]

thing of this kind that has to be done and one simply volunteers." A per- 356
son who acts in this way is referred to as "A-Person-Whose-Ears-Are- 476
Standing-Erect," viz., an alert person. Living in Eagle Chief's household was the older son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Fox Chief. He was also helpful in gathering in the young men to help out his father. Fine Horse, son of Victory Call's older brother Sitting Hawk, also came, and a younger brother of Chief White Eagle, who was standing on the south side with the influential men.

A number of older men who were also referred to as "boys" came. 356
They were men who had little interest in having a prominent social status. 554
They preferred to go hunting, to go on the warpath, to be free and easy 476
in their manner. They were helpful to anyone who needed help and had little interest in social dignity or administrative functions. They freely gave away what they had and had no interest in accumulating anything or in having a well-appointed home. Because of their manner and attitude toward the social formalities, they were somewhat affectionately referred to as "boys" whatever their age might be. They commonly took over the responsibility of dangerous scouting assignments when these were called for. Four of these men came, and they climbed on the roof and helped out with the work. They were: Advance Scout (also known as Skidi Jake); Horse Finder; Riding-ahead-Coming; and Wants-the-Enemy.

About eight o'clock in the morning the women were stationed on the 356
roof near the top and they began to scratch off the earth with their buf- 476
falo shoulder-blade hoes. They scratched around one circuit down to the [462]
thatch grass and then began on the next one, pushing the earth down each time to the lower course. Finally the earth accumulated close to the sod collar at the bottom, where it was left so that they could pile it up again after they had repaired the frame. The men stood around giving advice, telling the women to scratch here or there; it took until nearly noon to get all the earth off the roof. Meanwhile the young men were removing the thatch grass and cutting the bark tyings that held the willow withe circuits and removed them while the women were scraping on the lower circuits. The thatch grass was placed around the outside of the circle of earth and the willow withes in a circle outside the thatch. Then the young men examined the radials and removed the rotten ones, and the men standing below handed up the new radials which were put in their places.

Horse Rider had been preparing the elm bark strips that he had soak- 356
ing overnight so that they could be tied on the new circuits of willow 476
withe. They also had the bison hide that Old Bull and Victory Call had 283
gotten on the winter hunt for making the rawhide rope needed to tie on the hoops around the smokehole. War Cry inquired whether they had been cut into strips, and, if this was not already done, Brave Shield, War

224*
it. A man like Eagle Chief who had eight or nine horses and whose son- 492
in-law had a similar number, could afford to lend two or three to out- 422
siders, although this did not mean they would also share in the family 426
tent, as his administrative functions required that he take his entire
family along.

In the Pawnee language, the word horse means "super-dog," the only 482
pack animal the Pawnees had before the impact of European culture. 492
With all due respect to the capacities of the dog, however, it was the peo- 177
ple themselves that did most of the carrying on their own backs. They 224*
had to pack not only the things they needed for camping—food, tents,
and equipment—but they had to carry back the dried buffalo meat and
the large hides. Every able-bodied person they took along with them
could earn his way by carrying things on his back. The men, whether
first-rate hunters or not, could play a useful role in the surround of the
herd. The only people they would leave behind in the villages were the
old and disabled. But the horse had made quite a difference in the social
economy. A horse could be packed with the dried and packaged meat of
four buffalo while a person could not carry more than one—about 80
pounds. If need be the horse could carry still more goods on his back.
Unless they could be of substantial assistance in the work of the camp, a
person would only be an extra mouth to feed. In the case of a chief or 574
a man who was socially ambitious, there would be a great deal of enter- 554*
taining to do in the camp; women, in addition to their work in preparing 224*
the meat and skins would also assist with the entertaining. In a family 462
which had no social ambitions, like that of Mad Bear cited above, two 224*
men in partnership taking a minimum of housing and utensils and a 571
maximum of horses could return with a great deal of buffalo meat and 492
hides, to the general benefit of their families. The wife left behind under
these circumstances could hardly resent it.

The horse also represented a unique and highly valuable item of capi- 551
tal that had the unprecedented value of not having to be carried, but of 231
moving itself. In the past, differences in wealth would depend on a much [556]
more direct kind of personal skill. The man who was swiftest on his feet
and the most skilled with the bow and arrow got the best buffalo, and
his wife could produce the finest packaged meat and the best skins. These
in turn could be traded for other valuable things—valued ornaments or
participation in the sacred ceremonies. Now skill in horsemanship, which
had become an indispensable factor in hunting the buffalo, implied also
major successes on the warpath and the capturing of horses as well as
their subsequent care and protection. The horse thus provided a material [556]
basis for a greater degree of social differentiation. The horse was an item [422]
of personal property, but unlike property in our society it was by no
means as much of a factor in developing differential status as other
aspects of experience, chiefly knowledge of man, the world, and the
universe.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

574 addition to the gifts, left all their equipment behind, and also the two
276 sacred pipes. The "Children" on their own account gave their parting
431 "Fathers" a large number of horses they had elaborately decorated for
the occasion. In the past they had given quantities of dried buffalo meat.
• [554] Only people of some prominence and wealth could participate in these
operations. At this time the Skidi Band were the "Children" of the Begging-for-Meat
622 Band, while the Skidi were "Fathers" to the Man-Going-Downstream
628 Band having recently paid them a trading visit. In view of
574 the mutual courtesies involved, for the Chiefs' Hunt and the first major
276 hunt episode, White Eagle deferred his leadership to his "father," Man
*224 Chief of the Begging-for-Meat Band. The fourth episode he placed in
charge of his "child" Many Trophies, chief of the Man-Going-Downstream Band.

*224 They stayed north of the Republican River for the first two mass attacks
*484 on the herd. By this time the herd on the north side was pretty well
scattered, and the hunters had to cross over the river for the attack and
bring the meat back over the water into camp. For the fourth mass attack
on the herd, under the leadership of Many Trophies of Man-Going-Downstream
[361] Band, they moved their camping location from Camp 11 to
a place on the Solomon River to the south, a branch of the Kansas. This
was a site preferred by the Man-Going-Downstream Band. It was a difficult
overland journey for which they had to carry water with them.
They would finally locate a small south-flowing stream, the Cedar, which
led them directly to the Solomon. They made their camp in the angle
where the Cedar joined the Solomon, hunting the herd further up the
river. When the bands parted, they mainly went to separate locations
further to the west along the Republican as the herds in the more eastern
648 location would have been scattered. This territory in the west was dangerous
as the nomadic tribes, Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, and others
were constantly poised to attack for what they considered to be an encroachment
[175] on their hunting grounds. In 1873 the Sioux attacked the
Pawnees while they were on such a venture, butchering their kill in a
[727] canyon near Trenton, Nebraska. The death toll was so severe that this
event tipped the balance in their decision to leave their traditional territory
[167] and migrate to Oklahoma.

On the way out and the way back from the buffalo hunting territory
*224 they moved their camp in fairly regular succession one day after another.
*484 But sometimes it rained and they had to remain where they were
132 for several days, or they might be delayed by the sickness of a prominent
man. Rain, of course, was an inevitable factor. It could delay the camp
for several days. If they were caught in a rain while on the march, everyone
had to spread his things out to dry and this operation might require
the next day or even two before they could resume their journey.
[281] Tanned hide becomes hard and has to be tanned again with grease and

rubbing after it gets wet. If the tent cover was folded when wet it would 224*
get moldy. The sinew bowstring also would be ineffective when wet. 484*
Rain had very serious consequences when they had sliced a quantity of 132
buffalo meat and were drying it on the rack. If it should be wet by a sud- [281]
den storm, the meat throughout the encampment would be spoiled. [251]
There was nothing that could be done with this meat. If one tried to eat it, it tasted like dead wood. It fell to pieces in one's hands. Even if one tried to cure it over a fire, it simply rotted. Meat once exposed to rain, even after it had been cooked, became moldy next day. A rack of meat that had been rained on was called *kariks-kutu*, "rack-dead, spoiled." The meat had to be thrown away.

Accommodation and adjustment to rainy weather was therefore very [182]
important and a nice distinction had to be made between the problem of delay and the risks involved.

One day word was sent to White Eagle that an important man of the 224*
Man-Going-Downstream Band was so ill that he could not go on. White 484*
Eagle had to consider very carefully whether they would go ahead and 758
leave him or delay the entire group. A day's delay might mean the 554 •
difference between reaching the full herd on time or finding only strag- 619
glers left after the herd had passed. Considering, however, that the Man- 622
Going-Downstream Band was in a "Child" relation in the Peace Pipe ritual to the Skidi and was in the process of giving them a return gift of horses, White Eagle diplomatically decided to delay the march so that the sick man could be treated by a doctor. It was also felt that if inter-band relationships were not solidified from time to time, one or the other of the South Bands might conceivably be induced to collaborate with the Sioux on some occasion. Then everyone would consider that White Eagle had failed in his administrative functions and in his diplomacy.
The death of an influential man in another band would also be the occa- 224*
sion for delay until after the funeral. If the wife of a prominent man 484*
were about to give birth, the whole family of this tent and a doctor 554
would stay behind and wait, and White Eagle would assign one of his 764
principle braves to see that things were all right with "their Child" (in 844
terms of the calumet), while the rest of the camp moved on. In the case of an expected birth to one of the wives of White Eagle himself, he would request Eagle Chief to lead on and say, "My wife is going to be sick." But Eagle Chief would refuse to go ahead saying, "I might spoil your luck. We can go on when she's well again." Ordinarily a woman would have to go aside while traveling and have her child in the open aside from the line of march. Also, in the case of death, the own family would usually stay behind and bury the person, then come on and join the rest. After a day's delay, everyone would be glad to be moving along.

The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant
kinship ties to him, but according to the logic of the Pawnee kin system 574
they all called one another brother. They were seated in order of seniority. [602]
The hostess, sitting at the southeast, dished out the food for them, [601]
and her husband passed it to his neighbor on the left, stating who it was [554]
intended for, whereupon it would be passed along to the designated
party. There were no speeches, and people were not obliged to wait for [264]
anybody else but could eat as soon as they were served. When they were
through, if they were in a hurry they would just pick up the bread and
meat that they had left over and go directly out, taking the leftover food to
their wives and children. The manners of the common people were far [576]
simpler than those of the socially elite, or the socially ambitious, although
the customary forms were similar.

As they continued on the move, pressures might build up between individuals 484*
because of the closeness of the living conditions in camp and the 578
strain of constant migration. This was particularly true between father-in-law
and son-in-law. Theoretically, it was the first duty of the son-in-law 606
to serve his wife's family, but when his father-in-law was quite old, the
son-in-law often felt put upon by the arrangement. Sometimes in the
camp one could hear people calling out, "Fight, fight!" and father-in-law
and son-in-law would be grappling with each other in a tent. People all
came running and a roughneck in the crowd would call out, "Who's underneath?"
Someone who was close to the tent would say, "Son-in-law." In
general the crowd would approve and say, "That's good," the sentiment
being with the underdog, the old father-in-law. Such a quarrel would [554]
be ended when a brave or other person of high social rank put a hand
on each of the combatants and said, "I want you to stop." Out of respect
for his rank and eminence, they would separate at once and go in different
directions. Should they not respond it would be a major insult and he
would say a second time, "Didn't you hear me?" This would certainly
end the fight. Any person known to be sensitive and to dislike violence
could perform this same good office. Violence of this kind within the village [183]
or band was considered a serious social malfunction and people made
every attempt to avoid it or put a stop to it. The effort to anticipate and
prevent such situations from arising can be seen in the efforts of the wife
and sister of Fearing-a-Bear to keep a hostile father and son-in-law apart.

252
574

[554]

[264]
[237]

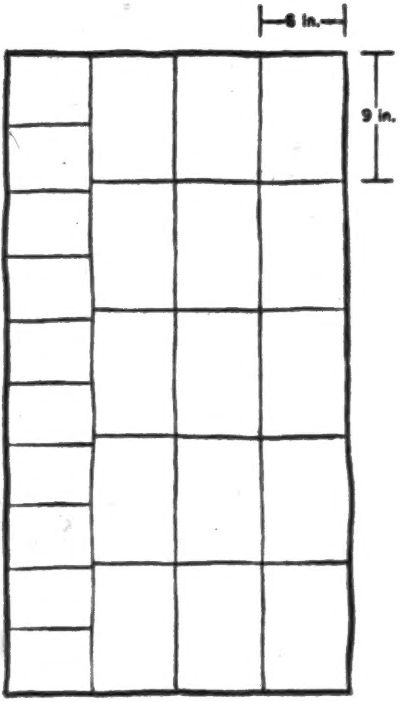
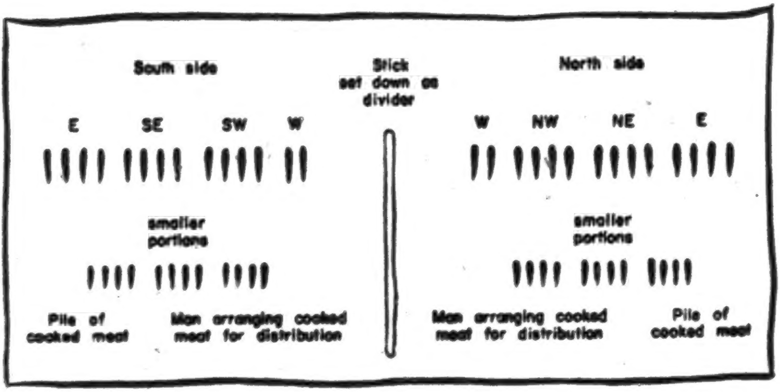


FIGURE 27-4. The manner of cutting and setting out portions of the layer of dried buffalo meat made from the backbone steak, *kisatsu*, at a feast. (1) Preparatory to cooking, the steak is cut into four long strips. The three strips at the right are each made into five portions. The fourth long strip at the left is made into as many additional portions as is deemed necessary. The large portions are for the honored guests sitting in the special positions, the smaller portions, for the rest of the guests. The slab of dried buffalo fat is cut up in the same way. (2) The portions are set out on a tanned hide, ready to be served. (The dimensions and the drawing were supplied by informants.)

252
264
574


South side
Stick set down as divider
North side
E
SE
SW
W
W
NW
NE
E
smaller portions
smaller portions
Pile of cooked meat
Man arranging cooked meat for distribution
Man arranging cooked meat for distribution
Pile of cooked meat

tanned hide was spread out and formally divided into sections, a right 252
section for the guests on the north side and a left section for those on 574
the south side with a stick lying on the spread between them to mark
the divisions. Two backbone steaks were opened out, one on one side
and one on the other and separated from their layer of fat. This operation
was carried out at the southeast of the earth lodge or tent with the
two steaks pointed with their "neck" or head ends toward the northwest.
Each steak was cut down the length into four strips, each about 6
inches wide. The three strips on the right were made into five large
portions each, about 9 inches long, and the fourth or leftmost strip was
cut into a whole series of smaller portions depending upon how many
people needed to be served. The larger portions were for the important [554]
guests at the main "positions," while the smaller pieces were for the others.
The layer of fat was cut up in the same way, but this disintegrated
in the soup. For a feast of sixty people, four steaks would be cooked.
Each potful took about twenty minutes, about fifteen for the meat and a
few minutes more for the fat to be thoroughly cooked. For this amount
they cooked three or four batches, spearing out the pieces of meat with
a stick each time and placing them on the spread in the appropriate
position for serving. Sometimes while the errand man was doing the
cooking he would observe that the steaks were unusually small, viz., from
a small animal, when additional meat would have to be added. When additional [554)
steaks were received, the important guests received double portions
or more. This was the only direct compensation for administrative
services.

Most of the meat preserved during this summer hunt would be used 251
during the following fall and winter, while the succeeding winter hunt 262
would provide the additional meat for the spring. From the summer hunt, 281
the hides were processed as rawhide or tanned hide with hair removed,
while on the winter hunt they got hides with fur and wool for warm
robes.

The drying and preserving of the buffalo meat along with their crops 251
was one of the major technical achievements of the Pawnees. This ancient 171
art of preserving food by drying was almost continent-wide in
America among the food gatherers as well as the food producers, and
the method contrasts markedly with the general Old World approach of
fermenting, pickling, and spicing for food preservation.

Each household had its own estimate of the amount of dried buffalo 224*
meat required to carry on its social and religious obligations. Four formal
attacks on the herd by all the able-bodied hunters of the tribe were
considered sufficient to provide for most of their needs. The first mass
attack had taken place as the line of march was slowly making its way
southward along the west bank of Turkey Creek. When they had gone
about halfway, the scouts had located the herd, and the hunters left the

wished to share in the cult knowledge apprenticed themselves to a doctor 756
and gradually learned his lore, adding their own variations in the course [173]
of time. Each of the different cults held their own special ceremonies at [796]
least twice a year—in the spring before going out on the summer buffalo
hunt and in the fall before leaving for the winter hunt. In addition, all
these cults were organized into one big "Doctor Lodge." It is said that in [173]
the past there were two separate doctor lodges within the Skidi Band
that would stage big hypnotic contests between them. They were called
"East Doctors" and "West Doctors."

At the time of this narrative in 1867 there was one combined Doctor
Lodge with two major leaders, one for the south side, Pipe Offering of
Pumpkin-Vine Village, and one for the north side, Big Doctor of Village-
in-the-Bottomlands. Despite their location in the lodge, they were still
referred to as West and East Doctors respectively, coinciding with the
relative location of their villages in the settlement. Big Doctor was con-
sidered the more authoritative of the two, which may have been due to
personal factors rather than formal or ceremonial ones. Each of these
leaders had an assistant from his village to help him manage his side. Sitting
Hawk of Pumpkin-Vine assisted Good Pipe and Wonderful Old Bull of
Bottomlands Village assisted Big Doctor. These men were both prominent
in their own right—Sitting Hawk, for example, being a prominent mem-
ber of the Bear Cult and a senior member of his family in the chiefs'
council. The apprentices to these prominent doctors acted as errand
men and cooked and served the meals. They were stationed on each side
of the entrance at the east. Theoretically the head men should be willing
to give them any information they wanted in return for their services,
and eventually they would move up to a position in one of the animal
cults in which the doctor had a vested interest. Several subapprentices sat
next to them waiting to assume the position of errand man when they
should move. Venerable old men who were not currently members of the [888]
cults sat in the northeast and southeast positions, further in the lodge [622]
than the apprentices. Chiefs who were invited to witness a performance [554]
were seated next to the old men still further in.

The bed platforms had all been uprooted and put outside on the roof of 756
the entry way and along the sides a series of booths had been built for 346
the animal cults. The booths were constructed with partition walls of willow saplings and main outer posts of cottonwood logs. Each booth was completely screened in, with a tiny entranceway cut near the bottom of the front wall so that the doctors could crawl in and out. Each cult was directed by a leader who had a series of apprentices and subapprentices with different degrees of knowledge of the cult tradition.

At this time eight cults were represented in the different booths, four on each side.

until someone in the lodge happened to get up and see him. Then he 754
went home.

The next day the woman was sick in her stomach or her intestines. It seemed she had ague. But the man who had been up the night before said, "I know who witched her. It isn't ague." When she was dying the woman said, "I see him. He has a fan before his face, but I know him. It is That-Chief!"

Many other dark deeds were attributed to That-Chief, as he was the 754
most learned man in the tribe. He was the tribal historian, high priest of 756
the sacred bundles, outstanding elk doctor, and maker of chiefs in the 578
chiefs' council. One situation was rivalry with another old man, Horse
Finder (*Huras*), who was called in on a case of illness and then super- [554]
seded by That-Chief who reversed the original treatment and substituted some of his own. Horse Finder became angry and refused to continue his treatment of the sick man.

Now each of these two men had to watch himself. Each would keep 754
careful track of the other to see if he were hovering near. He would 578
sleep with the covers over his head in fear that something would be put down his throat by the other one. Even when they just took a walk, they would have to watch carefully.

The fight was carried right into the Deer Dance. Horse Finder sat at the northwest station and That-Chief at the northeast. After the spectators had gone a private performance was held after midnight. That-Chief asked to be told where Horse Finder was (both men were blind), and then he lit his pipe in the coals of the fireplace and gave it to Horse Finder to smoke. Horse Finder took a couple of puffs and as in the normal course of events, That-Chief tried to take back the pipe, the bowl came off in his hand and the stem stuck between Horse Finder's teeth. Then That-Chief stamped his feet, first one foot and then the other. This was to stir up Horse Finder's stomach. Finally a lot of soft white feathers came out of the end of the pipe stem, and in this way That-Chief knew that he would not be able to harm Horse Finder by projecting a magical pellet of sharp object into his stomach, for the soft feathers he had inside would protect him.

Now Horse Finder got up to retaliate. He stood before That-Chief, stamping twice with each foot in alternation so that he stepped four times, saying "xi^{a}, xi^{a}, xi^{a}, xi^{a} (hee^{a})," with a grunting tone. Then he said to That-Chief, "What have you been doing to my fish?" Finally everyone could see the tailbones of the fish's skeleton coming out of That-Chief's mouth. Then Horse Finder began to pull it out and the sharp rib bones of the fish cut That-Chief's mouth so that his whole

days until his stomach is in order. Then the other four doctors who have 75
sung with the patient are called in and perhaps one or two more, and they speak of the animals and their ways and have a ceremonial smoke and distribute the goods that That-Chief has received in payment. Of the three horses, That-Chief will give one to the owner of the earth lodge where he is living, one he will keep for himself and give one to Horse Finder. The other doctors will note his special generosity, but may explain it merely by the fact that they both have the same bundle powers. Even if they were to suspect, they would not reveal the secrets of their fellow professionals to the lay public.

The Pawnees were thus not immune to the common suspicion that 756
comes to all people in the desperation of sickness, that the doctor is not doing everything possible to cure the patient and that somehow more could have been done if the doctor had willed it.

In view of some of these rather bizarre descriptions, I questioned my 754
informant who was familiar with our methods of gathering evidence and 753
attempting to establish reasonable proof, as to what evidence people had 124
that witchcraft was at the bottom of so much death and sickness among the Pawnees. His reply in substance was that basically they just knew, no proof in our terms being possible. He said: "When men sit around talking, they would talk about these things. They would *know*, but they couldn't prove it." [521]

Rarely would the Pawnees attribute a death to our type of "natural 761
cause." With old people of little social importance, they wouldn't bother 554
to press the question but with anyone of any social position, people were concerned to place the responsibility for the death on the hostility of someone in the community. It was thought that when the person was dying, the hostile person would appear to them as a witch who was hiding his face so that the dying man had to identify him by his body. The dying man or woman would then recognize and name the person. Then the news would get around but no further action would be taken.

The Pawnees recognized that anxiety and hostility were major causes 753
of disease. From the Pawnee point of view, active witchcraft practices 754
were the culmination of sustained, interpersonal hostility and the con- 578
stant fear of witchcraft represented the anxiety felt in the face of such a threat.

> People got sick to their stomach, or when something stuck them, got blood poisoning, or so the white people call it—but we say, "Someone witched you." Long afterwards if the man recovered, he would be sure to find out who witched him.

The reasoning here being that an important characteristic of his disease —and therefore cause—had been anxiety, and that this could be traced to

753 some interpersonal hostility in the community whose source he would in-
754 variably find if he searched around for it.

578 The doctor on his part, helped restore a man's confidence while he was
756 sick, by bringing him the friendship of the animals who were entirely outside the human community and to whom he could turn in his distress. This motivation can be seen in the vision of the poor boy, Small, whose position in the human community was threatening and insecure. It was in a council of the animals that he found justice for himself and understanding of his need. He also found, however, that some of his new-found animal friends had temperaments that were prevailingly vicious like the mole and the weasel, and this was a power from outside that he could turn against the human community at his desire. The doctor, therefore, in his knowledge of animals, had a kind of power for evil as well as
756 for good that no one else possessed. "The doctors are all witches. Each
one has a different way to witch as well as their other practices." Whether
754 he used this evil power depended upon the temperament of the doctor. As cited in connection with old doctor Angry Horse, "He never got sufficiently angry for that!" and so would never be using this part of his power, but the people suspected that the majority of the doctors gave way to temptation at times, particularly the most ambitious ones. The old doctors were especially suspect, of course.

578 Interpersonal hostility represented a serious threat to the Pawnee
626 community, particularly in its influential members. As there were no
formally organized codes of behavior or courts of justice among the
554 Pawnees, a person had no recourse in the face of personal threat except the expression of public opinion which was by no means readily forthcoming and also it was effective only within the existing social power structure. If possible, self-help was the wisest course. Behaille, in the face of the hostility of Old Bull toward his admission to the chiefs' council, used the method both of exposure and at the same time of mollification at a feast.

571 It was far more vital for the people of the Pawnee community to have
578 a clear estimate of the range of personalities with which they had to deal
in their daily lives than it is for those of us who live in larger polities. The
829 pressures between individuals were far more potent than they are in
626 groups where there is a larger and more complete political structure, for beyond the known range of personalities among the Pawnees, there was only the enemy. Interpersonal difficulties might or might not get some public reaction and beyond that there was no organized social machinery to which to appeal. In the social order, therefore, the attitudes, moods and inclinations of the individuals that composed it, were far more significant for the group well-being than in a larger polity, and people kept a closer watch on these personality factors than we are accustomed to doing. They knew where "the trouble spots" were likely to be in

> "Everyone was thinking of making a strike on him and getting war honors. Lone Chief was especially anxious to make the first strike on this occasion. He ran toward him down the hill as fast as he could. As I turned around, the Sioux had gotten up and fallen over on his back. The South Band man also made a strike on him and ran down the hill as fast as he could." 539 721

The war honors consisted of touching the fallen enemy and before eye witnesses stating, *tat-i-ki*, "I-at him-strike." Two more could succeed the first strike, these being spoken of as *wi-taruh-hukita-sa*, "now-it is-on top-lying." If there were no witnesses around, one could put the dead Sioux in a sheltered place and bring witnesses afterward, or people who came could be shown the tracks of horses in the place and some blood to show there had been a skirmish. Even if such proof could not be made, the story was likely to come out later when the two tribes concerned were at peace and they talked over their past experiences. 538 554 727

At this point, the story was taken over by Shot Arm, who for its next episode, had been more directly in the thick of the fight. He said:

> "The Sioux had two six shooters in his belt, one on each side. The Sioux now threw away his bow and arrows and took out his guns. But I was right next to him and before he had a chance to do anything I grabbed both his hands. Meanwhile Brave Shield took the second strike on him and rode away. 539 727
>
> "While I was grappling with him you could hear someone coming grunting and panting. That was this fellow here, War Cry. [War Cry was heavily built.] When he arrived he said to the Sioux, 'You nearly killed my brother-in-law (meaning me) (*para-kaskur-rahux-kapakis*, almost-you mine-rotten-poor, viz., killed).' He put his hand to his left side and drew out his very sharp butcher knife. It was just as sharp as it could be. He cut off the whole scalp of that Sioux, ears and all. [The whole top and back of the headskin with the ears, viz., across the top of the forehead just under the hairline and way back to the base of the hair all around, including the ears.]
>
> "All this time I was grappling with the Sioux for his guns. War Cry put his right knee up against the Sioux's shoulders and pulled off the entire scalp. Swoosh, it went! The skin of the forehead fell over his eyes and as War Cry put his knee against the Sioux's back, he cracked the backbone and the Sioux cried out i! i! i! i! and let go the rifles.
>
> "Back at Lone Chief's lodge, all the time the fighting was going on Man Chief and two other Tsawis had remained. Man Chief sat without moving, his buffalo robe with the hair side out wrapped tight around him. He had asked the other two to remove the decorations from Lone Chief's daughter.

463 Having consented, Old Lady Lucky Leader would say, "On so-and-
so day I am going to make it. Come in then." When the wife of Chief's-
283 Road came in, the old lady directed her to sit down to her left and
watch everything. As the work progressed she paid close attention to
the manner of braiding and after some of the work had been com-
pleted, the teacher asked the pupil to try her hand at it. At first she
was very clumsy and was corrected by the teacher and finally she got
the idea. When she got home, she tried to do it by herself and from
time to time came in to see the old lady saying she didn't quite remem-
ber about this and this detail and asking to be shown.

She told no one that she had learned, but on an occasion when someone came to the old lady to have a belt made, she would say, "Go to the wife of Chief's-Road. She can make it. I taught her." The man now would go to the wife of Chief's-Road and tell her that he had been sent by the old lady because she had too much work. She would make the belt for the man and the entire fee would be hers, with no further financial obligation to her teacher. From now on others would hear of it and begin to apply to her and she would be able to earn something for her family.

463 Most mature women knew the techniques of skin working with a
[281] knowledge of mat making being somewhat less common but still widely
[285] known. Everyone could make buffalo-horn spoons. The weaving of the
[321] black rope and woven belts as well as the making of wooden bowls
[283] were known to a very limited number of craftswomen. In the men's
[322] crafts, the bow was made by everyone, but the extremely restricted
[411] number of arrowshaft makers has already been mentioned. The pipe
makers were equally specialized and they made both the stem and the
[276] bowl. Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most signifi-
cant things the man needed. Only six or seven men among all the Skidi
[292] could make them. Skin shirts could only be worn by men who had an
[554] outstanding social or military status and these were made by a very
limited number of specialists. These specialists were regarded like the
[294] village blacksmith of our early towns. They tried to have two or three
of them in each village. But even the most common craft techniques
could only be learned by a person who was sponsored by someone or
had the wherewithal to pay for his instruction.

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair
turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moccasin to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the
padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of [294]
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-soled moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one
section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in [855]
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to protect them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accommodate the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other [465]
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstand- 554
ing symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

292 554 [531] work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such a shirt.

[461] The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237 554 825 [411] The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught. Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one, the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281 756 Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered inedible and was left in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would 262 soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237 293 [223] Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237 554 714 Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a shield.

285 476 ticated adaptation for weaving a wide twined fabric, as the normal direction for the progress of twined weaving is from left to right, the woman on the left using a motor pattern equivalent in feeling to dancing the waltz in reverse, with a view to getting a visual effect in the texture.

When the mat had been woven about one third of the way, the women, who had been kneeling in front of the lower cloth beam, now moved up and knelt on the already finished fabric to work on the rest. As the work progressed, they continued to move up on the fabric so that the working edge would be within reach.

[461] Two women could finish a mat in one day if they did nothing else. Beginning after breakfast, the weaving would be half done by noon. By a little after five in the evening, the work was complete.

285 868 Mat weaving was a household craft and the work would not ordinarily be contracted for outside, unless a woman were learning for the first time. Then she would call in an old woman and pay her to demonstrate the technique. During the demonstration, the young woman would try her hand at it from time to time. The finished mat would be hers. [465] The teacher would receive four or five yards of calico and a layer of dried buffalo meat, or a sack of corn (about a foot high) and half a braided intestine mat.

285 592 In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each side took care of its own needs for mats. White Woman and Grandma would start one together, and when White Woman had to interrupt her work to prepare a meal, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy would take her place for a while, helping Grandma with the weaving. Any mats that Grandma made by herself were given to White Woman for the family. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy felt she should make at least one mat for herself and her grandson to use when they went on the hunt. No Corn also made one to take along, and, if Horse Rider was busy in the Doctor Lodge, the two old ladies would each contribute half the necessary materials, as she was too crippled to gather them for herself and under the circumstances Horse Rider was unable to get away. There was no question of compensation for this, as the old ladies felt that Horse Rider was helpful to the household at all times and No Corn also did what she could.

482 285 Carrying these mats on the march was very difficult for people with no horses. This was the case with poor people. When people noticed that they had no mats, someone would give them an old one and a man would carry it on his back with a baby perched on top and his wife would do [431] the same. The occasional woman who was too lazy to make one, was also [554] given an old mat. People who didn't have mats to put on the ground were considered poor indeed.

412 824 A brush made of stiff grass was indispensable to personal grooming. The brush was made out of Porcupine Grass or Spanish Needles (*Stipa*

spartea) known to the Pawnee as *pitsuts*. It grew like oats about 3 feet 412
high near the village, above the cemetary where the Skidi buried their [824]
dead. White Woman would ask Victory Call to go and gather it for her in
the fall. It had long stiff branches and at the tip of each branch there was
a sharp point fastened at a joint and surrounded with wooly fluff. The
point was broken off at the joint and discarded and the fluff cleared off.
The remaining bristle was very stiff and formed the working end of the
brush. The stems were grouped into four little bunches, each bunch
bent over at the top end and fastened down with a wrapping of buckskin.
The four bunches were put together with the bent-over ends inward,
and the whole bound around with buckskin to complete the brush. In
addition to keeping the hair in order, doctors would rub the brush on
top of the head to relieve headache or sleepiness. As generally with the [796]
Pawnee crafts, there was no ceremony involved in gathering the material
or in the manufacture, but the grass appears metaphorically in the Peace [824]
Pipe ceremony as symbolic of vegetation in general and of grasses in
particular.

Everyone went to a good deal of trouble to keep the hair in order and 302
to dress it attractively. The women's hair styles were relatively uniform.
It was parted in the middle and made into two braids hanging down over
the shoulders in front. The end of the braid was wound around with
buckskin. A relatively recent style was tying the braids together and [178]
flinging them to the back. The men's hair styles were more elaborate and
varied. A great many of the men wore roaches, a ridge of hair standing
up along the middle of the head with the hair removed on both sides and
a braid hanging down at the back. Most writers refer to this hair style as
characteristically Pawnee, but the Pawnees themselves speak of it as "like [171]
Osages." In the old days, each hair had to be pulled out one by one. Later [178]
they used scissors. In former times, face hairs were also pulled out one
by one with the fingers, while more recently they used a close coil of
brass with a stick through it so that it would be tied to the belt. The oldest
son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Sun Chief, had long curly hair
that he wore in two braids, one over each shoulder. He was known as
Long Hair or "Head-Hanging-Down-From." Victory Call also wore
two braids, but on the right side, in addition to the braid, he had his hair
cut in terraces. He was called "like Arikara" on account of it. War Cry
never seemed to comb his hair; he wore it loose and was always brushing
it back off his forehead. His younger brother, Brave Shield, pushed his
hair up so that it stood up stiff in back. People who were shabby or ill- [554]
groomed were regarded with considerable contempt by the Pawnees.

The industrial knowledge of the Pawnee transformed the meager ma- 433
terials of the plains environment into a setting that was worthy of their 182
religious and conceptual achievements. They worked hard but were se-

554 727 357-358 Like other Plains tribes, the Pawnee had the tradition of honoring a warrior for touching a fallen enemy. In anthropological literature, this has come to be known as "counting coup." The first one to touch the fallen enemy among the Pawnees as among the other Plains tribes, got the greatest honor. It was said of him, *wi-ti-ki*, "now-he-strikes." The second to touch the fallen enemy got a secondary honor and the third was the final strike that could count. Taking the scalp could count as a "strike." As the strike is being made, the warrior must call out "I strike" at the scene of battle itself if possible with witnesses to the deed. Otherwise, only if there were some concrete evidence, could the deed be counted. For example, if one struck a dead Sioux, one would put him in a sheltered place until you could bring witnesses or people who came to see tracks of horses in the place where the exploit occurred and some blood to show there had been a skirmish. However, even if such proof could not be made, later when peace was made and the erstwhile enemies were sitting together at peace, they might recount their former war exploits and the deeds of the brave would be confirmed by the enemy so that the warrior's own people would know.

172 412 363 On polished stone axes, celts, etc. see Wedel, 1936, pp. 77-78: In the archaeological Pawnee and proto-Pawnee sites, polished stone axes and celts are rare, and there seems to be a preponderance of crude stone mauls. Also see Strong, 1935, pp. 59-60, 66-67.

292 821 375-376 The comet of 1882, *upirik-kiskuxka*, "feather headdress," was so named to indicate the identification of the traditional Plains war bonnet with a comet.

000 403-406 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of a bulrush mat, pp. 151-152.

382, 385 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of wooden bowls, pp. 47-51, and the mortar and pestle.

As this book went to press, there appeared in *Science* (July 10, 1964, 145, No. 3628, 117-136) a definitive article, "Economics and the Quality of Life" by the outstanding economist, John Kenneth Galbraith, that so closely parallels the general viewpoint that I have tried to express here that I feel it should be especially mentioned.

In the *New York Times* (July 12, 1964), an article appeared which was entitled "Landlord to Hire Social Worker to Help His Tenants Live Better." The realtor referred to is Mr. Howard Offit, one of Baltimore's largest landlords, who owns about 1,000 red-brick-row or attached houses. The social worker hired by Mr. Offit will work in a West Baltimore neighborhood. Harold C. Edelston, executive director of Baltimore's Health and Welfare Council, who is one of the program's advisers, states its purpose: "to have the social worker provide brief counseling service for tenants with personal family

Mr Murie spent three days in the translation and study of the 124
ritual, assisted by the Ku'rahus, who explained many points that
were somewhat obscure, owing to elisions, the employment of a single 195
word as a mnemonic to call up the picture of a complicated action, 196
and the forcing of words to a different application from that of ordinary speech—a not uncommon occurrence in rituals. The latter carefully watched the work lest mistakes should be made, remarking that the ritual "speaks of the powers above, of whom man should be careful what he says."

There is one aspect of the ritual, essential to its understanding, that 181
was carefully explained by the Ku'rahus, and the substance of many
conversations on the subject follows. A man's life is an onward move- 555●
ment. If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the
help of the powers his life will "climb up." Here the Ku'rahus made 553
a gesture indicating a line slanting upward; then he arrested the
movement and, still holding his hand where he had stopped, went on 761
to say that as a man is climbing up he does something that marks a 829
place in his life where the powers have given him the opportunity to express in acts his peculiar endowments, so this place, this act, forms a stage in his career, and he takes a new name to indicate that he is on a level different from that which he occupied previously. Some men, he said, can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level, and he illustrated his words by moving his hands horizontally. Men having power to advance, climb step by step, and here again he made his idea plain by a gesture picturing a slant, then a level, a slant, and a level. In this connection he called attention to the words, in line 1359, "rutu'rahwitz pari," "to overtake walking," saying that the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life an upper level, such a one as these ancient men spoken of in the ritual had reached, where they threw away the names by which they had been known before. "Rutu'rahwitz pari," is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by the doing of like deeds.

Three facts connected with the Pawnee custom of taking a new 553
name should be stated:

First. A man was permitted to take a name only after the perform- 555
ance of an act indicative of ability or strength of character. 796*

Second. The name had to be assumed openly before the people to whom the act it commemorated was known.

Third. It was necessary that it should be announced in connection with such a ritual as that here given.

These facts indicate (1) that a man's name stood for what he had shown himself to be in the light of his actions; (2) that this was recognized by his tribesmen; and (3) that it was proclaimed by one having in charge the mediatory rites through which man could be approached by the supernatural.

159 him to jump into the water and stay under, and when he came out, some
756 deer hair would have come up out of his throat and he would have been
well at once. The lesson was not lost on Otter, though he seems never to
have needed it.

[762] The case of the old medicine woman is also of interest. Her son, a boy of fourteen, had recently committed suicide. He had resented her second husband and finally shot himself. Otter's older brother Fox Chief had taken the occasion to point out to him that suicide solved nothing and that all the boy had accomplished was to leave his mother all alone.

Old Bull was the leading man of the south half of the house. He was
159 a man of good-natured jocularity, about fifty years old. He was a
555 highly skilled buffalo hunter and on occasion he was known to outrun
a buffalo. His full name was *Hikuts-tarus*, "Old Buffalo Bull"—"Scabby" or "Itchy." He was a man of good family who had begun life with a number of advantages. His father was a prominent chief, and he was sitting in his family's hereditary seat in the chiefs' council. In his boyhood he had struck up a friendship with a poor boy named Small who was serving in a chief's household. The poor boy had a vision and he had chosen to share it with his wealthy friend, Old Bull (see pp. 322-335). Then, while he was out tending the horses of his wealthy patron, Small was killed by the Sioux and Old Bull continued with Small's teachings and rose to prominence in the Doctor Association. He was currently a leader of the Deer Cult of that body. Not only his skill as a buffalo hunter, but his rise in the medical profession were notable personal achievements.

159 Old Bull and Victory Call had a kin relationship that went back to past
554 family history. It was usual for every prominent man, particularly
592 among the important chiefs and doctors, to draw around him numbers
of young men who would come to live in his house and serve him in
various ways as apprentices or dependents. Chief Big Eagle was such a
159 man with a large household in Old Village in 1838. He had three sons
554 of his own of whom the oldest was *kax-kuutu*, "Rotten-House," the
602 second Sitting Hawk, and the third, Victory Call. Among the other young
men who were in the house it was always possible to find some kin line that would make them brothers to the children of their host. Old Bull's father was one of these young men and he had called Victory Call, *irari*, "brother." Now that they were settled together in a common household, Old Bull properly addressed Victory Call as *atias*, "my father," since Old Bull's father had been counted as Victory Call's brother. Accordingly, Victory Call addressed Old Bull as *piirau*, "my child." Otter, who also called Victory Call father and was called by him *piirau*, was as a brother to Old Bull, Old Bull assuming the role of older brother to the boy. As younger brother, Otter would wait until his older brother Old Bull ad-

• 555 universe. The Pawnees had great contempt for extreme poverty and
23 raggedness, but no great desire or awe for wealth in large quantities.
[735] Historically the likelihood is that the cooperative social patterns of the
[556] Pawnees go back to a time when practically every person had an important
[174] tant function in the material economy, while a person of outstanding
value was one who had special insights and knowledge.

342 But for all the value the Pawnees placed on knowledge and the things
281 of the spirit, a tent was an absolute necessity as they traveled over the country. The making of the tent skin was one of their most complex technical achievements. It was a major enterprise to get one made, which had to be anticipated at least two years in advance. Eight skins had to be accumulated over four successive hunting periods—a sunmer hunt, a winter hunt, and on the following year again, a summer and a winter hunt. Sinew of eight buffalo for sewing the skins together also had to be saved. As signs of wear would appear in their tent skin, a woman would remind her husband of their need. Then he would set aside two good skins in each of the four seasons. The average life of a tent skin was no more than ten or twelve years.

463 Seven buffalo hides were used to make the body of the tent; an eighth was cut up for gussets, loops for the pegs at the bottom, and a double
281 thickness at the door. In order to fit the skins together in the smoothest and most economical way and to arrange the pattern of the applied parts, a woman specialist in this field had to be called in to supervise the work. There were only a limited number of women with such knowledge in the tribe. In addition, it would take four or five women working pretty
[461] steadily for three or four days to do the actual sewing of the skins. The workers all had to be compensated with gifts of dried buffalo meat, skin
[437] clothing, and trade store goods that had to be purchased with buffalo products. In the course of the hunt, the hunter had to anticipate these needs as well as the need for the skins and the sinews. Payment for the work of planning and sewing amounted to at least the sale value of a good buffalo robe.

342 The same tent skin was used for both the winter and the summer hunts, but the framework was different. In winter they used the standard pointed skin tipi, supported by a frame of thirteen tall and heavy rigid poles that were leaned against one another at the top to form the conical frame. With its fire burning in the middle, this tent provided an excellent protection against the winter cold, but it was too warm for summer. For the summer frame they used a series of flexible saplings to make an open-faced shelter. The making of the heavy tipi poles was a long and difficult process and had to be planned well in advance, whereas the saplings for the summer framework could be gathered near the time of leaving for the summer hunt. Elm or willow saplings were available near the creek in the late spring or early summer and at this time the bark

*796 a beating effect is produced; second, the custom of waving the hand
196 to and from the mouth or beating the lips, so as to break a continuous note or call into a series of sounds or beats; third, the making of
[194 the drum from a section of a tree, hollowed out, with a skin stretched
534] over the open end. From this analysis of the word hakkowpirus we discern that the pulsating voice and the beaten lips were the first means employed to produce an effect which was afterward emphasized in an instrument, the drum (hakkowpirus, the breathing mouth of wood), which was made to give forth a series of sounds by the same device of whipping by the hand.

*[533] In Indian music the rhythm of the drum always follows closely the emotion expressed in the song; it is like a great pulsating voice.

In the term Hako the k of the first syllable in hakkow is dropped for the sake of euphony, and for the same reason the rough sound ow is changed to o. The word Hako carries the idea of the breathing, vibrating tones from the wooden mouth. It is applied to all the articles used in the ceremony, because, according to the explanations of the Ku'rahus, "everything speaks; the eagle, Kawas, speaks; the corn speaks; so we say Hako—the voice of all these things."

*796 In the preparation of the record of the different rites, rituals, and songs of this ceremony it became necessary to adopt a convenient
126 term which should apply to the ceremony as a whole, including the party inaugurating the ceremony, the rites, the rituals, and the articles used. The term "Hako" has been chosen as best fitted for the purpose. Three considerations influenced the choice: first, the fact that Hako is the native name by which the articles used in the ceremony are spoken of collectively; second, the meaning of the term Hako, as revealed by an analysis of the word and by the explanation given by the Ku'rahus; third, the ease with which this word can be spoken and remembered by the English reader.

PERSONNEL OF THE CEREMONY

*796 Two distinct groups of persons were essential to the performance of this ceremony. These two groups could not belong to the same clan or gens of a tribe, and they were often of different tribes. One group,
[602] called the Fathers, was composed of the kindred of the man who had taken the initiative in organizing a party for the performance of the
●[556] ceremony. This man was called the Father. His party comprised from 20 to 100 persons, and represented the well-to-do class in the tribe, the requisites for the ceremony being of such a character that only skillful hunters and thrifty households could supply them. The second group, called the Children, was made up of the relatives of the man chosen by the Father to receive the visiting party of the Fathers. The leader of this group of Children was called the Son. Each of the two groups, as well as the leaders of each group, had peculiar

duties throughout the ceremony. Each had a special place in the 796*
lodge, and was the recipient of peculiar benefits supposed to be derived
from the ceremony.

The Father was usually a chief, or a man prominent in the tribe,
who not only had accumulated property, but had a large following of [556 ●
relatives who could contribute to the store of articles required for 554]
these rites. The tribal standing of the Son was always equal to that
of the Father.

The Father selected a man from among those who had been taught the rites and ritual songs to take charge of the ceremony from beginning to end. Such a man was called Ku'rahus, and to him the entire party was required to yield obedience in every particular. The Ku'rahus chose an assistant, and also took with him a third person, a sort of acolyte, to whom he was teaching the rites.

If the Father was a chief, then he had to invite one other chief 796*
to be of his party, to act as substitute whenever he was obliged to be
absent from his post of duty. If, however, the Father was not him- 622
self a chief, then it became necessary for him to secure the attendance of two chiefs, one to act as substitute for the other, as the constant presence of a chief was required throughout the ceremony.

The priest who had charge of the shrine sacred to rain was also of 796*
the Father's party. It was his duty to furnish the pipe and conduct
the ceremony of offering smoke to Tira'wa. The Father's party also [793]
included two doctors, men who had received a knowledge of healing [791
plants, either directly through visions or by initiation into certain
rites by which this knowledge was communicated. Each was required 237]
to bring an eagle's wing, one the right wing and the other the left.
The wing of the eagle is the official mark of a doctor. The Father
must also secure a number of singers, whose duty it was to carry the [533]*
drum and act as a choir to accompany the Ku'rahus, who always led
the singing. The rest of the party of the Father was made up of his [602]
kindred, with such of his friends as might desire to contribute to the required food and gifts and thus to become entitled to share in the return gifts made to the Fathers by the Children.

The preliminary ceremonies (the first three rituals) took place at the lodge of the Father, and from it the party of the Fathers started on its journey.

REQUISITES OF THE CEREMONY AND THEIR SYMBOLISM

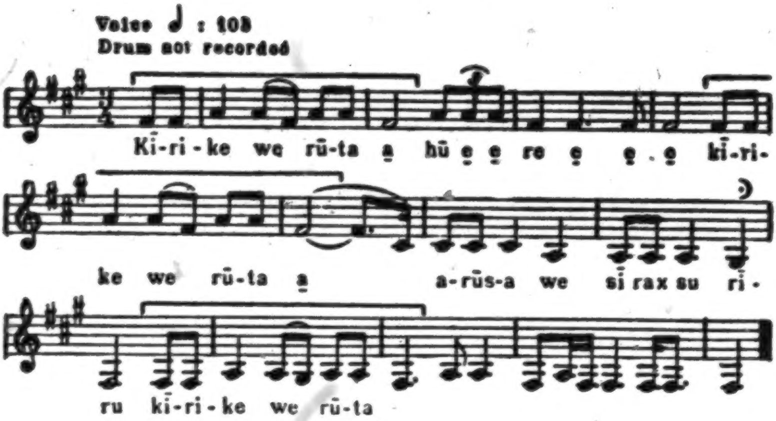
The objects peculiar to this ceremony were two feathered stems 796*
about a meter in length, made of ash wood. They were rounded and
smoothed, and the pith was burned out to leave an opening for the 192
breath to pass, as through a pipestem. One of these stems was 778
named Raha'katittu, from ra, the, this one; haka, a part of the word hakkow, breathing mouth of wood, the k being dropped for euphony (see translation of hawkowpirus, drum, page 17); katit, dark,

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 78. "You Need Not Fear the Horse"

(Catalogue No. 1079) 533*

Recorded by Effie Blain


Voice ♩ = 108
Drum not recorded
Kī-ri-ke we rū-ta a hū e e re e e . e kī-ri-
ke we rū-ta a a-rūs-a we sī rax su ri-
ru kī-ri-ke we rū-ta

Kīrike	we	rūta	hū	re	kīrike
What	now these	coming	yonder	these	what
we	rūta	arūsa	we	si	rax
now these	coming	horse	now these	it	you
su	riru	kīrike	we	rūta	
it	afraid	what	now these	coming	

FREE TRANSLATION

What are those that come?
Those yonder, what are those that come?
The horse, you fear it,
What are those that come?

Analysis.—No change of measure length occurs in this song and the count divisions are chiefly quarter and eighth notes. The rhythmic unit is well defined and the six renditions are uniform in every respect. The minor triad and second constitute the tone material, and four-fifths of the intervals are minor thirds.

A man once volunteered to follow a war party and had gone only about halfway to the place of fighting when he met the warriors returning. He was one of the poorest men in all the four bands of the Pawnee. Passing through a deserted camp of his people he saw, by the circles of buffalo skulls, that offerings had been made to

533*
782
556

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 Tirawa. He therefore prayed that Tirawa would help him get
782 a horse so that he could kill some buffalo. His prayer was answered,
556 and he became a very rich man. This is the song in which he offered
his prayer.

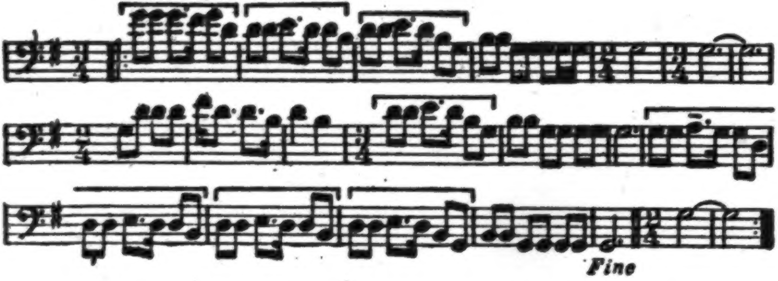
*533

No. 79. A Poor Man's Prayer

(Catalogue No. 1127)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 58
Drum ♩ = 58
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 3



Analysis.—A compass of two octaves characterizes this song, although only two of its intervals are larger than a major third. The lowest tone was distinctly sung. Two-thirds of the progressions are downward and the rhythmic unit is continued throughout the melody. The rhythm was steadily maintained in the three renditions but there was some variance in the intonation.

*533 Only one song was recorded by Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*), who
787 was hostess at a hand game attended by the writer. In explanation
of the song she said, "I was sick and lay with my face toward the east. As I lay there I saw a man with his face whitened with clay, wearing a robe and leggings of buffalo hide. He was walking toward the west and singing this song. When I heard it I knew that I would get well."

*533 *Analysis.*—The ascending octave at the beginning of this song was given accurately in all the renditions. The octave forms the boundary of the melody except for the lower tone at the close, and C is regarded as the keynote, although the third above that tone does not occur. The sustained tones were the same duration in all the renditions. It is interesting to note that these tones usually contain an uneven number of counts. The same has been noted in prolonged tones occurring in songs of this and other tribes.

honesty. No such meaning attaches to the Indian equivalent of this 721
phrase. They take horses by stratagem or secretly, by the usual, and to
them legitimate, methods of warfare. To speak of their stealing horses,
using that verb in the sense which we commonly give it, would be
like saying that an army stole the cannon which it captured in an engagement
with the enemy. Captured horses were the legitimate spoils [556]
of war. The wealth of the Indians was in their horses. They had no
fortified places, no ships of war, no cannon, no works of art. Their
only valuable possessions were their horses. These were the only
property that could be carried off. Therefore, when an expedition was
made against a hostile tribe, scalps and horses were naturally its object.
Horses, being their only valuable possessions, constituted their 436
medium of exchange, so far as they had any. Did a man wish to 231
purchase an ornament, or an article of dress which took his fancy,
he gave a horse for it. If he bought a wife he paid for her in horses. [583]
The most valuable present that could be made was a good horse; and
horses were often given by the well-to-do to their friends and relations
who had been sick or unfortunate. On the other hand, when, as was
sometimes the case, a conquered tribe was condemned to pay a war [728]
indemnity, they paid it in horses. It is related that when the Skidi
broke their treaty with the other bands, and were afterward conquered
by them, they were obligated to pay such a fine.

This view of Indian warfare being understood, the motive of the 538
hero stories here given, and of many of the folk-tales, becomes plain.

The Pawnees are essentially a religious people. They worship 771
Ti-ra'-wa, who is in and of everything. Unlike many of the Indian 776
tribes of the West, they do not adore any material thing. They regard certain places as sacred, but these are so only because blessed by the Divine presence. The Pawnee Deity is not personified. He is intangible, quite as much so as the God of the Christians. The sacred character of *Ti-ra'-wa* extends to animal nature. The fishes which swim in the rivers, the birds of the air and the beasts which roam over the prairie, have sometimes intelligence, knowledge and power far beyond those of man. But they are not gods. Their miraculous attributes are given them by the Ruler, whose servants they are, and who often makes them the medium of his communications to man. They are his messengers—his angels—and their powers are always used for good.

it. A man like Eagle Chief who had eight or nine horses and whose son- 224*
in-law had a similar number, could afford to lend two or three to out- 492
siders, although this did not mean they would also share in the family 422
tent, as his administrative functions required that he take his entire 426
family along.

In the Pawnee language, the word horse means "super-dog," the only 482
pack animal the Pawnees had before the impact of European culture. 492
With all due respect to the capacities of the dog, however, it was the peo- 177
ple themselves that did most of the carrying on their own backs. They 224*
had to pack not only the things they needed for camping—food, tents,
and equipment—but they had to carry back the dried buffalo meat and
the large hides. Every able-bodied person they took along with them
could earn his way by carrying things on his back. The men, whether
first-rate hunters or not, could play a useful role in the surround of the
herd. The only people they would leave behind in the villages were the
old and disabled. But the horse had made quite a difference in the social
economy. A horse could be packed with the dried and packaged meat of
four buffalo while a person could not carry more than one—about 80
pounds. If need be the horse could carry still more goods on his back.
Unless they could be of substantial assistance in the work of the camp, a
person would only be an extra mouth to feed. In the case of a chief or 574
a man who was socially ambitious, there would be a great deal of enter- 554
taining to do in the camp; women, in addition to their work in preparing 224*
the meat and skins would also assist with the entertaining. In a family 462
which had no social ambitions, like that of Mad Bear cited above, two 224*
men in partnership taking a minimum of housing and utensils and a 571
maximum of horses could return with a great deal of buffalo meat and 492
hides, to the general benefit of their families. The wife left behind under
these circumstances could hardly resent it.

The horse also represented a unique and highly valuable item of capi- 551
tal that had the unprecedented value of not having to be carried, but of 231
moving itself. In the past, differences in wealth would depend on a much [556] •
more direct kind of personal skill. The man who was swiftest on his feet
and the most skilled with the bow and arrow got the best buffalo, and
his wife could produce the finest packaged meat and the best skins. These
in turn could be traded for other valuable things—valued ornaments or
participation in the sacred ceremonies. Now skill in horsemanship, which
had become an indispensable factor in hunting the buffalo, implied also
major successes on the warpath and the capturing of horses as well as
their subsequent care and protection. The horse thus provided a material [556]
basis for a greater degree of social differentiation. The horse was an item [422]
of personal property, but unlike property in our society it was by no
means as much of a factor in developing differential status as other
aspects of experience, chiefly knowledge of man, the world, and the
universe.

555 universe. The Pawnees had great contempt for extreme poverty and
231 raggedness, but no great desire or awe for wealth in large quantities.
[735] Historically the likelihood is that the cooperative social patterns of the
[556] Pawnees go back to a time when practically every person had an impor-
[174] tant function in the material economy, while a person of outstanding value was one who had special insights and knowledge.

342
281 But for all the value the Pawnees placed on knowledge and the things of the spirit, a tent was an absolute necessity as they traveled over the country. The making of the tent skin was one of their most complex technical achievements. It was a major enterprise to get one made, which had to be anticipated at least two years in advance. Eight skins had to be accumulated over four successive hunting periods—a summer hunt, a winter hunt, and on the following year again, a summer and a winter hunt. Sinew of eight buffalo for sewing the skins together also had to be saved. As signs of wear would appear in their tent skin, a woman would remind her husband of their need. Then he would set aside two good skins in each of the four seasons. The average life of a tent skin was no more than ten or twelve years.

463
281 Seven buffalo hides were used to make the body of the tent; an eighth was cut up for gussets, loops for the pegs at the bottom, and a double thickness at the door. In order to fit the skins together in the smoothest and most economical way and to arrange the pattern of the applied parts, a woman specialist in this field had to be called in to supervise the work. There were only a limited number of women with such knowledge in the tribe. In addition, it would take four or five women working pretty
[461] steadily for three or four days to do the actual sewing of the skins. The workers all had to be compensated with gifts of dried buffalo meat, skin
[437] clothing, and trade store goods that had to be purchased with buffalo products. In the course of the hunt, the hunter had to anticipate these needs as well as the need for the skins and the sinews. Payment for the work of planning and sewing amounted to at least the sale value of a good buffalo robe.

342 The same tent skin was used for both the winter and the summer hunts, but the framework was different. In winter they used the standard pointed skin tipi, supported by a frame of thirteen tall and heavy rigid poles that were leaned against one another at the top to form the conical frame. With its fire burning in the middle, this tent provided an excellent protection against the winter cold, but it was too warm for summer. For the summer frame they used a series of flexible saplings to make an open-faced shelter. The making of the heavy tipi poles was a long and difficult process and had to be planned well in advance, whereas the saplings for the summer framework could be gathered near the time of leaving for the summer hunt. Elm or willow saplings were available near the creek in the late spring or early summer and at this time the bark

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water. Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation (1925, pp. 142-161). 773 551 821

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making. 000

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof, *Askats;* Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the horse. 231 552 [556] 231 764 428 [766]

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They were: Wide Feet, *As-katarihu'*; White Spotted, *Paras-taka*; Bear Head, *Kuruks-paksu*; Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat*; Hate-His-Tail, *Pits-tatur-ritku*; Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats*; Wooly, *Pararus*; Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku*; Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.* Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross, 1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march pulling the travois in 1834–1836. The Pawnees were able to identify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties. 231 552 231 [262] [825]

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee 231 726 177

at the time of the Ghost Dance faith. As time went by Indians 648
and white farmers resorted to various subterfuges to get around 557
the ruling that certain lands they held could not be leased. The 427
Indian would claim that he was employing a white man and 175
intended to pay him, but when harvest time came, instead of the
Indian paying the white farmer money, the white farmer gave the
Indian a part of the crop.

The immediate results of the lease system were two-fold: on
the one hand, for the first time in their lives the Pawnee had plenty
of money; on the other hand, they had to make no effort at all to
support themselves. In 1897 the Pawnee leases brought an income [434]
of $ 12,114.95. In 1900 the income of the tribe from their annuity
($ 30,000), interest on their two trust funds (from the sale of the
Nebraska reservation; and from the sale of the surplus Oklahoma [161]
lands); and leases, was over $ 75,000. In that year the population
had dwindled to 650, so that the per capita income was about [511]
$ 116 or the income of the average family of five close to $ 600
annually, a substantial and adequate income in 1900 on the Oklahoma
frontier.

Year by year the Pawnee labored less and less on their own lands; 176
in 1904 their self-maintenance was 42 per cent from their annuity
and interests, 43 per cent from leases, and 15 per cent from "labor 461
in civilized pursuits." By 1899 the agents had fully realized the 657
extent of the blunder which had been made: they were aware that
the Pawnee could not be made to labor when he had all he needed
without it, and pointed out in their reports that white men would
have acted in the same way.

Along with the disappearance of all demands upon them to be
self-reliant and self-maintaining, the Pawnee were stripped of their
last outlets for self management. Leases were made not by the [427]
Indian but by the agent; lease money was paid not to the Indian
but to the agent. All that the Indian had to do was to draw his
income. At the same time with the change of status to citizens, [698
the function of the Court of Indian Offenses vanished, and the
court was abolished April 21, 1894; the Indian police were disbanded 625]
in October of the same year.

Temporarily with their increased income, the living conditions 175
of the Pawnee improved; they ate better, they dressed better, and 511
they lived better. But the idleness which had come to them 161
was in keeping with their desire during these years to congregate
in encampments for Ghost Dances and other performances, so that
they leased their houses with their lands and made shift to live
here or there as the occasion demanded. During these years there

159 575 794 was in the field of religion. It was he who built up the cult of the Deer Dance (*Raris-ta*, "dance-deer"). Taking it over from his predecessor who had obtained it by studying among the Wichita to the south, Victory Call was largely responsible for its reorganization into the Pawnee religious style and for the wide popularity it enjoyed at that time. He had built it up to such a degree that it posed a serious challenge to the monopoly of the long-established Doctor Association, where heretofore all the medicine cults had been organized. The association was under the leadership of Big Doctor and Sitting Hawk; Victory Call's older brother had a prominent place in it as leader of the Bear Cult. The rivalry between Big Doctor and Victory Call was bitter as some young men began to move over from the association to join the Deer Dance. In his dying moments in the 1860's, Victory Call saw a vision of Big Doctor upon whose sorcery he blamed his sickness and his death. The cult lasted under new leadership for a while, but after the tribe got to Oklahoma in 1876, its popularity continued to decline, while the Doctor Association maintained its vigor some time longer. [424] Victory Call was also a skilled rattlesnake doctor and he was able to make a trade with his brother Sitting Hawk for knowledge of the Bear Cult in return for Rattlesnake knowledge. Victory Call's retainer, Horse Rider, had come to serve him in his household in the hope that Victory Call might give him a place in the Deer Dance and perhaps share other cult knowledge with him.

159 557 572 Victory Call had a friend, Chief's Road (*raru-hatur-risaru*, "the one that is-road-chief"), whose name implied that he was going on the road which he hoped would lead to chieftainship. Chief's Road had no hereditary social status, but he was ambitious for administrative advancement. He hoped that if Victory Call gained first place in the chiefs' council, he would appoint him his official brave. This was possible as when a chief retired or died, the new chief did not carry over the former incumbent, but appointed his own brave to assist him. Chief's Road was an excellent arrowshaft maker and supplied Victory Call with all his needs. On the other hand, he was not too good at acquiring horses, and Victory Call often helped him out by giving him some of their wood and other household needs that were more easily acquired when one had horses for transportation. He had built his house immediately adjoining Victory Call's lodge, and there were generally friendly relations between the two households; their children played together.

159 622 As a provider for his family, Victory Call was an accomplished hunter, both of individual big game and as a leading member of the tribal buffalo hunt. He also managed to make some extra cash by trapping beaver. He had some income from gifts he received for his religious activities and he maintained a modest herd of four or five horses. He was a good and able husband and father, inclined at times to be somewhat solemn and a little pompous, though not overbearing. He was about sixty years old at the

The services of witches were never for hire, but sometimes an old man could be induced by one of his close relatives to help him forward his fortunes by this means. Everyone knew Brave Chief as a poor boy who had raised himself by his own efforts and finally became a chief, although he had no hereditary status. On his deathbed, Pa-hukata-wa, "Hill-against-the-Bank," a famous chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, had designated him to take his place in the chiefs' council. 754 754 622 557

For many years before that time, Brave Chief had courted Pahukatawa's favor. He had served him and repeatedly gave him gifts. When he came home from the warpath, he would give his horses right to the chief instead of to his own father. He hoped that the chief would make him his official brave. But there was an obstacle to this. The chief's younger brother, Kills-the-Enemy (*Tiukauxki*) had many times expressed himself as being unfit to be a chief as he had a quick temper and was not gentle and judicious in his ways as would befit a chief. So he continued to hold the post of brave to his older brother, Pahukatawa, and Brave Chief was not able to get the post. His brother, continuing to disavow any interest in becoming chief, was not named to take a place in the chiefs' council by Pahukatawa. Rather Brave Chief was named by Pahukatawa on his death bed.

Not everyone was willing to accept the straightforward explanation of Brave Chief's rise to fame through his own industry and merit. Some attributed it to a well-laid plan involving witchcraft. In this view of the matter it was said that while he was still quite young, Brave Chief was very ambitious, and he made a plan with his old father Meat-Offering, to help him rise to power. The surmise was that he went to his father and proposed to him that it would be a good thing if he could become chief before the old man died, and that anyway people would cite it as a case of a poor boy who had raised himself from poverty and low degree, and never suspect their connivance. And so, the interpretation goes, the old man took out his doctor bundle and witched the chief and presently he got sick. Brave Chief stayed around and waited on him during his illness and finally when he was dying, Brave Chief sat down next to the chief's head. Many men were sitting around to hear the last words of Pahukatawa, among them Old Man Meat Offering, Brave Chief's father. Pahukatawa addressed the assembled company and said, "I want my son, Brave Chief, to have my place." "And so," said one of the partisans of this point of view, "this ambitious man became head chief of the village through his father's witchcraft!"

Suspicion of witchcraft was directed toward people known to be ambitious, envious, or frustrated. It was said of one old doctor, Angry Horse, that he was such a good man that he probably never used his witchcraft. "He never got sufficiently angry for that!" 754

vidual embraced responsibility; he had no inclination to shirk it. In a 264
sense, the rhythm of Pawnee work life was like a ballet, whereas ours is 571
like a prison lockstep: "You must, you must, you must get to work!"

The day's routine in our Pawnee household began when either Vic- 512
tory Call or Old Bull happened to awaken; this depended on which one 592
decided to get out of bed first. Or else White Woman or Queen Woman might be the first to awaken, and then she would remind her husband that it was morning. From the time one or the other of the two men got out of bed, the day's program was set; the others simply followed the initial cue. When the man had gotten out of his bed he went outside and inspected the horizon and the stars, came in and kindled the fire, and said, "Fire's made." His senior wife then got up and started the breakfast. As observed by one of the contemporary missionaries in 1837, the rest followed with precision. The minor cycles of household operation were also conducted in a similar mode. Someone felt impelled to take care of a needed task and mentioned it and volunteers were forthcoming without further ado. Pressure and compulsion are implicit in our attitude toward work; voluntarism was the Pawnee way.

The functions of the women in the earth lodge were subdivided 462
roughly according to age. The north and south quarters of the circum- 562
ference of the house were each subdivided into three "stations." The
central one of these (due north and due south) was the core position 592
and it was occupied by the mature women of the lodge. They furnished 561
the main provisions and directed the necessary work. At the inner or western station on each side was the place of the immature girls and newly married young women. The outer or eastern station on each side was for the old women, symbolically on the way out and physically nearest to the exit (or entryway) of the lodge. Most commonly each of these stations was occupied by several women who carried out its special functions jointly.

The details of the function of the central station have been mentioned 855
above in connection with general household operations. The other two 603
stations supplemented it in very different ways. At the east stations for
the old women, the children past the age of infancy were cared for, the 887
old women being referred to by the children as "grandmothers," regard- 592
less of the actual biological kinship. The children slept in the beds with their "grandmothers" and shared a bowl of food with them at meals. Grandma saw that they were warm and well fed and tried to help them in every way. She was a permissive, familiar, kind person to whom the child could always appeal. Between grandma and grandchild there was neither formality nor constraint. Jokes were made about a boy saying, "Look how close he sticks to his grandma; he wants to marry her!" or "There
he goes always running to his grandma." Besides child care, the grand- 887
mother would give a good deal of assistance to "the senior women of the 592

602 on the tribal buffalo hunt in the style to which they were accustomed
would tactfully indicate that he had an extra horse that he could make
593 available for the forthcoming hunting expedition.

554 If a man's supply of tobacco got too low for the necessary social entertaining
that he felt he should carry on, he would ask his brother rather
than an outsider in order to keep the matter within the family. A man
who noticed his brother appearing in a worn-out buffalo robe or blanket
would immediately send him a good one, for it would not do for anyone
[578] to get the idea that the family was not prosperous. A term of great contempt
among the Pawnee was poor, *kapakis*. The worst insult one could
hurl at a man was to call him *ruti-kapakis-kawitat*, "the one who is-poor-ragged."
As the final insult one might say *kapakis-kuut*, "poor-dead," or
in our way of saying it, "dead-poor." Respect for seniority among a
593 group of brothers was preserved throughout life. The oldest brother
561 continued to be the surrogate for the entire family, and the cadet members
would make particularly sure that their senior brother made a good
appearance. Their personal conduct toward him always continued to be
respectful. Even after Victory Call had achieved an important status
apart from his older brother Sitting Hawk, he still respected his brother's
seniority rights. As senior brother, Sitting Hawk would sometimes come
to Victory Call's house and say, "Tomorrow at dawn we'll go hunting.
We'll go in this and this direction." Or Sitting Hawk would feel free
to ask Victory Call to go far out and find him some medicinal plants for
his doctoring practice. He would say to Victory Call, "Before the birds
eat it up, I want you to go way over there and get me so and so weed so
that I'll have enough for this winter." As a man of prominence in the community,
he had plenty of people who would willingly do this for him, but
in this case he wanted to keep his medical secrets in the family, and he
knew he could trust his brother not to reveal them or use them without
his sanction. It was the part of a good father to instill these attitudes in
his sons while they were young. For example, if the younger of two brothers
had six horses and the elder only one, it would be proper for the
younger man to put all seven horses together and say to his older brother,
"Brother, take your choice." Original disagreements between parents might
lead brothers to quarrel all their lives. It was generally felt that parents
should be watchful of growing hostilities among their children and try to
595 remedy the situation before it was too late. In the plural marriage situation
there was special danger of this as a co-wife who felt her husband
preferred the other woman and her children would set the children
against each other as had happened in the case of White Woman and
her half-brothers. About their sister, a father would say to his sons, "You
boys must take care of your sister. She's a girl and when she grows up
she's going to take care of you." And this was indeed the case, for sister's
house was a permanent home.

VI.

THE OLD PAWNEE HAND GAME[1]

When the Pawnee lived in Nebraska, and for some time after they removed to Oklahoma, the hand game kept its traditional place in Pawnee life as a gambling game. It was a game for men only, and primarily an adults' game; the women did not participate and were not supposed to come near where the men were playing. The game was conceived as a warpath, and so dramatized: and warpaths for the Pawnee were activities excluding the participation of women. The men's game was usually a contest between two Pawnee bands, in which one would visit the other for the express purpose of playing a hand game and gambling on the result. Small boys, in imitation of their elders, would play hand games and gamble. And in the same way that one Pawnee band visited another to challenge them to play the hand game, men of one Pawnee band would visit a tribe with whom they were on friendly terms for a hand-game contest. For the most part, it was a game for the younger men; maturer men, like chiefs and braves, usually did not gamble. 525 [562] [574] [885]

The three old types of play will be more lucid from short narratives[2]:

THE BOYS' HAND GAME

When small boys played a hand game, it came about as part of their play around the village. Some group of boys would decide to play the way their elders did, and as many or as few as there were, 525 857

---

[1] The old Pawnee gambling hand game has not heretofore been described. Culin, in his monographic treatment of Games of the North American Indians, quotes, p. 276, on Pawnee a passage from G. B. Grinnell, Story of the Indian, p. 27. The description of the method of play in the passage differs fundamentally from that herein reported. Examination shows that the quoted passage is a generalized description by Grinnell of the hand game among Indian tribes of the Plains. No reference suggests that he intended it as a description of play among the Pawnee. Culin was no doubt misled by the fact that, following the passage quoted, Grinnell tells the story of a game between Pawnee and Cheyenne scouts in the army, in which a Cheyenne was caught cheating; but in recounting this episode Grinnell does not describe the form of play. Grinnell was familiar with the game among more than eight tribes, and was probably not overconcerned in a popular treatment with the local tribal variations in play. [114]

[2] As told by Mark Evarts; somewhat edited.

[p. 139]

525 chiefs, warriors and braves stand around to watch the game; they
619 do not play. An important Skiri chief may come to look on, may sit at a distance and smoke calmly. By his presence he expresses his interest in the welfare and doings of his people. Some Skiri players, perhaps the leader, leave the circle to sit beside him and smoke with him, to show their appreciation of his presence.

The Kitkahaxki^x leader has the pipe in his hand. All who are going to play have found their places. Women come and stand
● [562] at a little distance to look on. They must not sit down or join the circle. They never play the hand game.

The fire forms a long narrow line between the sides, fifteen feet long from north to south, only two to three feet wide (see Fig. 1) At the south ends of the lines are two men who function as tarutsius, "fire tenders."

Now the players place their bets. Blankets, shirts, vests, horses are waged on the outcome. Each bets against a friendly enemy of the other side, individual against individual. The two articles are tied together, making one bundle. The bundles are thrown down in one heap before the leaders. The winning side will carry off the whole pile of plunder, and each winning player takes from it his individual stake and his winning.

The leader of the Kitkahaxki^x party begins to speak.

"Brother, I thought of coming to see you for the hand game.
619 Well, my brother, we are here. I've brought this pipe for you.
525 I want you to accept it to smoke."

276 He rises. He takes the filled pipe to the fire and lights it with
788 a brand. He draws a few puffs himself, then, standing before Knifechief, the Skiri leader in the game, gives him the pipe to smoke without releasing it, then takes it to his left and lets the assistant leader on the Kitkahaxki^x side take a few puffs. Then he carries it back to Knifechief, gives it to him, and sits down in his own place.

Knifechief smokes and then passes the pipe to the Skiri at his left, and from him it is passed on down the Skiri side from north to south. Each one smokes and passes it on. By the time it reaches the tarutsius of the Skiri side it is likely to be smoked out. This smoke is a gift of the Kitkahaxki^x to the Skiri. Except for the two Kitkahaxki^x leaders, no Kitkahaxki^x smoke, only the Skiri.

When the pipe has reached the Skiri tarutsius, the Kitkahaxki^x leader arises, walks around the east side of the fire and receives the pipe back from him. He carries it with him around west of the fire, and stops north of the fire where facing south, he loosens the
[782] ashes with a pipe tamper, and twice raises the pipe bowl upward.

Crow: Each hand clasped with index finger erect. The arms are 525
bent so that the hands are held out about shoulder high like wings. 825
The player calls ka-ka-ka like the crow while he motions with his 536
hands back and forth like flapping wings.

Turkey: Right hand clasped, index finger extended, is brought to forehead to imitate the beak; left hand with index finger out is placed behind like tail. The player calls tut-tut-tut like a turkey.

Deer: The hands clasped palm side down, held bent at wrists about waist high, imitating the forefeet; the index fingers are curled down; the arms are moved alternately, gracefully and slowly, forward and back. No sound.

Buffalo calf: Two hands tight shut in fists with thumbs erect: the bottoms of the fists are set to the sides of the head above the ears, the head bent forward, the thumbs moved like little horns, slight motions. The calf makes no noise unless caught, then "br-r-r-rrr."

Buffalo: The two hands clenched at the sides of the head as for calf, but the index fingers erect for larger horns: the head is moved slowly around to one side and another as the animal peers this way and that.

These animal imitations are by some wholly in fun. But those who use a certain imitation usually retain it throughout the play of hand games, and are known as such and such an animal player. And there are some among the players who have the right to characterizations because of their knowledge and power. In the hand game above described, one man who imitated the deer was a deer performer in the Doctor Dance.

The structure of the old hand game comes out clearly in the 525
above narration. The play of the game has been detailed heretofore. Points of significance:

The games were always played outdoors. [562]

Women never participated.

The long fire outdoors with each side in a semi-circle.

The leaders as tallyers at the head end.

The tally sticks in one heap between them.

The betting.

The selection of hiders in any orders.

The attempts to trick and deceive.

The singing of old hand game songs for the play accompanied only by handclapping, without instruments. [533]

The Crazy Dog Dance between the games, danced by the winning side, the winning leader counting a coup. [535]

The animal imitations. [536]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

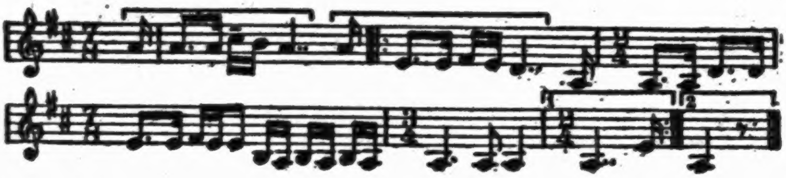
No. 76. Song of a Warrior's Wife

*533
593

(Catalogue No. 1100)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♪ = 144 (♩ = 72)
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

I wonder where he is sitting.
That person who comes and sits in my tipi.

Analysis.—In all renditions of this song the 7–8 and 3–4 measures were sung in exact time. Except for one minor third the melody progresses entirely by fourths and major seconds. It has a compass of 10 tones and contains the entire octave except the fourth.

*533 Mr. James R. Murie and other old members of the tribe said that
love songs, in the white man's use of that term, were unknown
832 among the better class of Pawnee in the early days. According to
565 Mr. Murie, there were four classes of Pawnee, the lowest being
177 considered outcasts by the remainder of the tribe. These people
camped near towns and worked for white people, from whom they
● 562 obtained whisky. This class of Pawnee sang what were termed
[124] "crazy people's songs," which were associated with "love charms"
and evil influences. No effort was made to secure examples of these songs. A change from the former attitude toward women, however, is shown in the following song which was said to be very old. It is not of so low a character as the "crazy people's songs," neither does it represent the high standard of life indicated in the former
[837] songs of this group. A girl married a man for whom she did not care
and it would appear that, instead of adapting himself to the situation, he sought consolation elsewhere.

*533 *Analysis*.—This melody consists of two parts, the first of which contains the rhythmic unit. The second part begins with a succession of eighth notes, followed by a measure which preserves the count divisions of the rhythmic unit. The count divisions throughout the song were sung with special clearness. The song is transcribed as having B flat for its keynote but the third above that tone does not occur. Except for an ascending octave the only in-

were so qualified. Women were not permitted to smoke at all, though our 276
informant remembers seeing two or three old women smoke, they being [562]
doctors.

Sun Dance. According to the Pawnee belief the sun dance was given 796
to the Plains tribes by the Arikara. In ancient times the Gros Ventre intermarried with them and so first got the ceremony. It may be noted that in the four-pole ceremony (p. 551) and again in the twenty-day ceremony, the bringing in of the tree is in the main identical with the regular sun dance form. The torture feature reached the Pawnee through the Arikara. A member of the young dog society once exchanged rituals with an Arikara sun dancer and for a time this was a part of the dog society ritual (p. 587). There is a report, however, of a very old dance in which they gazed at the sun, but without the torture.

Tiny Bags of Medicine. All regalia of a serious nature and especially 789
objects carried to war were made powerful by the presence of tiny bags of medicine. The contents were vegetable, chiefly roots. Roots were chewed and spit over men to make them brave, virtuous, healthy, etc. In fact, most all powers come through knowledge of the uses of plants.

Tobacco Planting. There was no special ceremony for planting or gather- 249
ing tobacco. There is a saying that this was unnecessary for since tirawahat gave it to the Pawnee direct, he himself watches over it, so all that is needed is to plant the seed; but that other tribes got it from them or other Indians and so must use the powers of ceremonies to make it grow.

Witches. There may have been a witch society for there is a tale as to 754
how a chief destroyed such an organization. In brief, he watched at his son's grave and first heard cries of owls, then people approaching. As they were uncovering the corpse, he seized one man, the others fled. The prisoner he threatened with death unless he explained all the secrets of the medicine so that he himself could become a member. This was done. The young man had been killed by them partly through jealousy but chiefly to secure fat from his heart to put in their witch bundles. Their chief powers were owls and yellow-hammers. They had killed the young man by magically shooting an owl's claw and a yellow-hammer's feather into his heart. When the chief had learned all the rites and the names of the members, he killed his informant. He cut him open, took the fat and part of the ribs home. The meat he cooked. While it was boiling, he sent for his soldiers and a few trusted men and gave them instructions. Then he sent for the members of the witch society (five or more including a woman) whom he feasted upon the flesh of their associate, but at a signal they were struck down by the soldiers. Their bodies and bundles were burned to put an end to witches.

512 to the fields after the early morning swim. They returned to the
lodge at about eleven o'clock for the first meal, the other meal being
around five in the afternoon. Men and women sat apart at meal-
264 times, the former being together in the west of the lodge and the
women sitting east of the fireplace. Any food out of the ordinary,
● [562] such as melons in season, was given to the men first. As a rule the
children ate by themselves near the women and had to be content
with what remained after their parents had finished. Where several
[252] families occupied a single lodge, each family in turn cooked for the
others in the lodge. [The separation of the sexes at mealtimes is
not entirely clear. The manuscript also contains the following
statement: "The food was prepared in large quantities and divided
among the families, each receiving a wooden bowl, and each member
[412] of the family eating from this bowl by means of an individual sheep-
horn spoon."]

262 Corn was generally eaten mixed with beans, or sometimes boiled
784 with the tops of milkweed. In the winter, the nests of ground
rats were hunted and robbed of their stores of ground beans. Although most animals were eaten, especially the buffalo and deer, the Pawnee eschewed the meat of the wolf, coyote, otter, wildcat, and mountain lion. Certain other food restrictions also prevailed. Fish was prohibited to chiefs and medicine-men. The tender meat about the buffalo's anus was a prized delicacy of the old people, but tabooed for children, as the violation of this restriction would bring them failure in after years when they attempted raids on enemy villages. Nor were young men and girls supposed to eat the stomach of the buffalo cow. To do so would cause the former to receive many wounds on the warpath, while a girl ran the risk of falling in a hole and injuring her leg, if, in later life, she doubted the faithfulness of her husband and followed him to the lodge of another woman to whom she suspected he was paying improper attention.

224 When any of the men were away on a buffalo hunt, certain
784 restrictions on conduct were imposed on those who remained at
home. The lodge must be kept clean, especially the part about
the altar. Just before mealtimes sacrifices of corn must be made
to the skull on the altar. No menstruating woman could approach
[841] the skull, as it would anger the buffalo spirit that resided in the skull
and cause the buffalo to elude the hunters. The people at home
must always talk as though the hunters were having great success.
Especially they should speak of consecrating buffalo sacrifices to

224 the deities, for a sacrificed buffalo is reborn, and the buffalo, liking
784 this, would approach nearer and nearer. In the absence of the
hunting party dried buffalo meat could not be roasted, as the odor
[825] of the roasting meat would reach the animals and they might be
frightened. However, the meat could be prepared by boiling.

428 In the inheritance of personal property, a woman theoretically
●562 had no rights. As a matter of fact, however, she was generally
considered to be the owner of the lodge, the tipi, and her tools and utensils. Children did not inherit personal property such as robes, blankets, ponies, and saddle trappings, all of which were supposed to belong to the brother, though they were usually claimed by the sons of the deceased's sister.

came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui 764
priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was 778
very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of 572
friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particu- 888
larly to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally 759
claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age. They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the 562
priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the 834
Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until [291]
well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the [515]
lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no [521]
subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

and fat. The articles of clothing had to be new and 783
unused, and the meat that of buffalo which had been 782
dedicated to the gods at the time they were killed. The gifts could only be presented by men who were in favor with the gods. If the priests accepted them from men who were evil in their lives or negligent in their religious duties, the gods would be offended and
refuse to send the buffalo. Before taking a gift to the [302]
lodge, a man painted himself red, so that all the people might know his errand; and, when the gift had been accepted, two messengers went through the village, thanking him publicly.

The priests and bundle keepers remained in the 783
lodge for three days and nights, sleeping in their designated places. No ceremonies seem to have been performed during this period, and they passed the time in talk and in feasting on the food which was brought to
them. No women were allowed to enter the lodge during [562]
the whole time of the ceremony.

On the morning of the fourth day the priests of the Four Direction bundles rose very early and dug a rectangular pit to the west of the fire-place, between it and the permanent altar of the lodge. The buffalo skull, which at ordinary times stood on this altar, was removed and placed north of the fire-place. The earth from the excavation was taken outside the lodge and piled in a mound before the door. When the pit was finished, the priests carpeted it with white downy feathers. This pit seems to have corresponded to the pit dug below the scaffold at the time of the human sacrifice to the Morning Star and, like it, represented the Evening Star's garden in the west, the source of all earthly fertility and increase.

When the pit had been completed, the priests di- 778
rected the keepers of the various bundles to open them 783
and take out the Mother-Corn. A sacred stick, kept in the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, was set up

Hospitality.—The Indian has always been renowned for his 574
hospitality. This trait of character is noticeable among all the
tribes. Thus the Pawnees too, though in actual want themselves, 609
showed their good will towards us, by preparing for us the best
they could afford. One chief placed before us, besides dried buffalo meat, a small dish of marrow, which by them is considered a great delicacy.—

Labor.—The more enlightened a people has become through 462
the benign influence of religion, and the cultivation of the arts and
sciences, the more the weaker sex attains to that rank in society, 562
which the Creator intended for them; but the more debased and sunk in heathenism a Nation lies, the more is woman enslaved, and held in subjection. So among the Pawnees too, the men are the lords, who, while they themselves are not disposed to do any work, and generally consider it a shame to labor, direct the women, as inferior beings, how everything must be done.—The females, besides attending to the housework, generally incumbent upon their sex, are obliged to cut and carry all the fire-wood; pre-

---

coverings, are spread over the surrounding grass and bushes, to prevent foot- 251
tracks, or any other derangement; and as few hands as possible are employed. A circle of about two feet in diameter is then nicely cut in the sod, which is carefully removed, with the loose soil immediately beneath it, and laid aside in a place where it will be safe from anything that may change its appearance. The uncovered area is then digged perpendicularly to the depth of about three feet, and is then gradually widened so as to form a conical chamber of six or seven feet deep. The whole of the earth displaced by this process, being of a different color from that on the surface, is handed up in a vessel, and heaped into a skin or cloth, in which it is conveyed to the stream and thrown into the midst of the current, that it may be entirely carried off. Should the cache not be formed in the vicinity of a stream, the earth thus thrown up is carried to a distance, and scattered in such a manner as not to leave the minutest trace. The cave being formed, is well lined with dry grass, bark, sticks, and poles, and occasionally a dried hide. The property intended to be hidden is then laid in, after having been well aired: a hide is spread over it, and dried grass, brush, and stones, thrown in, and trampled down until the pit is filled to the neck. The loose soil, which had been put aside, is then brought, and rammed down firmly, to prevent its caving in, and is frequently sprinkled with water, to destroy the scent, lest the wolves and bears should be attracted to the place, and root up the concealed treasure. When the neck of the cache is nearly level with the surrounding surface, the sod is again fitted in with the utmost exactness, and any bushes, stocks, or stones, that may have originally been about the spot, are restored to their former places. The blankets and other coverings are then removed from the surrounding herbage: all tracks are obliterated: the grass is gently raised by the hand to its natural position, and the minutest chip or straw is scrupulously gleaned up and thrown into the stream. After all is done, the place is abandoned for the night, and, if all be right next morning, is not visited again, until there be a necessity for re-opening the cache. Four men are sufficient in this way, te conceal the amount of three tons weight of provisions or merchandize, in the course of two days.—*Washington Irving's Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains.*

462 pare the fields for cultivation with their hoes, plant the corn, weed
562 it, and finally, when ripe, gather it in; and take care of the horses
● of their lords, when not used by them.

The most difficult labor, however, that falls to their lot, is the
462 erecting of their lodges. As the upper village had been burnt by
562 their enemies during their absence, the labor of rebuilding of
342 course devolved upon the poor women, and in the course of about
two months, when we visited them, they had completed nearly
150 lodges. When we observed, that the nearest timber to the
site of the village was two or three miles off, and that they have
[482] no beasts of burden, but that all the building material, much of
which is very heavy, was carried so great a distance on the shoulders
of the women, it seemed almost incredible to us. We noticed
even girls of 12 or 14 years bearing baskets on their backs,
filled with wet turf, to cover or repair their lodges, which must
have been very heavy. Thus early the females are trained to
[868] carry burdens, (either at home, or while travelling,) which inures
them to hardships, but at the same time deforms them, rendering
them low and bent in stature, and pitiable objects to the beholder.
While the men, trained to no work whatever, are erect, tall, and
[142] well-proportioned in their form, and almost feminine in their features,
the women are short and low, with stooping gait, downcast
looks, harsh features, and hair dishevelled; and dirty, ragged, and
000 filthy in their appearance. Such is a picture of heathenism!
Have we not cause to be grateful for the benign influence of the
gospel upon our land, so that we are elevated far above such a
miserable state of heathenism? Unto the Lord be all the praise!

Though it is generally a feature among heathen nations, that it
462 is considered a shame for the men to labor, while all the work devolves
562 upon the females, still the Pawnees seem not altogether indisposed
to be instructed. Mr. Sharpee, who has been acquainted with them and other Indians in these parts for nearly 20 years, told us, that the Pawnee men were unlike those of other tribes, since they were willing to lay hold of a plough, or any other farming utensil, and only the instruction was wanting to make them industrious. Mr. Allis too, who has been acquainted with them for the last 20 years, and has lived among them a great portion of this period, informed us, that when the missionaries were formerly living among them, several of the Pawnees had already commenced the use of the plough. The good beginning was, however, interrupted by their missionaries having to leave them.

Dress.—The dress of the men consists in nothing but a small
291 piece of cloth, fastened around their middle. This, we observed,
was generally the only covering they had on, when in their lodges.
When abroad, they had a buffalo robe or blanket wrapped around
them. The females are more decently clothed than the men

vidual embraced responsibility; he had no inclination to shirk it. In a 264
sense, the rhythm of Pawnee work life was like a ballet, whereas ours is 571
like a prison lockstep: "You must, you must, you must get to work!"

The day's routine in our Pawnee household began when either Vic- 512
tory Call or Old Bull happened to awaken; this depended on which one 592
decided to get out of bed first. Or else White Woman or Queen Woman might be the first to awaken, and then she would remind her husband that it was morning. From the time one or the other of the two men got out of bed, the day's program was set; the others simply followed the initial cue. When the man had gotten out of his bed he went outside and inspected the horizon and the stars, came in and kindled the fire, and said, "Fire's made." His senior wife then got up and started the breakfast. As observed by one of the contemporary missionaries in 1837, the rest followed with precision. The minor cycles of household operation were also conducted in a similar mode. Someone felt impelled to take care of a needed task and mentioned it and volunteers were forthcoming without further ado. Pressure and compulsion are implicit in our attitude toward work; voluntarism was the Pawnee way.

The functions of the women in the earth lodge were subdivided 462
roughly according to age. The north and south quarters of the circum- 562
ference of the house were each subdivided into three "stations." The
central one of these (due north and due south) was the core position 592
and it was occupied by the mature women of the lodge. They furnished 561
the main provisions and directed the necessary work. At the inner or western station on each side was the place of the immature girls and newly married young women. The outer or eastern station on each side was for the old women, symbolically on the way out and physically nearest to the exit (or entryway) of the lodge. Most commonly each of these stations was occupied by several women who carried out its special functions jointly.

The details of the function of the central station have been mentioned 855
above in connection with general household operations. The other two 603
stations supplemented it in very different ways. At the east stations for
the old women, the children past the age of infancy were cared for, the 887
old women being referred to by the children as "grandmothers," regard- 592
less of the actual biological kinship. The children slept in the beds with their "grandmothers" and shared a bowl of food with them at meals. Grandma saw that they were warm and well fed and tried to help them in every way. She was a permissive, familiar, kind person to whom the child could always appeal. Between grandma and grandchild there was neither formality nor constraint. Jokes were made about a boy saying, "Look how close he sticks to his grandma; he wants to marry her!" or "There
he goes always running to his grandma." Besides child care, the grand- 887
mother would give a good deal of assistance to "the senior women of the 592

TABLE 3-2. *Pawnee Kin Terms for Relationships through Marriage*

601 The kin terms by marriage involved verbal roots and were specifically descriptive of certain functions. They had pronominal elements attached and often varied with the specific meaning of the phrase:

kus-tawex-tsu	sitting-among-the one who	said of a *son-in-law*
tat-ut-ka-ku	I-for you-inside-sit	said by a son-in-law about *the men of his wife's family*, signifying that the son-in-law is at the service of his wife's family
tatira-ktaku	I her-own	*my wife*, husband speaking
ti-ku-ktaku	He me-owns	*my husband*, wife speaking
raku	A term used reciprocally between husband and wife in direct address—*spouse*	

If husband and wife are on good terms, they call each other:

tsustit	old lady	*wife*
kurahus	old man	*husband*
tskurus	is for all female in-laws, used by both men and women in speaking of them. It is unlikely to be used alone outside a verbal context. For example, *ti-kut-tskurus, she-to me-is female in law*, etc.	

562 611 ther can one reverse this idea and say the women are the real power, and therefore we have a matriarchate. In point of fact, neither one is dominant, but rather the position of men and women among the Pawnees is decidedly more balanced than in our society. Physiological paternity is known, but this does not lead to a double standard with monogamy enforced for the women. The household is not a power structure of women but a plan for the organization of work, with the personnel being very fluid. One could argue that this was a society in an intermediate stage between matriarchy and patriarchy. No one can deny that change must necessarily occur, even in Pawnee society—or in any other for that matter. But the direction this change will take is less likely to depend on the internal conditions than on the larger forces that impinge on it from outside. One can make a broad leap into the realm of speculation and think of the possibility that had the European not arrived on the scene, the

Pawnees might have improved their horticulture to such a degree that 562 they would have made important advances in industry and thus developed a much more widespread pattern of trade. 611 What the division of labor would have been and the status of different occupational groups in the light of their implicit attitudes can only be conjectured. There is no assurance at all that they would have developed one group as dominant over the others or a permanent power structure of the Old World type. As much as 20,000 years may separate the bulk of New World population from the Old, and the Old World social formulas need not have appeared among them at all. Athough the buffalo have been domesticated in individual instances, suggesting that they may be domesticable, there is no certainty that the North American Indians would have domesticated them. And even had that been the case, it does not mean that the men would have developed the kind of dominant position over women that characterizes most of Old World culture, nor even that empires of the Ghengis Khan type would have appeared. In the light of the development of urban concentrations in Peru, Mexico, and Central America, as the economy became more complex and as a consequence the population more concentrated, urbanlike centers were very likely to occur. Both Mexican and Peruvian native political administrations as we know them from the period of contact were conquest organizations. Conquest need not have been the path of the Pawnee. In fact, intergroup alliance that has gained fame in connection with the League of the Iroquois was characteristic not only of the Pawnee but of the other Caddoan peoples extending all the way south to Texas and the Gulf and north to Dakota.

In the major division of labor between men and women, a man did not 562 feel threatened because he acquired skills possessed by women. On the contrary, it was considered incumbent on the Pawnee man to be a "good Pawnee cook," and men were perfectly adept at slicing and drying meat, shelling corn, and other skills. In the 1930's during the period of my fieldwork in Oklahoma, the men offered to demonstrate for me and, when I looked dubious, they reassured me saying that, after all, they often had to do these things when they were far away on the warpath or on exploring expeditions. While I was in Oklahoma I observed that the men often lent a hand to the women, without the slightest self-consciousness, and if the woman didn't happen to be home when they came in they tended to get right on with the necessary mealtime preparations and attention to the children. Neither the man nor the woman felt threatened or in a position of blurring the sex lines by this procedure. From their point of view it was a matter of acquired skills, not sex. 838 Although homosexuals or lesbians were rare, these relationships were not regarded as a serious social anomaly but as a personal inclination which the Pawnees thought people had a right to have. With their reaction to their primary division of labor, there is no certainty that as greater

562 specialization of labor developed, the Pawnees would have developed a social hierarchy of occupations of which India is a supreme example.

602 It is all too easy, having analyzed a social structure, to give it a certain rigidity and permanence that it does not have among the people themselves. Definite as the Pawnee kinship system may seem, in operation it permitted a wide area of alternative behavior for the individual.

582 The question of kin lines came up in a substantive way whenever a marriage was being arranged. As this involved the acquisition of property 602 by some of the relatives and the establishment of social contacts for others, there was always a certain variation in the individual interests. The first question asked in relation to the proposed marriage was whether the partners were so closely related that there was too great biological closeness. If it was decided by the assembled father's brothers that they were definitely outside the incest group, then the degree of distance would be discussed. One man who favored the marriage for his own personal reasons would say, "As I see it, they can be reckoned child and grandchild, and, although the relationship is a close one through the mother's line, it is a good thing for marriages to be kept within the family, as they will share each other's interests." Another, not in favor of the match for his own reasons would state, "True, they are child and grandchild through the mother's line, but it's a disadvantage for marriages to be made too closely within the kin grouping, as any quarrel between the couple will quickly spread to the whole kindred. I think so and so who is more distantly related would be more desirable on this account." Then someone else might counter with, "Well, while one might say the couple are related through the mother's line in such and such a manner, from another point of view, looking further back, there is still another kin category that should take precedence, and I think they are not so closely related that this latter argument should be involved." And so it continued until they came to terms. But these terms were by no means fixed by what the outsider might consider *the* rules.

602 Another common occasion where the kinship factor came up was at the time of the tribal hunts. While they were on the march, there was an 592 attempt to improve one's connection in a better household or in a more advantageous position, and a request to join such a household when they got home was backed up with a genealogical discussion as to how close the kinship was to an important member of the desired household through various alternative kin lines.

602 And finally it was also possible to disown one's relatives, no matter how close they might be. Long-standing hostilities might grow up over time and finally give rise to coldness between even the closest kin. A kin tie, in order to be effective, had to be validated in a number of ways or it 602 might in fact lapse. The most elementary condition was the use of the kin 601 term as a greeting. This could be done with more or less enthusiasm or

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you)	539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.	
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)	

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tibi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562
fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the house-
hold routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [584]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 885
occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 571
ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de- 525
velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi [587]
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521
[597]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

9

THE PLANTING OF THE CROPS

000

Ground-breaking Ceremony—the Women's Role—Explanation of Ritual—Songs of the Ceremony—the Process of Preparing and Planting the Crops Explained—Cooperation in Fields Discussed—Dangers of Attack—the Swim at the End of the Planting Day

THE CORN WAS THE FIRST CROP to be planted and then came the beans, 241
squashes, and melons. But before any planting could be done, the *Awari*
or "Ground-breaking Ceremony" had to be performed. The four special [778]
ministers of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person kept watch along
the creeks for the first leaves to appear on the willows; then they knew
the time was right for the ritual. They also had to wait for the dark of
the moon that signified darkness and germination. Now the four ministers
met together in the lodge where the Skull bundle was kept to make a
plan for the ceremony. The actual inception of the ceremony was during [787]
the past winter while they were on a buffalo hunt, when a woman had
had a vision that she was the one to see that it was performed. She called
on the help of her brother, who killed a special buffalo for her, and then
she invited the four ministers and told them of her vision. Then she dried [251]
and packed the rest of the buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit to
be used when the ceremony was performed in the spring.

This was the only Pawnee ceremony in which women played a major 241
role, and the original visionary through whom the ceremony was insti- 562
tuted for the season was also a woman. But the ceremony itself was directed and carried through entirely by the men. Now with the sprouting of the willows it was time.

The woman of the house where the Skull bundle was kept got up 241
574
778

754 would never be able to do it again. Everyone knew that Old Bull was a witch and he was ashamed.

754 The majority of the doctors and the ones that "witched" among the
756 Pawnee were men, but there were also women who had both kinds of
• 562 power. Most commonly they had gotten these from their husbands and
begun to practice after their husbands died. When a doctor had a woman
patient, he had to take his wife along to assist him; in this way she was
bound to learn. If she had a son or a daughter, should they show an interest
171 in the bundle, she would teach them. Among the Wichitas, along with
754 the men doctors, there were a great many women, some of them also
witches. They could make rain and by witchcraft cause the rain to stop.
756 Among the Pawnees, Lone Chief's mother, War Leader Woman (*Ts-*
562 *tixkitawi-ra-wa-hu'u*, "woman-give-leader of a warparty-she-distributes
them-gives away"), had learned from her husband and it was said that she slept with a rattlesnake under her pillow and could practice witchcraft. In her witchcraft activities she would more or less confine herself to the affairs of women. Sometimes women fought over the boundaries of their land or the stealing of corn and if the quarrel continued over some time and they came to blows, one might be inclined to "witch" the other. But once it happened that Lone Chief was involved in a quarrel and his mother took it over and got into hostility with another woman on account of it. The issue was something about the distribution of horses after a war raid. A man, Frank Leader, felt that Lone Chief's group had obtained an extra horse in the distribution, unjustifiably. Although Frank Leader was not in the party, he was heard to remark that had he been there, Lone Chief would not have gotten away with the horse. This made Lone Chief angry and somehow the women came to discuss it. The issue was taken up between Lone Chief's mother, War Leader Woman, and the mother of Frank Leader, Lady Lucky Leader, and eventually it shifted to the relative social status of the two women. War Leader Woman cited her unimpeachable aristocratic descent, while Frank Leader's mother was heard to assert that it was no better than hers for she had charge of the Evening Star bundle. Word went around in the gossip channels, and finally Frank Leader got sick and died. Everyone was sure that War Leader Woman's witchcraft was the direct cause of his death. Frank Leader's mother began to curse War Leader Woman. She said, "That's the rottenest thing she could do. Even though her son is a great chief, she still practices witchcraft and kills a man." Some felt that since Lone Chief called Leader's mother, *itahi*, sister, and Frank Leader, therefore, *tiwat*, nephew, in view of the close classificatory kinship, this was really disgraceful. Others were saying, "One shouldn't pick a quarrel with Lone Chief's mother. She's a powerful witch!"

342 ous services that would be involved. Lady Lucky Leader herself would
464 get a good amount of flour, sugar, coffee, and some calico, and the other
465 women of the household who helped with the sewing were given gifts
of calico and special meals were prepared for entertaining them. These
439 items had to be obtained at the trade store in exchange for a tanned buffalo
[437] robe. This was prepared by White Woman, and the day before the
work was to begin Victory Call and she each mounted a horse and rode
over to the store about two miles away, taking the robe with them. The
[492] two horses would be needed to bring home the supplies, otherwise White
[562] Woman would have walked, Victory Call ridden. At the trade store they
439 got a sack of flour, some coffee, sugar, baking powder, prunes, dry apples,
and about five yards of calico. At this time a hundred-pound sack of
435 flour was worth $7.00 at the store. For the family alone without special
events or guests, such a sack of flour lasted about two weeks (two
double-handfuls for each meal). Amounts of the other items usually
bought were fifty cents worth of coffee, fifty cents worth of sugar,
twenty-five cents worth of baking powder. Five or six yards of calico
439 were $1.00 so that, excluding the cost of the prunes and dry apples, the
342 gift to Lady Lucky Leader would amount to about $9.25 worth of
464 merchandise. An exceptionally well-tanned buffalo robe would bring
465 $20-30 worth of value at the store. After providing payment for Lady
[435] Lucky Leader with the remaining value of the buffalo robe, they had to
buy supplies for the special meals—an additional sack of flour, more
sugar, coffee, baking powder, and some lard and prunes. Finally to each
of the three women of the household that helped with the sewing—
Grandma, No Corn, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy—they would give
five yards of calico to each (worth a dollar for the five yards), and some
needles and thread. The buffalo robe would just about cover the labor
costs for sewing together the tent.

463 About a week before the work was to begin, White Woman would
have gone to see Lady Lucky Leader and have said to her, "Atira (my
342 mother), I've come to ask you to make a new tent for me." "Well," she
answered, "I have something to do right now, but I could do it a little
later. Are you in a hurry?" "No, a week's time will be all right." "Well,
then, have two good sharp knives ready," said the old lady.

At the appointed day, she arrived at Victory Call's lodge after breakfast. The skins and tools were taken outdoors, and while White Woman cleared up the breakfast dishes, the other three women went out with her and Lady Lucky Leader cut out the skins. She placed them in the most economical manner and then she assigned each of the women a particular seam to sew. Each woman had prepared herself with her own awl and a quantity of prepared sinew. Presently White Woman joined them and
[264] was also assigned a seam to sew. Before noon she had to retire to prepare
[262] the meal. They were served grease bread, coffee, and prunes. For sup-

*224 264 They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four sets.

*224 623 628 The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates from the villages.

*224 623 793 [701] [825] The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was [778] under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening Star bundle.

*224 623 628 793 [625] [574] [264] Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill. Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief. The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief, who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

*224 623 625 574 [293] The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head policeman War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

*224 623 •562 [251] Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

*224 [793] [825] The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican. When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

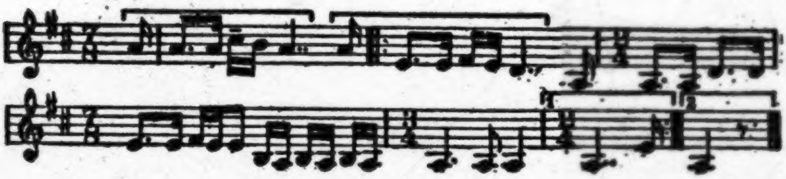
No. 76. Song of a Warrior's Wife

*533
593

(Catalogue No. 1100)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♪= 144 (♩= 72)
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

I wonder where he is sitting.
That person who comes and sits in my tipi.

Analysis.—In all renditions of this song the 7–8 and 3–4 measures were sung in exact time. Except for one minor third the melody progresses entirely by fourths and major seconds. It has a compass of 10 tones and contains the entire octave except the fourth.

*533 Mr. James R. Murie and other old members of the tribe said that love songs, in the white man's use of that term, were unknown
832 among the better class of Pawnee in the early days. According to
●565 Mr. Murie, there were four classes of Pawnee, the lowest being
177 considered outcasts by the remainder of the tribe. These people camped near towns and worked for white people, from whom they
562 obtained whisky. This class of Pawnee sang what were termed
[124] "crazy people's songs," which were associated with "love charms" and evil influences. No effort was made to secure examples of these songs. A change from the former attitude toward women, however, is shown in the following song which was said to be very old. It is not of so low a character as the "crazy people's songs," neither does it represent the high standard of life indicated in the former
[837] songs of this group. A girl married a man for whom she did not care and it would appear that, instead of adapting himself to the situation, he sought consolation elsewhere.

*533 *Analysis.*—This melody consists of two parts, the first of which contains the rhythmic unit. The second part begins with a succession of eighth notes, followed by a measure which preserves the count divisions of the rhythmic unit. The count divisions throughout the song were sung with special clearness. The song is transcribed as having B flat for its keynote but the third above that tone does not occur. Except for an ascending octave the only in-

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand
that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly 776
responsible. 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of consecrating 292
buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were ceremonial 796
and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies.

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected 224
to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the
lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his
hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires.

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the 361
ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according
to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme.
Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a
circular or any definite camp form was observed.

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must 622
pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and 756
what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water 782
animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers
through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with
these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social intercourse. [565]
The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but
otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that [773]
at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called
on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called
upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at
the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The
chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he
jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through
his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen
never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.)

685 missible to steal from another Pawnee band.] Such a person was whipped or beaten by the aggrieved. It is said that those of the [565] upper class did not desire to steal, while those of the lower class were restrained by fear of detection. Occasionally women of the lower classes robbed the corn fields. Poor people, especially those who did not own ponies and hence were handicapped in the buffalo chase, sometimes would find a dead buffalo with the arrow which had killed the animal. They would remove the arrow, shoot it off a long distance, and insert their own. When the one who had killed the buffalo returned to claim his property his mark of ownership had [422] been destroyed. All arrows bore special property signs, being marked either with distinctive paints or by the arrangement of the feathers. It is said, however, that it was not easy to steal a buffalo in this manner, for it usually fell on the side where it had been struck by the arrow of the slayer[?]. The end of the arrow would be broken off and it would be difficult to extract.

To steal from another tribe was in no way contrary to prevailing ethics, though the one who stole ponies was supposed to use them to assist him in getting buffalo and scalps to sacrifice to the deities.

VII. CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Although Pawnee mythology abounds in tales of the poor boy 554
who achieved success, it appears that the rank of an individual was 565
determined to a large extent by the social position of his immediate ancestors. At any rate, certain classes of society were recognized and membership in these was to a certain degree hereditary. [In the manuscript the terms "caste" and "class" are both used indiscriminately. I have used "class" throughout.] This was especially true of the highest in rank, though they might be deposed for cause, and though a child born of poor parents of low rank might through his own efforts become a tribal chief. Before enumerating the specific classes in Skidi society, one should note that all positions and all rank were conceived as having supernatural origin. In fact, the higher of these were divinely instituted and instructions given the first holders as to their duties and prerogatives. Theoretically, Skidi society was divided into two great divisions: those who made war and protected the village from human enemies; and those who by sacred and supernatural means protected the village from disease, famine, and pestilence. To these two general divisions might be added a third class consisting of poor people who did not possess rank, power, influence, or any considerable amount of property. The real distinction as made by the Skidi, however, was that of the nobility as contrasted with the common people, one's position in one or the other divisions being, as already noted, largely a matter of ancestry. But it may be repeated that there was no tribal law that would prohibit the son of a poor man from becoming a chief, and, on the other hand, it was possible for the son of a chief to become an outcast, for the individual was judged by his own actions.

In the nobility were to be found the leaders in the material 554
affairs of the band—the chiefs, braves, and warriors; those who 565
looked out for the larger religious interests—the priests; and those 793
who kept the band free from sickness and drove out disease—the 622
medicine-men. The duties of these three groups were quite separate 759
and distinct. Occasionally, however, one individual might at the 756
same time be chief, priest, and medicine-man.

CHIEFS

The chiefs of the Skidi were thirty-one in number. Of these 622
thirty-one the representative of each village, who was the owner of 565
the sacred bundle of that village, was chief by heredity, and trans-

622 mitted his authority along with his bundle to his eldest son. These
565 hereditary chiefs, representing each of the villages, selected from
among the leading warriors and those of high rank a sufficient number to make up the thirty-one. [The manuscript also contains a note that the chiefs' council could reject the son of a deceased chief if it did not consider him worthy. Also, if the dead chief left no offspring, the bundle was supposed to descend to the next oldest brother or nearest male kin; the brother married the chief's widow.]

The eldest son of a chief theoretically inherited his father's position, and if he proved worthy was duly made chief on reaching the proper age. At this time the chief's bundle (North-Star bundle) was opened and a ceremony held. So far as known, the ritual accompanying the ceremony has not been sung for more than thirty years, and there is no Skidi living today (1907) who knows it.

It has been mentioned that the hereditary chiefs could invite men who had proved themselves worthy and make them chiefs. When this course was decided upon, the chiefs invited the one selected to the lodge four times. He declined the first three times, but on the fourth invitation went to the lodge, bringing with him ponies and parfleches of meat, which he presented to the chiefs. He was then made chief, but did not have his face painted, and his sons were not considered chiefs.

The son of a chief other than the eldest, or indeed any man, might make four deer holy and offer them to the four chiefs of the Four-Band village. With the consent of the other hereditary chiefs they then asked the candidate to the lodge and offered him a pipe to smoke, after which he could sit in the chief's council. [Presumably he did not have the rank of a chief, however.]

622 During council the chiefs were supposed to sit cross-legged in
[516] an erect attitude, never in a lounging position. The mark of office
623 was a red-painted face with a blue semi-circular line extending from
531 in front of each ear and passing over the forehead, and a symbol on
302 the forehead representing the so-called Turkey's Foot constellation.
565 An eagle feather was worn in the hair, while ordinarily the costume
consisted of leggings fringed with eagle feathers and human hair from scalps, and a buffalo-skin robe on which were depicted stars, the sun, or war scenes.

622 Perhaps the most important characteristic of a chief was that
[728] he was a peace-maker and guardian of the village rather than a
538 warrior; there are many incidents in the myths expressing the idea
565 that a man who has often been on the warpath becomes imbued with

the desire to take scalps and capture ponies and is no longer fit to be 622
chief. In the words of my informant: "Tirawa, after having created 538
people, gave them their bundles and said to the chief: 'You are to be 565
like me; you are to have many people to look after; you are to
be guardian of the people on earth and the beings of the heavens
will do your bidding.'" The custom did not prevail among the Skidi
of making the chief an offering of food when on the hunt. He was
obliged to look after himself, and could not claim more than the
share which he himself or those riding his horses had won in
the chase.

Like other societies, that of the chiefs had two errand men whose 624
duty it was to look after the fire, prepare and distribute meat, and 565
light the pyre for the smoke offerings. In his own village each chief
also had at his command two errand men who performed similar
duties.

In addition to the hereditary chief, each village had one or more
nahikuts, or braves, whose number was usually four but varied
according to the size of the village. The duty of these men was that
of servants of the chiefs; they followed their directions, preserved
order, helped in carrying out the laws of the band, and assisted in
the preparation of the ceremonies. Their badge of office was a war-
club or tomahawk. They held office for life. They were also con-
sidered as servants of the Morning Star, and like the other warriors
of each village obtained their power directly from him or from some
animal or spirit under the guidance of the Morning Star.

Another high-ranking class were the *narawiraris*, or warriors.
These men had reached this position by their own efforts. They had
made a certain number of sacrifices and thus won a victory over the
powers of the heavens. They were eligible to election as chiefs and
had the right to sit near the priest in ceremonies. When going on 624
the warpath, such men had the privilege of wearing the sacred war- 565
rior's costume of the warrior's bundle. The position of warrior was 778
said to have been created in the beginning, at which time the warrior
was given five things—the otter skin, the hawk skin, the leg of an
eagle, the eagle feather, and the sacred red paint made from red
earth and buffalo fat. In using these objects, he was to attach the
eagle leg to his belt, wear the eagle feather, and put the otter skin
over his head, the hawk skin on his right shoulder, and the paint on his [302]
face. In painting his face he was to make three dots above his nose [531]
in the center of his forehead, to represent the claw of the eagle's foot.
He was to use the black otter because it was from the water, was

694 very swift, and symbolized the dangerous cyclone coming from the
565 clouds. The hawk skin was used because the hawk was made to be
778 powerful and killed its prey with its wings, which were symbolic of
a war club. [The hawk kills its prey with its knuckles rather than its wings.]

PRIESTS

793 As the chief gave the people instruction and advice in worldly
565 matters, so the priest, who controlled the ritual attached to the
sacred village bundle, kept the society en rapport with the supernatural. The priestly class among the Skidi comprised the most learned men of the tribe. They were required to have prodigious
[51] memories and were said to swallow every song. In addition to those sung at ceremonies, the priests recited rituals of instruction for the changing of names, and others having to do with agriculture, the hunt, and the warpath. They served as go-betweens in weddings, and in general played a great part in the social life of the village. Inasmuch as the office of priest required above all an extraordinarily retentive memory and a deeply religious attitude of mind, the priests often encouraged young men possessing these qualifications to become their pupils and ultimately admitted the students to the priestly class. The priest's life was shortened or lengthened in accordance with the sacrifices he made and by his zeal in guarding the esoteric knowledge entrusted to him. For him to speak of the secrets of the altar trivially or on ordinary occasions was to shorten his life.

Associated with the priests were errand men and criers. The latter were old men who had spent a great part of their lives in the performance of sacrifices and who were entitled to announce ceremonies and recite rituals of instruction, particularly those referring to creation, through the village. Their share of the ceremonial feasts was great and in proportion to the honor in which they were held. For a child to mock them or to imitate their intonation or to treat them with disrespect was to incur a severe beating from the parents. The errand men, two in each lodge, stationed on the north and south sides by the entrance, assisted in the ceremonies by building the fire and replenishing it, acting as messengers for the priests in summoning the participants of a ceremony, and so forth. Like the priests and criers, they also received a share of the feast which might be distributed at the conclusion of a ceremony.

MEDICINE-MEN

Like the chief and the priest, the medicine-man held a position 791
of honor among the Skidi. His office was supposed to have been 756
created by Tirawa immediately after he had instituted the office of 565
chief, at which time Tirawa said: "I shall give you (chief) a com- [773]
panion who will understand certain beings who command all the
spirits of the earth. He shall learn from them the different curative [538]
powers, and shall be your equal, but he will not command, for it
will be his duty to wait on the sick." At this time Tirawa gave the
medicine-man the blue clay he wore over his body during ceremonies,
the wing of a black eagle to be used in his left hand, and a gourd [778]
rattle to be held in his right.

The medicine-men derived their powers from supernatural beings who were usually identified with animals. At birth a child came under the influence of a supernatural being—a particular star shining especially bright—who was supposed to manifest himself later in the child's life. Usually this manifestation occurred when the child fell ill, at which time medicine-men were sent for. When the right one appeared, he could cure the child, for he possessed the power from an animal which in turn had received its power from the star noted above. Thus the child was made aware of the particular animal guardian which was to influence his career. When he grew to be a young man he might become a medicine-man through a supernatural experience during which power was given him directly by his guardian, or, as was more common, he applied for instruction to some medicine-man who had received power from the same guardian. With the latter's consent, the young man became his pupil, paying for the knowledge received. [Further details regarding medicine-men have been published by Linton, 1923b.]

In many ways the medicine-men ingratiated themselves with the people. One of the best examples occurred during the fall performance of the great ceremony of the Skidi medicine-men. On the first night they visited all the village lodges containing sacred altars, and on the following night made a general tour of the village offering their services free of charge.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

This group probably represented less than one-half the members 554
of the band. They were distinguished by the fact that they were 565
without influence or power, their lodges were smaller and not so
completely furnished, they had few or no ponies, and were often the [736]
objects of charity.

554 objects of charity. On the outskirts of the village were those who
565 made up the lowest class of Skidi society and who were spoken of as
"those who live in the woods." They were near outcasts, having
violated tribal laws and customs. It may be noted here that as the
Skidi came in closer contact with white civilization the band was
too often judged from the actions of members of this last class. As
[136] white towns grew up in the vicinity these people found it easier to
become hangers-on of the town than to attempt to force their way
into a better position in Indian society.

567 [A few remarks are also accorded the treatment of slaves. "Slaves—that is, individuals captured in war—were rarely killed or mistreated. They generally served as helpers of the errand men for the captor (chief?) in his lodge, where they were received. Many incidents are related of slaves showing their fidelity to the Pawnee, and finally being considered as members of the tribe and marrying into it."]

754 purposes. Their guardians were certain animals which
[776] were conceived of as having evil spirits. They were
[565] recruited from the lower classes in the tribe, and were
feared and disliked by the better element. Like the
medicine men, they were organized into a society, but
nothing is known of their ceremonies.

756 The Pawnee medicine men were organized into a
number of societies which were united by certain
secrets which they had in common. In addition to
these secrets, which were known to all medicine men,
but concealed from the rest of the tribe, each society
and even each member had individual secrets. The
oldest of these societies was that of the Pumpkin Vine
village all of whose members were said to have originally been medicine men. Its members derived their
powers from a number of different guardians. In the
other medicine societies, which were organized at a
later date, all the members derived their powers from
the same guardian. A man might become a medicine
man as the result of a supernatural experience during
which powers were conferred upon him directly by his
[787] guardian. Such experiences were sought through long
continued prayer and fasting. More commonly, when
a man desired to become a medicine man and had determined his guardian, he applied to some medicine
man who had derived his powers from that being, and
asked for instruction. If the medicine man believed
him to be sincere and was willing to accept the gifts
which he offered in payment, he received him as a pupil
and, at the next meeting of the medicine lodge, took
him into the lodge with him and instructed him. The
lodge sometimes continued in session two months; and
[837] during this time, as part payment, the medicine man
exercised the rights of a husband toward his pupil's
wife. Often a medicine man would have several pupils
whose wives would remain with him in his booth in
the medicine lodge. He might instruct them also if he

three hundred to five hundred people and from ten to twelve households. 621
The village community centered around the chief who had his sanction 622
through a vision from Heaven. Every person within the village was also
under the tutelage of a given star, and the chief held the sacred bundle 821
that represented the supernatural story of its origin and gave the village 778
its continuity. In these terms, all the people in the village were considered
as a kindred, but their specific cosmic derivation gave them differing
social ranks. According to their star affiliations, some were born as 821
chiefs, some as braves, and some as commoners; their social functions in
the community were thus relatively preordained. When a chiefly infant 554
was born to two high-ranking parents, he was wrapped in a wildcat skin, 565 •
symbolizing the heavens with its panoply of stars and planets. When he
married, the priest and his senior errand man impersonated the Morning
Star and the sun respectively. High-ranking chiefly families provided the
administrators, whereas the families of braves—the next in rank—provided
the executive officers. The commoners, known collectively as
akitaru "the tribe or people," were often reminded by their officials that
only their support made it possible to carry out the responsibilities of
high office. However, one's life was not entirely cast in this mold. A chief 554
or brave might never be considered worthy of the office, or he himself 565
might not feel capable of dedicating himself to its responsibilities, while
a commoner could rise high in the social scale and acquire considerable
wealth by becoming a successful doctor and earning high fees from his
grateful patients. Some people of commoner rank had little use for prestige
positions and would say, "I don't care to be a noted person." Another
group would prefer a carefree life of adventure. They would go
out on long scouting expeditions, roaming about the country and exploring
to see what they could find. They were helpful to anyone in the village
who needed them, without considering it beneath their dignity to
perform any menial task and gave away what they had rather freely.
Such men were referred to as "boys" on the grounds that they were like
boys, having no care for accumulating anything or for providing for the
morrow. They were regarded with affection and sometimes rose to the
rank of brave in recognition of their long public service.

554 objects of charity. On the outskirts of the village were those who
565 made up the lowest class of Skidi society and who were spoken of as "those who live in the woods." They were near outcasts, having violated tribal laws and customs. It may be noted here that as the Skidi came in closer contact with white civilization the band was too often judged from the actions of members of this last class. As
[136] white towns grew up in the vicinity these people found it easier to become hangers-on of the town than to attempt to force their way into a better position in Indian society.

567 [A few remarks are also accorded the treatment of slaves. "Slaves —that is, individuals captured in war—were rarely killed or mistreated. They generally served as helpers of the errand men for the captor (chief?) in his lodge, where they were received. Many incidents are related of slaves showing their fidelity to the Pawnee, and finally being considered as members of the tribe and marrying into it."]

38: Hunt H-4 (no date) 1960

NM9 Iroquois
Illinois NP6
Pawnee NQ18

I
The white men first heard of the Illinois as western neighbors 161
of the Winnebago. They numbered sixty villages and twenty [101]
thousand men, which the priests estimated to mean one hundred I
thousand people. The first white man personally to observe and 161
report the Illinois was Allouez, who met a number of the northern 648
group, perhaps Miami, at Chequamegon, whither they had been
drawn by the irresistible magnet of the white man's trade goods.
Only eighty of them came in 1667, but two years later Allouez
reported that they were coming in great numbers, and Marquette
mentioned that they traded slaves to the Lakes tribes.[3] With the I
dispersion of the Chequamegon Indians, the Illinois began coming 437
to the post on Green Bay, and a number of them even moved into 167
the Miami-Mascouten village on the Fox River, where members
from the greater Illinois tribe came to trade and visit relatives. I
In 1672 Charlevoix says the Iroquois began to make incursions, 648
and the Illinois desired allies, particularly the French, but if any
Iroquois incursions annoyed them, they failed to mention the
matter to Marquette, who was in the great Illinois town on the
lower Illinois River in the year following, 1673. They discussed
their enemies with Marquette, too, but those enemies were not
the Iroquois. They were south and west of them. Marquette did

---

impression that the affair of 1655 had caused the supposed trans-Mississippi migration,
at the same time that he admitted, paradoxically, that it was a bad defeat for the I
small band of Illinois concerned. See his *Five Nations of Canada*, 1:14–15. Beauchamp,
in his *New York Iroquois*, 226, even gives details of a conquest which, so far as can [114]
be discovered, never occurred. Thwaites says that the Ottawa, when they were discovered,
were on Manitoulin Island, "whither they had sought an asylum from the
Iroquois," although elsewhere he admits that it was their original home. See Lahontan,
New Voyages, 1:153,340n. They were found there by Champlain, while the
Iroquois were hiding in the woods in fear of Algonquins and Hurons. The tendency
to ascribe everything to the Iroquois is noticeable in many contemporary and some
later writers.

[3] For estimates of their number see De Quen, in the *Jesuit Relations*, 42:221; Dreuillettes, I
ibid., 44:247; and Lalemant, *ibid.*, 45:235. All this information probably came P
from Radisson and Groseilliers and is not reliable. For their contact with Chequamegon
see the *Jesuit Relations*, 51:49; 54:167, 177. The slaves they traded were [567
probably Pawnee. The Pawnee supplied them with so many slaves that *pani* was 177]
synonymous with "slave." Perrot says that the calumet ceremonial came from the
Pawnee and was spread by them throughout the North country. See his *Memoir*, in
Blair, *Indian Tribes*, 1:186, 190, 190n. A Pawnee was the famous "Turk" of Coronado,
who led the expedition to Quivira and was garrotted for his pains. See Winship, "The
Coronado Expedition," in Bureau of American Ethnology, *Report*, 1892–93, pt. 1,
p. 534. For more on Illinois slave trade and slavery, see Carr, *Mounds of the Mississippi
Valley*, 30.

SECOND RITUAL. PREFIGURING THE JOURNEY TO THE SON

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

796*
571 ●
[346]

Honor is conferred upon a man who leads a Hako party to a distant tribe and there makes a Son, while to the Son help is given from all the powers represented by the sacred objects. Between the Father and the Son and their immediate families a relationship similar to that which exists between kindred is established through this ceremony. It is a sacred relationship, for it is made by the supernatural powers that are with the Hako.

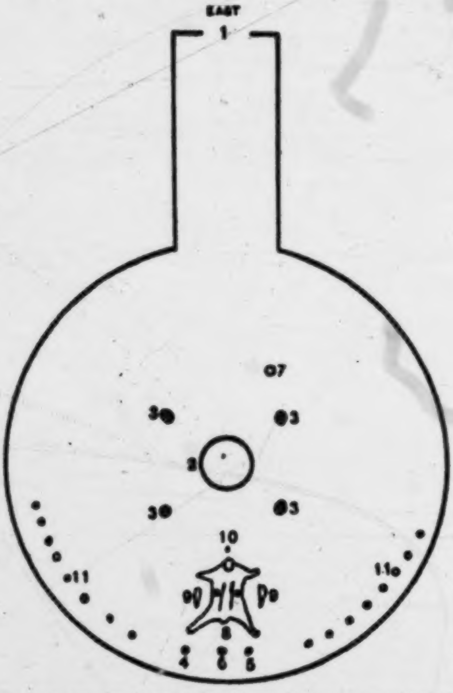


FIG. 172. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the second ritual.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the Ku'rahus; 5, his assistant; 6, the Father (a chief); 7, the server; 8, the wildcat skin, on which are the feathered stems and rattles; 9, the eagle wings; 10, the ear of corn; 11, members of the Hako party.

Mc. Dot. [illegible]
1903

571 Because of the sacred and binding character of this relationship, *796 and the gifts brought by it to the Son, namely, long life and many children to make his family strong, the selection of a man to be made 623 a Son is regarded as a serious and important act, one in which the chiefs and the leading men of the Father's tribe must have a voice.

[554] The Son should be a chief or a man who has the respect of the leading men of his tribe, and whom the Father's tribe would be glad to have bound to them by the tie of Son.

While the Father has been gathering the materials necessary for this ceremony, which may have taken him a year or more, he has had some particular person in his mind whom he desired to make a Son. When everything is ready he mentions this particular person to the chiefs and leading men, and when we are gathered together to sing this song we think of this chosen man and we ask the assistance of Mother Corn, and if he is the right person she will lead us to him.

*796 The selection of the Son takes place soon after the preparation of the sacred objects, frequently on the night of the same day. It must [828] always be in the night time, because the spirits can travel best at night. The spirit of the corn and the spirits of the people present in the [776] lodge at this time are to decide who shall be the Son, and Mother Corn is to lead us to him. The same persons are present at this ceremony that were present at the preparation of the Hako.

In the west of the lodge, facing the east, sit the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the Father. Before them are the sacred objects arranged as at ceremonial rest. A little way in front of the crotched stick stands the ear of corn which has been painted in the sacred manner (see figure 172). It is held in position by one of the sticks to which it is tied being thrust into the ground. This ear of corn is the mother, and upon her everyone present must fix his mind.

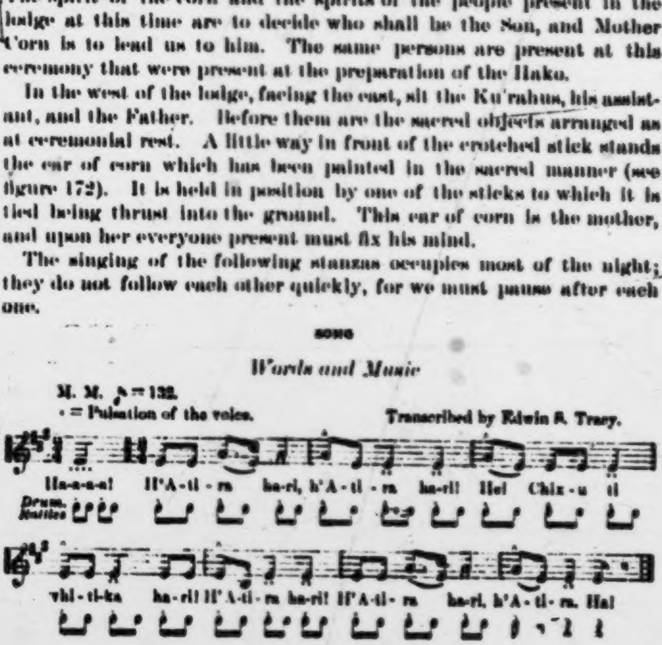
The singing of the following stanzas occupies most of the night; they do not follow each other quickly, for we must pause after each one.

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*533
*539
*796


Ha-a-a-a! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri, h'A-ti-ra ha-ri! Ha! Chix-u ti
Drum. Rattles
vhi-ti-ka ha-ri! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri, h'A-ti-ra. Ha!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of First Stanza 539* 796*

164 Ha-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

165 Kasha whako-o: Ha-a! H'ars wita-a!

kasha, a form of command, referring to an act to be performed at a future time.
whako-o; whako, tell or say; o, vowel prolongation.
ha-a! ha! behold! a, vowel prolongation.
h', a contraction of ha, your.
ars, a contraction of atius, father.
wita-a! wita, he coming; a, vowel prolongation.

166, 167 See line 165.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza is a command to the messengers to say, when they hand the tobacco to the Son, "Behold! Your father is coming!" ("Ha! H'ars wita!")

The stanza is sung four times. At the fourth time the Ku'rahus puts the tobacco into the hand of the leader of the four messengers, who at once leave the lodge and start upon their journey.

Translation of Second Stanza

168 See line 164.

169 Kusha whako-o: Ha-a! H'ars wita-a.

kusha, they will; that is, those that have been commanded will do as they have been directed.
whako-o; whako, tell, say; o, vowel prolongation.
ha-a! ha! behold! a, vowel prolongation.
h', a contraction of ha, your.
ars, a contraction of atius, father.
wita-a, wita, he coming; a, vowel prolongation.

170, 171 See line 169.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the messengers are out of sight of the village the Ku'rahus sings the second stanza. It is addressed to the members of the Father's party, who are still sitting in his lodge. It is an authoritative assurance that the messengers will (kusha) fulfil their mission and deliver to the Son the message, "Behold! Your father is coming!"

After the Ku'rahus has sung this second stanza four times, the people disperse to await the return of the messengers, while he and his assistant, or two persons designated by him, must sit with the sacred objects until the four men come back from the Son.

As the Son hears the words of the messengers he will be reminded of his dream, in which Mother Corn touched him. And as he looks at the men he will recognize the tribe from which they have come and will know who has chosen him to be the Son. Then he will call together his relatives and they will talk over the matter. If it is decided to accept the ceremony they will keep the little bundle of

539*
796*
571●
202

*202 *539 *796 tobacco and the messengers will be told to return and say to the Father, "I am ready!"

[571] The messengers start back immediately, and when they are in sight of their village the news of their arrival is proclaimed. Then all the men of the Father's party hasten to his lodge. The Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the Father put on their buffalo robes in the ceremonial manner, with the hair outside, and take their places back of the Hako. The other members of the party range themselves against the wall of the lodge, on either side, and all await the coming of the messengers.

[201] As the four men enter the lodge the people cry, "Nawairi!" ("Thanks!") while the Ku'rahus lifts his hands, palms upward, and then brings them down slowly. This movement means thanks, and the calling down of help from above.

The leader of the messengers, addressing the Ku'rahus, delivers the words sent by the Son, "I am ready!" This closes the ceremony.

FOURTH RITUAL

Part I. Vivifying the Sacred Objects

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 When the messengers return from the Son with the words, "I am ready," there is rejoicing in the lodge.

The young men of the Father's party rise and dance. From these dancers two are selected, by the Ku'rahus a[illegible] the chief, to perform the final dance, which takes place on the morning of the fifth day of the ceremony. The choice of these two dancers is signified by tying on their hair a downy white eagle's feather (see plate XLI). Meanwhile the other members of the party are busy with their final preparations. [431] They tie in packs, ready for transportation, the gifts they are to carry to the Children. The singers make ready the drum, while outside the women are engaged preparing food and other necessaries for the long journey.

The Ku'rahus orders a straight tent pole to be selected and brought to the lodge of the Father.

On the morning of the day the journey is to begin the Ku'rahus rises from his place in the lodge behind the Hako and goes outside. There he ties the sacred objects on the selected tent pole. He puts the two feathered stems near the top—the brown eagle toward the north and the white eagle toward the south—and he spreads out their feather pendants. Below these he fastens the ear of corn, and underneath it the two rattles and, lastly, the wildcat skin. These objects must face the east when the pole is raised. Behind them, so as to ~~face the west~~, the right and left wing of an eagle are fastened and spread out.

The rope of buffalo hair is used to tie these sacred objects to the pole, which is then set up at the entrance of the lodge. Here it stands where the wind of the dawn may breathe upon the Hako and the first rays of the sun strike the sacred objects and give them life.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza we speak of the messenger as "my own child" (ti hao), because he represents the Son, to whom we are being led by Mother Corn. Although the man who is the Son is not and can not be of any blood kinship to us, yet by the power of the sacred objects in this ceremony he is to be made as our own child, as our offspring, we are to be bound to him by a tie as unalterable as that which exists between father and son. So we sing, "My own child, my offspring, is sitting here." 539* 796* [571 608]

When we sing "Tiwe rakushe hawa ti hao," we are thinking that our child has again said "I am ready."

Translation of Second Stanza

359 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
360 Tiwe riata ti hao.
tiwe, here.
riata, he walking.
ti, my.
hao, my own child.
361 See line 360.
362 Tiwe riata hawa ti hao.
tiwe, here.
riata, he walking.
hawa, again.
ti, my.
hao, my own child.
363 See line 359.
364 Tiwe riata. See line 360.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The pack containing the clothing provided for this representative of the Son is now opened. After the messenger has finished eating he is dressed in the new clothing. 431 539* 796*

We clothe him because that is an act which marks the care of a father for his child. The garments we put upon him are fine and embroidered; these fine and carefully made garments show that we have been thinking of him, that we regard him highly and wish to do him honor.

After the messenger is clothed he walks toward the village; we follow, walking slowly and singing the second stanza. The words tell that the Son is walking before us and that we again are walking toward the lodge of the Son.

Just before we reach the village we halt and sing the next song.

*796 follows and does the same, then the assistant comes, then the two doctors and the prominent men of the Father's party. After thanking the Son they all pass round the south side of the lodge to thank the prominent men of the Son's party; then they return to the north side of the lodge and sit down.

431 *796 After they are seated, the Children express the wish that the distribution of the ponies, waiting without, may be happily accomplished, to which the Fathers reply, "Nawairi!" "Thanks!" The Children now rise and go out of the lodge and leave the Fathers alone during the distribution of the gifts.

[554] [577] The Ku'rahus appoints two influential men to go out and divide the gift of ponies, setting apart a number for the chiefs and the leading men who do not wish to do this for themselves, lest the people think them selfish. Two ponies are for the Ku'rahus; that is his portion ordinarily. If there are a great number of horses he is given more. The chiefs and leading men select from the ponies set apart for them, each man taking one until all the ponies are apportioned. The rest of the party choose from the other ponies, one at a time, the men first and then the women. After this the sticks representing ponies are divided.

All the saddles, bridles, feathers, that may have been on the horses given away are piled on the north side of the lodge. These belong to the Ku'rahus. He keeps what he wants and divides the rest between his assistant, the server, and other members of the party.

*796 When the distribution has been made the Fathers leave the lodge and go to their camp, where they break their long fast and seek some rest. The next day all the party start for home except the chief. He remains to collect the ponies which have not been brought in.

The Son, to whom the Hako has been presented, can give the eagle
wings to a doctor or the pipe to a friend, but he must keep for himself
[571] the sacred objects of the ceremony. They have brought to him the
promise of long life and children, and have established peace and
security through a tie as strong as that of kinship.

INCIDENTAL RITUALS

The following four rituals can be sung during the public ceremony whenever they are called for by the Children.

COMFORTING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 I have told you before that in order to be instructed in this cere-
mony, to be taught its songs and their meaning, one must make many
424 gifts, pay a great deal to the Ku'rahus who teaches him. This is our
custom, for a man must make sacrifices, must give large presents in
payment for what he receives, in order to show that he places a value
upon the knowledge he wishes to acquire. I have paid a great deal

174 *796 The leadership accorded to the corn indicates that an earlier form of the ceremony is to be sought among a people dependent upon agriculture, and the peculiar treatment of water would seem to have arisen in a semi-arid region. Again, the development in the purpose of the ceremony from the simple longing for offspring to the larger desire of establishing intertribal relationships was most likely to have taken place among peoples whose settled mode of life had fostered an appreciation of the benefits to be derived from peace and security.

Efforts to spread this ceremony among tribes less sedentary than those of the Mexican plateau and the Southwest may, on the one hand, have been prompted by prudential reasons, while on the other hand its adoption and promulgation over the wide territory occupied by the so-called hunting tribes marks the growth of political ideas and gives a higher place to these tribes in the line of social development than has usually been accorded them.

PURPOSE OF THE CEREMONY

*796 842 ● 571 The purpose of this ceremony was twofold: first, to benefit certain individuals by bringing to them the promise of children, long life, and plenty; second, to affect the social relations of those who took part in it, by establishing a bond between two distinct groups of persons, belonging to different clans, gentes, or tribes, which was to insure between them friendship and peace.

In every tribe where the ceremony was known this twofold purpose was recognized, and by no tribal variation in the details of the rite was it lost sight of or obscured.

[174] From a study of this ceremony it seems probable that its original instigation was a desire for offspring, that the clan or kinship group might increase in number and strength and be perpetuated through the continuous birth of children.

The ceremonial forms here used to express this desire were undoubtedly borrowed from earlier ceremonies through which the people had been familiarized with certain symbols and rites representing the creative powers. Thus, the male and female cosmic forces, symbolized in greater or less detail by day and night, sun and moon, the heavens and the earth, are found in the Hako ceremony. [772]

772 *796 The eagle and the ear of corn also represent in general the male and female forces, but each is specialized in a manner peculiar to these rites. There are two eagles; the white, representing the male, the father, the defender; and the brown, representing the female, the mother, the nestmaker (see pages 288, 289). In the treatment of these eagles the dual forces are still further represented. The feathers of the white or male eagle are hung upon a stem painted green to symbolize the earth, the female principle; while those of the brown or female eagle are hung upon the stem painted blue to symbolize the heavens, the

male principle. The same treatment of the corn is observed. The 772
ear of corn, which is born of Mother Earth, is symbolically painted to 796*
represent a living contact with the heavens.

These symbolic articles thus treated are peculiar to this ceremony and essential to its rites. They express with unmistakable clearness the original instigating desire for children.

The second purpose of this ceremony, that of establishing a bond 571●
between two distinct groups of persons belonging to different clans, 648
gentes, or tribes, which should insure between them friendship and
peace, was probably an outgrowth of the first purpose and may have 796*
been based upon tribal experience in the practice of exogamy.

In a tribe composed of clans or gentes, where exogamy prevailed, two factors tended to promote peace and security among the people, namely, children born to parents representing two distinct political groups, and rites which recognized a common dependence upon the supernatural and were obligatory upon all.

With the growth of social ideas the thought seems to have arisen that ties might be made between two tribes differing from and even competing with each other, through a device which should simulate those influences which had proved so effective within the tribe. The Father, representing one tribe, was the incentive force; he inaugurated the Hako party. The tie was made by a ceremony in which the feminine principle, represented by the corn and Kawas, was the dominant factor. Through this mother element life was given and a bond was established between the Father and a Son of another tribe. It is remarkable how close to the model this device of an artificial tie has been made to correspond.

Apart from the social and religious significance of the ceremony, it 182
became a means of exchange of commodities between tribes. The 439-
garments, regalia, and other presents brought by the Fathers to the
Children were taken by the latter to some other tribe, when they in 796*
turn became the Fathers. Thus manufactures peculiar to one tribe were often spread over a wide territory, and the handicraft of one region became known to different sections of the country.

STRUCTURE OF THE CEREMONY

The perpetuation and distribution of a ceremony is dependent upon 796*
its structure, its symbolism, and its purpose. Its parts must be so coordinated as to make it possible to keep the rite intact during oral transmission, while its symbolism must appeal to common beliefs and its purpose to common desires.

Examining the ceremony of the Hako, we find it to possess these requisites. Its purpose awoke a response in every human heart, its symbolism appealed to the people wherever corn ripened and eagles flew; and though its structure was elaborate, it was built upon a sim-

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART III. CLOTHING THE SON AND OFFERING SMOKE

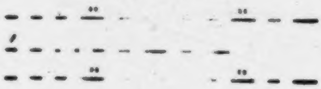
*796 The lodge having been made ready as a nest within which life might be given and made secure, the Father performed his first act of recognition and responsibility. He put upon the Son the garments he had previously prepared for the purpose. When clad in the finely embroidered clothing, the Son was told to make the offering of smoke to Tira'wa atius, as a prayer for the consecration of the new-born relationship.

571
782
276

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539
*796

My son, now heed, attend to the command I give to you:
Oh, speak to the gods list'ning[b] above us!
Oh, let your prayers ascend to the mighty ones on high!

II

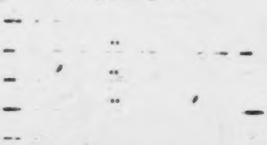
My son obeys. His voice is now trav'ling far, speeding on:
It goes to the list'ning gods above us;
There will his prayer be heard by the mighty ones on high.

*796 The ceremony of offering smoke was conducted by a priest, who instructed the Son as to the order in which the stem of the pipe and the smoke must be offered to the various directions. Meanwhile the Fathers with the Hako stood before the Son singing this song, which voiced their participation in the offering.

SECOND SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

See the smoke pass by!
Rising high above, follows where his voice
Sped, intent to reach
Where the gods[c] abide in the deep blue sky.
See the smoke pass by!

---

[a] Music on page 161.
[b] Music on page 161.
[c] The word gods, meaning powers, is used because of the rhythm.

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Here stand we while upon Tira wa now we wait; 539*
Here Kawas stands, her mate with her is standing here; 796*
They both are standing, waiting, bringing gifts with them.

II

We flying are, as on Tira wa now we wait;
Here Kawas flies, her mate with her is flying here;
They both are flying, flying with the gifts they bring.

III

We touching are, as on Tira wa now we wait;
Now Kawas and her mate the child so gently touch;
Its forehead touch they, there they gently touch the child.

IV

We op'ning are, as on Tira wa now we wait
The four straight paths upon the child we open here,
Where soon descending from on high shall flow new life.

V

We spreading are, as on Tira wa now we wait;
Here Kawas spreads, her mate with her is spreading here;
New life and power, the gifts that they are bringing here.

VI

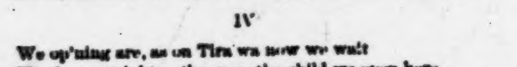
We finished are, as on Tira wa now we wait;
The task of Kawas with her mate accomplished is,
And all the work they came to do is finished now.

PART III. ACTION SYMBOLIZING LIFE

The child, surrounded by the creative forces, is urged to move, to arise as the first song is sung.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



[533*]

Rhythmic Rendition

I am ready; come to me now, fearing nothing; come now to me here!
Little one, come, come to me here; fearing nothing, come!

Then it was made to take four steps, symbolic of life, of long life, during the singing of the second song.

In the symbolizing, within the lodge of the Son, of the gift of birth by the power of the Hako, brought thither by the Father, we get a glimpse of the means by which the tie between the two unrelated men, 996* 571 ● 608

---

[a] Music on page 211.

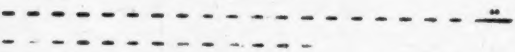
C

*796 the Father and the Son, was supposed to be formed; namely, the life
● 571 of the Son was perpetuated through the gift of fruitfulness to his
child, supernaturally bestowed by the Hako; consequently the Father
608 who brought the Hako became symbolically the father of the future
progeny of the Son.

SECOND SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



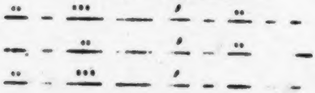
Rhythmic Rendition

[*539] Stepping forward is my child, he forward steps, the four steps takes and enters into life;
Forward stepping, four steps taking, enters into life.

The child was taken upon the back of one of the party and led the way to the ceremonial lodge, followed by the Ku'rahus and all the rest singing the third song.

THIRD SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

Here we go singing, looking on the child
Borne in his father's arms, he leading us;
Follow we singing, looking on the child.

SEVENTEENTH RITUAL

PART I. TOUCHING THE CHILD

*796 On reaching the lodge the child was seated at the holy place and surrounded by the Ku'rahus and his assistants with the Hako, and guarded by a wall of warriors, while an old man prepared it for the further reception of the promised gifts.

On the preceding night water had been taken from a stream; this water was now put into a bowl. Every detail of this act was symbolic. The time when the water was obtained was night, the mother of day; running water symbolized the continuity of life, one generation following another; the bowl which held the water resembled in its shape the dome of the sky, the abode of the powers which bestowed life.

The child was touched with the water upon the head and face, an invisible outline being made, which afterward was to become distinct. This first touching with water, one of the lesser powers, was to cleanse and give strength.

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

577 727 uted his favors more broadly. Now on the fourth occasion, the Pawnees lay in wait in their village and sure enough the young Fox warrior stealthily crept into the encampment ready to collect and run. This time the Pawnees were lying in wait for him, and they seized him and took him to the tent of the head chief. There the young warrior trembled within himself, prepared for the worst. One by one, the Pawnees began to remove his garments as the chief had ordered. Then they painted up his face, put on a new loincloth, a new shirt, new leggings, and new moccasins and loaded him with additional goods saying, "You have favored us three times already, now go home and don't come back for a while." As the Fox report, he never did return to the Pawnees. In fact, was there anything worse that a people could do to an attacking enemy soldier?

592 512 462 Let us now look at the household of the Pawnee—his home life. Most earth lodges housed from thirty to fifty people. The lodge was a production workshop in which, with few exceptions, everything required for use was produced, including the collection and processing of raw materials. A substantial part of this work was done by the women. The house was conceived as being divided into two duplicate halves—the north sector and the south sector—each of which carried out the essential household functions in alternation. [264] There were two main meals a day, for example, the one being provided by the north side, the other by the south side, both serving all. In operation this meant that the woman who cooked the meal had raised all the vegetables in her own gardens, had dried and preserved them and kept them in her storage pit, and that all the meat she served was dried and packed by her on the buffalo hunt, carried back to the village (formerly on her back or by the dogs she raised), and also stored in the pit. In the past, the clay pot she cooked in would have been made by her (now a brass kettle from the trade store), and she was still making the large buffalo-horn ladle with which she served, the wooden mortar and pestle in which the mush was pounded, and for her "side" alone the wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons in which the food was served, the rush mats on which the people sat, and all the clothing they wore. Every day, morning or evening, she would serve twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty people a meal.

264 571 The way in which the morning and evening meal was allocated to one or the other "side" was a clear example of the characteristic Pawnee mode of personal interaction. There was no prearranged schedule at all as to which side would take the morning, which the evening meal. This was determined on each individual occasion by the inclinations of the principals most directly involved. From our point of view a plan would be made and the people fitted into it—from the Pawnee view, the plan emerged from the feelings of the people. This difference of approach is so basic that I feel impelled to stress it particularly. The Pawnee indi-

vidual embraced responsibility; he had no inclination to shirk it. In a 264
sense, the rhythm of Pawnee work life was like a ballet, whereas ours is 571
like a prison lockstep: "You must, you must, you must get to work!"

The day's routine in our Pawnee household began when either Victory 512
Call or Old Bull happened to awaken; this depended on which one 592
decided to get out of bed first. Or else White Woman or Queen Woman might be the first to awaken, and then she would remind her husband that it was morning. From the time one or the other of the two men got out of bed, the day's program was set; the others simply followed the initial cue. When the man had gotten out of his bed he went outside and inspected the horizon and the stars, came in and kindled the fire, and said, "Fire's made." His senior wife then got up and started the breakfast. As observed by one of the contemporary missionaries in 1837, the rest followed with precision. The minor cycles of household operation were also conducted in a similar mode. Someone felt impelled to take care of a needed task and mentioned it and volunteers were forthcoming without further ado. Pressure and compulsion are implicit in our attitude toward work; voluntarism was the Pawnee way.

The functions of the women in the earth lodge were subdivided 462
roughly according to age. The north and south quarters of the circumference 562
of the house were each subdivided into three "stations." The
central one of these (due north and due south) was the core position 592
and it was occupied by the mature women of the lodge. They furnished 561
the main provisions and directed the necessary work. At the inner or western station on each side was the place of the immature girls and newly married young women. The outer or eastern station on each side was for the old women, symbolically on the way out and physically nearest to the exit (or entryway) of the lodge. Most commonly each of these stations was occupied by several women who carried out its special functions jointly.

The details of the function of the central station have been mentioned 855
above in connection with general household operations. The other two 603
stations supplemented it in very different ways. At the east stations for
the old women, the children past the age of infancy were cared for, the 887
old women being referred to by the children as "grandmothers," regardless 592
of the actual biological kinship. The children slept in the beds with their "grandmothers" and shared a bowl of food with them at meals. Grandma saw that they were warm and well fed and tried to help them in every way. She was a permissive, familiar, kind person to whom the child could always appeal. Between grandma and grandchild there was neither formality nor constraint. Jokes were made about a boy saying, "Look
how close he sticks to his grandma; he wants to marry her!" or "There 887
he goes always running to his grandma." Besides child care, the grandmother 592
would give a good deal of assistance to "the senior women of the

come as brothers a group of men that were so classified in a more 159
distant kin line. 593

These were kin on the mother's side—perhaps further back through 602
the old ladies—but *not on the father's side*. The three that were adopted as uncles were of our own village of Pumpkin-Vine. White Woman called them *iratsti*, "brother," and they called her *itabi*, "sister." They acted like real brothers to her.

There was still another "uncle" who was welcome to their household. 159
His name was Buffalo-Leader, *taraha-kitawiu*. He had been adopted into 597
the family as a surrogate for the brother that was killed by the Poncas. After the raid, White Woman and her sister mourned deeply for the death of their brother. Once White Woman took particular notice of a young man in the village, remarking to her mother that he looked like their own brother that was killed. Then the two mothers (i.e., co-wives of the old chief) invited the young man to the house for a special dinner, giving him a gift and caressing him in blessing. He was given to understand that they wanted him to come to the house at any time and be a brother to White Woman. If he didn't come for a while, the mothers would give him a gentle reminder saying, "You can come over any time." Now that White Woman had a substantial position and a household of her own, he came often and enjoyed her hospitality.

Kin categories, therefore, did not guarantee a fixed relationship. They 602
could only be valid if they were recognized by both parties. This recog- 571
nition could be of a more or less enthusiastic kind. As with us, poor relations might be treated with a shade less enthusiasm than those of greater wealth or status. Then there were other factors such as degree of common interest or personal liking. One could follow a minimal interpretation of the pattern in order to preserve "the decencies" without actually disowning the people concerned.

Added to the factors of wealth and personal congeniality was the mat- 602
ter of hereditary status and family honor which was at times a very 593
important element in the behavior of relatives toward one another. Broth-
ers in particular were called on to preserve the reputation of the fam- 554
ily. Since the Pawnees were especially sensitive on this point, brothers avoided going about together as much as possible, for should one be personally challenged or humiliated, the other would be bound to fight, and the conflict might spread to the several families concerned. On the other hand, if the other brother were not around, the two parties might be able to work out some way so that the incident could be passed over. Even after they had established themselves in different households, brothers were very careful to preserve appearances on behalf of the family. A man noticing that his brother's family did not have enough horses to go

159 go off and gather wild turnips, she went with some other old lady
574 from Bottomlands Village. Only if it were necessary once in a while,
would the three old ladies of the lodge go together to get a little wood
592 for fuel.

[887] Old ladies were great ones for visiting one another and talking over old times—about when they were young and when they got married, prepared buffalo robes and many other such reminiscences. Whenever Blue Calico came back from a visit to her own village, she would come in with stories of what was going on there. "That man went hunting and didn't bring home anything," she would say, or, "He brought some game—a deer."

156 Contrary to a common conception of tribal life, the personal inter-
571 relationships of the Pawnee were not fixed within a kin mold. For example, there was a marked difference in temperament between the two
602 wives of Old Bull, Queen Woman, the senior one, and Clear Day, the younger of the two. Two factors combined to make the approach to Otter of these two women different. Through a relatively distant kin line, the older wife Queen Woman counted as a sister, *itahi*, to Otter and accordingly their relationship was formal. As noted above (page 36), Queen Woman's two little boys regarded Otter as a mother's brother, *tiwatciriks*, and he treated them as nephew, *tiwat*. Under these conditions, the kind of joking Otter was encouraged to carry on with Clear Day was not in order. On the other hand, Queen Woman had another role as wife of Old Bull and consequently "wife" to Otter. Two conflicting roles presented themselves and the sister role was chosen. The likelihood is that this was an adjustment to Queen Woman's conservative temperament which tipped the balance in favor of the more formal of the two possible kinship categories. When people used to marry almost exclusively within the village, the wife of an uncle or of a brother was bound to be some sort of relative to the younger boy. This was apparently conveniently forgotten or raised as the circumstances happened to warrant.

Neither personal relations nor the personnel of the household were cramped within a fixed kin structure. The individual personality was not trimmed down to fit the kin structure, but the structure was used to realize the individual personality. The Pawnee social structure was written into no statute book, nor did it have the status of doctrine, and there was no chain of command to enforce it. Therefore it was not frozen and clamped onto the people, but carried implicitly by them to serve them as they saw fit. No built-in guilt, acting as a surrogate for dominant power, forced them to narrow the scope of their personal lives. They were socially creative in every personal interrelationship they had. The
602 world was raw and their life was hard, but it was also freer than ours.
626 No religious or supernatural sanction enforced the social forms. The only

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you)	539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.	
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)	

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tihi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562
fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the house-
hold routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [584]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 885
occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 525
ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de- [887]
velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521
[797]

> They were given to assembling in little groupes: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

> 571 and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and
> 521 often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque grouping
> and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for
> [551] a tall, slender person, ***asu-katu-has-tawiu*** ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of
> a shoe string), or ***karastiat*** ("I will not go out"); ***kusatsua*** ("it will rain").
> In reply, ***A*** ("well"), ***uksawatsatsua*** ("even if it were to rain"), ***kaiit***
> ("salt"); ***karas*** ("are you?").

857 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and
858 types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous
than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in
867 early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their
boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them
with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was
said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the
trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom
retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not
[601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small
group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term
[551] of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would
use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey,
etc.

883 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out
572 to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more
lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen
or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the
[726] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside
for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions
into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various
Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these
contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous
occasions.

533 Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the
song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the
[726] night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through
the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching.
Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs
that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do
not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns
the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two
young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting,
and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true
to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar,
[539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

533 539

sirawari i	They two who are traveling,
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a	Alone, they two who are traveling,
tsapat-i witiwaku	A young woman, it is said that she says:
sikatasiwaktiks-a	I wonder if they two are true (to each other).
tskara, siraawari-i-a-a-a-a-a	

883 572 554 539 883 572 554

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not uncommonly grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46-50) of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all, while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to induce boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some historical basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may work together for their future.

[829] [867]

571 574 [782] [276] [521]

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the mature Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured within the house even when only two were sitting together. First there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversation or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

571 plan was applied to any larger gathering as well as to more casual encoun-
574 ters. The seating was aways according to relative social status and the
[521] right of priority in conversation was always determined by rank. There
[554] was little room for simple, spontaneous, social contact in the life of a mature man. Except for the intimacies of marriage, there was no opportunity for easy conversation between mature men and women either. Missionary Dunbar (1881, pp. 745-746) describes the conduct of the men:

> 571 [The Pawnees] were . . . among themselves very sociable. With the men
> 574 there was apt to be perhaps, an excess of formality in their formal gather-
> 517 ings, but this is a natural consequence of their oft-recurring feasts and councils. It was quite common for several men in the evening to meet in some house where tobacco was to be had, and there sit smoking and recounting their exploits. One of the party kept up a monotonous thumping upon a drum. Another would dance for a while, make a speech, and sit down. Another would follow with the same role, etc. At certain seasons such gatherings were of nightly occurrence, lasting usually well-nigh till daylight.
>
> 571 Akin to this trait of storytelling, was their delight in discussion. They
> 537 were extravagantly fond of debating what might be termed questions of
> 623 general principle, often exhibiting considerable tact in their manner of sustaining an argument. Their principal efforts of this kind were reserved for public occasions, such as councils. It was impossible to attend a tribal council where any important matter was pending and not be impressed with the power and cogency of their eloquence. The reputation of being
> [554] an orator was coveted, and a man, when once recognized as such, was sure to wield great influence. An orator when addressing a council upon a question in which he was thoroughly interested, seemed to appreciate fully the dignity of his position, and identifying himself with the cause he advocated, and addressing himself directly to the person he was attempting to answer or convince, his speech would become vividly dramatic.

Tribal Fun and Games

609 Theoretically, friendships were best formed within one's own village
621 for beyond that was a kind of social "No-Man's Land." Sometimes,
[572] however, the wall of suspicion broke down, as in one story we heard related:

> 609 The members of the different bands didn't like each other as a rule.
> 621 We would say, "Don't bother with them (referring to people of another
> 539 village or band), they're mean."
>
> But some nice evening the Man-Going-Downstream Band and the Meat-Beggars would join the Little-Earth-Lodge Band and the children

the family. Hauling in the materials was a considerable task. The two 000
families were fortunate in having enough horses so that two could be 492
used to transport the seven radials over the six-mile journey in one day. 356
These radials were leaned outside the house against the roof until needed. It required a wagonload or four large double armfuls of the willow saplings to make the circuits. These had to be hauled in from Beaver Creek about a mile away, a task carried out by Old Bull and his wives.

With these materials in place, Victory Call went out prospecting for 356
thatch grass. He had to travel five miles southwest of the village near the 824
Loup River where the grass grew near the edge of the timber in a little hollow place with some sand hills. Nearer the villages, the horses had eaten it up. That night the women on the North Side, White Woman and the two grandmothers, sharpened up the edges of their buffalo shoulder-blade hoes so that they could cut the thatch grass next day. No Corn, Horse Rider's older wife, was crippled with arthritis and was unable to do that type of work. She remained at home and did necessary household chores. Meanwhile, the women on the South Side continued to provide the meals for all of them. Next morning the two men and three women went with their two horses to the grass patch. The women cut the grass and the men saw that it was properly piled up. The grass was gathered into five bunches, each 3 feet high, the layers being laid down, one layer with stub ends one way, the next layer with pointed ends in the same direction so that the bundle would be even in thickness. The grass was tied into tight bundles and loaded one on each side of the horse. The two horses were loaded, White Woman packing one of the bundles, and when they arrived home the grass bundles were placed next to the bundles of willow withes and weighted down with sticks so that they didn't scatter in the wind. The materials were now ready and they could arrange for the actual construction.

Arrangements were now made to move in with other families until the 356
roof was fixed. Old Bull spoke to their neighbor, Coming-Downhill- 574
Bringing-Trophies, whose house was located just across from theirs, and 476
Victory Call made arrangements with Chief's Road whose lodge was 571
right next door. There was a friendly relationship between the households of Victory Call and Chief's Road. Chief's Road had the social rank of commoner, but he was a very successful warrior and hoped that someday his ambition to be an administrative officer would be realized through his friendship with Victory Call. He hoped that should Victory Call become head chief of their village, he would select him as his official brave. He was the most skillful arrowmaker in the Skidi Band, and he often made arrows for Victory Call and rendered him many other services. Victory Call returned the courtesy with gifts of wood for fuel and portions of meat from his hunting. The children of the two lodges also played together. Chief's Road had the lodge with his brother, and

356 both their families lived there together and were glad to offer their hos-
476 pitality to Victory Call and to the North Side family.
574
571 The first step in the process of roof repair was demolition, the earth and thatch having to be removed. The North Side worked on its half and
356 the south side on the south half. There were seven women for removing
476 the earth on the north side. White Woman and the two grandmothers, two women from Chief's Road's household and two women who were the wives of White Woman's brother, Uncle War Cry. Uncle War Cry, as he was known to the boy Otter, was a frequent visitor to White Woman's house, often dropping in for meals, as was appropriate to their relationship. He was the head brave of the Skidi Band, assisting Eagle Chief. He was a huge man of brusque and forthright temperament as befitted his station as executive officer. Victory Call and all the others in
[571] the lodge liked him very much, and there was a very relaxed relationship between the two households. He had three wives and a large number of children from whom he often sought relief in White Woman's household. Now two of his wives came to help out, and he was also on hand to watch the proceedings.

From the South Side, Old Bull had four women available to do the work of removing the earth—his younger wife, Clear Day and her mother Blue Calico and two women from the household of Bringing
[164] Trophies where they were staying. His senior wife, Queen Woman, was unable to do this work as she was crippled with arthritis, a common affliction among the Pawnees. Each side had a number of important men who stood around and supervised the proceedings, giving advice to the women; it was beneath their dignity to climb up on the roof themselves. On Victory Call's side on the north stood, in addition to Uncle War Cry himself, his younger brother Brave Shield (also known as High Noon) who was a prominent member of the Skidi Doctor Association. Also present was the head of the association, Big Doctor, and their neighbor, Chief's Road at whose house they were staying.

On Old Bull's side stood Eagle Chief, head chief of the Skidi Band, White Eagle, another prominent Skidi Chief, Bringing Trophies, at whose house the family was staying, and Rider, who was keeper of the sacred bundle of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village.

Assistance with the work itself was given by a group of young men in their twenties who came as volunteers. They had varying social connections with the people involved. When Eagle Chief got home one evening, he remarked that they planned to fix up the roof at Victory Call's house. On hearing this his son, Man Chief, got together a group of young men and they were glad to go. As Mark Evarts remarked, "They didn't have to be told. They just did things willingly. Such people should not have to be asked. The older men would say, 'When I was a boy, I used to do such things without being asked,' meaning that one hears of some-

*224 492 178 From some of these accounts of the hunt without horses, it is clear that the social patterning of the buffalo hunt was probably quite ancient. Yet by 1867 horses had become a necessity for the hunt.

*224 492 *484 592 If a man had only one horse, only the man and one of his wives could go on the summer hunt. He would have to leave his other wife and all the children at home and any old people or other dependents. The couple that were going would pack their one horse with food and goods and join someone else's tent, taking just their covers along by way of household equipment. If a family had no horses at all, they could not go. Unmarried or widowed individuals who had no horses could join a household where they could work their way, simply getting their board and keep "for going." They would go on foot wearing a double blanket for their covers. It was said that they went "just to eat."

If a man had two horses, he would also be able to take only one wife along, leaving the rest of the family home. She would go along to process the meat.

*224 492 •571 There were some rough-and-ready characters who, even though they had two horses, would decide to go alone, leaving their wives behind. They were men who were not averse to doing all kinds of work, including the hunting and preparing the meat besides. Such a man would say to his wife, "You'll only be in my way." No insult was intended. For example, Mad Bear would team up with his friend Many People who had a small tent and two or three horses. Together they could bring back a [572] great deal of dried meat in this way. Two men of this kind were friends and equal partners. Sometimes two men would team up, one of whom was the senior buffalo hunter of the two. Then the more prominent hunter would ride the buffalo horse to the hunting grounds while his assistant rode the pack horse. During the chase the assistant stood back, holding the pack horse, while the hunter went after the buffalo. The assistant then helped him butcher and they packed the extra horse with the meat. The senior hunter rode the hunting horse back to the encampment and the assistant rode the pack horse on top of the meat. If they got two buffalo, both horses were packed with meat and they both rode on top.

*224 492 A man with two horses and no assistant could manage by riding the pack horse and leading the hunting horse by a rope. When he got to the herd, he hobbled the pack horse on the sidelines. When he got the buffalo, he rode over on his fast horse and led his pack horse to where the buffalo lay. Then he loaded the pack horse and led it by a rope, riding to the camp on his fast horse.

*224 492 422 426 The possession of three horses made it possible for a man to take his whole family along, while four horses made it possible to manage easily. Ordinarily he would not have a guest traveling with them, but if he did he would assign him one of the horses so that he could pack his things on

it. A man like Eagle Chief who had eight or nine horses and whose son-in-law 224*
had a similar number, could afford to lend two or three to outsiders, 492
although this did not mean they would also share in the family 422
tent, as his administrative functions required that he take his entire 426
family along.

In the Pawnee language, the word horse means "super-dog," the only 482
pack animal the Pawnees had before the impact of European culture. 492
With all due respect to the capacities of the dog, however, it was the people 177
themselves that did most of the carrying on their own backs. They 224*
had to pack not only the things they needed for camping—food, tents, and equipment—but they had to carry back the dried buffalo meat and the large hides. Every able-bodied person they took along with them could earn his way by carrying things on his back. The men, whether first-rate hunters or not, could play a useful role in the surround of the herd. The only people they would leave behind in the villages were the old and disabled. But the horse had made quite a difference in the social economy. A horse could be packed with the dried and packaged meat of four buffalo while a person could not carry more than one—about 80 pounds. If need be the horse could carry still more goods on his back. Unless they could be of substantial assistance in the work of the camp, a
person would only be an extra mouth to feed. In the case of a chief or 574
a man who was socially ambitious, there would be a great deal of entertaining 564
to do in the camp; women, in addition to their work in preparing 224*
the meat and skins would also assist with the entertaining. In a family 462
which had no social ambitions, like that of Mad Bear cited above, two 224*
men in partnership taking a minimum of housing and utensils and a 571•
maximum of horses could return with a great deal of buffalo meat and 492
hides, to the general benefit of their families. The wife left behind under these circumstances could hardly resent it.

The horse also represented a unique and highly valuable item of capital 551
that had the unprecedented value of not having to be carried, but of 231
moving itself. In the past, differences in wealth would depend on a much [556]
more direct kind of personal skill. The man who was swiftest on his feet and the most skilled with the bow and arrow got the best buffalo, and his wife could produce the finest packaged meat and the best skins. These in turn could be traded for other valuable things—valued ornaments or participation in the sacred ceremonies. Now skill in horsemanship, which had become an indispensable factor in hunting the buffalo, implied also major successes on the warpath and the capturing of horses as well as
their subsequent care and protection. The horse thus provided a material [556]
basis for a greater degree of social differentiation. The horse was an item [422]
of personal property, but unlike property in our society it was by no means as much of a factor in developing differential status as other aspects of experience, chiefly knowledge of man, the world, and the universe.

but he walked right through until he stood before the priest as he was 224 *
untying the bundle. The five priests were ranged at the west and he 156
went to the one in the middle and rubbed his hands on him in blessing 787
and then the others in turn and then whispered to the leading priest, "Untie it gently because in the north side of the bundle there is something." The priest understood and after all the bundles had been unwrapped, the four little mice were found alive in a nest inside one of them. "These are the ones I came for. I must go back now. She said they might be starving." He returned at once by the way he had come and on the evening of the fifth day, got to the village where the woman was sitting. "Here they are now," he said, and after she had fed them she said to him, "I am a woman and can take care of my children. I can get any food I want. Now I am going to predict for you, for I had my children in that bundle and it was only you who saw them, and because of that I have something to tell you. I am a woman and I don't have much power, but now everything you do will be successful. We mice are all over the world and we can talk to you anywhere." Her prediction came true and he became an important man. Sometimes two or three men might stay behind in the village after everyone had left on the hunt and catch up later. They would sit alone, scattered out in widely separated lodges. Sometimes they would have a vision.

By 1867 there was a class of Stay-at-Homes who were able to remain 224*
behind in comparative safety from attack because of the proximity of the 571 •
white town of Columbus, about 22 miles from the village. They would 248
set out from the villages with the others, traveling to the first stop on the Platte River and then part company and go toward the town. They were mainly men and women who were unmarried and unattached, though more rarely a couple or a whole family would have to remain because they did not have horses or because their arrangements for joining a tent had fallen through. In the past all of them that were able-bodied would have gone along, but now many more remained behind. For people who had no tent or no horses, going along would have meant attaching themselves to a family and receiving board and lodging in return for performing minor services. They felt they might be open to humiliation if someone seemed to be giving them orders or telling them to hurry with what they were doing. When plans were being made for leaving, a group of women in this position would get together and talk among themselves; "If I go I have to work for someone else. I'll have to haul wood and help the other women and they might not give me enough dry meat in return." Another would say, "That's what I think. It might be hot. And they might not get many buffalo." Some single men would congregate in a similar way and say, "I don't feel like going." "Look how far they have to go. I think what you say is right. We have legs and can get plenty of

*224
• 571 fresh meat by hunting deer and antelope right nearby. Let's go to Columbus."

[648] Near Columbus they were reasonably secure from Sioux attack and they would build a big lodge of tin or sheet iron, and a man and his wife who happened to stay would take over the direction of the party, while the others would assist, running it like a village household. They would run a common commissary and the men would go out hunting for antelope and deer while the women would supply the dry vegetables and cook the meals, alternating on the north and the south sides.

*224
883
[866] Once the seventeen-year-old son of White Eagle decided he didn't feel like coming along. "He might decide that it was a good thing for him to get used to being by himself. This was an idea that their grandfathers would inculcate into them saying, 'Now you're old enough to go on the warpath, be a horse thief, and be independent.' White Eagle tried to talk to him saying, 'Now we're going hunting. You come along.' 'No,' the boy said, 'I'm going over there to my uncle.' 'All right, if you want to, but now they're going to talk about me and say that White Eagle didn't take his boy.' 'Well, I'm going to stay with my uncle anyway.' So White Eagle would take a poor orphan boy who had been staying in his earth lodge along with him on the hunt instead of his recalcitrant son." It seems that adolescent protest was not unknown to the Pawnees. On the other
[593] hand, his father was in no position either to force him or to exert pressure for him to go. He was considered entirely within his rights to make his own decision.

*224 ages tied to the sides of the horses would get wet. Then the question
*484 was, "Was the water on the rise, or was it going down?" People said if it were warm on Pike's Peak in the Rockies, the water level would soon be low. In order to find out whether the river was rising or subsiding, the women would set up a stick in it; if the river was rising, it
[823] would soon be covered over, or vice versa if falling. They also knew that if the river was muddy soon after getting a bucket of clear water, it was rising. The men, on the other hand, were inclined to be more impulsive and didn't bother with such observations; they simply forded the river. If the river was rising, they would have to change their plan and continue west along the north bank of the Platte until it subsided. This time they were able to cross directly. The crossing was over the western end of Grand Island, the largest of the "sand-bar islands" in the Platte. In winter it was a good place to camp, but in summer it was full of mosquitoes. Grandma would have arrived long ago and gone onto the island to pick plums and grapes. The channel is wider and shallower on the north side of the island and deeper and narrower on the south side. The island itself is five or six miles wide.

*224 When they were ready to cross, some young men volunteers who were
*484 from eighteen to twenty years old would go ahead and stake out the path
883 with willow sticks to show where the deep holes were. If there was a
[237] steep sand bank on either side, they would chop at it with a buffalo
[412] shoulder blade and kick it down so that there would be a sloping path for the horses. Sometimes on the return journey in August the river bed would be dry, and in this way they came to know the best way to ford the river. A group of young men of this sort would volunteer for all sorts of services, including picket duty. They always carried their bows and arrows and were constantly on the alert to see if the enemy
• [571] were coming on the warpath. Sometimes as the years passed, they would continue in this way, remaining as a group even after they had become mature men. Such a group was that of Roaming Leader and his friends who had gone out on the buffalo-scouting expedition that day.

*224 When the line of march finally got across the river, they climbed ashore
*484 and up the first bank which was relatively steep and then the second bank that had a more gentle slope. They continued west along the high bank for about two miles until they came to the place where they planned to camp.

*224 By about four or four-thirty in the afternoon they were all encamped. A man was out taking care of his horses, and as he looked onto the horizon he happened to sight Roaming Leader and his party, silhouetted against the sky, coming over some sand hills about two miles off. From their outline against the sky, he could see that the horses were all bulging out with meat and the legs of the riders were sticking far out as they sat on top of the packs. As they rode he could also see the hides swing-

*224 Comanche Chief. Here War Cry, here's yours. Here Eagle Chief, here's your meat!"

*224 Sometimes this group of happy-go-lucky young men were unable to get
• 571 anything and then they would curse one another saying, "Why do we
578 have bad luck? It must be because of you!" One man called *Rawihu'u*, "The Go-Getter," which also means "Warpath," was their favorite scapegoat. It seemed as if he always did something at the wrong time to spoil things. As a man was about to shoot a buffalo, he would look over the man's shoulder and the buffalo would see him moving and run away. Once when they were stalking a deer, approaching on their bellies, Warpath coughed at the crucial moment and the deer ran off. One of the men said, "I wish I could shoot you." "I couldn't help it. I had to cough. My throat was dry," said Warpath.

*224 574 Some men went after antelope and took the meat home to their families. They would call in three or four of their more intimate friends to share it with them.

Such a man was Fearing-a-Bear, an able hunter and warrior, a mature man but a rough-and-ready type. He had little interest in social status and public affairs and when he was successful in his hunting he would say, "I'm tired. I think I'll just eat this up myself with my friends." He and his wife lived in a tent with his father, his sister, and her husband. Theoretically
[607] the brother-in-law should take care of them, but the brother-in-law
[606] in this case was from the Omaha tribe, and the father-in-law did not find it a very congenial arrangement. Relations between them were strained.

574 606 As they sat at dinner one night, as the host of the occasion, Fearing-a-Bear sat in the southeast position. Next to him sat his wife who was doing the cooking. On the other side of the entrance, in the northeast position, sat his father and beyond him on the north side the Omaha son-in-law. But the two women, Fearing-a-Bear's wife and his sister, were worried about this close proximity of the two hostile men and so the sister seated herself between her Omaha husband and her father. Ordinarily she would have sat at the east end beyond the two men. She had separated them, for trouble might arise, or the old man, being shaky, might accidentally spill some soup on his son-in-law and then there would be a flare-up. The adjustment they had made in seating arrangements, however, was very awkward for the hostess. She could not pass the food to the old man who was sitting on the end, as it was absolutely forbidden for a daughter-in-law to have any contact with her father-in-law. So she had to get up each time and give the food to her sister-in-law who was sitting between her Omaha husband and her father, in order to pass it to the men. Then the sister-in-law was in a dilemma. Should she serve her husband first or her father? Either way, she was bound to offend one or the other of them.

000 The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant

some dried meat that wouldn't fit into the rawhide containers, some 251
dried intestines folded up, and perhaps some clothing they wanted to
store.

The work of arranging the pit took a group of women in a household 251
from about ten in the morning until about three in the afternoon, with a 592
brief recess for lunch. There was no time in the household when the [461]
women were not fully aware of their capital in provisions and goods and
the rate at which they were using them. Practically every meal was a [264]
large-scale operation and portions were carefully calculated. The men [571]
had to be aware of this too as it was their major resource for public and
social relations. Except for horses, or perhaps even more important, the
main current capital they had was the preserved food. In the forthcoming
round of ceremonies, the doctors calculated with great care their
donations of meat and how they were going to apportion them.

It was in the light of a knowledge of the amounts they had produced 796
and accumulated, that the men now planned their forthcoming extensive
ceremony—the Grand Opera of the Doctors that would last for thirty
days and involve the feeding and the giving of gifts to a large corps of
performers and participants. For these ceremonies, the cooking and apportioning
was done by the errand men, *tarutsubus*, who were regularly
constituted officers of the societies, and the chiefs, priests, or doctors had
to keep exact account of the amount of food pledged and make their
plans according to what they could afford. The food was their most important
current capital for the support of their program.

While the implications of this great annual festival were certainly religious,
deliberate showmanship was not neglected and the production
was well planned and highly organized as such. It was remarked by the
informant that they waited until the harvest was entirely complete "as
they liked to have a good crowd."

753 some interpersonal hostility in the community whose source he would in-
754 variably find if he searched around for it.

578 The doctor on his part, helped restore a man's confidence while he was
756 sick, by bringing him the friendship of the animals who were entirely
outside the human community and to whom he could turn in his distress. This motivation can be seen in the vision of the poor boy, Small, whose position in the human community was threatening and insecure. It was in a council of the animals that he found justice for himself and understanding of his need. He also found, however, that some of his new-found animal friends had temperaments that were prevailingly vicious like the mole and the weasel, and this was a power from outside that he could turn against the human community at his desire. The doctor, therefore, in his knowledge of animals, had a kind of power for evil as well as
756 for good that no one else possessed. "The doctors are all witches. Each
one has a different way to witch as well as their other practice." Whether
754 he used this evil power depended upon the temperament of the doctor. As cited in connection with old doctor Angry Horse, "He never got sufficiently angry for that!" and so would never be using this part of his power, but the people suspected that the majority of the doctors gave way to temptation at times, particularly the most ambitious ones. The old doctors were especially suspect, of course.

578 Interpersonal hostility represented a serious threat to the Pawnee
626 community, particularly in its influential members. As there were no
554 formally organized codes of behavior or courts of justice among the
Pawnees, a person had no recourse in the face of personal threat except the expression of public opinion which was by no means readily forthcoming and also it was effective only within the existing social power structure. If possible, self-help was the wisest course. Behaille, in the face of the hostility of Old Bull toward his admission to the chiefs' council, used the method both of exposure and at the same time of mollification at a feast.

571 It was far more vital for the people of the Pawnee community to have
578 a clear estimate of the range of personalities with which they had to deal
829 in their daily lives than it is for those of us who live in larger polities. The
626 pressures between individuals were far more potent than they are in
groups where there is a larger and more complete political structure, for beyond the known range of personalities among the Pawnees, there was only the enemy. Interpersonal difficulties might or might not get some public reaction and beyond that there was no organized social machinery to which to appeal. In the social order, therefore, the attitudes, moods and inclinations of the individuals that composed it, were far more significant for the group well-being than in a larger polity, and people kept a closer watch on these personality factors than we are accustomed to doing. They knew where "the trouble spots" were likely to be in

571
terms of interpersonal hostilities and the specific temper of the people 578
involved. Only in these terms can we understand their sensitivity to 829
these hostilities and the prevalent fear of their personal social consequences. 626
The "witchcraft" atmosphere was a function of this situation.
The doctors brought to bear the idea that a person could have unfailing 756
personal allies in the animal community. Thus Old-Man-That-Chief in 626
practicing his performance for the next day's session of the Deer Dance, 829
addressed the bundle of chicken-hawk feathers that he was to make come alive in the ceremony. The bunch of feathers were lying tied up at the ends which pointed toward the fireplace, with the tips toward That-Chief. As he smoked he asked the feathers for their help, saying, "I want you to help me in every way. This is my son and my grandson," who were to assist him. By him sat his son, Herd-of-Horses, and his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, and he passed the pipe to them in turn and pointed the mouthpiece toward the feathers so that they might all smoke together.

Despite these psychological causes, the physical symptoms of illness 753
were correlated by the Pawnees directly with physical objects that had 754
been projected by sleight of hand into the body of the person. It was presumed that the doctor would hover about at night outside the dwelling of his intended victim and act as he did in the Doctor Lodge to send the
object into the person. "In the old days people slept with the covers [513]
drawn up over their heads so that should they open their mouths, no witch could put anything down into them this way."

The different deadly witch-missiles were thought to produce varying
physical symptoms. Uncomfortable and painful "movement" of the [755]
stomach was one important effect, and coughing up or vomiting was necessary for their cure.

The procedure for preparing such pellets was attested to by Roaming 754
Leader who said that he had inadvertently been an eyewitness to such a process.

> It was after sundown when one could barely see well and there stood That-Chief with his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, along with White Horse near a grave. They had dug it up and That-Chief was showing White Horse that one gets the tough skin of the heel of the corpse, lets it dry out flat, and then greases it with buffalo fat so that it can slide right in. Then it is wrapped up in buffalo wool and painted all over with red paint and tied up real tight and small with horse hair so that it approximates the size of a large capsule. "Then grease it well once more," he said. Now any time White Horse wanted to kill someone by witching, he knew what to do. He put the capsule in among the feathers of his eagle-wing fan, and while he was moving back and forth at the door after midnight doing his witching, he shook his fan so that the capsule flew through the air and into the victim's mouth.

In the village, it was a major leisure-time preoccupation of men of all ages. 526
Every village had one or two well-worn tracks. The gaming ground was 517
the place where men would meet informally to transact most of their so- 571
cial, commercial, and political business. The formality of entertaining at
home imposed more constraints and was commonly reserved for the
more advanced stages of negotiations.

The basic paraphernalia for the game comprised a long "spear" and a 526
hoop which was rolled down the long track and at which the spear was
aimed as the men ran alongside.

The smallest boys began with a plain hoop, *tawirus*, "wheel," made for them by their grandmothers. The wheel was made of a peeled ashwood stick formed into a ring and tied at the ends. It was then entirely wrapped with a rawhide string and greased with buffalo fat so that it would not harden. It is not clear whether the boys shot at the wheel with arrows as told in a myth, or simply threw a pole or "lance" at it.

The second grade for young men was played with a wheel of small
size—the *tawirus-pitku-sukita*, "wheel-two-upon." It is not clear whether
the basis of this wheel was of wood or several coils of rawhide as for the
succeeding grade. The base was completely wrapped with a strip of buck-
skin. The rings were supposed to represent a buffalo cow and were to be
made of the skin of the vulva of the buffalo. The fore end of the stick was
carved with a kind of knob to signify the penis of a buffalo. These as- 526
pects of the symbolism are recounted in a tale of how Coyote rescues a 773
maiden who has been captured by the buffalo and taken to their village
and turned into a gaming ring. In the course of the story, the play of the
game is described:

Coyote is sitting in the buffalo village as a spectator of the game at the north end of the gaming ground. The two buffalo now arise, one of them taking the ring. (The ground is about 60 paces long, 15 wide and runs in a north–south direction in the length.) The players begin to run at the south end and when they get to about the middle, the one holding the ring rolls it toward the north, releasing it from between his thumb and forefinger and changing his spear from his left to his right hand. The two players now aim simultaneously at the rolling hoop so that the spears glide along the ground and overtake it, the best score being made by catching the ring with one of the small hooks near the hand end of the spear. Other points were gained by hooking with the end of the stick one of the cross pieces near the handle end or the large hook. It often happened that the spear did not catch the hoop at all and then points were calculated by the position of the spear with relation to the hoop—measurements being taken with a straw by someone who acted as umpire.

When the two players have reached the north end of the grounds, they picked up the ring and the sticks and started for the south end, rolling the ring as before and throwing the spears to score. Each set of play-

Pawnee group against another tribe with whom they were friends 525
traditionally, or with whom they had recently established friendly 648
relations. Among those with whom the hand game was played by the 574
Skiri Pawnee in relatively recent times, one informant remembers participating in games with the Osage, Ponca and Omaha, Oto, Kiowa, and Arapaho. Friendly gaming relations are remembered with the Sac and Fox, but with them the moccasin game was played, not the hand game. The following narrative of a game between the Skiri Pawnee and the Kiowa, played in Oklahoma many years ago, probably before 1880, will make the procedure clear:

The story is told by Mark Evarts.

One time a large party of Skiri Pawnee were on a buffalo hunt. They were led by Bowchief. While they were out hunting, they came near to the place where the Kiowa were encamped, and went over to visit them. It was not an anticipated visit, so that the traditional forms of visiting were not involved.[1] The chief of the Kiowa was Bigbow.[2] Bowchief of the Skiri Pawnee and Bigbow of the Kiowa were friends.[3]

At the Kiowa encampment, the Skiri Pawnee danced their Crazy Dog Dance, led by Bowchief on horseback. He was the only mounted Skiri in the dance.[4] After the performance, the Kiowa gave [431] the Pawnee buffalo meat and buffalo hides.[5] Then the Pawnee left with these gifts and came home.

Two days later, in the afternoon, the Pawnee saw a party of Kiowa coming to visit them. They were received in friendly fashion, and they danced the Kiowa Crazy Dog Dance for the Pawnee. This time Bigbow led the dance, mounted. He was the only Kiowa on horseback. Bigbow, in the dance, called aloud his exploits on old warpaths. After the dance the Pawnee gave the [431] Kiowa calico and corn.[5] Then the Kiowa went home. The Pawnee hunters who had visited the Kiowa were all men. The Kiowa who returned the visit were mostly men: a few had wives with them.

---

[1] The traditional forms would have required sending a gift of tobacco in advance, and other formalities.

[2] otakáyot in Evarts' rendition of his Kiowa name.

[3] Inter-tribal friendship was a definite formalized relationship in former [572] times. It was of paramount importance, as through interlocking friendships tribes traditionally hostile to each other were drawn into peaceful relations.

[4] It is said that in the old form of the Crazy Dog Dance, a man mounted [554] indicated thereby that he had captured horses on a warpath.

[5] This giving away after the dancing is similar to the old forms of intertribal [703] visiting of friends, at which lavish giving away was done. In the above case the formal arrangements preceding the visits seem to have been omitted because it was a chance meeting.

Cheyenne camp early in the morning, and they fled. When I got 525
into the Cheyenne camp I took blankets and other things away 574
from them." The Pawnee sing and dance only one song, because 648
it is late and cold, and the Pawnee have a long way to go to return home after the game. They want to hurry, and play quickly. Should the Kiowa win a game, they would dance their Crazy Dog Dance to the songs of their society and their leader would rise to recite an exploit, holding the Pawnee pipe. But the Pawnee when they dance, do not carry the pipe they have brought.[1] On this occasion, the Kiowa did not win, and had no chance to dance carrying the pipe.

Wagers were made for a second game, the Kiowa betting against their losings. Again the Pawnee won. Again they sang a Crazy Dog Dance song, and another Pawnee recited a war exploit.

In the third game Knifechief rose and sprinkled ashes to hide the tracks, and the Kiowa guesser searched for the trail.

The Pawnee won three straight games, and that was all they played. There was no fighting over the bones in these games: that was only the way that small boys played.

Knifechief rose. He said, "Now my brother, I beat you. That's all. We're going home." All the Skiri took up their winnings and started for home.

While the game had been going on, Mark and David had found time to eat up the meat they had received so that no one could ask for some. They managed to finish it by the time the game was over.

On the way home, one of the Skiri who was a friend of Mark's [572
gave him a pair of leggings he had just won. Mark says that 431]
because of the good fortune of the Pawnee that night he believed the Pawnee would always have good luck in hand games, but subsequently he found out he had been mistaken. In later games they often lost.

---

[1] Carrying the pipe while counting coup was correct only if the reciter [703
had carried a pipe at the time of the exploit. This meant essentially that
he had been the leader of a war party. If the exploit had occurred when no [554]
pipe was carried, he could count coup, but without holding the pipe. In the
above narrative the special significance of the distinction drawn between [727]
the right of the Kiowa leader to carry the pipe, and the Pawnee lack of
that right, is that it represents dramatically the fact that for generations 721]
past, as a result of their treaties, which the Pawnee held sacred, few if any war parties had been sent out ceremonially by the Pawnee. War exploits during the Nineteenth Century were limited essentially to defensive tactics, or to fighting as members of the United States army (see Chapter I).

came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui 764
priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was 778
very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if
he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the
pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of 572
friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particu- 888
larly to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally 159
claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age.
They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the
Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the 562
priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the 834
Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until [291]
well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the [515]
lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no [521]
subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

was in the field of religion. It was he who built up the cult of the Deer 159
Dance (*Raris-ta*, "dance-deer"). Taking it over from his predecessor who 575
had obtained it by studying among the Wichita to the south, Victory
Call was largely responsible for its reorganization into the Pawnee religious 794
style and for the wide popularity it enjoyed at that time. He had built it up to such a degree that it posed a serious challenge to the monopoly of the long-established Doctor Association, where heretofore all the medicine cults had been organized. The association was under the leadership of Big Doctor and Sitting Hawk; Victory Call's older brother had a prominent place in it as leader of the Bear Cult. The rivalry between Big Doctor and Victory Call was bitter as some young men began to move over from the association to join the Deer Dance. In his dying moments in the 1860's, Victory Call saw a vision of Big Doctor upon whose sorcery he blamed his sickness and his death. The cult lasted under new leadership for a while, but after the tribe got to Oklahoma in 1876, its popularity continued to decline, while the Doctor Association maintained its vigor some time longer. Victory Call was also a skilled rattlesnake [424]
doctor and he was able to make a trade with his brother Sitting Hawk for knowledge of the Bear Cult in return for Rattlesnake knowledge. Victory Call's retainer, Horse Rider, had come to serve him in his household in the hope that Victory Call might give him a place in the Deer Dance and perhaps share other cult knowledge with him.

Victory Call had a friend, Chief's Road (*raru-hatur-risaru*, "the one that 159
is-road-chief"), whose name implied that he was going on the road
which he hoped would lead to chieftainship. Chief's Road had no heredi- 557
tary social status, but he was ambitious for administrative advancement. 572
He hoped that if Victory Call gained first place in the chiefs' council, he would appoint him his official brave. This was possible as when a chief retired or died, the new chief did not carry over the former incumbent, but appointed his own brave to assist him. Chief's Road was an excellent arrowshaft maker and supplied Victory Call with all his needs. On the other hand, he was not too good at acquiring horses, and Victory Call often helped him out by giving him some of their wood and other household needs that were more easily acquired when one had horses for transportation. He had built his house immediately adjoining Victory Call's lodge, and there were generally friendly relations between the two households; their children played together.

As a provider for his family, Victory Call was an accomplished hunter, 159
both of individual big game and as a leading member of the tribal buffalo 622
hunt. He also managed to make some extra cash by trapping beaver. He had some income from gifts he received for his religious activities and he maintained a modest herd of four or five horses. He was a good and able husband and father, inclined at times to be somewhat solemn and a little pompous, though not overbearing. He was about sixty years old at the

4

PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: III

000

Personal Relationships beyond Kin Ties—Love between Men and Women—Friendships of Girls to Girls, Women to Women, Boys to Boys, and Men to Men—Friendly Interband Kicking Match—the Pawnee Personality Compared with Our Own—Our Loneliness

Love and Friendship

831 • 572 [602] THE EMOTIONAL LIFE of the Pawnee was not channeled exclusively through kinship categories, but the concepts of love and friendship for their own sake were well recognized. They had a song that stated: "If even worms are inclined to be in love with one another, how can we expect people not to do so?" The statement was starkly simple and left the implication to be understood. It said:

539 831

tsasiri pirus	Even worms
he	(Pause indicating a comma)
witi-tirak-tap-piriburu	each other-they them-love.

Their love songs were also in a similar vein, nakedly literal and entirely free of metaphor.

A man sings:

1.	*tsapat tiwakubu*	Woman she is saying,
2.	*wetatatsikrta*	Now I love you,

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you) 539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.
5.	*biru bira bai ira'*	(Sung syllables)

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku biru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa biru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tibi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562
fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the house-
hold routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile [521]
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [684]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 885
occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 525
ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de- [887]
velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521
[797]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

571 and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque group- 521 ing and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for [551] a tall, slender person, *aru-katu-has-tawiu* ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of a shoe string), or *karastiat* ("I will not go out"); *kusatsua* ("it will rain"). In reply, *A* ("well"), *uksawatsatsua* ("even if it were to rain"), *kaiit* ("salt"); *karas* ("are you?").

857 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous 858 than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in 867 early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not [601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term [551] of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey, etc.

883 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out 572 to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the [726] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous occasions.

533 Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the [726] night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching. Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting, and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar, [539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

sirawari i	They two who are traveling,	533
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a	Alone, they two who are traveling,	539
tsapat-i witiwaku	A young woman, it is said that she says:	
sikatasiwaktiks-a	I wonder if they two are true (to each other).	
tskara, siraawari-i-a-a-a-a-a		

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their 883
parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not uncommonly 572
grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, 554
a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally
from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46-50) 539
of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of 883
wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the 572
son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys 554
liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all, while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys
a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to induce [829]
boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some historical [867]
basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the mature 571
Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured 574
within the house even when only two were sitting together. First
there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the [782]
pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversation [276]
or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a [521]
woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

571 plan was applied to any larger gathering as well as to more casual encoun-
574 ters. The seating was aways according to relative social status and the
[521] right of priority in conversation was always determined by rank. There
was little room for simple, spontaneous, social contact in the life of a
[554] mature man. Except for the intimacies of marriage, there was no opportunity for easy conversation between mature men and women either. Missionary Dunbar (1881, pp. 745-746) describes the conduct of the men:

> 571
> 574
> 517
> [The Pawnees] were . . . among themselves very sociable. With the men there was apt to be perhaps, an excess of formality in their formal gatherings, but this is a natural consequence of their oft-recurring feasts and councils. It was quite common for several men in the evening to meet in some house where tobacco was to be had, and there sit smoking and recounting their exploits. One of the party kept up a monotonous thumping upon a drum. Another would dance for a while, make a speech, and sit down. Another would follow with the same role, etc. At certain seasons such gatherings were of nightly occurrence, lasting usually well-nigh till daylight.
>
> 571
> 537
> 623
> Akin to this trait of storytelling, was their delight in discussion. They were extravagantly fond of debating what might be termed questions of general principle, often exhibiting considerable tact in their manner of sustaining an argument. Their principal efforts of this kind were reserved for public occasions, such as councils. It was impossible to attend a tribal council where any important matter was pending and not be impressed with the power and cogency of their eloquence. The reputation of being
> [554] an orator was coveted, and a man, when once recognized as such, was sure to wield great influence. An orator when addressing a council upon a question in which he was thoroughly interested, seemed to appreciate fully the dignity of his position, and identifying himself with the cause he advocated, and addressing himself directly to the person he was attempting to answer or convince, his speech would become vividly dramatic.

Tribal Fun and Games

609 Theoretically, friendships were best formed within one's own village
621 for beyond that was a kind of social "No-Man's Land." Sometimes,
[572] however, the wall of suspicion broke down, as in one story we heard related:

> 609
> 621
> 539
> The members of the different bands didn't like each other as a rule. We would say, "Don't bother with them (referring to people of another village or band), they're mean."
>
> But some nice evening the Man-Going-Downstream Band and the Meat-Beggars would join the Little-Earth-Lodge Band and the children

*224 492 178 From some of these accounts of the hunt without horses, it is clear that the social patterning of the buffalo hunt was probably quite ancient. Yet by 1867 horses had become a necessity for the hunt.

*224 492 *484 592 If a man had only one horse, only the man and one of his wives could go on the summer hunt. He would have to leave his other wife and all the children at home and any old people or other dependents. The couple that were going would pack their one horse with food and goods and join someone else's tent, taking just their covers along by way of household equipment. If a family had no horses at all, they could not go. Unmarried or widowed individuals who had no horses could join a household where they could work their way, simply getting their board and keep "for going." They would go on foot wearing a double blanket for their covers. It was said that they went "just to eat."

If a man had two horses, he would also be able to take only one wife along, leaving the rest of the family home. She would go along to process the meat.

*224 492 571 There were some rough-and-ready characters who, even though they had two horses, would decide to go alone, leaving their wives behind. They were men who were not averse to doing all kinds of work, including the hunting and preparing the meat besides. Such a man would say to his wife, "You'll only be in my way." No insult was intended. For example, Mad Bear would team up with his friend Many People who had a small tent and two or three horses. Together they could bring back a
• [572] great deal of dried meat in this way. Two men of this kind were friends and equal partners. Sometimes two men would team up, one of whom was the senior buffalo hunter of the two. Then the more prominent hunter would ride the buffalo horse to the hunting grounds while his assistant rode the pack horse. During the chase the assistant stood back, holding the pack horse, while the hunter went after the buffalo. The assistant then helped him butcher and they packed the extra horse with the meat. The senior hunter rode the hunting horse back to the encampment and the assistant rode the pack horse on top of the meat. If they got two buffalo, both horses were packed with meat and they both rode on top.

*224 492 A man with two horses and no assistant could manage by riding the pack horse and leading the hunting horse by a rope. When he got to the herd, he hobbled the pack horse on the sidelines. When he got the buffalo, he rode over on his fast horse and led his pack horse to where the buffalo lay. Then he loaded the pack horse and led it by a rope, riding to the camp on his fast horse.

*224 492 422 426 The possession of three horses made it possible for a man to take his whole family along, while four horses made it possible to manage easily. Ordinarily he would not have a guest traveling with them, but if he did he would assign him one of the horses so that he could pack his things on

*224
*484
In Camp 5 that night, when the crier was calling out their next day's itinerary, Roaming Leader was on his way to hobble his horses when he met his friend Running Scout. He said, "I have it in mind that we could go far south to the Republican river to see if there are some buffalo there. This time of year the bulls always stand over there. What do you think?"

"That's just what I've been thinking about. I'd certainly like to do something like that."

"I've got to hobble my horses right now," said Roaming Leader, "but if you see Mad Bear, tell him to come to my tent and we'll talk it over—also New Young Dog and Wants-the-Enemy. About sundown, you people must come to my tent."

[572]
[578]
These five men had grown up as a group of friends since they were boys. They used to meet when they took the horses to pasture while they were very young. Some of these groups would break up after marriage, if a man's wife tended to disapprove or if he was jealous and afraid that his friends might try to share his wife's sexual favors. But in this case the group had stuck together and had many adventures together. Roaming Leader, between forty and fifty years old, was the leader of the group and tended to take the initiative. At this time they came to his tent for supper where his wife had prepared a meal of corn, bread, and coffee. After the meal, Roaming Leader asked them to wait while he went to see White Eagle to ask his permission for their expedition. After his return they would continue with their plans.

When Roaming Leader arrived at White Eagle's tent, he found that the errand man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band was also there. He had come on the same errand, as there was a group of men in each of the other three bands that wanted to go south next morning and try their luck at locating the buffalo. After some discussion, White Eagle granted permission, and they talked about how they would coordinate the activities of these four scouting parties. It was planned that they were to fan out in different directions so that they could make a survey of the country and they would get some idea of where the herds might be. Each party had a different assignment.

[252]
[262]
After the Little-Earth-Lodge Band envoy had left, White Eagle inquired of Roaming Leader who would be in his party. When he mentioned who they were, White Eagle commented that they were a good bunch. He wished him good luck and said, "Don't forget the *kawis*." This was a sort of sausage they made by washing the intestine and turning it inside out and putting a long piece of buffalo meat inside with a little water and tying it at both ends. The *kawis* could then be boiled in water or, if the hunter were alone, broiled over the fire. It was a favorite delicacy that could only be made of fresh intestine and White Eagle's remark was a reminder for Roaming Leader to be sure to bring the intestines home.

64

POSTSCRIPT INTO THE PRESENT

000 *The Modern Pawnee—Otter's Later Life—the Arrival in Oklahoma—the Fate of Otter's Family and Friends—His Marriage—the Modern Day Pawnee Powwow*

177 463 SOME MIGHT WONDER how the modern Pawnees came into being, seeing that they are thoroughly integrated citizens of the present United States, many of them living as residents of various urban centers. The Pawnees count among their numbers teachers, artisans, business managers, engineers, journalists, artists, nurses, social workers, professional entertainers, and one former Big League baseball player.

159 761 754 Perhaps the fate of some of the principal characters I have mentioned offers a good means of illustrating the process of transition. The boy, Otter, is a good case in point. When he was about seven years old his father, Victory Call, died. He felt he had been bewitched by his anxious rival in the religious field, Big Doctor, leader of the Doctor Association, whose hegemony the success of Victory Call's Deer Dance cult was challenging. In his dying vision, Victory Call saw a man with an eagle-wing fan before his face that he positively identified as Big Doctor.

159 736 [572] White Woman, Grandma, and the boy were given a home by Uncle War Cry in whose house they settled, taking a subordinate position near its eastern end. The old house was left to the other inhabitants. The boy was warned to break off all relationships with his old friends who might insult him with mention of the fact that he had no father. His mother kept him close to the house. He tried to get acquainted with some of the children nearby, but he found it hard.

159 587 Two years later, Shot Arm, a brave of Lone Chief's Village-across-a-Ridge, came and sued for his mother's hand. Shot Arm approached War Cry and said, "Victory Call was my uncle and he has a son here. He is as my own son and I'd like to raise him." Finally he was told to speak to

White Woman and after pleading his cause with her, Shot Arm came 159
to live with them. The boy was told that "his father" had come. When 587
he demurred and said that he thought Victory Call was his father, he was quieted. Shot Arm gave him gifts and did his best to father him. White Woman had had some reservations as Shot Arm already had a wife, but he convinced her that he was determined to part from the other woman in any event. Later there were recriminations from this quarter.

Once on the winter hunt, Shot Arm was invited to bring his new 159
family to live in the household of White Eagle. He had been formally 587
invited by "his two old mothers" who were the official owners of the 591
house. In their new home the family occupied a place at the west and had [572]
status and Otter had new friends—David Gillingham, son of White Eagle, and the two brothers, Luther and Andy Coons.

In the Sioux massacre of 1873 during the summer hunt, when from 60 159
to 120 Pawnees lost their lives while butchering their kill in a canyon 175
near Trenton, Nebraska, Otter and White Woman were guided to safety 721
through the Sioux lines by a young warrior at the request of Mad Bear.

Finally the Pawnees moved to Oklahoma in three contingents. White 167
Eagle went with the first group, while Shot Arm and his family were true 159
to the faction of Lone Chief who wanted to remain on their old land and stayed to the last. The two old ladies who owned White Eagle's
earth lodge gave over the pillars and materials to Shot Arm who set up [342]
a hexagonal frame of six forked pillars and no outer sod collar or wall, so that they had a high pointed lodge to live in.

When the last group decided to go, the government assigned them ten 167
wagons for the poor people who had no horses for transport, and some 159
beeves to be killed every Saturday for their food. 648 484

In Oklahoma, the three contingents had set up three earth-lodge
villages in different locations. Lone Chief set up one on the Arkansas River 167
three or four miles this side of Ralston where there was a ferryboat. 159
White Eagle built a log house on top of a hill near the big pond west of the 361
present town of Pawnee, with the earth lodges of his following on the east side of the hill toward the pond. Half a mile east of the agency, Misery and his father-in-law Comanche Chief, along with War Cry, were the leading spirits of another log-house village.

Shot Arm, who had become agency policeman, settled his family in a 159
tent near the school. All winter they lived in the tent. Then in spring, 763
April 1876, without any outward sign of illness, White Woman died. [625]
She asked to have her grandchild brought to her and then spoke to its [342]
mother, telling her that she was bidding them farewell and that she should take good care of the child. And so she fell asleep and never awakened.

Victory Call's former retainer, Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn, 159
were living in a frame house with No Corn's oldest daughter. The girl 591
had married a man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band known as Abraham

668 that a suggestion of the Wichita was in part responsible for Mrs.
796 Washington's determination to organize the Ghost-Dancing with
regular singers while the Wichita were present.

533 Frank White died in 1893, and he is known to have been alive at the time Mrs. Washington inaugurated these developments, which places the time of the first Seven Eagle Brothers as sometime in late 1892 or early 1893.

As one informant describes Mrs. Washington's activities: "When
668 they used to dance among the South Bands, all would go there,
792 and while the dancing went on, old Mrs. Washington fell in a trance.
796 She found out something about the Seven Brothers, but not
everything right away. Afterwards, every time she fell she would
787 see something about the Seven Brothers.[1] The spirit told her to go ahead and put up the Seven Brothers. She used to have her own cattle. Once when they came home from the dancing, she was told that when she got home she should put up the Seven Brothers at a dance. So she killed her own beef, and put up the dance, and they told her how to go, everything, the smoke and all."

Mrs. Washington put up a special feast. She asked the chiefs and these seven men to be present, as well as others. Each of the seven sat on the south side with the eagle feather given him by Knifechief stuck into the ground before him. Along the north side were congregated the "crow" people, including those who played as "crows" in the hand games, as well as the men who later were organized into the Seven Crows; while along the south side the "eagle" people sat. As yet, however, there was no "crow" organization: the "crows" were merely an amorphous group who played the hand game together, and who had this affiliation because of Ghost Dance experiences.

Mrs. Washington stood at the doorway of the tipi. Up to this time she had been learning. Now she spoke, "Now, I want to tell you what I have in mind. We are going to have a Ghost Dance. A spirit told me to do it. I am going to do it today. These Seven Brothers are going to take the lead for us, and we're going to call them Fathers. Now I want you chiefs to decide when we should begin the dance."

Then the chiefs talked together and decided and one announced,
527 "Let us move the camp and all come together on the third day."
574 This inaugural feast was not a ceremonial affair. After the decision of the chiefs was announced all those present partook of the feast provided by Mrs. Washington; this concluded the occasion

---

[114] [1] This "serial story" form of learning in visions is the sort of thing about Mrs. Washington's claims that Carrion resented; see above.

for most. Some sat about a while longer, however, and sang Ghost Dance songs. 527 574

This introductory or inaugural feast at which a decision is made as to the time for a regular ceremony, is a fundamental Pawnee pattern. Such feasts precede the actual performance of doctor dances and ceremonies, society gatherings and performances, and many other ritual activities. In all such cases the pattern is the same. An individual man or woman "puts up" the feast for the gathering, and obtains as a result certain definite rights of proprietorship over the actual ceremonial occasion which is to follow[1]. [424] This "host" invites leading men such as chiefs to be present, and requests selected ones to come to a decision as to the time for the performance itself.

After this feast-gathering had broken up, the people got ready for the actual dance. Three days were allowed for moving into camp because the people lived scattered over a large area, and had to come in wagons and on horseback. They needed time to arrange things at home so they could be absent for more than a week, to pack, and to come. After all had gathered, at least three more days intervened before the dance proper began, so that the preparation of food, wood, and all other necessary things could be finished. Once it is begun, the dance must not be interrupted by such labors.

Mrs. Washington must be the first to move officially into camp. The chief who finally set the date for the gathering inquired if she was ready, and after she had said yes, and moved her tent, others would begin to follow her into the camping place.

For the dance the tipis and tents were set up in a half circle from south to north around the west. There was no special order of tipis. In the center a space thirty to forty feet in diameter was cleared of grass. Here the dancing began, but as more and more people joined in and the circle of dancers expanded, it would be pushed back beyond the edge of the cleared space onto the grass. The cleared space alone, however, was considered the sacred dancing ground. 361 796 668

One large tipi was set up west of the cleared ground at a distance of thirty feet, its doorway facing east. This was the tent used by the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Washington and other leaders. [346]

---

[1] Neither vision nor vow is essential in all cases to give an individual the right to "put up" a ritual affair. It is sufficient in most cases among the Pawnee that an individual wants to do so, either because he or she wants to secure thereby whatever benefits in health, luck and prosperity accrue from the performance (and particularly to the one who has "put it up") or because he or she wants to see the ritual demonstrated and learn something about it, or both.

VI.

THE OLD PAWNEE HAND GAME[1]

When the Pawnee lived in Nebraska, and for some time after they removed to Oklahoma, the hand game kept its traditional place in Pawnee life as a gambling game. It was a game for men only, and primarily an adults' game; the women did not participate and were not supposed to come near where the men were playing. The game was conceived as a warpath, and so dramatized: and warpaths for the Pawnee were activities excluding the participation of women. The men's game was usually a contest between two Pawnee bands, in which one would visit the other for the express purpose of playing a hand game and gambling on the result. Small boys, in imitation of their elders, would play hand games and gamble. And in the same way that one Pawnee band visited another to challenge them to play the hand game, men of one Pawnee band would visit a tribe with whom they were on friendly terms for a hand-game contest. For the most part, it was a game for the younger men; maturer men, like chiefs and braves, usually did not gamble. 525 [562] [574] [885]

The three old types of play will be more lucid from short narratives[2]:

THE BOYS' HAND GAME

When small boys played a hand game, it came about as part of their play around the village. Some group of boys would decide to play the way their elders did, and as many or as few as there were, 525 857

---

[1] The old Pawnee gambling hand game has not heretofore been described. Culin, in his monographic treatment of Games of the North American Indians, quotes, p. 276, on Pawnee a passage from G. B. Grinnell, Story of the Indian, p. 27. The description of the method of play in the passage differs fundamentally from that herein reported. Examination shows that the quoted passage is a generalized description by Grinnell of the hand game among Indian tribes of the Plains. No reference suggests that he intended it as a description of play among the Pawnee. Culin was no doubt misled by the fact that, following the passage quoted, Grinnell tells the story of a game between Pawnee and Cheyenne scouts in the army, in which a Cheyenne was caught cheating; but in recounting this episode Grinnell does not describe the form of play. Grinnell was familiar with the game among more than eight tribes, and was probably not overconcerned in a popular treatment with the local tribal variations in play. [114]

[2] As told by Mark Evarts; somewhat edited.

525 The host side starting the play, the guest side initiating the guessing.

The visitors bringing a pipe smoked only by the hosts.

As to the alignment of the sides:

There is no such thing in these games as hereditary or traditional
525 sides.[1] The Kitkahaxki^x came from the west and occupied the west
621 half of the circle, the head end being at the north. Original geo-
619 graphical band arrangements in Oklahoma may be indicated as
823 follows:

N
Skiri
W Tcawi E
Kitkahaxki^x
Pitahawirat^a
S

These geographical positions would determine the arrangement of the hand game play. A division into east and west sides meant the head end was the north; a division into north and south sides meant the head end was the west. Pitahawirat^a against Kitkahaxki^x would put the Kitkahaxki^x on the north, the Pitahawirat^a on the south, with the leaders and tally sticks at the west. The other bands would have divisions into east and west sides with the leaders and sticks at the north.

In Nebraska the arrangement also follows geographical locations, but these were different:

N
W Skiri Kitkahaxki^x Tcawi Pitahawirat^a E
S

In Nebraska all games would have an east-west division of sides with the head end at the north. A game played in Nebraska between the same two bands as above, the Kitkahaxki^x visiting the Skiri would put the Skiri on the west, the Kitkahaxki^x on the east (the exact opposite of what was played in Oklahoma) with the tally sticks and leaders at the north.

Such were the arrangements and characteristics of games played by one Pawnee band against another.

THE INTER-TRIBAL HAND GAME

525 In earlier days, before the Pawnee were removed to Oklahoma,
648 and for some time thereafter, the hand game was a contest, not only
574 between the bands ofthe Pawnee, but a contest played by any

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

Pawnee group against another tribe with whom they were friends 525
traditionally, or with whom they had recently established friendly 648
relations. Among those with whom the hand game was played by the 574
Skiri Pawnee in relatively recent times, one informant remembers participating in games with the Osage, Ponca and Omaha, Oto, Kiowa, and Arapaho. Friendly gaming relations are remembered with the Sac and Fox, but with them the moccasin game was played, not the hand game. The following narrative of a game between the Skiri Pawnee and the Kiowa, played in Oklahoma many years ago, probably before 1880, will make the procedure clear:

The story is told by Mark Evarts.

One time a large party of Skiri Pawnee were on a buffalo hunt. They were led by Bowchief. While they were out hunting, they came near to the place where the Kiowa were encamped, and went over to visit them. It was not an anticipated visit, so that the traditional forms of visiting were not involved.[1] The chief of the Kiowa was Bigbow.[2] Bowchief of the Skiri Pawnee and Bigbow of the Kiowa were friends.[3]

At the Kiowa encampment, the Skiri Pawnee danced their Crazy Dog Dance, led by Bowchief on horseback. He was the only mounted Skiri in the dance.[4] After the performance, the Kiowa gave [431]
the Pawnee buffalo meat and buffalo hides.[5] Then the Pawnee left with these gifts and came home.

Two days later, in the afternoon, the Pawnee saw a party of Kiowa coming to visit them. They were received in friendly fashion, and they danced the Kiowa Crazy Dog Dance for the Pawnee. This time Bigbow led the dance, mounted. He was the only Kiowa on horseback. Bigbow, in the dance, called aloud his exploits on old warpaths. After the dance the Pawnee gave the [431]
Kiowa calico and corn.[5] Then the Kiowa went home. The Pawnee hunters who had visited the Kiowa were all men. The Kiowa who returned the visit were mostly men: a few had wives with them.

---

[1] The traditional forms would have required sending a gift of tobacco in advance, and other formalities.

[2] otakáyot in Evarts' rendition of his Kiowa name.

[3] Inter-tribal friendship was a definite formalized relationship in former [572]
times. It was of paramount importance, as through interlocking friendships tribes traditionally hostile to each other were drawn into peaceful relations.

[4] It is said that in the old form of the Crazy Dog Dance, a man mounted [554]
indicated thereby that he had captured horses on a warpath.

[5] This giving away after the dancing is similar to the old forms of intertribal [703]
visiting of friends, at which lavish giving away was done. In the above case the formal arrangements preceding the visits seem to have been omitted because it was a chance meeting.

525 While the Kiowa were visiting the Pawnee, some Skiri youths
● 574 thought of visiting the Kiowa to play a hand game against them.
648 They decided to go over to challenge the Kiowa the day after the Kiowa went home. Mark was with them and became exited about the anticipated hand game. His father was sick, but he paid very little attention because his head was full of the hand game and he wanted to go.

The Kiowa were then camping about two miles from the Pawnee. Late in the afternoon, the day after the Kiowa had gone, Mark saw men gathering at the edge of camp. They were ready to go; they had bundles of things with them to bet. When Mark stepped out
[593] of the lodge, these youths motioned to him to come on. So he forgot all about how sick his father was inside, and went. He persuaded himself that his father wasn't very sick anyhow.

The whole party went on foot, carrying their stakes. There were twenty-five or thirty in the group. They took no horses to ride because all who were going wanted to play, which would leave no one to take care of the horses. Some mean fellows among the Kiowa might steal some. And if they had horses with them they might be tempted to wager them and lose the horses.[1]

After dark they reached the Kiowa camp. They were directed to the chief's tent. Knifechief, leading the Skiri party, carried a pipe, already filled with tobacco. Knifechief and a few others went into the chief's tipi. From outside Mark heard a Kiowa in the tipi call, "hɑkahi"—"all right, that's good."

This was in December. It was very cold, and outside the men waiting wanted to get into tents to warm up. David Gillingham, Mark's chum, went with Mark into one tent. A Kiowa man sitting at the west called out a welcome, hɑkahi. From the south side, where she had been sitting, his wife rose and spread a blanket for the two visitors on the north side of the tipi close up to the west
[276 where the Kiowa was sitting. She put two pillows on it. David and Mark sat down there. The Kiowa filled a black pipe and gave
788] it to David to smoke. Mark nudged David and whispered to him that he should not make any gestures with the pipe. Both knew that the Kiowa had special ways and motions in using their pipes; Mark was afraid David would try them and make a mistake. He knew David was a great show-off. The Kiowa pipe-smoking was very complicated. David nudged Mark back and told him to keep quiet. David wanted to show off, so he made some motions
[481] with the pipe, imitating Kiowa motions he had seen somewhere.

---

[726] [1] Incidentally, the Pawnee warparty always travelled on foot, with the object of returning riding captured horses.

The Kiowa watched him with astonishment. Then David handed 525
the pipe to Mark, who took it and smoked it quietly and without 648
ceremony. When it was handed back to the Kiowa he made several 574
gestures with it before he put it down. Then his wife picked up a bowl of pounded meat which was on the south side, brought it over and placed it before them. Mark tried to make David talk to their Kiowa host in sign language to keep David's hands busy. Meanwhile Mark ate as fast as he could. Then the woman took a kettle, put dried meat and fat in it, and hung it over the fire suspended from a horizontal bar across two forked uprights.

When the meat was cooked the boys were given meat and fat to eat, and soup to drink. David told Mark not to eat so fast. While they were eating and drinking, outside a Kiowa was heard shouting. When he heard the announcement, their Kiowa host grunted. He

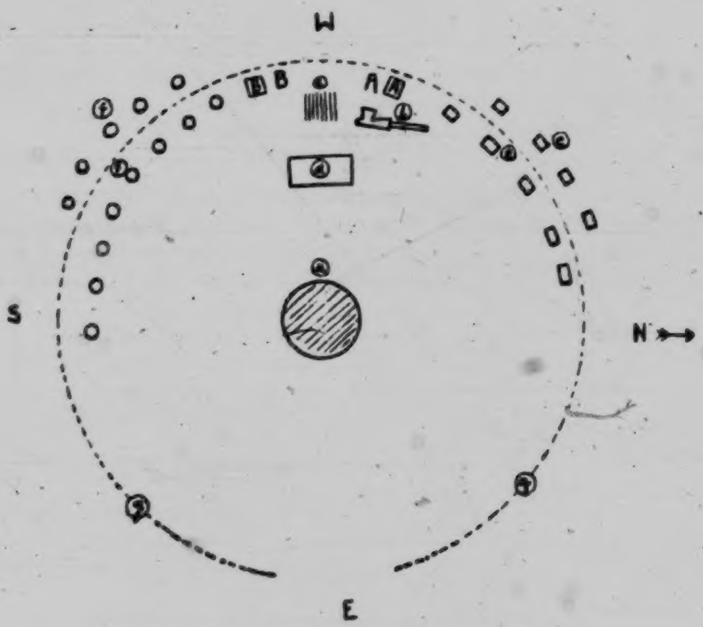


Figure 2. Plan of Game between Skiri and Kiowa

A - Skiri leader and assistant
B - Kiowa leader and assistant
a - round fire
b - Skiri pipe in position after smoking
c - tally sticks
d - position of stakes
e - Skiri men (guests)
f - Kiowa men (hosts)
g - outlines of tipi

525 told the boys in sign language that the man outside, the crier,
● 574 had announced that the Pawnee were here and had come on the
648 warpath for the hand game; that they had come bringing a pipe.
The crier had said too that as it was getting late, the people had better come at once, women and all, for the hand game. It was to be played inside the big tent of the Kiowa chief.

When they had eaten enough, the Kiowa told the boys to take
[431] with them the meat that was left. By signs he said that if they
felt hungry later, they would have it to eat. He gave them a pointed
stick, and showed them how to stick it into the meat and so carry
[482] it. He said, "I'm in a hurry now, I want to get a place there to
sit." All three went over to the chief's tipi. The tent was big, but the crowd was so large that there was not room enough inside for all, so the bottom of the tent cover was rolled up all around, and those who couldn't get in settled themselves around outside. Many had to sit outside this way in the cold. If such a large crowd had been anticipated, the hand game would have been played in the open around a huge fire, but it was too late to gather enough wood to build such a big fire.

The Pawnee were sitting around the north side of the tipi,
inside and out, Knifechief, as the leader, sitting at the west. The
Kiowa sat around the south side, with the Kiowa chief at the west
next to Knifechief. In the middle was a large round fire. The Skiri
[823] Pawnee were on the north because the tribe was camped north of
the Kiowa and had come south to play.

The game began at once. There was no pipe smoking. The Kiowa chief had received the pipe when Knifechief had entered his tent upon arriving.

Between the leaders at the west are the tally sticks. Alongside them lies the Pawnee pipe, now empty, pointing to the north.

The betting begins, of vests, shirts, blankets, anything of value. Each man bets against one of the other side: the two things are tied together; the bundles are heaped at the west before the leaders. In the excitement of the game, the cold is forgotten, even by those who must squat outside. The first guessers are chosen and play begins.

When they hide the bones, the Kiowa sing old hand game songs, accompanied by the beating of one hand drum. When the Pawnee have the bones, they sing their old hand game songs. They clap their hands; they do not beat a drum.

The Pawnee won the first game and took the stakes. Then they sang one Crazy Dog Dance song. Two Pawnee danced. One told of a war exploit, "Once when I was in the army,[1] we charged the

---

[1] Referring to an episode while a Pawnee scout with the U. S. army.

Cheyenne camp early in the morning, and they fled. When I got 525
into the Cheyenne camp I took blankets and other things away 574
from them." The Pawnee sing and dance only one song, because 648
it is late and cold, and the Pawnee have a long way to go to return home after the game. They want to hurry, and play quickly. Should the Kiowa win a game, they would dance their Crazy Dog Dance to the songs of their society and their leader would rise to recite an exploit, holding the Pawnee pipe. But the Pawnee when they dance, do not carry the pipe they have brought.[1] On this occasion, the Kiowa did not win, and had no chance to dance carrying the pipe.

Wagers were made for a second game, the Kiowa betting against their losings. Again the Pawnee won. Again they sang a Crazy Dog Dance song, and another Pawnee recited a war exploit.

In the third game Knifechief rose and sprinkled ashes to hide the tracks, and the Kiowa guesser searched for the trail.

The Pawnee won three straight games, and that was all they played. There was no fighting over the bones in these games: that was only the way that small boys played.

Knifechief rose. He said, "Now my brother, I beat you. That's all. We're going home." All the Skiri took up their winnings and started for home.

While the game had been going on, Mark and David had found time to eat up the meat they had received so that no one could ask for some. They managed to finish it by the time the game was over.

On the way home, one of the Skiri who was a friend of Mark's [572
gave him a pair of leggings he had just won. Mark says that 431]
because of the good fortune of the Pawnee that night he believed the Pawnee would always have good luck in hand games, but subsequently he found out he had been mistaken. In later games they often lost.

---

[1] Carrying the pipe while counting coup was correct only if the reciter [703
had carried a pipe at the time of the exploit. This meant essentially that [554]
he had been the leader of a war party. If the exploit had occurred when no [727]
pipe was carried, he could count coup, but without holding the pipe. In the 721]
above narrative the special significance of the distinction drawn between the right of the Kiowa leader to carry the pipe, and the Pawnee lack of that right, is that it represents dramatically the fact that for generations past, as a result of their treaties, which the Pawnee held sacred, few if any war parties had been sent out ceremonially by the Pawnee. War exploits during the Nineteenth Century were limited essentially to defensive tactics, or to fighting as members of the United States army (see Chapter 1).

525 The essentials of this game follow those of the inter-band Pawnee
648 hand games. Interesting is the fact of the arrangements on sides
574 according to geographical locations. In playing Osage, Arapaho,
823 Ponca and Omaha, as well as Kiowa, the games were usually held
in tipis, though they could be held outdoors if the crowd was large. They were played around a round fire. Instruments were not used by the Pawnee for game-singing, but tribes opposing them followed their own custom. When the Skiri played the Osage, the Skiri were on the south, the Osage on the north; when the Skiri played the Arapaho, the Skiri were on the north, the Arapaho on the south; when the Skiri played the Ponca, the Skiri were on the north, the Ponca on the south. The Osage in the game in question came from the north to the Skiri. The Skiri went to the Arapaho going north - the Skiri camp was south of the Arapaho camp, hence my informant feels the alignment was in error, and that there must have been a special reason for it. Once the Skiri, on their way north to Arkansas City, met the Ponca for a hand game. They had stopped to camp south of Ponca City. The Ponca were all around them, but the particular party which came to play gathered to the southwest of the Pawnee camp, and came from that direction; hence they were placed on the south side.

Hospitality.—The Indian has always been renowned for his hospitality. This trait of character is noticeable among all the tribes. Thus the Pawnees too, though in actual want themselves, showed their good will towards us, by preparing for us the best they could afford. One chief placed before us, besides dried buffalo meat, a small dish of marrow, which by them is considered a great delicacy.— 574 609

Labor.—The more enlightened a people has become through the benign influence of religion, and the cultivation of the arts and sciences, the more the weaker sex attains to that rank in society, which the Creator intended for them; but the more debased and sunk in heathenism a Nation lies, the more is woman enslaved, and held in subjection. So among the Pawnees too, the men are the lords, who, while they themselves are not disposed to do any work, and generally consider it a shame to labor, direct the women, as inferior beings, how everything must be done.—The females, besides attending to the housework, generally incumbent upon their sex, are obliged to cut and carry all the fire-wood; pre- 462 562

---

coverings, are spread over the surrounding grass and bushes, to prevent foot-tracks, or any other derangement; and as few hands as possible are employed. A circle of about two feet in diameter is then nicely cut in the sod, which is carefully removed, with the loose soil immediately beneath it, and laid aside in a place where it will be safe from anything that may change its appearance. The uncovered area is then digged perpendicularly to the depth of about three feet, and is then gradually widened so as to form a conical chamber of six or seven feet deep. The whole of the earth displaced by this process, being of a different color from that on the surface, is handed up in a vessel, and heaped into a skin or cloth, in which it is conveyed to the stream and thrown into the midst of the current, that it may be entirely carried off. Should the cache not be formed in the vicinity of a stream, the earth thus thrown up is carried to a distance, and scattered in such a manner as not to leave the minutest trace. The cave being formed, is well lined with dry grass, bark, sticks, and poles, and occasionally a dried hide. The property intended to be hidden is then laid in, after having been well aired: a hide is spread over it, and dried grass, brush, and stones, thrown in, and trampled down until the pit is filled to the neck. The loose soil, which had been put aside, is then brought, and rammed down firmly, to prevent its caving in, and is frequently sprinkled with water, to destroy the scent, lest the wolves and bears should be attracted to the place, and root up the concealed treasure. When the neck of the cache is nearly level with the surrounding surface, the sod is again fitted in with the utmost exactness, and any bushes, stocks, or stones, that may have originally been about the spot, are restored to their former places. The blankets and other coverings are then removed from the surrounding herbage: all tracks are obliterated: the grass is gently raised by the hand to its natural position, and the minutest chip or straw is scrupulously gleaned up and thrown into the stream. After all is done, the place is abandoned for the night, and, if all be right next morning, is not visited again, until there be a necessity for re-opening the cache. Four men are sufficient in this way, te conceal the amount of three tons weight of provisions or merchandize, in the course of two days.—*Washington Irving's Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains.* 251

plain, its strength became exhausted, it came to the ground, and 223 was at once dispatched by those nearest to it.

Almost before the turkey's fate had been decided, many of the 484 lodges had been pitched, and now the slender gray columns from a hundred camp-fires began to climb up through the still air toward the blue above. The women were hard at work cooking, or spreading out freshly killed robes, or putting up drying scaffolds, while the [462] men lounged in the shade and smoked or chatted. Our wagon was halted at one side of the camp, and the tired horses and mules were stripped of saddles and harness, and picketed near at hand. The Indian pack ponies were collected and driven off on the upland in charge of several boys.

We had invitations to eat meat at several lodges that day. Usually 574 we did not accept these freely proffered hospitalities, because we had no means of returning them, but one of these invitations came from a particular friend, and to-day we broke through our rule. We feasted on roast ribs, *ka'wis*, and dried meat, and really had a delightful time. It was about three o'clock when we finished the meal, and we were lounging about the lodge, smoking and chatting, in lazy after-dinner fashion, when we were startled by a series of yells and shouts, among which I distinguished the words "*Cha'-ra-rat wa-ta'* 648 —The Sioux are coming." Our Indian companions snatched up their 721 arms, and rushed out of the lodge, and we were not slow in following. "*Sūks-e-kitta-wit wis-kūts*—Get on your horses quick," shouted our host. The camp was in a state of wild excitement. Naked men were running to their horses, and jerking their lariats from the picket pins, sprang on their backs and rode hard for the hills; while women and boys rushed about, catching horses, and bringing them in among the lodges, where they were securely fastened. Less than a mile away, we saw the horse herd dashing along at top speed, and a little to one side of it a horseman riding in circles, and waving his blanket before him. It was evident that the Sioux were trying to run off the herd. We ran as hard as we could to the wagon, caught up rifles and cartridge belts, and buckling on the latter as we ran, kept on to the horses. There was no time to saddle up. We looped the ropes around their jaws, sprang on their naked backs, and were off. As

The boy was also taught that his paternal aunt whom he called *atira*, 604
"my mother," would also give him a home. If the relationship were good he would come to her house and say, "*Tatiriraka*, I have a home here," and he could request a permanent or a temporary home with these relatives. He might remark, "*Atira*, I'm hungry," or "mother, I'm tired. I want a place to sleep here." The brothers of these women were called *atias*, "my father," but no fatherly conduct was expected of them as they were married into different households. Formal behavior such as characterized the relation between father and son was the only thing expected of them. The husbands of these kindly paternal aunts were called *atipat*, "grandpa," possibly to denote their unfailing benevolence toward the "child" to match that of their wives. Periodically, while the individuals [574]
in this relationship were still children, they would be invited to the house and "grandpa" would feast them on some delicacies that he had bought at the trade store, joking with them all the while.

The boy Otter enjoyed such a place in the home of Eagle Chief. The 602
three wives of Eagle Chief were sisters to Victory Call, who often went 574
there to relax and to enjoy their hospitality. Otter called these women, *atira* and he called Eagle Chief *atipat*. Eagle Chief would decide upon occasion to entertain four or five children who were in this relation to him as a courtesy to his wives and incidentally as a good public relations gesture for himself, for a chief had to maintain the good will of his constituency. He would go to the trade store and get some favorite foods [439]
such as dried prunes, flour, sugar, and coffee and then would send his wives to invite the children. The children sat lined up in a row and Eagle Chief began to tease them. He said, "Look at that fellow. He has two heads. See how he's looking all around the room to see what he can find." Then he would speak to the girls, "Look at that girl painting her face. Is that my paint?" Or he would say to his wives, "Don't give this fellow too many prunes. I think I'll eat them myself this evening." The women would answer with mock hostility, "Well, it's *theirs*. You bought it for *them* to eat." "Say," Eagle Chief would continue, "this fellow eats too fast." "Let them eat!" said the women. "The way you go on, the children might choke. Say, let them eat. Now children don't listen to [857]
him!" If they had a piece of fried bread left from the feast the children would try to carry it home to their mothers, but most of the time the older children would grab it as they went through the village.

The joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild was an 603
important social resource. At a family meal where they should have
light and cheerful conversation, they would prod a small boy into teas- 602
ing his "grandpa." If no grandfather were available, they would indicate to the boy that he ought to pay more attention to his brother's wife—the "brother" usually being a quite distant blood relative and an older man. Otter was in such a relationship with Old Bull and they called

603 each other *irari*, "brother." Old Bull teased Otter referring to his younger
602 wife, Clear Day, and she would always play along. The relation between
nephews and maternal uncles was also considered analogous to that of
604 brothers. As the Pawnees stated it, "They would love each other like own
431 brothers and give things to each other." Gift giving was a special factor
in this relationship, and many kinds of mutual help, especially the teaching
of skills. After they had moved to Oklahoma and Otter was a young
man, he was favored with a nice gift by two boys who called him uncle.
One of the boys had cut wheat for Eagle Chief and received $3.00 for his
work. He said to Otter, "Uncle, I was working for Eagle Chief binding
wheat and he gave me this three dollars. I want to give it to you." The
relationship went back to the old earth lodge in Nebraska when the boys
were very small. They were the sons of Queen Woman, the older wife of
Old Bull, and Otter used to call her *itahi*, "sister," through a distant kin tie.
The boys, accordingly, were his nephews or *tiwat*, and Otter had taught
them how to make arrows when they were out on the hunt and other
skills. Now, long after in Oklahoma, they were expressing their gratitude.
This happened in the presence of the actual mother's brother of the
boys, the agency interpreter, Deteyr, but there was no resentment at all
on his part, for he had been less able to function as uncle to the boys than
Otter. It was considered normal that this should be recognized.

574 In close relationships, failure to visit once in a while was considered
a personal slight. White Woman would complain to Victory Call that
while he often went to visit his older brother, Sitting Hawk, his brother
did not return the courtesy. She would say, "He never comes here.
Why go over there so much?" And so the casual visiting between the two
brothers stopped. On one of the rare occasions when Sitting Hawk did
come to visit, White Woman would caustically remark after he had gone,
"What happened that he came to visit us today. I guess we can expect
some cosmic event like rain or snow to mark the occasion. A man should
come in once in a while just to say, 'brother.'" White Woman on her
607 part avoided visiting Sitting Hawk's wives. Ordinarily the wives of
574 brothers should be close companions. But when Victory Call was invited
over there and the usual invitation was extended to include his wife,
431 White Woman would refuse to go on the grounds that Sitting Hawk's
wives were given to gossip, something she didn't care to engage in. As a
result these women did not visit her either. Nevertheless, they would
regularly send each other gifts. They would send and receive from each
other moccasins, a blanket, or some dried buffalo meat. This showed that
there was good will between them but simply a personal disinclination
to go visiting.

574 An invitation to visit a household was always given through a relative.
The person issuing the invitation would come to the house and seek
out his relative there and suggest that he bring along his wife, his son,

his nephew, etc., as the case might be. A man would feel free to issue the 574
invitation if he had gotten some meat by hunting or bought some supplies
at the trade store. Otherwise the invitation would come from the
woman, since she would be providing the food. However, when guests 574
came in at the husband's invitation in order to transact some business
or political affairs, the husband had the right to ask the wife to cook 431
something for his guests. If one were simply to "drop in" on a relative
without a business reason or an invitation, it would appear as a hint that
you wanted a gift or some other service. In order to forestall this impression,
one came bringing a gift, opening the visit with the presentation and
thus making it appear as the ostensible reason for the visit. The nature and
value of the gift was to some extent an index of the regard the donor
felt for the recipient.

On the whole, kin ties called forth strong emotions, especially in the 602
presence of a stranger. Where strangers and kin were involved, kin 609
loyalty aroused immediate reactions and was very strong. Outside the kin
group it was assumed that people must be mean, unreliable, and treacherous.
The household and immediate kin was the closest unit and the village
pretty much the outer limit. Intervillage ties did exist, however, and 628
occasionally intervillage marriages. As the population began to dwindle 582
in the last years in Nebraska, such intermarriages became more frequent
than heretofore.

Personal Names and Aspirations

A person was never addressed by his personal name; a kin term was 551
always used. This served to indicate the expected behavior and, through [601]
the mode of its use, the nuances that could be expected within the
category. A personal name among the Pawnees was of an entirely different
character from our own. It was an honorary title of an extremely personal
nature. The significance of the personal name was stated by a priest
(see Fletcher, 1904, p. 365) as follows:

> A man's life is an onward movement. . . . If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the help of the powers, his life will "climb up." . . . Some men can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level. Men having power to advance, climb step by step. . . . the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life, an upper level—such a one as reached by the ancient men who are spoken of in the (name-changing) ritual, who threw away the names by which they had been known before (because of new and higher achievements). *Ru-tur-a-witt-pari*, "in a direction-he is actively-moving-to a point or goal-traveling"; this is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by doing like deeds.

rank. Her marriage to Old Bull was apparently a case of a more mature woman taking a younger man for her second husband. Her children by her first marriage were growing up and were off at school, and she had started a second family with Old Bull. With him she had two small boys, one three years old and one still younger. She carried the whole responsibility for the household since the gambling habits of the younger wife left her with very little help. Blue Calico, the mother of the younger wife tried to compensate for this situation by being especially helpful to Queen Woman, giving her extra supplies to cook for all of them and a great deal of extra help "beyond the call of duty." Queen Woman was of French-Pawnee extraction, the French ancestor being relatively recent as reflected in her rather light complexion and mixed features. She was related to the family of the interpreter, Frank Deteyr, who was killed by the Sioux in the fall of 1861. She was quiet and conservative in her social approach and sometimes Old Bull would jokingly remark, "Why don't you talk once in a while?" "Well," she replied quite literally, "I have nothing to say." Most Pawnee women countered such remarks with a more lively retort. Her character was described in the following terms: 159 595 159 521

> She just went about her work. If other women came to visit, they would tell her stories about what was going on, but she would never repeat them. She never went out except to get a bucket of water with White Woman. People said of her, "She's a nice woman. She doesn't say much or gossip about anyone. You might tell her something but she doesn't repeat it or make any remarks about it." The two wives got along nicely together. Queen Woman never did any gambling herself, and she never made any remarks to Clear Day about her gambling.

Old Lady Blue Calico was the mother of Old Bull's younger wife Clear Day and grandmother of the south half of the house. The Pawnee name of Blue Calico was *Ts-tapit-tarius*, "woman-bought goods-blue," referring probably to a time when her uncle was portioning out a government allotment of goods or the spoils of a profitable trading expedition of his own and gave her a particularly nice piece of blue calico in the process. 159 592

Her personality was more lively than Grandma Chase-the-Enemy but less so than the rough and ready Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy. Her joking remarks and her general activity were a little more conspicuous than Otter's quieter grandmother. Blue Calico always went off to the Village-in-the-Bottomlands where she had come from to visit a special old lady friend there. The two old women on the north side had their own friends in Pumpkin-Vine Village. If Blue Calico wanted to 159 574 592

159 go off and gather wild turnips, she went with some other old lady
from Bottomlands Village. Only if it were necessary once in a while,
574 would the three old ladies of the lodge go together to get a little wood
592 for fuel.

[887] Old ladies were great ones for visiting one another and talking over old times—about when they were young and when they got married, prepared buffalo robes and many other such reminiscences. Whenever Blue Calico came back from a visit to her own village, she would come in with stories of what was going on there. "That man went hunting and didn't bring home anything," she would say, or, "He brought some game—a deer."

156 Contrary to a common conception of tribal life, the personal inter-
571 relationships of the Pawnee were not fixed within a kin mold. For example, there was a marked difference in temperament between the two
602 wives of Old Bull, Queen Woman, the senior one, and Clear Day, the younger of the two. Two factors combined to make the approach to Otter of these two women different. Through a relatively distant kin line, the older wife Queen Woman counted as a sister, *itahi*, to Otter and accordingly their relationship was formal. As noted above (page 36), Queen Woman's two little boys regarded Otter as a mother's brother, *tiwatciriks*, and he treated them as nephew, *tiwat*. Under these conditions, the kind of joking Otter was encouraged to carry on with Clear Day was not in order. On the other hand, Queen Woman had another role as wife of Old Bull and consequently "wife" to Otter. Two conflicting roles presented themselves and the sister role was chosen. The likelihood is that this was an adjustment to Queen Woman's conservative temperament which tipped the balance in favor of the more formal of the two possible kinship categories. When people used to marry almost exclusively within the village, the wife of an uncle or of a brother was bound to be some sort of relative to the younger boy. This was apparently conveniently forgotten or raised as the circumstances happened to warrant.

Neither personal relations nor the personnel of the household were cramped within a fixed kin structure. The individual personality was not trimmed down to fit the kin structure, but the structure was used to realize the individual personality. The Pawnee social structure was written into no statute book, nor did it have the status of doctrine, and there was no chain of command to enforce it. Therefore it was not frozen and clamped onto the people, but carried implicitly by them to serve them as they saw fit. No built-in guilt, acting as a surrogate for dominant power, forced them to narrow the scope of their personal lives. They were socially creative in every personal interrelationship they had. The
602 world was raw and their life was hard, but it was also freer than ours.
626 No religious or supernatural sanction enforced the social forms. The only

sirawari i	They two who are traveling,	533
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a	Alone, they two who are traveling,	539
tsapat-i witiwaku	A young woman, it is said that she says:	
sikatasiwaktiks-a	I wonder if they two are true (to each other).	
tskara, siraawari-i-a-a-a-a-a		

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their 883
parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not uncommonly 572
grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, 554
a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally
from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46-50) 539
of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of 883
wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the 572
son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys 554
liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all, while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys
a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to induce [829]
boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some historical [867]
basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the mature 571
Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured 574
within the house even when only two were sitting together. First [782]
there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the
pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversation [276]
or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a [521]
woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

571 plan was applied to any larger gathering as well as to more casual encoun-
574 ters. The seating was aways according to relative social status and the
[521] right of priority in conversation was always determined by rank. There
[554] was little room for simple, spontaneous, social contact in the life of a
mature man. Except for the intimacies of marriage, there was no opportunity for easy conversation between mature men and women either. Missionary Dunbar (1881, pp. 745-746) describes the conduct of the men:

> 571 [The Pawnees] were . . . among themselves very sociable. With the men
> 574 there was apt to be perhaps, an excess of formality in their formal gather-
> 517 ings, but this is a natural consequence of their oft-recurring feasts and
> councils. It was quite common for several men in the evening to meet in some house where tobacco was to be had, and there sit smoking and recounting their exploits. One of the party kept up a monotonous thumping upon a drum. Another would dance for a while, make a speech, and sit down. Another would follow with the same role, etc. At certain seasons such gatherings were of nightly occurrence, lasting usually well-nigh till daylight.
>
> 571 Akin to this trait of storytelling, was their delight in discussion. They
> 537 were extravagantly fond of debating what might be termed questions of
> 623 general principle, often exhibiting considerable tact in their manner of
> sustaining an argument. Their principal efforts of this kind were reserved for public occasions, such as councils. It was impossible to attend a tribal council where any important matter was pending and not be impressed with the power and cogency of their eloquence. The reputation of being
> [554] an orator was coveted, and a man, when once recognized as such, was sure
> to wield great influence. An orator when addressing a council upon a question in which he was thoroughly interested, seemed to appreciate fully the dignity of his position, and identifying himself with the cause he advocated, and addressing himself directly to the person he was attempting to answer or convince, his speech would become vividly dramatic.

Tribal Fun and Games

609 Theoretically, friendships were best formed within one's own village
621 for beyond that was a kind of social "No-Man's Land." Sometimes,
[572] however, the wall of suspicion broke down, as in one story we heard re-
lated:

> 609 The members of the different bands didn't like each other as a rule.
> 621 We would say, "Don't bother with them (referring to people of another
> 539 village or band), they're mean."
>
> But some nice evening the Man-Going-Downstream Band and the Meat-Beggars would join the Little-Earth-Lodge Band and the children

5

THE WORLD OF A PAWNEE BOY: SPRING 1867

000

The Day Begins in the Earth Lodge—Breakfast Preparations—Seating at the Meal—Daytime Activities of Women—Chiefs' Council—Supper and Evening Conversation—Plan for Deer Hunt the Next Day—End of Day's Activities

IN THE YEAR 1867, the villages of the Pawnees were strung along the west bank of Beaver Creek. (Beaver Creek flows southeastward into the Loup River that flows east to join the Platte which continues eastward to the Missouri. In the Skidi village of Pumpkin-Vine was the house of Chief Victory Call and his friend Old Bull with their families.) 131 361 [103]

It was a morning late in March, and the high dome-shaped earth lodges were huddled together in the predawn darkness. On this as on other mornings, Otter was wakened by the sound of his father's voice saying, "Fire's made." The dawn had not yet broken, and it was still cold; Otter burrowed down deeper under his little calfskin cover. He hated to leave the warmth of his bed that he shared with his grandmother. Just as the dawn began to break, Victory Call went outside through the long vestibule that was the entrance to the house to look at the position of the stars and to see what kind of a day it would be. Meanwhile his wife, White Woman, had gotten up to prepare breakfast. She would be cooking for twelve people and an extra guest, and the preparations would take at least an hour. 512 [342] [513] [252]

On both sides of the house along the low circular walls, the people were still asleep in their beds. There had been a long storytelling session the night before and Old-Man-That-Chief, who was one of the principal raconteurs, was too feeble to go home late at night, so a temporary bed was made for him near the fireplace where the fire was now burning brightly in the center of the room. High above the fireplace a shaft of [538] [574] [354]

272 After the other foods were ready, the coffee was cooked in a bucket
with sugar to be served later in small bowls. This was a task that No
Corn was likely to undertake. She would mix a handful of ground coffee
with a handful of sugar and boil them together with water in the bucket.
The meal would be finished off with sweet coffee served hot and black.

512 While all these preparations were going on, the people began to get up
one by one and sit down in their places around the fire. Now only the
boys were still in bed. Grandma warmed her hands over the fire, went
[522] over to the bed, put them on Otter's warm nose and "took it off" remarking
to Old Bull, "Here's his nose." Then she offered it all around to the
assembled company. Sometimes it was his ears that she offered instead.
With things about done, Victory Call said, "Boys, breakfast is ready,
you can go to bed again later if you want to."

264 White Woman removed the bucket of corn from the fire and put eleven
bowls around it to serve the family. The grandmother–grandchild pairs
[412] each got a bowl together and everyone else got a bowl for himself. With
[415] each bowl there was a buffalo-horn spoon and two spoons in the bowl
for grandma and grandchild. White Woman, who was sitting east
and slightly north of the fireplace, dished out the corn with a large
buffalo-horn spoon 8 inches long with a bowl that was 4½ inches across
and 1½ inches deep. A ladleful or one and a half ladles of corn along
with the liquor was a serving, the grandmother–grandchild bowls receiving
an extra large portion. For feasts, large wooden ladles were used for
serving.

264 The order in which the members of the household sat at their meal was
pretty much in the position of their beds. Old Bull sat at the southwest
554 and Victory Call at the northwest position. Ordinarily a man's senior wife
592 sat next to him, and his junior wives sat beyond. Old Bull and his wives
sat in this order, but White Woman had moved down to the east end of
the north side so that she could do the serving. The grandmothers and
[574] their grandchildren sat at the east end. Old-Man-That-Chief, although a
guest, took up the southeast position of humility, for he was old and
[888] nearly blind. The bowls were passed around to the people from hand to
hand, unless the circle was too large, in which case a young woman
would be asked to do the serving. The men were served first in order of
importance, the "guest side" always being given priority. In this instance
the order was Old Bull, Victory Call, Old-Man-That-Chief, Horse
Rider, Queen Woman, the senior wife, then Clear Day, the junior wife,
Blue Calico, the grandmother, on the south side; then the women on the
north—No Corn, Yellow Calf and his Grandma, Otter and his Grandma,
and finally White Woman herself.

264 Before they began their meal, White Woman made an offering of corn
782 at the west. She took some kernels of corn in a spoon from Victory
Call's bowl and offered them to the nose of the buffalo skull that rested on

000 sides. "Oh, you got good pay," they said. Then she added the news about
512 the gift of black tanned skin, and her husband teased her and said, "Let's
476 see that. Just right to make me a pair. You can patch up yours."

522 Back at the lodge, the old ladies said they were tired and went to bed,
512 and White Woman waited for her husband to come home.

While the women were busy with the minor household work and the
623 storage pit, Old Bull and Victory Call had been at a meeting of the Skidi chiefs at the home of Eagle Chief. There were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages—chiefs, subchiefs, and their attendant braves. Eagle Chief yielded his place at the west to the two most important guests and took the southeast position. At the southwest was Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge and in the northwest position, Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. The subchiefs and braves of each of these chiefs sat next to them in a line extending toward the east. At the southeast position, sat Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village with his subchiefs and braves extending inward toward the west along the side of the lodge. On the north side in a symmetrical arrangement was Chief Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village sitting in the northeast position with his subchiefs and braves extending inward along the northside. (See Figure 5-2 for the positions of representatives at the council meeting.)

623 Eagle Chief was the first to address the company, stating the purpose
722 for which he had called them together: "The Sioux are likely to come around any time. Don't each go individually to get wood. We must all go at a stated time when we can have our scouts on the lookout and bring in enough wood to be piled up while the planting is begun, that is at least four days' supply." Discussion from the others present followed, and then Eagle Chief announced that they would have another meeting in about two weeks or more to discuss the matter of clearing the fields in preparation for planting. He now turned over the conduct of the meeting to the chiefs at the west, and Lone Chief took charge, stating that if anyone had anything to say about the business at hand they should do so at this time as they were to have a feast and then talk of other matters.
623 After everyone had spoken his mind they waited two or three minutes
574 and then Lone Chief said, "Now we are going to eat." At the entrance
[624] near the east were the two errand men of both presiding chiefs at the west, and they had prepared the food and were ready to serve. The bowls were piled up near the kettle in which the food had been boiling, and, while one of the men dished it out, the other served. He carried two
[554] bowls to the west, one for each of the presiding chiefs. Then he returned to the east, carried the next bowl to the next chief on the south side, then returned to the east and gave the next bowl to the next chief to the north side, and so on in alternation, one by one on each side. Then the braves were served, one on the south, one on the north, until everyone had received his food, whereupon the errand men served each other.

623
342
35
554

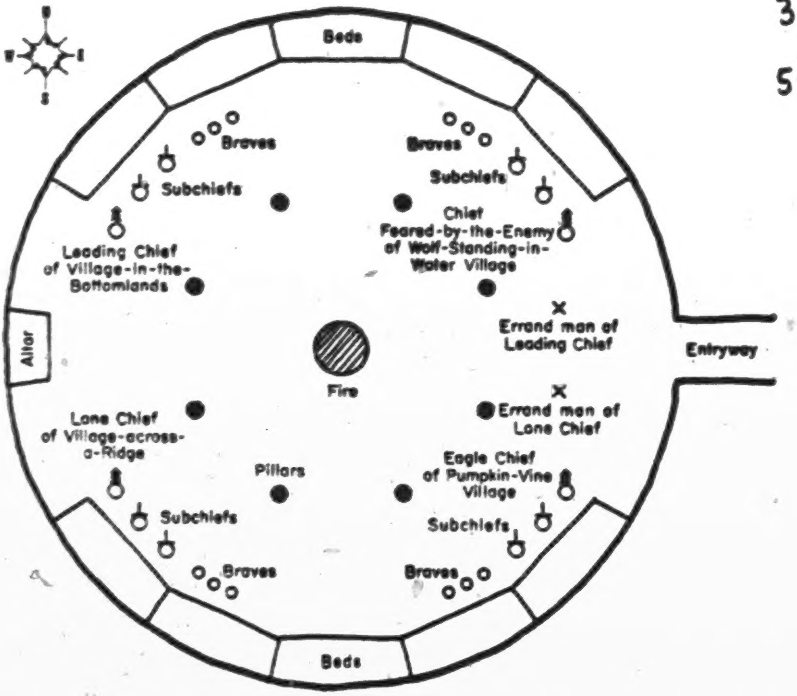

N
W
E
S
Beds
Braves
Braves
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Chief
Feared-by-the-Enemy
of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village
Leading Chief
of Village-in-the-Bottomlands
Altar
Fire
Errand man of Leading Chief
Entryway
Errand man of Lone Chief
Lone Chief
of Village-across-a-Ridge
Pillars
Eagle Chief
of Pumpkin-Vine Village
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Braves
Braves
Beds

FIGURE 5-2. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. Mats are placed in the outer circuit against the beds to accommodate larger numbers. Of the supposed twelve villages that formed the Skidi Federation in the past, four villages remained in 1867. Villages must have combined as their numbers were decimated. The original twelve sacred village bundles remained, and some of the subchiefs probably represented these assimilated villages. [631] [778]

This was the time for joking "so that everyone could laugh during the meal." The jokes were of a somewhat slapstick variety as they wanted to be sure that no one's feelings were hurt in any way. Ordinarily, while the social relationship with one's parents was quite formal and restrained, the relationship with the grandparents was in sharp contrast. It was a relationship of lively familiarity. Physical handling was rough-and-tumble, a grandfather sometimes pulling his grandson out of bed of a cold morning and dumping him in the snow to harden him; jokes were often leveled at the grandchild and answered in kind. The mode of kin reckoning often involved an extension of the immediate kin terms to more distant blood relatives, and it worked out so that people of similar ages might address 623 574 522 [593] [603] [601] [602]

623
574
522
[601]
[602]

each other by the kin terms of grandfather and grandchild—thereby permitting a great deal of free-wheeling slapstick behavior. This was incongruous because of the social position of some of the individuals involved and was considered quite humorous. Eagle Chief addressed Lone Chief as grandson in this way, and he would say, "That's the laziest fellow I ever saw. He sleeps till mid-morning every day. I wish I were at his house. I'd throw him in the water." This evoked considerable laughter because of the incongruity of the situation, and, now that the South Side had made its joke, it was the turn of somebody on the north side. It was decorum to wait a few minutes, and then Leading Chief at the northwest took up the thread and said, "Look at that fellow over there," pointing to someone on the north side. "When I went out with my horses, I saw his horses standing there in a terrible condition. They were turning round and round with flies all over them and they must have been thirsty." (It was the work of the young boys to take care of the horses.) The man on the north side against whom the joke was leveled replied with, "I always hobble my horses, but he took my lariat and unhobbled them. That's the fellow who unhobbled my horses!" During the actual meeting, women were not present, but now the women of the lodge began to return and they too would join in the jokes with the men who happened to stand to them in the appropriate relationship.

623
574

This was the end of the meeting, and Leading Chief of Bottomlands Village sitting at the northwest presided over the closing. He said, "Now we are to get wood. Some of you, Lone Chief in particular (object of the last joke), must be in a hurry to go tend their horses. Any who wish can stay and tell stories, but now we have eaten [and the meeting is at an end]." Everyone said *nawa* and most of them rose and left the lodge. A few lingered. Enough extra boiled buffalo meat was usually portioned out at such a feast so that everyone had a substantial piece to take home to the family. Food from a chiefs' council was thought to have the special virtue of conveying a blessing of plenty to the women and children, and some of the men were eager to get home and share what they had with their wives and children. It was for this reason that they had been requested to bring their own bowls when they were invited that morning.

623
203
722
313

The decisions reached by the chiefs at their councils were always announced to the people soon after the meeting was over. One old man for each village with a somewhat resounding voice usually acted as the village crier. He would stand on the roof of his earth lodge between the smokehole and the entrance passageway facing east and call out:

"Day after tomorrow, we're all going for wood—the whole bunch of us. You young men—after breakfast take your bow and arrows. Go up on a high hill and be on the lookout to picket for Sioux or any other kind of danger. Women have to fix up their packstraps and everyone should

sharpen up his axe, fix up the ropes, borrow a horse to haul the wood if 623
you need one. If two or three lodges are going afoot together, they must 203
keep in line so that we know where you are." (Those with horses were in 722
less danger and might go in any order.) There was another thing he 313
warned them against—that is, taking young girls along. They were just
the ones the Sioux would be trying to capture, and the old man remarked,
they weren't really strong enough to carry wood anyway! Another danger
was a magical one. The spirits of men who had been scalped by an [775]
enemy were very much feared. They were thought to lurk all around,
trying to capture women or steal whatever else they could get their hands
on. So the old man cautioned, "If a woman hasn't kept up, the line must
wait for her until she arrives. She might be captured by one of the
scalped men. This is the time you have to look out for that."

When the young men heard the crier's announcement, five or six of 722
them would gather together at a favorite rendezvous and say, "Let's go
together with our bows and arrows real early before the others and stay
up there until everyone comes home." According to their plan, on the appointed
morning they would go out before the others and disburse over
the area to see whether the enemy was lurking about. They would leave
the villages about 7:30 in the morning and stay out all day.

The chiefs' meeting had come to an end that afternoon while it was 574
still full daylight. Old Bull had gone off to tend his horses. Victory Call, 521
having nothing in particular to do since he had Horse Rider to help him,
wandered over to the gaming grounds where some of the men were clustered
about making their bets on the outcome of the hoop and spear
game, while others were just watching on the sidelines. Victory Call sat
down at some distance from the game and two of the spectators came to
join him. The man who sat down at his left filled up his pipe and offered [276]
it to Victory Call, lighting it for him. Victory Call offered the mouthpiece
upward for the first puff to the cosmic powers in the heavens saying, [782]
"Greetings, all of you spread out up there." Then he offered the
mouthpiece to the earth and said, "Greetings, my mother." Now he took
two puffs on the pipe and began to share it with the men on each side of
him in the alternation: first to the right, then himself, then to the left, and
so on. When the pipe was smoked out, Victory Call was feeling in a genial
mood. He made a special arrangement of his robe that had up to now
been carelessly draped around his shoulders. He drew it down to his waist
and, crossing his legs with the robe folded in a certain order, showed by
this token that he was ready to tell a story. The men who had sat down
with him were anxious to hear what the chief had to say, and particularly
what had gone on in the meeting he had just attended before the
crier got around to announcing it. Several more men joined the party
with the same idea in mind. Victory Call might begin directly, or one of
the men would suggest it obliquely saying, "I heard you had a feast."

574 521 "Yes, we had a feast. It was about having the whole tribe go out for wood." "Yes," one of the men would say, "springtime is coming now and it's about time we got the wood ready. Womenfolk have to go to the fields." Now they would exchange stories until sundown—about war exploits and the horses they had succeeded in getting from the enemy, in which direction they went when they got them, about scouting in the U.S. Army and other similar topics. [276] [782] After about half an hour, the man on his right filled the pipe, but Victory Call ceded it to him. He made the offering to heaven and to earth, and the pipe was passed between them back and forth until they had smoked the tobacco in it. While the storytelling was going on, one of the men decided that he would entertain the chief at his house for dinner and sent a little boy with a message for his wife to prepare a meal for their honored guest. When he was notified that the meal was ready he said to Victory Call, "I want you to come up to my lodge. We're going to have a little bite." The host would call over one or two more and invite them to join the party, saying "I want you to come up. We're going to have something to eat."

574 [554] Victory Call was seated in the place of honor at the northwest and the host at the southeast. The women of the house dished out the food and passed it around. After they had eaten, Victory Call got up first and left walking out by the north side of the lodge. After he had gone they would say, "He's a good chief. He goes about and sees what's going on."

When Victory Call got home that evening, he found White Woman waiting up for him. "I've already eaten," he said. White Woman retorted by way of banter, "I didn't ask you if you had eaten." Then he sat down by the fire and she brought him his tobacco pouch. Guests were likely to come in soon and join him for the rest of the evening for a smoke and some talk. Before the guests arrived, they divided into very small pieces the meat that Victory Call had brought home from the chiefs' meeting so that everyone could have a taste.

When the first guest arrived, Victory Call offered him his pipe and said to White Woman, "Cook something." The guest had just had his dinner and said, "No, no, I've already eaten." Then a little time passed and another guest wandered in. He happened to be hungry and he remarked, "I'd like something to eat," and then White Woman had to get to work and prepare something. By this time all the others who were sitting around would have worked up an appetite and Victory Call would say, "Maybe those fellows are hungry. Maybe they can eat." And so the cooking started up again.

574 521 They talked about hunting, trapping, the warpath, chasing the buffalo, and some other incidents that they had seen or heard. Sitting Bull would begin by telling a story on himself. He told that once he had killed a deer and his kinsman came along. Ordinarily he would be expected to give him half the kill, but he had diverted his attention saying, "Go fol-

low the track, the deer went that way. I shot at him and missed." Now he told of how he had hidden the deer so that he wouldn't have to share it. Now Riding-In joined in and said, "I did the same thing once. I killed a buck and put him in a trough and when my kinsman came along I said, "I shot at that deer and missed him, but you're on horseback, so you can go after him." If either of the aggrieved kinsmen were present the guilty hunter would remark, "Now I wish I had given you half." There would be no hard feelings on anyone's part as they would feel that bygones were bygones. The talk went on for some hours and finally all the women had gone to bed. Midnight was the customary time to stop. Someone went outside and looked at the stars. He came in and remarked, "It's midnight. We're all sleepy. We'd better go to bed." They would all go out together and look at the stars and the guests would leave for their own homes. The men of the lodge went out together to tend to their needs before going to bed. This was for their mutual protection, as there was always the possibility of a Sioux lurking in the shadows ready to attack an individual alone. Before going to bed, the women would also go in a group with a man along for their protection. 574 521 [722] [514]

Victory Call planned to go deer hunting next day. He made lead bullets, cleaned his gun, and loaded it with shavings along with the bullets so that they would ignite. He filled his horn with powder and now he was ready for the morning. Old Bull took note of his preparations and planned to be near the house that day for protection in case of attack. Next morning, Victory Call got up way before down. He made the fire and left before breakfast. White Woman would get up later and prepare the breakfast for the lodge. 224

keeping on the alert for mushrooms and milkweed, whose tender tops 222
were relished when cooked with corn. Some of the mushrooms were yellow or green under the head; and these were known to be poisonous. The edible ones were solid pure white. Any with worms were discarded. Some men became so absorbed in this search that they wandered too far [648]
out and would be killed by the Sioux. This was particularly likely with men whose food at home was in short supply.

If Victory Call and his kinsman had the good fortune to track down 224
another deer and Victory Call killed it, he would assign the major portion to his helper. Legally, the entire kill belonged to Victory Call and the division was entirely at his discretion. Sometimes he would be planning to have leggings made out of the skins and then he would apologize and say, "Excuse me. I can't give you the hide." His helper would reply, "That's all right. I just came around to help you. You gave me meat anyway."

The meat was all packed and the two men set out for the village. It [524]
was nearly sundown and they had to pass the village gaming ground where the men gathered watching the hoop and pole game. The players and spectators would remark, "Look at those fellows. They have a lot of deer meat. I'm going up there to get some soup."

The two hunters separated and each went to his own house. As soon as Victory Call approached, a hide was spread inside to receive the meat, and Horse Rider was waiting outside to unload the horse and bring it in.

When Victory Call arrived inside, the first thing he said was, "The 264
folks down there saw me coming. Hurry up and fix our dinner so that we 252
can eat before they all get here." The family had barely finished eating 574
when the people began to crowd in. If it were the first fresh meat of the season in the village, some women would come and say to White Woman, "Daughter, I am begging some meat." "That's good," Victory Call would say, indicating that they were welcome. White Woman and the other women of the house were cooking the meat in large kettles, and men and women were sitting around waiting to be fed when the meat boiled. Some people preferred strips of meat roasted in the coals, and they were sitting around roasting it for themselves.

Then the fire began to burn up brighter and someone remarked, "How 262
about getting to work and roasting the ribs?" Horse Rider then took the 574
ribs and leaned them on stakes around the fire. These would be served at [252]
a more formal feast after the casual guests had left. Otter was sent to invite the guests. Each of the men would invite two honored guests. Victory Call inquired of Old Bull whom he would like to entertain, and he requested that Chief White Eagle be called with his brave, Bringing Trophies, with whom Old Bull was associated in his doctor practice. Victory Call invited Eagle Chief, head chief of his village, Pumpkin-Vine,
and his principal brave, War Cry. Meanwhile the women were cooking [252]

262 coffee and frying bread to supplement the meat course for their guests
574 when they arrived. In the old days they would be baking corn bread in
the ashes to be served with the soup.

252 Four buckskin cushions were placed at the west for the guests of honor,
574 and the rest sat around along both sides on the mats. By the time the
[352] guests came in, the ribs were cooked and the two largest ones were car-
ried to Eagle Chief and his brave War Cry, who were sitting at the north-
west. The next two went to Chief White Eagle and his brave in the south-
west seats. The rest of the ribs were carried two by two, first to two
guests on the north side, then to two on the south side, and so on until
all had been served. A very small top rib was given to any little boy who
might be visiting or to the boys of the house, Otter or Yellow Calf.

The food served, Victory Call began to talk to his guests. He told of
the highlights of the hunt and that after he had gotten the deer the
other fellow came and found him. His horse began to move around and
he thought a Sioux was coming, but then he saw who it was and called
him over. On such occasions an old man usually invited or just wan-
dered in, knowing he would be welcome. Horse Rider had invited
That-Chief, and the old man told them stories of war and old customs
continuing after the feast was over. Anyone who wanted to leave right
after eating was free to do so. He would get up and say, "I have to go. I
have something to do." The old man would stay all night and get his
breakfast there. Except for the four guests of honor, there was less pro-
[512] tocol required than in the more formal feasts. After the dishes were
cleaned and put away some of the women would go to bed, while others
would join the men and listen to the conversation. Sometimes boys and
their grandmothers would sit on the sidelines, keeping themselves warm
with a pan of coals. When everyone had gone, they would come up close
to the fire and warm themselves. The session went on quite late. By mid-
574 night everyone would leave, and they all went to bed. In the home of
512 Victory Call's helper on the hunt, the same kind of entertaining would
513 have gone on. Past midnight and everyone would be sleeping. Tomor-
row it would begin again—the fire lit, the man at his work and his leisure,
the women busy, the children playing.

the family. Hauling in the materials was a considerable task. The two 000
families were fortunate in having enough horses so that two could be 492
used to transport the seven radials over the six-mile journey in one day. 356
These radials were leaned outside the house against the roof until needed. It required a wagonload or four large double armfuls of the willow saplings to make the circuits. These had to be hauled in from Beaver Creek about a mile away, a task carried out by Old Bull and his wives.

With these materials in place, Victory Call went out prospecting for 356
thatch grass. He had to travel five miles southwest of the village near the 824
Loup River where the grass grew near the edge of the timber in a little hollow place with some sand hills. Nearer the villages, the horses had eaten it up. That night the women on the North Side, White Woman and the two grandmothers, sharpened up the edges of their buffalo shoulder-blade hoes so that they could cut the thatch grass next day. No Corn, Horse Rider's older wife, was crippled with arthritis and was unable to do that type of work. She remained at home and did necessary household chores. Meanwhile, the women on the South Side continued to provide the meals for all of them. Next morning the two men and three women went with their two horses to the grass patch. The women cut the grass and the men saw that it was properly piled up. The grass was gathered into five bunches, each 3 feet high, the layers being laid down, one layer with stub ends one way, the next layer with pointed ends in the same direction so that the bundle would be even in thickness. The grass was tied into tight bundles and loaded one on each side of the horse. The two horses were loaded, White Woman packing one of the bundles, and when they arrived home the grass bundles were placed next to the bundles of willow withes and weighted down with sticks so that they didn't scatter in the wind. The materials were now ready and they could arrange for the actual construction.

Arrangements were now made to move in with other families until the 356
roof was fixed. Old Bull spoke to their neighbor, Coming-Downhill- 574
Bringing-Trophies, whose house was located just across from theirs, and 476
Victory Call made arrangements with Chief's Road whose lodge was 571
right next door. There was a friendly relationship between the households of Victory Call and Chief's Road. Chief's Road had the social rank of commoner, but he was a very successful warrior and hoped that someday his ambition to be an administrative officer would be realized through his friendship with Victory Call. He hoped that should Victory Call become head chief of their village, he would select him as his official brave. He was the most skillful arrowmaker in the Skidi Band, and he often made arrows for Victory Call and rendered him many other services. Victory Call returned the courtesy with gifts of wood for fuel and portions of meat from his hunting. The children of the two lodges also played together. Chief's Road had the lodge with his brother, and

356 476 574 571 both their families lived there together and were glad to offer their hospitality to Victory Call and to the North Side family.

356 476 The first step in the process of roof repair was demolition, the earth and thatch having to be removed. The North Side worked on its half and the south side on the south half. There were seven women for removing the earth on the north side. White Woman and the two grandmothers, two women from Chief's Road's household and two women who were the wives of White Woman's brother, Uncle War Cry. Uncle War Cry, as he was known to the boy Otter, was a frequent visitor to White Woman's house, often dropping in for meals, as was appropriate to their relationship. He was the head brave of the Skidi Band, assisting Eagle Chief. He was a huge man of brusque and forthright temperament as befitted his station as executive officer. Victory Call and all the others in [571] the lodge liked him very much, and there was a very relaxed relationship between the two households. He had three wives and a large number of children from whom he often sought relief in White Woman's household. Now two of his wives came to help out, and he was also on hand to watch the proceedings.

From the South Side, Old Bull had four women available to do the work of removing the earth—his younger wife, Clear Day and her mother Blue Calico and two women from the household of Bringing Trophies where they were staying. His senior wife, Queen Woman, was [164] unable to do this work as she was crippled with arthritis, a common affliction among the Pawnees. Each side had a number of important men who stood around and supervised the proceedings, giving advice to the women; it was beneath their dignity to climb up on the roof themselves. On Victory Call's side on the north stood, in addition to Uncle War Cry himself, his younger brother Brave Shield (also known as High Noon) who was a prominent member of the Skidi Doctor Association. Also present was the head of the association, Big Doctor, and their neighbor, Chief's Road at whose house they were staying.

On Old Bull's side stood Eagle Chief, head chief of the Skidi Band, White Eagle, another prominent Skidi Chief, Bringing Trophies, at whose house the family was staying, and Rider, who was keeper of the sacred bundle of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village.

Assistance with the work itself was given by a group of young men in their twenties who came as volunteers. They had varying social connections with the people involved. When Eagle Chief got home one evening, he remarked that they planned to fix up the roof at Victory Call's house. On hearing this his son, Man Chief, got together a group of young men and they were glad to go. As Mark Evarts remarked, "They didn't have to be told. They just did things willingly. Such people should not have to be asked. The older men would say, 'When I was a boy, I used to do such things without being asked,' meaning that one hears of some-

356 Cry's younger brother, would immediately set to work and do it. The
476 young men climbed to the top and fastened the two hoops in place.
283 Meanwhile White Woman had been cooking a meal for all of them
in the house of Chief's Road where they were staying. She entertained
356 the family of the house and everyone who had helped on the North Side.
• 574 The meal consisted of grease bread and soup made of dried intestine.
476 Some of the women had brought their own bowls out of consideration
[262] for the number she needed to feed. Old Bull's senior wife, Queen
Woman, was cooking and serving a similar meal in the house of Bringing
Trophies, to entertain all who had helped on the South Side. No one lingered over the meal, as they were anxious to get back to work.

The women took their bowls home and came back. They rested while
356 the young men tied on the new circuits of willow withe to the radials
476 with the moistened elm strips. They began at the bottom circuit and pro-
462 ceeded to the next circuit upward. When they reached the higher circuits, the "boys," Advance Scout and the others, began to fasten the thatch grass to the bottom circuit. As they got further up, the young men now took up this work, while the older "boys" began to pile the earth on the lower circuits, the women filling up their pans with earth and handing them up to the men on the roof. In households of less social status, the women would have had to do a good deal of the work on the roof themselves; in this case they were spared any need to climb up
356 further. When the work was completed, there was usually a dinner meal
for a large number of people, including some who had merely come
574 to watch the proceedings. Each of the hostesses usually had a party of
about fifty to feed. Everyone was tired and they waited until the following morning to sweep out the house and move back in. Now the time for
221 planting was drawing near and they began to think of the immediate
241 preparations that remained.

In the whole course of this large construction job there was no fore-
356 man to oversee the work; not a single order was issued nor a command
46 given; the work was performed with precision, and no inspection was
needed to check its quality or workmanship.

9

THE PLANTING OF THE CROPS 000

Ground-breaking Ceremony—the Women's Role —Explanation of Ritual—Songs of the Ceremony —the Process of Preparing and Planting the Crops Explained—Cooperation in Fields Discussed— Dangers of Attack—the Swim at the End of the Planting Day

THE CORN WAS THE FIRST CROP to be planted and then came the beans, 241
squashes, and melons. But before any planting could be done, the *Awari*
or "Ground-breaking Ceremony" had to be performed. The four special [778]
ministers of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person kept watch along
the creeks for the first leaves to appear on the willows; then they knew
the time was right for the ritual. They also had to wait for the dark of
the moon that signified darkness and germination. Now the four ministers
met together in the lodge where the Skull bundle was kept to make a
plan for the ceremony. The actual inception of the ceremony was during [787]
the past winter while they were on a buffalo hunt, when a woman had
had a vision that she was the one to see that it was performed. She called
on the help of her brother, who killed a special buffalo for her, and then
she invited the four ministers and told them of her vision. Then she dried [251]
and packed the rest of the buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit to
be used when the ceremony was performed in the spring.

This was the only Pawnee ceremony in which women played a major 241
role, and the original visionary through whom the ceremony was insti- 562
tuted for the season was also a woman. But the ceremony itself was directed and carried through entirely by the men. Now with the sprouting
of the willows it was time.

The woman of the house where the Skull bundle was kept got up 241
574
778

241 574 [778] early in the morning after the ministers had met, took the bundle from the west where it was hanging, and placed it outside on a tripod. She cleared the lodge of all the bedding and swept it with hyssops, while the four ministers each went to his separate house and sent boys out to collect willow sprouts to be delivered to the ceremonial lodge. There they were piled in two piles, one to the north and one to the south, and the woman spread them around the lodge radially with their pointed ends toward the fireplace, their stub ends outward toward the wall. She placed the floor mats on top of them, two on each side of the lodge and one at the west in front of the altar. The ministers seated themselves and sent for the woman visionary after inquiring if she had the bundle of consecrated dried buffalo meat ready. They also invited four prominent women—daughters of chiefs, warriors, or medicine men—who were wealthy enough to furnish a parfleche of dried buffalo meat and a kettle of corn and who would play a major role in the ceremony. The woman visionary was seated at the north, the four guests at the south, and the ministers then announced that they were about to conduct a ceremony so that the women could go into the field and plant their corn and that they had selected them to be leaders of the dance. Their acceptance of the role meant they were ready to make the necessary contribution.

That evening they all rehearsed their part in the forthcoming ceremony. The woman visionary was anointed by the ministers and the significance of the ritual explained to her. The four women who were to assist her were seated two to the south and two to the north. Other women who were attending were seated behind them. The descendants of the original Skull bundle owners were seated on the north side, other men scattered around the lodge.

[534] [778] The four ministers sent for the four gourd rattles that were attached to the Evening Star bundle, and when they were brought in they began to rattle and sing while the woman visionary practiced her dance. The spectators went home, and the four ministers, the woman visionary, and Skull bundle owners remained and had a dinner of corn and meat together, talking about past customs and the origin of the Skull bundle. At midnight the brother of the woman visionary came to escort her home while the ministers remained sleeping near the altar, the head minister remaining awake to watch for the dawn when the proceedings would begin.

241 The ritual was in three parts, one session from dawn to breakfast time, the second from breakfast time to ten in the morning, and the third in which there was major public participation, from ten till six-thirty in the evening. About seven-thirty in the evening there was a meal for everyone including the spectators to close the ceremony. [574]

[778] The dawn-to-breakfast part of the ceremony celebrated the original coming together of the villages, commemorating the special creative

The following is a simplified translation of an old Pawnee woman's statement of her experience of planting when she was a little girl in Nebraska, and a more exact statement of the old man's speech: 887 521 539

> An old man sitting on top of the earth lodge would be talking to the women at the time when they were going into the fields. He would say, "Now dear ladies, now you are disfiguring your bodies (getting them all muddy). Heaven has placed the wonderful bow and arrows in your hands. Heaven made it for you to be wonderful. You are wonderful! You repeatedly keep 'swelling me up.' When you put the corn in and it comes peeping out, that's what you fatten me with, my dear ladies."
>
> Then we women began to cut the grass, that is, clear the field. And when I was not yet mature, they would get me up early in the morning while it was still dark, and we two, my mother and I, would be in her field. She would have some porridge there for me. When mother was planting, oh, the corn mound would be big! Then she would dig a hole in the top and place inside the mound, seven seeds—not bunched together, but separately spaced. Then she covered it over with earth and the mound would be smooth. [241]

One of the only common instances of group planting was "planting for the daughter-in-law." The women relatives of the newly married groom would plant, cultivate, and harvest the bride's first crop. As many as twenty-five women would be gathered in her field and they would go to her house and get her seeds and line up in the field ready to plant. The field, about "half a block" long was hoed and planted by the women more or less in unison while two old women sat at the far end singing a song from one of the sacred bundle ceremonies: 241 476 602 [533] [539]

You are just hoeing around,
Big ground, lucky ground.

They were ranged in rows and while the women sang they made the mounds. Then they put in the seeds and then they all went to the home of the daughter-in-law where they were entertained at a feast of corn and dried buffalo meat. They repeated this performance when the corn sprouted, when they cultivated the field, and again at harvest. [574]

ble he would kill a buffalo and pronounce it holy. Then he called in the 243
five official Skidi priests, who were the ministers of the four semicar- 787
dinal-direction bundles and that of the evening Star, and entertained them [793]
at a feast of buffalo ribs, telling them of his vision. His wife sliced, dried, and packaged the rest of the consecrated buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit at home until the spring, when the ceremony was to be performed.

The visionary became a principal actor in the ceremony and made a [574]
major contribution of buffalo meat to the ritual feast, while his wife contributed a considerable amount of the boiled dried corn. He considered it a great privilege to participate in the ceremony and to receive instructions from the priests concerning the cosmic traditions. During the ceremony 243
he would impersonate an important god of the creation, *Paruksti*, the 787
Wonderful, the personified Thunderstorm with its four aspects of cloud, wind, lightning, and thunder. After the Star Gods had created man in 776
their own image, they combined the powers of the storm into one great 773
person, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, and sent him to earth to inspect their handiwork. In him were embodied all the self-renewing powers of earth. In the course of his travels he acted as scout, found the buffalo, and taught the people how to hunt them. The visionary was to impersonate the god in two roles—one in the symbolic acting-out of the male role in procreation and later as the guardian of their fortunes in the buffalo hunt.

In this ceremony of the young holy corn plant, the keepers of all the 243
twelve sacred bundles had assembled in the lodge of the Southwest (or 793
Southeast) Semicardinal-direction priest. The Evening Star priest and the four semicardinal-directions priests sat at the west and the other bundle ministers were ranged along the sides in positions appropriate to the place of origin of their legendary villages and their cosmic affiliations.

The visionary stood before the Evening Star priest, who arranged the 243
buffalo robe that he wore and tied the buffalo hair rope around his waist 793
so that he was dressed as a priest. The Evening Star priest now instructed 787
the visionary in what he was to do. He gave him a small pipe filled with 788
tobacco from the sacred bundle. The visionary then led the procession that was to go into the field where the sacred corn plant was growing. It was the field of the wife of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle priest. The procession lined up on the north side of the ceremonial earth lodge, the visionary in the lead, the four-directions priests following behind him and an errand man following after to serve them, carrying a lighted brand with which to light the visionary's pipe. The Evening Star priest remained in the lodge at the west and the ministers of the other sacred bundles continued to sit in their places. As the procession emerged from the lodge everyone in the village was standing on the

undertake their task of chieftainship with humility, for all they had was 796
their own human frailty. He said: "People think we are big men, but we're 224*
no bigger than poor men. Look at yourself and see this. Look down at 622
the earth. Power is there." 623

The chiefs now lined up for the procession that was to go through the villages. Eagle Chief was in the lead, carrying the main pipe, with Lone Chief about two feet behind him, also carrying a pipe. All the other chiefs that were to take part in the procession were lined up behind them. They would carry the sticks as they received them—about six or eight each, carried in their arms. As the procession moved along, they would complain jokingly about the weight. Newly inducted chiefs followed behind, as this was a good time for them to be seen by the people. Before they left, they all had to pass the inspection of Old-Man-That-Chief, who gave them instructions as to their procedure: "Now you're to go out through the village and although they already know when you enter anyone's lodge you must say, '*Rakis* (wood), *tatibaa*' (I came to get), *tatitska* (I want), *rakis*(wood).' "

They had to visit all the lodges in turn. As Eagle Chief led them in, the women would be sitting on the beds along the sides. When he made his request, a woman in the lodge who was chaste would get up and give him the sticks. If it was the lodge of an important man, before the donation was made, he would have lit his pipe and offered it first to Eagle Chief and then to all the others, and each would thank him. In other less important lodges, the wood would simply be given. Sometimes in the lodge of an old chief, the old man would reminisce about his own experiences when he was in such a procession and how some important men had "smoked" him when he went the rounds, and how a woman had given four sticks so that she might have a good word from the chiefs and be doubly lucky. The chiefs in the procession would ask for cottonwood sticks because they were light, complaining that their arms ached and bantering with Eagle Chief about lingering too long over the smoking. "How far must we go yet?" they would ask. "I don't know how many houses!" Eagle Chief would say.

When they arrived back at the ceremonial lodge, they dumped the
sticks at the southeast and went back to their places complaining about
the fact that they were hungry. "My stomach's way in—I'm hungry!
That fellow Eagle Chief is too slow." That-Chief would have directed [574]
the errand men to take a little dried meat and cook up a soup in a hurry
so that they could refresh themselves. This was just an impromptu meal.
The official banquet would come at the end, after all the ritual and business
had been transacted. That-Chief would again remind them that in
offering some buffalo fat to the powers they were not to raise it upward
to the Heavens but only to the earth, and that they were to eat directly
without waiting for anyone else.

796 *224 622 623 After they had finished, the most sacred part of the ceremony was held. They would smoke the pipe and talk of the creation. The old man instructed them and pointed out that they were not to be too eager, but to be measured in their devotions for they might otherwise tempt fate and use up their luck. He said: "This is the time for you to smoke, and anyone can talk on whatever serious subject he wants to—the creation or any other matter. Don't talk too long. Just say what you want to say if you have a notion. Just say a few words. You can talk again. Don't talk too fast. If it's Heaven's will, you will live long. If you talk out your words too fast, you wont live long; that is what we all believe. When we go visiting the Wichitas for example, if they don't give you a gift, that's all right. If they give you too much too often, you might not live long. If you get horses on the warpath, don't go again too soon. You might get killed. Conserve what you have. Do everything in a measured way. Heaven wanted us to live on this earth and here we are. These are the things that Heaven gave us—the corn and other things—and we must take care of them. We can't throw away or waste anything. We can't know what is going to happen in the future. *Raru* (merely, just), *kakirarakurararat* (don't waste anything)!"

796 *224 622 •574 623 The serious part of the ritual was now over and the old man instructed the errand men to begin to cook the main banquet which would be served about four in the afternoon. During this time they would converse on more practical matters, finally leading to the choice of the chief who was to lead the hunt during the forthcoming season, after which the banquet would be served. The old man led off: "This is your time to talk. We're not in a hurry. We have nothing else to do but talk. If you have a story to tell, tell it. We come here twice a year, as chiefs—once in spring and once in the fall. If you want to say anything, say it. I would like someone to volunteer to help the errand man cut the meat into portions." The talk by the others now concerned their leaving on the hunt. One would say, "This time of year the buffalo are not quite fat enough. How many days will it be after we leave the village before we see them? Perhaps so and so many. What do you think?" "Corn isn't big enough yet. Maybe it will be ready the latter part of the month." "Perhaps when we get out on the move, we can travel eight or ten miles a day."

Now after each one had made some remark on these matters, Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge who was sitting at the west and who had donated the meat, proposed that Eagle Chief be made administrative chief of the forthcoming hunt. Eagle Chief replied that he had only recently performed this role, and proposed that White Eagle be chosen in his stead. White Eagle, after due expressions of humility, addressed them. He stood up and said, "Now you have selected me. I'm going to call a

meeting in a few days to decide when to go buffalo hunting. When we 796
(Skidis) have decided this, the other three bands will be looking to us to 224*
find out when, and we must send them word." 622

The main banquet was now ready to be served and Old-Man-That- 574
Chief said, "This is what Heaven gave us. We must take care of it. Now 623
we're going to eat." The food was passed out in formal order and ordinary conversation went the rounds. One said, "Let the horses race now. Whoever has a good horse will get a good buffalo. This fellow has a horse that never gets fat because he races it. He feeds it all the time and it never gets fat." Someone else would remark about the state of the corn and the pumpkins. Then again, someone would say, "When we get to the Platte River, we will see big grapes and plums and chokecherries. There will be good plums where we're going." Another one would remark, "How are you fixed for the equipment for your horses? I guess you have to fix your saddle so that you can pack things on it." Then again, "I have to get some arrows. I have to get someone to make the shafts. I still have time yet." "I have to get an iron barrel hoop at the store to make the points, and a file to trim them down. First I have to get the blacksmith to rough them out for me. I have to get a lot of them." In this way they reminded one another of some of the practical things they had to do before leaving on the hunt.

It was now early in the evening and Old-Man-That-Chief made the closing speech and summarized some of their findings: He reminded them that they had been occupying the seats that the older chiefs had occupied before them; they had talked over whatever they wanted to say and what they knew of the past, and now they must look toward the future. That they had heard White Eagle who had been selected as leader of the forthcoming hunt upon his selection by Eagle Chief, and that they as chiefs could only reply upon their own judgment, for representing Heaven itself, there was no supernatural power to depend upon. He thanked Lone Chief for donating the meat for the banquet and then instructed them to get up and go. Before his final dismissal, That-Chief reminded them that the meat which they were carrying away from the feast was to be entirely eaten up as soon as they got home, and that it was not to be left overnight, as it might become infected with sickness or bad luck and endanger the well-being of the tribe. They were to bless their children with the meat and then see that it was eaten up directly. When the meat was handed to the wife, as she blessed her children she said, "I want you to grow up to be worthy of this chief's meat. Your father has come home with this meat for us to eat. This is the food that Heaven has promised to provide for us. Now we're going to eat it and Heaven is going to bless all of us. I'm going to bless you; we're going to eat this food from the chief's lodge there. Now we're going to eat it and I hope it brings good

796 luck to our house and that you grow up to be better children through
*224 Mother Earth." Then she blessed the children and she blessed herself
622 by rubbing her hands upon them and herself.

• 574 As was customary, as the meeting was drawing to a close, an old man had climbed on top of the earth lodge, and facing east addressed the
623 people, informing them of what matters had been discussed and what decisions had been reached in the council. He said: "Now the chiefs have had a meeting. Now their business is nearly over. Everyone must go into the fields and try to get things ready. Get the corn laid by as soon as you can. If you have not already gotten your tent fixed up as I have reminded you before, get it fixed up now. From now on, try to get everything done in a hurry." With this exhortation, everyone in the village accelerated their pace in preparing to leave the village and migrate out onto the plains.

it. A man like Eagle Chief who had eight or nine horses and whose son- 224*
in-law had a similar number, could afford to lend two or three to out- 492
siders, although this did not mean they would also share in the family 422
tent, as his administrative functions required that he take his entire 426
family along.

In the Pawnee language, the word horse means "super-dog," the only 482
pack animal the Pawnees had before the impact of European culture. 492
With all due respect to the capacities of the dog, however, it was the peo- 177
ple themselves that did most of the carrying on their own backs. They 224*
had to pack not only the things they needed for camping—food, tents,
and equipment—but they had to carry back the dried buffalo meat and
the large hides. Every able-bodied person they took along with them
could earn his way by carrying things on his back. The men, whether
first-rate hunters or not, could play a useful role in the surround of the
herd. The only people they would leave behind in the villages were the
old and disabled. But the horse had made quite a difference in the social
economy. A horse could be packed with the dried and packaged meat of
four buffalo while a person could not carry more than one—about 80
pounds. If need be the horse could carry still more goods on his back.
Unless they could be of substantial assistance in the work of the camp, a
person would only be an extra mouth to feed. In the case of a chief or 574 •
a man who was socially ambitious, there would be a great deal of enter- 554
taining to do in the camp; women, in addition to their work in preparing 224*
the meat and skins would also assist with the entertaining. In a family 462
which had no social ambitions, like that of Mad Bear cited above, two 224*
men in partnership taking a minimum of housing and utensils and a 571
maximum of horses could return with a great deal of buffalo meat and
hides, to the general benefit of their families. The wife left behind under 492
these circumstances could hardly resent it.

The horse also represented a unique and highly valuable item of capi- 551
tal that had the unprecedented value of not having to be carried, but of 231
moving itself. In the past, differences in wealth would depend on a much [556]
more direct kind of personal skill. The man who was swiftest on his feet
and the most skilled with the bow and arrow got the best buffalo, and
his wife could produce the finest packaged meat and the best skins. These
in turn could be traded for other valuable things—valued ornaments or
participation in the sacred ceremonies. Now skill in horsemanship, which
had become an indispensable factor in hunting the buffalo, implied also
major successes on the warpath and the capturing of horses as well as
their subsequent care and protection. The horse thus provided a material [556]
basis for a greater degree of social differentiation. The horse was an item [422]
of personal property, but unlike property in our society it was by no
means as much of a factor in developing differential status as other
aspects of experience, chiefly knowledge of man, the world, and the
universe.

buffalo surround had been made exclusively by the elite, now while they 224*
were en route to Camp 11, every able-bodied hunter in the entire tribe 484*
would make a concerted attack on the herd. To guide the line of march 361
overland from Camp 10 to Camp 11 took considerable skill. They
left the Platte by following southeast and upstream along Plum Creek almost
to its source, and then headed somewhat in the same direction overland
to the head of another small stream, Turkey Creek, that flows due
south into the Republican. They traveled southward along the west bank
of Turkey Creek, and the line of march halted about midway and combined
all the baggage they could so as to free as many horses as possible
for the hunters. The line of march proceeded to the confluence of Turkey
Creek and the Republican, where they set up Camp 11 in preparation
for the arrival of the hunters with the meat and hides. They would remain
there for some days as they would have a great quantity of meat
and hides to process. This was about the end of July. The place is west
of the present town of Naponee, Nebraska. Four mass forays would be
made by all the bands in concert, after which the bands would separate
and follow their own fortunes.

Officially, White Eagle was in charge of all the bands. However, he 224*
chose to make a number of diplomatic gestures in this connection. On 622
two occasions he deferred his leadership of the hunt episode to chiefs of 628
the other bands, with whom the Skidi had a special kind of political relationship. 276
This was a relationship established through the calumet or 574
peace pipe. The calumet was not so much a treaty-making symbol as an
elaborate ceremonial through which interband and intertribal trade was
carried on, the pipe, therefore, being a sign of peaceful intention and
thus a safe-conduct pass through alien territory. In 1672, Marquette [175]
carried one down the Mississippi and was able to establish peaceful relations
with all the tribes along the way. Other tribes agree that the ceremonial 574
originated with the Pawnees. The ceremony was always carried 276
on in terms of a visiting party bringing gifts. The visitors, who were [431]
called "fathers" by their hosts, brought with them dried vegetables,
bowls, and cooking utensils; decorated clothing, and blankets; "jewelry"
and ornamental objects; and—most valued of all—the highly decorated
pipe stems that were symbolic of the male and female eagle. The visiting
party might number a hundred or more. An earth lodge was set
aside by the hosts for the ceremonial and for the leaders of the party.
The rest of the visitors had brought their own tents and camping equipment
as well as all the food supplies and utensils that they would need. It
took almost a year for a man to initiate such an enterprise. In the party
were always included a chief, a priest, and a doctor. The hosts who received
the party were called "Children" by the visitors, who assisted the
hosts with their planting and other work so that they would be free to
attend the ceremonies. When the ceremony was over, the guests, in [431]

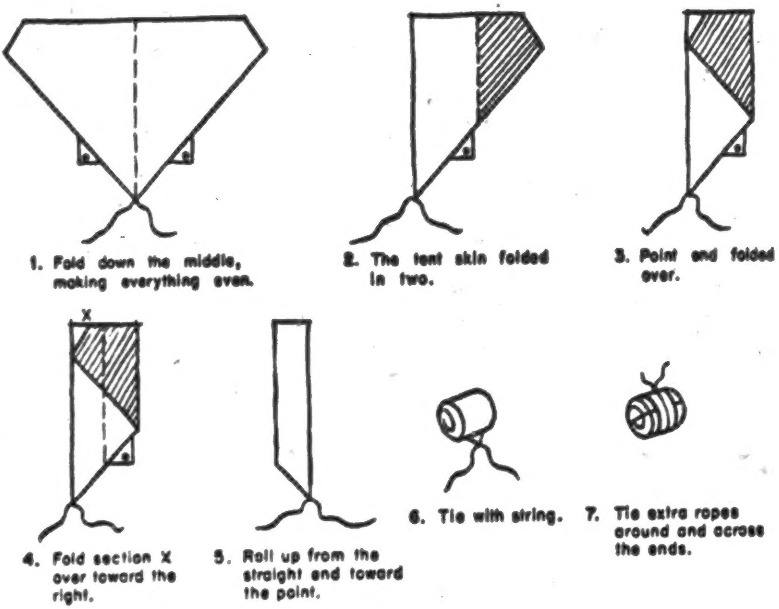
• 574 addition to the gifts, left all their equipment behind, and also the two
276 sacred pipes. The "Children" on their own account gave their parting
431 "Fathers" a large number of horses they had elaborately decorated for
the occasion. In the past they had given quantities of dried buffalo meat.
[554] Only people of some prominence and wealth could participate in these
operations. At this time the Skidi Band were the "Children" of the Begging-for-Meat
622 Band, while the Skidi were "Fathers" to the Man-Going-Downstream
628 Band having recently paid them a trading visit. In view of
574 the mutual courtesies involved, for the Chiefs' Hunt and the first major
276 hunt episode, White Eagle deferred his leadership to his "father," Man
*224 Chief of the Begging-for-Meat Band. The fourth episode he placed in
charge of his "child" Many Trophies, chief of the Man-Going-Downstream
Band.

*224 They stayed north of the Republican River for the first two mass attacks
*484 on the herd. By this time the herd on the north side was pretty well
scattered, and the hunters had to cross over the river for the attack and
bring the meat back over the water into camp. For the fourth mass attack
on the herd, under the leadership of Many Trophies of Man-Going-Downstream
[361] Band, they moved their camping location from Camp 11 to
a place on the Solomon River to the south, a branch of the Kansas. This
was a site preferred by the Man-Going-Downstream Band. It was a difficult
overland journey for which they had to carry water with them.
They would finally locate a small south-flowing stream, the Cedar, which
led them directly to the Solomon. They made their camp in the angle
where the Cedar joined the Solomon, hunting the herd further up the
river. When the bands parted, they mainly went to separate locations
further to the west along the Republican as the herds in the more eastern
648 location would have been scattered. This territory in the west was dangerous
as the nomadic tribes, Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, and others
were constantly poised to attack for what they considered to be an encroachment
[175] on their hunting grounds. In 1873 the Sioux attacked the
Pawnees while they were on such a venture, butchering their kill in a
[727] canyon near Trenton, Nebraska. The death toll was so severe that this
[167] event tipped the balance in their decision to leave their traditional territory
and migrate to Oklahoma.

*224 On the way out and the way back from the buffalo hunting territory
they moved their camp in fairly regular succession one day after another.
*484 But sometimes it rained and they had to remain where they were
132 for several days, or they might be delayed by the sickness of a prominent
man. Rain, of course, was an inevitable factor. It could delay the camp
for several days. If they were caught in a rain while on the march, everyone
had to spread his things out to dry and this operation might require
the next day or even two before they could resume their journey.
[281] Tanned hide becomes hard and has to be tanned again with grease and

*484 and White Woman on the other. While the women held up the contain-
512 ers, the men tied them on. Now everything was loaded and they could join
492 the line of march.

*484
342



1. Fold down the middle, making everything even.
2. The tent skin folded in two.
3. Point end folded over.
4. Fold section X over toward the right.
5. Roll up from the straight end toward the point.
6. Tie with string.
7. Tie extra ropes around and across the ends.

FIGURE 19-1. The method of folding the tent skin.

*484 Every morning the crier would go through the camps to repeat the in-
203 structions he had called out the night before. He would tell how far they
*224 were going and where they expected to camp. Until after Camp 9, individual hunters would ride off from the line of march as soon as their families were packed up and go hunting by themselves to get some fresh meat. While they were out, the group would have arrived at the designated camping place and set up camp, to which the hunters would come with their kill, usually in the late afternoon.

*484 In the evening each hunter entertained his own friends at a feast with
*224 the meat he had gotten that day. This was parallel to the household rou-
• 574 tine for the man in the villages. The administrative procedures were also
62 similar to those in the settlements. The chiefs of each of the bands more or less kept open house, and every evening there was an informal council where notable happenings of the day were recounted. The official braves, who policed the villages on behalf of their respective chiefs, now performed the same service while they were on the march.

224* 252 be used for water or dried as a tobacco container when they went on a Peace Pipe expedition.

224* 521 While the cooking of the meal was in process, the brother returned from tending the horse and Roaming Leader motioned him to sit down at his left. The place at his right was reserved for his wife. Roaming Leader was sitting on the north side. He told his brother how far they had had to go in order to get the bison, how fast the horse was, and other details of the chase—of how three of them had chased two of the bison and the other two, the third animal—of how they butchered and divided up the meat and who got which pieces.

264 Before he had quite finished with his account, his wife announced that she was through with the cooking. He had to interrupt his story, as they must eat at once because the buffalo meat was still lying outside on the spread. His wife's mother, Lady Lucky Leader, had come in meanwhile and her son, Dog-Sitting-at-the-West (also known as Frank Leader), and they joined the family for dinner. The tongue would have been adequate to feed the three of them, but with five they also needed to use the heart. Each one received a small piece of each kind of meat. The Pawnees believed that the first meat of the season should be cooked rare so that the [827] digestive system could become accustomed to it. Roaming Leader remarked this to his wife, "Cook it a little rare. Don't overcook it—it's [252] easier to digest that way." The meat was cut into long thin strips at this time so that it would boil quickly.

224* 252 431 As soon as they were through eating, Lady Lucky Leader went outside to tend to the meat. She gave some to the Meat-Askers and at Roaming Leader's instruction, prepared half of the backbone steak as a gift for White Eagle. First she removed the sinews and cut the steak in two. Since her daughter was busy with the dishes, she carried it to White Eagle's tent herself. As she approached, an old lady from White Eagle's tent noticed her coming and came out to meet her. She said, "I'm bringing meat," and the old lady replied, "Oh, thank you, thank you." As she handed over the meat she said, "Oh, they got three of them—three bison." As White Eagle's mother-in-law entered the tent she told him the news. "They found three bison so and so far." "That's all right!" he said. Some of the meat was cut into long strips and boiled right away, White Eagle making the usual remark about cooking it rare, and the rest of the steak was sliced up by the old lady preparatory to making it into dried meat for storage.

574 After the families of each of the hunters had eaten their meal, they would prepare for their several banquets. Each of the five invited friends and prominent people from his own village—Mad Bear from Pumpkin-Vine, Running Scout from Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge, and Roaming Leader from his own Village-in-the-Bottomlands, New Young

Dog was a Pumpkin-Vine man, but under the circumstances, since this village was already invited by one of the hunters, he invited people from the fourth Skidi village, Wolf-Standing-in-Water. The fifth hunter, Wants-the-Enemy, chose other personalities that he felt should be included in the feasting. Each guest would take some of the meat home after the banquet for his family and friends, and in this way a great many people in the encampment shared in the first buffalo meat of the season.

Roaming Leader, who was entertaining the prominent people of his own Village-in-the-Bottomlands, had as his guest of honor White Eagle, who had married into their village. He was given the seat of honor at the northwest. In the southwest seat sat Comanche Chief, an outstanding chief of Bottomlands Village, and a man somewhat older than White Eagle. Next to White Eagle on the north side was the head brave of Bottomlands Village, Strikes-the-Enemy, and beyond him, Horse Thief, a man prominent in the Peace Pipe Ceremony and an outstanding warrior. Along the south side next to Comanche Chief sat Dog-Sitting-at-the-West, who was Roaming Leader's brother-in-law, and another man well known for his bravery.

In his opening speech the host, Roaming Leader, said, "White Eagle, Comanche Chief, Horse Thief, my brother-in-law here, and . . . (citing each one). Here we have something to eat. I wanted to have you people with me. I give you this little food that I have; it is yours. We're just going to eat." After this first speech, everyone remained silent for about five minutes, thinking that White Eagle, as leader of the hunt, would speak. White Eagle for his part was sitting with head bowed in deference to Comanche Chief, as an older man, hoping he would take the cue and speak first. He also felt that Comanche Chief as head of the host village should take the lead. Finally, since he was his kin, he simply leaned over and remarked, "I want you to hurry and speak so that we can eat our food." "All right," said Comanche Chief, "I was waiting for you." Now he mentioned them all by name, first along the north side, then on the south and especially the host and his wife. "You have been cooking and your hands and face must be hot. You have been doing the cooking for us." To Roaming Leader he said, "This is not the first time you have done this—given feasts to our different groups of people. You got up early in the morning to go out and look for some buffalo and now you have accomplished it. I know how it is. The horse is tired from chasing the buffalo and after that, the hardest thing is to do the butchering. And you have done this for me. Now here is the food before me and here are these fellows. This is what White Eagle wants and so far White Eagle has had good luck in leading us. I don't want to talk too long as someone else might want to say something."

White Eagle had been waiting for him to say this and as Comanche Chief turned to him he said, "That's what I wanted. Thank you for your talk, Comanche Chief. You have helped me a lot. I wanted someone of experience to talk to Roaming Leader as you did. I could not have done anything by myself. Only if Heaven is willing can we have good luck. The other four hunters are sitting and feasting as we are. I can hardly speak for I am so filled with joy. My food is right here and I am going to eat these ribs here, and I thank your wife for doing the cooking. That's all I want to say." Comanche Chief had an idea that his brave, Strikes-the-Enemy, might want to make a few remarks and he nudged him to get on with it. Finally Comanche Chief concluded the predinner speeches and asked one of the men from his own village to serve. The old lady, Roaming Leader's mother-in-law, had gone outside to tend to the meat that was lying there and after the guests had received theirs, and the host and his wife had their portions, meat was carried outside for her. 574

During the meal, pleasant conversation was always the order of the day. Stories were told and the events of the hunt recounted again in detail. Then Comanche Chief made the closing speech, again mentioning them all by name and thanking the host and his wife. "As you and your wife intended, we have now partaken of this feast. White Eagle has spoken and good luck may come to you. Now we have eaten. Now we are going to go." As they got up to leave, Roaming Leader's wife made a bantering remark to one of the men to whom she had a kin relationship for which relaxed behavior was appropriate. She said, "What's your hurry? Maybe you're in a hurry to go gambling." "No, I forgot to hobble my horses. They're just about to go back to the last camp where we came from." Roaming Leader told them to leave the rib bones right in their places and his wife would tend to that. As they filed out, each one stopped before Roaming Leader and said, "Thank you for having us to dinner." 574 521 [576]

This degree of formality was by no means the general rule among the less status-conscious members of the tribe. After this episode, any of the hunters who chose to could go out without special permission from White Eagle. A man who had a gun was likely to go by himself, while those with bows and arrows would go in small groups. They hoped to find a stray buffalo or perhaps an antelope that had strayed from the herds that were gathered on the plains like sheep. Young men twenty-eight to thirty years old would be inclined to go together on such informal expeditions. Very much like young white men who say, "Let's go fishing," they would just go for the sport, and they would sit around the fire and eat up whatever they had caught. Sometimes an older man would feel in the same spirit and he would join in with them. "Never mind about the chiefs and big fellows," they would say, "they won't invite us. Let's eat." Then they would hold a mock feast and say, "I'll eat like Comanche Chief." "And I'll eat like War Cry." "Here's your meat, 224* [576]

*224 Comanche Chief. Here War Cry, here's yours. Here Eagle Chief, here's your meat!"

*224 571 578 Sometimes this group of happy-go-lucky young men were unable to get anything and then they would curse one another saying, "Why do we have bad luck? It must be because of you!" One man called *Rawihu'u*, "The Go-Getter," which also means "Warpath," was their favorite scapegoat. It seemed as if he always did something at the wrong time to spoil things. As a man was about to shoot a buffalo, he would look over the man's shoulder and the buffalo would see him moving and run away. Once when they were stalking a deer, approaching on their bellies, Warpath coughed at the crucial moment and the deer ran off. One of the men said, "I wish I could shoot you." "I couldn't help it. I had to cough. My throat was dry," said Warpath.

*224 • 574 Some men went after antelope and took the meat home to their families. They would call in three or four of their more intimate friends to share it with them.

Such a man was Fearing-a-Bear, an able hunter and warrior, a mature man but a rough-and-ready type. He had little interest in social status and public affairs and when he was successful in his hunting he would say, "I'm tired. I think I'll just eat this up myself with my friends." He and his wife lived in a tent with his father, his sister, and her husband. [607] [606] Theoretically the brother-in-law should take care of them, but the brother-in-law in this case was from the Omaha tribe, and the father-in-law did not find it a very congenial arrangement. Relations between them were strained.

574 606 As they sat at dinner one night, as the host of the occasion, Fearing-a-Bear sat in the southeast position. Next to him sat his wife who was doing the cooking. On the other side of the entrance, in the northeast position, sat his father and beyond him on the north side the Omaha son-in-law. But the two women, Fearing-a-Bear's wife and his sister, were worried about this close proximity of the two hostile men and so the sister seated herself between her Omaha husband and her father. Ordinarily she would have sat at the east end beyond the two men. She had separated them, for trouble might arise, or the old man, being shaky, might accidentally spill some soup on his son-in-law and then there would be a flare-up. The adjustment they had made in seating arrangements, however, was very awkward for the hostess. She could not pass the food to the old man who was sitting on the end, as it was absolutely forbidden for a daughter-in-law to have any contact with her father-in-law. So she had to get up each time and give the food to her sister-in-law who was sitting between her Omaha husband and her father, in order to pass it to the men. Then the sister-in-law was in a dilemma. Should she serve her husband first or her father? Either way, she was bound to offend one or the other of them.

000 The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant

The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant kinship ties to him, but according to the logic of the Pawnee kin system 574 they all called one another brother. [602] They were seated in order of seniority. The hostess, sitting at the southeast, dished out the food for them, [601] and her husband passed it to his neighbor on the left, stating who it was [554] intended for, whereupon it would be passed along to the designated party. There were no speeches, and people were not obliged to wait for [264] anybody else but could eat as soon as they were served. When they were through, if they were in a hurry they would just pick up the bread and meat that they had left over and go directly out, taking the leftover food to their wives and children. [576] The manners of the common people were far simpler than those of the socially elite, or the socially ambitious, although the customary forms were similar.

As they continued on the move, pressures might build up between in- 484* dividuals because of the closeness of the living conditions in camp and the 578 strain of constant migration. This was particularly true between father-in- law and son-in-law. 606 Theoretically, it was the first duty of the son-in-law to serve his wife's family, but when his father-in-law was quite old, the son-in-law often felt put upon by the arrangement. Sometimes in the camp one could hear people calling out, "Fight, fight!" and father-in-law and son-in-law would be grappling with each other in a tent. People all came running and a roughneck in the crowd would call out, "Who's underneath?" Someone who was close to the tent would say, "Son-in-law." In general the crowd would approve and say, "That's good," the sentiment being with the underdog, the old father-in-law. [554] Such a quarrel would be ended when a brave or other person of high social rank put a hand on each of the combatants and said, "I want you to stop." Out of respect for his rank and eminence, they would separate at once and go in different directions. Should they not respond it would be a major insult and he would say a second time, "Didn't you hear me?" This would certainly end the fight. Any person known to be sensitive and to dislike violence could perform this same good office. [183] Violence of this kind within the village or band was considered a serious social malfunction and people made every attempt to avoid it or put a stop to it. The effort to anticipate and prevent such situations from arising can be seen in the efforts of the wife and sister of Fearing-a-Bear to keep a hostile father and son-in-law apart.

24

CAMP 11—AT THE BUFFALO HUNTING GROUNDS

000

Camp Established—Formal Precision Necessary for Hunt—Religious Considerations—the Council Tent—Plan of Attack—Sympathetic Magic

AT THIS TIME OF YEAR the main buffalo herd was moving eastward down 224*
the Republican River. When they had set up camp at the confluence of
Turkey Creek and the Republican, they would be within two miles of
the north bank and often within sight of the herd itself. The whole operation 224*
now took on a much more formal turn involving the whole encampment. 626
At the council tent of each of the bands that night, a special
group of military police was set up to make sure that no hunter went [625]
out individually and disturbed the herd, and that absolute quiet was maintained
in the camp itself among the women and children as well as the
men. Children must be soothed and prevented from crying, dogs muzzled
and wood chopping done only when the herd was not within hearing
distance. The individual hunter who violated these rules and went [689]
among the herd was beaten over the head with a heavy club and sometimes
severely injured. The attack upon the herd was their main objective
and it had to be accomplished with precision, for they had to be
back at the villages by September first when the south star Canopus was
in the sky—the signal for the beginning of their harvest.

In addition to these practical considerations, there were religious factors 224*
that gave form to their operations. A large part of the preserved 574
meat, particularly the long steaks along the backbone of the buffalo, 796
would be pledged to the performance of their sacred ceremonies. Feasting
on the meat was an essential phase of every important ceremony.
This was the food that Heaven had sent, and it was fitting that sharing it
in a feast should be part of their devotions. The creation story that was 000

After the four major hunt episodes, the four bands went their own 224*
ways, but within the bands the military police continued their power 484*
until they were actually on their return journey. The sending of the 625
scouts early in the morning and the plan as to where they should go was 628
now assigned by White Eagle to the chief of the police, a similar plan being followed in each of the other two bands when their chiefs took the lead.

The next afternoon, after they had made a second major attack on the 623
buffalo herd, there was a very large meeting in the council tent. At least 574
five sets of ribs were donated by each of the four Skidi villages, and five 224*
or six buckets of boiled corn kernels by wives of the leading men in 628
their names. Two women, one in front and one behind, would come with the long "digging iron" stick resting between them on their right shoulders with the kettle of corn hanging from it, bringing it to the council tent and saying, "This is so-and-so's."

After proper offerings had been made to White Eagle's sacred Left 623
Hand bundle, they ate roasted ribs and then corn, and told in detail all 574
the happenings of the hunt. Some of the men then began to go back to 538
their own tents while the prominent citizens remained, the older men be-
ginning to tell "tall stories" of times gone by. They lingered so long in 224*
the Skidi council tent that night that Many Trophies of the Pitahawirata 628
Band had to send his errand man to find out what the plans for the next day were to be, and then trot off to tell the chiefs of the other two bands.

As they sat in the tent, one old man said, "When I was young, I came close to a buffalo once and shot it with my arrow and the arrow went right through and came out the other side." Another old man now tops that one and says, "I did that once and when my arrow came through it shot a jack rabbit sitting on the other side." Old Man Pitsu'u (Arrived) now adds his tale, "I chased a bison, and you know they have long hair and as I chased him I saw something shiny on his neck. I thought it was a rock, but after I killed him and tied my horse to his leg, I looked and saw that he had a chief's medal around his neck. 'I wonder how he got that medal,' I thought, 'that bull must have been to Washington!' It wasn't on a ribbon though, but on a buckskin string. Now how do you think that bison got that medal around his neck?"

Different answers were posed one of which gave an account of a chief who had been killed and the bison rolling nearby, thus acquired the medal. "Now," said That Chief, "tell us Eagle Chief what you think?" "I'll tell you what might have happened," says Eagle Chief, "A Cheyenne or Comanche might have roped this bison while he was young and maybe he wanted to be blessed and put his medal on the calf. He might say, 'I'm giving you this medal. I want you to bless me. I'll let you free.'"

It appears that no one was ready to top this, so this story rested. Then Charley Buffalo began to tell of his fancy exploits somewhat embel-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

628
623
lished until it got very late and the old men fell asleep where they were
*224 sitting while the rest went home.

• [574] From now on they would meet in the council tent, especially the most
[538] prominent men, throughout the hunt.

chance of the season to make bone grease, as they were unlikely to stay 262
long enough in any one place and be so close to the hunting grounds as 251
to have all these large bones around and the time to treat them. The bone 252
grease was made by cracking up the backbone and boiling it in a large kettle of water along with the knuckle bones. The grease, skimmed off with a spoon, was kept in a buffalo paunch, prepared by peeling off the inner lining, which left a smooth surface on the inside. The paunch, with a wide slit cut into it for an opening, was placed in a depression in the ground and the opening flaps spread out at the top. In summer it was hard to get the grease to solidify, but in the evening when a cool breeze came up from the river it became solid enough to transport. Though they seldom did so, if they wanted to make bone grease en route they put it into the large intestine and tied it up at both ends for transportation. The winter was a more propitious time for making bone grease as
it hardened more readily; sometimes they would stay up at night and [416]
work by the light of a burning brand while on the winter hunt in order to make it. The soup was spilled out at some distance from camp along with the boiled bones. Before they got rid of the soup, Horse Rider liked to eat a bowl of it with a handful or two of parched corn. Sometimes when it cooked for a long time, certain soft parts from the bones around the lower part of the foreleg were also eaten.

Now as Horse Rider was coming into camp with a backbone for Grandma to boil up for bone grease, she set him to work first picking off the small pieces of meat and fat. He sat down directly with his legs extended and wedged the backbone between his feet and got to work digging out the meat. They used the meat for soup at supper. The long bones were cracked and the marrow removed and wrapped in a membrane taken from the flank. The marrow was eaten raw with dry meat.

They now had the partially dried buffalo meat to supplement the supplies of dried corn, beans, and squash and the dried meat they had brought with them from the previous winter hunt. For the camping family of six, they would use a thin sheet of dried buffalo meat with its covering layer of fat. The dried piece of meat was 12 inches wide by 30 inches long and would be cut into eight portions, 6 inches wide, 7 inches long and ⅛ to ¼ inch thick. The fat was a little thicker and with each portion went a piece of fat—2½ by 5 inches. The portions of meat and fat were washed with cold water and then put in the kettle which was placed on the coals to boil. The fat tended to disintegrate into the soup. When they were cooking dry meat for supper, a guest, usually a close friend or relative, was very likely to drop in. In Victory Call's camp, Uncle War Cry, White Woman's brother, was the one most likely to appear.

For feasts at official or ceremonial occasions, the backbone steaks were 574
used, a number being donated for each occasion (see Figure 27-4). A 252

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 221]

252
574

[554]

[264]
[237]

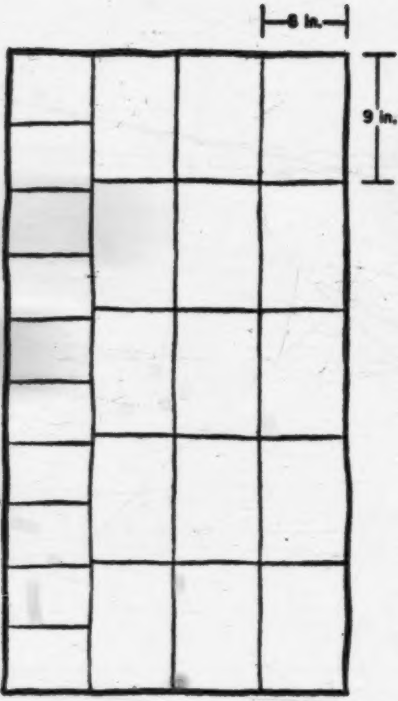
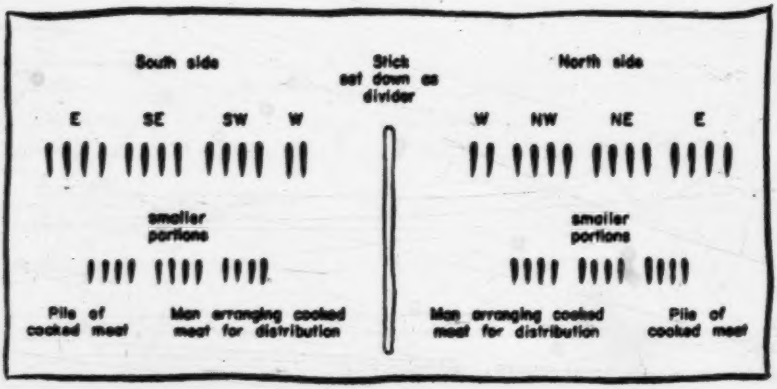


FIGURE 27-4. The manner of cutting and setting out portions of the layer of dried buffalo meat made from the backbone steak, *kisatsu*, at a feast. (1) Preparatory to cooking, the steak is cut into four long strips. The three strips at the right are each made into five portions. The fourth long strip at the left is made into as many additional portions as is deemed necessary. The large portions are for the honored guests sitting in the special positions, the smaller portions, for the rest of the guests. The slab of dried buffalo fat is cut up in the same way. (2) The portions are set out on a tanned hide, ready to be served. (The dimensions and the drawing were supplied by informants.)

252
264
574


South side
Stick set down as divider
North side
E
SE
SW
W
W
NW
NE
E
smaller portions
smaller portions
Pile of cooked meat
Man arranging cooked meat for distribution
Man arranging cooked meat for distribution
Pile of cooked meat

tanned hide was spread out and formally divided into sections, a right section for the guests on the north side and a left section for those on the south side with a stick lying on the spread between them to mark the divisions. Two backbone steaks were opened out, one on one side and one on the other and separated from their layer of fat. This operation was carried out at the southeast of the earth lodge or tent with the two steaks pointed with their "neck" or head ends toward the northwest. Each steak was cut down the length into four strips, each about 6 inches wide. The three strips on the right were made into five large portions each, about 9 inches long, and the fourth or leftmost strip was cut into a whole series of smaller portions depending upon how many people needed to be served. The larger portions were for the important guests at the main "positions," while the smaller pieces were for the others. The layer of fat was cut up in the same way, but this disintegrated in the soup. For a feast of sixty people, four steaks would be cooked. Each potful took about twenty minutes, about fifteen for the meat and a few minutes more for the fat to be thoroughly cooked. For this amount they cooked three or four batches, spearing out the pieces of meat with a stick each time and placing them on the spread in the appropriate position for serving. Sometimes while the errand man was doing the cooking he would observe that the steaks were unusually small, viz., from a small animal, when additional meat would have to be added. When additional steaks were received, the important guests received double portions or more. This was the only direct compensation for administrative services. 252 574 [554] [554]

Most of the meat preserved during this summer hunt would be used during the following fall and winter, while the succeeding winter hunt would provide the additional meat for the spring. From the summer hunt, the hides were processed as rawhide or tanned hide with hair removed, while on the winter hunt they got hides with fur and wool for warm robes. 251 262 281

The drying and preserving of the buffalo meat along with their crops was one of the major technical achievements of the Pawnees. This ancient art of preserving food by drying was almost continent-wide in America among the food gatherers as well as the food producers, and the method contrasts markedly with the general Old World approach of fermenting, pickling, and spicing for food preservation. 251 171

Each household had its own estimate of the amount of dried buffalo meat required to carry on its social and religious obligations. Four formal attacks on the herd by all the able-bodied hunters of the tribe were considered sufficient to provide for most of their needs. The first mass attack had taken place as the line of march was slowly making its way southward along the west bank of Turkey Creek. When they had gone about halfway, the scouts had located the herd, and the hunters left the 224*

243 priests of the four direction bundles. They were representing the four
778 aspects of the primordial storm given by Heaven to the Evening Star to
793 assist her in the process of creation. The Evening Star priest also invited
a number of noted warriors and old men and had a quantity of green
corn cooked for their feast. The sacred bundle was opened and its pipe
[276] smoked and shared with the Evening Star and the other great western
[782] powers by pointing its mouthpiece toward the west and then in the same
way with the other celestial gods who took part in the ongoing of the
universe. The contents of the sacred bundle were passed through an
incense of burning sweet grass smoke, and an offering of the corn was
made to the gods. Then the invited guests had their feast of green corn.
• [574] After the Evening Star bundle had completed its ritual, all other sacred
bundles followed suit, offering green corn to the bundles and having a
corn feast.

243 The main harvest ceremony which centered around the Mature Corn
778 was a continuation of the symbolic theme of the life cycle of Mother
776 Corn carried by the four semicardinal-direction bundles. Its connection
with the progression of the seasons was also part of the ritual pattern.

[793] In the spring, after the Evening Star priest had performed the creation ritual for the renewal of all things, the four direction priests began their ritual cycle in anticipation of the planting time by a ceremonial distribution of the seeds of the sacred corn to the twelve owners of the sacred bundles whose wives planted them in special hills in the fields. Pursuing the theme of seasonal succession, the four sacred bundles of the group took charge of their ritual in turn. For the winter season, a North bundle was in charge. At the ceremony when the sacred seeds were distributed, the North bundle gave over its sacred mission to one of the South bundles of the group. A number of cornstalks symbolized this transfer of power, and these were now handed from the North to the South bundle. After the ground-breaking ceremony which belonged to a different cult (Skull bundle—Evening Star), the second ceremony of the Four Direction series concerning the Mother Corn was carried out. In this case the birth, infancy, and adolescence of Mother Corn were symbolized by uprooting the new little shoots of the sacred corn plants and providing one of them with a shaft on which a mouth and windpipe were painted to represent its life. The Young Mother Corn had carried them through the summer attached to the outside of the sacred bundle. Now the maturing Mother Corn had attained her full power to look after the people. The ceremony of the Mature Corn represented her installation to this office. It was also the occasion when the four-direction-bundle group shifted the ceremonial prerogative from the South bundle to the North bundle for the forthcoming winter. Some of the cornstalks of the sacred corn from the current harvest were given to this bundle to signify its mission. In addition to the principle of the succession of winter and sum-

lined up one behind the other and set out for the village. As they ap- 756
proached, people were watching from the housetops, saying, "They're 796
coming with wood." A ridge ran east and west above the village and the 313
women sat down there to rest before coming in. They were wishing they 462
could take a bath in the lake beside the road. "Have you rested enough?" asked Roaming Scout. "Yes." "Come on, then." When they had gone halfway into the village, their scouts left them and went home and the women proceeded to the Doctor Lodge where they dumped the wood, some of it inside and some outside to the north of the door. Big Doctor said, "Now you ladies go home and change your clothes. Dress up in your best. Paint your cheeks and then come back because you are going to have a feast. Tell those two men who went with you to dress up and come. Who were they?" "Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy?" "All right."

By about three or four in the afternoon, the children who were wait- 756
ing around to see everything sighted the line of women with the two 796
men in the lead going to the Doctor Lodge. The women were carrying 574
their wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons. They were seated along the north side of the lodge, the two men at the western end of the line. Wonderful Old Bull of the north side was doing the honors for the four main doctors. The wives of the doctors had contributed four buckets of boiled corn which were now brought in and the meat was given by one of the designated donors. An offering of corn was made to all the objects in the lodge, and it was served to the guests. After the second helping some of the women were patting their stomachs and saying, "My, I ate too much!" Those with more foresight had brought a bucket along to take the extra food home.

All the doctors except the four at the west remained in their booths. In anticipation of the forthcoming entertainment, some were calling out, "I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of that good-looking woman over there!" The women, who were apt to be shy on such occasions, were whispering among themselves instead of speaking out as the men usually did. The three big doctors at the west supplied the talk. "That one—I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of her!" "No you won't. That's the one I want." While they were eating the corn, twenty-two pieces of the cooked meat were spread out on a tent skin ready to be served, and as the women finished their corn they were served soup in their bowls. Wonderful Old Bull, representing all the head doctors, served them with the meat. Finally the dishes and pots were cleared away, the women put their bowls behind their backs, and the entertainment began.

At the west, Wonderful Old Bull and Sitting Hawk began to drum and sing doctor songs, while the doctors in different booths made all sorts of animal sounds. The little boys ran in to see what was going on. They were saying, "Now they're taking their quartz crystals." At this juncture,

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756
796
• 574

the two head doctors got up and danced facing the booths—Big Doctor down the north side and Pipe Offering down the south side. Each doctor carried a gourd rattle in his left hand, an eagle-wing fan in the right and as they went along the side they said, "Hu', hu', hu'," to signify that they were bent on hypnotizing. They passed along their booths from west to east and then back again.

Now the two doctors set out from the west again, Big Doctor in the lead and Pipe Offering behind him. They moved very carefully inside the serpent, making sure their feet did not touch it. When they arrived in front of the women sitting along the north side, they made odd motions and Big Doctor fell over. When he came out of his daze he patted his hand on his stomach, passing it up toward his throat and the quartz crystal came out of his mouth. Then Pipe Offering did the same and the two doctors went back to their place at the west. Now the other doctors all came out of their booths in a bunch, rolling and writhing, and they took the crystals out of the women. Old-Man-That-Chief who was blind asked to be led in front of an old woman and he took a crystal out of her.

By this time it was five-thirty and Big Doctor made his closing speech, stating that they had seen their "romping and playing" and now the show was over. They had shared a feast together and now all got up and left, including the spectators. On the way out everyone was laughing at Old-Man-That-Chief taking a crystal out of an old lady.

The doctors put away their "quartz crystal" paraphernalia and discussed plans for the forthcoming performance. Big Doctor said, "The day after tomorrow, in the evening, Good Pipe and I are going to put on a regular performance. Tomorrow evening we doctors are all going to parade through the village. Anyone who wants to take part in the performance to be given the day after tomorrow, ought to get everything ready!" The big public performances were now about to begin.

756 calico, shawls, and blankets—were also fastened to the bottom. The
796 whole thing was encased in a wicker frame of willows under the water.
[778] The stakes from the doctor booths were stuck all along the sides of the
[532] serpent and bent over across it and interlaced at the top.

[931] Now that the objects were all in the water, the people stepped aside
to permit the doctors to engage in one more hypnotic contest. One after the other, as they stood by the water, they caused one another to fall in.

756 Then the whole group of doctors and any others who had given them
796 assistance repaired to the Doctor Lodge for the banquet. The lodge was
• 574 empty and they could make a big circle sitting close to the outside walls.
The groups of doctors were ranged in from the west. Beyond them along the sides were the general public who had helped them. And last of all to the east were the chiefs, two each from the four Skidi villages. Furthest toward the door of the guests, were two old men, That-Chief at the southeast and Good Land at the northeast. Finally there was one errand man stationed at each side of the entrance. As they were assembled there, some of the people expressed regret that the whole thing was over, for they had had such a good time.

It took eight people to prepare and serve the meal including the two regular errand men. Each of these was provided with an assistant to do the cooking and serving. They had to borrow two of the largest brass kettles they could get, and after they got the water they put in the meat and set them to boil, one at the northeast and one at the southeast of the fire. While the meat was cooking, the donated corn was served after the appropriate offerings had been made, then soup and then the meat. Extra large pieces were set aside for the guests of honor and one for "the house"—that is, for Sitting Hawk's wife to whom the lodge belonged.

[521] During the meal the doctors made conversation about the happenings
of the morning—about what had occurred at the river, and so forth. Then Big Doctor made his closing speech, addressing them all. He said, "Now young doctors, doctors, and all members of the Doctor Lodge and the animals that we have imitated here, and you chiefs sitting here watching over your people, and Heaven that has taken pity on us so that we could successfully complete our performance, and you head doctors here who have helped carry out our performance, now we have had our feast—now the Doctor Lodge is over."

A number of business details remained to be attended to. The head doctors had to apportion the meat that they had kept for the final arrangements. The owners of the house would have to fill in all the holes and set up the beds and then entertain the members of the families among whom they had been staying while the lodge was in session. They would need a quantity of dried meat for this. What was left would be divided

among the doctors. The errand men and their assistants received gifts of 756 796
calico. [574]

The Doctor Lodge was one of the most intensive group ceremonies of
the year, extending to all the people. In the three South Bands at this time, 756
each had a similar twenty-day Doctor Ceremony that they referred to 796
as Big-Sleight-of-Hand. Apparently they only lacked the serpent or wa- 184
ter monster of the Skidi, which was the special feature of the federation
of the Skidi villages.

After the Doctor Lodge, the separate animal cults that had been rep- 756
resented there should each have a three-day ceremony of its own—the 796
general one constituting a mandate for this. The ceremonial calendar
was so crowded that it was extremely difficult to find three days when all
the members would be free of other ceremonial involvements. The Bear
and Buffalo cults were large organizations with thirty to forty members,
and there were many overlappings in the personnel.

There was one private cult, however—the Deer Dance—that was en- 796
tirely outside the association. It had been imported a generation before 177
from the kindred Caddoan-speaking Wichita to the south and adapted to
the Pawnee ceremonial pattern. It had no obligation to the Doctor As- 535
sociation and was fast presenting a challenge to it for membership. Its 578
ceremony was held at a time that overlapped the Doctor Lodge, and sometimes members were spirited away from one to the other, causing considerable bitterness between the leaders. The Deer Dance, also known as Whistle Dance from the whistles the dancers blew at frequent intervals, celebrated the maturing of the wild sage and the mescal bean. Rattlesnake power was also part of the cult. The over-all pattern was of a Deer Lodge in the timber. In some ways it represented a quite different system of thought from the Doctor Association, and through it new and important developments might have occurred in Pawnee ceremonial thinking. But before this could be realized, its life was ended by the holocaust that overtook the Pawnee people and their culture and their wild animal world as white contact intensified (see p. 3).

Victory Call was the director of this cult and he was largely responsible
for its growth and success among the people. On his deathbed he [954]
accused his arch rival, Big Doctor, of causing his death through sorcery.

Some of their families would want to go along and some old women to collect wild potatoes and the wild beans that 221 were stored by the wood rat. The women could help with hauling 224 wood and cooking and boys could make themselves useful hauling 484 water and tending the horses. Eventually ten to fifteen tipis in two or [222] three bunches would set out in this way, traveling five or six miles a day and staying two or three days in one place. Individual men would join tents with families, going out during the day with their horses and joining the camp at night at the appointed place. Every evening an old man would walk among them announcing the next day's plans. They camped on the north side of the Loup where they could get wood as it might snow at any time. Those who trapped beaver would clean their traps in the evening and set them from the north side of the river, while the deer hunters went either north or south. Whenever anyone caught anything, they would have a big feast all through the camp. [574] Eagle Chief and War Cry who excelled in buffalo hunting did not care for shooting with guns and trapping, but Victory Call, and his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and also Old Bull were good hunters and trappers. They did not believe in exposing their families to enemy attack in this way and so they would come along by themselves. After they had made five or six camps, someone would come from the village and tell them that they would soon be setting out for the winter buffalo hunt and then they would all return and prepare.

It was such an informal hunting and trapping group that Kind Warrior 796 joined when he returned from the Wichita. In his tipi he was singing 177 his Deer Dance songs in Wichita, and when Victory Call, who was feeling lonesome, heard him, he went into the tipi where Kind Warrior was lying on his back and singing as he beat time on his thigh. Kind Warrior got up and welcomed Victory Call and after he said he was attracted by the singing, invited him to lie down and join him. Lying to the left of Kind Warrior he sang along with him and whenever he had nothing to do, he would just go in and sing. Others came in too and sang with them. Back at the village these men would sing together in the lodge and as others heard them, they also came in. These were men who had also been among the Wichita and had learned only individual songs but not the whole ritual. Some had learned polecat teaching, others buzzard, etc., and as they sang together, they taught one another. While Kind Warrior knew the most, he also learned new things from them. When there were about ten members, Kind Warrior could set them out in a formal arrangement (see Figure 43-1). He assigned two to each of the four semicardinal positions, two at the west as *rixkita*, leaders, and one errand man for the north, one for the south. More people came in and filled in the places. They made four rattles of wild squash with green and white wavy stripes to imitate the Wichita version. They also got four bows in accordance with the original version. Kind

752 756 533 him well. Now we're going to start to sing." Together in unison the four doctors sing:

[539]

First song:	Here, here, they got him to get up.
Second song:	They got him up and going about.
Third song:	They (our forefathers) said, that they (the animals) could get him up.
Fourth song:	Now as they, the old doctors said, they have raised him up.

Now they pause and smoke and then take up their gourd rattles and
[539] sing again:

1. "When first I came, the bone was broken.
2. "I had to use the eagle wing (*kauk'tu*, "down").
3. "The bone was broken. Just as they told me to do when a bone is broken, one must use soft down feathers.
4. "I call you back now, old doctors of long long ago; when a bone is broken, you can heal it."

They sang three more songs, making eight in all and then they said, "Now we're through."

756 Now they would all be entertained at an informal meal prepared by
• 574 War Cry's youngest wife, Bird Woman. While it was being served, War Cry and his wives took the host's position at the southeast of the lodge, while the others remained in their places. A woman carried one bowl of food to each of the doctors in succession and then to Shot Arm and White Woman at the west, and all the others, and finally the hosts. A little bread and coffee was at last given to the patient himself. While they were eating people told funny stories or recounted some familiar incidents. Then they went home.

The next evening Good-Land entertained the other doctors in his earth lodge at an informal feast upon the completion of his case and the receipt of his fee. A gift of a blanket was made to Big Doctor and a shawl to Pipe Offering by way of compensation for their participation in the previous night's ceremony. Either that morning or earlier in the evening White Woman had come to Good-Land's lodge, leading the two horses, while one of War Cry's wives was carrying the goods. They were greeted by a woman of the house who came outside, and White Woman said simply, "Here are the horses and the goods to pay for his cure" (*iriwirawirata*, "that which he has earned or won"). White Woman and her companion turned around and left and the woman of the house tied up the horses and took the goods inside the lodge and piled it up to the east of the fireplace. When the doctors were assembled, Good-Land addressed

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

them again mentioning the sacred objects symbolic of the animals and their curative power: "Now today we are here as doctors. The objects you see here, the animals (their medicine); they have consented to have him live. Now White Fox is going to get up and make the smoke offering." Now he lit the pipe and offered it to all the sacred objects and to the doctors themselves, and to the horses outside and the rest of the fee lying east of the fireplace, then to the cosmic "stations" and finally made his presentation of a blanket and a shawl to the two doctors, Big Doctor and Pipe Offering and the ceremony was complete. Good-Land had no wife but was staying with his daughter and he put the goods he had received on her bed. She served each of the doctors a dish of food and then sat down to eat with them. Each of the other doctors made some remarks and then Good-Land made the usual type of closing address: "Now Pipe Offering and Heavy Trophies, and son-in-law, White Fox, and brother Big Doctor, I have this to say: I had this medicine, and these animals have blessed me and they have given us this their goods and the horses that are outside and that are going to carry me about. You doctors have helped me. Now the animals have blessed us. Now we have smoked. Now we have eaten." At this, all got up and left. 756 574

The animals, the plants, man's ingenuity and devotion, and the love of his family had cured the boy of his sickness.

46

A TIME FOR STORYTELLING AND FOR LEISURE

000 *Old Men Invited to Talk of Old Times—the Storytelling Sessions—after Eating, the Stories—Eagle Chief Begins—War Cry Tells of a Fight with the Sioux—Storytelling Continues through the Night*

517 THE SERIOUS BUSINESS of the season being over, the men would get together in one or another of the earth lodges to tell stories of the old times and to review past events. They had worked hard hunting the buffalo, making the harvest and performing their dances, and now it would be pleasant to sit around the fire and enjoy a little leisure before they set out again for the buffalo hunting grounds.

517
887
• 574
538 Old men especially are invited for they are going to talk of the Old Village, Kitahaxpakuxtu, and how things used to be and came to be. In the fall was the good time of year to be telling these stories when it's not too cold and not too hot, but just nice to have a fire—after the harvest. When people hear who is invited—old men, chiefs, warriors—they know there is going to be storytelling. These sessions would begin after supper about eight o'clock in the evening and continue on throughout the night. Refreshments would be served from time to time consisting of fried bread, cooked dried apples and coffee. The smell of the bread cooking would be wafted over the village if there was a wind blowing and someone would just follow his nose and come in. Or else he could see the smoke of the fire and would come in. As soon as he got inside they would all say, "Nawa, sit down on any side." The chiefs were ranged at the west, and on the east along both sides

sat the old men. Casual guests sat in the spaces in between. People from the other villages would also hear about it and wander in. Sometimes quite a large group would be gathered there. 517 887 574 538 [625]

Once Victory Call served as temporary Agency policeman and when he got an extra sack of flour for his services, he decided to have a storytelling session in his lodge. He sent Horse Rider especially to invite a number of old men: Pipe Offering, That-Chief, Heavy Trophies, Arrived, Warrior (also known as Big Knife, a name also used to refer to white people—a lively raconteur), Know-His-Face, Good-Land, Wonderful Old Buffalo Bull, and Buffalo Ghost—nine in all. Then he was sent to call in some chiefs—Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge and Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine as well as Sitting Hawk and Good Pipe—and braves—War Cry and Bringing Horses. From Bottomlands and Wolf-in-Water villages they would wander in without being invited, knowing what sort of group it was to be. While White Woman was doing the cooking, the old men were telling each other how many different places were calling them in to tell stories. The women would say, "We're through cooking," and put the bread and coffee near Victory Call a little off to his right. Now all the women retired to their beds, and as they lay there they would hear the stories.

Victory Call addressed his guests by name and kin term and said, "We have a little something here for you to eat. I thought I'd invite you here tonight so that I could see you here. Now this meeting is called simply because I want you folks to tell some old-time stories." All said, "Nawa," and Victory Call then turned over the meeting to Lone Chief and Eagle Chief who directed the proceedings from then on. They directed the two errand men to serve the food and by the time they had finished eating it was ten o'clock.

Now Eagle Chief spoke, urging Old Man Warrior to begin. But Old Man Warrior parried his suggestion with, "We old men here know how things should be done and the custom is that the leader has to tell the first story. Isn't that right, That-Chief?" "That's right," said That-Chief, "the leader has to tell the story first." "Well," said Eagle Chief laughing, "I thought I could get you to do it, but I guess I'll have to." "You start it out and we'll follow," said the old men.

When Eagle Chief began, he opened with a discussion of what sort of a story it ought to be, a long or a short one. "I have stories, but if I tell a war story, it will be a pretty long one. If I tell a story of the Sioux coming on the warpath to attack the village, it will be sort of a short one. If I tell of my trip to Washington, it will be of medium length." The old men were thinking they would rather have old-time stories so that they could reminisce about the past, but someone finally spoke up in favor

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

517 887 574 538 of a short story and said, "Let's hear stories about 'at home' [the Sioux attacking the village]. After a while we'll get away from the village and on the warpath." It was now understood that he would tell a story of attack on the village and that he would be followed by a story on the same theme by his brave, War Cry, after which the old men would begin. In both stories, the enemy was repulsed, not by main force alone, but by the power of the Peace Pipe, which is "beloved of Heaven."

539 721 [648] "Now I'll tell a story," said Eagle Chief. "Now you all know when you first took me as a chief and when I was going to Washington, on the morning of the day that was set for us to go, I was all dressed up. I was wearing my government coat, and of course, my leggings and moccasins. I was wearing my government medal. Finally the delegation left the village and when we got about five miles east, all at once one of the men in the back said, 'Look back at the village. There must be a warpath coming!' We could see everyone standing on top of the earth lodges. 'Well boys,' I said, 'let's go back.' The Kitkehaxkis, Tsawis, Pitahawiratas and us Skidis all went back to our villages." As he told the story the old men sat smoking and they said, "That's the time. That's it."

"Well when I came to my earth lodge, I looked at my wives there and said, 'Dear wives, maybe Heaven doesn't want me to see the great government.' At the same time my horse was way out there and I had to get to it to go on the warpath. All I took was my bow and arrows. I walked over to the sacred bundle and there on top were the Pipe Dance sticks. I took the one with the black eagle feathers (the male pipestem). That was all I took with me. I said to my wives, 'Now if it's the will of Heaven, I'll come back. If not, I won't. I may not come back.' It was because I had heard old people say that Heaven loves these pipes, that I took it with me.

"I got on the horse and went to where the fighting was going on. 'Well, this is my last day,' I thought to myself. Because the pipestem has two soft feathers on it and I didn't want them to touch my horse, I raised it up out of the way. I rode right through where the Sioux were and to the fighting line. I arrived at the front line with a Sioux close on one side of me, one on the other side and one directly in front. When I arrived at the front line, the Sioux turned back their horses and started to flee. There I was facing the whole line of Sioux, holding my pipe up like this. As the retreating line was going, you could see the dust. But I still had my original Sioux escorts. Wedged in between them, they didn't dare to try and shoot me with their bow and arrow as they were likely to shoot each other in the attempt. I raised this pipe and hit the one that was riding in front of me right on the back of his head. I reined in my horse and they rode ahead. We had ridden way

463 per she prepared boiled corn kernels, grease bread, and coffee. After
342 supper, the old lady went home.

[262] The second day the same procedure was followed. When White
[264] Woman retired to prepare the meal of grease bread, prunes, and coffee, War Cry and his brother Brave Shield heard that they were having a special meal in Victory Call's house and they proceeded to come in with the remark, "I see you're working here," and were promptly invited to join them for lunch. They would probably stay on talking to Victory Call
463 and also stay for supper. This would make about eighteen people,
342 including the guests for the evening meal. For this group they needed
252 three double handfuls of dried corn kernels (one of these double
262 handfuls represented eight ears of corn). For the eighteen large round disks of fried grease bread, it took three generous double handfuls of store
574 flour (a meal for a family ordinarily required two). If meat were to be served instead of the corn they would need half a sheet of dry buffalo meat cut into long strips 7 inches long and 3½ inches wide. This meat would be boiled with a sheet of fat and served with the soup.

463 The third day was similar with the Old Lady going home after supper.
342 By the evening of the fourth day the tent was completed. A process mentioned by another Pawnee informant, but not in this account, stated that before the cover was used, girls were sent inside to make a fire so that the skin would get permeated with soot, which would keep it from leaking in the rain or drying up in the sun.

463 Supper for the evening of the fourth and final day consisted of boiled
465 corn kernels with boiled dried pumpkin strips mixed in. After the Old
342 Lady Lucky Leader had gone home, a half-hour passed and then White Woman and Grandma took the food and goods for her payment. White
[262] Woman led the way and Grandma walked behind, carrying the gifts to her house. They set them down before her saying, "Here's flour, coffee, sugar, calico. You helped us with our tent." "Oh, I thank you for giving me this material. My spirit is glad for this food that we will eat," said the old lady. When the two women got home they reported to Victory Call, the old lady's appreciation. Victory Call again went to the store and got the three pieces of calico of five yards each and the needles and thread for the three women of his own household who have helped out—Grandma, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, and No Corn.

342 The tent was now in good order for the winter hunt.

cuss their strategy. Lone Chief sent his young nephew, Hawk Chief, to 224
give the message to the leading chiefs of the three other bands, and in 648
each case he was royally entertained as befitted his uncle's position. 623
He returned loaded with gifts of dry meat, and from the chief of the 628
Asking-for-Meat Band he received a new white blanket because of the Peace Pipe relationship between Lone Chief's village and their band. As he moved proudly through the South Bands villages sporting his new blanket, everyone realized that important matters had been discussed, and the more prominent personalities awaited further notification. The more curious among them would wander into the chief's lodge and find out what was discussed and then spread the gossip.

Next morning at about nine or ten, two chiefs from each of the bands with their braves and some of the outstanding "Boys" arrived and were seated on a large tent skin outdoors provided by Behaille's wife. There were four cushions at the west for the leading personalities. Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band sat on the southwest pillow and his fellow chief next to him with their braves extending inward toward the south. At the west on the north side was Many Trophies of the Man-Going-Downstream Band and at his left, Curly Chief of the Little-Earth-Lodge, with the braves of the two bands indiscriminately ranged along the side. The "boys" of the various bands were scattered wherever places happened to be available. These arrangements have a particular interest, for this is the only record I have of the four bands meeting together in a council rather than sending emmisaries back and forth between them. Behaille as host [574]
simply stated that this was merely an informal meal and proceeded to select boys from each of the four bands who carried a wooden bowl for each two guests from the chiefs all the way down the line, each person receiving a round piece of grease bread, some prunes, and some coffee. After the meal, Behaille stated the questions at issue, and when all who wanted to had had a chance to speak and all had agreed on the decision, he instructed them as to how to proceed with the agent so as not to commit themselves to anything more than they intended. He said, "I want four to talk and say just what I say now—nothing else. Say only, 'It's not cold yet. We want to go, agent. You hold the money. That's what I want to tell you.' I want Man Chief to talk first," he said, "then Curly Chief, then Many Trophies and then our chief, Eagle Chief. Just say what I have said, and no more. That's the best thing for you to do."

With this sage advice, they all crowded into the agent's office, the Pawnees sitting on the floor, the agent in his chair. The agent said, "If you want to wait, I can write in to the department, but it will probably be at least a month before I hear." To this one of the chiefs remarked, "By then we could be halfway to the hunting grounds."

As agreed, Man Chief got up and shook the agent's hand and stood back, calling Behaille to interpret for him. He said, "I want you to tell

who is willing should come and sit closer and observe and listen to the 224*
way these things should be done." This was considered a major public 793
service and no payment was involved nor considerations of kin relationship. 869
Bringing Horses was a brave and apparently had had a call to
carry out this mission.

The five priests sat smoking and talking together informally. They were 224*
old men and had traveled over this same ground many times. They knew 793
just how far apart the rivers were and which were the quickest routes to
follow. Now they were reminiscing about the past. One would say, "One [521]
summertime we camped way down there in this and this direction from
here and so and so happened," for example a warpath came or some other
notable event. Meanwhile Old Lady Lucky Leader was taking care of 224*
the practical affairs since the menfolks of her family were still out on the 794
hunt. She was a vigorous old woman and a good manager. One of the 574
men coming in early from the hunt reined in his horse outside her tent
and called out, "Lady Lucky Leader, here are ribs!" throwing down the
ribs as his contribution to the forthcoming council meeting and riding
off home to his own tent. The old lady went out and got them at once and
put them inside the tent on the north side near the entrance so that they
wouldn't freeze. Now she decided to get the meal under way for the
council. The boy Might-Be-Chief was passing by and she called him in [624]
and asked him to get the chief's errand man Know-His-Face, who came
in and, after exchanging greetings with the priests, began to roast the ribs [252]
to the northeast of the fireplace as directed by the old lady. She asked
her daughter to sit down to the south and fry some bread so that the
men would have something to eat as soon as they got in before the council
began.

Now the men could be heard coming and the meat creaking a little as 224*
it was packed on the horse since it was a bit frozen. The two men of the [492]
family knew they had better get in early and Frank Leader called out to
his mother, "Atira [my mother], spread something out here for the meat."
The old lady came out and put a skin spread on the snow in front of the
tent and her son tethered his horse to a stake nearby. She covered the
horse and put down another spread with cottonwood tops and bark on it
for the horse to eat. She saved some of the cottonwood for her son-in-law's
horse and he arrived soon after. As soon as the two men entered the [515]
tent they asked their mother for some water to wash their hands with,
and Frank tied his quiver and bow to the southwest post while Roaming
Leader tied his at the northwest. Then they sat down on either side of
the entrance. The men talked about how they had killed the buffalo that
day and how there had been good herds north of the river. The family [264]
had its meal of bread and ribs and then the boy Might-Be-Chief was sent
around to call in the other members of the council. He also called in
Horse Rider to help the errand man Know-His-Face to cook for the feast.

*224 264 They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four sets.

*224 623 628 The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates from the villages.

*224 623 793 [701] [625] The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was [778] under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening Star bundle.

*224 623 628 793 [625] Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill. Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief. • [574] [264] The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief, who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

*224 623 625 574 [293] The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head policeman War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

*224 623 562 [251] Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

*224 [793] [825] The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican. When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 623 ought to put more dirt on the ice because I think we'll be staying here for the rest of our hunt."

*224 625 • [574] The business over, it was time to serve the feast of donated boiled buffalo ribs which were served without delay. As no corn had been donated, no offering was made to the sacred bundle that night. The guests made haste to go home so that the family could prepare their dry meat. However, the police had to remain until after midnight to see that there were no infractions of the antinoise rules. Every now and then one of their number was sent out to see that no one happened to forget and was laughing too loud. The policeman put on his belt with the sleigh bells and taking his stick walked cautiously through the camp. One could hear the snow cracking under his feet. As he arrived where the noise was, he tapped the tent with his stick. Then the noise would stop. He had been holding his sleigh bells so that they would not sound, but now he released them so that everyone would know that he was passing through.

*224 625 689 The next day the antinoise injunction continued. Some women went out toward evening to cut wood and although they were supposed to chop very gently, the echo could be heard by the police in the council tent. Two officers were sent out to punish them. They made each woman forfeit one of her moccasins and whatever else the policeman could get. He carried the forfeits up to the council tent and waited there for the women to come and redeem them. It was very cold and each woman had to wrap something around the foot from which the moccasin had been taken. Then she came limping into camp and when she got home, she made some bread and coffee and took it over to the council tent to the police. "All right," said War Cry, "Give her her moccasin." Other women would bring calico or a little tobacco to redeem their things. "Give them to her," said War Cry, "but next time watch out!"

*224 623 574 262 During the day, Know-His-Face had gone through the camp remarking that they could use some corn and coffee at the council tent. With this gentle reminder, they were likely to receive at least two buckets of corn for the evening. As the men came in from the hunt, they donated ribs as usual for the evening council and Old Lady Lucky Leader put them in her grass house. Some men were particularly fond of ribs with an unborn calf inside, and when one of these was donated they would ask to have them served right away. As the men left the ribs at the council tent they were told that special invitations would not be issued but that they were to come right back when they had attended to their business at home. Sometimes men waited at home to get a supper of fried bread and coffee before going to the council if their wives had any, since these supplies were pretty well depleted throughout the camp.

*224 623 At the council everyone was talking of the buffalo chase that day—of how deep the snow was that they had to go through in some places, etc.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P
648
167
177
175
439
W
175
439
165
177
648
167
P
648
177
431
.574

3 The Pawnees and other Caddoan peoples were an integral part of European trading plans. The Wichita played the part of middlemen in the trade between the Spaniards in the Southwest and the French to the east along the Mississippi. By 1777 the Wichita were so heavily depleted in numbers by disease and war that the Spanish authorities induced a considerable contingent of Skidi Pawnees to come and live permanently in the territory and join the Wichitas so that they could defend themselves against the tribes to the east who were aligned with the British. The fact that they have "kin" among the Wichita is remembered among the Pawnees today, and gift-giving relations are maintained among them along with formal intergroup visiting. See Weltfish, 1959, pp. 332-333; Hodge, 1912, p. 706.

W
P
361

3 Both the Pawnees and the Wichitas changed the locations of their villages at intervals of from twelve to fifteen years; this was considered a necessary sanitary measure. The direction of these movements was determined by a variety of social and political causes, but military and trade reasons were the most common ones. My informants gave me a list of the successive Pawnee villages in recent times and the contemporary locations of the Wichita villages. I have added, in parenthesis, Wichita locations cited in Wedel, 1959, pp. 67-68, for approximately these time periods:

P
W
361
103

Wichita	*Pawnee*
Rio Grande in Texas (Wedel, north fork of Red River, Kiowa County, Oklahoma)	Old Village or Kitkehax-Pakuxtu before 1842
Chickasaw on the Washita River east of Anadarko (Wedel, the Washita drainage, Leeper Creek)	Willows-along-a-Stream or Kitapatuat, near Fullerton, Nebraska 1842–1846
	Hill-in-Water-Sitting or Pahaku, near Fremont, Nebraska 1851
Wichita, Kansas (also Wedel, 1863)	Reservation Village near Genoa, Nebraska October 1859
Anadarko, Oklahoma (also Wedel, 1867)	

796
756
272 An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756 273 See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796
[574]
[782]
[184]
[752]
[726]
241 The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

824
825
171
277 On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372
482
280, 290 Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads
372
would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

727 305 Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home

*796 The picture of the face of Tira'wa atius is put upon the face of the consecrated child.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

*539 1210 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1211 Hi-ri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta wawe he!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hari! harken!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
wawe, to spread.
he! from hiri! give heed!
1212, 1213 See line 1211.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the fifth stanza the old man touches the lines here and there to make them clear; he can not spread the paint, for he is making a picture.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

1214 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation
1215 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots weri ta witshpa ha!
hiri! harken! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hari! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
witshpa, accomplished; completed.
ha! behold!
1216, 1217 See line 1215.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 In the sixth stanza we sing that it is done, that the face of Tira'wa atius is upon the face of the consecrated child.

821 There is a group of stars overhead which forms a circle (Corona Borealis). This is a circle of chiefs. Tira'wa atius placed them there and directed them to paint their faces with the same lines we have put upon the child, and all who are to be leaders must be so painted.

*539 *796 ●575 622 From this circle of stars came a society called Raristesharu. All dances (societies) given by Tira'wa atius are called raris; tesharu

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

means chief (the te is a modification of le, in the word lesharu, chief). The members of the society Haristeharu are chiefs, and these men are permitted by the star chiefs to paint their faces with the blue lines and to wear the downy feather on the head. The members of this society do not dance and sing; they talk quietly and try to be like the stars. 539* 796* 575● 622

I was told that it was from this society that permission was given to paint the child with the blue lines and to put the downy feather upon it.

Part IV. Putting on the Symbols

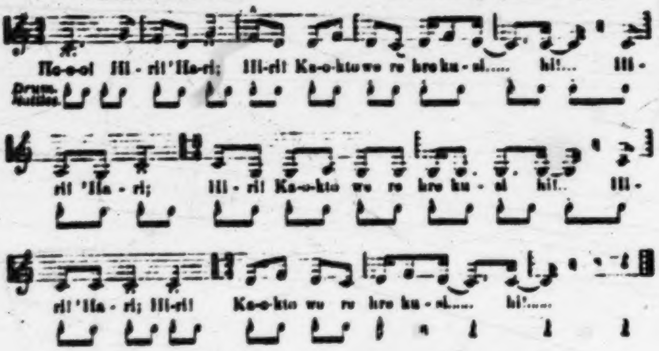
Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The old man now takes a bunch of eagle down, and as we sing the first stanza of the following song he holds it before the child. 539* 796*

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

(e) M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. [533*]


Ho-o-o! Hi - ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! Ka-o-ktowe re hre ku - si..... hi!... Hi -
Drum. Rattles.
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi - ri! Ka-o-kto we re hre ku - si hi!.. Hi -
ri! 'Ha - ri; Hi-ri! Ka-o-kto we re hre ku - si..... hi!.....

I

1218 Ho-o-o!
1219 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re hre kusi hi!
1220 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re hre kusi hi!
1221 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re hre kusi hi!

II

1222 Ho-o-o!
1223 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re ru ata ha!
1224 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re ru ata ha!
1225 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re ru ata ha!

III

1226 Ho-o-o!
1227 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri tukuka ha!
1228 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri tukuka ha!
1229 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri tukuka ha!

178 you see here our old grandfathers had their hands on, but this old woman," — referring to Gillingham's mother —, "when no one's
778 around she ought to untie it; bugs are spoiling some of these things.
793 It isn't like it used to be a while back. We could untie the bundles every year, sometimes twice a year; now everything has kind of rotted. Now today we've untied it all. God himself looks down on this here. It is his will that things are changing on earth.[1] I don't know. I only have what I see here, but there used to be an old man, a priest, who sat here, and when he opened the bundle he would cry over it. I can't do anything. I have nothing to change these things. Now this bird where the head is coming off, I can't sew it with sinew; it will tear. It must be sewn with thread. The only way I have to do is to grease the things and make smoke. I can't go through it as they used to a long time ago."

Although the reconstruction of extinct ceremony, and the renewal of partially disintegrated bundles, proved extremely difficult, the attempt was made. At the same time the cosmological references and type paraphernalia of old bundles were recalled to serve as source material for conceptions and objects integrated in other cultural forms. Thus we find ideas from the old forms of ceremonialism, from the Evening Star bundle, the human sacrifice of the Morning Star bundle, and the Calumet ritual, interwoven with Ghost Dance thought in such developments as the Ghost Dance ceremonial forms and the Ghost Dance hand games; and replicas of old sacred objects appeared at hand game altars, symbolising the references of visions to the old bundles and ceremonies. (See Chapters II, VIII, IX, X, XI).

REVIVALS OF SOCIETIES

178 The old societies were a major type of revivals during the Ghost Dance period. There is evidence for a revival in one form or
575 another of the raris arusa (Horse Society), hatuxka ("Those coming behind" ... Crow Lance Society), raris skirixki (Wolf Society), tirupahe (Fighting lances), asitsakahuru (Crazy Dog Dancers), raris kaka (Crow Society), pakspahukasas (Roached Heads), asakipiriru (Young Dog Dancers), raris arika (Horn Society or Horn Dance), and pitararis iruska (the old War Dance)[1].

---

[1] I have limited myself in this discussion to the facts of revival; the society forms, ceremonial smoking, performances, etc., will be discussed elsewhere. For some description of the old form of these societies, see Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, pp. 561, 570, 577, 576, 579, 581, 582, 616, 608. (Page references follow the order of the societies as listed above).

These old societies were concerned primarily with war and 178
hunting, and, becoming functionless, had practically ceased their 575
activities by 1892. Each society was controlled by a bundle, from 778
which the powers necessary to the activities of the members were derived, and which in turn derived its powers from greater sources in the major sacred bundles. A full and complete revival of a society would have meant a recreation of the structure of membership, in some cases involving hereditary seating plans, the renewal of the society paraphernalia, the carrying out of the society performances preliminary to regular seasonal activities of its members, and the war path and hunt itself. Some of these societies were entrusted with the policing of the organized hunt. Hence a complete revival could not be accomplished. But a number of societies were reconstructed to a point just short of completion. These were the Horse Society, the Young Dog Dance, the Horn Dance, the Crazy Dog Dance, the Roached Heads, the hatuxka, and possibly the old War Dance. No reconstruction of the membership arrangements was attempted, but led by men who had been connected with a society in former times, leaderships were instituted, singers were taught the old songs, and the dance performances of the society were carried out more or less exactly. Where old paraphernalia was available a renewal ceremony for its physical repair was attempted; while in some cases replicas of the old sacred objects of a society were made. My informants had witnessed regular participations of revival forms of the Horn Dance, Roached Heads, Crazy Dog Dance, Young Dog Dance,[1] Horse Society and old War Dance in the great gathering of bundles for Emmet Pierson's hand game.
(See Chapter X). At this game the altars of these societies were [534]
arranged generically: each had one or more pipes and drums, and lances and other sacred objects were set out before the altar. The dancing to society songs in the game intervals required that the drum of the society be moved to the regular drum position, the hand game drum being moved aside.

My informants recalled witnessing in the Ghost Dance period, 178
four or five performances of the Crazy Dog Dance, performances of 575
the Horse Society, the Wolf Society, the Roached Heads and the 786
Young Dog Dancers. In Nebraska days, since these societies were for men only, and for masculine functions, such performances could only be participated in by men and by men who were members. The Oklahoma revivals in terms of the Ghost Dance, were on behalf of all the people, and all who wished joined in dancing to

---

[1] A song recorded by Densmore reports a Ghost Dance vision in which the Young Dog Dance pipe was given. See Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

178 the songs, whether specially costumed or not. I am told that on
575 occasion even women were known to join the dancing.

796 The Crazy Dog Dancers was revived before 1895 by Skiri Tom, one of the survivors of the old organization. The original membership had been practically annihilated in Nebraska days while on the warpath against the Sioux; the misfortune was so great that a few members who survived hesitated to reorganize. Skiri Tom made Charley Box his main singer, with George Beaver to assist him; White Fox was also a singer. Skiri Tom reconstructed objects closely like the old paraphernalia, a crow-feathered dogwood lance, a pipe, drums and rattles. In the revival dance performances, the [292] dancers were not naked, as in former times, although Skiri Tom himself is said to have worn only a loose jock which exposed the genitals from the rear and caused laughter among the women. [577] Nudity in the old days was a sign of recklessness; those who courted death in war could be bold and foolhardy in the dance. Skiri Tom died about 1906 or 1907; his paraphernalia were buried with him, and the performance of the Crazy Dog Dancers ceased with his death. The songs, however, are still used.

The Roached Heads, originally a Skiri society, was revived on behalf of the tribe under the leadership of George Washington; a performance witnessed was held inside Washington's lodge; the north side was in control.

A performance of the Skiri Wolf Society,[1] witnessed by men and women about 1900, was a departure from its original forms. In aboriginal times this society never danced in the villages either before or after the hunt; on the war path itself, the war party leader organized the performance. As a result, and contrary to the forms of the other societies, no women participated as singers at Wolf Society performances, while in 1900 women singers were employed.

Murie has described the revival of the Horn Dance (raris arika).[2] The society was revived in a modernized form in 1893. "It took [787] its form from the dreams of a woman..." In consecutive dreams she was told how to get an eagle skin, to make the crook crow-feathered lance, and the drum. "The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle

---

[1] The revival may have been led by Running Scout. A song recorded by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 85, reports a vision of Running Scout which probably refers to the Wolf Society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

[2] Murie, Societies, pp. 623, 638.

feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her 178 575
face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff 796
who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one Horn
Dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals.
The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat [782]
and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this
woman." (1914).

The Horse Society (raris arusa) was revived early, probably by
Frank Leader. Murie describes at length a ceremony for renewing
the society lances held May 23, 1902.[1] The paraphernalia included [293
two lances, four rattles, four hand drums, and a red pipestone bowl 778
with tubular dogwood stem, the stem incised with black bands to 276]
resemble trachea markings.[2]

Of certain societies we cannot be sure that the revival was extensive. All the societies mentioned were used as sources for the content of Ghost Dance visions, and the visionaries made facsimiles of old society objects which they carried in the dance. When the visions were as well bestowals of special rituals, such as hand games, the society objects became part of the bundle and altar. The Crow Lance Society (hatuxka) was revived in this way by Mark Rudder; a lance was placed at the altar, and a brief dance led by Rudder opened the game occasion (See Chapter X). The Society of Crows (raris kaka), a derivative of the hatuxka of aboriginal times, was independently revived by George Beaver, and it is probable that paraphernalia made by him were integrated with his game set.[3] Fancy Eagle is credited with the making of a hand drum which was associated with the old Fighting Lances (tirupahe[4]) and used in hand games.

In addition to the use of paraphernalia, songs of these revived [533]
societies were used in the intervals of the hand game ceremonies. It
is also probable that the use of drums in the hand game ceremonies
was based on old society forms.

---

[1] Murie, Societies 561ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 567, p. 566 fig. 5. Two hand drums in the Field Museum (F M 79368—1,2) are probably those of Leader; the face bears in red a representation of the raris arusa sheathed lance with its sets of fringed feathers.

[3] F M 73962 is the revival lance; it is not encased in buckskin. F M 79364 and 79365 are hand drums decorated with Ghost Dance symbols, which are said to have been used for the raris kaka by Beaver.

[4] F M 71934. Reference is made by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 68 to a song which apparently concerns the revival of this society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

756 The medicine men claimed to have received their power from
supernatural sources and were organized into numerous societies.
Linton states that "The function of the medicine men's ceremonies
was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease
from the village, and, by means of their sleight-of-hand performances,
convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural
powers attributed to them."[10]

771 According to Miss Fletcher their "religious ceremonies were con-
nected with the cosmic forces and the heavenly bodies. The domi-
[776 nating power was Tirawa, generally spoken of as 'father.' The
heavenly bodies, the winds, thunder, lightning, and rain were his
821] messengers. . . . The mythology of the Pawnee is remarkably
rich in symbolism and poetic fancy, and their religious system is
elaborate and cogent. The secret societies, of which there were
● [575] several in each tribe, were connected with the belief in supernatural
animals. The functions of these societies were to call the game, to
heal diseases, and to give occult powers. Their rites were elaborate
[821] and their ceremonies dramatic."[11] Next in power to Tirawa was
776 Evening Star, regarded as a woman, and below her was Morning
Star, a warrior who drove the other stars before him across the sky.
[773] The child of these two deities was the first human being. In the west,
Evening Star had a beautiful garden with fields of ripening corn and
many buffalo, and from this garden sprang all the streams of life.

Next in rank to Evening Star and Morning Star were the gods
[823] of the four world-quarters who supported the heavens and who
stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, these
being the sacred directions of the Pawnee. Dorsey states that
"next to these gods in rank are the three gods of the north, supreme
among whom is the North-Star, Karariwari (One-who-does-not-
[821] move). Associated with him are Hutukawahar (Wind-ready-to-
give) and Hikus (Breath). The North-Star is . . . symbolic of
the chief . . . while his assistants, equally beneficent, sent the
buffalo and the breath of life."[12] Below these in turn were Sun and
Moon, from whose union sprang the second human being on the
[773] earth. This daughter, marrying the son of Morning Star and
Evening Star, produced the human race.

The lesser gods of the heavens included Star of the South and Big-black-meteoric-star, who was the god of the medicine men. There were also earth gods organized into four lodges, each with its leaders and messengers, these gods being the special patrons of warriors and medicine men.

---

[10] Linton, Ralph. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men. Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 8, Chicago, 1923, pp. 19, 20.

[11] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

[12] Dorsey, op. cit., p. xix.

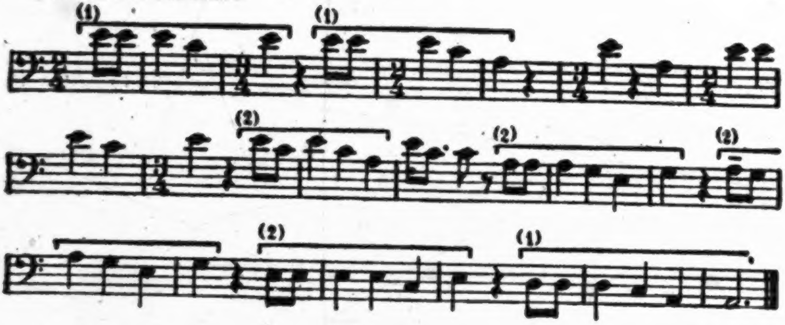
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 20. Bear Dance Song (d)

(Catalogue No. 1151) 533*

Recorded by Dog Chief

Voice ♩ = 168
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This song is clearly harmonic in feeling, though three measures in the latter part of the song begin with nonharmonic tones. It has a compass of 12 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is chiefly by major and minor thirds. Two rhythmic units occur, and a comparison of these units forms the principal interest of the rhythm. Rests occur at the end of each phrase and after a detached tone in the fifth measure. These rests were clearly given in both renditions of the song.

SONGS OF THE DEER SOCIETY

533*

575 ●

The Wichita Indians are said to have originated this society, which has been discontinued for many years. The dance of the society was [787] held in the autumn when the corn was ripe, and its purpose was "to find out whether a man would be killed when going on the warpath." The dances took place in an earth lodge. A custom of the society, described by James R. Murie, appears to have been a testing of the powers of its members. Mr. Murie said, "These men drank mescal, putting about half a bean in a kettle of water. After drinking it they [276] fell unconscious. An attendant then ran the jaw of a garfish along the man's spine and if he recovered consciousness he was not considered fitted to belong to the society. Members of this society had power [825] over snakes and their dance was allied to that of the Mokis.[a] Each [171] dancer carried a fox skin and held in his mouth a plain bone or reed whistle on which he blew as he danced." There were four singers, each carrying a bow in one hand and a gourd rattle in the other. [534]

[a] [i.e., Hopi. – Analyst]

?

*533
●575
[115]

Two songs of the society were recorded by Mark Evarts (pl. 2, *b*), who said that his father was one of its dancers. He said that the ceremony of the Deer Society lasted four days and nights and that this song was sung just before daylight.

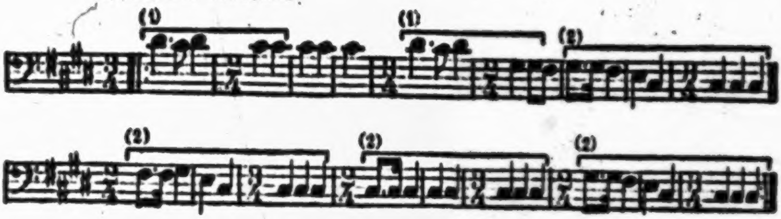
No. 21. "How Near is the Morning?"

(Catalogue No. 1150)

*533

Recorded by Mark Evarts

Voice ♩ = 120
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

Part 1

The chief speaks to his attendant, saying, "Go out and see how the stars stand.
Tell us how near is the morning."
The attendant returns and says, "It is almost morning."
The chief says to the dancers, "Wake up, men. It is almost morning."

Part 2

The chief speaks to his attendant, saying, "Go out and see how the stars stand.
Tell us how near is the morning."
The attendant returns and says, "The morning star is coming up."
The chief says to the singers, "Change the song. The morning star is rising."

Analysis.—This song consists of two parts, each containing nine measures and ending with the same phrase. This phrase, together with the accented subdominant at the beginning of the second half of the song, gives a plaintive character to the melody. The progressions of the opening measures suggest an inquiry and are marked by consecutive whole tones on the upper tones of the compass. Two rhythmic units occur, the second being an extension of the first. Progression is by a variety of intervals but the major second comprises about three-fifths of the entire number.

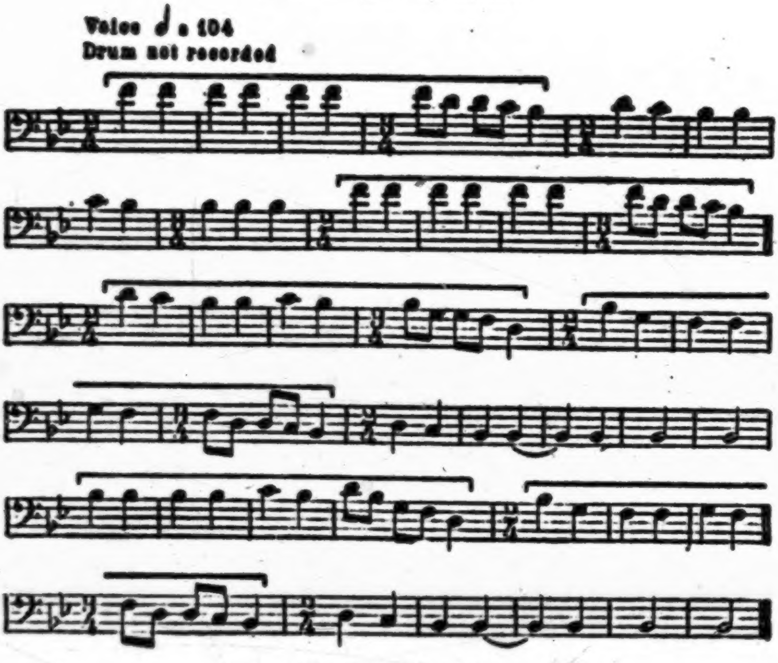
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The use of the following song was not explained. 533*

No. 22. "Spring is Opening"

(Catalogue No. 1160)

Recorded by Mark Evarts



FREE TRANSLATION

Spring is opening,
I can smell the different perfumes of the white weeds used in the dance.

Analysis.—This song is based on the fourth 5-toned scale and has a compass of 12 tones. About two-thirds of the progressions are downward. This proportion of descending intervals is not uncommon in Indian songs, but this melody contains, in several instances, a succession of four descending progressions, which is unusual. Almost the entire song consists of repetitions of the rhythmic unit.

SONG OF THE WHITE LANCE SOCIETY

533*
575 ●
[115]
[302]

The ceremony and dance of this society were witnessed by Mrs. Blain when a child, the ceremony being called Naristaka (*naris*, ceremony; *taka*, white). She stated that the men taking part in the dance had half their bodies painted red and half black, and their position in dancing was such that the side of their bodies painted red was toward the sunrise and that painted black was toward the sunset. Each man held the hands of the men on either side of him, and it

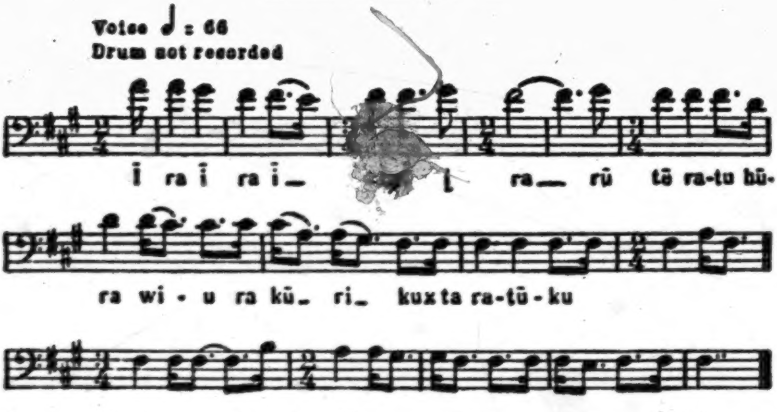
*533 was required that they keep hold of each other's hands during the
●575 entire dance. "Thus if they came to a tree as they danced they could not loose their hands but must stand there and dance."

*533 The general idea of the next song is that it is better to die bravely
888 when young than to live to an enfeebled old age. In this, as in other Pawnee war songs, we see a light estimate upon the value of life as
[761] compared to success in war. The song belonged originally to a
726 brave man who lived to an advanced age. When this was sung in a dance he rose and told the young men that it was a painful thing to live to be so old. The song was also sung by men in a battle, this being the last song they sang "when they were all tired out and so nearly beaten that even their hair was disheveled." It was further stated that "sometimes when men were having this dance an enemy attacked the village. This was the song they sang as they drove the enemy
[727] away." The song was also used in the scalp dances that followed the return of a successful war party.

*533 No. 23. "Old Age is Painful"

(Catalogue No. 1078)

Recorded by Effie Blain


Voice ♩ = 66
Drum not recorded
i ra i ra i— i ra— rū tē ra-tu hū-
ra wi - u ra kū— ri— kux ta ra-tū - ku

I	ra	rū	tē	ratu	hūra	wiu
He	comes	it	does	hurt	earth	stick

ra	kū	ri	kux	ta	ratūku
have	do	it	pick up	it	becomes painful

FREE TRANSLATION

He comes.
It hurts to use a cane.
It becomes painful to pick it up.

Analysis.—Four renditions were recorded. The first and second 533*
renditions were interrupted by the shrill cries given by women in a war dance, the interruptions occurring in the eighth measure of the first and the ninth measure of the second rendition. After the second rendition the singer spoke several sentences rapidly and after the third rendition she repeated the shrill cries. The third and fourth renditions were sung without interruption. The foregoing is an interesting example of the performance of this class of songs. The tempo is slow and the melody is marked by a steadily descending trend. The song is harmonic in structure, contains all the tones of the octave, and has a compass of 11 tones.

SONGS OF THE RAVEN LANCE SOCIETY

[171]
The custom of the Pawnee concerning the raven lance (*kakutsaa*) 411
was similar to that of the Mandan.[70] A warrior who carried this lance 726
into battle and planted it in the ground was obliged to defend its 778
position with his life. If he were killed, his comrades brought back
the lance. By the Pawnee informant the lance was described as a
staff wrapped with otter hide and having a crook at the upper end. [237]
It was decorated with eagle feathers and bore the body of a raven,
commonly designated as a crow.

The dance of the Raven Lance Society was said to be "almost like 533*
that in which the dancers painted half their bodies red and half 575●
black," referring to the White Lance Society. The original owner of [302]
this dance lived to extreme old age and, as he had no children, he 173
gave the dance to a young man who was one of his nearest relatives. 726
One day the people said, "Some Indians are coming to attack us."
The young man who had received the dance took his raven lance, [431]
mounted his pony, and went to get the old man. They rode together on the pony to a place near the fight and then went forward on foot, but the old man could not go as fast as the warriors. The old man called, "I am still coming," and the young man came back and helped him forward. The aged man was proud to see that the young man to whom he had given his dance was among the leaders in the fight. The enemy shot and killed the young man, and the lance was brought back with his body. Then the old man sang this song. In the manner of recording the song there was a wailing which was said to be "the old man crying because the young man had been killed and he had no more relatives," yet he loved the lance and all that it symbolized. He died soon afterwards and, as he was too old to give the dance to anyone else, the Pawnee do not have the dance at the present time.

---

[70] Cf. Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 48 and 49, including "Song to the Raven"; also Lowie, Societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, pp. 313-314.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

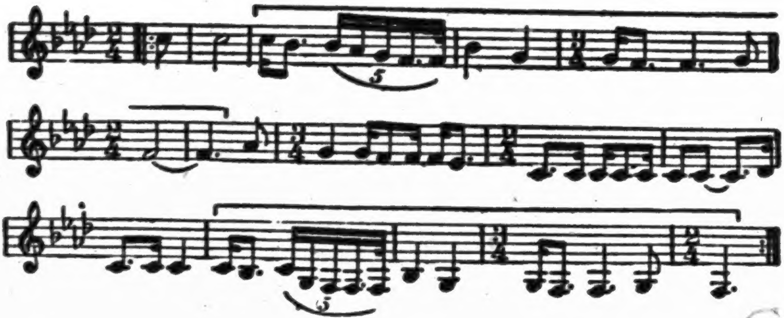
except between the second and third when a sentence was spoken rapidly. It is in accordance with Indian custom to interject rapid sentences between renditions of a war song, or even to interrupt a song with spoken words, the subject being that of the song. 533*

No. 25. Crow Lance Society Song

(Catalogue No. 1083)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

If I did anything great in battle I would be a crow (member of the Crow Society).

SONGS OF THE KITSITA SOCIETY

533*
575●
173

The identity of this society is not fully established. Those taking part in the dance were painted as in the White Lance Society and "held their lives in such light esteem as to be called unreal." In describing this song the singer said that long ago there was a woman who had only one child, a boy, who grew up to be a handsome young man. The first dance he saw was that of the Kitsita and he said to his mother, "I like that dance; I wish I could be in it." His mother said, "No, my son, the dancers are acting like certain animals that have only a short time to live and that is why I do not want you to dance with them."

Analysis.—Two rhythmic units occur in this song, their repetitions comprising the entire melody. The first rhythmic unit is transcribed in a 5-count measure as the secondary accent varies, in some instances the third, and in others the fourth count of the group being slightly accented. In some renditions the tempo is slightly hastened at the opening of the second rhythmic unit. This song contains a larger variety of intervals than a majority of the Indian songs which have been analyzed, although more than half the progressions are whole tones. 533*

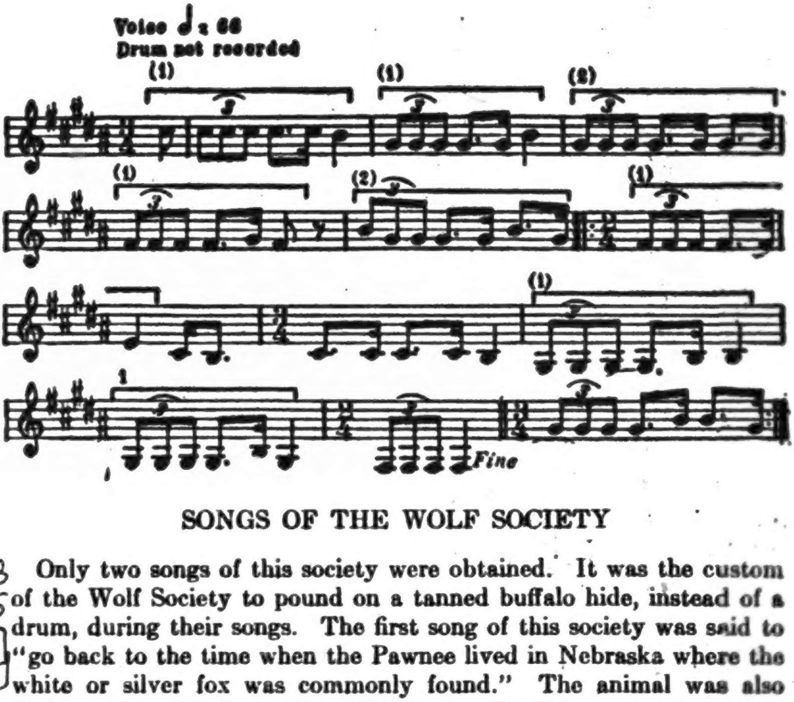
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 Except for an ascending fourth the song progresses entirely by major seconds and minor thirds.

No. 23. Lance Dance Song (b)

(Catalogue No. 1093)

Recorded by Effie Blain



SONGS OF THE WOLF SOCIETY

*533 ● 575 534 281 Only two songs of this society were obtained. It was the custom of the Wolf Society to pound on a tanned buffalo hide, instead of a drum, during their songs. The first song of this society was said to "go back to the time when the Pawnee lived in Nebraska where the white or silver fox was commonly found." The animal was also designated as a kit fox by James R. Murie. Tradition states that a war party found a white fox singing this song.[21]

*533 *Analysis.*—The distinction between the tones transcribed as A natural and A flat was clearly given in all the renditions and the song is classified as both major and minor in tonality. The song is unusual in its initial progression of an octave and in its compass of two octaves, the lowest tones being sung with clearness. About two-thirds of the progressions are whole and half tones, the latter producing a peculiar wailing effect.

---

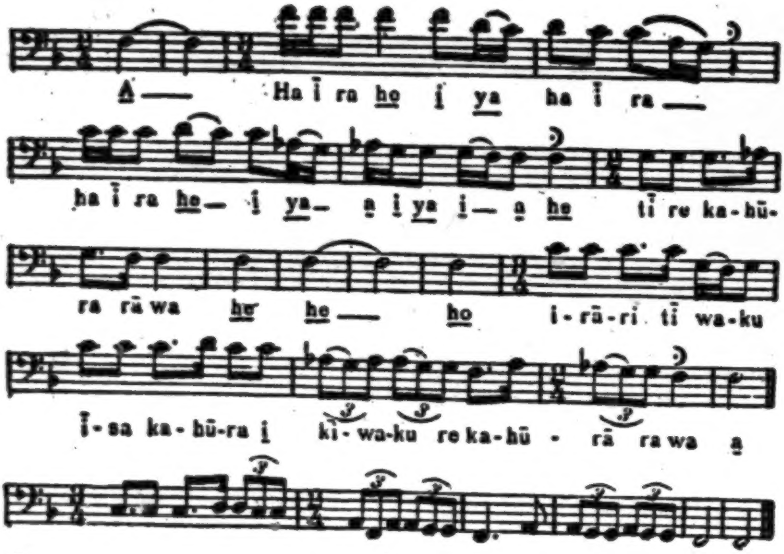
[21] Cf. Teton Sioux Music, p. 183, in which a man is taught a song by a wolf. The same work relates instances in which wolves appeared to warriors.

No. 29. "The White Fox"

(Catalogue No. 1103) 533*

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 69
Drum not recorded


A—— Ha ī ra ho ī ya ha ī ra—
ha ī ra ho— ī ya— a ī ya i— a he ti re ka-hū-
ra rā wa he he— ho i-rā-ri tī wa-ku
ī-sa ka-hū-ra i ki-wa-ku re ka-hū - rā ra wa a

Ha	ī	ra	tī	re	kahūra	rā
Yonder	it	comes	this	then	the expanse of earth	has

wa	irāri	tī	waku	isa	kahūra
width	my brother	he	spoke	behold	the expanse

kīwaku	re	kahūra	rā	wa
the white foxes	they	the expanse of earth	has	width

FREE TRANSLATION

Yonder it comes.
The expanse of earth is wide,
My brother the fox spoke and said,
"Behold and see the wideness of the earth,
The white foxes know the earth is wide."

[575
424]

[173]

The second Wolf Society song was said to belong to an old man who lived many years ago. In explanation it was said, "Before the people had horses they traveled on foot and often became tired out from walking." The old man to whom this song belonged said "Tirawa gave us this land to walk upon and he gave us the light. I can see my way, but I am so tired that I can go no farther." According to Mr. Murie this song might be sung in reference to any unfor-

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FREE TRANSLATION

*533

Beloved, it is good,
He is saying quietly,
The thunder, it is good.

Analysis.—The tempo of this song was slightly *rubato*, but the accents were clearly given. A portion of the song lies above the fundamental tone and a portion below it, which is somewhat unusual in Pawnee songs, although occurring frequently in the songs of certain other tribes. Progression is by a wide variety of intervals, one-third of which are intervals of a fourth. The song is minor in tonality and contains only the tones of the minor triad and second.

●575
*533

In explanation of the following song it was said that long ago there was a society called *Iruska Viraû* (or *Piraû*), translated "children of the Iruska." Members of this society did everything contrariwise. Thus in a fight they would not fire at the enemy unless commanded *not* to do so.[23] The song next following was said to be a song of that society and was recorded by the chief of the Chaui Band. The same melody with different words was used by the Skidi Band, the words of their version stating that a young man was told in a dream that he would be killed the next day, but felt no fear. John Luwak (pl. 2, *a*), who recorded the song, said it was his own war-dance song, explaining the words as follows: "A dead person wanted a certain warrior to do right, so he said to him, 'If anyone is kind-hearted and good to the poor he is made a chief and has a great name. When he dies we in the spirit land are glad and want to go and meet him because he was kind and good.'"

*533
775
[424]
[622]

*533

Analysis.—Attention is directed to the rhythmic form of this song and a comparison of the rhythmic units. The song opens with a rather long phrase, which is repeated. The following tones represent a repetition of the rhythmic unit, but a second unit is introduced and continues to the end of the song. This is shorter and livelier than the first, though bearing some resemblance to it. The song is harmonic in structure and contains the tones of the second 5-toned scale. Only three intervals occur which are larger than a minor third. The tempo of the drum is slightly faster than that of the voice, this appearing in all renditions of the song.

---

[23] Cf. Teton Sioux Music, p. 157, concerning the Heyoka Kaga (Fool impersonation).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used 787 fox skins in hypnotizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running 533* Scout always wore a fox skin in the Ghost dance. The skin was not [292] made into a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder. He also gave the call of the fox while he was [201] dancing.

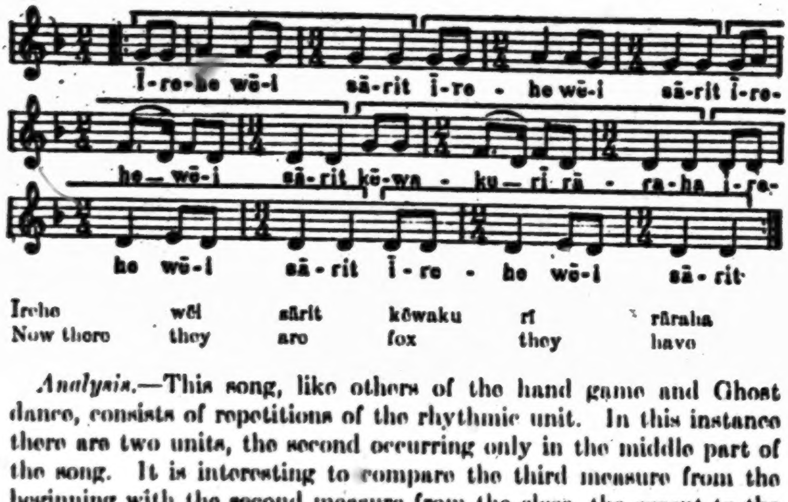
No. 58. Running Scout's Ghost Dance Song

(Catalogue No. 1068)

Recorded by Effie Blain

533*

Voice ♩ = 96
Drum not recorded


Ī-re-he wō-i sā-rit ī-re - he wō-i sā-rit ī-re-
he — wō-i sā-rit kō-wa - ku — rī rā - ra-ha ī-re-
he wō-i sā-rit ī-re - he wō-i sā-rit

Irehe	wōi	sārit	kōwaku	rī	rāraha
Now there	they	are	fox	they	have

Analysis.—This song, like others of the hand game and Ghost dance, consists of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. In this instance there are two units, the second occurring only in the middle part of the song. It is interesting to compare the third measure from the beginning with the second measure from the close, the ascent to the accented tone in the first instance expressing a certain restlessness while the second phrase is more restful. This song contains the minor triad and fourth and progresses chiefly by whole tones.

The final song of this group is concerning the Ghost dance and, [575 according to Mr. Murie, was sung in the Young Dog Society. The 668 words "the father's child" refer to the messiah whose coming was 796] expected in the Ghost dance.

Analysis.—The three renditions of this song are alike in every respect except that the intonation on D in the upper octave is variable, occasionally being sung almost as D sharp. The time was maintained steadily and the renditions were separated by

793 of the important features of the ritual; yet in all ceremonies except that of
the four-pole, she is barred from so much as looking inside while the bundle
is open. All the men and boys are at liberty to come in and sit with the
bundles at their respective villages.[1]

Finally, it may be noted that there is a chief for each village bundle
622 (counting the four leading bundles as one) and he is theoretically at least
793 the custodian, but there is another man in his village who is the keeper of
the ritual, or the priest. He conducts the ceremonies. In last resort, he is
superior to the chief, especially the priests of the calf bundle and the four
leading bundles. Hence, a chief is chief by virtue of his being the custodian of a bundle. This is why the society of chiefs has its seats in the same
order as the priests in the four-pole ceremony. It also makes clear the
significance of the initial statement that the bundle scheme of the Skidi is
the basis of their political and social organization. Likewise, while it is
true that the chiefs are all of equal rank, the chief of the four-bundle village
who by the way, is attached to the yellow-tipi bundle, sits at the head as
may be seen from the diagram for the four-pole ceremony, and so is the leading, or, head chief. He is master of ceremonies, but the chief occupying the
seat of Big Black Meteoric Star is the one to conduct all the ritualistic parts
of the ceremony.

The Society of Chiefs.

Among the Pitahauirata there was a special organization of chiefs,
622 which had its less formal counterparts among the other divisions. The first
575 part of the society's ceremony is held privately by the members, or chiefs;
i. e., those now holding office and men who have descended from deceased
chiefs. The membership is strictly hereditary. In the ceremony the leader,
[292] or head chief, must wear an old style beaver hat with a red plume. The hat
is covered with a dark neck cloth such as was formerly worn by sailors. The
meetings are secret and we have no data; but after these ceremonies the
women descended from chiefs were called into the lodge. Each woman has
to part her hair and tie it back, painting the part red. Woven sashes are
[301] worn over the shoulders and wound around for a belt. Many strands of
beads are worn around the neck. The men all have the roached hair and
wear feathers through the roach, but the young men wear down feathers
[237] only. Some wear leggings bordered with scalplocks and eagle feathers, and
black moccasins. Each man and woman carries the skin of an eagle. In
arranging the places for the women, a line of two abreast is formed: first
[602] the two leading men, behind them their sisters or nearest female relatives;

---

[184] [1] Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, the regulations are the same, except that
men must pay a fee to the priests for witnessing a bundle ceremony.

then two men, and again two of their female relatives, and so on to the end of 622 575 the line. Before the procession left the lodge two large strong young men were caught in the village, brought in, and the water drums strapped on [602] their backs with one pack strap across the forehead and one across the [482] breast. They then marched out dancing and singing. In leaving the lodge, the procession circles the fire four times and when outside of the door again circles four times. They then march back into the lodge and the women file out and go home, while the men take their seats. The drum bearers are relieved of their burden and sent out, but later they receive a portion of the meat from the feast. After the feast the society disbands.

This society seems to be based upon the bundle of the Pitahauirata village, which is probable considering that chiefs are the leading members. [302] The chiefs painted red with black rings around the face; if yellow, a green circle: these are the two paintings.

THE SOLDIERS OR POLICE.

Each chief selects one elderly warrior as his personal aid and advisor. 625 Only those who have reached a certain high grade of distinction can serve in this capacity. As a body, these aids were known as the braves, rahikuchu. There is thus one brave for each village and he selects three men to act as police under his direction (raripakusu, fighting for order). These are strong and aggressive men. Their function was purely that of village and camp police. Their only badge of office was a special form of club for which in recent years a sword was substituted. The braves and police served for life, unless dismissed for cause. It should be noted, however [224] that these police had nothing whatever to do with the buffalo hunt.

THE BUFFALO HUNT.

The general buffalo hunt at whatever season of the year was under the 224 direction of the priest of the leading bundle which happened at that time 575 to be in charge. Preparatory to the hunt a ceremony was held, with the chiefs present, in which the hunt was planned. The priest selected one of the bundle societies to act as soldiers for the hunt. The regular police still exercised their powers in the camp, but the enforcement of all regulations for the hunt and its conduct were in the hands of the selected society. The appointment was for the hunt only. A special lodge was set up for the [346] soldiers in the east part of the camp, near the center were the lodges of the chiefs society and of the priest. The methods of punishment employed by the soldiers were the same as among other tribes.

THE BUNDLE SOCIETIES.

575 The organizations here discussed differed from the others in that they were regarded as more powerful and in some manner directly connected with or sanctioned by the leading bundles. Membership in all was for life. One could be a member of all of them at the same time. There were no distinctions of age, a man being eligible at any time. The four leaders of each society exercised the right of election of members, though their own places were hereditary, or self-elective. It was also customary for all members to be succeeded at death by a relative. The number of members was not fixed and so the leaders kept watch over the young men to note candidates of promise. Such of these as showed signs of greatness were invited to become candidates. Also the young men of the villages on their part watched the results and prestige of the lance societies and sought membership in the most successful one. A solemn ceremony of installation was performed in which they were subject to tests. If one failed, he was ejected and forever disqualified. For one thing, the candidate must dance about the village an entire day, bearing the lance; should he fall from exhaustion or give up from fatigue, he could not proceed to membership, even though he inherited the place.

The number and distribution of these societies is given in the table. As indicated, their public functions vary, two exclusively for hunting, six for war, and two for either. In time of need the chief may call upon one or more of the war societies to lead in the line of battle or to support the regular camp police in domestic troubles. When setting out upon a buffalo hunt the priest in charge appoints one of the hunting societies to take entire charge of the hunt. So far as we know the priest was free to choose, but practically the choice was restricted to one or two organizations.[1] Although it is the public function and the bundle sanction that distinguishes these societies from the others, the Pawnee do not regard such as the reasons for their existence. They look upon them as clubs or fraternal organizations for the pleasure and elevation of their own members. In a way, they were for war, but this seems due to their having many active brave men among them whose paramount individual interests were war.

In their public performances the societies danced once about the village, pausing before the doors of leading men. This dance was always performed after dressing their lances and after their appointment as police, and thus preceded each general buffalo hunt.

---

[1] For an emergency appointment of the young dog society, see p. 587.

After the thunder ceremonies for the bundles and when the grass began to grow, all societies held the ceremonies of renewing lances. In this the lances are made new, the old ones being discarded. In general, four men are appointed to get the materials and make up the lances. When completed, a smoke-offering ceremony is performed to dedicate the lances, which are spoken of as "fathers." This ceremony is followed by a feast. The next day they assemble for the dance, put on their regalia, take up the lances, select the bearers for them, and choose a chief to carry the pipe. The dancing then goes on and finally the chief with the pipe, followed by the lance bearers and members, goes out and all form a circle in front of the lodge to dance. Then they go about the village or camp dancing before the lodges of prominent persons to receive presents. After their return to the lodge the lances are put away upon a pole and stood outside by the door. In the ceremony the people are admonished that these lances are to guard over all and so everyone must feel it his duty to protect the lances, though it is expected that the members of the societies give special care to them. Also, they are told that these lances are to bring the buffalo and to protect the people. After four days the feathers are taken from the lance shafts and wrapped up.

LIST OF BUNDLE SOCIETIES.

	Skiri	Chaui	Pitahauirata	Kit'kahahki	Squash Vine	Wolf-standing-in-water
Horse society (raris arusa) (h)	×	×	–	–	–	–
Society of Reds (raris pahat) (h)	–	×	×	×	–	–
Society of Brave Raven Lance (raris tarahaksu) (w&h)	×	×	–	–	–	–
Black Heads (pakskatit) (w&h)	–	–	–	×	–	–
Society of Reds (raris pahat) (w)	×	–	–	–	–	×
Thunderbird Society (raris kuhat) (w)	×	–	–	–	×	–
Those Coming Behind (^{h}atu^{h}ka) (w)	×	×	×	×	–	–
Fighting Lance (tirupahe) (w)	–	×	×	×	–	–
Knife-Lance (kichita) (w)	–	–	–	–	–	×
Wolf society (raris skiri) (w)	–	–	–	–	–	×

In later times a general horseback parade around the camp was made by all the societies jointly, after the renewing ceremonies in the spring.

575 These were highly decorative and spectacular affairs, but seem to lack ceremonial elements.

The society appointed as soldiers dress up their lances and prepare a horse to bear them. The keepers of the lances always led in the journeys of the camp on the hunt and set up the lances at the places where the soldier lodge was to be. Here they are kept and any person in the camp can take them up when going out to look for buffalo. When going out to take the buffalo, the lance bearers lead and hold the line by the lances, no one being supposed to go in advance. When buffalo are surrounded the lance bearers act as the chief police, see that a fair division of the meat is made, settle disputes, etc. Then while butchering is going on the lance bearers go up to a hill and watch for enemies and are the last to come into camp.

The lances of the bundle societies were the leading ones and of them the crow lances were the last to be renewed and were in a way the highest in [726] rank. When going into battle, bearers of this special lance, must be the very last to retreat. The same is true in counting coup, they must wait until all are through. All the lance bearers must be at the front and may plant their lances in the ground far out in advance; this is a signal for all the members to rally around the standard and stand fast.

[721] The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids but only used to repel or meet a general attack. [616] The seats of members were fixed and arranged around the lodge in two halves, the north and south sides. This corresponds in a way to the bundle scheme as demonstrated in Fig. 1. New members were given seats according to the side of their village bundle. This, of course, applies to the Skidi; the other divisions assigned new members to a side according to the places of their respective ancestors.

[616] The north side conducts, or leads, in the winter ceremonies; the south, the summer. The organization of each side is: a leader or chief, two drummers and singers, one lance bearer, and one errand man, or doorkeeper. There is also a herald who in outdoor ceremonies is mounted. Thus, for a society as a whole the number of officers is double the above.

575 796 When winter approaches, the societies hold a special ceremony by which the lances are stripped and the dressings wrapped up to remain until the renewing ceremony of the following spring. At the renewing ceremony the old lances are first reassembled but permanently retired when the new ones have been installed. They are not destroyed but kept to place in the graves of great warriors.

575 726 When the lance is planted before the enemy, the bearer knows that he must stand fast, he cannot take it up except to advance it toward the enemy. Hence, the planting of the lance is really the "no flight" obligation. If, however, the lance is in danger, another member may take it up and carry it out. The bearer may then retire.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Two Lance Society.

The following is an account of the ceremonies accompanying the renewal of the lances as observed by the writer, for the raris arusa, literally horse society, but which we shall call the two lance. 575

On May 23, 1902, the Skidi men were called to the tipi of Known-the-leader where the new lances were to be made to replace the old ones which were to pass away with the winter. This was the time for lances to be made because Tirawahat had sent rains upon the earth. The two lances were to be given new life so they might watch over and care for the people. In olden times two brave men were selected by the chief to carry these lances. These were the soldiers who were always obeyed by everyone, for the priest had sanctified and the gods breathed upon them.

The men entered the lodge which faced the east and seated themselves in a circle. Four priests who were drummers sat in the west. Known-the-leader, who acted as high priest, sat at the north. The two chiefs sat one to the north and one to the south of the drummers. Young-hawk whose father had formerly been a lance bearer was at the left of the chief while at his right sat Big-crow whose father had also been a lance carrier. The two men seated on either side of the priests were the lance bearers. Lone-chief, who owned the chief's pipe, sat on the south side and led the dance. Two errand men sat opposite each other at the north and south of the entrance, Skidi-man at the north and Good-eagle at the south.

Known-the-leader addressed the two assistants: "You two go to my lodge and bring the old lances, the four hand drums, and the four buffalo hoof rattles." They brought these and placed them before the singers. Then Skidi-man was sent for the sacred pipe which he placed crosswise in front of the drummers. The old lance staves were brought and set up near a pole that had been staked in the ground and tied, one on the north and one on the south side of the staked pole. Everything being in readiness, Known-the-leader said, "Drummers, chiefs, young and old men, we are about to renew the lances. You may wonder why we change. We have had the old ones many years, but I have dreamed that we must again replace them." [787]

Formerly, it was customary that the lances be kept until the priest dreamed that they be changed. This is the myth given for the lances:— 539

Before the creation, the stars were human beings. Certain of them were given great powers. Tirawahat gave stars the power to create all things. When the earth was created, the stars agreed to send Paruxti (the wonder being) to the earth, to see if it were ready to be peopled. The stars held a council, but forgot to invite Fools-wolves (star). (Whenever this star comes up, the wolves howl because they think it is the morningstar.) 575

Paruxti was sent to the earth in the form of a long-haired giant. He was daubed all over with the sacred red paint. He wore large moccasins with the hair inside and big flaps. Over his shoulders he wore a buffalo robe which covered him completely. Around his waist was tied a buffalo hair rope with several pendant loops at the back which represented rain.

The council caused a thunderstorm which was followed by a rainbow. This they broke in two, placing one half in front and the other behind the giant as a companion. The north star and the south star each furnished a man to carry the

539 rainbow. The evening star provided a bag. The council discussed what these 575 people should take with them. Morningstar said: "I will supply a sacred bundle and I wish eveningstar to contribute someone to carry it and four men to care for it."

[293] [411] [778]

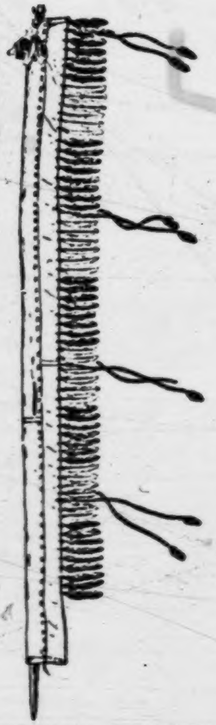


Fig. 3 (50.1-7191). Lance for the Two Lance Society, one of two. The cloth is red, the feathers white (goose) and black (crow). The pendant feathers are crow and the tuft at the top, owl. Length, 2.387 m.

Eveningstar brought an ear of corn which was transformed into a girl, the bearer of the bundle. First the four men were put into the bag, then the girl with the bundle, then people, and finally, the two lance men. The bag was tied so the man could carry it on his back.

It was now time for Paruxti to visit the earth. Eveningstar commanded the four powers in the west, clouds formed, lightning and thunder were placed into the clouds. Paruxti was placed upon the clouds and the wind slowly blew them along towards the earth. Soon the clouds rested on the earth and Paruxti stood upon it. He went towards the east leaving footprints so the gods knew he was on his way.

One time when he was tired and lonesome he remembered what the gods had told him about the bag. He sat down near a stream, placed the bag in front of himself, and opened it. First the two lance bearers, carrying the lances, jumped out. They stopped some distance off, one standing at the south and one at the north side. Soon people sprang out and took their places behind the two lance men. Then came the girl with the sacred bundle on her back. Behind her the four men walked abreast.

The two lance men lead the people to some level ground. They stuck the lances into the ground while the rest of the people put up their tipis. The first one was set up facing east, for the bundle girl and the old men. The bundle was hung up inside the tipi on the west wall. The girl sat beneath it. Two of the old men sat on the north and two on the south side of the tipi. Throughout the village all was bustle and confusion. The boys, young men, and old men were playing with their sticks and rings. For the boys the ring was small and the sticks had two hooks on one end. The sticks used by the older men were hooked at one end and had two cross bars while the ring was smaller than that used by the young boys. The oldest men played with large rings and straight sticks. The women sat in circles and played a game with plum seeds and a basket while others played shafts.

Messengers were sent through the village to call out the men to look for game. The runners notified the people that they had seen many buffalo. The men went out to hunt them and returned with the meat. The first buffalo killed was taken to the holy tipi.

They stayed at this place four days when the holy being told the four old men that it was time to move. Camp was broken and everyone returned to the bag, the two lance bearers last of all.

Again Paruxti went on his way. Several times he opened the bag, camp was 539
pitched. He rested only when the bag was opened. He had traveled far to the east
and had returned by the north. 575

Fools-wolves, the wolf star, had seen Paruxti on his journey and said, "I will undo what the others wish to do. I will send a being to the earth who will ruin what the others have accomplished." He put a wolf on the earth who became hungry and ran hither and thither until he discovered the tracks of Paruxti which he followed. The wonderful being who had become tired and sleepy, lay down. As he lay there, the wolf came up to him and noticed the bag. He thought, "There must be something to eat in the bag. I will take it away and open it and find something to eat." He dragged it to some prairie where there was neither water nor timber and untied it.

The two lance men jumped out first. Wolf was frightened and jumped sidewise. Soon people came out of the bag and he heard them say that they were going to camp and get something to eat. The two lance men selected a camping place and as usual stuck their lances into the ground. The people played their games, but found no buffalo. The men shouted: "Something is wrong. Our wonderful being must be in an ill humor. Take him something to eat."

Some men carried dried meat to the wolf which he ate. The people marveled at this and did not know what to make of it. The wolf was brought to camp and given a place in the tipi where the wonderful man sat. Just as they were about to burn incense in his honor someone shouted, "Our wonderful being is coming over the hills, crying. Watch the being in our tipi, for he is not our wonderful being." The wolf tried to get away, but the people surrounded the tipi and killed him.

The four men then burned some incense before the wonderful being and anointed him with red ointment, buffalo fat mixed with red earth. All the people were gathered around the tipi and the wonderful being asked what had become of the wolf. They replied, "We killed it." Then Paruxti said, "Bring it and skin it. When the skin is dry, put it on the bundle where it must remain. You will always be known as the skiri (Skidi) or wolf people. Because you killed the first animal on earth you will die too. The gods in the heavens intended that you live forever. You will always have the lances. Those who carry them will be soldiers."

Known-the-leader sent the assistant on the north side to the morningstar bundle 575
tipi for owl feathers which are kept in this bundle and to the left hand bundle tipi for
the crow feathers kept in that bundle. When these were brought, the assistant [237]
called for one crow feather and one white goose feather from each of the other tipis.
These were brought in and piled up in front of the singers by young boys. Near the
feathers were placed two strips of red cloth about sixteen inches wide together with
buckskin, sinew, and an awl. Two men were selected to procure cedar poles for the [824]
lances. Cedar was used because the cedar tree "has life all the time."

When the men arose, Known-the-leader took up one of the drums. The other
drummers each took up the drum in front. They sang a song relating to the search [533]
for timber. After they sang four times, the drums were set down. Then the men
went out with axes to cut the trees. Before actually cutting the poles four cutting
motions were made. When the poles were brought in they were placed one at each
side of the tipi where the young men sat. They started to cut down the pole, one [313]
man on each side, and when these were tired, others took their places. When the
poles were cut and smoothed down they were placed crosswise in front of the drums.

The cloth was given to the men on either side who sewed it with buckskin string.

575 One end was lapped over enough to allow the poles to be passed through. In the middle, the cloth was slashed enough to allow for the bearer's hand. Feathers were also placed before the men who were sewing. They took five crow feathers that were equal in length and cut the quills at the ends. When these were ready one of the men made perforations in the cloth with a sharp stick beginning at the top. Then [237] he placed the quill ends of the feathers in the perforations and tied them with sinew. Five swan feathers were attached in the same way. This was done for the full length of the strip, five crow feathers alternating with five swan feathers.

The men on the north side must complete their cloth first, for the north star [821] watches and cares for them, giving them life and feeding them. The people on the south side worked slowly for the south star is the home of the dead. The owl feathers are bunched together and tied at the top of the cloth because they represent the north star who watches over all at night. Owls care for people while they sleep. In olden [825] times, the owls used to warn the people when the enemy was prowling around the camp. The crow feathers were attached first because crows are always the first to find food and they used to help the people to find buffalo. The swan feathers represent those of the thunderbird which is near Tirawahat, the heavens. If an enemy [821] were on the point of attacking the people, thunderstorms would come up and save them. The red cloth signified bloodshed during war. During battle, if the lance bearer stuck the lance into the ground, it was incumbent upon the people to defend the emblem.

After the cloth was ready, the poles were passed through the flaps, tied to a pole, and stuck in the ground, one at the north and the other at the south side, in front of the drummers.

Now, Known-the-leader said: "Knife-chief, Brave-chief, Running-fox, Young-hawk, old men, and young men, our fathers (the lances) are now complete. Our father, the owl is sitting at the top of the pole. The crow and swan feathers are attached. The lances are complete and have taken life. Let us hasten to notify the gods in the heavens that we have completed these emblems that were given to our people long ago to be carried on the buffalo hunt that there should be order. These insignia were to be carried in battle; in peace they were hung on a pole. The buffalo have disappeared, we no longer fight our enemies, peace rules. The gods know this. They will bless us and give us long life. They will bless our fields so that we may have an abundance of food. It is now time to offer smoke to the gods to show that we remember them. I select Knife-chief to offer smoke to the gods in the heavens. Knife-chief will now rise and take the pipe I have filled."

Knife-chief rose and took the pipe which belongs in a sacred bundle. It is very 276 old; the bowl is large; the stem smooth and round and represents the windpipe 575 through which the prayers of the people pass. Knife-chief walked around the fireplace with the pipe, beginning at the south. At the northeast he stopped and the south assistant lighted the pipe with a burning coal. He then walked around the fireplace by the west and then south with the lighted pipe and stopped successively at the south and north entrances and blew smoke in those directions. He next halted at the fireplace and blew smoke on its rim towards the northeast and the northwest. West of the fireplace he stopped and blew smoke southwest and southeast. Then he passed north and stopped at the west facing east. He blew smoke east, west, and then east again. Then he directed smoke towards the heavens; three times to the north, once to the south, faced about and blew smoke west. He turned again and blew towards the ground and the drums.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The pipe was passed to those on the north and the south sides, each person taking four whiffs. Knife-chief then strewed the ashes from the pipebowl west of the fireplace and facing west passed his hands over the pipestem, then over his own body, and handed the pipe to Known-the-leader who said, "Nawa." All the rest of the people said, "Nawa." This ended the first smoke ceremony. 276 575

Known-the-leader again addressed the assemblage: "Men, old men, and young men, another smoke offering is near. Our fathers are completed and stand before us.

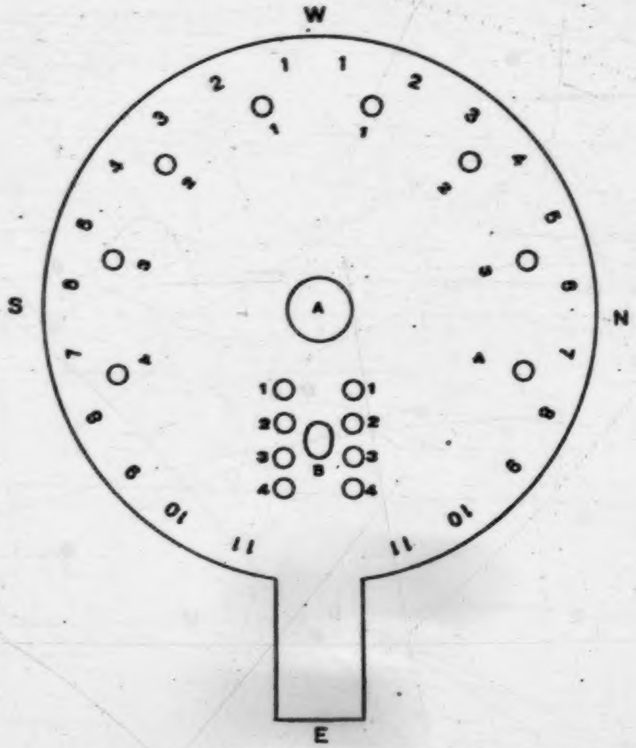


Fig. 4. Arrangement of the Food Bowls in the Two Lance Ceremony: A, fireplace; B, kettle of cooked maize; 1–11, the seats of members; 1–4, the serving bowls in position and as served. This order is followed in most ceremonies.

We must offer them smoke. I have filled this pipe. I have selected Brave-chief to carry on the smoke for he took part in war parties when these two lances were carried."

Brave-chief rose and took up the pipe. In the meantime, Known-the-leader's assistants took up the drums. At this point a song was sung about father owl, one about father crow, one about the thunderbirds, while the last related to the lances. [533]

276
575

Brave-chief walked around the fireplace, stopped at the west facing east, and pointed the pipestem upward. At the same time he took some tobacco from the bowl, raised it, gradually lowered his hand, and finally placed the tobacco in the rim of the fireplace. Then he again pointed the pipe to the rim of the fireplace and placed a pinch of tobacco on it. The first offering was in honor of Tirawahat, the second in honor of the earth. He sat at the northeast of the fireplace. Now the assistant on the north placed a coal on the bowl of the pipe and returned to his place.

Brave-chief walked around the fireplace by the north and stood west of it. Four times he blew smoke to the heavens and four times to the rim of the fireplace. Then he directed smoke upwards towards the north and south lances. He passed around the fireplace by the south, east, and north, and offered the pipe to Known-the-leader who smoked four times; then he moved around by the north, east, and south to the west and Knife-chief smoked four times. The north and south assistants also smoked. Brave-chief emptied the ashes from the pipe west of the fireplace. He touched them with his right hand, made an upward pass, and then touched them with his left hand. Then he walked to the north lance and passed his right hand twice upward over the pipestem and with his left hand touched the ashes and passed it over the stem of the pipe. This was repeated before the south lance.

Finally he stood in front of the singers passing his hand over the pipestem and then over his own body. He returned the pipe to Known-the-leader who said "Nawa" which was repeated by all those present. This ended the smoking ceremony.

Now food was placed east of the fireplace. There was one kettle of corn, a pot of meat, bread, and coffee. The corn was placed near the entrance. Known-the-leader said: "Old men and young men, the corn was given our women by Tirawahat. We were told to offer it to the gods. I select Knife-chief to make the offering, then we will partake of the food."

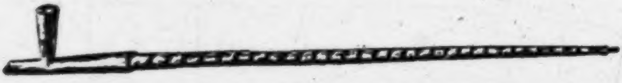


Fig. 5. Pipe for the Two Lance Society. The bowl is of red stone, the stem round, marked with black bands to represent a trachea, which it symbolizes.

Known-the-leader gave Knife-chief a buffalo horn spoon with which he ladled out the corn into eight wooden bowls placed there by the two assistants. He placed a spoonful at a time alternately in the north and south bowls until they were all filled. He walked west by the north and standing west of the fireplace raised a spoonful of corn towards the heavens gradually lowering it and finally placing some corn on the rim of the fireplace. Before placing the remainder of the corn he made a pass towards the west with the spoon and then gave it to the south assistant. Four times he placed his hands on the corn on the fireplace and raised them towards the heavens. He walked to the north lance and passed his hands four times upwards on it and then repeated the same motions with the south lance. Then he passed his hands over the drums. Stepping backward and standing erect he passed his hands over his head and then over his body.

Knife-chief took the spoon from the assistant and gave it to Known-the-leader who as he received it said "Nawa" which everyone repeated after him. Then he took up the first bowl on the north side and placed it before the two men on the north

side and the one on the south side in front of the south men. Then he placed the 276 second bowl from both the north and south sides before the third and fourth men on either side and so on until all the bowls were in front of them and then they ate. 575 The bowls were passed down towards the entrance and what remained was the share of the two assistants. When the corn was all eaten the assistants gathered up the bowls and put them away. Then the meat, bread, and coffee were passed without any ceremony.

Known-the-leader said, "Men, old men, and young men, our fathers are now complete. Tomorrow we will have the dance. We have made the smoke offering to the gods and they will be thankful. We have also offered our corn to the gods and they will watch over us.[1] We will now prepare to leave this tipi. We have eaten and smoked."

This ends the ceremony for the making of the lances.

575

The regalia are two lances, four rattles, and four hand drums (Fig. 3). There is also a special pipe as shown in the sketch, Fig. 5. The four singers [293] wore foxskin caps and painted their faces white, marking down with the fingers. The members have no fixed painting, being permitted to follow [302] their fancy. Formerly, they danced nude and carried weapons at their pleasure. The mode of dancing through the village and conducting the buffalo hunt has been described, these procedures being the same for each society.

As noted in the table the Chauí also had this society, though with them it was of minor importance. There were also small differences in the arrangement of the feathers on the lance.

THE SKIDÍ RED LANCE SOCIETY.

The rarispahat, red lance or otter lance society among the Skidí had two lances as shown in the sketch. Here the one for the north side of the lodge was wrapped with dark otter fur, the one for the south side with reddish [293] fur. The leader had a pipe, there were four rattles and four hand drums. The renewing of the lances and other ceremonies were as described for the bundle societies in general. This society does not occur elsewhere except in the Wolf-standing-in-water village, but here there is but one lance and the stone on the bowstring is wanting. There were probably important differences in the ritual but there are no data available.

This society was almost never called upon to act as hunting police, but [721] was often called upon to lead in war. It will be noted that the lances, in contrast to those of the preceding, carry real spear points. Their power

---

[1] The smoke and food offerings have practically the same form in all ceremonies.

575 was supposed to give protection in battles. The otter wrapped on the pole
could also be used to call upon the powers to send rain to the earth. The
two stones on the strings of the lances are to symbolize two powers or stars
in the east on each side of the sun, the white for the one on the north side
of the sun and the red for the one on the south side. By this, the members
of the society know that they are under the protection of the two powers in
the sky. If the people have a battle and win, the scalps and other trophies
[727] are given to this society which then conducts the victory dance, carrying the
lances in the dance. As the dance proceeds the women take charge, even
carrying the lances. The only men remaining in the dance are the four
drummers.

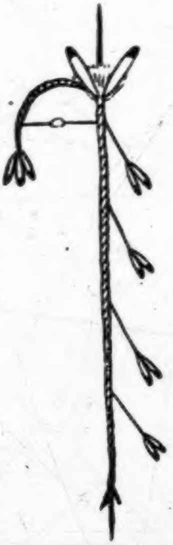


Fig. 6.

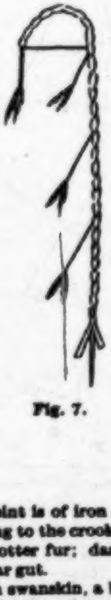


Fig. 7.

[411] Fig. 6. The Skidi Red Society Lance. The war point is of iron rising from a tuft of owl feathers between a tuft of eagle feathers. On the string to the crook is a red stone. The pendant feathers are eagle. The shaft is wrapped with otter fur; dark for the north side lance, reddish for the south. The grip is wrapped with bear gut.

[237] Fig. 7. The Red Lance. The shaft is wrapped with swanskin, a buffalo tail at the tip of the crook and also hung from strings at the sides; the grip of one lance is wrapped with red strouding and the other with black. These are the colors of the south and north sides respectively.

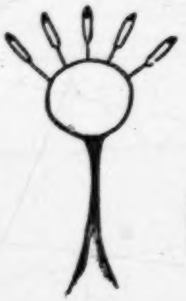
575
625
224 Perhaps the most important point is that this society is chosen to act
as police of a military procedure, or man hunt, in the same way as the preceding society was chosen for the buffalo hunt. When the camp moves

out to the buffalo hunt, this society having renewed its lances, takes them 224
out on a horse as previously noted. They are thus ready for the society to 575
act in case of attack. In such a case, if the regular bearers are not present, 625
any member or anyone in fact, is expected to lay hold and act as bearer. To facilitate this, the lances are placed against a pole outside the society tent. If, however, a bearer fails to put in an appearance or shirks his duty in any way he can be reprimanded or even expelled. The volunteer bearer will be permitted to dance with the lance in future ceremonies, in contrast to the preceding society where only the descendants of lance bearers were allowed to enter the dance. As stated, the lances were expected always to head the line in battle.

As winter approached these lances were dismantled and put away until 575
the renewing ceremony of spring. Each member makes it his business to hunt for an otter and when one is caught takes it to the leader who skins it with a special ceremony. His wife then dresses the skin and cares for it until the time for renewing the lance in the spring.

THE RED LANCE SOCIETY.

Among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kit'kaháxki divisions there were organizations known as the raris pahat, but differing from the Skidí society of that name. The two lances were wrapped with swans' down. These societies were all considered as derived from and sanctioned by the bundle of the Pítahauírata. This bundle controlled the ceremonies in that division and hence all but the public dancing in the camp was secret. Only the descendants of chiefs could be members. In the two sides of the organization, the chiefs sat upon the north side and the warriors upon the south. The lance for the north side was trimmed in black feathers, that for the south in white. The members painted in corresponding colors in the dance, but carried such weapons as they chose. When dancing, a rattle bearer faces the lance bearer of the opposite side and in the evolutions they pass each other. Water drums are used and in the dance around the village two boys are appointed to bear these upon their backs. The pipe of the society was originally that belonging to the bundle, but later a special pipe was provided.



[534]

[362]
[535]

Fig. 8. Rattle for the Skidí Red Lance, one of four. The bulb is of rawhide, the feathers are eagle.

It will be noted that the lance of this society bears no point and is not

575 for war. In fact, this is the society that is called upon to police the buffalo hunt and in this capacity the members conduct themselves as described above. As an organization it is the counterpart of the Skidi two lance society.

The Thunderbird Lance.

The raris kuhat, or thunderbird lance society is found among the Skidi and the Squash Vine people. The following account is from data supplied by the Skidi.

In winter the members procure the thunderbird (in this case the swan,
[825] though outsiders are led to believe it to be the eagle) which is skinned by
the leader as in the case of the preceding society. The feathers are plucked,
leaving the down upon the skin, and with this the lance is wrapped at the
renewing ceremony in the spring. This society is never called upon to act
[721] as police in the buffalo hunt, but for leadership and defense in war; in this
respect whatever was said of the preceding society, applies equally well
[821] here. The point of the lance is of flint stone because this stone is believed
to be related to the thunders since it is said that such will be found where-
[823] ever the lightning strikes. Thus, this stone lance head symbolizes the power
to strike down a person before he is aware of danger.

As stated before, the trophies of victory may be turned over to this society that they may inaugurate the victory dance and as it progresses, the whole is turned over to the women. In former times, it was the custom for the sexes to mingle freely without restraint and during the dance.

In the Squash Vine village the lances were wrapped with loonskin instead of swan and loon heads were placed on the end of the curved top; also some loon feathers. On the sinew string were soft down feathers. Four old men were taken in to recount the deeds of the members.

The Crow Lance.

The hatuʰka society was found among each of the four divisions but not
in the [illegible]ependent villages. It was everywhere the same, except that the
[184] peculiar feature of tying the members together was practised by the Skidi
alone. In all cases this society was the last to renew in the spring, disband
in the winter, to leave the line of battle, to follow the camp, etc.

The following account applies particularly to the Skidi: —

575 The name usually given this society is hatuʰka (those coming behind), so named
773 because of their peculiar custom of marching at the extreme rear of the tribal pro-
cession. The society is said to have been handed down by the crows but in reality

was derived from blackbirds, the kind that feed around grazing horses and buffalo. 575 A long time ago a hunter was walking along a ravine. Presently he heard war cries and shouting. He was badly scared and ran, but the cries still pursued him. 773 Becoming tired, he took his stand, bow in hand, for the enemy seemed near, singing and shouting. Finally, they came up. He heard one division going on one side of him, another on the opposite side, and stood ready to shoot down the first man to appear. But as they passed by he saw only flocks of crows, blackbirds, and packs of wolves. He saw no human beings among them. Yet he sat down and watched because he felt sure that they were human and that they had a lance among them.

He noticed that the birds came together as also did the wolves. The birds flew upward in a circle and then took a position resembling a lance, so the man thought. Then he fell asleep and dreamed of a blackbird. In his dream the blackbird told him that all that had happened was merely a test of his bravery. At first, he had appeared cowardly, but finally proved his courage. The birds and animals had decided to give him a lance with which he could originate the hatu^{h}ka society. The birds would teach him the songs, but there would be no dancing. The lance was to be of ash, hooked at the end, and wrapped with the tanned skin of a bull calf. Crow feathers which the birds would give him were to be attached at intervals, while the whole was to be daubed with white clay. The blackbird said that the man would obtain a medicine root for the use of the society. When painting, only soot was to be used. Thus, in his dream he was taught all the details of the regalia and practices of the hatu^{h}ka society.

When the man awoke he proceeded to the place where he had seen a tall weed which he took to be the medicine promised him. Here he gathered up the crow feathers which he took home. He did not tell the people of his vision on the plains. Instead, he wrapped the feathers and the medicine root in a piece of tanned buffalo hide which he tied to one of the lodge poles on the inside. At night he filled his pipe; first he gave a whiff to Tirawahat, a few whiffs to the birds, and then smoked nonceremonially.

That night he dreamed again. He saw a line of singing men all daubed with soot. They were strung along a buffalo rope drawn through their belts. When he awoke he sang a peculiar song which aroused the curiosity of the other people. Again and again he dreamed of the same men and each time learned a new song. One time he sat in his lodge singing the songs he had learned and was joined by another man who learned them from him. They in turn were joined by others from time to time.

When quite a number knew the songs, the man told them his dream experiences and announced his intention of organizing the society about which he had dreamed. He told them it would be difficult, as evidenced by the songs they already knew; that bravery was necessary; that they should know no fear of death; and that they were to act as protectors of the tribe. In their ceremonies, two rattles were [534] to be used. Drums were not permitted. Each member had a quiver with bow and arrows slung over his shoulder.

The society owned a buffalo hide rope. Each member was compelled to provide 575 a crow feather for the lance so that it would have a claim upon his bravery. The lance had to be covered with tanned buffalo calf skin.

The members of the society did not act as soldiers. Instead they were strung together in battle and marched in the rear of the tribe on all occasions.

While on a buffalo hunt they procured all the necessary paraphernalia. On their return to the village the new members met at the originator's lodge to sing the songs

575 and select men to make the lance and the rope. Soon other young men joined them and they too had to go through all the preliminaries before they could be strung along the rope. When a new member was initiated, he was strung with the old ones, each member wearing his quiver, bow and arrows over his right shoulder. At first there were but few members and consequently few feathers on the lance. These were attached only to the hook.

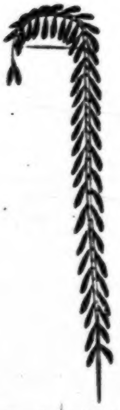


Fig. 9. The Crow Lance. The shaft is wrapped with buffalo skin to which crow feathers are fastened.

[789]

They all sang their songs and during a certain time when they were taking young men into their society they imitated an attack upon the enemy. Those who were cowardly usually stood still during these maneuvers because of the chafing rope. Then the proceedings were halted and the cowardly one sent out of the lodge. During their meetings, one day was set aside on which the society paraded through the village.

The lance was tied to a tent pole and set outside of the lodge until the day of the parade through the village. The night before, all the members gathered in the lodge and sang their songs. Then the leader gave each member a portion of the medicine root telling him that it would make him brave. He taught them to chew the medicine root and mix it with the soot and daub it over their bodies, particularly their faces. This medicine was to protect them from bullets and arrows.

Now, everything was in readiness. Early the next morning the members mixed the medicine root and soot, daubing it first on their faces and then their bodies. Then each man placed his quiver over his right shoulder. They stood abreast and the buffalo skin rope was passed through each man's belt. The rope was fastened around the waists of the men at either end of the line. When all their preparations had been completed, they commenced their songs, meanwhile performing various evolutions during which the rope tightened and wound itself around the singers.

Any member who gave signs of discomfort or pain was dismissed, but those who disregarded their suffering remained. After this, they stood in line facing east. Then they marched out of the lodge, the leader stopping at the south side followed by the others all facing east. The lance bearer was about a yard in advance of the others. After singing four songs while standing in this position, they proceeded. They gave no heed to any obstacles in their path. If they happened to come to a mud-lodge they halted and sang until the relatives (aunts) of the men singing would come out and spread buffalo robes under the feet of their kin. They did not move until one of the women came forward and said: "Men move to one side; I will give you dried meat and a pot of corn." Then they would turn aside and continue through the village, stopping only at the lodges of chiefs.

On their return to their own lodge the rope was taken off and they all took their respective places. The leader filled a pipe, lighted it with a live coal and blew smoke four times towards the lance which was staked in front of the singers. Twice he blew smoke downward and twice upward. Then he placed the ashes near the lance and passed his hands up and down over it twice and sat down.

Two assistants then brought in kettles of food and placed them between the entrance and the fireplace. The leader now gave them permission to eat. He rose,

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dipped a horn spoon into the corn and placed the food near the lance. He made four passes with his hands towards the lance, then he placed the corn upon the rim of the fireplace, on the west side. He then took a piece of fat to the pile of corn, placed the fat on the corn, greased his hands and then made four passes over the lance with his hands. Then he handed the horn spoon to one of the men, who said, "Nawa." They ate and were dismissed. 575

During the buffalo hunt it was customary for this society to follow at the rear of the procession. These men were once overtaken by the enemy. Their first act was to string the buffalo rope through their belts and thus they fought. When one of their number was killed, he was dragged around as the others fought. Eventually they were all killed. The society was never again reorganized. [726]

Once a man had a lance made as he wished to start the society again. A young man took it and went to hunt buffalo. He was attacked by the enemy, killed, and the lance taken away from him. Since then, the lance was never made and was considered an evil omen. [787]

THE BRAVE RAVEN SOCIETY.

This is the important society among the Chauí and seems to have had a double function in that its emblem could lead the hunt as well as the line of battle. Among the Skidí it was a minor organization. The origin of this society is an integral part of the ritual for the leading Chauí bundle of which the head chief is the keeper but not the priest. This bundle is in two parts, or two bundles. The main bundle contained the ceremonial objects and was directly associated with the ritual; the secondary bundle contained the skins and feathers of birds. When a boy kills his first bird with an arrow, he naturally runs with it to his father. The father may then take his boy by the hand and lead him to the priest of the bundle, to whom the dead bird is presented. The priest thanks the boy and blesses him, after which the father and son go home. [224] [852]

After formally notifying the chief, or keeper of the bundle, the priest prepares the skin of the bird and puts it up to dry for four days. Then he takes it in and ceremoniously places it in the bundle, taking care to be able to identify it later.

During the autumn hunt the leader of the brave society notifies the members that the time has come for the gathering of sinew and the reserving of dried meat for the lance-renewing ceremony in the spring. Twelve volunteers are secured for this service. Each kills a buffalo and removes the sinew from the shoulders and back which is then dried and carefully packed away.

575 Now, during the hunt, the father of the boy killing the bird, may recall the incident and vow to consecrate a buffalo in the name of his son. Accordingly, when the buffalo is killed, he butchers, and packs it on the horse according to the requirements of the ritual. He leads the horse home, places the rope in the boy's hand and again conducts him to the priest. The father announces his errand and delivers the meat. The priest then performs the proper ceremony.

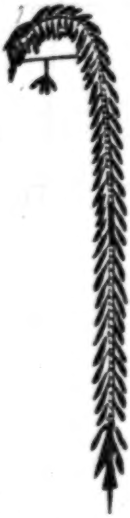


Fig. 10. The Brave Raven Lance. At the end of the crook is the skin of a crow, the beak hanging down. All the feathers are crow.

[283]

Some time during the winter the keeper of the lance goes out and cuts an ash stick for the new lance. This he works down to the proper form and puts up in the lodge to season.

Now, the father of the boy may ask for a crow feather, upon which the boy sets out and either kills a crow or finds a feather. His father directs him to take it to the priest. The latter again opens the secondary bundle and ties the feather to the boy's birdskin offering. This accumulation of crow feathers may continue for several years.

As the time for renewing the lances approaches, the twelve men collecting sinew are called into the leader's lodge, and arrangements for the ceremony made. The next day the lodge is cleared out and the store of sinew and dried meat brought in. Twelve additional members are called to assist. All are seated in the regular order. After certain preliminaries, the leader explains that the sinew cord for the lance is to be made. He then takes up sinew and proceeds to roll a cord upon his thigh. As it increases in length the ends are taken by his neighbors who twist in turn and so on until both ends of the line are reached. There is now one long cord passing entirely round the lodge. When completed the errand men stretch it about the lodge posts to dry.

Next the leader calls for the crow feather. Then each member who has crow feathers in the bundle brings them in and also those that have been placed there by their sons. All these feathers are placed upon a mat before the leader. Then the two errand men take down the sinew cord and make it into a coil. The leader takes the coil and gives one end of the cord to his left hand and the others to his right hand neighbor, and so the ends are passed along, unwinding the cord. Then the leader lectures, stating that there are three main things in life, to consecrate an eagle, a scalp, and a buffalo, that following such acts one will be anointed by the priest, that

when one ties his feather to the cord, he is binding up his future, for each must tie his own, if it is poorly done and drops off, so will be his career. In addition this lecture is usually a general sermon upon the ethical ideals of the society. Each man should add one feather for each time he helped dress the lance, or for each year of his membership. Each feather symbolically represented a part of the owner's life which he tied, or joined, to the fortunes of the lance. 575 [867]

In tying a feather, each member is permitted to use but three knots. The leader ties first and then each member in succession on the two sides. The two errand men are last, holding the ends; these they return to the leader and then take up the ends once more, thus making a four-strand cord. This is placed outside upon a pole and food is brought in for a feast. [284]

On the third day the cord is taken down and the ceremonial dressing of the new lance performed. The new staff is brought in and set up before the leader, who at the proper time ties one end of the cord to the tip of the staff and winds it on spirally, covering almost the entire length. All this time the old lance has been standing before the leader, but now it is dismantled and disposed of as before stated. The new one is then set up in its place and properly installed. The day's proceedings are again closed by a feast.

The most spectacular part of the ceremony occurs on the fourth day. During the night the lance is supported upon a pole as before. Early in the morning the members assemble. The leader paints his entire body with soot and marks down with the fingers. He then takes up the feather bustle, or belt, stating that this thing is to be shown to the powers in the heavens and that no enemy may enter, he must circle the village with it; also that his running through the village will drive away sickness, improve the corn crop, and increase the buffalo. After this lecture, two men begin to sing and beat upon the water drums, the leader dances circling the fire four times, then passes out at the door. Once outside he runs north until outside the village, then runs around until by a spiral course he is again brought back to the door, thus traversing all parts of the village. As he enters, he gives three crow calls, two men spring up, catch him, take the lance and put him in his seat.

[302]

[292]

[189]

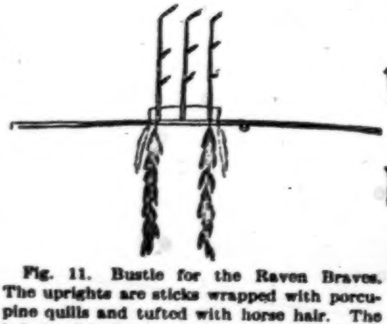


Fig. 11. Bustle for the Raven Braves. The uprights are sticks wrapped with porcupine quills and tufted with horse hair. The belt is of buffalo hide and bears a few sleigh bells. The pendants are wolf tails and strings of crow feathers.

535
● 575
[302] All this time the members have been singing in the lodge but now they paint black also and prepare such arms as they wish to carry. The chief of the village then enters with the pipe from the bundle and starts the dance. First they are lead outside where they dance before their own lodge, then passing out at the north side march around the village once. Then they come into the village and dance before the lodges of the leading men. (As before, two boys are brought in to carry the water drum.) In each case the host comes out with a pipe which is passed to the lance bearer and the singers, but no presents are given. Finally, they dance before their own lodge and enter. A feast and certain smoke offerings to the lance close the ceremony.

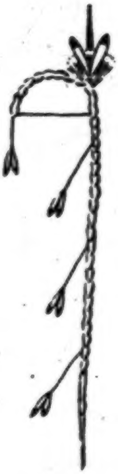


Fig. 12.

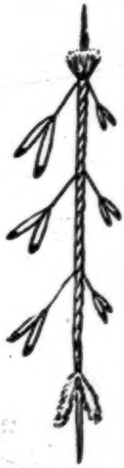


Fig. 13.

[411] Fig. 12. The Fighting Lance. The point is of iron, nested in owl and eagle feathers; the shaft wrapped with swanskin, small eagle feathers hang at the sides. The grip of the south side lance is of red strouding; that of the north, of black.

Fig. 13. The Wolf Lance. The point is of iron, the shaft wrapped with wolfskin, a bunch of owl feathers at the top, large and small eagle feathers at the sides, the grip near the lower end and two wolf tails below. Two of these are carried.

575
[648] As this was the leading society of the Chauí and the United States formally recognized the Chauí chief as the head of all the Pawnee, it came to have a certain precedence in all functions.

THE FIGHTING LANCE.

The tirupahe society is found among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kit'kaháxki. It is a war society as may be seen by its pointed lance.

The lance for the north side was black and for the south, white. There were 575
two rattle bearers who stood and danced as in the preceding. There were four singers and two water drums. Their war duties were as previously stated. This society was composed of chiefs and warriors, on different sides. [701]
At stated times, the members demonstrated their deeds, trophies, and war medicines.

It seems that there were three bundles in the Pítahauírata division at one time and the three feathers on the lance are supposed to be one for each. [778]
The members were members of the chiefs society, warriors and men who had consecrated eagles; hence the small eagle feathers are put on the lance. In the consecrating of eagles the heads are strung through the nose with sinew, all the members having gone through this ceremony; hence the string here symbolizes the consecration but it is not known if the hooked part of the lance is the eagle's head. The pipe of this society is borrowed from the warrior's bundle.

So far as known, the organizations in the three divisions were identical.

THE WOLF LANCE.

The rarisits skiri^{h}ki^{h} (society of wolves) was peculiar to the Wolf-standing-in-water village. There were two lances, four flat hand drums painted white, four singers wearing caps of wolfskin like roaches, four rattles (two for each side). [302]
All members painted white. The pipe bearer who sat in front of the four singers painted red, however. The lance bearers sat among the dancers, but the lances rested against the lodge posts. There was no regular dance evolution, each one going as he pleased. [535]
The old men and one messenger were on each side.

There were two war shields covered with wolfskin for each side. For each shield there was a bearer. It was a war organization and differed from the others in that as an organization it could go to war. [701]
The lances were left at home, however. So far as known they never acted as police of the hunt, but the members seem to have had the right to take the lances of the hunting society and scout for buffalo.

The lodge of this society had its door toward the west instead of east. [345]

THE BLACK HEADS.

The pakskatit society was peculiar to the Kit'kaháxki division. They [224]
seem to have been important for they could act both as police of the buffalo hunt and in the line of battle. While there were two sides as before, there [701]

575 was but one lance wrapped with swanskin. Each member wore a large tuft of crow feathers, hence the name. There were no rattles, but two water drums, four singers, and pipe men. The members painted white.

The Knife Lance.

The kichita was found among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and the Kit'kaháxki. Its function was on the line of battle and not concerned with the hunt. There were two lances as shown in the drawing, decorated with cloth. The colored sections were reversed in order on the second lance. In painting the north side men were black and the south, red. There were four rattles, fringed with crow and swan feathers, four hand drums, and four singers. In the dance, two rattle bearers faced the lance bearers with the usual evolutions, while the other pair of rattle bearers stayed with the singers. In membership the chiefs constituted one side and warriors the other.

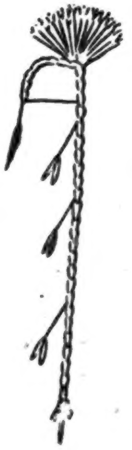


Fig. 14.

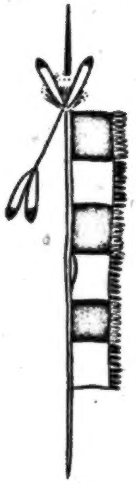


Fig. 15.

[411] Fig. 14. The Black Head Lance. The shaft is wrapped with swanskin, a crown of raven feathers, a buffalo tail at the end of the crook, crow feathers at the sides, bear gut grip at the bottom. The headgear of the society is similar to the crown above.

Fig. 15. The Knife Lance. The point is of iron nested in owl and eagle wing feathers, the shaft is trimmed with alternating squares of red and black strouding, a fringe of crow feathers to the red sections, goose feathers to the black; two eagle tail feathers hang from the top. The only difference in the two lances is that the order of colors is reversed in the second. Red was the color for the south side, black for the north.

PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS.

These organizations may be said to have been rivals or imitators of the recognized or authorized societies. In the villages were at all times many ambitious men unable to attain membership in the regular organizations. When a man felt he had a call to organize a new society, i. e., had the necessary visions or dreams, he had no difficulty in securing a following. Naturally, these organizations have no public functions nor official recognitions; yet in time of need they might render service that would give them social prestige. As individuals, or even as volunteer organizations, they could carry their standards to the line of battle and win renown. In many cases, however, they were short-lived, since it was only the personality and enthusiasm of the leaders that held them together. A great misfortune or disaster was almost certain to end the organization.

The tabulated list gives the names and distribution of all the organizations for which data are available. No doubt there were others that have been forgotten.

	Skidi	Chaui	Pitahauirata	Kitkahahki
Crazy Dog (asichakahuru)	×	×	×	×
Children of Iruska (iruska ipirau)	×	—	—	—
Wonderful Ravens (kaka waruxti)	×	×	×	×
Big Horse (raris aruskutchu)	—	×	—	—
Crows (raris kaka)	×	—	—	×
Roached Heads (pakspa hukasa)	×	—	—	—
Young Dog (asa kipiriru)	×	—	—	×
The Circumcised	—	×	—	—

The Crazy Dog Society.

A society found in all divisions was the asichakahuru, or crazy dog society. The members were men of any age. In organization they had the usual north and south sides. There were four singers or drummers,

575 two for each side. The pipe-man is the chief, but there is another man who is charged with directing the ritual. All members carry ring-shaped rattles, and certain members carry short lances bearing feathers. As to the number of these lances, we have no data. The members danced nude and tied [292] a string to the foreskin to the end of which feathers were attached. (See Catlin's drawings of the Okipa.) On this account they were sometimes called the "tied-penis society." It is said that in battle some of the members would take a stake and a rope, plant the stake before the enemy and [726] tie the penis string to the rope. They were forbidden to release themselves and must then stand fast until released.

As to adornment and body painting each man did as he chose. Four hand drums were used.

There were no renewal ceremonies but this society would usually dance [535] in public after the bundle societies had made their appearance. In dancing they formed in front of their lodge in a circle. There were two mounted men to call out their own deeds and encourage others to do likewise. In one part of the dance the horsemen ride among the dancers back and forth (p. 387). Also, there were two whip men, carrying green switches with which to whip up the dancers. If a member enters the ceremony wearing clothes [292] he is set upon by these whip bearers and his clothes torn to pieces. Only the members who captured a blanket or cut the covering from a captured bundle, could take a hand in this. However, if a member has been in a battle and saved his robe, he may carry it folded under his arm.

[888] In the dance a dancer may remove his moccasins and put them on an old needy bystander.

CHILDREN OF THE IRUSKA.

In this organization there were but six or seven members. They carried quivers full of arrows which were very highly prized, so when an arrow was shot they went to hunt it. They were known as saaro, youths.

They did things by contraries. If a woman said, "Do not get water," [524] they went after it. They were given to playing the wheel game and because of their peculiarities no one played with them. If an enemy attacked the village, the members would continue to play the wheel game and pay no attention to the fighting. If a person came up and said, "Do not go out to [302] fight," they rushed out at once. They were always painted black as if ready to fight. On the head each wore the skin of a blackbird. The society is said to have been handed down by this bird. The leader so appointed by the bird went through the camp and selected boys who seemed queer, or even insane. These he organized into a society.

They did not go into a fight until they were told not to; then they simply shot their arrows toward the enemy without taking much aim and then went to get them; or in other words, an idiotic performance. At all times of their lives they did things in reverse order. They never married or had anything to do with women. Whenever strange or mysterious animals were reported which were feared by other people, they would try to kill them. It is said that the society became extinct by all being killed in a battle except one, who afterwards disappeared. There are, however, several different stories as to how they were destroyed. 575

THE WONDERFUL RAVENS.

This society of the kaka waruxti, or wonderful ravens, had two undressed lances except for a crowskin hanging near the point. All members, except the pipe-bearer, had the skins of crows upon their backs. All painted black. [302] The founder got the ritual and powers from a raven. There were four singers but no rattle bearers. Their chief function was to be ready for war; [825] they wore the crow because this bird is known to be wary and hence it was believed that the society could foretell attacks. [787] When attacks were predicted the society placed their lances outside against a pole. This was a public warning that precautions should be taken.

The society had a brief existence, as most of them were once killed in battle, the remnants failing to reorganize.

THE BIG HORSE SOCIETY.

Among the Chauí there was once an organization known as raris aruskutchu, big horse society. Many of the members bore plain long sticks and all wore caps of foxskin and painted themselves white. [302] There were no drums, but eight singers who beat upon a piece of rawhide with sticks instead of drums. The society was for war, but took the warpath for private forays and never acted as soldiers in any capacity. They became extinct by the loss of most of their members in an engagement.

SOCIETY OF CROWS.

The raris kaka, society of crows, was a lance society. They had two lances with war points and at four places on the shaft a string bearing crow feathers was tied. The members painted black but only on the joints of the body. [302]

575 They had ceremonies in the spring to get their regalia ready for war. There was one old man in the order who wore a special cap made of crowskin. [103] Members who had counted just one coup could wear a horizontal feather through the scalplock; for the second coup another feather in the same direction but from the opposite side; three coups, one crow feather upright; four coups, four feathers fixed on a small pointed stick, and stuck in the head. If one took but part of a scalp, he split one of the feathers half way; if a whole scalp, the whole feather was split. For each scalp taken a feather was split.

As the number of coups and scalps increased, feathers were added to a string and hung on the head. They also painted hands and other deed marks on their bodies.

This organization also had a brief existence, becoming extinct through losses in battle.

The Roached Heads.

The pakspahukasa, or roached heads, were peculiar to the Skidi. They [302] were also known as the fox society. They had a peculiar hair cut in that the hair on the back of the head was cut off, leaving only the roach on the top. All must wear coats of blue or red strouding cloth, feathers on the seams of shoulders and sleeves. They wore buckskin leggings and any kind of dress moccasins. All had small rattles, decorated with strands of different colored ribbons. No fixed form of face painting was used. Some of them wore beaded caps. Four hand drums were used, two red and two white. This was a war society and the songs refer to disregard of death.

Young Dog Society.

Among the Skidi there was a society known as the asa kipi riru, or
539
575 young dogs. The story of their origin is as follows: —

When the Skidi village was west of Fullerton, Nebraska, an old man lived there alone in his mud-lodge. He was very fond of the old dogs which the Skidi had used as pack animals. They lived with him and shared his food. During the buffalo hunt the dogs carried things for him. One time after returning from the hunt some puppies were born. The man was pleased, for he had no children. Every day he made a fresh bed for them and fed them.

The rest of the people remarked on his care of the dogs. One night, some boys planned to kill the old dog and steal the young ones. The next day they watched and finally caught the old dog outside the village and killed it. During the night they stole some of the puppies, but left four males. The following day, the man searched for the mother and the puppies but in vain. He fed the others as well as he could and sat sadly at his fireplace.

As he sat there, a boy he did not know came in and said, "Some boys killed your dog." After feeding the dogs the next day, he went to hunt for their mother. He found the body and buried it. On his return he made a bed for the young ones near his own and fed and cared for them as though they were his own children. They began to grow and the man was very happy. 539 575

One night he dreamed that the mother dog had advised him to go away from his own people. He decided to move and went south to the Platte River where he camped. He hunted every day and on his return his first care was to feed the dogs. After a time he moved on, camping at different places. Meanwhile the dogs grew up.

In camp one night the man heard singing from afar and took it to be an approaching enemy. The song was unfamiliar and it appeared as if several people were singing. He rose and went to the puppies, but they had disappeared. He went back to his bed and lay down afraid to move. He lay still for a long time listening, when the singing suddenly ceased at the entrance to his lodge. When all was quiet he crawled over to look for the dogs and found them. After this, when he heard the singing during the night he was not disturbed for he knew it was his puppies that were singing. Several nights the singing was repeated so the man soon learned the song which was an imitation of a dog howling: Ha-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-o ha-oa hey-i-i a-a hi-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-a-ha-o-a hoa hi-i-i-i. At the close of the song each time the dogs would return to the lodge. The man then returned to the village.

Soon after this, the people left the village and went on a hunt. Each time they made camp the singing was heard during the night. The people wondered who sang, for the song was unknown to them. This occurred every night until they returned to their village.

As soon as the man and his wife entered their lodge they swept it and made a bed for the dogs. For a time no singing was heard, but one night it recommenced and as it came nearer and nearer it seemed as if there were more men. The singing seemed to be right in the lodge passing around the fireplace.

The man rose and made a fire. He saw a circle of men standing around it, all covered with red paint. Some of them had rawhide ropes around their shoulders. The man returned to his bed. The singers began again; this time they were dancing, keeping time to the song. After some time they passed out of the lodge. The fire died down and the dogs returned to the lodge whining.

The man slept again and dreamed of the dancers just as he had seen them earlier in the night. Some stooped over and circled around, whining in imitation of dogs as they danced. At the end of the dance one of the men who seemed to be the leader said, "My father, you have been good to us and our people (the dogs). They have decided to give you a new dance. For the next three days you must have the lodge swept for we will continue the dance until the third night. We have already danced one night. You must borrow the four water drums from the medicinemen and place them at the altar. It is to your advantage to watch us and listen carefully." Then the man in his dream saw the men transformed into dogs which surrounded him, licking his mouth and nose. This frightened him.

Early the next day the man and his wife swept the lodge for all the dogs had left it. He placed some branches of cedar on the fire for incense. The dogs' beds were swept and cleaned. Towards evening the man procured the water drums from the medicineman and placed them at the altar. Everything was now in readiness. In the evening the man told his wife to take dried meat from the parfleches, cut it, and let it boil in the kettle on the fire. Then he told her to lie on her bed while he sat at the fire smoking.

539 575 During the day the dogs had disappeared but when darkness fell the man heard the singing again. At first it seemed outside the village, then it came closer, and finally stopped at the doorway. The man sat on his bed. The singers filed in and sat in a circle around the fireplace. Now, four old men entered and sat in front of the drums. One of them said, "Old men dogs at the altar and young dogs around the fireplace, we will now sing and dance." The old men drummed and sang and the others danced. The dancers were daubed all over with red paint. The man watched the dancers who were fine-looking men and learned the songs. They danced until the fire burned down and then quietly left the lodge. This was the second night they danced.

The man filled and lighted his pipe and before he smoked, blew smoke four times each to the skies, to Tirawahat, and to the altar. The dogs now came in whining and went to bed. The man knew when they returned and emptied his pipe and went to bed. As soon as he closed his eyes he fell into a trance and saw an old man standing near his bed. He wore no clothes but was painted all over with red paint. The old man said to him, "My son, I will take you to a far country and show you the father of the dog family. It is through him that the whole dog family has pity for you because of your kindness to the dogs. Come with me."

The man thought that he rose and walked out of the lodge with the stranger. They seemed to be traveling in space over a wide river. When they landed he saw that he was in a strange land. They arrived at a mud-lodge and the stranger told the man that they were about to enter the lodge of Tirawahat. He told him to notice everything and that certain things would be given him. They entered and he immediately noticed a large fire in the center of the lodge. West of the fireplace was a dark object, a large golden eagle, from which came sparks of fire. On its right sat a large dog. The two men sat down at the south side of the lodge. The eagle said, "My son, you are now with us. I sent for you that I might pity you. You have been kind to the dog family and I sent for you that you might see the dog that watches over all dogs. It will now speak to you."

The dog sat in the shadow but the man could see he was reddish. The dog said, "The young dogs of your village have prayed that I give you a new dance and that I make you a great warrior among your people because of your kindness to them. Dogs receive no smoke offering from the people. I gave power to the dogs to have pity upon you. I will make you great among your people. When you return to them tell them that you saw me and that I have taken pity on you. Watch my people and do as they do and we will give you power. Now return to your people.

At this point the man awoke. It was morning. He made a fire and noticed that the dogs had left the lodge. After he and his wife had eaten they swept the lodge and the man went out to where the young men were playing. There he saw two poor orphans whom he invited to his house. He gave them places near the fire and told them that he wished them to make his home their home. They were glad.

The young men were each given a place on either side of the entrance for they were to be assistants. During the day other well-to-do young men visited the lodge, but they were not allowed to stay there. Brave warriors also came, but the man would not admit them.

In the evening the young men were told to bring wood and keep up the fire so it would dimly light the lodge. When all was quiet throughout the village singing was heard outside of it. Young and old men went outside of their lodges to listen.

At the man's lodge the singing ceased. Then they heard the drumming and everyone 539
gathered around the lodge to watch. The singers and dancers took their places.
The fire burned low, lighting the lodge but dimly so the dancers could not be plainly 575
seen.

The two assistants sat on either side of the entrance. When the drumming began the dancers arose and danced around the fireplace imitating dogs. Some circled around and whined. The dancing and singing continued until the fire burned out. Then the man told the spectators that the dance was over. When he was alone the man sat at the altar, filled his pipe, lighted it, and blew smoke four times to the skies, to the father dog, to the ground, to the dogs on earth. Then he smoked until the dogs returned to the lodge. He emptied the pipe and lay down at the altar, while the two assistants slept at the entrance.

Again he fell into a trance and saw the dancers and singers in their places. Between the entrance and the fireplace was a pot of meat. Each man took some grease from the pot and went to the altar where he received red paint from the leader. They mixed the grease and paint and daubed it over their bodies. Each man had a short buffalo rawhide rope painted red around his neck.

The leader addressed the men: "My children, young dogs, I have given you the paint for your bodies when you are ready to dance. When in battle you must use this paint for your bodies." The dog men were addressed in this manner for the benefit of the man so he could do the same for the men who would become members of the society.

Again the leader spoke: "My son, tomorrow is our last night with you. You must take one of your young dogs and kill it, scorch and clean it and put it in the kettle on the fire. Watch us and do as we do when you start the dance among your people."

The man awoke and found one of his dogs standing near him, whining. The dog stayed at the altar until daylight when he went out. The man followed and saw him sit and look at the sun which the man also did. They returned to the lodge and sat down at the altar. The boys rose and made a fire while the man smoked. Then he lay down with the dog at his head. He fell asleep and dreamed of a strange looking man who said, "My son, the dogs are all my children. See, I am painted red all over. I am the sun. Do as the dogs tell you. I am watching over you. I will give you power so that you will come out unscathed even from the hardest battle."

The man woke, looked around, and then fell asleep again and dreamed of the dog that was lying near him. The dog was transformed into a fine looking man and said "Father you have been good to us; you have fed us well; you gave us a good place to sleep. You mourned with us when our mother was killed. All this time we cried to the heavens where our father is and now he has taken pity upon us. He has given us power to give you a new dance. You must watch us and do as we tell you. Today you must kill me for I was selected to be with you and your people always. Place the flesh in a kettle and boil it. The singers and dancers will use the grease for mixing with the red paint. After the dance the singers give the meat to onlookers who eat it. Tomorrow all the singers and dancers will go away from here but there will be others to take our places. When you are ready to kill me take a rawhide rope and a pestle used in pounding corn and let the two boys go with you. They will make a loop in the middle of the rope and each will pull as hard as he can. Then you can strike me on the head. My brains will scatter and blood will flow, but I will not be killed. I will stagger around until I am able to run. I will teach you this trick so you can try it on

539 one of the boys in the medicine lodge and everyone will know that you received power from the dogs. Now rise and clean the lodge for father sun is high up."

575 The man awoke and saw the dog. He ate and ordered the boy to sweep the lodge with fresh bunches of hyssops. Only one dog was left. During the day the chief of the tribe visited the lodge to learn what was happening. The man did not tell. The chief wished his son to join but the man refused. The chief departed. The man took the rawhide rope and the pounder, and went out of the lodge with the two boys, the dog following. They stopped at some timber west of the village. The two assistants put the dog's head through the noose and pulled while the man struck it on the head. They could see the blood and brains ooze out, but the dog staggered about and after a while ran around. He put the dog's head through the loop again and faced him south with the boys on either side. The man filled his pipe and blew smoke four times to the father dog above, to the dog, and finally laid his pipe on the ground. Then he told the boys to pull on the rope again and he struck the dog on the head, killing it. The man gathered the foam from the dog's mouth, and placed it upon his nose and mouth, his head and his body. The dog fell with its head toward the south. They skinned it, cut up the meat placed it in the hide, and carried it to the lodge. The meat was put in a large kettle on the fire; the hide near where the dogs' bed used to be. Now the lodge was put in order for the events of the night.

In the evening, the two assistants let the fire die down. As usual, singing was heard outside the lodge. It came nearer and nearer and the singers stopped at the entrance and then filed in, the four singers in the lead. They took their places behind the drums. The others sat around the fireplace. The assistants made a fire and the drumming and singing was begun, the men around the fire dancing as before. The dancers stood in place while the drummers sang a certain song. The leader of the singers now began to dance, circling one of the dancers. Then the man jumped up and danced with the singer. Spectators began to crowd in.

The singer danced up to the dancer on the south side pretending to place something on his neck. A great shout arose and the singer danced backward. When he danced forward the fourth time he threw a string with a whistle attached around the man's head. The dancers shouted again and the singer threw a bunch of owl feathers on his head. Then he threw a rope painted red and about four feet long around the man's neck. All this was a reminder of how the dog was killed. Later, a red sash was used in place of the rope.

The singer returned to his place behind his drum while the others danced. At the close of the dancing, the leading singer addressed the men: "My son, you shall do these in your dancing. When the string is put around the neck of a new dancer you shall receive him into your dance. 'No matter how high a man stands among his people, if the string and whistle fall to the ground you shall send him out of the lodge. While we are singing the dancers may dance around the fireplace and take a piece of meat from the kettle and give it to the spectators who may divide it among themselves." After the meat was distributed the spectators were asked to leave.

The leading singer then asked the man to fill his pipe, light it, and stand west of the fireplace and blow smoke four times to father dog in the heavens, to the sun, to the entrance, and to the drums. Then he emptied the ashes on the rim of the fireplace. He was also told to place the dog skin at the altar when it was tanned and to blow smoke to it. Then he gave him the whistle with the string, the owl feathers, and the rope. The leading singer said, "We will now sing. All rise and dance toward the entrance and go where you wish. We have now taught him everything."

They drummed, sang, and danced around the fireplace out of the lodge. The singing and drumming gradually ceased and when the fire was made there was no one left in the lodge. After this the man often dreamed and found that the dance was given to poor people, especially the poor boys of the village. 539 575

After the final dance, all the dogs disappeared. Every night the man and the two boys sang and other young men came in and assisted. When quite a number of young men knew the songs the man told them to come the next night and bring with them their quivers, bows and arrows, and moccasins. Among the young men who wished to join was a chief's son. He told them that they would go to the enemy's camp that night. They all agreed to go with him.

That night he wrapped up the dog skin, the string and whistle, the owl feathers, and the rope and placed them on his back. As they started off they sang the first song the man had heard the dog men singing. They sang four times and then went on their way. For several days they continued when some of the young men began to show signs of weariness. Then the man gave them a root to chew to revive them. When the chief's son became tired the man paid no attention to him. Finally, he turned back.

At length they came to the enemy's camp. The man put on his regalia and went to the camp. He captured some ponies on which they returned home. When they arrived the people said the young dog people were good travelers.

After this at night the young men met to sing the dog songs. When the man heard them, he would have the two boys build a fire and the young men would come in and sing. One time, on their return to the village from a buffalo hunt some of the young men told the man that they each had a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat and they wished to dance. The man did not reply but consulted his two assistants who said: "Buffalo meat is good, but first we must get a reddish dog." One young man said, "My people have one, I can get it." 575

The dance was started and all the young men who danced and received the string and whistle became members. This society became very important and when the Arikara joined the Skidi they saw the dance. Among the Arikara was one man who knew the sun dance. He met the leader of the young dogs and they exchanged dances. The Skidi joined the two and had the young dog sun dance three times. All the dancers had to be cut and suspended three times. [177] [535]

This society became a great power among the people. One time during a buffalo hunt the people were attacked by the Sioux and the soldiers were all killed and the crow lance taken from them. The tribe was left without police so the chiefs (not the priests) selected the dog society to act as police on the hunt. Their old men cried through the village telling the people to keep quiet and not to drum or sing. The men were not permitted to hunt at any distance nor were guns to be shot. The women were not to chop wood but were to gather dry limbs. One night a man came to the village 224 575 625 [648]

224 575 625 with buffalo meat. He had consecrated it and taken it to one of the minor bundles and that night the priests had a bundle ceremony. The dog soldiers went into the lodge, took the meat, cut it up and gave it to the dogs. The owner of the meat was taken out and whipped and his gun broken. He became angry and drew his knife. They all attacked him and hurt him badly. After this occurred, the dog soldiers were dismissed and the lance men were again the tribal police.

554 575 The dog society was so important not only because the members were good warriors, but great medicinemen. None of them were cowards, they were all brave men.

THE MISCHIEVOUS SOCIETY.

539 575 An organization generally known as the mischievous society, but also as the circumcised, once existed among the Chauí.

Many years ago when the Chauí were alone, two young men were always running around during the night, playing bad tricks upon anyone they met. At this time the people wore no clothing, especially the boys. In the winter time the boys wore a bull calf hide, if they were well-to-do; but if they were poor they wore half a bull hide, their moccasins and leggings. They had neither shirt nor covering for their privates.

In a village of mud-lodges there happened to be one mud-lodge that was empty for all the people who lived in it had died. These two mischievous boys made their home in this lodge. People, especially the young men, were afraid to go near this lodge in the night for it was said that ghosts dwelt there. These two young men frightened people when they came near the lodge by making strange noises, whistling, and throwing mud at them.

In the daytime they watched the young men in the village and when they saw certain ones who seemed fearless they invited them to meet them in the empty mud-lodge. When they spoke of the mud-lodge, those who were cowards would refuse to go, but those who were brave accepted the invitation. These meetings were held in the winter time when the people lived in mud-lodges, for in the summer time they lived in tipis away from the village. When these young men met they would plan to send out young men to scare those who were prowling through the village during the night. The two leading boys appeared as if circumcised and invited to their meetings only those of similar appearance.

In their meetings in the deserted lodge they would do all sorts of mischievous and obscene things. When on a buffalo hunt in the winter time they would get together and make a grass lodge in which to hold their

meetings. The boys in the village heard of their meetings and doings and 539 many were anxious to join. When the people returned to their permanent village, the boys again held their meetings in their lodge. During the day 575 the two leading young men would play with the boys of the village and whenever they observed one of circumcised appearance they would ask him to come to their meetings. Thus the society grew until they had many of the boys in the village. Every night they met in the lodge, each bringing a little dried buffalo meat and some parched corn, so that when their meeting was over they would have something to eat.

At last they became so numerous that one night in their meeting they talked of going on the warpath. (These boys never stole anything in the camp but kept others from stealing.) While they were discussing their war project, the boy who acted as a watcher announced that a young boy out there wanted to come to their meeting. The two leaders asked if he was of their kind, the answer was "no." Then the other boy was told to tell the boy to come to the lodge in the daytime.

The two leading boys now dismissed the others. When they were alone they began to plan for their altar. At last they agreed to have two long poles, about seven feet long and about one foot around. One end was to be forked, but the prongs trimmed off close, the whole shaped to serve as a phallus. When completed, both symbolic poles were blackened in the fire. After the altar had been arranged they considered how they could increase the membership and how young men wishing to join could be artificially circumcised. One of the eligible young men volunteered that his condition was due to accidental contact with the juice of the milkweed, causing a sore by which the foreskin was removed. This suggestion was adopted as part of future initiations.

The next day the two leaders entered the lodge each bearing a bunch of fresh milkweed. Here they sat down. Soon the other members came in. One of them was told to watch outside. When the candidate came to the lodge he was told to enter. When inside he was seized, thrown down upon the ground, and held while the two leaders applied the milkweed juice. He was then turned loose. He was told to sit among them and when tired to go home but that he must tell no one what had happened to him. This kind of work was carried on until there were many boys sick from the inflammation. People wondered why there were so many boys sick. The boys were not really sick but as they were naked in those days they did not want to go out and be seen in their condition.

Now the boys got the poles and prepared them as the two leaders wished. When completed they were placed at the altar in the lodge. They extended east and west, the head part toward the east. The leaders made clay pipes

539 575 and baked them. The stems were of ash. During their meetings the leaders filled their pipes with native tobacco and offered smoke to the poles. Then they would send other young men out to frighten people who were prowling around in the night. When the boys returned to the lodge, before they told what they had done, they passed their hands over the poles and offered thanks for their help. Then they sat down between the poles and told their story. All would laugh.

Several years afterwards these boys had grown to be young men and began to talk about going upon the warpath in earnest. While they were planning one day an alarm was given: the enemy were coming to attack their village. The boys were all in their lodge. They were told to remain there until ordered to go out. Some wanted to run out for they wished to get their bows and arrows, but the two leaders would not let them go. The leaders took some grass from the lodge and burned it to make soot. They told the boys to do likewise. After they were all smeared with the soot, they were told to get their bows and arrows and join them. When the boys returned to the lodge with their bow and arrows, the two leading men took up the two black poles and ran to the battlefield. The line of men was extended clear along the battle front. Most of the men were massed at each end of the line. So these boys selected the center as their place. The two with the poles stood in the center, but the members scattered out. When the enemy attacked the boys, the leaders told their followers to shoot to kill. When one of the boys killed an enemy, one of the pole bearers would run forward and strike him with the pole and then return to his place. In this the two pole bearers alternated. Through the heroism of these boys the enemy was finally driven away and pursued by the mounted men.

The boys returned to their lodge for they were afoot and could not follow the enemy. When all the men had returned to the village, each one told what he had done in the battle. Some told of the strange-looking people in the center of the battle line and all wondered who they were, for all the lances known to the people were in the battle. The boys were careful and never spoke of their doings. Some men said that they saw one of the boys carrying an odd looking pole, but the people could not find out who the boys were.

Some time after the battle, when all the victory dances were over, the boys met in their lodge. When all the young boys were seated around the fireplace, the leader said, "Brothers, we are in our own lodge. I have something to say to you and if what I say is good, I want to know. You can all see how men go on the warpath for five or six months to return with many ponies and perhaps several scalps waving upon their poles. The

people turn out to see them come in. The victorious party comes over the hills as if they were attacking the enemy. Chiefs and brave men go out to meet them. Women stand on the outskirts of the village giving their war cry. When the men are near the village we see their faces are smeared with charred grass, their lips white with clay. The black faces signify that they have traveled in the night and faced dangers; their white lips, that they were hungry for many days and finally came upon the enemy, conquered them, and captured their ponies. You have looked upon the leader who carried the sacred things upon his back. Chiefs and brave men honored him. I know all of you would like to be in his place. I know I would. Boys we can do the same. We have been meeting here night after night. We now have two poles to lead us into the enemy's country. I have it in my heart to lead you. If we die at the hands of the enemy it will be well. Some of you boys are better off than the rest of us, for you have grandfathers and fathers who tell you that it is better to die at the hands of the enemy than to die of sickness in the village and be put under mother earth and have dirt rest upon you. Who of you are willing to go with me?"

539
575

Each boy said, "I will go with you." The leader was glad and said, "Brothers when you go to your homes, let your sisters or grandmothers make you four pairs of moccasins and when they are completed let them fill them with parched corn or pemmican. Those of you who have neither sisters nor grandmothers go to your nearest of kin among the women and ask them for a piece of tanned buffalo hide, some sinew, and bring them to this lodge and make your own moccasins. Do not steal these things, but ask for them. We will make preparations for the next four days and on the fifth night we will start for the enemy's country."

Soon after this talk by their leader, the boys went to their homes. Most of them were orphans and it was hard to get anything from other people. The two leaders were orphans, they had no relatives or friends. They did not try to get anything from anybody. They sat in their lodge and made two small sticks to represent the two larger ones, so they could carry these sticks upon their backs. When the boys returned to the lodge the next day, some had more hide than they needed and some had several pairs of moccasins and they gave the leaders what they did not need.

The third night the boys met in their lodge, each brought his moccasins and other things he thought he might need. The leaders saw that each boy was provided with moccasins and provisions. Some of them had more and they willingly gave to others who had none. Now the leader said, "Brothers you can hang up your bundles upon the walls and then go to your homes or to your friends and get you a knife, some arrows and a bow. Bring the things to the lodge at night and we will get ready to start. You may now go home."

539 575 At night the boys came into the lodge with things they needed. When all were in, the leader told each boy to take a bunch of grass and place it in his belt. When this was done he told them all to paint their faces with burnt grass. Then the leader said, "Brothers, we are seated here as warriors. We are about to go on the warpath. Tonight after all is quiet, we will go through the village. We will enter every lodge and sing our songs. When we stop singing them one of the boys must light the grass, then all must take their breech cloths off and dance in the light, naked. We will do this so that when we go on the warpath if we are not successful we will not return. In case the enemy attack us, we will fight until everyone is killed. As soon as we have marched through the village, all must come to this lodge for we are to start from here. If anyone returns to his lodge he cannot go with us. We will now march through the village."

The two leaders led the young men and as they entered the lodge, they stood in a circle around the fireplace and sang. When they stopped singing, one of the boys went to the fireplace where there were coals and lit the grass. The boys all took their coverings off and the women jeered at them. When the fire died out they went to another lodge. After they had visited every lodge they returned to their own. When all were seated, the leader told the boys that he was pleased for now the tribe knew that all the boys were circumcised.

[831] The leader filled his pipe and offered four whiffs to the two large phallic poles and four whiffs to the two small ones which he was to take with him. As he offered smoke to the two large poles he said, "Fathers, we are about to go upon the warpath, we are to leave you in this lodge, but make us brave that we may conquer our enemy and make it easy for us to capture his ponies." Then he dumped the ashes at the ends of the poles. He wrapped the two small poles and the pipe in a coonskin, for he had dreamed that he was like a coon and had to get a coonskin to protect them. He tied the bundle on his back. Then he told the other leader to rise. Both stood at the altar. Then they told the other boys to take up their bundles and rise. They left the lodge and marched around the village by the north and west until they stood directly south of the village. Here they sang their songs, shouted, and ran towards the south. When they were some distance from the village, they squatted down and waited until daylight. The leader did not miss any of the boys and was glad. Now they marched on again.

One night the leader selected four boys to act as scouts. It was to be the duty of these boys to go out before daylight and see what was in the country. They were to report again before daylight. In the night they were also to look over the country and report to the leaders. One day the scouts came in and reported seeing fourteen or more tipis and many ponies.

The leader now selected a thick timbered country. Here they cleared off the ground, made a fireplace, and built a big fire. The leader made an altar and placed the two sticks on it. He offered his smoke. Then it was time to have their mischievous doings which they kept up until dawn. The leader gave one of the sticks to the other leader and they started for the village. They stopped once and the leader selected seven boys to round up the ponies while the others attacked the village. Then they started. The seven men went to where the ponies were. The others surrounded the village. A shout went up, women and children ran out of the village, but the men were killed and scalped. The seven boys drove the ponies from the village. With scalps hung upon their belts the boys ran into tipis taking things that were of value. The enemy had run into the timber, but were now rallying so the boys ran to where the others were driving the ponies. Each boy caught a pony, mounted, and ran away. Two days and two nights, they journeyed north until they came to thick timbered country where they halted. When they jumped off their ponies, they were so sore they could hardly walk. Some of the young men were now sent out to get buffalo. When the meat was brought they all began to roast it for they were hungry. The boys with the scalps cut poles and hung the scalps upon them to dry. They all lay down and slept. 539 575

The next morning they were up at dawn and after eating some of the meat again took up their journey. So they kept on only stopping at night until they were near the village. Then they decorated themselves with soot for they had no other paint. Now they got upon their ponies and rode to a high hill. Here they began to sing and yell until the village turned out and wondered who they were. Presently a messenger was sent out to meet them. When the messenger was near the leader shouted to him, "Tell the people the mischievous boys are coming with many ponies." The messenger went to the village and shouted, "The mischievous boys are coming with many ponies." The village turned out. The chief was among them. The leader gave one pony to the chief. The young men entered the village, their parents and friends meeting them.

Several times they went on the warpath and each time they were successful. As time went on some of the young men married and raised families. On a buffalo hunt these young men having fine horses were able to kill their own buffalo meat, so they were well provided for. Sometimes they feasted the poor in the village, then feasted the old people, and at last they feasted the chiefs. These young men killed buffalo and consecrated the meat, so now they became great men. In battle they were brave.

One of the leaders was riding near the place where they were to camp when they saw boys playing the javelin game. They rode up and looked on.

539 The people were building their tipis. They called a young man and told
575 him to go to the chief and tell him to place mats on the ground to have his ceremony. The chief, when notified, told the women to spread mats in a circle upon the ground. His soldier being there, the chief told him to call four other men. While the soldier was gone, the chief took the bustle, a spear, tomahawk, shield, and a war-bonnet and placed them on the mat. Then he brought out two water drums. As soon as the men came, two of them sat down by the drums, took up the drumsticks and began to sing. The chief himself was the first to take up the bustle and tied it around his waist. He now took up his bow and arrows; then he squatted down upon the ground; then he began to grunt, his head and shoulders shaking to keep time with the drumming. Finally, he arose and danced. When the singing ceased, the chief spoke in a loud voice, "I speak of a certain place I killed an eagle. I consecrated the eagle and that same year I killed an enemy, took his scalp, and consecrated the scalps to the gods in the heavens, and the gods received my smoke." Again he said, "I speak of a certain place I killed a wildcat and consecrated it and that same year I went upon the warpath and captured ponies. I was successful and when I returned to the village, I took one pony and gave it to the priest." Again he shouted, "I speak of a certain place. I killed a raccoon. I consecrated it to the gods in the heavens. That same year I went on the warpath and I captured many ponies. Upon my return to the village, I gave four horses to different men. To the men who want me to do this I have spoken. The gods in the heavens have heard me. They will make the path straight for you to do likewise." He then untied the bustle and threw it on the ground when the next man took and went through the same evolutions with it relating his deeds. Each man took up the bustle and told of his deeds.

Then the leading mischievous man came into the ring with two horses, eight robes, and two parfleches of meat. One parfleche was opened, the meat cut up and given to men, women, and children, who were looking on. The other parfleche was opened and the chiefs ate the meat. Then the presents were divided among the chiefs.

When the people returned to the village the mischievous men met in their lodge. The leader took up the poles, stood up and said, "Brothers, we all now have families, have attained places among our people and are respected. Our meetings must end. I now put these sticks into the fire. I ask that each of you join some of the societies and always be brave. My friend and I will join the brave lance people. You are all now released and we will not meet here again. This is all." They left the lodge and each went to his home.

the flanks of the loose horses while the scouts and soldiers bring up the rear. 726
They ride almost continuously for three days, or until exhaustion, and then camp in a sheltered place. Some hunt, others guard the horses. When 727
the first buffalo meat is brought in an altar is made, as before stated, and the regular smoke offering performed. Two men are then chosen by the leader to divide the spoils. They divide the horses according to the ranks of the members, inexperienced men getting but one horse. After the [553]
division the name-changing ceremony is performed for the young men on their first war party.

After sufficient rest, they set out for home. As they approach their village they set the grass afire at intervals so that their people may know [201]
that a war party is returning. When near the village they paint their faces black or dot over with black the white paint of the warpath. When in sight they signal the result of the expedition and are met by the chiefs who triumphantly conduct them into the village. Feasting and jollifying then follow. If coups have been counted or scalps taken, a victory dance will be held.

After an interval the leader of the party calls the members together and 575
any of those formerly in a party who now constitute a kind of society of the wolves. The altar is again constructed and the ceremony performed. 727
Two of the captured horses are brought out and loaded with presents, the objects from the bundle are also placed there and the horses lead to the keeper of the bundle where they are received by the priest. They are then returned to the bundle and the keeper goes at once to the place of ceremony; he stands by the altar and gives them his blessing.

On the warpath a man may vow to give one horse to the mother corn, in which case a horse is given to the keeper of the main bundle, who also gives his blessing.

With these acts the true wolf dance begins. In the dance all the young men may join, who hope to go out with the next war party and as they dance the old men sit around and ridicule their ardor. With this ceremony and the return of the sacred objects to the bundle, the war party ceases to exist.

It seems that those who have taken part in such a foray constitute a kind of wolf society which at various and sundry times conducts dances in the village in which all boys and young men may join. The object is to give practice in the songs and ritualistic parts of the ceremonies necessary to [534]
the warpath. In these dances pieces of rawhide were used for drums.

THE WOMAN'S SOCIETY.

With one possible exception there seem to have been no associations for
575 women. We have even no data as to anything like the associations of quill
727 workers (p. 79). In the preceding we have noted the victory dance of the women which may, perhaps, have had a crude organization, but there was an association of single women, old maids, and widows, to whose organization captives of war were presented. Their regalia were ludicrous. Their mock war-bonnets were made of corn husks instead of feathers; their bows were the poorest of sticks; their lances were of weed stalks adorned with husks; and their shields, hoops covered with cloth and husks. Some of them carried hollow stems of the wild sunflower, through which they blew dust into the air. One woman acts as chief, her badge being a large clam shell on the breast.

When captives were taken, they were turned over to this organization. The ceremonies were public dancing and the torture of the prisoner. All this may be made clearer by the following narrative: —

The Pawnee had set out on one of their summer buffalo hunts. Only a few old and sickly people remained in the villages. On the third day of their march they reached the Loupe. The main body crossed and pitched camp among the hills, but far behind were a few stragglers and a group of boys playing the hoop game. The latter stopped at the river to finish a game before crossing. Here they were discovered by a Dakota war party and surprised. They scattered out for cover, but a few got away with their horses and crossing the river fled toward the camp of the main body. The whole Dakota party crossed in hot pursuit and were thus led into a trap for the Pawnee in camp had seen the signals and the whole armed body dashed to the rescue. Many of the Dakota were killed in the running fight that followed.

When the pursuing Pawnee returned they went over the field to count the dead and collect the spoils. As they were going along one of the Dakota arose and looked about in a bewildered manner; he had only been stunned by the fall of his horse. He was seized and taken to camp. According to custom he was taken to the chief for instructions. He consulted with the society of braves, then in charge of the camp, and it was decided to turn him over to the women's society. A messenger was sent to inform the leader of this organization. She at once called in the members, who proceeded to the chief's tipi, marched the prisoner out to the south of the camp where they bound him to a tree.

The women then returned to the lodge of their leader to prepare their regalia. When all was ready they danced through the village and paraded to the place of torture. Then, as was the custom, they kindled a large fire in front of the prisoner and prepared for a four-day ceremony. Every indignity was offered the unfortunate prisoner. Old women would urinate in bowls and force him to drink. Others would take up coals of fire and touch him here and there.

On the third day the chief's wife took her little girl out to see the tortures. While they were there an old woman came up with a bundle. She took out a large piece of

dried back fat. This she heated in the fire until hot and while other women held the 575 prisoner she spread it on his back. The little girl was overcome at the sight and began to scream. Her mother took her home but she cried and refused to be comforted. 727 Finally, the chief asked the cause of this crying and was informed. He coaxed and threatened without result for the child declared that she would continue to scream until the prisoner was turned loose. The chief said that could not be done and so the child continued to wail. The people gathered in and gradually developed sympathy for the child. So the chief called in the braves, but they declared themselves powerless. Then he called in the chiefs and the soldiers to discuss the matter. The sentiment of the camp was now aroused, so four soldiers were sent out to order the women's society to disband. They then conducted the prisoner to the council lodge and seated him there.

The chief then sent for his daughter, who had stopped crying. He stated that 727 they had with some difficulty granted her wish and that now she must get water for the prisoner. Accordingly she brought water and held the bowl for him to drink. Then the chief ordered her to get a large bowl of water and some buffalo wool and when these were brought to wash the man's wounds. Then buffalo fat mixed with red earth was given her to rub over him.

Now, said the chief, since you would have this man released, you must feed him. So dried meat and fat were brought. Some of the fat she handed to the man to eat, while she cooked the dried meat. When ready she set the food before him, placed four small bits of meat in his mouth and then signed for him to eat. When he had finished, she set a bowl of water for him to wash. The chief then gave her permission to withdraw.

Then the chief sent for his horses. He ordered his best horse prepared for riding and loaded with baggage for the journey. Next he brought out clothing and dressed the man in his own fine clothes, even his ceremonial leggings, shirt, and moccasins. Finally, the girl brought a new robe and wrapped it around the man. The chief then addressed the Dakota: "You are to go home. You are a free man. All these things we give you. My daughter here saved your life. She alone did it. Now go to your people and tell them of her deeds."

Four soldiers were called in to escort the Dakota beyond the range of the Pawnee, but some revengeful young man attacked him. Far across the Loupe they sent him on his way. He reached home safely.

Some three years later the Pawnee were surprised to receive a visit from their enemies, the Dakota. It was a very large party that came to the chief's lodge, the leader asked for the girl who saved the life of a Dakota. Then they knew him. The chief took him into his own lodge and the others were quartered in the village.

The Pawnee entertained their guests well. On the last day they gave the iruska dance for their visitors. The Dakota entered into the dance. He was naked; on his body were painted red spots to show his burns and many prints of hands since he had been held by many of the Pawnee. He addressed the Pawnee, explaining that he had come to see his daughter once more, she who had saved his life, that his own people did not believe his story; hence he brought them that they might see for themselves. In return the Pawnee vouched for the narrative.

Many times during his life this Dakota visited the Pawnee and he labored un- [648] ceasingly to bring about a permanent peace between them and his people.

MODERN CEREMONIES.

527 Among the northern Plains tribes there are a number of associations for
social dancing and entertainment. Such seem to be wanting among the
796 Pawnee, as the following pages will show, but certain more or less serious
ceremonies are now made the occasion for considerable social enjoyment.
The widely diffused Omaha, or grass dance, forms of the ghost dance, and
of the peyote almost exhaust the list of modern ceremonies. We heard of
no women's guilds or clubs and no dances of any kind save those mentioned
above.

THE MODERN IRUSKA.

175
177 The well-known Omaha, or grass dance, is generally known among the
Pawnee as a variation of their own iruska (p. 608), though in its present
648 form it was introduced through Oglala influence.
796 *The Skidi Iruska.* In 1887 three Pawnee Skidi men went to visit the
Oglala Indians. Arriving there, they were entertained by Young-man-afraid-of-his-horses and were feasted throughout the village for several days. On the last day an iruska dance was held for their benefit. The Sioux gathered in a large round house built for dancing. The drum was carried in and the dancers filed in. The Sioux began to sing and the Pawnee noted that the songs were different from their own. However, they danced with the Sioux and received many presents, moccasins, pipes, and beaded objects. The Sioux singers asked the Pawnee to sing some of their songs which the Pawnee did. The Sioux were pleased with the Pawnee singing and gave them more presents.

When the three Pawnee men returned to their home they began to teach other young men the Sioux songs they had learned. One day some Skidi young men came together and Knife-chief told them about the Sioux dance. The old Pawnee iruska dancers never used sleigh bells upon their bodies; but did use them around the drum. The Sioux dancers also wore ornamental clothes while the Pawnee did not. All the Pawnee dancers wore was the headgear and the bustles. The Sioux bustle was also different.

175 Knife-chief had a bass drum brought in and began to teach the Sioux
575 songs. Those who were not singing, danced, but they did not know how
796 to keep time. After the singing, the dance society was organized. Knife-chief was the drum keeper and leader of the singers. Then two chiefs were

selected to be leaders on the south side and two for the north side. On each 175
side of these two men the dancers were to be seated. At each end of the 575
row of dancers was to sit a whip man. The rules adopted for the dance were 796
those of the Sioux.

This dance became popular, for every time they had it men and women gave presents to one another. It was kept up until Knife-chief died when his widow took charge of the drum. When her son was old enough he took over the drum and for several years was its keeper. On one occasion a dance was promised on New Year's day, but the boy refused to let the people have the drum. They borrowed another drum and had the dance anyhow. After the dance they discovered that the boy had given the drum to a man who belongs to another village.

In the spring of 1911 Eagle-chief called some young men together and 575
told them he wanted to organize a new iruska dance. This was agreed to 796
by all. Money was collected to buy a new bass drum and sleigh bells.
Four chiefs were selected as leaders in the dance: Coming-sun and Sun-chief for the north side, and Struck-enemy and Lone-chief for the south side. Coming-sun now became the leader in the ceremony preceding the dance. He selected six singers: Yellow-horse, Dog-chief, Only-a-chief, Young-cedar-tree, Little-sun, and Young-good-chief. Next he selected the two whip men who were to have charge of all things. Then he selected two chiefs for the dancers on each side: the south side one to wear the bonnet, the north side one to carry the tomahawk. He next selected a man to carry the whistle and then four women to assist in singing: Food-giver, Woman-young-chief, Woman-yellow-corn, and Woman-cedar-tree.

Coming-sun then told the people they would hold a dance the next day and asked each woman to cook something for the feast. The next day people gathered in the round house. The chiefs and dancers sat in their proper places, the whip men sitting at each end. The drum was placed north of the entrance, the singers taking their places around it, the women singers behind the male singers. The visitors sat behind the dancers, the women behind them. The four old men sat at the ends of the visitors' rows. Coming-sun selected one of the dancers to sit outside to keep back spectators.

Coming-sun asked the south side whip man to take some live coals and place them east of the fireplace. Then the whip man was told to go to Coming-sun who gave him a handful of dried cedar leaves. He was then told to place the cedar upon the live coals. Coming-sun then gave the whip man the pipes and passed them through the smoke four times and then handed them back to Coming-sun. Then the whip man was told to take the drum and pass it through the smoke four times and return it to its place.

Next the chiefs one by one went to the smoke and passed through it; then

575 796 the dancers, first one from the north side, then the south side, and so on. Then the women went to the smoke. When all had gone through the smoke, Coming-sun told the south whip man to return the coals to the fireplace.

276 575 796 When this was done, Coming-sun spoke as follows: "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, notice my speech and actions for hereafter we shall say and do as I am about to do. Above all things, Tirawahat gave the pipe to our people that he might receive smoke from them. We have the pipes here at the altar. They are filled with native tobacco. It is now time for Tirawahat to receive our smoke. As you see the men I select go through

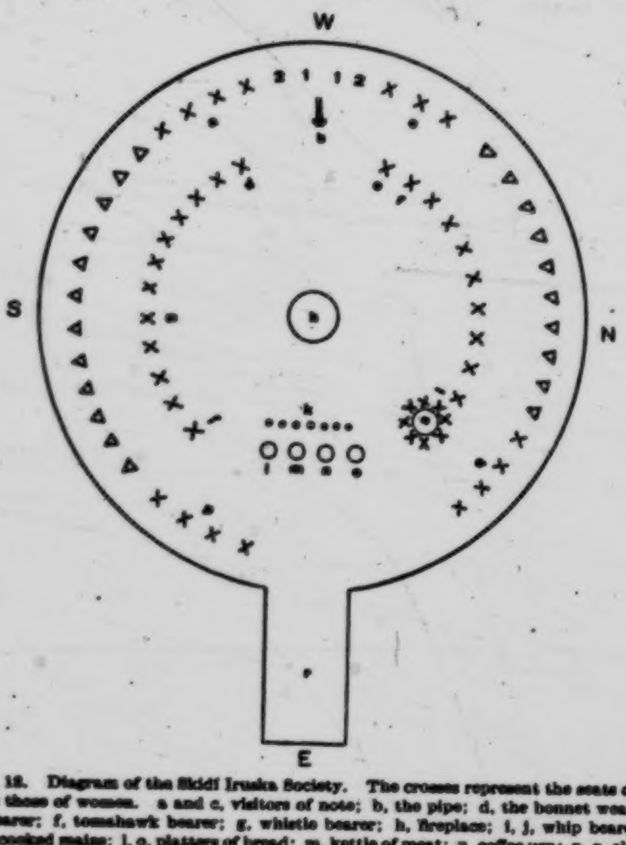


Fig. 12. Diagram of the Skidi Iruska Society. The crosses represent the seats of men, triangles those of women. a and c, visitors of note; b, the pipe; d, the bonnet wearer; e, sword bearer; f, tomahawk bearer; g, whistle bearer; h, fireplace; i, j, whip bearers; k, bowls of cooked maize; l, o, platters of bread; m, kettle of meat; n, coffee urn; p, q, old men; r, entrance way to the lodge; s, drum and drummers. 1-2, 1-2 are the leaders for the two sides.

the smoke ceremony, so will it be done in all our iruska dances, for I have 276
whispered to the men who shall offer the smoke. I now select Sun-chief 575
to offer the smoke. He will now rise and take the pipe." 796

Sun-chief arose and took the pipe from Coming-sun. Then he went around the fireplace and stood to the west. He took a pinch of tobacco from the pipe, raised up his hand and gradually lowered it to the rim of the fireplace where he placed the tobacco. Next he went northeast by the south and east of the fireplace and squatted down. The south side whip man went to the fireplace, took a live coal and placed it upon the bowl of the pipe. When the pipe was lit, Sun-chief arose and went west of the fireplace, here he stood facing east and gave four whiffs of smoke to the skies; then four whiffs to mother earth. Then he dumped the ashes from the bowl of the pipe and passed his hands over the pipestem toward the skies, twice with his right hand and twice with his left hand. He passed his hands upon the pipestem to the rim of the fireplace, twice with his right and twice with his left hand. Then he turned towards the west and walked to Coming-sun and handed him the pipe. Coming-sun said, "Rawa"; all repeated "Rawa." The second pipe was given to Lone-chief of the south side and the same ceremony gone through.

When the smoke ceremony was over the outside man came in and per- 575
mitted those outside to come in. Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old 796
men, and iruska, we are about to dance. You dancers must be careful with
the things you are wearing for if you drop anything, one of those old men
will have to take it up and tell of his deeds. Then you must pay. Each
man who has a song must dance when his song is sung and must give a small
present to some old man or woman. We will have five sets of songs, ten in
each set. Everyone must dance. Anyone receiving a present must say, [533]
'rawa iruska.' After each ten songs we will smoke and rest."

So the singers began their songs. Every time the whip men rose everyone had to dance.

After the dance, Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska,
this is now our iruska dance. Visiting parties, if they wish, may tie tobacco
upon the drum, then the keeper of the drum must notify the leaders, who [535]
will plan a dance to give presents to visitors. This is now a popular dance
among the Pawnee for at these dances people give presents to one another [431]
and there is a general good time for all.[1]

---

[1] This form of the iruska was originated by the writer who may be said to be entirely responsible for the organization. He knew very little of the procedure among the Dakota but was fairly familiar with the form of the Osage. From the latter he took his main ideas and the various officers with their respective duties. Also like the Osage he adopted strict rules for conducting the dance. Yet the manouvers and serious parts of the ceremony were all taken from bundle rituals of the Pawnee.— Ed. [177]

175 575 796 *The Kit'kaházki Iruska.* About 1894 while the ghost dance was still intense a man named Sitting-bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and lead it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the hands of Little-sun, one of the leading singers. According to this ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-fly-high, also a pupil of Sitting-bear.

575 796 In the Kit'kaháxki society there were four chiefs, as among the Skidĭ. The dancers are on both sides, north and south. At the south side entrance there are four chiefs and four pipes. Next to the chiefs on the north side are two old men. The director of the ceremony sits near the pipes and his [533] assistant, or the whip man, by his side. The singers sit around the drum. Unlike the Skidĭ when they have sung a set of songs, all smoke receiving no smoke from the chiefs. The songs go in sets of ten.

At a certain point in the ceremony all rise and stand in a circle with the chiefs holding pipes in the center. Then with songs the smoke offerings are made. This is similar to the preceding. After the offering the pipes are delivered to the pipe keepers. In the two last dances everybody takes part and makes them as violent as possible. The ending is as in the preceding. The food is brought in as before. A man and woman are now selected to make the corn offering. The woman receives a small wooden bowl with a horn spoon, she is the donor of the food. The movement to the kettle is different, the man dips out the food into the bowl held by the women. A little from every kettle is taken. Then they go to the west side of the fireplace. The man and woman here offer the food as before. The bowl and spoon are returned to the keeper, while the whip man selects men to hand out the food as before. The head chief at the south side recites part of the ritual and announces the close of the ceremony.

The regalia are the same as for the preceding. The songs and procedures are, however, quite original.

The Chauĭ Iruska. During the ghost dance excitement Roaming-chief began to dream songs and a form of the modern iruska ritual. Later, he started the organization which spread to the Pĭtahauĭrata. Unlike the other iruska societies the drum is set at the west end, or head of the lodge, the old original Pawnee form. The drumsticks are beaded and bear feath- [293] ers on the end. One chief on each side, some of them have short sticks covered with beads and decked with feathers. The sticks for the two sides are of different colors. There are four of these sticks, and hooked at the end, on the north side; three on the south. No whip man. The smoke ceremony here is before the singing. The staff men rise and hold them as

signals for the members to dance. All the songs are those of the founder 575
and so entirely unlike those of others. In the last four songs there is great 796
excitement.

The food offering with bowl and spoon is as before stated. The regalia are here the same as before.[1]

General Discussion. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Omaha hethu'- 114
shka certain statements as to origin are made which are inconsistent with 174
the writer's data. In the first place, the Pawnee have always said that the Omaha originally got ~~their~~ society from them, they having been guests at several iruska performances, adopted such of it as they comprehended and later elaborated the procedure into the present form, though some features are certainly Osage contributions. The Dakota first learned the dance from the Omaha, as they state (p. 48), but testify to its Pawnee origin. About fifty years ago Pawnee-Tom visited the Arikara and assisted Enemy-heart to inaugurate the ceremony. Later, Enemy-heart sold the dance to the Crow Indians and then to other tribes. The writer has studied the songs of the dance and finds that everywhere many of them are undoubtedly those of the Pawnee iruska and what is more to the point, bear the general characteristics of all Pawnee songs. The Dakota and Omaha, however, have many original songs of their own, some of which the Pawnee have borrowed. In general, from the data at hand, the writer considers it clear that the origin of the modern form of this dance lies between the Omaha and the Osage, but that it was derived from an older ceremony which the Omaha, and possibly the Osage, borrowed of the Pawnee.

It should be noted that in the Skidí iruska dog flesh is served. Four men 262
wearing the feather belts scout for and capture the kettle. Then they take 796
sticks and take out the dog's head for a leading man to count coup on. A kettle of corn is then brought in and handled in the same manner, except

---

[1] Author's note. While in a trance he saw the dead people dancing the iruska dance [787]
but in a different way from that of the old iruska dance. There were six drummers. The drum was painted black, the stick had coverings at the ends. There were six stations about [786]
the room, three on the north side and three on the south side. The station men had a forked stick stuck in the ground in front of them. There were feathers at the end of each fork and the sticks were wrapped with beads. The northeast stick was covered with black beads; the north stick with light blue beads; the northwest stick with dark blue beads; the southwest stick with yellow beads; the south stick, red; the southeast stick, white. Also he found out or was told there were that many minor gods in the heavens. When these station men get up to dance, all have to rise and dance. There are five sets of songs, ten songs in each set. The tunes are nearly the same as for the old iruska songs. The last ten are ghost dance songs. The last songs are exciting, and the dancers are given to excitement and tremble, falling down as in the ghost dance. The closing speech after the feast differs from the older form. It is as follows: Father is thankful for eating our smoke; father, his child, and the gods are thankful for eating our smoke; sun and moon are both made thankful for eating our smoke; our mother earth is thankful for eating our smoke; our dead relations are thankful for eating our smoke; now we have all smoked and eaten. After this speech, everyone leaves the lodge.

In case of the Pawnee, we may note the fine example of pattern phe- 575
nomena manifest in the adjustment of all kinds of ceremonies, original or 616
borrowed, to this scheme of two sides and alternate leadership.[1] Based
upon this fundamental pattern are two distinct patterns of organization: the 756
lance-bearing societies and medicinemen's associations. From the preced- 796
ing concrete accounts it is clear that all of the lance organizations must have been constructed or adjusted to the plan of some one parent society. The same may be said of the medicinemen's associations. We have commented upon the apparent dual division of chiefs and medicinemen (p. 639), the bundle scheme being the province of the former and to which the medicinemen were individually subject, but professionally formed a second half for social control. This duality is seen in the organization of all bundles and related societies under the four-pole ceremony and in like manner the organization of the medicinemen under the twenty-day ceremony. Here again is clearly a similarity of pattern in the coordination schemes for two groups of activities.

Another important conception of the Pawnee is the bundle sanction. 631
Thus, as keeper of the village bundle the chief rules by a kind of "divine
right," the highest exponent of which is the priest of the bundle, or the 778
keeper of the ritual. The hunt and the raising of grain were each guarded over and governed by virtue of bundle rituals. A lance society performed no public function except under the sanction of one of the bundles. Furthermore, the federation itself was based upon superior or leading bundles, from which the chiefs and priests derived their authority. One must suspect that the conception of a bundle sanction was so fundamental with the Pawnee, that the first step toward a federation was of necessity the creation of a series of superior bundles.

In keeping with the foregoing conceptions is the hereditary system. 611
Chiefs, priests, members of societies, etc. serve for life and endeavor to qualify some of their brothers and nephews to succeed them. In most organizations there were certain tests applied to the candidate for the ejection of the theoretically unfit, but these first chances were given to those whose brothers or uncles had been admitted to membership; likewise the priests of bundles must be those competent to perform the ritual, but here again the preference was given to maternal relatives. The important position of chief, or official keeper of the village bundle, was regarded as strictly hereditary to the next of kin, though incompetents were encouraged to decline the honor in favor of the next heir.

---

[1] A kind of dual leadership is found in many societies of the Oglala and Blackfoot, as shown in the preceding pages, but without any ceremonial associations or counterparts in other ceremonies, from which we infer that it reached these tribes as an objective part of a borrowed system. [171]

551 The personal name was an act of self-recognition for a goal one had set oneself and achieved. One sponsored a special ceremony by making a donation of food to the priests, and in the course of the ceremony one's new name was publicly announced. But the substance of the name was strictly private and reserved to oneself. The name was cited only on the most formal occasions and from the name itself it was not possible to deduce its private significance. A person who had achieved such a name could lovingly bestow it on a son or a daughter in a ritual, or a son might give his name to his mother and then set out to earn a new and still more important one. Each of the people in the household of Old Bull and Victory Call had such a name, and while we cannot reconstruct the esoteric circumstances, a few facts about their lives gives a sense of their significance.

551 Victory Call was known for short as *Riwahut*, but his full name was
Siti-riwahut, meaning "they are making the high trilling sound for vic-
622 tory." This sound was made by the women as the victorious warrior re-
159 turned to the village. Publicly and socially Victory Call had made an important place for himself in the tribe. He was a younger son of a prominent Skidi chief of Old Village, Chief Big Eagle. His older brother Sitting Hawk (*Pia-tiwitit*, "hawk-he-sits-down") held the senior position in the family and occupied the family seat in the chiefs' council. As a cadet member of the family, Victory Call had to earn his social position in the community, and he had succeeded very well. People in the community said of him that he had almost surpassed his older brother by his achievements. Through his prowess in war and hunting, he had been able to entertain the chiefs and influential men at a number of formal banquets, and he had given them gifts of horses. In recognition of his deeds he was accorded one of the vacant seats in the chiefs' council, where he now sat regularly and had a voice in all administrative decisions for the band and tribe. He played the role of chief very well. He was considerate of people and concerned for their welfare. He was known to have entertained old people from time to time and to treat them with consideration and generosity. At one time when he had had a successful deer hunt, he sent Horse Rider to invite a number of old people, and when they were seated around the lodge he personally served them the deer meat and made sure that each had a generous portion. After the meal, as was customary, the guests began to talk and one old man expressed the sentiments of all when he said, "We thank you for having us here for dinner today. It is my wish to you that you will live to see your grandchildren grow up and do you honor, and that your great grandchildren will play about your feet." This was not to be, but perhaps he has gained a different kind of immortality through his son Otter
159 and through the stories he told of their life.

575
794 The most creative and socially significant achievement of Victory Call

159 575 794 was in the field of religion. It was he who built up the cult of the Deer Dance (*Raris-ta*, "dance-deer"). Taking it over from his predecessor who had obtained it by studying among the Wichita to the south, Victory Call was largely responsible for its reorganization into the Pawnee religious style and for the wide popularity it enjoyed at that time. He had built it up to such a degree that it posed a serious challenge to the monopoly of the long-established Doctor Association, where heretofore all the medicine cults had been organized. The association was under the leadership of Big Doctor and Sitting Hawk; Victory Call's older brother had a prominent place in it as leader of the Bear Cult. The rivalry between Big Doctor and Victory Call was bitter as some young men began to move over from the association to join the Deer Dance. In his dying moments in the 1860's, Victory Call saw a vision of Big Doctor upon whose sorcery he blamed his sickness and his death. The cult lasted under new leadership for a while, but after the tribe got to Oklahoma in 1876, its popularity continued to decline, while the Doctor Association maintained its vigor some time longer. 424 Victory Call was also a skilled rattlesnake doctor and he was able to make a trade with his brother Sitting Hawk for knowledge of the Bear Cult in return for Rattlesnake knowledge. Victory Call's retainer, Horse Rider, had come to serve him in his household in the hope that Victory Call might give him a place in the Deer Dance and perhaps share other cult knowledge with him.

159 557 572 Victory Call had a friend, Chief's Road (*raru-hatur-risaru*, "the one that is-road-chief"), whose name implied that he was going on the road which he hoped would lead to chieftainship. Chief's Road had no hereditary social status, but he was ambitious for administrative advancement. He hoped that if Victory Call gained first place in the chiefs' council, he would appoint him his official brave. This was possible as when a chief retired or died, the new chief did not carry over the former incumbent, but appointed his own brave to assist him. Chief's Road was an excellent arrowshaft maker and supplied Victory Call with all his needs. On the other hand, he was not too good at acquiring horses, and Victory Call often helped him out by giving him some of their wood and other household needs that were more easily acquired when one had horses for transportation. He had built his house immediately adjoining Victory Call's lodge, and there were generally friendly relations between the two households; their children played together.

159 622 As a provider for his family, Victory Call was an accomplished hunter, both of individual big game and as a leading member of the tribal buffalo hunt. He also managed to make some extra cash by trapping beaver. He had some income from gifts he received for his religious activities and he maintained a modest herd of four or five horses. He was a good and able husband and father, inclined at times to be somewhat solemn and a little pompous, though not overbearing. He was about sixty years old at the

from where they were camping. "That's what we want," they said, and 224*
sat down to smoke together. They went close and saw a big lake. When 484*
they got to the Post Hunt Camp 3, about four in the afternoon, they went directly to the council tent and made their report. They said, "We went about ten miles from here." "Well, sit down. Have you good news?" "Yes, we have." "Errand man," said White Eagle, "go through the village and call grandpa Angry Horse and the other men of the village. Have them all come in. Three men came in with good news." After due ceremonies and greetings from the chiefs and important men the leader of the scouts described the place. He said, "The buffalo can't get away because the lake is in a valley between two steep hills and they must come for water." The older people recognize and know of the place. They refer to it as *ru-ti-wa-tatar-ariks,* "there-it-hill-down-standing." Now White 224*
Eagle, realizing that they were all thinking about the two who were 484*
killed by the Sioux, said, "What happened we must stop thinking of. Remember that we are still living. Here are these men. They have good 726
news for us, for our tribe and for our women and children. I hope we will have no more such disasters. When a day comes and something like that happens we can't help it. Sometimes you may be walking along and just simply fall over. Remember, that's the way things are. But now we are still living."

A message was sent to Curly Chief of the Kitkehaxki and the other 224*
Bands and the announcement made through the Skidi encampment. They decided to attack the herd early in the morning at seven o'clock. Insofar as they could, they would chase the buffalo toward the camp. Now people were in a good mood and began to joke. They said that the three scouts probably had "scared eyes," *ti-kiriki-tiruut,* "it is-eyes-frightened." Perhaps they had seen *pakuts* grass and thought they were buffalo!

Early next morning they made the mass attack on the herd as planned. Back at camp, some of them left ribs at the council tent. Among the South Bands, when they leave ribs, they line up one behind the other and say bird names. Here and there in the different tents where there were sacred bundles someone would give consecrated meat and the priest would be called in to perform the ceremony.

Some people left meat and ribs at the Society of Lucky Children, *Pira-* 575
kawaharu, "child-lucky." They have no sacred bundle. They simply sit [431]
and recount lucky events that have happened to them or to their pred- [778]
ecessors from whom they had inherited their place. The headquarters of this society was in the tent of Old-Lady-among-Queens, *Ts-tawi-ku,* "woman-among-sits," signifying that she always associates with queens or influential women. She had inherited the place from her grandmother. The Old-Man-That-Chief also belonged, and he conducted the proceedings. He tells of how the society came to be, though he says he only surmises—doesn't really know. He says, "One might be thinking, 'Luck,

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

• 575 come to me, kawaharu, *rakuwaxtsa!*" and luck actually did come. For example:

575
539

> It had snowed four days. Some men who had gone out on the warpath were starving. The men put up a grass house, for they didn't want to go out for fear of being detected by the enemy through their tracks. An old man among them went into the timber and saw three deer. The snow was hitting the deer in the face and blinding it. "We were starving. Nawa, akaa, kawaharu! Now, oh, luck! Then I aimed my bow and arrow and shot one through the shoulder. The others ran but the big buck fell over. Then I called the others and we all took the buck into the grass house. That was the time we had kawaharu. Kawaharu (luck) came to us."

These were the kind of stories they told, but someone decided to lighten the atmosphere and told the following:

> They were hungry and on the warpath. One of the party was a fine shot. Suddenly they saw two or three buffalo sitting there. Then we all put our hands up and said, "Nawa, Kawaharu." The man who was a good shot got angry, thinking to himself, "I do the shooting and here they're saying, 'Kawaharu.'" So he got up and frightened the buffalo away and said, "Well, let kawaharu shoot it now." So they all had to keep quiet after that.

*224
*484 Most men felt that they had enough buffalo meat for their needs and as much as they could transport. They did not go out to hunt on the lake but stayed behind to protect the women and children from the enemy. In Victory Call's family, it was agreed that Horse Rider should stay while Victory Call went out. They also decided that they would eat the roasted ribs that evening in the family instead of contributing them to the council tent, as this would be the last time they had a chance to get them.

At the council tent, White Eagle decided they would stay over one more day and then go on directly north and across the Republican. It was fifteen miles and a very hard journey. The other bands were notified. They arrived by night, having set out very early in the morning. Water had to be carried in a buffalo paunch. When they had gone half way they stopped, unloaded the horses, and let them graze while each little family camp group sat down in the open and had an informal lunch. Victory
Call came and joined his family; White Woman took some pounded dry
[262] buffalo meat, *tapaharus*, from the tanned hide she had packed it in. Each
[264] one put a clean cloth or piece of hide in front of him, and she placed a
little pile of the meat there and a piece of bone grease to eat it with.

When we have finished singing this song the Ku'rahus takes one of 796*
the plum-tree sticks, which has been anointed with red clay mixed
with fat, and ties on it with a thread of sinew a downy eagle feather. [284]
This stick is bound to the ear of corn so as to project a hand's breadth
above the tip end, letting the downy feather wave above Mother Corn.
This feather represents Tira'wa. It is always moving as if breathing.

The Ku'rahus then binds the other plum-tree stick to the corn so
that it extends below the butt. When the corn is placed in ceremonial
position this end of the stick is thrust in the ground so that the
ear will stand upright without touching the earth. Both sticks are
bound to the ear of corn by a braided band of hair taken from the
head of a buffalo. The braided band signifies the gift of animal food
and the provision of skin clothing. (The Skidi band of the Pawnees [184]
tie a bit of buffalo wool, such as is shed by the animal in the spring,
together with a braid of sweet grass, to the ear of corn.)

The two gourd rattles, which represent the squash given us by Tira'wa, and also the breasts of the mother, are each painted with a blue circle about the middle, with four equidistant lines from the circle to the bottom of the gourd. The circle represents the wall or boundary of the dome of the sky; the four lines are for the four paths at the four directions down which the powers descend. No song is sung while this painting is being done.

All the sacred articles are laid at rest on a wildcat skin when they
are not being used ceremonially, and it is a cover for them in which
they are all wrapped together at the close of the ceremony. The skin [281]
is never tanned, and the ears of the animal, the skin of the head,
the feet, and the claws must all be intact.

Tira'wa made the wildcat to live in the forest. He has much skill
and ingenuity. The wildcat shows us that we must think, we must [773
use tact, and be shrewd when we set out to do anything. If we 576
wish to approach a person we should not do it bluntly; we should not 825]
rush at him; that might offend him so that he would not receive us
or the gifts we desired to offer him. The wildcat does not make
enemies by rash action. He is observant, quiet, and tactful, and he
always gains his end.

In this ceremony we are to carry the sacred articles to one not of our kindred in order to bind him to us by a sacred and strong tie; we are to ask for him many good gifts, long life, health, and children, and we should receive gifts from him in return. If we would succeed we must learn of the wildcat, and be wise as he is wise.

The wildcat is one of the sacred animals. A man who killed a 825
wildcat could sacrifice it to Tira'wahut. The man who brought such 782
an offering had the right to ask the priest to teach him some of the 794
mysteries that belong to the sacred shrine.

Many years ago two men took the Hako to the Omaha tribe. On the journey one of them killed a wildcat. I said to the man: "I am

attract attention, for they represent the nest and are a part of the secret ceremony. The downy eagle feather which until now has been worn by the Ku'rahus is fastened to the scalp lock of the dancer who is to bear the brown-eagle feathered stem, and the downy feather worn by the assistant is tied to the hair of the dancer who will hold the white-eagle feathered stem. 796*

A man, previously chosen by the Ku'rahus, steps up to the chief and receives from him the two feathered stems and the rattles. He makes the sign of thanks for the honor by passing his hands down the arms of the chief. Then, holding the brown-eagle feathered stem in his right hand, he recounts a successful capture of booty, then tells of a war adventure in which he struck an enemy without receiving any harm. After this he hands the brown-eagle feathered stem and a rattle to the dancer sitting at the north. Holding up the white-eagle feathered stem, he tells of a successful foray, in which he captured ponies, and then of a victory in war, after which he hands the white-eagle feathered stem and a rattle to the dancer sitting at the south and takes his own place in the line of prominent men belonging to the Father's party. [576]

The first song is now sung, to the accompaniment of the large rattles, the doctors' drums, and the whistle.

FIRST SONG

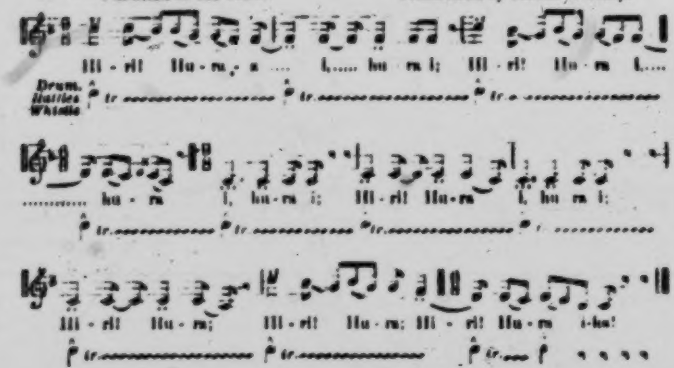
Words and Music

539*
796*

M. M. ♪ = 152.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]


Hi - ri! Hu - ra - a .... i..... hu ra i; Hi - ri! Hu - ra i.....
Drum. Rattles Whistle
tr
...... hu - ra i, hu - ra i; Hi - ri! Hu - ra i, hu ra i;
tr
Hi - ri! Hu - ra; Hi - ri! Hu - ra; Hi - ri! Hu - ra i-ha!
tr

1268 Hiri! Hura-a i, hura i;
1269 Hiri! Hura i, hura i, hura i;
1270 Hiri! Hura i, hura i;
1271 Hiri! Hura;
1272 Hiri! Hura; Hiri! Hura iha!

ther and his family were not *own* family as that of the mother was. The 593
mother's sisters were completely identified with the mother, and there
was little difference in the attitude toward them. The mother's brother, 604
tiwatciriks, was an even more familiar person, who was theoretically 601
ready to share whatever he had with his nephew, *tiwat*. The boy might
enter the household into which his maternal uncle was married from the
age of ten and assume the role of apprentice husband and eventually,
when he came of age, of junior husband. He called his uncle's wives
"wife" and the children of his uncle *piirau*, "my child." After adolescence, he might in fact be the physiological father of one or the other of
them. On the other hand, some of his uncle's children might be older
than he; he would still call them *piirau*, and they in turn would address
him as *atias*, "my father," the same as their own father. Thus it might
very well happen that a man in his twenties would call a boy of ten,
atias, "my father," and the boy would call him *piirau*, "my child." Such
an age reversal might also happen in the father's sister's line, where a
grown man would address a little girl as *atira*, "my mother," and the little
girl would call the man *piirau*, "my child." In the first case, the grown
man would be expressing his respect for his father, and even more particularly for his father's sister in his treatment of her son. In this role, the
boy was in a superior position and addressed the man as "child." The second case would involve the women and girls in the father's sister's line
directly. At bottom, both these situations had their basis in the unequal
relationship between a sister and a brother, as the brother was the taker
while the sister with whom he always had a home was the provider. He
owed her nothing in return, but he accorded her great respect, and his
children followed suit. They demonstrated their respect by applying to
their paternal aunt the most revered term they knew, *atira*, "my mother,"
and carried it to all her female descendants. The boys in this line they
called *atias*, "my father." In this case these terms were used to express
not age or parenthood, but respect. The factor of age did not enter the
relationship; a small boy might call a grown man, *piirau*, "my child," the
man addressing the boy as *atias*, "my father."

Wherever the grandfather term *atipat* was applied or extended, it was 601
a relaxed relationship. Familiar joshing, poking fun, and manhandling
were in order. When a girl addressed a man by this term, sex relations 602
were a possibility, and, if the circumstances were right, marriage was fa- 603
vored. In this mode, during the intermissions in the *Awari* or Groundbreaking Ceremony in the spring just before planting, virgins received
advice on their prospective sex life from warriors whom they addressed
as *atipat*, "grandfather," the girls in turn being addressed as *raktiki*,
"grandchild." Under any circumstances other than the joking kin cate- 576
gory, the Pawnees scrupulously avoided any reference to the physical
person or to intimate relations. To transgress this prohibition would be
regarded as a personal insult that could be classed as almost criminal.

When Roaming Leader rejoined his friends in his tent, they continued 224*
their planning in the light of what White Eagle had said. Their assignment 484*
was to go toward the southwest. New Young Dog said, "That's a good place to go. It's hilly there. Last year about this time we saw three or four buffalo over there." Roaming Leader reminded them to hobble their horses next to the tent so that they could get an early start; he told them to meet at his place so that they could leave together. He also said they should plan to leave very early so that no one would try to follow along and join the party.

Roaming Leader was the first to awaken next morning, then New Young Dog, who was so anxious to get off that he had hardly slept. After that Mad Bear came, half running, and then the other two, who were a bit slower.

It was still somewhat dark when they left, but they had a long way to go—five or six miles to the Platte, and then the crossing. When they got to the crossing place, the scouts from the other bands were also there. [576]
They greeted one another, and after they had crossed over, each scout announced the direction his band was traveling.

If any of the parties saw the buffalo massed together, this was a sign that [825]
the Cheyenne and Arapaho must be lurking around somewhere near the Platte. They would keep right on until they saw two or three bison or buffalo standing alone, with no others to be seen anywhere around as far as the eye could see. Then they knew it was safe to hunt them.

There were five scouts in Roaming Leader's party and three buffalo to be attacked. All five could not chase the three buffalo at once, so they split up into two groups of three and two respectively. The three bison stood next to a pond. The men were on a little hill and they approached cautiously, going down into a trough where they would be concealed. Then they removed their saddles and rode out bareback. The party of three would chase two of the bison and the party of two, the third one. The man on the fastest horse headed off the two bison and led them to the place where they had left their saddles. "Hurry up, hurry up and try to shoot," he called to the other two men. The other party of two would head off the third bison and try to kill it.

Now they were in a hurry to butcher. It was a hard trip back over 224*
the sand hills, especially with the horses loaded, and they wanted to reach the encampment before dark. For the butchering, the five men divided into three parties—two each for two of the buffalo, and one man to butcher the third buffalo by himself.

The procedure in butchering a bison was different from that of butchering a cow in the way the hide was removed. The cow was placed on her back and the whole skin removed from the belly out. The bison hide was heavy and they placed him on his belly and removed the hide in two sections, dividing it along the backbone and making two skins out

talk, Comanche Chief. You have helped me a lot. I wanted someone of experience 574
to talk to Roaming Leader as you did. I could not have done
anything by myself. Only if Heaven is willing can we have good luck. The
other four hunters are sitting and feasting as we are. I can hardly
speak for I am so filled with joy. My food is right here and I am going
to eat these ribs here, and I thank your wife for doing the cooking.
That's all I want to say." Comanche Chief had an idea that his brave,
Strikes-the-Enemy, might want to make a few remarks and he nudged
him to get on with it. Finally Comanche Chief concluded the predinner
speeches and asked one of the men from his own village to serve.
The old lady, Roaming Leader's mother-in-law, had gone outside to tend
to the meat that was lying there and after the guests had received theirs,
and the host and his wife had their portions, meat was carried outside
for her.

During the meal, pleasant conversation was always the order of 574
the day. Stories were told and the events of the hunt recounted again 521
in detail. Then Comanche Chief made the closing speech, again mentioning
them all by name and thanking the host and his wife. "As you
and your wife intended, we have now partaken of this feast. White Eagle
has spoken and good luck may come to you. Now we have eaten. Now
we are going to go." As they got up to leave, Roaming Leader's wife
made a bantering remark to one of the men to whom she had a kin relationship
for which relaxed behavior was appropriate. She said, "What's
your hurry? Maybe you're in a hurry to go gambling." "No, I forgot
to hobble my horses. They're just about to go back to the last camp
where we came from." Roaming Leader told them to leave the rib bones
right in their places and his wife would tend to that. As they filed out, [576] •
each one stopped before Roaming Leader and said, "Thank you for having
us to dinner."

This degree of formality was by no means the general rule among the 224*
less status-conscious members of the tribe. After this episode, any of [576]
the hunters who chose to could go out without special permission from
White Eagle. A man who had a gun was likely to go by himself, while
those with bows and arrows would go in small groups. They hoped to
find a stray buffalo or perhaps an antelope that had strayed from the
herds that were gathered on the plains like sheep. Young men twenty-eight
to thirty years old would be inclined to go together on such informal
expeditions. Very much like young white men who say, "Let's
go fishing," they would just go for the sport, and they would sit around
the fire and eat up whatever they had caught. Sometimes an older man
would feel in the same spirit and he would join in with them. "Never mind
about the chiefs and big fellows," they would say, "they won't invite
us. Let's eat." Then they would hold a mock feast and say, "I'll eat like
Comanche Chief." "And I'll eat like War Cry." "Here's your meat,

The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant
kinship ties to him, but according to the logic of the Pawnee kin system 574
they all called one another brother. They were seated in order of seniority. [602]
The hostess, sitting at the southeast, dished out the food for them, [601]
and her husband passed it to his neighbor on the left, stating who it was [554]
intended for, whereupon it would be passed along to the designated
party. There were no speeches, and people were not obliged to wait for [264]
anybody else but could eat as soon as they were served. When they were
through, if they were in a hurry they would just pick up the bread and
meat that they had left over and go directly out, taking the leftover food to
their wives and children. The manners of the common people were far [576]
simpler than those of the socially elite, or the socially ambitious, although
the customary forms were similar.

As they continued on the move, pressures might build up between individuals 484*
because of the closeness of the living conditions in camp and the 578
strain of constant migration. This was particularly true between father-in-law 606
and son-in-law. Theoretically, it was the first duty of the son-in-law
to serve his wife's family, but when his father-in-law was quite old, the
son-in-law often felt put upon by the arrangement. Sometimes in the
camp one could hear people calling out, "Fight, fight!" and father-in-law
and son-in-law would be grappling with each other in a tent. People all
came running and a roughneck in the crowd would call out, "Who's underneath?"
Someone who was close to the tent would say, "Son-in-law." In
general the crowd would approve and say, "That's good," the sentiment
being with the underdog, the old father-in-law. Such a quarrel would [554]
be ended when a brave or other person of high social rank put a hand
on each of the combatants and said, "I want you to stop." Out of respect
for his rank and eminence, they would separate at once and go in different
directions. Should they not respond it would be a major insult and he
would say a second time, "Didn't you hear me?" This would certainly
end the fight. Any person known to be sensitive and to dislike violence
could perform this same good office. Violence of this kind within the village [183]
or band was considered a serious social malfunction and people made
every attempt to avoid it or put a stop to it. The effort to anticipate and
prevent such situations from arising can be seen in the efforts of the wife
and sister of Fearing-a-Bear to keep a hostile father and son-in-law apart.

512 [252] [264] White Woman got up and joined in, making the breakfast coffee. The cooking was going on near the long oblong fireplace somewhat to the north of the curve-roofed shelter that opened to the east. Across the front of the tent and just inside, the long twined-woven rush mats were lined up. Now Victory Call got up and sat near the south end and began to smoke his pipe. He remarked, "Now leave the tent here for last. We can take everything into the lodge first." With that, Uncle War Cry looked over from his tent and, seeing the activity, thought he would • [576] wander over and see what it was. "Nawa," he greeted them. "Nawa," answered Victory Call, "sit down over here" (viz., to his left). "Looks as if-you're-about to travel" (*kura-tas-takuhu'u*), said the visitor. "Oh, yes, we're going to try to move in this morning, that is rather—today." "That's what we've been thinking too. But I think we'll go in tomorrow." Now Horse Rider arrived with the water and after greetings of "Nawa, nawa," were exchanged, he sat down and joined the men. War Cry repeated his observation about their moving in and Horse Rider made his acknowledgment, War Cry adding, "Now you're going to make-us-feel-lonesome" (left behind, *wi-tas-kurak-atsiks-awahu*). "Oh, just one day. Just this evening, that's all," said Horse Rider.

Now Grandma began to sit up on her bed and White Woman handed her a small basin of water. "Mother wash your face," she said and Grandma poured some of the water into her hand and washed up.

Everyone arranged themselves on the mat—White Woman at the south end, Victory Call next to her, War Cry next to him, Horse Rider next, No Corn who was doing the cooking and serving, and on the northernmost end of the line Grandma and then Otter. The dishes of food were passed first to Victory Call, then War Cry and then Horse Rider, and now the boy Otter was given a dish to carry to his mother at the south end. He got up and made a wide circle so that he wouldn't pass too close in front of the men. Dishes were next passed by No Corn to Grandma and through her to Otter, and then they all began to eat.

As soon as breakfast was over, Horse Rider went to get the two horses that would be needed for the hauling and War Cry went back to his tent, remarking as he went off, "Tomorrow we must move in, too." White Woman and No Corn began to bundle up their things. Grandma had already taken most of hers into the lodge. The mare and the horse were [492] loaded up with parfleches of corn, pumpkin, rolled-up mats, and dishes. The two men went up and piled the goods outside the doorway and came back directly for their next load. As they began to load up, the women were saying, "Our men don't know how to load these things." The men on the other hand were likely to say, "When we first came home, we had hardly anything. Now look at that pile we've got around to fix up." The children were running back and forth among the piles of goods.

*796 follows and does the same, then the assistant comes, then the two doctors and the prominent men of the Father's party. After thanking the Son they all pass round the south side of the lodge to thank the prominent men of the Son's party; then they return to the north side of the lodge and sit down.

431 *796 After they are seated, the Children express the wish that the distribution of the ponies, waiting without, may be happily accomplished, to which the Fathers reply, "Nawairi!" "Thanks!" The Children now rise and go out of the lodge and leave the Fathers alone during the distribution of the gifts.

[554] [577] The Ku'rahus appoints two influential men to go out and divide the gift of ponies, setting apart a number for the chiefs and the leading men who do not wish to do this for themselves, lest the people think them selfish. Two ponies are for the Ku'rahus; that is his portion ordinarily. If there are a great number of horses he is given more. The chiefs and leading men select from the ponies set apart for them, each man taking one until all the ponies are apportioned. The rest of the party choose from the other ponies, one at a time, the men first and then the women. After this the sticks representing ponies are divided.

All the saddles, bridles, feathers, that may have been on the horses given away are piled on the north side of the lodge. These belong to the Ku'rahus. He keeps what he wants and divides the rest between his assistant, the server, and other members of the party.

*796 When the distribution has been made the Fathers leave the lodge and go to their camp, where they break their long fast and seek some rest. The next day all the party start for home except the chief. He remains to collect the ponies which have not been brought in.

[571] The Son, to whom the Hako has been presented, can give the eagle wings to a doctor or the pipe to a friend, but he must keep for himself the sacred objects of the ceremony. They have brought to him the promise of long life and children, and have established peace and security through a tie as strong as that of kinship.

INCIDENTAL RITUALS

The following four rituals can be sung during the public ceremony whenever they are called for by the Children.

COMFORTING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 424 I have told you before that in order to be instructed in this ceremony, to be taught its songs and their meaning, one must make many gifts, pay a great deal to the Ku'rahus who teaches him. This is our custom, for a man must make sacrifices, must give large presents in payment for what he receives, in order to show that he places a value upon the knowledge he wishes to acquire. I have paid a great deal

178 the songs, whether specially costumed or not. I am told that on
575 occasion even women were known to join the dancing.

The Crazy Dog Dancers was revived before 1895 by Skiri Tom,
796 one of the survivors of the old organization. The original membership had been practically annihilated in Nebraska days while on the warpath against the Sioux; the misfortune was so great that a few members who survived hesitated to reorganize. Skiri Tom made Charley Box his main singer, with George Beaver to assist him; White Fox was also a singer. Skiri Tom reconstructed objects closely like the old paraphernalia, a crow-feathered dogwood lance, a pipe, drums and rattles. In the revival dance performances, the
[292] dancers were not naked, as in former times, although Skiri Tom himself is said to have worn only a loose jock which exposed the genitals from the rear and caused laughter among the women.
● [577] Nudity in the old days was a sign of recklessness; those who courted death in war could be bold and foolhardy in the dance. Skiri Tom died about 1906 or 1907; his paraphernalia were buried with him, and the performance of the Crazy Dog Dancers ceased with his death. The songs, however, are still used.

The Roached Heads, originally a Skiri society, was revived on behalf of the tribe under the leadership of George Washington; a performance witnessed was held inside Washington's lodge; the north side was in control.

A performance of the Skiri Wolf Society,[1] witnessed by men and women about 1900, was a departure from its original forms. In aboriginal times this society never danced in the villages either before or after the hunt; on the war path itself, the war party leader organized the performance. As a result, and contrary to the forms of the other societies, no women participated as singers at Wolf Society performances, while in 1900 women singers were employed.

Murie has described the revival of the Horn Dance (raris arika).[2] The society was revived in a modernized form in 1893. "It took
[787] its form from the dreams of a woman..." In consecutive dreams she was told how to get an eagle skin, to make the crook crow-feathered lance, and the drum. "The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle

---

[1] The revival may have been led by Running Scout. A song recorded by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 85, reports a vision of Running Scout which probably refers to the Wolf Society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

[2] Murie, Societies, pp. 623, 638.

668 counter from hand to hand in this way was a regular form of
525 deception and part of the game. Other informants told me about
this old method of play after I had recorded Mark's experience, and
711 only then did I become aware that in terms of Ghost Dance hand
game ethics Mark had cheated, unconsciously falling into the habits
[577] of play he had been used to in his boyhood.

The concept of luck associated with hand game play was broadened conceptually in the Ghost Dance. Winning was a sign of greater faith, and since the coming change could be attained through faith alone, losing was a bitter dose indeed. It marked one as a disbeliever, a sinner, an unfortunate who could not be saved.

121 In the chapters^which follow I have considered the Ghost Dance
hand games in two ways. In the first discussion the material
525 facts of the games have been used to define the generic aspects of
668 game rituals and ceremonies, and to bring out the significance of the
various parts in order to consider in a later discussion the contrast with the old game and the meaning of the changes. In other chapters the details of the individual games are presented so far as known, in a form which makes them at once comparable with the analysis which precedes. In this way repetitions have been reduced to a minimum.

The order in which the games are presented, especially those of the Skiri, is an attempt at something of a chronology.

128 The exact order is of course impossible to determine at this date.
525 Many were developed well-nigh simultaneously. If the owners of
old games are interviewed each is likely to contend for the priority
668 of his or her own game. But certain games are known to be very
old, certain others to be very recent. In addition special traits of the individual games place them in one or another of relative periods of time, before which they could not have used certain forms, and after which they must have. In short, on the basis of internal evidence as well as tradition a fairly sure chronology of the games *as groups* had been obtained. The question of priority within the groups is problematical.

There are first of all the games of the South Bands. Of these I have heard of only five: Joseph Carrion's, Tom Morgan's, White Elk's, Charley Brown's (this and White Elk's are collaborative), and Annie Eustace's. Tom Morgan's game as we saw was probably a nonceremonial one, which he altered to suit the new fashion, while Carrion's was the game he learned among the Arapaho. These two are then definitely older than the White Elk-Brown game, and that of Annie Eustace, for both of the latter were developed *as* Ghost Dance hand games.

^ [not processed. -Analyst]

000 automation (*Life*, July 19, 1963). Referred to as "sudden" in the magazine article, it should surely not be sudden to most of us. With the advantage of a clear consciousness of a long past and its major changes, we must accept change and move intelligently into the future. We must prepare for our new needs in a new society by opening to the light of questioning even our most basic institutions—the family, the home, modes and institutions of work, the character of administration, and our whole evaluation of everyday human experience. The Pawnee way is one of thousands of ways of life that mankind has developed. As a springboard for a reexamination of our own way of life it has the advantage of being so different from our own, and in fact from the whole patterning of Eurasiatic civilization, that a study of its ways and social interactions helps us to throw into sharp relief our most widely accepted hypotheses on the nature of "the basic human character" and to test whether some of these assumptions are in reality universal human nature or rather limited modes of learned behavior that we have developed for needs that are now becoming obsolete.

812 772 In its very essence, the Pawnee outlook on reality differs from our own. For us the material aspect is primary. On a second level of discourse, we place observed events; on a third level, which we count still less sure, is the "human factor"; and finally furthest removed from solid reality is the realm of ideas. In the Pawnee estimate of the world around him, the primary level of reality is thought. In our own story of creation, the deity shaped man out of clay, but the Pawnee deity—Vault-of-the-Heavens—began the process of creation with thoughts and so created the universe and the stars, and they in turn were to create man in their own image. When a Pawnee individual wanted to organize his life goals, he looked within himself in his thinking and was blessed by Heaven with [829] a vision. In the Pawnee context, the *thinking* man was the essential human being. The universe continued its seasonal round only when man willed it through his thought of Heaven and its creative power. In creating man, Heaven had also created the moving force of the universe. In this order of things, events were an adjunct of *human* ongoing, and all the nonliving things were a fluid manifestation of the universal life process. A thing manufactured was a manifestation of a very personal skill, and a thing used was equally personal. The skill of the priest who kept the universe in motion and that of the arrowshaft maker had an analogous quality which was inherent in the person himself, and both were considered as dedicated public professions. For both living and nonliving things in the time of the creation, there were always two storms—one to build the empty structure and one for its continuity. This estimate of the nature of reality is almost the complete reverse of our own and is one of the many ways in which the Pawnee outlook contrasts rather sharply with ours. 577

539 As another contrast in values between the Pawnee and ourselves I

would offer a story in the realm of human affairs. In attempting to translate from the Pawnee language in which much of this account was first obtained, we stopped to consider the word "courage." In order to give an example of what the Pawnee meant by courage, Mark Evarts told the following story: 577 539

> A man became aware that a certain person was making slanderous remarks about him in many quarters. This distressed and irritated him deeply. One day he came to a decision as to what he would do. He had a wagon and a horse, and he painted his wagon and decorated his horse and then dressed himself up in his very best, painted his face, dressed his hair, put feathers in his hair, and then set out for the home of the slanderer. When he arrived he called out, "So and so, I want you to come out. I have something to show you." In the light of his actions, the slanderer hesitated to come out. But finally he made his appearance at the entryway of his lodge. Now the man he had slandered took him by the hand and said, "Do you see this horse and wagon?" "Yes," he replied with increasing trepidation. "Well, I give them to you," said his victim, and then departed. Needless to say, he never talked about him again.

"This," said Mark Evarts, "is a man of courage; that was the only horse and wagon he had."

Our first reaction to this story is one of rejection. How can one possibly call this an act of courage? Let us look at this action through Pawnee eyes. For one thing, by his action, the victim had cleared the society of a disruptive social element that could have grown into a more general network of hostilities and polluted the whole social climate so that they might no longer defend themselves effectively from outside attack nor coordinate their efforts for their mutual survival. It took real courage, from the Pawnee point of view, for a man to curb his anger and to make a material sacrifice as well. How different from our reaction which would lead a man to plant his fist forcibly into the face of the slanderer or perhaps counter with a more devious plan to get back at his opponent. The obvious result must necessarily be a continuation and augmentation of the social irritant. 577 626

This instance does not stand alone. In recent years the Fox Indians of Tama, Iowa, told a story about the Pawnees in a similar vein. It was customary for the young men to set out on the warpath in the fall or late summer. A young Fox warrior selected the Pawnees as the object of his attack. He made a rich haul and so decided to repeat his performance the next year. Then he went again a third time. This was decidedly against the recognized code according to which he should have distrib- 577 727

577 727 uted his favors more broadly. Now on the fourth occasion, the Pawnees lay in wait in their village and sure enough the young Fox warrior stealthily crept into the encampment ready to collect and run. This time the Pawnees were lying in wait for him, and they seized him and took him to the tent of the head chief. There the young warrior trembled within himself, prepared for the worst. One by one, the Pawnees began to remove his garments as the chief had ordered. Then they painted up his face, put on a new loincloth, a new shirt, new leggings, and new moccasins and loaded him with additional goods saying, "You have favored us three times already, now go home and don't come back for a while." As the Fox report, he never did return to the Pawnees. In fact, was there anything worse that a people could do to an attacking enemy soldier?

592 512 462 Let us now look at the household of the Pawnee—his home life. Most earth lodges housed from thirty to fifty people. The lodge was a production workshop in which, with few exceptions, everything required for use was produced, including the collection and processing of raw materials. A substantial part of this work was done by the women. The house was conceived as being divided into two duplicate halves—the north sector and the south sector—each of which carried out the essential [264] household functions in alternation. There were two main meals a day, for example, the one being provided by the north side, the other by the south side, both serving all. In operation this meant that the woman who cooked the meal had raised all the vegetables in her own gardens, had dried and preserved them and kept them in her storage pit, and that all the meat she served was dried and packed by her on the buffalo hunt, carried back to the village (formerly on her back or by the dogs she raised), and also stored in the pit. In the past, the clay pot she cooked in would have been made by her (now a brass kettle from the trade store), and she was still making the large buffalo-horn ladle with which she served, the wooden mortar and pestle in which the mush was pounded, and for her "side" alone the wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons in which the food was served, the rush mats on which the people sat, and all the clothing they wore. Every day, morning or evening, she would serve twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty people a meal.

264 571 The way in which the morning and evening meal was allocated to one or the other "side" was a clear example of the characteristic Pawnee mode of personal interaction. There was no prearranged schedule at all as to which side would take the morning, which the evening meal. This was determined on each individual occasion by the inclinations of the principals most directly involved. From our point of view a plan would be made and the people fitted into it—from the Pawnee view, the plan emerged from the feelings of the people. This difference of approach is so basic that I feel impelled to stress it particularly. The Pawnee indi-

756

months. Thereafter, whenever a man had an animal vision, he applied to 773
the Doctor Association and was given a place in the lodge.

All during the summer hunt and the hard work of getting in the harvest 756
that followed, the people looked forward with great anticipation to 796
the elaborate performances that the doctors would put on all during the 224*
month of October. It was a Grand Opera with a connected series of episodes, combining animal mimes, displays of sleight of hand, and illusionist performances of different kinds, hypnotic acts, songs, and dances. In that summer the people contributed the dried meat of eighty buffalo to the Doctor Association for the forthcoming ceremony and in former times as many as 140 were given. This was one of the prime motivations for going on the hunt.

In the Great Cleansing Ceremony now to be held before departure, 796
both the celestial and the doctors' symbolism was combined, one connected 783
with crops and the other with the wild animals.

As soon as the chiefs had determined the date for the departure on the 796
hunt, they notified the priest of the sacred bundle who was in charge for 783
that season, and he in turn got in touch with the other four priests. They 793
all came to his lodge, beating on their bundles to signify that they were
now going to conduct a national ceremony. They took their appointed [778]
places at the west, putting their bundles down in front of them and sending the errand man to summon the other bundle keepers to come with their mats and food bowls. They spread their mats and sat in their traditional places, hanging their bundles on the wall behind them. They remained in the lodge for three days and nights, feasting and talking together. Meanwhile the four main priests went through the village calling on the people to bring gifts to Mother Corn. They were being asked to bring the clothes that would costume the chief who was to lead the
procession when they took the sacred objects to the stream. Only men of [577]
sterling character were privileged to make such a contribution—those who were public spirited enough to initiate public ceremonies, were courageous in defense, volunteered frequently for public service, were generous in helping the less fortunate, did not harbor malice, did not engage in any kind of violence or loud conduct, did not gamble or indulge in sexual adventures in unsanctioned social categories. They were to bring a buffalo robe, moccasins, a buffalo-hair cord as a girdle, and dried buffalo meat and fat that had been consecrated on the previous buffalo hunt. The donors would paint themselves red, carrying their gift through the village for everyone to see as they took it to the ceremonial lodge. After the gift was presented, two messengers went through the village announcing the gift and publicly thanking the donor.

The actual ceremony in the lodge was performed on the fourth day 796
after the bundle keepers had assembled there. Very early that morning

their joints near the back. They turned the carcass over and removed 224*
the ribs from the other side in the same way. Then they removed the
collarbone and first rib.

This whole process was accomplished with a single knife. As far back 175
as 1540, Casteñeda gives an almost identical description of butchering 224*
with a flint. "They cut the hide open at the back," he writes, "and pull
it off at the joints, using a flint as large as a finger, tied in a little stick,
with as much ease as if working with a good iron tool. They give it
an edge with their own teeth. The quickness with which they do this
is something worth seeing and noting."

The butchering completed, there was a pile of meat; it remained to portion 224*
it out among them. The initiative in this distribution belonged entirely
to the man who had actually killed the animal. Legally the animal belonged
to him. However, it was the custom to give half of the meat to any
who had been present at the kill and helped with the butchering. A generous
man—in Pawnee terms, "a good man"—would give something to a [577]
person who arrived after the killing but helped with the butchering. Late
arrivals could expect no such courtesy. The rule also held in this case. The
bison was readily divided in two, including the skin, with two doing the
butchering. If three had butchered, "the nonkillers" would have had to
divide the half between them. Such a quarter bison skin could be used [237]
for moccasin soles or a small rawhide envelope-shaped container. Out
of an undivided half skin of the bison, a robe might be made, or a water
package. This was a skin folded like an envelope with sticks fastened underneath
to be used to float things across the stream in high water.

After the butchering and distribution, the horses were packed with 224*
the meat so that they could return to camp. In order to load, they saddled 492
the horses and put the meat on top; the skin, which had been too
slippery, had been allowed to dry somewhat and was now put across
the saddle, hair side down, with the flaps hanging down on both sides
of the horse. The long backbone steaks were placed on top of the hide,
and upon this the flank meat from over the ribs and forelegs. In order to
balance the load on both sides of the horse, the thighs were cut across
in two, each threaded with an eyeletted piece of rawhide drawn through
a hole in the meat and tied to the back of the horse so that they hung
down against the sides. Each rib cage was tied in a similar way with a
string through it so that it hung down on each side toward the rear. The
sharp edges were up so that they did not cut the sides of the horse. The
brains were tied inside the rib cage to protect them. The other entrails
were tied together with a rope and placed on top and tied near the back.
A person taking a whole buffalo by himself couldn't take the backbone
but could take the back of the neck. He had to leave "the hips and backbone"
behind. Everything now being in place on the horse, the skin was
folded over to make a cover. First the back half was folded forward

525 619 points: only two sticks are left in the center. The Kitkahaxki^x guesser calls out to the leader of his side, "I want him to guess now." He shows them Mark. He says, "You're a good boy: everything you do is lucky. Go ahead."

The Skiri begin to yell. The Kitkahaxki^x pat Mark on the back and wish him luck.

[789] Mark arises. He goes to the fire and leans forward over it. He touches the ashes and rubs his hands together. He touches fire to his eyes to warm them and make him see clearly. He watches the guessers. He chooses quickly. He finds the bones.

Now the Skiri are trying to confuse him. They yell. They want him to put up the shawl he has with him. He tells them he doesn't have to now. He goes on guessing against the Skiri man who has won two games. The Kitkahaxki^x players begin to come to life. They win the game.

[533] Now the Kitkahaxki^x sing the Crazy Dog Dance songs. The Skiri are slient. The Kitkahaxki^x leader gets up to dance. He tells how he went on a warpath and captured many horses. This time the Kitkahaxki^x have carried off the spoils.

There is a fourth game. The bets are laid again. The Skiri choose a new guesser. Mark is against him now and wins again.

The games are even. The Kitkahaxki^x have won back their losings. They decide to stop now. It is late. The Kitkahaxki^x go home.

Later the Skiri set upon Mark because he played with the Kitkahaxki^x and won for them. For a long time he couldn't go near the Skiri camp. They would get hold of him and scold him angrily. Mark says he joined the Kitkahaxki^x side because the man who asked him was a friend of his, and because the Skiri did not give him a place and ask him to join in. ● [578]

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OLD GAME

525 533 Competitions like the above between the bands of the Pawnee were played in this way in the old days. Women never played. The games were always outdoors. The songs sung were old type hand game songs. They were coarse but not about women. One ran:

"They're bathing in the water now...
They're bathing in the water now..."

All would laugh because of the reference to washing, bringing up a picture of one scrubbing himself all over and around the loins.

525 825 536 Those who hid, many of them, imitated animals. Some of these imitations:

early intimacy would ultimately end in a marriage according to the 836
rites of the tribe, but the girl was not allowed to exercise much choice [582]
in the selection of a husband.

Occasionally it happened that a boy and girl eluded the vigilance
of the parents and lay together. If detected, this was at once
checked. Should the girl become pregnant as a result of their union,
and should the girl's relatives be predisposed to the boy and think
him likely to become a good husband, he was asked to marry her.
The relatives of the young man gathered together and sent presents [584]
of ponies, robes, blankets, and other things to the girl's parents, and
the two young people were married. If the boy was not considered 836
suitable, however, two men were sent to his lodge and he was severely 684
beaten, and on rare occasions died as a result of the punishment. 578
During the beating, tribal custom decreed that the boy's relatives
must not defend him. The young man's parents sometimes tried
to heal the breach between the two families by offering presents
to the parents of the injured girl. If the girl's relatives refused to
accept the boy for a son-in-law, they attempted to secure a husband
for her, which was often a matter of great difficulty. Sometimes the
girl refused to tell the name of the boy who had seduced her and was
driven from her own lodge, in which case she generally went to the
boy's lodge and tried to live there; if they drove her out, she might [548]
be forced to live on the outskirts of the village as a prostitute. Often
if a boy knew that he was about to be held responsible for betraying a [721]
girl he would run away, especially to follow a war party. Occasionally a couple, realizing their union would displease their relatives,
eloped to some other village. The illicit sexual relations of young
people often resulted in family disputes and conflicts involving most
of the relatives on both sides.

MARRIAGE

Marriage among the Skidi was not entered into lightly or at an 581
early age. The marriage tie was said to be enduring and faithfulness
was expected and demanded. Skidi villages tended to be endogamous and a man married a woman of his own village, to whom he was 582
not related by close ties of blood. Marriage with a first cousin was
forbidden and marriage with a second cousin, though tolerated,
was not considered proper.

Courtship as we understand it did not play a very important 584
part in marriages among the higher class of Skidi. In fact, no friendship that might have been formed between a young couple ever
resulted in legal marriage unless the proper relatives of both sides

on the problem of their southern home. Linguistic and ethnological studies among the southern Caddoan peoples and the fact that the Pawnee were in much closer contact with peoples to the south than with those to the north of the Platte have long since made it a certainty that the ancient habitat of the tribe lay somewhere near the Gulf coast, probably in southern Texas or northeastern Mexico, from where the northeastward movement took place. 172* 105

The Skidi, we may note here, stood in a somewhat unique relationship to the other three bands. The traditions just reviewed relate primarily to the latter, i. e., to the Grand, Republican, and Tappage divisions, uniformly omitting the Skidi. The latter band claims to have lived always in the Valley of the Loup, where they were created, and, in conjunction with the Arikara, performed the first tribal ceremonies.[94] The Skidi always regarded themselves as more closely related to the Arikara than to the rest of the tribe, and it is possible that the latter at one time may have been under Skidi control. Dunbar presumed that they were descendants of one of the resident tribes conquered by the Pawnee upon their arrival on the Platte.[95] It has been further suggested that they represent the parent stock from which sprang all of the northern Pawnee bands as well as the Arikara.[96] Grinnell alone states that the Skidi were the last to arrive, coming "after the northern migration of the tribes and their settlement in northern Kansas and Nebraska";[97] the other observers state, or at least imply, that they were earlier. Not improbably the Skidi-Arikara group preceded the other bands into the Platte region, established themselves firmly, and came to regard their kindred as intruders when they arrived. Misunderstandings and violent quarrels were not uncommon between the [578] Skidi and Grand Pawnee bands, even in later times, and possibly early punitive expeditions on the part of the latter, supported by the Republicans and Tappages, gave rise to the claims that the Skidi were a conquered tribe.[98] Thus there need not have been a great disparity in the time of arrival between the various divisions.

As to the time of arrival of the Pawnee in the Platte Valley tradition is silent, and there is little to guide us in making even an estimate. On the basis of linguistic studies Dunbar adduced the following:

> The language affords some evidence that their residence in the Valley of the Platte has been of some duration. *O-kut-ut* and *oku-kat* signify strictly *above* and *below* (of a stream), respectively. Now their villages have usually been

---

[94] Dorsey, 1904, p. 13.
[95] 1880, a, p. 252.
[96] Dorsey, 1906, p. 9.
[97] 1893, p. 215.
[98] Dunbar, 1880, a, p. 252.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Pawnee NQ18
Winnebago NP12

N W 171 and Kiowa. Mooney was present at a palaver at which a Kiowa reported upon his visit to Wovoka. The Kiowa was told by the Paiute prophet to stop dancing; consequently, he branded the Plains Ghost Dance leaders as frauds. "Sitting Bull insisted on the truth of his own representations, and when accused by A'peatan of deceiving the Indians in order to obtain their property, he replied that he had never asked them for ponies which they had given him. . . ." (p. 914). Another Arapaho leader, Black Coyote, appeared to Mooney to be a man who "wishes to be a great priest and medicine man. At the same time he keeps a sharp lookout for his temporal affairs and has managed to accumulate considerable property" and three wives. He was leader of the Ghost Dance and other Indian ceremonies, tribal delegate to Washington, captain of Indian police and county deputy sheriff. He repeatedly asked Mooney "to get him a permanent license . . . to enable him to visit the various reservations at will as a general evangel of Indian medicine and ceremony" (pp. 897–898).

P 668 797 P [276] [431] [578] Lesser's (pp. 60–76) data on the Pawnee Ghost Dance leave no doubt that Frank White, its introducer, used the dance for personal aggrandizement. Some of his special doctrines and practices were the following: he was sole authentic prophet; he demanded payment for use of designs seen in visions; he sold all paraphernalia; he was paid for the privilege of holding dances; a small face painting by him cost $5.00. In spite of his eating peyote and drinking whiskey, the Ghost Dancers lavished gifts, money, and pretty girls on him. The revolt against him seemed to result partly from jealousy of his wealth.

N W 171 The leader of the Caddo Ghost Dance was John Wilson, who was also a shaman and a peyotist.[illegible] The fact that Wilson later modified the peyote cult in order to collect hundreds of dollars certainly places him in the class of proselyters for gain par excellence. La Barre (p. 158) tells of the wealth he received and makes a classic understatement: "The economic motive seems evident in much of Wilson's behavior."

Except for the case of John Wilson, missionary to the Shawnee, Quapaw, Caddo, Delaware, Osage, Potawatomi, and others, the literature contains but few direct statements suggesting that financial gain motivated agents to spread the peyote cult.[illegible] However, the very fact that peyote is universally considered to be a cure and that leaders are often looked upon similarly to shamans suggests that carriers of the cult could have been paid for their services. A great many other Indians are known to have proselyted beyond their own tribes.

Wi. [795] [797] The Winnebago, John Rave, went to South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to preach the new religion after establishing the cult among his own people in Nebraska. A Kiowa, Jim Aton, a famous peyote doctor, held meetings for the Creek, Yuchi, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Mescalero-Apache, and Quapaw; also whites and Mexicans.[illegible] Have these men and other famous proselyters spread the gospel of peyote solely out of love for their fellow men? No doctrine of the peyote cult commands members to go forth and convert other tribes.

That believers have gone out to spread the cult because of possible economic gain is established in the case of Ben Lancaster. It is almost impossible to conclude that Leo Okio and Lone Bear had no other ideas than religion when they held meetings in Nevada. My Uintah Ute informants accused the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, of spreading peyotism for money, and when the members were broke, he did not

[illegible] Mooney, 1896*b*, 914–915; La Barre, 1938, 65, 151; Petrullo, 1934, 158.

[illegible] La Barre; Schultes, 1938.

[illegible] La Barre, 52, fn. 114.

602 on the tribal buffalo hunt in the style to which they were accustomed
would tactfully indicate that he had an extra horse that he could make
593 available for the forthcoming hunting expedition.

554 If a man's supply of tobacco got too low for the necessary social entertaining
that he felt he should carry on, he would ask his brother rather
than an outsider in order to keep the matter within the family. A man
who noticed his brother appearing in a worn-out buffalo robe or blanket
would immediately send him a good one, for it would not do for anyone
[578] to get the idea that the family was not prosperous. A term of great contempt
among the Pawnee was poor, *kapakis*. The worst insult one could
hurl at a man was to call him *ruti-kapakis-kawitat*, "the one who is-poor-ragged."
As the final insult one might say *kapakis-kuut*, "poor-dead," or
593 in our way of saying it, "dead-poor." Respect for seniority among a
group of brothers was preserved throughout life. The oldest brother
561 continued to be the surrogate for the entire family, and the cadet members
would make particularly sure that their senior brother made a good
appearance. Their personal conduct toward him always continued to be
respectful. Even after Victory Call had achieved an important status
apart from his older brother Sitting Hawk, he still respected his brother's
seniority rights. As senior brother, Sitting Hawk would sometimes come
to Victory Call's house and say, "Tomorrow at dawn we'll go hunting.
We'll go in this and this direction." Or Sitting Hawk would feel free
to ask Victory Call to go far out and find him some medicinal plants for
his doctoring practice. He would say to Victory Call, "Before the birds
eat it up, I want you to go way over there and get me so and so weed so
that I'll have enough for this winter." As a man of prominence in the community,
he had plenty of people who would willingly do this for him, but
in this case he wanted to keep his medical secrets in the family, and he
knew he could trust his brother not to reveal them or use them without
his sanction. It was the part of a good father to instill these attitudes in
his sons while they were young. For example, if the younger of two brothers
had six horses and the elder only one, it would be proper for the
younger man to put all seven horses together and say to his older brother,
"Brother, take your choice." Original disagreements between parents might
lead brothers to quarrel all their lives. It was generally felt that parents
should be watchful of growing hostilities among their children and try to
595 remedy the situation before it was too late. In the plural marriage situation
there was special danger of this as a co-wife who felt her husband
preferred the other woman and her children would set the children
against each other as had happened in the case of White Woman and
her half-brothers. About their sister, a father would say to his sons, "You
boys must take care of your sister. She's a girl and when she grows up
she's going to take care of you." And this was indeed the case, for sister's
house was a permanent home.

Next they planted the beans, sometimes in the same hills with the corn 244
so that the vines could entwine themselves around the cornstalks. If they
planted them in separate hills, they set in willow sticks for the vines to
cling to.

Last of all, they planted pumpkins, squashes, and watermelons [*Citrullus, citrullus* (L.) Karst., indigenous variety—Gilmore, 1919, pp. 120-
129.]. These were planted in separate patches and served to separate the [243]
different varieties of corn in order to preserve the breeds. There would
be a planting of blue corn, then a pumpkin patch, then spotted corn, then
a melon patch, and so on in this order.

Between two adjacent fields, there was a hill or ridge where the sunflowers 241
grew by themselves without planting. Some women surrounded 423
their fields with a fence built of stakes connected with rawhide ropes. 578
Disputes about the boundaries of their fields sometimes occurred among [417]
the women. Some women would pile the earth further and further on the
far side of the field and encroach on the field of a neighbor. Some women
stole crops, whereupon arguments would ensue and they would curse
one another and call one another names. The woman from whom the corn
had been stolen would strike the other woman with her hands or with a
stick. The informant said that stealing was actually unnecessary, as a poor [476]
women could easily get some corn by appealing to her neighbor directly, [735]
saying, "I want you to take pity on me and give me some corn."

Women always went to the fields in groups for their own protection; 241
the Sioux made a particular point of attacking and scalping them as they 476
were going into the fields or coming home. This was presumably to exert 722
sufficient pressure to chase the Pawnees from their territory and induce 648
them to abandon it entirely. The mortality among the women from
this cause was heavy. In 1861 in one such attack eighteen Skidi women
were killed. One group of women would say to the other, "We're going
to clear our fields, how about you?" Then the two groups would set out
together, any woman who finished first helping the others so that all
would be ready to return at the same time. The young men, without being
told, knew that this was the time to picket around the fields.

In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each of the mature 241
women had at least one field. Clear Day, the younger wife, and her 423
mother, Blue Calico, worked one field together, as was customary with 592
mother and daughter until the younger woman was considered responsible
enough to manage her own. Fields were located along the bottomlands
on both banks of Beaver Creek, and some women had a closer and
a more distant field. The ones that were closer to the villages were, of
course, the more desirable both for transport and for military reasons. An
individual field was from half an acre to one and a half acres in area.

Patterns of cooperation were well developed in each household so that 592
the women would get through quickly. Queen Woman would say to

*224 *484 In Camp 5 that night, when the crier was calling out their next day's itinerary, Roaming Leader was on his way to hobble his horses when he met his friend Running Scout. He said, "I have it in mind that we could go far south to the Republican river to see if there are some buffalo there. This time of year the bulls always stand over there. What do you think?"

"That's just what I've been thinking about. I'd certainly like to do something like that."

"I've got to hobble my horses right now," said Roaming Leader, "but if you see Mad Bear, tell him to come to my tent and we'll talk it over—also New Young Dog and Wants-the-Enemy. About sundown, you people must come to my tent."

[572] / [578] These five men had grown up as a group of friends since they were boys. They used to meet when they took the horses to pasture while they were very young. Some of these groups would break up after marriage, if a man's wife tended to disapprove or if he was jealous and afraid that his friends might try to share his wife's sexual favors. But in this case the group had stuck together and had many adventures together. Roaming Leader, between forty and fifty years old, was the leader of the group and tended to take the initiative. At this time they came to his tent for supper where his wife had prepared a meal of corn, bread, and coffee. After the meal, Roaming Leader asked them to wait while he went to see White Eagle to ask his permission for their expedition. After his return they would continue with their plans.

When Roaming Leader arrived at White Eagle's tent, he found that the errand man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band was also there. He had come on the same errand, as there was a group of men in each of the other three bands that wanted to go south next morning and try their luck at locating the buffalo. After some discussion, White Eagle granted permission, and they talked about how they would coordinate the activities of these four scouting parties. It was planned that they were to fan out in different directions so that they could make a survey of the country and they would get some idea of where the herds might be. Each party had a different assignment.

After the Little-Earth-Lodge Band envoy had left, White Eagle inquired of Roaming Leader who would be in his party. When he mentioned who they were, White Eagle commented that they were a good bunch. He wished him good luck and said, "Don't forget the *kawis*." This was a [252] [262] sort of sausage they made by washing the intestine and turning it inside out and putting a long piece of buffalo meat inside with a little water and tying it at both ends. The *kawis* could then be boiled in water or, if the hunter were alone, broiled over the fire. It was a favorite delicacy that could only be made of fresh intestine and White Eagle's remark was a reminder for Roaming Leader to be sure to bring the intestines home.

*224 Comanche Chief. Here War Cry, here's yours. Here Eagle Chief, here's your meat!"

*224 571 •578 Sometimes this group of happy-go-lucky young men were unable to get anything and then they would curse one another saying, "Why do we have bad luck? It must be because of you!" One man called *Rawihu'u*, "The Go-Getter," which also means "Warpath," was their favorite scapegoat. It seemed as if he always did something at the wrong time to spoil things. As a man was about to shoot a buffalo, he would look over the man's shoulder and the buffalo would see him moving and run away. Once when they were stalking a deer, approaching on their bellies, Warpath coughed at the crucial moment and the deer ran off. One of the men said, "I wish I could shoot you." "I couldn't help it. I had to cough. My throat was dry," said Warpath.

*224 574 Some men went after antelope and took the meat home to their families. They would call in three or four of their more intimate friends to share it with them.

Such a ~~man was~~ Fearing-a-Bear, an able hunter and warrior, a mature man but a rough-and-ready type. He had little interest in social status and public affairs and when he was successful in his hunting he would say, "I'm tired. I think I'll just eat this up myself with my friends." He and his wife lived in a tent with his father, his sister, and her husband. [607] [606] Theoretically the brother-in-law should take care of them, but the brother-in-law in this case was from the Omaha tribe, and the father-in-law did not find it a very congenial arrangement. Relations between them were strained.

574 606 As they sat at dinner one night, as the host of the occasion, Fearing-a-Bear sat in the southeast position. Next to him sat his wife who was doing the cooking. On the other side of the entrance, in the northeast position, sat his father and beyond him on the north side the Omaha son-in-law. But the two women, Fearing-a-Bear's wife and his sister, were worried about this close proximity of the two hostile men and so the sister seated herself between her Omaha husband and her father. Ordinarily she would have sat at the east end beyond the two men. She had separated them, for trouble might arise, or the old man, being shaky, might accidentally spill some soup on his son-in-law and then there would be a flare-up. The adjustment they had made in seating arrangements, however, was very awkward for the hostess. She could not pass the food to the old man who was sitting on the end, as it was absolutely forbidden for a daughter-in-law to have any contact with her father-in-law. So she had to get up each time and give the food to her sister-in-law who was sitting between her Omaha husband and her father, in order to pass it to the men. Then the sister-in-law was in a dilemma. Should she serve her husband first or her father? Either way, she was bound to offend one or the other of them.

000 The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant

The
other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant
kinship ties to him, but according to the logic of the Pawnee kin system 574
they all called one another brother. They were seated in order of senior- [602]
ity. The hostess, sitting at the southeast, dished out the food for them, [601]
and her husband passed it to his neighbor on the left, stating who it was [554]
intended for, whereupon it would be passed along to the designated
party. There were no speeches, and people were not obliged to wait for [264]
anybody else but could eat as soon as they were served. When they were
through, if they were in a hurry they would just pick up the bread and
meat that they had left over and go directly out, taking the leftover food to
their wives and children. The manners of the common people were far [576]
simpler than those of the socially elite, or the socially ambitious, although
the customary forms were similar.

As they continued on the move, pressures might build up between in- 484*
dividuals because of the closeness of the living conditions in camp and the 578
strain of constant migration. This was particularly true between father-in-
law and son-in-law. Theoretically, it was the first duty of the son-in-law 606
to serve his wife's family, but when his father-in-law was quite old, the
son-in-law often felt put upon by the arrangement. Sometimes in the
camp one could hear people calling out, "Fight, fight!" and father-in-law
and son-in-law would be grappling with each other in a tent. People all
came running and a roughneck in the crowd would call out, "Who's under-
neath?" Someone who was close to the tent would say, "Son-in-law." In
general the crowd would approve and say, "That's good," the sentiment
being with the underdog, the old father-in-law. Such a quarrel would [554]
be ended when a brave or other person of high social rank put a hand
on each of the combatants and said, "I want you to stop." Out of respect
for his rank and eminence, they would separate at once and go in different
directions. Should they not respond it would be a major insult and he
would say a second time, "Didn't you hear me?" This would certainly
end the fight. Any person known to be sensitive and to dislike violence
could perform this same good office. Violence of this kind within the vil- [183]
lage or band was considered a serious social malfunction and people made
every attempt to avoid it or put a stop to it. The effort to anticipate and
prevent such situations from arising can be seen in the efforts of the wife
and sister of Fearing-a-Bear to keep a hostile father and son-in-law apart.

756
among the doctors. The errand men and their assistants received gifts of 796
calico. [574]

The Doctor Lodge was one of the most intensive group ceremonies of
the year, extending to all the people. In the three South Bands at this time, 756
each had a similar twenty-day Doctor Ceremony that they referred to 796
as Big-Sleight-of-Hand. Apparently they only lacked the serpent or wa- 184
ter monster of the Skidi, which was the special feature of the federation
of the Skidi villages.

After the Doctor Lodge, the separate animal cults that had been rep- 756
resented there should each have a three-day ceremony of its own—the 796
general one constituting a mandate for this. The ceremonial calendar
was so crowded that it was extremely difficult to find three days when all
the members would be free of other ceremonial involvements. The Bear
and Buffalo cults were large organizations with thirty to forty members,
and there were many overlappings in the personnel.

There was one private cult, however—the Deer Dance—that was en- 796
tirely outside the association. It had been imported a generation before 177
from the kindred Caddoan-speaking Wichita to the south and adapted to 535
the Pawnee ceremonial pattern. It had no obligation to the Doctor As-
sociation and was fast presenting a challenge to it for membership. Its 578
ceremony was held at a time that overlapped the Doctor Lodge, and some-
times members were spirited away from one to the other, causing con-
siderable bitterness between the leaders. The Deer Dance, also known as
Whistle Dance from the whistles the dancers blew at frequent intervals,
celebrated the maturing of the wild sage and the mescal bean. Rattlesnake
power was also part of the cult. The over-all pattern was of a Deer Lodge
in the timber. In some ways it represented a quite different system of
thought from the Doctor Association, and through it new and important
developments might have occurred in Pawnee ceremonial thinking. But
before this could be realized, its life was ended by the holocaust that over-
took the Pawnee people and their culture and their wild animal world as
white contact intensified (see p. 3).

Victory Call was the director of this cult and he was largely responsible
for its growth and success among the people. On his deathbed he [954]
accused his arch rival, Big Doctor, of causing his death through sorcery.

796 824 825 The wild sage plant continued to be a major feature of the Pawnee Deer Dance ceremonial in the performances, and the entire floor was carpeted with the plant placed radially all around with the stub ends outward and the head ends pointing inward. The symbolism of the deer was maintained in the course of the performances when the performer would jump over the fireplace, from north to south and back again, and from west to east and back again, impersonating the deer in this way. Also in his closing speech, the leader told them that their Deer Lodge was now over and they were to follow their tracks home to the timber. They left, blowing their whistles all the way home, and the blowing could be heard all over the village so that the dance was sometimes referred to as the Whistle Dance.

796 789 536 After the sixth session, the "fighting" was entirely ended and the seventh, eighth, and ninth evenings were given over to illusionist sleight-of-hand feats of considerable intricacy, and the calendar eventually became so crowded that several performers might be performing simultaneously or with their performances overlapping. The rattling and singing would be begun at the southeast station, and sometimes no one would be inspired to get up and perform until the gourds and bows had reached a subsequent station in the clockwise round. In any case, if the spectators had not yet accumulated to a sufficient degree, some of the performers felt they wanted to wait "until they got a good crowd." The ceremony of the tenth day is entirely composed of a considerable series of sleight-of-hand performances.

796 756 578 At the time when Kind Warrior was its leader, the membership of the Deer Dance was becoming so considerable and the interest so great that the leaders of Doctor Lodge felt that it might develop into a rival organization to theirs. Sometimes when members were absent from the Doctor Lodge, others would go after them and finding them in the Deer Dance, would spirit them out, causing them to bleed at the mouth and desecrating the ground of the Deer Dance Lodge which had to be spotlessly clean and fresh. This almost developed into an open contest of power, which was finally averted when the doctors sent their apologies to the Deer Dance leaders admitting they had been wrong. At that period, the two ceremonies overlapped somewhat. Kind Warrior had taken a group of his members down to the pond where he summoned up a turtle, stating that if it came to an open fight he would go into the Doctor Lodge and, locking the entryway, make their turtle fireplace come alive. A report of this threat, finally brought the apology from the doctors.

The conflict was resolved at a later time, when Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, took over after Victory Call's death as leader of the Deer Dance and entered into an agreement with the leaders of the Doctor Lodge to hold his ceremony early, right after they arrived back from the summer hunt and before the Doctor Lodge should begin.

The Deer Dance

As to the public at that time, when the conflict was imminent, some felt a test of power would be welcome between the two organizations, while others felt strongly that it should be avoided. 796 756 578

How much of the ceremony was basically a Wichita plan and how much Pawnee innovation cannot be entirely resolved, as a number of Wichitas came among the Pawnees and stayed for some time, one of them, Atskiri, remaining for three years and coaching Misery for his role as future leader of the organization. Whatever the details, by 1867, the Deer Dance had become an intricate Pawnee ceremony, following the characteristic pattern with complicated histrionic as well as conceptual features. 796 177 178

until someone in the lodge happened to get up and see him. Then he 754
went home.

The next day the woman was sick in her stomach or her intestines. It seemed she had ague. But the man who had been up the night before said, "I know who witched her. It isn't ague." When she was dying the woman said, "I see him. He has a fan before his face, but I know him. It is That-Chief!"

Many other dark deeds were attributed to That-Chief, as he was the 754
most learned man in the tribe. He was the tribal historian, high priest of 756
the sacred bundles, outstanding elk doctor, and maker of chiefs in the 578
chiefs' council. One situation was rivalry with another old man, Horse
Finder (*Huras*), who was called in on a case of illness and then super- [554]
seded by That-Chief who reversed the original treatment and substituted some of his own. Horse Finder became angry and refused to continue his treatment of the sick man.

Now each of these two men had to watch himself. Each would keep 754
careful track of the other to see if he were hovering near. He would 578
sleep with the covers over his head in fear that something would be put down his throat by the other one. Even when they just took a walk, they would have to watch carefully.

The fight was carried right into the Deer Dance. Horse Finder sat at the northwest station and That-Chief at the northeast. After the spectators had gone a private performance was held after midnight. That-Chief asked to be told where Horse Finder was (both men were blind), and then he lit his pipe in the coals of the fireplace and gave it to Horse Finder to smoke. Horse Finder took a couple of puffs and as in the normal course of events, That-Chief tried to take back the pipe, the bowl came off in his hand and the stem stuck between Horse Finder's teeth. Then That-Chief stamped his feet, first one foot and then the other. This was to stir up Horse Finder's stomach. Finally a lot of soft white feathers came out of the end of the pipe stem, and in this way That-Chief knew that he would not be able to harm Horse Finder by projecting a magical pellet of sharp object into his stomach, for the soft feathers he had inside would protect him.

Now Horse Finder got up to retaliate. He stood before That-Chief, stamping twice with each foot in alternation so that he stepped four times, saying "xi^n, xi^n, xi^n, xi^n (hee^n)," with a grunting tone. Then he said to That-Chief, "What have you been doing to my fish?" Finally everyone could see the tailbones of the fish's skeleton coming out of That-Chief's mouth. Then Horse Finder began to pull it out and the sharp rib bones of the fish cut That-Chief's mouth so that his whole

754 mouth and chest were covered with blood by the time he got it all out.
• 578 Mainly old men were present at this particular session of the Deer Dance.

796 As can be seen from this account, the "fighting" in the Deer Dance was
578 not mere formal ceremonial procedure but an expression of real hostilities between the performers. As the people watched, they understood all these interpersonal nuances and the effect of the "fighting" was something more to them than a mere show of sleight of hand, spectacular as this might be in itself at times.

75 Apparently despite their rivalry, the two old doctors, That-Chief and Horse Finder, were not above combining in a fee-splitting venture at the expense of a wealthy patient. Horse Finder would advise That-Chief that he intended to bewitch a Mr. A and that in a few days he would be sick. Mr. A got sick as expected and first his family would call in the most eminent physician they had, Big Doctor, for A was an important man. The messenger sent to get him would promise him horses, clothing, and food in payment if he would cure the patient. The doctor came in and, after hearing the symptoms, pronounced it a serious illness and very difficult to treat. He agreed to try it for two days and if there were no results he would have to leave the case to someone else. Possibly he thinks the fee offered is not generous enough. Another doctor is asked to come in, the family offering one horse, a chief's medal, blankets, and leggings. But apparently the fee is too small for this new man who feels he should get more if he is to treat an important man like Mr. A. Finally someone in the family says, "Why only one horse? After all if he dies we won't have anything!" Thus the fee is raised. The second man comes, but gives up in two days. Meanwhile the two schemers have been sitting there and stay all night with the sick man ostensibly as a friendly gesture. When the second man gives up, in desperation, the sick man's family looks about for help and their attention happens to fall on That-Chief who is right there, and they offer him three horses and a quantity of goods. After considerable maneuvers with the coaching of Horse Finder who has been the original witch, he gives the patient an emetic and there emerges one of the terrible poison pellets, the heelskin of a human corpse wrapped in buffalo wool, painted red, and tied around with horsehair. By this time, however, the parts have separated and the human skin has softened so that it has caused a lot of trouble to the victim. When this successful conclusion has been reached, That-Chief calls in four other doctors to sing and celebrate the cure. They all have a feast at midnight and go to their homes. The next night That-Chief sends his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, to call Horse Finder to his home and they discuss the final stages of the treatment, Horse Finder telling That-Chief that he should instruct the patient to have nothing but blue corn meal mush for a few

5

days until his stomach is in order. Then the other four doctors who have 75
sung with the patient are called in and perhaps one or two more, and they speak of the animals and their ways and have a ceremonial smoke and distribute the goods that That-Chief has received in payment. Of the three horses, That-Chief will give one to the owner of the earth lodge where he is living, one he will keep for himself and give one to Horse Finder. The other doctors will note his special generosity, but may explain it merely by the fact that they both have the same bundle powers. Even if they were to suspect, they would not reveal the secrets of their fellow professionals to the lay public.

The Pawnees were thus not immune to the common suspicion that 756
comes to all people in the desperation of sickness, that the doctor is not doing everything possible to cure the patient and that somehow more could have been done if the doctor had willed it.

In view of some of these rather bizarre descriptions, I questioned my 754
informant who was familiar with our methods of gathering evidence and 753
attempting to establish reasonable proof, as to what evidence people had 124
that witchcraft was at the bottom of so much death and sickness among the Pawnees. His reply in substance was that basically they just knew, no proof in our terms being possible. He said: "When men sit around talking, they would talk about these things. They would *know*, but they couldn't prove it." [521]

Rarely would the Pawnees attribute a death to our type of "natural 761
cause." With old people of little social importance, they wouldn't bother 554
to press the question but with anyone of any social position, people were concerned to place the responsibility for the death on the hostility of someone in the community. It was thought that when the person was dying, the hostile person would appear to them as a witch who was hiding his face so that the dying man had to identify him by his body. The dying man or woman would then recognize and name the person. Then the news would get around but no further action would be taken.

The Pawnees recognized that anxiety and hostility were major causes 753
of disease. From the Pawnee point of view, active witchcraft practices 754
were the culmination of sustained, interpersonal hostility and the constant fear of witchcraft represented the anxiety felt in the face of such a threat. 578

> People got sick to their stomach, or when something stuck them, got blood poisoning, or so the white people call it—but we say, "Someone witched you." Long afterwards if the man recovered, he would be sure to find out who witched him.

The reasoning here being that an important characteristic of his disease —and therefore cause—had been anxiety, and that this could be traced to

753 754 some interpersonal hostility in the community whose source he would invariably find if he searched around for it.

• 578 756 The doctor on his part, helped restore a man's confidence while he was sick, by bringing him the friendship of the animals who were entirely outside the human community and to whom he could turn in his distress. This motivation can be seen in the vision of the poor boy, Small, whose position in the human community was threatening and insecure. It was in a council of the animals that he found justice for himself and understanding of his need. He also found, however, that some of his newfound animal friends had temperaments that were prevailingly vicious like the mole and the weasel, and this was a power from outside that he could turn against the human community at his desire. The doctor, therefore, in his knowledge of animals, had a kind of power for evil as well as
756 for good that no one else possessed. "The doctors are all witches. Each one has a different way to witch as well as their other practices." Whether
754 he used this evil power depended upon the temperament of the doctor. As cited in connection with old doctor Angry Horse, "He never got sufficiently angry for that!" and so would never be using this part of his power, but the people suspected that the majority of the doctors gave way to temptation at times, particularly the most ambitious ones. The old doctors were especially suspect, of course.

578 626 554 Interpersonal hostility represented a serious threat to the Pawnee community, particularly in its influential members. As there were no formally organized codes of behavior or courts of justice among the Pawnees, a person had no recourse in the face of personal threat except the expression of public opinion which was by no means readily forthcoming and also it was effective only within the existing social power structure. If possible, self-help was the wisest course. Behaille, in the face of the hostility of Old Bull toward his admission to the chiefs' council, used the method both of exposure and at the same time of mollification at a feast.

571 578 829 626 It was far more vital for the people of the Pawnee community to have a clear estimate of the range of personalities with which they had to deal in their daily lives than it is for those of us who live in larger polities. The pressures between individuals were far more potent than they are in groups where there is a larger and more complete political structure, for beyond the known range of personalities among the Pawnees, there was only the enemy. Interpersonal difficulties might or might not get some public reaction and beyond that there was no organized social machinery to which to appeal. In the social order, therefore, the attitudes, moods and inclinations of the individuals that composed it, were far more significant for the group well-being than in a larger polity, and people kept a closer watch on these personality factors than we are accustomed to doing. They knew where "the trouble spots" were likely to be in

571

terms of interpersonal hostilities and the specific temper of the people 578
involved. Only in these terms can we understand their sensitivity to 829
these hostilities and the prevalent fear of their personal social conse- 626
quences. The "witchcraft" atmosphere was a function of this situation.
The doctors brought to bear the idea that a person could have unfailing 756
personal allies in the animal community. Thus Old-Man-That-Chief in 626
practicing his performance for the next day's session of the Deer Dance, 829
addressed the bundle of chicken-hawk feathers that he was to make come
alive in the ceremony. The bunch of feathers were lying tied up at the
ends which pointed toward the fireplace, with the tips toward That-
Chief. As he smoked he asked the feathers for their help, saying, "I want
you to help me in every way. This is my son and my grandson," who
were to assist him. By him sat his son, Herd-of-Horses, and his grandson,
Might-Be-Chief, and he passed the pipe to them in turn and pointed the
mouthpiece toward the feathers so that they might all smoke together.

Despite these psychological causes, the physical symptoms of illness 753
were correlated by the Pawnees directly with physical objects that had 754
been projected by sleight of hand into the body of the person. It was pre-
sumed that the doctor would hover about at night outside the dwelling of
his intended victim and act as he did in the Doctor Lodge to send the
object into the person. "In the old days people slept with the covers [513]
drawn up over their heads so that should they open their mouths, no
witch could put anything down into them this way."

The different deadly witch-missiles were thought to produce varying
physical symptoms. Uncomfortable and painful "movement" of the [755]
stomach was one important effect, and coughing up or vomiting was
necessary for their cure.

The procedure for preparing such pellets was attested to by Roaming 754
Leader who said that he had inadvertently been an eyewitness to such a
process.

> It was after sundown when one could barely see well and there stood That-Chief with his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, along with White Horse near a grave. They had dug it up and That-Chief was showing White Horse that one gets the tough skin of the heel of the corpse, lets it dry out flat, and then greases it with buffalo fat so that it can slide right in. Then it is wrapped up in buffalo wool and painted all over with red paint and tied up real tight and small with horse hair so that it approximates the size of a large capsule. "Then grease it well once more," he said. Now any time White Horse wanted to kill someone by witching, he knew what to do. He put the capsule in among the feathers of his eagle-wing fan, and while he was moving back and forth at the door after midnight doing his witching, he shook his fan so that the capsule flew through the air and into the victim's mouth.

887 house." She supplemented their supplies of vegetables from her own garden
from time to time, saying, "Daughter, cook this for our supper."
592 She would also have a small private stock of dried meat that she had gotten
by helping with its preparation during the hunt season, and she would
also offer this at various times when it seemed a good idea. Again there
was no regular schedule for this, nor any amount that was standard.
Grandma already rendered considerable services to the house and was
considered entitled to her "keep." She also gave substantive help with
skin working, sewing, getting firewood, special manufacturing, and so on.

The young women and girls at the west stations did minor household
462 tasks, but had a far more significant contribution to make to its ongoing.
592 They were there to please and care for a capable man who would protect
883 the people in the lodge, provide them with fresh meat by his almost daily
hunting expeditions for deer, elk, or antelope, participate in the tribal
buffalo hunts in the summer and winter each year so that they would all
have dried buffalo meat, and carry on the official interrelationships with
the community outside the household, including those with the village
officials.

582 An influential and capable man might be given one of these girls in
marriage with the understanding that her younger sisters would also be
given to him when they came of age. If he were adjudged too old, the
family was unlikely to agree to these further marriages. In the case of Old
Bull, the family of his junior wife, Clear Day, was unwilling to give him
her younger sister on this account. Fifteen years was considered a suitable
age for marriage in a girl, and eighteen for a boy. However, the probability
is remote that the couple would be of these ages respectively. First
marriages for both a boy and a girl were almost always of a "May-September"
type. A boy of eighteen was considered altogether incapable of
playing a suitable married role in a household. A man contracted a marriage
583 in terms of services he could render to the family of the girl that he
591 married. Normally he was expected to come to live in her household and
"take care of them," i.e., render them major services.

601 The son-in-law, i.e., the man married into a household, was known as
kustawixtsu," the one that is sitting among [us]." The man on his part
606 referred to his in-laws as *tatutkaku*, "I sit inside for you," that is, "I am in
the house for your benefit." The reward he receives is his wife whom he
calls *tatiraktaku*, "I own her," and she in turn refers to her husband as
tikuktaku, "he owns me." These terms are not normally used under informal
circumstances, the couple addressing each other by the common
term for spouse, *raku*, or if they are on particularly pleasant terms, the
man calls his wife *tsustit*, "old lady," and she refers to her husband as
kurahus, "old man."

58 Because of the services required on both sides, a young man would
have little alternative but to marry a capable older woman, and a young

girl who was in no position to carry the responsibilities of a mature 58 woman would normally marry a mature man. The situation finally reversed itself when, after a marriage to an older man, the woman attains maturity and the competence to maintain a household. She is now in a position to choose a handsome young man as a second husband. The young man on his part finally gains maturity at the age of forty and can sue for the hand of a young girl of fifteen and join a household where his capabilities will be appreciated. The father and father's brothers of the girl will look around for such a person for their daughter and will be glad to entertain his suit. In fact, as a young girl gained her maturity, numbers of such men would sue for her hand. The "fathers" might have some scruples about the suitors that already had a wife, chiefly because of the ill feeling it might generate between the households involved. But a man was not compelled to limit his marital relations to one woman or to one household so long as he could fulfill his obligations, i.e., provide meat for all through his exceptional talents as a hunter and horses and other luxury goods through his special ability as a warrior that could bring home booty. There was thus a certain fluidity about the marriage situation, although some marriages did last for many years.

A proper marriage was arranged with considerable formality, with spe- 583 cial acts and mutual gift-giving on the part of both families. The element that determined the most binding unions was a substantial gift of horses to the girl's family by the suitor. The amount of the gift was a mark of the esteem in which the bride was held, and, even in the 1920's, one old woman mentioned with pride from time to time that six horses were given for her. As a woman got older, a marriage involved less and less property consideration, although a man suing for the hand of a woman in her prime would be likely to give a horse to her brother or a relative who stood in an analogous relationship as a mark of his respect for her and an earnest of good faith with her family. Everyone felt that an informal liaison without some family arrangements was bound to be a passing thing.

A man's obligations to his children were to some extent independent 851 of these considerations. The Pawnees were very literal about fatherhood. For a child to be accepted in the community with any decent status, its 848 physiological father must be known. In any given month from one men- [834] strual period to the next, a woman had to confine her sexual activities to one man only, and when she was aware through the cessation of menstruation that she had conceived, she was required to notify the man and point out on what occasion of intercourse together the child was conceived. The man was then obligated, until the child reached full maturity of eighteen or more, to provide it with fresh meat in whatever household it might be residing and in other ways to be concerned with its wellbeing. A woman who departed from this iron-clad rule was unable to and antagonisms of parents who did not want their children continually away from the family hearth. Sanitary conditions in the school buildings were not the best. Bathrooms and adequate dormitory facilities to avoid crowding were not available until the summer of 1889. Dr. Phillips in his report of that year stated that he expected these changes to reduce sickness at the school. 175* 648* 657 871

The aim of instruction in the reservation school was to give the children a background which would bring them closer to the conditions of life in white communities. The boys were taught manual arts and farming, the girls housekeeping and sewing; both groups learned to read. The instruction in industrial arts was for some time not very efficient, an agent commenting in 1881 that the school was only nominally "industrial." The schooling of the girls was impeded by the tribal practice of marrying them off young, at which time they would be withdrawn from school. [581]

The general educational program of the Department of Indian Affairs began to be broadened in 1879 with the establishment of the Carlisle School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. This was the first non-reservation school for Indians. Lieut. R. H. Pratt of the United States Army, when in charge of Indian prisoners of war exiled in Florida, conceived that education was a better method of handling them than imprisonment. At the same time, it would not do to return them to their reservations. As an experiment a number were sent to Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia, a school originally established for Negro education. The trial was so successful that Pratt was able to persuade the government to establish under his charge a school for Indians exclusively. The objective in organizing non-reservation schools was to divorce Indian children completely for a term of years from the ways of life of the parental generation; it was hoped that many could in this way be persuaded to take up life in white communities altogether, and that those who did return to the reservations would become leaders in the movement to civilize their peoples. The course at Carlisle ran from three to four years. It gave practical training in the manual arts, and common schooling as far as the high school grade. In addition, the "outing" system was adopted early, by which for one term of each school year a boy or girl boarded with and worked for a white family in the east. Many became self-supporting while at school, with small bank accounts of savings. Following the example of Carlisle, other non-reservation Indian schools were soon established, Chilocco and Haskell.

Thirteen Pawnee were enrolled at Carlisle the year it was opened; a few years later the number had increased to nineteen, including

Marriage customs were attacked in two ways: legally and ethically. 175*
Toward the close of this period the government program called 648*
for an attempt on the part of officials of the Indian service to insist 657
upon civil marriage under the laws of the United States, to oppose 581
wife-purchase and the marriage of the young girls, to register civilly the marriages of those living together in accordance with old customs, and to oppose easy separation and divorce. Since the individual men and women were becoming possessors of private property in the form of land, houses, stock and implements, by controlling the inheritance of estates in terms of the white man's law, and refusing to recognize "wives" not legally married, the program began to have an effect. After 1883 missionaries of the Home [797]
Missionary Society and the Methodist Episcopal Church worked in the tribe, and developed a small congregation of church members. The missionary influence was brought to bear against the Pawnee marriage usages from a moral angle. The agent cooperated with the missionaries in persuading the Pawnee to go through a Christian marriage ceremony as well as to secure a legal certificate. By 1890 officials claimed in their reports that the Pawnee were regularly seeking the missionary to perform the marriage ceremony for them; that by prompt action they had prevented all cases which came to their attention of "selling girls for ponies"; and that while polygyny had not been stamped out, there were no new cases of a wife being taken where the man already had a wife. A final claim was that divorces were unknown, or rare, which is to be doubted.

The dancing, gambling and feasting to which the tribe was 175*
addicted were marked out as dissipations contributing to indolence. 648*
and the agent by the most active measures at his command attempted 657
to prevent social gatherings for such purposes as much as possible. 796
In June 1891 the agent was surprised that the tribe assembled for a dance (probably a ceremony); he ordered it stopped at once and told the people to go to their homes and attend to their work. He could not however enforce his commands, and while some did go, most remained and carried out the dance. Such social affairs kept the people away from their farms for long periods, and the crops were neglected. In the old days the Pawnee methods of cultivation [805
were adjusted to their calendric rituals, and by June, when the
time for the hunt and summer ceremonies came, the crops were 227]
"laid by"; the tribe was not yet adjusted to intensive cultivation, involving constant care.

The conflict with the Pawnee medicine men was long and difficult. 175*
The government was determined to destroy their power 648*
over the people, and to persuade the Pawnee to depend on the 657
756

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

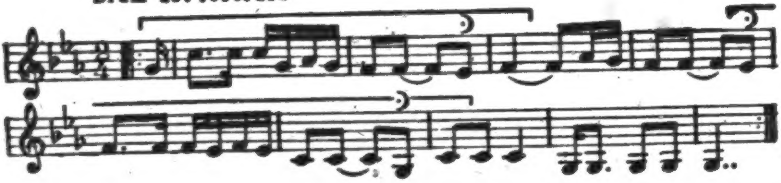
measure were changed to conform to different words but the duration 533*
of the measure remained the same. The song contains 19 intervals,
10 of which are whole tones and 5 are fourths.

No. 67. "My Trust is in Mother Corn"

(Catalogue No. 1089)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 52
Drum not recorded



SONGS OF AFFECTION 533*

Songs rising from deep affection and respect were occasionally 554
sung by Indians in the old times, and might be concerning persons 593
who had been married for many years. The distinction between these
and the modern "love song" is clearly drawn by the Indians and is
evident from the words of the songs. The Sioux said that in old
times they had a few songs concerning a man's qualification to wed, [581] ●
this being determined by his success in war or on the buffalo hunt.[31]
Otter Woman, an aged widow of the Mandan Tribe, recorded songs
of loneliness for her husband, and two very old songs expressing a
gentle longing. These were sung by young girls when at work in the
gardens and are as delicate as the little plants which they tended so
carefully.[32] The cause of the change from these songs of respectful
affection to the modern "love song" is found in the general change
from primitive customs.

In former times the marriages of young people were either arranged 584
by the parents or subject to parental approval. A period of transi- 533*
tion began when the young people refused to recognize parental author-
ity in the matter of their affections. This led to clandestine meetings.
A few songs of this period were recorded among the Sioux, one con-
taining the words "If you are truthful, come. Walks Visibly (woman's
name) has said this."[33] The words of modern Indian love songs 533*
usually express a lack of respect for women, and often boast of fas- 832
cinations and conquests. They are connected with intoxication and are [273]
sung by young men of no standing among their own people. Many

---

[31] Teton Sioux Music, p. 370.

[32] Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 54-57.

[33] Teton Sioux Music, p. 510.

early intimacy would ultimately end in a marriage according to the 836
rites of the tribe, but the girl was not allowed to exercise much choice [582]
in the selection of a husband.

Occasionally it happened that a boy and girl eluded the vigilance
of the parents and lay together. If detected, this was at once
checked. Should the girl become pregnant as a result of their union,
and should the girl's relatives be predisposed to the boy and think
him likely to become a good husband, he was asked to marry her.
The relatives of the young man gathered together and sent presents [584]
of ponies, robes, blankets, and other things to the girl's parents, and
the two young people were married. If the boy was not considered 836
suitable, however, two men were sent to his lodge and he was severely 684
beaten, and on rare occasions died as a result of the punishment. 578
During the beating, tribal custom decreed that the boy's relatives
must not defend him. The young man's parents sometimes tried
to heal the breach between the two families by offering presents
to the parents of the injured girl. If the girl's relatives refused to
accept the boy for a son-in-law, they attempted to secure a husband
for her, which was often a matter of great difficulty. Sometimes the
girl refused to tell the name of the boy who had seduced her and was
driven from her own lodge, in which case she generally went to the
boy's lodge and tried to live there; if they drove her out, she might [548]
be forced to live on the outskirts of the village as a prostitute. Often
if a boy knew that he was about to be held responsible for betraying a
girl he would run away, especially to follow a war party. Occasionally [721]
a couple, realizing their union would displease their relatives,
eloped to some other village. The illicit sexual relations of young
people often resulted in family disputes and conflicts involving most
of the relatives on both sides.

MARRIAGE

Marriage among the Skidi was not entered into lightly or at an 581
early age. The marriage tie was said to be enduring and faithfulness
was expected and demanded. Skidi villages tended to be endogamous 582
and a man married a woman of his own village, to whom he was
not related by close ties of blood. Marriage with a first cousin was
forbidden and marriage with a second cousin, though tolerated,
was not considered proper.

Courtship as we understand it did not play a very important 584
part in marriages among the higher class of Skidi. In fact, no friendship
that might have been formed between a young couple ever
resulted in legal marriage unless the proper relatives of both sides

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*175 Pawnee medicine men did effect relief and cures in many cases, and
*648 that the sure way to bring the tribe to faith in white man's medi-
657 cine was to prove its superiority. We may judge from this the
efficiency of much of the treatment afforded the Pawnee for years.

164 In 1890 Dr. Phillips ascribed some part of Pawnee ailments to the
fact that at feasts many gorged themselves and then lay dormant
for two or three days, tending to derange the proper functioning
of the digestive system. The Pawnee habits of eating went back
to a time when an active, roving life made heavy eating a necessity.
Without the hunt, without warfare, the men were confined, inactive
[462] and indolent. Farming was not yet an adequate substitute.
Without skinworking, and the activities of camp life and the
march, the women were limited to housework and household duties.
The change of daily routine was severe and called for a difficult
constitutional adjustment.

● 582 The question of inbreeding deserves brief comment. Pawnee
marriage customs did involve the mating of kin at a certain
621 distance removed. In their old life, families who were the proud
possessers of sacred and esoteric lore attempted to retain control
of these things by regulating intermarriage. The bands had been
for the most part endogamous, and intermarriage with other tribes
[162] was infrequent. On the average a band numbered no more than
2,500. The inbreeding, however, seems not to have had ill effects
until inheritable weaknesses of a major sort were among the tribe.

*175 As the years passed, the Pawnee came to look to the government
*648 physicians more and more for help when sick. Their medicine men
were unable to cope with the illnesses which afflicted them. In a
657 few outstanding cases, such as the use of quinine for malarial
fevers, the white man's medicine had "power."

*175 The educational program was neither more efficient nor more
successful for many years than the development of farms and homes.
*648 The Pawnee Industrial Boarding School on the Pawnee Reser-
657 vation in Nebraska suspended operations at the time of removal. The
871 funds saved were applied to the erection of a new brick school
building on the Oklahoma reservation. This was not in operation
until several years after the tribe located in Indian Territory. Its
facilities were severely inadequate. Not more than one-fourth of
the Pawnee children of school age could be accomodated. As
a result, officials were not able to enforce treaty provisions; they
could not compel continuous attendance even of those registered
for schooling, since they could not provide facilities. There was
a move to organize a day school, which would not only make
provision for fifty additional pupils, but would obviate the objection

*175 chiefs, priests and medicine men, and the customs of marriage and
*648 divorce, were directly opposed by officials. That the chiefs were
finally losing power was not however, a result either of the official
178 opposition, or altogether of the breaking up of the band villages; it
622 flowed more directly from the gradual introduction of individualized
657 property control. The traditional native view of a chief was that he was the "father" of his people, who must see to the well-being of every individual in the tribe. To do so the chief had to be able to control a larger quantity of property than the average individual in order to give and help wherever it was necessary. This he accomplished through his individual prowess on the war path and the hunt. But in addition, tribespeople who valued him as chief and leader contributed to his resources in order to aid him to maintain himself and succor his people. Individual ownership of homes and farms not only made individuals materially independent of the chief and tribe, but reduced the chief to a property equality with his tribespeople, making it impossible for him to continue the customs of paternal generosity which tradition commended to him. Without being able to give to and help the poor and distraught, the chief not only lost respect and self-respect, but he was unable to prove his supernatural right to leadership, or that fortune was with him, that the powers of the universe were on his side, and through him were guiding the people.

The agents did not understand this. They felt merely that the chief had power to command so long as the people lived clustered together around him. They expressed in their reports the hope that recognition of chiefs by the Department of Indian Affairs would become a memory.

*175 The polygynous marriage customs of the Pawnee, based primarily
*648 on the sororate or marriage of younger sisters of the wife, were not
657 interfered with up to 1881. Along with the way in which marriage
was arranged by the parents without consulting the young people,
595 and the ceremony itself, involving a transfer of horses and other
property. Pawnee polygyny was, however, consistently considered
reprehensible by officials. Polygyny as well as first marriages in-
● [582] volved girls who were very young, often fourteen or fifteen. These were withdrawn from school at once, and as it was impossible to carry out an educational program which would send girls of such a tender age into the tribal life as civilizing influences, the practice of marrying them so young destroyed the efficiency of the school
[586] as an instrument of civilization. Divorce by mutual consent was a custom of the Pawnee, which involved a looseness of marital relations from the white standpoint.

II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE

The Skidi formed one of the four bands comprising the Pawnee 619
tribe, the others being the Chaui, the Kitkehahki, and the Pitahauirat. 621
[In the manuscript the Skidi are spoken of as a tribe. [101]
However, I have followed more recent usage and substituted the
term band, reserving tribe for the Pawnee as a whole (Lesser, 1933).]
The Skidi, however, considered themselves independent and actually
felt closer to the Arikara than to the other three Pawnee bands.
Politically the Skidi were a federation of villages, of which at least
thirteen are known to have existed, though there were probably
others which have been forgotten. The federation was held together
by a governing council of chiefs and by a ceremonial organization [623]
involving the participation of the band in a round of ceremonies
associated with sacred bundles.

The village was a distinct local group consisting of a cluster of 621
earth-lodges housing the component families. Each village possessed 361
its own fields, whose ownership was allotted among the villagers by 622
the chief, a supposed lineal descendant of the original owner of the 423
sacred bundle of the village. [I am inclined to believe that the chief
allotted the use of the fields rather than their ownership.] On the
death of an individual, his land was re-allotted by the chief. Each
village also had its own burial ground in which were buried only
those belonging to the village.

In principle the village was endogamous. Since the Pawnee 621
moved to Oklahoma the old restriction on marriage has been gradually 582
disappearing. This is due to the fact that the population of
certain villages has dwindled and it is no longer possible for the few [178]
remaining individuals of some villages to obtain mates within their
own village. Even in this breaking down of the system, however,
the old fashion of reckoning descent is maintained. Thus, in the 611
marriage of a man from Big-Elk village with a woman of Little-Elk
village, the children would belong to Big-Elk village. [However,
according to the manuscript, both these villages were extinct by
1907.] An exception to this general rule is at the present time [1907] [184]
under consideration among the Skidi. Mr. Murie's son, now about
of age, properly belongs by the laws of the tribe to the Village-on-the-Hill,
that being the village of his father. His mother, however,
belongs to the Pumpkin-Vine village and her brother, Skidi-Good-Chief,
is the last representative of that village. To prevent the
village from becoming extinct, Skidi-Good-Chief has asked per-

611 mission to have young Murie take his place in the ceremonial circuit in the lodge with the understanding that he be made chief on the death of Skidi-Good-Chief, thus continuing the Pumpkin-Vine village in the circuit.

621 582 591 428 778 A marriage outside the village occurred about sixty years ago [sixty years prior to 1907], and, as the result bears directly on the question of descent, the facts are worth quoting. A man of the Pumpkin-Vine village, having obtained the consent of his uncles, married a young woman of the Morning-Star village. He lived with his wife in the Morning-Star village for several years, during which time he made sacrifices to the Morning-Star bundle and learned its ceremony. Then he returned to his own village and took his children with him, the children being considered members of the Pumpkin-Vine village. But while living in the Morning-Star village he was considered to have obtained certain rights in that bundle, and he demanded recognition of these rights. On his return to his own village, the Morning-Star bundle was divided, and he carried part of it to the Pumpkin-Vine village. Thus, there exist today two Morning-Star bundles. The ultimate fate of his half of the Morning-Star bundle is interesting. His children all died except one daughter, who married Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village [Wolves-Standing-in-Water village?], who claims ownership in the bundle today. She came by it in this manner: On the death of the husband—that is, the member of the Pumpkin-Vine village—his widow lived with her daughter's husband; she, as keeper of this Morning-Star bundle, ultimately turned it over to her daughter, whose husband, Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village, learned its ceremony and sacrificed scalps to it and so claimed it. Thus it happens today that the priests of Coyote-in-Water village and the Pumpkin-Vine village have a right to be present when either of the Morning-Star bundles is opened.

611 421 778 114 [This statement that descent in the village group followed the paternal line is in direct contradiction to a later one by Murie. In his report on Pawnee societies (1914), Murie wrote: "... if a man married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village." The contradiction may be due to confusing the inheritance of sacred bundles, which generally followed the paternal line, and descent in a village group, which may well have been maternal. Also, in cases where the inheritance of a sacred bundle was involved, the pattern of descent might have been modified in favor of patri-

early intimacy would ultimately end in a marriage according to the 836
rites of the tribe, but the girl was not allowed to exercise much choice [582]
in the selection of a husband.

Occasionally it happened that a boy and girl eluded the vigilance
of the parents and lay together. If detected, this was at once
checked. Should the girl become pregnant as a result of their union,
and should the girl's relatives be predisposed to the boy and think
him likely to become a good husband, he was asked to marry her.
The relatives of the young man gathered together and sent presents [584]
of ponies, robes, blankets, and other things to the girl's parents, and
the two young people were married. If the boy was not considered 836
suitable, however, two men were sent to his lodge and he was severely 684
beaten, and on rare occasions died as a result of the punishment. 578
During the beating, tribal custom decreed that the boy's relatives
must not defend him. The young man's parents sometimes tried
to heal the breach between the two families by offering presents
to the parents of the injured girl. If the girl's relatives refused to
accept the boy for a son-in-law, they attempted to secure a husband
for her, which was often a matter of great difficulty. Sometimes the
girl refused to tell the name of the boy who had seduced her and was
driven from her own lodge, in which case she generally went to the [548]
boy's lodge and tried to live there; if they drove her out, she might
be forced to live on the outskirts of the village as a prostitute. Often
if a boy knew that he was about to be held responsible for betraying a [721]
girl he would run away, especially to follow a war party. Occasionally
a couple, realizing their union would displease their relatives,
eloped to some other village. The illicit sexual relations of young
people often resulted in family disputes and conflicts involving most
of the relatives on both sides.

MARRIAGE

Marriage among the Skidi was not entered into lightly or at an 581
early age. The marriage tie was said to be enduring and faithfulness
was expected and demanded. Skidi villages tended to be endogamous
and a man married a woman of his own village, to whom he was 582
not related by close ties of blood. Marriage with a first cousin was
forbidden and marriage with a second cousin, though tolerated,
was not considered proper.

Courtship as we understand it did not play a very important 584
part in marriages among the higher class of Skidi. In fact, no friendship
that might have been formed between a young couple ever
resulted in legal marriage unless the proper relatives of both sides

584 favored the match, and opportunities for young people of different sexes to come together were often made as difficult as possible by the parents. Not only did the young man and woman as a rule play but a secondary part in their marriage arrangements, but also the girl's parents had little to say as to whether or not a prospective suitor should be accepted. The decision in the matter rested entirely with the girl's mother's brother. Should the girl have no uncle, or should he not be available, the question was decided by her brothers or her grandfathers. On the other side, the prospective husband also played a rather insignificant part in the selection of his mate, nor did his father have anything to say. The choice of the young man's wife was decided by his mother's brother. Thus his maternal uncle or uncles selected the wife, made application for her, and arranged the marriage with her maternal uncles. If a young man was not pleased with the girl chosen for him he often ran away from home to escape the marriage, remaining away for one or two years. As for the girl, her opinion carried little weight and she was not in a position to help herself. If she were disinclined to accept the decision of her mother's brother, her mother endeavored to persuade her to do so.

584
● 582 No uncle in a prominent Skidi family would select as a wife for his nephew any girl who bore a bad reputation for immodesty or lack of chastity. Rather, she should be known for her honesty and ability to work. Girls were not often married before twenty-two years of age, though when a man married several sisters in a family, those after the first one might be chosen when they were sixteen years old. A young man was not considered fit for marriage until he had reached maturity, killed buffalo, gone on at least one war expedition, and shown success in capturing ponies. After he had fulfilled these requirements, his uncle would inform him that it was time he should marry and that he had selected a wife for him; or the young man would tell his uncle of his readiness for marriage and that he favored a certain young woman, in which case the uncle, if he had no objection, would endeavor to arrange the marriage.

585
[554] The wedding ceremony itself was very formal among the more prominent families, such as those of chiefs and priests, though among people of inferior social standing it was largely a matter of convenience and much of the formality was dispensed with. The following account furnishes an example of the formal wedding service. When the preliminaries had been arranged, the young man and his mother's brother sent for the priest of the sacred bundle of their village. On being notified, the priest and his oldest errand man went

602 tain that the children of brothers are brothers and sisters to each other, and that the children of two sisters are the same, but about the children of a brother and a sister I could not ascertain. There is no term for [601] aunt, therefore a father's sister is a mother, and probably her son is a brother, but on this point I could not make any certain [115] progress. Col. Peter A. Sarpy of St. Marys told me that the father's sister was a grand ● [582] mother, and a man could marry this grand mother. If there is no aunt, then a woman has no nephew and niece, and a woman's brother's son is her grand son. But the mother's brother is an uncle, and consequently a man has a nephew and niece. I think I can nearly write out this system, but at all events I feel sure Mr. Allis will be able to do it for me with the aid I shall now be able to give him.

123 I stayed with this pleasant family which consists of a mother, two sons and one grown daughter and also an orphan girl brought up by them, and the Pawnee woman besides the Rev. Samuel Allis now absent as before stated. They refused compensation for my entertainment, and I left them Friday morning to return to Mr. Hamilton at Bellevue, well pleased with my visit: I am 114 to write to Mr. Allis on my return, and to [125] send him a schedule and they say he will attend to it for me.

I returned about three o'clock, June 8, to Bellevue, and shall remain here until Saturday morning when I go up to Omaha to meet the boat on which I am to return to Rulo, where I shall make a desperate effort for the Blackfoot and the Sheyenne and also try at Omaha again for the Pawnee.

[P90 (B)]

887 house." She supplemented their supplies of vegetables from her own garden from time to time, saying, "Daughter, cook this for our supper." 592 She would also have a small private stock of dried meat that she had gotten by helping with its preparation during the hunt season, and she would also offer this at various times when it seemed a good idea. Again there was no regular schedule for this, nor any amount that was standard. Grandma already rendered considerable services to the house and was considered entitled to her "keep." She also gave substantive help with skin working, sewing, getting firewood, special manufacturing, and so on.

The young women and girls at the west stations did minor household 462 tasks, but had a far more significant contribution to make to its ongoing. 592 They were there to please and care for a capable man who would protect 883 the people in the lodge, provide them with fresh meat by his almost daily hunting expeditions for deer, elk, or antelope, participate in the tribal buffalo hunts in the summer and winter each year so that they would all have dried buffalo meat, and carry on the official interrelationships with the community outside the household, including those with the village officials.

582 An influential and capable man might be given one of these girls in marriage with the understanding that her younger sisters would also be given to him when they came of age. If he were adjudged too old, the family was unlikely to agree to these further marriages. In the case of Old Bull, the family of his junior wife, Clear Day, was unwilling to give him her younger sister on this account. Fifteen years was considered a suitable age for marriage in a girl, and eighteen for a boy. However, the probability is remote that the couple would be of these ages respectively. First marriages for both a boy and a girl were almost always of a "May–September" type. A boy of eighteen was considered altogether incapable of playing a suitable married role in a household. A man contracted a mar- 583 riage in terms of services he could render to the family of the girl that he 591 married. Normally he was expected to come to live in her household and "take care of them," i.e., render them major services.

601 The son-in-law, i.e., the man married into a household, was known as *kustawixtsu*," the one that is sitting among [us]." The man on his part 606 referred to his in-laws as *tatutkaku*, "I sit inside for you," that is, "I am in the house for your benefit." The reward he receives is his wife whom he calls *tatiraktaku*, "I own her," and she in turn refers to her husband as *tikuktaku*, "he owns me." These terms are not normally used under informal circumstances, the couple addressing each other by the common term for spouse, *raku*, or if they are on particularly pleasant terms, the man calls his wife *tsustit*, "old lady," and she refers to her husband as *kurahus*, "old man."

58 Because of the services required on both sides, a young man would have little alternative but to marry a capable older woman, and a young

3

PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: II

000

Marriage Arrangements—Chart of Kin Genealogical Structure—Personal Relationships among Kin—Individual Aspirations Expressed in Names—Brief Sketches of Eleven Pawnee Lives—the Kin System Not a Constricting Mold but a Fluid System for the Individual Personality

Marriage and Kin

621 [582] According to Pawnee theory, all marriages should be made within one's own village, for to marry outside would be considered a poor risk, contrary to the cosmic plan. The sacred bundle and its ritual epitomized the special heavenly order under which the villagers lived, and an outsider would have no place within this order. As a result, the village was in fact a large extended family, geographically localized.

582 However, within this general family connection the lines as to whom one could and could not marry were very sharply drawn. The careful identification of the physiological father as well as of the mother was an important aspect of this plan. The kinship system was designed to avoid the marriage or sexual involvement of close blood relatives. Marriages of parents and children, brothers and sisters, both half- and full-sisters and brothers, were definitely excluded. Beyond this rather universal type of incest ruling, there were other principles which governed these relationships among the Pawnees. 611 The family was primarily matrilineal—that is, the mother's family was regarded as one's very own family, while that of the father and his relatives was considered a different order of relationship.

593 604 As I have already pointed out, a man always had a home in his sister's

562 specialization of labor developed, the Pawnees would have developed a social hierarchy of occupations of which India is a supreme example.

602 It is all too easy, having analyzed a social structure, to give it a certain rigidity and permanence that it does not have among the people themselves. Definite as the Pawnee kinship system may seem, in operation it permitted a wide area of alternative behavior for the individual.

The question of kin lines came up in a substantive way whenever a
582 marriage was being arranged. As this involved the acquisition of property
602 by some of the relatives and the establishment of social contacts for
others, there was always a certain variation in the individual interests. The first question asked in relation to the proposed marriage was whether the partners were so closely related that there was too great biological closeness. If it was decided by the assembled father's brothers that they were definitely outside the incest group, then the degree of distance would be discussed. One man who favored the marriage for his own personal reasons would say, "As I see it, they can be reckoned child and grandchild, and, although the relationship is a close one through the mother's line, it is a good thing for marriages to be kept within the family, as they will share each other's interests." Another, not in favor of the match for his own reasons would state, "True, they are child and grandchild through the mother's line, but it's a disadvantage for marriages to be made too closely within the kin grouping, as any quarrel between the couple will quickly spread to the whole kindred. I think so and so who is more distantly related would be more desirable on this account." Then someone else might counter with, "Well, while one might say the couple are related through the mother's line in such and such a manner, from another point of view, looking further back, there is still another kin category that should take precedence, and I think they are not so closely related that this latter argument should be involved." And so it continued until they came to terms. But these terms were by no means fixed by what the outsider might consider *the* rules.

602 Another common occasion where the kinship factor came up was at
the time of the tribal hunts. While they were on the march, there was an
592 attempt to improve one's connection in a better household or in a more
advantageous position, and a request to join such a household when they got home was backed up with a genealogical discussion as to how close the kinship was to an important member of the desired household through various alternative kin lines.

602 And finally it was also possible to disown one's relatives, no matter
how close they might be. Long-standing hostilities might grow up over
time and finally give rise to coldness between even the closest kin. A kin
tie, in order to be effective, had to be validated in a number of ways or it
602 might in fact lapse. The most elementary condition was the use of the kin
601 term as a greeting. This could be done with more or less enthusiasm or

his nephew, etc., as the case might be. A man would feel free to issue the 574 invitation if he had gotten some meat by hunting or bought some supplies at the trade store. Otherwise the invitation would come from the woman, since she would be providing the food. However, when guests 574 came in at the husband's invitation in order to transact some business 431 or political affairs, the husband had the right to ask the wife to cook something for his guests. If one were simply to "drop in" on a relative without a business reason or an invitation, it would appear as a hint that you wanted a gift or some other service. In order to forestall this impression, one came bringing a gift, opening the visit with the presentation and thus making it appear as the ostensible reason for the visit. The nature and value of the gift was to some extent an index of the regard the donor felt for the recipient.

On the whole, kin ties called forth strong emotions, especially in the 602 presence of a stranger. Where strangers and kin were involved, kin 609 loyalty aroused immediate reactions and was very strong. Outside the kin group it was assumed that people must be mean, unreliable, and treacherous. The household and immediate kin was the closest unit and the village pretty much the outer limit. Intervillage ties did exist, however, and 628 occasionally intervillage marriages. As the population began to dwindle 582 in the last years in Nebraska, such intermarriages became more frequent than heretofore.

Personal Names and Aspirations

A person was never addressed by his personal name; a kin term was 551 always used. This served to indicate the expected behavior and, through [601] the mode of its use, the nuances that could be expected within the category. A personal name among the Pawnees was of an entirely different character from our own. It was an honorary title of an extremely personal nature. The significance of the personal name was stated by a priest (see Fletcher, 1904, p. 365) as follows:

> A man's life is an onward movement. . . . If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the help of the powers, his life will "climb up." . . . Some men can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level. Men having power to advance, climb step by step. . . . the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life, an upper level—such a one as reached by the ancient men who are spoken of in the (name-changing) ritual, who threw away the names by which they had been known before (because of new and higher achievements). *Ru-tur-a-wits-pari*, "In a direction-he is actively-moving-to a point or goal-traveling"; this is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by doing like deeds.

159 593 622 fuse the call saying, "I'm a drunkard and have many other faults. I can't be a chief." To other men, Grieves-the-Enemy was gruff, even to priests, but not to the chiefs. Even her grown son, she ordered about. She would send him off to get a bucket of water and he would feel obliged to do as she said. Not that she was "mannish" in any way. She wasn't. Among the Skidis, this old lady was a person of note.

159 603 She was raising her grandson, Yellow Calf, whose mother had died and whose father, High Noon, had married into another household. She contributed many invaluable services to the household, and she and Otter's grandma liked each other and cooperated well together.

[551] Otter's grandmother was Old-Lady-Chase-the-Enemy. Her name, *Tsak-ta-hira'as*, "woman-them-chased-ahead," i.e., "chase the enemy ahead of the line of battle," was given to her by her brave sons in honor of a gallant war deed they had performed, chasing the enemy way ahead of the line of battle. All six of them were killed in battle by the Poncas, and she would think sadly of their death, "If my sons had lived they would have taken care of me." "But," said Otter, "in our household we didn't think of her as a burden. She was my own grandma who used to take care of me and we took care of her." Otter's grandmother was a very old woman. In fact, she was his great-great-grandmother, once removed. She was the sister of White Woman's own great-grandmother and accordingly, White Woman called her *atira*, and she was thus a grandmother to Otter. He would call her *atika*, "grandmother," having no consciousness that in fact she [582] was two generations beyond his mother's mother. Marriage at the age of fourteen or fifteen for girls made it quite feasible to be a great-great-grandmother between the ages of sixty-five and seventy. She may have been seventy-five at the time. Being in the mother's line, she was considered a particularly close relative. That she was a satisfactory grandmother to Otter there can be no doubt. When they walked out together, people would say to her, "That's your husband. He always watches his wife. They can't be parted." And Otter would retort, "Well I have to watch her. She might run away!"

Otter said the following of his grandmother:

> Grandma was left-handed and they would sometimes speak of her as *Tskusaski*, "Lefty-woman." She would do everything for me—grease my feet when they chapped and cracked, get me food at night. I wouldn't bother others to do these things. She would do anything in the way of work. She was very saving as she knew how hard it was to get anything. She wasted nothing as she felt hard times might come some time. I guess she was like some white women who don't waste anything, putting everything into the kettle. She would cook anything and make it taste good—turkey feet and some field corn that she had made into hominy—she

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you) 539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuustara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tihi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562
fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the house-
hold routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [584]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 885
occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 525
ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de-
velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi [[illegible]7]
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521
[797]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

6

honesty. No such meaning attaches to the Indian equivalent of this 72
phrase. They take horses by stratagem or secretly, by the usual, and to them legitimate, methods of warfare. To speak of their stealing horses, using that verb in the sense which we commonly give it, would be like saying that an army stole the cannon which it captured in an engagement with the enemy. Captured horses were the legitimate spoils [556]
of war. The wealth of the Indians was in their horses. They had no fortified places, no ships of war, no cannon, no works of art. Their only valuable possessions were their horses. These were the only property that could be carried off. Therefore, when an expedition was made against a hostile tribe, scalps and horses were naturally its object. Horses, being their only valuable possessions, constituted their 436
medium of exchange, so far as they had any. Did a man wish to 231
purchase an ornament, or an article of dress which took his fancy, he gave a horse for it. If he bought a wife he paid for her in horses. [583] ●
The most valuable present that could be made was a good horse; and horses were often given by the well-to-do to their friends and relations who had been sick or unfortunate. On the other hand, when, as was sometimes the case, a conquered tribe was condemned to pay a war [728]
indemnity, they paid it in horses. It is related that when the Skidi broke their treaty with the other bands, and were afterward conquered by them, they were obligated to pay such a fine.

This view of Indian warfare being understood, the motive of the 538
hero stories here given, and of many of the folk-tales, becomes plain.

The Pawnees are essentially a religious people. They worship 771
Ti-ra´-wa, who is in and of everything. Unlike many of the Indian 776
tribes of the West, they do not adore any material thing. They regard certain places as sacred, but these are so only because blessed by the Divine presence. The Pawnee Deity is not personified. He is intangible, quite as much so as the God of the Christians. The sacred character of *Ti-ra´-wa* extends to animal nature. The fishes which swim in the rivers, the birds of the air and the beasts which roam over the prairie, have sometimes intelligence, knowledge and power far beyond those of man. But they are not gods. Their miraculous attributes are given them by the Ruler, whose servants they are, and who often makes them the medium of his communications to man. They are his messengers—his angels—and their powers are always used for good.

887 house." She supplemented their supplies of vegetables from her own garden
592 from time to time, saying, "Daughter, cook this for our supper." She would also have a small private stock of dried meat that she had gotten by helping with its preparation during the hunt season, and she would also offer this at various times when it seemed a good idea. Again there was no regular schedule for this, nor any amount that was standard. Grandma already rendered considerable services to the house and was considered entitled to her "keep." She also gave substantive help with skin working, sewing, getting firewood, special manufacturing, and so on.

462 The young women and girls at the west stations did minor household tasks, but had a far more significant contribution to make to its ongoing.
592 They were there to please and care for a capable man who would protect
883 the people in the lodge, provide them with fresh meat by his almost daily hunting expeditions for deer, elk, or antelope, participate in the tribal buffalo hunts in the summer and winter each year so that they would all have dried buffalo meat, and carry on the official interrelationships with the community outside the household, including those with the village officials.

582 An influential and capable man might be given one of these girls in marriage with the understanding that her younger sisters would also be given to him when they came of age. If he were adjudged too old, the family was unlikely to agree to these further marriages. In the case of Old Bull, the family of his junior wife, Clear Day, was unwilling to give him her younger sister on this account. Fifteen years was considered a suitable age for marriage in a girl, and eighteen for a boy. However, the probability is remote that the couple would be of these ages respectively. First marriages for both a boy and a girl were almost always of a "May–September" type. A boy of eighteen was considered altogether incapable of playing a suitable married role in a household. A man contracted a marriage
583 in terms of services he could render to the family of the girl that he
591 married. Normally he was expected to come to live in her household and "take care of them," i.e., render them major services.

601 The son-in-law, i.e., the man married into a household, was known as *kustawixtsu*," the one that is sitting among [us]." The man on his part
606 referred to his in-laws as *tatutkaku*, "I sit inside for you," that is, "I am in the house for your benefit." The reward he receives is his wife whom he calls *tatiraktaku*, "I own her," and she in turn refers to her husband as *tikuktaku*, "he owns me." These terms are not normally used under informal circumstances, the couple addressing each other by the common term for spouse, *raku*, or if they are on particularly pleasant terms, the man calls his wife *tsustit*, "old lady," and she refers to her husband as *kurahus*, "old man."

58 Because of the services required on both sides, a young man would have little alternative but to marry a capable older woman, and a young

girl who was in no position to carry the responsibilities of a mature 58
woman would normally marry a mature man. The situation finally reversed itself when, after a marriage to an older man, the woman attains maturity and the competence to maintain a household. She is now in a position to choose a handsome young man as a second husband. The young man on his part finally gains maturity at the age of forty and can sue for the hand of a young girl of fifteen and join a household where his capabilities will be appreciated. The father and father's brothers of the girl will look around for such a person for their daughter and will be glad to entertain his suit. In fact, as a young girl gained her maturity, numbers of such men would sue for her hand. The "fathers" might have some scruples about the suitors that already had a wife, chiefly because of the ill feeling it might generate between the households involved. But a man was not compelled to limit his marital relations to one woman or to one household so long as he could fulfill his obligations, i.e., provide meat for all through his exceptional talents as a hunter and horses and other luxury goods through his special ability as a warrior that could bring home booty. There was thus a certain fluidity about the marriage situation, although some marriages did last for many years.

A proper marriage was arranged with considerable formality, with spe- 583
cial acts and mutual gift-giving on the part of both families. The element that determined the most binding unions was a substantial gift of horses to the girl's family by the suitor. The amount of the gift was a mark of the esteem in which the bride was held, and, even in the 1920's, one old woman mentioned with pride from time to time that six horses were given for her. As a woman got older, a marriage involved less and less property consideration, although a man suing for the hand of a woman in her prime would be likely to give a horse to her brother or a relative who stood in an analogous relationship as a mark of his respect for her and an earnest of good faith with her family. Everyone felt that an informal liaison without some family arrangements was bound to be a passing thing.

A man's obligations to his children were to some extent independent 851
of these considerations. The Pawnees were very literal about fatherhood. 848
For a child to be accepted in the community with any decent status, its
physiological father must be known. In any given month from one men- [834]
strual period to the next, a woman had to confine her sexual activities to one man only, and when she was aware through the cessation of menstruation that she had conceived, she was required to notify the man and point out on what occasion of intercourse together the child was conceived. The man was then obligated, until the child reached full maturity of eighteen or more, to provide it with fresh meat in whatever household it might be residing and in other ways to be concerned with its well-being. A woman who departed from this iron-clad rule was unable to

children were quick and eager to learn, and the results promising. 175*
By the next year, the chief handicap to the education of the girls 177
began to come to attention. In the old traditional way of life girls 648*
were married off by their parents when about fourteen or fifteen. 657
Family considerations were usually paramount and neither the [584]
girl nor the boy was officially consulted. Now the teacher found that girls of fourteen were being taken away from the school to be married. The agent was in no position to enforce the compulsory education which was stipulated in the treaty of 1857, since the government had as yet provided meager and inadequate facilities for schooling, with a handful of children at school out of a population including many hundreds of school age.

The boys meanwhile were getting ahead. For the first time, in 1863, the school teacher was able to clip off their scalp locks without their attempting to conceal the change under hats. The boys were learning manual arts, were enjoying the work and activity and were unashamed to be seen at labor by older and conservative tribesmen.

The third year of the school, 1864, was an unfortunate one.
Epidemics of measles and diptheria broke out in the school, and [165]
carried off a number of children. The children seem to have offered little resistance to these diseases and those who recovered were low in vitality for some time, and subject to other ailments. The school teacher found himself handicapped by the fact that parents began taking away from school the children who had been there since its inception. While he was able to secure others to take their places, the impetus of the instruction was lost, and work would have to start over again from the beginning. Health conditions were better in 1865, when new buildings were put to use, and the crowding avoided. The school attendance was only twenty-two, but agent and teacher subscribed to a program of raising it to at least a hundred, a number for which facilities were now adequate. In 1865 the staff consisted of six. The political changes of agency control were however interfering with the work of instruction, and the teacher advised the government to take the school out of politics by having the instruction turned over to a missionary board. Two school buildings were in use after 1867, with attendance increased to sixty-eight and two teachers of the Episcopal denomination in charge.

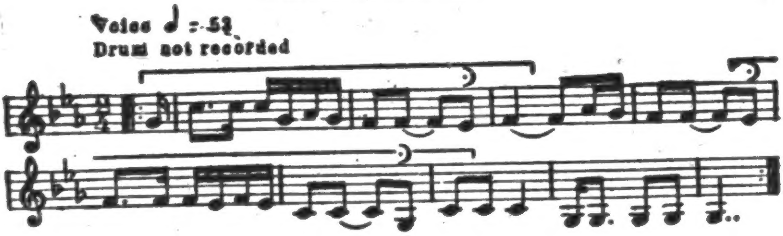
With these government activities leading the Pawnee away 175*
from their old customs, why is it that by 1872 the whole program 177
had essentially failed? No allotments had been made. The tribe 648*
still clung to its village life. The people lived in earth-lodges,

measure were changed to conform to different words but the duration of the measure remained the same. The song contains 19 intervals, 10 of which are whole tones and 5 are fourths. 533*

No. 67. "My Trust is in Mother Corn"

(Catalogue No. 1089)

Recorded by John Luwak



SONGS OF AFFECTION

533*

Songs rising from deep affection and respect were occasionally 554 sung by Indians in the old times, and might be concerning persons 593 who had been married for many years. The distinction between these and the modern "love song" is clearly drawn by the Indians and is evident from the words of the songs. The Sioux said that in old times they had a few songs concerning a man's qualification to wed, [581] this being determined by his success in war or on the buffalo hunt.[31] Otter Woman, an aged widow of the Mandan Tribe, recorded songs of loneliness for her husband, and two very old songs expressing a gentle longing. These were sung by young girls when at work in the gardens and are as delicate as the little plants which they tended so carefully.[32] The cause of the change from these songs of respectful affection to the modern "love song" is found in the general change from primitive customs.

In former times the marriages of young people were either arranged 584 ● by the parents or subject to parental approval. A period of transi- 533* tion began when the young people refused to recognize parental authority in the matter of their affections. This led to clandestine meetings. A few songs of this period were recorded among the Sioux, one containing the words "If you are truthful, come. Walks Visibly (woman's name) has said this."[33] The words of modern Indian love songs 533* usually express a lack of respect for women, and often boast of fas- 832 cinations and conquests. They are connected with intoxication and are [273] sung by young men of no standing among their own people. Many

---

[31] Teton Sioux Music, p. 370.

[32] Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 54-57.

[33] Teton Sioux Music, p. 510.

*533 such songs have been recorded among the Chippewa and Menominee. The development of this class of songs among the Pawnee is considered in a subsequent paragraph.

*533 ●584 593 Three of the old songs of affection were obtained among the Pawnee, the first two being recorded by John Luwak, chief of the Chaui Band, while his wife assisted with the information. As already stated, the marriages were formerly arranged by the parents and "the fathers usually took charge of the matter." It was further said that "the marriages always turned out happily as the old people knew better than the young people and understood which boys and girls would get along the best." Mrs. Luwak, wife of the singer, said that her marriage was arranged by her parents and that at first she "cried every day," but she indicated with some shyness that the marriage had resulted happily.

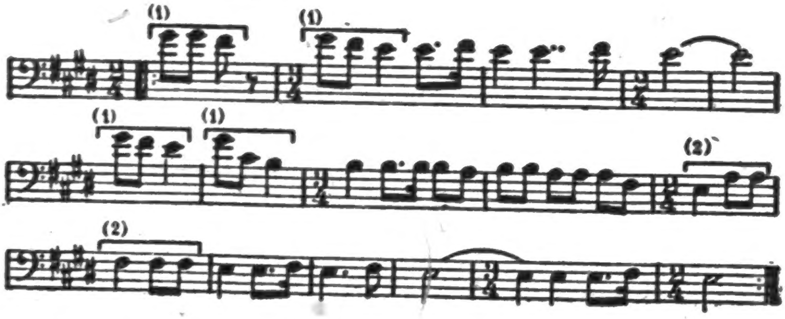
*533 [593] The following is the song of a man who is going to war. He addresses his wife, saying, "When I die do not cry unless you really loved me, but if you love me you will cry and you will not remarry soon after I die."

No. 68. Song of Affection (a)

(Catalogue No. 1136)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—The third tone in this song was followed by a downward *glissando* of about a tone which is impossible to transcribe. It is interesting to note that the count divisions of the first unit are reversed in the second unit, a thematic treatment showing the intelligence of the Indian musician. The song is major in tonality, has a compass of 10 tones, and about 80 per cent of the progressions are major seconds. Three renditions were recorded without a break in the time.

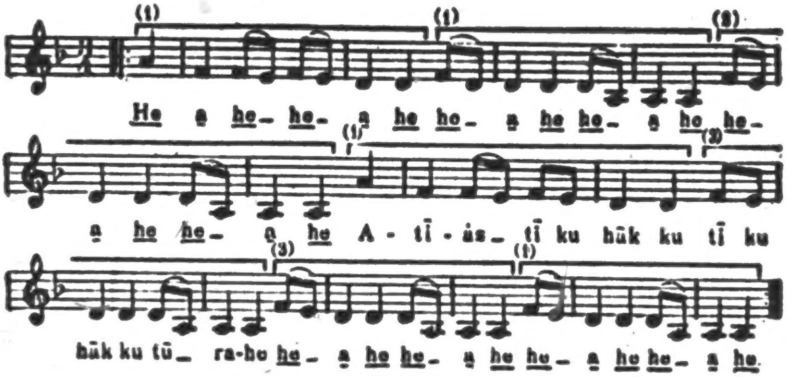
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 85. "Father Gave Me a Pipe"

(Catalogue No. 1092) 533*

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩= 104
Drum not recorded


(1)
(1)
(3)
He a he- he- a he he- a he he- a he he-
a he he- a he A - tī - ás - tī ku hāk ku tī ku
(1)
(3)
hāk ku tū - ra-ho he- a he he- a he he- a he he- a he.
(3)
(1)

He a he	atias	ti	ku	hāk[30]
Exclamation	father	he	me	pipe

ku	ti	ku	hāk	ku	tū	raho
gave	he	me	pipe	gave	is	good

FREE TRANSLATION

Father is good,
He gave me a pipe,
He is good.

Analysis.—A comparison of the three rhythmic units occurring in this song will show that the differences are slight, yet they are sufficient to give variety to the rhythm. The song has a range of an octave and contains only the tones of the minor triad and second. It is harmonic in structure and progresses chiefly by whole tones.

Mr. Murie said that the story concerning the following song was 584 recently told him by John Luwak: A man and his wife had one child, a daughter, who had many admirers. Sirirut Kawi (Pushed Forward) 539 entered the lodge early one morning, after the manner of young men courting a maiden. The man said to his wife, "Did you notice that young man?"

He came again, and then the woman said to her husband, "The young man is handsome, he comes of a good family, he has plenty of horses and his arms are strong so that he would be good to support us." When he came the third time they told him to wait for his answer until the girl's relatives could discuss the matter. So they called their

---

[30] The last letter of this word was elided with the next word by the singer.

● 584 relatives together, the mother's relatives being seated on the south
539 and the father's on the north side of the lodge. The father's relatives
left the decision with the mother's relatives, who decided that the girl
should be allowed to marry the young man. Many presents were
[431] distributed. The young man's relatives gave presents, and the young
man gave a fine horse to the father and mother of the girl. The next
day the old man gave the horse to his wife. There were buffalo robes
and many valuable articles among the presents.

539 All went well for a time, and then the young man began to beat his
593 wife and abuse her. The girl's mother begged her father to interfere,
but he refused to do so. She said, "You claim to be a brave man; why
do you not make our son-in-law stop beating his wife?"

He said, "Do you remember one beautiful morning when you said the young man was handsome, that he came of good family, had many horses, and his arms were strong?"

"Yes."

"Do you remember that my relatives sat on the north and yours on the south side of the lodge, and that my relatives left the decision to yours?"

"Yes."

"So your people sold our daughter to that man. We have no right to interfere with his property. He gave the ponies. He gave a fine pony to us. Didn't I give you that pony?"

"Yes."

"Get a kettle. Put it on the fire and put water in it." She did so.

[415 "Now take your parflêche bag and put the finest of your dried meat
in the pot. When the soup is done you must bring me some in a
251] wooden bowl."

When she brought the soup he told her to sit beside him and eat. As they ate he said, "What nice fat! What fine meat this is! Who got it for you?"

"Our son-in-law."

"You like the meat that our son-in-law brings us? He punishes our daughter for her own good. He does not want her to run around the camp foolishly. He wants her to be a good cook and to look after things in the lodge."

Then the woman stopped finding fault with her son-in-law.

The young man was well liked by the chiefs. They asked him to
join their societies and later he became a chief. He and his wife
had one child, a boy. This little boy liked to stay with his grand-
father, who told him stories. His grandfather was Saritsaris (Mad
Chief), a brave man of the Chaui Band. The little boy cooled his
[264 grandfather's mush or soup by swinging the dish back and forth,
867] then he set it before the old man.

early intimacy would ultimately end in a marriage according to the 836
rites of the tribe, but the girl was not allowed to exercise much choice [582]
in the selection of a husband.

Occasionally it happened that a boy and girl eluded the vigilance
of the parents and lay together. If detected, this was at once
checked. Should the girl become pregnant as a result of their union,
and should the girl's relatives be predisposed to the boy and think
him likely to become a good husband, he was asked to marry her.
The relatives of the young man gathered together and sent presents [584]
of ponies, robes, blankets, and other things to the girl's parents, and
the two young people were married. If the boy was not considered 836
suitable, however, two men were sent to his lodge and he was severely 684
beaten, and on rare occasions died as a result of the punishment. 578
During the beating, tribal custom decreed that the boy's relatives
must not defend him. The young man's parents sometimes tried
to heal the breach between the two families by offering presents
to the parents of the injured girl. If the girl's relatives refused to
accept the boy for a son-in-law, they attempted to secure a husband
for her, which was often a matter of great difficulty. Sometimes the
girl refused to tell the name of the boy who had seduced her and was
driven from her own lodge, in which case she generally went to the [548]
boy's lodge and tried to live there; if they drove her out, she might
be forced to live on the outskirts of the village as a prostitute. Often
if a boy knew that he was about to be held responsible for betraying a [721]
girl he would run away, especially to follow a war party. Occasionally
a couple, realizing their union would displease their relatives,
eloped to some other village. The illicit sexual relations of young
people often resulted in family disputes and conflicts involving most
of the relatives on both sides.

MARRIAGE

Marriage among the Skidi was not entered into lightly or at an 581
early age. The marriage tie was said to be enduring and faithfulness
was expected and demanded. Skidi villages tended to be endogamous 582
and a man married a woman of his own village, to whom he was
not related by close ties of blood. Marriage with a first cousin was
forbidden and marriage with a second cousin, though tolerated,
was not considered proper.

Courtship as we understand it did not play a very important 584
part in marriages among the higher class of Skidi. In fact, no friendship
that might have been formed between a young couple ever
resulted in legal marriage unless the proper relatives of both sides

584 favored the match, and opportunities for young people of different sexes to come together were often made as difficult as possible by the parents. Not only did the young man and woman as a rule play but a secondary part in their marriage arrangements, but also the girl's parents had little to say as to whether or not a prospective suitor should be accepted. The decision in the matter rested entirely with the girl's mother's brother. Should the girl have no uncle, or should he not be available, the question was decided by her brothers or her grandfathers. On the other side, the prospective husband also played a rather insignificant part in the selection of his mate, nor did his father have anything to say. The choice of the young man's wife was decided by his mother's brother. Thus his maternal uncle or uncles selected the wife, made application for her, and arranged the marriage with her maternal uncles. If a young man was not pleased with the girl chosen for him he often ran away from home to escape the marriage, remaining away for one or two years. As for the girl, her opinion carried little weight and she was not in a position to help herself. If she were disinclined to accept the decision of her mother's brother, her mother endeavored to persuade her to do so.

584
582 No uncle in a prominent Skidi family would select as a wife for his nephew any girl who bore a bad reputation for immodesty or lack of chastity. Rather, she should be known for her honesty and ability to work. Girls were not often married before twenty-two years of age, though when a man married several sisters in a family, those after the first one might be chosen when they were sixteen years old. A young man was not considered fit for marriage until he had reached maturity, killed buffalo, gone on at least one war expedition, and shown success in capturing ponies. After he had fulfilled these requirements, his uncle would inform him that it was time he should marry and that he had selected a wife for him; or the young man would tell his uncle of his readiness for marriage and that he favored a certain young woman, in which case the uncle, if he had no objection, would endeavor to arrange the marriage.

585
[554] The wedding ceremony itself was very formal among the more prominent families, such as those of chiefs and priests, though among people of inferior social standing it was largely a matter of convenience and much of the formality was dispensed with. The following account furnishes an example of the formal wedding service. When the preliminaries had been arranged, the young man and his mother's brother sent for the priest of the sacred bundle of their village. On being notified, the priest and his oldest errand man went

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you)	539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.	
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)	

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tihi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562
fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the house-
hold routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [684]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 885
occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 526
ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de- [887]
velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521
[797]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

754 837 Sexual affairs were a common cause of suspected witchcraft activity in both men and women. As witchcraft-prone situations, the following were cited:

Bringing Trophies was an old man married to a very young girl and he was very jealous of her. Joe E was an interpreter and had plenty of money and the girl made advances to him, inducing him to buy her some calico. As she sewed her dress, her husband became suspicious after she was unable to tell him how much the material had cost her. He investigated and finally confronted Joe E who told the old man that it was his business to watch his wife. Finally the young woman and Joe E went off together and although the old man came after them with his bow and arrows, they managed to stay hidden in the timber so that he was unable to get them. Finally the girl left her old husband and, after running around a bit, married a solid citizen of the community and had two children and settled down. If he were so inclined, the old man would be expected to direct an attack of witchcraft against Joe E.

Last-Man-in-the-Road (*Hatuxka*) was inclined to go after Pipe Offering's wife. They were all quite old, but Pipe Offering was the oldest. One day while he was sitting on top of the earth lodge he saw his wife coming home with a bucket of water. It was an accepted sign of consent in [584] courtship when a man contrived to meet a woman on her way home from the creek carrying a bucket of water and requested a drink and was given one. The woman was in a position to signify her disinterest by not responding to his request and simply continue on her way. In this case when Last-Man-in-the-Road stopped Pipe Offering's wife and asked her for a drink, she gave it to him. When she got back to her lodge, Pipe Offering who had been watching, asked, "Who were you talking to?" "That was Last-Man-in-the-Road," she said. "What were you saying?" asked the old man. "He wanted a drink and I gave it to him. Nothing wrong. He said it was too hot." "But," said the suspicious husband, "he was on his way to the creek where he could get his own drink." "Oh, that's nothing," answered the wife. Under these circumstances, Pipe Offering might at some time feel impelled to bewitch Last-Man-in-the-Road and cause him to be sick or do him to death through witchcraft.

754 Old-Man-That-Chief was apparently a man who felt he had sufficient power to do whatever he wanted and he brooked no interference with his wishes. It was said of him, "He was a big witch!"

> Once there was an old woman that he wanted. She refused him. So one night at midnight when everyone was asleep, he took his stick, as he was blind, and felt his way over to her lodge. He had his eagle-wing fan and some harmful material that he would "shoot" into her. He stood in front of her lodge waving his buffalo robe back and forth

Skidi term	Descriptive term
ratiruLako	wife
	wife's sister
	brother's wife
	mother's brother's wife
tatukak	wife's mother
	wife's father
	wife's brother
kustawixsu	sister's husband
	daughter's husband
	sister's daughter's husband
skurus	son's wife
	sister's son's wife

The usage is the same for women except for the following terms:

FEMALE SPEAKER

irasti	brother
	father's brother's son
	mother's sister's son
irari	mother's sister's daughter
pirao	sister's son
	sister's daughter
	brother's son's son
	brother's son's daughter
	brother's daughter's son
	brother's daughter's daughter
skurus	brother's wife
	mother's brother's wife
rikoktako	husband
	sister's husband

Among the Skidi an eldest child was called *tirariktis;* a second, *nawira;* and the youngest, *kawita.* A half-brother and half-sister were called *irari* and *itahi.*

[The range of the terminological system is not described beyond what is given in the table. The system is a Crow type similar to the other Pawnee bands. For notes on kinship behavior see pages 88–108.]

POLYGYNY

595 As a rule, polygyny was practiced only when a man married into
a family of sisters. The girl's parents would be willing to see him
marry the remaining girls as they came of age, providing that he
had shown himself thoroughly able to support a family. When a
● [585] man married sisters, the formal wedding ceremony was performed
only at the first marriage.

The greatest number of wives remembered by the Skidi as belonging to one man is eight; these were four sisters in two families.

A chief or a great and successful warrior occasionally married more than one wife, not sisters. Such an exception to the custom of marrying sisters only was very rare.

584 favored the match, and opportunities for young people of different sexes to come together were often made as difficult as possible by the parents. Not only did the young man and woman as a rule play but a secondary part in their marriage arrangements, but also the girl's parents had little to say as to whether or not a prospective suitor should be accepted. The decision in the matter rested entirely with the girl's mother's brother. Should the girl have no uncle, or should he not be available, the question was decided by her brothers or her grandfathers. On the other side, the prospective husband also played a rather insignificant part in the selection of his mate, nor did his father have anything to say. The choice of the young man's wife was decided by his mother's brother. Thus his maternal uncle or uncles selected the wife, made application for her, and arranged the marriage with her maternal uncles. If a young man was not pleased with the girl chosen for him he often ran away from home to escape the marriage, remaining away for one or two years. As for the girl, her opinion carried little weight and she was not in a position to help herself. If she were disinclined to accept the decision of her mother's brother, her mother endeavored to persuade her to do so.

584 582 No uncle in a prominent Skidi family would select as a wife for his nephew any girl who bore a bad reputation for immodesty or lack of chastity. Rather, she should be known for her honesty and ability to work. Girls were not often married before twenty-two years of age, though when a man married several sisters in a family, those after the first one might be chosen when they were sixteen years old. A young man was not considered fit for marriage until he had reached maturity, killed buffalo, gone on at least one war expedition, and shown success in capturing ponies. After he had fulfilled these requirements, his uncle would inform him that it was time he should marry and that he had selected a wife for him; or the young man would tell his uncle of his readiness for marriage and that he favored a certain young woman, in which case the uncle, if he had no objection, would endeavor to arrange the marriage.

585 [554] The wedding ceremony itself was very formal among the more prominent families, such as those of chiefs and priests, though among people of inferior social standing it was largely a matter of convenience and much of the formality was dispensed with. The following account furnishes an example of the formal wedding service. When the preliminaries had been arranged, the young man and his mother's brother sent for the priest of the sacred bundle of their village. On being notified, the priest and his oldest errand man went

to the lodge of the young man. In the ceremony to follow, these two represented the Morning-Star and his younger brother. When they were seated in the lodge the priest told the young man to throw away his calf-skin robe and don one of buffalo hide [a mature buffalo?]. Then the priest, followed by the young man and the errand man, walked through the village to the girl's lodge; when the people saw them they realized a marriage was about to take place. On arriving at their destination, the three men entered the lodge and sat down near the entrance. As soon as the girl's parents saw them, they knew the purpose of the visit. If there were several girls in the family, it was the duty of some old woman in the lodge to ask the priest which one was desired. He whispered his answer to the old woman, and if their visit was apparently well received, he left the lodge with his two companions.

When they had gone, the relatives of the girl were sent for. They sat in a circle in the lodge; the pipe from the bundle was taken down and passed from one to another while the relatives discussed whether or not the young man should have the girl. Each man took the pipe and spoke his mind as to the young man's character and ability. If he was known to be a good hunter, had been on the warpath, and had captured ponies, he was generally favored. If it were agreed that he should have the girl, the pipe was handed to the one who first spoke in favor of the marriage and he was told to light the pipe when the priest and the young man returned for the fourth time.

Three times the priest, the errand man, and the youth came to the girl's lodge and sat at the entrance. Each time no one spoke to them. A fourth time they came to the lodge and when they were seated they were given a pipe to smoke. They also saw that the girl's uncles, brothers, and grandfathers had come in. The priest, the prospective groom, and the errand man then rose and returned to the young man's lodge. Next the father of the girl said, "Go to our son-in-law," whereupon the uncle went to him and his companions with the word that the formal proposal had been accepted. All three returned to the girl's lodge with the uncle. As they entered they saw two buffalo robes spread out, with three pillows upon them. The priest thanked the girl's people, for he knew they were willing. They sat down. Then the girl's uncle or the one who had been chosen for the office took a pipe, lighted it, went to the fireplace, and stood to the west of it. He gave one puff to the sky to Tirawa. Next, he walked to the old priest sitting by the young man and, offering him the pipe, said: "Smoke, you shall have the girl. Take pity on us.

● 585 We are poor." The priest took the pipe, smoked, and passed it to the boy and errand man, each of whom took it in turn. The uncle received the pipe again, sat down, and smoked. Then he addressed the priest: "We hope that the young man will be good to the girl. He is now to be married; we hope that he will always be ready to support the family he has come to join." The priest answered, and thanked the men for giving their consent to the marriage. He said: "You have taken pity on me: I have nothing in return to give you." Then they rose. The priest put the pillows to one side, took one of the buffalo robes, and put it on, keeping it as his pay. The errand man took the other robe for himself. The two of them and the youth left and went to the latter's lodge, where the boy's relatives were gathered, sitting in a circle. They had brought presents of ponies, buffalo 431 robes, bows and arrows and quivers, or anything they wished to give. The priest and the errand man led the ponies with the presents packed upon them to the girl's lodge, where the mother and grandmother met them and received the gifts. These were distributed among the male relatives of the girl, one pony being reserved for the use of her father. The greater the number of gifts, the greater was the honor shown to the bride. The young man did not go to the girl's lodge until sent for by her parents. When they asked for him, he came, and on entering the lodge found that a buffalo robe had been spread, with two cushions upon it. He was told to sit on one cushion, the girl on the other. Food was placed before them and they ate together. There they remained for the rest of the day, and that night the marriage was consummated. This brought the ceremony to an end.

606 A man was supposed to accord his father-in-law and mother-in-law the same treatment that characterized his behavior towards his own parents. His wife's parents likewise were supposed to treat him with the same affection they showed to their own son. A man spoke of both his father-in-law and mother-in-law and his wife's brothers as *tatukak*, which means that he sits in their lodge. As has been 593 noted, he addressed his wife's sisters as he did his wife. He was never to be angry with her, for it was through two women, the Evening Star and the Moon, that man received buffalo and corn; should he treat his wife meanly, these two deities would withhold the buffalo and the rain, and famine would ensue. [The manuscript also contains the following more realistic statement: "A man had the right to whip his wife without fear of intervention unless he should show undue cruelty without good cause, in which case the wife's relatives would be likely to interfere.]

285
352 nearer the west and those that were more worn, east toward the exit.

When a couple was newly married, they were always given a set of
285 mats—two for each side of the house and one for the west. They were
• 585 likely to get two from the girl's grandmother and two from the boy's.
431 Except in such intimate circumstances, the mats were not ordinarily con-
352 sidered suitable gift items. They were regarded more as we look upon linens—particularly bedsheets and towels. Suitable gift items on the other hand were, from man to a man, a horse, and from a woman to a man, leggings, moccasins, material for moccasins, or dried buffalo meat.

285 The mats received the heaviest wear during the winter hunt, when
352 they got all battered and broken up. In the fall, after the materials were gathered they were placed in the roof of the lodge to season all winter. In the spring, between planting and cultivating, they would feel they had to make some new mats to take along on the summer hunt. Old mats were left behind in the earth lodge.

285 The warp strands of the mat were of a three-sided prismatic grass
283 that grew in ponds (not cattail?). The long blades were made into a double-twisted continuous rope of four strands.

[137] The wefts were of bulrush (*Scirpus validus* Vahl.), a round tubular grass, spongy inside, 5 to 6 feet long. An alternative material was cattail
285 (*Typha latifolia* L.). Both these reeds grew in the bottomlands of the
824 streams, particularly along the Loup, but there were also a few patches along Beaver Creek. On the way home from the summer hunt, some people would gather the reeds on the Republican or the Loup and load the horses and bring them home. Or, noting good locations on the way home, they would return later.

Sometimes two old ladies would go out together and gather whatever small patches they could find on Beaver Creek, pulling up the reeds and piling them into two bundles about a foot in diameter. They would tie them up with ropes and each bring one in and go out again for more, obtaining about four bundles each in this way. The reeds were very heavy
[482] when green and a woman could not carry very much at a time. For larger supplies, the family would make up a combined expedition, since they had to go three to five miles from the village. A large party of men and women would ride out on their horses to the sources of supply they had spotted when returning from the hunt. The men went out to give the women protection. On the way back the horses were loaded with reeds. When one party went out, others would hear about it and be inspired to follow their example.

285 The weft or (crosswise) threads needed very little preparation to be
283 ready for use. They had simply to be soaked in water overnight and then taken out and left to dry for about half an hour before weaving.

The long continuous lengthwise warp required considerably more preparation than the weft. The three-sided prismatic grass was soaked

*175 chiefs, priests and medicine men, and the customs of marriage and
*648 divorce, were directly opposed by officials. That the chiefs were
finally losing power was not however, a result either of the official
178 opposition, or altogether of the breaking up of the band villages; it
622 flowed more directly from the gradual introduction of individualized
657 property control. The traditional native view of a chief was that he was the "father" of his people, who must see to the well-being of every individual in the tribe. To do so the chief had to be able to control a larger quantity of property than the average individual in order to give and help wherever it was necessary. This he accomplished through his individual prowess on the war path and the hunt. But in addition, tribespeople who valued him as chief and leader contributed to his resources in order to aid him to maintain himself and succor his people. Individual ownership of homes and farms not only made individuals materially independent of the chief and tribe, but reduced the chief to a property equality with his tribespeople, making it impossible for him to continue the customs of paternal generosity which tradition commended to him. Without being able to give to and help the poor and distraught, the chief not only lost respect and self-respect, but he was unable to prove his supernatural right to leadership, or that fortune was with him, that the powers of the universe were on his side, and through him were guiding the people.

The agents did not understand this. They felt merely that the chief had power to command so long as the people lived clustered together around him. They expressed in their reports the hope that recognition of chiefs by the Department of Indian Affairs would become a memory.

*175 The polygynous marriage customs of the Pawnee, based primarily
*648 on the sororate or marriage of younger sisters of the wife, were not
657 interfered with up to 1881. Along with the way in which marriage
595 was arranged by the parents without consulting the young people,
and the ceremony itself, involving a transfer of horses and other
property. Pawnee polygyny was, however, consistently considered
reprehensible by officials. Polygyny as well as first marriages in-
[582] volved girls who were very young, often fourteen or fifteen. These
were withdrawn from school at once, and as it was impossible to
carry out an educational program which would send girls of such
a tender age into the tribal life as civilizing influences, the practice
of marrying them so young destroyed the efficiency of the school
[586] as an instrument of civilization. Divorce by mutual consent was a
custom of the Pawnee, which involved a looseness of marital rela-
tions from the white standpoint.

On his marriage the husband lived with his wife in her parents' 591 lodge until such time as he had proved himself capable of protecting and 885 providing for his own family. At that time the parents of the two united in making him a tipi. The man then took the first opportunity of going on the warpath, during which time he placed his wife and children, if any, under the care of his own parents. Thereafter he and his family lived in their lodge, except when upon the hunt, when he used his own tipi. As soon as the man became a good warrior, medicine- 342 man, or priest, or as soon as his father's lodge became crowded, the two families of the couple came together to build them a lodge, one family constructing the north half and the other the south half. On the completion of the lodge the husband himself fashioned the altar, while he and his wife together constructed the fireplace.

DIVORCE

It was said that divorce was formerly rare among the Skidi. If 586 on the wedding night the husband found his bride was not a virgin, he could leave her at once. Also, should a wife prove unfaithful, the husband effected a divorce merely by leaving the lodge. The wife's relatives, however, might prepare a feast and invite him to partake of it. If he accepted, it was equivalent to remarriage. Barrenness on the part of the woman ("her spring has gone dry") was not considered grounds for divorce.

If the husband committed adultery, his mother-in-law or the wife's grandmother could order him out of the lodge, in which case he was obliged to depart. The man who was lazy or an incompetent provider could also be driven out. In both cases the children remained with the wife.

DEATH

We may first consider the Skidi conception of the soul. All 775 living beings have souls, which are closely associated with the wind. [774] After death those of some people ascend to the heavens and become stars. The souls of others, including those who die of disease or die cowardly in battle, travel the dusty Milky-Way to the village of the spirits in the south. The souls of warriors who die bravely on the battlefield and of those who die in sacrifice travel a bloody trail to the village of the warriors. Anyone who tries to make the human sacrifice and fails, or does not perform the rite correctly, becomes burning flint under the feet of the Morning Star. The souls of chiefs and priests travel a road of flowers until they come to the guardian spirit who influenced them upon earth. On this road

LEVIRATE

Formerly a man married his brother's widow, but this could be done only by a younger brother. This form of levirate also prevailed in other Pawnee bands. 587

POLYANDRY

There were two customs which led to a condition of temporary polyandry. In the first place, a boy on reaching the age of puberty became in practice a second husband of his mother's brother's wife, which relationship might continue for several years. It has been noted that a man called his mother's brother's wife his wife. In the second place, a younger brother often maintained the position of husband to his brother's wife. It was the custom for a younger brother to make his home with an elder married brother, in which case the elder brother might permit the former to have sexual relations with his wife. However, this was not a definite regular practice, but was decided in individual cases by the nature of the friendly feeling existing between two brothers; it was necessary both that the older brother should give his consent and that the younger brother should feel that the maintenance of such a relationship to his brother's wife would not cause a feeling of jealousy to arise on the part of his brother. This peculiar relationship was reflected in the kinship terminology, for a man used the same term for his brother's wife as for his own. The counterpart of this custom did not hold for sisters, as a girl did not leave her parents' lodge to make her home with her married sister until it was time to become the wife of her sister's husband. [For a more complete description of Pawnee polygamy, see Lesser, 1930.] 595 604 595 607 [601]

ADOPTION

Among the Skidi it was not uncommon for a family to assume the responsibility or control of some poor boy or girl, but without the child in question being formally adopted—that is, it obtained no rights of a legal nature in the family. 597

However, the formal adoption of a child was by no means rare. Generally it came about through a man's losing a favorite son or daughter by death, and through his taking a fancy to another child, bearing a strong resemblance to the one he had lost. A bereaved father, after making up his mind that he would like to adopt the child, carefully washed and arrayed himself in new costume and went to the lodge where the child lived that he wished to adopt. There he clothed the child in new moccasins and leggings that he had

of each mourner, asking that he cease crying. The chief gave each 765
one a little food to break the fast. The remainder of the food was next divided, though nothing was distributed among the spectators; however, at the end of the feast they thanked the chief for his services.

Certain observances were obligatory for widows and widowers. 765
A woman who had lost her husband was supposed to observe carefully 768
a mourning period of at least a year, and in case he had been a man of prominence she might prolong this to two years. During this time she lived with her own people or she might stay in the lodge of her husband's parents. In the latter case it was understood that
at the termination of the mourning period she would become the wife [587]
of her deceased husband's younger brother or the wife of his sister's
son. Until that time she was supposed to remain chaste. A childless [834]
widow invariably returned to her parents' lodge, but following the 768
mourning period she could remarry in the manner just noted or 587
she could marry an outsider. However, in the latter instance she would not be considered as desirable as at the time she first married and the gifts to her relatives would be less. Thus if ten ponies were presented at her first marriage only one or two would be paid when she married again.

Widowers were supposed to mourn for their wives at least two 765
years, and sometimes mourned three. Many never remarried. 768
Very often when a widower did not seek another spouse he was 587
urged by his relatives to remarry, and they expressed their desire by offering to furnish the presents necessary to secure a second wife. As a rule, although a widower mourned for the usual period, he did not consider marrying again until he had gone on the warpath, taken scalps, and captured ponies. This was a somewhat formal way of terminating mourning and making himself eligible for remarriage.

It remains to record certain other observances connected with 765
burial and mourning customs. As a rule, the close friends of the deceased performed some act of bodily mutilation immediately after or just before the burial, the men slashing their arms, breasts, or legs with knives and the women cutting their hair. Hair thus cut was at once burned, for fear that the Morning Star would see it upon the grave and claim the victim as his own sacrifice. For the same reason horse's hair cut off during burial services was also burned.

On the burial of a warrior killed in battle his close friends and 721
relatives seized the first opportunity to visit enemy country 765

64

POSTSCRIPT INTO THE PRESENT

000

The Modern Pawnee—Otter's Later Life—the Arrival in Oklahoma—the Fate of Otter's Family and Friends—His Marriage—the Modern Day Pawnee Powwow

177 SOME MIGHT WONDER how the modern Pawnees came into being, seeing
463 that they are thoroughly integrated citizens of the present United States,
many of them living as residents of various urban centers. The Pawnees count among their numbers teachers, artisans, business managers, engineers, journalists, artists, nurses, social workers, professional entertainers, and one former Big League baseball player.

159 Perhaps the fate of some of the principal characters I have mentioned
761 offers a good means of illustrating the process of transition. The boy, Otter,
754 is a good case in point. When he was about seven years old his father,
Victory Call, died. He felt he had been bewitched by his anxious rival in the religious field, Big Doctor, leader of the Doctor Association, whose hegemony the success of Victory Call's Deer Dance cult was challenging. In his dying vision, Victory Call saw a man with an eagle-wing fan before his face that he positively identified as Big Doctor.

159 White Woman, Grandma, and the boy were given a home by Uncle
736 War Cry in whose house they settled, taking a subordinate position near
its eastern end. The old house was left to the other inhabitants. The boy
[572] was warned to break off all relationships with his old friends who might
insult him with mention of the fact that he had no father. His mother kept him close to the house. He tried to get acquainted with some of the children nearby, but he found it hard.

159 Two years later, Shot Arm, a brave of Lone Chief's Village-across-a-
587 Ridge, came and sued for his mother's hand. Shot Arm approached War
Cry and said, "Victory Call was my uncle and he has a son here. He is as my own son and I'd like to raise him." Finally he was told to speak to

White Woman and after pleading his cause with her, Shot Arm came 159
to live with them. The boy was told that "his father" had come. When 587
he demurred and said that he thought Victory Call was his father, he
was quieted. Shot Arm gave him gifts and did his best to father him.
White Woman had had some reservations as Shot Arm already had a wife,
but he convinced her that he was determined to part from the other
woman in any event. Later there were recriminations from this quarter.

Once on the winter hunt, Shot Arm was invited to bring his new 159
family to live in the household of White Eagle. He had been formally 587
invited by "his two old mothers" who were the official owners of the 591
house. In their new home the family occupied a place at the west and had [572]
status and Otter had new friends—David Gillingham, son of White
Eagle, and the two brothers, Luther and Andy Coons.

In the Sioux massacre of 1873 during the summer hunt, when from 60 159
to 120 Pawnees lost their lives while butchering their kill in a canyon 175
near Trenton, Nebraska, Otter and White Woman were guided to safety 721
through the Sioux lines by a young warrior at the request of Mad Bear.

Finally the Pawnees moved to Oklahoma in three contingents. White 167
Eagle went with the first group, while Shot Arm and his family were true 159
to the faction of Lone Chief who wanted to remain on their old land
and stayed to the last. The two old ladies who owned White Eagle's [342]
earth lodge gave over the pillars and materials to Shot Arm who set up
a hexagonal frame of six forked pillars and no outer sod collar or wall, so
that they had a high pointed lodge to live in.

When the last group decided to go, the government assigned them ten 167
wagons for the poor people who had no horses for transport, and some 159
beeves to be killed every Saturday for their food. 648
484

In Oklahoma, the three contingents had set up three earth-lodge vil-
lages in different locations. Lone Chief set up one on the Arkansas River 167
three or four miles this side of Ralston where there was a ferryboat. 159
White Eagle built a log house on top of a hill near the big pond west of the 361
present town of Pawnee, with the earth lodges of his following on the
east side of the hill toward the pond. Half a mile east of the agency,
Misery and his father-in-law Comanche Chief, along with War Cry, were
the leading spirits of another log-house village.

Shot Arm, who had become agency policeman, settled his family in a 159
tent near the school. All winter they lived in the tent. Then in spring, 763
April 1876, without any outward sign of illness, White Woman died. [625]
She asked to have her grandchild brought to her and then spoke to its [342]
mother, telling her that she was bidding them farewell and that she should
take good care of the child. And so she fell asleep and never awakened.

Victory Call's former retainer, Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn, 159
were living in a frame house with No Corn's oldest daughter. The girl 591
had married a man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band known as Abraham

his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, 668
therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. 782
An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time, 796
the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins 276
at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would 823
be adopted.

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to
Tirawahat^{a} must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; [775]
that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to
be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on
one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased
relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes
on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance,
and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is
thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The [776]
sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his
marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening
Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every
night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon
earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus,
while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the
position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should
be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering 668
for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" 796
is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived 177
by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the 182
dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream
of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

---

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old
cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and [591]
Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man, 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

3: Densmore
668, 796

Pawnee NQ18

[For songs associated with the Ghost Dance ceremony, see category 116, pp. 78-86. --Analyst]

meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance 342
of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and [778]
suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and
other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the
altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, [554
the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, 513]
which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two
below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a
"skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending
upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward
to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This
framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow
rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was
protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered
roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when [484]
a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially
anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family
usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer
abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was
made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered
with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four
bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary 619
chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had 621
also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its [778
priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with
those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and 793]
symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a
medium of communication was believed to be opened between the
people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and
prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the 621
head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced 622
by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus 624
or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the
Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were
the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council 623
was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands,
and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of
the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a 611
man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family. 591

---

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. viii, p. xv, New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

611 mission to have young Murie take his place in the ceremonial circuit in the lodge with the understanding that he be made chief on the death of Skidi-Good-Chief, thus continuing the Pumpkin-Vine village in the circuit.

621 A marriage outside the village occurred about sixty years ago
582 [sixty years prior to 1907], and, as the result bears directly on the
●591 question of descent, the facts are worth quoting. A man of the
428 Pumpkin-Vine village, having obtained the consent of his uncles,
778 married a young woman of the Morning-Star village. He lived with
his wife in the Morning-Star village for several years, during which time he made sacrifices to the Morning-Star bundle and learned its ceremony. Then he returned to his own village and took his children with him, the children being considered members of the Pumpkin-Vine village. But while living in the Morning-Star village he was considered to have obtained certain rights in that bundle, and he demanded recognition of these rights. On his return to his own village, the Morning-Star bundle was divided, and he carried part of it to the Pumpkin-Vine village. Thus, there exist today two Morning-Star bundles. The ultimate fate of his half of the Morning-Star bundle is interesting. His children all died except one daughter, who married Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village [Wolves-Standing-in-Water village?], who claims ownership in the bundle today. She came by it in this manner: On the death of the husband—that is, the member of the Pumpkin-Vine village—his widow lived with her daughter's husband; she, as keeper of this Morning-Star bundle, ultimately turned it over to her daughter, whose husband, Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village, learned its ceremony and sacrificed scalps to it and so claimed it. Thus it happens today that the priests of Coyote-in-Water village and the Pumpkin-Vine village have a right to be present when either of the Morning-Star bundles is opened.

611 [This statement that descent in the village group followed the
421 paternal line is in direct contradiction to a later one by Murie. In
778 his report on Pawnee societies (1914), Murie wrote: "... if a man
114 married a woman from another village, he must go there to live.
His children were always considered members of the mother's village." The contradiction may be due to confusing the inheritance of sacred bundles, which generally followed the paternal line, and descent in a village group, which may well have been maternal. Also, in cases where the inheritance of a sacred bundle was involved, the pattern of descent might have been modified in favor of patri-

On his marriage the husband lived with his wife in her parents' 591
lodge until such time as he had proved himself capable of protecting and 885
providing for his own family. At that time the parents of the two
united in making him a tipi. The man then took the first opportunity of
going on the warpath, during which time he placed his wife and children,
if any, under the care of his own parents. Thereafter he and his
family lived in their lodge, except when upon the hunt, when he used
his own tipi. As soon as the man became a good warrior, medicine- 342
man, or priest, or as soon as his father's lodge became crowded, the
two families of the couple came together to build them a lodge, one
family constructing the north half and the other the south half. On
the completion of the lodge the husband himself fashioned the altar,
while he and his wife together constructed the fireplace.

DIVORCE

It was said that divorce was formerly rare among the Skidi. If 586
on the wedding night the husband found his bride was not a virgin,
he could leave her at once. Also, should a wife prove unfaithful, the
husband effected a divorce merely by leaving the lodge. The wife's
relatives, however, might prepare a feast and invite him to partake
of it. If he accepted, it was equivalent to remarriage. Barrenness
on the part of the woman ("her spring has gone dry") was not considered grounds for divorce.

If the husband committed adultery, his mother-in-law or the wife's grandmother could order him out of the lodge, in which case he was obliged to depart. The man who was lazy or an incompetent provider could also be driven out. In both cases the children remained with the wife.

DEATH

We may first consider the Skidi conception of the soul. All 775
living beings have souls, which are closely associated with the wind. [774]
After death those of some people ascend to the heavens and become
stars. The souls of others, including those who die of disease or
die cowardly in battle, travel the dusty Milky-Way to the village of
the spirits in the south. The souls of warriors who die bravely on
the battlefield and of those who die in sacrifice travel a bloody
trail to the village of the warriors. Anyone who tries to make
the human sacrifice and fails, or does not perform the rite correctly,
becomes burning flint under the feet of the Morning Star. The
souls of chiefs and priests travel a road of flowers until they come to
the guardian spirit who influenced them upon earth. On this road

887 house." She supplemented their supplies of vegetables from her own gar-
den from time to time, saying, "Daughter, cook this for our supper."
592 She would also have a small private stock of dried meat that she had got-
ten by helping with its preparation during the hunt season, and she would
also offer this at various times when it seemed a good idea. Again there
was no regular schedule for this, nor any amount that was standard.
Grandma already rendered considerable services to the house and was
considered entitled to her "keep." She also gave substantive help with
skin working, sewing, getting firewood, special manufacturing, and so on.

The young women and girls at the west stations did minor household
462 tasks, but had a far more significant contribution to make to its ongoing.
592 They were there to please and care for a capable man who would protect
883 the people in the lodge, provide them with fresh meat by his almost daily
hunting expeditions for deer, elk, or antelope, participate in the tribal
buffalo hunts in the summer and winter each year so that they would all
have dried buffalo meat, and carry on the official interrelationships with
the community outside the household, including those with the village
officials.

582 An influential and capable man might be given one of these girls in
marriage with the understanding that her younger sisters would also be
given to him when they came of age. If he were adjudged too old, the
family was unlikely to agree to these further marriages. In the case of Old
Bull, the family of his junior wife, Clear Day, was unwilling to give him
her younger sister on this account. Fifteen years was considered a suita-
ble age for marriage in a girl, and eighteen for a boy. However, the prob-
ability is remote that the couple would be of these ages respectively. First
marriages for both a boy and a girl were almost always of a "May-Sep-
tember" type. A boy of eighteen was considered altogether incapable of
playing a suitable married role in a household. A man contracted a mar-
583 riage in terms of services he could render to the family of the girl that he
591 married. Normally he was expected to come to live in her household and
"take care of them," i.e., render them major services.

The son-in-law, i.e., the man married into a household, was known as
601 *kustawixtsu*," the one that is sitting among [us]." The man on his part
606 referred to his in-laws as *tatutkaku*, "I sit inside for you," that is, "I am in
the house for your benefit." The reward he receives is his wife whom he
calls *tatiraktaku*, "I own her," and she in turn refers to her husband as
tikuktaku, "he owns me." These terms are not normally used under informal circumstances, the couple addressing each other by the common
term for spouse, *raku*, or if they are on particularly pleasant terms, the
man calls his wife *tsustit*, "old lady," and she refers to her husband as
kurahus, "old man."

58 Because of the services required on both sides, a young man would
have little alternative but to marry a capable older woman, and a young

439 Do you think it can get a good buffalo? Well, you can have a buffalo
435 robe when I get back and my wife can tan it." Mr. Matlock would
then join them and the traders would say, "Sure." "Well, I need two
buckets," Victory Call would say. "And what else do you need?" the
traders would ask. At the same time there would be an old lady in the
439 store trying to establish some credit so that she could get some sugar to
435 make sweet corn pounded up with sugar. She would promise that when
262 they got back from the hunt she would bring in a sack of pounded-up
dry meat. This was the equivalent of the better-known pemmican and
was bought by travelers at the trade store for emergency rations. When
[705] warriors went on the warpath they took extra pairs of moccasins filled
with pounded sweet corn and sugar and some of the pounded-up dry
meat as concentrated supplies.

*224 Not everyone had the skill or the diligence to accumulate all this
476 equipment. Every man or woman who did not have it yet wanted to go
on the hunt had to try to attach themselves to someone who did. This
practical consideration had an important effect on how the individual
encampments were set up. Sometimes a family had enough horses but
no tent. The man would send his mother-in-law or his wife to inquire
of a woman who owned a tent whether they could join her encampment.
If it was agreed that they should camp together they would discuss how
they would combine their needs for equipment—a mortar, a kettle, dishes,
etc. Sometimes a woman would make such arrangements, only to find at
the last minute that her husband had already committed them with someone
else, and then one of the families would have to remain behind.

606 The general rule was that a man had to take care of his father-in-law
and the family into which he was married. It was understood that he
would travel with his father-in-law and his wife's family. This is what
his marriage implied—that he was to serve and care for the family of his
wife. The son-in-law was called by the family into which he married
kustawixtsu, "he who sits among (them)." The son-in-law would refer
to himself as *rat-ut-ka-ku*, "I-for-you-inside-sit," meaning that it his function
606 to serve their house. This was an obligation greater than that to his
593 own parents. If his parents were old and alone, he would give half of his
kill to them after his wife had picked out what she wanted. When they
[591] first married, the couple normally lived in the girl's house and went out
on the hunt with them. As they got older, the young man might want
[431] to set up a tent of his own and hunt separately and his father-in-law
might consent, but he would send a gift of a leg from whatever buffalo
he killed. When they got back to the village, they would rejoin the girl's
family. If the girl's father was getting very old and his tent was worn
out he would say, "Son-in-law, I want to go with you. You came here
to take care of us." "Certainly, that's good," the younger man would
say. This marriage responsibility sometimes got on a man's nerves, and

White Woman and after pleading his cause with her, Shot Arm came 159
to live with them. The boy was told that "his father" had come. When 587
he demurred and said that he thought Victory Call was his father, he
was quieted. Shot Arm gave him gifts and did his best to father him.
White Woman had had some reservations as Shot Arm already had a wife,
but he convinced her that he was determined to part from the other
woman in any event. Later there were recriminations from this quarter.

Once on the winter hunt, Shot Arm was invited to bring his new 159
family to live in the household of White Eagle. He had been formally 587
invited by "his two old mothers" who were the official owners of the 591
house. In their new home the family occupied a place at the west and had [572]
status and Otter had new friends—David Gillingham, son of White
Eagle, and the two brothers, Luther and Andy Coons.

In the Sioux massacre of 1873 during the summer hunt, when from 60 159
to 120 Pawnees lost their lives while butchering their kill in a canyon 175
near Trenton, Nebraska, Otter and White Woman were guided to safety 721
through the Sioux lines by a young warrior at the request of Mad Bear.

Finally the Pawnees moved to Oklahoma in three contingents. White 167
Eagle went with the first group, while Shot Arm and his family were true 159
to the faction of Lone Chief who wanted to remain on their old land
and stayed to the last. The two old ladies who owned White Eagle's [342]
earth lodge gave over the pillars and materials to Shot Arm who set up
a hexagonal frame of six forked pillars and no outer sod collar or wall, so
that they had a high pointed lodge to live in.

When the last group decided to go, the government assigned them ten 167
wagons for the poor people who had no horses for transport, and some 159 648
beeves to be killed every Saturday for their food. 484

In Oklahoma, the three contingents had set up three earth-lodge vil-
lages in different locations. Lone Chief set up one on the Arkansas River 167
three or four miles this side of Ralston where there was a ferryboat. 159
White Eagle built a log house on top of a hill near the big pond west of the 361
present town of Pawnee, with the earth lodges of his following on the
east side of the hill toward the pond. Half a mile east of the agency,
Misery and his father-in-law Comanche Chief, along with War Cry, were
the leading spirits of another log-house village.

Shot Arm, who had become agency policeman, settled his family in a 159
tent near the school. All winter they lived in the tent. Then in spring, 763
April 1876, without any outward sign of illness, White Woman died. [625]
She asked to have her grandchild brought to her and then spoke to its [342]
mother, telling her that she was bidding them farewell and that she should
take good care of the child. And so she fell asleep and never awakened.

Victory Call's former retainer, Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn, 159
were living in a frame house with No Corn's oldest daughter. The girl 591
had married a man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band known as Abraham

159 Lincoln who was the government blacksmith. They invited Shot Arm
• 591] and the boy to come and live with them. They stayed there for six years and then Shot Arm's sister, Woman White Star, invited them to come and live with her. One winter both Shot Arm and the boy were very ill with a high fever. Fox Chief, his older half brother, came and took the boy to live with him. From there the boy moved from one house to the other, sometimes with Misery, then with War Cry and others. Because of his wandering about, he did not know that his father, Shot Arm, had died.
[754] The relatives suspected that his death was due to witchcraft by a member of the family of their old rival, Big Doctor. The feeling was so strong that the agent had an autopsy performed, which showed that Shot Arm had died of an old gunshot wound that had affected his lungs. But the
[165] Pawnees were not convinced. And neither was Mark Evarts when he told of it in 1928. During the first five years in Oklahoma, 800 Pawnees died.

159
177 Otter's old playmates, David Gillingham and the Coons brothers, had gone to Carlisle School in Pennsylvania and they induced him to come along. After his schooling he worked at harness making in Harrisburg, Newark, and Philadelphia. He experienced such wonders as climbing into the arm of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor and playing baseball for a period with the Cuban Giants, a colored team. While he was with them in the South, he was questioned by the authorities "about the grandfather clause." His right hand was permanently broken in baseball, for in those days they played without benefit of a catcher's mitt. He was very lonesome and went home. As he says,

> When I got home from Carlisle, I had no home. My older brother, Fox Chief, War Cry, and Misery had all died. It was cold weather and Behaille (the interpreter) met me on the road and took me in his buggy and gave me a swig of whisky. He offered me a home at his house where Brave Chief, Frank Leader, and Peter Wood were living.

159 An older woman in Behaille's house befriended him and established a relationship with him. Finally the agency took a hand in his life. The agent said he had made a good record at school and he should settle down. He was trained as a blacksmith and given a position. At last the Riding-In family gave him their daughter, Hannah, in marriage and they set up a farm together and had a daughter. Then Hannah died of tuberculosis and shortly afterward, at the age of twelve, their daughter followed. The farm was lost to the bank as the result of a crop failure and
[115] an unpaid loan. This was in 1924. In 1928 this record of old Pawnee life was made with Mark Evarts' help.

[781] When he returned to Pawnee from the east, Mark Evarts had a severe emotional crisis and finally an important religious experience. He re-
000 turned home permanently in 1897–1898. The Pawnee version of the re-

648 At that time a separate treaty was made with each band of Pawnee, designated as Grand, Noisy, Republic, and Marhar, the treaties being respectively on June 18, 19, 20, and 22. Peace was then concluded with all tribes of the region which had been disturbed by the war of 1812. A treaty with the Pawnee Tribe was made at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs, September 30, 1825, its purpose being "to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension."[3] By the treaty of October 9, 1833, the Pawnee ceded to the United States "all the land lying south of the Platt River."[4] A reservation in Nebraska was provided for the Pawnee who remained in that State until 1876, the sale of their reservation in Nebraska being approved on June 5 of that year. The setting apart of a reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) was approved April 10, 1876. The Pawnee were removed to that reservation and "each head of a family or single person over 21 years of age residing upon said reserve, who shall so elect," was entitled to receive an allotment of 160 acres of land.[5] In a table compiled by the Office of Indian Affairs in 1908 it is stated that "112,859.84 acres were allotted to 821 [Pawnee] Indians, 840 acres reserved for school, agency, and cemetery purposes, and the residue of 169,320 acres was opened to settlement," the agreement being ratified by act of March 3, 1893.[6]

161 [164] [177] The number of Pawnee in 1702 was estimated by Iberville at 2,000 families. In 1838 they numbered about 10,000 persons, but the opening of a principal emigrant trail directly through the country in the forties introduced disease and dissipation and left the people less able to defend themselves against their enemies, the Sioux.[7] They decreased in numbers and in 1928 the Pawnee population was 2,766.[8]

133 [136] The reservation of the Pawnee is beautifully diversified, with many streams and tracts of woods. There are outcroppings of stone in the region south of the town of Pawnee (pl. 3, *a*, *b*) while north of the town are broad, smooth fields. (Pl. 3, *c*.) On a private ranch near Pawnee a picturesque herd of buffalo was seen near a "buffalo wallow." (Pl. 4, *a*, *b*.)

342 [592] [778] The earth lodge of the Pawnee was about 40 feet in diameter and 15 feet high, and was occupied by several related families, each having its appointed space along the wall. "At the west side of the lodge a space was always reserved, which was considered sacred, and was called *wikaru* (place-for-the-wonderful-things), this being the name which is applied to the garden of the Evening Star, where the corn is always ripening and where are stored many parflèches of buffalo

---

[3] Ibid., pp. 258-260.

[4] Ibid., pp. 416-418.

[5] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 159-161.

[6] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. [illegible].

[7] Ibid., p. 216.

[8] Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the year 1928, p. [illegible].

III. THE LODGE

The size of the Skidi lodge varied according to the number of 342
families residing in it. Although an individual family composed of 592
a man, his wife or wives, and their children, might be the sole
occupants, often more than one family lived in a single lodge and
there apparently was no definite rule regarding the number of
residents and consequently the size of the lodge itself. The latter [352]
might contain two beds for a small family or might be spacious
enough to accommodate as many as eighteen beds for several families.
Also, chiefs' lodges and those of priests and medicine-men were of [346]
exceptional size, for they were often required to accommodate a
ceremonial gathering.

The construction and interior arrangements of the Pawnee earth 352
lodge have been briefly described in a previous report (Dorsey, 1904).
At the west was the altar, around the north and south sides were
the beds, and at the east, on either side of the doorway, were cache
holes, corn mills, sweathouses, and piles of firewood. The beds
were supported by two upright forked posts on the inner side; these
were connected by a hewn timber placed in the forks and from this
crosspiece short poles extended to the wall or banquette. Over this
frame was placed a mattress of young willows netted together and
covered by buffalo robes and pillows. Usually the children had
their beds nearest the altar, and the grandparents those closest the [592]
door; the parents reserved those in the middle area. In case a man [513]
had more than one wife living in his lodge, each wife had a bed of
her own [Fig. 26]. [Lesser (1930) has diagramed the usual disposition [595]
of the family according to their beds. The accompanying diagrams
furnished by Mr. Murie are of interest, however, for so far as I can
determine they represent actual cases. Unfortunately, the exact
relationships of the individuals referred to is not always clear.]

In the summer the people moved out of the lodge and slept 513
under an arbor. Each individual family made its own arbor, or all 342
the families together built a single large one for their joint use. 592
[This was in addition to the tipi, and a grass-like structure sometimes
used when on the march.]

FAMILY CUSTOMS

On rising in the morning the entire family visited a near-by 512
creek or river to bathe. In olden times all were early risers, and in [515]
the spring and autumn the men and women usually repaired at once

342
352
592

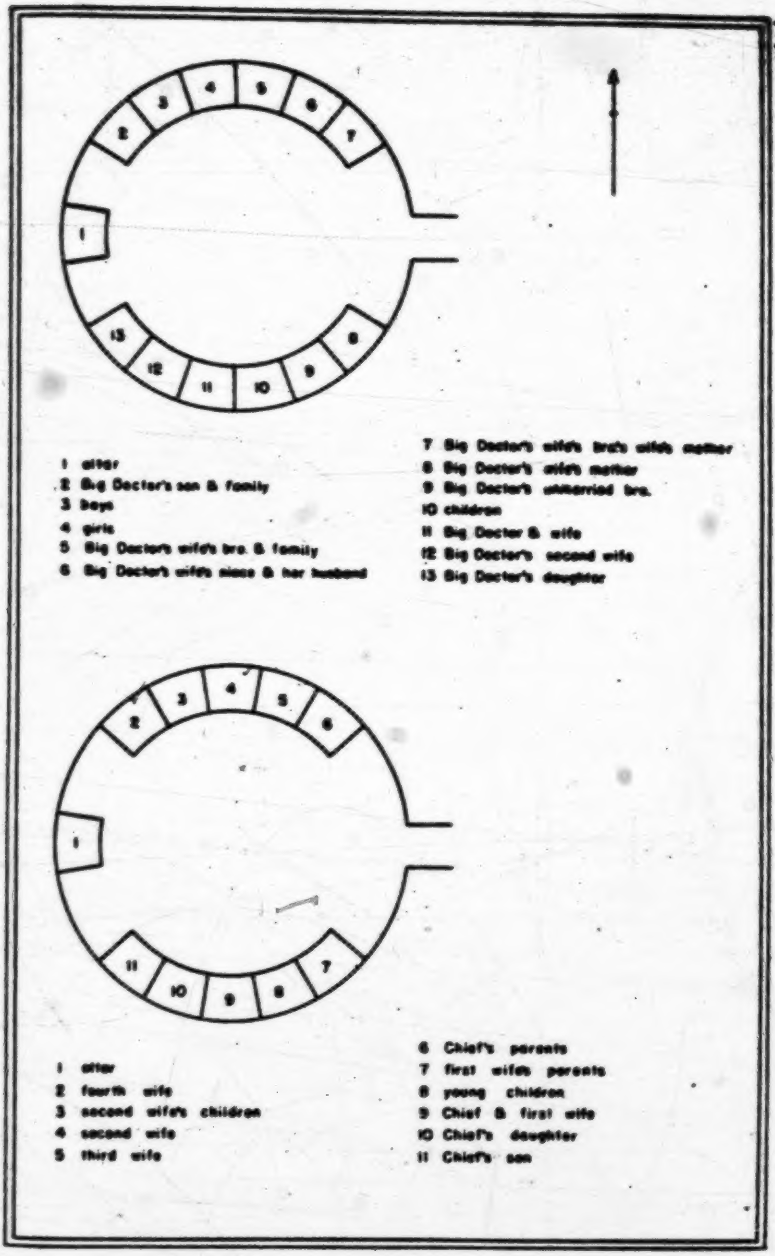

2
3
4
5
6
7
1
13
12
11
10
9
8
1 altar
2 Big Doctor's son & family
3 boys
4 girls
5 Big Doctor's wife's bro. & family
6 Big Doctor's wife's niece & her husband
7 Big Doctor's wife's bro's wife's mother
8 Big Doctor's wife's mother
9 Big Doctor's unmarried bro.
10 children
11 Big Doctor & wife
12 Big Doctor's second wife
13 Big Doctor's daughter
2
3
4
5
6
1
11
10
9
8
7
1 altar
2 fourth wife
3 second wife's children
4 second wife
5 third wife
6 Chief's parents
7 first wife's parents
8 young children
9 Chief & first wife
10 Chief's daughter
11 Chief's son

FIG. 26. Disposition of beds in two Skidi Pawnee earth lodges.

342 just over the center of the lodge, where an opening
about two feet in diameter was left as a smoke-hole.
Long willow rods, closely spaced, were laid transversely
over the rafters, and these in turn were covered with a
thick layer of bunch grass. The sides of the lodge were
built of timbers whose lower ends were planted in a
trench, while their upper ends leaned against the cross
beams of the outer uprights. The whole lodge was
then covered with earth and sod.

The entrance was protected by a covered way,
built like the lodge, which extended out from it. In all
but one of the Skidi villages this entrance faced the
[354] east. In the center of the floor there was a circular
fire-pit surrounded by a slight embankment. At the
west side of the lodge, opposite the entrance, a space
[778] was always reserved. This space was called *wiharu*,
the garden of the Evening Star, and was considered
sacred. In it a buffalo skull was placed, facing the
entrance, and above it the sacred bundles and other
religious paraphernalia of the family were hung.
352 Around the north and south sides of the lodges, sleeping
platforms were built. These platforms were made of
poles whose inner ends rested on the earth ledge, while
their outer ends were supported by forked posts and
[513] beams. Over the poles were laid willow mats, coarse
rush mats, and lastly tanned buffalo-skins. Each bed
was screened off from those adjoining by willow mats.
A lodge of ordinary size would have from eight to
ten beds on a side. Those next the altar, which were
considered most honorable, were occupied by the older
children. Next were the beds of the aunts and uncles,
then those of the parents, and lastly those of the old
[592] people. As many as ten families, all related by blood,
sometimes occupied a single house. The sleeping platforms
and other furniture were removed when the
lodge was to be used for ceremonies, and are not
shown in the miniature group.

361 80 lodges, with a population of nearly 2,500; and in the upper
161 village there are between 140 and 150 lodges, the population
amounting perhaps to 3,500. On approaching a village, the lodges
have the appearance of so many small hillocks, of a conical
form, huddled up together in the closest possible manner, with
only narrow passages between for walking, and the rest of the
space filled up by pens, formed of stakes, for confining their ponies
during the night, to guard them from being suddenly taken off by
a warlike party of another tribe.

342 The Pawnee lodges are of a circular form, large and spacious
in the interior; many of them being 50 feet in diameter. Three
and sometimes four circular rows of forked trunks of trees are
placed upright, at appropriate distances from each other. The
row nearest the centre consists of only four such upright timbers,
about 15 or 20 feet high, while the crotches in the more exterior
rows are shorter and more numerous, in proportion as the circumference
is greater. These forks or crotches support thick cross-beams,
upon which a frame of long poles is laid, extending from
the ground at the outer circumference of the lodge to the top,
leaving only an opening at the apex, of about four feet in diameter,
to answer the double purpose of letting in the light, and letting out
the smoke. Upon the frame work of poles, willow osiers are laid,
and the whole is then covered with prairie sod from 12 to 18 inches
thick. Immediately below the opening above, a hole is sunk
in the centre for the fire-place, common to all the residents of the
[592] lodge. From five to ten families, generally related together, have
a common occupancy of one lodge, governed by a head man, who
may be styled the lodge chief. Around the circumference of the
352 lodge are recesses for sleeping, partitioned off for each family, resembling
the berths on board of steamboats, many of which are
screened in front and on the sides by willow-twigs laid above each
other, tied fast to a frame, which, partly with the reddish bark on,
and partly white from having the bark taken off, exhibit considerable
taste in those who wrought them. When thus ornamented
with twigs, a small opening about two by three feet is left in front
to admit the occupants. The bottom of the berth is raised about
two feet above the ground by means of large hewn sills, overlaid
by thick willow twigs, which are then covered with buffalo-robes.
[342] The entrance of the lodge is always on the East side, protected
by a passage, closed above and on the sides, of about 15 feet in
length,—the door being a large buffalo robe, or several sewed together,
hanging before the inner entrance. On the side opposite
to the door of each lodge, a recess is reserved, for depositing the
skull of a buffalo, surmounted by shields, quivers of arrows,
spears, bows, skins, feathers, etc., used for hunting, for medicinal,
or religious purposes, as the case may require. In the interme-

> *172 the simple platform alone is to be seen without either partitions or curtains.
> 342 In others there is not even the platform, and the inmates sleep on the ground.
> In these lodges several families frequently live together. I believe there are
> 352 as many as three different families in the lodge where I stop. Each family has
> [592] its particular portion of the dwelling, and the furniture of each is kept separate.

*172 342 During the summer of 1930 a Pawnee lodge circle was completely excavated by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey party at the Hill site near Red Cloud. In measurements, interior arrangement of posts, and other details it coincided remarkably with the lodge described by Clayton, thus affording an interesting and unusual opportunity for comparison.

The lodge in which excavations were carried on was in the southeastern part of the village, lying at the base of a gentle slope which culminated in the principal burial hill 400 yards distant. When cleared it proved to be not quite circular in outline. It measured 46 feet from north to south by 44 feet 6 inches from east to west. The floor near the periphery lay 12 to 20 inches beneath the adjoining ground surface, deepest at the south side, and sloped very slightly toward the center. At the outer edge it curved sharply upward to form a vertical wall, or bench, as described by Clayton. The floor was somewhat rough, but generally well packed and hard, and like the vertical wall showed the effects of baking to a depth of nearly a half inch. No difficulty was experienced in tracing out the original excavation, once the cultivated topsoil had been removed.

Eighteen postholes were ranged about the periphery of the floor, 3 feet 6 inches inside the house wall. They were from 5 to 7 feet apart, i. e., far enough to permit an adult to lie at full length between them. Each was 6 to 8 inches in diameter, about 2 feet in depth, and slanted inward toward the bottom instead of descending vertically; the posts had very clearly leaned toward the edge of the pit. Two short sections of charred post were found on the south side, in situ;[*] otherwise, only decayed wood and light, loose dirt filled each hole.

Eight large postholes formed an inner circle about 8 or 10 feet inside the outer row. The distance from hole to hole averaged 7 feet, with two intervals of double length where posts were normally to be expected. Three additional posts were set triangularly within this circle, 15 feet apart. The posts in the central group were all much heavier than those in the outer circle, the holes averaging 10 to 12 inches in diameter, about 2 feet in depth, and descending

---

[*] This wood was submitted to Mr. E. W. Haury of Gila Pueblo, Globe, Ariz., for a comparison of the growth rings with those of trees in the pueblo area. The specimens proved, however, to be those "of some fast-growing tree whose seasonal rings (are) not strongly marked," and could not be correlated with the southwestern dendrochronology.—Personal communication from E. W. Haury, Jan. 16, 1931.

ized were concentrated along the banks of Beaver Creek, a northern 101
tributary of the Loup River near the present town of Genoa, Nebraska.
They had moved to this place in 1859 as a result of their treaty
with the United States Government. Each of the bands had its separate
location, the Skidi villages in the westernmost position and the three
South Bands ranged along the stream to the east about half a mile away.
From west to east they were: Kitkehaxki (Little-Earth-Lodge), Tsawi
(Asking-for-Meat), and Pitahawirata (Man-Going-Downstream, or East).
Each of the bands is said to have comprised a number of villages;
for the three South Bands this cannot be documented. From 1700 on,
when our historical records are clear, the Skidi were the largest of the
four bands and were composed of a number of distinct villages, estimated
between twelve and nineteen. In 1867 the Skidi had four distinct villages, 361
Tuwahukasa (Village-across-a-Ridge), Tuhitspiat (Village-in-the-Bottomlands),
Tskirirara (Wolf-in-Water), and Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine). [103]
The villages were made up of ten to twelve earth lodges, each a high
spacious dome-shaped building housing thirty to fifty people. Besides
containing thirty to fifty people under one roof, the personnel was likely
to change from season to season after each migration to the buffalo hunting
grounds. The basic Pawnee household was as different from ours as 592
it is possible for a human arrangement to be. And yet it gave personal
satisfaction to its members and within itself produced the whole material
and social base for an ongoing community. In fact, this is what we
wish our family life would do. Sibling rivalries, partial or total rejection
of child by parent or smothering attention, demands on the child for the
unfulfilled ambitions of the parents, or overprotection because of resented
parental hardships, heavy-handed control of parent over child in a
severely restricted social environment—these are ills that are intimately
linked with the very physical arrangements of our present family living.
There are things about Pawnee life that suggest that an enlarged home
environment for our children would improve our lives—a matter to be
considered in the concluding chapter.

Even more startling to me than the contrast in home life was the question 626
of political control among the Pawnees. They were a well-disciplined
people, maintaining public order under many trying circumstances. 182
And yet they had none of the power mechanisms that we consider essential
to a well-ordered life. No orders were ever issued. No assignments for
work were ever made nor were over-all plans discussed. There was no
code of rules of conduct nor punishment for infraction. There were no
commandments nor moralizing proverbs. The only instigator of action 796
was the consenting person. In religion, the regular round of ceremonies 182
that followed the seasons was in charge of a priesthood, but no one of
these ceremonies was ever instigated by them. Only when a single 626
person had the call through visions and invited the priesthood to discuss

796 it with him, pledging his support in food and goods, would the ceremony
ever be performed. In all his work, both public and private, the Pawnee
182 moved on a totally voluntary basis. Whatever social forms existed were
carried within the consciousness of the people, not by others who were in
626 a position to make demands. As I talked to the old men and women I
realized that this is what we wish for but do not have. As they described
the coordination of their households, I repeatedly asked when they got
together and laid the plan they were apparently carrying through and in
what exact terms they discussed it. The answer was always, "They didn't
discuss it at all. They don't talk about it. It goes along just as it happens to
work out."

626 For example, sentinels were always needed to man the outposts and
keep watch for the enemy who might be lurking nearby ready to attack
701 the villages, or in the process of sneaking up on them. Sentinels were neither
assigned nor called for by anyone. A number of young men who
were friends would be talking together and one would mention that this
was about the time the enemy would be attacking. Then one of them
would remark, "I think I'll go up to the sentry post early tomorrow
morning." Another would say, "I think I'll do that too." Then several others
would chime in and word would get around, and other young men
would also turn up long before dawn at the different sentry posts. The
• 592 household coordinated itself in precisely the same way. A remark by one
626 person brought a complementary remark from another, and the plans
seemed to shape themselves.

626 Time after time I tried to find a case [illegible] orders given, and there was
none. Gradually I began to realize that democracy is a very personal
thing which, like charity, begins at home. Basically it means not being
coerced and having no need to coerce anyone else. The Pawnee learned
this way of living in the earliest beginnings of his life. In the detailed
events of everyday living as a child, he began his development as a disciplined
and free man or as a woman who felt her dignity and her independence
to be inviolate. I was often confronted with the feeling that
they expected of me a kind of independence and decisiveness that was
not considered becoming to a woman in our society. Men and women expected
the same clear and well-defined reaction from me, and among
themselves it was evident that it was their accustomed mode of interacting.

622 The Pawnees had chiefs, but these were the focus of consensus, not
the wielders of power. There was no over-all chief of all the Pawnees.
619 The two major political groupings among the Pawnees were the Skidi
and the South Bands, distinguished by a slight difference in the pronunciation
of the Pawnee language. The main subdivisions within these groupings
were villages and households. The village numbered from three
621 hundred to five hundred people in ten to fifteen households. The real

577 uted his favors more broadly. Now on the fourth occasion, the Pawnees
lay in wait in their village and sure enough the young Fox warrior
727 stealthily crept into the encampment ready to collect and run. This time
the Pawnees were lying in wait for him, and they seized him and took him to the tent of the head chief. There the young warrior trembled within himself, prepared for the worst. One by one, the Pawnees began to remove his garments as the chief had ordered. Then they painted up his face, put on a new loincloth, a new shirt, new leggings, and new moccasins and loaded him with additional goods saying, "You have favored us three times already, now go home and don't come back for a while." As the Fox report, he never did return to the Pawnees. In fact, was there anything worse that a people could do to an attacking enemy soldier?

• 592 Let us now look at the household of the Pawnee—his home life. Most
earth lodges housed from thirty to fifty people. The lodge was a production
512 workshop in which, with few exceptions, everything required
462 for use was produced, including the collection and processing of raw materials.
A substantial part of this work was done by the women. The house was conceived as being divided into two duplicate halves—the north sector and the south sector—each of which carried out the essential
household functions in alternation. There were two main meals a day,
[264] for example, the one being provided by the north side, the other by the
south side, both serving all. In operation this meant that the woman who cooked the meal had raised all the vegetables in her own gardens, had dried and preserved them and kept them in her storage pit, and that all the meat she served was dried and packed by her on the buffalo hunt, carried back to the village (formerly on her back or by the dogs she raised), and also stored in the pit. In the past, the clay pot she cooked in would have been made by her (now a brass kettle from the trade store), and she was still making the large buffalo-horn ladle with which she served, the wooden mortar and pestle in which the mush was pounded, and for her "side" alone the wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons in which the food was served, the rush mats on which the people sat, and all the clothing they wore. Every day, morning or evening, she would serve twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty people a meal.

264 The way in which the morning and evening meal was allocated to one
571 or the other "side" was a clear example of the characteristic Pawnee
mode of personal interaction. There was no prearranged schedule at all as to which side would take the morning, which the evening meal. This was determined on each individual occasion by the inclinations of the principals most directly involved. From our point of view a plan would be made and the people fitted into it—from the Pawnee view, the plan emerged from the feelings of the people. This difference of approach is so basic that I feel impelled to stress it particularly. The Pawnee indi-

vidual embraced responsibility; he had no inclination to shirk it. In a 264
sense, the rhythm of Pawnee work life was like a ballet, whereas ours is 571
like a prison lockstep: "You must, you must, you must get to work!"

The day's routine in our Pawnee household began when either Vic- 512
tory Call or Old Bull happened to awaken; this depended on which one 592
decided to get out of bed first. Or else White Woman or Queen Woman might be the first to awaken, and then she would remind her husband that it was morning. From the time one or the other of the two men got out of bed, the day's program was set; the others simply followed the initial cue. When the man had gotten out of his bed he went outside and inspected the horizon and the stars, came in and kindled the fire, and said, "Fire's made." His senior wife then got up and started the breakfast. As observed by one of the contemporary missionaries in 1837, the rest followed with precision. The minor cycles of household operation were also conducted in a similar mode. Someone felt impelled to take care of a needed task and mentioned it and volunteers were forthcoming without further ado. Pressure and compulsion are implicit in our attitude toward work; voluntarism was the Pawnee way.

The functions of the women in the earth lodge were subdivided 462
roughly according to age. The north and south quarters of the circum- 562
ference of the house were each subdivided into three "stations." The 592
central one of these (due north and due south) was the core position 561
and it was occupied by the mature women of the lodge. They furnished the main provisions and directed the necessary work. At the inner or western station on each side was the place of the immature girls and newly married young women. The outer or eastern station on each side was for the old women, symbolically on the way out and physically nearest to the exit (or entryway) of the lodge. Most commonly each of these stations was occupied by several women who carried out its special functions jointly.

The details of the function of the central station have been mentioned 855
above in connection with general household operations. The other two 603
stations supplemented it in very different ways. At the east stations for 887
the old women, the children past the age of infancy were cared for, the 592
old women being referred to by the children as "grandmothers," regardless of the actual biological kinship. The children slept in the beds with their "grandmothers" and shared a bowl of food with them at meals. Grandma saw that they were warm and well fed and tried to help them in every way. She was a permissive, familiar, kind person to whom the child could always appeal. Between grandma and grandchild there was neither formality nor constraint. Jokes were made about a boy saying, "Look how close he sticks to his grandma; he wants to marry her!" or "There
he goes always running to his grandma." Besides child care, the grand- 887
mother would give a good deal of assistance to "the senior women of the 592

887 house." She supplemented their supplies of vegetables from her own garden from time to time, saying, "Daughter, cook this for our supper."
592 She would also have a small private stock of dried meat that she had gotten by helping with its preparation during the hunt season, and she would also offer this at various times when it seemed a good idea. Again there was no regular schedule for this, nor any amount that was standard. Grandma already rendered considerable services to the house and was considered entitled to her "keep." She also gave substantive help with skin working, sewing, getting firewood, special manufacturing, and so on.

The young women and girls at the west stations did minor household
462 tasks, but had a far more significant contribution to make to its ongoing.
592 They were there to please and care for a capable man who would protect
883 the people in the lodge, provide them with fresh meat by his almost daily hunting expeditions for deer, elk, or antelope, participate in the tribal buffalo hunts in the summer and winter each year so that they would all have dried buffalo meat, and carry on the official interrelationships with the community outside the household, including those with the village officials.

582 An influential and capable man might be given one of these girls in marriage with the understanding that her younger sisters would also be given to him when they came of age. If he were adjudged too old, the family was unlikely to agree to these further marriages. In the case of Old Bull, the family of his junior wife, Clear Day, was unwilling to give him her younger sister on this account. Fifteen years was considered a suitable age for marriage in a girl, and eighteen for a boy. However, the probability is remote that the couple would be of these ages respectively. First marriages for both a boy and a girl were almost always of a "May-September" type. A boy of eighteen was considered altogether incapable of playing a suitable married role in a household. A man contracted a marriage
583 in terms of services he could render to the family of the girl that he
591 married. Normally he was expected to come to live in her household and "take care of them," i.e., render them major services.

601 The son-in-law, i.e., the man married into a household, was known as
kustawixtsu," the one that is sitting among [us]." The man on his part
606 referred to his in-laws as *tatutkaku*, "I sit inside for you," that is, "I am in the house for your benefit." The reward he receives is his wife whom he calls *tatiraktaku*, "I own her," and she in turn refers to her husband as *tikuktaku*, "he owns me." These terms are not normally used under informal circumstances, the couple addressing each other by the common term for spouse, *raku*, or if they are on particularly pleasant terms, the man calls his wife *tsustit*, "old lady," and she refers to her husband as *kurahus*, "old man."

58 Because of the services required on both sides, a young man would have little alternative but to marry a capable older woman, and a young

TABLE 3-1. *The Essential Pawnee Kin Terms Except for the Relationships by Marriage* 601

1.	*atira*	my mother
2.	*atias*	my father
3.	*irari*	sibling of the same sex, viz., brother to brother, or sister to sister
4.	*iratsti*	brother, woman speaking
5.	*itasri*	sister, man speaking (Skidi dialect, *itahi*)
6.	*piira'u*	child
7.	*tiki*	son
8.	*tsuat*	daughter
9.	*tiwat*	nephew or niece, viz., child of a man's sister
10.	*tiwat-ciriks*	uncle, mother's brother, meaning the super-*tiwat*
11.	*atika*	my grandmother
12.	*atipat*	my grandfather
13.	*rak-tiki*	grandchild, viz., son's child.

The parent and grandparent terms are different from the others in that each has three variants. They contain a ROOT and also a possessive pronoun. Thus:

ati-AS	my father	*ati*-RA	my mother
as-AS	your father	A'*as*	your mother
is-AS-*ti*	his father	*i*'A-*sti*	his mother
ati-PAT	my grandfather	*ati*-KA	my grandmother
a-PAT	your grandfather	*a*-KA	your grandmother
i-PAK-*ti*	his grandfather	*i*-KA-*ri*	his grandmother

Normally people did not indicate that a woman was their biological mother as distinct from her sisters, nor the woman that the child was biologically hers within this grouping, but under exceptional circumstances it could be said that a mother was *irata'u*, "my very own," and that a child was *kutatisra'a*, "my very own child."

---

became man's way of life, the woman, being the gardener, acquired considerable social power. As an economy depending on herds of domestic animals came into being, the men took power and held the women in check, insisting on a recognition of their individual paternity of their children and therefore on monogamy on the part of the woman. The Pawnee situation casts some doubt on a literal interpretation of this theory. The Pawnee women do cultivate the gardens, run and maintain the 592
house. They can hardly be said to be politically dominant. Kin closeness 611
is considered greater in the mother's line than in the father's, but the incest taboo covers both. One cannot maintain that the political position of the men can be equated with that of the Roman patriarch who had power of life and death over the permanent members of his household, which included captive slaves and the immediate members of his family. Nei-

562 specialization of labor developed, the Pawnees would have developed a social hierarchy of occupations of which India is a supreme example.

It is all too easy, having analyzed a social structure, to give it a certain
602 rigidity and permanence that it does not have among the people themselves. Definite as the Pawnee kinship system may seem, in operation it permitted a wide area of alternative behavior for the individual.

The question of kin lines came up in a substantive way whenever a
582 marriage was being arranged. As this involved the acquisition of property
602 by some of the relatives and the establishment of social contacts for others, there was always a certain variation in the individual interests. The first question asked in relation to the proposed marriage was whether the partners were so closely related that there was too great biological closeness. If it was decided by the assembled father's brothers that they were definitely outside the incest group, then the degree of distance would be discussed. One man who favored the marriage for his own personal reasons would say, "As I see it, they can be reckoned child and grandchild, and, although the relationship is a close one through the mother's line, it is a good thing for marriages to be kept within the family, as they will share each other's interests." Another, not in favor of the match for his own reasons would state, "True, they are child and grandchild through the mother's line, but it's a disadvantage for marriages to be made too closely within the kin grouping, as any quarrel between the couple will quickly spread to the whole kindred. I think so and so who is more distantly related would be more desirable on this account." Then someone else might counter with, "Well, while one might say the couple are related through the mother's line in such and such a manner, from another point of view, looking further back, there is still another kin category that should take precedence, and I think they are not so closely related that this latter argument should be involved." And so it continued until they came to terms. But these terms were by no means fixed by what the outsider might consider *the* rules.

Another common occasion where the kinship factor came up was at
602 the time of the tribal hunts. While they were on the march, there was an
592 attempt to improve one's connection in a better household or in a more advantageous position, and a request to join such a household when they got home was backed up with a genealogical discussion as to how close the kinship was to an important member of the desired household through various alternative kin lines.

And finally it was also possible to disown one's relatives, no matter
602 how close they might be. Long-standing hostilities might grow up over time and finally give rise to coldness between even the closest kin. A kin tie, in order to be effective, had to be validated in a number of ways or it
602 might in fact lapse. The most elementary condition was the use of the kin
601 term as a greeting. This could be done with more or less enthusiasm or

159 him to jump into the water and stay under, and when he came out, some
756 deer hair would have come up out of his throat and he would have been well at once. The lesson was not lost on Otter, though he seems never to have needed it.

[762] The case of the old medicine woman is also of interest. Her son, a boy of fourteen, had recently committed suicide. He had resented her second husband and finally shot himself. Otter's older brother Fox Chief had taken the occasion to point out to him that suicide solved nothing and that all the boy had accomplished was to leave his mother all alone.

Old Bull was the leading man of the south half of the house. He was
159 a man of good-natured jocularity, about fifty years old. He was a
555 highly skilled buffalo hunter and on occasion he was known to outrun a buffalo. His full name was *Hikuts-tarus*, "Old Buffalo Bull"—"Scabby" or "Itchy." He was a man of good family who had begun life with a number of advantages. His father was a prominent chief, and he was sitting in his family's hereditary seat in the chiefs' council. In his boyhood he had struck up a friendship with a poor boy named Small who was serving in a chief's household. The poor boy had a vision and he had chosen to share it with his wealthy friend, Old Bull (see pp. 322-335). Then, while he was out tending the horses of his wealthy patron, Small was killed by the Sioux and Old Bull continued with Small's teachings and rose to prominence in the Doctor Association. He was currently a leader of the Deer Cult of that body. Not only his skill as a buffalo hunter, but his rise in the medical profession were notable personal achievements.

159 Old Bull and Victory Call had a kin relationship that went back to past
554 family history. It was usual for every prominent man, particularly
• 592 among the important chiefs and doctors, to draw around him numbers
of young men who would come to live in his house and serve him in
various ways as apprentices or dependents. Chief Big Eagle was such a
159 man with a large household in Old Village in 1838. He had three sons
554 of his own of whom the oldest was *kax-kuutu*, "Rotten-House," the
602 second Sitting Hawk, and the third, Victory Call. Among the other young men who were in the house it was always possible to find some kin line that would make them brothers to the children of their host. Old Bull's father was one of these young men and he had called Victory Call, *irari*, "brother." Now that they were settled together in a common household, Old Bull properly addressed Victory Call as *atias*, "my father," since Old Bull's father had been counted as Victory Call's brother. Accordingly, Victory Call addressed Old Bull as *piirau*, "my child." Otter, who also called Victory Call father and was called by him *piirau*, was as a brother to Old Bull, Old Bull assuming the role of older brother to the boy. As younger brother, Otter would wait until his older brother Old Bull ad-

rank. Her marriage to Old Bull was apparently a case of a more mature 159 woman taking a younger man for her second husband. Her children by her first marriage were growing up and were off at school, and she 595 had started a second family with Old Bull. With him she had two small boys, one three years old and one still younger. She carried the whole responsibility for the household since the gambling habits of the younger wife left her with very little help. Blue Calico, the mother of the younger wife tried to compensate for this situation by being especially helpful to Queen Woman, giving her extra supplies to cook for all of them and a great deal of extra help "beyond the call of duty." Queen Woman was of French-Pawnee extraction, the French ancestor being relatively recent as reflected in her rather light complexion and mixed features. She was related to the family of the interpreter, Frank Deteyr, who was killed by the Sioux in the fall of 1861. She was quiet 159 and conservative in her social approach and sometimes Old Bull would 521 jokingly remark, "Why don't you talk once in a while?" "Well," she replied quite literally, "I have nothing to say." Most Pawnee women countered such remarks with a more lively retort. Her character was described in the following terms:

> She just went about her work. If other women came to visit, they would tell her stories about what was going on, but she would never repeat them. She never went out except to get a bucket of water with White Woman. People said of her, "She's a nice woman. She doesn't say much or gossip about anyone. You might tell her something but she doesn't repeat it or make any remarks about it." The two wives got along nicely together. Queen Woman never did any gambling herself, and she never made any remarks to Clear Day about her gambling.

Old Lady Blue Calico was the mother of Old Bull's younger wife 159 Clear Day and grandmother of the south half of the house. The Pawnee name of Blue Calico was *Ts-tapit-tarius*, "woman-bought goods-blue," 592 referring probably to a time when her uncle was portioning out a government allotment of goods or the spoils of a profitable trading expedition of his own and gave her a particularly nice piece of blue calico in the process.

Her personality was more lively than Grandma Chase-the-Enemy 159 but less so than the rough and ready Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy. 574 Her joking remarks and her general activity were a little more conspicuous than Otter's quieter grandmother. Blue Calico always went off 592 to the Village-in-the-Bottomlands where she had come from to visit a special old lady friend there. The two old women on the north side had their own friends in Pumpkin-Vine Village. If Blue Calico wanted to

159 go off and gather wild turnips, she went with some other old lady
574 from Bottomlands Village. Only if it were necessary once in a while,
would the three old ladies of the lodge go together to get a little wood
592 for fuel.

[887] Old ladies were great ones for visiting one another and talking over old times—about when they were young and when they got married, prepared buffalo robes and many other such reminiscences. Whenever Blue Calico came back from a visit to her own village, she would come in with stories of what was going on there. "That man went hunting and didn't bring home anything," she would say, or, "He brought some game—a deer."

156 Contrary to a common conception of tribal life, the personal inter-
571 relationships of the Pawnee were not fixed within a kin mold. For example, there was a marked difference in temperament between the two
602 wives of Old Bull, Queen Woman, the senior one, and Clear Day, the younger of the two. Two factors combined to make the approach to Otter of these two women different. Through a relatively distant kin line, the older wife Queen Woman counted as a sister, *itabi*, to Otter and accordingly their relationship was formal. As noted above (page 36), Queen Woman's two little boys regarded Otter as a mother's brother, *tiwatciriks*, and he treated them as nephew, *tiwat*. Under these conditions, the kind of joking Otter was encouraged to carry on with Clear Day was not in order. On the other hand, Queen Woman had another role as wife of Old Bull and consequently "wife" to Otter. Two conflicting roles presented themselves and the sister role was chosen. The likelihood is that this was an adjustment to Queen Woman's conservative temperament which tipped the balance in favor of the more formal of the two possible kinship categories. When people used to marry almost exclusively within the village, the wife of an uncle or of a brother was bound to be some sort of relative to the younger boy. This was apparently conveniently forgotten or raised as the circumstances happened to warrant.

Neither personal relations nor the personnel of the household were cramped within a fixed kin structure. The individual personality was not trimmed down to fit the kin structure, but the structure was used to realize the individual personality. The Pawnee social structure was written into no statute book, nor did it have the status of doctrine, and there was no chain of command to enforce it. Therefore it was not frozen and clamped onto the people, but carried implicitly by them to serve them as they saw fit. No built-in guilt, acting as a surrogate for dominant power, forced them to narrow the scope of their personal lives. They were socially creative in every personal interrelationship they had. The
602 world was raw and their life was hard, but it was also freer than ours.
626 No religious or supernatural sanction enforced the social forms. The only

screen stood in front of the beds of the mature women to give them pri- 352
vacy. The series of beds was interrupted by an open platform at each side 353
to store current food supplies and household articles.

The long vestibule that gave entrance to the house projected outward 342
from the eastern side of the circular walls. Inside, on both sides of the 353
door to the house, was a working area in each of which a woodpile was braced against the walls. The rear or western wall of the house was the sacred area, the beds being ranged along the north and south walls. There were five platforms along each wall, the middle one for supplies and the four others fitted out as beds.

The boy, Otter, and his grandmother were sleeping on the north side 513
of the house in the easternmost bed nearest the entranceway. The sec- 353
ond bed next to theirs was occupied by another little boy, Yellow Calf, 592
and his grandmother, Grieves-the-Enemy. Then came the supply platform for the north side and beyond that the bed of Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn. Horse Rider was an assistant to Otter's father, Victory Call, a prominent chief and religious leader. Victory Call and White Woman had the bed that was in the place of honor near the west.

Along the south wall of the house was another family. The head of that family was Old Bull, friend and associate of Victory Call and also a chief and religious leader. He occupied the west bed with his younger wife, Clear Day, and the next bed was occupied by the little girl, New Queen, their daughter. Then came the supply platform for the south side, and beyond that the bed of Queen Woman, Old Bull's senior wife with her little boy of three, and finally the easternmost bed on the south side for the grandmother, Blue Calico, who was the mother of the younger wife, Clear Day, and had the youngest child sleeping with her.

Everyone in the house knew his appointed place and where he could go 353
and where he could not go. In the sacred area at the west was an earthen 778
platform with a buffalo skull resting on it and above it hung a long, skin-wrapped bundle containing their most sacred objects, including two specially bred ears of corn. Between the fireplace and the buffalo altar, there was a sacred spot that was invisible—the *wi-haru*, "the place where the wise words of those who have gone before us are resting." Rather than step over this place in order to pass from one side of the house to the other, everyone walked around the entire house by way of the east. When the heads of the household sat down to rest or when they entertained important guests, it was near the west that they sat and no one would want to pass in front of them.

The house was a microcosm of the universe and as one was at home in- 342
side, one was also at home in the outside world. For the dome of the sky 772
was the high-arching roof of the universe and the horizon all around was the circular wall of the cosmic house. Through the roof of the house the star gods poured down their strength from their appropriate directions in

272 After the other foods were ready, the coffee was cooked in a bucket with sugar to be served later in small bowls. This was a task that No Corn was likely to undertake. She would mix a handful of ground coffee with a handful of sugar and boil them together with water in the bucket. The meal would be finished off with sweet coffee served hot and black.

512 While all these preparations were going on, the people began to get up one by one and sit down in their places around the fire. Now only the boys were still in bed. Grandma warmed her hands over the fire, went [522] over to the bed, put them on Otter's warm nose and "took it off" remarking to Old Bull, "Here's his nose." Then she offered it all around to the assembled company. Sometimes it was his ears that she offered instead. With things about done, Victory Call said, "Boys, breakfast is ready, you can go to bed again later if you want to."

264 White Woman removed the bucket of corn from the fire and put eleven bowls around it to serve the family. The grandmother-grandchild pairs [412] each got a bowl together and everyone else got a bowl for himself. With [415] each bowl there was a buffalo-horn spoon and two spoons in the bowl for grandma and grandchild. White Woman, who was sitting east and slightly north of the fireplace, dished out the corn with a large buffalo-horn spoon 8 inches long with a bowl that was 4½ inches across and 1½ inches deep. A ladleful or one and a half ladles of corn along with the liquor was a serving, the grandmother-grandchild bowls receiving an extra large portion. For feasts, large wooden ladles were used for serving.

264 The order in which the members of the household sat at their meal was pretty much in the position of their beds. Old Bull sat at the southwest 554 and Victory Call at the northwest position. Ordinarily a man's senior wife 592 sat next to him, and his junior wives sat beyond. Old Bull and his wives sat in this order, but White Woman had moved down to the east end of the north side so that she could do the serving. The grandmothers and [574] their grandchildren sat at the east end. Old-Man-That-Chief, although a [588] guest, took up the southeast position of humility, for he was old and nearly blind. The bowls were passed around to the people from hand to hand, unless the circle was too large, in which case a young woman would be asked to do the serving. The men were served first in order of importance, the "guest side" always being given priority. In this instance the order was Old Bull, Victory Call, Old-Man-That-Chief, Horse Rider, Queen Woman, the senior wife, then Clear Day, the junior wife, Blue Calico, the grandmother, on the south side; then the women on the north—No Corn, Yellow Calf and his Grandma, Otter and his Grandma, and finally White Woman herself.

264 782 Before they began their meal, White Woman made an offering of corn at the west. She took some kernels of corn in a spoon from Victory Call's bowl and offered them to the nose of the buffalo skull that rested on

Next they planted the beans, sometimes in the same hills with the corn 244
so that the vines could entwine themselves around the cornstalks. If they
planted them in separate hills, they set in willow sticks for the vines to
cling to.

Last of all, they planted pumpkins, squashes, and watermelons [*Citrullus, citrullus* (L.) Karst., indigenous variety—Gilmore, 1919, pp. 120-
129.]. These were planted in separate patches and served to separate the [243]
different varieties of corn in order to preserve the breeds. There would
be a planting of blue corn, then a pumpkin patch, then spotted corn, then
a melon patch, and so on in this order.

Between two adjacent fields, there was a hill or ridge where the sunflowers 241
grew by themselves without planting. Some women surrounded 423
their fields with a fence built of stakes connected with rawhide ropes. 578
Disputes about the boundaries of their fields sometimes occurred among
the women. Some women would pile the earth further and further on the [417]
far side of the field and encroach on the field of a neighbor. Some women
stole crops, whereupon arguments would ensue and they would curse
one another and call one another names. The woman from whom the corn
had been stolen would strike the other woman with her hands or with a
stick. The informant said that stealing was actually unnecessary, as a poor [476]
women could easily get some corn by appealing to her neighbor directly, [735]
saying, "I want you to take pity on me and give me some corn."

Women always went to the fields in groups for their own protection; 241
the Sioux made a particular point of attacking and scalping them as they 476
were going into the fields or coming home. This was presumably to exert 722
sufficient pressure to chase the Pawnees from their territory and induce 648
them to abandon it entirely. The mortality among the women from
this cause was heavy. In 1861 in one such attack eighteen Skidi women
were killed. One group of women would say to the other, "We're going
to clear our fields, how about you?" Then the two groups would set out
together, any woman who finished first helping the others so that all
would be ready to return at the same time. The young men, without being
told, knew that this was the time to picket around the fields.

In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each of the mature 241
women had at least one field. Clear Day, the younger wife, and her 423
mother, Blue Calico, worked one field together, as was customary with 592
mother and daughter until the younger woman was considered responsible
enough to manage her own. Fields were located along the bottomlands
on both banks of Beaver Creek, and some women had a closer and
a more distant field. The ones that were closer to the villages were, of
course, the more desirable both for transport and for military reasons. An
individual field was from half an acre to one and a half acres in area.

Patterns of cooperation were well developed in each household so that 592
the women would get through quickly. Queen Woman would say to

592 Clear Day and Blue Calico, "I can take care of the housework myself.
You two go plant your field." On the North Side, White Woman had a
double role to play and was hard pressed for time. She had "to take care
of her husband" and was also the main provisioner of the North Side of
[437] the household. She was responsible for repairing her husband's moccasins
when they wore out; when he went to the trade store to trade in a buffalo
robe for supplies of flour, coffee, sugar, prunes, or dried apples she
would accompany him to do most of the carrying. Whether he went on
horseback or on foot, he would carry only small items, being poised for
any threatened attack. When she became overburdened with work in this
way at the crucial time of planting, the two old women on her side,
Grandma Chase-the-Enemy and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, would
come to her aid. "Let's get through with our 'daughter's' field first. She
has to do the cooking for the whole family and take care of her husband."
The three of them would then go out together and finish up White
Woman's field and then the two old women would work each other's
fields in turn cooperatively.

517 On the way home from the fields they all washed their hoes and took
a swim in Beaver Creek. Heads would be bobbing up and down all over
526 as they swam back and forth. When they finished their swim and cleaned
313 their hoes, they would pick up whatever driftwood they could find and
515 take it home. High water sometimes left good sticks at the bend of the
creek. This moist wood was piled way at the back of the woodpile, since
unless it was left to dry out it would smoke and hurt the eyes. The
young women sat on the banks of the creek and slapped the surface
with their feet to see who could make the loudest noise. This was considered
quite a trick, and sometimes they tried it with their hands. It was
like the sound of the dried corn kernels when they were threshed at the
time of harvest, and expressed the hope that the corn might ripen.

343 Sometimes a sweat bath was preferred to a swim in the creek. When
515 they got home tired and dirty they would then build a sweat lodge inside
the earth lodge on the north side. All during planting time an old man
888 would sit on the roof of his earth lodge in the evening and call out various
521 items of advice. He would particularly recommend a sweat bath. He
[757] would say, "If you're tired it's best to sweat. Then you will feel better
next day. If you should have a headache, you must sweat. When you get
[515] in from the fields, take a sweat bath. It cleans you up better than the
creek." There were many other things the old man had to say, particularly
complimentary remarks to the women to bolster their morale. After
some general praises, he would cite some particular women specifically,
saying how industrious they were and what fine crops they raised. Presently
a little boy or girl would come and invite the old man to a little treat
in the home of the woman he had mentioned, usually some bread and
coffee.

*224 492 178 From some of these accounts of the hunt without horses, it is clear that the social patterning of the buffalo hunt was probably quite ancient. Yet by 1867 horses had become a necessity for the hunt.

*224 492 *484 • 592 If a man had only one horse, only the man and one of his wives could go on the summer hunt. He would have to leave his other wife and all the children at home and any old people or other dependents. The couple that were going would pack their one horse with food and goods and join someone else's tent, taking just their covers along by way of household equipment. If a family had no horses at all, they could not go. Unmarried or widowed individuals who had no horses could join a household where they could work their way, simply getting their board and keep "for going." They would go on foot wearing a double blanket for their covers. It was said that they went "just to eat."

If a man had two horses, he would also be able to take only one wife along, leaving the rest of the family home. She would go along to process the meat.

*224 492 571 There were some rough-and-ready characters who, even though they had two horses, would decide to go alone, leaving their wives behind. They were men who were not averse to doing all kinds of work, including the hunting and preparing the meat besides. Such a man would say to his wife, "You'll only be in my way." No insult was intended. For example, Mad Bear would team up with his friend Many People who had a small tent and two or three horses. Together they could bring back a
[572] great deal of dried meat in this way. Two men of this kind were friends and equal partners. Sometimes two men would team up, one of whom was the senior buffalo hunter of the two. Then the more prominent hunter would ride the buffalo horse to the hunting grounds while his assistant rode the pack horse. During the chase the assistant stood back, holding the pack horse, while the hunter went after the buffalo. The assistant then helped him butcher and they packed the extra horse with the meat. The senior hunter rode the hunting horse back to the encampment and the assistant rode the pack horse on top of the meat. If they got two buffalo, both horses were packed with meat and they both rode on top.

*224 492 A man with two horses and no assistant could manage by riding the pack horse and leading the hunting horse by a rope. When he got to the herd, he hobbled the pack horse on the sidelines. When he got the buffalo, he rode over on his fast horse and led his pack horse to where the buffalo lay. Then he loaded the pack horse and led it by a rope, riding to the camp on his fast horse.

*224 492 422 426 The possession of three horses made it possible for a man to take his whole family along, while four horses made it possible to manage easily. Ordinarily he would not have a guest traveling with them, but if he did he would assign him one of the horses so that he could pack his things on

if he wandered over to his parents' tent and asked his mother to fix a 606
bed for him it was accepted as a normal thing. His wife would understand 593
that "he felt like being childish for a while" and that next morning
he would be back with them. Sometimes the sounds of fighting would
be heard inside a tent—a father-in-law and a son-in-law in conflict.

Although he might live elsewhere in the village, an unmarried 593
younger brother was likely to join his older brother for the hunt. This 224*
was his obligation. When he married, however, he would be impelled to
go with his wife's family. Sometimes two brothers and their families [592]
lived in an earth lodge jointly and they might very well also go jointly
on the hunt.

The household of Old Bull and Victory Call broke up into three 592
groupings. Each of the four villages of the Skidi Band had a separate 621
section of the encampment. Old Bull and Victory Call both camped in the Pumpkin-Vine Village section in the west, but each had a separate encampment and ran their households entirely independently. The camp of Old Bull included his two wives and the grandmother and their young children. In Victory Call's camp were his wife White Woman, his assistant Horse Rider, his wife No Corn, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy, and the boy Otter. The old lady Grieves-the-Enemy and the boy Yellow Calf went far over to the east section where her son was encamped in Village-in-the-Bottomlands with his father-in-law, Path-of-the-Enemy. The two little boys did not see each other all summer, as there were hundreds of tents between them. When they returned to the village in the fall, it was optional whether they rejoined the household or not.

In the past, the people who were left behind in the village were in 224*
great danger and they all cried bitterly as the expedition departed. The 888
Stay-at-Homes were usually the sick and the old. Some men would stay 734
longer to give a little more protection to an old grandmother or someone of whom they were fond. The Stay-at-Homes would congregate in a few earth lodges in the village, knowing where to find food in the storage pits. Leaving the slow and the sick at home was a necessary step, as the line of march had to move with precision because other tribes were also pressing in on the buffalo herds. They might move entirely out of reach, whereupon the tribe would be faced with the danger of losing all of the effort they had invested in the expedition. Nevertheless, sometimes a soft-hearted chief would say, "Let's all go, even if we have to camp every five miles!" Others would demur, saying that was too slow; finally the old people themselves would say, "No, we can't go along. We're old anyhow," and having made this concession of their own accord, they
would be permitted to return to the village. Sometimes noticing that a 224*
perfectly able-bodied family he liked was not coming along, Eagle Chief 622
would inquire and, finding they were staying behind because they had 426
no horses, would lend them two of his own.

closed up with a drawstring before placing them together in the rawhide envelope or in a larger sack. The tanned hide sacks were of two sizes, the smaller known as *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack," standing 3 feet high and 1½ feet in diameter when full and containing about a bushel or 50-60 pounds of dried corn kernels (see Figure 16-1); the other "almost twice the size," standing about 3 feet high and 2 feet in diameter when filled, containing 1½ bushels or more. 224* 251 415

The camping household of Victory Call comprised five adults and the 224* 262

TABLE 16-1. *Two Months' Supply of Dried Food Carried on the Hunt.* 592• 484*

WHITE WOMAN'S SUPPLIES, INCLUDING GRANDMA'S CONTRIBUTION	
Corn, roasted, quicker cooking variety.	2 small sacks
Corn, dried, longer cooking variety, mostly blue flour.	1 large sack
Corn, dried, spotted, mostly for parching.	1 small sack
Sweet corn pounded with sugar.	2 small sacks
Beans, done up in small bundles, each containing a different variety—spotted, red, black-head.	2 or 3 sacks
Pumpkin, dried, cut into circuits, the strips braided into simple checker-plaited mats about arm's length and 2 feet wide.	1 or 2 mats
Dried buffalo meat, a slab of dried meat, 1½ feet long and 4 inches thick, comprising thin sheets of buffalo meat alternating with layers of dried fat, most of the family supply being left in the food pit.	½ a package
Trade-store goods: in the package with the slab of dried meat, ½ sack of flour, sugar, coffee, baking powder, dried fruits; if there was any room left in the package, little bags of corn, beans, or a pumpkin mat were included.	
NO CORN'S SUPPLEMENTARY SUPPLIES	
The corn was all in small sacks and there was no meat, merely dried buffalo entrails:	
Corn, roasted.	1 sack
Corn, dry.	1 sack
Corn, dry, spotted.	1 sack
Pounded sweet corn with sugar.	1 sack
Pumpkin.	1 mat
Beans, two or three kinds, a bundle of each.	1 sack
Dried buffalo entrails:	
Buffalo paunch, similar to pumpkin cut into strips and made into a checker-plaited mat.	1 mat
Intestine, cut into sections, dried and plaited into a mat about 2 feet long and 1 foot wide, both adding flavor to the soup when cooked with corn.	1 mat

*224 boy Otter. Victory Call was assisted by his retainer, Horse Rider, and
262 there were the three women—White Woman who carried the main re-
•592 sponsibility for the encampment, assisted by No Corn, Horse Rider's
*484 wife, who because of her affliction with arthritis was less able to contribute, and Grandma Chase-the-Enemy, who helped whenever she could. The food supplies these women carried were fairly standard and were estimated as shown in Table 16-1. (Grandma included hers with White Woman's.)

*224 These dried foods were very concentrated and swelled many times
251 their size when boiled with water. For their bulk, they were economical
to carry. Victory Call's family of six took six to eight rawhide envelopes,
262 packing the food and certain small objects that happened to fit in, also a few skin sacks, and half a sack of food for immediate use. In addition, during the twenty days en route to the main hunting grounds, Victory Call went out regularly, as he did in the household, and hunted for a deer, an elk, or an antelope to supply them with fresh meat, although a good deal of it did go into social entertaining as it had in the village. The fresh deer bones were cooked along with the dried corn for the family. On the return journey lasting twenty-seven days, or more, the dried vegetable food was supplemented with partly dried buffalo meat known as *kiparu*, "moist," processed so that it would keep for a short time.

*224 Normally two meals a day were eaten, one before they broke camp in
264 the morning and one in the late afternoon. It seldom happened that they had a chance to eat a lunch in between as they were mainly on the march through the day or extremely busy processing the meat and hides that the hunters brought to the camp. A good breakfast was mandatory to sustain them on their day's journey, and corn was the most satisfying food. The pattern of meals was much as it was in the earth lodge and included fried bread of commercial wheat flour and coffee mixed with a generous
*224 amount of sugar. The value of sugar as a quick source of energy was well
262 appreciated, and a man would ask his wife to put some sugar in the fried bread if he was going to have a hard day.

356 dumped their goods outside, set up the beds, and laid the mats. Then
they brought in the rest of their things, and the house was crowded
with parfleches of dry meat, corn, beans, and everything they had
251 gathered. The women talked of storing them in the cache pit. Grandma and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy told about how they had looked over the pit when they first got home from the hunt and cleared off some mold that had developed on the grass lining and that it was now clean and ready to be filled. After the pit was filled this time, it would not be open until the middle of November when they were ready to go off on the winter hunt. It did not do to open the pit more than once a month at the most. Otherwise, if one opened it often, a storm might come up and water might leak in. In the wintertime there was less danger of this. From time to time one would hear that a certain woman had not put enough earth on the lid of the pit and water had leaked in, with the resulting tragic consequence that all her corn was destroyed—the bags and everything having turned moldy (*us-kutu*, "hair-rotten," viz., mold). Two years of hard work and the security it could bring destroyed by one careless oversight. In the Pawnee way of life, vigilance could seldom be relaxed!

The storage pit was built nearby when the earth lodge was constructed. It was an indispensable part of the earth-lodge economy. The usual size was about 10 feet deep. It was bell-shaped, with a narrow neck and a
round bottom about 10 feet in diameter. The north side of the pit was for
[592] the use of the people who inhabited that side of the earth lodge, and the south side for the South Side families. In the case of an exceptionally important public figure, the household might have two cache pits. The bottom was covered with clean sand and on top of this some sticks as a sort of grating and these covered with grass. The walls were lined with thatch grass fastened in place with sticks that were shored up against it.

251 Tanned hide sacks of various sizes were used to store the corn and
415 beans in the pit. The largest was the *hax-kaitu*, made by sewing two
buffalo hides together, folding them over and sewing them along the
[237] bottom and the long side. It was 6 feet high and 3 feet in diameter when full and was used only to store the mature dried corn kernels known as *rikis-tabis*, "corn-dry," that had been pried off the cob after the corn had matured on the stalk.

The second size was the "large sack," about 3 feet high and 2 feet in diameter when filled, containing 1½ bushels or more. The next size, "the small sack," *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack," stood about 3 feet high and 1½ feet in diameter when full, holding about a bushel or 50 to 60 pounds of dried corn kernels. In size, it was approximately equivalent to the 50-pound flour sack. A still smaller sack was called *rits-a-kusu*, "intestine-of-sack," standing about 8 inches high and a foot in diameter when full.

TABLE 33-1. *A Few Summary Figures of the Produce of the Women of the North Side of the Earth Lodge.*

251
• 592 Corn, sacks of dried kernels:

White Woman	9	Stored 5
Grandma	13 (8 to White Woman)	
No Corn	7	Stored 3
Grieves-the-Enemy	8 (4 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 2
TOTAL	37 sacks	Stored 10

Corn, braided:

White Woman	4 braids	Stored 2
No Corn	3 braids	Stored 2
Grieves-the-Enemy	6 braids (4 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 1
TOTAL	13 braids	Stored 5

Available for current use in the household—23 sacks of dried corn kernels (10 in pit, additional as reserve); 4 braids of corn for current use (5 in the pit, additional as reserve).

[285] Pumpkins and Squashes:

White Woman	3 plaited mats	Stored 1
Grandma	4 mats (2 to White Woman) 1 50-pound sack of dried pumpkin seeds stored)	
No Corn	3 mats	Stored 2
Grieves-the-Enemy	5 mats (3 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 1
TOTAL	15 mats	Stored 4

Available for current use in the household, 8 mats; 4 additional in the pit.

Beans, dried and in 50-lb sacks:

White Woman	4 sacks	Stored 2
Grandma	4 sacks (2 for White Woman)	
No Corn	3 sacks	Stored 1
Grieves-the-Enemy	5 sacks (3 to daughter-in-law outside the household)	Stored 1
TOTAL	16 sacks	Stored 4

For current use in the household, 9 sacks of dried beans, and 4 additional in the pit.

some dried meat that wouldn't fit into the rawhide containers, some 251
dried intestines folded up, and perhaps some clothing they wanted to
store.

The work of arranging the pit took a group of women in a household 251
from about ten in the morning until about three in the afternoon, with a 592
brief recess for lunch. There was no time in the household when the [461]
women were not fully aware of their capital in provisions and goods and
the rate at which they were using them. Practically every meal was a [264]
large-scale operation and portions were carefully calculated. The men [571]
had to be aware of this too as it was their major resource for public and
social relations. Except for horses, or perhaps even more important, the
main current capital they had was the preserved food. In the forthcoming
round of ceremonies, the doctors calculated with great care their
donations of meat and how they were going to apportion them.

It was in the light of a knowledge of the amounts they had produced 796
and accumulated, that the men now planned their forthcoming extensive ceremony—the Grand Opera of the Doctors that would last for thirty days and involve the feeding and the giving of gifts to a large corps of performers and participants. For these ceremonies, the cooking and apportioning was done by the errand men, *tarutsubus*, who were regularly constituted officers of the societies, and the chiefs, priests, or doctors had to keep exact account of the amount of food pledged and make their plans according to what they could afford. The food was their most important current capital for the support of their program.

While the implications of this great annual festival were certainly religious, deliberate showmanship was not neglected and the production was well planned and highly organized as such. It was remarked by the informant that they waited until the harvest was entirely complete "as they liked to have a good crowd."

285
476 ticated adaptation for weaving a wide twined fabric, as the normal direction for the progress of twined weaving is from left to right, the woman on the left using a motor pattern equivalent in feeling to dancing the waltz in reverse, with a view to getting a visual effect in the texture.

When the mat had been woven about one third of the way, the women, who had been kneeling in front of the lower cloth beam, now moved up and knelt on the already finished fabric to work on the rest. As the work progressed, they continued to move up on the fabric so that the working edge would be within reach.

[461] Two women could finish a mat in one day if they did nothing else. Beginning after breakfast, the weaving would be half done by noon. By a little after five in the evening, the work was complete.

285
868 Mat weaving was a household craft and the work would not ordinarily be contracted for outside, unless a woman were learning for the first time. Then she would call in an old woman and pay her to demonstrate the technique. During the demonstration, the young woman would try her hand at it from time to time. The finished mat would be hers. The
[465] teacher would receive four or five yards of calico and a layer of dried buffalo meat, or a sack of corn (about a foot high) and half a braided intestine mat.

285
• 592 In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each side took care of its own needs for mats. White Woman and Grandma would start one together, and when White Woman had to interrupt her work to prepare a meal, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy would take her place for a while, helping Grandma with the weaving. Any mats that Grandma made by herself were given to White Woman for the family. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy felt she should make at least one mat for herself and her grandson to use when they went on the hunt. No Corn also made one to take along, and, if Horse Rider was busy in the Doctor Lodge, the two old ladies would each contribute half the necessary materials, as she was too crippled to gather them for herself and under the circumstances Horse Rider was unable to get away. There was no question of compensation for this, as the old ladies felt that Horse Rider was helpful to the household at all times and No Corn also did what she could.

482
285 Carrying these mats on the march was very difficult for people with no horses. This was the case with poor people. When people noticed that they had no mats, someone would give them an old one and a man would carry it on his back with a baby perched on top and his wife would do
[431] the same. The occasional woman who was too lazy to make one, was also
[554] given an old mat. People who didn't have mats to put on the ground were considered poor indeed.

412
824 A brush made of stiff grass was indispensable to personal grooming. The brush was made out of Porcupine Grass or Spanish Needles (*Stipa*

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

58

CAMP 6 ON GRAND ISLAND

000

Problems with Stay-at-Homes—Rearrangement of Groups for Hunt—the Journey South—the Hunt

TRAVELING ALONG THE SOUTH BANK of the Platte, when they arrived opposite the middle of Grand Island, they crossed the channel northward and camped there. They set up a large encampment of all four bands with the Skidi furthest west. Some people had planned to remain behind before they left the village, but others, particularly old people, would decide that it was too cold to go on and would seek a place in one of the tents of those who were staying. 224* 484* 361

But sometimes the defections were more serious. A prominent man like Misery, for example, would have a lapse of public spirit and secretly plan to stay behind before they left the village. Misery was the son of Sitting Hawk, Victory Call's oldest brother. He was married to three daughters of a prominent chief of Bottomlands Village, Comanche Chief, and lived in their household. As was the common situation in such a lodge, there were a number of untitled "boys" who made their home there. [illegible] of them formed a small group together, their leader being Horse Finder who owned a number of horses while the others had none. Horse Finder would ordinarily be the nucleus of a hunting group with the other three to assist him. Misery had been able to induce him to remain on the island with him along with his group. On the other hand, he had not been successful in keeping another of the "boys" that lived in the household, Jim Bear, from going along to the hunting grounds. Jim Bear had two horses and a wife who could slice the buffalo meat. When he got wind of the secret plans, he made arrangements to join the hunt group of White Eagle. Misery's decision meant that his father, Sitting Hawk, would also have to stay behind. There were a number of other planned defections of this kind with the intention being to ride out as a 224* 484* 592 621 224* 484* 621

rawhide strips found near the top end and two more near the bottom. This 342 pole was to act as a kind of "backbone" when the skin cover was elevated onto the frame. It was lifted with the cover attached and rested in the tripod at the west. The cover was carried first around the south side, then around the north until they met at the front where they were either laced together with thin sticks above the doorway or with strips of rawhide. If the cover was a little loose, White Woman now straightened it up at the top.

The next step was to tighten up the frame again. This she did by driving holes in the ground into which each individual tent pole could rest. First at the northeast entrance pole she took her seven-foot-long *biku* stick with its fire-hardened point and punched it down into the ground before her, putting the pole in the hole. Next she did the same for the southeast entrance pole, then the one due west with the cover attached to it, then the one due north and the one due south. She fixed up the rest of the poles in any order that was convenient. She tried to make a nice even circle.

The final step was to tighten the cover by pegging it down with the tent pegs. All around the tent cover there were strap loops of rawhide through which she drove the tent pegs. The pegs were of dogwood, each about a foot long, with the thick end sharpened to a point. They were driven into the ground with the ax head in the same order used in stabilizing the poles, viz., northeast, southeast, west, north, south.

Two more poles, *tsuxtsakatawisu*, were used to hold the flaps around the smokehole open at the top. These were placed on the outside, one on each side of the entrance and hooked into the holes of the smokehole flaps so that they could be adjusted to make the smokehole more or less open, depending on the wind. Sometimes they forgot to get these two sticks beforehand, and Horse Rider had to go out into the woods to get some for current use. Either inside or outside, over the door, a blanket was hung.

While the tent was being pegged down, Horse Rider would have been 342
reminded by his wife that they had no wood. He would have brought a 352
supply of water before that. Now with wood and water available and the 353
whole tent firmly in order, the inside was furnished. First the parfleches were taken in and placed around the walls in piles of two from west to east. Then the twined woven rush mats were laid down to the north and south of the fireplace. The proportions of the tent given by Allis in 1835 are 18 feet in diameter and 14 feet high.

Victory Call's family occupied the south side of the tipi, and Horse 342
Rider and his wife, No Corn, the north side. At meals, White Woman sat 592
due south and did the cooking and serving, while Victory Call occupied the southwest position on her left and little Otter, the southeast position

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

342 on her right. On the north side, the northwest position was vacant, leaving
592 room for piling kettles, mortars, and other things—Horse Rider sitting in
[353] the due north position and No Corn at the northeast position. They sat
close enough around the fire to simply pass the food around at mealtimes.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Hako are at rest, the food which has been standing beside the fire is served by the Fathers to the Children. Certain men are appointed for this task. 796*

It is the duty of a father to provide food for his child, and not to partake himself until the child is satisfied. As we are to simulate the relation of father to child, we prepare a meal for the Children twice and sometimes thrice a day during the continuance of this ceremony. We are obliged to bring much food for this purpose, as the Children are sometimes many, and we have also ourselves to feed. [593] [264]

Where we must travel far to reach the tribe of the Son, the burden of carrying so much food is hard upon our ponies. So much cooking for the Children keeps the women very busy, but they are willing, for the ceremony brings good to them. [492] [462]

After the Children have eaten they rest a while and then go home, returning to the lodge when the sun has set. Before they go they generally make gifts of ponies to the Fathers. [431]

When the Fathers are left alone in the lodge they eat their evening meal.

The Hako throughout this ceremony are never left unattended by night or day. When the Ku'rahus, or his assistant, or the chief needs to leave the lodge, someone is requested to take his place during his absence.

NINTH RITUAL (FIRST NIGHT). INVOKING THE VISIONS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the sun has set and it is dark and the stars are shining, then the Children gather in the lodge. Some, as they come in, will advance to the holy place and there drop a stick; this means the gift of a pony. For every such gift the Ku'rahus returns thanks to the giver. [431]

After all are seated, wood is piled upon the fire, and when the flames leap high the Ku'rahus rises, then his assistant and the chief rise and the Hako are taken up.

The singers carrying the drum follow the Hako bearers as they move slowly around the lodge, singing the following song.

PART III. OFFERING OF SMOKE

*796 This teaching is further accentuated by the offering of smoke which follows the song. The feathered stem, Kawas, the mother, is used as the pipestem for this purpose. The offering of smoke is the closest and most sacred form of direct communication with the great unseen power. [276 782]

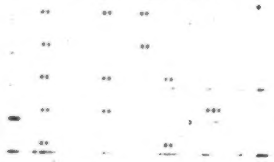
PART IV. SONGS OF THE BIRDS

*539 *796 ●[593] In the songs of the birds, which close the day, the people are instructed in their parental duties. They must take upon themselves the care of providing for their children, even before they are born; they are to be cheerful and thankful for all they receive; they are to guide and protect their families, to be watchful and faithful in storm and in sunshine, by day and by night. By following these teachings they will receive in full measure, in completeness, the gifts of the Hako.

*533 *796 The diagram of time of each of the six songs of the birds is here given in the order of the text, but no rhythmical rendition has been made, as the story elaborates the meaning of each song.

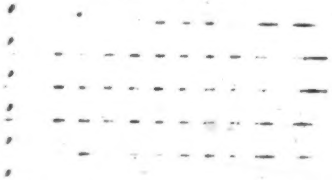
THE SONG OF THE BIRD'S NEST[a]

Diagram of Time



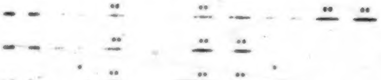
THE SONG OF THE WREN[b]

Diagram of Time



THE SONG OF THE TURKEY AND THE WOODPECKER[c]

Diagram of Time



---

[a] Music on page 169.
[b] Music on page 171.
[c] Music on page 172.

778 the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid upon a chair;
*796 they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a
decorum that was not once abated.

*796 The Hako ceremony seems to have been peculiarly adapted to
impress the mind of the people and to win their confidence and affec-
182 tion. It was picturesque, varied in movement, and communal in
feeling. Its songs were rhythmic and attractive, and frequently
[*533] choral in form, particularly those belonging to the public ceremony,
where all, young and old, joined in the melody as the feathered stems
were swayed over their heads when the Ku'rahus and his assistants
made the circuits of the lodge.

The teachings of the public ceremony were general in character.
[593 They emphasized, on the one hand, man's dependence on the super-
natural for all the gifts of life, and on the other hand, his dependence
771] on the family tie for the gifts of peace and happiness. The specific
teachings were reserved for the Son. These began in the ritual to
the Dawn (tenth ritual) on the morning of the second and third days,
which prefigured the secret ceremonies of the fifth morning, when the
bond of the family relation was extended beyond blood kinship through
the symbolic rites which recognized the common source of life in
Tira'wa atius.

[178] Looking over the entire ceremony, it is interesting to note how older
rites have had their share in the development of the Hako, and how
the trend of thought among the native seers has borne them toward a
conception of the brotherhood of man, a conception recognized as the
noblest known to the human family.

INCIDENTAL RITUALS

COMFORTING THE CHILD

*539 The incidental rituals could be called for and given during the
public ceremony.

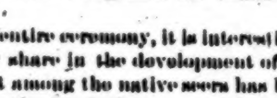
*796 The three songs which belong to the first ritual have a common
[*533] musical motive, but this motive is treated differently in each song
so as to conform to the movement of the ceremony.

The appeal of the parents to the Ku'rahus is in the first song passed
on to Kawas. It is sung by the Ku'rahus at the holy place as he
waves the brown-eagle feathered stem. The words are in the nature
of a prayer, the music has the swing of a lullaby.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

[*533]



---

[a] Music on p. 351.

525 574 648 While the Kiowa were visiting the Pawnee, some Skiri youths thought of visiting the Kiowa to play a hand game against them. They decided to go over to challenge the Kiowa the day after the Kiowa went home. Mark was with them and became exited about the anticipated hand game. His father was sick, but he paid very little attention because his head was full of the hand game and he wanted to go.

The Kiowa were then camping about two miles from the Pawnee. Late in the afternoon, the day after the Kiowa had gone, Mark saw men gathering at the edge of camp. They were ready to go; they had bundles of things with them to bet. When Mark stepped out
● [593] of the lodge, these youths motioned to him to come on. So he forgot all about how sick his father was inside, and went. He persuaded himself that his father wasn't very sick anyhow.

The whole party went on foot, carrying their stakes. There were twenty-five or thirty in the group. They took no horses to ride because all who were going wanted to play, which would leave no one to take care of the horses. Some mean fellows among the Kiowa might steal some. And if they had horses with them they might be tempted to wager them and lose the horses.[1]

After dark they reached the Kiowa camp. They were directed to the chief's tent. Knifechief, leading the Skiri party, carried a pipe, already filled with tobacco. Knifechief and a few others went into the chief's tipi. From outside Mark heard a Kiowa in the tipi call, "hakahi"—"all right, that's good."

This was in December. It was very cold, and outside the men waiting wanted to get into tents to warm up. David Gillingham, Mark's chum, went with Mark into one tent. A Kiowa man sitting at the west called out a welcome, hakahi. From the south side, where she had been sitting, his wife rose and spread a blanket for the two visitors on the north side of the tipi close up to the west
[276 where the Kiowa was sitting. She put two pillows on it. David and Mark sat down there. The Kiowa filled a black pipe and gave
788] it to David to smoke. Mark nudged David and whispered to him that he should not make any gestures with the pipe. Both knew that the Kiowa had special ways and motions in using their pipes; Mark was afraid David would try them and make a mistake. He knew David was a great show-off. The Kiowa pipe-smoking was very complicated. David nudged Mark back and told him to keep quiet. David wanted to show off, so he made some motions
[481] with the pipe, imitating Kiowa motions he had seen somewhere.

---

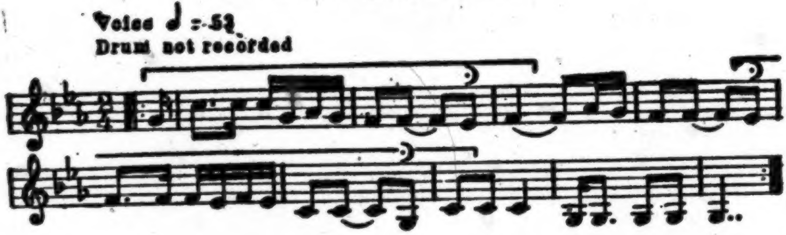
[726] [1] Incidentally, the Pawnee warparty always travelled on foot, with the object of returning riding captured horses.

measure were changed to conform to different words but the duration of the measure remained the same. The song contains 19 intervals, 10 of which are whole tones and 5 are fourths. 533*

No. 67. "My Trust is in Mother Corn"

(Catalogue No. 1089)

Recorded by John Luwak



SONGS OF AFFECTION

533*

Songs rising from deep affection and respect were occasionally 554
sung by Indians in the old times, and might be concerning persons 593
who had been married for many years. The distinction between these and the modern "love song" is clearly drawn by the Indians and is evident from the words of the songs. The Sioux said that in old times they had a few songs concerning a man's qualification to wed, [581]
this being determined by his success in war or on the buffalo hunt.[31] Otter Woman, an aged widow of the Mandan Tribe, recorded songs of loneliness for her husband, and two very old songs expressing a gentle longing. These were sung by young girls when at work in the gardens and are as delicate as the little plants which they tended so carefully.[32] The cause of the change from these songs of respectful affection to the modern "love song" is found in the general change from primitive customs.

In former times the marriages of young people were either arranged 584
by the parents or subject to parental approval. A period of transi- 533*
tion began when the young people refused to recognize parental authority in the matter of their affections. This led to clandestine meetings. A few songs of this period were recorded among the Sioux, one containing the words "If you are truthful, come. Walks Visibly (woman's name) has said this."[33] The words of modern Indian love songs 533*
usually express a lack of respect for women, and often boast of fas- 832
cinations and conquests. They are connected with intoxication and are [273]
sung by young men of no standing among their own people. Many

---

[31] Teton Sioux Music, p. 370.

[32] Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 54-57.

[33] Teton Sioux Music, p. 510.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 such songs have been recorded among the Chippewa and Menominee. The development of this class of songs among the Pawnee is considered in a subsequent paragraph.

*533 584 593 Three of the old songs of affection were obtained among the Pawnee, the first two being recorded by John Luwak, chief of the Chaui Band, while his wife assisted with the information. As already stated, the marriages were formerly arranged by the parents and "the fathers usually took charge of the matter." It was further said that "the marriages always turned out happily as the old people knew better than the young people and understood which boys and girls would get along the best." Mrs. Luwak, wife of the singer, said that her marriage was arranged by her parents and that at first she "cried every day," but she indicated with some shyness that the marriage had resulted happily.

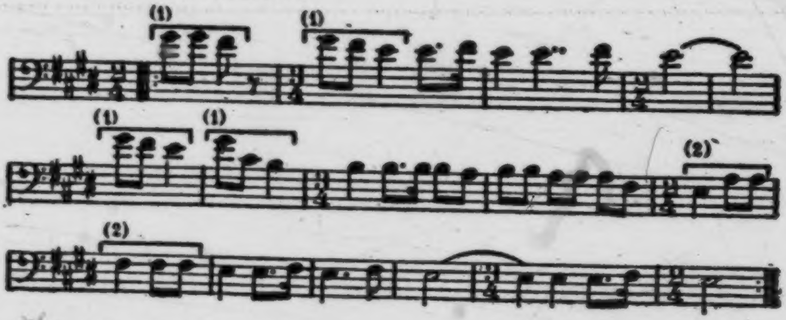
*533 [593] The following is the song of a man who is going to war. He addresses his wife, saying, "When I die do not cry unless you really loved me, but if you love me you will cry and you will not remarry soon after I die."

No. 68. Song of Affection (a)

(Catalogue No. 1136)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—The third tone in this song was followed by a downward *glissando* of about a tone which is impossible to transcribe. It is interesting to note that the count divisions of the first unit are reversed in the second unit, a thematic treatment showing the intelligence of the Indian musician. The song is major in tonality, has a compass of 10 tones, and about 80 per cent of the progressions are major seconds. Three renditions were recorded without a break in the time.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533*
[593]

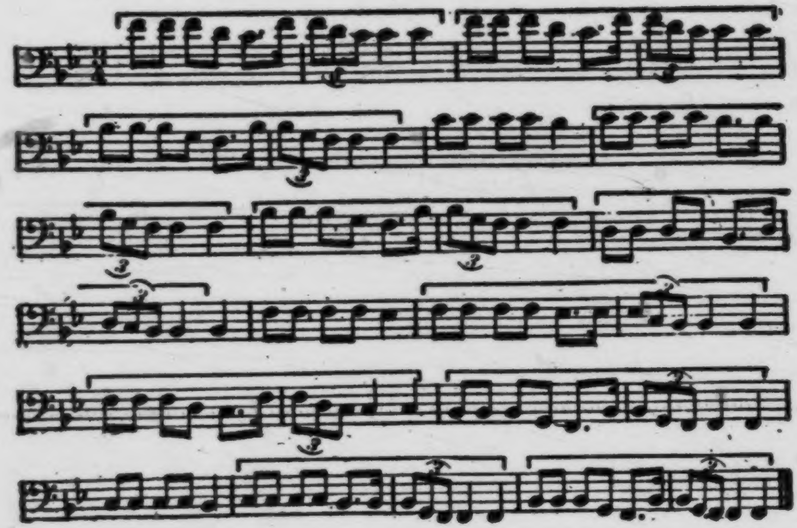
In explanation of the next song it was said, "There was once a married couple. One day the wife said to her husband, 'I love you very much and if you should die I would cry every day.' This was the first time that either had admitted an affection for the other."

No. 69. Song of Affection (b)

(Catalogue No. 1135)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 138
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—The present song is unusual in that the intonation on single phrases was good while the transition from one phrase to another was uncertain in intonation. This may have been due to the compass of two octaves, the rapid tempo, and the agitation in the mind of the singer. The rhythmic unit is simple and its repetitions comprise practically the entire song. In every rendition there was a pause after the sixth measure, followed by a repetition of these six measures, and a continuance without a break in the time. All the tones of the octave except the seventh are present in this remarkable melody.

533*
593

There is deep pathos in the next song and its history. A woman composed this song while her husband was on the warpath. She died during his absence, but her friends had learned the song. When her husband returned they sang the song and told him its story. He learned the song.

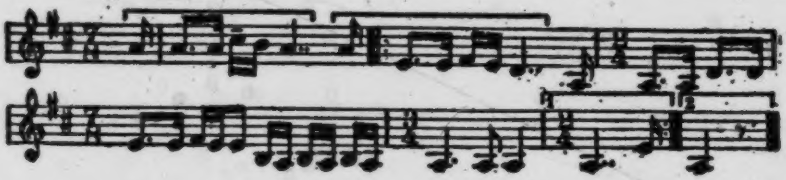
No. 76. Song of a Warrior's Wife

*533
● 593

(Catalogue No. 1100)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♪ = 144 (♩ = 72)
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

I wonder where he is sitting.
That person who comes and sits in my tipi.

Analysis.—In all renditions of this song the 7-8 and 3-4 measures were sung in exact time. Except for one minor third the melody progresses entirely by fourths and major seconds. It has a compass of 10 tones and contains the entire octave except the fourth.

*533 Mr. James R. Murie and other old members of the tribe said that love songs, in the white man's use of that term, were unknown
832 among the better class of Pawnee in the early days. According to
565 Mr. Murie, there were four classes of Pawnee, the lowest being
177 considered outcasts by the remainder of the tribe. These people camped near towns and worked for white people, from whom they
562 obtained whisky. This class of Pawnee sang what were termed
[124] "crazy people's songs," which were associated with "love charms" and evil influences. No effort was made to secure examples of these songs. A change from the former attitude toward women, however, is shown in the following song which was said to be very old. It is not of so low a character as the "crazy people's songs," neither does it represent the high standard of life indicated in the former
[837] songs of this group. A girl married a man for whom she did not care and it would appear that, instead of adapting himself to the situation, he sought consolation elsewhere.

*533 *Analysis.*—This melody consists of two parts, the first of which contains the rhythmic unit. The second part begins with a succession of eighth notes, followed by a measure which preserves the count divisions of the rhythmic unit. The count divisions throughout the song were sung with special clearness. The song is transcribed as having B flat for its keynote but the third above that tone does not occur. Except for an ascending octave the only in-

584 relatives together, the mother's relatives being seated on the south
539 and the father's on the north side of the lodge. The father's relatives
left the decision with the mother's relatives, who decided that the girl
should be allowed to marry the young man. Many presents were
[431] distributed. The young man's relatives gave presents, and the young
man gave a fine horse to the father and mother of the girl. The next
day the old man gave the horse to his wife. There were buffalo robes
and many valuable articles among the presents.

539 All went well for a time, and then the young man began to beat his
593 wife and abuse her. The girl's mother begged her father to interfere,
but he refused to do so. She said, "You claim to be a brave man; why
do you not make our son-in-law stop beating his wife?"

He said, "Do you remember one beautiful morning when you said the young man was handsome, that he came of good family, had many horses, and his arms were strong?"

"Yes."

"Do you remember that my relatives sat on the north and yours on the south side of the lodge, and that my relatives left the decision to yours?"

"Yes."

"So your people sold our daughter to that man. We have no right to interfere with his property. He gave the ponies. He gave a fine pony to us. Didn't I give you that pony?"

"Yes."

"Get a kettle. Put it on the fire and put water in it." She did so.

[415 "Now take your parflêche bag and put the finest of your dried meat
in the pot. When the soup is done you must bring me some in a
251] wooden bowl."

When she brought the soup he told her to sit beside him and eat. As they ate he said, "What nice fat! What fine meat this is! Who got it for you?"

"Our son-in-law."

"You like the meat that our son-in-law brings us? He punishes our daughter for her own good. He does not want her to run around the camp foolishly. He wants her to be a good cook and to look after things in the lodge."

Then the woman stopped finding fault with her son-in-law.

The young man was well liked by the chiefs. They asked him to
join their societies and later he became a chief. He and his wife
had one child, a boy. This little boy liked to stay with his grand-
father, who told him stories. His grandfather was Saritsaris (Mad
[264 Chief), a brave man of the Chaui Band. The little boy cooled his
grandfather's mush or soup by swinging the dish back and forth,
867] then he set it before the old man.

585 We are poor." The priest took the pipe, smoked, and passed it to
the boy and errand man, each of whom took it in turn. The uncle
received the pipe again, sat down, and smoked. Then he addressed
the priest: "We hope that the young man will be good to the girl.
He is now to be married; we hope that he will always be ready to
support the family he has come to join." The priest answered, and
thanked the men for giving their consent to the marriage. He said:
"You have taken pity on me: I have nothing in return to give you."
Then they rose. The priest put the pillows to one side, took one of the
buffalo robes, and put it on, keeping it as his pay. The errand man
took the other robe for himself. The two of them and the youth left
and went to the latter's lodge, where the boy's relatives were gathered,
sitting in a circle. They had brought presents of ponies, buffalo
431 robes, bows and arrows and quivers, or anything they wished to give.
The priest and the errand man led the ponies with the presents
packed upon them to the girl's lodge, where the mother and grand-
mother met them and received the gifts. These were distributed
among the male relatives of the girl, one pony being reserved for the
use of her father. The greater the number of gifts, the greater was
the honor shown to the bride. The young man did not go to the
girl's lodge until sent for by her parents. When they asked for him,
he came, and on entering the lodge found that a buffalo robe had
been spread, with two cushions upon it. He was told to sit on one
cushion, the girl on the other. Food was placed before them and
they ate together. There they remained for the rest of the day, and
that night the marriage was consummated. This brought the cere-
mony to an end.

606 A man was supposed to accord his father-in-law and mother-in-
law the same treatment that characterized his behavior towards his
own parents. His wife's parents likewise were supposed to treat him
with the same affection they showed to their own son. A man spoke
of both his father-in-law and mother-in-law and his wife's brothers
as *tatukak*, which means that he sits in their lodge. As has been
593 noted, he addressed his wife's sisters as he did his wife. He was
never to be angry with her, for it was through two women, the Eve-
ning Star and the Moon, that man received buffalo and corn; should
he treat his wife meanly, these two deities would withhold the buf-
falo and the rain, and famine would ensue. [The manuscript also
contains the following more realistic statement: "A man had the
right to whip his wife without fear of intervention unless he should
show undue cruelty without good cause, in which case the wife's
relatives would be likely to interfere.]

851 convince a man of his physiological paternity, and her child would then be a social outcast. It would be known as *pira-paru*, "hidden child,"
848 since the mother would be ashamed and try to hide it when her brothers came to visit. The child would be subject to many insults and humiliations throughout its life. In these terms, whatever the sentiments of the parents for each other, the child always had a legal right to the care of both its parents, clearly identified as its physical progenitors. Children were normally cared for by their grandmothers, and it was quite possible that various fortunes placed the child in one household with its grandmother, its mother in another household, and the father in still another. The obligations for support, however, remained incumbent on both parents.

593 The household as a working group of coordinated members was precisely organized, and each household had the same general structure.
221 However, twice a year when the tribe set out on its semiannual buffalo hunts, the household work group fragmented itself into many smaller groupings, which reassorted themselves so that an able hunter became the nucleus of each new composite grouping. When they returned to the village the households did not necessarily reassemble with the same personnel as before. This was entirely optional, and there were many reasons why people might decide to join a different household group than the one they had been with before leaving. However, it was not too hard to establish a working household on this basis even twice a year, since the pattern of operation was the same everywhere. The three duplicate stations on the north and south sides of the lodge with their full complement of the young, mature, and old women was a frame into which any individual woman could fit herself in whatever household she entered with little loss of efficiency, since her duties were so clearly defined once she selected the category to which she belonged. And a child with a grandmother to care for it could fit in anywhere. Young men led a more transient existence. They were likely to congregate at different times in one lodge or another, and a bed would be made for them by putting down a mat between the central pillars and providing it with the necessary skin bedding. Old men also moved about rather freely, staying overnight in various households whenever they were detained late of an evening telling stories or participating in a ceremony. As for the mature man, his married-in household was not considered his "true" home. In his married-in household he was an outsider with formal obligations, which sometimes tended to weigh rather heavily on him. Then he would go where his home really was—that of his sisters and his mother, where they would gladly feed him and take care of him and where he could relax
621 and feel like a child. When this happened, his wife understood, and she
622 knew he would be back after a few days.

821 The only stable and fixed unit of Pawnee life was the village with
778

3

PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: II

000

Marriage Arrangements—Chart of Kin Genealogical Structure—Personal Relationships among Kin—Individual Aspirations Expressed in Names—Brief Sketches of Eleven Pawnee Lives—the Kin System Not a Constricting Mold but a Fluid System for the Individual Personality

Marriage and Kin

621 According to Pawnee theory, all marriages should be made within one's
[582] own village, for to marry outside would be considered a poor risk, contrary to the cosmic plan. The sacred bundle and its ritual epitomized the special heavenly order under which the villagers lived, and an outsider would have no place within this order. As a result, the village was in fact a large extended family, geographically localized.

582 However, within this general family connection the lines as to whom one could and could not marry were very sharply drawn. The careful identification of the physiological father as well as of the mother was an important aspect of this plan. The kinship system was designed to avoid the marriage or sexual involvement of close blood relatives. Marriages of parents and children, brothers and sisters, both half- and full-sisters and brothers, were definitely excluded. Beyond this rather universal type of incest ruling, there were other principles which governed these relation-
611 ships among the Pawnees. The family was primarily matrilineal—that is, the mother's family was regarded as one's very own family, while that of the father and his relatives was considered a different order of relationship.

593
604 As I have already pointed out, a man always had a home in his sister's

household, even though his marriage might lead him to take up residence 593
elsewhere. For this reason, according to Pawnee ideas, the brother owed
his sister a special lifelong debt. In recognition of his indebtedness, when 604
the sister had a son, she might send him to live in her brother's married-in
household when he was about ten years old. There his maternal uncle
would teach him whatever he needed to know in life, and as he reached
adolescence he would receive his first sex instruction from one of his
uncle's wives. If his uncle had several wives, the boy might extend his
attentions to the others from time to time. The term for maternal nephew [601]
was *tiwat* and maternal uncle, *tiwatciriks*, super- or real-*tiwat*.

Another basic Pawnee family pattern concerning the man, was the 593
identification of a whole group of brothers. Through the rule of primogeniture [428]
the oldest brother inherited all the family property and as senior
member of the group was responsible for the well-being of all his
younger brothers. A younger brother who availed himself of the sexual
favors of his older brother's wife upon occasion was not considered out
of order, and theoretically the older brother should act like a gentleman,
paying no attention and making no mention of it. This ideal, however, 596
was not always realized. It was fairly usual form for two or more brothers 601
to set up a joint household, sharing their wives and their property.
The children addressed them all as fathers and mothers and they in turn
addressed all the children as their own. A similar but not identical condition
might exist among a group of sisters married to the same man, the
children addressing all the sisters as mother. A group of brothers would
address each other as *irari*, and the same term was used among a group of
sisters. But across the line of sex different terms that were more precise
were used: a man's sister was referred to as *itahi* and a woman's brother,
as *iratsti*. Under the difficult conditions of Pawnee life, a child gained
considerable security from this multiple parenthood. As the Pawnees
phrased it: "We think a child should not be too closely bound to its own
mother, for should she have to be away or should she die, it would
break the child's heart."

As each person was introduced into a child's life, the child was given 867
an idea of how to act toward that person. One of the ways in which this
was conveyed was through the kin term by which the child was instructed
to address the newcomer. Along with the term of address, a
style of conduct was indicated so that the child received a code of manners
as he came in contact with one after another of his normal associates.

As the depth of the relationship merits, the Pawnee child was taught to 593
treat his mother with profound respect. The term *atira*, "my mother," [601]
carried with it a high degree of reverence among the Pawnees. However,
the mode of acting toward a mother was far more formal than it is ordinarily
in our society. The mother was concerned at all times for her
child. She provided for him and instructed him in how to act in his own

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24]

593 life and in social situations, but there was no easygoing informality. A
mother was a mainstay for life, but one did not bother her with petty problems. When the child was weaned, he was given over to the care of
603 his grandmother where he enjoyed a relationship of intimacy, warmth, and informality that made it easy for him to appeal to her for any want he might have, however petty or apparently foolish.

In terms of the conduct associated with them, these two kin
602 relationships, the one to *atira*, "my mother," and the other to *atika*, "my grand-
601 mother," stood at opposite poles. These two kinds of relationship might be called a *respect* relationship and a *joking* relationship respectively. The one type of conduct was designed to preclude any kind of sexual involvement or marriage, while the joking relationship implied the possibility of physical familiarity, including sexual relations. This is not to say that a boy was likely to become sexually involved with his own grandmother, but the term was also applied to other relatives in the kin network, in which case sex relations were permissible and marriage (when the individuals were not otherwise attached) was positively encouraged.

A network of kin relationships extended throughout the village for
604 every individual member. The number of actual kin terms employed was
601 very limited, but under each kin term a number of relatives of varying degrees of biological closeness were included. The term, *atira*, "my mother," applied not only to own mother and mother's immediate sisters, but also to the sisters of the father as a mark of special respect. This attitude and the kin term, *atira*, was applied not only to the sisters of the father, but to their daughters, i.e., the daughters of the paternal aunt, and in turn to their daughters as well, going down the generations as long as the relationship could be traced. The object of the extension of the mother term to these women in the father's line was to preclude any possibility of sex relations or marriage with them. At the same time these women reciprocated by answering to this term, *atira*, with the term for child, *piirau*, and treating these individuals as a mother would, but to an exaggerated degree. A person entering the household of a paternal aunt or her female descendants would be welcomed at once with exclamations of concern; he would be spoken of as child, or even as baby, and offered food and care. The person would be given to understand that "they have a home here." One was very careful to limit one's visits to these relatives. You were bound to be quite circumspect, for should you admire something in the house or even show some interest in it, you might well receive it as a gift as a mark of their regard.

593 The relationship with the father was also highly formalized, involving
special concern and instruction in right conduct and maintenance,
[261] particularly providing fresh meat and dried buffalo meat which were
considered necessary for energy and growth. Strictly speaking, the fa-
{601}
{604}

ther and his family were not *own* family as that of the mother was. The 593
mother's sisters were completely identified with the mother, and there
was little difference in the attitude toward them. The mother's brother, 604
tiwatciriks, was an even more familiar person, who was theoretically 601
ready to share whatever he had with his nephew, *tiwat*. The boy might enter the household into which his maternal uncle was married from the age of ten and assume the role of apprentice husband and eventually, when he came of age, of junior husband. He called his uncle's wives "wife" and the children of his uncle *piirau*, "my child." After adolescence, he might in fact be the physiological father of one or the other of them. On the other hand, some of his uncle's children might be older than he; he would still call them *piirau*, and they in turn would address him as *atias*, "my father," the same as their own father. Thus it might very well happen that a man in his twenties would call a boy of ten, *atias*, "my father," and the boy would call him *piirau*, "my child." Such an age reversal might also happen in the father's sister's line, where a grown man would address a little girl as *atira*, "my mother," and the little girl would call the man *piirau*, "my child." In the first case, the grown man would be expressing his respect for his father, and even more particularly for his father's sister in his treatment of her son. In this role, the boy was in a superior position and addressed the man as "child." The second case would involve the women and girls in the father's sister's line directly. At bottom, both these situations had their basis in the unequal relationship between a sister and a brother, as the brother was the taker while the sister with whom he always had a home was the provider. He owed her nothing in return, but he accorded her great respect, and his children followed suit. They demonstrated their respect by applying to their paternal aunt the most revered term they knew, *atira*, "my mother," and carried it to all her female descendants. The boys in this line they called *atias*, "my father." In this case these terms were used to express not age or parenthood, but respect. The factor of age did not enter the relationship; a small boy might call a grown man, *piirau*, "my child," the man addressing the boy as *atias*, "my father."

Wherever the grandfather term *atipat* was applied or extended, it was 601
a relaxed relationship. Familiar joshing, poking fun, and manhandling 602
were in order. When a girl addressed a man by this term, sex relations
were a possibility, and, if the circumstances were right, marriage was fa- 603
vored. In this mode, during the intermissions in the *Awari* or Groundbreaking Ceremony in the spring just before planting, virgins received advice on their prospective sex life from warriors whom they addressed as *atipat*, "grandfather," the girls in turn being addressed as *raktiki*,
"grandchild." Under any circumstances other than the joking kin cate- 576
gory, the Pawnees scrupulously avoided any reference to the physical person or to intimate relations. To transgress this prohibition would be regarded as a personal insult that could be classed as almost criminal.

000 regarded as a personal insult that could be classed as almost criminal.
602 Even within the joking category, they were very careful not to go too
far. Account was taken of the respective personalities involved—some
people being considered too sensitive to take "strong" joking while oth-
603 ers with more hardy spirits being treated somewhat more roughly. A not
uncommon tactic of an actual grandfather was to take his grandson out
of bed of a cold morning and dump him into the water or into the snow.
This was intended to harden him, and no one else would be in a position
to do such a thing. The boy on his part could be somewhat rough with
grandpa as well, though an actual grandparent was unlikely to receive
such physical manhandling, since regard for age was never wholly out of
the picture. At formal meals and official feasts, during the actual eating
of the meal, relaxed conversation was in order, and this usually took the
form of one of the prominent men's teasing the other, whom he ad-
dressed through a kinship classification as "grandpa." The humor was
partly in the fact that they were of similar age and status. In this climate
of feeling toward the grandparents, the marriage of a young man or
woman to an older person was more congenial emotionally than it would
be to us. Among the Pawnees, intimacy and grandparent were constantly
associated, while the attitudes toward the parents were diametrically op-
593 posed. There was a similar prohibition among brothers and sisters, and
since there were no strangers as possible marriage partners, the direction
602 of marriage and sex interests was only too clearly pointed toward the
classificatory grandparent group. The mastery of kin behavior was in-
dispensable to the Pawnee, and he kept refining its nuances for his inter-
personal relationships throughout his life.

The actual number of kin terms involved, except for the relationships
601 by marriage, were limited to thirteen essential ones (see tables 3-1 and
3-2). Their application to other categories appears in the genealogical
chart of standard kinship relations of a male (see Figure 3-1). This
covers own generation and two generations above (parent and grand-
parent) and two below (child and grandchild)—five generations in all
that the Pawnees regarded as the essential ones to consider. Beyond these
generations, parents and child terms were again used, i.e., in the great-
grandparent and great-grandchild categories. There is a clear logic of
reciprocity in the kin terms—that is, anybody who calls someone father
is called child by that person and vice versa, anyone who calls a person
sister is called in return sister or brother as the case may be, grandparent
answers with the term grandchild, and so on.

The form of the Pawnee kinship structure has a direct relevance to our theory of how society evolved. In its crudest form and as rather popularly held, the theory is that man began as a food-gathering group with more or less promiscuous interrelationships of the people and no real social form. According to this construct, when garden culture later

602 601 affection, denoting how far one could count on the tie. The use of the kin word on meeting might simply be withheld altogether—an absolute disclaimer of the relationship.

604 A second cue as to how valuable a person considered a given kin tie could be taken from the manner in which the typical kin behavior was carried out. In the joking grandfather-grandchild type of behavior, the jokes might be mean, sarcastic, or mildly jocular, but if the person showed no reaction at all it was most damaging to the relationship. Careless behavior within the "respect" categories would simply be taken as a personal insult, but no response whatever to the other person that should have a kin status, canceled the relationship entirely as a personal bond.

602 608 There were no normal interpersonal relations among the Pawnees that did not carry with them a kin designation. People with whom one dealt as equals had to be placed in some kin category; lack of such a relation could only imply slave or enemy status. In the various trade or gift exchange ceremonials that were conducted between tribes or bands, a whole kin structure was built up so that they could communicate on a peaceful level. The most notable example was the Calumet or Peace Pipe Ceremony, in which the visiting trade party represented Fathers, while the ones they visited were designated their Children. Many of the ceremonial acts were designed to carry out this idea. There was no way of communicating with peaceful strangers unless they were fitted into the kin structure and it is for this reason that the President of the United States is referred to as the Great White Father and that white friends are adopted into the tribe.

159 593 602 [431] A third aspect of kin reactivity was the exchange of gifts and this too was an index of cordiality or lack of it between two kinsmen. It sometimes happened that a distant relative was so warmly cultivated that the relationship took on a degree of intimacy that was considerably greater than would ordinarily be implied in the genetic tie. Such a case happened with the mother of the boy Otter, White Woman. As was customary, Otter's maternal uncles—his mother's brothers—were frequent visitors to the household. Uncle War Cry and his younger brothers High Noon and Noted Fox would come in often to meals. Uncle War Cry was head brave of the Skidi, and he would often linger to smoke and talk with Victory Call. Uncle War Cry was solicitous for Otter's welfare at all times, and the boy was welcome to his uncle's home at any time. Whenever they passed each other in the village, Uncle War Cry would call out to him, "*Nawa tiwat,*" and Otter would reply with "*Nawa tiwatciriks.*" The same was true of the other two uncles.

From time to time something would happen that puzzled the boy very much. Two men in particular would insist on greeting him in the same terms as his own uncles, saying, "*Nawa tiwat,*" and they came up to him and stated that they were his *real* uncles and that his mother was mean

159 as she was not willing to have them to the house as she should. However,
the boy kept his counsel until one day when it came to the attention of
593 his mother. Then she said in a strongly hostile voice, "They're mean.
602 They're no brothers of mine!"

A considerable time passed before the boy found out what had actually occurred. He found out that the men who had approached him were actually his mother's brothers, while his supposedly close uncles, whom he thought were the closest of kin, were in fact relatives classified from a more distant genetic line. The story went back to White Woman's childhood and this is what had happened:

White Woman's father was old Chief Butcher Knife, a prominent Skidi chief. The term Butcher Knife was a contemporary euphemism for American and his real name was Chief Bald Head—in Pawnee, *risaxpaks-katsis*. The old chief had two wives of similar age who were not related to each other. White Woman's mother had two girls and a boy, while the other woman had three boys. Once the Poncas came on a raid and White Woman's younger brother was killed. The sons of the other wife remained alive. (These were the men that had accosted Otter and who should have counted as brothers to White Woman.) There must have been bitter rivalry between these two wives of old Chief Butcher Knife, for White Woman carried her anger toward her half-brothers all her life, refusing to acknowledge the relationship, and sought among her more distant kindred for men she wanted to recognize as her brothers in their stead. Mark Evarts summarized her feelings on this as follows:

> The old chief thought more of the boys than of the girls. My mother couldn't get anything. The old man would give it all to the boys even though he was a chief (implying that a chief should be above such favoritism). The girls were hurried off to school in Iowa while the boys were allowed to remain at home. Perhaps the old man had in mind that the boys would go on the warpath when they grew up and bring him horses, while the girls would stay close to their mother and do as she wished. My mother must have felt hurt by the way her father, old Chief Butcher Knife, acted.

But, time passed and things went better with White Woman. Victory Call, a man with considerable resources and ability, after the death of his first wife, had married White Woman's older sister. When she died, Victory Call married White Woman, and they established a new household on the reservation near Genoa and their fortunes prospered. She had a young son who was growing up and a prominent place in the community. Now she felt it was her turn to get retribution for the special privileges that her half-brothers had enjoyed in their father's household. She would deny the relationship, shut them out of her house, and wel-

come as brothers a group of men that were so classified in a more 159
distant kin line. 593

These were kin on the mother's side—perhaps further back through 602
the old ladies—but *not on the father's side*. The three that were adopted as uncles were of our own village of Pumpkin-Vine. White Woman called them *iratsti*, "brother," and they called her *itabi*, "sister." They acted like real brothers to her.

There was still another "uncle" who was welcome to their household. 159
His name was Buffalo-Leader, *taraha-kitawiu*. He had been adopted into 597
the family as a surrogate for the brother that was killed by the Poncas. After the raid, White Woman and her sister mourned deeply for the death of their brother. Once White Woman took particular notice of a young man in the village, remarking to her mother that he looked like their own brother that was killed. Then the two mothers (i.e., co-wives of the old chief) invited the young man to the house for a special dinner, giving him a gift and caressing him in blessing. He was given to understand that they wanted him to come to the house at any time and be a brother to White Woman. If he didn't come for a while, the mothers would give him a gentle reminder saying, "You can come over any time." Now that White Woman had a substantial position and a household of her own, he came often and enjoyed her hospitality.

Kin categories, therefore, did not guarantee a fixed relationship. They 602
could only be valid if they were recognized by both parties. This recog- 571
nition could be of a more or less enthusiastic kind. As with us, poor relations might be treated with a shade less enthusiasm than those of greater wealth or status. Then there were other factors such as degree of common interest or personal liking. One could follow a minimal interpretation of the pattern in order to preserve "the decencies" without actually disowning the people concerned.

Added to the factors of wealth and personal congeniality was the mat- 602
ter of hereditary status and family honor which was at times a very 593
important element in the behavior of relatives toward one another. Broth-
ers in particular were called on to preserve the reputation of the fam- 554
ily. Since the Pawnees were especially sensitive on this point, brothers avoided going about together as much as possible, for should one be personally challenged or humiliated, the other would be bound to fight, and the conflict might spread to the several families concerned. On the other hand, if the other brother were not around, the two parties might be able to work out some way so that the incident could be passed over. Even after they had established themselves in different households, brothers were very careful to preserve appearances on behalf of the family. A man noticing that his brother's family did not have enough horses to go

602 on the tribal buffalo hunt in the style to which they were accustomed would tactfully indicate that he had an extra horse that he could make • 593 available for the forthcoming hunting expedition.

554 If a man's supply of tobacco got too low for the necessary social entertaining that he felt he should carry on, he would ask his brother rather than an outsider in order to keep the matter within the family. A man who noticed his brother appearing in a worn-out buffalo robe or blanket would immediately send him a good one, for it would not do for anyone [578] to get the idea that the family was not prosperous. A term of great contempt among the Pawnee was poor, *kapakis*. The worst insult one could hurl at a man was to call him *ruti-kapakis-kawitat*, "the one who is-poor-ragged." As the final insult one might say *kapakis-kuut*, "poor-dead," or in our way of saying it, "dead-poor." Respect for seniority among a 593 group of brothers was preserved throughout life. The oldest brother 561 continued to be the surrogate for the entire family, and the cadet members would make particularly sure that their senior brother made a good appearance. Their personal conduct toward him always continued to be respectful. Even after Victory Call had achieved an important status apart from his older brother Sitting Hawk, he still respected his brother's seniority rights. As senior brother, Sitting Hawk would sometimes come to Victory Call's house and say, "Tomorrow at dawn we'll go hunting. We'll go in this and this direction." Or Sitting Hawk would feel free to ask Victory Call to go far out and find him some medicinal plants for his doctoring practice. He would say to Victory Call, "Before the birds eat it up, I want you to go way over there and get me so and so weed so that I'll have enough for this winter." As a man of prominence in the community, he had plenty of people who would willingly do this for him, but in this case he wanted to keep his medical secrets in the family, and he knew he could trust his brother not to reveal them or use them without his sanction. It was the part of a good father to instill these attitudes in his sons while they were young. For example, if the younger of two brothers had six horses and the elder only one, it would be proper for the younger man to put all seven horses together and say to his older brother, "Brother, take your choice." Original disagreements between parents might lead brothers to quarrel all their lives. It was generally felt that parents should be watchful of growing hostilities among their children and try to 595 remedy the situation before it was too late. In the plural marriage situation there was special danger of this as a co-wife who felt her husband preferred the other woman and her children would set the children against each other as had happened in the case of White Woman and her half-brothers. About their sister, a father would say to his sons, "You boys must take care of your sister. She's a girl and when she grows up she's going to take care of you." And this was indeed the case, for sister's house was a permanent home.

159 622 time of our narrative in 1867. White Woman was his third wife and considerably younger than he. He had a grown son, Fox Chief (*kiwakurisa'a*), by his first wife. Fox Chief was a young man in his twenties and lived most of the time in the home of Eagle Chief, where he was a close companion of Eagle Chief's son, Man Chief. After the death of his first wife, Victory Call had married the older sister of White Woman and then at her death he married White Woman. Besides his boy Otter, he and White Woman were raising an infant they had adopted—the daughter of one of the wives of Leading Chief, head chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. The chief believed that the baby was not his own but that of his younger brother, and when it was born he took the infant by the legs and was about to dash its head against a tree, when Victory Call rescued the baby and brought it home. When she was very small, White Woman kept her in her bed, but after she could walk she displaced Otter in grandma's bed. A small bed was built underneath grandma's bed for Otter so that she could watch them both. Sometimes they would put the baby on his back, and he was told to go off and play and to take good care of his sister. Otter addressed his father at all times as *atias*, "my father," and his father called him, *piirau*, "child."

159 593 White Woman, *Ts-taka*, "woman-white," was apparently so called because of the lightness of her complexion and the suspicion that she had some European ancestry. Being considerably younger than her husband, she was very conscious of her responsibilities and of the importance of their social position. Victory Call was always pointing out to her what her duties were. He would say, "I have to go off. If the Poncas come here with a gift of tobacco, take it and try to feed them." Or, "You have brothers and they might come to the house and perhaps they will be hungry. So don't go off anywhere because you ought to take care of them. If outsiders from other tribes come visiting bringing horses and tobacco, take it!" White Woman was so diligent in her duties that when her brother Uncle War Cry came to visit he would ask her why she didn't go out once in a while and get some air instead of sitting around the house all the time. Then she would retort, "I'd like to go, but who would be here to meet you fellows when you came? If I went out, they would just have to call me back when you arrived. That's the reason for my staying home all the time!" White Woman tended to be conservative in her social relations, and she was mindful of the common Pawnee observation that "A woman who stays at home never gossips, but just goes about her own business." She sent gifts to the appropriate relatives but made a habit of keeping her distance personally.

Her little boy Otter had a high regard for his mother, but their relations were quite formal. She would caution him, "Before you go out to play, go get something to eat and don't ask anyone for the food they have. Don't call anyone bad names like 'you hungry thing' or say 'you're

poor.' That isn't nice. Anyone you play with you can bring in here 159
to eat with you, and then you can go out and play again." At other times 593
she would say, "You ought to be good like your father and take care of old people that are helpless." As he was leaving the house in the morning she would say to him, "Live well (*tsikstit, rakuwari*), well, go about!" When he returned she would say, "You look tired. You must have played hard. Look at your face." The boy would answer, "*Atira* (my mother) I am tired."

Horse Rider, retainer or *tarutsubus* to Victory Call, was a young man in his late twenties. His name, *T-ur-akikita*, "he-his-riding," means "riding someone else's horse," signifying that it was a horse he had captured from the enemy. Victory Call was glad to have Horse Rider serving him since his own son Fox Chief, who would normally help him with the horses and other strenuous tasks, was away serving as a U.S. Scout with Major North. He was imaginative as well as socially ambitious in wanting to enter the new and growing Deer Dance Cult. One gathers that he was a good-natured, active young man. He had not yet made his mark in life, and he had married a woman considerably older than himself, whose grown daughter by a former marriage was married to a man employed at the agency. His wife, No Corn, had two other adolescent daughters who were away at school. No Corn was badly crippled with arthritis, but they had been married for some time and there was a close personal attachment between them. Horse Rider went to considerable lengths to compensate in extra services for No Corn's inability to contribute substantially to the work of the house.

> He was willing to do anything. His wife was crippled and helpless. He would do the things she ought to do. She had to stay home all the time and when the other women of the household came in from the fields and stretched out tired on their beds they would remark, "Soon we're going to cook, but we have no water!" Horse Rider immediately picked up two buckets and got some, and sometimes he had to go two or three times before they had enough. When he got back he set the buckets down, saying "hi'ya," because his arms were tired but then he would give water to everyone that was sitting on the beds and even to the little boys. At night he carried me through the village to wherever I wanted to go.

Horse Rider was warmly fond of the boy. Otter called him grandfather, and Horse Rider would tease him about his attachment to his grandmother. Horse Rider was related to White Woman who called him *atias*, through her father's sister's line, and thus Otter called him grandfather. Later in Oklahoma, when both his parents had died, Horse Rider and No Corn were very kind to Otter and gave him a home.

159 593 No Corn, wife of Horse Rider, had as her formal name *Tstahari-tsa'ruwari*, "the kettle-she asks for something to put into it," that is, "she tries to borrow some corn or other food to cook." The name refers to an incident that is too obscure to be inferred from the name alone. She was a mature woman of good family, related to Victory Call through his father's sister's line, and he addressed her as *atira*. As a consequence, Otter called her *atika*, "my grandmother," but he knew better than to try to joke with her in a grandmotherly way. Her arthritis caused her a great deal of suffering. As Otter tells it,

> It was considered only right for No Corn to have a good disposition since she was helpless. She was able to do the cooking although she couldn't stand up. She made herself useful in any way she could, lest someone remark that she was cranky since she was a cripple. For example, she might see White Woman measuring Victory Call's feet for moccasins. Then she would say, "Let me do that. You have something else to do." Then White Woman would give her the awl, sinew, rawhide, and other materials and she would make the moccasins. Or when they were out on the hunt, she would say, "Pile all the dishes right here. I can wash them." She would watch and do any little task she could for anyone in the house. But even so, her son or daughter would sometimes say, "You're a cripple. You can't do anything. You ought to be good." Then she would get angry and cover up her head. The daughter would say, "Mother, you mustn't do that." "Well, you folks are the cause of it. You are the ones that make me cranky." "Oh mother, we try to talk nicely to you, but you always get angry so easily." She couldn't help the fact that she was cranky.

159 593 726 Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, grandmother of the boy Yellow Calf, was a historic character among the Pawnee. She was famous for her heroic defense of the village when it was under attack by the Poncas. This was a time when she was well in her fifties and the tribe was living at Pa-ha-ku near Fremont, Nebraska. Her name commemorates her deed. It was *Ts-tarahux-tu*, "woman-caused them-hurt," signifying that she had caused the enemy to grieve because of those she had killed and put to flight. This is how the story was told:

> Once when we were living in the village of Pahaku, near Fremont, the Poncas, perhaps mingled with Sioux, came on the warpath to attack the Pawnee village. They had hay in their pockets and were ready to set fire to the village. When the men saw how heavily outnumbered they were, they stayed inside the houses and resigned themselves to their fate, expecting to be burned up. As the enemy kept approaching, this old lady decided to do something about it. She was more than fifty then—an old

lady. She rubbed some soot from the brass kettle and smeared it across 159
her eyes (signifying defiance of any danger, and particularly of fire).
She twisted her hair into a knot on the front right side of her head, put 593
on a loin cloth, and with a war club in her hand she went out to face the 726
enemy saying, "We've got to do *something*. You men just sitting here doing nothing!" This got the men excited and they said, "Just look at that old lady! We've got to go out and fight." Then they all ran outside. The old lady had nothing but a club in her hand, while the Poncas and all the men had their bows and arrows. She killed one of the Poncas right next to the house and sure enough his pockets were stuffed with hay all ready to burn down their houses. Because of her bravery, she could say and do anything as she had saved everyone's life and she felt she could do what a man did any time and she was free to say whatever came to her mind. Right after the battle, she came upon Feeling Bear who had been shot in the leg. "That's good, you should protect the people," she said. "Your mother and father are still living and you're young yet." But then Feeling Bear began to cry and sob and she said to him, "You're nothing but a baby. You don't belong out here at all. Only men should be out here fighting!" Then three old ladies came along and said to her, "Let's see that dead Ponca you killed." At that very moment Whitey came walking along with a stick in his hand that he had used to defend himself. The Old Lady calls him grandchild and they all began to tease him. "Turn that Ponca over," they said. But try as he would, the corpse slipped back and he jumped away. Then, giving it a hard push, he fell right on top of it. The old ladies began to laugh, and he ran away as fast as he could. He said that long after, he could still see that Ponca right before his eyes at night. The body was not buried, but was left in the open.

Long afterward when they were talking it over with the Poncas, and they were reviewing the incidents of the battle, the Poncas said, "When we saw that old man, we thought he was the bravest man we had ever seen and that's what held us back." Then the Pawnees told them that it was a woman. When braves were jealous of their wives, they would sometimes beat them up and then Grieves-the-Enemy would come along and say to them in her full deep voice, "Fine brave men you are! Your place is out beating up the Poncas. They came here to burn up our whole village. We women do you no harm. It's the Poncas you should be out fighting with."

The only men to whom she spoke politely were the chiefs. A chief 159
would never beat his wife no matter how he felt. This would be against 593
the whole code of chieftainship, and if he thought he could not control
his emotions, he would not accept the office in the first place. When he 622
was asked, he had to seriously consider whether his character was good enough. He must be generous and good and, if he weren't, he would re-

159 fuse the call saying, "I'm a drunkard and have many other faults. I can't
be a chief." To other men, Grieves-the-Enemy was gruff, even to priests,
• 593 but not to the chiefs. Even her grown son, she ordered about. She would
622 send him off to get a bucket of water and he would feel obliged to do as
she said. Not that she was "mannish" in any way. She wasn't. Among
the Skidis, this old lady was a person of note.

159 She was raising her grandson, Yellow Calf, whose mother had died and
whose father, High Noon, had married into another household. She con-
603 tributed many invaluable services to the household, and she and Otter's
grandma liked each other and cooperated well together.

[551] Otter's grandmother was Old-Lady-Chase-the-Enemy. Her name, *Ts-
ak-ta-hira'as*, "woman-them-chased-ahead," i.e., "chase the enemy ahead of the line of battle," was given to her by her brave sons in honor of a gallant war deed they had performed, chasing the enemy way ahead of the line of battle. All six of them were killed in battle by the Poncas, and she would think sadly of their death, "If my sons had lived they would have taken care of me." "But," said Otter, "in our household we didn't think of her as a burden. She was my own grandma who used to take care of me and we took care of her." Otter's grandmother was a very old woman. In fact, she was his great-great-grandmother, once removed. She was the sister of White Woman's own great-grandmother and accordingly, White Woman called her *atira*, and she was thus a grandmother to Otter. He would call her *atika*, "grandmother," having no consciousness that in fact she
[582] was two generations beyond his mother's mother. Marriage at the age of
fourteen or fifteen for girls made it quite feasible to be a great-great-grandmother between the ages of sixty-five and seventy. She may have been seventy-five at the time. Being in the mother's line, she was considered a particularly close relative. That she was a satisfactory grandmother to Otter there can be no doubt. When they walked out together, people would say to her, "That's your husband. He always watches his wife. They can't be parted." And Otter would retort, "Well I have to watch her. She might run away!"

Otter said the following of his grandmother:

> Grandma was left-handed and they would sometimes speak of her as *Tskusaski*, "Lefty-woman." She would do everything for me—grease my feet when they chapped and cracked, get me food at night. I wouldn't bother others to do these things. She would do anything in the way of work. She was very saving as she knew how hard it was to get anything. She wasted nothing as she felt hard times might come some time. I guess she was like some white women who don't waste anything, putting everything into the kettle. She would cook anything and make it taste good—turkey feet and some field corn that she had made into hominy—she

159 habitual gambler was likely to lose her blouse, her shawl, or her earrings.
554 A man who noticed a crowd of women playing together like that would
602 have to move along and mind his own business.

525 Clear Day had her own basket and plum seed dice with which to play the game—tossing up the marked plum seeds in the tray basket. Even when she herself didn't think of going out to gamble, the others would come in and get her. She would go out early in the morning and come back late in the evening, betting whatever she had, i.e., calico, a necklace, or her earrings. Old Bull didn't get angry. He was a chief and it wouldn't have been right for him to express any strong disapproval of his wife.

Sometimes a man whose wife was out gambling would get angry because he got hungry. When the woman came home feeling badly because she had lost, there would be trouble. She would say to her husband, "It was because of you. You were thinking about your hunger and then I lost the game." She gave no thought to her home—only to her playing. Sometimes she would win a nice piece of calico so that she could make her husband a new shirt. Then the reaction at home would be quite different. The husband would say, "That's good. But don't go so often. You might lose your luck." But try as she would to obey her husband's injunction, she would be caught up in it eventually. When the gamblers came around, she would make some excuse and say, "No, I have such and such to do. Why don't you go and ask so and so?" But eventually the other gamblers knew she would succumb. That was the way of Clear Day, Old Bull's younger wife. She was an habitual gambler.

159 Clear Day had two little daughters with Old Bull. The youngest was a
very small child and was in the care of Clear Day's mother, Blue Calico.
513 The older girl, New Queen, was five or six years old and had a bed of
593 her own near the west on the south side of the lodge, adjacent to that of
Clear Day. This was in anticipation of the time when the little girl would be fifteen and old enough to marry and her husband would join the household. It was considered desirable to give a little girl a bed of her own as soon as possible. With a little boy it was quite different. He might sleep with his grandmother until he was ten and then have a bed made for him between the central houseposts near the fireplace.

159 Queen Woman, senior wife of Old Bull, was of an entirely different
595 temperament from Clear Day. Her name in Pawnee was *Ts-taru-ri'u*,
"woman-merely-by herself," signifying "one does something great by
[551] oneself, single-handed." One translation was "self-made queen," signifying that although not born a queen or woman of chief's rank, her social accomplishments were so creditable that she deserved this high

156 776 829 the universe, meaning literally the inside land, and that his house was a small model of it. The infinite cosmos was his constant source of strength and his ultimate progenitor, and there was no reason why he should hesitate to set out alone and explore the wide world, even though years should pass before he returned. Not only was he not confined within four 156 walls but he was not closed in with a permanent group of people. The special concern of his mother did not mean that he was so closely embedded with her emotionally that he was not able to move about.

155 593 602 Other people also were clearly concerned with him in a variety of ways. There was no mistaking the constant concern of Old Bull for the boy, Otter, in the earth lodge. And as for his grandmother, this was of course patently clear. There was no mistaking the affection felt for him by Horse Rider. Even from the earliest time the Pawnee knew there were differences in kinds of affection. He knew he should go to his grandmother for intimate care but he also looked up to his mother as his provider and protector. His father he regarded in the same way wherever he might be, and, as we saw (p. 41), his mother had pointed out to him that he should emulate his father. Otter's Uncle War Cry and his other uncles came to the house and again showed affectionate concern, and one winter when he broke his leg his uncle stayed home and nursed and protected him. He knew very early that he "had a home" in the house of Eagle Chief which had been literally demonstrated to him in special feasts and visits. His older half-brother Fox Chief was there for him even though not in the house. The breakup of the household and travel on the hunt did not dismay him, even when his grandmother stayed behind one winter, for his community traveled with him. This [867] bringing of the community's concern to the child's attention from an early age was deliberately carried out.

601 602 The wide application of the kin terms gave the family relationships a much wider reference. It made him realize that there were shades of closeness with his immediate kin and that many varying factors determined this just as they did in his outside attachments. The case of his mother's half-brothers was a graphic example. He found out that, in the last analysis, one made one's own relationships with people and that none was absolutely given.

000 The intensified family togetherness of our present society stands in sharp contrast to these arrangements. The very physical plant of our family household fosters this intensity. Within this century, the apartment or family dwelling has become more and more isolated. In the past ten years, the isolation has become absolute and we have become the loneliest people that ever existed. Mechanical elevators, mechanical shopping, mechanical transportation, and other mechanical devices preclude almost all casual social contacts. At the same time, within the apartment or household the sexes are thrown together in an incest-breeding welter of

623
342
35
554

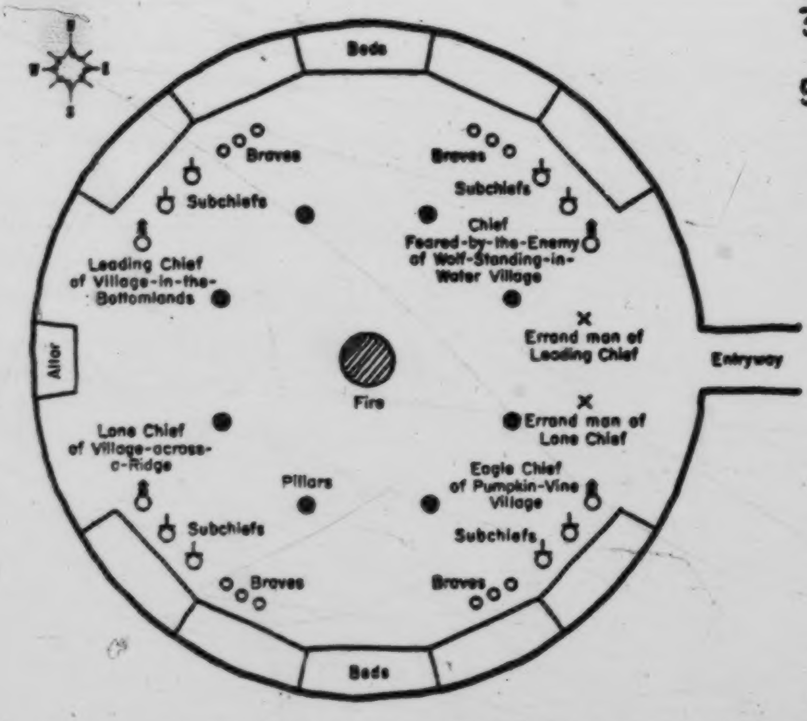

N
W
E
S
Beds
Braves
Subchiefs
Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands
Braves
Subchiefs
Chief Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village
Errand man of Leading Chief
Altar
Fire
Entryway
Errand man of Lone Chief
Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
Pillars
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Braves
Braves
Beds

FIGURE 5-2. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. Mats are placed in the outer circuit against the beds to accommodate larger numbers. Of the supposed twelve villages that formed the Skidi Federation in the past, four villages remained in 1867. Villages must have combined as their numbers were decimated. The original twelve sacred village bundles remained, and some of the subchiefs probably represented these assimilated villages. [631] [778]

This was the time for joking "so that everyone could laugh during the meal." The jokes were of a somewhat slapstick variety as they wanted to be sure that no one's feelings were hurt in any way. Ordinarily, while the social relationship with one's parents was quite formal and restrained, the relationship with the grandparents was in sharp contrast. It was a relationship of lively familiarity. Physical handling was rough-and-tumble, a grandfather sometimes pulling his grandson out of bed of a cold morning and dumping him in the snow to harden him; jokes were often leveled at the grandchild and answered in kind. The mode of kin reckoning often involved an extension of the immediate kin terms to more distant blood relatives, and it worked out so that people of similar ages might address

623
574
522
[593]
[603]
[601]
[602]

439 Do you think it can get a good buffalo? Well, you can have a buffalo
435 robe when I get back and my wife can tan it." Mr. Matlock would
then join them and the traders would say, "Sure." "Well, I need two
buckets," Victory Call would say. "And what else do you need?" the
traders would ask. At the same time there would be an old lady in the
439 store trying to establish some credit so that she could get some sugar to
435 make sweet corn pounded up with sugar. She would promise that when
262 they got back from the hunt she would bring in a sack of pounded-up
dry meat. This was the equivalent of the better-known pemmican and
was bought by travelers at the trade store for emergency rations. When
[705] warriors went on the warpath they took extra pairs of moccasins filled
with pounded sweet corn and sugar and some of the pounded-up dry
meat as concentrated supplies.

*224 Not everyone had the skill or the diligence to accumulate all this
476 equipment. Every man or woman who did not have it yet wanted to go
on the hunt had to try to attach themselves to someone who did. This
practical consideration had an important effect on how the individual
encampments were set up. Sometimes a family had enough horses but
no tent. The man would send his mother-in-law or his wife to inquire
of a woman who owned a tent whether they could join her encampment.
If it was agreed that they should camp together they would discuss how
they would combine their needs for equipment—a mortar, a kettle, dishes,
etc. Sometimes a woman would make such arrangements, only to find at
the last minute that her husband had already committed them with someone
else, and then one of the families would have to remain behind.

606 The general rule was that a man had to take care of his father-in-law
and the family into which he was married. It was understood that he
would travel with his father-in-law and his wife's family. This is what
his marriage implied—that he was to serve and care for the family of his
wife. The son-in-law was called by the family into which he married
kustəwixtsu, "he who sits among (them)." The son-in-law would refer
to himself as *rat-ut-ka-ku*, "I-for-you-inside-sit," meaning that it his function
606 to serve their house. This was an obligation greater than that to his
• 593 own parents. If his parents were old and alone, he would give half of his
kill to them after his wife had picked out what she wanted. When they
[591] first married, the couple normally lived in the girl's house and went out
on the hunt with them. As they got older, the young man might want
[431] to set up a tent of his own and hunt separately and his father-in-law
might consent, but he would send a gift of a leg from whatever buffalo
he killed. When they got back to the village, they would rejoin the girl's
family. If the girl's father was getting very old and his tent was worn
out he would say, "Son-in-law, I want to go with you. You came here
to take care of us." "Certainly, that's good," the younger man would
say. This marriage responsibility sometimes got on a man's nerves, and

if he wandered over to his parents' tent and asked his mother to fix a 606
bed for him it was accepted as a normal thing. His wife would understand 593 •
that "he felt like being childish for a while" and that next morning
he would be back with them. Sometimes the sounds of fighting would
be heard inside a tent—a father-in-law and a son-in-law in conflict.

Although he might live elsewhere in the village, an unmarried 593
younger brother was likely to join his older brother for the hunt. This 224*
was his obligation. When he married, however, he would be impelled to
go with his wife's family. Sometimes two brothers and their families [592]
lived in an earth lodge jointly and they might very well also go jointly
on the hunt.

The household of Old Bull and Victory Call broke up into three 592
groupings. Each of the four villages of the Skidi Band had a separate 621
section of the encampment. Old Bull and Victory Call both camped in
the Pumpkin-Vine Village section in the west, but each had a separate
encampment and ran their households entirely independently. The camp
of Old Bull included his two wives and the grandmother and their
young children. In Victory Call's camp were his wife White Woman, his
assistant Horse Rider, his wife No Corn, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy,
and the boy Otter. The old lady Grieves-the-Enemy and the boy Yellow
Calf went far over to the east section where her son was encamped in
Village-in-the-Bottomlands with his father-in-law, Path-of-the-Enemy.
The two little boys did not see each other all summer, as there were hundreds
of tents between them. When they returned to the village in the
fall, it was optional whether they rejoined the household or not.

In the past, the people who were left behind in the village were in 224*
great danger and they all cried bitterly as the expedition departed. The 888
Stay-at-Homes were usually the sick and the old. Some men would stay 734
longer to give a little more protection to an old grandmother or someone
of whom they were fond. The Stay-at-Homes would congregate in a few
earth lodges in the village, knowing where to find food in the storage
pits. Leaving the slow and the sick at home was a necessary step, as the
line of march had to move with precision because other tribes were also
pressing in on the buffalo herds. They might move entirely out of reach,
whereupon the tribe would be faced with the danger of losing all of
the effort they had invested in the expedition. Nevertheless, sometimes
a soft-hearted chief would say, "Let's all go, even if we have to camp
every five miles!" Others would demur, saying that was too slow; finally
the old people themselves would say, "No, we can't go along. We're old
anyhow," and having made this concession of their own accord, they
would be permitted to return to the village. Sometimes noticing that a 224*
perfectly able-bodied family he liked was not coming along, Eagle Chief 622
would inquire and, finding they were staying behind because they had 426
no horses, would lend them two of his own.

*224 571 fresh meat by hunting deer and antelope right nearby. Let's go to Columbus."

[618] Near Columbus they were reasonably secure from Sioux attack and they would build a big lodge of tin or sheet iron, and a man and his wife who happened to stay would take over the direction of the party, while the others would assist, running it like a village household. They would run a common commissary and the men would go out hunting for antelope and deer while the women would supply the dry vegetables and cook the meals, alternating on the north and the south sides.

*224 883 [866] Once the seventeen-year-old son of White Eagle decided he didn't feel like coming along. "He might decide that it was a good thing for him to get used to being by himself. This was an idea that their grandfathers would inculcate into them saying, 'Now you're old enough to go on the warpath, be a horse thief, and be independent.' White Eagle tried to talk to him saying, 'Now we're going hunting. You come along.' 'No,' the boy said, 'I'm going over there to my uncle.' 'All right, if you want to, but now they're going to talk about me and say that White Eagle didn't take his boy.' 'Well, I'm going to stay with my uncle anyway.' So White Eagle would take a poor orphan boy who had been staying in his earth lodge along with him on the hunt instead of his recalcitrant son." It seems that adolescent protest was not unknown to the Pawnees. On the other [593] hand, his father was in no position either to force him or to exert pressure for him to go. He was considered entirely within his rights to make his own decision.

*175 chiefs, priests and medicine men, and the customs of marriage and
*648 divorce, were directly opposed by officials. That the chiefs were
finally losing power was not however, a result either of the official
178 opposition, or altogether of the breaking up of the band villages; it
622 flowed more directly from the gradual introduction of individualized
657 property control. The traditional native view of a chief was that he was the "father" of his people, who must see to the well-being of every individual in the tribe. To do so the chief had to be able to control a larger quantity of property than the average individual in order to give and help wherever it was necessary. This he accomplished through his individual prowess on the war path and the hunt. But in addition, tribespeople who valued him as chief and leader contributed to his resources in order to aid him to maintain himself and succor his people. Individual ownership of homes and farms not only made individuals materially independent of the chief and tribe, but reduced the chief to a property equality with his tribespeople, making it impossible for him to continue the customs of paternal generosity which tradition commended to him. Without being able to give to and help the poor and distraught, the chief not only lost respect and self-respect, but he was unable to prove his supernatural right to leadership, or that fortune was with him, that the powers of the universe were on his side, and through him were guiding the people.

The agents did not understand this. They felt merely that the chief had power to command so long as the people lived clustered together around him. They expressed in their reports the hope that recognition of chiefs by the Department of Indian Affairs would become a memory.

*175 The polygynous marriage customs of the Pawnee, based primarily
*648 on the sororate or marriage of younger sisters of the wife, were not
657 interfered with up to 1881. Along with the way in which marriage
was arranged by the parents without consulting the young people,
595 and the ceremony itself, involving a transfer of horses and other
property. Pawnee polygyny was, however, consistently considered
reprehensible by officials. Polygyny as well as first marriages in-
[582] volved girls who were very young, often fourteen or fifteen. These were withdrawn from school at once, and as it was impossible to carry out an educational program which would send girls of such a tender age into the tribal life as civilizing influences, the practice of marrying them so young destroyed the efficiency of the school
[586] as an instrument of civilization. Divorce by mutual consent was a custom of the Pawnee, which involved a looseness of marital relations from the white standpoint.

III. THE LODGE

The size of the Skidi lodge varied according to the number of 342
families residing in it. Although an individual family composed of 592
a man, his wife or wives, and their children, might be the sole
occupants, often more than one family lived in a single lodge and
there apparently was no definite rule regarding the number of
residents and consequently the size of the lodge itself. The latter
might contain two beds for a small family or might be spacious [352]
enough to accommodate as many as eighteen beds for several families.
Also, chiefs' lodges and those of priests and medicine-men were of
exceptional size, for they were often required to accommodate a [346]
ceremonial gathering.

The construction and interior arrangements of the Pawnee earth 352
lodge have been briefly described in a previous report (Dorsey, 1904).
At the west was the altar, around the north and south sides were
the beds, and at the east, on either side of the doorway, were cache
holes, corn mills, sweathouses, and piles of firewood. The beds
were supported by two upright forked posts on the inner side; these
were connected by a hewn timber placed in the forks and from this
crosspiece short poles extended to the wall or banquette. Over this
frame was placed a mattress of young willows netted together and
covered by buffalo robes and pillows. Usually the children had
their beds nearest the altar, and the grandparents those closest the [592]
door; the parents reserved those in the middle area. In case a man [513]
had more than one wife living in his lodge, each wife had a bed of
her own [Fig. 26]. [Lesser (1930) has diagramed the usual disposition [595]
of the family according to their beds. The accompanying diagrams
furnished by Mr. Murie are of interest, however, for so far as I can
determine they represent actual cases. Unfortunately, the exact
relationships of the individuals referred to is not always clear.]

In the summer the people moved out of the lodge and slept 513
under an arbor. Each individual family made its own arbor, or all 342
the families together built a single large one for their joint use. 592
[This was in addition to the tipi, and a grass-like structure sometimes
used when on the march.]

Family Customs

On rising in the morning the entire family visited a near-by 512
creek or river to bathe. In olden times all were early risers, and in [515]
the spring and autumn the men and women usually repaired at once

Skidi term	Descriptive term
ratirutako	wife
	wife's sister
	brother's wife
	mother's brother's wife
iatukak	wife's mother
	wife's father
	wife's brother
kustawixsu	sister's husband
	daughter's husband
	sister's daughter's husband
skurus	son's wife
	sister's son's wife

The usage is the same for women except for the following terms:

FEMALE SPEAKER

irasti	brother
	father's brother's son
	mother's sister's son
irari	mother's sister's daughter
pirao	sister's son
	sister's daughter
	brother's son's son
	brother's son's daughter
	brother's daughter's son
	brother's daughter's daughter
skurus	brother's wife
	mother's brother's wife
rikoktako	husband
	sister's husband

Among the Skidi an eldest child was called *tirariktis;* a second, *nawira;* and the youngest, *kawita.* A half-brother and half-sister were called *irari* and *itahi.*

[The range of the terminological system is not described beyond what is given in the table. The system is a Crow type similar to the other Pawnee bands. For notes on kinship behavior see pages 88–108.]

POLYGYNY

595 As a rule, polygyny was practiced only when a man married into a family of sisters. The girl's parents would be willing to see him marry the remaining girls as they came of age, providing that he had shown himself thoroughly able to support a family. When a [585] man married sisters, the formal wedding ceremony was performed only at the first marriage.

The greatest number of wives remembered by the Skidi as belonging to one man is eight; these were four sisters in two families.

A chief or a great and successful warrior occasionally married more than one wife, not sisters. Such an exception to the custom of marrying sisters only was very rare.

LEVIRATE

Formerly a man married his brother's widow, but this could be 587
done only by a younger brother. This form of levirate also prevailed
in other Pawnee bands.

POLYANDRY

There were two customs which led to a condition of temporary 595
polyandry. In the first place, a boy on reaching the age of puberty 604
became in practice a second husband of his mother's brother's wife,
which relationship might continue for several years. It has been
noted that a man called his mother's brother's wife his wife. In
the second place, a younger brother often maintained the position
of husband to his brother's wife. It was the custom for a younger 595
brother to make his home with an elder married brother, in which 607
case the elder brother might permit the former to have sexual
relations with his wife. However, this was not a definite regular
practice, but was decided in individual cases by the nature of the
friendly feeling existing between two brothers; it was necessary both
that the older brother should give his consent and that the younger
brother should feel that the maintenance of such a relationship to
his brother's wife would not cause a feeling of jealousy to arise on
the part of his brother. This peculiar relationship was reflected in [607]
the kinship terminology, for a man used the same term for his
brother's wife as for his own. The counterpart of this custom did
not hold for sisters, as a girl did not leave her parents' lodge to make
her home with her married sister until it was time to become the
wife of her sister's husband. [For a more complete description of
Pawnee polygamy, see Lesser, 1930.]

ADOPTION

Among the Skidi it was not uncommon for a family to assume 597
the responsibility or control of some poor boy or girl, but without
the child in question being formally adopted—that is, it obtained
no rights of a legal nature in the family.

However, the formal adoption of a child was by no means rare. Generally it came about through a man's losing a favorite son or daughter by death, and through his taking a fancy to another child, bearing a strong resemblance to the one he had lost. A bereaved father, after making up his mind that he would like to adopt the child, carefully washed and arrayed himself in new costume and went to the lodge where the child lived that he wished to adopt. There he clothed the child in new moccasins and leggings that he had

784 teristic at a bundle ceremony would distract the attention of the
841 supernatural beings. If a menstruating woman were near a bundle
spread out as an altar, the supernatural power supposed to reside
in the objects on the altar would disappear; the corn mother would
be corn mother no longer but simply an ear of corn, the bird messenger
between the deities and man would become simply a bird skin, and
so on. The odor of blood was pleasing to the gods, but not this
kind of blood, which was associated with human passion. If a
menstruating woman should go into a ceremony of the medicine-
men, the strong human odor would cause the power of the medicine-
men to leave them, and they would fail in their sleight of hand.
The lodge where the ceremony was being held was for the time being
an animal's lodge; it was full of animal power, over which each
medicine-man was striving to make himself master. In this attempt
he would fail should a menstruating woman be present, for she
would cause him to become essentially human. What animal
power he had would quickly desert him.

881 The custom in vogue when a girl reached puberty has been noted.
882 When a boy reached this stage, there was no formal ceremony to
607 mark the event. He was, however, taken in charge by his mother's
836 brother's wife. From this time until his marriage, he maintained
sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately
after having had intercourse with this woman. When her real
husband was off hunting or on the warpath, the youth continued
marital relations with her. Thus it might happen that for four or
[595] five years a woman would have an additional "husband," or possibly
three or four, with a temporary state of polyandry thereby prevailing.
[834] No such custom as this existed for girls, as they were supposed to
remain virgins until marriage.

882 Up to this time the boy went naked, except for a blanket or robe
291 in cold weather. From then on he wore leggings, and otherwise
dressed as a man.

857 A further word should be said as to the relationship of the sexes.
Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they
neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small
grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents.
836 Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship
might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept
at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the
girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or
he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this

602 on the tribal buffalo hunt in the style to which they were accustomed
would tactfully indicate that he had an extra horse that he could make
593 available for the forthcoming hunting expedition.

554 If a man's supply of tobacco got too low for the necessary social entertaining that he felt he should carry on, he would ask his brother rather
than an outsider in order to keep the matter within the family. A man
who noticed his brother appearing in a worn-out buffalo robe or blanket
would immediately send him a good one, for it would not do for anyone
578 to get the idea that the family was not prosperous. A term of great contempt among the Pawnee was poor, *kapakis*. The worst insult one could
hurl at a man was to call him *ruti-kapakis-kawitat*, "the one who is-poor-ragged." As the final insult one might say *kapakis-kuut*, "poor-dead," or
593 in our way of saying it, "dead-poor." Respect for seniority among a
group of brothers was preserved throughout life. The oldest brother
561 continued to be the surrogate for the entire family, and the cadet members would make particularly sure that their senior brother made a good appearance. Their personal conduct toward him always continued to be respectful. Even after Victory Call had achieved an important status apart from his older brother Sitting Hawk, he still respected his brother's seniority rights. As senior brother, Sitting Hawk would sometimes come to Victory Call's house and say, "Tomorrow at dawn we'll go hunting. We'll go in this and this direction." Or Sitting Hawk would feel free to ask Victory Call to go far out and find him some medicinal plants for his doctoring practice. He would say to Victory Call, "Before the birds eat it up, I want you to go way over there and get me so and so weed so that I'll have enough for this winter." As a man of prominence in the community, he had plenty of people who would willingly do this for him, but in this case he wanted to keep his medical secrets in the family, and he knew he could trust his brother not to reveal them or use them without his sanction. It was the part of a good father to instill these attitudes in his sons while they were young. For example, if the younger of two brothers had six horses and the elder only one, it would be proper for the younger man to put all seven horses together and say to his older brother, "Brother, take your choice." Original disagreements between parents might lead brothers to quarrel all their lives. It was generally felt that parents should be watchful of growing hostilities among their children and try to
595 remedy the situation before it was too late. In the plural marriage situation there was special danger of this as a co-wife who felt her husband preferred the other woman and her children would set the children against each other as had happened in the case of White Woman and her half-brothers. About their sister, a father would say to his sons, "You boys must take care of your sister. She's a girl and when she grows up she's going to take care of you." And this was indeed the case, for sister's house was a permanent home.

159 habitual gambler was likely to lose her blouse, her shawl, or her earrings.
554 A man who noticed a crowd of women playing together like that would
have to move along and mind his own business.
602

525 Clear Day had her own basket and plum seed dice with which to play the game—tossing up the marked plum seeds in the tray basket. Even when she herself didn't think of going out to gamble, the others would come in and get her. She would go out early in the morning and come back late in the evening, betting whatever she had, i.e., calico, a necklace, or her earrings. Old Bull didn't get angry. He was a chief and it wouldn't have been right for him to express any strong disapproval of his wife.

Sometimes a man whose wife was out gambling would get angry because he got hungry. When the woman came home feeling badly because she had lost, there would be trouble. She would say to her husband, "It was because of you. You were thinking about your hunger and then I lost the game." She gave no thought to her home—only to her playing. Sometimes she would win a nice piece of calico so that she could make her husband a new shirt. Then the reaction at home would be quite different. The husband would say, "That's good. But don't go so often. You might lose your luck." But try as she would to obey her husband's injunction, she would be caught up in it eventually. When the gamblers came around, she would make some excuse and say, "No, I have such and such to do. Why don't you go and ask so and so?" But eventually the other gamblers knew she would succumb. That was the way of Clear Day, Old Bull's younger wife. She was an habitual gambler.

159 Clear Day had two little daughters with Old Bull. The youngest was a
513 very small child and was in the care of Clear Day's mother, Blue Calico.
593 The older girl, New Queen, was five or six years old and had a bed of her own near the west on the south side of the lodge, adjacent to that of Clear Day. This was in anticipation of the time when the little girl would be fifteen and old enough to marry and her husband would join the household. It was considered desirable to give a little girl a bed of her own as soon as possible. With a little boy it was quite different. He might sleep with his grandmother until he was ten and then have a bed made for him between the central houseposts near the fireplace.

159 Queen Woman, senior wife of Old Bull, was of an entirely different
595 temperament from Clear Day. Her name in Pawnee was *Ts-taru-ri'u*,
[551] "woman-merely-by herself," signifying "one does something great by oneself, single-handed." One translation was "self-made queen," signifying that although not born a queen or woman of chief's rank, her social accomplishments were so creditable that she deserved this high

rank. Her marriage to Old Bull was apparently a case of a more mature 159 woman taking a younger man for her second husband. Her children 595 by her first marriage were growing up and were off at school, and she had started a second family with Old Bull. With him she had two small boys, one three years old and one still younger. She carried the whole responsibility for the household since the gambling habits of the younger wife left her with very little help. Blue Calico, the mother of the younger wife tried to compensate for this situation by being especially helpful to Queen Woman, giving her extra supplies to cook for all of them and a great deal of extra help "beyond the call of duty." Queen Woman was of French-Pawnee extraction, the French ancestor being relatively recent as reflected in her rather light complexion and mixed features. She was related to the family of the interpreter, Frank Deteyr, who was killed by the Sioux in the fall of 1861. She was quiet 159 and conservative in her social approach and sometimes Old Bull would 521 jokingly remark, "Why don't you talk once in a while?" "Well," she replied quite literally, "I have nothing to say." Most Pawnee women countered such remarks with a more lively retort. Her character was described in the following terms:

> She just went about her work. If other women came to visit, they would tell her stories about what was going on, but she would never repeat them. She never went out except to get a bucket of water with White Woman. People said of her, "She's a nice woman. She doesn't say much or gossip about anyone. You might tell her something but she doesn't repeat it or make any remarks about it." The two wives got along nicely together. Queen Woman never did any gambling herself, and she never made any remarks to Clear Day about her gambling.

Old Lady Blue Calico was the mother of Old Bull's younger wife 159 Clear Day and grandmother of the south half of the house. The Pawnee name of Blue Calico was *Ts-tapit-tarius*, "woman-bought goods-blue," 592 referring probably to a time when her uncle was portioning out a government allotment of goods or the spoils of a profitable trading expedition of his own and gave her a particularly nice piece of blue calico in the process.

Her personality was more lively than Grandma Chase-the-Enemy 159 but less so than the rough and ready Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy. 574 Her joking remarks and her general activity were a little more conspicuous than Otter's quieter grandmother. Blue Calico always went off 592 to the Village-in-the-Bottomlands where she had come from to visit a special old lady friend there. The two old women on the north side had their own friends in Pumpkin-Vine Village. If Blue Calico wanted to

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Hidatsa NQ14

P
252
262

65 Pawnee text version of making "beans-inside" bread, Weltfish, 1937, pp. 37-38.

P
342

21, 62 In the settlement near Fremont, Nebraska (Pahaku), the oldest brother of the three, Rotten House, and Sitting Hawk, the second oldest, and Victory Call, the youngest, established a huge earth lodge, 90 feet in diameter with two sets of central pillars, concentrically arranged. In it he assembled a large group of "brothers," most of them doctors.

P
[756]

P
114
797

14-15 The integrity of the account of Pawnee life obtained from informants by the field ethnologist is clearly validated by the account of an eyewitness, the missionary Samuel Allis, 1887, who lived with the Skidi in Old Village more than a hundred years before this record was made. He comments on the efficiency with which the domestic arrangements operate:

P
595

> [H]e lives with her in her father's lodge. It is customary for a young man to marry in a family, and if there is more than one daughter, he takes the oldest and so on as fast as they mature and gives a horse for each additional wife. In this way one sometimes gets as many as six or seven wives. They are like the Mormons in some ways. The oldest wife is "Sister Young" or "Sister Kimball" and so on and is mistress of the lodge. Each woman, however, has her own bundle of meat, corn, etc. and takes her turn in cooking; and the lord sleeps by turns in different parts of the lodge to avoid jealousy. Some of them have their women in different lodges and own a share in each lodge. In this way they fare better. *They have so much system in cooking, dressing robes, cornfields and other work that they get along better than one would suppose.**

H
462
593

This outlook on the fluidity of the division of labor was not confined to the Pawnees. Wolf Chief, an old man of the Hidatsa tribe, a Siouan group of North Dakota, stated in 1910, "In my tribe in old times, some men helped their wives in their gardens. Others did not. Those who did not help their wives talked against those who did saying, 'That man's wife makes him her servant!' And others retorted, 'Look, that man puts all the hard work on his wife!'" "Men were not all alike; some did not like to work in the garden at all, and cared for nothing but to go around visiting or to be off on a hunt. My father Small Ankle liked to garden and often helped his wives. He told me that was the best way to do. 'Whatever you do,' he said, 'help your wife in all things!' He taught me to clean the garden, to help gather the corn, to hoe and to rake. My father said that that man lived best and had plenty to eat who helped his wife. One who did not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

---

* Italics mine.

CULTURAL STATUS AT THE DAWN OF THE GHOST DANCE

By 1892 the aboriginal Pawnee culture of a century earlier had 175*
been profoundly altered. A tribe of villagers, accustomed to living 648*
in earth-lodges and tipis, and to maintaining themselves by digging- 657
stick cultivation of corn, beans and squash, and by hunting the 105
buffalo, had become a loose aggregate of people, living more or 177
less in families on separate farm tracts, dependent for their maintenance in part on plow cultivation of the land, and in part on the philanthropy of their overlords, the United States government.

From a political and social standpoint the Pawnee had been transformed from an independent self-determining nation into a group of families subject to the will of representatives of an alien race. The Pawnee chiefs were chiefs only in name and ancient lineage; what power they had among the Pawnee flowed from a continuing respect for their origins and their conduct. But no directing leadership in the destiny of the tribe was open to the chiefs; they could decide what they wished in council; it must then be submitted to the approval and sanction of the Agent, a representative of another government which ruled them.

The hunt and the warpath were gone, and with them the activities of youth and early manhood, which, in terms of the tradition and beliefs of their race, gave value to the life of a man. The hazard and danger of life as they had lived it before made them energetic, active and self-reliant. He who did not depend upon himself was lost. Now there was always the annuity, the agent, and rations. For women the life had also been radically altered. Their former routine had been a difficult and laborious one, working in the fields, making tent covers and clothing, cooking, and tending the children. But it had been part of a life which had broad and deep meaning as a way of life, in which their function was basic and valuable.

The family relationships which had brought all the people close together in their villages were broken down with the substitution
of frame houses on the farms for the old earth-lodge. In the [596] ●
earth-lodge a large, extended family lived together; the family line cohered around the women. On the farms the frame house was built for a man as head of a family, and was primarily for the small, limited family group as conceived by the white man.

From a material standpoint the arts and techniques which had been practised for centuries by the people, carried to practical perfection as their form of adjustment to the conditions of the world in which they lived, were broken down by the appearance of

household, even though his marriage might lead him to take up residence 593
elsewhere. For this reason, according to Pawnee ideas, the brother owed
his sister a special lifelong debt. In recognition of his indebtedness, when 604
the sister had a son, she might send him to live in her brother's married-in
household when he was about ten years old. There his maternal uncle
would teach him whatever he needed to know in life, and as he reached
adolescence he would receive his first sex instruction from one of his
uncle's wives. If his uncle had several wives, the boy might extend his
attentions to the others from time to time. The term for maternal nephew [601]
was *tiwat* and maternal uncle, *tiwatciriks*, super- or real-*tiwat*.

Another basic Pawnee family pattern concerning the man, was the 593
identification of a whole group of brothers. Through the rule of primogeniture
the oldest brother inherited all the family property and as senior [428]
member of the group was responsible for the well-being of all his
younger brothers. A younger brother who availed himself of the sexual
favors of his older brother's wife upon occasion was not considered out
of order, and theoretically the older brother should act like a gentleman,
paying no attention and making no mention of it. This ideal, however, 596
was not always realized. It was fairly usual form for two or more brothers
to set up a joint household, sharing their wives and their property. 601
The children addressed them all as fathers and mothers and they in turn
addressed all the children as their own. A similar but not identical condition
might exist among a group of sisters married to the same man, the
children addressing all the sisters as mother. A group of brothers would
address each other as *irari*, and the same term was used among a group of
sisters. But across the line of sex different terms that were more precise
were used: a man's sister was referred to as *itabi* and a woman's brother,
as *iratsti*. Under the difficult conditions of Pawnee life, a child gained
considerable security from this multiple parenthood. As the Pawnees
phrased it: "We think a child should not be too closely bound to its own
mother, for should she have to be away or should she die, it would
break the child's heart."

As each person was introduced into a child's life, the child was given 867
an idea of how to act toward that person. One of the ways in which this
was conveyed was through the kin term by which the child was instructed
to address the newcomer. Along with the term of address, a
style of conduct was indicated so that the child received a code of manners
as he came in contact with one after another of his normal associates.

As the depth of the relationship merits, the Pawnee child was taught to 593
treat his mother with profound respect. The term *atira*, "my mother,"
carried with it a high degree of reverence among the Pawnees. However, [601]
the mode of acting toward a mother was far more formal than it is ordinarily
in our society. The mother was concerned at all times for her
child. She provided for him and instructed him in how to act in his own

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24]

LEVIRATE

Formerly a man married his brother's widow, but this could be 587
done only by a younger brother. This form of levirate also prevailed in other Pawnee bands.

POLYANDRY

There were two customs which led to a condition of temporary 595
polyandry. In the first place, a boy on reaching the age of puberty 604
became in practice a second husband of his mother's brother's wife, which relationship might continue for several years. It has been noted that a man called his mother's brother's wife his wife. In the second place, a younger brother often maintained the position of husband to his brother's wife. It was the custom for a younger 595
brother to make his home with an elder married brother, in which 607
case the elder brother might permit the former to have sexual relations with his wife. However, this was not a definite regular practice, but was decided in individual cases by the nature of the friendly feeling existing between two brothers; it was necessary both that the older brother should give his consent and that the younger brother should feel that the maintenance of such a relationship to his brother's wife would not cause a feeling of jealousy to arise on
the part of his brother. This peculiar relationship was reflected in [601]
the kinship terminology, for a man used the same term for his brother's wife as for his own. The counterpart of this custom did not hold for sisters, as a girl did not leave her parents' lodge to make her home with her married sister until it was time to become the wife of her sister's husband. [For a more complete description of Pawnee polygamy, see Lesser, 1930.]

ADOPTION

Among the Skidi it was not uncommon for a family to assume 597
the responsibility or control of some poor boy or girl, but without the child in question being formally adopted—that is, it obtained no rights of a legal nature in the family.

However, the formal adoption of a child was by no means rare. Generally it came about through a man's losing a favorite son or daughter by death, and through his taking a fancy to another child, bearing a strong resemblance to the one he had lost. A bereaved father, after making up his mind that he would like to adopt the child, carefully washed and arrayed himself in new costume and went to the lodge where the child lived that he wished to adopt. There he clothed the child in new moccasins and leggings that he had

597 brought with him. He might repeat the visit several times. Meeting with no objection from the child's parents, who understood the nature of his visits, he told them of his desire and with their consent took the child to his own home. Thereafter it had all the rights and privileges of the man's dead child, but might visit its real parents at any time.

CLANS

614 No trace of clans was found.

come as brothers a group of men that were so classified in a more 159
distant kin line. 593

These were kin on the mother's side—perhaps further back through 602
the old ladies—but *not on the father's side*. The three that were adopted as uncles were of our own village of Pumpkin-Vine. White Woman called them *iratsti*, "brother," and they called her *itabi*, "sister." They acted like real brothers to her.

There was still another "uncle" who was welcome to their household. 159
His name was Buffalo-Leader, *taraha-kitawiu*. He had been adopted into 597
the family as a surrogate for the brother that was killed by the Poncas. After the raid, White Woman and her sister mourned deeply for the death of their brother. Once White Woman took particular notice of a young man in the village, remarking to her mother that he looked like their own brother that was killed. Then the two mothers (i.e., co-wives of the old chief) invited the young man to the house for a special dinner, giving him a gift and caressing him in blessing. He was given to understand that they wanted him to come to the house at any time and be a brother to White Woman. If he didn't come for a while, the mothers would give him a gentle reminder saying, "You can come over any time." Now that White Woman had a substantial position and a household of her own, he came often and enjoyed her hospitality.

Kin categories, therefore, did not guarantee a fixed relationship. They 602
could only be valid if they were recognized by both parties. This recog- 571
nition could be of a more or less enthusiastic kind. As with us, poor relations might be treated with a shade less enthusiasm than those of greater wealth or status. Then there were other factors such as degree of common interest or personal liking. One could follow a minimal interpretation of the pattern in order to preserve "the decencies" without actually disowning the people concerned.

Added to the factors of wealth and personal congeniality was the mat- 602
ter of hereditary status and family honor which was at times a very 593
important element in the behavior of relatives toward one another. Broth- 554
ers in particular were called on to preserve the reputation of the family. Since the Pawnees were especially sensitive on this point, brothers avoided going about together as much as possible, for should one be personally challenged or humiliated, the other would be bound to fight, and the conflict might spread to the several families concerned. On the other hand, if the other brother were not around, the two parties might be able to work out some way so that the incident could be passed over. Even after they had established themselves in different households, brothers were very careful to preserve appearances on behalf of the family. A man noticing that his brother's family did not have enough horses to go

IV. KINSHIP

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The Skidi recognized ten primary forms of blood relationship. 601 These were conceived as having divine origin, for it is claimed that [793] Tirawa said that a woman shall have a grandmother, a mother, a grandchild, a sister, and a child; and a man shall have a grandfather, a father, an uncle, a nephew, and a brother.

There follows a table of relationship terms:

MALE SPEAKER

Skidi term	Descriptive term
atias	father father's brother father's father's father ✓ mother's mother's father ✓ father's sister's son
atira	mother mother's sister father's brother's wife father's sister father's sister's daughter father's father's mother
atipat	father's father father's sister's husband mother's sister's husband mother's mother's husband ✓
atika	mother's mother father's mother
tiwasiriks	mother's brother
irari	brother father's brother's son mother's sister's son
itahi	sister father's brother's daughter mother's sister's daughter
tiwat	sister's son sister's daughter
pirao	son daughter brother's son brother's daughter mother's brother's son mother's brother's daughter
ruktiki	son's son son's daughter daughter's son daughter's daughter sister's son's son sister's son's daughter sister's daughter's son sister's daughter's daughter

Skidi term	Descriptive term
ratiru̧tako	wife wife's sister brother's wife mother's brother's wife
tatukak	wife's mother wife's father wife's brother
kustawixsu	sister's husband daughter's husband sister's daughter's husband
skurus	son's wife sister's son's wife

The usage is the same for women except for the following terms:

FEMALE SPEAKER

irasti	brother father's brother's son mother's sister's son
irari	mother's sister's daughter
pirao	sister's son sister's daughter brother's son's son brother's son's daughter brother's daughter's son brother's daughter's daughter
skurus	brother's wife mother's brother's wife
rikoktako	husband sister's husband

Among the Skidi an eldest child was called *tirariktis;* a second, *nawira;* and the youngest, *kawita.* A half-brother and half-sister were called *irari* and *itahi.*

[The range of the terminological system is not described beyond what is given in the table. The system is a Crow type similar to the other Pawnee bands. For notes on kinship behavior see pages 88-108.]

POLYGYNY

595 As a rule, polygyny was practiced only when a man married into a family of sisters. The girl's parents would be willing to see him marry the remaining girls as they came of age, providing that he had shown himself thoroughly able to support a family. When a man married sisters, the formal wedding ceremony was performed only at the first marriage. [585]

The greatest number of wives remembered by the Skidi as belonging to one man is eight; these were four sisters in two families.

A chief or a great and successful warrior occasionally married more than one wife, not sisters. Such an exception to the custom of marrying sisters only was very rare.

LEVIRATE

Formerly a man married his brother's widow, but this could be done only by a younger brother. This form of levirate also prevailed in other Pawnee bands. 587

POLYANDRY

There were two customs which led to a condition of temporary polyandry. In the first place, a boy on reaching the age of puberty became in practice a second husband of his mother's brother's wife, which relationship might continue for several years. It has been noted that a man called his mother's brother's wife his wife. In the second place, a younger brother often maintained the position of husband to his brother's wife. It was the custom for a younger brother to make his home with an elder married brother, in which case the elder brother might permit the former to have sexual relations with his wife. However, this was not a definite regular practice, but was decided in individual cases by the nature of the friendly feeling existing between two brothers; it was necessary both that the older brother should give his consent and that the younger brother should feel that the maintenance of such a relationship to his brother's wife would not cause a feeling of jealousy to arise on the part of his brother. This peculiar relationship was reflected in the kinship terminology, for a man used the same term for his brother's wife as for his own. The counterpart of this custom did not hold for sisters, as a girl did not leave her parents' lodge to make her home with her married sister until it was time to become the wife of her sister's husband. [For a more complete description of Pawnee polygamy, see Lesser, 1930.] 595 604 595 607 [607]

ADOPTION

Among the Skidi it was not uncommon for a family to assume the responsibility or control of some poor boy or girl, but without the child in question being formally adopted—that is, it obtained no rights of a legal nature in the family. 597

However, the formal adoption of a child was by no means rare. Generally it came about through a man's losing a favorite son or daughter by death, and through his taking a fancy to another child, bearing a strong resemblance to the one he had lost. A bereaved father, after making up his mind that he would like to adopt the child, carefully washed and arrayed himself in new costume and went to the lodge where the child lived that he wished to adopt. There he clothed the child in new moccasins and leggings that he had

602 tain that the children of brothers are brothers and sisters to each other, and that the children of two sisters are the same, but about the children of a brother and a sister I could not ascertain. There is no term for
● [601] aunt, therefore a father's sister is a mother, and probably her son is a brother, but on this point I could not make any certain
[115] progress. Col. Peter A. Sarpy of St. Marys told me that the father's sister was a grand
[582] mother, and a man could marry this grand mother. If there is no aunt, then a woman has no nephew and niece, and a woman's brother's son is her grand son. But the mother's brother is an uncle, and consequently a man has a nephew and niece. I think I can nearly write out this system, but at all events I feel sure Mr. Allis will be able to do it for me with the aid I shall now be able to give him.

123 I stayed with this pleasant family which consists of a mother, two sons and one grown daughter and also an orphan girl brought up by them, and the Pawnee woman besides the Rev. Samuel Allis now absent as before stated. They refused compensation for my entertainment, and I left them Friday morning to return to Mr. Hamilton at Bellevue, well pleased with my visit: I am
114 to write to Mr. Allis on my return, and to
[125] send him a schedule and they say he will attend to it for me.

returned about three o'clock, June 8, to Bellevue, and shall remain here until Saturday morning when I go up to Omaha to meet the boat on which I am to return to Rulo, where I shall make a desperate effort for the Blackfoot and the Sheyenne and also try at Omaha again for the Pawnee.

[P10 (B)]

887 house." She supplemented their supplies of vegetables from her own garden
592 from time to time, saying, "Daughter, cook this for our supper."
She would also have a small private stock of dried meat that she had gotten
by helping with its preparation during the hunt season, and she would
also offer this at various times when it seemed a good idea. Again there
was no regular schedule for this, nor any amount that was standard.
Grandma already rendered considerable services to the house and was
considered entitled to her "keep." She also gave substantive help with
skin working, sewing, getting firewood, special manufacturing, and so on.

The young women and girls at the west stations did minor household
462 tasks, but had a far more significant contribution to make to its ongoing.
592 They were there to please and care for a capable man who would protect
883 the people in the lodge, provide them with fresh meat by his almost daily
hunting expeditions for deer, elk, or antelope, participate in the tribal
buffalo hunts in the summer and winter each year so that they would all
have dried buffalo meat, and carry on the official interrelationships with
the community outside the household, including those with the village
officials.

582 An influential and capable man might be given one of these girls in
marriage with the understanding that her younger sisters would also be
given to him when they came of age. If he were adjudged too old, the
family was unlikely to agree to these further marriages. In the case of Old
Bull, the family of his junior wife, Clear Day, was unwilling to give him
her younger sister on this account. Fifteen years was considered a suitable
age for marriage in a girl, and eighteen for a boy. However, the probability
is remote that the couple would be of these ages respectively. First
marriages for both a boy and a girl were almost always of a "May–September"
type. A boy of eighteen was considered altogether incapable of
playing a suitable married role in a household. A man contracted a marriage
583 in terms of services he could render to the family of the girl that he
591 married. Normally he was expected to come to live in her household and
"take care of them," i.e., render them major services.

601 The son-in-law, i.e., the man married into a household, was known as
kustawixtsu," the one that is sitting among [us]." The man on his part
606 referred to his in-laws as *tatutkaku*, "I sit inside for you," that is, "I am in
the house for your benefit." The reward he receives is his wife whom he
calls *tatiraktaku*, "I own her," and she in turn refers to her husband as
tikuktaku, "he owns me." These terms are not normally used under informal
circumstances, the couple addressing each other by the common
term for spouse, *raku*, or if they are on particularly pleasant terms, the
man calls his wife *tsustit*, "old lady," and she refers to her husband as
kurahus, "old man."

58 Because of the services required on both sides, a young man would
have little alternative but to marry a capable older woman, and a young

household, even though his marriage might lead him to take up residence 593
elsewhere. For this reason, according to Pawnee ideas, the brother owed
his sister a special lifelong debt. In recognition of his indebtedness, when 604
the sister had a son, she might send him to live in her brother's married-in
household when he was about ten years old. There his maternal uncle
would teach him whatever he needed to know in life, and as he reached
adolescence he would receive his first sex instruction from one of his
uncle's wives. If his uncle had several wives, the boy might extend his
attentions to the others from time to time. The term for maternal nephew [601] •
was *tiwat* and maternal uncle, *tiwatciriks*, super- or real-*tiwat*.

Another basic Pawnee family pattern concerning the man, was the 593
identification of a whole group of brothers. Through the rule of primogeniture [428]
the oldest brother inherited all the family property and as senior
member of the group was responsible for the well-being of all his
younger brothers. A younger brother who availed himself of the sexual
favors of his older brother's wife upon occasion was not considered out
of order, and theoretically the older brother should act like a gentleman,
paying no attention and making no mention of it. This ideal, however, 596
was not always realized. It was fairly usual form for two or more brothers
to set up a joint household, sharing their wives and their property. 601
The children addressed them all as fathers and mothers and they in turn
addressed all the children as their own. A similar but not identical condition
might exist among a group of sisters married to the same man, the
children addressing all the sisters as mother. A group of brothers would
address each other as *irari*, and the same term was used among a group of
sisters. But across the line of sex different terms that were more precise
were used: a man's sister was referred to as *itahi* and a woman's brother,
as *iratsti*. Under the difficult conditions of Pawnee life, a child gained
considerable security from this multiple parenthood. As the Pawnees
phrased it: "We think a child should not be too closely bound to its own
mother, for should she have to be away or should she die, it would
break the child's heart."

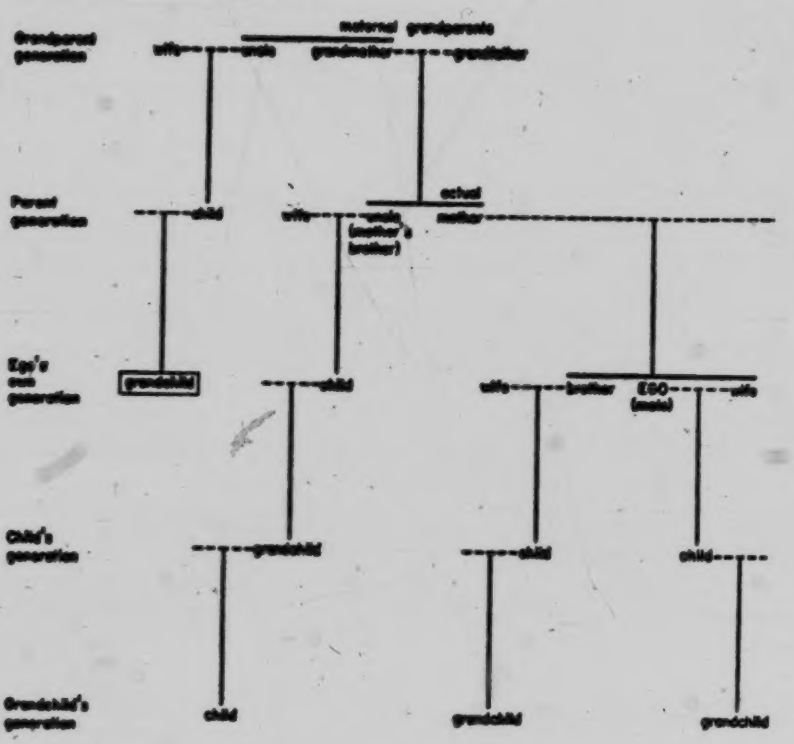
As each person was introduced into a child's life, the child was given 867
an idea of how to act toward that person. One of the ways in which this
was conveyed was through the kin term by which the child was instructed
to address the newcomer. Along with the term of address, a
style of conduct was indicated so that the child received a code of manners
as he came in contact with one after another of his normal associates.

As the depth of the relationship merits, the Pawnee child was taught to 593
treat his mother with profound respect. The term *atira*, "my mother,"
carried with it a high degree of reverence among the Pawnees. However, [601]
the mode of acting toward a mother was far more formal than it is ordinarily
in our society. The mother was concerned at all times for her
child. She provided for him and instructed him in how to act in his own

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24]

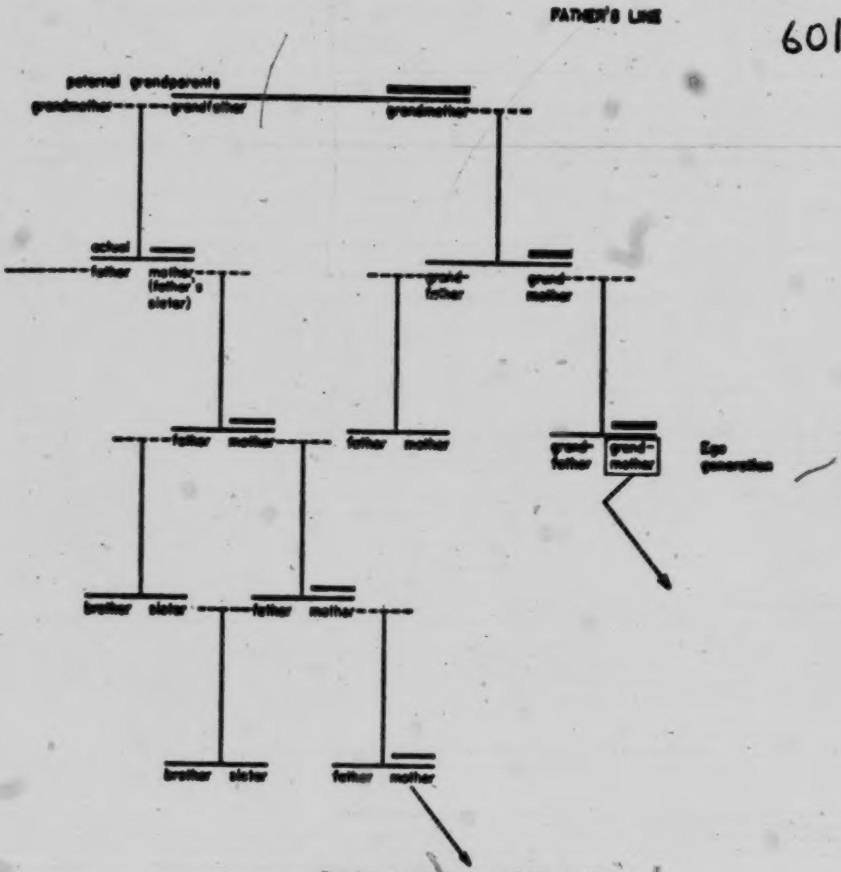
601

MOTHER'S LINE
(connecting lines indicate siblings,
dotted lines---indicate marriage)


Grandparent generation
maternal grandparents
wife
uncle
grandmother
grandfather
Parent generation
child
wife
uncle (mother's brother)
actual mother
Ego's own generation
grandchild
child
wife
brother
EGO (male)
wife
Child's generation
grandchild
child
child
Grandchild's generation
child
grandchild
grandchild

Ego has a grandchild relationship in his own generation through a collateral line of his maternal grandmother, that is, through the descendants of her brother.

FIGURE 3-1. Genealogical kinship table showing Mother's Brother's and Father's Sister's lines. Ego has grandparent-grandchild categories in his own generation through descent from the brothers and sisters of his grandparents. These could provide him with marriage partners.


FATHER'S LINE
paternal grandparents
grandmother
grandfather
grandmother
actual
father
mother
(father's
sister)
grand-
father
grand-
mother
father
mother
father
mother
grand-
father
grand-
mother
Ego
generation
brother
sister
father
mother
brother
sister
father
mother

Ego has a grandparent relation in his own generation through a collateral line of his paternal grandfather, that is, through the descendants of his grandfather's sister.

593 life and in social situations, but there was no easygoing informality. A mother was a mainstay for life, but one did not bother her with petty problems. When the child was weaned, he was given over to the care of 603 his grandmother where he enjoyed a relationship of intimacy, warmth, and informality that made it easy for him to appeal to her for any want he might have, however petty or apparently foolish.

In terms of the conduct associated with them, these two kin relation- 602 ships, the one to *atira*, "my mother," and the other to *atika*, "my grand- • 601 mother," stood at opposite poles. These two kinds of relationship might be called a *respect* relationship and a *joking* relationship respectively. The one type of conduct was designed to preclude any kind of sexual involvement or marriage, while the joking relationship implied the possibility of physical familiarity, including sexual relations. This is not to say that a boy was likely to become sexually involved with his own grandmother, but the term was also applied to other relatives in the kin network, in which case sex relations were permissible and marriage (when the individuals were not otherwise attached) was positively encouraged.

A network of kin relationships extended throughout the village for 604 every individual member. The number of actual kin terms employed was 601 very limited, but under each kin term a number of relatives of varying degrees of biological closeness were included. The term, *atira*, "my mother," applied not only to own mother and mother's immediate sisters, but also to the sisters of the father as a mark of special respect. This attitude and the kin term, *atira*, was applied not only to the sisters of the father, but to their daughters, i.e., the daughters of the paternal aunt, and in turn to their daughters as well, going down the generations as long as the relationship could be traced. The object of the extension of the mother term to these women in the father's line was to preclude any possibility of sex relations or marriage with them. At the same time these women reciprocated by answering to this term, *atira*, with the term for child, *piirau*, and treating these individuals as a mother would, but to an exaggerated degree. A person entering the household of a paternal aunt or her female descendants would be welcomed at once with exclamations of concern; he would be spoken of as child, or even as baby, and offered food and care. The person would be given to understand that "they have a home here." One was very careful to limit one's visits to these relatives. You were bound to be quite circumspect, for should you admire something in the house or even show some interest in it, you might well receive it as a gift as a mark of their regard.

593 The relationship with the father was also highly formalized, involving special concern and instruction in right conduct and maintenance, [261] particularly providing fresh meat and dried buffalo meat which were considered necessary for energy and growth. Strictly speaking, the fa-

{601}
{604}

ther and his family were not *own* family as that of the mother was. The 593
mother's sisters were completely identified with the mother, and there 604
was little difference in the attitude toward them. The mother's brother, *tiwatciriks*, was an even more familiar person, who was theoretically 601
ready to share whatever he had with his nephew, *tiwat*. The boy might enter the household into which his maternal uncle was married from the age of ten and assume the role of apprentice husband and eventually, when he came of age, of junior husband. He called his uncle's wives "wife" and the children of his uncle *piirau*, "my child." After adolescence, he might in fact be the physiological father of one or the other of them. On the other hand, some of his uncle's children might be older than he; he would still call them *piirau*, and they in turn would address him as *atias*, "my father," the same as their own father. Thus it might very well happen that a man in his twenties would call a boy of ten, *atias*, "my father," and the boy would call him *piirau*, "my child." Such an age reversal might also happen in the father's sister's line, where a grown man would address a little girl as *atira*, "my mother," and the little girl would call the man *piirau*, "my child." In the first case, the grown man would be expressing his respect for his father, and even more particularly for his father's sister in his treatment of her son. In this role, the boy was in a superior position and addressed the man as "child." The second case would involve the women and girls in the father's sister's line directly. At bottom, both these situations had their basis in the unequal relationship between a sister and a brother, as the brother was the taker while the sister with whom he always had a home was the provider. He owed her nothing in return, but he accorded her great respect, and his children followed suit. They demonstrated their respect by applying to their paternal aunt the most revered term they knew, *atira*, "my mother," and carried it to all her female descendants. The boys in this line they called *atias*, "my father." In this case these terms were used to express not age or parenthood, but respect. The factor of age did not enter the relationship; a small boy might call a grown man, *piirau*, "my child," the man addressing the boy as *atias*, "my father."

Wherever the grandfather term *atipat* was applied or extended, it was 601
a relaxed relationship. Familiar joshing, poking fun, and manhandling 602
were in order. When a girl addressed a man by this term, sex relations
were a possibility, and, if the circumstances were right, marriage was fa- 603
vored. In this mode, during the intermissions in the *Awari* or Groundbreaking Ceremony in the spring just before planting, virgins received advice on their prospective sex life from warriors whom they addressed as *atipat*, "grandfather," the girls in turn being addressed as *raktiki*,
"grandchild." Under any circumstances other than the joking kin cate- 576
gory, the Pawnees scrupulously avoided any reference to the physical person or to intimate relations. To transgress this prohibition would be regarded as a personal insult that could be classed as almost criminal.

000 regarded as a personal insult that could be classed as almost criminal.
602 Even within the joking category, they were very careful not to go too far. Account was taken of the respective personalities involved—some people being considered too sensitive to take "strong" joking while others
603 with more hardy spirits being treated somewhat more roughly. A not uncommon tactic of an actual grandfather was to take his grandson out of bed of a cold morning and dump him into the water or into the snow. This was intended to harden him, and no one else would be in a position to do such a thing. The boy on his part could be somewhat rough with grandpa as well, though an actual grandparent was unlikely to receive such physical manhandling, since regard for age was never wholly out of the picture. At formal meals and official feasts, during the actual eating of the meal, relaxed conversation was in order, and this usually took the form of one of the prominent men's teasing the other, whom he addressed through a kinship classification as "grandpa." The humor was partly in the fact that they were of similar age and status. In this climate of feeling toward the grandparents, the marriage of a young man or woman to an older person was more congenial emotionally than it would be to us. Among the Pawnees, intimacy and grandparent were constantly associated, while the attitudes toward the parents were diametrically opposed.
593 There was a similar prohibition among brothers and sisters, and since there were no strangers as possible marriage partners, the direction
602 of marriage and sex interests was only too clearly pointed toward the classificatory grandparent group. The mastery of kin behavior was indispensable to the Pawnee, and he kept refining its nuances for his interpersonal relationships throughout his life.

601 The actual number of kin terms involved, except for the relationships by marriage, were limited to thirteen essential ones (see tables 3-1 and 3-2). Their application to other categories appears in the genealogical chart of standard kinship relations of a male (see Figure 3-1). This covers own generation and two generations above (parent and grandparent) and two below (child and grandchild)—five generations in all that the Pawnees regarded as the essential ones to consider. Beyond these generations, parents and child terms were again used, i.e., in the great-grandparent and great-grandchild categories. There is a clear logic of reciprocity in the kin terms—that is, anybody who calls someone father is called child by that person and vice versa, anyone who calls a person sister is called in return sister or brother as the case may be, grandparent answers with the term grandchild, and so on.

The form of the Pawnee kinship structure has a direct relevance to our theory of how society evolved. In its crudest form and as rather popularly held, the theory is that man began as a food-gathering group with more or less promiscuous interrelationships of the people and no real social form. According to this construct, when garden culture later

TABLE 3-1. *The Essential Pawnee Kin Terms Except for the Relationships by Marriage* 601

1.	*atira*	my mother
2.	*atias*	my father
3.	*irari*	sibling of the same sex, viz., brother to brother, or sister to sister
4.	*iratsti*	brother, woman speaking
5.	*itaxri*	sister, man speaking (Skidi dialect, *itabi*)
6.	*piira'u*	child
7.	*tiki*	son
8.	*tsuat*	daughter
9.	*tiwat*	nephew or niece, viz., child of a man's sister
10.	*tiwat-ciriks*	uncle, mother's brother, meaning the super-*tiwat*
11.	*atika*	my grandmother
12.	*atipat*	my grandfather
13.	*rak-tiki*	grandchild, viz., son's child.

The parent and grandparent terms are different from the others in that each has three variants. They contain a ROOT and also a possessive pronoun. Thus:

ati-AS	my father	*ati*-RA	my mother
as-AS	your father	A'*as*	your mother
is-AS-*ti*	his father	*i'*A-*sti*	his mother
ati-PAT	my grandfather	*ati*-KA	my grandmother
a-PAT	your grandfather	*a*-KA	your grandmother
i-PAK-*ti*	his grandfather	*i*-KA-*ri*	his grandmother

Normally people did not indicate that a woman was their biological mother as distinct from her sisters, nor the woman that the child was biologically hers within this grouping, but under exceptional circumstances it could be said that a mother was *irata'u*, "my very own," and that a child was *kutatixra'a*, "my very own child."

---

became man's way of life, the woman, being the gardener, acquired considerable social power. As an economy depending on herds of domestic animals came into being, the men took power and held the women in check, insisting on a recognition of their individual paternity of their children and therefore on monogamy on the part of the woman. The Pawnee situation casts some doubt on a literal interpretation of this theory. The Pawnee women do cultivate the gardens, run and maintain the house. They can hardly be said to be politically dominant. Kin closeness is considered greater in the mother's line than in the father's, but the incest taboo covers both. One cannot maintain that the political position of the men can be equated with that of the Roman patriarch who had power of life and death over the permanent members of his household, which included captive slaves and the immediate members of his family. Nei- 592 611

TABLE 3-2. *Pawnee Kin Terms for Relationships through Marriage*

601 The kin terms by marriage involved verbal roots and were specifically descriptive of certain functions. They had pronominal elements attached and often varied with the specific meaning of the phrase:

kus-tawex-tsu	sitting-among-the one who	said of a *son-in-law*
tat-ut-ka-ku	I-for you-inside-sit	said by a son-in-law about *the men of his wife's family*, signifying that the son-in-law is at the service of his wife's family
tatira-ktaku	I her-own	*my wife*, husband speaking
ti-ku-ktaku	He me-owns	*my husband*, wife speaking
raku	A term used reciprocally between husband and wife in direct address—*spouse*	

If husband and wife are on good terms, they call each other:

tsustit	old lady	*wife*
kurahus	old man	*husband*
tskurus	is for all female in-laws, used by both men and women in speaking of them. It is unlikely to be used alone outside a verbal context. For example, *ti-kut-tskurus, she-to me-is female in law*, etc.	

562
611
ther can one reverse this idea and say the women are the real power, and therefore we have a matriarchate. In point of fact, neither one is dominant, but rather the position of men and women among the Pawnees is decidedly more balanced than in our society. Physiological paternity is known, but this does not lead to a double standard with monogamy enforced for the women. The household is not a power structure of women but a plan for the organization of work, with the personnel being very fluid. One could argue that this was a society in an intermediate stage between matriarchy and patriarchy. No one can deny that change must necessarily occur, even in Pawnee society—or in any other for that matter. But the direction this change will take is less likely to depend on the internal conditions than on the larger forces that impinge on it from outside. One can make a broad leap into the realm of speculation and think of the possibility that had the European not arrived on the scene, the

562 specialization of labor developed, the Pawnees would have developed a
social hierarchy of occupations of which India is a supreme example.

It is all too easy, having analyzed a social structure, to give it a certain
602 rigidity and permanence that it does not have among the people them-
selves. Definite as the Pawnee kinship system may seem, in operation it
permitted a wide area of alternative behavior for the individual.

The question of kin lines came up in a substantive way whenever a
582 marriage was being arranged. As this involved the acquisition of property
602 by some of the relatives and the establishment of social contacts for
others, there was always a certain variation in the individual interests. The
first question asked in relation to the proposed marriage was whether
the partners were so closely related that there was too great biological
closeness. If it was decided by the assembled father's brothers that they
were definitely outside the incest group, then the degree of distance
would be discussed. One man who favored the marriage for his own per-
sonal reasons would say, "As I see it, they can be reckoned child and
grandchild, and, although the relationship is a close one through the
mother's line, it is a good thing for marriages to be kept within the
family, as they will share each other's interests." Another, not in favor of
the match for his own reasons would state, "True, they are child and
grandchild through the mother's line, but it's a disadvantage for mar-
riages to be made too closely within the kin grouping, as any quarrel
between the couple will quickly spread to the whole kindred. I think so
and so who is more distantly related would be more desirable on this
account." Then someone else might counter with, "Well, while one
might say the couple are related through the mother's line in such and
such a manner, from another point of view, looking further back, there is
still another kin category that should take precedence, and I think they
are not so closely related that this latter argument should be involved."
And so it continued until they came to terms. But these terms were by
no means fixed by what the outsider might consider *the* rules.

602 Another common occasion where the kinship factor came up was at
the time of the tribal hunts. While they were on the march, there was an
592 attempt to improve one's connection in a better household or in a more
advantageous position, and a request to join such a household when they
got home was backed up with a genealogical discussion as to how close
the kinship was to an important member of the desired household through
various alternative kin lines.

602 And finally it was also possible to disown one's relatives, no matter
how close they might be. Long-standing hostilities might grow up over
time and finally give rise to coldness between even the closest kin. A kin
tie, in order to be effective, had to be validated in a number of ways or it
602 might in fact lapse. The most elementary condition was the use of the kin
601 term as a greeting. This could be done with more or less enthusiasm or

affection, denoting how far one could count on the tie. The use of the 602
kin word on meeting might simply be withheld altogether—an absolute 601
disclaimer of the relationship.

A second cue as to how valuable a person considered a given kin tie 604
could be taken from the manner in which the typical kin behavior was carried out. In the joking grandfather-grandchild type of behavior, the jokes might be mean, sarcastic, or mildly jocular, but if the person showed no reaction at all it was most damaging to the relationship. Careless behavior within the "respect" categories would simply be taken as a personal insult, but no response whatever to the other person that should have a kin status, canceled the relationship entirely as a personal bond.

There were no normal interpersonal relations among the Pawnees that 602
did not carry with them a kin designation. People with whom one 608
dealt as equals had to be placed in some kin category; lack of such a relation could only imply slave or enemy status. In the various trade or gift exchange ceremonials that were conducted between tribes or bands, a whole kin structure was built up so that they could communicate on a peaceful level. The most notable example was the Calumet or Peace Pipe Ceremony, in which the visiting trade party represented Fathers, while the ones they visited were designated their Children. Many of the ceremonial acts were designed to carry out this idea. There was no way of communicating with peaceful strangers unless they were fitted into the kin structure, and it is for this reason that the President of the United States is referred to as the Great White Father and that white friends are adopted into the tribe.

A third aspect of kin reactivity was the exchange of gifts and this 159
too was an index of cordiality or lack of it between two kinsmen. It 593
sometimes happened that a distant relative was so warmly cultivated 602
that the relationship took on a degree of intimacy that was considerably [431]
greater than would ordinarily be implied in the genetic tie. Such a case happened with the mother of the boy Otter, White Woman. As was customary, Otter's maternal uncles—his mother's brothers—were frequent visitors to the household. Uncle War Cry and his younger brothers High Noon and Noted Fox would come in often to meals. Uncle War Cry was head brave of the Skidi, and he would often linger to smoke and talk with Victory Call. Uncle War Cry was solicitous for Otter's welfare at all times, and the boy was welcome to his uncle's home at any time. Whenever they passed each other in the village, Uncle War-Cry would call out to him, "*Nawa tiwat,*" and Otter would reply with "*Nawa tiwatciriks.*" The same was true of the other two uncles.

From time to time something would happen that puzzled the boy very much. Two men in particular would insist on greeting him in the same terms as his own uncles, saying, "*Nawa tiwat,*" and they came up to him and stated that they were his *real* uncles and that his mother was mean

his nephew, etc., as the case might be. A man would feel free to issue the 574
invitation if he had gotten some meat by hunting or bought some supplies at the trade store. Otherwise the invitation would come from the woman, since she would be providing the food. However, when guests 574
came in at the husband's invitation in order to transact some business 431
or political affairs, the husband had the right to ask the wife to cook something for his guests. If one were simply to "drop in" on a relative without a business reason or an invitation, it would appear as a hint that you wanted a gift or some other service. In order to forestall this impression, one came bringing a gift, opening the visit with the presentation and thus making it appear as the ostensible reason for the visit. The nature and value of the gift was to some extent an index of the regard the donor felt for the recipient.

On the whole, kin ties called forth strong emotions, especially in the 602
presence of a stranger. Where strangers and kin were involved, kin 609
loyalty aroused immediate reactions and was very strong. Outside the kin group it was assumed that people must be mean, unreliable, and treacherous. The household and immediate kin was the closest unit and the village pretty much the outer limit. Intervillage ties did exist, however, and 628
occasionally intervillage marriages. As the population began to dwindle 582
in the last years in Nebraska, such intermarriages became more frequent than heretofore.

Personal Names and Aspirations

A person was never addressed by his personal name; a kin term was 551
always used. This served to indicate the expected behavior and, through [601]
the mode of its use, the nuances that could be expected within the category. A personal name among the Pawnees was of an entirely different character from our own. It was an honorary title of an extremely personal nature. The significance of the personal name was stated by a priest (see Fletcher, 1904, p. 365) as follows:

> A man's life is an onward movement. . . . If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the help of the powers, his life will "climb up." . . . Some men can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level. Men having power to advance, climb step by step. . . . the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life, an upper level—such a one as reached by the ancient men who are spoken of in the (name-changing) ritual, who threw away the names by which they had been known before (because of new and higher achievements). *Ru-tur-a-witt-pari*, "In a direction-he is actively-moving-to a point or goal-traveling"; this is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by doing like deeds.

571 and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and
521 often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque grouping and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for
[551] a tall, slender person, *asu-katu-has-tawiu* ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of a shoe string), or *karastiat* ("I will not go out"); *kusatsua* ("it will rain"). In reply, *A* ("well"), *uksawatsatsua* ("even if it were to rain"), *kaiit* ("salt"); *karas* ("are you?").

857 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and
858 types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in
867 early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not
[601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term
[551] of address at all. If the group included ~~ten,~~ twelve or more, they would use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey, etc.

883 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out
572 to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the
[726] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous occasions.

533 Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the
[726] night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching. Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting, and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar,
[539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

156 the universe, meaning literally the inside land, and that his house was a
776 small model of it. The infinite cosmos was his constant source of strength
829 and his ultimate progenitor, and there was no reason why he should hesitate
to set out alone and explore the wide world, even though years should pass before he returned. Not only was he not confined within four
156 walls but he was not closed in with a permanent group of people. The special concern of his mother did not mean that he was so closely embedded with her emotionally that he was not able to move about.

155 Other people also were clearly concerned with him in a variety of
593 ways. There was no mistaking the constant concern of Old Bull for the
602 boy, Otter, in the earth lodge. And as for his grandmother, this was of
course patently clear. There was no mistaking the affection felt for him by Horse Rider. Even from the earliest time the Pawnee knew there were differences in kinds of affection. He knew he should go to his grandmother for intimate care but he also looked up to his mother as his provider and protector. His father he regarded in the same way wherever he might be, and, as we saw (p. 41), his mother had pointed out to him that he should emulate his father. Otter's Uncle War Cry and his other uncles came to the house and again showed affectionate concern, and one winter when he broke his leg his uncle stayed home and nursed and protected him. He knew very early that he "had a home" in the house of Eagle Chief which had been literally demonstrated to him in special feasts and visits. His older half-brother Fox Chief was there for him even though not in the house. The breakup of the household and travel on the hunt did not dismay him, even when his grandmother stayed behind one winter, for his community traveled with him. This
[867] bringing of the community's concern to the child's attention from an early age was deliberately carried out.

601 The wide application of the kin terms gave the family relationships a
602 much wider reference. It made him realize that there were shades of
closeness with his immediate kin and that many varying factors determined this just as they did in his outside attachments. The case of his mother's half-brothers was a graphic example. He found out that, in the last analysis, one made one's own relationships with people and that none was absolutely given.

000 The intensified family togetherness of our present society stands in sharp contrast to these arrangements. The very physical plant of our family household fosters this intensity. Within this century, the apartment or family dwelling has become more and more isolated. In the past ten years, the isolation has become absolute and we have become the loneliest people that ever existed. Mechanical elevators, mechanical shopping, mechanical transportation, and other mechanical devices preclude almost all casual social contacts. At the same time, within the apartment or household the sexes are thrown together in an incest-breeding welter of

623
342
35
554

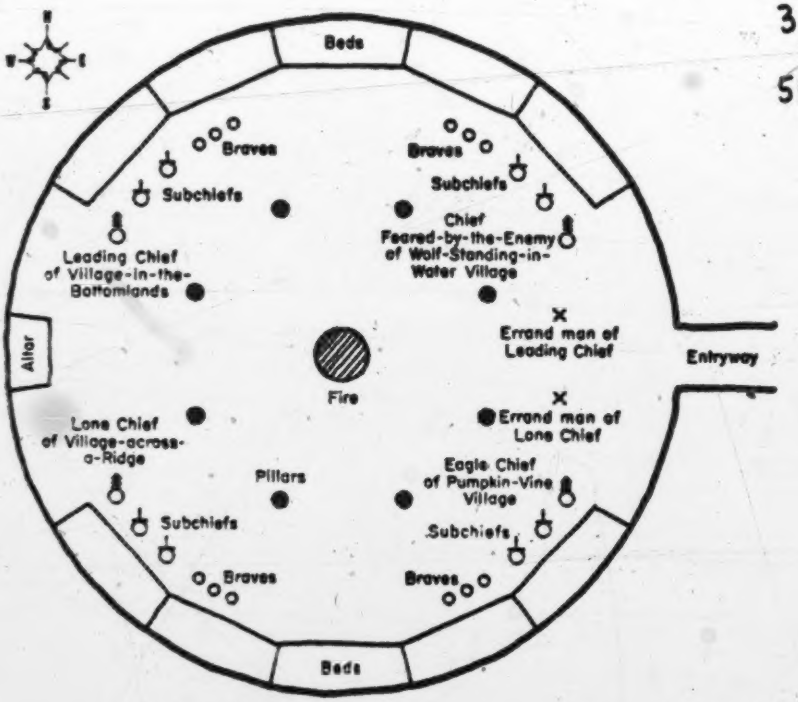

N
W
E
S
Beds
Braves
Subchiefs
Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands
Braves
Subchiefs
Chief Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village
Altar
Fire
Errand man of Leading Chief
Entryway
Errand man of Lone Chief
Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
Pillars
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Braves
Braves
Beds

FIGURE 5-2. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. Mats are placed in the outer circuit against the beds to accommodate larger numbers. Of the supposed twelve villages that formed the Skidi Federation in the past, four villages remained in 1867. Villages must have combined as their numbers were decimated. The original twelve sacred village bundles remained, and some of the subchiefs probably represented these assimilated villages. [631] [778]

This was the time for joking "so that everyone could laugh during the meal." The jokes were of a somewhat slapstick variety as they wanted to be sure that no one's feelings were hurt in any way. Ordinarily, while the social relationship with one's parents was quite formal and restrained, the relationship with the grandparents was in sharp contrast. It was a relationship of lively familiarity. Physical handling was rough-and-tumble, a grandfather sometimes pulling his grandson out of bed of a cold morning and dumping him in the snow to harden him; jokes were often leveled at the grandchild and answered in kind. The mode of kin reckoning often involved an extension of the immediate kin terms to more distant blood relatives, and it worked out so that people of similar ages might address 623 574 522 [593] [603] [601] [602]

623 each other by the kin terms of grandfather and grandchild—thereby per-
574 mitting a great deal of free-wheeling slapstick behavior. This was incon-
522 gruous because of the social position of some of the individuals involved
[601] and was considered quite humorous. Eagle Chief addressed Lone Chief as
[602] grandson in this way, and he would say, "That's the laziest fellow I ever
saw. He sleeps till mid-morning every day. I wish I were at his house. I'd throw him in the water." This evoked considerable laughter because of the incongruity of the situation, and, now that the South Side had made its joke, it was the turn of somebody on the north side. It was decorum to wait a few minutes, and then Leading Chief at the northwest took up the thread and said, "Look at that fellow over there," pointing to someone on the north side. "When I went out with my horses, I saw his horses standing there in a terrible condition. They were turning round and round with flies all over them and they must have been thirsty." (It was the work of the young boys to take care of the horses.) The man on the north side against whom the joke was leveled replied with, "I always hobble my horses, but he took my lariat and unhobbled them. That's the fellow who unhobbled my horses!" During the actual meeting, women were not present, but now the women of the lodge began to return and they too would join in the jokes with the men who happened to stand to them in the appropriate relationship.

623 This was the end of the meeting, and Leading Chief of Bottomlands
574 Village sitting at the northwest presided over the closing. He said,
"Now we are to get wood. Some of you, Lone Chief in particular (object of the last joke), must be in a hurry to go tend their horses. Any who wish can stay and tell stories, but now we have eaten [and the meeting is at an end]." Everyone said *nawa* and most of them rose and left the lodge. A few lingered. Enough extra boiled buffalo meat was usually portioned out at such a feast so that everyone had a substantial piece to take home to the family. Food from a chiefs' council was thought to have the special virtue of conveying a blessing of plenty to the women and children, and some of the men were eager to get home and share what they had with their wives and children. It was for this reason that they had been requested to bring their own bowls when they were invited that morning.

623 The decisions reached by the chiefs at their councils were always an-
203 nounced to the people soon after the meeting was over. One old man for
722 each village with a somewhat resounding voice usually acted as the vil-
lage crier. He would stand on the roof of his earth lodge between the
313 smokehole and the entrance passageway facing east and call out:

"Day after tomorrow, we're all going for wood—the whole bunch of us. You young men—after breakfast take your bow and arrows. Go up on a high hill and be on the lookout to picket for Sioux or any other kind of danger. Women have to fix up their packstraps and everyone should

The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant
kinship ties to him, but according to the logic of the Pawnee kin system 574
they all called one another brother. They were seated in order of seniority. [602]
The hostess, sitting at the southeast, dished out the food for them, [601]
and her husband passed it to his neighbor on the left, stating who it was [554]
intended for, whereupon it would be passed along to the designated
party. There were no speeches, and people were not obliged to wait for [264]
anybody else but could eat as soon as they were served. When they were
through, if they were in a hurry they would just pick up the bread and
meat that they had left over and go directly out, taking the leftover food to
their wives and children. The manners of the common people were far [576]
simpler than those of the socially elite, or the socially ambitious, although
the customary forms were similar.

As they continued on the move, pressures might build up between individuals 484*
because of the closeness of the living conditions in camp and the 578
strain of constant migration. This was particularly true between father-in-law 606
and son-in-law. Theoretically, it was the first duty of the son-in-law
to serve his wife's family, but when his father-in-law was quite old, the
son-in-law often felt put upon by the arrangement. Sometimes in the
camp one could hear people calling out, "Fight, fight!" and father-in-law
and son-in-law would be grappling with each other in a tent. People all
came running and a roughneck in the crowd would call out, "Who's underneath?"
Someone who was close to the tent would say, "Son-in-law." In
general the crowd would approve and say, "That's good," the sentiment
being with the underdog, the old father-in-law. Such a quarrel would [554]
be ended when a brave or other person of high social rank put a hand
on each of the combatants and said, "I want you to stop." Out of respect
for his rank and eminence, they would separate at once and go in different
directions. Should they not respond it would be a major insult and he
would say a second time, "Didn't you hear me?" This would certainly
end the fight. Any person known to be sensitive and to dislike violence
could perform this same good office. Violence of this kind within the village [183]
or band was considered a serious social malfunction and people made
every attempt to avoid it or put a stop to it. The effort to anticipate and
prevent such situations from arising can be seen in the efforts of the wife
and sister of Fearing-a-Bear to keep a hostile father and son-in-law apart.

756 796 789 witnessed what I have done. It was with great difficulty that I performed this feat." Then he went back to his place at the west and rejoined the other three doctors there.

The third act of the evening was that of Brave Horse, whose son would find a horse's tail after it had been hidden by a spectator in one of the earth lodges in the village. As soon as Pipe Offering sat down, whistling was heard. This was Brave Horse's son, blowing on his whistle. Now Brave Horse said to the spectators, "I want one of you to volunteer to take the horse's tail off the boy and hide it in an unknown place. No matter how obscure the place is, as you will see, the boy will find it easily." Leading Horse soon volunteered from among the spectators, but in fact it had all been prearranged—"the volunteer" going straight to the place agreed upon beforehand. Returning to the Doctor Lodge he said, "It's hidden." The boy was sent on his way, blowing his whistle, and his father went around and around in the lodge also blowing his whistle, in order that his boy would succeed. The boy made straight for the lodge of Leading Chief where his father had told him it would be the night before. As he entered, the occupants asked him what he had come for and he said, "My father told me the tail would be in here where the bundle is," thus giving away the whole subterfuge to the people in the lodge. When he got back to the ceremony, his father was still whistling triumphantly for his boy's accomplishment in finding the tail. He addressed the assembled company, saying, "You see what my boy did!" Long afterward the story came out. The boy in his defense said that he could not deceive Leading Chief for he called him by the kin term, brother, *irari*, and it would be unethical not to be truthful with him. • [601]

The fourth and final act for the evening was that of Brave Shield, a buffalo doctor. He was to shoot four arrows at the chest of his son, Yellow Calf, at close range, but the boy would remain uninjured. The four doctors at the west were singing and rattling with their gourds. Brave Shield was holding four arrows. He brought the boy from the booth. On his ribs Yellow Calf had a round disk of soft white feathers where he was to be shot. He was imitating a buffalo calf and he went around the lodge four times, by west, north, east and south, with his father Brave Shield following after him. As they went, Brave Shield shot with his arrows into the ground around the fireplace, once at the north, once at the east, once at the south, and once at the west. On the final round Brave Shield pulled up the arrows one by one, and stopping at the east where the spectators were, gave them the arrows to examine so that they could see what sharp points they had. The arrows passed from one end of the line to the other and were then returned to Brave Shield. Yellow Calf was standing at the south side of the fireplace facing west, with his arms extended so that his ribs were exposed. Brave Shield went to the north side opposite him and with the four doctors at the west rattling

*796 196 [194 534] a beating effect is produced; second, the custom of waving the hand to and from the mouth or beating the lips, so as to break a continuous note or call into a series of sounds or beats; third, the making of the drum from a section of a tree, hollowed out, with a skin stretched over the open end. From this analysis of the word hakkowpirus we discern that the pulsating voice and the beaten lips were the first means employed to produce an effect which was afterward emphasized in an instrument, the drum (hakkowpirus, the breathing mouth of wood), which was made to give forth a series of sounds by the same device of whipping by the hand.

*[533] In Indian music the rhythm of the drum always follows closely the emotion expressed in the song; it is like a great pulsating voice.

In the term Hako the k of the first syllable in hakkow is dropped for the sake of euphony, and for the same reason the rough sound ow is changed to o. The word Hako carries the idea of the breathing, vibrating tones from the wooden mouth. It is applied to all the articles used in the ceremony, because, according to the explanations of the Ku'rahus, "everything speaks; the eagle, Kawas, speaks; the corn speaks; so we say Hako—the voice of all these things."

*796 126 In the preparation of the record of the different rites, rituals, and songs of this ceremony it became necessary to adopt a convenient term which should apply to the ceremony as a whole, including the party inaugurating the ceremony, the rites, the rituals, and the articles used. The term "Hako" has been chosen as best fitted for the purpose. Three considerations influenced the choice: first, the fact that Hako is the native name by which the articles used in the ceremony are spoken of collectively; second, the meaning of the term Hako, as revealed by an analysis of the word and by the explanation given by the Ku'rahus; third, the ease with which this word can be spoken and remembered by the English reader.

PERSONNEL OF THE CEREMONY

*796 [602] [556] Two distinct groups of persons were essential to the performance of this ceremony. These two groups could not belong to the same clan or gens of a tribe, and they were often of different tribes. One group, called the Fathers, was composed of the kindred of the man who had taken the initiative in organizing a party for the performance of the ceremony. This man was called the Father. His party comprised from 20 to 100 persons, and represented the well-to-do class in the tribe, the requisites for the ceremony being of such a character that only skillful hunters and thrifty households could supply them. The second group, called the Children, was made up of the relatives of the man chosen by the Father to receive the visiting party of the Fathers. The leader of this group of Children was called the Son. Each of the two groups, as well as the leaders of each group, had peculiar

duties throughout the ceremony. Each had a special place in the 796*
lodge, and was the recipient of peculiar benefits supposed to be derived
from the ceremony.

The Father was usually a chief, or a man prominent in the tribe,
who not only had accumulated property, but had a large following of [556
relatives who could contribute to the store of articles required for 554]
these rites. The tribal standing of the Son was always equal to that
of the Father.

The Father selected a man from among those who had been taught the rites and ritual songs to take charge of the ceremony from beginning to end. Such a man was called Ku'rahus, and to him the entire party was required to yield obedience in every particular. The Ku'rahus chose an assistant, and also took with him a third person, a sort of acolyte, to whom he was teaching the rites.

If the Father was a chief, then he had to invite one other chief 796*
to be of his party, to act as substitute whenever he was obliged to be
absent from his post of duty. If, however, the Father was not him- 622
self a chief, then it became necessary for him to secure the attendance of two chiefs, one to act as substitute for the other, as the
constant presence of a chief was required throughout the ceremony.

The priest who had charge of the shrine sacred to rain was also of 796*
the Father's party. It was his duty to furnish the pipe and conduct
the ceremony of offering smoke to Tira'wa. The Father's party also [793]
included two doctors, men who had received a knowledge of healing
plants, either directly through visions or by initiation into certain [791
rites by which this knowledge was communicated. Each was required 237]
to bring an eagle's wing, one the right wing and the other the left.
The wing of the eagle is the official mark of a doctor. The Father
must also secure a number of singers, whose duty it was to carry the [533]*
drum and act as a choir to accompany the Ku'rahus, who always led
the singing. The rest of the party of the Father was made up of his [602]
kindred, with such of his friends as might desire to contribute to the
required food and gifts and thus to become entitled to share in the
return gifts made to the Fathers by the Children.

The preliminary ceremonies (the first three rituals) took place at the lodge of the Father, and from it the party of the Fathers started on its journey.

REQUISITES OF THE CEREMONY AND THEIR SYMBOLISM

The objects peculiar to this ceremony were two feathered stems 796*
about a meter in length, made of ash wood. They were rounded and
smoothed, and the pith was burned out to leave an opening for the 192
breath to pass, as through a pipestem. One of these stems was 778
named Raha'katittu, from ra, the, this one; ha=hak, a part of the
word hakkow, breathing mouth of wood, the k being dropped for
euphony (see translation of hawkowpirus, drum, page 17); katit, dark,

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

II

539*
796*

348 A tira saka riki awa rashihri whicha.
a, a vowel sound used for euphony.
tira, this.
saka, sun; part of the word tara saka, sun.
riki, standing. tira saka riki, to-day, this present time.
awa, again.
rashihri, you have brought.
whicha, arrived, come.
349 See line 348.
350 Iri! Hawa rashihri whicha.
iri! an exclamation of thanks or thankfulness. A part of the word na'wairi, thanks, it is good.
hawa, again.
rashihri, you have brought.
whicha, arrived.
351, 352 See line 348.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The second stanza says that Mother Corn has arrived, bringing gifts for the Children. These gifts are not only the things in our packs; but they are the promise of long life, of children, of plenty, and of peace. It is for these that the Children will give thanks, and we sing their thanks in this song.

THIRD DIVISION. ENTERING THE VILLAGE OF THE SON AND CONSECRATING HIS LODGE

SIXTH RITUAL

PART I. THE SON'S MESSENGERS RECEIVED

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

796*

[231]
[431]
602

When the messengers sent by the Fathers (third ritual) turned homeward the Son began his preparations to receive the Hako party. Each of his relatives selected from among his ponies those which he desired to present to the Fathers. The Son chose a messenger as his representative to go out and receive the Hako party when it should arrive within sight of the village. He also selected the little child necessary to the performance of certain rites belonging to the fifth morning of the ceremony. It could be one of his own children or the child of a near relative. Finally, an earth lodge of suitable size was secured, the occupants with all their belongings moving out for the occasion.

In this vacated lodge the ceremony was to be performed and the Fathers were to live day and night, for no member of the Hako party ever separated himself from the sacred objects from the time of starting on the journey until the close of the entire ceremony.

V

*539
*796

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! Our journey's end now is near, we look
O'er the strange land,
Seeking Children there! Mother Corn, hear!

VI

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! Our eyes behold where they dwell. In their
Village we walk,
Seeking there the Son. Mother Corn, hear!

VII

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! His lodge we find, through the door we pass.
Sleeping he lies,
Knows not we are there. Mother Corn, hear!

VIII

Mother Corn, Oh hear! Open our way!
Lo! Now at her touch comes a dream; then a
Bird calls, "My Son!"
While his soul responds. Mother Corn, hear!

THIRD RITUAL. SENDING THE MESSENGERS

*796 The four messengers were selected informally by the Father from among his near relatives. They were generally young men, lithe and strong of limb, and able to make a long journey quickly. The distance to be traveled varied from a few miles to a hundred or more, and as they must carry all their provisions, it became necessary for them to get over the ground as rapidly as possible.

● [602
202]

The formal appointment of these messengers took place in the lodge of the Father, in the presence of the sacred objects spread at ceremonial rest.

[602] When the messengers arrived at the lodge of the Son, he sent for his kindred and consulted with them. Only a recent death in his family or some catastrophe which deprived him of his property would be accepted as sufficient excuse for his not receiving the Hako party. If he accepted the tobacco he would bid the messengers return to the Father and say, "I am ready." In either case he must make gifts to the messengers in recognition of the proffered honor. [431]

The homeward journey was made as quickly as possible, for during the absence of the messengers nothing could be done. As soon, however, as the returning young men were discerned on the prairie the village was astir, and the men of the Father's party, with the Ku'rahus, assembled at his lodge to receive them ceremonially and to hear their tidings.

The messenger dispatched on such errands was called Rawiska'-rarahoru, One who walks carrying the tobacco.

*533
*539
*796

The music of the song of this ritual is in three phrases. Like other songs in this ceremony having the same number, it accompanies acts

778

Bear Dance, and a number of sacred bundles were opened and an 796
attempt made to put them in physical order. 178

The bundles and bundle rituals were esoteric possessions and knowledge, controlled by individuals. As such their inheritance and transmission followed traditional modes, and according to the [424] orthodox old Pawnee doctrine no revival of extinct forms was possible. The sanction of the Ghost Dance doctrines and visions was in definite conflict with old customs of transmission, and came to predominate.

In the traditional view, the knowledge and learning of an individual 778 had to be handed down by actual instruction of the young. 793 This was somewhat different for the two kinds of bundles, typified by the sacred bundles (with which the society bundles can be 424 associated, as essentially derivative), and the medicine men's 622 bundles. For the sacred bundle type the offices of ownership and 869 priesthood were independent: A chief owned the bundle physically, and his wife took care of it. He did not necessarily know the ritual lore of the bundle. A priest controlled the ritual, demonstrated it on the proper occasions, and advised the owner of his bundle obligations. The physical bundle was ordinarily inherited directly in the male line. The ritual knowledge, however, was transmitted by the priest to his successor by means of instruction over many years. The priest usually taught a close relative (not necessarily in the male line exclusively) because of the desire to hand on his learning in his own family line. But lacking close kin of suitable temperament, the priest taught whom he pleased. For the medicine men's type of bundle, ownership and priesthood centered in the same individual. The doctor himself was owner of the physical bundle, and of its associated teachings, and officiated as his own demonstrating "priest" on ritual occasions. In the course of his life he taught a man to be his successor, and gradually turned over the ritual functions to him. The successor was usually a close [602] relative, such as a "son" or "nephew", etc., but here too the medicine man was at liberty to instruct whom he would, and on occasion chose more distant relatives when near relations proved unwilling to attend seriously to the learning of the traditional material.

Ordinarily a man taught his successor largely by demonstration. 778 That is, the apprentice took part in the actual demonstrations of 793 the ritual (and the curing of the doctor) watching what went on. In the course of the procedure the master explained the detail. As the teacher found his pupil mastering phases of the activity, he turned over to the pupil such parts as were understood. In

793 of the important features of the ritual; yet in all ceremonies except that of
the four-pole, she is barred from so much as looking inside while the bundle
is open. All the men and boys are at liberty to come in and sit with the
bundles at their respective villages.[1]

Finally, it may be noted that there is a chief for each village bundle
622 (counting the four leading bundles as one) and he is theoretically at least
793 the custodian, but there is another man in his village who is the keeper of
the ritual, or the priest. He conducts the ceremonies. In last resort, he is
superior to the chief, especially the priests of the calf bundle and the four
leading bundles. Hence, a chief is chief by virtue of his being the custodian of a bundle. This is why the society of chiefs has its seats in the same
order as the priests in the four-pole ceremony. It also makes clear the
significance of the initial statement that the bundle scheme of the Skidi is
the basis of their political and social organization. Likewise, while it is
true that the chiefs are all of equal rank, the chief of the four-bundle village
who by the way, is attached to the yellow-tipi bundle, sits at the head as
may be seen from the diagram for the four-pole ceremony, and so is the leading, or, head chief. He is master of ceremonies, but the chief occupying the
seat of Big Black Meteoric Star is the one to conduct all the ritualistic parts
of the ceremony.

THE SOCIETY OF CHIEFS.

Among the Pitahauirata there was a special organization of chiefs,
622 which had its less formal counterparts among the other divisions. The first
575 part of the society's ceremony is held privately by the members, or chiefs;
i. e., those now holding office and men who have descended from deceased
chiefs. The membership is strictly hereditary. In the ceremony the leader,
[292] or head chief, must wear an old style beaver hat with a red plume. The hat
is covered with a dark neck cloth such as was formerly worn by sailors. The
meetings are secret and we have no data; but after these ceremonies the
women descended from chiefs were called into the lodge. Each woman has
to part her hair and tie it back, painting the part red. Woven sashes are
[301] worn over the shoulders and wound around for a belt. Many strands of
beads are worn around the neck. The men all have the roached hair and
wear feathers through the roach, but the young men wear down feathers
[237] only. Some wear leggings bordered with scalplocks and eagle feathers, and
black moccasins. Each man and woman carries the skin of an eagle. In
arranging the places for the women, a line of two abreast is formed: first
[602] the two leading men, behind them their sisters or nearest female relatives;

---

[184] [1] Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, the regulations are the same, except that
men must pay a fee to the priests for witnessing a bundle ceremony.

then two men, and again two of their female relatives, and so on to the end of 622 575 the line. Before the procession left the lodge two large strong young men were caught in the village, brought in, and the water drums strapped on [602] their backs with one pack strap across the forehead and one across the [482] breast. They then marched out dancing and singing. In leaving the lodge, the procession circles the fire four times and when outside of the door again circles four times. They then march back into the lodge and the women file out and go home, while the men take their seats. The drum bearers are relieved of their burden and sent out, but later they receive a portion of the meat from the feast. After the feast the society disbands.

This society seems to be based upon the bundle of the Pítahauírata village, which is probable considering that chiefs are the leading members. [302] The chiefs painted red with black rings around the face; if yellow, a green circle: these are the two paintings.

THE SOLDIERS OR POLICE.

Each chief selects one elderly warrior as his personal aid and advisor. 625 Only those who have reached a certain high grade of distinction can serve in this capacity. As a body, these aids were known as the braves, rahikuchu. There is thus one brave for each village and he selects three men to act as police under his direction (raripakusu, fighting for order). These are strong and aggressive men. Their function was purely that of village and camp police. Their only badge of office was a special form of club for which in recent years a sword was substituted. The braves and police served for life, unless dismissed for cause. It should be noted, however, [224] that these police had nothing whatever to do with the buffalo hunt.

THE BUFFALO HUNT.

The general buffalo hunt at whatever season of the year was under the 224 direction of the priest of the leading bundle which happened at that time 575 to be in charge. Preparatory to the hunt a ceremony was held, with the chiefs present, in which the hunt was planned. The priest selected one of the bundle societies to act as soldiers for the hunt. The regular police still exercised their powers in the camp, but the enforcement of all regulations for the hunt and its conduct were in the hands of the selected society. The appointment was for the hunt only. A special lodge was set up for the [346] soldiers in the east part of the camp, near the center were the lodges of the chiefs society and of the priest. The methods of punishment employed by the soldiers were the same as among other tribes.

[p 90 (A)]
[pp 67-89 not processed]

Pawnee System of Relationship

● 602 On the return of Mrs. Allis and her son we made an attempt at the Pawnee, and could not complete it even with the aid of the Pawnee woman.[42] But I was able to ascer-

[42] [see Cat. 116 p 213 - Analyst]

602 tain that the children of brothers are brothers and sisters to each other, and that the children of two sisters are the same, but about the children of a brother and a sister I could not ascertain. There is no term for [601] aunt, therefore a father's sister is a mother, and probably her son is a brother, but on this point I could not make any certain [115] progress. Col. Peter A. Sarpy of St. Marys told me that the father's sister was a grand [582] mother, and a man could marry this grand mother. If there is no aunt, then a woman has no nephew and niece, and a woman's brother's son is her grand son. But the mother's brother is an uncle, and consequently a man has a nephew and niece. I think I can nearly write out this system, but at all events I feel sure Mr. Allis will be able to do it for me with the aid I shall now be able to give him.

123 I stayed with this pleasant family which consists of a mother, two sons and one grown daughter and also an orphan girl brought up by them, and the Pawnee woman besides the Rev. Samuel Allis now absent as before stated. They refused compensation for my entertainment, and I left them Friday morning to return to Mr. Hamilton at Bellevue, well pleased with my visit: I am 114 to write to Mr. Allis on my return, and to [125] send him a schedule and they say he will attend to it for me.

I returned about three o'clock, June 8, to Bellevue, and shall remain here until Saturday morning when I go up to Omaha to meet the boat on which I am to return to Rulo, where I shall make a desperate effort for the Blackfoot and the Sheyenne and also try at Omaha again for the Pawnee.

[p90 (B)]

602
[114] 42. Morgan did not succeed in obtaining the Pawnee system until his field trip of 1862.

[p213]
[pp 142 - 212 not processed]

593 life and in social situations, but there was no easygoing informality. A mother was a mainstay for life, but one did not bother her with petty problems. When the child was weaned, he was given over to the care of
603 his grandmother where he enjoyed a relationship of intimacy, warmth, and informality that made it easy for him to appeal to her for any want he might have, however petty or apparently foolish.

In terms of the conduct associated with them, these two kin
• 602 relationships, the one to *atira*, "my mother," and the other to *atika*, "my
601 grandmother," stood at opposite poles. These two kinds of relationship might be called a *respect* relationship and a *joking* relationship respectively. The one type of conduct was designed to preclude any kind of sexual involvement or marriage, while the joking relationship implied the possibility of physical familiarity, including sexual relations. This is not to say that a boy was likely to become sexually involved with his own grandmother, but the term was also applied to other relatives in the kin network, in which case sex relations were permissible and marriage (when the individuals were not otherwise attached) was positively encouraged.

A network of kin relationships extended throughout the village for
604 every individual member. The number of actual kin terms employed was
601 very limited, but under each kin term a number of relatives of varying degrees of biological closeness were included. The term, *atira*, "my mother," applied not only to own mother and mother's immediate sisters, but also to the sisters of the father as a mark of special respect. This attitude and the kin term, *atira*, was applied not only to the sisters of the father, but to their daughters, i.e., the daughters of the paternal aunt, and in turn to their daughters as well, going down the generations as long as the relationship could be traced. The object of the extension of the mother term to these women in the father's line was to preclude any possibility of sex relations or marriage with them. At the same time these women reciprocated by answering to this term, *atira*, with the term for child, *piirau*, and treating these individuals as a mother would, but to an exaggerated degree. A person entering the household of a paternal aunt or her female descendants would be welcomed at once with exclamations of concern; he would be spoken of as child, or even as baby, and offered food and care. The person would be given to understand that "they have a home here." One was very careful to limit one's visits to these relatives. You were bound to be quite circumspect, for should you admire something in the house or even show some interest in it, you might well receive it as a gift as a mark of their regard.

593 The relationship with the father was also highly formalized, involving special concern and instruction in right conduct and maintenance,
[261] particularly providing fresh meat and dried buffalo meat which were
considered necessary for energy and growth. Strictly speaking, the fa-

[601]
[604]

ther and his family were not *own* family as that of the mother was. The 593
mother's sisters were completely identified with the mother, and there
was little difference in the attitude toward them. The mother's brother, 604
tiwatciriks, was an even more familiar person, who was theoretically 601
ready to share whatever he had with his nephew, *tiwat*. The boy might enter the household into which his maternal uncle was married from the age of ten and assume the role of apprentice husband and eventually, when he came of age, of junior husband. He called his uncle's wives "wife" and the children of his uncle *piirau*, "my child." After adolescence, he might in fact be the physiological father of one or the other of them. On the other hand, some of his uncle's children might be older than he; he would still call them *piirau*, and they in turn would address him as *atias*, "my father," the same as their own father. Thus it might very well happen that a man in his twenties would call a boy of ten, *atias*, "my father," and the boy would call him *piirau*, "my child." Such an age reversal might also happen in the father's sister's line, where a grown man would address a little girl as *atira*, "my mother," and the little girl would call the man *piirau*, "my child." In the first case, the grown man would be expressing his respect for his father, and even more particularly for his father's sister in his treatment of her son. In this role, the boy was in a superior position and addressed the man as "child." The second case would involve the women and girls in the father's sister's line directly. At bottom, both these situations had their basis in the unequal relationship between a sister and a brother, as the brother was the taker while the sister with whom he always had a home was the provider. He owed her nothing in return, but he accorded her great respect, and his children followed suit. They demonstrated their respect by applying to their paternal aunt the most revered term they knew, *atira*, "my mother," and carried it to all her female descendants. The boys in this line they called *atias*, "my father." In this case these terms were used to express not age or parenthood, but respect. The factor of age did not enter the relationship; a small boy might call a grown man, *piirau*, "my child," the man addressing the boy as *atias*, "my father."

Wherever the grandfather term *atipat* was applied or extended, it was 601
a relaxed relationship. Familiar joshing, poking fun, and manhandling
were in order. When a girl addressed a man by this term, sex relations 602
were a possibility, and, if the circumstances were right, marriage was favored. 603
In this mode, during the intermissions in the *Awari* or Groundbreaking Ceremony in the spring just before planting, virgins received advice on their prospective sex life from warriors whom they addressed as *atipat*, "grandfather," the girls in turn being addressed as *raktiki*, "grandchild." Under any circumstances other than the joking kin category, 576
the Pawnees scrupulously avoided any reference to the physical person or to intimate relations. To transgress this prohibition would be regarded as a personal insult that could be classed as almost criminal.

000 regarded as a personal insult that could be classed as almost criminal. 602 Even within the joking category, they were very careful not to go too far. Account was taken of the respective personalities involved—some people being considered too sensitive to take "strong" joking while others 603 with more hardy spirits being treated somewhat more roughly. A not uncommon tactic of an actual grandfather was to take his grandson out of bed of a cold morning and dump him into the water or into the snow. This was intended to harden him, and no one else would be in a position to do such a thing. The boy on his part could be somewhat rough with grandpa as well, though an actual grandparent was unlikely to receive such physical manhandling, since regard for age was never wholly out of the picture. At formal meals and official feasts, during the actual eating of the meal, relaxed conversation was in order, and this usually took the form of one of the prominent men's teasing the other, whom he addressed through a kinship classification as "grandpa." The humor was partly in the fact that they were of similar age and status. In this climate of feeling toward the grandparents, the marriage of a young man or woman to an older person was more congenial emotionally than it would be to us. Among the Pawnees, intimacy and grandparent were constantly associated, while the attitudes toward the parents were diametrically 593 opposed. There was a similar prohibition among brothers and sisters, and since there were no strangers as possible marriage partners, the direction 602 of marriage and sex interests was only too clearly pointed toward the classificatory grandparent group. The mastery of kin behavior was indispensable to the Pawnee, and he kept refining its nuances for his interpersonal relationships throughout his life.

The actual number of kin terms involved, except for the relationships 601 by marriage, were limited to thirteen essential ones (see tables 3-1 and 3-2). Their application to other categories appears in the genealogical chart of standard kinship relations of a male (see Figure 3-1). This covers own generation and two generations above (parent and grandparent) and two below (child and grandchild)—five generations in all that the Pawnees regarded as the essential ones to consider. Beyond these generations, parents and child terms were again used, i.e., in the great-grandparent and great-grandchild categories. There is a clear logic of reciprocity in the kin terms—that is, anybody who calls someone father is called child by that person and vice versa, anyone who calls a person sister is called in return sister or brother as the case may be, grandparent answers with the term grandchild, and so on.

The form of the Pawnee kinship structure has a direct relevance to our theory of how society evolved. In its crudest form and as rather popularly held, the theory is that man began as a food-gathering group with more or less promiscuous interrelationships of the people and no real social form. According to this construct, when garden culture later

562 specialization of labor developed, the Pawnees would have developed a social hierarchy of occupations of which India is a supreme example.

602 It is all too easy, having analyzed a social structure, to give it a certain rigidity and permanence that it does not have among the people themselves. Definite as the Pawnee kinship system may seem, in operation it permitted a wide area of alternative behavior for the individual.

The question of kin lines came up in a substantive way whenever a
582 marriage was being arranged. As this involved the acquisition of property
602 by some of the relatives and the establishment of social contacts for
others, there was always a certain variation in the individual interests. The first question asked in relation to the proposed marriage was whether the partners were so closely related that there was too great biological closeness. If it was decided by the assembled father's brothers that they were definitely outside the incest group, then the degree of distance would be discussed. One man who favored the marriage for his own personal reasons would say, "As I see it, they can be reckoned child and grandchild, and, although the relationship is a close one through the mother's line, it is a good thing for marriages to be kept within the family, as they will share each other's interests." Another, not in favor of the match for his own reasons would state, "True, they are child and grandchild through the mother's line, but it's a disadvantage for marriages to be made too closely within the kin grouping, as any quarrel between the couple will quickly spread to the whole kindred. I think so and so who is more distantly related would be more desirable on this account." Then someone else might counter with, "Well, while one might say the couple are related through the mother's line in such and such a manner, from another point of view, looking further back, there is still another kin category that should take precedence, and I think they are not so closely related that this latter argument should be involved." And so it continued until they came to terms. But these terms were by no means fixed by what the outsider might consider *the* rules.

602 Another common occasion where the kinship factor came up was at
the time of the tribal hunts. While they were on the march, there was an
592 attempt to improve one's connection in a better household or in a more
advantageous position, and a request to join such a household when they got home was backed up with a genealogical discussion as to how close the kinship was to an important member of the desired household through various alternative kin lines.

602 And finally it was also possible to disown one's relatives, no matter
how close they might be. Long-standing hostilities might grow up over
time and finally give rise to coldness between even the closest kin. A kin
tie, in order to be effective, had to be validated in a number of ways or it
602 might in fact lapse. The most elementary condition was the use of the kin
601 term as a greeting. This could be done with more or less enthusiasm or

affection, denoting how far one could count on the tie. The use of the 602
kin word on meeting might simply be withheld altogether—an absolute 601
disclaimer of the relationship.

A second cue as to how valuable a person considered a given kin tie 604
could be taken from the manner in which the typical kin behavior was carried out. In the joking grandfather–grandchild type of behavior, the jokes might be mean, sarcastic, or mildly jocular, but if the person showed no reaction at all it was most damaging to the relationship. Careless behavior within the "respect" categories would simply be taken as a personal insult, but no response whatever to the other person that should have a kin status, canceled the relationship entirely as a personal bond.

There were no normal interpersonal relations among the Pawnees that 602
did not carry with them a kin designation. People with whom one 608
dealt as equals had to be placed in some kin category; lack of such a relation could only imply slave or enemy status. In the various trade or gift exchange ceremonials that were conducted between tribes or bands, a whole kin structure was built up so that they could communicate on a peaceful level. The most notable example was the Calumet or Peace Pipe Ceremony, in which the visiting trade party represented Fathers, while the ones they visited were designated their Children. Many of the ceremonial acts were designed to carry out this idea. There was no way of communicating with peaceful strangers unless they were fitted into the kin structure, and it is for this reason that the President of the United States is referred to as the Great White Father and that white friends are adopted into the tribe.

A third aspect of kin reactivity was the exchange of gifts and this 159
too was an index of cordiality or lack of it between two kinsmen. It 593
sometimes happened that a distant relative was so warmly cultivated 602
that the relationship took on a degree of intimacy that was considerably
greater than would ordinarily be implied in the genetic tie. Such a case [431]
happened with the mother of the boy Otter, White Woman. As was customary, Otter's maternal uncles—his mother's brothers—were frequent visitors to the household. Uncle War Cry and his younger brothers High Noon and Noted Fox would come in often to meals. Uncle War Cry was head brave of the Skidi, and he would often linger to smoke and talk with Victory Call. Uncle War Cry was solicitous for Otter's welfare at all times, and the boy was welcome to his uncle's home at any time. Whenever they passed each other in the village, Uncle War Cry would call out to him, "*Nawa tiwat*," and Otter would reply with "*Nawa tiwat-ciriks*." The same was true of the other two uncles.

From time to time something would happen that puzzled the boy very much. Two men in particular would insist on greeting him in the same terms as his own uncles, saying, "*Nawa tiwat*," and they came up to him and stated that they were his *real* uncles and that his mother was mean

159 as she was not willing to have them to the house as she should. However, the boy kept his counsel until one day when it came to the attention of
593 his mother. Then she said in a strongly hostile voice, "They're mean.
602 They're no brothers of mine!"

A considerable time passed before the boy found out what had actually occurred. He found out that the men who had approached him were actually his mother's brothers, while his supposedly close uncles, whom he thought were the closest of kin, were in fact relatives classified from a more distant genetic line. The story went back to White Woman's childhood and this is what had happened:

White Woman's father was old Chief Butcher Knife, a prominent Skidi chief. The term Butcher Knife was a contemporary euphemism for American and his real name was Chief Bald Head—in Pawnee, *risaxpaks-katsis*. The old chief had two wives of similar age who were not related to each other. White Woman's mother had two girls and a boy, while the other woman had three boys. Once the Poncas came on a raid and White Woman's younger brother was killed. The sons of the other wife remained alive. (These were the men that had accosted Otter and who should have counted as brothers to White Woman.) There must have been bitter rivalry between these two wives of old Chief Butcher Knife, for White Woman carried her anger toward her half-brothers all her life, refusing to acknowledge the relationship, and sought among her more distant kindred for men she wanted to recognize as her brothers in their stead. Mark Evarts summarized her feelings on this as follows:

> The old chief thought more of the boys than of the girls. My mother couldn't get anything. The old man would give it all to the boys even though he was a chief (implying that a chief should be above such favoritism). The girls were hurried off to school in Iowa while the boys were allowed to remain at home. Perhaps the old man had in mind that the boys would go on the warpath when they grew up and bring him horses, while the girls would stay close to their mother and do as she wished. My mother must have felt hurt by the way her father, old Chief Butcher Knife, acted.

But, time passed and things went better with White Woman. Victory Call, a man with considerable resources and ability, after the death of his first wife, had married White Woman's older sister. When she died, Victory Call married White Woman, and they established a new household on the reservation near Genoa and their fortunes prospered. She had a young son who was growing up and a prominent place in the community. Now she felt it was her turn to get retribution for the special privileges that her half-brothers had enjoyed in their father's household. She would deny the relationship, shut them out of her house, and wel-

come as brothers a group of men that were so classified in a more 159
distant kin line. 593

These were kin on the mother's side—perhaps further back through 602
the old ladies—but *not on the father's side*. The three that were adopted as uncles were of our own village of Pumpkin-Vine. White Woman called them *iratsti*, "brother," and they called her *itahi*, "sister." They acted like real brothers to her.

There was still another "uncle" who was welcome to their household. 159
His name was Buffalo-Leader, *taraha-kitawiu*. He had been adopted into 597
the family as a surrogate for the brother that was killed by the Poncas. After the raid, White Woman and her sister mourned deeply for the death of their brother. Once White Woman took particular notice of a young man in the village, remarking to her mother that he looked like their own brother that was killed. Then the two mothers (i.e., co-wives of the old chief) invited the young man to the house for a special dinner, giving him a gift and caressing him in blessing. He was given to understand that they wanted him to come to the house at any time and be a brother to White Woman. If he didn't come for a while, the mothers would give him a gentle reminder saying, "You can come over any time." Now that White Woman had a substantial position and a household of her own, he came often and enjoyed her hospitality.

Kin categories, therefore, did not guarantee a fixed relationship. They 602
could only be valid if they were recognized by both parties. This recog- 571
nition could be of a more or less enthusiastic kind. As with us, poor relations might be treated with a shade less enthusiasm than those of greater wealth or status. Then there were other factors such as degree of common interest or personal liking. One could follow a minimal interpretation of the pattern in order to preserve "the decencies" without actually disowning the people concerned.

Added to the factors of wealth and personal congeniality was the mat- 602
ter of hereditary status and family honor which was at times a very 593
important element in the behavior of relatives toward one another. Broth-
ers in particular were called on to preserve the reputation of the fam- 554
ily. Since the Pawnees were especially sensitive on this point, brothers avoided going about together as much as possible, for should one be personally challenged or humiliated, the other would be bound to fight, and the conflict might spread to the several families concerned. On the other hand, if the other brother were not around, the two parties might be able to work out some way so that the incident could be passed over. Even after they had established themselves in different households, brothers were very careful to preserve appearances on behalf of the family. A man noticing that his brother's family did not have enough horses to go

602 on the tribal buffalo hunt in the style to which they were accustomed
would tactfully indicate that he had an extra horse that he could make
593 available for the forthcoming hunting expedition.

554 If a man's supply of tobacco got too low for the necessary social entertaining that he felt he should carry on, he would ask his brother rather
than an outsider in order to keep the matter within the family. A man
who noticed his brother appearing in a worn-out buffalo robe or blanket
would immediately send him a good one, for it would not do for anyone
[578] to get the idea that the family was not prosperous. A term of great contempt among the Pawnee was poor, *kapakis*. The worst insult one could
hurl at a man was to call him *ruti-kapakis-kawitat*, "the one who is-poor-ragged." As the final insult one might say *kapakis-kuut*, "poor-dead," or
593 in our way of saying it, "dead-poor." Respect for seniority among a
group of brothers was preserved throughout life. The oldest brother
561 continued to be the surrogate for the entire family, and the cadet members would make particularly sure that their senior brother made a good
appearance. Their personal conduct toward him always continued to be
respectful. Even after Victory Call had achieved an important status
apart from his older brother Sitting Hawk, he still respected his brother's
seniority rights. As senior brother, Sitting Hawk would sometimes come
to Victory Call's house and say, "Tomorrow at dawn we'll go hunting.
We'll go in this and this direction." Or Sitting Hawk would feel free
to ask Victory Call to go far out and find him some medicinal plants for
his doctoring practice. He would say to Victory Call, "Before the birds
eat it up, I want you to go way over there and get me so and so weed so
that I'll have enough for this winter." As a man of prominence in the community, he had plenty of people who would willingly do this for him, but
in this case he wanted to keep his medical secrets in the family, and he
knew he could trust his brother not to reveal them or use them without
his sanction. It was the part of a good father to instill these attitudes in
his sons while they were young. For example, if the younger of two brothers had six horses and the elder only one, it would be proper for the
younger man to put all seven horses together and say to his older brother,
"Brother, take your choice." Original disagreements between parents might
lead brothers to quarrel all their lives. It was generally felt that parents
should be watchful of growing hostilities among their children and try to
595 remedy the situation before it was too late. In the plural marriage situation there was special danger of this as a co-wife who felt her husband
preferred the other woman and her children would set the children
against each other as had happened in the case of White Woman and
her half-brothers. About their sister, a father would say to his sons, "You
boys must take care of your sister. She's a girl and when she grows up
she's going to take care of you." And this was indeed the case, for sister's
house was a permanent home.

The boy was also taught that his paternal aunt whom he called *atira*, 604 "my mother," would also give him a home. If the relationship were good he would come to her house and say, "*Tatiriraka*, I have a home here," and he could request a permanent or a temporary home with these relatives. He might remark, "*Atira*, I'm hungry," or "mother, I'm tired. I want a place to sleep here." The brothers of these women were called *atias*, "my father," but no fatherly conduct was expected of them as they were married into different households. Formal behavior such as characterized the relation between father and son was the only thing expected of them. The husbands of these kindly paternal aunts were called *atipat*, "grandpa," possibly to denote their unfailing benevolence toward the "child" to match that of their wives. Periodically, while the individuals [574] in this relationship were still children, they would be invited to the house and "grandpa" would feast them on some delicacies that he had bought at the trade store, joking with them all the while.

The boy Otter enjoyed such a place in the home of Eagle Chief. The 602 three wives of Eagle Chief were sisters to Victory Call, who often went 574 there to relax and to enjoy their hospitality. Otter called these women, *atira* and he called Eagle Chief *atipat*. Eagle Chief would decide upon occasion to entertain four or five children who were in this relation to him as a courtesy to his wives and incidentally as a good public relations gesture for himself, for a chief had to maintain the good will of his constituency. He would go to the trade store and get some favorite foods [439] such as dried prunes, flour, sugar, and coffee and then would send his wives to invite the children. The children sat lined up in a row and Eagle Chief began to tease them. He said, "Look at that fellow. He has two heads. See how he's looking all around the room to see what he can find." Then he would speak to the girls, "Look at that girl painting her face. Is that my paint?" Or he would say to his wives, "Don't give this fellow too many prunes. I think I'll eat them myself this evening." The women would answer with mock hostility, "Well, it's *theirs*. You bought it for *them* to eat." "Say," Eagle Chief would continue, "this fellow eats too fast." "Let them eat!" said the women. "The way you go on, the children might choke. Say, let them eat. Now children don't listen to [857] him!" If they had a piece of fried bread left from the feast the children would try to carry it home to their mothers, but most of the time the older children would grab it as they went through the village.

The joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild was an 603 important social resource. At a family meal where they should have 602 light and cheerful conversation, they would prod a small boy into teasing his "grandpa." If no grandfather were available, they would indicate to the boy that he ought to pay more attention to his brother's wife—the "brother" usually being a quite distant blood relative and an older man. Otter was in such a relationship with Old Bull and they called

603 each other *irari*, "brother." Old Bull teased Otter referring to his younger
• 602 wife, Clear Day, and she would always play along. The relation between nephew's and maternal uncles was also considered analogous to that of
604 brothers. As the Pawnees stated it, "They would love each other like own
431 brothers and give things to each other." Gift giving was a special factor in this relationship, and many kinds of mutual help, especially the teaching of skills. After they had moved to Oklahoma and Otter was a young man, he was favored with a nice gift by two boys who called him uncle. One of the boys had cut wheat for Eagle Chief and received $3.00 for his work. He said to Otter, "Uncle, I was working for Eagle Chief binding wheat and he gave me this three dollars. I want to give it to you." The relationship went back to the old earth lodge in Nebraska when the boys were very small. They were the sons of Queen Woman, the older wife of Old Bull, and Otter used to call her *itahi*, "sister," through a distant kin tie. The boys, accordingly, were his nephews or *tiwat*, and Otter had taught them how to make arrows when they were out on the hunt and other skills. Now, long after in Oklahoma, they were expressing their gratitude. This happened in the presence of the actual mother's brother of the boys, the agency interpreter, Deteyr, but there was no resentment at all on his part, for he had been less able to function as uncle to the boys than Otter. It was considered normal that this should be recognized.

574 In close relationships, failure to visit once in a while was considered a personal slight. White Woman would complain to Victory Call that while he often went to visit his older brother, Sitting Hawk, his brother did not return the courtesy. She would say, "He never comes here. Why go over there so much?" And so the casual visiting between the two brothers stopped. On one of the rare occasions when Sitting Hawk did come to visit, White Woman would caustically remark after he had gone, "What happened that he came to visit us today. I guess we can expect some cosmic event like rain or snow to mark the occasion. A man should come in once in a while just to say, 'brother.'" White Woman on her
607 part avoided visiting Sitting Hawk's wives. Ordinarily the wives of
574 brothers should be close companions. But when Victory Call was invited over there and the usual invitation was extended to include his wife,
431 White Woman would refuse to go on the grounds that Sitting Hawk's wives were given to gossip, something she didn't care to engage in. As a result these women did not visit her either. Nevertheless, they would regularly send each other gifts. They would send and receive from each other moccasins, a blanket, or some dried buffalo meat. This showed that there was good will between them but simply a personal disinclination to go visiting.

574 An invitation to visit a household was always given through a relative. The person issuing the invitation would come to the house and seek out his relative there and suggest that he bring along his wife, his son,

his nephew, etc., as the case might be. A man would feel free to issue the 574
invitation if he had gotten some meat by hunting or bought some supplies
at the trade store. Otherwise the invitation would come from the
woman, since she would be providing the food. However, when guests 574
came in at the husband's invitation in order to transact some business
or political affairs, the husband had the right to ask the wife to cook 431
something for his guests. If one were simply to "drop in" on a relative without a business reason or an invitation, it would appear as a hint that you wanted a gift or some other service. In order to forestall this impression, one came bringing a gift, opening the visit with the presentation and thus making it appear as the ostensible reason for the visit. The nature and value of the gift was to some extent an index of the regard the donor felt for the recipient.

On the whole, kin ties called forth strong emotions, especially in the 602
presence of a stranger. Where strangers and kin were involved, kin
loyalty aroused immediate reactions and was very strong. Outside the kin 609
group it was assumed that people must be mean, unreliable, and treacherous.
The household and immediate kin was the closest unit and the village
pretty much the outer limit. Intervillage ties did exist, however, and 628
occasionally intervillage marriages. As the population began to dwindle 582
in the last years in Nebraska, such intermarriages became more frequent than heretofore.

Personal Names and Aspirations

A person was never addressed by his personal name; a kin term was 551
always used. This served to indicate the expected behavior and, through [601]
the mode of its use, the nuances that could be expected within the category. A personal name among the Pawnees was of an entirely different character from our own. It was an honorary title of an extremely personal nature. The significance of the personal name was stated by a priest (see Fletcher, 1904, p. 365) as follows:

> A man's life is an onward movement. . . . If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the help of the powers, his life will "climb up." . . . Some men can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level. Men having power to advance, climb step by step. . . . the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life, an upper level—such a one as reached by the ancient men who are spoken of in the (name-changing) ritual, who threw away the names by which they had been known before (because of new and higher achievements). *Ru-tur-a-wits-pari*, "in a direction-he is actively-moving-to a point or goal-traveling"; this is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by doing like deeds.

would just put these together and it would be a good soup when you had nothing else to eat. We like to eat however it tastes, but we certainly like to eat a well-cooked dish. In the spring my grandmother went out and collected wild turnips and things to save up for the winter. She never went dancing. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy had a very different personality from my grandmother. She was not at all bashful like my grandmother, who was very good at doing all sorts of things, but didn't do much talking. The reason my grandmother was bashful in this way was because she was humble and sad on account of the death of her sons in the battles with the Poncas. 159 603

The little boy Yellow Calf, grandson of Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, was six or seven years old and the constant companion of Otter. His name *Ari-pahat*, "calf-red," referred not to a red color, but to a tawny yellow. The name had an important sacred reference—the calfskin wrapping around the Evening Star bundle, and it must have been given to him in the course of a ceremony to which his family contributed. His father, High Noon, was the middle one of White Woman's three brothers who always came to the house. Otter called High Noon *tiwatciriks*, "uncle," and as the nephew, Otter called Yellow Calf *piirau*, "child." High Noon sent meat to the house on behalf of his son. Otter describes him in the following terms: 159 551 602

> Yellow Calf was a bit livelier than me. We played together. He wanted to fight sometimes but I didn't want to. He wasn't rough though. When we got to Oklahoma we separated, and we never did get together again.
>
> His family was unfortunate for even when they succeeded in getting horses, the horses died. But afterward Yellow Calf had good luck. First he married an old lady who had no relatives of her own and he inherited all her land. Then when he married a younger woman, his wife got some land of her own. They had many daughters, all of whom married and went all over to live. When he died, he left a large family.

The occasion of Yellow Calf's first marriage is an interesting story. When he was about eighteen, Yellow Calf was seized with hysteria. He imagined he saw a kind of Pawnee Lorelei—a little deer called *tatatsiks*, that turned into a woman. The family did all they could to cure him but everything they tried was in vain. Then a medicine woman of about fifty said she could cure him, providing they could get married (Old Lady Tsitawa—see pp. 294-295, 305). They did marry and the cure was successful, and Yellow Calf prospered after that. Otter's mother White Woman remarked at the time that it was a pity Yellow Calf's mother wasn't alive when he was having all that trouble or she could have told 159 756 [158] [776]

159 756 him to jump into the water and stay under, and when he came out, some deer hair would have come up out of his throat and he would have been well at once. The lesson was not lost on Otter, though he seems never to have needed it.

[762] The case of the old medicine woman is also of interest. Her son, a boy of fourteen, had recently committed suicide. He had resented her second husband and finally shot himself. Otter's older brother Fox Chief had taken the occasion to point out to him that suicide solved nothing and that all the boy had accomplished was to leave his mother all alone.

159 555 Old Bull was the leading man of the south half of the house. He was a man of good-natured jocularity, about fifty years old. He was a highly skilled buffalo hunter and on occasion he was known to outrun a buffalo. His full name was *Hikuts-tarus*, "Old Buffalo Bull"—"Scabby" or "Itchy." He was a man of good family who had begun life with a number of advantages. His father was a prominent chief, and he was sitting in his family's hereditary seat in the chiefs' council. In his boyhood he had struck up a friendship with a poor boy named Small who was serving in a chief's household. The poor boy had a vision and he had chosen to share it with his wealthy friend, Old Bull (see pp. 322-335). Then, while he was out tending the horses of his wealthy patron, Small was killed by the Sioux and Old Bull continued with Small's teachings and rose to prominence in the Doctor Association. He was currently a leader of the Deer Cult of that body. Not only his skill as a buffalo hunter, but his rise in the medical profession were notable personal achievements.

159 554 592 Old Bull and Victory Call had a kin relationship that went back to past family history. It was usual for every prominent man, particularly among the important chiefs and doctors, to draw around him numbers of young men who would come to live in his house and serve him in various ways as apprentices or dependents. Chief Big Eagle was such a
159 554 602 man with a large household in Old Village in 1838. He had three sons of his own of whom the oldest was *kax-kuutu*, "Rotten-House," the second Sitting Hawk, and the third, Victory Call. Among the other young men who were in the house it was always possible to find some kin line that would make them brothers to the children of their host. Old Bull's father was one of these young men and he had called Victory Call, *irari*, "brother." Now that they were settled together in a common household, Old Bull properly addressed Victory Call as *atias*, "my father," since Old Bull's father had been counted as Victory Call's brother. Accordingly, Victory Call addressed Old Bull as *piirau*, "my child." Otter, who also called Victory Call father and was called by him *piirau*, was as a brother to Old Bull, Old Bull assuming the role of older brother to the boy. As younger brother, Otter would wait until his older brother Old Bull ad-

dressed him before presuming to open any conversation with him, and 159 Old Bull on his part was bound to take the initiative in instructing the boy. Old Bull, referring to his younger wife Clear Day, would say 554 to Otter, "This is our wife. Call her *tsustit* (old lady). Say to her, 602 'I'm starving. Get me something to eat.'" The young woman would answer, "What have you been doing that you're hungry?" Then Old Bull prompted him, "Tell her, 'Well, I've been playing.'" Then the woman answered, "That's all you're good for." A certain amount of teasing went back and forth from time to time after that. Then when Otter got older, he was again prompted by Old Bull to ask his younger wife to cook for him and she would reply, "Well, I have no water. I can't cook if I don't have any. Take two buckets and get me some. If you take only one, one of your arms will get long." "Well I could change about," the boy would answer in all innocence. "No you can't, you must take both at the same time." When he got back, water had splashed all over him from both buckets and Clear Day would say, "That's good. You got water. Don't ask me to cook if you have no water around." Old Bull would praise him then and say, "I have a smart little brother. He can carry the water," and the wife would add, "That's a good little boy after all. He brought the water." Old Bull would also express big-brotherly concern for him in another way. He would ask, "Well, who were you playing with?" "I played with so and so," Otter would answer. "That's good. Just play with those children and with no one else. I don't want you to play with those other boys. They're mean." "We played with the girls. They made a horse of me in our play," Otter related. Even though Otter's older brother Fox Chief was staying in another household the extended kinship system gave the boy the opportunity to learn the rules in his own home while he was small. Later this knowledge would stand him in good stead.

Clear Day, the younger wife of Old Bull, whose name in Pawnee was *Ts-takur-riwax*, "woman-day-clear," was inclined to be the "sporty" type, laughing and joking all the time and spending a good deal of her time out gambling. Her disposition was in marked contrast to the other women of the lodge. Old Bull had married her after he had been married to Queen Woman for quite a while. She was not from their own Pumpkin-Vine Village but from Village-in-the-Bottomlands, and Old Bull had married her because "she had taken his fancy." When the Pawnees moved from Fremont to the reservation village near Genoa, Old Bull brought in Clear Day's mother, Blue Calico, to take up the grandmother place in the new earth lodge that he and Victory Call had established. Clear Day was an assiduous player of the plum-seed game. This was the most [525] popular gambling game of the women, played with plum-seed dice tossed in a round coiled basket. The betting was always heavy and the

159 habitual gambler was likely to lose her blouse, her shawl, or her earrings.
554 A man who noticed a crowd of women playing together like that would
• 602 have to move along and mind his own business.

525 Clear Day had her own basket and plum seed dice with which to play the game—tossing up the marked plum seeds in the tray basket. Even when she herself didn't think of going out to gamble, the others would come in and get her. She would go out early in the morning and come back late in the evening, betting whatever she had, i.e., calico, a necklace, or her earrings. Old Bull didn't get angry. He was a chief and it wouldn't have been right for him to express any strong disapproval of his wife.

Sometimes a man whose wife was out gambling would get angry because he got hungry. When the woman came home feeling badly because she had lost, there would be trouble. She would say to her husband, "It was because of you. You were thinking about your hunger and then I lost the game." She gave no thought to her home—only to her playing. Sometimes she would win a nice piece of calico so that she could make her husband a new shirt. Then the reaction at home would be quite different. The husband would say, "That's good. But don't go so often. You might lose your luck." But try as she would to obey her husband's injunction, she would be caught up in it eventually. When the gamblers came around, she would make some excuse and say, "No, I have such and such to do. Why don't you go and ask so and so?" But eventually the other gamblers knew she would succumb. That was the way of Clear Day, Old Bull's younger wife. She was an habitual gambler.

159 Clear Day had two little daughters with Old Bull. The youngest was a
very small child and was in the care of Clear Day's mother, Blue Calico.
513 The older girl, New Queen, was five or six years old and had a bed of
593 her own near the west on the south side of the lodge, adjacent to that of Clear Day. This was in anticipation of the time when the little girl would be fifteen and old enough to marry and her husband would join the household. It was considered desirable to give a little girl a bed of her own as soon as possible. With a little boy it was quite different. He might sleep with his grandmother until he was ten and then have a bed made for him between the central houseposts near the fireplace.

159 Queen Woman, senior wife of Old Bull, was of an entirely different
595 temperament from Clear Day. Her name in Pawnee was *Ts-taru-ri'u*,
"woman-merely-by herself," signifying "one does something great by
[551] oneself, single-handed." One translation was "self-made queen," signifying that although not born a queen or woman of chief's rank, her social accomplishments were so creditable that she deserved this high

159 go off and gather wild turnips, she went with some other old lady
574 from Bottomlands Village. Only if it were necessary once in a while,
592 would the three old ladies of the lodge go together to get a little wood
for fuel.

[887] Old ladies were great ones for visiting one another and talking over old times—about when they were young and when they got married, prepared buffalo robes and many other such reminiscences. Whenever Blue Calico came back from a visit to her own village, she would come in with stories of what was going on there. "That man went hunting and didn't bring home anything," she would say, or, "He brought some game—a deer."

156 Contrary to a common conception of tribal life, the personal inter-
571 relationships of the Pawnee were not fixed within a kin mold. For ex-
ample, there was a marked difference in temperament between the two
602 wives of Old Bull, Queen Woman, the senior one, and Clear Day, the younger of the two. Two factors combined to make the approach to Otter of these two women different. Through a relatively distant kin line, the older wife Queen Woman counted as a sister, *itabi*, to Otter and accordingly their relationship was formal. As noted above (page 36), Queen Woman's two little boys regarded Otter as a mother's brother, *tiwatciriks*, and he treated them as nephew, *tiwat*. Under these conditions, the kind of joking Otter was encouraged to carry on with Clear Day was not in order. On the other hand, Queen Woman had another role as wife of Old Bull and consequently "wife" to Otter. Two conflicting roles presented themselves and the sister role was chosen. The likelihood is that this was an adjustment to Queen Woman's conservative temperament which tipped the balance in favor of the more formal of the two possible kinship categories. When people used to marry almost exclusively within the village, the wife of an uncle or of a brother was bound to be some sort of relative to the younger boy. This was apparently conveniently forgotten or raised as the circumstances happened to warrant.

Neither personal relations nor the personnel of the household were cramped within a fixed kin structure. The individual personality was not trimmed down to fit the kin structure, but the structure was used to realize the individual personality. The Pawnee social structure was written into no statute book, nor did it have the status of doctrine, and there was no chain of command to enforce it. Therefore it was not frozen and clamped onto the people, but carried implicitly by them to serve them as they saw fit. No built-in guilt, acting as a surrogate for dominant power, forced them to narrow the scope of their personal lives. They were socially creative in every personal interrelationship they had. The
602 world was raw and their life was hard, but it was also freer than ours.
626 No religious or supernatural sanction enforced the social forms. The only

possible penalty for transgression of kinship forms was adverse public 602
opinion. This was a very important deterrent, but it was of a quite different 626
quality from religious, military, or political sanctions, for it was within the network of the contemporary community, not in a specialized sector of it, and it was therefore possible for a person to cope with it in the course of daily living. Pawnee life was certainly not a Utopia. The time and the place in which it existed could allow no such hope, but in its freedom from dominance it had something we now can afford and don't know how to take.

4

PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: III

000

Personal Relationships beyond Kin Ties—Love between Men and Women—Friendships of Girls to Girls, Women to Women, Boys to Boys, and Men to Men—Friendly Interband Kicking Match—the Pawnee Personality Compared with Our Own—Our Loneliness

Love and Frierdship

831 THE EMOTIONAL LIFE of the Pawnee was not channeled exclusively
572 through kinship categories, but the concepts of love and friendship for
• [602] their own sake were well recognized. They had a song that stated: "If
even worms are inclined to be in love with one another, how can we expect people not to do so?" The statement was starkly simple and left the
539 implication to be understood. It said:
831

tsasiri pirus	Even worms
he	(Pause indicating a comma)
witi-tirak-tap-piribaru	each other-they them-love.

Their love songs were also in a similar vein, nakedly literal and entirely free of metaphor.

A man sings:

1.	*tsapat tiwakuhu*	Woman she is saying,
2.	*wetatatsiksta*	Now I love you.

156 the universe, meaning literally the inside land, and that his house was a 776 small model of it. The infinite cosmos was his constant source of strength 829 and his ultimate progenitor, and there was no reason why he should hesitate to set out alone and explore the wide world, even though years should pass before he returned. Not only was he not confined within four 156 walls but he was not closed in with a permanent group of people. The special concern of his mother did not mean that he was so closely embedded with her emotionally that he was not able to move about.

155 Other people also were clearly concerned with him in a variety of ways. There was no mistaking the constant concern of Old Bull for the 593 boy, Otter, in the earth lodge. And as for his grandmother, this was of • 602 course patently clear. There was no mistaking the affection felt for him by Horse Rider. Even from the earliest time the Pawnee knew there were differences in kinds of affection. He knew he should go to his grandmother for intimate care but he also looked up to his mother as his provider and protector. His father he regarded in the same way wherever he might be, and, as we saw (p. 41), his mother had pointed out to him that he should emulate his father. Otter's Uncle War Cry and his other uncles came to the house and again showed affectionate concern, and one winter when he broke his leg his uncle stayed home and nursed and protected him. He knew very early that he "had a home" in the house of Eagle Chief which had been literally demonstrated to him in special feasts and visits. His older half-brother Fox Chief was there for him even though not in the house. The breakup of the household and travel on the hunt did not dismay him, even when his grandmother stayed behind one winter, for his community traveled with him. This [867] bringing of the community's concern to the child's attention from an early age was deliberately carried out.

601 The wide application of the kin terms gave the family relationships a 602 much wider reference. It made him realize that there were shades of closeness with his immediate kin and that many varying factors determined this just as they did in his outside attachments. The case of his mother's half-brothers was a graphic example. He found out that, in the last analysis, one made one's own relationships with people and that none was absolutely given.

000 The intensified family togetherness of our present society stands in sharp contrast to these arrangements. The very physical plant of our family household fosters this intensity. Within this century, the apartment or family dwelling has become more and more isolated. In the past ten years, the isolation has become absolute and we have become the loneliest people that ever existed. Mechanical elevators, mechanical shopping, mechanical transportation, and other mechanical devices preclude almost all casual social contacts. At the same time, within the apartment or household the sexes are thrown together in an incest-breeding welter of

623
342
35
554

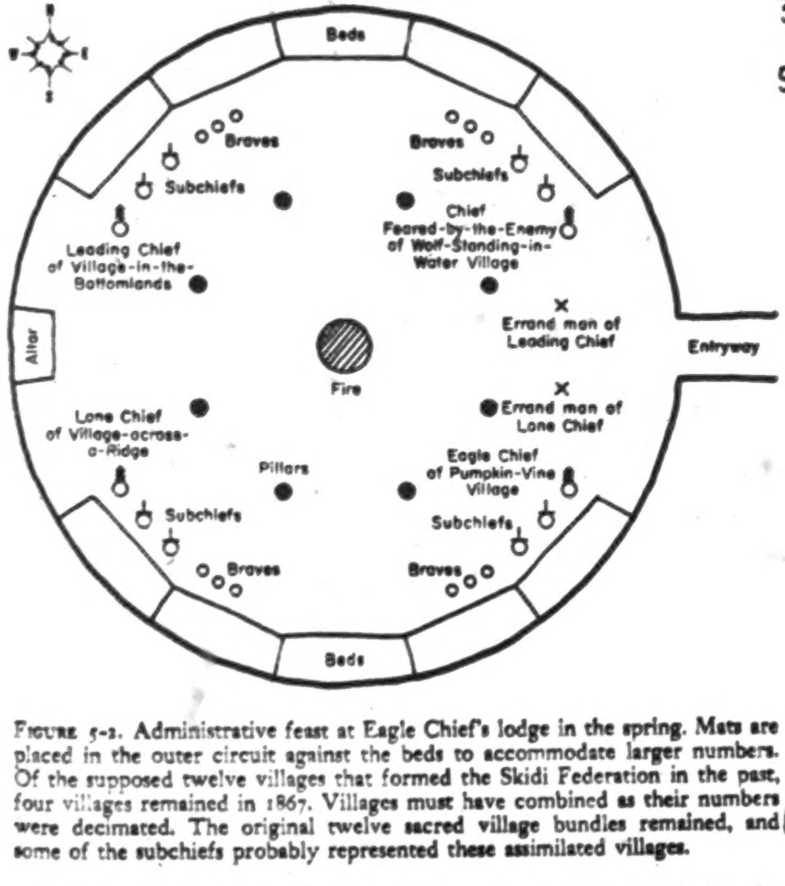

N
W
E
S
Beds
Braves
Subchiefs
Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands
Braves
Subchiefs
Chief Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village
Altar
Fire
Errand man of Leading Chief
Entryway
Errand man of Lone Chief
Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
Pillars
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Braves
Braves
Beds

FIGURE 5-2. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. Mats are [631]
placed in the outer circuit against the beds to accommodate larger numbers.
Of the supposed twelve villages that formed the Skidi Federation in the past,
four villages remained in 1867. Villages must have combined as their numbers [778]
were decimated. The original twelve sacred village bundles remained, and
some of the subchiefs probably represented these assimilated villages.

This was the time for joking "so that everyone could laugh during the 623
meal." The jokes were of a somewhat slapstick variety as they wanted 574
to be sure that no one's feelings were hurt in any way. Ordinarily, while 522
the social relationship with one's parents was quite formal and restrained, [593]
the relationship with the grandparents was in sharp contrast. It was a [603]
relationship of lively familiarity. Physical handling was rough-and-tumble,
a grandfather sometimes pulling his grandson out of bed of a cold morning and dumping him in the snow to harden him; jokes were often leveled
at the grandchild and answered in kind. The mode of kin reckoning often [601]
involved an extension of the immediate kin terms to more distant blood [602]
relatives, and it worked out so that people of similar ages might address

623 each other by the kin terms of grandfather and grandchild—thereby per-
574 mitting a great deal of free-wheeling slapstick behavior. This was incon-
522 gruous because of the social position of some of the individuals involved
[601] and was considered quite humorous. Eagle Chief addressed Lone Chief as
[602] grandson in this way, and he would say, "That's the laziest fellow I ever
saw. He sleeps till mid-morning every day. I wish I were at his house. I'd throw him in the water." This evoked considerable laughter because of the incongruity of the situation, and, now that the South Side had made its joke, it was the turn of somebody on the north side. It was decorum to wait a few minutes, and then Leading Chief at the northwest took up the thread and said, "Look at that fellow over there," pointing to someone on the north side. "When I went out with my horses, I saw his horses standing there in a terrible condition. They were turning round and round with flies all over them and they must have been thirsty." (It was the work of the young boys to take care of the horses.) The man on the north side against whom the joke was leveled replied with, "I always hobble my horses, but he took my lariat and unhobbled them. That's the fellow who unhobbled my horses!" During the actual meeting, women were not present, but now the women of the lodge began to return and they too would join in the jokes with the men who happened to stand to them in the appropriate relationship.

623 This was the end of the meeting, and Leading Chief of Bottomlands
574 Village sitting at the northwest presided over the closing. He said,
"Now we are to get wood. Some of you, Lone Chief in particular (object of the last joke), must be in a hurry to go tend their horses. Any who wish can stay and tell stories, but now we have eaten [and the meeting is at an end]." Everyone said *nawa* and most of them rose and left the lodge. A few lingered. Enough extra boiled buffalo meat was usually portioned out at such a feast so that everyone had a substantial piece to take home to the family. Food from a chiefs' council was thought to have the special virtue of conveying a blessing of plenty to the women and children, and some of the men were eager to get home and share what they had with their wives and children. It was for this reason that they had been requested to bring their own bowls when they were invited that morning.

623 The decisions reached by the chiefs at their councils were always an-
203 nounced to the people soon after the meeting was over. One old man for
each village with a somewhat resounding voice usually acted as the village
722 crier. He would stand on the roof of his earth lodge between the
313 smokehole and the entrance passageway facing east and call out:

"Day after tomorrow, we're all going for wood—the whole bunch of us. You young men—after breakfast take your bow and arrows. Go up on a high hill and be on the lookout to picket for Sioux or any other kind of danger. Women have to fix up their packstraps and everyone should

> The visionary moves her basket back and forth—dishing out. The four ladies with the loon necks swing them as if digging in the earth. The two girls with the deer heads dip them up and down, swinging back and forth. 241 535

As the women danced with the hoes, a few men danced among them with their bows and arrows poised as if aiming at something. If the women seemed to be getting tired, the men rubbed against them like buffalo bulls. After the dance was over, the minister asked if everything was all right, and when they looked around at the ground there were rolls of buffalo hair scattered all over. They knew that everything would be all right then, that they would succeed in the buffalo hunt, and that there would be plenty of corn.

There were eight song episodes in the entire series with three intermissions. 241 In the intermissions, a special type of byplay took place that had nothing to do with the order of the ceremony itself. The special characters comprised four young virgins and four warriors on each side of the ceremonial lodge. As the women were dancing with their hoes, these virgins and warriors stood up and joined them, and at the time for intermission each virgin got a pipe filled with tobacco that was at the altar and gave it to a warrior. [181 782] The connection between war and fertility is a leitmotif that runs through much of Pawnee sacred ceremonialism as elaborately exemplified in the human sacrifice to the Morning Star. In this byplay between virgins and warriors this theme is also represented. [603 602] In the kin system, familiar behavior is characteristic of grandparents and grandchildren only; otherwise people must maintain a formal position with each other. Since familiar remarks are going to be made, the virgins address the warriors as grandpa and the warriors address them as granddaughter. Each virgin having handed a pipe to a warrior, the byplay began:

> Holding his pipe in his left hand, he flexes his arm and moves it back and forth in jerky movements as if running and stamping his right foot three times and then his left as if on the run. He might say, "I was east on the warpath and I killed a Sioux," or he might tell how he stole horses on the warpath. Now the warrior makes a smoke offering and addresses his "granddaughter." He is going to give her advice on how to conduct her sex and marital relations. "Don't let your husband kiss you unless he gives you a horse." "All right," the girl answers, "I'll do that." A warrior on the south side says to his girl partner, "Granddaughter, give me the pipe and I'll tell you what I did. On the Republican river I killed a Sioux and I left him there." Then everyone will say, "Well, why didn't you bring him home?" Then he makes a smoke offering with the pipe the virgin has given him and says, "Grand-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The following is a simplified translation of an old Pawnee woman's statement of her experience of planting when she was a little girl in Nebraska, and a more exact statement of the old man's speech: 887 521 539

> An old man sitting on top of the earth lodge would be talking to the women at the time when they were going into the fields. He would say, "Now dear ladies, now you are disfiguring your bodies (getting them all muddy). Heaven has placed the wonderful bow and arrows in your hands. Heaven made it for you to be wonderful. You are wonderful! You repeatedly keep 'swelling me up.' When you put the corn in and it comes peeping out, that's what you fatten me with, my dear ladies."
>
> Then we women began to cut the grass, that is, clear the field. And when I was not yet mature, they would get me up early in the morning while it was still dark, and we two, my mother and I, would be in her field. She would have some porridge there for me. When mother was planting, oh, the corn mound would be big! Then she would dig a hole in the top and place inside the mound, seven seeds—not bunched together, but separately spaced. Then she covered it over with earth and the mound would be smooth. [241]

One of the only common instances of group planting was "planting for the daughter-in-law." The women relatives of the newly married groom would plant, cultivate, and harvest the bride's first crop. As many as twenty-five women would be gathered in her field and they would go to her house and get her seeds and line up in the field ready to plant. The field, about "half a block" long was hoed and planted by the women more or less in unison while two old women sat at the far end singing a song from one of the sacred bundle ceremonies: 241 476 602 [533] [539]

You are just hoeing around,
Big ground, lucky ground.

They were ranged in rows and while the women sang they made the mounds. Then they put in the seeds and then they all went to the home of the daughter-in-law where they were entertained at a feast of corn and dried buffalo meat. They repeated this performance when the corn sprouted, when they cultivated the field, and again at harvest. [574]

The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant
kinship ties to him, but according to the logic of the Pawnee kin system 574
they all called one another brother. They were seated in order of seniority. [602]
The hostess, sitting at the southeast, dished out the food for them, [601]
and her husband passed it to his neighbor on the left, stating who it was [554]
intended for, whereupon it would be passed along to the designated
party. There were no speeches, and people were not obliged to wait for [264]
anybody else but could eat as soon as they were served. When they were
through, if they were in a hurry they would just pick up the bread and
meat that they had left over and go directly out, taking the leftover food to
their wives and children. The manners of the common people were far [576]
simpler than those of the socially elite, or the socially ambitious, although
the customary forms were similar.

As they continued on the move, pressures might build up between individuals 484*
because of the closeness of the living conditions in camp and the 578
strain of constant migration. This was particularly true between father-in-law
and son-in-law. Theoretically, it was the first duty of the son-in-law 606
to serve his wife's family, but when his father-in-law was quite old, the
son-in-law often felt put upon by the arrangement. Sometimes in the
camp one could hear people calling out, "Fight, fight!" and father-in-law
and son-in-law would be grappling with each other in a tent. People all
came running and a roughneck in the crowd would call out, "Who's underneath?"
Someone who was close to the tent would say, "Son-in-law." In
general the crowd would approve and say, "That's good," the sentiment
being with the underdog, the old father-in-law. Such a quarrel would [554]
be ended when a brave or other person of high social rank put a hand
on each of the combatants and said, "I want you to stop." Out of respect
for his rank and eminence, they would separate at once and go in different
directions. Should they not respond it would be a major insult and he
would say a second time, "Didn't you hear me?" This would certainly
end the fight. Any person known to be sensitive and to dislike violence
could perform this same good office. Violence of this kind within the village [183]
or band was considered a serious social malfunction and people made
every attempt to avoid it or put a stop to it. The effort to anticipate and
prevent such situations from arising can be seen in the efforts of the wife
and sister of Fearing-a-Bear to keep a hostile father and son-in-law apart.

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair
turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moc-
casin to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the
padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of [294]
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-
soled moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one
section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in [855]
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to pro-
tect them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accom-
modate the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other [465]
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstand- 554
ing symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

525 857 they would go off somewhat from the village and choose sides. Someone of them would find sticks and break up eight sticks to make a tally set, and would make two little rings of willow to use as the counters to hide. Some of the boys would steal wood from the woodpiles in the lodges or around the tipis, and build a fire where the boys had decided to play.

When they had the place ready and the fire going, each boy would make up his own mind which side he would be on, so long as the division came out evenly; and each side selected its own leader. To the boys it made no difference what the orientation of their arrangements were: if the sides were north of the fire and south of the fire, or east of the fire and west of it, made little difference to them. Usually they had the scorekeepers at the west, in imitation of their elders. The boys would bet anything they had, such as things they wore, betting on the outcome of the individual games, and would go on playing games as long as a losing side had anything they could put up against the winnings of their opponents. They picked their guessers and decided for themselves which side should guess first. In the play of the game, they followed out the game as given above, playing it and scoring it the usual way. They kept no order in giving the willow rings to players to hide, giving them as much as possible to boys who were known to be good hiders and quick and adept at deception. Their principal object was to win the game, on the outcome of which they had wagered shirts, rings and other things that could not well be spared.

525 533 857 The boys sang songs to the play of the game, and accompanied the singing with hand-clapping. The side which held the willow-rings did the singing and hand-clapping, using it to confuse the guesser. The songs were boys' songs essentially, that they had made up at one time or another, or that they had learned from other boys, although when possible they learned and used adult songs. They were often coarse and always more or less funny. Such refrains as the following are typical:

"My grandmother's out of joint" etc. (referring to her knee).
"My grandmother fell— she raised a cloud of dust", etc.
[831] "Hurry up grandma and come, come quick we want to win."
"The balls swing round, swing round," etc. (referring to the
● [603] testicles).

The songs indicate the license in speech and action between boys and their grandmothers, which accurately reflects the family conditions.

525 857 The boys who held the willow-rings to hide would motion with their hands back and forth: they made efforts to deceive as well

854 as rapidly as they were shed, just underneath the ground within the
856 lodge on the south side, and to say to a tooth as they buried it:
"Make my other teeth grow quickly."

861
855 The early training of the child was largely in the hands of the
[603] grandmothers, who took it upon themselves to give instruction in
[867] tribal and family ethics. They assumed the right to enforce their
injunctions and commands by blows or by the use of the whip, and
it is claimed that in former times, before the Skidi had been modified
through contact with white men, the rearing of children was very
strict and they were often scolded and severely punished by the
father, mother, or grandparents. Aside from the deference young
children were supposed to pay adults, they were taught to show
respect for their parents by not molesting them, to remain silent
when older people were talking, to refrain from approaching too
closely the altar in the earth lodge, and carefully to avoid making
a disturbance about the scenes of ceremonies. During this period
867 an older sister might assist in correcting the child. As a boy grew
868 older he was given technical instruction by his grandfathers in the
making of bows and arrows, in the playing of games, etc. Girls
[603] were taught by their grandmothers to prepare food, to dress hides,
and to do the work which fell to the lot of women. This early training
was often supplemented by the telling of myths containing some
moral precept. For example, the child was told not to steal, the
point being especially illustrated by the tale of the boy who stole
his sister's seed corn, and, because he grew angry for being scolded,
turned into an eagle. This particular story also has reference to
the respect and affection with which siblings were taught to regard
one another. Brotherly love was specially emphasized. Boys were
told that in later years they should love their brothers even more
than their wives, for there is a well-known saying among the Skidi
[765] that at a man's death his brother will mutilate himself with grief
and his sister cut her hair and mourn sincerely, but his wife will simulate
tears by spitting in her hands, while she peeps through her fingers
looking for another husband. [Also stated elsewhere as: "Brother
and sister will mutilate themselves, but your wife will never throw
a piece of her vulva in your grave."] Love and respect of parents
were also emphasized as something to be maintained throughout
life and never neglected, for the duties of parents to children and
children to parents never ended.

855 Although the training of children was primarily under the
immediate direction of the parents and grandparents, certain other

vidual embraced responsibility; he had no inclination to shirk it. In a 264
sense, the rhythm of Pawnee work life was like a ballet, whereas ours is 571
like a prison lockstep: "You must, you must, you must get to work!"

The day's routine in our Pawnee household began when either Victory 512
Call or Old Bull happened to awaken; this depended on which one 592
decided to get out of bed first. Or else White Woman or Queen Woman might be the first to awaken, and then she would remind her husband that it was morning. From the time one or the other of the two men got out of bed, the day's program was set; the others simply followed the initial cue. When the man had gotten out of his bed he went outside and inspected the horizon and the stars, came in and kindled the fire, and said, "Fire's made." His senior wife then got up and started the breakfast. As observed by one of the contemporary missionaries in 1837, the rest followed with precision. The minor cycles of household operation were also conducted in a similar mode. Someone felt impelled to take care of a needed task and mentioned it and volunteers were forthcoming without further ado. Pressure and compulsion are implicit in our attitude toward work; voluntarism was the Pawnee way.

The functions of the women in the earth lodge were subdivided 462
roughly according to age. The north and south quarters of the circum-
ference of the house were each subdivided into three "stations." The 562
central one of these (due north and due south) was the core position 592
and it was occupied by the mature women of the lodge. They furnished 561
the main provisions and directed the necessary work. At the inner or western station on each side was the place of the immature girls and newly married young women. The outer or eastern station on each side was for the old women, symbolically on the way out and physically nearest to the exit (or entryway) of the lodge. Most commonly each of these stations was occupied by several women who carried out its special functions jointly.

The details of the function of the central station have been mentioned 855
above in connection with general household operations. The other two 603
stations supplemented it in very different ways. At the east stations for
the old women, the children past the age of infancy were cared for, the 887
old women being referred to by the children as "grandmothers," regard- 592
less of the actual biological kinship. The children slept in the beds with their "grandmothers" and shared a bowl of food with them at meals. Grandma saw that they were warm and well fed and tried to help them in every way. She was a permissive, familiar, kind person to whom the child could always appeal. Between grandma and grandchild there was neither formality nor constraint. Jokes were made about a boy saying, "Look
how close he sticks to his grandma; he wants to marry her!" or "There 887
he goes always running to his grandma." Besides child care, the grand-
mother would give a good deal of assistance to "the senior women of the 592

593 life and in social situations, but there was no easygoing informality. A mother was a mainstay for life, but one did not bother her with petty problems. When the child was weaned, he was given over to the care of
● 603 his grandmother where he enjoyed a relationship of intimacy, warmth, and informality that made it easy for him to appeal to her for any want he might have, however petty or apparently foolish.

In terms of the conduct associated with them, these two kin relation-
602 ships, the one to *atira*, "my mother," and the other to *atika*, "my grand-
601 mother," stood at opposite poles. These two kinds of relationship might be called a *respect* relationship and a *joking* relationship respectively. The one type of conduct was designed to preclude any kind of sexual involvement or marriage, while the joking relationship implied the possibility of physical familiarity, including sexual relations. This is not to say that a boy was likely to become sexually involved with his own grandmother, but the term was also applied to other relatives in the kin network, in which case sex relations were permissible and marriage (when the individuals were not otherwise attached) was positively encouraged.

A network of kin relationships extended throughout the village for
604 every individual member. The number of actual kin terms employed was
601 very limited, but under each kin term a number of relatives of varying degrees of biological closeness were included. The term, *atira*, "my mother," applied not only to own mother and mother's immediate sisters, but also to the sisters of the father as a mark of special respect. This attitude and the kin term, *atira*, was applied not only to the sisters of the father, but to their daughters, i.e., the daughters of the paternal aunt, and in turn to their daughters as well, going down the generations as long as the relationship could be traced. The object of the extension of the mother term to these women in the father's line was to preclude any possibility of sex relations or marriage with them. At the same time these women reciprocated by answering to this term, *atira*, with the term for child, *piirau*, and treating these individuals as a mother would, but to an exaggerated degree. A person entering the household of a paternal aunt or her female descendants would be welcomed at once with exclamations of concern; he would be spoken of as child, or even as baby, and offered food and care. The person would be given to understand that "they have a home here." One was very careful to limit one's visits to these relatives. You were bound to be quite circumspect, for should you admire something in the house or even show some interest in it, you might well receive it as a gift as a mark of their regard.

593 The relationship with the father was also highly formalized, involv-
ing special concern and instruction in right conduct and maintenance,
[261] particularly providing fresh meat and dried buffalo meat which were
considered necessary for energy and growth. Strictly speaking, the fa-

[601]
[604]

ther and his family were not *own* family as that of the mother was. The 593
mother's sisters were completely identified with the mother, and there
was little difference in the attitude toward them. The mother's brother, 604
tiwatciriks, was an even more familiar person, who was theoretically 601
ready to share whatever he had with his nephew, *tiwat*. The boy might
enter the household into which his maternal uncle was married from the
age of ten and assume the role of apprentice husband and eventually,
when he came of age, of junior husband. He called his uncle's wives
"wife" and the children of his uncle *piirau*, "my child." After adolescence,
he might in fact be the physiological father of one or the other of
them. On the other hand, some of his uncle's children might be older
than he; he would still call them *piirau*, and they in turn would address
him as *atias*, "my father," the same as their own father. Thus it might
very well happen that a man in his twenties would call a boy of ten,
atias, "my father," and the boy would call him *piirau*, "my child." Such
an age reversal might also happen in the father's sister's line, where a
grown man would address a little girl as *atira*, "my mother," and the little
girl would call the man *piirau*, "my child." In the first case, the grown
man would be expressing his respect for his father, and even more particularly
for his father's sister in his treatment of her son. In this role, the
boy was in a superior position and addressed the man as "child." The second
case would involve the women and girls in the father's sister's line
directly. At bottom, both these situations had their basis in the unequal
relationship between a sister and a brother, as the brother was the taker
while the sister with whom he always had a home was the provider. He
owed her nothing in return, but he accorded her great respect, and his
children followed suit. They demonstrated their respect by applying to
their paternal aunt the most revered term they knew, *atira*, "my mother,"
and carried it to all her female descendants. The boys in this line they
called *atias*, "my father." In this case these terms were used to express
not age or parenthood, but respect. The factor of age did not enter the
relationship; a small boy might call a grown man, *piirau*, "my child," the
man addressing the boy as *atias*, "my father."

Wherever the grandfather term *atipat* was applied or extended, it was 601
a relaxed relationship. Familiar joshing, poking fun, and manhandling 602
were in order. When a girl addressed a man by this term, sex relations
were a possibility, and, if the circumstances were right, marriage was favored. 603
In this mode, during the intermissions in the *Awari* or Groundbreaking
Ceremony in the spring just before planting, virgins received
advice on their prospective sex life from warriors whom they addressed
as *atipat*, "grandfather," the girls in turn being addressed as *raktiki*,
"grandchild." Under any circumstances other than the joking kin category, 576
the Pawnees scrupulously avoided any reference to the physical
person or to intimate relations. To transgress this prohibition would be
regarded as a personal insult that could be
classed as almost criminal.

000 regarded as a personal insult that could be classed as almost criminal. 602 Even within the joking category, they were very careful not to go too far. Account was taken of the respective personalities involved—some people being considered too sensitive to take "strong" joking while others with more hardy spirits being treated somewhat more roughly. 603 A not uncommon tactic of an actual grandfather was to take his grandson out of bed of a cold morning and dump him into the water or into the snow. This was intended to harden him, and no one else would be in a position to do such a thing. The boy on his part could be somewhat rough with grandpa as well, though an actual grandparent was unlikely to receive such physical manhandling, since regard for age was never wholly out of the picture. At formal meals and official feasts, during the actual eating of the meal, relaxed conversation was in order, and this usually took the form of one of the prominent men's teasing the other, whom he addressed through a kinship classification as "grandpa." The humor was partly in the fact that they were of similar age and status. In this climate of feeling toward the grandparents, the marriage of a young man or woman to an older person was more congenial emotionally than it would be to us. Among the Pawnees, intimacy and grandparent were constantly associated, while the attitudes toward the parents were diametrically opposed. 593 There was a similar prohibition among brothers and sisters, and since there were no strangers as possible marriage partners, the direction 602 of marriage and sex interests was only too clearly pointed toward the classificatory grandparent group. The mastery of kin behavior was indispensable to the Pawnee, and he kept refining its nuances for his interpersonal relationships throughout his life.

601 The actual number of kin terms involved, except for the relationships by marriage, were limited to thirteen essential ones (see tables 3-1 and 3-2). Their application to other categories appears in the genealogical chart of standard kinship relations of a male (see Figure 3-1). This covers own generation and two generations above (parent and grandparent) and two below (child and grandchild)—five generations in all that the Pawnees regarded as the essential ones to consider. Beyond these generations, parents and child terms were again used, i.e., in the great-grandparent and great-grandchild categories. There is a clear logic of reciprocity in the kin terms—that is, anybody who calls someone father is called child by that person and vice versa, anyone who calls a person sister is called in return sister or brother as the case may be, grandparent answers with the term grandchild, and so on.

The form of the Pawnee kinship structure has a direct relevance to our theory of how society evolved. In its crudest form and as rather popularly held, the theory is that man began as a food-gathering group with more or less promiscuous interrelationships of the people and no real social form. According to this construct, when garden culture later

The boy was also taught that his paternal aunt whom he called *atira*, 604 "my mother," would also give him a home. If the relationship were good he would come to her house and say, "*Tatiriraka*, I have a home here," and he could request a permanent or a temporary home with these relatives. He might remark, "*Atira*, I'm hungry," or "mother, I'm tired. I want a place to sleep here." The brothers of these women were called *atias*, "my father," but no fatherly conduct was expected of them as they were married into different households. Formal behavior such as characterized the relation between father and son was the only thing expected of them. The husbands of these kindly paternal aunts were called *atipat*, "grandpa," possibly to denote their unfailing benevolence toward the "child" to match that of their wives. Periodically, while the individuals [574] in this relationship were still children, they would be invited to the house and "grandpa" would feast them on some delicacies that he had bought at the trade store, joking with them all the while.

The boy Otter enjoyed such a place in the home of Eagle Chief. The 602 three wives of Eagle Chief were sisters to Victory Call, who often went 574 there to relax and to enjoy their hospitality. Otter called these women, *atira* and he called Eagle Chief *atipat*. Eagle Chief would decide upon occasion to entertain four or five children who were in this relation to him as a courtesy to his wives and incidentally as a good public relations gesture for himself, for a chief had to maintain the good will of his constituency. He would go to the trade store and get some favorite foods [439] such as dried prunes, flour, sugar, and coffee and then would send his wives to invite the children. The children sat lined up in a row and Eagle Chief began to tease them. He said, "Look at that fellow. He has two heads. See how he's looking all around the room to see what he can find." Then he would speak to the girls, "Look at that girl painting her face. Is that my paint?" Or he would say to his wives, "Don't give this fellow too many prunes. I think I'll eat them myself this evening." The women would answer with mock hostility, "Well, it's *theirs*. You bought it for *them* to eat." "Say," Eagle Chief would continue, "this fellow eats too fast." "Let them eat!" said the women. "The way you go on, the children might choke. Say, let them eat. Now children don't listen to [857] him!" If they had a piece of fried bread left from the feast the children would try to carry it home to their mothers, but most of the time the older children would grab it as they went through the village.

The joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild was an 603 important social resource. At a family meal where they should have light and cheerful conversation, they would prod a small boy into teasing 602 his "grandpa." If no grandfather were available, they would indicate to the boy that he ought to pay more attention to his brother's wife—the "brother" usually being a quite distant blood relative and an older man. Otter was in such a relationship with Old Bull and they called

603 each other *irari*, "brother." Old Bull teased Otter referring to his younger
602 wife, Clear Day, and she would always play along. The relation between
nephews and maternal uncles was also considered analogous to that of
604 brothers. As the Pawnees stated it, "They would love each other like own
brothers and give things to each other." Gift giving was a special factor
431 in this relationship, and many kinds of mutual help, especially the teaching
of skills. After they had moved to Oklahoma and Otter was a young
man, he was favored with a nice gift by two boys who called him uncle.
One of the boys had cut wheat for Eagle Chief and received $3.00 for his
work. He said to Otter, "Uncle, I was working for Eagle Chief binding
wheat and he gave me this three dollars. I want to give it to you." The
relationship went back to the old earth lodge in Nebraska when the boys
were very small. They were the sons of Queen Woman, the older wife of
Old Bull, and Otter used to call her *itahi*, "sister," through a distant kin tie.
The boys, accordingly, were his nephews or *tiwat*, and Otter had taught
them how to make arrows when they were out on the hunt and other
skills. Now, long after in Oklahoma, they were expressing their gratitude.
This happened in the presence of the actual mother's brother of the
boys, the agency interpreter, Deteyr, but there was no resentment at all
on his part, for he had been less able to function as uncle to the boys than
Otter. It was considered normal that this should be recognized.

574 In close relationships, failure to visit once in a while was considered
a personal slight. White Woman would complain to Victory Call that
while he often went to visit his older brother, Sitting Hawk, his brother
did not return the courtesy. She would say, "He never comes here.
Why go over there so much?" And so the casual visiting between the two
brothers stopped. On one of the rare occasions when Sitting Hawk did
come to visit, White Woman would caustically remark after he had gone,
"What happened that he came to visit us today. I guess we can expect
some cosmic event like rain or snow to mark the occasion. A man should
come in once in a while just to say, 'brother.'" White Woman on her
607 part avoided visiting Sitting Hawk's wives. Ordinarily the wives of
brothers should be close companions. But when Victory Call was invited
574 over there and the usual invitation was extended to include his wife,
431 White Woman would refuse to go on the grounds that Sitting Hawk's
wives were given to gossip, something she didn't care to engage in. As a
result these women did not visit her either. Nevertheless, they would
regularly send each other gifts. They would send and receive from each
other moccasins, a blanket, or some dried buffalo meat. This showed that
there was good will between them but simply a personal disinclination
to go visiting.

574 An invitation to visit a household was always given through a relative.
The person issuing the invitation would come to the house and seek
out his relative there and suggest that he bring along his wife, his son,

159 fuse the call saying, "I'm a drunkard and have many other faults. I can't
be a chief." To other men, Grieves-the-Enemy was gruff, even to priests,
593 but not to the chiefs. Even her grown son, she ordered about. She would
.622 send him off to get a bucket of water and he would feel obliged to do as
she said. Not that she was "mannish" in any way. She wasn't. Among
the Skidis, this old lady was a person of note.

159 She was raising her grandson, Yellow Calf, whose mother had died and
whose father, High Noon, had married into another household. She con-
• 603 tributed many invaluable services to the household, and she and Otter's
grandma liked each other and cooperated well together.

Otter's grandmother was Old-Lady-Chase-the-Enemy. Her name, *Ts-*
[551] *ak-ta-hira'as*, "woman-them-chased-ahead," i.e., "chase the enemy ahead of the line of battle," was given to her by her brave sons in honor of a gallant war deed they had performed, chasing the enemy way ahead of the line of battle. All six of them were killed in battle by the Poncas, and she would think sadly of their death, "If my sons had lived they would have taken care of me." "But," said Otter, "in our household we didn't think of her as a burden. She was my own grandma who used to take care of me and we took care of her." Otter's grandmother was a very old woman. In fact, she was his great-great-grandmother, once removed. She was the sister of White Woman's own great-grandmother and accordingly, White Woman called her *atira*, and she was thus a grandmother to Otter. He would call her *atika*, "grandmother," having no consciousness that in fact she
[582] was two generations beyond his mother's mother. Marriage at the age of fourteen or fifteen for girls made it quite feasible to be a great-great-grandmother between the ages of sixty-five and seventy. She may have been seventy-five at the time. Being in the mother's line, she was considered a particularly close relative. That she was a satisfactory grandmother to Otter there can be no doubt. When they walked out together, people would say to her, "That's your husband. He always watches his wife. They can't be parted." And Otter would retort, "Well I have to watch her. She might run away!"

Otter said the following of his grandmother:

> Grandma was left-handed and they would sometimes speak of her as *Tskusaski*, "Lefty-woman." She would do everything for me—grease my feet when they chapped and cracked, get me food at night. I wouldn't bother others to do these things. She would do anything in the way of work. She was very saving as she knew how hard it was to get anything. She wasted nothing as she felt hard times might come some time. I guess she was like some white women who don't waste anything, putting everything into the kettle. She would cook anything and make it taste good—turkey feet and some field corn that she had made into hominy—she

> would just put these together and it would be a good soup when you 159
> had nothing else to eat. We like to eat however it tastes, but we cer-
> tainly like to eat a well-cooked dish. In the spring my grandmother went 603
> out and collected wild turnips and things to save up for the winter. She never went dancing. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy had a very different personality from my grandmother. She was not at all bashful like my grandmother, who was very good at doing all sorts of things, but didn't do much talking. The reason my grandmother was bashful in this way was because she was humble and sad on account of the death of her sons in the battles with the Poncas.

The little boy Yellow Calf, grandson of Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, 159
was six or seven years old and the constant companion of Otter. His
name *Ari-páhat*, "calf-red," referred not to a red color, but to a tawny 551
yellow. The name had an important sacred reference—the calfskin wrap- 602
ping around the Evening Star bundle, and it must have been given to him in the course of a ceremony to which his family contributed. His father, High Noon, was the middle one of White Woman's three brothers who always came to the house. Otter called High Noon *tiwatciriks*, "uncle," and as the nephew, Otter called Yellow Calf *piirau*, "child." High Noon sent meat to the house on behalf of his son. Otter describes him in the following terms:

> Yellow Calf was a bit livelier than me. We played together. He wanted to fight sometimes but I didn't want to. He wasn't rough though. When we got to Oklahoma we separated, and we never did get together again.
>
> His family was unfortunate for even when they succeeded in getting horses, the horses died. But afterward Yellow Calf had good luck. First he married an old lady who had no relatives of her own and he inherited all her land. Then when he married a younger woman, his wife got some land of her own. They had many daughters, all of whom married and went all over to live. When he died, he left a large family.

The occasion of Yellow Calf's first marriage is an interesting story. 159
When he was about eighteen, Yellow Calf was seized with hysteria. He 756
imagined he saw a kind of Pawnee Lorelei—a little deer called *tatatsiks*
that turned into a woman. The family did all they could to cure him [158]
but everything they tried was in vain. Then a medicine woman of about [776]
fifty said she could cure him, providing they could get married (Old Lady Tsitawa—see pp. 294-295, 305). They did marry and the cure was successful, and Yellow Calf prospered after that. Otter's mother White Woman remarked at the time that it was a pity Yellow Calf's mother wasn't alive when he was having all that trouble or she could have told

623
342
35
554

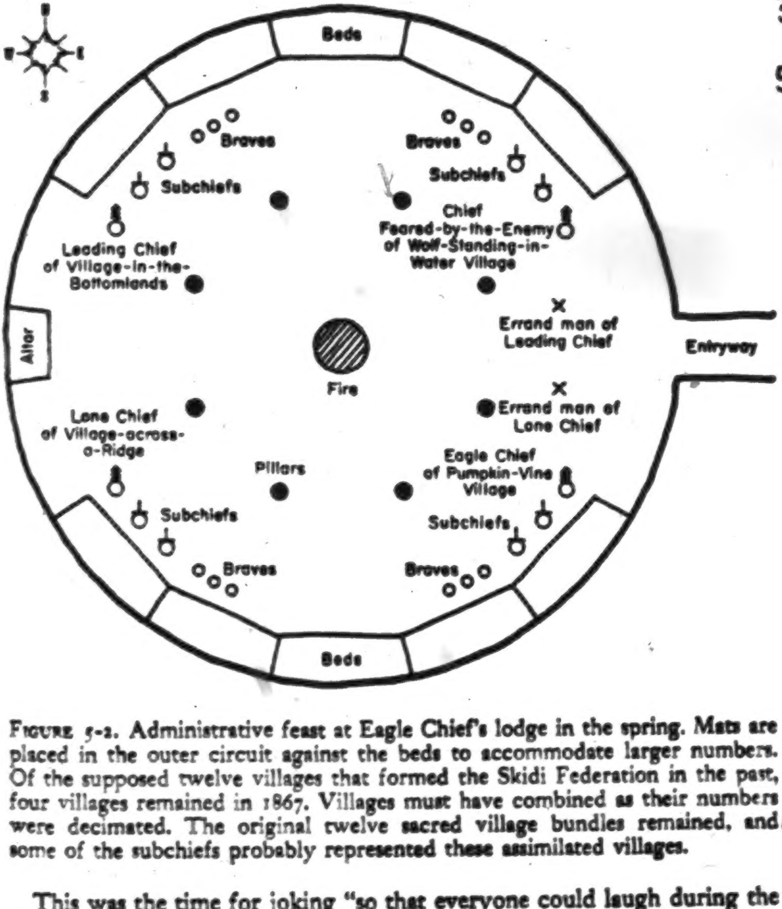

N
W
E
S
Beds
Braves
Braves
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Chief
Feared-by-the-Enemy
of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village
Leading Chief
of Village-in-the-Bottomlands
Altar
Fire
Errand man of
Leading Chief
Entryway
Errand man of
Lone Chief
Lone Chief
of Village-across-a-Ridge
Pillars
Eagle Chief
of Pumpkin-Vine Village
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Braves
Braves
Beds

FIGURE 5-2. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. Mats are [631]
placed in the outer circuit against the beds to accommodate larger numbers.
Of the supposed twelve villages that formed the Skidi Federation in the past,
four villages remained in 1867. Villages must have combined as their numbers
were decimated. The original twelve sacred village bundles remained, and [778]
some of the subchiefs probably represented these assimilated villages.

This was the time for joking "so that everyone could laugh during the 623
meal." The jokes were of a somewhat slapstick variety as they wanted 574
to be sure that no one's feelings were hurt in any way. Ordinarily, while 522
the social relationship with one's parents was quite formal and restrained, [593]
the relationship with the grandparents was in sharp contrast. It was a [603]
relationship of lively familiarity. Physical handling was rough-and-tumble,
a grandfather sometimes pulling his grandson out of bed of a cold morning
and dumping him in the snow to harden him; jokes were often leveled
at the grandchild and answered in kind. The mode of kin reckoning often [601]
involved an extension of the immediate kin terms to more distant blood [602]
relatives, and it worked out so that people of similar ages might address

> The visionary moves her basket back and forth—dishing out. The four ladies with the loon necks swing them as if digging in the earth. The two girls with the deer heads dip them up and down, swinging back and forth. 241 535

As the women danced with the hoes, a few men danced among them with their bows and arrows poised as if aiming at something. If the women seemed to be getting tired, the men rubbed against them like buffalo bulls. After the dance was over, the minister asked if everything was all right, and when they looked around at the ground there were rolls of buffalo hair scattered all over. They knew that everything would be all right then, that they would succeed in the buffalo hunt, and that there would be plenty of corn.

There were eight song episodes in the entire series with three intermissions. In the intermissions, a special type of byplay took place that had nothing to do with the order of the ceremony itself. The special characters comprised four young virgins and four warriors on each side of the ceremonial lodge. As the women were dancing with their hoes, these virgins and warriors stood up and joined them, and at the time for intermission each virgin got a pipe filled with tobacco that was at the altar and gave it to a warrior. The connection between war and fertility is a leitmotif that runs through much of Pawnee sacred ceremonialism as elaborately exemplified in the human sacrifice to the Morning Star. In this byplay between virgins and warriors this theme is also represented. In the kin system, familiar behavior is characteristic of grandparents and grandchildren only; otherwise people must maintain a formal position with each other. Since familiar remarks are going to be made, the virgins address the warriors as grandpa and the warriors address them as granddaughter. Each virgin having handed a pipe to a warrior, the byplay began: 241 [181] [782] [603] [602]

> Holding his pipe in his left hand, he flexes his arm and moves it back and forth in jerky movements as if running and stamping his right foot three times and then his left as if on the run. He might say, "I was east on the warpath and I killed a Sioux," or he might tell how he stole horses on the warpath. Now the warrior makes a smoke offering and addresses his "granddaughter." He is going to give her advice on how to conduct her sex and marital relations. "Don't let your husband kiss you unless he gives you a horse." "All right," the girl answers, "I'll do that." A warrior on the south side says to his girl partner, "Granddaughter, give me the pipe and I'll tell you what I did. On the Republican river I killed a Sioux and I left him there." Then everyone will say, "Well, why didn't you bring him home?" Then he makes a smoke offering with the pipe the virgin has given him and says, "Grand-

LEVIRATE

Formerly a man married his brother's widow, but this could be 587
done only by a younger brother. This form of levirate also prevailed
in other Pawnee bands.

POLYANDRY

There were two customs which led to a condition of temporary 595
polyandry. In the first place, a boy on reaching the age of puberty 604
became in practice a second husband of his mother's brother's wife,
which relationship might continue for several years. It has been
noted that a man called his mother's brother's wife his wife. In
the second place, a younger brother often maintained the position
of husband to his brother's wife. It was the custom for a younger 595
brother to make his home with an elder married brother, in which 607
case the elder brother might permit the former to have sexual
relations with his wife. However, this was not a definite regular
practice, but was decided in individual cases by the nature of the
friendly feeling existing between two brothers; it was necessary both
that the older brother should give his consent and that the younger
brother should feel that the maintenance of such a relationship to
his brother's wife would not cause a feeling of jealousy to arise on
the part of his brother. This peculiar relationship was reflected in [601]
the kinship terminology, for a man used the same term for his
brother's wife as for his own. The counterpart of this custom did
not hold for sisters, as a girl did not leave her parents' lodge to make
her home with her married sister until it was time to become the
wife of her sister's husband. [For a more complete description of
Pawnee polygamy, see Lesser, 1930.]

ADOPTION

Among the Skidi it was not uncommon for a family to assume 597
the responsibility or control of some poor boy or girl, but without
the child in question being formally adopted—that is, it obtained
no rights of a legal nature in the family.

However, the formal adoption of a child was by no means rare. Generally it came about through a man's losing a favorite son or daughter by death, and through his taking a fancy to another child, bearing a strong resemblance to the one he had lost. A bereaved father, after making up his mind that he would like to adopt the child, carefully washed and arrayed himself in new costume and went to the lodge where the child lived that he wished to adopt. There he clothed the child in new moccasins and leggings that he had

relatives were intimately concerned. The mother's brother paid 855
much attention to the education of his sister's sons and daughters,
in which, indeed, he took perhaps as much interest as their father.
On the paternal side the children had what were known as children's 855
rights in the father's sister's lodge. These were similar to the claims 604
which children had upon parents, but in a sense entailed even deeper
obligations, for though the children might be cast out of their
parents' lodge, they could still claim food and shelter in the lodge
of the father's sister. Next it should be noted that the father's
sister's husband became the teacher and in some degree the guardian
of his wife's brother's daughter, instructing her and looking after
her interests. On the death of his wife, he might marry the girl,
or even her daughters if she already had a husband.

It was not learned that there was any special custom observed 841
when a girl reached her first menses, which usually occurred during [881]
her twelfth or thirteenth year. No recognition of the fact was made
by the family or the tribe other than her mother or grandmother,
unless she happened to be the daughter of the keeper of a sacred
bundle. In this case the girl was removed to a little house, known
as "place-sitting-with-blood," where she remained during her
menstrual period with her grandmother. The girl neither bathed
nor combed her hair and was not allowed to eat fresh meat, her food
consisting chiefly of corn and pemmican brought by her mother.
At the end of the period the grandmother took the girl to a creek,
where they both bathed; the latter was then clothed with a new
dress and was further purified by wrapping a blanket about herself
and standing in the smoke rising from smoldering cedar leaves.
Thereafter the grandmother took care of her in the same manner
at each period of menstruation. When the girl married, she continued
the custom but no one assisted her. The observance of this period
was so far as possible always kept secret.

A menstruating woman was considered unclean, and the chief 784
restriction placed against her was that she should in no way come 841
in contact with the sacred bundles nor approach the objects contained in them. This restriction prohibited her from appearing at sacred bundle ceremonies. The reason seems to be based on the theory that the bundles and all objects of a religious nature carried with them their own odor, which was that of sweet grass. This odor was not only acceptable and pleasing, but it was essentially a non-human odor. The odor of the menstrual flow was considered a distinctly human odor and the presence of such a human charac-

3

PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: II

000

Marriage Arrangements—Chart of Kin Genealogical Structure—Personal Relationships among Kin—Individual Aspirations Expressed in Names—Brief Sketches of Eleven Pawnee Lives—the Kin System Not a Constricting Mold but a Fluid System for the Individual Personality

Marriage and Kin

621 [582] ACCORDING TO PAWNEE theory, all marriages should be made within one's own village, for to marry outside would be considered a poor risk, contrary to the cosmic plan. The sacred bundle and its ritual epitomized the special heavenly order under which the villagers lived, and an outsider would have no place within this order. As a result, the village was in fact a large extended family, geographically localized.

582 However, within this general family connection the lines as to whom one could and could not marry were very sharply drawn. The careful identification of the physiological father as well as of the mother was an important aspect of this plan. The kinship system was designed to avoid the marriage or sexual involvement of close blood relatives. Marriages of parents and children, brothers and sisters, both half- and full-sisters and brothers, were definitely excluded. Beyond this rather universal type of incest ruling, there were other principles which governed these relationships among the Pawnees. 611 The family was primarily matrilineal—that is, the mother's family was regarded as one's very own family, while that of the father and his relatives was considered a different order of relationship.

593 604 As I have already pointed out, a man always had a home in his sister's

household, even though his marriage might lead him to take up residence 593
elsewhere. For this reason, according to Pawnee ideas, the brother owed
his sister a special lifelong debt. In recognition of his indebtedness, when 604
the sister had a son, she might send him to live in her brother's married-in
household when he was about ten years old. There his maternal uncle
would teach him whatever he needed to know in life, and as he reached
adolescence he would receive his first sex instruction from one of his
uncle's wives. If his uncle had several wives, the boy might extend his
attentions to the others from time to time. The term for maternal nephew [601]
was *tiwat* and maternal uncle, *tiwatciriks*, super- or real-*tiwat*.

Another basic Pawnee family pattern concerning the man, was the 593
identification of a whole group of brothers. Through the rule of primo- [428]
geniture the oldest brother inherited all the family property and as senior
member of the group was responsible for the well-being of all his
younger brothers. A younger brother who availed himself of the sexual
favors of his older brother's wife upon occasion was not considered out
of order, and theoretically the older brother should act like a gentleman,
paying no attention and making no mention of it. This ideal, however, 596
was not always realized. It was fairly usual form for two or more broth-
ers to set up a joint household, sharing their wives and their property. 601
The children addressed them all as fathers and mothers and they in turn
addressed all the children as their own. A similar but not identical condition might exist among a group of sisters married to the same man, the children addressing all the sisters as mother. A group of brothers would address each other as *irari*, and the same term was used among a group of sisters. But across the line of sex different terms that were more precise were used: a man's sister was referred to as *itahi* and a woman's brother, as *iratsti*. Under the difficult conditions of Pawnee life, a child gained considerable security from this multiple parenthood. As the Pawnees phrased it: "We think a child should not be too closely bound to its own mother, for should she have to be away or should she die, it would break the child's heart."

As each person was introduced into a child's life, the child was given 867
an idea of how to act toward that person. One of the ways in which this was conveyed was through the kin term by which the child was instructed to address the newcomer. Along with the term of address, a style of conduct was indicated so that the child received a code of manners as he came in contact with one after another of his normal associates.

As the depth of the relationship merits, the Pawnee child was taught to 593
treat his mother with profound respect. The term *atira*, "my mother," [601]
carried with it a high degree of reverence among the Pawnees. However,
the mode of acting toward a mother was far more formal than it is ordinarily in our society. The mother was concerned at all times for her child. She provided for him and instructed him in how to act in his own

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24]

593 life and in social situations, but there was no easygoing informality. A
mother was a mainstay for life, but one did not bother her with petty
problems. When the child was weaned, he was given over to the care of
603 his grandmother where he enjoyed a relationship of intimacy, warmth,
and informality that made it easy for him to appeal to her for any want
he might have, however petty or apparently foolish.

In terms of the conduct associated with them, these two kin relation-
602 ships, the one to *atira,* "my mother," and the other to *atika,* "my grand-
601 mother," stood at opposite poles. These two kinds of relationship might
be called a *respect* relationship and a *joking* relationship respectively.
The one type of conduct was designed to preclude any kind of sexual
involvement or marriage, while the joking relationship implied the possibility of physical familiarity, including sexual relations. This is not to
say that a boy was likely to become sexually involved with his own
grandmother, but the term was also applied to other relatives in the kin
network, in which case sex relations were permissible and marriage
(when the individuals were not otherwise attached) was positively encouraged.

A network of kin relationships extended throughout the village for
604 every individual member. The number of actual kin terms employed was
601 very limited, but under each kin term a number of relatives of varying
degrees of biological closeness were included. The term, *atira,* "my
mother," applied not only to own mother and mother's immediate sisters,
but also to the sisters of the father as a mark of special respect. This attitude and the kin term, *atira,* was applied not only to the sisters of the
father, but to their daughters, i.e., the daughters of the paternal aunt,
and in turn to their daughters as well, going down the generations as long
as the relationship could be traced. The object of the extension of the
mother term to these women in the father's line was to preclude any possibility of sex relations or marriage with them. At the same time these
women reciprocated by answering to this term, *atira,* with the term for
child, *piirau,* and treating these individuals as a mother would, but to an
exaggerated degree. A person entering the household of a paternal aunt
or her female descendants would be welcomed at once with exclamations of concern; he would be spoken of as child, or even as baby, and
offered food and care. The person would be given to understand that
"they have a home here." One was very careful to limit one's visits to
these relatives. You were bound to be quite circumspect, for should
you admire something in the house or even show some interest in it, you
might well receive it as a gift as a mark of their regard.

593 The relationship with the father was also highly formalized, involving special concern and instruction in right conduct and maintenance,
[261] particularly providing fresh meat and dried buffalo meat which were
considered necessary for energy and growth. Strictly speaking, the fa-

[601]
[604]

ther and his family were not *own* family as that of the mother was. The 593
mother's sisters were completely identified with the mother, and there
was little difference in the attitude toward them. The mother's brother, 604
tiwatciriks, was an even more familiar person, who was theoretically 601
ready to share whatever he had with his nephew, *tiwat*. The boy might enter the household into which his maternal uncle was married from the age of ten and assume the role of apprentice husband and eventually, when he came of age, of junior husband. He called his uncle's wives "wife" and the children of his uncle *piirau*, "my child." After adolescence, he might in fact be the physiological father of one or the other of them. On the other hand, some of his uncle's children might be older than he; he would still call them *piirau*, and they in turn would address him as *atias*, "my father," the same as their own father. Thus it might very well happen that a man in his twenties would call a boy of ten, *atias*, "my father," and the boy would call him *piirau*, "my child." Such an age reversal might also happen in the father's sister's line, where a grown man would address a little girl as *atira*, "my mother," and the little girl would call the man *piirau*, "my child." In the first case, the grown man would be expressing his respect for his father, and even more particularly for his father's sister in his treatment of her son. In this role, the boy was in a superior position and addressed the man as "child." The second case would involve the women and girls in the father's sister's line directly. At bottom, both these situations had their basis in the unequal relationship between a sister and a brother, as the brother was the taker while the sister with whom he always had a home was the provider. He owed her nothing in return, but he accorded her great respect, and his children followed suit. They demonstrated their respect by applying to their paternal aunt the most revered term they knew, *atira*, "my mother," and carried it to all her female descendants. The boys in this line they called *atias*, "my father." In this case these terms were used to express not age or parenthood, but respect. The factor of age did not enter the relationship; a small boy might call a grown man, *piirau*, "my child," the man addressing the boy as *atias*, "my father."

Wherever the grandfather term *atipat* was applied or extended, it was 601
a relaxed relationship. Familiar joshing, poking fun, and manhandling
were in order. When a girl addressed a man by this term, sex relations 602
were a possibility, and, if the circumstances were right, marriage was fa- 603
vored. In this mode, during the intermissions in the *Awari* or Groundbreaking Ceremony in the spring just before planting, virgins received advice on their prospective sex life from warriors whom they addressed as *atipat*, "grandfather," the girls in turn being addressed as *raktiki*,
"grandchild." Under any circumstances other than the joking kin cate- 576
gory, the Pawnees scrupulously avoided any reference to the physical person or to intimate relations. To transgress this prohibition would be regarded as a personal insult that could be classed as almost criminal.

affection, denoting how far one could count on the tie. The use of the 602
kin word on meeting might simply be withheld altogether—an absolute 601
disclaimer of the relationship.

A second cue as to how valuable a person considered a given kin tie 604
could be taken from the manner in which the typical kin behavior was carried out. In the joking grandfather–grandchild type of behavior, the jokes might be mean, sarcastic, or mildly jocular, but if the person showed no reaction at all it was most damaging to the relationship. Careless behavior within the "respect" categories would simply be taken as a personal insult, but no response whatever to the other person that should have a kin status, canceled the relationship entirely as a personal bond.

There were no normal interpersonal relations among the Pawnees that 602
did not carry with them a kin designation. People with whom one 608
dealt as equals had to be placed in some kin category; lack of such a relation could only imply slave or enemy status. In the various trade or gift exchange ceremonials that were conducted between tribes or bands, a whole kin structure was built up so that they could communicate on a peaceful level. The most notable example was the Calumet or Peace Pipe Ceremony, in which the visiting trade party represented Fathers, while the ones they visited were designated their Children. Many of the ceremonial acts were designed to carry out this idea. There was no way of communicating with peaceful strangers unless they were fitted into the kin structure, and it is for this reason that the President of the United States is referred to as the Great White Father and that white friends are adopted into the tribe.

A third aspect of kin reactivity was the exchange of gifts and this 159
too was an index of cordiality or lack of it between two kinsmen. It 593
sometimes happened that a distant relative was so warmly cultivated
that the relationship took on a degree of intimacy that was considerably 602
greater than would ordinarily be implied in the genetic tie. Such a case [431]
happened with the mother of the boy Otter, White Woman. As was customary, Otter's maternal uncles—his mother's brothers—were frequent visitors to the household. Uncle War Cry and his younger brothers High Noon and Noted Fox would come in often to meals. Uncle War Cry was head brave of the Skidi, and he would often linger to smoke and talk with Victory Call. Uncle War Cry was solicitous for Otter's welfare at all times, and the boy was welcome to his uncle's home at any time. Whenever they passed each other in the village, Uncle War Cry would call out to him, "*Nawa tiwat*," and Otter would reply with "*Nawa tiwatciriks*." The same was true of the other two uncles.

From time to time something would happen that puzzled the boy very much. Two men in particular would insist on greeting him in the same terms as his own uncles, saying, "*Nawa tiwat*," and they came up to him and stated that they were his *real* uncles and that his mother was mean

The boy was also taught that his paternal aunt whom he called *atira*, 604
“my mother,” would also give him a home. If the relationship were good
he would come to her house and say, “*Tatiriraka*, I have a home here,”
and he could request a permanent or a temporary home with these relatives.
He might remark, “*Atira*, I'm hungry,” or “mother, I'm tired. I want
a place to sleep here.” The brothers of these women were called *atias*,
“my father,” but no fatherly conduct was expected of them as they
were married into different households. Formal behavior such as characterized
the relation between father and son was the only thing expected
of them. The husbands of these kindly paternal aunts were called *atipat*,
“grandpa,” possibly to denote their unfailing benevolence toward the
“child” to match that of their wives. Periodically, while the individuals [574]
in this relationship were still children, they would be invited to the house
and “grandpa” would feast them on some delicacies that he had bought at
the trade store, joking with them all the while.

The boy Otter enjoyed such a place in the home of Eagle Chief. The 602
three wives of Eagle Chief were sisters to Victory Call, who often went 574
there to relax and to enjoy their hospitality. Otter called these women, *atira*
and he called Eagle Chief *atipat*. Eagle Chief would decide upon occasion
to entertain four or five children who were in this relation to him as a
courtesy to his wives and incidentally as a good public relations gesture
for himself, for a chief had to maintain the good will of his constituency.
He would go to the trade store and get some favorite foods [439]
such as dried prunes, flour, sugar, and coffee and then would send
his wives to invite the children. The children sat lined up in a row
and Eagle Chief began to tease them. He said, “Look at that fellow. He
has two heads. See how he's looking all around the room to see what he
can find.” Then he would speak to the girls, “Look at that girl painting
her face. Is that my paint?” Or he would say to his wives, “Don't give
this fellow too many prunes. I think I'll eat them myself this evening.”
The women would answer with mock hostility, “Well, it's *theirs*. You
bought it for *them* to eat.” “Say,” Eagle Chief would continue, “this fellow
eats too fast.” “Let them eat!” said the women. “The way you go on,
the children might choke. Say, let them eat. Now children don't listen to [857]
him!” If they had a piece of fried bread left from the feast the children
would try to carry it home to their mothers, but most of the time the older
children would grab it as they went through the village.

The joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild was an 603
important social resource. At a family meal where they should have
light and cheerful conversation, they would prod a small boy into teasing 602
his “grandpa.” If no grandfather were available, they would indicate
to the boy that he ought to pay more attention to his brother's wife—
the “brother” usually being a quite distant blood relative and an older
man. Otter was in such a relationship with Old Bull and they called

603 each other *irari*, "brother." Old Bull teased Otter referring to his younger
602 wife, Clear Day, and she would always play along. The relation between
nephews and maternal uncles was also considered analogous to that of
604 brothers. As the Pawnees stated it, "They would love each other like own
431 brothers and give things to each other." Gift giving was a special factor
in this relationship, and many kinds of mutual help, especially the teaching
of skills. After they had moved to Oklahoma and Otter was a young
man, he was favored with a nice gift by two boys who called him uncle.
One of the boys had cut wheat for Eagle Chief and received $3.00 for his
work. He said to Otter, "Uncle, I was working for Eagle Chief binding
wheat and he gave me this three dollars. I want to give it to you." The
relationship went back to the old earth lodge in Nebraska when the boys
were very small. They were the sons of Queen Woman, the older wife of
Old Bull, and Otter used to call her *itahi*, "sister," through a distant kin tie.
The boys, accordingly, were his nephews or *tiwat*, and Otter had taught
them how to make arrows when they were out on the hunt and other
skills. Now, long after in Oklahoma, they were expressing their gratitude.
This happened in the presence of the actual mother's brother of the
boys, the agency interpreter, Deteyr, but there was no resentment at all
on his part, for he had been less able to function as uncle to the boys than
Otter. It was considered normal that this should be recognized.

574 In close relationships, failure to visit once in a while was considered
a personal slight. White Woman would complain to Victory Call that
while he often went to visit his older brother, Sitting Hawk, his brother
did not return the courtesy. She would say, "He never comes here.
Why go over there so much?" And so the casual visiting between the two
brothers stopped. On one of the rare occasions when Sitting Hawk did
come to visit, White Woman would caustically remark after he had gone,
"What happened that he came to visit us today. I guess we can expect
some cosmic event like rain or snow to mark the occasion. A man should
come in once in a while just to say, 'brother.'" White Woman on her
607 part avoided visiting Sitting Hawk's wives. Ordinarily the wives of
574 brothers should be close companions. But when Victory Call was invited
over there and the usual invitation was extended to include his wife,
431 White Woman would refuse to go on the grounds that Sitting Hawk's
wives were given to gossip, something she didn't care to engage in. As a
result these women did not visit her either. Nevertheless, they would
regularly send each other gifts. They would send and receive from each
other moccasins, a blanket, or some dried buffalo meat. This showed that
there was good will between them but simply a personal disinclination
to go visiting.

574 An invitation to visit a household was always given through a relative.
The person issuing the invitation would come to the house and seek
out his relative there and suggest that he bring along his wife, his son,

585 We are poor." The priest took the pipe, smoked, and passed it to the boy and errand man, each of whom took it in turn. The uncle received the pipe again, sat down, and smoked. Then he addressed the priest: "We hope that the young man will be good to the girl. He is now to be married; we hope that he will always be ready to support the family he has come to join." The priest answered, and thanked the men for giving their consent to the marriage. He said: "You have taken pity on me: I have nothing in return to give you." Then they rose. The priest put the pillows to one side, took one of the buffalo robes, and put it on, keeping it as his pay. The errand man took the other robe for himself. The two of them and the youth left and went to the latter's lodge, where the boy's relatives were gathered, sitting in a circle. They had brought presents of ponies, buffalo
431 robes, bows and arrows and quivers, or anything they wished to give. The priest and the errand man led the ponies with the presents packed upon them to the girl's lodge, where the mother and grandmother met them and received the gifts. These were distributed among the male relatives of the girl, one pony being reserved for the use of her father. The greater the number of gifts, the greater was the honor shown to the bride. The young man did not go to the girl's lodge until sent for by her parents. When they asked for him, he came, and on entering the lodge found that a buffalo robe had been spread, with two cushions upon it. He was told to sit on one cushion, the girl on the other. Food was placed before them and they ate together. There they remained for the rest of the day, and that night the marriage was consummated. This brought the ceremony to an end.

● 606 A man was supposed to accord his father-in-law and mother-in-law the same treatment that characterized his behavior towards his own parents. His wife's parents likewise were supposed to treat him with the same affection they showed to their own son. A man spoke of both his father-in-law and mother-in-law and his wife's brothers as *tatukak*, which means that he sits in their lodge. As has been
593 noted, he addressed his wife's sisters as he did his wife. He was never to be angry with her, for it was through two women, the Evening Star and the Moon, that man received buffalo and corn; should he treat his wife meanly, these two deities would withhold the buffalo and the rain, and famine would ensue. [The manuscript also contains the following more realistic statement: "A man had the right to whip his wife without fear of intervention unless he should show undue cruelty without good cause, in which case the wife's relatives would be likely to interfere.]

887 house." She supplemented their supplies of vegetables from her own garden from time to time, saying, "Daughter, cook this for our supper."
592 She would also have a small private stock of dried meat that she had gotten by helping with its preparation during the hunt season, and she would also offer this at various times when it seemed a good idea. Again there was no regular schedule for this, nor any amount that was standard. Grandma already rendered considerable services to the house and was considered entitled to her "keep." She also gave substantive help with skin working, sewing, getting firewood, special manufacturing, and so on.

The young women and girls at the west stations did minor household
462 tasks, but had a far more significant contribution to make to its ongoing.
592 They were there to please and care for a capable man who would protect
883 the people in the lodge, provide them with fresh meat by his almost daily hunting expeditions for deer, elk, or antelope, participate in the tribal buffalo hunts in the summer and winter each year so that they would all have dried buffalo meat, and carry on the official interrelationships with the community outside the household, including those with the village officials.

582 An influential and capable man might be given one of these girls in marriage with the understanding that her younger sisters would also be given to him when they came of age. If he were adjudged too old, the family was unlikely to agree to these further marriages. In the case of Old Bull, the family of his junior wife, Clear Day, was unwilling to give him her younger sister on this account. Fifteen years was considered a suitable age for marriage in a girl, and eighteen for a boy. However, the probability is remote that the couple would be of these ages respectively. First marriages for both a boy and a girl were almost always of a "May-September" type. A boy of eighteen was considered altogether incapable of playing a suitable married role in a household. A man contracted a mar-
583 riage in terms of services he could render to the family of the girl that he
591 married. Normally he was expected to come to live in her household and "take care of them," i.e., render them major services.

601 The son-in-law, i.e., the man married into a household, was known as *kustawixtsu,*" the one that is sitting among [us]." The man on his part
606 referred to his in-laws as *tatutkaku,* "I sit inside for you," that is, "I am in the house for your benefit." The reward he receives is his wife whom he calls *tatiraktaku,* "I own her," and she in turn refers to her husband as *tikuktaku,* "he owns me." These terms are not normally used under informal circumstances, the couple addressing each other by the common term for spouse, *raku,* or if they are on particularly pleasant terms, the man calls his wife *tsustit,* "old lady," and she refers to her husband as *kurahus,* "old man."

58 Because of the services required on both sides, a young man would have little alternative but to marry a capable older woman, and a young

243 787 any taboos. He was always fed first before the others at every meal so that his mood would remain pleasant. He lived and moved in the encampment of the chief who was leading the hunt during that season.

[092] In the previous ceremony, when the seeds of the sacred corn had been distributed to the ministers of the various bundles for planting, the visionary of that ceremony had been constituted a holy man for the well-being of the corn crop. He also had to remain wrapped in his buffalo robe all summer and to observe similar taboos until the harvest was in. Presumably, as he remained wrapped in his robe, he was impersonating the ear of corn itself in its husk.

In the final stages of the young corn ceremony, the priest went through the village, praising the donor of the cowskin and buffalo-hair belt in which they dressed the young Mother Corn, referring to the robe as the symbolic wrapper into which a germ of life could be thrust and the buffalo-hair rope as the string.

The ceremony of the Young Mother Corn was concluded with a feast in which all who had participated shared in the meat of the buffalo that the visionary had consecrated on the previous winter hunt. His wife usually added a donation of boiled corn to round out the banquet.

243 Until this ceremony was completed, no woman could go into her field and begin to weed and cultivate it. Now the women all went into their fields carrying their hoes. First they would pull out the weeds one by one from the corn hills by hand and then pile up the earth around the young growing plants. The corn was hilled up so high around the plant that the leaves barely stuck out at the top; they were compared with an earth lodge with the smoke issuing out of the smokehole in the roof.

It was early morning and the dew had fallen, and as the women worked around and around the corn hills their bodies would get soaking wet. After they had hilled up the earth around the plants, the women would kneel close to the hill and pat it all around with their hands to make it smooth and even. The woman's left side, as well as her face and hands, would become covered with mud. To mention this fact to a woman on her way home from the fields would be the height of presumption. [515] On the way home everyone took a swim in Beaver Creek and washed off their hoes. Again the young women splashed with their feet on the surface of the water and tried to make as loud a report as possible by slapping the surface of the water with their hands. The old man again sat up on his earth lodge and addressed the community at large. He reminded everyone that the women were now "disfiguring themselves" for him, getting all muddy, and that while their hoes were still full of mud, all of them would be eating the food that the women had raised. [606] Some of the women went in groups to cultivate the previously planted fields of their new daughters-in-law, singing while they worked

together and again enjoying a festive meal at their daughter-in-law's house 243
afterward. [606]

Now at the beginning of June everyone's mind was turned to complet- [221]
ing the preparations for leaving on the summer hunt. They would weed
and cultivate the corn plants and hill up the earth once more just before
leaving, when the plants were about 3½ feet high. The present Nebraska
farmer says, "Knee high by the fourth of July" and the Pawnee said, "Tall
enough to tickle the horse's belly."

The corn and the buffalo that sustained the Pawnee placed heavy de- 22
mands upon him. Only by carrying out his year's round with great pre- 476
cision and by careful coordination of his activities with other people of 243
the tribe could he combine these two major food resources. The adminis- 622
trative activities of the priests and the chiefs were as vital to his enterprise 182
as the physical resources themselves. Few administrative structures have
commended themselves so directly to the people as that of the Pawnees. [793]
Respect for the chief was a cardinal tenet of every Pawnee's life, in re- [183]
turn for which the chief demonstrated a dedicated concern for his peo-
ple.

439 Do you think it can get a good buffalo? Well, you can have a buffalo
435 robe when I get back and my wife can tan it." Mr. Matlock would
then join them and the traders would say, "Sure." "Well, I need two
buckets," Victory Call would say. "And what else do you need?" the
traders would ask. At the same time there would be an old lady in the
439 store trying to establish some credit so that she could get some sugar to
435 make sweet corn pounded up with sugar. She would promise that when
262 they got back from the hunt she would bring in a sack of pounded-up
dry meat. This was the equivalent of the better-known pemmican and
was bought by travelers at the trade store for emergency rations. When
[705] warriors went on the warpath they took extra pairs of moccasins filled
with pounded sweet corn and sugar and some of the pounded-up dry
meat as concentrated supplies.

*224 Not everyone had the skill or the diligence to accumulate all this
476 equipment. Every man or woman who did not have it yet wanted to go
on the hunt had to try to attach themselves to someone who did. This
practical consideration had an important effect on how the individual
encampments were set up. Sometimes a family had enough horses but
no tent. The man would send his mother-in-law or his wife to inquire
of a woman who owned a tent whether they could join her encampment.
If it was agreed that they should camp together they would discuss how
they would combine their needs for equipment—a mortar, a kettle, dishes,
etc. Sometimes a woman would make such arrangements, only to find at
the last minute that her husband had already committed them with someone else, and then one of the families would have to remain behind.

• 606 The general rule was that a man had to take care of his father-in-law
and the family into which he was married. It was understood that he
would travel with his father-in-law and his wife's family. This is what
his marriage implied—that he was to serve and care for the family of his
wife. The son-in-law was called by the family into which he married
kustawixtsu, "he who sits among (them)." The son-in-law would refer
to himself as *rat-ut-ka-ku*, "I-for-you-inside-sit," meaning that it his function
606 tion to serve their house. This was an obligation greater than that to his
593 own parents. If his parents were old and alone, he would give half of his
kill to them after his wife had picked out what she wanted. When they
[591] first married, the couple normally lived in the girl's house and went out
on the hunt with them. As they got older, the young man might want
[431] to set up a tent of his own and hunt separately and his father-in-law
might consent, but he would send a gift of a leg from whatever buffalo
he killed. When they got back to the village, they would rejoin the girl's
family. If the girl's father was getting very old and his tent was worn
out he would say, "Son-in-law, I want to go with you. You came here
to take care of us." "Certainly, that's good," the younger man would
say. This marriage responsibility sometimes got on a man's nerves, and

if he wandered over to his parents' tent and asked his mother to fix a 606 •
bed for him it was accepted as a normal thing. His wife would understand 593
that "he felt like being childish for a while" and that next morning
he would be back with them. Sometimes the sounds of fighting would
be heard inside a tent—a father-in-law and a son-in-law in conflict.

Although he might live elsewhere in the village, an unmarried 593
younger brother was likely to join his older brother for the hunt. This 224*
was his obligation. When he married, however, he would be impelled to
go with his wife's family. Sometimes two brothers and their families [592]
lived in an earth lodge jointly and they might very well also go jointly
on the hunt.

The household of Old Bull and Victory Call broke up into three 592
groupings. Each of the four villages of the Skidi Band had a separate 621
section of the encampment. Old Bull and Victory Call both camped in
the Pumpkin-Vine Village section in the west, but each had a separate
encampment and ran their households entirely independently. The camp
of Old Bull included his two wives and the grandmother and their
young children. In Victory Call's camp were his wife White Woman, his
assistant Horse Rider, his wife No Corn, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy,
and the boy Otter. The old lady Grieves-the-Enemy and the boy Yellow
Calf went far over to the east section where her son was encamped in
Village-in-the-Bottomlands with his father-in-law, Path-of-the-Enemy.
The two little boys did not see each other all summer, as there were hundreds
of tents between them. When they returned to the village in the
fall, it was optional whether they rejoined the household or not.

In the past, the people who were left behind in the village were in 224*
great danger and they all cried bitterly as the expedition departed. The 888
Stay-at-Homes were usually the sick and the old. Some men would stay 734
longer to give a little more protection to an old grandmother or someone
of whom they were fond. The Stay-at-Homes would congregate in a few
earth lodges in the village, knowing where to find food in the storage
pits. Leaving the slow and the sick at home was a necessary step, as the
line of march had to move with precision because other tribes were also
pressing in on the buffalo herds. They might move entirely out of reach,
whereupon the tribe would be faced with the danger of losing all of
the effort they had invested in the expedition. Nevertheless, sometimes
a soft-hearted chief would say, "Let's all go, even if we have to camp
every five miles!" Others would demur, saying that was too slow; finally
the old people themselves would say, "No, we can't go along. We're old
anyhow," and having made this concession of their own accord, they
would be permitted to return to the village. Sometimes noticing that a 224*
perfectly able-bodied family he liked was not coming along, Eagle Chief 622
would inquire and, finding they were staying behind because they had 426
no horses, would lend them two of his own.

*224 Comanche Chief. Here War Cry, here's yours. Here Eagle Chief, here's your meat!"

*224 571 578 Sometimes this group of happy-go-lucky young men were unable to get anything and then they would curse one another saying, "Why do we have bad luck? It must be because of you!" One man called *Rawihu'u*, "The Go-Getter," which also means "Warpath," was their favorite scapegoat. It seemed as if he always did something at the wrong time to spoil things. As a man was about to shoot a buffalo, he would look over the man's shoulder and the buffalo would see him moving and run away. Once when they were stalking a deer, approaching on their bellies, Warpath coughed at the crucial moment and the deer ran off. One of the men said, "I wish I could shoot you." "I couldn't help it. I had to cough. My throat was dry," said Warpath.

*224 574 Some men went after antelope and took the meat home to their families. They would call in three or four of their more intimate friends to share it with them.

Such a man was Fearing-a-Bear, an able hunter and warrior, a mature man but a rough-and-ready type. He had little interest in social status and public affairs and when he was successful in his hunting he would say, "I'm tired. I think I'll just eat this up myself with my friends." He and his wife lived in a tent with his father, his sister, and her husband. Theoretically the brother-in-law should take care of them, but the brother-in-law in this case was from the Omaha tribe, and the father-in-law did not find it a very congenial arrangement. Relations between them were strained. [607] [606]

574 606 As they sat at dinner one night, as the host of the occasion, Fearing-a-Bear sat in the southeast position. Next to him sat his wife who was doing the cooking. On the other side of the entrance, in the northeast position, sat his father and beyond him on the north side the Omaha son-in-law. But the two women, Fearing-a-Bear's wife and his sister, were worried about this close proximity of the two hostile men and so the sister seated herself between her Omaha husband and her father. Ordinarily she would have sat at the east end beyond the two men. She had separated them, for trouble might arise, or the old man, being shaky, might accidentally spill some soup on his son-in-law and then there would be a flare-up. The adjustment they had made in seating arrangements, however, was very awkward for the hostess. She could not pass the food to the old man who was sitting on the end, as it was absolutely forbidden for a daughter-in-law to have any contact with her father-in-law. So she had to get up each time and give the food to her sister-in-law who was sitting between her Omaha husband and her father, in order to pass it to the men. Then the sister-in-law was in a dilemma. Should she serve her husband first or her father? Either way, she was bound to offend one or the other of them.

000 The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant

The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant
kinship ties to him, but according to the logic of the Pawnee kin system 574
they all called one another brother. They were seated in order of seniority. [602]
The hostess, sitting at the southeast, dished out the food for them, [601]
and her husband passed it to his neighbor on the left, stating who it was [554]
intended for, whereupon it would be passed along to the designated
party. There were no speeches, and people were not obliged to wait for [264]
anybody else but could eat as soon as they were served. When they were
through, if they were in a hurry they would just pick up the bread and
meat that they had left over and go directly out, taking the leftover food to
their wives and children. The manners of the common people were far [576]
simpler than those of the socially elite, or the socially ambitious, although
the customary forms were similar.

As they continued on the move, pressures might build up between individuals 484*
because of the closeness of the living conditions in camp and the 578
strain of constant migration. This was particularly true between father-in-law
and son-in-law. Theoretically, it was the first duty of the son-in-law 606
to serve his wife's family, but when his father-in-law was quite old, the
son-in-law often felt put upon by the arrangement. Sometimes in the
camp one could hear people calling out, "Fight, fight!" and father-in-law
and son-in-law would be grappling with each other in a tent. People all
came running and a roughneck in the crowd would call out, "Who's underneath?"
Someone who was close to the tent would say, "Son-in-law." In
general the crowd would approve and say, "That's good," the sentiment
being with the underdog, the old father-in-law. Such a quarrel would [554]
be ended when a brave or other person of high social rank put a hand
on each of the combatants and said, "I want you to stop." Out of respect
for his rank and eminence, they would separate at once and go in different
directions. Should they not respond it would be a major insult and he
would say a second time, "Didn't you hear me?" This would certainly
end the fight. Any person known to be sensitive and to dislike violence
could perform this same good office. Violence of this kind within the village [183]
or band was considered a serious social malfunction and people made
every attempt to avoid it or put a stop to it. The effort to anticipate and
prevent such situations from arising can be seen in the efforts of the wife
and sister of Fearing-a-Bear to keep a hostile father and son-in-law apart.

668 what to do, and received compensation for his instruction. Ordi-
796 narily his instruction seems to have amounted to interpretation, to
792 a suggestion that the visionary do as all had seen White himself do,
with some explanation of the details. White would also counsel the visionary to tell the people in general what he had seen and learned. But even in such a case, according to reports, when a dance was put on by another, White's seven crow singers had to be invited to lead the singing and dancing, whether it was held among the Skiri or South Bands.

Gifts and money were lavished upon White: a small face painting often earned him five dollars; feathers and sanctions of various kinds brought him other money. Many people were jealous, or resented White's attitude, called him a liar and began to disbelieve him and say he was deceiving the people.

At the same time, White's conduct was not exemplary. It must be remembered that priests, chiefs, medicine men, and in fact all individuals who had claims to sacred office or inspiration in connection with old Pawnee ways of life, lived up to accepted Pawnee ethical standards of conduct.

As one informant describes White's behavior: "All this time
[276] White drank peyote, which made him wise. At the same time he used to drink whiskey. Whiskey and peyote do not mix, they cannot go together. That's what killed him.

"One time they were going to have a doctor dance north of town and when they were ready to begin, someone said, 'we can't start until the Messiah comes'—they considered White a great prophet, and called him Father and Messiah. Finally they saw him coming, hardly able to walk, supported on each side by a man holding his arm. Someone said, 'why, he's drunk,' but they whispered around, 'we can't say anything about it anyhow, because he's the Messiah.' They used to lavish gifts upon him, and finally they gave him the prettiest girl in the tribe to marry."

It was not long before revolt against White and his tactics took definite form. This reaction is in part to be explained by White's misbehavior, in part by jealousy of the way in which he was getting rich, and in part also by a sincere desire on the part of some to get more out of the dancing in a religious sense.

According to Joseph Carrion, White and he had been friends for
668 a long time; in fact Frank White at one time married Joe's sister-
177 in-law, which in terms of Pawnee kinship put them on strong
[607] grounds of familiarity. Joe Carrion danced along with Frank
White for almost a year. In Joe's own words, "Frank White told me that I was going where I could find out something for myself

LEVIRATE

Formerly a man married his brother's widow, but this could be done only by a younger brother. This form of levirate also prevailed in other Pawnee bands. 587

POLYANDRY

There were two customs which led to a condition of temporary polyandry. In the first place, a boy on reaching the age of puberty became in practice a second husband of his mother's brother's wife, which relationship might continue for several years. It has been noted that a man called his mother's brother's wife his wife. In the second place, a younger brother often maintained the position of husband to his brother's wife. It was the custom for a younger brother to make his home with an elder married brother, in which case the elder brother might permit the former to have sexual relations with his wife. However, this was not a definite regular practice, but was decided in individual cases by the nature of the friendly feeling existing between two brothers; it was necessary both that the older brother should give his consent and that the younger brother should feel that the maintenance of such a relationship to his brother's wife would not cause a feeling of jealousy to arise on the part of his brother. This peculiar relationship was reflected in the kinship terminology, for a man used the same term for his brother's wife as for his own. The counterpart of this custom did not hold for sisters, as a girl did not leave her parents' lodge to make her home with her married sister until it was time to become the wife of her sister's husband. [For a more complete description of Pawnee polygamy, see Lesser, 1930.] 595 604 595 607 [601]

ADOPTION

Among the Skidi it was not uncommon for a family to assume the responsibility or control of some poor boy or girl, but without the child in question being formally adopted—that is, it obtained no rights of a legal nature in the family. 597

However, the formal adoption of a child was by no means rare. Generally it came about through a man's losing a favorite son or daughter by death, and through his taking a fancy to another child, bearing a strong resemblance to the one he had lost. A bereaved father, after making up his mind that he would like to adopt the child, carefully washed and arrayed himself in new costume and went to the lodge where the child lived that he wished to adopt. There he clothed the child in new moccasins and leggings that he had

784 teristic at a bundle ceremony would distract the attention of the
841 supernatural beings. If a menstruating woman were near a bundle
spread out as an altar, the supernatural power supposed to reside
in the objects on the altar would disappear; the corn mother would
be corn mother no longer but simply an ear of corn, the bird messenger
between the deities and man would become simply a bird skin, and
so on. The odor of blood was pleasing to the gods, but not this
kind of blood, which was associated with human passion. If a
menstruating woman should go into a ceremony of the medicine-men, the strong human odor would cause the power of the medicine-men to leave them, and they would fail in their sleight of hand.
The lodge where the ceremony was being held was for the time being
an animal's lodge; it was full of animal power, over which each
medicine-man was striving to make himself master. In this attempt
he would fail should a menstruating woman be present, for she
would cause him to become essentially human. What animal
power he had would quickly desert him.

881 The custom in vogue when a girl reached puberty has been noted.
882 When a boy reached this stage, there was no formal ceremony to
607 mark the event. He was, however, taken in charge by his mother's
836 brother's wife. From this time until his marriage, he maintained
sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately
after having had intercourse with this woman. When her real
husband was off hunting or on the warpath, the youth continued
marital relations with her. Thus it might happen that for four or
[595] five years a woman would have an additional "husband," or possibly
three or four, with a temporary state of polyandry thereby prevailing.
[834] No such custom as this existed for girls, as they were supposed to
remain virgins until marriage.

882 Up to this time the boy went naked, except for a blanket or robe
291 in cold weather. From then on he wore leggings, and otherwise
dressed as a man.

857 A further word should be said as to the relationship of the sexes.
Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they
neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small
grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents.
836 Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship
might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept
at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the
girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or
he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this

603 each other *irari*, "brother." Old Bull teased Otter referring to his younger
602 wife, Clear Day, and she would always play along. The relation between
nephews and maternal uncles was also considered analogous to that of
604 brothers. As the Pawnees stated it, "They would love each other like own
brothers and give things to each other." Gift giving was a special factor
431 in this relationship, and many kinds of mutual help, especially the teaching of skills. After they had moved to Oklahoma and Otter was a young man, he was favored with a nice gift by two boys who called him uncle. One of the boys had cut wheat for Eagle Chief and received $3.00 for his work. He said to Otter, "Uncle, I was working for Eagle Chief binding wheat and he gave me this three dollars. I want to give it to you." The relationship went back to the old earth lodge in Nebraska when the boys were very small. They were the sons of Queen Woman, the older wife of Old Bull, and Otter used to call her *itahi*, "sister," through a distant kin tie. The boys, accordingly, were his nephews or *tiwat*, and Otter had taught them how to make arrows when they were out on the hunt and other skills. Now, long after in Oklahoma, they were expressing their gratitude. This happened in the presence of the actual mother's brother of the boys, the agency interpreter, Deteyr, but there was no resentment at all on his part, for he had been less able to function as uncle to the boys than Otter. It was considered normal that this should be recognized.

574 In close relationships, failure to visit once in a while was considered a personal slight. White Woman would complain to Victory Call that while he often went to visit his older brother, Sitting Hawk, his brother did not return the courtesy. She would say, "He never comes here. Why go over there so much?" And so the casual visiting between the two brothers stopped. On one of the rare occasions when Sitting Hawk did come to visit, White Woman would caustically remark after he had gone, "What happened that he came to visit us today. I guess we can expect some cosmic event like rain or snow to mark the occasion. A man should come in once in a while just to say, 'brother.'" White Woman on her
• 607 part avoided visiting Sitting Hawk's wives. Ordinarily the wives of
574 brothers should be close companions. But when Victory Call was invited
over there and the usual invitation was extended to include his wife,
431 White Woman would refuse to go on the grounds that Sitting Hawk's
wives were given to gossip, something she didn't care to engage in. As a result these women did not visit her either. Nevertheless, they would regularly send each other gifts. They would send and receive from each other moccasins, a blanket, or some dried buffalo meat. This showed that there was good will between them but simply a personal disinclination to go visiting.

574 An invitation to visit a household was always given through a relative. The person issuing the invitation would come to the house and seek out his relative there and suggest that he bring along his wife, his son,

*224 Comanche Chief. Here War Cry, here's yours. Here Eagle Chief, here's your meat!"

*224 571 578 Sometimes this group of happy-go-lucky young men were unable to get anything and then they would curse one another saying, "Why do we have bad luck? It must be because of you!" One man called *Rawihu'u*, "The Go-Getter," which also means "Warpath," was their favorite scapegoat. It seemed as if he always did something at the wrong time to spoil things. As a man was about to shoot a buffalo, he would look over the man's shoulder and the buffalo would see him moving and run away. Once when they were stalking a deer, approaching on their bellies, Warpath coughed at the crucial moment and the deer ran off. One of the men said, "I wish I could shoot you." "I couldn't help it. I had to cough. My throat was dry," said Warpath.

*224 574 Some men went after antelope and took the meat home to their families. They would call in three or four of their more intimate friends to share it with them.

Such a man was Fearing-a-Bear, an able hunter and warrior, a mature man but a rough-and-ready type. He had little interest in social status and public affairs and when he was successful in his hunting he would say, "I'm tired. I think I'll just eat this up myself with my friends." He and his wife lived in a tent with his father, his sister, and her husband. The-
• [607] oretically the brother-in-law should take care of them, but the brother-in-
[606] law in this case was from the Omaha tribe, and the father-in-law did not
find it a very congenial arrangement. Relations between them were strained.

574 606 As they sat at dinner one night, as the host of the occasion, Fearing-a-Bear sat in the southeast position. Next to him sat his wife who was doing the cooking. On the other side of the entrance, in the northeast position, sat his father and beyond him on the north side the Omaha son-in-law. But the two women, Fearing-a-Bear's wife and his sister, were worried about this close proximity of the two hostile men and so the sister seated herself between her Omaha husband and her father. Ordinarily she would have sat at the east end beyond the two men. She had separated them, for trouble might arise, or the old man, being shaky, might accidentally spill some soup on his son-in-law and then there would be a flare-up. The adjustment they had made in seating arrangements, however, was very awkward for the hostess. She could not pass the food to the old man who was sitting on the end, as it was absolutely forbidden for a daughter-in-law to have any contact with her father-in-law. So she had to get up each time and give the food to her sister-in-law who was sitting between her Omaha husband and her father, in order to pass it to the men. Then the sister-in-law was in a dilemma. Should she serve her husband first or her father? Either way, she was bound to offend one or the other of them.

000 The other guests at Fearing-a-Bear's dinner all had somewhat distant

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza we speak of the messenger as "my own child" (ti hao), because he represents the Son, to whom we are being led by Mother Corn. Although the man who is the Son is not and can not be of any blood kinship to us, yet by the power of the sacred objects in this ceremony he is to be made as our own child, as our offspring, we are to be bound to him by a tie as unalterable as that which exists between father and son. So we sing, "My own child, my offspring, is sitting here." 539* 796* [571 608]

When we sing "Tiwe rakushe hawa ti hao," we are thinking that our child has again said "I am ready."

Translation of Second Stanza

359 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
360 Tiwe riata ti hao.
  tiwe, here.
  riata, he walking.
  ti, my.
  hao, my own child.
361 See line 360.
362 Tiwe riata hawa ti hao.
  tiwe, here.
  riata, he walking.
  hawa, again.
  ti, my.
  hao, my own child.
363 See line 360.
364 Tiwe riata. See line 360.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The pack containing the clothing provided for this representative of the Son is now opened. After the messenger has finished eating he is dressed in the new clothing. 431 539* 796*

We clothe him because that is an act which marks the care of a father for his child. The garments we put upon him are fine and embroidered; these fine and carefully made garments show that we have been thinking of him, that we regard him highly and wish to do him honor.

After the messenger is clothed he walks toward the village; we follow, walking slowly and singing the second stanza. The words tell that the Son is walking before us and that we again are walking toward the lodge of the Son.

Just before we reach the village we halt and sing the next song.

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Here stand we while upon Tira wa now we wait; 539*
Here Kawas stands, her mate with her is standing here; 796*
They both are standing, waiting, bringing gifts with them.

II

We flying are, as on Tira wa now we wait;
Here Kawas flies, her mate with her is flying here;
They both are flying, flying with the gifts they bring.

III

We touching are, as on Tira wa now we wait;
Now Kawas and her mate the child so gently touch;
Its forehead touch they, there they gently touch the child.

IV

We op'ning are, as on Tira wa now we wait
The four straight paths upon the child we open here,
Where soon descending from on high shall flow new life.

V

We spreading are, as on Tira wa now we wait;
Here Kawas spreads, her mate with her is spreading here;
New life and power, the gifts that they are bringing here.

VI

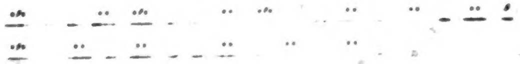
We finished are, as on Tira wa now we wait;
The task of Kawas with her mate accomplished is,
And all the work they came to do is finished now.

Part III. Action Symbolizing Life

The child, surrounded by the creative forces, is urged to move, to arise as the first song is sung.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



[533*]

Rhythmic Rendition

I am ready; come to me now, fearing nothing; come now to me here!
Little one, come, come to me here; fearing nothing, come!

Then it was made to take four steps, symbolic of life, of long life, during the singing of the second song.

In the symbolizing, within the lodge of the Son, of the gift of birth 796* by the power of the Hako, brought thither by the Father, we get a 571 glimpse of the means by which the tie between the two unrelated men, 608

---

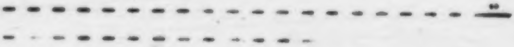
[a] Music on page 211.

*796 the Father and the Son, was supposed to be formed; namely, the life
571 of the Son was perpetuated through the gift of fruitfulness to his child, supernaturally bestowed by the Hako; consequently the Father
●608 who brought the Hako became symbolically the father of the future progeny of the Son.

SECOND SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



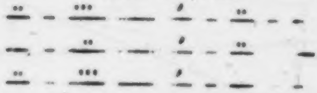
Rhythmic Rendition

[*539] Stepping forward is my child, he forward steps, the four steps takes and enters into life;
Forward stepping, four steps taking, enters into life.

The child was taken upon the back of one of the party and led the way to the ceremonial lodge, followed by the Ku'rahus and all the rest singing the third song.

THIRD SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

Here we go singing, looking on the child
Borne in his father's arms, he leading us;
Follow we singing, looking on the child.

SEVENTEENTH RITUAL

PART I. TOUCHING THE CHILD

*796 On reaching the lodge the child was seated at the holy place and surrounded by the Ku'rahus and his assistants with the Hako, and guarded by a wall of warriors, while an old man prepared it for the further reception of the promised gifts.

On the preceding night water had been taken from a stream; this water was now put into a bowl. Every detail of this act was symbolic. The time when the water was obtained was night, the mother of day; running water symbolized the continuity of life, one generation following another; the bowl which held the water resembled in its shape the dome of the sky, the abode of the powers which bestowed life.

The child was touched with the water upon the head and face, an invisible outline being made, which afterward was to become distinct. This first touching with water, one of the lesser powers, was to cleanse and give strength.

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

affection, denoting how far one could count on the tie. The use of the 602
kin word on meeting might simply be withheld altogether—an absolute 601
disclaimer of the relationship.

A second cue as to how valuable a person considered a given kin tie 604
could be taken from the manner in which the typical kin behavior was carried out. In the joking grandfather-grandchild type of behavior, the jokes might be mean, sarcastic, or mildly jocular, but if the person showed no reaction at all it was most damaging to the relationship. Careless behavior within the "respect" categories would simply be taken as a personal insult, but no response whatever to the other person that should have a kin status, canceled the relationship entirely as a personal bond.

There were no normal interpersonal relations among the Pawnees that 602
did not carry with them a kin designation. People with whom one 608
dealt as equals had to be placed in some kin category; lack of such a relation could only imply slave or enemy status. In the various trade or gift exchange ceremonials that were conducted between tribes or bands, a whole kin structure was built up so that they could communicate on a peaceful level. The most notable example was the Calumet or Peace Pipe Ceremony, in which the visiting trade party represented Fathers, while the ones they visited were designated their Children. Many of the ceremonial acts were designed to carry out this idea. There was no way of communicating with peaceful strangers unless they were fitted into the kin structure, and it is for this reason that the President of the United States is referred to as the Great White Father and that white friends are adopted into the tribe.

A third aspect of kin reactivity was the exchange of gifts and this 159
too was an index of cordiality or lack of it between two kinsmen. It 593
sometimes happened that a distant relative was so warmly cultivated 602
that the relationship took on a degree of intimacy that was considerably [431]
greater than would ordinarily be implied in the genetic tie. Such a case happened with the mother of the boy Otter, White Woman. As was customary, Otter's maternal uncles—his mother's brothers—were frequent visitors to the household. Uncle War Cry and his younger brothers High Noon and Noted Fox would come in often to meals. Uncle War Cry was head brave of the Skidi, and he would often linger to smoke and talk with Victory Call. Uncle War Cry was solicitous for Otter's welfare at all times, and the boy was welcome to his uncle's home at any time. Whenever they passed each other in the village, Uncle War Cry would call out to him, "*Nawa tiwat*," and Otter would reply with "*Nawa tiwatciriks*." The same was true of the other two uncles.

From time to time something would happen that puzzled the boy very much. Two men in particular would insist on greeting him in the same terms as his own uncles, saying, "*Nawa tiwat*," and they came up to him and stated that they were his *real* uncles and that his mother was mean

Description of the Manners

574 609 **Hospitality.**—The Indian has always been renowned for his hospitality. This trait of character is noticeable among all the tribes. Thus the Pawnees too, though in actual want themselves, showed their good will towards us, by preparing for us the best they could afford. One chief placed before us, besides dried buffalo meat, a small dish of marrow, which by them is considered a great delicacy.—

462 562 **Labor.**—The more enlightened a people has become through the benign influence of religion, and the cultivation of the arts and sciences, the more the weaker sex attains to that rank in society, which the Creator intended for them; but the more debased and sunk in heathenism a Nation lies, the more is woman enslaved, and held in subjection. So among the Pawnees too, the men are the lords, who, while they themselves are not disposed to do any work, and generally consider it a shame to labor, direct the women, as inferior beings, how everything must be done.—The females, besides attending to the housework, generally incumbent upon their sex, are obliged to cut and carry all the fire-wood; pre-

---

251 coverings, are spread over the surrounding grass and bushes, to prevent foot-tracks, or any other derangement; and as few hands as possible are employed. A circle of about two feet in diameter is then nicely cut in the sod, which is carefully removed, with the loose soil immediately beneath it, and laid aside in a place where it will be safe from anything that may change its appearance. The uncovered area is then digged perpendicularly to the depth of about three feet, and is then gradually widened so as to form a conical chamber of six or seven feet deep. The whole of the earth displaced by this process, being of a different color from that on the surface, is handed up in a vessel, and heaped into a skin or cloth, in which it is conveyed to the stream and thrown into the midst of the current, that it may be entirely carried off. Should the cache not be formed in the vicinity of a stream, the earth thus thrown up is carried to a distance, and scattered in such a manner as not to leave the minutest trace. The cave being formed, is well lined with dry grass, bark, sticks, and poles, and occasionally a dried hide. The property intended to be hidden is then laid in, after having been well aired: a hide is spread over it, and dried grass, brush, and stones, thrown in, and trampled down until the pit is filled to the neck. The loose soil, which had been put aside, is then brought, and rammed down firmly, to prevent its caving in, and is frequently sprinkled with water, to destroy the scent, lest the wolves and bears should be attracted to the place, and root up the concealed treasure. When the neck of the cache is nearly level with the surrounding surface, the sod is again fitted in with the utmost exactness, and any bushes, stocks, or stones, that may have originally been about the spot, are restored to their former places. The blankets and other coverings are then removed from the surrounding herbage: all tracks are obliterated: the grass is gently raised by the hand to its natural position, and the minutest chip or straw is scrupulously gleaned up and thrown into the stream. After all is done, the place is abandoned for the night, and, if all be right next morning, is not visited again, until there be a necessity for re-opening the cache. Four men are sufficient in this way, to conceal the amount of three tons weight of provisions or merchandize, in the course of two days.—*Washington Irving's Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains.*

224 Often it was impossible to determine whether these figures were horsemen or buffalo, but sometimes, far away, I could see a mimic chase in which pursuer and pursued appeared no larger than ants.

857 As I came up with the Indians, they were just descending into
223 the stream bottom, where camp was to be made. The small boys
454 had, as usual, dispersed themselves over the valley and among the underbrush. Many of the squaws, leaving the ponies and packs to their sister-wives or children, were hurrying up or down the stream to gather wood. Already the leading ponies were being relieved of their loads. Suddenly, from the mouth of a little ravine coming down into the stream bottom, rose a chorus of shrill yelps and shrieks from childish throats, and a gang of wild turkeys were seen, running rapidly through the high grass toward the hills. A moment later, with a loud *quit-quit* of alarm, they took wing, but not before several of their number had fallen before the missiles of the boys. Most of them went up or down the creek, but one inexperienced bird took its course directly over our heads.

223 Those who have seen the Indian only on dress parade, talk of his
[152] stolidity, impassiveness, and his marvelous control over his countenance
and his emotions. This demeanor he can and does assume,
[609] and when he is with white men, or among strangers, he is usually all that he has been pictured; but take him by himself, and he expresses his feelings with as little restraint as a child. So it was now. No grave chief, nor battle-scarred warrior, nor mighty worker of *ti-war'-uks-ti* (magic) was too dignified to express his interest at the appearance of this great bird sailing laboriously along, thirty or forty feet above him. It was as if the turkey had flown over a great company of schoolboys, and the utter abandonment of the excited multitude, the entire absence of restraint, the perfect naturalness of the expression of feeling, had in them something very delightful and infectious. Every Indian, who held in his hand anything that was light enough to throw, hurled it at the bird, and a cloud of whips, sticks, hatchets, fleshers, and arrows, rose to meet it as it passed along. One missile knocked from its tail a few long feathers, which drifted slowly down on the heads of the people. It kept on, but before it had passed beyond the long line of Indians extending back over the

his nephew, etc., as the case might be. A man would feel free to issue the 574
invitation if he had gotten some meat by hunting or bought some sup-
plies at the trade store. Otherwise the invitation would come from the
woman, since she would be providing the food. However, when guests 574
came in at the husband's invitation in order to transact some business
or political affairs, the husband had the right to ask the wife to cook 431
something for his guests. If one were simply to "drop in" on a relative without a business reason or an invitation, it would appear as a hint that you wanted a gift or some other service. In order to forestall this impression, one came bringing a gift, opening the visit with the presentation and thus making it appear as the ostensible reason for the visit. The nature and value of the gift was to some extent an index of the regard the donor felt for the recipient.

On the whole, kin ties called forth strong emotions, especially in the 602
presence of a stranger. Where strangers and kin were involved, kin 609
loyalty aroused immediate reactions and was very strong. Outside the kin
group it was assumed that people must be mean, unreliable, and treach-
erous. The household and immediate kin was the closest unit and the vil-
lage pretty much the outer limit. Intervillage ties did exist, however, and 628
occasionally intervillage marriages. As the population began to dwindle 582
in the last years in Nebraska, such intermarriages became more frequent
than heretofore.

Personal Names and Aspirations

A person was never addressed by his personal name; a kin term was 551
always used. This served to indicate the expected behavior and, through [601]
the mode of its use, the nuances that could be expected within the
category. A personal name among the Pawnees was of an entirely different character from our own. It was an honorary title of an extremely personal nature. The significance of the personal name was stated by a priest (see Fletcher, 1904, p. 365) as follows:

> A man's life is an onward movement. . . . If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the help of the powers, his life will "climb up." . . . Some men can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level. Men having power to advance, climb step by step. . . . the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life, an upper level—such a one as reached by the ancient men who are spoken of in the (name-changing) ritual, who threw away the names by which they had been known before (because of new and higher achievements). *Ru-tur-a-wits-pari*, "In a direction-he is actively-moving-to a point or goal-traveling"; this is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by doing like deeds.

571 plan was applied to any larger gathering as well as to more casual encounters.
574 The seating was aways according to relative social status and the
[521] right of priority in conversation was always determined by rank. There
[554] was little room for simple, spontaneous, social contact in the life of a
mature man. Except for the intimacies of marriage, there was no opportunity for easy conversation between mature men and women either. Missionary Dunbar (1881, pp. 745-746) describes the conduct of the men:

> 571 [The Pawnees] were . . . among themselves very sociable. With the men
> 574 there was apt to be perhaps, an excess of formality in their formal gatherings,
> 517 but this is a natural consequence of their oft-recurring feasts and
> councils. It was quite common for several men in the evening to meet in some house where tobacco was to be had, and there sit smoking and recounting their exploits. One of the party kept up a monotonous thumping upon a drum. Another would dance for a while, make a speech, and sit down. Another would follow with the same role, etc. At certain seasons such gatherings were of nightly occurrence, lasting usually well-nigh till daylight.
>
> 571 Akin to this trait of storytelling, was their delight in discussion. They
> 537 were extravagantly fond of debating what might be termed questions of
> 623 general principle, often exhibiting considerable tact in their manner of
> sustaining an argument. Their principal efforts of this kind were reserved for public occasions, such as councils. It was impossible to attend a tribal council where any important matter was pending and not be impressed with the power and cogency of their eloquence. The reputation of being
> [554] an orator was coveted, and a man, when once recognized as such, was sure
> to wield great influence. An orator when addressing a council upon a question in which he was thoroughly interested, seemed to appreciate fully the dignity of his position, and identifying himself with the cause he advocated, and addressing himself directly to the person he was attempting to answer or convince, his speech would become vividly dramatic.

Tribal Fun and Games

609 Theoretically, friendships were best formed within one's own village
621 for beyond that was a kind of social "No-Man's Land." Sometimes,
[572] however, the wall of suspicion broke down, as in one story we heard related:

> 609 The members of the different bands didn't like each other as a rule.
> 621 We would say, "Don't bother with them (referring to people of another
> 539 village or band), they're mean."
>
> But some nice evening the Man-Going-Downstream Band and the Meat-Beggars would join the Little-Earth-Lodge Band and the children

of the Skidi villages of Village-across-a-Ridge and Pumpkin-Vine 609
would join the Wolf-in-Water and Bottomland Village, and they 621
would play rough and kick one another. 539

The location of the four bands was along the west side of Beaver 621
Creek and the Skidi were in the westernmost position, the other three 361
bands about half a mile away to the east. While according to past tradition, they always lived south of the Skidi and were referred to generally as "South Bands," they were now actually located to the east:

> "The Skidi chief would sit on a high bluff and the Eastward (*tu-* 621
> *hawit*, "Settlement-east" chiefs sat on a bluff near their home and they 524
> would watch the boys. They said, "When we were boys we used to play like that and kick."
>
> It would begin in the evening when the boys would call out, *hu-hu-hu*. Then the boys would hear and come outside. Folks would say to the small boys, "Don't go there, you'll get hurt," but some would steal out and join the fight anyway. When one side would be chased back, the older people would laugh and say, "Go back again. . . ."
>
> When it got darker the little boys were told to go back and run home because the big boys were going to fight now—the sixteen-to-eighteen-year-olds. Then in the moonlight sometimes, the men of about thirty years old would fight, and then afterward the old men forty and over. The men would take blankets from one another and kick one another, but afterward they had to return the blankets.
>
> This game was never played with the Skidi villages alone opposing one another, only between the Skidi Band as one party and the South Bands as the other. They never kicked hard—just for fun. If the South Band boys met the Skidi boys, there was always a kicking contest."

A similar game is reported between different divisions of the Co- [171]
manches.

The Pawnee Person

There is no simple formula for describing the intricate logic of the 156
Pawnee people's lives. One thing is clear—that no one is caught within the social code. Against the backdrop of his natural environment, each individual stands as his own person. The Old World design for the hu-
man personality does not apply to this New World Man. The Pawnee 156
child was born into a community from the beginning, and he never ac- 772
quired the notion that he was closed in "within four walls." He was lit- 829
erally trained to feel that the world around him was his home—*kaburaru*,

meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance 342 of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and [778] suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, [554 the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, 513] which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a "skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when [484] a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four 619 bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had 621 also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its [778 priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with 793] those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a medium of communication was believed to be opened between the people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the 621 head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced 622 by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus 624 or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council 623 was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands, and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a 611 man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family. 591

---

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. xv, New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band 778
were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" 621
belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor 614
by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging
to the several bands there were two bundles which were the 619
property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one 422
or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most
sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one
was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning
Star, while the other symbolized the female element, or Evening
Star. These ears of corn were shelled and given to the people as
seed corn at the first ceremony in the spring. Next in importance 237
were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin
symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be
awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet
grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies,
tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained
other articles, and the skins of birds other than those
mentioned. 611 ●

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary 422
keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the 428
owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped 778
in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on 621
the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always 778
placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning
Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent
paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from
those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey con- 171
siders the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to
the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine
bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. 778
The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in 796
the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl.
7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by
a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony
the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the
freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances
there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not 793
fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the
people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization
of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

---

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Simms, Director of the Field Museum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 8).

In case of the Pawnee, we may note the fine example of pattern phe- 575
nomena manifest in the adjustment of all kinds of ceremonies, original or 616
borrowed, to this scheme of two sides and alternate leadership.[1] Based
upon this fundamental pattern are two distinct patterns of organization: the 756
lance-bearing societies and medicinemen's associations. From the preced- 796
ing concrete accounts it is clear that all of the lance organizations must have been constructed or adjusted to the plan of some one parent society. The same may be said of the medicinemen's associations. We have commented upon the apparent dual division of chiefs and medicinemen (p. 639), the bundle scheme being the province of the former and to which the medicinemen were individually subject, but professionally formed a second half of social control. This duality is seen in the organization of all bundles and related societies under the four-pole ceremony and in like manner the organization of the medicinemen under the twenty-day ceremony. Here again is clearly a similarity of pattern in the coordination schemes for two groups of activities.

Another important conception of the Pawnee is the bundle sanction.
Thus, as keeper of the village bundle the chief rules by a kind of "divine 631
right," the highest exponent of which is the priest of the bundle, or the 778
keeper of the ritual. The hunt and the raising of grain were each guarded over and governed by virtue of bundle rituals. A lance society performed no public function except under the sanction of one of the bundles. Furthermore, the federation itself was based upon superior or leading bundles, from which the chiefs and priests derived their authority. One must suspect that the conception of a bundle sanction was so fundamental with the Pawnee, that the first step toward a federation was of necessity the creation of a series of superior bundles.

In keeping with the foregoing conceptions is the hereditary system. 611
Chiefs, priests, members of societies, etc. serve for life and endeavor to qualify some of their brothers and nephews to succeed them. In most organizations there were certain tests applied to the candidate for the ejection of the theoretically unfit, but these first chances were given to those whose brothers or uncles had been admitted to membership; likewise the priests of bundles must be those competent to perform the ritual, but here again the preference was given to maternal relatives. The important position of chief, or official keeper of the village bundle, was regarded as strictly hereditary to the next of kin, though incompetents were encouraged to decline the honor in favor of the next heir.

---

[1] A kind of dual leadership is found in many societies of the Oglala and Blackfoot, as shown in the preceding pages, but without any ceremonial associations or counterparts in other ceremonies, from which we infer that it reached these tribes as an objective part of a borrowed system. [171]

II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE

The Skidi formed one of the four bands comprising the Pawnee 619 tribe, the others being the Chaui, the Kitkehahki, and the Pitahauirat. 621 [In the manuscript the Skidi are spoken of as a tribe. [101] However, I have followed more recent usage and substituted the term band, reserving tribe for the Pawnee as a whole (Lesser, 1933).] The Skidi, however, considered themselves independent and actually felt closer to the Arikara than to the other three Pawnee bands. Politically the Skidi were a federation of villages, of which at least thirteen are known to have existed, though there were probably others which have been forgotten. The federation was held together [623] by a governing council of chiefs and by a ceremonial organization involving the participation of the band in a round of ceremonies associated with sacred bundles.

The village was a distinct local group consisting of a cluster of 621 earth-lodges housing the component families. Each village possessed 361 its own fields, whose ownership was allotted among the villagers by 622 the chief, a supposed lineal descendant of the original owner of the 423 sacred bundle of the village. [I am inclined to believe that the chief allotted the use of the fields rather than their ownership.] On the death of an individual, his land was re-allotted by the chief. Each village also had its own burial ground in which were buried only those belonging to the village.

In principle the village was endogamous. Since the Pawnee 621 moved to Oklahoma the old restriction on marriage has been gradually 582 disappearing. This is due to the fact that the population of [178] certain villages has dwindled and it is no longer possible for the few remaining individuals of some villages to obtain mates within their own village. Even in this breaking down of the system, however, the old fashion of reckoning descent is maintained. Thus, in the 611 marriage of a man from Big-Elk village with a woman of Little-Elk village, the children would belong to Big-Elk village. [However, according to the manuscript, both these villages were extinct by 1907.] An exception to this general rule is at the present time [1907] [184] under consideration among the Skidi. Mr. Murie's son, now about of age, properly belongs by the laws of the tribe to the Village-on-the-Hill, that being the village of his father. His mother, however, belongs to the Pumpkin-Vine village and her brother, Skidi-Good-Chief, is the last representative of that village. To prevent the village from becoming extinct, Skidi-Good-Chief has asked per-

611 mission to have young Murie take his place in the ceremonial circuit in the lodge with the understanding that he be made chief on the death of Skidi-Good-Chief, thus continuing the Pumpkin-Vine village in the circuit.

621 A marriage outside the village occurred about sixty years ago
582 [sixty years prior to 1907], and, as the result bears directly on the
591 question of descent, the facts are worth quoting. A man of the
428 Pumpkin-Vine village, having obtained the consent of his uncles,
married a young woman of the Morning-Star village. He lived with
778 his wife in the Morning-Star village for several years, during which time he made sacrifices to the Morning-Star bundle and learned its ceremony. Then he returned to his own village and took his children with him, the children being considered members of the Pumpkin-Vine village. But while living in the Morning-Star village he was considered to have obtained certain rights in that bundle, and he demanded recognition of these rights. On his return to his own village, the Morning-Star bundle was divided, and he carried part of it to the Pumpkin-Vine village. Thus, there exist today two Morning-Star bundles. The ultimate fate of his half of the Morning-Star bundle is interesting. His children all died except one daughter, who married Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village [Wolves-Standing-in-Water village?], who claims ownership in the bundle today. She came by it in this manner: On the death of the husband—that is, the member of the Pumpkin-Vine village—his widow lived with her daughter's husband; she, as keeper of this Morning-Star bundle, ultimately turned it over to her daughter, whose husband, Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village, learned its ceremony and sacrificed scalps to it and so claimed it. Thus it happens today that the priests of Coyote-in-Water village and the Pumpkin-Vine village have a right to be present when either of the Morning-Star bundles is opened.

611 [This statement that descent in the village group followed the
421 paternal line is in direct contradiction to a later one by Murie. In
778 his report on Pawnee societies (1914), Murie wrote: "... if a man
114 married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village." The contradiction may be due to confusing the inheritance of sacred bundles, which generally followed the paternal line, and descent in a village group, which may well have been maternal. Also, in cases where the inheritance of a sacred bundle was involved, the pattern of descent might have been modified in favor of patri-

lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may 611
have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, 421
if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of 778
descent in the village group would arise only as the result of in- 114
frequent inter-village marriages.]

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that 621
one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where 778
it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village 773
it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each 621
village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the 778
ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi 796
villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the 621
villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly 778
had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were 103
extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

778 "rains-wrapped-up." The tribe was divided into a
621 number of villages all of whose members traced their
●(611) descent in the female line from a single ancestor. Each
778 of these villages possessed a sacred bundle, while there were two others which were considered the property of the tribe as a whole. The Four Direction village had four sacred bundles one of which was sacred to each of the cardinal points. These points were, to
[823] the Pawnee, southwest, southeast, northwest, and northeast. The sacred bundle of each village was believed to have been given to its first ancestor by one of the heavenly beings, and constituted a link between
778 its members and the divine donor. From their traditions the "gift" seems to have consisted rather in explicit directions for its making than in an actual presentation of the objects. The bundles were inherited
[422] in the female line so that their owners were always
[428] women. Their keepers, and the priests who performed their ceremonies, were, on the other hand, men.

All the village bundles contained much the same objects. The most important of these were one or two ears of corn, which were called Mother-Corn and were believed to give life to the bundle. They were shelled in the spring and distributed for seed, being replaced at harvest time. When the Mother-Corn consisted of two ears, one of these was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element or Morning Star, while the other symbolized the female element or Evening Star. Next in importance to the Mother-Corn were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls. The hawk sym-
[825] bolized a warrior; the owl, a chief, because it was always awake and watchful. The owl seems to have also symbolized the watchfulness of Tirawa, the supreme being. One or more scalps, taken from slain enemies, were found in every bundle. Pieces cut from them were used in various ceremonies, and they had to be renewed from time to time. Four skins, each of

3

PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: II

000

Marriage Arrangements—Chart of Kin Genealogical Structure—Personal Relationships among Kin—Individual Aspirations Expressed in Names—Brief Sketches of Eleven Pawnee Lives—the Kin System Not a Constricting Mold but a Fluid System for the Individual Personality

Marriage and Kin

621 [582] According to Pawnee theory, all marriages should be made within one's own village, for to marry outside would be considered a poor risk, contrary to the cosmic plan. The sacred bundle and its ritual epitomized the special heavenly order under which the villagers lived, and an outsider would have no place within this order. As a result, the village was in fact a large extended family, geographically localized.

582 However, within this general family connection the lines as to whom one could and could not marry were very sharply drawn. The careful identification of the physiological father as well as of the mother was an important aspect of this plan. The kinship system was designed to avoid the marriage or sexual involvement of close blood relatives. Marriages of parents and children, brothers and sisters, both half- and full-sisters and brothers, were definitely excluded. Beyond this rather universal type of incest ruling, there were other principles which governed these relationships among the Pawnees. 611 The family was primarily matrilineal—that is, the mother's family was regarded as one's very own family, while that of the father and his relatives was considered a different order of relationship.

593 604 As I have already pointed out, a man always had a home in his sister's

TABLE 3-1. *The Essential Pawnee Kin Terms Except for the Relationships by Marriage* 601

1.	*atira*	my mother
2.	*atias*	my father
3.	*irari*	sibling of the same sex, viz., brother to brother, or sister to sister
4.	*iratsti*	brother, woman speaking
5.	*itaxri*	sister, man speaking (Skidi dialect, *itahi*)
6.	*piira'u*	child
7.	*tiki*	son
8.	*tsuat*	daughter
9.	*tiwat*	nephew or niece, viz., child of a man's sister
10.	*tiwat-ciriks*	uncle, mother's brother, meaning the super-*tiwat*
11.	*atika*	my grandmother
12.	*atipat*	my grandfather
13.	*rak-tiki*	grandchild, viz., son's child.

The parent and grandparent terms are different from the others in that each has three variants. They contain a ROOT and also a possessive pronoun. Thus:

ati-AS	my father	*ati*-RA	my mother
as-AS	your father	A'*as*	your mother
is-AS-*ti*	his father	*i*'A-*sti*	his mother
ati-PAT	my grandfather	*ati*-KA	my grandmother
a-PAT	your grandfather	*a*-KA	your grandmother
i-PAK-*ti*	his grandfather	*i*-KA-*ri*	his grandmother

Normally people did not indicate that a woman was their biological mother as distinct from her sisters, nor the woman that the child was biologically hers within this grouping, but under exceptional circumstances it could be said that a mother was *irata'u*, "my very own," and that a child was *kutatixra'a*, "my very own child."

---

became man's way of life, the woman, being the gardener, acquired considerable social power. As an economy depending on herds of domestic animals came into being, the men took power and held the women in check, insisting on a recognition of their individual paternity of their children and therefore on monogamy on the part of the woman. The Pawnee situation casts some doubt on a literal interpretation of this theory. The Pawnee women do cultivate the gardens, run and maintain the house. They can hardly be said to be politically dominant. Kin closeness is considered greater in the mother's line than in the father's, but the incest taboo covers both. One cannot maintain that the political position of the men can be equated with that of the Roman patriarch who had power of life and death over the permanent members of his household, which included captive slaves and the immediate members of his family. Nei- 592 611

TABLE 3-2. *Pawnee Kin Terms for Relationships through Marriage*

601 The kin terms by marriage involved verbal roots and were specifically descriptive of certain functions. They had pronominal elements attached and often varied with the specific meaning of the phrase:

kus-tawex-tsu	sitting-among-the one who	said of a *son-in-law*
tat-ut-ka-ku	I-for you-inside-sit	said by a son-in-law about *the men of his wife's family*, signifying that the son-in-law is at the service of his wife's family
tatira-ktaku	I her-own	*my wife*, husband speaking
ti-ku-ktaku	He me-owns	*my husband*, wife speaking
raku	A term used reciprocally between husband and wife in direct address—*spouse*	

If husband and wife are on good terms, they call each other:

tsustit	old lady	*wife*
kurahus	old man	*husband*
tskurus	is for all female in-laws, used by both men and women in speaking of them. It is unlikely to be used alone outside a verbal context. For example, *ti-kut-tskurus, she-to me-is female in law*, etc.	

562 ther can one reverse this idea and say the women are the real power, and therefore we have a matriarchate. In point of fact, neither one is dominant, but rather the position of men and women among the Pawnees is decidedly more balanced than in our society. Physiological paternity is known, but this does not lead to a double standard with monogamy enforced for the women. The household is not a power structure of women but a plan for the organization of work, with the personnel being very fluid. One could argue that this was a society in an intermediate stage between matriarchy and patriarchy. No one can deny that change must necessarily occur, even in Pawnee society—or in any other for that matter. But the direction this change will take is less likely to depend on the internal conditions than on the larger forces that impinge on it from outside. One can make a broad leap into the realm of speculation and think of the possibility that had the European not arrived on the scene, the

611

562 611 Pawnees might have improved their horticulture to such a degree that they would have made important advances in industry and thus developed a much more widespread pattern of trade. What the division of labor would have been and the status of different occupational groups in the light of their implicit attitudes can only be conjectured. There is no assurance at all that they would have developed one group as dominant over the others or a permanent power structure of the Old World type. As much as 20,000 years may separate the bulk of New World population from the Old, and the Old World social formulas need not have appeared among them at all. Athough the buffalo have been domesticated in individual instances, suggesting that they may be domesticable, there is no certainty that the North American Indians would have domesticated them. And even had that been the case, it does not mean that the men would have developed the kind of dominant position over women that characterizes most of Old World culture, nor even that empires of the Ghengis Khan type would have appeared. In the light of the development of urban concentrations in Peru, Mexico, and Central America, as the economy became more complex and as a consequence the population more concentrated, urbanlike centers were very likely to occur. Both Mexican and Peruvian native political administrations as we know them from the period of contact were conquest organizations. Conquest need not have been the path of the Pawnee. In fact, intergroup alliance that has gained fame in connection with the League of the Iroquois was characteristic not only of the Pawnee but of the other Caddoan peoples extending all the way south to Texas and the Gulf and north to Dakota.

562 In the major division of labor between men and women, a man did not feel threatened because he acquired skills possessed by women. On the contrary, it was considered incumbent on the Pawnee man to be a "good Pawnee cook," and men were perfectly adept at slicing and drying meat, shelling corn, and other skills. In the 1930's during the period of my fieldwork in Oklahoma, the men offered to demonstrate for me and, when I looked dubious, they reassured me saying that, after all, they often had to do these things when they were far away on the warpath or on exploring expeditions. While I was in Oklahoma I observed that the men often lent a hand to the women, without the slightest self-consciousness, and if the woman didn't happen to be home when they came in they tended to get right on with the necessary mealtime preparations and attention to the children. Neither the man nor the woman felt threatened or in a position of blurring the sex lines by this procedure. From their point of view it was a matter of acquired skills, not sex. [838] Although homosexuals or lesbians were rare, these relationships were not regarded as a serious social anomaly but as a personal inclination which the Pawnees thought people had a right to have. With their reaction to their primary division of labor, there is no certainty that as greater

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band 778
were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" [621]
belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor [614]
by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging
to the several bands there were two bundles which were the [619
property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one 422]
or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most
sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one
was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning
Star, while the other symbolized the female element, or Evening
Star. These ears of corn were shelled and given to the people as
seed corn at the first ceremony in the spring. Next in importance [237]
were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin
symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be
awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet
grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies,
tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained
other articles, and the skins of birds other than those
mentioned. [611]

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary 422
keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the 428
owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped 778
in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on 621
the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always 778
placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning
Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent
paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from
those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey considers [171]
the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to
the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine
bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. 778
The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in 796
the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl.
7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by
a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony
the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the
freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances
there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not [793]
fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the
people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization
of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

---

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Simms, Director of the Field Museum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 6).

597 brought with him. He might repeat the visit several times. Meeting with no objection from the child's parents, who understood the nature of his visits, he told them of his desire and with their consent took the child to his own home. Thereafter it had all the rights and privileges of the man's dead child, but might visit its real parents at any time.

CLANS

● 614 No trace of clans was found.

619
131 They do not claim to have lived on the Missouri. They claim once to have owned all the land west of the Missouri from the Platt to the Kansas. The Loups went off from the principal band and went south of the Osage River where they remained for many years. The Republican Pawnees once occupied the Republican fork of the Kansas. They do not know where they came from. They say that there are the sites of [361] their villages still known to them on the Nemaha, Salt Creek, and on the Platt and Republican fork of the Kansas. The Keeches, so-called by the Pawnees, who now live in the west end of the Indian territory somewhere, are cognate. They live near the Pawnee Picts, south of the Osages and the Comanches.

Tribes [*Clans*]

● 614 He [Allis] thinks they are divided into tribes.[12] The marks which he has seen on their robes and lodges are the Eagle, Bear, Beaver, Owl, Buffalo, Deer. The son succeeds the father as chief. He was unable to give me any information upon this question.

764 He never saw but one burial. They excavated a grave or trench and then dug an opening in the side large enough to insert the body under the undisturbed earth, laid it in horizontally, covered it with a mat, and deposited by its side a number of articles, filled up the trench and raised a mound over it.

Pawnee Matting

285 He [Allis] showed me a specimen of their work in a floor matting made of a species of rush. It was coarse but strong, about two or three yards wide and five yards long. It was stitched or woven on bark threads and very creditable work. With *instruction* in the art of manufacturing and with reeds of a supe-

[p 136 (A)]

12 [See cat. 116 p 220 (A) - Analyst]

[p 220 (A)]
[pp 214-219 not processed]

619 [101] [197] 11. Alice C. Fletcher renders the native names of the bands: Chaui, Kitkehaki, Pitahauerat or Tapage, and Skidi (article "Pawnee," in *Handbook of American Indians*, F. W. Hodge, ed., Washington, 1910). Clark Wissler (after Powell) places all four bands in the Pawnee type of the Caddoan language family (*The American Indian*, 2nd ed.; New York, 1922, p. 405).

614 12. In *Ancient Society* (pp. 164–65), Morgan says it is doubtful if the Pawnees had gentes (clans), but cites Allis' belief that they did. Apparently they did not, for Alice C. Fletcher discusses their social organization without mentioning clans (Fletcher, *op. cit.*, II, 215).

575 These were highly decorative and spectacular affairs, but seem to lack ceremonial elements.

The society appointed as soldiers dress up their lances and prepare a horse to bear them. The keepers of the lances always led in the journeys of the camp on the hunt and set up the lances at the places where the soldier lodge was to be. Here they are kept and any person in the camp can take them up when going out to look for buffalo. When going out to take the buffalo, the lance bearers lead and hold the line by the lances, no one being supposed to go in advance. When buffalo are surrounded the lance bearers act as the chief police, see that a fair division of the meat is made, settle disputes, etc. Then while butchering is going on the lance bearers go up to a hill and watch for enemies and are the last to come into camp.

The lances of the bundle societies were the leading ones and of them the crow lances were the last to be renewed and were in a way the highest in
[726] rank. When going into battle, bearers of this special lance, must be the very last to retreat. The same is true in counting coup, they must wait until all are through. All the lance bearers must be at the front and may plant their lances in the ground far out in advance; this is a signal for all the members to rally around the standard and stand fast.

[721] The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids but only used to repel or meet a general attack. The seats of members were
[616] fixed and arranged around the lodge in two halves, the north and south sides. This corresponds in a way to the bundle scheme as demonstrated in Fig. 1. New members were given seats according to the side of their village bundle. This, of course, applies to the Skidi; the other divisions assigned new members to a side according to the places of their respective ancestors.

[606] The north side conducts, or leads, in the winter ceremonies; the south, the summer. The organization of each side is: a leader or chief, two drummers and singers, one lance bearer, and one errand man, or doorkeeper. There is also a herald who in outdoor ceremonies is mounted. Thus, for a society as a whole the number of officers is double the above.

575 796 When winter approaches, the societies hold a special ceremony by which the lances are stripped and the dressings wrapped up to remain until the renewing ceremony of the following spring. At the renewing ceremony the old lances are first reassembled but permanently retired when the new ones have been installed. They are not destroyed but kept to place in the graves of great warriors.

575 726 When the lance is planted before the enemy, the bearer knows that he must stand fast, he cannot take it up except to advance it toward the enemy. Hence, the planting of the lance is really the "no flight" obligation. If, however, the lance is in danger, another member may take it up and carry it out. The bearer may then retire.

CONCLUSION.

616

It is interesting to summarize and systematize the concrete data presented by Mr. Murie. While as stated, the bundle scheme of the Pawnee is the foundation upon which their social and ceremonial organization rests, the most fundamental conception seems to be the division of the people into north and south sides, or winter and summer people. Individuals belong permanently to the sides of their mothers. When games are played, the line-up is according to this hereditary division. In all ceremonies the seats of the winter people are in the north half of the circle and those of the summer people in the south half. Officers and functions in ceremonies are duplicated and the leadership shifts from one side to the other according to the season of the year. Even the modern borrowed ceremonies of the peyote and the ghost dance are organized in this way and it may be safely assumed that any general gathering of the Pawnee no matter what the purpose, will seat itself by sides.

We have noted the asymmetry of the division, for we find by far the greater number of villages on the north side. All societies exercised care to select an equal number of members from each side so that asymmetry would not appear in the order of seating in the lodge. Again, in games the number of players on each side was made equal. Thus, the few villages on the south side had a large representation in all ceremonies.

It would be interesting to consider the origin of this very suggestive social cleavage, but we fear it is indeterminable. According to the tradition this line-up occurred when the Skidi federation was formed by the inauguration of the four-pole ceremony and was merely a matter of geography. This may be, but the fundamental character of the division leads one to suspect that it is much older than the federation. It has also its parallels among the Omaha [1] and neighboring tribes where all the gentes are given fixed places in the two segments of a tribal circle. If, however, the Skidi borrowed this Siouan scheme it is clearly possible that in its inauguration the Loup River should have been taken as marking off the two sides; but then how comes it that in all ceremonies the concepts of this dual division are found? It seems much more likely that if the federation was formed in the traditional manner, it took on the dual divisions as a matter of course since they occurred in all ceremonies.

---

[1] Fletcher and La Flesche, 134.

In case of the Pawnee, we may note the fine example of pattern phenomena 575
manifest in the adjustment of all kinds of ceremonies, original or 616
borrowed, to this scheme of two sides and alternate leadership.[1] Based
upon this fundamental pattern are two distinct patterns of organization: the 756
lance-bearing societies and medicinemen's associations. From the preceding 796
concrete accounts it is clear that all of the lance organizations must have been constructed or adjusted to the plan of some one parent society. The same may be said of the medicinemen's associations. We have commented upon the apparent dual division of chiefs and medicinemen (p. 639), the bundle scheme being the province of the former and to which the medicinemen were individually subject, but professionally formed a second half for social control. This duality is seen in the organization of all bundles and related societies under the four-pole ceremony and in like manner the organization of the medicinemen under the twenty-day ceremony. Here again is clearly a similarity of pattern in the coordination schemes for two groups of activities.

Another important conception of the Pawnee is the bundle sanction.
Thus, as keeper of the village bundle the chief rules by a kind of "divine 631
right," the highest exponent of which is the priest of the bundle, or the 778
keeper of the ritual. The hunt and the raising of grain were each guarded over and governed by virtue of bundle rituals. A lance society performed no public function except under the sanction of one of the bundles. Furthermore, the federation itself was based upon superior or leading bundles, from which the chiefs and priests derived their authority. One must suspect that the conception of a bundle sanction was so fundamental with the Pawnee, that the first step toward a federation was of necessity the creation of a series of superior bundles.

In keeping with the foregoing conceptions is the hereditary system. 611
Chiefs, priests, members of societies, etc. serve for life and endeavor to qualify some of their brothers and nephews to succeed them. In most organizations there were certain tests applied to the candidate for the ejection of the theoretically unfit, but these first chances were given to those whose brothers or uncles had been admitted to membership; likewise the priests of bundles must be those competent to perform the ritual, but here again the preference was given to maternal relatives. The important position of chief, or official keeper of the village bundle, was regarded as strictly hereditary to the next of kin, though incompetents were encouraged to decline the honor in favor of the next heir.

---

[1] A kind of dual leadership is found in many societies of the Oglala and Blackfoot, as shown in the preceding pages, but without any ceremonial associations or counterparts in other ceremonies, from which we infer that it reached these tribes as an objective part of a borrowed system. [171]

I

I. THE PAWNEE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

FIRST PERIOD: TO 1833

The Pawnee enter the perspective of American governmental 175*
Indian affairs after the purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 648*
by which their traditional territory, ranging from the Missouri 101
indefinitely westward between the Niobrara River and the Arkansas, 131
became a part of the United States. Lewis and Clarke, on their
explorations of the newly acquired domain, met the Pawnee on the
Platte River in Nebraska in 1804. In 1806, Major Pike visited the
villages of the Kitkahaxki^{x} band of Pawnee on the Republican fork 175*
of the Kansas River. But the first government treaties with the 648*
Pawnee were not concluded until 1818. At that time the four bands
were politically independent of each other, and lived apart, and [619]
four separate treaties, embodying the identical articles, were
drawn up at St. Louis. By these treaties the government secured
for the American people the peace and friendship of the Pawnee,
while the tribes acknowledged the "protection" of the United
States. All past acts of hostility were to be mutually forgiven and
forgotten, and future violations of the treaty were to be dealt with
according to the laws of the United States. These objectives were
further defined by the treaty of 1825 at Ft. Atkinson, at which
time the government dealt with the Pawnee as one tribal or national
unit composed of four federated bands. In this latter treaty the
Pawnee acknowledged the supremacy of the United States, and
the United States received the Pawnee under their protection.
Specifically, the function of this treaty was to establish rules for
the trade of the Indians with the whites, and to limit such trade to
citizens of the United States. The Pawnee also gave a guaranty in
this treaty that they would refrain from selling or trading arms
and ammunition to hostile Indian tribes.

---

[1] The historical account which comprises Chapter I, as well as parts of [113]
the second section of Chapter II, and the last section of Chapter III, are
founded on:

[p. 1]

missionaries, Dunbar and Allis, who were first with the tribe from 175*
1835 to 1837, and considered the government estimate too high, 648*
offering 10,000 as approximating the true population more closely. 161
The discrepancies between these various figures are not severe. That 114
of Lewis and Clarke, in spite of the decimation of the Pawnee the
previous year, is probably too low, and may not have been intended
to include all villages of all four bands. The computations of Pike
and Long, based upon three of the four bands, indicates a total of
close to 9,000 for the whole tribe. This last figure represents the
approximate "normal" figure for the Pawnee tribes during the
first period of the Nineteenth Century. There were without doubt
major fluctuations in the numbers of the Pawnee during this
period, and the trend of the tribal population was to diminish
rather than increase. One general consideration, however, can 175*
hardly be open to question. At the opening of the Nineteenth
century, the Pawnee bands together constituted one of the five or 648*
six large Indian tribal groups between the Mississippi River and the 161
Rocky Mountains. They maintained themselves in spite of the
hostility of practically every tribe in the region. In their aboriginal 619
state their trade must have been severely limited by tribal feud. 101
It is unlikely that they had economic dealings of any importance
with tribes other than the Arikara, Mandan and Wichita. All the
major indigenous peoples around them were continually in a state
of conflict with them: the many groups of the Dakota Sioux on the
north and northwest, the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho
to the southwest, the Osage and Kansa to the south and southeast.
Immediately to their east were the Omaha, Ponca and Oto, with
whom a state of partial amity prevailed, born of the fear they had
inspired in these tribes. Later in the century the Pawnee became
close friends of the Omaha and Ponca. The Oto, given opportunity
as the Pawnee declined, assaulted small parties of Pawnee on
occasion, but later became friends of the Pawnee.

In the period which closed with the treaty of 1833 changes were 175*
taking place in the basic conditions of life of the Pawnee which 648*
were only to appear in their fullest effect in later periods. A tide
of white emigration and transcontinental travel began to appear,
moving westward, and swelling with the years. These emigrants
brought white diseases into the midst of the Indian tribes, trampled
their fields, hunted the buffalo for sustenance and pleasure, and
keeping the herds of the plains in constant fear, limited the natural
range and increase of the buffalo. 175*

The diseases which the Pawnee acquired from white contact 648*
included; besides infantile diseases, venereal diseases, small-pox and 164
177

175* 648* life of Plains tribes was considered wild and barbaric by a people whose culture for centuries had been grounded on an agricultural economy. To tame and civilize the savage it was necessary to make them an agricultural people; and this was the more essential in that an agricultural economy would locate the tribes permanently in restricted areas and release wide reaches of land for the uses of the white man.

The Pawnee do not seem to have been in agreement about the removal. While the provisions of the treaty made the lands south of the Platte River ceded by the Pawnee a common hunting ground, still open to them, it confined their villages and farm lands to the north side of the river. [619] Prior to this time the three bands of Teawi, Kitkahaxki^{x} and Pitahawirat^{a} had maintained their permanent village settlements south of the Platte, while only the Skiri band resided on the north. The Kitkahaxki^{x} and Pitahawirat^{a} accepted the terms of the treaty and removed, as well as some of the Teawi, but most of the Teawi refused to leave their homes on the south side of the river. This main Teawi village was below the Platte some miles west of the Bellevue settlement on the Missouri River. It was to this group that the other bands removed in 1846.

The exact year of final removal is not certain. In 1839 the bands asked aid in locating their permanent settlements on the north side, inasmuch as the land was to be cultivated according to white methods of farming, and must be suitable for such purposes. [166] By 1841 all the Pawnee who accepted the treaty provision had removed. One large village was built together by the Pitahawirat^{a}, Kitkahaxki^{x}, and those Teawi who removed. The Skiri are not mentioned as building a new village from which we may infer that they probably continued at their old location.

175* 731 165 In the midst of the difficulties attending the removal, the Pawnee were afflicted again by the smallpox. An epidemic broke out in 1838 and did not subside until a year and a half later. It is said to have been communicated to the Pawnee by some Dakota women captured by them in the spring of 1838. Great numbers of children perished in the epidemic, while the mortality rate among the adults was perceptibly lower. Nevertheless the total deaths must have considerably exceeded five hundred in the period of the

---

[13] [114] [1] Dunbar, in Magazine of American History, 4: 257, places the Kitkahaxki^{x} 18 miles northwest of the mouth of the Loup River on the north side of the Loup, and the Pitahawirat^{a} 11 miles above the mouth on the same side, as early as 1834. I have not found evidence to validate the location of these bands north of the Platte at this early date.

2

as confuse, and it seems likely, that, as in the adults' game, the 525
hidden rings were shifted back and forth from hand to hand as 857
adeptly as possible. Often the boys would fight over the play of
the game. The guesser particularly had to be bold and fearless
because even when he won the willow-rings, those who held them 156
would often refuse to give them up. Then he had to fight for them.

THE INTER-BAND GAME

The men's game as played by Pawnee bands against each other 525
is illustrated by the following narrative of a game played in Oklahoma 619
in early days by the Kitkahaxki^x against the Skiri.

A Kitkahaxki^x man who wanted to go to play the Skiri, asked a friend to join him as assistant leader, and got together a party of Kitkahaxki^x youths. Mark Evarts, a Skiri, was then a boy at school, and a friend of the Kitkahaxki^x organizer. This man asked Mark to join the party so Mark started off with the Kitkahaxki^x. As he passed under the windows of the girls' dormitory building, a girl leaned out and called, "Where are you going, Mark ?" He answered, "We're going to play a hand game, give me something to take along," whereat she threw down a shawl of hers for him to take along to bet with. Each member of the party carried a supply of articles to wager. The leader carried a pipe.

The leader spoke of their going saying, "Well, we're going on the warpath to play the Skiri a hand game."

When they got to the Skiri village, the village crier came out and asked, "What is it ?" The Kithahaxki^x leader, carrying the pipe, replied, "We've come on the warpath for the hand game." At that the old crier ran back and began calling out through the encampment, "there's a party from the west have come to our Skiri camp on the warpath for the hand game. Now boys get the wood and pile it up right here." Boys began to haul wood and heap it up in one place outdoors. A crowd of Skiri gathered around the visiting party. Knifechief, as the Skiri leader, took the Kitkahaxki^x leader and two or three others home to supper. Other members of the party were taken into other lodges to eat. While they were eating, a large fire was started outside on the game ground. Soon the announcer could be heard outside calling, "Come on everybody."

They form two halves of a circle. The Kitkahaxki^x sit in a semi-circle on the west side of the fire, from north to south, the Skiri on the east side from north to south. The two leaders of their sides sit at the north with the eight tally sticks in one bunch between them. All the Skiri players are seated. (Fig. 1) They are the home players. They outnumber the visiting challengers. Skiri

525 chiefs, warriors and braves stand around to watch the game; they
619 do not play. An important Skiri chief may come to look on, may sit at a distance and smoke calmly. By his presence he expresses his interest in the welfare and doings of his people. Some Skiri players, perhaps the leader, leave the circle to sit beside him and smoke with him, to show their appreciation of his presence.

The Kitkahaxki^{x} leader has the pipe in his hand. All who are going to play have found their places. Women come and stand
[562] at a little distance to look on. They must not sit down or join the circle. They never play the hand game.

The fire forms a long narrow line between the sides, fifteen feet long from north to south, only two to three feet wide (see Fig. 1) At the south ends of the lines are two men who function as tarutsius, "fire tenders."

Now the players place their bets. Blankets, shirts, vests, horses are waged on the outcome. Each bets against a friendly enemy of the other side, individual against individual. The two articles are tied together, making one bundle. The bundles are thrown down in one heap before the leaders. The winning side will carry off the whole pile of plunder, and each winning player takes from it his individual stake and his winning.

The leader of the Kitkahaxki^{x} party begins to speak,

"Brother, I thought of coming to see you for the hand game.
619 Well, my brother, we are here. I've brought this pipe for you.
525 I want you to accept it to smoke."

276 He rises. He takes the filled pipe to the fire and lights it with
788 a brand. He draws a few puffs himself, then, standing before Knifechief, the Skiri leader in the game, gives him the pipe to smoke without releasing it, then takes it to his left and lets the assistant leader on the Kitkahaxki^{x} side take a few puffs. Then he carries it back to Knifechief, gives it to him, and sits down in his own place.

Knifechief smokes and then passes the pipe to the Skiri at his left, and from him it is passed on down the Skiri side from north to south. Each one smokes and passes it on. By the time it reaches the tarutsius of the Skiri side it is likely to be smoked out. This smoke is a gift of the Kitkahaxki^{x} to the Skiri. Except for the two Kitkahaxki^{x} leaders, no Kitkahaxki^{x} smoke, only the Skiri.

When the pipe has reached the Skiri tarutsius, the Kitkahaxki^{x} leader arises, walks around the east side of the fire and receives the pipe back from him. He carries it with him around west of the fire, and stops north of the fire where facing south, he loosens the
[782] ashes with a pipe tamper, and twice raises the pipe bowl upward.

276
525
619
788

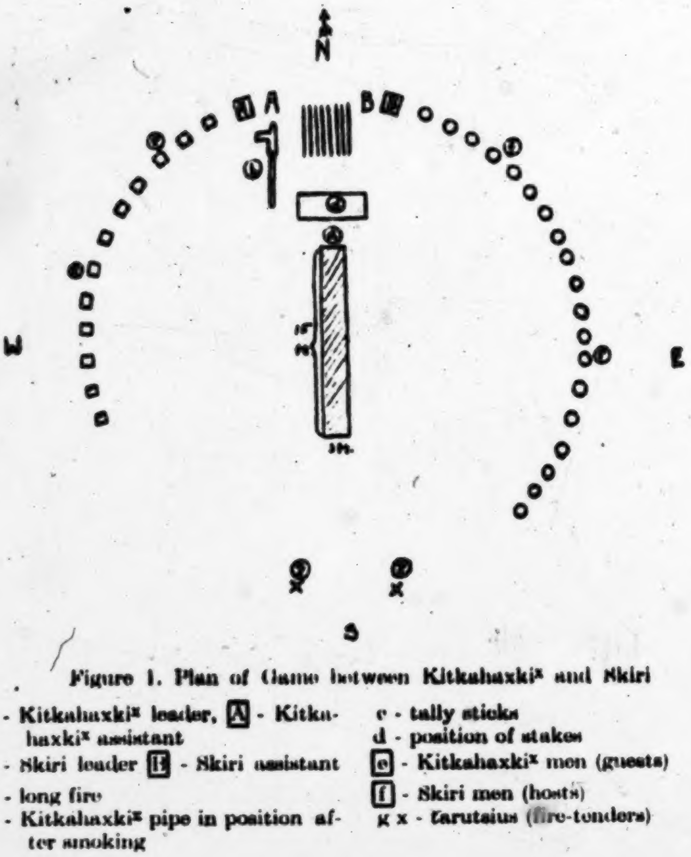


Figure 1. Plan of Game between Kitkahaxki^x and Skiri

A - Kitkahaxki^x leader, A - Kitkahaxki^x assistant
B - Skiri leader B - Skiri assistant
a - long fire
b - Kitkahaxki^x pipe in position after smoking
c - tally sticks
d - position of stakes
e - Kitkahaxki^x men (guests)
f - Skiri men (hosts)
g x - ťarutsius (fire-tenders)

[782]

an offering to heaven, each time emptying some of the ashes on the ground before the fire; then he loosens the ashes a third time and deposits all that remains on the ground, an offering to the earth. Without further motions or gestures he takes the pipe with him to his place and sits down. He now places the pipe on the ground before him, mouthpiece pointing south, bowl turned to the west (see figure 1). He can put the pipe on the ground because now it is empty. Up to the time he began the smoking he had to carry the pipe and hold it in his arms.

The set used by the Skiri consists of eight dogwood sticks and two white bones; these are not decorated in any special way. The Skiri leader Knifechief now announces: 525 619

525 619 "All right now, let's go ahead." Knifechief gets up and gives one bone to a Skiri man; the Kitkahaxki^x leader rises and gives one to a Kitkahaxki^x man. In this way the two are selected as guessers for their respective sides.

Now all the players begin to sing and yell. The two guessers are on their feet facing each other. The Skiri hides the bone first, the Kitkahaxki^x must guess first. The one who wins them gives them out to hide to any two players on his side regardless of where they sit. He picks them because they are clever at hiding the bones, at deceiving the guessers, at confusing them by shifting the bone almost invisibly from one hand to another. The guesser watches closely. He notes the gestures with the hands and arms, the body movements; he watches eyes for a hint.

As soon as one guesser has won the two bones he takes them to his side of the fire to two players. His opponent crosses into enemy territory to follow the trail and find them. His side is quiet now, [516 while the players of the side hiding the bones are all singing and 825] clapping hands. Some are yelling to frighten the guesser. Others make gestures to confuse him. The hiders imitate some animal in their body movements and the positions of their clenched hands.

[201 He wins them back. At once his side begins to yell with their hands over their mouths, he-e-e-e- in a high loud voice. Then they 533] begin to sing. Old hand game songs, songs caricaturing things and people, funny songs, coarse songs.

To follow the trail of the bones when they are won and carried across to the other side is to trail the enemy. The guesser searches for tracks. A player on the hiding side goes to the fire for handfuls [789] of cold ashes from the fire's edge. He sprinkles it like falling snow. He calls aloud. "The snow covers up the tracks now, you cannot see them."

Thus after an enemy raid in late fall when men started after the retreating warparty to regain captured horses the falling snow obliterated the trail. To the Pawnee the little dramatic act has similar power to obliterate the unseen trail of the bones from hand to hand, to blind the guesser. The guesser shields his eyes with his hand and peers through the falling ashes to see the tracks.

In time to the clapping of hands and the rhythm of singing, the hiders and all the players of that side move their arms and bodies [825] back and forth, back and forth. When they hide some imitate crows, some deer, some buffalo, some turkeys.

The Skiri win the first game. Their side carries off the stakes.

525 533 619 Now the Skiri begin to sing Crazy Dog dance songs, songs of reckless bravery, self-abandonment on the warpath. Men careless

of death sang such songs before they set out for the country of the 525
enemy, sang such songs before they went into battle, before they 533
broke into the enemy camp. Knifechief gets up to dance. He 619
dances the steps of the Crazy Dog Dance. It is his place to dance
first, he is a brave man and the leader. Others join him from the 525
Skiri side. They do not dance out in the circle, but standing at 535
their places. Knifechief carries a stick in his hand. 619

As the dancing ends, all the Skiri yell, he-he-he-he-e-e-e-, hitting [201]
their hands on their mouths. Knifechief speaks.

"I can remember when I was in the army and we chased the 525
Cheyenne. We chased them out of their camp. They ran and left
their blankets behind. I took the blankets away from them." 619

Knifechief sits down.

"Well, bet some more."

The Skiri who have won stakes bring back their winnings. The Kitkahaxkiˣ have to bet other things against what they have lost. The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader bets his blanket, a squaw cloth with one side red and the other black. All the Kitkahaxkiˣ bet again. They have come to play the hand game and have a lot of stuff with them to bet. The bets pile up again. The betting is even, man against man, and the pile comes out even.

The guesser who won for the Skiri plays again. The Kitkahaxkiˣ choose a new man to try his luck against the victor.

Again the Skiri win and carry off the stakes.

The Skiri sing Crazy Dog Dance songs. Knifechief dances. He [533]
calls. "We charged again and chased out the Cheyenne, and they [727]
left everything behind, tents and horses, and we carried them away.
And a pair of leggings I took away from them."

He is recalling victory in battle and the garnering of the spoils. He is gloating over the victory in the game. The game is a battle; the Skiri have carried off the plunder.

Knifechief sits down.

The bets are laid for a third game. The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader says, "I'm going to bet a beef." He puts up a beef against the squaw cloth Knifechief has just won from him. All bet again.

The game begins. Again the Skiri are winning.

All this while Mark has been standing on the Skiri side. They have given him no place to sit and play.

The guesser for the Kitkahaxkiˣ in the third game is a friend of his. He calls out to Mark, "Come over here." He asks him to sit on the Kitkahaxkiˣ side next to him. Mark walks around through the north outside the circle of players and sits down.

The Kitkahaxkiˣ are losing again. The Skiri have won six

525 points: only two sticks are left in the center. The Kitkahaxkiˣ
guesser calls out to the leader of his side, "I want him to guess
●619 now." He shows them Mark. He says, "You're a good boy;
everything you do is lucky. Go ahead."

The Skiri begin to yell. The Kitkahaxkiˣ pat Mark on the back and wish him luck.

[789] Mark arises. He goes to the fire and leans forward over it. He touches the ashes and rubs his hands together. He touches fire to his eyes to warm them and make him see clearly. He watches the guessers. He chooses quickly. He finds the bones.

Now the Skiri are trying to confuse him. They yell. They want him to put up the shawl he has with him. He tells them he doesn't have to now. He goes on guessing against the Skiri man who has won two games. The Kitkahaxkiˣ players begin to come to life. They win the game.

[533] Now the Kitkahaxkiˣ sing the Crazy Dog Dance songs. The Skiri are silent. The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader gets up to dance. He tells how he went on a warpath and captured many horses. This time the Kitkahaxkiˣ have carried off the spoils.

There is a fourth game. The bets are laid again. The Skiri choose a new guesser. Mark is against him now and wins again.

The games are even. The Kitkahaxkiˣ have won back their losings. They decide to stop now. It is late. The Kitkahaxkiˣ go home.

Later the Skiri set upon Mark because he played with the
Kitkahaxkiˣ and won for them. For a long time he couldn't go
[578] near the Skiri camp. They would get hold of him and scold him
angrily. Mark says he joined the Kitkahaxkiˣ side because the
man who asked him was a friend of his, and because the Skiri did
not give him a place and ask him to join in.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OLD GAME

525 Competitions like the above between the bands of the Pawnee
533 were played in this way in the old days. Women never played.
The games were always outdoors. The songs sung were old type
hand game songs. They were coarse but not about women. One ran:

"They're bathing in the water now...
They're bathing in the water now..."

All would laugh because of the reference to washing, bringing up a picture of one scrubbing himself all over and around the loins.

525 Those who hid, many of them, imitated animals. Some of these
825 imitations:
536

525 The host side starting the play, the guest side initiating the guessing.

The visitors bringing a pipe smoked only by the hosts.

As to the alignment of the sides:

525 621 ●619 823 There is no such thing in these games as hereditary or traditional sides.[1] The Kitkahaxkiˣ came from the west and occupied the west half of the circle, the head end being at the north. Original geographical band arrangements in Oklahoma may be indicated as follows:

N
Skiri
W Tcawi E
Kitkahaxkiˣ
Pitahawiratᵃ
S

These geographical positions would determine the arrangement of the hand game play. A division into east and west sides meant the head end was the north; a division into north and south sides meant the head end was the west. Pitahawiratᵃ against Kitkahaxkiˣ would put the Kitkahaxkiˣ on the north, the Pitahawiratᵃ on the south, with the leaders and tally sticks at the west. The other bands would have divisions into east and west sides with the leaders and sticks at the north.

In Nebraska the arrangement also follows geographical locations, but these were different:

N
W Skiri Kitkahaxkiˣ Tcawi Pitahawiratᵃ E
S

In Nebraska all games would have an east-west division of sides with the head end at the north. A game played in Nebraska between the same two bands as above, the Kitkahaxkiˣ visiting the Skiri would put the Skiri on the west, the Kitkahaxkiˣ on the east (the exact opposite of what was played in Oklahoma) with the tally sticks and leaders at the north.

Such were the arrangements and characteristics of games played by one Pawnee band against another.

THE INTER-TRIBAL HAND GAME

525 648 574 In earlier days, before the Pawnee were removed to Oklahoma, and for some time thereafter, the hand game was a contest, not only between the bands ofthe Pawnee, but a contest played by any

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

PAWNEE MUSIC

By **Frances Densmore**

THE PAWNEE TRIBE

The Pawnee is commonly regarded as the last of the Caddoan 101
Tribes which migrated in a general northeasterly direction at an
early date.[1] When the Siouan Tribes entered the valley of the
Platte River in Nebraska they found the Pawnee already established
in that region. The Pawnee called themselves by a term meaning
"men of men." Their present name was probably given by some
neighboring tribe and derived from *pariki*, meaning a horn, as it
was the Pawnee custom to shave the head except a narrow strip [302]
extending from the forehead to the scalplock and to stiffen this
ridge of hair with grease and paint, curving it upward like a horn.

While in Nebraska the Pawnee lived in earth lodges which were 361
in four permanent groups of villages, each having its geographical
location along the Platte River. The people of each group were a [342]
unit, representing a division of the tribe. The Skidi (Wolf Pawnee) 101
was in the northwest, its people considering themselves related to 619
the Arikara, another Caddoan Tribe living some distance to the
north. The Pitahauerat (Tapage Pawnee) were downstream, the
Kithahki (Republican Pawnee) were upstream, and the Chaui
(Grand Pawnee) were located between the two last named. The 134
soil of the region was dry and rather sandy with rough, broken land 241
toward the mountains in the west, yet the Pawnee were essentially
an agricultural people, cultivating corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins.
Buffalo and other game was abundant in the early days, and the Pawnee 136
were excellent hunters, their hunting expeditions covering a wide 224
area.

The first treaty between the Government of the United States and 648
the Pawnee Indians was made at St. Louis Trading Post in June, 1818.[2]

---

[1] In the classification of the North American races by John W. Powell the Pawnee is classified as one of [114]
the five independent groups of the Caddoan stock. Miss Alice C. Fletcher regards the Pawnee as a confederacy, the divisions or bands of the tribe being treated by her as separate tribes in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p 213. Cf. also Linton, Ralph, The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee, The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee, and Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men, compiled chiefly from unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, published as leaflets Nos. 5, 6, and 8, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-23.

[2] Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kappler, ed., vol. II, pp. 156-159, Washington, 1904.

meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance 342
of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and [778]
suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and
other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the
altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, [554
the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, 513]
which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two
below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a
"skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending
upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward
to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This
framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow
rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was
protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered
roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when [484]
a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially
anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family
usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer
abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was
made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered
with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four 619
bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary
chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had 621
also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its [778
priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with 793]
those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and
symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a
medium of communication was believed to be opened between the
people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and
prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the 621
head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced 622
by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus 624
or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the
Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were
the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council 623
was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands,
and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of
the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a 681
man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family. 591

---

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. xv, New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band 778
were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" [621]
belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor [614]
by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging
to the several bands there were two bundles which were the [619
property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one 422]
or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most
sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one
was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning
Star, while the other symbolized the female element, or Evening
Star. These ears of corn were shelled and given to the people as
seed corn at the first ceremony in the spring. Next in importance [237]
were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin
symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be
awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet
grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies,
tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained
other articles, and the skins of birds other than those
mentioned. [611]

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary 422
keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the 428
owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped 778
in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on 621
the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always 778
placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning
Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent
paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from
those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey considers [171]
the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to
the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine
bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. 778
The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in 796
the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl.
7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by
a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony
the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the
freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances
there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not [793]
fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the
people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization
of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

---

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Simms, Director of the Field Museum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 8).

II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE

The Skidi formed one of the four bands comprising the Pawnee 619
tribe, the others being the Chaui, the Kitkehahki, and the Pita- 621
hauirat. [In the manuscript the Skidi are spoken of as a tribe. [101]
However, I have followed more recent usage and substituted the
term band, reserving tribe for the Pawnee as a whole (Lesser, 1933).]
The Skidi, however, considered themselves independent and actually
felt closer to the Arikara than to the other three Pawnee bands.
Politically the Skidi were a federation of villages, of which at least
thirteen are known to have existed, though there were probably
others which have been forgotten. The federation was held together
by a governing council of chiefs and by a ceremonial organization [623]
involving the participation of the band in a round of ceremonies
associated with sacred bundles.

The village was a distinct local group consisting of a cluster of 621
earth-lodges housing the component families. Each village possessed 361
its own fields, whose ownership was allotted among the villagers by 622
the chief, a supposed lineal descendant of the original owner of the 423
sacred bundle of the village. [I am inclined to believe that the chief
allotted the use of the fields rather than their ownership.] On the
death of an individual, his land was re-allotted by the chief. Each
village also had its own burial-ground in which were buried only
those belonging to the village.

In principle the village was endogamous. Since the Pawnee 621
moved to Oklahoma the old restriction on marriage has been grad- 582
ually disappearing. This is due to the fact that the population of [178]
certain villages has dwindled and it is no longer possible for the few
remaining individuals of some villages to obtain mates within their
own village. Even in this breaking down of the system, however,
the old fashion of reckoning descent is maintained. Thus, in the 611
marriage of a man from Big-Elk village with a woman of Little-Elk
village, the children would belong to Big-Elk village. [However,
according to the manuscript, both these villages were extinct by
1907.] An exception to this general rule is at the present time [1907] [184]
under consideration among the Skidi. Mr. Murie's son, now about
of age, properly belongs by the laws of the tribe to the Village-on-
the-Hill, that being the village of his father. His mother, however,
belongs to the Pumpkin-Vine village and her brother, Skidi-Good-
Chief, is the last representative of that village. To prevent the
village from becoming extinct, Skidi-Good-Chief has asked per-

DESCRIPTION
OF THE
Manners and Customs of the Pawnee Indians.

(By Br. D. Z. Smith.)

619 **Bands or Clans.**—All the Indian tribes are subdivided into
bands or clans. The *Pawnees* have among them four distinct
643 bands, viz: the Loups (pronounced *Loos,*) the Republicans, the
Topages, (Tuppays,) and the Grand Pawnees. Each band has
at its head a Chief, among whom, however, the Chief of the
Grand Pawnees, Asseruregarrigu, is considered the Principal
Chief of the whole tribe.

Villages, Localities, former Missionaries, &c.—The Pawnees
131 live in two villages at present, both on the South side of the
Platte or Nebraska river. The lower village lies about 50 miles
from Bellevue, and about 10 or 15 miles above the mouth of the
Elkhorn river, the first important tributary of the Platte from the
North; and the upper village is situated about 20 or 25 miles
above the lower, nearly opposite the mouth of the Loup Fork of
the Platte, the next branch of any consequence above the Elkhorn.
361 Both villages are situated on eminences, so that the approach of
an enemy can easily be observed, and a sharp lookout is constantly
kept in order to guard against any sudden surprise from a hostile
force. Sentinels are constantly posted on all the surrounding
648 heights, who can immediately by signs, known among the Indians,
726 transmit intelligence in case of impending danger. During the
night, sentinels are constantly perched upon the tops of the lodges,
to guard against any unexpected nocturnal attack.—When we were
on our return, and remained over night at the Loup village, a report,
probably a false alarm, had reached there during the day,
that a large war-party of Sioux had lately been seen near the
head waters of the Elkhorn river. During the night the sentinels
were as usual posted upon the lodges, a little more noisy, however,
than generally, yelling to one another and singing, nearly the whole
night. Upon our inquiring why the sentinels made so much noise,
we were informed, that it was to let the Sioux know, should they
be near, that they might not expect to find them off their guard.

Thus it will be observed, that a certain kind of military organization
is constantly kept up at each village, rendered necessary
by their wars with their enemies. This unpleasant state of things
000 can only be removed through the benign influence of the Gospel,
when "they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their
spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against
nation, neither shall they *learn* war any more. But they shall sit

AN INTRODUCTION TO PAWNEE ARCHEOLOGY

By Waldo Rudolph Wedel

INTRODUCTION

Linguistic Affiliations of the Pawnee

Since actual linguistic relationship is a sure index of former historical contacts between peoples, it will be of value first to briefly review the results of this line of research as applied to the Pawnee. 197 619 Lewis and Clark, to whom we are indebted for the earliest attempt to trace Pawnee speech relationship, divide them into 4 bands, 3 of which resided on the Platte, while the fourth had established itself on the Red River;[1] of the Arikara they state that "they were originally colonies of Pawnees."[2] The first linguist to classify the Pawnee was Albert Gallatin, who in 1836,[3] and again in 1853,[4] classified the Pawnee and Arikara together as the Pawnee linguistic stock, but did not include the fourth tribe mentioned by Lewis and Clark. Later, Hayden,[5] on the basis of linguistic researches among the tribes of the upper Missouri River, likewise included the Arikara as members of the Pawnee group. Unlike Gallatin, however, he took cognizance of the work of Lewis and Clark, treating the fourth or Red River band as the "Huecos" and "Witchitas." The Caddo, Kichai, and other southern tribes were not included with the Pawnee in these earlier classifications.

The next general classification of North American languages, made under the direction of Maj. J. W. Powell,[6] has stood for nearly 50 years. Under this grouping the various Pawnee bands or tribes were included in the Caddoan linguistic stock which was subdivided into three regional subfamilies. The Arikara of the upper Missouri (most closely related to the Skidi Band of the Pawnee) represented the northern division. The middle group consisted of the four bands collectively known as "Pawnee." The southern division, oc-

---

[1] 1815, vol. i, p. 45.
[2] Ibid., p. 142.
[3] 1836, vol. ii, pp. 128, 306.
[4] Schoolcraft, 1853, vol. iii, p. 402.
[5] 1862, p. 345.
[6] 1891, pp. 58–62.

197 cupying lands on the Red River and to the south, included the
619 closely related Wichita as well as the Waco, Caddo, Kichai, Ana-
darko, and Tawakoni; there were several smaller groups also, now
virtually extinct. Alien linguistic stocks isolated these three Caddoan
groups more or less completely from each other. Siouan tribes,
[101] namely the Ponca, Omaha, and Dakota, occupied the territory be-
tween the Pawnee and the Arikara, while between the Pawnee and
the southern Caddoans were still other tribes of diverse linguistic
affiliations; Kansa and Osage in the east and Cheyenne, Arapaho,
Kiowa, and other nomadic tribes in the west.

The latest and most radical linguistic amalgamation of speech families north of Mexico is that of Sapir,[7] who reduces the 55 separate stocks of the Powell classification to 6 major groupings. According to Sapir, the Caddoan tribes are linked with the Iroquoian tribes in one subfamily of the greater Hokan-Siouan linguistic stock. Based upon deep-lying structural and morphological parallels, this new classification carries very suggestive and far-reaching implications, certain of which will be touched on hereafter.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME PAWNEE

101 The name Pawnee is of somewhat uncertain origin. Dunbar[8] de-
114 rives it from *pa'-rik-i*, a horn, as an outgrowth of the typical Pawnee
mode of dressing the scalp lock. The head of the warrior was shaven
[302] except for a small tuft or topknot which was daubed with bison fat
and red ochre until stiff enough to stand erect, or curving slightly
backward, like a horn. Since this was the most conspicuous feature
of the individual it gave rise to the particular designation which
ultimately became the name of the tribe. Formerly, according to the
same authority, the term included the *Pawnee Picts*, or Wichita, and
the Arikara. Arache, Arahei, Arae, Harahey, and Ahuache, names
by which the Pawnee "kingdom" was known to the Spanish during
the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[9] are then probably deriva-
tives from *pa'-rik-i*, assuming this to have been actually the original
designation for the tribe. However, as early as 1673 Marquette[10]
used the term *Pana;* Valverde[11] speaks of the *Panana* in 1719; and
thereafter, at least until the end of the eighteenth century, *Panis* and
Panimaha are regularly employed in referring to the Pawnee. Just
how these names were derived from *pa'-rik-i*, if indeed they ever
were, is far from clear, nor does Dunbar show the orthographic and
phonetic changes that would have taken place in such a process. The

---

[7] 1929, pp. 138–140; see also Parker, 1916, p. 483.

[8] 1880, a, p. 245. Compare, however, Lesser and Weltfish, 1932, p. 5.

[9] Winship, 1896, pp. 529, 577, 588, 590; Margry Papers, vol. vi, p. 310

[10] 1900, map facing p. 108.

[11] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 185.

[p 135]
[pp 91- 134 not processed]

The Pawnees

619 The Pawnees are divided into four princi-
197 pal bands: the Grand Pawnees (Cha-we),
131 the Republican Pawnees (Kit-ka), the Tap-
pa Pawnees (Pe-ta-ha-we-rat). These speak
the same dialect. And the Pawnee Loups,
Skee-de (Wolf), who speak a different dia-
lect.[11] All these now reside on the Pawnee
Reservation. The Pawnee Picts [Wichita]
live near the country of the Osages. Mr.
Allis knows nothing about them. The Arik-
arees speak a dialect of the same language.
[Arikara and Wichita were Caddoan-speak-
619 ing tribes.] The Pawnees told Mr. Allis that
131 they had lived from time immemorial on
the Platt, the Nemaha, Salt Creek, on the
North, or Republican, fork of the Kansas.

[11] [see Cat. 116, #220 (A) - Analyst.]

619 They do not claim to have lived on the
131 Missouri. They claim once to have owned all the land west of the Missouri from the Platt to the Kansas. The Loups went off from the principal band and went south of the Osage River where they remained for many years. The Republican Pawnees once occupied the Republican fork of the Kansas. They do not know where they came from. They say that there are the sites of
[361] their villages still known to them on the Nemaha, Salt Creek, and on the Platt and Republican fork of the Kansas. The Keeches, so-called by the Pawnees, who now live in the west end of the Indian territory somewhere, are cognate. They live near the Pawnee Picts, south of the Osages and the Comanches.

Tribes [Clans]

614 He [Allis] thinks they are divided into tribes.[12] The marks which he has seen on their robes and lodges are the Eagle, Bear, Beaver, Owl, Buffalo, Deer. The son succeeds the father as chief. He was unable to give me any information upon this question.
764 He never saw but one burial. They excavated a grave or trench and then dug an opening in the side large enough to insert the body under the undisturbed earth, laid it in horizontally, covered it with a mat, and deposited by its side a number of articles, filled up the trench and raised a mound over it.

Pawnee Matting

285 He [Allis] showed me a specimen of their work in a floor matting made of a species of rush. It was coarse but strong, about two or three yards wide and five yards long. It was stitched or woven on bark threads and very creditable work. With instruction in the art of manufacturing and with reeds of a supe-

[p 136 (A)]

[12] [See cat. 116 p 220 (A) - Analyst]

[p 220 (A)]
[pp 214-219 not processed]

619 11. Alice C. Fletcher renders the native names of
the bands: Chaui, Kitkehaki, Pitahauerat or
Tapage, and Skidi (article "Pawnee," in
[101] *Handbook of American Indians*, F. W. Hodge,
[197] ed., Washington, 1910). Clark Wissler (after
Powell) places all four bands in the Pawnee
type of the Caddoan language family (*The
American Indian*, 2nd ed.; New York, 1922,
p. 405).

614 12. In *Ancient Society* (pp. 164–65), Morgan says it is doubtful if the Pawnees had gentes (clans), but cites Allis' belief that they did. Apparently they did not, for Alice C. Fletcher discusses their social organization without mentioning clans (Fletcher, *op. cit.*, II, 215).

● 619
621

[For additional information on cooperative hunting expeditions involving one or more Pawnee bands, see also category 224.]

796 it with him, pledging his support in food and goods, would the ceremony
ever be performed. In all his work, both public and private, the Pawnee
182 moved on a totally voluntary basis. Whatever social forms existed were
carried within the consciousness of the people, not by others who were in
626 a position to make demands. As I talked to the old men and women I realized that this is what we wish for but do not have. As they described the coordination of their households, I repeatedly asked when they got together and laid the plan they were apparently carrying through and in what exact terms they discussed it. The answer was always, "They didn't discuss it at all. They don't talk about it. It goes along just as it happens to work out."

626 For example, sentinels were always needed to man the outposts and
keep watch for the enemy who might be lurking nearby ready to attack
701 the villages, or in the process of sneaking up on them. Sentinels were neither assigned nor called for by anyone. A number of young men who were friends would be talking together and one would mention that this was about the time the enemy would be attacking. Then one of them would remark, "I think I'll go up to the sentry post early tomorrow morning." Another would say, "I think I'll do that too." Then several others would chime in and word would get around, and other young men would also turn up long before dawn at the different sentry posts. The
592 household coordinated itself in precisely the same way. A remark by one
626 person brought a complementary remark from another, and the plans seemed to shape themselves.

Time after time I tried to find a case of orders given, and there was
626 none. Gradually I began to realize that democracy is a very personal thing which, like charity, begins at home. Basically it means not being coerced and having no need to coerce anyone else. The Pawnee learned this way of living in the earliest beginnings of his life. In the detailed events of everyday living as a child, he began his development as a disciplined and free man or as a woman who felt her dignity and her independence to be inviolate. I was often confronted with the feeling that they expected of me a kind of independence and decisiveness that was not considered becoming to a woman in our society. Men and women expected the same clear and well-defined reaction from me, and among themselves it was evident that it was their accustomed mode of interacting.

The Pawnees had chiefs, but these were the focus of consensus, not
622 the wielders of power. There was no over-all chief of all the Pawnees.
619 The two major political groupings among the Pawnees were the Skidi and the South Bands, distinguished by a slight difference in the pronunciation of the Pawnee language. The main subdivisions within these groupings were villages and households. The village numbered from three
621 hundred to five hundred people in ten to fifteen households. The real

The real administrative officials of the Pawnees were the chiefs of the villages. All 621 people within a village considered themselves kin, and the chiefs were 622 conceived as heads of extended families rather than as superimposed government officials. Although the chieftainship was hereditary in certain families, the individuals selected to fill the post were chosen for their humility and sagacity. An aggressive temperament was considered a barrier to the office. There were definite implicit mechanisms for village 619 coordination and interband cooperation, often by means of emissaries sent between the households of chiefs to express their combined opinions 626 and to learn the wishes of the other parties. Public opinion and consensus were always well estimated. No official conceived that an arbitrary decision was feasible or desirable.

The difference in our expectations is shown in the words of Fray Fran- 171 cisco Casañas de Jesus Maria, first missionary to the Caddo-Hasinai, a related tribe to the Pawnees, in 1691 (Swanton, 1942, pp. 170-171):

> These allied tribes do not have one person to govern them (as with us a kingdom is accustomed to have a ruler whom we call king.) They have only a *xinesi.* He usually has a subordinate who gathers together four or five tribes who consent to live together and to form a province or kingdom, as it might be called—and a very large one too, if all these tribes had one person to rule over them. But such a head they have not, and I, therefore, infer that this province in New Spain is called "Teijias" [Friend]—which really expresses just what they are because each tribe is a friend to all the others—cannot be called a kingdom.

And Robert Lowie says in *The Crow Indians* (1935, p.5):

> How shall we conceive the ancient chief?—a good "valiant" man. He was neither a ruler nor a judge and in general had no power over life and death —he decided when and where his followers should move and pitch camp.

As I studied Pawnee life I often asked myself how far the power 600 mechanisms that characterize our present social life are really indispensable. In our theory of democracy we express a profound desire for the kind of voluntarism that the Pawnee practiced. It is not easily described, for it is implicit in the individual personalities of the people themselves. Their personality pattern only too readily eludes us, and only by attention to minute detail can we come to understand its special quality.

And yet, although very different in all other details, Pawnee life, like 221 our own, was strongly molded by the four seasons. Each of the seasons had its special program of activities that, taken together, made a complete and consistent pattern. The spring and fall of the year were the times of planting and harvesting the crops of corn, beans, and squash. During these two seasons the Pawnees lived in their earth-lodge villages that

visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her 773
four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it [829
is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled recounting, 628
in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the 631]
past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In
Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and ongoing
life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the 796
year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first ceremony 619
being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, 631
a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a ceremony
under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. [778]
(See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was
maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together
in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual 796
during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved 782
[793]
[221]
[727]

blessing for all the people. These thoughts and feelings were expressed 622
in a characteristically Pawnee idiom: the chiefs were costumed as Heaven 796
itself and were told by their old leader, That-Chief, that they could not 224*
look to Heaven for their decisions as *they* were now Heaven and were
carrying all its responsibilities for the well-being of the people. In this
role they walked from house to house and received a gift of firewood
from each.

As no ceremonial could be conducted unless there were a donation of dried buffalo meat, the buffalo hunt signified the entire ceremonial life as well. Lying on the ground in the ritual lodge there was the long buffalo steak that was the customary donation, and upon it the chiefs all blessed themselves. After the ceremony the chiefs blessed their children with what was left of the donated meat as Heaven had blessed their people.

Amid these ceremonial significances, they also took the practical step of choosing one of their number to assume leadership for the forthcoming hunt season.

The chiefs met twice a year just before the tribe planned to leave for 622
the buffalo hunt. The summer meeting was under the direction of the 619
Skull bundle, the winter meeting under that of the North Star whence 224*
the buffalo came at that time, driven southward by the cold. In view of 623
the historical events, priests were excluded from this ritual, only chiefs [193]
being present, and there could therefore be no ceremonial procedure.
It was said that like their cosmic counterpart, the Corona Borealis, the
chiefs simply sat around in a circle and talked.

We do not know how many villages joined the first federation, but at 619
the time of our account (c. 1867) there were sixteen chiefs' places in the 62
council, four for each of the Skidi villages. At the northeast was a place [531]
for Old-Man-That-Chief whose voice was final in all matters relating to
chieftainship. Closest to the exit, one on the north and one on the south
side, were the chiefs' errand men, *tarutsubus*. The chief's errand man
had a very important role to play, as he was the chief's envoy at all times.
Like the chiefs, he held his position by heredity. He carried messages
back and forth between the villages and to the other bands, and while
the council was in session he kept carrying its decisions to the other
bands, returning with their reactions to them. Both of the chief's errand
men were mature, experienced men; the one, Heavy-Trophies, was also
head sacred priest of the Skidi, while the other, Know-His-Face, was also
a man of some social consequence. Old-Man-That-Chief carried the main
direction of the ritual.

The ritual was held in rotation through the years in the lodges of the 796
different chiefs who were members of the council. On this occasion, 224*
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village was the host. On the morning of 622
the council he had sent the errand man, Know-His-Face, to issue the in- 623
vitations to the other chiefs and had the lodge prepared for their ar-

rubbing after it gets wet. If the tent cover was folded when wet it would 224*
get moldy. The sinew bowstring also would be ineffective when wet. 484*
Rain had very serious consequences when they had sliced a quantity of 132
buffalo meat and were drying it on the rack. If it should be wet by a sud- [281]
den storm, the meat throughout the encampment would be spoiled. [251]
There was nothing that could be done with this meat. If one tried to eat
it, it tasted like dead wood. It fell to pieces in one's hands. Even if one
tried to cure it over a fire, it simply rotted. Meat once exposed to rain,
even after it had been cooked, became moldy next day. A rack of meat
that had been rained on was called *kariks-kutu*, "rack-dead, spoiled." The
meat had to be thrown away.

Accommodation and adjustment to rainy weather was therefore very [182]
important and a nice distinction had to be made between the problem of
delay and the risks involved.

One day word was sent to White Eagle that an important man of the 224*
Man-Going-Downstream Band was so ill that he could not go on. White 484*
Eagle had to consider very carefully whether they would go ahead and 758
leave him or delay the entire group. A day's delay might mean the 554
difference between reaching the full herd on time or finding only strag- 619
glers left after the herd had passed. Considering, however, that the Man- 622
Going-Downstream Band was in a "Child" relation in the Peace Pipe
ritual to the Skidi and was in the process of giving them a return gift of
horses, White Eagle diplomatically decided to delay the march so that
the sick man could be treated by a doctor. It was also felt that if inter-
band relationships were not solidified from time to time, one or the other
of the South Bands might conceivably be induced to collaborate with the
Sioux on some occasion. Then everyone would consider that White
Eagle had failed in his administrative functions and in his diplomacy.
The death of an influential man in another band would also be the occa- 224*
sion for delay until after the funeral. If the wife of a prominent man 484*
were about to give birth, the whole family of this tent and a doctor 554
would stay behind and wait, and White Eagle would assign one of his 764
principle braves to see that things were all right with "their Child" (in 844
terms of the calumet), while the rest of the camp moved on. In the case
of an expected birth to one of the wives of White Eagle himself, he
would request Eagle Chief to lead on and say, "My wife is going to be
sick." But Eagle Chief would refuse to go ahead saying, "I might spoil
your luck. We can go on when she's well again." Ordinarily a woman
would have to go aside while traveling and have her child in the open
aside from the line of march. Also, in the case of death, the own family
would usually stay behind and bury the person, then come on and join
the rest. After a day's delay, everyone would be glad to be moving along.

With the installation of the New Mother Corn accomplished, steps 243
were taken to shift the cosmic power to the North Direction bundle for 778
the winter. The priest announced that the change was at hand, went to 793
the northwest house post, and took down the sacred stalks that were tied
there, giving them to the chief who was in charge of the newly appointed
North Direction bundle. He addressed the chief briefly upon the import
of the procedure and formally charged him with the office. The new
chief replaced the stalks on the post and then divided the harvest offerings
that the women had brought among the chiefs and priests present at
the ceremony.

Following this ceremony, all the sacred bundles changed their ears of
Mother Corn for those of the new harvest. This ceremony was conducted [782]
very simply in each case, the usual smoke and meat offerings being
made to the appropriate powers and a feast shared. In all the sacred
bundles the pipe was turned so that when the bundle hung on the west
wall of the house over the altar the mouthpiece of the pipe would be
pointing north, so that the winter powers located in that direction could
smoke.

The Pawnee year opened in the spring with a ceremony celebrating 796
the creation of the universe and within it the uniting of all the people 619
under one religion and society. Now as the harvest was done, a closing
ceremony commemorated their unity and the common defense of their
land. The four house posts in the semicardinal positions symbolized the
entire world and its peoples. It was under the aegis of the Skull bundle [778]
of the Wonderful Person and its four special ministers.

The setting for the ceremony was a special circular structure—a low 796
circular embankment opening to the east. First the priests marked out 346
the circle with a compass consisting of two sticks with a long string between;
they also marked out the fireplace in the center in the same way.
The fireplace was 3 feet in diameter and the excavated earth from it was
dumped outside the east entrance to form a small mound. They dug
four holes about a foot deep in the semicardinal positions within the circle
to receive the posts that would be planted later on. All around the
inside of the circular embankment saplings were set up in the ground,
forming a screen that shaded the participants as they sat around during
the ceremony. The chiefs who were the owners of the sacred bundles
sat along the north and along the south side of the circle, each representing
one of the villages that was a member of the original federation.
Most of them sat on the north side, as the original villages were
mainly on the Loup River, only one having come from the Platte to
the south. At the west sat the keepers of the four direction bundles as
they had originally come from Old Village in the west.

The ceremony itself comprised two major episodes. One was the getting 796
of the four poles, a war party setting out in a different direction for

11: Tixier T-5 (1839-1840) 1940
NQ12 Dhegiha NQ12
Osage
Pawnee NQ18

D
726

which had been captured on the preceding day. The partisans, instead of having their men ride along the bottoms of the valleys, in order not to be seen, went in a straight line and were detected, so that, when they arrived at the place where the Pawnee had been seen, they found nothing but a garter. Its odor caused them to arrive at the conclusion that it belonged to a Pawnee-Maha, which the footprint of the moccasins amply verified. They were unable to reach the enemy.

Disgusted with the incapacity of their partisans, the warriors turned back and returned to the village at once, hardly taking the time to hunt and eat. Such a swift journey did not prevent some men who had very good horses from roping a few wild horses and capturing them. On the last day, Man-chap-ché-mani rode at some distance from the detachment lamenting the fact that he had not been able to fight. On arriving near the camp, the party found fresh tracks, supposedly left by a troop of at least fifty men. A trampled spot showed clearly that the enemy had made a medicine there. From this place a trail had been left in the precise direction of our camp. Our Osage thought we had been attacked, and their feeling of security gave place to serious anxiety; they galloped to a place within sight of the camp; but on seeing that everything was quiet, they thought of their dignity and resumed a slower pace to enter it.

In such expeditions, in spite of the partisan's authority, every one does almost as he pleases, but at the slightest danger all the braves gather together in an instant, ready to pounce upon the Pawnee. Now is the time to let the reader know about the means of warfare used by these eternal enemies.

D
● P
726
619 ●

The Pawnee-Maha, who live on the banks of the Nebraska or Platte River, are today the greatest enemies of the Osage. They do esteem the stealing of horses more highly than bringing back scalps. The purpose of their expeditions is to bring

11: Tixier T-5 (1839-1840) 1940

NQ12 Dhegiha NQ12
Osage
Pawnee NQ18

D
P

726 619 back the horses of the other nations.[10] They risk their lives by going through the huge desert which separates them from the villages and the hunting grounds where the other nations spend part of the year. The war parties of the Pawnee are not numerous; six, eight, fifteen men at the most, armed with knives, arrows, axes, seldom with guns, set out without any provisions. They expect *Oua-Kondah* to provide them daily with a buffalo, and they prepare ambushes for the bison and shoot them with their bows and arrows. They know how to remain motionless until the animals have surrounded their hiding place, then they shoot the last one in the herd at leisure. Hardships, hunger, heat do not discourage them. Some young men die without seeing the enemy during their first expedition. It pains one to think of so much patience, sobriety, courage and energy used to steal horses.

P 726 When they finally have found tracks, the Maha have not yet completed their undertaking. Then they have to display all their clever schemes, all the resources of their fertile imagination. They follow these tracks and try to reach those who have left them. Doubly cautious and crafty, they erase their own tracks, never leaving any trace of their passing, for the enemy is constantly on the watch for them. They can no longer depend on killing animals, for the remnants would arouse suspicion: they live on roots, follow the river beds, or mingle their tracks with those which the other tribes have made in changing their camps. It is during the day that they travel and come to the new camp. Hiding in the woods, they wait until a man passes within range of their arrows; at night they concentrate their activity in stealing horses. Wrapped in the skins of bison, horses or deer, they prowl around the lodges; if the opportunity is not good

---

[10] "Pawnees—when they attack in the prairies it is necessary to tie your horses head to head in a circle. They come round you with feathers, mantles, etc., fluttering —great whoops and yells that strike a panic into the horses."—Washington Irving, *Journals*, III, 180.

blessing for all the people. These thoughts and feelings were expressed 622
in a characteristically Pawnee idiom: the chiefs were costumed as Heaven 796
itself and were told by their old leader, That-Chief, that they could not 224*
look to Heaven for their decisions as *they* were now Heaven and were carrying all its responsibilities for the well-being of the people. In this role they walked from house to house and received a gift of firewood from each.

As no ceremonial could be conducted unless there were a donation of dried buffalo meat, the buffalo hunt signified the entire ceremonial life as well. Lying on the ground in the ritual lodge there was the long buffalo steak that was the customary donation, and upon it the chiefs all blessed themselves. After the ceremony the chiefs blessed their children with what was left of the donated meat as Heaven had blessed their people.

Amid these ceremonial significances, they also took the practical step of choosing one of their number to assume leadership for the forthcoming hunt season.

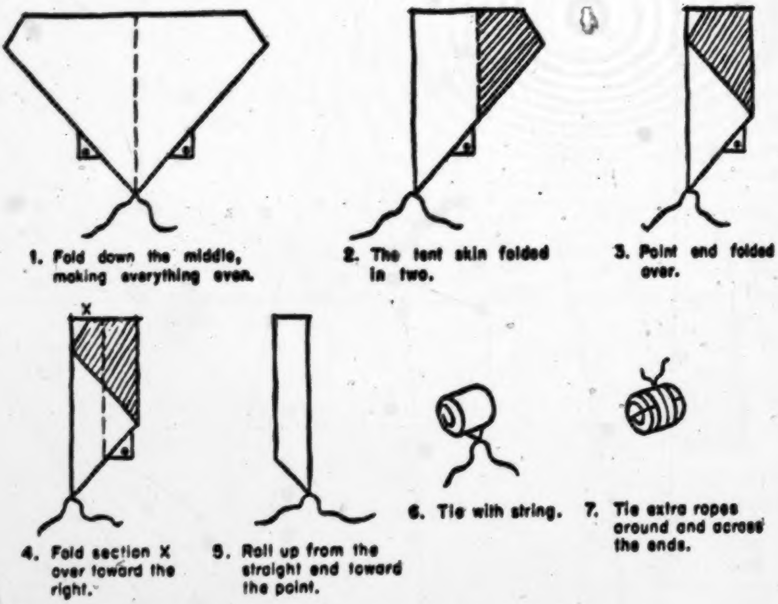
The chiefs met twice a year just before the tribe planned to leave for 622
the buffalo hunt. The summer meeting was under the direction of the 619
Skull bundle, the winter meeting under that of the North Star whence 224*
the buffalo came at that time, driven southward by the cold. In view of 623
the historical events, priests were excluded from this ritual, only chiefs [793]
being present, and there could therefore be no ceremonial procedure. It was said that like their cosmic counterpart, the Corona Borealis, the chiefs simply sat around in a circle and talked.

We do not know how many villages joined the first federation, but at 619
the time of our account (c. 1867) there were sixteen chiefs' places in the 62 •
council, four for each of the Skidi villages. At the northeast was a place [531]
for Old-Man-That-Chief whose voice was final in all matters relating to chieftainship. Closest to the exit, one on the north and one on the south side, were the chiefs' errand men, *tarutsuhus*. The chief's errand man had a very important role to play, as he was the chief's envoy at all times. Like the chiefs, he held his position by heredity. He carried messages back and forth between the villages and to the other bands, and while the council was in session he kept carrying its decisions to the other bands, returning with their reactions to them. Both of the chief's errand men were mature, experienced men; the one, Heavy-Trophies, was also head sacred priest of the Skidi, while the other, Know-His-Face, was also a man of some social consequence. Old-Man-That-Chief carried the main direction of the ritual.

The ritual was held in rotation through the years in the lodges of the 796
different chiefs who were members of the council. On this occasion, 224*
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village was the host. On the morning of 622
the council he had sent the errand man, Know-His-Face, to issue the in- 623
vitations to the other chiefs and had the lodge prepared for their ar-

*484 and White Woman on the other. While the women held up the containers,
512 the men tied them on. Now everything was loaded and they could join
492 the line of march.

*484
342



1. Fold down the middle, making everything even.
2. The tent skin folded in two.
3. Point end folded over.
4. Fold section X over toward the right.
5. Roll up from the straight end toward the point.
6. Tie with string.
7. Tie extra ropes around and across the ends.

Figure 19-1. The method of folding the tent skin.

*484 Every morning the crier would go through the camps to repeat the instructions
203 he had called out the night before. He would tell how far they
*224 were going and where they expected to camp. Until after Camp 9, individual
hunters would ride off from the line of march as soon as their families were packed up and go hunting by themselves to get some fresh meat. While they were out, the group would have arrived at the designated camping place and set up camp, to which the hunters would come with their kill, usually in the late afternoon.

*484 In the evening each hunter entertained his own friends at a feast with
*224 the meat he had gotten that day. This was parallel to the household routine
574 for the man in the villages. The administrative procedures were also
• 62 similar to those in the settlements. The chiefs of each of the bands
more or less kept open house, and every evening there was an informal council where notable happenings of the day were recounted. The official braves, who policed the villages on behalf of their respective chiefs, now performed the same service while they were on the march.

175*
allotment, inalienable for fifteen years thereafter. In this way the 648*
Indians were to be transformed gradually into individual holders of 657
land. 241

Enterprising Pawnee, young and progressive, had taken over 423
individual farm lands as soon as these could be surveyed and made
available for them. For such families frame houses were erected
on their allotments, the agency carpenter managing the work,
assisted by the Pawnee. This development was sluggish before 1880,
owing partly to indolent management on the part of the agents.
Families who chose tracts of land often camped for long periods
near them in tipis, before the surveying and alloting could be done,
and aid given them in house-building. By 1881 only forty such
houses had been built and occupied by Pawnee families: and the
allotments seem not to have been officially registered. 175*

The main body of the tribe, however, continued to reside in the 648*
band villages. Once established in villages the Pawnee were loath 657
to break up their social life for a life on scattered farms. The agents [361]
found stubborn resistance to their program of change. From the
official standpoint village life was the center of stability for the
old barbaric customs. Polygamous marriage, gambling, inveterate
dancing and indolence, superstitious awe of the medicine men, were
aspects of Pawnee life which could not be eliminated unless the villages
were broken up. The conditions of band farming which were
natural to the Pawnee were obnoxious from the white standpoint.
In the native view the chief controlled the farm in the interest of
the general welfare, and all shared its produce according to need.
In the agent's view the chief was an exploiter, and under his rule
indolence flourished and individual initiative was submerged. The
indolent and lazy, supported by the labor of others, could hang out
around the agency waiting for the distribution of rations and
goods, and money payments.

While after 1881 the agents were making a concentrated drive 175*
to get the Pawnee on individual allotments, there seem to have been 648*
two extreme parties in the tribe, a radically progressive group who 657
were in favor of separate farms and homes, and the conservative
majority content with band village life. The chiefs, priests and 621
medicine men of the tribe seem to have been in the main opposed
to a change to individualized farming. The government agents
claimed their obstructionism was born of a desire to maintain their
own power and influence, which would fade with the people scattered
in isolated homes. But it was more than this. The Pawnee had
been accustomed to sedentary village life as far back as tradition could
go. Recent archaeological evidence indicates that they had been

*175 a basically horticultural people in the plains of North America
*648 even before the buffalo hunting era.[1] The whole round of life, with its conceptual and religious meanings, was to the Pawnee bound
657 up with group life in a village. Their ceremonies were village rituals
●621 in intent and action; their dances called for gatherings on a large scale. In opposing a destruction of the village communities, the chiefs were supporting traditional Pawnee values. In addition, it must not be forgotten that even after the settlement of the Pawnee on a Nebraska reservation in 1859 the tribe had been permitted to continue the old village organization. To be sure, it was not in line with government policy that they did so, but because, as we have seen, the government failed to give the tribe protection and did not dare to scatter the people and render them defenceless. Nevertheless, the effect was the same. The Pawnee were not opposed to farming. They were proud in 1884 of their independence of government aid, of their ownership of horses, cattle and farming implements. What was good and useful to a productive and happy life was not lost on the Pawnee. But their past experience inclined them to the belief that reservation life, based on farming, could be carried on successfully without the break-up of their villages. In dealing with such village tribes as the pueblo peoples, the United States government did not destroy the village organization and settlements; as a result, much of value and significance in their ancient culture has continued into the present among the Southwestern Indians. The implication here is that the Pawnee chiefs were right; and that in the case of their tribe the government was attempting a more violent and rapid change than was good for their cultural health.

*175 In 1880 there were only a few individual farms held by Pawnee.
*648 The government reapers and mowers were used on these as well
657 as on the band farms. The band farms were still cooperatively planted and worked. In 1882 the concerted drive of the officials persuaded a number of enterprising families to locate. With a family on an allotted tract, the agent proceeded to build a frame
[342] house for them. The Indians hewed logs and brought them to the saw-mill. The government carpenter directed the work of erecting the house, with Pawnee men assisting. The latter did a good share of the work, and as time went by put up their own houses. From 1886 on, all the frame houses built on the Pawnee reservation are reported to have been erected by the Pawnee themselves.

[313] Until 1884 there was a scarcity of timber and cut wood for building, and many families camped on allotments. Those who

---

[1] W. D. Strong. Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology.

were comfortably settled in homes on individual plots remained 175*
on them and worked them faithfully. Living in houses, they were 648*
soon asking for tables and chairs and bedsteads. Ponies being their 657
chief form of property, the homesteaders would offer ponies for [422]
cooking stoves and culinary implements. Some exchanged ponies
for hogs. A great change was coming into Pawnee life.

The chiefs, priests and medicine men stubbornly opposed the [622
change. Their resistance was strengthened by lax and inefficient
methods of government officials. Agents were political appointees, 756]
subject to the changing winds of political control. In the eight-year period from 1876 to 1884 seven agents were successively in charge of the Pawnee. The indications are that often they were lax and indolent, occasionally viciously dishonest. The great suffering for lack of adequate provisions in the early years was in part a result of such maladministration. In 1883 supervision became worse, when the independent Pawnee agency was merged into a combined agency for the Ponca, Pawnee and Oto (later to include the Tonkawa), which was located at Ponca City, many miles from the Pawnee Reservation. Only one or two days of the week could be spent with the Pawnee. The agency fell into disrepair, and procrastination ruled in the affairs of the Pawnee.

On the positive side there were the younger progressive spirits among the Pawnee themselves, who worked untiringly to persuade the people to adjust themselves to new conditions. They found opposition not only in their own ranks, but among white people in the Territory, who, sympathetic to Indian ideas, urged the Pawnee here and there to resist allotments.

175*
The Skiri were the most progressive of the four bands. By 1887 648*
a great many families were located on farms distributed all over the 177
reservation, and a large proportion of these were Skiri. By 1890 621 ●
most of the Skiri lived on their own farms, furnished their houses 657
and dressed like white people, and spoke English in ordinary
intercourse. The Tcawi ran them a close second. Of the other
bands, while most were on allotted tracts, there were still many
earth-lodges in evidence, and only those who were being educated
in the schools were dressing and acting like white people. The
Pitahawirat[4] proved most conservative and resisted change longest.

By the close of the decade the chiefs had accepted the inevitable. 175*
They blocked the agent in some minor measures, but for the most 648*
part expressed themselves eager to see the people educated and 657
civilized. Officials were able to report that the tribe was anxious to 177
have an allotting officer come to the reservation to register their
individual tracts and issue certificates: the people were puzzled

---

4

*175 Pawnee medicine men did effect relief and cures in many cases, and
*648 that the sure way to bring the tribe to faith in white man's medicine
657 was to prove its superiority. We may judge from this the
efficiency of much of the treatment afforded the Pawnee for years.
164 In 1890 Dr. Phillips ascribed some part of Pawnee ailments to the
fact that at feasts many gorged themselves and then lay dormant
for two or three days, tending to derange the proper functioning
of the digestive system. The Pawnee habits of eating went back
to a time when an active, roving life made heavy eating a necessity.
Without the hunt, without warfare, the men were confined, inactive
[462] and indolent. Farming was not yet an adequate substitute.
Without skinworking, and the activities of camp life and the
march, the women were limited to housework and household duties.
The change of daily routine was severe and called for a difficult
constitutional adjustment.

582 The question of inbreeding deserves brief comment. Pawnee
marriage customs did involve the mating of kin at a certain
● 621 distance removed. In their old life, families who were the proud
possessers of sacred and esoteric lore attempted to retain control
of these things by regulating intermarriage. The bands had been
for the most part endogamous, and intermarriage with other tribes
[162] was infrequent. On the average a band numbered no more than
2,500. The inbreeding, however, seems not to have had ill effects
until inheritable weaknesses of a major sort were among the tribe.

*175 As the years passed, the Pawnee came to look to the government
*648 physicians more and more for help when sick. Their medicine men
were unable to cope with the illnesses which afflicted them. In a
657 few outstanding cases, such as the use of quinine for malarial
fevers, the white man's medicine had "power."

* 175 The educational program was neither more efficient nor more
successful for many years than the development of farms and homes.
*648 The Pawnee Industrial Boarding School on the Pawnee Reservation
657 in Nebraska suspended operations at the time of removal. The
871 funds saved were applied to the erection of a new brick school
building on the Oklahoma reservation. This was not in operation
until several years after the tribe located in Indian Territory. Its
facilities were severely inadequate. Not more than one-fourth of
the Pawnee children of school age could be accomodated. As
a result, officials were not able to enforce treaty provisions; they
could not compel continuous attendance even of those registered
for schooling, since they could not provide facilities. There was
a move to organize a day school, which would not only make
provision for fifty additional pupils, but would obviate the objection

525 The host side starting the play, the guest side initiating the guessing.

The visitors bringing a pipe smoked only by the hosts.

As to the alignment of the sides:

There is no such thing in these games as hereditary or traditional
525 sides.[1] The Kitkahaxki^{x} came from the west and occupied the west
●621 half of the circle, the head end being at the north. Original geo-
619 graphical band arrangements in Oklahoma may be indicated as
823 follows:

N
Skiri
W Tcawi E
Kitkahaxki^{x}
Pitahawirat^{a}
S

These geographical positions would determine the arrangement of the hand game play. A division into east and west sides meant the head end was the north; a division into north and south sides meant the head end was the west. Pitahawirat^{a} against Kitkahaxki^{x} would put the Kitkahaxki^{x} on the north, the Pitahawirat^{a} on the south, with the leaders and tally sticks at the west. The other bands would have divisions into east and west sides with the leaders and sticks at the north.

In Nebraska the arrangement also follows geographical locations, but these were different:

N
W Skiri Kitkahaxki^{x} Tcawi Pitahawirat^{a} E
S

In Nebraska all games would have an east-west division of sides with the head end at the north. A game played in Nebraska between the same two bands as above, the Kitkahaxki^{x} visiting the Skiri would put the Skiri on the west, the Kitkahaxki^{x} on the east (the exact opposite of what was played in Oklahoma) with the tally sticks and leaders at the north.

Such were the arrangements and characteristics of games played by one Pawnee band against another.

THE INTER-TRIBAL HAND GAME

525 In earlier days, before the Pawnee were removed to Oklahoma,
648 and for some time thereafter, the hand game was a contest, not only
574 between the bands ofthe Pawnee, but a contest played by any

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance 342
of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and [778]
suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and
other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the
altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, [554
the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, 513]
which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two
below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a
"skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending
upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward
to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This
framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow
rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was
protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered
roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when [484]
a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially
anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family
usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer
abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was
made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered
with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four 619
bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary
chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had 621
also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its [778
priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with 793]
those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and
symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a
medium of communication was believed to be opened between the
people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and
prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the 621
head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced 622
by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus 624
or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the
Kurau, or medicine-men, and the warriors, while below these were
the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council 623
was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands,
and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of
the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a 611
man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family. 591

---

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. xv. New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band 778
were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" [621]
belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor [614]
by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging
to the several bands there were two bundles which were the [619
property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one 422]
or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most
sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one
was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning
Star, while the other symbolized the female element, or Evening
Star. These ears of corn were shelled and given to the people as
seed corn at the first ceremony in the spring. Next in importance [237]
were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin
symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be
awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet
grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies,
tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained
other articles, and the skins of birds other than those
mentioned. [611]

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary 422
keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the 428
owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped 778
in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on 621
the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always 778
placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning
Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent
paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from
those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey considers
the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to [171]
the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine
bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. 778
The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in 796
the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl.
7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by
a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony
the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the
freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances
there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not
fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the [793]
people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization
of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

---

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Simms, Director of the Field Museum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 8).

II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE

The Skidi formed one of the four bands comprising the Pawnee 619
tribe, the others being the Chaui, the Kitkehahki, and the Pita- 621
hauirat. [In the manuscript the Skidi are spoken of as a tribe. [101]
However, I have followed more recent usage and substituted the
term band, reserving tribe for the Pawnee as a whole (Lesser, 1933).]
The Skidi, however, considered themselves independent and actually
felt closer to the Arikara than to the other three Pawnee bands.
Politically the Skidi were a federation of villages, of which at least
thirteen are known to have existed, though there were probably
others which have been forgotten. The federation was held together
by a governing council of chiefs and by a ceremonial organization [623]
involving the participation of the band in a round of ceremonies
associated with sacred bundles.

The village was a distinct local group consisting of a cluster of 621
earth-lodges housing the component families. Each village possessed 361
its own fields, whose ownership was allotted among the villagers by 622
the chief, a supposed lineal descendant of the original owner of the 423
sacred bundle of the village. [I am inclined to believe that the chief
allotted the use of the fields rather than their ownership.] On the
death of an individual, his land was re-allotted by the chief. Each
village also had its own burial ground in which were buried only
those belonging to the village.

In principle the village was endogamous. Since the Pawnee 621
moved to Oklahoma the old restriction on marriage has been grad- 582
ually disappearing. This is due to the fact that the population of
certain villages has dwindled and it is no longer possible for the few [178]
remaining individuals of some villages to obtain mates within their
own village. Even in this breaking down of the system, however,
the old fashion of reckoning descent is maintained. Thus, in the 611
marriage of a man from Big-Elk village with a woman of Little-Elk
village, the children would belong to Big-Elk village. [However,
according to the manuscript, both these villages were extinct by
1907.] An exception to this general rule is at the present time [1907] [184]
under consideration among the Skidi. Mr. Murie's son, now about
of age, properly belongs by the laws of the tribe to the Village-on-
the-Hill, that being the village of his father. His mother, however,
belongs to the Pumpkin-Vine village and her brother, Skidi-Good-
Chief, is the last representative of that village. To prevent the
village from becoming extinct, Skidi-Good-Chief has asked per-

611 mission to have young Murie take his place in the ceremonial circuit in the lodge with the understanding that he be made chief on the death of Skidi-Good-Chief, thus continuing the Pumpkin-Vine village in the circuit.

621 A marriage outside the village occurred about sixty years ago
582 [sixty years prior to 1907], and, as the result bears directly on the
591 question of descent, the facts are worth quoting. A man of the
428 Pumpkin-Vine village, having obtained the consent of his uncles, married a young woman of the Morning-Star village. He lived with
778 his wife in the Morning-Star village for several years, during which time he made sacrifices to the Morning-Star bundle and learned its ceremony. Then he returned to his own village and took his children with him, the children being considered members of the Pumpkin-Vine village. But while living in the Morning-Star village he was considered to have obtained certain rights in that bundle, and he demanded recognition of these rights. On his return to his own village, the Morning-Star bundle was divided, and he carried part of it to the Pumpkin-Vine village. Thus, there exist today two Morning-Star bundles. The ultimate fate of his half of the Morning-Star bundle is interesting. His children all died except one daughter, who married Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village [Wolves-Standing-in-Water village?], who claims ownership in the bundle today. She came by it in this manner: On the death of the husband—that is, the member of the Pumpkin-Vine village—his widow lived with her daughter's husband; she, as keeper of this Morning-Star bundle, ultimately turned it over to her daughter, whose husband, Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village, learned its ceremony and sacrificed scalps to it and so claimed it. Thus it happens today that the priests of Coyote-in-Water village and the Pumpkin-Vine village have a right to be present when either of the Morning-Star bundles is opened.

611 [This statement that descent in the village group followed the
421 paternal line is in direct contradiction to a later one by Murie. In
778 his report on Pawnee societies (1914), Murie wrote: "... if a man
114 married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village." The contradiction may be due to confusing the inheritance of sacred bundles, which generally followed the paternal line, and descent in a village group, which may well have been maternal. Also, in cases where the inheritance of a sacred bundle was involved, the pattern of descent might have been modified in favor of patri-

lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may 611
have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, 421
if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of 778
descent in the village group would arise only as the result of infrequent 114
inter-village marriages.]

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that 621
one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where 778
it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village 773
it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each 621
village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the 778
ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi 796
villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the 621
villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly 778
had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were 103
extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

62
798
103

agree, nor does Murie's account agree with this manuscript. In his paper on Pawnee Societies, Murie lists a village named Black-Ear-of-Corn. According to the present manuscript this is an alternative term for a bundle called Fools-the-Wolves, belonging to a village of the same name. Also, Murie has a Fish-Hawk village, which according to the manuscript is the bundle of the Village-in-the-Woods (Village-in-Thick-Timber). Finally, he lists one village not mentioned here, its English equivalent being given as Village-on-a-Branch-of-a-River. In place of these last two, this report names the Pumpkin-Vine village and the Wolves-Standing-in-Water village. Murie mentions both of these but states that they were independent and does not include them in his list of the thirteen Skidi villages. His account implies that there were fifteen known Skidi villages in all. Though the present manuscript agrees as to the relative independence of the Pumpkin-Vine and Wolves-Standing-in-Water villages, it lists them as part of the thirteen villages belonging to the Skidi band. It should also be noted that Dorsey (1904, p. xviii) stated that there were nineteen villages; however, he did not give their names and reduced the number to thirteen in a later publication (1907b). There are no other important disagreements between the published statements of Dorsey and Murie and the present notes, except that Murie's Old village is here called the Four-Band village.]

105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee
[171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but
they understood the arts of pottery-making and basket-weaving.
291 During the summer the men usually
wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings
and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins,
leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned
on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe
do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The
302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made
301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced
the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings.
342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth
lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine
Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the
sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or
bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi.
The first three of these were closely related, but the
Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and
considered themselves more closely related to the
Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some distance
[361] to the north. In their settlements along the river,
the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi
being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest
downstream, and the other two bands between. Each
621 band was divided into a number of villages which were
social as well as geographical units. All the members
of a village believed themselves to be descended from
a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made
within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female
[778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) containing
[793] sacred objects, and priests who had charge of
the rituals and ceremonies connected with these objects.
622 It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a
council composed of its leading men. If the chief was
a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

hind the altar. The girl, who was constantly attended 796
by a guardian, was brought in and seated on the south
side of the lodge. The chief of the village took his
place on the southwest, with the leader of the war
party on his left, while the man who had actually captured
the girl sat on the northeast.

The priest built two little fires of sweet grass, one 727
to the east, and the other to the west of the fireplace. 782
The girl was taken to the eastern fire, undressed, and 796
her body bathed in the smoke. Her guardian then [302]
painted her whole body red and dressed her in a black
skirt and robe which were kept in the sacred bundle between
sacrifices. The man who had captured the girl
then went to the altar, and was dressed by the priest
in another costume, also kept in the bundle. He was [302]
given black leggings and moccasins, his face and hair
were painted red, and a fan-shaped head-dress of
twelve eagle feathers was attached to his hair in such
a way that it stood out straight over the back of his
head at right angles to his body. This was the costume [776]
in which the Morning Star usually appeared in visions, [787]
and with its assumption the captor seems to have become
a personification of that deity.

After these ceremonies had been performed, the 796
captor left the lodge and passed through the village,
entering every lodge and warning those who were to
take part in the ceremony to come to the chief's lodge.
Each family gave him a little red and black paint and
certain other objects which were needed in the ceremony.
When he had completed the circuit, he returned
to the chief's lodge, and errand men were sent out
to invite the chiefs and priests of all the villages to
come to the ceremony. The Pawnee village was a social [361]
as well as a geographical unit. Several villages [621]
might live together. Each of the priests and chiefs
had his prescribed place in the circle, while the space

778 “rains-wrapped-up.” The tribe was divided into a
621 number of villages all of whose members traced their
(611) descent in the female line from a single ancestor. Each
778 of these villages possessed a sacred bundle, while
there were two others which were considered the
property of the tribe as a whole. The Four Direction
village had four sacred bundles one of which was sacred
to each of the cardinal points. These points were, to
[823] the Pawnee, southwest, southeast, northwest, and
northeast. The sacred bundle of each village was believed
to have been given to its first ancestor by one
of the heavenly beings, and constituted a link between
778 its members and the divine donor. From their traditions
the “gift” seems to have consisted rather in explicit
directions for its making than in an actual presentation
of the objects. The bundles were inherited
[422] in the female line so that their owners were always
[428] women. Their keepers, and the priests who performed
their ceremonies, were, on the other hand, men.

All the village bundles contained much the same objects. The most important of these were one or two ears of corn, which were called Mother-Corn and were believed to give life to the bundle. They were shelled in the spring and distributed for seed, being replaced at harvest time. When the Mother-Corn consisted of two ears, one of these was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element or Morning Star, while the other symbolized the female element or Evening Star. Next in importance to the Mother-Corn were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls. The hawk symbolized a warrior; the owl, a chief, because it was
[825] always awake and watchful. The owl seems to have also symbolized the watchfulness of Tirawa, the supreme being. One or more scalps, taken from slain enemies, were found in every bundle. Pieces cut from them were used in various ceremonies, and they had to be renewed from time to time. Four skins, each of

term "Pani" was employed by the French during the seventeenth and 101
eighteenth centuries to designate all Indian slaves, regardless of tribal 114
affiliations, perhaps because the majority of such slaves were captives from the tribe known as *Panis.*[12] Conversely, however, it has been suggested that the tribe may have derived its name from the old French term, without its originally having been connected with them at all.[13] The older form, "Pani", survived until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when, largely through the agency of early American explorers, it was superseded by the modern Pawnee, rarely Pawney.[14] Among themselves the people are called *Chahiksi-chahiks*, or "men of men."

NAMES AND GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BANDS

The unit of tribal organization among the Pawnee was the band.[15] 631
There were four of these, each in turn consisting of several subbands 621
and villages. The main bands, which are sufficient for present purposes, were known as the *Chaui* or Grand, the *Kitkehahki* or Republican, the *Pitahauerat* or Tappage, and the *Skidi*, or Wolf, Pawnee. Ordinarily each functioned as an independent unit, retaining charge of its own administrative and other affairs through a hereditary, but often purely nominal, chief, who was assisted in matters of importance by secondary chiefs and a council of the leading men. The Grands were generally recognized as the leading band, and where
situations arose involving relationships between the several bands, [643]
or affecting the tribe as a whole, the principal chief of the Grands acted as spokesman and adviser for the entire tribe. The bands were endogamous, and each possessed its own sacred bundles and certain accompanying rituals, besides participatory privileges in various tribal ceremonies. The Skidi appear to have been less closely bound to the other bands than were these to one another, and they may have sprung from a somewhat different ancestry, or else possibly represent an earlier offshoot from the parent stock. In the present discussion the bands will be designated by their anglicized names, with the exception of the Skidi.

HISTORIC HABITAT AND ITS GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

The territory claimed by the Pawnee was bounded on the north 101
by the Niobrara River, on the south by the Arkansas or possibly 131
the Canadian, on the east by the Missouri, and on the west extended rather indefinitely toward the Rockies. Actually, however, it was

---

[12] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 199.

[13] Idem. Compare Lesser and Weltfish, op. cit.

[14] Ashley and Smith, 1918, p. 119.

[15] See Murie, 1914, pp. 549 ff.

619
621

[For additional information on cooperative hunting expeditions involving one or more Pawnee bands, see also category 224.]

The bands were still somewhat socially discrete. The mainstay of the diet was largely the traditional corn, beans, and squash grown on their own farm plots and dried and stored as of old. Beef had taken the place of buffalo meat and was prepared by thin slicing and drying for storage or boiled on feast days. Relationships in kin groups continued, and some of the religious ideology survived. A Doctor Dance Ceremony was performed by the last survivors who possessed the arts and the knowledge involved and brought us some welcome rain after a long dry spell. The question was, "How to give these fragments life and place them in their integral context?" We evolved the plan of utilizing one year of Pawnee life in as much detail as possible, covering the round of the year through the four seasons as reconstructed with the help of the surviving Pawnees. Our plan proved to be an effective means of developing vivid recall in Evarts and the other old Pawnees. For a number of reasons we would think of our year hypothetically as 1867; in that year the Pawnee settlement and round of life was sufficiently integral to serve as a base line for our reconstruction. Some of the other surviving Pawnees were in their late teens and twenties in that year. Evarts supplied a normal thread of events in answer to my prodding questions for the details that seemed to a Pawnee all too obvious and we supplemented and checked this with whomever we thought had relevant knowledge concerning one point or another. Most of the old people had worked with me on linguistics before that time. 621 262 252 241 771 796 178 114

It was not possible to reproduce the material in the exact order in which I collected it. I have had to reassort the material somewhat so that it falls into some of our own functional categories and at the same time so that it fits within the seasonal round of the year. Under the pressure of time when my notes were recorded I rendered the Pawnee or Pawnee-English in which it was given into the closest normal English equivalent I could muster. Also, this book was compiled a quarter of a century or more after it was recorded. I have avoided altering the original simple declarative language too radically. In some cases I have retained the original language with very little variation, particularly where it is an incident that had often been recounted among the Pawnees, a very familiar situation, a technical account, a speech, a personality sketch. Such passages are indented from the left margin. 128

In addition to the informant record, I have checked my account in detail with most of the existing material on the Pawnees and in some cases supplemented it from these sources. This is detailed in the Notes and Comments with references correlated with my text. Recently excavated archaeological materials together with eyewitness accounts by contemporary observers of the 1830's and 1840's have overwhelmingly vindicated the accuracy of my Pawnee informants. The most substantial help in this recent phase of the work has been given me by Prof. John L. Champe, author of an important stratigraphic treatment of Nebraska archaeology, *Ash Hol-* 127

796 it with him, pledging his support in food and goods, would the ceremony
ever be performed. In all his work, both public and private, the Pawnee
182 moved on a totally voluntary basis. Whatever social forms existed were
carried within the consciousness of the people, not by others who were in
626 a position to make demands. As I talked to the old men and women I
realized that this is what we wish for but do not have. As they described
the coordination of their households, I repeatedly asked when they got
together and laid the plan they were apparently carrying through and in
what exact terms they discussed it. The answer was always, "They didn't
discuss it at all. They don't talk about it. It goes along just as it happens to
work out."

626 For example, sentinels were always needed to man the outposts and
keep watch for the enemy who might be lurking nearby ready to attack
701 the villages, or in the process of sneaking up on them. Sentinels were neither
assigned nor called for by anyone. A number of young men who
were friends would be talking together and one would mention that this
was about the time the enemy would be attacking. Then one of them
would remark, "I think I'll go up to the sentry post early tomorrow
morning." Another would say, "I think I'll do that too." Then several others
would chime in and word would get around, and other young men
would also turn up long before dawn at the different sentry posts. The
592 household coordinated itself in precisely the same way. A remark by one
626 person brought a complementary remark from another, and the plans
seemed to shape themselves.

Time after time I tried to find a case of orders given, and there was
626 none. Gradually I began to realize that democracy is a very personal
thing which, like charity, begins at home. Basically it means not being
coerced and having no need to coerce anyone else. The Pawnee learned
this way of living in the earliest beginnings of his life. In the detailed
events of everyday living as a child, he began his development as a disciplined
and free man or as a woman who felt her dignity and her independence
to be inviolate. I was often confronted with the feeling that
they expected of me a kind of independence and decisiveness that was
not considered becoming to a woman in our society. Men and women expected
the same clear and well-defined reaction from me, and among
themselves it was evident that it was their accustomed mode of interacting.

622 The Pawnees had chiefs, but these were the focus of consensus, not
the wielders of power. There was no over-all chief of all the Pawnees.
619 The two major political groupings among the Pawnees were the Skidi
and the South Bands, distinguished by a slight difference in the pronunciation
of the Pawnee language. The main subdivisions within these groupings
were villages and households. The village numbered from three
621 hundred to five hundred people in ten to fifteen households. The real

The real administrative officials of the Pawnees were the chiefs of the villages. All 621 people within a village considered themselves kin, and the chiefs were 622 conceived as heads of extended families rather than as superimposed government officials. Although the chieftainship was hereditary in certain families, the individuals selected to fill the post were chosen for their humility and sagacity. An aggressive temperament was considered a barrier to the office. There were definite implicit mechanisms for village 619 coordination and interband cooperation, often by means of emissaries 626 sent between the households of chiefs to express their combined opinions and to learn the wishes of the other parties. Public opinion and consensus were always well estimated. No official conceived that an arbitrary decision was feasible or desirable.

The difference in our expectations is shown in the words of Fray Fran- 171 cisco Casañas de Jesus Maria, first missionary to the Caddo-Hasinai, a related tribe to the Pawnees, in 1691 (Swanton, 1942, pp. 170-171):

> These allied tribes do not have one person to govern them (as with us a kingdom is accustomed to have a ruler whom we call king.) They have only a *xinesi*. He usually has a subordinate who gathers together four or five tribes who consent to live together and to form a province or kingdom, as it might be called—and a very large one too, if all these tribes had one person to rule over them. But such a head they have not, and I, therefore, infer that this province in New Spain is called "Teijias" [Friend]—which really expresses just what they are because each tribe is a friend to all the others—cannot be called a kingdom.

And Robert Lowie says in *The Crow Indians* (1935, p.5):

> How shall we conceive the ancient chief?—a good "valiant" man. He was neither a ruler nor a judge and in general had no power over life and death —he decided when and where his followers should move and pitch camp.

As I studied Pawnee life I often asked myself how far the power 000 mechanisms that characterize our present social life are really indispensable. In our theory of democracy we express a profound desire for the kind of voluntarism that the Pawnee practiced. It is not easily described, for it is implicit in the individual personalities of the people themselves. Their personality pattern only too readily eludes us, and only by attention to minute detail can we come to understand its special quality.

And yet, although very different in all other details, Pawnee life, like 221 our own, was strongly molded by the four seasons. Each of the seasons had its special program of activities that, taken together, made a complete and consistent pattern. The spring and fall of the year were the times of planting and harvesting the crops of corn, beans, and squash. During these two seasons the Pawnees lived in their earth-lodge villages that

851 848 convince a man of his physiological paternity, and her child would then be a social outcast. It would be known as *pira-paru*, "hidden child," since the mother would be ashamed and try to hide it when her brothers came to visit. The child would be subject to many insults and humiliations throughout its life. In these terms, whatever the sentiments of the parents for each other, the child always had a legal right to the care of both its parents, clearly identified as its physical progenitors. Children were normally cared for by their grandmothers, and it was quite possible that various fortunes placed the child in one household with its grandmother, its mother in another household, and the father in still another. The obligations for support, however, remained incumbent on both parents.

593 221 The household as a working group of coordinated members was precisely organized, and each household had the same general structure. However, twice a year when the tribe set out on its semiannual buffalo hunts, the household work group fragmented itself into many smaller groupings, which reassorted themselves so that an able hunter became the nucleus of each new composite grouping. When they returned to the village the households did not necessarily reassemble with the same personnel as before. This was entirely optional, and there were many reasons why people might decide to join a different household group than the one they had been with before leaving. However, it was not too hard to establish a working household on this basis even twice a year, since the pattern of operation was the same everywhere. The three duplicate stations on the north and south sides of the lodge with their full complement of the young, mature, and old women was a frame into which any individual woman could fit herself in whatever household she entered with little loss of efficiency, since her duties were so clearly defined once she selected the category to which she belonged. And a child with a grandmother to care for it could fit in anywhere. Young men led a more transient existence. They were likely to congregate at different times in one lodge or another, and a bed would be made for them by putting down a mat between the central pillars and providing it with the necessary skin bedding. Old men also moved about rather freely, staying overnight in various households whenever they were detained late of an evening telling stories or participating in a ceremony. As for the mature man, his married-in household was not considered his "true" home. In his married-in household he was an outsider with formal obligations, which sometimes tended to weigh rather heavily on him. Then he would go where his home really was—that of his sisters and his mother, where they would gladly feed him and take care of him and where he could relax
621 and feel like a child. When this happened, his wife understood, and she
622 knew he would be back after a few days.

821 778 The only stable and fixed unit of Pawnee life was the village with

three hundred to five hundred people and from ten to twelve households. 621
The village community centered around the chief who had his sanction 622
through a vision from Heaven. Every person within the village was also
under the tutelage of a given star, and the chief held the sacred bundle 821
that represented the supernatural story of its origin and gave the village 778
its continuity. In these terms, all the people in the village were considered
as a kindred, but their specific cosmic derivation gave them differing
social ranks. According to their star affiliations, some were born as 821
chiefs, some as braves, and some as commoners; their social functions in
the community were thus relatively preordained. When a chiefly infant 554
was born to two high-ranking parents, he was wrapped in a wildcat skin, 565
symbolizing the heavens with its panoply of stars and planets. When he
married, the priest and his senior errand man impersonated the Morning
Star and the sun respectively. High-ranking chiefly families provided the
administrators, whereas the families of braves—the next in rank—provided
the executive officers. The commoners, known collectively as
akitaru "the tribe or people," were often reminded by their officials that
only their support made it possible to carry out the responsibilities of
high office. However, one's life was not entirely cast in this mold. A chief 554
or brave might never be considered worthy of the office, or he himself 565
might not feel capable of dedicating himself to its responsibilities, while
a commoner could rise high in the social scale and acquire considerable
wealth by becoming a successful doctor and earning high fees from his
grateful patients. Some people of commoner rank had little use for prestige
positions and would say, "I don't care to be a noted person." Another
group would prefer a carefree life of adventure. They would go
out on long scouting expeditions, roaming about the country and exploring
to see what they could find. They were helpful to anyone in the village
who needed them, without considering it beneath their dignity to
perform any menial task and gave away what they had rather freely.
Such men were referred to as "boys" on the grounds that they were like
boys, having no care for accumulating anything or for providing for the
morrow. They were regarded with affection and sometimes rose to the
rank of brave in recognition of their long public service.

3

PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: II

000

Marriage Arrangements—Chart of Kin Genealogical Structure—Personal Relationships among Kin—Individual Aspirations Expressed in Names—Brief Sketches of Eleven Pawnee Lives—the Kin System Not a Constricting Mold but a Fluid System for the Individual Personality

Marriage and Kin

621 [582] ACCORDING TO PAWNEE theory, all marriages should be made within one's own village, for to marry outside would be considered a poor risk, contrary to the cosmic plan. The sacred bundle and its ritual epitomized the special heavenly order under which the villagers lived, and an outsider would have no place within this order. As a result, the village was in fact a large extended family, geographically localized.

582 However, within this general family connection the lines as to whom one could and could not marry were very sharply drawn. The careful identification of the physiological father as well as of the mother was an important aspect of this plan. The kinship system was designed to avoid the marriage or sexual involvement of close blood relatives. Marriages of parents and children, brothers and sisters, both half- and full-sisters and brothers, were definitely excluded. Beyond this rather universal type of incest ruling, there were other principles which governed these relationships among the Pawnees. 611 The family was primarily matrilineal—that is, the mother's family was regarded as one's very own family, while that of the father and his relatives was considered a different order of relationship.

593 604 As I have already pointed out, a man always had a home in his sister's

571 574 [521] [554] plan was applied to any larger gathering as well as to more casual encounters. The seating was aways according to relative social status and the right of priority in conversation was always determined by rank. There was little room for simple, spontaneous, social contact in the life of a mature man. Except for the intimacies of marriage, there was no opportunity for easy conversation between mature men and women either. Missionary Dunbar (1881, pp. 745-746) describes the conduct of the men:

> 571 574 517 [The Pawnees] were . . . among themselves very sociable. With the men there was apt to be perhaps, an excess of formality in their formal gatherings, but this is a natural consequence of their oft-recurring feasts and councils. It was quite common for several men in the evening to meet in some house where tobacco was to be had, and there sit smoking and recounting their exploits. One of the party kept up a monotonous thumping upon a drum. Another would dance for a while, make a speech, and sit down. Another would follow with the same role, etc. At certain seasons such gatherings were of nightly occurrence, lasting usually well-nigh till daylight.
>
> 571 537 623 Akin to this trait of storytelling, was their delight in discussion. They were extravagantly fond of debating what might be termed questions of general principle, often exhibiting considerable tact in their manner of sustaining an argument. Their principal efforts of this kind were reserved for public occasions, such as councils. It was impossible to attend a tribal council where any important matter was pending and not be impressed with the power and cogency of their eloquence. The reputation of being
> [554] an orator was coveted, and a man, when once recognized as such, was sure to wield great influence. An orator when addressing a council upon a question in which he was thoroughly interested, seemed to appreciate fully the dignity of his position, and identifying himself with the cause he advocated, and addressing himself directly to the person he was attempting to answer or convince, his speech would become vividly dramatic.

Tribal Fun and Games

609 62 [572] Theoretically, friendships were best formed within one's own village for beyond that was a kind of social "No-Man's Land." Sometimes, however, the wall of suspicion broke down, as in one story we heard related:

> 609 62 539 The members of the different bands didn't like each other as a rule. We would say, "Don't bother with them (referring to people of another village or band), they're mean."
>
> But some nice evening the Man-Going-Downstream Band and the Meat-Beggars would join the Little-Earth-Lodge Band and the children

> of the Skidi villages of Village-across-a-Ridge and Pumpkin-Vine would join the Wolf-in-Water and Bottomland Village, and they would play rough and kick one another. 609 621 539

The location of the four bands was along the west side of Beaver Creek and the Skidi were in the westernmost position, the other three bands about half a mile away to the east. While according to past tradition, they always lived south of the Skidi and were referred to generally as "South Bands," they were now actually located to the east: 621 361

> "The Skidi chief would sit on a high bluff and the Eastward (*tuhawit*, "Settlement-east" chiefs sat on a bluff near their home and they would watch the boys. They said, "When we were boys we used to play like that and kick." 621 524
>
> It would begin in the evening when the boys would call out, *hu-hu-hu*. Then the boys would hear and come outside. Folks would say to the small boys, "Don't go there, you'll get hurt," but some would steal out and join the fight anyway. When one side would be chased back, the older people would laugh and say, "Go back again. . . ."
>
> When it got darker the little boys were told to go back and run home because the big boys were going to fight now—the sixteen-to-eighteen-year-olds. Then in the moonlight sometimes, the men of about thirty years old would fight, and then afterward the old men forty and over. The men would take blankets from one another and kick one another, but afterward they had to return the blankets.
>
> This game was never played with the Skidi villages alone opposing one another, only between the Skidi Band as one party and the South Bands as the other. They never kicked hard—just for fun. If the South Band boys met the Skidi boys, there was always a kicking contest."

A similar game is reported between different divisions of the Comanches. [171]

The Pawnee Person

There is no simple formula for describing the intricate logic of the Pawnee people's lives. One thing is clear—that no one is caught within the social code. Against the backdrop of his natural environment, each individual stands as his own person. The Old World design for the human personality does not apply to this New World Man. The Pawnee child was born into a community from the beginning, and he never acquired the notion that he was closed in "within four walls." He was literally trained to feel that the world around him was his home—*kahuraru*, 156 156 772 829

if he wandered over to his parents' tent and asked his mother to fix a 606
bed for him it was accepted as a normal thing. His wife would understand 593
that "he felt like being childish for a while" and that next morning
he would be back with them. Sometimes the sounds of fighting would
be heard inside a tent—a father-in-law and a son-in-law in conflict.

Although he might live elsewhere in the village, an unmarried 593
younger brother was likely to join his older brother for the hunt. This 224*
was his obligation. When he married, however, he would be impelled to
go with his wife's family. Sometimes two brothers and their families [592]
lived in an earth lodge jointly and they might very well also go jointly
on the hunt.

The household of Old Bull and Victory Call broke up into three 592
groupings. Each of the four villages of the Skidi Band had a separate 621•
section of the encampment. Old Bull and Victory Call both camped in
the Pumpkin-Vine Village section in the west, but each had a separate
encampment and ran their households entirely independently. The camp
of Old Bull included his two wives and the grandmother and their
young children. In Victory Call's camp were his wife White Woman, his
assistant Horse Rider, his wife No Corn, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy,
and the boy Otter. The old lady Grieves-the-Enemy and the boy Yellow
Calf went far over to the east section where her son was encamped in
Village-in-the-Bottomlands with his father-in-law, Path-of-the-Enemy.
The two little boys did not see each other all summer, as there were hundreds
of tents between them. When they returned to the village in the
fall, it was optional whether they rejoined the household or not.

In the past, the people who were left behind in the village were in 224*
great danger and they all cried bitterly as the expedition departed. The 888
Stay-at-Homes were usually the sick and the old. Some men would stay 734
longer to give a little more protection to an old grandmother or someone
of whom they were fond. The Stay-at-Homes would congregate in a few
earth lodges in the village, knowing where to find food in the storage
pits. Leaving the slow and the sick at home was a necessary step, as the
line of march had to move with precision because other tribes were also
pressing in on the buffalo herds. They might move entirely out of reach,
whereupon the tribe would be faced with the danger of losing all of
the effort they had invested in the expedition. Nevertheless, sometimes
a soft-hearted chief would say, "Let's all go, even if we have to camp
every five miles!" Others would demur, saying that was too slow; finally
the old people themselves would say, "No, we can't go along. We're old
anyhow," and having made this concession of their own accord, they
would be permitted to return to the village. Sometimes noticing that a 224*
perfectly able-bodied family he liked was not coming along, Eagle Chief 622
would inquire and, finding they were staying behind because they had 426
no horses, would lend them two of his own.

58

CAMP 6 ON GRAND ISLAND

000

Problems with Stay-at-Homes—Rearrangement of Groups for Hunt—the Journey South—the Hunt

Traveling along the south bank of the Platte, when they arrived oppo- 224*
site the middle of Grand Island, they crossed the channel northward and 484*
camped there. They set up a large encampment of all four bands with the 361
Skidi furthest west. Some people had planned to remain behind before they left the village, but others, particularly old people, would decide that it was too cold to go on and would seek a place in one of the tents of those who were staying.

But sometimes the defections were more serious. A prominent man 224*
like Misery, for example, would have a lapse of public spirit and secretly 484*
plan to stay behind before they left the village. Misery was the son of 592
Sitting Hawk, Victory Call's oldest brother. He was married to three 621
daughters of a prominent chief of Bottomlands Village, Comanche Chief, and lived in their household. As was the common situation in such a lodge, there were a number of untitled "boys" who made their home there. Four of them formed a small group together, their leader being Horse Finder who owned a number of horses while the others had none. Horse Finder would ordinarily be the nucleus of a hunting group with the other three to assist him. Misery had been able to induce him to remain on the island with him along with his group. On the other hand, he had not been successful in keeping another of the "boys" that lived in the household, Jim Bear, from going along to the hunting grounds. Jim Bear had two horses and a wife who could slice the buffalo meat. When he got wind of the secret plans, he made arrangements to join the hunt
group of White Eagle. Misery's decision meant that his father, Sitting 224*
Hawk, would also have to stay behind. There were a number of other 484*
planned defections of this kind with the intention being to ride out as a 621

*224 *484 •621 single group of hunters all the way due south to the Republican, get some buffalo meat, and bring it all the way back to the island where their families could process it in comfort. It would take them two days to get to the Republican and back and a number of short forays of this sort would yield them a good supply of meat and hides. Such a plan to anticipate the hunt on the Republican was decidedly antisocial.

Eagle Chief first became aware of the situation when the expedition was ready to leave for the main hunting grounds, but there was nothing he could do about it. In answer to his question, "What's the trouble that you're not going ahead?" Misery would try to make his decision appear spontaneous by remarking, "Oh, I don't feel like going this year anyway. I want to go trapping on this island. That's why I don't want to go." As the beaver skins could be sold for cash, this was intended to give the impression that he needed money. But Eagle Chief knew better.

In Victory Call's family, Grandma had made up her mind beforehand to stay behind and now she would join the camp of Misery in view of his close relationship to Victory Call. White Woman left enough food with her for her share in the household and some baggage to keep for them, along with their whole supply of roasted corn to be eaten on the way back, since No Corn had enough for the journey out. Grandma was diligent at gathering wild potatoes and ground beans, and after contributing some to Misery's household, would have a good supply for the family when they got back. She would also receive some dried buffalo meat for her help in the household.

None of the Stay-at-Home camps of the several bands had a formal leader, but the most prominent man among them would automatically assume the role. In the Skidi camp, Eagle Chief would remark to Misery, "I want you to look after these folks while we're away." The chiefs [648] stopped off at Fort Kearney before leaving to receive army rations and when they held council with the army officers, Eagle Chief requested them to "Look after our people here," intending that they should keep an eye on the Stay-at-Homes and give them some food if necessary. Much to his surprise, however, they sent a troop of cavalry under Major North as an escort for the outgoing party. When they had gone a little way, it was discovered that Eagle Chief's remark had been misunderstood through a slight error of linguistic interpretation by the translator, and the cavalry turned back.

*224 *484 They left Grand Island from Fort Kearney and made four camps to Plum Creek near Lexington. They had sent out no forays from these camps to scout for buffalo to the south as they knew the Stay-at-Homes had gone before them. It was also unlikely that they would find any small buffalo herds in the neighborhood of the camp as they had in summer, since the buffalo of the Republican herd did not come that far north in the cold weather. Moreover they had to conserve the energy of their

duties throughout the ceremony. Each had a special place in the 796*
lodge, and was the recipient of peculiar benefits supposed to be derived
from the ceremony.

The Father was usually a chief, or a man prominent in the tribe, [556
who not only had accumulated property, but had a large following of
relatives who could contribute to the store of articles required for 554]
these rites. The tribal standing of the Son was always equal to that
of the Father.

The Father selected a man from among those who had been taught the rites and ritual songs to take charge of the ceremony from beginning to end. Such a man was called Ku'rahus, and to him the entire party was required to yield obedience in every particular. The Ku'rahus chose an assistant, and also took with him a third person, a sort of acolyte, to whom he was teaching the rites.

If the Father was a chief, then he had to invite one other chief 796*
to be of his party, to act as substitute whenever he was obliged to be
absent from his post of duty. If, however, the Father was not him- 622
self a chief, then it became necessary for him to secure the attendance of two chiefs, one to act as substitute for the other, as the
constant presence of a chief was required throughout the ceremony.

The priest who had charge of the shrine sacred to rain was also of 796*
the Father's party. It was his duty to furnish the pipe and conduct
the ceremony of offering smoke to Tira'wa. The Father's party also [793]
included two doctors, men who had received a knowledge of healing [791
plants, either directly through visions or by initiation into certain
rites by which this knowledge was communicated. Each was required 237]
to bring an eagle's wing, one the right wing and the other the left.
The wing of the eagle is the official mark of a doctor. The Father
must also secure a number of singers, whose duty it was to carry the [533]*
drum and act as a choir to accompany the Ku'rahus, who always led
the singing. The rest of the party of the Father was made up of his [602]
kindred, with such of his friends as might desire to contribute to the
required food and gifts and thus to become entitled to share in the
return gifts made to the Fathers by the Children.

The preliminary ceremonies (the first three rituals) took place at the lodge of the Father, and from it the party of the Fathers started on its journey.

REQUISITES OF THE CEREMONY AND THEIR SYMBOLISM

The objects peculiar to this ceremony were two feathered stems 796*
about a meter in length, made of ash wood. They were rounded and
smoothed, and the pith was burned out to leave an opening for the 192
breath to pass, as through a pipestem. One of these stems was 778
named Raha'katittu, from ra, the, this one; ha=hak, a part of the
word hakkow, breathing mouth of wood, the k being dropped for
euphony (see translation of hawkowpirus, drum, page 17); katit, dark,

796*

a path would be strewn with drops of fat. Red is the color typical of life. The ointment signified a prayer for abundance and life. 778

The wildcat skin (plate XC, page 48) served as a covering for these objects when they were to be wrapped up and it was always spread on the ground for them to rest on. [822]

The significance of the wildcat in this ceremony is of peculiar interest. 796* This animal, we are told, never misses his prey, never fails to attain the object of his pursuit, and accomplishes this end quietly, 778 tactfully, without arousing antagonism. 825 From conversations with the Ku'rahus it became clear that it was these qualities and not the savageness and stealthy cruelty of the animal that were to be kept in mind. To be able to accomplish a purpose without offending, without raising opposition, seems to have been regarded as the special attribute vouchsafed by Tira'wa to the wildcat. It is because of this attribute that it was chosen to be always with the sacred objects during 796* this ceremony. The sacred objects symbolized not only an appeal from man to certain powers, 778 but the presence of the powers themselves, while the nature of the appeal, a desire for children, long life, and plenty, was such that the enjoyment of the benefits craved must depend largely on the successful exercise by man of those qualities which were regarded as characteristic of the wildcat. So the skin of the wildcat was the cover of the sacred objects when they were wrapped up; it was spread on the ground as their guard and support when they were laid at ceremonial rest, and when they were carried about the lodge during the ceremony it was borne by the chief, who walked between the Kurahus and his assistant, each of whom held a feathered stem.

Only a chief could carry the wildcat skin and the ear of corn. [622 ● Therefore, if the Father was not himself a chief he had to secure the service of one in order that the wildcat could be borne by a man possessing 482] the authority of a ruler in the tribe. As the wildcat stood for the ability to accomplish a purpose with tact and without exciting opposition, qualities essential to the successful ruler, it would seem that the imperative association of the wildcat with a chief was intended to convey the idea that only under the administration of such a man could the tribe have internal peace and enjoy the abundance and prosperity represented by Mother Corn.

As every article belonging to the ceremony and the position and movements of those who conducted the rites had a special significance, the position given to the wildcat, as explained by the Kurahus, reveals the mind of the native in regard to this animal, which figures conspicuously in other rites and ceremonies, and which controls one of the sacred shrines of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

TIME OF THE CEREMONY

There was no stated time for the performance of the Hako ceremony. 796* It was not connected with planting or harvesting, hunting, or war, or any tribal festival. The Ku'rahus said, "We take up the Hako in

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796 the downy eagle feather (see plate XCI). Now he takes the rope of buffalo hair with which the sacred objects have been bound to the pole, and with it ties his buffalo robe around his waist. He is now fully dressed for the ceremony, and he stands at the west, back of the holy place.

He anoints with the sacred ointment the face, arms, and body of his assistant, ties a downy eagle feather on his scalp lock, puts a buffalo robe on him in the ceremonial manner and hands him the feathered stem with the white-eagle pendant; then the assistant takes his position behind the holy place, toward the south.

The Ku'rahus next annoints the face of the chief and fastens on 622 his head a small tuft of down taken from under the wing of an eagle. *796 The chief wears his buffalo robe in the ceremonial manner. The Ku'rahus hands the wildcat skin to the chief, who folds its head about the crotched stick and the butt of the ear of corn, so that the tip to which the downy eagle feather is fastened is well in sight above the head of the cat. The skin hangs down in front of the chief as he holds it with both hands by the neck. He takes his place back of the Ku'rahus.

The second chief, who is to assist the first, is now given the sacred pipe and tobacco bag of the Rain shrine and told to stand behind the Ku'rahus's assistant.

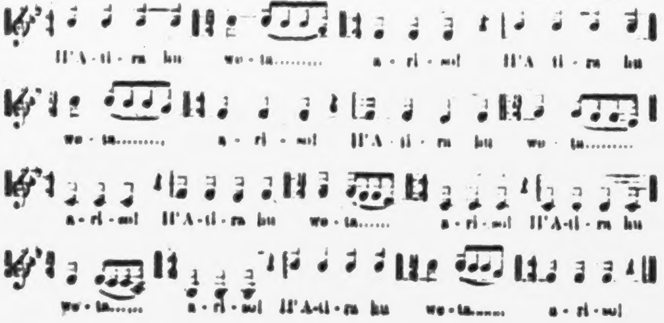
*796 The Ku'rahus hands the eagle wings to the doctors; the one with the left wing stands to the north of the Ku'rahus, and the one with the right wing takes his place to the south of the assistant. Lastly the Ku'rahus takes up for himself the feathered stem with the brown-eagle pendant and then, with the six men all in position (see figure 173), they sing the first stanza of the following song.

SONG

Words and Music

*533
*539
*796

Slow. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


H'A-ti-ra hu we-ta......... a-ri-sol H'A ti-ra hu
we-ta........ a-ri-sol H'A-ti-ra hu we-ta.........
a-ri-sol H'A-ti-ra hu we-ta...... a-ri-sol H'A-ti-ra hu
we-ta...... a-ri-sol H'A-ti-ra hu we-ta...... a-ri-sol

*796 The picture of the face of Tira'wa atius is put upon the face of the consecrated child.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

*539 1210 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1211 Hi-ri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta wawe he!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hari! harken!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
wawe, to spread.
he! from hiri! give heed!
1212, 1213 See line 1211.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the fifth stanza the old man touches the lines here and there to make them clear; he can not spread the paint, for he is making a picture.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

1214 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation
1215 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots weri ta witshpa ha!
hiri! harken! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hari! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
witshpa, accomplished; completed.
ha! behold!
1216, 1217 See line 1215.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 In the sixth stanza we sing that it is done, that the face of Tira'wa atius is upon the face of the consecrated child.

821 There is a group of stars overhead which forms a circle (Corona Borealis). This is a circle of chiefs. Tira'wa atius placed them there and directed them to paint their faces with the same lines we have put upon the child, and all who are to be leaders must be so painted.

*539 *796 575 622 From this circle of stars came a society called Raristesharu. All dances (societies) given by Tira'wa atius are called raris; tesharu

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

means chief (the te is a modification of le, in the word lesharu, chief). The members of the society Raristesharu are chiefs, and these men are permitted by the star chiefs to paint their faces with the blue lines and to wear the downy feather on the head. The members of this society do not dance and sing; they talk quietly and try to be like the stars.

539*
796*
575
622

I was told that it was from this society that permission was given to paint the child with the blue lines and to put the downy feather upon it.

PART IV. PUTTING ON THE SYMBOLS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

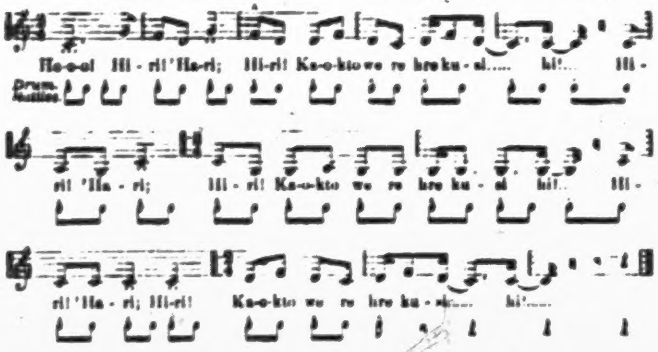
The old man now takes a bunch of eagle down, and as we sing the first stanza of the following song he holds it before the child.

539*
796*

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

(a) M. M. ♪ = 126.
a = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o! Hi-ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! Ka-o-kto we re hre ku-si..... hi!... Hi-
Drum. Rattles.
ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! Ka-o-kto we re hre ku-si hi!.. Hi-
ri! 'Ha-ri; Hi-ri! Ka-o-kto we re hre ku-si..... hi!.....

533*

I

1218 Ho-o-o!
1219 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re hre kusi hi!
1220 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re hre kusi hi!
1221 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re hre kusi hi!

II

1222 Ho-o-o!
1223 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re ru ata ha!
1224 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re ru ata ha!
1225 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re ru ata ha!

III

1226 Ho-o-o!
1227 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri tukuka ha!
1228 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri tukuka ha!
1229 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri tukuka ha!

SECOND RITUAL. PREFIGURING THE JOURNEY TO THE SON

*796 ● 622 787 The ceremony of offering the Hako was believed to bring great benefits. As the tie to be formed was a close one and likely to have a bearing on the welfare of two tribes, the selection of the man who was to be the Son was not left exclusively to the Father. His choice had to be submitted to the chiefs of his tribe for their approval. Nor did the matter end here, for the chiefs, seemingly unwilling to assume the entire responsibility of a final decision, threw the confirmation of the selection of the Son upon the supernatural, represented by the ear of corn.

[771] To be able to follow the Pawnee's thought one should keep well in mind the native belief in the reality of an invisible world accessible to man. The Ku'rahus explained that in this rite the spirit of the corn and the spirits of the assembled company must meditate together upon the proposed candidate for the Son, must consider his qualifications and his ability to meet the requirements for a successful issue of the ceremony. He said: "As we meditate we sit with bowed heads, and Mother Corn sits with bowed head." When the decision is reached "Mother Corn lifts her head and stands erect, then she moves through the air on her journey to the Son, and we follow."

In this mystical journey Mother Corn "opens the way" between the land of the Fathers and that of the Children. She does more. She enters the village and passes around among the lodges of the people to that of the selected man. She goes in and touches him while he sleeps. It is the spirit of Mother Corn that touches the spirit of the man in a dream. He does not see her who has touched him, but he sees one of the birds which belong to the feathered stem, the eagle, the owl, the duck, or the woodpecker, for the spirits of these birds are there with the spirit of Mother Corn in the lodge of the sleeping man. If, when he awakes, he is able to recall his dream, it is because Mother Corn has "opened his mind." Therefore when the messengers of the Father's party arrive with the tidings, "Your Father is coming," the dreamer is not taken by surprise, but is ready to respond without unnecessary delay.

*796 622 The old man narrated this symbolic procedure of the ear of corn and its attendant spirits without consciousness that he was saying anything unusual or contrary to ordinary experience. His only comment was, that it was very difficult for the men of the party of the Father so to fix their minds upon the desired end as to secure its accomplishment. He referred to this difficulty several times while explaining the words and meaning of the song. When questioned as to whether the attempt was always successful, he said that when it failed the failure was always due to a lack of earnestness or sincerity on the part of the persons so fixing their minds. By this he did not mean that the men failed because they did not try hard enough to

Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here,
Behold, my child! waiting here to bring the gift of life to you.
*796 Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint waits, the vigor of life to bring.

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here,
Behold, my child! flying here to bring the gift of life to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint flies, the vigor of life to bring.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here,
Behold, my child! touching here your head to bring the gift of life.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint touches, the vigor of life to bring.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who now follows here,
Behold, my child! Now the path it follows, paths where gods descend.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint follows, vigor of life to bring.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is spreading here,
Behold, my child! over you is spread the glowing gift of life.
Give heed, my child. See! Red paint brings the vigor of life to you.

VI

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has brought you life,
Behold, my child! Life you have received and finished is the task.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint leaves the vigor of life with you.

*796. The next act was the painting of the child's face with blue, the color of the sky, the abode of Tira'wa atius.

302 531 The design outlined by the water, the grass, the ointment, and the red paint was now clearly seen—an arch, crossing the forehead and resting on the cheeks, from the middle of which a line was drawn downward on the nose. This design was said to "picture the face of Tira'wa." The arch was the dome of the sky, his abode; the line, falling from the zenith, was the breath of Tira'wa descending on the child, meeting its breath.

● [622 821| We are told that this design came from the constellation Corona Borealis and was the insignia of a chief, as he who leads does so by the authority of Tira'wa and must bear his sign on the face. In this ceremony this design, taken in connection with the symbols next placed on the child, seems to represent the presence of the power, "the father of all things."

were comfortably settled in homes on individual plots remained 175*
on them and worked them faithfully. Living in houses, they were 648*
soon asking for tables and chairs and bedsteads. Ponies being their 657
chief form of property, the homesteaders would offer ponies for
cooking stoves and culinary implements. Some exchanged ponies [422]
for hogs. A great change was coming into Pawnee life.

The chiefs, priests and medicine men stubbornly opposed the [622
change. Their resistance was strengthened by lax and inefficient 756]
methods of government officials. Agents were political appointees, subject to the changing winds of political control. In the eight-year period from 1876 to 1884 seven agents were successively in charge of the Pawnee. The indications are that often they were lax and indolent, occasionally viciously dishonest. The great suffering for lack of adequate provisions in the early years was in part a result of such maladministration. In 1883 supervision became worse, when the independent Pawnee agency was merged into a combined agency for the Ponca, Pawnee and Oto (later to include the Tonkawa), which was located at Ponca City, many miles from the Pawnee Reservation. Only one or two days of the week could be spent with the Pawnee. The agency fell into disrepair, and procrastination ruled in the affairs of the Pawnee.

On the positive side there were the younger progressive spirits among the Pawnee themselves, who worked untiringly to persuade the people to adjust themselves to new conditions. They found opposition not only in their own ranks, but among white people in the Territory, who, sympathetic to Indian ideas, urged the Pawnee here and there to resist allotments. 175*

The Skiri were the most progressive of the four bands. By 1887 648*
a great many families were located on farms distributed all over the 177
reservation, and a large proportion of these were Skiri. By 1890 621
most of the Skiri lived on their own farms, furnished their houses 657
and dressed like white people, and spoke English in ordinary intercourse. The Tcawi ran them a close second. Of the other bands, while most were on allotted tracts, there were still many earth-lodges in evidence, and only those who were being educated in the schools were dressing and acting like white people. The Pitahawirat[4] proved most conservative and resisted change longest.

By the close of the decade the chiefs had accepted the inevitable. 175*
They blocked the agent in some minor measures, but for the most 648*
part expressed themselves eager to see the people educated and 657
civilized. Officials were able to report that the tribe was anxious to 177
have an allotting officer come to the reservation to register their individual tracts and issue certificates: the people were puzzled

---

[4]

of the government program to make the Pawnee self-maintaining 175*
farmers, to induce them to labor at manual pursuits, building their 648*
own houses, repairing their own implements, wagons and harness, 657
and to give them the management of the freighting of their own
supplies. In the later years a measure of self-government was introduced [698]
in the form of the Court of Indian Offenses.

Under the reservation system the only governmental authority 175*
was that of the Department of Indian Affairs, which, through the 648*
Department of the Interior, was part of the executive branch of 657
the United States government. Laws and acts of Congress prescribed 698
the manner in which the Department and its agencies were run,
but for ordinary legal purposes on the reservation the agent in charge was sole arbiter. As soon as practicable a Court of Indian Offenses, by means of which the Indians adjudicated their own affairs, was instituted on an Indian reservation. Up to 1887 the tribes of the Pawnee agency, including the Pawnee, Ponca, Oto and the Tonkawa, preferred to bring their troubles to the agent and accept his decision as final. In 1889 the Pawnee asked that a court of their own be established, and this was done December 1 of that year. The court was composed of three Pawnee judges, who sat the 3rd and 23rd of each month to hear cases on file. The proceedings were written down by a clerk. When the case had been heard each judge gave his decision, and the agreement of two carried. In the first year it functioned, the Pawnee Court of Indian Offenses tried twenty-four cases. These involved the settlement of Indian estates, the adjustment of debts, destruction of property, drunkenness and divorce. The Court continued to function until 1893 when the Pawnee, with the breaking up of their reservation became citizens of the United States and subject to Territorial Law.
Along with the Court and its jurisdiction went the organization [625]
of the Indian Police. Earlier, in Nebraska, a force of Pawnee had at intervals policed the tribe. At first they were subject to the will of the chiefs, later they were directly responsible to the agent. In Oklahoma the force of eight policemen was responsible for the arrest and handling of those who came before the Court of Indian Offenses. Judges and policemen were paid small salaries by the government.

The disintegration of the old Pawnee culture which took place 175*
in the period from 1876 to 1892 was in part a correlative of the 648*
change in their economic and material life: in part however it was 178
stimulated by direct government attack upon specific customs and
ways. 622●

Of their social and political life the power and control of the 657

*175 chiefs, priests and medicine men, and the customs of marriage and
*648 divorce, were directly opposed by officials. That the chiefs were
finally losing power was not however, a result either of the official
178 opposition, or altogether of the breaking up of the band villages; it
●622 flowed more directly from the gradual introduction of individualized
657 property control. The traditional native view of a chief was that he was the "father" of his people, who must see to the well-being of every individual in the tribe. To do so the chief had to be able to control a larger quantity of property than the average individual in order to give and help wherever it was necessary. This he accomplished through his individual prowess on the war path and the hunt. But in addition, tribespeople who valued him as chief and leader contributed to his resources in order to aid him to maintain himself and succor his people. Individual ownership of homes and farms not only made individuals materially independent of the chief and tribe, but reduced the chief to a property equality with his tribespeople, making it impossible for him to continue the customs of paternal generosity which tradition commended to him. Without being able to give to and help the poor and distraught, the chief not only lost respect and self-respect, but he was unable to prove his supernatural right to leadership, or that fortune was with him, that the powers of the universe were on his side, and through him were guiding the people.

The agents did not understand this. They felt merely that the chief had power to command so long as the people lived clustered together around him. They expressed in their reports the hope that recognition of chiefs by the Department of Indian Affairs would become a memory.

*175 The polygynous marriage customs of the Pawnee, based primarily
*648 on the sororate or marriage of younger sisters of the wife, were not
657 interfered with up to 1881. Along with the way in which marriage
was arranged by the parents without consulting the young people,
595 and the ceremony itself, involving a transfer of horses and other
property. Pawnee polygyny was, however, consistently considered
reprehensible by officials. Polygyny as well as first marriages
[582] involved girls who were very young, often fourteen or fifteen. These
were withdrawn from school at once, and as it was impossible to
carry out an educational program which would send girls of such
a tender age into the tribal life as civilizing influences, the practice
of marrying them so young destroyed the efficiency of the school
[586] as an instrument of civilization. Divorce by mutual consent was a
custom of the Pawnee, which involved a looseness of marital relations from the white standpoint.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

668

west,[1] and the young man sat down facing them with the crier 177
by his side. He said,

"When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a 794
spirit. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who 796
wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away 787
from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, 'My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people.' I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me and said, 'My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing.' So we went on and there in the center of the village our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return, and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying on the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw."[2]

[1] This is the ceremonial arrangement followed later in smoking and opening the dance; see below.

[2] Murie, p. 634. This is the tradition of the way in which the smoke offering was introduced into Pawnee Ghost Dance arrangements.

In the vision two minor points are worth calling attention to. The dead blessed the young man in the Pawnee way when they blew their breath upon him. The closing statement, "this is the end," etc. follows the Pawnee literary form of myths and stories.

More significant is the suggestion of Christ as "leading the people,"
an identification of Christ with chieftainship, which concept determined 622
important ritual aspects of the Pawnee Ghost Dance and Ghost Dance hand games.

668 796 787 stopped. He stood right there in the road. He said, 'Now my girl, I came to meet you here. I'm the one who told you to come. We are dancing over here. We know you folks are dancing over there and I want you to tell them to have Seven Brothers of the Crows just as well as the Eagles. Now when you go back you can tell them. Sometimes when the Seven Eagles are tired singing, you have to turn over the singing to the Crows to help out. That's why I say you should have Seven Crows. One more thing: When you have the Seven Eagles sing, you must put one woman between each two Eagle brothers, because when they sing the women must sing too. And you must do the same way with the Seven Crows.' I wanted to turn my head to look around, and as I did that, I woke up, and got up."

668 796 In accordance with this vision, Mark Rudder as the main Crow selected six to join with him as the Seven Crows. Five of the Skiri selected were: John Moses, Jonathan Eustace, George Beaver, Yellowcalf, White Fox. Mark Evarts himself became one of the Seven Crows later, succeeding one man who died.[1]

After that when they held the Ghost Dancing, the Seven Eagles were put on one side (the south), the Seven Crows on the other side (the north). Still later, someone had a trance vision and saw that it should be done the same way in the hand games.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, Mrs. Cover was made the Mother of the Seven Crows by analogy with the Mother of the Seven Brothers organization. Mark Rudder selected her. She was not chosen as the result of a vision, or because she clothed the Crows.[2]

[346] Thus the ground plan arrangements finally became among the Skiri: A central clearing for the dancing; a special Ghost Dance tipi due west of it; a sacred tipi south of the cleared ground for the Seven Eagle Brothers; and a sacred tipi north of the clearing for the Seven Crow Brothers. Certain alignments of the games were later determined by these orientations (see for example, Boy Chief's game).

---

[1] John Moses and Mark Evarts are the only ones still living.

[787] [2] A dream of Mrs. Cover's of this general period illustrates certain concepts of the Pawnee Ghost Dance:

"She dreamed she saw Christ standing at the west, facing east. Before him were many little children. At the extreme south was Emmet Pierson and other chiefs, at the extreme north were Mark Evarts, Eaglechief and others. A voice spoke, saying, 'As you see those standing, these are the ones to take care of Christ's children, his people.'"

[622 177] The Pawnee speak of a chief as a "father" to all his tribespeople, and here this idea has been interwoven with Christian beliefs.

778

Bear Dance, and a number of sacred bundles were opened and an 796
attempt made to put them in physical order. 178

The bundles and bundle rituals were esoteric possessions and knowledge, controlled by individuals. As such their inheritance and
transmission followed traditional modes, and according to the [424]
orthodox old Pawnee doctrine no revival of extinct forms was possible. The sanction of the Ghost Dance doctrines and visions was in definite conflict with old customs of transmission, and came to predominate.

In the traditional view, the knowledge and learning of an individ- 778
ual had to be handed down by actual instruction of the young. 793
This was somewhat different for the two kinds of bundles, typified
by the sacred bundles (with which the society bundles can be 424
associated, as essentially derivative), and the medicine men's 622
bundles. For the sacred bundle type the offices of ownership and 869
priesthood were independent: A chief owned the bundle physically, and his wife took care of it. He did not necessarily know the ritual lore of the bundle. A priest controlled the ritual, demonstrated it on the proper occasions, and advised the owner of his bundle obligations. The physical bundle was ordinarily inherited directly in the male line. The ritual knowledge, however, was transmitted by the priest to his successor by means of instruction over many years. The priest usually taught a close relative (not necessarily in the male line exclusively) because of the desire to hand on his learning in his own family line. But lacking close kin of suitable temperament, the priest taught whom he pleased. For the medicine men's type of bundle, ownership and priesthood centered in the same individual. The doctor himself was owner of the physical bundle, and of its associated teachings, and officiated as his own demonstrating "priest" on ritual occasions. In the course of his life he taught a man to be his successor, and gradually turned over
the ritual functions to him. The successor was usually a close [602]
relative, such as a "son" or "nephew", etc., but here too the medicine man was at liberty to instruct whom he would, and on occasion chose more distant relatives when near relations proved unwilling to attend seriously to the learning of the traditional material.

Ordinarily a man taught his successor largely by demonstration. 778
That is, the apprentice took part in the actual demonstrations of 793
the ritual (and the curing of the doctor) watching what went on. In the course of the procedure the master explained the detail. As the teacher found his pupil mastering phases of the activity, he turned over to the pupil such parts as were understood. In

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance 342
of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and [778]
suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and
other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the
altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, [554
the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, 513]
which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two
below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a
"skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending
upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward
to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This
framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow
rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was
protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered
roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when [484]
a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially
anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family
usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer
abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was
made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered
with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four 619
bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary
chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had 621
also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its [778
priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with 793]
those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and
symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a
medium of communication was believed to be opened between the
people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and
prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the 621
head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced 622
by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus 624
or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the
Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were
the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council 623
was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands,
and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of
the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a 621
man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family. 591

---

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. xv. New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

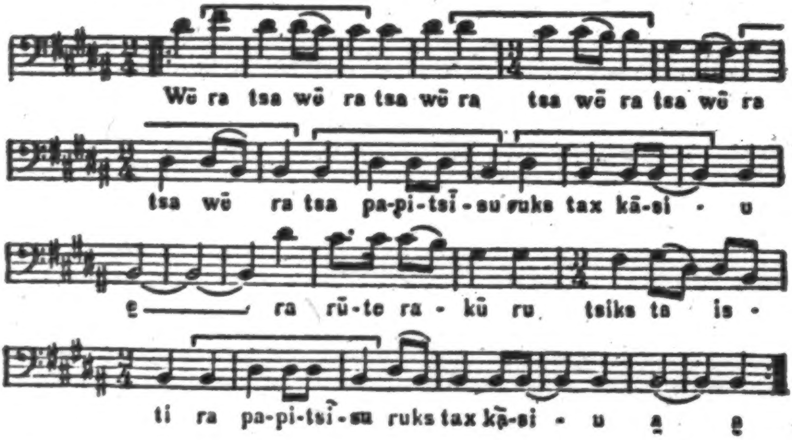
No. 31. Song Concerning Iron Shirt

*533

(Catalogue No. 1108)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 108
Drum ♩ = 126
Drum rhythm similar to No. 26


Wō ra tsa wō ra tsa wō ra tsa wō ra tsa wō ra
tsa wō ra tsa pa-pi-tsī-su ruks tax kā-si - u
e ra rū-te ra - kū ru tsiks ta is -
ti ra pa-pi-tsī-su ruks tax kā-si - u a e

Wō	ra	tsa	papitsisu	ruks	tax
Now	yonder	lie	metal	did	have
kāsiu	ra	rūte	rakū	ru	
shirt on	have	is	sitting, put one side	have	
tsiks	ta	isti	ra	papitsisu	
him	have	protection	have	metal	
ruks	tax	kāsiu			
did	have	shirt on			

FREE TRANSLATION

Now he lies yonder.
He who has on a metal shirt.
The protection in which he trusted is set aside.

622
424
*533
Three generations of Pawnee chiefs bore the name of Eagle Shield and the song next following was said to have belonged to the chief of the first generation. The day after he returned from a war expedition he mounted his best horse and rode around the camp singing this song. The words mean "I wonder how long I am to live in this world." In explanation it was said the old warrior was wondering what his fate might be when he again took the warpath.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song comprises four periods, the rhythmic unit occurring in the first three while the last period opens with the same count division as the rhythmic unit but changes to a succession of eighth notes. No change of measure length occurs in the song.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FREE TRANSLATION

*533
Beloved, it is good,
He is saying quietly,
The thunder, it is good.

Analysis.—The tempo of this song was slightly *rubato*, but the accents were clearly given. A portion of the song lies above the fundamental tone and a portion below it, which is somewhat unusual in Pawnee songs, although occurring frequently in the songs of certain other tribes. Progression is by a wide variety of intervals, one-third of which are intervals of a fourth. The song is minor in tonality and contains only the tones of the minor triad and second.

575 *533 In explanation of the following song it was said that long ago there was a society called *Iruska Viraû* (or *Piraû*), translated "children of the Iruska." Members of this society did everything contrariwise. Thus in a fight they would not fire at the enemy unless commanded *not* to do so.[23] The song next following was said to be a song of that society and was recorded by the chief of the Chaui Band. The same melody with different words was used by the Skidi Band, the words of their version stating that a young man was told in a dream that he would be killed the next day, but felt no fear. *533 John Luwak (pl. 2, *a*), 775 who recorded the song, said it was his own war-dance song, explaining the words as follows: [424] "A dead person wanted a certain warrior to do right, so he said to him, 'If anyone is kind-hearted and good to the poor he is made a chief and has a great name. [622] When he dies we in the spirit land are glad and want to go and meet him because he was kind and good.'"

*533 *Analysis.*—Attention is directed to the rhythmic form of this song and a comparison of the rhythmic units. The song opens with a rather long phrase, which is repeated. The following tones represent a repetition of the rhythmic unit, but a second unit is introduced and continues to the end of the song. This is shorter and livelier than the first, though bearing some resemblance to it. The song is harmonic in structure and contains the tones of the second 5-toned scale. Only three intervals occur which are larger than a minor third. The tempo of the drum is slightly faster than that of the voice, this appearing in all renditions of the song.

---

[23] Cf. Teton Sioux Music, p. 157, concerning the Heyoka Kaga (Fool impersonation).

introduces the interval of a semitone, and was sung with distinctness. 533* The song contains no change of measure lengths and has a compass of 13 tones, beginning on the highest and ending on the lowest tone of this compass.

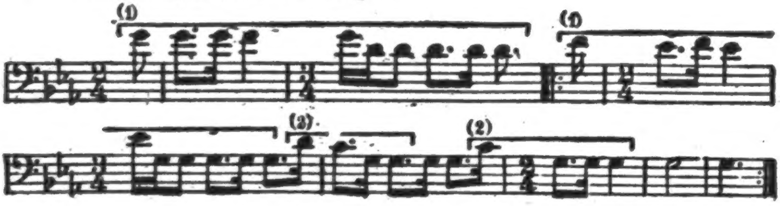
The final song belonging to Man Chief is similar to those already [424] presented, though the words are not translated.

No. 65. Man Chief's Song

(Catalogue No. 1131)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 63
Drum ♩ = 63
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Analysis.—The rhythmic form of this song is interesting and complete. The song contains two rhythmic units, the second being the opening phrase of the first unit and occurring at the close of the song. In structure the song is harmonic. It is minor in tonality, has a compass of an octave, and progresses by a variety of intervals, those occurring most frequently being the fourth and the major second.

ROAMING CHIEF'S SONGS

787
622●
533*
[643
648]

The two songs next following belonged to a comparatively recent chief of the Chaui Band. The grief of his wife at the death of a daughter is mentioned in connection with her song (No. 83). Roaming Chief was hereditary chief of this band and was a nephew of the famous Pitalesaru, who was appointed chief of the confederated bands of the Pawnee by the Government of the United States.

It was said that "Tirawa had pity on Roaming Chief" and that, during a Ghost dance, he fell in a trance. Visions appeared to him in this trance, the present song referring to such an experience. A Ghost dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he "cried as he sang this song." It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game.

Analysis.—This song is in a form already noted, the third period 533* being in rhythm different from that of the first, second, and fourth. The compass is 13 tones and more than half the progressions are

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 wail in which the tones transcribed E–D–B are clearly discernible but are connected by a *glissando*. The melody tones are those of the fourth five-toned scale and the repeated portion, as in many Indian songs, begins with the second phrase.

*533 787 A certain man had a dream and in that dream one of his dead relatives appeared and said, "I have come back into this world. You see me." At the same time he heard and learned the following song. When the man awoke he remembered the song and understood what it meant. He dreamed a second time, and the same dead relative appeared, saying, "Remember when we pass from the old earth we pass to a new earth where we are now." The two songs were recorded and the melodies found to be the same. The words of the first were translated, "I am coming," and the words of the second were, "Yonder, whence I came, our relatives are walking."

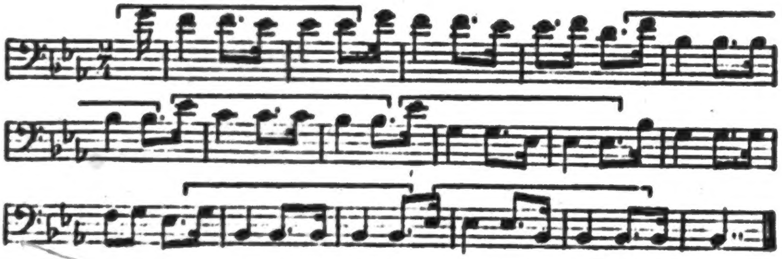
*533

No. 84. Song Received from a Dead Relative

(Catalogue No. 1132)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 116
Drum ♩ = 116
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 26



Analysis.—The chief interest of this song lies in the two phrases which do not contain the rhythmic unit. The first of these phrases is the more energetic, and both bear a resemblance to the unit. The song has a compass of 10 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is by an unusually large variety of intervals but the whole tone is the interval of most frequent occurrence.

[424 622] 535 The next song belongs to a very old woman named Cĭtha'rureĉs whose father was a chief. The singers at the drum sometimes start this song so that she can dance. It was formerly used in a "dance of the chiefs" in which the daughters of chiefs took part.

631 gether. So Errand Man was sent out. From each village came the people with 773 their sacred bundle. Errand Man told the chief that upon Elkhorn River he found a village of earth-lodges covered with squash vines in which a bundle ceremony was going on in consequence of which they refused to come. Also on Looking Glass Creek he came to a village where the people had just performed a ceremony to call the buffalo and as the buffalo were at hand, they could not accept the invitation. Most of the buffalo were killed upon the ice which during the day was covered with water. The wolves stood around the carcasses and many were caught by the feet as the ice formed at night. So these two villages did not take part in the general bundle ceremony and were known as the Squash Vine and Wolf-standing-in-the-water.

Those who had assembled now performed the four-pole ceremony. The keeper of the bundle and his priest occupied their regular seats at the back of the lodge and as the bundles of other villages arrived those from the north took seats on that side and those from the south upon the other. The village of the host was then called Center Village.

● 622 The special federation of these Skidi villages necessitated a governing 631 organization different from that of the other divisions. The governing body was a society of chiefs, twelve or more in number. It seems that in principle there was to be one chief for each village bundle, though as such he had nothing to do with the bundle. When the chiefs society met in a lodge they took their seats in the same order as indicated in the diagram of the four-pole ceremony, but the bundles were not brought into the lodge. [202] Two errand men were members and sat by the door.[1] The chiefs were of equal rank and inherited their office. However, there was some selection, for the elderly men filled vacancies from those directly descended from chiefs. All the chiefs taken together constituted the tribal council of the Skidi.

The chiefs are, however, not the highest authority, that distinction 631 belonging to the priests of the four main bundles. Their office is hereditary; 793 each priest selects an assistant from his near relatives who thus becomes qualified to become priest in turn. In rotation the four leading priests take over the responsibility for the welfare of the people for one year, counting from the first thunder in the spring until fall. This chief priest is the highest authority; he is the source of final appeal and to him all acts of the 224 council of chiefs must be referred. The buffalo hunt in particular must 631 be regulated according to the ritual of the bundle whose priest happens 778 to be in charge. As noted above, the Red Calf bundle is superior to the 793 leading bundles, but its priest cannot exercise authority except he be

---

[1] As noted above, two villages refused to join in the federation. Later, they were taken in and their chiefs were given seats in the vacant place on the south side of the lodge, but they were not permitted to enter the four-pole ceremony.

793 of the important features of the ritual; yet in all ceremonies except that of
the four-pole, she is barred from so much as looking inside while the bundle is open. All the men and boys are at liberty to come in and sit with the bundles at their respective villages.[1]

Finally, it may be noted that there is a chief for each village bundle
622 (counting the four leading bundles as one) and he is theoretically at least
793 the custodian, but there is another man in his village who is the keeper of
the ritual, or the priest. He conducts the ceremonies. In last resort, he is superior to the chief, especially the priests of the calf bundle and the four leading bundles. Hence, a chief is chief by virtue of his being the custodian of a bundle. This is why the society of chiefs has its seats in the same order as the priests in the four-pole ceremony. It also makes clear the significance of the initial statement that the bundle scheme of the Skidi is the basis of their political and social organization. Likewise, while it is true that the chiefs are all of equal rank, the chief of the four-bundle village who by the way, is attached to the yellow-tipi bundle, sits at the head as may be seen from the diagram for the four-pole ceremony, and so is the leading, or, head chief. He is master of ceremonies, but the chief occupying the seat of Big Black Meteoric Star is the one to conduct all the ritualistic parts of the ceremony.

THE SOCIETY OF CHIEFS.

Among the Pitahauirata there was a special organization of chiefs,
622 which had its less formal counterparts among the other divisions. The first
575 part of the society's ceremony is held privately by the members, or chiefs;
i. e., those now holding office and men who have descended from deceased chiefs. The membership is strictly hereditary. In the ceremony the leader,
[292] or head chief, must wear an old style beaver hat with a red plume. The hat
is covered with a dark neck cloth such as was formerly worn by sailors. The meetings are secret and we have no data; but after these ceremonies the women descended from chiefs were called into the lodge. Each woman has to part her hair and tie it back, painting the part red. Woven sashes are
[301] worn over the shoulders and wound around for a belt. Many strands of
beads are worn around the neck. The men all have the roached hair and wear feathers through the roach, but the young men wear down feathers
[237] only. Some wear leggings bordered with scalplocks and eagle feathers, and
black moccasins. Each man and woman carries the skin of an eagle. In arranging the places for the women, a line of two abreast is formed: first
[602] the two leading men, behind them their sisters or nearest female relatives;

---

[184] [1] Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, the regulations are the same, except that men must pay a fee to the priests for witnessing a bundle ceremony.

then two men, and again two of their female relatives, and so on to the end of 622 575
the line. Before the procession left the lodge two large strong young men
were caught in the village, brought in, and the water drums strapped on [602]
their backs with one pack strap across the forehead and one across the [482]
breast. They then marched out dancing and singing. In leaving the
lodge, the procession circles the fire four times and when outside of the door again circles four times. They then march back into the lodge and the women file out and go home, while the men take their seats. The drum bearers are relieved of their burden and sent out, but later they receive a portion of the meat from the feast. After the feast the society disbands.

This society seems to be based upon the bundle of the Pítahauírata
village, which is probable considering that chiefs are the leading members.
The chiefs painted red with black rings around the face; if yellow, a green [302]
circle: these are the two paintings.

THE SOLDIERS OR POLICE.

Each chief selects one elderly warrior as his personal aid and advisor. 625
Only those who have reached a certain high grade of distinction can serve in this capacity. As a body, these aids were known as the braves, rahikuchu. There is thus one brave for each village and he selects three men to act as police under his direction (raripakusu, fighting for order). These are strong and aggressive men. Their function was purely that of village and camp police. Their only badge of office was a special form of club for which in recent years a sword was substituted. The braves and police
served for life, unless dismissed for cause. It should be noted, however [224]
that these police had nothing whatever to do with the buffalo hunt.

THE BUFFALO HUNT.

The general buffalo hunt at whatever season of the year was under the 224
direction of the priest of the leading bundle which happened at that time 575
to be in charge. Preparatory to the hunt a ceremony was held, with the chiefs present, in which the hunt was planned. The priest selected one of the bundle societies to act as soldiers for the hunt. The regular police still exercised their powers in the camp, but the enforcement of all regulations for the hunt and its conduct were in the hands of the selected society. The
appointment was for the hunt only. A special lodge was set up for the [346]
soldiers in the east part of the camp, near the center were the lodges of the chiefs society and of the priest. The methods of punishment employed by the soldiers were the same as among other tribes.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand
that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly 776
responsible. 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of conse- 292
crating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were cere- 796
monial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies.

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected 224
to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the
lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his
hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires.

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the 361
ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according
to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme.
Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a
circular or any definite camp form was observed.

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must 622
pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and 756
what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water 782
animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers
through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with
these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social inter- [565]
course. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but
otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that [773]
at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called
on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called
upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at
the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The
chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he
jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through
his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen
never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.)

622
756 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers
778 and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular impor-
554 tance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have con-
726 secrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup
among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of
these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pĭtahau-
ĭrata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of
756 wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and
837 not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice.
Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicine-
man in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the
woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that
she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue
of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred
bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies
224 for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping
party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was
cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must
be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown
into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle
[223] trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern
838 Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by
sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

No-flight Idea. A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and
726 taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself
down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

342 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of
532 medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so.
Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint
834 in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized
in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicine-
men. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern
iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had
276 performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE

The Skidi formed one of the four bands comprising the Pawnee 619
tribe, the others being the Chaui, the Kitkehahki, and the Pitahauirat. 621
[In the manuscript the Skidi are spoken of as a tribe. [101]
However, I have followed more recent usage and substituted the
term band, reserving tribe for the Pawnee as a whole (Lesser, 1933).]
The Skidi, however, considered themselves independent and actually
felt closer to the Arikara than to the other three Pawnee bands.
Politically the Skidi were a federation of villages, of which at least
thirteen are known to have existed, though there were probably
others which have been forgotten. The federation was held together
by a governing council of chiefs and by a ceremonial organization [623]
involving the participation of the band in a round of ceremonies
associated with sacred bundles.

The village was a distinct local group consisting of a cluster of 621
earth-lodges housing the component families. Each village possessed 361
its own fields, whose ownership was allotted among the villagers by 622
the chief, a supposed lineal descendant of the original owner of the 423
sacred bundle of the village. [I am inclined to believe that the chief
allotted the use of the fields rather than their ownership.] On the
death of an individual, his land was re-allotted by the chief. Each
village also had its own burial ground in which were buried only
those belonging to the village.

In principle the village was endogamous. Since the Pawnee 621
moved to Oklahoma the old restriction on marriage has been gradually 582
disappearing. This is due to the fact that the population of [178]
certain villages has dwindled and it is no longer possible for the few
remaining individuals of some villages to obtain mates within their
own village. Even in this breaking down of the system, however,
the old fashion of reckoning descent is maintained. Thus, in the 611
marriage of a man from Big-Elk village with a woman of Little-Elk
village, the children would belong to Big-Elk village. [However,
according to the manuscript, both these villages were extinct by
1907.] An exception to this general rule is at the present time [1907] [184]
under consideration among the Skidi. Mr. Murie's son, now about
of age, properly belongs by the laws of the tribe to the Village-on-the-Hill,
that being the village of his father. His mother, however,
belongs to the Pumpkin-Vine village and her brother, Skidi-Good-Chief,
is the last representative of that village. To prevent the
village from becoming extinct, Skidi-Good-Chief has asked per-

VII. CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Although Pawnee mythology abounds in tales of the poor boy 554
who achieved success, it appears that the rank of an individual was 565
determined to a large extent by the social position of his immediate ancestors. At any rate, certain classes of society were recognized and membership in these was to a certain degree hereditary. [In the manuscript the terms "caste" and "class" are both used indiscriminately. I have used "class" throughout.] This was especially true of the highest in rank, though they might be deposed for cause, and though a child born of poor parents of low rank might through his own efforts become a tribal chief. Before enumerating the specific classes in Skidi society, one should note that all positions and all rank were conceived as having supernatural origin. In fact, the higher of these were divinely instituted and instructions given the first holders as to their duties and prerogatives. Theoretically, Skidi society was divided into two great divisions: those who made war and protected the village from human enemies; and those who by sacred and supernatural means protected the village from disease, famine, and pestilence. To these two general divisions might be added a third class consisting of poor people who did not possess rank, power, influence, or any considerable amount of property. The real distinction as made by the Skidi, however, was that of the nobility as contrasted with the common people, one's position in one or the other divisions being, as already noted, largely a matter of ancestry. But it may be repeated that there was no tribal law that would prohibit the son of a poor man from becoming a chief, and, on the other hand, it was possible for the son of a chief to become an outcast, for the individual was judged by his own actions.

In the nobility were to be found the leaders in the material 554
affairs of the band—the chiefs, braves, and warriors; those who 565
looked out for the larger religious interests—the priests; and those 793
who kept the band free from sickness and drove out disease—the 622
medicine-men. The duties of these three groups were quite separate 759
and distinct. Occasionally, however, one individual might at the 756
same time be chief, priest, and medicine-man.

CHIEFS

The chiefs of the Skidi were thirty-one in number. Of these 622
thirty-one the representative of each village, who was the owner of 565
the sacred bundle of that village, was chief by heredity, and trans-

622 mitted his authority along with his bundle to his eldest son. These
565 hereditary chiefs, representing each of the villages, selected from
among the leading warriors and those of high rank a sufficient number to make up the thirty-one. [The manuscript also contains a note that the chiefs' council could reject the son of a deceased chief if it did not consider him worthy. Also, if the dead chief left no offspring, the bundle was supposed to descend to the next oldest brother or nearest male kin; the brother married the chief's widow.]

The eldest son of a chief theoretically inherited his father's position, and if he proved worthy was duly made chief on reaching the proper age. At this time the chief's bundle (North-Star bundle) was opened and a ceremony held. So far as known, the ritual accompanying the ceremony has not been sung for more than thirty years, and there is no Skidi living today (1907) who knows it.

It has been mentioned that the hereditary chiefs could invite men who had proved themselves worthy and make them chiefs. When this course was decided upon, the chiefs invited the one selected to the lodge four times. He declined the first three times, but on the fourth invitation went to the lodge, bringing with him ponies and parfleches of meat, which he presented to the chiefs. He was then made chief, but did not have his face painted, and his sons were not considered chiefs.

The son of a chief other than the eldest, or indeed any man, might make four deer holy and offer them to the four chiefs of the Four-Band village. With the consent of the other hereditary chiefs they then asked the candidate to the lodge and offered him a pipe to smoke, after which he could sit in the chief's council. [Presumably he did not have the rank of a chief, however.]

622 During council the chiefs were supposed to sit cross-legged in
[516] an erect attitude, never in a lounging position. The mark of office
623 was a red-painted face with a blue semi-circular line extending from
531 in front of each ear and passing over the forehead, and a symbol on
302 the forehead representing the so-called Turkey's Foot constellation.
565 An eagle feather was worn in the hair, while ordinarily the costume
consisted of leggings fringed with eagle feathers and human hair from scalps, and a buffalo-skin robe on which were depicted stars, the sun, or war scenes.

622 Perhaps the most important characteristic of a chief was that
[728] he was a peace-maker and guardian of the village rather than a
538 warrior; there are many incidents in the myths expressing the idea
565 that a man who has often been on the warpath becomes imbued with

the desire to take scalps and capture ponies and is no longer fit to be 622
chief. In the words of my informant: "Tirawa, after having created 538
people, gave them their bundles and said to the chief: 'You are to be 565
like me; you are to have many people to look after; you are to be guardian of the people on earth and the beings of the heavens will do your bidding.'" The custom did not prevail among the Skidi of making the chief an offering of food when on the hunt. He was obliged to look after himself, and could not claim more than the share which he himself or those riding his horses had won in the chase.

Like other societies, that of the chiefs had two errand men whose 624
duty it was to look after the fire, prepare and distribute meat, and 565
light the pyre for the smoke offerings. In his own village each chief also had at his command two errand men who performed similar duties.

In addition to the hereditary chief, each village had one or more *nahikuts*, or braves, whose number was usually four but varied according to the size of the village. The duty of these men was that of servants of the chiefs; they followed their directions, preserved order, helped in carrying out the laws of the band, and assisted in the preparation of the ceremonies. Their badge of office was a war-club or tomahawk. They held office for life. They were also considered as servants of the Morning Star, and like the other warriors of each village obtained their power directly from him or from some animal or spirit under the guidance of the Morning Star.

Another high-ranking class were the *narawiraris*, or warriors. These men had reached this position by their own efforts. They had made a certain number of sacrifices and thus won a victory over the powers of the heavens. They were eligible to election as chiefs and had the right to sit near the priest in ceremonies. When going on 624
the warpath, such men had the privilege of wearing the sacred war- 565
rior's costume of the warrior's bundle. The position of warrior was 778
said to have been created in the beginning, at which time the warrior was given five things—the otter skin, the hawk skin, the leg of an eagle, the eagle feather, and the sacred red paint made from red earth and buffalo fat. In using these objects, he was to attach the eagle leg to his belt, wear the eagle feather, and put the otter skin over his head, the hawk skin on his right shoulder, and the paint on his
face. In painting his face he was to make three dots above his nose [302]
in the center of his forehead, to represent the claw of the eagle's foot. [531]
He was to use the black otter because it was from the water, was

105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee
[171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but
they understood the arts of pottery-making and basket-weaving.
291 During the summer the men usually
wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings
and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins,
leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned
on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe
do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The
302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made
301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced
the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings.
342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth
lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine
Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the
sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or
bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi.
The first three of these were closely related, but the
Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and
considered themselves more closely related to the
Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some distance
[361] to the north. In their settlements along the river,
the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi
being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest
downstream, and the other two bands between. Each
621 band was divided into a number of villages which were
social as well as geographical units. All the members
of a village believed themselves to be descended from
a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made
within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female
[778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) containing
[793] sacred objects, and priests who had charge of
the rituals and ceremonies connected with these objects.
622 It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a
council composed of its leading men. If the chief was
a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

authority, settled all difficulties, and preserved order. 622
He was expected to give freely, and was usually surrounded by dependents. His orders were enforced by 624
four men, called Nahikuts, who stood next to him in social position. Below these ranked the Kurahus or priests, who performed the ceremonies. Of still lower rank were the Kurau or medicine-men and the Narawiraris or warriors, while at the bottom of the scale came the remainder of the village.

The villages composing each band were held to- 631
gether by their religious ceremonies, in which each village had its place and share, and by the council, composed of the chiefs of all the villages. The tribe was similarly united, its council being made up of the councils of the bands. In the meetings of these councils rules of precedence and decorum were rigidly observed. No one could speak who was not entitled to a seat, although a few privileged men were permitted to be present as spectators.

The religion of the Pawnee seems, in certain re- 776
spects, to have reached a higher development than that of any of the other Plains tribes. In their pantheon Tirawa reigned supreme. To him the lesser gods of heaven and earth, as well as the people themselves, acknowledged authority. Tirawa ruled from his position above the clouds, and both created and governed the universe by means of commands executed by the lesser gods, who were subject to him. He was conceived of as a purely spiritual being, and was not identified with any object or natural phenomenon. Next in rank to Tirawa and his wife, the Vault of Heaven, stood the Evening Star, Tcuperikata. She maintained a garden in the west in which there were fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from which sprang all streams of life. Even the Sun renewed his fire nightly at her lodge. Through her four assistants, Wind, Cloud, Lightning, and Thunder, she

Pawnee, Blackfoot and Cheyenne

224 484 With the grey dawn of morning, the camp, as usual, is astir. By the time our little party have turned out of our blankets, some of the Indians have already finished eating, and are catching up their [462] horses and preparing to ride off over the bluffs, leaving the squaws to take down the lodges, pack the ponies, and pursue the designated line of march. Before we are ready to "pull out," most of the ponies have been packed, and a long, irregular line of Indians is creeping across the level valley, and beginning to wind up the face of the bluffs. The procession moves slowly, proceeding at a walk. Most of those who remain with the column are on foot, the squaws leading the ponies, and many of the men, wrapped in their blankets, and with only their bows and arrows on their backs, walking briskly [735] over the prairie, a little to one side. These last are the poorer Indians —those who have but few horses. They travel on foot, letting their horses run without burdens, so that they may be fresh and strong, whenever they shall be needed for running the buffalo.

224 771 484 Side by side, at the head of the column, walk eight men who carry the buffalo staves. These are slender spruce poles, like a short lodgepole, wrapped with blue and red cloth, and elaborately ornamented with bead work, and with the feathers of hawks, and of the war eagle. These sticks are carried by men selected by the chiefs and doctors in private council, and are religiously guarded. Upon the care of these emblems, and the respect paid to them, depends, in a great measure, the success of the hunt. While borne before the moving column, no one is permitted to cross the line of march in front of them.

224 484 [622] Close behind the staff bearers follow a number of the principal men of the tribe; the head chief, old *Pi'ta Le-shar*, and a dozen or fifteen sub-chiefs or head men, all mounted on superb horses. Behind them comes the camp at large, a fantastically mingled multitude, marching without any appearance of order. Here most of the individuals are women, young girls and children, for the men who accompany the camp usually march singly, or by twos and threes, a little apart from the mob. Most of those rich enough in horses to be able to ride at all times, are scattered over the prairie for miles in every direction, picking up the small bands of buffalo, which have been passed by the scouts as not large enough to call for a general surround. The hunters are careful, however, not to follow too close

796 it with him, pledging his support in food and goods, would the ceremony
ever be performed. In all his work, both public and private, the Pawnee
182 moved on a totally voluntary basis. Whatever social forms existed were
carried within the consciousness of the people, not by others who were in
626 a position to make demands. As I talked to the old men and women I
realized that this is what we wish for but do not have. As they described
the coordination of their households, I repeatedly asked when they got
together and laid the plan they were apparently carrying through and in
what exact terms they discussed it. The answer was always, "They didn't
discuss it at all. They don't talk about it. It goes along just as it happens to
work out."

For example, sentinels were always needed to man the outposts and
626 keep watch for the enemy who might be lurking nearby ready to attack
701 the villages, or in the process of sneaking up on them. Sentinels were neither assigned nor called for by anyone. A number of young men who were friends would be talking together and one would mention that this was about the time the enemy would be attacking. Then one of them would remark, "I think I'll go up to the sentry post early tomorrow morning." Another would say, "I think I'll do that too." Then several others would chime in and word would get around, and other young men would also turn up long before dawn at the different sentry posts. The
592 household coordinated itself in precisely the same way. A remark by one
626 person brought a complementary remark from another, and the plans
seemed to shape themselves.

Time after time I tried to find a case of orders given, and there was
626 none. Gradually I began to realize that democracy is a very personal thing which, like charity, begins at home. Basically it means not being coerced and having no need to coerce anyone else. The Pawnee learned this way of living in the earliest beginnings of his life. In the detailed events of everyday living as a child, he began his development as a disciplined and free man or as a woman who felt her dignity and her independence to be inviolate. I was often confronted with the feeling that they expected of me a kind of independence and decisiveness that was not considered becoming to a woman in our society. Men and women expected the same clear and well-defined reaction from me, and among themselves it was evident that it was their accustomed mode of interacting.

622 The Pawnees had chiefs, but these were the focus of consensus, not
the wielders of power. There was no over-all chief of all the Pawnees.
619 The two major political groupings among the Pawnees were the Skidi
and the South Bands, distinguished by a slight difference in the pronunciation of the Pawnee language. The main subdivisions within these groupings were villages and households. The village numbered from three
621 hundred to five hundred people in ten to fifteen households. The real

The real administrative officials of the Pawnees were the chiefs of the villages. All people within a village considered themselves kin, and the chiefs were conceived as heads of extended families rather than as superimposed government officials. Although the chieftainship was hereditary in certain families, the individuals selected to fill the post were chosen for their humility and sagacity. An aggressive temperament was considered a barrier to the office. There were definite implicit mechanisms for village coordination and interband cooperation, often by means of emissaries sent between the households of chiefs to express their combined opinions and to learn the wishes of the other parties. Public opinion and consensus were always well estimated. No official conceived that an arbitrary decision was feasible or desirable. 621 622 619 626

The difference in our expectations is shown in the words of Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesus Maria, first missionary to the Caddo-Hasinai, a related tribe to the Pawnees, in 1691 (Swanton, 1942, pp. 170-171): 171

> These allied tribes do not have one person to govern them (as with us a kingdom is accustomed to have a ruler whom we call king.) They have only a *xinesi.* He usually has a subordinate who gathers together four or five tribes who consent to live together and to form a province or kingdom, as it might be called—and a very large one too, if all these tribes had one person to rule over them. But such a head they have not, and I, therefore, infer that this province in New Spain is called "Teijias" [Friend]—which really expresses just what they are because each tribe is a friend to all the others—cannot be called a kingdom.

And Robert Lowie says in *The Crow Indians* (1935, p.5):

> How shall we conceive the ancient chief?—a good "valiant" man. He was neither a ruler nor a judge and in general had no power over life and death —he decided when and where his followers should move and pitch camp.

As I studied Pawnee life I often asked myself how far the power mechanisms that characterize our present social life are really indispensable. In our theory of democracy we express a profound desire for the kind of voluntarism that the Pawnee practiced. It is not easily described, for it is implicit in the individual personalities of the people themselves. Their personality pattern only too readily eludes us, and only by attention to minute detail can we come to understand its special quality. 680

And yet, although very different in all other details, Pawnee life, like our own, was strongly molded by the four seasons. Each of the seasons had its special program of activities that, taken together, made a complete and consistent pattern. The spring and fall of the year were the times of planting and harvesting the crops of corn, beans, and squash. During these two seasons the Pawnees lived in their earth-lodge villages that 221

851 848 convince a man of his physiological paternity, and her child would then be a social outcast. It would be known as *pira-paru*, "hidden child," since the mother would be ashamed and try to hide it when her brothers came to visit. The child would be subject to many insults and humiliations throughout its life. In these terms, whatever the sentiments of the parents for each other, the child always had a legal right to the care of both its parents, clearly identified as its physical progenitors. Children were normally cared for by their grandmothers, and it was quite possible that various fortunes placed the child in one household with its grandmother, its mother in another household, and the father in still another. The obligations for support, however, remained incumbent on both parents.

593 221 The household as a working group of coordinated members was precisely organized, and each household had the same general structure. However, twice a year when the tribe set out on its semiannual buffalo hunts, the household work group fragmented itself into many smaller groupings, which reassorted themselves so that an able hunter became the nucleus of each new composite grouping. When they returned to the village the households did not necessarily reassemble with the same personnel as before. This was entirely optional, and there were many reasons why people might decide to join a different household group than the one they had been with before leaving. However, it was not too hard to establish a working household on this basis even twice a year, since the pattern of operation was the same everywhere. The three duplicate stations on the north and south sides of the lodge with their full complement of the young, mature, and old women was a frame into which any individual woman could fit herself in whatever household she entered with little loss of efficiency, since her duties were so clearly defined once she selected the category to which she belonged. And a child with a grandmother to care for it could fit in anywhere. Young men led a more transient existence. They were likely to congregate at different times in one lodge or another, and a bed would be made for them by putting down a mat between the central pillars and providing it with the necessary skin bedding. Old men also moved about rather freely, staying overnight in various households whenever they were detained late of an evening telling stories or participating in a ceremony. As for the mature man, his married-in household was not considered his "true" home. In his married-in household he was an outsider with formal obligations, which sometimes tended to weigh rather heavily on him. Then he would go where his home really was—that of his sisters and his mother, where they would gladly feed him and take care of him and where he could relax and feel like a child. When this happened, his wife understood, and she knew he would be back after a few days.

621 622 821 778 The only stable and fixed unit of Pawnee life was the village with

three hundred to five hundred people and from ten to twelve households. 621
The village community centered around the chief who had his sanction 622 •
through a vision from Heaven. Every person within the village was also
under the tutelage of a given star, and the chief held the sacred bundle 821
that represented the supernatural story of its origin and gave the village 778
its continuity. In these terms, all the people in the village were considered as a kindred, but their specific cosmic derivation gave them differing social ranks. According to their star affiliations, some were born as 821
chiefs, some as braves, and some as commoners; their social functions in
the community were thus relatively preordained. When a chiefly infant 554
was born to two high-ranking parents, he was wrapped in a wildcat skin, 565
symbolizing the heavens with its panoply of stars and planets. When he married, the priest and his senior errand man impersonated the Morning Star and the sun respectively. High-ranking chiefly families provided the administrators, whereas the families of braves—the next in rank—provided the executive officers. The commoners, known collectively as *akitaru* "the tribe or people," were often reminded by their officials that only their support made it possible to carry out the responsibilities of
high office. However, one's life was not entirely cast in this mold. A chief 554
or brave might never be considered worthy of the office, or he himself 565
might not feel capable of dedicating himself to its responsibilities, while a commoner could rise high in the social scale and acquire considerable wealth by becoming a successful doctor and earning high fees from his grateful patients. Some people of commoner rank had little use for prestige positions and would say, "I don't care to be a noted person." Another group would prefer a carefree life of adventure. They would go out on long scouting expeditions, roaming about the country and exploring to see what they could find. They were helpful to anyone in the village who needed them, without considering it beneath their dignity to perform any menial task and gave away what they had rather freely. Such men were referred to as "boys" on the grounds that they were like boys, having no care for accumulating anything or for providing for the morrow. They were regarded with affection and sometimes rose to the rank of brave in recognition of their long public service.

551 The personal name was an act of self-recognition for a goal one had set oneself and achieved. One sponsored a special ceremony by making a donation of food to the priests, and in the course of the ceremony one's new name was publicly announced. But the substance of the name was strictly private and reserved to oneself. The name was cited only on the most formal occasions and from the name itself it was not possible to deduce its private significance. A person who had achieved such a name could lovingly bestow it on a son or a daughter in a ritual, or a son might give his name to his mother and then set out to earn a new and still more important one. Each of the people in the household of Old Bull and Victory Call had such a name, and while we cannot reconstruct the esoteric circumstances, a few facts about their lives gives a sense of their significance.

551 Victory Call was known for short as *Riwahut*, but his full name was
Siti-riwahut, meaning "they are making the high trilling sound for vic-
622 tory." This sound was made by the women as the victorious warrior re-
159 turned to the village. Publicly and socially Victory Call had made an important place for himself in the tribe. He was a younger son of a prominent Skidi chief of Old Village, Chief Big Eagle. His older brother Sitting Hawk (*Pia-tiwitit*, "hawk-he-sits-down") held the senior position in the family and occupied the family seat in the chiefs' council. As a cadet member of the family, Victory Call had to earn his social position in the community, and he had succeeded very well. People in the community said of him that he had almost surpassed his older brother by his achievements. Through his prowess in war and hunting, he had been able to entertain the chiefs and influential men at a number of formal banquets, and he had given them gifts of horses. In recognition of his deeds he was accorded one of the vacant seats in the chiefs' council, where he now sat regularly and had a voice in all administrative decisions for the band and tribe. He played the role of chief very well. He was considerate of people and concerned for their welfare. He was known to have entertained old people from time to time and to treat them with consideration and generosity. At one time when he had had a successful deer hunt, he sent Horse Rider to invite a number of old people, and when they were seated around the lodge he personally served them the deer meat and made sure that each had a generous portion. After the meal, as was customary, the guests began to talk and one old man expressed the sentiments of all when he said, "We thank you for having us here for dinner today. It is my wish to you that you will live to see your grandchildren grow up and do you honor, and that your great grandchildren will play about your feet." This was not to be, but perhaps he has gained a different kind of immortality through his son Otter
159 and through the stories he told of their life.

575 The most creative and socially significant achievement of Victory Call
794

was in the field of religion. It was he who built up the cult of the Deer 159
Dance (*Raris-ta*, "dance-deer"). Taking it over from his predecessor who
had obtained it by studying among the Wichita to the south, Victory 575
Call was largely responsible for its reorganization into the Pawnee religious 794
style and for the wide popularity it enjoyed at that time. He had built it up to such a degree that it posed a serious challenge to the monopoly of the long-established Doctor Association, where heretofore all the medicine cults had been organized. The association was under the leadership of Big Doctor and Sitting Hawk; Victory Call's older brother had a prominent place in it as leader of the Bear Cult. The rivalry between Big Doctor and Victory Call was bitter as some young men began to move over from the association to join the Deer Dance. In his dying moments in the 1860's, Victory Call saw a vision of Big Doctor upon whose sorcery he blamed his sickness and his death. The cult lasted under new leadership for a while, but after the tribe got to Oklahoma in 1876, its popularity continued to decline, while the Doctor Association maintained its vigor some time longer. Victory Call was also a skilled rattlesnake [424]
doctor and he was able to make a trade with his brother Sitting
Hawk for knowledge of the Bear Cult in return for Rattlesnake knowledge. Victory Call's retainer, Horse Rider, had come to serve him in his household in the hope that Victory Call might give him a place in the Deer Dance and perhaps share other cult knowledge with him.

Victory Call had a friend, Chief's Road (*raru-hatur-risaru*, "the one that 159
is-road-chief"), whose name implied that he was going on the road
which he hoped would lead to chieftainship. Chief's Road had no hereditary 557
social status, but he was ambitious for administrative advancement. 572
He hoped that if Victory Call gained first place in the chiefs' council, he would appoint him his official brave. This was possible as when a chief retired or died, the new chief did not carry over the former incumbent, but appointed his own brave to assist him. Chief's Road was an excellent arrowshaft maker and supplied Victory Call with all his needs. On the other hand, he was not too good at acquiring horses, and Victory Call often helped him out by giving him some of their wood and other household needs that were more easily acquired when one had horses for transportation. He had built his house immediately adjoining Victory Call's lodge, and there were generally friendly relations between the two households; their children played together.

As a provider for his family, Victory Call was an accomplished hunter, 159
both of individual big game and as a leading member of the tribal buffalo
hunt. He also managed to make some extra cash by trapping beaver. He 622
had some income from gifts he received for his religious activities and he maintained a modest herd of four or five horses. He was a good and able husband and father, inclined at times to be somewhat solemn and a little pompous, though not overbearing. He was about sixty years old at the

159 time of our narrative in 1867. White Woman was his third wife and considerably younger than he. He had a grown son, Fox Chief (*kiwakurisa'a*), by his first wife. 622 Fox Chief was a young man in his twenties and lived most of the time in the home of Eagle Chief, where he was a close companion of Eagle Chief's son, Man Chief. After the death of his first wife, Victory Call had married the older sister of White Woman and then at her death he married White Woman. Besides his boy Otter, he and White Woman were raising an infant they had adopted—the daughter of one of the wives of Leading Chief, head chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. The chief believed that the baby was not his own but that of his younger brother, and when it was born he took the infant by the legs and was about to dash its head against a tree, when Victory Call rescued the baby and brought it home. When she was very small, White Woman kept her in her bed, but after she could walk she displaced Otter in grandma's bed. A small bed was built underneath grandma's bed for Otter so that she could watch them both. Sometimes they would put the baby on his back, and he was told to go off and play and to take good care of his sister. Otter addressed his father at all times as *atias*, "my father," and his father called him, *piirau*, "child."

159 White Woman, *Ts-taka*, "woman-white," was apparently so called because of the lightness of her complexion and the suspicion that she had 593 some European ancestry. Being considerably younger than her husband, she was very conscious of her responsibilities and of the importance of their social position. Victory Call was always pointing out to her what her duties were. He would say, "I have to go off. If the Poncas come here with a gift of tobacco, take it and try to feed them." Or, "You have brothers and they might come to the house and perhaps they will be hungry. So don't go off anywhere because you ought to take care of them. If outsiders from other tribes come visiting bringing horses and tobacco, take it!" White Woman was so diligent in her duties that when her brother Uncle War Cry came to visit he would ask her why she didn't go out once in a while and get some air instead of sitting around the house all the time. Then she would retort, "I'd like to go, but who would be here to meet you fellows when you came? If I went out, they would just have to call me back when you arrived. That's the reason for my staying home all the time!" White Woman tended to be conservative in her social relations, and she was mindful of the common Pawnee observation that "A woman who stays at home never gossips, but just goes about her own business." She sent gifts to the appropriate relatives but made a habit of keeping her distance personally.

Her little boy Otter had a high regard for his mother, but their relations were quite formal. She would caution him, "Before you go out to play, go get something to eat and don't ask anyone for the food they have. Don't call anyone bad names like 'you hungry thing' or say 'you're

lady. She rubbed some soot from the brass kettle and smeared it across her eyes (signifying defiance of any danger, and particularly of fire). She twisted her hair into a knot on the front right side of her head, put on a loin cloth, and with a war club in her hand she went out to face the enemy saying, "We've got to do *something*. You men just sitting here doing nothing!" This got the men excited and they said, "Just look at that old lady! We've got to go out and fight." Then they all ran outside. The old lady had nothing but a club in her hand, while the Poncas and all the men had their bows and arrows. She killed one of the Poncas right next to the house and sure enough his pockets were stuffed with hay all ready to burn down their houses. Because of her bravery, she could say and do anything as she had saved everyone's life and she felt she could do what a man did any time and she was free to say whatever came to her mind. Right after the battle, she came upon Feeling Bear who had been shot in the leg. "That's good, you should protect the people," she said. "Your mother and father are still living and you're young yet." But then Feeling Bear began to cry and sob and she said to him, "You're nothing but a baby. You don't belong out here at all. Only men should be out here fighting!" Then three old ladies came along and said to her, "Let's see that dead Ponca you killed." At that very moment Whitey came walking along with a stick in his hand that he had used to defend himself. The Old Lady calls him grandchild and they all began to tease him. "Turn that Ponca over," they said. But try as he would, the corpse slipped back and he jumped away. Then, giving it a hard push, he fell right on top of it. The old ladies began to laugh, and he ran away as fast as he could. He said that long after, he could still see that Ponca right before his eyes at night. The body was not buried, but was left in the open. 159 593 726

Long afterward when they were talking it over with the Poncas, and they were reviewing the incidents of the battle, the Poncas said, "When we saw that old man, we thought he was the bravest man we had ever seen and that's what held us back." Then the Pawnees told them that it was a woman. When braves were jealous of their wives, they would sometimes beat them up and then Grieves-the-Enemy would come along and say to them in her full deep voice, "Fine brave men you are! Your place is out beating up the Poncas. They came here to burn up our whole village. We women do you no harm. It's the Poncas you should be out fighting with."

The only men to whom she spoke politely were the chiefs. A chief would never beat his wife no matter how he felt. This would be against the whole code of chieftainship, and if he thought he could not control his emotions, he would not accept the office in the first place. When he was asked, he had to seriously consider whether his character was good enough. He must be generous and good and, if he weren't, he would re- 159 593 622

159 fuse the call saying, "I'm a drunkard and have many other faults. I can't
593 be a chief." To other men, Grieves-the-Enemy was gruff, even to priests,
622 but not to the chiefs. Even her grown son, she ordered about. She would send him off to get a bucket of water and he would feel obliged to do as she said. Not that she was "mannish" in any way. She wasn't. Among the Skidis, this old lady was a person of note.

159 She was raising her grandson, Yellow Calf, whose mother had died and
603 whose father, High Noon, had married into another household. She contributed many invaluable services to the household, and she and Otter's grandma liked each other and cooperated well together.

[551] Otter's grandmother was Old-Lady-Chase-the-Enemy. Her name, *Ts-ak-ta-hira'as*, "woman-them-chased-ahead," i.e., "chase the enemy ahead of the line of battle," was given to her by her brave sons in honor of a gallant war deed they had performed, chasing the enemy way ahead of the line of battle. All six of them were killed in battle by the Poncas, and she would think sadly of their death, "If my sons had lived they would have taken care of me." "But," said Otter, "in our household we didn't think of her as a burden. She was my own grandma who used to take care of me and we took care of her." Otter's grandmother was a very old woman. In fact, she was his great-great-grandmother, once removed. She was the sister of White Woman's own great-grandmother and accordingly, White Woman called her *atira*, and she was thus a grandmother to Otter. He would call her *atika*, "grandmother," having no consciousness that in fact she
[582] was two generations beyond his mother's mother. Marriage at the age of fourteen or fifteen for girls made it quite feasible to be a great-great-grandmother between the ages of sixty-five and seventy. She may have been seventy-five at the time. Being in the mother's line, she was considered a particularly close relative. That she was a satisfactory grandmother to Otter there can be no doubt. When they walked out together, people would say to her, "That's your husband. He always watches his wife. They can't be parted." And Otter would retort, "Well I have to watch her. She might run away!"

Otter said the following of his grandmother:

> Grandma was left-handed and they would sometimes speak of her as *Tskusaski*, "Lefty-woman." She would do everything for me—grease my feet when they chapped and cracked, get me food at night. I wouldn't bother others to do these things. She would do anything in the way of work. She was very saving as she knew how hard it was to get anything. She wasted nothing as she felt hard times might come some time. I guess she was like some white women who don't waste anything, putting everything into the kettle. She would cook anything and make it taste good—turkey feet and some field corn that she had made into hominy—she

796 "Priest"; it was performed when the sacred corn plants were about two
221 inches high and had four good leaves. This ceremony was in charge of
one of the two "south" bundles of the semicardinal directions—in alter-
241 nate years, the southwest and the southeast. The crux of the ceremony
778 was the uprooting of one of the young sacred corn plants, in which the act of birth was symbolized and the young plant carried as an infant on the visionary's back from the field to the ceremonial lodge, where it was attached to a stick fashioned by an arrowshaft maker and painted to represent a person. The plant was now carried through a cycle of childhood and young girlhood and breathed on by the priests to give it life. It was now Young Mother Corn, watching over the tribe. Only when this ceremony had been performed were the women permitted to go out into the fields and weed the corn plants and hill up the earth around them to protect them as they grew. A second weeding and hilling process in the latter part of June was the last attention the corn plants received before being "laid by." The people were then ready to leave for the summer buffalo hunt.

796 Without this ceremonial cycle, the coordination of the people in their
221 orderly round of life could not go on. While it was primarily a religious frame, it was also of basic practical value since it was based on the seasonal progression. Without it it would have been almost impossible to coordinate people's lives with one another and with external events.

Some of the activities that were necessary during the spring season were fitted into the cycle rather than being part of it. This was particularly true of the manufacturing and maintenance functions, while the ceremonial cycle referred especially to the planting of the crops.

221 All winter while the people had been wandering over the country on
the tribal buffalo hunt the house had stood idle and their clothes and
(356) equipment had taken heavy wear. These had to be put in order and re-
(296) paired before planting time.

The average life of a house was twelve years, but before the end of
356 that time water might leak through the roof and rot some of the radial
476 roof beams. These would have to be replaced, and in order to do this the
221 whole roof covering of thatch and earth had to be removed and reas-
554 sembled. This task would require more than the personnel of the house-
622 hold. Where the men of the house had little social status they would have few social contacts to draw on, but men like Old Bull and Victory Call were in a much better position to get help from the community. Because of their status as chiefs many more people were likely to volunteer to help. The following section shows some of the social mechanisms involved in the process. However, it should be noted that the assistance given was neither on the basis of power authority nor fundamentally for the sake of gaining social status by association, but rather in appreciation

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

of the role of the chief in public service. For the house of the chief was the place where administrative activities were carried on for the benefit of the people, as we have seen in the meeting described above in the home of Eagle Chief.

356
476
221
554
622
[342]
[344]

together and again enjoying a festive meal at their daughter-in-law's house 243
afterward. [606]

Now at the beginning of June everyone's mind was turned to complet- [221]
ing the preparations for leaving on the summer hunt. They would weed
and cultivate the corn plants and hill up the earth once more just before
leaving, when the plants were about 3½ feet high. The present Nebraska
farmer says, "Knee high by the fourth of July" and the Pawnee said, "Tall
enough to tickle the horse's belly."

The corn and the buffalo that sustained the Pawnee placed heavy de- 22
mands upon him. Only by carrying out his year's round with great pre- 476
cision and by careful coordination of his activities with other people of 243
the tribe could he combine these two major food resources. The adminis-
trative activities of the priests and the chiefs were as vital to his enterprise 622 •
as the physical resources themselves. Few administrative structures have 182
commended themselves so directly to the people as that of the Pawnees. [793]
Respect for the chief was a cardinal tenet of every Pawnee's life, in re- [183]
turn for which the chief demonstrated a dedicated concern for his people.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

13

CEREMONIAL PREPARATIONS FOR SUMMER BUFFALO HUNT

000

Ritual Meeting of the Chiefs—New Responsibilities of Chiefs—Mythohistorical Significance of Skull Bundle—Development of Original Village Federations—Ceremony Described—Chief of Hunt Is Chosen—Banquet Follows—People of Village Informed

221 WHEN THE CORN WAS LAID by in the beginning of June, a new phase in
*224 the Pawnee year's round began. Everyone turned their thoughts to the
long migration out onto the prairie. The mass hunt of the buffalo herd
that was the next phase in the Pawnee year's round would last all summer until time for the harvest in the beginning of September. Would
[162] they find the herd, would they get a plentiful supply of meat for their
ceremonial banquets, would they be attacked by the enemy, would they
live in health and at peace with one another—three thousand people in four
Skidi villages and four Pawnee bands—each with its own ways and interests on a journey of 900 miles over the land and across the rivers?

• 622 As was their practice, it was the chiefs, priests, and medicine men that
221 took the first formal steps toward initiating each new round of activities
[793] through the year so that the people were taught and reminded of what
[756] lay ahead. In the village, priest and chief shared almost equally in keeping life on an ordered course, but on the march it was the constant
vigilance of the chief that determined the achievement of this goal.
And so this season opened with a ritual meeting of the chiefs, validating
their cosmic sanction and soliciting the confidence of the people.

622 The whole meaning of this ceremony was that the chiefs alone were
796 taking responsibility for the welfare of the people on the hunt and that
*224 the sacred meat they were about to get was a great and Heaven-sent

blessing for all the people. These thoughts and feelings were expressed 622
in a characteristically Pawnee idiom: the chiefs were costumed as Heaven 796
itself and were told by their old leader, That-Chief, that they could not 224*
look to Heaven for their decisions as *they* were now Heaven and were carrying all its responsibilities for the well-being of the people. In this role they walked from house to house and received a gift of firewood from each.

As no ceremonial could be conducted unless there were a donation of dried buffalo meat, the buffalo hunt signified the entire ceremonial life as well. Lying on the ground in the ritual lodge there was the long buffalo steak that was the customary donation, and upon it the chiefs all blessed themselves. After the ceremony the chiefs blessed their children with what was left of the donated meat as Heaven had blessed their people.

Amid these ceremonial significances, they also took the practical step of choosing one of their number to assume leadership for the forthcoming hunt season.

The chiefs met twice a year just before the tribe planned to leave for 622
the buffalo hunt. The summer meeting was under the direction of the 619
Skull bundle, the winter meeting under that of the North Star whence 224*
the buffalo came at that time, driven southward by the cold. In view of 623
the historical events, priests were excluded from this ritual, only chiefs [793]
being present, and there could therefore be no ceremonial procedure. It was said that like their cosmic counterpart, the Corona Borealis, the chiefs simply sat around in a circle and talked.

We do not know how many villages joined the first federation, but at 619
the time of our account (c. 1867) there were sixteen chiefs' places in the 62
council, four for each of the Skidi villages. At the northeast was a place [531]
for Old-Man-That-Chief whose voice was final in all matters relating to chieftainship. Closest to the exit, one on the north and one on the south side, were the chiefs' errand men, *tarutsubus*. The chief's errand man had a very important role to play, as he was the chief's envoy at all times. Like the chiefs, he held his position by heredity. He carried messages back and forth between the villages and to the other bands, and while the council was in session he kept carrying its decisions to the other bands, returning with their reactions to them. Both of the chief's errand men were mature, experienced men; the one, Heavy-Trophies, was also head sacred priest of the Skidi, while the other, Know-His-Face, was also a man of some social consequence. Old-Man-That-Chief carried the main direction of the ritual.

The ritual was held in rotation through the years in the lodges of the 796
different chiefs who were members of the council. On this occasion, 224*
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village was the host. On the morning of 622
the council he had sent the errand man, Know-His-Face, to issue the in- 623
vitations to the other chiefs and had the lodge prepared for their ar-

796 rival. The sacred buffalo meat lay to the south of the fireplace about
*224 three feet away. Eagle Chief sat at the southeast with three other chiefs
•622 ranged along the side to his left. They each had different materials
623 needed to help the chiefs costume themselves in their role as Heaven. Each chief would bring his own eagle feather that he would wear on top of his head to represent Heaven itself during the creation. Eagle Chief had a quantity of soft white feathers, *kiskuskawiu* (not down), placed on the head at the base of the eagle feather to represent the clouds on which Heaven traveled while the creation was in process. The chief who sat at the left of Eagle Chief had a knife and a supply of sticks to which the chiefs could fasten their eagle feather in order to put it through their scalplock. The chief who sat next on the left had some elk sinew to tie on the feather. The fourth chief had a supply of paints for painting the faces with the bow-shaped vault-of-the-heavens design. Each chief was expected to wear his best clothes so as to be worthy of his role.

Each chief entered with his tobacco pouch in his right hand and went directly over to where the sacred meat lay on the south side of the fireplace. The meat was the long muscle steak that lay along the backbone of the buffalo, dried and processed for preservation. It was called *kis-atsu*, "bone-lying along." It now rested on the south side of the fireplace, lying at a slant with the "head" or neck end pointing northwestward. Facing in this direction, the chief straddled the meat at this end and placed his tobacco pouch down near his right toe. He rubbed the end of the meat and then rubbed himself in blessing and, retrieving his tobacco pouch, went to his traditional place. As soon as two or three chiefs had entered, they filled their pipes which errand men lit up for them. When they were all in their places, Old-Man-That-Chief began to talk.

He explained to them that in their ritual smoking of the pipe they were to remember that they were now impersonating Heaven itself and therefore they were not to offer the mouthpiece upward, but only down to the powers of the earth, for they were occupying Heaven already. He also mentioned the donor of the buffalo meat that had made the ceremony possible, Lone Chief. He stated that they were to costume themselves properly so that they could go among the populace, *akitaru*, and receive from each household two well-dried sticks of firewood that the people had been saving for the purpose so that they could denote their allegiance to the chiefs.

The ritual pipe from the Skull bundle was then filled and brought to him at the northeast where he was sitting and lit up by the errand man. Then Old-Man-That-Chief smoked and pointed the mouthpiece twice downward and passed it to his neighbor to his right, who in turn did the same thing and passed it to his neighbor until it had gone around the lodge in a counterclockwise circuit. After the pipe had been returned to the owner, That-Chief spoke again. He reminded them that they were to

undertake their task of chieftainship with humility, for all they had was 796
their own human frailty. He said: "People think we are big men, but we're 224*
no bigger than poor men. Look at yourself and see this. Look down at 622
the earth. Power is there." 623

The chiefs now lined up for the procession that was to go through the villages. Eagle Chief was in the lead, carrying the main pipe, with Lone Chief about two feet behind him, also carrying a pipe. All the other chiefs that were to take part in the procession were lined up behind them. They would carry the sticks as they received them—about six or eight each, carried in their arms. As the procession moved along, they would complain jokingly about the weight. Newly inducted chiefs followed behind, as this was a good time for them to be seen by the people. Before they left, they all had to pass the inspection of Old-Man-That-Chief, who gave them instructions as to their procedure: "Now you're to go out through the village and although they already know when you enter anyone's lodge you must say, '*Rakis* (wood), *tatibaa*' (I came to get), *tatitska* (I want), *rakis*(wood).' "

They had to visit all the lodges in turn. As Eagle Chief led them in, the women would be sitting on the beds along the sides. When he made his request, a woman in the lodge who was chaste would get up and give him the sticks. If it was the lodge of an important man, before the donation was made, he would have lit his pipe and offered it first to Eagle Chief and then to all the others, and each would thank him. In other less important lodges, the wood would simply be given. Sometimes in the lodge of an old chief, the old man would reminisce about his own experiences when he was in such a procession and how some important men had "smoked" him when he went the rounds, and how a woman had given four sticks so that she might have a good word from the chiefs and be doubly lucky. The chiefs in the procession would ask for cottonwood sticks because they were light, complaining that their arms ached and bantering with Eagle Chief about lingering too long over the smoking. "How far must we go yet?" they would ask. "I don't know how many houses!" Eagle Chief would say.

When they arrived back at the ceremonial lodge, they dumped the sticks at the southeast and went back to their places complaining about the fact that they were hungry. "My stomach's way in—I'm hungry! That fellow Eagle Chief is too slow." That-Chief would have directed [574]
the errand men to take a little dried meat and cook up a soup in a hurry so that they could refresh themselves. This was just an impromptu meal. The official banquet would come at the end, after all the ritual and business had been transacted. That-Chief would again remind them that in offering some buffalo fat to the powers they were not to raise it upward to the Heavens but only to the earth, and that they were to eat directly without waiting for anyone else.

796
*224
• 622
623

After they had finished, the most sacred part of the ceremony was held. They would smoke the pipe and talk of the creation. The old man instructed them and pointed out that they were not to be too eager, but to be measured in their devotions for they might otherwise tempt fate and use up their luck. He said: "This is the time for you to smoke, and anyone can talk on whatever serious subject he wants to—the creation or any other matter. Don't talk too long. Just say what you want to say if you have a notion. Just say a few words. You can talk again. Don't talk too fast. If it's Heaven's will, you will live long. If you talk out your words too fast, you wont live long; that is what we all believe. When we go visiting the Wichitas for example, if they don't give you a gift, that's all right. If they give you too much too often, you might not live long. If you get horses on the warpath, don't go again too soon. You might get killed. Conserve what you have. Do everything in a measured way. Heaven wanted us to live on this earth and here we are. These are the things that Heaven gave us—the corn and other things—and we must take care of them. We can't throw away or waste anything. We can't know what is going to happen in the future. *Raru* (merely, just), *kakirarakurararat* (don't waste anything)!"

796
*224
622
574
623

The serious part of the ritual was now over and the old man instructed the errand men to begin to cook the main banquet which would be served about four in the afternoon. During this time they would converse on more practical matters, finally leading to the choice of the chief who was to lead the hunt during the forthcoming season, after which the banquet would be served. The old man led off: "This is your time to talk. We're not in a hurry. We have nothing else to do but talk. If you have a story to tell, tell it. We come here twice a year, as chiefs—once in spring and once in the fall. If you want to say anything, say it. I would like someone to volunteer to help the errand man cut the meat into portions." The talk by the others now concerned their leaving on the hunt. One would say, "This time of year the buffalo are not quite fat enough. How many days will it be after we leave the village before we see them? Perhaps so and so many. What do you think?" "Corn isn't big enough yet. Maybe it will be ready the latter part of the month." "Perhaps when we get out on the move, we can travel eight or ten miles a day."

Now after each one had made some remark on these matters, Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge who was sitting at the west and who had donated the meat, proposed that Eagle Chief be made administrative chief of the forthcoming hunt. Eagle Chief replied that he had only recently performed this role, and proposed that White Eagle be chosen in his stead. White Eagle, after due expressions of humility, addressed them. He stood up and said, "Now you have selected me. I'm going to call a

796
224*
622•
574
623

meeting in a few days to decide when to go buffalo hunting. When we (Skidis) have decided this, the other three bands will be looking to us to find out when, and we must send them word."

The main banquet was now ready to be served and Old-Man-That-Chief said, "This is what Heaven gave us. We must take care of it. Now we're going to eat." The food was passed out in formal order and ordinary conversation went the rounds. One said, "Let the horses race now. Whoever has a good horse will get a good buffalo. This fellow has a horse that never gets fat because he races it. He feeds it all the time and it never gets fat." Someone else would remark about the state of the corn and the pumpkins. Then again, someone would say, "When we get to the Platte River, we will see big grapes and plums and chokecherries. There will be good plums where we're going." Another one would remark, "How are you fixed for the equipment for your horses? I guess you have to fix your saddle so that you can pack things on it." Then again, "I have to get some arrows. I have to get someone to make the shafts. I still have time yet." "I have to get an iron barrel hoop at the store to make the points, and a file to trim them down. First I have to get the blacksmith to rough them out for me. I have to get a lot of them." In this way they reminded one another of some of the practical things they had to do before leaving on the hunt.

It was now early in the evening and Old-Man-That-Chief made the closing speech and summarized some of their findings: He reminded them that they had been occupying the seats that the older chiefs had occupied before them; they had talked over whatever they wanted to say and what they knew of the past, and now they must look toward the future. That they had heard White Eagle who had been selected as leader of the forthcoming hunt upon his selection by Eagle Chief, and that they as chiefs could only reply upon their own judgment, for representing Heaven itself, there was no supernatural power to depend upon. He thanked Lone Chief for donating the meat for the banquet and then instructed them to get up and go. Before his final dismissal, That-Chief reminded them that the meat which they were carrying away from the feast was to be entirely eaten up as soon as they got home, and that it was not to be left overnight, as it might become infected with sickness or bad luck and endanger the well-being of the tribe. They were to bless their children with the meat and then see that it was eaten up directly. When the meat was handed to the wife, as she blessed her children she said, "I want you to grow up to be worthy of this chief's meat. Your father has come home with this meat for us to eat. This is the food that Heaven has promised to provide for us. Now we're going to eat it and Heaven is going to bless all of us. I'm going to bless you; we're going to eat this food from the chief's lodge there. Now we're going to eat it and I hope it brings good

796 luck to our house and that you grow up to be better children through
*224 Mother Earth." Then she blessed the children and she blessed herself
• 622 by rubbing her hands upon them and herself.

As was customary, as the meeting was drawing to a close, an old man
574 had climbed on top of the earth lodge, and facing east addressed the peo-
623 ple, informing them of what matters had been discussed and what decisions had been reached in the council. He said: "Now the chiefs have had a meeting. Now their business is nearly over. Everyone must go into the fields and try to get things ready. Get the corn laid by as soon as you can. If you have not already gotten your tent fixed up as I have reminded you before, get it fixed up now. From now on, try to get everything done in a hurry." With this exhortation, everyone in the village accelerated their pace in preparing to leave the village and migrate out onto the plains.

if he wandered over to his parents' tent and asked his mother to fix a 606
bed for him it was accepted as a normal thing. His wife would understand 593
that "he felt like being childish for a while" and that next morning
he would be back with them. Sometimes the sounds of fighting would
be heard inside a tent—a father-in-law and a son-in-law in conflict.

Although he might live elsewhere in the village, an unmarried 593
younger brother was likely to join his older brother for the hunt. This 224*
was his obligation. When he married, however, he would be impelled to
go with his wife's family. Sometimes two brothers and their families [592]
lived in an earth lodge jointly and they might very well also go jointly
on the hunt.

The household of Old Bull and Victory Call broke up into three 592
groupings. Each of the four villages of the Skidi Band had a separate 621
section of the encampment. Old Bull and Victory Call both camped in the Pumpkin-Vine Village section in the west, but each had a separate encampment and ran their households entirely independently. The camp of Old Bull included his two wives and the grandmother and their young children. In Victory Call's camp were his wife White Woman, his assistant Horse Rider, his wife No Corn, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy, and the boy Otter. The old lady Grieves-the-Enemy and the boy Yellow Calf went far over to the east section where her son was encamped in Village-in-the-Bottomlands with his father-in-law, Path-of-the-Enemy. The two little boys did not see each other all summer, as there were hundreds of tents between them. When they returned to the village in the fall, it was optional whether they rejoined the household or not.

In the past, the people who were left behind in the village were in 224*
great danger and they all cried bitterly as the expedition departed. The 888
Stay-at-Homes were usually the sick and the old. Some men would stay 734
longer to give a little more protection to an old grandmother or someone of whom they were fond. The Stay-at-Homes would congregate in a few earth lodges in the village, knowing where to find food in the storage pits. Leaving the slow and the sick at home was a necessary step, as the line of march had to move with precision because other tribes were also pressing in on the buffalo herds. They might move entirely out of reach, whereupon the tribe would be faced with the danger of losing all of the effort they had invested in the expedition. Nevertheless, sometimes a soft-hearted chief would say, "Let's all go, even if we have to camp every five miles!" Others would demur, saying that was too slow; finally the old people themselves would say, "No, we can't go along. We're old anyhow," and having made this concession of their own accord, they
would be permitted to return to the village. Sometimes noticing that a 224*
perfectly able-bodied family he liked was not coming along, Eagle Chief 622
would inquire and, finding they were staying behind because they had 426
no horses, would lend them two of his own.

*224 ward to the hunting grounds on the Republican. Each of the bands had
*484 its own well-known landmarks. As White Eagle was leading the four
184 bands on this hunt, they all had to follow the south bank of the Loup for
the first part of their journey in the Skidi tradition.

*224 A major landmark of the trip was Grand Island in the Platte River.
*484 There were a number of long, sandy islands in the Platte, some of them
covered with lush grass and grazing animals and with trees growing on
131 them. Grand Island is one of the largest of these (more than twice the
439 size of Manhattan Island). It is about 20 miles long and 5 or 6 miles wide,
with a narrow channel on the north and south sides between the island
and the mainland. On the island the United States had established Fort
Kearney, where there was also a trade center.

*224 The trip to the hunting grounds was usually made in ten encampments.
*484 The hunting camp, not uncommonly within sight of the migrating herd,
361 was called Camp 11. By the Skidi route traveling west along the south
bank of the Loup, they would make three camps beyond the first one and
arrive 32 miles out. This would put them just due north of the west end
of Grand Island over which they planned to cross the Platte. Because of
the sandhills between the Loup and the Platte, the crossing southward
was slow and they would make one camp between the two rivers (Camp
5).

Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte and two miles westward of the place of crossing. This was done so that the camp could be set up on high ground to avoid the mosquitoes and bugs that abounded in the lowland. This was the stop they usually referred to as "Fort Kearney" because the chiefs would go over there and collect their government allotments while the line of march continued two miles west and set up camp.

Continuing along the south bank of the Platte, they made four camps "west of Fort Kearney," viz., camps 7, 8, 9, and 10. At Camp 10 they reached another important landmark, Plum Creek, a small creek that was a southern tributary of the Platte (near present Lexington, Nebraska). Up to this point the individual hunters went out privately and got deer, elk, or antelope to supply fresh meat for their own camps. While the line was en route to Camp 6, a small group of independent hunters made a long trip southward to the Republican to scout around and they killed three buffalo and brought the meat to Camp 6. As the line of march was moving toward Camp 10, the ablest hunters of all four bands went out and surrounded a small herd of about twenty buffalo, bringing in the
• [622] meat to Camp 10. This group of hunters included all the chiefs, other administrative officials and prominent men. The meat they obtained was
[431] widely distributed in the form of gifts and symbolized the fact that "the
chiefs feed the people buffalo meat."

The next stop was Camp 11 on the Republican. While the previous

buffalo surround had been made exclusively by the elite, now while they 224*
were en route to Camp 11, every able-bodied hunter in the entire tribe 484*
would make a concerted attack on the herd. To guide the line of march 361
overland from Camp 10 to Camp 11 took considerable skill. They left the Platte by following southeast and upstream along Plum Creek almost to its source, and then headed somewhat in the same direction overland to the head of another small stream, Turkey Creek, that flows due south into the Republican. They traveled southward along the west bank of Turkey Creek, and the line of march halted about midway and combined all the baggage they could so as to free as many horses as possible for the hunters. The line of march proceeded to the confluence of Turkey Creek and the Republican, where they set up Camp 11 in preparation for the arrival of the hunters with the meat and hides. They would remain there for some days as they would have a great quantity of meat and hides to process. This was about the end of July. The place is west of the present town of Naponee, Nebraska. Four mass forays would be made by all the bands in concert, after which the bands would separate and follow their own fortunes.

Officially, White Eagle was in charge of all the bands. However, he 224*
chose to make a number of diplomatic gestures in this connection. On 622
two occasions he deferred his leadership of the hunt episode to chiefs of 628
the other bands, with whom the Skidi had a special kind of political re- 276
lationship. This was a relationship established through the calumet or 574
peace pipe. The calumet was not so much a treaty-making symbol as an elaborate ceremonial through which interband and intertribal trade was carried on, the pipe, therefore, being a sign of peaceful intention and
thus a safe-conduct pass through alien territory. In 1672, Marquette [175]
carried one down the Mississippi and was able to establish peaceful rela-
tions with all the tribes along the way. Other tribes agree that the cere- 574
monial originated with the Pawnees. The ceremony was always carried 276
on in terms of a visiting party bringing gifts. The visitors, who were
called "fathers" by their hosts, brought with them dried vegetables, [431]
bowls, and cooking utensils; decorated clothing, and blankets; "jewelry" and ornamental objects; and—most valued of all—the highly decorated pipe stems that were symbolic of the male and female eagle. The visiting party might number a hundred or more. An earth lodge was set aside by the hosts for the ceremonial and for the leaders of the party. The rest of the visitors had brought their own tents and camping equipment as well as all the food supplies and utensils that they would need. It took almost a year for a man to initiate such an enterprise. In the party were always included a chief, a priest, and a doctor. The hosts who received the party were called "Children" by the visitors, who assisted the hosts with their planting and other work so that they would be free to
attend the ceremonies. When the ceremony was over, the guests, in [431]

574 addition to the gifts, left all their equipment behind, and also the two
276 sacred pipes. The "Children" on their own account gave their parting
431 "Fathers" a large number of horses they had elaborately decorated for
the occasion. In the past they had given quantities of dried buffalo meat.
[554] Only people of some prominence and wealth could participate in these
operations. At this time the Skidi Band were the "Children" of the Begging-for-Meat
•622 Band, while the Skidi were "Fathers" to the Man-Going-Downstream
628 Band having recently paid them a trading visit. In view of
574 the mutual courtesies involved, for the Chiefs' Hunt and the first major
276 hunt episode, White Eagle deferred his leadership to his "father," Man
*224 Chief of the Begging-for-Meat Band. The fourth episode he placed in
charge of his "child" Many Trophies, chief of the Man-Going-Downstream Band.

*224 They stayed north of the Republican River for the first two mass attacks
*484 on the herd. By this time the herd on the north side was pretty well
scattered, and the hunters had to cross over the river for the attack and
bring the meat back over the water into camp. For the fourth mass attack
on the herd, under the leadership of Many Trophies of Man-Going-Downstream
[361] Band, they moved their camping location from Camp 11 to
a place on the Solomon River to the south, a branch of the Kansas. This
was a site preferred by the Man-Going-Downstream Band. It was a difficult
overland journey for which they had to carry water with them.
They would finally locate a small south-flowing stream, the Cedar, which
led them directly to the Solomon. They made their camp in the angle
where the Cedar joined the Solomon, hunting the herd further up the
river. When the bands parted, they mainly went to separate locations
further to the west along the Republican as the herds in the more eastern
648 location would have been scattered. This territory in the west was dangerous
as the nomadic tribes, Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, and others
were constantly poised to attack for what they considered to be an encroachment
[175] on their hunting grounds. In 1873 the Sioux attacked the
Pawnees while they were on such a venture, butchering their kill in a
[727] canyon near Trenton, Nebraska. The death toll was so severe that this
[169] event tipped the balance in their decision to leave their traditional territory
and migrate to Oklahoma.

On the way out and the way back from the buffalo hunting territory
*224 they moved their camp in fairly regular succession one day after another.
*484 But sometimes it rained and they had to remain where they were
132 for several days, or they might be delayed by the sickness of a prominent
man. Rain, of course, was an inevitable factor. It could delay the camp
for several days. If they were caught in a rain while on the march, everyone
had to spread his things out to dry and this operation might require
the next day or even two before they could resume their journey.
[281] Tanned hide becomes hard and has to be tanned again with grease and

rubbing after it gets wet. If the tent cover was folded when wet it would 224*
get moldy. The sinew bowstring also would be ineffective when wet. 484*
Rain had very serious consequences when they had sliced a quantity of 132
buffalo meat and were drying it on the rack. If it should be wet by a sud- [281]
den storm, the meat throughout the encampment would be spoiled. [251]
There was nothing that could be done with this meat. If one tried to eat it, it tasted like dead wood. It fell to pieces in one's hands. Even if one tried to cure it over a fire, it simply rotted. Meat once exposed to rain, even after it had been cooked, became moldy next day. A rack of meat that had been rained on was called ***kariks-kutu***, "rack-dead, spoiled." The meat had to be thrown away.

Accommodation and adjustment to rainy weather was therefore very [182]
important and a nice distinction had to be made between the problem of delay and the risks involved.

One day word was sent to White Eagle that an important man of the 224*
Man-Going-Downstream Band was so ill that he could not go on. White 484*
Eagle had to consider very carefully whether they would go ahead and 758
leave him or delay the entire group. A day's delay might mean the 554
difference between reaching the full herd on time or finding only strag- 619
glers left after the herd had passed. Considering, however, that the Man- 622
Going-Downstream Band was in a "Child" relation in the Peace Pipe ritual to the Skidi and was in the process of giving them a return gift of horses, White Eagle diplomatically decided to delay the march so that the sick man could be treated by a doctor. It was also felt that if inter-band relationships were not solidified from time to time, one or the other of the South Bands might conceivably be induced to collaborate with the Sioux on some occasion. Then everyone would consider that White Eagle had failed in his administrative functions and in his diplomacy.
The death of an influential man in another band would also be the occa- 224*
sion for delay until after the funeral. If the wife of a prominent man 484*
were about to give birth, the whole family of this tent and a doctor 554
would stay behind and wait, and White Eagle would assign one of his 764
principle braves to see that things were all right with "their Child" (in 844
terms of the calumet), while the rest of the camp moved on. In the case of an expected birth to one of the wives of White Eagle himself, he would request Eagle Chief to lead on and say, "My wife is going to be sick." But Eagle Chief would refuse to go ahead saying, "I might spoil your luck. We can go on when she's well again." Ordinarily a woman would have to go aside while traveling and have her child in the open aside from the line of march. Also, in the case of death, the own family would usually stay behind and bury the person, then come on and join the rest. After a day's delay, everyone would be glad to be moving along.

224

ing back and forth a bit. He was a considerable distance from the camp and he called to someone who was within closer shouting distance that he had seen them, and that the scouts had had a successful hunt and would soon be there. The message was relayed to the camp and everyone heard about it and was on the alert. Finally, as they got nearer, people began to see them, and someone called out to the wives of the men, "They're coming, bringing meat!" Excitement ran high, for this was the first fresh buffalo meat of the year. Chief White Eagle saw them too and [622] he said a heartfelt "Thanks to the Great Powers!" For as leader of the hunt, he was held most of all responsible for it.

23

THE TENTH ENCAMPMENT

000

Prominent Men Plan a Scouting Party—They Kill a Small Herd of Buffalo—Holy Ritual in Connection with Hunt—Gifts of Meat Symbolic of Chief's Promise to Get Meat

*224 AFTER WHITE EAGLE LEFT the feast at Roaming Leader's tent that eve-
*484 ning, he called in the errand man, Know-His-Face, and sent him to Curly
Chief of the Kitkehaxki to announce the place of Camp 7 for the next
day, six or eight miles west of Fort Kearney. On the way they planned to
[648] make a brief stop while the *main chiefs and braves went over to the fort*
on Grand Island to get the government provisions that had been as-
signed to them. Then they rejoined the line of march which continued
to the seventh camping place. At the fort, Eagle Chief and Lone Chief
• [622] represented the Skidi Band, Curly Chief, the Kitkehaxki, Man Chief, the
Tsawi, and Many Trophies, the Pitahawirata. When they rejoined their re-
spective groups, they divided up the provisions they had received before
proceeding on their way.

Before they had left the villages, the chiefs in their ritual meeting had in effect promised to lead the people and see that they had buffalo meat to eat. They were literally now going to make good that promise. Every day as the people were on the march, scouts had gone out well before dawn to survey the country and see where the buffalo were. The scouts were men drawn from the ranks of commoners who had little interest in social status or public prominence. As they were leaving for Camp 9, a scouting party drawn from the upper ranks of the population, mainly braves and prominent doctors, particularly from Village-in-the-Bottomlands into which White Eagle was married, went out to look for a small herd of ten to twenty buffalo. The objective was that they would plan their strategy so that they could surround and kill all of the small herd. Only men with the fastest hunting horses could undertake this task—the

They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," 224 * they had to pack and go on. They arrived at the river about five in the 484 * evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often [226] done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. Some men used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and [225] brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were [252] they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were officially headed for home. The night before, the military police had [625] officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from [622] his leadership of the hunt. He thanked them all and reviewed the events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buf- [787] falo leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Republican they would have to make before they could start north for the Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sa- 796 cred bundles and the cults, but of special interest to everybody was the 431 Grand Opera that the associated doctors would give after the harvest, 756 lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the 624 association, called for his two errand men to go to all members, appren- 211 tices, and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand man would pick a dry weed, *hawartatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil, and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute, the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent, dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and proceeded to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. At 796 an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and 431
756

cred bundle ceremonies, and for them the success of the venture was a 792
token of the favor they enjoyed with the powers above.

In his closing speech in the council tent, White Eagle had thanked his 622
chiefs, braves and young men of the tribe who had helped him in every 537
way to get all the dry meat that they now all had. For, he said, the horses 221
were all heavily laden and every old man and old woman had some meat
too. He spoke of the fact that they should now look to the future tasks
that were ahead—their crops of corn beans and squash that they had left
growing in their gardens and would harvest and preserve. There was no
delay when they got to the village in getting to work on the drying and
processing of the crop for storage. The star Canopus had risen in the [821]
southern sky and the harvest month of September was upon them. The
Pawnee felt himself fortunate that by his work he could ensure himself
so many of the good things of life.

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

34

PREPARATION FOR THE GRAND OPERA

000 *The Doctors' Profound Connection with the Animal World—Hypnotic Powers—Organization of the Doctor Lodge—Animal Cults—Construction of Images—Ideology of the Doctors—the Ceremonial Mode: Fighting and Sleight of Hand—Gaining Animal Knowledge—Getting the Cedar Tree for Ceremony*

796 756 THE DOCTORS' OPERA had to do neither with the ordered cosmos nor with the well-regulated world of the cultivated plants, but with the mysterious realm of the wild animals and their wild plant environment. The [622] [793] [787] chief and the priest to whom the cosmic powers spoke in visions, were men of reason who spoke out clearly on what they thought, while the doctor who communed with the animal world had a slow, deliberate, introspective mein, seldom if ever making clear pronouncements. The 756 animal cults all had their origin in the experience of an individual man who in despair had reached out to the universe at large and received a vision from an animal who was ready to intercede for him and help him work out his problems. He had received special knowledge that would help him cure the sick through the properties of the plants and other curative procedures. In addition to this kind of knowledge, the animal also transmitted to his protegé the power of hypnotism and suggestion that gave him control over animals and other people and, if he was skillful enough, over the enemies of the tribe. 756 173 The Pawnee animal cults were the result of traditions that had been handed down from one person to another and elaborated in the course of time. People who

wished to share in the cult knowledge apprenticed themselves to a doctor 756
and gradually learned his lore, adding their own variations in the course [173]
of time. Each of the different cults held their own special ceremonies at
least twice a year—in the spring before going out on the summer buffalo [796]
hunt and in the fall before leaving for the winter hunt. In addition, all
these cults were organized into one big "Doctor Lodge." It is said that in [173]
the past there were two separate doctor lodges within the Skidi Band
that would stage big hypnotic contests between them. They were called "East Doctors" and "West Doctors."

At the time of this narrative in 1867 there was one combined Doctor Lodge with two major leaders, one for the south side, Pipe Offering of Pumpkin-Vine Village, and one for the north side, Big Doctor of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. Despite their location in the lodge, they were still referred to as West and East Doctors respectively, coinciding with the relative location of their villages in the settlement. Big Doctor was considered the more authoritative of the two, which may have been due to personal factors rather than formal or ceremonial ones. Each of these leaders had an assistant from his village to help him manage his side. Sitting Hawk of Pumpkin-Vine assisted Good Pipe and Wonderful Old Bull of Bottomlands Village assisted Big Doctor. These men were both prominent in their own right—Sitting Hawk, for example, being a prominent member of the Bear Cult and a senior member of his family in the chiefs' council. The apprentices to these prominent doctors acted as errand men and cooked and served the meals. They were stationed on each side of the entrance at the east. Theoretically the head men should be willing to give them any information they wanted in return for their services, and eventually they would move up to a position in one of the animal cults in which the doctor had a vested interest. Several subapprentices sat
next to them waiting to assume the position of errand man when they
should move. Venerable old men who were not currently members of the [888]
cults sat in the northeast and southeast positions, further in the lodge [622]
than the apprentices. Chiefs who were invited to witness a performance [554]
were seated next to the old men still further in.

The bed platforms had all been uprooted and put outside on the roof of 756
the entry way and along the sides a series of booths had been built for 346
the animal cults. The booths were constructed with partition walls of willow saplings and main outer posts of cottonwood logs. Each booth was completely screened in, with a tiny entranceway cut near the bottom of the front wall so that the doctors could crawl in and out. Each cult was directed by a leader who had a series of apprentices and subapprentices with different degrees of knowledge of the cult tradition.

At this time eight cults were represented in the different booths, four on each side.

came, including the animals. For these, two consecrated buffalo skins 756
were shot with a special bow and arrow during the preceding summer. 776
The gods were represented as cutouts suspended from the roof of the 796
lodge. Each was hung approximately where it appeared in the heavens. 532
The female gods of the western skies were cut out of the buffalo cowskin. The bull hide was used for a large cutout figure of the Morning Star fastened to a stick and raised above the smokehold outside just before the star rose in the sky.

The tasks of the doctors in preparing the ceremonial lodge were summarized 756
by my informant as: 346
796

> Now that the booths, the drums and gourds (rattles) were done, the pictures hung, the serpent, witch, and turtle modeled, there was one more thing to do—to get the cedar tree.

Each one of these elements of ceremonial furniture represented an involved 756
ideological network of religious beliefs. The theology of the 796
celestial gods and the creation has already been sufficiently elaborated 77
on. The ideology of the Doctor Spirits concerned chiefly the waters as the primordial source, followed by the earth, the plants, and the animals—all however, ultimately subject to and derived from Heaven as denoted by the cutout figures of the cosmic gods.

The ideology of the doctors was greatly valued from a humanistic as 756
well as from a practical point of view. Theoretically, chiefs with hereditary 622
status should not want to be doctors as to some extent we might not expect a Grand Duke to want to go to medical school and set up an office for general practice. The degree of apprenticeship and subordination to an established practitioner seemed hardly consonant with the dignity of a chief from the point of view of the Pawnee, but nevertheless some of the chiefs did seek out doctor knowledge and participated actively in the apprentice roles. When a chief applied to a doctor to become his pupil, the doctor would try to dissuade him saying, "You're a chief. I don't sleep at night. I am always working. You don't want to be that way. I have to watch the sick at night." But if the chief is determined his wish will finally be granted. The doctor again would test him, saying, "You're good-looking. You don't want to have mud all over your face!" At last after all these probing questions, if the applicant said, "That's what I want," the doctor, convinced of his sincerity, would bless him and receive him under his tutelage. White Eagle, who had led the previous summer hunt, and his brother Charley Box were both chiefs and also deer doctors. Old Bull and Victory Call were both chiefs and practicing doctors; Victory Call's senior brother Sitting Hawk had an important place in the chief's council and was also a leading doctor in the lodge.

The services of witches were never for hire, but sometimes an old 754
man could be induced by one of his close relatives to help him forward
his fortunes by this means. Everyone knew Brave Chief as a poor boy 754
who had raised himself by his own efforts and finally became a chief, 622
although he had no hereditary status. On his deathbed, Pa-hukata-wa,
"Hill-against-the-Bank," a famous chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, 557
had designated him to take his place in the chiefs' council.

For many years before that time, Brave Chief had courted Pahukatawa's favor. He had served him and repeatedly gave him gifts. When he came home from the warpath, he would give his horses right to the chief instead of to his own father. He hoped that the chief would make him his official brave. But there was an obstacle to this. The chief's younger brother, Kills-the-Enemy (*Tiukauxki*) had many times expressed himself as being unfit to be a chief as he had a quick temper and was not gentle and judicious in his ways as would befit a chief. So he continued to hold the post of brave to his older brother, Pahukatawa, and Brave Chief was not able to get the post. His brother, continuing to disavow any interest in becoming chief, was not named to take a place in the chiefs' council by Pahukatawa. Rather Brave Chief was named by Pahukatawa on his death bed.

Not everyone was willing to accept the straightforward explanation of Brave Chief's rise to fame through his own industry and merit. Some attributed it to a well-laid plan involving witchcraft. In this view of the matter it was said that while he was still quite young, Brave Chief was very ambitious, and he made a plan with his old father Meat-Offering, to help him rise to power. The surmise was that he went to his father and proposed to him that it would be a good thing if he could become chief before the old man died, and that anyway people would cite it as a case of a poor boy who had raised himself from poverty and low degree, and never suspect their connivance. And so, the interpretation goes, the old man took out his doctor bundle and witched the chief and presently he got sick. Brave Chief stayed around and waited on him during his illness and finally when he was dying, Brave Chief sat down next to the chief's head. Many men were sitting around to hear the last words of Pahukatawa, among them Old Man Meat Offering, Brave Chief's father. Pahukatawa addressed the assembled company and said, "I want my son, Brave Chief, to have my place." "And so," said one of the partisans of this point of view, "this ambitious man became head chief of the village through his father's witchcraft!"

Suspicion of witchcraft was directed toward people known to be 754
ambitious, envious, or frustrated. It was said of one old doctor, Angry
Horse, that he was such a good man that he probably never used his
witchcraft. "He never got sufficiently angry for that!"

571 *796 623 Because of the sacred and binding character of this relationship, and the gifts brought by it to the Son, namely, long life and many children to make his family strong, the selection of a man to be made a Son is regarded as a serious and important act, one in which the chiefs and the leading men of the Father's tribe must have a voice.

[554] The Son should be a chief or a man who has the respect of the leading men of his tribe, and whom the Father's tribe would be glad to have bound to them by the tie of Son.

While the Father has been gathering the materials necessary for this ceremony, which may have taken him a year or more, he has had some particular person in his mind whom he desired to make a Son. When everything is ready he mentions this particular person to the chiefs and leading men, and when we are gathered together to sing this song we think of this chosen man and we ask the assistance of Mother Corn, and if he is the right person she will lead us to him.

*796 [828] [776] The selection of the Son takes place soon after the preparation of the sacred objects, frequently on the night of the same day. It must always be in the night time, because the spirits can travel best at night. The spirit of the corn and the spirits of the people present in the lodge at this time are to decide who shall be the Son, and Mother Corn is to lead us to him. The same persons are present at this ceremony that were present at the preparation of the Hako.

In the west of the lodge, facing the east, sit the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the Father. Before them are the sacred objects arranged as at ceremonial rest. A little way in front of the crotched stick stands the ear of corn which has been painted in the sacred manner (see figure 172). It is held in position by one of the sticks to which it is tied being thrust into the ground. This ear of corn is the mother, and upon her everyone present must fix his mind.

The singing of the following stanzas occupies most of the night; they do not follow each other quickly, for we must pause after each one.

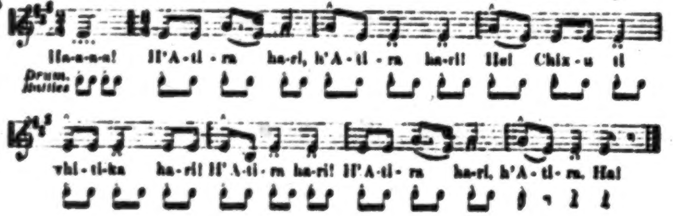
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*533 *539 *796


Ha-a-a-a! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri, h'A-ti-ra ha-ri! Ha! Chix-u ti
Drum. Rattles
rhi-ti-ka ha-ri! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri, h'A-ti-ra. Ha!

meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance 342
of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and [778]
suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and
other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the
altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, [554
the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, 513]
which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two
below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a
"skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending
upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward
to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This
framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow
rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was
protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered
roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when
a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially [484]
anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family
usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer
abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was
made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered
with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four 619
bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary
chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had 621
also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its [778
priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with 793]
those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and
symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a
medium of communication was believed to be opened between the
people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and
prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the 621
head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced 622
by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus 624
or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the
Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were
the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council 623
was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands,
and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of
the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a 681
man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family. 591

---

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. xv, New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE

The Skidi formed one of the four bands comprising the Pawnee 619
tribe, the others being the Chaui, the Kitkehahki, and the Pita- 621
hauirat. [In the manuscript the Skidi are spoken of as a tribe. [101]
However, I have followed more recent usage and substituted the
term band, reserving tribe for the Pawnee as a whole (Lesser, 1933).]
The Skidi, however, considered themselves independent and actually
felt closer to the Arikara than to the other three Pawnee bands.
Politically the Skidi were a federation of villages, of which at least
thirteen are known to have existed, though there were probably
others which have been forgotten. The federation was held together
by a governing council of chiefs and by a ceremonial organization [623]
involving the participation of the band in a round of ceremonies
associated with sacred bundles.

The village was a distinct local group consisting of a cluster of 621
earth-lodges housing the component families. Each village possessed 361
its own fields, whose ownership was allotted among the villagers by 622
the chief, a supposed lineal descendant of the original owner of the 423
sacred bundle of the village. [I am inclined to believe that the chief
allotted the use of the fields rather than their ownership.] On the
death of an individual, his land was re-allotted by the chief. Each
village also had its own burial ground in which were buried only
those belonging to the village.

In principle the village was endogamous. Since the Pawnee 621
moved to Oklahoma the old restriction on marriage has been grad- 582
ually disappearing. This is due to the fact that the population of [178]
certain villages has dwindled and it is no longer possible for the few
remaining individuals of some villages to obtain mates within their
own village. Even in this breaking down of the system, however,
the old fashion of reckoning descent is maintained. Thus, in the 611
marriage of a man from Big-Elk village with a woman of Little-Elk
village, the children would belong to Big-Elk village. [However,
according to the manuscript, both these villages were extinct by
1907.] An exception to this general rule is at the present time [1907] [184]
under consideration among the Skidi. Mr. Murie's son, now about
of age, properly belongs by the laws of the tribe to the Village-on-the-Hill, that being the village of his father. His mother, however, belongs to the Pumpkin-Vine village and her brother, Skidi-Good-Chief, is the last representative of that village. To prevent the village from becoming extinct, Skidi-Good-Chief has asked per-

622 mitted his authority along with his bundle to his eldest son. These
565 hereditary chiefs, representing each of the villages, selected from
among the leading warriors and those of high rank a sufficient number to make up the thirty-one. [The manuscript also contains a note that the chiefs' council could reject the son of a deceased chief if it did not consider him worthy. Also, if the dead chief left no offspring, the bundle was supposed to descend to the next oldest brother or nearest male kin; the brother married the chief's widow.]

The eldest son of a chief theoretically inherited his father's position, and if he proved worthy was duly made chief on reaching the proper age. At this time the chief's bundle (North-Star bundle) was opened and a ceremony held. So far as known, the ritual accompanying the ceremony has not been sung for more than thirty years, and there is no Skidi living today (1907) who knows it.

It has been mentioned that the hereditary chiefs could invite men who had proved themselves worthy and make them chiefs. When this course was decided upon, the chiefs invited the one selected to the lodge four times. He declined the first three times, but on the fourth invitation went to the lodge, bringing with him ponies and parfleches of meat, which he presented to the chiefs. He was then made chief, but did not have his face painted, and his sons were not considered chiefs.

The son of a chief other than the eldest, or indeed any man, might make four deer holy and offer them to the four chiefs of the Four-Band village. With the consent of the other hereditary chiefs they then asked the candidate to the lodge and offered him a pipe to smoke, after which he could sit in the chief's council. [Presumably he did not have the rank of a chief, however.]

622 During council the chiefs were supposed to sit cross-legged in
[516] an erect attitude, never in a lounging position. The mark of office
623 was a red-painted face with a blue semi-circular line extending from
531 in front of each ear and passing over the forehead, and a symbol on
302 the forehead representing the so-called Turkey's Foot constellation.
565 An eagle feather was worn in the hair, while ordinarily the costume
consisted of leggings fringed with eagle feathers and human hair from scalps, and a buffalo-skin robe on which were depicted stars, the sun, or war scenes.

622 Perhaps the most important characteristic of a chief was that
[728] he was a peace-maker and guardian of the village rather than a
538 warrior; there are many incidents in the myths expressing the idea
565 that a man who has often been on the warpath becomes imbued with

571 plan was applied to any larger gathering as well as to more casual encounters.
574 The seating was aways according to relative social status and the
[521] right of priority in conversation was always determined by rank. There
[554] was little room for simple, spontaneous, social contact in the life of a
mature man. Except for the intimacies of marriage, there was no opportunity for easy conversation between mature men and women either. Missionary Dunbar (1881, pp. 745-746) describes the conduct of the men:

> 571 [The Pawnees] were . . . among themselves very sociable. With the men
> 574 there was apt to be perhaps, an excess of formality in their formal gatherings,
> 517 but this is a natural consequence of their oft-recurring feasts and
> councils. It was quite common for several men in the evening to meet in some house where tobacco was to be had, and there sit smoking and recounting their exploits. One of the party kept up a monotonous thumping upon a drum. Another would dance for a while, make a speech, and sit down. Another would follow with the same role, etc. At certain seasons such gatherings were of nightly occurrence, lasting usually well-nigh till daylight.
>
> 571 Akin to this trait of storytelling, was their delight in discussion. They
> 537 were extravagantly fond of debating what might be termed questions of
> • 623 general principle, often exhibiting considerable tact in their manner of
> sustaining an argument. Their principal efforts of this kind were reserved for public occasions, such as councils. It was impossible to attend a tribal council where any important matter was pending and not be impressed with the power and cogency of their eloquence. The reputation of being
> [554] an orator was coveted, and a man, when once recognized as such, was sure
> to wield great influence. An orator when addressing a council upon a question in which he was thoroughly interested, seemed to appreciate fully the dignity of his position, and identifying himself with the cause he advocated, and addressing himself directly to the person he was attempting to answer or convince, his speech would become vividly dramatic.

Tribal Fun and Games

609 Theoretically, friendships were best formed within one's own village
621 for beyond that was a kind of social "No-Man's Land." Sometimes,
[572] however, the wall of suspicion broke down, as in one story we heard related:

> 609 The members of the different bands didn't like each other as a rule.
> 621 We would say, "Don't bother with them (referring to people of another
> 539 village or band), they're mean."
>
> But some nice evening the Man-Going-Downstream Band and the Meat-Beggars would join the Little-Earth-Lodge Band and the children

512 462 887 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder. When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter, I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar. Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

313 484 • 623 [726] Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Victory Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful supply of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the immediate neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy. The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the chiefs had gathered there.

512 252 262 [237] The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buffalo meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

(415) 512 251 356 [192] The main business of the women of the household that day was to give the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold, and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in; besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for food pit, *tahaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all. (476) After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

000 sides. "Oh, you got good pay," they said. Then she added the news about
512 the gift of black tanned skin, and her husband teased her and said, "Let's
476 see that. Just right to make me a pair. You can patch up yours."

522 Back at the lodge, the old ladies said they were tired and went to bed,
512 and White Woman waited for her husband to come home.

While the women were busy with the minor household work and the
• 623 storage pit, Old Bull and Victory Call had been at a meeting of the Skidi chiefs at the home of Eagle Chief. There were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages—chiefs, subchiefs, and their attendant braves. Eagle Chief yielded his place at the west to the two most important guests and took the southeast position. At the southwest was Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge and in the northwest position, Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. The subchiefs and braves of each of these chiefs sat next to them in a line extending toward the east. At the southeast position, sat Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village with his subchiefs and braves extending inward toward the west along the side of the lodge. On the north side in a symmetrical arrangement was Chief Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village sitting in the northeast position with his subchiefs and braves extending inward along the northside. (See Figure 5-2 for the positions of representatives at the council meeting.)

623 Eagle Chief was the first to address the company, stating the purpose
722 for which he had called them together: "The Sioux are likely to come around any time. Don't each go individually to get wood. We must all go at a stated time when we can have our scouts on the lookout and bring in enough wood to be piled up while the planting is begun, that is at least four days' supply." Discussion from the others present followed, and then Eagle Chief announced that they would have another meeting in about two weeks or more to discuss the matter of clearing the fields in preparation for planting. He now turned over the conduct of the meeting to the chiefs at the west, and Lone Chief took charge, stating that if anyone had anything to say about the business at hand they should do so at this time as they were to have a feast and then talk of other matters.
623 After everyone had spoken his mind they waited two or three minutes
574 and then Lone Chief said, "Now we are going to eat." At the entrance
[624] near the east were the two errand men of both presiding chiefs at the west, and they had prepared the food and were ready to serve. The bowls were piled up near the kettle in which the food had been boiling, and, while one of the men dished it out, the other served. He carried two
[554] bowls to the west, one for each of the presiding chiefs. Then he returned to the east, carried the next bowl to the next chief on the south side, then returned to the east and gave the next bowl to the next chief to the north side, and so on in alternation, one by one on each side. Then the braves were served, one on the south, one on the north, until everyone had received his food, whereupon the errand men served each other.

623
342
35
554

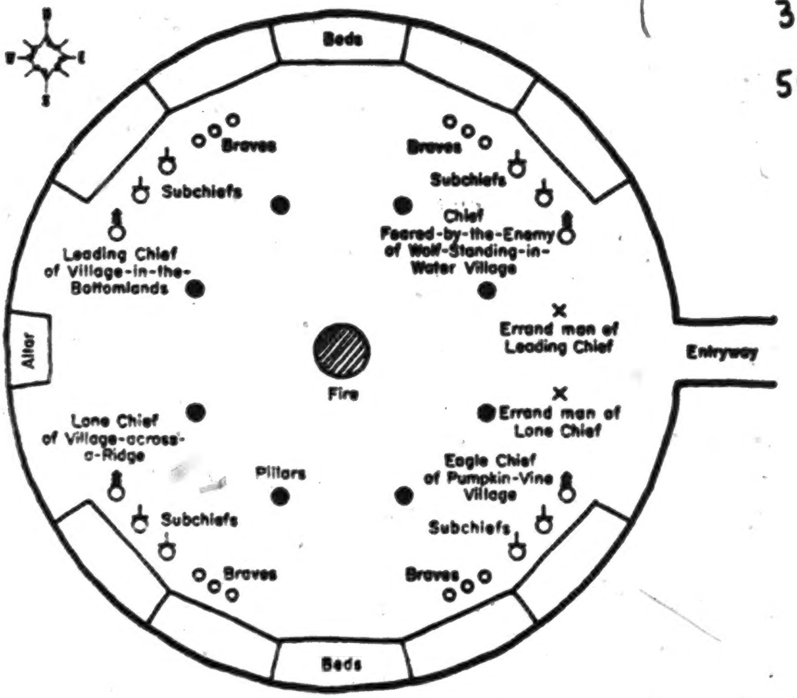

N
W
E
S
Beds
Braves
Subchiefs
Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands
Braves
Subchiefs
Chief Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village
Altar
Fire
Errand man of Leading Chief
Entryway
Errand man of Lone Chief
Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
Pillars
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Braves
Braves
Beds

FIGURE 5-2. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. Mats are [631]
placed in the outer circuit against the beds to accommodate larger numbers.
Of the supposed twelve villages that formed the Skidi Federation in the past,
four villages remained in 1867. Villages must have combined as their numbers
were decimated. The original twelve sacred village bundles remained, and [778]
some of the subchiefs probably represented these assimilated villages.

This was the time for joking "so that everyone could laugh during the 623
meal." The jokes were of a somewhat slapstick variety as they wanted 574
to be sure that no one's feelings were hurt in any way. Ordinarily, while 522
the social relationship with one's parents was quite formal and restrained, [593]
the relationship with the grandparents was in sharp contrast. It was a [603]
relationship of lively familiarity. Physical handling was rough-and-tumble,
a grandfather sometimes pulling his grandson out of bed of a cold morning and dumping him in the snow to harden him; jokes were often leveled
at the grandchild and answered in kind. The mode of kin reckoning often [601]
involved an extension of the immediate kin terms to more distant blood [602]
relatives, and it worked out so that people of similar ages might address

623 each other by the kin terms of grandfather and grandchild—thereby per-
574 mitting a great deal of free-wheeling slapstick behavior. This was incon-
522 gruous because of the social position of some of the individuals involved
[601] and was considered quite humorous. Eagle Chief addressed Lone Chief as
[602] grandson in this way, and he would say, "That's the laziest fellow I ever
saw. He sleeps till mid-morning every day. I wish I were at his house. I'd throw him in the water." This evoked considerable laughter because of the incongruity of the situation, and, now that the South Side had made its joke, it was the turn of somebody on the north side. It was decorum to wait a few minutes, and then Leading Chief at the northwest took up the thread and said, "Look at that fellow over there," pointing to someone on the north side. "When I went out with my horses, I saw his horses standing there in a terrible condition. They were turning round and round with flies all over them and they must have been thirsty." (It was the work of the young boys to take care of the horses.) The man on the north side against whom the joke was leveled replied with, "I always hobble my horses, but he took my lariat and unhobbled them. That's the fellow who unhobbled my horses!" During the actual meeting, women were not present, but now the women of the lodge began to return and they too would join in the jokes with the men who happened to stand to them in the appropriate relationship.

623 This was the end of the meeting, and Leading Chief of Bottomlands
574 Village sitting at the northwest presided over the closing. He said,
"Now we are to get wood. Some of you, Lone Chief in particular (object of the last joke), must be in a hurry to go tend their horses. Any who wish can stay and tell stories, but now we have eaten [and the meeting is at an end]." Everyone said *nawa* and most of them rose and left the lodge. A few lingered. Enough extra boiled buffalo meat was usually portioned out at such a feast so that everyone had a substantial piece to take home to the family. Food from a chiefs' council was thought to have the special virtue of conveying a blessing of plenty to the women and children, and some of the men were eager to get home and share what they had with their wives and children. It was for this reason that they had been requested to bring their own bowls when they were invited that morning.

623 The decisions reached by the chiefs at their councils were always an-
203 nounced to the people soon after the meeting was over. One old man for
722 each village with a somewhat resounding voice usually acted as the vil-
313 lage crier. He would stand on the roof of his earth lodge between the
smokehole and the entrance passageway facing east and call out:

"Day after tomorrow, we're all going for wood—the whole bunch of us. You young men—after breakfast take your bow and arrows. Go up on a high hill and be on the lookout to picket for Sioux or any other kind of danger. Women have to fix up their packstraps and everyone should

sharpen up his axe, fix up the ropes, borrow a horse to haul the wood if 623
you need one. If two or three lodges are going afoot together, they must 203
keep in line so that we know where you are." (Those with horses were in 722
less danger and might go in any order.) There was another thing he 313
warned them against—that is, taking young girls along. They were just
the ones the Sioux would be trying to capture, and the old man remarked,
they weren't really strong enough to carry wood anyway! Another danger
was a magical one. The spirits of men who had been scalped by an [775]
enemy were very much feared. They were thought to lurk all around,
trying to capture women or steal whatever else they could get their hands
on. So the old man cautioned, "If a woman hasn't kept up, the line must
wait for her until she arrives. She might be captured by one of the
scalped men. This is the time you have to look out for that."

When the young men heard the crier's announcement, five or six of 722
them would gather together at a favorite rendezvous and say, "Let's go
together with our bows and arrows real early before the others and stay
up there until everyone comes home." According to their plan, on the appointed
morning they would go out before the others and disburse over
the area to see whether the enemy was lurking about. They would leave
the villages about 7:30 in the morning and stay out all day.

The chiefs' meeting had come to an end that afternoon while it was 574
still full daylight. Old Bull had gone off to tend his horses. Victory Call, 521
having nothing in particular to do since he had Horse Rider to help him,
wandered over to the gaming grounds where some of the men were clustered
about making their bets on the outcome of the hoop and spear
game, while others were just watching on the sidelines. Victory Call sat
down at some distance from the game and two of the spectators came to
join him. The man who sat down at his left filled up his pipe and offered [276]
it to Victory Call, lighting it for him. Victory Call offered the mouthpiece
upward for the first puff to the cosmic powers in the heavens saying, [782]
"Greetings, all of you spread out up there." Then he offered the
mouthpiece to the earth and said, "Greetings, my mother." Now he took
two puffs on the pipe and began to share it with the men on each side of
him in the alternation: first to the right, then himself, then to the left, and
so on. When the pipe was smoked out, Victory Call was feeling in a genial
mood. He made a special arrangement of his robe that had up to now
been carelessly draped around his shoulders. He drew it down to his waist
and, crossing his legs with the robe folded in a certain order, showed by
this token that he was ready to tell a story. The men who had sat down
with him were anxious to hear what the chief had to say, and particularly
what had gone on in the meeting he had just attended before the
crier got around to announcing it. Several more men joined the party
with the same idea in mind. Victory Call might begin directly, or one of
the men would suggest it obliquely saying, "I heard you had a feast."

blessing for all the people. These thoughts and feelings were expressed 622
in a characteristically Pawnee idiom: the chiefs were costumed as Heaven 796
itself and were told by their old leader, That-Chief, that they could not 224*
look to Heaven for their decisions as *they* were now Heaven and were
carrying all its responsibilities for the well-being of the people. In this
role they walked from house to house and received a gift of firewood
from each.

As no ceremonial could be conducted unless there were a donation of dried buffalo meat, the buffalo hunt signified the entire ceremonial life as well. Lying on the ground in the ritual lodge there was the long buffalo steak that was the customary donation, and upon it the chiefs all blessed themselves. After the ceremony the chiefs blessed their children with what was left of the donated meat as Heaven had blessed their people.

Amid these ceremonial significances, they also took the practical step of choosing one of their number to assume leadership for the forthcoming hunt season.

The chiefs met twice a year just before the tribe planned to leave for 622
the buffalo hunt. The summer meeting was under the direction of the 619
Skull bundle, the winter meeting under that of the North Star whence 224*
the buffalo came at that time, driven southward by the cold. In view of 623
the historical events, priests were excluded from this ritual, only chiefs [793]
being present, and there could therefore be no ceremonial procedure.
It was said that like their cosmic counterpart, the Corona Borealis, the
chiefs simply sat around in a circle and talked.

We do not know how many villages joined the first federation, but at 619
the time of our account (c. 1867) there were sixteen chiefs' places in the 62
council, four for each of the Skidi villages. At the northeast was a place. [631]
for Old-Man-That-Chief whose voice was final in all matters relating to
chieftainship. Closest to the exit, one on the north and one on the south
side, were the chiefs' errand men, *tarutsuhus*. The chief's errand man
had a very important role to play, as he was the chief's envoy at all times.
Like the chiefs, he held his position by heredity. He carried messages
back and forth between the villages and to the other bands, and while
the council was in session he kept carrying its decisions to the other
bands, returning with their reactions to them. Both of the chief's errand
men were mature, experienced men; the one, Heavy-Trophies, was also
head sacred priest of the Skidi, while the other, Know-His-Face, was also
a man of some social consequence. Old-Man-That-Chief carried the main
direction of the ritual.

The ritual was held in rotation through the years in the lodges of the 796
different chiefs who were members of the council. On this occasion, 224*
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village was the host. On the morning of 622
the council he had sent the errand man, Know-His-Face, to issue the in- 623
vitations to the other chiefs and had the lodge prepared for their ar-

796
*224
622
• 623

rival. The sacred buffalo meat lay to the south of the fireplace about three feet away. Eagle Chief sat at the southeast with three other chiefs ranged along the side to his left. They each had different materials needed to help the chiefs costume themselves in their role as Heaven. Each chief would bring his own eagle feather that he would wear on top of his head to represent Heaven itself during the creation. Eagle Chief had a quantity of soft white feathers, *kiskuskawiu* (not down), placed on the head at the base of the eagle feather to represent the clouds on which Heaven traveled while the creation was in process. The chief who sat at the left of Eagle Chief had a knife and a supply of sticks to which the chiefs could fasten their eagle feather in order to put it through their scalplock. The chief who sat next on the left had some elk sinew to tie on the feather. The fourth chief had a supply of paints for painting the faces with the bow-shaped vault-of-the-heavens design. Each chief was expected to wear his best clothes so as to be worthy of his role.

Each chief entered with his tobacco pouch in his right hand and went directly over to where the sacred meat lay on the south side of the fireplace. The meat was the long muscle steak that lay along the backbone of the buffalo, dried and processed for preservation. It was called *kis-atsu*, "bone-lying along." It now rested on the south side of the fireplace, lying at a slant with the "head" or neck end pointing northwestward. Facing in this direction, the chief straddled the meat at this end and placed his tobacco pouch down near his right toe. He rubbed the end of the meat and then rubbed himself in blessing and, retrieving his tobacco pouch, went to his traditional place. As soon as two or three chiefs had entered, they filled their pipes which errand men lit up for them. When they were all in their places, Old-Man-That-Chief began to talk.

He explained to them that in their ritual smoking of the pipe they were to remember that they were now impersonating Heaven itself and therefore they were not to offer the mouthpiece upward, but only down to the powers of the earth, for they were occupying Heaven already. He also mentioned the donor of the buffalo meat that had made the ceremony possible, Lone Chief. He stated that they were to costume themselves properly so that they could go among the populace, *akitaru*, and receive from each household two well-dried sticks of firewood that the people had been saving for the purpose so that they could denote their allegiance to the chiefs.

The ritual pipe from the Skull bundle was then filled and brought to him at the northeast where he was sitting and lit up by the errand man. Then Old-Man-That-Chief smoked and pointed the mouthpiece twice downward and passed it to his neighbor to his right, who in turn did the same thing and passed it to his neighbor until it had gone around the lodge in a counterclockwise circuit. After the pipe had been returned to the owner, That-Chief spoke again. He reminded them that they were to

undertake their task of chieftainship with humility, for all they had was 796
their own human frailty. He said: "People think we are big men, but we're 224*
no bigger than poor men. Look at yourself and see this. Look down at 622
the earth. Power is there." 625

The chiefs now lined up for the procession that was to go through the villages. Eagle Chief was in the lead, carrying the main pipe, with Lone Chief about two feet behind him, also carrying a pipe. All the other chiefs that were to take part in the procession were lined up behind them. They would carry the sticks as they received them—about six or eight each, carried in their arms. As the procession moved along, they would complain jokingly about the weight. Newly inducted chiefs followed behind, as this was a good time for them to be seen by the people. Before they left, they all had to pass the inspection of Old-Man-That-Chief, who gave them instructions as to their procedure: "Now you're to go out through the village and although they already know when you enter anyone's lodge you must say, '*Rakis* (wood), *tatibaa*' (I came to get), *tatitska* (I want), *rakis*(wood).' "

They had to visit all the lodges in turn. As Eagle Chief led them in, the women would be sitting on the beds along the sides. When he made his request, a woman in the lodge who was chaste would get up and give him the sticks. If it was the lodge of an important man, before the donation was made, he would have lit his pipe and offered it first to Eagle Chief and then to all the others, and each would thank him. In other less important lodges, the wood would simply be given. Sometimes in the lodge of an old chief, the old man would reminisce about his own experiences when he was in such a procession and how some important men had "smoked" him when he went the rounds, and how a woman had given four sticks so that she might have a good word from the chiefs and be doubly lucky. The chiefs in the procession would ask for cottonwood sticks because they were light, complaining that their arms ached and bantering with Eagle Chief about lingering too long over the smoking. "How far must we go yet?" they would ask. "I don't know how many houses!" Eagle Chief would say.

When they arrived back at the ceremonial lodge, they dumped the sticks at the southeast and went back to their places complaining about the fact that they were hungry. "My stomach's way in—I'm hungry! That fellow Eagle Chief is too slow." That-Chief would have directed [574]
the errand men to take a little dried meat and cook up a soup in a hurry so that they could refresh themselves. This was just an impromptu meal. The official banquet would come at the end, after all the ritual and business had been transacted. That-Chief would again remind them that in offering some buffalo fat to the powers they were not to raise it upward to the Heavens but only to the earth, and that they were to eat directly without waiting for anyone else.

796
*224
622
• 623

After they had finished, the most sacred part of the ceremony was held. They would smoke the pipe and talk of the creation. The old man instructed them and pointed out that they were not to be too eager, but to be measured in their devotions for they might otherwise tempt fate and use up their luck. He said: "This is the time for you to smoke, and anyone can talk on whatever serious subject he wants to—the creation or any other matter. Don't talk too long. Just say what you want to say if you have a notion. Just say a few words. You can talk again. Don't talk too fast. If it's Heaven's will, you will live long. If you talk out your words too fast, you wont live long; that is what we all believe. When we go visiting the Wichitas for example, if they don't give you a gift, that's all right. If they give you too much too often, you might not live long. If you get horses on the warpath, don't go again too soon. You might get killed. Conserve what you have. Do everything in a measured way. Heaven wanted us to live on this earth and here we are. These are the things that Heaven gave us—the corn and other things—and we must take care of them. We can't throw away or waste anything. We can't know what is going to happen in the future. *Raru* (merely, just), *kakirarakurararat* (don't waste anything)!"

796
*224
622
574
623

The serious part of the ritual was now over and the old man instructed the errand men to begin to cook the main banquet which would be served about four in the afternoon. During this time they would converse on more practical matters, finally leading to the choice of the chief who was to lead the hunt during the forthcoming season, after which the banquet would be served. The old man led off: "This is your time to talk. We're not in a hurry. We have nothing else to do but talk. If you have a story to tell, tell it. We come here twice a year, as chiefs—once in spring and once in the fall. If you want to say anything, say it. I would like someone to volunteer to help the errand man cut the meat into portions." The talk by the others now concerned their leaving on the hunt. One would say, "This time of year the buffalo are not quite fat enough. How many days will it be after we leave the village before we see them? Perhaps so and so many. What do you think?" "Corn isn't big enough yet. Maybe it will be ready the latter part of the month." "Perhaps when we get out on the move, we can travel eight or ten miles a day."

Now after each one had made some remark on these matters, Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge who was sitting at the west and who had donated the meat, proposed that Eagle Chief be made administrative chief of the forthcoming hunt. Eagle Chief replied that he had only recently performed this role, and proposed that White Eagle be chosen in his stead. White Eagle, after due expressions of humility, addressed them. He stood up and said, "Now you have selected me. I'm going to call a

meeting in a few days to decide when to go buffalo hunting. When we 796
(Skidis) have decided this, the other three bands will be looking to us to 224*
find out when, and we must send them word." 622

The main banquet was now ready to be served and Old-Man-That- 574
Chief said, "This is what Heaven gave us. We must take care of it. Now 623
we're going to eat." The food was passed out in formal order and ordinary conversation went the rounds. One said, "Let the horses race now. Whoever has a good horse will get a good buffalo. This fellow has a horse that never gets fat because he races it. He feeds it all the time and it never gets fat." Someone else would remark about the state of the corn and the pumpkins. Then again, someone would say, "When we get to the Platte River, we will see big grapes and plums and chokecherries. There will be good plums where we're going." Another one would remark, "How are you fixed for the equipment for your horses? I guess you have to fix your saddle so that you can pack things on it." Then again, "I have to get some arrows. I have to get someone to make the shafts. I still have time yet." "I have to get an iron barrel hoop at the store to make the points, and a file to trim them down. First I have to get the blacksmith to rough them out for me. I have to get a lot of them." In this way they reminded one another of some of the practical things they had to do before leaving on the hunt.

It was now early in the evening and Old-Man-That-Chief made the closing speech and summarized some of their findings: He reminded them that they had been occupying the seats that the older chiefs had occupied before them; they had talked over whatever they wanted to say and what they knew of the past, and now they must look toward the future. That they had heard White Eagle who had been selected as leader of the forthcoming hunt upon his selection by Eagle Chief, and that they as chiefs could only reply upon their own judgment, for representing Heaven itself, there was no supernatural power to depend upon. He thanked Lone Chief for donating the meat for the banquet and then instructed them to get up and go. Before his final dismissal, That-Chief reminded them that the meat which they were carrying away from the feast was to be entirely eaten up as soon as they got home, and that it was not to be left overnight, as it might become infected with sickness or bad luck and endanger the well-being of the tribe. They were to bless their children with the meat and then see that it was eaten up directly. When the meat was handed to the wife, as she blessed her children she said, "I want you to grow up to be worthy of this chief's meat. Your father has come home with this meat for us to eat. This is the food that Heaven has promised to provide for us. Now we're going to eat it and Heaven is going to bless all of us. I'm going to bless you; we're going to eat this food from the chief's lodge there. Now we're going to eat it and I hope it brings good

796 luck to our house and that you grow up to be better children through
*224 Mother Earth." Then she blessed the children and she blessed herself
622 by rubbing her hands upon them and herself.

As was customary, as the meeting was drawing to a close, an old man
574 had climbed on top of the earth lodge, and facing east addressed the peo-
• 623 ple, informing them of what matters had been discussed and what decisions had been reached in the council. He said: "Now the chiefs have had a meeting. Now their business is nearly over. Everyone must go into the fields and try to get things ready. Get the corn laid by as soon as you can. If you have not already gotten your tent fixed up as I have reminded you before, get it fixed up now. From now on, try to get everything done in a hurry." With this exhortation, everyone in the village accelerated their pace in preparing to leave the village and migrate out onto the plains.

16

FINAL PREPARATIONS IN THE VILLAGE

000

The Chiefs Sit in Council—Announcements to the People—Personal Needs: Tobacco, Foods, Clothing—Estimates of Food Taken for a Family

FOUR DAYS MORE and they would all be gone on their summer journey. 628
All the chiefs of the different bands were sitting in council to plan their 623
strategy. White Eagle, who was to lead the hunt, had called in representa- 203
tives of the four villages, and now as they reached their decisions he sent 224*
his errand man, Know-His-Face, to Curly Chief of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band to inform him of their plan. Curly Chief would relay the message through his errand man to the council of the Begging-for-Meat Band which was gathered in the lodge of Man Chief. Man Chief in his turn sent his messenger to Many Trophies, Chief of the Man-Going-Downstream Band, in whose lodge their council was meeting. Meanwhile Know-His-Face had returned to the Skidi council and reported what reaction Curly Chief had had to their plans. If the council were still in session they would get the message directly; otherwise they would hear indirectly. This was the usual form by which the four bands coordinated their administration throughout the year in the settlement and this continued in the same way while on the march. When an errand man or envoy came to a chief with a message from another chief, he was received formally and entertained as an emissary of the chief who had sent him, offered a smoke and a meal, before it was proper for him to state what he was sent for. If the chiefs' meeting should break up too late in the afternoon, the council would wait to send out their errand man until the next morning so that he could be received with due formality and the rest of the chiefs would have a chance to send out their envoys to the other bands in a suitable manner.

628 •623 203 *224 Just as the meeting was drawing to a close, as in all chiefs' meetings, an old man would climb up onto the roof of the lodge and cry out to the village what had been decided. In this case he did so early next morning. His wording was in a precise telegraphic style so that it could be clearly understood by everyone. He said:

> This was what was decided in the chiefs' meeting. White Eagle decided we are going to hunt in four days. Anything you have to do, get finished in that time. On the fifth day, we'll go out of the village. We'll camp on the other (south) side of the Loup River (*its-kari*, "potatoes-many").
>
> We'll camp there a whole day so that any of you that aren't quite through can join us any time that day and up to the evening of the sixth day. On the seventh day we are going to be moving upstream (westward).

The old man, having completed his announcement, went back into his lodge.

*224 887 537 [789] Toward evening any old man who felt impelled might get up onto the roof of his house and talk to the people. He would say whatever was on his mind—about events in the past and their lessons for the future, or any other matters that seemed pertinent. Reviewing past events that were successful was considered a kind of sympathetic magic as well as of practical value. At this time the old man might talk about the fields and of how they were in the past. "All that," he would conclude "is in the past. But today we may have the same luck." Then he would continue in a different vein: "Try to help one another and take care of the children. The little ones like to swim and one must watch that they don't drown. I hope we come home well and find everything in good order."

*224 525 Such an old man was likely to speak gently and phrase his thoughts diplomatically and people listened carefully and thought about what he said. However, at the gambling grounds the gamblers had other matters on their minds. They were thinking about the good places they would come to along the way that were nice and smooth, with good buffalo grass growing on them—such a fine playing field for the hoop and pole game. They would discuss the different sites they were going to camp at where these would be found and agree between them that one would take along one stick and one the other so that they would have the equipment they needed for playing. For the inveterate gambler, this subject was always uppermost in his mind.

*224 276 756 Other men were thinking about how to get enough smoking tobacco to fill their needs, and the doctors were occupied with the herbs and medicines they would need to take along that were available only in this area. The tobacco was needed for ritual as well as for social purposes.

26

THE MEETING IN THE COUNCIL TENT

000 *Selection and Installation of Military Police—Description of Council Meeting—Duties of Military Pilice—a Second Meeting after Second Attack on Herd—Stories Told*

• 623 628 WHILE HIS FAMILY WAS BUSY slicing the meat and processing the hides, Victory Call went to the council tent to meet with the other chiefs, braves, and prominent hunters. His usual practice was to set out about three-thirty in the afternoon after he had eaten and rested and go to White Eagle's large council tent where others would be congregated. On the first night the camp was set up on Turkey Creek, the council [625] meeting was of a more formal character. It was for the selection and installation of the military police.

[344] White Eagle's wives had set up an exceptionally large curve-roofed tent to accommodate the council. They had to rush with their work for the family when White Eagle arrived with the meat in order to be ready to leave when the council came in. On this particular evening White Eagle sent for his chief errand man, Know-His-Face. He was to go to the head chief of each of the four Skidi villages to ask him to come in the evening with ten of his prominent men. Each chief in his turn called his [344] subchiefs, braves, and "boys" to his tent. When they were all there, they lined up in order of rank and walked over to the council tent, where they seated themselves formally in their appointed positions. The tent was open to the east, and had a sacred area at the west. The four chiefs sat in the semicardinal positions, their respective braves ranging inward toward the cardinal positions at the north and south. At the northwest was Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, his braves ranging in an arc from northwest to north. At the northeast was Feared-by-the-Enemy

of Wolf-in-Water-Village with his braves ranging inward from northeast 623
to north. On the south side were Lone Chief at the southwest, his braves 628
ranging from southwest to south, and finally Eagle Chief in the host position at the southeast with his braves reaching inward toward the south station. In front of the braves in a sort of inner arc were the "boys" of their respective villages. No one could properly be seated in front of a chief. Outside the curve-roofed shelter to the north of the entrance, was a long oblong fireplace and a small token fire was made in the middle of the tent with a few coals for the ceremonial offerings. Forty people were in the council tent that evening, ten from each village.

Eagle Chief of the host village of Pumpkin-Vine spoke first and addressed Leading Chief of Bottomlands Village who sat at the Northwest. After he and some prominent men from his village had spoken the initiative passed to Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge, who also spoke as well as his brave and others of his village. Then Feared-by-the-Enemy at the northeast, of Wolf-in-Water Village, who passed it back to Eagle Chief in the host position at the southeast. The final responsibility was given to Leading Chief of Bottomlands, who was bound to accept—for White Eagle, who was leading the hunt, was married into his village. He now took up the directive and passed it to his head brave Strikes-the-Enemy, who, to everyone's relief, accepted the difficult post as head military policeman.

The paraphernalia of the appropriate military society, the Two Lance 623
or Horse Society, was in the Wolf-in-Water Village, and the chief, 701
Feared-by-the-Enemy, called on Chief's Road who had the lances and
lance covers in his tent to send for them, and Angry Horse to send for 625
the crow-feather belt with the sleigh bells on it that the head policeman was to wear. The two lance covers in their rawhide cases were brought in and the two long sticks on which they were to be placed. If there was still enough daylight, the covers would be taken from their cases, put on the sticks, taken outside the tent, and planted in the ground in front of it so that the wind could strike the feathers and they could be seen by Heaven. By sundown, Chief's Road would instruct the chiefs at the west how to fold up the covers with their feathers into their cases for the night.

The head policeman selected his second brave to assist him, along 625
with two from each of the other three Skidi villages. When the people [628]
in camp saw the feathered lances outside, they knew that the council tent had been officially established and they wanted to know who had been selected as chief of police and who the others were. Some thought Strikes-the-Enemy was too severe, others not.

Very early next morning, just before sunrise, the lances were reinstalled outside the council tent. The new chief of police, Strikes-the-Enemy, donned his crow-feather belt with the sleigh bells on it and,

After the four major hunt episodes, the four bands went their own 224*
ways, but within the bands the military police continued their power 484*
until they were actually on their return journey. The sending of the 625
scouts early in the morning and the plan as to where they should go was 628
now assigned by White Eagle to the chief of the police, a similar plan
being followed in each of the other two bands when their chiefs took the
lead.

The next afternoon, after they had made a second major attack on the 623 •
buffalo herd, there was a very large meeting in the council tent. At least 574
five sets of ribs were donated by each of the four Skidi villages, and five 224*
or six buckets of boiled corn kernels by wives of the leading men in 628
their names. Two women, one in front and one behind, would come with
the long "digging iron" stick resting between them on their right shoulders with the kettle of corn hanging from it, bringing it to the council
tent and saying, "This is so-and-so's."

After proper offerings had been made to White Eagle's sacred Left 623
Hand bundle, they ate roasted ribs and then corn, and told in detail all 574
the happenings of the hunt. Some of the men then began to go back to
their own tents while the prominent citizens remained, the older men beginning to tell "tall stories" of times gone by. They lingered so long in 538 224*
the Skidi council tent that night that Many Trophies of the Pitahawirata 628
Band had to send his errand man to find out what the plans for the next
day were to be, and then trot off to tell the chiefs of the other two bands.

As they sat in the tent, one old man said, "When I was young, I came close to a buffalo once and shot it with my arrow and the arrow went right through and came out the other side." Another old man now tops that one and says, "I did that once and when my arrow came through it shot a jack rabbit sitting on the other side." Old Man Pitsu'u (Arrived) now adds his tale, "I chased a bison, and you know they have long hair and as I chased him I saw something shiny on his neck. I thought it was a rock, but after I killed him and tied my horse to his leg, I looked and saw that he had a chief's medal around his neck. 'I wonder how he [illegible] that medal,' I thought, 'that bull must have been to Washington!' It wasn't on a ribbon though, but on a buckskin string. Now how do you think that bison got that medal around his neck?"

Different answers were posed one of which gave an account of a chief who had been killed and the bison rolling nearby, thus acquired the medal. "Now," said That Chief, "tell us Eagle Chief what you think?" "I'll tell you what might have happened," says Eagle Chief, "A Cheyenne or Comanche might have roped this bison while he was young and maybe he wanted to be blessed and put his medal on the calf. He might say, 'I'm giving you this medal. I want you to bless me. I'll let you free.' "

It appears that no one was ready to top this, so this story rested. Then Charley Buffalo began to tell of his fancy exploits somewhat embel-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

628
• 623
*224
[574]
[538]

lished until it got very late and the old men fell asleep where they were sitting while the rest went home.

From now on they would meet in the council tent, especially the most prominent men, throughout the hunt.

55

ARRANGING THE ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP

000

Meetings with the Interpreter, Behaille—Discussion of Arrangements with U.S. Government—Band Is Chosen to Lead Hunt—Final Preparations

221
*224
THE TIME WHEN EVERYONE began to think in earnest about leaving for the hunt was between the tenth and fifteenth of November, when the wind got colder from the north. Men from the different bands would meet in the trade store and talk it over. They wanted to travel before the cold was too severe.

648
In September 1857 the Pawnees had signed a treaty with the United States Government agreeing to cease all hostilities between them, to cede some of their lands, and to move onto a restricted territory. The United States in return acknowledged its military responsibility to provide the Pawnees with protection and its financial obligation to pay an annuity for the ceded lands. By 1867 the military alliance was further solidified [701] when a considerable number of Pawnees were organized into a U. S. Cavalry Battalion under Major Frank North to protect surveyors and tracklayers of the Union Pacific from attacks by other tribes.

*224
648
Before leaving for the hunt, they would consult with the U. S. Indian Agent concerning their annuity payments and any military arrangements that had to be made. The mixed-blood interpreter, Behaille, went to visit his nephew, Lone Chief, to discuss with him the time and conditions of leaving. The annuity had not yet arrived and the question was whether or not to set out without it. There was in fact no question, as the time of its arrival was too uncertain to depend upon, and they could not afford to wait. Lone Chief called in Eagle Chief, and they agreed that the day
*224
648
•623
628
after next the chiefs and important braves were to meet in council with the agent about it. Behaille would entertain them all at a simple outdoor lunch about noon at his home near the agency where they could dis-

cuss their strategy. Lone Chief sent his young nephew, Hawk Chief, to 224
give the message to the leading chiefs of the three other bands, and in 648
each case he was royally entertained as befitted his uncle's position. 623
He returned loaded with gifts of dry meat, and from the chief of the 628
Asking-for-Meat Band he received a new white blanket because of the Peace Pipe relationship between Lone Chief's village and their band. As he moved proudly through the South Bands villages sporting his new blanket, everyone realized that important matters had been discussed, and the more prominent personalities awaited further notification. The more curious among them would wander into the chief's lodge and find out what was discussed and then spread the gossip.

Next morning at about nine or ten, two chiefs from each of the bands with their braves and some of the outstanding "Boys" arrived and were seated on a large tent skin outdoors provided by Behaille's wife. There were four cushions at the west for the leading personalities. Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band sat on the southwest pillow and his fellow chief next to him with their braves extending inward toward the south. At the west on the north side was Many Trophies of the Man-Going-Downstream Band and at his left, Curly Chief of the Little-Earth-Lodge, with the braves of the two bands indiscriminately ranged along the side. The "boys" of the various bands were scattered wherever places happened to be available. These arrangements have a particular interest, for this is the only record I have of the four bands meeting together in a council rather
than sending emmisaries back and forth between them. Behaille as host [574]
simply stated that this was merely an informal meal and proceeded to select boys from each of the four bands who carried a wooden bowl for each two guests from the chiefs all the way down the line, each person receiving a round piece of grease bread, some prunes, and some coffee. After the meal, Behaille stated the questions at issue, and when all who wanted to had had a chance to speak and all had agreed on the decision, he instructed them as to how to proceed with the agent so as not to commit themselves to anything more than they intended. He said, "I want four to talk and say just what I say now—nothing else. Say only, 'It's not cold yet. We want to go, agent. You hold the money. That's what I want to tell you.' I want Man Chief to talk first," he said, "then Curly Chief, then Many Trophies and then our chief, Eagle Chief. Just say what I have said, and no more. That's the best thing for you to do."

With this sage advice, they all crowded into the agent's office, the Pawnees sitting on the floor, the agent in his chair. The agent said, "If you want to wait, I can write in to the department, but it will probably be at least a month before I hear." To this one of the chiefs remarked, "By then we could be halfway to the hunting grounds."

As agreed, Man Chief got up and shook the agent's hand and stood back, calling Behaille to interpret for him. He said, "I want you to tell

*224 648 • 623 628 our grandfather that I think it would be best for me if he held the goods and money until I come back. I want to go buffalo hunting first." "That's all right," said the agent, "It's still warm enough to cross the rivers." "That's why I want to go as soon as we can," said Man Chief. "Now that's all I want to say." Then he went up and shook the agent's hand again and went back to his seat and Curly Chief came up and went through the same procedure saying, "I heard what he said and I agree with him entirely. We don't want to have to cross the rivers when the water is real cold and there is ice floating in them." The other two chiefs did the same and then one of the braves was moved to speak and he said, "Agent, you have heard the chiefs of the different bands. I mean to say as they did." Then the brave turned around to the rest of the assembled company and put it more or less to a voice vote by saying, "Nawa, ha'a?" ("How about it?") and they all replied, "Yes." The agent closed the meeting saying, "I wanted to hear what you chiefs, braves, and boys were going to do."

Back at the villages people were remarking with some sarcasm, "Well, of course it's quite all right about not getting our goods. We can get our own buffalo robes and leggings."

In the agent's office, Eagle Chief decided that this was a good opportunity to speed up the process of choosing which band was going to lead the hunt. He named Man Chief, and, with due modesty, Man Chief rested his head in his hands for a few minutes and then accepted. It was understood that from this point on Man Chief would make the final decisions with regard to the joint hunt—the time of leaving the village, the place of rendezvous, route to be traveled, scouting parties, religious observances, and that his messengers would carry his decisions to the chiefs of the other bands as they went along.

*224 623 When the chiefs got back to their respective bands, each one found a conclave of his other chiefs and braves awaiting him in his lodge. His wife served an informal meal while he told of the decisions that had been reached. Ten days before leaving, Man Chief called his ritual chiefs' meeting, and the other bands called theirs concurrently with his. The errand [624] man went through the village while the meetings were in session announcing the decisions. He said, "Man Chief has given us ten days to get ready. Whatever you have to do, get it ready before that time. If you have a tent to sew, sew it up right now. If you have something to do with the food pit, you have a chance to do it in these ten days. And you arrow makers, try to make as many as you can. And womenfolks, try to look at your husbands' feet to see if they have good moccasins. Prepare. We must go as soon as Man Chief says so." As he was making his announcement, some women remembered that they had only two mats and had to make another; others recalled that they had to make a buffalo robe to trade at the store.

56

PLANS AND PROVISIONS FOR THE HUNT

000

Plan of Journey—Provisions—Stay-at-Homes on Grand Island—Special Foods Found There—List of Food Taken for Journey—Allowances for Rain and Enemy Attack

FOUR DAYS BEFORE LEAVING TIME, Man Chief would have a meeting to 623
draw up final plans. Eagle Chief would have been waiting in his lodge to 628
get word and others would have gathered there. Food was served to all 224*
and the Tsawi errand man delivered his message giving the itinerary. 484*
Their rendezvous camp was almost due south on the north bank of the Platte. The next day they would cross the river and spend a whole day waiting for any stragglers to catch up. The plan further was that all would continue then to Fort Kearney on Grand Island, traveling along the south bank of the Platte, then crossing the channel north onto the island. There a permanent camp could be set up for any "Stay-at-Homes," *kaa-kusu* ("at home-stay"), "who have very few or no horses." This plan differed from the summer when the Stay-at-Homes had to remain near their villages. In the summer, Grand Island was ridden with mosquitoes, but now it was green and pleasant and sheltered from the worst winds.

The matter of provisioning this winter expedition was also somewhat 224*
different from the summer, as certain favorite wild foods were ripe and 484*
could be gathered in quantity. The two most important were Indian po- 222
tatoes, *Glycine apios* L., and black-eye peas, *Falcata comosa* (L.) Kuntze, popularly known to us as ground beans. The beans were hoarded by the wood rat or vole and were gathered by raiding the hoards. The women would find the track of the rat that led them to the beans. Our lima beans were considered like them by the old Indian women. The plant bears two types of beans, one on the upper leafy branches that are not used and the

*224 They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The
264 contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four
sets.

*224 The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four
• 623 Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each
628 and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat
in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves
ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates
from the villages.

*224 The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning
623 each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this
793 tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in
summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during
[701] the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose
[625] the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic
lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was
[778] under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening
Star bundle.

*224 Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was
623 going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War
628 Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the
793 other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill.
[625] Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now
officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief.
[574] The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was
[264] carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief,
who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

*224 The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south
623 pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head police-man
625 War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh
574 bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could
make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people
[293] to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family
of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and
so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we
have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

*224 Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the
623 old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was
562 in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and
Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they
[251] could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

*224 The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very
early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican.
[793] When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of
[825]

*224 343 at the top, then carrying the rope all around the frame spirally from top to bottom. The frame was then entirely covered over with buffalo grass and a large smokehole left at the top and an opening at the east for an [417] entrance. Over the central fireplace a wooden grate or drying rack like the one in the tipi would be built high up so that the meat could dry. Donations for the council tent could also be kept in there to keep them *224 from freezing. When the tipis were all set up, the chiefs, braves, and boys would meet in the council tent in the evening to discuss tactics and have • [623] a feast on ribs. Eagle Chief had sent out two scouts to climb a high hill now covered with snow to look far to the west up the river and determine where the herds were. They would report that night at the council tent.

[803] [624] Meanwhile, when the men arrived back at Camp 11 with the horses so that they could move the encampment from Turkey Creek westward to Many Deer, at Eagle Chief's direction, the errand man, Know-His-Face went announcing through the camp:

> They killed many buffalo up there and Eagle Chief says we must move from here to there. The meat is sleeping up there and they have a camping place all prepared. People do not need to wait for one another in the morning but can start out any time they are ready as the trail has already been broken by the men coming over here with the horses.

*224 *484 When Horse Rider got into camp where White Woman, No Corn, and the boy were, he tethered the horses outside the tipi and the women covered them and gave them cottonwood tops and bark to eat, leaving them there for the night. Horse Rider told of what a good camping place they had at Many Deer, the problem of how they had to transport the meat across the ice from the south of the river, and how much wood Victory Call had gathered for them. In the morning, right after breakfast, the horses were saddled up and loaded by Horse Rider while the two women dismantled the tent. Some of the meat was still moist (*kiparu*) and he bundled this up in an extra package and piled it on top of the saddle. It would not spoil because the weather was so cold. The two parfleches of meat that were completely dried were fastened one on each side of the saddle.

*224 *484 342 Meanwhile White Woman was shaking the tent pegs loose and pulling them out. No Corn was inside rolling up the mats and tying them and whatever blankets they had. The two sticks from outside the smokehole were removed. Next they removed the pegs laced over the door flap, rolling them up with it for further use. Now they could remove the tent cover. First the south half was pulled to the back and folded over, then the north half was carried around and also folded over at the back. They

now pulled down the "backbone" pole at the west so that it lay on the 224*
ground with the partially folded cover underneath it. The pole was un- 484*
tied at the top and bottom ends and removed and the cover folded down 342
the length in two. The shape of the cover was something of an equilateral triangle with broad squat arms and a point at the top and two extra flanges with a hole in each for the smokehole. After the cover had been folded once in the length, the two broad ends near the base were folded in, and then the cover was folded in the length once more and tightly rolled from the bottom up toward the point when it was tied with two attached straps around the middle. It was now tied around and across each end with extra ropes.

The frame was still standing and they had to be careful not to break the poles in taking them down. First they unwound the rope that bound them at the top: it was untied at the bottom of the south doorway pole, unwound four times and then left hanging in the middle. After the other poles were removed from the sides and south doorway, the three poles of the tripod were left standing with the rope hanging from the top. The two poles at the west were gently drawn together while someone stood at the north and held the end of the rope, slowly letting the three poles down. They were now untied and the poles bound together six for one side and six for the other side of the horse to be ready after the loading. With the tipi dismantled, the parfleches were still on the ground and the horses were backed up nearby and loaded with them and then they set out for Many Deer.

As soon as the tipis were up at Many Deer, the men got together in 224*
the council tent. The two scouts sent out by Eagle Chief to locate the 623
herd were now ready with their report. They said that the buffalo were coming from the west along the south side of the river very slowly.
Nevertheless they thought they would get there that night. This meant 224*
that the police had to get into action and keep the camp quiet. War Cry 625
as chief of police sent his deputy Roaming Scout to notify the people. 623
He walked quietly through the encampment, stopping now at this tipi, now at that, telling them that on that evening the dogs had to be muzzled and the children cautioned not to make too much noise as the buffalo would be passing near that night. "That's the order of the chief of police," he said. "Don't try to cut wood with an ax. Break it or use what you have already cut. Don't let the baby cry too long. You must nurse it right away." Then he returned to the council tent reporting that his message had been delivered. Now War Cry gave further directions. He said, 224*
"I want Shot Arm and Leading Downhill to go out early tomorrow 623
morning and see where the herd is. We must chase them tomorrow morning about nine or ten o'clock so that we can have the meat ready to be thinned all afternoon. Some of the women have been having to thin meat during the night. When we come across the river with the meat, we

*224 ought to put more dirt on the ice because I think we'll be staying here
• 623 for the rest of our hunt."

The business over, it was time to serve the feast of donated boiled buf-
*224 falo ribs which were served without delay. As no corn had been donated,
625 no offering was made to the sacred bundle that night. The guests made
[574] haste to go home so that the family could prepare their dry meat. However, the police had to remain until after midnight to see that there were no infractions of the antinoise rules. Every now and then one of their number was sent out to see that no one happened to forget and was laughing too loud. The policeman put on his belt with the sleigh bells and taking his stick walked cautiously through the camp. One could hear the snow cracking under his feet. As he arrived where the noise was, he tapped the tent with his stick. Then the noise would stop. He had been holding his sleigh bells so that they would not sound, but now he released them so that everyone would know that he was passing through.

*224 The next day the antinoise injunction continued. Some women went
out toward evening to cut wood and although they were supposed to
625 chop very gently, the echo could be heard by the police in the council
689 tent. Two officers were sent out to punish them. They made each woman forfeit one of her moccasins and whatever else the policeman could get. He carried the forfeits up to the council tent and waited there for the women to come and redeem them. It was very cold and each woman had to wrap something around the foot from which the moccasin had been taken. Then she came limping into camp and when she got home, she made some bread and coffee and took it over to the council tent to the police. "All right," said War Cry, "Give her her moccasin." Other women would bring calico or a little tobacco to redeem their things. "Give them to her," said War Cry, "but next time watch out!"

*224 During the day, Know-His-Face had gone through the camp remarking
623 that they could use some corn and coffee at the council tent. With this
gentle reminder, they were likely to receive at least two buckets of corn
574 for the evening. As the men came in from the hunt, they donated ribs as
262 usual for the evening council and Old Lady Lucky Leader put them in her grass house. Some men were particularly fond of ribs with an unborn calf inside, and when one of these was donated they would ask to have them served right away. As the men left the ribs at the council tent they were told that special invitations would not be issued but that they were to come right back when they had attended to their business at home. Sometimes men waited at home to get a supper of fried bread and coffee before going to the council if their wives had any, since these supplies were pretty well depleted throughout the camp.

*224 At the council everyone was talking of the buffalo chase that day—of
623 how deep the snow was that they had to go through in some places, etc.

They had made two killings already and still the buffalo were coming. 224*
Eagle Chief stated that the next day they would not go out, but simply 623 •
keep an eye on the herd as there was so much meat in the camp that they [251]
had to give it a chance to dry. He also mentioned that the hides should [281]
be treated and thinned down. Some of the old men remarked that this
was a good time to make bone grease by boiling the bones and skimming [252]
off the fat as there were lots of bones about at this time and the grease
would harden easily in the cold weather. Almost all the old women in [251]
camp would busy themselves with this work, storing the grease in a
paunch. Some would make dried intestines and dried and braided strips of
stomach (*pararitskusu*).

They made five killings while they were camped at Many Deer and 224*
along with the killing at Turkey Creek, they felt that this was enough
and they should turn toward home. They had made killings almost every
other day and stayed about fifteen days. Victory Call killed six in all
and Horse Rider five.

Now that they were considering turning back, they must decide what 224*
donations of buffalo meat were to be pledged for the sacred bundle cer- 431
emonies in the spring. Each sacred bundle must have at least one *rara-* 796
buru, a parfleche containing the dried meat of a whole buffalo. The dif- 778
ferent doctor cults also needed pledges of meat for their spring renewal
rites, but they simply needed backbone steaks. For example, the two [756]
leaders of the Bear Cult reserved two steaks for their cult. Victory Call
set aside one steak for his Deer or Whistle Dance and one for the Bear
Cult.

There were twelve major sacred bundles, each of which had to be pro- 224*
vided for with a parfleche of dried meat. The Evening Star bundle 431
owned by Old Lady Lucky Leader would be provided for by her son 778
Frank Leader in some years, and by her son-in-law Roaming Leader in
others, according to the circumstances of the kill on a particular hunt.
Lone Chief and Shot Arm alternated in this way for the Morning Star
bundle. War Cry and his younger brother Brave Shield alternated in sup-
plying the meat for War Cry's war bundle (*karaxkata karusu*) that had
been derived from the Evening Star bundle, etc.

Everyone was interested in the news of how the donations had gone and Eagle Chief sent out his errand man Know-His-Face to find out at the different tipis where the sacred bundles were kept.

Sometimes a man couldn't manage to get a good buffalo for his bundle. He approached a man who had just killed a fat cow and said, "I want you to take pity on me. I have a sacred bundle and I want to make *rara-buru* [a parfleche of meat]." "Go ahead, take it," said the hunter, and went off, leaving the bundle owner to butcher the sacred buffalo himself. When he got home with the meat he told his wife, "*ra-uwaruksti-ts*" ("one

meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance 342
of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and [778]
suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and
other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the
altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, [554
the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, 513]
which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two
below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a
"skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending
upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward
to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This
framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow
rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was
protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered
roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when [484]
a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially
anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family
usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer
abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was
made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered
with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four 619
bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary
chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had 621
also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its [778
priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with 793]
those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and
symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a
medium of communication was believed to be opened between the
people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and
prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the 621
head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced 622
by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus 624
or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the
Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were
the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council 623
was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands,
and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of
the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a 601
man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family. 591

---

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. xv. New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

the desire to take scalps and capture ponies and is no longer fit to be 622
chief. In the words of my informant: "Tirawa, after having created 538
people, gave them their bundles and said to the chief: 'You are to be 565
like me; you are to have many people to look after; you are to
be guardian of the people on earth and the beings of the heavens
will do your bidding.'" The custom did not prevail among the Skidi
of making the chief an offering of food when on the hunt. He was
obliged to look after himself, and could not claim more than the
share which he himself or those riding his horses had won in
the chase.

Like other societies, that of the chiefs had two errand men whose 624
duty it was to look after the fire, prepare and distribute meat, and 565
light the pyre for the smoke offerings. In his own village each chief
also had at his command two errand men who performed similar
duties.

In addition to the hereditary chief, each village had one or more *nahikuts*, or braves, whose number was usually four but varied according to the size of the village. The duty of these men was that of servants of the chiefs; they followed their directions, preserved order, helped in carrying out the laws of the band, and assisted in the preparation of the ceremonies. Their badge of office was a war-club or tomahawk. They held office for life. They were also considered as servants of the Morning Star, and like the other warriors of each village obtained their power directly from him or from some animal or spirit under the guidance of the Morning Star.

Another high-ranking class were the *narawiraris*, or warriors.
These men had reached this position by their own efforts. They had
made a certain number of sacrifices and thus won a victory over the
powers of the heavens. They were eligible to election as chiefs and
had the right to sit near the priest in ceremonies. When going on 624
the warpath, such men had the privilege of wearing the sacred war- 565
rior's costume of the warrior's bundle. The position of warrior was 778
said to have been created in the beginning, at which time the warrior
was given five things—the otter skin, the hawk skin, the leg of an
eagle, the eagle feather, and the sacred red paint made from red
earth and buffalo fat. In using these objects, he was to attach the
eagle leg to his belt, wear the eagle feather, and put the otter skin
over his head, the hawk skin on his right shoulder, and the paint on his
face. In painting his face he was to make three dots above his nose [302]
in the center of his forehead, to represent the claw of the eagle's foot. [531]
He was to use the black otter because it was from the water, was

684 very swift, and symbolized the dangerous cyclone coming from the
565 clouds. The hawk skin was used because the hawk was made to be
778 powerful and killed its prey with its wings, which were symbolic of a war club. [The hawk kills its prey with its knuckles rather than its wings.]

PRIESTS

793 As the chief gave the people instruction and advice in worldly
565 matters, so the priest, who controlled the ritual attached to the sacred village bundle, kept the society en rapport with the supernatural. The priestly class among the Skidi comprised the most learned men of the tribe. They were required to have prodigious
[151] memories and were said to swallow every song. In addition to those sung at ceremonies, the priests recited rituals of instruction for the changing of names, and others having to do with agriculture, the hunt, and the warpath. They served as go-betweens in weddings, and in general played a great part in the social life of the village. Inasmuch as the office of priest required above all an extraordinarily retentive memory and a deeply religious attitude of mind, the priests often encouraged young men possessing these qualifications to become their pupils and ultimately admitted the students to the priestly class. The priest's life was shortened or lengthened in accordance with the sacrifices he made and by his zeal in guarding the esoteric knowledge entrusted to him. For him to speak of the secrets of the altar trivially or on ordinary occasions was to shorten his life.

Associated with the priests were errand men and criers. The latter were old men who had spent a great part of their lives in the performance of sacrifices and who were entitled to announce ceremonies and recite rituals of instruction, particularly those referring to creation, through the village. Their share of the ceremonial feasts was great and in proportion to the honor in which they were held. For a child to mock them or to imitate their intonation or to treat them with disrespect was to incur a severe beating from the parents. The errand men, two in each lodge, stationed on the north and south sides by the entrance, assisted in the ceremonies by building the fire and replenishing it, acting as messengers for the priests in summoning the participants of a ceremony, and so forth. Like the priests and criers, they also received a share of the feast which might be distributed at the conclusion of a ceremony.

authority, settled all difficulties, and preserved order. 622 He was expected to give freely, and was usually surrounded by dependents. His orders were enforced by 624 four men, called Nahikuts, who stood next to him in social position. Below these ranked the Kurahus or priests, who performed the ceremonies. Of still lower rank were the Kurau or medicine-men and the Narawiraris or warriors, while at the bottom of the scale came the remainder of the village.

The villages composing each band were held together 631 by their religious ceremonies, in which each village had its place and share, and by the council, composed of the chiefs of all the villages. The tribe was similarly united, its council being made up of the councils of the bands. In the meetings of these councils rules of precedence and decorum were rigidly observed. No one could speak who was not entitled to a seat, although a few privileged men were permitted to be present as spectators.

The religion of the Pawnee seems, in certain respects, 776 to have reached a higher development than that of any of the other Plains tribes. In their pantheon Tirawa reigned supreme. To him the lesser gods of heaven and earth, as well as the people themselves, acknowledged authority. Tirawa ruled from his position above the clouds, and both created and governed the universe by means of commands executed by the lesser gods, who were subject to him. He was conceived of as a purely spiritual being, and was not identified with any object or natural phenomenon. Next in rank to Tirawa and his wife, the Vault of Heaven, stood the Evening Star, Tcuperikata. She maintained a garden in the west in which there were fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from which sprang all streams of life. Even the Sun renewed his fire nightly at her lodge. Through her four assistants, Wind, Cloud, Lightning, and Thunder, she

000 sides. "Oh, you got good pay," they said. Then she added the news about
512 the gift of black tanned skin, and her husband teased her and said, "Let's
476 see that. Just right to make me a pair. You can patch up yours."

522 Back at the lodge, the old ladies said they were tired and went to bed,
512 and White Woman waited for her husband to come home.

While the women were busy with the minor household work and the
623 storage pit, Old Bull and Victory Call had been at a meeting of the Skidi chiefs at the home of Eagle Chief. There were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages—chiefs, subchiefs, and their attendant braves. Eagle Chief yielded his place at the west to the two most important guests and took the southeast position. At the southwest was Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge and in the northwest position, Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. The subchiefs and braves of each of these chiefs sat next to them in a line extending toward the east. At the southeast position, sat Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village with his subchiefs and braves extending inward toward the west along the side of the lodge. On the north side in a symmetrical arrangement was Chief Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village sitting in the northeast position with his subchiefs and braves extending inward along the northside. (See Figure 5-2 for the positions of representatives at the council meeting.)

623 Eagle Chief was the first to address the company, stating the purpose
722 for which he had called them together: "The Sioux are likely to come around any time. Don't each go individually to get wood. We must all go at a stated time when we can have our scouts on the lookout and bring in enough wood to be piled up while the planting is begun, that is at least four days' supply." Discussion from the others present followed, and then Eagle Chief announced that they would have another meeting in about two weeks or more to discuss the matter of clearing the fields in preparation for planting. He now turned over the conduct of the meeting to the chiefs at the west, and Lone Chief took charge, stating that if anyone had anything to say about the business at hand they should do so at this time as they were to have a feast and then talk of other matters.
623 After everyone had spoken his mind they waited two or three minutes
574 and then Lone Chief said, "Now we are going to eat." At the entrance
[624] near the east were the two errand men of both presiding chiefs at the west, and they had prepared the food and were ready to serve. The bowls were piled up near the kettle in which the food had been boiling, and, while one of the men dished it out, the other served. He carried two
[554] bowls to the west, one for each of the presiding chiefs. Then he returned to the east, carried the next bowl to the next chief on the south side, then returned to the east and gave the next bowl to the next chief to the north side, and so on in alternation, one by one on each side. Then the braves were served, one on the south, one on the north, until everyone had received his food, whereupon the errand men served each other.

wool covering and placed it on the ground before him, offering his pipe to it to smoke. 243 [793]

The next steps involved the transformation of a dogwood stick into a "body" for the plant, by an expert arrowshaft maker, for whom tools were ready in the sacred bundle—a new knife, an elkhorn arrowshaft straightener, a grooved sandstone smoother, some sinew, and different-colored paints. After the shaft was made, red and white paints were applied, and it was anointed with milk from the breasts of a young nursing mother who was called in to volunteer this donation. In their proceedings, they were symbolically creating a young mother out of the corn plant which was tied onto the head of the shaft. The shaft was painted with a little red groove near the top to signify the face, and a red line drawn down the length signified the windpipe, breath, and the principle of life. First the priest spoke to the new young mother corn, after which it was passed around among the other bundle ministers in the lodge who spoke of it as "the voice." Then it was passed around a second time and all breathed upon it—the Evening Star priest first, followed by all the others. [322] [793]

Now the errand man went through the village crying out that the new mother needed a robe, a cowskin in the hair, and a buffalo hair belt. The donor brought them to the lodge. The last act of the ceremony consisted in wrapping Mother in her new robe with her face exposed so that she might watch over the people. She was tied to the outside of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle. [624]

Just before this final step, the visionary was dressed up by the priest for his second role that he would carry throughout the summer buffalo hunt until they arrived back at the village. He would now impersonate *Paruksti*, Wonderful Power, the Thunderstorm. He was wrapped in a buffalo skin that he had specially prepared, and wore special moccasins and a buffalo-hair rope belt tied in the back in four loops to represent the rain. His duties would be very trying, for all summer while they were on the march he would have to remain wrapped tightly in his robe, refrain from washing or bathing, handling knives, scratching himself, or participating in any acts of violence. He must think only gentle and noble thoughts. If his feet were allowed to touch water, there would be violent thunderstorms. In his person he held the great force of the creative power of all the universe. When they reached the buffalo herd, as the hunters stood lined up ready to surround it, this holy man would have to kneel facing the herd and pray to the cosmic powers, naming the buffalo and the eagles that he had consecrated to them in the past. Should anyone be injured in the course of the attack on the herd, the people would blame him and feel that he had had evil thoughts and had not been sincere. Throughout the hunt one or the other of the prominent old men would stay with him, talking to him and seeing that he did not transgress 243 787 [776]

They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," 224*
they had to pack and go on. They arrived at the river about five in the 484*
evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north
bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or
less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming
in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but
they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As
soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often [226]
done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. Some men
used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took
buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and [225]
brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were [252]
they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn
husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were
unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went
out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were
officially headed for home. The night before, the military police had [625]
officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from [622]
his leadership of the hunt. He thanked them all and reviewed the
events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead
them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was
appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given
White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and
helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buffalo [787]
leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Republican
they would have to make before they could start north for the
Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sacred 796
bundles and the cults, but of special interest to everybody was the 431
Grand Opera that the associated doctors would give after the harvest, 756
lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the 624•
association, called for his two errand men to go to all members, apprentices, 211
and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the
forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand
man would pick a dry weed, *hawastatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil,
and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute,
the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand
to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent,
dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and proceeded
to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. At 796
an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and 431
756

said, "Now while we're cleaning, it's only right that Big Doctor, Won- 756
derful Old Bull, Pipe Offering, and Old Bull should be fixing their 796
drums and other things so that the boys can go into the lodge and prac- 346
tice as soon as it is fixed up. We'd like the drums to sound good when 356
we get in there." "That's right," some one else would say, "I've been wanting to sing even now, but the drum isn't fixed yet. It doesn't sound good."

At last everything was in order and the four leading doctors moved 756
into the ceremonial lodge for the duration of the ceremony with the two 796
errand men to do the cooking. That night they would have a practice 624
sing with all the doctors who wanted to participate. The two leading doctors sent the two errand men out to invite them. They saw that the two men were appropriately clothed to go through the village, providing each with a buffalo robe which they wrapped around themselves with the hair side out, and an eagle-wing fan to carry. They filed out of the lodge one behind the other at a trot, and as they entered a lodge where a doctor lived they sat down one behind the other at the east with their eagle-wing fans in front of their faces. The appropriate response was for someone in the lodge to whisper into their right ear the question as to what they wished. They would answer also in a whisper that the doctor was to come right away. Then the two errand men would get up and trot out again, moving on to the next lodge where a doctor lived. Their mission did not always proceed with dispatch. Sometimes the two errand men got to a lodge where everyone was sleeping and the occupants would say, "Oh, I hate to get up," but they had to get up anyway and whisper their question and receive the whispered reply. In some lodges there were just young girls about and they said to each other, "You go and do it." "No, you go." Finally one would sit down next to the errand man and ask the question. He would whisper his reply, but not knowing the proper decorum, the girl would call right out loud, "Oh, I'll tell him." All these incidents were recounted in detail when the two men returned to the Doctor Lodge. In some places the people were eating and they made the errand men take a few bits of food before they would let them go. If the doctor happened to be home and was smoking, he would make them smoke with him a while before whispering his question and receiving his reply. Should the errand men meet a man outside the lodge on his way somewhere or toward the house, they would not discuss their business with him but would proceed to his lodge and notify the people there. As soon as the doctor was notified, he went straight to the Doctor Lodge. Everyone knew that on that night they were going to start by singing the doctor songs.

Twenty-six doctors came to the ceremonial lodge and Big Doctor 796
opened the evening with a speech. He said, "Tonight we are going to 756
practice our first songs so that we can send the birds, the winds, and

756 796 everything on their way south for the coming winter. I have sent men out to see about willows for our booths. They report that there are good trees for us. I wanted you to know that in a few days we are going to start to set up the lodge. Now the leaves are turning yellow and they are falling. This is the way the year goes round and that's why I wanted to tell you so that you can get ready. In two or three days you can come up here and get the wood to build your booths. Meanwhile you must fix up your paraphernalia, your whistles, and anything else you will need. I don't want to take up too much time talking this evening, as we have a great deal to do."

• [824] Now he instructed the errand men to go to two of the men who had pledged meat and to bring it to the lodge. They went, carrying a piece of tent skin between them, and when they got to the lodges the meat was removed from the parfleches and placed on the skin, then carried by the errand men to the ceremonial lodge where it was set down near the southeast pillar. Now Sitting Hawk stated how their account stood. He said, "We used half a parfleche of meat cleaning up the lodge the first time, then the rest of the parfleche when we did the second cleaning. Now with these two, three parfleches will be used up."

756 796 533 Now the first song was begun and men, women, and children crowded in around the outside doorway to listen. They would say, "Oh, I like a good song." "Oh, I wish I could sing that song." A woman would remark, "I wonder when they'll put in the booths. I'd like to see the Bear." Inside the singing and dancing continued. The men were not costumed but simply painted, as this was a practice dance.

[782] After the first round of singing, the spectators were told they had to leave. Big Doctor said, "It's all over." This was because they were now going to make their ceremonial smoke offerings to the powers and outsiders could not be permitted to witness this. Some doctors refrained from singing in the first round altogether because they wanted to keep their songs from the public.

756 796 At the west were sitting the four leading doctors with their wives sitting directly behind them. On each side, along the north and south, the rest of the doctors were ranged. At the east ends on each side were eight chiefs, two from each of the four villages, viz., at the southeast, two from Village-across-a-Ridge and two from Pumpkin-Vine, and at the northeast, two chiefs from Bottomlands Village and two from Wolf-in-Water. Beyond these at the southeast were the old men, and an errand man at each side.

In the interim between the first and second round of singing, one of the eight chiefs got up and spoke on behalf of all of them. The doctors on their part spoke and said, "The echo of the drum drives back sickness when it comes."

[533] The singing alternated between the sides, first on the north and then

stand at the west. After the smoke offerings, he made a series of cuts in 756
the tree at the four cardinal points in the standard order—first at the west, 796
then north, then east and then south, cutting it so that it would fall 824
gently to the east where two men were standing to catch it so that the limbs would not break. They sharpened it at the stub end so that it would stand up in the lodge. All chips were gathered and either thrown into the creek or carried home and burned in the fire. After gathering as many willow saplings as they could carry, the procession for the Doctor Lodge set out with Sitting Hawk in the lead and two men each carrying the six cottonwoods, one at each end of the tree.

Halfway home, they stopped. They began to make animal motions and to try to hypnotize one another (*patsaku*, "shoot one another"). Some of them had their buffalo robes on, some did not. They made peculiar motions with their eagle-wing fans, touching the ground. Then some were knocked down and got up growling and grunting. One of them "hypnotized" another by trying to put a corn cob in his throat, making his mouth all bloody. Another attempted to put fish bones in someone's throat, with the same result. The victims vomited up these things without too much damage being done and continued to move along with the cottonwoods. When the little boys saw this they got excited and said, "Look at those fellows! Look at that big bear over there!" As they arrived at the village, they made a second stop and again hypnotized each other. Then they took up the trees once more and went toward the ceremonial lodge. As they were arriving, Big Doctor took up his gourd rattle and began to sing. They came in and when the singing was over, Sitting Hawk gave the pipe back to Pipe Offering at the west. The cottonwood that had been ceremonially gathered was carefully placed to the east of the fireplace with its stub end pointing west and the head end eastward toward the exit. The second "west" tree was placed in the same position beside it and the others in any order on the ground, nearer the entrance. Now Big Doctor, getting the pipe from Pipe Offering, smoked all the trees ceremonially, treating each one in turn as in the woods.

They could now proceed to build the booths. Meanwhile, the errand 756
men did the cooking. First the six cottonwoods were erected, three on 796
each side. Then the willow partitions and fronts were added. Everyone 346
was arguing—"This is our lot; move over a bit." "Well, we have a lot of buffalo!" "Well, we have a lot of deer too!" The leaders stood on the inside directing the apprentices who were doing their work. The willows were all piled up on the north side of the entrance while they proceed
with the job. At the southeast the errand men were preparing the ket- 624
tle so that they could cook their meat. They had had nothing to eat all 252
day. The wives of the four leading doctors had brought in four buckets of boiled dried corn kernels and set them down on either side of

*224 648 623 628 our grandfather that I think it would be best for me if he held the goods and money until I come back. I want to go buffalo hunting first." "That's all right," said the agent, "It's still warm enough to cross the rivers." "That's why I want to go as soon as we can," said Man Chief. "Now that's all I want to say." Then he went up and shook the agent's hand again and went back to his seat and Curly Chief came up and went through the same procedure saying, "I heard what he said and I agree with him entirely. We don't want to have to cross the rivers when the water is real cold and there is ice floating in them." The other two chiefs did the same and then one of the braves was moved to speak and he said, "Agent, you have heard the chiefs of the different bands. I mean to say as they did." Then the brave turned around to the rest of the assembled company and put it more or less to a voice vote by saying, "Nawa, ha'a?" ("How about it?") and they all replied, "Yes." The agent closed the meeting saying, "I wanted to hear what you chiefs, braves, and boys were going to do."

Back at the villages people were remarking with some sarcasm, "Well, of course it's quite all right about not getting our goods. We can get our own buffalo robes and leggings."

In the agent's office, Eagle Chief decided that this was a good opportunity to speed up the process of choosing which band was going to lead the hunt. He named Man Chief, and, with due modesty, Man Chief rested his head in his hands for a few minutes and then accepted. It was understood that from this point on Man Chief would make the final decisions with regard to the joint hunt—the time of leaving the village, the place of rendezvous, route to be traveled, scouting parties, religious observances, and that his messengers would carry his decisions to the chiefs of the other bands as they went along.

*224 623 When the chiefs got back to their respective bands, each one found a conclave of his other chiefs and braves awaiting him in his lodge. His wife served an informal meal while he told of the decisions that had been reached. Ten days before leaving, Man Chief called his ritual chiefs' meeting, and the other bands called theirs concurrently with his. The errand
• [624] man went through the village while the meetings were in session announcing the decisions. He said, "Man Chief has given us ten days to get ready. Whatever you have to do, get it ready before that time. If you have a tent to sew, sew it up right now. If you have something to do with the food pit, you have a chance to do it in these ten days. And you arrow makers, try to make as many as you can. And womenfolks, try to look at your husbands' feet to see if they have good moccasins. Prepare. We must go as soon as Man Chief says so." As he was making his announcement, some women remembered that they had only two mats and had to make another; others recalled that they had to make a buffalo robe to trade at the store.

who is willing should come and sit closer and observe and listen to the 224*
way these things should be done." This was considered a major public 793
service and no payment was involved nor considerations of kin relation- 869
ship. Bringing Horses was a brave and apparently had had a call to
carry out this mission.

The five priests sat smoking and talking together informally. They were 224*
old men and had traveled over this same ground many times. They knew 793
just how far apart the rivers were and which were the quickest routes to
follow. Now they were reminiscing about the past. One would say, "One [521]
summertime we camped way down there in this and this direction from
here and so and so happened," for example a warpath came or some other
notable event. Meanwhile Old Lady Lucky Leader was taking care of 224*
the practical affairs since the menfolks of her family were still out on the 794
hunt. She was a vigorous old woman and a good manager. One of the 574
men coming in early from the hunt reined in his horse outside her tent
and called out, "Lady Lucky Leader, here are ribs!" throwing down the
ribs as his contribution to the forthcoming council meeting and riding
off home to his own tent. The old lady went out and got them at once and
put them inside the tent on the north side near the entrance so that they
wouldn't freeze. Now she decided to get the meal under way for the
council. The boy Might-Be-Chief was passing by and she called him in [624]
and asked him to get the chief's errand man Know-His-Face, who came
in and, after exchanging greetings with the priests, began to roast the ribs [252]
to the northeast of the fireplace as directed by the old lady. She asked
her daughter to sit down to the south and fry some bread so that the
men would have something to eat as soon as they got in before the coun-
cil began.

Now the men could be heard coming and the meat creaking a little as 224*
it was packed on the horse since it was a bit frozen. The two men of the [492]
family knew they had better get in early and Frank Leader called out to
his mother, "Atira [my mother], spread something out here for the meat."
The old lady came out and put a skin spread on the snow in front of the
tent and her son tethered his horse to a stake nearby. She covered the
horse and put down another spread with cottonwood tops and bark on it
for the horse to eat. She saved some of the cottonwood for her son-in-
law's horse and he arrived soon after. As soon as the two men entered the [515]
tent they asked their mother for some water to wash their hands with,
and Frank tied his quiver and bow to the southwest post while Roaming
Leader tied his at the northwest. Then they sat down on either side of
the entrance. The men talked about how they had killed the buffalo that
day and how there had been good herds north of the river. The family [264]
had its meal of bread and ribs and then the boy Might-Be-Chief was sent
around to call in the other members of the council. He also called in
Horse Rider to help the errand man Know-His-Face to cook for the feast.

*224 343 at the top, then carrying the rope all around the frame spirally from top
to bottom. The frame was then entirely covered over with buffalo grass
and a large smokehole left at the top and an opening at the east for an
[417] entrance. Over the central fireplace a wooden grate or drying rack like
the one in the tipi would be built high up so that the meat could dry. Donations
for the council tent could also be kept in there to keep them
*224 from freezing. When the tipis were all set up, the chiefs, braves, and boys
would meet in the council tent in the evening to discuss tactics and have
[623] a feast on ribs. Eagle Chief had sent out two scouts to climb a high hill
now covered with snow to look far to the west up the river and determine
where the herds were. They would report that night at the council
tent.

[803] • [624] Meanwhile, when the men arrived back at Camp 11 with the horses so that they could move the encampment from Turkey Creek westward to Many Deer, at Eagle Chief's direction, the errand man, Know-His-Face went announcing through the camp:

> They killed many buffalo up there and Eagle Chief says we must move from here to there. The meat is sleeping up there and they have a camping place all prepared. People do not need to wait for one another in the morning but can start out any time they are ready as the trail has already been broken by the men coming over here with the horses.

*224 *484 When Horse Rider got into camp where White Woman, No Corn, and the boy were, he tethered the horses outside the tipi and the women covered them and gave them cottonwood tops and bark to eat, leaving them there for the night. Horse Rider told of what a good camping place they had at Many Deer, the problem of how they had to transport the meat across the ice from the south of the river, and how much wood Victory Call had gathered for them. In the morning, right after breakfast, the horses were saddled up and loaded by Horse Rider while the two women dismantled the tent. Some of the meat was still moist (*kiparu*) and he bundled this up in an extra package and piled it on top of the saddle. It would not spoil because the weather was so cold. The two parfleches of meat that were completely dried were fastened one on each side of the saddle.

*224 *484 342 Meanwhile White Woman was shaking the tent pegs loose and pulling them out. No Corn was inside rolling up the mats and tying them and whatever blankets they had. The two sticks from outside the smokehole were removed. Next they removed the pegs laced over the door flap, rolling them up with it for further use. Now they could remove the tent cover. First the south half was pulled to the back and folded over, then the north half was carried around and also folded over at the back. They

of the government program to make the Pawnee self-maintaining 175*
farmers, to induce them to labor at manual pursuits, building their 648*
own houses, repairing their own implements, wagons and harness, 657
and to give them the management of the freighting of their own
supplies. In the later years a measure of self-government was in- [698]
troduced in the form of the Court of Indian Offenses.

Under the reservation system the only governmental authority 175*
was that of the Department of Indian Affairs, which, through the 648*
Department of the Interior, was part of the executive branch of 657
the United States government. Laws and acts of Congress prescrib- 698
ed the manner in which the Department and its agencies were run,
but for ordinary legal purposes on the reservation the agent in
charge was sole arbiter. As soon as practicable a Court of Indian
Offenses, by means of which the Indians adjudicated their own
affairs, was instituted on an Indian reservation. Up to 1887 the
tribes of the Pawnee agency, including the Pawnee, Ponca, Oto
and the Tonkawa, preferred to bring their troubles to the agent
and accept his decision as final. In 1889 the Pawnee asked that
a court of their own be established, and this was done December 1
of that year. The court was composed of three Pawnee judges, who
sat the 3rd and 23rd of each month to hear cases on file. The
proceedings were written down by a clerk. When the case had been
heard each judge gave his decision, and the agreement of two
carried. In the first year it functioned, the Pawnee Court of Indian
Offenses tried twenty-four cases. These involved the settlement
of Indian estates, the adjustment of debts, destruction of property,
drunkenness and divorce. The Court continued to function until
1893 when the Pawnee, with the breaking up of their reservation
became citizens of the United States and subject to Territorial Law.
Along with the Court and its jurisdiction went the organization [625]
of the Indian Police. Earlier, in Nebraska, a force of Pawnee had
at intervals policed the tribe. At first they were subject to the will
of the chiefs, later they were directly responsible to the agent.
In Oklahoma the force of eight policemen was responsible for the
arrest and handling of those who came before the Court of Indian
Offenses. Judges and policemen were paid small salaries by the
government.

The disintegration of the old Pawnee culture which took place 175*
in the period from 1876 to 1892 was in part a correlative of the 648*
change in their economic and material life; in part however it was 178
stimulated by direct government attack upon specific customs and
ways. 622

Of their social and political life the power and control of the 657

668 This young man was blessed by the people, and they also took
177 a blessing from him. But when they touched him many fell or
794 trembled. "After this four men were selected to smoke to the
796 dead people."[1]

Murie also tells the interesting story of an unbeliever.

"A woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She
slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and
strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center
and said, 'That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling
the truth.' Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to
[625] act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the
prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit.
[783] The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the
creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again
and was all right."[2]

Dancing was sporadic during the Winter of 1891, but gradually
the dances followed each other in rapid succession. With few
exceptions by 1892 the Pawnee were under White's influence and
control. The situation forced itself upon official attention early
in that year. "In February 1892 the Pawnee commenced what is
known as a 'Ghost Dance', dancing in a circle, falling down in
[786] a trance, and after some hours they awake and profess to have
seen their dead friends. About two-thirds of the tribe seemed at
this time to be possessed of the idea of the second coming of Christ,
to destroy all the whites and to bring back the buffalo and the
wild game."[3]

On account of the coming end of the world, and the uselessness of continuing work in the face of the expected changes which would bring back old times and the deceased relatives of the living, all those who became convinced of the Ghost Dance doctrine stopped work. Many left their plows in the field standing just as they had been in the midst of their work cultivating their corn.

648 As soon as the agent in charge of the Pawnee received word at
668 the agency in Ponca City that the Pawnee were Ghost-Dancing,
794 he wrote to the clerk in charge at the Pawnee agency to put a stop
to the dancing immediately. "But the Indians seemed defiant and
aggressive and it seemed at this time that trouble might be anticipated. Knowing that all religious fanatics are persistent and
determined, I at once went to Pawnee and visited the camp of
the so-called prophet Frank White, and after talking with him

---

[1] Murie op. cit.

[2] Murie, p. 635.

[3] Agent Wood in Annual Reports, 1891—92.

white people. This meant essentially the final break-up of reservation life.

The commissioners to draw up the agreement with the Pawnee for the allotment of lands in severalty and the sale of surplus acreage was due the agency. It was at this time that the agent was compelled to take further steps to stop the Ghost Dancing.

The agent reported on the episode as follows: "In about two weeks thereafter news again reached me of the renewal of the Ghost Dance. I procured the assistance of a deputy United States marshal and he went to Pawnee and arrested the supposed prophet Frank White, and took him to Guthrie, Oklahoma, before a United States Commissioner, and he was held over until district court for inciting Indians to an insurrection, and remanded to jail to await his trial before the district court. In about ten days I received a telegram that a writ of habeas corpus had been issued and the hearing was the next day. I at once went to Guthrie and was at the hearing when Judge Green, chief justice of Oklahoma, gave him a good strong talk, telling him of the danger of indulging in such things, and released him. He went back to the reservation, and there has not been a Ghost Dance since. All is prosperous and serene at Pawnee..."[1]

The Pawnee recall the arrest as taking place at the time of trouble over the question of allotments. Officials spread the word in the tribe that if they took out allotments they could dance all they wanted to, and no one would interfere with them. This of course was a reference to the fact that the program which the government wanted to carry out would break up the reservation, and make the Pawnee individual land holders subject to the laws of the United States and the Territory in which they lived, in which event the agent would no longer have executive power to control them. This argument for taking out allotments had weight with many, and contributed to their final acquiescence.

To keep the Pawnee quiet for a while, they say the agent had
[625] White arrested. A United States marshall and three Indian policemen, recalled as Harry Coons, John Morris and Jim Muric, arrested White, and it was understood by the Pawnee he was being taken to Red Rock. The Pawnee decided to fight to get the Prophet back. David Akapakis and some others took the lead and organized a party of men who got their guns and were going to fight. They gathered at the railroad station to take him away from the marshall. Said an informant, "The agent sent a telegram to a fort which was among the Cheyenne, and when the train came in a lot

---

[1] Annual Report, 1891—92.

at the time of the Ghost Dance faith. As time went by Indians 648
and white farmers resorted to various subterfuges to get around 557
the ruling that certain lands they held could not be leased. The 427
Indian would claim that he was employing a white man and 175
intended to pay him, but when harvest time came, instead of the
Indian paying the white farmer money, the white farmer gave the
Indian a part of the crop.

The immediate results of the lease system were two-fold: on
the one hand, for the first time in their lives the Pawnee had plenty
of money; on the other hand, they had to make no effort at all to
support themselves. In 1897 the Pawnee leases brought an income [434]
of $ 12,114.95. In 1900 the income of the tribe from their annuity
($ 30,000), interest on their two trust funds (from the sale of the
Nebraska reservation; and from the sale of the surplus Oklahoma [161]
lands); and leases, was over $ 75,000. In that year the population
had dwindled to 650, so that the per capita income was about [511]
$ 116 or the income of the average family of five close to $ 600
annually, a substantial and adequate income in 1900 on the Oklahoma frontier.

Year by year the Pawnee labored less and less on their own lands: 175
in 1904 their self-maintenance was 42 per cent from their annuity 461
and interests, 43 per cent from leases, and 15 per cent from "labor
in civilized pursuits." By 1899 the agents had fully realized the 657
extent of the blunder which had been made: they were aware that the Pawnee could not be made to labor when he had all he needed without it, and pointed out in their reports that white men would have acted in the same way.

Along with the disappearance of all demands upon them to be
self-reliant and self-maintaining, the Pawnee were stripped of their
last outlets for self management. Leases were made not by the [427]
Indian but by the agent; lease money was paid not to the Indian
but to the agent. All that the Indian had to do was to draw his
income. At the same time with the change of status to citizens, [698
the function of the Court of Indian Offenses vanished, and the
court was abolished April 21, 1894; the Indian police were disband- 625]
ed in October of the same year.

Temporarily with their increased income, the living conditions 175
of the Pawnee improved: they ate better, they dressed better, and 511
they lived better. But the idleness which had come to them 161
was in keeping with their desire during these years to congregate
in encampments for Ghost Dances and other performances, so that
they leased their houses with their lands and made shift to live
here or there as the occasion demanded. During these years there

then two men, and again two of their female relatives, and so on to the end of the line. Before the procession left the lodge two large strong young men were caught in the village, brought in, and the water drums strapped on their backs with one pack strap across the forehead and one across the breast. They then marched out dancing and singing. In leaving the lodge, the procession circles the fire four times and when outside of the door again circles four times. They then march back into the lodge and the women file out and go home, while the men take their seats. The drum bearers are relieved of their burden and sent out, but later they receive a portion of the meat from the feast. After the feast the society disbands. 622 575 [602] [482]

This society seems to be based upon the bundle of the Pitahauirata village, which is probable considering that chiefs are the leading members. The chiefs painted red with black rings around the face; if yellow, a green circle: these are the two paintings. [302]

THE SOLDIERS OR POLICE.

Each chief selects one elderly warrior as his personal aid and advisor. Only those who have reached a certain high grade of distinction can serve in this capacity. As a body, these aids were known as the braves, rahikuchu. There is thus one brave for each village and he selects three men to act as police under his direction (raripakusu, fighting for order). These are strong and aggressive men. Their function was purely that of village and camp police. Their only badge of office was a special form of club for which in recent years a sword was substituted. The braves and police served for life, unless dismissed for cause. It should be noted, however that these police had nothing whatever to do with the buffalo hunt. 625 [224]

THE BUFFALO HUNT.

The general buffalo hunt at whatever season of the year was under the direction of the priest of the leading bundle which happened at that time to be in charge. Preparatory to the hunt a ceremony was held, with the chiefs present, in which the hunt was planned. The priest selected one of the bundle societies to act as soldiers for the hunt. The regular police still exercised their powers in the camp, but the enforcement of all regulations for the hunt and its conduct were in the hands of the selected society. The appointment was for the hunt only. A special lodge was set up for the soldiers in the east part of the camp, near the center were the lodges of the chiefs society and of the priest. The methods of punishment employed by the soldiers were the same as among other tribes. 224 575 [346]

575 was supposed to give protection in battles. The otter wrapped on the pole could also be used to call upon the powers to send rain to the earth. The two stones on the strings of the lances are to symbolize two powers or stars in the east on each side of the sun, the white for the one on the north side of the sun and the red for the one on the south side. By this, the members of the society know that they are under the protection of the two powers in the sky. If the people have a battle and win, the scalps and other trophies [727] are given to this society which then conducts the victory dance, carrying the lances in the dance. As the dance proceeds the women take charge, even carrying the lances. The only men remaining in the dance are the four drummers.

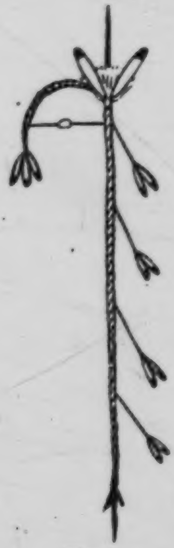


Fig. 6.

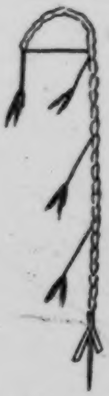


Fig. 7.

[411] Fig. 6. The Skidi Red Society Lance. The war point is of iron rising from a tuft of owl feathers between a tuft of eagle feathers. On the string to the crook is a red stone. The pendant feathers are eagle. The shaft is wrapped with otter fur; dark for the north side lance, reddish for the south. The grip is wrapped with bear gut.

[237] Fig. 7. The Red Lance. The shaft is wrapped with swanskin, a buffalo tail at the tip of the crook and also hung from strings at the sides; the grip of one lance is wrapped with red strouding and the other with black. These are the colors of the south and north sides respectively.

575 625 224 Perhaps the most important point is that this society is chosen to act as police of a military procedure, or man hunt, in the same way as the preceding society was chosen for the buffalo hunt. When the camp moves

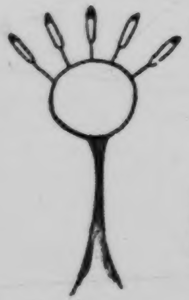
4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

out to the buffalo hunt, this society having renewed its lances, takes them 224
out on a horse as previously noted. They are thus ready for the society to 575
act in case of attack. In such a case, if the regular bearers are not present, 625
any member or anyone in fact, is expected to lay hold and act as bearer. To facilitate this, the lances are placed against a pole outside the society tent. If, however, a bearer fails to put in an appearance or shirks his duty in any way he can be reprimanded or even expelled. The volunteer bearer will be permitted to dance with the lance in future ceremonies, in contrast to the preceding society where only the descendants of lance bearers were allowed to enter the dance. As stated, the lances were expected always to head the line in battle.

As winter approached these lances were dismantled and put away until 575
the renewing ceremony of spring. Each member makes it his business to hunt for an otter and when one is caught takes it to the leader who skins it with a special ceremony. His wife then dresses the skin and cares for it until the time for renewing the lance in the spring.

The Red Lance Society.

Among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kit'kaháxki divisions there were organizations known as the raris pahat, but differing from the Skidí society of that name. The two lances were wrapped with swans' down. These societies were all considered as derived from and sanctioned by the bundle of the Pítahauírata. This bundle controlled the ceremonies in that division and hence all but the public dancing in the camp was secret. Only the descendants of chiefs could be members. In the two sides of the organization, the chiefs sat upon the north side and the warriors upon the south. The lance for the north side was trimmed in black feathers, that for the south in white. The members painted in corresponding colors in the dance, but carried such weapons as they chose. When dancing, a rattle bearer faces the lance bearer of the opposite side and in the evolutions they pass each other. Water drums are used and in the dance around the village two boys are appointed to bear these upon their backs. The pipe of the society was originally that belonging to the bundle, but later a special pipe was provided.



[534]

[362]
[535]

Fig. 8. Rattle for the Skidí Red Lance, one of four. The bulb is of rawhide, the feathers are eagle.

It will be noted that the lance of this society bears no point and is not

They drummed, sang, and danced around the fireplace out of the lodge. The singing and drumming gradually ceased and when the fire was made there was no one left in the lodge. After this the man often dreamed and found that the dance was given to poor people, especially the poor boys of the village. 539 575

After the final dance, all the dogs disappeared. Every night the man and the two boys sang and other young men came in and assisted. When quite a number of young men knew the songs the man told them to come the next night and bring with them their quivers, bows and arrows, and moccasins. Among the young men who wished to join was a chief's son. He told them that they would go to the enemy's camp that night. They all agreed to go with him.

That night he wrapped up the dog skin, the string and whistle, the owl feathers, and the rope and placed them on his back. As they started off they sang the first song the man had heard the dog men singing. They sang four times and then went on their way. For several days they continued when some of the young men began to show signs of weariness. Then the man gave them a root to chew to revive them. When the chief's son became tired the man paid no attention to him. Finally, he turned back.

At length they came to the enemy's camp. The man put on his regalia and went to the camp. He captured some ponies on which they returned home. When they arrived the people said the young dog people were good travelers.

After this at night the young men met to sing the dog songs. When the man heard them, he would have the two boys build a fire and the young men would come in and sing. One time, on their return to the village from a buffalo hunt some of the young men told the man that they each had a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat and they wished to dance. The man did not reply but consulted his two assistants who said: "Buffalo meat is good, but first we must get a reddish dog." One young man said, "My people have one, I can get it." 575

The dance was started and all the young men who danced and received the string and whistle became members. This society became very important and when the Arikara joined the Skidi they saw the dance. Among the Arikara was one man who knew the sun dance. He met the leader of the young dogs and they exchanged dances. The Skidi joined the two and had the young dog sun dance three times. All the dancers had to be cut and suspended three times. [177] [535]

This society became a great power among the people. One time during a buffalo hunt the people were attacked by the Sioux and the soldiers were all killed and the crow lance taken from them. The tribe was left without police so the chiefs (not the priests) selected the dog society to act as police on the hunt. Their old men cried through the village telling the people to keep quiet and not to drum or sing. The men were not permitted to hunt at any distance nor were guns to be shot. The women were not to chop wood but were to gather dry limbs. One night a man came to the village 224 575 625 [648]

224 with buffalo meat. He had consecrated it and taken it to one of the minor
575 bundles and that night the priests had a bundle ceremony. The dog soldiers
625 went into the lodge, took the meat, cut it up and gave it to the dogs. The
owner of the meat was taken out and whipped and his gun broken. He became angry and drew his knife. They all attacked him and hurt him badly. After this occurred, the dog soldiers were dismissed and the lance men were again the tribal police.

554 The dog society was so important not only because the members were
575 good warriors, but great medicinemen. None of them were cowards, they
were all brave men.

THE MISCHIEVOUS SOCIETY.

539 An organization generally known as the mischievous society, but also
as the circumcised, once existed among the Chauí.

575 Many years ago when the Chauí were alone, two young men were always
running around during the night, playing bad tricks upon anyone they met. At this time the people wore no clothing, especially the boys. In the winter time the boys wore a bull calf hide, if they were well-to-do; but if they were poor they wore half a bull hide, their moccasins and leggings. They had neither shirt nor covering for their privates.

In a village of mud-lodges there happened to be one mud-lodge that was empty for all the people who lived in it had died. These two mischievous boys made their home in this lodge. People, especially the young men, were afraid to go near this lodge in the night for it was said that ghosts dwelt there. These two young men frightened people when they came near the lodge by making strange noises, whistling, and throwing mud at them.

In the daytime they watched the young men in the village and when they saw certain ones who seemed fearless they invited them to meet them in the empty mud-lodge. When they spoke of the mud-lodge, those who were cowards would refuse to go, but those who were brave accepted the invitation. These meetings were held in the winter time when the people lived in mud-lodges, for in the summer time they lived in tipis away from the village. When these young men met they would plan to send out young men to scare those who were prowling through the village during the night. The two leading boys appeared as if circumcised and invited to their meetings only those of similar appearance.

In their meetings in the deserted lodge they would do all sorts of mischievous and obscene things. When on a buffalo hunt in the winter time they would get together and make a grass lodge in which to hold their

The government of the hunt was intrusted to the Pawnee soldiers. 224 These were twenty-four warriors of mature age, not so old as to be 625 unfitted for active work, yet with the fires of early youth somewhat tempered by years of experience; men whose judgment and discretion could at all times be relied on. These soldiers acted under the chiefs, but the practical guidance of the hunt was wholly in their hands. They determined the direction and length of each day's march, and the spot for camping. They selected the young men who should act as scouts, and arranged all the details of the approach and the charge when a herd of buffalo was discovered large enough to call for a general surround. All the men were under their control, and amenable to their discipline. They did not hesitate to exercise their authority, nor to severely punish any one who committed an act by which the success of the hunt might be imperilled.

The scouts sent out by the soldiers were chosen from among the 224 younger men. They acted merely as spies, their office was to find the buffalo. They moved rapidly along, far in advance of the marching column, and from the tops of the highest hills carefully scanned the country before them in search of buffalo. If a herd was discerned, they were not to show themselves, nor in any way to alarm it. Having found the game, their duty was to observe its movement, learn where it was likely to be for the next few hours, and then to report as quickly as possible to the camp. The soldiers then determined what action should be taken. If the news was received late in the day, and the buffalo were at some distance, the camp would probably be moved as near as practicable to where the herd was feeding, and the chase would take place in the early morning. If, on the other hand, the scouts found the herd in the morning, the men would start off at once for the surround, leaving the women to follow, and make camp as near as possible to where the dead buffalo lay.

Day after day we traveled southward, crossing the Platte River, and then the Republican about due south of the present flourishing town of Kearney. South of the Platte a few scattering buffalo were found, but no large herds had been met with—nothing that called for a surround. At length we camped one night on the Beaver, a small affluent of the Republican, emptying into it from the south.

With the gray dawn of morning, the camp, as usual, is astir. By

224 wild cattle that *Ti-ra'-wa* had given them for food. Here was barbarism pure and simple. Here was nature.

A brief halt was made on the upper prairie, until all the riders had come up, and then, at a moderate gallop, we set off. A few yards in ●[625] advance rode the twenty-four soldiers, at first curbing in their spirited little steeds, till the horses' chins almost touched their chests, and occasionally, by a simple motion of the hand, waving back some impetuous boy, who pressed too close upon them. Many of the Indians led a spare horse, still riding the one that had carried them through the day. Often two men would be seen mounted on the same animal, the one behind having the lariats of two led horses wound about his arm. Here and there a man, with his arm over the horse's neck, would run along on foot by the side of the animal which was to serve him in the charge.

As we proceeded, the pace became gradually a little more rapid. The horses went along easily and without effort. Each naked Indian seemed a part of his steed, and rose and fell with it in the rhythmic swing of its stride. The plain was peopled with Centaurs. Out over each horse's croup floated the long black hair of his rider, spread out on the wings of the breeze. Gradually the slow gallop became a fast one. The flanks of the horses showed here and there patches of wet, which glistened in the slanting rays of the westering sun. Eight, ten, a dozen miles had been left behind us, and we were approaching the top of a high bluff, when the signal was given to halt. In a moment every man was off his horse, but not a pony of them all showed any sign of distress, nor gave any evidence of the work he had done, except by his wet flanks and his slightly accelerated breathing. Two or three of the soldiers rode up nearly to the top of the hill, dismounted and then peered over, and a moment later, at another signal, all mounted and the swift gallop began again. Over the ridge we passed, down the smooth slope, and across a wide level plain, where the prairie dogs and the owls and the rattlesnakes had their home. Through the dog town we hurried on thundering hoofs, no doubt amazing the dogs, and perhaps even arousing some slight interest in the sluggish, stupid snakes. Bad places these to ride through at such a pace, for a little carelessness on your horse's part might cost him a broken leg and you an ugly tumble. But no one took much thought

24

CAMP 11–AT THE BUFFALO HUNTING GROUNDS

Camp Established—Formal Precision Necessary for Hunt—Religious Considerations—the Council Tent—Plan of Attack—Sympathetic Magic 000

AT THIS TIME OF YEAR the main buffalo herd was moving eastward down 224*
the Republican River. When they had set up camp at the confluence of
Turkey Creek and the Republican, they would be within two miles of
the north bank and often within sight of the herd itself. The whole op- 224*
eration now took on a much more formal turn involving the whole en- 626
campment. At the council tent of each of the bands that night, a spe-
cial group of military police was set up to make sure that no hunter went [625]
out individually and disturbed the herd, and that absolute quiet was maintained in the camp itself among the women and children as well as the
men. Children must be soothed and prevented from crying, dogs muzzled and wood chopping done only when the herd was not within hearing distance. The individual hunter who violated these rules and went [689]
among the herd was beaten over the head with a heavy club and sometimes severely injured. The attack upon the herd was their main objective and it had to be accomplished with precision, for they had to be
back at the villages by September first when the south star Canopus was
in the sky—the signal for the beginning of their harvest.

In addition to these practical considerations, there were religious fac- 224*
tors that gave form to their operations. A large part of the preserved 574
meat, particularly the long steaks along the backbone of the buffalo, 796
would be pledged to the performance of their sacred ceremonies. Feasting on the meat was an essential phase of every important ceremony.
This was the food that Heaven had sent, and it was fitting that sharing it
in a feast should be part of their devotions. The creation story that was 000

26

THE MEETING IN THE COUNCIL TENT

000

Selection and Installation of Military Police—Description of Council Meeting—Duties of Military Pilice—a Second Meeting after Second Attack on Herd—Stories Told

623 628 WHILE HIS FAMILY WAS BUSY slicing the meat and processing the hides, Victory Call went to the council tent to meet with the other chiefs, braves, and prominent hunters. His usual practice was to set out about three-thirty in the afternoon after he had eaten and rested and go to White Eagle's large council tent where others would be congregated. On the first night the camp was set up on Turkey Creek, the council
[625] meeting was of a more formal character. It was for the selection and installation of the military police.

[344] White Eagle's wives had set up an exceptionally large curve-roofed tent to accommodate the council. They had to rush with their work for the family when White Eagle arrived with the meat in order to be ready to leave when the council came in. On this particular evening White Eagle sent for his chief errand man, Know-His-Face. He was to go to the head chief of each of the four Skidi villages to ask him to come in the evening with ten of his prominent men. Each chief in his turn called his
[344] subchiefs, braves, and "boys" to his tent. When they were all there, they lined up in order of rank and walked over to the council tent, where they seated themselves formally in their appointed positions. The tent was open to the east, and had a sacred area at the west. The four chiefs sat in the semicardinal positions, their respective braves ranging inward toward the cardinal positions at the north and south. At the northwest was Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, his braves ranging in an arc from northwest to north. At the northeast was Feared-by-the-Enemy

of Wolf-in-Water-Village with his braves ranging inward from northeast 623
to north. On the south side were Lone Chief at the southwest, his braves 628
ranging from southwest to south, and finally Eagle Chief in the host position at the southeast with his braves reaching inward toward the south station. In front of the braves in a sort of inner arc were the "boys" of their respective villages. No one could properly be seated in front of a chief. Outside the curve-roofed shelter to the north of the entrance, was a long oblong fireplace and a small token fire was made in the middle of the tent with a few coals for the ceremonial offerings. Forty people were in the council tent that evening, ten from each village.

Eagle Chief of the host village of Pumpkin-Vine spoke first and addressed Leading Chief of Bottomlands Village who sat at the Northwest. After he and some prominent men from his village had spoken the initiative passed to Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge, who also spoke as well as his brave and others of his village. Then Feared-by-the-Enemy at the northeast, of Wolf-in-Water Village, who passed it back to Eagle Chief in the host position at the southeast. The final responsibility was given to Leading Chief of Bottomlands, who was bound to accept—for White Eagle, who was leading the hunt, was married into his village. He now took up the directive and passed it to his head brave Strikes-the-Enemy, who, to everyone's relief, accepted the difficult post as head military policeman.

The paraphernalia of the appropriate military society, the Two Lance 623
or Horse Society, was in the Wolf-in-Water Village, and the chief, 701
Feared-by-the-Enemy, called on Chief's Road who had the lances and
lance covers in his tent to send for them, and Angry Horse to send for 625
the crow-feather belt with the sleigh bells on it that the head policeman was to wear. The two lance covers in their rawhide cases were brought in and the two long sticks on which they were to be placed. If there was still enough daylight, the covers would be taken from their cases, put on the sticks, taken outside the tent, and planted in the ground in front of it so that the wind could strike the feathers and they could be seen by Heaven. By sundown, Chief's Road would instruct the chiefs at the west how to fold up the covers with their feathers into their cases for the night.

The head policeman selected his second brave to assist him, along 625
with two from each of the other three Skidi villages. When the people [628]
in camp saw the feathered lances outside, they knew that the council tent had been officially established and they wanted to know who had been selected as chief of police and who the others were. Some thought Strikes-the-Enemy was too severe, others not.

Very early next morning, just before sunrise, the lances were reinstalled outside the council tent. The new chief of police, Strikes-the-Enemy, donned his crow-feather belt with the sleigh bells on it and,

625 armed with his special club, rode back and forth in front of the council
tent waiting for White Eagle to lead off the hunt. His club or whip
625 (see Figure 26-1) was of hickory, 3 feet long, 4 inches wide and
411 wedge-shaped, with the thick back edge about an inch and a half wide,
sloping down to the thin edge that had teeth cut into it. Through a hole in the handle end was a rawhide strap so that the club could be hung over the wrist and another hole near the head held several strips of rawhide for whipping.

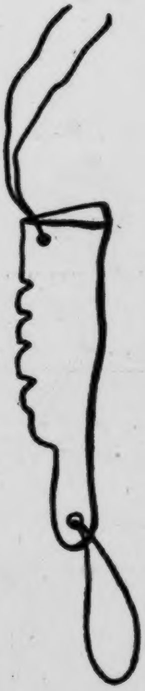


FIGURE 26-1. The whip or warclub, *tahipirus-tax karax-kitawa*, "whip-teeth-upon it," carried by the "Hunt Police." Made of hickory it is 3 feet long, 4 inches wide, with the back of the unserrated edge being about 1½ inches thick, sloping to the thin toothed edge. The rawhide loop allowed it to be hung on the wrist. The strips of rawhide at the top for whipping were usually plain, but sometimes striped or covered with white clay. (The dimensions and the drawing were supplied by informants.)

*224 A group of Tsawi once tried to anticipate the tribal attack on the herd
689 and were severely whipped. The leader of the party was beaten over the
625 head with the club until he lay unconscious and his head was bleeding.
When he appealed to Man Chief, he was told that it was "the law" and that he had to submit to his punishment. At a later time, the Tsawi police had a chance for reprisal on some Skidi hunters who were struck across the mouth with the rawhide whip, as their infringement was not at such a critical phase of the hunt. The only escape from such a beating was to take sanctuary on a buffalo wallow—if the culprit could find one in time.

After the four major hunt episodes, the four bands went their own 224*
ways, but within the bands the military police continued their power 484*
until they were actually on their return journey. The sending of the 625
scouts early in the morning and the plan as to where they should go was 628
now assigned by White Eagle to the chief of the police, a similar plan being followed in each of the other two bands when their chiefs took the lead.

The next afternoon, after they had made a second major attack on the 623
buffalo herd, there was a very large meeting in the council tent. At least 574
five sets of ribs were donated by each of the four Skidi villages, and five 224*
or six buckets of boiled corn kernels by wives of the leading men in 628
their names. Two women, one in front and one behind, would come with the long "digging iron" stick resting between them on their right shoulders with the kettle of corn hanging from it, bringing it to the council tent and saying, "This is so-and-so's."

After proper offerings had been made to White Eagle's sacred Left 623
Hand bundle, they ate roasted ribs and then corn, and told in detail all 574
the happenings of the hunt. Some of the men then began to go back to
their own tents while the prominent citizens remained, the older men be- 538
ginning to tell "tall stories" of times gone by. They lingered so long in 224*
the Skidi council tent that night that Many Trophies of the Pitahawirata 628
Band had to send his errand man to find out what the plans for the next day were to be, and then trot off to tell the chiefs of the other two bands.

As they sat in the tent, one old man said, "When I was young, I came close to a buffalo once and shot it with my arrow and the arrow went right through and came out the other side." Another old man now tops that one and says, "I did that once and when my arrow came through it shot a jack rabbit sitting on the other side." Old Man Pitsu'u (Arrived) now adds his tale, "I chased a bison, and you know they have long hair and as I chased him I saw something shiny on his neck. I thought it was a rock, but after I killed him and tied my horse to his leg, I looked and saw that he had a chief's medal around his neck. 'I wonder how he got that medal,' I thought, 'that bull must have been to Washington!' It wasn't on a ribbon though, but on a buckskin string. Now how do you think that bison got that medal around his neck?"

Different answers were posed one of which gave an account of a chief who had been killed and the bison rolling nearby, thus acquired the medal. "Now," said That Chief, "tell us Eagle Chief what you think?" "I'll tell you what might have happened," says Eagle Chief, "A Cheyenne or Comanche might have roped this bison while he was young and maybe he wanted to be blessed and put his medal on the calf. He might say, 'I'm giving you this medal. I want you to bless me. I'll let you free.'"

It appears that no one was ready to top this, so this story rested. Then Charley Buffalo began to tell of his fancy exploits somewhat embel-

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

28

THE FOURTH MAJOR ATTACK ON THE HERD

000

Decisions Made for Further Hunting—the Camp Heads South to the Republican River—the Attack—the Blessed Meat

After the second very successful attack on the herd, the animals north of the Republican River were pretty well scattered and the scouts located the herd south of the river. It was decided that they should remain at Camp 11 on Turkey Creek, but the hunters would cross over for the hunt and bring the meat back north over the river to the camp. They would have to leave the "rumpbones" and backbone behind and bring the rest of the meat that could be more readily transported. As the buffalo appeared to be getting scarce in this location, White Eagle decided to give over the leadership of the fourth hunt episode to Many Trophies of the Man-Going-Downstream Band. There was some complaint on the part of the council members, as they knew he would lead them far to the south along the Solomon River, but White Eagle reminded them that they were "Fathers" in the Peace Pipe trade relationship with the Downstream Band, who, as their "Children," had given them many horses which even now were carrying them to the hunt. White Eagle gave them an extra day to prepare everything and to get ready to move camp, to which the chiefs of the other bands were agreed. 224* 484*

After they broke camp next morning the line of march would set out in formal order, all except the old ladies who had gone ahead long before. Chief Many Trophies of Downstream Band had instructed his military police to see that scouts were sent out before dawn. In the Skidi camp, Strikes-the-Enemy, as Chief of Military Police, was riding back and forth in front of the council tent wearing his official belt and carrying his 224* 484* 625 • 628

*224 *484 club. The errand man was going through the camp repeating his announcement and waking everyone.

•625 628 Finally the tents were all folded and the police moved back and forth among the camps. They would head south for the Republican River and cross it. In the Skidi camp, Strikes-the-Enemy led off and behind him Chief White Eagle. Then the two lance bearers following on foot, one on each side, the feathers of the lances flying as they went. Behind these came the other chiefs and then the rest of the people. The leaders advanced for fifteen or twenty minutes and then stopped, waiting for the others to join them.

Each band had its own officers in the lead as they proceeded in parallel columns, stopping at their special crossing place in the river and lining up to go over. The men with lances rode over first, followed by the other leaders on horseback, in order to pack down the sand. Those that were walking across took off their moccasins and leggings and rolled them in their blankets which they were wearing on their backs. By this time most of the people were walking, leading their horses which were heavily loaded.

*224 *484 It was the lance bearers that gave the signal for the line of march to proceed. They would move ahead and, when they came to a stopping place, plant their lances upright in the ground. Then when they were signaling to move ahead, one would pull out his lance and say "ru," and in rapid succession the second man would pull out his lance and say "ru," then the line would again move forward. The south side of the river has a "bench" or step and then above it a high bank. When the lance bearers got to the first bench they planted their lances and sat down to smoke and wait for the others. Then when they caught up, the lance bearers pulled out their lances calling "ru, ru," and hurried up to the high bank, where they again repeated the procedure. The line of march proceeded southward and overland until they reached the head of Cedar Creek which flowed southeastward into the Solomon River in the Kansas drainage. The scouts had reported that the herd was moving eastward along the Solomon and as the line of march traveled south on the west bank of Cedar Creek, they halted within five or six miles of the herd, consolidating their baggage in order to release as many horses as possible to any effective hunter. The lance bearers tied their lances to the saddles of their load mares and rode off to the chase with the rest of the hunters.

*224 *484 625 628 Crossing southward over the hills, they could see buffalo from the hilltops when they were within three or four miles of the river. The Head Policeman had sent two or three of his men to find a suitable hollow in which the whole line of hunters could conceal itself. This was found two miles short of the herd, and there Chief Many Trophies asked his prophet to make his devotions. The military police of the several

bands were busy restraining the hunters from anticipating the attack of 224*
the group. The herd was very widely scattered over the land and they 484*
were coming up from the river to graze. They could not manage the 625
usual surround, so the hunters dashed ahead over and around the several 628
hills that lay between them and the herd.

Meanwhile the line of march had been holding back, proceeding very slowly so that they would not interfere with the hunt itself. When the men had completed their attack on the herd, the encampment was set up in the angle of the confluence of Cedar Creek and the Solomon.

The hunt having been successful under the leadership of Chief Many 224*
Trophies, an old priest of the Downstream Band came walking through 793
the camps. He represented the tradition of the sacred bundle under 782
whose auspices the hunt had been conducted. He wore a war bonnet 778
with feathers all around his head, possibly symbolizing a comet, and 628
around his waist a buffalo robe that hung down about his legs. In his right hand he held the sacred pipe and over his left arm he was carrying some breast meat and some fat. All along the way men and boys from the four bands were trailing after him.

When he stopped at the west of the encampment, everyone lined up. He placed the pipe against the meat and fat, then raised the latter up toward the west four times in offering. Just as he was about to put the meat and fat on the ground, the whole crowd pounced on it and tried to grab a piece of meat and fat to bless their homes. They grabbed from one another on all sides, with the little boys scampering out of the way for fear of getting hurt. The old man, meanwhile, picked up his pipe and went north around the camp to his own tent. The other two South Bands also had their special band bundles, the Asking-for-Meat Band had a very sacred Ant bundle, and the Little-Earth-Lodge Band, a Raccoon bundle.

*224 buffalo. They were Mad Bear, White, and Old Man Beaver Tree. While
*484 the camp was moving to Noisy Water, these three men had gone to the
south and west. Mad Bear was sure he saw a Sioux, but White tried to
*224 make light of it. Old Man Beaver Tree thought they had better go and
*484 see. The Sioux scout was about a half a mile away and as they approached he turned back down the hill. When they got to the top he was
726 riding away far to the west. They made various plans and then decided
648 to cross the creek and as the old man said, "If anything happens, we can go into the timber." This party ended in disaster as they were surrounded by a Sioux war party and White and Old Man Beaver Tree were killed. Mad Bear and the old man shot point-blank at the approaching enemy, but the old man was struck in the leg and simply sat down in the path and piled his bow and arrow before him to await his fate. Later his body was found by the Pawnees on their way to their encampment. Of himself, Mad Bear said,

> I could see the old man sitting there. As I got among the willows along the creek, they shot me in the right shoulder blade. My bow and arrows dropped. I couldn't hold anything. My arm was just swinging. I held my bow and arrows in my left hand. If they had seen it, they would have killed me, but when I got among the willows they thought I was all right. After a while I heard some growling. Then the Pawnees were coming singing. I got up and saw a great many passing by. The Sioux had gone quite a way off.

[752] They put his arm in a sling when they found him and later managed to heal him.

Old Man Beaver Tree lay dead on the other side of the creek. They
[727] never found White. It was suspected that he had been scalped, and even if he had survived this harrowing experience would have been ashamed to come home, as "he had no hair." He would have to make himself a dugout to live in.

The official scouts had seen these happenings from a distant hill where they were and suspected someone had been killed. When they got to the camp at Noisy Water, the scouts were very discouraged. They said, "We ought to go the other way. It's going to be that way. This time of year the Cheyenne, Arapaho, any tribe, go running around on the warpath." They decided they would move one more camp west and then go back to the north bank of the Republican River (*Kiraruta*). The new camp was a short distance, about seven miles along (Post Hunt Camp 3). The
*224 night before it was decided that the official scouts had done them no
[625] good and the head policeman, Strikes-the-Enemy, appointed three young men. They climbed a tall hill and all along the valley below they
*[484] saw the buffalo. It was somewhat to the northwest and ten miles or less

They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," 224*
they had to pack and go on. They arrived at the river about five in the 484*
evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north
bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or
less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming
in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but
they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As
soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often [226]
done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. Some men
used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took
buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and [225]
brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were [252]
they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn
husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were
unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went
out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were
officially headed for home. The night before, the military police had [625]
officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from [622]
his leadership of the hunt. He thanked them all and reviewed the
events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead
them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was
appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given
White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and
helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buffalo [787]
leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Republican
they would have to make before they could start north for the
Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sacred 796
bundles and the cults, but of special interest to everybody was the 431
Grand Opera that the associated doctors would give after the harvest, 756
lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the 624
association, called for his two errand men to go to all members, apprentices, 211
and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the
forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand
man would pick a dry weed, *hawartatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil,
and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute,
the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand
to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent,
dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and proceeded
to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. At 796
an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and 431
756

sat the old men. Casual guests sat in the spaces in between. People from the other villages would also hear about it and wander in. Sometimes quite a large group would be gathered there.

517
887
574
538
[625]

Once Victory Call served as temporary Agency policeman and when he got an extra sack of flour for his services, he decided to have a storytelling session in his lodge. He sent Horse Rider especially to invite a number of old men: Pipe Offering, That-Chief, Heavy Trophies, Arrived, Warrior (also known as Big Knife, a name also used to refer to white people—a lively raconteur), Know-His-Face, Good-Land, Wonderful Old Buffalo Bull, and Buffalo Ghost—nine in all. Then he was sent to call in some chiefs—Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge and Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine as well as Sitting Hawk and Good Pipe—and braves—War Cry and Bringing Horses. From Bottomlands and Wolf-in-Water villages they would wander in without being invited, knowing what sort of group it was to be. While White Woman was doing the cooking, the old men were telling each other how many different places were calling them in to tell stories. The women would say, "We're through cooking," and put the bread and coffee near Victory Call a little off to his right. Now all the women retired to their beds, and as they lay there they would hear the stories.

Victory Call addressed his guests by name and kin term and said, "We have a little something here for you to eat. I thought I'd invite you here tonight so that I could see you here. Now this meeting is called simply because I want you folks to tell some old-time stories." All said, "Nawa," and Victory Call then turned over the meeting to Lone Chief and Eagle Chief who directed the proceedings from then on. They directed the two errand men to serve the food and by the time they had finished eating it was ten o'clock.

Now Eagle Chief spoke, urging Old Man Warrior to begin. But Old Man Warrior parried his suggestion with, "We old men here know how things should be done and the custom is that the leader has to tell the first story. Isn't that right, That-Chief?" "That's right," said That-Chief, "the leader has to tell the story first." "Well," said Eagle Chief laughing, "I thought I could get you to do it, but I guess I'll have to." "You start it out and we'll follow," said the old men.

When Eagle Chief began, he opened with a discussion of what sort of a story it ought to be, a long or a short one. "I have stories, but if I tell a war story, it will be a pretty long one. If I tell a story of the Sioux coming on the warpath to attack the village, it will be sort of a short one. If I tell of my trip to Washington, it will be of medium length." The old men were thinking they would rather have old-time stories so that they could reminisce about the past, but someone finally spoke up in favor

61

THE COUNCIL TENT

000

Ceremonial Observances of the Hunt—the Meat Is Delivered—a More Informal Procedure Than the Summer Hunt—Police Chosen—Four Official Scouts Chosen Also—the Hunt

*224 778 • [625] EVERYONE KNEW THAT the council tent would be set up at Turkey Creek while the men were out attacking the herd, and that that evening the special police would be appointed to take charge during the subsequent attacks. During the summer, with White Eagle in the lead, the hunt had been conducted under the religious sponsorship of his left hand bundle, whose tradition was a special form of the creation legend. The present hunt was being carried on under the auspices of the Evening Star and its sacred bundle, which was also known as Yellow Calf. Its tradition was the official creation legend of the Skidi Federation. The "keeper" of this [794] bundle was Old Lady Lucky Leader of Pumpkin-Vine Village and she was assisted by her son, Frank Leader (also known as Dog-at-the-West), and her son-in-law, Roaming Leader. The old lady had built a particu- [344] larly large tent but even then only about thirty could gather in there at a time.

*224 793 As soon as the tent was set up and while the men were still off chasing the herd, the five priests came in and sat down at the west. Due west was Heavy Trophies, the head priest. To his left on the north side were Pipe Offering and Bringing Horses. To his right on the south side were Angry Horse and then Wonderful Old Bull.

*224 793 869 On this occasion, Bringing Horses was sitting as an apprentice priest. From time to time the head priest would say, "If there is anyone in this room who wants to learn, he should come closer and sit with us. It is necessary that someone should do this as we are likely to die at any time. We are old and after we die, the world will go on and on and this is the word of Heaven and should be carried on after we are gone. Anyone

*224 They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The
264 contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four sets.

*224 The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four
623 Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each
628 and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat
in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves
ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates
from the villages.

*224 The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning
623 each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this
793 tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in
[701] summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during
[625] the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose
the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic
lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was
[778] under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening
Star bundle.

*224 Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was
623 going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War
628 Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the
793 other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill.
[625] Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now
officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief.
[574] The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was
[264] carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief,
who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

*224 The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south
623 pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head police-
625 man War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh
574 bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could
make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people
[293] to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family
of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and
so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we
have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

*224 Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the
623 old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was
562 in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and
Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they
[251] could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

*224 The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very
[793] early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican.
[825] When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of

now pulled down the "backbone" pole at the west so that it lay on the 224*
ground with the partially folded cover underneath it. The pole was un- 484*
tied at the top and bottom ends and removed and the cover folded down 342
the length in two. The shape of the cover was something of an equilateral triangle with broad squat arms and a point at the top and two extra flanges with a hole in each for the smokehole. After the cover had been folded once in the length, the two broad ends near the base were folded in, and then the cover was folded in the length once more and tightly rolled from the bottom up toward the point when it was tied with two attached straps around the middle. It was now tied around and across each end with extra ropes.

The frame was still standing and they had to be careful not to break the poles in taking them down. First they unwound the rope that bound them at the top: it was untied at the bottom of the south doorway pole, unwound four times and then left hanging in the middle. After the other poles were removed from the sides and south doorway, the three poles of the tripod were left standing with the rope hanging from the top. The two poles at the west were gently drawn together while someone stood at the north and held the end of the rope, slowly letting the three poles down. They were now untied and the poles bound together six for one side and six for the other side of the horse to be ready after the loading. With the tipi dismantled, the parfleches were still on the ground and the horses were backed up nearby and loaded with them and then they set out for Many Deer.

As soon as the tipis were up at Many Deer, the men got together in 224*
the council tent. The two scouts sent out by Eagle Chief to locate the 623
herd were now ready with their report. They said that the buffalo were coming from the west along the south side of the river very slowly. Nevertheless they thought they would get there that night. This meant 224*
that the police had to get into action and keep the camp quiet. War Cry 625 •
as chief of police sent his deputy Roaming Scout to notify the people. 623
He walked quietly through the encampment, stopping now at this tipi, now at that, telling them that on that evening the dogs had to be muzzled and the children cautioned not to make too much noise as the buffalo would be passing near that night. "That's the order of the chief of police," he said. "Don't try to cut wood with an ax. Break it or use what you have already cut. Don't let the baby cry too long. You must nurse it right away." Then he returned to the council tent reporting that his message had been delivered. Now War Cry gave further directions. He said, 224*
"I want Shot Arm and Leading Downhill to go out early tomorrow 623
morning and see where the herd is. We must chase them tomorrow morning about nine or ten o'clock so that we can have the meat ready to be thinned all afternoon. Some of the women have been having to thin meat during the night. When we come across the river with the meat, we

*224 623 ought to put more dirt on the ice because I think we'll be staying here for the rest of our hunt."

The business over, it was time to serve the feast of donated boiled buf- *224 • 625 [574] falo ribs which were served without delay. As no corn had been donated, no offering was made to the sacred bundle that night. The guests made haste to go home so that the family could prepare their dry meat. However, the police had to remain until after midnight to see that there were no infractions of the antinoise rules. Every now and then one of their number was sent out to see that no one happened to forget and was laughing too loud. The policeman put on his belt with the sleigh bells and taking his stick walked cautiously through the camp. One could hear the snow cracking under his feet. As he arrived where the noise was, he tapped the tent with his stick. Then the noise would stop. He had been holding his sleigh bells so that they would not sound, but now he released them so that everyone would know that he was passing through.

*224 625 689 The next day the antinoise injunction continued. Some women went out toward evening to cut wood and although they were supposed to chop very gently, the echo could be heard by the police in the council tent. Two officers were sent out to punish them. They made each woman forfeit one of her moccasins and whatever else the policeman could get. He carried the forfeits up to the council tent and waited there for the women to come and redeem them. It was very cold and each woman had to wrap something around the foot from which the moccasin had been taken. Then she came limping into camp and when she got home, she made some bread and coffee and took it over to the council tent to the police. "All right," said War Cry, "Give her her moccasin." Other women would bring calico or a little tobacco to redeem their things. "Give them to her," said War Cry, "but next time watch out!"

*224 623 574 262 During the day, Know-His-Face had gone through the camp remarking that they could use some corn and coffee at the council tent. With this gentle reminder, they were likely to receive at least two buckets of corn for the evening. As the men came in from the hunt, they donated ribs as usual for the evening council and Old Lady Lucky Leader put them in her grass house. Some men were particularly fond of ribs with an unborn calf inside, and when one of these was donated they would ask to have them served right away. As the men left the ribs at the council tent they were told that special invitations would not be issued but that they were to come right back when they had attended to their business at home. Sometimes men waited at home to get a supper of fried bread and coffee before going to the council if their wives had any, since these supplies were pretty well depleted throughout the camp.

*224 623 At the council everyone was talking of the buffalo chase that day—of how deep the snow was that they had to go through in some places, etc.

White Woman and after pleading his cause with her, Shot Arm came 159
to live with them. The boy was told that "his father" had come. When 587
he demurred and said that he thought Victory Call was his father, he
was quieted. Shot Arm gave him gifts and did his best to father him.
White Woman had had some reservations as Shot Arm already had a wife,
but he convinced her that he was determined to part from the other
woman in any event. Later there were recriminations from this quarter.

Once on the winter hunt, Shot Arm was invited to bring his new 159
family to live in the household of White Eagle. He had been formally 587
invited by "his two old mothers" who were the official owners of the 591
house. In their new home the family occupied a place at the west and had [572]
status and Otter had new friends—David Gillingham, son of White
Eagle, and the two brothers, Luther and Andy Coons.

In the Sioux massacre of 1873 during the summer hunt, when from 60 159
to 120 Pawnees lost their lives while butchering their kill in a canyon 175
near Trenton, Nebraska, Otter and White Woman were guided to safety 721
through the Sioux lines by a young warrior at the request of Mad Bear.

Finally the Pawnees moved to Oklahoma in three contingents. White 167
Eagle went with the first group, while Shot Arm and his family were true 159
to the faction of Lone Chief who wanted to remain on their old land
and stayed to the last. The two old ladies who owned White Eagle's
earth lodge gave over the pillars and materials to Shot Arm who set up [342]
a hexagonal frame of six forked pillars and no outer sod collar or wall, so
that they had a high pointed lodge to live in.

When the last group decided to go, the government assigned them ten 167
wagons for the poor people who had no horses for transport, and some 159
beeves to be killed every Saturday for their food. 648 484

In Oklahoma, the three contingents had set up three earth-lodge vil-
lages in different locations. Lone Chief set up one on the Arkansas River 167
three or four miles this side of Ralston where there was a ferryboat. 159
White Eagle built a log house on top of a hill near the big pond west of the 361
present town of Pawnee, with the earth lodges of his following on the
east side of the hill toward the pond. Half a mile east of the agency,
Misery and his father-in-law Comanche Chief, along with War Cry, were
the leading spirits of another log-house village.

Shot Arm, who had become agency policeman, settled his family in a 159
tent near the school. All winter they lived in the tent. Then in spring, 763
April 1876, without any outward sign of illness, White Woman died. [625]
She asked to have her grandchild brought to her and then spoke to its [342]
mother, telling her that she was bidding them farewell and that she should
take good care of the child. And so she fell asleep and never awakened.

Victory Call's former retainer, Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn, 159
were living in a frame house with No Corn's oldest daughter. The girl 59
had married a man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band known as Abraham

141-142 On the buffalo jump, see Forbis, 1958; Lowie, 1954, pp. 14-15, Fig. 3, Assiniboin buffalo pound at the foot of the bluffs or cut bank. P 224

109 "The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids, but only used to repel or meet a general attack." (Murie, 1914, p. 560.) P 411 726

109 One of the five Skidi military societies had no war functions at all, but was specialized in the role of hunt police. It was known as *Raris arusa*, "Society Horse," and was also referred to as "Two Lance." While most of the decorated lances had crooks on their tops, this one was unique in lacking this feature. Among the three South Bands, there was also a military society with a similarly specialized function. It was the *Raris pahat*, "society red." This society was said to have been derived from and sanctioned from the main sacred bundle of the *Pitahawirata*, where only the descendants of chiefs could belong. (Murie, 1914, p. 569.) P 701 [625] [411]

223 The Skidi, Tsawi, and Kitkehaxki, each had a society with combined war-hunt functions, and each band had several exclusively for war. Every spring when the decorations on the official lances were renewed, the lances were put outside the door on a pole where the people could see them. In the course of the several society ceremonies, the people were told that the lances were to bring the buffalo and to protect the lives of the people (Murie, 1914, p. 559). The hunt police were appointed after the first big kill on the Republican River when the encampment on Turkey Creek was set up right within the path of buffalo migration. P 701 411 625

176, 227-228 For a description of Massacre Canyon and the dangers of the Western territory see Hyde, 1951, pp. 244-248; Williamson, 1925; *Massacre Canyon Number*, 1936 (Nebraska History Magazine). 000

241 On the roasting pit for corn, see the Pawnee texts, Weltfish, 1937, p. 34.

243-246 Among the Hidatsa, a man would request one of the young men's military societies (Fox or Dog Society) to come to his fields to husk the corn. One of the society's officials would announce from the roof of the lodge and the members would line up and go singing to the designated field. The young men would hope their sweethearts would hear them and that perhaps they would get a chance to see them working in an adjacent field. They marched to the fields carrying guns for fear the Sioux would attack. "If a society went early, they got through just after midday. By early I mean nine o'clock in the morning." "We worked late, by moonlight even." (Wilson, 1917, p. 43, footnote.) H 701 243 476

THIRD SONG

Diagram of Time

533*
796*

Rythmic Rendition

I

539*
796*

Hark! She speaks, and quickly we turn to her.
Looking toward the west to the spot where we
Passed 'neath the eyes of gods; and now do we heed her words:
"Yonder is the place in the distant west
Whence I have come out of the past to you."

II

"Born of the earth and touched by the deep blue sky,
Have I chosen been by the gods to lead.
You are to hear my voice and follow my strict commands,
As your fathers did in the days gone by.
Thence come I to open your pathway here."

These three songs, the first part of the fifth ritual, seem to have been disciplinary in their influence. They tended to restrain the individual from self-seeking by placing over the party a supernatural leader, on whom all minds must be fixed and to whom all must give obedience. Thus, from the very outset, an authority was established against which none dared rebel. [626]

PART II. SONGS AND CEREMONIES OF THE WAY

796*
484

The Hako party was an impressive sight as it journeyed over the country. It could never be mistaken for an ordinary group of hunters, warriors, or travelers. At the head of the long procession, sufficiently in advance to be distinguished from the others, walked three men the Ku'rahus, holding before him the brown-eagle feathered stem, on his right the chief, grasping with both hands the wildcat skin and Mother Corn, and at his left the assistant Ku'rahus, bearing the white eagle feathered stem. These three men wore buffalo robes with the hair outside. On their heads was the white downy feather of their office and their faces were anointed with the sacred ointment and red paint. They bore the sacred objects forward steadily and silently, looking neither to the right nor left, believing that they were under supernatural guidance. Behind them walked the doctors with their insignia, the eagle wings; then the singers with the drum, and behind them the

[illegible]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

II

Mountains loom upon the path we take;
Yonder peak now rises sharp and clear;
Behold! We climb, drawing near its summit;
Steeper grows the way and slow our steps.

III

Mountains loom upon the path we take;
Yonder peak that rises sharp and clear,
Behold us now on its head uplifted;
Planting there our feet, we stand secure.

IV

Mountains loom upon the path we take;
Yonder peak that rose so sharp and clear,
Behold us now on its head uplifted;
Resting there at last, we sing our song.

SONG TO THE MESA[a]

[*533]

Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Rendition

I

The mesa see; its flat top like a straight line cuts across the sky;
It blocks our path, and we must climb, the mesa climb.

II

More mesas see; their flat tops rise against the sky, they bar our path;
We reach their base, and we must climb, the mesas climb.

III

The mesa's side we now ascend, the sharp ridge pass, its flat top reach;
There lies our path that we must take, and forward go.

IV

The mesas rise around us still, their flat tops cut across the sky;
They block our way, yet still we climb, the mesas climb.

PART III. MOTHER CORN REASSERTS LEADERSHIP

The next two songs are in sequence and refer to the mystical journey and leadership of Mother Corn. They return to the theme of part I of this ritual.

[626] Upon the journey the people had been led to appeal to different objects as manifestations of the supernatural powers, but now that the journey was nearing its end the maintenance of discipline required that the people should be reminded that Mother Corn was leading and that to her they were still to render undivided obedience.

The first song was sung at the border of the land of the Sun.

---

[a] Music on page 84.

*175 *648 657 The whole tribe removed, abandoning their old settlements, ready to attempt to build a new home above the Platte, but not without misgiving. The Dakota tribes now outnumbered them eight or nine to one. The "Indians appeared to consent reluctantly to a settlement upon their reservation, returning with gloomy foreboding to the country where in days past they had lost in battle many of their sages and warriors. They appeared satisfied, however, after an assurance from their agent that they should receive the protection guaranteed in the late treaty."[1]

In the period from the Pawnee settlement on reservation sites in 1859 to 1873, when the question of removing the tribe to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma became immediate, the major effort of the government was directed toward accustoming the tribe to a farming life. The policy initiated by the reservation system was to eventuate in locating individual families on individual farms, to be allotted in severalty. Since this was not practicable until the Pawnee men had learned the white man's methods of cultivation, no immediate attempt was made to survey allotments. Instead, the government initiated farming among the Pawnee by locating a government or agency farm close to the school and agency buildings. This was worked and managed principally by government farmers sent for that purpose, who made periodic reports to the agents and superintendent. On this farm the Pawnee men and boys who were willing to learn were persuaded to labor, and it was expected that they would then be anxious to locate farms of their own and work them.

*175 *648 657 241 ● [626] During the whole period the Pawnee also continued to cultivate and plant corn, beans and squash, after their traditional methods. This agricultural work was done by the women. In the old way of life, the men did the hunting and fighting, the women the planting, the skinwork and the housework. Since working the land was women's work, it was not to be expected that the Pawnee men would take to farming eagerly. Those young men and boys who did were taunted continually by others.

The activities of the government farm on the Pawnee reservation were initiated as soon as possible after the removal. In 1860 a grist and saw mill to be run by steam was erected, and a corn granary nearly completed, to be used for storing the produce of the farm. The work was continually interrupted by attacks of the Dakota. A farmer was on hand and raised one hundred and sixty acres of corn, oats and wheat. The same year, the Pawnee women

---

[1] Superintendent of the Central Superintendency, writing in 1859. Annual report, 1858—1859.

ized were concentrated along the banks of Beaver Creek, a northern 101
tributary of the Loup River near the present town of Genoa, Nebraska.
They had moved to this place in 1859 as a result of their treaty
with the United States Government. Each of the bands had its separate
location, the Skidi villages in the westernmost position and the three
South Bands ranged along the stream to the east about half a mile away.
From west to east they were: Kitkehaxki (Little-Earth-Lodge), Tsawi
(Asking-for-Meat), and Pitahawirata (Man-Going-Downstream, or East).
Each of the bands is said to have comprised a number of villages;
for the three South Bands this cannot be documented. From 1700 on,
when our historical records are clear, the Skidi were the largest of the
four bands and were composed of a number of distinct villages, estimated
between twelve and nineteen. In 1867 the Skidi had four distinct villages, 361
Tuwahukasa (Village-across-a-Ridge), Tuhitspiat (Village-in-the-Bottomlands),
Tskirirara (Wolf-in-Water), and Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine). [103]
The villages were made up of ten to twelve earth lodges, each a high
spacious dome-shaped building housing thirty to fifty people. Besides
containing thirty to fifty people under one roof, the personnel was likely
to change from season to season after each migration to the buffalo hunting
grounds. The basic Pawnee household was as different from ours as 592
it is possible for a human arrangement to be. And yet it gave personal
satisfaction to its members and within itself produced the whole material
and social base for an ongoing community. In fact, this is what we
wish our family life would do. Sibling rivalries, partial or total rejection
of child by parent or smothering attention, demands on the child for the
unfulfilled ambitions of the parents, or overprotection because of resented
parental hardships, heavy-handed control of parent over child in a
severely restricted social environment—these are ills that are intimately
linked with the very physical arrangements of our present family living.
There are things about Pawnee life that suggest that an enlarged home
environment for our children would improve our lives—a matter to be
considered in the concluding chapter.

Even more startling to me than the contrast in home life was the question 626
of political control among the Pawnees. They were a well-disciplined
people, maintaining public order under many trying circumstances. 182
And yet they had none of the power mechanisms that we consider essential
to a well-ordered life. No orders were ever issued. No assignments for
work were ever made nor were over-all plans discussed. There was no
code of rules of conduct nor punishment for infraction. There were no
commandments nor moralizing proverbs. The only instigator of action 796
was the consenting person. In religion, the regular round of ceremonies 182
that followed the seasons was in charge of a priesthood, but no one of 626
these ceremonies was ever instigated by them. Only when a single
person had the call through visions and invited the priesthood to discuss

796 it with him, pledging his support in food and goods, would the ceremony ever be performed. In all his work, both public and private, the Pawnee 182 moved on a totally voluntary basis. Whatever social forms existed were 626 carried within the consciousness of the people, not by others who were in a position to make demands. As I talked to the old men and women I realized that this is what we wish for but do not have. As they described the coordination of their households, I repeatedly asked when they got together and laid the plan they were apparently carrying through and in what exact terms they discussed it. The answer was always, "They didn't discuss it at all. They don't talk about it. It goes along just as it happens to work out."

626 For example, sentinels were always needed to man the outposts and keep watch for the enemy who might be lurking nearby ready to attack 701 the villages, or in the process of sneaking up on them. Sentinels were neither assigned nor called for by anyone. A number of young men who were friends would be talking together and one would mention that this was about the time the enemy would be attacking. Then one of them would remark, "I think I'll go up to the sentry post early tomorrow morning." Another would say, "I think I'll do that too." Then several others would chime in and word would get around, and other young men would also turn up long before dawn at the different sentry posts. The 592 household coordinated itself in precisely the same way. A remark by one 626 person brought a complementary remark from another, and the plans seemed to shape themselves.

626 Time after time I tried to find a case of orders given, and there was none. Gradually I began to realize that democracy is a very personal thing which, like charity, begins at home. Basically it means not being coerced and having no need to coerce anyone else. The Pawnee learned this way of living in the earliest beginnings of his life. In the detailed events of everyday living as a child, he began his development as a disciplined and free man or as a woman who felt her dignity and her independence to be inviolate. I was often confronted with the feeling that they expected of me a kind of independence and decisiveness that was not considered becoming to a woman in our society. Men and women expected the same clear and well-defined reaction from me, and among themselves it was evident that it was their accustomed mode of interacting.

622 The Pawnees had chiefs, but these were the focus of consensus, not the wielders of power. There was no over-all chief of all the Pawnees. 619 The two major political groupings among the Pawnees were the Skidi and the South Bands, distinguished by a slight difference in the pronunciation of the Pawnee language. The main subdivisions within these groupings were villages and households. The village numbered from three 621 hundred to five hundred people in ten to fifteen households. The real

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The real administrative officials of the Pawnees were the chiefs of the villages. All 621 people within a village considered themselves kin, and the chiefs were 622 conceived as heads of extended families rather than as superimposed government officials. Although the chieftainship was hereditary in certain families, the individuals selected to fill the post were chosen for their humility and sagacity. An aggressive temperament was considered a barrier to the office. There were definite implicit mechanisms for village 619 coordination and interband cooperation, often by means of emissaries 626 sent between the households of chiefs to express their combined opinions and to learn the wishes of the other parties. Public opinion and consensus were always well estimated. No official conceived that an arbitrary decision was feasible or desirable.

The difference in our expectations is shown in the words of Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesus Maria, first missionary to the Caddo-Hasinai, a related tribe to the Pawnees, in 1691 (Swanton, 1942, pp. 170-171): 171

> These allied tribes do not have one person to govern them (as with us a kingdom is accustomed to have a ruler whom we call king.) They have only a *xinesi*. He usually has a subordinate who gathers together four or five tribes who consent to live together and to form a province or kingdom, as it might be called—and a very large one too, if all these tribes had one person to rule over them. But such a head they have not, and I, therefore, infer that this province in New Spain is called "Teijias" [Friend]—which really expresses just what they are because each tribe is a friend to all the others—cannot be called a kingdom.

And Robert Lowie says in *The Crow Indians* (1935, p.5):

> How shall we conceive the ancient chief?—a good "valiant" man. He was neither a ruler nor a judge and in general had no power over life and death —he decided when and where his followers should move and pitch camp.

As I studied Pawnee life I often asked myself how far the power 000 mechanisms that characterize our present social life are really indispensable. In our theory of democracy we express a profound desire for the kind of voluntarism that the Pawnee practiced. It is not easily described, for it is implicit in the individual personalities of the people themselves. Their personality pattern only too readily eludes us, and only by attention to minute detail can we come to understand its special quality.

And yet, although very different in all other details, Pawnee life, like 221 our own, was strongly molded by the four seasons. Each of the seasons had its special program of activities that, taken together, made a complete and consistent pattern. The spring and fall of the year were the times of planting and harvesting the crops of corn, beans, and squash. During these two seasons the Pawnees lived in their earth-lodge villages that

would offer a story in the realm of human affairs. In attempting to translate from the Pawnee language in which much of this account was first obtained, we stopped to consider the word "courage." In order to give an example of what the Pawnee meant by courage, Mark Evarts told the following story: 577 539

> A man became aware that a certain person was making slanderous remarks about him in many quarters. This distressed and irritated him deeply. One day he came to a decision as to what he would do. He had a wagon and a horse, and he painted his wagon and decorated his horse and then dressed himself up in his very best, painted his face, dressed his hair, put feathers in his hair, and then set out for the home of the slanderer. When he arrived he called out, "So and so, I want you to come out. I have something to show you." In the light of his actions, the slanderer hesitated to come out. But finally he made his appearance at the entryway of his lodge. Now the man he had slandered took him by the hand and said, "Do you see this horse and wagon?" "Yes," he replied with increasing trepidation. "Well, I give them to you," said his victim, and then departed. Needless to say, he never talked about him again.

"This," said Mark Evarts, "is a man of courage; that was the only horse and wagon he had."

Our first reaction to this story is one of rejection. How can one possibly call this an act of courage? Let us look at this action through Pawnee eyes. For one thing, by his action, the victim had cleared the society of a disruptive social element that could have grown into a more general network of hostilities and polluted the whole social climate so that they might no longer defend themselves effectively from outside attack nor coordinate their efforts for their mutual survival. It took real courage, from the Pawnee point of view, for a man to curb his anger and to make a material sacrifice as well. How different from our reaction which would lead a man to plant his fist forcibly into the face of the slanderer or perhaps counter with a more devious plan to get back at his opponent. The obvious result must necessarily be a continuation and augmentation of the social irritant. 577 626

This instance does not stand alone. In recent years the Fox Indians of Tama, Iowa, told a story about the Pawnees in a similar vein. It was customary for the young men to set out on the warpath in the fall or late summer. A young Fox warrior selected the Pawnees as the object of his attack. He made a rich haul and so decided to repeat his performance the next year. Then he went again a third time. This was decidedly against the recognized code according to which he should have distrib- 577 727

159 go off and gather wild turnips, she went with some other old lady
574 from Bottomlands Village. Only if it were necessary once in a while,
would the three old ladies of the lodge go together to get a little wood
592 for fuel.

[887] Old ladies were great ones for visiting one another and talking over
old times—about when they were young and when they got married, prepared buffalo robes and many other such reminiscences. Whenever Blue Calico came back from a visit to her own village, she would come in with stories of what was going on there. "That man went hunting and didn't bring home anything," she would say, or, "He brought some game—a deer."

156 Contrary to a common conception of tribal life, the personal inter-
571 relationships of the Pawnee were not fixed within a kin mold. For example, there was a marked difference in temperament between the two
602 wives of Old Bull, Queen Woman, the senior one, and Clear Day, the younger of the two. Two factors combined to make the approach to Otter of these two women different. Through a relatively distant kin line, the older wife Queen Woman counted as a sister, *itahi*, to Otter and accordingly their relationship was formal. As noted above (page 36), Queen Woman's two little boys regarded Otter as a mother's brother, *tiwatciriks*, and he treated them as nephew, *tiwat*. Under these conditions, the kind of joking Otter was encouraged to carry on with Clear Day was not in order. On the other hand, Queen Woman had another role as wife of Old Bull and consequently "wife" to Otter. Two conflicting roles presented themselves and the sister role was chosen. The likelihood is that this was an adjustment to Queen Woman's conservative temperament which tipped the balance in favor of the more formal of the two possible kinship categories. When people used to marry almost exclusively within the village, the wife of an uncle or of a brother was bound to be some sort of relative to the younger boy. This was apparently conveniently forgotten or raised as the circumstances happened to warrant.

Neither personal relations nor the personnel of the household were cramped within a fixed kin structure. The individual personality was not trimmed down to fit the kin structure, but the structure was used to realize the individual personality. The Pawnee social structure was written into no statute book, nor did it have the status of doctrine, and there was no chain of command to enforce it. Therefore it was not frozen and clamped onto the people, but carried implicitly by them to serve them as they saw fit. No built-in guilt, acting as a surrogate for dominant power, forced them to narrow the scope of their personal lives. They were socially creative in every personal interrelationship they had. The
602 world was raw and their life was hard, but it was also freer than ours.
626 No religious or supernatural sanction enforced the social forms. The only

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

possible penalty for transgression of kinship forms was adverse public opinion. This was a very important deterrent, but it was of a quite different quality from religious, military, or political sanctions, for it was within the network of the contemporary community, not in a specialized sector of it, and it was therefore possible for a person to cope with it in the course of daily living. Pawnee life was certainly not a Utopia. The time and the place in which it existed could allow no such hope, but in its freedom from dominance it had something we now can afford and don't know how to take. 602 626

24

CAMP 11–AT THE BUFFALO HUNTING GROUNDS

Camp Established—Formal Precision Necessary for Hunt—Religious Considerations—the Council Tent—Plan of Attack—Sympathetic Magic 000

AT THIS TIME OF YEAR the main buffalo herd was moving eastward down 224*
the Republican River. When they had set up camp at the confluence of
Turkey Creek and the Republican, they would be within two miles of
the north bank and often within sight of the herd itself. The whole operation 224*
now took on a much more formal turn involving the whole encampment. 626
At the council tent of each of the bands that night, a special
group of military police was set up to make sure that no hunter went [625]
out individually and disturbed the herd, and that absolute quiet was maintained
in the camp itself among the women and children as well as the
men. Children must be soothed and prevented from crying, dogs muzzled
and wood chopping done only when the herd was not within hearing
distance. The individual hunter who violated these rules and went [689]
among the herd was beaten over the head with a heavy club and sometimes
severely injured. The attack upon the herd was their main objective
and it had to be accomplished with precision, for they had to be
back at the villages by September first when the south star Canopus was
in the sky—the signal for the beginning of their harvest.

In addition to these practical considerations, there were religious factors 224*
that gave form to their operations. A large part of the preserved 574
meat, particularly the long steaks along the backbone of the buffalo, 796
would be pledged to the performance of their sacred ceremonies. Feasting
on the meat was an essential phase of every important ceremony.
This was the food that Heaven had sent, and it was fitting that sharing it
in a feast should be part of their devotions. The creation story that was 000

756
796
536
plaza before the Doctor Lodge with the crowd watching from the roofs of the surrounding earth lodges. It was called Big Dance, *Kibaxkutsu*, dance-big, and the doctors were in a greater or lesser degree of trance while they carried out their performance.

The A's, the secondary acts between the Big Dances, were indoor performances comprising a series of sleight-of-hand feats including trance induction in one doctor by another. They were held in the night from about eight o'clock until midnight and included a sequence of acts by four different doctors with drumming, rattling, singing, and dancing in the intervals. All during the day the doctors who were to perform in the evening prepared themselves and their paraphernalia and refrained from eating until the following morning. The performances were interspersed with blank days during which they all rested and made other preparations for the Big Dance as well as for their subsequent performances. The entire series of performances was introduced by an initial indoor performance and ended with a finale that featured a lively battle between the Bears and the Buffalo Clowns, whose theme was, "Who's afraid of the great big bears? They're only little puppies after all!"

756
796
536
727
156
626
The C units were a special type of mime also given outdoors, featuring the "Scalped Ones," the *Kitsaburuksu*, who were thickly plastered with mud "so that they looked like mud banks approaching" and acted in weird and fearsome ways. It was a Pawnee belief that should a person who had been scalped survive, he could never return to his people. It was reasoned that if anyone did survive the process of being scalped by the enemy, he would become so malevolent that he could not live in society. Such a man would make himself a dugout in an embankment and live by attacking people and stealing what he needed. Frank North in his autobiography tells of a young woman who had been scalped by the Sioux in one of their raids in June 1861 while she was returning from her cornfield. Found to be alive, she was apparently buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left there to die. She was rescued and nursed back to health by the schoolmistress, Mrs. Platt. There is of course, no proof that this was the work of the Pawnees themselves, nor can anyone substantiate the subsequent report that she was dispatched with a tomahawk after her return to the tribe and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. It does indicate, however, that a person could survive scalping. A tribal belief was universally maintained that a scalped person could never return to the tribe. [775] Children were constantly warned about these mischievous spirits and alive or dead they were considered a threat to adults also. They lived by stealing whatever they could get and sometimes seized women and young people. Because of them people were afraid to go about in the dark, especially near the banks of streams.

his wife and then the doctors might go after him in this way. They would spirit him out onto the dance grounds outside the Doctor Lodge; then he would go home, get his buffalo robe, and return. 756

From these instances it should be clear that the Pawnee preoccupation with illusionism, hypnotism, and suggestion was neither mere theater nor pure ritual. The power of trance induction was regarded as a threat and a means of control. Possibly the hunter found in it a method of communication with the wild animals and control over them. It is very evident that it was considered a way of immobilizing the enemy. Trance induction was called "fighting" or "shooting at the image or shadow," and illusionism by sleight of hand as a milder form of psychological control was called "playing" or "romping" as of children. Our present preoccupation with psychology and psychosomatic problems should point the way to its connection with healing. The cultivation of these psychological states in the Doctor Lodge was obviously something more than pure supernaturalism. 756 787 [626]

The final episode in the Opera was a contest between the Buffaloes and the Bears in which the Buffaloes reduced the Bears psychologically to mere puppies, and in this way the Buffaloes are no longer afraid. 756 796 536

753 754 some interpersonal hostility in the community whose source he would invariably find if he searched around for it.

578 The doctor on his part, helped restore a man's confidence while he was 756 sick, by bringing him the friendship of the animals who were entirely outside the human community and to whom he could turn in his distress. This motivation can be seen in the vision of the poor boy, Small, whose position in the human community was threatening and insecure. It was in a council of the animals that he found justice for himself and understanding of his need. He also found, however, that some of his new-found animal friends had temperaments that were prevailingly vicious like the mole and the weasel, and this was a power from outside that he could turn against the human community at his desire. The doctor, therefore, in his knowledge of animals, had a kind of power for evil as well as 756 for good that no one else possessed. "The doctors are all witches. Each one has a different way to witch as well as their other practices." Whether 754 he used this evil power depended upon the temperament of the doctor. As cited in connection with old doctor Angry Horse, "He never got sufficiently angry for that!" and so would never be using this part of his power, but the people suspected that the majority of the doctors gave way to temptation at times, particularly the most ambitious ones. The old doctors were especially suspect, of course.

578 626 554 Interpersonal hostility represented a serious threat to the Pawnee community, particularly in its influential members. As there were no formally organized codes of behavior or courts of justice among the Pawnees, a person had no recourse in the face of personal threat except the expression of public opinion which was by no means readily forthcoming and also it was effective only within the existing social power structure. If possible, self-help was the wisest course. Behaille, in the face of the hostility of Old Bull toward his admission to the chiefs' council, used the method both of exposure and at the same time of mollification at a feast.

571 578 829 626 It was far more vital for the people of the Pawnee community to have a clear estimate of the range of personalities with which they had to deal in their daily lives than it is for those of us who live in larger polities. The pressures between individuals were far more potent than they are in groups where there is a larger and more complete political structure, for beyond the known range of personalities among the Pawnees, there was only the enemy. Interpersonal difficulties might or might not get some public reaction and beyond that there was no organized social machinery to which to appeal. In the social order, therefore, the attitudes, moods and inclinations of the individuals that composed it, were far more significant for the group well-being than in a larger polity, and people kept a closer watch on these personality factors than we are accustomed to doing. They knew where "the trouble spots" were likely to be in

571

terms of interpersonal ~~hostilities~~ and the specific temper of the people 578
involved. Only in these terms can we understand their sensitivity to 829
these hostilities and the prevalent fear of their personal conse- 626
quences. The "witchcraft" atmosphere was a function of this situation.
The doctors brought to bear the idea that a person could have unfailing 756
personal allies in the animal community. Thus Old-Man-That-Chief in 626
practicing his performance for the next day's session of the Deer Dance, 829
addressed the bundle of chicken-hawk feathers that he was to make come
alive in the ceremony. The bunch of feathers were lying tied up at the ends which pointed toward the fireplace, with the tips toward That-Chief. As he smoked he asked the feathers for their help, saying, "I want you to help me in every way. This is my son and my grandson," who were to assist him. By him sat his son, Herd-of-Horses, and his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, and he passed the pipe to them in turn and pointed the mouthpiece toward the feathers so that they might all smoke together.

Despite these psychological causes, the physical symptoms of illness 753
were correlated by the Pawnees directly with physical objects that had 754
been projected by sleight of hand into the body of the person. It was presumed that the doctor would hover about at night outside the dwelling of his intended victim and act as he did in the Doctor Lodge to send the
object into the person. "In the old days people slept with the covers [513]
drawn up over their heads so that should they open their mouths, no witch could put anything down into them this way."

The different deadly witch-missiles were thought to produce varying
physical symptoms. Uncomfortable and painful "movement" of the [755]
stomach was one important effect, and coughing up or vomiting was necessary for their cure.

The procedure for preparing such pellets was attested to by Roaming 754
Leader who said that he had inadvertently been an eyewitness to such a process.

> It was after sundown when one could barely see well and there stood That-Chief with his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, along with White Horse near a grave. They had dug it up and That-Chief was showing White Horse that one gets the tough skin of the heel of the corpse, lets it dry out flat, and then greases it with buffalo fat so that it can slide right in. Then it is wrapped up in buffalo wool and painted all over with red paint and tied up real tight and small with horse hair so that it approximates the size of a large capsule. "Then grease it well once more," he said. Now any time White Horse wanted to kill someone by witching, he knew what to do. He put the capsule in among the feathers of his eagle-wing fan, and while he was moving back and forth at the door after midnight doing his witching, he shook his fan so that the capsule flew through the air and into the victim's mouth.

his nephew, etc., as the case might be. A man would feel free to issue the 574
invitation if he had gotten some meat by hunting or bought some supplies
at the trade store. Otherwise the invitation would come from the
woman, since she would be providing the food. However, when guests 574
came in at the husband's invitation in order to transact some business
or political affairs, the husband had the right to ask the wife to cook 431
something for his guests. If one were simply to "drop in" on a relative
without a business reason or an invitation, it would appear as a hint that
you wanted a gift or some other service. In order to forestall this impression,
one came bringing a gift, opening the visit with the presentation and
thus making it appear as the ostensible reason for the visit. The nature and
value of the gift was to some extent an index of the regard the donor
felt for the recipient.

On the whole, kin ties called forth strong emotions, especially in the 602
presence of a stranger. Where strangers and kin were involved, kin
loyalty aroused immediate reactions and was very strong. Outside the kin 609
group it was assumed that people must be mean, unreliable, and treacherous.
The household and immediate kin was the closest unit and the village
pretty much the outer limit. Intervillage ties did exist, however, and 628
occasionally intervillage marriages. As the population began to dwindle 582
in the last years in Nebraska, such intermarriages became more frequent
than heretofore.

Personal Names and Aspirations

A person was never addressed by his personal name; a kin term was 551
always used. This served to indicate the expected behavior and, through [601]
the mode of its use, the nuances that could be expected within the
category. A personal name among the Pawnees was of an entirely different
character from our own. It was an honorary title of an extremely personal
nature. The significance of the personal name was stated by a priest
(see Fletcher, 1904, p. 365) as follows:

> A man's life is an onward movement. . . . If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the help of the powers, his life will "climb up." . . . Some men can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level. Men having power to advance, climb step by step. . . . the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life, an upper level—such a one as reached by the ancient men who are spoken of in the (name-changing) ritual, who threw away the names by which they had been known before (because of new and higher achievements). *Ru-tur-a-witt-pari*, "in a direction-he is actively-moving-to a point or goal-traveling"; this is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by doing like deeds.

773 visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it 829
is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled re- 628
counting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the 631
past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In
Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and on-
going life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the 796
year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first cer- 619
emony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, 631
a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a cere-
mony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. 778
(See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was
maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined to-
gether in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual 796
during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved 782

793
221
727

16

FINAL PREPARATIONS IN THE VILLAGE

000

The Chiefs Sit in Council—Announcements to the People—Personal Needs: Tobacco, Foods, Clothing—Estimates of Food Taken for a Family

FOUR DAYS MORE and they would all be gone on their summer journey. 628
All the chiefs of the different bands were sitting in council to plan their 623
strategy. White Eagle, who was to lead the hunt, had called in representa- 203
tives of the four villages, and now as they reached their decisions he sent 224*
his errand man, Know-His-Face, to Curly Chief of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band to inform him of their plan. Curly Chief would relay the message through his errand man to the council of the Begging-for-Meat Band which was gathered in the lodge of Man Chief. Man Chief in his turn sent his messenger to Many Trophies, Chief of the Man-Going-Downstream Band, in whose lodge their council was meeting. Meanwhile Know-His-Face had returned to the Skidi council and reported what reaction Curly Chief had had to their plans. If the council were still in session they would get the message directly; otherwise they would hear indirectly. This was the usual form by which the four bands coordinated their administration throughout the year in the settlement and this continued in the same way while on the march. When an errand man or envoy came to a chief with a message from another chief, he was received formally and entertained as an emissary of the chief who had sent him, offered a smoke and a meal, before it was proper for him to state what he was sent for. If the chiefs' meeting should break up too late in the afternoon, the council would wait to send out their errand man until the next morning so that he could be received with due formality and the rest of the chiefs would have a chance to send out their envoys to the other bands in a suitable manner.

• 628 Just as the meeting was drawing to a close, as in all chiefs' meetings, an
623 old man would climb up onto the roof of the lodge and cry out to the village
203 what had been decided. In this case he did so early next morning.
*224 His wording was in a precise telegraphic style so that it could be clearly understood by everyone. He said:

> This was what was decided in the chiefs' meeting. White Eagle decided we are going to hunt in four days. Anything you have to do, get finished in that time. On the fifth day, we'll go out of the village. We'll camp on the other (south) side of the Loup River (*its-kari*, "potatoes-many").
>
> We'll camp there a whole day so that any of you that aren't quite through can join us any time that day and up to the evening of the sixth day. On the seventh day we are going to be moving upstream (westward).

The old man, having completed his announcement, went back into his
*224 lodge.
887 Toward evening any old man who felt impelled might get up onto the roof of his house and talk to the people. He would say whatever was on
537 his mind—about events in the past and their lessons for the future, or any
[789] other matters that seemed pertinent. Reviewing past events that were successful was considered a kind of sympathetic magic as well as of practical value. At this time the old man might talk about the fields and of how they were in the past. "All that," he would conclude "is in the past. But today we may have the same luck." Then he would continue in a different vein: "Try to help one another and take care of the children. The little ones like to swim and one must watch that they don't drown. I hope we come home well and find everything in good order."

*224 Such an old man was likely to speak gently and phrase his thoughts
525 diplomatically and people listened carefully and thought about what he said. However, at the gambling grounds the gamblers had other matters on their minds. They were thinking about the good places they would come to along the way that were nice and smooth, with good buffalo grass growing on them—such a fine playing field for the hoop and pole game. They would discuss the different sites they were going to camp at where these would be found and agree between them that one would take along one stick and one the other so that they would have the equipment they needed for playing. For the inveterate gambler, this subject was always uppermost in his mind.

*224 Other men were thinking about how to get enough smoking tobacco
276 to fill their needs, and the doctors were occupied with the herbs and
756 medicines they would need to take along that were available only in this area. The tobacco was needed for ritual as well as for social purposes.

buffalo surround had been made exclusively by the elite, now while they 224*
were en route to Camp 11, every able-bodied hunter in the entire tribe 484*
would make a concerted attack on the herd. To guide the line of march 361
overland from Camp 10 to Camp 11 took considerable skill. They left the Platte by following southeast and upstream along Plum Creek almost to its source, and then headed somewhat in the same direction overland to the head of another small stream, Turkey Creek, that flows due south into the Republican. They traveled southward along the west bank of Turkey Creek, and the line of march halted about midway and combined all the baggage they could so as to free as many horses as possible for the hunters. The line of march proceeded to the confluence of Turkey Creek and the Republican, where they set up Camp 11 in preparation for the arrival of the hunters with the meat and hides. They would remain there for some days as they would have a great quantity of meat and hides to process. This was about the end of July. The place is west of the present town of Naponee, Nebraska. Four mass forays would be made by all the bands in concert, after which the bands would separate and follow their own fortunes.

Officially, White Eagle was in charge of all the bands. However, he 224*
chose to make a number of diplomatic gestures in this connection. On 622
two occasions he deferred his leadership of the hunt episode to chiefs of 628
the other bands, with whom the Skidi had a special kind of political 276
relationship. This was a relationship established through the calumet or 574
peace pipe. The calumet was not so much a treaty-making symbol as an elaborate ceremonial through which interband and intertribal trade was carried on, the pipe, therefore, being a sign of peaceful intention and
thus a safe-conduct pass through alien territory. In 1672, Marquette [175]
carried one down the Mississippi and was able to establish peaceful relations with all the tribes along the way. Other tribes agree that the 574
ceremonial originated with the Pawnees. The ceremony was always carried 276
on in terms of a visiting party bringing gifts. The visitors, who were [431]
called "fathers" by their hosts, brought with them dried vegetables, bowls, and cooking utensils; decorated clothing, and blankets; "jewelry" and ornamental objects; and—most valued of all—the highly decorated pipe stems that were symbolic of the male and female eagle. The visiting party might number a hundred or more. An earth lodge was set aside by the hosts for the ceremonial and for the leaders of the party. The rest of the visitors had brought their own tents and camping equipment as well as all the food supplies and utensils that they would need. It took almost a year for a man to initiate such an enterprise. In the party were always included a chief, a priest, and a doctor. The hosts who received the party were called "Children" by the visitors, who assisted the hosts with their planting and other work so that they would be free to
attend the ceremonies. When the ceremony was over, the guests, in [431]

26

THE MEETING IN THE COUNCIL TENT

000

Selection and Installation of Military Police—Description of Council Meeting—Duties of Military Pilice—a Second Meeting after Second Attack on Herd—Stories Told

623
628
While his family was busy slicing the meat and processing the hides, Victory Call went to the council tent to meet with the other chiefs, braves, and prominent hunters. His usual practice was to set out about three-thirty in the afternoon after he had eaten and rested and go to White Eagle's large council tent where others would be congregated. On the first night the camp was set up on Turkey Creek, the council meeting was of a more formal character. It was for the selection and installation of the military police. [625]

[344] White Eagle's wives had set up an exceptionally large curve-roofed tent to accommodate the council. They had to rush with their work for the family when White Eagle arrived with the meat in order to be ready to leave when the council came in. On this particular evening White Eagle sent for his chief errand man, Know-His-Face. He was to go to the head chief of each of the four Skidi villages to ask him to come in the evening with ten of his prominent men. Each chief in his turn called his subchiefs, braves, and "boys" to his tent. When they were all there, they [344] lined up in order of rank and walked over to the council tent, where they seated themselves formally in their appointed positions. The tent was open to the east, and had a sacred area at the west. The four chiefs sat in the semicardinal positions, their respective braves ranging inward toward the cardinal positions at the north and south. At the northwest was Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, his braves ranging in an arc from northwest to north. At the northeast was Feared-by-the-Enemy

of Wolf-in-Water-Village with his braves ranging inward from northeast 623
to north. On the south side were Lone Chief at the southwest, his braves 628
ranging from southwest to south, and finally Eagle Chief in the host position at the southeast with his braves reaching inward toward the south station. In front of the braves in a sort of inner arc were the "boys" of their respective villages. No one could properly be seated in front of a chief. Outside the curve-roofed shelter to the north of the entrance, was a long oblong fireplace and a small token fire was made in the middle of the tent with a few coals for the ceremonial offerings. Forty people were in the council tent that evening, ten from each village.

Eagle Chief of the host village of Pumpkin-Vine spoke first and addressed Leading Chief of Bottomlands Village who sat at the Northwest. After he and some prominent men from his village had spoken the initiative passed to Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge, who also spoke as well as his brave and others of his village. Then Feared-by-the-Enemy at the northeast, of Wolf-in-Water Village, who passed it back to Eagle Chief in the host position at the southeast. The final responsibility was given to Leading Chief of Bottomlands, who was bound to accept—for White Eagle, who was leading the hunt, was married into his village. He now took up the directive and passed it to his head brave Strikes-the-Enemy, who, to everyone's relief, accepted the difficult post as head military policeman.

The paraphernalia of the appropriate military society, the Two Lance 623
or Horse Society, was in the Wolf-in-Water Village, and the chief, 701
Feared-by-the-Enemy, called on Chief's Road who had the lances and 625
lance covers in his tent to send for them, and Angry Horse to send for the crow-feather belt with the sleigh bells on it that the head policeman was to wear. The two lance covers in their rawhide cases were brought in and the two long sticks on which they were to be placed. If there was still enough daylight, the covers would be taken from their cases, put on the sticks, taken outside the tent, and planted in the ground in front of it so that the wind could strike the feathers and they could be seen by Heaven. By sundown, Chief's Road would instruct the chiefs at the west how to fold up the covers with their feathers into their cases for the night.

The head policeman selected his second brave to assist him, along 625
with two from each of the other three Skidi villages. When the people [628]
in camp saw the feathered lances outside, they knew that the council tent had been officially established and they wanted to know who had been selected as chief of police and who the others were. Some thought Strikes-the-Enemy was too severe, others not.

Very early next morning, just before sunrise, the lances were reinstalled outside the council tent. The new chief of police, Strikes-the-Enemy, donned his crow-feather belt with the sleigh bells on it and,

After the four major hunt episodes, the four bands went their own 224*
ways, but within the bands the military police continued their power 484*
until they were actually on their return journey. The sending of the 625
scouts early in the morning and the plan as to where they should go was 628
now assigned by White Eagle to the chief of the police, a similar plan being followed in each of the other two bands when their chiefs took the lead.

The next afternoon, after they had made a second major attack on the 623
buffalo herd, there was a very large meeting in the council tent. At least 574
five sets of ribs were donated by each of the four Skidi villages, and five 224*
or six buckets of boiled corn kernels by wives of the leading men in
their names. Two women, one in front and one behind, would come with 628
the long "digging iron" stick resting between them on their right shoulders with the kettle of corn hanging from it, bringing it to the council tent and saying, "This is so-and-so's."

After proper offerings had been made to White Eagle's sacred Left 623
Hand bundle, they ate roasted ribs and then corn, and told in detail all 574
the happenings of the hunt. Some of the men then began to go back to
their own tents while the prominent citizens remained, the older men be- 538
ginning to tell "tall stories" of times gone by. They lingered so long in 224*
the Skidi council tent that night that Many Trophies of the Pitahawirata 628
Band had to send his errand man to find out what the plans for the next day were to be, and then trot off to tell the chiefs of the other two bands.

As they sat in the tent, one old man said, "When I was young, I came close to a buffalo once and shot it with my arrow and the arrow went right through and came out the other side." Another old man now tops that one and says, "I did that once and when my arrow came through it shot a jack rabbit sitting on the other side." Old Man Pitsu'u (Arrived) now adds his tale, "I chased a bison, and you know they have long hair and as I chased him I saw something shiny on his neck. I thought it was a rock, but after I killed him and tied my horse to his leg, I looked and saw that he had a chief's medal around his neck. 'I wonder how he got that medal,' I thought, 'that bull must have been to Washington!' It wasn't on a ribbon though, but on a buckskin string. Now how do you think that bison got that medal around his neck?"

Different answers were posed one of which gave an account of a chief who had been killed and the bison rolling nearby, thus acquired the medal. "Now," said That Chief, "tell us Eagle Chief what you think?" "I'll tell you what might have happened," says Eagle Chief, "A Cheyenne or Comanche might have roped this bison while he was young and maybe he wanted to be blessed and put his medal on the calf. He might say, 'I'm giving you this medal. I want you to bless me. I'll let you free.'"

It appears that no one was ready to top this, so this story rested. Then Charley Buffalo began to tell of his fancy exploits somewhat embel-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

• 628

623 lished until it got very late and the old men fell asleep where they were
*224 sitting while the rest went home.

[574] From now on they would meet in the council tent, especially the most
[538] prominent men, throughout the hunt.

28

THE FOURTH MAJOR ATTACK ON THE HERD

Decisions Made for Further Hunting—the Camp Heads South to the Republican River—the Attack—the Blessed Meat 000

224* 484* After the second very successful attack on the herd, the animals north of the Republican River were pretty well scattered and the scouts located the herd south of the river. It was decided that they should remain at Camp 11 on Turkey Creek, but the hunters would cross over for the hunt and bring the meat back north over the river to the camp. They would have to leave the "rumpbones" and backbone behind and bring the rest of the meat that could be more readily transported. As the buffalo appeared to be getting scarce in this location, White Eagle decided to give over the leadership of the fourth hunt episode to Many Trophies of the Man-Going-Downstream Band. There was some complaint on the part of the council members, as they knew he would lead them far to the south along the Solomon River, but White Eagle reminded them that they were "Fathers" in the Peace Pipe trade relationship with the Downstream Band, who, as their "Children," had given them many horses which even now were carrying them to the hunt. White Eagle gave them an extra day to prepare everything and to get ready to move camp, to which the chiefs of the other bands were agreed.

224* 484* 625 628 After they broke camp next morning the line of march would set out in formal order, all except the old ladies who had gone ahead long before. Chief Many Trophies of Downstream Band had instructed his military police to see that scouts were sent out before dawn. In the Skidi camp, Strikes-the-Enemy, as Chief of Military Police, was riding back and forth in front of the council tent wearing his official belt and carrying his

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 *484 club. The errand man was going through the camp repeating his announcement and waking everyone.

625 •628 Finally the tents were all folded and the police moved back and forth among the camps. They would head south for the Republican River and cross it. In the Skidi camp, Strikes-the-Enemy led off and behind him Chief White Eagle. Then the two lance bearers following on foot, one on each side, the feathers of the lances flying as they went. Behind these came the other chiefs and then the rest of the people. The leaders advanced for fifteen or twenty minutes and then stopped, waiting for the others to join them.

Each band had its own officers in the lead as they proceeded in parallel columns, stopping at their special crossing place in the river and lining up to go over. The men with lances rode over first, followed by the other leaders on horseback, in order to pack down the sand. Those that were walking across took off their moccasins and leggings and rolled them in their blankets which they were wearing on their backs. By this time most of the people were walking, leading their horses which were heavily loaded.

*224 *484 It was the lance bearers that gave the signal for the line of march to proceed. They would move ahead and, when they came to a stopping place, plant their lances upright in the ground. Then when they were signaling to move ahead, one would pull out his lance and say "ru," and in rapid succession the second man would pull out his lance and say "ru," then the line would again move forward. The south side of the river has a "bench" or step and then above it a high bank. When the lance bearers got to the first bench they planted their lances and sat down to smoke and wait for the others. Then when they caught up, the lance bearers pulled out their lances calling "ru, ru," and hurried up to the high bank, where they again repeated the procedure. The line of march proceeded southward and overland until they reached the head of Cedar Creek which flowed southeastward into the Solomon River in the Kansas drainage. The scouts had reported that the herd was moving eastward along the Solomon and as the line of march traveled south on the west bank of Cedar Creek, they halted within five or six miles of the herd, consolidating their baggage in order to release as many horses as possible to any effective hunter. The lance bearers tied their lances to the saddles of their load mares and rode off to the chase with the rest of the hunters.

*224 *484 625 628 Crossing southward over the hills, they could see buffalo from the hilltops when they were within three or four miles of the river. The Head Policeman had sent two or three of his men to find a suitable hollow in which the whole line of hunters could conceal itself. This was found two miles short of the herd, and there Chief Many Trophies asked his prophet to make his devotions. The military police of the several

bands were busy restraining the hunters from anticipating the attack of 224*
the group. The herd was very widely scattered over the land and they 484*
were coming up from the river to graze. They could not manage the 625
usual surround, so the hunters dashed ahead over and around the several 628
hills that lay between them and the herd.

Meanwhile the line of march had been holding back, proceeding very slowly so that they would not interfere with the hunt itself. When the men had completed their attack on the herd, the encampment was set up in the angle of the confluence of Cedar Creek and the Solomon.

The hunt having been successful under the leadership of Chief Many 224*
Trophies, an old priest of the Downstream Band came walking through 793
the camps. He represented the tradition of the sacred bundle under 782
whose auspices the hunt had been conducted. He wore a war bonnet 778
with feathers all around his head, possibly symbolizing a comet, and 628
around his waist a buffalo robe that hung down about his legs. In his right hand he held the sacred pipe and over his left arm he was carrying some breast meat and some fat. All along the way men and boys from the four bands were trailing after him.

When he stopped at the west of the encampment, everyone lined up. He placed the pipe against the meat and fat, then raised the latter up toward the west four times in offering. Just as he was about to put the meat and fat on the ground, the whole crowd pounced on it and tried to grab a piece of meat and fat to bless their homes. They grabbed from one another on all sides, with the little boys scampering out of the way for fear of getting hurt. The old man, meanwhile, picked up his pipe and went north around the camp to his own tent. The other two South Bands also had their special band bundles, the Asking-for-Meat Band had a very sacred Ant bundle, and the Little-Earth-Lodge Band, a Raccoon bundle.

was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the 243 778
altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo 782
might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could 772
not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of 221
alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic.
The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other
in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers
of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As [823]
these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their [778]
biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for
each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through
the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these
alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation
of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his
political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different 243
aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under 778
the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when
the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four [776]
semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression
of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity,
Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in 796
their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under 628
the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented [778]
the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all
together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Pole Ceremony*—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken [823]
together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony
warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was
safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant 796 778
"ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of 243
its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the 243 778
priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to 793
settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four [533]
[535]

55

ARRANGING THE ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP

000

Meetings with the Interpreter, Behaille—Discussion of Arrangements with U.S. Government—Band Is Chosen to Lead Hunt—Final Preparations

221 THE TIME WHEN EVERYONE began to think in earnest about leaving for
*224 the hunt was between the tenth and fifteenth of November, when the
wind got colder from the north. Men from the different bands would
meet in the trade store and talk it over. They wanted to travel before the
cold was too severe.

648 In September 1857 the Pawnees had signed a treaty with the United
States Government agreeing to cease all hostilities between them, to cede
some of their lands, and to move onto a restricted territory. The United
States in return acknowledged its military responsibility to provide the
Pawnees with protection and its financial obligation to pay an annuity
for the ceded lands. By 1867 the military alliance was further solidified
[701] when a considerable number of Pawnees were organized into a U. S.
Cavalry Battalion under Major Frank North to protect surveyors and
tracklayers of the Union Pacific from attacks by other tribes.

*224 Before leaving for the hunt, they would consult with the U. S. Indian
648 Agent concerning their annuity payments and any military arrangements
that had to be made. The mixed-blood interpreter, Behaille, went to visit
his nephew, Lone Chief, to discuss with him the time and conditions of
leaving. The annuity had not yet arrived and the question was whether
or not to set out without it. There was in fact no question, as the time
of its arrival was too uncertain to depend upon, and they could not afford
*224 to wait. Lone Chief called in Eagle Chief, and they agreed that the day
648 after next the chiefs and important braves were to meet in council with
623 the agent about it. Behaille would entertain them all at a simple outdoor
•628 lunch about noon at his home near the agency where they could dis-

cuss their strategy. Lone Chief sent his young nephew, Hawk Chief, to 224
give the message to the leading chiefs of the three other bands, and in 648
each case he was royally entertained as befitted his uncle's position. 623
He returned loaded with gifts of dry meat, and from the chief of the 628
Asking-for-Meat Band he received a new white blanket because of the Peace Pipe relationship between Lone Chief's village and their band. As he moved proudly through the South Bands villages sporting his new blanket, everyone realized that important matters had been discussed, and the more prominent personalities awaited further notification. The more curious among them would wander into the chief's lodge and find out what was discussed and then spread the gossip.

Next morning at about nine or ten, two chiefs from each of the bands with their braves and some of the outstanding "Boys" arrived and were seated on a large tent skin outdoors provided by Behaille's wife. There were four cushions at the west for the leading personalities. Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band sat on the southwest pillow and his fellow chief next to him with their braves extending inward toward the south. At the west on the north side was Many Trophies of the Man-Going-Downstream Band and at his left, Curly Chief of the Little-Earth-Lodge, with the braves of the two bands indiscriminately ranged along the side. The "boys" of the various bands were scattered wherever places happened to be available. These arrangements have a particular interest, for this is the only record I have of the four bands meeting together in a council rather than sending commisaries back and forth between them. Behaille as host [574]
simply stated that this was merely an informal meal and proceeded to select boys from each of the four bands who carried a wooden bowl for each two guests from the chiefs all the way down the line, each person receiving a round piece of grease bread, some prunes, and some coffee. After the meal, Behaille stated the questions at issue, and when all who wanted to had had a chance to speak and all had agreed on the decision, he instructed them as to how to proceed with the agent so as not to commit themselves to anything more than they intended. He said, "I want four to talk and say just what I say now—nothing else. Say only, 'It's not cold yet. We want to go, agent. You hold the money. That's what I want to tell you.' I want Man Chief to talk first," he said, "then Curly Chief, then Many Trophies and then our chief, Eagle Chief. Just say what I have said, and no more. That's the best thing for you to do."

With this sage advice, they all crowded into the agent's office, the Pawnees sitting on the floor, the agent in his chair. The agent said, "If you want to wait, I can write in to the department, but it will probably be at least a month before I hear." To this one of the chiefs remarked, "By then we could be halfway to the hunting grounds."

As agreed, Man Chief got up and shook the agent's hand and stood back, calling Behaille to interpret for him. He said, "I want you to tell

*224 648 623 • 628 our grandfather that I think it would be best for me if he held the goods and money until I come back. I want to go buffalo hunting first." "That's all right," said the agent, "It's still warm enough to cross the rivers." "That's why I want to go as soon as we can," said Man Chief. "Now that's all I want to say." Then he went up and shook the agent's hand again and went back to his seat and Curly Chief came up and went through the same procedure saying, "I heard what he said and I agree with him entirely. We don't want to have to cross the rivers when the water is real cold and there is ice floating in them." The other two chiefs did the same and then one of the braves was moved to speak and he said, "Agent, you have heard the chiefs of the different bands. I mean to say as they did." Then the brave turned around to the rest of the assembled company and put it more or less to a voice vote by saying, "Nawa, ha'a?" ("How about it?") and they all replied, "Yes." The agent closed the meeting saying, "I wanted to hear what you chiefs, braves, and boys were going to do."

Back at the villages people were remarking with some sarcasm, "Well, of course it's quite all right about not getting our goods. We can get our own buffalo robes and leggings."

In the agent's office, Eagle Chief decided that this was a good opportunity to speed up the process of choosing which band was going to lead the hunt. He named Man Chief, and, with due modesty, Man Chief rested his head in his hands for a few minutes and then accepted. It was understood that from this point on Man Chief would make the final decisions with regard to the joint hunt—the time of leaving the village, the place of rendezvous, route to be traveled, scouting parties, religious observances, and that his messengers would carry his decisions to the chiefs of the other bands as they went along.

*224 623 [624] When the chiefs got back to their respective bands, each one found a conclave of his other chiefs and braves awaiting him in his lodge. His wife served an informal meal while he told of the decisions that had been reached. Ten days before leaving, Man Chief called his ritual chiefs' meeting, and the other bands called theirs concurrently with his. The errand man went through the village while the meetings were in session announcing the decisions. He said, "Man Chief has given us ten days to get ready. Whatever you have to do, get it ready before that time. If you have a tent to sew, sew it up right now. If you have something to do with the food pit, you have a chance to do it in these ten days. And you arrow makers, try to make as many as you can. And womenfolks, try to look at your husbands' feet to see if they have good moccasins. Prepare. We must go as soon as Man Chief says so." As he was making his announcement, some women remembered that they had only two mats and had to make another; others recalled that they had to make a buffalo robe to trade at the store.

56

PLANS AND PROVISIONS FOR THE HUNT

Plan of Journey—Provisions—Stay-at-Homes on Grand Island—Special Foods Found There—List of Food Taken for Journey—Allowances for Rain and Enemy Attack 000

FOUR DAYS BEFORE LEAVING TIME, Man Chief would have a meeting to 623
draw up final plans. Eagle Chief would have been waiting in his lodge to 628
get word and others would have gathered there. Food was served to all 224*
and the Tsawi errand man delivered his message giving the itinerary. 484*
Their rendezvous camp was almost due south on the north bank of the Platte. The next day they would cross the river and spend a whole day waiting for any stragglers to catch up. The plan further was that all would continue then to Fort Kearney on Grand Island, traveling along the south bank of the Platte, then crossing the channel north onto the island. There a permanent camp could be set up for any "Stay-at-Homes," *kaa-kusu* ("at home-stay"), "who have very few or no horses." This plan differed from the summer when the Stay-at-Homes had to remain near their villages. In the summer, Grand Island was ridden with mosquitoes, but now it was green and pleasant and sheltered from the worst winds.

The matter of provisioning this winter expedition was also somewhat 224*
different from the summer, as certain favorite wild foods were ripe and 484*
could be gathered in quantity. The two most important were Indian po- 222
tatoes, *Glycine apios* L., and black-eye peas, *Falcata comosa* (L.) Kuntze, popularly known to us as ground beans. The beans were hoarded by the wood rat or vole and were gathered by raiding the hoards. The women would find the track of the rat that led them to the beans. Our lima beans were considered like them by the old Indian women. The plant bears two types of beans, one on the upper leafy branches that are not used and the

*224 264 They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four sets.

*224 623 • 628 The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates from the villages.

*224 623 793 [701] [625] [778] The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening Star bundle.

*224 623 628 793 [625] [574] [264] Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill. Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief. The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief, who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

*224 623 625 574 [293] The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head policeman War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

*224 623 562 [25] Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

*224 [793] [825] The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican. When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of

calf with a long body that they called "Calf-That-Has-a-Rope" signifying that it was a calf around whom the herd gathers like a circular rope. 224* 825
They believed that when this calf was killed, all the buffalo were impelled to come seeking it. On the other hand, if they did not succeed in killing it, the herd would turn back when attacked. It took an exceptionally fast horse to kill this calf and Jim Bear (also known as In-the-Front-Line) managed to overtake it and kill it because, as he said with characteristic modesty, "the calf got tired running in the deep snow." Now the buffalo were running eastward in a vast herd along the south side of the river. They knew they wouldn't have to go any further for this hunting expedition, but could set up a permanent encampment at a place called Many Deer to the west of Turkey Creek, for the herd were sure to continue coming in this direction. When they set up camp at Many Deer they could hear the roar of the herd. The skin of the special calf who had been herd leader was donated to Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village as a wrap for its sacred bundle. 224* [361]

Meanwhile, at Turkey Creek, after the Skidi scouts had gone out, Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band announced his plan to go to a place to the south that the South Bands preferred. Eagle Chief sent back a message that they were unable to join him as his scouts had already killed some buffalo to the west. It was then understood that the four bands would part, and no rancor whatever was involved. The Man-Going-Downstream Band joined Man Chief, while the Little-Earth-Lodge Band had a place they liked to camp they called, "Where-the-Cane-Plants-Are-Sitting-up-Against." This was located on the south side of the Republican just about opposite the Skidi camp of Many Deer that was on the north bank of the river. They all stayed at Turkey Creek for an extra day to give the women a chance to cure the meat and prepare the hides, and then the bands went to their several destinations. 224* 628

778 come. While all these bundles had their individualities, they had certain
ceremonies in common: thus at the sound of the first thunder in spring,
[782] the keeper of each bundle must immediately open it with the proper procedure and make an offering of dried buffalo meat to the powers in the west.[1]
This offering is burned, but after the ceremony the remaining meat is
cooked and served.

As to how far this applied to the other divisions of the Pawnee, cannot
184 be determined for they have not preserved their bundles and rituals to the
778 same extent as have the Skidí. The Chauí are known to have had three
bundles, the Pítahauírata, two; but those of the Kit'kaháxki passed out so
long ago that no definite number can be enumerated. The rituals of all
these bundles were seemingly different from those of the Skidí in that so
far as we know they did not have the regular thunder ceremony, but consecrated the bundles to certain animals. It is not known for certain if the
sacred ears of corn were kept in these bundles as in those of the Skidí, but
there are some reasons for believing that they were.

103 In the Skidí scheme there were thirteen villages, each of which had a bundle:—

361 1 Tu^{h}rikaku^h, center village; the Evening Star bundle.

631 2 Kitkahapaku^{h}tu, old village; the four leading bundles are kept in
778 this village.

3 Tu^{h}hitspiat, stretching out in the bottom lands.

4 Tu^{h}kitskita, village on branch of a river.

5 Tu^{h}wahukasa, village stretching across a hill; the Morningstar bundle. (This bundle was finally divided into two.)

6 Aríkararikuchu, big antlered elk standing.

7 Arikarariki^h, small antlered elk standing.

8 Tu^{h}huchaku, village in a ravine; the left hand bundle, all use left hands in the ceremony.

9 Tu^{h}warakaku, village in thick timber.

10 Akapaxsawa, skull painted on tipi.

11 Skisa rikus, fish hawk.

12 Stixkautit, black ear of corn.

13 Turawi, part of a village.

631 These thirteen villages were organized or federated under this bundle
778 scheme and so had a common government. The supreme, or original

---

[821] [1] The Evening Star (calf bundle) is the chief power in the west. Four other stars in the west represent the clouds, thunders, lightning, and the winds, or the four leading bundles. These four stars are supposedly sitting in the west, acting as priests. They are sitting there with a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat; also, they are sitting with a hill of corn, the stalks always green, and a place in front of them as the altar.

authority resided in the evening star bundle[1] of the center village, but at 631
the time of the federation of these villages, powers were delegated to four, 778
special or main bundles which in turn served as the basis of the governing power. These were:—

1. The Yellow Tipi, or Yellow Star bundle, pertaining to the powers of the Northwest (akarákata, yellow tipi).
2. The Mother-born-again, or White Star bundle, the powers of the Southwest (atíratatariwáta, mother born again).
3. The Leading Cornstalk, or Red Star bundle, the power of the Southeast (skawá"ha kitáwi, literally, a lucky woman as leader, but refers to a corn symbol).
4. The Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, or the bundle "with a round thing tied on" pertains to the Northeast (riwiruchaku, round thing on).

To this list may be added the Human Skull bundle and the North Star bundle. These bundles may be said to be general in the sense that they are attached to no particular village but minister to the Skidí at large.

There were, however, two independent Skidí villages that refused to enter the federation. These were the Squash Vine village (pahukstatu) and Wolf-standing-in-water village (skirirara). Each of these villages had a bundle, but little in common with the ritual scheme of the federated villages.

The federation of the thirteen villages is represented and formalized in a 346
ceremony known as the four-pole ceremony. For this a circular embank- 631
ment was thrown up with an opening to the east. Out in front of this 796
entrance was a small mound of earth taken from the fire pit and inside at the west a raised altar platform. Around the inside of the ring of earth was a screen of green branches set up in the ground. Arranged around the fireplace were four poles bearing a tuft of branches at the top; a white pole of cottonwood, a red of box elder, a black of elm, and a yellow of willow. In the ceremony the bundles enumerated above and their keepers had fixed positions according to their rank and the geographical relations of the respective villages. As will be noted in the diagram most of the bundles are upon the north side of the enclosure, these lived on the north side of the Loupe River, the others upon the south side. The positions of the priests of the bundles are shown in the diagram and in the ceremony the bundles are opened before them in order (Fig. 1).

631
The leading bundles are associated with the four poles, according to the 778
colors as stated in their enumeration. These bundles, poles, colors, etc., 796

---

[1] The Evening Star, or red calf bundle (aripahat, red calf) may be called upon in time of need to supplement the powers of a leading bundle. Because of this relation to the four leading bundles it is sometimes called rakatira (lay across them).

631 778 796 represent the powers in the four quarters of the world and also stand for spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but in no fixed order, the season a bundle represents being determined by the order of the ceremony.

631 773 A brief abstract of the mythical account of the inauguration of this federation may make the foregoing clearer:—

[778]
[796]

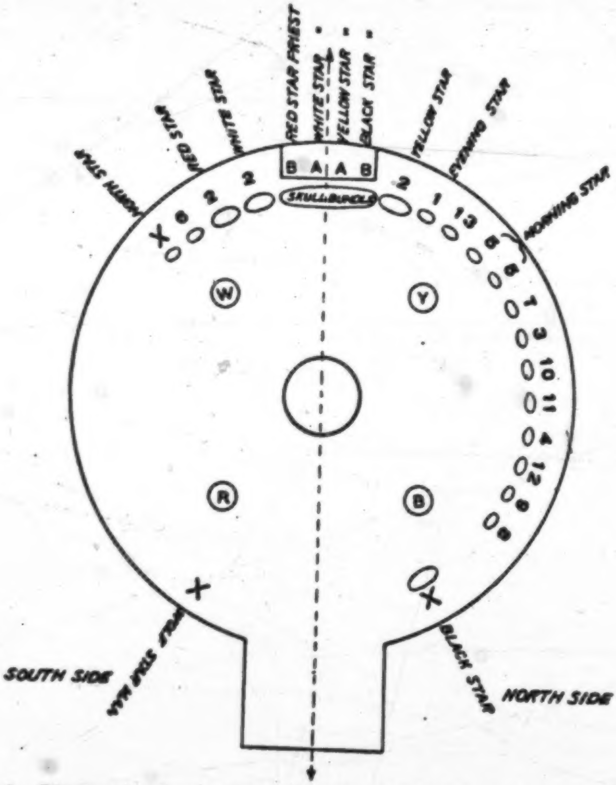

RED STAR PRIEST
WHITE STAR
YELLOW STAR
BLACK STAR
NORTH STAR
RED STAR
WHITE STAR
YELLOW STAR
EVENING STAR
MORNING STAR
B
A
A
B
SKULL BUNDLE
2
2
6
X
2
1
13
5
6
7
3
10
11
4
12
8
9
W
Y
R
B
X
X
SOUTH STAR
BLACK STAR
SOUTH SIDE
NORTH SIDE

Fig. 1. Diagram showing the Seats of Priests and their Village Bundles, in the Four-pole Ceremony. The numerals are from the table of villages in the text. The places of the four main bundles and the special bundles are designated by their respective names.

Evening Star (Venus) is the keeper of the firesticks which she received when she married Morning Star (Mars). He was the ruling spirit to the east of the milky way. Evening Star was a beautiful woman and very powerful. She was opposed to the creation of the earth and man and had overcome all the stars seeking her in marriage. Supporting her were four great powers, or stars, the Bear, Panther, Wildcat, and Wolf. There was also a great serpent group of stars. Morning Star

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

overcame all of these in turn. Thus, he secured Evening Star. Then follows the 631
familiar vanquishing of vaginal teeth. In course of time, a daughter was born.
The earth was then created for the home of this child. The Sun and Moon became 773
parents of a boy and he also was placed upon the earth.

[346]
[778]
[796]

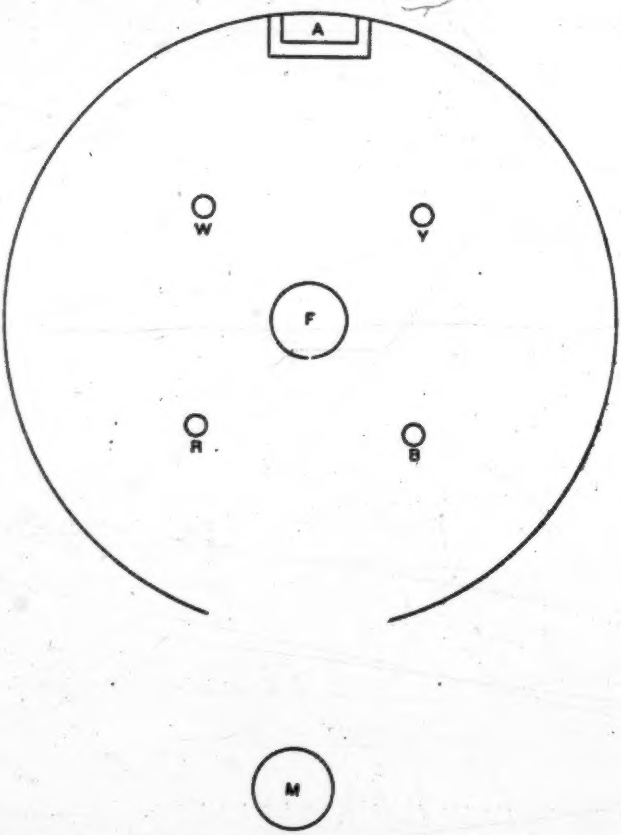


Fig. 2. Diagram of the earthwork Enclosure for the Four-pole Ceremony: A, altar for the buffalo skull; W, white pole (cottonwood); Y, yellow pole (willow); R, red pole (box alder); B, black pole (elm); F, fire pit; M, earth taken from the fire pit. During the ceremony a screen of green branches is set up inside the embankment. The poles are young trees trimmed to a few branches at the top. The seats and positions of bundles were as shown in Fig. 1.

After many years when the people were numerous, Morning Star demanded a human sacrifice as a return for his trials. Evening Star gave one man and woman directions for making the Yellow Calf bundle. Then Evening Star told him that there were many people scattered over the earth and that he should call them to-

631 773 gether. So Errand Man was sent out. From each village came the people with their sacred bundle. Errand Man told the chief that upon Elkhorn River he found a village of earth-lodges covered with squash vines in which a bundle ceremony was going on in consequence of which they refused to come. Also on Looking Glass Creek he came to a village where the people had just performed a ceremony to call the buffalo and as the buffalo were at hand, they could not accept the invitation. Most of the buffalo were killed upon the ice which during the day was covered with water. The wolves stood around the carcasses and many were caught by the feet as the ice formed at night. So these two villages did not take part in the general bundle ceremony and were known as the Squash Vine and Wolf-standing-in-the-water.

Those who had assembled now performed the four-pole ceremony. The keeper of the bundle and his priest occupied their regular seats at the back of the lodge and as the bundles of other villages arrived those from the north took seats on that side and those from the south upon the other. The village of the host was then called Center Village.

622 631 The special federation of these Skidi villages necessitated a governing organization different from that of the other divisions. The governing body was a society of chiefs, twelve or more in number. It seems that in principle there was to be one chief for each village bundle, though as such he had nothing to do with the bundle. When the chiefs society met in a lodge they took their seats in the same order as indicated in the diagram of the four-pole ceremony, but the bundles were not brought into the lodge. [202] Two errand men were members and sat by the door.[1] The chiefs were of equal rank and inherited their office. However, there was some selection, for the elderly men filled vacancies from those directly descended from chiefs. All the chiefs taken together constituted the tribal council of the Skidi.

631 793 The chiefs are, however, not the highest authority, that distinction belonging to the priests of the four main bundles. Their office is hereditary; each priest selects an assistant from his near relatives who thus becomes qualified to become priest in turn. In rotation the four leading priests take over the responsibility for the welfare of the people for one year, counting from the first thunder in the spring until fall. This chief priest is the highest authority; he is the source of final appeal and to him all acts of the council of chiefs must be referred. 224 631 778 793 The buffalo hunt in particular must be regulated according to the ritual of the bundle whose priest happens to be in charge. As noted above, the Red Calf bundle is superior to the leading bundles, but its priest cannot exercise authority except he be

---

[1] As noted above, two villages refused to join in the federation. Later, they were taken in and their chiefs were given seats in the vacant place on the south side of the lodge, but they were not permitted to enter the four-pole ceremony.

In case of the Pawnee, we may note the fine example of pattern phenomena 575 manifest in the adjustment of all kinds of ceremonies, original or 616 borrowed, to this scheme of two sides and alternate leadership.[1] Based 756 upon this fundamental pattern are two distinct patterns of organization: the lance-bearing societies and medicinemen's associations. From the preceding 796 concrete accounts it is clear that all of the lance organizations must have been constructed or adjusted to the plan of some one parent society. The same may be said of the medicinemen's associations. We have commented upon the apparent dual division of chiefs and medicinemen (p. 639), the bundle scheme being the province of the former and to which the medicinemen were individually subject, but professionally formed a second half for social control. This duality is seen in the organization of all bundles and related societies under the four-pole ceremony and in like manner the organization of the medicinemen under the twenty-day ceremony. Here again is clearly a similarity of pattern in the coordination schemes for two groups of activities.

Another important conception of the Pawnee is the bundle sanction. Thus, as keeper of the village bundle the chief rules by a kind of "divine 631 right," the highest exponent of which is the priest of the bundle, or the 778 keeper of the ritual. The hunt and the raising of grain were each guarded over and governed by virtue of bundle rituals. A lance society performed no public function except under the sanction of one of the bundles. Furthermore, the federation itself was based upon superior or leading bundles, from which the chiefs and priests derived their authority. One must suspect that the conception of a bundle sanction was so fundamental with the Pawnee, that the first step toward a federation was of necessity the creation of a series of superior bundles.

In keeping with the foregoing conceptions is the hereditary system. 611 Chiefs, priests, members of societies, etc. serve for life and endeavor to qualify some of their brothers and nephews to succeed them. In most organizations there were certain tests applied to the candidate for the ejection of the theoretically unfit, but these first chances were given to those whose brothers or uncles had been admitted to membership; likewise the priests of bundles must be those competent to perform the ritual, but here again the preference was given to maternal relatives. The important position of chief, or official keeper of the village bundle, was regarded as strictly hereditary to the next of kin, though incompetents were encouraged to decline the honor in favor of the next heir.

---

[1] A kind of dual leadership is found in many societies of the Oglala and Blackfoot, as shown in the preceding pages, but without any ceremonial associations or counterparts in other ceremonies, from which we infer that it reached these tribes as an objective part of a borrowed system. [171]

105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee
[171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but
they understood the arts of pottery-making and basket-weaving.
291 During the summer the men usually
wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings
and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins,
leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned
on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe
do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The
302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made
301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced
the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings.
342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth
lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine
Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the
sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or
bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi.
The first three of these were closely related, but the
Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and
considered themselves more closely related to the
Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some distance
[361] to the north. In their settlements along the river,
the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi
being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest
downstream, and the other two bands between. Each
621 band was divided into a number of villages which were
social as well as geographical units. All the members
of a village believed themselves to be descended from
a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made
within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female
[778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) containing
[793] sacred objects, and priests who had charge of
the rituals and ceremonies connected with these objects.
622 It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a
council composed of its leading men. If the chief was
a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

authority, settled all difficulties, and preserved order. 622
He was expected to give freely, and was usually surrounded by dependents. His orders were enforced by 624
four men, called Nahikuts, who stood next to him in social position. Below these ranked the Kurahus or priests, who performed the ceremonies. Of still lower rank were the Kurau or medicine-men and the Narawiraris or warriors, while at the bottom of the scale came the remainder of the village.

The villages composing each band were held to- 631
gether by their religious ceremonies, in which each village had its place and share, and by the council, composed of the chiefs of all the villages. The tribe was similarly united, its council being made up of the councils of the bands. In the meetings of these councils rules of precedence and decorum were rigidly observed. No one could speak who was not entitled to a seat, although a few privileged men were permitted to be present as spectators.

The religion of the Pawnee seems, in certain re- 776
spects, to have reached a higher development than that of any of the other Plains tribes. In their pantheon Tirawa reigned supreme. To him the lesser gods of heaven and earth, as well as the people themselves, acknowledged authority. Tirawa ruled from his position above the clouds, and both created and governed the universe by means of commands executed by the lesser gods, who were subject to him. He was conceived of as a purely spiritual being, and was not identified with any object or natural phenomenon. Next in rank to Tirawa and his wife, the Vault of Heaven, stood the Evening Star, Tcuperikata. She maintained a garden in the west in which there were fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from which sprang all streams of life. Even the Sun renewed his fire nightly at her lodge. Through her four assistants, Wind, Cloud, Lightning, and Thunder, she

term "Pani" was employed by the French during the seventeenth and 101
eighteenth centuries to designate all Indian slaves, regardless of tribal 114
affiliations, perhaps because the majority of such slaves were captives from the tribe known as *Panis*.[12] Conversely, however, it has been suggested that the tribe may have derived its name from the old French term, without its originally having been connected with them at all.[13] The older form, "Pani", survived until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when, largely through the agency of early American explorers, it was superseded by the modern Pawnee, rarely Pawney.[14] Among themselves the people are called *Chahiksi-chahiks*, or "men of men."

NAMES AND GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BANDS

The unit of tribal organization among the Pawnee was the band.[15] 631
There were four of these, each in turn consisting of several subbands 621
and villages. The main bands, which are sufficient for present purposes, were known as the *Chaui* or Grand, the *Kitkehahki* or Republican, the *Pitahauerat* or Tappage, and the *Skidi*, or Wolf, Pawnee. Ordinarily each functioned as an independent unit, retaining charge of its own administrative and other affairs through a hereditary, but often purely nominal, chief, who was assisted in matters of importance by secondary chiefs and a council of the leading men. The Grands were generally recognized as the leading band, and where situations arose involving relationships between the several bands, [643]
or affecting the tribe as a whole, the principal chief of the Grands acted as spokesman and adviser for the entire tribe. The bands were endogamous, and each possessed its own sacred bundles and certain accompanying rituals, besides participatory privileges in various tribal ceremonies. The Skidi appear to have been less closely bound to the other bands than were these to one another, and they may have sprung from a somewhat different ancestry, or else possibly represent an earlier offshoot from the parent stock. In the present discussion the bands will be designated by their anglicized names, with the exception of the Skidi.

HISTORIC HABITAT AND ITS GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

The territory claimed by the Pawnee was bounded on the north 101
by the Niobrara River, on the south by the Arkansas or possibly 131
the Canadian, on the east by the Missouri, and on the west extended rather indefinitely toward the Rockies. Actually, however, it was

---

[12] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 199.

[13] Idem. Compare Lesser and Weltfish, op. cit.

[14] Ashley and Smith, 1918, p. 119.

[15] See Murie, 1914, pp. 549 ff.

• 631

[For information on the cooperative hunting activities of the various villages constituting the Skidi federation, see categories 224 and 628.]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

623
342
35
554

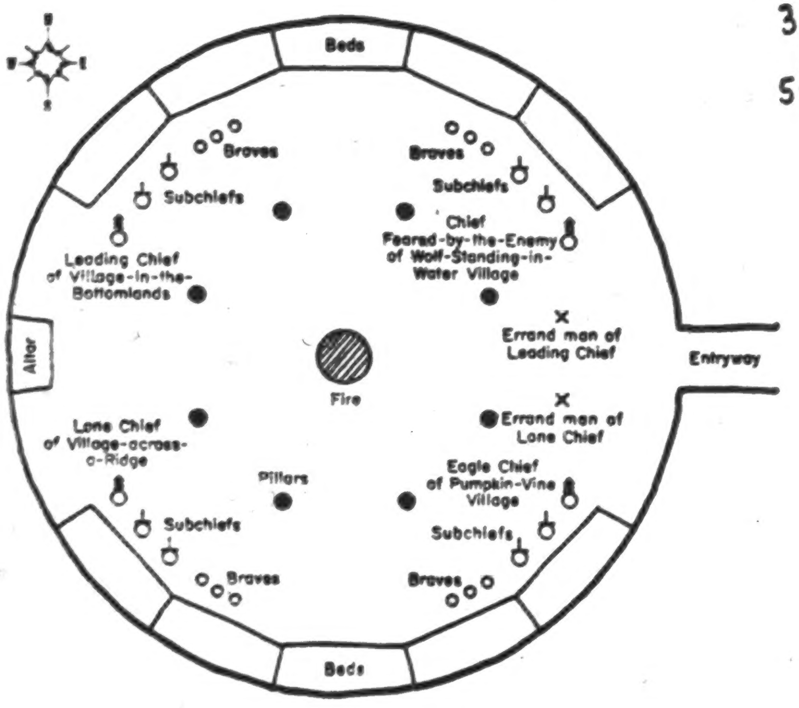

N
W
E
S
Beds
Braves
Subchiefs
Leading Chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands
Braves
Subchiefs
Chief Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village
Altar
Fire
Errand man of Leading Chief
Entryway
Errand man of Lone Chief
Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
Pillars
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Braves
Braves
Beds

FIGURE 5-2. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. Mats are placed in the outer circuit against the beds to accommodate larger numbers. Of the supposed twelve villages that formed the Skidi Federation in the past, four villages remained in 1867. Villages must have combined as their numbers were decimated. The original twelve sacred village bundles remained, and some of the subchiefs probably represented these assimilated villages. [631] [778]

This was the time for joking "so that everyone could laugh during the meal." The jokes were of a somewhat slapstick variety as they wanted to be sure that no one's feelings were hurt in any way. Ordinarily, while the social relationship with one's parents was quite formal and restrained, the relationship with the grandparents was in sharp contrast. It was a relationship of lively familiarity. Physical handling was rough-and-tumble, a grandfather sometimes pulling his grandson out of bed of a cold morning and dumping him in the snow to harden him; jokes were often leveled at the grandchild and answered in kind. The mode of kin reckoning often involved an extension of the immediate kin terms to more distant blood relatives, and it worked out so that people of similar ages might address

623
574
522
[593]
[603]
[601]
[602]

visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her 773
four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it [829
is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled recounting, 628
in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the 631]
past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and ongoing
life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the 796
year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first ceremony 619
being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, 631
a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a ceremony
under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. [778]
(See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual 796
during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved 782
[793]
[221]
[727]

blessing for all the people. These thoughts and feelings were expressed 622
in a characteristically Pawnee idiom: the chiefs were costumed as Heaven 796
itself and were told by their old leader, That-Chief, that they could not 224*
look to Heaven for their decisions as *they* were now Heaven and were carrying all its responsibilities for the well-being of the people. In this role they walked from house to house and received a gift of firewood from each.

As no ceremonial could be conducted unless there were a donation of dried buffalo meat, the buffalo hunt signified the entire ceremonial life as well. Lying on the ground in the ritual lodge there was the long buffalo steak that was the customary donation, and upon it the chiefs all blessed themselves. After the ceremony the chiefs blessed their children with what was left of the donated meat as Heaven had blessed their people.

Amid these ceremonial significances, they also took the practical step of choosing one of their number to assume leadership for the forthcoming hunt season.

The chiefs met twice a year just before the tribe planned to leave for 622
the buffalo hunt. The summer meeting was under the direction of the 619
Skull bundle, the winter meeting under that of the North Star whence 224*
the buffalo came at that time, driven southward by the cold. In view of 623
the historical events, priests were excluded from this ritual, only chiefs [793]
being present, and there could therefore be no ceremonial procedure. It was said that like their cosmic counterpart, the Corona Borealis, the chiefs simply sat around in a circle and talked.

We do not know how many villages joined the first federation, but at 619
the time of our account (c. 1867) there were sixteen chiefs' places in the 62
council, four for each of the Skidi villages. At the northeast was a place [631]
for Old-Man-That-Chief whose voice was final in all matters relating to chieftainship. Closest to the exit, one on the north and one on the south side, were the chiefs' errand men, *tarutsuhus*. The chief's errand man had a very important role to play, as he was the chief's envoy at all times. Like the chiefs, he held his position by heredity. He carried messages back and forth between the villages and to the other bands, and while the council was in session he kept carrying its decisions to the other bands, returning with their reactions to them. Both of the chief's errand men were mature, experienced men; the one, Heavy-Trophies, was also head sacred priest of the Skidi, while the other, Know-His-Face, was also a man of some social consequence. Old-Man-That-Chief carried the main direction of the ritual.

The ritual was held in rotation through the years in the lodges of the 796
different chiefs who were members of the council. On this occasion, 224*
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village was the host. On the morning of 622
the council he had sent the errand man, Know-His-Face, to issue the in- 623
vitations to the other chiefs and had the lodge prepared for their ar-

756
346

On the South Side	*On the North Side*
A *reindeer cult* in charge of Old Bull	*An eagle cult*
A *black-tailed deer* cult led by Old Lady Tsitawa (see p. 45)	A *fish hawk cult*
A *buffalo lodge* led by Wonderful Old Bull	A *coyote* lodge (including wolves and foxes)
Another *buffalo lodge* led by Leading Buffalo	A *bear* lodge jointly lead by Sitting Hawk and Angry Horse

173
756
178
[631]
756
796
532

The origin of the Associated Doctor Lodge was said to be in Pumpkin-Vine Village where they would conduct a twenty-day ceremony. When they joined the Skidi Federation, they incorporated the other doctors and extended the term to thirty days. The formation of the association was attributed to an original visionary and images were constructed to commemorate various aspects of his vision. The most elaborate was one that represented the serpentlike water monster that led him to the earth lodge of the animals under the Missouri. The body of the serpent, which was nearly 60 feet long, curved around the outside of the houseposts with its head at the southeast, a forked tail at the northeast, and its body curved toward the west. The body was constructed of a framework of pieces of ashwood tied with sinew, covered over with a layer of grass and plastered with clay, smoothed and painted in different colors. Its mouth, large enough for a man to crawl inside, was built of two rawhide containers, covered over with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with white downy eagle feathers. The open mouth was provided with large wedge-shaped cottonwood teeth and on each side of the mouth long slender willow rods to represent feelers or antennae.

They also had to model the figure of the witch woman who was in the visionary animal lodge under the Missouri. First they built up a willow frame and then covered it with grass and clay. They provided the witch with a realistically modeled face and pumpkin-seed eyes, blackened in the center to represent pupils. On her head they put a buffalo scalp to which they attached two long braids of human hair; for clothing she wore a buffalo-hide dress.

Next they modeled the fireplace into the shape of a turtle, with its head pointing east, its tail west and the four legs in the semicardinal directions. They scooped out the back for the fire pit.

It took twelve of the leading doctors two nights running to build these figures, for which large quantities of clay had to be brought in. They worked at night so that they would not be observed. These were the main figures that represented the vision in the animal lodge.

[776] The next task was to represent the star gods from whom everything

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

5, 79 James R. Murie, 1914, pp. 550-551, lists the names of thirteen villages, each of which he states had a sacred bundle, excepting the thirteenth, *Turawiu*, which was part of a village. The village names are: 361 103 778

1) *Turikaku* (Center Village), Evening Star bundle 631
2) *Kitkehaxpakuxtu* (Old Village), the four semicardinal direction bundles
3) *Tuhitspiat* (Stretching-Out-in-the-Bottomlands)
4) *Tukitskita* (Village-on-Branch-of-a-River)
5) *Tuwahukasa* (Village-Stretching-across-a-Hill), the Morning Star bundle (This bundle was divided into two.)
6) *Arikararikutsu* (Big-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
7) *Arikarariki* (Small-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
8) *Tuhutsaku* (Village-in-a-Ravine), the left hand bundle (All use left hands in the ceremony.)
9) *Tuwarakaku* (Village-in-Thick-Timber)
10) *Akapaxtsawa* (Buffalo-Skull-Painted-on-Tipi), Black Star bundle
11) *Tskisarikus* (Fish-Hawk) (Bundle buried with White Hawk.)
12) *Tstiks-kaatit* (Black-Ear-of-Corn), meaning corn-black
13) *Turawiu*, part of a village.

These were the known member villages of the Skidi political federation. According to tradition, two villages did not join—Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine) and Tskirirara (Wolf-Standing-in-Water). These two villages survived into the time of our narrative together with only two of the other thirteen, numbers 3 and 5, Tuhitspiat and Tuwahukasa. Tu- is the prefix signifying village or settlement; eight of Murie's thirteen are village names, seven of them beginning with this prefix and indicating a location, the eighth, number 2, meaning Old-Earth-Lodge Village. Four are animal names, and one, a corn name. [193]

5 In the article by Levy and Fallers, 1959, the authors comment on departures from our working model of the "nuclear" or "biological" family, questioning whether it is in fact as basic as we assume. I suggest that our working model of family life stems from the Adam and Eve story and that of the Pawnee from their interpretation of the cosmos and the nature of human life which derives from it. This fundamental difference in our viewpoints does not depend on an ignorance on the part of the Pawnees of the basic fact of physiological paternity. They believed that conception took place as a result of the combination of a male and a female substance similar to egg white in consistency—red in the case of the female and white in that of the male. 114 842

52 The "worm" love song adapted from Dunbar, 1881, p. 745 000

648 white settlers in among them and on all sides of them. Almost at
657 once a town sprang up near the agency, the present Pawnee.

The Pawnee soon found that their legal status had changed; the
● 641 agent no longer had executive power to control their acts and
648 behavior. The people were now free citizens of the United States. The white people who settled among them and were anxious to do business with a tribe whose income, between their down payment, annuity, and interests, was $ 177,000 in 1893, were quick to tell them so. Then came the lease system for the Indian farm lands. But that is another story. What concerns us here is the effect of this change of status upon the Ghost Dance among the Pawnee.

At first, in 1893, the agent believed that by his prompt measures
648 with Frank White the year before, he had stamped out the Ghost
668 Dance. He wrote in his report, July 15, 1893: "This dance has
177 almost disappeared... There is some religious enthusiasm in which they indulge and makes them more tractable and easy to manage, as they say they must do right under all circumstances." The agent felt that the tribe was well satisfied with their allotments, and was prosperous and united.

We, however, can note that this religious enthusiasm was none other than the Ghost Dance, in view of the ethical maxims quoted by the agent, but that from the official standpoint the movement had lost its militancy. By the following year, however, the agent himself was aware that Ghost Dances were being held regularly; that the Indians flouted his loss of authority, which they were now fully cognizant of. From this time forth until the turn of the century, the reports indicate that the agents were doing all in their power by moral suasion to keep the Indians from Ghost Dancing; but the religion continued none the less. At the turn of the century the form in which it flourished was the four-day Ghost Dance hand game ceremony, rather than the Ghost Dance proper.

FORMS OF WHITE'S SOUTH BAND GHOST DANCE

When White first brought the Ghost Dance to the Pawnee he
668 organized the dancing simply. He taught some of the songs to a
796 few singers, gathered the people together in a large conical tipi
177 for face-painting, and led the dancing outside this tipi, aided by his singers.

Soon he had organized the dancing more ritually. He selected seven singers, after the pattern initiated by Sitting-Bull among the Caddo and Wichita, and these became a fixed organization for South Band Ghost Dancing. There is some disagreement among

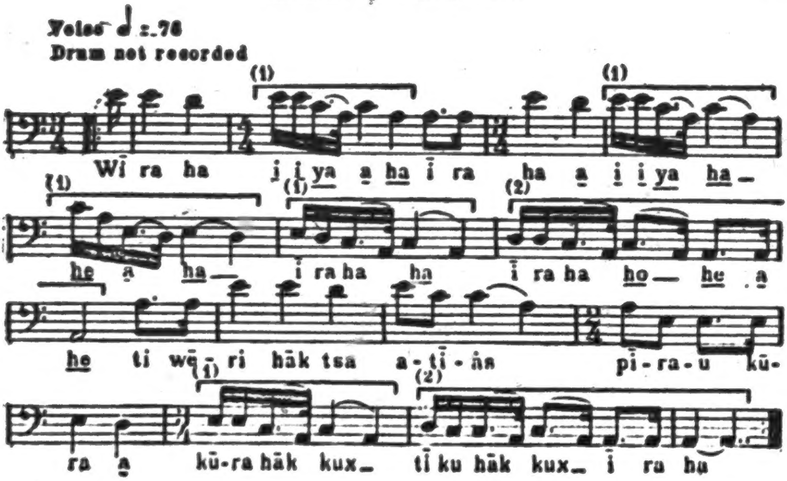
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 shrill cries. The song comprises two periods, the first containing eight and the second containing seven measures. Two rhythmic units occur, the second being an extension of the first. The song has a compass of 12 tones, which is somewhat unusual in Pawnee songs.

No. 59. Song Concerning the Ghost Dance

(Catalogue No. 1102)

Recorded by Wicita Blain


Voice ♩ = 76
Drum not recorded
(1)
Wi ra ha i i ya a ha i ra ha a i i ya ha-
he a ha i ra ha ha i ra ha ho he a
he ti wē-ri hāk tsa a-ti-âs pi-ra-u kū-
ra a kū-ra hāk kux ti ku hāk kux i ra ha
(2)

Wi	ra	ha	i	ra	ha	ti	wēri
There	coming	yonder	it	coming	yonder	this	now
hāk	tsa	atiâs	pirau	kūra	hāk[30]	kux	
stick	lies	father	child	his	stick	his	
ti	ku	hāk	kux	i	ra	ha	
he	to me	stick	his	it	coming	yonder	

FREE TRANSLATION

There it is lying yonder, this stick lying here,
The father's own child gave it to me,
It is coming yonder.

MAN CHIEF'S SONGS

The singer spoke with deep affection of Man Chief, to whom many songs were attributed. According to the singer, Man Chief was chief of the four bands of Pawnee and died in 1858 at the age of 74 years. Concerning the next song it was said, "When we first elected Man Chief as chief he thanked God, and then he sang this song."

● [643]

---

[30] The last letter of this word was omitted by the singer.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

introduces the interval of a semitone, and was sung with distinctness. 533*
The song contains no change of measure lengths and has a compass of 13 tones, beginning on the highest and ending on the lowest tone of this compass.

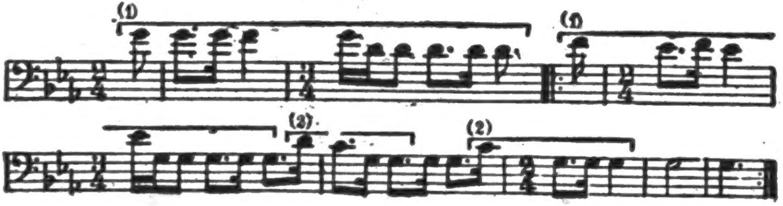
The final song belonging to Man Chief is similar to those already presented, though the words are not translated. [424]

No. 65. Man Chief's Song

(Catalogue No. 1131)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 63
Drum ♩ = 63
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Analysis.—The rhythmic form of this song is interesting and complete. The song contains two rhythmic units, the second being the opening phrase of the first unit and occurring at the close of the song. In structure the song is harmonic. It is minor in tonality, has a compass of an octave, and progresses by a variety of intervals, those occurring most frequently being the fourth and the major second.

ROAMING CHIEF'S SONGS

787
622
533*

The two songs next following belonged to a comparatively recent chief of the Chaui Band. The grief of his wife at the death of a daughter is mentioned in connection with her song (No. 83). Roaming Chief was hereditary chief of this band and was a nephew of the famous Pitalesaru, who was appointed chief of the confederated bands of the Pawnee by the Government of the United States. [643 ●
648]

It was said that "Tirawa had pity on Roaming Chief" and that, during a Ghost dance, he fell in a trance. Visions appeared to him in this trance, the present song referring to such an experience. A Ghost dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he "cried as he sang this song." It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game.

Analysis.—This song is in a form already noted, the third period being in rhythm different from that of the first, second, and fourth. 533*
The compass is 13 tones and more than half the progressions are

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Manners and Customs of the Pawnee Indians.

(By Br. D. Z. Smith.)

619 643 **Bands or Clans.**—All the Indian tribes are subdivided into bands or clans. The *Pawnees* have among them four distinct bands, viz: the Loups (pronounced *Loos*,) the Republicans, the Topages, (Tuppays,) and the Grand Pawnees. Each band has at its head a Chief, among whom, however, the Chief of the Grand Pawnees, Asseruregarrigu, is considered the Principal Chief of the whole tribe.

131 **Villages, Localities, former Missionaries, &c.**—The Pawnees live in two villages at present, both on the South side of the Platte or Nebraska river. The lower village lies about 50 miles from Bellevue, and about 10 or 15 miles above the mouth of the Elkhorn river, the first important tributary of the Platte from the North; and the upper village is situated about 20 or 25 miles above the lower, nearly opposite the mouth of the Loup Fork of the Platte, the next branch of any consequence above the Elkhorn. 361 Both villages are situated on eminences, so that the approach of an enemy can easily be observed, and a sharp lookout is constantly kept in order to guard against any sudden surprise from a hostile force. Sentinels are constantly posted on all the surrounding 648 726 heights, who can immediately by signs, known among the Indians, transmit intelligence in case of impending danger. During the night, sentinels are constantly perched upon the tops of the lodges, to guard against any unexpected nocturnal attack.—When we were on our return, and remained over night at the Loup village, a report, probably a false alarm, had reached there during the day, that a large war-party of Sioux had lately been seen near the head waters of the Elkhorn river. During the night the sentinels were as usual posted upon the lodges, a little more noisy, however, than generally, yelling to one another and singing, nearly the whole night. Upon our inquiring why the sentinels made so much noise, we were informed, that it was to let the Sioux know, should they be near, that they might not expect to find them off their guard.

Thus it will be observed, that a certain kind of military organization is constantly kept up at each village, rendered necessary by their wars with their enemies. This unpleasant state of things 000 can only be removed through the benign influence of the Gospel, when "they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they *learn* war any more. But they shall sit

term "Pani" was employed by the French during the seventeenth and 101
eighteenth centuries to designate all Indian slaves, regardless of tribal 114
affiliations, perhaps because the majority of such slaves were captives from the tribe known as *Panis.*[12] Conversely, however, it has been suggested that the tribe may have derived its name from the old French term, without its originally having been connected with them at all.[13] The older form, "Pani", survived until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when, largely through the agency of early American explorers, it was superseded by the modern Pawnee, rarely Pawney.[14] Among themselves the people are called *Chahiksi-chahiks*, or "men of men."

NAMES AND GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BANDS

The unit of tribal organization among the Pawnee was the band.[15] 631
There were four of these, each in turn consisting of several subbands 621
and villages. The main bands, which are sufficient for present purposes, were known as the *Chaui* or Grand, the *Kitkehahki* or Republican, the *Pitahauerat* or Tappage, and the *Skidi*, or Wolf, Pawnee. Ordinarily each functioned as an independent unit, retaining charge of its own administrative and other affairs through a hereditary, but often purely nominal, chief, who was assisted in matters of importance by secondary chiefs and a council of the leading men. The Grands were generally recognized as the leading band, and where
situations arose involving relationships between the several bands, [643]
or affecting the tribe as a whole, the principal chief of the Grands acted as spokesman and adviser for the entire tribe. The bands were endogamous, and each possessed its own sacred bundles and certain accompanying rituals, besides participatory privileges in various tribal ceremonies. The Skidi appear to have been less closely bound to the other bands than were these to one another, and they may have sprung from a somewhat different ancestry, or else possibly represent an earlier offshoot from the parent stock. In the present discussion the bands will be designated by their anglicized names, with the exception of the Skidi.

HISTORIC HABITAT AND ITS GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

The territory claimed by the Pawnee was bounded on the north 101
by the Niobrara River, on the south by the Arkansas or possibly 131
the Canadian, on the east by the Missouri, and on the west extended rather indefinitely toward the Rockies. Actually, however, it was

---

[12] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 199.

[13] Idem. Compare Lesser and Weltfish, op. cit.

[14] Ashley and Smith, 1918, p. 119.

[15] See Murie, 1914, pp. 549 ff.

male principle. The same treatment of the corn is observed. The 772
ear of corn, which is born of Mother Earth, is symbolically painted to 796*
represent a living contact with the heavens.

These symbolic articles thus treated are peculiar to this ceremony and essential to its rites. They express with unmistakable clearness the original instigating desire for children.

The second purpose of this ceremony, that of establishing a bond 571
between two distinct groups of persons belonging to different clans, 648●
gentes, or tribes, which should insure between them friendship and
peace, was probably an outgrowth of the first purpose and may have 796*
been based upon tribal experience in the practice of exogamy.

In a tribe composed of clans or gentes, where exogamy prevailed, two factors tended to promote peace and security among the people, namely, children born to parents representing two distinct political groups, and rites which recognized a common dependence upon the supernatural and were obligatory upon all.

With the growth of social ideas the thought seems to have arisen that ties might be made between two tribes differing from and even competing with each other, through a device which should simulate those influences which had proved so effective within the tribe. The Father, representing one tribe, was the incentive force; he inaugurated the Hako party. The tie was made by a ceremony in which the feminine principle, represented by the corn and Kawas, was the dominant factor. Through this mother element life was given and a bond was established between the Father and a Son of another tribe. It is remarkable how close to the model this device of an artificial tie has been made to correspond.

Apart from the social and religious significance of the ceremony, it 182
became a means of exchange of commodities between tribes. The 439-
garments, regalia, and other presents brought by the Fathers to the
Children were taken by the latter to some other tribe, when they in 796*
turn became the Fathers. Thus manufactures peculiar to one tribe
were often spread over a wide territory, and the handicraft of one
region became known to different sections of the country.

STRUCTURE OF THE CEREMONY

The perpetuation and distribution of a ceremony is dependent upon 796*
its structure, its symbolism, and its purpose. Its parts must be so
coordinated as to make it possible to keep the rite intact during oral
transmission, while its symbolism must appeal to common beliefs and
its purpose to common desires.

Examining the ceremony of the Hako, we find it to possess these requisites. Its purpose awoke a response in every human heart, its symbolism appealed to the people wherever corn ripened and eagles flew; and though its structure was elaborate, it was built upon a sim-

668 This young man was blessed by the people, and they also took
177 a blessing from him. But when they touched him many fell or
794 trembled. "After this four men were selected to smoke to the
796 dead people."[1]

Murie also tells the interesting story of an unbeliever.

"A woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, 'That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth.' Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to
625 act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit.
783 The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right."[2]

Dancing was sporadic during the Winter of 1891, but gradually the dances followed each other in rapid succession. With few exceptions by 1892 the Pawnee were under White's influence and control. The situation forced itself upon official attention early in that year. "In February 1892 the Pawnee commenced what is known as a 'Ghost Dance', dancing in a circle, falling down in
786 a trance, and after some hours they awake and profess to have seen their dead friends. About two-thirds of the tribe seemed at this time to be possessed of the idea of the second coming of Christ, to destroy all the whites and to bring back the buffalo and the wild game."[3]

On account of the coming end of the world, and the uselessness of continuing work in the face of the expected changes which would bring back old times and the deceased relatives of the living, all those who became convinced of the Ghost Dance doctrine stopped work. Many left their plows in the field standing just as they had been in the midst of their work cultivating their corn.

648 As soon as the agent in charge of the Pawnee received word at
668 the agency in Ponca City that the Pawnee were Ghost-Dancing, he wrote to the clerk in charge at the Pawnee agency to put a stop
794 to the dancing immediately. "But the Indians seemed defiant and aggressive and it seemed at this time that trouble might be anticipated. Knowing that all religious fanatics are persistent and determined, I at once went to Pawnee and visited the camp of the so-called prophet Frank White, and after talking with him

---

[1] Murie op. cit.

[2] Murie, p. 635.

[3] Agent Wood in Annual Reports, 1891—92.

and ascertaining his views, I told him he was an impostor and I 668
wanted him at once to leave the reservation never to return. The 648
next morning 200 Indians came to the agency and demanded a 774
council. They were painted in high colors and seemed aggressive and defiant. After the arrival of an interpreter I opened the council in a two hours' talk on the coming of Christ and the true Messiah and the false Messiah as professed by them, and I plainly told them that the dance could not be tolerated and would not be: that this government would last and assert her power, and that they should be obedient to the law and be good Indians, return to their homes and cultivate their farms and raise something to eat. After they had spoken professing loyalty to the government and obedience to the law, they broke the council and returned to their homes."[1]

Although the effort to put a stop to Ghost Dancing continued, and officials would seek out meetings and try to break them up, the Pawnee were nevertheless gathering in secret to dance.

"At one camp about five miles east of the agency they decided one night to Ghost Dance. Word spread among the Indian folk and they gathered in numbers at the camp. There was one old man, George Esau, who had a great loud voice. The people were dancing in the moonlight. At night the echo goes a long way. When he cried out it could be heard clear over at the agency. One Indian who lived a mile north of town came on horseback to tell them. He said Esau's voice could be heard away over toward the west. 'The police may come; they can hear him.' Whenever they tried to quiet Esau he became worse, and his voice louder, and the people became afraid of him. Then they let him alone and stopped dancing, because they didn't want the agents to find out."[2]

It was in the midst of this year of excitement in the life of the 657
Pawnee that the government had elected to carry out a further
step in its program of civilizing the Pawnee and turning them into 668
citizens. The plan was to complete the allotment of tracts in severalty among the Pawnee. Those who had already chosen plots and were living on them and cultivating the land were to be confirmed in their possession. All others must take them out. The Pawnee who had not as yet chosen to farm individual tracts were of course those who were most strongly opposed to the program. Furthermore the plan laid before the tribe involved the sale of their surplus lands after the Pawnee were provided with allotments per capita, and the opening of these lands to settlement by

---

[1] Agent D. J. M. Wood, in Annual Report, 1891—1892.

[2] Informant's narrative.

of soldiers got off. There were too many soldiers so the Pawnee 657
couldn't fight. The marshall took White away and the Indians 668
went home."

It was while White was away under arrest that most of the Pawnee who had been opposed were persuaded so choose allotments. They wanted to continue the Ghost Dance, and having been told they could dance if they took allotments, they did so. It must be remembered that in dividing up their land, and selling a good part of it, the Pawnee were doing something which was opposed to the faith and doctrine of the Ghost Dance. On the other hand, for those who were strong in their faith, the act was meaningless, since the change which would destroy the white man would restore them their lands in their aboriginal state.

Frank White was held ten or twelve days, and brought back. 648
According to Murie, after White's release, the Messiah himself did
what he could to develop the Ghost Dance movement along less 657
militant lines. "To do this he magnified the Christian elements."

In pursuance of the government land program, a special allotting agent, with clerical assistants, came to the Pawnee agency in the summer of 1892. After the completion of their work, during which a total of 797 allotments in severalty were drawn up, the United States Commissioners came, empowered to treat with the Pawnee for the sale of their surplus lands. On November 23, 1892 they completed their agreement with the Pawnee. By it the allotments were confirmed; 840 acres were reserved for the school, agency, cemetery and religious purposes; and the residue of their reservation, 169,320 acres, was purchased to be thrown open to settlement. In compensation for their lands the government paid the Pawnee an advance of $ 80,000 to be distributed per capita upon the ratification of the agreement by act of Congress; and agreed to continue their perpetual annuity of $ 30,000 a year, thenceforth to be issued entirely in money.[1] The balance of the return from the sale of their Oklahoma lands was to be deposited in the United States Treasury as a trust fund to the credit of the Pawnee tribe, to draw interest at 5 per cent annually, which interest was to be distributed per capita.

The agreement was ratified March 3, 1893; and that year the lands ceded by the Pawnee were thrown open to white settlement. In selecting tracts for allotments the Pawnee had naturally been guided by the quality of the land. As a result the lands ceded and opened to white settlement were scattered all over what had been the Pawnee reservation, and before the year was out the tribe found

---

[1] Up to this time the annuity was half money, half goods and supplies.

648 white settlers in among them and on all sides of them. Almost at
657 once a town sprang up near the agency, the present Pawnee.

The Pawnee soon found that their legal status had changed; the
641 agent no longer had executive power to control their acts and
648 behavior. The people were now free citizens of the United States. The white people who settled among them and were anxious to do business with a tribe whose income, between their down payment, annuity, and interests, was $ 177,000 in 1893, were quick to tell them so. Then came the lease system for the Indian farm lands. But that is another story. What concerns us here is the effect of this change of status upon the Ghost Dance among the Pawnee.

At first, in 1893, the agent believed that by his prompt measures
648 with Frank White the year before, he had stamped out the Ghost
668 Dance. He wrote in his report, July 15, 1893: "This dance has
177 almost disappeared... There is some religious enthusiasm in which they indulge and makes them more tractable and easy to manage, as they say they must do right under all circumstances." The agent felt that the tribe was well satisfied with their allotments, and was prosperous and united.

We, however, can note that this religious enthusiasm was none other than the Ghost Dance, in view of the ethical maxims quoted by the agent, but that from the official standpoint the movement had lost its militancy. By the following year, however, the agent himself was aware that Ghost Dances were being held regularly; that the Indians flouted his loss of authority, which they were now fully cognizant of. From this time forth until the turn of the century, the reports indicate that the agents were doing all in their power by moral suasion to keep the Indians from Ghost Dancing; but the religion continued none the less. At the turn of the century the form in which it flourished was the four-day Ghost Dance hand game ceremony, rather than the Ghost Dance proper.

FORMS OF WHITE'S SOUTH BAND GHOST DANCE

When White first brought the Ghost Dance to the Pawnee he
668 organized the dancing simply. He taught some of the songs to a
796 few singers, gathered the people together in a large conical tipi
177 for face-painting, and led the dancing outside this tipi, aided by his singers.

Soon he had organized the dancing more ritually. He selected seven singers, after the pattern initiated by Sitting-Bull among the Caddo and Wichita, and these became a fixed organization for South Band Ghost Dancing. There is some disagreement among

THE PAWNEE AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

I have gathered the detailed evidence on the cultural revivals 178 and developments from 1892 on in this summary form, in order to emphasize the reality of the Ghost Dance period as a time of 175 Pawnee renaissance. Like greater cultural movements of this kind, it was a turning backward to the past, an attempt to resurrect, preserve and copy the ancient records. From them a new and revitalized cultural movement flowed. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of Pawnee destiny, several conditions combined to destroy this movement, and as the faith was overthrown, the revivals disappeared and activity based on the new forms in part waned. As a result, we cannot today fully reconstruct the movement of changes or prove the full extent to which the old culture began to revive. I believe the evidence presented is indicative, but only a part of what contemporary recording would have offered.

A cultural renaissance to be effective must be in the hands of a free people, and the directions of its flow must be relatively unimpeded. It was impossible in Oklahoma after 1892 to bring back the old material conditions of life of the Indian; his vision that the buffalo, the old habitations and old landscape would reappear was a mirage. This alone would perhaps have only checked the movement, and turned it in other directions. But the Pawnee were not a people with an independent destiny. Until 1893, they were so many cultural children fathered by the paternal solicitude of the agent and the government; after 1893 the Pawnee were so many unassimilated citizens of the United States.

In 1893, with the allotment of their lands in severalty, the surplus 648 lands of the Pawnee were thrown open to settlement by the white 657 man. The town of Pawnee sprang up almost at once in their 175 very midst. The choice of allotments had not been controlled so as to maintain the reservation lines, and when the unallotted surplus lands became the homes of white men, the Pawnee found themselves side by side with white men for the first time in their history. The allotment in severalty made the Pawnee individual land owners; they were transformed from full wards of the government into citizens subject to the laws of the United States and the Territory in which they lived. As such the Agent no longer had absolute control over them; he could persuade and he could withhold annuity money to help reinforce his suggestions, but he could neither command nor enforce his orders.

The Pawnee found their new freedom much to their liking. For one thing, there was no authority which could compel them to

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

175

● 648 stop the Ghost Dance. For another, they found themselves well
657 off financially, with the white settlers among them eager to deal
with them. In the town of Pawnee some were able in spite of
preventive measures to get drunk at will, at which times as the
[273] agent observed, they would proclaim aloud their rights as citizens
of the United States.

The allotment of lands had been made per capita. 797 allotments were recorded. A fair estimate would place the 797 as including about 160 families, and 160 to 200 would probably total the number of able-bodied men available for farming. As each family of five members controlled 800 acres of allotted land, it was impossible for the government to expect that the full acreage would be cultivated by the Pawnee men. At the same time the new status of the people left the government with no financial obligations toward the tribe except the permanent annuity, and the payment of interest on trust funds. The Pawnee had to become self-supporting, and if they could not win their sustenance from their own lands, the lands must be put to work for them. As landowners they were allowed to lease large parts of their allotted lands to white farmers and cattlemen: in theory every able-bodied man was to retain a plot of forty acres worked by himself.

The lease system grew by leaps and bounds. At first the lands
427 rented by the year at twenty-five cents an acre for grazing land
648 to one dollar for farming land. The Pawnee land was one fourth
657 rich bottom land, one fourth hilly and rough land, and about one
175 half level upland. The Pawnee reserve was suited to corn and fruit,
and in 1897 a trial of cotton was begun. The farm lands continued to rise in rental value. The leases provided for improvements on the land as well as the money rental, and as unplowed land was broken it became more valuable. Rental values rose by 1905 to $ 4.50 an acre for the best farm land. The leasing began in 1894; in 1895 there were 97 leases of Pawnee allotment land and the number increased year by year. At first the payment of lease money was made directly to the Indian, or was paid by the lessee to the agent and by the latter turned over to the Pawnee lessor at once; later as the government found the Indians squandering their money as fast as they received it, the money was kept on deposit for the Pawnee by the agent and drawn on as needed.

There were two reasons for the rapid increase of the lease system: the white man wanted to lease the land from the Indian, because it was profitable land, and at a low rental. The Indian wanted to lease the land to the white man because it brought him money without a kind of labor which was disagreeable to him, especially

at the time of the Ghost Dance faith. As time went by Indians 648
and white farmers resorted to various subterfuges to get around 557
the ruling that certain lands they held could not be leased. The 427
Indian would claim that he was employing a white man and 175
intended to pay him, but when harvest time came, instead of the
Indian paying the white farmer money, the white farmer gave the
Indian a part of the crop.

The immediate results of the lease system were two-fold: on
the one hand, for the first time in their lives the Pawnee had plenty
of money; on the other hand, they had to make no effort at all to
support themselves. In 1897 the Pawnee leases brought an income [434]
of $ 12,114.95. In 1900 the income of the tribe from their annuity
($ 30,000), interest on their two trust funds (from the sale of the
Nebraska reservation; and from the sale of the surplus Oklahoma
lands); and leases, was over $ 75,000. In that year the population [161]
had dwindled to 650, so that the per capita income was about [511]
$ 116 or the income of the average family of five close to $ 600
annually, a substantial and adequate income in 1900 on the Oklahoma frontier.

Year by year the Pawnee labored less and less on their own lands: 175
in 1904 their self-maintenance was 42 per cent from their annuity
and interests, 43 per cent from leases, and 15 per cent from "labor 461
in civilized pursuits." By 1899 the agents had fully realized the 657
extent of the blunder which had been made: they were aware that
the Pawnee could not be made to labor when he had all he needed
without it, and pointed out in their reports that white men would
have acted in the same way.

Along with the disappearance of all demands upon them to be
self-reliant and self-maintaining, the Pawnee were stripped of their
last outlets for self management. Leases were made not by the [427]
Indian but by the agent; lease money was paid not to the Indian
but to the agent. All that the Indian had to do was to draw his
income. At the same time with the change of status to citizens, [698
the function of the Court of Indian Offenses vanished, and the
court was abolished April 21, 1894; the Indian police were disband- 625]
ed in October of the same year.

Temporarily with their increased income, the living conditions 175
of the Pawnee improved; they ate better, they dressed better, and 511
they lived better. But the idleness which had come to them 161
was in keeping with their desire during these years to congregate
in encampments for Ghost Dances and other performances, so that
they leased their houses with their lands and made shift to live
here or there as the occasion demanded. During these years there

525 The host side starting the play, the guest side initiating the guessing.

The visitors bringing a pipe smoked only by the hosts.

As to the alignment of the sides:

525 621 619 823 There is no such thing in these games as hereditary or traditional sides.[1] The Kitkahaxki^{x} came from the west and occupied the west half of the circle, the head end being at the north. Original geographical band arrangements in Oklahoma may be indicated as follows:

N
Skiri
W Tcawi E
Kitkahaxki^{x}
Pitahawirat^{a}
S

These geographical positions would determine the arrangement of the hand game play. A division into east and west sides meant the head end was the north; a division into north and south sides meant the head end was the west. Pitahawirat^{a} against Kitkahaxki^{x} would put the Kitkahaxki^{x} on the north, the Pitahawirat^{a} on the south, with the leaders and tally sticks at the west. The other bands would have divisions into east and west sides with the leaders and sticks at the north.

In Nebraska the arrangement also follows geographical locations, but these were different:

N
W Skiri Kitkahaxki^{x} Tcawi Pitahawirat^{a} E
S

In Nebraska all games would have an east-west division of sides with the head end at the north. A game played in Nebraska between the same two bands as above, the Kitkahaxki^{x} visiting the Skiri would put the Skiri on the west, the Kitkahaxki^{x} on the east (the exact opposite of what was played in Oklahoma) with the tally sticks and leaders at the north.

Such were the arrangements and characteristics of games played by one Pawnee band against another.

THE INTER-TRIBAL HAND GAME

525 648 574 In earlier days, before the Pawnee were removed to Oklahoma, and for some time thereafter, the hand game was a contest, not only between the bands ofthe Pawnee, but a contest played by any

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

Pawnee group against another tribe with whom they were friends 525
traditionally, or with whom they had recently established friendly 648
relations. Among those with whom the hand game was played by the 574
Skiri Pawnee in relatively recent times, one informant remembers participating in games with the Osage, Ponca and Omaha, Oto, Kiowa, and Arapaho. Friendly gaming relations are remembered with the Sac and Fox, but with them the moccasin game was played, not the hand game. The following narrative of a game between the Skiri Pawnee and the Kiowa, played in Oklahoma many years ago, probably before 1880, will make the procedure clear:

The story is told by Mark Evarts.

One time a large party of Skiri Pawnee were on a buffalo hunt. They were led by Bowchief. While they were out hunting, they came near to the place where the Kiowa were encamped, and went over to visit them. It was not an anticipated visit, so that the traditional forms of visiting were not involved.[1] The chief of the Kiowa was Bigbow.[2] Bowchief of the Skiri Pawnee and Bigbow of the Kiowa were friends.[3]

At the Kiowa encampment, the Skiri Pawnee danced their Crazy Dog Dance, led by Bowchief on horseback. He was the only
mounted Skiri in the dance.[4] After the performance, the Kiowa gave [431]
the Pawnee buffalo meat and buffalo hides.[5] Then the Pawnee left
with these gifts and came home.

Two days later, in the afternoon, the Pawnee saw a party of Kiowa coming to visit them. They were received in friendly fashion, and they danced the Kiowa Crazy Dog Dance for the Pawnee. This time Bigbow led the dance, mounted. He was the only Kiowa on horseback. Bigbow, in the dance, called aloud his
exploits on old warpaths. After the dance the Pawnee gave the [431]
Kiowa calico and corn.[5] Then the Kiowa went home. The Pawnee
hunters who had visited the Kiowa were all men. The Kiowa who returned the visit were mostly men; a few had wives with them.

---

[1] The traditional forms would have required sending a gift of tobacco in advance, and other formalities.

[2] otakáyot in Evarts' rendition of his Kiowa name.

[3] Inter-tribal friendship was a definite formalized relationship in former
times. It was of paramount importance, as through interlocking friendships [572]
tribes traditionally hostile to each other were drawn into peaceful relations.

[4] It is said that in the old form of the Crazy Dog Dance, a man mounted [554]
indicated thereby that he had captured horses on a warpath.

[5] This giving away after the dancing is similar to the old forms of intertribal [703]
visiting of friends, at which lavish giving away was done. In the above case the formal arrangements preceding the visits seem to have been omitted because it was a chance meeting.

525 While the Kiowa were visiting the Pawnee, some Skiri youths
574 thought of visiting the Kiowa to play a hand game against them.
● 648 They decided to go over to challenge the Kiowa the day after the
Kiowa went home. Mark was with them and became exited about
the anticipated hand game. His father was sick, but he paid very
little attention because his head was full of the hand game and
he wanted to go.

The Kiowa were then camping about two miles from the Pawnee.
Late in the afternoon, the day after the Kiowa had gone, Mark saw
men gathering at the edge of camp. They were ready to go; they
had bundles of things with them to bet. When Mark stepped out
[593] of the lodge, these youths motioned to him to come on. So he
forgot all about how sick his father was inside, and went. He
persuaded himself that his father wasn't very sick anyhow.

The whole party went on foot, carrying their stakes. There were twenty-five or thirty in the group. They took no horses to ride because all who were going wanted to play, which would leave no one to take care of the horses. Some mean fellows among the Kiowa might steal some. And if they had horses with them they might be tempted to wager them and lose the horses.[1]

After dark they reached the Kiowa camp. They were directed to the chief's tent. Knifechief, leading the Skiri party, carried a pipe, already filled with tobacco. Knifechief and a few others went into the chief's tipi. From outside Mark heard a Kiowa in the tipi call, "hækahi"—"all right, that's good."

This was in December. It was very cold, and outside the men
waiting wanted to get into tents to warm up. David Gillingham,
Mark's chum, went with Mark into one tent. A Kiowa man sitting
at the west called out a welcome, hækahí. From the south side,
where she had been sitting, his wife rose and spread a blanket for
the two visitors on the north side of the tipi close up to the west
[276] where the Kiowa was sitting. She put two pillows on it. David
and Mark sat down there. The Kiowa filled a black pipe and gave
788 it to David to smoke. Mark nudged David and whispered to him
that he should not make any gestures with the pipe. Both knew
that the Kiowa had special ways and motions in using their pipes;
Mark was afraid David would try them and make a mistake. He
knew David was a great show-off. The Kiowa pipe-smoking was
very complicated. David nudged Mark back and told him to
keep quiet. David wanted to show off, so he made some motions
[481] with the pipe, imitating Kiowa motions he had seen somewhere.

---

[726] [1] Incidentally, the Pawnee warparty always travelled on foot, with the object of returning riding captured horses.

The Kiowa watched him with astonishment. Then David handed 525
the pipe to Mark, who took it and smoked it quietly and without 648 ●
ceremony. When it was handed back to the Kiowa he made several 574
gestures with it before he put it down. Then his wife picked up a bowl of pounded meat which was on the south side, brought it over and placed it before them. Mark tried to make David talk to their Kiowa host in sign language to keep David's hands busy. Meanwhile Mark ate as fast as he could. Then the woman took a kettle, put dried meat and fat in it, and hung it over the fire suspended from a horizontal bar across two forked uprights.

When the meat was cooked the boys were given meat and fat to eat, and soup to drink. David told Mark not to eat so fast. While they were eating and drinking, outside a Kiowa was heard shouting. When he heard the announcement, their Kiowa host grunted. He

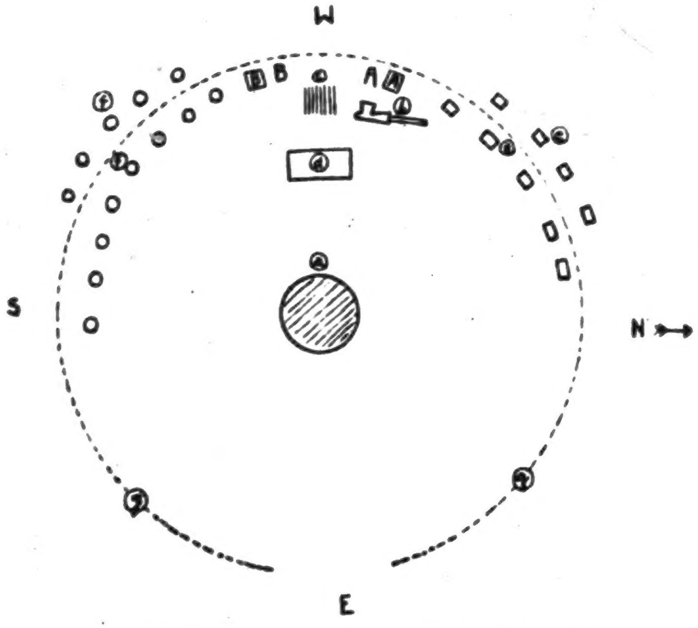


Figure 2. Plan of Game between Skiri and Kiowa

A - Skiri leader and assistant
B - Kiowa leader and assistant
a - round fire
b - Skiri pipe in position after smoking
c - tally sticks
d - position of stakes
e - Skiri men (guests)
f - Kiowa men (hosts)
g - outlines of tipi

525 told the boys in sign language that the man outside, the crier,
574 had announced that the Pawnee were here and had come on the
648 warpath for the hand game; that they had come bringing a pipe.
The crier had said too that as it was getting late, the people had
better come at once, women and all, for the hand game. It was
to be played inside the big tent of the Kiowa chief.

When they had eaten enough, the Kiowa told the boys to take
[431] with them the meat that was left. By signs he said that if they
felt hungry later, they would have it to eat. He gave them a pointed
stick, and showed them how to stick it into the meat and so carry
[482] it. He said, "I'm in a hurry now. I want to get a place there to
sit." All three went over to the chief's tipi. The tent was big, but
the crowd was so large that there was not room enough inside for
all, so the bottom of the tent cover was rolled up all around, and
those who couldn't get in settled themselves around outside. Many
had to sit outside this way in the cold. If such a large crowd had
been anticipated, the hand game would have been played in the
open around a huge fire, but it was too late to gather enough wood
to build such a big fire.

The Pawnee were sitting around the north side of the tipi,
inside and out, Knifechief, as the leader, sitting at the west. The
Kiowa sat around the south side, with the Kiowa chief at the west
next to Knifechief. In the middle was a large round fire. The Skiri
[823] Pawnee were on the north because the tribe was camped north of
the Kiowa and had come south to play.

The game began at once. There was no pipe smoking. The Kiowa chief had received the pipe when Knifechief had entered his tent upon arriving.

Between the leaders at the west are the tally sticks. Alongside them lies the Pawnee pipe, now empty, pointing to the north.

The betting begins, of vests, shirts, blankets, anything of value. Each man bets against one of the other side; the two things are tied together; the bundles are heaped at the west before the leaders. In the excitement of the game, the cold is forgotten, even by those who must squat outside. The first guessers are chosen and play begins.

When they hide the bones, the Kiowa sing old hand game songs, accompanied by the beating of one hand drum. When the Pawnee have the bones, they sing their old hand game songs. They clap their hands; they do not beat a drum.

The Pawnee won the first game and took the stakes. Then they sang one Crazy Dog Dance song. Two Pawnee danced. One told of a war exploit, "Once when I was in the army,[1] we charged the

---

[1] Referring to an episode while a Pawnee scout with the U. S. army.

Cheyenne camp early in the morning, and they fled. When I got 525
into the Cheyenne camp I took blankets and other things away 574
from them." The Pawnee sing and dance only one song, because
it is late and cold, and the Pawnee have a long way to go to return 648
home after the game. They want to hurry, and play quickly.
Should the Kiowa win a game, they would dance their Crazy Dog
Dance to the songs of their society and their leader would rise to
recite an exploit, holding the Pawnee pipe. But the Pawnee when
they dance, do not carry the pipe they have brought.[1] On this
occasion, the Kiowa did not win, and had no chance to dance
carrying the pipe.

Wagers were made for a second game, the Kiowa betting against their losings. Again the Pawnee won. Again they sang a Crazy Dog Dance song, and another Pawnee recited a war exploit.

In the third game Knifechief rose and sprinkled ashes to hide the tracks, and the Kiowa guesser searched for the trail.

The Pawnee won three straight games, and that was all they played. There was no fighting over the bones in these games: that was only the way that small boys played.

Knifechief rose. He said, "Now my brother, I beat you. That's all. We're going home." All the Skiri took up their winnings and started for home.

While the game had been going on, Mark and David had found time to eat up the meat they had received so that no one could ask for some. They managed to finish it by the time the game was over.

On the way home, one of the Skiri who was a friend of Mark's [572
gave him a pair of leggings he had just won. Mark says that 431]
because of the good fortune of the Pawnee that night he believed
the Pawnee would always have good luck in hand games, but
subsequently he found out he had been mistaken. In later games
they often lost.

---

[1] Carrying the pipe while counting coup was correct only if the reciter [703
had carried a pipe at the time of the exploit. This meant essentially that
he had been the leader of a war party. If the exploit had occurred when no [554
pipe was carried, he could count coup, but without holding the pipe. In the
above narrative the special significance of the distinction drawn between [727
the right of the Kiowa leader to carry the pipe, and the Pawnee lack of 721]
that right, is that it represents dramatically the fact that for generations
past, as a result of their treaties, which the Pawnee held sacred, few if any
war parties had been sent out ceremonially by the Pawnee. War exploits
during the Nineteenth Century were limited essentially to defensive tactics,
or to fighting as members of the United States army (see Chapter I).

525 The essentials of this game follow those of the inter-band Pawnee
648 hand games. Interesting is the fact of the arrangements on sides
574 according to geographical locations. In playing Osage, Arapaho,
823 Ponca and Omaha, as well as Kiowa, the games were usually held
in tipis, though they could be held outdoors if the crowd was large. They were played around a round fire. Instruments were not used by the Pawnee for game-singing, but tribes opposing them followed their own custom. When the Skiri played the Osage, the Skiri were on the south, the Osage on the north; when the Skiri played the Arapaho, the Skiri were on the north, the Arapaho on the south; when the Skiri played the Ponca, the Skiri were on the north, the Ponca on the south. The Osage in the game in question came from the north to the Skiri. The Skiri went to the Arapaho going north - the Skiri camp was south of the Arapaho camp, hence my informant feels the alignment was in error, and that there must have been a special reason for it. Once the Skiri, on their way north to Arkansas City, met the Ponca for a hand game. They had stopped to camp south of Ponca City. The Ponca were all around them, but the particular party which came to play gathered to the southwest of the Pawnee camp, and came from that direction; hence they were placed on the south side.

2: Lesser
● 648

Pawnee NQ18

[For information on Pawnee relations with neighboring tribes and early American settlers, see category 116, pp. 1-52--Analyst.]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PAWNEE MUSIC

By Frances Densmore

THE PAWNEE TRIBE

The Pawnee is commonly regarded as the last of the Caddoan 101
Tribes which migrated in a general northeasterly direction at an
early date.[1] When the Siouan Tribes entered the valley of the
Platte River in Nebraska they found the Pawnee already established
in that region. The Pawnee called themselves by a term meaning
"men of men." Their present name was probably given by some
neighboring tribe and derived from *pariki*, meaning a horn, as it
was the Pawnee custom to shave the head except a narrow strip [302]
extending from the forehead to the scalplock and to stiffen this
ridge of hair with grease and paint, curving it upward like a horn.

While in Nebraska the Pawnee lived in earth lodges which were 361
in four permanent groups of villages, each having its geographical
location along the Platte River. The people of each group were a [342]
unit, representing a division of the tribe. The Skidi (Wolf Pawnee) 101
was in the northwest, its people considering themselves related to 619
the Arikara, another Caddoan Tribe living some distance to the
north. The Pitahauerat (Tapage Pawnee) were downstream, the
Kithahki (Republican Pawnee) were upstream, and the Chaui
(Grand Pawnee) were located between the two last named. The 134
soil of the region was dry and rather sandy with rough, broken land
toward the mountains in the west, yet the Pawnee were essentially 241
an agricultural people, cultivating corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins.
Buffalo and other game was abundant in the early days, and the Pawnee 136
were excellent hunters, their hunting expeditions covering a wide 224
area.

The first treaty between the Government of the United States and 648
the Pawnee Indians was made at St. Louis Trading Post in June, 1818.[2]

---

[1] In the classification of the North American races by John W. Powell the Pawnee is classified as one of the five independent groups of the Caddoan stock. Miss Alice C. Fletcher regards the Pawnee as a confederacy, the divisions or bands of the tribe being treated by her as separate tribes in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p 213. Cf. also Linton, Ralph, The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee, The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee, and Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men, compiled chiefly from unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, published as leaflets Nos. 5, 6, and 8, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-23. [114]

[2] Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kappler, ed., vol. II, pp. 156-159, Washington, 1904.

648 At that time a separate treaty was made with each band of Pawnee, designated as Grand, Noisy, Republic, and Marhar, the treaties being respectively on June 18, 19, 20, and 22. Peace was then concluded with all tribes of the region which had been disturbed by the war of 1812. A treaty with the Pawnee Tribe was made at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs, September 30, 1825, its purpose being "to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension." [3] By the treaty of October 9, 1833, the Pawnee ceded to the United States "all the land lying south of the Platt River." [4] A reservation in Nebraska was provided for the Pawnee who remained in that State until 1876, the sale of their reservation in Nebraska being approved on June 5 of that year. The setting apart of a reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) was approved April 10, 1876. The Pawnee were removed to that reservation and "each head of a family or single person over 21 years of age residing upon said reserve, who shall so elect," was entitled to receive an allotment of 160 acres of land.[5] In a table compiled by the Office of Indian Affairs in 1908 it is stated that "112,859.84 acres were allotted to 821 [Pawnee] Indians, 840 acres reserved for school, agency, and cemetery purposes, and the residue of 169,320 acres was opened to settlement," the agreement being ratified by act of March 3, 1893.[6]

161 The number of Pawnee in 1702 was estimated by Iberville at 2,000 families. In 1838 they numbered about 10,000 persons, but the
[164] opening of a principal emigrant trail directly through the country in the forties introduced disease and dissipation and left the people less
[177] able to defend themselves against their enemies, the Sioux.[7] They decreased in numbers and in 1928 the Pawnee population was 2,766.[8]

133 The reservation of the Pawnee is beautifully diversified, with many streams and tracts of woods. There are outcroppings of stone in the region south of the town of Pawnee (pl. 3, *a*, *b*) while north of the town
[136] are broad, smooth fields. (Pl. 3, *c*.) On a private ranch near Pawnee a picturesque herd of buffalo was seen near a "buffalo wallow." (Pl. 4, *a*, *b*.)

342 The earth lodge of the Pawnee was about 40 feet in diameter and 15 feet high, and was occupied by several related families, each having
[592] its appointed space along the wall. "At the west side of the lodge a
[778] space was always reserved, which was considered sacred, and was called *wikaru* (place-for-the-wonderful-things), this being the name which is applied to the garden of the Evening Star, where the corn is always ripening and where are stored many parflêches of buffalo

---

[3] Ibid., pp. 258-260.
[4] Ibid., pp. 416 418.
[5] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 159-161.
[6] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 213.
[7] Ibid., p. 216.
[8] Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the year 1928, p. 58.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Many years ago the Pawnee fought the Sioux, killing many. Among the Pawnee warriors was a man named Nada'kutade (Eagle Chief), father-in-law of the man who recorded the following song. Eagle Chief owned this song and sang it in the Bear dance. The fight with the Sioux was said to have taken place in a part of the country which was thickly wooded, the battle resulting in a victory for the Pawnee.

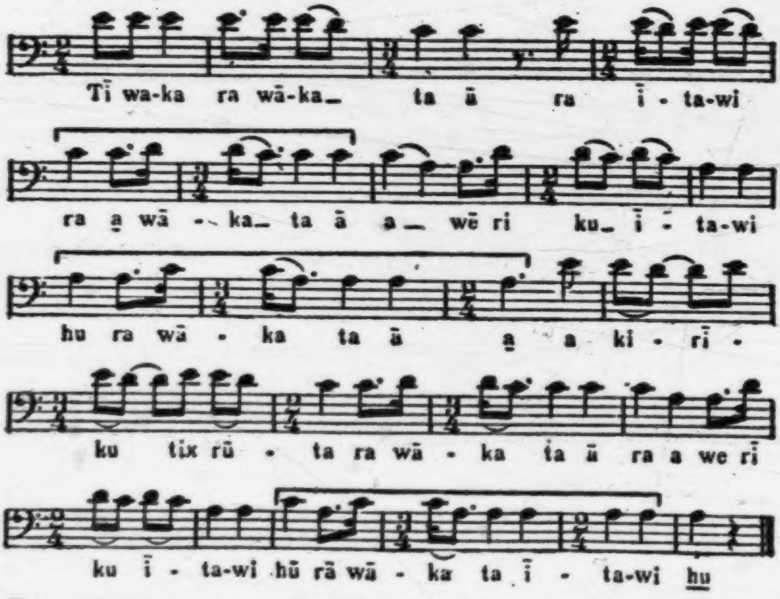
648
173
533*
[424]

No. 14. "The Horse is Shouting"

(Catalogue No. 1120) 533*

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 120
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 138 Changing to 𝅗𝅥 = 120
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Tī wa-ka ra wā-ka_ ta ā ra ī - ta-wi
ra a wā -- ka_ ta ā a_ wē ri ku_ ī - ta-wi
hu ra wā - ka ta ā a a ki - ri -
ku tix rū - ta ra wā - ka ta ā ra a we rī
ku ī - ta-wi hū rā wā - ka ta ī - ta-wi hu

Tī	waka	ra	wāka	ta	ā	ra	Itawi
He	said	have	shouting	going	on	have	telling

a	wē	ri	ku	Itawi	hū	a	kiriku	tix	rūta
about	now	it		mentioning	do	and	something	he	did

rā	wāka	ta	ā	ra
have	shouting	going	on	have

a	we	ri	ku	Itawi	hū
about	now	it		mentioning	do

FREE TRANSLATION

He said, the horse is shouting,
I am telling it, the horse is shouting,
Now I am telling it,
The horse is shouting at something he did.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

WAR SONGS

Three classes of war songs are here presented and comprise a 533* song concerning a conquered warrior of the Cheyenne Tribe, several songs of Pawnee warriors, and songs which were sung at two gatherings of the tribe attended by the writer, these gatherings being in honor of Pawnee soldiers who had recently returned from the World War.

The first song commemorates a well-known event in Pawnee 175 history. About the year 1852 the Cheyenne and Arapaho returned from Washington, where they had gone to make a treaty with the 648 Government of the United States. Among them was a Cheyenne of great reputation named Touching Cloud, who, because of the incident to be related, was afterwards known among the Pawnee as Iron Shirt. [714 This man had in his employ a Mexican who could cut round disks from the thin frying pans used at that time. Touching 177] Cloud had these disks sewed on a shirt and cap, the pieces overlapping as in old-world armor. Soon after the return of the treaty party, the Cheyenne attacked the Pawnee, who were hunting buffalo. Touching Cloud felt so secure that he rode directly among the Pawnee. His arms were so stiffened by the metal disks on his sleeves that he could use no weapon except a sword but he used this so effectively that he and his party drove the Pawnee back to their village. The Pawnee were unable to explain the fearlessness of this man and talked of it among themselves. In the village was a young man named Carrying-the-shield who had not gone with the hunters. He listened to what they said and remembered something told him by his father, who was keeper of a sacred bundle. His father had [778] four sons and gave them four sacred arrows, each a different color. The arrow received by Carrying-the-shield was red. In giving the arrow his father said, "Use this arrow when you are in great danger and it will save your life." So Carrying-the-shield took the arrow and a bow, went out and met a party of Pawnee retreating with the Cheyenne in pursuit. The retreating party opened and let him through. Touching Cloud made ready to attack him but the youth shot him in the eye with the red arrow and he fell from his horse. The Pawnee "counted coup" on his body and found that he wore, [526 concealed beneath his outer raiment, the metal-covered shirt made 554] for him by the Mexican. Therefore he was known as Iron Shirt among the Pawnee.

Analysis.—An ascending tenth occurs in this song, representing 533* an ascent from the lowest to almost the highest tone of the compass. The rhythmic unit is interesting and of frequent occurrence. The song is major in tonality and the most frequent interval is a major third.

introduces the interval of a semitone, and was sung with distinctness. 533*
The song contains no change of measure lengths and has a compass of 13 tones, beginning on the highest and ending on the lowest tone of this compass.

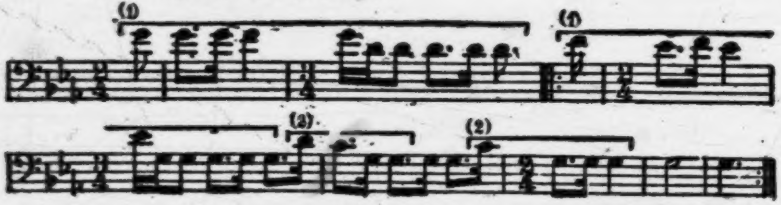
The final song belonging to Man Chief is similar to those already presented, though the words are not translated. [424]

No. 65. Man Chief's Song

(Catalogue No. 1131)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 63
Drum ♩ = 63
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Analysis.—The rhythmic form of this song is interesting and complete. The song contains two rhythmic units, the second being the opening phrase of the first unit and occurring at the close of the song. In structure the song is harmonic. It is minor in tonality, has a compass of an octave, and progresses by a variety of intervals, those occurring most frequently being the fourth and the major second.

ROAMING CHIEF'S SONGS

787
622
533*

The two songs next following belonged to a comparatively recent chief of the Chaui Band. The grief of his wife at the death of a daughter is mentioned in connection with her song (No. 83). Roaming Chief was hereditary chief of this band and was a nephew of the famous Pitalesaru, who was appointed chief of the confederated bands of the Pawnee by the Government of the United States. [643 648]

It was said that "Tirawa had pity on Roaming Chief" and that, during a Ghost dance, he fell in a trance. Visions appeared to him in this trance, the present song referring to such an experience. A Ghost dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he "cried as he sang this song." It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game.

Analysis.—This song is in a form already noted, the third period being in rhythm different from that of the first, second, and fourth. The compass is 13 tones and more than half the progressions are 533*

5

535 575 [302] All this time the members have been singing in the lodge but now they paint black also and prepare such arms as they wish to carry. The chief of the village then enters with the pipe from the bundle and starts the dance. First they are lead outside where they dance before their own lodge, then passing out at the north side march around the village once. Then they come into the village and dance before the lodges of the leading men. (As before, two boys are brought in to carry the water drum.) In each case the host comes out with a pipe which is passed to the lance bearer and the singers, but no presents are given. Finally, they dance before their own lodge and enter. A feast and certain smoke offerings to the lance close the ceremony.

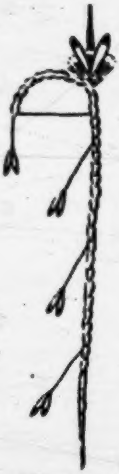


Fig. 12.

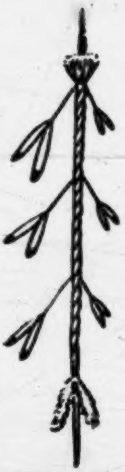


Fig. 13.

[411] Fig. 12. The Fighting Lance. The point is of iron, nested in owl and eagle feathers; the shaft wrapped with swanskin, small eagle feathers hang at the sides. The grip of the south side lance is of red strouding; that of the north, of black.

Fig. 13. The Wolf Lance. The point is of iron, the shaft wrapped with wolfskin, a bunch of owl feathers at the top, large and small eagle feathers at the sides, the grip near the lower end and two wolf tails below. Two of these are carried.

575 [648] As this was the leading society of the Chauí and the United States formally recognized the Chauí chief as the head of all the Pawnee, it came to have a certain precedence in all functions.

THE FIGHTING LANCE.

The tirupahe society is found among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kit'kaháxki. It is a war society as may be seen by its pointed lance.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

They drummed, sang, and danced around the fireplace out of the lodge. The 539
singing and drumming gradually ceased and when the fire was made there was no
one left in the lodge. After this the man often dreamed and found that the dance 575
was given to poor people, especially the poor boys of the village.

After the final dance, all the dogs disappeared. Every night the man and the two boys sang and other young men came in and assisted. When quite a number of young men knew the songs the man told them to come the next night and bring with them their quivers, bows and arrows, and moccasins. Among the young men who wished to join was a chief's son. He told them that they would go to the enemy's camp that night. They all agreed to go with him.

That night he wrapped up the dog skin, the string and whistle, the owl feathers, and the rope and placed them on his back. As they started off they sang the first song the man had heard the dog men singing. They sang four times and then went on their way. For several days they continued when some of the young men began to show signs of weariness. Then the man gave them a root to chew to revive them. When the chief's son became tired the man paid no attention to him. Finally, he turned back.

At length they came to the enemy's camp. The man put on his regalia and went to the camp. He captured some ponies on which they returned home. When they arrived the people said the young dog people were good travelers.

After this at night the young men met to sing the dog songs. When 575
the man heard them, he would have the two boys build a fire and the young
men would come in and sing. One time, on their return to the village from a buffalo hunt some of the young men told the man that they each had a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat and they wished to dance. The man did not reply but consulted his two assistants who said: "Buffalo meat is good, but first we must get a reddish dog." One young man said, "My people have one, I can get it."

The dance was started and all the young men who danced and received
the string and whistle became members. This society became very impor- [177]
tant and when the Arikara joined the Skidi they saw the dance. Among [535]
the Arikara was one man who knew the sun dance. He met the leader of
the young dogs and they exchanged dances. The Skidi joined the two and had the young dog sun dance three times. All the dancers had to be cut and suspended three times.

This society became a great power among the people. One time during 224
a buffalo hunt the people were attacked by the Sioux and the soldiers were 575
all killed and the crow lance taken from them. The tribe was left without 625
police so the chiefs (not the priests) selected the dog society to act as police
on the hunt. Their old men cried through the village telling the people to [648]
keep quiet and not to drum or sing. The men were not permitted to hunt at any distance nor were guns to be shot. The women were not to chop wood but were to gather dry limbs. One night a man came to the village

dried back fat. This she heated in the fire until hot and while other women held the 575
prisoner she spread it on his back. The little girl was overcome at the sight and began
to scream. Her mother took her home but she cried and refused to be comforted. 727
Finally, the chief asked the cause of this crying and was informed. He coaxed and threatened without result for the child declared that she would continue to scream until the prisoner was turned loose. The chief said that could not be done and so the child continued to wail. The people gathered in and gradually developed sympathy for the child. So the chief called in the braves, but they declared themselves powerless. Then he called in the chiefs and the soldiers to discuss the matter. The sentiment of the camp was now aroused, so four soldiers were sent out to order the women's society to disband. They then conducted the prisoner to the council lodge and seated him there.

The chief then sent for his daughter, who had stopped crying. He stated that 727
they had with some difficulty granted her wish and that now she must get water for the prisoner. Accordingly she brought water and held the bowl for him to drink. Then the chief ordered her to get a large bowl of water and some buffalo wool and when these were brought to wash the man's wounds. Then buffalo fat mixed with red earth was given her to rub over him.

Now, said the chief, since you would have this man released, you must feed him. So dried meat and fat were brought. Some of the fat she handed to the man to eat, while she cooked the dried meat. When ready she set the food before him, placed four small bits of meat in his mouth and then signed for him to eat. When he had finished, she set a bowl of water for him to wash. The chief then gave her permission to withdraw.

Then the chief sent for his horses. He ordered his best horse prepared for riding and loaded with baggage for the journey. Next he brought out clothing and dressed the man in his own fine clothes, even his ceremonial leggings, shirt, and moccasins. Finally, the girl brought a new robe and wrapped it around the man. The chief then addressed the Dakota: "You are to go home. You are a free man. All these things we give you. My daughter here saved your life. She alone did it. Now go to your people and tell them of her deeds."

Four soldiers were called in to escort the Dakota beyond the range of the Pawnee, but some revengeful young man attacked him. Far across the Loupe they sent him on his way. He reached home safely.

Some three years later the Pawnee were surprised to receive a visit from their enemies, the Dakota. It was a very large party that came to the chief's lodge, the leader asked for the girl who saved the life of a Dakota. Then they knew him. The chief took him into his own lodge and the others were quartered in the village.

The Pawnee entertained their guests well. On the last day they gave the iruska dance for their visitors. The Dakota entered into the dance. He was naked; on his body were painted red spots to show his burns and many prints of hands since he had been held by many of the Pawnee. He addressed the Pawnee, explaining that he had come to see his daughter once more, she who had saved his life, that his own people did not believe his story; hence he brought them that they might see for themselves. In return the Pawnee vouched for the narrative.

Many times during his life this Dakota visited the Pawnee and he labored un- [648]
ceasingly to bring about a permanent peace between them and his people.

MODERN CEREMONIES.

527 796 Among the northern Plains tribes there are a number of associations for social dancing and entertainment. Such seem to be wanting among the Pawnee, as the following pages will show, but certain more or less serious ceremonies are now made the occasion for considerable social enjoyment. The widely diffused Omaha, or grass dance, forms of the ghost dance, and of the peyote almost exhaust the list of modern ceremonies. We heard of no women's guilds or clubs and no dances of any kind save those mentioned above.

THE MODERN IRUSKA.

175 177 ●648 The well-known Omaha, or grass dance, is generally known among the Pawnee as a variation of their own iruska (p. 608), though in its present form it was introduced through Oglala influence.

796 *The Skidi Iruska.* In 1887 three Pawnee Skidi men went to visit the Oglala Indians. Arriving there, they were entertained by Young-man-afraid-of-his-horses and were feasted throughout the village for several days. On the last day an iruska dance was held for their benefit. The Sioux gathered in a large round house built for dancing. The drum was carried in and the dancers filed in. The Sioux began to sing and the Pawnee noted that the songs were different from their own. However, they danced with the Sioux and received many presents, moccasins, pipes, and beaded objects. The Sioux singers asked the Pawnee to sing some of their songs which the Pawnee did. The Sioux were pleased with the Pawnee singing and gave them more presents.

When the three Pawnee men returned to their home they began to teach other young men the Sioux songs they had learned. One day some Skidi young men came together and Knife-chief told them about the Sioux dance. The old Pawnee iruska dancers never used sleigh bells upon their bodies; but did use them around the drum. The Sioux dancers also wore ornamental clothes while the Pawnee did not. All the Pawnee dancers wore was the headgear and the bustles. The Sioux bustle was also different.

175 575 796 Knife-chief had a bass drum brought in and began to teach the Sioux songs. Those who were not singing, danced, but they did not know how to keep time. After the singing, the dance society was organized. Knife-chief was the drum keeper and leader of the singers. Then two chiefs were

262 that spoons are carried instead of sticks. Among the other divisions of
796 the Pawnee, buffalo meat was used with a less formal procedure. The
Skidi form of feast is now found among many tribes.

The whip bearers are probably of Omaha or Osage origin for in that tribe
174 they are the police officers of a ceremony. The bearing of a sword is probably
177 due to Pawnee influence, at least it was original with them. Once when at
648 Washington, D. C., each Pawnee chief was presented with a sword for his
796 aid (p. 557) which thenceforth became the badge of office. Some of the aids
carried their swords to battle and counted coup with them. Later, the Pawnee scouts in the United States service carried swords and when discharged those who had struck enemies retained them. Now in the iruska all having struck enemies with tomahawks could demonstrate in the dance; so the bearers of swords came to have the same privileges.

THE GHOST DANCE.

668 According to the Pawnee, the ghost dance religion first came to the
Arapaho, thence to the Cheyenne, the Kiowa and Comanche and finally
796 to the Wichita.

787 In 1890 it was rumored among the Pawnee that a Messiah had appeared to an Indian somewhere in the mountains and that all the dead Indian people would return to the earth. The story was that a Paiute Indian had died and was taken up to the top of a high mountain and laid out. After he had lain there four days, he revived and came down from the mountain. He told his people that while he was on the mountain his spirit had traveled in a strange and beautiful country; that on his journey he crossed a small stream of clear water and came to a cedar tree where he saw handkerchiefs of every color and all sorts of feathers. At the base of the tree he saw several pipes and different kinds of paint. He took a white cotton handkerchief and some of the red earth. He went on and as he neared a mound he saw someone standing there, clad in white and purple robes. This person had long hair, parted in the middle. He held out his hands to show the cuts in them, but did not look up. The man saw that he was the Messiah, the white man's Jesus, the son of the Father in the Heavens. The man noted by his manner that he wanted him to pass by for he did not speak, so he passed on his left and went on. Presently he saw in a valley an Indian village, extending along the whole bottom.

As he neared the village of tipis he noticed a man approaching. When they met he found the man was his father who embraced him and took him into the village. On the outskirts of the village he saw men playing javelin

down upon the ground. After the excitement they all went back to camp 668
and danced until ten o'clock that night. The next morning all joined the
dance again. This time a woman entered the ring and began to act as if 786
crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and 796
strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, "That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth." Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit. The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right.

While the Wichita had been indifferent to the teachings of White, the 668
Pawnee soon became enthusiasts. White went first to the Pitahaurata
village and began his ceremonies, where at once a few had the trances. As 796
the news spread, the chiefs of all the Pawnee villages met to see demonstrations and discuss the movement. Two days were given over to dancing. The first camp was broken up by a fire, a tipi catching fire ignited the grass and destroyed much property; but undismayed a new camp was formed. Many persons went into trances, while many were alarmed at the intensity of the phenomenon. White then demonstrated his power by putting bystanders into trances by touching them. Finally he closed the demonstration by a spectacular race. Taking his position in the center, the converts around in a circle, he caused them to fall at will.

After this, practically the whole of the Pawnee were under White's influence. Dances were almost continuous during the winter and the following summer. Infatuated with the belief in the immediate destruction
of the world, they planted no crops and threw away their property. Natur- [648]
ally, they became sullen and disobedient to their Agent, resulting in the
arrest of White by United States marshals.

This excited the Indians greatly and almost caused hostilities. In the meantime the Oto had taken up the Pawnee dance and also threatened to go on the warpath. Owing to the skill of their Agent, the Pawnee were quieted and White released. He himself did what he could to develop the movement into a less militant religion. To do this he magnified the Chris-
tian elements. There was opposition for a time for all the old Pawnee [756]
medicinemen took the trances as forms of the powers formerly exercised by the animal lodges (p. 602) and began a vigorous revival, each setting himself up as a prophet and seeking to outdo the others. White died in 1893, after which the strength and unity of the religion quickly disappeared among the many rival prophets.

This Pawnee ceremony seems to have been largely original with White

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

DESCRIPTION
OF THE
Manners and Customs of the Pawnee Indians.

(By Br. D. Z. Smith.)

619 **Bands or Clans.**—All the Indian tribes are subdivided into bands or clans. The *Pawnees* have among them four distinct
643 bands, viz: the Loups (pronounced *Loos*,) the Republicans, the Topages, (Tuppays,) and the Grand Pawnees. Each band has at its head a Chief, among whom, however, the Chief of the Grand Pawnees, Asseruregarrigu, is considered the Principal Chief of the whole tribe.

Villages, Localities, former Missionaries, &c.—The Paw-
131 nees live in two villages at present, both on the South side of the Platte or Nebraska river. The lower village lies about 50 miles from Bellevue, and about 10 or 15 miles above the mouth of the Elkhorn river, the first important tributary of the Platte from the North; and the upper village is situated about 20 or 25 miles above the lower, nearly opposite the mouth of the Loup Fork of the Platte, the next branch of any consequence above the Elkhorn.
361 Both villages are situated on eminences, so that the approach of an enemy can easily be observed, and a sharp lookout is constantly kept in order to guard against any sudden surprise from a hostile force. Sentinels are constantly posted on all the surrounding
648 heights, who can immediately by signs, known among the Indians,
726 transmit intelligence in case of impending danger. During the night, sentinels are constantly perched upon the tops of the lodges, to guard against any unexpected nocturnal attack.—When we were on our return, and remained over night at the Loup village, a report, probably a false alarm, had reached there during the day, that a large war-party of Sioux had lately been seen near the head waters of the Elkhorn river. During the night the sentinels were as usual posted upon the lodges, a little more noisy, however, than generally, yelling to one another and singing, nearly the whole night. Upon our inquiring why the sentinels made so much noise, we were informed, that it was to let the Sioux know, should they be near, that they might not expect to find them off their guard.

Thus it will be observed, that a certain kind of military organization is constantly kept up at each village, rendered necessary by their wars with their enemies. This unpleasant state of things
000 can only be removed through the benign influence of the Gospel, when "they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they *learn* war any more. But they shall sit

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

every man under his vine and fig-tree; and *none* shall make them 000
afraid." Mic. 4. 3, 4.

As hinted in a note in a previous communication, (see February 131
Miscellany, p. 62.) the Pawnee villages are not located on their 648
own land. Formerly the land on both sides of the Platte river
belonged to them. But about the year 1835 they concluded a
treaty with the United States, in which they ceded to the latter all
their territory on the South side of the river. Their villages were
then situated about 150 miles further up the Platte on the North
side. The missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. were then residing 797
with them, their mission stations being situated in the vicinity
of these villages. When the Pawnees were at their homes, which
is only four or five months of the year, (the remaining months [221]
being consumed on their summer and fall hunts) the missionaries
were engaged in teaching such of their children as could be induced
to attend school, and in instructing the people in the truths of
religion, as well as they could according to their limited knowledge
of the language. About six years ago, the powerful Sioux made 648
repeated incursions into the Pawnee country, and the strength of
the latter being very much weakened by their frequent wars with 797
their enemies, they were obliged to succomb, and at length forced
to leave their former location on the North side of the Platte, and
to remove to the South side, nearer to the white settlements on
the Missouri river. The missionaries too found it unsafe to remain,
and it was thought advisable to suspend their missionary
operations among them. Mr. and Mrs. Allis (See August Misc.
1851, pp. 221, 222, and also February Misc. 1852, p. 64.) are
remnants of this noble band of missionaries, and, still cherishing
the desire, that these benighted but very interesting people might
be enlightened by the gospel, have, while their fellow-laborers
have long ago left for other fields of usefulness, still lingered behind,
—and toiled on, amidst many self-denials, privations, and discouragements,
in doing whatever lay in their power for the good
of these Indians. Lately the government has established Fort
Kearney, not far distant from their former villages, which, it is
hoped, will be a security against future incursions, and prove a
safeguard, when our mission will once be established among them.

LANGUAGE.—The Pawnee language is said to be altogether different 197
from the languages of the surrounding prairie tribes. The
Otoes, the Ioways, the Osages, the Kanzas or Caws, the Omahaws,
the Puncaws, etc., seem all to speak dialects of the same
language, the Dakota; while the Pawnee language seems, by its
great difference, to point back to the earliest periods of the residence
of the Indians in this country, when a disruption may have taken
place, that formed them into a distinct nation.

POPULATION, LODGES, etc.—The lower village consists of about 361 161

241 stantly herded and watched during the day time, and shut up in
[231] enclosures in the village during the night, fences are unnecessary.
While absent from their homes, their fields are subject to depredations
from prairie wolves and deer, which however no ordinary
fence could restrain.—Because these poor people have no other
agricultural implements than hoes, the spots which they are obliged
to select for fields, are often at great distances from each other,
241 and frequently from five to eight miles from their village. When
721 abroad, to prepare and plant them in the spring, and gather the
corn in the fall, they are often exposed to attacks of their enemies.
While the husband is watching from some neighboring eminence
to guard against the stealthy approach of any hostile force, the
wive is engaged in the labor of the field. With fear and trembling
their field-labor is thus performed, and many a one, while
so employed, is suddenly fallen upon and killed by a marauding
party of enemies.

241 When we visited them, they particularly requested us, "to beg
their Great Father, the President, that he should be so kind and
648 again break up some ground for them, as he had done in former
years, that they might be able to plant more corn." We have
brought in the petition of these destitute people before the proper
Department at Washington, and it is greatly to be desired that our
benevolent Government may do something for them in their wretched
state.

721 As has already been remarked, they were in an almost starving
condition, when we visited them. The hunt had proved unsuccessful,
731 so that in the lower village th[illegible] had no meat whatever,
and had to depend upon the little co[illegible]t they had raised the
preceding year. In the upper villa[illegible] were also in a miserable
condition, for, though they had y[illegible]ittle dried buffalo-meat,
the Sioux had during their absence on the hunt, destroyed their
village, (their present lodges had been rebuilt since their return,)
and carried off a portion of their corn, burnt another portion, and
thus very little remained concealed in the "caches," which are
made in their lodges.*

---

251 * A *cache* is a term common among traders and hunters, to designate a hiding-place for provisions and effects. It is derived from the French word *cacher*, to conceal, and originated among the early colonists of Canada and Louisiana; but the secret depository which it designates was in use among the aboriginals long before the intrusion of the white men. It is, in fact, the only mode that migratory hordes have of preserving their valuables from robbery, during their long absences from their villages or accustomed haunts, on hunting expeditions, or during the vicissitudes of war. The utmost skill and caution are required to render their places of concealment invisible to the lynx eye of an Indian. The first care is to seek out a proper situation, which is generally some dry low bank of clay, on the margin of a water course. As soon as the precise spot is pitched upon, blankets, saddle clothes, and other

PREFACE

The Pawnee have been known to white men since, probably, 1541, 101
and certainly since 1673. They were the most numerous and power- 648
ful of the tribes constituting the Caddoan linguistic stock and one of
the most important of the entire Plains area. Since the earliest
definite historic mention of them they have been resident in Ne- [131]
braska and the extreme northern portion of Kansas, particularly on the Loup, Platte, and Republican Rivers. As a tribe they were always friendly to the Europeans and later to the Americans, rendering invaluable aid as scouts in the Indian troubles on the Plains during the middle half of the nineteenth century; and that despite the half-hearted and tardy attentions that too often characterized the Government's relations with them.

The tribe has been variously described by early explorers, mission- 114
aries, fur traders, Army officers, and travelers, many of whom left very valuable and worth-while accounts concerning them in their native habitat in the Loup and Platte Valleys. In more recent years, on their reservation in Oklahoma, they have been studied by linguists and ethnologists, though much of this material is still unpublished. Of outstanding note among the available treatises in this field is the work of Dunbar in general ethnology, of Dorsey in mythology, of Grinnell in folk-tales, and of Murie in social and political organization. Archeological remains, surprisingly rich and numerous at many of the old village sites formerly occupied by the tribe, have received but little systematic attention up to the present, save for the excellent beginnings made by a few local collectors. Yet it is this latter, long-neglected field of research which must come to be more and more drawn upon for information regarding this fast-vanishing tribe and its native culture.

The primary purpose of this paper, as originally planned, was to 121
present a purely objective preliminary report on the archeology of the Pawnee, drawing together all data at present available and recording it in systematic fashion. More or less inadvertently, the scope was broadened to include a review of the traditions dealing with the origin and early movements of the tribe, as well as a concise summary of the documentary history of the tribe from 1541 to 1876. To this were added brief notes on the environment of the group, and such other significant facts as may be helpful to an understanding of the subject. The social, political, and religious phases

[P. Viii contains no text]

101 much more limited. On the west the *Padouca* (Comanche) were
131 firmly established in the forks of the Dismal River,[16] on the shores of some of the lakes in the sandhill region of the present Cherry County, Nebr.,[17] and on the upper reaches of the Smoky Hill River[18] in the present northern Kansas. Between Pawnee and *Padouca*
101 there was incessant warfare, and it is unlikely that the former at
● 648 any time ventured far beyond the forks of the Platte, save on
131 occasional war or hunting trips. Early in the nineteenth century the *Padouca* were pushed southward by the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Teton Dakota, who formed an equally effective check against westward movements by the Pawnee. On the east the Omaha controlled a large area north of the Platte from Shell Creek to the mouth of the Niobrara, and south of the Platte the Oto claimed as theirs the lands lying east of the Big Blue and north of the Big Nemaha. From the Big Nemaha south to the Kansas River and west to the Republican the Kansa were in undisputed possession, and south of this tribe the equally hostile Osage roamed westward nearly to the great bend of the Arkansas. The actual area over
101 which the Pawnee hunted and exercised chief control was thus a
131 strip, as follows: Commencing with the Niobrara (between its mouth and Plum Creek) and extending southward to include the Platte between Shell Creek and the present city of North Platte, thence into Kansas to include the Smoky Hill drainage between the Republican River and the ninety-ninth meridian, with the western periphery then swinging westward by south toward the upper reaches of the Arkansas, while the eastern limit ran toward the southwestern corner of present Kansas. (See map 1. Compare
[361] Strong, 1935, fig. 2.) The permanent villages of the tribe were located in the valleys of the lower Loup and Platte Rivers, and on the Republican, in the present State of Nebraska; the region to the south served solely as hunting and wintering grounds, and Pawnee claims were often disputed or ignored by neighboring tribes.

133 Generally speaking, the region which formerly constituted the Pawnee demesne, as above described, is a high, dry, grass-covered plain, or more accurately, a series of plains interspersed with river valleys. The northern portion, lying within the borders of the present State of Nebraska, includes several thousand square miles of the great loess mantle deposited during or shortly following the Pleistocene glaciation of the region. North of the Platte erosion has progressed sufficiently to produce a hilly and broken topography, consisting of small loess plains and canyons grading into loess-capped hills toward the east. A great wedge of dune lands and sand

---

[16] Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pp. 88, 91. However, compare Grinnell, 1920, p. 260.
[17] Dorsey, J. O., 1886, p. 220.
[18] Margry Papers, vol. VI, pp. 398–448.

175 131 comparison with subsequent accounts it appears that the villages were then in the present Nance County, Nebr., the Grand-Republican village at the mouth of Horse Creek, and the Skidi village due north of Palmer.

The journal of Maj. S. H. Long's expedition,[84] in 1819, gives very explicit information on the Pawnee. Proceeding up the Loup after crossing Beaver Creek, and 4 miles farther on the Creek of Souls (now Council Creek), the party encamped on "a small creek (now Plum Creek), 11 miles distant from the village of the Grand Pawnees."[85] Evidently this refers to the village at the mouth of Horse Creek. The Republicans had withdrawn from the band and were in a separate village 4 miles above the Grand Pawnee,[86] presumably at the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. Three miles farther upstream, and like the other villages on the immediate bank of the river, were the Skidi,[87] at the site north of the present Palmer. The three villages occupied "about 10 miles in length of the fertile valley of the Wolf [Loup] River. The surface is wholly naked of timber, rising gradually to the river hills, which are broad and low, and from a mile to a mile and a half distant."[88] Throughout, the narrative is sufficiently clear to make the accurate relocation of the villages possible to one familiar with the region described (map 10).

Reports by the Rev. Jedidiah Morse[89] in 1822 and by Captain Ashley[90] in 1824 indicate that the villages of the tribe were still in about the same location at that date. According to Ashley it was 15 miles south to the Platte from the villages[91] and "Plumb Point", a few miles west of the present Kearney, was the customary crossing place of the Pawnee "on their route to the wintering grounds on the Arkansas River."[92]

In 1833 Commissioner Ellsworth negotiated a treaty with the [648] Pawnee whereby the tribe ceded to the United States all lands claimed by it lying south of the Platte River. He was accompanied by J. T. Irving, who recorded unofficially many details of the visit to the villages.[93] The Grand Pawnee had abandoned the Horse Creek site where they had been visited by Long and had established their village "at the foot of a long range of hills (and) within about 50 yards of the Platte",[94] on the right bank of the stream. This was

---

[84] 1823, vol. i.
[85] Ibid., p. 435.
[86] Ibid., pp. 354, 440.
[87] Ibid., p. 354.
[88] Ibid., p. 446.
[89] 1822, pp. 237–238.
[90] 1918, p. 118.
[91] Idem.
[92] Idem.
[93] 1835, vol. ii.
[94] Ibid., p. 10.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

probably opposite the present station of Clarks, in Polk County. The Republican Band was about 20 miles to the northwest on the Loup,[65] having apparently removed from where Long saw them on the Cottonwood site to the Horse Creek site evacuated by the Grands. The Tappage Band, here mentioned for the first time, was located 11 miles farther up the Loup,[66] and 10 miles beyond were the Skidi.[67] The last three villages were all situated on a high bank immediately overlooking the river. The distances from the Republican to the Tappage and Skidi villages, as here recorded, are too great to be reconciled with known Pawnee sites in that area, consequently later investigators are inclined to regard them as inaccurate, and to suggest that the Tappage village was actually at the Cottonwood Creek site and the Skidi village near by, at or near the location given by Long.[68] 175 131

Catlin, about 1835, referred briefly to the Pawnee as living on the Platte 100 miles above its confluence with the Missouri, occupying "four villages, some few miles apart."[69] It is doubtful whether he ever actually saw the villages, and his rather vague report adds little to our knowledge. [114]

In June 1835 Col. Henry Dodge and a detachment of dragoons marched up the right, or south, bank of the Platte en route to the Rocky Mountains. They passed through the Grand Pawnee village after "having marched 80 miles since leaving the Otto village [at Yutan]."[1] The reference here is to the same village as that where Irving visited the band two years earlier. Dodge mentions the other three bands also,[2] but fails to locate their villages, from which we may infer that they were still on the old sites along the Loup and off the route traveled by the dragoons. Of especial interest is the statement that "the Arickaras had been living with the Pawnee Loups all winter, but were scared away previous to our arrival by a lying Kansas",[3] and the subsequent information that the Arikara had been driven from their habitat on the Missouri by the Sioux.[4] On the expedition's map but one Pawnee village is indicated, and that one opposite the lower end of Grand Island.[5] [648]

Fremont's expedition, while descending the Platte from the Rockies in 1842, halted "at the village of the Grand Pawnee on

---

[65] 1835, vol. II, p. 67.

[66] Ibid., p. 119.

[67] Ibid., p. 125.

[68] A. T. Hill, personal communication.

[69] 1841, vol. II, pp. 24–27.

[1] Dodge, 1861, p. 133; also map no. 664 B.

[2] Idem.

[3] Idem.

[4] Ibid., p. 136.

[5] Grand Island is some 25 miles above Clarks, but Prairie Island, which may have been mistaken for the former, commences just above the site and extends approximately 10 miles upstream.

175 the right bank of the river, about 30 miles above the mouth of the
Loup Fork."[7] At about the same time Gregg[8] states that the
131 principal village of the tribe was on the Loup Fork of the Platte,
probably on the basis of reports by traders and others.

A second detachment of dragoons, Major Wharton in command, visited the Pawnee villages in 1844. A council was held in the Grand village, located "at the point of a projecting ridge", or "headland",[9] on the right bank of the Platte. A few miles upstream was a village of the Republican band, the site of which has never been specifically determined.[10] The villages on the Loup were for the most part abandoned by this time, the Skidi and Tappage having also removed to new locations,[11] farther down the Loup.

The movements of the various bands from 1835 to 1845 are perhaps best recorded in the letters of John Dunbar,[12] Presbyterian missionary who attached himself to the Grand band and was later in charge of the Plum Creek (now Council Creek) mission station. Thus, in 1835, the village of the Grand Pawnee was situated "on the south side of the River Platte, about 120 miles from the mouth of the stream . . . (and) . . . about 30 rods from the water's edge."[13] The following spring he visited the village of the Republican and Tappage bands, 25 miles from that of the Grands, "on a high bluff on the north side of the Loup Fork about 30 miles above its junction with the Platte." Four miles above was the Little Republican village, and 3 miles farther still were the Skidi,[14] both on high steep bluffs overlooking the Loup. By 1839 the Republicans were split into four groups, with their main village "on the south side of the Platte, a short distance above the village of the Grand Pawnees",[15] where, it will be recalled, Wharton also reported them in 1844. By the autumn of 1842 the Tappage, together with many Grands and Republicans, had established "a village of 41 lodges" about a mile from the Plum Creek (now Council Creek) mission, and shortly the Skidi settled 3 miles above on the immediate river
bank at the mouth of Willow (Cedar) Creek, about 2 miles east
175 of the present town of Fullerton.[16] On June 27, 1843, a Dakota raid
131 on the lower village culminated disastrously for the Pawnee and
648 they sought the security of the main Grand village south of the

---

[7] 1845, p. 78.
[8] 1845, vol. II, p. 300.
[9] 1844, p. 20.
[10] Ibid., p. 29.
[11] Ibid., p. 30.
[12] 1918, pp. 570-689.
[13] Ibid., p. 599.
[14] Ibid., pp. 617-618. These three villages are now known as Horse Creek, Cottonwood, and Palmer sites, respectively. See also Long's location of villages in 1819.
[15] Ibid., pp. 637, 640.
[16] Ibid., pp. 648, 656-660.

Platte.[17] A few months later, however, the fugitives removed again 175
to the Loup, this time to join the Skidi 4 miles from the mission, and 131
in 1844 they were fortifying this village by means of a ditch and
turf wall, besides requesting two hundred guns from the govern- 648
ment agent for protection against the dreaded Dakota.[18] By the
end of the year the greater part of the tribe was settled on the north
bank of the Loup,[19] and in 1846, after the hostility of the Sioux
and the increasing discontent of the Pawnee had necessitated the
abandonment of the mission, Dunbar alludes to "thieves and robbers"
south of the Platte in contrast to "Pawnees who have removed
north of the Platte".[20] Most of the difficulties experienced by emigrant
trains on the Mormon and Oregon Trails through this region,
at least after about 1847, were due to the activities of the renegade
Pawnee who insisted upon remaining south of the Platte River on
lands no longer their own.

Confirmation of this situation is seen in the journal of William 175
Clayton, written in 1847, as accurate as it is interesting. Clayton was
with the first party of Mormons to travel over this trail, and his 131
observations on the Pawnee, though not extensive, afford a good check
on some of the other reports. The party proceeded up the left bank
of the Loup, all distances being computed from the recorded revolutions
of the wagon wheels. Thus, at a distance of about 25 miles
west of Shell Creek was seen the first village, of skins, on the south
side of the Loup[21] about 5 or 6 miles west of and across the river
from the present city of Columbus. Four miles southwest of the old
mission, just above the ford across the Loup, was the ruin of the old
Skidi village of some two hundred lodges.[22] Accurate as the account
generally is, Clayton, singularly enough, fails to mention the sizable
Cedar Creek which falls into the Loup just above the site. The aban- [648]
donment of this location, to which after 1846 had moved virtually all
of the bands, came about as the result of its having been burned
twice by the Sioux while the tribe was absent on hunts.[23] The encampment
on the lower Loup represented the greater portion of the
homeless and discouraged residents of this village. After fording
the Loup the party continued on up its right bank, and Clayton
records two ruined Indian villages seen on the high north bank, one
at 10, the other at 17, miles above the ford.[24] Though on the opposite
side of the river, he described the tumble-down lodges, the directions

---

[17] At the village visited by Dodge, Wharton, et al.—i. e., opposite Clarks.
[18] Ibid., p. 663.
[19] Ibid., p. 671.
[20] Ibid., pp. 685 ff.
[21] 1921, pp. 84–87.
[22] Ibid., p. 95 ff.
[23] Ibid., p. 95.
[24] Ibid., p. 106.

175
131
of the entrances, and the indications of former cultivated fields as plainly visible. That these two ruins were those of the Horse Creek and Cottonwood sites, which Dunbar found inhabited in 1836 and which were apparently not abandoned until 1842, there can be no reasonable doubt.

Father De Smet in 1847[25] recorded the Pawnee Nation as divided into four tribes, with their villages on the Platte, or Nebraska, River, and its branches, approximately 150 miles from the Missouri. His best contribution on the tribe is a graphic account of the Morning-Star human sacrifice of the Skidi.[26]

In 1851 Gottlieb Oehler and David Smith, two Moravian missionaries, made a hurried trip to the villages of the Pawnee, now but two in number, and both on the south side of the Platte. The lower village was located on a high bluff overlooking the valley 10 or 15 miles above the mouth of the Elkhorn,[27] probably at the site about 3 miles due south of Fremont. Twenty-five miles upstream, but on the valley bottom, was the other village, generally identified with the later site at Linwood. The traditional arrangement of the villages of the bands,[28] whereby the Skidi were always farthest toward the west, was apparently disregarded here, as the information, though rather vague, suggests that the Skidi were at the lower, or easternmost, site.[29] General Thayer, who held a council with the Pawnee at this village in 1855, locates it "on the south and west side of the Platte River on a very high point a few miles this side (south) of where the town of Fremont had just commenced a settlement."[30] A granite monument now marks the spot where Thayer's council was convened, on the edge of a high bluff overlooking the Platte bottoms.

175
648
Increasing friction between white settlers and the discontented Pawnee led to the treaty of Table Creek in 1857, whereby the tribe gave up the claim to lands lying north of the Platte and was assigned to a reservation 30 miles long by 15 wide, lying along both sides of the Loup.[31] Some difficulty was experienced in persuading the Pawnee to return to this region, but they finally did so with the understanding that the Government was to provide protection against the Dakota. Two villages, or what really amounted to one large scattering village, were established about a mile and a half south of Genoa, on a broad flat plain between Beaver Creek and the Loup River. Three of the bands settled in one village, on ground now occupied by the Genoa Cemetery; the Skidi were about a half mile farther west.

---

[25] 1905, vol. III, p. 974.
[26] Ibid., pp. 976–988.
[27] 1851, pp. 25–27.
[28] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, p. 257.
[29] Oehler and Smith, 1851, pp. 21, 25.
[30] 1907, p. 121.
[31] Royce, 1899, p. 818.

The promised protection was soon withdrawn, however, and by 1860 175
the Pawnee were again suffering from the harassment of their relentless foes, the Dakota.[23] In addition, the encroachments of the whites 648
from the east and south led to endless bickering and ill feeling between the two races. In 1870 a party of Republican Pawnee visited the Wichita Reservation in Indian Territory, meeting with a kindly reception, and on their return north agitation was begun within the tribe as well as from without for removal to the Territory. A crushing defeat by Teton and Oglala Dakota, while a portion of the Pawnee Tribe was engaged in their last buffalo hunt near what is now Trenton, in southwestern Nebraska, almost unnerved the remainder of the Pawnee, and in 1876, by common consent, the reservation was exchanged for lands in Indian Territory. The southward trek had actually begun nearly 2 years earlier, so that by late 1874 or 1875 the movement was practically consummated. The former reservation became Nance County, Nebr., and the once powerful Pawnee had passed forever from the territory they had for centuries known as their own.

ARCHEOLOGY

Historic Village Sites

Ancient village sites, almost always attributed locally to the 172*
Pawnee, are to be found on virtually every stream of any consequence
in eastern and southern Nebraska. These remains are especially 131
numerous along the north bank of the Loup below St. Paul, on the Platte between Prairie Island and Ashland, and on the Republican throughout its entire length in Nebraska, including also a short stretch of the latter stream in northern Kansas. Within historic times the permanent villages of the Pawnee were located in the lower Loup and Platte Valleys and on the Republican both north and south of the Kansas-Nebraska line, so that in all probability many of the so-called "Pawnee sites" in the area will ultimately prove to be correctly designated. However, in view of the fact that archeology here is still in the nascent stage, with little or no material from the vast majority of such sites, it is absurd to label as Pawnee all Indian remains found in the region. The specific tribal name should be applied only to sites known by documentary references or through careful archeological investigation to have been occupied by the Pawnee; any other sites should be differently and distinctively designated.

The characteristic form of habitation of the Pawnee when in their 172*
permanent villages was the earth lodge, of which a detailed description 342
will be given later. Here it may be pointed out that the lodge

---

[23] Gillis, 1860, pp. 93-95.

*172 361 lodges. The burial grounds have been looted to only a limited extent. However, the lateness of occupancy makes it seem improbable that the site would repay detailed investigation as it falls entirely within the historic period and presents few of the true native traits of the Pawnee.

[797] Plum Creek site.—Approximately coincident with the establishment of the Skidi village at the mouth of the Cedar, as previously noted, the greater portion of the Grands, with the Republican and Tappage bands, jointly took up their residence 3 miles farther down the Loup, also on the north bank of the stream, and within a mile of the Presbyterian mission station on Plum Creek.[61] The spot where the mission formerly stood has been recently located on the west bank of the present Council Creek, perhaps 200 yards below the point where the latter leaves the bluffs. The Pawnee site has not been definitely determined, but since it was visible from the mission, and only a mile distant,[62] it would appear that the site is to be sought just north of the Union Pacific Railroad about 8 miles southwest of Genoa. There is here a slight bench, all under cultivation, on which the village was probably located. Since the site was occupied for but a few years it is doubtful whether there remains much village detritus. This, together with the very limited search that has been made, probably accounts for the uncertainty regarding its location, and also renders it unlikely that the site possesses much of real archeological value.

REPUBLICAN PAWNEE SITES

175 The Republican Pawnee, an offshoot of the Grands, first appear in literature in 1777 as one of the tribes receiving presents at the Spanish post of St. Louis.[63] Their habitat even at that early date was the Republican Valley, which they abandoned during the first decade of the nineteenth century for a more secure location with the Grands on the Platte and Loup Rivers.[64] It is extremely doubtful [648] whether this band, as such, ever resided much farther south than the valley of the Republican, as its history is one of continual warfare with the hostile Kansa on the Kansas and lower Republican Rivers. After 1812 they were nearly always intimately associated with the parent band of Grand Pawnee, and during much of the time they *172 361 occupied the same village. At least two and possibly three sites may be regarded as predominantly Republican Pawnee, although others were used from time to time in conjunction with other bands.

---

[61] Now known as "Council Creek," the names of the two streams having been reversed since that time. "The next stream west of the Beaver is Plum Creek, on which was the mission station."—Platt, E. G., 1892, p. 131.

[62] Dunbar, 1918, pp. 648, 654.

[63] Houck, 1909, vol. i, p. 142.

[64] Lewis and Clark, 1832, p. 709; Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 440.

*172 105 situated upon the banks of the Platte, the general course of which is from west to east. Hence each of these words has acquired a new meaning, i. e., *west* and *east*. So, also Kir-i-ku-ruks-tu, *toward* or *with* the Wichitas, has come to mean *south*. Such developments are perfectly natural in the history of a language but require time.[30]

Dorsey[1] and Grinnell[2] merely place it at a time long before the coming of the white man. From historical data it appears probable that the tribe was somewhere north of the Kansas River by the time of Coronado's visit in 1541, and by 1673 the location of the Pawnee and neighboring tribes was essentially the same as it was at the opening of the nineteenth century.[3] This, together with the prehistoric and very early historic archeology, so far as it is now known, rather indicates that the Pawnee were firmly established in the Platte and Republican Valleys by the opening of the sixteenth century, and quite possibly long before that time.

*172 174 105 Before leaving the subject of traditions we may briefly speculate on the identity of the peoples who were driven out of the northern valleys by the immigrant Pawnee. Dunbar's theory of a Siouan occupation is scarcely tenable, at least in the light of our present knowledge, since it is generally conceded that Oto, Ponca, and Omaha reached the area after the Pawnee had become permanently settled there. Tradition affords no information whatever, and neither Dorsey nor Grinnell even mention the conquest element. Lewis and Clark speak of the Comanche (Padouca) as having been at an earlier [648] time in the region immediately west of the Pawnee.[4] Between this last tribe and the Pawnee there was ceaseless hostility, the former having a fortified village in the forks of the Dismal River.[5] How long the Padouca were in the region prior to this time there is no way of determining as yet, but it is quite possible that that tribe formerly held lands farther to the east which subsequently were wrested from them by the Pawnee. Continued warfare between the two tribes, even without any general conquest by one or the other, would tend to encourage traditions of great exploits, especially in the event of a particularly successful campaign. Another possibility is that the northward movement of the Pawnee combined with the southward pressure exerted by Shoshonean peoples, such as the Comanche, resulted in the expulsion from the plains of some Athapascan tribe. Thus the Apache and Navaho, who resided generally south of the Comanche, or some people ancestral to them, may have been forced into the southwest some centuries prior to the arrival

---

[30] 1880, a, p. 251.

[1] 1906, p. 8.

[2] 1893, p. 215.

[3] Marquette map, 1900, p. 108.

[4] 1815, 35 ff. See Thomas, 1935, for early history of the Apache and Comanche.

[5] Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 88.

plain, its strength became exhausted, it came to the ground, and 223
was at once dispatched by those nearest to it.

Almost before the turkey's fate had been decided, many of the 484
lodges had been pitched, and now the slender gray columns from a hundred camp-fires began to climb up through the still air toward the blue above. The women were hard at work cooking, or spreading out freshly killed robes, or putting up drying scaffolds, while the [462]
men lounged in the shade and smoked or chatted. Our wagon was halted at one side of the camp, and the tired horses and mules were stripped of saddles and harness, and picketed near at hand. The Indian pack ponies were collected and driven off on the upland in charge of several boys.

We had invitations to eat meat at several lodges that day. Usually 574
we did not accept these freely proffered hospitalities, because we had no means of returning them, but one of these invitations came from a particular friend, and to-day we broke through our rule. We feasted on roast ribs, *ka'wis*, and dried meat, and really had a delightful time. It was about three o'clock when we finished the meal, and we were lounging about the lodge, smoking and chatting, in lazy after-dinner fashion, when we were startled by a series of yells and shouts, among which I distinguished the words "*Cha'-ra-rat wa-ta'* 648
—The Sioux are coming." Our Indian companions snatched up their 721
arms, and rushed out of the lodge, and we were not slow in following. "*Sūks-e-kitta-wit wis-kūts*—Get on your horses quick," shouted our host. The camp was in a state of wild excitement. Naked men were running to their horses, and jerking their lariats from the picket pins, sprang on their backs and rode hard for the hills; while women and boys rushed about, catching horses, and bringing them in among the lodges, where they were securely fastened. Less than a mile away, we saw the horse herd dashing along at top speed, and a little to one side of it a horseman riding in circles, and waving his blanket before him. It was evident that the Sioux were trying to run off the herd. We ran as hard as we could to the wagon, caught up rifles and cartridge belts, and buckling on the latter as we ran, kept on to the horses. There was no time to saddle up. We looped the ropes around their jaws, sprang on their naked backs, and were off. As

648 721 we rode up on the prairie, the herd of ponies thundered by, and swept down the bluffs to the camp. The rolling expanse before us was dotted with Indians, each one urging forward his horse to its utmost speed. Many of them were already a long way in advance, and were passing over the furthest high bluff, which seemed to rise up and meet the sky. Hard as we might push our ponies, there was little hope that we would be in time to have any hand in the encounter—if one took place—between the Pawnees and their hereditary foes.

We kept on until we reached the crest of the high bluff. From here we could see far off over the plain, dozens of black dots strung out after one another. Nearer at hand, other Indians, whose steeds, like ours, had proved too slow for the swift pursuit, were riding back toward us, showing in their faces the disappointment which they felt at being left behind. With these we turned about, and rode toward the camp. Among them was one of the herd boys, for the moment a hero, who had to repeat his story again and again. He had been sitting on top of a hill, not far from the horses, when he discovered several Sioux stealing toward them through a ravine. Signaling his comrades, they succeeded in getting the herd in motion before the robbers had approached very close to them. Eight of the slowest horses had dropped behind during the flight, and had no doubt fallen into the hands of the enemy.

One by one, the Indians came straggling back to camp during the afternoon and evening, but it was not until late that night that the main body of the pursuers came in. They had ten extra horses, two of which they had taken in turn from the Sioux. They had no scalps, however, for they had been unable to overtake the enemy.

Long we sat that night by the fire in *Pi'ta Le-shar's* lodge, talking over the exciting event of the afternoon; and as we rose to go to our wagons, and said good night, the old man, who had been silently gazing into the coals for some time, looked up at me and smiled, saying, "*Wa-ti-hes ti-kôt-it ti-ra-hah*—To-morrow we will kill buffalo."

224 When we turned out of our blankets the next morning, a heavy mist hung over the prairie. This was unfortunate, for so long as the fog lasted it would be impossible for the scouts to see far enough to discover the buffalo. The first few hours of the march were un-

With laughter and singing and story telling and dance the night wore away. 224

Over the plain where the buffalo had fallen, the gray wolf was prowling, and, with the coyote, the fox and the badger, tore at the [136] bones of the slain. When day came, the golden eagle and the buzzard perched upon the naked red skeletons, and took their toll. And far away to the southward, a few frightened buffalo, some of which had arrows sticking in their sore sides, were cropping the short grass of the prairie.

FRANK NORTH AND HIS SCOUTS

PANI LE-SHAR AND HIS SCOUTS

No account of the Pawnees' warfare would give any just impression 648 of their prowess if it omitted to mention *Pa'-ni Le-shar* and the forces which he commanded. The Pawnee Scouts, under the gallant and able leadership of Frank North, did splendid service against hostile Indians. They saved hundreds of lives and millions of dollars' worth of property, and in their campaign wiped out in blood the memory of many an injury done to their race by the Sioux, the Cheyennes, the Arapahoes and the Kiowas.

Frank North was born in Ohio, March 10, 1840. When about fifteen years of age he accompanied his family westward to Council Bluffs, and a little later across the Missouri River into Nebraska. At about this time, his father, who was a surveyor, was lost in a snowstorm, and the responsibility of caring for his family fell in large measure on the boy. Soon after this he obtained employment as clerk in the trader's store at the Pawnee agency, and thus made the acquaintance of the tribe. His strong character early brought him to the notice of their principal men, and almost before attaining manhood he had become a person of influence in the councils of the Pawnee Nation.

Pawnee, Blackfoot and Cheyenne

648 In the year 1864 Frank North was authorized to enlist a company of Pawnee scouts to be employed against the bands of hostile Indians, whose depredations were at that time becoming very troublesome. The command was organized that autumn, and did some service along the old emigrant trail. It was not until the summer of 1865, however, that it saw any serious fighting. In that year General Connor of California commanded a large expedition to the Powder River country, and the Pawnee scouts accompanied him and rendered brilliant service.

Later, during the building of the Union Pacific Railway, the depredations of the hostile Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahoes became so serious along the line of the road that the Government authorized Mr. North to enlist a battalion of scouts from the Pawnee Nation, and offered him the command with the rank of major. Several companies of these scouts were so enlisted, and for years the battalion did good service on the plains and in the mountains in Nebraska, Kansas and Wyoming, serving under Generals Auger, Emory, Carr, Royal, Mackenzie and Crook, some of the most successful Indian fighters in that Department. The Pawnee scouts were everywhere, and at all times brave men, good soldiers and victorious warriors. The amount of property saved to the Government, the settlers and the railroad through the efforts of Major North's command can scarcely be computed. In all his service of almost constant fighting, extending over a period of more than ten years, he never lost a man on the battle field, and this caused him to be regarded by the Pawnees as divinely favored.

It is impossible within the limits of a few pages to give even a sketch of the services performed by Frank North and his scouts. Two or three isolated episodes in his career will show something of the constant danger and hardship of the life he led, and of the courage, coolness and determination of the leader and his men.

Such an episode, memorable alike for its danger, the completeness of the victory gained, and the fact that it won for him the title by which he was ever after known among the Pawnees, marked his first campaign. It was in the Powder River country, and Captain North had started with a detachment of his scouts in pursuit of a party of Indians, whose trail he had found. For some weeks his men had been hard worked; and at this time their horses were so jaded that although they had come within sight of the Cheyennes, they were unable to

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

overtake them and force them to a fight. Captain North, who was mounted on a fresh horse, rode far ahead of his men, who were constantly falling further and further behind. At length, realizing the futility of continuing the pursuit, North dismounted, fired a parting shot at the Indians, and was about to ride back toward camp, when the fleeing Cheyennes, about twenty-five in number, turned and charged him. He then discovered that he had outridden all his men. Not one of them was in sight. Hastily dismounting, he prepared to receive the enemy, and firing as they advanced, killed one. The rest sheered off, and rode out of rifle shot, and then formed again for another charge. Feeling for a cartridge to reload his rifle, North made the startling discovery that he had but three left, all the others having been lost during his rapid ride. He found, too, that his horse had been wounded by a ball from the Cheyennes, and was in no condition for running; indeed, it could not be ridden. His situation seemed well nigh hopeless, but he prepared to make the best of it, by retreating on foot, leading his wounded horse as a shelter, from behind which to fight. When the Cheyennes charged him he would face about, raise his gun to his shoulder, as if about to fire, and the Indians, who had already tasted the quality of his lead, would drop down behind their horses, and sheer off, never coming so close to him as to make it necessary for him to use one of his precious cartridges. After a long weary walk of twelve or fifteen miles, during which his moccasin-shod feet were cruelly lacerated by the thorns of the cactus, over which he walked, his pursuers left him, and he reached his command in safety. No sooner had he arrived at the camp than, taking a fresh horse and ordering out a well-mounted detachment of his men, he set out in pursuit of the enemy. All that afternoon they rode hard, and when night fell, dismounting a couple of Pawnees to follow the trail on foot, the pursuit was still kept up. Just after daylight, as they rode out into a little park in the mountains, a tiny column of blue smoke rising from a clump of cottonwood trees showed where the hostiles were camped. The Pawnees rode steadily forward in double file in military fashion; and the Cheyennes, supposing that they were white soldiers, jumped on their horses and rode out onto the open hillside where they formed a line of battle to meet the enemy. The Pawnees rode quietly onward until they were quite near the Cheyennes, and then loud and clear

648

648 their ringing war whoop broke out upon the morning air. When the Cheyennes heard this war-cry, which told them that the attacking party were Pawnees, their hearts became like water, and they turned and fled. Already, however, seven of their number had fallen before the Pawnee bullets, and the fresher horses of the Pawnees easily overtook the tired ones ridden by the pursued. Of that party of Cheyennes not one escaped, and with twenty-seven scalps, and all the plunder, the victorious Pawnees returned that afternoon to their command.

Among the captured property were thirty-five horses and mules, some of which had been taken from a party of fifteen soldiers, killed to a man by these Cheyennes but a few days before; there were also the scalps of these soldiers, and wearing apparel belonging to white women and children, which justified the belief that they had recently massacred a party of emigrants.

[727 It was on the occasion of the scalp dance which followed this
55] victory, and when the Scouts were changing their names, as was the custom after a successful encounter with the enemy, that the Pawnees gave to Major North the title *Pa'-ni Le-shar* (Chief of the Pawnees), a name which has been borne by only one other white man, General John C. Fremont, the Pathfinder.

The story of the killing of Tall Bull, and the fight with Turkey Leg's band of Sioux, illustrate the readiness and the daring of Major North in battle. Tall Bull was a chief who commanded a large village of renegade Sioux and Cheyennes, who had given great trouble by their depredations. Major North, with his Pawnees and some white United States troops, had been looking for this village for some time, and at length succeeded in surprising it near Summit Springs. The village was captured in the charge and many of the hostiles killed. Others fled or concealed themselves in the ravines and washouts, which seamed the prairie, and made a desperate fight. The Pawnees were scattered about in little parties, killing the Indians thus concealed, when Major North and his brother came riding rapidly along, side by side, over the open prairie. They had approached within fifty or sixty yards of a narrow steep-walled ravine, of the existence of which they were ignorant, when an Indian raised his head above its side and fired. The ball whistled between the heads of the two riders; Major North threw up his hands and reeled in the saddle as if about to fall, and the

Indian's head disappeared from sight. Springing from his horse, the 648 Major handed his bridle rein to his brother and directed him to ride away at a gallop. The tramp of the two horses sounded more and more faintly on the hard ground, and the Indian, thinking that the whites were riding off, raised his head to note the effect of his shot. North's rifle was already leveled at the spot where the head had disappeared, and as the black hair came into view the finger pressed the trigger more and more closely, and as the eyes appeared above the ground, a ball pierced the brain of Tall Bull. A hundred yards up the ravine was found his war pony, stabbed to the heart, and by it sat his squaw, awaiting with Indian patience whatever fate might come to her.

During one of the summer hunts, on which Major North accompanied the Pawnees, they were one day scattered out over the prairie running buffalo, when all at once North heard the whistle of rifle balls and saw the dirt thrown up about his horse by the bullets. He called to a Pawnee near him to tell those boys to be more careful about shooting. The Pawnee looked in the direction from which the balls were coming, and after an instant called back, "They are Sioux, you had better run." It was a large party of Sioux under the Chief Turkey Leg.

North and the Pawnee rode for the bluffs near at hand, and before reaching them were joined by C. D. Morse, his brother-in-law, and half a dozen Pawnees. The little party was surrounded by the Sioux and took refuge in a shallow washout at the head of a ravine, where they were somewhat sheltered from the enemy's fire by the sunflower stalks and the low edges of the bank. Their horses were at once killed, and the Sioux, who were numerous, became very bold, charging up to the edge of the washout, and shooting down into it.

They were led by an Indian, apparently of some importance, who was conspicuous by a large American flag which he carried. This man was constantly exhorting his men, and would lead them part way on the charge, turning off, however, before coming within range of the washout, where North and his brother-in-law, with the seven Pawnees, were lying concealed. After each charge he would ride to the top of a hill near at hand, and make a speech to his warriors. It occurred to Major North that if he could kill the man who carried the flag the other Sioux might lose some of their courage. As they were

648 retiring from a charge, therefore, he crept cautiously down the ravine, concealed by the long grass which grew in its bed, until he had come within rifle range of the hill from which the leader was making his speech, and by a careful shot killed him and regained the shelter of the washout without injury.

Disheartened by the fall of their leader, the Sioux made no further attempt to kill the besieged company, but after a little desultory long-range firing drew off, so that North and his little party regained the main village in safety.

The Pawnee Scouts were last called out in 1876, when General Mackenzie fought the hostile Cheyennes in the Powder River country; and, led by Major North and his brother, they made that famous charge on the village which inflicted on the hostiles the crushing blow from which they never recovered. How *Pa'-ni Le-shar* held his men under fire that day, when the bullets were raining on them from the hillsides, was told in a letter written to me by a participant in the fight. "For cool bravery," it ran, "he beats anything that you ever saw. Why, at one time we were under such hot fire that even our scouts wanted to run, and to tell you the truth, I felt sort of that way myself; but Frank just straightened himself up on the old black horse and said, very quietly, 'The first one of *my* men that runs I will kill.' They didn't run."

If the full story of Major North's life were written it would constitute a history of the Indian wars in Nebraska and Wyoming from 1860 to 1876—a history so complete that there would be little left to add to it. Wherever the hostile Indians were worst there Frank North was to be found at the head of his Pawnee Scouts, doing the hardest of the fighting, and accomplishing work that could have been done by no other body of men.

From his long service in the army Major North was known to all officers who have ever been stationed in the field where his operations were conducted, and by all of them he was admired and respected. He was closely connected with the growth of the State of Nebraska. Several times he represented Platte county in the Legislature, and the strength and uprightness of his character won the confidence of all who knew him. He died at his home in Columbus, Nebraska, March 14, 1885, aged forty-five years.

x539 538 Skin Shirt said, "All right, we will go." Three chiefs of the Comanches went ahead, the Pawnee followed with his wife, and Skin Shirt went behind. They went to the Cheyenne camp. The Cheyennes received them and made a great feast for them, and gave the Pawnee many horses. Then they went back to the Comanche camp. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* never went up to the hill until the next morning. Then he went, singing the song he had told his friend he would sing. He called to him, but there was no reply. He called again. It was all silent. He looked for his friend, and at last he found him there dead at the foot of the tree.

V

Kut-a'wi-kutz then stayed with the Comanches. The Cheyennes came north and east, and the Comanches went on west, nearer to the mountains. While the Pawnee was with the Comanches, they had [648] several wars with the Utes, Lipans and Tonkaways. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* proved himself a brave man, and, as the son-in-law of the chief, he soon gained great influence, and was himself made a chief.

After some years the old man, his wife's grandfather, told the Pawnee that he thought it was time that he should eat some of those things that he had long wanted to eat that grew up north; that he was getting pretty old now. *Kut-a'wi-kutz* said, "It is time. We will go." So he had his horses packed, and with his immediate family and the old man, started north toward the Pawnee country. At this time he was called *Kut-a'wi-kutz-u si-ti'-da-rit*, which means "See! The Hawk." When going into battle he would ride straight out to strike his enemy, and the Comanches who were looking at him would say, "See! The Hawk." So that became his name.

They traveled a long time until they came to the Pawnee ground. As they were traveling along, they came to a field where were growing corn, beans and squashes. The Pawnee said to the old man, "Grandfather, look at that field. There are the things that you have desired to eat." He got off his horse and went into the field, and pulled some corn, some beans and some squashes, and took them to the old man, and gave them to him. The old man supposed they were to be eaten

285 rior quality they might produce an article
which would have commercial value. Among
461 all our Indian nations the industry of the
woman is proverbial, and if it could be encouraged in the direction of domestic manufactures, the products of which were purchased by government factors at such prices as would reimburse the money an incalculable benefit would be conferred upon them.
000 The women would then support the whole of them. And after a time the men would unite with them in the labor. I talked with Mr. Allis about the Agency system as at present organized, and its results.

Indian Agency System

● 648 Mr. Allis agreed with me that the Agency
657 System was a failure. His observation confirmed mine that many of them are dishonest, some incompetent, and but a few really useful. He is not at all satisfied with Mr. De Pau[?][13] the present agent of the Pawnees. He says he has sold the crops raised on the Indian farm, which ought to have been distributed among the Pawnees; that he has hired out the threshing machine, purchased

[p 136 (c)]

[13] [See cat. 116, p 220(B)-ANALYST]

648 657 by a former agent, to white settlers at different places, and that finally a team became frightened while drawing it, and ran away with it and pretty much destroyed it. He says the Pawnees are annoyed by the settlers, and that the licensed trader system is not well managed. He thinks there should be two, and but two, traders licensed, that the Indians may have the benefit of competition, and that a better system would be one something like that of the army settlers. He said he could not get the agency. He did not try as he knew it was impossible. It was a political race as usual between several applicants.

777 [illegible]out the religious system of the Pawnees—he knew but little as he had never studied the subject. It was an element worship with medicine and conjuration. They have no term for Devil, and are very superstitious. For want of time I could not take it up further.

[J 136 (D)]

[p 141 (A)]
[pp 137-140 not processed]

648 657 The licensed trader of the Pawnees is aboard. I saw him several times at St. Jo. He is about 25. The Pawnee annuity is $20,000 cash, and $20,000 in goods. This year they received but $15,000. He said he sold them in goods last winter $12,000. Their annuity was paid to them in the Spring. Thus he received the greater part of the money. He said he got his pay at the time the Pawnees received theirs. That it would not do to let the money go into their hands, as in that case he would not get his pay. He took it of course as the Iowa trader did, above described.

Pawnee Farm

The Pawnees have a farm of 1000 acres cultivated by the agent. He understood $20,000 per annum was allowed to the agent to expend upon this farm, $5,000 quarterly. This seems large. He said the crops were distributed among the Pawnees. [Rev. Samuel] Allis said the agent sold the last year's crop. I understand the agent[30] of the Paw-

[30] [See category 116, p. 221--Analyst]

● 648 nees is now in some trouble with the Gov-
657 ernment. No doubt like most of the agencies, this of the Pawnees is conducted iniquitously.

[p 141 (B)]

13:Morgan E-5 (1859-1860, 1862) 1959
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

648
657

13. Benjamin F. Lushbaugh, Indian agent, prepared the report for the Pawnee Agency, Nebraska Territory, for 1862 (*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1862*, pp. 266–68).

[P 220 (B)]

● 648
657

30. Benjamin F. Lushbaugh was the agent for the Pawnee in 1862. He has some account of his farming activities in his report for that year. A special farmer, Chas. H. Whaley, assumed his duties on the reserve on July 1, 1862 (*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1862*, pp. 266–68).

[p221]
[pp 222-233 not processed]

bered custom and old ways of life? Today the ethnologist is hard put to 175
get very much that is significant. Even with the opening of the present
century, most of these peoples had so long ago been decimated by disease
and war that memory of their past life was extremely fragmentary.
Along with whatever fragments of custom were recorded then, the archaeologist
must use the written testimony of the chance traveler and trader
to give life to his findings.

In the 1700's when the trade and travel records were written, the Missouri River was a main artery of European-Indian trade. Commercial companies centered in St. Louis maintained regular contact with trade centers up the river, and in the 1800's steamboats plied their way upstream with goods and guns to exchange for furs. Trade centers for exchange were an ancient tradition of American Indian life, and now they eagerly made their way to the trade centers of the European where new goods and materials could be gotten. But the price was dear. For besides the new goods, there came new and fatal diseases—measles, smallpox, cholera, and a variety of fevers—wiping out hundreds and even thousands of people at one blow. Whole tribes that had lived in the region for hundreds of years were wiped out or left in such a fragmentary condition that they joined with other tribes and lost the knowledge of their past identity.

The Pawnees who lived outside the mainstream of commercial traffic 131
were less affected than the others by this holocaust. They lived along the 161
outlying tributaries of the Missouri—the Loup, the Platte, and the Republican—that
flow eastward across the present State of Nebraska and 175
join the Missouri at their eastern ends. It was only in the 1830's, when
the Pawnees were living in the western part of their territory at what
they refer to as Old Village, that the direct effects of the many historic
pressures of the time began to bear down on them. At that time they [221]
numbered about 12,000 and were living a well-integrated native life of a
sedentary Plains people such as the archaeological remains indicate—
planting crops and hunting buffalo in alternate seasons. Then disease began [731]
to do its terrible work, and the large bands of refugee Siouan peoples [648]
(some 30,000 strong), pushing in from the east, attacked them with increasing
furor in order to gain their territory and their hunting grounds.
Finally the Pawnees began to move eastward along the river courses to be 167
nearer the centers of civilization, and by 1859, by agreement with the 175
United States Government, they moved onto a reservation near the present
town of Genoa, Nebraska. By this time their numbers were reduced 648
to 3,400, but they still retained their old social forms and independent [161]
polity and a traditional rhythm of life throughout the year. Added to
their problems had been the full force of westward migration of the expanding
United States—the Oregon Trail, Mormon Trail, and Gold
Rush along the Platte, and, from 1861 on, a crescendo of Sioux attacks

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

167 unchecked by a United States torn by Civil War. Then, when the war
175 was over, came the white settlement of their territory and still more con-
• 648 flicts for the land, the water, and the timber. Finally they could stay there
no longer; they had to leave their homeland, and they moved south.

167 The Pawnees were related by language to a people to the south of
197 them, the Wichita, and they often went visiting, some of them remaining
648 for several years in order to learn new ceremonials which they brought
175 home with them when they returned north. As far back as the 1770's a
contingent of three hundred Pawnees had gone south and settled permanently there. They were very welcome at this time and every inducement was given to make them stay, as the Wichita were already heavily depleted in numbers by disease and enemy attack; the Pawnee group constituted a much-needed reinforcement.

In the summer of 1870, just a hundred years later, a Pawnee chief led a visiting party of three hundred men to the Wichita. After their return, subsequent parties went down in successive years and were made welcome by the Wichitas and other tribes in the area that is now Oklahoma; in 1873, despite many doubts on the part of their chiefs, two-thirds of the Pawnees finally left their Nebraska home and migrated south. By November 1875 the last Pawnee contingent arrived in Oklahoma. Many met their death as a result of the change. Fevers and starvation took such a
[161] heavy toll that by 1879 only 1,440 survived, and, by the U.S. census of 1910, just 633 Pawnees remained alive.

114 The time of my arrival in Oklahoma to do ethnological and linguistic work was 1928, some fifty years after the time the Pawnees had settled there permanently. We did not know then that Pawnee life with its combined settled village life and migratory buffalo hunting was an old way of life on the Plains.

The general opinion among anthropologists was that in the not too distant past earth-lodge peoples such as the Pawnee had formerly lived in the woodland areas east of the Mississippi and, migrating out onto the Plains, had begun to adopt the migratory life of buffalo hunters and were in the process of abandoning their settled ways.

172 Archaeology has since shown us that the combination of migratory and sedentary village life is much older in the Plains than we had thought and that, far from being in transition, the ancestors of the Pawnees had probably followed a similar way of life in Nebraska for nearly seven hundred years. Archaeological remains of earth-lodge villages are found along the Republican, Platte, and Loup rivers, a progressive evolution of the houses from rectangular to round appearing with the passage of time. The houses and the remains of objects and food found in the archaeological settlements show such a clear continuity into historic times that their identification as ancestral Pawnee is well nigh inevitable.

101 In 1867 the four bands into which the Pawnee were politically organ-

keeping on the alert for mushrooms and milkweed, whose tender tops 222
were relished when cooked with corn. Some of the mushrooms were
yellow or green under the head, and these were known to be poisonous.
The edible ones were solid pure white. Any with worms were discarded.
Some men became so absorbed in this search that they wandered too far [648]
out and would be killed by the Sioux. This was particularly likely with
men whose food at home was in short supply.

If Victory Call and his kinsman had the good fortune to track down 224
another deer and Victory Call killed it, he would assign the major portion
to his helper. Legally, the entire kill belonged to Victory Call and
the division was entirely at his discretion. Sometimes he would be planning
to have leggings made out of the skins and then he would apologize
and say, "Excuse me. I can't give you the hide." His helper would reply,
"That's all right. I just came around to help you. You gave me meat
anyway."

The meat was all packed and the two men set out for the village. It [524]
was nearly sundown and they had to pass the village gaming ground
where the men gathered watching the hoop and pole game. The players
and spectators would remark, "Look at those fellows. They have a lot of
deer meat. I'm going up there to get some soup."

The two hunters separated and each went to his own house. As soon
as Victory Call approached, a hide was spread inside to receive the meat,
and Horse Rider was waiting outside to unload the horse and bring it in.

When Victory Call arrived inside, the first thing he said was, "The 264
folks down there saw me coming. Hurry up and fix our dinner so that we 252
can eat before they all get here." The family had barely finished eating 574
when the people began to crowd in. If it were the first fresh meat of the
season in the village, some women would come and say to White Woman,
"Daughter, I am begging some meat." "That's good," Victory Call
would say, indicating that they were welcome. White Woman and the
other women of the house were cooking the meat in large kettles, and
men and women were sitting around waiting to be fed when the meat
boiled. Some people preferred strips of meat roasted in the coals, and they
were sitting around roasting it for themselves.

Then the fire began to burn up brighter and someone remarked, "How 262
about getting to work and roasting the ribs?" Horse Rider then took the 574
ribs and leaned them on stakes around the fire. These would be served at [252]
a more formal feast after the casual guests had left. Otter was sent to invite
the guests. Each of the men would invite two honored guests. Victory
Call inquired of Old Bull whom he would like to entertain, and he
requested that Chief White Eagle be called with his brave, Bringing
Trophies, with whom Old Bull was associated in his doctor practice.
Victory Call invited Eagle Chief, head chief of his village, Pumpkin-Vine,
and his principal brave, War Cry. Meanwhile the women were cooking [252]

Next they planted the beans, sometimes in the same hills with the corn 244
so that the vines could entwine themselves around the cornstalks. If they planted them in separate hills, they set in willow sticks for the vines to cling to.

Last of all, they planted pumpkins, squashes, and watermelons [*Citrullus, citrullus* (L.) Karst., indigenous variety—Gilmore, 1919, pp. 120–
129.]. These were planted in separate patches and served to separate the [243]
different varieties of corn in order to preserve the breeds. There would be a planting of blue corn, then a pumpkin patch, then spotted corn, then a melon patch, and so on in this order.

Between two adjacent fields, there was a hill or ridge where the sunflowers 241
grew by themselves without planting. Some women surrounded 423
their fields with a fence built of stakes connected with rawhide ropes.
Disputes about the boundaries of their fields sometimes occurred among 578
the women. Some women would pile the earth further and further on the [417]
far side of the field and encroach on the field of a neighbor. Some women stole crops, whereupon arguments would ensue and they would curse one another and call one another names. The woman from whom the corn had been stolen would strike the other woman with her hands or with a
stick. The informant said that stealing was actually unnecessary, as a poor [476]
women could easily get some corn by appealing to her neighbor directly, [735]
saying, "I want you to take pity on me and give me some corn."

Women always went to the fields in groups for their own protection; 241
the Sioux made a particular point of attacking and scalping them as they 476
were going into the fields or coming home. This was presumably to exert 722
sufficient pressure to chase the Pawnees from their territory and induce
them to abandon it entirely. The mortality among the women from 648
this cause was heavy. In 1861 in one such attack eighteen Skidi women were killed. One group of women would say to the other, "We're going to clear our fields, how about you?" Then the two groups would set out together, any woman who finished first helping the others so that all would be ready to return at the same time. The young men, without being told, knew that this was the time to picket around the fields.

In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each of the mature 241
women had at least one field. Clear Day, the younger wife, and her 423
mother, Blue Calico, worked one field together, as was customary with 592
mother and daughter until the younger woman was considered responsible enough to manage her own. Fields were located along the bottomlands on both banks of Beaver Creek, and some women had a closer and a more distant field. The ones that were closer to the villages were, of course, the more desirable both for transport and for military reasons. An individual field was from half an acre to one and a half acres in area.

Patterns of cooperation were well developed in each household so that 592
the women would get through quickly. Queen Woman would say to

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

So the ceremony had ended. The Morning Star had received back the 773
first girl to be placed on earth, and he would again look after the people 796
in peace and in war. In the way of the Morning Star, death and life, 782
war and fruitfulness were one process.

When the news of this dramatic rite first reached the eastern seaboard 796
of the United States in 1820–1821, it created something of a sensation, 782
especially in the light of the obvious Mexican analogies. In 1816 an 175
Ietan (Comanche?) girl was captured by a Skidi warrior in preparation 648
for sacrifice to the Morning Star in the spring of 1817. The chief of the Skidi at this time was Knife Chief (*Ritsirisaru*) of Pumpkin-Vine Village. In 1811 he had been on a delegation to see William Clark in St. Louis who was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the region and they had had a long and serious talk in which Clark impressed Knife Chief with the fact that the white people were coming in ever-increasing numbers "like the waves of the ocean—in, in, in. . . . It's coming; every year more people come over here," and that the Pawnees must prepare to adapt themselves. Knife Chief was impressed with the validity of his argument and he realized that their ceremonial practice of human sacrifice was a serious barrier to their relations with the whites. He talked to the people in an effort to get them to abandon the custom, but the warriors of the tribe and the priests, always suspicious of the political motives of the chiefs, were hostile and defiant. The ceremonies were continued and on the appointed day the girl was led out and tied to the scaffold.

On the trip to see Clark in St. Louis, Knife Chief had been accom- 796
panied by his son (or possibly paternal nephew) Man Chief (*Pita-risaru*), 782
and, now in his early twenties, he was an outstanding warrior and uni-
versally respected. With the crowd gathered and the warrior ready to 175
shoot the fatal arrow, Man Chief rode before them and told them that his father disapproved of what they were about to do and he had come to rescue the girl or die right there. By Skidi belief, anyone who touched the consecrated girl during her captivity would soon die, for they would be taken by the Morning Star in her stead. From the point of view of those assembled there, Man Chief was thus offering his life as forfeit for hers. The crowd now held off in awe, and Man Chief was able to cut the girl down from the scaffold and place her on a horse and send her south to rejoin her people, which she succeeded in doing.

The next year, 1818, a Spanish boy of ten was captured in Oklahoma and dedicated to the Morning Star. This time Knife Chief managed to call a chiefs' council and he was able to ransom the boy with his own store of goods to which was added that of the trader and interpreter, Papin, and Manuel Lisa. The boy was returned to Lisa's trading post on the Missouri north of Omaha, Nebraska, by the middle of June 1818. Notice of the escape of the boy, along with an account of an additional sacrifice, appeared in the *Missouri Gazette* of St. Louis.

796 By 1820–1821 the story of the conduct of Knife Chief and his son Man
782 Chief had come to the attention of Edwin James and Jedidiah Morse, and
175 through them it became known. In the fall of 1821, when Man Chief
went east to Washington with a delegation of chiefs, the detailed story
648 of his bold rescue had been published, and the girls at "Miss White's Select Female Seminary" contributed enough money to have a large silver medal made which they presented to the handsome young Pawnee hero at a public ceremony. The medal bore the inscription "To the Bravest of the Brave." The medal was later excavated in an Indian grave near Fullerton, Nebraska, on the Loup River by Alonzo Thompson. It is illustrated in Hyde's book. The portrait of Man Chief was painted in Washington by Dr. King and later included in the McKenney and Hall volumes on Indian tribes. As Man Chief accepted the silver medal, he said that when he had done this thing he had not known it was brave. But now that they had called him brave and given him this medal, he thanked them and would always think of them. After the delegation left Washington, they continued on to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York and wherever they went they were greeted by large crowds and showered with gifts. Originally the delegation had left the Pawnee village in October 1821 under Major O'Fallon and was undertaken with the purpose of impressing the Pawnees with the power of the whites. A chief from each of the four bands had gone.

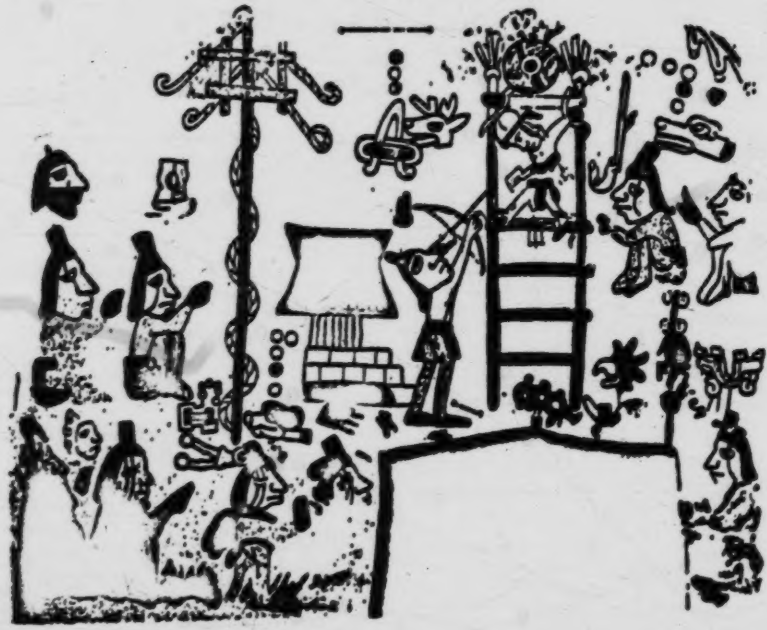
But despite these efforts, by May 1833 news of a plan to sacrifice a Cheyenne woman reached the Indian agent, John Dougherty at Bellevue, who took five men with him and rode out to the Skidi village. Chief Big Ax received him and promised to try to help him ransom the captive. The Chief called a council of the other chiefs and leading men and exhorted them to abandon their plan. The crowd in the village was hostile, but nevertheless the woman was brought into the chief's lodge. Big Ax was opposed by all the chiefs but one—Black Chief, of rather swarthy complexion. Finally Dougherty, seconded by a few friendly Pawnees, tried to ride through the angry crowd with the captive woman. The people had gathered in the narrow spaces between the earth lodges to try to block him, and, as he passed the lodge of a prominent brave named Soldier Chief, a priest who was standing in the vestibule drew his bow and shot the woman. The warriors took the dying woman out onto the prairie and carried out the sacrifice.

175 In 1837 an American Fur Company boat came up the Missouri. Some
731 of her crew were down with smallpox and, despite the captain's warning,
782 the Mandan insisted on boarding. Of the 1,600 remaining Mandans, only
31 survived the ensuing epidemic. Meanwhile the Arikara who lived in a
796 neighboring village in the same locality returned there from the summer hunt and they lost half of their population of 4,000. The Dakotas also contracted the disease. Now the Skidi priests insisted that the Morning

175

Star must be placated. An Oglala Sioux girl of about fifteen whose name 731
was Haxti was captured, and on April 22, 1838, she was sacrificed to the 796
Morning Star. 782

This is the last reported case of a Pawnee sacrifice to the Morning Star. 175
Grinnell and others feel that there must have been further incidents that 648
did not come to attention. However, when our ethnological narrative
takes place (1867) it seems pretty certain that no further sacrifices were [782]
being carried out. About two hundred Pawnees, many Skidis among them, [796]
were organized into four companies of regularly registered U.S. Cavalry in Major North's Batallion. As part of their activities, they protected the crews working on the Union Pacific Railroad from attack by the nomadic Indians. After an attack on Plum Creek on the Platte, the Pawnees followed the Cheyenne to their camp and there captured fifteen Cheyenne women and children. In the subsequent negotiations, they exchanged these captives for two white women, the Martin sisters, and three small white boys, captives of the Cheyenne camp on the Medicine Creek branch of the



796
782
171

FIGURE 10-2. *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing scaffold sacrifice; in National Museum, Mexico City, accredited to the Cuicatecan tribe of the State of Guerrero. From Clark Wissler and Herbert J. Spinden, "The Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *American Museum Journal*, XVI (1916), No. 1, p. 54. See also illustrations on pages 52, 53, and 49 of the article.

175
648 Republican River. It seems unlikely that the Pawnees carried on any fur-
[782] ther sacrifices of captives to the Morning Star after that time.

[796] Aside from the obvious resemblances, there is some documentation
of detailed Mexican analogies. Wissler and Spinden would place the time
171 when a direct transfer through the Aztec could have occurred, between
174 1506 and 1519. In an article (1916) on the subject they give clear parallels
782 in illustrations from the codices (see Figure 10-2).
796

Within the Pawnee system of theology, it certainly had an organic place.
[771]

but he walked right through until he stood before the priest as he was untying the bundle. The five priests were ranged at the west and he went to the one in the middle and rubbed his hands on him in blessing and then the others in turn and then whispered to the leading priest, "Untie it gently because in the north side of the bundle there is something." The priest understood and after all the bundles had been unwrapped, the four little mice were found alive in a nest inside one of them. "These are the ones I came for. I must go back now. She said they might be starving." He returned at once by the way he had come and on the evening of the fifth day, got to the village where the woman was sitting. "Here they are now," he said, and after she had fed them she said to him, "I am a woman and can take care of my children. I can get any food I want. Now I am going to predict for you, for I had my children in that bundle and it was only you who saw them, and because of that I have something to tell you. I am a woman and I don't have much power, but now everything you do will be successful. We mice are all over the world and we can talk to you anywhere." Her prediction came true and he became an important man. Sometimes two or three men might stay behind in the village after everyone had left on the hunt and catch up later. They would sit alone, scattered out in widely separated lodges. Sometimes they would have a vision. 224* 156 787

By 1867 there was a class of Stay-at-Homes who were able to remain behind in comparative safety from attack because of the proximity of the white town of Columbus, about 22 miles from the village. They would set out from the villages with the others, traveling to the first stop on the Platte River and then part company and go toward the town. They were mainly men and women who were unmarried and unattached, though more rarely a couple or a whole family would have to remain because they did not have horses or because their arrangements for joining a tent had fallen through. In the past all of them that were able-bodied would have gone along, but now many more remained behind. For people who had no tent or no horses, going along would have meant attaching themselves to a family and receiving board and lodging in return for performing minor services. They felt they might be open to humiliation if someone seemed to be giving them orders or telling them to hurry with what they were doing. When plans were being made for leaving, a group of women in this position would get together and talk among themselves; "If I go I have to work for someone else. I'll have to haul wood and help the other women and they might not give me enough dry meat in return." Another would say, "That's what I think. It might be hot. And they might not get many buffalo." Some single men would congregate in a similar way and say, "I don't feel like going." "Look how far they have to go. I think what you say is right. We have legs and can get plenty of 224* 571 [848].

*224 571 fresh meat by hunting deer and antelope right nearby. Let's go to Columbus."

• [648] Near Columbus they were reasonably secure from Sioux attack and they would build a big lodge of tin or sheet iron, and a man and his wife who happened to stay would take over the direction of the party, while the others would assist, running it like a village household. They would run a common commissary and the men would go out hunting for antelope and deer while the women would supply the dry vegetables and cook the meals, alternating on the north and the south sides.

*224 883 [866] Once the seventeen-year-old son of White Eagle decided he didn't feel like coming along. "He might decide that it was a good thing for him to get used to being by himself. This was an idea that their grandfathers would inculcate into them saying, 'Now you're old enough to go on the warpath, be a horse thief, and be independent.' White Eagle tried to talk to him saying, 'Now we're going hunting. You come along.' 'No,' the boy said, 'I'm going over there to my uncle.' 'All right, if you want to, but now they're going to talk about me and say that White Eagle didn't take his boy.' 'Well, I'm going to stay with my uncle anyway.' So White Eagle would take a poor orphan boy who had been staying in his earth lodge along with him on the hunt instead of his recalcitrant son." It seems that adolescent protest was not unknown to the Pawnees. [593] On the other hand, his father was in no position either to force him or to exert pressure for him to go. He was considered entirely within his rights to make his own decision.

574 addition to the gifts, left all their equipment behind, and also the two
276 sacred pipes. The "Children" on their own account gave their parting
431 "Fathers" a large number of horses they had elaborately decorated for
the occasion. In the past they had given quantities of dried buffalo meat.
[554] Only people of some prominence and wealth could participate in these
operations. At this time the Skidi Band were the "Children" of the Beg-
622 ging-for-Meat Band, while the Skidi were "Fathers" to the Man-Going-
628 Downstream Band having recently paid them a trading visit. In view of
574 the mutual courtesies involved, for the Chiefs' Hunt and the first major
276 hunt episode, White Eagle deferred his leadership to his "father," Man
*224 Chief of the Begging-for-Meat Band. The fourth episode he placed in
charge of his "child" Many Trophies, chief of the Man-Going-Down-
stream Band.

*224 They stayed north of the Republican River for the first two mass at-
*484 tacks on the herd. By this time the herd on the north side was pretty well
scattered, and the hunters had to cross over the river for the attack and
bring the meat back over the water into camp. For the fourth mass at-
tack on the herd, under the leadership of Many Trophies of Man-Going-
[361] Downstream Band, they moved their camping location from Camp 11 to
a place on the Solomon River to the south, a branch of the Kansas. This
was a site preferred by the Man-Going-Downstream Band. It was a diffi-
cult overland journey for which they had to carry water with them.
They would finally locate a small south-flowing stream, the Cedar, which
led them directly to the Solomon. They made their camp in the angle
where the Cedar joined the Solomon, hunting the herd further up the
river. When the bands parted, they mainly went to separate locations
further to the west along the Republican as the herds in the more eastern
• 648 location would have been scattered. This territory in the west was dan-
gerous as the nomadic tribes, Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, and others
were constantly poised to attack for what they considered to be an en-
[175] croachment on their hunting grounds. In 1873 the Sioux attacked the
Pawnees while they were on such a venture, butchering their kill in a
[727] canyon near Trenton, Nebraska. The death toll was so severe that this
event tipped the balance in their decision to leave their traditional terri-
[167] tory and migrate to Oklahoma.

On the way out and the way back from the buffalo hunting territory
*224 they moved their camp in fairly regular succession one day after an-
*484 other. But sometimes it rained and they had to remain where they were
132 for several days, or they might be delayed by the sickness of a prominent
man. Rain, of course, was an inevitable factor. It could delay the camp
for several days. If they were caught in a rain while on the march, every-
one had to spread his things out to dry and this operation might require
the next day or even two before they could resume their journey.
[281] Tanned hide becomes hard and has to be tanned again with grease and

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

23

THE TENTH ENCAMPMENT

000

Prominent Men Plan a Scouting Party—They Kill a Small Herd of Buffalo—Holy Ritual in Connection with Hunt—Gifts of Meat Symbolic of Chief's Promise to Get Meat

*224 *484 AFTER WHITE EAGLE LEFT the feast at Roaming Leader's tent that evening, he called in the errand man, Know-His-Face, and sent him to Curly Chief of the Kitkehaxki to announce the place of Camp 7 for the next day, six or eight miles west of Fort Kearney. [648] On the way they planned to make a brief stop while the main chiefs and braves went over to the fort on Grand Island to get the government provisions that had been assigned to them. Then they rejoined the line of march which continued to the seventh camping place. [622] At the fort, Eagle Chief and Lone Chief represented the Skidi Band, Curly Chief, the Kitkehaxki, Man Chief, the Tsawi, and Many Trophies, the Pitahawirata. When they rejoined their respective groups, they divided up the provisions they had received before proceeding on their way.

Before they had left the villages, the chiefs in their ritual meeting had in effect promised to lead the people and see that they had buffalo meat to eat. They were literally now going to make good that promise. Every day as the people were on the march, scouts had gone out well before dawn to survey the country and see where the buffalo were. The scouts were men drawn from the ranks of commoners who had little interest in social status or public prominence. As they were leaving for Camp 9, a scouting party drawn from the upper ranks of the population, mainly braves and prominent doctors, particularly from Village-in-the-Bottomlands into which White Eagle was married, went out to look for a small herd of ten to twenty buffalo. The objective was that they would plan their strategy so that they could surround and kill all of the small herd. Only men with the fastest hunting horses could undertake this task—the

*224 buffalo. They were Mad Bear, White, and Old Man Beaver Tree. While
*484 the camp was moving to Noisy Water, these three men had gone to the
south and west. Mad Bear was sure he saw a Sioux, but White tried to
*224 make light of it. Old Man Beaver Tree thought they had better go and
*484 see. The Sioux scout was about a half a mile away and as they approached he turned back down the hill. When they got to the top he was
726 riding away far to the west. They made various plans and then decided
• 648 to cross the creek and as the old man said, "If anything happens, we can go into the timber." This party ended in disaster as they were surrounded by a Sioux war party and White and Old Man Beaver Tree were killed. Mad Bear and the old man shot point-blank at the approaching enemy, but the old man was struck in the leg and simply sat down in the path and piled his bow and arrow before him to await his fate. Later his body was found by the Pawnees on their way to their encampment. Of himself, Mad Bear said,

> I could see the old man sitting there. As I got among the willows along the creek, they shot me in the right shoulder blade. My bow and arrows dropped. I couldn't hold anything. My arm was just swinging. I held my bow and arrows in my left hand. If they had seen it, they would have killed me, but when I got among the willows they thought I was all right. After a while I heard some growling. Then the Pawnees were coming singing. I got up and saw a great many passing by. The Sioux had gone quite a way off.

[752] They put his arm in a sling when they found him and later managed to heal him.

Old Man Beaver Tree lay dead on the other side of the creek. They
[727] never found White. It was suspected that he had been scalped, and even if he had survived this harrowing experience would have been ashamed to come home, as "he had no hair." He would have to make himself a dugout to live in.

The official scouts had seen these happenings from a distant hill where they were and suspected someone had been killed. When they got to the camp at Noisy Water, the scouts were very discouraged. They said, "We ought to go the other way. It's going to be that way. This time of year the Cheyenne, Arapaho, any tribe, go running around on the warpath." They decided they would move one more camp west and then go back to the north bank of the Republican River (*Kiraruta*). The new camp was a short distance, about seven miles along (Post Hunt Camp 3). The
*224 night before it was decided that the official scouts had done them no
[625] good and the head policeman, Strikes-the-Enemy, appointed three young men. They climbed a tall hill and all along the valley below they
*[484] saw the buffalo. It was somewhat to the northwest and ten miles or less

756 in an earth lodge in a place known only to himself. The fourth act was
796 to be by Brave Shield or High Noon, who was a buffalo doctor. He
536 would shoot an arrow into the chest of his young son, Yellow Calf,
789 who would be impersonating a young buffalo.

The Pawnee doctor, wearing nothing but his loin cloth, was apparently
756 a highly successful illusionist, as attested by the number of hard-headed
796 white spectators who were thoroughly mystified. Among them was
Major Frank North who early became a clerk in the trade store on the
536 Pawnee reservation and later rose to be the leader of the U.S. Battalion
789 of Pawnee Scouts that were regularly inducted into the U.S. Army.
177 North, having a good grasp of the language and being familiar with the
personalities involved, on witnessing the act where "the Bear" rips open
• [648] the abdomen of a boy and eats part of the liver, could only conclude either that a dummy had been used or that the boy had actually been murdered on the spot. George Bird Brinnell of Yale, who had been among the Pawnee in Nebraska, after their removal visited a medicine man in Oklahoma and he too was at a loss to explain what he had seen in broad daylight. Luther North, young brother of Frank, who was with him on this occasion said that while he was on duty with the Pawnee scouts in Nebraska some of his scouts would practice their illusionist feats while they were out on campaigns with him. "One man hid among the tall grass and appeared as a deer, then the next moment as a man," he reported. Another would simply take up a handful of mud and, rubbing his hands together, produce a live turtle, reconverting it into mud again. North asked him what would happen if he released the turtle and let him go. The man said he would die. North returned to the spot after such an episode and found the dead turtle there. There are also eyewitness accounts of such feats as cutting off a foot during the course of a performance, reattaching it backward and then restoring it to normal.

756 My informant who had participated in some of these feats from the
796 operational side was by no means mystified. The illusions were carefully
planned, with assistants planted in the audience and all the practical
789 details organized with great precision. The methods for convincing the audience that are familiar to us, such as allowing the spectators to examine some of the objects involved, were freely used. Various lighting effects produced by lowering or brightening the fire were also employed. Knowing all this, Evarts continued to believe in the divine intervention in the process, while a friend of similar age, David Gillingham, remained an unbeliever from his boyhood on into later life.

756 Now on the first evening before their performance, the doctors got
796 ready for their parade through the village, *wi-ti-kibar-rar-itsax-ka-wu*, "now-it-dance-they-through-the-village-among-going." The first contingent comprised the four leading doctors at the west. They made an extensive tour of the village, going into each earth lodge as far as they could

for the Deer Dance they said, "They shoot at his *image*," wi-tit-ir-*awi*-tsaku, "now-they at him-*image*-shoot." This distinction is significant as it reflects the difference in emphasis between the two ceremonies. The emphasis of the Doctor Lodge is on the alliance of man with the animals so that they give him confidence, enabling him to cure the sick or carry out whatever his purposes may be including war expeditions. In the Deer Dance, power over the enemy is a major leitmotif. The use of shamanism as a kind of psychological warfare against the enemy is a known device among other tribes. That the Pawnees were quite successful in this regard is attested by an account collected by a French visitor, Tixier, from their enemies, the Osage, in 1839–1840. He states:

796
721
721
723
[756]
[175]

> The Maha (Skidi Pawnee) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five and six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe.
>
> Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. . . . One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave, whose horses he steals away afterwards.

[181]
[648]

When they were living at Pahaku, near Fremont in 1850 and the Ponca attacked and were about to burn up the Pawnees caught inside their earth lodges, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy dressed up like a medicine man, came out and succeeded in thoroughly frightening the enemy so that they were repulsed; she was also able to kill one of them near the lodge, armed simply with a stout stick. There seems some likelihood that there was some actual functional value in the hypnotic powers of the medicine men, even in war. If this is the case, the preoccupation with this type of performance in the Deer Dance ceremony can better be appreciated.

796
721
756

The long series of illusionist feats and hypnotic exercises, however, was carried on within a characteristically complex Pawnee ceremonial structure.

796
789

In the first five nights of performance, during each night there was an earlier session of sleight-of-hand performances, followed by a "fight-

796
789
787

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

517 of a short story and said, "Let's hear stories about 'at home' [the Sioux
887 attacking the village]. After a while we'll get away from the village and
574 on the warpath." It was now understood that he would tell a story of at-
538 tack on the village and that he would be followed by a story on the same theme by his brave, War Cry, after which the old men would begin. In both stories, the enemy was repulsed, not by main force alone, but by the power of the Peace Pipe, which is "beloved of Heaven."

539 "Now I'll tell a story," said Eagle Chief. "Now you all know when
721 you first took me as a chief and when I was going to Washington, on
the morning of the day that was set for us to go, I was all dressed
• (648) up. I was wearing my government coat, and of course, my leggings and moccasins. I was wearing my government medal. Finally the delegation left the village and when we got about five miles east, all at once one of the men in the back said, 'Look back at the village. There must be a warpath coming!' We could see everyone standing on top of the earth lodges. 'Well boys,' I said, 'let's go back.' The Kitkehaxkis, Tsawis, Pitahawiratas and us Skidis all went back to our villages." As he told the story the old men sat smoking and they said, "That's the time. That's it."

"Well when I came to my earth lodge, I looked at my wives there and said, 'Dear wives, maybe Heaven doesn't want me to see the great government.' At the same time, my horse was way out there and I had to get to it to go on the warpath. All I took was my bow and arrows. I walked over to the sacred bundle and there on top were the Pipe Dance sticks. I took the one with the black eagle feathers (the male pipestem). That was all I took with me. I said to my wives, 'Now if it's the will of Heaven, I'll come back. If not, I won't. I may not come back.' It was because I had heard old people say that Heaven loves these pipes, that I took it with me.

"I got on the horse and went to where the fighting was going on. 'Well, this is my last day,' I thought to myself. Because the pipestem has two soft feathers on it and I didn't want them to touch my horse, I raised it up out of the way. I rode right through where the Sioux were and to the fighting line. I arrived at the front line with a Sioux close on one side of me, one on the other side and one directly in front. When I arrived at the front line, the Sioux turned back their horses and started to flee. There I was facing the whole line of Sioux, holding my pipe up like this. As the retreating line was going, you could see the dust. But I still had my original Sioux escorts. Wedged in between them, they didn't dare to try and shoot me with their bow and arrow as they were likely to shoot each other in the attempt. I raised this pipe and hit the one that was riding in front of me right on the back of his head. I reined in my horse and they rode ahead. We had ridden way

55

ARRANGING THE ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP

000

Meetings with the Interpreter, Behaille—Discussion of Arrangements with U.S. Government—Band Is Chosen to Lead Hunt—Final Preparations

221 *224 THE TIME WHEN EVERYONE began to think in earnest about leaving for the hunt was between the tenth and fifteenth of November, when the wind got colder from the north. Men from the different bands would meet in the trade store and talk it over. They wanted to travel before the cold was too severe.

• 648 In September 1857 the Pawnees had signed a treaty with the United States Government agreeing to cease all hostilities between them, to cede some of their lands, and to move onto a restricted territory. The United States in return acknowledged its military responsibility to provide the Pawnees with protection and its financial obligation to pay an annuity for the ceded lands. By 1867 the military alliance was further solidified [701] when a considerable number of Pawnees were organized into a U. S. Cavalry Battalion under Major Frank North to protect surveyors and tracklayers of the Union Pacific from attacks by other tribes.

*224 648 Before leaving for the hunt, they would consult with the U. S. Indian Agent concerning their annuity payments and any military arrangements that had to be made. The mixed-blood interpreter, Behaille, went to visit his nephew, Lone Chief, to discuss with him the time and conditions of leaving. The annuity had not yet arrived and the question was whether or not to set out without it. There was in fact no question, as the time of its arrival was too uncertain to depend upon, and they could not afford *224 648 623 628 to wait. Lone Chief called in Eagle Chief, and they agreed that the day after next the chiefs and important braves were to meet in council with the agent about it. Behaille would entertain them all at a simple outdoor lunch about noon at his home near the agency where they could dis-

cuss their strategy. Lone Chief sent his young nephew, Hawk Chief, to 224
give the message to the leading chiefs of the three other bands, and in 648
each case he was royally entertained as befitted his uncle's position. 623
He returned loaded with gifts of dry meat, and from the chief of the 628
Asking-for-Meat Band he received a new white blanket because of the Peace Pipe relationship between Lone Chief's village and their band. As he moved proudly through the South Bands villages sporting his new blanket, everyone realized that important matters had been discussed, and the more prominent personalities awaited further notification. The more curious among them would wander into the chief's lodge and find out what was discussed and then spread the gossip.

Next morning at about nine or ten, two chiefs from each of the bands with their braves and some of the outstanding "Boys" arrived and were seated on a large tent skin outdoors provided by Behaille's wife. There were four cushions at the west for the leading personalities. Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band sat on the southwest pillow and his fellow chief next to him with their braves extending inward toward the south. At the west on the north side was Many Trophies of the Man-Going-Downstream Band and at his left, Curly Chief of the Little-Earth-Lodge, with the braves of the two bands indiscriminately ranged along the side. The "boys" of the various bands were scattered wherever places happened to be available. These arrangements have a particular interest, for this is the only record I have of the four bands meeting together in a council rather
than sending emmisaries back and forth between them. Behaille as host [574]
simply stated that this was merely an informal meal and proceeded to select boys from each of the four bands who carried a wooden bowl for each two guests from the chiefs all the way down the line, each person receiving a round piece of grease bread, some prunes, and some coffee. After the meal, Behaille stated the questions at issue, and when all who wanted to had had a chance to speak and all had agreed on the decision, he instructed them as to how to proceed with the agent so as not to commit themselves to anything more than they intended. He said, "I want four to talk and say just what I say now—nothing else. Say only, 'It's not cold yet. We want to go, agent. You hold the money. That's what I want to tell you.' I want Man Chief to talk first," he said, "then Curly Chief, then Many Trophies and then our chief, Eagle Chief. Just say what I have said, and no more. That's the best thing for you to do."

With this sage advice, they all crowded into the agent's office, the Pawnees sitting on the floor, the agent in his chair. The agent said, "If you want to wait, I can write in to the department, but it will probably be at least a month before I hear." To this one of the chiefs remarked, "By then we could be halfway to the hunting grounds."

As agreed, Man Chief got up and shook the agent's hand and stood back, calling Behaille to interpret for him. He said, "I want you to tell

*224 • 648 623 628 our grandfather that I think it would be best for me if he held the goods and money until I come back. I want to go buffalo hunting first." "That's all right," said the agent, "It's still warm enough to cross the rivers." "That's why I want to go as soon as we can," said Man Chief. "Now that's all I want to say." Then he went up and shook the agent's hand again and went back to his seat and Curly Chief came up and went through the same procedure saying, "I heard what he said and I agree with him entirely. We don't want to have to cross the rivers when the water is real cold and there is ice floating in them." The other two chiefs did the same and then one of the braves was moved to speak and he said, "Agent, you have heard the chiefs of the different bands. I mean to say as they did." Then the brave turned around to the rest of the assembled company and put it more or less to a voice vote by saying, "Nawa, ha'a?" ("How about it?") and they all replied, "Yes." The agent closed the meeting saying, "I wanted to hear what you chiefs, braves, and boys were going to do."

Back at the villages people were remarking with some sarcasm, "Well, of course it's quite all right about not getting our goods. We can get our own buffalo robes and leggings."

In the agent's office, Eagle Chief decided that this was a good opportunity to speed up the process of choosing which band was going to lead the hunt. He named Man Chief, and, with due modesty, Man Chief rested his head in his hands for a few minutes and then accepted. It was understood that from this point on Man Chief would make the final decisions with regard to the joint hunt—the time of leaving the village, the place of rendezvous, route to be traveled, scouting parties, religious observances, and that his messengers would carry his decisions to the chiefs of the other bands as they went along.

*224 623 When the chiefs got back to their respective bands, each one found a conclave of his other chiefs and braves awaiting him in his lodge. His wife served an informal meal while he told of the decisions that had been reached. Ten days before leaving, Man Chief called his ritual chiefs' meeting, and the other bands called theirs concurrently with his. The errand [624] man went through the village while the meetings were in session announcing the decisions. He said, "Man Chief has given us ten days to get ready. Whatever you have to do, get it ready before that time. If you have a tent to sew, sew it up right now. If you have something to do with the food pit, you have a chance to do it in these ten days. And you arrow makers, try to make as many as you can. And womenfolks, try to look at your husbands' feet to see if they have good moccasins. Prepare. We must go as soon as Man Chief says so." As he was making his announcement, some women remembered that they had only two mats and had to make another; others recalled that they had to make a buffalo robe to trade at the store.

*224 single group of hunters all the way due south to the Republican, get
*484 some buffalo meat, and bring it all the way back to the island where their
621 families could process it in comfort. It would take them two days to get to the Republican and back and a number of short forays of this sort would yield them a good supply of meat and hides. Such a plan to anticipate the hunt on the Republican was decidedly antisocial.

Eagle Chief first became aware of the situation when the expedition was ready to leave for the main hunting grounds, but there was nothing he could do about it. In answer to his question, "What's the trouble that you're not going ahead?" Misery would try to make his decision appear spontaneous by remarking, "Oh, I don't feel like going this year anyway. I want to go trapping on this island. That's why I don't want to go." As the beaver skins could be sold for cash, this was intended to give the impression that he needed money. But Eagle Chief knew better.

In Victory Call's family, Grandma had made up her mind beforehand to stay behind and now she would join the camp of Misery in view of his close relationship to Victory Call. White Woman left enough food with her for her share in the household and some baggage to keep for them, along with their whole supply of roasted corn to be eaten on the way back, since No Corn had enough for the journey out. Grandma was diligent at gathering wild potatoes and ground beans, and after contributing some to Misery's household, would have a good supply for the family when they got back. She would also receive some dried buffalo meat for her help in the household.

None of the Stay-at-Home camps of the several bands had a formal leader, but the most prominent man among them would automatically assume the role. In the Skidi camp, Eagle Chief would remark to Misery, "I want you to look after these folks while we're away." The chiefs
[648] stopped off at Fort Kearney before leaving to receive army rations and when they held council with the army officers, Eagle Chief requested them to "Look after our people here," intending that they should keep an eye on the Stay-at-Homes and give them some food if necessary. Much to his surprise, however, they sent a troop of cavalry under Major North as an escort for the outgoing party. When they had gone a little way, it was discovered that Eagle Chief's remark had been misunderstood through a slight error of linguistic interpretation by the translator, and the cavalry turned back.

*224 They left Grand Island from Fort Kearney and made four camps to
*484 Plum Creek near Lexington. They had sent out no forays from these camps to scout for buffalo to the south as they knew the Stay-at-Homes had gone before them. It was also unlikely that they would find any small buffalo herds in the neighborhood of the camp as they had in summer, since the buffalo of the Republican herd did not come that far north in the cold weather. Moreover they had to conserve the energy of their

White Woman and after pleading his cause with her, Shot Arm came 159
to live with them. The boy was told that "his father" had come. When 587
he demurred and said that he thought Victory Call was his father, he
was quieted. Shot Arm gave him gifts and did his best to father him.
White Woman had had some reservations as Shot Arm already had a wife,
but he convinced her that he was determined to part from the other
woman in any event. Later there were recriminations from this quarter.

Once on the winter hunt, Shot Arm was invited to bring his new 159
family to live in the household of White Eagle. He had been formally 587
invited by "his two old mothers" who were the official owners of the 591
house. In their new home the family occupied a place at the west and had [572]
status and Otter had new friends—David Gillingham, son of White
Eagle, and the two brothers, Luther and Andy Coons.

In the Sioux massacre of 1873 during the summer hunt, when from 60 159
to 120 Pawnees lost their lives while butchering their kill in a canyon 175
near Trenton, Nebraska, Otter and White Woman were guided to safety 721
through the Sioux lines by a young warrior at the request of Mad Bear.

Finally the Pawnees moved to Oklahoma in three contingents. White 167
Eagle went with the first group, while Shot Arm and his family were true 159
to the faction of Lone Chief who wanted to remain on their old land
and stayed to the last. The two old ladies who owned White Eagle's
earth lodge gave over the pillars and materials to Shot Arm who set up [342]
a hexagonal frame of six forked pillars and no outer sod collar or wall, so
that they had a high pointed lodge to live in.

When the last group decided to go, the government assigned them ten 167
wagons for the poor people who had no horses for transport, and some 159
beeves to be killed every Saturday for their food. 648

In Oklahoma, the three contingents had set up three earth-lodge vil- 484
lages in different locations. Lone Chief set up one on the Arkansas River 167
three or four miles this side of Ralston where there was a ferryboat. 159
White Eagle built a log house on top of a hill near the big pond west of the 361
present town of Pawnee, with the earth lodges of his following on the
east side of the hill toward the pond. Half a mile east of the agency,
Misery and his father-in-law Comanche Chief, along with War Cry, were
the leading spirits of another log-house village.

Shot Arm, who had become agency policeman, settled his family in a 159
tent near the school. All winter they lived in the tent. Then in spring, 763
April 1876, without any outward sign of illness, White Woman died. [625]
She asked to have her grandchild brought to her and then spoke to its [342]
mother, telling her that she was bidding them farewell and that she should
take good care of the child. And so she fell asleep and never awakened.

Victory Call's former retainer, Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn, 159
were living in a frame house with No Corn's oldest daughter. The girl 591
had married a man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band known as Abraham

The Pawnee version of the revivalist Ghost Dance religion was in full force. Through it the people 668
hoped that the new would be swept away and old conditions return. It 796
was invested with many of the old and rich Pawnee ceremonial constructs
that were vividly recalled in memory and in visions. As one of their fond
remembrances, they thought of the old Hand Game, and this became
the framework for a new and elaborate ceremonial synthesis of old religious patterns. With the beginning of the twentieth century, the religious [178]
elements diminished in importance.

In World War I and again in World War II, the Pawnees for whom defense 648
of country had always been a leitmotif enlisted generously, and 177
their war veterans became an important element of modern Pawnee life.
Following World War II and their extensive contacts abroad, a considerable
number of Pawnees availed themselves of the educational benefits of
the G.I. Bill of Rights, acquiring college degrees and specialized professional training.

The Pawnee powwow held in the beginning of July, when the Pawnees 527
used to leave on their summer buffalo hunt, takes place at Pawnee, 177
Oklahoma. It is a colorful combination of traditional and adapted Indian
dances and music under the auspices of the Pawnee war veterans. The
Pawnees, from wherever their lives have taken them, come by car, train,
or plane to this their homecoming, where there is a brief period of camping
in tents and cooking over an open fire or a charcoal grill, renewing
social contacts and kin reminiscences. The rest of the year's round is in
another place and in the present, just as the old people had envisioned
their future.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Wichita NO10

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P
648
167
177
175
439
W
175
439
165
177
648
167
P
648
177
431
574
W
P
361

3 The Pawnees and other Caddoan peoples were an integral part of European trading plans. The Wichita played the part of middlemen in the trade between the Spaniards in the Southwest and the French to the east along the Mississippi. By 1777 the Wichita were so heavily depleted in numbers by disease and war that the Spanish authorities induced a considerable contingent of Skidi Pawnees to come and live permanently in the territory and join the Wichitas so that they could defend themselves against the tribes to the east who were aligned with the British. The fact that they have "kin" among the Wichita is remembered among the Pawnees today, and gift-giving relations are maintained among them along with formal intergroup visiting. See Weltfish, 1959, pp. 332-333; Hodge, 1912, p. 706.

3 Both the Pawnees and the Wichitas changed the locations of their villages at intervals of from twelve to fifteen years; this was considered a necessary sanitary measure. The direction of these movements was determined by a variety of social and political causes, but military and trade reasons were the most common ones. My informants gave me a list of the successive Pawnee villages in recent times and the contemporary locations of the Wichita villages. I have added, in parenthesis, Wichita locations cited in Wedel, 1959, pp. 67-68, for approximately these time periods:

P
W
361
103

Wichita	*Pawnee*
Rio Grande in Texas (Wedel, north fork of Red River, Kiowa County, Oklahoma)	Old Village or Kitkehax-Pakuxtu before 1842
Chickasaw on the Washita River east of Anadarko (Wedel, the Washita drainage, Leeper Creek)	Willows-along-a-Stream or Kitapatuat, near Fullerton, Nebraska 1842–1846
	Hill-in-Water-Sitting or Pahaku, near Fremont, Nebraska 1851
Wichita, Kansas (also Wedel, 1863)	Reservation Village near Genoa, Nebraska October 1859
Anadarko, Oklahoma (also Wedel, 1867)	

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

231 140 horses over the prairie, "trampling over skins, dried meat and
726 some of the smaller tents." At the same time Murray's host had
177 only five or six horses of the poorest kind for he had been robbed
of his many good horses by the Sioux. He reports that another
chief had "at least thirty, among which some were wild, some
Spanish and three of American breed." Pike found the Pawnee
000 horses far superior to those of the Osages. In 1819 an American
141 horseman among the Osages on the Verdigris River in Oklahoma
reported a most beautiful iron gray stallion captured from the
Pawnees (*American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, Baltimore, 1833, 501-503). In 1778-1779, Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, was avid to acquire Spanish horses from the west. He wrote to Colonel George Rogers Clark, who had been sent by Virginia to the Northwest Territory, that without valuing "the cost of the horses or the expense of sending them in," Patrick Henry wanted "two Horses" and "Eight Mares" of "the true Spanish Blood." He wrote that Clark was not to "lose a moment in agreeing for them, for vast numbers of people are about to go out after them from here and will soon pick them all up and raise the price very high." He asked that he be quick and suggests that the horses might be obtained from either Indian tribes or Spanish settlements. After months Clark replied, "you have conceived a greater opinion of the Horses in this country than I have." True he had an excellent stallion from New Mexico a thousand miles to the west and south, but could not at the time send him across the drowned lands of the Wabash. The Pawnees six hundred miles away had superior horses. Maybe later he could get some of them. Of Illiniois mares he writes that he had seen some good ones, but hard usage from their barbarous horse masters had ruined them (Clark, 1912, pp. 75-78, 88-89, 303-304).

648 In 1724, De Bourgmond, an established Illinois trader, was
231 commissioned by the French government to induce the Skidi
439 Pawnees, Otos, and Padoucas (Comanche or Apache?) to set up
175 working relations so that the French could use them as intermediaries for obtaining Spanish horses. He called a meeting at Doniphan Kansas on the Missouri and such a peace was concluded:

> One of the chiefs spoke, stating that the women and little girls of his tribe were broken down from carrying heavy loads on their backs when the tribe went on its semi-annual hunts, and that he was willing to make peace with the Padoucas, solely to obtain horses in trade so that his women would not have to walk and carry heavy burdens. The other chiefs seemed to have approved of this view of the matter; one by one they gave their assent. The peace pipe was filled and passed around the circle and peace with the Padoucas was concluded. (Hyde, 1951, note 35, p. 48, p. 44.)

141 By 1746 the Pawnee had become emissaries for establishing 648
friendly relations of the French with the Comanche: "About 231
1746 friendly relations of the French with the Comanche were 439
greatly facilitated through the peace which the latter tribe made
with the Jumano of the Arkansas country and the Pawnee of 175
the Platte. Now French traders, hunters and deserters, guided by Jumano and Pawnee, began to make their way to the Comanche in considerable numbers, some of them even going to Santa Fe." (Bolton, 1914, Vol. I, p. 58.) And finally, from Murray, 1839, of his visit to the Tsawi in 1834, states that the horse-poor chief he was with was waiting anxiously for the return of his son from a trading expedition among the Ute to the west for horses. "I learned distinctly from the Pawnees that many of their horses had come from the Haitans (Ute); and as certainly that a great proportion of the guns and other articles annually distributed among the Pawnees find their way to this rambling tribe in payment for their horses." (Murray, 1939, p. 365.)

Many Pawnee horses were also acquired on the warpath. 231
Tixier (McDermott, 1940, p. 225) states that "The Maha (Skidi 721
Pawnees) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five or six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe." The name *raripakusu*, warrior, was sometimes translated for me as explorer. Tixier contrasts the Osage practice of war raiding with the 721
Pawnees in the following terms: "The Osage do not make war 171
like the Pawnee; their aims are more noble; they want scalps. Horse stealing is far less important in their eyes. The Osage sometimes go out on a war expedition on foot; but usually their troops are on horseback and always rather numerous—seldom less than twenty-five men strong."

> The Panee-Maha who live on the banks of the Nebraska or 721
> Platte River, are today the greatest enemies of the Osage. 231
> They do esteem the stealing of horses more highly than bringing back scalps. The purpose of their expeditions is to bring back the horses of the other nations. They risk their lives by going through the huge desert which separates them from the villages, and hunting where other nations spend part of the year. The war parties of the Pawnees are not numerous; six, eight, fifteen men at most, armed with knives, arrows, axes, seldom with guns, set out without any provision. They expect Ous-Kondah to provide them daily with a buffalo, and they prepare ambushes for bison and shoot them with their bows and arrows. . . , Hardship, hunger, heat, do not discourage them. Some young men die without seeing the enemy during their first expedition." (Tixier, pp. 221-224.)

29:Fenton E-5 (1933-1950) 1953

NM9 Iroquois NM9
Pawnee NQ18

who had the Calumet Dance thus extended over a century and bear importantly on contemporary traditions of early intertribal Eagle Dances. Beyond the first contact of the Iroquois with the ceremony among the Miami, where had it started? Evidently the French wondered, for Nicholas Perrot, in discussing the Ottawa variant, wrote: I 175 796

"The savages believe the sun gave it to the Panys, and since then it has been communicated from village to village as far as the Ottaouas" (Blair, 1911, vol. 1, p. 186). The Illinois got it from the Panys and the Sioux from the Illinois during their wars (ibid., vol. 1, p. 182). Charlevoix also ascribes its origin to the Pawnee (Charlevoix, 1923, vol. 1, p. 306). I 175 796

Hopes of finding definite Seneca and Pawnee contacts are admittedly slim. Then, contact does not necessarily mean that the ritual passed to the second tribe. However, we do know that Pawnee captives became widely distributed during the eighteenth century. About 1700 when the Pawnee were settled west of the Missouri in the present State of Nebraska, the Illinois obtained so many captives from them that Indian slaves became generally know as *Panis*. An ordinance on April 13, 1709, recognized their slavery in Canada along with Negroes. During the first quarter of the century, the French likewise encouraged the Fox to make war on distant tribes such as the Pawnee. By 1763, Pawnee slaves, whom the Sauk and Fox had brought as captives for sale to the French settlements, were to be found in the principal families of Detroit and Michilimakinac (Thwaites, 1896–1901, vol. 69, p. 301; Charlevoix, 1866–72, vol. 5, p. 224; Strong, 1935, pp. 12 ff., 16; Wedel, 1936, pp. 3, 99–102). There was a "miserable Panis," apparently living among the Shawnee, in 1749 when there were Delaware-Seneca and Shawnee villages neighboring Logstown and Scioto in the Ohio country. He nearly precipitated the torture of Bonnecamp, De Celeron, and Joncaire, when he cried out during a council at the Shawnee village that the French only came to destroy them, and the Shawnee might have executed his threat had an Iroquois, who happened to be present, not persuaded them that the French had no evil designs (Bonnecamp's Relation, 1749 *in* Thwaites, 1896–1901, vol. 69, p. 179). The sources do not say that this Pawnee introduced a ceremony of the Hako type among the Shawnee and Seneca in the Ohio villages, but if he brought it to the Miami, who had it, it spread from there east to the Seneca towns. P 175 648

In 1771, Sir William Johnson commented on the possible origin of an alleged Shawnee Indian whom he interviewed at Johnson Hall and who later applied to the Governor for protection from slavery. "It is certainly a common practice amongst the Western nations to sell their

29:Fenton E-5 (1933-1950) 1953

NM9 Iroquois NM9
Pawnee NQ18

175 captives of the *Panis* Nation, as well as some others their next neigh-
196 bors under that Denomination, and Canada . . . depends a good deal
8 on their labour . . ." (Manuscripts of Sir William Johnson,
175 O'Callaghan, 1849–51, vol. 2, p. 984). Slavery was abolished in
648 Canada in 1793, but the last public sale occurred at Montreal, 1797 (Thwaites, 1896–1901, vol. 69, p. 301). If, in the absence of other data, we resort to the often criticized procedure of arguing cultural diffusion by inferred individuals, we must not overlook the possibility that, through some one of these contacts, the Pawnee Hako ceremony spread to the Seneca. Modern informants and the historical sources agree that the Iroquois raided and controlled the country west nearly to the Mississippi; they knew the Pawnee, but, since we have discovered no definite instances of intertribal meetings at which the Hako was celebrated, it is more likely that the ritual reached the Seneca in an attenuated form after passing through the Illinois and Miami.

I

DISTRIBUTION AND COMPARISON

174 Having surveyed the history of Iroquois contacts with tribes having
196 the Calumet Dance, in which the documents gave the time and places
171 when the Iroquois could have acquired the complex of traits which it comprises, the task now remains of comparing the Iroquois Eagle Dance with neighboring variants of similar ceremonies to place it in its proper ethnographic perspective. The comparative method, which Boas, Wissler, and Spier have so ably used to infer history in the absence of records, has encountered criticism. The direct historical evidence for the present study is considerable, but to evaluate the historical record properly it is still necessary to engage in the same type of analysis and comparison. Until we know that the Eagle Dance is a variant of the Calumet Dance the historical record is of no use.

If the hypothesis is correct that the Iroquois Eagle Dance derives from a variant of the Calumet Dance, the direct historical evidence indicates how the Iroquois possibly acquired it several times and from several quarters. The Calumet Dance possibly came to the Iroquois from the Miami during a century of intertribal relations in the Ohio country after 1670. Meanwhile, the Seneca and Onondaga were also hosts to the Far Indians—Chippewa, Ottawa, and Huron—who came down the Lakes to Onondaga and Albany, where they brought calumets in the interest of trade. The other main line of diffusion was from the Southeast, also at the midcentury. Since, however, the Calumet Dance spread into that quarter from a mid-Mississippi source among the village tribes of the central prairie around the turn of the eighteenth century, I am inclined to consider the Southeast a secondary source and favor the Ohio Valley route to the Miami, Illinois, Fox, and Pawnee as direct and historically valid.

*175 731 165 epidemic, in view of the census figure reached by Dunbar and Allis in the summer of 1840 of 6,787, exclusive of some detachments of the tribe then absent, who could at most bring the total to 7,500.

*175 *648 With the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs by act of Congress in 1834, an agency was established for dealings with the Oto and Missouri, Ponca, Omaha, and Pawnee tribes, located for many years at Council Bluffs. An agent does not seem to have taken active charge of the affairs of these tribes until 1836.

*175 *648 797 Missionaries had worked among the Pawnee for about two years just prior to the removal of the South Bands. Dunbar was among the Tcawi, Allis with the Skiri, and Satterlee with the Kitkahaxki*. Satterlee was murdered in 1837 by a white trader, but Dunbar and Allis helped the bands locate their settlements, and accompanied them in the removal. At the time of the removal a location was chosen on Plum Creek for the site of the government establishment and a mission; but on account of the disturbances caused by Sioux raids, execution of the plan was delayed until 1844.

●[657] With the removal north of the Platte, resident farmers settled with the Pawnee, and Samuel Allis was appointed government teacher and opened a school. Nevertheless, the period from 1841 to 1847 was one of breakdown and chaos in Pawnee life, rather than progress.

*175 *648 Once on the north side of the Platte, the Pawnee were exposed more than ever before to remorseless attacks of the Dakota who had been increasing in numbers and boldness for some time. This constant threat hung over every month of the year.

*175 *648 177 241 The intention of the government in sending farmers among the Pawnee was to teach them plough agriculture. Their old methods of digging-stick cultivation while they had yielded relatively large crops had never been sufficiently productive to permit the Pawnee to rely completely on their fields. In the summer, observers reported, they succeeded in raising but little more corn, beans and squash than they consumed by the time the cold weather set in. Occasionally their crops were more plentiful but any drought threatened to leave them without a subsistence minimum.

The farmers were indefatigable in breaking up virgin soil for cultivation. The school teacher, finding it impossible to carry out any genuine instruction the first years, joined in, and helped with the agriculture. All reports indicate that the Pawnee themselves showed commendable zeal in their efforts to learn and gave promise of becoming successful farmers more rapidly than other tribes. Nevertheless the farming operations, in the long run, were a failure. The Pawnee did not take to productive farming. The

The Pawnee school was continued at Bellevue. Some reading was taught the children, and the girls learned to sew. The schooling was out of touch with the needs of Pawnee life, and under the hazardous physical and economic conditions very little could be hoped for from its instruction to a handful of children. The pupils for some time were dependent on the generosity of the teacher for sustenance, since after the retreat to the south of the Platte government farming operations were suspended.

175*
648*
657

Let us consider what basis the Pawnee had for an expectation of protection, and why the officials of the Indian service agreed with them.

175*
648*

The treaty of 1825 reads in part (italics mine):

"For the purpose of perpetuating the friendship which has heretofore existed, as also to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension, as it respects trade and friendship...

"Article I. It is admitted by the Pawnee tribe of Indians, that they reside within the territorial limits of the United States, acknowledge their supremacy, and *claim their protection*.

"Article II. The United States agree to receive the Pawnee tribe of Indians into their friendship, and *under their protection*, and to extend to them, from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient, and seem just and proper to the President of the United States."

In the treaty of 1833 we find (italics mine):

"Article IX. The Pawnee nation renew their assurance of friendship for the white men, their fidelity to the United States, and their desire for peace with all neighboring tribes of red men. The Pawnee nation therefore agree not to molest or injure the person or property of any white citizen of the United States, wherever found, *nor to make war upon any tribe with whom said Pawnee nation now are, or may be, at peace; but should any difficulty arise between said nation and any other tribe, they agree to refer the matter in dispute to such arbiter as the President shall appoint to settle the same.*

"Article XII. In case the Pawnee nation will remain at home during the year, and give the protection specified, the United States agree to place twenty-five guns, with suitable ammunition, in the hands of the farmers of each village, to be used in case of an attack from hostile bands."

These provisions seem adequate guarantee of some kind of protection against their enemies. It is true that the provision of article IX above refers to those tribes with whom the Pawnee are at peace. From the Pawnee standpoint they are at peace when no aggressive attacks and counter attacks are going on, and it would be a shoddy avoidance of the issue if the government contended that since the Dakota and Comanche were traditional enemies the provision did not apply. It should be again noted that the guns referred to in article XII were never furnished the Pawnee villages. Here again there is a legal loophole, since the provisions of the article imply that the government is not bound by it unless the Pawnee give up their buffalo hunting. But they would certainly have been a sorry spectacle without buffalo during this period, when at least three-fourths of their food supply came from the hunt, as well as their major requirements in robes and tent-covers, and while the government agricultural scheme failed and the government supplied practically no food.

It has also been suggested, relative to the Sioux conflicts of this period, north, and the Sioux restrained from coming south of the Platte, it was hoped that a wide and safe passage could be opened for the Oregon emigrants. 175* 648*

In how far even the theory of civilizing the Indians through agriculture dominated government policy may be judged from the statements of the Commissioner in his annual report for 1848. The Superintendent of the Central Superintendency, located at St. Louis, had recommended the necessity of providing the Indian tribes of the prairie with suitable land for agricultural purposes, where these tribes had none of their own. This was Superintendent T. H. Harvey, who, judging from his reports, was sincere in his efforts to carry out the professed governmental Indian policy. He contended that the buffalo were approaching extinction, and that plans should be made in advance of that event for settling the tribes as farmers on lands suitable for farming. This policy according to the Commissioner, was contrary to his own recommendations "of procuring and keeping open these lands [viz. good agricultural lands] for the egress and expansion of our own population." He was of the opinion that the Indian tribes would gradually move westward after the disappearing buffalo, and so keep out of the white man's way.

The annuities of the treaty of 1833 had run out their term by 1845; and the aid to Pawnee agriculture by supplying implements, farmers and mills was subject to the Pawnee locating north of the Platte. As a result, in the period from 1847 to 1857 the tribe was practically without government aid. In 1848 at Fort Childs, the United States government purchased Grand Island from the Pawnee for $ 2000 in merchandise, which was of incidental aid to a tribe numbering over 4,000. The acquisition of Grand Island was part of the program for the establishment of military posts on the route to Oregon.

While the school was maintained at Bellevue as a nucleus for future operations, all other civilizing activities in the tribe were practically suspended. Even the missionaries gave up, because of the hazard. South of the Platte the Pawnee claimed the land was unproductive with their methods of planting corn, and there was no available timber for building lodges. The three bands who had been north of the Platte professed in the fall of 1848 their willingness to return there, if the Teawi who had been living alone south of the Platte were made to accompany them so as to increase their military strength for defense against Sioux assaults. [657] [797]

The government purchased some corn for the Pawnee in the summer of 1848, but that fall they were in a miserable condition. [657] [731]
their crops having failed because of drought.

*175 their crops having failed because of drought. Apparently the tribe
*648 was not successful in their winter hunt, since we find that in June
of 1849, agent John Barrow found two hundred aged and infirm
[888] Pawnee, left behind when the tribe went on the summer hunt,
starving around the agency. Cholera had broken out among them
*175 and before it subsided, eighty-four were dead. When the bands
*648 returned from the hunt, he found that the rest of the tribe had also
been decimated by cholera while away, a condition brought on by
731 their lack of proper nourishment. His estimate, after talking the
165 matter over with the chiefs of the tribe, was that no less than 259 men
and 900 women and children had fallen victims of cholera while the
tribe had been away; making a total of 1234 deaths that summer from
the epidemic. Barrow seems to have been astoundingly callous.
He reports the Pawnee deaths and their condition quite objectively,
and treats as incidental that in the midst of their other misfortunes,
the Oto, spurred by white traders who gave them
guns, had attacked the Pawnee and killed eleven. The Oto shrewdly
claimed that their Great White Father had told them to protect
and assist the whites, and Barrow reports that he assured the Oto
that if their story was true — to the effect that the white traders
*175 had been robbed by the Pawnee — their Great Father would
*648 forgive them.

In spite of this disastrous season which wiped out a fourth of
[735] the tribe, the Pawnee had made a successful hunt, but without a
harvest upon their return to the village, they would soon again be
destitute.

The Pawnee school was disbanded in 1851 when the treaty
●[657] arrangements for a term of schooling ran out. Samuel Allis,
making his final report, admits his failure, but remarks, "I still
consider the Pawnee an interesting tribe, capable of great improvement
could they be protected from their enemies and brought
under proper subjection themselves."

*175 Pawnee conditions of life gradually became worse. The tide
*648 of emigration increased, and between 1847 and 1859, was literally
735 "pouring through and into the very midst of their corn fields, their
villages and their hunting grounds," referring to the tribes of
the Council Bluff Agency, the Oto, the Omaha and the Pawnee.
The Pawnee along with these other tribes were forced into a position
where they became more and more anxious to make some further
trade of land with the white man in return for a guaranteed sustenance.
This was reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
year after year. The advisability of carrying out the third step in
the government program for dealing with Indian tribes, the pur-

*175 white settlers being all about them. The whites were encroaching
on their lands north of the Platte. The buffalo was scarce. Disease
*648 had reduced them to a handful. Their pleas to the government to
735 make some arrangement for their future were unanswered. At intervals they did not have the representation of an agent. Samuel Allis wrote on behalf of the Pawnee to the Superintedent at St. Louis. The document credits him with being "interpreter", but there was no official status to such a position among the Pawnee at that time. The truth is there was neither agent, nor missionary, nor teacher, nor farmer, among the Pawnee officially, and that Allis, faithful to the people among whom he had worked, took the matter into his own hands. He wrote that the whites were settling close around the Pawnee and using up their timber, and that the Pawnee deeply resented the government purchase from the Omaha of lands along the Platte River from Shell Creek to Beaver Creek, which had from ancient times been Pawnee territory. He advised that they be met in council the next spring.

THIRD PERIOD: 1857 TO 1876

*175 The treaty which was drawn up with the Pawnee on September 24
of the following year at Table Creek in Nebraska Territory, ushered
*648 in the third period of Pawnee history in the 19th Century, which
closes with the removal of the tribe from Nebraska to Oklahoma
[166] in 1874 to 1876. During this period the Pawnee were again settled
north of the Platte River, this time on a reservation, as wards of the government.

*175 This treaty was the third step in governmental Indian procedure.
The conditions initiated by the original treaties of "peace and
*648 friendship", and the first cessions of land, had now brought results
● 657 favorable to the needs of the white men. The treaty of 1857 ended
the independence of the Pawnee forever. They yielded their roving freedom, ceded their lands, and acknowledged in the treaty their "dependence" on the United States. These things they did willingly enough: they had been petitioning the government for years to effect such an arrangement. But it was a willingness born of desperation, born of the necessity of extricating themselves from a network of conditions which made existence well nigh impossible. By the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee admitted their cultural and economic defeat, and resigned themselves to the inevitable guardianship of the government. The provisions of the treaty were many and detailed; its major objective is rendered, however, in the first two articles. Article one provides that the Pawnee cede

all their lands to the United States government, retaining a reservation thirty miles by fifteen at the Loup Fork of the Platte River, or at any other location in their traditional range more suitable as a permanent home, and remove to it within a year. Article two provides that the United States government pay the Pawnee for their lands $ 40,000 yearly for five years, and $ 30,000 yearly in perpetuity thereafter, subject to commutation by the President. Other articles provide for two manual labor schools to be provided by the government, blacksmith shops, farming implements, grain and lumber mills, and laborers. The Pawnee agreed to send their children between the ages of seven and eighteen to school nine months of the year. 175 * 648 * 657

In this treaty the Pawnee inserted some provisions of their own. By article nine, they saw to it that half-breeds were provided for, whether they wished to live with the tribe, or with the white men. By article ten, they asked that the United States government share with them in the payment of $ 2,000 to Samuel Allis, as a recompense for his good services to the tribe. In their last smallpox epidemic he had vaccinated 2,000 and saved their lives; and when they were starving they appropriated his property and used it as their own. By article eleven, the Pawnee asked that a chief and four braves who had guided an American army expedition against the Cheyenne and nearly lost their lives returning alone to the tribe be compensated by the United States government with $ 100 each, or a horse worth $ 100.

According to the terms of the treaty the Pawnee were to make a final selection of their reservation and remove to it within one year of the date of ratification by the United States Senate, until which time the tribe was to remain unmolested in the villages south of the Platte. Ratification took place March 31, 1858. By the fall of that year the Pawnee "were almost entirely surrounded by settlers, a majority of whom, as the more worthy settlers have testified, are less civilized than the Indians."[1] By 1859 the Pawnee had accepted the reservation for which they had originally asked, the territory embracing both banks of the Loup fork of the Platte River, and had removed to it. It was a fertile land, which it was expected would by proper cultivation make them in a few years independent of buffalo hunting. On their reserve the Pawnee were free from the increasing pressure of the white occupation, their eastern boundary being the only point accessible to white settlements. [131]

---

[1] Agent W. W. Dennison, writing September 22, 1858, from the Council Bluff Agency. Annual Reports, 1857—1858.

*175 *648 ●657 The whole tribe removed, abandoning their old settlements, ready to attempt to build a new home above the Platte, but not without misgiving. The Dakota tribes now outnumbered them eight or nine to one. The "Indians appeared to consent reluctantly to a settlement upon their reservation, returning with gloomy foreboding to the country where in days past they had lost in battle many of their sages and warriors. They appeared satisfied, however, after an assurance from their agent that they should receive the protection guaranteed in the late treaty."[1]

In the period from the Pawnee settlement on reservation sites in 1859 to 1873, when the question of removing the tribe to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma became immediate, the major effort of the government was directed toward accustoming the tribe to a farming life. The policy initiated by the reservation system was to eventuate in locating individual families on individual farms, to be allotted in severalty. Since this was not practicable until the Pawnee men had learned the white man's methods of cultivation, no immediate attempt was made to survey allotments. Instead, the government initiated farming among the Pawnee by locating a government or agency farm close to the school and agency buildings. This was worked and managed principally by government farmers sent for that purpose, who made periodic reports to the agents and superintendent. On this farm the Pawnee men and boys who were willing to learn were persuaded to labor, and it was expected that they would then be anxious to locate farms of their own and work them.

*175 *648 657 241 [626] During the whole period the Pawnee also continued to cultivate and plant corn, beans and squash, after their traditional methods. This agricultural work was done by the women. In the old way of life, the men did the hunting and fighting, the women the planting, the skinwork and the housework. Since working the land was women's work, it was not to be expected that the Pawnee men would take to farming eagerly. Those young men and boys who did were taunted continually by others.

The activities of the government farm on the Pawnee reservation were initiated as soon as possible after the removal. In 1860 a grist and saw mill to be run by steam was erected, and a corn granary nearly completed, to be used for storing the produce of the farm. The work was continually interrupted by attacks of the Dakota. A farmer was on hand and raised one hundred and sixty acres of corn, oats and wheat. The same year, the Pawnee women

---

[1] Superintendent of the Central Superintendency, writing in 1859. Annual report, 1858—1859.

cultivated eight hundred acres of corn, beans and squash in their 175*
old manner. The farmer duplicated his effort in 1861, but not until 648*
the summer of 1862 did he give any actual instruction to the Pawnee 241
in farming. That year the agency farm crops and the Pawnee native 657
crops both suffered from a grasshopper pestilence. It was planned that summer to proceed as rapidly as possible to break up enough land for cultivation, so that the head of each Pawnee family could take over a plot and learn by actively operating it.

In 1863 the government farmers had ploughed up for this purpose 725 acres. Meanwhile the native women had a bountiful crop. for the first time in years a surplus. In 1864 and 1865 the government demonstration proved a failure; drought and severe grasshopper pestilences destroyed the greater part of the crop. But the Pawnee crop of corn, beans and squash was much less affected in these years. In 1867 the government farm consisted of 114 acres in corn, wheat, oats and potatoes, while the Pawnee had 1000 acres under cultivation, mostly in corn, with patches of beans and squash. That year saw a bountiful crop all round, with so large a surplus for the Pawnee that they gave food to the Ponca, whose crop had failed, sold a considerable amount, and still retained a store. The
following year misfortune visited the whole land in the form of a [731]
grasshopper plague of such severity as had never been known. "They came in a cloud so thick as to obscure the sun." They left not a green thing.

In spite of the fact that the government farming demonstration was not strikingly successful during these years, the Pawnee were becoming increasingly conscious of the gradual disappearance of the buffalo, and the need for basing their economic life on a sure agricultural supply. They observed the value and usefulness of wagons, plows, mowing machinery and the like, and in 1868 began to request that large sums of their annuity payment be spent for the purchase of such things. Part of the annuity was being paid to them in merchandise. Inasmuch as no attempt was made to send
the people what they specifically needed, a great part of the goods [439]
annuity was waste; the Pawnee would sell off most of it to traders
for things they needed more, losing considerably in the exchange. The agents pointed out that along with their purchase of agricultural implements, wagons and harness, the Pawnee from 1865 on were asking for cooking stoves and household articles, and began to take an interest in houses.

Building on the reservation had not been active. In addition 175*
to the farm buildings erected in 1860, a number of buildings were 648*
taken over which had been erected by the Mormons during their 657
342

*175 two year stay in the region on their movement westward. A brick
*648 school building planned in 1860 was finally in service in 1862.
By 1867 the agency structures included eight frame houses and
●657 three log houses. But throughout this period and until the removal
342 to Oklahoma practically no Pawnee family lived in a house. All
still used the traditional earth lodge and the tipi. The only exceptions seem to have been the children who lived at the school and the Pawnee who were employed at or around the agency and lived in agency buildings.

*175 Considerable blundering handicapped the use of the mills on
177 the reservation. Hardly a year had passed after the installation
of a steam grist and saw mill in 1862 before it was noticed that wood,
*648 the only fuel available, was scarce, and that most of the timber of the region was being eaten up by the mill. Recommendations that it be changed to one run by water power, which was available three-fourths of a mile from the agency, were made over a period of years. Finally in 1869 and 1870 a mill dam and raceway were installed at Pawnee expense, the tribe appropriating $ 7000 of their annuity funds for the purpose and themselves doing the labor. Unfortunately the spring and summer floods of the region had not been considered. The Beaver River overflowed so frequently in the next two years, ruining the dam and raceway, that by 1873 the decision had been reached to abandon the attempt to use water power, and substitute wind power.

*175 Civilization of the tribe by means of education in farm life
177 was accompanied during these years by demonstration in certain
useful manual arts and by an attempt at schooling. Blacksmith
*648 and tinsmith shops were set up on the reservation and equipped by
657 the government. The government furnished the blacksmiths, but in order to teach the Pawnee, the strikers were Pawnee youths, employed at fair pay. From this period on, the interest of government policy became increasingly centered on teaching trades to the Indian, and a constant attempt was made to employ Pawnee apprentices in all the government or agency managed activities. The blacksmith and tinsmith shops were flooded with work by the Pawnee, more than they could handle.

The first school on the Pawnee reservation was established and began functioning July 16, 1862. The teacher with the agent's help succeeded in persuading parents of sixteen children, eight boys and eight girls, to send them to school. They were supplied with suitable clothes. The boys were taught some farming and mechanical pursuits, the girls instructed in varied household duties. Both were instructed in reading. The first reports indicated that the Pawnee

children were quick and eager to learn, and the results promising. 175*
By the next year, the chief handicap to the education of the girls 177
began to come to attention. In the old traditional way of life girls 648*
were married off by their parents when about fourteen or fifteen. 657
Family considerations were usually paramount and neither the [584]
girl nor the boy was officially consulted. Now the teacher found
that girls of fourteen were being taken away from the school to be married. The agent was in no position to enforce the compulsory education which was stipulated in the treaty of 1857, since the government had as yet provided meager and inadequate facilities for schooling, with a handful of children at school out of a population including many hundreds of school age.

The boys meanwhile were getting ahead. For the first time, in 1863, the school teacher was able to clip off their scalp locks without their attempting to conceal the change under hats. The boys were learning manual arts, were enjoying the work and activity and were unashamed to be seen at labor by older and conservative tribesmen.

The third year of the school, 1864, was an unfortunate one.
Epidemics of measles and diptheria broke out in the school, and [165]
carried off a number of children. The children seem to have offered little resistance to these diseases and those who recovered were low in vitality for some time, and subject to other ailments. The school teacher found himself handicapped by the fact that parents began taking away from school the children who had been there since its inception. While he was able to secure others to take their places, the impetus of the instruction was lost, and work would have to start over again from the beginning. Health conditions were better in 1865, when new buildings were put to use, and the crowding avoided. The school attendance was only twenty-two, but agent and teacher subscribed to a program of raising it to at least a hundred, a number for which facilities were now adequate. In 1865 the staff consisted of six. The political changes of agency control were however interfering with the work of instruction, and the teacher advised the government to take the school out of politics by having the instruction turned over to a missionary board. Two school buildings were in use after 1867, with attendance increased to sixty-eight and two teachers of the Episcopal denomination in charge. 175+

With these government activities leading the Pawnee away
from their old customs, why is it that by 1872 the whole program 177
had essentially failed? No allotments had been made. The tribe 648*
still clung to its village life. The people lived in earth-lodges,

175 *
648 *

could become self-sustaining in Indian Territory. The reports of agents and superintendents during the period of the removal were to the effect that the entire movement had been carried out under the supervision of agency employees on their regular government salaries, and without major expenses of any kind, which makes this handsome provision by Congress seem rather startling.

The income from the sale of the Nebraska lands was also to be used in part for the purchase of the lands forming the Pawnee Reservation in Indian Territory. The new reservation consisted of 283,020 acres of land, of which about four-fifths was Cherokee land, in accordance with the Cherokee Treaty of 1866, and the other fifth Creek land ceded to the United States by the Creek treaty of June 14, 1866. The Cherokee were to be paid not more than seventy-five cents an acre by the Pawnee; while the United States agreed to accept thirty cents an acre for the land formerly held by the Creek.

The Pawnee lands in Nebraska with improvements thereon were appraised by special government officials in 1877 at $ 761,800.21. Their sale took place in the years following, although some plots for which payment was not made as required had to be resold as late as 1890. The balance in favor of the Pawnee from the sale, after the government had been reimbursed for its advance and the cost of the new reservation had been deducted, was placed to the credit of the Pawnee tribe in the books of the United States Treasury. On this, their first trust fund, the Pawnee were to receive interest at five per cent, payable per capita, semi-annually.

FOURTH PERIOD: 1876 TO 1892

175 *
648 *
657 ●
177

The fourth period of Pawnee history in the Nineteenth Century begins with their settlement on the reservation in Indian Territory, and closes with the break-up of their reservation and allotment of lands in severalty to them in 1892, the year in which the Pawnee took up the Ghost Dance.

The government program during this period of Pawnee life was a continuation and gradual expansion of the plans and policies attempted in Nebraska. To civilize the tribe and adjust them to citizenship they were to be made farmers, cultivating individual tracts of land which they fenced and on which they lived in frame houses. They were to be stimulated to labor in the white man's way, in lumbering, carpentry, freight-hauling, and other pursuits. They were to be made self-sustaining by means of cattle-herding and the cultivation

*175 of fruit trees, in addition to farming. Education in the rudiments
*648 of common schooling, along with training in manual arts, was
177 combined later with an effort to stimulate self government. Finally
a persistent campaign was instituted against forms of the old
●657 Pawnee life which were considered barbaric and detrimental to
their new life as citizens; their unsanitary mode of life, the methods
of the medicine men, their polygamous marriage customs, their
wasteful mourning customs, their Indian clothing, their religious
dances and ceremonies, their indolent social gatherings for dancing
and gambling, their intemperate feasting.

The major objective of the government, however, was directed toward the division of the tribal lands into tracts held in severalty, which would introduce individual property ownership and inheritance, and break down the communal forms of life around which centered, from the white man's standpoint, the barbaric tribal customs which barred the Indian from an imperceptible and gradual absorption into the white population of the United States.

*175 The government program could not be initiated upon the arrival
*648 of the Pawnee. They came in several contingents during winter
months to a territory uninhabited and still virgin to the plow. The
177 first Pawnee to arrive, including by arrangement the strongest men
361 and women, taking new heart with the possibilities of peaceful and
secure life in their new home, began at once to build their settlement
657 close to the agency location on Black Bear Creek. Accustomed still
to the tipi and the earth-lodge, the former for temporary shelter on
the march and the hunt, the latter for more permanent habitations,
they built villages in their old way. The first winters were difficult,
the Pawnee suffering severely from exposure, after their long
migration, and from the changed climatic conditions. The building
of frame houses with government aid and direction was contingent
on the settling of individual families on individual tracts of land,
a condition which could not be met immediately upon arrival.

*175 It was essential to begin cultivation at once. Large sums had
*648 been expended to provision the tribe during the years of removal,
241 and they had to become self-sustaining soon. Government farmers
began the agency farm. The bands chose the locations in which they
657 would settle, and as rapidly as possible the government farmers
broke land for them to cultivate.

The Pawnee camped around the agency until land was ready for them. Two bands removed to land broken for them in 1877; the other two the following spring. By the summer of 1888 all were cultivating their lands.

[361] As they removed, the bands transferred their village encampments
to their separate tracts.

to their separate tracts. The land broken for each band was but 175*
a small part of their sector; it was neither large enough nor so 648*
situated as to make practicable a division of it into individual 241
tracts for family groups. Each band therefore began to farm the
band tract cooperatively. In theory each man did his share of the 657 ●
work and each took his share of the harvest. The band lived together [476]
on the tract, and their encampments rapidly became permanent
villages of tipis and earth-lodges.

This redevelopment of village life, instituted by the Pawnee as an 175*
adjustment to the conditions of their settlement in Indian Territory, 648*
and intentionally overlooked by agency officials, who considered it a
temporary expedient, was to continue for some years. To the 178
Pawnee it was a satisfactory adjustment, approximating as it did 657
their accustomed way of life. In these villages something of the
old tribal life continued; the chiefs, priests and medicine men
functioned, the old social gatherings and ceremonies were possible.

The produce of the band farms, together with that at the agency, 175*
constituted the basic food supply of the Pawnee. For years this 648*
was inadequate and insecure; the people suffered greatly for lack
of food, and some of the mortalities of the period were due to 262
starvation and malnutrition. The principle crop was corn, supplemented 241
by some beans and squash, and increasing cultivation of
wheat, oats, potatoes and other vegetables. Most of the farms were
in the bottom lands and along the streams, and yet the usual
hazards of cultivation caused crop failures a number of times. The [132]
country in which the Pawnee had settled is in a belt which is
subject to periodic hot, dry summers, when rain is at a premium.
Droughts were severe in 1880, 1887, and 1890. On occasion bugs [731]
destroyed much of the crop, while once, in 1885, a terrific hailstorm
broke the stand of grain. Crop failures left the Pawnee dependent [657]
on government aid, in the form of rations, or food purchased for
them with money from their annuity funds.

For a meat supply the Pawnee had to depend primarily on 175*
government rations. The first winter the Pawnee were together in
Oklahoma, that of 1875 to 1876, the tribe attempted a buffalo hunt, 648*
but the herds were too remote to be reached with the limited 657
preparations the Pawnee were able to make. While the buffalo 224
were reported on the plains in considerable numbers the next
summer, only occasional buffalo were captured by straggling 262
parties of Pawnee. In a few years the tribe was persuaded to
forego the hunt; they talked of it the winter of 1878, but did not go.
From this time on we hear of no buffalo hunting. The organized
tribal hunt was a thing of the past.

*175 *648 ● 657 The meat rations supplied the Pawnee by the government were until 1880 delivered on the hoof, and the Indians, gathered round the agency to receive their oxen, would turn the day into one of carnage and slaughter, killing and dressing their own beeves. The "oxy kill 'em day," as this was known to the Indian service, ended in 1880 after which the rations were turned over to the tribe in the form of dressed meat.

*175 *648 657 233 [731] Not more than one-third of the Pawnee reservation was suitable for farming, but there was a great deal of good pasture land. Cows and calves were issued to the Pawnee in 1878, and received such good care that with the Indians asking for cattle the government made an attempt to develop stock-raising. In the summer of 1880 four hundred head of two-year-old heifers and bulls were brought from northern Texas and distributed among the Pawnee. The tribe hailed their coming with delight. Unfortunately a scourge carried off many oxen the first winter. The Pawnee were not yet free of their hunting complex. When they wanted meat, they killed cattle. and finding that traders would buy the hides, so many were slaughtered that by 1882 only a few head of the cattle issued to the tribe remained. Stock-raising by the Pawnee was admittedly a failure.

[245 262] A great need in the food supply was fresh fruit, for want of which various ailments afflicted the Pawnee. To obviate this fruit trees were bought and small orchards planted on the reservation, but they did not flourish.

*175 *648 657 [489] The food rations, supplies, and implements distributed to the tribe had to be shipped to the reservation by freighting from the nearest railroad point. At first this was at Coffeyville, Kansas, a distance of one hundred miles; the route went northward through the Osage Agency. Later there was a shipping point at Arkansas City, a distance of seventy miles. The agent turned the freighting over to the Pawnee, who handled it with wagons and teams on their own responsibility.

× 175 × 648 657 241 423 As conditions on the reservation became more settled, the government farm program was renewed. A major provision of the Congressional Act of 1876 which established the Pawnee reservation applied to allotments in severalty. Each head of a family, or single person over 21 years of age, who so desired, was to be allotted 160 acres of land. Certificates were to be issued by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recognizing the individual ownership of such tracts. An allotee occupying and cultivating his land for five successive years, who had at least twenty-five acres fenced and in crop, was to be entitled to receive a patent in fee simple for his

175*
allotment, inalienable for fifteen years thereafter. In this way the 648*
Indians were to be transformed gradually into individual holders of 657
land. 241

Enterprising Pawnee, young and progressive, had taken over 423
individual farm lands as soon as these could be surveyed and made available for them. For such families frame houses were erected on their allotments, the agency carpenter managing the work, assisted by the Pawnee. This development was sluggish before 1880, owing partly to indolent management on the part of the agents. Families who chose tracts of land often camped for long periods near them in tipis, before the surveying and alloting could be done, and aid given them in house-building. By 1881 only forty such houses had been built and occupied by Pawnee families; and the
allotments seem not to have been officially registered. 175*

The main body of the tribe, however, continued to reside in the 648*
band villages. Once established in villages the Pawnee were loath 657
to break up their social life for a life on scattered farms. The agents [361]
found stubborn resistance to their program of change. From the official standpoint village life was the center of stability for the old barbaric customs. Polygamous marriage, gambling, inveterate dancing and indolence, superstitious awe of the medicine men, were aspects of Pawnee life which could not be eliminated unless the villages were broken up. The conditions of band farming which were natural to the Pawnee were obnoxious from the white standpoint. In the native view the chief controlled the farm in the interest of the general welfare, and all shared its produce according to need. In the agent's view the chief was an exploiter, and under his rule indolence flourished and individual initiative was submerged. The indolent and lazy, supported by the labor of others, could hang out around the agency waiting for the distribution of rations and goods, and money payments.

While after 1881 the agents were making a concentrated drive 175*
to get the Pawnee on individual allotments, there seem to have been 648*
two extreme parties in the tribe, a radically progressive group who 657
were in favor of separate farms and homes, and the conservative 621
majority content with band village life. The chiefs, priests and medicine men of the tribe seem to have been in the main opposed to a change to individualized farming. The government agents claimed their obstructionism was born of a desire to maintain their own power and influence, which would fade with the people scattered in isolated homes. But it was more than this. The Pawnee had been accustomed to sedentary village life as far back as tradition could go. Recent archaeological evidence indicates that they had been

+175 a basically horticultural people in the plains of North America
even before the buffalo hunting era.[1] The whole round of life, with
+648 its conceptual and religious meanings, was to the Pawnee bound
●657 up with group life in a village. Their ceremonies were village rituals
621 in intent and action; their dances called for gatherings on a large
scale. In opposing a destruction of the village communities, the chiefs were supporting traditional Pawnee values. In addition, it must not be forgotten that even after the settlement of the Pawnee on a Nebraska reservation in 1859 the tribe had been permitted to continue the old village organization. To be sure, it was not in line with government policy that they did so, but because, as we have seen, the government failed to give the tribe protection and did not dare to scatter the people and render them defenceless. Nevertheless, the effect was the same. The Pawnee were not opposed to farming. They were proud in 1884 of their independence of government aid, of their ownership of horses, cattle and farming implements. What was good and useful to a productive and happy life was not lost on the Pawnee. But their past experience inclined them to the belief that reservation life, based on farming, could be carried on successfully without the break-up of their villages. In dealing with such village tribes as the pueblo peoples, the United States government did not destroy the village organization and settlements: as a result, much of value and significance in their ancient culture has continued into the present among the Southwestern Indians. The implication here is that the Pawnee chiefs were right; and that in the case of their tribe the government was attempting a more violent and rapid change than was good for their cultural health.

+175 In 1880 there were only a few individual farms held by Pawnee.
+648 The government reapers and mowers were used on these as well
657 as on the band farms. The band farms were still cooperatively
planted and worked. In 1882 the concerted drive of the officials persuaded a number of enterprising families to locate. With a family on an allotted tract, the agent proceeded to build a frame
[342] house for them. The Indians hewed logs and brought them to the
saw-mill. The government carpenter directed the work of erecting the house, with Pawnee men assisting. The latter did a good share of the work, and as time went by put up their own houses. From 1886 on, all the frame houses built on the Pawnee reservation are reported to have been erected by the Pawnee themselves.

[313] Until 1884 there was a scarcity of timber and cut wood for
building, and many families camped on allotments. Those who

---

[1] W. D. Strong. Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology.

were comfortably settled in homes on individual plots remained 175*
on them and worked them faithfully. Living in houses, they were 648*
soon asking for tables and chairs and bedsteads. Ponies being their 657
chief form of property, the homesteaders would offer ponies for [422]
cooking stoves and culinary implements. Some exchanged ponies
for hogs. A great change was coming into Pawnee life.

The chiefs, priests and medicine men stubbornly opposed the [622
change. Their resistance was strengthened by lax and inefficient 756]
methods of government officials. Agents were political appointees, subject to the changing winds of political control. In the eight-year period from 1876 to 1884 seven agents were successively in charge of the Pawnee. The indications are that often they were lax and indolent, occasionally viciously dishonest. The great suffering for lack of adequate provisions in the early years was in part a result of such maladministration. In 1883 supervision became worse, when the independent Pawnee agency was merged into a combined agency for the Ponca, Pawnee and Oto (later to include the Tonkawa), which was located at Ponca City, many miles from the Pawnee Reservation. Only one or two days of the week could be spent with the Pawnee. The agency fell into disrepair, and procrastination ruled in the affairs of the Pawnee.

On the positive side there were the younger progressive spirits among the Pawnee themselves, who worked untiringly to persuade the people to adjust themselves to new conditions. They found opposition not only in their own ranks, but among white people in the Territory, who, sympathetic to Indian ideas, urged the Pawnee here and there to resist allotments.

The Skiri were the most progressive of the four bands. By 1887 175*
a great many families were located on farms distributed all over the 648*
reservation, and a large proportion of these were Skiri. By 1890 177
most of the Skiri lived on their own farms, furnished their houses 621
and dressed like white people, and spoke English in ordinary 657
intercourse. The Tcawi ran them a close second. Of the other bands, while most were on allotted tracts, there were still many earth-lodges in evidence, and only those who were being educated in the schools were dressing and acting like white people. The Pitahawirat* proved most conservative and resisted change longest.

By the close of the decade the chiefs had accepted the inevitable. 175*
They blocked the agent in some minor measures, but for the most 648*
part expressed themselves eager to see the people educated and 657
civilized. Officials were able to report that the tribe was anxious to 177
have an allotting officer come to the reservation to register their individual tracts and issue certificates: the people were puzzled

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*175
*648 and uneasy about their legal rights as to leasing after allotment, and
●667 as to whether they would be subject to taxation, but it was felt
177 they could easily be reassured.

The greatest discouragement and check upon programs of a
*175 progressive nature, from the years of removal on, was the physical
*648 unsoundness of the Pawnee tribe. In 1876, after the removal, the
164 Pawnee numbered 2,026; in 1892 at the close of this period, the
census listed 759. This tremendous decline, amounting to 62 per
161 cent in a period of sixteen years, was the result of many interacting
causes. Laboring under a blight of diseases and ill health, with the
pride of their stock dying at an inexplicable rate, and all more or
less weakened and ailing, a hopelessness came into Pawnee life
from which there was no escape. This hopelessness and despair
[178] caused a deterioration of their home life, indicated by officials'
reference to "filthy habits" and an "indifference to the condition
of body or clothing." Their ancient medical lore was of no avail:
their ancient gods had apparently deserted them. It is to be marvelled at that something of their old spirit and energy remained,
and that they accomplished what they did in Indian Territory.

The white man's diseases had attacked them in the north.
Pulmonary and venereal diseases in particular had vitiated
their ancient stamina. But in the north the people were in a
climate and a region to which the native constitution was adjusted from centuries of inhabitation. Until the white man came
the people lived a free outdoor life. They were active. Sedentary
[221] as their way of life made them, the tribe roamed abroad on the
hunt five months of the year; at home they were in the field and
the open. The population of the region was not heavy; they had
[166] unpolluted streams and springs. They moved their villages at
intervals of about eight years, avoiding pestilence.

The Nebraska country was relatively high, and the climate dry.
In the removal the people came into a more fertile but humid
country. Malarial fevers began to afflict them. In the winter of
1876, their first in Oklahoma, fevers, combined with other illnesses,
if we are to believe the recorded figures, amounted to a plague.
From 2,026 in 1876 the tribe declined in one year to 1,521![1] The
*175 manner of their removal involved long and continuous exposure,
and the conditions of life upon their arrival were unhealthy and
*648 hazardous. Grinnell reports the condition in which their great
701 friends, Major Frank North and his brother Luther, the organizers
of the Pawnee scouts, found them in 1876 in Indian Territory. The

---

[1] Further and continuous declines the succeeding years indicate that no part of the tribe was accidentally omitted in the 1877 census.

brothers North had come to enlist a company of one hundred 175*
scouts. "They were without food, without clothing, without arms 648*
and without horses. Their sole covering consisted of cotton sheets, 701
which afforded no protection against cold and wet."[1] Every able-bodied man wanted to answer North's call. Every man who could wanted to get away from homes buried in suffering and disease, and to change the monotonous, restricted, and inactive life of the reservation for an active life in the army. Many who were not taken by North marched after his force on foot as far as Arkansas City, hoping to persuade him to enlist them.

Settled in camps of earth-lodges and tipis, with an inadequate 175*
food supply, insufficient clothing and no medical attention, ineffi- 648*
cient and impotent officials remained satisfied for years to report 657 ●
the mortality and ascribe it to filthy habits of life, and the climate. 164
Occasionally we hear that the people had poor protection from the weather, and that in addition to tuberculosis, pneumonia carried off a number.

A slight but temporary improvement in health took place in
1880 when for a season the food supply was adequate. The old [262]
men of the tribe said it was the first time in their lives that they had all the potatoes and vegetables they could eat. The people that fall looked well-nourished for the first time: the children fat and healthy.

The houses built for the Pawnee, and by the Pawnee under government instruction, made no sanitary provisions: as late as 1889 there were few if any outhouses, and luckily so, as the doctor commented, since the Pawnee without guidance were likely to
construct them without vaults. As the people became settled in
separate homes, the absence of suitable drinking water became a [312]
fertile source of disease. There were no wells; they used water from springs or creeks; they were not taught care in handling their water supply, and never cleaned out the springs. Even at the reservation school conditions for some years were bad.

In the reports, a doctor is first heard of in the tribe in 1881, but there are no indications of active medical aid until 1883. Then he began to teach them how to sink wells, and watch their water supply. He attributed fatalities in pneumonia cases to treatment by the native medicine men, and from this time forth there was a constant strife between the code of the medicine man and that of the agency physician. The diseases afflicting the tribe were ascribed to inherent taints, constitutional weakness, and inbreeding. It was not until 1897 that a Doctor Driesbach recognized that

---

[1] Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales, p. 300.

*175 Pawnee medicine men did effect relief and cures in many cases, and
*648 that the sure way to bring the tribe to faith in white man's medicine
657 was to prove its superiority. We may judge from this the
164 efficiency of much of the treatment afforded the Pawnee for years.

In 1890 Dr. Phillips ascribed some part of Pawnee ailments to the fact that at feasts many gorged themselves and then lay dormant for two or three days, tending to derange the proper functioning of the digestive system. The Pawnee habits of eating went back to a time when an active, roving life made heavy eating a necessity. Without the hunt, without warfare, the men were confined, inactive
[462] and indolent. Farming was not yet an adequate substitute. Without skinworking, and the activities of camp life and the march, the women were limited to housework and household duties. The change of daily routine was severe and called for a difficult constitutional adjustment.

582 The question of inbreeding deserves brief comment. Pawnee marriage customs did involve the mating of kin at a certain
621 distance removed. In their old life, families who were the proud possessers of sacred and esoteric lore attempted to retain control of these things by regulating intermarriage. The bands had been for the most part endogamous, and intermarriage with other tribes
[162] was infrequent. On the average a band numbered no more than 2,500. The inbreeding, however, seems not to have had ill effects until inheritable weaknesses of a major sort were among the tribe.

*175 As the years passed, the Pawnee came to look to the government
*648 physicians more and more for help when sick. Their medicine men were unable to cope with the illnesses which afflicted them. In a
657 few outstanding cases, such as the use of quinine for malarial fevers, the white man's medicine had "power."

*175 The educational program was neither more efficient nor more successful for many years than the development of farms and homes.
*648 The Pawnee Industrial Boarding School on the Pawnee Reser-
657 vation in Nebraska suspended operations at the time of removal. The
871 funds saved were applied to the erection of a new brick school building on the Oklahoma reservation. This was not in operation until several years after the tribe located in Indian Territory. Its facilities were severely inadequate. Not more than one-fourth of the Pawnee children of school age could be accomodated. As a result, officials were not able to enforce treaty provisions; they could not compel continuous attendance even of those registered for schooling, since they could not provide facilities. There was a move to organize a day school, which would not only make provision for fifty additional pupils, but would obviate the objection

and antagonisms of parents who did not want their children con- 175*
tinually away from the family hearth. Sanitary conditions in the 648*
school buildings were not the best. Bathrooms and adequate 657
dormitory facilities to avoid crowding were not available until the 871
summer of 1889. Dr. Phillips in his report of that year stated that
he expected these changes to reduce sickness at the school.

The aim of instruction in the reservation school was to give the children a background which would bring them closer to the conditions of life in white communities. The boys were taught manual arts and farming, the girls housekeeping and sewing; both groups learned to read. The instruction in industrial arts was for some time not very efficient, an agent commenting in 1881 that
the school was only nominally "industrial." The schooling of the [581]
girls was impeded by the tribal practice of marrying them off young,
at which time they would be withdrawn from school.

The general educational program of the Department of Indian Affairs began to be broadened in 1879 with the establishment of the Carlisle School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. This was the first non-reservation school for Indians. Lieut. R. H. Pratt of the United States Army, when in charge of Indian prisoners of war exiled in Florida, conceived that education was a better method of handling them than imprisonment. At the same time, it would not do to return them to their reservations. As an experiment a number were sent to Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia, a school originally established for Negro education. The trial was so successful that Pratt was able to persuade the government to establish under his charge a school for Indians exclusively. The objective in organizing non-reservation schools was to divorce Indian children completely for a term of years from the ways of life of the parental generation; it was hoped that many could in this way be persuaded to take up life in white communities altogether, and that those who did return to the reservations would become leaders in the movement to civilize their peoples. The course at Carlisle ran from three to four years. It gave practical training in the manual arts, and common schooling as far as the high school grade. In addition, the "outing" system was adopted early, by which for one term of each school year a boy or girl boarded with and worked for a white family in the east. Many became self-supporting while at school, with small bank accounts of savings. Following the example of Carlisle, other non-reservation Indian schools were soon established, Chilocco and Haskell.

Thirteen Pawnee were enrolled at Carlisle the year it was opened; a few years later the number had increased to nineteen, including

*175 thirteen boys and six girls. Pawnee boys took work in carpentering,
*648 wagon-making, harness-making, tailoring, shoemaking, printing
●657 and farming. The girls learned sewing, laundry-work and house-
871 work. In addition boys and girls had classes in regular school subjects. Thirteen Pawnee went to Chilocco when that institution opened in 1884; and later Pawnee were entered at Haskell. By 1889 between the non-reservation schools and the schools on the Pawnee reservation, most of the Pawnee of school age were in attendance at some government institution.

*175 The schools were successful in teaching the Pawnee to read and
*648 use English, and Carlisle and Chilocco were particularly successful
159 in teaching vocational trades and every-day manners. The outlet
657 for a Pawnee to practice a trade was however, not apparent. Pratt,
871 in charge of Carlisle, did all he could to induce Carlisle graduates to remain in the East and live and work among white people. A few Indians did so, including several Pawnee. The case of Mark Evarts is typical. Successfully trained as a harness-maker, and without close relatives at home, he worked some years at his trade in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. A man gifted in adjusting himself to alien ways, he lived successfully in the East. But in the end it was apparent to him that his life with white people was at best a makeshift, an apology for being an Indian. He returned home to his people, and the consciousness of his past and his fate overcame him. All the promises he had sincerely given to Pratt, a great friend of his, failed to stem the tide of fellow-feeling which surged over him back on the reservation. A Ghost Dance vision reconverted him, he immersed himself in Indian ways, recalled the teachings of his childhood, and became again a Pawnee. Those who returned to the reservation immediately upon graduation from Carlisle were even more rapidly drawn back into the mood of Indian life. Man does not live by bread alone, and the best that the government could claim it had given the Indian by education, was a means of making a living.

*175 The government did not fail to apprehend that in the change
*648 of life from old Indian ways to the white man's civilization, the
657 activities which of old had made the Indian men and women self-reliant and resolute were taken from them. The people no longer depended on the chiefs and leaders, and these on themselves: both looked to the agent for guidance and direction. The Indians neither made their own way of life, nor managed their own affairs. From cultural maturity as Pawnee they were reduced to cultural infancy as civilized men.

To counteract this tendency, however, there was only the weight

of the government program to make the Pawnee self-maintaining 175*
farmers, to induce them to labor at manual pursuits, building their 648*
own houses, repairing their own implements, wagons and harness, 657
and to give them the management of the freighting of their own
supplies. In the later years a measure of self-government was in- [698]
troduced in the form of the Court of Indian Offenses.

Under the reservation system the only governmental authority 175*
was that of the Department of Indian Affairs, which, through the 648*
Department of the Interior, was part of the executive branch of 657
the United States government. Laws and acts of Congress prescrib- 698
ed the manner in which the Department and its agencies were run, but for ordinary legal purposes on the reservation the agent in charge was sole arbiter. As soon as practicable a Court of Indian Offenses, by means of which the Indians adjudicated their own affairs, was instituted on an Indian reservation. Up to 1887 the tribes of the Pawnee agency, including the Pawnee, Ponca, Oto and the Tonkawa, preferred to bring their troubles to the agent and accept his decision as final. In 1889 the Pawnee asked that a court of their own be established, and this was done December 1 of that year. The court was composed of three Pawnee judges, who sat the 3rd and 23rd of each month to hear cases on file. The proceedings were written down by a clerk. When the case had been heard each judge gave his decision, and the agreement of two carried. In the first year it functioned, the Pawnee Court of Indian Offenses tried twenty-four cases. These involved the settlement of Indian estates, the adjustment of debts, destruction of property, drunkenness and divorce. The Court continued to function until 1893 when the Pawnee, with the breaking up of their reservation became citizens of the United States and subject to Territorial Law.
Along with the Court and its jurisdiction went the organization [625]
of the Indian Police. Earlier, in Nebraska, a force of Pawnee had at intervals policed the tribe. At first they were subject to the will of the chiefs, later they were directly responsible to the agent. In Oklahoma the force of eight policemen was responsible for the arrest and handling of those who came before the Court of Indian Offenses. Judges and policemen were paid small salaries by the government.

The disintegration of the old Pawnee culture which took place 175*
in the period from 1876 to 1892 was in part a correlative of the 648*
change in their economic and material life: in part however it was 178
stimulated by direct government attack upon specific customs and
ways. 622

Of their social and political life the power and control of the 657

*175 chiefs, priests and medicine men, and the customs of marriage and
*648 divorce, were directly opposed by officials. That the chiefs were
finally losing power was not however, a result either of the official
178 opposition, or altogether of the breaking up of the band villages; it
622 flowed more directly from the gradual introduction of individualized
657 property control. The traditional native view of a chief was that he was the "father" of his people, who must see to the well-being of every individual in the tribe. To do so the chief had to be able to control a larger quantity of property than the average individual in order to give and help wherever it was necessary. This he accomplished through his individual prowess on the war path and the hunt. But in addition, tribespeople who valued him as chief and leader contributed to his resources in order to aid him to maintain himself and succor his people. Individual ownership of homes and farms not only made individuals materially independent of the chief and tribe, but reduced the chief to a property equality with his tribespeople, making it impossible for him to continue the customs of paternal generosity which tradition commended to him. Without being able to give to and help the poor and distraught, the chief not only lost respect and self-respect, but he was unable to prove his supernatural right to leadership, or that fortune was with him, that the powers of the universe were on his side, and through him were guiding the people.

The agents did not understand this. They felt merely that the chief had power to command so long as the people lived clustered together around him. They expressed in their reports the hope that recognition of chiefs by the Department of Indian Affairs would become a memory.

*175 The polygynous marriage customs of the Pawnee, based primarily
*648 on the sororate or marriage of younger sisters of the wife, were not
657 interfered with up to 1881. Along with the way in which marriage
was arranged by the parents without consulting the young people.
595 and the ceremony itself, involving a transfer of horses and other
property. Pawnee polygyny was, however, consistently considered
reprehensible by officials. Polygyny as well as first marriages in-
[582] volved girls who were very young, often fourteen or fifteen. These
were withdrawn from school at once, and as it was impossible to
carry out an educational program which would send girls of such
a tender age into the tribal life as civilizing influences, the practice
of marrying them so young destroyed the efficiency of the school
[586] as an instrument of civilization. Divorce by mutual consent was a
custom of the Pawnee, which involved a looseness of marital relations from the white standpoint.

Marriage customs were attacked in two ways: legally and ethically. 175*
Toward the close of this period the government program called 648*
for an attempt on the part of officials of the Indian service to insist 657
upon civil marriage under the laws of the United States, to oppose 581
wife-purchase and the marriage of the young girls, to register civilly the marriages of those living together in accordance with old customs, and to oppose easy separation and divorce. Since the individual men and women were becoming possessors of private property in the form of land, houses, stock and implements, by controlling the inheritance of estates in terms of the white man's law, and refusing to recognize "wives" not legally married, the program
began to have an effect. After 1883 missionaries of the Home [797]
Missionary Society and the Methodist Episcopal Church worked
in the tribe, and developed a small congregation of church members. The missionary influence was brought to bear against the Pawnee marriage usages from a moral angle. The agent cooperated with the missionaries in persuading the Pawnee to go through a Christian marriage ceremony as well as to secure a legal certificate. By 1890 officials claimed in their reports that the Pawnee were regularly seeking the missionary to perform the marriage ceremony for them: that by prompt action they had prevented all cases which came to their attention of "selling girls for ponies": and that while polygyny had not been stamped out, there were no new cases of a wife being taken where the man already had a wife. A final claim was that divorces were unknown, or rare, which is to be doubted.

The dancing, gambling and feasting to which the tribe was 175*
addicted were marked out as dissipations contributing to indolence, 648*
and the agent by the most active measures at his command attempted 657
to prevent social gatherings for such purposes as much as possible. 796
In June 1891 the agent was surprised that the tribe assembled for a dance (probably a ceremony); he ordered it stopped at once and told the people to go to their homes and attend to their work. He could not however enforce his commands, and while some did go, most remained and carried out the dance. Such social affairs kept the people away from their farms for long periods, and the crops
were neglected. In the old days the Pawnee methods of cultivation [805
were adjusted to their calendric rituals, and by June, when the 227]
time for the hunt and summer ceremonies came, the crops were "laid by": the tribe was not yet adjusted to intensive cultivation, involving constant care.

The conflict with the Pawnee medicine men was long and diffi- 175*
cult. The government was determined to destroy their power 648*
over the people, and to persuade the Pawnee to depend on the 657
756

*175 agency physician. Unfortunately, except in a small part of the
*648 cases, the physician was notoriously unsuccessful in combating the
diseases which were decimating the tribe; certainly he seemed no
● 657 more successful than the native medicine man. The physician's
756 services, paid for by government salary, were free to the people
who sought his aid, while the native medicine man was paid in
property by the patients he cured. Considering the medicine men
charlatans and fakers, who deceived and befuddled the people, the
officials regarded the customary compensation as extortion. But
in spite of official antagonism the tribe was not drawn altogether
[796] away from their doctors: the Doctor Dances continued to be
demonstrated, constituting practically the only major religious
ceremonies which were demonstrated; and as late as 1888 an
agent reported that the Pawnee "still have more confidence in their
medicine men than the Queen of England has in McKenzie."

*175 From a material standpoint, the close of this period found the
*648 Pawnee in a condition of partial adjustment to the new order, and
relative prosperity. Most of the people were scattered on their
657 farms, and doing well; they were accumulating stock around them.
Between their government funds and their produce the tribe
was practically self-sustaining.

In 1890 Grinnell described conditions upon the reservation: "As we came in sight of Black Bear Creek, I was surprised to see what looked like good farm houses dotting the distant bottom. ...Most well-to-do...Pawnees live in houses as good as those of many a New England land owner, and...better than those inhabited by new settlers in the farther West. Many...have considerable farms under fence, a barn, a garden in which vegetables are raised, and a peach orchard... By far the greater number wear civilized clothing, ride in wagons, and send their children to the agency school...[1]"

If their material life was at last approaching peace and security for the handful of Pawnee (759 in 1892) who had survived the long history of disasters, plagues and abuse, to what are we to attribute the revulsion against conditions which expressed itself in 1892 in the Ghost Dance? Before considering this aspect of the history of Pawnee acculturation, which will concern us in the next chapter, let us turn briefly to a recapitulation of the status of Pawnee culture in 1892.

---

[1] Grinnell, Pawnee Hero-Stories and Folk-Tales, pp. 400—401.

CULTURAL STATUS AT THE DAWN OF THE GHOST DANCE

By 1892 the aboriginal Pawnee culture of a century earlier had 175*
been profoundly altered. A tribe of villagers, accustomed to living 648*
in earth-lodges and tipis, and to maintaining themselves by digging-
stick cultivation of corn, beans and squash, and by hunting the 657 ●
buffalo, had become a loose aggregate of people, living more or 105
less in families on separate farm tracts, dependent for their main- 177
tenance in part on plow cultivation of the land, and in part on the
philanthropy of their overlords, the United States government.

From a political and social standpoint the Pawnee had been transformed from an independent self-determining nation into a group of families subject to the will of representatives of an alien race. The Pawnee chiefs were chiefs only in name and ancient lineage; what power they had among the Pawnee flowed from a continuing respect for their origins and their conduct. But no directing leadership in the destiny of the tribe was open to the chiefs; they could decide what they wished in council; it must then be submitted to the approval and sanction of the Agent, a representative of another government which ruled them.

The hunt and the warpath were gone, and with them the activities of youth and early manhood, which, in terms of the tradition and beliefs of their race, gave value to the life of a man. The hazard and danger of life as they had lived it before made them energetic, active and self-reliant. He who did not depend upon himself was lost. Now there was always the annuity, the agent, and rations. For women the life had also been radically altered. Their former routine had been a difficult and laborious one, working in the fields, making tent covers and clothing, cooking, and tending the children. But it had been part of a life which had broad and deep meaning as a way of life, in which their function was basic and valuable.

The family relationships which had brought all the people close
together in their villages were broken down with the substitution
of frame houses on the farms for the old earth-lodge. In the 516
earth-lodge a large, extended family lived together; the family
line cohered around the women. On the farms the frame house was
built for a man as head of a family, and was primarily for the small,
limited family group as conceived by the white man.

From a material standpoint the arts and techniques which had been practised for centuries by the people, carried to practical perfection as their form of adjustment to the conditions of the world in which they lived, were broken down by the appearance of

*175
*648 a new set of conditions in which they were no longer necessary or
177 possible.

657
105 The extinction of the buffalo and the complete cessation of hunting meant the elimination of all the arts which had centered around the handling of skins. Tipis were no longer necessary; buffalo robes were not as good as blankets; the preparation of skin clothing was a thankless task when the agent issued the appurtenances of the white man for the asking. The technique of using wood for bowls and utensils, for mortar and pestle, for traps and bows and arrows, was passing into oblivion. The working of horn and bone, of which spoons and ladles had been made, was unnecessary in view of the ease with which the white man's pots and pans and utensils could be had. Pottery of clay had already become extinct for lack of use and function.

The beliefs and philosophies of men to be alive must be inherent in and consonant with the way by which men live. When the men no longer hunted the buffalo, when they no longer needed power and invulnerability on the warpath, when the women no longer had to contribute fertility to the fields they planted, the ancient cosmology of the Pawnee was without a reference. The ritual lore of the great sacred bundles of the tribe was handed on less and less: it died with priests who, increasingly subject to death as the mortality of the tribe increased year by year, had neither time nor inspiration to hand it on. The ceremonies, becoming functionless, became extinct.

Once the young men of the tribe joined in many brotherhoods. These societies of men concerned themselves with the activities of manhood in Pawnee life, hunting and war. Each had special powers and functions for aiding in the successful accomplishment of the ends of war and the hunt, powers derived from the greater bundles which came directly from the ruling forces of the world. These societies too became functionless, and as the membership died off, the brotherhoods no longer met to dance and sing.

The chiefs had constituted a brotherhood of their own. When youths became men, and took upon themselves the serious business of maintaining the welfare of the tribe, they could, by demonstrating in their daily behavior their growing wisdom and capacity for leadership, become eligible to sit in the society of the chiefs. The forms of the chief's society ritual was carried on down into the present: much that was of value in the old ethics of the tribe was still explained to the youths even a year ago by the few who had not forgotten. But here again, the paramount functions of the society were gone.

The medicine men of the tribe carried on. The Doctor Dances 175 *
were given year after year; although after 1878 the great Doctor 648 *
Performances through which the medicine men renewed their 177
powers were no longer demonstrated. The function of the doctors 105
did not disappear; health became a possession more difficult to
secure as the years passed. But against the white man's diseases 657 ●
the folk medicine of the Pawnee doctors proved essentially futile; as did the white man's medicine itself.

With the passing of the greater part of the old ritualism and ceremony, the arts of ceremonial decoration, of making ritual costumes, bear-claw necklaces, otter-skin collars, of painting the body, went with them. The Doctor Dances kept something of the ritual decorative arts alive.

If we turn from this catalog of the decline of aboriginal Pawnee culture what can we see that had come to take its place? Needing the Indian's land for the expansion of the white man, the government was compelled to give the Indian an economy which would be self-sustaining while it confined the tribe in narrower boundaries. It gave the Indian farming. This being seasonal, and subject to the vicissitudes of the elements, it did not mean independence. For a meat supply the Indian did not use his own resources; the government gave him meat. When his crops failed, the government rationed him.

What occupations took the place of the old? The boys learned some manual arts. They could help to build their own houses, to repair their implements; the girls meanwhile learned some sewing, how to wash clothing, how to keep house. All these were essentially mechanical operations; their aesthetic returns are for the most part small. What creative satisfaction was to be had in manual arts, the boys did achieve in harness-making, carpentering, wagon-making and the like, where they had opportunity to put into practise what they had learned.

The small measure of self-government which the Indians were offered through the Court of Indian Offenses was subject to the paternal control of the Agent and the government; it was concerned after all with the minor legal problems of their life. It helped to revive something of self-determination.

If we turn finally to the intellectual side of Pawnee life we find that practically nothing came to take the place of the old rituals and ceremonies, the old dances and social gatherings, the old
traditions and songs. Missionaries had been among the Pawnee [797]
from 1835 to 1837, and again there were missionaries after 1883

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*175
*648
177
105
●657
797

With what results? In 1891 even the optimistic reports of the missionaries claimed only thirty-five church members, and twenty or more years later not over a seventh of the tribe even professed Christianity according to official reports.

In 1892, after the best efforts of the Pawnee for over three generations to adjust themselves to living alongside the white man, the tribe had come to a cultural impasse, with nothing to look forward to and nothing to live by.

and ascertaining his views, I told him he was an impostor and I 668
wanted him at once to leave the reservation never to return. The 648
next morning 200 Indians came to the agency and demanded a 794
council. They were painted in high colors and seemed aggressive and defiant. After the arrival of an interpreter I opened the council in a two hours' talk on the coming of Christ and the true Messiah and the false Messiah as professed by them, and I plainly told them that the dance could not be tolerated and would not be: that this government would last and assert her power, and that they should be obedient to the law and be good Indians, return to their homes and cultivate their farms and raise something to eat. After they had spoken professing loyalty to the government and obedience to the law, they broke the council and returned to their homes."[1]

Although the effort to put a stop to Ghost Dancing continued, and officials would seek out meetings and try to break them up, the Pawnee were nevertheless gathering in secret to dance.

"At one camp about five miles east of the agency they decided one night to Ghost Dance. Word spread among the Indian folk and they gathered in numbers at the camp. There was one old man, George Esau, who had a great loud voice. The people were dancing in the moonlight. At night the echo goes a long way. When he cried out it could be heard clear over at the agency. One Indian who lived a mile north of town came on horseback to tell them. He said Esau's voice could be heard away over toward the west. 'The police may come; they can hear him.' Whenever they tried to quiet Esau he became worse, and his voice louder, and the people became afraid of him. Then they let him alone and stopped dancing, because they didn't want the agents to find out."[2]

It was in the midst of this year of excitement in the life of the 657
Pawnee that the government had elected to carry out a further
step in its program of civilizing the Pawnee and turning them into 668
citizens. The plan was to complete the allotment of tracts in severalty among the Pawnee. Those who had already chosen plots and were living on them and cultivating the land were to be confirmed in their possession. All others must take them out. The Pawnee who had not as yet chosen to farm individual tracts were of course those who were most strongly opposed to the program. Furthermore the plan laid before the tribe involved the sale of their surplus lands after the Pawnee were provided with allotments per capita, and the opening of these lands to settlement by

---

[1] Agent D. J. M. Wood, in Annual Report, 1891—1892.

[2] Informant's narrative.

657
668 white people. This meant essentially the final break-up of reservation life.

The commissioners to draw up the agreement with the Pawnee for the allotment of lands in severalty and the sale of surplus acreage was due the agency. It was at this time that the agent was compelled to take further steps to stop the Ghost Dancing.

The agent reported on the episode as follows: "In about two weeks thereafter news again reached me of the renewal of the Ghost Dance. I procured the assistance of a deputy United States marshal and he went to Pawnee and arrested the supposed prophet Frank White, and took him to Guthrie, Oklahoma, before a United States Commissioner, and he was held over until district court for inciting Indians to an insurrection, and remanded to jail to await his trial before the district court. In about ten days I received a telegram that a writ of habeas corpus had been issued and the hearing was the next day. I at once went to Guthrie and was at the hearing when Judge Green, chief justice of Oklahoma, gave him a good strong talk, telling him of the danger of indulging in such things, and released him. He went back to the reservation, and there has not been a Ghost Dance since. All is prosperous and serene at Pawnee. . ."[1]

The Pawnee recall the arrest as taking place at the time of trouble over the question of allotments. Officials spread the word in the tribe that if they took out allotments they could dance all they wanted to, and no one would interfere with them. This of course was a reference to the fact that the program which the government wanted to carry out would break up the reservation, and make the Pawnee individual land holders subject to the laws of the United States and the Territory in which they lived, in which event the agent would no longer have executive power to control them. This argument for taking out allotments had weight with many, and contributed to their final acquiescence.

To keep the Pawnee quiet for a while, they say the agent had
[625] White arrested. A United States marshall and three Indian policemen, recalled as Harry Coons, John Morris and Jim Murie, arrested White, and it was understood by the Pawnee he was being taken to Red Rock. The Pawnee decided to fight to get the Prophet back. David Akapakis and some others took the lead and organized a party of men who got their guns and were going to fight. They gathered at the railroad station to take him away from the marshall. Said an informant, "The agent sent a telegram to a fort which was among the Cheyenne, and when the train came in a lot

---

[1] Annual Report, 1891—92.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

of soldiers got off. There were too many soldiers so the Pawnee 657
couldn't fight. The marshall took White away and the Indians 668
went home."

It was while White was away under arrest that most of the Pawnee who had been opposed were persuaded so choose allotments. They wanted to continue the Ghost Dance, and having been told they could dance if they took allotments, they did so. It must be remembered that in dividing up their land, and selling a good part of it, the Pawnee were doing something which was opposed to the faith and doctrine of the Ghost Dance. On the other hand, for those who were strong in their faith, the act was meaningless, since the change which would destroy the white man would restore them their lands in their aboriginal state.

Frank White was held ten or twelve days, and brought back. 648
According to Murie, after White's release, the Messiah himself did
what he could to develop the Ghost Dance movement along less 657
militant lines. "To do this he magnified the Christian elements."

In pursuance of the government land program, a special allotting agent, with clerical assistants, came to the Pawnee agency in the summer of 1892. After the completion of their work, during which a total of 797 allotments in severalty were drawn up, the United States Commissioners came, empowered to treat with the Pawnee for the sale of their surplus lands. On November 23, 1892 they completed their agreement with the Pawnee. By it the allotments were confirmed; 840 acres were reserved for the school, agency, cemetery and religious purposes; and the residue of their reservation, 169,320 acres, was purchased to be thrown open to settlement. In compensation for their lands the government paid the Pawnee an advance of $ 80,000 to be distributed per capita upon the ratification of the agreement by act of Congress; and agreed to continue their perpetual annuity of $ 30,000 a year, thenceforth to be issued entirely in money.[1] The balance of the return from the sale of their Oklahoma lands was to be deposited in the United States Treasury as a trust fund to the credit of the Pawnee tribe, to draw interest at 5 per cent annually, which interest was to be distributed per capita.

The agreement was ratified March 3, 1893; and that year the lands ceded by the Pawnee were thrown open to white settlement. In selecting tracts for allotments the Pawnee had naturally been guided by the quality of the land. As a result the lands ceded and opened to white settlement were scattered all over what had been the Pawnee reservation, and before the year was out the tribe found

---

[1] Up to this time the annuity was half money, half goods and supplies.

648 white settlers in among them and on all sides of them. Almost at
657 once a town sprang up near the agency, the present Pawnee.

The Pawnee soon found that their legal status had changed; the
641 agent no longer had executive power to control their acts and
648 behavior. The people were now free citizens of the United States.
The white people who settled among them and were anxious to do business with a tribe whose income, between their down payment, annuity, and interests, was $ 177,000 in 1893, were quick to tell them so. Then came the lease system for the Indian farm lands. But that is another story. What concerns us here is the effect of this change of status upon the Ghost Dance among the Pawnee.

At first, in 1893, the agent believed that by his prompt measures
648 with Frank White the year before, he had stamped out the Ghost
668 Dance. He wrote in his report, July 15, 1893: "This dance has
177 almost disappeared... There is some religious enthusiasm in
which they indulge and makes them more tractable and easy to manage, as they say they must do right under all circumstances." The agent felt that the tribe was well satisfied with their allotments, and was prosperous and united.

We, however, can note that this religious enthusiasm was none other than the Ghost Dance, in view of the ethical maxims quoted by the agent, but that from the official standpoint the movement had lost its militancy. By the following year, however, the agent himself was aware that Ghost Dances were being held regularly; that the Indians flouted his loss of authority, which they were now fully cognizant of. From this time forth until the turn of the century, the reports indicate that the agents were doing all in their power by moral suasion to keep the Indians from Ghost Dancing; but the religion continued none the less. At the turn of the century the form in which it flourished was the four-day Ghost Dance hand game ceremony, rather than the Ghost Dance proper.

FORMS OF WHITE'S SOUTH BAND GHOST DANCE

When White first brought the Ghost Dance to the Pawnee he
668 organized the dancing simply. He taught some of the songs to a
796 few singers, gathered the people together in a large conical tipi
177 for face-painting, and led the dancing outside this tipi, aided by
his singers.

Soon he had organized the dancing more ritually. He selected seven singers, after the pattern initiated by Sitting-Bull among the Caddo and Wichita, and these became a fixed organization for South Band Ghost Dancing. There is some disagreement among

THE PAWNEE AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

I have gathered the detailed evidence on the cultural revivals 178 and developments from 1892 on in this summary form, in order to emphasize the reality of the Ghost Dance period as a time of 175 Pawnee renaissance. Like greater cultural movements of this kind, it was a turning backward to the past, an attempt to resurrect, preserve and copy the ancient records. From them a new and revitalized cultural movement flowed. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of Pawnee destiny, several conditions combined to destroy this movement, and as the faith was overthrown, the revivals disappeared and activity based on the new forms in part waned. As a result, we cannot today fully reconstruct the movement of changes or prove the full extent to which the old culture began to revive. I believe the evidence presented is indicative, but only a part of what contemporary recording would have offered.

A cultural renaissance to be effective must be in the hands of a free people, and the directions of its flow must be relatively unimpeded. It was impossible in Oklahoma after 1892 to bring back the old material conditions of life of the Indian; his vision that the buffalo, the old habitations and old landscape would reappear was a mirage. This alone would perhaps have only checked the movement, and turned it in other directions. But the Pawnee were not a people with an independent destiny. Until 1893, they were so many cultural children fathered by the paternal solicitude of the agent and the government; after 1893 the Pawnee were so many unassimilated citizens of the United States.

In 1893, with the allotment of their lands in severalty, the surplus 648 lands of the Pawnee were thrown open to settlement by the white 657 man. The town of Pawnee sprang up almost at once in their very midst. The choice of allotments had not been controlled so 175 as to maintain the reservation lines, and when the unallotted surplus lands became the homes of white men, the Pawnee found themselves side by side with white men for the first time in their history. The allotment in severalty made the Pawnee individual land owners; they were transformed from full wards of the government into citizens subject to the laws of the United States and the Territory in which they lived. As such the Agent no longer had absolute control over them; he could persuade and he could withhold annuity money to help reinforce his suggestions, but he could neither command nor enforce his orders.

The Pawnee found their new freedom much to their liking. For one thing, there was no authority which could compel them to

648 657 [273] stop the Ghost Dance. For another, they found themselves well off financially, with the white settlers among them eager to deal with them. In the town of Pawnee some were able in spite of preventive measures to get drunk at will, at which times as the agent observed, they would proclaim aloud their rights as citizens of the United States.

The allotment of lands had been made per capita. 797 allotments were recorded. A fair estimate would place the 797 as including about 160 families, and 160 to 200 would probably total the number of able-bodied men available for farming. As each family of five members controlled 800 acres of allotted land, it was impossible for the government to expect that the full acreage would be cultivated by the Pawnee men. At the same time the new status of the people left the government with no financial obligations toward the tribe except the permanent annuity, and the payment of interest on trust funds. The Pawnee had to become self-supporting, and if they could not win their sustenance from their own lands, the lands must be put to work for them. As landowners they were allowed to lease large parts of their allotted lands to white farmers and cattlemen: in theory every able-bodied man was to retain a plot of forty acres worked by himself.

427 648 657 175 The lease system grew by leaps and bounds. At first the lands rented by the year at twenty-five cents an acre for grazing land to one dollar for farming land. The Pawnee land was one fourth rich bottom land, one fourth hilly and rough land, and about one half level upland. The Pawnee reserve was suited to corn and fruit, and in 1897 a trial of cotton was begun. The farm lands continued to rise in rental value. The leases provided for improvements on the land as well as the money rental, and as unplowed land was broken it became more valuable. Rental values rose by 1905 to $ 4.50 an acre for the best farm land. The leasing began in 1894; in 1895 there were 97 leases of Pawnee allotment land and the number increased year by year. At first the payment of lease money was made directly to the Indian, or was paid by the lessee to the agent and by the latter turned over to the Pawnee lessor at once; later as the government found the Indians squandering their money as fast as they received it, the money was kept on deposit for the Pawnee by the agent and drawn on as needed.

There were two reasons for the rapid increase of the lease system: the white man wanted to lease the land from the Indian, because it was profitable land, and at a low rental. The Indian wanted to lease the land to the white man because it brought him money without a kind of labor which was disagreeable to him, especially

at the time of the Ghost Dance faith. As time went by Indians 648
and white farmers resorted to various subterfuges to get around 557
the ruling that certain lands they held could not be leased. The 427
Indian would claim that he was employing a white man and 175
intended to pay him, but when harvest time came, instead of the
Indian paying the white farmer money, the white farmer gave the
Indian a part of the crop.

The immediate results of the lease system were two-fold: on
the one hand, for the first time in their lives the Pawnee had plenty
of money; on the other hand, they had to make no effort at all to
support themselves. In 1897 the Pawnee leases brought an income [434]
of $ 12,114.95. In 1900 the income of the tribe from their annuity
($ 30,000), interest on their two trust funds (from the sale of the
Nebraska reservation; and from the sale of the surplus Oklahoma
lands); and leases, was over $ 75,000. In that year the population [161]
had dwindled to 650, so that the per capita income was about [511]
$ 116 or the income of the average family of five close to $ 600
annually, a substantial and adequate income in 1900 on the Oklahoma
frontier.

Year by year the Pawnee labored less and less on their own lands: 175
in 1904 their self-maintenance was 42 per cent from their annuity
and interests, 43 per cent from leases, and 15 per cent from "labor 461
in civilized pursuits." By 1899 the agents had fully realized the 657
extent of the blunder which had been made: they were aware that
the Pawnee could not be made to labor when he had all he needed
without it, and pointed out in their reports that white men would
have acted in the same way.

Along with the disappearance of all demands upon them to be
self-reliant and self-maintaining, the Pawnee were stripped of their
last outlets for self management. Leases were made not by the [427]
Indian but by the agent; lease money was paid not to the Indian
but to the agent. All that the Indian had to do was to draw his
income. At the same time with the change of status to citizens, [698
the function of the Court of Indian Offenses vanished, and the
court was abolished April 21, 1894; the Indian police were disbanded 625]
in October of the same year.

Temporarily with their increased income, the living conditions 175
of the Pawnee improved: they ate better, they dressed better, and 511
they lived better. But the idleness which had come to them 161
was in keeping with their desire during these years to congregate
in encampments for Ghost Dances and other performances, so that
they leased their houses with their lands and made shift to live
here or there as the occasion demanded. During these years there

285 rior quality they might produce an article which would have commercial value. Among 461 all our Indian nations the industry of the woman is proverbial, and if it could be encouraged in the direction of domestic manufactures, the products of which were purchased by government factors at such prices as would reimburse the money an incalculable benefit would be conferred upon them. 000 The women would then support the whole of them. And after a time the men would unite with them in the labor. I talked with Mr. Allis about the Agency system as at present organized, and its results.

Indian Agency System

648 657 Mr. Allis agreed with me that the Agency System was a failure. His observation confirmed mine that many of them are dishonest, some incompetent, and but a few really useful. He is not at all satisfied with Mr. De Pau[?][13] the present agent of the Pawnees. He says he has sold the crops raised on the Indian farm, which ought to have been distributed among the Pawnees; that he has hired out the threshing machine, purchased

[p 136 (C)]

[13] [see cat. 116, p 220(B) - ANALYST]

648 657 by a former agent, to white settlers at different places, and that finally a team became frightened while drawing it, and ran away with it and pretty much destroyed it. He says the Pawnees are annoyed by the settlers, and that the licensed trader system is not well managed. He thinks there should be two, and but two, traders licensed, that the Indians may have the benefit of competition, and that a better system would be one something like that of the army settlers. He said he could not get the agency. He did not try as he knew it was impossible. It was a political race as usual between several applicants.

771 About the religious system of the Pawnees—he knew but little as he had never studied the subject. It was an element worship with medicine and conjuration. They have no term for Devil, and are very superstitious. For want of time I could not take it up further.

[p 136 (D)]

[p 141 (A)]
[pp 137-140 not processed]

648 657 The licensed trader of the Pawnees is aboard. I saw him several times at St. Jo. He is about 25. The Pawnee annuity is $20,000 cash, and $20,000 in goods. This year they received but $15,000. He said he sold them in goods last winter $12,000. Their annuity was paid to them in the Spring. Thus he received the greater part of the money. He said he got his pay at the time the Pawnees received theirs. That it would not do to let the money go into their hands, as in that case he would not get his pay. He took it of course as the Iowa trader did, above described.

Pawnee Farm

The Pawnees have a farm of 1000 acres cultivated by the agent. He understood $20,000 per annum was allowed to the agent to expend upon this farm, $5,000 quarterly. This seems large. He said the crops were distributed among the Pawnees. [Rev. Samuel] Allis said the agent sold the last year's crop. I understand the agent[30] of the Paw-

[30] [See category 116, p. 221--Analyst]

648 nees is now in some trouble with the Gov-
657 ernment. No doubt like most of the agencies, this of the Pawnees is conducted iniquitously.

[p 141 (B)]

648
657
13. Benjamin F. Lushbaugh, Indian agent, prepared the report for the Pawnee Agency, Nebraska Territory, for 1862 (*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1862*, pp. 266–68).

[Q 220 (B)]

648
657

30. Benjamin F. Lushbaugh was the agent for the Pawnee in 1862. He has some account of his farming activities in his report for that year. A special farmer, Chas. H. Whaley, assumed his duties on the reserve on July 1, 1862 (*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1862*, pp. 266–68).

[p221]

[pp 222-233 not processed]

2: Lesser
794
796
668
177

Pawnee NQ18

[For information on the origin, development and spread of the Ghost Dance ceremony to the various tribes of Western United States, see category 116, pp. 53-59. --Analyst]

The Wichita and Kitsai first took over the dance from the Caddo. 500 But in February, 1891, Sitting Bull was again in Oklahoma. He came to visit the Wichita and inducted the seven Wichita leaders ceremonially into office.

The same month a Kiowa who had been to visit Wovoka had returned, and as word spread that he had important news for all the tribes, a great council was held February 19, 1891 at Anadarko. Apiatan, the Kiowa, had a discouraging report to communicate. He faced the great multitude and told them that the reports of the great powers of the Messiah were false. The Messiah did not speak all languages, but only Paiute; he was not omniscient, for he had asked Apiatan who he was and why he had come: and he had no scars on his hands and feet, so he was not Christ. Wovoka had refused to call spirits of Apiatan's deceased relatives into their presence, saying he could not do so. By this time the Messiah was astounded at the forces he had set in motion. The Sioux Ghost Dance disasters of 1890 to 1891 were blamed on him. He told Apiatan that the Sioux had twisted everything up; he told him to go home to his people and tell them to stop dancing.

Sitting-Bull was present, and rose to answer. He told the people again what Wovoka had said to him the year before. Apiatan replied that it was not true: that Sitting-Bull was deceiving the people for mercenary gain. Sitting-Bull replied that the many horses he had received had not been asked for; and that those who had lost faith and wished them back could come and receive them.

This adverse report stopped the Kiowa from dancing for a time. They revived the Ghost Dance in 1894. But the other tribes who heard the report, including the Kiowa Apache, refused to believe it. They said Apiatan had been bought by the government to deceive the Indians in this way. They continued dancing. Apiatan received a medal from President Harrison.

In 1891 Frank White, a Pawnee Indian, was among the southern 177 Oklahoma tribes who were Ghost Dancing; he participated in dances 668 among the Comanche and Wichita, learned the doctrine, and observed the early forms in which the dancing was at that time organized according to the instruction of Sitting-Bull, the northern Arapaho. In the late summer of 1891 he returned north to the Pawnee.

The Cheyenne and Arapaho became the most inspired leaders of 000 the movement in the south. They sent several delegations to visit Wovoka. One of these, in the fall of 1891 brought back a message from Wovoka which had been written down by a delegate in broken English. I quote part of Mooney's version[1]:

---

[1] Mooney, p. 781.

father, had spread with an almost equal rapidity through Californian tribes. 000 The dance of 1890 did not affect those tribes. Conversely the movement of 1870 did not penetrate the Plains. Kroeber has suggested that in 1870 the Plains tribes had not been reduced to such a state of cultural decay as to make them susceptible to revivalistic doctrine, while the Californian tribes had been overrun some years before in the gold rush and by 1870 their old culture had been destroyed. Kroeber also considers that the experiences of the Californian peoples in 1870 to 1874 made them impassive to a second wave of similar doctrine.[1]

The doctrines of Wovoka as revealed in what he told Mooney of his vision experiences, and in the message he gave the Cheyenne and Arapaho, are clearly doctrines of peace. In only one region where the Ghost Dance was taken up was this aspect forgotten. The western Dakota, from of old militaristic in their antagonism to the whites and the changes taking place in their lives, accustomed to taking an active and resistant part, transformed the doctrine from one of peaceful faith and hope, into one of war. The rapport with the supernatural achieved in the dance was not only a guarantee of eventual participation in the new resurrected life, but it gave invulnerability in battle. The attitude of the Sioux culminated in blunders on the part of American army men, and brought on the conflicts of 1890 to 1891 and the Massacre at Wounded Knee. The Sioux troubles made government officials suspicious of Ghost Dancing wherever it occurred, and it was put down with all the force agents could muster, in order to prevent anticipated bloody revolt. Elsewhere, however, the doctrine remained one of peace, a simple hope that a change was coming which would give the Indians back their land, their buffalo and their old life. The message and vision of Wovoka emphasized that in the new life disease and death would be no more, an aspiration full of hope to a people like the Pawnee, who for generations had been undergoing the worst ravages of disease with their loved and venerated ones dying all about them.

DOCTRINE AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE PAWNEE GHOST DANCE

As early as 1890 rumors had reached the Pawnee of a Messiah 177
who had appeared to an Indian somewhere in the mountains. 668
He was supposed to have visited the dead people, and to have

---

[1] Kroeber, A. L. Handbook of the Indians of California, p. 869.

668 seen them dancing in a circle.[1] Nothing authentic and substantiated
177 reached the tribe, however, until the fall of 1891[2] when Frank
White came home to the Pawnee after his stay with the Wichita.

The Pawnee tell of White's learning the Ghost Dance among the southern tribes in the following way:

"One time Frank White went over to the Comanche, who were
668 dancing the Ghost Dance. He went inside and sat down on the
177 north side. He ate peyote, a great deal, until he was nearly over-
796 come. He bent his head and covered his eyes. He was a good-
looking man who used to wear decorative red twine over his brow.
[276 The Comanche did not know him, and the next morning they asked
him who he was, and he said he was a Pawnee. Then he left them
301] and went to the Wichita. He ate peyote there, and watched them
dance the Ghost Dance and learned it. Then he came home and
brought it to the South Bands. He told them what he had learned."

The period during which Frank White studied the Ghost Dance
668 among the Comanche and the Wichita was in the year following
177 the great Ghost Dance of the fall of 1890, led by Sitting-Bull.
The forms of leadership and organization he learned were those
preached by Sitting-Bull, and initiated by him personally among
the Caddo and Wichita.

Murie has spoken of White's experiences in the south. "Frank
White . . . joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream,
[787] the tree, the Messiah and then the village of people.[3] He also saw
them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in
[533 Pawnee. The first song was as follows[4]:
539]

we	*rihi*	*irasi·ra*
now	place where	yonder you come
	wetikuwatu	*rawahe*
	now I long for	the {village region

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 630—632 recounts a long narrative of the story which was supposed to have reached the Pawnee in 1890.

[114] [2] Murie, Societies, p. 633, says "in the fall of 1892." This is a misprint or a slip on Murie's part. In the account which follows Murie describes events of a winter and summer which intervene between White's return to the Pawnee and his arrest; White was arrested in 1892. Furthermore, we can date the time White left the Wichita by the fact that he left before the Arapaho delegation arrived in the fall of 1891 with the message from Wovoka, which, in spite of the objections of Sitting-Bull, necessitated a change in the form of the Ghost Dancing.

[3] Murie is doubtless referring here to the narrative of Wovoka's vision as known to the Pawnee which he gives, pp. 630—632.

[4] The form I quote here is a retranscription and retranslation of Murie's printed version, written by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

668

we *rihi* *irari·ra* 177
a *tsiksu* *wétatū·tu* *hi i* [533
and {mind spirit} now I do 539]

The place whence you come.
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come.
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxki^x^. When he returned home to the 668 Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom 177 is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have 792 is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the 794 kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours."

When Frank White instituted regular dances, these were among the South Bands; the Skiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds [152 which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits took possession of them and fell. White had great power over 786] them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change.

Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. 668 Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements 177 gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers [792] had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the 796 people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who 794 wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one [302] gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna-

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

668 ment. When all were dressed and painted for the dance, White and
177 his singers came out onto the open space east of the sacred tipi,
and formed the gathering into a circle. All joined hands, and with
794 White and his singers leading in the songs, they danced round and
796 round. Others rushed over to the dance ground to join in. Many
shook and fell. White and his leaders put others into trances, and great excitement prevailed.

In the evening they stopped to eat, and then continued dancing
[787] until late at night. From time to time those who fell would get up and tell what they had seen. Each had a message from the other world, and had learned songs. These visions became sanctions not only for special developments of the Ghost Dance, and of the hand games, but also for important revivals of old aspects of Pawnee life, which before this had ceased to function.

One evening all the Pawnee were gathered together where the South Band people lived. White was conducting the ceremonies. It was a fine clear evening, near sunset, with clouds across the sky in the west. The clouds in the sky across the west were like people sitting in a row. White told the people, "Now if you all come out here in the open where there is no timber, you can plainly see the people in the west. Those are the dead people. They are all waiting there. Now you see them. Pretty soon now the high wind will come and all the white people on earth will be blown away. Those (here he referred to Behaile, Dorf Carian, Harry Coons, James Murie, Rice Pepan—all half breeds), such as they are the wind will pick up too, even if they are half breeds, because they don't believe in this dance. These believe in the white man's church. The wind will throw them against the heavy trees and crush them. The people who believe will be saved, because when the wind blows the white people away, they will all be left standing here. Those who believe will be shaken and fall down, and after they arise and open their eyes there will be no white people here. The buffalo will be here; everything will be just as it was before the white people came, and all our deceased folk, our fathers, our mothers, our grandfathers and our grandmothers, will be here with us."

All the people stood and watched these clouds in the west. All the people believed it, except a few. When the clouds were gone they all went home.

One young man lay in a trance all night. White wanted all
[787] the people to hear his story, so in the evening of the next day, he ordered all the people onto a hill. There they stood in line facing

668

west,[1] and the young man sat down facing them with the crier by his side. He said, 177

"When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, 'My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people.' I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me and said, 'My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing.' So we went on and there in the center of the village our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return, and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying on the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw."[2] 794 796 787

---

[1] This is the ceremonial arrangement followed later in smoking and opening the dance; see below.

[2] Murie, p. 634. This is the tradition of the way in which the smoke offering was introduced into Pawnee Ghost Dance arrangements.

In the vision two minor points are worth calling attention to. The dead blessed the young man in the Pawnee way when they blew their breath upon him. The closing statement, "this is the end," etc. follows the Pawnee literary form of myths and stories.

More significant is the suggestion of Christ as "leading the people," an identification of Christ with chieftainship, which concept determined important ritual aspects of the Pawnee Ghost Dance and Ghost Dance hand games. [622]

668 This young man was blessed by the people, and they also took
177 a blessing from him. But when they touched him many fell or
794 trembled. "After this four men were selected to smoke to the
796 dead people."[1]

Murie also tells the interesting story of an unbeliever.

"A woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, 'That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth.' Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to
[625] act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the
prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit.
[783] The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the
creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right."[2]

Dancing was sporadic during the Winter of 1891, but gradually the dances followed each other in rapid succession. With few exceptions by 1892 the Pawnee were under White's influence and control. The situation forced itself upon official attention early in that year. "In February 1892 the Pawnee commenced what is known as a 'Ghost Dance', dancing in a circle, falling down in
[786] a trance, and after some hours they awake and profess to have
seen their dead friends. About two-thirds of the tribe seemed at this time to be possessed of the idea of the second coming of Christ, to destroy all the whites and to bring back the buffalo and the wild game."[3]

On account of the coming end of the world, and the uselessness of continuing work in the face of the expected changes which would bring back old times and the deceased relatives of the living, all those who became convinced of the Ghost Dance doctrine stopped work. Many left their plows in the field standing just as they had been in the midst of their work cultivating their corn.

648 As soon as the agent in charge of the Pawnee received word at
668 the agency in Ponca City that the Pawnee were Ghost-Dancing,
794 he wrote to the clerk in charge at the Pawnee agency to put a stop
to the dancing immediately. "But the Indians seemed defiant and aggressive and it seemed at this time that trouble might be anticipated. Knowing that all religious fanatics are persistent and determined, I at once went to Pawnee and visited the camp of the so-called prophet Frank White, and after talking with him

[1] Murie op. cit.

[2] Murie, p. 635.

[3] Agent Wood in Annual Reports, 1891–92.

and ascertaining his views, I told him he was an impostor and I 668
wanted him at once to leave the reservation never to return. The 648
next morning 200 Indians came to the agency and demanded a 794
council. They were painted in high colors and seemed aggressive and defiant. After the arrival of an interpreter I opened the council in a two hours' talk on the coming of Christ and the true Messiah and the false Messiah as professed by them, and I plainly told them that the dance could not be tolerated and would not be: that this government would last and assert her power, and that they should be obedient to the law and be good Indians, return to their homes and cultivate their farms and raise something to eat. After they had spoken professing loyalty to the government and obedience to the law, they broke the council and returned to their homes."[1]

Although the effort to put a stop to Ghost Dancing continued, and officials would seek out meetings and try to break them up, the Pawnee were nevertheless gathering in secret to dance.

"At one camp about five miles east of the agency they decided one night to Ghost Dance. Word spread among the Indian folk and they gathered in numbers at the camp. There was one old man, George Esau, who had a great loud voice. The people were dancing in the moonlight. At night the echo goes a long way. When he cried out it could be heard clear over at the agency. One Indian who lived a mile north of town came on horseback to tell them. He said Esau's voice could be heard away over toward the west. 'The police may come; they can hear him.' Whenever they tried to quiet Esau he became worse, and his voice louder, and the people became afraid of him. Then they let him alone and stopped dancing, because they didn't want the agents to find out."[2]

It was in the midst of this year of excitement in the life of the 657
Pawnee that the government had elected to carry out a further
step in its program of civilizing the Pawnee and turning them into 668
citizens. The plan was to complete the allotment of tracts in severalty among the Pawnee. Those who had already chosen plots and were living on them and cultivating the land were to be confirmed in their possession. All others must take them out. The Pawnee who had not as yet chosen to farm individual tracts were of course those who were most strongly opposed to the program. Furthermore the plan laid before the tribe involved the sale of their surplus lands after the Pawnee were provided with allotments per capita, and the opening of these lands to settlement by

---

[1] Agent D. J. M. Wood, in Annual Report, 1891—1892.

[2] Informant's narrative.

657
668
white people. This meant essentially the final break-up of reservation life.

The commissioners to draw up the agreement with the Pawnee for the allotment of lands in severalty and the sale of surplus acreage was due the agency. It was at this time that the agent was compelled to take further steps to stop the Ghost Dancing.

The agent reported on the episode as follows: "In about two weeks thereafter news again reached me of the renewal of the Ghost Dance. I procured the assistance of a deputy United States marshal and he went to Pawnee and arrested the supposed prophet Frank White, and took him to Guthrie, Oklahoma, before a United States Commissioner, and he was held over until district court for inciting Indians to an insurrection, and remanded to jail to await his trial before the district court. In about ten days I received a telegram that a writ of habeas corpus had been issued and the hearing was the next day. I at once went to Guthrie and was at the hearing when Judge Green, chief justice of Oklahoma, gave him a good strong talk, telling him of the danger of indulging in such things, and released him. He went back to the reservation, and there has not been a Ghost Dance since. All is prosperous and serene at Pawnee . . ."[1]

The Pawnee recall the arrest as taking place at the time of trouble over the question of allotments. Officials spread the word in the tribe that if they took out allotments they could dance all they wanted to, and no one would interfere with them. This of course was a reference to the fact that the program which the government wanted to carry out would break up the reservation, and make the Pawnee individual land holders subject to the laws of the United States and the Territory in which they lived, in which event the agent would no longer have executive power to control them. This argument for taking out allotments had weight with many, and contributed to their final acquiescence.

[625] To keep the Pawnee quiet for a while, they say the agent had White arrested. A United States marshall and three Indian policemen, recalled as Harry Coons, John Morris and Jim Murie, arrested White, and it was understood by the Pawnee he was being taken to Red Rock. The Pawnee decided to fight to get the Prophet back. David Akapakis and some others took the lead and organized a party of men who got their guns and were going to fight. They gathered at the railroad station to take him away from the marshall. Said an informant, "The agent sent a telegram to a fort which was among the Cheyenne, and when the train came in a lot

---

[1] Annual Report, 1891—92.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

of soldiers got off. There were too many soldiers so the Pawnee couldn't fight. The marshall took White away and the Indians went home." 657 668

It was while White was away under arrest that most of the Pawnee who had been opposed were persuaded so choose allotments. They wanted to continue the Ghost Dance, and having been told they could dance if they took allotments, they did so. It must be remembered that in dividing up their land, and selling a good part of it, the Pawnee were doing something which was opposed to the faith and doctrine of the Ghost Dance. On the other hand, for those who were strong in their faith, the act was meaningless, since the change which would destroy the white man would restore them their lands in their aboriginal state.

Frank White was held ten or twelve days, and brought back. According to Murie, after White's release, the Messiah himself did what he could to develop the Ghost Dance movement along less militant lines. "To do this he magnified the Christian elements." 648 657

In pursuance of the government land program, a special allotting agent, with clerical assistants, came to the Pawnee agency in the summer of 1892. After the completion of their work, during which a total of 797 allotments in severalty were drawn up, the United States Commissioners came, empowered to treat with the Pawnee for the sale of their surplus lands. On November 23, 1892 they completed their agreement with the Pawnee. By it the allotments were confirmed; 840 acres were reserved for the school, agency, cemetery and religious purposes; and the residue of their reservation, 169,320 acres, was purchased to be thrown open to settlement. In compensation for their lands the government paid the Pawnee an advance of $ 80,000 to be distributed per capita upon the ratification of the agreement by act of Congress; and agreed to continue their perpetual annuity of $ 30,000 a year, thenceforth to be issued entirely in money.[1] The balance of the return from the sale of their Oklahoma lands was to be deposited in the United States Treasury as a trust fund to the credit of the Pawnee tribe, to draw interest at 5 per cent annually, which interest was to be distributed per capita.

The agreement was ratified March 3, 1893; and that year the lands ceded by the Pawnee were thrown open to white settlement. In selecting tracts for allotments the Pawnee had naturally been guided by the quality of the land. As a result the lands ceded and opened to white settlement were scattered all over what had been the Pawnee reservation, and before the year was out the tribe found

---

[1] Up to this time the annuity was half money, half goods and supplies.

648 white settlers in among them and on all sides of them. Almost at
657 once a town sprang up near the agency, the present Pawnee.

The Pawnee soon found that their legal status had changed; the
641 agent no longer had executive power to control their acts and
648 behavior. The people were now free citizens of the United States. The white people who settled among them and were anxious to do business with a tribe whose income, between their down payment, annuity, and interests, was $ 177,000 in 1893, were quick to tell them so. Then came the lease system for the Indian farm lands. But that is another story. What concerns us here is the effect of this change of status upon the Ghost Dance among the Pawnee.

At first, in 1893, the agent believed that by his prompt measures
648 with Frank White the year before, he had stamped out the Ghost
668 Dance. He wrote in his report, July 15, 1893: "This dance has
177 almost disappeared... There is some religious enthusiasm in which they indulge and makes them more tractable and easy to manage, as they say they must do right under all circumstances." The agent felt that the tribe was well satisfied with their allotments, and was prosperous and united.

We, however, can note that this religious enthusiasm was none other than the Ghost Dance, in view of the ethical maxims quoted by the agent, but that from the official standpoint the movement had lost its militancy. By the following year, however, the agent himself was aware that Ghost Dances were being held regularly; that the Indians flouted his loss of authority, which they were now fully cognizant of. From this time forth until the turn of the century, the reports indicate that the agents were doing all in their power by moral suasion to keep the Indians from Ghost Dancing; but the religion continued none the less. At the turn of the century the form in which it flourished was the four-day Ghost Dance hand game ceremony, rather than the Ghost Dance proper.

FORMS OF WHITE'S SOUTH BAND GHOST DANCE

668 When White first brought the Ghost Dance to the Pawnee he
796 organized the dancing simply. He taught some of the songs to a
177 few singers, gathered the people together in a large conical tipi for face-painting, and led the dancing outside this tipi, aided by his singers.

Soon he had organized the dancing more ritually. He selected seven singers, after the pattern initiated by Sitting-Bull among the Caddo and Wichita, and these became a fixed organization for South Band Ghost Dancing. There is some disagreement among

contemporary Pawnee informants as to who the originals singers were. According to Joseph Carrion, they were, in the order of their selection and importance, Whitehorse (Pitahawirat[a]), Sam Cover (Skiri), Ezra Tilden (Skiri), Tom Yellowhorse (Skiri), Henry Shooter (Kitkahaxki[x]), Brigham Young (Tcawi), and Jim Keys (Skiri). In addition, however, Carrion corrects himself by agreeing with other informants that Joseph Long was the first of these "crows" selected. Mark Evarts believes that all the original singers belonged to the South Bands, and claims that the first four, after White himself, were Joseph Long, Rubin Wilson, Lester Pratt and White Elk, none of whom are Skiri. The presence of Skiri men in the group of main singers should however be anticipated because all the bands joined in the Ghost Dance under White's leadership. Also, when the Skiri later organized and led their own Ghost Dancing, the singers who were selected by the Skiri to take charge were men who knew the songs because of their earlier participation in the South Band Ghost Dancing, hence some Skiris must have belonged to the original group of singers. The men actually selected to form the organizations of the Seven Eagles and Seven Crows (see below) included several who are mentioned in this list of Carrion's. Those whom Knifechief and Mrs. Washington selected were chosen because they knew the songs. 668 796 177

In addition to face paintings, the early Ghost Dance forms included the use of feathers as hair ornaments. Two types were prominent, eagle feathers and crow feathers. These birds were used because of a definite symbolism which attached to them. Both birds were conceived to fly high and far, and to see and know many things. The Pawnee have always thought of the crow as a bird which finds what it seeks. Hence the crow can help people find what is lost—lost beliefs, lost ways of life [302 301] [825]

In trance visions of the Ghost Dance, the visionary usually found himself associated either with the eagle or the crow, and thereafter wore the feather of one or the other. White wore eagle feathers, and when he constituted the seven men as the official singers, he gave them special crow feathers to wear. White did not himself lead the singing after this, but acted as general director, dancing in the center of the circle and putting subjects into trances. 668 787 796

A story is told of how White and Joseph Long were put to a test in early Ghost Dance days. There was a woman who went to Camp Creek. On the way she lost a strap with which she was going to bind up a load of wood. She wanted to find out if it was true that crows could find things, so she went to the tipi of the leaders and told them about her lost strap. Frank White said, "All right, sit 668 796 825

668 796 825 down." Joseph Long had crow feathers. He put them on his head. Then he got up like a crow, and danced around the tipi. Imitating the crow, he danced his way outside and went along the path by which the woman had gone through the timber, and found the strap. He picked it up and brought it back into the tipi, and the woman took her strap.

The relation of this crow-concept to the Ghost Dancing is direct. The crow feather (as also the eagle) is one of the objects used by leaders, as they dance inside the circle, for hypnotizing subjects. It is moved back and forth directly before the eyes of the subject. It helps the dancer to fall into a trance, and this means that it helps the subject to see or find his lost relatives. In the trance-vision itself the bird may guide the visionary to his dear ones. In the same way the old Indian customs, the dances, the songs, the rituals, are found among the deceased people, or recovered in trance visions which are induced in part through the instrumentality of the birds.

In this early use of eagle and crow, those who learned about one or the other bird wore a feather of that bird. There was no organization or orientation of these except for White's seven crow singers. But there came to be felt an opposition between crow and eagle, analogous to the actions of the birds themselves, and this was carried over into the sides of the hand game arrangements. The opposition involved the question of which was abler or luckier in finding things.

668 For the Ghost Dance, White arranged to have a large cleared
796 dancing ground. West of this was set up a special tipi. Herein
[346] White gathered the people, particularly the leaders. Those who
gathered inside the tent were only men. The old men sat near the
[554] eastern entranceway on both sides, with the chiefs next to them
to the west, and then the braves[1]; while other men present sat
about anywhere. White himself would sit with his seven crow
leaders at the west facing east. The only sacred objects kept on a
[778] covering at the western altar-place were the feathers and paints
of the leaders, and several pipes (two or four). Two men were
selected by White and the chiefs to act as tarutsius ("fire-tenders")
and at the same time as policemen. They carried long sticks to
whip the dogs with, driving them away from the dance ground
while the dancing went on. They also controlled the dancers.
[276] After all the men had gathered, a smoke offering initiated the
performance. White gave pipes to two or four chiefs and told them
step by step what to do. The performance could begin either in the

---

[1] These are generic Pawnee patterns.

late afternoon or in the morning, and the smoke offering differed 668
according to which time of day it was. 776

In the arrangement for the time near sundown, the two chiefs 276
carrying the pipes lead the way out of the tipi and all the others
follow. Outside, the chiefs stand at the east of the clearing, facing
west. Behind them the men form a long flat arc facing west, with
White and his seven leaders in the center. The announcer cries [202]
out to the people at large that the singing will commence as soon
as the smoking is over.

(First Phase[1]) Each of the two chiefs holds the pipe slantwise 668
toward the west, offering it, not by holding it aloft, but by holding 776
it just in front of him. Both proceed simultaneously. After offering 782
the pipe west, each walks clockwise around the clearing, carrying 276
the pipe, and after reaching the same point at the east, stops there, offers a pinch of tobacco upward to heaven, and one westward, placing each on the ground. (Lighting the Pipe) Then each again makes a clockwise circuit, stopping at a point east of northeast, where squatting with the pipe in mouth and its bowl toward the east the pipe is lit by means of a brand which is brought forward by anyone for this purpose. (Second Phase; first mode) Each arises, puffing the pipe, and returns to the east, where facing west, he puffs four times upward to heaven and four times to the west. (Second Phase; third mode) then carries the pipe through a clockwise circuit and takes it to whoever is standing at the extreme northern end of the arc-like row of men. Standing in front of this man the smoker puts the pipe to the man's lips without releasing the bowl. Then the smoker proceeds in turn to allow each man to puff the pipe, moving from north to south down the arc of men. (Third Phase) After all in the line have puffed, the smoker takes the pipe and carries it through a clockwise circuit, coming to the east of the clearing in front of the line of men. Here he faces west, loosens the ashes in the pipe-bowl with a tamper, offering ashes once upward to heaven, then emptying some, and again to the west, emptying the rest of the bowl contents on the ground before him. (Fourth Phase) Holding the empty pipe in his left hand, the smoker touches the right hand to the ashes on the ground, then runs the right hand up the pipe from bowl to mouthpiece while the stem is directed heavenward. He repeats this motion with the left hand, and again with the right and the left, making four motions. Then the smoker makes four similar motions while he directs the pipe toward the west. (Self-Blessing) Holding the pipe,

---

[1] Parenthetical divisions into phases, etc. refer to the analysis of the smoke offering in Chapter 8, see especially pp. 180—207.

668 mouthpiece upward and bowl inward toward the body, he takes
782 it in his left hand and runs his right hand up it from bowl to mouth-
796 piece, opening the palm upward and outward toward heaven, then
places the hand on the right side of his head and runs his palm down
276 the head and side and leg to the instep which is pressed against the ground. This motion is then made with the left hand for the left side etc. while the right hand holds the pipe, and repeated once again with the right and once again with the left, making four motions. Then the smoker turns and returns the pipe to another chief in the line of men, who receives it with an *arm blessing*.[1] When the offerings have been completed, the pipes are taken inside the tipi and replaced on the altar-space at the west.

Now the arc-like line at the west closes around the clearing to form a circle of dancers, and women who have not up to this point
[533 participated join the circle. They may, however, sing two songs
535] before forming a circle of dancers, and these are special ghost-dance songs which are never danced to. Then the dancing begins from the east, facing west, circling clockwise.

668 Before describing the movements of the dancers, attention must
782 be called to the form of the smoke offering which would be made
if the dance were to begin in the morning.

796 If the dancing is to begin with a smoke-offering in the morning
276 the orientations for the smoke would be reversed. That is, the
823 arc-line of leaders and men would form around White on the west, facing east; the smoker would begin all his circuits from the west, and the motions with the pipe which he made slantwise to the west, while he stood at the east side of the clearing and faced west, would become motions slantwise to the east which he would make standing at the west of the clearing and facing east. Finally the pipes would be handed along the line of leaders and men from south to north, instead of from north to south.

This shift of direction also changes the position for starting the dance, which is now at the point directly west, facing east. Here White stands and leads, and the circle proceeds clockwise. This is the generic position for beginning Ghost Dancing and singing, and even if the evening orientations are followed, only the first song begins at the east facing west; it then ends at the west, facing east, and all subsequent songs begin at the west.

It will be seen at once that the whole smoking ritual involves two basic orientation concepts: upward and either slantwise to the west or slantwise to the east. The upward offering is to Tirawahat^{a} or the expanse of the heavens; the other is to the sun, according to

---

[1] See chapter 8, p. 209.

his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, 668
therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. 782
An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time, 796
the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins 276
at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would 823
be adopted.

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to Tirawahat[a] must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; [775] that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance, and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The [776] sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus, while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering 668
for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" 796
is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived 177
by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the 182
dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

---

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old [591] cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

668 identified with this background. The cross has always been used
796 by the Pawnee as a star symbol. On the ancient star-map of the
177 Pawnee, which was part of the Black Star bundle,[1] all the stars
182 are indicated by small crosses, rather than by dots or five-pointed
figures. Hence to a Pawnee it is natural to conceive the cross-scaffold as involving a star-reference. To this scaffold Christ as a holy untainted man who has been honored (the maiden must be virginal and while she lives among the Pawnee is honored) is nailed, with his arms outstretched, as a sacrifice (from the Pawnee view-point). With both Christ's crucifixion and the Morning Star Sacrifice Ceremony oriented from the west, there comes about a broadening of the western orientation to include not only the Evening Star ideas of earlier times, but as well the conception of Christ as the Father and Shepherd of the people in the other world, the Chief in the beyond.

The meaning of the final self-blessing is simple and direct. One had offered tobacco and smoke to specific powers, and one concludes by reaffirming one's desire and hope of continued and long contact with the earth, Mother Earth. Thus one presses the body to the ground firmly as a request for long life.

Murie has pointed out that the Pawnee Ghost Dance ceremony as first organized by White, "seems to have been largely original with White and far from identical with the Ghost Dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true Ghost Dance."[2] This reference is to the fact that in the vision pattern suggested by White there were seen by the visionary in order a stream, a tree (usually cedar), the Messiah or Christ himself, then a village of people, and upon approaching the village the people were seen to be dancing, playing games, etc. In addition White brought the undeveloped forms of the Wichita Ghost Dance; there were one day dances, or dances from early afternoon through to the next dawn. White had borrowed the concept of seven leaders for the dance from the Wichita organization as instituted by Sitting-Bull. Murie remarks further, "Some years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct."[2]

The information I have is that Wichita were in part responsible for the changed conception of the dance, inasmuch as visitors from that tribe were present among the Pawnee when the Skiri Brotherhoods were conceived; the Wichita seem to have brought to the 668 796 Pawnee the change to a Ghost Dance every six weeks for four nights, continuing the last night until the dawn of the fifth day. 177 This they had adopted in accordance with the change among the 182 Cheyenne, Arapaho, Caddo and Wichita, after the message from the Messiah was received. At the same time, a conflict of doctrine over the teachings of White, which culminated in a new conception of the significance of the Ghost Dance brought directly from the major Arapaho prophets by Pawnee delegations, seems to have contributed to the release of the Pawnee Ghost Dance from White's exclusive control. This doctrinal change occurred before Frank White's death in 1893.

---

[1] See Buckstaff, R. N., 279ff., which includes a reproduction of the map. The original is in the Field Museum of Natural History.

[2] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

In the early days after the dancing for the day was over, the people as a whole broke apart and went home, or went to their own tipis. But White, his seven co-leaders, and some of the chiefs would reenter the leading tipi. There they were served food. Before eating, a simple corn offering was made; corn was offered to Tirawahat^{n} and placed on the ground; then motions of blessing were made with the horn spoon over the altar objects.

After this feast, someone would begin to talk about his trance experiences. He would tell what he saw, and then sing songs which he had learned in his trance. In this way songs were added to the [533] repertoire, and gradually the Wichita and Arapaho songs became only a minor phase (save for the closing song) of the Pawnee Ghost Dance songs.

CONFLICT OF DOCTRINE; REORGANIZATION OF CEREMONY

According to the conception of the Ghost Dance which Frank 668 White brought among the Pawnee, Frank White himself was the 796 sole authentic prophet of the dance and doctrine, and it was 792 necessary for all sanctions to come through Frank White as intermediary. Those who had visions in trances reported the content and character to White, and in terms of his interpretation and permission made use of the vision. Feathers to wear in the hair, paints for the face, special symbolisms of dress, and the like, were possible only with White's approval. If a dancer wished to use a face painting, in accordance with his trance experiences, he had [43] first to go to White and pay him for the privilege, or in any case, to offer him gifts. Individuals who had learned about the Ghost Dance in visions, and felt authorized to put on a dance, could do so only after conferring with White. He would teach the visionary

668 796 792 what to do, and received compensation for his instruction. Ordinarily his instruction seems to have amounted to interpretation, to a suggestion that the visionary do as all had seen White himself do, with some explanation of the details. White would also counsel the visionary to tell the people in general what he had seen and learned. But even in such a case, according to reports, when a dance was put on by another, White's seven crow singers had to be invited to lead the singing and dancing, whether it was held among the Skiri or South Bands.

Gifts and money were lavished upon White: a small face painting often earned him five dollars; feathers and sanctions of various kinds brought him other money. Many people were jealous, or resented White's attitude, called him a liar and began to disbelieve him and say he was deceiving the people.

At the same time, White's conduct was not exemplary. It must be remembered that priests, chiefs, medicine men, and in fact all individuals who had claims to sacred office or inspiration in connection with old Pawnee ways of life, lived up to accepted Pawnee ethical standards of conduct.

As one informant describes White's behavior: "All this time [276] White drank peyote, which made him wise. At the same time he used to drink whiskey. Whiskey and peyote do not mix, they cannot go together. That's what killed him.

"One time they were going to have a doctor dance north of town and when they were ready to begin, someone said, 'we can't start until the Messiah comes'—they considered White a great prophet, and called him Father and Messiah. Finally they saw him coming, hardly able to walk, supported on each side by a man holding his arm. Someone said, 'why, he's drunk,' but they whispered around, 'we can't say anything about it anyhow, because he's the Messiah.' They used to lavish gifts upon him, and finally they gave him the prettiest girl in the tribe to marry."

It was not long before revolt against White and his tactics took definite form. This reaction is in part to be explained by White's misbehavior, in part by jealousy of the way in which he was getting rich, and in part also by a sincere desire on the part of some to get more out of the dancing in a religious sense.

668 177 [607] According to Joseph Carrion, White and he had been friends for a long time; in fact Frank White at one time married Joe's sister-in-law, which in terms of Pawnee kinship put them on strong grounds of familiarity. Joe Carrion danced along with Frank White for almost a year. In Joe's own words, "Frank White told me that I was going where I could find out something for myself

about the dance." Carrion, along with John Moses, Jim Keys, 668
Brigham Young and Henry Minthorn went to see Sitting Bull the 177
Arapaho. This was late in 1892, and they stayed there two months.

Carrion told Sitting Bull his story. Sitting Bull got a permit
from his agent to Ghost Dance for two days. The Arapaho painted
the Pawnee visitors with a rainbow around the forehead, a crow [302
on the right cheek (because, says Carrion, "a crow finds everything
he looks for, and when one is under the crow influence one can 825]
almost read minds"), and an eagle on the left cheek (which also
represents a bird that flies high above everything, sees all and
finds things).

That night in the Ghost Dancing among the Arapaho Joe
Carrion was overcome and fell unconscious on his back. "I saw a
big circle of people above." He awoke about two o'clock at night
after lying there for five hours. When he woke up, he found there
was a drum beside his head; an old man came over and asked him
what he had seen. "Nothing," he said; he didn't want to tell. The
old man told him, "you must tell." "I got up and said, 'I don't
believe it.' Then he hit a gourd against the ground, and I fell over
again. I got up and still said, 'I don't believe it,' so he hit the
gourd on the ground and again I fell over. The way he could do
this to me convinced me, and when I got up I believed it all. Then
I told him what I had seen. He said it was true. The next day
the Arapaho were told they would have to stop the Ghost Dancing. 796

"Two days afterward a boy came with hand game sticks, bringing 668
one round to each tent. He told everybody that there was to be 177
a big hand game at a certain place. It was to last four days, with [785]
a Squaw dance afterwards." 524

The man in charge of the hand game told Carrion to get certain [302]
things for himself. He told him that he must fast four days and
nights. Carrion wore only a g-string, and painted his body yellow.
He neither ate nor drank.

During the playing of the game, he often got thirsty and would
be about to take a drink, when someone would remind him that
he must not. He was chosen to serve the food, but he was not
supposed to partake of it. He also would pass the bucket of water
around. The smell of the food helped him, seemed to satisfy his
hunger a little. The first night he felt weak and wanted to cry.
"They told me to go ahead and cry, that this was the same as
going to church."

At sunrise he stood outside the tent and prayed. 796

"The fourth day I went onto a hill. Behind me there was 668
someone sitting in the grass. I looked at the sun and saw things 787
177

796 668 787 177

in it. I saw the sun whirling round, and I saw crows flying around the sun, and flying over me. I saw an eagle feather in the whirling sun. Then I saw a black sun streaked with white inside coming towards me, and as it came I fell over. I stood up and saw a buffalo bull stick his head out of the sun. Just before sundown I saw Jesus standing in the west in the sun with one hand extended toward me.

"Someone came and told me I was wanted in the tent. There Sitting-Bull's nephew[1] spoke to me and told me I had made good. [788] He dropped water into my mouth four times with an eagle feather to cool my thick, dry tongue. Then he told me to take three swallows of water. He gave me sweet corn gruel to eat, and told me not to eat any more that night, but to eat a hearty breakfast in the morning."

At this time the old man questioned Carrion in detail about what he had seen, and Carrion told him about the circle of people, the birds and the man standing with his hand extended as if he were handing Carrion something. This, according to Carrion, the Arapaho interpreted as a gift of the hand game. The circle of people were the players, the man held in his hand the hand game sticks. The crow and eagle feathers belonged to the players, the clusters of feathers to the guessers.

Shortly after this the Pawnee came home. None of the others had visions among the Arapaho, says Carrion, because none of the others went through a four-day fast.

When Joe got home, crowds gathered around and wanted to know what he had found out, and if the Ghost Dance was true. Joe told the Pawnee that Frank White had taken something which did not belong to him and brought it over, and that White couldn't give them blessings and things to use, but that they had to get everything for themselves.

According to Carrion, this message which he brought home from the Arapaho introduced a different perspective into Pawnee Ghost Dancing. Before this people danced, but their experiences in the dancing did not give them sanction to carry out the dancing as leaders on their own account. White taught that only he could sanction them to do anything, and that they must pay him for the right. Now the people tried to find out things for themselves in trance-visions, and they did. It was after this that an extreme

---

[1] Sitting-Bull's nephew was the leader of this four day hand game among the Arapaho. Apparently he had derived it in trance visions experienced in the Arapaho Ghost-Dancing under the leadership of Sitting-Bull, and his visions had been sanctioned by the interpretations of Sitting-Bull.

development of visions in which hand games and many similar 796
sanctions were bestowed took place among the Pawnee. Carrion 668
claims to have brought the inspiration for the hand game ceremonies 787
from the Arapaho. With the liberation of the Pawnee Ghost Dance 177
hand games began a rapid development (see part II).

While Carrion and others contend, as is usual in such cases among American Indian groups, that this difference of doctrine between White and the Arapaho indicated a conscious deception on the part of White, it is clear that no explanation of this kind need be invoked. Actually White's doctrine is much closer to generic Pawnee ideology, according to which the independent free vision of the individual is subordinated to a process of learning from one who knows a ritual, ceremony or performance. That is to say, in the older ancient Pawnee activities, the accepted method of obtaining participation was to receive the right or sanction to do so from those who were in charge of that activity, rather than directly from supernatural powers. In contrast to this, Carrion's doctrine looks a great deal like Plains patterns in general, which would be correct for Arapaho Ghost Dancing. It should be remembered in this connection, first, that White did not learn from Arapaho or other Plains tribes directly, but indirectly through the Wichita, whose ideas on these fundamental points are very close to Pawnee ideas, and second, that Carrion was not a Pawnee, although he lived most of his life among them and spoke a fluent Pawnee.

In a general way, also, the pattern of immediately telling the 668
vision to the leaders and securing their interpretation is a non-
Pawnee pattern. In older forms, among both Wichita and Pawnee, 177
visions were kept a secret for long, and only in the course of one's 114
life because of one's behavior did the general public of the tribe become aware that one had supernatural experience. In the Ghost Dance doctrine, the visions had to be told at once to show appreciation for receiving them, and one who didn't tell was not supposed to live long thereafter.

It is not possible to date accurately the time of the reorganization of the Pawnee Ghost Dance to accord with the regular four-day dance forms of the southern tribes. I believe Murie has dated it far too late. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri, which initiated the freeing of the Skiri Ghost Dancing from White's control, took place before White's death in 1893. The first forms of Skiri dancing followed White's forms. On his visit to the Arapaho Carrion had observed both Ghost Dances and hand games as four-day ceremonies. Whether this was responsible for a correction

668 of Pawnee forms, or whether the Wichita taught the Pawnee
177 directly, the four-day ceremony was the formal Ghost Dance
114 among the Pawnee by 1895.

This regular Ghost Dance of the Pawnee was arranged to last
668 four days. It began the evening of one day, or the late afternoon.
Among the South Bands, all arose early in the morning, and faced
184 the sun for a brief period, (during which the smoke offering would
796 be made if the dance was to begin that day); but they did not dance.
Then in the afternoon the people danced from three to midnight.
786 The Skiri say that in their band there was a brief period of dancing
each morning, as well as a longer period of dancing through the
afternoon and evening. Both bands continued the fourth night until
the dawn of the fifth day, bathed and dispersed.

As each song was sung, the circle of dancers, holding hands, moved clockwise through one complete circuit, returning to the original starting point. This is determined by the main singer's position: he begins at the west and finishes at the west (except for the first afternoon song, as above). During the dancing period of the day, the dancers could carry out as many songs as they wished; there was no special number. The singing was initiated and led by the seven crow-feathered singers, and the others joined in. While the dancing went on, some "hypnotizers" would dance inside the circle directly in front of individuals they wished to throw into a trance, using feathers or other objects to focus and fix the eyesight of the subject, thus transfixing them. Usually the subject fell when he or she was touched with the object used. When individuals fell into a trance, they were laid down and the others continued to dance.

668 In these trances, the visionaries followed a general pattern. In
one way or another the subject was guided to the other world,
787 where all the deceased Pawnee were living together in the old way.
796 There some special phase of the life would imprint itself upon the
subject's mind, the playing of games, the hunting of buffalo, war
societies and dances, and the like. When the subject awoke, such
aspects of the trance vision, along with the bird or messenger who
had guided the individual to the beyond, would become the subjects of songs, costuming, and paraphernalia.

The closing song was carried out in a special way. It is the
668 special closing song of all Ghost Dances. As sung to conclude the
796 occasion, it is repeated six times as follows:

1. The leader remains stationary at the west facing east, and
533 leads the singing of the song once; all the dancers keep their places.

2. The leader dances from west to north, singing the song, and

stops at the north facing south; the rest of the circle dance through 668
an equivalent part of the circuit. 796

3. The leader repeats the song, while the whole circle of dancers 533
moves through another quadrant, the leader finishing at the east, facing west.

4. A third quadrant is similarly completed with the leader at the south facing north.

5. The fourth quadrant is completed when the leader is once more in his original position at the west facing east.

6. All now step back a few paces, widening the circle, and as they sing the circle closes in again. Throughout this singing the leader maintains his orientation at the west, and each dancer his or her relative position in the circle. Now, as the song finishes with the circle narrowed to its original dimensions, all break their handclasps, and shake off the blankets they wear, and the dance is over. The closing in of the circle during this last song signifies the coming together of the people, and the shaking out of the blankets expresses their desire to shake off them the bad ways, the new ways, the white man's ways.

The closing song is the Arapaho song as given by Mooney[1]. [177]

FIRST FORMS OF THE SKIRI GHOST DANCE

792
As we have seen, Frank White brought the Ghost Dance to the 668
South Bands primarily, being himself a Kitkahaxki^{x}. When a Skiri 177
wished to hold a dance among the Skiri proper, he was in the same
position as any individual among the South Bands who felt he had
the right to do so. The Skiri had to get sanction from White, and [424]
to invite White and his leaders to come over to initiate and lead
the dancing.

After the visit of the five Pawnee to Sitting-Bull, the Arapaho, a change came over the Pawnee attitude toward the general Ghost Dance doctrine. The whole religious movement was liberated from the domination of White. An individual's own conscience and experience was the individual's guide to what he could and could not do, to what sanctions he had obtained supernaturally. It became unnecessary to pay White for rights, and the only checks upon the number of prophets who began to appear among the Pawnee with messages from the deceased were the natural ones the force of character and the temperament of the claimant; the

---

[1] Mooney, pp. 1011—1012, no. 73. Note that this song was used as the closing song after the return of the delegation of Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne in the fall of 1891.

792 668 177 reputation and esteem in which he or she was held by the tribespeople, the abilities of the prophet as a leader, hypnotizer, organizer; and the experiences which were undergone by the layman under the leadership and influence of the prophet.

Those who are remembered as the chief visionaries of the period in which the Ghost-Dance was taken up by the Skiri are Mrs. Washington, Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle, and Mrs. Cover. There were others, of course. Chiefly, Mrs. Washington was responsible for the inauguration of independent Skiri Ghost-Dances. She had many trance-visions, and often told very complex stories of the images and events which took place in them, so complex in fact that there were Pawnee who doubted her, partly because of their own vision experiences, which seemed to them different in kind (psychologically); partly because of jealousy of the constantly increasing part she was playing in the tribal developments. [787]

668 792 787 Carrion speaks of Mrs. Washington as a fraud. He says that she made up a lot of stuff, and was a false prophet trying to win the people's worship. His reasons for the attitude are interesting. He claims that in a vision (as he has experienced such) you see merely one simple image or thing, not a complex array; and that if you add to what you see, that is wrong. He contends that Mrs. Washington had trance-vision after trance-vision, and kept on learning details of performances in her visions, like a serial story. This is impossible, he says, because going back to those who give you things in visions and asking for more, is imposing on them; and it is for such conduct that people lose their lives.

In truth, Carrion's attitude indicates a temperamental difference between him and Mrs. Washington, as well as difference in the quality of his imagination. Carrion was not subject to trances often, Mrs. Washington was; his mind did not experience much detail in the few cases in which he had visions, while Mrs. Washington did. Obviously, the quality of the individual's mind will appear in the content and character of his visions as well as in his waking life, which is well illustrated by the vision experience of Mark Evarts in relation to the Ghost Dance, given below; Mark Evarts is a man whose mind is rich in content. But the native concept of the vision is more or less fixed and absolute, not one which accepts the relativity of the vision to the subject; hence, in terms of one visionary's experiences, those of another may often seem fraudulent.

184 668 796 The early independent Ghost Dances of the Skiri were carried out in terms of the usual forms and patterns of White's South Band Ghost Dancing. There was the same form of the circle, the same orientation of the official or sacred tent, and the same pattern of

the smoke offering. Those who had crow or eagle feathers from 184
the Ghost Dance wore them, and usually a group of seven singers 668
led the singing. These were men who knew the Ghost Dance songs. 796
But at first there was no official organization of singers, policemen and the like. Each occasion was organized in the usual patterns, according to immediate needs. The first phase of the organization of Skiri Ghost Dances concerns the official constitution of a fixed group of singers, the Seven Eagle Brothers.

THE SEVEN EAGLE BROTHERS

As with many cultural formalizations, the Seven Eagle Brothers 668
were not institutionalized by revolutionary act or decree, but by 796
gradual changes. There were first of all a great many people who 533
considered themselves "eagles" and a great many who considered themselves "crows". Among the Skiri there were in each of these classes men who were gifted as singers and leaders, whose knowledge of the ways of the Ghost Dance had grown through continuous and regular experience and participation. Seven singers were the number usually employed, following White's pattern, and by habitual practice there was general acceptance of certain men as naturally more proficient for the function. In other words the men who were chosen as the official Seven Eagle Brothers were probably seven main singers for the Skiri by custom and practice before the group was institutionalized as a brotherhood.

Knifechief is recalled as the man who first expressed the general attitude toward these seven men. At a hand game he selected them formally to be the main singers. Knifechief went to the place each one occupied in the hand game circle and told him to rise and follow him. Then he led the selected man around a circuit of the fireplace, and seated him in his new position in a row on the south side toward the west. The seven in their order were, according to Ezra Tilden[1]: Sam Cover, Emmett Pierson, Walter Keys (the senior), Tom Yellowhorse, Ezra Tilden, Leadingfox, and Harry Sergeant. These seven, when they were seated in a row on the south side, led the singing for the hand game.

Mrs. Washington was officially responsible for the organization of these seven as the Seven Eagle Brothers of the Skiri Ghost Dance. The first occasion on which Mrs. Washington managed a large Ghost Dance among the Skiri was one which occurred when many Wichita had come to visit the Pawnee; and it said by some

---

[1] Ezra Tilden and Tom Yellowhorse are the only ones of the seven still living.

● 668 that a suggestion of the Wichita was in part responsible for Mrs.
796 Washington's determination to organize the Ghost-Dancing with
533 regular singers while the Wichita were present.

Frank White died in 1893, and he is known to have been alive at the time Mrs. Washington inaugurated these developments, which places the time of the first Seven Eagle Brothers as sometime in late 1892 or early 1893.

As one informant describes Mrs. Washington's activities: "When
668 they used to dance among the South Bands, all would go there,
792 and while the dancing went on, old Mrs. Washington fell in a trance.
796 She found out something about the Seven Brothers, but not
everything right away. Afterwards, every time she fell she would
787 see something about the Seven Brothers.[1] The spirit told her to go ahead and put up the Seven Brothers. She used to have her own cattle. Once when they came home from the dancing, she was told that when she got home she should put up the Seven Brothers at a dance. So she killed her own beef, and put up the dance, and they told her how to go, everything, the smoke and all."

Mrs. Washington put up a special feast. She asked the chiefs and these seven men to be present, as well as others. Each of the seven sat on the south side with the eagle feather given him by Knifechief stuck into the ground before him. Along the north side were congregated the "crow" people, including those who played as "crows" in the hand games, as well as the men who later were organized into the Seven Crows; while along the south side the "eagle" people sat. As yet, however, there was no "crow" organization: the "crows" were merely an amorphous group who played the hand game together, and who had this affiliation because of Ghost Dance experiences.

Mrs. Washington stood at the doorway of the tipi. Up to this time she had been learning. Now she spoke. "Now, I want to tell you what I have in mind. We are going to have a Ghost Dance. A spirit told me to do it. I am going to do it today. These Seven Brothers are going to take the lead for us, and we're going to call them Fathers. Now I want you chiefs to decide when we should begin the dance."

Then the chiefs talked together and decided and one announced,
527 "Let us move the camp and all come together on the third day."
574 This inaugural feast was not a ceremonial affair. After the decision of the chiefs was announced all those present partook of the feast provided by Mrs. Washington; this concluded the occasion

---

[1] This "serial story" form of learning in visions is the sort of thing about Mrs. Washington's claims that Carrion resented; see above.

[114]

for most. Some sat about a while longer, however, and sang Ghost 527
Dance songs. 574

This introductory or inaugural feast at which a decision is made as to the time for a regular ceremony, is a fundamental Pawnee pattern. Such feasts precede the actual performance of doctor dances and ceremonies, society gatherings and performances, and many other ritual activities. In all such cases the pattern is the same. An individual man or woman "puts up" the feast for the gathering, and obtains as a result certain definite rights of pro- [424] prietorship over the actual ceremonial occasion which is to follow[1]: This "host" invites leading men such as chiefs to be present, and requests selected ones to come to a decision as to the time for the performance itself.

After this feast-gathering had broken up, the people got ready for the actual dance. Three days were allowed for moving into camp because the people lived scattered over a large area, and had to come in wagons and on horseback. They needed time to arrange things at home so they could be absent for more than a week, to pack, and to come. After all had gathered, at least three more days intervened before the dance proper began, so that the preparation of food, wood, and all other necessary things could be finished. Once it is begun, the dance must not be interrupted by such labors.

Mrs. Washington must be the first to move officially into camp. The chief who finally set the date for the gathering inquired if she was ready, and after she had said yes, and moved her tent, others would begin to follow her into the camping place.

For the dance the tipis and tents were set up in a half circle 361
from south to north around the west. There was no special order 796
of tipis. In the center a space thirty to forty feet in diameter was
cleared of grass. 668 Here the dancing began, but as more and more people joined in and the circle of dancers expanded, it would be pushed back beyond the edge of the cleared space onto the grass. The cleared space alone, however, was considered the sacred dancing ground.

One large tipi was set up west of the cleared ground at a distance [346] of thirty feet, its doorway facing east. This was the tent used by the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Washington and other leaders.

---

[1] Neither vision nor vow is essential in all cases to give an individual the right to "put up" a ritual affair. It is sufficient in most cases among the Pawnee that an individual wants to do so, either because he or she wants to secure thereby whatever benefits in health, luck and prosperity accrue from the performance (and particularly to the one who has "put it up") or because he or she wants to see the ritual demonstrated and learn something about it, or both.

796 When each house-group had ready its quota of wood, meat and
● 668 all else necessary, everything was in order and the dance could
782 begin.

276 A sacred smoke offering opened the dance. If the people wished
to begin dancing on an evening, the usual form was to hold the smoke ceremony, then dance a little, perhaps ten songs, and adjourn until morning. At the continuation of the dancing in the morning no smoke offering would be made; but if dancing were begun for the first time in the morning, a preliminary offering was necessary.

Inside the main tipi were the Seven Brothers seated on the south side. Four chiefs were selected to carry pipes and make a smoke
[301] offering. These came out of the tent leading the way, followed by the Seven Brothers, each wearing an eagle feather in his hair. They were directed by Knifechief. This was the first occasion on which the Skiri Ghost Dancers saw the Seven Eagle Brothers as an organization.

Outside, the arrangement in relation to the clearing followed the
796 form already described for White's South Band Ghost-Dancing.
668 The Seven Brothers were in the center of an arc-like line of men
554 which stood at the east of the clearing facing west (for an evening
823 smoke-offering). In front of this line stood the four chiefs with
pipes, also facing west. While the Seven Brothers were in the center of the line, Sam Cover who was No. 1 Eagle Brother was not in the center of the seven, but at the south end of the seven; the others followed in the order given above, from south to north; this was the order of their selection. The significance of this arrangement is that now there was no main one who must be in the center—all were equal. In the row of men four chiefs took special places: two south of the Seven Brothers and two north.

Each of the four smokers had a special function. Their arrange-
796 ment was from south to north as they faced west: Number 1
668 smoker at the south end of the row of four smoked to heaven;
782 number 2 to the west (Christ): number 3 to the east (position of the
823 rising sun): and number 4 at the north end of the row of four
smokers, to the south, the noon sun.

276 The four smokers proceeded with their movements simultane-
ously. Number 1 took the filled pipe, (phase 1[1]) walked through a half circuit clockwise to the west where he faced east and offered a pinch of tobacco upward, placing it on the ground; (lighting the pipe) then he continued clockwise to the northeast, where he squatted toward the east, holding the pipe in his mouth. Here it was lit from a brand brought forward by another. (Phase 2; first

---

[1] See Chapter 8, pp. 186– 207.

mode) He rose puffing the pipe and walked clockwise around the 796
clearing stopping again at the west facing east, where he offered 668
four puffs upward to heaven, and four downward to the earth.
(Phase 2; third mode) Then he walked clockwise until he neared the 782
row of men on the east of the clearing, when he went to the man 823
who was at the extreme northern end of the row and offered him 276
the pipe to smoke. This he did without releasing the pipe, holding the bowl in his right hand, the offered pipestem in his left. The man accepting the pipe to smoke merely puts his two hands around the mouthpiece of the pipe and holds it to his lips, drawing a puff. Then the smoke-offerer moved along southward to the second man in the row to whom he offered the pipe to puff, and so on down the row to the extreme south end of it. (Phase 3) The smoker then made a half-circuit clockwise to the west of the clearing, where he tamped the ashes loose (the pipe was now out) and offered ashes twice upward to heaven, emptying some each time on the ground, and again offered some ashes twice downward to the earth, finally depositing the last of the ashes from the bowl on the ground. (Phase 4) Now as he stood at the west, he held the empty pipe with the mouthpiece pointing upward, touched the ashes on the ground with his right hand, and ran his right hand up the pipe, from bowl to mouthpiece, opening his palm upward and outward toward heaven; he repeated this action with his left hand, holding the pipe in the same position with his right, then repeated it once more with his right hand and once more with his left, making four motions upward to heaven. Then he pointed the mouthpiece of the pipe slightly slantwise downward toward the earth, and made four similar motions toward the earth, each time touching the ashes on the ground before running his hand along the pipestem. He had now finished the smoke offering. (Self-Blessing; return of pipe) He walked with the pipe around the clearing clockwise until he reached a point just in front of the chief at the left (south) of Sam Cover, the Number 1 Brother. He stood in front of this chief, and a little to the south, faced the chief, and made the motions of *self blessing*.[1]

Number 2 smoker (Phase 1) meanwhile made a half circuit clockwise until he reached the west, where he faced *west*, offered tobacco slantwise to the west, and downward to the ground, placing a pinch from the pipe-bowl each time on the ground. (lighting the pipe) came clockwise to the position at the northeast where the pipe is lit. (phase 2: first mode) continued clockwise until he again reached the west, where facing west he then smoked four puffs slantwise to the west and four downward to the ground. (Phase 2: second

---

[1] See chapter 8, pp. 207—209.

796 mode) Then he walked clockwise until he came to the row of men
east of the clearing; he offered the lit pipe to the man at the extreme
668 northern end of the row, and to each man in the row southward
781 until he reached the man at the extreme south end of the row.
823 (Phase 3) Then he took the pipe, which was out, clockwise to the
west of the clearing, where facing west he offered ashes twice
276 slantwise to the west, and twice to the earth. (Phase 4) He then made four hand-motions to the west and four to the earth, (self-blessing and return of pipe) came clockwise around the clearing until he stood in front of the chief at the right (north) of Harry Sergeant, number seven of the Seven Brothers; here he made the motions of self-blessing, and then returned the empty pipe to this chief, who received it with a blessing.

Number three smoker followed an analogous procedure. The unique character of his smoke appears in the following: the position at which he stopped to make offerings of tobacco (phase 1), offerings of smoke (phase 2: first mode), offerings of ashes (phase 3), and motions of blessing (phase 4), was at the *east* of the clearing, facing *east;* he there held the pipe slantwise to the east, and slantwise downward to the ground, and made offerings to the position of the rising sun and to the earth; he offered his pipe down the row of men from north to south as the others had done. He made the motions of self-blessing in front of the chief to the left (south) of the chief to whom the Number 1 smoker returned the number 1 pipe (that is, the second man to the left or south of Sam Cover, the number 1 Brother) and returned the pipe to this chief.

Number Four smoker proceeded analogously. The place of his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes and motions was at the *south* of the clearing, facing *south.* He returned the pipe to the chief right (north) of the chief to whom the number 2 smoker returned the number 2 pipe (the second man to the right or north of Harry Sergeant, the number seven Brother).

In carrying out these simultaneous offerings there was no collision of the smokers; similar actions, such as offering the pipes to the row of men, were done in the order of the smokers. Before the number one smoker returned to make his self-blessing and give the pipe back to the chief, the number four smoker had completed his offering of the pipe to the men in the line.

After the smokers had all finished, they returned to their places in front of the row of men. Each pipe was now returned to the man who had made a smoke offering with it, and as Sam Cover began to sing a Ghost Dance song, these smokers took the pipes back into the tipi. Inside this main tipi or sacred tent, a covering had been

spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes 796
were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the
altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the 668 ●
altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at 782
the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while 823
the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not 276
participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that 184
described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity. 276
These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke- 782
offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same:
upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset 823
and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly 184
interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion 771
in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of 778
Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

---

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out. [177] [988]

184

771
778 South Bands there are ancient bundles which each possess a group of functions that among the Skiri are differentiated and associated with separate bundles.

● 668 After the smoke offering, Sam Cover led the Seven Brothers in
796 singing one or two Ghost Dance songs, without any dancing. Then the line closed around the clearing to form a circle of dancers,
782 women came to join in, and the regular dancing began. Usually
[533] on a first evening of Ghost Dancing, only ten or twenty songs were sung. After the closing song, the general public would break up, each group of people returning to the family tipi. The Seven Brothers, the four chiefs who smoked, other chiefs, Mrs. Goodeagle, Mrs. Cover, Mrs. Washington, and some individuals who were special leaders, gathered in the main tipi of the dance. Here two old men acted as tarutsius, fire-tenders and servers. Food was brought in and set out in buckets at the east of the tipi near the door. Sam Cover then made an offering with corn before the group ate. It was a simple offering: He took some of the corn in his hands, stood behind the collected food and made inclusive arm motions (to indicate that this food was offered on behalf of all the food being partaken of), then came clockwise to the west of the fireplace where he raised the corn aloft to heaven and then placed it on the ground before him. He pressed it into the ground, rubbed his hands together and made four motions upward to heaven with both hands, touching his fingers to the corn on the ground before each motion. Then he made four similar motions towards the earth; blessed himself, walked through a circuit to his own place on the south, and sat down. All present said "Nawa" and then the food was served. The tarutsius must serve the food in a special
[554] order: first the chiefs at the west (the four smokers), then the seven brothers on the south, then old men who are seated on both sides of the entrance-way at the east, then all others present, serving them from west to east down both sides of the tipi.[1]

At this gathering the order and time of the events of the next
- 668 morning were announced.

796 The next morning dancing began before sunrise. Two or three of the Seven Brothers went out onto the dance grounds, stood at the west facing east, and sang several Ghost Dance songs. As the people awoke and heard these they came out hurriedly to join in. As soon as four or five came, including women, all began to dance around clockwise. Gradually as the people gathered, the circle expanded. An old man walked around crying out to the people

---

[1] There is for every Pawnee ceremony an *order* in which those present are served; see chapter 8, pp. 220—229.

to come and join the dancing. Some chiefs walked around the circle of dancers carrying pipes in their folded arms, but no smoke offering was made. Should the singers pause for a rest, pipes (but not these sacred pipes) were often smoked non-ceremonially. 668 796 [276]

After ten or twenty songs, the people ended the dancing with the finishing song, and returned to their tipis for breakfast. When they stopped the old man crier went through the camp calling out to the people to be ready to dance about one o'clock. [203]

At one o'clock the dancers reassembled. The Seven Brothers took their places at the west side of the clearing, in order, each with special face-painting and wearing his eagle feather. Sam Cover led the singing, and the dancing began at the west, circling clockwise. Sam Cover and Emmet Pierson, the number 2 Brother, carried leather rattles which they shook in time to the dancing.

The dancing continued until about five in the afternoon, or just before sundown. The evening meal was prepared by women while the dancing went on, so that everything was ready when the finishing song concluded the dancing for the day.

After the dancing, the people gathered in the space between the cleared dance ground and the sacred tipi to the west of it. The Seven Brothers sat down on the east side of this space, facing west (this would of course be west of the cleared ground), while the chiefs sat on the west side facing east. In this way the chiefs and the seven brothers faced each other across this cleared space. The people gathered around the sides forming more or less of a circle. One chief was selected to talk. He said:

"We have all come together today to worship God. Now you must try to think what you are here for. Now the ground is open, there is nothing in the way (i. e. it is outdoors), God can look straight down upon us. Here's the sunlight over us, he's the one who knows all about it, and he knows also what you think about; you can't ever hide it. Now we are going to eat." [537] 539

The main tarutsius now came forward. This chief gave the tarutsius a horn spoon which he had been holding while he spoke. In the center of the space around which the people had gathered, the food had been set out in buckets. The tarutsius received the spoon. (Filling the spoon[1]) He walked clockwise around, passing behind the food and around it, then with the spoon took some corn from the buckets, made a clockwise circuit and passed outside of the circle of people between the Seventh Brother (who is at the north end of the seated row of Seven Brothers) and the people at his right. (First Phase[1]) Outside the circle the tarutsius walked clock- 782 668 796 [415]

---

[1] See Chapter 8; the Food Offering and Service, pp. 220—228.

668 796 782 wise around the sacred dance ground (not the space around which the people are gathered) which was now vacant, and came to the west of it where he stopped facing east. At this point his back was to the back of the Seven seated Brothers. Here he offered corn upward to heaven, then bent down and pushed some off the spoon onto the ground, then turned to the west to which he offered the spoon of corn slantwise, then pushed some more off onto the ground, and finally placed the rest on the ground as an offering to the earth. (Second phase: first mode[1]) He then put the spoon on the ground beside him, and touching and pressing the corn into the earth, made three sets of motions with his hands and arms: four upward to heaven, four westward, and four to the earth. (Self-blessing; return of spoon[1]) Then he picked up the spoon and went through the motions of the final self-blessing with it, pressing his feet firmly to the ground. With the spoon he turned and reentered the circle of people between the First Brother (who is at the south end of the row of seven seated brothers) and those at his left, walked through a half circuit clockwise until he faced the chiefs sitting at the west, and returned the spoon to the chief who had given it to him. All the people say, "Nawa."

668 796 [264 554] The food was then served. A number of men were selected to do the serving, some serving the chiefs, others the Seven Brothers, and still others the people in general. The chiefs must be served first, and then the Seven Brothers, and then the public at large. After all had eaten the dishes were put away. The people might come back and dance on the dance-ground until the sun had fully set. They stopped finally at full sundown. Many of the people did not camp on the grounds and had to go home for the night. Others had to look out for their horses.

In this way the people danced at the encampment for four days, and the last day they continued dancing all night. As individuals had trance visions, they would begin to wear different feathers and paints according to what they saw; and at later Ghost Dances would bring out these Ghost Dance things and use them.

[513] After the entire dance was over, the people generally slept a full day. Later they might decide to hold a hand game. In these early Ghost Dance times among the Skiri, a hand game could only be held after a full Ghost Dance had been carried out. Later hand games were interspersed in the Ghost Dancing.

Such were the ceremonial forms of the first Ghost Dancing among the Skiri proper.

792 668 796 787 Although Mrs. Washington was in this way responsible for the first organization of the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Goodeagle came to

792
be known as the Mother of the Seven Brothers. This was because 668
she clothed them according to directions which she received in a 796
Ghost Dance vision. 787

Mrs. Goodeagle saw two eagles in her vision, a white one and
a black one. The black eagle did not speak to her. The white
eagle told her to put up a feast and dress the Seven Brothers.
She did so. She gave each of the seven a special shirt, and a white [292]
sheet to wear. At the back of the head on the sheet two black
ribbons were stitched, so that they hung down for about two feet
in the back. All the seven were dressed alike.

Then later someone else fell into a trance and told afterward that Mrs. Goodeagle was the Mother of the Seven Brothers, and that the people must call her that. So all the Skiri considered her the Mother of the Seven Brothers.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF MARK EVARTS

In 1897 or 1898, Mark Evarts came home.[1] He had been away 159
a number of years, first at the Carlisle school, and then working as a harness maker in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. When he got to Oklahoma, the ghost dancing had been flourishing both among the South Bands and among the Skiri. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri was already existent. Mark was not unacquainted with the Ghost Dance. He had heard about it at the time it began to spread among the tribes. He had made a brief visit home at the height of the excitement. But the rest of his story after his arrival in Oklahoma is best told in Mark's own words:

"I told them I did not believe it. I said, 'You can't make me believe it.' Because I was educated and because the white man taught me that the Indians were superstitious. But the white man didn't look at himself and see how superstitious he was.

"One day the Pawnee were all going up to the Oto. After a lot of them had gone, a fellow named Sam Thomson said to me, 'Mark, let's go up to where the Oto are camped now.' We went north to a place about seven miles south of Red Rock. We got there in the evening. We looked into the timber, and there on the other side of the creek we saw the smoke from the encampment. We didn't know where to eat and spend the night, but we found two old ladies in one tipi and we went in there. We asked them if we could sleep there, and stay around during the camping. While I was there I heard someone say, 'this tipi is a special hand

---

[1] Mark had been home on a visit in 1893.

in front of him on a spread. Rudder set one man to work preparing 159
cedar sticks, another to work preparing the horn ends of the 301
feathers so they could be attached to the sticks with sinew. Still another was called and told to get sinew ready for use as thong. While the work proceeded the other men present told stories. One man said that he heard the crows calling "ka-ka-ka," and understood what they meant, so he came to the camp and there sure enough he found them all working on the crow feathers. The others laughed. The men preparing the things took their time. They were working at it all day. When dinner came in the evening, Mark Rudder had all the things wrapped up and put aside. The work was finished the next day.

Only wing and tail feathers of the crow were used. Four feathers, [237]
either from the wing or tail, were attached to the stick. Each man
present was asked which kind of feathers he wanted put on his. The [283]
sinew was soaked in a bowl of water to soften it for use. The head end of the cedar stick was spread or thickened so that when the feathers were tied on they spread outward. Across the top of the sticks indentations were made in the form of a cross and when these crow sticks are used ceremonially and set in the ground, the ends of this cross must point in the cardinal directions. Red paint was put in the grooves of the cross. The feathers were bound onto the sticks while the sinew was wet, after which the sticks with the feathers attached were hung out in the wind to dry. The sinew tightened in drying. Each man who wanted a crow stick came forward and took one.

THE SEVEN CROWS AND AFTER

Mark Rudder was thus instrumental in developing the decoration 668
and recognition of Crows. As yet, however, there was no official 796
organization among the Crows, similar to the Seven Brothers of the Eagles.

Once when they were Ghost Dancing near the north round house, 668
a young woman "got the shakes" and fell. When she recovered, 796
she sat there crying. The old man crier went to her and blessed her. 787
Then he asked her if she had something to say. She said, "Yes. When I fell, I went down a road leading west and saw a big hill across my way, and the road went up the hill. I went up that hill. When I got on top of the hill I looked down below on the other side. There was a big camp there. As I went down the hill I saw a man coming out of that camp. He met me before I got to the camp, and told me to stop, not to come any further. I

668 stopped. He stood right there in the road. He said, 'Now my girl,
796 I came to meet you here. I'm the one who told you to come. We
are dancing over here. We know you folks are dancing over there
787 and I want you to tell them to have Seven Brothers of the Crows just as well as the Eagles. Now when you go back you can tell them. Sometimes when the Seven Eagles are tired singing, you have to turn over the singing to the Crows to help out. That's why I say you should have Seven Crows. One more thing: When you have the Seven Eagles sing, you must put one woman between each two Eagle brothers, because when they sing the women must sing too. And you must do the same way with the Seven Crows.' I wanted to turn my head to look around, and as I did that, I woke up, and got up."

668 In accordance with this vision, Mark Rudder as the main Crow
796 selected six to join with him as the Seven Crows. Five of the Skiri selected were: John Moses, Jonathan Eustace, George Beaver, Yellowcalf, White Fox. Mark Evarts himself became one of the Seven Crows later, succeeding one man who died.[1]

After that when they held the Ghost Dancing, the Seven Eagles were put on one side (the south), the Seven Crows on the other side (the north). Still later, someone had a trance vision and saw that it should be done the same way in the hand games.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, Mrs. Cover was made the Mother of the Seven Crows by analogy with the Mother of the Seven Brothers organization. Mark Rudder selected her. She was not chosen as the result of a vision, or because she clothed the Crows.[2]

Thus the ground plan arrangements finally became among the Skiri: A central clearing for the dancing; a special Ghost Dance
[346] tipi due west of it; a sacred tipi south of the cleared ground for the Seven Eagle Brothers; and a sacred tipi north of the clearing for the Seven Crow Brothers. Certain alignments of the games were later determined by these orientations (see for example, Boy Chief's game).

---

[1] John Moses and Mark Evarts are the only ones still living.

[2] A dream of Mrs. Cover's of this general period illustrates certain con-
[787] cepts of the Pawnee Ghost Dance:

"She dreamed she saw Christ standing at the west, facing east. Before him were many little children. At the extreme south was Emmet Pierson and other chiefs, at the extreme north were Mark Evarts, Eaglechief and others. A voice spoke, saying, 'As you see these standing, these are the ones to take care of Christ's children, his people.'"

[622
177] The Pawnee speak of a chief as a "father" to all his tribespeople, and here this idea has been interwoven with Christian beliefs.

668 796 The smoke offering of the Skiri Ghost-Dance was not altered by this new organization. Only the Seven Eagle Brothers participated directly. The Seven Crows organization was an alternative one, to assist in the singing. After a day of Ghost Dancing, Sam Cover, the leader of the Seven Eagles, might officially turn over to the Seven Crows the singing and leadership of the dancing for the following day. With the Crows leading, the formal positions for beginning and ending the songs and dancing remained the same.

Every day after the dancing, the people gathered outside for the formal food offering and blessing before eating (see above). The chiefs talked. The arrangement outside was the same as that previously described, except that now instead of the Seven Eagle Brothers on the east facing west, the two organizations were seated together, the Seven Eagles south of the mid-point, the Seven Crows just north of it, making a row of fourteen seated side by side.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, the form of Skiri Ghost-Dancing passed through only minor alterations; so far as memory of informants goes, it remained constant—constant at least while the Ghost-Dancing was a serious belief and practise of the Pawnee.

668 796 525 With the alternative organizations of Seven Brothers and Seven Crows for the Ghost-Dance singing, in the event that both groups of singers were tired at the end of a day of dancing, and neither was anxious to take over the leadership the next morning, a custom of playing a hand game to decide who would carry the burden the next day tended to develop. In the central leading tent in the evening, the Ghost Dance leaders and the two organizations ate together, with the Seven Crows on the north side, the Seven Eagles on the south. Here in the talk which accompanied the meal, the members of the two brotherhoods might challenge each other to play a hand game that night. The losers would get up early and begin the dancing; the winners could sleep late.

668 796 Each formal occasion of four-days' Ghost-Dancing was in general charge of one man, and was "put up" in the main by one woman. After a woman had offered to put the dance up, the chiefs gathered and selected one man to be in charge. This man's job was to handle all matters which came up during the entire period of dancing, a hard task and a great risk, because whatever happened while the dance was in progress was credited to the one in charge for blame or praise. If there was good luck, people spoke well of him; and if there was bad luck, people agreed it was his fault.[1] [777]

---

[1] Such responsibility of the leader is true for all Pawnee ceremonial venture. The method of having someone, usually a woman "put up" the

668 Mark Evarts led several times, and says that whenever he had
796 the lead he had good luck. One time a baby was born while the
777 dance was in progress—that was good luck. Tobacco was being
ceremonially prepared to be handed to Mark for making a smoke
offering. While they were praying that good luck might go with
[276 the tobacco, a grandchild of Linford Smith's was born. So all
782] present thanked God, and hoped it would be that way throughout
the dancing.

[184] While these developments were taking place among the Skiri, the Ghost Dancing of the South Bands continued to follow the formal arrangements which had been instituted by Frank White. As members of the organization of seven singers which had been developed by White died, new members were selected to take their places. The smoke offering was not altered.

668 Murie, in discussing Pawnee ceremonial Ghost Dance forms,
states[1]:

796 "In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take
[484] instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they
learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the cere-
[346] monies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set
up near the center of the camp as the temple . . . The modern Ghost Dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host . . ."

The arrangement of which Murie speaks, in terms of which the leading tent was on the north or south according to the place of the host, refers to Ghost Dance hand games, rather than Ghost Dances proper: for in the hand games, as will be described below, one side (either north or south, viz., either Crow or Eagle) is "host" and in charge.

GHOST DANCE SONGS[2]

796 The songs "dreamed" or secured in visions in the Ghost Dance
533 ranged over all the subjects that could naturally come to mind.
Some emphasized aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine, viz., that in the other world all was as in former days, that the Christ was

---

affair, viz., supply the bulk of the meat and other food necessary, as well as the method of selecting one man to be in charge, are general Pawnee patterns.

[1] Murie, p. 636.

[2] The song texts of this section have been retranscribed and retranslated from the Densmore versions by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

III.

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GHOST DANCE

In 1892, as we saw in Chapter I, the United States government program of assimilation had reduced the Pawnee to a cultural impasse. Their old life was gone, and nothing adequate had been given them in its place. The Ghost Dance doctrine which reached the tribe in 1892 brought hope into Pawnee life. It promised the coming of a new and restored Indian earth, on which the white man would be no more, on which the buffalo would roam again, and the Indian peoples live in peace and plenty. According to the prophecy of the doctrine the change was destined, and did not depend on the voluntary intervention of the Indian. Faith in the doctrine and message of the new religion was, however, an essential condition to participation in the benefits of the new order. The activities of the Ghost Dance were modes of converting the unbeliever, and of reinforcing the conviction of the faithful. The first tenet was to dance. The feet of the dancers pounding the earth was symptomatic of the rumblings of the earth which presaged the change. In the beyond, the message declared, they too were dancing, and to dance here in the same way was an augury of the coming reunion. A second tenet prescribed the casting aside of the white man's ways as an expression of faith. To put aside white clothing, white labor, and white customs, was in still another way to participate with the people dancing in the beyond, and to demonstrate concretely one's conviction that these things of the white man's were of the passing present, soon to be swept away. A third tenet concerned the visions and the seeking of them. These visions were moments of intercommunication between those here on earth and their deceased kinsmen in the beyond. To secure them was to prove one's strength of faith. In attaining them one saw the people in the other world alive and well and happy; one saw and foresaw the new earth that was to be. These visions reinforced the tenet which prescribed a casting aside of the white man's ways, for in the land of the departed the old ways of life went on still as they had in former years on earth. To do as one's kinsmen were

668
668
796
668
787
796

668

787 doing in the beyond meant not alone to put aside the alien customs
796 of European culture, but actively to take up again the native ways of the Indian. The Pawnee turned back to the past for values and satisfactions lacking in the present.

178 The revival of Pawnee culture which began to materialize in the years of the Ghost Dance went back for its material primarily to three sources in the old culture: the bundles and bundle rituals, the societies, and the games. The general attempt to resuscitate the aboriginal forms, supplemented and fortified by the inspirations and mandates of the visions, resulted in three types of cultural rebirth. The activities of old ceremony, performance and play were fostered; the paraphernalia were put in order, renewed, and recreated; and concepts from the old context were enshrined in symbols and facsimiles which were carried in the dance and integrated in new cultural forms.

BUNDLES AND BUNDLE RITUALS

778 The principal bundles of the Pawnee in aboriginal times were
796 the sacred bundles,[1] often spoken of as village or band bundles,
and the medicine men's bundles. The former were predominantly
178 concerned with cosmological powers and references; the latter with
the animate forms of the earth, the waters and the air (animals
and trees, fish and water-creatures, birds). By 1892 sacred bundle
ritual demonstrations had practically ceased; of the medicine
[756] men's ceremonies, the great doctor performances of the fall had
ceased in 1878, but the Doctor Dances of the spring and summer
continued at irregular intervals, and such medicine men's ceremonies
as the Buffalo Dance were also carried out on occasion,
while the Bear Dance had died out. Resuscitation of the old bundle
[764] rituals was the most difficult problem of revival and could not be
fully met: a good part of the sacred rituals and paraphernalia had
been buried in the grave with their final priests. There were two
modes or types of occasion on which bundles were opened in aboriginal
times: to demonstrate the ritual, and to renew or repair the
bundle parts and contents. There is little evidence that the Pawnee
succeeded in actively rehabilitating the ceremonies of the sacred
bundles, but they did succeed in reconstructing the medicine men's

---

[1] I avoid any attempt to here catalog or describe the many bundles of the four Pawnee bands, which would of necessity be lengthy and for the most part irrelevant. The interested reader may consult Murie, Societies, pp. 549—556.

778 this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course
793 of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher
lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that
as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that
[828] when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the
old and learned always held back something until they were ready
to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught
his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on
his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told
him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When
upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part
[764 of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by
428] the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased
medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest,
a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance: the physical bundle survived, though it might be less
and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained
182 as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through
178 cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through
the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of
the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid
increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was
in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals,
which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction
rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there
was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young
men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase
of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their
time: and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an
early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode
of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of
424 private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost
793 through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no
sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who
attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

182 The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance
visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would
178 "see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision
● 668 then became a command upon himself and others around him to
787 carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life
could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost 668
Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult 787
to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the 178
way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed 182
in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or ceremony was no longer officially in existence: those who had known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine 796
men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear 756
Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this 178
century, it was the revived form which was studied and recorded.
The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirat[2], the main 764
bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were 796
buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any 756
one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society was lost. At a 787
meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a 178
woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said, "I had

---

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. 114
Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based on work with present-day informants.

The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation: in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

REVIVALS OF GAMES

524 The games[1] most important in the old social life of the Pawnee ✓
526 were for men the large hoop and pole game, the hand game,[2] and
the moccasin game[3]: for the women, the stick dice game, the
plum seed dice game, shinny and double-ball. Boys played at the
hand game of the men among themselves[2], and played a boys' form
of the hoop and pole game; girls played the womens' games.

668 All three revival phases took place with the games, paralleling
178 the ritual revivals. The activities were renewed, viz., the games
524 were again played, and played with renewed enthusiasm; the
paraphernalia were renewed and reconstructed in that game sets
began to be made again in the old way: such were essential for the
hoop and pole games, the plum seed and stick dice games, shinny
and doubleball: and lastly the games becoming vision sources,
sets of paraphernalia were ceremonialized: On the one hand such
[796 developments as the ritual hand games took place, and on the
other game objects like shinny balls, hoops, etc. were used as
787] vision embodiments and symbols, carried in the dance and employed
to induce visions in others. (See Chapter II)

In these revivals of old forms, we see that those forms were stressed which were most overt and apparent in the old culture: games basically, the non-esoteric activities of the societies (songs and performances) next, and the bundle activities least of all. This weighting follows the probabilities, in terms of the degree to which the old activities were shared by all the people in aboriginal life: those which were common and familiar possessions of the people were readily remembered and revived, while those calling for special traditional learning were difficult to recapture.

221 When individuals in Ghost Dance trances were transported
796 to the other world they came there upon villages of Pawnee living
668 as they had of old. The whole concept of the doctrine being an
178 awakening or renewal, the type of life most often visualized in the
trances was the tribal life of the early spring and early summer.
In aboriginal days the spring was a season of reawakening. With
the first thunder came the opening of the great bundles and the
chanting of the creation ritual. This ushered in the spring activities of the people. With the passing of winter, and the renewal

---

[1] For descriptions of these games consult Culin, Games, pp. 274, 409, 463, 625, 657.

[2] See Chapters V, VI.

[3] The moccasin game was played by the Pawnee, instead of the hand game, with Central Algonquian tribes.

of life in the waters and upon earth, the villages were plunged into 221
a round of activities. The young men got ready to go on the warpath, 796
and all their moccasins, garments and weapons had to be put in 668
order. The women made the moccasins, and helped them in other
ways to prepare. Meanwhile the games had begun among children 178
and adults. As the time neared for the departure of the war parties,
the great war society dances and performances were held. A visitor
to the villages at this season would have been directly impressed
with three phases of the outdoor scene: the work of individuals,
in view here and there; the games; and the spectacular and colorful
dances of the warriors before their departure. These aspects of
Pawnee life, being old and familiar, dominated the imagery of the
Ghost Dance visions.

NEW CULTURAL FORMS

The Ghost Dance proved not only a force for cultural revival, 178
but with a return to the past as an inspirational source and guide, 796
and vision sanctions as immediate drives, the doctrine was an
impetus to cultural development. Several noteworthy forms are
on record. The Ghost Dance ceremonial forms themselves have
already been described. The rapid development of the many Ghost
Dance hand game ceremonies were the most striking development
and reintegration of the old and new; these form the subject of the
entire second part of this study and need not concern us here. In [276
addition the development of the modern iruska, or new war dance, 431]
among all four bands, a form of social gathering for feasting and
gift-giving; and the spread of the peyote ritual, began at this
period.[1]

---

[1] An anecdote told by Murie (Ceremonies of the Pawnee, in press, Bureau
of Ethnology) indicates in a lighter vein, the freedom to make ritual changes
which came with the Ghost Dance doctrine, and the occasional results.
"It is said that in 1893, the husband of the Skull bundle keeper, a rather
young man, took a notion he would shell the corn for the people and distrib- [787
ute it in a new way. He gathered some men, shelled the ear of corn from
the bundle, and distributed it himself. The people remonstrated, but he told 688]
them he had had a vision and was going to do just as he was told. In June
he started to Wichita Mountains. When he got about 35 miles south of
Pawnee (it was very hot and dry; the dust was about five inches thick)
his wagon broke down and he had to stay there several days, but at last
got his wheels repaired and started out again. Travelling was very hard.
The old woman who was keeper of the Skull Bundle, struck him on the back
and said, 'You will shell corn, will you. See what you have done.' That year
the crops burned up, it was so hot."

178 796 177 According to Murie's[1] account the modern Skiri iruska was taken over from the Oglala Sioux, but went back to a form of the Omaha grass dance. It began to appear among the Pawnee in 1897, and was fully organized by Eagle Chief in 1911. An independent development of the iruska took place among the Kitkahaxki^x. "About 1894 while the Ghost Dance was still intense a man named Sitting Bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and led it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the [778 534] hands of Little-Sun, one of the leading singers. According to this ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in the case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-Sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-Fly-High, also a pupil of Sitting-Bear." An independent development of the modern iruska took place among the Tcawi under the leadership of Roaming-Chief,[2] and thence spread to the Pitahawirat^a.[3]

● 668 796 276 Murie has described how the peyote ritual reaching the Pawnee in 1890 was stimulated by the Ghost Dance excitement; and how some forms of the peyote worship were like Ghost Dance forms.[4] Frank White, the great Pawnee Ghost Dance prophet, was also a peyote devotee (See Chapter 11). Murie adds, "it may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the Ghost Dance excitement. One of his individual [787] doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore."[5] This indicates the extent to which the effort to bring back cultural aspects buried and forgotten was a definite part of the Ghost Dance doctrine.

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 624—625, 628. Cf. for a description of the forms of these rituals, pp. 624—630.

[2] Several shields in the Field Museum, depicting warriors' visions of Ghost Dance times are associated with the development of the modern iruska. F M 71844, and F M 59527 (two shields). One of the latter was identified as probably belonging to Roaming-Chief.

[3] The story of gradual changes in the form of Pawnee visiting party arrangements, associated with the modern iruska development, is a complex tale on its own account, and is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

[4] Murie, Societies, p. 636—637.

[5] ibid. p. 638.

II

IV.

THE HAND GAME. DISTRIBUTION AND CHARACTER

668 525 In this part I have traced the changes in the Pawnee hand game which were functions of the Ghost Dance revival and the renaissance of culture. As a preliminary, this chapter sketches the place of the hand game in the aboriginal culture of North America. It was part of a wide distribution of guessing games, and the principles of chance play involved in the hand games may well have been basic to the principles of chance involved in other forms of guessing games. The consideration herein is not exhaustive: while a new treatment and re-classification of American Indian games seems called for by modern study, such a discussion, amplifying and correcting Culin,[1] must be intensive, and is necessarily irrelevant to the present theme.

525 The hand game is one of the guessing games of the North American Indians. These games, along with dice games, were, according to Culin, the only games of chance played by the American Indians. The guessing games present considerable variety: differences in objectives of play, paraphernalia used, forms of play, methods of concealment, methods of scoring, type and form of accompanying music, and ritualisation, are widespread. This variability in the guessing games is if anything increased by the errors and misunderstandings of early travelers on whose accounts Culin had to depend for information from some regions. In some cases modern information has superseded the early accounts; in others the cultures are extinct, and confusions must remain.

525 171 The guessing games of North American Indians have a contiguous and continuous distribution throughout certain regions of the continent. Guessing games are absent throughout the cultures of the arctic and sub-arctic regions: the Eskimo, the Athapascan peoples of Alaska and northwestern Canada, and the Algonquian peoples of northeastern Canada, the Hudson Bay region and Maine.

---

[1] Culin, Games.

V.

PLAY OF THE PAWNEE HAND GAME

To understand the changes which make up the history of the Pawnee hand game, as considered in this study, it is essential that the skeleton of the game play itself be clearly understood. Only in this way can the ritualization which occurred in ghost dance times be visualized against the old game background. The game itself is interesting on its own account. In actual play it has its own excitements and exhilarations, and the pleasure of winning and annoyance of losing can be readily shared by an outsider who participates for a short time. 525

The Game Sets: Culin catalogs hand game sets in various museums.[1] The Pawnee and Wichita sets pictured and described by him are all Ghost Dance hand game sets, not sets used for the early gambling game. Pawnee sets always consist of eight sticks used as *tally sticks* with which to keep score, and two special bones or die, used as *counters* in hiding. [668 ● 796]

Sides and Officials: In the playing of the game, two sides oppose each other; any number of players may be joined to either side, even numbers being immaterial. They are definitely immaterial in the Ghost Dance hand games where the affiliation of the individual in the Ghost Dance determines on which side that individual plays. In the old men's gambling game even numbers as regards the players were also immaterial, the visitors or guests always being considerably outnumbered by their hosts; but since in placing wagers individuals bet with individuals, the numbers of those who wagered was the same for both sides. When the boys played and chose sides, the sides were usually more or less even in numbers. The two sides form two halves of a circle, the head end being either at the west or at the north. In all Ghost Dance hand games but one it is at the west; in that one it is at the north. In the old hand game the orientation of the sides was determined by the direction from which the guests or visitors came, with the head end always either west or north. At this head end sit two tallyers, who are the leaders of their respective sides, usually with two 525 668

---

[1] Culin, p. 276ff.

525 ●468 [276] assistants. These leaders are called *rıxku*^{a}. Leadership is important in both the old games and the Ghost Dance games. In the old game the main leader of the visiting side is the man who comes bringing the pipe. In Ghost Dance games there are always four individuals behind the altar, following the generic ceremonial pattern of the Pawnee. The two inner ones — next the east-west line, or the north-south line in the one case — are the main leaders, the two outer men being their assistants. These tallyers keep the score with the tally sticks. The leader of each side selects one player to do the guessing for that side.

[276] *Putting the counters in play:* There are preliminaries to the actual playing of the game proper: in the old games, the smoking of the pipe brought by the leader of the visiting party, the betting, and often a special dance by the visitors; in the ghost dance hand games, the smoke offering, the selection of the guessers, and usually an old dance song sung by the drummers of the host side. The leader of each side selects a guesser for that side by arising, going to one player and giving him a counter.

When the game proper is ready to begin the two guessers arise and face each other across the head end of the arena, each on his side of the midline. Each has one counter. The guesser of the host side puts his hands behind his back while he conceals the counter in one hand, then brings both clenched hands forward and moves them in rhythm while his opponent guesses. Then whatever the outcome, the opponent hides his counter and the first guesses. Calling the guesser of the host side A, and that of the guest side B, there are now four possibilities:

1) A found B's counter and B failed to find A's. In this case they are won by A who puts them in play on his side.

2) A failed to find B's counter and B found A's. In this case they are won by B, who puts them in play on his side.

3) A found B's counter and B found A's counter. In this case the procedure is repeated, until possibility 1) or 2) as above is realized, with the exception noted below.

4) A failed to find B's counter and B failed to find A's counter. In this case the procedure is repeated, until possibility 1) or 2) as above is realized, with the exception noted below.

If either possibility 3) or possibility 4), as above, occurs four times in succession, it is customary for the guessers to yield their office to two others, who try all over again.[1]

---

[1] In one Skiri Ghost Dance hand game, that of George Beaver, it is said that no change made after four misguesses, but the procedure continued until was one guesser had won both counters.

When in this way, the guesser of one side has won both counters, he takes them to two players—usually two seated side by side—of his side and gives one to each. These two players conceal the counters, and the opposing guesser comes across the arena to locate them.

The Play: The two counters when won by the guesser of one side are given to two players of that side, one to each. Each player conceals the counter given to him in one hand so that there is no evidence from his closed fists in which hand it is held. Usually the counter is concealed while the hands are held behind the back, or for a woman, under the skirt. The players who have the counters then bring their fists forward and shake their clenched hands back and forth before the guesser of the opposing side, who stands at a little distance, watching their movements and trying to add to mere chance some significant slip or move which may reveal to him which hand to choose.

In making a choice, with two counters concealed each one in either of two hands, there are four possible combinations: the two outer hands, the two inner hands, the two right hands of the hiders, and the two left hands of the hiders. There are special motions used by the guessers to indicate which of these possibilities is chosen.

To indicate the two outer hands, the guesser spreads his arms slightly outward to the sides, *or* raises both hands with erect thumbs and points the thumbs outward from his body, *or* raises the right hand with the thumb and index finger spread. To indicate the inner hands the guesser extends the right arm as if slicing between the players with the open right hand. To indicate the two right hands of the players, the guesser motions with his own right hand leftwards, *or* raises his right hand with index finger erect. To guess the two left hands of the players, the guesser motions with his own right hand to the right, *or* raises his right hand with index and third finger erect.

As soon as the guesser's choice has been indicated in one of the above ways, the players who hold the counters open the indicated hands so that all may see whether or not the guess has been successful. The player may if he wishes when the guess has been unsuccessful also open the hand containing the counter.

There are three possible results of the guess:

1) The guesser is fully successful if with his single guess he has chosen the two hands in which the two counters are concealed. In this case he wins the counters for his own side. Neither side scores points. The guesser who has won the counters takes them

525 668 across the arena to two players of his side, and the opposing guesser must now come across to try to find them.

2) The guesser is completely unsuccessful if his guess has indicated the two empty hands. In this case the players holding the counters score two points for their side, which are recorded by the keeper of the tally sticks for that side. Usually the guesser of the side in possession of the counters stands near the play, and, otherwise inactive, he indicates to the tallyer at the head end whether one or two points have been scored by holding up his right hand with index finger erect, or with index and third finger erect. In the excitement of play, other players of the side scoring points who are close to the play usually also indicate to the tallyer what has happened, and many shout "asku", one, or "pitku", two, as well. If the side holding the counters scores two points, the same two players conceal the counters again, and the guesser of the opposing side must try his luck again.

3) The third possibility is that the guesser locates one counter, and misses the other. In this case the side holding the counters scores one point (for the one not found). Then the successful player whose counter was not indicated hides again, while the unsuccessful player awaits the outcome. The guesser now has only to indicate which hand the one counter is concealed in, and has a one out of two chance. If he finds this one counter, he has now won both for his own side, and takes them across the arena to two players of his side. No further points are scored. If, on the other hand, the guesser fails to find this single counter in play, the side holding the counters scores another single point. Now both players (the same two) hide again, including the one who lost the first time, and the other who has twice scored single points. With both hiding again the guesser must try his luck once more with all the possibilities open.

525 533 668 *The Musical Accompaniment:* Besides the special songs which are sung before the game proper begins, and the songs sung in the intervals between the games, hand game songs are sung to the actual play of the game. The side holding and hiding the counters sings continuously while the counters remain in their possession. As soon as the guesser has won both, the song ceases abruptly, while the opposing side begins as abruptly to sing. In the old Pawnee hand game the clapping of hands was the only instrumental accompaniment. In the Ghost Dance hand games, drums are used. The songs in the intervals are sung by the side which has just won the game.

525
668

Scoring: As will be seen from the account of the game *in play* points are scored by the side in possession of the counters when the guesser of the opposing side fails to find the counters. Success in guessing does not score points but wins possession of the counters.

The record of the scoring is kept with the eight tally sticks which lie at the head end (altar end) before the two leaders. In the old hand games these eight sticks are in one heap between the tallyers or leaders; in the Ghost Dance hand games, four are bunched in front of the leader of each side. When his side scores a point, the tallyer takes one of the sticks and places it before him in a separate group, until the eight sticks have all been put in scoring play by having been won by one side or the other. Thus in the old hand game the tallyer would take sticks from the bunch of eight lying between the leaders; while in the Ghost Dance hand game he would take sticks first from the bunch of four not in play lying before his opponent, and then from the bunch of four not in play lying before himself. After the sticks are all in scoring play, a point is recorded for one side by taking one of the sticks already won or scored by the other side and adding it to the "score" bunch of the first side.

A hypothetical illustration of scoring will make the method clearer:

1) / / / / / / / /
A B

2) / / / / / / / /
A B

1) represents the arrangement of tally sticks before scoring occurs in the old handgames. 2) represents the same in the Ghost Dance hand games.

If A's side scores two points the respective arrangements are:

1) / / / / / / / /
A B

2) / / / / / / / /
A B

If B then scores two points:

1) / / / / / / / /
A B

2) / / / / / / / /
A B

are the respective arrangements. Then should B again score let us say one point:

525
668

1) // /// ///
A B
2) // / // ///
A B

illustrate the way the tally sticks would lie.

Now suppose that A scores three points. The resultant arrangements:

1) ///// ///
A B
2) ///// ///
A B

show that the original groups of sticks in both cases are now all in play. From this point on the scoring consists merely of moving the number of sticks won from one side to the other until as a result of the run of play all the eight sticks cluster on one side or the other. Thus at the point represented above, if one side or the other were lucky enough to run out the game in one turn, A's side would need three points in a row to do so, B's side five.

The only difficulty in following the method of scoring is that it must be remembered that all the tally sticks must have been put in scoring play by having been once won by either side, before accumulating all the sticks wins the game. This is obvious in the case of arrangement 1) of the old hand game where the sticks lie in one bunch between the tallyers. Here if both sides have already scored points the side which is running out first scores by winning the sticks not as yet in play, and then the sticks already won by the opponent. In the Ghost Dance games where each leader has four sticks before him, these belong only ceremonially, as it were, to his side, and have no reference to the scoring of the game. They must be put in scoring play in the same way that the eight bunched sticks are in the old game. Thus when one side wins four sticks in its first turn, all eight are in front of the tallyer of that side, but only four have been put in scoring play. These lie in a separate bunch, and the side must win in addition the four sticks which lie in front of their own leader, but which are not yet in scoring play, before the game has been won. If in these Ghost Dance games each side has already scored, a side running out tallies sticks in the following order: first, those before the opponent not yet in scoring play, then those before the side's own leader not in scoring play, then those which the opponent has scored.

After winning a game: A hand game occasion, whether in the old form or the Ghost Dance form, is never ended by merely winning

a game. To use an analogy, one of these games is like a "rubber" in bridge. In the old game, such "rubber" games are played until the possessions that one side can bet are exhausted, or until, because it is late, all agree to stop. In the Ghost Dance games, special arrangements of the number of "rubber" games to be played are made beforehand. Some of the Ghost Dance hand games have a fixed number of games to be played, usually seven, and regardless of the final outcome, viz., whether one side has won four, the other three, or one side has won all seven, the usual custom is to cease playing when the seven games have been finished. Other Ghost Dance hand games have variant methods which are optional, such as to play "even up" a certain number, which means that one side must win so many *more* games than the other. 525 668 [533

When one game has been won, there is an interval during which dancing and singing takes place, led by the winning side. 535]

After this a second game begins. For this second game, the guesser of the winning side retains his office, while the guesser of the losing side, by giving another player of his side the counter, inducts him into office as guesser for the side. So that in *putting the counters in play* for a second or later game, there will always be one guesser who participated in the previous game—the guesser of the side which has won—and one new guesser for the other side.

After the counters have been put in play in a second game or later, the players to whom they are first given by the guesser who wins both, are, in the Ghost Dance hand games, those whose turn it is to play.

Taking Turns to Play: In the old games there is essentially no formal method of taking turns. As will be detailed below, the main object being to win actual stakes which are valuable, the counters are given to hide to players who are thought to be lucky or especially able in deceiving the guesser. These will be any two chosen by the guesser, regardless of what positions they are seated in. That is, the individuals may be next each other, or widely separated in the row of players. But, after such individuals have had a turn, and have lost the counters, the custom would be for the guesser, when he had rewon the counters from players of the opposing side, to give them to hide to two other players of his side.

In the Ghost Dance hand games the whole routine is formalized. For each hand game there is an order in which the players seated around the arena take turns. This order may or may not differ from one game to another. The most general form is for the players to take turns as they are seated from the head end to the doorway.

525 thus usually from west to east. The counters are always given, in such a case, to two players sitting alongside each other.

668 Each player who is given a counter to hide has a continuous turn until he and his partner have finally lost the counters. Then when they are rewon by the guesser of that side, they are given to the next two players in order. This method of allowing continuous turns overrides the interval between games. Thus not only is the guesser of the winning side retained, but the first time in the second game that he gives the counters to two players of his side, he gives them to the two players who "ran out" the previous game, and whose turn was not over, but was interrupted by the winning of the game. On the other hand, on the side which has just lost the game, the first two players to hide are the next two to those who last played.

VII.

THE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME

The old gambling hand game of the Pawnee, along with other 525
games, dances and social affairs, had gone the way of the rest of 178
Pawnee aboriginal culture by 1892. Occasionally games were
played, but the old life which began with early spring and included 668
one round of work and play that ended with the winter, was no
more. The Ghost Dance, with its doctrine of a return of the old
Indian life, and its mandate to stimulate that return by actively
reviving whatever could be recalled, amounted to a partial renaissance
of Pawnee culture. We can judge what was lacking most in
Pawnee life before the Ghost Dance by considering some of the
revivals. Memories of the societies and brotherhoods with their
dances and songs were recaptured in reconstructions of the old
paraphernalia, and the singing again of the old songs. But games [171]
were preeminent, as they were also among the Arapaho. The joy
of play had gone from Pawnee life before this. All was somber and
hopeless, full of death, disease and constant frustration. Of these
game revivals the most notable was the hand game.

The game was revived first as a game. This is apparently the 668
significance of the constant iteration by informants that Tom 525
Morgan's game was not a ceremonial one originally, was the first 177
of them all, and did not come in response to a vision. The Arapaho
suggestion of a ceremonialized game combining Ghost Dance ideas
of the deceased playing in the beyond, with the game play, reached
the Pawnee.

Once the games were begun, whether it was by Morgan or by 668
Carrion, by direct inspiration or through borrowing from the 525
Arapaho, the idea of learning Ghost Dance hand games in visions
spread like wildfire and the games sprang up like mushrooms. This
radical development by individuals only came after the movement
to dethrone Frank White as the sole prophet of the Pawnee Ghost
Dance. As late as 1930 I was able to list twenty-two individual
game developments of the Pawnee. No doubt, if all the facts were
known, there were many more. For a game to persist after it was 668
once created, the owner had to be well thought of by his people, 525
so that someone would "put it up"; and the public had to believe 787

[p. 155]

668 in the supernatural sanction of the game. Many games were
525 probably demonstrated briefly and then forgotten.

The Pawnee developed an interesting check upon the validity
787 of these Ghost Dance hand game revelations. They knew that any one could make up the game with sticks, altar arrangements, smoke offerings, and special complexities. For this reason the people were especially interested in watching the play of a game the *second* time it was demonstrated by the owner. Their contention was that if the game was just made up the owner would not be able to repeat his own arrangements accurately, while if the vision was a true one he would always remember his ways, could in fact never forget them.

The game visions were supposed to give full directions to the visionary as to the details of the game. This included the essentials of the ritual aspects, as offerings, and ceremonial arrangements, the character of the hand game set, the way to play the game. Each composite of these things constituted a set of teachings similar to the ritual lore of a bundle owner in former times, and the paraphernalia used in demonstrating the game constituted a bundle.

The Ghost Dance hand game was a ceremony, not a gambling game, and as such the elements of gambling of the earlier game were
[777] eliminated. But the concept of luck involved in the play of the
game was carried along with a changed meaning; it may have been in fact the use of luck as an omen which stimulated the rapid growth and widespread playing of these games.

525 Gambling for the Pawnee, as doubtless for most primitive peoples,
777 is associated with feeling of the existence of luck as a definite quality of the world. To win in a gambling game is to win not only the stakes: to win is to get a vote of confidence, a promise that the gods are on your side. The immediate benefit of the victory is of course the spoils. But beyond these immediate stakes there are greater stakes which have been won. You cannot know, you cannot guess what ultimate benefits of fortune will accrue. But you have assurance that *luck* is on your side. You must await the outcome of events and see what happens. Something good, something lucky and fortunate, is bound to happen to you. When
668 it does, that is because you won when you gambled. The need for
525 luck is everpresent because of the precariousness of life. This need
777 was acutely felt in Ghost Dance times. It was because luck was
787 against the Indian that the white man was conquering. The Ghost
Dance doctrine was a promise that fortune was to be on the other side. Now in addition one needed luck to be with the winning side. To be assured of the ultimate change of the Ghost Dance one needed

668

525 777 787 the luck of visions; and to be assured that one would be saved when the great destruction came, one had to be in touch with the controlling influences of the spirit world, which could be had only through visions.

668 525 825 777 In the early games, as we saw, the men who played imitated various birds and animals as they played. The belief is that birds and animals play hand games too, even as men. In the Ghost Dance two birds were preeminently the choice of the dancers, the eagle and the crow, because of the known characteristic traits of these birds—their wide, far-flung flights, on which they saw the world below them and everything that went on in it. When you were influenced to fall into a trance because of either of these birds, or when in your trance either of these birds was your guide and helper to find lost relatives and lost ways of life, you became associated with that bird. When in the hand game you played as a "crow" or an "eagle", you played to find out which was luckier, which held promise of the greater good fortune. In the early Ghost Dance hand game days it is said by all that the losers cried desolately and the winners were jubilant. As there never were material stakes for a Ghost Dance hand game, clearly it was nothing won. Bad luck or good luck had been discovered as one's portion. To lose was an ill omen.

An incident by Mark Evarts illustrates the foregoing: 668

525 777 Once at a Ghost Dance game played by Mrs. Washington, Mark held the counter in his left hand. The guesser indicated that hand as his choice, when, as quickly as it was guessed, it seemed to pass to his right hand, and there it was. This, according to Mark, was a sign of good fortune. A while later Mark was given Ridingin's daughter to marry. Goodeagle, the girl's grandfather, told the people at the time Mark was married to the girl, that he had had Mark in mind for a long time. Mark feels that this was what his hand game luck forbode. He considers this connection of the events reinforced by an experience which had occurred to him some time before he played in this hand game of Mrs. Washington's. [825] One time when he was near a creek with a large clump of cottonwoods, an eagle came circling, looked at Mark and went off again. "Now Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle represent two eagles," says Mark, "and that may have been the time they thought about me and considered me." Thus the experience with the eagle is reinterpreted in the light of hand game luck and the good fortune which followed it.

An interesting aspect of the above experience is that Mark considered the fact that the counter changed hands miraculous. Not from Mark did I ever learn that in the old game changing the

668 counter from hand to hand in this way was a regular form of
525 deception and part of the game. Other informants told me about
711 this old method of play after I had recorded Mark's experience, and
only then did I become aware that in terms of Ghost Dance hand
[577] game ethics Mark had cheated, unconsciously falling into the habits
of play he had been used to in his boyhood.

The concept of luck associated with hand game play was broadened conceptually in the Ghost Dance. Winning was a sign of greater faith, and since the coming change could be attained through faith alone, losing was a bitter dose indeed. It marked one as a disbeliever, a sinner, an unfortunate who could not be saved.

121 In the chapters^ which follow I have considered the Ghost Dance
525 hand games in two ways. In the first discussion the material
668 facts of the games have been used to define the generic aspects of
game rituals and ceremonies, and to bring out the significance of the various parts in order to consider in a later discussion the contrast with the old game and the meaning of the changes. In other chapters the details of the individual games are presented so far as known, in a form which makes them at once comparable with the analysis which precedes. In this way repetitions have been reduced to a minimum.

The order in which the games are presented, especially those of the Skiri, is an attempt at something of a chronology.

128 The exact order is of course impossible to determine at this date.
525 Many were developed well-nigh simultaneously. If the owners of
668 old games are interviewed each is likely to contend for the priority
of his or her own game. But certain games are known to be very old, certain others to be very recent. In addition special traits of the individual games place them in one or another of relative periods of time, before which they could not have used certain forms, and after which they must have. In short, on the basis of internal evidence as well as tradition a fairly sure chronology of the games *as groups* had been obtained. The question of priority within the groups is problematical.

There are first of all the games of the South Bands. Of these I have heard of only five: Joseph Carrion's, Tom Morgan's, White Elk's, Charley Brown's (this and White Elk's are collaborative), and Annie Eustace's. Tom Morgan's game as we saw was probably a nonceremonial one, which he altered to suit the new fashion, while Carrion's was the game he learned among the Arapaho. These two are then definitely older than the White Elk-Brown game, and that of Annie Eustace, for both of the latter were developed *as* Ghost Dance hand games.

^ [not processed. -Analyst]

Of the seventeen Skiri games known to me at least by name, 128
nine fall into an early period. These are the games belonging to 525
Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Goodeagle, Goodeagle, George Beaver, 668
Mark Rudder, John Moses (old form), Skidi Jake, Boychief's mother, and Pierson. Of these I know nothing of the proper place for Beaver's, Skiri Jake's and Goodeagle's games. Mrs. Goodeagle gave the order of the other six as: her own, Mrs. Washington, Rudder, Moses, Boychief's mother and Pierson. Her statement is probably correct as regards the subsequence of Rudder,[1] Moses and Boychief's mother, but as regards the priority of Mrs. Goodeagle's game over that of Mrs. Washington, there can be much question, in view of the part Mrs. Washington played in the Ghost Dance itself, and the general feeling among the Pawnee that there was considerable jealousy between the two women.

Subsequent to this early period, in a general middle period, after Pierson's game, come games of Emmet Pierson and Lonechief (collaborative), Barclay White (from Mrs. Washington), Boychief (from his mother), and Tom Yellowhorse. The Pierson-Lonechief games are definitely placed as just after the earliest developments. White's and Boychief's games follow Pierson's in time, inasmuch as these games were inherited, and their former owners were alive and or active at the time when Emmet Pierson derived his game: while that of Yellowhorse, perhaps the most played game today among the Pawnee, is said to have followed after Pierson's.

Finally we can be reasonably certain that four other games fall in a late to recent period: a second one of Pierson's, a new or changed game of John Moses, a game of Charley Allen's and one of Irene Goodeagle (made for her by her grandmother). The last was made up in the last few years. The Moses and Allen games followed their conversion to the Baptist Church of recent years, and Pierson's second game just preceded that time; it was a simplification of his older game.

While the exact order of these games is not of paramount importance, some conception of their relative order is, because there were gradual changes introduced in the Ghost-Dance hand games throughout the period of their creation, and these changes tell an interesting story.

---

[1] Tom Yellowhorse considers Mark Rudder's game earliest of the Skiri Ghost Dance hand games.

[pp. 160 ff. not processed]

3: Densmore
●668, 796

Pawnee NQ18

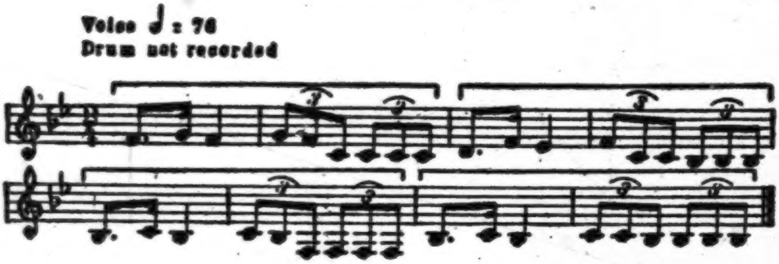
[For songs associated with the Ghost Dance ceremony, see category 116, pp. 78-86. --Analyst]

*533 The next song was said to have come down from a time when only men played the hand game.

No. 49. "You Came Near Finding Them"

(Catalogue No. 1095)

Recorded by Effie Blain



Analysis.—The rhythm of this song is characteristic of the physical movements of persons playing the hand game. It is a rhythm that suggests alternation and the swaying of the players from side to side. There is also an energy in the ascending approach to the first count of each measure. The tones are those of the first 5-toned scale which omits the third and seventh tones of the octave and is always a particularly free melodic form. No change of measure length occurs and the song consists entirely of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. The song contains 11 ascending and 10 descending progressions, two of each being the interval of a fourth.

A song of Roaming Chief (No. 66) was also sung at a hand game.

GHOST DANCE SONGS

668 The Pawnee are deeply religious by nature and received the Ghost
177 dance with sympathy. According to Mooney "The Ghost dance was
brought to the Pawnee . . . by delegates from the Arapaho and
78L Cheyenne in the west. The doctrine made slow progress for some
[181] time, but by February, 1892, the majority of the Pawnee were dancing
in confident expectation of the speedy coming of the Messiah and the
buffalo. Of all these tribes the Pawnee took most interest in the new
doctrine, becoming as much devoted to the Ghost dance as the
[293] Arapaho themselves."[29] A woman's Ghost dance dress is shown in
Plate 8, *c*; also other costumes.

668 Ghost dance songs were recorded but the dance did not form a
177 subject of study by the present writer. As stated, certain Ghost
*533

---

[29] Mooney, James, op. cit., p. 902.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dance songs were sung in the dances at hand games while others were not used in that manner. 668 177

The hypnotic phase which the hand game has in common with the Ghost dance is indicated in the following song which was sung at the Ghost dance and also at the hand game. In old times the game and its accompanying dances were held on the prairie instead of inside a lodge. A portion of the people were called "crows," and the woman who recorded this song said that she "belonged on the crow side of the circle." At intervals these people gave the caw of the crow and imitated that bird in their dancing. (This was done in the dance connected with the hand game attended by the writer.) It is said that under the hypnotic influence of the occasion, the dancers sometimes saw a crow inside the dance circle, no one except themselves being able to see it. The singer said that she "dreamed" this song when she was a young girl. 533* [201] [787]

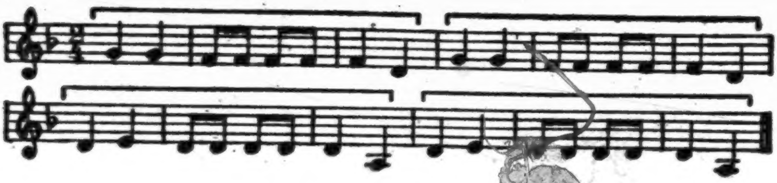
533*

No. 50. "The Crow"

Recorded by Effie Blain

(Catalogue No. 1087)

Voice ♩ = 116
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

The crow, we see his likeness moving inside the circle of dancers.

Analysis.—The first two phrases of this song are based on a descending fourth and the last two phrases on a descending fifth, the repetition of these phrases comprising the entire melody. As in the preceding song, there is no change of measure length and the rhythm suggests the motion of the players. The song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the sixth and seventh.

The crow which sometimes appeared in the Ghost dance might speak of taking the dancer to Mother Moon or to the Ghost dance messiah. The following song was "dreamed" by the woman recording it, who said she might sing it either at a hand game or a Ghost dance. 668 787 533*

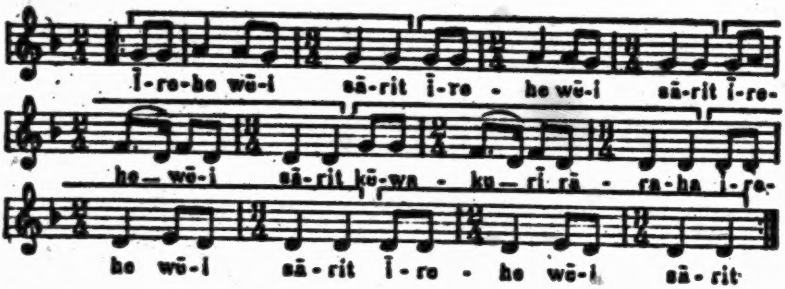
dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used 787
fox skins in hypnotizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running 533*
Scout always wore a fox skin in the Ghost dance. The skin was not [292]
made into a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and
hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested
on his shoulder. He also gave the call of the fox while he was [201]
dancing.

No. 58. Running Scout's Ghost Dance Song

(Catalogue No. 1088) 533*

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 96
Drum not recorded


Ī-re-he wū-i sā-rit Ī-re - he wū-i sā-rit Ī-re-
he — wū-i sā-rit kō-wa - ku — rī rā - ra-ha Ī-re-
he wū-i sā-rit Ī-re - he wū-i sā-rit

Irehe	wūi	sārit	kōwaku	rī	rāraha
Now there	they	are	fox	they	have

Analysis.—This song, like others of the hand game and Ghost dance, consists of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. In this instance there are two units, the second occurring only in the middle part of the song. It is interesting to compare the third measure from the beginning with the second measure from the close, the ascent to the accented tone in the first instance expressing a certain restlessness while the second phrase is more restful. This song contains the minor triad and fourth and progresses chiefly by whole tones.

The final song of this group is concerning the Ghost dance and, 575
according to Mr. Murie, was sung in the Young Dog Society. The 668
words "the father's child" refer to the messiah whose coming was 796
expected in the Ghost dance.

Analysis.—The three renditions of this song are alike in every respect except that the intonation on D in the upper octave is variable, occasionally being sung almost as D sharp. The time was maintained steadily and the renditions were separated by

262 796 that spoons are carried instead of sticks. Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, buffalo meat was used with a less formal procedure. The Skidi form of feast is now found among many tribes.

174 177 648 796 The whip bearers are probably of Omaha or Osage origin for in that tribe they are the police officers of a ceremony. The bearing of a sword is probably due to Pawnee influence, at least it was original with them. Once when at Washington, D. C., each Pawnee chief was presented with a sword for his aid (p. 557) which thenceforth became the badge of office. Some of the aids carried their swords to battle and counted coup with them. Later, the Pawnee scouts in the United States service carried swords and when discharged those who had struck enemies retained them. Now in the iruska all having struck enemies with tomahawks could demonstrate in the dance; so the bearers of swords came to have the same privileges.

THE GHOST DANCE.

668 796 According to the Pawnee, the ghost dance religion first came to the Arapaho, thence to the Cheyenne, the Kiowa and Comanche and finally to the Wichita.

787 In 1890 it was rumored among the Pawnee that a Messiah had appeared to an Indian somewhere in the mountains and that all the dead Indian people would return to the earth. The story was that a Paiute Indian had died and was taken up to the top of a high mountain and laid out. After he had lain there four days, he revived and came down from the mountain. He told his people that while he was on the mountain his spirit had traveled in a strange and beautiful country; that on his journey he crossed a small stream of clear water and came to a cedar tree where he saw handkerchiefs of every color and all sorts of feathers. At the base of the tree he saw several pipes and different kinds of paint. He took a white cotton handkerchief and some of the red earth. He went on and as he neared a mound he saw someone standing there, clad in white and purple robes. This person had long hair, parted in the middle. He held out his hands to show the cuts in them, but did not look up. The man saw that he was the Messiah, the white man's Jesus, the son of the Father in the Heavens. The man noted by his manner that he wanted him to pass by for he did not speak, so he passed on his left and went on. Presently he saw in a valley an Indian village, extending along the whole bottom.

As he neared the village of tipis he noticed a man approaching. When they met he found the man was his father who embraced him and took him into the village. On the outskirts of the village he saw men playing javelin

games. The old men were playing with the big hoops and sticks; the boys 668
with rings and sticks. He also saw some women playing with baskets and 796
plum seeds and others playing with staves. He could not understand the
speech of these people. When the two came to a tipi they entered and there 787
the dead man saw his dead relatives, mothers, aunts, uncles, brothers, and sisters. The old people sitting near the entrance, he was told, were his grandparents. He was given food and after eating he was told to watch the people who were dancing.

His father took him to the dancing ground. When they arrived, he saw the people dancing in a circle. The dancers were all painted and each wore feathers. Finally, he joined in the dance and learned some of their songs. While dancing he saw people acting queerly and seemingly possessed with a spirit. There were seven singers and two men with long poles acted as soldiers, but took no part in the dancing. Some men inside the ring ran from one person to another finally downing some of the people. These were mesmerizing one another. One man came to him, blew his breath upon his breast, embraced him, and finally blew his breath into his mouth, at which the newcomer fell into a trance. He arose quickly, however, and joined in the dance. He danced a long time until the man who had hypnotized him took him to one side and said, "Brother, you are now possessed with our power. You must return to your people and start this dance among them. Tell them you have seen the Messiah, the Son of the Father in the Heavens. He is leading us to your people. They must dance so they will also receive the power you now possess. We know you are living. Whatever you saw at the tree is yours. Give the red earth you find in the mountains to your people, let them paint their faces before they dance. Tell them of the Messiah and let them mourn as you now see these people do. We mourn for you and your people must mourn also. When you have started this dance among your people you will be able to come to us any time and we will teach you more about our ways. People will come to you from all over the country and you must tell them what you now see. This religion is for Indian people. The spirit will be sent to you. You must now return to your people."

The man then revived and went down from the mountain to his people. Night overtook him as he reached a valley. As he was going through some bulrushes trying to find a bed, he saw someone coming towards him on a mule. He saw that it was the same Messiah he had seen while in a trance. This time the one on the mule said, "My son, what you saw is all true. Tell your people, that I sent you, that my spirit will be with them." Then he disappeared. The man then made a bed of rushes and lay down. The next morning he arose and went on to his home.

668 796 The people were frightened by his return, but when he told his story they rejoiced. Four days after he told them to prepare for a dance. When they were all standing around in a circle, with hands joined, he told his story. Then he began to sing and all moved around in a circle and began to have queer feelings, shivering all through their bodies. When the prophet shouted, some of the weaker ones fell into a trance. Sometimes when he waved the cotton handkerchief at some of them they would go down while others danced on. Some who began to mourn, cried out, holding their hands towards the skies and cried and cried; seemingly they could not stop crying.

This dance was carried on by the Paiute in Nevada until a northern Indian came to visit them. The story is told that this northern Indian had lost his child and was wandering over the country when he finally came to the dance and there was able to see his lost child through the prophet, Jack Wilson. He also saw their strange doings and got the story from Jack Wilson, who claimed that he knew beforehand that he was coming. This northern Indian returned to his people and told them about the new religion. He claimed that he himself had seen the Messiah in the mountains, that he also had seen his own dead relatives, that the Messiah had talked to him and that through the Messiah he had seen the dead people. So a party of four men, Badger, a Sioux, Sitting-bull, a Northern Arapaho, and two others went to Nevada to visit the prophet.

When these men arrived at Walker Lake, they found Jack Wilson and his Indians dancing. They made him some presents and asked to see the Messiah and their dead relatives to which Wilson replied, "Go and dance with my people and you will see all you want to see." These men joined in the dance. In a few days they too fell into a trance and saw the Messiah and their dead relatives.

These four men then went north to their homes; Badger, the Sioux went to the Standing Rock Agency and started the dance. Sitting-bull, instead of going to his own people, the Northern Arapaho, came into Oklahoma. This was about 1890. Here he started the ghost dance among the Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne. Soon the news spread among the Wichita, Kiowa, and Comanche. At this time a young Pawnee Indian, Frank White, living among the Wichita, joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream, the tree, the Messiah, and then the village of people. He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in Pawnee. The first song was as follows: —

539 668 796
Wey rey hey iri si ra.
Now you are coming.

Weyti ku wa tura wa hey.
I am longing for the village (kingdom).

539
668
796

Wey ri hey iri si ra.
Now you are coming.

A sicks u wey ta tu ta hi i.
And now I place my spirit upon you.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-bull. 668 796

In the fall of 1892, Frank White came among the Pawnee and told his story to a few of his friends. He selected a few young men to whom he taught some of his own songs and also some Arapaho songs. As soon as they could sing a few songs they went to a camp to dance. There were about five singers, four women, and three boys. They selected a space east of the camp and started to dance. Whenever the prophet shouted, the dancers dropped to the ground in a trance. Some of the dancers began to mourn and others shook all over, for a mysterious spirit took possession of them. Then they danced a short time. The prophet told them of his experiences. He told the people that if they made up their minds to dance and see the Messiah, and their dead relatives, they would fall and see them; that the principal thing in the dance was to mourn and be humble in spirit. He then sent them home.

The next day, the people told of the dance they had and how they trembled and fell. The chiefs of the different bands took it up and set a day for the people to make their camp circle on Camp Creek. When the people had made camp, the chiefs met in council and invited the prophet. They asked that he start a dance and tell the people about the new religion. The prophet consented. A special tipi was set up for the prophet where he was to stay with the singers. The next day the prophet sent two of the singers through the camp to get some paint of all colors from each tipi. This paint was taken to the prophet who gave orders that all who wanted to dance must come into the tipi and have their faces painted. Each Indian now took presents to the tipi and was then painted. The singers painted their faces. Everybody was ready. The prophet went out of the lodge, the others following. They came to an open space where the prophet and singers joined hands and stood in a circle and sang. The people in the village came out of their tipis and ran to the circle. Some did not get into the ring for the unknown spirit took possession of them and stopped them. They raised their hands to the skies and began to cry. In the ring the dancers began to tremble; some seemed crazy. When the prophet went to them, they fell to the ground. Late in the evening they quit dancing, and then feasted.

668 786 796 After they had eaten they danced again until ten o'clock. Men and women returned to their tipis, mourning and crying and having shaking fits. About five o'clock they began to dance again. This time there were about four men and three women who seemed to be trembling badly. They ran around the camp crying, "I do not want you, go away from me." About the third day, one of the women fell and lay on the ground about five minutes and then sat up. She began to cry and finally her crying turned into a song. One man went to her and she told what she had seen while she lay on the ground. The fourth day a young man fell and lay upon the ground all night. When he came to, he ran to the prophet's tipi and told what he had seen. The prophet ordered that all the people go upon a hill and hear the young man tell his story. This was about eight o'clock in the evening. When all the people were on the hill, standing in a line facing west, the young man was told to sit down in front of them, the village crier went and sat beside him. The young man told the following story:

> 668 786 787 796 When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I felt a queer sensation passing through my body. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, "My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people." I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me, and said, "My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing." So we went on and there in the center of the village, our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying upon the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw.

668 786 796 The people went to him and as each person took hold of his hand, he either fell or began to tremble. After this four men were selected to smoke to the dead people. After the smoke everyone began to cry. Then the prophet and the new prophet ran around among the people throwing them

down upon the ground. After the excitement they all went back to camp 668
and danced until ten o'clock that night. The next morning all joined the
dance again. This time a woman entered the ring and began to act as if 786
crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and 796
strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, "That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth." Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit. The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right.

While the Wichita had been indifferent to the teachings of White, the 668
Pawnee soon became enthusiasts. White went first to the Pitahauirata
village and began his ceremonies, where at once a few had the trances. As 796
the news spread, the chiefs of all the Pawnee villages met to see demonstrations and discuss the movement. Two days were given over to dancing. The first camp was broken up by a fire, a tipi catching fire ignited the grass and destroyed much property; but undismayed a new camp was formed. Many persons went into trances, while many were alarmed at the intensity of the phenomenon. White then demonstrated his power by putting bystanders into trances by touching them. Finally he closed the demonstration by a spectacular race. Taking his position in the center, the converts around in a circle, he caused them to fall at will.

After this, practically the whole of the Pawnee were under White's influence. Dances were almost continuous during the winter and the following summer. Infatuated with the belief in the immediate destruction of the world, they planted no crops and threw away their property. Natur-
ally, they became sullen and disobedient to their Agent, resulting in the [648]
arrest of White by United States marshals.

This excited the Indians greatly and almost caused hostilities. In the meantime the Oto had taken up the Pawnee dance and also threatened to go on the warpath. Owing to the skill of their Agent, the Pawnee were quieted and White released. He himself did what he could to develop the movement into a less militant religion. To do this he magnified the Christian elements. There was opposition for a time for all the old Pawnee [756]
medicinemen took the trances as forms of the powers formerly exercised by the animal lodges (p. 602) and began a vigorous revival, each setting himself up as a prophet and seeking to outdo the others. White died in 1893, after which the strength and unity of the religion quickly disappeared among the many rival prophets.

This Pawnee ceremony seems to have been largely original with White

668 and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring
tribes. It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the
796 fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after
White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony.
[177] According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances
could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days.
There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair
and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions
of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now
[346] regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula,
a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple.
[361] Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost
dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center
toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise, the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical
[787] belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed
out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost
dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog
[524] dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the iruska. Some time after 1904
the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a
devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated. The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general
fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for
these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their
hereditary sides of north and south.

THE PEYOTE.

About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned
276 something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the
794 buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they
practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho
taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued
a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to
[177] him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and
gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian
conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked
with Christ.

The Pawnee version of the revivalist Ghost Dance religion was in full force. Through it the people 668 hoped that the new would be swept away and old conditions return. It 796 was invested with many of the old and rich Pawnee ceremonial constructs that were vividly recalled in memory and in visions. As one of their fond remembrances, they thought of the old Hand Game, and this became the framework for a new and elaborate ceremonial synthesis of old religious patterns. With the beginning of the twentieth century, the religious [778] elements diminished in importance.

In World War I and again in World War II, the Pawnees for whom de- 648 fense of country had always been a leitmotif enlisted generously, and 177 their war veterans became an important element of modern Pawnee life. Following World War II and their extensive contacts abroad, a considerable number of Pawnees availed themselves of the educational benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights, acquiring college degrees and specialized professional training.

The Pawnee powwow held in the beginning of July, when the Pawnees 527 used to leave on their summer buffalo hunt, takes place at Pawnee, 177 Oklahoma. It is a colorful combination of traditional and adapted Indian dances and music under the auspices of the Pawnee war veterans. The Pawnees, from wherever their lives have taken them, come by car, train, or plane to this their homecoming, where there is a brief period of camping in tents and cooking over an open fire or a charcoal grill, renewing social contacts and kin reminiscences. The rest of the year's round is in another place and in the present, just as the old people had envisioned their future.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Pawnee NQ18
Winnebago NP12

N
W
171 and Kiowa. Mooney was present at a palaver at which a Kiowa reported upon his visit to Wovoka. The Kiowa was told by the Paiute prophet to stop dancing; consequently, he branded the Plains Ghost Dance leaders as frauds. "Sitting Bull insisted on the truth of his own representations, and when accused by A'peatan of deceiving the Indians in order to obtain their property, he replied that he had never asked them for ponies which they had given him. . . ." (p. 914). Another Arapaho leader, Black Coyote, appeared to Mooney to be a man who "wishes to be a great priest and medicine man. At the same time he keeps a sharp lookout for his temporal affairs and has managed to accumulate considerable property" and three wives. He was leader of the Ghost Dance and other Indian ceremonies, tribal delegate to Washington, captain of Indian police and county deputy sheriff. He repeatedly asked Mooney "to get him a permanent license . . . to enable him to visit the various reservations at will as a general evangel of Indian medicine and ceremony" (pp. 897–898).

P
668
797
P
[276]
[431]
[578] Lesser's (pp. 60–76) data on the Pawnee Ghost Dance leave no doubt that Frank White, its introducer, used the dance for personal aggrandizement. Some of his special doctrines and practices were the following: he was sole authentic prophet; he demanded payment for use of designs seen in visions; he sold all paraphernalia; he was paid for the privilege of holding dances; a small face painting by him cost $5.00. In spite of his eating peyote and drinking whiskey, the Ghost Dancers lavished gifts, money, and pretty girls on him. The revolt against him seemed to result partly from jealousy of his wealth.

N
W
171 The leader of the Caddo Ghost Dance was John Wilson, who was also a shaman and a peyotist.[78] The fact that Wilson later modified the peyote cult in order to collect hundreds of dollars certainly places him in the class of proselyters for gain par excellence. La Barre (p. 158) tells of the wealth he received and makes a classic understatement: "The economic motive seems evident in much of Wilson's behavior."

Except for the case of John Wilson, missionary to the Shawnee, Quapaw, Caddo, Delaware, Osage, Potawatomi, and others, the literature contains but few direct statements suggesting that financial gain motivated agents to spread the peyote cult.[79] However, the very fact that peyote is universally considered to be a cure and that leaders are often looked upon similarly to shamans suggests that carriers of the cult could have been paid for their services. A great many other Indians are known to have proselyted beyond their own tribes.

Wi
[795]
[797] The Winnebago, John Rave, went to South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to preach the new religion after establishing the cult among his own people in Nebraska. A Kiowa, Jim Aton, a famous peyote doctor, held meetings for the Creek, Yuchi, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Mescalero-Apache, and Quapaw; also whites and Mexicans.[80] Have these men and other famous proselyters spread the gospel of peyote solely out of love for their fellow men? No doctrine of the peyote cult commands members to go forth and convert other tribes.

That believers have gone out to spread the cult because of possible economic gain is established in the case of Ben Lancaster. It is almost impossible to conclude that Leo Okio and Lone Bear had no other ideas than religion when they held meetings in Nevada. My Uintah Ute informants accused the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, of spreading peyotism for money, and when the members were broke, he did not

---

[78] Mooney, 1896*b*, 914–915; La Barre, 1938, 65, 151; Petrullo, 1934, 158.

[79] La Barre; Schultes, 1938.

[80] La Barre, 52, fn. 114.

VI. CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

In general the punishment of crime was in the hands of the one aggrieved or of his family. 681

MURDER

The slaying without due provocation of an individual in a personal encounter was avenged by the dead man's relatives, who usually inflicted fatal wounds upon the murderer. If the murderer's family thought that the murder had been committed with just cause they might defend him, in which case a general feud between the two families might ensue. In slaying a murderer, the avenging group made no attempt to employ the same weapon or use it in the same manner as had the murderer. It was enough that he should be killed. Apparently one of the worst crimes one could commit was causing a man's death by shooting a magic "arrow" into his body. 682 [754]

RAPE

Occupying a high place among crimes was that of rape, which did not depend upon consent or lack of consent but upon the age of the girl. The offender was generally punished by being cut with knives, pounded with clubs, and then driven from the tribe as an outcast. In cases of rape it was a rule that the family of the accused should not attempt to shield him from punishment. 684

ADULTERY

A less serious crime was that of adultery, punishment for which was inflicted largely because one had stolen something not belonging to him. It was said: "No matter how brave a man may be, he is not brave when his property (wife) is stolen"; that is, no matter how great his self-restraint and control, spoken of as bravery, he always punished such a crime. Here also there was no attempt on the part of his family or friends to come to his rescue. A severer form of adultery was that in which a man went outside his own village, in which case he might be punished both by the family of the woman in the village where the crime had been committed, and by his own village. He was driven out until he had consecrated many animals, gone on the warpath, taken scalps and offered them to the deities, and waited for the New Fire Ceremony to be held.

THEFT

A thief was one who stole from the members of his own band. 685
[The manuscript is not clear as to whether it was considered per-

VI. CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

In general the punishment of crime was in the hands of the one aggrieved or of his family. 681

Murder

The slaying without due provocation of an individual in a personal encounter was avenged by the dead man's relatives, who usually inflicted fatal wounds upon the murderer. If the murderer's family thought that the murder had been committed with just cause they might defend him, in which case a general feud between the two families might ensue. In slaying a murderer, the avenging group made no attempt to employ the same weapon or use it in the same manner as had the murderer. It was enough that he should be killed. Apparently one of the worst crimes one could commit was causing a man's death by shooting a magic "arrow" into his body. 682 [754]

Rape

Occupying a high place among crimes was that of rape, which did not depend upon consent or lack of consent but upon the age of the girl. The offender was generally punished by being cut with knives, pounded with clubs, and then driven from the tribe as an outcast. In cases of rape it was a rule that the family of the accused should not attempt to shield him from punishment. 684

Adultery

A less serious crime was that of adultery, punishment for which was inflicted largely because one had stolen something not belonging to him. It was said: "No matter how brave a man may be, he is not brave when his property (wife) is stolen"; that is, no matter how great his self-restraint and control, spoken of as bravery, he always punished such a crime. Here also there was no attempt on the part of his family or friends to come to his rescue. A severer form of adultery was that in which a man went outside his own village, in which case he might be punished both by the family of the woman in the village where the crime had been committed, and by his own village. He was driven out until he had consecrated many animals, gone on the warpath, taken scalps and offered them to the deities, and waited for the New Fire Ceremony to be held.

Theft

A thief was one who stole from the members of his own band. 685
[The manuscript is not clear as to whether it was considered per-

early intimacy would ultimately end in a marriage according to the 836
rites of the tribe, but the girl was not allowed to exercise much choice [582]
in the selection of a husband.

Occasionally it happened that a boy and girl eluded the vigilance
of the parents and lay together. If detected, this was at once
checked. Should the girl become pregnant as a result of their union,
and should the girl's relatives be predisposed to the boy and think
him likely to become a good husband, he was asked to marry her.
The relatives of the young man gathered together and sent presents [584]
of ponies, robes, blankets, and other things to the girl's parents, and
the two young people were married. If the boy was not considered 836
suitable, however, two men were sent to his lodge and he was severely 684
beaten, and on rare occasions died as a result of the punishment. 578
During the beating, tribal custom decreed that the boy's relatives
must not defend him. The young man's parents sometimes tried
to heal the breach between the two families by offering presents
to the parents of the injured girl. If the girl's relatives refused to
accept the boy for a son-in-law, they attempted to secure a husband
for her, which was often a matter of great difficulty. Sometimes the
girl refused to tell the name of the boy who had seduced her and was
driven from her own lodge, in which case she generally went to the
boy's lodge and tried to live there; if they drove her out, she might [548]
be forced to live on the outskirts of the village as a prostitute. Often
if a boy knew that he was about to be held responsible for betraying a [721]
girl he would run away, especially to follow a war party. Occasionally
a couple, realizing their union would displease their relatives,
eloped to some other village. The illicit sexual relations of young
people often resulted in family disputes and conflicts involving most
of the relatives on both sides.

MARRIAGE

Marriage among the Skidi was not entered into lightly or at an 581
early age. The marriage tie was said to be enduring and faithfulness
was expected and demanded. Skidi villages tended to be endogamous 582
and a man married a woman of his own village, to whom he was
not related by close ties of blood. Marriage with a first cousin was
forbidden and marriage with a second cousin, though tolerated,
was not considered proper.

Courtship as we understand it did not play a very important 584
part in marriages among the higher class of Skidi. In fact, no friendship
that might have been formed between a young couple ever
resulted in legal marriage unless the proper relatives of both sides

VI. CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

In general the punishment of crime was in the hands of the one aggrieved or of his family. 681

MURDER

The slaying without due provocation of an individual in a personal encounter was avenged by the dead man's relatives, who usually inflicted fatal wounds upon the murderer. If the murderer's family thought that the murder had been committed with just cause they might defend him, in which case a general feud between the two families might ensue. In slaying a murderer, the avenging group made no attempt to employ the same weapon or use it in the same manner as had the murderer. It was enough that he should be killed. Apparently one of the worst crimes one could commit was causing a man's death by shooting a magic "arrow" into his body. 682 [754]

RAPE

Occupying a high place among crimes was that of rape, which did not depend upon consent or lack of consent but upon the age of the girl. The offender was generally punished by being cut with knives, pounded with clubs, and then driven from the tribe as an outcast. In cases of rape it was a rule that the family of the accused should not attempt to shield him from punishment. 684 ●

ADULTERY

A less serious crime was that of adultery, punishment for which was inflicted largely because one had stolen something not belonging to him. It was said: "No matter how brave a man may be, he is not brave when his property (wife) is stolen"; that is, no matter how great his self-restraint and control, spoken of as bravery, he always punished such a crime. Here also there was no attempt on the part of his family or friends to come to his rescue. A severer form of adultery was that in which a man went outside his own village, in which case he might be punished both by the family of the woman in the village where the crime had been committed, and by his own village. He was driven out until he had consecrated many animals, gone on the warpath, taken scalps and offered them to the deities, and waited for the New Fire Ceremony to be held.

THEFT

A thief was one who stole from the members of his own band. 685
[The manuscript is not clear as to whether it was considered per-

VI. CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

In general the punishment of crime was in the hands of the one 681
aggrieved or of his family.

MURDER

The slaying without due provocation of an individual in a personal encounter was avenged by the dead man's relatives, who usually inflicted fatal wounds upon the murderer. If the murderer's family thought that the murder had been committed with just cause they might defend him, in which case a general feud between the two families might ensue. In slaying a murderer, the avenging group made no attempt to employ the same weapon or use it in the same manner as had the murderer. It was enough that he should be killed. 682
Apparently one of the worst crimes one could commit was causing a man's death by shooting a magic "arrow" into his body. [154]

RAPE

Occupying a high place among crimes was that of rape, which did not depend upon consent or lack of consent but upon the age of the girl. The offender was generally punished by being cut with knives, pounded with clubs, and then driven from the tribe as an outcast. In cases of rape it was a rule that the family of the accused should not attempt to shield him from punishment. 684

ADULTERY

A less serious crime was that of adultery, punishment for which was inflicted largely because one had stolen something not belonging to him. It was said: "No matter how brave a man may be, he is not brave when his property (wife) is stolen"; that is, no matter how great his self-restraint and control, spoken of as bravery, he always punished such a crime. Here also there was no attempt on the part of his family or friends to come to his rescue. A severer form of adultery was that in which a man went outside his own village, in which case he might be punished both by the family of the woman in the village where the crime had been committed, and by his own village. He was driven out until he had consecrated many animals, gone on the warpath, taken scalps and offered them to the deities, and waited for the New Fire Ceremony to be held.

THEFT

A thief was one who stole from the members of his own band. 685
[The manuscript is not clear as to whether it was considered per-

685 missible to steal from another Pawnee band.] Such a person was whipped or beaten by the aggrieved. It is said that those of the upper class did not desire to steal, while those of the lower class were restrained by fear of detection. Occasionally women of the lower classes robbed the corn fields. Poor people, especially those who did not own ponies and hence were handicapped in the buffalo chase, sometimes would find a dead buffalo with the arrow which had killed the animal. They would remove the arrow, shoot it off a long distance, and insert their own. When the one who had killed the buffalo returned to claim his property his mark of ownership had been destroyed. All arrows bore special property signs, being marked either with distinctive paints or by the arrangement of the feathers. It is said, however, that it was not easy to steal a buffalo in this manner, for it usually fell on the side where it had been struck by the arrow of the slayer[?]. The end of the arrow would be broken off and it would be difficult to extract.

565

421

To steal from another tribe was in no way contrary to prevailing ethics, though the one who stole ponies was supposed to use them to assist him in getting buffalo and scalps to sacrifice to the deities.

of life in the waters and upon earth, the villages were plunged into 221
a round of activities. The young men got ready to go on the warpath, 796
and all their moccasins, garments and weapons had to be put in 668
order. The women made the moccasins, and helped them in other
ways to prepare. Meanwhile the games had begun among children 178
and adults. As the time neared for the departure of the war parties, the great war society dances and performances were held. A visitor to the villages at this season would have been directly impressed with three phases of the outdoor scene: the work of individuals, in view here and there; the games; and the spectacular and colorful dances of the warriors before their departure. These aspects of Pawnee life, being old and familiar, dominated the imagery of the Ghost Dance visions.

NEW CULTURAL FORMS

The Ghost Dance proved not only a force for cultural revival, 178
but with a return to the past as an inspirational source and guide, 796
and vision sanctions as immediate drives, the doctrine was an impetus to cultural development. Several noteworthy forms are on record. The Ghost Dance ceremonial forms themselves have already been described. The rapid development of the many Ghost Dance hand game ceremonies were the most striking development and reintegration of the old and new; these form the subject of the entire second part of this study and need not concern us here. In [276
addition the development of the modern iruska, or new war dance, 431]
among all four bands, a form of social gathering for feasting and gift-giving; and the spread of the peyote ritual, began at this period.[1]

---

[1] An anecdote told by Murie (Ceremonies of the Pawnee, in press, Bureau of Ethnology) indicates in a lighter vein, the freedom to make ritual changes which came with the Ghost Dance doctrine, and the occasional results: "It is said that in 1893, the husband of the Skull bundle keeper, a rather young man, took a notion he would shell the corn for the people and distribute it in a new way. He gathered some men, shelled the ear of corn from [787
the bundle, and distributed it himself. The people remonstrated, but he told 688]
them he had had a vision and was going to do just as he was told. In June he started to Wichita Mountains. When he got about 35 miles south of Pawnee (it was very hot and dry; the dust was about five inches thick) his wagon broke down and he had to stay there several days, but at last got his wheels repaired and started out again. Travelling was very hard. The old woman who was keeper of the Skull Bundle, struck him on the back and said, 'You will shell corn, will you. See what you have done.' That year the crops burned up, it was so hot."

24

CAMP 11—AT THE BUFFALO HUNTING GROUNDS

000

Camp Established—Formal Precision Necessary for Hunt—Religious Considerations—the Council Tent—Plan of Attack—Sympathetic Magic

AT THIS TIME OF YEAR the main buffalo herd was moving eastward down the Republican River. When they had set up camp at the confluence of Turkey Creek and the Republican, they would be within two miles of the north bank and often within sight of the herd itself. The whole operation now took on a much more formal turn involving the whole encampment. At the council tent of each of the bands that night, a special group of military police was set up to make sure that no hunter went out individually and disturbed the herd, and that absolute quiet was maintained in the camp itself among the women and children as well as the men. Children must be soothed and prevented from crying, dogs muzzled and wood chopping done only when the herd was not within hearing distance. The individual hunter who violated these rules and went among the herd was beaten over the head with a heavy club and sometimes severely injured. The attack upon the herd was their main objective and it had to be accomplished with precision, for they had to be back at the villages by September first when the south star Canopus was in the sky—the signal for the beginning of their harvest. 224* 224* 626 [625] [689]

In addition to these practical considerations, there were religious factors that gave form to their operations. A large part of the preserved meat, particularly the long steaks along the backbone of the buffalo, would be pledged to the performance of their sacred ceremonies. Feasting on the meat was an essential phase of every important ceremony. This was the food that Heaven had sent, and it was fitting that sharing it in a feast should be part of their devotions. The creation story that was 224* 574 796 000

625 armed with his special club, rode back and forth in front of the council tent waiting for White Eagle to lead off the hunt. His club or whip 625 (see Figure 26-1) was of hickory, 3 feet long, 4 inches wide and 411 wedge-shaped, with the thick back edge about an inch and a half wide, sloping down to the thin edge that had teeth cut into it. Through a hole in the handle end was a rawhide strap so that the club could be hung over the wrist and another hole near the head held several strips of rawhide for whipping.

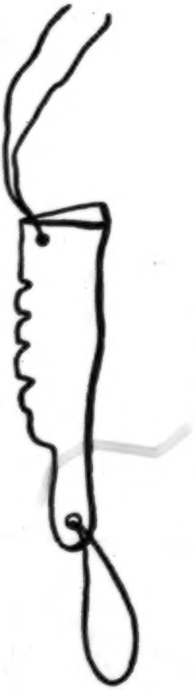


FIGURE 26-1. The whip or warclub, *tahipirus-tax karax-kitawa*, "whip-teeth-upon it," carried by the "Hunt Police." Made of hickory it is 3 feet long, 4 inches wide, with the back of the unserrated edge being about 1½ inches thick, sloping to the thin toothed edge. The rawhide loop allowed it to be hung on the wrist. The strips of rawhide at the top for whipping were usually plain, but sometimes striped or covered with white clay. (The dimensions and the drawing were supplied by informants.)

*224 A group of Tsawi once tried to anticipate the tribal attack on the herd •689 and were severely whipped. The leader of the party was beaten over the 625 head with the club until he lay unconscious and his head was bleeding. When he appealed to Man Chief, he was told that it was "the law" and that he had to submit to his punishment. At a later time, the Tsawi police had a chance for reprisal on some Skidi hunters who were struck across the mouth with the rawhide whip, as their infringement was not at such a critical phase of the hunt. The only escape from such a beating was to take sanctuary on a buffalo wallow—if the culprit could find one in time.

of the government program to make the Pawnee self-maintaining 175*
farmers, to induce them to labor at manual pursuits, building their 648*
own houses, repairing their own implements, wagons and harness, 657
and to give them the management of the freighting of their own
supplies. In the later years a measure of self-government was introduced [698]
in the form of the Court of Indian Offenses.

Under the reservation system the only governmental authority 175*
was that of the Department of Indian Affairs, which, through the 648*
Department of the Interior, was part of the executive branch of 657
the United States government. Laws and acts of Congress prescribed 698
the manner in which the Department and its agencies were run,
but for ordinary legal purposes on the reservation the agent in charge was sole arbiter. As soon as practicable a Court of Indian Offenses, by means of which the Indians adjudicated their own affairs, was instituted on an Indian reservation. Up to 1887 the tribes of the Pawnee agency, including the Pawnee, Ponca, Oto and the Tonkawa, preferred to bring their troubles to the agent and accept his decision as final. In 1889 the Pawnee asked that a court of their own be established, and this was done December 1 of that year. The court was composed of three Pawnee judges, who sat the 3rd and 23rd of each month to hear cases on file. The proceedings were written down by a clerk. When the case had been heard each judge gave his decision, and the agreement of two carried. In the first year it functioned, the Pawnee Court of Indian Offenses tried twenty-four cases. These involved the settlement of Indian estates, the adjustment of debts, destruction of property, drunkenness and divorce. The Court continued to function until 1893 when the Pawnee, with the breaking up of their reservation became citizens of the United States and subject to Territorial Law.
Along with the Court and its jurisdiction went the organization [625]
of the Indian Police. Earlier, in Nebraska, a force of Pawnee had at intervals policed the tribe. At first they were subject to the will of the chiefs, later they were directly responsible to the agent. In Oklahoma the force of eight policemen was responsible for the arrest and handling of those who came before the Court of Indian Offenses. Judges and policemen were paid small salaries by the government.

The disintegration of the old Pawnee culture which took place 175*
in the period from 1876 to 1892 was in part a correlative of the 648*
change in their economic and material life: in part however it was 178
stimulated by direct government attack upon specific customs and
ways. 622

Of their social and political life the power and control of the 657

at the time of the Ghost Dance faith. As time went by Indians 648
and white farmers resorted to various subterfuges to get around 557
the ruling that certain lands they held could not be leased. The 427
Indian would claim that he was employing a white man and 175
intended to pay him, but when harvest time came, instead of the
Indian paying the white farmer money, the white farmer gave the
Indian a part of the crop.

The immediate results of the lease system were two-fold: on
the one hand, for the first time in their lives the Pawnee had plenty
of money; on the other hand, they had to make no effort at all to
support themselves. In 1897 the Pawnee leases brought an income 434
of $ 12,114.95. In 1900 the income of the tribe from their annuity
($ 30,000), interest on their two trust funds (from the sale of the
Nebraska reservation; and from the sale of the surplus Oklahoma 161
lands); and leases, was over $ 75,000. In that year the population
had dwindled to 650, so that the per capita income was about 511
$ 116 or the income of the average family of five close to $ 600
annually, a substantial and adequate income in 1900 on the Oklahoma
frontier.

Year by year the Pawnee labored less and less on their own lands; 175
in 1904 their self-maintenance was 42 per cent from their annuity 461
and interests, 43 per cent from leases, and 15 per cent from "labor
in civilized pursuits." By 1899 the agents had fully realized the 657
extent of the blunder which had been made; they were aware that
the Pawnee could not be made to labor when he had all he needed
without it, and pointed out in their reports that white men would
have acted in the same way.

Along with the disappearance of all demands upon them to be
self-reliant and self-maintaining, the Pawnee were stripped of their
last outlets for self management. Leases were made not by the 427
Indian but by the agent; lease money was paid not to the Indian
but to the agent. All that the Indian had to do was to draw his
income. At the same time with the change of status to citizens, 698
the function of the Court of Indian Offenses vanished, and the
court was abolished April 21, 1894; the Indian police were disbanded 625
in October of the same year.

Temporarily with their increased income, the living conditions 175
of the Pawnee improved; they ate better, they dressed better, and 511
they lived better. But the idleness which had come to them 161
was in keeping with their desire during these years to congregate
in encampments for Ghost Dances and other performances, so that
they leased their houses with their lands and made shift to live
here or there as the occasion demanded. During these years there

*796 [70] Every Pawnee village keeps certain men on the lookout to give notice of the approach of strangers. As soon as the Hako party was recognized one of these men ran with the news to the village. The Son at once dispatched his messenger, bidding him go to the Fathers and say, "I am ready."

As soon as the Fathers discerned the messenger hastening toward them, the Ku'rahus sent two men to meet him and conduct him to the Hako party.

A cushion was placed for him to sit upon and a bowl of buffalo meat was given him. While he ate, the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief, holding the sacred objects, sang the first stanza of this song.

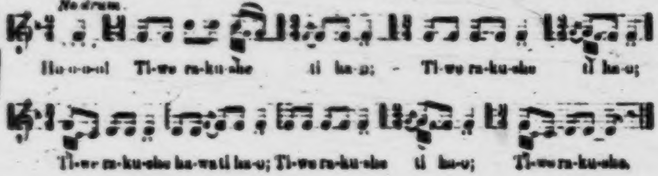
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*539
*796
[*533]


Ho-o-o-o! Ti-we ra-ku-she ti ha-o; Ti-we ra-ku-she ti ha-o;
Ti-we ra-ku-she ha-wa ti ha-o; Ti-we ra-ku-she ti ha-o; Ti-we ra-ku-she.

I

353 Ho-o-o-o!
354 Tiwe rakushe ti hao;
355 Tiwe rakushe ti hao;
356 Tiwe rakushe hawa ti hao;
357 Tiwe rakushe ti hao;
358 Tiwe rakushe.

II

359 Ho-o-o-o!
360 Tiwe riata ti hao;
361 Tiwe riata ti hao;
362 Tiwe riata hawa ti hao;
363 Tiwe riata ti hao;
364 Tiwe riata.

Translation of First Stanza

353 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
354 Tiwe rakushe ti hao.
tiwe, here.
rakushe, he sitting.
ti, my.
hao, my own child; my offspring.
355 See line 354.
356 Tiwe rakushe hawa ti hao.
tiwe, here.
rakushe, he sitting.
hawa, again.
ti, my.
hao, my own child.
357 See line 354.
358 Tiwe rakushe. See line 354.

annoyed by the Dakota. On July 19, 1867 the Pawnee left for 175*
the hunting grounds in company with the Omaha and Ponca. 648*
They intended to remain out hunting until near the end of September.
The Dakota were in the hunting territory in large numbers, 224
but did not offer to meet the Pawnee in open battle. They kept under cover until the Pawnee had made a surround, and as soon as the men were scattered out over the hunting field chasing the buffalo, the Sioux appeared, fell upon small parties of Pawnee hunters in different quarters of the field, and attacked the Pawnee camp. The Pawnee returned to the camp to defend their families, and after hours of fighting drove back the Dakota. In this way the day was spent in fighting, and the meat of the slain buffalo spoiled before it could be secured. Repeatedly this performance was carried out by the Dakota, and although the Pawnee and their allies found large herds, they secured little meat. Six Pawnee and two Ponca were slain in these encounters, and the tribes finally became discouraged at the continuous annoyance of these attacks, abandoned the hunt, and returned to their reservations with what they had.

The Union Pacific Railroad crossed the state of Nebraska at 175*
this time, and by railroad and highway the tide of emigration to 648*
the west was bringing settlers to all the watercourses in the buffalo country, cutting off the buffalo herds from their natural watering-places and limiting their range. The Pawnee observed these conditions when they went hunting, and were aware of the pending inevitable abandonment of the chase.

The Pawnee Scouts were reorganized under Major North in 1867, 175*
and cooperated with the United States Army forces in policing 648*
the line of the Union Pacific Railroad and in campaigning against
hostile Indian tribes. Pawnee readily chose such service because the 701
tribe considered itself an ally of the United States. But there were also strong cultural and economic incentives. The youths exchanged a life of relative inactivity on the reservation, with an insecure food supply, for the active life of a frontier soldier, which more nearly resembled the warrior life of old, and which offered regular rations and good pay. While the campaigns against the Dakota and other hostile Indian tribes were in progress, the Pawnee in the summer of 1869 were persuaded by military authorities to forego their usual hunt. The officials feared that the armies who ranged the buffalo country in pursuit of hostile Indians might mistake the Pawnee for the enemy.

In spite of the army campaigns the Pawnee suffered in 1870 175*
from raids by small Dakota war parties, which stole a number of 648*

*175
*648 and uneasy about their legal rights as to leasing after allotment, and
667 as to whether they would be subject to taxation, but it was felt
177 they could easily be reassured.

The greatest discouragement and check upon programs of a
*175 progressive nature, from the years of removal on, was the physical
*648 unsoundness of the Pawnee tribe. In 1876, after the removal, the Pawnee numbered 2,026; in 1892 at the close of this period, the
164 census listed 759. This tremendous decline, amounting to 62 per
161 cent in a period of sixteen years, was the result of many interacting causes. Laboring under a blight of diseases and ill health, with the pride of their stock dying at an inexplicable rate, and all more or less weakened and ailing, a hopelessness came into Pawnee life from which there was no escape. This hopelessness and despair
[178] caused a deterioration of their home life, indicated by officials' reference to "filthy habits" and an "indifference to the condition of body or clothing." Their ancient medical lore was of no avail; their ancient gods had apparently deserted them. It is to be marvelled at that something of their old spirit and energy remained, and that they accomplished what ~~they~~ did in Indian Territory.

The white man's diseases had attacked them in the north. Pulmonary and venereal diseases in particular had vitiated their ancient stamina. But in the north the people were in a climate and a region to which the native constitution was adjusted from centuries of inhabitation. Until the white man came the people lived a free outdoor life. They were active. Sedentary
[221] as their way of life made them, the tribe roamed abroad on the hunt five months of the year; at home they were in the field and the open. The population of the region was not heavy; they had
[166] unpolluted streams and springs. They moved their villages at intervals of about eight years, avoiding pestilence.

The Nebraska country was relatively high, and the climate dry. In the removal the people came into a more fertile but humid country. Malarial fevers began to afflict them. In the winter of 1876, their first in Oklahoma, fevers, combined with other illnesses, if we are to believe the recorded figures, amounted to a plague. From 2,026 in 1876 the tribe declined in one year to 1,521![1] The manner of their removal involved long and continuous exposure,
*175 and the conditions of life upon their arrival were unhealthy and
*648 hazardous. Grinnell reports the condition in which their great
701 friends, Major Frank North and his brother Luther, the organizers of the Pawnee scouts, found them in 1876 in Indian Territory. The

---

[1] Further and continuous declines the succeeding years indicate that no part of the tribe was accidentally omitted in the 1877 census.

brothers North had come to enlist a company of one hundred 175*
scouts. "They were without food, without clothing, without arms 648*
and without horses. Their sole covering consisted of cotton sheets, 701
which afforded no protection against cold and wet."[1] Every
able-bodied man wanted to answer North's call. Every man who
could wanted to get away from homes buried in suffering and
disease, and to change the monotonous, restricted, and inactive
life of the reservation for an active life in the army. Many who
were not taken by North marched after his force on foot as far as
Arkansas City, hoping to persuade him to enlist them.

Settled in camps of earth-lodges and tipis, with an inadequate 175*
food supply, insufficient clothing and no medical attention, inefficient 648*
and impotent officials remained satisfied for years to report 657
the mortality and ascribe it to filthy habits of life, and the climate. 164
Occasionally we hear that the people had poor protection from the
weather, and that in addition to tuberculosis, pneumonia carried off
a number.

A slight but temporary improvement in health took place in
1880 when for a season the food supply was adequate. The old [262]
men of the tribe said it was the first time in their lives that they
had all the potatoes and vegetables they could eat. The people
that fall looked well-nourished for the first time; the children fat
and healthy.

The houses built for the Pawnee, and by the Pawnee under
government instruction, made no sanitary provisions; as late as
1889 there were few if any outhouses, and luckily so, as the doctor
commented, since the Pawnee without guidance were likely to
construct them without vaults. As the people became settled in
separate homes, the absence of suitable drinking water became a [312]
fertile source of disease. There were no wells; they used water from
springs or creeks; they were not taught care in handling their
water supply, and never cleaned out the springs. Even at the
reservation school conditions for some years were bad.

In the reports, a doctor is first heard of in the tribe in 1881, but there are no indications of active medical aid until 1883. Then he began to teach them how to sink wells, and watch their water supply. He attributed fatalities in pneumonia cases to treatment by the native medicine men, and from this time forth there was a constant strife between the code of the medicine man and that of the agency physician. The diseases afflicting the tribe were ascribed to inherent taints, constitutional weakness, and inbreeding. It was not until 1897 that a Doctor Driesbach recognized that

---

[1] Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales, p. 300.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

727 *533 A woman's pleasure at the return of victorious warriors is expressed in the following song which was sung at the Scalp dances. Among the Pawnee, as in other tribes, the scalps of slain warriors were carried in the victory dance.

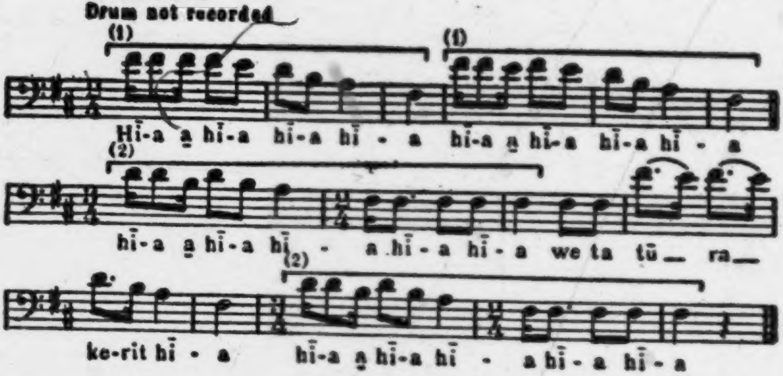
No. 35. "A Woman Welcomes the Warriors"

(Catalogue No. 1104)

*533

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 66
Drum not recorded


(1)
(1)
Hi-a a hi-a hi-a hi - a hi-a a hi-a hi-a hi - a
(2)
hi-a a hi - a hi - a hi - a hi - a we ta tû — ra —
(2)
ke-rit hi - a hi-a a hi-a hi - a hi - a hi - a

His	we	ta	tû	ra	kerit
A woman's exclamation of surprise	now	I	you	have	seen

TRANSLATION

Ah, now I have seen you.

Analysis.—This song contains two phrases designated as rhythmic units, each of which comprises three measures. The first phrase consists entirely of descending intervals and has a compass of an octave. The second phrase begins with the same count division as the first and comprises almost three measures, but it differs from the first phrase in containing one ascending interval and having a compass of only six tones. These rhythmic phrases were accurately given in all the renditions. The melody tones are those of the fourth 5-toned scale.

701 727 Two dances of historic interest to the Pawnee were held in honor of members of the tribe who had served in the World War. These dances were held on June 6 and 7, 1919, and were attended by the writer. The place of the gatherings was a large wooden structure, north of Pawnee and located among the members of the Skidi Band. 346 (Pl. 7, *c.*) It was six-sided, with a dirt floor, and had an entrance toward the east which resembled the covered entrance to the earth lodge.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The first gathering was attended by about 200 Indians and the building was closely packed at the second gathering, those unable to gain admission being crowded around the windows and door. 70/ 727

The Pawnee Tribe was represented in the United States Army by 40 young men, all except one of whom returned in full health and vigor. One of the Pawnee soldiers died from disease in France. None were wounded, although many saw hard service at the front. Several were with the Rainbow Division, and on one occasion when there was a call for volunteers for dangerous service four Pawnee stepped forward and were accepted. One of these men brought back a German helmet as a trophy and his mother carried it in the victory dance as a scalp was carried in former times. The helmet was fastened to a pole at the top of which a captured knife was fastened like the point of a lance. A Pawnee said: "While the boys were away we prayed for their safe return. We did this at every public gathering and it looks as though our prayers had been answered." [782]

The dance on June 6 was the rejoicing of the tribe and that on the day following was more formal, being attended by many white persons from the town of Pawnee. At the first dance the soldiers were honored by their families and friends, especially by the women, about 45 of whom were in the circle. It was a time of general rejoicing, sometimes three persons being on their feet at the same time, singing, narrating some incident, or giving a gift. Old war songs were sung with new words appropriate to the occasion. For example, one man had composed words which mentioned airplanes and submarines, these words being sung to an old tune. A woman had composed two similar songs, and, crossing the circle, she stood in front of the chief (James R. Murie) and sang them alone, without the drum. Throughout the entire afternoon there were frequent repetitions of the shrill, quavering cry with which the Indian women express pleasure or approval. 727 533* [201]

Two of the most interesting songs heard on this occasion had their origin in two dreams by John Luwak. The melody of the two was the same, but the words referred to different dreams. Luwak, who speaks no English, said that his friends translated to him the newspaper accounts of the war and that he "felt badly that our boys must cross the ocean and suffer so much." So he prayed daily to Tirawa, saying, "Help our boys over there, so they will all come back strong and let me live to see them again." One night he fell asleep, after such a prayer, and "in his sleep someone told him that it would not be long before he would see the Pawnee boys again." He dreamed, and in his dream he saw thousands of white people and heard them sing this song. They were very happy and were dancing and waving flags; even the oldest people were dancing. 533* 787 727 [782]

The lance for the north side was black and for the south, white. There were two rattle bearers who stood and danced as in the preceding. There were four singers and two water drums. Their war duties were as previously stated. This society was composed of chiefs and warriors, on different sides. At stated times, the members demonstrated their deeds, trophies, and war medicines. 575 [701]

It seems that there were three bundles in the Pitahaufrata division at one time and the three feathers on the lance are supposed to be one for each. The members were members of the chiefs society, warriors and men who had consecrated eagles; hence the small eagle feathers are put on the lance. In the consecrating of eagles the heads are strung through the nose with sinew, all the members having gone through this ceremony; hence the string here symbolizes the consecration but it is not known if the hooked part of the lance is the eagle's head. The pipe of this society is borrowed from the warrior's bundle. [778]

So far as known, the organizations in the three divisions were identical.

THE WOLF LANCE.

The rarisits skiri^h^ki^h^ (society of wolves) was peculiar to the Wolf-standing-in-water village. There were two lances, four flat hand drums painted white, four singers wearing caps of wolfskin like roaches, four rattles (two for each side). All members painted white. The pipe bearer who sat in front of the four singers painted red, however. The lance bearers sat among the dancers, but the lances rested against the lodge posts. There was no regular dance evolution, each one going as he pleased. The old men and one messenger were on each side. [302] [535]

There were two war shields covered with wolfskin for each side. For each shield there was a bearer. It was a war organization and differed from the others in that as an organization it could go to war. The lances were left at home, however. So far as known they never acted as police of the hunt, but the members seem to have had the right to take the lances of the hunting society and scout for buffalo. [701]

The lodge of this society had its door toward the west instead of east. [345]

THE BLACK HEADS.

The pakskatit society was peculiar to the Kit'kaháxki division. They seem to have been important for they could act both as police of the buffalo hunt and in the line of battle. While there were two sides as before, there [224] [701]

The Organized War Party.

There was a fixed ritual for the control of a war party, which when 701
organized for a foray was for the time being a kind of wolf society (araris 721
taka, society of the white wolf). Its mythological basis is quite funda- 726
mental, being that part of the creation myth in which a wolf pursued man
and deceived him. In any event, the god of war is a mythical wolf and it [776]
was directed that a wolfskin should always be placed at the top of a bundle
and that the Skidi were to be the wolf people, as the name implies. Hence,
to become a real warrior one must follow the ways of the wolf. One who
does so can go to the keeper of a bundle and borrow the war clothing therein
together with the pipe. The wolfskin remains in the bundle, but the objects
he takes away carry with them the power of the wolf. By their association
with the bundle, these war clothes represent the powers of the west and when
the borrower is so clothed these powers are with him. He can now organize
and lead a war party, but he himself must not imitate the wolf, that is left
to his followers. Thus, they become like the wolf first placed upon the earth
and may have power to steal upon the enemy and get away without being
discovered.

Before setting out upon a foray a ceremony is held in the village in which 726
as in all else the borrower of the regalia from the bundle is the leader. An
altar is made and the bundle from which the regalia are to be borrowed is [778]
brought in and placed before the leader. Upon it is the wolfskin and in the
minds of the warriors the wolf is present and, hence, always with them upon
the way. A buffalo skull rests upon the altar.

The war regalia of the bundle are usually a pipe, a collar, a lariat rope, a hawkskin, an ear of corn (Mother Corn), some red paint, down feathers, and a leader's feathers.

As the bundle is present there must be a north and south side and two
leaders. On the march they go abreast with the others behind in order of
their rank. A four-day ceremony follows, before setting out. On the way,
their organization is for each side, or line: a leader, two scouts, two soldiers,
the warriors, and the inexperienced assistants. The four scouts are really
charged with the responsibility of the movement and may be said to be in
command (see p. 55) though the leaders stand for the highest authority.
They scout about in the early hours of the day and at all times on the [201]
journey. Their signals are made as wolf cries. When a scout has anything
to report, he tells it privately to the leader of his side. At the proper time
the leader announces the import of the report in a formal ritualistic manner.
They never approach or in fact go anywhere in a direct line, but follow an

14: Weltfish

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

● 701

[For the policing activities of the military societies during the hunt, see category 625.]

796 it with him, pledging his support in food and goods, would the ceremony
ever be performed. In all his work, both public and private, the Pawnee
182 moved on a totally voluntary basis. Whatever social forms existed were
626 carried within the consciousness of the people, not by others who were in
a position to make demands. As I talked to the old men and women I realized that this is what we wish for but do not have. As they described the coordination of their households, I repeatedly asked when they got together and laid the plan they were apparently carrying through and in what exact terms they discussed it. The answer was always, "They didn't discuss it at all. They don't talk about it. It goes along just as it happens to work out."

626 For example, sentinels were always needed to man the outposts and
keep watch for the enemy who might be lurking nearby ready to attack
701 the villages, or in the process of sneaking up on them. Sentinels were neither assigned nor called for by anyone. A number of young men who were friends would be talking together and one would mention that this was about the time the enemy would be attacking. Then one of them would remark, "I think I'll go up to the sentry post early tomorrow morning." Another would say, "I think I'll do that too." Then several others would chime in and word would get around, and other young men would also turn up long before dawn at the different sentry posts. The
592 household coordinated itself in precisely the same way. A remark by one
626 person brought a complementary remark from another, and the plans
seemed to shape themselves.

626 Time after time I tried [illegible] find a case of orders given, and there was
none. Gradually I began to realize that democracy is a very personal thing which, like charity, begins at home. Basically it means not being coerced and having no need to coerce anyone else. The Pawnee learned this way of living in the earliest beginnings of his life. In the detailed events of everyday living as a child, he began his development as a disciplined and free man or as a woman who felt her dignity and her independence to be inviolate. I was often confronted with the feeling that they expected of me a kind of independence and decisiveness that was not considered becoming to a woman in our society. Men and women expected the same clear and well-defined reaction from me, and among themselves it was evident that it was their accustomed mode of interacting.

622 The Pawnees had chiefs, but these were the focus of consensus, not
the wielders of power. There was no over-all chief of all the Pawnees.
619 The two major political groupings among the Pawnees were the Skidi
and the South Bands, distinguished by a slight difference in the pronunciation of the Pawnee language. The main subdivisions within these groupings were villages and households. The village numbered from three
621 hundred to five hundred people in ten to fifteen households. The real

of Wolf-in-Water-Village with his braves ranging inward from northeast 623
to north. On the south side were Lone Chief at the southwest, his braves 628
ranging from southwest to south, and finally Eagle Chief in the host position at the southeast with his braves reaching inward toward the south station. In front of the braves in a sort of inner arc were the "boys" of their respective villages. No one could properly be seated in front of a chief. Outside the curve-roofed shelter to the north of the entrance, was a long oblong fireplace and a small token fire was made in the middle of the tent with a few coals for the ceremonial offerings. Forty people were in the council tent that evening, ten from each village.

Eagle Chief of the host village of Pumpkin-Vine spoke first and addressed Leading Chief of Bottomlands Village who sat at the Northwest. After he and some prominent men from his village had spoken the initiative passed to Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge, who also spoke as well as his brave and others of his village. Then Feared-by-the-Enemy at the northeast, of Wolf-in-Water Village, who passed it back to Eagle Chief in the host position at the southeast. The final responsibility was given to Leading Chief of Bottomlands, who was bound to accept—for White Eagle, who was leading the hunt, was married into his village. He now took up the directive and passed it to his head brave Strikes-the-Enemy, who, to everyone's relief, accepted the difficult post as head military policeman.

The paraphernalia of the appropriate military society, the Two Lance 623
or Horse Society, was in the Wolf-in-Water Village, and the chief, 701
Feared-by-the-Enemy, called on Chief's Road who had the lances and
lance covers in his tent to send for them, and Angry Horse to send for 625
the crow-feather belt with the sleigh bells on it that the head policeman was to wear. The two lance covers in their rawhide cases were brought in and the two long sticks on which they were to be placed. If there was still enough daylight, the covers would be taken from their cases, put on the sticks, taken outside the tent, and planted in the ground in front of it so that the wind could strike the feathers and they could be seen by Heaven. By sundown, Chief's Road would instruct the chiefs at the west how to fold up the covers with their feathers into their cases for the night.

The head policeman selected his second brave to assist him, along 625
with two from each of the other three Skidi villages. When the people [628]
in camp saw the feathered lances outside, they knew that the council tent had been officially established and they wanted to know who had been selected as chief of police and who the others were. Some thought Strikes-the-Enemy was too severe, others not.

Very early next morning, just before sunrise, the lances were reinstalled outside the council tent. The new chief of police, Strikes-the-Enemy, donned his crow-feather belt with the sleigh bells on it and,

55

ARRANGING THE ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP

000

Meetings with the Interpreter, Behaille—Discussion of Arrangements with U.S. Government—Band Is Chosen to Lead Hunt—Final Preparations

221 THE TIME WHEN EVERYONE began to think in earnest about leaving for
*224 the hunt was between the tenth and fifteenth of November, when the
wind got colder from the north. Men from the different bands would
meet in the trade store and talk it over. They wanted to travel before the
cold was too severe.

648 In September 1857 the Pawnees had signed a treaty with the United
States Government agreeing to cease all hostilities between them, to cede
some of their lands, and to move onto a restricted territory. The United
States in return acknowledged its military responsibility to provide the
Pawnees with protection and its financial obligation to pay an annuity
for the ceded lands. By 1867 the military alliance was further solidified
• [701] when a considerable number of Pawnees were organized into a U. S.
Cavalry Battalion under Major Frank North to protect surveyors and
tracklayers of the Union Pacific from attacks by other tribes.

*224 Before leaving for the hunt, they would consult with the U. S. Indian
648 Agent concerning their annuity payments and any military arrangements
that had to be made. The mixed-blood interpreter, Behaille, went to visit
his nephew, Lone Chief, to discuss with him the time and conditions of
leaving. The annuity had not yet arrived and the question was whether
or not to set out without it. There was in fact no question, as the time
of its arrival was too uncertain to depend upon, and they could not afford
*224 to wait. Lone Chief called in Eagle Chief, and they agreed that the day
648 after next the chiefs and important braves were to meet in council with
623 the agent about it. Behaille would entertain them all at a simple outdoor
628 lunch about noon at his home near the agency where they could dis-

*224 264 They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four sets.

*224 623 628 The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates from the villages.

*224 623 793 • [701] [625] [778] The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening Star bundle.

*224 623 628 793 [625] [574] [264] Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill. Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief. The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief, who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

*224 623 625 574 [293] The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head policeman War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

*224 623 562 [251] Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

*224 [793] [825] The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican. When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of

141-142 On the buffalo jump, see Forbis, 1958; Lowie, 1954, pp. 14-15, Fig. 3, Assiniboin buffalo pound at the foot of the bluffs or cut bank. P 224

109 "The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids, but only used to repel or meet a general attack." (Murie, 1914, p. 560.) P 411 726

109 One of the five Skidi military societies had no war functions at all, but was specialized in the role of hunt police. It was known as *Raris arusa*, "Society Horse," and was also referred to as "Two Lance." While most of the decorated lances had crooks on their tops, this one was unique in lacking this feature. Among the three South Bands, there was also a military society with a similarly specialized function. It was the *Raris pahat*, "society red." This society was said to have been derived from and sanctioned from the main sacred bundle of the *Pitahawirata*, where only the descendants of chiefs could belong. (Murie, 1914, p. 569.) P 701 [625] [411]

223 The Skidi, Tsawi, and Kitkehaxki, each had a society with combined war-hunt functions, and each band had several exclusively for war. Every spring when the decorations on the official lances were renewed, the lances were put outside the door on a pole where the people could see them. In the course of the several society ceremonies, the people were told that the lances were to bring the buffalo and to protect the lives of the people (Murie, 1914, p. 559). The hunt police were appointed after the first big kill on the Republican River when the encampment on Turkey Creek was set up right within the path of buffalo migration. P 701 411 625

176, 227-228 For a description of Massacre Canyon and the dangers of the Western territory see Hyde, 1951, pp. 244-248; Williamson, 1925; *Massacre Canyon Number*, 1936 (Nebraska History Magazine). 000

241 On the roasting pit for corn, see the Pawnee texts, Weltfish, 1937, p. 34.

243-244 Among the Hidatsa, a man would request one of the young men's military societies (Fox or Dog Society) to come to his fields to husk the corn. One of the society's officials would announce from the roof of the lodge and the members would line up and go singing to the designated field. The young men would hope their sweethearts would hear them and that perhaps they would get a chance to see them working in an adjacent field. They marched to the fields carrying guns for fear the Sioux would attack. "If a society went early, they got through just after midday. By early I mean nine o'clock in the morning." "We worked late, by moonlight even." (Wilson, 1917, p. 43, footnote.) H 701 243 476

Pawnee group against another tribe with whom they were friends 525
traditionally, or with whom they had recently established friendly 648
relations. Among those with whom the hand game was played by the 574
Skiri Pawnee in relatively recent times, one informant remembers participating in games with the Osage, Ponca and Omaha, Oto, Kiowa, and Arapaho. Friendly gaming relations are remembered with the Sac and Fox, but with them the moccasin game was played, not the hand game. The following narrative of a game between the Skiri Pawnee and the Kiowa, played in Oklahoma many years ago, probably before 1880, will make the procedure clear:

The story is told by Mark Evarts.

One time a large party of Skiri Pawnee were on a buffalo hunt. They were led by Bowchief. While they were out hunting, they came near to the place where the Kiowa were encamped, and went over to visit them. It was not an anticipated visit, so that the traditional forms of visiting were not involved.[1] The chief of the Kiowa was Bigbow.[2] Bowchief of the Skiri Pawnee and Bigbow of the Kiowa were friends.[3]

At the Kiowa encampment, the Skiri Pawnee danced their Crazy Dog Dance, led by Bowchief on horseback. He was the only
mounted Skiri in the dance.[4] After the performance, the Kiowa gave [431]
the Pawnee buffalo meat and buffalo hides.[5] Then the Pawnee left
with these gifts and came home.

Two days later, in the afternoon, the Pawnee saw a party of Kiowa coming to visit them. They were received in friendly fashion, and they danced the Kiowa Crazy Dog Dance for the Pawnee. This time Bigbow led the dance, mounted. He was the only Kiowa on horseback. Bigbow, in the dance, called aloud his
exploits on old warpaths. After the dance the Pawnee gave the [431]
Kiowa calico and corn.[5] Then the Kiowa went home. The Pawnee
hunters who had visited the Kiowa were all men. The Kiowa who returned the visit were mostly men: a few had wives with them.

---

[1] The traditional forms would have required sending a gift of tobacco in advance, and other formalities.

[2] otakáyot in Evarts' rendition of his Kiowa name.

[3] Inter-tribal friendship was a definite formalized relationship in former [572]
times. It was of paramount importance, as through interlocking friendships
tribes traditionally hostile to each other were drawn into peaceful relations.

[4] It is said that in the old form of the Crazy Dog Dance, a man mounted [554]
indicated thereby that he had captured horses on a warpath.

[5] This giving away after the dancing is similar to the old forms of intertribal [703]
visiting of friends, at which lavish giving away was done. In the above case the formal arrangements preceding the visits seem to have been omitted because it was a chance meeting.

Cheyenne camp early in the morning, and they fled. When I got into the Cheyenne camp I took blankets and other things away from them." The Pawnee sing and dance only one song, because it is late and cold, and the Pawnee have a long way to go to return home after the game. They want to hurry, and play quickly. Should the Kiowa win a game, they would dance their Crazy Dog Dance to the songs of their society and their leader would rise to recite an exploit, holding the Pawnee pipe. But the Pawnee when they dance, do not carry the pipe they have brought.[1] On this occasion, the Kiowa did not win, and had no chance to dance carrying the pipe. 525 574 648

Wagers were made for a second game, the Kiowa betting against their losings. Again the Pawnee won. Again they sang a Crazy Dog Dance song, and another Pawnee recited a war exploit.

In the third game Knifechief rose and sprinkled ashes to hide the tracks, and the Kiowa guesser searched for the trail.

The Pawnee won three straight games, and that was all they played. There was no fighting over the bones in these games: that was only the way that small boys played.

Knifechief rose. He said, "Now my brother, I beat you. That's all. We're going home." All the Skiri took up their winnings and started for home.

While the game had been going on, Mark and David had found time to eat up the meat they had received so that no one could ask for some. They managed to finish it by the time the game was over.

On the way home, one of the Skiri who was a friend of Mark's gave him a pair of leggings he had just won. Mark says that because of the good fortune of the Pawnee that night he believed the Pawnee would always have good luck in hand games, but subsequently he found out he had been mistaken. In later games they often lost. [572 431]

---

[1] Carrying the pipe while counting coup was correct only if the reciter had carried a pipe at the time of the exploit. This meant essentially that he had been the leader of a war party. If the exploit had occurred when no pipe was carried, he could count coup, but without holding the pipe. In the above narrative the special significance of the distinction drawn between the right of the Kiowa leader to carry the pipe, and the Pawnee lack of that right, is that it represents dramatically the fact that for generations past, as a result of their treaties, which the Pawnee held sacred, few if any war parties had been sent out ceremonially by the Pawnee. War exploits during the Nineteenth Century were limited essentially to defensive tactics, or to fighting as members of the United States army (see Chapter I). [703 [554 727 721]

575 They had ceremonies in the spring to get their regalia ready for war. There was one old man in the order who wore a special cap made of crowskin. [103] Members who had counted just one coup could wear a horizontal feather through the scalplock; for the second coup another feather in the same direction but from the opposite side; three coups, one crow feather upright; four coups, four feathers fixed on a small pointed stick, and stuck in the head. If one took but part of a scalp, he split one of the feathers half way; if a whole scalp, the whole feather was split. For each scalp taken a feather was split.

As the number of coups and scalps increased, feathers were added to a string and hung on the head. They also painted hands and other deed marks on their bodies.

This organization also had a brief existence, becoming extinct through losses in battle.

THE ROACHED HEADS.

The pakspahukasa, or roached heads, were peculiar to the Skidi. They [302] were also known as the fox society. They had a peculiar hair cut in that the hair on the back of the head was cut off, leaving only the roach on the top. All must wear coats of blue or red strouding cloth, feathers on the seams of shoulders and sleeves. They wore buckskin leggings and any kind of dress moccasins. All had small rattles, decorated with strands of different colored ribbons. No fixed form of face painting was used. Some of them wore beaded caps. Four hand drums were used, two red and two white. This was a war society and the songs refer to disregard of death.

YOUNG DOG SOCIETY.

539 575 Among the Skidi there was a society known as the asa kipi riru, or young dogs. The story of their origin is as follows: —

When the Skidi village was west of Fullerton, Nebraska, an old man lived there alone in his mud-lodge. He was very fond of the old dogs which the Skidi had used as pack animals. They lived with him and shared his food. During the buffalo hunt the dogs carried things for him. One time after returning from the hunt some puppies were born. The man was pleased, for he had no children. Every day he made a fresh bed for them and fed them.

The rest of the people remarked on his care of the dogs. One night, some boys planned to kill the old dog and steal the young ones. The next day they watched and finally caught the old dog outside the village and killed it. During the night they stole some of the puppies, but left four males. The following day, the man searched for the mother and the puppies but in vain. He fed the others as well as he could and sat sadly at his fireplace.

439 Do you think it can get a good buffalo? Well, you can have a buffalo
435 robe when I get back and my wife can tan it." Mr. Matlock would
then join them and the traders would say, "Sure." "Well, I need two
buckets," Victory Call would say. "And what else do you need?" the
traders would ask. At the same time there would be an old lady in the
439 store trying to establish some credit so that she could get some sugar to
435 make sweet corn pounded up with sugar. She would promise that when
262 they got back from the hunt she would bring in a sack of pounded-up
dry meat. This was the equivalent of the better-known pemmican and
was bought by travelers at the trade store for emergency rations. When
• [705] warriors went on the warpath they took extra pairs of moccasins filled
with pounded sweet corn and sugar and some of the pounded-up dry
meat as concentrated supplies.

*224 Not everyone had the skill or the diligence to accumulate all this
476 equipment. Every man or woman who did not have it yet wanted to go
on the hunt had to try to attach themselves to someone who did. This
practical consideration had an important effect on how the individual
encampments were set up. Sometimes a family had enough horses but
no tent. The man would send his mother-in-law or his wife to inquire
of a woman who owned a tent whether they could join her encampment.
If it was agreed that they should camp together they would discuss how
they would combine their needs for equipment—a mortar, a kettle, dishes,
etc. Sometimes a woman would make such arrangements, only to find at
the last minute that her husband had already committed them with someone
else, and then one of the families would have to remain behind.

606 The general rule was that a man had to take care of his father-in-law
and the family into which he was married. It was understood that he
would travel with his father-in-law and his wife's family. This is what
his marriage implied—that he was to serve and care for the family of his
wife. The son-in-law was called by the family into which he married
kustawixtsu, "he who sits among (them)." The son-in-law would refer
to himself as *rat-ut-ka-ku*, "I-for-you-inside-sit," meaning that it his function
606 to serve their house. This was an obligation greater than that to his
593 own parents. If his parents were old and alone, he would give half of his
kill to them after his wife had picked out what she wanted. When they
[591] first married, the couple normally lived in the girl's house and went out
on the hunt with them. As they got older, the young man might want
[431] to set up a tent of his own and hunt separately and his father-in-law
might consent, but he would send a gift of a leg from whatever buffalo
he killed. When they got back to the village, they would rejoin the girl's
family. If the girl's father was getting very old and his tent was worn
out he would say, "Son-in-law, I want to go with you. You came here
to take care of us." "Certainly, that's good," the younger man would
say. This marriage responsibility sometimes got on a man's nerves, and

from whom they could well steal horses, and some young men thought 726
they would like to go to the Osage country. The women of their household 726
would outfit them with three or four pairs of new moccasins, tanning 705
some hides especially for the purpose. Each pair would be filled
with supplies—pulverized dried meat, parched corn, and dried meat. The
young man would have a large flat package, especially wide to carry on
his back with straps across the chest to carry his baggage. Under his belt [276]
he carried his tobacco and his pipe, and every time he sat down while he
was on the warpath he must smoke. When he went off to steal horses
he hung his flat-package on a tree and sometimes did not get a chance to
retrieve it at all.

In Victory Call's household, they had gotten eight hides. A small one 281
would be tanned by White Woman to get supplies at Fort Kearney. One 439
was reserved for Mr. Bishop, the trader near home, to whom a good
one had been promised before they left in payment for supplies Victory
Call had obtained at his store for their journey.

While they were going east along the Platte River after their arrival 224*
two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), the village scouts came back 484*
with their report of how things were back home. They came in directly 203
to the tent of Leading Chief who now had charge of their return journey
and reported:

> We went down to the village. We couldn't go in, it was full of fleas. Toward evening we went to the different corn fields. The corn is pretty ripe in some places. The pumpkins are hard yet. There are lots of beans of all different kinds. One fellow got on a freight and went to Columbus to see how the Stay-at-Homes were. Everything looks good. From there we went to the school. We gave the children some pulverized dried meat and some plain. We told them you folks were coming home. We stopped in Bishop and Matlock's store for the night and said it would be about eight or ten days before we got to the village. Everyone looks all right.

Now Know-His-Face went through the encampment, announcing this
message to all. In one of the other bands a rougish old lady called out [824]
"And how about the sunflowers? How are they doing?" The boy said, [522]
"The sunflowers are way high!" The byplay is that the sunflowers were
the place where clandestine affairs were carried on. These grew as weeds
in the boundaries between the fields.

One of the scouts brought five or six ears of corn that were ripe from 224*
different fields, and gave them to the ones to whom they belonged. One 484*
ear had come from the field of Otter's grandmother, and before she took [788]
off the husks she blessed him with it four times. Then she removed the [252]
husks, roasted the ear in the coals, and broke it into three pieces, one for [262]

*172 342 consisted of a main framework of timbers and posts, supporting a thatch of grass and, finally, a covering of turf, erected over a shallow, circular, saucerlike excavation; the entrance projected from one side, usually but not always the southeast or east. When such a structure was abandoned and the continual vigilance required for its upkeep removed, the outer shell of earth was soon washed off and deposited about the base of the wall, while the timbers might remain standing for years before rotting away. Thus, there would result in course of time a raised ring of soil, indicating the periphery of the erstwhile lodge; within this ring was a depression somewhat lower than the normal ground surface outside. Prior to the breaking up of the bottom lands along the rivers these lodge circles were to be seen on every Pawnee site of the past century. Where subterranean caches or "Indian cellars" occur the soil within them has often settled to such an extent that the mouth is revealed as a small circular depression. These occur both inside and outside the [712] lodge circles. Defensive walls were constructed around nearly every historic village, but with few exceptions these have now been wholly obliterated. Long cultivation obviously tends to destroy all traces of either lodge circles or earthworks, though very shallow depressions and slight elevations may persist for a number of years. Frequently, even after repeated plowing, the sites of the lodges are still clearly indicated by sherds, charred wood, burned earth, bones, and similar detrital material, which litters each particular spot formerly occupied by a dwelling. The contrast between these circular discolored areas and the surrounding natural soil is especially marked after the site has been freshly plowed.

*172 121 In the following discussion 13 Pawnee sites, grouped according to their band affiliations, will be briefly described. Ten of these have been identified with villages recorded by the various American explorers after 1800. Another, the Kansas Monument site, probably dates just prior to that year and, while not specifically documented, is unquestionably of rather late historic date. The other two sites were occupied approximately contemporaneously, and are post-Columbian; they have, however, never been placed with any degree of accuracy in the historical scheme, hence are designated as protohistoric.[33]

---

[33] In conformity to the system of nomenclature suggested at the first Plains Archeological Conference held at Vermillion, S. Dak., on Aug. 31–Sept. 1, 1931, village sites in the Pawnee area have been tentatively divided into three sequential groups, viz, the historic, the protohistoric, and the prehistoric. Historic sites are those which have been quite definitely identified with villages visited or reported by American and European explorers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—i. e., between 1775 and 1874. Protohistoric sites are those dating from the very beginning of the European conquest; they show traces of trade relations with white men, bear strong basic cultural resemblances to the historic villages, but were never specifically documented; and in point of time they fall between the years 1540 and 1775. Prehistoric

*172 343 cache 7 yielded three excellent digging tools made from bison scapulae; and cache 5, as already indicated, contained corn meal or some similar ground cereal. Much richer pits are, of course, sometimes found. One opened by Mr. A. M. Brooking, of the Hastings Museum, in an old village east of Genoa, yielded 10 scapula digging tools, bone awls, 5 bone knives, 2 grooved hammers, 2 elkhorn shaft-straighteners, many large mollusk shells filled with yellow and red paint, and 13 small mollusk shells in matched pairs.[14] Such finds are, however, the exception rather than the rule, and many disappointingly sterile caches are encountered for every one that yields worth-while returns.

[488 251] Normally the caches were used for the storage and concealment of surplus corn and household furniture, particularly during the periods when the tribe was absent from its villages on the seasonal bison hunts. When earth had been thrown in on top of the contents and the opening sodded over the location of the cache was perfectly hidden from any stranger. Generally they were emptied when the family permanently removed, and all usable articles were carried away. Occasionally the owner never returned to claim his goods, perhaps because of forgetfulness as to the exact location, death, or from some other cause; or attacks by hostiles compelled flight too precipitate to permit emptying of the caches. In such cases the investigator may be better rewarded with pottery, flint and bone tools, ornaments, foodstuffs, and the like.

[727 766] Caches occasionally serve a secondary purpose as places of interment. In June 1843, when the Dakota raided the Pawnee village near the Plum Creek mission, with such disastrous results for the latter tribe,[15] the terrified survivors threw the bodies of the dead into the caches,[16] covered them hastily with earth, and then fled to their kindred, the Grand Pawnee, south of the Platte. Such a function was, of course, purely accidental and was wholly foreign to the original purpose which the structure was intended to serve.

EARTHWORKS

172 712 Walls of circumvallation were constructed about practically every Pawnee village of the nineteenth century. Sixty years ago, according to early settlers, these were still plainly to be seen on many of the old sites, but with cultivation they have shared the fate of other remains and become rare indeed. Leveling of these old fortification walls was one of the first steps in breaking the land; hence their obliteration has been woefully complete. In fact the only remaining system of earthworks is that at the Horse Creek village, which was 172 discussed in connection with that site. The rectangular enclosure 712 may have been a horse corral, though that appears improbable. The entire arrangement of walls is such as to suggest a fairly elaborate system of defensive works, quite in keeping with the size of the village.

---

[14] Brooking, A. M., unpublished manuscript.

[15] Dunbar, 1918, p. 656. Occurrences similar to the above probably account for the "burials of Morning Star Sacrifice victims" occasionally reported in the press.

[16] Allis, 1887, p. 155.

Palisaded walls were not used by the Pawnee, due probably to the scarcity of suitable timber.[17] The defenses consisted simply of an earth or sod embankment 3 or 4 feet high, immediately in front of which was a ditch 3 feet in depth and 5 feet or so wide.[18] The assailants were thus hampered in storming the wall by having to cross the moat in front of it; the defenders fought from the protection of the wall. How much actual good such defenses did it is difficult to say, as the Dakota, Kansa, and other hostiles contented themselves with sudden raids and horse-stealing forays, seldom if ever venturing to attack the Pawnee behind their breastworks.

The two great circles at the Linwood village are actually low earthworks, there being nothing to indicate that they were excavated. Each ring is about 90 feet in diameter; it is raised 8 inches or so above the surrounding ground surface and has a width of 2 feet or thereabouts. There is a gap in the east side of one, which appears also to have a small pit north of the center and a low mound just outside the gap. The purpose of these circles is obscure; probably they represent roofless ceremonial structures of some kind, perhaps for the Four-pole ceremony.[18a]

Two short parallel sections of wall may also be seen a short distance west of the easternmost of these big rings at Linwood. Each is 15 or 20 feet long, running north to south, and is but a few inches high.

There are no true temple, burial, or other artificial tumuli known in the Pawnee area.

HORSE CORRALS

The Pawnee in late historic times were heavily dependent upon the 172* horse for transportation, particularly when on a hunt. Just how 231 early they adopted the horse it is difficult to say. In 1682 La Salle 175 wrote that the *Pana* purchased horses from the *Gattacka* and *Manrhoat*, who in turn obtained them from the Spanish settlements in New Mexico.[19] In 1719 La Harpe visited two *Pani* villages west of the Arkansas in the present State of Oklahoma and counted 300

---

[17] Cf. Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 406. This refers merely to a fortified village rather than to a true palisade.

[18] Clayton, 1921, p. 96.

[18a] Murie, 1914, p. 551 and fig. 2.

[19] Margry Papers, vol. II, p. 201.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

1278 'Hare ra, 'hare ra-a, ra i 'hare;
1279 'Hare ra, 'hare ra-a, ra i 'hare;
1280 'Hare ra, ra i 'hare;
1281 'Hare ra!
1282 'Hare ra-a, ra-a i 'hare, ra i 'hare;
1283 'Hare ra, 'hare ra-a, ra i 'hare;
1284 'Hare ra! 'Hare ra!

Translation

1278 'Hare ra, 'hare ra-a, ra i 'hare.
'hare, a part of the word iha're, children, young.
ra, coming.
'hare ra. Translated above.
a, vowel prolongation.
ra, come, or coming.
i, a part of the word titako, here, where I am.
'hare, children.

1279 See line 1278.

1280 'Hare ra, ra i hare. See line 1278.

1281 'Hare ra! See line 1278.

1282 'Hare ra-a, ra-a i 'hare, ra i 'hare. See line 1278.

1283 See line 1278.

1284 'Hare ra! 'Hare ra! See line 1278.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The words of this song mean: "The Children are coming, coming here where I am sitting."

At the close of this song a man selected by the Ku'rahus utters a long, loud cry: "Ho-o-o-o-o-o-o!" It is answered by all the Hako party; their shout is broken by the hands beating on the mouth: "Ha-a-a-a-a-a!" The drums and rattles sound at the same time.

It is a cry of thanks and of welcome by the Fathers to the Children as they approach bearing gifts.

As soon as the cries cease the Ku'rahus begins one of the dance songs.

PART II. THE DANCE AND RECEPTION OF GIFTS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 [532] On the fourth night (of the Hako ceremony), while the lodge was being circled sixteen times, some young men, at the direction of the Ku'rahus, went out and made the figure of a man from grass and old garments and fastened it to a small sapling so that it could be made to stand upright. This figure, which has been concealed, is now brought out and set up in front of all the people (see figure 180).

[714] The men of the tribe of the Children, dressed in their regalia and war bonnets, and painted with the symbols of the society to which they belong, come up with their horses, which are led by one of the owner's little children.

WAR SONGS

Three classes of war songs are here presented and comprise a 533* song concerning a conquered warrior of the Cheyenne Tribe, several songs of Pawnee warriors, and songs which were sung at two gatherings of the tribe attended by the writer, these gatherings being in honor of Pawnee soldiers who had recently returned from the World War.

The first song commemorates a well-known event in Pawnee 175 history. About the year 1852 the Cheyenne and Arapaho returned 648 from Washington, where they had gone to make a treaty with the Government of the United States. Among them was a Cheyenne of great reputation named Touching Cloud, who, because of the incident to be related, was afterwards known among the Pawnee as Iron Shirt. This man had in his employ a Mexican who could cut [914 round disks from the thin frying pans used at that time. Touching 177] Cloud had these disks sewed on a shirt and cap, the pieces overlapping as in old-world armor. Soon after the return of the treaty party, the Cheyenne attacked the Pawnee, who were hunting buffalo. Touching Cloud felt so secure that he rode directly among the Pawnee. His arms were so stiffened by the metal disks on his sleeves that he could use no weapon except a sword but he used this so effectively that he and his party drove the Pawnee back to their village. The Pawnee were unable to explain the fearlessness of this man and talked of it among themselves. In the village was a young man named Carrying-the-shield who had not gone with the hunters. He listened to what they said and remembered something told him by his father, who was keeper of a sacred bundle. His father had [778] four sons and gave them four sacred arrows, each a different color. The arrow received by Carrying-the-shield was red. In giving the arrow his father said, "Use this arrow when you are in great danger and it will save your life." So Carrying-the-shield took the arrow and a bow, went out and met a party of Pawnee retreating with the Cheyenne in pursuit. The retreating party opened and let him through. Touching Cloud made ready to attack him but the youth shot him in the eye with the red arrow and he fell from his horse. The Pawnee "counted coup" on his body and found that he wore, [926 concealed beneath his outer raiment, the metal-covered shirt made 554] for him by the Mexican. Therefore he was known as Iron Shirt among the Pawnee.

Analysis.—An ascending tenth occurs in this song, representing 533* an ascent from the lowest to almost the highest tone of the compass. The rhythmic unit is interesting and of frequent occurrence. The song is major in tonality and the most frequent interval is a major third.

292 554 [531] [461]

work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such a shirt.

The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237 554 825 [411]

The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught. Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one, the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281 756 262

Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered inedible and was left in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237 293 [223]

Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237 554 714

Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a shield.

Cheyenne camp early in the morning, and they fled. When I got 525
into the Cheyenne camp I took blankets and other things away 574
from them." The Pawnee sing and dance only one song, because
it is late and cold, and the Pawnee have a long way to go to return 648
home after the game. They want to hurry, and play quickly.
Should the Kiowa win a game, they would dance their Crazy Dog
Dance to the songs of their society and their leader would rise to
recite an exploit, holding the Pawnee pipe. But the Pawnee when
they dance, do not carry the pipe they have brought.[1] On this
occasion, the Kiowa did not win, and had no chance to dance
carrying the pipe.

Wagers were made for a second game, the Kiowa betting against their losings. Again the Pawnee won. Again they sang a Crazy Dog Dance song, and another Pawnee recited a war exploit.

In the third game Knifechief rose and sprinkled ashes to hide the tracks, and the Kiowa guesser searched for the trail.

The Pawnee won three straight games, and that was all they played. There was no fighting over the bones in these games: that was only the way that small boys played.

Knifechief rose. He said, "Now my brother, I beat you. That's all. We're going home." All the Skiri took up their winnings and started for home.

While the game had been going on, Mark and David had found time to eat up the meat they had received so that no one could ask for some. They managed to finish it by the time the game was over.

On the way home, one of the Skiri who was a friend of Mark's [572
gave him a pair of leggings he had just won. Mark says that
because of the good fortune of the Pawnee that night he believed 431]
the Pawnee would always have good luck in hand games, but
subsequently he found out he had been mistaken. In later games
they often lost.

---

[1] Carrying the pipe while counting coup was correct only if the reciter [703
had carried a pipe at the time of the exploit. This meant essentially that
he had been the leader of a war party. If the exploit had occurred when no [554]
pipe was carried, he could count coup, but without holding the pipe. In the
above narrative the special significance of the distinction drawn between [727]
the right of the Kiowa leader to carry the pipe, and the Pawnee lack of 721]
that right, is that it represents dramatically the fact that for generations
past, as a result of their treaties, which the Pawnee held sacred, few if any
war parties had been sent out ceremonially by the Pawnee. War exploits
during the Nineteenth Century were limited essentially to defensive tactics,
or to fighting as members of the United States army (see Chapter 1).

575 These were highly decorative and spectacular affairs, but seem to lack ceremonial elements.

The society appointed as soldiers dress up their lances and prepare a horse to bear them. The keepers of the lances always led in the journeys of the camp on the hunt and set up the lances at the places where the soldier lodge was to be. Here they are kept and any person in the camp can take them up when going out to look for buffalo. When going out to take the buffalo, the lance bearers lead and hold the line by the lances, no one being supposed to go in advance. When buffalo are surrounded the lance bearers act as the chief police, see that a fair division of the meat is made, settle disputes, etc. Then while butchering is going on the lance bearers go up to a hill and watch for enemies and are the last to come into camp.

The lances of the bundle societies were the leading ones and of them the crow lances were the last to be renewed and were in a way the highest in
[726] rank. When going into battle, bearers of this special lance, must be the very last to retreat. The same is true in counting coup, they must wait until all are through. All the lance bearers must be at the front and may plant their lances in the ground far out in advance; this is a signal for all the members to rally around the standard and stand fast.

[721] The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids but only used to repel or meet a general attack. The seats of members were
[616] fixed and arranged around the lodge in two halves, the north and south sides. This corresponds in a way to the bundle scheme as demonstrated in Fig. 1. New members were given seats according to the side of their village bundle. This, of course, applies to the Skidi; the other divisions assigned new members to a side according to the places of their respective ancestors.

[616] The north side conducts, or leads, in the winter ceremonies; the south, the summer. The organization of each side is: a leader or chief, two drummers and singers, one lance bearer, and one errand man, or doorkeeper. There is also a herald who in outdoor ceremonies is mounted. Thus, for a society as a whole the number of officers is double the above.

575 When winter approaches, the societies hold a special ceremony by which the lances are stripped and the dressings wrapped up to remain until the
796 renewing ceremony of the following spring. At the renewing ceremony the old lances are first reassembled but permanently retired when the new ones have been installed. They are not destroyed but kept to place in the graves of great warriors.

575 When the lance is planted before the enemy, the bearer knows that he must stand fast, he cannot take it up except to advance it toward the enemy.
726 Hence, the planting of the lance is really the "no flight" obligation. If, however, the lance is in danger, another member may take it up and carry it out. The bearer may then retire.

side and the one on the south side in front of the south men. Then he placed the 276 second bowl from both the north and south sides before the third and fourth men on either side and so on until all the bowls were in front of them and then they ate. 575 The bowls were passed down towards the entrance and what remained was the share of the two assistants. When the corn was all eaten the assistants gathered up the bowls and put them away. Then the meat, bread, and coffee were passed without any ceremony.

Known-the-leader said, "Men, old men, and young men, our fathers are now complete. Tomorrow we will have the dance. We have made the smoke offering to the gods and they will be thankful. We have also offered our corn to the gods and they will watch over us.[1] We will now prepare to leave this tipi. We have eaten and smoked."

This ends the ceremony for the making of the lances.

The regalia are two lances, four rattles, and four hand drums (Fig. 3). 575 There is also a special pipe as shown in the sketch, Fig. 5. The four singers [293] wore foxskin caps and painted their faces white, marking down with the fingers. The members have no fixed painting, being permitted to follow [302] their fancy. Formerly, they danced nude and carried weapons at their pleasure. The mode of dancing through the village and conducting the buffalo hunt has been described, these procedures being the same for each society.

As noted in the table the Chauí also had this society, though with them it was of minor importance. There were also small differences in the arrangement of the feathers on the lance.

THE SKIDÍ RED LANCE SOCIETY.

The rarispahat, red lance or otter lance society among the Skidí had two lances as shown in the sketch. Here the one for the north side of the lodge was wrapped with dark otter fur, the one for the south side with reddish [293] fur. The leader had a pipe, there were four rattles and four hand drums. The renewing of the lances and other ceremonies were as described for the bundle societies in general. This society does not occur elsewhere except in the Wolf-standing-in-water village, but here there is but one lance and the stone on the bowstring is wanting. There were probably important differences in the ritual but there are no data available.

This society was almost never called upon to act as hunting police, but [721] was often called upon to lead in war. It will be noted that the lances, in contrast to those of the preceding, carry real spear points. Their power

---

[1] The smoke and food offerings have practically the same form in all ceremonies.

575 for war. In fact, this is the society that is called upon to police the buffalo hunt and in this capacity the members conduct themselves as described above. As an organization it is the counterpart of the Skidi two lance society.

THE THUNDERBIRD LANCE.

The raris kuhat, or thunderbird lance society is found among the Skidi and the Squash Vine people. The following account is from data supplied by the Skidi.

In winter the members procure the thunderbird (in this case the swan,
[825] though outsiders are led to believe it to be the eagle) which is skinned by
the leader as in the case of the preceding society. The feathers are plucked,
leaving the down upon the skin, and with this the lance is wrapped at the
renewing ceremony in the spring. This society is never called upon to act
[721] as police in the buffalo hunt, but for leadership and defense in war; in this
respect whatever was said of the preceding society, applies equally well
[821] here. The point of the lance is of flint stone because this stone is believed
to be related to the thunders since it is said that such will be found where-
[823] ever the lightning strikes. Thus, this stone lance head symbolizes the power
to strike down a person before he is aware of danger.

As stated before, the trophies of victory may be turned over to this society that they may inaugurate the victory dance and as it progresses, the whole is turned over to the women. In former times, it was the custom for the sexes to mingle freely without restraint and during the dance.

In the Squash Vine village the lances were wrapped with loonskin instead of swan and loon heads were placed on the end of the curved top; also some loon feathers. On the sinew string were soft down feathers. Four old men were taken in to recount the deeds of the members.

THE CROW LANCE.

The hatu^{h}ka society was found among each of the four divisions but not
in the independent villages. It was everywhere the same, except that the
[184] peculiar feature of tying the members together was practised by the Skidi
alone. In all cases this society was the last to renew in the spring, disband
in the winter, to leave the line of battle, to follow the camp, etc.

The following account applies particularly to the Skidi: —

575 The name usually given this society is hatu^{h}ka (those coming behind), so named
773 because of their peculiar custom of marching at the extreme rear of the tribal procession. The society is said to have been handed down by the crows but in reality

THE ORGANIZED WAR PARTY.

There was a fixed ritual for the control of a war party, which when 701
organized for a foray was for the time being a kind of wolf society (araris
taka, society of the white wolf). Its mythological basis is quite funda- 721
mental, being that part of the creation myth in which a wolf pursued man 726
and deceived him. In any event, the god of war is a mythical wolf and it
was directed that a wolfskin should always be placed at the top of a bundle [776]
and that the Skidi were to be the wolf people, as the name implies. Hence, to become a real warrior one must follow the ways of the wolf. One who does so can go to the keeper of a bundle and borrow the war clothing therein together with the pipe. The wolfskin remains in the bundle, but the objects he takes away carry with them the power of the wolf. By their association with the bundle, these war clothes represent the powers of the west and when the borrower is so clothed these powers are with him. He can now organize and lead a war party, but he himself must not imitate the wolf, that is left to his followers. Thus, they become like the wolf first placed upon the earth and may have power to steal upon the enemy and get away without being discovered.

Before setting out upon a foray a ceremony is held in the village in which 726
as in all else the borrower of the regalia from the bundle is the leader. An
altar is made and the bundle from which the regalia are to be borrowed is [778]
brought in and placed before the leader. Upon it is the wolfskin and in the minds of the warriors the wolf is present and, hence, always with them upon the way. A buffalo skull rests upon the altar.

The war regalia of the bundle are usually a pipe, a collar, a lariat rope, a hawkskin, an ear of corn (Mother Corn), some red paint, down feathers, and a leader's feathers.

As the bundle is present there must be a north and south side and two leaders. On the march they go abreast with the others behind in order of their rank. A four-day ceremony follows, before setting out. On the way, their organization is for each side, or line: a leader, two scouts, two soldiers, the warriors, and the inexperienced assistants. The four scouts are really charged with the responsibility of the movement and may be said to be in command (see p. 55) though the leaders stand for the highest authority.
They scout about in the early hours of the day and at all times on the [201]
journey. Their signals are made as wolf cries. When a scout has anything
to report, he tells it privately to the leader of his side. At the proper time the leader announces the import of the report in a formal ritualistic manner. They never approach or in fact go anywhere in a direct line, but follow an

539 756 set of songs was sung the dancers attacked the fire. Finally, Crow-feather danced up to the kettle which was full of boiling soup and took a piece of meat out with his bare hands. He gave it to one of the spectators who burned his hands with it. The rest of the members also did this. At length the dancers dipped bunches of corn husks into the kettle and whipped each other with them but did not burn. The dancing ended when the fire went out.

This was the first ceremony of this kind. After the dance Crow-feather said, "You must now make the headdresses and bustles. Some day we will give a public dance when all must bring spears, bows and arrows, war clubs, and shields so that you can imitate the attack on an enemy in your dance. It shall be known as iruska (fire inside of you). The red headdress represents fire, the black hair fringe represents smoke.[1] This will not be a social dance, neither will the members act as soldiers for the chiefs. We shall be known as medicinemen."

THE ONE HORN DANCE.

535 756 •721 The members of the one horn dance (raris arika) were young men eligible to go to war. For the dance, the regalia of all the societies were gathered: the war clubs from the sacred bundles, spears, war shields, bows and arrows. During the ceremony they called upon Pahukatawa (Hills along the banks of a river) to help them kill or count coup on the enemy. [783] Women were not admitted for Pahukatawa directed them to bar women for fear some would be unclean.

[533] The dance was held only when Pahukatawa ordered it and then only before an attack by the enemy. The songs imitated the bellowing of buffalo. Each dancer seemed possessed with the spirit of a particular animal which he imitated. The dancers wore their war regalia. Those who had war-bonnets had to fasten a whole buffalo horn on the right side of the bonnet. Each dancer was painted according to the dreams of visions he had experienced. [302] Those representing crows painted with charcoal or soot; jack-rabbits painted with white earthen clay; buffalo were smeared over the mouth and nose with buffalo urine mud; those with bear spirits were painted with red or yellow which represented the sun for the bears sought power from the sun.

---

[1] The headdress is the imitation of fire, the red for the blaze, the black hair for smoke. The feather represents the iruska man who understands the fire. He is standing in the fire or has placed the fire about his whole body. The headdress represents the fireplace, the bone tube the medicine, and the feather, the man himself standing in the center of the fireplace. According to tradition, man came from an ear of corn and corn has life and life is fire. The original word for iruska is iriska (singular), iruska (plural), they are inside fire. The wood used for the iruska fire was cottonwood and willows.

They had one large drum which was made according to the directions of 534
Pahukatawa. Several men cut down a large water willow tree which was 721
split into several pieces. The best piece was planed down then bent over 756
and fastened together with sinew. Four flints were tied inside the drum.
The head was covered with buffalo hide and sewed with a rawhide string.
When dried it was painted black, the rim red, and four buffalo skulls were
marked on the sides.

There were four regular singers and two assistants. Any of the singers [533]
was permitted to dance.

This war dance was held to teach the men how to act during battle and 721
to remind them that there was a being who watched over them and gave 756
them courage.

The origin myth is as follows: —

One day when the Skidi' lived in their old village in Nebraska, seven men went 539
out hunting toward the west. After a few days they came to a willow-covered 721
ravine where they camped. Before sunrise the next morning the youngest among 756
the hunters went up in the hills. As he came to the top of a hill he saw the enemy
approaching. Instead of running towards camp he ran towards some heavy timber.
The enemy followed. As the young man was afoot they soon overtook and surrounded
him. He fought until all his arrows were gone and then they killed him.

The other hunters remained in the ravine and when the enemy left went to the place where the young man had been killed. They found arrows stuck in the ground and long poles scattered about. The young man's body seemed missing, but finally they found it cut up and strewn over the ground. They gathered up the pieces and laid him out. They went home and told the people how the young man had been killed. All the village started out to bury the young man. When they arrived at the scene of the fight they found the arrows and poles but not a sign of the young man. They camped here for several days and searched for the man's bones, but in vain. They continued to the west to hunt buffalo.

Several years passed and the incident was forgotten. One winter evening when the people were living in their mud-lodges some men who were singing round the village noticed flashes of light here and there. They took this to be a warning that the enemy was coming to attack them.

Finally the village quieted down. One man only could not sleep. As he lay awake he heard a sound like rattling buffalo hoofs. The sound came into the lodge and then stopped. As he watched and listened, the man felt first a cold wind and then warm wind against his face and someone whispered: "My brother, I am here. I am the one who was killed a few years ago. I am not dead. I am alive. When I was killed and my body was cut up and pieced together again, the powers in the heavens, on the earth and beneath it, pitied me. They caused all the birds and animals to congregate and make me live again. They promised to return the parts of me they had eaten. Everything but my brains was returned. An eagle and a buffalo bull wished to give me life so they suggested that the thunderbirds (swans) give me their down for brains. You see I cannot speak well for I have no brains. I am everything. When the lights appeared they saw me. I am part of the winds."

"Before sunrise tomorrow you must go to the hills where I will meet you. Fill

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 your pipe and let me smoke. Do not fill it with sumach leaves but with tobacco
539 mixed with shavings from an old pipestem. When you light the pipe, hand it to me
721 saying 'Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa.' I will take it and smoke. You
756 will know me as Pahukatawa. Now prepare the smoke for me."

The man took an old pipestem from a sacred bundle and scraped it. He mixed the shavings with tobacco, filled the pipe, lighted it and handing it to the mysterious man said, "Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." All this took place in the dark. The man could see no one, he heard only the whispering. When he passed the pipe someone took it and began to smoke. His visitor took a few whiffs and whispered, "Take the pipe, it is empty. Fill it again and let me smoke." He refilled the pipe and after drawing on it a few times returned it and said, "Brother the smoke is good. Be sure to meet me in the hills tomorrow before sunrise. I chose you, for I like your spirit. I will come to speak to you often. You must have my smoke ready."

He heard buffalo hoofs rattle and could almost see a buffalo walk out of the lodge. Before sunrise the man went out to the hills. He climbed one hill and as he was going down another he came to a deep ravine. He heard a strange cry and as he looked towards the ravine saw a mountain lion ready to spring. He ran back and in a deeper canyon saw a grizzly tearing up the ground. He was frightened and as he looked about for a means of escape, canyon and bear disappeared, and a man stood before him, laughing. The man said, "Brother, why are you frightened? Didn't I ask you to meet me here? That mountain lion was I, so was the bear. Because you were afraid of these animals you will not receive their power. Go home and return tomorrow before sunrise."

The stranger disappeared and the man went home and slept throughout the day. In the evening he filled his pipe and standing outside, west of his lodge, he blew smoke four times to the west and said "Brother, Pahukatawa, I offer you this smoke, do not forget me. Pity me and I will do as you wish." He emptied the ashes from his pipe and went inside the lodge. At dawn he went west into the hills. When he had passed he heard strange sounds which he took to be shouting. The enemy was attacking him; he tried to hide, but could not. The leader carried a pole hung with human scalps. He was frightened and ran. Before him stood the man he had seen the day before. The stranger scolded him and told him that he was the leader of the supposed enemy and intended to endow him with bravery in battle, with power to take scalps and count coups.

Then he told the man to go into the ravine. When he arrived, he saw a buffalo bull charging him. He was not frightened this time. When the bull came close and was about to run him down he closed his eyes, when he opened them, the stranger stood there, wearing a buffalo robe and buckskin leggings. He carried a whole eagle on his back and in his right hand held a staff six feet long upon which was tied eagle down.

The stranger said, "Brother, you have chosen well. I will give you these things. You are to be neither a warrior nor a chief, but a prophet among your people. Repeat to them what I tell you. I have great power from the gods in the heavens and on the earth. I was brought to life again that I might save my people from starvation and from their enemies. If the people see flashes of light around the village tell them they must be quiet. Tell them I am near, and that I bring a message to them for their good. You receive my power as the sun rises. From now on you will be known as Coming-sun. Take these things to your home and I will tell you more about them."

The man disappeared but left the regalia on the ground.[1]

---

[1] For a different version see Grinnell, (b), 143.

The same day, Coming-sun invited Big-eagle, the chief of the village, to eat with him. Then he detailed all that had happened from the time of the first flashes of light. The chief examined the bundle of regalia and sent a crier through the village to tell the people not to fear the flashing light for it was Pahukatawa who was killed long ago. Some believed and some doubted the truth of this. 539 721 756

At night Pahukatawa came to Coming-sun and smoked with him and said, "I know our people do not believe you and me, but the time will come when they will." Then Pahukatawa disappeared. He visited Coming-sun now and then and told him that he could not live with the people because he had no brain, but would come when they needed him.

From that time flashes of light were a signal that Pahukatawa was near which was followed the next day by news of an approaching enemy. The people recognized the power of the lights. When Coming-sun heard the buffalo in his lodge he prepared the pipe in the usual way and passed it saying, "Take the pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." After he had smoked, he said, "Brother, I came a long way. I have been among our enemies. All the different tribes have received and smoked the war pipe from the Sioux. They will make war upon us. I have come to tell you so you can warn the people. They intend to wipe us out and burn our village. Tell the people I am coming into this lodge tomorrow. Every keeper of a sacred bundle must bring some native tobacco from it to this lodge. The gods in the heavens and your friends who have passed away wish this tobacco. Be sure that the people bring the tobacco."

The next day Coming-sun told Big-eagle what Pahukatawa had ordered. He sent a crier through the village with the announcement. During the day Coming-sun's lodge was prepared, the beds were removed. In the evening, Coming-sun, Big-eagle, and the crier sat in the lodge, smoking. A fire burned in the fireplace. Then Coming-sun heard a whisper, "Tell the cryer to go to each bundle keeper and ask him to bring tobacco to the lodge where Pahukatawa is waiting."

Soon the men began to come in with their tobacco which they placed in front of the altar which was west of the fireplace. The lodge faced east. When all the tobacco was brought in, it made a large pile extending north and south across the lodge. Spectators soon began to crowd into Coming-sun's lodge for they had heard Pahukatawa was there. They could not see him, but when the fire burned low they saw him in the form of a buffalo sitting down, as an eagle, and for an instant as a man.

Coming-sun said, "Pahukatawa says that it is now that the gods in the heavens and our dead relatives receive the tobacco. He says I must distribute it." Coming-sun sat behind the tobacco and threw it about, but it

539 did not fall on the ground. When the tobacco was scattered, he sat at the
altar and said, "Pahukatawa says the gods are pleased with the tobacco."
721 Coming-sun told the people that Pahukatawa had told him about a new
756 society and dance, the one horn dance. The people wondered how Pahukatawa would leave the lodge. He knew what they were thinking about and whispered to Coming-sun. "Tell the people that Pahukatawa will leave now, and wishes them to come back in the morning and stay in the lodge all day and plan for the new ceremony." Then Coming-sun said, "Watch Pahukatawa leave us." They watched but instead of a man they saw a buffalo bull rise, shake itself, and disappear. Then they saw where the tobacco had spread. A whirlwind came up, passed through the lodge, and disappeared. The people knew he had gone and left the lodge. Coming-sun and Big-eagle remained behind.

In the afternoon they sent for men proficient in drum-making who were told to obtain timber and buffalo bull hides for constructing the drums. Weeping willow timber was split and planed; the hides were cut in circles and sewed with buffalo sinew. In the evening the drum was still incomplete. The men went to their respective lodges for food.

Coming-sun and Big-eagle sat at the altar. Chiefs and important men made their way to the lodge for they were convinced as to what they had seen. Coming-sun felt cold and warm winds and told Big-eagle that Pahukatawa was with them. Coming-sun prepared his pipe and said, "Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." In reply, he heard a whispered "Rawa rawa" (now, now). Someone took the pipe and both men heard the smoke inhaled. Then the pipe was returned. Pahukatawa whispered to Coming-sun that the enemy was approaching. He ordered that in the next three days the people join in building a high embankment around the village. On the fourth night Pahukatawa promised to return. Every man was to be prepared with plenty of arrows, bows, and spears for the dance to be held the next day. Then Pahukatawa disappeared in the form of a whirlwind.

Big-eagle said, "All those here present must help build the earthworks and prepare the bows, arrows, and spears." The next day the people did as they were bidden. At night, Coming-sun and Big-eagle sat in the lodge surrounded by a lot of men. When the drum was ready they taught them the song.

Towards evening of the fourth day Coming-sun told Big-eagle to have the men drive their ponies into camp and decorate their fast horses and then go to Coming-sun's lodge with all the regalia they used in battle. Women were not permitted to enter the lodge. The drum was placed near the altar and behind it sat Coming-sun and Big-eagle. A large fire was built. Then

Pahukatawa entered the lodge and the pipe was offered him as before. He whispered, "I have come from the enemy's camp which is very near. They will be here tomorrow and we must be ready to meet them. They are very numerous. I will sit before the singers and you two. I will whisper to you what to say to the people. You will see me in many forms. When I am in human form I will sit near you and talk to you. When the men come in have the singers sit around the drum and tell the men to prepare themselves as if they were going into battle. Tell them to wear their quivers over their shoulders but to carry their bows and arrows in their hands. All the men who are to dance must carry their weapons. They are now coming in and I must make myself visible to them for many still doubt me. They do not believe I am here." 539 721 756

Big-eagle saw Pahukatawa in the form of a buffalo, then as an eagle, a wolf, and finally as a man. Those who had known him when he was alive said, "It is he." When everything was ready, the drummers began to sing peculiar songs which the others soon learned. In dancing, they imitated animals, then the drum would be beaten and the men would raise their weapons and charge and then continue the dance.

Pahukatawa whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the men to jump up and down and circle the lodge as they dance. Shake the earth for they will receive strength from it. As he dances each man must decide what to do to the enemy the next day. At the end of each song one man should address me and say, 'Pahukatawa, I wish to kill so many; I wish to count so many coups, or take so many scalps.' If I can grant their wishes, I will do so."

After each dance some man stopped and made his request to Pahukatawa, who whispered to Coming-sun, "What he wishes to do, he will do." One young man said, "Pahukatawa I wish to kill nine men. When I attack the tenth man, I wish to be seriously wounded, but wish to recover." Pahukatawa said, "That young man has no faith in me, but what he says will come true." Coming-sun told the men they must not ask to be wounded or killed. The dance continued throughout the night. One feeble old man arose and said, "Pahukatawa, I am old. I have been a great man in my day. I am glad you are with us. I want to count coup once more. Before I die I wish to strike twelve men for I wish to be leader of the party. I want to capture the thirteenth man so that I can bring him home for the women to mock. Pahukatawa whispered, "Tell the man all that he has said will come true."

Towards dawn when the men were resting and smoking, Pahukatawa, whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the people our enemies are up now and are decorating themselves and their horses. I must go now. I will let the people see me before I disappear. I will go to our enemies. I will watch

them and when they start I will appear on yonder hills as a buffalo. When
539 they are ready to attack your village, I will cause the rain to fall so their
● 721 weapons will be wet. Do not fear them I will be near you. After you see
756 the cloud, I will appear as a wolf and then get behind the breastworks and
defend your women and children."

Then they danced again and Pahukatawa disappeared. Big-eagle dismissed the men and bade them prepare for the attack. As the sun rose someone shouted, "A buffalo is coming over the hills." Then the people knew that Pahukatawa's prophecy was being fulfilled. A small black cloud appeared in the west and a wolf was seen in the hills. Then the people ran to the breastworks. They saw the enemy approaching over the hills from every direction. They charged right into the village but the men shot and killed many of the enemy until their bowstrings were broken and their arrow-heads loose and then they retreated. The men rode after them with their ponies. Each one acted as he had wished during the dance.

The feeble old man was in the battle. When he killed a man he counted coup on him. He rode along until he came up to a man who seemed defiant. The old man waved his hand at him and he threw away his weapons. The old man jumped off his horse and threw the man to the ground with his face downward. He stood on his back, caught his right arm, pulled it out of its socket, and did the same with the left. Then he stood him up, tied a rope round his waist, and led the captive home. As he approached the village he met some old women singing the victory songs. The man threw the rope to them and said, "Take him, you braves, and do as you please with him. He was the leader of the war party."

The old woman took the prisoner. Men came in groups singing victory songs and told of daring deeds; some came with scalps tied to poles and some with scalps under their belts. Women dances, scalp dances, and victory dances were held for many days. The last dance was one by the women acting as men. Women were at liberty to go with any man and men with any woman.

After resting, the men gathered in Coming-sun's lodge and they held the dance during which Pahukatawa appeared at the altar. He whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the men they must keep this dance. They must dance whenever they see fire flashing round their village. The fire is a warning that the enemy is near. In the dance every man must wear a cap with one horn on the right side. Tell them I cannot always be with them, but they must do as I tell them." The men offered tobacco and smoke to Pahukatawa and thanked him for saving the people.

The dance was kept up for a long time, until the light flashes were seen no more. The dance was continued only by brave men and chiefs. After

Coming-sun died, Pahukatawa selected another man to talk to. One night 539 721 this man refused because he was sleepy. To another man Pahukatawa said 756 that he would go away never to return; that he would stay in the north as one of the minor gods in the heavens. He said he would help the people when they called on him.

Since the Pawnee came to Oklahoma they have revived this dance (p. 638). The drum is the same as the old one. At the altar is a whole eagle and in front of it a crooked crow lance. When the ceremony was revived a woman claimed to have seen flashes of light. The dance is still given by the Skidi Pawnee. There is also a pair of leggings which was given to Coming-sun. They have a ceremony known as the warrior's ceremony. This one horn dance was copied by the other three bands, but lacked the power of Pahukatawa. It was a religious dance in which they took part to defend their villages from the enemy. 535 721 756 166

early intimacy would ultimately end in a marriage according to the 836
rites of the tribe, but the girl was not allowed to exercise much choice [582]
in the selection of a husband.

Occasionally it happened that a boy and girl eluded the vigilance
of the parents and lay together. If detected, this was at once
checked. Should the girl become pregnant as a result of their union,
and should the girl's relatives be predisposed to the boy and think
him likely to become a good husband, he was asked to marry her.
The relatives of the young man gathered together and sent presents [584]
of ponies, robes, blankets, and other things to the girl's parents, and
the two young people were married. If the boy was not considered 836
suitable, however, two men were sent to his lodge and he was severely 684
beaten, and on rare occasions died as a result of the punishment. 578
During the beating, tribal custom decreed that the boy's relatives
must not defend him. The young man's parents sometimes tried
to heal the breach between the two families by offering presents
to the parents of the injured girl. If the girl's relatives refused to
accept the boy for a son-in-law, they attempted to secure a husband
for her, which was often a matter of great difficulty. Sometimes the
girl refused to tell the name of the boy who had seduced her and was
driven from her own lodge, in which case she generally went to the [548]
boy's lodge and tried to live there; if they drove her out, she might
be forced to live on the outskirts of the village as a prostitute. Often
if a boy knew that he was about to be held responsible for betraying a [721]
girl he would run away, especially to follow a war party. Occasionally
a couple, realizing their union would displease their relatives,
eloped to some other village. The illicit sexual relations of young
people often resulted in family disputes and conflicts involving most
of the relatives on both sides.

MARRIAGE

Marriage among the Skidi was not entered into lightly or at an 581
early age. The marriage tie was said to be enduring and faithfulness
was expected and demanded. Skidi villages tended to be endogamous 582
and a man married a woman of his own village, to whom he was
not related by close ties of blood. Marriage with a first cousin was
forbidden and marriage with a second cousin, though tolerated,
was not considered proper.

Courtship as we understand it did not play a very important 584
part in marriages among the higher class of Skidi. In fact, no friendship
that might have been formed between a young couple ever
resulted in legal marriage unless the proper relatives of both sides

of each mourner, asking that he cease crying. The chief gave each 765
one a little food to break the fast. The remainder of the food was
next divided, though nothing was distributed among the spectators;
however, at the end of the feast they thanked the chief for his services.

Certain observances were obligatory for widows and widowers. 765
A woman who had lost her husband was supposed to observe carefully 768
a mourning period of at least a year, and in case he had been a man
of prominence she might prolong this to two years. During this
time she lived with her own people or she might stay in the lodge
of her husband's parents. In the latter case it was understood that
at the termination of the mourning period she would become the wife [587]
of her deceased husband's younger brother or the wife of his sister's
son. Until that time she was supposed to remain chaste. A childless [834]
widow invariably returned to her parents' lodge, but following the 768
mourning period she could remarry in the manner just noted or 587
she could marry an outsider. However, in the latter instance she
would not be considered as desirable as at the time she first married
and the gifts to her relatives would be less. Thus if ten ponies were
presented at her first marriage only one or two would be paid when
she married again.

Widowers were supposed to mourn for their wives at least two 765
years, and sometimes mourned three. Many never remarried. 768
Very often when a widower did not seek another spouse he was 587
urged by his relatives to remarry, and they expressed their desire
by offering to furnish the presents necessary to secure a second
wife. As a rule, although a widower mourned for the usual period,
he did not consider marrying again until he had gone on the warpath, taken scalps, and captured ponies. This was a somewhat
formal way of terminating mourning and making himself eligible
for remarriage.

It remains to record certain other observances connected with 765
burial and mourning customs. As a rule, the close friends of the
deceased performed some act of bodily mutilation immediately
after or just before the burial, the men slashing their arms, breasts,
or legs with knives and the women cutting their hair. Hair thus
cut was at once burned, for fear that the Morning Star would see
it upon the grave and claim the victim as his own sacrifice. For
the same reason horse's hair cut off during burial services was also
burned.

On the burial of a warrior killed in battle his close friends and 721
relatives seized the first opportunity to visit enemy country 765

772 and obtain a scalp. This was carried home to the village on a pole, and
765 scalp dances were inaugurated. The scalp was consecrated to one
782 of the deities of the heavens, and the man who had taken it wrapped
a piece of it in a small buckskin sack with tobacco. This was tied to a long stick representing an arrow and thrust into the grave. Another small piece of the scalp was burned upon the grave.

551
765 The name of a dead person could not be mentioned during the mourning period. If anyone mentioned the name of an individual who had been killed in war, it was thought that he would probably suffer the same fate as the person killed.

764
778
821 Reference has been made to the fact that personal belongings were buried with the dead. However, there were certain exceptions to this practice. Personal war bundles containing meteorites or any objects supposed to have had their origin in the heavens were not buried. This was in accordance with the belief that these objects belonged in the heavens and not in the ground. Hence, when an individual possessing such objects died, and if the relatives did not want them, the bundle was unwrapped and the objects were placed on a high hill, whence they returned to the heavens. Such objects were supposed to be the children of stars, watched over by them, and it was believed that when people had no further use for these "children," they would return to their parents in the sky. Also, if a medicine-man died during the time he was giving instruction to his son, his medicine bundle was retained for the boy's use when he became of age.

764
778 A further illustration of the burial of belongings with the dead is contained in the following incident. A Skidi chief's daughter died. The father had received calumet pipe sticks from the Chaui band, and his daughter had participated in the ceremony accompanying the gift. Her death followed shortly after the ceremony and was attributed to the belief that the ceremony had not been properly performed. Consequently, over her grave her father placed the pipe sticks, oriole's nest, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, and tobacco bag that comprised the special objects used in the ceremony. That year drought prevailed, the crops withered, buffalo could not be found, and the Skidi were forced to depend on their cache reserves. The Chaui priest who had originally brought the pipe sticks visited the Skidi, and with the chief to whom he had presented them, went to the grave, removed the ceremonial objects, wrapped them in a bundle, and taking the earth from over the body, placed the bundle next to it. He then re-filled the grave. Shortly after, there

came to magic animals which attacked them, first 539
snakes, then water animals, then buffalo, and last 773
bears. Each of these in turn the Morning Star killed with his club. Then the Moon had no more powers left, and the Morning Star and the Sun entered the village of the women stars. The Morning Star married the Evening Star, and the Sun married the Moon. They took them back to their own village. After a time a child was born to each couple, and these children were placed on earth. They married, and from them sprang the human race.

The Moon put all these obstacles in the way of the Morning Star, because she did not want the people on earth, in after times, to live forever. All these obstacles were sicknesses and troubles which would be brought down upon the people. But the Morning Star and the Sun can give power to men to destroy these ills just as they themselves destroyed the obstacles. /

It has already been said that the sacrifice was most 787
commonly made as a result of a dream or vision in 796
which the Morning Star demanded it. Immediately on waking in the morning, the man who had had the dream went outside his lodge and began crying and mourning, his cries gradually becoming a song. He [533]
sang:— [539]

"When he comes.
When he comes.
Father, I am seeking for you."

By this song he let the people know that he had seen the Morning Star in a vision.

It is said that the man who had had the vision 721
sometimes did not obey the Morning Star, but more 796
often he could neither sleep nor rest until he had captured a maiden for sacrifices. As soon as possible after the vision he went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received from him the warrior's cos-

721 796 tume and sacred objects kept in the bundle for such expeditions. Many warriors usually volunteered to go with him, for it was thought that the object of the expedition insured its success.

726 796 When the party had assembled, they set out for the country of the enemy, sending scouts constantly in advance. [782] If they killed any game on the way, they offered part of it to the Morning Star to remind him that they were on his business. The leader carried the [778] sacred objects from the Morning Star bundle on his back.

When the scouts returned with word that they had found an enemy village, the party retired to some sheltered place and prepared for a ceremony. A circle was cleared, and a fireplace excavated as for a lodge. The leader then opened his pack and put on the sacred warrior's costume, and laid out the other objects to the west of the fireplace. A fire was kindled, and smoke [533] offered to the heavenly gods. All then sang a song symbolizing the overcoming of the Evening Star by the Morning Star and how, from their union, a girl was born. In the course of this song the leader rose and circled the fireplace, acting in pantomime the journey of the Morning Star. At its conclusion he passed out of the circle, and standing facing the east addressed [782] the Morning Star as follows: "I am praying to you as you directed, and we are seeking a sacrifice as you wished. I ask you to show yourself." In answer to [821] this prayer the star was thought to shine with brighter light. The leader then addressed his party thus:—

"Warriors, young men, we are now sitting in a place dedicated to the Morning Star. We are about to sing the song that the Morning Star himself sang when he was in search of a woman, who put obstacles in his way. I want you all to dance with all your might and to be brave. Whoever shall be so lucky as to catch

241 [231] stantly herded and watched during the day time, and shut up in enclosures in the village during the night, fences are unnecessary. While absent from their homes, their fields are subject to depredations from prairie wolves and deer, which however no ordinary fence could restrain.—Because these poor people have no other agricultural implements than hoes, the spots which they are obliged to select for fields, are often at great distances from each other, 241 and frequently from five to eight miles from their village. When 721 abroad, to prepare and plant them in the spring, and gather the corn in the fall, they are often exposed to attacks of their enemies. While the husband is watching from some neighboring eminence to guard against the stealthy approach of any hostile force, the wive is engaged in the labor of the field. With fear and trembling their field-labor is thus performed, and many a one, while so employed, is suddenly fallen upon and killed by a marauding party of enemies.

241 When we visited them, they particularly requested us, "to beg their Great Father, the President, that he should be so kind and 648 again break up some ground for them, as he had done in former years, that they might be able to plant more corn." We have brought in the petition of these destitute people before the proper Department at Washington, and it is greatly to be desired that our benevolent Government may do something for them in their wretched state.

As has already been remarked, they were in an almost starving 721 condition, when we visited them. The hunt had proved unsuc- 731 cessful, so that in the lower village they had no meat whatever, and had to depend upon the little corn that they had raised the preceding year. In the upper village they were also in a miserable condition, for, though they had yet a little dried buffalo-meat, the Sioux had during their absence on the hunt, destroyed their village, (their present lodges had been rebuilt since their return,) and carried off a portion of their corn, burnt another portion, and thus very little remained concealed in the "caches," which are made in their lodges.*

---

251 * A *cache* is a term common among traders and hunters, to designate a hiding-place for provisions and effects. It is derived from the French word *cacher*, to conceal, and originated among the early colonists of Canada and Louisiana; but the secret depository which it designates was in use among the aboriginals long before the intrusion of the white men. It is, in fact, the only mode that migratory hordes have of preserving their valuables from robbery, during their long absences from their villages or accustomed haunts, on hunting expeditions, or during the vicissitudes of war. The utmost skill and caution are required to render their places of concealment invisible to the lynx eye of an Indian. The first care is to seek out a proper situation, which is generally some dry low bank of clay, on the margin of a water course. As soon as the precise spot is pitched upon, blankets, saddle clothes, and other

plain, its strength became exhausted, it came to the ground, and 223
was at once dispatched by those nearest to it.

Almost before the turkey's fate had been decided, many of the 4-84
lodges had been pitched, and now the slender gray columns from a hundred camp-fires began to climb up through the still air toward the blue above. The women were hard at work cooking, or spreading out freshly killed robes, or putting up drying scaffolds, while the [462]
men lounged in the shade and smoked or chatted. Our wagon was halted at one side of the camp, and the tired horses and mules were stripped of saddles and harness, and picketed near at hand. The Indian pack ponies were collected and driven off on the upland in charge of several boys.

We had invitations to eat meat at several lodges that day. Usually 574
we did not accept these freely proffered hospitalities, because we had no means of returning them, but one of these invitations came from a particular friend, and to-day we broke through our rule. We feasted on roast ribs, *ka'wis*, and dried meat, and really had a delightful time. It was about three o'clock when we finished the meal, and we were lounging about the lodge, smoking and chatting, in lazy after-dinner fashion, when we were startled by a series of yells and shouts, among which I distinguished the words "*Cha'-ra-rat wa-ta'* 648
—The Sioux are coming." Our Indian companions snatched up their 721 ●
arms, and rushed out of the lodge, and we were not slow in following. "*Sūks-e-kitta-wit wis-kūts*—Get on your horses quick," shouted our host. The camp was in a state of wild excitement. Naked men were running to their horses, and jerking their lariats from the picket pins, sprang on their backs and rode hard for the hills; while women and boys rushed about, catching horses, and bringing them in among the lodges, where they were securely fastened. Less than a mile away, we saw the horse herd dashing along at top speed, and a little to one side of it a horseman riding in circles, and waving his blanket before him. It was evident that the Sioux were trying to run off the herd. We ran as hard as we could to the wagon, caught up rifles and cartridge belts, and buckling on the latter as we ran, kept on to the horses. There was no time to saddle up. We looped the ropes around their jaws, sprang on their naked backs, and were off. As

648 we rode up on the prairie, the herd of ponies thundered by, and
721 swept down the bluffs to the camp. The rolling expanse before us was dotted with Indians, each one urging forward his horse to its utmost speed. Many of them were already a long way in advance, and were passing over the furthest high bluff, which seemed to rise up and meet the sky. Hard as we might push our ponies, there was little hope that we would be in time to have any hand in the encounter—if one took place—between the Pawnees and their hereditary foes.

We kept on until we reached the crest of the high bluff. From here we could see far off over the plain, dozens of black dots strung out after one another. Nearer at hand, other Indians, whose steeds, like ours, had proved too slow for the swift pursuit, were riding back toward us, showing in their faces the disappointment which they felt at being left behind. With these we turned about, and rode toward the camp. Among them was one of the herd boys, for the moment a hero, who had to repeat his story again and again. He had been sitting on top of a hill, not far from the horses, when he discovered several Sioux stealing toward them through a ravine. Signaling his comrades, they succeeded in getting the herd in motion before the robbers had approached very close to them. Eight of the slowest horses had dropped behind during the flight, and had no doubt fallen into the hands of the enemy.

One by one, the Indians came straggling back to camp during the afternoon and evening, but it was not until late that night that the main body of the pursuers came in. They had ten extra horses, two of which they had taken in turn from the Sioux. They had no scalps, however, for they had been unable to overtake the enemy.

Long we sat that night by the fire in *Pi'ta Le-shar's* lodge, talking over the exciting event of the afternoon; and as we rose to go to our wagons, and said good night, the old man, who had been silently gazing into the coals for some time, looked up at me and smiled, saying, "*Wa-ti-hes ti-kōt-it ti-ra-hah*—To-morrow we will kill buffalo."

224 When we turned out of our blankets the next morning, a heavy mist hung over the prairie. This was unfortunate, for so long as the fog lasted it would be impossible for the scouts to see far enough to discover the buffalo. The first few hours of the march were un-

114 his aboriginal heroes. There are good men among Indians, just as among the whites. The prevalent notion of the Indian has been formed from the worst class of this people, the lazy, filthy beggars who haunt the settlements of the West, who to their own vices have added new ones picked up from their surroundings, and who are hopelessly degraded. These are not typical Indians, and it is unjust to judge a whole race from such degenerate specimens. There is still another notion of the Indian fondly cherished by many worthy people, whose sympathies have been wrought upon by the cruelty and injustice with which we have treated this race. These good people look upon all Indians as simple children of nature, who would do no wrong if they had not been contaminated by contact with vicious whites. It is unnecessary to say that this notion of the Indian is also incorrect.

114 181 The Indian is neither a fiend nor a saint. There are good ones and bad ones. As a rule, perhaps they try to act up to their ideas of what is right, but the standard of a race of barbarians cannot be the same as that of a civilized people, and in judging of their character we must make allowances for this difference. The standard of right and wrong among civilized people is a growth, the product of the experience of thousands of years. The Indian races have not been through a like experience. They have regarded as virtues some things which seem to us the worst of crimes. The Indian differs from the white man in education and manner of life, and so, of course, in his modes of thought. He has not been taught the lesson of self-control, which his surroundings oblige each civilized man to begin to learn as a child. He has known until recent times no law save that of strength. He has been [726] taught that war is the noblest of pursuits—the only one worthy of man. And that war has consisted in making forays upon his enemies, taking their possessions, and, if possible, their lives and their scalps. His warfare consisted in surprises rather than open combat. A scalp taken [727] was a trophy of victory; and the scalp of a woman was almost as eagerly sought as that of a brave or of a chief. It was an evidence of injury inflicted on the enemy. To steal horses from the enemy was an achievement creditable and also profitable.

● 721 We commonly speak of the raids of war parties as horse stealing expeditions, but this is wholly misleading, because to the civilized understanding the phrase horse stealing carries with it an idea of dis-

honesty. No such meaning attaches to the Indian equivalent of this 721
phrase. They take horses by stratagem or secretly, by the usual, and to
them legitimate, methods of warfare. To speak of their stealing horses,
using that verb in the sense which we commonly give it, would be
like saying that an army stole the cannon which it captured in an engagement
with the enemy. Captured horses were the legitimate spoils [556]
of war. The wealth of the Indians was in their horses. They had no
fortified places, no ships of war, no cannon, no works of art. Their
only valuable possessions were their horses. These were the only
property that could be carried off. Therefore, when an expedition was
made against a hostile tribe, scalps and horses were naturally its object.
Horses, being their only valuable possessions, constituted their 436
medium of exchange, so far as they had any. Did a man wish to 231
purchase an ornament, or an article of dress which took his fancy,
he gave a horse for it. If he bought a wife he paid for her in horses. [583]
The most valuable present that could be made was a good horse; and
horses were often given by the well-to-do to their friends and relations
who had been sick or unfortunate. On the other hand, when, as was
sometimes the case, a conquered tribe was condemned to pay a war [728]
indemnity, they paid it in horses. It is related that when the Skidi
broke their treaty with the other bands, and were afterward conquered
by them, they were obligated to pay such a fine.

This view of Indian warfare being understood, the motive of the 538
hero stories here given, and of many of the folk-tales, becomes plain.

The Pawnees are essentially a religious people. They worship 771
Ti-ra'-wa, who is in and of everything. Unlike many of the Indian 776
tribes of the West, they do not adore any material thing. They regard
certain places as sacred, but these are so only because blessed by the
Divine presence. The Pawnee Deity is not personified. He is intangible,
quite as much so as the God of the Christians. The sacred character of
Ti-ra'-wa extends to animal nature. The fishes which swim in the
rivers, the birds of the air and the beasts which roam over the prairie,
have sometimes intelligence, knowledge and power far beyond those
of man. But they are not gods. Their miraculous attributes are given
them by the Ruler, whose servants they are, and who often makes
them the medium of his communications to man. They are his messengers—his
angels—and their powers are always used for good.

773 796 782 the order of the procession—the four leading scouts, firemakers, cooks, and messengers.

773 796 782 •721 726 After traveling 15 or 20 miles, they lay down to sleep among the thick weeds, resuming their journey through the afternoon to a timbered spot where they made camp. The errand man cleared the ground, made a little fireplace in the middle, and the leader took off his costume and put it at the west end of the fireplace where the altar would be in the earth lodge. They all sat around the fireplace in order of their rank and cosmic affiliation, ate a meal, and talked a while; then the leader told them to lie down while he watched the sky and from time to time smoked his pipe. Just before the Morning Star rose, the scouts went out; when the star came up the leader began to recite the ritual, and hearing it everyone awakened and they continued on their journey. At noon they stopped, the scouts joined them and reported what they had seen; in the afternoon, they continued with their journey. Every day they traveled this way until the scouts reported that they had seen signs of the enemy. When the village was sighted, the scouts went all around, counting the tipis and generally taking stock of the situation. They made a final camp in the timber, making a large circle as if for an earth lodge, a fireplace in the middle with the excavated earth from the fireplace in a little mound to the east outside the circle. At the request of the leader, the warriors placed their gifts at the west, and taking some tobacco from the feet of the wildcat skin, he filled the sacred pipe and one of the men was chosen to do the ceremonial smoking to the celestial powers. The scouts made a final check of the enemy camp and when they got back, the leader ordered a large fire built and the ritual dancing began. The leading members of the party sang the songs of the creation: "The power of the *earth* goes through the enemy's country; the power of the *timbers, water, seeds. . . .*" Others all sang and danced. "This is the way I do when I am imitating him (the Morning Star), when I become angry, when I am imitating him," and as they sang and danced, they attacked the fire as if it were the enemy. At the rise of the Morning Star, the leader also danced, put on some of his regalia, and got his pipe ready, and they set out for the enemy village, the scouts in the lead. In his prayer to the Morning Star he asked that he lose none of his men. At the enemy village, the leader was stationed at the east facing the Morning Star; he sent his assistant to lead a party around by north and another man by south to surround the village. At the southeast the man representing the Fools-the-Wolves Star was to alert them with his first wolf cry, and then at his second wolf signal everyone would attack the village. They were reminded that they were not to kill unless it was necessary, but only to locate a thirteen-year-old girl and pronounce her holy for the Great Star. The one who found her was assisted by the others to bring her to the leader. No one else in the village was to be harmed. The four scouts were to

drive the horses from the village toward their encampment so that they 773
could leave in a hurry. The enemy would not immediately attempt a 796
pursuit as there was a feeling that this was a kind of cosmic destiny. 782
Retribution would be visited upon the whole tribe later on in a regu-
lar war party. The girl was placed on a pony behind her captor, and 721
they rode all day, sleeping only three hours during the night until they 726
approached the village. As they approached, the leader set the prairie on fire to let them know that they had been successful. The warriors smeared their faces with soot. The Morning Star priest came out and led the captive girl to the village and to his lodge.

Now that the girl had been captured the first stage of the warrior's 773
mission had been accomplished. The sacrifice would not take place until
the following spring. The whole tribe would go off on the winter buf- 796
falo hunt, taking the girl with them. When they got back to the village 782
and the creation ceremony had been performed, the priest of the Morn- 727
ing Star would watch for a sign from the cosmic god that the time for the ceremony had arrived. Meanwhile, the returned war party settled back in the village. The visionary warrior went to the lodge of the Morning Star priest and returned the costume which was replaced in the sacred bundle. Warriors told how many of the enemy they had touched and the war counts they should receive because of this and the number killed.
The women danced the victory dance. The keeper of the Wolf bundle 773
was called to the Morning Star lodge to take over the care of the girl 796
who would remain in his charge until the time of sacrifice, throughout
the period of the winter buffalo hunt and the spring that followed. He 782
was to watch over her at all times and was to take her for her meals to the home of the visionary warrior. According to the creation legend, the wolf was the first creature to suffer death; he was murdered by the people because of his perfidious conduct and as a result from that time
on all living things must die (see below, pp. 328-329). The Wolf bundle [778]
commemorated these incidents and its keeper was thought to be a descendant of the original owners. Sirius, the southeast star, was the Wolf Star and it was connected with death. The Wolf man now entered the lodge of the Morning Star priest who bathed both him and the girl in incense from the smoke of burning sweet grass—first the girl and then the man. Then the girl's costume was taken from the Morning Star bundle. She was rubbed with red ointment made of pigment and buffalo fat and dressed in a calfskin skirt tied around the waist by a rope, an overblouse, a warm buffalo robe, some black moccasins, and a soft down feather to wear in her hair. She was given a special wooden bowl and a buffalo horn spoon for her exclusive use at meals, that was also taken from the bundle. It was dangerous for others to use her utensils as the supernatural beings might then consider them part of the sacrifice.

While they were on the winter hunt, the warrior visionary would have

ject has often been that they kept themselves free to take the horses of 726
the enemy and ride them home. They did gain in stealth of approach, 484*
but this is no doubt a secondary explanation of what was probably a 178
survival of older custom. The fact that the men looked for booty or 721
various kinds of valuables in the places they attacked and carried them 727
home on their backs is indicated in some of the well-known names that 551
were current, such as He-Comes-Carrying-Sitting-Down-from-Time-to-Time-Coming—implying that the things brought home as war trophies were so heavy that the bearer had to sit down from time to time and rest. Another such name is He-Brings-Many-Trophies-from-Over-the-Wide-World, or again, He-Comes-Bringing-Them-Down-a-Hill, or still another, He-Comes-Carrying-His-Trophies-Today.

It is clear that the actual pattern of cooperation on the migration and 175
hunt was established long before they had horses and present practices 224*
were adapted but not substantially changed. In 1540 Coronado's expedi- 492
tion met a party of buffalo-hunting Indians on the Plains who were using
the dog travois and carrying dried buffalo meat. Mark Evarts describes 224*
some of the traditions remembered by the Pawnees at the time of our narrative, when they had no horses:

> Near Old Village there was a hill called Calf-Against-Upon-Standing. [103] The calf referred to was a certain kind of yellow calf with a long body and the people knew that when they saw him standing on the hill, the herd would be right beyond him. The people would line up on each side and surround the herd and make the buffalo circle about inside. They would kill them and butcher, and carry the meat home on their backs. They had no horses. There was no trade store.
>
> The North Wind was called Lucky Wind because when it blew it [821] sent the buffalo. In winter in deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep, and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow, and could readily be killed. This was particularly the case before we hunted with horses.
>
> In summer the buffalo went scattered in small bunches and this was difficult, but in winter they traveled in closer formation when we could also drive them onto the ice.

The Pawnee surround is described by George Bird Grinnell (1925, pp. 249-250):

> Choosing a still day, they would surround a small bunch of buffalo, stretching out in a long line whose extremities would gradually draw together, as the hunters, disguised as wolves, stole from hill to hill around the unconscious prey. When the circle was complete some man would shout and startle the buffalo.

796
533
[539]

1.	hiwiri	Wiwitawis Now it comes flying
2.	"	"
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	hita feather-coming

The two men continued to talk together that night in the lodge and New Young Dog told Warrior about the rabbit learning that he wanted to know. Should anyone come in and see the sparks from their pipe and hear the whispering, they would know that the two men were to be left alone and would go straight to their beds as they were talking of something important. The next time the dance was held, Warrior followed after New Young Dog. After he had carried out his performance, New Young Dog addressed the assembled company saying, "What you have seen me do here today, I am giving to this fellow here, Warrior. This is my teaching." From this time on Warrior was able to do the rabbit dance and could make a rabbit skin come alive and be a rabbit.

796
721
[178]
[177]

In this way, the original Wichita Deer Dance took on its Pawnee form. By 1867 it had become a typically elaborate Pawnee ceremony. Sleight-of-hand performances and trance induction were both modes in which they operated as they did in the Doctor Lodge. But unlike the Doctor Lodge where animal costumes and animal impersonations celebrated their communion with the animals, in the Deer Dance, war was the predominant theme and each of the members at the stations bore the name of a tribe, the opposing north and south sides representing attack and counterattack. The ceremony was carried through ten consecutive sessions, nine in the night and a tenth in the daytime with a number of rest days between. Technically, they conceived that the all-day tenth and final episode was the actual ceremony and the nine night sessions simply preliminary to it. The nine night sessions comprised several different phases. In the first five, there was a program of four or more sleight-of-hand performances, chiefly in sequence. As in the Doctor Dance, sleight of hand was referred to as "playing." Following these

[789]
[787]

"playing" sessions, going on very late into the night was a series of "fighting" or hypnotic episodes. But these differed from the Doctor Lodge "fighting" which was simple trance induction; in the Deer Dance, the fighting consisted of hypnotic interference with a sleight-of-hand performance while it was in progress, confusing the performer and making it impossible for him to complete his feat. The difference between the two kinds of "fighting" was recognized in the names they were called—the "fighting" of the Doctor Lodge was "I shoot at him," *wi-tatix-tsaaku*, "now-I at him-shoot" (abbreviated as *patsaaku*) while

for the Deer Dance they said, "They shoot at his *image*," wi-tit-ir-*awi*-tsaku, 796
"now-they at him-*image*-shoot." This distinction is significant 721
as it reflects the difference in emphasis between the two ceremonies.
The emphasis of the Doctor Lodge is on the alliance of man with the
animals so that they give him confidence, enabling him to cure the sick
or carry out whatever his purposes may be including war expeditions.
In the Deer Dance, power over the enemy is a major leitmotif. The use 721
of shamanism as a kind of psychological warfare against the enemy is 723
a known device among other tribes. That the Pawnees were quite [756]
successful in this regard is attested by an account collected by a [775]
French visitor, Tixier, from their enemies, the Osage, in 1839–1840.
He states:

> The Maha (Skidi Pawnee) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so [181]
> great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five and six [648]
> hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe.
>
> Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. . . . One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave, whose horses he steals away afterwards.

When they were living at Pahaku, near Fremont in 1850 and the Ponca 796
attacked and were about to burn up the Pawnees caught inside their 721
earth lodges, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy dressed up like a medicine 756
man, came out and succeeded in thoroughly frightening the enemy
so that they were repulsed; she was also able to kill one of them near the lodge, armed simply with a stout stick. There seems some likelihood that there was some actual functional value in the hypnotic powers of the medicine men, even in war. If this is the case, the preoccupation with this type of performance in the Deer Dance ceremony can better be appreciated.

The long series of illusionist feats and hypnotic exercises, however, 796
was carried on within a characteristically complex Pawnee ceremonial 789
structure.

In the first five nights of performance, during each night there was 796
an earlier session of sleight-of-hand performances, followed by a "fight- 789
787

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

517 of a short story and said, "Let's hear stories about 'at home' [the Sioux
887 attacking the village]. After a while we'll get away from the village and
574 on the warpath." It was now understood that he would tell a story of at-
538 tack on the village and that he would be followed by a story on the same theme by his brave, War Cry, after which the old men would begin. In both stories, the enemy was repulsed, not by main force alone, but by the power of the Peace Pipe, which is "beloved of Heaven."

539 "Now I'll tell a story," said Eagle Chief. "Now you all know when
721 you first took me as a chief and when I was going to Washington, on
[648] the morning of the day that was set for us to go, I was all dressed up. I was wearing my government coat, and of course, my leggings and moccasins. I was wearing my government medal. Finally the delegation left the village and when we got about five miles east, all at once one of the men in the back said, 'Look back at the village. There must be a warpath coming!' We could see everyone standing on top of the earth lodges. 'Well boys,' I said, 'let's go back.' The Kitkehaxkis, Tsawis, Pitahawiratas and us Skidis all went back to our villages." As he told the story the old men sat smoking and they said, "That's the time. That's it."

"Well when I came to my earth lodge, I looked at my wives there and said, 'Dear wives, maybe Heaven doesn't want me to see the great government.' At the same time my horse was way out there and I had to get to it to go on the warpath. All I took was my bow and arrows. I walked over to the sacred bundle and there on top were the Pipe Dance sticks. I took the one with the black eagle feathers (the male pipestem). That was all I took with me. I said to my wives, 'Now if it's the will of Heaven, I'll come back. If not, I won't. I may not come back.' It was because I had heard old people say that Heaven loves these pipes, that I took it with me.

"I got on the horse and went to where the fighting was going on. 'Well, this is my last day,' I thought to myself. Because the pipestem has two soft feathers on it and I didn't want them to touch my horse, I raised it up out of the way. I rode right through where the Sioux were and to the fighting line. I arrived at the front line with a Sioux close on one side of me, one on the other side and one directly in front. When I arrived at the front line, the Sioux turned back their horses and started to flee. There I was facing the whole line of Sioux, holding my pipe up like this. As the retreating line was going, you could see the dust. But I still had my original Sioux escorts. Wedged in between them, they didn't dare to try and shoot me with their bow and arrow as they were likely to shoot each other in the attempt. I raised this pipe and hit the one that was riding in front of me right on the back of his head. I reined in my horse and they rode ahead. We had ridden way

ahead of the fighting line. When I looked back all I could see of the Pawnee was the cloud of dust they were raising. Now that's what I did. Now you all know what I did. 539 721

The listeners said, "Nawa." Some said, "That's right, that's the time."

Now said Eagle Chief to his co-leader, Lone Chief, "Give it to War Cry!" Everyone laughed because they expected the story to be of a very different kind from that of Eagle Chief, since War Cry was a rough character. He didn't disappoint them. His story also concerned the power of the Peace Pipe to repulse an enemy attack upon the village, but the story had a quite different flavor from Eagle Chief's.

War Cry was a brave and his whole outlook was toward aggression and violence compared with a chief who was a man of peace and conciliation. To the stark combat realism of his story, Eagle Chief was moved to comment, "That War Cry is a wicked fellow!" War Cry's narrative was as follows: 538 157

539 721

"Now I'll tell a short story like he did. You all know that the Tsawis had come for a Pipe Dance to the Skidis. They had come to Pipe Dance on Lone Chief [the Tsawis coming as "fathers" with goods, clothing, etc.]. They had been dancing for three days and now on the fourth, they were to 'take the child out,' dancing outside. Lone Chief's daughter was all painted up and dressed as the 'queen.' She was seated at the west and ten or fifteen chiefs and braves were sitting inside to witness the proceedings. Man Chief of the visiting Tsawis was about to say, 'Now we're going to take her outside,' when someone cried out at the doorway, 'Warpath coming.' Some of the Skidis got up and ran out, but about half of them stopped. Man Chief said, 'You wait, you wait—' About eight of the Skidis sat still and waited.

"Man Chief walked up north of the fireplace where Lone Chief was and he said, 'Now child, I have heard this: That Heaven loves this Pipe Dance. Here's the child before you—your child. [Lone Chief's daughter is representing the "childhood" of the whole group of Skidis who are being visited]. 'If our faith is justified,' Man Chief continued, 'then when you go on the warpath, you are going to have good luck. Now we will see. It is as if I stood holding the child and the pipe, embracing them, and the Sioux came running over me. Now, my son, I don't want to talk too long, (some of the Tsawis had also slipped out), for I know you are all anxious to go. Now you're going on the warpath. If our faith is justified, then you're going to come back with success and conquer the enemy. Now you may go!'

"The Tsawi horses were far away and most of them had gone off. The Skidis tried to run for their horses. They had a lot of them tied up there nearby to present to the Tsawis after the ceremony. The

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539
721

horses were painted up with white clay across the eyes and at all the joints and down the backbone. Some were painted with red or black paint. Some had eagle feathers on the mane and some had feathers tied onto the tail. The Sioux just didn't realize that this pipe belongs to Heaven.

"Way off, the seven of us could see different bunches engaged in combat on the different hills. We began to set out in the direction of the enemy, when just then, the Sioux shone a mirror in our eyes as a farewell signal. We stopped in a bunch and all got off our horses. It was obviously too far to reach them in time.

"We were climbing a hill to the northeast of here near a place called Kira-rutsku while at the same time a young man of the South Bands was coming up on the opposite side. As soon as he got on top of the hill, instead of dismounting his horse, he just began to yell. In his hands he had two whips. He had seen a Sioux hiding in a trough nearby. The Sioux was running off thinking he had a chance to escape but all seven of us set out to attack him. At Kira-rutsku there is a kind of high bluff and right in the bend of it the Sioux was going up the high ridge and the South Band man was half way. Shot Arm and another fellow had horses that were good runners and they began to gain on him. Shot Arm called out to the South Band man to watch the Sioux and not let him get away. The Sioux rode his horse up the hill and as soon as he got to the top, Shot Arm and the other man shot at him. But they only succeeded in hitting the horse, which now began to buck. The Sioux jumped off onto his right leg and started coming toward them. The South Band man also jumped off his horse and he and the Sioux were face to face. The South Band man was brave and the rest of us just stood off to one side and watched. The Sioux's horse had remained at the top of the bluff, while the South Band man was standing next to his horse where he had dismounted. Shot Arm shouted a warning to the South Band man to look out or he would shoot his own horse. On the other hand, if the Sioux managed to get on it, they would never catch him.

"Now the South Band man and the Sioux started to fight. Both were jumping about like cats as they dodged each other's arrows. Shot Arm noticed that the South Band man was wearing a shirt and that the shirt sleeves diverted the arrow into a zigzag course so that it missed its mark. He called out to him, 'Undo your shirt sleeve.' After he had undone his sleeve and pulled it up he began to shoot straight. (We Skidis stood out of the way at a good distance where we would be wide of the mark.) At last the South Band man hit the Sioux with the arrow right in the stomach. He tried to pull the arrow out. He tried to go down the bluff. The Sioux was getting dizzy from his wound, and right near Lone Chief, he fell over.

> "Everyone was thinking of making a strike on him and getting war 539
> honors. Lone Chief was especially anxious to make the first strike on 721
> this occasion. He ran toward him down the hill as fast as he could. As I turned around, the Sioux had gotten up and fallen over on his back. The South Band man also made a strike on him and ran down the hill as fast as he could."

The war honors consisted of touching the fallen enemy and before eye 538
witnesses stating, *tat-i-ki*, "I-at him-strike." Two more could succeed the 554
first strike, these being spoken of as *wi-taruh-hukita-sa*, "now-it is-on 727
top-lying." If there were no witnesses around, one could put the dead Sioux in a sheltered place and bring witnesses afterward, or people who came could be shown the tracks of horses in the place and some blood to show there had been a skirmish. Even if such proof could not be made, the story was likely to come out later when the two tribes concerned were at peace and they talked over their past experiences.

At this point, the story was taken over by Shot Arm, who for its next episode, had been more directly in the thick of the fight. He said:

> "The Sioux had two six shooters in his belt, one on each side. The 539
> Sioux now threw away his bow and arrows and took out his guns. But 729
> I was right next to him and before he had a chance to do anything I grabbed both his hands. Meanwhile Brave Shield took the second strike on him and rode away.
>
> "While I was grappling with him you could hear someone coming grunting and panting. That was this fellow here, War Cry. [War Cry was heavily built.] When he arrived he said to the Sioux, 'You nearly killed my brother-in-law (meaning me) (*para-kaskur-rahux-kapakis*, almost-you mine-rotten-poor, viz., killed).' He put his hand to his left side and drew out his very sharp butcher knife. It was just as sharp as it could be. He cut off the whole scalp of that Sioux, ears and all. [The whole top and back of the headskin with the ears, viz., across the top of the forehead just under the hairline and way back to the base of the hair all around, including the ears.]
>
> "All this time I was grappling with the Sioux for his guns. War Cry put his right knee up against the Sioux's shoulders and pulled off the entire scalp. Swoosh, it went! The skin of the forehead fell over his eyes and as War Cry put his knee against the Sioux's back, he cracked the backbone and the Sioux cried out i! i! i! i! and let go the rifles.
>
> "Back at Lone Chief's lodge, all the time the fighting was going on Man Chief and two other Tsawis had remained. Man Chief sat without moving, his buffalo robe with the hair side out wrapped tight around him. He had asked the other two to remove the decorations from Lone Chief's daughter.

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair
turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moc-
casin to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the
padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of [294]
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-
soled moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one
section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in [855]
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to pro-
tect them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accom-
modate the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other [465]
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstand- 554
ing symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

*224 each parfleche that they carried with them contained four bushels of corn
*484 or eighty pounds of dried buffalo meat. The proportions of the dry
262 meat he describes as 3 feet long and 2 feet wide per sheet.

[797] It should be noted that some of the trade store supplies had their
[175] analogies in the native foods. Flour was analogous to finely pounded-up
[252] corn made into corn bread that was baked in the ashes, and the dried
fruits with traditional dried wild plums and sand cherries, while sugar
was obtained from the box elder.

*224 The cache pit being in order and the provisions packed for travel, the
*484 horse gear was all gotten in order, the saddles and straps mended so that
492 the goods could be securely packed on the horse. Finally the long-awaited announcement for leaving would come. The specific directions were from Man Chief of the Tsawi Band who was leading the hunt.

The night before it would be stated that rainy conditions would have to be taken account of. If they had a hard rain early in the morning, then they would have to delay their departure until the next day, but "If it rains only a little in the morning, as soon as the rain stops, we can go on." On the other hand, should it rain during the night, they would certainly go on next morning. If they had already started and it began to rain they would cover up the loaded horses with an old tent skin they carried along for the purpose and say, "It's on the way," and continue, unless it kept on raining hard all through the day, when they would have to unload the horses, cover up the baggage with a tent skin, and all crawl under it until the rain was over. Then they would reload and go on.

Another cause for delay in their departure would be an enemy attack
• [721] when they could do nothing else but stay and defend themselves. This
would delay them for a day or two.

Meanwhile everyone was anxious to be on their way. On the appointed morning or the night before, Horse Rider tethered the horses right outside the door of the lodge. They would be loaded as for the summer hunt, a place being arranged for No Corn to ride because of her arthritis.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

White Woman and after pleading his cause with her, Shot Arm came 159
to live with them. The boy was told that "his father" had come. When 587
he demurred and said that he thought Victory Call was his father, he was quieted. Shot Arm gave him gifts and did his best to father him. White Woman had had some reservations as Shot Arm already had a wife, but he convinced her that he was determined to part from the other woman in any event. Later there were recriminations from this quarter.

Once on the winter hunt, Shot Arm was invited to bring his new 159
family to live in the household of White Eagle. He had been formally 587
invited by "his two old mothers" who were the official owners of the 591
house. In their new home the family occupied a place at the west and had [572]
status and Otter had new friends—David Gillingham, son of White Eagle, and the two brothers, Luther and Andy Coons.

In the Sioux massacre of 1873 during the summer hunt, when from 60 159
to 120 Pawnees lost their lives while butchering their kill in a canyon 175
near Trenton, Nebraska, Otter and White Woman were guided to safety 721
through the Sioux lines by a young warrior at the request of Mad Bear.

Finally the Pawnees moved to Oklahoma in three contingents. White 167
Eagle went with the first group, while Shot Arm and his family were true 159
to the faction of Lone Chief who wanted to remain on their old land
and stayed to the last. The two old ladies who owned White Eagle's [342]
earth lodge gave over the pillars and materials to Shot Arm who set up a hexagonal frame of six forked pillars and no outer sod collar or wall, so that they had a high pointed lodge to live in.

When the last group decided to go, the government assigned them ten 167
wagons for the poor people who had no horses for transport, and some 159
beeves to be killed every Saturday for their food. 648
484

In Oklahoma, the three contingents had set up three earth-lodge villages
in different locations. Lone Chief set up one on the Arkansas River 167
three or four miles this side of Ralston where there was a ferryboat. 159
White Eagle built a log house on top of a hill near the big pond west of the 361
present town of Pawnee, with the earth lodges of his following on the east side of the hill toward the pond. Half a mile east of the agency, Misery and his father-in-law Comanche Chief, along with War Cry, were the leading spirits of another log-house village.

Shot Arm, who had become agency policeman, settled his family in a 159
tent near the school. All winter they lived in the tent. Then in spring, 763
April, 1876, without any outward sign of illness, White Woman died. [625]
She asked to have her grandchild brought to her and then spoke to its [342]
mother, telling her that she was bidding them farewell and that she should take good care of the child. And so she fell asleep and never awakened.

Victory Call's former retainer, Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn, 159
were living in a frame house with No Corn's oldest daughter. The girl 591
had married a man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band known as Abraham

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.) 000

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244). 462 251
Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civilizations—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women. 462 171

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9. 000

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the inside of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within, then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people." 342 772

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'" He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's account.) 776 533 787 821 Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." 157 821 721 In 1954 on a visit to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on the contrary they were part of it and went out into it. 114 821

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10 feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric examples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp. 172 251

141 By 1746 the Pawnee had become emissaries for establishing 648
friendly relations of the French with the Comanche: "About 231
1746 friendly relations of the French with the Comanche were 439
greatly facilitated through the peace which the latter tribe made
with the Jumano of the Arkansas country and the Pawnee of 175
the Platte. Now French traders, hunters and deserters, guided by Jumano and Pawnee, began to make their way to the Comanche in considerable numbers, some of them even going to Santa Fe." (Bolton, 1914, Vol. I, p. 58.) And finally, from Murray, 1839, of his visit to the Tsawi in 1834, states that the horse-poor chief he was with was waiting anxiously for the return of his son from a trading expedition among the Ute to the west for horses. "I learned distinctly from the Pawnees that many of their horses had come from the Haitans (Ute); and as certainly that a great proportion of the guns and other articles annually distributed among the Pawnees find their way to this rambling tribe in payment for their horses." (Murray, 1939, p. 365.)

Many Pawnee horses were also acquired on the warpath. 231
Tixier (McDermott, 1940, p. 225) states that "The Maha (Skidi 721
Pawnees) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five or six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe." The name *raripakusu*, warrior, was sometimes translated for me as explorer.
Tixier contrasts the Osage practice of war raiding with the 721
Pawnees in the following terms: "The Osage do not make war 171
like the Pawnee; their aims are more noble; they want scalps. Horse stealing is far less important in their eyes. The Osage sometimes go out on a war expedition on foot; but usually their troops are on horseback and always rather numerous—seldom less than twenty-five men strong."

> The Panee-Maha who live on the banks of the Nebraska or 721
> Platte River, are today the greatest enemies of the Osage. 231
> They do esteem the stealing of horses more highly than bringing back scalps. The purpose of their expeditions is to bring back the horses of the other nations. They risk their lives by going through the huge desert which separates them from the villages, and hunting where other nations spend part of the year. The war parties of the Pawnees are not numerous; six, eight, fifteen men at most, armed with knives, arrows, axes, seldom with guns, set out without any provision. They expect Oua-Kondah to provide them daily with a buffalo, and they prepare ambushes for bison and shoot them with their bows and arrows. . . . Hardship, hunger, heat, do not discourage them. Some young men die without seeing the enemy during their first expedition." (Tixier, pp. 221-224.)

000 sides. "Oh, you got good pay," they said. Then she added the news about
512 the gift of black tanned skin, and her husband teased her and said, "Let's
476 see that. Just right to make me a pair. You can patch up yours."

522 Back at the lodge, the old ladies said they were tired and went to bed,
512 and White Woman waited for her husband to come home.

While the women were busy with the minor household work and the
623 storage pit, Old Bull and Victory Call had been at a meeting of the Skidi
chiefs at the home of Eagle Chief. There were representatives of each of
the four Skidi villages—chiefs, subchiefs, and their attendant braves.
Eagle Chief yielded his place at the west to the two most important
guests and took the southeast position. At the southwest was Lone Chief
of Village-across-a-Ridge and in the northwest position, Leading Chief
of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. The subchiefs and braves of each of these
chiefs sat next to them in a line extending toward the east. At the southeast
position, sat Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village with his subchiefs
and braves extending inward toward the west along the side of the
lodge. On the north side in a symmetrical arrangement was Chief
Feared-by-the-Enemy of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village sitting in the
northeast position with his subchiefs and braves extending inward along
the northside. (See Figure 5-2 for the positions of representatives at the
council meeting.)

623 Eagle Chief was the first to address the company, stating the purpose
722 for which he had called them together: "The Sioux are likely to come
around any time. Don't each go individually to get wood. We must all go
at a stated time when we can have our scouts on the lookout and bring in
enough wood to be piled up while the planting is begun, that is at least
four days' supply." Discussion from the others present followed, and
then Eagle Chief announced that they would have another meeting in
about two weeks or more to discuss the matter of clearing the fields in
preparation for planting. He now turned over the conduct of the meeting
to the chiefs at the west, and Lone Chief took charge, stating that if
anyone had anything to say about the business at hand they should do so
at this time as they were to have a feast and then talk of other matters.
623 After everyone had spoken his mind they waited two or three minutes
574 and then Lone Chief said, "Now we are going to eat." At the entrance
[624] near the east were the two errand men of both presiding chiefs at the
west, and they had prepared the food and were ready to serve. The bowls
were piled up near the kettle in which the food had been boiling, and,
while one of the men dished it out, the other served. He carried two
[554] bowls to the west, one for each of the presiding chiefs. Then he returned
to the east, carried the next bowl to the next chief on the south
side, then returned to the east and gave the next bowl to the next chief to
the north side, and so on in alternation, one by one on each side. Then the
braves were served, one on the south, one on the north, until everyone
had received his food, whereupon the errand men served each other.

623 each other by the kin terms of grandfather and grandchild—thereby permitting
574 a great deal of free-wheeling slapstick behavior. This was incongruous
522 because of the social position of some of the individuals involved
[601] and was considered quite humorous. Eagle Chief addressed Lone Chief as
[602] grandson in this way, and he would say, "That's the laziest fellow I ever
saw. He sleeps till mid-morning every day. I wish I were at his house. I'd throw him in the water." This evoked considerable laughter because of the incongruity of the situation, and, now that the South Side had made its joke, it was the turn of somebody on the north side. It was decorum to wait a few minutes, and then Leading Chief at the northwest took up the thread and said, "Look at that fellow over there," pointing to someone on the north side. "When I went out with my horses, I saw his horses standing there in a terrible condition. They were turning round and round with flies all over them and they must have been thirsty." (It was the work of the young boys to take care of the horses.) The man on the north side against whom the joke was leveled replied with, "I always hobble my horses, but he took my lariat and unhobbled them. That's the fellow who unhobbled my horses!" During the actual meeting, women were not present, but now the women of the lodge began to return and they too would join in the jokes with the men who happened to stand to them in the appropriate relationship.

623 This was the end of the meeting, and Leading Chief of Bottomlands
574 Village sitting at the northwest presided over the closing. He said,
"Now we are to get wood. Some of you, Lone Chief in particular (object of the last joke), must be in a hurry to go tend their horses. Any who wish can stay and tell stories, but now we have eaten [and the meeting is at an end]." Everyone said *nawa* and most of them rose and left the lodge. A few lingered. Enough extra boiled buffalo meat was usually portioned out at such a feast so that everyone had a substantial piece to take home to the family. Food from a chiefs' council was thought to have the special virtue of conveying a blessing of plenty to the women and children, and some of the men were eager to get home and share what they had with their wives and children. It was for this reason that they had been requested to bring their own bowls when they were invited that morning.

623 The decisions reached by the chiefs at their councils were always announced
203 to the people soon after the meeting was over. One old man for
722 each village with a somewhat resounding voice usually acted as the village
313 crier. He would stand on the roof of his earth lodge between the
smokehole and the entrance passageway facing east and call out:

"Day after tomorrow, we're all going for wood—the whole bunch of us. You young men—after breakfast take your bow and arrows. Go up on a high hill and be on the lookout to picket for Sioux or any other kind of danger. Women have to fix up their packstraps and everyone should

sharpen up his axe, fix up the ropes, borrow a horse to haul the wood if 623
you need one. If two or three lodges are going afoot together, they must 203
keep in line so that we know where you are." (Those with horses were in 722
less danger and might go in any order.) There was another thing he 313
warned them against—that is, taking young girls along. They were just
the ones the Sioux would be trying to capture, and the old man remarked,
they weren't really strong enough to carry wood anyway! Another dan-
ger was a magical one. The spirits of men who had been scalped by an [775]
enemy were very much feared. They were thought to lurk all around,
trying to capture women or steal whatever else they could get their hands
on. So the old man cautioned, "If a woman hasn't kept up, the line must
wait for her until she arrives. She might be captured by one of the
scalped men. This is the time you have to look out for that."

When the young men heard the crier's announcement, five or six of 722
them would gather together at a favorite rendezvous and say, "Let's go
together with our bows and arrows real early before the others and stay
up there until everyone comes home." According to their plan, on the ap-
pointed morning they would go out before the others and disburse over
the area to see whether the enemy was lurking about. They would leave
the villages about 7:30 in the morning and stay out all day.

The chiefs' meeting had come to an end that afternoon while it was 574
still full daylight. Old Bull had gone off to tend his horses. Victory Call, 521
having nothing in particular to do since he had Horse Rider to help him,
wandered over to the gaming grounds where some of the men were clus-
tered about making their bets on the outcome of the hoop and spear
game, while others were just watching on the sidelines. Victory Call sat
down at some distance from the game and two of the spectators came to
join him. The man who sat down at his left filled up his pipe and offered [276]
it to Victory Call, lighting it for him. Victory Call offered the mouth-
piece upward for the first puff to the cosmic powers in the heavens say- [782]
ing, "Greetings, all of you spread out up there." Then he offered the
mouthpiece to the earth and said, "Greetings, my mother." Now he took
two puffs on the pipe and began to share it with the men on each side of
him in the alternation: first to the right, then himself, then to the left, and
so on. When the pipe was smoked out, Victory Call was feeling in a ge-
nial mood. He made a special arrangement of his robe that had up to now
been carelessly draped around his shoulders. He drew it down to his waist
and, crossing his legs with the robe folded in a certain order, showed by
this token that he was ready to tell a story. The men who had sat down
with him were anxious to hear what the chief had to say, and particu-
larly what had gone on in the meeting he had just attended before the
crier got around to announcing it. Several more men joined the party
with the same idea in mind. Victory Call might begin directly, or one of
the men would suggest it obliquely saying, "I heard you had a feast."

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

low the track, the deer went that way. I shot at him and missed." Now he told of how he had hidden the deer so that he wouldn't have to share it. Now Riding-In joined in and said, "I did the same thing once. I killed a buck and put him in a trough and when my kinsman came along I said, "I shot at that deer and missed him, but you're on horseback, so you can go after him." If either of the aggrieved kinsmen were present the guilty hunter would remark, "Now I wish I had given you half." There would be no hard feelings on anyone's part as they would feel that bygones were bygones. The talk went on for some hours and finally all the women had gone to bed. Midnight was the customary time to stop. Someone went outside and looked at the stars. He came in and remarked, "It's midnight. We're all sleepy. We'd better go to bed." They would all go out together and look at the stars and the guests would leave for their own homes. The men of the lodge went out together to tend to their needs before going to bed. This was for their mutual protection, as there was always the possibility of a Sioux lurking in the shadows ready to attack an individual alone. Before going to bed, the women would also go in a group with a man along for their protection. 574 521 [722] [514]

Victory Call planned to go deer hunting next day. He made lead bullets, cleaned his gun, and loaded it with shavings along with the bullets so that they would ignite. He filled his horn with powder and now he was ready for the morning. Old Bull took note of his preparations and planned to be near the house that day for protection in case of attack. Next morning, Victory Call got up way before down. He made the fire and left before breakfast. White Woman would get up later and prepare the breakfast for the lodge. 224

Next they planted the beans, sometimes in the same hills with the corn 244
so that the vines could entwine themselves around the cornstalks. If they
planted them in separate hills, they set in willow sticks for the vines to
cling to.

Last of all, they planted pumpkins, squashes, and watermelons [*Citrullus,
citrullus* (L.) Karst., indigenous variety—Gilmore, 1919, pp. 120–
129.]. These were planted in separate patches and served to separate the [243]
different varieties of corn in order to preserve the breeds. There would
be a planting of blue corn, then a pumpkin patch, then spotted corn, then
a melon patch, and so on in this order.

Between two adjacent fields, there was a hill or ridge where the sunflowers 241
grew by themselves without planting. Some women surrounded 423
their fields with a fence built of stakes connected with rawhide ropes. 578
Disputes about the boundaries of their fields sometimes occurred among
the women. Some women would pile the earth further and further on the [417]
far side of the field and encroach on the field of a neighbor. Some women
stole crops, whereupon arguments would ensue and they would curse
one another and call one another names. The woman from whom the corn
had been stolen would strike the other woman with her hands or with a
stick. The informant said that stealing was actually unnecessary, as a poor [476]
women could easily get some corn by appealing to her neighbor directly, [735]
saying, "I want you to take pity on me and give me some corn."

Women always went to the fields in groups for their own protection; 241
the Sioux made a particular point of attacking and scalping them as they 476
were going into the fields or coming home. This was presumably to exert 722
sufficient pressure to chase the Pawnees from their territory and induce 648
them to abandon it entirely. The mortality among the women from
this cause was heavy. In 1861 in one such attack eighteen Skidi women
were killed. One group of women would say to the other, "We're going
to clear our fields, how about you?" Then the two groups would set out
together, any woman who finished first helping the others so that all
would be ready to return at the same time. The young men, without being
told, knew that this was the time to picket around the fields.

In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each of the mature 241
women had at least one field. Clear Day, the younger wife, and her 423
mother, Blue Calico, worked one field together, as was customary with 592
mother and daughter until the younger woman was considered responsible
enough to manage her own. Fields were located along the bottomlands
on both banks of Beaver Creek, and some women had a closer and
a more distant field. The ones that were closer to the villages were, of
course, the more desirable both for transport and for military reasons. An
individual field was from half an acre to one and a half acres in area.

Patterns of cooperation were well developed in each household so that 592
the women would get through quickly. Queen Woman would say to

for the Deer Dance they said, "They shoot at his *image*," wi-tit-ir-*awi*- 796
tsaku, "now-they at him-*image*-shoot." This distinction is significant 721
as it reflects the difference in emphasis between the two ceremonies. The emphasis of the Doctor Lodge is on the alliance of man with the animals so that they give him confidence, enabling him to cure the sick or carry out whatever his purposes may be including war expeditions. In the Deer Dance, power over the enemy is a major leitmotif. The use 721
of shamanism as a kind of psychological warfare against the enemy is 723
a known device among other tribes. That the Pawnees were quite [756]
successful in this regard is attested by an account collected by a [175]
French visitor, Tixier, from their enemies, the Osage, in 1839–1840. He states:

> The Maha (Skidi Pawnee) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so [181]
> great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five and six
> hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe. [648]
>
> Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. . . . One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave, whose horses he steals away afterwards.

When they were living at Pahaku, near Fremont in 1850 and the Ponca 796
attacked and were about to burn up the Pawnees caught inside their 721
earth lodges, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy dressed up like a medicine 756
man, came out and succeeded in thoroughly frightening the enemy so that they were repulsed; she was also able to kill one of them near the lodge, armed simply with a stout stick. There seems some likelihood that there was some actual functional value in the hypnotic powers of the medicine men, even in war. If this is the case, the preoccupation with this type of performance in the Deer Dance ceremony can better be appreciated.

The long series of illusionist feats and hypnotic exercises, however, 796
was carried on within a characteristically complex Pawnee ceremonial 789
structure.

In the first five nights of performance, during each night there was 796
an earlier session of sleight-of-hand performances, followed by a "fight- 789
787

*539 A holy man who lived long ago, no one knows how long, for there
have been many generations since, had a dream. He was taken up to
*796 the place where all the visions dwell, those that belong to Kawas, the
787 brown eagle, and those that belong to the white eagle, the male.
While he was there the day began to dawn and he saw the visions that
773 had been sent down to earth come climbing up, and he recognized
among them some of the visions that had visited him in the past.
Then he knew of a truth that all visions of every kind dwell above
in Katasha, and that they descend thence to us in the night, and that
as the day dawns they ascend, returning to rest in their dwelling place.

The holy man made this song about his dream and told its meaning, and the song and the story have been handed down to us that we might know where visions come from, where they dwell and where they go to when they depart from us.

778 Among the Pawnees there are shrines, in the keeping of certain men,
which contain articles that are used in the sacred ceremonies of the
different bands of the tribe. These shrines are very old, they were
given by the lesser powers to our fathers with a knowledge of their
contents and how to use them.

An ear of corn belongs to one of these shrines. It is a peculiar ear.
It is white, with perfect and straight lines of kernels, and there is a
[243] tassel on its tip. In the fall the priest of the shrine tells the women
to look carefully for such ears when they gather their corn, for
Tira'wa causes such ears to grow in the fields for the purposes of
this shrine and they belong to it. The little tassel on the tip of the
● [726] ear of corn represents the feather worn on the head of the warrior.
The sacred ear of corn is sometimes borrowed from the priest by the
leader of a war party. The ear of corn is born of Mother Earth, she
knows all places and the acts of all men who walk the earth, so she is
a leader.

Sometimes a young man who proposed going to war would request
726 the following song to be sung. He desired success and wished Mother
778 Corn to lead him. After the Hako ceremony was over he would
borrow a sacred ear of corn and put it in a pack which the leader of
the war party would sling upon his back. When the party was successful,
he would thrust into the ground the stick upon which the ear
of corn was tied and as this ear stood before him he would give thanks
to it for having led him in safety.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

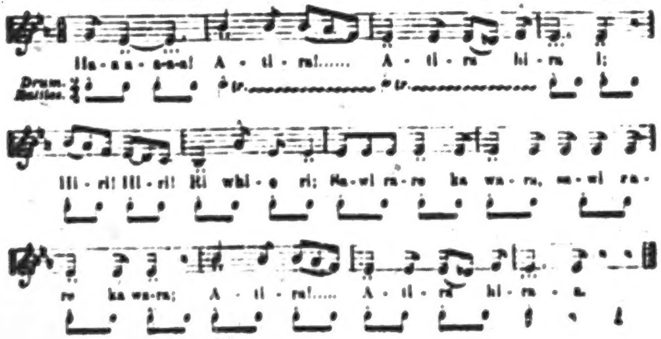
EXTRA NIGHT SONG

Words and Music

M. M. Melody. ♩= 60.
M. M. Drum. ♪= 120.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

726
539*
796*
[533*]


Ha-a-a-a-a-a! A-ti-ra!...... A-ti-ra hi-ra i;
Drum. Rattles.
tr.
Hi-ri! Hi-ri! Ri whi-e ri; Sa-wi ra-re ka wa-ra, sa-wi ra-
re ka wa-ra; A-ti-ra!..... A-ti-ra hi-ra-a.

I

737 Ha-a-a-a-a-a!
738 Atira! Atira hira i:
739 Hiri! Hiri! Ri whie ri:
740 Sawi rare ka wara, sawi rare ka wara:
741 Atira! Atira hira-a.

II

742 Ha-a-a-a-a-a!
743 Hitkasharu, hitkasharu, iri!
744 Hiri! Hiri! Ri rai i:
745 Sawi rare ka wara, sawi rare ka wara:
746 Hitkasharu, hitkasharu, iri!

Translation

I

737 Ha-a-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
738 Atira! Atira hira i.
atira, mother. The term applied to the ear of corn.
hira, coming.
i, it; refers to the corn.
739 Hiri! Hiri! Ri whie ri.
hiri! harken! give heed!
ri, has, possesses.
whie, it, within itself.
ri, has.
740 Sawi rare ka wara, sawi rare ka wara.
sawi, part of asawiu, a trap or snare.
rare, it has a likeness to.
ka, part of akaro, the open space bounded by the horizon.
wara, walking.

*539 741 Atira! Atira hira-a.
*796 Atira! Atira hira. See line 738.
a, vowel prolongation.
● 726

II

742 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
743 Hitkasharu, Hitkasharu, iri!
hitkasharu, a composite word; hit, from hittu, feather; ka, from rotkaharu, night; sharu, dream. The word refers to dreams brought by the birds that attend the Hako. As the song refers to war, the word refers to the white eagle stem, the male, the warrior, the dream that attends that eagle.
iri! a part of the exclamation nawairi! expressing thankfulness that all is well.
744 Hiri! Hiri! Ri rai i;
hiri! harken! give heed!
ri, has.
rai, coming; in the future.
i, it.
745 Sawi rare ka wara, sawi rare ka wara. See first stanza, line 740.
746 See line 743.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796
726
773

There are not many words to this song, but the meaning and the story have been handed down from our fathers.

The first stanza tells of a war party which started out carrying Mother Corn. As the warriors left the village the old men wished them good luck, and said: "Mother Corn will be like a snare to entangle the enemy, so that they will fall easily. Mother Corn will be like a trap into which the enemy will fall and out of which there will be no escape.")

The young men started and took a straight course for the enemy's country; they knew the land and they went directly there, but they found nothing. They went to the east, there was nothing. They turned to the west, there was nothing. They traveled to the north, there was nothing. They went to the south, there was nothing. Then they made their way back to the point from which they had started on the border of the enemy's land.

The leader said: "I am worn out, our moccasins are in holes, we are without food, we must turn back. We will return to our home tomorrow."

That night they lay down and slept. The leader placed the pack with the ear of corn under his head, and with a heavy heart he fell asleep.

The second stanza tells that in the night the ear of corn spoke to the leader in a dream and said: "Tira'wa bade me test you, and I

have been putting you on trial. I am able to bring strength to the 539*
people, the gift of life, and good fortune and success in war. I caused 796*
all your misadventures that I might try your courage. Now, you
shall not go home on the morrow. If you should, the people would 726 ●
say, 'Mother Corn is powerless.' In the morning you must do as I tell
you. You must go toward the southeast; there you will come upon a 773
village where the people have many ponies; these you shall capture
and return safely and in triumph, and learn that I have power to lead
to success."

The leader did as Mother Corn had directed, and everything came to pass as she had said.

This song has no fixed place in the ceremony but it must be sung at night, because the dream came at that time to the warrior.

The next song is about a man to whom Mother Corn came in a dream; 539*
it happened very long ago. The song and the story are very old and 796*
have come down to us from our fathers, who knew this ceremony.

Mother Corn spoke to this man in his dream. We are not told what 773
she said to him, but when he awoke he started out to find the man in
whose keeping was a shrine containing the ear of corn. As he walked
he met a man and asked him, "Is it far to the lodge where the corn
is?" The man pointed to a lodge some distance off and said, "It is
within." Then the man who had had the dream walked toward the
place. As he entered the lodge he saw a shrine hanging on one of the
poles and he asked the keeper if it contained the sacred ear of corn,
and he was told that it did. Then he took his pipe and offered smoke
and prayer in the presence of the corn; because Mother Corn had
appeared to him in a dream and had spoken to him he came to offer
her reverence.

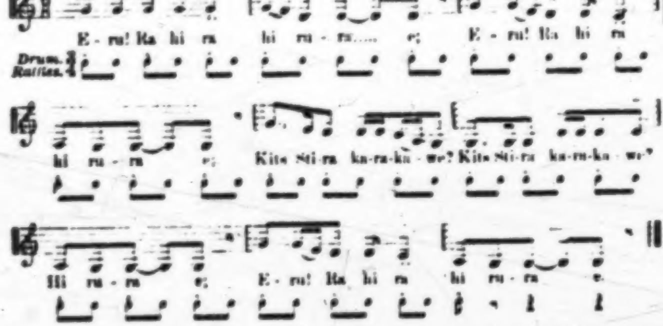
EXTRA NIGHT SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*

M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


E-ru! Ra hi ra hi ru-ra..... e; E-ru! Ra hi ra
Drum. Rattles.
hi ru-ra e; Kits Sti-ra ka-ra-ka-we? Kits Sti-ra ka-ra-ka-we?
Hi ru-ra e; E-ru! Ra hi ra hi ru-ra e.

[533*]

1364 Hiri! Riru tziraru; sira waku rari sut; hiri! ti ruta; hiri! Tira wa. ha! tiri. 539*
1365 Hiri! Riru tziraru; Rarari tu, kata wi tixsutta.
Raki ris taka ta wi tixsutta. 796*
Raki ris tarukûx pa, raru tura taka wiut tari.
1366 Hiri! Riru tziraru; ruri Papapi chus taka wi tixsutta. 553
Ruri Papapi chus tarukûx pa raru tura taka wiut tari.
1367 Hiri! Riru tziraru; ruchix kuso ho riraka ta kûx sata. Kaha riwisiri, ku katit tiki; kaha riwisiri, ku paha ti tiki; kaha riwisiri, ku raka ta tiki; kaha riwisiri, ku taka tiki.
1368 Hiri! Riru tziraru; sira sura waurax para, raru tura taka wiut tari.

1369 Hawa! Hawa urasharu we tatki wati.
1370 Hiri! Tatux tapakiaho, hawa, Rarutska tit! Hiri! Raro rikcha ro re.
1371 Hiri! Wakoru ratoru pake ûsto.
1372 Hiri! Akitaro hiwa werataweko.
1373 Hiri! Shaku ru Wa rukste. Hiriwa witi rakawa karu ko re.

Translation

1358 hiri! an exclamation, harken! give heed!
waku'raruta, it came to pass a long time ago.
sharu, part of u'rasha'ru, name.
witi, they.
rarawa-a, discarded, had done with, threw away.
kiru, ancient.
sharu, from kûssharu, a certain place known only by tradition.
reru, it came about, or it was.
ki'tawi, from ki, through, and ta'wi, them.
rahwi'rahriso, a title. This title was bestowed through certain ceremonies connected with one of the shrines. The man who had received this title was qualified to act as a leader, to have charge of a war expedition. [564 726]
tira, they.
kahho, a wide expanse; kah conveys the picture that this expanse is spanned, as by a roof; ho suggests an inclosed space, as a dwelling; kahho calls up the idea that the earth is a vast abode, roofed by the heavens, where dwell the powers.
ri'wiri, walking; the persons spoken of as walking are not present. Rara'wari is to travel, walking, like warriors, and the word in the text refers to such walking, to the rahwi'rahriso and the men under his leadership walking the wide earth beneath the arching sky.
1359 hiri! harken! give heed!
raru, a company, or a number of persons.
ki'tawi, through them. See same word in line 1358.
rahwi'rahriso, the leader. See translation in line 1358.
ra'o, a victory song. This class of songs could be composed and sung for the first time by a leader. They might afterward be sung by his followers and by other persons. [533*]
ti, part of tira, they.

*796 men and women of the party with the ponies laden with gifts and
needed supplies of food.

Over the wide prairie for miles and miles this order was preserved
day after day until the journey came to an end. If from some distant
● [726] vantage point a war party should descry the procession, the
leader would silently turn his men that they might not meet the Hako
party, for the feathered stems are mightier than the warrior; before
them he must lay down his weapon, forget his anger, and be at peace.

771 No object met on the journey to the Son presented its ordinary
aspect to the Hako party. Everything seen was regarded as a manifestation
*796 of the supernatural powers under whose favor this ceremony
484 was to take place; hence the trees, the streams, the mountains, the
buffalo were each addressed in song. This attitude toward nature is
strikingly brought out in the two songs, which are in sequence, sung
at the crossing of a stream.

484 Throughout this ceremony water is treated as one of the lesser
powers. It is employed only for sacred purposes, and is never used in
771 the ordinary way. To profane water would bring punishment upon
*796 the whole party (see the first ritual, line 29), and consequently when
a stream ran across a line of travel no person could step into it as he
823 commonly would do. A halt was called and the Ku'rahus led in the
singing of the song in which Kawas is asked to grant the party permission
[773] to ford the stream. According to Pawnee rituals, water at the
creation was given to the woman, so Kawas, representing the mother,
could grant permission. The request is embodied in four stanzas.
*[539] In the first the water touches the feet; in the second the feet stand in
the water; in the third the feet move in the water; in the fourth the
water covers the feet (note the resemblance of entering the stream to
entering the lodge, seventh ritual, part 1).

771 After the stream was crossed the people halted on the bank to sing
*539 the song to the wind, led by the Ku'rahus. It also is in four stanzas.
The wind is called upon to come and dry the water which the people
*796 may not irreverently touch. In the first stanza the wind touches the
821 people; in the second it lightly brushes their bodies; in the third it
484 circles about them; in the fourth it envelops them. Thus the wind,
one of the lesser powers, comes between the people and the penalty
incurred by profanely touching water.

*539 In these ceremonies the people were constantly reminded that they
771 were in the presence of the unseen powers manifested to them in the
natural objects met upon the journey. To those initiated into the
*796 inner meaning of the rite, the appeal at the crossing of the stream to
Kawas (the feminine element) and to the wind (typical of the breath
of life) was connected with the symbolism of running water, explained
in the seventh ritual as representing the giving of life from generation
to generation.

*539 The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth songs originally belonged to
*796 the journey, but we are told the buffalo are no longer seen; neither

525 574 648 While the Kiowa were visiting the Pawnee, some Skiri youths thought of visiting the Kiowa to play a hand game against them. They decided to go over to challenge the Kiowa the day after the Kiowa went home. Mark was with them and became exited about the anticipated hand game. His father was sick, but he paid very little attention because his head was full of the hand game and he wanted to go.

[593] The Kiowa were then camping about two miles from the Pawnee. Late in the afternoon, the day after the Kiowa had gone, Mark saw men gathering at the edge of camp. They were ready to go; they had bundles of things with them to bet. When Mark stepped out of the lodge, these youths motioned to him to come on. So he forgot all about how sick his father was inside, and went. He persuaded himself that his father wasn't very sick anyhow.

The whole party went on foot, carrying their stakes. There were twenty-five or thirty in the group. They took no horses to ride because all who were going wanted to play, which would leave no one to take care of the horses. Some mean fellows among the Kiowa might steal some. And if they had horses with them they might be tempted to wager them and lose the horses.[1]

After dark they reached the Kiowa camp. They were directed to the chief's tent. Knifechief, leading the Skiri party, carried a pipe, already filled with tobacco. Knifechief and a few others went into the chief's tipi. From outside Mark heard a Kiowa in the tipi call, "hækahí"—"all right, that's good."

[276 788] This was in December. It was very cold, and outside the men waiting wanted to get into tents to warm up. David Gillingham, Mark's chum, went with Mark into one tent. A Kiowa man sitting at the west called out a welcome, hækahí. From the south side, where she had been sitting, his wife rose and spread a blanket for the two visitors on the north side of the tipi close up to the west where the Kiowa was sitting. She put two pillows on it. David and Mark sat down there. The Kiowa filled a black pipe and gave it to David to smoke. Mark nudged David and whispered to him that he should not make any gestures with the pipe. Both knew that the Kiowa had special ways and motions in using their pipes; Mark was afraid David would try them and make a mistake. He knew David was a great show-off. The Kiowa pipe-smoking was very complicated. David nudged Mark back and told him to keep quiet. David wanted to show off, so he made some motions with the pipe, imitating Kiowa motions he had seen somewhere. [481 726]

---

[1] Incidentally, the Pawnee warparty always travelled on foot, with the object of returning riding captured horses.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 fact that in two instances they alternate with 2-4, 3-4, and 4-4 measures in a somewhat irregular manner. The time was steadily maintained, the two renditions differing only in the time values of the first measure, which were changed to conform to the words of a second verse. The song is major in tonality but about 40 per cent of the intervals are minor thirds.

726
*533
[554]

In describing the next song Dog Chief said that his father took part in the war against the Sioux and chased a member of that tribe who held a shield over his back as a protection. Dog Chief's father killed the Sioux and captured his horse, this song commemorating his deed of valor.

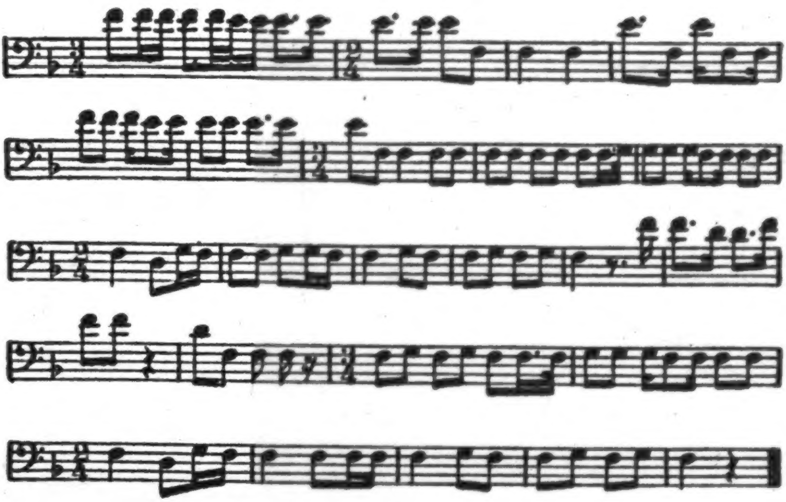
No. 17. Bear Dance Song (a)

(Catalogue No. 1153)

Recorded by Dog Chief

*533

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—In this, as in other instances of very peculiar songs, the test of the song is in the ability of the singer to repeat it accurately. The several renditions of this song were uniform in every respect. The rhythm has a general effect of determination but contains no unit nor even a characteristic phrase. Twenty-five of the 41 intervals are whole tones. The interval of a seventh occurs six times and was sung with good intonation. The song contains only the tones D, F sharp, and G sharp and has a compass of 10 tones.

*533 was required that they keep hold of each other's hands during the
575 entire dance. "Thus if they came to a tree as they danced they
could not loose their hands but must stand there and dance."

*533 The general idea of the next song is that it is better to die bravely
888 when young than to live to an enfeebled old age. In this, as in other
Pawnee war songs, we see a light estimate upon the value of life as
[761] compared to success in war. The song belonged originally to a
● 726 brave man who lived to an advanced age. When this was sung in a
dance he rose and told the young men that it was a painful thing to
live to be so old. The song was also sung by men in a battle, this being
the last song they sang "when they were all tired out and so nearly
beaten that even their hair was disheveled." It was further stated
that "sometimes when men were having this dance an enemy attacked
the village. This was the song they sang as they drove the enemy
[727] away." The song was also used in the scalp dances that followed
the return of a successful war party.

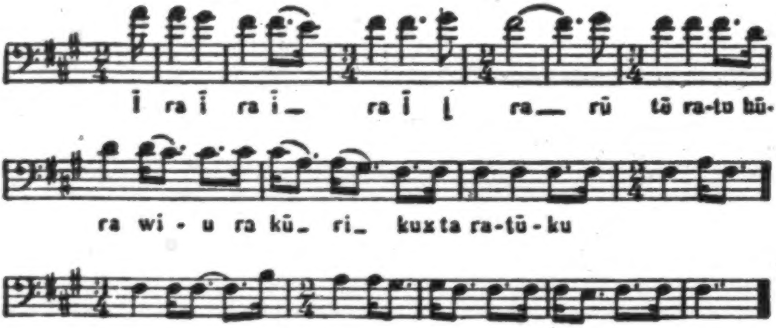
*533

No. 23. "Old Age is Painful"

(Catalogue No. 1078)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 66
Drum not recorded


ĭ ra ĭ ra i_ ra ĭ ĭ ra_ rū tē ra-tu hū-
ra wi - u ra kū_ ri_ kux ta ra-tū - ku

I	ra	rū	tē	ratu	hūra	wiu
He	comes	it	does	hurt	earth	stick
ra	kū	ri	kux	ta	ratūku	
have	do	it	pick up	it	becomes painful	

FREE TRANSLATION

He comes.
It hurts to use a cane.
It becomes painful to pick it up.

Analysis.—Four renditions were recorded. The first and second 533* renditions were interrupted by the shrill cries given by women in a war dance, the interruptions occurring in the eighth measure of the first and the ninth measure of the second rendition. After the second rendition the singer spoke several sentences rapidly and after the third rendition she repeated the shrill cries. The third and fourth renditions were sung without interruption. The foregoing is an interesting example of the performance of this class of songs. The tempo is slow and the melody is marked by a steadily descending trend. The song is harmonic in structure, contains all the tones of the octave, and has a compass of 11 tones.

SONGS OF THE RAVEN LANCE SOCIETY

[171]

The custom of the Pawnee concerning the raven lance (*kakutsaa*) 411 was similar to that of the Mandan.[70] A warrior who carried this lance 726 into battle and planted it in the ground was obliged to defend its 778 position with his life. If he were killed, his comrades brought back the lance. By the Pawnee informant the lance was described as a staff wrapped with otter hide and having a crook at the upper end. [237] It was decorated with eagle feathers and bore the body of a raven, commonly designated as a crow.

The dance of the Raven Lance Society was said to be "almost like 533* that in which the dancers painted half their bodies red and half 575 black," referring to the White Lance Society. The original owner of [302] this dance lived to extreme old age and, as he had no children, he 173 gave the dance to a young man who was one of his nearest relatives. 726 One day the people said, "Some Indians are coming to attack us." The young man who had received the dance took his raven lance, [431] mounted his pony, and went to get the old man. They rode together on the pony to a place near the fight and then went forward on foot, but the old man could not go as fast as the warriors. The old man called, "I am still coming," and the young men came back and helped him forward. The aged man was proud to see that the young man to whom he had given his dance was among the leaders in the fight. The enemy shot and killed the young man, and the lance was brought back with his body. Then the old man sang this song. In the manner of recording the song there was a wailing which was said to be "the old man crying because the young man had been killed and he had no more relatives," yet he loved the lance and all that it symbolized. He died soon afterwards and, as he was too old to give the dance to anyone else, the Pawnee do not have the dance at the present time.

---

[70] Cf. Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 48 and 49, including "Song to the Raven"; also Lowie, Societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, pp. 313-314.

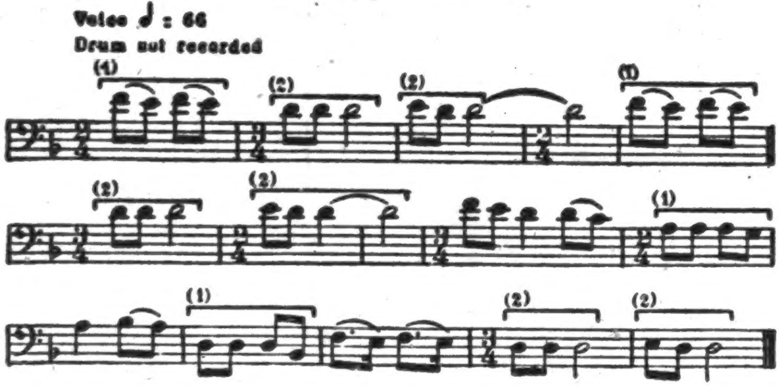
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 24. "Beloved Emblem"

*533

(Catalogue No. 1133)

Recorded by John Luwak



FREE TRANSLATION

(An exclamation of endearment)
Beloved emblem, they are carrying it forward,
Beloved emblem, they are bringing it back.

Analysis.—This is a plaintive melody with a compass of 12 tones. The first tone is the highest in the compass and the trend of the melody is steadily downward to the final tone, which is the lowest in the compass. If this song were transcribed in accordance with the pitch of the phonograph record it would have a signature of six sharps. For convenience of observation it is presented with a signature of one flat, changing the key from D sharp minor to D minor. Songs with a similar change of signature are Nos. 29, 30, 36, 39, 51, 52, 62, and 85.

[424 The next song belonged to the singer's father and was his war song.

720 *Analysis.*—This song has a compass of 12 tones and contains all the tones of the octave. The third occurs only twice, both occurrences being as short unaccented tones in the first half of the song. The intervals which characterize the song are the major second as an interval of progression and the fourth and fifth as portions of the framework of the melody. Thus the first six measures are based on the descending fifth C to F, followed by B flat to F; the next four measures are on the descending fifth G to C, and the song closes with the intervals C to F and B flat to F in the lower octave. The major second constitutes about 83 per cent of the entire number of intervals. The tempo was well sustained but the intonation was not steady. Six renditions were recorded with no break in the time

WAR SONGS

Three classes of war songs are here presented and comprise a 533* song concerning a conquered warrior of the Cheyenne Tribe, several songs of Pawnee warriors, and songs which were sung at two gatherings of the tribe attended by the writer, these gatherings being in honor of Pawnee soldiers who had recently returned from the World War.

The first song commemorates a well-known event in Pawnee 175 history. About the year 1852 the Cheyenne and Arapaho returned from Washington, where they had gone to make a treaty with the 648 Government of the United States. Among them was a Cheyenne of great reputation named Touching Cloud, who, because of the incident to be related, was afterwards known among the Pawnee as Iron Shirt. This man had in his employ a Mexican who could cut [714 round disks from the thin frying pans used at that time. Touching 177] Cloud had these disks sewed on a shirt and cap, the pieces overlapping as in old-world armor. Soon after the return of the treaty party, the Cheyenne attacked the Pawnee, who were hunting buffalo. Touching Cloud felt so secure that he rode directly among the Pawnee. His arms were so stiffened by the metal disks on his sleeves that he could use no weapon except a sword but he used this so effectively that he and his party drove the Pawnee back to their village. The Pawnee were unable to explain the fearlessness of this man and talked of it among themselves. In the village was a young man named Carrying-the-shield who had not gone with the hunters. He listened to what they said and remembered something told him by his father, who was keeper of a sacred bundle. His father had [778] four sons and gave them four sacred arrows, each a different color. The arrow received by Carrying-the-shield was red. In giving the arrow his father said, "Use this arrow when you are in great danger and it will save your life." So Carrying-the-shield took the arrow and a bow, went out and met a party of Pawnee retreating with the Cheyenne in pursuit. The retreating party opened and let him through. Touching Cloud made ready to attack him but the youth shot him in the eye with the red arrow and he fell from his horse. The Pawnee "counted coup" on his body and found that he wore, [526 concealed beneath his outer raiment, the metal-covered shirt made 554] for him by the Mexican. Therefore he was known as Iron Shirt among the Pawnee.

Analysis.—An ascending tenth occurs in this song, representing 533* an ascent from the lowest to almost the highest tone of the compass. The rhythmic unit is interesting and of frequent occurrence. The song is major in tonality and the most frequent interval is a major third.

575 These were highly decorative and spectacular affairs, but seem to lack ceremonial elements.

The society appointed as soldiers dress up their lances and prepare a horse to bear them. The keepers of the lances always led in the journeys of the camp on the hunt and set up the lances at the places where the soldier lodge was to be. Here they are kept and any person in the camp can take them up when going out to look for buffalo. When going out to take the buffalo, the lance bearers lead and hold the line by the lances, no one being supposed to go in advance. When buffalo are surrounded the lance bearers act as the chief police, see that a fair division of the meat is made, settle disputes, etc. Then while butchering is going on the lance bearers go up to a hill and watch for enemies and are the last to come into camp.

The lances of the bundle societies were the leading ones and of them the crow lances were the last to be renewed and were in a way the highest in rank. [726] When going into battle, bearers of this special lance, must be the very last to retreat. The same is true in counting coup, they must wait until all are through. All the lance bearers must be at the front and may plant their lances in the ground far out in advance; this is a signal for all the members to rally around the standard and stand fast.

[721] The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids but only used to repel or meet a general attack. [616] The seats of members were fixed and arranged around the lodge in two halves, the north and south sides. This corresponds in a way to the bundle scheme as demonstrated in Fig. 1. New members were given seats according to the side of their village bundle. This, of course, applies to the Skidi; the other divisions assigned new members to a side according to the places of their respective ancestors.

[616] The north side conducts, or leads, in the winter ceremonies; the south, the summer. The organization of each side is: a leader or chief, two drummers and singers, one lance bearer, and one errand man, or doorkeeper. There is also a herald who in outdoor ceremonies is mounted. Thus, for a society as a whole the number of officers is double the above.

575 796 When winter approaches, the societies hold a special ceremony by which the lances are stripped and the dressings wrapped up to remain until the renewing ceremony of the following spring. At the renewing ceremony the old lances are first reassembled but permanently retired when the new ones have been installed. They are not destroyed but kept to place in the graves of great warriors.

575 726 When the lance is planted before the enemy, the bearer knows that he must stand fast, he cannot take it up except to advance it toward the enemy. Hence, the planting of the lance is really the "no flight" obligation. If, however, the lance is in danger, another member may take it up and carry it out. The bearer may then retire.

dipped a horn spoon into the corn and placed the food near the lance. He made four passes with his hands towards the lance, then he placed the corn upon the rim of the fireplace, on the west side. He then took a piece of fat to the pile of corn, placed the fat on the corn, *greased his hands and then made four passes* over the lance with his hands. Then he handed the horn spoon to one of the men, who said, "Nawa." They ate and were dismissed. 575

During the buffalo hunt it was customary for this society to follow at the rear of the procession. These men were once overtaken by the enemy. Their first act was to string the buffalo rope through their belts and thus they fought. When one of their number was killed, he was dragged around as the others fought. Eventually they were all killed. The society was never again reorganized. [726]

Once a man had a lance made as he wished to start the society again. A young man took it and went to hunt buffalo. He was attacked by the enemy, killed, and the lance taken away from him. Since then, the lance was never made and was considered an evil omen. [787]

THE BRAVE RAVEN SOCIETY.

This is the important society among the Chauí and seems to have had a double function in that its emblem could lead the hunt as well as the line of battle. Among the Skidí it was a minor organization. The origin of this society is an integral part of the ritual for the leading Chauí bundle of which the head chief is the keeper but not the priest. This bundle is in two parts, or two bundles. The main bundle contained the ceremonial objects and was directly associated with the ritual; the secondary bundle contained the skins and feathers of birds. When a boy kills his first bird with an arrow, he naturally runs with it to his father. The father may then take his boy by the hand and lead him to the priest of the bundle, to whom the dead bird is presented. The priest thanks the boy and blesses him, after which the father and son go home. [224] [852]

After formally notifying the chief, or keeper of the bundle, the priest prepares the skin of the bird and puts it up to dry for four days. Then he takes it in and ceremoniously places it in the bundle, taking care to be able to identify it later.

During the autumn hunt the leader of the brave society notifies the members that the time has come for the gathering of sinew and the reserving of dried meat for the lance-renewing ceremony in the spring. Twelve volunteers are secured for this service. Each kills a buffalo and removes the sinew from the shoulders and back which is then dried and carefully packed away.

575 two for each side. The pipe-man is the chief, but there is another man who is charged with directing the ritual. All members carry ring-shaped rattles, and certain members carry short lances bearing feathers. As to the number of these lances, we have no data. The members danced nude and tied [292] a string to the foreskin to the end of which feathers were attached. (See Catlin's drawings of the Okipa.) On this account they were sometimes called the "tied-penis society." It is said that in battle some of the members would take a stake and a rope, plant the stake before the enemy and ● [726] tie the penis string to the rope. They were forbidden to release themselves and must then stand fast until released.

As to adornment and body painting each man did as he chose. Four hand drums were used.

There were no renewal ceremonies but this society would usually dance [535] in public after the bundle societies had made their appearance. In dancing they formed in front of their lodge in a circle. There were two mounted men to call out their own deeds and encourage others to do likewise. In one part of the dance the horsemen ride among the dancers back and forth (p. 387). Also, there were two whip men, carrying green switches with which to whip up the dancers. If a member enters the ceremony wearing clothes [292] he is set upon by these whip bearers and his clothes torn to pieces. Only the members who captured a blanket or cut the covering from a captured bundle, could take a hand in this. However, if a member has been in a battle and saved his robe, he may carry it folded under his arm.

[888] In the dance a dancer may remove his moccasins and put them on an old needy bystander.

CHILDREN OF THE IRUSKA.

In this organization there were but six or seven members. They carried quivers full of arrows which were very highly prized, so when an arrow was shot they went to hunt it. They were known as saaro, youths.

They did things by contraries. If a woman said, "Do not get water," [524] they went after it. They were given to playing the wheel game and because of their peculiarities no one played with them. If an enemy attacked the village, the members would continue to play the wheel game and pay no attention to the fighting. If a person came up and said, "Do not go out to [302] fight," they rushed out at once. They were always painted black as if ready to fight. On the head each wore the skin of a blackbird. The society is said to have been handed down by this bird. The leader so appointed by the bird went through the camp and selected boys who seemed queer, or even insane. These he organized into a society.

THE ORGANIZED WAR PARTY.

There was a fixed ritual for the control of a war party, which when 701
organized for a foray was for the time being a kind of wolf society (araris 721
taka, society of the white wolf). Its mythological basis is quite fundamental, 726
being that part of the creation myth in which a wolf pursued man
and deceived him. In any event, the god of war is a mythical wolf and it [776]
was directed that a wolfskin should always be placed at the top of a bundle
and that the Skidi were to be the wolf people, as the name implies. Hence, to become a real warrior one must follow the ways of the wolf. One who does so can go to the keeper of a bundle and borrow the war clothing therein together with the pipe. The wolfskin remains in the bundle, but the objects he takes away carry with them the power of the wolf. By their association with the bundle, these war clothes represent the powers of the west and when the borrower is so clothed these powers are with him. He can now organize and lead a war party, but he himself must not imitate the wolf, that is left to his followers. Thus, they become like the wolf first placed upon the earth and may have power to steal upon the enemy and get away without being discovered.

Before setting out upon a foray a ceremony is held in the village in which 726
as in all else the borrower of the regalia from the bundle is the leader. An
altar is made and the bundle from which the regalia are to be borrowed is [778]
brought in and placed before the leader. Upon it is the wolfskin and in the
minds of the warriors the wolf is present and, hence, always with them upon the way. A buffalo skull rests upon the altar.

The war regalia of the bundle are usually a pipe, a collar, a lariat rope, a hawkskin, an ear of corn (Mother Corn), some red paint, down feathers, and a leader's feathers.

As the bundle is present there must be a north and south side and two leaders. On the march they go abreast with the others behind in order of their rank. A four-day ceremony follows, before setting out. On the way, their organization is for each side, or line: a leader, two scouts, two soldiers, the warriors, and the inexperienced assistants. The four scouts are really charged with the responsibility of the movement and may be said to be in command (see p. 55) though the leaders stand for the highest authority.
They scout about in the early hours of the day and at all times on the [201]
journey. Their signals are made as wolf cries. When a scout has anything
to report, he tells it privately to the leader of his side. At the proper time the leader announces the import of the report in a formal ritualistic manner. They never approach or in fact go anywhere in a direct line, but follow an

726 ever-changing course. The members of the party paint their faces and robes heavily with white clay, which is the war paint of the Pawnee and symbolizes the wolf. The scouts also wear two white eagle feathers in the hair so set as to resemble the ears of the wolf.

Thus when one looked over the crest of a hill, he would appear as a wolf. Wolfskin caps were often worn by these scouts to heighten the illusion. Since in course of time other Indians knew the wolf cry signals, different animals were imitated according to orders of the leader.

When the enemy has been located, the leaders conduct the party into a thicket and hold a ceremony. The inexperienced members of the party (youths) gather the wood and act as servants. One young man goes out to cut the drumsticks, these he rolls up in his robe and with wolf cries runs into camp, placing the sticks before those who are to be singers. The rolled up robe he also places there for them to beat upon. A small circular altar is made by clearing the sod and exposing fresh earth. The ear of corn, the otterskin collar, the pipe and the hawkskin taken from the bundle at the start, are placed in position. All then arrange themselves in two sides as in the regular ceremony. One goes out and hunts up a buffalo skull which also has a place upon the altar. The ceremony is opened with the regular smoke offering. The leader sends one to cut a number of small sticks, at least one for each member of the party. With these sticks, offerings are to be made for which each member brought certain trinkets. These offerings are formally dedicated to all the powers of the earth, sky, etc. Each ties his present to a stick and plants it at the altar. The offerings for the powers above are set up vertically and the others in corresponding positions. The drumsticks are then taken up for beating upon a robe and singing and dancing follow. The four soldiers drive out the dancers and keep them dancing around the fire.

The songs are largely derisive of those who stayed at home. The members also sing of their sweethearts. All these songs have a peculiar rhythm [533] and end with wolf calls, from which they take the name of wolf songs (see vol. 7, 267). On the journey no one is permitted to speak of home and relations with women, lest he lose heart.

At the close a council is held to develop the plan of action. Thus, it is decided as to whether they will simply run off horses by stealth, or make an attack. If the enemy seems numerous, the former is most desirable. In this case a few men are selected to go for the horses while the others wait. Usually the scouts and the soldiers are sent on this mission, temporary soldiers being appointed to hold the men in camp. The scouts endeavor to drive out the horses toward the main body who catch what they can and mounting, drive off at high speed. The leader rides ahead, the others hold

the flanks of the loose horses while the scouts and soldiers bring up the rear. 726
They ride almost continuously for three days, or until exhaustion, and then camp in a sheltered place. Some hunt, others guard the horses. When 727
the first buffalo meat is brought in an altar is made, as before stated, and the regular smoke offering performed. Two men are then chosen by the leader to divide the spoils. They divide the horses according to the ranks of the members, inexperienced men getting but one horse. After the [553]
division the name-changing ceremony is performed for the young men on their first war party.

After sufficient rest, they set out for home. As they approach their village they set the grass afire at intervals so that their people may know [201]
that a war party is returning. When near the village they paint their faces black or dot over with black the white paint of the warpath. When in sight they signal the result of the expedition and are met by the chiefs who triumphantly conduct them into the village. Feasting and jollifying then follow. If coups have been counted or scalps taken, a victory dance will be held.

After an interval the leader of the party calls the members together and 575
any of those formerly in a party who now constitute a kind of society of the wolves. The altar is again constructed and the ceremony performed. 727
Two of the captured horses are brought out and loaded with presents, the objects from the bundle are also placed there and the horses lead to the keeper of the bundle where they are received by the priest. They are then returned to the bundle and the keeper goes at once to the place of ceremony; he stands by the altar and gives them his blessing.

On the warpath a man may vow to give one horse to the mother corn, in which case a horse is given to the keeper of the main bundle, who also gives his blessing.

With these acts the true wolf dance begins. In the dance all the young men may join, who hope to go out with the next war party and as they dance the old men sit around and ridicule their ardor. With this ceremony and the return of the sacred objects to the bundle, the war party ceases to exist.

It seems that those who have taken part in such a foray constitute a kind of wolf society which at various and sundry times conducts dances in the village in which all boys and young men may join. The object is to give practice in the songs and ritualistic parts of the ceremonies necessary to [534]
the warpath. In these dances pieces of rawhide were used for drums.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

622
756 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers
778 and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

554 ●726 *Coups.* The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular importance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have consecrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pītahauīrata division, but we have no data upon it.

756 837 *Exchange of Wives.* According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice. Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicineman in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

224 [223] *Hunting Ceremonies.* There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 838 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

726 *No-flight Idea.* A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

342 532 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

834 *Sex Taboo.* Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

276 *Smoking.* A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair
842 was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could
831 not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should
any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would
753 become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren
women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names,
if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by
the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the
baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name
was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years.
[727] As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with
788 scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing
on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner.
This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if
the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some
meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after
marriage, an individual was given another name by the father.
This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed
after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a
relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved
desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

● 726 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath,
553 our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands
of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best
159 horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man
538 between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off
my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon
my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die.
After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home.
When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and
the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

and thought that I was dead but found afterwards that I was only 726
asleep. In my sleep, I saw a buffalo bull sitting by the water's 553
edge waving his tongue in the water. As I went up to him I saw 159
that he was watching me. He spoke to me and said: 'My son, you 538
are wounded, but you are not going to die; I shall take care of you.' When I regained consciousness, I was feeling sick. I wanted to vomit. I vomited a lump of white stuff. The medicine-men cut it open, and there was a piece of strouding inside it. This was a piece that had been shot into me from my breech cloth. I soon became well. Then I took the name of Buffalo-waving-its-Mouth-in-Water."

"There was a young man who had never been on the warpath, but was always making fun of other young men who came back from the warpath without any ponies or scalps. This young man made up his mind one day that he would go on the warpath. So he sat down in his lodge and invited a few of his friends. He told them that he was thinking about going on the warpath, and if they wanted to go he would like to go with them. The young men all said they would go. The young man kept the others in his lodge all day and all night. Just before sunrise they started out. They travelled far and a little before noon they stopped in a hollow, and the young man selected scouts and sent them out. The scouts came back and reported that there was a war-party close by, that the men were holding some kind of a council, and that their ponies were not very close. The young man gave instructions for every one to get ready. They walked along the ravines until they came to the ponies, which they captured and mounted. Then they attacked the enemy while they were holding council. The boys killed several of the enemy and drove the others away, came back and took scalps, and then returned home. They set the prairies afire, took the charred grass and put it upon their faces and bodies. They were received by the people and the boy told the old men that he had
taken a scalp, which he wanted to offer to the gods, and that he [782]
wanted his name changed. So the scalp was offered to the gods,
and his name was changed to Noon, for he said: 'By noon time I
had captured the enemy's ponies, killed several men, and taken [551]
their scalps, so I shall be known as Noon-Day Man.' "

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

The usual period of nursing was about three years; if a woman 853
nursed a child for a longer time other women would make fun of
her. Children were told by their mothers to bury their milk teeth, 854
856

721 796 tume and sacred objects kept in the bundle for such expeditions. Many warriors usually volunteered to go with him, for it was thought that the object of the expedition insured its success.

726 796 When the party had assembled, they set out for the country of the enemy, sending scouts constantly in advance. [782] If they killed any game on the way, they offered part of it to the Morning Star to remind him that they were on his business. The leader carried the [778] sacred objects from the Morning Star bundle on his back.

When the scouts returned with word that they had found an enemy village, the party retired to some sheltered place and prepared for a ceremony. A circle was cleared, and a fireplace excavated as for a lodge. The leader then opened his pack and put on the sacred warrior's costume, and laid out the other objects to the west of the fireplace. A fire was kindled, and smoke [533] offered to the heavenly gods. All then sang a song symbolizing the overcoming of the Evening Star by the Morning Star and how, from their union, a girl was born. In the course of this song the leader rose and circled the fireplace, acting in pantomime the journey of the Morning Star. At its conclusion he passed out of the circle, and standing facing the east addressed [782] the Morning Star as follows: "I am praying to you as you directed, and we are seeking a sacrifice as you wished. I ask you to show yourself." In answer to [821] this prayer the star was thought to shine with brighter light. The leader then addressed his party thus:—

"Warriors, young men, we are now sitting in a place dedicated to the Morning Star. We are about to sing the song that the Morning Star himself sang when he was in search of a woman, who put obstacles in his way. I want you all to dance with all your might and to be brave. Whoever shall be so lucky as to catch

the girl must call her Opirikuts as he touches her. 726
Others must move away and not touch her. The life 796
of anyone who touches her afterward will be in danger. Everyone must now dance toward the center. Let the fire be like the enemy."

All then sang a song symbolizing the obstacles [533]
overcome by the Morning Star, the refrain being, "This [539]
is the way I did when I became angry." A red-painted stick like those used in the Thunder Ceremony had meanwhile been prepared, and this was now offered to
the Morning Star by the leader with the words, "See, [782]
I offer you only this stick with tobacco. It is all I have. Help me to obtain a real sacrifice."

By the end of this ceremony it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise, and the leader went outside the circle to the east and addressed a long invocation to him. He then returned, and all put on their war paint
and ornaments. A fourth song was then sung in which [533]
four of the great heavenly spirits were called upon to [539]
give the warriors their powers. As they sang, the [535]
warriors danced around the fire, leaping upward and giving their war cries, while the leader ran about encouraging them to dance harder. At the end of the dance the leader made a last prayer to the Morning Star, and all set out for the village.

The war party surrounded the village quietly. The leader, who at this time was considered a personification of the Morning Star, took his post to the east, with his back to the village, while a second man took his place at the southeast, and was directed to howl like a wolf, as soon as the Morning Star rose. As soon as his call was heard, the leader turned toward the village, and the attack began from all sides. The first man to capture a young woman touched her and called out, "I pronounce you Opirikuts." As soon as this was done, the attackers drew off and started toward home.

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Manners and Customs of the Pawnee Indians.

(By Br. D. Z. Smith.)

619 **Bands or Clans.**—All the Indian tribes are subdivided into bands or clans. The *Pawnees* have among them four distinct 643 bands, viz: the Loups (pronounced *Loos*,) the Republicans, the Topages, (Tuppays,) and the Grand Pawnees. Each band has at its head a Chief, among whom, however, the Chief of the Grand Pawnees, Asseruregarrigu, is considered the Principal Chief of the whole tribe.

131 **Villages, Localities, former Missionaries, &c.**—The Pawnees live in two villages at present, both on the South side of the Platte or Nebraska river. The lower village lies about 50 miles from Bellevue, and about 10 or 15 miles above the mouth of the Elkhorn river, the first important tributary of the Platte from the North; and the upper village is situated about 20 or 25 miles above the lower, nearly opposite the mouth of the Loup Fork of the Platte, the next branch of any consequence above the Elkhorn. 361 Both villages are situated on eminences, so that the approach of an enemy can easily be observed, and a sharp lookout is constantly kept in order to guard against any sudden surprise from a hostile force. Sentinels are constantly posted on all the surrounding 648 heights, who can immediately by signs, known among the Indians, 726 transmit intelligence in case of impending danger. During the night, sentinels are constantly perched upon the tops of the lodges, to guard against any unexpected nocturnal attack.—When we were on our return, and remained over night at the Loup village, a report, probably a false alarm, had reached there during the day, that a large war-party of Sioux had lately been seen near the head waters of the Elkhorn river. During the night the sentinels were as usual posted upon the lodges, a little more noisy, however, than generally, yelling to one another and singing, nearly the whole night. Upon our inquiring why the sentinels made so much noise, we were informed, that it was to let the Sioux know, should they be near, that they might not expect to find them off their guard.

Thus it will be observed, that a certain kind of military organization is constantly kept up at each village, rendered necessary by their wars with their enemies. This unpleasant state of things 000 can only be removed through the benign influence of the Gospel, when "they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they *learn* war any more. But they shall sit

114 his aboriginal heroes. There are good men among Indians, just as among the whites. The prevalent notion of the Indian has been formed from the worst class of this people, the lazy, filthy beggars who haunt the settlements of the West, who to their own vices have added new ones picked up from their surroundings, and who are hopelessly degraded. These are not typical Indians, and it is unjust to judge a whole race from such degenerate specimens. There is still another notion of the Indian fondly cherished by many worthy people, whose sympathies have been wrought upon by the cruelty and injustice with which we have treated this race. These good people look upon all Indians as simple children of nature, who would do no wrong if they had not been contaminated by contact with vicious whites. It is unnecessary to say that this notion of the Indian is also incorrect.

114 181 The Indian is neither a fiend nor a saint. There are good ones and bad ones. As a rule, perhaps they try to act up to their ideas of what is right, but the standard of a race of barbarians cannot be the same as that of a civilized people, and in judging of their character we must make allowances for this difference. The standard of right and wrong among civilized people is a growth, the product of the experience of thousands of years. The Indian races have not been through a like experience. They have regarded as virtues some things which seem to us the worst of crimes. The Indian differs from the white man in education and manner of life, and so, of course, in his modes of thought. He has not been taught the lesson of self-control, which his surroundings oblige each civilized man to begin to learn as a child. He has known until recent times no law save that of strength. He has been ● [726] taught that war is the noblest of pursuits—the only one worthy of man. And that war has consisted in making forays upon his enemies, taking their possessions, and, if possible, their lives and their scalps. His warfare consisted in surprises rather than open combat. A scalp taken [727] was a trophy of victory; and the scalp of a woman was almost as eagerly sought as that of a brave or of a chief. It was an evidence of injury inflicted on the enemy. To steal horses from the enemy was an achievement creditable and also profitable.

721 We commonly speak of the raids of war parties as horse stealing expeditions, but this is wholly misleading, because to the civilized understanding the phrase horse stealing carries with it an idea of dis-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

159
593
No Corn, wife of Horse Rider, had as her formal name *Tstabari-tsa'rwari*, "the kettle-she asks for something to put into it," that is, "she tries to borrow some corn or other food to cook." The name refers to an incident that is too obscure to be inferred from the name alone. She was a mature woman of good family, related to Victory Call through his father's sister's line, and he addressed her as *atira*. As a consequence, Otter called her *atika*, "my grandmother," but he knew better than to try to joke with her in a grandmotherly way. Her arthritis caused her a great deal of suffering. As Otter tells it,

> It was considered only right for No Corn to have a good disposition since she was helpless. She was able to do the cooking although she couldn't stand up. She made herself useful in any way she could, lest someone remark that she was cranky since she was a cripple. For example, she might see White Woman measuring Victory Call's feet for moccasins. Then she would say, "Let me do that. You have something else to do." Then White Woman would give her the awl, sinew, rawhide, and other materials and she would make the moccasins. Or when they were out on the hunt, she would say, "Pile all the dishes right here. I can wash them." She would watch and do any little task she could for anyone in the house. But even so, her son or daughter would sometimes say, "You're a cripple. You can't do anything. You ought to be good." Then she would get angry and cover up her head. The daughter would say, "Mother, you mustn't do that." "Well, you folks are the cause of it. You are the ones that make me cranky." "Oh mother, we try to talk nicely to you, but you always get angry so easily." She couldn't help the fact that she was cranky.

159
593
• 726
Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, grandmother of the boy Yellow Calf, was a historic character among the Pawnee. She was famous for her heroic defense of the village when it was under attack by the Poncas. This was a time when she was well in her fifties and the tribe was living at Pa-ha-ku near Fremont, Nebraska. Her name commemorates her deed. It was *Ts-tarahux-tu*, "woman-caused them-hurt," signifying that she had caused the enemy to grieve because of those she had killed and put to flight. This is how the story was told:

> Once when we were living in the village of Pahaku, near Fremont, the Poncas, perhaps mingled with Sioux, came on the warpath to attack the Pawnee village. They had hay in their pockets and were ready to set fire to the village. When the men saw how heavily outnumbered they were, they stayed inside the houses and resigned themselves to their fate, expecting to be burned up. As the enemy kept approaching, this old lady decided to do something about it. She was more than fifty then—an old

lady. She rubbed some soot from the brass kettle and smeared it across 159
her eyes (signifying defiance of any danger, and particularly of fire).
She twisted her hair into a knot on the front right side of her head, put 593
on a loin cloth, and with a war club in her hand she went out to face the 726
enemy saying, "We've got to do *something*. You men just sitting here doing nothing!" This got the men excited and they said, "Just look at that old lady! We've got to go out and fight." Then they all ran outside. The old lady had nothing but a club in her hand, while the Poncas and all the men had their bows and arrows. She killed one of the Poncas right next to the house and sure enough his pockets were stuffed with hay all ready to burn down their houses. Because of her bravery, she could say and do anything as she had saved everyone's life and she felt she could do what a man did any time and she was free to say whatever came to her mind. Right after the battle, she came upon Feeling Bear who had been shot in the leg. "That's good, you should protect the people," she said. "Your mother and father are still living and you're young yet." But then Feeling Bear began to cry and sob and she said to him, "You're nothing but a baby. You don't belong out here at all. Only men should be out here fighting!" Then three old ladies came along and said to her, "Let's see that dead Ponca you killed." At that very moment Whitey came walking along with a stick in his hand that he had used to defend himself. The Old Lady calls him grandchild and they all began to tease him. "Turn that Ponca over," they said. But try as he would, the corpse slipped back and he jumped away. Then, giving it a hard push, he fell right on top of it. The old ladies began to laugh, and he ran away as fast as he could. He said that long after, he could still see that Ponca right before his eyes at night. The body was not buried, but was left in the open.

Long afterward when they were talking it over with the Poncas, and they were reviewing the incidents of the battle, the Poncas said, "When we saw that old man, we thought he was the bravest man we had ever seen and that's what held us back." Then the Pawnees told them that it was a woman. When braves were jealous of their wives, they would sometimes beat them up and then Grieves-the-Enemy would come along and say to them in her full deep voice, "Fine brave men you are! Your place is out beating up the Poncas. They came here to burn up our whole village. We women do you no harm. It's the Poncas you should be out fighting with."

The only men to whom she spoke politely were the chiefs. A chief 159
would never beat his wife no matter how he felt. This would be against
the whole code of chieftainship, and if he thought he could not control 593
his emotions, he would not accept the office in the first place. When he 622
was asked, he had to seriously consider whether his character was good enough. He must be generous and good and, if he weren't, he would re-

571 and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and
521 often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque grouping and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for
[551] a tall, slender person, *asu-katu-has-tawiu* ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of a shoe string), or *karastiat* ("I will not go out"); *kusatsua* ("it will rain"). In reply, *A* ("well"), *uksawatsatsua* ("even if it were to rain"), *kaiit* ("salt"); *karas* ("are you?").

857 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and
858 types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in
867 early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not
[601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term
[551] of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey, etc.

883 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out
572 to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the
[726] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous occasions.

533 Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the
[726] night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching. Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting, and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar,
[539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

512 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder.
462 When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter,
887 I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next
meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar.
Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

313 Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Vic-
484 tory Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were
623 to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful sup-
ply of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the im-
[726] mediate neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more
to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy. The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the chiefs had gathered there.

512 The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the
252 household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver
262 Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buf-
[237] falo meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They
made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

[415] The main business of the women of the household that day was to give
512 the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing
251 the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and
for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold,
356 and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep
the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in;
besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of
the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for
[192] food pit, *tahaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all.
[476] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

773
796 the order of the procession—the four leading scouts, firemakers, cooks,
782 and messengers.

After traveling 15 or 20 miles, they lay down to sleep among the thick
773 weeds, resuming their journey through the afternoon to a timbered spot
796 where they made camp. The errand man cleared the ground, made a lit-
782 tle fireplace in the middle, and the leader took off his costume and put it
721 at the west end of the fireplace where the altar would be in the earth
lodge. They all sat around the fireplace in order of their rank and cosmic
• 726 affiliation, ate a meal, and talked a while; then the leader told them to lie down while he watched the sky and from time to time smoked his pipe. Just before the Morning Star rose, the scouts went out; when the star came up the leader began to recite the ritual, and hearing it everyone awakened and they continued on their journey. At noon they stopped, the scouts joined them and reported what they had seen; in the afternoon, they continued with their journey. Every day they traveled this way until the scouts reported that they had seen signs of the enemy. When the village was sighted, the scouts went all around, counting the tipis and generally taking stock of the situation. They made a final camp in the timber, making a large circle as if for an earth lodge, a fireplace in the middle with the excavated earth from the fireplace in a little mound to the east outside the circle. At the request of the leader, the warriors placed their gifts at the west, and taking some tobacco from the feet of the wildcat skin, he filled the sacred pipe and one of the men was chosen to do the ceremonial smoking to the celestial powers. The scouts made a final check of the enemy camp and when they got back, the leader ordered a large fire built and the ritual dancing began. The leading members of the party sang the songs of the creation: "The power of the *earth* goes through the enemy's country; the power of the *timbers, waters, seeds. . . .*" Others all sang and danced, "This is the way I do when I am imitating him (the Morning Star), when I become angry, when I am imitating him," and as they sang and danced, they attacked the fire as if it were the enemy. At the rise of the Morning Star, the leader also danced, put on some of his regalia, and got his pipe ready, and they set out for the enemy village, the scouts in the lead. In his prayer to the Morning Star he asked that he lose none of his men. At the enemy village, the leader was stationed at the east facing the Morning Star; he sent his assistant to lead a party around by north and another man by south to surround the village. At the southeast the man representing the Fools-the-Wolves Star was to alert them with his first wolf cry, and then at his second wolf signal everyone would attack the village. They were reminded that they were not to kill unless it was necessary, but only to locate a thirteen-year-old girl and pronounce her holy for the Great Star. The one who found her was assisted by the others to bring her to the leader. No one else in the village was to be harmed. The four scouts were to

drive the horses from the village toward their encampment so that they could leave in a hurry. The enemy would not immediately attempt a pursuit as there was a feeling that this was a kind of cosmic destiny. Retribution would be visited upon the whole tribe later on in a regular war party. The girl was placed on a pony behind her captor, and they rode all day, sleeping only three hours during the night until they approached the village. As they approached, the leader set the prairie on fire to let them know that they had been successful. The warriors smeared their faces with soot. The Morning Star priest came out and led the captive girl to the village and to his lodge. 773 796 782 721 726

Now that the girl had been captured the first stage of the warrior's mission had been accomplished. The sacrifice would not take place until the following spring. The whole tribe would go off on the winter buffalo hunt, taking the girl with them. When they got back to the village and the creation ceremony had been performed, the priest of the Morning Star would watch for a sign from the cosmic god that the time for the ceremony had arrived. Meanwhile, the returned war party settled back in the village. The visionary warrior went to the lodge of the Morning Star priest and returned the costume which was replaced in the sacred bundle. Warriors told how many of the enemy they had touched and the war counts they should receive because of this and the number killed. The women danced the victory dance. The keeper of the Wolf bundle was called to the Morning Star lodge to take over the care of the girl who would remain in his charge until the time of sacrifice, throughout the period of the winter buffalo hunt and the spring that followed. He was to watch over her at all times and was to take her for her meals to the home of the visionary warrior. According to the creation legend, the wolf was the first creature to suffer death; he was murdered by the people because of his perfidious conduct and as a result from that time on all living things must die (see below, pp. 328-329). The Wolf bundle commemorated these incidents and its keeper was thought to be a descendant of the original owners. Sirius, the southeast star, was the Wolf Star and it was connected with death. The Wolf man now entered the lodge of the Morning Star priest who bathed both him and the girl in incense from the smoke of burning sweet grass—first the girl and then the man. Then the girl's costume was taken from the Morning Star bundle. She was rubbed with red ointment made of pigment and buffalo fat and dressed in a calfskin skirt tied around the waist by a rope, an overblouse, a warm buffalo robe, some black moccasins, and a soft down feather to wear in her hair. She was given a special wooden bowl and a buffalo horn spoon for her exclusive use at meals, that was also taken from the bundle. It was dangerous for others to use her utensils as the supernatural beings might then consider them part of the sacrifice. 773 796 782 727 773 796 782 [778]

While they were on the winter hunt, the warrior visionary would have

Horses
231 were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact.
177 that horses were introduced to this continent by the Spaniards in the
early 1500's, and whatever use was made of them by American Indians
had to develop after that time. Even though it was a considerable length
of time, the Pawnee practices in connection with the use and care of
horses were not as advanced as those of the Spaniards. As regards the
*224 buffalo hunt, at the time of our narrative horses were used in the chase
492 when they were attacking the herd in a group and also to carry their
food and camping equipment. The strategy of the mass attack upon the
herd was to develop a "surround" by the mounted hunters who had
been lined up behind a hill out of sight. No doubt they had previously
492 used a similar technique on foot. As to carrying the food and equipment,
493 a good deal of it was packed on the backs of the women and girls. However, the women had dogs who were trained to drag the tent poles be-
482 hind them, the heavy ends of the poles tied to a harness on the dog's
back. The tent poles were grouped into two sets, one on each side of
the dog, and connected by two cross sticks toward the lower ends. Upon
these a skin cover was wrapped where other luggage was placed. A dog
492 could drag as much as 70 pounds. The custom of dog traction and ex-
482 tensive carrying on the back by the women was in full operation as late
as 1837 when a famous painter, Alfred Jacob Miller, portrayed the
175 Pawnees in this manner. After 1850, however, dogs were no longer used
178 for this purpose, and it was mostly the men who kept them around so
[782] that the puppies could be sacrificed and eaten at a special ceremonial.
Some, of course, were kept by the women as pets. By 1867, the horse had
taken over the carrying function almost entirely except for a few poor
single or old people who had to do some packing of their dried buffalo
meat on the way home. The packing of the horse resembled that for-
[493] merly used in connection with the dog; the horse travois or carrying
frame was also the same as that of the dog. All the leather trappings for
keeping the luggage in place had now to be carefully prepared before they
left for the hunt.

231 The Pawnees were relatively poor in horses compared with other
422 Plains tribes at this time. This may have been due to constant attacks by
the Sioux and the other nomadic tribes, although this is not certain. At
171 any rate while among the Blackfoot or the Kiowa twenty-five horses at
least were considered an average number for a family on the move,
Eagle Chief, who was head of the Skidi Band, had only ten, and a reasonably comfortable family like that of Victory Call had only four or five.
Some families had only one or two horses and it was with great difficulty
• 726 that they went on the hunt at all. Even in their war practices, the
*484 Pawnee retained some of their prehorse habits. It was well known that
178 they set out on their war expeditions on foot and they were known to the
Kiowa as "Walkers." The rationale given for this by students of the sub-

726
ject has often been that they kept themselves free to take the horses of 484*
the enemy and ride them home. They did gain in stealth of approach, 178
but this is no doubt a secondary explanation of what was probably a
survival of older custom. The fact that the men looked for booty or 721
various kinds of valuables in the places they attacked and carried them 727
home on their backs is indicated in some of the well-known names that 551
were current, such as He-Comes-Carrying-Sitting-Down-from-Time-to-Time-Coming—implying that the things brought home as war trophies were so heavy that the bearer had to sit down from time to time and rest. Another such name is He-Brings-Many-Trophies-from-Over-the-Wide-World, or again, He-Comes-Bringing-Them-Down-a-Hill, or still another, He-Comes-Carrying-His-Trophies-Today.

It is clear that the actual pattern of cooperation on the migration and 175
hunt was established long before they had horses and present practices 224*
were adapted but not substantially changed. In 1540 Coronado's expedi- 492
tion met a party of buffalo-hunting Indians on the Plains who were using
the dog travois and carrying dried buffalo meat. Mark Evarts describes 224*
some of the traditions remembered by the Pawnees at the time of our narrative, when they had no horses:

> Near Old Village there was a hill called Calf-Against-Upon-Standing. [103] The calf referred to was a certain kind of yellow calf with a long body and the people knew that when they saw him standing on the hill, the herd would be right beyond him. The people would line up on each side and surround the herd and make the buffalo circle about inside. They would kill them and butcher, and carry the meat home on their backs. They had no horses. There was no trade store.
>
> The North Wind was called Lucky Wind because when it blew it [821] sent the buffalo. In winter in deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep, and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow, and could readily be killed. This was particularly the case before we hunted with horses.
>
> In summer the buffalo went scattered in small bunches and this was difficult, but in winter they traveled in closer formation when we could also drive them onto the ice.

The Pawnee surround is described by George Bird Grinnell (1925, pp. 249-250):

> Choosing a still day, they would surround a small bunch of buffalo, stretching out in a long line whose extremities would gradually draw together, as the hunters, disguised as wolves, stole from hill to hill around the unconscious prey. When the circle was complete some man would shout and startle the buffalo.

29

THE ADDITIONAL HUNTING EPISODES

000

The Less Formal Part of the Hunt—Scouting for Enemy and Buffalo—a Sioux Attack—the Herd Sighted and Attacked—Final Attack and the Start Home

*224 *484 THE MAIN FOUR EPISODES of the hunt were now completed, and the rest would be undertaken on a less formal level. In the last one at Cedar Creek, it was felt that they hadn't gotten much and White Eagle decided that it would be best for them to move their camp westward. They would move eight miles west and upstream (Post Hunt Camp 1). White Eagle sent his errand man to Curly Chief of the Kitkehaxki Band to notify him, and Curly Chief in turn sent his errand man to announce it all through the South Band camps, while the Skidi errand man came back and announced it in theirs. The meat was nearly dry and they carried it along. When they got to the next camping place, the women [251] simply finished drying the limited amount they had by spreading it out on the ground on a hide.

*224 •726 *484 The afternoon before, scouts from each of the bands had gone out over the country to look for signs of the enemy and the buffalo. From the Skidi, a party of three led by Roaming Leader went off to the southwest. Scanning the landscape from the top of a hill, they were unable to see anything. Sometimes one could make a mistake when enemies disguised themselves by wearing buffalo hides, but if you looked carefully you could see the robe flapping at the sides and other men similarly dressed, joining the first one. The Sioux, Cheyennes, or Arapahos would do this, sitting on a horse with a buffalo robe draped over their 222 *484 heads with the sides hanging down. Roaming Leader had come especially to this area to get some sweet cicely (*Washingtonia longistylis*) called

*224 buffalo. They were Mad Bear, White, and Old Man Beaver Tree. While *484 the camp was moving to Noisy Water, these three men had gone to the south and west. Mad Bear was sure he saw a Sioux, but White tried to *224 make light of it. Old Man Beaver Tree thought they had better go and *484 see. The Sioux scout was about a half a mile away and as they approached he turned back down the hill. When they got to the top he was • 726 riding away far to the west. They made various plans and then decided 648 to cross the creek and as the old man said, "If anything happens, we can go into the timber." This party ended in disaster as they were surrounded by a Sioux war party and White and Old Man Beaver Tree were killed. Mad Bear and the old man shot point-blank at the approaching enemy, but the old man was struck in the leg and simply sat down in the path and piled his bow and arrow before him to await his fate. Later his body was found by the Pawnees on their way to their encampment. Of himself, Mad Bear said,

> I could see the old man sitting there. As I got among the willows along the creek, they shot me in the right shoulder blade. My bow and arrows dropped. I couldn't hold anything. My arm was just swinging. I held my bow and arrows in my left hand. If they had seen it, they would have killed me, but when I got among the willows they thought I was all right. After a while I heard some growling. Then the Pawnees were coming singing. I got up and saw a great many passing by. The Sioux had gone quite a way off.

[752] They put his arm in a sling when they found him and later managed to heal him.

Old Man Beaver Tree lay dead on the other side of the creek. They [727] never found White. It was suspected that he had been scalped, and even if he had survived this harrowing experience would have been ashamed to come home, as "he had no hair." He would have to make himself a dugout to live in.

The official scouts had seen these happenings from a distant hill where they were and suspected someone had been killed. When they got to the camp at Noisy Water, the scouts were very discouraged. They said, "We ought to go the other way. It's going to be that way. This time of year the Cheyenne, Arapaho, any tribe, go running around on the warpath." They decided they would move one more camp west and then go back to the north bank of the Republican River (*Kiraruta*). The new camp was a short distance, about seven miles along (Post Hunt Camp 3). The *224 night before it was decided that the official scouts had done them no [625] good and the head policeman, Strikes-the-Enemy, appointed three young men. They climbed a tall hill and all along the valley below they *[484] saw the buffalo. It was somewhat to the northwest and ten miles or less

from where they were camping. "That's what we want," they said, and 224*
sat down to smoke together. They went close and saw a big lake. When 484*
they got to the Post Hunt Camp 3, about four in the afternoon, they
went directly to the council tent and made their report. They said, "We
went about ten miles from here." "Well, sit down. Have you good news?"
"Yes, we have." "Errand man," said White Eagle, "go through the village
and call grandpa Angry Horse and the other men of the village. Have
them all come in. Three men came in with good news." After due cere-
monies and greetings from the chiefs and important men the leader of
the scouts described the place. He said, "The buffalo can't get away be-
cause the lake is in a valley between two steep hills and they must come
for water." The older people recognize and know of the place. They re-
fer to it as *ru-ti-wa-tatar-ariks*, "there-it-hill-down-standing." Now White 224*
Eagle, realizing that they were all thinking about the two who were 484*
killed by the Sioux, said, "What happened we must stop thinking of. Re-
member that we are still living. Here are these men. They have good 726
news for us, for our tribe and for our women and children. I hope we
will have no more such disasters. When a day comes and something like
that happens we can't help it. Sometimes you may be walking along and
just simply fall over. Remember, that's the way things are. But now we
are still living."

A message was sent to Curly Chief of the Kitkehaxki and the other 224*
Bands and the announcement made through the Skidi encampment. They
decided to attack the herd early in the morning at seven o'clock. Insofar
as they could, they would chase the buffalo toward the camp. Now peo-
ple were in a good mood and began to joke. They said that the three
scouts probably had "scared eyes," *ti-kiriki-tiruut*, "it is-eyes-frightened."
Perhaps they had seen *pakuts* grass and thought they were buffalo!

Early next morning they made the mass attack on the herd as planned. Back at camp, some of them left ribs at the council tent. Among the South Bands, when they leave ribs, they line up one behind the other and say bird names. Here and there in the different tents where there were sacred bundles someone would give consecrated meat and the priest would be called in to perform the ceremony.

Some people left meat and ribs at the Society of Lucky Children, *Pira-* 575
kawaharu, "child-lucky." They have no sacred bundle. They simply sit [431]
and recount lucky events that have happened to them or to their pred- [778]
ecessors from whom they had inherited their place. The headquarters
of this society was in the tent of Old-Lady-among-Queens, *Ts-tawi-ku*,
"woman-among-sits," signifying that she always associates with queens
or influential women. She had inherited the place from her grandmother.
The Old-Man-That-Chief also belonged, and he conducted the pro-
ceedings. He tells of how the society came to be, though he says he only
surmises—doesn't really know. He says, "One might be thinking, 'Luck,

*224 this area now, north of the Republican, they were in Pawnee territory
*484 and were less concerned about danger of attack. As the South Bands had
their villages to the east of the Skidi on Beaver Creek, they moved ahead
while the Skidi lagged behind. They ate mainly dried buffalo meat at
[262] this time and a little parched corn in soup. If anyone happened to have
[252] any roasted corn kernels on hand, they boiled them and ate them, but
most people had used up their supply by now. The old women were always
*224 busy when they stopped, pulverizing dried buffalo meat in the
*484 mortar with a pestle. They made a flat package, *tsat-katus*, "package-flat,"
251 of tanned hide (see Figure 30-1) and filled it up with the pounded-up
887 dried meat. The package could be carried on the back with a strap
[482] that ran across the chest. It was 2 feet long by 1½ feet wide, and was
[439] often carried on their backs by the old women. It was a good trade
item. Sometimes they also included some dried meat. Both kinds could
[262] be eaten without cooking as they were already thoroughly cured. One
could simply break off a piece of the dried meat and eat it.

237
251
482

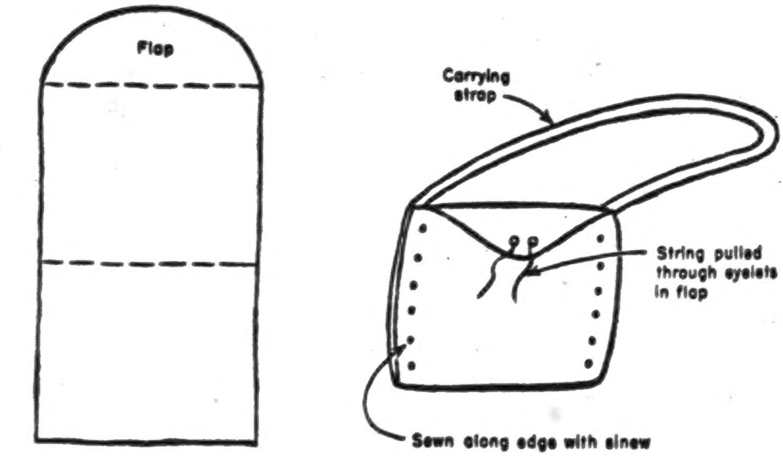

Flap
Pattern to be folded up in middle
Carrying strap
String pulled through eyelets in flap
Sewn along edge with sinew

FIGURE 30-1. The pattern of a skin knapsack, *tsat-katus*, "package-flat."

*224 Some old women made a *hu-tsaku*, "water-package," of half a buffalo
*484 bull hide made into rawhide, with sticks fastened underneath and the
[237] baggage wrapped inside envelope-fashion, to be floated across a swollen
[281] stream. Most of the women were busy tanning buffalo robes and scraping
hides all the way home.

726 Some young men were saying that when they got to the Platte River
they would set out on the warpath. There were plenty of Sioux around

from whom they could well steal horses, and some young men thought 726
they would like to go to the Osage country. The women of their household 726
would outfit them with three or four pairs of new moccasins, tanning 705
some hides especially for the purpose. Each pair would be filled
with supplies—pulverized dried meat, parched corn, and dried meat. The
young man would have a large flat package, especially wide to carry on
his back with straps across the chest to carry his baggage. Under his belt [276]
he carried his tobacco and his pipe, and every time he sat down while he
was on the warpath he must smoke. When he went off to steal horses
he hung his flat-package on a tree and sometimes did not get a chance to
retrieve it at all.

In Victory Call's household, they had gotten eight hides. A small one 281
would be tanned by White Woman to get supplies at Fort Kearney. One 439
was reserved for Mr. Bishop, the trader near home, to whom a good
one had been promised before they left in payment for supplies Victory
Call had obtained at his store for their journey.

While they were going east along the Platte River after their arrival 224*
two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), the village scouts came back 484*
with their report of how things were back home. They came in directly 203
to the tent of Leading Chief who now had charge of their return journey
and reported:

> We went down to the village. We couldn't go in, it was full of fleas. Toward evening we went to the different corn fields. The corn is pretty ripe in some places. The pumpkins are hard yet. There are lots of beans of all different kinds. One fellow got on a freight and went to Columbus to see how the Stay-at-Homes were. Everything looks good. From there we went to the school. We gave the children some pulverized dried meat and some plain. We told them you folks were coming home. We stopped in Bishop and Matlock's store for the night and said it would be about eight or ten days before we got to the village. Everyone looks all right.

Now Know-His-Face went through the encampment, announcing this
message to all. In one of the other bands a rougish old lady called out [824]
"And how about the sunflowers? How are they doing?" The boy said.
"The sunflowers are way high!" The byplay is that the sunflowers were [522]
the place where clandestine affairs were carried on. These grew as weeds
in the boundaries between the fields.

One of the scouts brought five or six ears of corn that were ripe from 224*
different fields, and gave them to the ones to whom they belonged. One 484*
ear had come from the field of Otter's grandmother, and before she took [788]
off the husks she blessed him with it four times. Then she removed the [252]
husks, roasted the ear in the coals, and broke it into three pieces, one for [262]

it to them. Everyone went to bed early, for next day they would be picking the beans in No Corn's field and this meant another day of back-breaking work. 244 512

Sixth day. All during this time young men would go out very early in the morning with their bow and arrows to act as sentinels, watching particularly for the Sioux, who lurked about to attack women going to and from the fields. Victory Call always took along his bow and arrows should there be a surprise attack. The Skidi fields were located northwest of the villages. Going out early in the morning, one could see the boys picketing about on the high bluff to the west. That morning as they looked up at a big hill west of Genoa, they would also see someone stationed, scouting around for the enemy. The night before Mad Bear and another man had made up their minds to do this. Before dawn they climbed the high bluff west of Beaver Creek and sat down and looked toward where they were roasting corn. "Look at that smoke. Afterward, we can get some corn," they said. Their legs were hanging over the bluff. There was a little creek that ran from the southwest into Beaver Creek running parallel with the edge of the bluff where the two men were sitting, and a Sioux had been hiding in a trough and watching them. The two men were talking about the cherries on the side of the bluff and the big yellow plums in the bottom and how they would eat them next day. As they were talking, they heard the Sioux making a noise like a crow. 512 726

Later Mad Bear told his story. "I got frightened and I never thought of my bow and arrows. I was transfixed with fear when I saw all of them. But all at once I got over it. The other man didn't get over it. We ran down the bluff to the creek. The other man left his bow and arrows there." Mad Bear continued: "I don't see why the other fellow left me and ran away to get under the brush. The Sioux caught him. As I ran down the bluff, I felt a shot through my back. It came out of my chest, but I got into the water anyway and they let me go. The other fellow had disappeared." We looked in the water for him but couldn't find him. Long after when someone came back to Nebraska, they thought they saw him and he had been scalped and was ashamed to come back. 159 726

The Pawnees took Mad Bear over the creek and he was doctored by Heavy-Trophies and Herd-of-Horses. As Mad Bear described it, "The doctor put his mouth against mine and blew some water with some medicine in it into my mouth and made me swallow it. I had been sleepy all along, but this woke me up. Then they gave me some medicine to chew and water to drink and I felt better and never worried about it again. I sent the doctors home." Finally the Pawnees came out and killed a big tall Sioux. His bones remained there a long time 752 726

752 afterward. One Sioux was killed and one Pawnee killed or scalped.
• 726 This is why Mad Bear was known as a brave man, heedless of any danger to himself, like a boy, a *piraski*.

244 All the time that this struggle was going on, Victory Call, White Woman,
512 and No Corn were in No Corn's field picking beans. Horse Rider had had to go quite a way to find the horses and when he got back to camp to saddle them, they had left him a bite of breakfast and then he joined them in the field. First he inspected the pumpkins and then they all went around picking up the vines, and when a vine wrapped around a cornstalk, they had to look all around for the ripe pods. This took until noon and on the way home they took a swim in the creek. Arriving at
244 camp, they prepared a modest lunch of bread, coffee, and bits of ready-cooked meat saved in a sack for such purposes—pieces of dried heart,
512 leg muscle, pieces of paunch, fat, etc. They called this *tsuspakahu*. They
262 opened the sack and dumped the pieces of meat on a spread and simply
264 picked up one and ate it with the bread and coffee. Sometimes they had pulverized dried meat, *tapaharus*, with some bone grease instead of the meat. They decided to have the same kind of meal in the evening, as their backs ached from picking the beans. After the meal, the newly
244 picked beans were spread out to dry, and about three in the afternoon
512 White Woman decided that her beans were dry enough to thresh with
251 the long willow stick to get the beans out of the pods. Victory Call wandered up to the store and Horse Rider either went to the gambling grounds or just sat on a bluff smoking and looking around. The women kept working with the beans.

512 That evening, Victory Call came in with supplies from the store for
439 supper: prunes, dry apples and some candy sticks for Otter—a gift of the trader. People had seen Victory Call coming in while they were at the gambling grounds watching the game, and they decided to come over and have some dinner there. War Cry's younger brother, Brave Shield, and Wants-the-Enemy dropped in for a visit. Some decided to visit with Misery (*Akapakis*) instead, and White Woman felt slighted because the youngest brother of War Cry, Leading Fox, had decided to go there as also had Sun Chief, Victory Call's older son. She scolded Leading Fox saying, "Why don't you come in. People will think I don't take care of you." "Well," he said, "the boys wanted me to come with them." She remarked about Sun Chief to Victory Call who reassured her saying, "That's nothing. You have to watch girls, but you can't keep boys home like that."

512 At dinner, Brave Shield mentioned that some of the Kitkehaxki doctors were preparing to go back into the earth lodges to prepare for
796 the forthcoming doctor dances. Victory Call said that it was a bit too
756 early. It was better to finish the work so that they didn't have all this rub-

32

THE CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCE OF THE HARVEST

000

Holy Significance of the Mother Corn—Pawnee Logic of the Universe—Three Harvest Ceremonies—Green Corn Ceremony—Mature Corn Ceremony—Four-Pole Ceremony—Ceremonial Rituals Explained—Symbolic Significance

243 778 To THE PAWNEE, the ear of corn was his daily food and also the object of his most profound reverence and worship. In every sacred bundle that represented the cosmic powers there were two ears of corn of an ancient breed, cultivated exclusively for its role as a holy object—their Mother [926] Corn. The leader of a war party that went afoot far out onto the Plains to capture horses and booty wore an ear of sacred corn on his left shoulder so that Mother Corn might guide them to victory. It was an ear that had served in a sacred bundle for one year from harvest to harvest. The calumet expedition for peace and trade with another tribe, besides the two symbolic eagle-feathered pipes, carried an ear of sacred corn representing the universe. It was painted blue around its bottom half with four blue lines leading up toward the point representing the semicardinal-direction pathways of prayer to Heaven, while on the point of the corn stood a single white feather to represent Heaven itself.

Each sacred ear of corn in the sacred bundle was sewn into a skin cover: the ear for winter in a tanned buffalo skin, and that for summer 243 778 782 in a heart skin. At every meal the wife or sister of the chief in whose care the bundle was kept addressed each ear of corn by its own name to give thanks for the food they were about to enjoy. If it were buffalo meat they were having, she would point some of it toward the sacred bundle hanging at the west in order to give Mother Corn the first portion. When they ate corn it was of course not offered to her but the bowl of the spoon

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, 773
p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining 551
that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of 821
a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water.
Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation
(1925, pp. 142-161).

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee 000
texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making.

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely 231
personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive 552
names being applied to them for reference in conversation. [556]
Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;*
Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof,
Askats; Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-katit;*
White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red
Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never 231
buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who 764
had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes 428
kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would [766]
often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the
horse.

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They 231
were: Wide Feet, *As-kataribu'*; White Spotted, *Paras-taka*; Bear 552
Head, *Kuruks-paksu*; Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat*; Hate-His-Tail,
Pits-tatur-ritku; Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats*; Wooly,
Pararus; Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku*; Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.*
Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked
when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were 231
never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the
time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, [262]
the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog
Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for
hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they
tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very
vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross,
1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march
pulling the travois in 1834-1836. The Pawnees were able to identify [825]
themselves with wild animals and had great respect for
them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties.

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through 231
trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. 726
I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied 177
the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced
a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

231
• 726
177

000

140 horses over the prairie, "trampling over skins, dried meat and some of the smaller tents." At the same time Murray's host had only five or six horses of the poorest kind for he had been robbed of his many good horses by the Sioux. He reports that another chief had "at least thirty, among which some were wild, some Spanish and three of American breed." Pike found the Pawnee horses far superior to those of the Osages. In 1829 an American 141 horseman among the Osages on the Verdigris River in Oklahoma reported a most beautiful iron gray stallion captured from the Pawnees (*American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, Baltimore, 1833, 501-503). In 1778-1779, Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, was avid to acquire Spanish horses from the west. He wrote to Colonel George Rogers Clark, who had been sent by Virginia to the Northwest Territory, that without valuing "the cost of the horses or the expense of sending them in," Patrick Henry wanted "two Horses" and "Eight Mares" of "the true Spanish Blood." He wrote that Clark was not to "lose a moment in agreeing for them, for vast numbers of people are about to go out after them from here and will soon pick them all up and raise the price very high." He asked that he be quick and suggests that the horses might be obtained from either Indian tribes or Spanish settlements. After months Clark replied, "you have conceived a greater opinion of the Horses in this country than I have." True he had an excellent stallion from New Mexico a thousand miles to the west and south, but could not at the time send him across the drowned lands of the Wabash. The Pawnees six hundred miles away had superior horses. Maybe later he could get some of them. Of Illiniois mares he writes that he had seen some good ones, but hard usage from their barbarous horse masters had ruined them (Clark, 1912, pp. 75-78, 88-89, 303-304).

648
231
439
175

In 1724, De Bourgmond, an established Illinois trader, was commissioned by the French government to induce the Skidi Pawnees, Otos, and Padoucas (Comanche or Apache?) to set up working relations so that the French could use them as intermediaries for obtaining Spanish horses. He called a meeting at Doniphan Kansas on the Missouri and such a peace was concluded:

> One of the chiefs spoke, stating that the women and little girls of his tribe were broken down from carrying heavy loads on their backs when the tribe went on its semi-annual hunts, and that he was willing to make peace with the Padoucas, solely to obtain horses in trade so that his women would not have to walk and carry heavy burdens. The other chiefs seemed to have approved of this view of the matter; one by one they gave their assent. The peace pipe was filled and passed around the circle and peace with the Padoucas was concluded. (Hyde, 1951, note 35, p. 48, p. 44.)

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Dhegiha NQ12

P 224

241 The surround on foot was called *tut-kawi-pitahaku,*" it-to-them-inside-moving-round-and-round." In summer the buffalo tended to be scattered in smaller bunches. In winter the buffalo traveled in closer formation. They also would try to drive them over the ice during the winter: *tituks-ukita-hai-iwarit,* "they-used-to-upon-water-or-ice-aim-or-direct." In winter, in the deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow and could readily be killed. The north wind was called Lucky Wind because it chased the buffalo to them. When the second party was going to Oklahoma (1876), old man Frost, *Huriru'us,* held a doctor dance. Then Lucky Wind began to blow and a lot of buffalo came close to the camp. At one time, east of the Missouri River, a bit east of Omaha, Nebraska, there were villages of Pumpkin-Vine people and further eastward the village of Bones-Sticking-Up, *Kis-karaxwa,* of the Tsawi Band. Buffalo came into these villages.

P
[821]
[796]
[361]

P 482

Even in Oklahoma in the 1920's women continued to pack heavy loads on their backs. In 1928 I met an old Pawnee grandmother of delicate build trudging along the road out of the town of Pawnee one Saturday afternoon with a huge load of groceries—a sack of flour, a lard pail full, and other sundries—done up in a blanket, the ends tied across her forehead and the weight of the bundle resting on her protruded buttocks and backbone. She refused an offer of a lift in a Ford Car, preferring to continue with her moccasined walk for the two miles to the house.

P 172 325

145, 363 In Lower Loup archaeological villages sheet metal was found for the first time (about 1600), possibly for arrow points (Dunlevy, 1936, p. 201).

P 162

138 Dunbar, 1918, p. 632, gives an estimate of the number of males and females among the Skidi (1840): total 1906; males over 10 years, 469; females over 10 years, 598; children, males under 10 years, 367, females under 10 years, 472.

P 439

D
[726]
[727]

P
[726]

145, 363-364 Although pottery was still in use in Old Village (Allis, 1887, p. 140) the Pawnees had for some time been carrying on a trade in brass buckets with other tribes. Mooney, 1898, pp. 257-259, describes a gruesome incident when the Osage attacked the unprotected Kiowa camp, cutting off the heads of their dead victims and placing them one each in a brass kettle, "which had been obtained by the Kiowa from the Pawnee, who procured them on the Missouri and traded them to the southern tribes." This was the year 1833 "Summer They Cut Off Their Heads." During the attack "A party of women was saved by a brave Pawnee living in the camp, who succeeded in fighting off the pursuers long enough to enable the women to reach a place of safety" (p. 258).

000 359-360 *Herald*, Omaha, Nebraska, October 13, 1957. A man was driving into the sandhills of western Nebraska to meet his wife who was teaching at a school 35 miles north of the town of Ashby. Riding to the end of a vague road onto the land, he ran out of gasoline and, leaving his car, got lost for three days. He had to live on rose buds and frog legs until he was found. A good knowledge of the stars and constellations would have helped him.

175 The Pipe Dance among the Caddo, 1687, was reported by Joutel, companion of La Salle, as witnessed by him in July 1687 (Swanton, 1942, pp. 179-180).

175-176, 199, 223, 354-355 Calumet ceremony current in the Mississippi region as observed by the French explorer Marquette in 1672:

> He says of this "calumet" that it is "the most mysterious thing in the world. The scepters of our kings are not so much respected, for the Indians have such a reverence for it that one may call it the god of peace and war, and the arbiter of life and death. . . . One with this calumet may venture among his enemies, and in the hottest battles, they lay down their arms before the sacred pipe. The Illinois presented me with one of them which was very useful to us in our voyage." (Fletcher, 1904, p. 279.)

276
726 354 In one of their story telling sessions, Eagle Chief told of how he had carried the calumet right into the Sioux line of battle and when the Sioux saw the pipe, the whole line of battle turned back and rode off.

224
[172] 141-142 The buffalo jump was a primitive device for attacking the herd by lining up in a V-formation and chasing the herd over a cliff. At the base of these old buffalo jumps, archaeological excavation reveals large heaps of buffalo bones, giving some indication that numbers of the animals died in vain. The Pawnee method of surround made it possible to include all the animals and utilize all the meat of those killed. Frank North, a participant observer of a hunt in the fall of 1859, states (1859, p. 20):

> 4-500 of the Indians strung out in a long line single file. They rode up as close to the herd as possible without being seen and got as near to them as they could without frightening them. The leader of the surround gave a signal, until which time no one has the right to make noise or leave the line, and they instantly wheeled their horses, one half heading in one direction and the other half facing in the opposite way. Each party then started off on the gallop, riding in a semicircle until they met, and had made a complete surround of the immense herd. In this instance they had surrounded about 500 of the buffaloes and closing in on them, killed every one."

141-142 On the buffalo jump, see Forbis, 1958; Lowie, 1954, pp. 14-15, Fig. 3, Assiniboin buffalo pound at the foot of the bluffs or cut bank.

P
224

109 "The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids, but only used to repel or meet a general attack." (Murie, 1914, p. 560.)

P
411
726

109 One of the five Skidi military societies had no war functions at all, but was specialized in the role of hunt police. It was known as *Raris arusa*, "Society Horse," and was also referred to as "Two Lance." While most of the decorated lances had crooks on their tops, this one was unique in lacking this feature. Among the three South Bands, there was also a military society with a similarly specialized function. It was the *Raris pahat*, "society red." This society was said to have been derived from and sanctioned from the main sacred bundle of the *Pitahawirata*, where only the descendants of chiefs could belong. (Murie, 1914, p. 569.)

P
701
[625]
[411]

223 The Skidi, Tsawi, and Kitkehaxki, each had a society with combined war-hunt functions, and each band had several exclusively for war. Every spring when the decorations on the official lances were renewed, the lances were put outside the door on a pole where the people could see them. In the course of the several society ceremonies, the people were told that the lances were to bring the buffalo and to protect the lives of the people (Murie, 1914, p. 559). The hunt police were appointed after the first big kill on the Republican River when the encampment on Turkey Creek was set up right within the path of buffalo migration.

P
701
411
625

176, 227-228 For a description of Massacre Canyon and the dangers of the Western territory see Hyde, 1951, pp. 244-248; Williamson, 1925; *Massacre Canyon Number*, 1936 (Nebraska History Magazine).

000

241 On the roasting pit for corn, see the Pawnee texts, Weltfish, 1937, p. 34.

243-244 Among the Hidatsa, a man would request one of the young men's military societies (Fox or Dog Society) to come to his fields to husk the corn. One of the society's officials would announce from the roof of the lodge and the members would line up and go singing to the designated field. The young men would hope their sweethearts would hear them and that perhaps they would get a chance to see them working in an adjacent field. They marched to the fields carrying guns for fear the Sioux would attack. "If a society went early, they got through just after midday. By early I mean nine o'clock in the morning." "We worked late, by moonlight even." (Wilson, 1917, p. 43, footnote.)

H
701
243
476

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

NOTES AND COMMENTS

796 756 272 An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756 273 See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796 [574] [782] [184] [752] [726] 241 The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

824 825 171 277 On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372 482 372 280, 290 Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

727 305 Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home

11: Tixier T-5 (1839-1840) 1940

NQ12 Dhegiha NQ12

Osage

Pawnee NQ18

D

which had been captured on the preceding day. The partisans, 726
instead of having their men ride along the bottoms of the valleys, in order not to be seen, went in a straight line and were detected, so that, when they arrived at the place where the Pawnee had been seen, they found nothing but a garter. Its odor caused them to arrive at the conclusion that it belonged to a Pawnee-Maha, which the footprint of the moccasins amply verified. They were unable to reach the enemy.

Disgusted with the incapacity of their partisans, the warriors turned back and returned to the village at once, hardly taking the time to hunt and eat. Such a swift journey did not prevent some men who had very good horses from roping a few wild horses and capturing them. On the last day, Man-chap-ché-mani rode at some distance from the detachment lamenting the fact that he had not been able to fight. On arriving near the camp, the party found fresh tracks, supposedly left by a troop of at least fifty men. A trampled spot showed clearly that the enemy had made a medicine there. From this place a trail had been left in the precise direction of our camp. Our Osage thought we had been attacked, and their feeling of security gave place to serious anxiety; they galloped to a place within sight of the camp; but on seeing that everything was quiet, they thought of their dignity and resumed a slower pace to enter it.

In such expeditions, in spite of the partisan's authority, every one does almost as he pleases, but at the slightest danger all the braves gather together in an instant, ready to pounce upon the
Pawnee. Now is the time to let the reader know about the D
means of warfare used by these eternal enemies. ●P

The Pawnee-Maha, who live on the banks of the Nebraska 726●
or Platte River, are today the greatest enemies of the Osage. 619
They do esteem the stealing of horses more highly than bringing back scalps. The purpose of their expeditions is to bring

11: Tixier T-5 (1839-1840) 1940
NQ12 Dhegiha NQ12
Osage
Pawnee NQ18

D
P

726 back the horses of the other nations.[10] They risk their lives by 619 going through the huge desert which separates them from the villages and the hunting grounds where the other nations spend part of the year. The war parties of the Pawnee are not numerous; six, eight, fifteen men at the most, armed with knives, arrows, axes, seldom with guns, set out without any provisions. They expect *Oua-Kondah* to provide them daily with a buffalo, and they prepare ambushes for the bison and shoot them with their bows and arrows. They know how to remain motionless until the animals have surrounded their hiding place, then they shoot the last one in the herd at leisure. Hardships, hunger, heat do not discourage them. Some young men die without seeing the enemy during their first expedition. It pains one to think of so much patience, sobriety, courage and energy used to steal horses.

P When they finally have found tracks, the Maha have not yet 726 completed their undertaking. Then they have to display all their clever schemes, all the resources of their fertile imagination. They follow these tracks and try to reach those who have left them. Doubly cautious and crafty, they erase their own tracks, never leaving any trace of their passing, for the enemy is constantly on the watch for them. They can no longer depend on killing animals, for the remnants would arouse suspicion: they live on roots, follow the river beds, or mingle their tracks with those which the other tribes have made in changing their camps. It is during the day that they travel and come to the new camp. Hiding in the woods, they wait until a man passes within range of their arrows; at night they concentrate their activity in stealing horses. Wrapped in the skins of bison, horses or deer, they prowl around the lodges; if the opportunity is not good

---

[10] "Pawnees—when they attack in the prairies it is necessary to tie your horses head to head in a circle. They come round you with feathers, mantles, etc., fluttering —great whoops and yells that strike a panic into the horses."—Washington Irving, *Journals*, III, 180.

P 726 enough, they wait until a more favorable night. They will follow a party, if need be, for a whole hunting expedition, even until this party reaches its own village.

P D 726 Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of the wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. But if all their other means have failed, there remains one last trick for them to do. One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away, uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave, whose horses he steals away afterwards. However, the Osage know these tricks, and during the summer hunting expedition of 1839 they took from the Pawnee eleven scalps, which are now drying in the village of the Little Osage.

The Maha do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five or six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with his tribe.[11]

One Pawnee was hiding behind an Osage lodge, waiting

---

[11] For first hand accounts of the Pawnee Indians, see (among many): *Pike's Expeditions* (Coues ed.), II, 532-36; Sibley, "Extracts from the Diary of Major Sibley," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, V (1927), 200-210; E. James, *Long's Expedition*, I, 240, II, 140-64, 203-220; John T. Irving, *Indian Sketches;* C. A. Murray, *Travels Through North America*, I, 253-447. Irving was among the Pawnee in 1833 and Murray two years later. The valuable papers of George Sibley, for years factor at Fort Osage, are in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society (Saint Louis) and of Lindenwood College (Saint Charles, Missouri).

P D

726 for a favorable moment. Man-chap-ché-mani, so rightly named, saw him and, crawling to him suddenly, arose and made him a
P D prisoner. This young warrior was so ashamed to have let himself be taken by surprise that he thought death alone could
727 atone for such disgrace. The Osage were willing, however, to restore him to liberty. "If you let me go," he said to them, "I shall come back to steal horses from you, for when I return to my village the women are going to say, 'Here is the one whom the Osage caught lying on the ground like a woman'." He was asked whether he would like to stay and be adopted. "You want me to become an Osage, but my heart will remain that of a Pawnee warrior. And some day the Pawnee will run away with your horses." He asked for death; they tied him to the fatal post and he died like a brave man.

D The salines cause much trouble among the red tribes. Each
317 one claims it has the rights to them. There are in the Missouri
778 Territory three salines which they often visit: the Great Saline,
721 the Rock Saline, and the Cavern Saline. The Great Saline is well known nowadays; the Rock Saline is named thus on account of the thickness of the rock salt found there; Major Long has given a description of it.[12] Near the latter saline is a huge red cedar which the Pawnee worship fervently. The warriors frequently bring all kinds of offerings, and even make sacrifices to it. This tree doubtless is for the Pawnee the manitou of the saline. This is the one place on the prairie where the Osage go most frequently.[13]

D Two years ago, Mr. Papin was among an expedition which
317 was going to take salt from this saline. Thirty-two Pawnee were
721 seen at a great distance making their supply. Twenty Osage warriors left to cut off their retreat. On seeing that they had

---

[12] Cf. E. James, *Long's Expedition*, III, 120.

[13] For Great Saline, see n. 19, p. 250, *infra*; for the Rock Saline, n. 8, p. 240, *infra*.

727

727 **AFTERMATH OF COMBAT**--number and nature of casualties; treatment of own casualties (e.g., retrieving and disposal of dead, care of wounded); treatment of enemy casualties (e.g., despoiling, mutilation, killing); taking of trophies; treatment of captives and prisoners (e.g., slaughter, torture, mutilation, release, exchange, holding for ransom, adoption, enslavement, sacrifice); punishment of enemy leaders; military occupation and military government; homecoming after war (e.g., return trip, reception of returning warriors); home reactions to victory and defeat; victory celebrations (e.g., dances, feasts, memorials); demobilization; resumption of normal life; reconstruction of war damage; etc. See also:

Commemorative statues and monuments	211	Slavery	567
Cannibalism	266	Colonial administration	636
Mutilation	304	Prisons	697
War dances	535	Mortuary practices	764

796
533 thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that
539 he had been to the Messiah who told him to 'go to the village.'
[787] Following this instruction, he saw many men dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypno-
[237] tizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always wore a fox skin in the Ghost Dance. The skin was not made into
[293] a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder.
[198] He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing."[1]

1— *ṭrịhe we wạrut*
so here now stop!
1— "
1— "

2— *kiwaku rirạraxra*
fox ˘(es) they have them

1— *ṭrịhe we wạrat*
so here now stop!
1— "

Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
They are holding fox skins
Here now you must stop!
Here non you must stop!

Densmore in one case records a free translation of a song without text[2]:

"The yellow star has noticed me,
Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather.
That yellow star."

[787] The reference is apparently to one of the old star powers and reflects the gift of an ornament of "power" in a Ghost Dance vision.

● [727] A song without texts used at victory dances was "'in the style of the Lance dance songs'... The words mean, 'They are coming yonder, the men who belong to the Lance Society (Tirupa)[3].'" The reference here is to the resurrection of the membership of the old Fighting Lance Society (tirupahe), and to the revival which took place in the Ghost Dance years.[4]

---

[1] Densmore, pp. 84—85, no. 58.
[2] Densmore, p. 84, no. 57.
[3] Densmore, p. 68.
[4] See Chapter III, Revivals of Societies, pp. 112—115.

of death sang such songs before they set out for the country of the 525
enemy, sang such songs before they went into battle, before they 533
broke into the enemy camp. Knifechief gets up to dance. He 619
dances the steps of the Crazy Dog Dance. It is his place to dance
first, he is a brave man and the leader. Others join him from the 525
Skiri side. They do not dance out in the circle, but standing at 535
their places. Knifechief carries a stick in his hand. 619

As the dancing ends, all the Skiri yell, he-he-he-he-e-e-e-, hitting [201]
their hands on their mouths. Knifechief speaks.

"I can remember when I was in the army and we chased the 525
Cheyenne. We chased them out of their camp. They ran and left
their blankets behind. I took the blankets away from them." 619

Knifechief sits down.

"Well, bet some more."

The Skiri who have won stakes bring back their winnings. The Kitkahaxkiˣ have to bet other things against what they have lost. The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader bets his blanket, a squaw cloth with one side red and the other black. All the Kitkahaxkiˣ bet again. They have come to play the hand game and have a lot of stuff with them to bet. The bets pile up again. The betting is even, man against man, and the pile comes out even.

The guesser who won for the Skiri plays again. The Kitkahaxkiˣ choose a new man to try his luck against the victor.

Again the Skiri win and carry off the stakes.

The Skiri sing Crazy Dog Dance songs. Knifechief dances. He [533]
calls. "We charged again and chased out the Cheyenne, and they [727]
left everything behind, tents and horses, and we carried them away.
And a pair of leggings I took away from them."

He is recalling victory in battle and the garnering of the spoils. He is gloating over the victory in the game. The game is a battle; the Skiri have carried off the plunder.

Knifechief sits down.

The bets are laid for a third game. The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader says, "I'm going to bet a beef." He puts up a beef against the squaw cloth Knifechief has just won from him. All bet again.

The game begins. Again the Skiri are winning.

All this while Mark has been standing on the Skiri side. They have given him no place to sit and play.

The guesser for the Kitkahaxkiˣ in the third game is a friend of his. He calls out to Mark. "Come over here." He asks him to sit on the Kitkahaxkiˣ side next to him. Mark walks around through the north outside the circle of players and sits down.

The Kitkahaxkiˣ are losing again. The Skiri have won six

?

Cheyenne camp early in the morning, and they fled. When I got 525
into the Cheyenne camp I took blankets and other things away 574
from them." The Pawnee sing and dance only one song, because
it is late and cold, and the Pawnee have a long way to go to return 648
home after the game. They want to hurry, and play quickly. Should the Kiowa win a game, they would dance their Crazy Dog Dance to the songs of their society and their leader would rise to recite an exploit, holding the Pawnee pipe. But the Pawnee when they dance, do not carry the pipe they have brought.[1] On this occasion, the Kiowa did not win, and had no chance to dance carrying the pipe.

Wagers were made for a second game, the Kiowa betting against their losings. Again the Pawnee won. Again they sang a Crazy Dog Dance song, and another Pawnee recited a war exploit.

In the third game Knifechief rose and sprinkled ashes to hide the tracks, and the Kiowa guesser searched for the trail.

The Pawnee won three straight games, and that was all they played. There was no fighting over the bones in these games; that was only the way that small boys played.

Knifechief rose. He said, "Now my brother, I beat you. That's all. We're going home." All the Skiri took up their winnings and started for home.

While the game had been going on, Mark and David had found time to eat up the meat they had received so that no one could ask for some. They managed to finish it by the time the game was over.

On the way home, one of the Skiri who was a friend of Mark's [572
gave him a pair of leggings he had just won. Mark says that
because of the good fortune of the Pawnee that night he believed 431]
the Pawnee would always have good luck in hand games, but subsequently he found out he had been mistaken. In later games they often lost.

---

[1] Carrying the pipe while counting coup was correct only if the reciter had carried a pipe at the time of the exploit. This meant essentially that he had been the leader of a war party. If the exploit had occurred when no pipe was carried, he could count coup, but without holding the pipe. In the above narrative the special significance of the distinction drawn between the right of the Kiowa leader to carry the pipe, and the Pawnee lack of that right, is that it represents dramatically the fact that for generations past, as a result of their treaties, which the Pawnee held sacred, few if any war parties had been sent out ceremonially by the Pawnee. War exploits during the Nineteenth Century were limited essentially to defensive tactics, or to fighting as members of the United States army (see Chapter I). [703 [554] [727] 721]

11*

7

*533 575 was required that they keep hold of each other's hands during the entire dance. "Thus if they came to a tree as they danced they could not loose their hands but must stand there and dance."

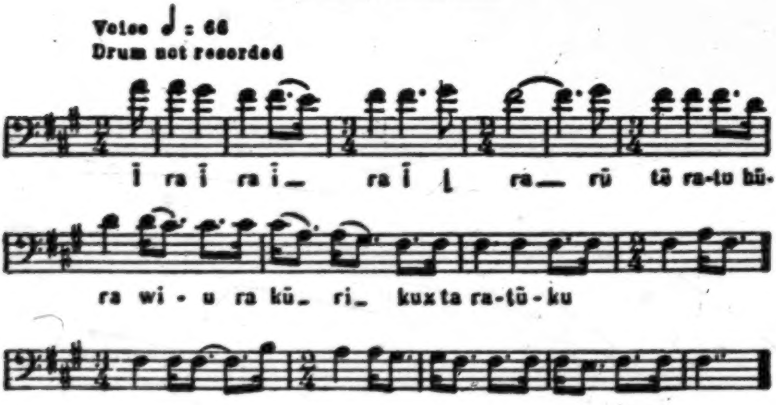
*533 888 [761] 726 The general idea of the next song is that it is better to die bravely when young than to live to an enfeebled old age. In this, as in other Pawnee war songs, we see a light estimate upon the value of life as compared to success in war. The song belonged originally to a brave man who lived to an advanced age. When this was sung in a dance he rose and told the young men that it was a painful thing to live to be so old. The song was also sung by men in a battle, this being the last song they sang "when they were all tired out and so nearly beaten that even their hair was disheveled." It was further stated that "sometimes when men were having this dance an enemy attacked the village. This was the song they sang as they drove the enemy ● [727] away." The song was also used in the scalp dances that followed the return of a successful war party.

*533

No. 23. "Old Age is Painful"

(Catalogue No. 1078)

Recorded by Effie Blain


Voice ♩ = 66
Drum not recorded
Ī ra Ī ra i— ra Ī I ra— rū tē ra-tu hū-
ra wi - u ra kū- ri- kux ta ra-tū-ku

I	ra	rū	tē	ratu	hūra	wiu
He	comes	it	does	hurt	earth	stick

ra	kū	ri	kux	ta	ratūku
have	do	it	pick up	it	becomes painful

FREE TRANSLATION

He comes.
It hurts to use a cane.
It becomes painful to pick it up.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

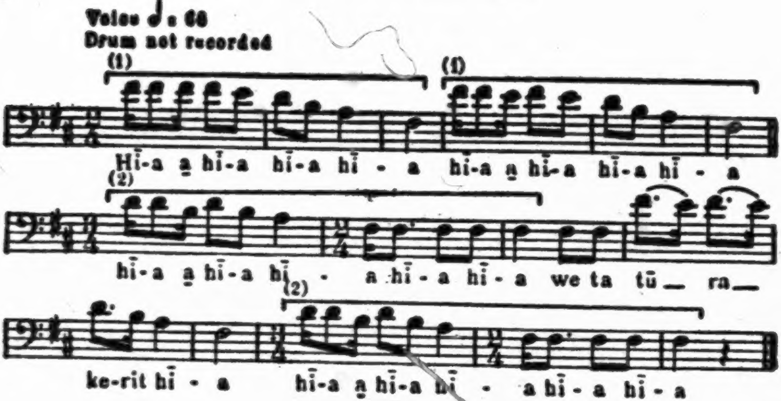
727 *533 A woman's pleasure at the return of victorious warriors is expressed in the following song which was sung at the Scalp dances. Among the Pawnee, as in other tribes, the scalps of slain warriors were carried in the victory dance.

No. 35. "A Woman Welcomes the Warriors"

(Catalogue No. 1104)

*533

Recorded by Wicita Blain


Voice ♩ = 60
Drum not recorded
(1)
(1)
Hi-a a hi-a hi-a hi - a hi-a a hi-a hi-a hi - a
(2)
hi-a a hi-a hi - a hi - a hi - a we ta tū ra
(2)
ke-rit hi - a hi-a a hi-a hi - a hi - a hi - a

His	we	ta	tū	ra	kerit
A woman's exclamation of surprise	now	I	you	have	seen

TRANS[illegible]

Ah, now I ha[illegible]n you.

Analysis.—This song contains two phrases designated as rhythmic units, each of which comprises three measures. The first phrase consists entirely of descending intervals and has a compass of an octave. The second phrase begins with the same count division as the first and comprises almost three measures, but it differs from the first phrase in containing one ascending interval and having a compass of only six tones. These rhythmic phrases were accurately given in all the renditions. The melody tones are those of the fourth 5-toned scale.

701 727 Two dances of historic interest to the Pawnee were held in honor of members of the tribe who had served in the World War. These dances were held on June 6 and 7, 1919, and were attended by the writer. The place of the gatherings was a large wooden structure, north of Pawnee and located among the members of the Skidi Band. [346] (Pl. 7, *c*.) It was six-sided, with a dirt floor, and had an entrance toward the east which resembled the covered entrance to the earth lodge.

The first gathering was attended by about 200 Indians and the 701
building was closely packed at the second gathering, those unable 727
to gain admission being crowded around the windows and door.

The Pawnee Tribe was represented in the United States Army by 40 young men, all except one of whom returned in full health and vigor. One of the Pawnee soldiers died from disease in France. None were wounded, although many saw hard service at the front. Several were with the Rainbow Division, and on one occasion when there was a call for volunteers for dangerous service four Pawnee stepped forward and were accepted. One of these men brought back a German helmet as a trophy and his mother carried it in the victory dance as a scalp was carried in former times. The helmet was fastened to a pole at the top of which a captured knife was
fastened like the point of a lance. A Pawnee said: "While the boys [782]
were away we prayed for their safe return. We did this at every public gathering and it looks as though our prayers had been answered."

The dance on June 6 was the rejoicing of the tribe and that on 727
the day following was more formal, being attended by many white 533*
persons from the town of Pawnee. At the first dance the soldiers were honored by their families and friends, especially by the women, about 45 of whom were in the circle. It was a time of general rejoicing, sometimes three persons being on their feet at the same time, singing, narrating some incident, or giving a gift. Old war songs were sung with new words appropriate to the occasion. For example, one man had composed words which mentioned airplanes and submarines, these words being sung to an old tune. A woman had composed two similar songs, and, crossing the circle, she stood in front of the chief (James R. Murie) and sang them alone, without
the drum. Throughout the entire afternoon there were frequent [201]
repetitions of the shrill, quavering cry with which the Indian women express pleasure or approval.

Two of the most interesting songs heard on this occasion had their 533*
origin in two dreams by John Luwak. The melody of the two was 787
the same, but the words referred to different dreams. Luwak, 727
who speaks no English, said that his friends translated to him the newspaper accounts of the war and that he "felt badly that our
boys must cross the ocean and suffer so much." So he prayed daily [782]
to Tirawa, saying, "Help our boys over there, so they will all come back strong and let me live to see them again." One night he fell asleep, after such a prayer, and "in his sleep someone told him that it would not be long before he would see the Pawnee boys again." He dreamed, and in his dream he saw thousands of white people and heard them sing this song. They were very happy and were dancing and waving flags; even the oldest people were dancing.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 He had never seen white people behave in this manner, and it sur-
787 prised him greatly. A few days later he heard of the signing of the
armistice and the scenes of its celebration. The next night he
● 727 dreamed again, and in his dream he saw a circle of Indians dancing and heard them sing the same melody. In the middle of the dance circle was a tall pole, and on top of it was a skull. Two white women stood near him watching the dance, and one of them pointed to the skull, saying, "Look, I wonder what that can be." When he awoke he thought perhaps the skull indicated that many of the enemy had been killed but later he interpreted the skull as representing a helmet. As already mentioned, a helmet was carried in the victory dance.

Soon after these dreams there was a gathering of the Pawnee at the earth lodge and Luwak rose, told his dreams, and sang the song, which was readily learned by the people and sung at subsequent gatherings prior to the return of the soldiers. The words heard in his first dream are those presented with the transcription. The words with his second dream were addressed to the skull: "At this, whoever you may have belonged to, you are now hung on a pole." The words of the song when sung at the victory dance were connected with events of the recent war.

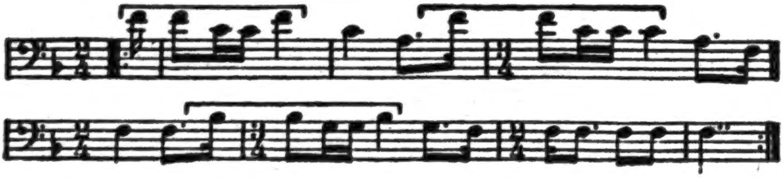
*533
727

No. 36. Song for Returned Pawnee Soldiers

(Catalogue No. 1134)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum ♩ = 76
Drum rhythm similar to No. 2



FREE TRANSLATION

You are coming.
You are the ones for whom I am looking

Analysis.—The frequency of the fourth characterizes this song, which contains only the tones of the major triad and fourth. It is a vigorous melody, progressing freely within its compass of an octave.

727 The dance on the second day (June 7) was opened ceremonially,
[276] a pipe being lighted with a coal from the central fire and smoked by the chief and the men seated near him. Many gifts were bestowed
[431] upon the returned soldiers, among these gifts being two white horses
led into the dance lodge by women.

led into the dance lodge by women. Some of the young men were in 727
the full costume of Indian warriors, others were in civilian clothing, [177]
and Lawrence Murie wore the khaki uniform in which he had served
with the artillery at the front. The young soldier who directed the [411]
dancing carried a sword which had belonged to one of his ancestors.
The principal dance was the grass dance, followed by the war dance. [536
The former is common to all the tribes of the northern plains, extending even to the Kutenai. According to Miss Fletcher, the dance 171]
originally was connected with the Hethushka Society of the Omaha, a society whose object was "to stimulate an heroic spirit among the people and to keep alive the memory of historic and valorous acts."[34]

A touching event in the second day's gathering was the expression 765
of sympathy for the parents of the young man who died in France. 727
They stood before the assembly while the chief and other leading
men talked to them. The speaker placed his hands on the man's [201]
head, drawing them down the man's arms to his hands; he also held the man's hands closely in his own as he talked to him in a tender, earnest manner.

Numerous speeches were made, and the occasion was marked by 727
dignity as well as rejoicing. The young soldiers appeared to be in excellent health, were friendly toward all, and made a good impression upon the white people who attended the gathering.

The song next following was sung by the women on the second day 533*
of the victory dance. It is an "honor song" and belonged to an old 727
man named Brown Bear (*guruks*, bear; *narahata*, brown), who died
not long ago. At a war dance he used to rise and sing this song [424]
without the drum, and "when he sang everybody cried." The custom of weeping and even wailing aloud at public gatherings has not been noted in tribes previously studied. The words of the song meant, "Nobody knows when the world will end." The informant added, "The old man used to say 'there is one person who knows when the world will end.' "

Analysis.—This is one of the "crying songs," and the sliding tone, 533*
especially in measures 7, 8, 13, and 14, is impossible to transcribe. The time was well maintained throughout the song. Attention is directed to a comparison of the count-divisions in the two rhythmic units and in the fifth and sixth measures from the close of the song. All the tones of the octave occur in the melody which progresses by a wide variety of intervals.

---

[34] Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, Twenty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 459.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

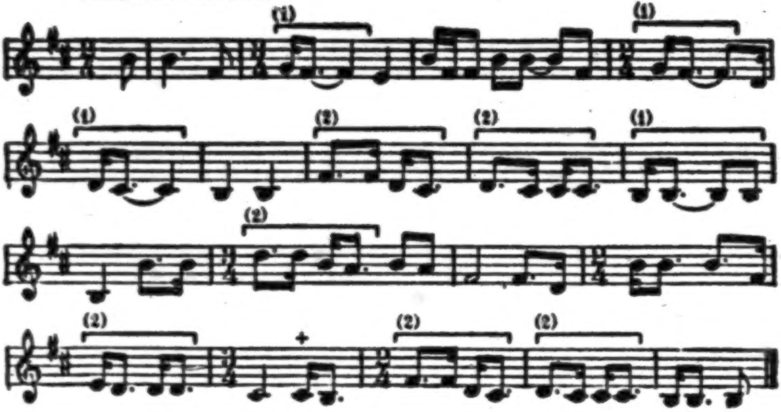
No. 37. Brown Bear's Song

(Catalogue No. 1085)

Recorded by Effie Blai

*533

Voice ♩= 69
Drum not recorded



727
*533
The next song was also sung by the women at the victory dance and was said to be "in the style of the Lance dance songs." It is a woman's song and would be sung by a woman whose husband or son was on the warpath. She would also sing it at the dance held after their return. The words mean, "They are coming yonder, the men who belong to the Lance Society (*Tirupa*)." Among the other songs used at this time was one which belonged to Roaming Chief and appears as No. 67 in the present work.

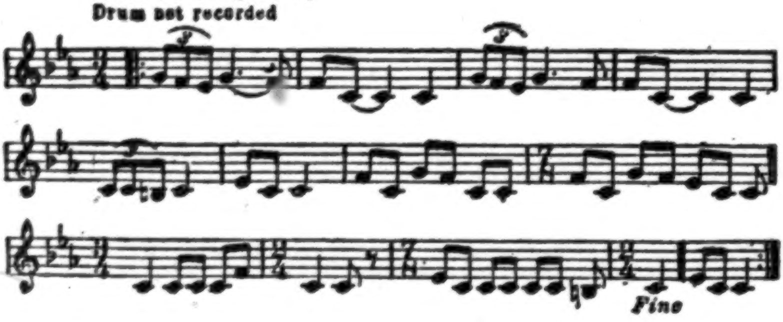
*533

No. 38. Women's War Song

(Catalogue No. 1082)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩= 63 (♪= 126)
Drum not recorded



3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

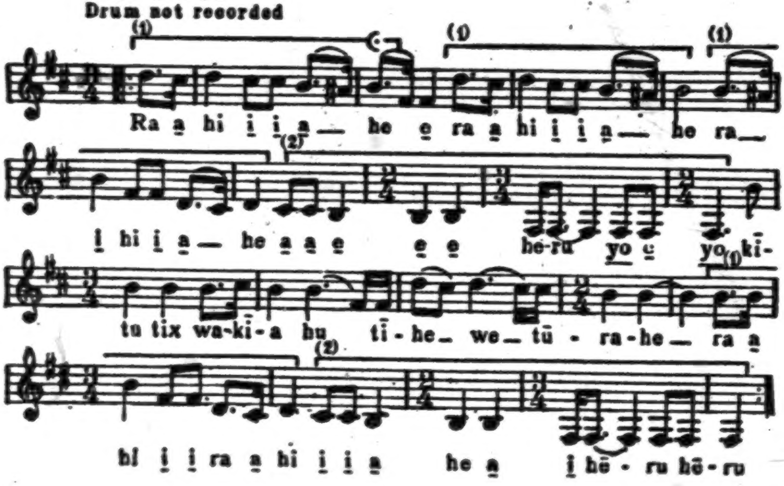
*533 whole tones and semitones. The seventh is sharped in every occurrence, this accidental being of particular interest in a song with minor tonality. The song contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth.

No. 66. "It Is Good Where We Are Now"

(Catalogue No. 1090)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum not recorded


(1)
(2)
Ra a hi i i a— he e ra a hi i i a— he ra—
i hi i a— he a a e e e he-ru yo e yo ki-
tu tix wa-ki-a hu ti-he— we— tū - ra-he— ra a
hi i i ra a hi i i a he a i hē - ru hē-ru

Ra	hi	he	hēru	kitu	tix	wakia
Yonder	there	they	come	are	they	saying
ahu	tihe	we	tūrahe	hi	he	hēru
over here	now	good	there	they	come	

FREE TRANSLATION

There they come yonder,
They are saying "It is good over here
where we are now."
There they come.

535
796
727
Roaming Chief sang the following song at the Pipe dance and it was sung at the Victory dance attended by the writer. It was said that "Mother Corn was carried on the warpath to give victory and was also used in the Pipe dance." The words are freely translated, "My whole trust is in Mother Corn."

Analysis.—The tempo of this song was slow and somewhat *rubato*, a slight prolonging of certain tones being indicated in the transcription. In some of the renditions the time values in the third

575 was supposed to give protection in battles. The otter wrapped on the pole could also be used to call upon the powers to send rain to the earth. The two stones on the strings of the lances are to symbolize two powers or stars in the east on each side of the sun, the white for the one on the north side of the sun and the red for the one on the south side. By this, the members of the society know that they are under the protection of the two powers in the sky. If the people have a battle and win, the scalps and other trophies [727] are given to this society which then conducts the victory dance, carrying the

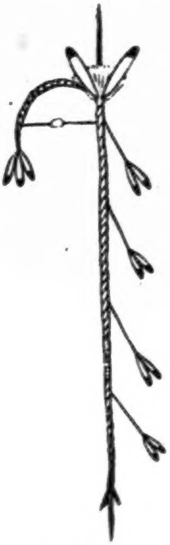


Fig. 6.

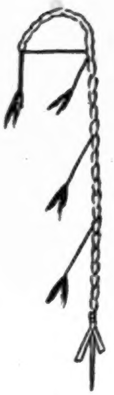


Fig. 7.

[411] Fig. 6. The Skidi Red Society Lance. The war point is of iron rising from a tuft of owl feathers between a tuft of eagle feathers. On the string to the crook is a red stone. The pendant feathers are eagle. The shaft is wrapped with otter fur; dark for the north side lance, reddish for the south. The grip is wrapped with bear gut.

[237] Fig. 7. The Red Lance. The shaft is wrapped with swanskin, a buffalo tail at the tip of the crook and also hung from strings at the sides; the grip of one lance is wrapped with red strouding and the other with black. These are the colors of the south and north sides respectively.

lances in the dance. As the dance proceeds the women take charge, even carrying the lances. The only men remaining in the dance are the four drummers.

575 625 224 Perhaps the most important point is that this society is chosen to act as police of a military procedure, or man hunt, in the same way as the preceding society was chosen for the buffalo hunt. When the camp moves

the flanks of the loose horses while the scouts and soldiers bring up the rear. 726
They ride almost continuously for three days, or until exhaustion, and then camp in a sheltered place. Some hunt, others guard the horses. When 727
the first buffalo meat is brought in an altar is made, as before stated, and the regular smoke offering performed. Two men are then chosen by the leader to divide the spoils. They divide the horses according to the ranks of the members, inexperienced men getting but one horse. After the [553] division the name-changing ceremony is performed for the young men on their first war party.

After sufficient rest, they set out for home. As they approach their village they set the grass afire at intervals so that their people may know [201] that a war party is returning. When near the village they paint their faces black or dot over with black the white paint of the warpath. When in sight they signal the result of the expedition and are met by the chiefs who triumphantly conduct them into the village. Feasting and jollifying then follow. If coups have been counted or scalps taken, a victory dance will be held.

After an interval the leader of the party calls the members together and 575
any of those formerly in a party who now constitute a kind of society of the wolves. The altar is again constructed and the ceremony performed. 727
Two of the captured horses are brought out and loaded with presents, the objects from the bundle are also placed there and the horses lead to the keeper of the bundle where they are received by the priest. They are then returned to the bundle and the keeper goes at once to the place of ceremony; he stands by the altar and gives them his blessing.

On the warpath a man may vow to give one horse to the mother corn, in which case a horse is given to the keeper of the main bundle, who also gives his blessing.

With these acts the true wolf dance begins. In the dance all the young men may join, who hope to go out with the next war party and as they dance the old men sit around and ridicule their ardor. With this ceremony and the return of the sacred objects to the bundle, the war party ceases to exist.

It seems that those who have taken part in such a foray constitute a kind of wolf society which at various and sundry times conducts dances in the village in which all boys and young men may join. The object is to give practice in the songs and ritualistic parts of the ceremonies necessary to [534] the warpath. In these dances pieces of rawhide were used for drums.

The Woman's Society.

575
727
With one possible exception there seem to have been no associations for women. We have even no data as to anything like the associations of quill workers (p. 79). In the preceding we have noted the victory dance of the women which may, perhaps, have had a crude organization, but there was an association of single women, old maids, and widows, to whose organization captives of war were presented. Their regalia were ludicrous. Their mock war-bonnets were made of corn husks instead of feathers; their bows were the poorest of sticks; their lances were of weed stalks adorned with husks; and their shields, hoops covered with cloth and husks. Some of them carried hollow stems of the wild sunflower, through which they blew dust into the air. One woman acts as chief, her badge being a large clam shell on the breast.

When captives were taken, they were turned over to this organization. The ceremonies were public dancing and the torture of the prisoner. All this may be made clearer by the following narrative: —

The Pawnee had set out on one of their summer buffalo hunts. Only a few old and sickly people remained in the villages. On the third day of their march they reached the Loupe. The main body crossed and pitched camp among the hills, but far behind were a few stragglers and a group of boys playing the hoop game. The latter stopped at the river to finish a game before crossing. Here they were discovered by a Dakota war party and surprised. They scattered out for cover, but a few got away with their horses and crossing the river fled toward the camp of the main body. The whole Dakota party crossed in hot pursuit and were thus led into a trap for the Pawnee in camp had seen the signals and the whole armed body dashed to the rescue. Many of the Dakota were killed in the running fight that followed.

When the pursuing Pawnee returned they went over the field to count the dead and collect the spoils. As they were going along one of the Dakota arose and looked about in a bewildered manner; he had only been stunned by the fall of his horse. He was seized and taken to camp. According to custom he was taken to the chief for instructions. He consulted with the society of braves, then in charge of the camp, and it was decided to turn him over to the women's society. A messenger was sent to inform the leader of this organization. She at once called in the members, who proceeded to the chief's tipi, marched the prisoner out to the south of the camp where they bound him to a tree.

The women then returned to the lodge of their leader to prepare their regalia. When all was ready they danced through the village and paraded to the place of torture. Then, as was the custom, they kindled a large fire in front of the prisoner and prepared for a four-day ceremony. Every indignity was offered the unfortunate prisoner. Old women would urinate in bowls and force him to drink. Others would take up coals of fire and touch him here and there.

On the third day the chief's wife took her little girl out to see the tortures. While they were there an old woman came up with a bundle. She took out a large piece of

dried back fat. This she heated in the fire until hot and while other women held the 575
prisoner she spread it on his back. The little girl was overcome at the sight and began
to scream. Her mother took her home but she cried and refused to be comforted. 727
Finally, the chief asked the cause of this crying and was informed. He coaxed and threatened without result for the child declared that she would continue to scream until the prisoner was turned loose. The chief said that could not be done and so the child continued to wail. The people gathered in and gradually developed sympathy for the child. So the chief called in the braves, but they declared themselves powerless. Then he called in the chiefs and the soldiers to discuss the matter. The sentiment of the camp was now aroused, so four soldiers were sent out to order the women's society to disband. They then conducted the prisoner to the council lodge and seated him there.

The chief then sent for his daughter, who had stopped crying. He stated that 727
they had with some difficulty granted her wish and that now she must get water for the prisoner. Accordingly she brought water and held the bowl for him to drink. Then the chief ordered her to get a large bowl of water and some buffalo wool and when these were brought to wash the man's wounds. Then buffalo fat mixed with red earth was given her to rub over him.

Now, said the chief, since you would have this man released, you must feed him. So dried meat and fat were brought. Some of the fat she handed to the man to eat, while she cooked the dried meat. When ready she set the food before him, placed four small bits of meat in his mouth and then signed for him to eat. When he had finished, she set a bowl of water for him to wash. The chief then gave her permission to withdraw.

Then the chief sent for his horses. He ordered his best horse prepared for riding and loaded with baggage for the journey. Next he brought out clothing and dressed the man in his own fine clothes, even his ceremonial leggings, shirt, and moccasins. Finally, the girl brought a new robe and wrapped it around the man. The chief then addressed the Dakota: "You are to go home. You are a free man. All these things we give you. My daughter here saved your life. She alone did it. Now go to your people and tell them of her deeds."

Four soldiers were called in to escort the Dakota beyond the range of the Pawnee, but some revengeful young man attacked him. Far across the Loupe they sent him on his way. He reached home safely.

Some three years later the Pawnee were surprised to receive a visit from their enemies, the Dakota. It was a very large party that came to the chief's lodge, the leader asked for the girl who saved the life of a Dakota. Then they knew him. The chief took him into his own lodge and the others were quartered in the village.

The Pawnee entertained their guests well. On the last day they gave the iruska dance for their visitors. The Dakota entered into the dance. He was naked; on his body were painted red spots to show his burns and many prints of hands since he had been held by many of the Pawnee. He addressed the Pawnee, explaining that he had come to see his daughter once more, she who had saved his life, that his own people did not believe his story; hence he brought them that they might see for themselves. In return the Pawnee vouched for the narrative.

Many times during his life this Dakota visited the Pawnee and he labored un- [648]
ceasingly to bring about a permanent peace between them and his people.

847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302
842
831
753 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names, if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years. [729] [789] As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner. This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after marriage, an individual was given another name by the father. This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726
553
159
538 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath, our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die. After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home. When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

727 796 782 The word Opirikuts was both a dedication and a curse. As applied to the destined sacrifice, it was the former, and protected her from any mistreatment. From the moment it was pronounced she was sacred to the Morning Star, and any one touching her would die as from an infection. She was turned over by her captor to the leader and the man who had howled like a wolf, who represented respectively the Morning Star and another star called Fools-the-Wolves. These men were responsible for her until the arrival of the party at the home village.

When the party had arrived at the Pawnee camp, the girl was given into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village. Several months sometimes intervened between the time of her capture and that of the sacrifice, and during this time she was well fed and made as happy and comfortable as possible. It was forbidden, however, to give her any new clothing, as the giver would thereby become Opirikuts also and die. She was fed with a bowl and spoon kept in the Morning Star bundle for the purpose, and no one else might use these. If a man deliberately broke one of these taboos and died, he was thought to have taken the girl's place as a sacrifice, and she was released and sent back to her own people. If she escaped, it was thought a sign that the Morning Star had rejected her, and she was not pursued.

796 When the proper season for the sacrifice had arrived, the chief of the Morning Star village had all the furniture removed from the interior of his lodge and sent two errand men to summon the participants in the ceremony. The priest of the village came, bringing his sacred bundle, and spread out its contents on the west of the lodge to form an altar. With him came his assistant, usually a relative, who would succeed to the office on his death. These men seated themselves be-

hind the altar. The girl, who was constantly attended 796
by a guardian, was brought in and seated on the south side of the lodge. The chief of the village took his place on the southwest, with the leader of the war party on his left, while the man who had actually captured the girl sat on the northeast.

The priest built two little fires of sweet grass, one 727
to the east, and the other to the west of the fireplace. 782
The girl was taken to the eastern fire, undressed, and 796
her body bathed in the smoke. Her guardian then [302]
painted her whole body red and dressed her in a black skirt and robe which were kept in the sacred bundle between sacrifices. The man who had captured the girl then went to the altar, and was dressed by the priest in another costume, also kept in the bundle. He was [302]
given black leggings and moccasins, his face and hair were painted red, and a fan-shaped head-dress of twelve eagle feathers was attached to his hair in such a way that it stood out straight over the back of his head at right angles to his body. This was the costume [776]
in which the Morning Star usually appeared in visions, [787]
and with its assumption the captor seems to have become a personification of that deity.

After these ceremonies had been performed, the 796
captor left the lodge and passed through the village, entering every lodge and warning those who were to take part in the ceremony to come to the chief's lodge. Each family gave him a little red and black paint and certain other objects which were needed in the ceremony. When he had completed the circuit, he returned to the chief's lodge, and errand men were sent out to invite the chiefs and priests of all the villages to come to the ceremony. The Pawnee village was a so- [361]
cial as well as a geographical unit. Several villages [621]
might live together. Each of the priests and chiefs had his prescribed place in the circle, while the space

796 behind them was packed with spectators. So great was
the eagerness of the people to see the ceremony that
many of them tore holes in the roof and walls of the
lodge, leaving it a complete wreck.

793 When all the invited guests had taken their places,
796 the chief priest told the priests of the Four Direction
bundles to go into the woods and bring back four thick
[824] poles about twelve feet long. The priest of the northeast
was to bring an elm; he of the northwest, a box
elder; he of the southwest, a cottonwood; and he of the
796 southeast, a willow. When they had returned, the four
poles were laid on the fireplace with their ends together
so that they formed a cross whose arms pointed
to the four directions. The poles had to be long enough
to last for the entire four days of the ceremony, and as
they burned, they were pushed in toward the center,
the cross being always maintained.

The ceremonies which followed are not fully
known, but they consisted of many songs and dances,
with feasting, and continued for three days and nights.
[786] During this time, and for the three days after the slaying
of the sacrifice, the ordinary rules of conduct were
set aside, and the priests announced to the people that
if any man approached any woman during this period,
she was to go with him willingly, that the tribe might
increase.

● 727 Toward morning of each night, the representative
782 of the northeast village danced around the fireplace,
796 and taking the pole brought by the priest of that direction,
pointed its glowing end toward the girl's body.
This was repeated by the representative of the other
directions in turn, but the girl's body was never touched
with the brand. Indeed, the girl was treated with
the greatest respect and consideration throughout the
ceremony. She was told that the entire performance
was given in her honor, and everything was done to lull

her suspicions and keep her in a pleasant frame of 727
mind. 782
796

On the afternoon of the fourth day, the chief priest 417
selected four men from the Four Band village to secure 782
the materials for the scaffold. Under the direction of 796
the leader of the war party which had captured the girl, they went to the nearest thick timber and searched until they found a hackberry tree near the center of the grove. At this tree they made an offering of smoke to
the gods, and then went northeast from it to find an [824]
elm, northwest to find a box elder, southwest to find a cotton wood, and southeast to find a willow. These were to serve for the lower cross-bars of the scaffold. They then went east until they found an elm and a cottonwood large enough to be used as uprights. Finally, they went west and cut a willow to serve as the top cross-bar.

When the men had departed to search for the timber, [533]
the priests sang a song describing their actions. At its conclusion the chief priest sent the two chiefs of the Morning Star village, accompanied by a warrior, to select the site of the scaffold. This had to be some place near the village which had, to the east of it, a depression or ravine large enough to conceal several men. When the chiefs had made their choice, the warrior accompanying them gave his war-cry. An errand man had been stationed outside the lodge to listen for this, and as soon as he heard and reported it, the priest of the Skull bundle ran to the place, bearing the sacred bow and two arrows. The two chiefs had stationed themselves at the points where the uprights of the scaffold were to stand, and the priest shot an arrow into the ground in front of each of them, thus marking the place where the hole was to be dug. Between these arrows four priests then dug away the soil to a depth of about a foot, making a rectangular pit ap-

796 troyed it, but preserved the animal, a mountain lion.
773 He went on to the northeast, and again destroyed an obstacle, but preserved its guardian, the bear. In the center of the earth in darkness he found the woman, conquered her, touched her with his war club, and turned her into the earth. The Morning Star then called the mysterious animals to him and said, "You beings are now under my control. Stand in the places where I found you, and watch over the people who shall be placed upon the earth and guard them. All powers you have you shall keep. You shall exist as long as the earth lasts. You are now placed as upright posts so that you will always hold up the heavens. Priests, chiefs, warriors, old men, I have this night followed the journey of the Morning Star. We will not forget these beings which he placed in the four directions, for he promised that they should partake of all offerings which the people made to the heavens. Let us begin singing the songs given to us by Mother White Star in the west (the Evening Star)."

533 When the chief priest had finished his speech, all
796 began to sing the prescribed songs, resting and smok-
782 ing informally after each. Like most ceremonial songs,
these were long, with many repetitions, and were often
[211] obscure in meaning. As each song was finished, a tally
stick, taken from a bunch kept in the sacred bundle, was laid down. The idea underlying this part of the ritual seems to have been that the girl at first belonged to the people and to the world of human affairs, but that, as each song was sung, she became more removed from them until, when the last tally was laid down, she had been won from the people, like a prize in a game, and belonged to the gods.

The singing usually lasted until about two hours
727 before dawn. A priest then climbed on the roof of the
782 lodge and announced to the people that the girl was
796

about to be prepared for the sacrifice, and that it was 727
time for everyone to set out for the scaffold. The chief 782
priest undressed the girl, went through the motions of 796
washing her and combing her hair, and painted the [302]
right half of her body red and the left half black. Her [292]
skirt was then replaced, black moccasins were put on
her feet, and a black robe fastened around her shoulders. Lastly a head-dress of twelve black-tipped eagle feathers, arranged like a fan, was fastened on her head.

When the girl had been dressed, all resumed their [533]
seats and sang another song at the conclusion of which she was told to rise; and two men, chosen to lead her to the scaffold, came forward and placed thongs around her wrists. All then passed out of the lodge, with the girl in the lead and the priests following behind chanting.

The rate at which the procession moved toward
the scaffold depended largely upon the disposition of
the girl. Everything was done to conceal the truth
from her, and force was not used unless absolutely necessary. If she mounted the scaffold of her own free [787]
will, it was considered an especially auspicious omen. The procession was timed to reach the scaffold a few minutes before the Morning Star rose, so that the men who tied her to it could complete their work and leave her alone when the star appeared.

While the girl was being tied to the scaffold, the men chosen for the last rites had assembled in the ravine to the east of it, where they were concealed from her view. A small fire was kindled there, and they prepared their paraphernalia. At the moment the Morning Star appeared, two men came forward bearing firebrands. They were dressed as priests, and had owl skins hung from their necks, showing that they represented the messengers of the Morning Star.

727 They took their places on either side of the girl, and
782 with their brands touched her lightly in the groin and
796 armpit. They then returned to the ravine, and a third man ran out, carrying the bow from the Skull bundle and a sacred arrow made for the sacrifice. As he came, he gave his war cry, and the people called to him and encouraged him as though he was attacking an enemy. Coming close to the girl, he sent his arrow through her heart, and ran back to the ravine. This part was usually taken by the man who had captured her. A fourth man then came forward with the club from the Morning Star bundle and struck the girl on the head.

A fire had been kindled to the southeast of the scaffold, and as soon as the girl was dead, her guardian came forward with a flint knife, and her captor with the dried heart and tongue of a buffalo. The guardian mounted the scaffold and cut open the body, while the captor held the meat below and caught the blood. The guardian thrust his hand into the thoracic cavity and painted his face with the blood. Sometimes
[266] he is said to have removed her liver and given it to the members of the Bear Medicine Society, who cut it into small pieces and ate it to acquire magical powers. The blood-soaked meat was burned on the fire near the scaffold as an offering to all the gods.

When these rites had been performed, the men among the spectators gave their war cries and crowded forward to shoot arrows into the body. It was thought desirable that as many arrows should be shot as there were males in the tribe, and boys too young to draw a bow were helped by their fathers or mothers. When each man had shot his arrow, the spectators dispersed and returned to the villages where feasting and dancing continued for three days.

782
796 The priests, the guardian, and those intimately

*172 343 cache 7 yielded three excellent digging tools made from bison scapulae; and cache 5, as already indicated, contained corn meal or some similar ground cereal. Much richer pits are, of course, sometimes found. One opened by Mr. A. M. Brooking, of the Hastings Museum, in an old village east of Genoa, yielded 10 scapula digging tools, bone awls, 5 bone knives, 2 grooved hammers, 2 elkhorn shaft-straighteners, many large mollusk shells filled with yellow and red paint, and 13 small mollusk shells in matched pairs.[14] Such finds are, however, the exception rather than the rule, and many disappointingly sterile caches are encountered for every one that yields worth-while returns.

[488 251] Normally the caches were used for the storage and concealment of surplus corn and household furniture, particularly during the periods when the tribe was absent from its villages on the seasonal bison hunts. When earth had been thrown in on top of the contents and the opening sodded over the location of the cache was perfectly hidden from any stranger. Generally they were emptied when the family permanently removed, and all usable articles were carried away. Occasionally the owner never returned to claim his goods, perhaps because of forgetfulness as to the exact location, death, or from some other cause; or attacks by hostiles compelled flight too precipitate to permit emptying of the caches. In such cases the investigator may be better rewarded with pottery, flint and bone tools, ornaments, foodstuffs, and the like.

● [727 765] Caches occasionally serve a secondary purpose as places of interment. In June 1843, when the Dakota raided the Pawnee village near the Plum Creek mission, with such disastrous results for the latter tribe,[15] the terrified survivors threw the bodies of the dead into the caches,[16] covered them hastily with earth, and then fled to their kindred, the Grand Pawnee, south of the Platte. Such a function was, of course, purely accidental and was wholly foreign to the original purpose which the structure was intended to serve.

EARTHWORKS

*172 712 Walls of circumvallation were constructed about practically every Pawnee village of the nineteenth century. Sixty years ago, according to early settlers, these were still plainly to be seen on many of the old sites, but with cultivation they have shared the fate of other remains and become rare indeed. Leveling of these old fortification walls was one of the first steps in breaking the land; hence their obliteration has been woefully complete. In fact the only remaining

---

[14] Brooking, A. M., unpublished manuscript.

[15] Dunbar, 1918, p. 656. Occurrences similar to the above probably account for the "burials of Morning Star Sacrifice victims" occasionally reported in the press.

[16] Allis, 1887, p. 156.

648 their ringing war whoop broke out upon the morning air. When the Cheyennes heard this war-cry, which told them that the attacking party were Pawnees, their hearts became like water, and they turned and fled. Already, however, seven of their number had fallen before the Pawnee bullets, and the fresher horses of the Pawnees easily overtook the tired ones ridden by the pursued. Of that party of Cheyennes not one escaped, and with twenty-seven scalps, and all the plunder, the victorious Pawnees returned that afternoon to their command.

Among the captured property were thirty-five horses and mules, some of which had been taken from a party of fifteen soldiers, killed to a man by these Cheyennes but a few days before; there were also the scalps of these soldiers, and wearing apparel belonging to white women and children, which justified the belief that they had recently massacred a party of emigrants.

● [727 55] It was on the occasion of the scalp dance which followed this victory, and when the Scouts were changing their names, as was the custom after a successful encounter with the enemy, that the Pawnees gave to Major North the title *Pa'-ni Le-shar* (Chief of the Pawnees), a name which has been borne by only one other white man, General John C. Fremont, the Pathfinder.

The story of the killing of Tall Bull, and the fight with Turkey Leg's band of Sioux, illustrate the readiness and the daring of Major North in battle. Tall Bull was a chief who commanded a large village of renegade Sioux and Cheyennes, who had given great trouble by their depredations. Major North, with his Pawnees and some white United States troops, had been looking for this village for some time, and at length succeeded in surprising it near Summit Springs. The village was captured in the charge and many of the hostiles killed. Others fled or concealed themselves in the ravines and washouts, which seamed the prairie, and made a desperate fight. The Pawnees were scattered about in little parties, killing the Indians thus concealed, when Major North and his brother came riding rapidly along, side by side, over the open prairie. They had approached within fifty or sixty yards of a narrow steep-walled ravine, of the existence of which they were ignorant, when an Indian raised his head above its side and fired. The ball whistled between the heads of the two riders; Major North threw up his hands and reeled in the saddle as if about to fall, and the

114 his aboriginal heroes. There are good men among Indians, just as among the whites. The prevalent notion of the Indian has been formed from the worst class of this people, the lazy, filthy beggars who haunt the settlements of the West, who to their own vices have added new ones picked up from their surroundings, and who are hopelessly degraded. These are not typical Indians, and it is unjust to judge a whole race from such degenerate specimens. There is still another notion of the Indian fondly cherished by many worthy people, whose sympathies have been wrought upon by the cruelty and injustice with which we have treated this race. These good people look upon all Indians as simple children of nature, who would do no wrong if they had not been contaminated by contact with vicious whites. It is unnecessary to say that this notion of the Indian is also incorrect.

114 181 The Indian is neither a fiend nor a saint. There are good ones and bad ones. As a rule, perhaps they try to act up to their ideas of what is right, but the standard of a race of barbarians cannot be the same as that of a civilized people, and in judging of their character we must make allowances for this difference. The standard of right and wrong among civilized people is a growth, the product of the experience of thousands of years. The Indian races have not been through a like experience. They have regarded as virtues some things which seem to us the worst of crimes. The Indian differs from the white man in education and manner of life, and so, of course, in his modes of thought. He has not been taught the lesson of self-control, which his surroundings oblige each civilized man to begin to learn as a child. He has known until recent times no law save that of strength. He has been [726] taught that war is the noblest of pursuits—the only one worthy of man. And that war has consisted in making forays upon his enemies, taking their possessions, and, if possible, their lives and their scalps. His warfare consisted in surprises rather than open combat. A scalp taken [727] was a trophy of victory; and the scalp of a woman was almost as eagerly sought as that of a brave or of a chief. It was an evidence of injury inflicted on the enemy. To steal horses from the enemy was an achievement creditable and also profitable.

721 We commonly speak of the raids of war parties as horse stealing expeditions, but this is wholly misleading, because to the civilized understanding the phrase horse stealing carries with it an idea of dis-

X539 773 on a horse, and ride away, driving the other horses with her." So he waited until the woman had come back. When she had returned to the fire, he ran up toward her, and she heard him coming, and ran to wake her husband; but just as she got to him, the boy was by her side. He shot two arrows into the man and killed him and counted [127] *coup* on him, and captured the woman. He took the whole scalp of his enemy's head.

Then he took the woman and went down to where the horses were, and they got on two of them, and rode back to where his brother, the snake, lived, driving the horses before them. Just before they got to the hole, the boy took his lariat and caught a nice spotted horse and a mule, and tied them up to the tree, and called up the woman, and tied her up against the tree as tight as he could tie her. When he had done this, he went up to the hole and began to talk. He said, "Oh, my brother, I see now that what you have promised me comes true. I did what you told me. Now here are these two animals and the woman; I give them to you for being good to me. They are yours. I am glad for what you have done for me this day." When he had finished saying this he spoke again, saying, "Now, brother, I want to see you once more. I am going off, and I want to see you before I go." After a little while he heard again the rattling sound in the hole, and saw the dust coming out of it, and then his brother came out of the hole, and then afterward the smaller snakes; and these all went down to the tree and climbed up into it. The tree was thick with them. Then the boy did as he had done before. He went close to the hole, and took his brother up in his arms and hugged him, and the great snake thrust out his tongue, as if kissing him. Then the boy spoke again and said, "Now, brother, I am going away, and I give you these two animals and this woman to keep. They are yours." Then he started for his home, and after a long time he arrived at the village.

After a time, he determined to start off again on the warpath, and t[illegible] he took a party with him. He had told the whole tribe what had happened, and how his brother had protected and helped him; and he said to those warriors who were going with him, "Let each one of you take a present with you for my brother; some beads or eagle

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

would offer a story in the realm of human affairs. In attempting to translate from the Pawnee language in which much of this account was first obtained, we stopped to consider the word "courage." In order to give an example of what the Pawnee meant by courage, Mark Evarts told the following story: 577 539

> A man became aware that a certain person was making slanderous remarks about him in many quarters. This distressed and irritated him deeply. One day he came to a decision as to what he would do. He had a wagon and a horse, and he painted his wagon and decorated his horse and then dressed himself up in his very best, painted his face, dressed his hair, put feathers in his hair, and then set out for the home of the slanderer. When he arrived he called out, "So and so, I want you to come out. I have something to show you." In the light of his actions, the slanderer hesitated to come out. But finally he made his appearance at the entryway of his lodge. Now the man he had slandered took him by the hand and said, "Do you see this horse and wagon?" "Yes," he replied with increasing trepidation. "Well, I give them to you," said his victim, and then departed. Needless to say, he never talked about him again.

"This," said Mark Evarts, "is a man of courage; that was the only horse and wagon he had."

Our first reaction to this story is one of rejection. How can one possibly call this an act of courage? Let us look at this action through Pawnee eyes. For one thing, by his action, the victim had cleared the society of a disruptive social element that could have grown into a more general network of hostilities and polluted the whole social climate so that they might no longer defend themselves effectively from outside attack nor coordinate their efforts for their mutual survival. It took real courage, from the Pawnee point of view, for a man to curb his anger and to make a material sacrifice as well. How different from our reaction which would lead a man to plant his fist forcibly into the face of the slanderer or perhaps counter with a more devious plan to get back at his opponent. The obvious result must necessarily be a continuation and augmentation of the social irritant. 577 626

This instance does not stand alone. In recent years the Fox Indians of Tama, Iowa, told a story about the Pawnees in a similar vein. It was customary for the young men to set out on the warpath in the fall or late summer. A young Fox warrior selected the Pawnees as the object of his attack. He made a rich haul and so decided to repeat his performance the next year. Then he went again a third time. This was decidedly against the recognized code according to which he should have distrib- 577 727

577 uted his favors more broadly. Now on the fourth occasion, the Pawnees
lay in wait in their village and sure enough the young Fox warrior
727 stealthily crept into the encampment ready to collect and run. This time
the Pawnees were lying in wait for him, and they seized him and took
him to the tent of the head chief. There the young warrior trembled
within himself, prepared for the worst. One by one, the Pawnees began
to remove his garments as the chief had ordered. Then they painted up
his face, put on a new loincloth, a new shirt, new leggings, and new
moccasins and loaded him with additional goods saying, "You have favored
us three times already, now go home and don't come back for a
while." As the Fox report, he never did return to the Pawnees. In fact,
was there anything worse that a people could do to an attacking enemy
soldier?

592 Let us now look at the household of the Pawnee—his home life. Most
earth lodges housed from thirty to fifty people. The lodge was a pro-
512 duction workshop in which, with few exceptions, everything required
462 for use was produced, including the collection and processing of raw materials.
A substantial part of this work was done by the women. The
house was conceived as being divided into two duplicate halves—the
north sector and the south sector—each of which carried out the essen-
[264] tial household functions in alternation. There were two main meals a day,
for example, the one being provided by the north side, the other by the
south side, both serving all. In operation this meant that the woman who
cooked the meal had raised all the vegetables in her own gardens, had
dried and preserved them and kept them in her storage pit, and that all
the meat she served was dried and packed by her on the buffalo hunt,
carried back to the village (formerly on her back or by the dogs she
raised), and also stored in the pit. In the past, the clay pot she cooked in
would have been made by her (now a brass kettle from the trade store),
and she was still making the large buffalo-horn ladle with which she
served, the wooden mortar and pestle in which the mush was pounded,
and for her "side" alone the wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons in
which the food was served, the rush mats on which the people sat, and
all the clothing they wore. Every day, morning or evening, she would
serve twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty people a meal.

264 The way in which the morning and evening meal was allocated to one
or the other "side" was a clear example of the characteristic Pawnee
571 mode of personal interaction. There was no prearranged schedule at all
as to which side would take the morning, which the evening meal. This
was determined on each individual occasion by the inclinations of the
principals most directly involved. From our point of view a plan would
be made and the people fitted into it—from the Pawnee view, the plan
emerged from the feelings of the people. This difference of approach is
so basic that I feel impelled to stress it particularly. The Pawnee indi-

visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her 773
four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it [829]
is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled re- [628]
counting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the [631]
past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In
Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and on-
going life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the 796
year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first cer- 619
emony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, 631
a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a cere-
mony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. [778]
(See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual 796
during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved 782

[793]
[221]
[727]

796 the sacrifice to the Morning Star of a young girl that had been cap-
782 tured from the enemy. This was compensation to the Morning Star god
[793] for his struggle during the creation. The last girl to be sacrificed to the
[221] Morning Star was a young Sioux girl named Haxti in 1838, after which
[727] the practice was abandoned. This ceremony symbolized fertility in gen-
[178] eral.

796 TABLE 7-1. *Chart of Sacred Bundle Ceremonies in the Spring and Fall*

221 778 The several ceremonies of the spring planting and fall harvest form a parallel series, the six ceremonies in each showing a recurrent alternation of the powers of the Evening Star and the four semicardinal-direction bundles. The first four pertain to planting, fertility, and war, the latter two to buffalo hunting and migration.

	Spring		*Fall*
I.	Spring Renewal—ceremony of the creation at the first thunder from the south; Evening Star sponsorship.	I.	Green Corn Ceremony. Evening Star sponsorship.
II.	Distributing sacred seed corn of the special breed of corn included in the sacred bundles. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the summer-direction bundles—southwest or southeast.	II.	Harvest of Mature Corn. Mature corn from sacred seeds installed in the sacred bundles, replacing the sacred ears of last year's planting. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the winter-direction bundles—northwest or northeast.
III.	Ground-breaking ceremony, *Awari*, movement, activity. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an affiliate of the Evening Star in charge of the ritual as sponsor.	III.	Four-Pole Ceremony—symbolizing political federation and control of the country through war expeditions so that they could go out into the country on the hunt. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an Evening Star affiliate in charge of the ritual as sponsor.
IV.	Birth and growth of Young Mother Corn through adolescence to young womanhood; known as *Kurahus*, "Priest." Semicardinal-direction bundle in charge of ritual as sponsor.		

drive the horses from the village toward their encampment so that they 773
could leave in a hurry. The enemy would not immediately attempt a 796
pursuit as there was a feeling that this was a kind of cosmic destiny. 782
Retribution would be visited upon the whole tribe later on in a regular 721
war party. The girl was placed on a pony behind her captor, and 726
they rode all day, sleeping only three hours during the night until they
approached the village. As they approached, the leader set the prairie on
fire to let them know that they had been successful. The warriors
smeared their faces with soot. The Morning Star priest came out and
led the captive girl to the village and to his lodge.

Now that the girl had been captured the first stage of the warrior's 773
mission had been accomplished. The sacrifice would not take place until
the following spring. The whole tribe would go off on the winter buffalo 796
hunt, taking the girl with them. When they got back to the village 782
and the creation ceremony had been performed, the priest of the Morning 727
Star would watch for a sign from the cosmic god that the time for
the ceremony had arrived. Meanwhile, the returned war party settled back
in the village. The visionary warrior went to the lodge of the Morning
Star priest and returned the costume which was replaced in the sacred
bundle. Warriors told how many of the enemy they had touched and
the war counts they should receive because of this and the number killed.
The women danced the victory dance. The keeper of the Wolf bundle 773
was called to the Morning Star lodge to take over the care of the girl
who would remain in his charge until the time of sacrifice, throughout 796
the period of the winter buffalo hunt and the spring that followed. He 782
was to watch over her at all times and was to take her for her meals to
the home of the visionary warrior. According to the creation legend, the
wolf was the first creature to suffer death; he was murdered by the people
because of his perfidious conduct and as a result from that time
on all living things must die (see below, pp. 328-329). The Wolf bundle [778]
commemorated these incidents and its keeper was thought to be a descendant
of the original owners. Sirius, the southeast star, was the Wolf
Star and it was connected with death. The Wolf man now entered the
lodge of the Morning Star priest who bathed both him and the girl in
incense from the smoke of burning sweet grass—first the girl and then
the man. Then the girl's costume was taken from the Morning Star bundle.
She was rubbed with red ointment made of pigment and buffalo fat
and dressed in a calfskin skirt tied around the waist by a rope, an overblouse,
a warm buffalo robe, some black moccasins, and a soft down
feather to wear in her hair. She was given a special wooden bowl and a
buffalo horn spoon for her exclusive use at meals, that was also taken
from the bundle. It was dangerous for others to use her utensils as the
supernatural beings might then consider them part of the sacrifice.

While they were on the winter hunt, the warrior visionary would have

ject has often been that they kept themselves free to take the horses of 726
the enemy and ride them home. They did gain in stealth of approach, 484*
but this is no doubt a secondary explanation of what was probably a 178
survival of older custom. The fact that the men looked for booty or 721
various kinds of valuables in the places they attacked and carried them 727•
home on their backs is indicated in some of the well-known names that 551
were current, such as He-Comes-Carrying-Sitting-Down-from-Time-to-Time-Coming—implying that the things brought home as war trophies were so heavy that the bearer had to sit down from time to time and rest. Another such name is He-Brings-Many-Trophies-from-Over-the-Wide-World, or again, He-Comes-Bringing-Them-Down-a-Hill, or still another, He-Comes-Carrying-His-Trophies-Today.

It is clear that the actual pattern of cooperation on the migration and 175
hunt was established long before they had horses and present practices 224*
were adapted but not substantially changed. In 1540 Coronado's expedi- 492
tion met a party of buffalo-hunting Indians on the Plains who were using
the dog travois and carrying dried buffalo meat. Mark Evarts describes 224*
some of the traditions remembered by the Pawnees at the time of our narrative, when they had no horses:

> Near Old Village there was a hill called Calf-Against-Upon-Standing. [103] The calf referred to was a certain kind of yellow calf with a long body and the people knew that when they saw him standing on the hill, the herd would be right beyond him. The people would line up on each side and surround the herd and make the buffalo circle about inside. They would kill them and butcher, and carry the meat home on their backs. They had no horses. There was no trade store.
>
> The North Wind was called Lucky Wind because when it blew it [821] sent the buffalo. In winter in deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep, and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow, and could readily be killed. This was particularly the case before we hunted with horses.
>
> In summer the buffalo went scattered in small bunches and this was difficult, but in winter they traveled in closer formation when we could also drive them onto the ice.

The Pawnee surround is described by George Bird Grinnell (1925, pp. 249-250):

> Choosing a still day, they would surround a small bunch of buffalo, stretching out in a long line whose extremities would gradually draw together, as the hunters, disguised as wolves, stole from hill to hill around the unconscious prey. When the circle was complete some man would shout and startle the buffalo.

574 addition to the gifts, left all their equipment behind, and also the two
276 sacred pipes. The "Children" on their own account gave their parting
431 "Fathers" a large number of horses they had elaborately decorated for
the occasion. In the past they had given quantities of dried buffalo meat.
[554] Only people of some prominence and wealth could participate in these
operations. At this time the Skidi Band were the "Children" of the Begging-for-Meat
622 Band, while the Skidi were "Fathers" to the Man-Going-Downstream
628 Band having recently paid them a trading visit. In view of
574 the mutual courtesies involved, for the Chiefs' Hunt and the first major
276 hunt episode, White Eagle deferred his leadership to his "father," Man
*224 Chief of the Begging-for-Meat Band. The fourth episode he placed in
charge of his "child" Many Trophies, chief of the Man-Going-Downstream
Band.

*224 They stayed north of the Republican River for the first two mass attacks
*484 on the herd. By this time the herd on the north side was pretty well
scattered, and the hunters had to cross over the river for the attack and
bring the meat back over the water into camp. For the fourth mass attack
on the herd, under the leadership of Many Trophies of Man-Going-Downstream
[361] Band, they moved their camping location from Camp 11 to
a place on the Solomon River to the south, a branch of the Kansas. This
was a site preferred by the Man-Going-Downstream Band. It was a difficult
overland journey for which they had to carry water with them.
They would finally locate a small south-flowing stream, the Cedar, which
led them directly to the Solomon. They made their camp in the angle
where the Cedar joined the Solomon, hunting the herd further up the
river. When the bands parted, they mainly went to separate locations
further to the west along the Republican as the herds in the more eastern
648 location would have been scattered. This territory in the west was dangerous
as the nomadic tribes, Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, and others
were constantly poised to attack for what they considered to be an encroachment
on their hunting grounds. In 1873 the Sioux attacked the
[175] Pawnees while they were on such a venture, butchering their kill in a
[727] canyon near Trenton, Nebraska. The death toll was so severe that this
event tipped the balance in their decision to leave their traditional territory
[167] and migrate to Oklahoma.

On the way out and the way back from the buffalo hunting territory
*224 they moved their camp in fairly regular succession one day after another.
*484 But sometimes it rained and they had to remain where they were
132 for several days, or they might be delayed by the sickness of a prominent
man. Rain, of course, was an inevitable factor. It could delay the camp
for several days. If they were caught in a rain while on the march, everyone
had to spread his things out to dry and this operation might require
the next day or even two before they could resume their journey.
[281] Tanned hide becomes hard and has to be tanned again with grease and

*224 buffalo. They were Mad Bear, White, and Old Man Beaver Tree. While
*484 the camp was moving to Noisy Water, these three men had gone to the south and west. Mad Bear was sure he saw a Sioux, but White tried to
*224 make light of it. Old Man Beaver Tree thought they had better go and
*484 see. The Sioux scout was about a half a mile away and as they approached he turned back down the hill. When they got to the top he was
726 riding away far to the west. They made various plans and then decided
648 to cross the creek and as the old man said, "If anything happens, we can go into the timber." This party ended in disaster as they were surrounded by a Sioux war party and White and Old Man Beaver Tree were killed. Mad Bear and the old man shot point-blank at the approaching enemy, but the old man was struck in the leg and simply sat down in the path and piled his bow and arrow before him to await his fate. Later his body was found by the Pawnees on their way to their encampment. Of himself, Mad Bear said,

> I could see the old man sitting there. As I got among the willows along the creek, they shot me in the right shoulder blade. My bow and arrows dropped. I couldn't hold anything. My arm was just swinging. I held my bow and arrows in my left hand. If they had seen it, they would have killed me, but when I got among the willows they thought I was all right. After a while I heard some growling. Then the Pawnees were coming singing. I got up and saw a great many passing by. The Sioux had gone quite a way off.

[752] They put his arm in a sling when they found him and later managed to heal him.

Old Man Beaver Tree lay dead on the other side of the creek. They
● [727] never found White. It was suspected that he had been scalped, and even if he had survived this harrowing experience would have been ashamed to come home, as "he had no hair." He would have to make himself a dugout to live in.

The official scouts had seen these happenings from a distant hill where they were and suspected someone had been killed. When they got to the camp at Noisy Water, the scouts were very discouraged. They said, "We ought to go the other way. It's going to be that way. This time of year the Cheyenne, Arapaho, any tribe, go running around on the warpath." They decided they would move one more camp west and then go back to the north bank of the Republican River (*Kiraruta*). The new camp was a short distance, about seven miles along (Post Hunt Camp 3). The
*224 night before it was decided that the official scouts had done them no
[625] good and the head policeman, Strikes-the-Enemy, appointed three young men. They climbed a tall hill and all along the valley below they
*[484] saw the buffalo. It was somewhat to the northwest and ten miles or less

756 plaza before the Doctor Lodge with the crowd watching from the
796 roofs of the surrounding earth lodges. It was called Big Dance, *Kibax-*
536 *kutsu*, dance-big, and the doctors were in a greater or lesser degree of
trance while they carried out their performance.

The A's, the secondary acts between the Big Dances, were indoor performances comprising a series of sleight-of-hand feats including trance induction in one doctor by another. They were held in the night from about eight o'clock until midnight and included a sequence of acts by four different doctors with drumming, rattling, singing, and dancing in the intervals. All during the day the doctors who were to perform in the evening prepared themselves and their paraphernalia and refrained from eating until the following morning. The performances were interspersed with blank days during which they all rested and made other preparations for the Big Dance as well as for their subsequent performances. The entire series of performances was introduced by an initial indoor performance and ended with a finale that featured a lively battle between the Bears and the Buffalo Clowns, whose theme was, "Who's afraid of the great big bears? They're only little puppies after all!"

756 The C units were a special type of mime also given outdoors, featuring
796 the "Scalped Ones," the *Kitsahuruksu*, who were thickly plastered with
536 mud "so that they looked like mud banks approaching" and acted in
weird and fearsome ways. It was a Pawnee belief that should a person
727 who had been scalped survive, he could never return to his people. It
156 was reasoned that if anyone did survive the process of being scalped by
626 the enemy, he would become so malevolent that he could not live in
society. Such a man would make himself a dugout in an embankment and live by attacking people and stealing what he needed. Frank North in his autobiography tells of a young woman who had been scalped by the Sioux in one of their raids in June 1861 while she was returning from her cornfield. Found to be alive, she was apparently buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left there to die. She was rescued and nursed back to health by the schoolmistress, Mrs. Platt. There is of course, no proof that this was the work of the Pawnees themselves, nor can anyone substantiate the subsequent report that she was dispatched with a tomahawk after her return to the tribe and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. It does indicate, however, that a person could survive scalping. A tribal belief was universally maintained that a scalped person could never return to the
[775] tribe. Children were constantly warned about these mischievous spirits and
alive or dead they were considered a threat to adults also. They lived by stealing whatever they could get and sometimes seized women and young people. Because of them people were afraid to go about in the dark, especially near the banks of streams.

> "Everyone was thinking of making a strike on him and getting war honors. Lone Chief was especially anxious to make the first strike on this occasion. He ran toward him down the hill as fast as he could. As I turned around, the Sioux had gotten up and fallen over on his back. The South Band man also made a strike on him and ran down the hill as fast as he could." 539 721

The war honors consisted of touching the fallen enemy and before eye witnesses stating, *tat-i-ki*, "I-at him-strike." Two more could succeed the first strike, these being spoken of as *wi-taruh-hukita-sa*, "now-it is-on top-lying." If there were no witnesses around, one could put the dead Sioux in a sheltered place and bring witnesses afterward, or people who came could be shown the tracks of horses in the place and some blood to show there had been a skirmish. Even if such proof could not be made, the story was likely to come out later when the two tribes concerned were at peace and they talked over their past experiences. 538 554 727

At this point, the story was taken over by Shot Arm, who for its next episode, had been more directly in the thick of the fight. He said:

> "The Sioux had two six shooters in his belt, one on each side. The Sioux now threw away his bow and arrows and took out his guns. But I was right next to him and before he had a chance to do anything I grabbed both his hands. Meanwhile Brave Shield took the second strike on him and rode away. 539 727
>
> "While I was grappling with him you could hear someone coming grunting and panting. That was this fellow here, War Cry. [War Cry was heavily built.] When he arrived he said to the Sioux, 'You nearly killed my brother-in-law (meaning me) (*para-kaskur-rahux-kapakis*, almost-you mine-rotten-poor, viz., killed).' He put his hand to his left side and drew out his very sharp butcher knife. It was just as sharp as it could be. He cut off the whole scalp of that Sioux, ears and all. [The whole top and back of the headskin with the ears, viz., across the top of the forehead just under the hairline and way back to the base of the hair all around, including the ears.]
>
> "All this time I was grappling with the Sioux for his guns. War Cry put his right knee up against the Sioux's shoulders and pulled off the entire scalp. Swoosh, it went! The skin of the forehead fell over his eyes and as War Cry put his knee against the Sioux's back, he cracked the backbone and the Sioux cried out i! i! i! i! and let go the rifles.
>
> "Back at Lone Chief's lodge, all the time the fighting was going on Man Chief and two other Tsawis had remained. Man Chief sat without moving, his buffalo robe with the hair side out wrapped tight around him. He had asked the other two to remove the decorations from Lone Chief's daughter.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 • 727 "Out at the scene of battle, the man who had shot at the Sioux horse was told to take it as it was simply injured in the shoulder and would recover. Dog Chief asked War Cry for a little piece of the scalp—just enough to put on a stick, but he refused saying, 'Wait till we get home.' It was nearly sundown and all the warriors had returned except we seven. People in the village were asking, 'Did you see those seven fellows?' 'Oh, they chased the Sioux way off to Kirarutsku.' Man Chief was worried by now, and all the Tsawis that were there wanted 'their sons' to come home. The Tsawis came outside and sat on the high bank along the bluff outside Lone Chief's lodge.

"We started back from Kirarutsku in a bunch with the South Band man leading his horse and the rest of us Skidis following. Between nine and ten in the evening the Tsawis along the bluff could see us coming on a ridge about half a mile away. We were shooting off the six-shooters to announce our good luck and they could see the sparks and hear the report of the guns. As soon as we came in sight, Brave Shield who has the loudest voice called out, 'Lone Chief struck the enemy!' Someone else called, 'Brave Shield struck second!' and then another, 'War Cry scalped the whole head!'

"Everyone took up the cry and began to shout, 'Lone Chief struck the enemy' and the old ladies began to sing and dance and everyone heard it for it was in his lodge that the Pipe Dance was going on and there his daughter was being made 'the child.' All the visiting Tsawis, young and old, all along the bluff, began to yell, 'Lone Chief struck the enemy. Brave Shield made second strike!'

"Someone at the door of Lone Chief's lodge called out '*Piirau* (child), *wi-ti-ki*, now-he-make first strike!' Man Chief jumped up from where he had been sitting huddled in his robe and also some of the braves that were in there. They were saying, 'Cook right away. Get a bucket of water.' An old Tsawi man stood up and started to sing old war songs—victory songs. Some ladies began to sound the high shrill ululating victory cry.

"Man Chief selected one of his braves and said, 'Now you go and meet our sons and say to them, 'Sons, come right here to Lone Chief's lodge—all of you.' Halfway out the Tsawi brave called out, 'Children [*pirau*]' and they all answered, 'Father [*atias*].' 'Nawa, children, your father, Man Chief, has said that all of you are to come to Lone Chief's lodge. They are cooking now [*witirakaruriku*].' Now they followed on horseback after the Tsawi brave. Then as they got in, the returning warriors said, 'All right, we'll be there. But we must first take these horses home.'

"As Lone Chief was coming toward his lodge, a brave had been told to spread a buffalo robe on the ground outside. Man Chief em-

braced Lone Chief as he got off the horse and directed him to sit 539
down on the buffalo robe. Then the braves got hold of the buffalo 727
robe and carried him into the lodge, setting him down in his place near the door. Now all the Tsawis were singing—the old men and the old women, and when the rest of us seven arrived in a crowd, they gave us everything they were wearing—their blankets, leggings, and finally the Tsawis had almost nothing on.

"Now three old Skidi women came led by Grieves-the-Enemy. She was dressed to commemorate her war deed, when she had saved the village from the attacking Poncas by impersonating a medicine man. She had her hair all tied up in a knot at the front of her head to one side. She had black soot across her eyes. She was saying to the other two old women, 'Here's his lodge. I want you two old women to sing.' As soon as they sang and danced with their sticks, the Tsawis gave the three old ladies calico and other gifts."

This was the end of the story that War Cry had started and Shot Arm 538
continued. The Pipe of Peace, beloved of Heaven, had brought them victory as they defended their village.

Now the real session that they had all been waiting for would begin and continue all night. First Old-Man-That-Chief and then the others told real old time stories. For the most part they described their experiences as they moved from place to place abroad in the land in times past. With vivid imagery and detail they described each location and its
events. It was in just such a meeting right after they returned from the [805]
winter hunt, after the warriors and chiefs had told their stories that the old men would take up the question of the calendar and whether they needed to introduce the thirteenth intercalary month that year. Warrior would tell an old war story and also That-Chief and then Good-Land
would begin to speak of what year it is. He would talk of the stars 538
—of how when people are lost, they must find their way back by 821
following them. Then he would say of the moon that when it is low, we 484
must put on something warm for it might rain or snow at any time. If you are far off you will need something warm to weather the storm. And after the storm is over you look at the stars and find your way back. Now the conversation turned to specific stars—which ones are appearing now, and how one star that shines brightly in spring brings a big wind when it gets to a certain place. Also, that there are sometimes two or three stars that act together. Good-Land continued with some experiences that had taught him about these things. He told of how a man who went south to Oklahoma with a big party strayed off on the way back. In the day he was able to follow the sun and calculate the east and north, going by north and a little eastward. At night he walked right under

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair
turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moc-
casin to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the
padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of [294]
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-
soled moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one
section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in [855]
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to pro-
tect them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accom-
modate the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other [465]
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstand- 554
ing symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

The horses were still tethered on the south bank, and when all the 224*
meat was over, Eagle Chief would ask "the boys" to sprinkle soil or earth 484*
on the ice so that the horses could be led over. They would organize into 231
two parties, one from each shore, each man with a supply of earth in his
buffalo robe or blanket to sprinkle on the ice. The two parties would
meet in the middle of the river and then the horses could be led across.
The next day the earth would have melted into the ice and the crossing
would be easier. Even though they were not loaded, the horses had a
hard time to keep from slipping as they had no shoes. When the horses
arrived on the north shore they were again loaded with the meat and led
to the place selected for the encampment. Each man chose a site for his 224*
family's camp and cleared it of snow and gathered plenty of wood. The 484*
meat was put on the hide and bundled up in it. As soon as the meat was
unloaded, Eagle Chief called out that the horses better be sent back to the
camp at Turkey Creek so that the people could join them early next
morning. Victory Call sent Horse Rider back with the two horses for the
family, while he stayed at Many Deer, going on with the work of preparing
the camping place and looking after the meat.

After the hunters at Many Deer had completed their duties, they made
five big fires, one for each of the four Skidi villages, and an extra one.
The men of each village sat around them wrapped up well in their buffalo
robes and stayed up all night smoking and talking. If one should doze [513]
off, his neighbor awakened him. They were accustomed to staying up
like this on the warpath as much as three days and nights to get out of [727]
range of the enemy with the booty and horses. The next morning while
the line of march was on the way from the camp on Turkey Creek, some
of the men like War Cry, Victory Call, and Eagle Chief would decide to
begin to slice and dry the buffalo meat so that no time would be lost. At
some of the other fires, when they saw War Cry with his meat drying, [522]
they would tease him with, "Look at that War Cry. He has his *takaski*.
He's just like an old woman." But he was totally impervious to such remarks.

As soon as Frank Leader and his brother-in-law Roaming Leader had
decided where they were going to set up the council tent, Eagle Chief
said, "Don't wait. As soon as the council tent is set up, come in any [344]
time. We have a home there. This is where we come to tell stories and
make reports." As the returning hunters had come in, they donated ribs
for the Council that evening by hanging them on a nearby tree. Old 224*
Lady Lucky Leader realized that she and her family would have to be up 343
all night again slicing meat, and she decided that when she got to Many
Deer she would build herself a grass house beside their large tipi with the
help of the two men, so that she could carry on her work while they
were in the council tent. A grass house, ***haharutu***, was made by sticking
supple withes upright in the ground in a circle and tying them together

through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, 773
is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who 171
makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his foot-
steps being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In 821
81, 127 Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personi- 773
fied First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the
land.

82 Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906, p. 41. See Bogoras, 1902, p. 667, for wider distribution of this theme.

83, 152, 154-155 Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photograph of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He states (p. 285): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constellations. Astronomical analysis is included in the article. 821 [126]

84, 117 On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 782
1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 209-210; George E. 727
Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*,
Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen, 171
1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month,
"they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were
111 lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western
plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369,
description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden,
117 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz*
representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the
National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan
319 tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must
have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the
Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of
the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the
330 Mexicans . . ." (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account
of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the annotated footnotes.

84 Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 442-428, claims that after the new corn plant (*kurahus*, priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-fire ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of such a ceremony. 243 [114]

97 The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 269, that 243 825 171

796 756 [272] An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756 [273] See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796 [574] [782] [184] [752] [726] [241] The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

824 825 171 [277] On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372 482 [280, 290] Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads 372 would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

727 [305] Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home

305 from the fields, June 1, 1861. The woman was found alive, buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left to die. North further states, that having been rescued and nursed back to health by the school teacher, Mrs. Platt, on her return to the tribe, she may have been dispatched with a tomahawk and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. There is no way to verify this incident, but the manner in which the young woman was found by the school teacher indicates the horror the Pawnees felt for a scalped person. 727

276-278 Luther North describes (Pauline Bilon, *Nebraska Farmer*, Lincoln, March 21, 1931) the experience he and Grinnell had trying to learn to perform magic. An old medicine man was contacted by his nephew, an educated Indian, on their behalf and he stated that, "Tomorrow morning you get together the young men and I will teach them." The next morning six young men ranging in age from 20-25 were brought to him by the investigators. He picked up a small ax and cut off a little tree. . . . Next he found a large flat stone which he placed in front of him. He took the small sapling and placed the end which he had cut next to the stone. Holding it firmly in place he began reciting in the Indian language, "Father the Great Spirit, you are the ruler; you see me; my mind is poor; I can do nothing without your help, etc. etc. . . . He requested them to hold the sapling. They did so, expecting to pick it right off the stone, but the sapling was firmly rooted into the stone. They pulled but it was no use. Then the medicine man turned to his young Indian pupils. He told them to do exactly what he had done. This they did, following out his previous actions to the letter. Before they knelt to begin their chants, he said to them, "Make your mind strong. Believe what you say." After the young man had finished the ceremony, they released their hold on the small trees. Over fell the trees. The results were the same for all the young men. They all looked at the old man. "I can't teach you anything" he said and walked away. And so once more Grinnell shook his head and said, "It simply cannot be explained." Luther North reports that some of his scouts would practice their illusionist feats while they were out on campaigns with him. One man hid among the tall grass and appeared as a deer, then the next moment was a man. Another would simply take up a handful of mud and rubbing his hands together produce a live turtle, reconverting it into mud again. North asked him what would happen if he released the turtle and let him go. The man said he would die. North returned to the spot after such an episode and found the dead turtle there. 789

293, 296, 302-304 See Frank North's (1959) description of the Big Dance, Chapter 4. 000

554
727

357-358 Like other Plains tribes, the Pawnee had the tradition of honoring a warrior for touching a fallen enemy. In anthropological literature, this has come to be known as "counting coup." The first one to touch the fallen enemy among the Pawnees as among the other Plains tribes, got the greatest honor. It was said of him, *wi-ti-ki*, "now-he-strikes." The second to touch the fallen enemy got a secondary honor and the third was the final strike that could count. Taking the scalp could count as a "strike." As the strike is being made, the warrior must call out "I strike" at the scene of battle itself if possible with witnesses to the deed. Otherwise, only if there were some concrete evidence, could the deed be counted. For example, if one struck a dead Sioux, one would put him in a sheltered place until you could bring witnesses or people who came to see tracks of horses in the place where the exploit occurred and some blood to show there had been a skirmish. However, even if such proof could not be made, later when peace was made and the erstwhile enemies were sitting together at peace, they might recount their former war exploits and the deeds of the brave would be confirmed by the enemy so that the warrior's own people would know.

172
412

363 On polished stone axes, celts, etc. see Wedel, 1936, pp. 77-78: In the archaeological Pawnee and proto-Pawnee sites, polished stone axes and celts are rare, and there seems to be a preponderance of crude stone mauls. Also see Strong, 1935, pp. 59-60, 66-67.

292
821

375-376 The comet of 1882, *upirik-kiskuxka*, "feather headdress," was so named to indicate the identification of the traditional Plains war bonnet with a comet.

000

403-406 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of a bulrush mat, pp. 151-152.

382, 385 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of wooden bowls, pp. 47-51, and the mortar and pestle.

As this book went to press, there appeared in *Science* (July 10, 1964, 145, No. 3628, 117-136) a definitive article, "Economics and the Quality of Life" by the outstanding economist, John Kenneth Galbraith, that so closely parallels the general viewpoint that I have tried to express here that I feel it should be especially mentioned.

In the *New York Times* (July 12, 1964), an article appeared which was entitled "Landlord to Hire Social Worker to Help His Tenants Live Better." The realtor referred to is Mr. Howard Offit, one of Baltimore's largest landlords, who owns about 1,000 red-brick-row or attached houses. The social worker hired by Mr. Offit will work in a West Baltimore neighborhood. Harold C. Edelston, executive director of Baltimore's Health and Welfare Council, who is one of the program's advisers, states its purpose: "to have the social worker provide brief counseling service for tenants with personal family

11: Tixier T-5 (1839-1840) 1940

NQ12 Dhegiha NQ12
Osage
PAWNEE NQ18

P
D
726 for a favorable moment. Man-chap-ché-mani, so rightly named,
saw him and, crawling to him suddenly, arose and made him a
P prisoner. This young warrior was so ashamed to have let him-
D self be taken by surprise that he thought death alone could
727 atone for such disgrace. The Osage were willing, however, to
restore him to liberty. "If you let me go," he said to them, "I shall come back to steal horses from you, for when I return to my village the women are going to say, 'Here is the one whom the Osage caught lying on the ground like a woman'." He was asked whether he would like to stay and be adopted. "You want me to become an Osage, but my heart will remain that of a Pawnee warrior. And some day the Pawnee will run away with your horses." He asked for death; they tied him to the fatal post and he died like a brave man.

D 317 778 721 The salines cause much trouble among the red tribes. Each one claims it has the rights to them. There are in the Missouri Territory three salines which they often visit: the Great Saline, the Rock Saline, and the Cavern Saline. The Great Saline is well known nowadays; the Rock Saline is named thus on account of the thickness of the rock salt found there; Major Long has given a description of it.[12] Near the latter saline is a huge red cedar which the Pawnee worship fervently. The warriors frequently bring all kinds of offerings, and even make sacrifices to it. This tree doubtless is for the Pawnee the manitou of the saline. This is the one place on the prairie where the Osage go most frequently.[13]

D 317 721 Two years ago, Mr. Papin was among an expedition which was going to take salt from this saline. Thirty-two Pawnee were seen at a great distance making their supply. Twenty Osage warriors left to cut off their retreat. On seeing that they had

---

[12] Cf. E. James, *Long's Expedition*, III, 120.

[13] For Great Saline, see n. 19, p. 250, *infra;* for the Rock Saline, n. 8, p. 240, *infra.*

622 mitted his authority along with his bundle to his eldest son. These
565 hereditary chiefs, representing each of the villages, selected from among the leading warriors and those of high rank a sufficient number to make up the thirty-one. [The manuscript also contains a note that the chiefs' council could reject the son of a deceased chief if it did not consider him worthy. Also, if the dead chief left no offspring, the bundle was supposed to descend to the next oldest brother or nearest male kin; the brother married the chief's widow.]

The eldest son of a chief theoretically inherited his father's position, and if he proved worthy was duly made chief on reaching the proper age. At this time the chief's bundle (North-Star bundle) was opened and a ceremony held. So far as known, the ritual accompanying the ceremony has not been sung for more than thirty years, and there is no Skidi living today (1907) who knows it.

It has been mentioned that the hereditary chiefs could invite men who had proved themselves worthy and make them chiefs. When this course was decided upon, the chiefs invited the one selected to the lodge four times. He declined the first three times, but on the fourth invitation went to the lodge, bringing with him ponies and parfleches of meat, which he presented to the chiefs. He was then made chief, but did not have his face painted, and his sons were not considered chiefs.

The son of a chief other than the eldest, or indeed any man, might make four deer holy and offer them to the four chiefs of the Four-Band village. With the consent of the other hereditary chiefs they then asked the candidate to the lodge and offered him a pipe to smoke, after which he could sit in the chief's council. [Presumably he did not have the rank of a chief, however.]

622 During council the chiefs were supposed to sit cross-legged in
[516] an erect attitude, never in a lounging position. The mark of office
623 was a red-painted face with a blue semi-circular line extending from
531 in front of each ear and passing over the forehead, and a symbol on
302 the forehead representing the so-called Turkey's Foot constellation.
565 An eagle feather was worn in the hair, while ordinarily the costume consisted of leggings fringed with eagle feathers and human hair from scalps, and a buffalo-skin robe on which were depicted stars, the sun, or war scenes.

622 Perhaps the most important characteristic of a chief was that
● [928] he was a peace-maker and guardian of the village rather than a
538 warrior; there are many incidents in the myths expressing the idea
538 that a man who has often been on the warpath becomes imbued with
565

honesty. No such meaning attaches to the Indian equivalent of this 721
phrase. They take horses by stratagem or secretly, by the usual, and to
them legitimate, methods of warfare. To speak of their stealing horses,
using that verb in the sense which we commonly give it, would be
like saying that an army stole the cannon which it captured in an en-
gagement with the enemy. Captured horses were the legitimate spoils [556]
of war. The wealth of the Indians was in their horses. They had no
fortified places, no ships of war, no cannon, no works of art. Their
only valuable possessions were their horses. These were the only
property that could be carried off. Therefore, when an expedition was
made against a hostile tribe, scalps and horses were naturally its ob-
ject. Horses, being their only valuable possessions, constituted their 436
medium of exchange, so far as they had any. Did a man wish to 231
purchase an ornament, or an article of dress which took his fancy,
he gave a horse for it. If he bought a wife he paid for her in horses. [583]
The most valuable present that could be made was a good horse; and
horses were often given by the well-to-do to their friends and relations
who had been sick or unfortunate. On the other hand, when, as was
sometimes the case, a conquered tribe was condemned to pay a war [728]
indemnity, they paid it in horses. It is related that when the Skidi
broke their treaty with the other bands, and were afterward con-
quered by them, they were obligated to pay such a fine.

This view of Indian warfare being understood, the motive of the 538
hero stories here given, and of many of the folk-tales, becomes plain.

The Pawnees are essentially a religious people. They worship 771
Ti-ra'-wa, who is in and of everything. Unlike many of the Indian 776
tribes of the West, they do not adore any material thing. They regard
certain places as sacred, but these are so only because blessed by the
Divine presence. The Pawnee Deity is not personified. He is intangible,
quite as much so as the God of the Christians. The sacred character of
Ti-ra'-wa extends to animal nature. The fishes which swim in the
rivers, the birds of the air and the beasts which roam over the prairie,
have sometimes intelligence, knowledge and power far beyond those
of man. But they are not gods. Their miraculous attributes are given
them by the Ruler, whose servants they are, and who often makes
them the medium of his communications to man. They are his messengers—his angels—and their powers are always used for good.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

From the first extra song we learn that the visions had a dwelling place called "Katasha," located just below the abode of the lesser powers. The visions could be summoned by these powers from Katasha and dispatched upon a mission. After its accomplishment, the visions returned to their dwelling place to "lie at rest" until again summoned by the powers. According to the Ku'rahus, visions were not transitory, called into being for some special occasion and then ceasing to exist, but they were of an enduring nature, retaining an identity by which they could be recognized by one whom they had visited. This differentiates the vision from the dream, which would seem to be the memory of a vision which came while one slept. Waking visions are not spoken of as dreams. 539* 787

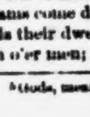
The Pawnees locate more or less definitely the powers which can affect man. In the above, far beyond the light, fleecy clouds, where no man has been or can see, dwells Tira'wa atius, the father of all, the giver of life and breath; in a circle below are the lesser powers, like a great council; beneath them is Katasha, the abode of the visions. The birds, the animals, and plants are intermediaries between man and the powers above and the powers below in the earth; they bring him the life and strength which is drawn by the powers from Tira'wa atius. Such is the outline, but the details are complex, no one power or intermediary being fixed or unchangeable in function or character. 776 772

The second extra song, as explained by the Ku'rahus, seems to point out that disaster is sometimes disciplinary and necessary to the strengthening of a man's purpose. 539* 796* [731]

The third extra song teaches that when one dreams of Mother Corn one should go to a shrine where the sacred corn is kept and there offer smoke to the power which sent the corn to him in his dream.

EXTRA NIGHT SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



533* 796*

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Give heed! We tell of Katasha holy.
Whence the dreams come down, when draweth the night time near:
Near the gods[b] is their dwelling.
They who watch o'er men; all silently come they down. 539* 796*

---

[a] Music on page 183.
[b] Gods, meaning powers, is used on account of the rhythm only.

*175 The first period of Nineteenth Century Pawnee relations with
*648 the white man and the United States government begins with the
first contacts following the Louisiana purchase and ends with the
*175 treaty of 1833. The population of the tribe during this time is
*648 open to dispute, as no accurate figures are available. In 1804,
Lewis and Clarke estimated the tribe at 4,000, but they were un-
161 acquainted with the Pitahawirat*. According to these explorers
114 the tribe had suffered terribly from a smallpox epidemic the previous
● [731] year which had greatly reduced their numbers. Pike in 1806 gave
a count of 6,223 for the same three bands. Major S. H. Long, who
visited the tribe on his travels in 1819, estimated their number at
6,500, still without knowing the Pitahawirat*. The first government
figure appeared in 1834, just after the treaty of 1833 brought an
agent, Dougherty, in contact with the tribe. He numbered the
Pawnee at 12,500. This figure was carried on the government
records for years, occasionally displaced by the estimate of the

---

113 United States. Indian Affairs Office. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington, 1824 to date. The series has been consulted throughout its entire run. Details of importance on the Pawnee begin with the report of 1837. Referred to in footnotes as Annual Reports.

Kappler, C. J. (Compiler). Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties. 2 volumes. Washington, 1903. 57 Congress, First Session. Document 452.

Royce, C. C. Indian Land Cessions in the United States. 18th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology.

I have also consulted:

Dunbar, J. The Pawnee Indians. Magazine of American History. 4: 241—281; 5: 321—385; 8: 734—756.

Grinnell, G. B. Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales.

Irving, J. T. Indian Sketches Taken during a U. S. expedition to make treaties with the Pawnee and other tribes of Indians in 1833. 1838, reprinted 1888.

Murray, C. A. Travels in North America, including a summer residence with the Pawnee tribe of Indians in the remote prairies of the Missouri. 2 volumes. 3rd. revised edition, London, 1854.

Oehler, G. F. and Smith, D. Z. Description of a Journey and visit to the Pawnee Indians. April 22-May 18, 1851. Reprinted from Moravian Church Miscellany of 1851—1852.

Tuttle, Sarah. History of the American Mission to the Pawnee Indians. Boston, 1838.

Williamson, J. W. The Battle of Massacre Canyon. The unfortunate ending of the last buffalo hunt of the Pawnees. Republican Leader, Trenton, Nebraska, 1922.

Where differences on dates and other important data have been encountered, the account presented has taken the information in the reports, year by year, as the final arbiter. All basic concrete data and interpretations are essentially restatements of source material; it has seemed unnecessary to introduce minute footnotes. Interpolated interpretations of the writer are few and obvious.

life of Plains tribes was considered wild and barbaric by a people 175* whose culture for centuries had been grounded on an agricultural economy. To tame and civilize the savage it was necessary to 648* make them an agricultural people; and this was the more essential in that an agricultural economy would locate the tribes permanently in restricted areas and release wide reaches of land for the uses of the white man.

The Pawnee do not seem to have been in agreement about the removal. While the provisions of the treaty made the lands south of the Platte River ceded by the Pawnee a common hunting ground, still open to them, it confined their villages and farm lands to the north side of the river. [619] Prior to this time the three bands of Tcawi, Kitkahaxki^x and Pitahawirat^a had maintained their permanent village settlements south of the Platte, while only the Skiri band resided on the north. The Kitkahaxki^x and Pitahawirat^a accepted the terms of the treaty and removed, as well as some of the Tcawi, but most of the Tcawi refused to leave their homes on the south side of the river. This main Tcawi village was below the Platte some miles west of the Bellevue settlement on the Missouri River. It was to this group that the other bands removed in 1846.

The exact year of final removal is not certain. In 1839 the bands asked aid in locating their permanent settlements on the north side, inasmuch as the land was to be cultivated according to white methods of farming, and must be suitable for such purposes. By [166] 1841 all the Pawnee who accepted the treaty provision had removed. One large village was built together by the Pitahawirat^a, Kitkahaxki^x, and those Tcawi who removed. The Skiri are not mentioned as building a new village from which we may infer that they probably continued at their old location.

In the midst of the difficulties attending the removal, the Pawnee 175* were afflicted again by the smallpox. An epidemic broke out in 731 ● 1838 and did not subside until a year and a half later. 165 It is said to have been communicated to the Pawnee by some Dakota women captured by them in the spring of 1838. Great numbers of children perished in the epidemic, while the mortality rate among the adults was perceptibly lower. Nevertheless the total deaths must have considerably exceeded five hundred in the period of the

---

[1] Dunbar, in Magazine of American History, 4:257, places the Kitkahaxki^x 18 miles northwest of the mouth of the Loup River on the north side of the Loup, and the Pitahawirat^a 11 miles above the mouth on the same side, as early as 1834. [13] 114 I have not found evidence to validate the location of these bands north of the Platte at this early date.

*175 epidemic, in view of the census figure reached by Dunbar and Allis
731 in the summer of 1840 of 6,787, exclusive of some detachments of
165 the tribe then absent, who could at most bring the total to 7,500.

With the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs
*175 by act of Congress in 1834, an agency was established for dealings
*648 with the Oto and Missouri, Ponca, Omaha, and Pawnee tribes,
located for many years at Council Bluffs. An agent does not seem
to have taken active charge of the affairs of these tribes until 1836.

*175 Missionaries had worked among the Pawnee for about two years
*648 just prior to the removal of the South Bands. Dunbar was among
the Tcawi. Allis with the Skiri, and Satterlee with the Kitkahaxki*.
797 Satterlee was murdered in 1837 by a white trader, but Dunbar and
Allis helped the bands locate their settlements, and accompanied
them in the removal. At the time of the removal a location was
chosen on Plum Creek for the site of the government establishment
and a mission: but on account of the disturbances caused by
Sioux raids, execution of the plan was delayed until 1844.

With the removal north of the Platte, resident farmers settled
[657] with the Pawnee, and Samuel Allis was appointed government
teacher and opened a school. Nevertheless, the period from 1841
to 1847 was one of breakdown and chaos in Pawnee life, rather
than progress.

*175 Once on the north side of the Platte, the Pawnee were exposed
*648 more than ever before to remorseless attacks of the Dakota who
had been increasing in numbers and boldness for some time. This
constant threat hung over every month of the year.

*175 The intention of the government in sending farmers among the
*648 Pawnee was to teach them plough agriculture. Their old methods
of digging-stick cultivation while they had yielded relatively
177 large crops had never been sufficiently productive to permit the
241 Pawnee to rely completely on their fields. In the summer, observers
reported, they succeeded in raising but little more corn, beans and
squash than they consumed by the time the cold weather set in.
Occasionally their crops were more plentiful but any drought
threatened to leave them without a subsistence minimum.

The farmers were indefatigable in breaking up virgin soil for cultivation. The school teacher, finding it impossible to carry out any genuine instruction the first years, joined in, and helped with the agriculture. All reports indicate that the Pawnee themselves showed commendable zeal in their efforts to learn and gave promise of becoming successful farmers more rapidly than other tribes. Nevertheless the farming operations, in the long run, were a failure. The Pawnee did not take to productive farming. The

north, and the Sioux restrained from coming south of the Platte, it was hoped that a wide and safe passage could be opened for the Oregon emigrants. 175* 648*

In how far even the theory of civilizing the Indians through agriculture dominated government policy may be judged from the statements of the Commissioner in his annual report for 1848. The Superintendent of the Central Superintendency, located at St. Louis, had recommended the necessity of providing the Indian tribes of the prairie with suitable land for agricultural purposes, where these tribes had none of their own. This was Superintendent T. H. Harvey, who, judging from his reports, was sincere in his efforts to carry out the professed governmental Indian policy. He contended that the buffalo were approaching extinction, and that plans should be made in advance of that event for settling the tribes as farmers on lands suitable for farming. This policy according to the Commissioner, was contrary to his own recommendations "of procuring and keeping open these lands [viz. good agricultural lands] for the egress and expansion of our own population." He was of the opinion that the Indian tribes would gradually move westward after the disappearing buffalo, and so keep out of the white man's way.

The annuities of the treaty of 1833 had run out their term by 1845; and the aid to Pawnee agriculture by supplying implements, farmers and mills was subject to the Pawnee locating north of the Platte. As a result, in the period from 1847 to 1857 the tribe was practically without government aid. In 1848 at Fort Childs, the United States government purchased Grand Island from the Pawnee for $ 2000 in merchandise, which was of incidental aid to a tribe numbering over 4,000. The acquisition of Grand Island was part of the program for the establishment of military posts on the route to Oregon.

While the school was maintained at Bellevue as a nucleus for future operations, all other civilizing activities in the tribe were practically suspended. Even the missionaries gave up, because of the hazard. South of the Platte the Pawnee claimed the land was unproductive with their methods of planting corn, and there was no available timber for building lodges. The three bands who had been north of the Platte professed in the fall of 1848 their willingness to return there, if the Tcawi who had been living alone south of the Platte were made to accompany them so as to increase their military strength for defense against Sioux assaults. [657] [797]

The government purchased some corn for the Pawnee in the summer of 1848, but that fall they were in a miserable condition. their crops having failed because of drought. [657] [731]

*175 their crops having failed because of drought. Apparently the tribe
*648 was not successful in their winter hunt, since we find that in June
of 1849, agent John Barrow found two hundred aged and infirm
[888] Pawnee, left behind when the tribe went on the summer hunt,
starving around the agency. Cholera had broken out among them
*175 and before it subsided, eighty-four were dead. When the bands
*648 returned from the hunt, he found that the rest of the tribe had also
●731 been decimated by cholera while away, a condition brought on by
their lack of proper nourishment. His estimate, after talking the
165 matter over with the chiefs of the tribe, was that no less than 250 men
and 900 women and children had fallen victims of cholera while the
tribe had been away; making a total of 1234 deaths that summer from
the epidemic. Barrow seems to have been astoundingly callous.
He reports the Pawnee deaths and their condition quite objectively,
and treats as incidental that in the midst of their other misfortunes,
the Oto, spurred by white traders who gave them
guns, had attacked the Pawnee and killed eleven. The Oto shrewdly
claimed that their Great White Father had told them to protect
and assist the whites, and Barrow reports that he assured the Oto
that if their story was true — to the effect that the white traders
*175 had been robbed by the Pawnee — their Great Father would
*648 forgive them.

In spite of this disastrous season which wiped out a fourth of
[735] the tribe, the Pawnee had made a successful hunt, but without a
harvest upon their return to the village, they would soon again be
destitute.

The Pawnee school was disbanded in 1851 when the treaty
[657] arrangements for a term of schooling ran out. Samuel Allis,
making his final report, admits his failure, but remarks, "I still
consider the Pawnee an interesting tribe, capable of great improvement
could they be protected from their enemies and brought
under proper subjection themselves."

*175 Pawnee conditions of life gradually became worse. The tide
*648 of emigration increased, and between 1847 and 1859, was literally
735 "pouring through and into the very midst of their corn fields, their
villages and their hunting grounds," referring to the tribes of
the Council Bluff Agency, the Oto, the Omaha and the Pawnee.
The Pawnee along with these other tribes were forced into a position
where they became more and more anxious to make some further
trade of land with the white man in return for a guaranteed sustenance.
This was reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
year after year. The advisability of carrying out the third step in
the government program for dealing with Indian tribes, the pur-

chase of their lands, and the settlement of the tribe on a limited 175* reservation, was clear. This was the surest method of avoiding the 648* increasing conflict between the starving Indians and the white 735 settlers and emigrants. Driven by necessity, the proud American Indian had become a petty thief and beggar along the highways. Nevertheless governmental inactivity seems to have prevented action until 1853, when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs visited many of the western tribes and executed treaties with them. The Pawnee, however, were avoided at this time although their needs, as reported to the authorities, were as great as those of other tribes. In fact, it appears that to an observer on the spot, James Gatewood, agent at the Council Bluffs Agency, writing October 16, 1853, "these Indians (the Pawnee) have suffered perhaps more than any single tribe by emigration. All of the roads on the north side of Nebraska River pass through their country, and on the south side of that river pass through their hunting ground; and more of their wood and grass are consumed and more game run off, than there is from the lands of any other nation, and yet they receive no compensation; whilst others that suffer much less in that way are liberally compensated..."

In the same year the Pawnee were reported destitute. Their [161] numbers had been reduced to fifty per cent of their former strength in four years. Responsible for this great mortality were the relentless [165 assaults of the Dakota and Cheyenne; and disease, a major small- 731] pox epidemic in 1852 again decimating the tribe. In 1854 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended the tribes of Nebraska to the attention of the government. He considered it "very important that arrangements be made as soon as practicable with the Pawnee and Ponca Indians... by which their limits may be restricted and defined, and their assaults upon emigrants... terminated." He further pointed out that "the roads on the principal routes to the Pacific Coast have become very important thoroughfares. Thousands of emigrants and many merchants who with their property to the amount of several millions in value pass annually over the plains are entitled to the protection of the government."

While the government was still inactive the Pawnee suffered further heavy losses. One of the major disasters occurred when [731] in 1854 a party of 113 Pawnee were cut off and surrounded by an overwhelming force of Cheyenne and Kiowa and killed almost to a man.

In 1856 the Pawnee were thoroughly depressed. They were not able to cultivate successfully where they were south of the Platte, [241]
white settlers being all about them.

cultivated eight hundred acres of corn, beans and squash in their 175*
old manner. The farmer duplicated his effort in 1861, but not until 648*
the summer of 1862 did he give any actual instruction to the Pawnee 241
in farming. That year the agency farm crops and the Pawnee native 657
crops both suffered from a grasshopper pestilence. It was planned that summer to proceed as rapidly as possible to break up enough land for cultivation, so that the head of each Pawnee family could take over a plot and learn by actively operating it.

In 1863 the government farmers had ploughed up for this purpose 725 acres. Meanwhile the native women had a bountiful crop, for the first time in years a surplus. In 1864 and 1865 the government demonstration proved a failure: drought and severe grasshopper pestilences destroyed the greater part of the crop. But the Pawnee crop of corn, beans and squash was much less affected in these years. In 1867 the government farm consisted of 114 acres in corn, wheat, oats and potatoes, while the Pawnee had 1000 acres under cultivation, mostly in corn, with patches of beans and squash. That year saw a bountiful crop all round, with so large a surplus for the Pawnee that they gave food to the Ponca, whose crop had failed, sold a considerable amount, and still retained a store. The
following year misfortune visited the whole land in the form of a [731] ●
grasshopper plague of such severity as had never been known. "They came in a cloud so thick as to obscure the sun." They left not a green thing.

In spite of the fact that the government farming demonstration was not strikingly successful during these years, the Pawnee were becoming increasingly conscious of the gradual disappearance of the buffalo, and the need for basing their economic life on a sure agricultural supply. They observed the value and usefulness of wagons, plows, mowing machinery and the like, and in 1868 began to request that large sums of their annuity payment be spent for the purchase of such things. Part of the annuity was being paid to them in merchandise. Inasmuch as no attempt was made to send
the people what they specifically needed, a great part of the goods
annuity was waste; the Pawnee would sell off most of it to traders [439]
for things they needed more, losing considerably in the exchange. The agents pointed out that along with their purchase of agricultural implements, wagons and harness, the Pawnee from 1865 on were asking for cooking stoves and household articles, and began to take an interest in houses.

Building on the reservation had not been active. In addition 175*
to the farm buildings erected in 1860, a number of buildings were 648*
taken over which had been erected by the Mormons during their 657
342

southward to Indian Territory. They had a long-standing invitation 175*
from their kinsmen the Wichita, which they now took advantage 648*
of. Thirty lodges of families, numbering about 300 individuals
went; most of these were members of the Kitkahaxki^x band. 167
They were received heartily by the Wichita, and settled themselves
among the Wichita on the Wichita reservation. Through the leader
of this party an invitation was extended to the rest of the Pawnee
still in Nebraska to remove to Indian Territory and settle with the
Wichita. Reports sent back were glowing with the promise of the
land in the south, and the Pawnee in Nebraska, accustomed to
struggling against drought and the grasshopper pestilence to
secure a crop, believed that the country in the south offered not
only a haven from extermination at the hands of the Sioux, but a
life of plenty.

This migration of part of the Pawnee was not only conceived by the people themselves, but was undertaken and carried out in spite of the remonstrances and objections of their agent and other officials. Once they were settled with the Wichita, however, there was nothing for the government officials to do but to accept the situation. Since they could not compel them to return to Nebraska, they were "allowed to remain". They drew rations at the Wichita agency along with the tribes located there, and joined the Wichita in farming.

In Nebraska the government gave the Pawnee partial indemnification 175*
for the losses sustained in the massacre by expending
$ 9,000 for cattle and supplies, with which aid the bands in the 648*
north were made comfortable during the winter of 1873. The desire 241
to move to Indian Territory was not as yet general that winter:
the promise of the south had not yet reached them. The tribe in
council, assuming that they were to continue to struggle in Nebraska,
asked that $ 10,000 of their annuity be spent the next year for
agricultural implements and labor. In the spring of 1874, the
agency officials made a herculean effort on their behalf. The
government farmers broke 350 acres for the Pawnee to farm, while
the Pawnee cultivated 1,000 acres on their own behalf; in addition
the agency farm of 315 acres was planted, and the school farm of
25 acres, a total of 1,690 acres in cultivation. The Pawnee were [461]
said that year to show a greater willingness to labor than ever before.
Unfortunately, the prospects of a fine crop were destroyed by [731]
drought, Colorado beetles and grasshoppers, and the harvest yielded
only 1,400 bushels of wheat, less than half a crop, and a few beets
and potatoes. By fall the destitution of the people was great, and [735]
the officials reported to the government that aid must be given them.

to their separate tracts. The land broken for each band was but 175*
a small part of their sector; it was neither large enough nor so 648*
situated as to make practicable a division of it into individual 241
tracts for family groups. Each band therefore began to farm the
band tract cooperatively. In theory each man did his share of the 657
work and each took his share of the harvest. The band lived together [476]
on the tract, and their encampments rapidly became permanent
villages of tipis and earth-lodges.

This redevelopment of village life, instituted by the Pawnee as an 175*
adjustment to the conditions of their settlement in Indian Territory, 648*
and intentionally overlooked by agency officials, who considered it a
temporary expedient, was to continue for some years. To the 178
Pawnee it was a satisfactory adjustment, approximating as it did 657
their accustomed way of life. In these villages something of the
old tribal life continued; the chiefs, priests and medicine men
functioned, the old social gatherings and ceremonies were possible.

The produce of the band farms, together with that at the agency, 175*
constituted the basic food supply of the Pawnee. For years this 648*
was inadequate and insecure; the people suffered greatly for lack
of food, and some of the mortalities of the period were due to 262
starvation and malnutrition. The principle crop was corn, supplemented 241
by some beans and squash, and increasing cultivation of
wheat, oats, potatoes and other vegetables. Most of the farms were
in the bottom lands and along the streams, and yet the usual
hazards of cultivation caused crop failures a number of times. The [132]
country in which the Pawnee had settled is in a belt which is
subject to periodic hot, dry summers, when rain is at a premium.
Droughts were severe in 1880, 1887, and 1890. On occasion bugs [731]
destroyed much of the crop, while once, in 1885, a terrific hailstorm
broke the stand of grain. Crop failures left the Pawnee dependent [657]
on government aid, in the form of rations, or food purchased for
them with money from their annuity funds.

For a meat supply the Pawnee had to depend primarily on 175*
government rations. The first winter the Pawnee were together in
Oklahoma, that of 1875 to 1876, the tribe attempted a buffalo hunt, 648*
but the herds were too remote to be reached with the limited 657
preparations the Pawnee were able to make. While the buffalo
were reported on the plains in considerable numbers the next 224
summer, only occasional buffalo were captured by straggling 262
parties of Pawnee. In a few years the tribe was persuaded to
forego the hunt; they talked of it the winter of 1878, but did not go.
From this time on we hear of no buffalo hunting. The organized
tribal hunt was a thing of the past.

*175 The meat rations supplied the Pawnee by the government were
*648 until 1880 delivered on the hoof, and the Indians, gathered round
the agency to receive their oxen, would turn the day into one of
657 carnage and slaughter, killing and dressing their own beeves. The
"oxy kill 'em day," as this was known to the Indian service, ended
in 1880 after which the rations were turned over to the tribe in the
form of dressed meat.

*175 Not more than one-third of the Pawnee reservation was suitable
*648 for farming, but there was a great deal of good pasture land.
Cows and calves were issued to the Pawnee in 1878, and received
657 such good care that with the Indians asking for cattle the govern-
233 ment made an attempt to develop stock-raising. In the summer
of 1880 four hundred head of two-year-old heifers and bulls were
brought from northern Texas and distributed among the Pawnee.
● [731] The tribe hailed their coming with delight. Unfortunately a scourge
carried off many oxen the first winter. The Pawnee were not yet
free of their hunting complex. When they wanted meat, they
killed cattle, and finding that traders would buy the hides, so
many were slaughtered that by 1882 only a few head of the cattle
issued to the tribe remained. Stock-raising by the Pawnee was
admittedly a failure.

[245 A great need in the food supply was fresh fruit, for want of
262] which various ailments afflicted the Pawnee. To obviate this fruit
trees were bought and small orchards planted on the reservation,
but they did not flourish.

*175 The food rations, supplies, and implements distributed to the
*648 tribe had to be shipped to the reservation by freighting from the
657 nearest railroad point. At first this was at Coffeyville, Kansas,
a distance of one hundred miles; the route went northward through
[489] the Osage Agency. Later there was a shipping point at Arkansas
City, a distance of seventy miles. The agent turned the freighting
over to the Pawnee, who handled it with wagons and teams on
their own responsibility.

x175 As conditions on the reservation became more settled, the govern-
x648 ment farm program was renewed. A major provision of the Con-
657 gressional Act of 1876 which established the Pawnee reservation
applied to allotments in severalty. Each head of a family, or
241 single person over 21 years of age, who so desired, was to be allotted
423 160 acres of land. Certificates were to be issued by the Commissioner
of Indian Affairs recognizing the individual ownership of such
tracts. An allotee occupying and cultivating his land for five
successive years, who had at least twenty-five acres fenced and in
crop, was to be entitled to receive a patent in fee simple for his

241 stantly herded and watched during the day time, and shut up in
[231] enclosures in the village during the night, fences are unnecessary.
While absent from their homes, their fields are subject to depredations from prairie wolves and deer, which however no ordinary fence could restrain.—Because these poor people have no other agricultural implements than hoes, the spots which they are obliged to select for fields, are often at great distances from each other,
241 and frequently from five to eight miles from their village. When
721 abroad, to prepare and plant them in the spring, and gather the corn in the fall, they are often exposed to attacks of their enemies. While the husband is watching from some neighboring eminence to guard against the stealthy approach of any hostile force, the wive is engaged in the labor of the field. With fear and trembling their field-labor is thus performed, and many a one, while so employed, is suddenly fallen upon and killed by a marauding party of enemies.

241 When we visited them, they particularly requested us, "to beg their Great Father, the President, that he should be so kind and
648 again break up some ground for them, as he had done in former years, that they might be able to plant more corn." We have brought in the petition of these destitute people before the proper Department at Washington, and it is greatly to be desired that our benevolent Government may do something for them in their wretched state.

721 As has already been remarked, they were in an almost starving condition, when we visited them. The hunt had proved unsuc-
731 cessful, so that in the lower village they had no meat whatever, and had to depend upon the little corn that they had raised the preceding year. In the upper village they were also in a miserable condition, for, though they had yet a little dried buffalo-meat, the Sioux had during their absence on the hunt, destroyed their village, (their present lodges had been rebuilt since their return,) and carried off a portion of their corn, burnt another portion, and thus very little remained concealed in the "caches," which are made in their lodges.*

---

251 * A *cache* is a term common among traders and hunters, to designate a hiding-place for provisions and effects. It is derived from the French word *cacher*, to conceal, and originated among the early colonists of Canada and Louisiana; but the secret depository which it designates was in use among the aboriginals long before the intrusion of the white men. It is, in fact, the only mode that migratory hordes have of preserving their valuables from robbery, during their long absences from their villages or accustomed haunts, on hunting expeditions, or during the vicissitudes of war. The utmost skill and caution are required to render their places of concealment invisible to the lynx eye of an Indian. The first care is to seek out a proper situation, which is generally some dry low bank of clay, on the margin of a water course. As soon as the precise spot is pitched upon, blankets, saddle clothes, and other

bered custom and old ways of life? Today the ethnologist is hard put to 175
get very much that is significant. Even with the opening of the present century, most of these peoples had so long ago been decimated by disease and war that memory of their past life was extremely fragmentary. Along with whatever fragments of custom were recorded then, the archaeologist must use the written testimony of the chance traveler and trader to give life to his findings.

In the 1700's when the trade and travel records were written, the Missouri River was a main artery of European-Indian trade. Commercial companies centered in St. Louis maintained regular contact with trade centers up the river, and in the 1800's steamboats plied their way upstream with goods and guns to exchange for furs. Trade centers for exchange were an ancient tradition of American Indian life, and now they eagerly made their way to the trade centers of the European where new goods and materials could be gotten. But the price was dear. For besides the new goods, there came new and fatal diseases—measles, smallpox, cholera, and a variety of fevers—wiping out hundreds and even thousands of people at one blow. Whole tribes that had lived in the region for hundreds of years were wiped out or left in such a fragmentary condition that they joined with other tribes and lost the knowledge of their past identity.

The Pawnees who lived outside the mainstream of commercial traffic 131
were less affected than the others by this holocaust. They lived along the 161
outlying tributaries of the Missouri—the Loup, the Platte, and the Republican—that flow eastward across the present State of Nebraska and 175
join the Missouri at their eastern ends. It was only in the 1830's, when
the Pawnees were living in the western part of their territory at what
they refer to as Old Village, that the direct effects of the many historic
pressures of the time began to bear down on them. At that time they [221]
numbered about 12,000 and were living a well-integrated native life of a
sedentary Plains people such as the archaeological remains indicate—
planting crops and hunting buffalo in alternate seasons. Then disease began [731]
to do its terrible work, and the large bands of refugee Siouan peoples
(some 30,000 strong), pushing in from the east, attacked them with increasing [648]
furor in order to gain their territory and their hunting grounds.
Finally the Pawnees began to move eastward along the river courses to be 167
nearer the centers of civilization, and by 1859, by agreement with the 175
United States Government, they moved onto a reservation near the present
town of Genoa, Nebraska. By this time their numbers were reduced 648
to 3,400, but they still retained their old social forms and independent [161]
polity and a traditional rhythm of life throughout the year. Added to
their problems had been the full force of westward migration of the expanding
United States—the Oregon Trail, Mormon Trail, and Gold
Rush along the Platte, and, from 1861 on, a crescendo of Sioux attacks

796 782 175 648 By 1820–1821 the story of the conduct of Knife Chief and his son Man Chief had come to the attention of Edwin James and Jedidiah Morse, and through them it became known. In the fall of 1821, when Man Chief went east to Washington with a delegation of chiefs, the detailed story of his bold rescue had been published, and the girls at "Miss White's Select Female Seminary" contributed enough money to have a large silver medal made which they presented to the handsome young Pawnee hero at a public ceremony. The medal bore the inscription "To the Bravest of the Brave." The medal was later excavated in an Indian grave near Fullerton, Nebraska, on the Loup River by Alonzo Thompson. It is illustrated in Hyde's book. The portrait of Man Chief was painted in Washington by Dr. King and later included in the McKenney and Hall volumes on Indian tribes. As Man Chief accepted the silver medal, he said that when he had done this thing he had not known it was brave. But now that they had called him brave and given him this medal, he thanked them and would always think of them. After the delegation left Washington, they continued on to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York and wherever they went they were greeted by large crowds and showered with gifts. Originally the delegation had left the Pawnee village in October 1821 under Major O'Fallon and was undertaken with the purpose of impressing the Pawnees with the power of the whites. A chief from each of the four bands had gone.

But despite these efforts, by May 1833 news of a plan to sacrifice a Cheyenne woman reached the Indian agent, John Dougherty at Bellevue, who took five men with him and rode out to the Skidi village. Chief Big Ax received him and promised to try to help him ransom the captive. The Chief called a council of the other chiefs and leading men and exhorted them to abandon their plan. The crowd in the village was hostile, but nevertheless the woman was brought into the chief's lodge. Big Ax was opposed by all the chiefs but one—Black Chief, of rather swarthy complexion. Finally Dougherty, seconded by a few friendly Pawnees, tried to ride through the angry crowd with the captive woman. The people had gathered in the narrow spaces between the earth lodges to try to block him, and, as he passed the lodge of a prominent brave named Soldier Chief, a priest who was standing in the vestibule drew his bow and shot the woman. The warriors took the dying woman out onto the prairie and carried out the sacrifice.

175 731 782 796 In 1837 an American Fur Company boat came up the Missouri. Some of her crew were down with smallpox and, despite the captain's warning, the Mandan insisted on boarding. Of the 1,600 remaining Mandans, only 31 survived the ensuing epidemic. Meanwhile the Arikara who lived in a neighboring village in the same locality returned there from the summer hunt and they lost half of their population of 4,000. The Dakotas also contracted the disease. Now the Skidi priests insisted that the Morning

175
731
796
782

Star must be placated. An Oglala Sioux girl of about fifteen whose name was Haxti was captured, and on April 22, 1838, she was sacrificed to the Morning Star.

175
648
[782]
[796]

This is the last reported case of a Pawnee sacrifice to the Morning Star. Grinnell and others feel that there must have been further incidents that did not come to attention. However, when our ethnological narrative takes place (1867) it seems pretty certain that no further sacrifices were being carried out. About two hundred Pawnees, many Skidis among them, were organized into four companies of regularly registered U.S. Cavalry in Major North's Batallion. As part of their activities, they protected the crews working on the Union Pacific Railroad from attack by the nomadic Indians. After an attack on Plum Creek on the Platte, the Pawnees followed the Cheyenne to their camp and there captured fifteen Cheyenne women and children. In the subsequent negotiations, they exchanged these captives for two white women, the Martin sisters, and three small white boys, captives of the Cheyenne camp on the Medicine Creek branch of the

796
782
171

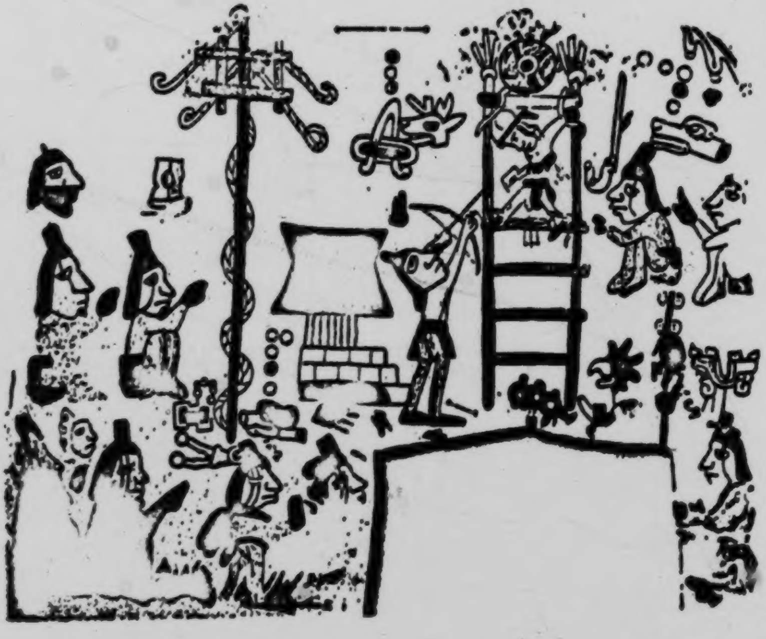


FIGURE 10-2. *Codex Porfirio Dias* representing scaffold sacrifice; in National Museum, Mexico City, accredited to the Cuicatecan tribe of the State of Guerrero. From Clark Wissler and Herbert J. Spinden, "The Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *American Museum Jounal*, XVI (1916), No. 1, p. 54. See also illustrations on pages 52, 53, and 49 of the article.

if he wandered over to his parents' tent and asked his mother to fix a 606
bed for him it was accepted as a normal thing. His wife would understand 593
that "he felt like being childish for a while" and that next morning
he would be back with them. Sometimes the sounds of fighting would
be heard inside a tent—a father-in-law and a son-in-law in conflict.

Although he might live elsewhere in the village, an unmarried 593
younger brother was likely to join his older brother for the hunt. This 224*
was his obligation. When he married, however, he would be impelled to
go with his wife's family. Sometimes two brothers and their families [592]
lived in an earth lodge jointly and they might very well also go jointly
on the hunt.

The household of Old Bull and Victory Call broke up into three 592
groupings. Each of the four villages of the Skidi Band had a separate 621
section of the encampment. Old Bull and Victory Call both camped in
the Pumpkin-Vine Village section in the west, but each had a separate
encampment and ran their households entirely independently. The camp
of Old Bull included his two wives and the grandmother and their
young children. In Victory Call's camp were his wife White Woman, his
assistant Horse Rider, his wife No Corn, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy,
and the boy Otter. The old lady Grieves-the-Enemy and the boy Yellow
Calf went far over to the east section where her son was encamped in
Village-in-the-Bottomlands with his father-in-law, Path-of-the-Enemy.
The two little boys did not see each other all summer, as there were hundreds
of tents between them. When they returned to the village in the
fall, it was optional whether they rejoined the household or not.

In the past, the people who were left behind in the village were in 224*
great danger and they all cried bitterly as the expedition departed. The 888
Stay-at-Homes were usually the sick and the old. Some men would stay 734 •
longer to give a little more protection to an old grandmother or someone
of whom they were fond. The Stay-at-Homes would congregate in a few
earth lodges in the village, knowing where to find food in the storage
pits. Leaving the slow and the sick at home was a necessary step, as the
line of march had to move with precision because other tribes were also
pressing in on the buffalo herds. They might move entirely out of reach,
whereupon the tribe would be faced with the danger of losing all of
the effort they had invested in the expedition. Nevertheless, sometimes
a soft-hearted chief would say, "Let's all go, even if we have to camp
every five miles!" Others would demur, saying that was too slow; finally
the old people themselves would say, "No, we can't go along. We're old
anyhow," and having made this concession of their own accord, they
would be permitted to return to the village. Sometimes noticing that a 224*
perfectly able-bodied family he liked was not coming along, Eagle Chief 622
would inquire and, finding they were staying behind because they had 426
no horses, would lend them two of his own.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 If a man of the Father's party desires to count his war honors he steps out in front of the dancers. The men stop and go to their proper places; the song stops and the man tells his deed of valor. At its close the responsive cry is given by the people; then the song begins again and the dance is resumed.

[211] Sometimes one of the Children has not been able to catch the horse he intends to give away. He comes forward with his little child, who carries a small stick and hands it to the chief, who turns it over to the assistant chief, who passes it on to the record keeper. The child is blessed with the corn.

•735 *796 At any time during this dance of thanks a poor person can come up to the consecrated child who is sitting in front of the chief and take away the robe that is on it, for the robe has been put on the child as a gift to the poor. When one robe is taken, the assistant chief places another robe on the child, and it often happens that several robes or blankets are given away to the poor in this manner.

*796 [201] After a time one of the chiefs of the tribe of the Son rises and asks if all have made their gifts. This is a signal that the end is near. Finally, some one of the party of the Son rises and says, "Father, you must be tired; end this!" and he makes the sign with his hands which signifies cutting off, and the dance stops. Sometimes only the sign is made, but generally the words are spoken.

Then the prominent men of the Fathers and of the Children enter the lodge for the final ceremony.

FOURTH DIVISION. PRESENTATION OF THE HAKO

TWENTIETH RITUAL

PART I. BLESSING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

At the close of the dance of thanks the Children scatter in every direction, but the leading men enter the lodge and sit down at the south side. The Son sits either in the middle of the line on the south, or in his proper place just south of the entrance, near the door.

The consecrated child is taken by the chief behind the holy place. The two dancers advance to lay down the feathered stems, one at each side of the little child, the brown-eagle feathered stem toward the north, the white feathered stem toward the south. Then they remove the downy feathers from their hair and give them to the Ku'rahus, who ties them on the feathered stems.

The Ku'rahus then girds the robe about his waist with the hair rope and lifts the brown-eagle feathered stem. His assistant takes up the white-eagle feathered stem, the chief, with the cat skin and the ear of corn, steps between the Ku'rahus and his assistant, and the

*175 their crops having failed because of drought. Apparently the tribe
*648 was not successful in their winter hunt, since we find that in June
of 1849, agent John Barrow found two hundred aged and infirm
[888] Pawnee, left behind when the tribe went on the summer hunt,
starving around the agency. Cholera had broken out among them
*175 and before it subsided, eighty-four were dead. When the bands
*648 returned from the hunt, he found that the rest of the tribe had also
been decimated by cholera while away, a condition brought on by
731 their lack of proper nourishment. His estimate, after talking the
165 matter over with the chiefs of the tribe, was that no less than 250 men
and 900 women and children had fallen victims of cholera while the
tribe had been away; making a total of 1234 deaths that summer from
the epidemic. Barrow seems to have been astoundingly callous.
He reports the Pawnee deaths and their condition quite objectively,
and treats as incidental that in the midst of their other misfortunes,
the Oto, spurred by white traders who gave them
guns, had attacked the Pawnee and killed eleven. The Oto shrewdly
claimed that their Great White Father had told them to protect
and assist the whites, and Barrow reports that he assured the Oto
that if their story was true — to the effect that the white traders
*175 had been robbed by the Pawnee — their Great Father would
*648 forgive them.

In spite of this disastrous season which wiped out a fourth of
● [735] the tribe, the Pawnee had made a successful hunt, but without a
harvest upon their return to the village, they would soon again be
destitute.

[657] The Pawnee school was disbanded in 1851 when the treaty
arrangements for a term of schooling ran out. Samuel Allis,
making his final report, admits his failure, but remarks, "I still
consider the Pawnee an interesting tribe, capable of great improvement
could they be protected from their enemies and brought
under proper subjection themselves."

*175 Pawnee conditions of life gradually became worse. The tide
*648 of emigration increased, and between 1847 and 1850, was literally
735 "pouring through and into the very midst of their corn fields, their
villages and their hunting grounds," referring to the tribes of
the Council Bluff Agency, the Oto, the Omaha and the Pawnee.
The Pawnee along with these other tribes were forced into a position
where they became more and more anxious to make some further
trade of land with the white man in return for a guaranteed sustenance.
This was reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
year after year. The advisability of carrying out the third step in
the government program for dealing with Indian tribes, the pur-

chase of their lands, and the settlement of the tribe on a limited 175*
reservation, was clear. This was the surest method of avoiding the 648*
increasing conflict between the starving Indians and the white
settlers and emigrants. Driven by necessity, the proud American 735
Indian had become a petty thief and beggar along the highways.
Nevertheless governmental inactivity seems to have prevented
action until 1853, when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs visited
many of the western tribes and executed treaties with them. The
Pawnee, however, were avoided at this time although their needs,
as reported to the authorities, were as great as those of other tribes.
In fact, it appears that to an observer on the spot, James Gatewood,
agent at the Council Bluffs Agency, writing October 16, 1853, "these
Indians (the Pawnee) have suffered perhaps more than any single
tribe by emigration. All of the roads on the north side of Nebraska
River pass through their country, and on the south side of that
river pass through their hunting ground; and more of their wood
and grass are consumed and more game run off, than there is
from the bands of any other nation, and yet they receive no compensation:
whilst others that suffer much less in that way are
liberally compensated..."

In the same year the Pawnee were reported destitute. Their [161]
numbers had been reduced to fifty per cent of their former strength
in four years. Responsible for this great mortality were the relentless [165
assaults of the Dakota and Cheyenne; and disease, a major smallpox 731]
epidemic in 1852 again decimating the tribe. In 1854 the
Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended the tribes of
Nebraska to the attention of the government. He considered it
"very important that arrangements be made as soon as practicable
with the Pawnee and Ponca Indians... by which their limits may
be restricted and defined, and their assaults upon emigrants...
terminated." He further pointed out that "the roads on the principal
routes to the Pacific Coast have become very important
thoroughfares. Thousands of emigrants and many merchants who
with their property to the amount of several millions in value pass
annually over the plains are entitled to the protection of the
government."

While the government was still inactive the Pawnee suffered
further heavy losses. One of the major disasters occurred when [731]
in 1854 a party of 113 Pawnee were cut off and surrounded by an
overwhelming force of Cheyenne and Kiowa and killed almost to
a man.

In 1856 the Pawnee were thoroughly depressed. They were not
able to cultivate successfully where they were south of the Platte. [241]
white settlers being all about them.

*175 *648 •735

white settlers being all about them. The whites were encroaching on their lands north of the Platte. The buffalo was scarce. Disease had reduced them to a handful. Their pleas to the government to make some arrangement for their future were unanswered. At intervals they did not have the representation of an agent. Samuel Allis wrote on behalf of the Pawnee to the Superintedent at St. Louis. The document credits him with being "interpreter", but there was no official status to such a position among the Pawnee at that time. The truth is there was neither agent, nor missionary, nor teacher, nor farmer, among the Pawnee officially, and that Allis, faithful to the people among whom he had worked, took the matter into his own hands. He wrote that the whites were settling close around the Pawnee and using up their timber, and that the Pawnee deeply resented the government purchase from the Omaha of lands along the Platte River from Shell Creek to Beaver Creek, which had from ancient times been Pawnee territory. He advised that they be met in council the next spring.

THIRD PERIOD: 1857 TO 1876

*175 *648 [166]

The treaty which was drawn up with the Pawnee on September 24 of the following year at Table Creek in Nebraska Territory, ushered in the third period of Pawnee history in the 19th Century, which closes with the removal of the tribe from Nebraska to Oklahoma in 1874 to 1876. During this period the Pawnee were again settled north of the Platte River, this time on a reservation, as wards of the government.

*175 *648 657

This treaty was the third step in governmental Indian procedure. The conditions initiated by the original treaties of "peace and friendship", and the first cessions of land, had now brought results favorable to the needs of the white men. The treaty of 1857 ended the independence of the Pawnee forever. They yielded their roving freedom, ceded their lands, and acknowledged in the treaty their "dependence" on the United States. These things they did willingly enough: they had been petitioning the government for years to effect such an arrangement. But it was a willingness born of desperation, born of the necessity of extricating themselves from a network of conditions which made existence well nigh impossible. By the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee admitted their cultural and economic defeat, and resigned themselves to the inevitable guardianship of the government. The provisions of the treaty were many and detailed; its major objective is rendered, however, in the first two articles. Article one provides that the Pawnee cede southward to Indian Territory. They had a long-standing invitation 175* from their kinsmen the Wichita, which they now took advantage 648* of. Thirty lodges of families, numbering about 300 individuals 167 went; most of these were members of the Kitkahaxki^{x} band. They were received heartily by the Wichita, and settled themselves among the Wichita on the Wichita reservation. Through the leader of this party an invitation was extended to the rest of the Pawnee still in Nebraska to remove to Indian Territory and settle with the Wichita. Reports sent back were glowing with the promise of the land in the south, and the Pawnee in Nebraska, accustomed to struggling against drought and the grasshopper pestilence to secure a crop, believed that the country in the south offered not only a haven from extermination at the hands of the Sioux, but a life of plenty.

This migration of part of the Pawnee was not only conceived by the people themselves, but was undertaken and carried out in spite of the remonstrances and objections of their agent and other officials. Once they were settled with the Wichita, however, there was nothing for the government officials to do but to accept the situation. Since they could not compel them to return to Nebraska, they were "allowed to remain". They drew rations at the Wichita agency along with the tribes located there, and joined the Wichita in farming.

In Nebraska the government gave the Pawnee partial indemnification 175* for the losses sustained in the massacre by expending 648* $ 9,000 for cattle and supplies, with which aid the bands in the north 241 were made comfortable during the winter of 1873. The desire to move to Indian Territory was not as yet general that winter: the promise of the south had not yet reached them. The tribe in council, assuming that they were to continue to struggle in Nebraska, asked that $ 10,000 of their annuity be spent the next year for agricultural implements and labor. In the spring of 1874, the agency officials made a herculean effort on their behalf. The government farmers broke 350 acres for the Pawnee to farm, while the Pawnee cultivated 1,000 acres on their own behalf; in addition the agency farm of 315 acres was planted, and the school farm of 25 acres, a total of 1,690 acres in cultivation. The Pawnee were [461] said that year to show a greater willingness to labor than ever before. Unfortunately, the prospects of a fine crop were destroyed by [731] drought, Colorado beetles and grasshoppers, and the harvest yielded only 1,400 bushels of wheat, less than half a crop, and a few beets and potatoes. By fall the destitution of the people was great, and [735] the officials reported to the government that aid must be given them.

224 With the grey dawn of morning, the camp, as usual, is astir. By
484 the time our little party have turned out of our blankets, some of
the Indians have already finished eating, and are catching up their
[462] horses and preparing to ride off over the bluffs, leaving the squaws
to take down the lodges, pack the ponies, and pursue the designated
line of march. Before we are ready to "pull out," most of the ponies
have been packed, and a long, irregular line of Indians is creeping
across the level valley, and beginning to wind up the face of the
bluffs. The procession moves slowly, proceeding at a walk. Most
of those who remain with the column are on foot, the squaws leading
the ponies, and many of the men, wrapped in their blankets,
and with only their bows and arrows on their backs, walking briskly
● [735] over the prairie, a little to one side. These last are the poorer Indians
—those who have but few horses. They travel on foot, letting their
horses run without burdens, so that they may be fresh and strong,
whenever they shall be needed for running the buffalo.

224 Side by side, at the head of the column, walk eight men who carry
778 the buffalo staves. These are slender spruce poles, like a short lodge-
484 pole, wrapped with blue and red cloth, and elaborately ornamented
with bead work, and with the feathers of hawks, and of the war
eagle. These sticks are carried by men selected by the chiefs and
doctors in private council, and are religiously guarded. Upon the care
of these emblems, and the respect paid to them, depends, in a great
measure, the success of the hunt. While borne before the moving
column, no one is permitted to cross the line of march in front of
them.

224 Close behind the staff bearers follow a number of the principal
484 men of the tribe; the head chief, old *Pi'ta Le-shar*, and a dozen or
[622] fifteen sub-chiefs or head men, all mounted on superb horses. Behind
them comes the camp at large, a fantastically mingled multitude,
marching without any appearance of order. Here most of the individuals
are women, young girls and children, for the men who
accompany the camp usually march singly, or by twos and threes, a
little apart from the mob. Most of those rich enough in horses to
be able to ride at all times, are scattered over the prairie for miles
in every direction, picking up the small bands of buffalo, which have
been passed by the scouts as not large enough to call for a general
surround. The hunters are careful, however, not to follow too close

Next they planted the beans, sometimes in the same hills with the corn 244
so that the vines could entwine themselves around the cornstalks. If they
planted them in separate hills, they set in willow sticks for the vines to
cling to.

Last of all, they planted pumpkins, squashes, and watermelons [*Citrullus, citrullus* (L.) Karst., indigenous variety—Gilmore, 1919, pp. 120-
129.]. These were planted in separate patches and served to separate the [243]
different varieties of corn in order to preserve the breeds. There would
be a planting of blue corn, then a pumpkin patch, then spotted corn, then
a melon patch, and so on in this order.

Between two adjacent fields, there was a hill or ridge where the sun- 241
flowers grew by themselves without planting. Some women surrounded 423
their fields with a fence built of stakes connected with rawhide ropes. 578
Disputes about the boundaries of their fields sometimes occurred among
the women. Some women would pile the earth further and further on the [417]
far side of the field and encroach on the field of a neighbor. Some women
stole crops, whereupon arguments would ensue and they would curse
one another and call one another names. The woman from whom the corn
had been stolen would strike the other woman with her hands or with a
stick. The informant said that stealing was actually unnecessary, as a poor [476]
women could easily get some corn by appealing to her neighbor di- [735]
rectly, saying, "I want you to take pity on me and give me some corn."

Women always went to the fields in groups for their own protection; 241
the Sioux made a particular point of attacking and scalping them as they 476
were going into the fields or coming home. This was presumably to ex- 722
ert sufficient pressure to chase the Pawnees from their territory and in- 648
duce them to abandon it entirely. The mortality among the women from
this cause was heavy. In 1861 in one such attack eighteen Skidi women
were killed. One group of women would say to the other, "We're going
to clear our fields, how about you?" Then the two groups would set out
together, any woman who finished first helping the others so that all
would be ready to return at the same time. The young men, without being told, knew that this was the time to picket around the fields.

In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each of the mature 241
women had at least one field. Clear Day, the younger wife, and her 423
mother, Blue Calico, worked one field together, as was customary with 592
mother and daughter until the younger woman was considered responsible enough to manage her own. Fields were located along the bottomlands on both banks of Beaver Creek, and some women had a closer and a more distant field. The ones that were closer to the villages were, of course, the more desirable both for transport and for military reasons. An individual field was from half an acre to one and a half acres in area.

Patterns of cooperation were well developed in each household so that 592
the women would get through quickly. Queen Woman would say to

555 universe. The Pawnees had great contempt for extreme poverty and
231 raggedness, but no great desire or awe for wealth in large quantities.
• [735] Historically the likelihood is that the cooperative social patterns of the
[556] Pawnees go back to a time when practically every person had an impor-
[174] tant function in the material economy, while a person of outstanding
value was one who had special insights and knowledge.

342 But for all the value the Pawnees placed on knowledge and the things
281 of the spirit, a tent was an absolute necessity as they traveled over the country. The making of the tent skin was one of their most complex technical achievements. It was a major enterprise to get one made, which had to be anticipated at least two years in advance. Eight skins had to be accumulated over four successive hunting periods—a summer hunt, a winter hunt, and on the following year again, a summer and a winter hunt. Sinew of eight buffalo for sewing the skins together also had to be saved. As signs of wear would appear in their tent skin, a woman would remind her husband of their need. Then he would set aside two good skins in each of the four seasons. The average life of a tent skin was no more than ten or twelve years.

463 Seven buffalo hides were used to make the body of the tent; an eighth
281 was cut up for gussets, loops for the pegs at the bottom, and a double thickness at the door. In order to fit the skins together in the smoothest and most economical way and to arrange the pattern of the applied parts, a woman specialist in this field had to be called in to supervise the work. There were only a limited number of women with such knowledge in the tribe. In addition, it would take four or five women working pretty
[461] steadily for three or four days to do the actual sewing of the skins. The workers all had to be compensated with gifts of dried buffalo meat, skin
[437] clothing, and trade store goods that had to be purchased with buffalo products. In the course of the hunt, the hunter had to anticipate these needs as well as the need for the skins and the sinews. Payment for the work of planning and sewing amounted to at least the sale value of a good buffalo robe.

342 The same tent skin was used for both the winter and the summer hunts, but the framework was different. In winter they used the standard pointed skin tipi, supported by a frame of thirteen tall and heavy rigid poles that were leaned against one another at the top to form the conical frame. With its fire burning in the middle, this tent provided an excellent protection against the winter cold, but it was too warm for summer. For the summer frame they used a series of flexible saplings to make an open-faced shelter. The making of the heavy tipi poles was a long and difficult process and had to be planned well in advance, whereas the saplings for the summer framework could be gathered near the time of leaving for the summer hunt. Elm or willow saplings were available near the creek in the late spring or early summer and at this time the bark

MEDICINE-MEN

Like the chief and the priest, the medicine-man held a position 791
of honor among the Skidi. His office was supposed to have been 756
created by Tirawa immediately after he had instituted the office of 565
chief, at which time Tirawa said: "I shall give you (chief) a companion [773]
who will understand certain beings who command all the
spirits of the earth. He shall learn from them the different curative [538]
powers, and shall be your equal, but he will not command, for it
will be his duty to wait on the sick." At this time Tirawa gave the
medicine-man the blue clay he wore over his body during ceremonies,
the wing of a black eagle to be used in his left hand, and a gourd [778].
rattle to be held in his right.

The medicine-men derived their powers from supernatural beings who were usually identified with animals. At birth a child came under the influence of a supernatural being—a particular star shining especially bright—who was supposed to manifest himself later in the child's life. Usually this manifestation occurred when the child fell ill, at which time medicine-men were sent for. When the right one appeared, he could cure the child, for he possessed the power from an animal which in turn had received its power from the star noted above. Thus the child was made aware of the particular animal guardian which was to influence his career. When he grew to be a young man he might become a medicine-man through a supernatural experience during which power was given him directly by his guardian, or, as was more common, he applied for instruction to some medicine-man who had received power from the same guardian. With the latter's consent, the young man became his pupil, paying for the knowledge received. [Further details regarding medicine-men have been published by Linton, 1923b.]

In many ways the medicine-men ingratiated themselves with the people. One of the best examples occurred during the fall performance of the great ceremony of the Skidi medicine-men. On the first night they visited all the village lodges containing sacred altars, and on the following night made a general tour of the village offering their services free of charge.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

This group probably represented less than one-half the members 554
of the band. They were distinguished by the fact that they were 565
without influence or power, their lodges were smaller and not so
completely furnished, they had few or no ponies, and were often the [736]
objects of charity.

554 objects of charity. On the outskirts of the village were those who
565 made up the lowest class of Skidi society and who were spoken of as
"those who live in the woods." They were near outcasts, having
violated tribal laws and customs. It may be noted here that as the
Skidi came in closer contact with white civilization the band was
too often judged from the actions of members of this last class. As
● [736] white towns grew up in the vicinity these people found it easier to
become hangers-on of the town than to attempt to force their way
into a better position in Indian society.

567 [A few remarks are also accorded the treatment of slaves. "Slaves—that is, individuals captured in war—were rarely killed or mistreated. They generally served as helpers of the errand men for the captor (chief?) in his lodge, where they were received. Many incidents are related of slaves showing their fidelity to the Pawnee, and finally being considered as members of the tribe and marrying into it."]

64

POSTSCRIPT INTO THE PRESENT

000 *The Modern Pawnee—Otter's Later Life—the Arrival in Oklahoma—the Fate of Otter's Family and Friends—His Marriage—the Modern Day Pawnee Powwow*

177 463 SOME MIGHT WONDER how the modern Pawnees came into being, seeing that they are thoroughly integrated citizens of the present United States, many of them living as residents of various urban centers. The Pawnees count among their numbers teachers, artisans, business managers, engineers, journalists, artists, nurses, social workers, professional entertainers, and one former Big League baseball player.

159 761 754 Perhaps the fate of some of the principal characters I have mentioned offers a good means of illustrating the process of transition. The boy, Otter, is a good case in point. When he was about seven years old his father, Victory Call, died. He felt he had been bewitched by his anxious rival in the religious field, Big Doctor, leader of the Doctor Association, whose hegemony the success of Victory Call's Deer Dance cult was challenging. In his dying vision, Victory Call saw a man with an eagle-wing fan before his face that he positively identified as Big Doctor.

159 736 [572] White Woman, Grandma, and the boy were given a home by Uncle War Cry in whose house they settled, taking a subordinate position near its eastern end. The old house was left to the other inhabitants. The boy was warned to break off all relationships with his old friends who might insult him with mention of the fact that he had no father. His mother kept him close to the house. He tried to get acquainted with some of the children nearby, but he found it hard.

159 587 Two years later, Shot Arm, a brave of Lone Chief's Village-across-a-Ridge, came and sued for his mother's hand. Shot Arm approached War Cry and said, "Victory Call was my uncle and he has a son here. He is as my own son and I'd like to raise him." Finally he was told to speak to

754 578 mouth and chest were covered with blood by the time he got it all out. Mainly old men were present at this particular session of the Deer Dance.

796 578 As can be seen from this account, the "fighting" in the Deer Dance was not mere formal ceremonial procedure but an expression of real hostilities between the performers. As the people watched, they understood all these interpersonal nuances and the effect of the "fighting" was something more to them than a mere show of sleight of hand, spectacular as this might be in itself at times.

75 Apparently despite their rivalry, the two old doctors, That-Chief and Horse Finder, were not above combining in a fee-splitting venture at the expense of a wealthy patient. Horse Finder would advise That-Chief that he intended to bewitch a Mr. A and that in a few days he would be sick. Mr. A got sick as expected and first his family would call in the most eminent physician they had, Big Doctor, for A was an important man. The messenger sent to get him would promise him horses, clothing, and food in payment if he would cure the patient. The doctor came in and, after hearing the symptoms, pronounced it a serious illness and very difficult to treat. He agreed to try it for two days and if there were no results he would have to leave the case to someone else. Possibly he thinks the fee offered is not generous enough. Another doctor is asked to come in, the family offering one horse, a chief's medal, blankets, and leggings. But apparently the fee is too small for this new man who feels he should get more if he is to treat an important man like Mr. A. Finally someone in the family says, "Why only one horse? After all if he dies we won't have anything!" Thus the fee is raised. The second man comes, but gives up in two days. Meanwhile the two schemers have been sitting there and stay all night with the sick man ostensibly as a friendly gesture. When the second man gives up, in desperation, the sick man's family looks about for help and their attention happens to fall on That-Chief who is right there, and they offer him three horses and a quantity of goods. After considerable maneuvers with the coaching of Horse Finder who has been the original witch, he gives the patient an emetic and there emerges one of the terrible poison pellets, the heelskin of a human corpse wrapped in buffalo wool, painted red, and tied around with horsehair. By this time, however, the parts have separated and the human skin has softened so that it has caused a lot of trouble to the victim. When this successful conclusion has been reached, That-Chief calls in four other doctors to sing and celebrate the cure. They all have a feast at midnight and go to their homes. The next night That-Chief sends his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, to call Horse Finder to his home and they discuss the final stages of the treatment, Horse Finder telling That-Chief that he should instruct the patient to have nothing but blue corn meal mush for a few

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

days until his stomach is in order. Then the other four doctors who have sung with the patient are called in and perhaps one or two more, and they speak of the animals and their ways and have a ceremonial smoke and distribute the goods that That-Chief has received in payment. Of the three horses, That-Chief will give one to the owner of the earth lodge where he is living, one he will keep for himself and give one to Horse Finder. The other doctors will note his special generosity, but may explain it merely by the fact that they both have the same bundle powers. Even if they were to suspect, they would not reveal the secrets of their fellow professionals to the lay public. 75

The Pawnees were thus not immune to the common suspicion that comes to all people in the desperation of sickness, that the doctor is not doing everything possible to cure the patient and that somehow more could have been done if the doctor had willed it. 756

In view of some of these rather bizarre descriptions, I questioned my informant who was familiar with our methods of gathering evidence and attempting to establish reasonable proof, as to what evidence people had that witchcraft was at the bottom of so much death and sickness among the Pawnees. His reply in substance was that basically they just knew, no proof in our terms being possible. He said: "When men sit around talking, they would talk about these things. They would *know*, but they couldn't prove it." 754 753 124 [521]

Rarely would the Pawnees attribute a death to our type of "natural cause." With old people of little social importance, they wouldn't bother to press the question but with anyone of any social position, people were concerned to place the responsibility for the death on the hostility of someone in the community. It was thought that when the person was dying, the hostile person would appear to them as a witch who was hiding his face so that the dying man had to identify him by his body. The dying man or woman would then recognize and name the person. Then the news would get around but no further action would be taken. 761 554

The Pawnees recognized that anxiety and hostility were major causes of disease. From the Pawnee point of view, active witchcraft practices were the culmination of sustained, interpersonal hostility and the constant fear of witchcraft represented the anxiety felt in the face of such a threat. 753 754 578

> People got sick to their stomach, or when something stuck them, got blood poisoning, or so the white people call it—but we say, "Someone witched you." Long afterwards if the man recovered, he would be sure to find out who witched him.

The reasoning here being that an important charecteristic of his disease —and therefore cause—had been anxiety, and that this could be traced to

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were of 796
two sorts, ceremonies which centered around the sacred 756
bundles and were participated in by the whole village,
band, or tribe, and ceremonies which were performed
by societies whose members had some secret in common.
In the ceremonies of the first class, the most important
of which have been described in Leaflets 5-7,
an appeal was made primarily to the great heavenly
deities. In the ceremonies of the second class, the
appeal was made to the less powerful, but more intimate
earthly gods who were believed to have bestowed
power upon the performers. Among the ceremonies
of the second class, those of the medicine men were
the most important.

In every Indian tribe there were a number of persons, 756
called medicine men by the whites, who were
regarded as the possessors of supernatural powers
which enabled them to recognize and cure disease.
They were believed to have received their powers from
some supernatural being either as a direct gift or as
the result of instruction by some person who had received
such powers. Although they frequently employed
sleight of hand and other trickery to impress the
uninitiated, many of them believed that they really
possessed the powers attributed to them, and performed
their ceremonies in good faith. In some cases they
combined the functions of a shaman or priest with that
of a healer, and thus exercised great influence over
the people. In most of the populous tribes they were
organized into guilds or societies.

Among the Pawnee, the medicine men ranked [554]
socially next to the chiefs and priests. They usually
wore a distinctive costume consisting of a buffalo robe [292]
with the hair out, a bear's-claw necklace, and a cap of
beaver skin. They also wore charms or amulets consisting 751
of the tail and claws of the wild cat, badger, or 756
bear, bear's ears, miniature pipes, and downy feathers,

[751] attached to a bandoleer of beads or seeds. Instead of
756 the bandoleer a gaming ring containing charms was sometimes worn on the arm. Each medicine man had a bag, generally made from the skin of an animal tanned whole, in which he kept his roots, paints, white clay, and other objects used in working his cures. The latter varied with the individual, but usually consisted of deer tails, the leg bones and claws of eagles, human bones, dried fingers, and very often the maw stone of a buffalo. The last was greatly valued, as it was supposed to contain the life or soul of the buffalo. The medicine men's bags with their contents were usually handed down from father to son, or were given to a newly initiated medicine man by his instructor.

755 The methods used to work cures varied with the nature of the disease and the customs of the medicine man. Diseases of unknown origin and those ascribed to witchcraft could only be treated by some one who could work a counter spell. Such diseases were usually eradicated by sucking a feather, small stone, blood, or some other object from the patient, singing and the shaking of a rattle being part of the performance. The object sucked out was always thrown into the fire and consumed so that the seat or cause of the trouble could not enter again into the patient or into
756 any one else. All medicine men knew more or less of
[278] roots and herbs, which they administered as teas or in powdered form. The pay of the medicine man, which was given him when his services were no longer required, varied with the wealth of the patient. It sometimes consisted of buffalo robes and parfleches of dried meat, but was more often a sack of corn or a few strands of dried, braided pumpkins. He was paid even when he failed to work a cure.

756 The supernatural beings from whom the Pawnee
776 medicine men derived their powers were, for the most part, identified with animals. Not all animals were

753 said he could do nothing more about it and wanted to die. Then he got on his horse and tried to make it ride off the high bank, but the horse shied back. However, the rider was catapulted off into the water and when he came out, he was cured. So he found out the cure for this disease.

751 515 There was a great deal of faith in the virtue of bathing as a preventative and as a cure of disease. "In the old days people used to go and bathe in the creek and take sweat baths and there was no sickness."

751 753 361 Finally, it was thought that living on a high bluff was healthier than living in the lowlands.

> They said that in the old days, there was no disease, for the villages were on top of a high bluff, and sickness follows along the creek. Whenever a sickness seemed to be coming, people would move up on top, for there the air was fresh and sickness would not come up there. It only stayed near the creek.

753 In more recent times it was said that many people died of rheumatism and stomach trouble. But from the Pawnee point of view, natural causation of disease and death was a relatively less important aspect of these
756 basic human problems. The field of the emotions was considered the
[052] major element in the doctor's calling.

However, despite these other factors, when Otter was about twelve
[757] years old the doctors were able to save his life by direct physical therapy.

756 [825] snake doctors, though demonstrations are seldom made in the regular ceremonies. The members claim absolute immunity from rattlesnake bites and complete power over the reptile himself. They will seize any snake they meet and handle it without fear. No wands or instruments are used, nothing but the hands. The writer has frequently observed snakes handled in this way. According to reports they are able to cure all suffering from snake bites.

BLOOD DOCTORS.

There was formerly a group of medicinemen known as kura patu (blood doctors). They were, however, considered as otter men, or an otter society. They seem to have been composed of five groups of dancers, each marching through the camp separately. Women accompanied them, bearing wooden bowls and spoons on their backs. In this manner the five groups proceeded independently to the lodge of the two leaders of the ceremonies where an altar had been prepared. When a group reached the lodge they paused and sang; the leaders on the inside then sang and danced, bearing otterskins in their right hands. After the dance the two leaders came out to receive the guests in their arms.

[789] The chief feature of a ceremony was the shamanistic vomiting of a red liquid like blood. This was collected in bowls and used to paint the bodies and otterskins of those present.

THE IRUSKA.

There was a very powerful medicine society among the Chauí known as the pitararis iruska. However, the Pĭtahauĭrata division was also represented in this society, they having the south side and the Chauí the north. [184] The Skidi had the same ceremony except that they used dog meat in the kettle instead of buffalo. Also, the Skidi did not have the two forms of painting, only one, painted black at the joints. The purpose of the dance was to show the power of the members to extinguish the life in the fire, hence the name. Among the Skidi at least, the term iruska has a symbolic or double meaning. The idea is literally "the fire is in me" and the symbolic meaning is that "I can extinguish the life in the fire," or can overcome the powers of other medicines. The members of the society were doctors for [752] they treated burns.

Originally, the society consisted of leaders of various animal medicine 539 societies. Among the members was one who was not a medicineman until 756 he had a curious experience. The story follows:—

Other important plant foods were the turkey pea, wild plum, wild cherry, Jerusalem artichoke, and the chokecherry. Of these all save the first have been found in the Hill site and have been definitely identified as to species. Others were probably used from time to time, but no record of them has survived, either archeological or documentary. 172* 222 262

Eight species of plants have been found represented at the Hill site.[33] 172* 824

- *Brauneria angustifolia* or *Echinacea angustifolia*.
- Wild plum (*Prunus americana*).
- Flint corn (*Zea mays*).
- Hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*).
- Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*).
- Wild potato (*Apios tuberosa*).
- Bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*).
- *Chenopodium* sp. (apparently *Chenopodium nutalliae*).

To these we may add 10 species as given by Dunbar.[34]

- Wild potato (*Ipomoea pandurata*).
- Wild turnip (*Arisaema triphyllum*).
- Pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*).
- Ground bean (*Apios tuberosa*).
- Cucumber root (*Medeola virginica*).
- Artichoke (*Helianthus doronicoides*).
- Ground plum (*Astragalus caryocarpus*).
- Umbels of milkweed (*Asclepias cornuti*).
- Mushroom (sp. unidentified).
- Sand cherry (sp. not given).

The complete report on botanical specimens from the Hill site, as identified by Dr. Gilmore, is as follows:

No. 1. Five small pieces of the root of *Brauneria angustifolia* (*Echinacea angustifolia*). The root of this was very highly esteemed by the Pawnee and other tribes within its range, for numerous medicinal uses, especially as a remedy for the bite of rattlesnakes. [752]

No. 2. Four pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*). The wild plum was highly valued for food use, and was eaten in considerable quantities fresh and uncooked, and was cooked for sauce. It was also preserved for winter use by drying. [251]

No. 3. Six charred grains of flint corn.

No. 4. A number of pits of hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*). The sugary fruits of hackberry were eaten from hand with pleasure by all, and especially by children. They were also reduced to pulp with a stone hammer, and the resulting paste was used as a flavoring in cooking meat. [263]

No. 5. One pit of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), and four small, spherical insect galls, apparently the galls which were common on the prairie rose (*Rosa pratincola*).

---

[33] From the Hill collection, Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. The specimens were identified by Dr. M. R. Gilmore of the University of Michigan. Letter of Apr. 13, 1931 (see also pl. 2, a-c).

[34] 1880, b, pp. 823–824.

*224 buffalo. They were Mad Bear, White, and Old Man Beaver Tree. While
*484 the camp was moving to Noisy Water, these three men had gone to the
south and west. Mad Bear was sure he saw a Sioux, but White tried to
*224 make light of it. Old Man Beaver Tree thought they had better go and
*484 see. The Sioux scout was about a half a mile away and as they ap-
proached he turned back down the hill. When they got to the top he was
722 riding away far to the west. They made various plans and then decided
648 to cross the creek and as the old man said, "If anything happens, we can
go into the timber." This party ended in disaster as they were surrounded by a Sioux war party and White and Old Man Beaver Tree were killed. Mad Bear and the old man shot point-blank at the approaching enemy, but the old man was struck in the leg and simply sat down in the path and piled his bow and arrow before him to await his fate. Later his body was found by the Pawnees on their way to their encampment. Of himself Mad Bear said,

> I could see the old man sitting there. As I got among the willows along the creek, they shot me in the right shoulder blade. My bow and arrows dropped. I couldn't hold anything. My arm was just swinging. I held my bow and arrows in my left hand. If they had seen it, they would have killed me, but when I got among the willows they thought I was all right. After a while I heard some growling. Then the Pawnees were coming singing. I got up and saw a great many passing by. The Sioux had gone quite a way off.

• [752] They put his arm in a sling when they found him and later managed to heal him.

Old Man Beaver Tree lay dead on the other side of the creek. They
[727] never found White. It was suspected that he had been scalped, and even if he had survived this harrowing experience would have been ashamed to come home, as "he had no hair." He would have to make himself a dugout to live in.

The official scouts had seen these happenings from a distant hill where they were and suspected someone had been killed. When they got to the camp at Noisy Water, the scouts were very discouraged. They said, "We ought to go the other way. It's going to be that way. This time of year the Cheyenne, Arapaho, any tribe, go running around on the warpath." They decided they would move one more camp west and then go back to the north bank of the Republican River (*Kiraruta*). The new camp was a short distance, about seven miles along (Post Hunt Camp 3). The
*224 night before it was decided that the official scouts had done them no
[625] good and the head policeman, Strikes-the-Enemy, appointed three
young men. They climbed a tall hill and all along the valley below they
*[484] saw the buffalo. It was somewhat to the northwest and ten miles or less

it to them. Everyone went to bed early, for next day they would be 244
picking the beans in No Corn's field and this meant another day of 512
back-breaking work.

Sixth day. All during this time young men would go out very early 512
in the morning with their bow and arrows to act as sentinels, watching 726
particularly for the Sioux, who lurked about to attack women going to and from the fields. Victory Call always took along his bow and arrows should there be a surprise attack. The Skidi fields were located northwest of the villages. Going out early in the morning, one could see the boys picketing about on the high bluff to the west. That morning as they looked up at a big hill west of Genoa, they would also see someone stationed, scouting around for the enemy. The night before Mad Bear and another man had made up their minds to do this. Before dawn they climbed the high bluff west of Beaver Creek and sat down and looked toward where they were roasting corn. "Look at that smoke. Afterward, we can get some corn," they said. Their legs were hanging over the bluff. There was a little creek that ran from the southwest into Beaver Creek running parallel with the edge of the bluff where the two men were sitting, and a Sioux had been hiding in a trough and watching them. The two men were talking about the cherries on the side of the bluff and the big yellow plums in the bottom and how they would eat them next day. As they were talking, they heard the Sioux making a noise like a crow.

Later Mad Bear told his story. "I got frightened and I never thought 159
of my bow and arrows. I was transfixed with fear when I saw all of them. 726
But all at once I got over it. The other man didn't get over it. We ran down the bluff to the creek. The other man left his bow and arrows there." Mad Bear continued: "I don't see why the other fellow left me and ran away to get under the brush. The Sioux caught him. As I ran down the bluff, I felt a shot through my back. It came out of my chest, but I got into the water anyway and they let me go. The other fellow had disappeared." We looked in the water for him but couldn't find him. Long after when someone came back to Nebraska, they thought they saw him and he had been scalped and was ashamed to come back.

The Pawnees took Mad Bear over the creek and he was doctored by 752
Heavy-Trophies and Herd-of-Horses. As Mad Bear described it, 726
"The doctor put his mouth against mine and blew some water with some medicine in it into my mouth and made me swallow it. I had been sleepy all along, but this woke me up. Then they gave me some medicine to chew and water to drink and I felt better and never worried about it again. I sent the doctors home." Finally the Pawnees came out and killed a big tall Sioux. His bones remained there a long time

752 afterward. One Sioux was killed and one Pawnee killed or scalped.
726 This is why Mad Bear was known as a brave man, heedless of any
danger to himself, like a boy, a *piraski.*

244 All the time that this struggle was going on, Victory Call, White Woman,
512 and No Corn were in No Corn's field picking beans. Horse Rider had
had to go quite a way to find the horses and when he got back to camp
to saddle them, they had left him a bite of breakfast and then he joined
them in the field. First he inspected the pumpkins and then they all
went around picking up the vines, and when a vine wrapped around a
cornstalk, they had to look all around for the ripe pods. This took until
noon and on the way home they took a swim in the creek. Arriving at
244 camp, they prepared a modest lunch of bread, coffee, and bits of ready-cooked
meat saved in a sack for such purposes—pieces of dried heart,
512 leg muscle, pieces of paunch, fat, etc. They called this *tsuspakahu.* They
262 opened the sack and dumped the pieces of meat on a spread and simply
264 picked up one and ate it with the bread and coffee. Sometimes they
had pulverized dried meat, *tapaharus,* with some bone grease instead of
the meat. They decided to have the same kind of meal in the evening, as
their backs ached from picking the beans. After the meal, the newly
244 picked beans were spread out to dry, and about three in the afternoon
512 White Woman decided that her beans were dry enough to thresh with
251 the long willow stick to get the beans out of the pods. Victory Call wandered
up to the store and Horse Rider either went to the gambling
grounds or just sat on a bluff smoking and looking around. The women
kept working with the beans.

512 That evening, Victory Call came in with supplies from the store for
439 supper: prunes, dry apples and some candy sticks for Otter—a gift of
the trader. People had seen Victory Call coming in while they were at
the gambling grounds watching the game, and they decided to come
over and have some dinner there. War Cry's younger brother, Brave
Shield, and Wants-the-Enemy dropped in for a visit. Some decided to
visit with Misery (*Akapakis*) instead, and White Woman felt slighted because
the youngest brother of War Cry, Leading Fox, had decided to go
there as also had Sun Chief, Victory Call's older son. She scolded Leading
Fox saying, "Why don't you come in. People will think I don't
take care of you." "Well," he said, "the boys wanted me to come with
them." She remarked about Sun Chief to Victory Call who reassured
her saying, "That's nothing. You have to watch girls, but you can't
keep boys home like that."

512 At dinner, Brave Shield mentioned that some of the Kitkehaxki
796 doctors were preparing to go back into the earth lodges to prepare for
the forthcoming doctor dances. Victory Call said that it was a bit too
756 early. It was better to finish the work so that they didn't have all this rub-

45

THE DOCTORS CURE THE BOY OTTER

000

Otter Breaks His Leg—the Doctors Consulted—Their Remedies—the Boy's Instructions for Healing the Wound—Additional Treatments—the Release of the Boy from the Sickness—an Informal Feast—the Gifts to the Doctors

WHEN THE BOY OTTER was about twelve years old, his father Victory Call had died and White Woman was remarried to Shot Arm, who undertook to be a father to the boy. His uncle War Cry continued to take an active interest in his welfare. One fall while they were in the village he was riding on the east road when he fell off the horse and broke the small bone (fibula) of his left leg near the ankle and near the knee. "It all started," he said, "because I had stepped on the ground with that leg where lightning had struck the earth. I thought I was smart!" 752

The leg was very painful throughout the fall and winter, and then in the spring he was thrown off the horse again. In July his parents called in Old-Man-That-Chief to try to cure him. The old man pressed his thumb against the leg and took out a rock and he thought this was the cause of the pain. But gave up trying to treat it as he didn't seem to be able to do any more with it. 752 756

Now while they were out on the summer hunt, the boy stepped into a gopher hole, but he thought nothing further of it. He just went on and caught a bird in the creek and later in the day when he got home he was covered with hives. He felt pretty bad and when his older "brother" Misery asked him what was the matter, he told him that his left leg hurt him. Misery called in Wonderful Old Bull, one of the four leading doctors of the Doctor Lodge, who arrived with four splints tied around with four straps of tanned bison hide that he put around the leg and ankle. But this

752
756
did not help and Wonderful Old Bull gave up, saying that if he continued to try to doctor the boy, he would lose him. So Misery himself tried his own four splints, and because he had power from the deer they were fastened together with tanned deer hide straps. Meanwhile he spoke to the boy of old times and urged him to try to get well. But as soon as the leg would heal, the bone would start coming out again.

Now his uncle, War Cry, took a hand and told his adopted father that Old-Man-Good-Land was a good bone and leg doctor. Good Land was called in on the case and he came with his son-in-law, White Fox, who was his assistant. White Fox came in whistling about and saying, "Clean the room and fix a bed." Good-Land and White Fox sat down next to the boy, one one each side of him, blew some medicine on the leg and tied it up loosely with a clean cloth. When they left, they gave instructions that the boy was to be closely watched so that he did not handle any knives. But the boy had a wooden spool and he wanted to make a little top of it to spin on his hand. War Cry's wife was sitting nearby cutting out a moccasin pattern with a knife and the boy took it against the doctor's orders to make his top.

Now War Cry was considering cutting off the leg, but the boy said he would rather die with his leg than have a short one. He began to get angry and desperate and one day he saw the bone sticking out and he began to pull on it, but it hurt too much and he felt a choking in his throat and so he pushed it back.

When White Fox came back he sniffed about as if he smelled something bad and said something wrong must have happened. The boy confessed about handling the knife against his orders and when they unwrapped the leg it was all swollen. The doctor wanted to leave the case. But War Cry taunted him. Otter was classificatory son to White Fox and War Cry threw it up to him saying, "He's only your son, of course, and if he dies it really doesn't matter!"

Many of the people had gone off on the winter hunt and War Cry urged White Woman and her husband to go along, remaining behind in the village himself to keep the boy warm in the earth lodge and take care of him. When White Fox had gone, Otter confessed to War Cry how he had tried to pull out the bone. War Cry scolded him and accused him of not wanting to get well and of deliberately hindering the doctors. "Well," the boy answered, "My mother and father have gone off on the winter hunt and left me, so they don't care for me anyway." War Cry again scolded him and reminded him of the fact that it was he, War Cry, who had urged Otter's parents to go and that he had elected to stay home just because he wanted to nurse Otter and protect him. He said that the boy ought to get well before his parents got back and surprise them and that then they would be glad.

Next day old doctor Good-Land came in and War Cry told him the

whole story. The old doctor gave him some plants to chew, saying, 752
"You're a man and it won't hurt you. Just take the medicine." Then he 756
told him to turn his head aside and pulled out the bone that was sticking out. He cooked some leaves in water and where the hole was in his left leg, he blew some of the water in. He blew it in again and again and each time he asked his assistant if the water was clear. Finally it was. The old doctor said to the boy, "Young man, your leg will be well in two weeks." Finally the boy did get well except that the leg was somewhat crippled and this distressed his mother, White Woman, very much. Shot Arm mixed some grease with red paint and other medicines and rubbed it well into the leg. In a week or so the leg was better and the boy could walk again. He had suffered a year and a half, falling twice off a horse and stepping into a gopher hole and he had been in danger of having his leg amputated or of losing his life. Now at last he was healed.

For his treatment, Good-Land had been promised a fee of two horses, one from his uncle War Cry and one from his stepfather, Shot Arm, and a quantity of other goods, i.e., three blankets, some squaw cloth to make ladies' dresses, and some red shawls such as were issued by the government at that time. Before he had begun his treatment War Cry had said to the doctor, "If you doctor him, there's a horse over here for you." And Shot Arm said, "If you doctor him, there's also a horse here for you, and some goods." It was a very good fee. One could compare a horse to an automobile in our terms.

One evening the doctor and his assistant announced to War Cry, "Tomorrow sometime I'm going to quit the case. He's all right. He's getting well." As soon as he heard this, War Cry sent one of his wives to call in White Woman and Shot Arm. They would have to have the fee ready for payment next day. But before that, the doctor would release the boy psychologically from his illness. That evening four doctors would come in to sit down at the patient's bed and "sing to set him free." Big Doctor and Pipe Offering, the leaders of the Doctor Lodge were called in to join Good Land and White Fox who had treated the case.

The boy was wrapped in a tent skin and lain crosswise west of the fireplace, his head toward the south and his feet toward the north. The big doctors came in with their gourd rattles and sat at his feet ranged from west to east—Good Land westernmost, White Fox next to him, and then Big Doctor and Pipe Offering. At his head on the south side were his adopted father, Shot Arm, uncle War Cry, and White Woman. Ranged further along the north side were other doctors who had come to witness the ceremony. Good Land addressed Shot Arm, White Woman, and War Cry saying, "The songs that the animals have, these medicine 533
bundles here, the gourd rattles and the eagle-wing fans, are all going to hear their songs through which Otter had been made to get up. Now he is going to get well. It is these songs that we are about to hear that made

752 756 533 him well. Now we're going to start to sing." Together in unison the four doctors sing:

[539]

First song:	Here, here, they got him to get up.
Second song:	They got him up and going about.
Third song:	They (our forefathers) said, that they (the animals) could get him up.
Fourth song:	Now as they, the old doctors said, they have raised him up.

Now they pause and smoke and then take up their gourd rattles and sing again: [539]

1. "When first I came, the bone was broken.
2. "I had to use the eagle wing (*kauk'tu*, "down").
3. "The bone was broken. Just as they told me to do when a bone is broken, one must use soft down feathers.
4. "I call you back now, old doctors of long long ago; when a bone is broken, you can heal it."

They sang three more songs, making eight in all and then they said, "Now we're through."

756 574 Now they would all be entertained at an informal meal prepared by War Cry's youngest wife, Bird Woman. While it was being served, War Cry and his wives took the host's position at the southeast of the lodge, while the others remained in their places. A woman carried one bowl of food to each of the doctors in succession and then to Shot Arm and White Woman at the west, and all the others, and finally the hosts. A little bread and coffee was at last given to the patient himself. While they were eating people told funny stories or recounted some familiar incidents. Then they went home.

The next evening Good-Land entertained the other doctors in his earth lodge at an informal feast upon the completion of his case and the receipt of his fee. A gift of a blanket was made to Big Doctor and a shawl to Pipe Offering by way of compensation for their participation in the previous night's ceremony. Either that morning or earlier in the evening White Woman had come to Good-Land's lodge, leading the two horses, while one of War Cry's wives was carrying the goods. They were greeted by a woman of the house who came outside, and White Woman said simply, "Here are the horses and the goods to pay for his cure" (*iriwirawirata*, "that which he has earned or won"). White Woman and her companion turned around and left and the woman of the house tied up the horses and took the goods inside the lodge and piled it up to the east of the fireplace. When the doctors were assembled, Good-Land addressed

50

OBJECTS OF WOOD FOR THE HOME

OOC

Women Made the Wood Objects for Home Use —Scarcity of Wood—Making the Wooden Bowl, Ladles, Spoons, Mortar, Pestle, Digging Iron, Tent Pegs, Bracket for Hanging Pots over Fire, Tipi Poles

462 WOMEN WERE THE MAIN MANUFACTURERS of objects made of wood. Not
322 only did they gather the fuel and the building materials, but they also
made all the objects of general utility in the household. The men were
directly concerned only with those things that were for their own im-
mediate use—their weapons and their ceremonial objects. In no other
group that I know of, except among the Woodland Indians, are the
women the woodsmen and the woodcrafters to the extent that they were
• [752] among the Pawnees. Like other lumbermen in the world, Pawnee
[761] women would sometimes be killed while felling trees, and a story is told
of a woman responsible for another woman's death in such an accident
who grieved so deeply that she wandered off never to be seen again.

137 In the Pawnee prairie plains country, the only place that trees grow is
462 along the streams, and in the distance one can readily identify the rivers
313 and streams by the green belt of trees that grow along their banks. This
limited distribution of the trees meant that the women often had to travel
considerable distances to get the wood they needed. In 1867 they had to
have military protection. How matters stood earlier is not known. They
[492] also had the advantage of horse transport. The likelihood is that in the
[74] past their dogs had this function and a good deal was packed on their
backs, water-floated, or simply dragged over the country. When women
313 went to the woods they took their pack ropes which they also made into

796
756
272 An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756
273 See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796
[574]
[782]
[184]
•[752]
[726]
241 The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

824
825
171
277 On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372
482
372
280, 290 Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

727
305 Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home

847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair
842 was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could
831 not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should
753 any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names, if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years.
[727 780] As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner. This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after marriage, an individual was given another name by the father. This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath,
553 our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands
159 of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best
538 horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die. After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home. When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

days until his stomach is in order. Then the other four doctors who have 75
sung with the patient are called in and perhaps one or two more, and they speak of the animals and their ways and have a ceremonial smoke and distribute the goods that That-Chief has received in payment. Of the three horses, That-Chief will give one to the owner of the earth lodge where he is living, one he will keep for himself and give one to Horse Finder. The other doctors will note his special generosity, but may explain it merely by the fact that they both have the same bundle powers. Even if they were to suspect, they would not reveal the secrets of their fellow professionals to the lay public.

The Pawnees were thus not immune to the common suspicion that 756
comes to all people in the desperation of sickness, that the doctor is not doing everything possible to cure the patient and that somehow more could have been done if the doctor had willed it.

In view of some of these rather bizarre descriptions, I questioned my 754
informant who was familiar with our methods of gathering evidence and 753
attempting to establish reasonable proof, as to what evidence people had 124
that witchcraft was at the bottom of so much death and sickness among the Pawnees. His reply in substance was that basically they just knew, no proof in our terms being possible. He said: "When men sit around talking, they would talk about these things. They would *know*, but they [521]
couldn't prove it."

Rarely would the Pawnees attribute a death to our type of "natural 761
cause." With old people of little social importance, they wouldn't bother 554
to press the question but with anyone of any social position, people were concerned to place the responsibility for the death on the hostility of someone in the community. It was thought that when the person was dying, the hostile person would appear to them as a witch who was hiding his face so that the dying man had to identify him by his body. The dying man or woman would then recognize and name the person. Then the news would get around but no further action would be taken.

The Pawnees recognized that anxiety and hostility were major causes 753
of disease. From the Pawnee point of view, active witchcraft practices 754
were the culmination of sustained, interpersonal hostility and the con- 578
stant fear of witchcraft represented the anxiety felt in the face of such a threat.

> People got sick to their stomach, or when something stuck them, got blood poisoning, or so the white people call it—but we say, "Someone witched you." Long afterwards if the man recovered, he would be sure to find out who witched him.

The reasoning here being that an important characteristic of his disease —and therefore cause—had been anxiety, and that this could be traced to

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

753 some interpersonal hostility in the community whose source he would invariably
754 find if he searched around for it.

578 The doctor on his part, helped restore a man's confidence while he was
756 sick, by bringing him the friendship of the animals who were entirely
outside the human community and to whom he could turn in his distress.
This motivation can be seen in the vision of the poor boy, Small, whose
position in the human community was threatening and insecure. It was
in a council of the animals that he found justice for himself and understanding
of his need. He also found, however, that some of his newfound
animal friends had temperaments that were prevailingly vicious
like the mole and the weasel, and this was a power from outside that he
could turn against the human community at his desire. The doctor, therefore,
in his knowledge of animals, had a kind of power for evil as well as
756 for good that no one else possessed. "The doctors are all witches. Each
one has a different way to witch as well as their other practices." Whether
754 he used this evil power depended upon the temperament of the doctor.
As cited in connection with old doctor Angry Horse, "He never got
sufficiently angry for that!" and so would never be using this part of his
power, but the people suspected that the majority of the doctors gave
way to temptation at times, particularly the most ambitious ones. The
old doctors were especially suspect, of course.

578 Interpersonal hostility represented a serious threat to the Pawnee
626 community, particularly in its influential members. As there were no
554 formally organized codes of behavior or courts of justice among the
Pawnees, a person had no recourse in the face of personal threat except
the expression of public opinion which was by no means readily forthcoming
and also it was effective only within the existing social power
structure. If possible, self-help was the wisest course. Behaille, in the face
of the hostility of Old Bull toward his admission to the chiefs' council,
used the method both of exposure and at the same time of mollification at
a feast.

571 It was far more vital for the people of the Pawnee community to have
578 a clear estimate of the range of personalities with which they had to deal
829 in their daily lives than it is for those of us who live in larger polities. The
pressures between individuals were far more potent than they are in
626 groups where there is a larger and more complete political structure, for
beyond the known range of personalities among the Pawnees, there was
only the enemy. Interpersonal difficulties might or might not get some
public reaction and beyond that there was no organized social machinery
to which to appeal. In the social order, therefore, the attitudes,
moods and inclinations of the individuals that composed it, were far more
significant for the group well-being than in a larger polity, and people
kept a closer watch on these personality factors than we are accustomed
to doing. They knew where "the trouble spots" were likely to be in

571
terms of interpersonal hostilities and the specific temper of the people 578
involved. Only in these terms can we understand their sensitivity to 829
these hostilities and the prevalent fear of their personal social conse- 626
quences. The "witchcraft" atmosphere was a function of this situation.
The doctors brought to bear the idea that a person could have unfailing 756
personal allies in the animal community. Thus Old-Man-That-Chief in 626
practicing his performance for the next day's session of the Deer Dance, 829
addressed the bundle of chicken-hawk feathers that he was to make come
alive in the ceremony. The bunch of feathers were lying tied up at the
ends which pointed toward the fireplace, with the tips toward That-
Chief. As he smoked he asked the feathers for their help, saying, "I want
you to help me in every way. This is my son and my grandson," who
were to assist him. By him sat his son, Herd-of-Horses, and his grandson,
Might-Be-Chief, and he passed the pipe to them in turn and pointed the
mouthpiece toward the feathers so that they might all smoke together.

Despite these psychological causes, the physical symptoms of illness 753
were correlated by the Pawnees directly with physical objects that had 754
been projected by sleight of hand into the body of the person. It was pre-
sumed that the doctor would hover about at night outside the dwelling of
his intended victim and act as he did in the Doctor Lodge to send the
object into the person. "In the old days people slept with the covers [513]
drawn up over their heads so that should they open their mouths, no
witch could put anything down into them this way."

The different deadly witch-missiles were thought to produce varying
physical symptoms. Uncomfortable and painful "movement" of the [755]
stomach was one important effect, and coughing up or vomiting was
necessary for their cure.

The procedure for preparing such pellets was attested to by Roaming 754
Leader who said that he had inadvertently been an eyewitness to such a
process.

> It was after sundown when one could barely see well and there stood That-Chief with his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, along with White Horse near a grave. They had dug it up and That-Chief was showing White Horse that one gets the tough skin of the heel of the corpse, lets it dry out flat, and then greases it with buffalo fat so that it can slide right in. Then it is wrapped up in buffalo wool and painted all over with red paint and tied up real tight and small with horse hair so that it approximates the size of a large capsule. "Then grease it well once more," he said. Now any time White Horse wanted to kill someone by witching, he knew what to do. He put the capsule in among the feathers of his eagle-wing fan, and while he was moving back and forth at the door after midnight doing his witching, he shook his fan so that the capsule flew through the air and into the victim's mouth.

The course of treatment for That-Chief's pellet which followed a general pattern was as follows: 755

> When the doctor was called in he would say, "You seem to have some kind of cold, but something else may be in your stomach. The doctor makes medicine in a big bucket of water. He tells the patient to drink and see if it can come up. (The witch may be in there while they are doctoring this person. He just sits there with his hand before his face as if he were thinking, but he knows what it is.) The patient has to drink a whole lot before he can throw up. Then when he says he has enough, they tickle his throat with a feather, telling him to stand up. Maybe it doesn't come up yet and the doctor tells him, "Take all the medicine." Then at last the person doubles up and the fragments of the witch-pellet come up. The doctor says, "Look, here, this is it. A bad person gave you this." The doctor will recognize that someone sitting there is the culprit, but he remains loyal to his profession and refrains from exposing his "brother-member of the Doctor Lodge." The doctor says, "Throw it (the poison pellet) into the fire," but the witch suggests they throw it outside where he can retrieve it. Someone who knows better finally induces them to burn it up.
>
> Another method of witchcraft poisoning is to mix some material with the pipe tobacco that is offered to a person to smoke. Big Doctor, in addition to owl claws, had mole and weasel powers which were very bad. He had a tiny pipe that he mixed with the excrement of the ground hog, and when a person smokes this he gets sore on his thighs, back or elsewhere. With his weasel powers, Big Doctor would make a weasel skin drink and when anyone passes that he wants to witch he flicks water on him. The weasel causes the person to have night sweats and get weak. 754

In support of his assertion, in 1936 when we visited the Chicago Museum of Natural History, Mark Evarts showed us that in the bundle of Big Doctor was a package with a very small pipe inside a weasel skin, also a moleskin and a meteor for the warpath.

There were a few attempts at explanation of disease among the Pawnee that were not supernatural. In the old days it was said that people died when they were old because of injuries they had received while they were still young. When they got old, these injuries revived and killed them. Such diseases would be internal injuries from falling off horses (hemorrhage), smallpox, measles, typhus, and dysentery. 753

> An old man got dysentery. It began with a sort of grabbing pains in the legs, then went up and choked you. When his legs began to grab, he

> ● 753 said he could do nothing more about it and wanted to die. Then he got on his horse and tried to make it ride off the high bank, but the horse shied back. However, the rider was catapulted off into the water and when he came out, he was cured. So he found out the cure for this disease.

751 515 There was a great deal of faith in the virtue of bathing as a preventative and as a cure of disease. "In the old days people used to go and bathe in the creek and take sweat baths and there was no sickness."

751 753 361 Finally, it was thought that living on a high bluff was healthier than living in the lowlands.

> They said that in the old days, there was no disease, for the villages were on top of a high bluff, and sickness follows along the creek. Whenever a sickness seemed to be coming, people would move up on top, for there the air was fresh and sickness would not come up there. It only stayed near the creek.

753 In more recent times it was said that many people died of rheumatism and stomach trouble. But from the Pawnee point of view, natural causation of disease and death was a relatively less important aspect of these
756 basic human problems. The field of the emotions was considered the
[052] major element in the doctor's calling.

However, despite these other factors, when Otter was about twelve
[757] years old the doctors were able to save his life by direct physical therapy.

were so qualified. Women were not permitted to smoke at all, though our 276
informant remembers seeing two or three old women smoke, they being [562]
doctors.

Sun Dance. According to the Pawnee belief the sun dance was given 796
to the Plains tribes by the Arikara. In ancient times the Gros Ventre intermarried with them and so first got the ceremony. It may be noted that in the four-pole ceremony (p. 551) and again in the twenty-day ceremony, the bringing in of the tree is in the main identical with the regular sun dance form. The torture feature reached the Pawnee through the Arikara. A member of the young dog society once exchanged rituals with an Arikara sun dancer and for a time this was a part of the dog society ritual (p. 587). There is a report, however, of a very old dance in which they gazed at the sun, but without the torture.

Tiny Bags of Medicine. All regalia of a serious nature and especially 789
objects carried to war were made powerful by the presence of tiny bags of medicine. The contents were vegetable, chiefly roots. Roots were chewed and spit over men to make them brave, virtuous, healthy, etc. In fact, most all powers come through knowledge of the uses of plants.

Tobacco Planting. There was no special ceremony for planting or gathering tobacco. 249
There is a saying that this was unnecessary for since tirawahat gave it to the Pawnee direct, he himself watches over it, so all that is needed is to plant the seed; but that other tribes got it from them or other Indians and so must use the powers of ceremonies to make it grow.

Witches. There may have been a witch society for there is a tale as to 754
how a chief destroyed such an organization. In brief, he watched at his son's grave and first heard cries of owls, then people approaching. As they were uncovering the corpse, he seized one man, the others fled. The prisoner he threatened with death unless he explained all the secrets of the medicine so that he himself could become a member. This was done. The young man had been killed by them partly through jealousy but chiefly to secure fat from his heart to put in their witch bundles. Their chief powers were owls and yellow-hammers. They had killed the young man by magically shooting an owl's claw and a yellow-hammer's feather into his heart. When the chief had learned all the rites and the names of the members, he killed his informant. He cut him open, took the fat and part of the ribs home. The meat he cooked. While it was boiling, he sent for his soldiers and a few trusted men and gave them instructions. Then he sent for the members of the witch society (five or more including a woman) whom he feasted upon the flesh of their associate, but at a signal they were struck down by the soldiers. Their bodies and bundles were burned to put an end to witches.

VI. CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

681 In general the punishment of crime was in the hands of the one aggrieved or of his family.

MURDER

682 The slaying without due provocation of an individual in a personal encounter was avenged by the dead man's relatives, who usually inflicted fatal wounds upon the murderer. If the murderer's family thought that the murder had been committed with just cause they might defend him, in which case a general feud between the two families might ensue. In slaying a murderer, the avenging group made no attempt to employ the same weapon or use it in the same manner as had the murderer. It was enough that he should be killed.
Apparently one of the worst crimes one could commit was causing [754]●
a man's death by shooting a magic "arrow" into his body.

RAPE

684 Occupying a high place among crimes was that of rape, which did not depend upon consent or lack of consent but upon the age of the girl. The offender was generally punished by being cut with knives, pounded with clubs, and then driven from the tribe as an outcast. In cases of rape it was a rule that the family of the accused should not attempt to shield him from punishment.

ADULTERY

A less serious crime was that of adultery, punishment for which was inflicted largely because one had stolen something not belonging to him. It was said: "No matter how brave a man may be, he is not brave when his property (wife) is stolen"; that is, no matter how great his self-restraint and control, spoken of as bravery, he always punished such a crime. Here also there was no attempt on the part of his family or friends to come to his rescue. A severer form of adultery was that in which a man went outside his own village, in which case he might be punished both by the family of the woman in the village where the crime had been committed, and by his own village. He was driven out until he had consecrated many animals, gone on the warpath, taken scalps and offered them to the deities, and waited for the New Fire Ceremony to be held.

THEFT

685 A thief was one who stole from the members of his own band. [The manuscript is not clear as to whether it was considered per-

able or willing to confer power, and there are some 756
indications that all those recognized as guardians were 776
related to one or another of the four supernatural
beings in the west, the messengers of the Evening Star.
It was believed that every man passed at birth under
the influence of some supernatural being. No one
knew who this guardian was, but he would manifest
himself later in the man's career. He was usually
discovered when the man fell sick during childhood.
Medicine men were sent for, and the guardian of the
one who was to be able to make the cure was thereby
shown to be the guardian of the child. If, on reaching
manhood, the boy desired to become a medicine man,
he would seek to acquire powers from his guardian.

The powers conferred by the supernatural beings 756
were of three sorts, power to cure the sick, power to [776]
perform feats of magic, and power of a third sort, [789]
called *pikawiu*, for which there is no equivalent in
English. Of these, the curative power was considered
by far the most important. The ability to perform
feats of magic was simply a tangible evidence that the
medicine man possessed the knowledge which would
enable him to cure the sick. The third sort of power
resembled hypnotism in some of its manifestations.
By it the medicine man was enabled to subjugate the
will of another to his own and to render his patient
passive during ceremonies so that his power could go
to the soul of the patient and remove the evil influence
which was at the root of the disease. The *pikawiu*
power was also likened to an arrow or bullet in its ability
to cut off life. Medicine men could throw this power
into an enemy as one would shoot an arrow, and the
individual attacked in this way was helpless until
some other medicine man, who understood the power,
exercised his magic to draw it out. Among the Pawnee 754
there was a class of men and women, not true medicine
men, who possessed this power and used it for evil

754 purposes. Their guardians were certain animals which
[776] were conceived of as having evil spirits. They were
[565] recruited from the lower classes in the tribe, and were
feared and disliked by the better element. Like the
medicine men, they were organized into a society, but
nothing is known of their ceremonies.

756 The Pawnee medicine men were organized into a
number of societies which were united by certain
secrets which they had in common. In addition to
these secrets, which were known to all medicine men,
but concealed from the rest of the tribe, each society
and even each member had individual secrets. The
oldest of these societies was that of the Pumpkin Vine
village all of whose members were said to have originally
been medicine men. Its members derived their
powers from a number of different guardians. In the
other medicine societies, which were organized at a
later date, all the members derived their powers from
the same guardian. A man might become a medicine
man as the result of a supernatural experience during
which powers were conferred upon him directly by his
[787] guardian. Such experiences were sought through long
continued prayer and fasting. More commonly, when
a man desired to become a medicine man and had determined
his guardian, he applied to some medicine
man who had derived his powers from that being, and
asked for instruction. If the medicine man believed
him to be sincere and was willing to accept the gifts
which he offered in payment, he received him as a pupil
and, at the next meeting of the medicine lodge, took
him into the lodge with him and instructed him. The
lodge sometimes continued in session two months; and
[837] during this time, as part payment, the medicine man
exercised the rights of a husband toward his pupil's
wife. Often a medicine man would have several pupils
whose wives would remain with him in his booth in
the medicine lodge. He might instruct them also if he

among the doctors. The errand men and their assistants received gifts of 756 796
calico. [574]

The Doctor Lodge was one of the most intensive group ceremonies of
the year, extending to all the people. In the three South Bands at this time, 756
each had a similar twenty-day Doctor Ceremony that they referred to 796
as Big-Sleight-of-Hand. Apparently they only lacked the serpent or wa- 184
ter monster of the Skidi, which was the special feature of the federation
of the Skidi villages.

After the Doctor Lodge, the separate animal cults that had been rep- 756
resented there should each have a three-day ceremony of its own—the 796
general one constituting a mandate for this. The ceremonial calendar
was so crowded that it was extremely difficult to find three days when all
the members would be free of other ceremonial involvements. The Bear
and Buffalo cults were large organizations with thirty to forty members,
and there were many overlappings in the personnel.

There was one private cult, however—the Deer Dance—that was en- 796
tirely outside the association. It had been imported a generation before 177
from the kindred Caddoan-speaking Wichita to the south and adapted to 535
the Pawnee ceremonial pattern. It had no obligation to the Doctor As- 578
sociation and was fast presenting a challenge to it for membership. Its
ceremony was held at a time that overlapped the Doctor Lodge, and sometimes members were spirited away from one to the other, causing considerable bitterness between the leaders. The Deer Dance, also known as Whistle Dance from the whistles the dancers blew at frequent intervals, celebrated the maturing of the wild sage and the mescal bean. Rattlesnake power was also part of the cult. The over-all pattern was of a Deer Lodge in the timber. In some ways it represented a quite different system of thought from the Doctor Association, and through it new and important developments might have occurred in Pawnee ceremonial thinking. But before this could be realized, its life was ended by the holocaust that overtook the Pawnee people and their culture and their wild animal world as white contact intensified (see p. 3).

Victory Call was the director of this cult and he was largely responsible
for its growth and success among the people. On his deathbed he [754]
accused his arch rival, Big Doctor, of causing his death through sorcery.

so that he falls over." In this way Small came to know that these two were bad animals and because of what he had learned about them, he was also able to practice sorcery, as well as to cure sickness. 787

Being friends and small boys together, Small gave freely whatever knowledge he had to Old Bull. Small never lived to carry out the mandate of his vision, but Old Bull did. One day while Small was out tending the horses of the man he served, the Sioux came and took all the horses, shooting Small in the abdomen. He begged his sponsor to throw him in the water so that he could be healed through the animal lodge, but his sponsor, who was very angry because of the loss of all his property, refused to do as Small requested. He cared nothing for the poor boy who was his servant, and having disregarded the boy's request, Small died of his wounds. People felt that the man had been short-sighted as well as cruel. If he had allowed the boy to avail himself of his supernatural powers, he would have been cured of his wounds and grown up to go on the warpath and gotten horses for his sponsor. By being mean, people said, the sponsor had lost everything.

Old Bull grew up and became a prominent man with his teachings. He 754 was the son of a chief, as well, and readily got a place in the chiefs' council. There came a time when the chiefs decided to include in their council the official interpreter of the United States Agency, Behaille, who was of Spanish, French, and Pawnee descent. No doubt this was a politic move, but Old Bull was not satisfied. In the council he referred scornfully to Behaille as "the Mexican." Behaille was not unaware of his hostility and opposition. When they went out on the buffalo hunt and arrived near Grand Island, Behaille stopped off at a small town and drank some whisky, which he immediately vomited up. He thought that he recognized what he had brought up, viz., a witch pellet of a bundle of buffalo hair painted red and containing the sole skin of a corpse's foot. He said, "I know who the sorcerer is. It is Old Bull. Throw the pellet in the fire and burn it up so that it can do no further harm." Then Behaille decided on a further course of action:

Next day he asked his wife to make grease bread and coffee and invited several of the chiefs to his house for an informal feast, including Old Bull. When they had all come in, Behaille said, "Now I want you to eat this food. Old Bull, I don't want you to do that again! You tried to witch me and you nearly killed me." Old Bull was ashamed and he just hung his head. As they went out after the feast, people said, "This feast was given because Old Bull witched Behaille. Some fellow would remark, "Well, so Old Bull wanted to witch the Mexican!"

Of course, we don't know how many people he had witched before this, or whether there were any, but now that he was exposed, he

• 754 would never be able to do it again. Everyone knew that Old Bull was a witch and he was ashamed.

754 756 562 The majority of the doctors and the ones that "witched" among the Pawnee were men, but there were also women who had both kinds of power. Most commonly they had gotten these from their husbands and begun to practice after their husbands died. When a doctor had a woman patient, he had to take his wife along to assist him; in this way she was bound to learn. If she had a son or a daughter, should they show an interest in the bundle, she would teach them. 171 754 756 562 Among the Wichitas, along with the men doctors, there were a great many women, some of them also witches. They could make rain and by witchcraft cause the rain to stop. Among the Pawnees, Lone Chief's mother, War Leader Woman (*Tstixkitawi-ra-wa-hu'u*, "woman-give-leader of a warparty-she-distributes them-gives away"), had learned from her husband and it was said that she slept with a rattlesnake under her pillow and could practice witchcraft. In her witchcraft activities she would more or less confine herself to the affairs of women. Sometimes women fought over the boundaries of their land or the stealing of corn and if the quarrel continued over some time and they came to blows, one might be inclined to "witch" the other. But once it happened that Lone Chief was involved in a quarrel and his mother took it over and got into hostility with another woman on account of it. The issue was something about the distribution of horses after a war raid. A man, Frank Leader, felt that Lone Chief's group had obtained an extra horse in the distribution, unjustifiably. Although Frank Leader was not in the party, he was heard to remark that had he been there, Lone Chief would not have gotten away with the horse. This made Lone Chief angry and somehow the women came to discuss it. The issue was taken up between Lone Chief's mother, War Leader Woman, and the mother of Frank Leader, Lady Lucky Leader, and eventually it shifted to the relative social status of the two women. War Leader Woman cited her unimpeachable aristocratic descent, while Frank Leader's mother was heard to assert that it was no better than hers for she had charge of the Evening Star bundle. Word went around in the gossip channels, and finally Frank Leader got sick and died. Everyone was sure that War Leader Woman's witchcraft was the direct cause of his death. Frank Leader's mother began to curse War Leader Woman. She said, "That's the rottenest thing she could do. Even though her son is a great chief, she still practices witchcraft and kills a man." Some felt that since Lone Chief called Leader's mother, *itabi*, sister, and Frank Leader, therefore, *tiwat*, nephew, in view of the close classificatory kinship, this was really disgraceful. Others were saying, "One shouldn't pick a quarrel with Lone Chief's mother. She's a powerful witch'"

The services of witches were never for hire, but sometimes an old 754
man could be induced by one of his close relatives to help him forward
his fortunes by this means. Everyone knew Brave Chief as a poor boy 754
who had raised himself by his own efforts and finally became a chief,
although he had no hereditary status. On his deathbed, Pa-hukata-wa, 622
"Hill-against-the-Bank," a famous chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, 557
had designated him to take his place in the chiefs' council.

For many years before that time, Brave Chief had courted Pahukatawa's favor. He had served him and repeatedly gave him gifts. When he came home from the warpath, he would give his horses right to the chief instead of to his own father. He hoped that the chief would make him his official brave. But there was an obstacle to this. The chief's younger brother, Kills-the-Enemy (*Tiukauxki*) had many times expressed himself as being unfit to be a chief as he had a quick temper and was not gentle and judicious in his ways as would befit a chief. So he continued to hold the post of brave to his older brother, Pahukatawa, and Brave Chief was not able to get the post. His brother, continuing to disavow any interest in becoming chief, was not named to take a place in the chiefs' council by Pahukatawa. Rather Brave Chief was named by Pahukatawa on his death bed.

Not everyone was willing to accept the straightforward explanation of Brave Chief's rise to fame through his own industry and merit. Some attributed it to a well-laid plan involving witchcraft. In this view of the matter it was said that while he was still quite young, Brave Chief was very ambitious, and he made a plan with his old father Meat-Offering, to help him rise to power. The surmise was that he went to his father and proposed to him that it would be a good thing if he could become chief before the old man died, and that anyway people would cite it as a case of a poor boy who had raised himself from poverty and low degree, and never suspect their connivance. And so, the interpretation goes, the old man took out his doctor bundle and witched the chief and presently he got sick. Brave Chief stayed around and waited on him during his illness and finally when he was dying, Brave Chief sat down next to the chief's head. Many men were sitting around to hear the last words of Pahukatawa, among them Old Man Meat Offering, Brave Chief's father. Pahukatawa addressed the assembled company and said, "I want my son, Brave Chief, to have my place." "And so," said one of the partisans of this point of view, "this ambitious man became head chief of the village through his father's witchcraft!"

Suspicion of witchcraft was directed toward people known to be 754
ambitious, envious, or frustrated. It was said of one old doctor, Angry
Horse, that he was such a good man that he probably never used his
witchcraft. "He never got sufficiently angry for that!"

754 837 Sexual affairs were a common cause of suspected witchcraft activity in both men and women. As witchcraft-prone situations, the following were cited:

Bringing Trophies was an old man married to a very young girl and he was very jealous of her. Joe E was an interpreter and had plenty of money and the girl made advances to him, inducing him to buy her some calico. As she sewed her dress, her husband became suspicious after she was unable to tell him how much the material had cost her. He investigated and finally confronted Joe E who told the old man that it was his business to watch his wife. Finally the young woman and Joe E went off together and although the old man came after them with his bow and arrows, they managed to stay hidden in the timber so that he was unable to get them. Finally the girl left her old husband and, after running around a bit, married a solid citizen of the community and had two children and settled down. If he were so inclined, the old man would be expected to direct an attack of witchcraft against Joe E.

[584] Last-Man-in-the-Road (*Hatuxka*) was inclined to go after Pipe Offering's wife. They were all quite old, but Pipe Offering was the oldest. One day while he was sitting on top of the earth lodge he saw his wife coming home with a bucket of water. It was an accepted sign of consent in courtship when a man contrived to meet a woman on her way home from the creek carrying a bucket of water and requested a drink and was given one. The woman was in a position to signify her disinterest by not responding to his request and simply continue on her way. In this case when Last-Man-in-the-Road stopped Pipe Offering's wife and asked her for a drink, she gave it to him. When she got back to her lodge, Pipe Offering who had been watching, asked, "Who were you talking to?" "That was Last-Man-in-the-Road," she said. "What were you saying?" asked the old man. "He wanted a drink and I gave it to him. Nothing wrong. He said it was too hot." "But," said the suspicious husband, "he was on his way to the creek where he could get his own drink." "Oh, that's nothing," answered the wife. Under these circumstances, Pipe Offering might at some time feel impelled to bewitch Last-Man-in-the-Road and cause him to be sick or do him to death through witchcraft.

754 Old-Man-That-Chief was apparently a man who felt he had sufficient power to do whatever he wanted and he brooked no interference with his wishes. It was said of him, "He was a big witch!"

> Once there was an old woman that he wanted. She refused him. So one night at midnight when everyone was asleep, he took his stick, as he was blind, and felt his way over to her lodge. He had his eagle-wing fan and some harmful material that he would "shoot" into her. He stood in front of her lodge waving his buffalo robe back and forth

until someone in the lodge happened to get up and see him. Then he went home. 754

The next day the woman was sick in her stomach or her intestines. *It seemed she had ague.* But the man who had been up the night before said, "I know who witched her. It isn't ague." When she was dying the woman said, "I see him. He has a fan before his face, but I know him. It is That-Chief!"

Many other dark deeds were attributed to That-Chief, as he was the most learned man in the tribe. He was the tribal historian, high priest of the sacred bundles, outstanding elk doctor, and maker of chiefs in the chiefs' council. One situation was rivalry with another old man, Horse Finder (*Huras*), who was called in on a case of illness and then superseded by That-Chief who reversed the original treatment and substituted some of his own. Horse Finder became angry and refused to continue his treatment of the sick man. 754 756 578 [554]

Now each of these two men had to watch himself. Each would keep careful track of the other to see if he were hovering near. He would sleep with the covers over his head in fear that something would be put down his throat by the other one. Even when they just took a walk, they would have to watch carefully. 754 578

The fight was carried right into the Deer Dance. Horse Finder sat at the northwest station and That-Chief at the northeast. After the spectators had gone a private performance was held after midnight. That-Chief asked to be told where Horse Finder was (both men were blind), and then he lit his pipe in the coals of the fireplace and gave it to Horse Finder to smoke. Horse Finder took a couple of puffs and as in the normal course of events, That-Chief tried to take back the pipe, the bowl came off in his hand and the stem stuck between Horse Finder's teeth. Then That-Chief stamped his feet, first one foot and then the other. This was to stir up Horse Finder's stomach. Finally a lot of soft white feathers came out of the end of the pipe stem, and in this way That-Chief knew that he would not be able to harm Horse Finder by projecting a magical pellet of sharp object into his stomach, for the soft feathers he had inside would protect him.

Now Horse Finder got up to retaliate. He stood before That-Chief, stamping twice with each foot in alternation so that he stepped four times, saying "xiᵃ, xiᵃ, xiᵃ, xiᵃ (heeᵃ)," with a grunting tone. Then he said to That-Chief, "What have you been doing to my fish?" Finally everyone could see the tailbones of the fish's skeleton coming out of That-Chief's mouth. Then Horse Finder began to pull it out and the sharp rib bones of the fish cut That-Chief's mouth so that his whole

754 578 mouth and chest were covered with blood by the time he got it all out. Mainly old men were present at this particular session of the Deer Dance.

796 578 As can be seen from this account, the "fighting" in the Deer Dance was not mere formal ceremonial procedure but an expression of real hostilities between the performers. As the people watched, they understood all these interpersonal nuances and the effect of the "fighting" was something more to them than a mere show of sleight of hand, spectacular as this might be in itself at times.

75 Apparently despite their rivalry, the two old doctors, That-Chief and Horse Finder, were not above combining in a fee-splitting venture at the expense of a wealthy patient. Horse Finder would advise That-Chief that he intended to bewitch a Mr. A and that in a few days he would be sick. Mr. A got sick as expected and first his family would call in the most eminent physician they had, Big Doctor, for A was an important man. The messenger sent to get him would promise him horses, clothing, and food in payment if he would cure the patient. The doctor came in and, after hearing the symptoms, pronounced it a serious illness and very difficult to treat. He agreed to try it for two days and if there were no results he would have to leave the case to someone else. Possibly he thinks the fee offered is not generous enough. Another doctor is asked to come in, the family offering one horse, a chief's medal, blankets, and leggings. But apparently the fee is too small for this new man who feels he should get more if he is to treat an important man like Mr. A. Finally someone in the family says, "Why only one horse? After all if he dies we won't have anything!" Thus the fee is raised. The second man comes, but gives up in two days. Meanwhile the two schemers have been sitting there and stay all night with the sick man ostensibly as a friendly gesture. When the second man gives up, in desperation, the sick man's family looks about for help and their attention happens to fall on That-Chief who is right there, and they offer him three horses and a quantity of goods. After considerable maneuvers with the coaching of Horse Finder who has been the original witch, he gives the patient an emetic and there emerges one of the terrible poison pellets, the heelskin of a human corpse wrapped in buffalo wool, painted red, and tied around with horsehair. By this time, however, the parts have separated and the human skin has softened so that it has caused a lot of trouble to the victim. When this successful conclusion has been reached, That-Chief calls in four other doctors to sing and celebrate the cure. They all have a feast at midnight and go to their homes. The next night That-Chief sends his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, to call Horse Finder to his home and they discuss the final stages of the treatment, Horse Finder telling That-Chief that he should instruct the patient to have nothing but blue corn meal mush for a few

days until his stomach is in order. Then the other four doctors who have sung with the patient are called in and perhaps one or two more, and they speak of the animals and their ways and have a ceremonial smoke and distribute the goods that That-Chief has received in payment. Of the three horses, That-Chief will give one to the owner of the earth lodge where he is living, one he will keep for himself and give one to Horse Finder. The other doctors will note his special generosity, but may explain it merely by the fact that they both have the same bundle powers. Even if they were to suspect, they would not reveal the secrets of their fellow professionals to the lay public. 75

The Pawnees were thus not immune to the common suspicion that comes to all people in the desperation of sickness, that the doctor is not doing everything possible to cure the patient and that somehow more could have been done if the doctor had willed it. 756

In view of some of these rather bizarre descriptions, I questioned my informant who was familiar with our methods of gathering evidence and attempting to establish reasonable proof, as to what evidence people had that witchcraft was at the bottom of so much death and sickness among the Pawnees. His reply in substance was that basically they just knew, no proof in our terms being possible. He said: "When men sit around talking, they would talk about these things. They would *know,* but they couldn't prove it." 754 753 124 [521]

Rarely would the Pawnees attribute a death to our type of "natural cause." With old people of little social importance, they wouldn't bother to press the question but with anyone of any social position, people were concerned to place the responsibility for the death on the hostility of someone in the community. It was thought that when the person was dying, the hostile person would appear to them as a witch who was hiding his face so that the dying man had to identify him by his body. The dying man or woman would then recognize and name the person. Then the news would get around but no further action would be taken. 761 554

The Pawnees recognized that anxiety and hostility were major causes of disease. From the Pawnee point of view, active witchcraft practices were the culmination of sustained, interpersonal hostility and the constant fear of witchcraft represented the anxiety felt in the face of such a threat. 753 754 578

> People got sick to their stomach, or when something stuck them, got blood poisoning, or so the white people call it—but we say, "Someone witched you." Long afterwards if the man recovered, he would be sure to find out who witched him.

The reasoning here being that an important characteristic of his disease —and therefore cause—had been anxiety, and that this could be traced to

753 some interpersonal hostility in the community whose source he would in-
• 754 variably find if he searched around for it.

578 The doctor on his part, helped restore a man's confidence while he was
756 sick, by bringing him the friendship of the animals who were entirely outside the human community and to whom he could turn in his distress. This motivation can be seen in the vision of the poor boy, Small, whose position in the human community was threatening and insecure. It was in a council of the animals that he found justice for himself and understanding of his need. He also found, however, that some of his newfound animal friends had temperaments that were prevailingly vicious like the mole and the weasel, and this was a power from outside that he could turn against the human community at his desire. The doctor, therefore, in his knowledge of animals, had a kind of power for evil as well as
756 for good that no one else possessed. "The doctors are all witches. Each
754 one has a different way to witch as well as their other practices." Whether he used this evil power depended upon the temperament of the doctor. As cited in connection with old doctor Angry Horse, "He never got sufficiently angry for that!" and so would never be using this part of his power, but the people suspected that the majority of the doctors gave way to temptation at times, particularly the most ambitious ones. The old doctors were especially suspect, of course.

578 Interpersonal hostility represented a serious threat to the Pawnee
626 community, particularly in its influential members. As there were no
554 formally organized codes of behavior or courts of justice among the Pawnees, a person had no recourse in the face of personal threat except the expression of public opinion which was by no means readily forthcoming and also it was effective only within the existing social power structure. If possible, self-help was the wisest course. Behaille, in the face of the hostility of Old Bull toward his admission to the chiefs' council, used the method both of exposure and at the same time of mollification at a feast.

571 It was far more vital for the people of the Pawnee community to have
578 a clear estimate of the range of personalities with which they had to deal
829 in their daily lives than it is for those of us who live in larger polities. The
626 pressures between individuals were far more potent than they are in groups where there is a larger and more complete political structure, for beyond the known range of personalities among the Pawnees, there was only the enemy. Interpersonal difficulties might or might not get some public reaction and beyond that there was no organized social machinery to which to appeal. In the social order, therefore, the attitudes, moods and inclinations of the individuals that composed it, were far more significant for the group well-being than in a larger polity, and people kept a closer watch on these personality factors than we are accustomed to doing. They knew where "the trouble spots" were likely to be in

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

571

terms of interpersonal hostilities and the specific temper of the people 578
involved. Only in these terms can we understand their sensitivity to 829
these hostilities and the prevalent fear of their personal social conse- 626
quences. The "witchcraft" atmosphere was a function of this situation.
The doctors brought to bear the idea that a person could have unfailing 756
personal allies in the animal community. Thus Old-Man-That-Chief in 626
practicing his performance for the next day's session of the Deer Dance, 829
addressed the bundle of chicken-hawk feathers that he was to make come
alive in the ceremony. The bunch of feathers were lying tied up at the
ends which pointed toward the fireplace, with the tips toward That-
Chief. As he smoked he asked the feathers for their help, saying, "I want
you to help me in every way. This is my son and my grandson," who
were to assist him. By him sat his son, Herd-of-Horses, and his grandson,
Might-Be-Chief, and he passed the pipe to them in turn and pointed the
mouthpiece toward the feathers so that they might all smoke together.

Despite these psychological causes, the physical symptoms of illness 753
were correlated by the Pawnees directly with physical objects that had 754
been projected by sleight of hand into the body of the person. It was pre-
sumed that the doctor would hover about at night outside the dwelling of
his intended victim and act as he did in the Doctor Lodge to send the
object into the person. "In the old days people slept with the covers [513]
drawn up over their heads so that should they open their mouths, no
witch could put anything down into them this way."

The different deadly witch-missiles were thought to produce varying
physical symptoms. Uncomfortable and painful "movement" of the [755]
stomach was one important effect, and coughing up or vomiting was
necessary for their cure.

The procedure for preparing such pellets was attested to by Roaming 754
Leader who said that he had inadvertently been an eyewitness to such a
process.

> It was after sundown when one could barely see well and there stood That-Chief with his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, along with White Horse near a grave. They had dug it up and That-Chief was showing White Horse that one gets the tough skin of the heel of the corpse, lets it dry out flat, and then greases it with buffalo fat so that it can slide right in. Then it is wrapped up in buffalo wool and painted all over with red paint and tied up real tight and small with horse hair so that it approximates the size of a large capsule. "Then grease it well once more," he said. Now any time White Horse wanted to kill someone by witching, he knew what to do. He put the capsule in among the feathers of his eagle-wing fan, and while he was moving back and forth at the door after midnight doing his witching, he shook his fan so that the capsule flew through the air and into the victim's mouth.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

• 754 Roaming Leader was standing right behind Might-Be-Chief he stated, but they were all so engrossed that no one saw him. That-Chief said, "It takes time for the capsule to have an effect. At first it just tickles and the person begins to cough and he thinks he must have eaten a piece of hard meat. Then as the bundle unwraps and the heel skin softens, the person gets very thin and dies, just as if he had tuberculosis. The skin gets rather black as if there were something the matter with the veins."

That-Chief was trading his information for White Horse's knowledge of how to make a bear claw enter a subject. White Horse told That-Chief that all he had to do was to cut it off to about a length of about two inches and grease it well and then it was ready for use.

The bear claw is the worst. When one tries to vomit, it just goes down again. When it enters the body, it begins to scratch in the stomach and the person coughs. Only once in a while could one get the bear claw to come out. If it lay crosswise, then it would never get out, and also if it was near the right side of the stomach. But if the doctor could press the stomach so that it would come up the middle, with the point up and outward, it might come out. When the doctor saw such a case, the patient would say, "It seems to come up, then go down again," and the doctor would know what it was. He would say, "It's a pretty hard case, but I'll try it." If he sees no sign that the claw is in the right position, he knows that the man is doomed to die.

[17] The owl was "the worst witcher." It was especially common among the Wichitas. They are afraid of the owl but they use it. Among the Wichitas even today when they are camped, one can hear cackling and growling and they say this is a witches' meeting off somewhere in the moonlight. Big Doctor was eagle and owl doctor. He used the black owl, sending small owl claws into people's stomachs. They are sharp and no one can get them out of the stomach; they stay right there. When they try to bring them up, they can't come out. They choke a person. Big Doctor would also use a human toenail, which he would cut from himself or from anyone else. Victory Call was killed by Big Doctor through owl claws. He began to cough. As he was dying, Victory Call said he saw a person with an eagle-wing fan before his face and that person was Big Doctor who was the cause of his death.

The basis of this suspicion was the fact that Big Doctor was leader of the old established Doctor Lodge and Victory Call of the newer Deer Dance, which had grown to such proportions under his leadership that it was beginning to threaten the exclusive leadership of the Doctor Lodge and to vie with it for membership. Victory Call probably died in 1868 or 1869.

The course of treatment for That-Chief's pellet which followed a general pattern was as follows: 755

> When the doctor was called in he would say, "You seem to have some kind of cold, but something else may be in your stomach. The doctor makes medicine in a big bucket of water. He tells the patient to drink and see if it can come up. (The witch may be in there while they are doctoring this person. He just sits there with his hand before his face as if he were thinking, but he knows what it is.) The patient has to drink a whole lot before he can throw up. Then when he says he has enough, they tickle his throat with a feather, telling him to stand up. Maybe it doesn't come up yet and the doctor tells him, "Take all the medicine." Then at last the person doubles up and the fragments of the witch-pellet come up. The doctor says, "Look, here, this is it. A bad person gave you this." The doctor will recognize that someone sitting there is the culprit, but he remains loyal to his profession and refrains from exposing his "brother-member of the Doctor Lodge." The doctor says, "Throw it (the poison pellet) into the fire," but the witch suggests they throw it outside where he can retrieve it. Someone who knows better finally induces them to burn it up.
>
> Another method of witchcraft poisoning is to mix some material 754
> with the pipe tobacco that is offered to a person to smoke. Big Doctor, in addition to owl claws, had mole and weasel powers which were very bad. He had a tiny pipe that he mixed with the excrement of the ground hog, and when a person smokes this he gets sore on his thighs, back or elsewhere. With his weasel powers, Big Doctor would make a weasel skin drink and when anyone passes that he wants to witch he flicks water on him. The weasel causes the person to have night sweats and get weak.

In support of his assertion, in 1936 when we visited the Chicago Museum of Natural History, Mark Evarts showed us that in the bundle of Big Doctor was a package with a very small pipe inside a weasel skin, also a moleskin and a meteor for the warpath.

There were a few attempts at explanation of disease among the Pawnee 753
that were not supernatural. In the old days it was said that people died when they were old because of injuries they had received while they were still young. When they got old, these injuries revived and killed them. Such diseases would be internal injuries from falling off horses (hemorrhage), smallpox, measles, typhus, and dysentery.

> An old man got dysentery. It began with a sort of grabbing pains in the legs, then went up and choked you. When his legs began to grab, he

64

POSTSCRIPT INTO THE PRESENT

000

The Modern Pawnee—Otter's Later Life—the Arrival in Oklahoma—the Fate of Otter's Family and Friends—His Marriage—the Modern Day Pawnee Powwow

177
463
SOME MIGHT WONDER how the modern Pawnees came into being, seeing that they are thoroughly integrated citizens of the present United States, many of them living as residents of various urban centers. The Pawnees count among their numbers teachers, artisans, business managers, engineers, journalists, artists, nurses, social workers, professional entertainers, and one former Big League baseball player.

159
761
• 754
Perhaps the fate of some of the principal characters I have mentioned offers a good means of illustrating the process of transition. The boy, Otter, is a good case in point. When he was about seven years old his father, Victory Call, died. He felt he had been bewitched by his anxious rival in the religious field, Big Doctor, leader of the Doctor Association, whose hegemony the success of Victory Call's Deer Dance cult was challenging. In his dying vision, Victory Call saw a man with an eagle-wing fan before his face that he positively identified as Big Doctor.

159
736
[572]
White Woman, Grandma, and the boy were given a home by Uncle War Cry in whose house they settled, taking a subordinate position near its eastern end. The old house was left to the other inhabitants. The boy was warned to break off all relationships with his old friends who might insult him with mention of the fact that he had no father. His mother kept him close to the house. He tried to get acquainted with some of the children nearby, but he found it hard.

159
587
Two years later, Shot Arm, a brave of Lone Chief's Village-across-a-Ridge, came and sued for his mother's hand. Shot Arm approached War Cry and said, "Victory Call was my uncle and he has a son here. He is as my own son and I'd like to raise him." Finally he was told to speak to

159 Lincoln who was the government blacksmith. They invited Shot Arm
591 and the boy to come and live with them. They stayed there for six years
and then Shot Arm's sister, Woman White Star, invited them to come and
live with her. One winter both Shot Arm and the boy were very ill with
a high fever. Fox Chief, his older half brother, came and took the boy to
live with him. From there the boy moved from one house to the other,
sometimes with Misery, then with War Cry and others. Because of his
wandering about, he did not know that his father, Shot Arm, had died.
[754] The relatives suspected that his death was due to witchcraft by a member
of the family of their old rival, Big Doctor. The feeling was so strong
that the agent had an autopsy performed, which showed that Shot Arm
had died of an old gunshot wound that had affected his lungs. But the
[165] Pawnees were not convinced. And neither was Mark Evarts when he told
of it in 1928. During the first five years in Oklahoma, 800 Pawnees died.

159 Otter's old playmates, David Gillingham and the Coons brothers, had
177 gone to Carlisle School in Pennsylvania and they induced him to come
along. After his schooling he worked at harness making in Harrisburg,
Newark, and Philadelphia. He experienced such wonders as climbing
into the arm of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor and playing
baseball for a period with the Cuban Giants, a colored team. While he
was with them in the South, he was questioned by the authorities "about
the grandfather clause." His right hand was permanently broken in baseball,
for in those days they played without benefit of a catcher's mitt. He
was very lonesome and went home. As he says,

> When I got home from Carlisle, I had no home. My older brother, Fox Chief, War Cry, and Misery had all died. It was cold weather and Behaille (the interpreter) met me on the road and took me in his buggy and gave me a swig of whisky. He offered me a home at his house where Brave Chief, Frank Leader, and Peter Wood were living.

159 An older woman in Behaille's house befriended him and established a
relationship with him. Finally the agency took a hand in his life. The
agent said he had made a good record at school and he should settle
down. He was trained as a blacksmith and given a position. At last the
Riding-In family gave him their daughter, Hannah, in marriage and they
set up a farm together and had a daughter. Then Hannah died of tuberculosis
and shortly afterward, at the age of twelve, their daughter followed.
The farm was lost to the bank as the result of a crop failure and
[115] an unpaid loan. This was in 1924. In 1928 this record of old Pawnee life
was made with Mark Evarts' help.

[781] When he returned to Pawnee from the east, Mark Evarts had a severe
emotional crisis and finally an important religious experience. He re-
000 turned home permanently in 1897–1898. The Pawnee version of the re-

844 the midwife, it was said that the child was afraid of her and so hurried and was born before she came. On the other hand, if the birth were delayed and the confined woman in great pain, it was the duty of her relatives to send for one or two other women to assist the midwife. These helped in trying to hasten the birth. If they
755 failed, the medicine-men were called. The latter came into the lodge with gourd rattles and sang their medicine songs. Then they gave medicine to the woman. If it was time for her to give birth, it was thought that delivery would speedily follow; if it was not time, she would at least be relieved.

In delivery the woman usually rested on her knees, leaning forward on a stick brought for that purpose by the midwife. Those of high rank, belonging to the Four-Band village, were always permitted to use a short round stake from the Northeast, or Big
778 Black Meteoric-Star bundle, on which was fastened a buffalo scalp
821 containing a chart of the constellations, and which was supposed to have the effect of making delivery exceedingly easy.

When the child was born, the midwife cut the umbilical cord,
465 using a new knife given her as part of her pay. She rubbed ashes upon the cord until it shrank, then she twisted it around upon the child's navel, and tied a string around it. Contrary to the custom much in vogue among the Plains Indians, the mother retained the cord, wrapping it in a buckskin in a work-box; it was buried with her and never given to the child.

846 The midwife then washed the infant with warm water and dried
854 it with buffalo wool, wrapped it in a blanket, and placed it on a
553 cradleboard. Next she bestowed a name upon the baby and gave it to the mother's relatives. The afterbirth she disposed of in the following manner: placing it on a bunch of grass, and wrapping it in a piece of tanned buffalo-hide, she carried it outside into the woods. There she put it on a tree, saying: "I place this afterbirth upon you, that the animals may not eat it, nor the birds. You stand here firmly; let this child that I have attended grow up without sickness to be a man (or woman)." Next she said to the afterbirth: "I place you securely upon this tree, so that nothing will touch you, and so that you will turn into dust. If the mother who is sick yonder should give birth to another, make the delivery easy." The midwife then returned to the lodge.

After the dried cord broke off from the child's navel, the baby was washed in the little wooden bowl and turned over to the mother. The old woman who had acted as midwife combed and braided the

[751] attached to a bandoleer of beads or seeds. Instead of
756 the bandoleer a gaming ring containing charms was sometimes worn on the arm. Each medicine man had a bag, generally made from the skin of an animal tanned whole, in which he kept his roots, paints, white clay, and other objects used in working his cures. The latter varied with the individual, but usually consisted of deer tails, the leg bones and claws of eagles, human bones, dried fingers, and very often the maw stone of a buffalo. The last was greatly valued, as it was supposed to contain the life or soul of the buffalo. The medicine men's bags with their contents were usually handed down from father to son, or were given to a newly initiated medicine man by his instructor.

755 The methods used to work cures varied with the nature of the disease and the customs of the medicine man. Diseases of unknown origin and those ascribed to witchcraft could only be treated by some one who could work a counter spell. Such diseases were usually eradicated by sucking a feather, small stone, blood, or some other object from the patient, singing and the shaking of a rattle being part of the performance. The object sucked out was always thrown into the fire and consumed so that the seat or cause of the trouble could not enter again into the patient or into
756 any one else. All medicine men knew more or less of
[278] roots and herbs, which they administered as teas or in
powdered form. The pay of the medicine man, which was given him when his services were no longer required, varied with the wealth of the patient. It sometimes consisted of buffalo robes and parfleches of dried meat, but was more often a sack of corn or a few strands of dried, braided pumpkins. He was paid even when he failed to work a cure.

756 The supernatural beings from whom the Pawnee
776 medicine men derived their powers were, for the most part, identified with animals. Not all animals were

brought. She yelled, "Take that away!" "He's all right," said Fox 756
Chief, "You people are foolish." "But he'll bite someone if you set him
free in the village," said his wife. "No, he knows we live here. He'll
go straight off to that rocky place over there." Then he released the
snake and the snake went directly away without disturbing anyone.
And so I lost my chance to learn—by not believing.

This story, told in Oklahoma in 1936, sixty years later, was sincerely
believed.

With this confident knowledge of the herbs and roots connected with 756
it, the doctors did cure the sick, combining what must have been some 755
empirical observation of physical efficacy with personal influence and
suggestion. It was this latter aspect that was the subject of their ceremony [796]
at this time and an affirmation of their faith in their calling.

Last of all they had to get the cedar tree that would stand just outside 756
the Bear Booth to the west of its entrance. The bear and the cedar were 796
associated together, and both belonged to the northeast direction. 824
Their celestial affiliation was with the sun and moon. All the trees that
were used in setting up the Doctor Lodge were brought in with a great
deal of ceremony. The six cottonwood trees that had been used to build [778]
the animal booths symbolized the beaver, and the waters and were consecrated
accordingly. To get the cedar, twenty doctors set out before
sunrise for the Loup River where the cedar tree had been located the day
before. The leader of the party carried a bearhide rattle. [534]

On the return journey, they stopped halfway and practiced hypnotism 756
on one another. The doctors who had remained behind in the lodge would 796
try to prevent the incoming party from entering the village. One of
the doctors was stationed at the top of the lodge to sight them as
they were returning. The incoming party stopped in the timber and
painted themselves so that they could rehearse in order to "put on a good
show for the people of the village." They were sighted approaching
from the southwest by the doctors in the lodge who went south
through the village to meet them as they were about to enter and managed
hypnotically to drive them back. The leader of the incoming party
was sounding his bearhide rattle and the people climbed onto the roofs of
their lodges to watch. The approaching party dropped the cedar, and, in
their hypnotized condition some began to impersonate wolves, some
deer, all imitating the motions of the different animals. As they came, one
of the deer tumbled over, and the wolves tumbled on their noses and
lay there kicking. Then they got up looked around dazed as they recovered
from their trance. People came and threw offerings of calico
and black handkerchiefs on the cedar tree as it lay on the ground.

Inside the lodge, Big Doctor stood ready to receive the cedar tree [824]
which was ceremonially treated and set down east of the fireplace while

571

terms of interpersonal hostilities and the specific temper of the people 578
involved. Only in these terms can we understand their sensitivity to 829
these hostilities and the prevalent fear of their personal social conse- 626
quences. The "witchcraft" atmosphere was a function of this situation.
The doctors brought to bear the idea that a person could have unfailing 756
personal allies in the animal community. Thus Old-Man-That-Chief in 626
practicing his performance for the next day's session of the Deer Dance, 829
addressed the bundle of chicken-hawk feathers that he was to make come alive in the ceremony. The bunch of feathers were lying tied up at the ends which pointed toward the fireplace, with the tips toward That-Chief. As he smoked he asked the feathers for their help, saying, "I want you to help me in every way. This is my son and my grandson," who were to assist him. By him sat his son, Herd-of-Horses, and his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, and he passed the pipe to them in turn and pointed the mouthpiece toward the feathers so that they might all smoke together.

Despite these psychological causes, the physical symptoms of illness 753
were correlated by the Pawnees directly with physical objects that had 754
been projected by sleight of hand into the body of the person. It was presumed that the doctor would hover about at night outside the dwelling of his intended victim and act as he did in the Doctor Lodge to send the
object into the person. "In the old days people slept with the covers [513]
drawn up over their heads so that should they open their mouths, no witch could put anything down into them this way."

The different deadly witch-missiles were thought to produce varying
physical symptoms. Uncomfortable and painful "movement" of the [755]
stomach was one important effect, and coughing up or vomiting was necessary for their cure.

The procedure for preparing such pellets was attested to by Roaming 754
Leader who said that he had inadvertently been an eyewitness to such a process.

> It was after sundown when one could barely see well and there stood That-Chief with his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, along with White Horse near a grave. They had dug it up and That-Chief was showing White Horse that one gets the tough skin of the heel of the corpse, lets it dry out flat, and then greases it with buffalo fat so that it can slide right in. Then it is wrapped up in buffalo wool and painted all over with red paint and tied up real tight and small with horse hair so that it approximates the size of a large capsule. "Then grease it well once more," he said. Now any time White Horse wanted to kill someone by witching, he knew what to do. He put the capsule in among the feathers of his eagle-wing fan, and while he was moving back and forth at the door after midnight doing his witching, he shook his fan so that the capsule flew through the air and into the victim's mouth.

755 The course of treatment for That-Chief's pellet which followed a general pattern was as follows:

> When the doctor was called in he would say, "You seem to have some kind of cold, but something else may be in your stomach. The doctor makes medicine in a big bucket of water. He tells the patient to drink and see if it can come up. (The witch may be in there while they are doctoring this person. He just sits there with his hand before his face as if he were thinking, but he knows what it is.) The patient has to drink a whole lot before he can throw up. Then when he says he has enough, they tickle his throat with a feather, telling him to stand up. Maybe it doesn't come up yet and the doctor tells him, "Take all the medicine." Then at last the person doubles up and the fragments of the witch-pellet come up. The doctor says, "Look, here, this is it. A bad person gave you this." The doctor will recognize that someone sitting there is the culprit, but he remains loyal to his profession and refrains from exposing his "brother-member of the Doctor Lodge." The doctor says, "Throw it (the poison pellet) into the fire," but the witch suggests they throw it outside where he can retrieve it. Someone who knows better finally induces them to burn it up.
>
> 754 Another method of witchcraft poisoning is to mix some material with the pipe tobacco that is offered to a person to smoke. Big Doctor, in addition to owl claws, had mole and weasel powers which were very bad. He had a tiny pipe that he mixed with the excrement of the ground hog, and when a person smokes this he gets sore on his thighs, back or elsewhere. With his weasel powers, Big Doctor would make a weasel skin drink and when anyone passes that he wants to witch he flicks water on him. The weasel causes the person to have night sweats and get weak.

In support of his assertion, in 1936 when we visited the Chicago Museum of Natural History, Mark Evarts showed us that in the bundle of Big Doctor was a package with a very small pipe inside a weasel skin, also a moleskin and a meteor for the warpath.

753 There were a few attempts at explanation of disease among the Pawnee that were not supernatural. In the old days it was said that people died when they were old because of injuries they had received while they were still young. When they got old, these injuries revived and killed them. Such diseases would be internal injuries from falling off horses (hemorrhage), smallpox, measles, typhus, and dysentery.

> An old man got dysentery. It began with a sort of grabbing pains in the legs, then went up and choked you. When his legs began to grab, he

were comfortably settled in homes on individual plots remained 175*
on them and worked them faithfully. Living in houses, they were 648*
soon asking for tables and chairs and bedsteads. Ponies being their 657
chief form of property, the homesteaders would offer ponies for [422]
cooking stoves and culinary implements. Some exchanged ponies
for hogs. A great change was coming into Pawnee life.

The chiefs, priests and medicine men stubbornly opposed the [622
change. Their resistance was strengthened by lax and inefficient
methods of government officials. Agents were political appointees, 756]
subject to the changing winds of political control. In the eight-year
period from 1876 to 1884 seven agents were successively in charge
of the Pawnee. The indications are that often they were lax and
indolent, occasionally viciously dishonest. The great suffering for
lack of adequate provisions in the early years was in part a result
of such maladministration. In 1883 supervision became worse,
when the independent Pawnee agency was merged into a combined
agency for the Ponca, Pawnee and Oto (later to include the Tonkawa),
which was located at Ponca City, many miles from the
Pawnee Reservation. Only one or two days of the week could be
spent with the Pawnee. The agency fell into disrepair, and procrastination
ruled in the affairs of the Pawnee.

On the positive side there were the younger progressive spirits
among the Pawnee themselves, who worked untiringly to persuade
the people to adjust themselves to new conditions. They found
opposition not only in their own ranks, but among white people
in the Territory, who, sympathetic to Indian ideas, urged the Pawnee
here and there to resist allotments.

The Skiri were the most progressive of the four bands. By 1887 175*
a great many families were located on farms distributed all over the 648*
reservation, and a large proportion of these were Skiri. By 1890 177
most of the Skiri lived on their own farms, furnished their houses 621
and dressed like white people, and spoke English in ordinary 657
intercourse. The Tcawi ran them a close second. Of the other
bands, while most were on allotted tracts, there were still many
earth-lodges in evidence, and only those who were being educated
in the schools were dressing and acting like white people. The
Pitahawirat[4] proved most conservative and resisted change longest.

By the close of the decade the chiefs had accepted the inevitable. 175*
They blocked the agent in some minor measures, but for the most 648*
part expressed themselves eager to see the people educated and 657
civilized. Officials were able to report that the tribe was anxious to 177
have an allotting officer come to the reservation to register their
individual tracts and issue certificates: the people were puzzled

---

[4]

Marriage customs were attacked in two ways: legally and ethically. 175*
Toward the close of this period the government program called 648*
for an attempt on the part of officials of the Indian service to insist 657
upon civil marriage under the laws of the United States, to oppose 581
wife-purchase and the marriage of the young girls, to register
civilly the marriages of those living together in accordance with old
customs, and to oppose easy separation and divorce. Since the individual
men and women were becoming possessors of private property
in the form of land, houses, stock and implements, by controlling
the inheritance of estates in terms of the white man's law, and
refusing to recognize "wives" not legally married, the program
began to have an effect. After 1883 missionaries of the Home [797]
Missionary Society and the Methodist Episcopal Church worked
in the tribe, and developed a small congregation of church members.
The missionary influence was brought to bear against the Pawnee
marriage usages from a moral angle. The agent cooperated with
the missionaries in persuading the Pawnee to go through a Christian
marriage ceremony as well as to secure a legal certificate. By 1890
officials claimed in their reports that the Pawnee were regularly
seeking the missionary to perform the marriage ceremony for them:
that by prompt action they had prevented all cases which came to
their attention of "selling girls for ponies": and that while polygyny
had not been stamped out, there were no new cases of a wife being
taken where the man already had a wife. A final claim was that
divorces were unknown, or rare, which is to be doubted.

The dancing, gambling and feasting to which the tribe was 175*
addicted were marked out as dissipations contributing to indolence. 648*
and the agent by the most active measures at his command attempted 657
to prevent social gatherings for such purposes as much as possible. 796
In June 1891 the agent was surprised that the tribe assembled for
a dance (probably a ceremony): he ordered it stopped at once and
told the people to go to their homes and attend to their work. He
could not however enforce his commands, and while some did go.
most remained and carried out the dance. Such social affairs kept
the people away from their farms for long periods, and the crops
were neglected. In the old days the Pawnee methods of cultivation [805
were adjusted to their calendric rituals, and by June, when the
time for the hunt and summer ceremonies came, the crops were 221]
"laid by": the tribe was not yet adjusted to intensive cultivation,
involving constant care.

The conflict with the Pawnee medicine men was long and diffi- 175*
cult. The government was determined to destroy their power 648*
over the people, and to persuade the Pawnee to depend on the 657
756

*175 agency physician. Unfortunately, except in a small part of the
*648 cases, the physician was notoriously unsuccessful in combating the
diseases which were decimating the tribe; certainly he seemed no
657 more successful than the native medicine man. The physician's
756 services, paid for by government salary, were free to the people
who sought his aid, while the native medicine man was paid in property by the patients he cured. Considering the medicine men charlatans and fakers, who deceived and befuddled the people, the officials regarded the customary compensation as extortion. But in spite of official antagonism the tribe was not drawn altogether
[796] away from their doctors; the Doctor Dances continued to be demonstrated, constituting practically the only major religious ceremonies which were demonstrated; and as late as 1888 an agent reported that the Pawnee "still have more confidence in their medicine men than the Queen of England has in McKenzie."

*175 From a material standpoint, the close of this period found the
*648 Pawnee in a condition of partial adjustment to the new order, and
relative prosperity. Most of the people were scattered on their
657 farms, and doing well; they were accumulating stock around them. Between their government funds and their produce the tribe was practically self-sustaining.

In 1890 Grinnell described conditions upon the reservation: "As we came in sight of Black Bear Creek, I was surprised to see what looked like good farm houses dotting the distant bottom. ...Most well-to-do...Pawnees live in houses as good as those of many a New England land owner, and...better than those inhabited by new settlers in the farther West. Many...have considerable farms under fence, a barn, a garden in which vegetables are raised, and a peach orchard... By far the greater number wear civilized clothing, ride in wagons, and send their children to the agency school...[1]"

If their material life was at last approaching peace and security for the handful of Pawnee (759 in 1892) who had survived the long history of disasters, plagues and abuse, to what are we to attribute the revulsion against conditions which expressed itself in 1892 in the Ghost Dance? Before considering this aspect of the history of Pawnee acculturation, which will concern us in the next chapter, let us turn briefly to a recapitulation of the status of Pawnee culture in 1892.

---

[1] Grinnell, Pawnee Hero-Stories and Folk-Tales, pp. 400—401.

668
787 doing in the beyond meant not alone to put aside the alien customs
of European culture, but actively to take up again the native
796 ways of the Indian. The Pawnee turned back to the past for values
and satisfactions lacking in the present.

178 The revival of Pawnee culture which began to materialize in the years of the Ghost Dance went back for its material primarily to three sources in the old culture: the bundles and bundle rituals, the societies, and the games. The general attempt to resuscitate the aboriginal forms, supplemented and fortified by the inspirations and mandates of the visions, resulted in three types of cultural rebirth. The activities of old ceremony, performance and play were fostered; the paraphernalia were put in order, renewed, and recreated; and concepts from the old context were enshrined in symbols and facsimiles which were carried in the dance and integrated in new cultural forms.

BUNDLES AND BUNDLE RITUALS

778 The principal bundles of the Pawnee in aboriginal times were
796 the sacred bundles,[1] often spoken of as village or band bundles,
and the medicine men's bundles. The former were predominantly
178 concerned with cosmological powers and references; the latter with
the animate forms of the earth, the waters and the air (animals
and trees, fish and water-creatures, birds). By 1892 sacred bundle
● ritual demonstrations had practically ceased; of the medicine
[756] men's ceremonies, the great doctor performances of the fall had
ceased in 1878, but the Doctor Dances of the spring and summer
continued at irregular intervals, and such medicine men's ceremonies
as the Buffalo Dance were also carried out on occasion,
while the Bear Dance had died out. Resuscitation of the old bundle
[764] rituals was the most difficult problem of revival and could not be
fully met; a good part of the sacred rituals and paraphernalia had
been buried in the grave with their final priests. There were two
modes or types of occasion on which bundles were opened in aboriginal
times: to demonstrate the ritual, and to renew or repair the
bundle parts and contents. There is little evidence that the Pawnee
succeeded in actively rehabilitating the ceremonies of the sacred
bundles, but they did succeed in reconstructing the medicine men's

---

[1] I avoid any attempt to here catalog or describe the many bundles of the four Pawnee bands, which would of necessity be lengthy and for the most part irrelevant. The interested reader may consult Murie, Societies, pp. 549—556.

of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost 668
Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult 787
to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the 178
way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed 182
in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or ceremony was no longer officially in existence: those who had known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine 796
men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear 756
Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this 178
century, it was the revived form which was studied and recorded. The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirat[2], the main [764]
bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were 796
buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any 756
one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society was lost. At a 787
meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a 178
woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said, "I had

---

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. [114]
Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based on work with present-day informants.

The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat" band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation: in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

178
796 a vision. I saw Bear Chief wearing the bear robe over his shoulders
756 and the bear claw neckpiece around his neck. He was painted with
787 yellow earthen clay, and had black streaks from each eye down the
face. He said, 'My sister, Father (bear) and Mother (cedar-tree) have not had any smoke for many years. We (dead people) are watching for our people to have the ceremony. The people think the ceremony is lost. It is not, for one of the Bear men who knows the ceremony is still with you. I ask that you tell the people so that they can have the ceremony, for it is time.' I woke up and the last few days have been crying to think that I should be the one to tell you. I have a cow which you can have so you can have the ceremony."[1]

178 "The leaders of the Bear ceremony each in their turn arose, went
to the woman and blessed her... They said, 'My sister, this is
756 very hard. None of us know the ceremony, but Father (bear) and
796 Mother (cedar-tree) will plan a way themselves so we can have the
ceremony...

"Some days later the members of the Bear society met and compared their knowledge of the ceremony. When all had spoken a man named Big Star... questioned the others as to their knowledge of the ceremony. He found that none in the meeting knew the ceremony. So he said, 'Brothers, this is hard. You see I am paralyzed, and I could not sit and carry the ceremony out. If you will all agree I will try it. Before we do anything we must select men to be the leaders. You and I know that there are some men here who are descendants of deceased men who were leaders in the Bear Society...' So he selected... Little Warchief... Little Sun...., Good Buffalo...., and Roaming Chief..."

(These men were then ceremonially inducted into office. Big Star then seated himself with these leaders at the altar, and made arrangements to collect among the people the ceremonial utensils, etc. for a set of things needed to carry out the ceremony).

"When all the others had gone out, Big Star told the four men to watch as he carried on the ceremony, that he would carry on the ceremony for them. He also told that Tirawahat^{a} had planned through the woman for them to have the ceremony, so he was
178 willing to carry the ceremony on for them without pay; that in
756 olden times men paid to learn the secrets of the Bear ceremony,
796 especially in going after Mother Cedar-tree; that he himself did not
424 purchase the right to carry the ceremony on, but that Bear Chief
who was the last man to know the ceremony had given him the

---

[1] Indicating that the one whose vision caused the revival felt obligated at the same time to put up the ceremony.

right to sit near him and watch; that Bear Chief took pity on him 178
and taught him the ceremony and songs without pay. He then 756
told them to go to their homes, that on the morrow when they
entered the lodge each one was to take his seat. They were then 796
dismissed with the exception of Little Warchief. [424]

"When they were alone Big Star questioned Little Warchief about the songs and asked if he knew them. Little Warchief said, 'Yes, I know the songs.' Big Star was glad of this for although he could carry on the ceremony, he was afraid that he would not be able to sing the cedar-tree songs."

(Later at the preliminary feast to set the date of the ceremony). "when all were in, Big Star said, 'You, who are sitting at the altar and those of you at the stations, old men and chiefs. Today we sit in this lodge as men of the Bear Society. We are gathered together here, through Woman Yellow Corn, who had a vision of one of our departed relatives, who asked that we have this ceremony, that Father and Mother might receive our smoke..."

The medicine men's activities which had not ceased, such as the Doctor Dances and the Buffalo Dance, took a new lease on life as a result of the Ghost Dance impetus. The people attended and participated enthusiastically, and young men began again to learn the doctors' ways.

It is probable that reconstructions of sacred bundle ceremonies 178
were attempted, but we have unfortunately no record. The main 778
effort of revival, as regards the sacred bundles, was directed toward 793
bringing to the attention of the people the bundles still in the possession of the Pawnee, (viz., neither buried nor sold), and to open these in order to renew the contents. I do not know with how many bundles this was attempted. The procedure of renewal was also ritually and physically difficult. In the old days the main priests took charge, and the necessary materials were made available in advance. In Oklahoma neither priests nor materials were available. Mark Evarts described for me the events which took place in 1903 when an attempt was made to renew the tuhutsaku or Left-handed bundle. I quote a few passages:

Frank Leader was the main priest, assisted by Running Scout, Goodeagle, Knifechief (the elder), and John Box. When the bundle was lying open on the altar, Leader spoke:

"Now what you see here, it's a long time since we opened it. Now this here sweet grass," (picking it up), "it's been here a long time. That's what they used to light pipes many years ago. Now these things before me that I have, God put them before us. What

---

[1] Referring to the Ghost Dance prophecy of a coming change.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

175 was a constant fall of the population. From 797 at the time of the
allotments in severalty the Pawnee were reduced to 633 in 1904.
511 The decrease was steady. The diseases which had persisted in the
161 tribe continued to take their toll during these years. Doctors
ascribed failure to control them to their inheritability, to the
conditions of continual exposure incident to camp life and continual
dancing, and to the pernicious influence and control of the
● [256] Pawnee medicine men who as a result of the Ghost Dance revival
had regained their status with the people.

175 The Pawnee not only did not have to work to live, but were in
461 a position to pay white men to do their necessary work for them.
They paid high prices, and their money went as fast as it came.
178 Their funds were augmented from time to time by the sale of
inherited allotment lands.

The conditions of idleness only served to reinforce the revival
of the old cultural forms. The Pawnee disliked isolation most of
all, and gladly leased their scattered allotments, coming together
for a continual round of Ghost Dances, performances, games, and
hand game ceremonies. Stripped of their last vestige of responsibility,
with no activities that were meaningful or satisfying save
these old and new forms of Indian life, they turned to these with
a kind of desperation. The experiences of these years, even while
[762] the Ghost Dance brought some hope into their lives, caused a
number of young men to commit suicide. Eight suicides were
recorded in the period from 1892 to 1898. They were reported as
occasioned by slight causes, and were traced to the "pernicious
influence of the Ghost Dance."

The indolence of the Pawnee became such that in the early years of the century the officials and missionaries began to plead for a change of program. They held that the only solution possible was to throw the Indians on their own resources entirely. Some agents developed the suggestion that at least those Pawnee men who could manage their own affairs should be allowed to lease their own lands and receive the payments themselves. This movement to take away entirely the guidance and control of the agency resulted later (after 1916) in issuing many titles in fee simple to Indians, often without their consent.

Under these conditions, at the turn of the century, the cultural revival of the Pawnee was doomed. It could not take roots in any soil: it was based on no firm way of life. It gradually passed, leaving the Indians still with an empty life, living off the funds which came from the government, and the payments of white far-

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

● 756 The medicine men claimed to have received their power from supernatural sources and were organized into numerous societies. Linton states that "The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight-of-hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers attributed to them."[10]

771 According to Miss Fletcher their "religious ceremonies were con-
nected with the cosmic forces and the heavenly bodies. The domi-
[776 nating power was Tirawa, generally spoken of as 'father.' The
heavenly bodies, the winds, thunder, lightning, and rain were his
821] messengers. . . . The mythology of the Pawnee is remarkably
rich in symbolism and poetic fancy, and their religious system is
elaborate and cogent. The secret societies, of which there were
[575] several in each tribe, were connected with the belief in supernatural
animals. The functions of these societies were to call the game, to
heal diseases, and to give occult powers. Their rites were elaborate
[821] and their ceremonies dramatic."[11] Next in power to Tirawa was
776 Evening Star, regarded as a woman, and below her was Morning
Star, a warrior who drove the other stars before him across the sky.
[773] The child of these two deities was the first human being. In the west,
Evening Star had a beautiful garden with fields of ripening corn and
many buffalo, and from this garden sprang all the streams of life.

[823] Next in rank to Evening Star and Morning Star were the gods
of the four world-quarters who supported the heavens and who
stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, these
being the sacred directions of the Pawnee. Dorsey states that
"next to these gods in rank are the three gods of the north, supreme
among whom is the North-Star, Karariwari (One-who-does-not-
[821] move). Associated with him are Hutukawahar (Wind-ready-to-
give) and Hikus (Breath). The North-Star is . . . symbolic of
the chief . . . while his assistants, equally beneficent, sent the
buffalo and the breath of life."[12] Below these in turn were Sun and
Moon, from whose union sprang the second human being on the
[773] earth. This daughter, marrying the son of Morning Star and
Evening Star, produced the human race.

The lesser gods of the heavens included Star of the South and Big-black-meteoric-star, who was the god of the medicine men. There were also earth gods organized into four lodges, each with its leaders and messengers, these gods being the special patrons of warriors and medicine men.

---

[10] Linton, Ralph. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men, Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 8, Chicago, 1923, pp. 19, 20.

[11] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

[12] Dorsey, op. cit., p. xii.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

756

796

The medicinemen of the Pawnee were members of several permanent organizations. Once a year, late in the summer, each tribal division held a grand medicine ceremony lasting twenty days or more which though in many respects a tribal affair had a permanent organization. Its leaders were assumed to be the grand masters of shamanism and to know the secrets of all other societies. At another time during the season the doctor's dance is held, a general one-day ceremony for which there is also an organization. Independent of these ceremonies were a number of societies composed of one or two great medicinemen, a few students and a considerable number of attached members who took part in the dancing, but were not otherwise acquainted with the secrets. These organizations usually held ceremonies twice a year, early in the spring and late in the autumn. These were ritualistic ceremonies, the underlying conception of which seems to be the purification and the renewing of the powers resident in the sacred objects belonging to their craft. The Skidi maintained two large earth-lodges, one in the east and one in the west for these ceremonies and it is these lodges that were popularly known as the grand medicine lodges. The one in the west seems to have been the original lodge and the one most often used.

At the sound of the first thunder in spring, the members of the medicine societies like the keepers of bundles, take out all their regalia and implements, purify them in a smudge of sweetgrass and perform a prescribed ceremony. The next day the regular ceremony begins. The altar in the medicine lodge is prepared and in front of it are set up the two sacred loons, facing east. Two wooden bowls are filled with blue earth and soot, with which the members paint. As in other ceremonies, the seats are in two sides, with the leaders and all other officers paired. Each side has a buffalo rawhide to beat upon and about a dozen gourd rattles are at hand for the use of the dancers. There are also two water drums.

The first ceremonies are dances to the mythical water monster. The leader for the north side opens, then the leader for the south, and so on in turn around the circle. As this proceeds, people may enter and make offerings of property to the loons at the altar and also make presents to individual dancers.

Then the regular Pawnee smoke offering is made. Each medicineman then in turn brings a filled pipe to the altar and makes the offering. A herald then goes out and invites all who had given presents (only men who

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

have consecrated buffalo or performed certain deeds can smoke at any time) to come with their pipes. All who wish, enter in turn and offer their pipes. As these offering ceremonies are in reality prayers, this is regarded as the best time to plead for success in all things and this is also the motive in bringing in property and presents. 756 796

Another period of singing and dancing closes the ceremony, after which the medicinemen divide the presents. Kettles of corn are brought in and the bowls for the feast. The leaders fill the bowls for their sides and make a special offering before the bowls are passed. Meat is then brought in and handled in a similar manner.

A somewhat similar ceremony is held in the autumn but this time in a circular shelter of green boughs suggesting the sun dance enclosure of the Dakota.

While the medicinemen's societies were not recognized as such in the twenty-day ceremony, they were sure to have among their members famous medicinemen who would set up their booths in the lodge. Usually one of these was the leader of a society and around him the members would gather and assist in staging his tricks. The members of a society were really students from whose ranks the leading places were filled in times of need.

MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

[184]

	Skidi	Chaui	Pitahauirata	Kit'kahaxki	Squash Vine
Twenty-day Ceremony (tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand)	×	×	×	×	×
Doctor Dance (kurau)	×	×	×	×	–
Bear Society (pitararis kuruks)	×	×	×	×	–
Buffalo Doctors (kura taraha)	×	×	–	–	–
Deer Society (raris ta)	×	×	×	×	–
Blood Doctors (kura patu)	×	–	–	–	–
Iruska Society (pitararis iruska)	×	–	×	–	–
One Horn Dance (raris arika)	×	×	×	×	×

THE TWENTY-DAY CEREMONY.

Once a year, late in the summer, each division had a grand medicine ceremony. This lasted from twenty to thirty days and was an intense

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

affair. This is not the time to go into a detailed account of it, but the fol- 756 lowing general sketch of the procedure seems necessary.

796 The native name for the ceremony is tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand, but we shall for convenience speak of it as the twenty-day ceremony, as in fact it is often called by the Pawnee themselves. It is found among all the divisions, but seems to have originated with the Squash Vine village, to whose medicinemen alone certain parts of the ritual were known. From the originators it passed to the Skidi and then to the other divisions. The twenty-day ceremony proper is given in the early autumn after all the bundle ceremonies have been performed, the corn harvested, etc. At the proper time the lodge is cleared and the altar arranged as before. After certain preliminary ceremonies, it is in order for each medicineman to build a booth [343] of green willows in the lodge. They proceed ceremonially to a thicket where each gathers his willows, with which they march back and then construct their booths.

It may be stated that each medicineman sets up a booth for himself, but if he has attached to him one or more younger men in the capacity of students, these assist. Each booth, therefore, really represents a group of men. Further, all the people of the village to which a given medicineman belongs may at times enter, take seats around the booth, and offer assistance. In this way the whole people may be said to participate.

Among the Skidi there is a special feature since they are not content with 184 merely dancing to the mythical water monster, but construct his image 532 encircling the fireplace. In this all the medicinemen's groups take shares. 756 The head is begun on the south side of the door. The mouth is open, with 778 teeth of willow. The head is covered with buffalo skin. There are two 796 long "feelers" decorated with bands of bright colors. On the crown of the head is a large erect plume of down feathers. The body of the monster is formed of bowed willows, plastered over with mud. The tail is at the north side of the door and is forked like that of a fish.

The fireplace is cleared out and a large turtle modeled there, his head toward the altar. A new fireplace is then made on his back. While the water monster was peculiar to the Skidi the following were found among all divisions. A tree was cut and brought in with a ceremony almost identical with that found in the sun dances of other tribes. The Skidi plant the tree (a cedar) in the forked tail of the monster, the others put it (a cottonwood) at the altar. A life-sized woman is built up of clay, dressed in regular costume and set up on the south side of the lodge. A large figure of a man is cut from rawhide and placed upon a pole above the lodge. Numerous small human figures are cut from rawhide, strung upon cords and stretched about overhead in the lodge. All these objects are highly symbolic: thus, the fire

is the sun; the mud woman, the moon; the large rawhide image, the morn- 184
ingstar; the many small images, stars. 532

All this construction was part of the ritual and so controlled by a definite 756 778
program. When everything was in place, a general dedication ceremony 796
followed in connection with which is a spectacular march through the village
in two lines, according to their sides. In front, two men carry the sacred 756
animals from the altar, dancing. (For the Skidi, two loons are used, for 796
the other divisions, two beavers.) All medicinemen are supposed to derive
their powers from living creatures and their booths are spoken of as animal
lodges. In this procession each man costumes himself so as to represent
his animal mentor, often in very realistic fashion. There were also a few [522]
clowns dressed like wolves.

After the tour of the village, the procession enters the lodge and holds a secret ceremony upon which we have no data. Those on the outside hear a great uproar and a riot of hideous noises, while clouds of white dust rise from the smoke hole. When all is quiet again, the door is opened. The leader then performs a ceremony in which he sprinkles water about to consecrate the lodge.

It is then in order for the various medicinemen to demonstrate their animal powers. This is the time when remarkable feats of juggling were performed; thus it is told that stalks of corn were made to grow up and mature in a moment, likewise plums and cherries, the bear men tore out a man's liver and ate it, after which he rose unharmed, and so on, in bewildering variety.

Finally, a certain number of days were given to ceremonial visits to the sacred bundles, each in turn, where certain ceremonies were performed.

At the end the animal powers and images are taken down and carried to a stream or lake. Here they are heaped up in the water something like a beaver's house and the mud woman placed on top.[1]

Places or booths in this ceremony were assigned by the leaders. A man having set himself up as a medicineman would apply for a place. He would be assigned one provisionally and at the proper time called upon to demonstrate; if he failed to carry his trick through successfully he was ejected, but otherwise given a permanent seat. As may be anticipated from the foregoing, medicinemen were trained and not made suddenly through dreams or visions. It is true that such experience counted for much, but the usual way to become a medicineman was to succeed one's teacher at his death. Thus, it is cleat that the seats in the twenty-day ceremony were practically fixed in form and number.

---

[1] It may be significant that the animal painted tipis of the Blackfoot and Dakota were always disposed of by sinking in water and that many ceremonial objects among the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan were similarly treated.— Ed. [171]

4: Murie I-5 (~~no~~ date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE BEAR SOCIETY.

756 Among the very highest of shamans and doctors were the bear men.
Among their regalia were four bearskins, a grizzly, cinnamon, the large
black bear, and the small black bear. There were also four bear-claw necklaces.
[301] Eight rawhide rattles were used. Preparatory to a ceremony two
piles of cedar brush were placed in the lodge, one for each side. When the
members have assembled a sprig is given to each, set up before his seat, and
carried in the dance. The sprig is carried home, the leaves stripped and the
wood cast into the fire. The leaves are placed in a bag and used for ceremonial
[789] smudges; thus if a thunderstorm threatens, a smudge is made to
protect the lodge.

When called to a ceremony, the members enter, take their seats and place
[302] their professional bundles in front. Then they paint. One set of men
paints red, one white, and another a kind of pink. All make black eye marks,
a diagonal line from the inner corner of the eye down across the cheek. If
feathers are worn in the hair, they are of the same color as the face.

When all are ready, the leader designates two men from each side, to
wear the bearskins. These were worn merely as robes, the head on one side,
the tail on the other. Sometimes two small boys are selected to dance with
[53] very small bearskins. Four water drums are used; these are passed, or
moved around the circle at intervals. While the songs are rendered, the
members dance around the fireplace and during the intervals walk around
the fire, or mill like bears.

At the feast which follows the kettle of corn is brought in and as in all
ceremonies is set upon the median line of the lodge between the door and
the fire. (Fig. 4). Eight bowls are placed around it in a circle, those in
[264] the north half going to that side in order, etc. After the corn is served, the
kettle of meat is brought in and served in a similar manner. Thus each side
eats in four groups. No one is permitted to use a knife while eating. After
the feast each makes up his bundle and departs.

While all the divisions seem to have had a bear society, its full ritual was in the keeping of the Skidi organization.

BUFFALO DOCTORS.

Another important society found among the Skidi and Chaui is known as
[778] kura taraha, buffalo doctors. On their altar is a buffalo skull, one half
white, one half red; also a wand with seven eagle feathers, at the top a tiny
bag of native tobacco and four strings of blue beads hanging down. The

dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in 756
their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry
rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow [534]
mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes. [386]

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws.
The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the [293]
lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in [778]
black. There were no feathers or other decorations.

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished
old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature [888]
of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times.

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

THE DEER SOCIETY.

The raris ta, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual 276
seems to be in keeping of the Skidi organizations. The fundamental ele- 756
ments of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer (ta), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamental is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls unconscious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed jaw of a gar fish; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once for all.

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may
be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the [789]
leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced

756 are placed in a pile and later given to the donor of the blanket. Other shamanistic feats may occur, but seem to be individual and entirely optional.

[276] As in other societies of this class the members bring their professional bundles to the ceremony and display their contents. The regalia peculiar to the society are large whistles, to symbolize the elk, and foxskins carried by the neck when dancing. A few members wear braided buffalo hide ropes into which feathers are woven and some carry wings of birds.

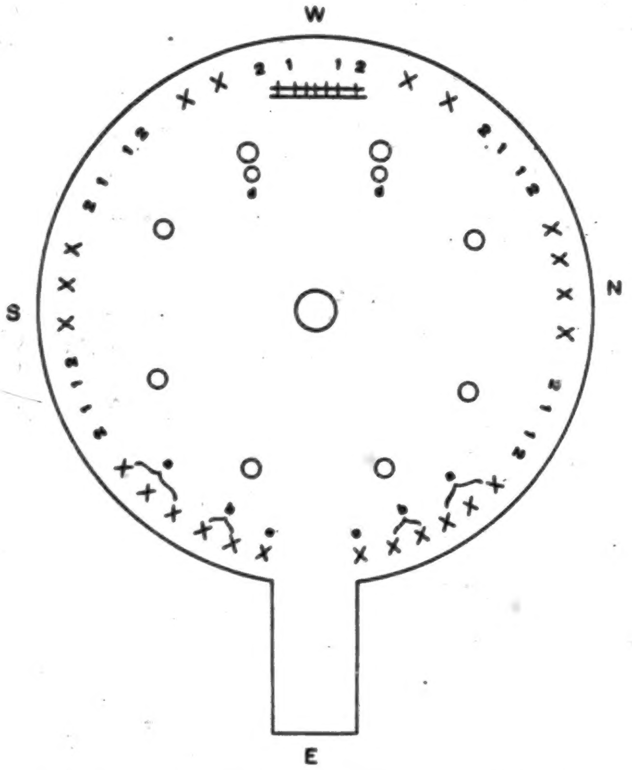


Fig. 16. Diagram of the Buffalo Doctors' Ceremony: a, Chiefs; b, old men; c, errand men; d, place of the drums when not in use. The leaders of the ceremony sit at the west but on each side are two pairs of alternate leaders to whom the drums are shifted as the ritual requires.

The order of seating is shown in Fig. 17. It differs slightly from the preceding for the leaders sit, not at the west of the door as is usual, but on the

south side. The seats west of the door are occupied by chiefs who are paired 756 according to the two sides of the lodge. In front of the permanent leaders are laid four bows and four gourd rattles, the latter painted white. These bows and rattles are shifted at intervals to the alternating groups of leaders as previously described.

The regular ceremony is held once a year when the wild sage plant reaches

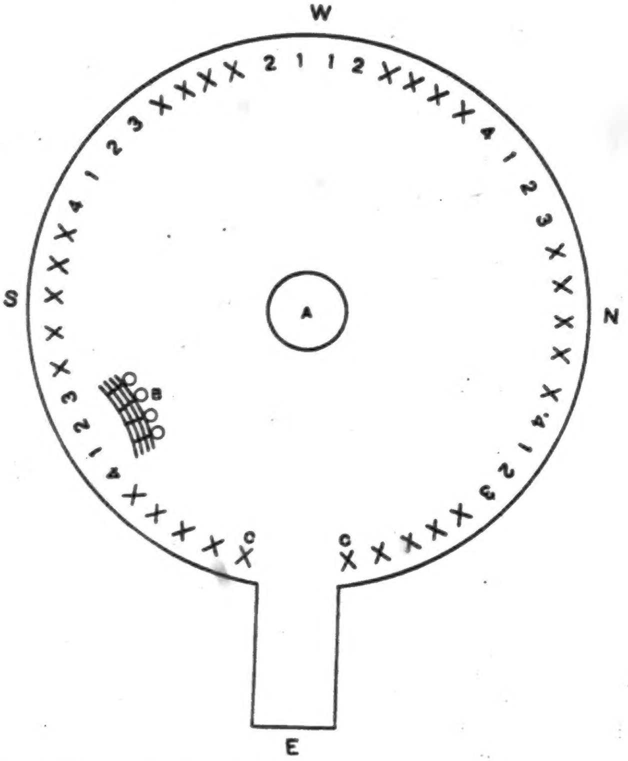


Fig. 17. Diagram of the Deer Society Ceremony: A, fireplace; B, four bows upon which rest four rattles for the leaders; C, errand men. The unusual feature of this ceremony is the place of the leaders and their order of rank; as the ritual proceeds B is shifted to the other four numbered places on the south side, then across and down the north side. At the west 1-2, 1-2 are hereditary chiefs from villages of the respective sides.

a certain stage of maturity. This plant is spread thickly around the lodge [824] and used in the incense offerings.

It is of interest to note that the members of this society are renowned

756 snake doctors, though demonstrations are seldom made in the regular ceremonies. The members claim absolute immunity from rattlesnake bites and [825] complete power over the reptile himself. They will seize any snake they meet and handle it without fear. No wands or instruments are used, nothing but the hands. The writer has frequently observed snakes handled in this way. According to reports they are able to cure all suffering from snake bites.

BLOOD DOCTORS.

There was formerly a group of medicinemen known as kura patu (blood doctors). They were, however, considered as otter men, or an otter society. They seem to have been composed of five groups of dancers, each marching through the camp separately. Women accompanied them, bearing wooden bowls and spoons on their backs. In this manner the five groups proceeded independently to the lodge of the two leaders of the ceremonies where an altar had been prepared. When a group reached the lodge they paused and sang; the leaders on the inside then sang and danced, bearing otterskins in their right hands. After the dance the two leaders came out to receive the guests in their arms.

[789] The chief feature of a ceremony was the shamanistic vomiting of a red liquid like blood. This was collected in bowls and used to paint the bodies and otterskins of those present.

THE IRUSKA.

There was a very powerful medicine society among the Chauí known as the pitararis iruska. However, the Pítahauírata division was also represented in this society, they having the south side and the Chauí the north. [184] The Skidí had the same ceremony except that they used dog meat in the kettle instead of buffalo. Also, the Skidí did not have the two forms of painting, only one, painted black at the joints. The purpose of the dance was to show the power of the members to extinguish the life in the fire, hence the name. Among the Skidí at least, the term iruska has a symbolic or double meaning. The idea is literally "the fire is in me" and the symbolic meaning is that "I can extinguish the life in the fire," or can overcome the [752] powers of other medicines. The members of the society were doctors for they treated burns.

Originally, the society consisted of leaders of various animal medicine 539 societies. Among the members was one who was not a medicineman until 756 he had a curious experience. The story follows:—

The man in question, Crow-feather, was very peculiar. He never took part 539
in ceremonies; he never consecrated buffalo to propitiate the gods. Every night he 756
went out in the hills, gazed at the sky, wondering at the powers there. When he was sleepy he lay down near the altar in his lodge. Before daylight, he went out into the hills again and sat facing the east. When the sun was high in the heavens he returned home.

One afternoon, when he went out and sat on a high hill overlooking the cornfields, he noticed black smoke rising. At dusk, the smoke was still rising. This caused him to wonder for he knew the people should be home at that time.

He went where he had seen the smoke rising and found some strange people sitting round the fire, laughing at one another as they roasted corn. When the corn husks burned, one of the men tore them off holding the corn until his hands burned. They all laughed at this. The man watched them for some time. When anyone dropped the hot corn, the others laughed and cried, "He is not an iruska." After a time, they sang four songs, repeating each four times. The men then played with the fire with their bare hands. Crow-feather soon learned the songs.

One of the men who acted as a servant saw Crow-feather looking on outside the circle. He arose and whispered to a man sitting at the west who appeared to be the leader. The servant asked Crow-feather to come within the circle and told him he would learn something from them. He was asked to remove his buffalo robe and other clothing and enter the circle, naked. He sat on the north side of the fire.

The leader said to him, "Brother, you have been wandering over the hills for some time. We heard your cries and were sad and agreed to pity you and give you a new dance. You will call this dance, iruska (fire inside of all things). Before we impart our secrets you must pass through something difficult. If you do we will teach you our secrets and you will know what fire is."

A bucket of water rested on the fire. The men now began to sing while four of them rose and danced, holding corn husks in their right hands. They danced around the fire toward the bucket of water. They pretended to be attacking an enemy. Finally, they dipped the corn husks into the boiling water and swung them against Crow-feather, scalding him. When the people noticed that he paid no attention to his burns, they shouted, trying to frighten him that way. This too was of no avail. They seized him and held him over the fire. He screamed but they held him and rolled him on the hot coals. After a time he ceased his clamor for he no longer felt the pain. Finally, they took him back to his place.

Another song was sung and all the men around the fire attacked it, now charging it and now retreating. During the third charge, Crow-feather noticed that the screaming and grunting was as of birds and animals. At the fourth charge, he saw that the dancers were imitating animals and birds. As they moved hastily toward the fire he saw each one drop something into it. They turned quickly: some flew away in the shape of eagles, turkeys, and crows, and others ran away as deer, wolves, and dogs. The remainder ran to the pile of burned corn and disappeared.

By this time, the fire was almost burned out. Crow-feather gathered some dry willows and rekindled it. One man stood where the singers had been, and said, "Brother, you must now return to your home. Take four ears of burned corn with the husks on. Tomorrow you must go to the hill where you sat so often. The people you saw here will come and explain what happened to you tonight. Now, go."

He went home. That night he did not sleep well but dreamed of fire. He wrapped up the four burnt ears of corn and placed them on the lodge wall. The

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 next day he went to his usual place on the hill and sat facing east. For a long time he waited there. He knew he had been among strange beings for there were blisters 756 all over his body. While he sat there he heard crows calling, eagles screaming, and turkeys gobbling; wolves howled, dogs barked, and he heard the rattle of deer hoofs. He paid no attention to these sounds, but presently he heard someone walking. The steps came nearer and stopped behind him. He did not look up, but a voice said, "Brother, I came for you, follow me." He rose, turned around; and saw ahead of him a man whom he followed. He was lead through a ravine to a steep bank where they entered. Here the same people he had seen the day before were seated around a fire, singing. Nothing was said but he was given a seat at the south, near the fireplace.

The four men who had tortured him before rose and each took corn husks from a wooden bowl. They danced toward him and struck him on the back with the husks. Then they replaced them in the wooden bowl. Before dancing toward him again they dipped their hands into the contents of the bowl. They moved their hands toward him but failed to touch him. At this point the singing ceased and they asked him to rise. The four men led him to the bowl and rubbed the contents over his head, ears, nose, mouth, and feet. They put his hands into the mixture and he held them there a while. Then they led him back to his place south of the fireplace. Screaming and shouting, he was gradually pushed toward the fire. Finally, they put him on the fire and when they took him off painted him with red paint mixed with roots. Then he was given a place within the circle.

In the evening the dance was repeated, Crow-feather joining the others. When all was over the dancers disappeared in the form of birds and animals. One man only, the leader of the dance, remained. He asked Crow-feather to sit near him and said, "Brother I am a human being. This is my home. I cannot go among our people, for I have no scalplock. Some time ago our people were attacked and on the retreat I was thrown by my pony and stunned. When I revived my scalplock was gone. I had been scalped by the enemy. When I looked around I saw sitting about me, crows, eagles, wolves, and dogs. At night, the wolves lay near me. I wandered over the prairies for I knew I could not return to my people. I dreamed of the birds and animals and decided to try to follow the wolves. I was led to this cave and here the birds and animals came and taught me mysterious things. I stay here and procure my food from our people at night when they are asleep."

"When the birds had taught me they wished me to return home and teach our people what I had learned. When I told them I could not return because I lost my scalplock they said they would give me a headdress which was even more important than a scalplock.

The deer furnished the hair for weaving; the turkey, feathers from his breast to edge the deer hair (also the roots for dyeing it); and the eagle a single feather for the center of the headdress. The bone spreader for the hair I was told to get from the shoulder blade of a deer. They told me to get a two-inch shank bone to set on this. The eagle feather was to be passed through this and tied to the scalplock. When I had procured the materials for the headdress I was ready to make it but did not know how to proceed. I slept and in a vision, saw myself preparing the headdress. The next day I knew how to make it. When it was completed, with the strings on the bones and eagle feathers, I found I could not wear it, I had no scalplock. The animals were distressed at this. They met again and gave me materials for a belt: deerskin, crow feathers, and a wolf tail. I made this. Now I will give them to you to take home."

He went to the altar and took from the wall the headdress and the bustle. The belt consisted of a strip of deerskin to the middle of which were fastened three sticks 539 about two feet long and decorated with deer hair. At each end of the opposite side 756 hung two sets of crow feathers with wolf tails between each two feathers.

He gave these to Crow-feather with instructions to take them home and return the next day with his pipe and tobacco. When he returned to his lodge the people asked where he had been, but he did not reply. When his mother offered him food, he asked for a piece of tanned hide in which he placed the bustle and headdress and tied the bundle to the lodge wall.

Early the next morning, he returned to the cave where the man awaited him and said, "Fill the pipe and let us smoke." After they had smoked and the ashes were thrown away, the stranger said, "During your wanderings and peculiar behavior I was with you. I caused you to wander; I like your ways. The men in your village are attentive to women. You are not and for that reason I liked you. Those who wish to learn this dance must avoid women. If married men are to take part in a dance where fire is attacked, they must have no intercourse with their wives for thirty [834] days. They must bathe every morning and evening. Now, I will show you the herbs and roots you must rub on your body when you dance; also the kind of wood you are to use in your fire. The wood and roots are brothers, that is, the roots rubbed on the body make anyone impervious to fire."

They walked on the prairie and finally the man said, "Place four pinches of tobacco on the plant before digging the root." After this he had the privilege of digging as many plants as he wished for they had received tobacco. They returned to the cave and cut up the roots. In the meantime, the stranger instructed him in the performance of the dance. After the roots were dried, they were pounded up, mixed, and placed in a buckskin bag. He said, "This is the way you must prepare the medicine." Before the root is rubbed on the body, it should be put in a wooden bowl filled with water in which four live coals have been placed. Dip some of this up with a small buffalo horn spoon and put it in a wooden bowl and it is ready for use. If an enemy should attack your village do not mix the medicine in a bowl, chew some of the root, take it in your hands, and rub them on a kettle that is covered with soot and then rub the soot on your joints. You will have no fear of the enemy's fire. If anyone is burned by fire or scalded, chew some of the root and place it upon the affected part and the cure will be immediate. After a time the medicine may be mixed in a bowl and the burnt part bathed with the concoction. After the wound has dried, you must kill a dog, mix the grease from the dog's body with the medicine and apply it to the wound. This will hasten the cure. If a man be wounded in battle, he must chew the root and bathe the wound with a mixture of roots and charcoal. After this the mixture of root and grease should be applied. This is all I can do for you now, but come to me once in a while. I will always be with you. You may now take what I have given you and return to your people."

Crow-feather went home. The next day he returned to the cave and found the man sitting near the fire. He thanked him for what he had done. He gave him presents and said "Brother, I brought these things for you have done a great thing for me." The mysterious man thanked him.

Crow-feather went home. Several days later he determined to see whether the medicinemen understood the fire. He built a sweat lodge of eighteen willow poles. From the hill he brought back limestone which he

539 756 placed near the entrance to the sweat lodge. In the center he built a fireplace. He put the stones in the fire. When the stones were red hot he sent a messenger to invite eight medicinemen. Buffalo robes were spread over the lodge. When the medicineman arrived he greeted each one saying, "**Nawa**", and asked him to be seated.

When everyone had arrived, he addressed them, saying, "Brothers, I have made a sweat lodge. The stones are red hot. I sent for you that you may go into the sweat lodge with me. I will cover the sweat lodge with tanned hides and buffalo robes." He covered the lodge and told the men to take off their clothes; he took his off and went into the sweat lodge.. He appointed one man as assistant who now carried the hot stones into the lodge and put them on the fireplace. When everything was ready he said, "Brothers, I invited you into this sweat lodge for I have heard of your wonderful doings in the medicine lodge. I brought the timber which now stands over you; I gathered up our grandfathers who were seated upon mother earth and now they are ready to blow their hot breath upon us. The water is before us. We are seated in a dark place. Each of you prepare yourselves, for no one must leave because of the heat. We are now imitating animals and birds."

Each man took his medicine from his belt and chewed it. The owner of the sweat lodge chewed some root and spat four times on the stones, causing a bluish flame to spring up. Then he said, "Brothers, everything is ready. Our grandfathers (the stones) are now ready to listen to us." Every man held out his hands toward the stones and prayed. After the prayers, the owner dipped up water with a wooden ladle and poured it on the stones four times. He told them to wave the bunches of wild sage which they held in their hands. Some of the men enjoyed the heat while others appeared to be in pain. Those who had not applied any medicine suffered most. The owner of the lodge sang and when he stopped, the men who disliked the heat crawled out of the lodge, only four men remaining.

When all was over the owner of the sweat lodge told the four men that he had selected them as singers for a new dance. After they had dressed and eaten he sent them home.

The people began to hold medicine ceremonies during which sleight-of-hand tricks were performed. One night the crow imitators performed. They built a fire and put a large stone on it. When it was red hot they put it on the ground and each man stood on the stone. When all the medicine performances were over Crow-feather brought together men he knew who understood fire and taught them fire songs.

In the winter the people hunted buffalo. When they were near the buffalo he invited the four men he had selected for singers and told them

he wished one of them to kill a male buffalo whose flesh would be dried and used in a new dance. The man chosen killed the buffalo and the meat was brought to Crow-feather's tipi where it was dried and stored in a parfleche. When they returned to the village, he invited the four singers who came and sat around the fireplace. He said, "Brothers, I have invited you to my tipi. We are going to have a new dance. Before we begin, bring your medicine bags here. Each man must have before him his root for overpowering fire."

They brought their bags and set them down. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, you are about to learn my secret. I must see what medicine you have for overcoming fire. When I have seen your medicine I will show you mine." He showed his root. Some picked up live coals after applying the medicine to their hands. One man chewed the root, took up a coal with his teeth and lit another man's pipe. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, I am glad. I know you understand the medicine you have. You will help me. I can do as you have done. I will show you my medicine to prove I am not deceiving you." He put a root on the ground, went to the opposite side of the tipi and put a stick with coals on the ground; the root began to move around the fireplace until it stopped at the fire stick. The men were astonished and called the root, "Medicine walking around the fireplace." He put the medicine back in his bag and asked the men to return to his lodge in the evening so he could teach them some songs.

In the evening, they sat at the altar where there were four water drums. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, we are to have a new dance, a medicineman's dance, and not a war dance. I have decided that a chief shall lead us so the smoke ceremony may be held before the dance. Now, we will prepare. For thirty days we must not go near our women. We must take a bath in the creek every day and clean our finger nails. That is all. We will get the drums now and sing."

They sang forty times, ten sets of songs for each time. They were told to announce the dance and its requirements to the village.

After thirty days Crow-feather had his tipi prepared, all its furnishings were moved out. Two poor boys, Blue-bird and White-fox, were selected as assistants. White-fox made a fire for the new dance. The boys sat near the entrance and Crow-feather sat at the altar. The bustle and headdress hung from posts. When he had smoked, he said, "Blue-bird and White-fox, each of you take a pony and bring a lot of dry willows and some cottonwood. I will also send six women for wood." They did as they were told. The wood was placed inside the lodge on either side of the entrance.

Blue-bird was sent for Pitaraysare (Man-chief) and White-fox invited the other singers. The chief sat on the north side near the singers. Crow-feathers said, "Singers, I invited our chief to be with us so he can always

539
756

partake of our food. Chief, I ask you to lead in the ceremony we are about to have. We need a leader who is keeper of a sacred bundle who can bring the pipe and hold the smoke ceremony. Take pity on me and bring your pipe this evening so the gods may receive the smoke, for it is from the heavens that we have the knowledge of roots and herbs."

The chief replied, "I will do as you wish. I am thankful to be with you and witness what is about to take place. The sacred bundle belongs to the people, for the gods gave us the bundle with the pipe so we could offer them smoke in our ceremonies."

Crow-feather passed his hands over the chief's head and hands, thanked him and said, "Singers and assistants, the chief has consented to bring the sacred pipe. He will be our leader in everything. He will lead us and carry the sacred pipe when we dance through the village. He will not take part in our fire performance. I will teach him our secrets so that he may know what to do if he is requested to do something with the fire." The chief was glad and thanked Crow-feather who told the men to go home and return in the evening.

When Crow-feather and his two assistants were alone he asked them to cover the entrance of the lodge with a skin tent. Then they partook of their evening meal. The chief returned with the sacred pipe and he was given a place to the north of the singers. The pipe was placed in front of the singers who sat at the altar. The assistants built a fire. Crow-feather sat near the singers, and asked how many were prepared to join them. There were sixteen in all, so they could sit in four groups of four each. The assistants were sent for the candidates who were to wait outside and for two of the soldiers who were to remain outside and warn off any intruders.

Crow-feather said, "Singers and other members of the iruska society, we must now begin our ceremony. The chief will fill his pipe and offer smoke to the gods in the heavens." The chief filled the pipe, gave it to the north assistant who took it to the leading singer who said, "Now, iruska, the gods in the heavens will receive the smoke. We will ask our chief to make the smoke offering." The chief rose, went to the altar, and received the pipe from the leading singer. He walked to the east, holding the pipe bowl in his left hand. When half way to the entrance and fireplace he stopped, took a pinch of tobacco from the bowl, raised it toward the east, and placed the tobacco on the ground. He walked west by way of the north and stood near the fireplace, facing east, took some tobacco from the bowl, and offered it to the skies, to tirawahat. Then he placed the tobacco on the rim of the fireplace. He repeated this for each direction. The chief walked northeast of the fireplace by way of the south and sat down. The south assistant placed a coal on the pipe bowl. The chief walked to the

east with the pipe and took four whiffs blowing the smoke toward the east. 539
Then he stood west of the fireplace, faced east, blew smoke once each to the 756
heavens, to the north, and south, and four times to the west, and emptied the ashes on the rim of the fireplace. He gave the pipe to the leading singer who said, "Nawa."

Then the candidates were received one by one. The first one who came was told to bathe in the preparation made ready by Crow-feather. When he was ready, he was taken to the fireplace and forcibly placed on the fire. If he had blisters, it was proof that he had not complied with the rule of cleanliness for thirty days. Then he was put on the fire again to cure his blisters. If any candidate proved cowardly he was immediately turned out of the mud-lodge. When all had been initiated, the singers drummed and sang and all the new members danced. The two soldiers entered the lodge for outsiders were now admitted.

They danced until forty songs were sung. After each ten songs they stopped to smoke. After the forty songs the spectators went away. The members remained behind and Crow-feather said, "You who have gone through the fire may now smear your bodies with soot. You are not now afraid of the fire nor of an enemy. Those who wish to remain may do so, the others may come early tomorrow." The chief and the two soldiers went away. The next morning they all swam in the creek and on their return to the lodge were given their proper positions in the ceremony. The four singers were to be leaders. The chief was to be their leader. He was to carry the pipe when the people went through the village to dance at the most important places. Those at the northwest were to be painted yellow; those at the northeast with white clay; those at the south, dark red; and those at the northwest with black soot. The singers were to be painted with soot at their joints.

When everyone was painted and all was ready, the leader of the ceremony said, "Singers, iruska, and chief, we will now go through the smoking ceremony." The chief made the smoke offering and Crow-feathers said, "Now we will begin our dance; the assistants may make a big fire, cut the dried meat and have the brass kettle ready." When everything was prepared he put a new knife in the bottom of the kettle, added water and then the meat. Then the soldiers were called in.

The leader of the singers said, "Chief, soldiers, those of you at stations, and iruska. Something is now at hand. We will begin to sing and all dance. Watch Crow-feather and do as he does. The spectators came in. Crow-feather was the only one who had the bustle and headdress; the others were simply painted. When the singers had sung the third set of songs the assistants made a big fire. They hung the kettle over it. When the last

539 set of songs was sung the dancers attacked the fire. Finally, Crow-feather danced up to the kettle which was full of boiling soup and took a piece of
756 meat out with his bare hands. He gave it to one of the spectators who burned his hands with it. The rest of the members also did this. At length the dancers dipped bunches of corn husks into the kettle and whipped each other with them but did not burn. The dancing ended when the fire went out.

This was the first ceremony of this kind. After the dance Crow-feather said, "You must now make the headdresses and bustles. Some day we will give a public dance when all must bring spears, bows and arrows, war clubs, and shields so that you can imitate the attack on an enemy in your dance. It shall be known as iruska (fire inside of you). The red headdress represents fire, the black hair fringe represents smoke.[1] This will not be a social dance, neither will the members act as soldiers for the chiefs. We shall be known as medicinemen."

THE ONE HORN DANCE.

535
756 The members of the one horn dance (raris arika) were young men eligible to go to war. For the dance, the regalia of all the societies were gathered:
721 the war clubs from the sacred bundles, spears, war shields, bows and arrows. During the ceremony they called upon Pahukatawa (Hills along the banks of a river) to help them kill or count coup on the enemy. Women were not
[183] admitted for Pahukatawa directed them to bar women for fear some would be unclean.

The dance was held only when Pahukatawa ordered it and then only
[533] before an attack by the enemy. The songs imitated the bellowing of buffalo. Each dancer seemed possessed with the spirit of a particular animal which he imitated. The dancers wore their war regalia. Those who had war-bonnets had to fasten a whole buffalo horn on the right side of the bonnet. Each dancer was painted according to the dreams of visions he had experienced.
[302] Those representing crows painted with charcoal or soot; jack-rabbits painted with white earthen clay; buffalo were smeared over the mouth and nose with buffalo urine mud; those with bear spirits were painted with red or yellow which represented the sun for the bears sought power from the sun.

---

[1] The headdress is the imitation of fire, the red for the blaze, the black hair for smoke. The feather represents the iruska man who understands the fire. He is standing in the fire or has placed the fire about his whole body. The headdress represents the fireplace, the bone tube the medicine, and the feather, the man himself standing in the center of the fireplace. According to tradition, man came from an ear of corn and corn has life and life is fire. The original word for iruska is iriska (singular), iruska (plural), they are inside fire. The wood used for the iruska fire was cottonwood and willows.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

They had one large drum which was made according to the directions of 534
Pahukatawa. Several men cut down a large water willow tree which was 721
split into several pieces. The best piece was planed down then bent over
and fastened together with sinew. Four flints were tied inside the drum. 756
The head was covered with buffalo hide and sewed with a rawhide string.
When dried it was painted black, the rim red, and four buffalo skulls were
marked on the sides.

There were four regular singers and two assistants. Any of the singers [533]
was permitted to dance.

This war dance was held to teach the men how to act during battle and 721
to remind them that there was a being who watched over them and gave 756
them courage.

The origin myth is as follows: —

One day when the Skidi' lived in their old village in Nebraska, seven men went 539
out hunting toward the west. After a few days they came to a willow-covered 721
ravine where they camped. Before sunrise the next morning the youngest among 756
the hunters went up in the hills. As he came to the top of a hill he saw the enemy
approaching. Instead of running towards camp he ran towards some heavy timber.
The enemy followed. As the young man was afoot they soon overtook and surrounded
him. He fought until all his arrows were gone and then they killed him.

The other hunters remained in the ravine and when the enemy left went to the place where the young man had been killed. They found arrows stuck in the ground and long poles scattered about. The young man's body seemed missing, but finally they found it cut up and strewn over the ground. They gathered up the pieces and laid him out. They went home and told the people how the young man had been killed. All the village started out to bury the young man. When they arrived at the scene of the fight they found the arrows and poles but not a sign of the young man. They camped here for several days and searched for the man's bones, but in vain. They continued to the west to hunt buffalo.

Several years passed and the incident was forgotten. One winter evening when the people were living in their mud-lodges some men who were singing round the village noticed flashes of light here and there. They took this to be a warning that the enemy was coming to attack them.

Finally the village quieted down. One man only could not sleep. As he lay awake he heard a sound like rattling buffalo hoofs. The sound came into the lodge and then stopped. As he watched and listened, the man felt first a cold wind and then warm wind against his face and someone whispered: "My brother, I am here. I am the one who was killed a few years ago. I am not dead. I am alive. When I was killed and my body was cut up and pieced together again, the powers in the heavens, on the earth and beneath it, pitied me. They caused all the birds and animals to congregate and make me live again. They promised to return the parts of me they had eaten. Everything but my brains was returned. An eagle and a buffalo bull wished to give me life so they suggested that the thunderbirds (swans) give me their down for brains. You see I cannot speak well for I have no brains. I am everything. When the lights appeared they saw me. I am part of the winds."

"Before sunrise tomorrow you must go to the hills where I will meet you. Fill

539 your pipe and let me smoke. Do not fill it with sumach leaves but with tobacco mixed with shavings from an old pipestem. When you light the pipe, hand it to me
721 saying 'Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa.' I will take it and smoke. You
756 will know me as Pahukatawa. Now prepare the smoke for me."

The man took an old pipestem from a sacred bundle and scraped it. He mixed the shavings with tobacco, filled the pipe, lighted it and handing it to the mysterious man said, "Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." All this took place in the dark. The man could see no one, he heard only the whispering. When he passed the pipe someone took it and began to smoke. His visitor took a few whiffs and whispered, "Take the pipe, it is empty. Fill it again and let me smoke." He refilled the pipe and after drawing on it a few times returned it and said, "Brother the smoke is good. Be sure to meet me in the hills tomorrow before sunrise. I chose you, for I like your spirit. I will come to speak to you often. You must have my smoke ready."

He heard buffalo hoofs rattle and could almost see a buffalo walk out of the lodge. Before sunrise the man went out to the hills. He climbed one hill and as he was going down another he came to a deep ravine. He heard a strange cry and as he looked towards the ravine saw a mountain lion ready to spring. He ran back and in a deeper canyon saw a grizzly tearing up the ground. He was frightened and as he looked about for a means of escape, canyon and bear disappeared, and a man stood before him, laughing. The man said, "Brother, why are you frightened? Didn't I ask you to meet me here? That mountain lion was I, so was the bear. Because you were afraid of these animals you will not receive their power. Go home and return tomorrow before sunrise."

The stranger disappeared and the man went home and slept throughout the day. In the evening he filled his pipe and standing outside, west of his lodge, he blew smoke four times to the west and said "Brother, Pahukatawa, I offer you this smoke, do not forget me. Pity me and I will do as you wish." He emptied the ashes from his pipe and went inside the lodge. At dawn he went west into the hills. When he had passed he heard strange sounds which he took to be shouting. The enemy was attacking him; he tried to hide, but could not. The leader carried a pole hung with human scalps. He was frightened and ran. Before him stood the man he had seen the day before. The stranger scolded him and told him that he was the leader of the supposed enemy and intended to endow him with bravery in battle, with power to take scalps and count coups.

Then he told the man to go into the ravine. When he arrived, he saw a buffalo bull charging him. He was not frightened this time. When the bull came close and was about to run him down he closed his eyes, when he opened them, the stranger stood there, wearing a buffalo robe and buckskin leggings. He carried a whole eagle on his back and in his right hand held a staff six feet long upon which was tied eagle down.

The stranger said, "Brother, you have chosen well. I will give you these things. You are to be neither a warrior nor a chief, but a prophet among your people. Repeat to them what I tell you. I have great power from the gods in the heavens and on the earth. I was brought to life again that I might save my people from starvation and from their enemies. If the people see flashes of light around the village tell them they must be quiet. Tell them I am near, and that I bring a message to them for their good. You receive my power as the sun rises. From now on you will be known as Coming-sun. Take these things to your home and I will tell you more about them."

The man disappeared but left the regalia on the ground.[1]

---

[1] For a different version see Grinnell, (b), 143.

The same day, Coming-sun invited Big-eagle, the chief of the village, to 539
eat with him. Then he detailed all that had happened from the time of
the first flashes of light. The chief examined the bundle of regalia and sent 721
a crier through the village to tell the people not to fear the flashing light for 756
it was Pahukatawa who was killed long ago. Some believed and some
doubted the truth of this.

At night Pahukatawa came to Coming-sun and smoked with him and said, "I know our people do not believe you and me, but the time will come when they will." Then Pahukatawa disappeared. He visited Coming-sun now and then and told him that he could not live with the people because he had no brain, but would come when they needed him.

From that time flashes of light were a signal that Pahukatawa was near which was followed the next day by news of an approaching enemy. The people recognized the power of the lights. When Coming-sun heard the buffalo in his lodge he prepared the pipe in the usual way and passed it saying, "Take the pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." After he had smoked, he said, "Brother, I came a long way. I have been among our enemies. All the different tribes have received and smoked the war pipe from the Sioux. They will make war upon us. I have come to tell you so you can warn the people. They intend to wipe us out and burn our village. Tell the people I am coming into this lodge tomorrow. Every keeper of a sacred bundle must bring some native tobacco from it to this lodge. The gods in the heavens and your friends who have passed away wish this tobacco. Be sure that the people bring the tobacco."

The next day Coming-sun told Big-eagle what Pahukatawa had ordered. He sent a crier through the village with the announcement. During the day Coming-sun's lodge was prepared, the beds were removed. In the evening, Coming-sun, Big-eagle, and the crier sat in the lodge, smoking. A fire burned in the fireplace. Then Coming-sun heard a whisper, "Tell the cryer to go to each bundle keeper and ask him to bring tobacco to the lodge where Pahukatawa is waiting."

Soon the men began to come in with their tobacco which they placed in front of the altar which was west of the fireplace. The lodge faced east. When all the tobacco was brought in, it made a large pile extending north and south across the lodge. Spectators soon began to crowd into Coming-sun's lodge for they had heard Pahukatawa was there. They could not see him, but when the fire burned low they saw him in the form of a buffalo sitting down, as an eagle, and for an instant as a man.

Coming-sun said, "Pahukatawa says that it is now that the gods in the heavens and our dead relatives receive the tobacco. He says I must distribute it." Coming-sun sat behind the tobacco and threw it about, but it

539 did not fall on the ground. When the tobacco was scattered, he sat at the
altar and said, "Pahukatawa says the gods are pleased with the tobacco."
721 Coming-sun told the people that Pahukatawa had told him about a new
756 society and dance, the one horn dance. The people wondered how Pahukatawa would leave the lodge. He knew what they were thinking about and whispered to Coming-sun. "Tell the people that Pahukatawa will leave now, and wishes them to come back in the morning and stay in the lodge all day and plan for the new ceremony." Then Coming-sun said, "Watch Pahukatawa leave us." They watched but instead of a man they saw a buffalo bull rise, shake itself, and disappear. Then they saw where the tobacco had spread. A whirlwind came up, passed through the lodge, and disappeared. The people knew he had gone and left the lodge. Coming-sun and Big-eagle remained behind.

In the afternoon they sent for men proficient in drum-making who were told to obtain timber and buffalo bull hides for constructing the drums. Weeping willow timber was split and planed; the hides were cut in circles and sewed with buffalo sinew. In the evening the drum was still incomplete. The men went to their respective lodges for food.

Coming-sun and Big-eagle sat at the altar. Chiefs and important men made their way to the lodge for they were convinced as to what they had seen. Coming-sun felt cold and warm winds and told Big-eagle that Pahukatawa was with them. Coming-sun prepared his pipe and said, "Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." In reply, he heard a whispered "Rawa rawa" (now, now). Someone took the pipe and both men heard the smoke inhaled. Then the pipe was returned. Pahukatawa whispered to Coming-sun that the enemy was approaching. He ordered that in the next three days the people join in building a high embankment around the village. On the fourth night Pahukatawa promised to return. Every man was to be prepared with plenty of arrows, bows, and spears for the dance to be held the next day. Then Pahukatawa disappeared in the form of a whirlwind.

Big-eagle said, "All those here present must help build the earthworks and prepare the bows, arrows, and spears." The next day the people did as they were bidden. At night, Coming-sun and Big-eagle sat in the lodge surrounded by a lot of men. When the drum was ready they taught them the song.

Towards evening of the fourth day Coming-sun told Big-eagle to have the men drive their ponies into camp and decorate their fast horses and then go to Coming-sun's lodge with all the regalia they used in battle. Women were not permitted to enter the lodge. The drum was placed near the altar and behind it sat Coming-sun and Big-eagle. A large fire was built. Then

Pahukatawa entered the lodge and the pipe was offered him as before. He 539
whispered, "I have come from the enemy's camp which is very near. 721
They will be here tomorrow and we must be ready to meet them. They are 756
very numerous. I will sit before the singers and you two. I will whisper to you what to say to the people. You will see me in many forms. When I am in human form I will sit near you and talk to you. When the men come in have the singers sit around the drum and tell the men to prepare themselves as if they were going into battle. Tell them to wear their quivers over their shoulders but to carry their bows and arrows in their hands. All the men who are to dance must carry their weapons. They are now coming in and I must make myself visible to them for many still doubt me. They do not believe I am here."

Big-eagle saw Pahukatawa in the form of a buffalo, then as an eagle, a wolf, and finally as a man. Those who had known him when he was alive said, "It is he." When everything was ready, the drummers began to sing peculiar songs which the others soon learned. In dancing, they imitated animals, then the drum would be beaten and the men would raise their weapons and charge and then continue the dance.

Pahukatawa whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the men to jump up and down and circle the lodge as they dance. Shake the earth for they will receive strength from it. As he dances each man must decide what to do to the enemy the next day. At the end of each song one man should address me and say, 'Pahukatawa, I wish to kill so many; I wish to count so many coups, or take so many scalps.' If I can grant their wishes, I will do so."

After each dance some man stopped and made his request to Pahukatawa, who whispered to Coming-sun, "What he wishes to do, he will do." One young man said, "Pahukatawa I wish to kill nine men. When I attack the tenth man, I wish to be seriously wounded, but wish to recover." Pahukatawa said, "That young man has no faith in me, but what he says will come true." Coming-sun told the men they must not ask to be wounded or killed. The dance continued throughout the night. One feeble old man arose and said, "Pahukatawa, I am old. I have been a great man in my day. I am glad you are with us. I want to count coup once more. Before I die I wish to strike twelve men for I wish to be leader of the party. I want to capture the thirteenth man so that I can bring him home for the women to mock. Pahukatawa whispered, "Tell the man all that he has said will come true."

Towards dawn when the men were resting and smoking, Pahukatawa, whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the people our enemies are up now and are decorating themselves and their horses. I must go now. I will let the people see me before I disappear. I will go to our enemies. I will watch

539 them and when they start I will appear on yonder hills as a buffalo. When they are ready to attack your village, I will cause the rain to fall so their
721 weapons will be wet. Do not fear them I will be near you. After you see
756 the cloud, I will appear as a wolf and then get behind the breastworks and defend your women and children."

Then they danced again and Pahukatawa disappeared. Big-eagle dismissed the men and bade them prepare for the attack. As the sun rose someone shouted, "A buffalo is coming over the hills." Then the people knew that Pahukatawa's prophecy was being fulfilled. A small black cloud appeared in the west and a wolf was seen in the hills. Then the people ran to the breastworks. They saw the enemy approaching over the hills from every direction. They charged right into the village but the men shot and killed many of the enemy until their bowstrings were broken and their arrow-heads loose and then they retreated. The men rode after them with their ponies. Each one acted as he had wished during the dance.

The feeble old man was in the battle. When he killed a man he counted coup on him. He rode along until he came up to a man who seemed defiant. The old man waved his hand at him and he threw away his weapons. The old man jumped off his horse and threw the man to the ground with his face downward. He stood on his back, caught his right arm, pulled it out of its socket, and did the same with the left. Then he stood him up, tied a rope round his waist, and led the captive home. As he approached the village he met some old women singing the victory songs. The man threw the rope to them and said, "Take him, you braves, and do as you please with him. He was the leader of the war party."

The old woman took the prisoner. Men came in groups singing victory songs and told of daring deeds; some came with scalps tied to poles and some with scalps under their belts. Women dances, scalp dances, and victory dances were held for many days. The last dance was one by the women acting as men. Women were at liberty to go with any man and men with any woman.

After resting, the men gathered in Coming-sun's lodge and they held the dance during which Pahukatawa appeared at the altar. He whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the men they must keep this dance. They must dance whenever they see fire flashing round their village. The fire is a warning that the enemy is near. In the dance every man must wear a cap with one horn on the right side. Tell them I cannot always be with them, but they must do as I tell them." The men offered tobacco and smoke to Pahukatawa and thanked him for saving the people.

The dance was kept up for a long time, until the light flashes were seen no more. The dance was continued only by brave men and chiefs. After

Coming-sun died, Pahukatawa selected another man to talk to. One night 539
this man refused because he was sleepy. To another man Pahukatawa said 721
that he would go away never to return; that he would stay in the north 756
as one of the minor gods in the heavens. He said he would help the people
when they called on him.

Since the Pawnee came to Oklahoma they have revived this dance (p. 535
638). The drum is the same as the old one. At the altar is a whole eagle
and in front of it a crooked crow lance. When the ceremony was revived a 721
woman claimed to have seen flashes of light. The dance is still given by 756
the Skidi Pawnee. There is also a pair of leggings which was given to 166
Coming-sun. They have a ceremony known as the warrior's ceremony.
This one horn dance was copied by the other three bands, but lacked the
power of Pahukatawa. It was a religious dance in which they took part to
defend their villages from the enemy.

down upon the ground. After the excitement they all went back to camp 668
and danced until ten o'clock that night. The next morning all joined the
dance again. This time a woman entered the ring and began to act as if 786
crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and 796
strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and
said, "That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth."
Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to act as police took her
out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she
was possessed of a bad spirit. The next day the prophet and his singers
took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined
the dance again and was all right.

While the Wichita had been indifferent to the teachings of White, the 668
Pawnee soon became enthusiasts. White went first to the Pitahaufrata
village and began his ceremonies, where at once a few had the trances. As 796
the news spread, the chiefs of all the Pawnee villages met to see demonstrations and discuss the movement. Two days were given over to dancing. The first camp was broken up by a fire, a tipi catching fire ignited the grass and destroyed much property; but undismayed a new camp was formed. Many persons went into trances, while many were alarmed at the intensity of the phenomenon. White then demonstrated his power by putting bystanders into trances by touching them. Finally he closed the demonstration by a spectacular race. Taking his position in the center, the converts around in a circle, he caused them to fall at will.

After this, practically the whole of the Pawnee were under White's
influence. Dances were almost continuous during the winter and the
following summer. Infatuated with the belief in the immediate destruction
of the world, they planted no crops and threw away their property. Natur- [648]
ally, they became sullen and disobedient to their Agent, resulting in the
arrest of White by United States marshals.

This excited the Indians greatly and almost caused hostilities. In the
meantime the Oto had taken up the Pawnee dance and also threatened to
go on the warpath. Owing to the skill of their Agent, the Pawnee were
quieted and White released. He himself did what he could to develop the
movement into a less militant religion. To do this he magnified the Chris-
tian elements. There was opposition for a time for all the old Pawnee [756]
medicinemen took the trances as forms of the powers formerly exercised by
the animal lodges (p. 602) and began a vigorous revival, each setting himself
up as a prophet and seeking to outdo the others. White died in 1893, after
which the strength and unity of the religion quickly disappeared among the
many rival prophets.

This Pawnee ceremony seems to have been largely original with White

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand
that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly 776
responsible. 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of conse- 292
crating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were cere- 796
monial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies.

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected 224
to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires.

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the 361
ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed.

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must 622
pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and 756
what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water 782
animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers
through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with
these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social inter- [565]
course. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but
otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that [773]
at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.)

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18 7

622 156 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers
778 and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular impor-
554 tance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have con-
726 secrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pítahauirata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of
756 wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and
837 not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice. Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicineman in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies
224 for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle
[223] trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern
838 Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

No-flight Idea. A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and
726 taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

342 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of
532 medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint
834 in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had
276 performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

7

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

In case of the Pawnee, we may note the fine example of pattern phenomena manifest in the adjustment of all kinds of ceremonies, original or borrowed, to this scheme of two sides and alternate leadership.[1] Based upon this fundamental pattern are two distinct patterns of organization: the lance-bearing societies and medicinemen's associations. From the preceding concrete accounts it is clear that all of the lance organizations must have been constructed or adjusted to the plan of some one parent society. The same may be said of the medicinemen's associations. We have commented upon the apparent dual division of chiefs and medicinemen (p. 639), the bundle scheme being the province of the former and to which the medicinemen were individually subject, but professionally formed a second half for social control. This duality is seen in the organization of all bundles and related societies under the four-pole ceremony and in like manner the organization of the medicinemen under the twenty-day ceremony. Here again is clearly a similarity of pattern in the coordination schemes for two groups of activities. 575 616 756 796

Another important conception of the Pawnee is the bundle sanction. Thus, as keeper of the village bundle the chief rules by a kind of "divine right," the highest exponent of which is the priest of the bundle, or the keeper of the ritual. The hunt and the raising of grain were each guarded over and governed by virtue of bundle rituals. A lance society performed no public function except under the sanction of one of the bundles. Furthermore, the federation itself was based upon superior or leading bundles, from which the chiefs and priests derived their authority. One must suspect that the conception of a bundle sanction was so fundamental with the Pawnee, that the first step toward a federation was of necessity the creation of a series of superior bundles. 631 778

In keeping with the foregoing conceptions is the hereditary system. Chiefs, priests, members of societies, etc. serve for life and endeavor to qualify some of their brothers and nephews to succeed them. In most organizations there were certain tests applied to the candidate for the ejection of the theoretically unfit, but these first chances were given to those whose brothers or uncles had been admitted to membership; likewise the priests of bundles must be those competent to perform the ritual, but here again the preference was given to maternal relatives. The important position of chief, or official keeper of the village bundle, was regarded as strictly hereditary to the next of kin, though incompetents were encouraged to decline the honor in favor of the next heir. 611

---

[1] A kind of dual leadership is found in many societies of the Oglala and Blackfoot, as shown in the preceding pages, but without any ceremonial associations or counterparts in other ceremonies, from which we infer that it reached these tribes as an objective part of a borrowed system. [171]

VII. CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Although Pawnee mythology abounds in tales of the poor boy 554
who achieved success, it appears that the rank of an individual was 565
determined to a large extent by the social position of his immediate ancestors. At any rate, certain classes of society were recognized and membership in these was to a certain degree hereditary. [In the manuscript the terms "caste" and "class" are both used indiscriminately. I have used "class" throughout.] This was especially true of the highest in rank, though they might be deposed for cause, and though a child born of poor parents of low rank might through his own efforts become a tribal chief. Before enumerating the specific classes in Skidi society, one should note that all positions and all rank were conceived as having supernatural origin. In fact, the higher of these were divinely instituted and instructions given the first holders as to their duties and prerogatives. Theoretically, Skidi society was divided into two great divisions: those who made war and protected the village from human enemies; and those who by sacred and supernatural means protected the village from disease, famine, and pestilence. To these two general divisions might be added a third class consisting of poor people who did not possess rank, power, influence, or any considerable amount of property. The real distinction as made by the Skidi, however, [illegible] that of the nobility as contrasted with the common people, one[illegible]ion in one or the other divisions being, as already noted, largely a matter of ancestry. But it may be repeated that there was no tribal law that would prohibit the son of a poor man from becoming a chief, and, on the other hand, it was possible for the son of a chief to become an outcast, for the individual was judged by his own actions.

In the nobility were to be found the leaders in the material 554
affairs of the band—the chiefs, braves, and warriors; those who 565
looked out for the larger religious interests—the priests; and those 793
who kept the band free from sickness and drove out disease—the 622
medicine-men. The duties of these three groups were quite separate 759
and distinct. Occasionally, however, one individual might at the 756
same time be chief, priest, and medicine-man.

CHIEFS

The chiefs of the Skidi were thirty-one in number. Of these 622
thirty-one the representative of each village, who was the owner of 565
the sacred bundle of that village, was chief by heredity, and trans-

MEDICINE-MEN

Like the chief and the priest, the medicine-man held a position 791
of honor among the Skidi. His office was supposed to have been 756
created by Tirawa immediately after he had instituted the office of 565
chief, at which time Tirawa said: "I shall give you (chief) a com- [773]
panion who will understand certain beings who command all the
spirits of the earth. He shall learn from them the different curative [538]
powers, and shall be your equal, but he will not command, for it
will be his duty to wait on the sick." At this time Tirawa gave the
medicine-man the blue clay he wore over his body during ceremonies,
the wing of a black eagle to be used in his left hand, and a gourd [778].
rattle to be held in his right.

The medicine-men derived their powers from supernatural beings who were usually identified with animals. At birth a child came under the influence of a supernatural being—a particular star shining especially bright—who was supposed to manifest himself later in the child's life. Usually this manifestation occurred when the child fell ill, at which time medicine-men were sent for. When the right one appeared, he could cure the child, for he possessed the power from an animal which in turn had received its power from the star noted above. Thus the child was made aware of the particular animal guardian which was to influence his career. When he grew to be a young man he might become a medicine-man through a supernatural experience during which power was given him directly by his guardian, or, as was more common, he applied for instruction to some medicine-man who had received power from the same guardian. With the latter's consent, the young man became his pupil, paying for the knowledge received. [Further details regarding medicine-men have been published by Linton, 1923b.]

In many ways the medicine-men ingratiated themselves with the people. One of the best examples occurred during the fall performance of the great ceremony of the Skidi medicine-men. On the first night they visited all the village lodges containing sacred altars, and on the following night made a general tour of the village offering their services free of charge.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

This group probably represented less than one-half the members 554
of the band. They were distinguished by the fact that they were 565
without influence or power, their lodges were smaller and not so
completely furnished, they had few or no ponies, and were often the [736]
objects of charity.

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were of 796
two sorts, ceremonies which centered around the sacred 756
bundles and were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe, and ceremonies which were performed by societies whose members had some secret in common. In the ceremonies of the first class, the most important of which have been described in Leaflets 5-7, an appeal was made primarily to the great heavenly deities. In the ceremonies of the second class, the appeal was made to the less powerful, but more intimate earthly gods who were believed to have bestowed power upon the performers. Among the ceremonies of the second class, those of the medicine men were the most important.

756 In every Indian tribe there were a number of persons, called medicine men by the whites, who were regarded as the possessors of supernatural powers which enabled them to recognize and cure disease. They were believed to have received their powers from some supernatural being either as a direct gift or as the result of instruction by some person who had received such powers. Although they frequently employed sleight of hand and other trickery to impress the uninitiated, many of them believed that they really possessed the powers attributed to them, and performed their ceremonies in good faith. In some cases they combined the functions of a shaman or priest with that of a healer, and thus exercised great influence over the people. In most of the populous tribes they were organized into guilds or societies.

Among the Pawnee, the medicine men ranked [554]
socially next to the chiefs and priests. They usually
wore a distinctive costume consisting of a buffalo robe [292]
with the hair out, a bear's-claw necklace, and a cap of
751 beaver skin. They also wore charms or amulets con-
sisting of the tail and claws of the wild cat, badger, or 756
bear, bear's ears, miniature pipes, and downy feathers,

[751] attached to a bandoleer of beads or seeds. Instead of
756 the bandoleer a gaming ring containing charms was sometimes worn on the arm. Each medicine man had a bag, generally made from the skin of an animal tanned whole, in which he kept his roots, paints, white clay, and other objects used in working his cures. The latter varied with the individual, but usually consisted of deer tails, the leg bones and claws of eagles, human bones, dried fingers, and very often the maw stone of a buffalo. The last was greatly valued, as it was supposed to contain the life or soul of the buffalo. The medicine men's bags with their contents were usually handed down from father to son, or were given to a newly initiated medicine man by his instructor.

755 The methods used to work cures varied with the nature of the disease and the customs of the medicine man. Diseases of unknown origin and those ascribed to witchcraft could only be treated by some one who could work a counter spell. Such diseases were usually eradicated by sucking a feather, small stone, blood, or some other object from the patient, singing and the shaking of a rattle being part of the performance. The object sucked out was always thrown into the fire and consumed so that the seat or cause of the trouble could not enter again into the patient or into
756 any one else. All medicine men knew more or less of
[278] roots and herbs, which they administered as teas or in powdered form. The pay of the medicine man, which was given him when his services were no longer required, varied with the wealth of the patient. It sometimes consisted of buffalo robes and parfleches of dried meat, but was more often a sack of corn or a few strands of dried, braided pumpkins. He was paid even when he failed to work a cure.

756 The supernatural beings from whom the Pawnee
776 medicine men derived their powers were, for the most part, identified with animals. Not all animals were

able or willing to confer power, and there are some 756
indications that all those recognized as guardians were 776
related to one or another of the four supernatural
beings in the west, the messengers of the Evening Star.
It was believed that every man passed at birth under
the influence of some supernatural being. No one
knew who this guardian was, but he would manifest
himself later in the man's career. He was usually
discovered when the man fell sick during childhood.
Medicine men were sent for, and the guardian of the
one who was to be able to make the cure was thereby
shown to be the guardian of the child. If, on reaching
manhood, the boy desired to become a medicine man,
he would seek to acquire powers from his guardian.

The powers conferred by the supernatural beings 756
were of three sorts, power to cure the sick, power to [776]
perform feats of magic, and power of a third sort, [789]
called *pikawiu*, for which there is no equivalent in
English. Of these, the curative power was considered
by far the most important. The ability to perform
feats of magic was simply a tangible evidence that the
medicine man possessed the knowledge which would
enable him to cure the sick. The third sort of power
resembled hypnotism in some of its manifestations.
By it the medicine man was enabled to subjugate the
will of another to his own and to render his patient
passive during ceremonies so that his power could go
to the soul of the patient and remove the evil influence
which was at the root of the disease. The *pikawiu*
power was also likened to an arrow or bullet in its ability
to cut off life. Medicine men could throw this power
into an enemy as one would shoot an arrow, and the
individual attacked in this way was helpless until
some other medicine man, who understood the power,
exercised his magic to draw it out. Among the Pawnee 754
there was a class of men and women, not true medicine
men, who possessed this power and used it for evil

754 purposes. Their guardians were certain animals which
[776] were conceived of as having evil spirits. They were
[565] recruited from the lower classes in the tribe, and were
feared and disliked by the better element. Like the
medicine men, they were organized into a society, but
nothing is known of their ceremonies.

756 The Pawnee medicine men were organized into a
number of societies which were united by certain
secrets which they had in common. In addition to
these secrets, which were known to all medicine men,
but concealed from the rest of the tribe, each society
and even each member had individual secrets. The
oldest of these societies was that of the Pumpkin Vine
village all of whose members were said to have originally
been medicine men. Its members derived their
powers from a number of different guardians. In the
other medicine societies, which were organized at a
later date, all the members derived their powers from
the same guardian. A man might become a medicine
man as the result of a supernatural experience during
which powers were conferred upon him directly by his
[787] guardian. Such experiences were sought through long
continued prayer and fasting. More commonly, when
a man desired to become a medicine man and had determined
his guardian, he applied to some medicine
man who had derived his powers from that being, and
asked for instruction. If the medicine man believed
him to be sincere and was willing to accept the gifts
which he offered in payment, he received him as a pupil
and, at the next meeting of the medicine lodge, took
him into the lodge with him and instructed him. The
lodge sometimes continued in session two months; and
[837] during this time, as part payment, the medicine man
exercised the rights of a husband toward his pupil's
wife. Often a medicine man would have several pupils
whose wives would remain with him in his booth in
the medicine lodge. He might instruct them also if he

wished, and in this way the women learned his secrets 756
and became able themselves to practice medicine. The origin of the medicine societies is described in the following legend:—

"Once there was a man who lived alone, and did 539
not mingle with the rest of the tribe. One night he 773
had a wonderful dream. He dreamed that he stood on the bank of a wide river, and that a water monster came to the surface and spoke to him. He was so much impressed by this dream that he decided to seek for the river. He had several pairs of moccasins made, filled them with dried meat and parched corn, and started out, traveling eastward. He traveled for many days until he came to a great stream of water which he called Kits-ta-rux-ti ('the Wonderful River'). He stood upon the bank looking down, and all at once the water monster he had seen in his dream rose to the surface. It was very large and long. On its head was hair of many colors, and around its mouth were many-colored feelers. It did not speak to him, but dived, and the man leaped into the river after it. He found himself in a lodge of animals. Beside the altar were an owl and a beaver, while all the other animals sat around in a circle. Near the entrance were two ponds and by each of these two big geese. In the west of the lodge sat a woman. The water monster which had led him to the lodge of the animals lay to the south of the entrance, and acted as spokesman for the other animals. He said, 'My son, I come to you from the Big Waters. I was sent to you by Tirawa to instruct you and to tell these animals to instruct you in their mysteries. When you go home, tell your people to make an image of me and lay it in the lodge as I am now lying. The fireplace you see is not a fireplace, but a wonderful turtle. The woman sitting in the west is not a woman, but a thing of clay. She is a witch woman. The geese that stand by the ponds, when they flap their wings, make a noise

539 773 was in session, they would come in and ask the medicine men to help them, and they would give them a place in the lodge. In this way the society grew. People from other bands also heard about it and came begging to learn the mysteries. The medicine men taught them, and they went back to their own people and started other medicine lodges."

756 796 The ceremonies of the historic medicine lodge agreed in a general way with those last described in the legendary account of its origin, but there were several features not mentioned in the story just given. The preparations for the great fall ceremony were begun while the people were still on the spring buffalo hunt. At this time the leading medicine men selected two members of the society to make two bows and four arrows. When these were completed, they were given to two other medicine men with instructions for one to kill a bull and the other a cow. The animals had to be killed with a single arrow, but it is said that because of the magic powers of the arrows the hunters never failed to do this. [532] [778] The bull's hide was to be used to cover the head of the water-monster image, the cow's hide to cloth the figure of the witch woman. Two more buffalo, also a bull and a cow, were then killed in the same way, the hide of the former being saved to make an image of the Morning Star, and that of the latter, to make nine small images which represented the important heavenly gods. [778] When the buffalo had been killed, the bows and arrows were returned to the leading medicine men who placed them among their sacred objects.

On the return from the hunt, the four leading medicine men went to the medicine lodge and ordered [342] [346] that it be cleared for the ceremony. The same lodge seems to have been used for the ceremony year after year, but was occupied as a dwelling between ceremonies.

monies. All the beds and other furniture were carried 756
out by the women, and the floor swept. When this had 796
been done, the medicine men seated themselves in front
of the lodge altar and sent their errand men to notify
the other members of the society. After these had
arrived and taken their places, the leaders went to each
of them in turn and directed them, in a whisper, to [785]
prepare for the ceremony by a four-day fast. Each
man, when he received this notification, returned to his
own lodge, took his medicine bag, and left the village
to spend that time in solitary fasting and prayer. At
the expiration of the fast they bathed in the river and
returned to the medicine lodge, where each took his
appointed place.

The following morning, all the members of the society went to the river bottom to cut willows and cotton woods for the small booths which were to be built inside the large lodge. When they reached the timber, one of the two leading medicine men prayed and offered smoke to the heavenly gods, while the other, after he had finished, paid the same honors to the earthly gods. When this had been done, the timbers were cut and carried back to the main lodge, and the booths built.

The next morning the image of the water monster 756
was made, the leaders assigning to different men the 778
task of getting the things needed and making the 796
different parts. This image was nearly sixty feet in 532
length and encircled the lodge, with its head and tail on
either side of the entrance. The framework was made
of pieces of ashwood lashed together with sinew. Over
these a layer of grass was laid, and the whole covered
with mud which was smoothed and painted in different
colors. The mouth of the figure was so large that a
man could crawl into it, and was provided with pointed
teeth, also of ashwood. On each side of the mouth,
long, slender willow-rods were stuck to represent

756 feelers. The head was covered with a black-dyed
778 buffalo robe and painted and decorated with downy
796 feathers. The image of the turtle, in the center of
532 which was the fire place, and that of the witch woman, were made the next day. The woman's image consisted of a willow frame covered with grass and surfaced with clay. The features were modeled, and the eyes were made with pumpkin seeds blackened in the center. A buffalo scalp was placed on the head, and to this were attached long braids of human hair which hung down to the knees. The figure was dressed in a buffalo robe.

756 When the images had been made, a ceremony was
796 held by which each of the medicine men received power from either the monster or the witch woman. Some chose one, and some the other. On the day following, they went to cut the cedar tree which was to be placed just inside the entrance. When they found a suitable tree, they formed a circle around it, prayed to it, made presents to it of robes and other things, and finally took power from it. When this had been done, they cut it down. As it fell, they began to hypnotize each other and work sleight of hand. They then picked it up and carried it back to the village singing. As they neared the village, a second party of medicine men came out to meet them, and began to hypnotize them and try to drive them back. The party with the tree were more powerful, and gradually drove the others back to the edge of the village. There the tree was laid down, and all the people came and threw offerings on it. These offerings were gathered up, and were finally given to the medicine men. The tree was then taken to the lodge and set up, and its branches were covered with white
[532] downy feathers. That night they made the images of
[778] the Morning Star and the heavenly gods. These were
flat pieces of hide, cut in the outline of a man. The image of the Morning Star was fastened to a long pole

and raised above the smoke-hole just before the star rose. The other images were fastened to the tops of the main posts or on a cord running across the upper part of the lodge.

[532]
[778]
756
796

It is uncertain at what stage in the ceremony the altar of loon skins was set up, but it seems to have been after the various images had been made. The sticks bearing the skins were thrust in the ground on the west side of the lodge, and the space between them sprinkled with water and then covered with downy feathers. When this had been done, the leader of the medicine men raised his face to the sky and cried, "Father, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, now stand on the altar. Give us plenty of rain this summer." Then dropping his voice to a whisper and bowing down to the ground, he said, "Mother Earth, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, are now upon you. Let our crops grow so that we may be fed." When he had done this, he went outside the lodge and called upon all the gods to give power to the loons so that they, in turn, could give power to the people.

At dawn of the day following that on which the last of the images had been made and set up, the various medicine men dressed themselves to represent their guardian animals and marched, in order of the importance of their guardians, around the outside of the lodge and then around the inside. They did this four times, dancing and imitating the cries and actions of their guardians. They then held a feast in the lodge. That night they once more marched out in procession and visited all the lodges which contained sacred bundles, dancing in each. When they had returned to the medicine lodge, the leaders selected certain medicine men to go through the village once more, visit every lodge, and report if any one was sick. When

756 796 the report had been made, other men were sent to cure them.

The next morning, a number of women were summoned to the medicine lodge and told to go into the timber and get loads of wood. When they returned with their burdens, they were brought into the lodge, fed, and instructed in some of the mysteries. Then they returned to their homes. In the afternoon the medicine men once more dressed to imitate their guardians and came out of the lodge, dancing and per- [789] forming various sleight of hand tricks. The favorite trick seems to have been to thrust long rods down their throats. They repeated the outside performance four times. That evening they built a great fire inside the lodge and invited all the people to an exhibition of sleight of hand. These performances were repeated every night for a month or more, and it was during this time that new medicine men were initiated.

756 When a man desired to join the medicine lodge, he told his relatives and friends, and they helped him to gather property of all sorts. When he had enough, he went to the lodge, taking the gifts with him, and approached the man from whom he wanted to learn the mysteries. He passed his hands over the man's head and arms and said, "Medicine man, I am poor. I stand before you a poor man wanting to learn the mysteries you possess. Look upon these gifts which I have brought you." When he had done this, he presented the medicine man with a filled pipe. If the latter was willing to teach him, he accepted the pipe and took the young man into his booth with him.

756 796 At the conclusion of the ceremonies, the booths and images were removed from the lodge, carried down into the bed of the river and placed in the shallow water in the same relative positions they had

occupied in the lodge. As the procession went down 756
to the river, the medicine men mesmerized one an- 796
other, and performed sleight of hand. It was customary, before the witch woman's image was placed in the water, for some woman among the bystanders to remove all her clothing and ornaments and place them upon it. When this ceremony was finished, they returned to the medicine lodge, offered smoke to the animal gods, and sprinkled the floor of the lodge with water to cleanse it and free it from the powers that had been summoned there during the ceremony. After the lodge had been purified in this way, the medicine men held a feast and returned to their homes. The two medicine men to whom the altar belonged remained behind to take it down and roll the various objects up in the bundle in which they were kept between ceremonies. This completed the ceremony, and the owners of the lodge were free to live in it as before.

In addition to the serious performers in the medi- 522
cine men's ceremonies there were certain men, called 796
kitscoa, who acted as clowns. They wore masks made from corn husks, rawhide, wood, and feathers, dressed grotesquely, and daubed their bodies with mud. It seems to have been their duty to perform strange antics during the ceremonies to amuse the people, and particularly to imitate in a mocking spirit the serious acts of the others. They were said to represent hairy dwarfs or supernatural beings who had mysterious
ways and of whom the people were afraid. Similar [171]
clowns play an important part in the ceremonies of some of the Pueblo tribes.

The function of the medicine men's ceremonies 756
was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, 796
drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight of hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers at-

756 tributed to them. The ceremonies also possessed cer-
796 tain social functions, for the spectators included women and children as well as men.

000 This account has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey.

RALPH LINTON

would just put these together and it would be a good soup when you 159
had nothing else to eat. We like to eat however it tastes, but we certainly
like to eat a well-cooked dish. In the spring my grandmother went 603
out and collected wild turnips and things to save up for the winter. She never went dancing. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy had a very different personality from my grandmother. She was not at all bashful like my grandmother, who was very good at doing all sorts of things, but didn't do much talking. The reason my grandmother was bashful in this way was because she was humble and sad on account of the death of her sons in the battles with the Poncas.

The little boy Yellow Calf, grandson of Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, 159
was six or seven years old and the constant companion of Otter. His
name *Ari-pahat*, "calf-red," referred not to a red color, but to a tawny 551
yellow. The name had an important sacred reference—the calfskin wrapping 602
around the Evening Star bundle, and it must have been given to him in the course of a ceremony to which his family contributed. His father, High Noon, was the middle one of White Woman's three brothers who always came to the house. Otter called High Noon *tiwatciriks*, "uncle," and as the nephew, Otter called Yellow Calf *piirau*, "child." High Noon sent meat to the house on behalf of his son. Otter describes him in the following terms:

> Yellow Calf was a bit livelier than me. We played together. He wanted to fight sometimes but I didn't want to. He wasn't rough though. When we got to Oklahoma we separated, and we never did get together again.
>
> His family was unfortunate for even when they succeeded in getting horses, the horses died. But afterward Yellow Calf had good luck. First he married an old lady who had no relatives of her own and he inherited all her land. Then when he married a younger woman, his wife got some land of her own. They had many daughters, all of whom married and went all over to live. When he died, he left a large family.

The occasion of Yellow Calf's first marriage is an interesting story. 159
When he was about eighteen, Yellow Calf was seized with hysteria. He 756 •
imagined he saw a kind of Pawnee Lorelei—a little deer called *tatatsiks*,
that turned into a woman. The family did all they could to cure him [158]
but everything they tried was in vain. Then a medicine woman of about [776]
fifty said she could cure him, providing they could get married (Old Lady Tsitawa—see pp. 294-295, 305). They did marry and the cure was successful, and Yellow Calf prospered after that. Otter's mother White Woman remarked at the time that it was a pity Yellow Calf's mother wasn't alive when he was having all that trouble or she could have told

159 him to jump into the water and stay under, and when he came out, some 756 deer hair would have come up out of his throat and he would have been well at once. The lesson was not lost on Otter, though he seems never to have needed it.

762 The case of the old medicine woman is also of interest. Her son, a boy of fourteen, had recently committed suicide. He had resented her second husband and finally shot himself. Otter's older brother Fox Chief had taken the occasion to point out to him that suicide solved nothing and that all the boy had accomplished was to leave his mother all alone.

Old Bull was the leading man of the south half of the house. 159 He was a man of good-natured jocularity, about fifty years old. He was a 555 highly skilled buffalo hunter and on occasion he was known to outrun a buffalo. His full name was *Hikuts-tarus*, "Old Buffalo Bull"—"Scabby" or "Itchy." He was a man of good family who had begun life with a number of advantages. His father was a prominent chief, and he was sitting in his family's hereditary seat in the chiefs' council. In his boyhood he had struck up a friendship with a poor boy named Small who was serving in a chief's household. The poor boy had a vision and he had chosen to share it with his wealthy friend, Old Bull (see pp. 322-335). Then, while he was out tending the horses of his wealthy patron, Small was killed by the Sioux and Old Bull continued with Small's teachings and rose to prominence in the Doctor Association. He was currently a leader of the Deer Cult of that body. Not only his skill as a buffalo hunter, but his rise in the medical profession were notable personal achievements.

159 Old Bull and Victory Call had a kin relationship that went back to past 554 family history. It was usual for every prominent man, particularly 592 among the important chiefs and doctors, to draw around him numbers of young men who would come to live in his house and serve him in various ways as apprentices or dependents. Chief Big Eagle was such a 159 man with a large household in Old Village in 1838. He had three sons 554 of his own of whom the oldest was *kax-kuutu*, "Rotten-House," the 602 second Sitting Hawk, and the third, Victory Call. Among the other young men who were in the house it was always possible to find some kin line that would make them brothers to the children of their host. Old Bull's father was one of these young men and he had called Victory Call, *irari*, "brother." Now that they were settled together in a common household, Old Bull properly addressed Victory Call as *atias*, "my father," since Old Bull's father had been counted as Victory Call's brother. Accordingly, Victory Call addressed Old Bull as *piirau*, "my child." Otter, who also called Victory Call father and was called by him *piirau*, was as a brother to Old Bull, Old Bull assuming the role of older brother to the boy. As younger brother, Otter would wait until his older brother Old Bull ad-

13

CEREMONIAL PREPARATIONS FOR SUMMER BUFFALO HUNT

000

Ritual Meeting of the Chiefs—New Responsibilities of Chiefs—Mythohistorical Significance of Skull Bundle—Development of Original Village Federations—Ceremony Described—Chief of Hunt Is Chosen—Banquet Follows—People of Village Informed

221 When the corn was laid by in the beginning of June, a new phase in
* 224 the Pawnee year's round began. Everyone turned their thoughts to the
long migration out onto the prairie. The mass hunt of the buffalo herd
that was the next phase in the Pawnee year's round would last all sum-
mer until time for the harvest in the beginning of September. Would
[162] they find the herd, would they get a plentiful supply of meat for their
ceremonial banquets, would they be attacked by the enemy, would they
live in health and at peace with one another—three thousand people in four
Skidi villages and four Pawnee bands—each with its own ways and in-
terests on a journey of 900 miles over the land and across the rivers?

622 As was their practice, it was the chiefs, priests, and medicine men that
221 took the first formal steps toward initiating each new round of activities
[793] through the year so that the people were taught and reminded of what
lay ahead. In the village, priest and chief shared almost equally in keep-
• [756] ing life on an ordered course, but on the march it was the constant
vigilance of the chief that determined the achievement of this goal.
And so this season opened with a ritual meeting of the chiefs, validating
their cosmic sanction and soliciting the confidence of the people.

622 The whole meaning of this ceremony was that the chiefs alone were
796 taking responsibility for the welfare of the people on the hunt and that
* 224 the sacred meat they were about to get was a great and Heaven-sent

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

15

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY

000

A Summary Ceremony—a Symbolic Washing of All Ceremonial Objects—a History of the Ceremony—Celestial and Doctors' Symbolism Combined—Ceremony Explained—Participation of People in Ceremony

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY that was held before leaving on the 796
hunt was, in effect, a summary of all the Pawnee religious beliefs and 783
practices. In Pawnee ideology, the sky was one realm and the earth and 772
the waters another. The priests were in charge of the cosmic ceremonies, [224]*
and the medicine men, or doctors, were in charge of the animals that [793]
were connected with the earth and the waters. In this last category, the [756] •
physical structure of man and his physical health were included. But ultimately, according to Pawnee thought, the sky was the first cause and
the continuing source of power in both realms. The doctors conducted 796
a separate cycle of ceremonies from the priests, and in the fall, at the gala 783
ceremony that was held after the harvest was in, they acknowledged their 756
celestial origin by hanging buffalo-hide cutouts of the Morning Star and the other sky gods from the ceiling of the ceremonial lodge. During the forthcoming summer hunt, a specially selected doctor would kill a buffalo bull and a cow to provide the skins for this purpose and another bull and cow to build up the images of their own special gods.

The central feature of the ceremony they would now conduct was the 796
carrying of all the sacred objects to the stream, there washing them 783
symbolically. Then the people would clean up the whole village and wash 778
themselves in the stream. This great cleansing ritual was under the direction of the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the northeast of the semicardinal-direction bundles. In mythohistory this god was a sort of master [776]

796 of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as
783 indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron
778 of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took
776 care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night, the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

* [224] The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage
[772] twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbolisms from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the creation ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theol-
• 756 ogy of the cosmos was given. The doctors also had a systematic ideology
of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had
773 much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans
[171] or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

756

months. Thereafter, whenever a man had an animal vision, he applied to 773
the Doctor Association and was given a place in the lodge.

All during the summer hunt and the hard work of getting in the harvest 756
that followed, the people looked forward with great anticipation to 796
the elaborate performances that the doctors would put on all during the 224*
month of October. It was a Grand Opera with a connected series of episodes, combining animal mimes, displays of sleight of hand, and illusionist performances of different kinds, hypnotic acts, songs, and dances. In that summer the people contributed the dried meat of eighty buffalo to the Doctor Association for the forthcoming ceremony and in former times as many as 140 were given. This was one of the prime motivations for going on the hunt.

In the Great Cleansing Ceremony now to be held before departure, 796
both the celestial and the doctors' symbolism was combined, one con- 783
nected with crops and the other with the wild animals.

As soon as the chiefs had determined the date for the departure on the 796
hunt, they notified the priest of the sacred bundle who was in charge for 783
that season, and he in turn got in touch with the other four priests. They 793
all came to his lodge, beating on their bundles to signify that they were [778]
now going to conduct a national ceremony. They took their appointed places at the west, putting their bundles down in front of them and sending the errand man to summon the other bundle keepers to come with their mats and food bowls. They spread their mats and sat in their traditional places, hanging their bundles on the wall behind them. They remained in the lodge for three days and nights, feasting and talking together. Meanwhile the four main priests went through the village calling on the people to bring gifts to Mother Corn. They were being asked to bring the clothes that would costume the chief who was to lead the pro-
cession when they took the sacred objects to the stream. Only men of [577]
sterling character were privileged to make such a contribution—those who were public spirited enough to initiate public ceremonies, were courageous in defense, volunteered frequently for public service, were generous in helping the less fortunate, did not harbor malice, did not engage in any kind of violence or loud conduct, did not gamble or indulge in sexual adventures in unsanctioned social categories. They were to bring a buffalo robe, moccasins, a buffalo-hair cord as a girdle, and dried buffalo meat and fat that had been consecrated on the previous buffalo hunt. The donors would paint themselves red, carrying their gift through the village for everyone to see as they took it to the ceremonial lodge. After the gift was presented, two messengers went through the village announcing the gift and publicly thanking the donor.

The actual ceremony in the lodge was performed on the fourth day 796
after the bundle keepers had assembled there. Very early that morning

628 Just as the meeting was drawing to a close, as in all chiefs' meetings, an
623 old man would climb up onto the roof of the lodge and cry out to the village
203 what had been decided. In this case he did so early next morning.
*224 His wording was in a precise telegraphic style so that it could be clearly understood by everyone. He said:

> This was what was decided in the chiefs' meeting. White Eagle decided we are going to hunt in four days. Anything you have to do, get finished in that time. On the fifth day, we'll go out of the village. We'll camp on the other (south) side of the Loup River (*its-kari*, "potatoes-many").
>
> We'll camp there a whole day so that any of you that aren't quite through can join us any time that day and up to the evening of the sixth day. On the seventh day we are going to be moving upstream (westward).

The old man, having completed his announcement, went back into his
*224 lodge.

887 Toward evening any old man who felt impelled might get up onto the
roof of his house and talk to the people. He would say whatever was on
537 his mind—about events in the past and their lessons for the future, or any
[789] other matters that seemed pertinent. Reviewing past events that were successful was considered a kind of sympathetic magic as well as of practical value. At this time the old man might talk about the fields and of how they were in the past. "All that," he would conclude "is in the past. But today we may have the same luck." Then he would continue in a different vein: "Try to help one another and take care of the children. The little ones like to swim and one must watch that they don't drown. I hope we come home well and find everything in good order."

*224 Such an old man was likely to speak gently and phrase his thoughts
525 diplomatically and people listened carefully and thought about what he said. However, at the gambling grounds the gamblers had other matters on their minds. They were thinking about the good places they would come to along the way that were nice and smooth, with good buffalo grass growing on them—such a fine playing field for the hoop and pole game. They would discuss the different sites they were going to camp at where these would be found and agree between them that one would take along one stick and one the other so that they would have the equipment they needed for playing. For the inveterate gambler, this subject was always uppermost in his mind.

*224 Other men were thinking about how to get enough smoking tobacco
276 to fill their needs, and the doctors were occupied with the herbs and
• 756 medicines they would need to take along that were available only in this area. The tobacco was needed for ritual as well as for social purposes.

They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," 224*
they had to pack and go on. They arrived at the river about five in the 484*
evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north
bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or
less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming
in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but
they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As
soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often
done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. Some men [226]
used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took
buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and [225]
brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were
they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn [252]
husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were
unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went
out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were
officially headed for home. The night before, the military police had [625]
officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from [622]
his leadership of the hunt. He thanked them all and reviewed the
events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead
them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was
appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given
White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and
helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buffalo [787]
leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Republican
they would have to make before they could start north for the
Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sacred 796
bundles and the cults, but of special interest to everybody was the 431
Grand Opera [illegible] the associated doctors would give after the harvest, 756
lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the
association, called for his two errand men to go to all members, apprentices, 624
and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the 211
forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand
man would pick a dry weed, *hawastatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil,
and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute,
the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand
to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent,
dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and proceeded
to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. At 796
an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and 431
756

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 forty parfleches had been pledged. After the pledges were counted, the
431 word went from tent to tent and everyone was full of anticipation of the
756 color and excitement of the ceremony. In addition to this big medical
794 association there were a number of private cults that the people generally took an interest in.

752 afterward. One Sioux was killed and one Pawnee killed or scalped.
726 This is why Mad Bear was known as a brave man, heedless of any
danger to himself, like a boy, a *piraski.*

244 All the time that this struggle was going on, Victory Call, White Woman,
512 and No Corn were in No Corn's field picking beans. Horse Rider had
had to go quite a way to find the horses and when he got back to camp
to saddle them, they had left him a bite of breakfast and then he joined
them in the field. First he inspected the pumpkins and then they all
went around picking up the vines, and when a vine wrapped around a
cornstalk, they had to look all around for the ripe pods. This took until
noon and on the way home they took a swim in the creek. Arriving at
244 camp, they prepared a modest lunch of bread, coffee, and bits of ready-cooked
meat saved in a sack for such purposes—pieces of dried heart,
512 leg muscle, pieces of paunch, fat, etc. They called this *tsuspakahu.* They
262 opened the sack and dumped the pieces of meat on a spread and simply
264 picked up one and ate it with the bread and coffee. Sometimes they
had pulverized dried meat, *tapaharus,* with some bone grease instead of
the meat. They decided to have the same kind of meal in the evening, as
their backs ached from picking the beans. After the meal, the newly
244 picked beans were spread out to dry, and about three in the afternoon
512 White Woman decided that her beans were dry enough to thresh with
251 the long willow stick to get the beans out of the pods. Victory Call wandered
up to the store and Horse Rider either went to the gambling
grounds or just sat on a bluff smoking and looking around. The women
kept working with the beans.

512 That evening, Victory Call came in with supplies from the store for
439 supper: prunes, dry apples and some candy sticks for Otter—a gift of
the trader. People had seen Victory Call coming in while they were at
the gambling grounds watching the game, and they decided to come
over and have some dinner there. War Cry's younger brother, Brave
Shield, and Wants-the-Enemy dropped in for a visit. Some decided to
visit with Misery (*Akapakis*) instead, and White Woman felt slighted because
the youngest brother of War Cry, Leading Fox, had decided to go
there as also had Sun Chief, Victory Call's older son. She scolded Leading
Fox saying, "Why don't you come in. People will think I don't
take care of you." "Well," he said, "the boys wanted me to come with
them." She remarked about Sun Chief to Victory Call who reassured
her saying, "That's nothing. You have to watch girls, but you can't
keep boys home like that."

512 At dinner, Brave Shield mentioned that some of the Kitkehaxki
796 doctors were preparing to go back into the earth lodges to prepare for
the forthcoming doctor dances. Victory Call said that it was a bit too
756 early. It was better to finish the work so that they didn't have all this rub-

bish in their yards at home and then go up to the village. He said the 512
leading doctors would wait until people got all through before begin- 796
ning as "They liked to have a good crowd to attend the dances." At the 756
gambling grounds the talk was about the same subject. Presently two or three men came in from the South Bands and joined them at supper and talked about how things were going with them. "What are your folks doing over there?" they were asked. "We are working hard making roasted corn. The village is full of fleas. You have to clean it out two or three times before you can get in," said the South Bands men. "Same with us," the Skidis said.

Next morning Victory Call went to the field to see if there was much 244
of a load of green corn left to be gathered and roasted. The following 243
day they went to the two fields and brought them in. 251

After that a second bean crop was picked from each field on successive 252
days—the vines being almost entirely cleared with this picking. Then 512
the pumpkins were hauled in by all four of them and roasted: one day from White Woman's field, the next from No Corn's. They were all roasted and cut into rings.

About the *eleventh day* they got the mature corn from White Woman's field in two double horse loads—one in the morning and one in the afternoon. They got home about two o'clock in the afternoon, and being very tired dumped the load of dry ears and rested till supper
time. Then Old-Man-That-Chief joined them for supper and talked of 512
the old days in Old Village. He said: 173

> In the old days, an old lady like grandma would see an ear of corn 243
> or a single bean lying on the ground and she would be half-crying to see it lying there. Nowadays it's different. They leave things to waste on the ground. If they were roasting corn and they scraped an ear and left the kernels on one side, they would pick it up from the discarded pile again and clear it off. For if you didn't, the corn would talk about you. It was like a person. But nowadays they don't care.

Horse Rider and Victory Call listened with respectful attention to what the old man said. He continued, "You Horse Rider, are two steps behind me, but Victory Call—he is nearly on top (in the middle of life). He will be able to look around in all directions to see how he has come up there.

"A story is like a little seed. From it all sorts of other stories branch off for you. A story gives you life. Now that I am old, people invite me to come and eat good things with them and then they ask me to tell stories. So these stories keep me alive."

Now he told another story of the past. He said: "I heard that once way back when corn first came to our village, a good ear of corn had been thrown out with the rubbish and swept aside. The

their way and touched the tree as if it were an enemy, claiming war honors and stating that they were entering the territory of the enemy. Then they brought it inside. 796

While the war parties were out, the priests had prepared the postholes. In each they placed a cake of buffalo fat sprinkled with some tobacco, the fat representing the earth and the tobacco the people. A similar cake of fat sprinkled with tobacco was placed in the center of the fireplace. These cakes were then taken outside and buried under the little mound outside to the east of the enclosure.

As each war party came in with its pole, the priest of that semicardinal-direction bundle offered it the pipe to smoke and sang the song ritual while the warrior danced four times and planted the tree in the posthole. All the branches had been trimmed from the posts except the very top ones. The priests sang songs referring to the appropriate colors connected with the semicardinal directions and each post was painted its proper color. [782] [533]

The next phase of the ceremony was considered its most vital part. The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person now recited certain acts of the creation by Heaven. The skull, fastened to a stick, was costumed to represent Heaven as in the first episode of the ground-breaking (*awari*), ceremony in the spring. The paraphernalia for decorating the skull, including the paints, was kept inside the bundle in a bladder bag when not in use. 796 778

Another symbolic object was a wooden bowl filled with water to represent a primordial pond or the waters in general. In the water was a shell to represent running water and the continuity of life. On the shell was placed the jaw of a gar pike, the head of a (thunder?) bird and the image of a turtle, all symbolizing the denizens of the water and the rains. The skull rested to the west, and to the east of it the bowl of water with the objects connected by a framework of sticks on which the turtle was placed with a clamshell over his middle. There were four smooth stones that were either meteorites or buffalo maw stones which came from the sacred bundle of the former Village Partly-on-a-Hill. The turtle and the shell were from the Southwest Direction bundle. The four smooth stones stood for the four quarters of the world.

The chief who had charge of the Skull bundle now stood up with the skull in his hands and, facing the bowl, recited the acts of the creation that had been performed by Heaven. The main part of the ceremony was now complete.

During the following night there were additional dramatic acts. Certain doctors appeared dressed in the skins of bears, loons, wildcats, and wolves, each connected with one of the four semicardinal directions. During the creation, as the Morning Star went out to conquer the Evening Star, he had to overcome each of these primordial animals who were 796 [756]

34

PREPARATION FOR THE GRAND OPERA

000 *The Doctors' Profound Connection with the Animal World—Hypnotic Powers—Organization of the Doctor Lodge—Animal Cults—Construction of Images—Ideology of the Doctors—the Ceremonial Mode: Fighting and Sleight of Hand—Gaining Animal Knowledge—Getting the Cedar Tree for Ceremony*

796 THE DOCTORS' OPERA had to do neither with the ordered cosmos nor with
• 756 the well-regulated world of the cultivated plants, but with the mysterious
realm of the wild animals and their wild plant environment. The
[622] chief and the priest to whom the cosmic powers spoke in visions, were
[793] men of reason who spoke out clearly on what they thought, while the
[787] doctor who communed with the animal world had a slow, deliberate,
introspective mein, seldom if ever making clear pronouncements. The
756 animal cults all had their origin in the experience of an individual
man who in despair had reached out to the universe at large and received
a vision from an animal who was ready to intercede for him and
help him work out his problems. He had received special knowledge
that would help him cure the sick through the properties of the plants
and other curative procedures. In addition to this kind of knowledge,
the animal also transmitted to his protegé the power of hypnotism and
suggestion that gave him control over animals and other people and, if he
756 was skillful enough, over the enemies of the tribe. The Pawnee animal
173 cults were the result of traditions that had been handed down from
one person to another and elaborated in the course of time. People who

wished to share in the cult knowledge apprenticed themselves to a doctor 756
and gradually learned his lore, adding their own variations in the course [173]
of time. Each of the different cults held their own special ceremonies at
least twice a year—in the spring before going out on the summer buffalo [796]
hunt and in the fall before leaving for the winter hunt. In addition, all
these cults were organized into one big "Doctor Lodge." It is said that in [173]
the past there were two separate doctor lodges within the Skidi Band
that would stage big hypnotic contests between them. They were called
"East Doctors" and "West Doctors."

At the time of this narrative in 1867 there was one combined Doctor Lodge with two major leaders, one for the south side, Pipe Offering of Pumpkin-Vine Village, and one for the north side, Big Doctor of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. Despite their location in the lodge, they were still referred to as West and East Doctors respectively, coinciding with the relative location of their villages in the settlement. Big Doctor was considered the more authoritative of the two, which may have been due to personal factors rather than formal or ceremonial ones. Each of these leaders had an assistant from his village to help him manage his side. Sitting Hawk of Pumpkin-Vine assisted Good Pipe and Wonderful Old Bull of Bottomlands Village assisted Big Doctor. These men were both prominent in their own right—Sitting Hawk, for example, being a prominent member of the Bear Cult and a senior member of his family in the chiefs' council. The apprentices to these prominent doctors acted as errand men and cooked and served the meals. They were stationed on each side of the entrance at the east. Theoretically the head men should be willing to give them any information they wanted in return for their services, and eventually they would move up to a position in one of the animal cults in which the doctor had a vested interest. Several subapprentices sat
next to them waiting to assume the position of errand man when they
should move. Venerable old men who were not currently members of the [888]
cults sat in the northeast and southeast positions, further in the lodge [622]
than the apprentices. Chiefs who were invited to witness a performance
were seated next to the old men still further in. [554]

The bed platforms had all been uprooted and put outside on the roof of 756
the entry way and along the sides a series of booths had been built for 346
the animal cults. The booths were constructed with partition walls of willow saplings and main outer posts of cottonwood logs. Each booth was completely screened in, with a tiny entranceway cut near the bottom of the front wall so that the doctors could crawl in and out. Each cult was directed by a leader who had a series of apprentices and subapprentices with different degrees of knowledge of the cult tradition.

At this time eight cults were represented in the different booths, four on each side.

756
346

On the South Side	*On the North Side*
A *reindeer cult* in charge of Old Bull	*An eagle cult*
A *black-tailed deer* cult led by Old Lady Tsitawa (see p. 45)	A *fish hawk cult*
A *buffalo lodge* led by Wonderful Old Bull	A *coyote* lodge (including wolves and foxes)
Another *buffalo lodge* led by Leading Buffalo	A *bear* lodge jointly lead by Sitting Hawk and Angry Horse

173 The origin of the Associated Doctor Lodge was said to be in Pump-
756 kin-Vine Village where they would conduct a twenty-day ceremony.
178 When they joined the Skidi Federation, they incorporated the other
[631] doctors and extended the term to thirty days. The formation of the as-
756 sociation was attributed to an original visionary and images were con-
796 structed to commemorate various aspects of his vision. The most elabor-
532 ate was one that represented the serpentlike water monster that led him to the earth lodge of the animals under the Missouri. The body of the serpent, which was nearly 60 feet long, curved around the outside of the houseposts with its head at the southeast, a forked tail at the northeast, and its body curved toward the west. The body was constructed of a framework of pieces of ashwood tied with sinew, covered over with a layer of grass and plastered with clay, smoothed and painted in different colors. Its mouth, large enough for a man to crawl inside, was built of two rawhide containers, covered over with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with white downy eagle feathers. The open mouth was provided with large wedge-shaped cottonwood teeth and on each side of the mouth long slender willow rods to represent feelers or antennae.

They also had to model the figure of the witch woman who was in the visionary animal lodge under the Missouri. First they built up a willow frame and then covered it with grass and clay. They provided the witch with a realistically modeled face and pumpkin-seed eyes, blackened in the center to represent pupils. On her head they put a buffalo scalp to which they attached two long braids of human hair; for clothing she wore a buffalo-hide dress.

Next they modeled the fireplace into the shape of a turtle, with its head pointing east, its tail west and the four legs in the semicardinal directions. They scooped out the back for the fire pit.

It took twelve of the leading doctors two nights running to build these figures, for which large quantities of clay had to be brought in. They worked at night so that they would not be observed. These were the main figures that represented the vision in the animal lodge.

[776] The next task was to represent the star gods from whom everything

came, including the animals. For these, two consecrated buffalo skins 756
were shot with a special bow and arrow during the preceding summer. 776
The gods were represented as cutouts suspended from the roof of the 796
lodge. Each was hung approximately where it appeared in the heavens. 532
The female gods of the western skies were cut out of the buffalo cowskin. The bull hide was used for a large cutout figure of the Morning Star fastened to a stick and raised above the smokehold outside just before the star rose in the sky.

The tasks of the doctors in preparing the ceremonial lodge were summarized 756
by my informant as: 346
796

> Now that the booths, the drums and gourds (rattles) were done, the pictures hung, the serpent, witch, and turtle modeled, there was one more thing to do—to get the cedar tree.

Each one of these elements of ceremonial furniture represented an in- 756
volved ideological network of religious beliefs. The theology of the 796
celestial gods and the creation has already been sufficiently elaborated 77
on. The ideology of the Doctor Spirits concerned chiefly the waters as the primordial source, followed by the earth, the plants, and the animals—all however, ultimately subject to and derived from Heaven as denoted by the cutout figures of the cosmic gods.

The ideology of the doctors was greatly valued from a humanistic as 756
well as from a practical point of view. Theoretically, chiefs with heredi- 622
tary status should not want to be doctors as to some extent we might not expect a Grand Duke to want to go to medical school and set up an office for general practice. The degree of apprenticeship and subordination to an established practitioner seemed hardly consonant with the dignity of a chief from the point of view of the Pawnee, but nevertheless some of the chiefs did seek out doctor knowledge and participated actively in the apprentice roles. When a chief applied to a doctor to become his pupil, the doctor would try to dissuade him saying, "You're a chief. I don't sleep at night. I am always working. You don't want to be that way. I have to watch the sick at night." But if the chief is determined his wish will finally be granted. The doctor again would test him, saying, "You're good-looking. You don't want to have mud all over your face!" At last after all these probing questions, if the applicant said, "That's what I want," the doctor, convinced of his sincerity, would bless him and receive him under his tutelage. White Eagle, who had led the previous summer hunt, and his brother Charley Box were both chiefs and also deer doctors. Old Bull and Victory Call were both chiefs and practicing doctors; Victory Call's senior brother Sitting Hawk had an important place in the chief's council and was also a leading doctor in the lodge.

• 756 The kind of experience involved had a profound personal value. The way in which this knowledge was conceived is perhaps indicated by the personality attributed to the doctor—slow, deliberate, thoughtful and, to a considerable degree, introspective. As a more practical measure of social
[796] esteem perhaps was the fact that during the previous summer buffalo
[431] hunt, 60 parfleches of dried buffalo meat had been pledged in support
[178] of the performance, and in former times, before the population had been so heavily reduced, 140 parfleches were donated in one season.

756 The mode in which the doctors operated during their ceremony was of
796 two kinds. One was the inducing of a trance state in the other doctors:
789 utilizing the motions of the animal that was their special cult mentor. This was called *patsaku*, "shooting," and was also metaphorically referred to as "fighting." The second kind of activity of the doctors was a highly skilled sleight-of-hand performance, *tawaruku*, so expertly carried out that the illusion was completely convincing to the spectators. The metaphor for this kind of performance was "playing" or "romping," as of a child. The skill of the illusion in both cases has been attested to by the most hard-headed outside observers and this required extensive preparation and a long process of learning. The props were carefully designed to achieve the desired illusory effect and the strategy was planned with great precision, involving accomplices in the audience and special lighting effects developed by regulating the fire in the fireplace.

In view of these deliberate and extensive preparations for illusion, the question has often been raised of how these ceremonies could be regarded as religious in character. From my long experience with my informant, who retained a good deal of his old belief, it was the success in creating the illusion that was the mark of favor of the supernatural mentor, and therefore the performance was sincerely believed to be a religious experience. He would say, "If one does not have faith, he will fail." He cited examples where people of insufficient faith caused injury to themselves and to others while trying to perform. The success of the illusion depended upon the dexterity and agility of the performer and his ability to deflect the attention of the spectator just long enough for
[787] him to make the necessary shifts. There may possibly have been some measure of self-induced trance such as occurred to the priests incidentally in the course of the creation ceremony. (Our own knowledge of the subject is too elementary to identify the situation psychologically.)

A major difference between our experience and theirs should be es-
787 pecially noted. The Pawnees as well as many peoples who practiced
825 these arts were in constant association with wild animals in their natural habitat, an experience which is entirely absent in our own world. They lived within a world of wild animals in their hunting and even in defense of their settlements, they had to have an intimate knowledge of the emo-

tional as well as the physical structure of these animals. The device of 787
animal impersonation by dressing up in animal skins and imitating their 825
sounds and motions is universally reported for hunting peoples and must go back to the very dawn of man's history. It may be that some degree of self-induced trance or control of the prey in these terms may have been involved in these operations. In any case, an intense rapport with the animals was involved.

Each doctor developed his own "animal repertoire." We may be able 756
to gain some insight into the relation between the doctor and his animal mentor from an actual case of a transfer of animal powers between two brothers who decided to make a fair exchange of their different knowledge.

Victory Call was anxious to get Bear knowledge from his older brother, Sitting Hawk, who was a leader of the Bear Lodge in the Doctor Association. One day when they were alone together he broached the subject. Sitting Hawk, however, was not willing to part with what he knew for nothing. He said, "I want something there on your side. We're going to trade." "You're my own brother," said Victory Call, "and you won't teach me for nothing?" "You're my own brother, too, and I know you won't teach me for nothing either," said Sitting Hawk. We should explain that Victory Call was the leader of a private doctor cult the *Raris-ta*, Dance-Deer or Whistle Dance involving the mescal bean that had become so prominent among the Pawnees that it was developing
into a feared rival of the Doctor Association itself. Two generations before, [177]
this cult had been borrowed from the Wichita, the Caddoan-speaking
kinsmen of the Pawnees to the south. Among other kinds of 756
knowledge, rattlesnake power was involved in the teachings. It is hard to 824
know what plants were involved in connection with the curing of snakebite
or the control of the snakes. Members of the *Raris-ta* could handle 825
a weed that was thought to be poisonous to other people, though there is no proof that this was the case. It was undulating in form like the snake itself. People were warned not to touch the plant unless they were members of the society. It was said of them that they had "snake-shot" or power, *rut-patsat-kuriraru*, "snake-shot-to-possess-or-own." Weeds associated with rattlesnakes have variously been identified from other tribes—a Mexican mentioned Dodder or Love Vine (*Cuscuta paradoxa* Raf.), saying that snakes took it into their dens for food; from the Dakota Indians there is a report that Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens* L.) was
known as snake food. The botanical identity of the Pawnee plant, however, 756
is not known. In the cosmic mythology it was said that the jealous 773
Fools-the-Wolves Star (Sirius) who had felt himself excluded from the 824
original Council of the Gods, was angered when people told irreverent 825
stores about Wolf or Coyote. Although in winter he couldn't control the situation, in summer he could enlist the aid of the Snake Star (Scor-

756 [773] [824] [825]

pio), who would send the snakes on earth to bite the teller. There are many other indications in Pawnee mythology of the fear and respect the Pawnees held for the power of the rattlesnake.

Later in the course of our account of the doctor performances, we shall see that Victory Call did receive Bear knowledge from his brother, but first he taught him rattlesnake knowledge.

> One day Victory Call said to Sitting Hawk, "Well, let's go." If luck were with them they would find a rattlesnake right away. Sure enough, there sat a snake curled up with his head sticking up in the middle. Victory Call said, "Go ahead and catch it." Sitting Hawk thought, "It's going to bite me." The snake knew that Sitting Hawk was afraid of him. His fangs were sticking up and he was getting ready to bite. Sitting Hawk grabbed him by the neck. The snake felt cold on his arm. Sitting Hawk put the snake down and began to talk to him. He said, "That's what I wanted to know. That's what I wanted to find out." The snake said to Sitting Hawk, "I'm just like you. But you whip me and kill me for nothing. That's why, when you come in my path, I rattle to you to let you know I'm here. If you get out of my way then, I don't have to poison you. But when you come and abuse us, we must do something about it."
>
> Sitting Hawk now caressed Victory Call in blessing. The two men sat down and smoked a pipe together, offering puffs of smoke to the snake and talking to him. Then they went home and Victory Call gave Sitting Hawk some medicine to cure snakebite and showed him the weed it was prepared from.

Long after this time, when Sitting Hawk and Victory Call were dead and the tribe had moved to Oklahoma, Otter's older brother Fox Chief tried to transfer some rattlesnake power to him. But Otter failed from fear and hesitation:

> We two were walking along and we saw a big rattlesnake. Fox Chief told me to get hold of it, but I was afraid. Because of this, I would never have another chance. Fox Chief always had a little bundle of medicine in his buttonhole with fringes that hung down about four inches. He took a twig and chewed the end of it, dipping it in the medicine and then putting it near the end of the snake's nose. The snake relaxed and lay stretched out. He picked it up and put it in the crook of his arm so that it rested against the sheet that Fox Chief was wearing as a blanket. In this way he carried the snake home.
>
> When we arrived at his earth lodge, his wife was sitting in front on a mat making a pair of moccasins. He said to her, "I've brought you something to eat." She was very pleased until she saw what he had

brought. She yelled, "Take that away!" "He's all right," said Fox 756 Chief, "You people are foolish." "But he'll bite someone if you set him free in the village," said his wife. "No, he knows we live here. He'll go straight off to that rocky place over there." Then he released the snake and the snake went directly away without disturbing anyone. And so I lost my chance to learn—by not believing.

This story, told in Oklahoma in 1936, sixty years later, was sincerely believed.

With this confident knowledge of the herbs and roots connected with 756 it, the doctors did cure the sick, combining what must have been some 755 empirical observation of physical efficacy with personal influence and suggestion. It was this latter aspect that was the subject of their cere- [796] mony at this time and an affirmation of their faith in their calling.

Last of all they had to get the cedar tree that would stand just outside 756 the Bear Booth to the west of its entrance. The bear and the cedar were 796 associated together, and both belonged to the northeast direction. 824 Their celestial affiliation was with the sun and moon. All the trees that were used in setting up the Doctor Lodge were brought in with a great deal of ceremony. The six cottonwood trees that had been used to build [778] the animal booths symbolized the beaver, and the waters and were consecrated accordingly. To get the cedar, twenty doctors set out before sunrise for the Loup River where the cedar tree had been located the day before. The leader of the party carried a bearhide rattle. [534]

On the return journey, they stopped halfway and practiced hypnotism 756 on one another. The doctors who had remained behind in the lodge would 796 try to prevent the incoming party from entering the village. One of the doctors was stationed at the top of the lodge to sight them as they were returning. The incoming party stopped in the timber and painted themselves so that they could rehearse in order to "put on a good show for the people of the village." They were sighted approaching from the southwest by the doctors in the lodge who went south through the village to meet them as they were about to enter and managed hypnotically to drive them back. The leader of the incoming party was sounding his bearhide rattle and the people climbed onto the roofs of their lodges to watch. The approaching party dropped the cedar, and, in their hypnotized condition some began to impersonate wolves, some deer, all imitating the motions of the different animals. As they came, one of the deer tumbled over, and the wolves tumbled on their noses and lay there kicking. Then they got up looked around dazed as they recovered from their trance. People came and threw offerings of calico and black handkerchiefs on the cedar tree as it lay on the ground.

Inside the lodge, Big Doctor stood ready to receive the cedar tree [824] which was ceremonially treated and set down east of the fireplace while

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756 796 [824] they ate a feast together. That evening, with a special ritual, it was stood in the ground next to the Bear Booth.

At the feast that afternoon, Big Doctor had given an accounting of how their meat supplies were holding up. Sixty rawhide containers of dried buffalo meat had been donated and these had to last for the whole proceedings. Including the present meal, they had used up fifteen. The doctors had been working for nine days. Two more were used cleaning the lodge of fleas, and, for the two days used in building the serpent, the turtle, and the witch woman, they had used up four containers.

796 756 313 [462] The question of wood for fuel also came up at this time. As the meal was coming to a close, the north errand man whispered into Big Doctor's ear that he should mention this matter in his closing speech, particularly as a number of chiefs were present at the session. Getting wood was normally the function of the women and now they would have to enlist the help of a considerable party of women to lay in a supply. The two chiefs present would tell the various members of their families asking the women to get wood for the doctors and then word would readily get around. Old Man High Water was also instructed to go from house to house soliciting volunteers, saying, "The doctors want you to go for wood for them." He was cautioned not to mention any particular amount lest the women feel they were being pressured into going. The chiefs would arrange to have scouts go out with the women to protect them. Other young men would go voluntarily and picket on the hills.

35

ORGANIZING THE EARTH LODGE FOR THE CEREMONIAL PERFORMANCE—REHEARSALS AND CONSTRUCTION WORK

000

Work Corps to Prepare Earth Lodge for Ceremony—Fleas Burnt—Drums Repaired—Practice Sing—Meat Served the Singers—Building of Booths in Lodge—Building the Images

Of the four leaders of the Doctor Lodge, Sitting Hawk had the largest 756
and most conveniently located earth lodge, and it was in his lodge that 796
they decided to conduct the ceremony. The following are the details of 346
the way in which they managed to get the work done and the ceremonial procedures connected with it. 356

As soon as they got back from the hunt and set up camp, the three other doctors called on Sitting Hawk and discussed the matter; two weeks later he made arrangements to begin to get the lodge ready. Like all the others in the village, his lodge was infested with fleas that had to be smoked out. He organized his work corps, first calling in the two doctors' errand men and then sending each of them in turn to bring in another young man to assist. The five had dinner at Sitting Hawk's camp, then met next morning at the lodge and got to work. They pulled up the beds and piled them outside on the roof of the long entrance passageway. Sitting Hawk supervising, two of them got to work with burning torches to smoke out the fleas on each side. The floor was carefully swept and the dust carried far from the lodge to be dumped. Dusty and tired, their legs red with flea bites, about five o'clock they

756 796 346 356 took a swim in Beaver Creek and set out for Sitting Hawk's tent where they would be served dinner. Meanwhile, since word had gone all around the camp of what they were doing, other doctors decided to join them for supper. From this point on, all activities connected with the Doctor Lodge would be charged to the "Doctor Fund" of sixty parfleches of buffalo meat that had been pledged for the purpose. At each event the leader stated how much was being used for the current proceedings and how much of the total. At this meal, half a parfleche of buffalo meat was used up and it was so stated by Sitting Hawk.

The fleas would have to be burnt out one more time, and Sitting Hawk had told them that they would allow a day to pass in between and then do it on the subsequent day. As they were leaving the dinner that night, two other young doctors decided to join the work corps. The other two assistants, Man Chief and Fox Chief, decided to relax and do some gambling in the interim, before resuming their work next day.

When people in camp heard about what the doctors were doing, they all talked about speeding up their harvest. Someone would say, "Oh I'd like to see Bear!" Old ladies would say, "Oh, so they're cleaning the Doctor Lodge. Well it's high time. There ought to be a session in there already. When I was younger I used to be a good singer. When they went through the village, I used to sing." Other old ladies would reminisce about old times and about how many doctors there used to be in Old Village, Kitkehax-pakuxtu.

Now the men gathered at the lodge for the second bout with the fleas. Again Sitting Hawk supervised and two smoked them out on each side. The two additional young men cleared off the spider webs near the roof, for they were going to hang the cutouts up there; since they would have a large fire all during the sessions, the sparks might ignite the webs. Sitting Hawk wanted to keep them all busy so that during that day they didn't go off and gamble. They proceeded at a leisurely pace, sitting down for a smoke and telling stories every now and then. He sent his son Misery down to the Loup River to check the condition of the cedars and to locate a straight one about 4 inches in diameter. By late afternoon they took a long bath in Beaver Creek and then went to Sitting Hawk's tent for supper. On this occasion, the second half of the parfleche of meat from the Doctor's Fund was used up.

When everyone moved back into their earth lodges, Sitting Hawk's family had to divide up and move in with others. The women and children moved in with Chief's Road whose house was immediately to the west of theirs, and the boys went to the earth lodge of Comanche Chief into which Sitting Hawk's oldest son, Misery, was married.

While the others were cleaning the ceremonial lodge, the three other leading doctors had been working on the drums and other things. This had been mentioned among the guests at the dinner. Sitting Hawk had

said, "Now while we're cleaning, it's only right that Big Doctor, Wonderful 756
Old Bull, Pipe Offering, and Old Bull should be fixing their 796
drums and other things so that the boys can go into the lodge and practice 346
as soon as it is fixed up. We'd like the drums to sound good when 356
we get in there." "That's right," some one else would say, "I've been wanting to sing even now, but the drum isn't fixed yet. It doesn't sound good."

At last everything was in order and the four leading doctors moved 756
into the ceremonial lodge for the duration of the ceremony with the two 796
errand men to do the cooking. That night they would have a practice 624
sing with all the doctors who wanted to participate. The two leading doctors sent the two errand men out to invite them. They saw that the two men were appropriately clothed to go through the village, providing each with a buffalo robe which they wrapped around themselves with the hair side out, and an eagle-wing fan to carry. They filed out of the lodge one behind the other at a trot, and as they entered a lodge where a doctor lived they sat down one behind the other at the east with their eagle-wing fans in front of their faces. The appropriate response was for someone in the lodge to whisper into their right ear the question as to what they wished. They would answer also in a whisper that the doctor was to come right away. Then the two errand men would get up and trot out again, moving on to the next lodge where a doctor lived. Their mission did not always proceed with dispatch. Sometimes the two errand men got to a lodge where everyone was sleeping and the occupants would say, "Oh, I hate to get up," but they had to get up anyway and whisper their question and receive the whispered reply. In some lodges there were just young girls about and they said to each other, "You go and do it." "No, you go." Finally one would sit down next to the errand man and ask the question. He would whisper his reply, but not knowing the proper decorum, the girl would call right out loud, "Oh, I'll tell him." All these incidents were recounted in detail when the two men returned to the Doctor Lodge. In some places the people were eating and they made the errand men take a few bits of food before they would let them go. If the doctor happened to be home and was smoking, he would make them smoke with him a while before whispering his question and receiving his reply. Should the errand men meet a man outside the lodge on his way somewhere or toward the house, they would not discuss their business with him but would proceed to his lodge and notify the people there. As soon as the doctor was notified, he went straight to the Doctor Lodge. Everyone knew that on that night they were going to start by singing the doctor songs.

Twenty-six doctors came to the ceremonial lodge and Big Doctor 796
opened the evening with a speech. He said, "Tonight we are going to 756
practice our first songs so that we can send the birds, the winds, and

756 796 everything on their way south for the coming winter. I have sent men out to see about willows for our booths. They report that there are good trees for us. I wanted you to know that in a few days we are going to start to set up the lodge. Now the leaves are turning yellow and they are falling. This is the way the year goes round and that's why I wanted to tell you so that you can get ready. In two or three days you can come up here and get the wood to build your booths. Meanwhile you must fix up your paraphernalia, your whistles, and anything else you will need. I don't want to take up too much time talking this evening, as we have a great deal to do."

[824] Now he instructed the errand men to go to two of the men who had pledged meat and to bring it to the lodge. They went, carrying a piece of tent skin between them, and when they got to the lodges the meat was removed from the parfleches and placed on the skin, then carried by the errand men to the ceremonial lodge where it was set down near the southeast pillar. Now Sitting Hawk stated how their account stood. He said, "We used half a parfleche of meat cleaning up the lodge the first time, then the rest of the parfleche when we did the second cleaning. Now with these two, three parfleches will be used up."

756 796 533 Now the first song was begun and men, women, and children crowded in around the outside doorway to listen. They would say, "Oh, I like a good song." "Oh, I wish I could sing that song." A woman would remark, "I wonder when they'll put in the booths. I'd like to see the Bear." Inside the singing and dancing continued. The men were not costumed but simply painted, as this was a practice dance.

[782] After the first round of singing, the spectators were told they had to leave. Big Doctor said, "It's all over." This was because they were now going to make their ceremonial smoke offerings to the powers and outsiders could not be permitted to witness this. Some doctors refrained from singing in the first round altogether because they wanted to keep their songs from the public.

756 796 At the west were sitting the four leading doctors with their wives sitting directly behind them. On each side, along the north and south, the rest of the doctors were ranged. At the east ends on each side were eight chiefs, two from each of the four villages, viz., at the southeast, two from Village-across-a-Ridge and two from Pumpkin-Vine, and at the northeast, two chiefs from Bottomlands Village and two from Wolf-in-Water. Beyond these at the southeast were the old men, and an errand man at each side.

In the interim between the first and second round of singing, one of the eight chiefs got up and spoke on behalf of all of them. The doctors on their part spoke and said, "The echo of the drum drives back sickness when it comes."

[533] The singing alternated between the sides, first on the north and then

on the south. When they had gone halfway down the line, Big Doctor 756
appointed someone to get up and cut the meat into portions while the 796
errand man put up the water to boil. As the singing continued, the [533]
errand man finally announced that the meat was all cooked and a spread was laid down east of the fireplace and 43 portions were set out for the singers. It was midnight or later when the singing was over and the four drums and a number of gourd rattles were brought back to Big Doctor. He made a brief speech: "Now in three days we are going to get the wood for our booths. We must look to the future and make our plans. Now we are going to eat." Then he appointed two men for each side to do the serving of the meat. One portion was sent to the house where Sitting Hawk's wife was staying, "for the lodge." Before they could eat, [782]
an offering of meat and fat was made to the spirits in the significant directions of the universe. When the offering was completed, all said, "Nawa."

One more matter had to be attended to before the meat could finally be served. The meat was arranged on the spread according to where the people were sitting, and a stick was placed in the middle to act as a divider between the north and south halves. The pieces of meat were of two different sizes, some particularly large and some of ordinary proportions. Big Doctor asked Sitting Hawk to see that the special portions were placed in position so that they would be properly assigned. There were to be special portions for the four doctors at the west and their wives, for the eight chiefs, the two errand men, one each for the person sitting at the north on behalf of the North Star and at the south on behalf of the South Star, and for the four men who had been specially appointed to do the serving. Three or four extra pieces were set aside for possible mistakes in the count; if no mistakes had been made, these extra portions were placed on top of those that had already been set out for the chiefs. The smaller-size pieces were set out for the rest of the people. The meat was passed out in formal order and then the soup, in the same way. The feast this time consisted of meat and soup only.

By now it was extremely late and Big Doctor made some very brief closing remarks. He said, "Now we know what we have to do (viz., come back in three days and get wood for the booths). Now we have eaten. Now we can go." All got up and went home. It would take six or seven days more before the dance preparations were complete.

The next stage in their preparations was the building of the booths [346]
and other structures in the ceremonial lodge. As announced, this would be three days after the practice sing. On the appointed morning before daybreak, Big Doctor told the errand men to go to certain specified lodges and get four parfleches of dried buffalo meat that had been pledged so that they could have their feast that evening. The four donors had already been alerted at the previous meeting.

• 756 The doctors came in very early wearing only their moccasins and a
796 loin cloth and carrying an ax. Before sunrise they were to go into the
[824] woods and get six cottonwood trees and a quantity of willow saplings to
build up the booths. The cottonwood trees were symbolic of the beaver,
and the trees were cut down with an involved ceremonial procedure.
When the doctors had all assembled, Big Doctor, dressed in his buffalo
robe with the hair side out and carrying an eagle-wing fan and a gourd
rattle, said, "Now get ready!" They sang four songs, four rounds each,
[533] and then Big Doctor appointed Sitting Hawk to lead the men into the
timber. He also wore a buffalo robe with the hair side out and carried
an eagle-wing fan, gourd rattle, and a pipe that had been filled with
tobacco by Good Pipe so that he could perform the ceremony when
they cut down the first cottonwood. Pipe Offering instructed him:
"Go by the east agency road. Before you get across Beaver Creek, all
along the north side, you will find good willows and cottonwoods and
also some very small thin willows. Cut a good many of those. Now go!"

756 They all filed out behind Sitting Hawk, and when they got to the tim-
796 ber they found a good cottonwood and sat down around it to perform
824 the ceremony. Sitting Hawk, who was seated at the west, pointed the
276 unlit pipe toward the tree—first toward the top, then the middle, and
782 then the bottom. Now he moved to the north side, again offering the unlit pipe to the top, the middle, and the bottom of the tree and so similarly at the east and at the south. The next step was an offering of the smoke from the lit pipe in the same manner. Squatting at the northeast of the tree he lit the pipe with a flint and proceeded by north to west where he directed puffs of smoke to the top, middle, and bottom of the tree and then at the other stations as before. After the pipe was smoked out, he made the same offering with the ashes, rubbing first his right hand along the stem up toward the top of the tree, then his left hand, then the same to the middle, sitting at each of the four cardinal directions—west, north, east, and south. He now handed the pipe to the man at his right (south) and instructed him to find a cottonwood just like the one before them and to treat it ceremonially in the same way. These two cottonwoods were to stand near the western end of the lodge on both sides (north and south). He now instructed Bringing Horses to take his men and get two more cottonwoods, one to stand in the north position and one to the south as representatives of the beaver. (The ceremony was performed only for the two cottonwoods that would stand at the west.)

756 Finally, two other men were sent to get two cottonwoods that would
796 stand one on each side of the lodge near the east. These men simply cut
824 down the trees and sharpened them at the stub end so that they could
be stood up in their appropriate positions in the lodge. Meanwhile, Sitting Hawk went on with his ceremony for the two trees that were to

stand at the west. After the smoke offerings, he made a series of cuts in 756
the tree at the four cardinal points in the standard order—first at the west, 796
then north, then east and then south, cutting it so that it would fall 824
gently to the east where two men were standing to catch it so that the limbs would not break. They sharpened it at the stub end so that it would stand up in the lodge. All chips were gathered and either thrown into the creek or carried home and burned in the fire. After gathering as many willow saplings as they could carry, the procession for the Doctor Lodge set out with Sitting Hawk in the lead and two men each carrying the six cottonwoods, one at each end of the tree.

Halfway home, they stopped. They began to make animal motions and to try to hypnotize one another (*patsaku*, "shoot one another"). Some of them had their buffalo robes on, some did not. They made peculiar motions with their eagle-wing fans, touching the ground. Then some were knocked down and got up growling and grunting. One of them "hypnotized" another by trying to put a corn cob in his throat, making his mouth all bloody. Another attempted to put fish bones in someone's throat, with the same result. The victims vomited up these things without too much damage being done and continued to move along with the cottonwoods. When the little boys saw this they got excited and said, "Look at those fellows! Look at that big bear over there!" As they arrived at the village, they made a second stop and again hypnotized each other. Then they took up the trees once more and went toward the ceremonial lodge. As they were arriving, Big Doctor took up his gourd rattle and began to sing. They came in and when the singing was over, Sitting Hawk gave the pipe back to Pipe Offering at the west. The cottonwood that had been ceremonially gathered was carefully placed to the east of the fireplace with its stub end pointing west and the head end eastward toward the exit. The second "west" tree was placed in the same position beside it and the others in any order on the ground, nearer the entrance. Now Big Doctor, getting the pipe from Pipe Offering, smoked all the trees ceremonially, treating each one in turn as in the woods.

They could now proceed to build the booths. Meanwhile, the errand 756
men did the cooking. First the six cottonwoods were erected, three on 796
each side. Then the willow partitions and fronts were added. Everyone 346
was arguing—"This is our lot; move over a bit." "Well, we have a lot of buffalo!" "Well, we have a lot of deer too!" The leaders stood on the inside directing the apprentices who were doing their work. The willows were all piled up on the north side of the entrance while they proceed
with the job. At the southeast the errand men were preparing the ket- [624]
tle so that they could cook their meat. They had had nothing to eat all [252]
day. The wives of the four leading doctors had brought in four buckets of boiled dried corn kernels and set them down on either side of

756 796 [346] the southeast lodge pole. Sometimes a woman would come in and give the "boss" of one of the animal booths a gift of corn bread so that later on during the performance they would be permitted to sit near the booth and get a better view instead of crowding in at the entryway.

When the food was ready, Big Doctor spoke and told them they were going to interrupt their activity and eat now, and that they could resume their work later. He said that he himself would make the offering to the powers with the corn and save time. The errand men were instructed to distribute the food.

The meal over, Big Doctor said, "Now we have eaten. Now you can go and tend to anything you want to. But after that, return here and get back to work!" They went off home to take their extra dry meat to their families, to tend their horses, and to take a little rest before going on with the work in the evening. The four main doctors did not linger long away from the ceremonial lodge. They had to fix up the gourd rattles, drums, and other things. Old-Man-That-Chief who has elk (*pax*) power was too old to wander about. If he should want to go home, someone must lead him. Most of the time he remained in the lodge throughout the ceremonial period.

756 796 532 [317] That night and the next they built the serpent, the witch, and the turtle. They worked at night when they would not be observed. The serpent would take a whole night, the witch and the turtle perhaps another night. They had to bring in quantities of clay from the river bottom to do all this modeling. Twelve of them did the modeling—the four doctors at the west, and Old Bull and also the son of the subleader at the north, Wonderful Old Bison; the son of Sitting Hawk, Misery; also Angry Horse of the Bear Lodge. Bringing Horses was called in by Pipe Offering to assist him. On the next night, after the serpent was done they divided up, six working on the witch woman and six on the turtle-fireplace. Then the skin cutouts of the celestial powers were hung in place and the two loon skins put before the altar. Finally they were to set out for the cedar tree. They followed the same kind of procedure as for the cottonwoods, except that only one tree was obtained on this occasion.

756 796 [824] A suitable cedar had been spotted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy on the Loup River, and before sunrise the next day a party of twenty doctors led by Strikes-the-Enemy set out to cut it down and bring it back to the lodge. Symbolically the cedar represented the Bear whose celestial affiliation was with the sun and the moon. The cottonwood symbolized the Beaver and the waters of the earth. Strikes-the-Enemy led the party, carrying a bear-hide rattle. On the return journey, they stopped half way and had a hypnotic contest as described in Chapter 34.

[824] When the party reached within four feet of the lodge, they halted and

Big Doctor prepared to receive them and the tree on behalf of the Doctor Lodge. At his signal they came inside carrying the tree, stub end forward, and walked around the fireplace four times through south, west, north, and east where they stopped and placed the tree with its stub end touching the rim of the fireplace and its head end pointing toward the entrance at the east. 756 796 824

Pipe Offering made the offering of tobacco, smoke, and ashes with the sacred pipe to the three vital parts of the tree—the base, the middle, and the top as they had previously done with the cottonwoods. Meanwhile the errand men were sent outside to start to boil the dried buffalo meat for their feast. [782]

All this time the other doctors had remained inside their respective booths, only the officials of the Doctor Lodge conducting the smoke offering ceremony. These included the four doctors at the west, one doctor each at the north and at the south, one old man (*kurahus*) each, at the northeast and the southeast, and the two errand men, one on each side of the entrance way.

Now that the cedar tree had been brought into the lodge and received, it was time for all of them to eat. The doctors all came out of their booths and sat right down on the serpent as there was no other place to sit between the booths and the fireplace. Three buckets of boiled corn kernels had been donated and these constituted the first course of their banquet. As always, they had to share the food with the supernatural powers before it could be eaten by the people, and the serving followed an order that was determined by the particular powers they had called on for the occasion. After eating, the ceremony to stand the cedar in its place was performed and then anyone who wanted to could go home. 756 796 264

C

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

36

THE WOMEN GET WOOD FOR THE DOCTORS

000 *Women Volunteer to Get Wood—Women Invited to Entertainment and Feast at Doctor Lodge—Quartz Crystal Sleight of Hand*

756 WHEN OLD-MAN-HIGH-WATER went around the village notifying the
796 women, he told them to meet outside the village and that two men would
313 go along to protect them. Meanwhile Eagle Chief had sent one of his
wives to ask Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy to take
462 over this task. They knew they would be asked and they were all ready to go. They were given instructions to lead the women south of the creek rather than to the west where the enemy was likely to be lurking. As the women started for the appointed meeting place, other men set out for the surrounding hills to picket.

[482] Twenty women had volunteered. There was a standard backload of wood that the women usually carried (¼ cord or 2 cubic feet—2 armloads; eight armloads = 1 cord or 4 backloads). For each night that the doctors performed, they would need four backloads. Besides their preparations during the current week, the doctors were likely to give five performances, so that the women have to go on three more such expeditions to keep them supplied.

While the women were in the timber cutting the wood, the two scouts were standing on a hill watching them closely. Some women were saying, "Don't take too much. Take a light load. There are a lot of us." As one woman would get loaded up, she would stand aside and wait for the others. Finally when most of them had gathered, the men called out, "All of you here yet?"

One was found to be missing and when she finally emerged they all

lined up one behind the other and set out for the village. As they ap- 756
proached, people were watching from the housetops, saying, "They're 796
coming with wood." A ridge ran east and west above the village and the 313
women sat down there to rest before coming in. They were wishing they 462
could take a bath in the lake beside the road. "Have you rested enough?" asked Roaming Scout. "Yes." "Come on, then." When they had gone halfway into the village, their scouts left them and went home and the women proceeded to the Doctor Lodge where they dumped the wood, some of it inside and some outside to the north of the door. Big Doctor said, "Now you ladies go home and change your clothes. Dress up in your best. Paint your cheeks and then come back because you are going to have a feast. Tell those two men who went with you to dress up and come. Who were they?" "Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy?" "All right."

By about three or four in the afternoon, the children who were wait- 756
ing around to see everything sighted the line of women with the two 796
men in the lead going to the Doctor Lodge. The women were carrying 574
their wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons. They were seated along the north side of the lodge, the two men at the western end of the line. Wonderful Old Bull of the north side was doing the honors for the four main doctors. The wives of the doctors had contributed four buckets of boiled corn which were now brought in and the meat was given by one of the designated donors. An offering of corn was made to all the objects in the lodge, and it was served to the guests. After the second helping some of the women were patting their stomachs and saying, "My, I ate too much!" Those with more foresight had brought a bucket along to take the extra food home.

All the doctors except the four at the west remained in their booths. In anticipation of the forthcoming entertainment, some were calling out, "I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of that good-looking woman over there!" The women, who were apt to be shy on such occasions, were whispering among themselves instead of speaking out as the men usually did. The three big doctors at the west supplied the talk. "That one—I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of her!" "No you won't. That's the one I want." While they were eating the corn, twenty-two pieces of the cooked meat were spread out on a tent skin ready to be served, and as the women finished their corn they were served soup in their bowls. Wonderful Old Bull, representing all the head doctors, served them with the meat. Finally the dishes and pots were cleared away, the women put their bowls behind their backs, and the entertainment began.

At the west, Wonderful Old Bull and Sitting Hawk began to drum and sing doctor songs, while the doctors in different booths made all sorts of animal sounds. The little boys ran in to see what was going on. They were saying, "Now they're taking their quartz crystals." At this juncture,

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

• 756 796 574 the two head doctors got up and danced facing the booths—Big Doctor down the north side and Pipe Offering down the south side. Each doctor carried a gourd rattle in his left hand, an eagle-wing fan in the right and as they went along the side they said, "Hu', hu', hu'," to signify that they were bent on hypnotizing. They passed along their booths from west to east and then back again.

Now the two doctors set out from the west again, Big Doctor in the lead and Pipe Offering behind him. They moved very carefully inside the serpent, making sure their feet did not touch it. When they arrived in front of the women sitting along the north side, they made odd motions and Big Doctor fell over. When he came out of his daze he patted his hand on his stomach, passing it up toward his throat and the quartz crystal came out of his mouth. Then Pipe Offering did the same and the two doctors went back to their place at the west. Now the other doctors all came out of their booths in a bunch, rolling and writhing, and they took the crystals out of the women. Old-Man-That-Chief who was blind asked to be led in front of an old woman and he took a crystal out of her.

By this time it was five-thirty and Big Doctor made his closing speech, stating that they had seen their "romping and playing" and now the show was over. They had shared a feast together and now all got up and left, including the spectators. On the way out everyone was laughing at Old-Man-That-Chief taking a crystal out of an old lady.

The doctors put away their "quartz crystal" paraphernalia and discussed plans for the forthcoming performance. Big Doctor said, "The day after tomorrow, in the evening, Good Pipe and I are going to put on a regular performance. Tomorrow evening we doctors are all going to parade through the village. Anyone who wants to take part in the performance to be given the day after tomorrow, ought to get everything ready!" The big public performances were now about to begin.

37

THE BIG DOCTOR PERFORMANCE

000

A Combination of Theater and Ceremony—the Form of the Performance—the "Scalped Ones" Mime—Swallowing a Deer Head—the Mud Duck—the Parade through the Village—the Round of Ceremonial Activities—the Sleight-of-Hand Performances

756
796
536
[801]

IT MUST BE REMEMBERED that the doctor performance was both ceremony and theater and so regarded by the doctors themselves. The whole organization of the acts, the costuming, and the stage effects were designed to impress and entertain the people while at the same time supporting the confidence of the doctors. While for us in analogous situations, a trilogy or three-act play is considered most satisfying, with a five-act performance secondarily acceptable, for the Pawnees the four-act or fourfold organization is fundamental and based on their cosmic ideology. For more complex organizational forms he would develop four units with a final unit added, an introduction with four basic units less often, or two double-fours, one four following the other with an interim unit between them. During the twenty-day period in which the actual performance would take place, the sequence of acts on subsequent days had a "double-four" character with an interim unit of a different kind, and an introductory unit to the whole series and one in closing. The sequence of the kinds of acts presented might be summarized as A-B A A B—C A C—B A A B-A conceived by the doctors as four B's with at least four-day intervals between each of them filled in either with A's or blank days, with the interim C A C being a special elaboration of the four-day interim theme between the second and third B. The B unit was a large-scale animal mime performed in the late afternoon in the outdoor

• 756 plaza before the Doctor Lodge with the crowd watching from the
796 roofs of the surrounding earth lodges. It was called Big Dance, *Kibaxkutsu*,
536 dance-big, and the doctors were in a greater or lesser degree of
trance while they carried out their performance.

The A's, the secondary acts between the Big Dances, were indoor performances comprising a series of sleight-of-hand feats including trance induction in one doctor by another. They were held in the night from about eight o'clock until midnight and included a sequence of acts by four different doctors with drumming, rattling, singing, and dancing in the intervals. All during the day the doctors who were to perform in the evening prepared themselves and their paraphernalia and refrained from eating until the following morning. The performances were interspersed with blank days during which they all rested and made other preparations for the Big Dance as well as for their subsequent performances. The entire series of performances was introduced by an initial indoor performance and ended with a finale that featured a lively battle between the Bears and the Buffalo Clowns, whose theme was, "Who's afraid of the great big bears? They're only little puppies after all!"

756 The C units were a special type of mime also given outdoors, featuring
796 the "Scalped Ones," the *Kitsahuruksu*, who were thickly plastered with
536 mud "so that they looked like mud banks approaching" and acted in
727 weird and fearsome ways. It was a Pawnee belief that should a person
156 who had been scalped survive, he could never return to his people. It
626 was reasoned that if anyone did survive the process of being scalped by
the enemy, he would become so malevolent that he could not live in society. Such a man would make himself a dugout in an embankment and live by attacking people and stealing what he needed. Frank North in his autobiography tells of a young woman who had been scalped by the Sioux in one of their raids in June 1861 while she was returning from her cornfield. Found to be alive, she was apparently buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left there to die. She was rescued and nursed back to health by the schoolmistress, Mrs. Platt. There is of course, no proof that this was the work of the Pawnees themselves, nor can anyone substantiate the subsequent report that she was dispatched with a tomahawk after her return to the tribe and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. It does indicate, however, that a person could survive scalping. A tribal belief was universally maintained that a scalped person could never return to the
[775] tribe. Children were constantly warned about these mischievous spirits and
alive or dead they were considered a threat to adults also. They lived by stealing whatever they could get and sometimes seized women and young people. Because of them people were afraid to go about in the dark, especially near the banks of streams.

One of the principal actors in this mime was Old Lady Tsitawa, who 756 was the leader of the black-tailed deer cult and the only woman leader 796 in the lodge. She appeared wearing a short black skirt of tanned hide and a tanned hide shawl. Sometimes one and sometimes two of these "Scalped 636 Ones" outdoor performances would be given in the interval between the second and third Big Dance, an indoor performance (A) intervening between the two Scalped Dances, so that at least four days would pass between the two Big Dance episodes.

The night before each indoor performance (A), the doctors who were to perform on the next evening paraded through the village in costume, stopping in as many earth lodges as they could and singing their songs. The general sequence of the sessions was as follows:

A. Introductory performance indoors, to open the proceedings.
I. B. Outdoor Big Dance the following day in the late afternoon.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
II. B. Outdoor Big Dance, late afternoon (second big dance).
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, *Kitsahuruksu*—outdoors.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, outdoors.
III. B. Outdoor Big Dance (third big dance).
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
IV. B. Outdoor Big Dance, the fourth and final one.
A. Indoor performance at night, to close. Grand Finale with the Buffalo Clown warriors attacking the Bears and conquering them.

After the women who had gotten their advance fuel supply had gone home, Big Doctor announced to the other doctors, "Good Pipe and I are going to put on a regular performance the day after tomorrow in the evening. Tomorrow evening, we doctors are all going to parade through the village." He also reminded them that any doctors who were going to join the two head doctors in giving a performance would have to make their plans for the parade and for the performance the following evening.

As usual, there would be four acts. Big Doctor planned to demonstrate 756 how he swallowed a deer head whole. Pipe Offering was going to make a 796 mud duck come alive. The third on the program would be Brave 789 Horse, whose son would succeed in locating a horse's tail that would be 636 carried away during the performance by one of the audience and hidden

756 in an earth lodge in a place known only to himself. The fourth act was
796 to be by Brave Shield or High Noon, who was a buffalo doctor. He
536 would shoot an arrow into the chest of his young son, Yellow Calf,
789 who would be impersonating a young buffalo.

The Pawnee doctor, wearing nothing but his loin cloth, was apparently
756 a highly successful illusionist, as attested by the number of hard-headed
796 white spectators who were thoroughly mystified. Among them was
536 Major Frank North who early became a clerk in the trade store on the
789 Pawnee reservation and later rose to be the leader of the U.S. Battalion
of Pawnee Scouts that were regularly inducted into the U.S. Army.
177 North, having a good grasp of the language and being familiar with the
[648] personalities involved, on witnessing the act where "the Bear" rips open
the abdomen of a boy and eats part of the liver, could only conclude either that a dummy had been used or that the boy had actually been murdered on the spot. George Bird Brinnell of Yale, who had been among the Pawnee in Nebraska, after their removal visited a medicine man in Oklahoma and he too was at a loss to explain what he had seen in broad daylight. Luther North, young brother of Frank, who was with him on this occasion said that while he was on duty with the Pawnee scouts in Nebraska some of his scouts would practice their illusionist feats while they were out on campaigns with him. "One man hid among the tall grass and appeared as a deer, then the next moment as a man," he reported. Another would simply take up a handful of mud and, rubbing his hands together, produce a live turtle, reconverting it into mud again. North asked him what would happen if he released the turtle and let him go. The man said he would die. North returned to the spot after such an episode and found the dead turtle there. There are also eyewitness accounts of such feats as cutting off a foot during the course of a performance, reattaching it backward and then restoring it to normal.

756 My informant who had participated in some of these feats from the
796 operational side was by no means mystified. The illusions were carefully
789 planned, with assistants planted in the audience and all the practical
details organized with great precision. The methods for convincing the audience that are familiar to us, such as allowing the spectators to examine some of the objects involved, were freely used. Various lighting effects produced by lowering or brightening the fire were also employed. Knowing all this, Evarts continued to believe in the divine intervention in the process, while a friend of similar age, David Gillingham, remained an unbeliever from his boyhood on into later life.

756 Now on the first evening before their performance, the doctors got
796 ready for their parade through the village, *wi-ti-kihar-rar-itsax-ka-wu*,
"now-it-dance-they-through-the-village-among-going." The first contingent comprised the four leading doctors at the west. They made an extensive tour of the village, going into each earth lodge as far as they could

manage it and stopping east of the fireplace where they stood and sang. 756
Then they went around the fireplace from east, by south, west, north 796
and then out of the lodge and into the next one, where they again sang and walked around the fireplace, continuing until they had visited a considerable number. The next contingent was the Horse Doctors who would perform next evening, led by Brave Horse, making a similar tour, followed by their wives or any other women that wanted to join them in their songs.

Finally the Buffalo Doctors went through led by Leading Buffalo (*Taraha-rakitawiu*, "buffalo-outstanding"). As one of their number [789] Brave Shield was going to demonstrate how he would shoot an arrow at his son Yellow Calf's chest and leave the boy unharmed. Brave Shield was also in the procession followed by Yellow Calf's grandmother Grieves-the-Enemy, who had given his father a gift so that he would teach the boy. All over the village there were abandoned cache pits, and, although the women tried to throw their old sweepings into them in order to fill them up, they never quite succeeded and from time to time someone that was not very familiar with the particular part of the village fell in. On this occasion as Brave Shield's group was going along they came to an old cache pit and the group separated, walking around it. But Grieves-the-Enemy was so preoccupied with her singing that she fell straight in. She yelled as loud as she could, but everyone was singing so loud that no one could hear her. Finally when the next party came passing that way and the men began to walk around the pit, they heard the old lady yelling and got a ladder so that she could climb out. "I was singing for Brave Shield when I fell in and they never heard me," she said. The men asked her, "Are you hurt?" "No, I just hit my knees," she said. "That's good!"

Now those doctors who were not performing the next evening were free to go home. The others remained in the Doctor Lodge all night and the next day, fasting until the following morning after the performance. That night in the ceremonial lodge, each leader talked over their strategy with his assistants. Brave Horse said to his son, "They're going to hide the white horse's tail and I'll tell you where (so that you will be able to find it when the time comes during the performance). It will be in the house of Leading Chief, right in his bed, where his wife sleeps—the bed over which his small bundle, *tsatki*, hangs. During the performance at the appointed time, you go in there and whistle around and put your hand right there and get it." In this manner, Brave Horse briefed his young son. The plan was that the man in the audience who offered to hide the tail would be in league with them.

The two leading doctors simply talked over the specific feats they would perform without discussing any of the mechanisms involved in their performance. Big Doctor said, "I have a whole deer head with antlers on.

756 796 I'm going to swallow it." Pipe Offering told them that he would bring a mud duck to life in some water.

Yellow Calf was to have four sharp arrows shot at him. When everyone had arranged what they would do and all their paraphernalia was in order, they all went to bed. Some of the doctors who were not performing that next evening decided not to remain at home, but to sleep in the ceremonial lodge anyway.

The next morning they all had corn for breakfast that had been supplied by Big Doctor's wife. At all times, there had to be at least two doctors in each booth, regardless of whether they were going to perform or not. Now they all concentrated into one booth on each side and the serving man placed one large bowl of corn in each while they all sat around and ate from it. One bowl was given to the two errand men which they took aside and ate together. This had all been directed and arranged by Big Doctor. About three in the afternoon, the other doctors began to wander in and each was in turn served a bowl of corn that had been donated for the purpose. Only those who were going to perform that evening did not eat at this time.

Just before dark, all the doctors came out of the ceremonial lodge dressed in their costumes and stood outside and sang and then went in again. After the last group, everyone crowded into the vestibule to watch. In the procession were Brave Shield followed by the boy, Yellow Calf, dressed in a buffalo-calf robe. The side of his body was marked with white feathers where he was going to be shot that evening; his grandmother followed behind singing.

There were four or five bird doctors. One of them was dressed in feathers with a whistle in his mouth. All imitated birds and then went back into the lodge. They circled around and the crowd stood around them at a little distance; some people were on the top of the earth lodge.

On each side of the door, a brave was stationed to keep order and keep the crowd out while the final preparations were being made inside the lodge. As soon as the errand man signaled that things were ready, the people rushed in and packed the entranceway. The boy Otter pushed his way to the front of the crowd and the brave tried to persuade him to go home, saying, "You ought to be home, little boy. Nothing but big men in here." But the boy persisted and was finally allowed to stand next to him.

Finally the braves went inside and sat down, one next to the northeast booth and the other next to the southeast, the little boy following after.

Now the drums began to sound and the two leaders started off. Big Doctor went down past the booths on the north side facing them and Pipe Offering down the south, and after each had retraced his steps they arrived at the west where the two doctors crossed paths—Big Doctor going down the south side and back and Pipe Offering down the north side

and back, arriving at the west, where they stopped. The drums stopped beating and meanwhile Sitting Hawk and Wonderful Old Bull had risen and all four leaders remained standing at the west. 756 796

Big Doctor now moved forward from among the leadership and began his act. He was to swallow a whole deer head with the antlers on. He was assisted by his son, He-Kills-a-Person (*Tsahiks-ti-ki*, "person-he-kills"), who now handed his father the head. 756 796 789 With Big Doctor in the lead, his son following and three other doctors behind them, they moved around the fireplace at a half trot by north, east and south and stoppped at the west. Before placing the deer's nose into his mouth as a first step, Big Doctor allowed the spectators to examine the head to show them that it was real. Then he put the deer's nose into his mouth and when the head was about halfway in, the procession again started around the fireplace, by north, east, and south; when they had nearly arrived back at the west, Big Doctor swallowed the entire head—the men behind him motioning with their eagle-wing fans down along the back of his body in order to help him swallow it. After he had swallowed it, he stopped at the west of the fireplace and gave thanks, first by putting his hand on the rim, then on his mouth and then on his abdomen where the deer head should now be contained since he had swallowed it. Then he made a very brief statement to the doctors, declaring, "Now doctors, I am going to keep it (viz., the deer head he had swallowed). That's all." Then he went back to his place.

Next on the program was Pipe Offering, the leading doctor of the south side of the Doctor Lodge. He would convert a mud duck into a real live one and then back again to mud. He had no special assistants as the other three main doctors helped him. He had a duck modeled out of mud and a large wooden bowl of water. All four doctors began to sing and he put the bowl of water west of the fireplace. The errand man was told to make the fire bright. Then Pipe Offering stood at the west and he raised his mud duck, and as he brought his hands down, all four doctors were singing. Just as the mud duck touched the water, it said, "Quack, quack, quack," and ran all around. Now the three other doctors raised their voices and sang as loud as they could, and when Pipe Offering picked the duck up from the water, it was a mud duck again.

The other doctors removed the bowl of water while Pipe Offering addressed the assembled company. He said: "Now spectators and doctors; now you have seen me." From among the spectators, Roaming Leader walked up to Pipe Offering and, taking his new blanket from his own shoulders, placed it on Pipe Offering in gratitude for his performance. As he received the blanket, Pipe Offering said to Roaming Leader, "You will have good luck wherever you go. This is what I depend on and also on my Mother Earth." Now Roaming Leader rejoined the crowd of spectators and Pipe Offering said, "You spectators and doctors have

756 796 789 witnessed what I have done. It was with great difficulty that I performed this feat." Then he went back to his place at the west and rejoined the other three doctors there.

The third act of the evening was that of Brave Horse, whose son would find a horse's tail after it had been hidden by a spectator in one of the earth lodges in the village. As soon as Pipe Offering sat down, whistling was heard. This was Brave Horse's son, blowing on his whistle. Now Brave Horse said to the spectators, "I want one of you to volunteer to take the horse's tail off the boy and hide it in an unknown place. No matter how obscure the place is, as you will see, the boy will find it easily." Leading Horse soon volunteered from among the spectators, but in fact it had all been prearranged—"the volunteer" going straight to the place agreed upon beforehand. Returning to the Doctor Lodge he said, "It's hidden." The boy was sent on his way, blowing his whistle, and his father went around and around in the lodge also blowing his whistle, in order that his boy would succeed. The boy made straight for the lodge of Leading Chief where his father had told him it would be the night before. As he entered, the occupants asked him what he had come for and he said, "My father told me the tail would be in here where the bundle is," thus giving away the whole subterfuge to the people in the lodge. When he got back to the ceremony, his father was still whistling triumphantly for his boy's accomplishment in finding the tail. He addressed the assembled company, saying, "You see what my boy did!" Long afterward the story came out. The boy in his defense said that he
[601] could not deceive Leading Chief for he called him by the kin term, brother, *irari*, and it would be unethical not to be truthful with him.

The fourth and final act for the evening was that of Brave Shield, a buffalo doctor. He was to shoot four arrows at the chest of his son, Yellow Calf, at close range, but the boy would remain uninjured. The four doctors at the west were singing and rattling with their gourds. Brave Shield was holding four arrows. He brought the boy from the booth. On his ribs Yellow Calf had a round disk of soft white feathers where he was to be shot. He was imitating a buffalo calf and he went around the lodge four times, by west, north, east and south, with his father Brave Shield following after him. As they went, Brave Shield shot with his arrows into the ground around the fireplace, once at the north, once at the east, once at the south, and once at the west. On the final round Brave Shield pulled up the arrows one by one, and stopping at the east where the spectators were, gave them the arrows to examine so that they could see what sharp points they had. The arrows passed from one end of the line to the other and were then returned to Brave Shield. Yellow Calf was standing at the south side of the fireplace facing west, with his arms extended so that his ribs were exposed. Brave Shield went to the north side opposite him and with the four doctors at the west rattling

and singing with all their might, he made a running jump over the fire, 756
landing right in front of Yellow Calf on the south side where he re- 796
leased his arrow. The arrow jumped back over the lodge with its head 789
mashed and bent. Now the boy proceeded through the west to the north side, facing eastward with his arms extended, while his father remained on the south. Again Brave Shield jumped over the fire close to the boy and shot his arrow and again it glanced off and flew across the room—the point all bent and broken. The buffalo dancers now instructed the boy to stand at the west facing north, while his father was at the east, and the same performance was repeated. Finally the boy stood at the east with his father at the west—the father jumping over the fireplace and making his final shot. The shooting being over, the father led the boy to the south position and, warming his hands over the fireplace, placed them on the boy's chest where he had been shot, repeating this four times. Then he shook the boy out of his daze a bit and sent him off to the Buffalo Booth. Brave Shield moved around the fireplace by west, north, and then east where the spectators were and showed them all how the heads of the arrows were broken and macerated. On inquiring of my informant how this was done, he said he thought that someone had been planted among the spectators to help change the arrows before they were passed around, or they might have been changed when they glanced off the boy's side and flew all the way across the room, either before they began their journey through the air or when they were picked up.

By this time it was midnight or one o'clock in the morning and the 756
doctors all sang: 796

Tatix-kusisari, I am-playing (like a child) [533]
Witi-ratku-tawaki, myself-for-me-to enjoy [539]

Big Doctor made a final announcement to the crowd: "There'll be no performance tomorrow night. After that we'll have one again. Well now that's all!" Everyone left. Late the next afternoon they would have a big dance on the plaza outside the ceremonial lodge.

38

THE FIRST BIG DANCE

000

Procession of Doctors Impersonating Animals—the Bears Fight the Rest of the Animals—Victory Call's Participation—the Doctors' Meal

756
796
536
EVERYONE MADE SURE TO COME home early that evening so that they would be in time to see the show. By five o'clock there was a large crowd gathered around the space in front of the Doctor Lodge, including many little boys and people visiting from the South Bands.

One could hear the drums inside the lodge and then the doctors came out. In the lead were the two errand men, Good Eagle on the right and Big Bear at the left, each one holding a loon (*kuhut*). Right behind them came the four leading doctors, two by two—Big Doctor and Pipe Offering and then Wonderful Old Buffalo Bull and Sitting Hawk. Behind these came the drummers and then the other doctors two by two. As they circled the dance grounds, the two drummers sang, while the men ahead of them kept step to a dance, the two errand men swinging the loons forward.

Now as one looked in the doorway of the ceremonial lodge, one could see a "deer" jumping up inside. Different kinds of deer came out now; a black-tailed deer (played by Brave Bow), a reindeer (played by Fox Scarf), behind him an elk (played by Might-Be-a-Chief, son of That-Chief and trained by him). Each of these deer blew on a different kind of whistle. The next contingent to emerge were the horses led by Brave Horse with his boys following after him. They were running around here and there blowing their whistles when the black horse came. Next there were two wolves, one played by the son of Big Doctor, He-Kills-a-Person, and the other, *Hatuxka*, Won't-Flee-from-the-Enemy, who played the white wolf.

The procession was completed with the two men dressed in bearskins, one of them Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, and the other, Sitting Hawk's

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

brother Victory Call, who was Otter's father. The two bears blocked 756
the entrance so that the other animals would not be able to get back in. 796
Finally they moved aside just long enough for the doctors to get in and 536
then closed ranks again. As the doctors went inside, one could see smoke, dust, and ashes coming out of the smokehole of the ceremonial lodge, and one could hear noise inside. This was because the doctors were in there.

Now all the animals tried to get in too, but the bears blocked their way. The deer stood by pretending to be grazing casually, while the bear sat around looking equally casual. When the deer got close, he again had to jump away. The deer, horses, and wolves all wanted to get in but the bear stayed close to the door. The horses blew their whistles to get in, but the bear remained stationary. He tried to catch the colt, but the colt jumped back. Finally the bear looked the other way for a minute and some of the animals managed to run in. The deer got in but the white wolf had a hard time. The bears tried their best to catch him and they both blocked the way, but finally he squeezed in and only the other wolf was left. If the bears managed to catch him, they would rip open his abdomen and eat some of his liver. He huffed and puffed and tried his hardest to get into the lodge. White smoke (viz., clay) came out of his mouth with the effort. This got the bears angry and one could see the bristles of their hair standing up on the backs of their necks. Finally the wolf jumped right over the bear and got into the lodge, and this made everyone laugh.

At one of the later Big Dance episodes Sitting Hawk had instructed 756
"the two bears" to try their best to catch a deer, a horse, or a wolf. Misery 796
had all his implements ready inside his bear robe. Misery sat at the north
side of the entranceway to the lodge looking toward the inside, and 789
Victory Call at the south side somewhat away from the door looking 536
around outside. The animals circled around the dance grounds four times, then tried to get back into the lodge but were prevented by the bears. The horses had buffalo-hair ropes that they were dragging along the ground. The deer managed to skip in, but the white horse, blowing his whistle, was blocked by Misery, who looked very angry with the hairs on his bear neck bristling. Twice the horse approached and managed to escape, with Misery just missing catching the rope. He began to puff and blow. Everyone was yelling to the horse, "He might catch you yet!" Finally the horse made a quick turn and Misery grabbed him too. Everyone on the housetops yelled, "There old man, I told you they'd get you." Both bears laid him down on his back and held him with his arms and legs spread out. Then Misery stuck in his bear claw and made a slit downward, laying open the whole stomach. He pulled out a piece of liver and Victory Call came up and got a piece. Everyone was shouting, "Just look at that old man there. Now old man you can never get

756 796 536 789 enough to eat to fill you up any more!" (They meant that now that his liver was gone his stomach had lots of room to expand.) After the two bears got through, they jumped on their victim and healed him up. They had medicine in their mouths for this purpose which they rubbed on the victim's stomach to heal him up. When they got off, the people could see that he was all right again. Then they shook him a bit and as he came out of his daze, he got up and thought there was nothing wrong with him. He just blew on his whistle and ran into the lodge. But the people knew better. They said, "He can whistle away all right, but he won't ever be able to get enough to eat to fill himself up now!"

756 796 536 This was the first time that Victory Call had participated in this act and he went over to his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and caressed him in blessing. "This is what I wanted to know," he said. From now on, Victory Call could don his bear suit and go through this performance on his own. In return, he had taught Sitting Hawk how to handle rattlesnakes.

After all the animals had gone into the lodge, the public show was over. Inside the errand men would be busy cooking the meal. All sixty doctors would be there and they would use up three parfleches of meat to feed them all.

39

THE DANCE OF THE SCALPED ONES

000

Impersonate Scalped Warriors Instead of Animals in This Dance—the Song That Is Sung—the Dance Explained

THE DAY AFTER the first Big Dance there was to be an indoor performance in the evening like the first one but with four different acts. The men who were to participate would start to prepare themselves in the morning after they had finished their breakfast, refraining from eating till the next morning. Just before dark they circled about before the lodge and sang as an announcement of what the performance was to be. A granddaughter of one of the performers, meeting him the night before his way home, inquired where his booth was located as she and her mother wanted to have the privilege of watching the performance sitting comfortably inside his booth. That evening before the performance she came to the lodge with corn bread, coffee, and dry meat. The errand man directed her, going past the first, second, and third booths on the north side and entering the fourth. (He made careful note of what food she would bring to see if he wanted to claim a share after the dance.) Now the girl and her mother were seated inside the booth as the crowd packed in to the rest of the lodge. After this performance the doctors would have a free day, then another performance and still another free day and then a second Big Dance outdoors. After this second Big Dance, instead of just the nighttime performances and free intervals, another kind of outdoor performance was introduced—the Dance of the Scalped Ones. 756 796 536 535

Instead of animals, the actors in the Dance of the Scalped Ones were the spirits of those who had been scalped by the enemy. Everything was done to develop a mood of weirdness. Old Lady Tsitawa, head of the black-tailed deer lodge, wore a short skirt of black tanned hide and a

756 tanned-hide shawl. The other actors impersonating the *kitsahuruksu*, the
796 scalped ones, were plastered all over with mud, including a thick plaster-
536 ing of mud on their heads and all over their faces. As they approached
they looked like a veritable mud bank.

535 A big crowd had gathered outside the lodge in anticipation of the performance. The two drummers ran out first and putting their drums between their knees, sat facing each other. As they began to beat the drum,
[533] a crowd of scalped ones ran out of the Doctor Lodge. The drumming
was in all sorts of irregular beats and the little boys were frightened when they first saw the scalped ones approaching. They motioned erratically and jumped every which way in scary ways. The drummers were
[539] singing "Scalped-Ones-Speech":

Hiru-ribi	here-is
Hiru-ribi	here-is, *wakarawi* (speech)
Hiru-ribi, hiru-ribi, wakarawi	
Kitsahuruks-pakarawi	scalped one-speech
Kitsahuruks-pakarawi	

The song was sung to an irregular tune and as soon as the drummers had finished the song, they all ran suddenly into the lodge and just as suddenly out again, the drummers again coming out and sitting facing each other, singing the Scalped-Ones-Speech with the crowd of actors running out after them. This running in and out was repeated four times and on the fourth round the actors all came out dancing backward,
[534] making peculiar motions and finally falling down. Even the drummers
fell and kicked over their drums (water drums made of a hollow log.) At last they looked up dazed and as soon as they became aware of the people around, they jumped up and ran back into the lodge.

No one would provide a meal for "Scalped-Ones." As everyone knew, "They were the biggest thieves and stole anything they could get a chance to!" They ate in their booths whatever donations of corn had been made. "As for dry meat, they would provide it for themselves if they could steal some."

Between the second and third Outdoor Big Dance, there were one or two of these special outdoor Scalped-Ones dances with a performance in the night indoors intervening. Afterward the third Big Dance was given, and then after that the two nighttime performances with free days intervening.

40

BREACHES OF THE DOCTORS' RULES

000

The Young Doctor Decides to Eat Food at Altar—the Hypnotizing That Follows—the Younger Men Hypnotize Big Bear—This Power of Pawnees Discussed

756 784 After the third Big Dance, everyone was getting tired, especially the errand men. The individual doctors had various matters to attend to at home, and even the main doctors had to leave the lodge at some time during the day. One day the main doctors were all off resting and had left one of the younger doctors sitting in Big Doctor's place so that he could watch the things at the altar. While he was sitting there, a donation of corn and soup was brought in. Some of the other doctors in the lodge decided they would like to eat some of it right away. The young doctor at the west decided that, after all, since they were hungry, they should eat some of it. He asked three of the others to join him at the west and ordered the errand man to serve them and also the other doctors that were in their booths. They made a small offering of the corn to the powers and then proceeded to eat.

756 784 787 Finally, when some of the other doctors came in and found they had eaten some of the food that was donated for all of them, they became indignant. They went about the fireplace, quivering and waving their eagle-wing fans and hypnotized the offenders. Brave Shield who was the first to come in, hypnotized the man who had been left in charge of the things at the altar. He caused him to come around the north side of the fireplace and made him fall so that he hit his head against the pillar of the lodge. Then he made the offender get up and come outside and fall down, where he was left on the ground with blood coming out of his mouth. The other two doctors who had come in at the same time as Brave Shield,

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756 784 787 spirited out the others who had been eating the corn and also the errand man who had served them. They fell down outside in the same way as the first man. When the first recovered from his trance, he came inside and sat down in Big Doctor's place at the west. The other three also came out of their trance and resumed their places next to him. The others who had eaten the corn also began to recover and to run into their booths. Those at the west had not yet been dismissed by the angry doctors.

Brave Shield and the other doctors went back to their booths, but the young doctor at the west was angry in his turn and decided to take out those who had hypnotized him. He picked up the eagle-wing fan from among the sacred objects at the west and, going about the fireplace, spirited Brave Shield outside. He did the same to the other two. He then went back into the lodge and again sat down at the west, telling his three companions they could go back to their booths if they wanted to. The three he had spirited out now went back to their booths and the whole affair was ended. When Big Doctor heard about it on his return, he simply laughed at the whole affair.

756 784 Big Bear who was the errand man on the south side was absent from the lodge for about three days. Three of the younger men decided to get him to come back. The enterprise was initiated by Might-Be-Chief, son of Old-Man-That-Chief. He was about fifteen or sixteen years old at the time, and he was sent around on so many errands in Big Bear's absence that he began to resent it. "Big Bear ought to be doing this," he thought, "I'll get him back." Big Bear, on his part, was pretty tired by this time and wanted a rest. Might-Be-Chief tried to enlist help from two young men, Fox Chief and Man Chief, but Fox Chief demurred, saying, "He's our uncle. We can't do that to him." But they were finally persuaded by Might-Be-Chief's argument that he ought to be there, and they all went to Big Bear's lodge.

756 Big Bear was sitting on top of his lodge when they got there and they said, "Look at him—the way he sits there as if he had nothing to do!" Then all of them walked back and forth before his eyes and then all three waved fans in front of him until he rolled off the earth lodge. When he got up they made him follow them as they ran, pushing and twisting him around any way they wanted to. Finally when they got to the water they caused him to roll in and wet his buffalo robe and all his clothes. When he got home, he gave his clothes to his wife and dressed in whatever dry clothes he had and went back to the Doctor Lodge. He was furious and went straight to the Elk Booth spiriting Might-Be-Chief outside. Then he went to the Bear Booth and first took out Fox Chief, then coming back again for Man Chief. The three young doctors didn't mind, as they had succeeded in getting Big Bear back to his post in the Doctor Lodge.

Sometimes when a doctor went home at night he went to asleep with

his wife and then the doctors might go after him in this way. They 756
would spirit him out onto the dance grounds outside the Doctor Lodge; then he would go home, get his buffalo robe, and return.

From these instances it should be clear that the Pawnee preoccupation 756
with illusionism, hypnotism, and suggestion was neither mere theater 787
nor pure ritual. The power of trance induction was regarded as a threat [626]
and a means of control. Possibly the hunter found in it a method of communication with the wild animals and control over them. It is very evident that it was considered a way of immobilizing the enemy. Trance induction was called "fighting" or "shooting at the image or shadow," and illusionism by sleight of hand as a milder form of psychological control was called "playing" or "romping" as of children. Our present preoccupation with psychology and psychosomatic problems should point the way to its connection with healing. The cultivation of these psychological states in the Doctor Lodge was obviously something more than pure supernaturalism.

The final episode in the Opera was a contest between the Buffaloes and 756
the Bears in which the Buffaloes reduced the Bears psychologically to mere 796
puppies, and in this way the Buffaloes are no longer afraid. 536

41

THE CLOSING EPISODE OF THE DOCTORS' GRAND OPERA

000

Contest between Bears and Buffalo Clown Warriors—Description of the Ceremony—the Closing Speech by Big Doctor—the Dismantling Begins

756
796
536

THE MONTH-LONG GRAND OPERA of the doctors ended with a closing performance inside the ceremonial lodge after the fourth Big Dance. Its main feature was a contest between the Bears and the attacking Buffalo Clown Warriors, dressed in mock war costume and led by members of the Buffalo Cult, with John Buffalo, Heavy Trophies, and others playing the several parts. They wore war bonnets made of corn husks and carried spears made of sticks decorated with corn husks to represent feathers. Their shields were also of corn husks, and they made a "chief's medal" for their chief Clown out of the round cover of a tin can. Everyone knew that on that evening the Clowns were going to stab the Bear with their sticks and "make a man of him." The young Bears were released from trance by their leader, Angry Horse, who had also "to awaken" himself. This was the final act.

On the last night the crowd surged into the entryway to see the performance. At the southeast near the wall stood a crowd of Clown-warriors wearing their corn-husk war bonnets with their chief standing proudly at the head of them with his spear. On the north side stood the party of the Bears. Angry Horse was the leading figure of the Bear Party. His face was blackened and he wore a wreath of cedars around his head. In his hand he carried a big rock tied to a string. (My informant did not know what he represented, but people said that his blackened face indicated that he knew everything.) Next to the leader were the two Bear Doctors of the second grade—Strikes-the-Enemy, lieutenant to Angry Horse, and Misery, Son of Sitting Hawk. These men had no other costume than a long

pole in the left hand of each and a cedar branch "fan" in the right. The two junior members of the Bear Lodge, Fox Chief and Man Chief, were to be the direct object of the attack and they remained inside the Bear Booth dressed in their bearskin costumes.

756
796
536

The show began with the Clowns. John Buffalo addressed the Clown chief who stood there proudly oblivious of anyone or anything that was going on around him:

> "Say Chief, I heard that other tribe say the Bear is going to come around. Over there, there's a bluff, and a Bear is coming there." "I know that but they're nothing but raccoons," said the chief. Then another fellow addressed him saying, "The other tribe is excited there because they say the Bears are coming." "Bear—talk about Bear—I could ride right on it any time I want to!" Next one of the Clown-warriors went and sat down next to the witch woman. He told her what was going to happen "over there" and he made everyone laugh. He said to her, "I heard the people over there say the Bear is going to come. Do you believe it? But the chief says he was up there and there is nothing but a raccoon in there—not a Bear. Are you afraid of Bears? Well, I guess if they come, I'm going to get one."

After this byplay with the witch, the Clown-warrior rejoined his group. Now the action moved to the Bears. All the other doctors came out of their booths. The Bear subleaders, Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, pushed their long poles into the Bear Booth to tease out the two Bears who are still inside. When they started to come out of their booth, the Wolf (played by He-Kills-a-Person) came around and got between the two Bears so that their way was blocked. They tried to catch him, but he jumped away with a quick motion and this made them all the more furious. In their anger, they came out of the booth, one at a time. First one came backing out and then the other one emerged head forward. All the doctors began to move about to blockade their escape. The Bears were very angry and they blew and puffed and the bristles on their necks rose straight up.

The Clowns way over on the other side said, "I got hold of his foot now!" John Buffalo said, "I'm holding their legs. They're nothing but raccoons!" Another clown chimed in with, "Oh, they're puppies—nothing but puppies!"

The Bears tried to escape and the crowd tried to blockade their way. The Clowns got caught between two groups of them. Then the doctors, Clowns, and everyone ran out of the lodge except one Clown that got stuck between the two Bears. He didn't know where to go so he looked around and saw that the serpent's mouth was big enough to get in. So he crawled in there, breaking all the teeth. Then he stuck out

756
796
536

his head, looking all around. When the two Bears finally left the lodge, he got out of the serpent's mouth.

Outside the Clown-warriors were all yelling, "They're over here. There're nothing but little bits of puppies." Soon Angry Horse, the chief Bear Doctor, came staggering into the lodge, circling the fireplace as if he were drunk. He was carrying a rock tied to a string, and every now and then he would hit one of the house posts with it as he went around the fireplace. Next his lieutenants, Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, entered singing and holding their long sticks and cedar-branch fans. Next came the four main doctors who went to their place in the west and stood there holding their eagle-wing fans. In front of them at the west of the fireplace facing toward the east, stood Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, making sweeping and jerky movements with their cedar-branch fans. They were calling in the members of their own Bear Lodge who were still outside, with the assistance of the two main doctors who were standing behind them to reinforce their efforts with their eagle-wing fans.

Now one Bear comes backing in and the other comes in head foremost, one going around the north side of the fireplace, the other around the south side. The doctors, including those at the west, all try to get out of the way of the Bears, while Big Doctor reminds Pipe Offering to fill his pipe to get ready for the smoke offering.

Angry Horse, the Bear leader, was still staggering back and forth around the fireplace carrying a big stone on a string. When the Bear that was approaching from the south arrived at the west, Angry Horse was waiting for him there. The Bear fell down and he jumped over him and smashed him on the forehead with the big rock he was carrying. As soon as the prone Bear had been hit, Big Doctor told Pipe Offering to light up his pipe and offer the mouthpiece to the forehead of the prostrate Bear twice, then once to his chest (windpipe), then to his right palm, his left palm, and one to each of the soles of his feet. The whole procedure was repeated with the Bear that was approaching from the north side and the two Bears lay facing each other at the west. As soon as he fell, Pipe Offering had also "smoked" the second Bear in the same way as he had the first. Angry Horse was signing, "This is the way I do when I get angry!"

As the two Bears lay limp and lifeless at the west, the two main doctors assisted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy carried first one and then the other into the Bear Booth.

During this special act of the leader upon the two junior Bears, the rest of the doctors and spectators had remained outside. Now first the doctors, followed by the spectators and the Clowns in the rear, filed back into the lodge. The Clowns talked about what they did out there. They were saying, "Oh, I got hold of him by the leg and just shook

him around a little bit." "Oh, I got on him like a horse. He's a good run- 756
ner." 796

By this time the Bear leader, Angry Horse, was all crumpled up and 536
quieted down. Standing at the west of the fireplace facing east, he warmed his rock over the fire and then went to his seat near the Bear Booth at the northeast of the Doctor Lodge. There he removed his whole costume, including the cedar wreath, leaving only his blackened face. Now the two ex-Bears, Man Chief and Fox Chief, also came out of the booth without their Bear costumes. Man Chief went to the north of the fireplace, extending his right hand over the fire, then putting it on top of his head. Then he did the same with his left hand. He went through the same procedure with his abdomen and also his knees as he stood up. At the south of the fireplace, Fox Chief did the same thing. Now both men returned to their Bear Booth, Man Chief directly from his station at the north and Fox Chief from his south station around the west and north.

This was the closing act of the whole show, and now Big Doctor made his final address to them all. He said, "Now spectators, young men, women, now you have seen, during these several nights, this, 'our playing.' Young men, tribespeople, now I am through with this playing of ours." (He included the audience as well as the doctors in his statement, expressed through the grammatical first person, plural inclusive form, *ti-wi-rikuhuritsa-witsat*, "this-now-it us all-complete." He thus acknowledged the help of the spectators in examining the paraphernalia when offered to them to affirm that they were authentic.) "Now that's all." This was the signal for all spectators to leave.

That night the doctors would take the first step toward dismantling the 756
ceremonial appointments of the lodge. Each of the doctors would bundle 796
up the sacred objects he had used in carrying out his performance and 346
wrap them in a skin cover to form a long-shaped bundle. These must be 778
taken to their respective homes that evening. The four doctors at the west would wrap up everything pertaining to the Doctor Lodge in general—the loons and other birds, etc. That night only the four leading doctors would remain in the lodge, sending home their bundles with the errand men.

Very early next morning all the doctors would return so that they could 756
remove and dismantle all the special ceremonial figures and structures 796
they had built. Insofar as possible these would be carried intact to the wa- 778
ter where they would be deposited in a certain position, approximating
their position in the ceremonial lodge. The serpent figure, the witch 532
woman, and the cedar would be carried out as they were and the sticks of the booths used to make them into a booth in the bottom of the creek. While the Bear ceremony was going on, some men had been delegated to find a suitable place for this.

42

DISMANTLING THE CEREMONIAL DOCTOR LODGE

000 *Ceremonial Objects Are Dismantled—All Things Carried to Creek—Serpent Placed in Water within Curved Fence—an Additional Hypnotic Contest—a Banquet Given—the Final Details Settled*

756 THE FINAL PHASE of the Doctor Lodge was the removal of the figures
796 they had built and the animal booths. All these things had to be deposited
778 at the bottom of Beaver Creek in an appropriate order and fastened in
532 place. It took about a hundred people, including the sixty doctors, to do
this work. For the final banquet that they would share, they used six or seven containers of dried buffalo meat and an equal number of buckets of corn.

The night before, while the Bear ceremonial had been going on, a number of men were sent to choose the place in Beaver Creek where they would set up their things.

756 During the ceremony and as the figures were being carried out, people
796 offered them gifts. These were placed in the water with the figures.
778 Once, while the performance was going on, a woman made up her mind
to give a gift to the serpent on behalf of her son. She took a piece of calico
431 and as she entered the lodge, opened up the cloth and dragged it across the
floor, placing it on the inside of the serpent's neck. The errand man
532 came over and took the calico to one of the four doctors at the west. The doctor set the material aside and came directly to where the woman was standing, walking along the outside of the serpent and jumping over it to where the woman was standing. Now he said, "You have a boy. Maybe someday he will grow up to be a big man and everybody will notice him." The woman left and the doctor returned to his seat.

When the doctors got in that morning, they detached the figures so that 756
they could be carried to the water. The serpent went first. It was simply 796
pegged to the ground and was freed by pulling up the pegs. The men 778
ranged themselves along both sides of the 60-foot length—the head being 532
pointed conveniently southeast toward the exit. The men waited, ready to
lift it up when the signal was given. The witch woman was lifted up and
set down on a spread of tanned hide so that they could carry her out on
it. The turtle that had been modeled on the fireplace, was crumbled up
and also placed on a skin spread.

It took a lot of men to carry out the cedar gently, as it was loaded with 756
gifts that had been placed on it when it was first brought into the lodge. 796
The birds and cutouts suspended from the rafters were left there, because 778
they did not belong in the water. After everything else had been de- [431]
tached, the sticks of the animal booths had to be uprooted, and any
woman that wanted to help would carry these things out.

Now the process got under way with the four main doctors leading. Most of the men were dressed only in their breechcloths, although some doctors were foolish enough to wear their buffalo robes and to carry their eagle-wing fans despite the strenuous work they had to do. They made two stops along the way to rest—one about halfway toward their destination and then another one further along. The four doctors had gone ahead and were already in the water, building, out of sticks from the doctor booths standing upright in the bed of the creek, a kind of curved fence open at the east. This was the beginning of a whole structure that would enclose all the objects.

As the serpent lay along the shore waiting to be deposited in the water, 756
people came up and made offerings to it. One person who hoped for long 796
life said, "I give you this. I hope to see you this way a year from now." 778
A mother, giving a gift on behalf of her son said, "I hope to see my boy 532
grow up and be a great man." A mother hoped her two daughters would
grow up to be married and have many children. Each girl carried a gift of [431]
calico to give and the mother said, "You, serpent, are going to rest here
under the water. I want my children to grow up and have many children
when they get married." Some people thought the serpent should be
identified as a whale and some as an alligator. The latter seems the more
likely from the word for it, "dry-tongue." The forked tail somewhat
interferes with this latter identification. In this instance the mother was
thinking of the fecundity of fish who have many eggs which hatch in
large numbers.

Now they placed the serpent in the water, its head resting inside the
curved fence the doctors had prepared. The head was pointing upstream
(westward) the direction in which all the fish swim. The body extended
eastward or downstream. Everyone got into the water and pegged the ser-
pent and its various gifts to the bed of the stream. All the gifts of goods— [431]

756 calico, shawls, and blankets—were also fastened to the bottom. The
796 whole thing was encased in a wicker frame of willows under the water.
[778] The stakes from the doctor booths were stuck all along the sides of the
[532] serpent and bent over across it and interlaced at the top.

[431] Now that the objects were all in the water, the people stepped aside to permit the doctors to engage in one more hypnotic contest. One after the other, as they stood by the water, they caused one another to fall in.

756 Then the whole group of doctors and any others who had given them
796 assistance repaired to the Doctor Lodge for the banquet. The lodge was empty and they could make a big circle sitting close to the outside walls.
574 The groups of doctors were ranged in from the west. Beyond them along the sides were the general public who had helped them. And last of all to the east were the chiefs, two each from the four Skidi villages. Furthest toward the door of the guests, were two old men, That-Chief at the southeast and Good Land at the northeast. Finally there was one errand man stationed at each side of the entrance. As they were assembled there, some of the people expressed regret that the whole thing was over, for they had had such a good time.

It took eight people to prepare and serve the meal including the two regular errand men. Each of these was provided with an assistant to do the cooking and serving. They had to borrow two of the largest brass kettles they could get, and after they got the water they put in the meat and set them to boil, one at the northeast and one at the southeast of the fire. While the meat was cooking, the donated corn was served after the appropriate offerings had been made, then soup and then the meat. Extra large pieces were set aside for the guests of honor and one for "the house"—that is, for Sitting Hawk's wife to whom the lodge belonged.

[521] During the meal the doctors made conversation about the happenings of the morning—about what had occurred at the river, and so forth. Then Big Doctor made his closing speech, addressing them all. He said, "Now young doctors, doctors, and all members of the Doctor Lodge and the animals that we have imitated here, and you chiefs sitting here watching over your people, and Heaven that has taken pity on us so that we could successfully complete our performance, and you head doctors here who have helped carry out our performance, now we have had our feast—now the Doctor Lodge is over."

A number of business details remained to be attended to. The head doctors had to apportion the meat that they had kept for the final arrangements. The owners of the house would have to fill in all the holes and set up the beds and then entertain the members of the families among whom they had been staying while the lodge was in session. They would need a quantity of dried meat for this. What was left would be divided

among the doctors. The errand men and their assistants received gifts of 756
calico. 796

The Doctor Lodge was one of the most intensive group ceremonies of [574]
the year, extending to all the people. In the three South Bands at this time, 756
each had a similar twenty-day Doctor Ceremony that they referred to 796
as Big-Sleight-of-Hand. Apparently they only lacked the serpent or wa- 184
ter monster of the Skidi, which was the special feature of the federation
of the Skidi villages.

After the Doctor Lodge, the separate animal cults that had been rep- 756
resented there should each have a three-day ceremony of its own—the 796
general one constituting a mandate for this. The ceremonial calendar was so crowded that it was extremely difficult to find three days when all the members would be free of other ceremonial involvements. The Bear and Buffalo cults were large organizations with thirty to forty members, and there were many overlappings in the personnel.

There was one private cult, however—the Deer Dance—that was en- 796
tirely outside the association. It had been imported a generation before 177
from the kindred Caddoan-speaking Wichita to the south and adapted to 535
the Pawnee ceremonial pattern. It had no obligation to the Doctor As-
sociation and was fast presenting a challenge to it for membership. Its 578
ceremony was held at a time that overlapped the Doctor Lodge, and sometimes members were spirited away from one to the other, causing considerable bitterness between the leaders. The Deer Dance, also known as Whistle Dance from the whistles the dancers blew at frequent intervals, celebrated the maturing of the wild sage and the mescal bean. Rattlesnake power was also part of the cult. The over-all pattern was of a Deer Lodge in the timber. In some ways it represented a quite different system of thought from the Doctor Association, and through it new and important developments might have occurred in Pawnee ceremonial thinking. But before this could be realized, its life was ended by the holocaust that overtook the Pawnee people and their culture and their wild animal world as white contact intensified (see p. 3).

Victory Call was the director of this cult and he was largely responsible
for its growth and success among the people. On his deathbed he [954]
accused his arch rival, Big Doctor, of causing his death through sorcery.

for the Deer Dance they said, "They shoot at his *image*," wi-tit-ir-*awi*-tsaku, 796
"now-they at him-*image*-shoot." This distinction is significant 721
as it reflects the difference in emphasis between the two ceremonies.
The emphasis of the Doctor Lodge is on the alliance of man with the
animals so that they give him confidence, enabling him to cure the sick
or carry out whatever his purposes may be including war expeditions.
In the Deer Dance, power over the enemy is a major leitmotif. The use 721
of shamanism as a kind of psychological warfare against the enemy is 723
a known device among other tribes. That the Pawnees were quite [756]
successful in this regard is attested by an account collected by a
French visitor, Tixier, from their enemies, the Osage, in 1839–1840. [175]
He states:

> The Maha (Skidi Pawnee) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so [181]
> great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five and six [648]
> hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations
> are at war with this tribe.
>
> Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. . . . One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave, whose horses he steals away afterwards.

When they were living at Pahaku, near Fremont in 1850 and the Ponca 796
attacked and were about to burn up the Pawnees caught inside their 721
earth lodges, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy dressed up like a medicine 756
man, came out and succeeded in thoroughly frightening the enemy
so that they were repulsed; she was also able to kill one of them near
the lodge, armed simply with a stout stick. There seems some likelihood
that there was some actual functional value in the hypnotic powers of
the medicine men, even in war. If this is the case, the preoccupation
with this type of performance in the Deer Dance ceremony can better
be appreciated.

The long series of illusionist feats and hypnotic exercises, however, 796
was carried on within a characteristically complex Pawnee ceremonial 789
structure.

In the first five nights of performance, during each night there was 796
an earlier session of sleight-of-hand performances, followed by a "fight- 789
787

skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known 776
as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended 773
that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal
on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with
their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in [756]•
the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The [782]
actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It [821]
was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the
rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely
begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears,
without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of 796
rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial 825
ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time.
Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be
decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer
because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to
send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been 796
occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and
"fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a
second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging
to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at
the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is 796
completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. 241
Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until 262
the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat
green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a
vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in
a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to
bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The
corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were
all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and
the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the
taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive
"fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought
between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears
in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently [824]
the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild
plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the [534]
wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was
originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated
gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea- 000

796 The wild sage plant continued to be a major feature of the Pawnee Deer Dance ceremonial in the performances, and the
824 entire floor was carpeted with the plant placed radially all around with
825 the stub ends outward and the head ends pointing inward. The symbolism of the deer was maintained in the course of the performances when the performer would jump over the fireplace, from north to south and back again, and from west to east and back again, impersonating the deer in this way. Also in his closing speech, the leader told them that their Deer Lodge was now over and they were to follow their tracks home to the timber. They left, blowing their whistles all the way home, and the blowing could be heard all over the village so that the dance was sometimes referred to as the Whistle Dance.

796 After the sixth session, the "fighting" was entirely ended and the
789 seventh, eighth, and ninth evenings were given over to illusionist sleight-
536 of-hand feats of considerable intricacy, and the calendar eventually became so crowded that several performers might be performing simultaneously or with their performances overlapping. The rattling and singing would be begun at the southeast station, and sometimes no one would be inspired to get up and perform until the gourds and bows had reached a subsequent station in the clockwise round. In any case, if the spectators had not yet accumulated to a sufficient degree, some of the performers felt they wanted to wait "until they got a good crowd." The ceremony of the tenth day is entirely composed of a considerable series of sleight-of-hand performances.

796 At the time when Kind Warrior was its leader, the membership of the Deer Dance was becoming so considerable and the interest so
• 756 great that the leaders of Doctor Lodge felt that it might develop into a
578 rival organization to theirs. Sometimes when members were absent from the Doctor Lodge, others would go after them and finding them in the Deer Dance, would spirit them out, causing them to bleed at the mouth and desecrating the ground of the Deer Dance Lodge which had to be spotlessly clean and fresh. This almost developed into an open contest of power, which was finally averted when the doctors sent their apologies to the Deer Dance leaders admitting they had been wrong. At that period, the two ceremonies overlapped somewhat. Kind Warrior had taken a group of his members down to the pond where he summoned up a turtle, stating that if it came to an open fight he would go into the Doctor Lodge and, locking the entryway, make their turtle fireplace come alive. A report of this threat, finally brought the apology from the doctors.

The conflict was resolved at a later time, when Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, took over after Victory Call's death as leader of the Deer Dance and entered into an agreement with the leaders of the Doctor Lodge to hold his ceremony early, right after they arrived back from the summer hunt and before the Doctor Lodge should begin.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Deer Dance

As to the public at that time, when the conflict was imminent, some 796
felt a test of power would be welcome between the two organizations, 756
while others felt strongly that it should be avoided. 578

How much of the ceremony was basically a Wichita plan and how 796
much Pawnee innovation cannot be entirely resolved, as a number of 177
Wichitas came among the Pawnees and stayed for some time, one of
them, Atskiri, remaining for three years and coaching Misery for his 178
role as future leader of the organization. Whatever the details, by
1867, the Deer Dance had become an intricate Pawnee ceremony, following the characteristic pattern with complicated histrionic as well as conceptual features.

754 would never be able to do it again. Everyone knew that Old Bull was a witch and he was ashamed.

754
756
562
The majority of the doctors and the ones that "witched" among the Pawnee were men, but there were also women who had both kinds of power. Most commonly they had gotten these from their husbands and begun to practice after their husbands died. When a doctor had a woman patient, he had to take his wife along to assist him; in this way she was bound to learn. If she had a son or a daughter, should they show an interest in the bundle, she would teach them.
171
754
756
562
Among the Wichitas, along with the men doctors, there were a great many women, some of them also witches. They could make rain and by witchcraft cause the rain to stop. Among the Pawnees, Lone Chief's mother, War Leader Woman (*Ts-tixkitawi-ra-wa-hu'u*, "woman-give-leader of a warparty-she-distributes them-gives away"), had learned from her husband and it was said that she slept with a rattlesnake under her pillow and could practice witchcraft. In her witchcraft activities she would more or less confine herself to the affairs of women. Sometimes women fought over the boundaries of their land or the stealing of corn and if the quarrel continued over some time and they came to blows, one might be inclined to "witch" the other. But once it happened that Lone Chief was involved in a quarrel and his mother took it over and got into hostility with another woman on account of it. The issue was something about the distribution of horses after a war raid. A man, Frank Leader, felt that Lone Chief's group had obtained an extra horse in the distribution, unjustifiably. Although Frank Leader was not in the party, he was heard to remark that had he been there, Lone Chief would not have gotten away with the horse. This made Lone Chief angry and somehow the women came to discuss it. The issue was taken up between Lone Chief's mother, War Leader Woman, and the mother of Frank Leader, Lady Lucky Leader, and eventually it shifted to the relative social status of the two women. War Leader Woman cited her unimpeachable aristocratic descent, while Frank Leader's mother was heard to assert that it was no better than hers for she had charge of the Evening Star bundle. Word went around in the gossip channels, and finally Frank Leader got sick and died. Everyone was sure that War Leader Woman's witchcraft was the direct cause of his death. Frank Leader's mother began to curse War Leader Woman. She said, "That's the rottenest thing she could do. Even though her son is a great chief, she still practices witchcraft and kills a man." Some felt that since Lone Chief called Leader's mother, *itabi*, sister, and Frank Leader, therefore, *tiwat*, nephew, in view of the close classificatory kinship, this was really disgraceful. Others were saying, "One shouldn't pick a quarrel with Lone Chief's mother. She's a powerful witch!"

until someone in the lodge happened to get up and see him. Then he went home. 754

The next day the woman was sick in her stomach or her intestines. It seemed she had ague. But the man who had been up the night before said, "I know who witched her. It isn't ague." When she was dying the woman said, "I see him. He has a fan before his face, but I know him. It is That-Chief!"

Many other dark deeds were attributed to That-Chief, as he was the most learned man in the tribe. He was the tribal historian, high priest of the sacred bundles, outstanding elk doctor, and maker of chiefs in the chiefs' council. One situation was rivalry with another old man, Horse Finder (*Huras*), who was called in on a case of illness and then superseded by That-Chief who reversed the original treatment and substituted some of his own. Horse Finder became angry and refused to continue his treatment of the sick man. 754 756 578 [554]

Now each of these two men had to watch himself. Each would keep careful track of the other to see if he were hovering near. He would sleep with the covers over his head in fear that something would be put down his throat by the other one. Even when they just took a walk, they would have to watch carefully. 754 578

The fight was carried right into the Deer Dance. Horse Finder sat at the northwest station and That-Chief at the northeast. After the spectators had gone a private performance was held after midnight. That-Chief asked to be told where Horse Finder was (both men were blind), and then he lit his pipe in the coals of the fireplace and gave it to Horse Finder to smoke. Horse Finder took a couple of puffs and as in the normal course of events, That-Chief tried to take back the pipe, the bowl came off in his hand and the stem stuck between Horse Finder's teeth. Then That-Chief stamped his feet, first one foot and then the other. This was to stir up Horse Finder's stomach. Finally a lot of soft white feathers came out of the end of the pipe stem, and in this way That-Chief knew that he would not be able to harm Horse Finder by projecting a magical pellet of sharp object into his stomach, for the soft feathers he had inside would protect him.

Now Horse Finder got up to retaliate. He stood before That-Chief, stamping twice with each foot in alternation so that he stepped four times, saying "xi^n, xi^n, xi^n, xi^n (hee^n)," with a grunting tone. Then he said to That-Chief, "What have you been doing to my fish?" Finally everyone could see the tailbones of the fish's skeleton coming out of That-Chief's mouth. Then Horse Finder began to pull it out and the sharp rib bones of the fish cut That-Chief's mouth so that his whole

75 days until his stomach is in order. Then the other four doctors who have sung with the patient are called in and perhaps one or two more, and they speak of the animals and their ways and have a ceremonial smoke and distribute the goods that That-Chief has received in payment. Of the three horses, That-Chief will give one to the owner of the earth lodge where he is living, one he will keep for himself and give one to Horse Finder. The other doctors will note his special generosity, but may explain it merely by the fact that they both have the same bundle powers. Even if they were to suspect, they would not reveal the secrets of their fellow professionals to the lay public.

756 The Pawnees were thus not immune to the common suspicion that comes to all people in the desperation of sickness, that the doctor is not doing everything possible to cure the patient and that somehow more could have been done if the doctor had willed it.

754 753 124 [521] In view of some of these rather bizarre descriptions, I questioned my informant who was familiar with our methods of gathering evidence and attempting to establish reasonable proof, as to what evidence people had that witchcraft was at the bottom of so much death and sickness among the Pawnees. His reply in substance was that basically they just knew, no proof in our terms being possible. He said: "When men sit around talking, they would talk about these things. They would *know*, but they couldn't prove it."

761 554 Rarely would the Pawnees attribute a death to our type of "natural cause." With old people of little social importance, they wouldn't bother to press the question but with anyone of any social position, people were concerned to place the responsibility for the death on the hostility of someone in the community. It was thought that when the person was dying, the hostile person would appear to them as a witch who was hiding his face so that the dying man had to identify him by his body. The dying man or woman would then recognize and name the person. Then the news would get around but no further action would be taken.

753 754 578 The Pawnees recognized that anxiety and hostility were major causes of disease. From the Pawnee point of view, active witchcraft practices were the culmination of sustained, interpersonal hostility and the constant fear of witchcraft represented the anxiety felt in the face of such a threat.

> People got sick to their stomach, or when something stuck them, got blood poisoning, or so the white people call it—but we say, "Someone witched you." Long afterwards if the man recovered, he would be sure to find out who witched him.

The reasoning here being that an important characteristic of his disease —and therefore cause—had been anxiety, and that this could be traced to

753 754 some interpersonal hostility in the community whose source he would invariably find if he searched around for it.

578 756 The doctor on his part, helped restore a man's confidence while he was sick, by bringing him the friendship of the animals who were entirely outside the human community and to whom he could turn in his distress. This motivation can be seen in the vision of the poor boy, Small, whose position in the human community was threatening and insecure. It was in a council of the animals that he found justice for himself and understanding of his need. He also found, however, that some of his new-found animal friends had temperaments that were prevailingly vicious like the mole and the weasel, and this was a power from outside that he could turn against the human community at his desire. The doctor, therefore, in his knowledge of animals, had a kind of power for evil as well as
756 for good that no one else possessed. "The doctors are all witches. Each
754 one has a different way to witch as well as their other practices." Whether he used this evil power depended upon the temperament of the doctor. As cited in connection with old doctor Angry Horse, "He never got sufficiently angry for that!" and so would never be using this part of his power, but the people suspected that the majority of the doctors gave way to temptation at times, particularly the most ambitious ones. The old doctors were especially suspect, of course.

578 626 554 Interpersonal hostility represented a serious threat to the Pawnee community, particularly in its influential members. As there were no formally organized codes of behavior or courts of justice among the Pawnees, a person had no recourse in the face of personal threat except the expression of public opinion which was by no means readily forthcoming and also it was effective only within the existing social power structure. If possible, self-help was the wisest course. Behaille, in the face of the hostility of Old Bull toward his admission to the chiefs' council, used the method both of exposure and at the same time of mollification at a feast.

571 578 829 626 It was far more vital for the people of the Pawnee community to have a clear estimate of the range of personalities with which they had to deal in their daily lives than it is for those of us who live in larger polities. The pressures between individuals were far more potent than they are in groups where there is a larger and more complete political structure, for beyond the known range of personalities among the Pawnees, there was only the enemy. Interpersonal difficulties might or might not get some public reaction and beyond that there was no organized social machinery to which to appeal. In the social order, therefore, the attitudes, moods and inclinations of the individuals that composed it, were far more significant for the group well-being than in a larger polity, and people kept a closer watch on these personality factors than we are accustomed to doing. They knew where "the trouble spots" were likely to be in

571

terms of interpersonal hostilities and the specific temper of the people 578
involved. Only in these terms can we understand their sensitivity to 829
these hostilities and the prevalent fear of their personal social conse- 626
quences. The "witchcraft" atmosphere was a function of this situation.
The doctors brought to bear the idea that a person could have unfailing 756
personal allies in the animal community. Thus Old-Man-That-Chief in 626
practicing his performance for the next day's session of the Deer Dance, 829
addressed the bundle of chicken-hawk feathers that he was to make come
alive in the ceremony. The bunch of feathers were lying tied up at the
ends which pointed toward the fireplace, with the tips toward That-
Chief. As he smoked he asked the feathers for their help, saying, "I want
you to help me in every way. This is my son and my grandson," who
were to assist him. By him sat his son, Herd-of-Horses, and his grandson,
Might-Be-Chief, and he passed the pipe to them in turn and pointed the
mouthpiece toward the feathers so that they might all smoke together.

Despite these psychological causes, the physical symptoms of illness 753
were correlated by the Pawnees directly with physical objects that had 754
been projected by sleight of hand into the body of the person. It was pre-
sumed that the doctor would hover about at night outside the dwelling of
his intended victim and act as he did in the Doctor Lodge to send the
object into the person. "In the old days people slept with the covers [513]
drawn up over their heads so that should they open their mouths, no
witch could put anything down into them this way."

The different deadly witch-missiles were thought to produce varying
physical symptoms. Uncomfortable and painful "movement" of the [755]
stomach was one important effect, and coughing up or vomiting was
necessary for their cure.

The procedure for preparing such pellets was attested to by Roaming 754
Leader who said that he had inadvertently been an eyewitness to such a
process.

> It was after sundown when one could barely see well and there stood That-Chief with his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, along with White Horse near a grave. They had dug it up and That-Chief was showing White Horse that one gets the tough skin of the heel of the corpse, lets it dry out flat, and then greases it with buffalo fat so that it can slide right in. Then it is wrapped up in buffalo wool and painted all over with red paint and tied up real tight and small with horse hair so that it approximates the size of a large capsule. "Then grease it well once more," he said. Now any time White Horse wanted to kill someone by witching, he knew what to do. He put the capsule in among the feathers of his eagle-wing fan, and while he was moving back and forth at the door after midnight doing his witching, he shook his fan so that the capsule flew through the air and into the victim's mouth.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

753 said he could do nothing more about it and wanted to die. Then he got on his horse and tried to make it ride off the high bank, but the horse shied back. However, the rider was catapulted off into the water and when he came out, he was cured. So he found out the cure for this disease.

751 515 There was a great deal of faith in the virtue of bathing as a preventative and as a cure of disease. "In the old days people used to go and bathe in the creek and take sweat baths and there was no sickness."

751 753 361 Finally, it was thought that living on a high bluff was healthier than living in the lowlands.

> They said that in the old days, there was no disease, for the villages were on top of a high bluff, and sickness follows along the creek. Whenever a sickness seemed to be coming, people would move up on top, for there the air was fresh and sickness would not come up there. It only stayed near the creek.

753 In more recent times it was said that many people died of rheumatism
and stomach trouble. But from the Pawnee point of view, natural causa-
tion of disease and death was a relatively less important aspect of these
756 basic human problems. The field of the emotions was considered the
major element in the doctor's calling.

[052] However, despite these other factors, when Otter was about twelve
[757] years old the doctors were able to save his life by direct physical therapy.

45

THE DOCTORS CURE THE BOY OTTER

000

Otter Breaks His Leg—the Doctors Consulted—Their Remedies—the Boy's Instructions for Healing the Wound—Additional Treatments—the Release of the Boy from the Sickness—an Informal Feast—the Gifts to the Doctors

WHEN THE BOY OTTER was about twelve years old, his father Victory Call had died and White Woman was remarried to Shot Arm, who undertook to be a father to the boy. His uncle War Cry continued to take an active interest in his welfare. One fall while they were in the village he was riding on the east road when he fell off the horse and broke the small bone (fibula) of his left leg near the ankle and near the knee. "It all started," he said, "because I had stepped on the ground with that leg where lightning had struck the earth. I thought I was smart!" 752

The leg was very painful throughout the fall and winter, and then in the spring he was thrown off the horse again. In July his parents called in Old-Man-That-Chief to try to cure him. The old man pressed his thumb against the leg and took out a rock and he thought this was the cause of the pain. But gave up trying to treat it as he didn't seem to be able to do any more with it. 752 756

Now while they were out on the summer hunt, the boy stepped into a gopher hole, but he thought nothing further of it. He just went on and caught a bird in the creek and later in the day when he got home he was covered with hives. He felt pretty bad and when his older "brother" Misery asked him what was the matter, he told him that his left leg hurt him. Misery called in Wonderful Old Bull, one of the four leading doctors of the Doctor Lodge, who arrived with four splints tied around with four straps of tanned bison hide that he put around the leg and ankle. But this

752 did not help and Wonderful Old Bull gave up, saying that if he continued
756 to try to doctor the boy, he would lose him. So Misery himself tried his own four splints, and because he had power from the deer they were fastened together with tanned deer hide straps. Meanwhile he spoke to the boy of old times and urged him to try to get well. But as soon as the leg would heal, the bone would start coming out again.

Now his uncle, War Cry, took a hand and told his adopted father that Old-Man-Good-Land was a good bone and leg doctor. Good Land was called in on the case and he came with his son-in-law, White Fox, who was his assistant. White Fox came in whistling about and saying, "Clean the room and fix a bed." Good-Land and White Fox sat down next to the boy, one one each side of him, blew some medicine on the leg and tied it up loosely with a clean cloth. When they left, they gave instructions that the boy was to be closely watched so that he did not handle any knives. But the boy had a wooden spool and he wanted to make a little top of it to spin on his hand. War Cry's wife was sitting nearby cutting out a moccasin pattern with a knife and the boy took it against the doctor's orders to make his top.

Now War Cry was considering cutting off the leg, but the boy said he would rather die with his leg than have a short one. He began to get angry and desperate and one day he saw the bone sticking out and he began to pull on it, but it hurt too much and he felt a choking in his throat and so he pushed it back.

When White Fox came back he sniffed about as if he smelled something bad and said something wrong must have happened. The boy confessed about handling the knife against his orders and when they unwrapped the leg it was all swollen. The doctor wanted to leave the case. But War Cry taunted him. Otter was classificatory son to White Fox and War Cry threw it up to him saying, "He's only your son, of course, and if he dies it really doesn't matter!"

Many of the people had gone off on the winter hunt and War Cry urged White Woman and her husband to go along, remaining behind in the village himself to keep the boy warm in the earth lodge and take care of him. When White Fox had gone, Otter confessed to War Cry how he had tried to pull out the bone. War Cry scolded him and accused him of not wanting to get well and of deliberately hindering the doctors. "Well," the boy answered, "My mother and father have gone off on the winter hunt and left me, so they don't care for me anyway." War Cry again scolded him and reminded him of the fact that it was he, War Cry, who had urged Otter's parents to go and that he had elected to stay home just because he wanted to nurse Otter and protect him. He said that the boy ought to get well before his parents got back and surprise them and that then they would be glad.

Next day old doctor Good-Land came in and War Cry told him the

whole story. The old doctor gave him some plants to chew, saying, 752
"You're a man and it won't hurt you. Just take the medicine." Then he 756
told him to turn his head aside and pulled out the bone that was sticking out. He cooked some leaves in water and where the hole was in his left leg, he blew some of the water in. He blew it in again and again and each time he asked his assistant if the water was clear. Finally it was. The old doctor said to the boy, "Young man, your leg will be well in two weeks." Finally the boy did get well except that the leg was somewhat crippled and this distressed his mother, White Woman, very much. Shot Arm mixed some grease with red paint and other medicines and rubbed it well into the leg. In a week or so the leg was better and the boy could walk again. He had suffered a year and a half, falling twice off a horse and stepping into a gopher hole and he had been in danger of having his leg amputated or of losing his life. Now at last he was healed.

For his treatment, Good-Land had been promised a fee of two horses, one from his uncle War Cry and one from his stepfather, Shot Arm, and a quantity of other goods, i.e., three blankets, some squaw cloth to make ladies' dresses, and some red shawls such as were issued by the government at that time. Before he had begun his treatment War Cry had said to the doctor, "If you doctor him, there's a horse over here for you." And Shot Arm said, "If you doctor him, there's also a horse here for you, and some goods." It was a very good fee. One could compare a horse to an automobile in our terms.

One evening the doctor and his assistant announced to War Cry, "Tomorrow sometime I'm going to quit the case. He's all right. He's getting well." As soon as he heard this, War Cry sent one of his wives to call in White Woman and Shot Arm. They would have to have the fee ready for payment next day. But before that, the doctor would release the boy psychologically from his illness. That evening four doctors would come in to sit down at the patient's bed and "sing to set him free." Big Doctor and Pipe Offering, the leaders of the Doctor Lodge were called in to join Good Land and White Fox who had treated the case.

The boy was wrapped in a tent skin and lain crosswise west of the fireplace, his head toward the south and his feet toward the north. The big doctors came in with their gourd rattles and sat at his feet ranged from west to east—Good Land westernmost, White Fox next to him, and then Big Doctor and Pipe Offering. At his head on the south side were his adopted father, Shot Arm, uncle War Cry, and White Woman. Ranged further along the north side were other doctors who had come to witness the ceremony. Good Land addressed Shot Arm, White Woman, and War Cry saying, "The songs that the animals have, these medicine 532
bundles here, the gourd rattles and the eagle-wing fans, are all going to hear their songs through which Otter had been made to get up. Now he is going to get well. It is these songs that we are about to hear that made

752 756 533 him well. Now we're going to start to sing." Together in unison the four doctors sing:

[539]

First song: Here, here, they got him to get up.
Second song: They got him up and going about.
Third song: They (our forefathers) said, that they (the animals) could get him up.
Fourth song: Now as they, the old doctors said, they have raised him up.

[539] Now they pause and smoke and then take up their gourd rattles and sing again:

1. "When first I came, the bone was broken.
2. "I had to use the eagle wing (*kauk'tu*, "down").
3. "The bone was broken. Just as they told me to do when a bone is broken, one must use soft down feathers.
4. "I call you back now, old doctors of long long ago; when a bone is broken, you can heal it."

They sang three more songs, making eight in all and then they said, "Now we're through."

756 574 Now they would all be entertained at an informal meal prepared by War Cry's youngest wife, Bird Woman. While it was being served, War Cry and his wives took the host's position at the southeast of the lodge, while the others remained in their places. A woman carried one bowl of food to each of the doctors in succession and then to Shot Arm and White Woman at the west, and all the others, and finally the hosts. A little bread and coffee was at last given to the patient himself. While they were eating people told funny stories or recounted some familiar incidents. Then they went home.

The next evening Good-Land entertained the other doctors in his earth lodge at an informal feast upon the completion of his case and the receipt of his fee. A gift of a blanket was made to Big Doctor and a shawl to Pipe Offering by way of compensation for their participation in the previous night's ceremony. Either that morning or earlier in the evening White Woman had come to Good-Land's lodge, leading the two horses, while one of War Cry's wives was carrying the goods. They were greeted by a woman of the house who came outside, and White Woman said simply, "Here are the horses and the goods to pay for his cure" (*iriwirawirata*, "that which he has earned or won"). White Woman and her companion turned around and left and the woman of the house tied up the horses and took the goods inside the lodge and piled it up to the east of the fireplace. When the doctors were assembled, Good-Land addressed

them again mentioning the sacred objects symbolic of the animals and their curative power: "Now today we are here as doctors. The objects you see here, the animals (their medicine); they have consented to have him live. Now White Fox is going to get up and make the smoke offering." Now he lit the pipe and offered it to all the sacred objects and to the doctors themselves, and to the horses outside and the rest of the fee lying east of the fireplace, then to the cosmic "stations" and finally made his presentation of a blanket and a shawl to the two doctors, Big Doctor and Pipe Offering and the ceremony was complete. Good-Land had no wife but was staying with his daughter and he put the goods he had received on her bed. She served each of the doctors a dish of food and then sat down to eat with them. Each of the other doctors made some remarks and then Good-Land made the usual type of closing address: "Now Pipe Offering and Heavy Trophies, and son-in-law, White Fox, and brother Big Doctor, I have this to say: I had this medicine, and these animals have blessed me and they have given us this their goods and the horses that are outside and that are going to carry me about. You doctors have helped me. Now the animals have blessed us. Now we have smoked. Now we have eaten." At this, all got up and left. 756 574

The animals, the plants, man's ingenuity and devotion, and the love of his family had cured the boy of his sickness.

292 554 [531] work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such a shirt.

[461] The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237 554 825 [411] The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught. Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one, the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281 •756 262 Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered inedible and was left in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237 293 [223] Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237 554 714 Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a shield.

They had made two killings already and still the buffalo were coming. 224*
Eagle Chief stated that the next day they would not go out, but simply 623
keep an eye on the herd as there was so much meat in the camp that they [251]
had to give it a chance to dry. He also mentioned that the hides should [281]
be treated and thinned down. Some of the old men remarked that this
was a good time to make bone grease by boiling the bones and skimming [252]
off the fat as there were lots of bones about at this time and the grease
would harden easily in the cold weather. Almost all the old women in [251]
camp would busy themselves with this work, storing the grease in a
paunch. Some would make dried intestines and dried and braided strips of
stomach (*pararitskusu*).

They made five killings while they were camped at Many Deer and 224*
along with the killing at Turkey Creek, they felt that this was enough
and they should turn toward home. They had made killings almost every
other day and stayed about fifteen days. Victory Call killed six in all
and Horse Rider five.

Now that they were considering turning back, they must decide what 224*
donations of buffalo meat were to be pledged for the sacred bundle cer- 431
emonies in the spring. Each sacred bundle must have at least one *rara-* 796
buru, a parfleche containing the dried meat of a whole buffalo. The dif- 778
ferent doctor cults also needed pledges of meat for their spring renewal
rites, but they simply needed backbone steaks. For example, the two [756]
leaders of the Bear Cult reserved two steaks for their cult. Victory Call
set aside one steak for his Deer or Whistle Dance and one for the Bear
Cult.

There were twelve major sacred bundles, each of which had to be pro- 224*
vided for with a parfleche of dried meat. The Evening Star bundle 431
owned by Old Lady Lucky Leader would be provided for by her son 778
Frank Leader in some years, and by her son-in-law Roaming Leader in
others, according to the circumstances of the kill on a particular hunt.
Lone Chief and Shot Arm alternated in this way for the Morning Star
bundle. War Cry and his younger brother Brave Shield alternated in supplying the meat for War Cry's war bundle (*karaxkata karusu*) that had been derived from the Evening Star bundle, etc.

Everyone was interested in the news of how the donations had gone and Eagle Chief sent out his errand man Know-His-Face to find out at the different tipis where the sacred bundles were kept.

Sometimes a man couldn't manage to get a good buffalo for his bundle. He approached a man who had just killed a fat cow and said, "I want you to take pity on me. I have a sacred bundle and I want to make *rara-buru* [a parfleche of meat]." "Go ahead, take it," said the hunter, and went off, leaving the bundle owner to butcher the sacred buffalo himself. When he got home with the meat he told his wife, "*ra-waruksti-ts*" ("one

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
,(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Hidatsa NQ14

P
252
262

65 Pawnee text version of making "beans-inside" bread, Weltfish, 1937, pp. 37-38.

P
342

P
[756]

11, 61 In the settlement near Fremont, Nebraska (Pahaku), the oldest brother of the three, Rotten House, and Sitting Hawk, the second oldest, and Victory Call, the youngest, established a huge earth lodge, 90 feet in diameter with two sets of central pillars, concentrically arranged. In it he assembled a large group of "brothers," most of them doctors.

P
114
797

P
595

14-15 The integrity of the account of Pawnee life obtained from informants by the field ethnologist is clearly validated by the account of an eyewitness, the missionary Samuel Allis, 1887, who lived with the Skidi in Old Village more than a hundred years before this record was made. He comments on the efficiency with which the domestic arrangements operate:

> [H]e lives with her in her father's lodge. It is customary for a young man to marry in a family, and if there is more than one daughter, he takes the oldest and so on as fast as they mature and gives a horse for each additional wife. In this way one sometimes gets as many as six or seven wives. They are like the Mormons in some ways. The oldest wife is "Sister Young" or "Sister Kimball" and so on and is mistress of the lodge. Each woman, however, has her own bundle of meat, corn, etc. and takes her turn in cooking; and the lord sleeps by turns in different parts of the lodge to avoid jealousy. Some of them have their women in different lodges and own a share in each lodge. In this way they fare better. *They have so much system in cooking, dressing robes, cornfields and other work that they get along better than one would suppose.**

H
462
593

This outlook on the fluidity of the division of labor was not confined to the Pawnees. Wolf Chief, an old man of the Hidatsa tribe, a Siouan group of North Dakota, stated in 1910, "In my tribe in old times, some men helped their wives in their gardens. Others did not. Those who did not help their wives talked against those who did saying, 'That man's wife makes him her servant!' And others retorted, 'Look, that man puts all the hard work on his wife!' " "Men were not all alike; some did not like to work in the garden at all, and cared for nothing but to go around visiting or to be off on a hunt. My father Small Ankle liked to garden and often helped his wives. He told me that was the best way to do. 'Whatever you do,' he said, 'help your wife in all things!' He taught me to clean the garden, to help gather the corn, to hoe and to rake. My father said that that man lived best and had plenty to eat who helped his wife. One who did not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

---

* Italics mine.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

NOTES AND COMMENTS

796
756 272 An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756 273 See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796
[574]
[782]
[184]
[752]
[726] 241 The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

824
825
171 277 On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372
482
372 280, 290 Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

727 305 Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home

592 Clear Day and Blue Calico, "I can take care of the housework myself. You two go plant your field." On the North Side, White Woman had a double role to play and was hard pressed for time. She had "to take care of her husband" and was also the main provisioner of the North Side of the household. [437] She was responsible for repairing her husband's moccasins when they wore out; when he went to the trade store to trade in a buffalo robe for supplies of flour, coffee, sugar, prunes, or dried apples she would accompany him to do most of the carrying. Whether he went on horseback or on foot, he would carry only small items, being poised for any threatened attack. When she became overburdened with work in this way at the crucial time of planting, the two old women on her side, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, would come to her aid. "Let's get through with our 'daughter's' field first. She has to do the cooking for the whole family and take care of her husband." The three of them would then go out together and finish up White Woman's field and then the two old women would work each other's fields in turn cooperatively.

517 526 313 515 On the way home from the fields they all washed their hoes and took a swim in Beaver Creek. Heads would be bobbing up and down all over as they swam back and forth. When they finished their swim and cleaned their hoes, they would pick up whatever driftwood they could find and take it home. High water sometimes left good sticks at the bend of the creek. This moist wood was piled way at the back of the woodpile, since unless it was left to dry out it would smoke and hurt the eyes. The young women sat on the banks of the creek and slapped the surface with their feet to see who could make the loudest noise. This was considered quite a trick, and sometimes they tried it with their hands. It was like the sound of the dried corn kernels when they were threshed at the time of harvest, and expressed the hope that the corn might ripen.

343 515 888 521 • [757] [515] Sometimes a sweat bath was preferred to a swim in the creek. When they got home tired and dirty they would then build a sweat lodge inside the earth lodge on the north side. All during planting time an old man would sit on the roof of his earth lodge in the evening and call out various items of advice. He would particularly recommend a sweat bath. He would say, "If you're tired it's best to sweat. Then you will feel better next day. If you should have a headache, you must sweat. When you get in from the fields, take a sweat bath. It cleans you up better than the creek." There were many other things the old man had to say, particularly complimentary remarks to the women to bolster their morale. After some general praises, he would cite some particular women specifically, saying how industrious they were and what fine crops they raised. Presently a little boy or girl would come and invite the old man to a little treat in the home of the woman he had mentioned, usually some bread and coffee.

753 said he could do nothing more about it and wanted to die. Then he got on his horse and tried to make it ride off the high bank, but the horse shied back. However, the rider was catapulted off into the water and when he came out, he was cured. So he found out the cure for this disease.

751 515 There was a great deal of faith in the virtue of bathing as a preventative and as a cure of disease. "In the old days people used to go and bathe in the creek and take sweat baths and there was no sickness."

751 753 361 Finally, it was thought that living on a high bluff was healthier than living in the lowlands.

> They said that in the old days, there was no disease, for the villages were on top of a high bluff, and sickness follows along the creek. Whenever a sickness seemed to be coming, people would move up on top, for there the air was fresh and sickness would not come up there. It only stayed near the creek.

753 In more recent times it was said that many people died of rheumatism and stomach trouble. But from the Pawnee point of view, natural causation of disease and death was a relatively less important aspect of these basic human problems. The field of the emotions was considered the major element in the doctor's calling. 756 [052]

[757] However, despite these other factors, when Otter was about twelve years old the doctors were able to save his life by direct physical therapy.

rubbing after it gets wet. If the tent cover was folded when wet it would 224*
get moldy. The sinew bowstring also would be ineffective when wet. 484*
Rain had very serious consequences when they had sliced a quantity of 132
buffalo meat and were drying it on the rack. If it should be wet by a sudden [281]
storm, the meat throughout the encampment would be spoiled. [251]
There was nothing that could be done with this meat. If one tried to eat it, it tasted like dead wood. It fell to pieces in one's hands. Even if one tried to cure it over a fire, it simply rotted. Meat once exposed to rain, even after it had been cooked, became moldy next day. A rack of meat that had been rained on was called *kariks-kutu,* "rack-dead, spoiled." The meat had to be thrown away.

Accommodation and adjustment to rainy weather was therefore very [182]
important and a nice distinction had to be made between the problem of delay and the risks involved.

One day word was sent to White Eagle that an important man of the 224*
Man-Going-Downstream Band was so ill that he could not go on. White 484*
Eagle had to consider very carefully whether they would go ahead and 758 •
leave him or delay the entire group. A day's delay might mean the 554
difference between reaching the full herd on time or finding only strag- 619
glers left after the herd had passed. Considering, however, that the Man- 622
Going-Downstream Band was in a "Child" relation in the Peace Pipe ritual to the Skidi and was in the process of giving them a return gift of horses, White Eagle diplomatically decided to delay the march so that the sick man could be treated by a doctor. It was also felt that if inter-band relationships were not solidified from time to time, one or the other of the South Bands might conceivably be induced to collaborate with the Sioux on some occasion. Then everyone would consider that White Eagle had failed in his administrative functions and in his diplomacy.
The death of an influential man in another band would also be the occa- 224*
sion for delay until after the funeral. If the wife of a prominent man 484*
were about to give birth, the whole family of this tent and a doctor 554
would stay behind and wait, and White Eagle would assign one of his 764
principle braves to see that things were all right with "their Child" (in 844
terms of the calumet), while the rest of the camp moved on. In the case of an expected birth to one of the wives of White Eagle himself, he would request Eagle Chief to lead on and say, "My wife is going to be sick." But Eagle Chief would refuse to go ahead saying, "I might spoil your luck. We can go on when she's well again." Ordinarily a woman would have to go aside while traveling and have her child in the open aside from the line of march. Also, in the case of death, the own family would usually stay behind and bury the person, then come on and join the rest. After a day's delay, everyone would be glad to be moving along.

came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui 764
priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was 778
very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of 572
friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particu- 888
larly to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally 759
claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age. They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the 562
priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the 834
Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until [291]
well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the [515]
lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no [521]
subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

VII. CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Although Pawnee mythology abounds in tales of the poor boy 554
who achieved success, it appears that the rank of an individual was 565
determined to a large extent by the social position of his immediate ancestors. At any rate, certain classes of society were recognized and membership in these was to a certain degree hereditary. [In the manuscript the terms "caste" and "class" are both used indiscriminately. I have used "class" throughout.] This was especially true of the highest in rank, though they might be deposed for cause, and though a child born of poor parents of low rank might through his own efforts become a tribal chief. Before enumerating the specific classes in Skidi society, one should note that all positions and all rank were conceived as having supernatural origin. In fact, the higher of these were divinely instituted and instructions given the first holders as to their duties and prerogatives. Theoretically, Skidi society was divided into two great divisions: those who made war and protected the village from human enemies; and those who by sacred and supernatural means protected the village from disease, famine, and pestilence. To these two general divisions might be added a third class consisting of poor people who did not possess rank, power, influence, or any considerable amount of property. The real distinction as made by the Skidi, however, was that of the nobility as contrasted with the common people, one's position in one or the other divisions being, as already noted, largely a matter of ancestry. But it may be repeated that there was no tribal law that would prohibit the son of a poor man from becoming a chief, and, on the other hand, it was possible for the son of a chief to become an outcast, for the individual was judged by his own actions.

In the nobility were to be found the leaders in the material 554
affairs of the band—the chiefs, braves, and warriors; those who 565
looked out for the larger religious interests—the priests; and those 793
who kept the band free from sickness and drove out disease—the 622
medicine-men. The duties of these three groups were quite separate 759
and distinct. Occasionally, however, one individual might at the 756
same time be chief, priest, and medicine-man.

Chiefs

The chiefs of the Skidi were thirty-one in number. Of these 622
thirty-one the representative of each village, who was the owner of 565
the sacred bundle of that village, was chief by heredity, and trans-

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

VII

568 Ho-o-o!
569 Pirau si whata i;
570 Pirau si whata i;
571 Reshuru tiara i;
572 Pirau si whata i.

VIII

573 Ho-o-o!
574 Pirau ta wata i;
575 Pirau ta wata i;
576 Reshuru tiara i;
577 Pirau ta wata i.

Translation of First Stanza

538 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

539 H'Atira si whata i.

h', the sign of breath, of breathing forth life.

atira, mother. The term here refers to Mother Earth, represented by the ear of corn.

si, you; singular number, used in addressing a person.

whata, arise, move, stir about. The word is used when making a request or a suggestion, not a command.

i, a part of the word riki, now, the present time.

540 See line 539.

541 Reshuru tiara i.

Reshuru, the Dawn.

tiara, a birth, a transformation, one form proceeding from another.

i, part of the word riki, now, the present time.

542 See line 539.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We call to Mother Earth, who is represented by the ear of corn. She has been asleep and resting during the night. We ask her to awake, to move, to arise, for the signs of the dawn are seen in the east and the breath of the new life is here.

761 H'Atira means Mother breathing forth life; this life is received from Tira'wa atius with the breath of the new-born Dawn.

Mother Earth is the first to be called to awake, that she may receive the breath of the new day.

Translation of Second Stanza

543 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

544 H'Atira ta wata i.

h', the symbol of breath, life.

atira, mother; refers to the earth.

ta, a personal pronoun referring to atira; she. In the original no sex is indicated; there are no pronouns he or she; ta applies to either sex.

wata, has arisen.

i, a part of the word riki, now, present time.

545 See line 544.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Mr Murie spent three days in the translation and study of the 124
ritual, assisted by the Ku'rahus, who explained many points that
were somewhat obscure, owing to elisions, the employment of a single 195
word as a mnemonic to call up the picture of a complicated action, 196
and the forcing of words to a different application from that of ordinary
speech—a not uncommon occurrence in rituals. The latter
carefully watched the work lest mistakes should be made, remarking
that the ritual "speaks of the powers above, of whom man should be
careful what he says."

There is one aspect of the ritual, essential to its understanding, that 181
was carefully explained by the Ku'rahus, and the substance of many
conversations on the subject follows. A man's life is an onward movement. 555
If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the
help of the powers his life will "climb up." Here the Ku'rahus made 553
a gesture indicating a line slanting upward; then he arrested the 761●
movement and, still holding his hand where he had stopped, went on
to say that as a man is climbing up he does something that marks a 829
place in his life where the powers have given him the opportunity to express in acts his peculiar endowments, so this place, this act, forms a stage in his career, and he takes a new name to indicate that he is on a level different from that which he occupied previously. Some men, he said, can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level, and he illustrated his words by moving his hands horizontally. Men having power to advance, climb step by step, and here again he made his idea plain by a gesture picturing a slant, then a level, a slant, and a level. In this connection he called attention to the words, in line 1359, "rutu'rahwitz pari," "to overtake walking," saying that the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life an upper level, such a one as these ancient men spoken of in the ritual had reached, where they threw away the names by which they had been known before. "Rutu'rahwitz pari," is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by the doing of like deeds.

Three facts connected with the Pawnee custom of taking a new 553
name should be stated:

First. A man was permitted to take a name only after the performance 555
of an act indicative of ability or strength of character. 796*

Second. The name had to be assumed openly before the people to whom the act it commemorated was known.

Third. It was necessary that it should be announced in connection with such a ritual as that here given.

These facts indicate (1) that a man's name stood for what he had shown himself to be in the light of his actions; (2) that this was recognized by his tribesmen; and (3) that it was proclaimed by one having in charge the mediatory rites through which man could be approached by the supernatural.

*533 was required that they keep hold of each other's hands during the
575 entire dance. "Thus if they came to a tree as they danced they
could not loose their hands but must stand there and dance."

*533 The general idea of the next song is that it is better to die bravely
888 when young than to live to an enfeebled old age. In this, as in other
Pawnee war songs, we see a light estimate upon the value of life as
● [761] compared to success in war. The song belonged originally to a
726 brave man who lived to an advanced age. When this was sung in a
dance he rose and told the young men that it was a painful thing to
live to be so old. The song was also sung by men in a battle, this being
the last song they sang "when they were all tired out and so nearly
beaten that even their hair was disheveled." It was further stated
that "sometimes when men were having this dance an enemy attacked
the village. This was the song they sang as they drove the enemy
[727] away." The song was also used in the scalp dances that followed
the return of a successful war party.

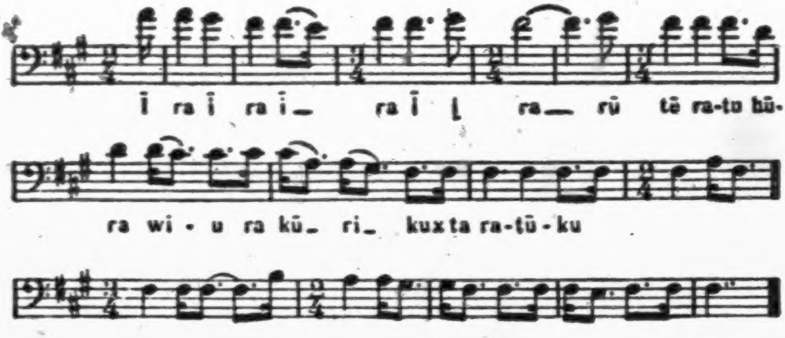
*533

No. 23. "Old Age is Painful"

(Catalogue No. 1078)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 66
Drum not recorded


Ī ra ī ra i— ra ī ī ra— rū tē ra-tu hū-
ra wi - u ra kū- ri- kuxta ra-tū - ku

I	ra	rû	tē	ratu	hûra	wiu
He	comes	it	does	hurt	earth	stick

ra	kû	ri	kux	ta	ratûku
have	do	it	pick up	it	becomes painful

FREE TRANSLATION

He comes.
It hurts to use a cane.
It becomes painful to pick it up.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

173

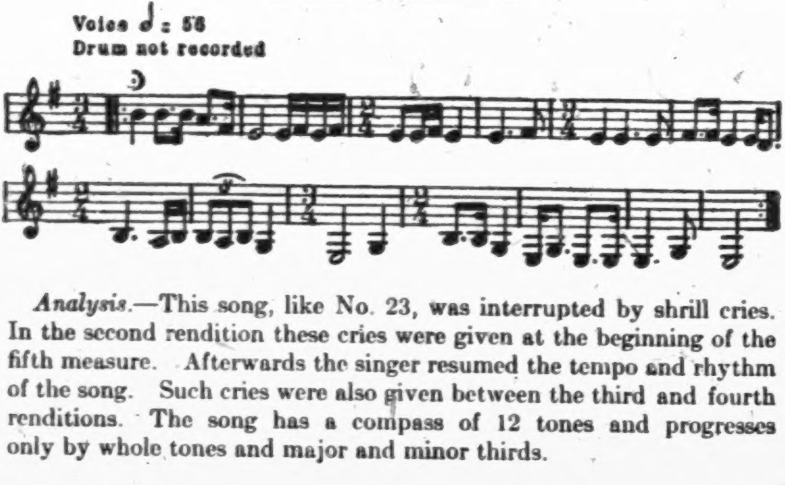
533*

An informant said that the song next following was sung "when men made up their minds that it was no matter if they were killed." The tradition concerning this song was related by the singer as follows: [761] The Pawnee were on the buffalo hunt and were climbing a hill in search of the herd. One family had a little boy with them and while they were climbing the hill another tribe overtook them and killed the little boy's father. When the Pawnee had run away from the other tribe they began to kill buffalo. The little boy was very happy about the hunt, not realizing that his father was dead. The child's mother wept and said, "Little boy, you are glad because they are killing buffalo but your father is dead and there is no one to bring us meat as he used to do." She sang this song, the words being those that she had spoken to the little boy.

No. 27. Lance Dance Song (a)

(Catalogue No. 1081) 533*

Recorded by Effie Blain



Analysis.—This song, like No. 23, was interrupted by shrill cries. In the second rendition these cries were given at the beginning of the fifth measure. Afterwards the singer resumed the tempo and rhythm of the song. Such cries were also given between the third and fourth renditions. The song has a compass of 12 tones and progresses only by whole tones and major and minor thirds.

The next song was composed by a man who dreamed that he [787] "heard some one crying and singing at the same time."

Analysis.—This melody is minor in tonality and is characterized by an effect of deep sadness. The two rhythmic units differ only in the division of the last count. Attention is directed to the change of accent in the seventh measure, the final tone of the rhythmic unit falling on an accented instead of an unaccented count. This change represents the break in rhythm which frequently occurs just after the middle of an Indian song. The signature of the key of B is used in the transcription of this melody, although the third above that tone does not occur. The song is classified as lacking the third.

days until his stomach is in order. Then the other four doctors who have 75
sung with the patient are called in and perhaps one or two more, and they speak of the animals and their ways and have a ceremonial smoke and distribute the goods that That-Chief has received in payment. Of the three horses, That-Chief will give one to the owner of the earth lodge where he is living, one he will keep for himself and give one to Horse Finder. The other doctors will note his special generosity, but may explain it merely by the fact that they both have the same bundle powers. Even if they were to suspect, they would not reveal the secrets of their fellow professionals to the lay public.

The Pawnees were thus not immune to the common suspicion that 756
comes to all people in the desperation of sickness, that the doctor is not doing everything possible to cure the patient and that somehow more could have been done if the doctor had willed it.

In view of some of these rather bizarre descriptions, I questioned my 754
informant who was familiar with our methods of gathering evidence and 753
attempting to establish reasonable proof, as to what evidence people had 124
that witchcraft was at the bottom of so much death and sickness among the Pawnees. His reply in substance was that basically they just knew, no proof in our terms being possible. He said: "When men sit around talking, they would talk about these things. They would *know*, but they couldn't prove it." [521]

Rarely would the Pawnees attribute a death to our type of "natural 761
cause." With old people of little social importance, they wouldn't bother 554
to press the question but with anyone of any social position, people were concerned to place the responsibility for the death on the hostility of someone in the community. It was thought that when the person was dying, the hostile person would appear to them as a witch who was hiding his face so that the dying man had to identify him by his body. The dying man or woman would then recognize and name the person. Then the news would get around but no further action would be taken.

The Pawnees recognized that anxiety and hostility were major causes 753
of disease. From the Pawnee point of view, active witchcraft practices 754
were the culmination of sustained, interpersonal hostility and the constant fear of witchcraft represented the anxiety felt in the face of such a 578
threat.

> People got sick to their stomach, or when something stuck them, got blood poisoning, or so the white people call it—but we say, "Someone witched you." Long afterwards if the man recovered, he would be sure to find out who witched him.

The reasoning here being that an important characteristic of his disease —and therefore cause—had been anxiety, and that this could be traced to

50

OBJECTS OF WOOD FOR THE HOME

000

Women Made the Wood Objects for Home Use—Scarcity of Wood—Making the Wooden Bowl, Ladles, Spoons, Mortar, Pestle, Digging Iron, Tent Pegs, Bracket for Hanging Pots over Fire, Tipi Poles

462 WOMEN WERE THE MAIN MANUFACTURERS of objects made of wood. Not
322 only did they gather the fuel and the building materials, but they also
made all the objects of general utility in the household. The men were
directly concerned only with those things that were for their own immediate
use—their weapons and their ceremonial objects. In no other
group that I know of, except among the Woodland Indians, are the
women the woodsmen and the woodcrafters to the extent that they were
[752] among the Pawnees. Like other lumbermen in the world, Pawnee
[761] women would sometimes be killed while felling trees, and a story is told
of a woman responsible for another woman's death in such an accident
who grieved so deeply that she wandered off never to be seen again.

137 In the Pawnee prairie plains country, the only place that trees grow is
462 along the streams, and in the distance one can readily identify the rivers
313 and streams by the green belt of trees that grow along their banks. This
limited distribution of the trees meant that the women often had to travel
considerable distances to get the wood they needed. In 1867 they had to
have military protection. How matters stood earlier is not known. They
[492] also had the advantage of horse transport. The likelihood is that in the
[774] past their dogs had this function and a good deal was packed on their
backs, water-floated, or simply dragged over the country. When women
313 went to the woods they took their pack ropes which they also made into

64

POSTSCRIPT INTO THE PRESENT

000 *The Modern Pawnee—Otter's Later Life—the Arrival in Oklahoma—the Fate of Otter's Family and Friends—His Marriage—the Modern Day Pawnee Powwow*

177 463 SOME MIGHT WONDER how the modern Pawnees came into being, seeing that they are thoroughly integrated citizens of the present United States, many of them living as residents of various urban centers. The Pawnees count among their numbers teachers, artisans, business managers, engineers, journalists, artists, nurses, social workers, professional entertainers, and one former Big League baseball player.

159 • 761 754 Perhaps the fate of some of the principal characters I have mentioned offers a good means of illustrating the process of transition. The boy, Otter, is a good case in point. When he was about seven years old his father, Victory Call, died. He felt he had been bewitched by his anxious rival in the religious field, Big Doctor, leader of the Doctor Association, whose hegemony the success of Victory Call's Deer Dance cult was challenging. In his dying vision, Victory Call saw a man with an eagle-wing fan before his face that he positively identified as Big Doctor.

159 736 [572] White Woman, Grandma, and the boy were given a home by Uncle War Cry in whose house they settled, taking a subordinate position near its eastern end. The old house was left to the other inhabitants. The boy was warned to break off all relationships with his old friends who might insult him with mention of the fact that he had no father. His mother kept him close to the house. He tried to get acquainted with some of the children nearby, but he found it hard.

159 587 Two years later, Shot Arm, a brave of Lone Chief's Village-across-a-Ridge, came and sued for his mother's hand. Shot Arm approached War Cry and said, "Victory Call was my uncle and he has a son here. He is as my own son and I'd like to raise him." Finally he was told to speak to

175 was a constant fall of the population. From 797 at the time of the
511 allotments in severalty the Pawnee were reduced to 633 in 1904.
161 The decrease was steady. The diseases which had persisted in the
tribe continued to take their toll during these years. Doctors ascribed failure to control them to their inheritability, to the conditions of continual exposure incident to camp life and continual dancing, and to the pernicious influence and control of the
[756] Pawnee medicine men who as a result of the Ghost Dance revival had regained their status with the people.

175 The Pawnee not only did not have to work to live, but were in
461 a position to pay white men to do their necessary work for them.
178 They paid high prices, and their money went as fast as it came.
Their funds were augmented from time to time by the sale of inherited allotment lands.

The conditions of idleness only served to reinforce the revival of the old cultural forms. The Pawnee disliked isolation most of all, and gladly leased their scattered allotments, coming together for a continual round of Ghost Dances, performances, games, and hand game ceremonies. Stripped of their last vestige of responsibility, with no activities that were meaningful or satisfying save these old and new forms of Indian life, they turned to these with a kind of desperation. The experiences of these years, even while
[762] the Ghost Dance brought some hope into their lives, caused a number of young men to commit suicide. Eight suicides were recorded in the period from 1892 to 1898. They were reported as occasioned by slight causes, and were traced to the "pernicious influence of the Ghost Dance."

The indolence of the Pawnee became such that in the early years of the century the officials and missionaries began to plead for a change of program. They held that the only solution possible was to throw the Indians on their own resources entirely. Some agents developed the suggestion that at least those Pawnee men who could manage their own affairs should be allowed to lease their own lands and receive the payments themselves. This movement to take away entirely the guidance and control of the agency resulted later (after 1916) in issuing many titles in fee simple to Indians, often without their consent.

Under these conditions, at the turn of the century, the cultural revival of the Pawnee was doomed. It could not take roots in any soil; it was based on no firm way of life. It gradually passed, leaving the Indians still with an empty life, living off the funds which came from the government, and the payments of white far-

159 him to jump into the water and stay under, and when he came out, some
756 deer hair would have come up out of his throat and he would have been well at once. The lesson was not lost on Otter, though he seems never to have needed it.

● [762] The case of the old medicine woman is also of interest. Her son, a boy of fourteen, had recently committed suicide. He had resented her second husband and finally shot himself. Otter's older brother Fox Chief had taken the occasion to point out to him that suicide solved nothing and that all the boy had accomplished was to leave his mother all alone.

Old Bull was the leading man of the south half of the house. He was
159 a man of good-natured jocularity, about fifty years old. He was a
555 highly skilled buffalo hunter and on occasion he was known to outrun a buffalo. His full name was *Hikuts-tarus*, "Old Buffalo Bull"—"Scabby" or "Itchy." He was a man of good family who had begun life with a number of advantages. His father was a prominent chief, and he was sitting in his family's hereditary seat in the chiefs' council. In his boyhood he had struck up a friendship with a poor boy named Small who was serving in a chief's household. The poor boy had a vision and he had chosen to share it with his wealthy friend, Old Bull (see pp. 322-335). Then, while he was out tending the horses of his wealthy patron, Small was killed by the Sioux and Old Bull continued with Small's teachings and rose to prominence in the Doctor Association. He was currently a leader of the Deer Cult of that body. Not only his skill as a buffalo hunter, but his rise in the medical profession were notable personal achievements.

159 Old Bull and Victory Call had a kin relationship that went back to past
554 family history. It was usual for every prominent man, particularly
592 among the important chiefs and doctors, to draw around him numbers of young men who would come to live in his house and serve him in various ways as apprentices or dependents. Chief Big Eagle was such a
159 man with a large household in Old Village in 1838. He had three sons
554 of his own of whom the oldest was *kax-kuutu*, "Rotten-House," the
602 second Sitting Hawk, and the third, Victory Call. Among the other young men who were in the house it was always possible to find some kin line that would make them brothers to the children of their host. Old Bull's father was one of these young men and he had called Victory Call, *irari*, "brother." Now that they were settled together in a common household, Old Bull properly addressed Victory Call as *atias*, "my father," since Old Bull's father had been counted as Victory Call's brother. Accordingly, Victory Call addressed Old Bull as *piirau*, "my child." Otter, who also called Victory Call father and was called by him *piirau*, was as a brother to Old Bull, Old Bull assuming the role of older brother to the boy. As younger brother, Otter would wait until his older brother Old Bull ad-

White Woman and after pleading his cause with her, Shot Arm came 159
to live with them. The boy was told that "his father" had come. When 587
he demurred and said that he thought Victory Call was his father, he
was quieted. Shot Arm gave him gifts and did his best to father him.
White Woman had had some reservations as Shot Arm already had a wife,
but he convinced her that he was determined to part from the other
woman in any event. Later there were recriminations from this quarter.

Once on the winter hunt, Shot Arm was invited to bring his new 159
family to live in the household of White Eagle. He had been formally 587
invited by "his two old mothers" who were the official owners of the 591
house. In their new home the family occupied a place at the west and had [572]
status and Otter had new friends—David Gillingham, son of White
Eagle, and the two brothers, Luther and Andy Coons.

In the Sioux massacre of 1873 during the summer hunt, when from 60 159
to 120 Pawnees lost their lives while butchering their kill in a canyon 175
near Trenton, Nebraska, Otter and White Woman were guided to safety 721
through the Sioux lines by a young warrior at the request of Mad Bear.

Finally the Pawnees moved to Oklahoma in three contingents. White 167
Eagle went with the first group, while Shot Arm and his family were true 159
to the faction of Lone Chief who wanted to remain on their old land
and stayed to the last. The two old ladies who owned White Eagle's [342]
earth lodge gave over the pillars and materials to Shot Arm who set up
a hexagonal frame of six forked pillars and no outer sod collar or wall, so
that they had a high pointed lodge to live in.

When the last group decided to go, the government assigned them ten 167
wagons for the poor people who had no horses for transport, and some 169
beeves to be killed every Saturday for their food. 648
484

In Oklahoma, the three contingents had set up three earth-lodge vil-
lages in different locations. Lone Chief set up one on the Arkansas River 167
three or four miles this side of Ralston where there was a ferryboat. 159
White Eagle built a log house on top of a hill near the big pond west of the 361
present town of Pawnee, with the earth lodges of his following on the
east side of the hill toward the pond. Half a mile east of the agency,
Misery and his father-in-law Comanche Chief, along with War Cry, were
the leading spirits of another log-house village.

Shot Arm, who had become agency policeman, settled his family in a 159
tent near the school. All winter they lived in the tent. Then in spring, 763
April 1876, without any outward sign of illness, White Woman died. [625]
She asked to have her grandchild brought to her and then spoke to its [342]
mother, telling her that she was bidding them farewell and that she should
take good care of the child. And so she fell asleep and never awakened.

Victory Call's former retainer, Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn, 159
were living in a frame house with No Corn's oldest daughter. The girl 591
had married a man of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band known as Abraham

668
787 doing in the beyond meant not alone to put aside the alien customs of European culture, but actively to take up again the native
796 ways of the Indian. The Pawnee turned back to the past for values and satisfactions lacking in the present.

178 The revival of Pawnee culture which began to materialize in the years of the Ghost Dance went back for its material primarily to three sources in the old culture: the bundles and bundle rituals, the societies, and the games. The general attempt to resuscitate the aboriginal forms, supplemented and fortified by the inspirations and mandates of the visions, resulted in three types of cultural rebirth. The activities of old ceremony, performance and play were fostered; the paraphernalia were put in order, renewed, and recreated; and concepts from the old context were enshrined in symbols and facsimiles which were carried in the dance and integrated in new cultural forms.

BUNDLES AND BUNDLE RITUALS

778 796 178 The principal bundles of the Pawnee in aboriginal times were the sacred bundles,[1] often spoken of as village or band bundles, and the medicine men's bundles. The former were predominantly concerned with cosmological powers and references; the latter with the animate forms of the earth, the waters and the air (animals and trees, fish and water-creatures, birds). By 1892 sacred bundle ritual demonstrations had practically ceased; of the medicine [756] men's ceremonies, the great doctor performances of the fall had ceased in 1878, but the Doctor Dances of the spring and summer continued at irregular intervals, and such medicine men's ceremonies as the Buffalo Dance were also carried out on occasion, while the Bear Dance had died out. Resuscitation of the old bundle [764] rituals was the most difficult problem of revival and could not be fully met: a good part of the sacred rituals and paraphernalia had been buried in the grave with their final priests. There were two modes or types of occasion on which bundles were opened in aboriginal times: to demonstrate the ritual, and to renew or repair the bundle parts and contents. There is little evidence that the Pawnee succeeded in actively rehabilitating the ceremonies of the sacred bundles, but they did succeed in reconstructing the medicine men's

---

[1] I avoid any attempt to here catalog or describe the many bundles of the four Pawnee bands, which would of necessity be lengthy and for the most part irrelevant. The interested reader may consult Murie, Societies, pp. 549—556.

778 this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course
793 of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher
lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that
as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that
[828] when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the
old and learned always held back something until they were ready
to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught
his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on
his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told
him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When
[764 upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part
of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by
428] the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased
medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest,
a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance:
the physical bundle survived, though it might be less
and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained
182 as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through
178 cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through
the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of
the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid
increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was
in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals,
which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction
rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there
was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young
men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase
of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their
time: and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an
early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode
of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of
424 private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost
793 through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no
sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who
attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance
182 visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would
178 "see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision
668 then became a command upon himself and others around him to
787 carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life
could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost 668
Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult 787
to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the 178
way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed 182
in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or ceremony was no longer officially in existence: those who had known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine 796
men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear 756
Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this 178
century, it was the revived form which was studied and recorded. The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirat[2], the main 764
bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were 796
buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any 756
one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society was lost. At a 787
meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a 178
woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said, "I had

---

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. 114
Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based on work with present-day informants.

[2] The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation: in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

775 they also encounter a golden eagle seated upon a mound, its eyes giving off sparks of fire. By some this eagle is thought to be Tirawa. The eagle directs the soul along the proper road, and as it approaches the spirit-village that is its destination, if it is time for it to enter, it is not stopped. If its possessor did not lead a good life, however, it may be directed back to earth and given another chance. The souls of medicine-men wander over the land visiting the lodges of animals and eventually reach the spirit-village of the medicine-men. Before entering, they must undergo a sweat bath and be sprinkled with fine dust.

774 775 According to one informant, souls are like small stars. At death, the soul goes off the way a cloud comes up and disappears, or the way a wind blows up and dies down. The souls of people who have been seen by the Star of Disease and who have as a result died of illness are taken by the South Star to his home in the south. The disposition of all other souls is determined by the Morning Star, who decides whether they shall be restored to life, taken with him to the east, or sent to the south. And it is the Morning Star's importance in this matter that caused the Skidi to bury their dead with the head toward the east.

764 As a rule, the preparation of the body for burial began immediately after death, and the burial followed within two or three hours.

The preparation of the body varied according to the rank and position of the deceased. When a man of importance was about [766] to die he was carefully dressed in his best costume. Immediately after death, the body was painted with sacred red ointment by a priest engaged specially for the purpose. By this paint the man's friends in the spirit land would know that he had been well taken care of on this earth. The red ointment gave the rough and emaciated skin a smooth and healthy appearance. The body was now considered holy, for a corpse without the red paint was looked upon as dust and could not enter the land of the spirits. (Relative to this belief see Dorsey, 1904, pp. 69 ff.) The dead man was next wrapped in his buffalo robe. Should he have been a member of a society possessing ceremonial paraphernalia, as, for example, the Dog Soldiers, his feathers, whistles, rattles, etc., would be placed with him, and his face painted according to the style employed by his society. In the case of other societies the body would be prepared in a similarly appropriate manner.

[888] The preparation of the bodies of those who died in extremely old age was similar to the method given above.

72 765 [782] and obtain a scalp. This was carried home to the village on a pole, and scalp dances were inaugurated. The scalp was consecrated to one of the deities of the heavens, and the man who had taken it wrapped a piece of it in a small buckskin sack with tobacco. This was tied to a long stick representing an arrow and thrust into the grave. Another small piece of the scalp was burned upon the grave.

551 765 The name of a dead person could not be mentioned during the mourning period. If anyone mentioned the name of an individual who had been killed in war, it was thought that he would probably suffer the same fate as the person killed.

764 778 821 Reference has been made to the fact that personal belongings were buried with the dead. However, there were certain exceptions to this practice. Personal war bundles containing meteorites or any objects supposed to have had their origin in the heavens were not buried. This was in accordance with the belief that these objects belonged in the heavens and not in the ground. Hence, when an individual possessing such objects died, and if the relatives did not want them, the bundle was unwrapped and the objects were placed on a high hill, whence they returned to the heavens. Such objects were supposed to be the children of stars, watched over by them, and it was believed that when people had no further use for these "children," they would return to their parents in the sky. Also, if a medicine-man died during the time he was giving instruction to his son, his medicine bundle was retained for the boy's use when he became of age.

764 778 A further illustration of the burial of belongings with the dead is contained in the following incident. A Skidi chief's daughter died. The father had received calumet pipe sticks from the Chaui band, and his daughter had participated in the ceremony accompanying the gift. Her death followed shortly after the ceremony and was attributed to the belief that the ceremony had not been properly performed. Consequently, over her grave her father placed the pipe sticks, oriole's nest, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, and tobacco bag that comprised the special objects used in the ceremony. That year drought prevailed, the crops withered, buffalo could not be found, and the Skidi were forced to depend on their cache reserves. The Chaui priest who had originally brought the pipe sticks visited the Skidi, and with the chief to whom he had presented them, went to the grave, removed the ceremonial objects, wrapped them in a bundle, and taking the earth from over the body, placed the bundle next to it. He then re-filled the grave. Shortly after, there

came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui 764
priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was 778
very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of 572
friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particularly to old men who had been priests. 888 Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally 759
claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age. They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the 562
priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the 834
Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until [291]
well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the [515]
lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no [521]
subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Their dress consists of leggings, generally made of scarlet cloth; 291 over which a piece of blue or brown woollen cloth is tied around the waist, the ends lapping over each other, and extending a little below the knees. The upper dress consists of a shirt or short gown, made of calico, reaching to the middle. Over the whole a blanket or robe is slung, above which, on the back, may frequently [854] be discovered the black sparkling eyes of a little "papoose" peering forth.

INTOXICATING DRINK.—It is somewhat remarkable, that the 273 Pawnees are not so fond of "fire water," as other tribes, who are fast dwindling away from the demoralizing and debasing effects of intoxicating drink. Nothing, perhaps, has aided more in diminishing the population of different Indian tribes, than spirituous liquors. To the missionary, it is always gratifying and encouraging to observe, when a tribe takes a bold stand against the introduction of this destructive poison. The Pawnees allow none to be brought into their villages.

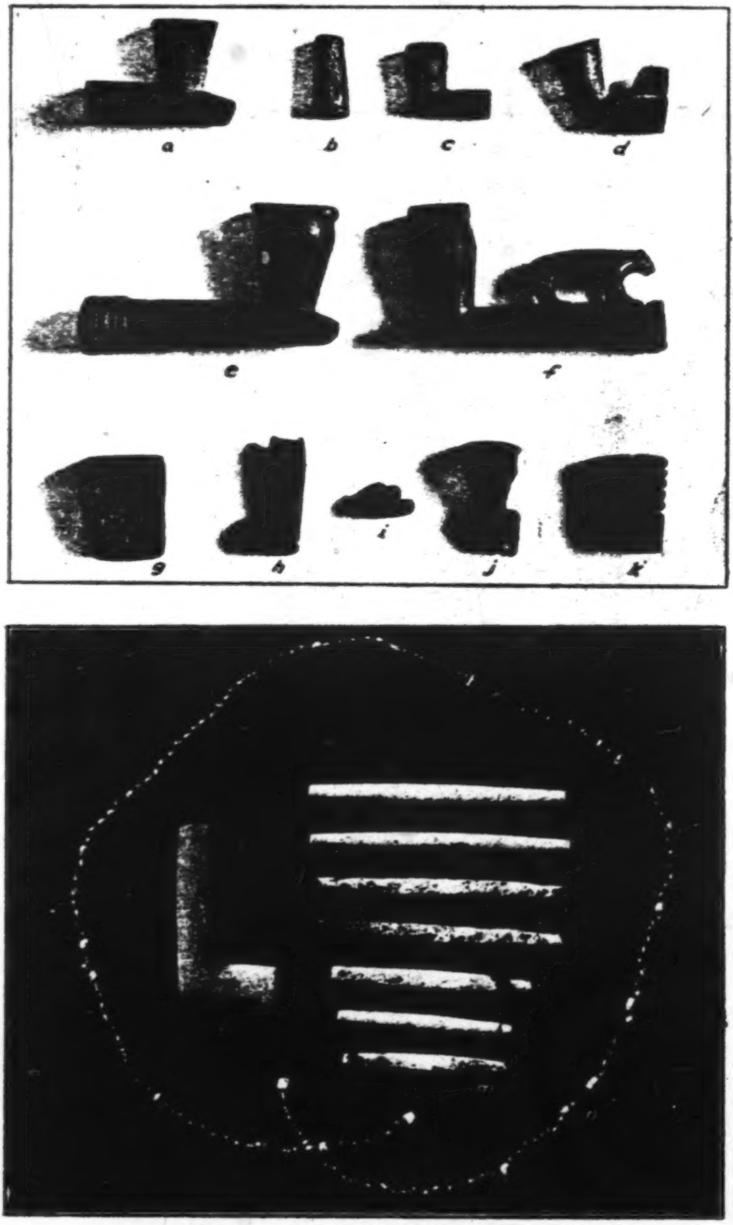
BURYING THEIR DEAD.—On the highest mounds in the prairie, 764 we often observed little hillocks of earth, which we were informed, were the places of sepulture of their chiefs and others of their tribe. A tall bush was frequently stuck in the ground, to designate the spot. We were also informed, that among the Pawnees, 888 and other wild tribes, the cruel practice prevails, when they are on their hunt, and their old people get so feeble, that they can no longer accompany them, of leaving them behind, and even burying them alive.—In allusion to this fact, Mr. Allis, pointing to their old and feeble chief, addressed the other chiefs as follows: "I have learned, that you intend to put aside your old chief, because he is now feeble and sickly, and perhaps you will even think of burying him, when he can no longer follow you; but I want you to take care of him. He has been like a father to you. When he was yet strong, you know his kettle was always over the fire with plenty. He has always been a friend of the whites, and you ought to esteem him for the services he has rendered your nation, and not to bury him before he is dead."

More might be added, to show the wretchedness of their pres- 000 ent state, but we should fear to become too tedious. Sufficient, however, has been said, to prove, that these poor people need the assistance of missionaries to better them in their outward condition. But, when we consider their spiritual destitution,—their ignorance, darkness, and superstition,—

Shall WE whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall WE to men benighted
The lamp of life deny?"

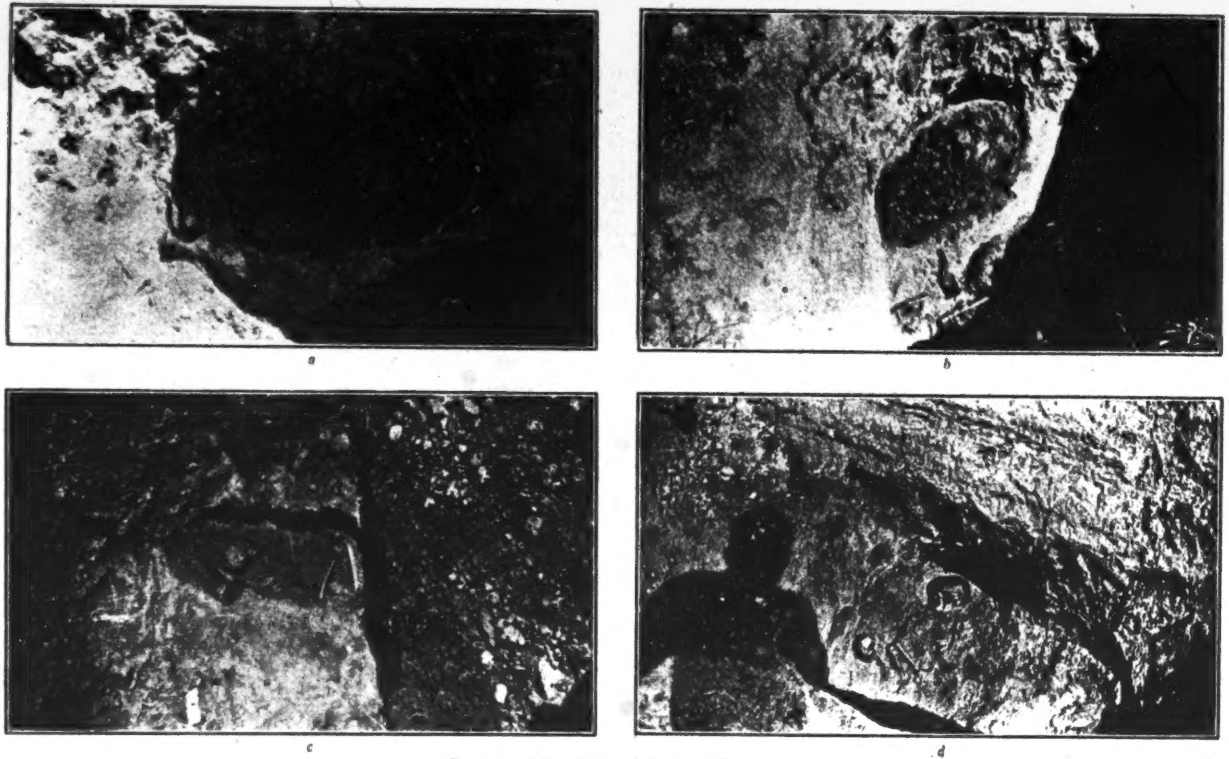
172
276
532
●764

172
276
301



PIPES AND MORTUARY OFFERINGS. VARIOUS SITES (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

[End plate 8]



PAWNEE BURIALS (HISTORIC SITES).

[End Plate 11]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

172
764

172* 764

To the north of the village site, perhaps a half mile from the river, are three prominent hills, the summit of each being covered with burials. These have been repeatedly dug into by local "relic hunters" and much valuable material thoughtlessly destroyed in the quest for medals, pots, and the like. A county highway crosses the central hill, and nearly every widening of the road or deepening of the side ditches has resulted in the exposure of graves. At the time of the writer's visit to the site in 1930 Mr. A. T. Hill located in one of the ditches the grave of a young child. From this was taken a very well-preserved skeleton, a small complete vessel, and other articles, to be treated at length in another portion of this paper. Most of the burials found have been accompanied by glass beads, lead rings, and other objects indicative of white contact. However, pre-Caucasian graves should be diligently sought as the site appears to have been early historic and may strike back into the late prehistoric. [177]

172* 361

FULLERTON SITE.—This site, first settled by the Skidi in 1842[44] and abandoned by them in 1846 or soon thereafter because of Dakota raids,[45] is situated on the north bank of the Loup River, immediately below the mouth of the Cedar, about 2 miles east and a half mile north of the town of Fullerton.[46] It, too, occupies a bench some 30 feet high, with the river flowing immediately at the base. Clayton's description of the site, written in 1847 while the Mormon emigrants were crossing the Loup at this point, sums up the situation very nicely:

> This village is situated on the north bank of the Loup Fork of the Nebraska or Platte River, about 4 miles southwest of the mission station on Plumb Creek [now Council Creek] and 138 miles from Winter Quarters [at Florence, Nebr.] . . . . On the east and west of the village is a beautiful level bench of prairie extending many miles, and to the ridge of bluffs which run east and west touching within a mile of the village [on the north]. On the top of the bluffs can be seen a number of Indian graves. To the northwest about a mile distant, and at the foot of the bluffs, is an extensive cornfield, the stalks still standing. On the south [i. e., across the Loup] is a beautiful view of the nice level prairie extending to the main branch of the Platte, the timber on the banks can be faintly, but plainly seen. . . . The village occupies a space of about 40 acres of land and is mostly enclosed by a ditch about 5 feet wide and a bank inside the ditch about 4 feet high, running from the bank of the river around the village till it again strikes the bank, and when perfect has formed a good fortification. A number of lodges are built outside the ditch on the east end on account of want of room inside when the bands from the other village joined them. The village is composed of about 200 houses or lodges [of which but one remained intact] . . . ."[47]

---

[44] Dunbar, 1918, pp. 648, 654.

[45] Clayton, 1921, p. 95.

[46] NE. ¼ sec. 7, T. 16 N., R. 5 W., in Nance County, Nebr.

[47] 1921, pp. 95–97.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Genoa site.—After the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee gradually became concentrated in one great, rambling village on the Loup. 172* This lay about 1½ miles south of Genoa, on a broad, flat plain between 361 Beaver Creek and the Loup.[53] The Skidi occupied the western part of the village; the other three bands located in what is now the Genoa Cemetery. A sod wall protected the settlement on the south and west sides, with the portions nearest Genoa left open. Each band is said to have had its own burial ground. That of the Grands was to the south, across the Loup River. [764] ● The Skidi interred their dead on bluffs northwest of their village. The Tappage Cemetery was on a hill in what is now the north edge of Genoa and that of the Republicans was northeast of the city. All traces of the village have been obliterated and the cemeteries have suffered extensively at the hands of vandals. Few objects of native production have been [177] found, as the Pawnee were very much under the influence of the Americans at this late date and were rapidly losing their own arts and industries.

GRAND PAWNEE SITES

The Grand Pawnee are often designated in early literature and 131 on maps prior to 1800 as *Panis*. The main villages of the band were [101] always on the south bank of the Platte, save for a short period between 1806 and 1824 (the latter date being approximate), and another from 1860 to 1875. During both of these periods they were on the north bank of the Loup, at the Horse Creek and Genoa sites, respectively. Two pure Grand Pawnee locations are recognized, viz, the Linwood and the Clarks sites; the Plum Creek site was occupied by members of at least two of the other bands. The Horse Creek site was dominantly Republican, hence is included in that section.

Linwood site.—This site is located approximately a mile south and 172* slightly west of the town of Linwood, on the east bank of Skull Creek 361 3 miles south of the Platte River.[54] It occupies the western portion of an alluvial flat, a small embaymentlike arm of the Platte Valley extending perhaps three-quarters of a mile up Skull Creek, and is [133] inclosed on the west, south, and east by high bluffs. Skull Creek, at least in former times, probably carried water at all seasons of the year, and immediately below the site an excellent spring provided water sufficient to meet the domestic needs for a considerable community.

The site, though extending nearly half a mile continuously along the creek, actually consists of two contiguous sites of very different age. The early phase of occupation, designated on map 2 as 9 A, surfaces have been cut various designs, for the most part of simple 172* geometric character. 324 The lines are deeply incised and give a very sharp, clear-cut cast of the various figures. The work may have been purely decorative in nature but there is a possibility that the incised slabs were used as molds. Heavy lead rings with three or more parallel flutings or ribs are one of the most common of grave finds (pl. 12, *g*); they are nearly identical with the cast obtainable from the mold represented by figure 9, *a*. Similarly, belt buckles could be easily cast by the use of the other molds figured, the shaded lines representing depressions and incisions (fig. 9, *b*, *c*). All of these designs are on specimens from the Hill site but far more elaborate and involved motifs cut into polished red stone occur at the early Linwood village (fig. 10). None of the stones, however, show the effect of heat, as would be expected if they had been subjected to treatment with molten metals, hence they may be merely decorated tablets. They have been found in graves as well as on the surface about village locations. (See Strong, 1935, p. 286.)

---

[53] SW¼ sec. 24 and SE¼ sec. 23, T. 17 N., R. 4 W., Nance County, Nebr.

[54] SW¼ sec. 35, T. 17 N., R. 4 E., Butler County, Nebr.

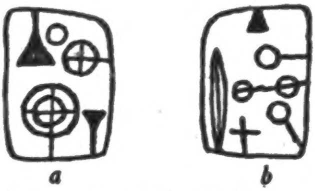


FIGURE 10.—Incised tablets ("molds"), Linwood site.

DRILLS.—Small T-shaped flint drills occur but rarely on the later Pawnee 172* sites. 412 They are usually less than 1½ inches in length, the transverse portion being slightly concave. A few simple drills of straight elongate form are also found.

PESTLE.—A single pestle has been recovered from the Skidi site near Palmer. It is of black gneissoid material, 12 inches long, 3 inches in greatest diameter and tapering to slightly less than 2 inches at the other extremity. The large end is much abraded and battered but otherwise the specimen is well worn, highly polished, and very nicely shaped. It represents a surface find.

CRYSTALS.—Two small quartz crystals, each about 1½ inches long with a yellowish, semitranslucent cast, were recovered at the Hill site. They are natural pebbles, unmodified, but have a smooth, worn [778] appearance as though from long carrying in a pouch or cloth. They presumably represent fetishes.

"WHETSTONES."—These are always found as grave offerings and 172* have been associated with the left hand of more than 80 percent of 764 the adult male skeletons found at the Hill site. They are from 2 to 324 6 inches long and up to an inch wide. In cross section they are square, rectangular, and oval. A few are worn on the flat surfaces, as though from use as a whetstone, but the majority are merely shaped and slightly smoothed. They are of various materials, but usually of limestone, schist, or sandstone. It is doubtful whether

*772 most of the stones were intended for utilitarian purposes, and they
324 may very well have been made for funerary or other ceremonial func-
● 764 tions expressly (pl. 7, *a–m*).

Shaft polishers.—These are always of dark brown, medium coarse
*772 sandstone, and are of one uniform type. They occur in pairs (pl.
412 7, *n*, *t*) and vary in length from 4 to 7½ inches. Almost invariably they are of the "nail-buffer" type, with a single longitudinal groove. Specimens with two grooves are absent, as are those with transverse grooves. All of the specimens figured are from the Hill site and are of unusually fine shape and workmanship; they have been used to only a slight extent but the grooves are nicely marked. Similar smoothers are found at most other sites and are in fact exceedingly widespread over the plains and adjoining areas.

*772 Pipes.—Stone pipes are the rule on all Pawnee village sites, with catlinite the most common material. The specimens figured (pl. 8,
276 *a–k*) are from the Hill village on the Republican, with the exception of *h* and *i*, both of which are from the Burkett site. With two exceptions they are made of catlinite or some similar polished red stone; *a* is of gray, fine-grained material, and *g* is of coarse, friable red sandstone. In form they are nearly always of the elbow type, with the bowl at right angles to the stem, and commonly the stem is extended a short distance beyond the bowl. All were probably fitted with detachable stems of carved wood or reed, of which obviously few traces have survived.

The two large specimens in the center of the illustration, *e* and *f*, are of unusually fine workmanship, particularly as regards *f*. This pipe is 4¾ inches long with a bowl 1⅞ inches high by 1 inch square at the top; the bowl is still caked from much use. The effigy is about 2 inches long. The other pipe is a trifle shorter, but also has a square-topped bowl. According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the square bowl was indicative of chieftainship on the part of the owner, whereas the round-bowled pipes were the property of the medicine men and priests. The effigy pipe, *f*, was found with the remains of a child, over which lay the outspread skeleton of an eagle; *g* was in the same grave.

The tiny pipe, *i*, in the bottom row, is 1 inch long and has a squarish bowl with scalloped rim. Such small pipes are still highly prized by the older men of the Pawnee Tribe, and may hark back to the days when tobacco was used in very small quantities only in their ceremonies, instead of being smoked for pleasure. Two or three puffs would suffice to burn up all of the tobacco that would go into such a bowl.

Immediately in front of the bowl of this small pipe, i. e., nearest the smoker, may be seen a tiny vertical projection, which is pierced. The keel of *j* is similarly perforated and *h* has a deep groove cut

ment consists of two or more members twisted together into a thick, 172* rounded cord; the space between warp elements is generally about 1 inch. The weft consists of rushes, used in pairs; these make a 285 half turn on each other between every two warp elements, one member passing on either side of the warp. The manner of treating the edges is not known; they may have been finished in selvage, but there is nothing to indicate that such was the case.

Mats, according to Dunbar,[84] were used on the floors of the lodge, on the beds, and as curtains in front of and between the sleeping compartments. They were also used for wrapping the bodies of the [764] deceased for interment, as has been indicated above.

Basketry.—Coiled baskets were made by the Pawnee, according to Weltfish,[85] but no traces of basketry have so far come to light in excavation. The foundation of the coil consisted of a single element made by splitting willow or cottonwood twigs radially into three segments, which were then used with the apex upward. Willow or elm splints supplied the sewing element. Viewed from the inside of the basket, the coiling was in a clockwise spiral. The stitches did not interlock. The usual form of basket appears to have been a shallow, flat-bottomed bowl, with flaring lips.[86] Scanty but unmistakable evidences of coiled basketry of a high order of workmanship have come from the prehistoric Missouri River earth lodges of Nebraska, in the form of impressions on lumps of clay, but the historic Pawnee sites have not yet shown the trait. (Strong, 1935, pl. 16, *f*.)

Mortuary Customs

In disposing of their dead the Pawnee practiced inhumation exclusively, at least within historic times. For the most part the 172* rituals and general procedure were similar to those of their semi- 764 sedentary neighbors, such as the Omaha, Oto, Ponca, and Kansa.[87] [171] The graves were almost invariably on the highest hills near each village; if the hills were more than a mile or so distant interment was sometimes along the edges of ravines or the immediate banks of streams nearer the village. Low tumuli were raised over the remains.[88] These have since been entirely obliterated, so that there is at present nothing whatever in the way of surface indications to mark the graves. Where two or more bands occupied the same village, each appears to have had its own cemetery. The burial customs of all of the bands were, however, identical, hence will be

---

[84] 1918, p. 600.

[85] 1930, pp. 277–286.

[86] Ibid., p. 286.

[87] Long, 1823, vol. ii, pp. 281–282.

[88] Ibid., p. 281; Irving, 1835, vol. ii, p. 102; Oehler and Smith, 1851, p. 31; Clayton, 1921, p. 96; Bushnell, 1927, pl. 36.

*172 collectively treated as a tribal trait. For the most part information
comes from the Hill site, and is based primarily upon the researches
●764 of Mr. A. T. Hill and of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey.

Three graves were opened by the survey party at the Hill site,
in August 1930, all on the west slope of the main burial hill south
of the village. Burial 1 was that of a very young child. It lay at
a depth of 3 feet, in a small, ill-defined grave. The bones were
so badly decayed that the orientation of the body was not deter-
[301 mined. A single broken iron ring, a metal disk, and a tiny catlinite
276] pipe with one notch on the stem were the sole offerings.

Burial 2 (pl. 11, *c*) was that of a subadolescent about 10 or 12 years
old and was in very good condition. The grave was 3 feet 6 inches
deep, 4 feet long, and some 18 inches wide. The skeleton lay on its
left side, the feet drawn up toward the buttocks, and the knees and
arms extended toward the front; the head was to the north. Imme-
diately at the back of the cranium lay a half-cylindrical iron vessel
with a small spout, apparently an army canteen of early nineteenth
century type (pl. 12, *a*). Lumps of red ochre were found about the
waist and to a lesser extent near the feet. All traces of clothing had
[301] long since disappeared, save for a quantity of colored glass beads
about the feet, which probably came from moccasins.

Burial 3 (pl. 11, *a*, *b*) was the richest of the group. It was that
of a small child, poorly preserved. The grave was 4 feet deep,
34 inches long, and 18 inches wide. The skull, rather badly broken,
lay to the south; the rest of the skeleton was too fragmentary to
yield any clues as to the arrangement of the body and limbs. The
body had been completely wrapped in twined reed matting and
then covered with bark. Over the whole, in disorderly fashion, lay
several broken slats of worked wood about 2¼ inches wide and less
than a half inch thick; the longest measured 17 inches, another 9
inches, the latter with two holes near one unbroken end. All of the
wood was painted a dark purple and was very nicely smoothed; it
was probably the framework of a cradle board. Near the middle of
the body were a number of glass beads, apparently from a beaded
belt or shirt front. The soil about the feet was literally impregnated
with more beads, mostly white, blue, and red, doubtless from the de-
[301] cayed moccasins. Several heavy lead rings about three-eighths of an
inch wide, a broken shell or bone gorget, and small fragments of
other shell trinkets complete the list of funerary offerings.

A week after the operations just described the writer opened a grave discovered by Mr. A. T. Hill at the Palmer site. The grave was about a quarter of a mile due north of the village near the summit of one of the principal burial hills and had been revealed in cross section by recent deepening of a roadside ditch. The total

depth was 5 feet 6 inches, of which 4 or 5 inches was due to downward creep of the hillside soil subsequent to interment. The burial 172* cavity measured 33 inches east to west by 24 inches north to south; 764 it had been undercut quite noticeably toward the north, so that the contents did not lie directly below the original mouth of the grave. The remains were those of a young child not over 6 or 7 years of age, and were exceptionally well preserved (pl. 11, *d*). The skeleton lay on its right side, with the head toward the east. The feet were folded closely against the buttocks, with the knees partially drawn up toward the body. The right arm lay fully extended just in front of and along the body; the left arm was folded over the pelvis. Immediately in front of the knees was a small gray pot, inverted and empty (pls. 3, *c;* 11, *d*). The only other objects were fragmentary lead rings, two of which lay on either side of the cranium in [301] such a position as to predicate their use as ear pendants.

Bushnell,[89] in discussing Pawnee burial customs, states that "according to Francis La Flesche the bodies were placed in the graves [114] in a sitting position." This statement is wholly at variance with the results of archeological work in the historic sites. Upward of 40 graves have been opened at the Hill site in the past 8 years, yet not one instance of a skeleton in a sitting position has come to light. Similarly the work at the Palmer, Linwood, and other important sites has failed to disclose any verification of La Flesche's statement, and present indications are that so far as the Nebraska Pawnee were concerned interment in a sitting position was uncommon.

As was noted in each of the cases above described, the bodies were usually flexed, wholly or in part, doubtless to conserve space. The bodies were never consistently oriented with reference to any of the cardinal points of the compass, nor were they laid any more frequently on the right side than on the left, or vice versa. Undercutting of the grave, especially toward the north, was quite common; the amount varied with the depth, which was usually between 3 and 6 feet. The soil covering the bodies is generally mottled and mixed with organic material and of a looser texture than that elsewhere.

The bodies were usually wrapped in matting or bark for interment and were always accompanied by mortuary offerings. Shaped stones (pl. 7) from 3 to 6 inches in length are nearly always found in or near the left hand of adult males. The offerings are most commonly found in front of the body if lying on its side, or on the chest if lying face upward. At the Hill site flints and steel, glass beads, lead rings, wooden-backed mirrors, knives, shell gorgets, Spanish, British, and American peace medals, military buttons, cloth, foodstuffs, and innumerable other odds and ends were used as offer-

---

[89] 1927, p. 79.

*172 764 ings. A wild-cat skull with a copper military button set into each eye socket was taken from a grave at the Hill site; it doubtless represented a fetish. Occasionally rodent skulls, crystals, animal claws and teeth, and similar objects are found close together, as though originally contained in a bag. Catlinite pipes (pl. 8) are sometimes found; pottery is very seldom present.

It is of interest to note that sometimes a skeleton is found minus an arm, a leg, or even a skull, though otherwise well preserved. Such individuals may have been victims of a raid or of some other mishap. Amputation by cutting through the bones seems to be absent.

CONCLUSIONS

*172 105 In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to present the available traditional, historical, and archeological evidence bearing on the historic and protohistoric culture of the Pawnee. Here we endeavor to correlate these various lines of evidence, pointing out certain of their wider cultural implications, and attempting to fit the Pawnee into the general scheme of aboriginal American culture. To do so solely on the basis of the material here presented may seem premature, yet the writer is convinced that for the sake of future work these suggested relationships, even if more or less tenuous, should be indicated. Hence we will briefly discuss each of these three major headings in order.

The only point on which all Pawnee migration traditions agree is that the tribe originally lived to the south of its historic habitat, though the exact locality varies somewhat. Dunbar intimates that the ancestral home was with the Wichita on the lower Red River,[90] whence the two tribes moved northward as one people. Grinnell, on the strength of what he regarded as the oldest migration legend of the tribe, postulates "an original home for the Pawnees in Old Mexico, and . . . a possible connection with the so-called 'Pueblo tribes' . . ."[91] The statement recorded by this authority to the effect that the Pawnee formerly dwelt in stone houses in the southwest[92] is hardly to be taken at face value. There is virtually nothing in Pawnee material culture to suggest puebloan influences, and since there was frequent contact between the two groups all through historic times the idea of a former use of stone habitations may be a relatively late and superficial addition to the account. Dorsey[93] carries the tribe back only as far as southeastern Nebraska, near the present site of Nemaha, and his traditions cast relatively little light

---

[90] 1880, a, p. 251.
[91] 1893, p. 224.
[92] Ibid.
[93] 1906, p. 8.

172 PLATE 9.—Bonework from historic Pawnee sites. *a* is a 12½-inch pick made
of the ulna of a bison; *b*, hide-tanning tool; *c*, two small picks made of deer
321 antler, each about 7 inches long; *d*, arrowshaft straighteners made of bison
412 rib; *e*, bone awls; *f*, hide scraper of elk horn, 12 inches long. *g–n*, bone paint
brushes cut from joints of bison and other large animals; none measures more
than 2 inches in greatest dimensions. *f*, is from the Palmer site; the other
specimens are from the Hill site.

PLATE 10.—Bone tools from historic Pawnee sites. *a–d*, digging tools made from bison scapulae. *a*, from the Hill site, measures 14 inches by 7 inches and was originally square-bladed; *b*, from the Palmer site, is 11 inches long and 6 inches wide; *c* and *d* are from a cache east of Genoa, *d* measuring 15 inches by 6 inches. *e–k*, fleshing tools; *e* and *k* are each 9 inches long, *i* is 6½ inches, and all are finely notched on the edges. Note perforation in *j* for passage of a thong about the wrist of the operator. *e*, *j*, and *k* from Palmer site; *f*, *g*, Hill site; *h*, *i*, Clarks site.

172 PLATE 11.—Pawnee burials. *a*, burial 3, Hill site, showing fragments of
broken cradle board (?) and rush matting which covered remains; *b*, burial 3,
● 764 Hill site, after removal of covering; *c*, burial 2, Hill site, showing old powder
cannister or canteen back of head; *d*, burial at the Palmer site, with a complete pot as the sole mortuary offering.

PLATE 12.—Metal trade material from the Hill site. Historic Pawnee.
172 *a*, army canteen of early nineteenth century type from burial 2 (see p. 92 and
177 pl. 11, *c*); *b*, *e*, iron lance heads from caches; *c*, hammer from flintlock; *d*,
411 bridle bit; *f*, arrowpoints cut from iron hoe blades; *g*, three lead rings (see pp.
79 and 92); *h*, lead pistol ball; *i*, piece of gun barrel; *j*, belt buckle; *k*, small
412 chisel; *l*, *frizel* from flintlock; *m*, iron hoe of type usually found on historic
Pawnee sites, this specimen with remains of charred wooden handle still visible
in the socket.

619 131 They do not claim to have lived on the Missouri. They claim once to have owned all the land west of the Missouri from the Platt to the Kansas. The Loups went off from the principal band and went south of the Osage River where they remained for many years. The Republican Pawnees once occupied the Republican fork of the Kansas. They do not know where they came from. They say that there are the sites of [361] their villages still known to them on the Nemaha, Salt Creek, and on the Platt and Republican fork of the Kansas. The Keeches, so-called by the Pawnees, who now live in the west end of the Indian territory somewhere, are cognate. They live near the Pawnee Picts, south of the Osages and the Comanches.

Tribes [Clans]

614 He [Allis] thinks they are divided into tribes.[12] The marks which he has seen on their robes and lodges are the Eagle, Bear, Beaver, Owl, Buffalo, Deer. The son succeeds the father as chief. He was unable to give me any information upon this question. 764 He never saw but one burial. They excavated a grave or trench and then dug an opening in the side large enough to insert the body under the undisturbed earth, laid it in horizontally, covered it with a mat, and deposited by its side a number of articles, filled up the trench and raised a mound over it.

Pawnee Matting

285 He [Allis] showed me a specimen of their work in a floor matting made of a species of rush. It was coarse but strong, about two or three yards wide and five yards long. It was stitched or woven on bark threads and very creditable work. With instruction in the art of manufacturing and with reeds of a supe-

[p 136 (A)]

[12] [see cat. 116 p 220 (A) - Analyst]

224*

was made in oblong form about three feet long and a foot and a half wide, 484*
with its long axis running north–south. 342

The next step was to get everything in order for cooking. They had 354
enough water, and now they needed wood for fuel. As she was peg- 313
ging down the tent, No Corn remarked to her husband, Horse Rider, 224*
"We're pretty nearly finished now and we have no wood." Then he 484*
would go off carrying a long rope. He used the rope as a kind of lasso:
attaching a stick about a foot long to the end, he would throw it up
around a dry cottonwood limb and the cord would wind itself around
the limb so that it could be pulled down. It would take considerable skill
to pull it down without having it fall on your head, which sometimes hap-
pened despite the best of care. Horse Rider tried to get enough wood to
last them for that evening and the next day while they stayed at the ren-
dezvous camp. Some of the wood he gathered from the ground, tied it up
with his cord, and came into camp carrying it on his back. As soon as he 224*
got in, he made the fire and White Woman began to cook. They had a 484*
simple meal of bread and coffee and some sand cherries for dessert. No 252
Corn volunteered to make the coffee. While the cooking was going on, [272]
the old ladies were stretched out resting, and Victory Call was doing the
same. Everyone was very tired. It was proper to joke a bit while the [522]
food was being prepared and during the meal. Horse Rider began to
tease No Corn about how she had fallen in the water.

Immediately after supper the women cleared up the dishes and sat 224*
down to rest—tired from all their work. Horse Rider went off to see 484*
how the horses were getting along and Victory Call went up and sat on
top of one of the sand hills to have a smoke and to look around and at the
encampment below. Presently five or six men joined him for a smoke and
some conversation.

The boy Otter ran off at once to the river to go swimming with the rest 224*
of the children. On the way he saw some other little boys leaning over a 484*
pond. "See the sunfish. Let's 'choke' them!" They tied some bread to the 857
end of a string and let it down into the pond and as the fish bit, they pulled
them up and 'choked' them. Then the boys went off and gave the fish to 224*
an old woman who was living alone in a shelter she had built for herself. 484*
Her relatives gave her something, but would not take care of her and she 888
had no other place to go. "Here, grandma," they said, "Here's some
fish." "That's fine," said the old lady. Later that summer while they were
setting up camp one day, the boys came to give her fish and she was dead.
They dug a hole in the embankment against which she had been leaning [764]
and buried her there. Man Chief, who was Eagle Chief's son, and a gener-
ous young man, gave a red blanket to wrap her in. There were only
one or two old women alone like this. Sometimes while they were on the
hunt, such old people would say, "Just give me enough to eat and go on."

rubbing after it gets wet. If the tent cover was folded when wet it would 224*
get moldy. The sinew bowstring also would be ineffective when wet. 484*
Rain had very serious consequences when they had sliced a quantity of 132
buffalo meat and were drying it on the rack. If it should be wet by a sudden [281]
storm, the meat throughout the encampment would be spoiled. [251]
There was nothing that could be done with this meat. If one tried to eat it, it tasted like dead wood. It fell to pieces in one's hands. Even if one tried to cure it over a fire, it simply rotted. Meat once exposed to rain, even after it had been cooked, became moldy next day. A rack of meat that had been rained on was called *kariks-kutu*, "rack-dead, spoiled." The meat had to be thrown away.

Accommodation and adjustment to rainy weather was therefore very [182]
important and a nice distinction had to be made between the problem of delay and the risks involved.

One day word was sent to White Eagle that an important man of the 224*
Man-Going-Downstream Band was so ill that he could not go on. White 484*
Eagle had to consider very carefully whether they would go ahead and 758
leave him or delay the entire group. A day's delay might mean the 554
difference between reaching the full herd on time or finding only stragglers 619
left after the herd had passed. Considering, however, that the Man-Going-Downstream 622
Band was in a "Child" relation in the Peace Pipe ritual to the Skidi and was in the process of giving them a return gift of horses, White Eagle diplomatically decided to delay the march so that the sick man could be treated by a doctor. It was also felt that if interband relationships were not solidified from time to time, one or the other of the South Bands might conceivably be induced to collaborate with the Sioux on some occasion. Then everyone would consider that White Eagle had failed in his administrative functions and in his diplomacy.
The death of an influential man in another band would also be the occasion 224*
for delay until after the funeral. If the wife of a prominent man 484*
were about to give birth, the whole family of this tent and a doctor 554
would stay behind and wait, and White Eagle would assign one of his 764 •
principle braves to see that things were all right with "their Child" (in 844
terms of the calumet), while the rest of the camp moved on. In the case of an expected birth to one of the wives of White Eagle himself, he would request Eagle Chief to lead on and say, "My wife is going to be sick." But Eagle Chief would refuse to go ahead saying, "I might spoil your luck. We can go on when she's well again." Ordinarily a woman would have to go aside while traveling and have her child in the open aside from the line of march. Also, in the case of death, the own family would usually stay behind and bury the person, then come on and join the rest. After a day's delay, everyone would be glad to be moving along.

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water. Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation (1925, pp. 142-161). 773 551 821

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making. 000

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof, *Askats;* Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the horse. 231 552 [556] 231 764 428 [766]

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They were: Wide Feet, *As-katarihu'*; White Spotted, *Paras-taka*; Bear Head, *Kuruks-paksu*; Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat*; Hate-His-Tail, *Pits-tatur-ritku*; Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats*; Wooly, *Pararus*; Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku*; Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.* Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross, 1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march pulling the travois in 1834–1836. The Pawnees were able to identify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties. 231 552 231 [262] [825]

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee 231 726 177

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

led into the dance lodge by women. Some of the young men were in 727
the full costume of Indian warriors, others were in civilian clothing, [172]
and Lawrence Murie wore the khaki uniform in which he had served
with the artillery at the front. The young soldier who directed the [411]
dancing carried a sword which had belonged to one of his ancestors.
The principal dance was the grass dance, followed by the war dance. [535
The former is common to all the tribes of the northern plains, extend-
ing even to the Kutenai. According to Miss Fletcher, the dance 171]
originally was connected with the Hethushka Society of the Omaha,
a society whose object was "to stimulate an heroic spirit among the
people and to keep alive the memory of historic and valorous acts."[34]

A touching event in the second day's gathering was the expression 765●
of sympathy for the parents of the young man who died in France. 727
They stood before the assembly while the chief and other leading [201]
men talked to them. The speaker placed his hands on the man's
head, drawing them down the man's arms to his hands; he also held
the man's hands closely in his own as he talked to him in a tender,
earnest manner.

Numerous speeches were made, and the occasion was marked by 727
dignity as well as rejoicing. The young soldiers appeared to be in
excellent health, were friendly toward all, and made a good impression
upon the white people who attended the gathering.

The song next following was sung by the women on the second day 533*
of the victory dance. It is an "honor song" and belonged to an old 727
man named Brown Bear (*guruks*, bear; *narahata*, brown), who died [424]
not long ago. At a war dance he used to rise and sing this song
without the drum, and "when he sang everybody cried." The
custom of weeping and even wailing aloud at public gatherings has
not been noted in tribes previously studied. The words of the song
meant, "Nobody knows when the world will end." The informant
added, "The old man used to say 'there is one person who knows
when the world will end.' "

Analysis.—This is one of the "crying songs," and the sliding tone, 533*
especially in measures 7, 8, 13, and 14, is impossible to transcribe.
The time was well maintained throughout the song. Attention is
directed to a comparison of the count-divisions in the two rhythmic
units and in the fifth and sixth measures from the close of the song.
All the tones of the octave occur in the melody which progresses by a
wide variety of intervals.

---

[34] Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, Twenty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 459.

*533 unit and another which resembles it but is not exactly like any other phrase in the song. The rhythm was identical in all the renditions. The melody is less interesting than the rhythm, the first half being based on the interval of a fifth (F to C) and the last half on a fourth (D to G), with F as the principal tone of the song.

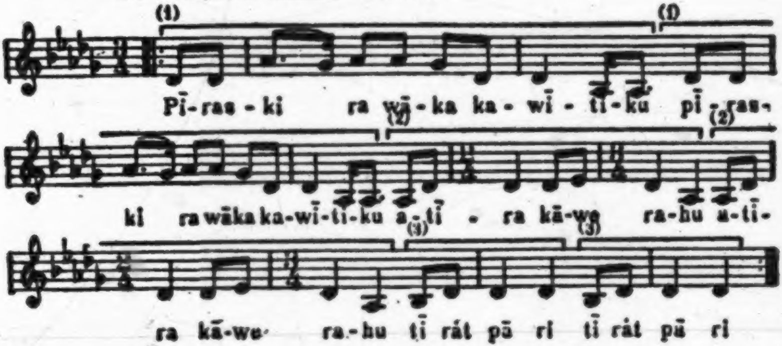
[775 ●765] The following song was also sung while the game was in progress. In explanation it was said, "This song belonged to a man who died long ago. He had one daughter and she died. The old man cried every day but at last, one night, he heard a cry in the woods. It was his daughter, who said, 'Father, I am in heaven.' Afterwards he did not cry any more."

No. 47. "I Hear the Sound of a Child Crying"

(Catalogue No. 1098)

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN

Voice ♩= 92
Drum ♩= 92
Drum rhythm similar to No. 3


(1)
(1)
Pī-ras - ki ra wā-ka ka - wī - tī-ku pī - ras-
(2)
(2)
ki ra wāka ka-wī-ti-ku a-tī - ra kā-we ra-hu a-tī-
(3)
(3)
ra kā-we ra-hu tī rát pā ri tī rát pā ri

Piraski	ra	wāka	kawītiku	atira	kāwe
Child	have	sound	crying	mother	is she
rahu	ti	rát	pā	ri	
coming	here	I do	walk	around	

FREE TRANSLATION

I hear the sound of a child crying "Is my mother coming?
Here I walk around."

Analysis.—This melody is broadly outlined by the intervals of a fifth (D flat–A flat) and a fourth (A flat–D flat). The interval of a major third does not occur and almost one-third of the intervals are fourths. The song contains three rhythmic units occurring consecutively as in No. 42. The first unit is the longest, the second is shorter

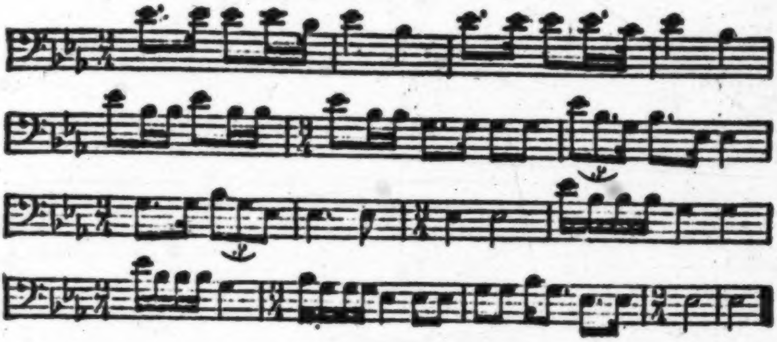
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 81. "The Message of a Star" (Catalogue No. 1126)

Recorded by John Luwak

*533

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 76
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 76
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 20



*533 The singer who recorded the next song spent his childhood in
●765 Nebraska, before the Pawnee moved to Oklahoma. His mother died when he was 3 years old and he grieved a long time for her. His father sang this song to comfort him and said, "We can do nothing when a person dies; we can only pray. Perhaps some day you will be a man and have children around you." When he grew
[424] up his father, who was still living, taught him the song and told him of its early use. He made it into a war dance and it is known as his song.

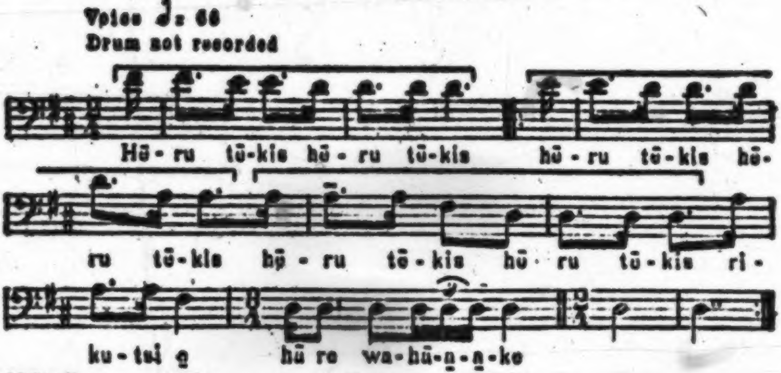
*533 *Analysis.*—This is one of the songs in which the Indians "cry as they sing," making the intonation unsteady in a portion of the melody. In this instance the first three and last three measures were sung with good intonation but a *glissando* was used on the descending progressions in the fourth and fifth measures. In some of the renditions this was exaggerated and produced a wailing effect. The song is characterized by a large compass and a descending trend.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 82. Song to Comfort a Child's Grief

(Catalogue No. 1105) 533*

Recorded by Wicita Blain


Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 66
Drum not recorded
Hū-ru tū-kis hū-ru tū-kis hū-ru tū-kis hū-
ru tū-kis hū-ru tū-kis hū-ru tū-kis ri-
ku-tsi e hū re wa-hū-n-n-ke

Ahōru[38]	tōkis	rikūtsi	hū	re
Dear	child	stop crying	yonder	there
wahūko				
heavens				

FREE TRANSLATION

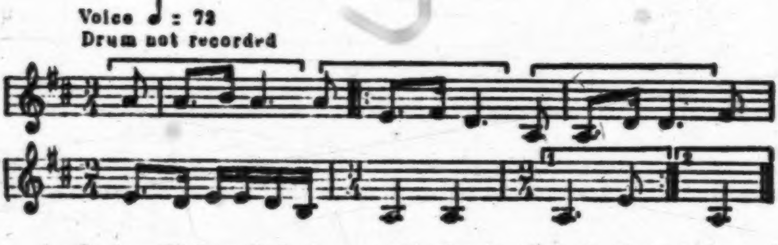
My dear child, stop crying,
Yonder there, in the expanse of the heavens, is where power dwells.

The next song belonged to the first wife of Roaming Chief, who was a close friend of the singer. She had a little girl who died when about 8 months old. Although she had several other children she grieved for this baby and sang the following song about it. The woman's name was Curuk'siwa. [565
424]

No. 83. Mother's Song for a Dead Baby

(Catalogue No. 1099)

Recorded by Effie Blain


Voice 𝅘𝅥 = 72
Drum not recorded

Analysis.—This melody is exceedingly simple in both melody and rhythm. The rhythmic unit occurs three times, followed by a phrase which begins like the rhythmic unit but changes to a descending

---

[38] The first syllable of this word was omitted by the singer.

When the little boy was about half-grown he heard that a war party was to start. He told his mother that he wanted to go, and he wanted her and his grandmother to make him some moccasins. He also wanted arrows, a bow and a quiver, and all the equipment of a warrior. When the old man heard this he called the boy and said, "Do you realize what you are doing?" 539

"Yes, I am grown to be a man." 787

"Do you have dreams at night?" 539

"Yes."

"Can you relate some of them?"

"Yes."

"Tell one to me."

"In my dream I was with a war party. I found myself coming toward home through deep snow."

"That is enough," said the old man. "You can go."

The women had sent the boy to his grandfather, thinking he would keep him at home, and they were greatly surprised to learn that the grandfather had told the boy to go with the warriors. It was fall when the war party started. As winter was coming near it was noised through the camp that all the war party had been killed and the people began to mourn. The women of this family mourned exceedingly and cut their flesh with knives, but the old man sat and laughed at them, or smoked his pipe. This went on for about 10 days. Then his wife said, "You did not care for our grandchild," and his daughter said, "Why do you not mourn?" The old man said to his wife, "You remember that you turned the boy over to me when he wanted to go to war. You made moccasins for him and filled his quiver with arrows. I questioned him and found that he had had a dream in which he was returning alone through deep snow. That dream will come true. He is coming home, so I want you all to stop mourning." 765 ● 152 304

They would not believe him, but one day, after a snow, some people going out from the village met the young man returning. He said, "All the warriors were killed except myself."

The man rode back and cried through the village, "Saritsaris' grandchild is coming through the deep snow."

Everyone in the lodge was excited, except the old man. He did not rush out to meet his grandson. The women urged him to go, but he said, "He is coming; never mind."

When the young man entered the lodge his grandfather said, "Sit on my knees." The old man passed his hands downward over the young man's head and body in the tribal manner of "blessing," and said, "I believed in your dream and now you are here." 201 782

Then he told him to sit yonder and said, "I ask you—when attacked, did you hide in a ravine? When you were a little boy and cooled my 539

854 as rapidly as they were shed, just underneath the ground within the
856 lodge on the south side, and to say to a tooth as they buried it:
"Make my other teeth grow quickly."

861
855 The early training of the child was largely in the hands of the
[603] grandmothers, who took it upon themselves to give instruction in
[867] tribal and family ethics. They assumed the right to enforce their
injunctions and commands by blows or by the use of the whip, and it is claimed that in former times, before the Skidi had been modified through contact with white men, the rearing of children was very strict and they were often scolded and severely punished by the father, mother, or grandparents. Aside from the deference young children were supposed to pay adults, they were taught to show respect for their parents by not molesting them, to remain silent when older people were talking, to refrain from approaching too closely the altar in the earth lodge, and carefully to avoid making a disturbance about the scenes of ceremonies. During this period
867 an older sister might assist in correcting the child. As a boy grew
868 older he was given technical instruction by his grandfathers in the
making of bows and arrows, in the playing of games, etc. Girls
[603] were taught by their grandmothers to prepare food, to dress hides, and to do the work which fell to the lot of women. This early training was often supplemented by the telling of myths containing some moral precept. For example, the child was told not to steal, the point being especially illustrated by the tale of the boy who stole his sister's seed corn, and, because he grew angry for being scolded, turned into an eagle. This particular story also has reference to the respect and affection with which siblings were taught to regard one another. Brotherly love was specially emphasized. Boys were told that in later years they should love their brothers even more than their wives, for there is a well-known saying among the Skidi
● [765] that at a man's death his brother will mutilate himself with grief and his sister cut her hair and mourn sincerely, but his wife will simulate tears by spitting in her hands, while she peeps through her fingers looking for another husband. [Also stated elsewhere as: "Brother and sister will mutilate themselves, but your wife will never throw a piece of her vulva in your grave."] Love and respect of parents were also emphasized as something to be maintained throughout life and never neglected, for the duties of parents to children and children to parents never ended.

855 Although the training of children was primarily under the immediate direction of the parents and grandparents, certain other

The recognition of the death of friends or relatives was marked among the Skidi by certain mourning customs, more or less formal in their nature. 765

In case a man or woman died of old age there was no mourning feast, and the formal period of mourning lasted only during the day of the burial. At this time all the members of the band assembled and each placed his hands upon the body of the deceased, thus expressing the hope that he too might reach an old age. 766 765 888

Should a man of middle age die a natural death, it was considered a disgrace. There was no feast or formal mourning on the part of the tribe or the relatives. Such a natural death was thought to be caused by the Black Wind from the south and was an indication that the man's life was useless. 766 765

If a chief of any prominence died, the whole band mourned for several months. However, if his death occurred early in the spring, just before the great ceremonies were to begin, the mourning could be concluded at the end of four days. This was brought about by a priest, who formally asked one of the chiefs when they might have the mourning feast; the latter set it at the fifth day after death, in order that spring ceremonies of such great importance should not be delayed and thus to prevent hardship and possibly famine from visiting the band. On the fifth day the chiefs visited the lodge of the deceased, the first man to enter acting as spokesman. He told the widow to sweep the lodge; then he spread mats and pillows, and asked the family to leave. The latter made the lodge ready, placing the deceased's medals, clothing, and other personal effects northeast of the entrance, whereupon they left and sat outside. When the chiefs had all arrived and had arranged themselves in a circle, the son of the dead chief entered and said: "Chiefs, it is now time that we cease to mourn for my father. We have placed his belongings for you and tied his ponies outside." The son then retired from the lodge. The spokesman addressed the chiefs, reminding them of the good qualities of the deceased. Other chiefs followed with eulogistic speeches. When these were concluded, the spokesman lit a pipe and selected one of those present to offer smoke to the earth in honor of the dead man. The chief selected took the pipe, and standing northeast of the fireplace, blew four puffs to the earth. Addressing the earth, he said: "Chief, you have gone from us; you have returned to mother earth; you have travelled on the road leading to the village of our people. On your journey turn back. Speak to us who are yet living, and say: 'May all good gifts which

766 765 might have come to me had I lived be given to my people, for I need such gifts no more.'" He then emptied the ashes from the pipe upon the ground, passing his hand down the stem toward the earth four times. After this he walked around the lodge and handed the pipe, stem downward, to the spokesman. The latter thanked him, as did all present. An errand man was sent to the creek for water. The spokesman distributed the robes and presents among the chiefs. The errand man, having returned with the water, was told to call the family of the dead chief; they entered the lodge and sat in a line north of the entrance. The spokesman poured water into a wooden bowl and handed it to the mourner who sat at the west end of the line. This man then washed his face for the first time since the burial of the chief, and the other mourners washed their faces in turn. The errand man took the bowl and washed the semi-circular line of mourning paint from the spokesman's face, whereupon the latter placed water in front of the chiefs, who washed a little of the clay from each other's faces. The bowl was returned to the mourners, each of whom was given a sip of water from a dipper. The errand man then gave each chief a drink from the same bowl. Next the feast was brought in and placed west of the fireplace. The spokesman put meat in a bowl and gave a small piece to each of the mourners to eat. He returned to his place, and the errand man divided the meat among the others present, all of whom had fasted since the burial of the chief. After the feast was over the spokesman gave another address, and the ceremony came to an end. It should be borne in mind that this was a band ceremony involving all Skidi, irrespective of village affiliations.

The same ceremony was performed on the death of a medicine-man, the medicine-men participating and not the chiefs. Also the same ceremony was used for a warrior of prominence.

765 The death of a poor man was marked by mourning and fasting on the part of the family only. This lasted for three days, at the end of which time it was the duty of one of the chiefs to "wipe the family's tears away." He asked his wife to prepare food, especially meat, and told her to take it to the lodge of the mourners. No invitations were extended for this feast, but spectators, particularly friends of the family, might be present. The family of the deceased sat north of the entrance, while the spectators sat around the fireplace. The chief entered the lodge and addressed the family, telling them that it was time to stop mourning. His errand man brought him a bowl of water, after which the chief washed the face

of each mourner, asking that he cease crying. The chief gave each 765
one a little food to break the fast. The remainder of the food was
next divided, though nothing was distributed among the spectators;
however, at the end of the feast they thanked the chief for his services.

Certain observances were obligatory for widows and widowers. 765
A woman who had lost her husband was supposed to observe carefully 768
a mourning period of at least a year, and in case he had been a man
of prominence she might prolong this to two years. During this
time she lived with her own people or she might stay in the lodge
of her husband's parents. In the latter case it was understood that
at the termination of the mourning period she would become the wife [587]
of her deceased husband's younger brother or the wife of his sister's
son. Until that time she was supposed to remain chaste. A childless [834]
widow invariably returned to her parents' lodge, but following the 768
mourning period she could remarry in the manner just noted or 587
she could marry an outsider. However, in the latter instance she
would not be considered as desirable as at the time she first married
and the gifts to her relatives would be less. Thus if ten ponies were
presented at her first marriage only one or two would be paid when
she married again.

Widowers were supposed to mourn for their wives at least two 765
years, and sometimes mourned three. Many never remarried. 768
Very often when a widower did not seek another spouse he was 587
urged by his relatives to remarry, and they expressed their desire
by offering to furnish the presents necessary to secure a second
wife. As a rule, although a widower mourned for the usual period,
he did not consider marrying again until he had gone on the warpath, taken scalps, and captured ponies. This was a somewhat
formal way of terminating mourning and making himself eligible
for remarriage.

It remains to record certain other observances connected with 765
burial and mourning customs. As a rule, the close friends of the deceased performed some act of bodily mutilation immediately after or just before the burial, the men slashing their arms, breasts, or legs with knives and the women cutting their hair. Hair thus cut was at once burned, for fear that the Morning Star would see it upon the grave and claim the victim as his own sacrifice. For the same reason horse's hair cut off during burial services was also burned.

On the burial of a warrior killed in battle his close friends and 721
relatives seized the first opportunity to visit enemy country 765

772 765 [782] and obtain a scalp. This was carried home to the village on a pole, and scalp dances were inaugurated. The scalp was consecrated to one of the deities of the heavens, and the man who had taken it wrapped a piece of it in a small buckskin sack with tobacco. This was tied to a long stick representing an arrow and thrust into the grave. Another small piece of the scalp was burned upon the grave.

551 765 The name of a dead person could not be mentioned during the mourning period. If anyone mentioned the name of an individual who had been killed in war, it was thought that he would probably suffer the same fate as the person killed.

764 778 821 Reference has been made to the fact that personal belongings were buried with the dead. However, there were certain exceptions to this practice. Personal war bundles containing meteorites or any objects supposed to have had their origin in the heavens were not buried. This was in accordance with the belief that these objects belonged in the heavens and not in the ground. Hence, when an individual possessing such objects died, and if the relatives did not want them, the bundle was unwrapped and the objects were placed on a high hill, whence they returned to the heavens. Such objects were supposed to be the children of stars, watched over by them, and it was believed that when people had no further use for these "children," they would return to their parents in the sky. Also, if a medicine-man died during the time he was giving instruction to his son, his medicine bundle was retained for the boy's use when he became of age.

764 778 A further illustration of the burial of belongings with the dead is contained in the following incident. A Skidi chief's daughter died. The father had received calumet pipe sticks from the Chaui band, and his daughter had participated in the ceremony accompanying the gift. Her death followed shortly after the ceremony and was attributed to the belief that the ceremony had not been properly performed. Consequently, over her grave her father placed the pipe sticks, oriole's nest, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, and tobacco bag that comprised the special objects used in the ceremony. That year drought prevailed, the crops withered, buffalo could not be found, and the Skidi were forced to depend on their cache reserves. The Chaui priest who had originally brought the pipe sticks visited the Skidi, and with the chief to whom he had presented them, went to the grave, removed the ceremonial objects, wrapped them in a bundle, and taking the earth from over the body, placed the bundle next to it. He then re-filled the grave. Shortly after, there

775 they also encounter a golden eagle seated upon a mound, its eyes giving off sparks of fire. By some this eagle is thought to be Tirawa. The eagle directs the soul along the proper road, and as it approaches the spirit-village that is its destination, if it is time for it to enter, it is not stopped. If its possessor did not lead a good life, however, it may be directed back to earth and given another chance. The souls of medicine-men wander over the land visiting the lodges of animals and eventually reach the spirit-village of the medicine-men. Before entering, they must undergo a sweat bath and be sprinkled with fine dust.

774 775 According to one informant, souls are like small stars. At death, the soul goes off the way a cloud comes up and disappears, or the way a wind blows up and dies down. The souls of people who have been seen by the Star of Disease and who have as a result died of illness are taken by the South Star to his home in the south. The disposition of all other souls is determined by the Morning Star, who decides whether they shall be restored to life, taken with him to the east, or sent to the south. And it is the Morning Star's importance in this matter that caused the Skidi to bury their dead with the head toward the east.

764 As a rule, the preparation of the body for burial began immediately after death, and the burial followed within two or three hours.

[766] The preparation of the body varied according to the rank and position of the deceased. When a man of importance was about to die he was carefully dressed in his best costume. Immediately after death, the body was painted with sacred red ointment by a priest engaged specially for the purpose. By this paint the man's friends in the spirit land would know that he had been well taken care of on this earth. The red ointment gave the rough and emaciated skin a smooth and healthy appearance. The body was now considered holy, for a corpse without the red paint was looked upon as dust and could not enter the land of the spirits. (Relative to this belief see Dorsey, 1904, pp. 69 ff.) The dead man was next wrapped in his buffalo robe. Should he have been a member of a society possessing ceremonial paraphernalia, as, for example, the Dog Soldiers, his feathers, whistles, rattles, etc., would be placed with him, and his face painted according to the style employed by his society. In the case of other societies the body would be prepared in a similarly appropriate manner.

[888] The preparation of the bodies of those who died in extremely old age was similar to the method given above.

The recognition of the death of friends or relatives was marked among the Skidi by certain mourning customs, more or less formal in their nature. 765

In case a man or woman died of old age there was no mourning feast, and the formal period of mourning lasted only during the day of the burial. At this time all the members of the band assembled and each placed his hands upon the body of the deceased, thus expressing the hope that he too might reach an old age. 766 765 888

Should a man of middle age die a natural death, it was considered a disgrace. There was no feast or formal mourning on the part of the tribe or the relatives. Such a natural death was thought to be caused by the Black Wind from the south and was an indication that the man's life was useless. 766 765

If a chief of any prominence died, the whole band mourned for several months. However, if his death occurred early in the spring, just before the great ceremonies were to begin, the mourning could be concluded at the end of four days. This was brought about by a priest, who formally asked one of the chiefs when they might have the mourning feast; the latter set it at the fifth day after death, in order that spring ceremonies of such great importance should not be delayed and thus to prevent hardship and possibly famine from visiting the band. On the fifth day the chiefs visited the lodge of the deceased, the first man to enter acting as spokesman. He told the widow to sweep the lodge; then he spread mats and pillows, and asked the family to leave. The latter made the lodge ready, placing the deceased's medals, clothing, and other personal effects northeast of the entrance, whereupon they left and sat outside. When the chiefs had all arrived and had arranged themselves in a circle, the son of the dead chief entered and said: "Chiefs, it is now time that we cease to mourn for my father. We have placed his belongings for you and tied his ponies outside." The son then retired from the lodge. The spokesman addressed the chiefs, reminding them of the good qualities of the deceased. Other chiefs followed with eulogistic speeches. When these were concluded, the spokesman lit a pipe and selected one of those present to offer smoke to the earth in honor of the dead man. The chief selected took the pipe, and standing northeast of the fireplace, blew four puffs to the earth. Addressing the earth, he said: "Chief, you have gone from us; you have returned to mother earth; you have travelled on the road leading to the village of our people. On your journey turn back. Speak to us who are yet living, and say: 'May all good gifts which

766 765 might have come to me had I lived be given to my people, for I need such gifts no more.'" He then emptied the ashes from the pipe upon the ground, passing his hand down the stem toward the earth four times. After this he walked around the lodge and handed the pipe, stem downward, to the spokesman. The latter thanked him, as did all present. An errand man was sent to the creek for water. The spokesman distributed the robes and presents among the chiefs. The errand man, having returned with the water, was told to call the family of the dead chief; they entered the lodge and sat in a line north of the entrance. The spokesman poured water into a wooden bowl and handed it to the mourner who sat at the west end of the line. This man then washed his face for the first time since the burial of the chief, and the other mourners washed their faces in turn. The errand man took the bowl and washed the semi-circular line of mourning paint from the spokesman's face, whereupon the latter placed water in front of the chiefs, who washed a little of the clay from each other's faces. The bowl was returned to the mourners, each of whom was given a sip of water from a dipper. The errand man then gave each chief a drink from the same bowl. Next the feast was brought in and placed west of the fireplace. The spokesman put meat in a bowl and gave a small piece to each of the mourners to eat. He returned to his place, and the errand man divided the meat among the others present, all of whom had fasted since the burial of the chief. After the feast was over the spokesman gave another address, and the ceremony came to an end. It should be borne in mind that this was a band ceremony involving all Skidi, irrespective of village affiliations.

The same ceremony was performed on the death of a medicine-man, the medicine-men participating and not the chiefs. Also the same ceremony was used for a warrior of prominence.

765 The death of a poor man was marked by mourning and fasting on the part of the family only. This lasted for three days, at the end of which time it was the duty of one of the chiefs to "wipe the family's tears away." He asked his wife to prepare food, especially meat, and told her to take it to the lodge of the mourners. No invitations were extended for this feast, but spectators, particularly friends of the family, might be present. The family of the deceased sat north of the entrance, while the spectators sat around the fireplace. The chief entered the lodge and addressed the family, telling them that it was time to stop mourning. His errand man brought him a bowl of water, after which the chief washed the face

connected with the ceremony remained at the scaffold. 782
When the crowd had gone, the guardian removed the 796
arrows from the body one by one and handed them to
an assistant who divided them into four bundles and
laid these bundles northeast, northwest, southeast,
and southwest of the fireplace. The body was then
taken down and carried a short distance to the
east of the scaffold, where it was laid face down. The
sacred arrow was drawn from its heart and laid upon
it. All then returned to the village, and the place was [766]
avoided for some time.

It was believed that the soul of the girl left her 775
body at the moment she was struck with the club and 782
went straight to Tirawa, who sent it to the Morning
Star. The Morning Star clothed it with flint from his
fireplace in the dawn and placed it among the stars in
the heavens. Her body was thought to be not like ordinary bodies. Even after her death it possessed life.
Things would be born from it, and the earth would be
fertilized by it.

The sacrifice as a whole must be considered as a 773
dramatization of the overcoming of the Evening Star 782
by the Morning Star and their subsequent connection, 796
from which sprang all life on earth. The girl upon
the scaffold seems to have been conceived of as a personification or embodiment of the Evening Star surrounded by her powers. When she was overcome, the
life of the earth was renewed, insuring universal fertility and increase.

Human sacrifices were rare among the North 171
American Indians. The practice is known to have 782
existed among the Natchez, who lived in the present
state of Mississippi, and possibly in Arizona and New
Mexico. In Mexico, on the other hand, the idea was
highly developed, and under the Aztec rule large numbers of victims were immolated every year. It may be

*172 343 cache 7 yielded three excellent digging tools made from bison scapulae; and cache 5, as already indicated, contained corn meal or some similar ground cereal. Much richer pits are, of course, sometimes found. One opened by Mr. A. M. Brooking, of the Hastings Museum, in an old village east of Genoa, yielded 10 scapula digging tools, bone awls, 5 bone knives, 2 grooved hammers, 2 elkhorn shaft-straighteners, many large mollusk shells filled with yellow and red paint, and 13 small mollusk shells in matched pairs.[14] Such finds are, however, the exception rather than the rule, and many disappointingly sterile caches are encountered for every one that yields worth-while returns.

[488 251] Normally the caches were used for the storage and concealment of surplus corn and household furniture, particularly during the periods when the tribe was absent from its villages on the seasonal bison hunts. When earth had been thrown in on top of the contents and the opening sodded over the location of the cache was perfectly hidden from any stranger. Generally they were emptied when the family permanently removed, and all usable articles were carried away. Occasionally the owner never returned to claim his goods, perhaps because of forgetfulness as to the exact location, death, or from some other cause; or attacks by hostiles compelled flight too precipitate to permit emptying of the caches. In such cases the investigator may be better rewarded with pottery, flint and bone tools, ornaments, foodstuffs, and the like.

[727 ● 766] Caches occasionally serve a secondary purpose as places of interment. In June 1843, when the Dakota raided the Pawnee village near the Plum Creek mission, with such disastrous results for the latter tribe,[15] the terrified survivors threw the bodies of the dead into the caches,[16] covered them hastily with earth, and then fled to their kindred, the Grand Pawnee, south of the Platte. Such a function was, of course, purely accidental and was wholly foreign to the original purpose which the structure was intended to serve.

EARTHWORKS

*172 712 Walls of circumvallation were constructed about practically every Pawnee village of the nineteenth century. Sixty years ago, according to early settlers, these were still plainly to be seen on many of the old sites, but with cultivation they have shared the fate of other remains and become rare indeed. Leveling of these old fortification walls was one of the first steps in breaking the land; hence their obliteration has been woefully complete. In fact the only remaining

---

[14] Brooking, A. M., unpublished manuscript.

[15] Dunbar, 1918, p. 656. Occurrences similar to the above probably account for the "burials of Morning Star Sacrifice victims" occasionally reported in the press.

[16] Allis, 1887, p. 155.

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, 773
p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explain- 551
ing that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of 821
a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water.
Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation
(1925, pp. 142-161).

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee 000
texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making.

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not gen- 231
uinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descrip- 552
tive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. [556]
Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-*
waki-pahat; Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof,
Askats; Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-*
katit; White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red
Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never 231
buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who 764
had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes 428
kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would [766]
often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the
horse.

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They 231
were: Wide Feet, *As-katarihu'*; White Spotted, *Paras-taka*; Bear 552
Head, *Kuruks-paksu*; Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat*; Hate-His-Tail,
Pits-tatur-ritku; Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats*; Wooly,
Pararus; Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku*; Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.*
Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked
when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were 231
never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the
time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, [262]
the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog
Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for
hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they
tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very
vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross,
1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march
pulling the travois in 1834-1836. The Pawnees were able to iden-
tify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for [825]
them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties.

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through 231
trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. 726
I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accom- 177
panied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced
a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee

of each mourner, asking that he cease crying. The chief gave each 765
one a little food to break the fast. The remainder of the food was
next divided, though nothing was distributed among the spectators;
however, at the end of the feast they thanked the chief for his services.

Certain observances were obligatory for widows and widowers. 765
A woman who had lost her husband was supposed to observe carefully 768
a mourning period of at least a year, and in case he had been a man
of prominence she might prolong this to two years. During this
time she lived with her own people or she might stay in the lodge
of her husband's parents. In the latter case it was understood that
at the termination of the mourning period she would become the wife [587]
of her deceased husband's younger brother or the wife of his sister's
son. Until that time she was supposed to remain chaste. A childless [834]
widow invariably returned to her parents' lodge, but following the 768
mourning period she could remarry in the manner just noted or 587
she could marry an outsider. However, in the latter instance she
would not be considered as desirable as at the time she first married
and the gifts to her relatives would be less. Thus if ten ponies were
presented at her first marriage only one or two would be paid when
she married again.

Widowers were supposed to mourn for their wives at least two 765
years, and sometimes mourned three. Many never remarried. 768
Very often when a widower did not seek another spouse he was 587
urged by his relatives to remarry, and they expressed their desire
by offering to furnish the presents necessary to secure a second
wife. As a rule, although a widower mourned for the usual period,
he did not consider marrying again until he had gone on the warpath,
taken scalps, and captured ponies. This was a somewhat
formal way of terminating mourning and making himself eligible
for remarriage.

It remains to record certain other observances connected with 765
burial and mourning customs. As a rule, the close friends of the deceased performed some act of bodily mutilation immediately after or just before the burial, the men slashing their arms, breasts, or legs with knives and the women cutting their hair. Hair thus cut was at once burned, for fear that the Morning Star would see it upon the grave and claim the victim as his own sacrifice. For the same reason horse's hair cut off during burial services was also burned.

On the burial of a warrior killed in battle his close friends and 721
relatives seized the first opportunity to visit enemy country 765

came, including the animals. For these, two consecrated buffalo skins 756
were shot with a special bow and arrow during the preceding summer. 776
The gods were represented as cutouts suspended from the roof of the 796
lodge. Each was hung approximately where it appeared in the heavens. 532
The female gods of the western skies were cut out of the buffalo cowskin. The bull hide was used for a large cutout figure of the Morning Star fastened to a stick and raised above the smokehold outside just before the star rose in the sky.

The tasks of the doctors in preparing the ceremonial lodge were sum- 756
marized by my informant as: 346
796

> Now that the booths, the drums and gourds (rattles) were done, the pictures hung, the serpent, witch, and turtle modeled, there was one more thing to do—to get the cedar tree.

Each one of these elements of ceremonial furniture represented an in- 756
volved ideological network of religious beliefs. The theology of the 796
celestial gods and the creation has already been sufficiently elaborated 77
on. The ideology of the Doctor Spirits concerned chiefly the waters as the primordial source, followed by the earth, the plants, and the animals—all however, ultimately subject to and derived from Heaven as denoted by the cutout figures of the cosmic gods.

The ideology of the doctors was greatly valued from a humanistic as
well as from a practical point of view. Theoretically, chiefs with heredi- 756
tary status should not want to be doctors as to some extent we might not 622
expect a Grand Duke to want to go to medical school and set up an office for general practice. The degree of apprenticeship and subordination to an established practitioner seemed hardly consonant with the dignity of a chief from the point of view of the Pawnee, but nevertheless some of the chiefs did seek out doctor knowledge and participated actively in the apprentice roles. When a chief applied to a doctor to become his pupil, the doctor would try to dissuade him saying, "You're a chief. I don't sleep at night. I am always working. You don't want to be that way. I have to watch the sick at night." But if the chief is determined his wish will finally be granted. The doctor again would test him, saying, "You're good-looking. You don't want to have mud all over your face!" At last after all these probing questions, if the applicant said, "That's what I want," the doctor, convinced of his sincerity, would bless him and receive him under his tutelage. White Eagle, who had led the previous summer hunt, and his brother Charley Box were both chiefs and also deer doctors. Old Bull and Victory Call were both chiefs and practicing doctors; Victory Call's senior brother Sitting Hawk had an important place in the chief's council and was also a leading doctor in the lodge.

SECOND RITUAL. PREFIGURING THE JOURNEY TO THE SON

*796
622
787
The ceremony of offering the Hako was believed to bring great benefits. As the tie to be formed was a close one and likely to have a bearing on the welfare of two tribes, the selection of the man who was to be the Son was not left exclusively to the Father. His choice had to be submitted to the chiefs of his tribe for their approval. Nor did the matter end here, for the chiefs, seemingly unwilling to assume the entire responsibility of a final decision, threw the confirmation of the selection of the Son upon the supernatural, represented by the ear of corn.

[771] To be able to follow the Pawnee's thought one should keep well in mind the native belief in the reality of an invisible world accessible to man. The Ku'rahus explained that in this rite the spirit of the corn and the spirits of the assembled company must meditate together upon the proposed candidate for the Son, must consider his qualifications and his ability to meet the requirements for a successful issue of the ceremony. He said: "As we meditate we sit with bowed heads, and Mother Corn sits with bowed head." When the decision is reached "Mother Corn lifts her head and stands erect, then she moves through the air on her journey to the Son, and we follow."

In this mystical journey Mother Corn "opens the way" between the land of the Fathers and that of the Children. She does more. She enters the village and passes around among the lodges of the people to that of the selected man. She goes in and touches him while he sleeps. It is the spirit of Mother Corn that touches the spirit of the man in a dream. He does not see her who has touched him, but he sees one *of the birds which belong to the feathered stem, the* eagle, the owl, the duck, or the woodpecker, *for the* spirits of these birds are there with the spirit of Mother Corn in the lodge of the sleeping man. If, when he awakes, he is able to recall his dream, it is because Mother Corn has "opened his mind." Therefore when the messengers of the Father's party arrive with the tidings, "Your Father is coming," the dreamer is not taken by surprise, but is ready to respond without unnecessary delay.

*796
622
The old man narrated this symbolic procedure of the ear of corn and its attendant spirits without consciousness that he was saying anything unusual or contrary to ordinary experience. His only comment was, that it was very difficult for the men of the party of the Father so to fix their minds upon the desired end as to secure its accomplishment. He referred to this difficulty several times while explaining the words and meaning of the song. When questioned as to whether the attempt was always successful, he said that when it failed the failure was always due to a lack of earnestness or sincerity on the part of the persons so fixing their minds. By this he did not mean that the men failed because they did not try hard enough to

*796 men and women of the party with the ponies laden with gifts and
needed supplies of food.

Over the wide prairie for miles and miles this order was preserved
day after day until the journey came to an end. If from some distant
[726] vantage point a war party should descry the procession, the
leader would silently turn his men that they might not meet the Hako
party, for the feathered stems are mightier than the warrior; before
them he must lay down his weapon, forget his anger, and be at peace.

● 771 No object met on the journey to the Son presented its ordinary
aspect to the Hako party. Everything seen was regarded as a manifestation
*796 of the supernatural powers under whose favor this ceremony
was to take place; hence the trees, the streams, the mountains, the
484 buffalo were each addressed in song. This attitude toward nature is
strikingly brought out in the two songs, which are in sequence, sung
at the crossing of a stream.

484 Throughout this ceremony water is treated as one of the lesser
powers. It is employed only for sacred purposes, and is never used in
771 the ordinary way. To profane water would bring punishment upon
*796 the whole party (see the first ritual, line 29), and consequently when
a stream ran across a line of travel no person could step into it as he
823 commonly would do. A halt was called and the Ku'rahus led in the
singing of the song in which Kawas is asked to grant the party permission
[773] to ford the stream. According to Pawnee rituals, water at the
creation was given to the woman, so Kawas, representing the mother,
could grant permission. The request is embodied in four stanzas.
*[539] In the first the water touches the feet; in the second the feet stand in
the water; in the third the feet move in the water; in the fourth the
water covers the feet (note the resemblance of entering the stream to
entering the lodge, seventh ritual, part 1).

771 After the stream was crossed the people halted on the bank to sing
*539 the song to the wind, led by the Ku'rahus. It also is in four stanzas.
The wind is called upon to come and dry the water which the people
*796 may not irreverently touch. In the first stanza the wind touches the
821 people; in the second it lightly brushes their bodies; in the third it
484 circles about them; in the fourth it envelops them. Thus the wind,
one of the lesser powers, comes between the people and the penalty
incurred by profanely touching water.

*539 In these ceremonies the people were constantly reminded that they
771 were in the presence of the unseen powers manifested to them in the
natural objects met upon the journey. To those initiated into the
*796 inner meaning of the rite, the appeal at the crossing of the stream to
Kawas (the feminine element) and to the wind (typical of the breath
of life) was connected with the symbolism of running water, explained
in the seventh ritual as representing the giving of life from generation
to generation.

*539 The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth songs originally belonged to
*796 the journey, but we are told the buffalo are no longer seen; neither

778 the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid upon a chair;
*796 they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a decorum that was not once abated.

*796 The Hako ceremony seems to have been peculiarly adapted to
776 impress the mind of the people and to win their confidence and affec-
182 tion. It was picturesque, varied in movement, and communal in feeling. Its songs were rhythmic and attractive, and frequently
[*533] choral in form, particularly those belonging to the public ceremony, where all, young and old, joined in the melody as the feathered stems were swayed over their heads when the Ku'rahus and his assistants made the circuits of the lodge.

The teachings of the public ceremony were general in character.
[593 They emphasized, on the ~~one~~ hand, man's dependence on the supernatural for all the gifts of life, and on the other hand, his dependence
●771] on the family tie for the gifts of peace and happiness. The specific teachings were reserved for the Son. These began in the ritual to the Dawn (tenth ritual) on the morning of the second and third days, which prefigured the secret ceremonies of the fifth morning, when the bond of the family relation was extended beyond blood kinship through the symbolic rites which recognized the common source of life in Tira'wa atius.

[178] Looking over the entire ceremony, it is interesting to note how older rites have had their share in the development of the Hako, and how the trend of thought among the native seers has borne them toward a conception of the brotherhood of man, a conception recognized as the noblest known to the human family.

INCIDENTAL RITUALS

COMFORTING THE CHILD

*539 The incidental rituals could be called for and given during the public ceremony.

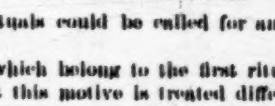
*796 The three songs which belong to the first ritual have a common
[*533] musical motive, but this motive is treated differently in each song so as to conform to the movement of the ceremony.

The appeal of the parents to the Ku'rahus is in the first song passed on to Kawas. It is sung by the Ku'rahus at the holy place as he waves the brown-eagle feathered stem. The words are in the nature of a prayer, the music has the swing of a lullaby.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

[*533]



---

[a] Music on p. 281.

spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes 796
were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the
altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the 668
altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at 782
the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while 823
the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not 276
participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that 184
described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity. 276
These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke- 782
offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: 823
upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly 184
interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion 771
in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of 778
Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

---

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven [177]
and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette [788]
by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

771
778 South Bands there are ancient bundles which each possess a group of functions that among the Skiri are differentiated and associated with separate bundles.

668 796 After the smoke offering, Sam Cover led the Seven Brothers in singing one or two Ghost Dance songs, without any dancing. Then the line closed around the clearing to form a circle of dancers, 782 women came to join in, and the regular dancing began. Usually [533] on a first evening of Ghost Dancing, only ten or twenty songs were sung. After the closing song, the general public would break up, each group of people returning to the family tipi. The Seven Brothers, the four chiefs who smoked, other chiefs, Mrs. Goodeagle, Mrs. Cover, Mrs. Washington, and some individuals who were special leaders, gathered in the main tipi of the dance. Here two old men acted as tarutsius, fire-tenders and servers. Food was brought in and set out in buckets at the east of the tipi near the door. Sam Cover then made an offering with corn before the group ate. It was a simple offering: He took some of the corn in his hands, stood behind the collected food and made inclusive arm motions (to indicate that this food was offered on behalf of all the food being partaken of), then came clockwise to the west of the fireplace where he raised the corn aloft to heaven and then placed it on the ground before him. He pressed it into the ground, rubbed his hands together and made four motions upward to heaven with both hands, touching his fingers to the corn on the ground before each motion. Then he made four similar motions towards the earth; blessed himself, walked through a circuit to his own place on the south, and sat down. All present said "Nawa" and then the food was served. The tarutsius must serve the food in a special [554] order: first the chiefs at the west (the four smokers), then the seven brothers on the south, then old men who are seated on both sides of the entrance-way at the east, then all others present, serving them from west to east down both sides of the tipi.[1]

At this gathering the order and time of the events of the next 668 morning were announced.

796 The next morning dancing began before sunrise. Two or three of the Seven Brothers went out onto the dance grounds, stood at the west facing east, and sang several Ghost Dance songs. As the people awoke and heard these they came out hurriedly to join in. As soon as four or five came, including women, all began to dance around clockwise. Gradually as the people gathered, the circle expanded. An old man walked around crying out to the people

[1] There is for every Pawnee ceremony an *order* in which those present are served; see chapter 8, pp. 220—229.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756 The medicine men claimed to have received their power from
supernatural sources and were organized into numerous societies.
Linton states that "The function of the medicine men's ceremonies
was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease
from the village, and, by means of their sleight-of-hand performances,
convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural
powers attributed to them."[10]

771 According to Miss Fletcher their "religious ceremonies were con-
nected with the cosmic forces and the heavenly bodies. The domi-
[776 nating power was Tirawa, generally spoken of as 'father.' The
heavenly bodies, the winds, thunder, lightning, and rain were his
821] messengers. . . . The mythology of the Pawnee is remarkably
rich in symbolism and poetic fancy, and their religious system is
[575] elaborate and cogent. The secret societies, of which there were
several in each tribe, were connected with the belief in supernatural
animals. The functions of these societies were to call the game, to
heal diseases, and to give occult powers. Their rites were elaborate
[821] and their ceremonies dramatic."[11] Next in power to Tirawa was
776 Evening Star, regarded as a woman, and below her was Morning
[773] Star, a warrior who drove the other stars before him across the sky.
The child of these two deities was the first human being. In the west,
Evening Star had a beautiful garden with fields of ripening corn and
many buffalo, and from this garden sprang all the streams of life.

[823] Next in rank to Evening Star and Morning Star were the gods
of the four world-quarters who supported the heavens and who
stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, these
being the sacred directions of the Pawnee. Dorsey states that
"next to these gods in rank are the three gods of the north, supreme
[821] among whom is the North-Star, Karariwari (One-who-does-not-
move). Associated with him are Hutukawahar (Wind-ready-to-
give) and Hikus (Breath). The North-Star is . . . symbolic of
the chief . . . while his assistants, equally beneficent, sent the
buffalo and the breath of life."[12] Below these in turn were Sun and
[773] Moon, from whose union sprang the second human being on the
earth. This daughter, marrying the son of Morning Star and
Evening Star, produced the human race.

The lesser gods of the heavens included Star of the South and Big-black-meteoric-star, who was the god of the medicine men. There were also earth gods organized into four lodges, each with its leaders and messengers, these gods being the special patrons of warriors and medicine men.

---

[10] Linton, Ralph. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men, *Field Museum of Natural History*, Leaflet No. 8, Chicago, 1923, pp. 19, 20.

[11] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

[12] Dorsey, op. cit., p. xix.

honesty. No such meaning attaches to the Indian equivalent of this 721
phrase. They take horses by stratagem or secretly, by the usual, and to
them legitimate, methods of warfare. To speak of their stealing horses,
using that verb in the sense which we commonly give it, would be
like saying that an army stole the cannon which it captured in an engagement
with the enemy. Captured horses were the legitimate spoils [556]
of war. The wealth of the Indians was in their horses. They had no
fortified places, no ships of war, no cannon, no works of art. Their
only valuable possessions were their horses. These were the only
property that could be carried off. Therefore, when an expedition was
made against a hostile tribe, scalps and horses were naturally its object.
Horses, being their only valuable possessions, constituted their 436
medium of exchange, so far as they had any. Did a man wish to 231
purchase an ornament, or an article of dress which took his fancy,
he gave a horse for it. If he bought a wife he paid for her in horses. [583]
The most valuable present that could be made was a good horse; and
horses were often given by the well-to-do to their friends and relations
who had been sick or unfortunate. On the other hand, when, as was
sometimes the case, a conquered tribe was condemned to pay a war [728]
indemnity, they paid it in horses. It is related that when the Skidi
broke their treaty with the other bands, and were afterward conquered
by them, they were obligated to pay such a fine.

This view of Indian warfare being understood, the motive of the 538
hero stories here given, and of many of the folk-tales, becomes plain.

The Pawnees are essentially a religious people. They worship 771 ●
Ti-ra´-wa, who is in and of everything. Unlike many of the Indian 776
tribes of the West, they do not adore any material thing. They regard
certain places as sacred, but these are so only because blessed by the
Divine presence. The Pawnee Deity is not personified. He is intangible,
quite as much so as the God of the Christians. The sacred character of
Ti-ra´-wa extends to animal nature. The fishes which swim in the
rivers, the birds of the air and the beasts which roam over the prairie,
have sometimes intelligence, knowledge and power far beyond those
of man. But they are not gods. Their miraculous attributes are given
them by the Ruler, whose servants they are, and who often makes
them the medium of his communications to man. They are his messengers—his
angels—and their powers are always used for good.

648 657 by a former agent, to white settlers at different places, and that finally a team became frightened while drawing it, and ran away with it and pretty much destroyed it. He says the Pawnees are annoyed by the settlers, and that the licensed trader system is not well managed. He thinks there should be two, and but two, traders licensed, that the Indians may have the be[illegible] competition, and that a better system would be one something like that of the army settlers. He said he could not get the agency. He did not try as he knew it was impossible. It was a political race as usual between several applicants.

● 771 About the religious system of the Pawnees—he knew but little as he had never studied the subject. It was an element worship with medicine and conjuration. They have no term for Devil, and are very superstitious. For want of time I could not take it up further.

[p 136 (D)]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The bands were still
somewhat socially discrete. The mainstay of the diet was largely the traditional 621
corn, beans, and squash grown on their own farm plots and dried 262
and stored as of old. Beef had taken the place of buffalo meat and was
prepared by thin slicing and drying for storage or boiled on feast days. 252
Relationships in kin groups continued, and some of the religious ideology 241
survived. A Doctor Dance Ceremony was performed by the last survivors 771
who possessed the arts and the knowledge involved and brought us some 796
welcome rain after a long dry spell. The question was, "How to give these
fragments life and place them in their integral context?" We evolved the 178
plan of utilizing one year of Pawnee life in as much detail as possible, 114
covering the round of the year through the four seasons as reconstructed with the help of the surviving Pawnees. Our plan proved to be an effective means of developing vivid recall in Evarts and the other old Pawnees. For a number of reasons we would think of our year hypothetically as 1867; in that year the Pawnee settlement and round of life was sufficiently integral to serve as a base line for our reconstruction. Some of the other surviving Pawnees were in their late teens and twenties in that year. Evarts supplied a normal thread of events in answer to my prodding questions for the details that seemed to a Pawnee all too obvious and we supplemented and checked this with whomever we thought had relevant knowledge concerning one point or another. Most of the old people had worked with me on linguistics before that time.

It was not possible to reproduce the material in the exact order in which 128
I collected it. I have had to reassort the material somewhat so that it falls into some of our own functional categories and at the same time so that it fits within the seasonal round of the year. Under the pressure of time when my notes were recorded I rendered the Pawnee or Pawnee-English in which it was given into the closest normal English equivalent I could muster. Also, this book was compiled a quarter of a century or more after it was recorded. I have avoided altering the original simple declarative language too radically. In some cases I have retained the original language with very little variation, particularly where it is an incident that had often been recounted among the Pawnees, a very familiar situation, a technical account, a speech, a personality sketch. Such passages are indented from the left margin.

In addition to the informant record, I have checked my account in detail 127
with most of the existing material on the Pawnees and in some cases supplemented it from these sources. This is detailed in the Notes and Comments with references correlated with my text. Recently excavated archaeological materials together with eyewitness accounts by contemporary observers of the 1830's and 1840's have overwhelmingly vindicated the accuracy of my Pawnee informants. The most substantial help in this recent phase of the work has been given me by Prof. John L. Champe, author of an important stratigraphic treatment of Nebraska archaeology, *Ash Hol-*

175

648 Republican River. It seems unlikely that the Pawnees carried on any further
[782] sacrifices of captives to the Morning Star after that time.

[796] Aside from the obvious resemblances, there is some documentation
171 of detailed Mexican analogies. Wissler and Spinden would place the time
174 when a direct transfer through the Aztec could have occurred, between
782 1506 and 1519. In an article (1916) on the subject they give clear parallels
796 in illustrations from the codices (see Figure 10-2).

Within the Pawnee system of theology, it certainly had an organic place.
● [791]

*796 192 778 brown, or black; tu=ruru, moving, the change of the *r* to t being for euphony. The translation of the whole word would be, the breathing mouth of wood with the dark moving feathers. The other stem was named Rahak'takaru, from ra, the, this one; hak, from hakkow, breathing mouth of wood; taka, white; ru, from *ruru*, moving or swaying. The translation of the whole word would be, the breathing mouth of wood with the white moving or waving feathers.

*796 778 Associated with these two feathered stems, and sharing with them the prominent place in the rites, was an ear of white corn. In addition there were required two small, round, straight sticks from the plum tree; a crotched stick, also of the plum tree; feathers from the tail of an owl and from the wings and tail of an eagle; two entire wings of an eagle; the heads of two woodpeckers; the head, neck, and breast of two ducks; a wildcat skin; a shell; two wooden bowls; a braid of buffalo hair; a braid of sweet grass; blue, green, and red clay; fat from a deer or buffalo, the animal having been consecrated; the nest of an oriole.

The clays, the fat, and the oriole's nest were furnished by the Ku'rahus. The nest was kept in secret and not allowed to be seen. All the articles except those furnished by the Ku'rahus were provided by the Father. Besides these he had to secure robes, ornamented garments, and regalia for the ceremonial clothing of the Son, his messenger, and his little child; also gifts to be bestowed on the entire party of the Children. He was assisted by contributions from the relatives and friends who had agreed to share with him the responsibilities and the rewards attending this ceremony. Food for the entertainment of the Children as well as for the maintenance of the Fathers during their absence from home had also to be provided.

It was the duty of the Son, the leader of the group called the Children, to provide a spacious lodge wherein the ceremony could take place, and also a proper camping site for all who accompanied the Fathers. He had also to secure the requisite return gifts to be made to the Fathers.

Each of the articles used in the ceremony had a general symbolism well known to the people, but their special significance was peculiar to these rites.

[320 778] The feathered stem Raha'katittu (plate LXXXVI, page 38) was painted blue to symbolize the sky, the abode of Tira'wahut, the circle of the lesser powers. A long straight groove running its length was painted red, the symbol of life. The red groove was the path along which the spirits of the various birds traveled on their way to bring help.

Three split feathers from an eagle's wing were fastened to the stem as to an arrow, to give sure flight to the symbol-freighted stem. On it was tied the fan-shaped pendant of ten feathers from the mature brown or golden eagle. This eagle was called Kawas in the Hako ceremony. It represented the mother and led in certain of the rites. It is this feathered stem that was carried by the Ku'rahus. This eagle

[178] 778 *796 repaired. This transfer of the feathered stems from tribe to tribe tended to preserve the model unchanged. Sometimes the Son did not care to part with the feathered stems left with him, so when he inaugurated a party and was to be the Father he had a new set made. It was a matter of pride with some not to use again feathered stems that had once seen service.

The ear of white corn (plate LXXXVIII, page 44), called Atira, Mother,[a] represented the fruitfulness of the earth. [772 822] The tip end was painted blue to represent the dome of the sky, the dwelling place of the powers, and four blue equidistant lines, running halfway down the ear, were the four paths along which the powers descended to minister to man.

The two straight sticks cut from the plum tree were bound to the ear of corn by a braid of buffalo hair. One stick projected above the tip of the ear about a hand's breadth, and the other extended about the same length below the butt; the lower end of this stick was pointed so that it could be thrust into the ground to hold the ear of corn in an upright position. To the other stick was tied a white, downy eagle feather. This feather had a double significance: It represented the high, white clouds that float near the dome of the sky where the powers dwell, thus indicating their presence with the corn. It also stood for the tassel of the cornstalk. The feather here refers to the male principle, the corn to the female. The plum-tree wood was chosen for the sticks because the tree is prolific of fruit. It symbolized a prayer for abundance.

The braid of buffalo hair represented the animal which supplied food and clothing for the people.

The two gourd rattles (plate LXXXIX, page 46) represented the gift of the squash to man and the breast of the mother. Around the middle of each a blue circle was painted from which depended four equidistant lines of the same color. [772] The circle represented the base of the dome of the sky, and the four lines the four paths descending therefrom to earth.

The crotched stick (plate XC, page 48) used to support one end of the feathered stems when they were laid at ceremonial rest was significant of the fork in the tree where the eagle builds its nest. The use of the plum tree for this crotched stick expressed the desire for many young in the nest.

The sacred ointment with which the plum-tree sticks were anointed [237] was made from the fat of the deer or buffalo mixed with red clay. The fat was taken from an animal that had been consecrated through certain prescribed rites which recognized man's dependence upon the powers for the gift of food. Fat symbolized plenty. Ritual songs speak of paths dropping fatness, referring to the trails made by those who carried the dressed meat from the hunting fields to the camp; such

---

[a] The common term for corn, naksu, was not used in the ceremony.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

I'hare is an exclamation, as when one suddenly remembers something of which he has been unmindful, because other things demanded his attention. The mind having been recalled to the subject, now appreciates its importance, gives it complete attention, and becomes absorbed by it. The word means, I remember, I perceive, I give heed. 539* 796*

The repetition of the word as we sing "I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!" indicates that our minds are dwelling upon the subject brought to our attention.

Heru is an exclamation of reverence, in recognition of a place where prayers can be sent and whence help can come to us.

Awahokshu is that place—the place where Tira'wa atius, the mighty power, dwells. Below are the lesser powers, to whom man can appeal directly, whom he can see and hear and feel, and who can come near him. Tira'wahut is the great circle in the sky where these lesser powers dwell. They are like deputies or attributes of Tira'wa atius. The North Star and the Brown Eagle are among these lesser powers. A number of them are mentioned in this song and in the order in which they come near to man. We begin by calling upon Tira'wa atius, the father of all, but we do not address the power directly; we mention the holy place where the power dwells, Awahokshu, and send our thoughts and our voice there, that our cry may reach those who have the ability to come to us and to help us. 539* 772● 776 796*

I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe means that our minds are dwelling on our appeal to the powers.

Translation of Second Stanza

6, 7, 8 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

9 Heru! Hotoru. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

Hotoru, the Winds, those that stand at the four cardinal points. This term is not used in ordinary speech. It refers to the supernatural powers, the Winds. The common word for wind is utawiu; windy, tihota.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 1.

10 See the first stanza, line 2.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

I'hare I have explained already. It always means the same, the arresting and fixing of the mind upon a subject of importance.

Heru! Hoturu. He! we exclaim, as we call on Hotoru. Hotoru, the Winds, were the first of the lesser powers to come near to man, so they are the first to be mentioned in this appeal. They are invisible, but they are very strong (efficient); they are from the breath of Tira'wa and they give life to man. They stand at the four directions (cardinal points) and guard the paths that are there, the paths down

*539 which the lesser powers must travel when they descend to bring help
772 to man.

776 In this stanza, we remember the power given by Tira'wa to the Winds, and we cry to Hotoru to come and give their help to us at this
*796 time, to give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako.

I'hare, 'hare 'ahe means, as we sing it this time, that we are reflecting upon Hotoru, we are thinking of all that they bring to man, the breath by which he lives.

The Winds are always near us by night and by day.

Translation of Third Stanza

*539 11, 12, 13 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

14 Heru! Shakuru. He!

*796

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

[195] Shakuru, the Sun. This word is not used in ordinary speech; it refers to the supernatural power, the Sun, in its relation to man. The common term for sun is ti'rasakariki, sun standing.

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

15 See the first stanza, line 2. The words in this line have special reference to the mind dwelling seriously upon Shakuru.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Shakuru, the Sun, is the first of the visible powers to be mentioned. It is very potent; it gives man health, vitality, and strength. Because
[776
821] of its power to make things grow, Shakuru is sometimes spoken of as atius, father. The Sun comes direct from the mighty power above; that gives it its great potency.

As we sing this stanza, we think of all that the Sun can do for us and we cry to it, to come now and give potentiality to the sacred articles about to be made ready for use in this ceremony.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

16, 17, 18 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

19 Heru! H'Uraru. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

h', the sign of breath; "breathing life."

[195
778] Uraru, the Earth. This term is not used in ordinary speech; the common name for the earth is kahoraru. H'Uraru refers to the supernatural power that belongs to the earth, the power to bring forth.

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

20 See the first stanza, line 2. In the last line of the stanza the word i'hare implies reflection: "We reflect on H'Uraru!"

Explanation by the Kú'rahus

539*
796*

When we begin this song and sing "H'Aars" (your father), we think of what we have been told in the first song, that Tira'wa atius is the father of all things; that he is the father of all those lesser powers which come to us in our visions and dreams. These lesser powers are many, but Tira'wa atius is the father of them all.

772 ●

When we sing, "Hkihi!" we think that all these powers have their dwelling place on high, Tira'wahut, and that above them all is the abode of Tira'wa atius, their father. It is he who sends help to us by these lesser powers, because they alone can come to us so that we can see and feel them.

When we have reached the west we pause and then begin the third circuit of the lodge. On this round we sing of Mother Corn, she who has led us on our journey, who has entered the lodge of the Son, and is now to walk before the Children with the promise of plenty.

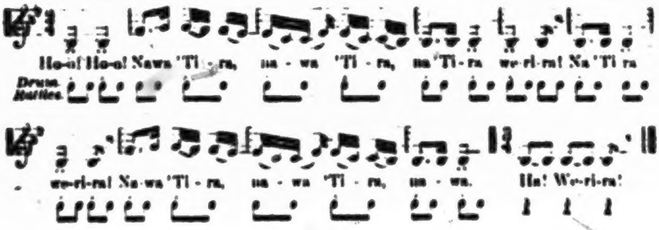
THIRD SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
• - Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

533*


Ho-o! Ho-o! Nawa 'Ti - ra, na - wa 'Ti - ra, na 'Ti-ra we-ri-ra! Na 'Ti-ra
Drum. Rattles.
we-ri-ra! Na-wa 'Ti - ra, na - wa 'Ti - ra, na - wa. Ha! We-ri-ra!

I

448 Ho-o! Ho-o!
449 Nawa 'Tira, nawa 'Tira, na 'Tira werira!
450 Na 'Tira werira!
451 Nawa 'Tira, nawa 'Tira, nawa. Ha! Werira!

II

452 Ho-o! Ho-o!
453 Ha wa 'Tira, ha wa 'Tira, ha 'Tira weral!
454 Ha 'Tira weral!
455 Ha wa 'Tira, ha wa 'Tira, ha 'Tira weral!

Translation of First Stanza

448 Ho-o! Ho-o! Introductory exclamations.
449 Nawa 'Tira, nawa 'Tira, na 'Tira werira!

nawa, now.

'tira, part of the word atira, mother. The term refers to the ear of corn.

na, part of nawa, now.

'tira, atira, mother.

werira, she comes.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

V

539*
796*

727 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

728 He! Hitshkasharu kitta sha-a; ha!

he! an exclamation calling attention to a teaching.

hitshkasharu; hit, from hittu, feather; sh, feminine prefix; ka from rakaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions. The composite word refers to the visions which pertain to the promises of the Hako ceremony.

kitta, the top; refers to the locality of Katasha, the dwelling place of the visions.

sha, lying down, as to rest.

a, vowel prolongation.

ha! behold!

729 See line 728.

730 Hari! Kitta sha-a; ha!

hari, truly; plural number.

kitta sha-a; ha! See line 728.

731 See line 728.

VI

732 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

733 He! Hitkasharu shkitta sha-a; ha!

he! an exclamation calling attention to a teaching.

hitkasharu, feather night dreams. See line 713.

shkitta, sh, feminine prefix; kitta, the top.

sha, lying down, reposing.

a, vowel prolongation.

ha! behold!

734 See line 733.

735 Hari! Shkitta sha-a; ha! See lines 730, 733.

736 See line 733.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*
787
772

Visions come in the night, for spirits can travel better by night than by day. Visions come from Katasha, the place where they dwell. This place is up in the sky, just below where Tira'wa atius appointed the dwelling place of the lesser powers (eighth ritual, part 1, second song). Katasha, the place where the visions dwell, is near the dwelling place of the lesser powers, so they can summon any vision they wish to send to us. When a vision is sent by the powers, it descends and goes to the person designated, who sees the vision and hears what it has to say; then, as day approaches, the vision ascends to its dwelling place, Katasha, and there it lies at rest until it is called again.

This song tells about Katasha, where the visions dwell. This is its story:

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of Third Stanza 539*

1202 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation. 796*
1203 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri tukuka ha!
hiri! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
tukuka, touching.
ha! behold!
1204, 1205 See line 1203.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the third stanza the old man touches the forehead with the blue paint. The blue sky has reached the child; its forehead has been touched by the abode of Tira'wa atius.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

1206 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1207 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta iwa ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
iwa, downward movement.
ha! behold!
1208, 1209 See line 1207.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing the fourth stanza the old man traces with the blue paint the lines he has made with the water, the brush of grass, the sacred ointment, and the red paint. In these lines we see the face of Tira'wa atius, the giver of life and power to all things (see figure 179). 302 772 796*

The lines forming an arch across the forehead and down each cheek of the child represents the dome of the sky, the abode of Tira'wa atius. The line from the middle of the forehead, the center of the arch, down the ridge of the nose is the breath of Tira'wa atius. It descends from the zenith, passing down the nose to the heart, giving life to the child.

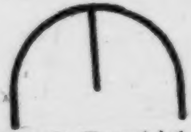


FIG. 179. The symbol of Tira'wa.

174 *796 The leadership accorded to the corn indicates that an earlier form of the ceremony is to be sought among a people dependent upon agriculture, and the peculiar treatment of water would seem to have arisen in a semi-arid region. Again, the development in the purpose of the ceremony from the simple longing for offspring to the larger desire of establishing intertribal relationships was most likely to have taken place among peoples whose settled mode of life had fostered an appreciation of the benefits to be derived from peace and security.

Efforts to spread this ceremony among tribes less sedentary than those of the Mexican plateau and the Southwest may, on the one hand, have been prompted by prudential reasons, while on the other hand its adoption and promulgation over the wide territory occupied by the so-called hunting tribes marks the growth of political ideas and gives a higher place to these tribes in the line of social development than has usually been accorded them.

PURPOSE OF THE CEREMONY

*796 842 571 The purpose of this ceremony was twofold: first, to benefit certain individuals by bringing to them the promise of children, long life, and plenty; second, to affect the social relations of those who took part in it, by establishing a bond between two distinct groups of persons, belonging to different clans, gentes, or tribes, which was to insure between them friendship and peace.

In every tribe where the ceremony was known this twofold purpose was recognized, and by no tribal variation in the details of the rite was it lost sight of or obscured.

[174] From a study of this ceremony it seems probable that its original instigation was a desire for offspring, that the clan or kinship group might increase in number and strength and be perpetuated through the continuous birth of children.

[772] The ceremonial forms here used to express this desire were undoubtedly borrowed from earlier ceremonies through which the people had been familiarized with certain symbols and rites representing the creative powers. Thus, the male and female cosmic forces, symbolized in greater or less detail by day and night, sun and moon, the heavens and the earth, are found in the Hako ceremony.

772 *796 The eagle and the ear of corn also represent in general the male and female forces, but each is specialized in a manner peculiar to these rites. There are two eagles; the white, representing the male, the father, the defender; and the brown, representing the female, the mother, the nestmaker (see pages 288, 289). In the treatment of these eagles the dual forces are still further represented. The feathers of the white or male eagle are hung upon a stem painted green to symbolize the earth, the female principle; while those of the brown or female eagle are hung upon the stem painted blue to symbolize the heavens, the

male principle. The same treatment of the corn is observed. The 772●
ear of corn, which is born of Mother Earth, is symbolically painted to 796*
represent a living contact with the heavens.

These symbolic articles thus treated are peculiar to this ceremony and essential to its rites. They express with unmistakable clearness the original instigating desire for children.

The second purpose of this ceremony, that of establishing a bond 571
between two distinct groups of persons belonging to different clans, 648
gentes, or tribes, which should insure between them friendship and
peace, was probably an outgrowth of the first purpose and may have 796*
been based upon tribal experience in the practice of exogamy.

In a tribe composed of clans or gentes, where exogamy prevailed, two factors tended to promote peace and security among the people, namely, children born to parents representing two distinct political groups, and rites which recognized a common dependence upon the supernatural and were obligatory upon all.

With the growth of social ideas the thought seems to have arisen that ties might be made between two tribes differing from and even competing with each other, through a device which should simulate those influences which had proved so effective within the tribe. The Father, representing one tribe, was the incentive force; he inaugurated the Hako party. The tie was made by a ceremony in which the feminine principle, represented by the corn and Kawas, was the dominant factor. Through this mother element life was given and a bond was established between the Father and a Son of another tribe. It is remarkable how close to the model this device of an artificial tie has been made to correspond.

Apart from the social and religious significance of the ceremony, it 182
became a means of exchange of commodities between tribes. The 439-
garments, regalia, and other presents brought by the Fathers to the
Children were taken by the latter to some other tribe, when they in 796*
turn became the Fathers. Thus manufactures peculiar to one tribe were often spread over a wide territory, and the handicraft of one region became known to different sections of the country.

STRUCTURE OF THE CEREMONY

The perpetuation and distribution of a ceremony is dependent upon 796*
its structure, its symbolism, and its purpose. Its parts must be so coordinated as to make it possible to keep the rite intact during oral transmission, while its symbolism must appeal to common beliefs and its purpose to common desires.

Examining the ceremony of the Hako, we find it to possess these requisites. Its purpose awoke a response in every human heart, its symbolism appealed to the people wherever corn ripened and eagles flew; and though its structure was elaborate, it was built upon a sim-

ing this the Ku'rahus says: "The first act of a man must be to set apart a place that can be made holy and consecrated to Tira'wa, a place where a man can be quiet and think about the mighty power." As the first part opens with the mention of Awahokshu, the holy place, the abode of Tira'wa, whence life is given to men by the intermediary powers, so the second part begins by indicating that man should set apart a holy place whence his thoughts can ascend to the powers which gave him life. The fixing of the sacred place made a center from which man's daily life could be set in order, and made the inauguration of rites possible—rites which served as a common bond to hold the community together. In the next stanza (VIII) the term h'Akaru is used. H' is the sign of breath, of the giving of life; akaru is a modification of akaro, a dwelling place. The change from ro to ru indicates that the word is typical rather than special. h'Akaru conveys the idea of an abode of life, a place where life (h', breath) can be received. The progression noted in the first part is here recalled; the power first mentioned after the holy place, Awahokshu, was Hotoru, the Wind, the giver of breath. The next stanza (IX) speaks of Keharu, an inclosure, the actual dwelling to be erected for the protection of life. Keharu seems to correspond to the male element which, in the first part, is represented by the Sun, the father, the giver of strength, and we find that throughout this ceremony the position of the feathered stem, representing the male, is upon the outside, where it acts as guard and protector, a wall of defense to the interior of the lodge, with its fireplace, which represents the nest (see line 44). The fireplace, Kataharu, is next mentioned (X). This is the center, where the life within the lodge is conserved; it represents the female principle. This stanza corresponds to the fourth of the first part, where h'Uraru, Mother Earth, is invoked. In the two following stanzas, Keharu, the glowing coals (XI), and Koritu, the flames, the word of the fire (XII), refer directly to the act of making fire by friction, a ceremony which seems to underlie most, if not all, aboriginal rites through which man appeals to the powers for the means of sustaining life, food, and drink (stanzas V and VI).

539*
796*
[192]
[772]

The first six stanzas of the second part seem to be a reflex of the six composing the first part. In the first part physical life is created, in the second part psychical life is recognized. By the institution of rites a way is opened through which man turns toward the powers which created him. In the seventh stanza of the second part (XIII), the passageway is spoken of. This passageway represents the ego, the path wherein man passes to and fro as he lives his individual and communal life.

The structure of this song is notable when taken by itself, but it becomes more remarkable when the scope of the ceremony is considered. It will then be seen that this opening song foreshadows the movement and purpose of the entire ceremony.

From the first extra song we learn that the visions had a dwelling 539*
place called "Katasha," located just below the abode of the lesser
powers. The visions could be summoned by these powers from 787
Katasha and dispatched upon a mission. After its accomplishment, the visions returned to their dwelling place to "lie at rest" until again summoned by the powers. According to the Ku'rahus, visions were not transitory, called into being for some special occasion and then ceasing to exist, but they were of an enduring nature, retaining an identity by which they could be recognized by one whom they had visited. This differentiates the vision from the dream, which would seem to be the memory of a vision which came while one slept. Waking visions are not spoken of as dreams.

The Pawnees locate more or less definitely the powers which can 776
affect man. In the above, far beyond the light, fleecy clouds, where
no man has been or can see, dwells Tira'wa atius, the father of all, 772
the giver of life and breath; in a circle below are the lesser powers, like a great council; beneath them is Katasha, the abode of the visions. The birds, the animals, and plants are intermediaries between man and the powers above and the powers below in the earth; they bring him the life and strength which is drawn by the powers from Tira'wa atius. Such is the outline, but the details are complex, no one power or intermediary being fixed or unchangeable in function or character.

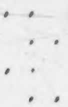
The second extra song, as explained by the Ku'rahus, seems to point 539*
out that disaster is sometimes disciplinary and necessary to the 796*
strengthening of a man's purpose.

The third extra song teaches that when one dreams of Mother [731]
Corn one should go to a shrine where the sacred corn is kept and there offer smoke to the power which sent the corn to him in his dream.

EXTRA NIGHT SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

533*
796*



Rhythmic Rendition

I

Give heed! We tell of Katasha holy, 539*
Whence the dreams come down, when draweth the night time near: 796*
Near the gods[b] is their dwelling.
They who watch o'er men; all silently come they down.

---

[a] Music on page 152.
[b] Gods, meaning powers, is used on account of the rhythm only.

000 automation (*Life*, July 19, 1963). Referred to as "sudden" in the magazine article, it should surely not be sudden to most of us. With the advantage of a clear consciousness of a long past and its major changes, we must accept change and move intelligently into the future. We must prepare for our new needs in a new society by opening to the light of questioning even our most basic institutions—the family, the home, modes and institutions of work, the character of administration, and our whole evaluation of everyday human experience. The Pawnee way is one of thousands of ways of life that mankind has developed. As a springboard for a reexamination of our own way of life it has the advantage of being so different from our own, and in fact from the whole patterning of Eurasiatic civilization, that a study of its ways and social interactions helps us to throw into sharp relief our most widely accepted hypotheses on the nature of "the basic human character" and to test whether some of these assumptions are in reality universal human nature or rather limited modes of learned behavior that we have developed for needs that are now becoming obsolete.

812
772 In its very essence, the Pawnee outlook on reality differs from our own. For us the material aspect is primary. On a second level of discourse, we place observed events; on a third level, which we count still less sure, is the "human factor"; and finally furthest removed from solid reality is the realm of ideas. In the Pawnee estimate of the world around him, the primary level of reality is thought. In our own story of creation, the deity shaped man out of clay, but the Pawnee deity—Vault-of-the-Heavens—began the process of creation with thoughts and so created the universe and the stars, and they in turn were to create man in their own image. When a Pawnee individual wanted to organize his life goals, he looked within himself in his thinking and was blessed by Heaven with [829] a vision. In the Pawnee context, the *thinking* man was the essential human being. The universe continued its seasonal round only when man willed it through his thought of Heaven and its creative power. In creating man, Heaven had also created the moving force of the universe. In this order of things, events were an adjunct of *human* ongoing, and all the nonliving things were a fluid manifestation of the universal life process. A thing manufactured was a manifestation of a very personal skill, and a thing used was equally personal. The skill of the priest who kept the universe in motion and that of the arrowshaft maker had an analogous quality which was inherent in the person himself, and both were considered as dedicated public professions. For both living and nonliving things in the time of the creation, there were always two storms—one to build the empty structure and one for its continuity. This estimate of the nature of reality is almost the complete reverse of our own and is one of the many ways in which the Pawnee outlook contrasts rather sharply with ours. 577

539 As another contrast in values between the Pawnee and ourselves I

of the Skidi villages of Village-across-a-Ridge and Pumpkin-Vine would join the Wolf-in-Water and Bottomland Village, and they would play rough and kick one another. 609 621 539

The location of the four bands was along the west side of Beaver Creek and the Skidi were in the westernmost position, the other three bands about half a mile away to the east. While according to past tradition, they always lived south of the Skidi and were referred to generally as "South Bands," they were now actually located to the east: 621 361

> "The Skidi chief would sit on a high bluff and the Eastward (*tuhawit*, "Settlement-east" chiefs sat on a bluff near their home and they would watch the boys. They said, "When we were boys we used to play like that and kick." 621 524
>
> It would begin in the evening when the boys would call out, *hu-hu-hu*. Then the boys would hear and come outside. Folks would say to the small boys, "Don't go there, you'll get hurt," but some would steal out and join the fight anyway. When one side would be chased back, the older people would laugh and say, "Go back again. . . ."
>
> When it got darker the little boys were told to go back and run home because the big boys were going to fight now—the sixteen-to-eighteen-year-olds. Then in the moonlight sometimes, the men of about thirty years old would fight, and then afterward the old men forty and over. The men would take blankets from one another and kick one another, but afterward they had to return the blankets.
>
> This game was never played with the Skidi villages alone opposing one another, only between the Skidi Band as one party and the South Bands as the other. They never kicked hard—just for fun. If the South Band boys met the Skidi boys, there was always a kicking contest."

A similar game is reported between different divisions of the Comanches. [171]

The Pawnee Person

There is no simple formula for describing the intricate logic of the Pawnee people's lives. One thing is clear—that no one is caught within the social code. Against the backdrop of his natural environment, each individual stands as his own person. The Old World design for the human personality does not apply to this New World Man. The Pawnee child was born into a community from the beginning, and he never acquired the notion that he was closed in "within four walls." He was literally trained to feel that the world around him was his home—*kahuraru*, 156 156 772 829

screen stood in front of the beds of the mature women to give them privacy. 352
The series of beds was interrupted by an open platform at each side 353
to store current food supplies and household articles.

The long vestibule that gave entrance to the house projected outward 342
from the eastern side of the circular walls. Inside, on both sides of the 353
door to the house, was a working area in each of which a woodpile was braced against the walls. The rear or western wall of the house was the sacred area, the beds being ranged along the north and south walls. There were five platforms along each wall, the middle one for supplies and the four others fitted out as beds.

The boy, Otter, and his grandmother were sleeping on the north side 513
of the house in the easternmost bed nearest the entranceway. The second 353
bed next to theirs was occupied by another little boy, Yellow Calf, 592
and his grandmother, Grieves-the-Enemy. Then came the supply platform for the north side and beyond that the bed of Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn. Horse Rider was an assistant to Otter's father, Victory Call, a prominent chief and religious leader. Victory Call and White Woman had the bed that was in the place of honor near the west.

Along the south wall of the house was another family. The head of that family was Old Bull, friend and associate of Victory Call and also a chief and religious leader. He occupied the west bed with his younger wife, Clear Day, and the next bed was occupied by the little girl, New Queen, their daughter. Then came the supply platform for the south side, and beyond that the bed of Queen Woman, Old Bull's senior wife with her little boy of three, and finally the easternmost bed on the south side for the grandmother, Blue Calico, who was the mother of the younger wife, Clear Day, and had the youngest child sleeping with her.

Everyone in the house knew his appointed place and where he could go 353
and where he could not go. In the sacred area at the west was an earthen 778
platform with a buffalo skull resting on it and above it hung a long, skin-wrapped bundle containing their most sacred objects, including two specially bred ears of corn. Between the fireplace and the buffalo altar, there was a sacred spot that was invisible—the *wi-haru*, "the place where the wise words of those who have gone before us are resting." Rather than step over this place in order to pass from one side of the house to the other, everyone walked around the entire house by way of the east. When the heads of the household sat down to rest or when they entertained important guests, it was near the west that they sat and no one would want to pass in front of them.

The house was a microcosm of the universe and as one was at home inside, 342
one was also at home in the outside world. For the dome of the sky 772
was the high-arching roof of the universe and the horizon all around was the circular wall of the cosmic house. Through the roof of the house the star gods poured down their strength from their appropriate directions in

342 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman,
772 Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo
were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in
the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle
with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the
Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning
he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire
in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the
Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight
off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself.
Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening
Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on
earth.

342 The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a
woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive pow-
772 ers. The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately
353 ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the young-
84 est women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located,
the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due
south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their
age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being
"inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe,
ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse
776 of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his
342 power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in
[823] the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and
[782] southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that
they would be readily received.

361 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear consciousness
342 of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed,
the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred
houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver
Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy.
342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch
and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke
[354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cook-
[252] ing breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

252 White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the drawstring
262 of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the
skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a
[251] large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed
the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them
into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

with red buffalo-fat ointment. Four circles were made on the ground one 773
in each of the semicardinal directions to symbolize the four quarters of 796
the universe that the Morning Star had to pass as he approached the 782
Evening Star. The circles were made by a man who stood in the middle [823]
and extended his toe as far as possible, drawing his foot on the ground as [772]
he turned. The tracks were filled with soft down feathers from the bundle. The priest smeared himself with red buffalo-fat ointment and suffused himself with sweet grass smoke. The actual ceremony could begin.

The priest of the Evening Star bundle sang the first part of the ritual and after a pause, the Morning Star priest took charge. He sang two songs. Then they had their meal. The Wolf man opened the next phase, bringing the girl to the altar where she was anointed by the priest with red ointment given to him by the war leader. They returned to their seats and the ceremony continued all night. The second day's ceremony was of the same kind. On the third day they continued to sing and dance, the war leader beginning the dance and then being joined by the others. The war leader took up the northeast pole from the fireplace with the fire still burning on its end and pointed it at the girl without touching her, first toward her right side then toward her left. Next he took first the southwest pole following the same procedure, then the northwest pole and then the southeast pole, following the prescribed order. Now, on the third day, the crowd of spectators became heavy and began to push into the lodge and tear holes in the roof so that they could witness the proceedings.

While the ceremony was going on in the lodge the priest gave direc- 773
tions for the preparation of the sacrificial scaffold. He sent men to find a 796
suitable location a mile or two east of the village with a ravine or a 782
series of dips in the ground to the east of it where the attacking war- 417
riors could hide during the ceremony. Wood for each part of the sacrifi- 824
cial frame had to be of special kinds: cottonwood for the two uprights; the four crossbars near the bottom serving as steps, each symbolizing one of the four semicardinal directions, the bottommost elm, then box elder, cottonwood, and willow, each associated with an animal power. Elm represented the bear and the northeast; box elder, the mountain lion and the southwest; cottonwood, the wildcat and the northwest; and willow, the wolf and the southeast. When the men reported back to the priest that they had located the wood, he gave them four strips of animal skin, each one of the appropriate animal with which to tie the crossbars to the frame. Near the top of the two uprights was another crossbar of willow, symbolizing Heaven, which was tied on with otterskin to symbolize the renewal of life. They were instructed by the 773
priest to dig a rectangular pit under the scaffold in area about the size 796
of a buffalo robe commonly used to wrap a sacred bundle and 5 inches 782
417

243 named ten, one being Osage. George F. Will, nurseryman and anthropolo-
242 gist of North Dakota, experimented with planting Indian corn from various tribes of the Missouri River region and managed to isolate nine pure strains of Pawnee corn. These correspond with considerable accuracy to those named by Mark Evarts. I have placed his classification as it appeared in his publication (Will and Hyde, 1919) in a parallel column alongside that of Mark Evarts. (See Table 11-1.)

TABLE 11-1. *Classifications of Varieties of Pawnee Corn.*

As Named by Mark Evarts	As Named by Will and Hyde, 1919
1. *Blue* corn—*uraax-katit*, earth-black, referring to very dark blue	Blue *flour* corn, No. 40
2. *Spotted* corn, *rikis-tipiku*, corn-spotted (*ripiku*, egg)	Black-eyed and red-speckled corn, p. 308
3. *White* corn, big kernels, *rikis-taka*, corn-white	White *flour* corn, No. 36
4. White with small kernels, *rikis-paruksti*, corn-holy	Not identified by authors
5. *Yellow* corn, harder variety, *rikis-taxkata*, corn-yellow	Yellow *flint*, No. 38
6. A yellow corn, softer than No. 5, called *parus-arut*, rabbit-soft	Yellow *flour* corn, No. 37
7. Hard corn, *kitsirit*, flinty, hard, translucent; real smooth, with different colored kernels on the same cob—white, spotted, yellow	Red *flint*, No. 89, flinty mixed colors with red predominating
8. *Red* corn—*rikis-pahat*, corn-red	Red *flour* corn, No. 45
9. Sweet corn—*rikis-karus*, corn-sweet, somewhat reddish yellow and sticky	Sweet corn, yellow sugar corn, No. 41
10. Osage corn—*rikis-pasasi*, corn-Osage, gotten from Osage, grows 9-10 feet high and can have 8 or 9 ears on one stalk	

243 From the experiments of George Will, it is evident that the Pawnees
242 were quite capable of producing pure strains of corn and maintaining the
•772 breeds. And yet when asked to list the classes of corn that they had, they
82 did so in terms of a certain order of colors rather than by a horticultural classification. Consistent with the Pawnee belief that the Heavens are the first cause of all things, this is a cosmic rather than a botanical classification. In Pawnee theology, the four semicardinal directions are associated with the four color designations—northeast-black; southeast-white; northwest-yellow; and southeast-red. In the creation legend it is stated that in the western part of the ancient territory there were four villages,

each representing one of the semicardinal directions; each had a different- 243
colored ear of corn in its sacred bundle, as cited above. The order of the 242
colors of corn followed by Mark Evarts in his classification if translated 772 •
into directions are northeast, southwest, northwest, southeast. This di- 82
agonal succession forms a simple cross, the Pawnee symbol for a star.
What star is implied is not known. Typically of Pawnee thought, there
must be deeper theological meanings and references than are apparent.
The order of naming the varieties of corn is clearly connected with
these religious implications.

For the Pawnee, there is very little that does not have some direct con- 243
nection with the cosmos. But in sharp contrast to the corn, the other two 244
crops, squash and beans, have no religious connotations whatever. This
lack of ideological involvement seems strange, as we know archaeologi- [772]
cally that first squash and then beans were the earliest domesticated crops
in the New World, followed after a considerable time interval by the
domestication of corn. Among the Pawnees the whole horticultural cycle
was conducted in terms of the corn. In the spring the corn was the
first of the three crops to sprout, and in the fall it was the first to mature.
There were seven common varieties of squash and pumpkins current
among the Pawnees at that time and eight of beans. (See figures 11-1 and
11-2.)

243 793 787 788 rooftops to see the priests get the young plant of the holy corn. The priests were wrapped in their buffalo robes with the hair side out and were rattling their gourds and singing. They felt it to be a long journey symbolically signifying the eons of the creation, and the song was sung to recapitulate all its stages—the stages that pertained to women (the land, the vegetation, the waters and the cultivated seeds), and the stages that pertained to men (the moccasin, its string, the robe, the power of the universe, Mother Corn, and the thunder). These stages of the [772] men symbolized conception and birth—the moccasin, a pocket-like covering into which something is thrust; the moccasin cord, the umbilical cord; the robe, the enveloping membrane of the foetus; the creative power of the universe, the sacred nature of conception and birth; Mother Corn, germination; and the thunder, the fertilizing principle. The little corn plant they uprooted in the field would symbolize all these things.

243 793 787 When they arrived at the sacred corn hill, they ranged themselves around it, the visionary to the west, the four semicardinal-directions priests in their appropriate stations. They again sang the steps of the creation as they sat in their places, and then the priests remained seated while the visionary rose and prepared to smoke his pipe with the powers above. He walked to the north side of the hill, where the errand man [782] lighted his pipe, then proceeded around it, pausing to offer the mouthpiece to the powers in the order directed by the Evening Star priest before they had left the lodge. He offered it to Heaven, the Evening Star, the Morning Star, the Big Black Meteoric Star in the northeast, the North and Lucky Wind, a great legendary hero *Pahukatawa*, then southeast to the Sun and southwest to the Moon. Next he emptied the ashes on the corn hill and gave the pipe to the ranking priest. Then he sat down at the west and in counterclockwise order beginning at the northeast he pressed into the cornhill a gift of little pellets of buffalo-heart fat and tongue fat wrapped around with some tobacco. He alternated his offerings, beginning with tongue fat at the northeast and heart fat at the northwest, and so on.

Now the most solemn part of the ceremony was to be enacted. They were to uproot the sacred corn sprout in a symbolic act of birth. The visionary stood at the west and instructed the Southwest (or Southeast) priest to ease the plant out of the ground very gently so that he would not disturb any part of the delicate roots. The roots symbolized the moccasin strings and the seeds, the moccasin or covering for power. The priest wrapped the "newborn" plant in buffalo wool and handed it to the visionary, who placed it on his back in his buffalo robe as a woman carries her child. Now they began again to sing the steps of the creation and lined up preparatory to returning to the ceremonial lodge. Everyone in the village was watching and listening as they sang on their way back.

[793 243] In the lodge, the Evening Star priest unwrapped the plant from its

15

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY

000

A Summary Ceremony—a Symbolic Washing of All Ceremonial Objects—a History of the Ceremony—Celestial and Doctors' Symbolism Combined—Ceremony Explained—Participation of People in Ceremony

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY that was held before leaving on the 796
hunt was, in effect, a summary of all the Pawnee religious beliefs and 783
practices. In Pawnee ideology, the sky was one realm and the earth and 772
the waters another. The priests were in charge of the cosmic ceremonies, [224]*
and the medicine men, or doctors, were in charge of the animals that [793]
were connected with the earth and the waters. In this last category, the [756]
physical structure of man and his physical health were included. But ultimately, according to Pawnee thought, the sky was the first cause and
the continuing source of power in both realms. The doctors conducted 796
a separate cycle of ceremonies from the priests, and in the fall, at the gala 783
ceremony that was held after the harvest was in, they acknowledged their 756
celestial origin by hanging buffalo-hide cutouts of the Morning Star and
the other sky gods from the ceiling of the ceremonial lodge. During the
forthcoming summer hunt, a specially selected doctor would kill a buffalo bull and a cow to provide the skins for this purpose and another bull
and cow to build up the images of their own special gods.

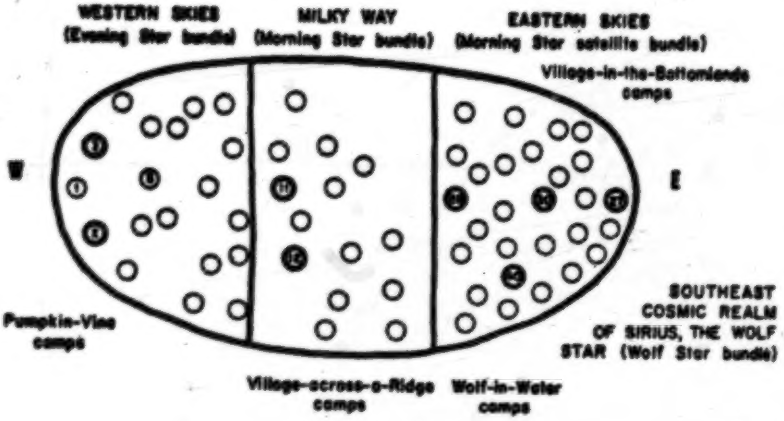
The central feature of the ceremony they would now conduct was the 796
carrying of all the sacred objects to the stream, there washing them 783
symbolically. Then the people would clean up the whole village and wash 778
themselves in the stream. This great cleansing ritual was under the direction of the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the northeast of the semicardinal-direction bundles. In mythohistory this god was a sort of master [776]

796
783 of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as
indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron
778 of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took
776 care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night,
the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

*[224] The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage
• [772] twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbolisms from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the creation ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theol-
756 ogy of the cosmos was given. The doctors also had a systematic ideology
773 of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had
much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans
[191] or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

*224 *484 492 load the other horses. Horse Rider helped No Corn to dismount and at once began to unload the mare. They untied the straps and removed the tent cover first and then the buckets so that Horse Rider could go and fill them with water from the river. Everyone was thirsty and wanted a drink.

*224
361
*484
• 772


WESTERN SKIES
(Evening Star bundle)
MILKY WAY
(Morning Star bundle)
EASTERN SKIES
(Morning Star satellite bundle)
Village-in-the-Bottomlands camps
W
E
SOUTHEAST COSMIC REALM OF SIRIUS, THE WOLF STAR (Wolf Star bundle)
Pumpkin-Vine camps
Village-across-a-Ridge camps
Wolf-in-Water camps

Pumpkin-Vine camps	Village-across-a-Ridge camps	Village-in-the-Bottomlands camps	Wolf-in-Water camps
3. White Eagle	#11. Lone Chief	#27. Leading Chief	#40. Chief-Feared-by-the-Enemy
#2. Eagle Chief	12. Brother of Lone Chief	28. Comanche Chief	
1. Victory Call		30. Brother of Leading Chief	
5. Old Bull			

FIGURE 17-1. Pawnee plan of encampment while on the hunt, following a cosmic pattern as in the Skidi earth-lodge villages.

*224 *484 492 Now Victory Call and White Woman untied and took off all the rawhide containers, and Victory Call removed the saddle from his horse and let him go. The next job was to remove and tie up all the rawhide ropes that were hanging from the saddles of the packhorses so that the saddles could be removed and the horses set free. White Woman began tightening the first rope on the front right side of one of the horses, then the rear right, then the rear left, and finally the front left. No Corn was helping her, and, if Horse Rider was back, he would pitch in and help too. The men removed the saddles and set everything out so that the sun would strike them where the horses had sweated and they were damp.

When Horse Rider had arrived with the buckets of fresh water, he said, "This water is still cold. Better take a drink." Everyone was thirsty and they were all glad to get it. Then Victory Call would say, "Go hobble the horses," and Horse Rider went directly. It was important to hobble the mare, especially since all the horses were likely to stay around

was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the 243
altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo 778
might eat. 782

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could 772
not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of 221
alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic.
The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other
in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers
of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As [823]
these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their
biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for [778]
each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through
the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these
alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation
of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his
political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different 243
aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under 778
the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when
the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four
semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression [776]
of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity,
Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in 796
their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under 628
the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented
the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all [778]
together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Pole Ceremony*—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken [823]
together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony
warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was
safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant 796
"ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of 778
its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance. 243

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the 243
priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to 778
settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four 793
[533]
[535]

The Return from the Hunt

After their travels over the snow and ice, they were glad to return to the warmth of their homes. 224* 484*

Soon the thunder would sound from the south. Then the priests would call down the gods from the heavens to re-create the earth and Wonderful would come down from his home in the western skies and walk the land that the gods had made—in all his aspects as the lightning, the thunder, the storm—going on the hill, the plain, the prairie—in the bottomlands, across the water, in the village and back to his home in the western skies where he would rest. 221 772• [776]

The new year would begin—the house, the food pit, the hunt, the harvest and again the winter hunting time. But there came a time when the year would not begin for the Pawnee. For beyond the Pawnee universe was the outer world and from it would come its destruction after six hundred years, and a new world would be born.

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wil- 000
son, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, 462
considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not 251
hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of
the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not
affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife
was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244).
Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civiliza- 462
tions—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern 171
Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men
among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern
Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women.

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and 000
Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9.

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the in- 342
side of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 315-316, "The 772
sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within,
then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand
as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people."

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song 796
sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 533
1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and 787
wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder 821
spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'"
He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when
he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of
the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's
account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of 157
the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones 821
the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit 721
to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old
friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She 114
remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on 821
the contrary they were part of it and went out into it.

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On 172
archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, 251
pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10
feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric examples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIRST DIVISION. INITIAL RITES

FIRST RITUAL. MAKING THE HAKO

PART I. INVOKING THE POWERS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

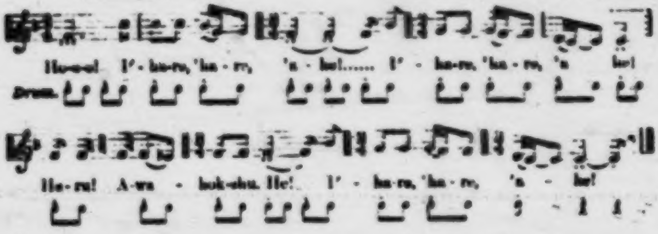
At the creation of the world it was arranged that there should be lesser powers. Tira'wa atius, the mighty power, could not come near to man, could not be seen or felt by him, therefore lesser powers were permitted. They were to mediate between man and Tira'wa. The first song mentions some of these lesser powers in the order in which they come near to man, in the order of their creation. 773 ● 776 539* 796*

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

539* 796* [533]*


Ho-o-o! I'-ha-re, 'ha-re, 'a-he!...... I'-ha-re, 'ha-re, 'a he!
Drum.
He-ru! A-wa-hok-shu. He! I'-ha-re, 'ha-re, 'a-he!

I

1 Ho-o-o!
2 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
3 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
4 Heru! Awahokshu. He!
5 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

II

6 Ho-o-o!
7 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
8 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
9 Heru! Hotoru. He!
10 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

III

11 Ho-o-o!
12 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
13 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
14 Heru! Shakuru. He!
15 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

IV

16 Ho-o-o!
17 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
18 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
19 Heru! H'Uraru. He!
20 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

V

21 Ho-o-o!
22 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
23 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
24 Heru! Toharu. He!
25 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

VI

26 Ho-o-o!
27 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
28 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
29 Heru! Chaharu. He!
30 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

When we have finished singing this song the Ku'rahus takes one of the plum-tree sticks, which has been anointed with red clay mixed with fat, and ties on it with a thread of sinew a downy eagle feather. This stick is bound to the ear of corn so as to project a hand's breadth above the tip end, letting the downy feather wave above Mother Corn. This feather represents Tira'wa. It is always moving as if breathing. 796* [284]

The Ku'rahus then binds the other plum-tree stick to the corn so that it extends below the butt. When the corn is placed in ceremonial position this end of the stick is thrust in the ground so that the ear will stand upright without touching the earth. Both sticks are bound to the ear of corn by a braided band of hair taken from the head of a buffalo. The braided band signifies the gift of animal food and the provision of skin clothing. (The Skidi band of the Pawnees tie a bit of buffalo wool, such as is shed by the animal in the spring, together with a braid of sweet grass, to the ear of corn.) [184]

The two gourd rattles, which represent the squash given us by Tira'wa, and also the breasts of the mother, are each painted with a blue circle about the middle, with four equidistant lines from the circle to the bottom of the gourd. The circle represents the wall or boundary of the dome of the sky; the four lines are for the four paths at the four directions down which the powers descend. No song is sung while this painting is being done.

All the sacred articles are laid at rest on a wildcat skin when they are not being used ceremonially, and it is a cover for them in which they are all wrapped together at the close of the ceremony. The skin is never tanned, and the ears of the animal, the skin of the head, the feet, and the claws must all be intact. [281]

Tira'wa made the wildcat to live in the forest. He has much skill and ingenuity. The wildcat shows us that we must think, we must use tact, and be shrewd when we set out to do anything. If we wish to approach a person we should not do it bluntly; we should not rush at him; that might offend him so that he would not receive us or the gifts we desired to offer him. The wildcat does not make enemies by rash action. He is observant, quiet, and tactful, and he always gains his end. [773● 576 825]

In this ceremony we are to carry the sacred articles to one not of our kindred in order to bind him to us by a sacred and strong tie; we are to ask for him many good gifts, long life, health, and children, and we should receive gifts from him in return. If we would succeed we must learn of the wildcat, and be wise as he is wise.

The wildcat is one of the sacred animals. A man who killed a wildcat could sacrifice it to Tira'wahut. The man who brought such an offering had the right to ask the priest to teach him some of the mysteries that belong to the sacred shrine. 825 782 794

Many years ago two men took the Hako to the Omaha tribe. On the journey one of them killed a wildcat. I said to the man: "I am

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of First Stanza

*539 672 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 673 Whitit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi.

whitit, it is believed, it is supposed. The word implies a question with the desire to know the truth of the belief.

kasharu, a composite word; ka, from rotkaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions.

ha! behold!

kira, accomplished or brought to pass.

rehra, I hold standing; present tense.

wi, from wirit, an article swinging. The word tells that the article which the person stands holding is swinging in his hand; this refers to the rhythmic swaying of the feathered stems during the singing of the songs of the ceremony.

674 See line 673.

675 Ta hao!

ta, a part of kutati, my.

hao, offspring; my own child. The term refers to the Son.

676 Hiri! Hako-o!

hiri! give heed; harken.

Hako-o; Hako, the sacred articles of the ceremony; o, vowel prolongation.

677 See line 673.

678 See line 675.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 This stanza asks about the origin of the Hako, about the account which has come down to us that the Hako and its ceremonies were sent by the powers above to our fathers through a vision.

●773 787 We have been taught that in a vision our fathers were told how to make the feathered stems, how to use them, how to sway them to the songs, so that they should move like the wings of a bird in its flight. It was in a vision that our fathers were told how they could cause a man who was not their bodily offspring to become a Son, to be bound to them by a tie as strong as the natural tie between father and son.

For this knowledge our fathers gave thanks and we give thanks, for by this ceremony peace and plenty, strength, and all good things come to the people.

Translation of Second Stanza

*539 679 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 680 Kutit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi.

kutit, it is; an assertion. The word gives a definite answer to the implied question in the first word of the first stanza, whitit. The belief, the supposition, is declared to be the truth.

kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi. See line 673.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

681 See line 680. 539*
682 See line 675. 796*
683 Hiri! Hako-o! See line 676.
684 See line 680.
685 See line 675.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza tells the Children that it is true that the knowledge of this ceremony was given to our fathers by the powers above through a vision. We speak of the vision as kasharu, because visions are apt to come in the night when all is still; they then descend, pass over the earth, and come to man. 539* 796* 773

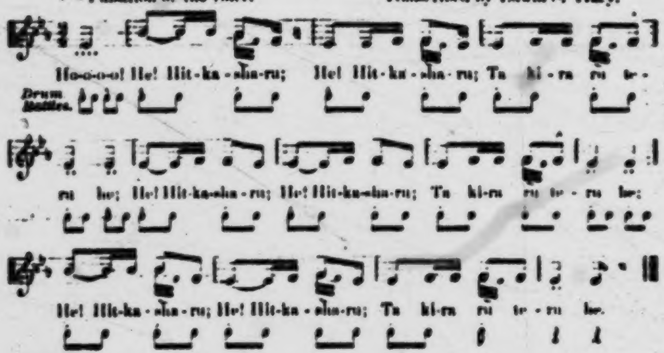
This stanza also tells that the man to whom we have brought the Hako is to be made a Son in the way our fathers were directed in the vision. 787

None of the songs of this ceremony can be changed; they must be sung accurately, just as they have been handed down to us, for the words speak of the powers above and their gifts to us, and we must be careful of such words.

SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪=116.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. 539* 796* [533*]


Ho-o-o-o! He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; Ta ki-ra ru te-
Drum Rattles.
ru he; He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; Ta ki-ra ru te-ru he;
He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; Ta ki-ra ru te-ru he.

1

686 Ho-o-o-o!
687 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
688 Ta kira ru teru he;
689 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
690 Ta kira ru teru he;
691 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
692 Ta kira ru teru he.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 When, during the ceremony of the Hako, the Pleiades appear above the horizon, this song must be sung. If, when the coming of these stars is reported, we should be singing, we must break off at the third stanza and sing this song for the fourth circuit of the lodge.

821 •773 This song to the Pleiades is to remind the people that Tira'wa has appointed the stars to guide their steps. It is very old and belongs to the time when this ceremony was being made. This is the story to explain its meaning which has been handed down from our fathers:

A man set out upon a journey; he traveled far; then he thought he would return to his own country, so he turned about. He traveled long, yet at night he was always in the same place. He lay down and slept and a vision came. A man spoke to him; he was the leader of the seven stars. He said: "Tira'wa made these seven stars to remain together, and he fixed a path from east to west for them to travel over. He named the seven stars Chaka. If the people will look at these stars they will be guided aright."

When the man awoke he saw the Pleiades rising; he was glad, and he watched the stars travel. Then he turned to the north and reached his own country.

The stars have many things to teach us, and the Pleiades can guide us and teach us how to keep together.

*539 *796 We sing this song four times as we make the circuit of the lodge; then we lay the Hako down to rest upon the holy place and sing the songs which belong to that action.

The following songs can be sung at night after the regular song has been completed, if the Children should call for them:

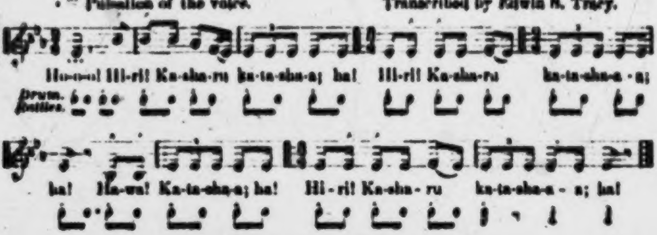
EXTRA NIGHT SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ho-o-o! Hi-ri! Ka-sha-ru ka-ta-sha-a; ha! Hi-ri! Ka-sha-ru ka-ta-sha-a - a;
Drum. Rattles.
ha! Ha-wa! Ka-ta-sha-a; ha! Hi - ri! Ka-sha - ru ka-ta-sha-a - a; ha!

I

707 Ho-o-o!
708 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a; ha!
709 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a-a; ha!
710 Hawa! Katasha-a; ha!
711 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a-a; ha!

*539 A holy man who lived long ago, no one knows how long, for there
have been many generations since, had a dream. He was taken up to
*796 the place where all the visions dwell, those that belong to Kawas, the
787 brown eagle, and those that belong to the white eagle, the male.
While he was there the day began to dawn and he saw the visions that
● 773 had been sent down to earth come climbing up, and he recognized
among them some of the visions that had visited him in the past.
Then he knew of a truth that all visions of every kind dwell above
in Katasha, and that they descend thence to us in the night, and that
as the day dawns they ascend, returning to rest in their dwelling place.

The holy man made this song about his dream and told its meaning, and the song and the story have been handed down to us, that we might know where visions come from, where they dwell and where they go to when they depart from us.

778 Among the Pawnees there are shrines, in the keeping of certain men,
which contain articles that are used in the sacred ceremonies of the
different bands of the tribe. These shrines are very old, they were
given by the lesser powers to our fathers with a knowledge of their
contents and how to use them.

An ear of corn belongs to one of these shrines. It is a peculiar ear.
It is white, with perfect and straight lines of kernels, and there is a
[243] tassel on its tip. In the fall the priest of the shrine tells the women
to look carefully for such ears when they gather their corn, for
Tira'wa causes such ears to grow in the fields for the purposes of
this shrine and they belong to it. The little tassel on the tip of the
[726] ear of corn represents the feather worn on the head of the warrior.
The sacred ear of corn is sometimes borrowed from the priest by the
leader of a war party. The ear of corn is born of Mother Earth, she
knows all places and the acts of all men who walk the earth, so she is
a leader.

726 Sometimes a young man who proposed going to war would request
the following song to be sung. He desired success and wished Mother
778 Corn to lead him. After the Hako ceremony was over he would
borrow a sacred ear of corn and put it in a pack which the leader of
the war party would sling upon his back. When the party was successful, he would thrust into the ground the stick upon which the ear
of corn was tied and as this ear stood before him he would give thanks
to it for having led him in safety.

*539
*796
726

741 Atira! Atira hira-a.
Atira! Atira hira. See line 738.
a, vowel prolongation.

II

742 Ha-a-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

743 Hitkasharu, Hitkasharu, iri!
hitkasharu, a composite word; hit, from hittu, feather; ka, from ratkaharu, night; sharu, dream. The word refers to dreams brought by the birds that attend the Hako. As the song refers to war, the word refers to the white eagle stem, the male, the warrior, the dream that attends that eagle.
iri! a part of the exclamation nawairi! expressing thankfulness that all is well.

744 Hiri! Hiri! Ri rai i;
hiri! harken! give heed!
ri, has.
rai, coming; in the future.
i, it.

745 Sawi rare ka wara, sawi rare ka wara. See first stanza, line 740.

746 See line 743.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796
726
●773

There are not many words to this song, but the meaning and the story have been handed down from our fathers.

The first stanza tells of a war party which started out carrying Mother Corn. As the warriors left the village the old men wished them good luck, and said: "Mother Corn will be like a snare to entangle the enemy, so that they will fall easily. Mother Corn will be like a trap into which the enemy will fall and out of which there will be no escape."

The young men started and took a straight course for the enemy's country; they knew the land and they went directly there, but they found nothing. They went to the east, there was nothing. They turned to the west, there was nothing. They traveled to the north, there was nothing. They went to the south, there was nothing. Then they made their way back to the point from which they had started on the border of the enemy's land.

The leader said: "I am worn out, our moccasins are in holes, we are without food, we must turn back. We will return to our home tomorrow."

That night they lay down and slept. The leader placed the pack with the ear of corn under his head, and with a heavy heart he fell asleep.

The second stanza tells that in the night the ear of corn spoke to the leader in a dream and said: "Tira'wa bade me test you, and I

have been putting you on trial. I am able to bring strength to the people, the gift of life, and good fortune and success in war. I caused all your misadventures that I might try your courage. Now, you shall not go home on the morrow. If you should, the people would say, 'Mother Corn is powerless.' In the morning you must do as I tell you. You must go toward the southeast; there you will come upon a village where the people have many ponies; these you shall capture and return safely and in triumph, and learn that I have power to lead to success."

539*
796*
726
773

The leader did as Mother Corn had directed, and everything came to pass as she had said.

This song has no fixed place in the ceremony but it must be sung at night, because the dream came at that time to the warrior.

The next song is about a man to whom Mother Corn came in a dream: it happened very long ago. The song and the story are very old and have come down to us from our fathers, who knew this ceremony.

539*
796*
773

Mother Corn spoke to this man in his dream. We are not told what she said to him, but when he awoke he started out to find the man in whose keeping was a shrine containing the ear of corn. As he walked he met a man and asked him, "Is it far to the lodge where the corn is?" The man pointed to a lodge some distance off and said, "It is within." Then the man who had had the dream walked toward the place. As he entered the lodge he saw a shrine hanging on one of the poles and he asked the keeper if it contained the sacred ear of corn, and he was told that it did. Then he took his pipe and offered smoke and prayer in the presence of the corn; because Mother Corn had appeared to him in a dream and had spoken to him he came to offer her reverence.

EXTRA NIGHT SONG

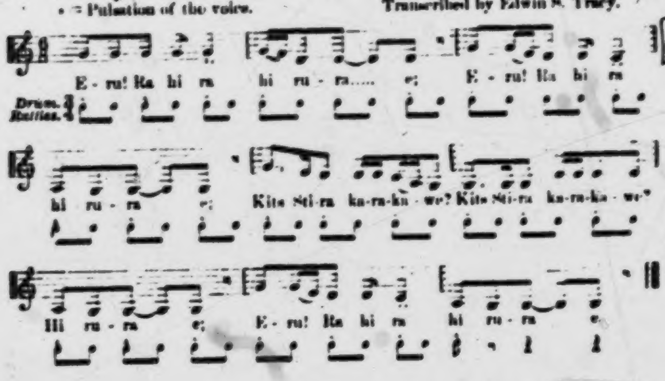
Words and Music

539*
796*

M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]


E - ru! Ra hi ra hi ru - ra..... e; E - ru! Ra hi ra
Drum. Rattles.
hi ru - ra e; Kits Sti-ra ka-ra-ka - we? Kits Sti-ra ka-ra-ka - we?
Hi ru - ra e; E - ru! Ra hi ra hi ru - ra e.

539* 796* lodge in charge of the Hako go to their tents. Soon all is quiet within the lodge, the fire burns down to coals and every one sleeps except the man on guard. He must watch through the night and give warning of the first sign of a change in the appearance of the east. As soon as this is seen the skins that hang over the doors of the lodge are lifted and the Ku'rahus makes ready to repeat the songs to the Dawn (tenth ritual). We sing these sacred songs at the dawn of the second day, the day when we chant to our father the Sun, and we sing them again at the dawn of the third day, when we sing to our mother the Earth.

THIRTEENTH RITUAL (THIRD DAY). THE FEMALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. THE SACRED FEAST OF CORN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

796* 252 [415] With the morning sun the Children gather at the lodge to receive their morning meal given them by the Fathers. Soon afterward the sacred feast of the Corn takes place. For this feast the Children prepare the food in the manner our fathers did. They pound the dried corn in a wooden mortar and boil the coarse meal until it is thoroughly cooked. They do this in their own homes and then carry the food in the kettles in which it has been cooked to the lodge where the ceremony is being performed, and set them near the fireplace toward the southeast, where wooden bowls and horn spoons have been provided for the occasion.

782 796* When all the company have been seated the Fathers ladle out the food into the bowls. The Ku'rahus takes up a little of the food on the tip of a spoon, offers it toward the east, flipping a particle toward the horizon line. He then passes to the north, drops a bit on the rim of the fireplace, and goes to the west, where, facing the east, he lifts the spoon toward the zenith, pauses, waves it to the four quarters and slowly lowers it to the earth and drops a bit on the rim of the fireplace. After this ceremony of offering thanks the filled bowls are placed before the people. Two or more persons take a few spoonfuls from the same bowl, then, hanging the spoons on the edge to prevent their falling into the food, they pass the bowl on to the next group at the left. In this way all the people partake of a common feast.

PART II. SONG TO THE EARTH

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539* 796* 773 On the third day of the ceremony it is the duty of the Ku'rahus to teach the Children concerning h'Uraru, Mother Earth, and of those

*539

*796
773

things which she brings forth to sustain the life of the people. The Ku'rahus has received these teachings from older Ku'rahus, who also received them, and so on through generations back to the time when they were revealed to our fathers through a vision from the mysterious powers above. A Ku'rahus must devote his life to learning these songs and their meaning and the ceremonies which accompany them. He must spend much of his time in thinking of these things and in praying to the mighty powers above.

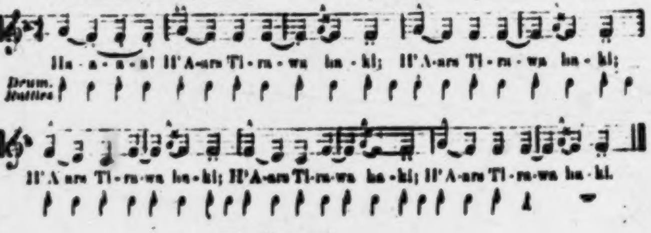
The Ku'rahus speaks to the Children and tells them that Tira'wa atius is the father of all things. Then the feathered stems are taken up and we sing again the song which we sang the first day before the Children had partaken of the food prepared for them by the Fathers. We sang it then remembering Tira'wa atius, the father of all, of whose gift of food we were about to receive. Now we sing it, remembering that he is the father of the sun which sends its ray, and of the earth which brings forth.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 126.
• - - Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*539
*796
[*533]


Ha - a - a - a! H'A-are Ti - ra - wa ha - ki; H'A-are Ti - ra - wa ha - ki;
Drum. Rattles
H'A-are Ti-ra-wa ha-ki; H'A-are Ti-ra-wa ha-ki; H'A-are Ti-ra-wa ha-ki.

755 Ha-a-a-a!
756 H'Aare Tira'wa haki;
757 H'Aare Tira'wa haki;
758 H'Aare Tira'wa haki;
759 H'Aare Tira'wa haki;
760 H'Aare Tira'wa haki.

For translation, see eighth ritual, first song, page 107.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

On the second circuit of the lodge we sing the song which follows the first. It tells us that all the lesser powers are from Tira'wa atius, the father of all. As we sing we remember the power given to Mother Earth.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

II

*539 812 Ho-o-o-o o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 813 'Hare, 'hare, iha're! See line 807.
814 See line 813.
815 Re whari 'hare, re 'hare.
re, they.
whari, moving, walking.
'hare, part of iha're, young.
re 'hare. Translated above.
816 Whari 'hare, re 'hare. See line 815.
817 See line 815.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 ●773 One day a man whose mind was open to the teaching of the powers wandered on the prairie. As he walked, his eyes upon the ground, he spied a bird's nest hidden in the grass, and arrested his feet just in time to prevent stepping on it. He paused to look at the little nest tucked away so snug and warm, and noted that it held six eggs and that a peeping sound came from some of them. While he watched, one moved and soon a tiny bill pushed through the shell, uttering a shrill cry. At once the parent birds answered and he looked up to see where they were. They were not far off; they were flying about in search of food, chirping the while to each other and now and then calling to the little one in the nest.

The homely scene stirred the heart and the thoughts of the man as he stood there under the clear sky, glancing upward toward the old birds and then down to the helpless young in the nest at his feet. As he looked he thought of his people, who were so often careless and thoughtless of their children's needs, and his mind brooded over the matter. After many days he desired to see the nest again. So he went to the place where he had found it, and there it was as safe as when he left it. But a change had taken place. It was now full to overflowing with little birds, who were stretching their wings, balancing on their little legs and making ready to fly, while the parents with encouraging calls were coaxing the fledglings to venture forth.

"Ah!" said the man, "if my people would only learn of the birds, and, like them, care for their young and provide for their future, homes would be full and happy, and our tribe be strong and prosperous."

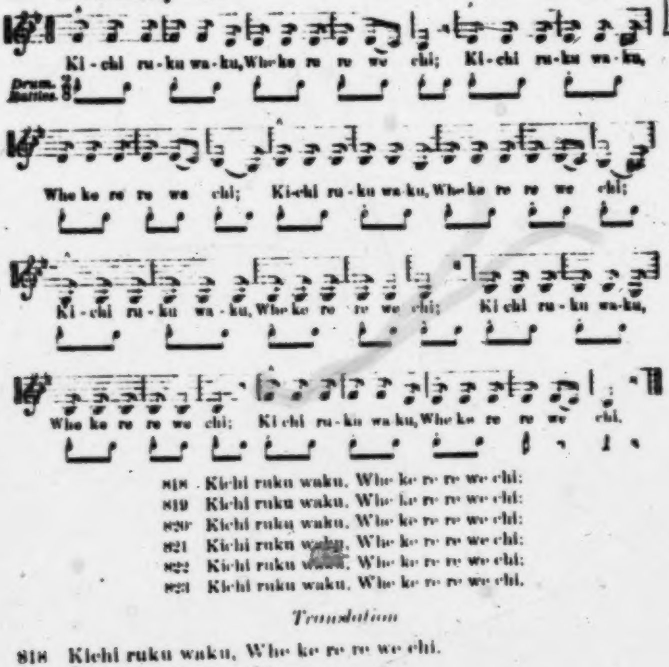
When this man became a priest, he told the story of the bird's nest and sang its song; and so it has come down to us from the days of our fathers.

THE SONG OF THE WREN

Words and Music

539*
796*
[533*]

M. M. Melody. ♩. = 84.
M. M. Drum. ♪ = 108.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ki-chi ru-ku wa-ku, Whe ke re re we chi; Ki-chi ru-ku wa-ku,
Drum. Rattles.
Whe ke re re we chi; Ki-chi ru-ku wa-ku, Whe ke re re we chi;
Ki-chi ru-ku wa-ku, Whe ke re re we chi; Ki-chi ru-ku wa-ku,
Whe ke re re we chi; Ki-chi ru-ku wa-ku, Whe ke re re we chi.

818 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi;
819 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi;
820 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi;
821 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi;
822 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi;
823 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi.

Translation

818 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi.
kichi, so it; but this one.
ruku, song.
waku, sound from the mouth, speech.
whe ke re re we chi, syllables imitative of the sound of the bird.

819-823. See line 818.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[825]
539*
796*
773

The wren is always spoken of as the laughing bird. It is a very happy little bird, and we have stories about it. Every one likes to hear the wren sing. This song is very old; I do not know how old, how many generations old. There are very few words in the song, but there is a story which has come down with it and which tells its meaning.

A priest went forth in the early dawn. The sky was clear. The grass and wild flowers waved in the breeze that rose as the sun threw

*539 its first beams over the earth. Birds of all kinds vied with one
*796 another as they sang their joy on that beautiful morning. The priest stood listening. Suddenly, off at one side, he heard a trill that rose
●773 higher and clearer than all the rest. He moved toward the place whence the song came that he might see what manner of bird it was that could send farther than all the others its happy, laughing notes. As he came near he beheld a tiny brown bird with open bill, the feathers on its throat rippling with the fervor of its song. It was the wren, the smallest, the least powerful of birds, that seemed to be most glad and to pour out in ringing melody to the rising sun its delight in life.

As the priest looked he thought: "Here is a teaching for my people. Everyone can be happy; even the most insignificant can have his song of thanks."

So he made the story of the wren and sang it; and it has been handed down from that day, a day so long ago that no man can remember the time.

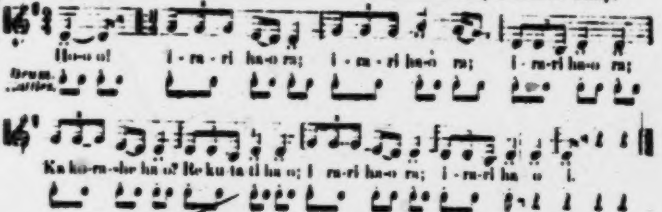
THE SONG OF THE WOODPECKER AND THE TURKEY

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 108.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*583]
*539
*796


Ho-o o!
I - ra - ri ha-o ra; I - ra - ri ha-o ra; I - ra-ri ha-o ra;
Drum. cadence.
Ka ko-ra-she ha o? Re ku ta ti ha o; I ra-ri ha-o ra; I - ra-ri ha o i.

824 Ho-o-o!
825 Irari hao ra; Irari hao ra; Irari hao ra;
826 Ka korashe hao? Re kutati hao;
827 Irari hao ra; Irari hao i.

Translation

824 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

825 Irari hao ra; Irari hao ra; Irari hao ra.
Irari, brother.
hao, offspring, child.
ra, coming.

826 Ka korashe hao? Re kutati hao.
ka? is? a question.
korashe, your.
hao, offspring. Is it or are they your offspring?
re, they.
kutati, my or mine.
hao, offspring. They are my offspring.

539*
796*

827 Irari hao ra; irari hao i.
Irari hao ra; irari hao. See line 825.
I, ——.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539* 796* 773

We are told that in old times, long, long ago, the feathers of the turkey were used where now the feathers of the brown eagle are placed on the blue feathered stem. In those days the turkey, not the brown eagle, was leader, but, through the mysterious power of the woodpecker, the turkey lost its position. This song refers to the dispute between the woodpecker and the turkey, which resulted in the supplanting of the turkey by the brown eagle.

The words of the song are few, but the story of their meaning has come down to us from the fathers.

Both the turkey and the woodpecker desired to be the protector of the children of the human race, and there was trouble between them on that account. One day the woodpecker was flying about looking for its nest when the turkey chanced that way and the woodpecker called out: "Brother, where are my eggs?"

The woodpecker talked of his eggs, but he meant the children of the people on the earth and the turkey knew that was what he was talking about.

"They are not your eggs (offspring); they are mine," said the woodpecker.

"They are mine to take care of," answered the turkey; "for in my division of life there is great power of productiveness. I have more tail feathers than any other bird and I have more eggs. Wherever I go my young cover the ground."

"True," replied the woodpecker, "but you build your nest on the ground, so that your eggs are in constant danger of being devoured by serpents, and when the eggs hatch the young become a prey to the wolves, the foxes, the weasels; therefore, your number is continually being reduced. Security is the only thing that can insure the continuation of life. I can, therefore, claim with good reason the right to care for the human race. I build my nest in the heart of the tall oak, where my eggs and my young are safe from the creatures that prey upon birds. While I have fewer eggs they hatch in security and the birds live until they die of old age. It is my place to be a protector of the life of men."

The woodpecker prevailed, and the turkey was deposed; for, although the turkey had more children, they did not live; they were killed.

Then the brown eagle was put in the turkey's place, because it was not quarrelsome, but gentle, and cared for its young, and was strong to protect them from harm.

The woodpecker was given an important place on the stem, where it presides over the path along which the help that comes from the

*539

*796 Hako travels—the red path. The woodpecker is wise and careful, ● 773 and, that it may not get angry and be warlike on the Hako, its upper mandible is turned back over its red crest.

[787] The Hako ceremony was given in a vision, and all these things, such as the dispute between the turkey and the woodpecker, were made known to our fathers in a vision.

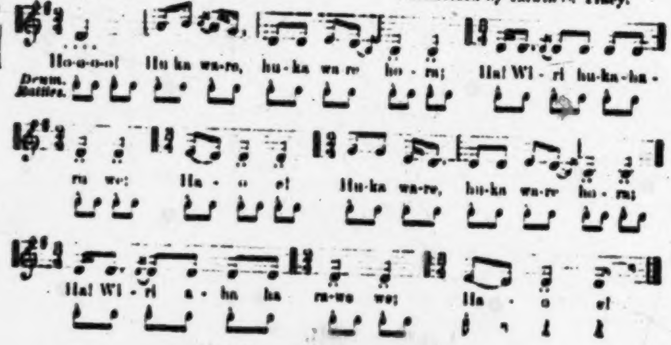
THE SONG OF THE DUCK

Words and Music

*539
*796
[*533]

M. M. ♩= 104.
• • : Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! Hu ka wa-re, hu-ka wa-re ho - ra; Ha! Wi - ri hu-ka-ha-
Drum. Rattles.
ru we; Ha - o e! Hu-ka wa-re, hu-ka wa-re ho - ra;
Ha! Wi - ri a - ha ha ra-we we; Ha - o e!

828 Ho-o-o-o!
829 Huka ware, huka ware hora;
830 Ha! Wiri hukaharu we;
831 Hao e!
832 Huka ware, huka ware hora;
833 Ha! Wiri aha ha rawe we;
834 Hao e!

Translation

828 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

829 Huka ware, huka ware hora.

huka, a part of the word hukaharu; valley, a valley through which a stream is flowing.

ware, a part of teware, flying.

hora, a part of the word horaru, the earth, the land

830 Ha! Wiri hukaharu we.

ha! behold!

wiri, it is.

hukaharu, a valley through which a stream flows.

we, they; refers to the young of the duck.

831 Hao e!

hao, offspring.

e, vocable.

832 See line 829.

9

833 Ha! Wiri aha ha rawe we. 539* 796*
ha! wiri; behold! it is.
aha, a part of kiwaharu, a pond, a small body of water.
ha, a part of iha're, young; refers to the young of the duck.
rawe, living in.
we, they.
834 See line 831.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The words of this song about the duck are few, and if the story had not come down to us from the fathers, we should not know all that the song means. 539* 796*

The duck has great power. The story tells us about this power. 773●

Long ago when the feathered stems were being made, the holy man who was preparing these sacred objects had a dream. In his vision the duck with the green neck appeared and said to him:

"I desire to have a place upon the feathered stem, for I have power to help the Children. This is my power: I lay my eggs near the water and, when the young are hatched, straightway they can swim; the water can not kill them. When they are grown they can go, flying through the air, from one part of the earth to the other. No place is strange to them; they never lose their way; they can travel over the water without harm and reach safely their destination. They can walk upon the land and find the springs and streams. I am an unerring guide. I know all paths below on the earth, and on the water and above in the air. Put me on the feathered stem where it is grasped by the hand, that the Children may take hold of me and not go astray."

When the holy man awoke, he did as the duck had told him, and so to this day we put the duck with the green neck on the feathered stem where it is held by the hand.

This is the meaning of the song.

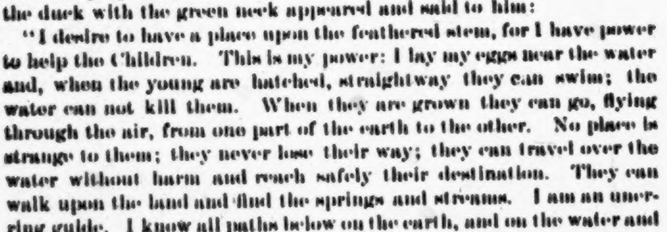
THE SONG OF THE OWL

Words and Music

539* 796* [533*]

M. M. ♪ = 104.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ha! Hi - ri wa - ha - ru! Hi, hi - ri wa - ha - ru!
Drum. Rattles.
Ha! Hi - ri wa - ha - ru! Hi, hi - ri wa - ha - ru! Ha! Wa - ha - ru.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

835 He! Hiri wahoru! Hi, hiri wahoru!
836 He! Hiri wahoru! Hi, hiri wahoru!
837 He! Wahoru.

Translation

835 He! Hiri wahoru! Hi, hiri wahoru!

he! an exclamation signifying that something has been brought to one's mind that should be reflected on.

hiri; iri, a part of nawairi, an expression of thankfulness, of appreciation of good promised, or of some benefit to be derived; the initial letter h is added for euphony and ease in singing.

wahoru, owl.

hi, the same as hiri, translated above.

836 See line 835.

837 He! Wahoru! See line 835.

[*533]
*539
*796
773

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this song we give thanks to the owl, for it gives us help in the night. We sing it twice; the first time it is sung very slowly; the second time it is sung very fast, as we sing a dance song.

The meaning of the song has come down to us from the fathers; the words tell very little about the song.

To the same holy man to whom the duck came in a vision, the owl spoke in a dream and said:

"Put me upon the feathered stem, for I have power to help the Children. The night season is mine. I wake when others sleep. I can see in the darkness and discern coming danger. The human race must be able to care for its young during the night. The warrior must be alert and ready to protect his home against prowlers in the dark. I have the power to help the people so that they may not forget their young in sleep. I have power to help the people to be watchful against enemies while darkness is on the earth. I have power to help the people to keep awake and perform these ceremonies in the night as well as in the day."

When the holy man awoke, he remembered all that the owl had said to him, and he put the owl's feathers upon the stem, next to the duck. So the people are guided by the duck and kept awake by the owl.

II

*539 945 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 946 Tias we ria kishpa ka wia, kishpa ka wia, kishpa ka wia.

tias, a part of atius, father. The term refers to the white eagle, the male feathered stem.
we, it.
ria, hovering.
kishpa, the loud cry of the eagle.
ka, a part of akaro, lodge, dwelling place.
wia, coming, moving.
kishpa, the scream of the eagle.
ka, the word has here a double reference, to the lodge, and to the nest. The lodge represents the nest.
wia, moving about, coming.
kishpa, the scream of the eagle.
ka, a part of akaro, lodge. Refers to the nest.
wia, coming.

947 See line 946.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 •773

This song has very few words, but a story goes with it to explain its meaning.

One day a man was walking on the prairie; he was thinking, and his eyes were upon the ground. Suddenly he became aware of a shadow flitting over the grass, moving in circles that inclosed his feet. He stood still, wondering what this could mean; then he looked up and beheld a brown eagle flying round and round over his head. As he gazed the bird paused, looked down upon him, then flapped its wings and flew away (first stanza).

Again the man was walking and thinking, when he caught sight of a tall tree about which a great white eagle was flying, around and around as if it were watching over something. As it flew it screamed, making a great noise. It was the father bird guarding its nest (second stanza).

The brown eagle which the man saw was Kawas; where she went when she flew away is told in the next song. The blue-feathered stem, with the brown eagle feathers upon it, is carried next to the Children and waved over their heads, for she is the mother and cares for the young.

The white eagle is the male; the green-feathered stem, with his feathers upon it, is carried upon the outside, for he guards the nest.

The lodge where the Children are (the lodge where the ceremony is being performed) is the nest.

The white eagle which the man saw protecting the nest teaches all men to be brave and vigilant, to guard their children and make safe their home. In token of this duty, the warrior father wears the white eagle feather.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*

776*

[773]

The whistle is used when we sing the second stanza, because the white eagle whistled when he flew around his nest.

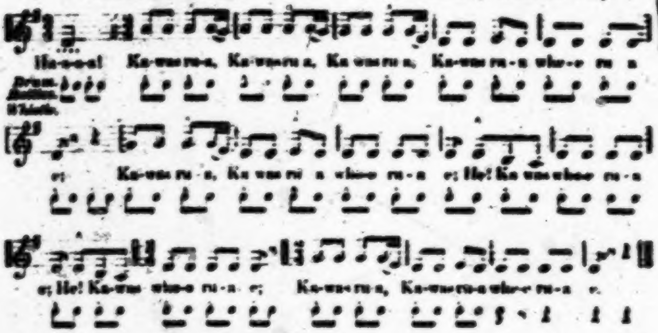
FOURTH SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 144.

• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ha-a-a! Ka-was ru-a, Ka-was ru a, Ka was ru a, Ka-was ru-a whe-e ru a
Drum-beats
Whistle
e; Ka-was ru-a, Ka was ru a whe-e ru-a e; He! Ka was whe-e ru-a
e; He! Ka-was whe-e ru-a e; Ka-was ru-a, Ka-was ru-a whe-e ru-a e.

[533*]

I

948 Ha-a-a-a!

949 Kawas rua, Kawas rua, Kawas rua, Kawas rua whe-e rua e;

950 Kawas rua, Kawas rua whe-e rua e;

951 He! Kawas whe-e rua e; He! Kawas whe-e rua e;

952 Kawas rua, Kawas rua whe-e rua e

II

953 Ha-a-a-a!

954 Kawas tia, Kawas tia, Kawas tia, Kawas tia wheri ria e;

955 Kawas tia, Kawas tia wheri ria e;

956 He! Kawas wheri ria e; He! Kawas wheri ria e;

957 Kawas tia, Kawas tia wheri ria e.

Translation

I

948 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

949 Kawas rua, Kawas rua, Kawas rua, Kawas rua whe-e rua e.

Kawas, the brown eagle, symbol of the feminine powers.

rua, flying toward an object.

whe, it.

e, vowel prolongation.

rua, flying toward.

e, vocable.

950 Kawas rua, Kawas rua whe-e rua e. See line 949.

*539 *796

951 He! Kawas whe-e rua e; He! Kawas whe-e rua e.
he! a part of I'hare, an exclamation calling one to reflect. See line 1.
Kawas whe-e rua e. See line 949.
952 See line 950.

II

953 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
954 Kawas tia, Kawas tia, Kawas tia, Kawas tia wheri ria e.
Kawas, the brown eagle, the feminine power.
tia, flying overhead.
wheri, it here.
ria, above and very near.
e, vocable.
955 Kawas tia, Kawas tia wheri ria e. See line 954.
956 He! Kawas wheri ria e; Kawas wheri ria e.
he! a part of I'hare, an exclamation calling one to reflect upon a subject. See line 1.
Kawas wheri ria e. See line 954.
957 See line 955.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 ●773

The story of this song which has come down to us is that when the man saw the shadow on the grass and beheld the brown eagle flying over him, the eagle, recognizing the man, flapped its wings and flew away. The brown eagle was Kawas, the mother bird, and she flew straight to her nest, to her young, who cried out with joy as she came near. We use the whistle when we sing this song because the young eagles scream as the mother returns to them.

When we sing the second stanza we remember that the lodge of the Son is the nest of Kawas, that she is here flying over the heads of the Children, bringing near to them the fulfilment of the promises of the Hako.

The whistle which accompanies this stanza represents the cry of the Children in recognition of the fulfilment which Kawas is bringing. With this song we complete the fourth circuit of the eagles and the eighth circuit of the lodge.

The songs of the next four circuits refer to the rites.

*796 represent the circle Tira'wa atius has made for the dwelling place of all the people. The circles also stand for the kinship group, the clan, and the tribe.

The down represents the light clouds near the dwelling place of Tira'wa—the dome of the sky over the dwelling place of the people—and it stands for the protection of Tira'wa. When there is no down to be had, white ashes can be used. I do not know what the ashes mean, but I think they are to make the outline distinct and to represent the white down.

The nests are four, because at the four directions are the paths down which the powers from above descend. The four winds guard these paths and protect the life of man.

After the four nests are made, the feathered stems are laid at rest.

The Ku'rahus then takes bits of fat which have been preserved from an animal consecrated to Tira'wa and puts them with some native tobacco into an oriole's nest and hands the nest to the chief, who conceals it in his hands.

237 The bits of fat represent the droppings that mark the trail made by the hunters as they carry the meat home from the field. This trail is called the path dropping fatness, and means plenty. Fat, therefore, stands for the promise of abundant food.

773 825 The oriole's nest is used because Tira'wa made this bird build its nest so that no harm could come to it. It hangs high, is skillfully made, and is secure. An eagle's nest may be torn away by a storm, but the oriole's nest sways in the wind and is not hurt.

PART II. SYMBOLIC FULFILMENT

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

482 Now a robe is spread on the ground and the child is placed on it with his feet and legs projecting beyond the edge. Four men are appointed to carry the child. One goes on each side and takes hold of the robe and lifts it; a man at the back of the child steadies it as it is raised and carried, while the fourth man holds another robe over its feet and legs.

The chief and the Ku'rahus precede the child to the circle at the northwest, where it is held over the nest so that its feet rest within the circle. The chief puts his hands under the robe held over the child's legs and drops the oriole's nest within the circle so that the child's feet rest on it. No one but the chief and the Ku'rahus know what is being done beneath the robe. The chief takes up the nest, concealing it from view, and goes to the circle at the northeast, to which the child has also been carried, and in the same way places its feet on it. The same act is repeated at the circles in the southeast and the southwest.

The child represents the young generation, the continuation of life,

to the Ku'rahus who taught me. Besides I had to promise him that I 424
would not give the teachings away, but would hold them as they had 796*
been held, teaching them only to those who would pay me. I give
these (incidental rituals) to you, so that they may be preserved and
kept with all the other songs that belong to the Hako.

Long ago there lived a holy man who knew all the songs and the 796*
rites of this ceremony, and to him came a vision wherein he was taught 773●
how to bring comfort to a little child when, during the ceremony, it
cried and could not be pacified. In this vision he was shown what he 787
must do to bring comfort to the little child, and he heard the songs 861
that he must sing. The songs which he heard have been handed down
through many generations.

When during the ceremony a child cries and can not be comforted, 796*
the mother, or some one sent by her, can approach the Ku'rahus who 861
carries the brown-eagle stem and ask him to come and quiet the child.
The Ku'rahus must comply with this request, so he rises and stands
before the holy place, takes up the feathered stem and sings this song,
which tells the brown eagle, Kawas, that its baby is crying.

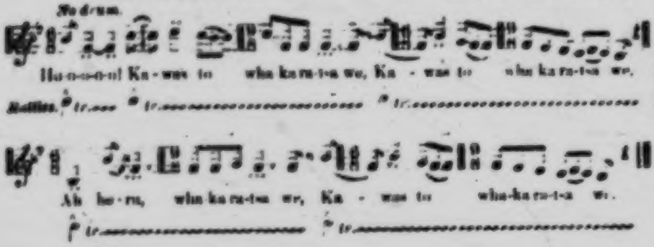
All the people hear the song and know that help for the child is
being asked.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 60. 539*
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. 796*
No drum. 861

[533*]


Ho-o-o-o-o! Ka - was to wha ka ra-tsa we, Ka - was to wha ka ra-tsa we.
Rattles. tr.
Ah he-ru, wha-ka ra-tsa we, Ka - was to wha-ka ra-t-a we.
tr.

1302 Ho-o-o-o-o!
1303 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.
1304 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.
1305 Ah heru, whaka ratsa we.
1306 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.

Translation

1302 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1303 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.,
Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the feminine principle.
to, its, denoting ownership of the child that is crying.
whaka, voice, noise from the mouth.
ratsa, a high pitch, screaming.
we, personal pronoun; refers to the child.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 In this song we meet exclamations characteristic of many others of
the ceremony. These exclamations express the emotions evoked in
*796 the progress of the appeal. Few words are used, their iteration making
the memorizing of the song easier than if the emotion had been
fully elaborated in many different words. This apparent poverty of
expression, which may in part be accounted for by the necessity of
oral transmission, has not prevented metrical forms throughout the
ceremony; with one exception, the songs are rhythmic. In the present
instance the repetition of the exclamation I'hare! extended
through the musical phrase by the echoing of its syllables, conveys
*533 even to the eye of a stranger the meaning as given by the Ku'rahus
*539 in his explanation of line 2. "The repetition of the word as we sing
I'hare, 'hare, 'aheo indicates that our minds are dwelling upon the
*796 subject brought to our attention."

This opening song is in two parts. One refers to the powers, the other to the inauguration of rites through which man can turn toward these powers.

Six stanzas belong to the first part, suggesting the six symbolic
motions, indicating the four directions, the above, and the below.
The first stanza is an appeal to Tira'wa; its form is noteworthy when
viewed in connection with the opening stanza of the second part.
Tira'wa is not addressed directly, but the mind is turned to his place
of abode, Awahokshu, as to a definite locality where prayer should
be sent, whence help may come. The fixing of the mind upon a holy
place serves as a precedent for the establishment of a holy place,
776 Kusharu (stanza VII), where man is to think of Tira'wa, and where
rites in accordance with his thought are to be performed. The
*796 order in which the powers are addressed in these first six stanzas
*539 reveals something of the Pawnee's idea of man's relation to the supernatural.
First, the holy place, the abode of Tira'wa, the father of all,
is addressed; second, Hoturu, the invisible Wind, the bearer or giver
of breath; third, Chakaru, the Sun, the father of strength; fourth,
H'Uraru, the Earth, the mother, the conserver of life; fifth, Toharu,
Vegetation, the giver of food; sixth, Chaharu, Water, the giver of
drink.

*539 Starting from the abode of the central power, Tira'wa, designated
*796 in the first stanza, the lesser powers bring to man first breath, next
●773 vitality or strength, then the ability to conserve and use that strength,
776 and, finally, they give him food and drink to sustain his life. The
physical man stands forth in these first six stanzas as the result of
the gifts of the powers.

[*533] The second part of the song is in seven stanzas. The number suggests
the seven symbolic motions, indicating the four directions, the
*796 above, the below, and the center, the ego.

The first stanza of the second part (VII) calls the people to "give
*539 heed" to Kusharu, the place set apart for sacred purposes. Concern-

VIII

We heed as unto thee we call; 539*
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, h'Akaru, abode of life! 796*
We heed as unto thee we call.

IX

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Kekaru, wall of defense!
We heed as unto thee we call.

X

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Kataharu, center within!
We heed as unto thee we call.

XI

We heed as unto thee we call,
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Kokaru, promise of fire!
We heed as unto thee we call.

XII

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Koritu, word of the fire!
We heed as unto thee we call.

XIII

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Hiwaturu, emblem of days!
We heed as unto thee we call.

PART II. PREPARING THE FEATHERED STEMS

The first thing to be made is the feathered stem carried by the **Ku'rahus.** It represents the female element; it leads in the ceremony. Other sacred rites among the Pawnees explain this leadership as based upon the belief that life first took form through the female; "She was the first and the leader." 796* [773]

The stem is painted blue with blue clay mixed with running water. The running water, we are told, represents the continuation of life by generation following generation. The color is the symbol of the sky, the dwelling place of the powers.

The song which accompanies the act of painting is in five musical phrases, suggesting the five motions symbolic of the four directions and the above. The exclamation he! (a part of I'hare! give heed!), at the close of each phrase, bears out this interpretation. 533* 539* 796*

The iterated words h'areri (h', breath; areri, a particular place) tell that the thoughts of the singers are fixed on the giving of life by

*796 men and women of the party with the ponies laden with gifts and
needed supplies of food.

Over the whole prairie for miles and miles this order was preserved
day after day until the journey came to an end. If from some distant
[726] vantage point a war party should descry the procession, the
leader would silently turn his men that they might not meet the Hako
party, for the feathered stems are mightier than the warrior; before
them he must lay down his weapon, forget his anger, and be at peace.

771 No object met on the journey to the Son presented its ordinary
aspect to the Hako party. Everything seen was regarded as a manifestation
*796 of the supernatural powers under whose favor this ceremony
484 was to take place; hence the trees, the streams, the mountains, the
buffalo were each addressed in song. This attitude toward nature is
strikingly brought out in the two songs, which are in sequence, sung
at the crossing of a stream.

484 Throughout this ceremony water is treated as one of the lesser
powers. It is employed only for sacred purposes, and is never used in
771 the ordinary way. To profane water would bring punishment upon
*796 the whole party (see the first ritual, line 29), and consequently when
a stream ran across a line of travel no person could step into it as he
823 commonly would do. A halt was called and the Ku'rahus led in the
singing of the song in which Kawas is asked to grant the party permission
●[773] to ford the stream. According to Pawnee rituals, water at the
creation was given to the woman, so Kawas, representing the mother,
could grant permission. The request is embodied in four stanzas.
*[539] In the first the water touches the feet; in the second the feet stand in
the water; in the third the feet move in the water; in the fourth the
water covers the feet (note the resemblance of entering the stream to
entering the lodge, seventh ritual, part 1).

771 After the stream was crossed the people halted on the bank to sing
*539 the song to the wind, led by the Ku'rahus. It also is in four stanzas.
The wind is called upon to come and dry the water which the people
*796 may not irreverently touch. In the first stanza the wind touches the
821 people; in the second it lightly brushes their bodies; in the third it
484 circles about them; in the fourth it envelops them. Thus the wind,
one of the lesser powers, comes between the people and the penalty
incurred by profanely touching water.

*539 In these ceremonies the people were constantly reminded that they
771 were in the presence of the unseen powers manifested to them in the
natural objects met upon the journey. To those initiated into the
*796 inner meaning of the rite, the appeal at the crossing of the stream to
Kawas (the feminine element) and to the wind (typical of the breath
of life) was connected with the symbolism of running water, explained
in the seventh ritual as representing the giving of life from generation
to generation.

*539 The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth songs originally belonged to
the journey, but we are told the buffalo are no longer seen; neither
*796

The song (first) which accompanied this act is in three musical phrases and six stanzas. Again the symbolism of number, already noted, is suggested. 533* 796*

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here; 539*
Behold, my child! waiting here to bring the gift of strength to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water waits to bring to you gift of strength 796*

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here;
Behold, my child! flying here to bring the gift of strength to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water flies to bring to you gift of strength.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here;
Behold, my child! touching here your head, to bring the gift of strength.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water, touching, brings to you gift of strength.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who now follows here.
Behold, my child! Now the paths it follows, paths where the gods descend.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water down the four straight paths brings its gift.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is spreading here;
Behold my child! cleansing you, and spreading o'er you gift of strength.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water spreading over you gift of strength.

VI

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has brought you strength.
Behold, my child! Strength you have and finished is the task.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water now has brought to you gift of strength.

Following the outline made by the water, the head and face of the child were next touched with grass, the representative of Toharu, the verdant covering of the earth. 796*

The song (second) sung during this act is in the rhythm of the first. [533*]

In these two acts we note that "the order in which the powers come near to man," shown in the opening song of the first ritual, is observed in this rite. In that opening song, after the Winds, the Sun, and the Earth had brought life to man, food and drink were given that his 773 ● 796*

---

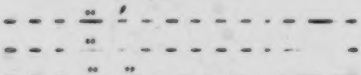
[a] Music on page 315.

773 life might be sustained. So, after the symbolic birth in the lodge of the Son, the child was touched by water and the product of the earth, *796 that it might receive from them sustaining power.

SECOND SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here;
Behold, my child! waiting here to bring the gift of food to you.
*796 Give heed, my child. Look! Grass now waits to bring to you gift of food.

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here;
Behold, my child! flying here to bring the gift of food to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass now flies to bring to you gift of food.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here;
Behold, my child! touching here your head to bring the gift of food.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass now touching brings to you gift of food.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who now follows here.
Behold, my child! Now it follows the paths where the gods descend.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass now down the four straight paths brings its gift.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is spreading here;
Behold, my child! spreading plenty o'er you, promised gift of food.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass is spreading o'er you gift of food.

VI

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has brought you food.
Behold, my child! Food you have received, and finished is the task.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass has now here brought you the gift of food.

PART II. ANOINTING THE CHILD

The order of the opening song is followed still further in the anointing of the child.

The seventh stanza of the opening song speaks of Kusharu, the holy place, set apart for the observance of rites. The Ku'rahus explained that "the first act of a man" must be to set apart such a place, "where new life could be given." Following this order, the child was anointed and by this act of consecration set apart as the center of the rites which were to follow.

The song of this act follows the rhythm of the two preceding.

---

[a] Music on page 219.

3; Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756 The medicine men claimed to have received their power from
supernatural sources and were organized into numerous societies.
Linton states that "The function of the medicine men's ceremonies
was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease
from the village, and, by means of their sleight-of-hand performances,
convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural
powers attributed to them."[*]

771 According to Miss Fletcher their "religious ceremonies were con-
nected with the cosmic forces and the heavenly bodies. The domi-
nating power was Tirawa, generally spoken of as 'father.' The
[776 heavenly bodies, the winds, thunder, lightning, and rain were his
821] messengers. . . . The mythology of the Pawnee is remarkably
rich in symbolism and poetic fancy, and their religious system is
elaborate and cogent. The secret societies, of which there were
[575] several in each tribe, were connected with the belief in supernatural
animals. The functions of these societies were to call the game, to
heal diseases, and to give occult powers. Their rites were elaborate
[921] and their ceremonies dramatic."[11] Next in power to Tirawa was
776 Evening Star, regarded as a woman, and below her was Morning
Star, a warrior who drove the other stars before him across the sky.
● [773] The child of these two deities was the first human being. In the west,
Evening Star had a beautiful garden with fields of ripening corn and
many buffalo, and from this garden sprang all the streams of life.

[823] Next in rank to Evening Star and Morning Star were the gods
of the four world-quarters who supported the heavens and who
stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, these
being the sacred directions of the Pawnee. Dorsey states that
"next to these gods in rank are the three gods of the north, supreme
among whom is the North-Star, Karariwari (One-who-does-not-
[821] move). Associated with him are Hutukawahar (Wind-ready-to-
give) and Hikus (Breath). The North-Star is . . . symbolic of
the chief . . . while his assistants, equally beneficent, sent the
buffalo and the breath of life."[12] Below these in turn were Sun and
Moon, from whose union sprang the second human being on the
[773] earth. This daughter, marrying the son of Morning Star and
Evening Star, produced the human race.

The lesser gods of the heavens included Star of the South and Big-black-meteoric-star, who was the god of the medicine men. There were also earth gods organized into four lodges, each with its leaders and messengers, these gods being the special patrons of warriors and medicine men.

---

[*] Linton, Ralph. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men, Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 8, Chicago, 1923, pp. 19, 20.

[11] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

[12] Dorsey, op. cit., p. xix.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 171 in order that the music of the entire tribe may be represented. All these songs are combined in the analyses and the latter class, to some extent, affects the total numbers.

An important point, made evident in this comparative analysis, is the individuality of Pawnee music. It is distinct, in its entirety, from the songs of other tribes, though bearing a resemblance to one tribe or another in separate characteristics. The study of Indian music by an established system of analysis shows there are characteristics that are common to Indian songs of various tribes and different from the music of the white race, and also characteristics which distinguish the songs of one tribe from those of another. Among the former is the change of measure-lengths found in many Indian songs and the downward trend of the melody. The latter are indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. A characteristic of Pawnee music that evades, to some extent, the tabulated analysis, is its simplicity of both melody and rhythm. This can only be appreciated by a study of the melodies themselves. Pawnee music is the plainest of any thus far recorded in its rhythmic divisions and general content. This characteristic of the group may, however, be due to the absence of songs used in treating the sick, which are usually songs of complicated rhythms.

MORNING STAR CEREMONY

778 796 A sacred bundle of the Skidi Pawnee was associated with Morning Star and its ceremony was held in the early spring, having for its object the securing of good crops in the coming season. It was the writer's privilege to see the Morning Star bundle in the house of the woman who was its keeper, and also to see its contents exposed in the ceremony. The bundle, in accordance with custom, was hung on the [776] west wall of its owner's house, and with it were hung four large gourds, symbolizing the four deities who were the special guardians of Evening Star and also representing the breasts of the two women in the west, Evening Star and Moon.[15]

773 The legend from which the Morning Star ceremony arose was related by Coming Sun, whose grandfather was a high priest in the [424 551] Morning Star village and who received his name by inheritance from this ancestor. With Coming Sun's narrative is combined a limited number of details mentioned by Linton in "Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee."

As already stated, Morning Star ruled in the east and Evening Star in the west. All the stars west of the Milky Way were feminine and those to the east were masculine, but the most powerful were Morning Star and Evening Star. Sun was with the former and Moon was a companion of the latter. One after another the eastern

---

[15] Cf. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 52-55.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

stars came to court the stars in the west, in order that man might be placed on the earth. Moon welcomed them and walked with them toward the west, but as soon as they came in sight of the village she caused the ground to open so the man fell through and was killed. At last Morning Star resolved to go and woo the great Evening Star, taking his little brother along to carry his pack. Thus, according to Coming Sun, a small star always appears near and slightly below the morning star in the spring, representing the little brother. Linton, however, states that Morning Star was accompanied by Sun, who carried a sacred bundle with a war club. 773 ●

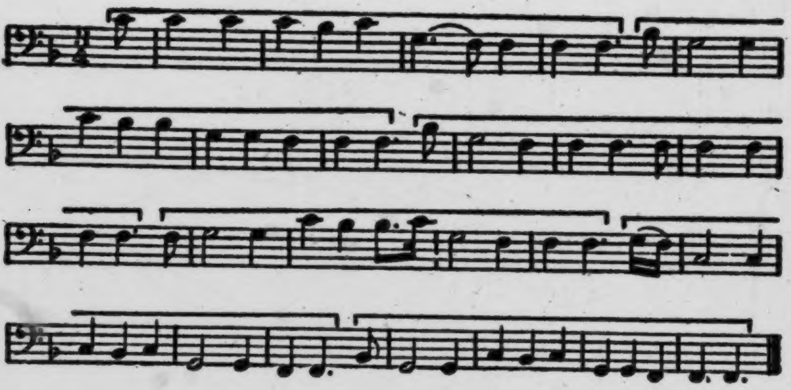
Ten obstacles were encountered by Morning Star and his companion, the first five being difficulties of travel, such as sharp flints and sword grass beneath their feet, and the last five being animals which attacked them, including the mountain lion, wildcat, buffalo, and bear. All these were placed in their way by Moon, who thought she could conquer them as she had conquered the others. But Morning Star carried a ball encased in such a manner that when he threw it the casing broke and it became a ball of fire. When throwing the ball he sang the following song, which was said to be one of the principal songs in the ceremony. Linton states that Morning Star struck the ground with his war club, closing the cracks made by Moon for his destruction, and that he sang a song with substantially the same words recorded by Coming Sun. [533*]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

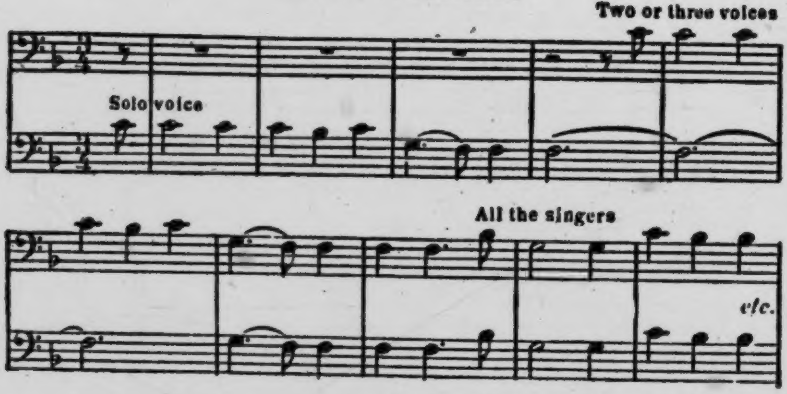
No. 1. Song of Morning Star (Catalogue No. 1162)

Sung by Coming Sun

*533
●773



Manner of rendition



FREE TRANSLATION

"This I did when I became angry, in order that in the future the earth might be formed." In later use the words "And I imitate this power" were added, referring to the persons using the song.

*533 [126
778]

Analysis.—This song was considered too sacred for phonographic recording and was orally taught to the writer by Coming Sun. For this reason the metronome time is not indicated. The manner of singing this and other ceremonial songs is indicated in the transcription, one voice singing the opening phrase, and holding a low tone while two or three voices repeat the opening phrase, after which all the voices proceed in unison. This melody is an example of interval formation. The only tones are F, G, B flat, and C, and the principal progressions

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

are whole tones between B flat and C, and between F and G. A 533+
similar melodic form occurs in Nos. 5 and 53. This song is transcribed
with the signature of the key of F and classified with songs lacking the
third above the keynote. The repetitions of the rhythmic unit are
six in number and comprise the entire melody. Slight differences
in the note values of the rhythmic unit occur in the latter part of
the song.

The tenth obstacle was not encountered by Morning Star until after 773
he entered the lodge of Evening Star. The obstacle was a snake, but
he overcame it, as he had overcome the others, by means of the ball of
fire and the song.

Evening Star saw that his power was greater than hers, but she determined
to hold him aloof as long as possible. Finally she insisted
that he make provision for the child that should be born; she even [854]
required him to provide perfumed water for bathing the child and a
cradle board in which it should be placed. On the hoop, or arch, of [531]
this cradle board was painted a morning star and the lightnings, this
custom being followed by the Pawnee at the present time. Evening
Star also required him to plant a tree in front of the lodge so that the
mocking birds might nest there and sing to the child. From this union
a daughter was born. She came down to earth and wandered about
in fear. As she was running hither and thither she met a boy, the
child of Sun and Moon, and these two became the ancestors of the
human race.

Morning Star made a bundle and placed in it various articles connected 778
with the obstacles he had overcome on his westward journey. 773
He left this bundle with Evening Star and for that reason a woman has
always been the keeper of the sacred bundle. Other articles have
been added from time to time and will be noted in this paper.

It is said that Evening Star required a human sacrifice as her reward. 796
This sacrifice must be a pure and beautiful maiden and she demanded 773
that the sacrifice be repeated annually. Long ago, Morning Star 782
sometimes appeared to a man in a dream and told him to secure a
maiden for this sacrifice. According to Linton, a man who had this [087]
vision went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received
the warrior's costume and the sacred objects kept for such an expedition. 796
Other warriors joined him and, preliminary to the expedition, 782
they enacted the journey of the Morning Star, and sang the
song with which he overcame the obstacles placed in his way.
(Cf. Song No. 1.) When the ceremony ended it was almost time for
the Morning Star to rise and the leader went outside the lodge and
addressed an invocation to him. After dancing furiously around their
fire and offering a last prayer to Morning Star the warriors started
forth and captured a maiden from the enemy. Returning, they gave

3; Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 ●[773] The next is considered one of the most valuable of the Buffalo dance songs. It was said to be concerning a buffalo and a crow. The buffalo heard the call of the crow and looked around thinking it might be an enemy, but he was not afraid of the crow.

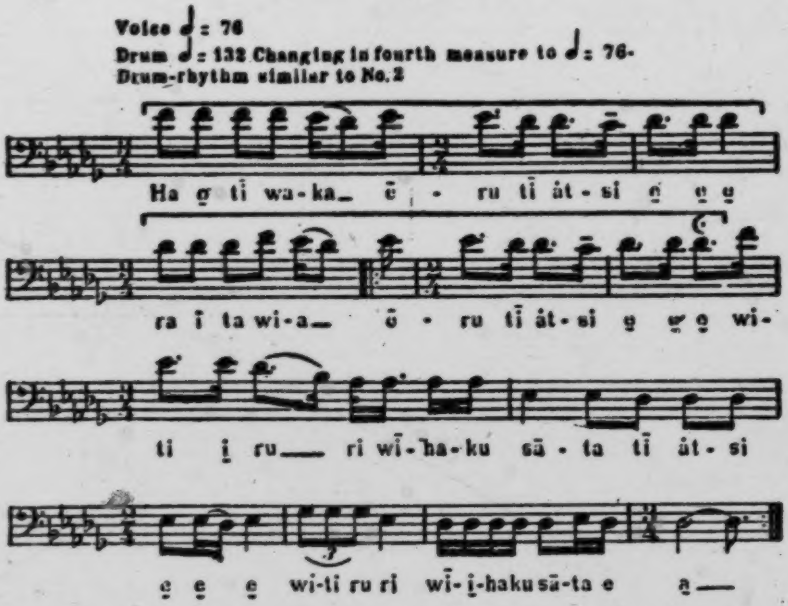
Analysis.—The change of metric unit from a quarter to an eighth note is clear in all renditions of this song, the time being maintained with special regularity in the 5-8 and 7-8 measures. The first phase is introductory in character, and the dotted eighth notes at the beginning of the third and fourth measures give an effect of vigor to the opening of the song. No rhythmic unit occurs, the changes in measure-lengths giving variety to the rhythm. There is a wide variety of intervals, including a major sixth and a fifth as well as fourths, major and minor thirds and major seconds. The song contains the tones of the fourth 5-toned scale.

*533
●[773]
In the herd was a very old buffalo. He had been lying down and when he tried to rise he fell down again. He was too old and heavy to get up. The next song is concerning this buffalo.

No. 4. "My Dear Father the Buffalo"

(Catalogue No. 1112)

Recorded by Wicita Blain


Voice ♩= 76
Drum ♩= 132 Changing in fourth measure to ♩= 76.
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2
Ha e ti wa-ka_ ē - ru tī át-si e e e
ra ī ta wi-a_ ō - ru tī át-si e e e wi-
ti i ru_ ri wī-ha-ku sā - ta tī át-si
e e e wi-ti ru ri wī-i-haku sā-ta e a_

Ha	ti	waka	ēru	tī	átsi[11]	ra	ī
Listen	it	said	dear	my	father	have	him

ta	wia	ēru	tī	átsi	witi
do	tell about	dear	my	father	is

ru	ri	wīhaku	sāta	tī	átsi
doing		heavy	going on	my	father

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said,
My dear father (the buffalo),
This is what I was told about it,
He is heavy, he goes on (if he falls he can not rise),
My father (the buffalo).

---

[11] Similar to atiás and tiáts, occurring in other songs.

Analysis.—This song was recorded on two phonographic cylinders, the only difference in the renditions being in the opening phrase. The second renditions were the clearer and the transcription is from that group. The song opens with a three-measure phrase which is designated as a rhythmic unit. This is repeated, and is followed by two phrases in a different rhythm which bring the song to a satisfactory close. Although the song has a compass of 10 tones the largest interval is a fourth. About two-thirds of the progressions are whole tones. The melody contains all the tones of the octave. 533* [126]

An abrupt change in the tempo of the drumbeat occurs in the fourth measure. Other Buffalo and Bear dance songs containing a similar change are Nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. After this change the drum and voice apparently have the same metric unit but do not always coincide. The metric unit of an Indian's musical performance often contains variations too small to be indicated. Thus in the present instance it can not be said that the drum consistently follows or precedes the voice. The general tempo of each is measured by the metronome and it can only be stated that they do not exactly coincide throughout the renditions of the song.

This and the three songs next following were inherited by the singer from his grandfather and his father. The name of the former was Tida'kawidik (House-full-of-people) and the name of the latter was Kiwi'kude' epaku (Buffalo-fighting). In this song the singer's grandfather is represented as driving the buffalo in the hunt. It was said that he "rode a white horse and frightened the buffalo for other men to shoot." 533* 424 224 773

Analysis.—The change of tempo in the drum is similar to that described with the song next preceding. The drum and voice rarely coincide except on the word *wia*, wherever it occurs. The drumbeat at the close of the song is as follows: The drum ceases after the first stroke on the final syllable of *wia* and begins rapidly at the close of the last measure, continuing in that tempo until the voice begins the repetition of the song. There is no uniformity in the space of time between the renditions of the song. The only tones occurring in this song are D, E, G, and A, and its melodic form resembles that of No. 1. Except for an ascending ninth the only intervals are fourths and whole tones, the latter comprising more than three-fourths of the progressions. The rhythmic unit is long and occupies only a portion of the song. 533*

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

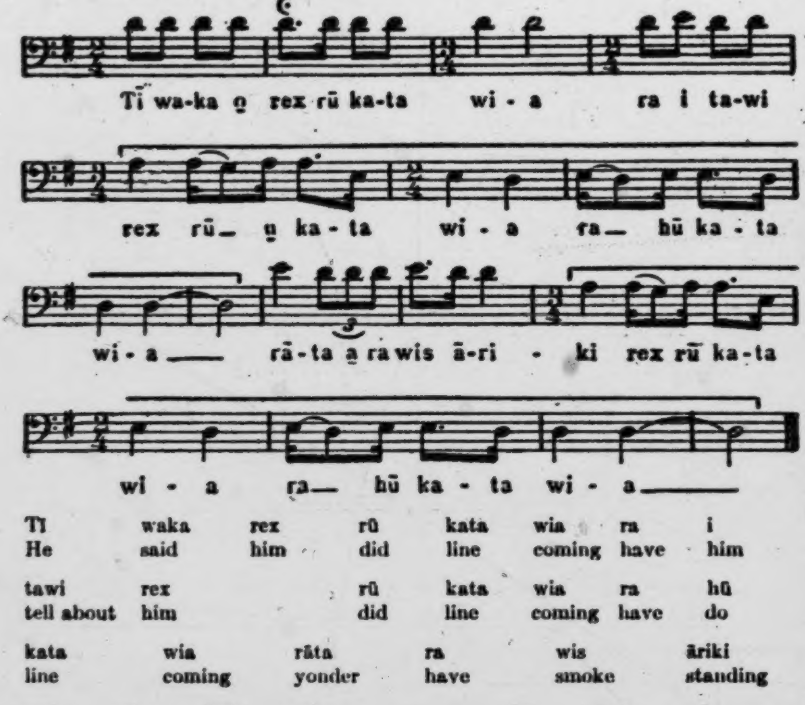
*533

No. 5. "Yonder the Smoke Was Standing"

(Catalogue No. 1109)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 116
Drum ♩ = 132 Changing to ♩ = 116
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Tī wa-ka o rex rū ka-ta wi - a ra i ta-wi
rex rū— u ka - ta wi - a ra— hū ka - ta
wi - a —— rā - ta a ra wis ā-ri - ki rex rū ka-ta
wi - a ra— hū ka - ta wi - a ——

Tī	waka	rex	rū	kata	wia	ra	i
He	said	him	did	line	coming	have	him
tawi	rex		rū	kata	wia	ra	hū
tell about	him		did	line	coming	have	do
kata	wia	rāta	ra	wis	āriki		
line	coming	yonder	have	smoke	standing		
rex	rū	kata	wia	ra	hū	kata	wia.
him	did	line	coming	have	do	line	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

He said, the man was coming along the line,
This is what I was told about it,
He was coming along the line,
Yonder the smoke was standing here and there,
He was coming along the line.

[773
224] The information concerning the next song is incomplete. It was said the woman who imitated the buffalo was shot through the back but not killed; that she lived a long time afterwards, left Nebraska with the Pawnee Tribe and died in Oklahoma; but the reason for her action is not indicated.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533

● [773

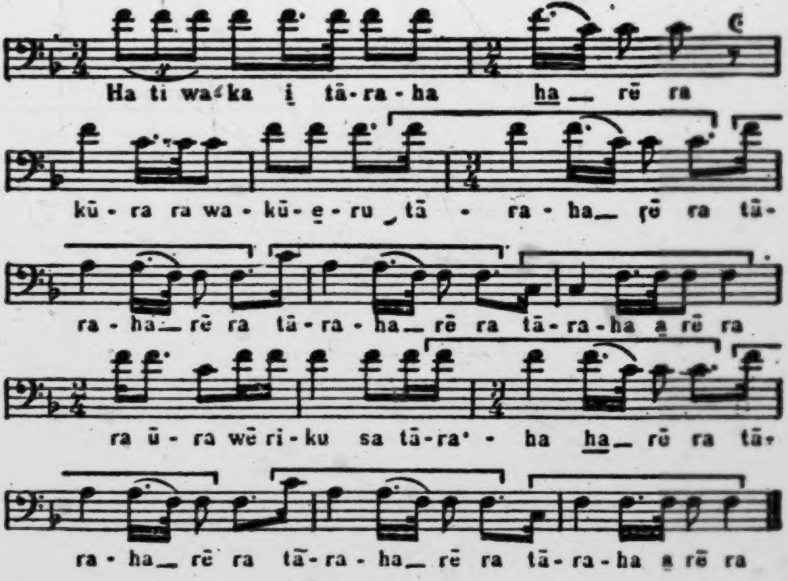
787] The next song is concerning a dream of buffalo by the singer's grandfather. He was in his lodge when he saw an animal approaching. In the distance he thought it was a horse, but when it came nearer he saw that it was a buffalo. That night he dreamed of a horse that turned into a buffalo and told him of many good things that would happen to him.

No. 7. "The Buffalo Are Coming"

(Catalogue No. 1115)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 96
Drum ♩ = 138 Changing to ♩ = 96
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Ha ti wa-ka i tā-ra-ha ha— rē ra
kū-ra ra wa-kū-e-ru tā - ra-ha— rē ra tā-
ra-ha— rē ra tā-ra-ha— rē ra tā-ra-ha a rē ra
ra ū-ra wē ri-ku sa tā-ra'- ha ha— rē ra tā-
ra-ha— rē ra tā-ra-ha— rē ra tā-ra-ha a rē ra

Ha	ti	waka	tāraha	rē	ra	kūra
Listen	he	said	buffalo	yonder	coming	his
ra	wakūru	ra	ūra	wē	riku	sa
have	sayings	walking	have	do	stand	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said, yonder the buffalo are coming,
These are his sayings, yonder the buffalo are coming,
They walk, they stand, they are coming,
Yonder the buffalo are coming.

Analysis.—This song is harmonic in structure and has a compass of 11 tones. The intervals are unusually large, only six being smaller than a fourth. It has been noted that the interval of a fourth appears

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

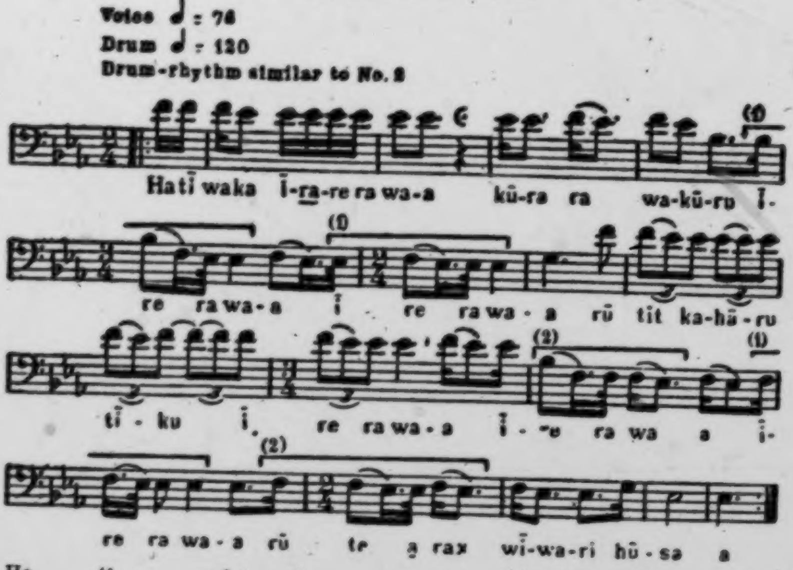
to characterize songs associated with animals and with motion. This interval comprises 14 of the 25 progressions in this song. The final tone is preceded by a fourth lower, as in No. 2. A rhythmic unit occurs several times and the characteristic count division of the unit occurs in the opening portion of the song. 533*

Long ago an old man named Nara'dudesa'ru had a dream and in his dream he saw a cloud of dust rolling along the ground. He sat and looked at the dust a long time until late in the afternoon. Then it looked like a crowd of people, but after the dust storm had passed he saw a great herd of buffalo. [787 773]

No. 8. "The Waves of Dust"

(Catalogue No. 1113)

Recorded by Wicita Blain


Voice ♩ = 76
Drum ♩ = 120
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2
Hatī waka ī-ra-re ra wa-a kū-ra ra wa-kū-ru ī-
re ra wa-a ī re ra wa-a rū tit ka-hā-ru
tī-ku ī re ra wa-a ī-re ra wa a ī-
re ra wa-a rū te a rax wī-wa-ri hū-sa a
(1)
(2)

Ha	ti	waka	ire	ra	waa [19]	kūra	ra
Listen	he	said	there	have do	coming	his	have
wakūru	ire	ra	waa	rū	tit	kahāru	
sayings	there	have	coming	did	dust	earth	
tiku	ire	ra	waa	rūte	rax		
wave downward	there	have	coming	do	them		
wiwari	hūsa						
wallow	marked place						

---

[19] This word signifies a great mass in motion.

[192]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
These are his sayings,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
The waves of dust roll downward,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
They mark the place of the buffalo wallow.

Analysis.—This melody contains only the tones E flat, F and B flat, except G which occurs as next to the last note. This occurrence of G, however, makes possible the classification of the song as major in tonality. The song has a compass of 9 tones and its progressions consist of 28 whole tones and 7 larger intervals. The opening portion of the song suggests a chant and is followed by a rest. This is succeeded by a 3-measure phrase with a clear-cut rhythm and a descending trend of 9 tones. After a repetition of the rhythmic unit the song returns to the whole tone progressions on the highest tones of the compass. This phrase is followed by a second rhythmic unit. In several renditions the portions of the song resembling a chant were sung softly, the singer changing to a loud tone at the beginning of the rhythmic phrases. The drumbeat was in the same tempo throughout this song, differing from other ceremonial songs in which the drumbeat was rapid in the opening measures.

*533
787
● 773

The next song is also concerning a dream of buffalo. The herd was scattered and a man was watching them. One of the buffalo lay down. The man wondered why the buffalo had lain down. That night he dreamed about the buffalo, who said that he had "taken pity" on the man. The buffalo promised the man that he would live to old age and be able to foretell events a long time before they came to pass.

*533

Analysis.—This song is unusual in containing no interval of a whole tone. It contains 30 progressions, 12 of which are semitones and 11 are minor thirds. The transcription is from the first rendition, the tempo of the drum changing abruptly on the fourth measure as in certain other songs of this group. The tempo of the voice increased during the latter portion of the rendition and in the subsequent renditions. Such hastening of the tempo is not customary among Indians and was probably due to agitation on the part of the singer, who was totally blind. The rhythmic unit is not distinctive but occurred several times.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

song was sung twice. The connective phrase occurred between the second and third, and the fourth and fifth renditions. The song has a compass of nine tones, and progresses by whole tones except for three other intervals which occur only in downward progression. 533*

BEAR DANCE

There was no opportunity to witness this dance, and its details were not made a subject of inquiry. Ten songs of the dance were recorded, the first five by a member of the Chaui Band and the last five by a member of the Skidi Band. These two groups of songs are strikingly different in musical character. [123 126]

The next song was sung when all the participants in the Bear dance were seated. "Mother" was said to refer to the moon, and there was said to be a similar song containing the word "Father." A young man received this song in a dream, while mourning for his parents who had died. He saw a woman coming toward him, and said, "Mother is coming." The woman said," You have seen me, now you must learn this song." The young man learned the song, lived a long time afterwards, and took part in the Bear dance. When the song is used ceremonially there are six "stops" or verses, the general meaning of which is as follows: 533* 773● 787 533*

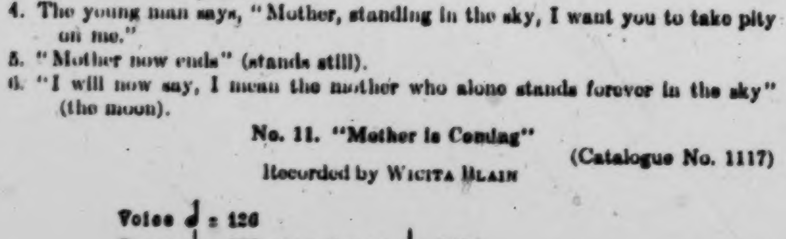
1. "Mother is coming."
2. The young man, devotional by nature, imagines that he is still mourning for his parents.
3. "Mother stands yonder."
4. The young man says, "Mother, standing in the sky, I want you to take pity on me."
5. "Mother now ends" (stands still).
6. "I will now say, I mean the mother who alone stands forever in the sky" (the moon).

No. 11. "Mother is Coming"

(Catalogue No. 1117)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 126
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 138, changing to 𝅗𝅥 = 126
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 3



*533 *Analysis.*—All the tones of the octave except the sixth and seventh occur in this song, which has a compass of 11 tones and is melodic in structure. It begins on next to the highest tone of the compass and ends on the lowest, which is the keynote. The rhythm is energetic and the phrases with continuously descending trend are somewhat unusual. The change in the tempo of the drum has been described in connection with other songs of this group.

773
825
*533
In the next song we have an expression of the belief that a bear derives his "medicine power" from the sun and that the center of that power is in his palms. He stands facing the dawn in order that the first rays of the sun may strike his paws, upheld for the purpose. In this manner he renews his power from the sun. (Cf. Song 16.)

An old man named Lata'piū, long ago, fell asleep, and when he awoke he saw a strange sight. The sun was rising and a bear was pointing at the sunrise. The old man made this song about his vision and whenever he saw the sunrise he sang the song. Ever since that time the song has been used in the Bear dance.

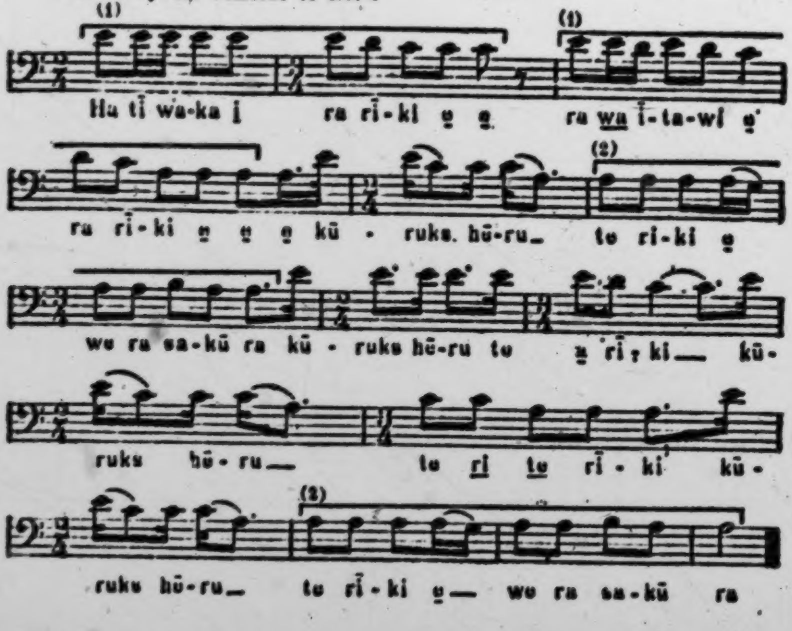
*533

No. 12. "The Bear is Pointing at the Sun"

(Catalogue No. 1110)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 76
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 132 Changing to 𝅗𝅥 = 76
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


(1)
(1)
Ha ti wa-ka i ra ri-ki e e ra wa i-ta-wi e
(2)
ra ri-ki e e e kū - ruks hū-ru te ri-ki e
we ra sa-kū ra kū - ruks hē-ru te e ri - ki kū-
ruks hū - ru te ri te ri - ki kū-
(2)
ruks hū-ru te ri - ki e we ra sa-kū ra

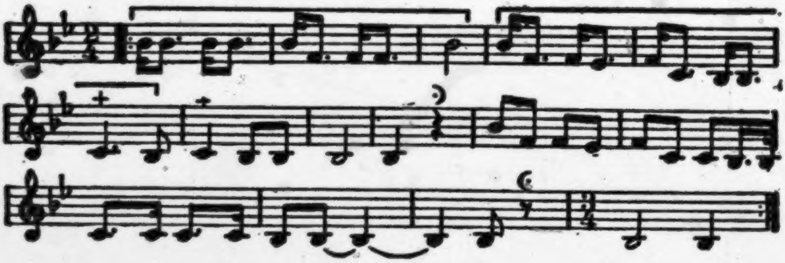
tervals are fourths and major seconds. Drum and voice are different in tempo, each being maintained with regularity. 533*

No. 71. "Other Girls Are as Pretty as She"

(Catalogue No. 1101)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 112
Drum ♩ = 120
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



A modern love song (not transcribed) was translated as follows: "That lady loves me. I bet she is thinking of me." It was said to be the song of a man already married who wanted the person mentioned in the song to elope with him. 533* 832

Songs of this class were preceded by the syllable *ee–ee* on a low tone in imitation of a flute. The informant said "the flute was courting medicine of a bad kind." [534]

MYTHS AND FOLK TALES

The Pawnee possessed many stories pertaining to the origin of sacred bundles and the doings of mythological persons. Concerning such stories Doctor Dorsey states: "These tales, as a rule, are told only during ceremonies, especially during the intermissions or pauses in the ceremony which occur from time to time between rites, or during resting periods in the chanting of a long ritual. During such intermissions anyone of those present may ask the priests for such a tale. Especially is it the privilege of the one who has made the ceremony possible, by providing the food for the sacrifice and feast, to ask that such a tale be related. These tales may also, under certain circumstances, be told outside the ceremonial lodge . . . and the chief object in relating them is to furnish instruction."[34] Such stories gradually passed into current knowledge and were told as folk tales by any member of the tribe without mention of their religious significance. 773● 538

---

[34] Dorsey, The Pawnee: Mythology (Pt. I), Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publ. No. 59, Washington, 1906.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

773 The first three stories of the following group are versions of old
538 legends connected with the mythology of the tribe, while the fourth
539 story in the group appears to be an ordinary folk tale. It differs from the others in that the entire narrative was sung. (Cf. Rudimentary Songs, Northern Ute music, pp. 200–205.)

539 In the first story we find an interesting resemblance to a story recorded in southern Arizona.[34]

STORY OF THE GAMBLER

RELATED BY FANNIE CHAPMAN

In a certain village were two young boys. They were good-looking lads and wore their hair long on the right side of the head. One day the younger boy thought he would go to another village in the woods. When he came near this village he saw the smoke of a tipi that stood by itself among the willows. He went there and stood outside the entrance.

In this tipi lived an old woman and her three granddaughters. The old woman told the youngest girl to go outside and see if anyone was there. The girl saw the strange lad and returned, saying, "O grandmother, there is a good-looking young man outside." The old woman went to speak with him and said, "You had better go to some village where the people have more money. We are very poor." But the lad replied, "No. I came here and this is where I belong." The old woman said, "Well, come in," and the boy entered the tipi. Later the old woman said, "You had better go away for the chief of our band is very unkind to strangers. You must watch, for Long-nose (Coyote) will come before daylight to see if anyone is here. He will see you and tell the chief, who will ask you to breakfast. If he offers you dry pumpkin do not eat it, nor corn, nor mush. Bring it home with you."

Before daylight, as the old woman had predicted, Coyote came to see if anyone was in the tipi. The old woman said, "See my grandson, how good-looking he is. He ought to go where the big men are." Coyote ran at once to the chief and said, "O chief, there is a good looking young man down at the old woman's tipi. When you kill him he will be the leader of your heads." (Referring to a row of the heads of men killed by the chief that had been put in his tipi.) The chief said, "Run down to the old woman's tipi and bring the young man. I want to feast him." Coyote ran as fast as he could. The old woman saw him coming and again told the young man not to eat anything but to bring the food home. Coyote said to the young man, "You certainly are good-looking." When the chief saw the young man he said, "I sent for you to eat with me," and offered him dry

---

[34] Story of the Gambler, Papago Music, Bull. 90, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 35–54. Cf. also Dorsey, op. cit., pp. 185–191.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 rattles all the time. The Pawnee will hear him and kill us all. Make him stop." But the little snake kept on. He even went beside the road and rattled his rattle very loud.

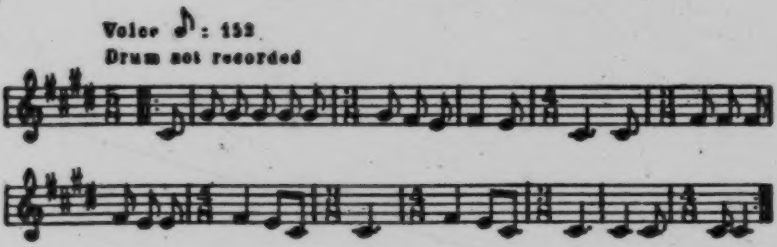
One day a girl came along the road and the little snake thought she was a chief's daughter. He bit her foot and she turned quickly and crushed his head. The other snakes found him and the brother said, "Father, didn't I tell you that one of us would be killed? There is my little brother with his head smashed." That is the end of the story.

No. 77. The Little Rattlesnake

(Catalogue No. 1077)

Recorded by Effie Blain

*533
539



Analysis.—Six renditions of this song were recorded and the time values in all were as indicated in the transcription. The principal progression in the song is F sharp–E, followed by C sharp. Thus the tone material is practically the minor third and fourth, although the fifth occurs in the opening measure. The song begins and ends on the same tone, which is somewhat unusual in Indian songs.

UNCLASSIFIED SONGS

● 773 231 825 When the Pawnee first saw a horse they were frightened. Some ran away and others said, "I wonder what he is dragging behind him" (referring to his tail). A great crowd of people was looking at the horse. At last someone said, "Why are you afraid of this animal. He is very useful. He can carry you and your packs. You can get on him and he will take you from place to place so that you can kill game." Ever since that time the Pawnee have owned horses, and found that horses could work for them.

631 778 796 represent the powers in the four quarters of the world and also stand for spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but in no fixed order, the season a bundle represents being determined by the order of the ceremony.

631 773 A brief abstract of the mythical account of the inauguration of this federation may make the foregoing clearer:—

[778] [796]

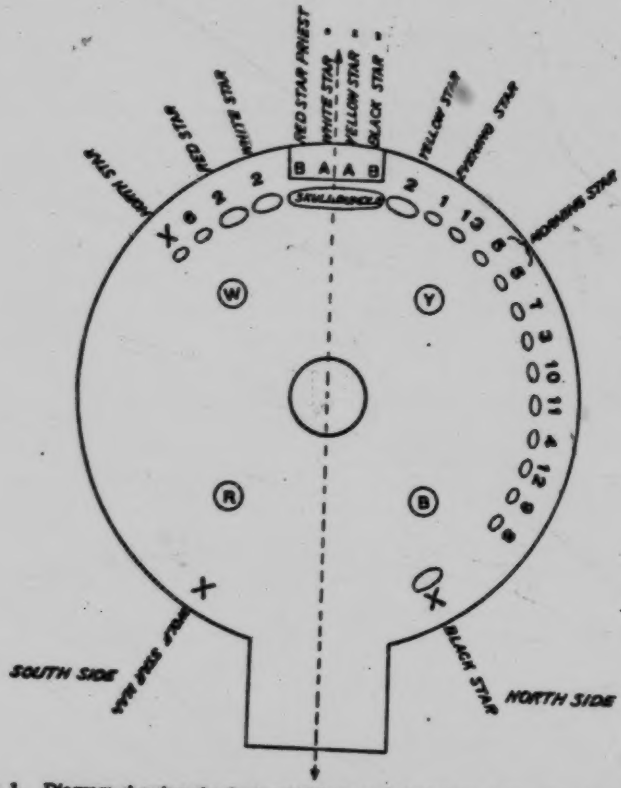
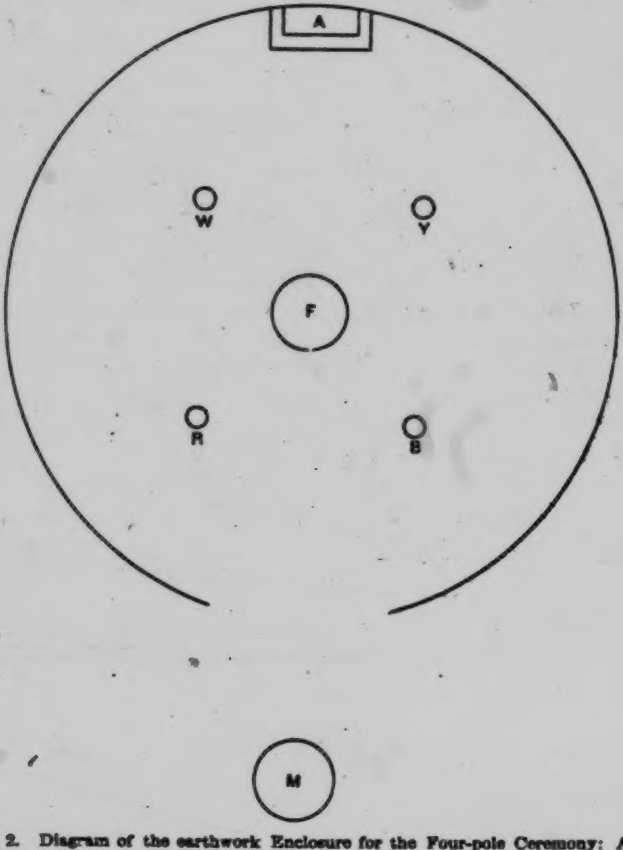

NORTH STAR
RED STAR
WHITE STAR
RED STAR PRIEST
WHITE STAR
YELLOW STAR
BLACK STAR
YELLOW STAR
EVENING STAR
MORNING STAR
B A A B
SKULL BUNDLE
2
2
6
2
1
13
5
5
7
3
10
11
4
12
8
8
W
Y
R
B
SOUTH SIDE
BLACK STAR
NORTH SIDE

Fig. 1. Diagram showing the Seats of Priests and their Village Bundles, in the Four-pole Ceremony. The numerals are from the table of villages in the text. The places of the four main bundles and the special bundles are designated by their respective names.

Evening Star (Venus) is the keeper of the firesticks which she received when she married Morning Star (Mars). He was the ruling spirit to the east of the milky way. Evening Star was a beautiful woman and very powerful. She was opposed to the creation of the earth and man and had overcome all the stars seeking her in marriage. Supporting her were four great powers, or stars, the Bear, Panther, Wildcat, and Wolf. There was also a great serpent group of stars. Morning Star

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

overcame all of these in turn. Thus, he secured Evening Star. Then follows the familiar vanquishing of vaginal teeth. In course of time, a daughter was born. 631 The earth was then created for the home of this child. The Sun and Moon became 773 parents of a boy and he also was placed upon the earth.



[346]
[778]
[796]

Fig. 2. Diagram of the earthwork Enclosure for the Four-pole Ceremony: A, altar for the buffalo skull; W, white pole (cottonwood); Y, yellow pole (willow); R, red pole (box alder); B, black pole (elm); F, fire pit; M, earth taken from the fire pit. During the ceremony a screen of green branches is set up inside the embankment. The poles are young trees trimmed to a few branches at the top. The seats and positions of bundles were as shown in Fig. 1.

After many years when the people were numerous, Morning Star demanded a human sacrifice as a return for his trials. Evening Star gave one man and woman directions for making the Yellow Calf bundle. Then Evening Star told him that there were many people scattered over the earth and that he should call them to-

631 773 **gether. So Errand Man was sent out. From each village came the people with their sacred bundle. Errand Man told the chief that upon Elkhorn River he found a village of earth-lodges covered with squash vines in which a bundle ceremony was going on in consequence of which they refused to come. Also on Looking Glass Creek he came to a village where the people had just performed a ceremony to call the buffalo and as the buffalo were at hand, they could not accept the invitation. Most of the buffalo were killed upon the ice which during the day was covered with water. The wolves stood around the carcasses and many were caught by the feet as the ice formed at night. So these two villages did not take part in the general bundle ceremony and were known as the Squash Vine and Wolf-standing-in-the-water.**

Those who had assembled now performed the four-pole ceremony. The keeper of the bundle and his priest occupied their regular seats at the back of the lodge and as the bundles of other villages arrived those from the north took seats on that side and those from the south upon the other. The village of the host was then called Center Village.

622 631 The special federation of these Skidi villages necessitated a governing organization different from that of the other divisions. The governing body was a society of chiefs, twelve or more in number. It seems that in principle there was to be one chief for each village bundle, though as such he had nothing to do with the bundle. When the chiefs society met in a lodge they took their seats in the same order as indicated in the diagram of the four-pole ceremony, but the bundles were not brought into the lodge. [202] Two errand men were members and sat by the door.[1] The chiefs were of equal rank and inherited their office. However, there was some selection, for the elderly men filled vacancies from those directly descended from chiefs. All the chiefs taken together constituted the tribal council of the Skidi.

631 793 The chiefs are, however, not the highest authority, that distinction belonging to the priests of the four main bundles. Their office is hereditary; each priest selects an assistant from his near relatives who thus becomes qualified to become priest in turn. In rotation the four leading priests take over the responsibility for the welfare of the people for one year, counting from the first thunder in the spring until fall. This chief priest is the highest authority; he is the source of final appeal and to him all acts of the 224 631 778 793 council of chiefs must be referred. The buffalo hunt in particular must be regulated according to the ritual of the bundle whose priest happens to be in charge. As noted above, the Red Calf bundle is superior to the leading bundles, but its priest cannot exercise authority except he be

---

[1] As noted above, two villages refused to join in the federation. Later, they were taken in and their chiefs were given seats in the vacant place on the south side of the lodge, but they were not permitted to enter the four-pole ceremony.

575 for war. In fact, this is the society that is called upon to police the buffalo hunt and in this capacity the members conduct themselves as described above. As an organization it is the counterpart of the Skidi two lance society.

THE THUNDERBIRD LANCE.

The raris kuhat, or thunderbird lance society is found among the Skidi and the Squash Vine people. The following account is from data supplied by the Skidi.

[825] In winter the members procure the thunderbird (in this case the swan, though outsiders are led to believe it to be the eagle) which is skinned by the leader as in the case of the preceding society. The feathers are plucked, leaving the down upon the skin, and with this the lance is wrapped at the renewing ceremony in the spring. This society is never called upon to act [721] as police in the buffalo hunt, but for leadership and defense in war; in this respect whatever was said of the preceding society, applies equally well [821] [823] here. The point of the lance is of flint stone because this stone is believed to be related to the thunders since it is said that such will be found wherever the lightning strikes. Thus, this stone lance head symbolizes the power to strike down a person before he is aware of danger.

As stated before, the trophies of victory may be turned over to this society that they may inaugurate the victory dance and as it progresses, the whole is turned over to the women. In former times, it was the custom for the sexes to mingle freely without restraint and during the dance.

In the Squash Vine village the lances were wrapped with loonskin instead of swan and loon heads were placed on the end of the curved top; also some loon feathers. On the sinew string were soft down feathers. Four old men were taken in to recount the deeds of the members.

THE CROW LANCE.

The hatu^{h}ka society was found among each of the four divisions but not in the independent villages. It was everywhere the same, except that the [184] peculiar feature of tying the members together was practised by the Skidi alone. In all cases this society was the last to renew in the spring, disband in the winter, to leave the line of battle, to follow the camp, etc.

The following account applies particularly to the Skidi: —

575 773 The name usually given this society is hatu^{h}ka (those coming behind), so named because of their peculiar custom of marching at the extreme rear of the tribal procession. The society is said to have been handed down by the crows but in reality

was derived from blackbirds, the kind that feed around grazing horses and buffalo. 575
A long time ago a hunter was walking along a ravine. Presently he heard war cries and shouting. He was badly scared and ran, but the cries still pursued him. 773 Becoming tired, he took his stand, bow in hand, for the enemy seemed near, singing and shouting. Finally, they came up. He heard one division going on one side of him, another on the opposite side, and stood ready to shoot down the first man to appear. But as they passed by he saw only flocks of crows, blackbirds, and packs of wolves. He saw no human beings among them. Yet he sat down and watched because he felt sure that they were human and that they had a lance among them.

He noticed that the birds came together as also did the wolves. The birds flew upward in a circle and then took a position resembling a lance, so the man thought. Then he fell asleep and dreamed of a blackbird. In his dream the blackbird told him that all that had happened was merely a test of his bravery. At first, he had appeared cowardly, but finally proved his courage. The birds and animals had decided to give him a lance with which he could originate the hatu^{h}ka society. The birds would teach him the songs, but there would be no dancing. The lance was to be of ash, hooked at the end, and wrapped with the tanned skin of a bull calf. Crow feathers which the birds would give him were to be attached at intervals, while the whole was to be daubed with white clay. The blackbird said that the man would obtain a medicine root for the use of the society. When painting, only soot was to be used. Thus, in his dream he was taught all the details of the regalia and practices of the hatu^{h}ka society.

When the man awoke he proceeded to the place where he had seen a tall weed which he took to be the medicine promised him. Here he gathered up the crow feathers which he took home. He did not tell the people of his vision on the plains. Instead, he wrapped the feathers and the medicine root in a piece of tanned buffalo hide which he tied to one of the lodge poles on the inside. At night he filled his pipe; first he gave a whiff to Tirawahat, a few whiffs to the birds, and then smoked nonceremonially.

That night he dreamed again. He saw a line of singing men all daubed with soot. They were strung along a buffalo rope drawn through their belts. When he awoke he sang a peculiar song which aroused the curiosity of the other people. Again and again he dreamed of the same men and each time learned a new song. One time he sat in his lodge singing the songs he had learned and was joined by another man who learned them from him. They in turn were joined by others from time to time.

When quite a number knew the songs, the man told them his dream experiences and announced his intention of organizing the society about which he had dreamed. He told them it would be difficult, as evidenced by the songs they already knew; that bravery was necessary; that they should know no fear of death; and that they were to act as protectors of the tribe. [534] In their ceremonies, two rattles were to be used. Drums were not permitted. Each member had a quiver with bow and arrows slung over his shoulder.

The society owned a buffalo hide rope. 575 Each member was compelled to provide a crow feather for the lance so that it would have a claim upon his bravery. The lance had to be covered with tanned buffalo calf skin.

The members of the society did not act as soldiers. Instead they were strung together in battle and marched in the rear of the tribe on all occasions.

While on a buffalo hunt they procured all the necessary paraphernalia. On their return to the village the new members met at the originator's lodge to sing the songs

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly 776 responsible. 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of conse- 292 crating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were cere- 796 monial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies.

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected 224 to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires.

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the 361 ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed.

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must 622 pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and 756 what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water 782 animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social inter- [565] course. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. [773] The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.)

lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may 611
have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, 421
if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of 778
descent in the village group would arise only as the result of in- 114
frequent inter-village marriages.]

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that 621
one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where 778
it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village 773
it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each 621
village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the 778
ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi 796
villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the 621
villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly 778
had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were 103
extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

IV. KINSHIP

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The Skidi recognized ten primary forms of blood relationship. These were conceived as having divine origin, for it is claimed that Tirawa said that a woman shall have a grandmother, a mother, a grandchild, a sister, and a child; and a man shall have a grandfather, a father, an uncle, a nephew, and a brother. 601 [793]

There follows a table of relationship terms:

MALE SPEAKER

Skidi term	Descriptive term
atias	father father's brother father's father's father mother's mother's father father's sister's son
atira	mother mother's sister father's brother's wife father's sister father's sister's daughter father's father's mother
atipat	father's father father's sister's husband mother's sister's husband mother's mother's husband
atika	mother's mother father's mother
tiwasiriks	mother's brother
irari	brother father's brother's son mother's sister's son
itahi	sister father's brother's daughter mother's sister's daughter
tiwat	sister's son sister's daughter
pirao	son daughter brother's son brother's daughter mother's brother's son mother's brother's daughter
ruktiki	son's son son's daughter daughter's son daughter's daughter sister's son's son sister's son's daughter sister's daughter's son sister's daughter's daughter

kill her, and after he had followed her a long distance she changed 843
herself back into a woman. They lived together for several years. 538
In the meantime it was thought that the man had been killed. Finally she accompanied him to his village as his wife, where she gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl. They grew up and took their proper places in the village. At first the deer wife disliked living in the village and often tried to run away, but afterwards she became reconciled and gave birth to other twins. Thereafter her descendants in the female line always gave birth to twins, and from this woman are supposed to be descended all the twins ever born among the Skidi.

Finally, it may be noted that [illegible] pregnant woman could come 843
near the ceremonial contests where the medicine-men threw their 784
medicine "arrows" at each other. Ordinarily she might be a very powerful medicine-woman and be able to protect herself from the "arrows" of her opponents, but during this period her thought and mind were on her child and consequently she could not ward off the "arrows," which would fly to her and kill her.

On the first indication of labor the husband left the lodge and 844
did not return to his wife for four days, as his presence during this time was thought to increase the difficulty of birth. The husband continued to observe the restrictions on his conduct, such as abstention from hunting, which were in force during the period of pregnancy.
Also he unbraided his hair and wore it loose, for it was believed [302]
that Tirawa wore his hair in this manner when he was creating [773]
the universe.

With the approach of labor the wife herself selected an old woman, who was usually a medicine-woman or the keeper of a sacred bundle, to be midwife. The latter came, bringing her medicine bag and a wooden bowl in which to wash the child. Sometimes the bowl was covered with representations of a dog, goose, deer, or some other animal, so that when the child grew up it would possess the magic power of the animal depicted. On arriving at the lodge, the midwife brought in some fresh earth and spread it upon the floor. Over this she put a thick covering of soft grass. The flow of blood following delivery could thereby be absorbed by the earth and grass and the whole easily removed. Next several parfleches were piled for a head-rest, and the pregnant woman was laid in the place prepared for her.

With the beginning of labor the mother was given some medicine by the midwife and told that it would relieve her and make for an easy birth. Should the woman give birth before the arrival of

MEDICINE-MEN

Like the chief and the priest, the medicine-man held a position 791
of honor among the Skidi. His office was supposed to have been 756
created by Tirawa immediately after he had instituted the office of 565
chief, at which time Tirawa said: "I shall give you (chief) a companion [773]
who will understand certain beings who command all the
spirits of the earth. He shall learn from them the different curative [538]
powers, and shall be your equal, but he will not command, for it
will be his duty to wait on the sick." At this time Tirawa gave the
medicine-man the blue clay he wore over his body during ceremonies,
the wing of a black eagle to be used in his left hand, and a gourd [778]
rattle to be held in his right.

The medicine-men derived their powers from supernatural beings who were usually identified with animals. At birth a child came under the influence of a supernatural being—a particular star shining especially bright—who was supposed to manifest himself later in the child's life. Usually this manifestation occurred when the child fell ill, at which time medicine-men were sent for. When the right one appeared, he could cure the child, for he possessed the power from an animal which in turn had received its power from the star noted above. Thus the child was made aware of the particular animal guardian which was to influence his career. When he grew to be a young man he might become a medicine-man through a supernatural experience during which power was given him directly by his guardian, or, as was more common, he applied for instruction to some medicine-man who had received power from the same guardian. With the latter's consent, the young man became his pupil, paying for the knowledge received. [Further details regarding medicine-men have been published by Linton, 1923b.]

In many ways the medicine-men ingratiated themselves with the people. One of the best examples occurred during the fall performance of the great ceremony of the Skidi medicine-men. On the first night they visited all the village lodges containing sacred altars, and on the following night made a general tour of the village offering their services free of charge.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

This group probably represented less than one-half the members 554
of the band. They were distinguished by the fact that they were 565
without influence or power, their lodges were smaller and not so
completely furnished, they had few or no ponies, and were often the [736]
objects of charity.

made as a result of some sign in the star itself, as when 796
it appeared especially bright, or in years when there 787
was a comet in the sky. It might also be performed 821
without any direct intervention of the Morning Star,
if some warrior had captured a suitable victim.

In this ceremony there was, coupled with the idea 796
of sacrifice, an attempt to repeat the acts performed
by the Morning Star in ancient times. These acts are
recorded in a number of myths, not always consistent,
of which the following is a good example:—

LEGEND

A long time ago Tirawa made the stars and gave 539
them great power. He gave most of his power to the 773
Morning star, who had a younger brother, the Sun. The Morning Star helped the Sun to have light. When Tirawa placed the stars in the heavens, they were just like human beings. In the east he placed those stars which were like men and gave the Morning Star and the Sun rule over them. In the west he placed those which were like women, with the Evening Star and the Moon as their rulers. Each had their village in the heavens, and the eastern stars knew that the western stars were women. After awhile some of the eastern stars sought the western stars in marriage. When the women stars saw a man star coming, they would tell the Moon, and she would go out to meet him. She would ask him why he came, and he would say, "I come to marry one of the women." She would answer, "That is what we want, come with me." They would walk together till they came in sight of the village. Then the Moon would stop and make a motion, and the ground would open so that the man star fell through and was killed. At last the Morning Star decided to go. He took with him his younger brother, the Sun, who carried upon his back a sacred bundle with a war club. As they traveled, the Morning Star went before

539 773 the Sun just as he still does. After a while they came within sight of the Evening Star village. They sat down and placed the sacred bundle in front of them. From where they sat, they could see the women stars playing all sorts of games outside their village. After a while the Moon came to them as she had come to the others. She asked, "Why do you come here?" The Morning Star said, "It is now time that we mingle and become one people. It is not right for part of us to be on the west and part on the east side." She said, "Good. I am glad you came and brought that bundle which you have in front of you. My thoughts are about that bundle." She invited them to come to the village, and they rose and followed. When they had gone a little way, she stopped them, and the Morning Star saw that the ground under them was cracking. The Moon called to them, "Come on! Are you afraid?" The Morning Star answered, "No. I am determined to have you." He took the war club from his younger brother and sang:—

"I become myself when I become angry.
With the war club I strike the earth.
I strike the ground and undo the power of the Moon."

Then he struck the ground, and the cracks closed up, and it became firm. The Moon cried, "These are powerful men. They have destroyed my mother." By her mother she meant the power which was her own. Her powers had been given her by the Evening Star.

After the first obstacle, they went on until they came to a bed of flints too sharp to be walked over, then to a thick wood of locust trees, then to a place where it was very hot, then to a bed of cactus, then to a long stretch of sword grass. At each of these obstacles the Morning Star sang his song and struck the ground with his war club so that the obstacle disappeared. When they had passed these dangers, they

came to magic animals which attacked them, first snakes, then water animals, then buffalo, and last bears. Each of these in turn the Morning Star killed with his club. Then the Moon had no more powers left, and the Morning Star and the Sun entered the village of the women stars. The Morning Star married the Evening Star, and the Sun married the Moon. They took them back to their own village. After a time a child was born to each couple, and these children were placed on earth. They married, and from them sprang the human race. 539 773

The Moon put all these obstacles in the way of the Morning Star, because she did not want the people on earth, in after times, to live forever. All these obstacles were sicknesses and troubles which would be brought down upon the people. But the Morning Star and the Sun can give power to men to destroy these ills just as they themselves destroyed the obstacles.

It has already been said that the sacrifice was most commonly made as a result of a dream or vision in which the Morning Star demanded it. Immediately on waking in the morning, the man who had had the dream went outside his lodge and began crying and mourning, his cries gradually becoming a song. He sang:— 787 796 [533] [539]

"When he comes.
When he comes.
Father, I am seeking for you."

By this song he let the people know that he had seen the Morning Star in a vision.

It is said that the man who had had the vision sometimes did not obey the Morning Star, but more often he could neither sleep nor rest until he had captured a maiden for sacrifices. As soon as possible after the vision he went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received from him the warrior's cos- 721 796

black, and symbolized the northeast; and its animal 417
guardian, the bear. The second was red, symbolizing 782
the southeast and the wolf. The third was yellow, 796
symbolizing the northwest and the mountain lion; and 822
the fourth white, symbolizing the southwest and the wildcat. The top cross-bar represented the west, and was painted blue or black and white, symbolizing clouds and rain.

By the time the scaffold was completed, it was 796
about sunset, and the people dispersed. All spectators 773
were sent out of the lodge, and the door was closed. The chief priest then drew upon the floor of the lodge four circles, one for each of the world quarters, and outlined them with white downy feathers. Each of these circles represented a region penetrated by the Morning Star in his search for the Evening Star and also the magic animal which he had overcome there. The white feathers symbolized the foam about their
mouths when they attacked him. When the circles had [533]
been made, the spectators were re-admitted, and the [535]
priests sang a song descriptive of the journey of the Morning Star, while the chief priest danced around the lodge with a war club, destroying the circles one by one. When the song was finished, he straightened up and said, "Chiefs, priests, warriors, old men, I have destroyed the regions once controlled by the mysterious woman who wanted darkness forever. These animals were under her control, when the Morning Star traveled in darkness looking for her. She placed an obstacle in the southeast, which was controlled by the wolf. The Morning Star destroyed this obstacle, but preserved the mysterious animal. He continued his journey, traveled to the southwest, and again met an obstacle which he destroyed, but preserved the animal, a wildcat. He continued his journey, and when he came to the northwest, he again met an obstacle. He des-

796 troyed it, but preserved the animal, a mountain lion.
773 He went on to the northeast, and again destroyed an obstacle, but preserved its guardian, the bear. In the center of the earth in darkness he found the woman, conquered her, touched her with his war club, and turned her into the earth. The Morning Star then called the mysterious animals to him and said, "You beings are now under my control. Stand in the places where I found you, and watch over the people who shall be placed upon the earth and guard them. All powers you have you shall keep. You shall exist as long as the earth lasts. You are now placed as upright posts so that you will always hold up the heavens. Priests, chiefs, warriors, old men, I have this night followed the journey of the Morning Star. We will not forget these beings which he placed in the four directions, for he promised that they should partake of all offerings which the people made to the heavens. Let us begin singing the songs given to us by Mother White Star in the west (the Evening Star)."

533 When the chief priest had finished his speech, all
796 began to sing the prescribed songs, resting and smok-
782 ing informally after each. Like most ceremonial songs,
these were long, with many repetitions, and were often
[211] obscure in meaning. As each song was finished, a tally stick, taken from a bunch kept in the sacred bundle, was laid down. The idea underlying this part of the ritual seems to have been that the girl at first belonged to the people and to the world of human affairs, but that, as each song was sung, she became more removed from them until, when the last tally was laid down, she had been won from the people, like a prize in a game, and belonged to the gods.

The singing usually lasted until about two hours
717 before dawn. A priest then climbed on the roof of the
782 lodge and announced to the people that the girl was
796

connected with the ceremony remained at the scaffold. 782
When the crowd had gone, the guardian removed the 796
arrows from the body one by one and handed them to
an assistant who divided them into four bundles and
laid these bundles northeast, northwest, southeast,
and southwest of the fireplace. The body was then
taken down and carried a short distance to the
east of the scaffold, where it was laid face down. The
sacred arrow was drawn from its heart and laid upon
it. All then returned to the village, and the place was [766]
avoided for some time.

It was believed that the soul of the girl left her 775
body at the moment she was struck with the club and 782
went straight to Tirawa, who sent it to the Morning
Star. The Morning Star clothed it with flint from his
fireplace in the dawn and placed it among the stars in
the heavens. Her body was thought to be not like ordinary
bodies. Even after her death it possessed life.
Things would be born from it, and the earth would be
fertilized by it.

The sacrifice as a whole must be considered as a 773
dramatization of the overcoming of the Evening Star 782
by the Morning Star and their subsequent connection, 796
from which sprang all life on earth. The girl upon
the scaffold seems to have been conceived of as a personification
or embodiment of the Evening Star surrounded
by her powers. When she was overcome, the
life of the earth was renewed, insuring universal fertility
and increase.

Human sacrifices were rare among the North 171
American Indians. The practice is known to have 782
existed among the Natchez, who lived in the present
state of Mississippi, and possibly in Arizona and New
Mexico. In Mexico, on the other hand, the idea was
highly developed, and under the Aztec rule large numbers
of victims were immolated every year. It may be

wished, and in this way the women learned his secrets 756
and became able themselves to practice medicine. The origin of the medicine societies is described in the following legend:—

"Once there was a man who lived alone, and did 539
not mingle with the rest of the tribe. One night he 773
had a wonderful dream. He dreamed that he stood on the bank of a wide river, and that a water monster came to the surface and spoke to him. He was so much impressed by this dream that he decided to seek for the river. He had several pairs of moccasins made, filled them with dried meat and parched corn, and started out, traveling eastward. He traveled for many days until he came to a great stream of water which he called Kits-ta-rux-ti ('the Wonderful River'). He stood upon the bank looking down, and all at once the water monster he had seen in his dream rose to the surface. It was very large and long. On its head was hair of many colors, and around its mouth were many-colored feelers. It did not speak to him, but dived, and the man leaped into the river after it. He found himself in a lodge of animals. Beside the altar were an owl and a beaver, while all the other animals sat around in a circle. Near the entrance were two ponds and by each of these two big geese. In the west of the lodge sat a woman. The water monster which had led him to the lodge of the animals lay to the south of the entrance, and acted as spokesman for the other animals. He said, 'My son, I come to you from the Big Waters. I was sent to you by Tirawa to instruct you and to tell these animals to instruct you in their mysteries. When you go home, tell your people to make an image of me and lay it in the lodge as I am now lying. The fireplace you see is not a fireplace, but a wonderful turtle. The woman sitting in the west is not a woman, but a thing of clay. She is a witch woman. The geese that stand by the ponds, when they flap their wings, make a noise

539 that can be heard in the heavens. Their noise wakens
773 the gods to a remembrance of their promise to pity
mankind and give them power.'

"When the water monster had told the man these things, the other animals came forward one by one, and also taught him their mysteries. When all had finished, the water monster told the man to go home and build a lodge like the lodge he was then in. He was to live in this lodge alone, and the water monster would come to him in his dreams and tell him what to do next. The man left the animals' lodge and went home. He built himself a lodge of willows, and in it he made an image of the water monster. The image was complete except for one thing. The monster had something white on its head, and the man did not know what to use for this. In the night the monster came to him in a dream and told him that he must go upon a high hill and catch eagles. He was to dig a pit three or four feet deep and cover it with branches. He must then kill several rabbits, skin them, and lay them on the branches. He was then to crawl into the hole and wait there until an eagle came down to seize the rabbits.

"The man did all this and he was crouching in the hole when he heard a noise like the wind. He looked up through the branches and saw it was an eagle flying down to get the rabbits. When it settled and began to eat, the man slipped his hand between the branches and grasped its legs. He drew it down into the pit and wrung its neck, then straightened the branches and waited for another. After a time a second came, and he killed that also. Then he carried them home and stuck their downy white feathers on the head of the image with blue mud. The image was thus completed.

"Every night after this the man slept in the lodge with the image and had dreams of the monster. In these dreams the monster told him how the cere-

monies of the medicine lodge were to be performed. At last it told him to prepare for another journey. He must go east again, but to a different place, and there the animals would give him many things. The next day the man set out and went east until he came to the place where Freemont, Nebraska, now is. There he camped on the high bank of the Platte River.

539
773

"There was an island in the river, and the man saw, as soon as it was dark, that sparks of fire were coming up from it. He heard mysterious noises of drumming, singing and shouting, and then the rhythm of a dance. In the water he could see fish swimming about with fire in their mouths. He watched and listened for a long time, then he fell asleep. The island was another lodge of the animals, and when he awakened, he found himself inside. In the lodge he saw the beaver, the owl, the otter, the ermine, the bear, the buffalo, the wolf, the mountain lion, the wild cat, and all sorts of birds. He stayed with them for many days, and they taught him more mysteries. At last they told him to go to a nearby hill where they had cleared a site for a medicine lodge. The deer led him from the animals' lodge and put him safe on the dry land. When he came to the place for the medicine lodge, he found everything ready. All the animals had cleared away the grass. The badgers had dug the holes for the posts, the beavers had cut them down and peeled them, and the bears and mountain lions had carried them up the hill. The animals helped him to raise the framework and told him how to lay on the willows and grass and cover the whole with earth. They then told him to return to his village and to tell the chiefs to bring the people to the new place, which had been selected for them by the animals.

"When the man arrived at the village, he sent some one to ask the chiefs to come to his lodge. When they had entered it, he told them that he had a mes-

539 sage for them from the animals. They were to bring 723 the village to the new place. The man told what the animals had done for him, and how they had built a new kind of house, and wanted the people to live in houses of this sort and keep in them the sacred things which they would give them. Before the animals made this house, the Skidi did not know how to build earth lodges. The chiefs listened to him and were glad. They said they would obey the animals.

"That night the man dreamed that, before the tribe set out for their new home, they must tear down the walls of his willow lodge and take the image of the monster and set both up in the river, just as they had been set up on dry land. By this they would show the animals in the water that they were trying to do as they had been told. When they had done this, they broke camp and moved down the river to the new place. They made their camp just to the east of the lodge the animals had built. All the people helped him to finish it in the way the animals had told him. When it was completed, he burned sweet grass in it to make it a sweet-smelling place.

"That night there were great noises heard in the island which was close to the village. The man waited in the new lodge, and the animals came and told him what to do next. They said that opposite the entrance of the lodge was to be the holy place. He was to dig a fire place and model around it a turtle with its head toward the east, its tail toward the west, and its legs toward the four world quarters. He was to make another image of the monster and lay it with its head and tail near the entrance and its body running around the lodge. He was also to make an image of the witch woman, like that he had seen in the first animals' lodge, and place it in the west. Lastly he was to tell the people to kill different kinds of birds and hang their skins from the posts of the lodge. The people helped

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

him to do all these things. When the lodge was ready, he went down to the river and waited until night. The animals took him into their lodge once more, and there he saw the loon standing in front of the altar and several loon skins lying at one side. The animals gave these to him and told him how they were to be set up, and taught him certain songs he was to sing. 539 773

"The man lived alone in the lodge for a long time. The animals came to him from the river at night and took him around over the country, showing him the different roots and herbs and telling him their uses. After a while he invited a few other men to come to his lodge and instructed them in the mysteries which had been taught him by the animals. In this way they also became medicine men. They stayed in the lodge, and whenever they went out, they painted themselves with blue clay and put eagle-down on their heads. Two of their number were selected as messengers and servants. One of these wore the skin of the magpie, and the other that of a muskrat for the magpie and muskrat were the errand men of the animals' lodge.

"In the autumn, when the crops had been gathered, and many buffalo had been killed, these first medicine men invited other men of the tribe to come to the lodge and learn the mysteries. These men were told to leave the village, purify themselves, and fast for four days. When they came to the medicine lodge, the man who had built it sang a song and recited a ritual, and then told them to go to the river bottom and cut young willows and cotton woods. One man he sent to the east to cut a cedar tree. They brought the trees to the lodge and with the willows and cottonwoods they made little lodges around the inside of the large building. The cedar tree was set up to the north of the entrance, and a little lodge of cedar bows was built on the south side. When the lodges were finished, the leader of the medicine men called a man from each lodge to him and

539 gave him the skin of the animal which was to be the
773 guardian of that lodge. The men stayed in the little lodges, fasting and singing until they fell from exhaustion, and went to sleep. When this happened, the leader took the skin of the animal to whose lodge the man belonged and laid it on him. This animal would tell the man in a dream what he was to do. When he awoke, he would tell his dream and would find that he could do this thing.

"After this had gone on for some time, the leader selected a night to have the mysterious dance. Before they commenced, he stood in front of the altar of loon skins, given him by the animals, and called the men to him one by one. He embraced each and breathed into his mouth. Then he went and sat by the altar. He had taught them a song, and now each man put on the skin of his guardian animal and began to sing this song and dance. At a certain place in the song every one of them fell to the ground as if shot. When the song was ended one of the men got up. He saw something lying beside him that looked like a small oval fragment of clear ice. Each of the other men found a thing of the same sort beside him, and all of them laid these things in a line on the west of the fire place. The leader told them that these things had been given to them by the animals. They must swallow them, and then they would have the power to hypnotize and influence the people. They did this and returned to their small lodges.

"They stayed in the big lodge for several days more, trying their powers and doing all sorts of sleight of hand. When the last day of the ceremony came, they all dressed up according to the animal that was their guardian. They went out and marched around the lodge once, with two men carrying loon skins from the altar in the lead. Then they entered the lodge again and crowded around the fire place, stamping to

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

awaken the turtle. Then they passed out of the lodge, 539
dancing, and each man imitating his guardian animal. 773
As they went, they did all sorts of sleight of hand so that the people could see they had magic powers. When they had shown their powers to the people, they entered the lodge once more and sang songs and imitated the cries of their guardians. They made a great commotion so that the people outside could see ashes flying up through the smoke-hole. That night they did more sleight of hand tricks in the lodge, and sang and worked magic until about two o'clock in the morning. Then they tore down the little lodges and carried them and the images of the water monster and witch woman down to the river. As they went along, they shouted and sang and hypnotized one another. They threw the mysterious things that gave them hypnotizing power into one another, and the men who were struck fell down as if shot. The rest of the village looked on, and were mystified by the wonderful things they did. When they came to the river, they put the little lodges and the images in the water in the positions they had had in the big lodge.

"When they had returned to the medicine lodge, the leader told them that they were to hold dances in the winter and spring and after the first thunder, but they were not to show their powers or do sleight of hand at these times. The great dance was to be in the fall, and then they would do sleight of hand, and work magic of all sorts and renew their powers. He told them to go back to their families and build themselves earth lodges like the medicine lodge. He went on living alone in the medicine lodge.

"The people lived in that place for a long time, and every fall they built new images in the medicine lodge and had their ceremonies. Each time the ceremonies lasted two or three months. Other men found other animals who gave them powers; and when the lodge

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 was in session, they would come in and ask the medicine
773 men to help them, and they would give them a place in
the lodge. In this way the society grew. People from
other bands also heard about it and came begging to
learn the mysteries. The medicine men taught them,
and they went back to their own people and started
other medicine lodges."

756 The ceremonies of the historic medicine lodge
796 agreed in a general way with those last described in
the legendary account of its origin, but there were
several features not mentioned in the story just given.
The preparations for the great fall ceremony were
begun while the people were still on the spring buffalo
hunt. At this time the leading medicine men selected
two members of the society to make two bows and four
arrows. When these were completed, they were given
to two other medicine men with instructions for one to
kill a bull and the other a cow. The animals had to be
killed with a single arrow, but it is said that because of
the magic powers of the arrows the hunters never
failed to do this. The bull's hide was to be used to cover
[532] the head of the water-monster image, the cow's hide
[778] to cloth the figure of the witch woman. Two more
buffalo, also a bull and a cow, were then killed in the
same way, the hide of the former being saved to make
an image of the Morning Star, and that of the latter, to
make nine small images which represented the important heavenly gods. When the buffalo had been
[778] killed, the bows and arrows were returned to the leading medicine men who placed them among their sacred
objects.

On the return from the hunt, the four leading
medicine men went to the medicine lodge and ordered
[342] that it be cleared for the ceremony. The same lodge
[346] seems to have been used for the ceremony year after
year, but was occupied as a dwelling between ceremonies.

and when day came, he looked all along the edge of the rock for a 539x
place where it might be possible to get down. At last he found near 538
the edge of the cliff a point of the soft clay rock sticking up above the level of the rest. The side of the rock below it was straight up and down, and smooth. At night he took his knife, and began to cut about the base of this point of rock, and night after night he kept at this until he had cut away the base of the point, so that it was no larger around than a man's body. Then he secretly took all the lariats that the party had, and tied them together, and let them down, and found that his rope was long enough to reach the ground. He put the rope around the point, and made a loop in it for his feet, and slowly let himself down to the ground. He got there safely, and then climbed back again. The next night he called his men about him, and told them how it was, and that they might all be saved. Then he ordered the youngest and least important man of the party to let himself down, and after him the next youngest, and so on, up to the more important men, and last of all the leader's turn came. He let himself down, and they all crept through the Sioux camp and escaped.

They never knew how long the Sioux stayed there watching the rock. Probably until they thought that the Skidi had all starved to death.

FOLK TALES

THE DUN HORSE

I

Many years ago, there lived in the Pawnee tribe an old woman and 539x
her grandson, a boy about sixteen years old. These people had no rela- 773
tions and were very poor. They were so poor that they were despised by the rest of the tribe. They had nothing of their own; and always, after the village started to move the camp from one place to another,

x539
773
these two would stay behind the rest, to look over the old camp, and pick up anything that the other Indians had thrown away, as worn out or useless. In this way they would sometimes get pieces of robes, worn out moccasins with holes in them, and bits of meat.

Now, it happened one day, after the tribe had moved away from the camp, that this old woman and her boy were following along the trail behind the rest, when they came to a miserable old worn out dun horse, which they supposed had been abandoned by some Indians. He was thin and exhausted, was blind of one eye, had a bad sore back, and one of his forelegs was very much swollen. In fact, he was so worthless that none of the Pawnees had been willing to take the trouble to try to drive him along with them. But when the old woman and her boy came along, the boy said, "Come now, we will take this old horse, for we can make him carry our pack." So the old woman put her pack on the horse, and drove him along, but he limped and could only go very slowly.

II

The tribe moved up on the North Platte, until they came to Court House Rock. The two poor Indians followed them, and camped with the others. One day while they were here, the young men who had been sent out to look for buffalo, came hurrying into camp and told the chiefs that a large herd of buffalo were near, and that among them was a spotted calf.

The Head Chief of the Pawnees had a very beautiful daughter, and when he heard about the spotted calf, he ordered his old crier to go about through the village, and call out that the man who killed the spotted calf should have his daughter for his wife. For a spotted robe is *ti-war'-uks-ti*—big medicine.

The buffalo were feeding about four miles from the village, and the chiefs decided that the charge should be made from there. In this way, the man who had the fastest horse would be the most likely to kill the calf. Then all the warriors and the young men picked out their best and fastest horses, and made ready to start. Among those who prepared for the charge was the poor boy on the old dun horse. But when they saw him, all the rich young braves on their fast horses pointed at him, and said, "Oh, see; there is the horse that is going to catch the 539x spotted calf"; and they laughed at him, so that the poor boy was 773 ashamed, and rode off to one side of the crowd, where he could not hear their jokes and laughter.

When he had ridden off some little way, the horse stopped, and turned his head round, and spoke to the boy. He said, "Take me down to the creek, and plaster me all over with mud. Cover my head and neck and body and legs." When the boy heard the horse speak, he was afraid; but he did as he was told. Then the horse said, "Now mount, but do not ride back to the warriors, who laugh at you because you have such a poor horse. Stay right here, until the word is given to charge." So the boy stayed there.

And presently all the fine horses were drawn up in line and pranced about, and were so eager to go that their riders could hardly hold them in; and at last the old crier gave the word, "*Loo-ah*"—Go! Then the Pawnees all leaned forward on their horses and yelled, and away they went. Suddenly, away off to the right, was seen the old dun horse. He did not seem to run. He seemed to sail along like a bird. He passed all the fastest horses, and in a moment he was among the buffalo. First he picked out the spotted calf, and charging up alongside of it, *U-ra-rish!* straight flew the arrow. The calf fell. The boy drew another arrow, and killed a fat cow that was running by. Then he dismounted and began to skin the calf, before any of the other warriors had come up. But when the rider got off the old dun horse, how changed he was! He pranced about and would hardly stand still near the dead buffalo. His back was all right again; his legs were well and fine; and both his eyes were clear and bright.

The boy skinned the calf and the cow that he had killed, and then he packed all the meat on the horse, and put the spotted robe on top of the load, and started back to the camp on foot, leading the dun horse. But even with this heavy load the horse pranced all the time, and was scared at everything he saw. On the way to camp, one of the rich young chiefs of the tribe rode up by the boy, and offered him twelve good horses for the spotted robe, so that he could marry the Head Chief's beautiful daughter; but the boy laughed at him and would not sell the robe.

Now, while the boy walked to the camp leading the dun horse, most

539 773 of the warriors rode back, and one of those that came first to the village, went to the old woman, and said to her, "Your grandson has killed the spotted calf." And the old woman said, "Why do you come to tell me this? You ought to be ashamed to make fun of my boy, because he is poor." The warrior said, "What I have told you is true," and then he rode away. After a little while another brave rode up to the old woman, and said to her, "Your grandson has killed the spotted calf." Then the old woman began to cry, she felt so badly because every one made fun of her boy, because he was poor.

Pretty soon the boy came along, leading the horse up to the lodge where he and his grandmother lived. It was a little lodge, just big enough for two, and was made of old pieces of skin that the old woman had picked up, and was tied together with strings of rawhide and sinew. It was the meanest and worst lodge in the village. When the old woman saw her boy leading the dun horse with the load of meat and the robes on it, she was very much surprised. The boy said to her, "Here, I have brought you plenty of meat to eat, and here is a robe, that you may have for yourself. Take the meat off the horse." Then the old woman laughed, for her heart was glad. But when she went to take the meat from the horse's back, he snorted and jumped about, and acted like a wild horse. The old woman looked at him in wonder, and could hardly believe that it was the same horse. So the boy had to take off the meat, for the horse would not let the old woman come near him.

III

That night the horse spoke again to the boy and said, "*Wa-ti-hes Chah'-ra-rat wa-ta.* To-morrow the Sioux are coming—a large war party. They will attack the village, and you will have a great battle. Now, when the Sioux are drawn up in line of battle, and are all ready to fight, you jump on to me, and ride as hard as you can, right into the middle of the Sioux, and up to their Head Chief, their greatest warrior, and count *coup*[1] on him, and kill him, and then ride back. Do this four times, and count *coup* on four of the bravest Sioux, and

---

[1] An explanation of this term is found on p. 111.

kill them, but don't go again. If you go the fifth time, may be you 539x
will be killed, or else you will lose me. *La-ku'-ta-chix*—remember." So 773
the boy promised.

The next day it happened as the horse had said, and the Sioux came down and formed in line of battle. Then the boy took his bow and arrows, and jumped on the dun horse, and charged into the midst of them. And when the Sioux saw that he was going to strike their Head Chief, they all shot their arrows at him, and the arrows flew so thickly across each other that they darkened the sky, but none of them hit the boy. And he counted *coup* on the Chief, and killed him, and then rode back. After that he charged again among the Sioux, where they were gathered thickest, and counted *coup* on their bravest warrior, and killed him. And then twice more, until he had gone four times as the horse had told him.

But the Sioux and the Pawnees kept on fighting, and the boy stood around and watched the battle. And at last he said to himself, "I have been four times and have killed four Sioux, and I am all right, I am not hurt anywhere; why may I not go again?" So he jumped on the dun horse, and charged again. But when he got among the Sioux, one Sioux warrior drew an arrow and shot. The arrow struck the dun horse behind the forelegs and pierced him through. And the horse fell down dead. But the boy jumped off, and fought his way through the Sioux, and ran away as fast as he could to the Pawnees. Now, as soon as the horse was killed, the Sioux said to each other, "This horse was like a man. He was brave. He was not like a horse." And they took their knives and hatchets, and hacked the dun horse and gashed his flesh, and cut him into small pieces.

The Pawnees and Sioux fought all day long, but toward night the Sioux broke and fled.

IV

The boy felt very badly that he had lost his horse; and, after the fight was over, he went out from the village to where it had taken place, to mourn for his horse. He went to the spot where the horse lay, and gathered up all the pieces of flesh, which the Sioux had

539 cut off, and the legs and the hoofs, and put them all together in a pile.
773 Then he went off to the top of a hill near by, and sat down and drew
● his robe over his head, and began to mourn for his horse.

As he sat there, he heard a great wind storm coming up, and it passed over him with a loud rushing sound, and after the wind came a rain. The boy looked down from where he sat to the pile of flesh and bones, which was all that was left of his horse, and he could just see it through the rain. And the rain passed by, and his heart was very heavy, and he kept on mourning.

And pretty soon came another rushing wind, and after it a rain; and as he looked through the driving rain toward the spot where the pieces lay, he thought that they seemed to come together and take shape, and that the pile looked like a horse lying down, but he could not see well for the thick rain.

After this, came a third storm like the others; and now when he looked toward the horse he thought he saw its tail move from side to side two or three times, and that it lifted its head from the ground. The boy was afraid, and wanted to run away, but he stayed.

And as he waited, there came another storm. And while the rain fell, looking through the rain, the boy saw the horse raise himself up on his forelegs and look about. Then the dun horse stood up.

V

The boy left the place where he had been sitting on the hilltop, and went down to him. When the boy had come near to him, the horse spoke and said, "You have seen how it has been this day; and from this you may know how it will be after this. But *Ti-ra´-wa* has been good, and has let me come back to you. After this, do what I tell you; not any more, not any less." Then the horse said, "Now lead me off, far away from the camp, behind that big hill, and leave me there to-night, and in the morning come for me;" and the boy did as he was told.

And when he went for the horse in the morning, he found with him a beautiful white gelding, much more handsome than any horse in the tribe. That night the dun horse told the boy to take him again to the place behind the big hill, and to come for him the next

morning; and when the boy went for him again, he found with him 539x
a beautiful black gelding. And so for ten nights, he left the horse 773
among the hills, and each morning he found a different colored horse, a bay, a roan, a gray, a blue, a spotted horse, and all of them finer than any horses that the Pawnees had ever had in their tribe before.

Now the boy was rich, and he married the beautiful daughter of the Head Chief, and when he became older, he was made Head Chief himself. He had many children by his beautiful wife, and one day when his oldest boy died, he wrapped him in the spotted calf robe and buried him in it. He always took good care of his old grandmother, and kept her in his own lodge until she died. The dun horse was never ridden except at feasts, and when they were going to have a doctors' dance, but he was always led about with the Chief, wherever he went. The horse lived in the village for many years, until he became very old. And at last he died.

THE BEAR MAN

There was once a young boy, who, when he was playing with his fellows, used often to imitate the ways of a bear, and to pretend that he was one. The boys did not know much about bears. They only knew that there were such animals.

Now, it had happened that before this boy was born his mother had been left alone at home, for his father had gone on the warpath toward the enemy, and this was about five or six months before the babe would be born. As the man was going on the warpath, he came upon a little bear cub, very small, whose mother had gone away; and he caught it. He did not want to kill it because it was so young and helpless. It seemed to him like a little child. It looked up to him, and cried after him, because it knew no better; and he hated to kill it or to leave it there. After he had thought about this for a while, he put a string around its neck and tied some medicine smoking stuff, Indian tobacco, to it, and said, "*Pi-rau'*—child you are a *Nahu'rac;*

539 *Ti-ra'-wa* made you, and takes care of you. He will look after you,
773 but I put these things about your neck to show that I have good feelings toward you. I hope that when my child is born, the *Nahu'rac* will take care of him, and see that he grows up a good man, and I hope that *Ti-ra'-wa* will take care of you and of mine." He looked at the little bear for quite a long time, and talked to it, and then he went on his way.

When he returned to the village from his warpath, he told his wife about the little bear, and how he had looked at it and talked to it.

539 When his child was born it had all the ways of a bear. So it is
773 among the Pawnees. A woman, before her child is born, must not
843 look hard at any animal, for the child may be like it. There was a woman in the Kit-ke-hahk'-i band, who caught a rabbit, and, because it was gentle and soft, she took it up in her hands and held it before her face and petted it, and when her child was born it had a split nose, like a rabbit. This man is still alive.

539 This boy, who was like a bear, as he grew up, had still more the
773 ways of a bear. Often he would go off by himself, and try to pray to the bear, because he felt like a bear. He used to say, in a joking way, to the other young men, that he could make himself a bear.

After he had come to be a man, he started out once on the warpath with a party of about thirty-five others. He was the leader of the party. They went away up on the Running Water, and before they had come to any village, they were discovered by Sioux. The enemy pursued them, and surrounded them, and fought with them. The Pawnees were overpowered, their enemies were so many, and all were killed.

The country where this took place is rocky, and much cedar grows there. Many bears lived there. The battle was fought in the morning; and the Pawnees were all killed in a hollow. Right after the fight, in the afternoon, two bears came traveling along by this place. When they came to the spot where the Pawnees had been killed, they found one of the bodies, and the she bear recognized it as that of the boy who was like a bear. She called to the he bear, and said, "Here is the man that was very good to us. He often sacrificed smokes to us, and every time he ate he used always to take a piece of food and give it to us, saying, 'Here is something for you to eat. Eat this.'

Here is the one that always imitated us, and sung about us, and talked 539x
about us. Can you do anything for him?" The he bear said, "I fear I 1773
cannot do it. I have not the power, but I will try. I can do anything if the sun is shining. I seem to have more power when the sun is shining on me." That day it was cloudy and cold and snowing. Every now and then the clouds would pass, and the sun come out for a little while, and then the clouds would cover it up again.

The man was all cut up, pretty nearly hacked in small pieces, for he was the bravest of all. The two bears gathered up the pieces of the man, and put them together, and then the he bear lay down and took the man on his breast, and the she bear lay on top of it to warm the body. They worked over it with their medicine, and every now and then the he bear would cry out, and say, "*A-ti'-us*—Father, help me. I wish the sun was shining." After a while the dead body grew warm, and then began to breathe a little. It was still all cut up, but it began to have life. Pretty soon the man began to move, and to come to life, and then he became conscious and had life.

When he came to himself and opened his eyes he was in the presence of two bears. The he bear spoke to him, and said, "It is not through me that you are living. It was the she bear who asked for help for you, and had you brought back to life. Now, you are not yet whole and well. You must come away with us, and live with us for a time, until your wounds are healed." The bears took him away with them. But the man was very weak, and every now and then, as they were going along, he would faint and fall down; but still they would help him up and support him; and they took him along with them, until they came to a cave in the rocks among the cedars, which was their home. When he entered the cave, he found there their young ones that they had left behind when they started out.

The man was all cut up and gashed. He had also been scalped, and had no hair on his head. He lived with the bears until he was quite healed of his wounds, and also had come to understand all their ways. The two old bears taught him everything that they knew. The he bear said to him, "None of all the beings and animals that roam over the country are as great and as wise as the bears. No animal is equal to us. When we get hungry, we go out and kill something and eat it. I did not make the wisdom that I have. I am an animal, and

534 I look to one above. He made me, and he made me to be great. I am
773 made to live here and to be great, but still there will be an end to my days, just as with all of us that *Ti-ra'-wa* has created upon this earth. I am going to make you a great man; but you must not deceive yourself. You must not think that I am great, or can do great things of myself. You must always look up above for the giver of all power. You shall be great in war and great in wealth.

"Now you are well, and I shall take you back to your home, and after this I want you to imitate us. This shall be a part of your greatness. I shall look after you. I shall give to you a part of myself. If I am killed, you shall be killed, If I grow old, you shall be old.

"I want you to look at one of the trees that *Ti-ra'-wa* made in this earth, and place your dependence on it. *Ti-ra'-wa* made this tree (pointing to a cedar). It never gets old. It is always green and young. Take notice of this tree, and always have it with you; and when you are in the lodge and it thunders and lightens, throw some of it on the fire and let the smoke rise. Hold that fast."

The he bear took the skin of a bear, and made a cap for him, to hide his naked skull. His wounds were now all healed, and he was well and strong. The man's people had nearly forgotten him, it had been so long ago, and they had supposed that the whole party had been killed.

Soon after this the he bear said, "Now we will take that journey." They started, and went to the village, and waited near it till it was night. Then the bear said to him, "Go into the village, and tell your father that you are here. Then get for me a piece of buffalo meat, and a blue bead, and some Indian tobacco, and some sweet smelling clay."

The man went into the village, and his father was very much surprised, and very glad to see him again. He got the presents, and brought them to the bear, and gave them to him, and the bear talked to him.

When they were about to part, the bear came up to him, and put his arms about him, and hugged him, and put his mouth against the man's mouth, and said, "As the fur that I am in has touched you it will make you great, and this will be a blessing to you." His paws were around the man's shoulders, and he drew them down his arms, until they came to his hands, and he held them, and said, "As my hands, have touched your hands, they are made great, not to fear

anything. I have rubbed my hands down over you, so that you shall 539x
be as tough as I am. Because my mouth has touched your mouth you 773
shall be made wise." Then he left him, and went away.

So this man was the greatest of all warriors, and was brave. He was like a bear. He originated the bear dance which still exists among the tribe of Pawnees. He came to be an old man, and at last died of old age. I suspect the old bear died at the same time.

THE BOY WHO WAS SACRIFICED

There was a time, far back, when some people thought that it was 539x
good to sacrifice to *Ti-ra'-wa* whatever they had that was most 773
precious to them. The sacrifice of the animal, the burnt offering, has 782
always been made by all the Pawnees; that is one of the things handed down from the ruler. It is very old. The Skidi have always performed the sacrifice of the captive. Each one of these is sacred and solemn, but it is not like giving up something that belongs to you, and that you love. It is a sacrifice, but it does not cost much.

Many years ago, in the Skidi village on the Loup, there lived a man, who believed that if he sacrificed his son to *Ti-ra'-wa*, it would be a blessing to him. He thought that if he did this thing, perhaps *Ti-ra'-wa* would speak to him face to face, and that he could talk to him just as two people would talk to one another, and that in this way would learn many things that other people did not understand. His child was a nice boy about ten years old, strong, growing up well, and the man loved him. It made him feel badly to think of killing him. He meditated long about this, but the more he thought about it, the more he believed that this sacrifice would please *Ti-ra'-wa*. There were many things that he wanted to understand, and to do; and he thought if he gave up his son, these good things would come to him. So he resolved to make the sacrifice.

One morning he started out from the village, and took the boy with him. They went over to the Platte. When they got to the river,

×539 as they were walking along, the man took his knife from its sheath,
● 773 and caught the boy by the shoulder, and stabbed him quickly, and
782 cut him open. When the boy was dead, he threw the body into the river, and then went back to the village. When he got there, he went into his lodge and sat down. After a time he said to his wife, "Where is the boy?" The woman said, "He went out with you, when you went over to see the horses." The man answered, "No; I went out to where the horses are feeding, and looked at them, but he did not go with me."

×539 The man went out, and looked for the boy all through the village,
773 but he could not find him. At night when the boy did not come home, they began to get frightened, and for two days they hunted for the boy, and at last they got the old crier to call out for him from the top of the lodge, and ask if any one had seen him, but none of the people knew what had become of the boy. Now the mother was mourning, and the father pretended to feel very badly. They could not find the boy; and soon after this the tribe started on the summer hunt, and the father and mother went with them. The village made a good hunt, killing plenty of buffalo, and made much dried meat.

After the boy had been thrown into the river, he floated down with the current, sometimes turning over and over in the swift water, and sometimes grounding for a little while on a sand bar, and then being floated off again, and being carried further down. At length he came near to the place where the whirlpool is, under the bluff at *Pa-hŭk'*, where is the lodge of the *Nahu'rac*. There were two buzzards sitting on the bluff, just above this place, and as they sat there, one of them stretched out his neck and looked up the river, and after he had looked, he said to the other, "I see a body." Then both the buzzards flew down to where the boy was floating in the water, and got down under him, and raised him on their backs, and lifted him up out of the water, and flew up to the bluff, carrying the boy on their backs, and placed him on the ground on top of the bluff over the big cave, which is the home of the *Nahu'rac*. In this lodge were all kinds of animals, and all kinds of birds. There were bears, and mountain lions, and buffalo, and elk, and beaver, and otter, and deer; all kinds of animals, great and small, and all kinds of birds.

The Pawnees

There is a little bird, smaller than a pigeon. Its back is blue; and 539x
its breast white, and its head is spotted. It flies swiftly over the water, 773
and when it sees a fish, it dives down into the water to catch it. This
bird is a servant or a messenger for the *Nahu'rac*. Such a bird came [825]
flying by just as the buzzards put the body on the ground, and he stopped and looked at it. When he saw how it was—for he knew all that had happened—he flew down into the lodge and told the *Nahu'rac* about the boy. The bird said, "There is a boy up here on the hill. He is dead, and he is poor, and I want to have him brought to life again." Then he told the *Nahu'rac* all the things that had happened. When the messenger bird had done speaking, the *Nahu'rac* earnestly counselled together for a long time to decide what should be done, and each one made a speech, giving his opinion about the matter, but they could not make up their minds what ought to be done.

The little bird was coaxing the *Nahu'rac*, and saying, "Come, now, we want to save his life." But the *Nahu'rac* could not decide. At last the chief of the *Nahu'rac* said, "No, messenger, we cannot decide this here. You will have to go to the other council lodges, and see what they say about it." The bird said, "I am going," and flew swiftly out of the lodge and up the river, till he came to the *Nahu'rac* lodge near the Lone Tree. When he got there, he told them all about the boy, and said that the council at *Pa-hūk'* could not decide what should be done. The *Nahu'rac* here talked, and at last they said, "We cannot decide. The council at *Pa-hūk'* must decide." Then the bird went to the lodge on the Loup, and the *Nahu'rac* there said that they could not decide. Then he went to *Kitz-a-witz-ūk*, and to *Pa-hūr'*; and at each place the *Nahu'rac* considered and talked about it, and then said, "We cannot decide what shall be done. The council at *Pa-hūk'* must decide for themselves."

At last, after he had visited all the council lodges of the *Nahu'rac*, the bird flew swiftly back to the lodge at *Pa-hūk'*, and told them there what the animals at the other lodges had said. In the council of the *Nahu'rac* at *Pa-hūk'*, there were four chiefs, who sat there as judges to determine such matters as this, after they had all been talked over, and to decide what should be done. When the messenger bird came back, and told the *Nahu'rac* what the other councils had said, these judges considered for a time, and then spoke together, and at length

x539 the chief of the judges said to the bird, "Now, messenger, we have 773 concluded that we will not decide this question ourselves. You decide it, and say what shall be done."

The messenger was not long in deciding. He did not hesitate. He said, "I want this boy brought back to life." Then all the *Nahu'rac* stood up, and went to where the boy lay, and stood around him and prayed, and at last the boy breathed once, and then after a little while he breathed again, and at last he came to life and sat up. He looked about and saw all these animals standing around him, and he wondered. He said to himself, "Why, my father stabbed me, and killed me, and now here I am among this great crowd of animals. What does this mean?" He was surprised.

The *Nahu'rac* all went back into the lodge, and took the boy with them. When all were seated in the lodge, the four judges talked to each other, and the chief one stood up, and said, "Now, my people, we have brought this boy back to life, but he is poor, and we must do something for him. Let us teach him all we know, and make him one of us." Then the *Nahu'rac* all made a noise. They were glad. Then they began to sing and they danced. They taught the boy all their secrets, and all their ways. They taught him how to cut a man open and cure him again, and how to shoot an arrow through a man and then cure him, and how to cut a man's tongue out and then to put it back, and how to make well a broken leg, and many other things. After they had done all these things, they said to the boy, "Now we have brought you back to life, and have taught you all these things, so that you are one of us. Now you must stop with us one season. Your people have gone off on the summer hunt. You must stay with us until the autumn. Then you can go back to your people." So the boy stayed with the *Nahu'rac* in their lodge.

At length the Skidi had returned from the hunt with plenty of dried meat. Soon after this, the *Nahu'rac* said one day to the boy, "Your people have got back from the hunt. Now you can go back to the village. Go back and get a lot of nice dried meat, and bring it back to us here, and we will have a feast."

The boy went home to the village. He got there in the night, and went to his father's lodge, and went in. There was a little fire burning in the lodge. It was nearly out, and gave only a little light, but he knew the place where his mother slept. He went up to her, and put 539x out his hand and touched her, and pushed her a little. She awoke, 773 and sat up and looked at him, and he said, "I've come back." When she saw him, and heard him speak, she was very much surprised, and her heart was glad to see her boy again. She called to his father, and he woke up. When he saw the boy he was afraid, for he thought it was a ghost. The boy told them nothing of what had happened, or where he had been. He just said, "I have come back again."

In the morning all the people were surprised to hear that he had come back, and to see him, and they stood around looking at him, and asking him questions, but he said nothing. The next day the people still questioned him, and at last the boy said, "I have been all summer with friends, with people who have been good to me. I should like to take them a present of some nice dried meat, so that we can have a feast." The people said that this was good. They picked out four strong horses, and loaded them with dried meat, the nicest pieces. The boy's father gave some of it, and all the other people brought pieces and put them on the horses, until they had big loads. They sent two young men with the boy, to help him load and drive the horses, and they started to go to the *Nahu'rac* lodge at *Pa-hük'*.

When they had come pretty near the place, the boy sent the young men back to the village, and he went on alone, driving the pack-horses before him. When he reached the home of the *Nahu'rac*, he unloaded the horses, and turned them loose, and then went into the lodge. When he went in, and when the *Nahu'rac* saw him, they all made a hissing noise. They were glad to see him. The boy brought into the lodge all the dried meat, and they had a great feast. After the feast they had a doctors' dance, and the boy was made a doctor, and again was taught all that the *Nahu'rac* knew. After that he could do many wonderful things. He could sometimes go to a man that had been dead for a day, and then bring him back to life.

No one ever knew what the father had done, for the boy never told any one. He knew that he could never have learned all these wonderful things unless his father had sacrificed him.

THE SNAKE BROTHER

539 One time, long ago, a big party of Pawnees went on the warpath
773 down to the south. They could find no enemies anywhere, and they went a long way south. In this party were two brothers, poor boys, and one day as they were traveling along, apart from the others, in a piece of woods where it was very thick, they got lost. When they found that they were lost, they tried to go back to the camp, but they could not find the others, and at last gave up looking for them and started to go back north to their home. They had no food with them, and were looking about for something to kill, so that they might eat. As they were going along, they came upon a dead buffalo that had been killed some time, and there was nothing of it left but the bones, so they took some of the marrow bones, and carried them along with them, until they made a camp.

Not far beyond here they stopped to rest. There was a tree growing near where they stopped, and as they looked up into it, they saw a squirrel run up the tree. One of the brothers caught up his bow and arrows, and the other said, "Oh, kill him, kill him, quick." The boy shot and killed it, and they skinned it, and roasted it over the fire. While they were cooking it the elder brother said, "I wonder if it is good to eat the marrow and the squirrel together." The younger said, "No, it is not good to do so. This is not real meat." The elder thought the two kinds of food would be good together, and they disputed about this for some time. The elder brother kept coaxing the younger to eat the squirrel and the marrow together, but the younger said, "Oh, brother, I do not like to do this. To me it does not seem good. But if you wish to do it, why don't you?" The elder said, "I think I will do so"; and he did so, taking a bite of squirrel, and then a bite of marrow. He said, "It is nice, you had better take some." But the younger brother would not. He ate only the marrow. After they had eaten they did not go on further, but slept there.

About the middle of the night, the elder brother felt a noise in his 539x
feet, and he sat up and felt of his legs and feet, and he found that 773
his feet were stuck together, and were beginning to get round, like a snake, and had a rattle on the end of them, and that his legs were round and like the tail of a great big rattlesnake. He reached over, and put his hands on his brother, and shook him, and said to him, "Get up. There is something the matter with me." The younger brother woke up, and felt of his brother, and found how it was; as if he was changing into a snake, beginning at his feet. When he saw this he felt very badly. Then the older brother began to talk to the younger, and to give him good advice, for he felt very sad.

He said, "Now I am going to die, and leave my young brother here alone on this prairie. He is so young, he will not be able to find his way home, and he must die, too. Surely this has happened because I ate the marrow and the squirrel together." While he was talking, the change had moved up to his waist.

After a little while he got more hopeful, and he said, "Now, brother, I know that you will get home safely. I will protect you. I know that I am going to be a snake, and I shall stay right here. You see that hole," and he pointed to a hole in the bank. "When I have changed into a snake, take me in your arms, and carry me over to that hole. I am going to stay there forever. That will be my home, for that is the house of the snakes. When you go back home, you must tell our father and mother how it was, and whenever you want to go on the warpath, take a big party and come down this way, and come right here, to this very place, and you will see me, for I shall be here. Now, brother, when you go back home, some time after you have reached home, I want you to come back all alone; come right here. You know what I told you; do not be afraid of me. I believe this was to happen to me, and I could not help it. After you have once come all alone, then the second time you may bring some others with you, but the first time come alone." So he talked to his brother, and as he spoke the change kept going on. While it was moving up his body, until it got to his head, he was still like a man in his mind, but all his body was like a great big snake. Then he spoke to his brother, and said, "Now, brother, cover up my head with the robe, and after a little while take it off again." The younger brother did x539 as he was told, and when, after a while, he took the robe off, there 773 he saw an immense snake's head as broad as his two hands. The elder brother had completely changed into a snake.

The young man took the snake in his arms, and carried him over to the hole, and put him on the ground by it. He felt very sad to go away and leave his brother here. Before he started, he spoke good words to the snake, and said, "Now, brother, I am going home, and I ask you to take pity on me, and to protect me. I do not know the country I am going through, and you must take care of me. Do not forget the promises you have made me." After he had spoken he did not wait to see the snake go into the hole, but started on his journey, and went off toward his home.

When he reached the village, he told all these things to his father and his mother. He said to all his relations, "Do not mourn for him. He is alive and he is well. The only trouble is, that he is in the shape of a snake." After he had been home ten days, he told his mother to make for him five pairs of moccasins, that he was going on the warpath for himself. His mother did so, and he stuffed them full of parched corn, and took a little sack of pounded buffalo meat on his back, and started back to see his brother.

It took him seven days' fast traveling to get to where he left the snake. When he had come near the place, he saw there the hole where he had left his brother. He went up close to the hole and began to speak. He said, "Brother, I am here. I have come on the warpath, and I am here to see you. You told me to come, and to come alone. I have done what you bade me, and am here. Now, brother, remember to keep your promises. I want to see you this afternoon."

He stood there a little while, and then there began in the hole a rattling and a rustling and scraping noise, and presently dust began to roll out, and then out of the hole came this great big snake, which was his brother. First came out this great snake, and after him many other large ones came out, and crept all about, but the great snake, his brother, lay just outside the hole. The boy went up to the big snake and took it in his arms, and hugged it, and spoke to it, and the snake put out its tongue, as if it were kissing him. Then the boy put it down on the ground, and all the other snakes came back, and went in the hole, and after them all, last, the big snake went in the hole.

Then the boy left this place, and went on a little further, and about 579x sunset he came to a little creek, and here he lay down and slept. 773 In the night he dreamed of his brother, who spoke to him and said, "Now, brother, I am glad that you have come down to see me, as I told you to. And now I say to you, be brave. Have courage. Tomorrow morning when you awake, dress yourself up as if you were going to fight. Paint your face, put feathers in your head, make yourself ready to fight."

The next morning the boy woke up, and as the snake had told him in the dream, so he did. He painted his face and tied feathers in his head, and dressed himself up for the fight. Then he started on. Pretty soon he came to a little hill, and as he looked over it, he saw people coming toward him; people and many horses. He thought they were Sioux, and when he saw them, he went back a little, to find a place where he could hide. He went back to the little creek where he had slept, and there he sat down in the brush. When he had hidden himself in the brush, he waited; and the people came straight toward where he had hidden himself, and camped just below where he was. After a little while he raised himself up and looked at them, and saw only two persons, and presently he saw that one of them was a woman. He watched for a long time, looking about to see if there were any more, but he could see only these two. Then he considered what he should do. While he was thinking, it came to him what the snake brother had said to him in the night, and then he knew what to do.

He crept slowly along through the brush toward their camp, and when he got close to them, about twenty yards distant, he raised up his head and looked. He saw the woman cooking, and there were hanging on a little tree the man's bow and arrows and shield and spear, but the man he could not see. He was lying down asleep somewhere near by. The boy waited and watched. He was excited, and his heart was pounding against his ribs. After a little while, the woman left the fire and walked away toward the horses. Perhaps her husband had said to her, "The horses are going off, you had better go and turn them back." When she went toward the horses, the boy was going to run up to the man and kill him, but before doing so he changed his mind; for he thought, "If I kill him, perhaps the woman will get

X539 on a horse, and ride away, driving the other horses with her." So
773 he waited until the woman had come back. When she had returned
to the fire, he ran up toward her, and she heard him coming, and ran
to wake her husband; but just as she got to him, the boy was by her
side. He shot two arrows into the man and killed him and counted
[127] *coup* on him, and captured the woman. He took the whole scalp of
his enemy's head.

Then he took the woman and went down to where the horses were, and they got on two of them, and rode back to where his brother, the snake, lived, driving the horses before them. Just before they got to the hole, the boy took his lariat and caught a nice spotted horse and a mule, and tied them up to the tree, and called up the woman, and tied her up against the tree as tight as he could tie her. When he had done this, he went up to the hole and began to talk. He said, "Oh, my brother, I see now that what you have promised me comes true. I did what you told me. Now here are these two animals and the woman; I give them to you for being good to me. They are yours. I am glad for what you have done for me this day." When he had finished saying this he spoke again, saying, "Now, brother, I want to see you once more. I am going off, and I want to see you before I go." After a little while he heard again the rattling sound in the hole, and saw the dust coming out of it, and then his brother came out of the hole, and then afterward the smaller snakes; and these all went down to the tree and climbed up into it. The tree was thick with them. Then the boy did as he had done before. He went close to the hole, and took his brother up in his arms and hugged him, and the great snake thrust out his tongue, as if kissing him. Then the boy spoke again and said, "Now, brother, I am going away, and I give you these two animals and this woman to keep. They are yours." Then he started for his home, and after a long time he arrived at the village.

After a time, he determined to start off again on the warpath, and this time he took a party with him. He had told the whole tribe what had happened, and how his brother had protected and helped him; and he said to those warriors who were going with him, "Let each one of you take a present with you for my brother; some beads or eagle

feathers or some tobacco as an offering, so that he may help you." 539x
They started south to go to the place where his brother lived. When 773
they got there the young man said to the others, "Now you must, each one of you, give something to my brother. Call him by his kin name, and ask him to help you, and to make you successful; and leave the things before the hole." They did as he said, and when they had made their presents, they went by. They saw nothing, for the brother did not call out the great snake.

Two or three days after they had passed the place, they found a camp of Sioux and took a lot of horses and killed some of the enemy. Then they went back, and when they came to the snake's home, they took a horse and led it up near the hole and killed it, and gave it to him, and left the scalps at the mouth of the hole as presents to him. When they reached the village, there was great joy and a good time. They had all kinds of dances, for they were glad that the war party had killed some Sioux.

After that another war party started out, and the brother said to them, "Go straight to my brother, and make him a present, and ask him to give you good luck, and you will be successful." And it happened as he had said.

The brother was always fortunate in war. He became a chief and was very rich, having many horses. Ever after that time, when he took the lead of a war party, all the poor men would come and say, "I want to go with you." They knew that his brother was a snake, and would give him good luck.

O'RE-KA-RAHR

A LONG time ago, as the tribe were on their summer hunt, a man and his wife got to quarreling. They had a child, a boy about ten months old. It was while they were traveling along, going from one camp to another, that they began to quarrel. At length the wife became x539 very angry, and threw the baby to the man saying, "You take that 773 baby. It belongs to you, for it is a man child. I am not going to nurse it for you any longer." Then she went away.

The man took the child and carried it along with him. He felt very badly, both on his own account and on account of his child. He was so unhappy that he almost wanted to kill himself. He was so poor-minded because it was a disgrace that he, being a man, should be obliged to take care of his child until it was grown up, and he had no female relatives to whom he could turn it over to be reared. So he was very unhappy, and determined to leave the tribe and wander off alone, far from his people.

He did so. He carried the child on his back, as a woman does. When it cried for its mother's milk, he had none to give it. He could only cry with it. He hated to kill the child, or to leave it behind to die on the prairie. He wandered off to the south. He traveled on for a time, until he came near to where the buffalo were. By this time, the child had changed from a very fat baby to a very thin one, because it had not been nursed. When he got to the buffalo, he killed a cow, and took its udder, and while it was fresh he let the child suck it, until it became sour. Then he killed another cow, and did the same thing. In every way he did the best he could to nourish the child. Sometimes he would get a slice of meat, and half cook it, and let the child suck the juice. The child began to improve, and to get a little stronger. In this way he supported it for quite a long time, and it did pretty well, and at last it got used to this food, and became strong and well. By this time he had gone a long way.

At length he found that the child could sit up alone. Then he began to give it all sorts of playthings, so that it could amuse itself. First he made for it a little bow and some arrows, and taught it how to use them. He made other things for the child to play with, and at last it got to be contented playing alone. Then the father would leave the child for a few minutes, and go off a little way, perhaps to the top of a hill near by, to look off over the country, but he would look back at the child every few steps to see that it was all right. When he would come back he would find the child safe, playing, well contented. After a while he got so that he would leave it for about an hour, and when he came back, find it safe and contented, playing. By this time the child had begun to walk. Finally 539ˣ the father went off once for half a day, and when he came back, 773 he found the child playing about safe. It did not seem to mind much about the father being absent. About this time he killed a buffalo cow, and made some dried meat, and put it in a certain place, and told the child when it was hungry to go there and get a piece.

He now went off and was gone a whole day, and when he came back at night the child was safe. Finally he made his preparations and went off to stay over night, and be gone two days. He did so, and when he came back, the boy was asleep. A second time he went away and was absent for two days, going quite a long distance. When he came back he found that the child was painted with white clay. The father thought this was strange. He said to himself, "Something must have come and talked to my child, and is taking care of him while I am gone."

When he came back the third time after a two days' journey, he found that the child had about his neck a string of *pa'but*. The fourth long journey he took lasted three days, and when he returned, he found his boy still wearing this same string of beads, and with a feather tied in his head. Now his father knew that something was looking after his child while he was away, and when he went off, he would pray for the child. He would say, "*No'-a*, whatever it is that is taking pity on my child, also take pity on me."

The child had now grown so large that it could talk with him, and one day it said, "Father, you go away, and you be gone for four days; I will be all right here. When you come back you will find me safe."

The man went. He started to go way down south, to be gone for four days. After he had been gone two days and two nights, he saw a signal smoke and went toward it. As he raised up his head and peeped over a hill before crossing it, he saw, far off, a lot of people and horses coming toward the river which lay between him and them. He lay on the hill a long time, watching to see where they would camp. When they had made camp, he went into a ravine, and crept down close to the camp, until he could see that it was just one lodge, and that about it were a whole herd of horses. He waited until evening, and then went over to the lodge. It was after dark when he went. The lodge was all surrounded by horses; everywhere nothing but horses, there were so x 539 773 many. He crept close to the lodge, and looked in through an opening by the door, and saw lying down opposite the door a great big man, and on either side a woman; only three persons in all. As he looked at these persons, he thought he recognized one of the women. He kept looking at her, and at last he remembered who she was, and that she had been captured long ago from the Pawnees. Her people were still living. The man was a Comanche.

While the Pawnee was watching, the man inside the lodge asked for something, and the captive woman stood up to go out of the lodge, and the Pawnee stepped to one side, out of sight. The woman came out into the darkness, and went out among the horses. The Pawnee stepped up behind her very softly, and put his hand on her shoulder, and said to her in Pawnee, "Friend, do you belong to my tribe?" The woman started to scream, but he put his hand on her mouth, and said to her, "Be quiet. Keep still. Do not call out." She answered him, "Yes, I belong to your tribe." Then she said in a very low voice that shook, for she was afraid, "Do you belong to my tribe?" The man said, "Yes." Then he asked her, "Who is that other woman that I see in the lodge?" She answered him, "She also belongs to our tribe, and is a prisoner." Then the man said, "You just wait and keep still. I am going to kill that man." The woman said, "That is good. That is good. This man is the biggest man of all the Comanches. He has come first to this place, and all the rest of the Comanches are coming here to meet him. I am glad that my people are living, and that I am going back to see them once more. Do not fail to kill him. I will tell the other woman to be ready, that our friend is here, and we will wait and watch."

When the woman went into the lodge, she whispered to the other woman, and said, "Be ready. A friend who belongs to our tribe is here. Take your hatchet, and be prepared to help to kill our husband."

The two women waited, and the Pawnee made ready to shoot the Comanche with his bow and arrow. The woman had said to him, "Push aside the door a little and be ready." He made a little bit of an opening by the door, just big enough to let an arrow pass through, and when the time came he let it go. *U'-ra-rish!* the arrow flew straight, and pierced the Comanche through the heart. So he died, and the Pawnee counted *coup* on him and took his scalp.

The women felt so glad to meet a friend that they put their arms around the man and patted him. They were going back home to see their relations. They asked him, "How many of you are here?" He answered, "I am alone." They were surprised. 539^x 773

They took down the lodge, and packed everything on the horses, and drove off the herd, leaving the dead body of the enemy in the camp. All night they traveled, and all the next day; and as they were going, he told them how it came about that he was alone. They told him that there were about three hundred head of horses in the herd that they had with them. When they had come pretty close to where he had left the child, he told them about the boy being there all alone; and the women just ran their horses to get to the boy; whichever got there first, he should be hers. When they came to the boy, they took him in their arms and petted him, and took him as their own.

Now the father was no longer sad. He had recovered two captured women, had killed his enemy, and had taken a lot of horses.

They went on, and traveled far, and at length, one night, they came to the Pawnee tribe, and camped with them. The horses just surrounded the lodge, you could just see the top of it over their backs. The next morning all the people wondered who these strangers could be. They found out that the man and child, who were lost, had returned, and with them two women, captured long ago by the Comanches. So there was great joy in the tribe. Then the man gave his relations many horses. In those days the Pawnees had not many horses, and it seems that this man brought good luck in horses to the tribe. Ever since that time they have had many horses. The mother of the child came to see it, she was so glad it was alive, but she was whipped out of the lodge.

The child grew to be a man, and was wealthy. After he had grown up, he told his father that ever since he could remember anything, a buck deer had talked to him, and taken care of him; that it had saved them, and brought them good fortune. In order that the *O're-ka-rahr* might be remembered, he established a dance, called the deer dance, which has been kept up to this day.

Many wonderful things happened to this same young man. Once he went on a war party against the Cheyennes, and stole some horses from them. The Cheyennes followed and overtook them, and they had a great fight. The first man killed was this young man. He was x539 773 ● very brave, and the Cheyennes cut him up into small pieces, but that night it lightened and thundered and rained, and soon after the storm was over, the young man came walking into camp alive. He was all scarred over, where he had been cut up, but he had come to life because the deer had looked after him. He lived long to show the scars of the battles he had been through.

THE GHOST BRIDE

x539 773 775 In a place where we used to have a village, a young woman died just before the tribe started on the hunt. When she died they dressed her up in her finest clothes, and buried her, and soon after this the tribe started on the hunt.

A party of young men had gone off to visit another tribe, and they did not get back until after this girl had died and the tribe had left the village. Most of this party did not go back to the village, but met the tribe and went with them on the hunt. Among the young men who had been away was one who had loved this girl who had died. He went back alone to the village. It was empty and silent, but before he reached it, he could see, far off, some one sitting on top of a lodge. When he came near, he saw that it was the girl he loved. He did not know that she had died, and he wondered to see her there alone, for the time was coming when he would be her husband and she his wife. When she saw him coming, she came down from the top of the lodge and went inside. When he came close to her, he spoke and said, "Why are you here alone in the village?" She answered him, "They have gone off on the hunt. I was sulky with my relations, and they went off and left me behind." The man wanted her now to be his wife, but the girl said to him, "No, not yet, but later we will be married." She said to him, "You must not be afraid. To-night there will be dances here; the ghosts will dance." This is an old custom of the Pawnees. When they danced they used to go from one lodge to another, singing, dancing and hallooing. So now, when the tribe had

gone and the village was deserted, the ghosts did this. He could hear 539x
them coming along the empty streets, and going from one lodge to 773
another. They came into the lodge where he was, and danced about, 775
and whooped and sang, and sometimes they almost touched him, and he came pretty near being scared.

The next day, the young man persuaded the girl to go on with him, and follow the tribe, to join it on the hunt. They started to travel together, and she promised him that she would surely be his wife, but not until the time came. They overtook the tribe; but before they got to the camp, the girl stopped. She said, "Now we have arrived, but you must go first to the village, and prepare a place for me. Where I sleep, let it be behind a curtain. For four days and four nights I must remain behind this curtain. Do not speak of me. Do not mention my name to any one."

The young man left her there and went into the camp. When he got to his lodge, he told a woman, one of his relations, to go out to a certain place and bring in a woman, who was waiting there for him. His relative asked him, "Who is the woman?" And to avoid speaking her name, he told who were her father and mother. His relation, in surprise, said, "It cannot be that girl, for she died some days before we started on the hunt."

When the woman went to look for the girl she could not find her. The girl had disappeared. The young man had disobeyed her, and had told who she was. She had told him that she must stay behind a curtain for four days, and that no one must know who she was. Instead of doing what she had said, he told who she was, and the girl disappeared because she was a ghost. If he had obeyed the girl, she would have lived a second time upon earth. That same night this young man died in sleep.

Then the people were convinced that there must be a life after this one.

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

HOW THE DEER LOST HIS GALL

x539 773 ● A LONG time ago, the deer and the antelope met upon the prairie. At that time both of them had dew-claws, and both had galls. After they had talked for a little while, each one of them began to boast about how fast he could run. Each one, the deer and the antelope, claimed that he could run faster than any other animal, and at length they became very angry in their dispute, and determined that they would have a race.

They staked their galls on the race, and it was run on the prairie. The antelope ran the faster, and won, and took the deer's gall. The deer felt very badly that he had lost it, and he seemed so miserable that the antelope felt sorry for him, and to cheer him up, he took off his dew-claws and gave them to him.

Since that time the deer has had no gall, and the antelope no dew-claws.

x539 773 171 NOTE.—A story somewhat similar to this is current among the Blackfeet tribes of the northern country. In this tale the antelope won the deer's gall, as in the Pawnee story. Then the deer said, "You have won, but that race was not a fair one, for it was over the prairie alone. We ought to run another race in the timber to decide which is really the faster." They agreed to run this second race, and on it they bet their dew-claws. The deer ran the faster through the thick timber and over the logs, and beat the antelope, and took his dew-claws. Since then the antelope has had no dew-claws, and the deer no gall.

796 821 take a certain position. When these signs were seen, then they must listen for the thunder that is low, deep, and rumbling, starting in the west and rolling around the entire circuit of the heavens. Sheet lightning gave warning that this kind of thunder would soon appear. This thunder was the voice of Heaven, and when it came from the south they knew that it was the signal for the creation ritual to be performed.

796 778 821 221 The ritual was part of the sacred lore of the Evening Star bundle which at this time was kept in the earth lodge of Old Lady Lucky Leader. As soon as the thunder was heard, the five official priests gathered there and began their preparations for the ritual. The same ritual would be repeated for each of the twelve major sacred bundles, the Evening Star which they were about to perform, then Morning Star bundle, then Big Black Meteoric Star and nine others. At intervals all during the month of March the priests went in succession to the different households where each of the bundles was kept, performing the ritual to renew their powers. The order for the first three performances was as given above; the other nine, simply as each of the households happened to be ready to pause in its work and to provide the necessary food for the priests.

796 793 [778] Now the five priests were sitting at the west in the lodge of Old Lady Lucky Leader, the Evening Star bundle lying open before them. The sacred objects were spread out on the skin of a tawny yellow calf representing the herds of buffalo. Two sacred ears of corn represented their staple food, two owlskins the watchfulness of the chiefs, hawkskins the ferocity of the warriors, flint for fire and sweet grass for incense; paints symbolized the powers of the different directions of the universe. Each of the priests held a gourd rattle in his right hand, and they sang together of the first creation. Their responsibility lay heavy upon them, for they and they alone must bring the world back to life again. Would they now be able to bring back the abundance of summer—the green grass, the trees, the animals reborn, the waters flowing free, the warmth of a summer day? Loud and insistently they recounted each minute step of the creation and in the trancelike depths of their thinking, the events rolled by before them.

773 In the beginning Heaven sat in the unassorted universe and thought. He sent his thoughts out over space. Then he created the celestial gods to bring his thoughts to fruition. First he made the gods of the cardinal directions—the Evening Star at the west with the moon as her helper, the Morning Star at the east with the sun as his helper, in the north the North Star and in the south, Canopus, the South Star. Then Heaven placed four stars in the semicardinal directions—Black Star in the northeast, Yellow Star in the northwest, White Star in the southwest and Red Star in the southeast. Heaven said to them, "You four shall be known as the ones who uphold the heavens. There you shall stand as long as the

heavens last, and although your place is to hold the heavens up, I also 773 give you power to create people. You shall give them the different bundles which shall be holy bundles. Your powers will be known to the people, for you shall touch the heavens with your hands, and your feet shall touch the earth."

Now Heaven spoke to Evening Star in the west. So that they might do her bidding, he sent her clouds, winds, lightnings, and thunders, and these she was to place between herself and her garden; then they would assume human form, appearing in the dress of priests, each with a gourd rattle in his right hand. With these arrangements in order, Heaven was now ready to create the world:

It was the storms that carried out this mission, one great thunderstorm to create the lifeless structure, and a second to endow it with life. All this took many eons.

Heaven told the Evening Star to tell her gods to rattle and sing. As they sang, the clouds came up, then the winds blew the clouds and the lightnings and thunders entered the clouds. The thick clouds gathered over open space and into them Heaven dropped a pebble—a quartz crystal. The pebble rolled in the clouds and as the storm passed over, the whole world below was water. Now Heaven sent out the four semicardinal-direction gods, each armed with a war club of hemlock, the wood known to the Skidi as *atira*, my mother. As they approached their appropriate stations, they were to strike the waters which would cause them to part and expose the earth. Each of the four semicardinal-direction [778] bundles is said to contain such a war club of hemlock that was actually used in the original creation.

Now the lifeless structure of the earth had been formed. A second great storm was needed to put life into the earth. Heaven instructed Evening Star to have her four gods (impersonated by the priests in the ritual) rattle and sing, and, while they sang, clouds came up, winds, lightnings, and thunders, and, while the gods sang of the formation of the earth, "the storms passed over the earth, and as the winds blew, it rained, the lightnings striking in the ground to put life in the earth. The thunders now shook the earth so that in parts where it was not level, the dirt slid down into the valleys." In these two great storms, the earth, *uraru*, was created and then life put into it.

Next were to be created the timbers and the underbrush *tuharu*, that make the land gray. The gods sang, and with the first great storm, the structure of the timbers was created. There was a second great thunderstorm in which the lightning struck them and the thunders sounded over them to put life into the *tuharu*, the timber.

Fourth in the great creation were the waters, *tsaharu*, and two great eras of storm were needed—one to give it its structure and a second to make it a living reality. The bottoms of the creeks, rivers, ponds, and

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

• 773 lakes were cleared as "the wind passed over the streams" and it rained. Then the waters filled the stream, *tsaharu*. Then the lightnings struck the streams and the thunders sounded into them and the sound of the streams flowing through the land was heard to reply, and Heaven knew that they were sweet.

The fifth creation was of cultivated seeds, *kaki·u*. In a first storm, the seeds were dropped on the earth by the gods. Then in a second storm, Evening Star sent winds, clouds, thunder, and lightnings over the earth so that the seeds had life and sprouted. "After all this was done, Heaven was glad and hid himself for a time."

To the stars, Heaven had assigned the task of creating people in their own image. Now Morning Star called them all into council, but in the course of their proceedings, a great conflict developed between him and the Evening Star. Now in order to bring light and life into the world, Morning Star had to set out from his home in the east to conquer Evening Star and mate with her. Evening Star was ready for him. In the four semicardinal world quarters she had placed four fierce animals—wolf in the southeast, who had the power of the clouds; wildcat in the southwest, with power of the winds; mountain lion in the northwest, with lightning power; and bear in the northeast, with his power of thunder. While the other male gods had come from the east trying desperately to overcome the powers, they had all died in the attempt. Now Morning Star with his helper, the Sun, had succeeded, but he had one more obstacle to overcome. Evening Star had provided herself with vaginal teeth "like the mouth of a rattlesnake with teeth around," and these Morning Star had to break with a meteor stone in order to mate with her. As a result of his success, a girl was born to Evening Star. She was the first human being that the stars had created. She stood on a cloud and was carried to earth by a funnel-shaped whirlwind. Now Moon and Sun mated, and they created a boy who was also carried to earth.

The gods now held two more councils to make further plans for humanity. In the first council, the Big Black Meteoric Star presided, in the second, the Evening Star. Heaven now came out of his retirement to help them. He told Evening Star to call her four storm priests to rattle and sing, and it rained on the two children, lightning struck around them, and the thunders roared. At last they understood, and they lay together and a child was born to them. Heaven instructed Evening Star again, and through further storms each young person was instructed in his respective role in life—the girl in the fruitfulness of the earth, the form of the earth lodge, the nature of speech and of the land outside. The man got the clothing of a warrior and was shown the way to travel over the earth, how to make war and how to hunt; he was also taught his role in the act of procreation.

The people began to increase and Evening Star came many times in

visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her 773
four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it [829]
is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled re- [628]
counting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the [631]
past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In
Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and on-
going life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the 796
year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first cer- 619
emony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, 631
a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a cere-
mony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. [778]
(See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual 796
during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved 782
[793]
[221]
[727]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

10

THE CAPTIVE GIRL SACRIFICE

000

Importance of Sacrifice to Pawnees—Dream of Warrior and Initiation of Sacrificial Ceremony Preparations—Capture of Sioux Maiden—the Ceremony of Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—the Sacrifice in the Nineteenth Century—Its Interruption and End—the Heroism of Man Chief—Aztec Origins

773 AFTER THE CREATION CEREMONY in times past, the Pawnees had an awe-
796 some rite that they believed would ensure the fertility of their soil and
782 the success of their crops. In the creation story, fruitfulness and light
[241] had come into the world because Morning Star and his realm of light had
conquered and mated with Evening Star in her realm of darkness. Out of that contest, the first human being was conceived—a girl. From time to time the Morning Star demanded a girl in return.

773 He came as a vision to a warrior in his dreams on a night in the fall of
796 the year. In the vision, Morning Star appeared as a man anointed with red
782 paint, wrapped around with a buffalo robe, his leggings decorated with
787 scalps and eagle feathers. There were soft down feathers in his hair and
a single eagle feather stood upright in his scalplock. Holding his war club he spoke to the warrior in his dream: "I am the man who has power in the east. I am the Great Star (*Upirikutsu*). You people have forgotten about me. I am watching over your people. Go to the man who knows the ceremony and let him know. He will tell you what to do." When he awoke and went outside before dawn, the warrior saw the Morning Star in the sky and he knew he had been chosen for the heavy burden of making the sacrifice. He ran crying through the village to the house of the Morning Star priest, singing as he went, "When he comes,

when he comes, father, I am seeking for you." When he arrived at the 773
priest's house, they embraced and wept together, and then the priest 796
filled a little pipe with tobacco and asked the warrior to tell of his dream. 782

After he had heard his vision, the priest filled the pipe and went outside where he lit it and offered it to the Morning Star so that he would [787] bless the young man. When the pipe was smoked out, the priest returned, emptied the ashes, and sat for a while talking with the warrior. The priest again filled the pipe and handed it to the warrior who lit it in the fireplace and carried it outside offering the first puff to the Morning Star, begging his pity and his guidance. Then the priest told the warrior to go home and to return when he was ready. He thought deeply of his forthcoming task as the priest had instructed him and at last asked the people in his lodge to make him several pairs of moccasins for the journey, filled with balls of pounded up sweet corn and some parched corn for his food. Everyone in the village was watching him, and some experienced warriors who had decided to go with him also asked their families to make similar preparations.

The visionary returned to the priest's lodge where they sat together for four days. When he came on the fourth day, the priest took the Morning Star bundle down from where it was hanging over the sacred [778] altar and removed the holy objects that the warrior would need, lighting the pipe from the bundle and offering smoke to each of them in the required fashion. The objects were an otterskin collar, Mother Corn, a hawkskin, an extra pipe from the bundle, some soft down feathers, and the skin of a wildcat, its legs filled with native tobacco and paints. These things the warrior would need for his costuming when he impersonated the Morning Star so that he could set out on his fateful journey. The ceremony took four days, and then the warrior went through the village to call on the men he knew were ready to come with him. He also chose a number of assistants—a younger man, four scouts from among the volunteers, and helpers and errand men. While the priest instructed him, the others went to their lodges and got their things. At midnight the priest went outside waiting for the Morning Star to rise and then went inside and costumed the warrior to impersonate him—a buffalo hair rope around his waist, an otterskin collar around his neck with a hawkskin fastened on and suspended from his right shoulder, the ear of Mother Corn from his left shoulder. He painted his face with the red ointment—two streaks on either side of his face and a bird's foot on his forehead (astronomically unidentified; "right on the Milky Way"). He gave him the pipe to carry in his left hand or in his robe with the stem pointing upward. As the Morning Star was rising the priest said, "Here is your man. He is wearing your clothing. Protect him and make him successful." Then he led the warrior around the fireplace, faced him toward the entrance, his assistant beside him and the others following behind in

773 796 782

the order of the procession—the four leading scouts, firemakers, cooks, and messengers.

773 796 782 721 726

After traveling 15 or 20 miles, they lay down to sleep among the thick weeds, resuming their journey through the afternoon to a timbered spot where they made camp. The errand man cleared the ground, made a little fireplace in the middle, and the leader took off his costume and put it at the west end of the fireplace where the altar would be in the earth lodge. They all sat around the fireplace in order of their rank and cosmic affiliation, ate a meal, and talked a while; then the leader told them to lie down while he watched the sky and from time to time smoked his pipe. Just before the Morning Star rose, the scouts went out; when the star came up the leader began to recite the ritual, and hearing it everyone awakened and they continued on their journey. At noon they stopped, the scouts joined them and reported what they had seen; in the afternoon, they continued with their journey. Every day they traveled this way until the scouts reported that they had seen signs of the enemy. When the village was sighted, the scouts went all around, counting the tipis and generally taking stock of the situation. They made a final camp in the timber, making a large circle as if for an earth lodge, a fireplace in the middle with the excavated earth from the fireplace in a little mound to the east outside the circle. At the request of the leader, the warriors placed their gifts at the west, and taking some tobacco from the feet of the wildcat skin, he filled the sacred pipe and one of the men was chosen to do the ceremonial smoking to the celestial powers. The scouts made a final check of the enemy camp and when they got back, the leader ordered a large fire built and the ritual dancing began. The leading members of the party sang the songs of the creation: "The power of the *earth* goes through the enemy's country; the power of the *timbers*, *waters*, *seeds*. . . ." Others all sang and danced, "This is the way I do when I am imitating him (the Morning Star), when I become angry, when I am imitating him," and as they sang and danced, they attacked the fire as if it were the enemy. At the rise of the Morning Star, the leader also danced, put on some of his regalia, and got his pipe ready, and they set out for the enemy village, the scouts in the lead. In his prayer to the Morning Star he asked that he lose none of his men. At the enemy village, the leader was stationed at the east facing the Morning Star; he sent his assistant to lead a party around by north and another man by south to surround the village. At the southeast the man representing the Fools-the-Wolves Star was to alert them with his first wolf cry, and then at his second wolf signal everyone would attack the village. They were reminded that they were not to kill unless it was necessary, but only to locate a thirteen-year-old girl and pronounce her holy for the Great Star. The one who found her was assisted by the others to bring her to the leader. No one else in the village was to be harmed. The four scouts were to

drive the horses from the village toward their encampment so that they 773
could leave in a hurry. The enemy would not immediately attempt a 796
pursuit as there was a feeling that this was a kind of cosmic destiny. 782
Retribution would be visited upon the whole tribe later on in a regular 721
war party. The girl was placed on a pony behind her captor, and 726
they rode all day, sleeping only three hours during the night until they approached the village. As they approached, the leader set the prairie on fire to let them know that they had been successful. The warriors smeared their faces with soot. The Morning Star priest came out and led the captive girl to the village and to his lodge.

Now that the girl had been captured the first stage of the warrior's
mission had been accomplished. The sacrifice would not take place until 773
the following spring. The whole tribe would go off on the winter buffalo 796
hunt, taking the girl with them. When they got back to the village 782
and the creation ceremony had been performed, the priest of the Morning 727
Star would watch for a sign from the cosmic god that the time for the ceremony had arrived. Meanwhile, the returned war party settled back in the village. The visionary warrior went to the lodge of the Morning Star priest and returned the costume which was replaced in the sacred bundle. Warriors told how many of the enemy they had touched and the war counts they should receive because of this and the number killed.
The women danced the victory dance. The keeper of the Wolf bundle 773
was called to the Morning Star lodge to take over the care of the girl 796
who would remain in his charge until the time of sacrifice, throughout 782
the period of the winter buffalo hunt and the spring that followed. He was to watch over her at all times and was to take her for her meals to the home of the visionary warrior. According to the creation legend, the wolf was the first creature to suffer death; he was murdered by the people because of his perfidious conduct and as a result from that time
on all living things must die (see below, pp. 328-329). The Wolf bundle [778]
commemorated these incidents and its keeper was thought to be a descendant of the original owners. Sirius, the southeast star, was the Wolf Star and it was connected with death. The Wolf man now entered the lodge of the Morning Star priest who bathed both him and the girl in incense from the smoke of burning sweet grass—first the girl and then the man. Then the girl's costume was taken from the Morning Star bundle. She was rubbed with red ointment made of pigment and buffalo fat and dressed in a calfskin skirt tied around the waist by a rope, an overblouse, a warm buffalo robe, some black moccasins, and a soft down feather to wear in her hair. She was given a special wooden bowl and a buffalo horn spoon for her exclusive use at meals, that was also taken from the bundle. It was dangerous for others to use her utensils as the supernatural beings might then consider them part of the sacrifice.

While they were on the winter hunt, the warrior visionary would have

773 to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used
796 in the sacrifice ceremony.

782 Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning
[821] Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose
ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior
[787] visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be
held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special
costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role.
Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings
occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of
[292] cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in
order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin
[825] with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the
renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water
after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a
feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So
dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions
of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came
bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four
long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace
extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the
middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being
pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood
[823] appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm,
[824] northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast.
The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time
the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and
otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

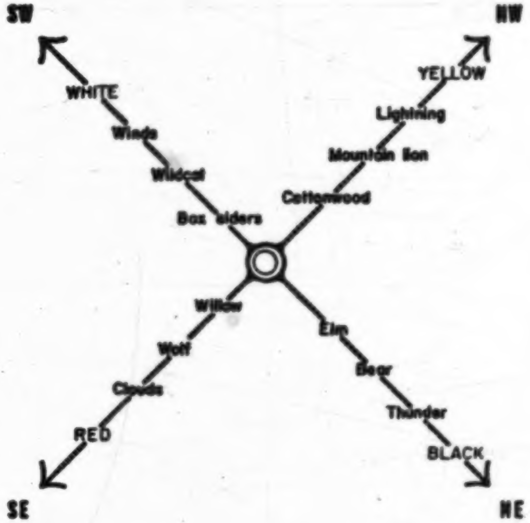
The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Tuwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

with red buffalo-fat ointment. Four circles were made on the ground one 773
in each of the semicardinal directions to symbolize the four quarters of 796
the universe that the Morning Star had to pass as he approached the 782
Evening Star. The circles were made by a man who stood in the middle [823]
and extended his toe as far as possible, drawing his foot on the ground as [772]
he turned. The tracks were filled with soft down feathers from the bundle. The priest smeared himself with red buffalo-fat ointment and suffused himself with sweet grass smoke. The actual ceremony could begin.

The priest of the Evening Star bundle sang the first part of the ritual and after a pause, the Morning Star priest took charge. He sang two songs. Then they had their meal. The Wolf man opened the next phase, bringing the girl to the altar where she was anointed by the priest with red ointment given to him by the war leader. They returned to their seats and the ceremony continued all night. The second day's ceremony was of the same kind. On the third day they continued to sing and dance, the war leader beginning the dance and then being joined by the others. The war leader took up the northeast pole from the fireplace with the fire still burning on its end and pointed it at the girl without touching her, first toward her right side then toward her left. Next he took first the southwest pole following the same procedure, then the northwest pole and then the southeast pole, following the prescribed order. Now, on the third day, the crowd of spectators became heavy and began to push into the lodge and tear holes in the roof so that they could witness the proceedings.

While the ceremony was going on in the lodge the priest gave direc- 773
tions for the preparation of the sacrificial scaffold. He sent men to find a 796
suitable location a mile or two east of the village with a ravine or a 782
series of dips in the ground to the east of it where the attacking war- 417
riors could hide during the ceremony. Wood for each part of the sacrifi- 824
cial frame had to be of special kinds: cottonwood for the two uprights; the four crossbars near the bottom serving as steps, each symbolizing one of the four semicardinal directions, the bottommost elm, then box elder, cottonwood, and willow, each associated with an animal power. Elm represented the bear and the northeast; box elder, the mountain lion and the southwest; cottonwood, the wildcat and the northwest; and willow, the wolf and the southeast. When the men reported back to the priest that they had located the wood, he gave them four strips of animal skin, each one of the appropriate animal with which to tie the crossbars to the frame. Near the top of the two uprights was another crossbar of willow, symbolizing Heaven, which was tied on with otter-
skin to symbolize the renewal of life. They were instructed by the 773
priest to dig a rectangular pit under the scaffold in area about the size 796
of a buffalo robe commonly used to wrap a sacred bundle and 5 inches 782
417

796 deep, the bottom to be covered with soft down feathers. The pit sym-
782 bolized the Garden of the Evening Star from which all life originates.
• 773 The pit was called *Kusaru*, which in Pawnee simply means bed.
417



[82] FIGURE 10-1. Association of symbolisms for the four semicardinal directions: colors, natural forces, animals, trees.

796 In the ceremonial lodge, the dancing and singing continued on the
773 fourth day. Whenever they ate during the ceremonies, the girl was
782 served, and once in a while she was taken out to walk around, always accompanied by Wolf man. The main theme of the fourth day was the destruction of the four semicardinal circles in the appropriate order as Morning Star had done in the creation as he warred on the Evening Star. The priest, impersonating the Morning Star wore leggings decorated with scalps. First he arose and sang and danced around the north side, then the south side, then back to the altar. He danced around the lodge again and when he arrived at the east he whirled around suddenly and destroyed the northeast circle scattering the white feathers around the lodge, then the southwest, the northwest, and the southeast circles, making a grunting sound each time as if attacking an enemy. Then all sang the fifth song and the girl was taken to the altar to be costumed for her last role.

[822] Her body was painted, red on the right side, black on the left, the red to symbolize day, the time of the Morning Star, and the black to

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

represent night, the time of the Evening Star. She wore a skirt and a painted hide robe around her shoulders. Now they sang of the origin of the Morning Star itself that they thought had come from a meteor. They sang to the girl, "You are now wearing the covering of meteorite grandfather," and in the next song, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite father," and then, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite brother." They completed her costume with a row of feathers standing up erect along the median line of her head. Her costume complete, she sat down in her place next to the Wolf man. They sang until midnight and then they paused, awaiting the time of the Morning Star. Meanwhile they placed a pinch of tobacco before the altar and sang about flint, the meteorite grandfather and other Morning Star symbols. Thereafter they would have to address their songs to the Morning Star in the sky. During the pause, once in a while the visionary took up the four direction poles from the fireplace and pointed them at the girl as he had done before in the prescribed succession: northeast, and so on. 773 796 782 [822]

Now the procession to the scaffold would begin. All the men and boys and even male infants were to participate in the sacrifice. During the day, one of the priests had climbed up to the roof of the earth lodge and called out, alerting them to be prepared with their bows and arrows. In the ceremonial lodge, the priest gave the war leader the braided elkhide ropes to tie on the girl's wrists. He took up the gourd rattles. It was almost daylight. The four priests of the four direction bundles had gone out to dress, each being assisted by a specially designated person to adjust their costumes and to get ready. The Northwest man (Yellow Tent) wore two owlskins on his back that he had taken from his bundle; in his hand he held the bow he took from the Skull bundle and a red arrow that he had added to it. The Southeast bundle man (Red Tent) also had two owls and took a stick with coals on the end. The Southwest bundle priest (White-Mother-Born-Again) had two owls also and he took a war club. The fourth priest, representing the Big Black Meteoric Star (black, northeast) who also wore two owlskins on his back, took the flint knife. 773 796 793 782

Now all sang and started on the procession, the girl and the Wolf man in the lead followed by the visionary-war leader dressed in his otter collar, his otter belt with sixty-five scalps, his pipe, and other regalia and the four direction priests in their costumes. 773 796 782

The dawn was coming and the scaffold was ready. Slowly the procession went toward it. As they went they sang four songs. The girl looked around and wondered. The first song said, "She was looking around for just a little time." Then they sang of Heaven and of the powers of the bear, the mountain lion, the wildcat, and the wolf as the girl approached the scaffold. The Wolf man urged her to mount and as she

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

773
796
782

climbed each rung, a song was sung about the appropriate animal. Singing they tied her on and then left her there facing east.

The war leader and four direction priests were hiding in the ravine; now the four priests came out one by one. The Southeast bundle man with the burning stick ran out of hiding and barely touched the girl on the arms and loins. The Northwest bundle man came out with his bow and arrow and shot her through the heart. Now the Northeast man of the Big Black Meteoric Star rushed up with the flint knife and made a small cut over her heart. Taking some of the blood, he painted streaks on his face. The southwest man came with the warclub, and he made a gesture at her. The blood of the girl was allowed to drip on the dried tongue and heart meat of the consecrated buffalo, and the priest made a new fire at the southeast, the burnt offering of the sacred meat being made by the priest of the Evening Star bundle. Now all the men and the boys of the Skidi Band, singing war songs, riddled the body with their arrows. Then the priest told them to leave the sacrifice.

The priests now made a final disposition of the body. It was full daylight, and four men who had been chosen to assist, untied the body and took it about a quarter of a mile to the east, placing it on the ground face down. They sang, "The whole earth, she shall turn into. The whole earth shall receive her blood." Then they spoke of nine things in turn: "She will turn into a bunch of grass; the ants will find her, the moths will come and find her, the fox shall come and find her, the coyote, the wildcat, the magpie, the crow; buzzards will come and find her, and last of all will be the bald-headed eagle who will come and eat her."

All the people who participated in the ritual went to the ceremonial earth lodge and there ate a meal of consecrated buffalo meat. The public dispersed.

[786] In the village there was general rejoicing. Men and women danced, and there was a period of ceremonial sexual license to promote fertility. Some women dressed themselves in their husband's war costumes, dancing around and making fun of the men. They mimicked what they did in war and ceremony.

> They carried the Mother Corn. . . . They would go to the secret lodge, and standing outside of it would tell the story of how they came to go on the pretended war party and what they did while they were gone, what enemies they struck—the whole long story. The people stood around laughing as they did these things. Imitating the warriors, the women changed their names also. One of the leading old women once took the name "Mud on Meat" another "Skunk Skin Tobacco Pouch" another, "Sitting Fish Old Man," another "Stepping on the Heart." The old men standing around joked with the old women and they all joked and made fun of each other.
>
> (Grinnell, 1925, p. 368)

So the ceremony had ended. The Morning Star had received back the 773
first girl to be placed on earth, and he would again look after the people 796
in peace and in war. In the way of the Morning Star, death and life, 782
war and fruitfulness were one process.

When the news of this dramatic rite first reached the eastern seaboard 796
of the United States in 1820–1821, it created something of a sensation, 782
especially in the light of the obvious Mexican analogies. In 1816 an 175
Ietan (Comanche?) girl was captured by a Skidi warrior in preparation
for sacrifice to the Morning Star in the spring of 1817. The chief of the 648
Skidi at this time was Knife Chief (*Ritsirisaru*) of Pumpkin-Vine Village. In 1811 he had been on a delegation to see William Clark in St. Louis who was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the region and they had had a long and serious talk in which Clark impressed Knife Chief with the fact that the white people were coming in ever-increasing numbers "like the waves of the ocean—in, in, in. . . . It's coming; every year more people come over here," and that the Pawnees must prepare to adapt themselves. Knife Chief was impressed with the validity of his argument and he realized that their ceremonial practice of human sacrifice was a serious barrier to their relations with the whites. He talked to the people in an effort to get them to abandon the custom, but the warriors of the tribe and the priests, always suspicious of the political motives of the chiefs, were hostile and defiant. The ceremonies were continued and on the appointed day the girl was led out and tied to the scaffold.

On the trip to see Clark in St. Louis, Knife Chief had been accom- 796
panied by his son (or possibly paternal nephew) Man Chief (*Pita-risaru*), 782
and, now in his early twenties, he was an outstanding warrior and uni-
versally respected. With the crowd gathered and the warrior ready to 175
shoot the fatal arrow, Man Chief rode before them and told them that his father disapproved of what they were about to do and he had come to rescue the girl or die right there. By Skidi belief, anyone who touched the consecrated girl during her captivity would soon die, for they would be taken by the Morning Star in her stead. From the point of view of those assembled there, Man Chief was thus offering his life as forfeit for hers. The crowd now held off in awe, and Man Chief was able to cut the girl down from the scaffold and place her on a horse and send her south to rejoin her people, which she succeeded in doing.

The next year, 1818, a Spanish boy of ten was captured in Oklahoma and dedicated to the Morning Star. This time Knife Chief managed to call a chiefs' council and he was able to ransom the boy with his own store of goods to which was added that of the trader and interpreter, Papin, and Manuel Lisa. The boy was returned to Lisa's trading post on the Missouri north of Omaha, Nebraska, by the middle of June 1818. Notice of the escape of the boy, along with an account of an additional sacrifice, appeared in the *Missouri Gazette* of St. Louis.

ble he would kill a buffalo and pronounce it holy. Then he called in the 243
five official Skidi priests, who were the ministers of the four semicar- 787
dinal-direction bundles and that of the evening Star, and entertained them [793]
at a feast of buffalo ribs, telling them of his vision. His wife sliced, dried,
and packaged the rest of the consecrated buffalo meat and kept it in her
storage pit at home until the spring, when the ceremony was to be performed.

The visionary became a principal actor in the ceremony and made a [574]
major contribution of buffalo meat to the ritual feast, while his wife con-
tributed a considerable amount of the boiled dried corn. He considered it
a great privilege to participate in the ceremony and to receive instructions
from the priests concerning the cosmic traditions. During the ceremony 243
he would impersonate an important god of the creation, *Paruksti*, the 787
Wonderful, the personified Thunderstorm with its four aspects of cloud,
wind, lightning, and thunder. After the Star Gods had created man in 776
their own image, they combined the powers of the storm into one great 773
person, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, and sent him to earth to inspect their
handiwork. In him were embodied all the self-renewing powers of earth.
In the course of his travels he acted as scout, found the buffalo, and
taught the people how to hunt them. The visionary was to impersonate
the god in two roles—one in the symbolic acting-out of the male role in
procreation and later as the guardian of their fortunes in the buffalo hunt.

In this ceremony of the young holy corn plant, the keepers of all the 243
twelve sacred bundles had assembled in the lodge of the Southwest (or 793
Southeast) Semicardinal-direction priest. The Evening Star priest and
the four semicardinal-directions priests sat at the west and the other
bundle ministers were ranged along the sides in positions appropriate to
the place of origin of their legendary villages and their cosmic affiliations.

The visionary stood before the Evening Star priest, who arranged the 243
buffalo robe that he wore and tied the buffalo hair rope around his waist 793
so that he was dressed as a priest. The Evening Star priest now instructed 787
the visionary in what he was to do. He gave him a small pipe filled with 788
tobacco from the sacred bundle. The visionary then led the procession
that was to go into the field where the sacred corn plant was growing. It
was the field of the wife of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle priest.
The procession lined up on the north side of the ceremonial earth
lodge, the visionary in the lead, the four-directions priests following
behind him and an errand man following after to serve them, carrying a
lighted brand with which to light the visionary's pipe. The Evening
Star priest remained in the lodge at the west and the ministers of the
other sacred bundles continued to sit in their places. As the procession
emerged from the lodge everyone in the village was standing on the

796 of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as
783 indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron
778 of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took
776 care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night,
the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

*[224] The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage
[772] twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbol-
isms from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the crea-
tion ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theol-
756 ogy of the cosmos was given. The doctors also had a systematic ideology
• 773 of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had
much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans
[191] or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

756

months. Thereafter, whenever a man had an animal vision, he applied to 773
the Doctor Association and was given a place in the lodge.

All during the summer hunt and the hard work of getting in the har- 756
vest that followed, the people looked forward with great anticipation to 796
the elaborate performances that the doctors would put on all during the 224*
month of October. It was a Grand Opera with a connected series of episodes, combining animal mimes, displays of sleight of hand, and illusionist performances of different kinds, hypnotic acts, songs, and dances. In that summer the people contributed the dried meat of eighty buffalo to the Doctor Association for the forthcoming ceremony and in former times as many as 140 were given. This was one of the prime motivations for going on the hunt.

In the Great Cleansing Ceremony now to be held before departure, 796
both the celestial and the doctors' symbolism was combined, one con- 783
nected with crops and the other with the wild animals.

As soon as the chiefs had determined the date for the departure on the 796
hunt, they notified the priest of the sacred bundle who was in charge for 783
that season, and he in turn got in touch with the other four priests. They 793
all came to his lodge, beating on their bundles to signify that they were [778]
now going to conduct a national ceremony. They took their appointed places at the west, putting their bundles down in front of them and sending the errand man to summon the other bundle keepers to come with their mats and food bowls. They spread their mats and sat in their traditional places, hanging their bundles on the wall behind them. They remained in the lodge for three days and nights, feasting and talking together. Meanwhile the four main priests went through the village calling on the people to bring gifts to Mother Corn. They were being asked to bring the clothes that would costume the chief who was to lead the pro-
cession when they took the sacred objects to the stream. Only men of [577]
sterling character were privileged to make such a contribution—those who were public spirited enough to initiate public ceremonies, were courageous in defense, volunteered frequently for public service, were generous in helping the less fortunate, did not harbor malice, did not engage in any kind of violence or loud conduct, did not gamble or indulge in sexual adventures in unsanctioned social categories. They were to bring a buffalo robe, moccasins, a buffalo-hair cord as a girdle, and dried buffalo meat and fat that had been consecrated on the previous buffalo hunt. The donors would paint themselves red, carrying their gift through the village for everyone to see as they took it to the ceremonial lodge. After the gift was presented, two messengers went through the village announcing the gift and publicly thanking the donor.

The actual ceremony in the lodge was performed on the fourth day 796
after the bundle keepers had assembled there. Very early that morning

796 the four priests dug a rectangular pit west of the fireplace to represent the Garden of the Evening Star. The bottom of the pit was covered with soft downy feathers and was referred to as *Kusaru*, "bed." All the bundles were now opened and the two sacred ears of corn, one attached to a stick (representing the male), were placed in the "Garden," with the other ear (representing the female) leaning against it.

• [773] Now another model was made representing the waters and the animal life that pertained to them—the waterfowl, swan, and loon, and a garfish to represent the Great Sea Monster that had guided the original visionary of the doctors and a turtle. These were placed around a wooden bowl containing some water with a clamshell in it to represent the running waters.

Next came some ceremonial procedures that pertained to the specific tradition of the Big Black Meteoric Star. The principal objects involved were the star chart which was attached to the bundle. This was placed on a stick, carried outside, and fastened on top of a little mound of earth in front of the door. Then four smooth stones, thought to represent both meteorites and buffalo maw stones, and to have come down to them from the beginning of the world, were each attached to a stick; four men were assigned to carry them to the mound outside. The "northeast" man of the group was given the sacred pipe and a long strip of buffalo fat. When they got outside, he placed the strip of dried buffalo fat on a little fire, built to the east of the little mound of earth for the purpose. As the procession filed out of the lodge, the priests were singing a song about the men scanning the heavens and the earth all around. They continued to sing as the steps of the ceremony were performed outside. The melting buffalo fat was rubbed on their hands and faces by the four men who were outside; these men also greased the four sacred stones. As they smoked the sacred pipe they slowly surveyed the sky in all directions.

When they got inside, the priests stopped singing and the men performed their devotions around the bowl of water with the skins of the waterfowl and the turtle.

796
789
*224
The next two episodes were acts of sympathetic magic for success in the buffalo hunt. The leading priest said, "Priests, the men whom we have sent to look around have returned. They will tell us what they have seen." The man on the northeast arose and said, "We went out before daylight. We found the buffalo—so many of them that they have almost drunk the river dry." The other three men each replied in the same way. A famous warrior was then selected by the priest to carry the sacred pipe and a chief to carry the strip of the buffalo fat. As they went around the room, first along the north and then the south, everyone reached out to try to put his hands on the pipe and to seize a piece of the buffalo fat, tearing off as much as he could to symbolize that he was starving and was desperate to kill the buffalo.

*224 •773 796 801 The creation story that was often reviewed in these ceremonies told them how this had come about. The number four had a sacred significance in connection with the four semicardinal directions, and the combined hunt of all the bands together was conducted in four major episodes.

*224 At the council tent in Camp 10, during their last evening on the Platte, White Eagle and the other Skidi chiefs planned out the strategy of this major phase of the hunt. The chiefs of the other three bands were also meeting in council. White Eagle as the leader of the hunt was to take the initiative. For diplomatic reasons he had decided to give over the management of the first hunt episode to Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band, who were currently "Fathers" to the Skidi in the Peace Pipe trading relationship. Man Chief was formally notified and he appointed the necessary religious and technical personnel, including three scouts who would go out long before dawn to survey the country and locate the herd. Long before the camp broke up that morning they had gone out, and when they found the hill beyond which the herd was located the chief scout crawled up cautiously on his belly, imitating the motions of a wolf so that he would not be detected by the herd. As long ago as [175] [136] 1540 the account of Coronado's expedition reported that white wolves ranged all over the plains, living peaceably in the presence of the buffalo cows, so that the bulls as well as the herd as a whole were obviously well accustomed to having wolves nearby. They would not detect humans unless the scouts stood in the direction of the wind so that they could be scented. After the head scout had surveyed the situation to his satisfaction, he invited his fellow scouts to come up, each in turn crawling up like a wolf and taking a look around. In a war party one wrapped oneself in a whole wolfskin with bow and arrows concealed under the arms and tail, but a blanket was sufficient to fool the buffalo.

*224 *484 Meanwhile the people in camp had awakened, broken up camp, loaded up and set out across the country for Camp 11. Following along Plum Creek almost to its source, the line of march continued overland in a southeast direction until it reached the head of Turkey Creek, continuing southward along its west bank. When the people were about midway along, one of the scouts came riding up to inform them of conditions in [202] connection with the herd. As he approached, he signaled with his blanket, throwing it up twice to show that there were many buffalo. When he reached the line he told them that the herd was coming up from the river and wasn't very far, but that nevertheless the line of march should continue slowly along the west bank of Turkey Creek rather than crossing to the east side in an attempt to avoid disturbing the herd, and then crossing back again to make their camp. He told them that Turkey Creek was muddy near its confluence with the Republican, as some of the herd had already crossed over and were moving eastward.

*224 Taking account of these factors, the plan of action was as follows.

tional as well as the physical structure of these animals. The device of 787
animal impersonation by dressing up in animal skins and imitating their 825
sounds and motions is universally reported for hunting peoples and must
go back to the very dawn of man's history. It may be that some degree
of self-induced trance or control of the prey in these terms may have
been involved in these operations. In any case, an intense rapport with
the animals was involved.

Each doctor developed his own "animal repertoire." We may be able 756
to gain some insight into the relation between the doctor and his animal
mentor from an actual case of a transfer of animal powers between two
brothers who decided to make a fair exchange of their different knowledge.

Victory Call was anxious to get Bear knowledge from his older brother, Sitting Hawk, who was a leader of the Bear Lodge in the Doctor Association. One day when they were alone together he broached the subject. Sitting Hawk, however, was not willing to part with what he knew for nothing. He said, "I want something there on your side. We're going to trade." "You're my own brother," said Victory Call, "and you won't teach me for nothing?" "You're my own brother, too, and I know you won't teach me for nothing either," said Sitting Hawk. We should explain that Victory Call was the leader of a private doctor cult the *Raris-ta*, Dance-Deer or Whistle Dance involving the mescal bean that
had become so prominent among the Pawnees that it was developing
into a feared rival of the Doctor Association itself. Two generations before, [177]
this cult had been borrowed from the Wichita, the Caddoan-
speaking kinsmen of the Pawnees to the south. Among other kinds of 756
knowledge, rattlesnake power was involved in the teachings. It is hard to 824
know what plants were involved in connection with the curing of snakebite 825
or the control of the snakes. Members of the *Raris-ta* could handle
a weed that was thought to be poisonous to other people, though there is no proof that this was the case. It was undulating in form like the snake itself. People were warned not to touch the plant unless they were members of the society. It was said of them that they had "snake-shot" or power, *rut-patsat-kuriraru*, "snake-shot-to-possess-or-own." Weeds associated with rattlesnakes have variously been identified from other tribes—a Mexican mentioned Dodder or Love Vine (*Cuscuta paradoxa* Raf.), saying that snakes took it into their dens for food; from the Dakota
Indians there is a report that Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens* L.) was
known as snake food. The botanical identity of the Pawnee plant, how- 756
ever, is not known. In the cosmic mythology it was said that the jealous 773
Fools-the-Wolves Star (Sirius) who had felt himself excluded from the 824
original Council of the Gods, was angered when people told irreverent 825
stores about Wolf or Coyote. Although in winter he couldn't control
the situation, in summer he could enlist the aid of the Snake Star (Scor-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756
[773]
[824]
[825]

pio), who would send the snakes on earth to bite the teller. There are many other indications in Pawnee mythology of the fear and respect the Pawnees held for the power of the rattlesnake.

Later in the course of our account of the doctor performances, we shall see that Victory Call did receive Bear knowledge from his brother, but first he taught him rattlesnake knowledge.

> One day Victory Call said to Sitting Hawk, "Well, let's go." If luck were with them they would find a rattlesnake right away. Sure enough, there sat a snake curled up with his head sticking up in the middle. Victory Call said, "Go ahead and catch it." Sitting Hawk thought, "It's going to bite me." The snake knew that Sitting Hawk was afraid of him. His fangs were sticking up and he was getting ready to bite. Sitting Hawk grabbed him by the neck. The snake felt cold on his arm. Sitting Hawk put the snake down and began to talk to him. He said, "That's what I wanted to know. That's what I wanted to find out." The snake said to Sitting Hawk, "I'm just like you. But you whip me and kill me for nothing. That's why, when you come in my path, I rattle to you to let you know I'm here. If you get out of my way then, I don't have to poison you. But when you come and abuse us, we must do something about it."
>
> Sitting Hawk now caressed Victory Call in blessing. The two men sat down and smoked a pipe together, offering puffs of smoke to the snake and talking to him. Then they went home and Victory Call gave Sitting Hawk some medicine to cure snakebite and showed him the weed it was prepared from.

Long after this time, when Sitting Hawk and Victory Call were dead and the tribe had moved to Oklahoma, Otter's older brother Fox Chief tried to transfer some rattlesnake power to him. But Otter failed from fear and hesitation:

> We two were walking along and we saw a big rattlesnake. Fox Chief told me to get hold of it, but I was afraid. Because of this, I would never have another chance. Fox Chief always had a little bundle of medicine in his buttonhole with fringes that hung down about four inches. He took a twig and chewed the end of it, dipping it in the medicine and then putting it near the end of the snake's nose. The snake relaxed and lay stretched out. He picked it up and put it in the crook of his arm so that it rested against the sheet that Fox Chief was wearing as a blanket. In this way he carried the snake home.
>
> When we arrived at his earth lodge, his wife was sitting in front on a mat making a pair of moccasins. He said to her, "I've brought you something to eat." She was very pleased until she saw what he had

796 ing" session that lasted late into the night. The successive fighting sessions
789 on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in
787 which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its "owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally succeeds in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner.
[824] The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them. In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semicardinal "stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally opposite semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *Northwest* possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the *Northeast*. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross. The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star," the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the
773 pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic
776 significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can
[821] speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome, he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way. Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti, and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat, gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie. The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, succeeding, as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known 776
as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended 773.
that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with
their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in [756]
the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The [782]
actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It [821]
was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears, without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of 796
rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial 825
ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time. Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been 796
occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and "fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is 796
completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. 241
Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until 262
the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive "fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently [824]
the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild [534]
plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea- 000

44

SORCERY

000

The Vision of a Poor Boy, Small—His Fate—Rivalry between Old Bull and Behaille—Male and Female "Witched" Members of the Community—Suspicions of Witchcraft in Sexual Affairs—Connection to "Fighting" in Doctor Performances—Fee-Splitting Ventures—Causes of Disease Regarded as Anxiety and Hostility—Interpersonal Hostility in the Community—Deadly Witch Missiles—the Treatment

787 773 RIVALRY AND HATRED as well as love and community were as much a part of Pawnee life as of our own, and the animal lore of a doctor could be turned to ill as well as to good. In many cases the original dream vision of the future doctor consisted of being taken to an animal lodge under the water where the animals sat in council and judged the visionary. Others were terrestrial or cosmic, but the lodge under water was a common one. Such a vision came to a poor boy named Small (*Patsaa*) when he was about twelve years old. [131] [175] The Pawnee were living near Fremont, Nebraska, in the village they occupied just before going onto the reservation. It must have been around 1850. The Pawnee name of the animal lodge settlement was Pa-ha-ku, "hill-in water-sitting"; it was located near the edge of a rather sheer bluff on the south side of the Platte River. The animal lodge was thought to be located somewhere under water in the side of the cliff and it was reliably attested that lights were seen and noises heard in this location. It was also said that the wind was sometimes so strong there, that attempts to examine the spot closely were always foiled:

> Right on the sheer bluff of the high bank was a cedar tree. This is the doorway to the animal lodge of Pahaku. Sitting on the tree are

all sorts of birds—particularly eagles—black, bald, spotted and also the 787
chicken hawk. White people say it is that way yet. They say the wind 773
is too strong there so that when you want to look, it pushes you back. At this bank, right under water is a big fish, the *tawakiiks*. In the night, one can hear drumming and sparks fly right on top of the water. This fish opens its mouth and one can see fire come out. This is Pahaku, the animal lodge.

Small was a poor boy who served in the household of an influential 787
man, hauling water, helping with the household tasks, and tending the horses in return for his keep. One day he was lying at the edge of the bluff under a tree with his bow and arrows, hoping to catch some birds to eat. His friend, Old Bull, who was the son and heir of an influential chief, came along and joined Small and since there was a cool, pleasant breeze blowing, they fell asleep. When he woke up Small was gone and so Old Bull went home, thinking that Small had awakened before him and gone to his lodge.

But Small was on quite a different mission. While they were lying there, he had had a vision and had gone to the animal lodge. The animals had taken him in. When he awoke he was sitting east of the fireplace with his bow and arrows. There were different kinds of animals all around. Near the door was a big snake. Near the altar at the west was a Scalped Man, Kitsahuruksu, who was the boss of them all. He addressed Small saying, "Nawa, greetings, now I leave you to the animals. Now you fellows sitting around here—you brought him in. What are you going to do with him?" At the northeast near the cedar tree was the bear who said, "Let's eat him up." The rest of the animals laughed, but the weasel chimed in, from his seat at the northwest, "That's right. We'd better eat him up right away." Then the big snake at the southeast side of the door said, "He's right. We'd better try to eat him up."

But the elk (moose, *pax*) at the southwest said, "Now you wait. Since you folks could eat him and I can't, I have something to say. I'm the one that supports him and helps him to live." Just as he got through talking, someone about halfway south, the Beaver, spoke up. "He's right. I can't eat him either. I also support him and help him live." Near the southeast the reindeer said the same thing. He also added, "You folks don't try to do anything to help him stay alive. You just want to eat him up. Right now I'm going to allow Scalped-Man to decide what should be done since we disagree." They all said, "Nawa!" Several on each side had spoken up. Now reindeer said, "Who brought him in?" But everyone was silent for no one was willing to admit to having done it. So the Scalped-Man was given the problem of deciding.

In the village, it was a major leisure-time preoccupation of men of all ages. 526
Every village had one or two well-worn tracks. The gaming ground was 517
the place where men would meet informally to transact most of their so- 571
cial, commercial, and political business. The formality of entertaining at home imposed more constraints and was commonly reserved for the more advanced stages of negotiations.

The basic paraphernalia for the game comprised a long "spear" and a 526
hoop which was rolled down the long track and at which the spear was aimed as the men ran alongside.

The smallest boys began with a plain hoop, *tawirus*, "wheel," made for them by their grandmothers. The wheel was made of a peeled ashwood stick formed into a ring and tied at the ends. It was then entirely wrapped with a rawhide string and greased with buffalo fat so that it would not harden. It is not clear whether the boys shot at the wheel with arrows as told in a myth, or simply threw a pole or "lance" at it.

The second grade for young men was played with a wheel of small size—the *tawirus-pitku-sukita*, "wheel-two-upon." It is not clear whether the basis of this wheel was of wood or several coils of rawhide as for the succeeding grade. The base was completely wrapped with a strip of buckskin. The rings were supposed to represent a buffalo cow and were to be made of the skin of the vulva of the buffalo. The fore end of the stick was carved with a kind of knob to signify the penis of a buffalo. These as- 526
pects of the symbolism are recounted in a tale of how Coyote rescues a 773
maiden who has been captured by the buffalo and taken to their village and turned into a gaming ring. In the course of the story, the play of the game is described:

Coyote is sitting in the buffalo village as a spectator of the game at the north end of the gaming ground. The two buffalo now arise, one of them taking the ring. (The ground is about 60 paces long, 15 wide and runs in a north–south direction in the length.) The players begin to run at the south end and when they get to about the middle, the one holding the ring rolls it toward the north, releasing it from between his thumb and forefinger and changing his spear from his left to his right hand. The two players now aim simultaneously at the rolling hoop so that the spears glide along the ground and overtake it, the best score being made by catching the ring with one of the small hooks near the hand end of the spear. Other points were gained by hooking with the end of the stick one of the cross pieces near the handle end or the large hook. It often happened that the spear did not catch the hoop at all and then points were calculated by the position of the spear with relation to the hoop—measurements being taken with a straw by someone who acted as umpire.

When the two players have reached the north end of the grounds, they picked up the ring and the sticks and started for the south end, rolling the ring as before and throwing the spears to score. Each set of play-

526 [773] ers played the field once toward the north and once toward the south and then two other players got up and played their round.

The paraphernalia of *the mature men* differed from that of the youths in the size of the ring and in the complexity of the spear. The ring of the youths was about 8 inches in diameter, probably built on a wooden hoop wrapped in buckskin, while the mature men used a very small hoop, 4 inches in diameter, with strips of rawhide as a base, wrapped around with the buckskin string. The mature men's wheel was called, *ks-tats-awi-katus*, "hand-down-hanging-flat." The spear was about 5½ feet long. The pole was completely wound around with a strip of buckskin and at the hand end there was a large hook completely wrapped around with the same material. The shaft was slightly tapered from the hand end to the point. About three-eighths of the length in from the point the shaft was somewhat flattened and a cross piece was lashed onto it with a small hook fastened on top in the lashings. A similar cross piece with hook was fastened about one-eighth way in from the point end. It was with these small hooks that they aimed to catch onto the hoop or else with the ends of the cross pieces. The shaft used by the youths was plain wood with a knob on the end to represent the bison penis. At the hand end were fastened two hooks wrapped around with buckskin.

526 887 There was a game *played by old men* with a very large hoop (possibly 25 inches in diameter) with no spear. The hoop itself was rolled and aimed at one of the players of the opposing side as a kind of tag. The players lined up along both sides of the grounds and when the player had rolled the wheel and it struck one of the men standing on the opposing side to his, the man who was hit would spread his blanket and begin to run, while the other man pursued him. If he stumbled and tripped on his blanket, he would be caught and would then have to roll the hoop and try to tag a man of the other side. If the pursuer stumbled, he would have to roll the hoop again. The special play of the game was called *kiskiru'*.

526 821 The wheel itself was called *ka-huraru*, literally, inside-land or "land of inside" which in Pawnee referred to the universe. The circumference of the wheel represented the horizon and it was marked off into twelve sections with bunches of feathers that were fastened on at equal intervals. [805] Each section represented a thirty-day lunar month of the twelve-month year. The four seasons of the year were marked off on the hoop by different colors for each quarter-arc. The winter quarter was white, the spring quarter light green, the summer quarter darker green, and the autumn, reddish-yellow. The universe was conceived as having a flat base and rotating around the motionless earth, the progression of the seasons resulting from this rotation. This had been inferred from the fact that the stars and the planets appear to have changed their positions with the seasons. Across the diameter was stretched a string of buckskin or sinew

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the
white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was
wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and
also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-four
feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidistant
intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled basket 773
made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to
carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the
germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony
immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous movement"
or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially
made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The
women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the
course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to
move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learning [887]
to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling.
There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the
betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual
pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make
the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked
to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525 285

778 126 80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwirutsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

787 80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 24, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of supernatural beings." 787 828 The Pawnee made a clear distinction between hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination. An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

775 534 80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

• 773 171 83 Compare in Whorf, 1939, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 752, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four

80-81 Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In

[821] Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, 773
is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who 171
makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his foot- 821
steps being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In
81, 127 Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personi- 773
fied First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the
land.

82 Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906,
p. 41. See Bogoras, 1902, p. 667, for wider distribution of this
theme.

83, 152, 154-155 Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photo- 821
graph of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He [126]
states (p. 285): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we
do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their
magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constella-
tions. Astronomical analysis is included in the article.

84, 117 On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 782
1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 109-110; George E. 727
Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, 171
Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen,
1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month,
"they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were
111 lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western
plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369,
description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden,
117 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz*
representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the
National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan
319 tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must
have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the
Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of
the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the
330 Mexicans . . ." (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account
of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the annotated footnotes.

84 Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 442-428, claims that after the new 243
corn plant (*kurahus*, priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-
fire ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out
and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to
a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They [114]
state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of
such a ceremony.

97 The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as 243
hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony 825
is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 169, that 171

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, 773
p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining 551
that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of 821
a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water.
Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation
(1925, pp. 142-161).

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee 000
texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making.

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely 231
personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive 552
names being applied to them for reference in conversation. [556]
Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof,
Askats; Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red
Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never 231
buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who 764
had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes 428
kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would [766]
often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the
horse.

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They 231
were: Wide Feet, *As-katuribu'*; White Spotted, *Paras-taka*; Bear 552
Head, *Kuruks-paksu*; Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat*; Hate-His-Tail,
Pits-tatur-ritku; Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats*; Wooly,
Pararus; Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku*; Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.*
Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked
when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were 231
never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the
time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, [262]
the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog
Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for
hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they
tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very
vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross,
1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march
pulling the travois in 1834–1836. The Pawnees were able to identify [825]
themselves with wild animals and had great respect for
them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties.

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through 231
trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. 726
I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied 177
the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced
a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee

*796 ●774 It is difficult to follow the Pawnee's thought in the words and accompanying act of this song unless it is remembered that he regards the spirit of man, animals, and all other things as able to travel about independent of the body. Moreover, that he conceives it possible for a number of persons so to unite as to think and act as one spirit.

*539 *796 192 In the song Mother, Atira, is the term applied to the ear of corn as the representative of Mother Earth. This word is preceded by the aspirate, h', significant of the breath, the giving forth of life. h'Atira not only refers to the sustaining of life by food, but also carries the idea that, as leader, the corn bears life-giving power.

The word weri, I am, does not mean the man who paints the corn, but the concerted spirits of the Hako party, which are spoken of in the singular, as though they were one spirit. The use of the plural sign re a little later on in the stanza (line 86) implies the personification of the ear of corn; its spirit is standing with the spirit of the Hako party. These two spirits move together throughout this drama of the consecration of the ear of corn as leader.

*539 *796 In the next stanza the two spirits are flying through the air. There is no incongruity in this procedure; the already mentioned belief relative to spirits makes it rational. In like manner, the color of the paint can hold within it the spirit of the abode of the powers.

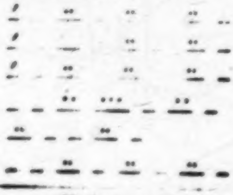
*533 *539 *796 The different stages in the progress of the ear of corn on its journey to the abode of the powers are depicted in the different stanzas of the song. In the first, she stands; in the second, she flies; in the third, she touches the boundary of the sky, "where it begins"; in the fourth, she ascends; in the fifth, she reaches the dome, her destination; in the sixth, she descends, the purpose of the journey having been accomplished.

The music is divided into six phrases; six stanzas record the stages of the journey; the number suggests the six ceremonial motions typifying the four directions, the above, and the below.

It would seem from the acts accompanying this song that the ear of corn went up to the abode of the powers by the four paths at the four cardinal points, down which we are told the powers descend, as the lines representing these paths were drawn on the ear before the blue paint was spread over its tip to represent the dome of the sky.

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

On his marriage the husband lived with his wife in her parents' 591
lodge until such time as he had proved himself capable of protecting and 885
providing for his own family. At that time the parents of the two
united in making him a tipi. The man then took the first opportunity of
going on the warpath, during which time he placed his wife and children,
if any, under the care of his own parents. Thereafter he and his
family lived in their lodge, except when upon the hunt, when he used
his own tipi. As soon as the man became a good warrior, medicine- 342
man, or priest, or as soon as his father's lodge became crowded, the
two families of the couple came together to build them a lodge, one
family constructing the north half and the other the south half. On
the completion of the lodge the husband himself fashioned the altar,
while he and his wife together constructed the fireplace.

DIVORCE

It was said that divorce was formerly rare among the Skidi. If 586
on the wedding night the husband found his bride was not a virgin,
he could leave her at once. Also, should a wife prove unfaithful, the
husband effected a divorce merely by leaving the lodge. The wife's
relatives, however, might prepare a feast and invite him to partake
of it. If he accepted, it was equivalent to remarriage. Barrenness
on the part of the woman ("her spring has gone dry") was not considered grounds for divorce.

If the husband committed adultery, his mother-in-law or the wife's grandmother could order him out of the lodge, in which case he was obliged to depart. The man who was lazy or an incompetent provider could also be driven out. In both cases the children remained with the wife.

DEATH

We may first consider the Skidi conception of the soul. All 775
living beings have souls, which are closely associated with the wind. 774
After death those of some people ascend to the heavens and become
stars. The souls of others, including those who die of disease or die cowardly in battle, travel the dusty Milky-Way to the village of the spirits in the south. The souls of warriors who die bravely on the battlefield and of those who die in sacrifice travel a bloody trail to the village of the warriors. Anyone who tries to make the human sacrifice and fails, or does not perform the rite correctly, becomes burning flint under the feet of the Morning Star. The souls of chiefs and priests travel a road of flowers until they come to the guardian spirit who influenced them upon earth. On this road

775 they also encounter a golden eagle seated upon a mound, its eyes giving off sparks of fire. By some this eagle is thought to be Tirawa. The eagle directs the soul along the proper road, and as it approaches the spirit-village that is its destination, if it is time for it to enter, it is not stopped. If its possessor did not lead a good life, however, it may be directed back to earth and given another chance. The souls of medicine-men wander over the land visiting the lodges of animals and eventually reach the spirit-village of the medicine-men. Before entering, they must undergo a sweat bath and be sprinkled with fine dust.

774 775 According to one informant, souls are like small stars. At death, the soul goes off the way a cloud comes up and disappears, or the way a wind blows up and dies down. The souls of people who have been seen by the Star of Disease and who have as a result died of illness are taken by the South Star to his home in the south. The disposition of all other souls is determined by the Morning Star, who decides whether they shall be restored to life, taken with him to the east, or sent to the south. And it is the Morning Star's importance in this matter that caused the Skidi to bury their dead with the head toward the east.

764 As a rule, the preparation of the body for burial began immediately after death, and the burial followed within two or three hours.

[766] The preparation of the body varied according to the rank and position of the deceased. When a man of importance was about to die he was carefully dressed in his best costume. Immediately after death, the body was painted with sacred red ointment by a priest engaged specially for the purpose. By this paint the man's friends in the spirit land would know that he had been well taken care of on this earth. The red ointment gave the rough and emaciated skin a smooth and healthy appearance. The body was now considered holy, for a corpse without the red paint was looked upon as dust and could not enter the land of the spirits. (Relative to this belief see Dorsey, 1904, pp. 69 ff.) The dead man was next wrapped in his buffalo robe. Should he have been a member of a society possessing ceremonial paraphernalia, as, for example, the Dog Soldiers, his feathers, whistles, rattles, etc., would be placed with him, and his face painted according to the style employed by his society. In the case of other societies the body would be prepared in a similarly appropriate manner.

[888] The preparation of the bodies of those who died in extremely old age was similar to the method given above.

9

his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, 668
therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. 782
An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time, 796
the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins
at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would 276
be adopted. 823

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to
Tirawahat^{a} must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; [775]
that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to
be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on
one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased
relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes
on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance,
and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is
thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The [776]
sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his
marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening
Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every
night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon
earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus,
while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the
position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should
be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering 668
for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" 796
is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived
by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the 177
dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream 182
of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

---

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old [591]
cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and
Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FREE TRANSLATION

*533

Beloved, it is good,
He is saying quietly,
The thunder, it is good.

Analysis.—The tempo of this song was slightly *rubato*, but the accents were clearly given. A portion of the song lies above the fundamental tone and a portion below it, which is somewhat unusual in Pawnee songs, although occurring frequently in the songs of certain other tribes. Progression is by a wide variety of intervals, one-third of which are intervals of a fourth. The song is minor in tonality and contains only the tones of the minor triad and second.

575 *533 In explanation of the following song it was said that long ago there was a society called *Iruska Virau͡* (or *Pirau͡*), translated "children of the Iruska." Members of this society did everything contrariwise. Thus in a fight they would not fire at the enemy unless commanded *not* to do so.[23] The song next following was said to be a song of that society and was recorded by the chief of the Chaui Band. The same melody with different words was used by the Skidi Band, the words of their version stating that a young man was told in a dream that he *533 would be killed the next day, but felt no fear. John Luwak (pl. 2, *a*), ●775 who recorded the song, said it was his own war-dance song, explaining [424] the words as follows: "A dead person wanted a certain warrior to do right, so he said to him, 'If anyone is kind-hearted and good to the [622] poor he is made a chief and has a great name. When he dies we in the spirit land are glad and want to go and meet him because he was kind and good.'"

*533 *Analysis.*—Attention is directed to the rhythmic form of this song and a comparison of the rhythmic units. The song opens with a rather long phrase, which is repeated. The following tones represent a repetition of the rhythmic unit, but a second unit is introduced and continues to the end of the song. This is shorter and livelier than the < first, though bearing some resemblance to it. The song is harmonic in structure and contains the tones of the second 5-toned scale. Only three intervals occur which are larger than a minor third. The tempo of the drum is slightly faster than that of the voice, this appearing in all renditions of the song.

---

[23] Cf. Teton Sioux Music, p. 157, concerning the Heyoka Kaga (Fool impersonation).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 unit and another which resembles it but is not exactly like any other phrase in the song. The rhythm was identical in all the renditions. The melody is less interesting than the rhythm, the first half being based on the interval of a fifth (F to C) and the last half on a fourth (D to G), with F as the principal tone of the song.

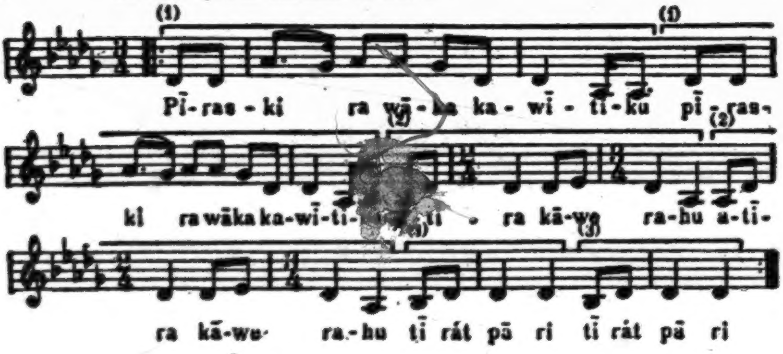
[775 765] The following song was also sung while the game was in progress. In explanation it was said, "This song belonged to a man who died long ago. He had one daughter and she died. The old man cried every day but at last, one night, he heard a cry in the woods. It was his daughter, who said, 'Father, I am in heaven.' Afterwards he did not cry any more."

No. 47. "I Hear the Sound of a Child Crying"

(Catalogue No. 1098)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 92
Drum ♩ = 92
Drum rhythm similar to No. 3


(1)
(1)
Pi-ras-ki ra wā-ka ka-wi-ti-ku pi-ras-
(2)
(2)
ki ra wāka ka-wi-ti- ti ra kā-we ra-hu a-ti-
(3)
(3)
ra kā-we- ra-hu ti rāt pā ri ti rāt pā ri

Piraski	ra	wāka	kawitiku	atira	kāwe
Child	have	sound	crying	mother	is she
rahu	ti	rāt	pā	ri	
coming	here	I do	walk	around	

FREE TRANSLATION

I hear the sound of a child crying "Is my mother coming?
Here I walk around."

Analysis.—This melody is broadly outlined by the intervals of a fifth (D flat–A flat) and a fourth (A flat–D flat). The interval of a major third does not occur and almost one-third of the intervals are fourths. The song contains three rhythmic units occurring consecutively as in No. 42. The first unit is the longest, the second is shorter

On his marriage the husband lived with his wife in her parents' 591
lodge until such time as he had proved himself capable of protecting and 885
providing for his own family. At that time the parents of the two united in making him a tipi. The man then took the first opportunity of going on the warpath, during which time he placed his wife and children, if any, under the care of his own parents. Thereafter he and his family lived in their lodge, except when upon the hunt, when he used his own tipi. As soon as the man became a good warrior, medicine- 342
man, or priest, or as soon as his father's lodge became crowded, the two families of the couple came together to build them a lodge, one family constructing the north half and the other the south half. On the completion of the lodge the husband himself fashioned the altar, while he and his wife together constructed the fireplace.

DIVORCE

It was said that divorce was formerly rare among the Skidi. If 586
on the wedding night the husband found his bride was not a virgin, he could leave her at once. Also, should a wife prove unfaithful, the husband effected a divorce merely by leaving the lodge. The wife's relatives, however, might prepare a feast and invite him to partake of it. If he accepted, it was equivalent to remarriage. Barrenness on the part of the woman ("her spring has gone dry") was not considered grounds for divorce.

If the husband committed adultery, his mother-in-law or the wife's grandmother could order him out of the lodge, in which case he was obliged to depart. The man who was lazy or an incompetent provider could also be driven out. In both cases the children remained with the wife.

DEATH

We may first consider the Skidi conception of the soul. All 775
living beings have souls, which are closely associated with the wind. 774
After death those of some people ascend to the heavens and become stars. The souls of others, including those who die of disease or die cowardly in battle, travel the dusty Milky-Way to the village of the spirits in the south. The souls of warriors who die bravely on the battlefield and of those who die in sacrifice travel a bloody trail to the village of the warriors. Anyone who tries to make the human sacrifice and fails, or does not perform the rite correctly, becomes burning flint under the feet of the Morning Star. The souls of chiefs and priests travel a road of flowers until they come to the guardian spirit who influenced them upon earth. On this road

775 they also encounter a golden eagle seated upon a mound, its eyes giving off sparks of fire. By some this eagle is thought to be Tirawa. The eagle directs the soul along the proper road, and as it approaches the spirit-village that is its destination, if it is time for it to enter, it is not stopped. If its possessor did not lead a good life, however, it may be directed back to earth and given another chance. The souls of medicine-men wander over the land visiting the lodges of animals and eventually reach the spirit-village of the medicine-men. Before entering, they must undergo a sweat bath and be sprinkled with fine dust.

774
775 According to one informant, souls are like small stars. At death, the soul goes off the way a cloud comes up and disappears, or the way a wind blows up and dies down. The souls of people who have been seen by the Star of Disease and who have as a result died of illness are taken by the South Star to his home in the south. The disposition of all other souls is determined by the Morning Star, who decides whether they shall be restored to life, taken with him to the east, or sent to the south. And it is the Morning Star's importance in this matter that caused the Skidi to bury their dead with the head toward the east.

764 As a rule, the preparation of the body for burial began immediately after death, and the burial followed within two or three hours.

[766] The preparation of the body varied according to the rank and position of the deceased. When a man of importance was about to die he was carefully dressed in his best costume. Immediately after death, the body was painted with sacred red ointment by a priest engaged specially for the purpose. By this paint the man's friends in the spirit land would know that he had been well taken care of on this earth. The red ointment gave the rough and emaciated skin a smooth and healthy appearance. The body was now considered holy, for a corpse without the red paint was looked upon as dust and could not enter the land of the spirits. (Relative to this belief see Dorsey, 1904, pp. 69 ff.) The dead man was next wrapped in his buffalo robe. Should he have been a member of a society possessing ceremonial paraphernalia, as, for example, the Dog Soldiers, his feathers, whistles, rattles, etc., would be placed with him, and his face painted according to the style employed by his society. In the case of other societies the body would be prepared in a similarly appropriate manner.

[888] The preparation of the bodies of those who died in extremely old age was similar to the method given above.

connected with the ceremony remained at the scaffold. 782
When the crowd had gone, the guardian removed the 796
arrows from the body one by one and handed them to an assistant who divided them into four bundles and laid these bundles northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest of the fireplace. The body was then taken down and carried a short distance to the east of the scaffold, where it was laid face down. The sacred arrow was drawn from its heart and laid upon
it. All then returned to the village, and the place was [766]
avoided for some time.

It was believed that the soul of the girl left her 775
body at the moment she was struck with the club and 782
went straight to Tirawa, who sent it to the Morning Star. The Morning Star clothed it with flint from his fireplace in the dawn and placed it among the stars in the heavens. Her body was thought to be not like ordinary bodies. Even after her death it possessed life. Things would be born from it, and the earth would be fertilized by it.

The sacrifice as a whole must be considered as a 773
dramatization of the overcoming of the Evening Star 782
by the Morning Star and their subsequent connection, 796
from which sprang all life on earth. The girl upon the scaffold seems to have been conceived of as a personification or embodiment of the Evening Star surrounded by her powers. When she was overcome, the life of the earth was renewed, insuring universal fertility and increase.

Human sacrifices were rare among the North 171
American Indians. The practice is known to have 782
existed among the Natchez, who lived in the present state of Mississippi, and possibly in Arizona and New Mexico. In Mexico, on the other hand, the idea was highly developed, and under the Aztec rule large numbers of victims were immolated every year. It may be

x539 very brave, and the Cheyennes cut him up into small pieces, but that
773 night it lightened and thundered and rained, and soon after the storm was over, the young man came walking into camp alive. He was all scarred over, where he had been cut up, but he had come to life because the deer had looked after him. He lived long to show the scars of the battles he had been through.

THE GHOST BRIDE

x539 In a place where we used to have a village, a young woman died just
773 before the tribe started on the hunt. When she died they dressed her
775 up in her finest clothes, and buried her, and soon after this the tribe started on the hunt.

A party of young men had gone off to visit another tribe, and they did not get back until after this girl had died and the tribe had left the village. Most of this party did not go back to the village, but met the tribe and went with them on the hunt. Among the young men who had been away was one who had loved this girl who had died. He went back alone to the village. It was empty and silent, but before he reached it, he could see, far off, some one sitting on top of a lodge. When he came near, he saw that it was the girl he loved. He did not know that she had died, and he wondered to see her there alone, for the time was coming when he would be her husband and she his wife. When she saw him coming, she came down from the top of the lodge and went inside. When he came close to her, he spoke and said, "Why are you here alone in the village?" She answered him, "They have gone off on the hunt. I was sulky with my relations, and they went off and left me behind." The man wanted her now to be his wife, but the girl said to him, "No, not yet, but later we will be married." She said to him, "You must not be afraid. To-night there will be dances here; the ghosts will dance." This is an old custom of the Pawnees. When they danced they used to go from one lodge to another, singing, dancing and hallooing. So now, when the tribe had

gone and the village was deserted, the ghosts did this. He could hear 539x them coming along the empty streets, and going from one lodge to 773 another. They came into the lodge where he was, and danced about, 775 and whooped and sang, and sometimes they almost touched him, and he came pretty near being scared.

The next day, the young man persuaded the girl to go on with him, and follow the tribe, to join it on the hunt. They started to travel together, and she promised him that she would surely be his wife, but not until the time came. They overtook the tribe; but before they got to the camp, the girl stopped. She said, "Now we have arrived, but you must go first to the village, and prepare a place for me. Where I sleep, let it be behind a curtain. For four days and four nights I must remain behind this curtain. Do not speak of me. Do not mention my name to any one."

The young man left her there and went into the camp. When he got to his lodge, he told a woman, one of his relations, to go out to a certain place and bring in a woman, who was waiting there for him. His relative asked him, "Who is the woman?" And to avoid speaking her name, he told who were her father and mother. His relation, in surprise, said, "It cannot be that girl, for she died some days before we started on the hunt."

When the woman went to look for the girl she could not find her. The girl had disappeared. The young man had disobeyed her, and had told who she was. She had told him that she must stay behind a curtain for four days, and that no one must know who she was. Instead of doing what she had said, he told who she was, and the girl disappeared because she was a ghost. If he had obeyed the girl, she would have lived a second time upon earth. That same night this young man died in sleep.

Then the people were convinced that there must be a life after this one.

sharpen up his axe, fix up the ropes, borrow a horse to haul the wood if 623
you need one. If two or three lodges are going afoot together, they must 203
keep in line so that we know where you are." (Those with horses were in 722
less danger and might go in any order.) There was another thing he 313
warned them against—that is, taking young girls along. They were just
the ones the Sioux would be trying to capture, and the old man remarked,
they weren't really strong enough to carry wood anyway! Another danger
was a magical one. The spirits of men who had been scalped by an [775]
enemy were very much feared. They were thought to lurk all around,
trying to capture women or steal whatever else they could get their hands
on. So the old man cautioned, "If a woman hasn't kept up, the line must
wait for her until she arrives. She might be captured by one of the
scalped men. This is the time you have to look out for that."

When the young men heard the crier's announcement, five or six of 722
them would gather together at a favorite rendezvous and say, "Let's go
together with our bows and arrows real early before the others and stay
up there until everyone comes home." According to their plan, on the appointed
morning they would go out before the others and disburse over
the area to see whether the enemy was lurking about. They would leave
the villages about 7:30 in the morning and stay out all day.

The chiefs' meeting had come to an end that afternoon while it was 574
still full daylight. Old Bull had gone off to tend his horses. Victory Call, 521
having nothing in particular to do since he had Horse Rider to help him,
wandered over to the gaming grounds where some of the men were clustered
about making their bets on the outcome of the hoop and spear
game, while others were just watching on the sidelines. Victory Call sat
down at some distance from the game and two of the spectators came to
join him. The man who sat down at his left filled up his pipe and offered [276]
it to Victory Call, lighting it for him. Victory Call offered the mouthpiece [782]
upward for the first puff to the cosmic powers in the heavens saying,
"Greetings, all of you spread out up there." Then he offered the
mouthpiece to the earth and said, "Greetings, my mother." Now he took
two puffs on the pipe and began to share it with the men on each side of
him in the alternation: first to the right, then himself, then to the left, and
so on. When the pipe was smoked out, Victory Call was feeling in a genial
mood. He made a special arrangement of his robe that had up to now
been carelessly draped around his shoulders. He drew it down to his waist
and, crossing his legs with the robe folded in a certain order, showed by
this token that he was ready to tell a story. The men who had sat down
with him were anxious to hear what the chief had to say, and particularly
what had gone on in the meeting he had just attended before the
crier got around to announcing it. Several more men joined the party
with the same idea in mind. Victory Call might begin directly, or one of
the men would suggest it obliquely saying, "I heard you had a feast."

756 796 536 plaza before the Doctor Lodge with the crowd watching from the roofs of the surrounding earth lodges. It was called Big Dance, *Kibaxkutsu*, dance-big, and the doctors were in a greater or lesser degree of trance while they carried out their performance.

The A's, the secondary acts between the Big Dances, were indoor performances comprising a series of sleight-of-hand feats including trance induction in one doctor by another. They were held in the night from about eight o'clock until midnight and included a sequence of acts by four different doctors with drumming, rattling, singing, and dancing in the intervals. All during the day the doctors who were to perform in the evening prepared themselves and their paraphernalia and refrained from eating until the following morning. The performances were interspersed with blank days during which they all rested and made other preparations for the Big Dance as well as for their subsequent performances. The entire series of performances was introduced by an initial indoor performance and ended with a finale that featured a lively battle between the Bears and the Buffalo Clowns, whose theme was, "Who's afraid of the great big bears? They're only little puppies after all!"

756 796 536 727 156 626 The C units were a special type of mime also given outdoors, featuring the "Scalped Ones," the *Kitsahuruksu*, who were thickly plastered with mud "so that they looked like mud banks approaching" and acted in weird and fearsome ways. It was a Pawnee belief that should a person who had been scalped survive, he could never return to his people. It was reasoned that if anyone did survive the process of being scalped by the enemy, he would become so malevolent that he could not live in society. Such a man would make himself a dugout in an embankment and live by attacking people and stealing what he needed. Frank North in his autobiography tells of a young woman who had been scalped by the Sioux in one of their raids in June 1861 while she was returning from her cornfield. Found to be alive, she was apparently buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left there to die. She was rescued and nursed back to health by the schoolmistress, Mrs. Platt. There is of course, no proof that this was the work of the Pawnees themselves, nor can anyone substantiate the subsequent report that she was dispatched with a tomahawk after her return to the tribe and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. It does indicate, however, that a person could survive scalping. A tribal belief was universally maintained that a scalped person could never return to the • [775] tribe. Children were constantly warned about these mischievous spirits and alive or dead they were considered a threat to adults also. They lived by stealing whatever they could get and sometimes seized women and young people. Because of them people were afraid to go about in the dark, especially near the banks of streams.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 126 80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwiru-tsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

787 80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 24, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of super-
787 828 natural beings." The Pawnee made a clear distinction between hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination. An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

775 534 80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

773 171 83 Compare in Whorf, 1929, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 752, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four
80-81 Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of
[821] course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIRST DIVISION. INITIAL RITES

FIRST RITUAL. MAKING THE HAKO

PART I. INVOKING THE POWERS

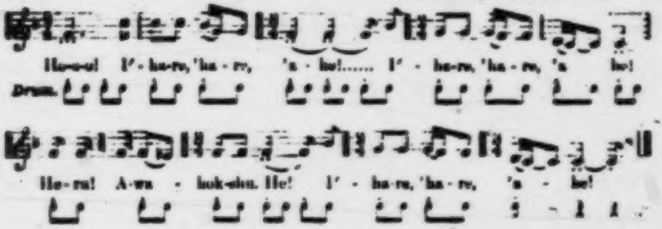
Explanation by the Ku'rahus

At the creation of the world it was arranged that there should be 773
lesser powers. Tira'wa atius, the mighty power, could not come near 776 ●
to man, could not be seen or felt by him, therefore lesser powers were
permitted. They were to mediate between man and Tira'wa. The 539*
first song mentions some of these lesser powers in the order in which
they come near to man, in the order of their creation. 796*

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126. 539*
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. 796*


Ho-o-o! I' - ha-re, 'ha - re, 'a - he!...... I' - ha-re, 'ha - re, 'a he!
Drum.
He-ru! A-wa - hok-shu. He! I' - ha-re, 'ha - re, 'a - he!

[533]*

I

1 Ho-o-o!
2 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
3 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
4 Heru! Awahokshu. He!
5 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

II

6 Ho-o-o!
7 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
8 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
9 Heru! Hotoru. He!
10 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

III

11 Ho-o-o!
12 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
13 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
14 Heru! Shakuru. He!
15 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

IV

16 Ho-o-o!
17 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
18 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
19 Heru! H'Uraru. He!
20 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

V

21 Ho-o-o!
22 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
23 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
24 Heru! Toharu. He!
25 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

VI

26 Ho-o-o!
27 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
28 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
29 Heru! Chaharu. He!
30 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

I'hare is an exclamation, as when one suddenly remembers something of which he has been unmindful, because other things demanded his attention. The mind having been recalled to the subject, now appreciates its importance, gives it complete attention, and becomes absorbed by it. The word means, I remember, I perceive, I give heed. 539* 796*

The repetition of the word as we sing "I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!" indicates that our minds are dwelling upon the subject brought to our attention.

Heru is an exclamation of reverence, in recognition of a place where prayers can be sent and whence help can come to us.

Awahokshu is that place—the place where Tira'wa atius, the mighty power, dwells. Below are the lesser powers, to whom man can appeal directly, whom he can see and hear and feel, and who can come near him. Tira'wahut is the great circle in the sky where these lesser powers dwell. They are like deputies or attributes of Tira'wa atius. The North Star and the Brown Eagle are among these lesser powers. A number of them are mentioned in this song and in the order in which they come near to man. We begin by calling upon Tira'wa atius, the father of all, but we do not address the power directly; we mention the holy place where the power dwells, Awahokshu, and send our thoughts and our voice there, that our cry may reach those who have the ability to come to us and to help us. 539* 772 776● 796*

I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe means that our minds are dwelling on our appeal to the powers.

Translation of Second Stanza

6, 7, 8 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

9 Heru! Hotoru. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

Hotoru, the Winds, those that stand at the four cardinal points. This term is not used in ordinary speech. It refers to the supernatural powers, the Winds. The common word for wind is utawiu; windy, tihota.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

10 See the first stanza, line 2.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

I'hare I have explained already. It always means the same, the arresting and fixing of the mind upon a subject of importance.

Heru! Hotoru. He! we exclaim, as we call on Hotoru. Hotoru, the Winds, were the first of the lesser powers to come near to man, so they are the first to be mentioned in this appeal. They are invisible, but they are very strong (efficient); they are from the breath of Tira'wa and they give life to man. They stand at the four directions (cardinal points) and guard the paths that are there, the paths down

*539 which the lesser powers must travel when they descend to bring help
772 to man.

●776 In this stanza, we remember the power given by Tira'wa to the Winds, and we cry to Hotoru to come and give their help to us at this
*796 time, to give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako.

I'hare, 'hare 'ahe means, as we sing it this time, that we are reflecting upon Hotoru, we are thinking of all that they bring to man, the breath by which he lives.

The Winds are always near us by night and by day.

Translation of Third Stanza

*539 11, 12, 13 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

14 Heru! Shakuru. He!

*796 heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

[195] Shakuru, the Sun. This word is not used in ordinary speech; it refers to the supernatural power, the Sun, in its relation to man. The common term for sun is ti'rawakariki, sun standing.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

15 See the first stanza, line 2. The words in this line have special reference to the mind dwelling seriously upon Shakuru.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Shakuru, the Sun, is the first of the visible powers to be mentioned. [776 821] It is very potent; it gives man health, vitality, and strength. Because of its power to make things grow, Shakuru is sometimes spoken of as atius, father. The Sun comes direct from the mighty power above; that gives it its great potency.

As we sing this stanza, we think of all that the Sun can do for us and we cry to it, to come now and give potentiality to the sacred articles about to be made ready for use in this ceremony.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

16, 17, 18 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

19 Heru! H'Uraru. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

h', the sign of breath; "breathing life."

[195 778] Uraru, the Earth. This term is not used in ordinary speech; the common name for the earth is kahoraru. H'Uraru refers to the supernatural power that belongs to the earth, the power to bring forth.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

20 See the first stanza, line 2. In the last line of the stanza the word I'hare implies reflection: "We reflect on H'Uraru!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

H'Uraru, the Earth, is the lesser power we cry to next. The Earth is very near to man; we speak of her as Atira, Mother, because she brings forth. From the Earth we get our food; we lie down on her; we live and walk on her; we could not exist without her, as we could not breathe without Hotoru (the Winds) or grow without Shakuru (the Sun). 539* 796* [776]

Mother Earth is very potent to help man and now we cry to her to come near and give potentiality to the sacred articles we are about to prepare.

We reverently reflect upon all that Mother Earth does for us.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

21, 22, 23 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

24 Heru! Toharu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

Toharu, the living covering of the earth, no special form being indicated; a general term for vegetation, but implying the supernatural power manifested therein. Katoha'ru, trees. [778]

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

25 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Toharu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Toharu means all the things that Mother Earth brings forth (all forms of vegetation); these are many. They are very necessary to man and they bring him much help. They too are lesser powers, though not so potent as some of the others. From them we get our food; from them comes the grass upon which the animals feed—the animals which supply clothing and food; from them come the trees which are very necessary to us. They have a part in this ceremony. 539* 796* 824

As we sing we think upon all that Toharu gives us and we cry to this power to come near, for without the help of Toharu some of the sacred articles required for this ceremony could not be obtained.

At this stanza the two men who have been selected to cut the two sticks of ash arise and go out of the lodge to perform this duty. The ash tree has been chosen beforehand, but the two men must cut the sticks when they go out at this time.

We stop between the stanzas of the song that this act may be performed.

*539 *796 The four blue lines represent the four paths at the four directions (cardinal points), near which the winds stand as guards. Down these paths the powers descend to bring help to man.

823 The blue paint came down one of these paths, but I was not taught which one.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

110 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
111 H'Atira, weri tawawe.
h'Atira, weri. See line 83.
tawawe, to spread.
112, 113 See line 111.
114 H'Atira tawawe re. See lines 83, 86, and 111.
115 Weri tawawe. See lines 83 and 111.
116 See line 111.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the Ku'rahus spreads (tawawe) with his finger the blue paint over the tip of the ear of corn, to represent the blue dome of the sky, where the powers dwell, above whom is the mighty Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

This act signifies that Mother Corn has reached the abode of Tira'wahut, where she will receive authority to lead in this ceremony.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

117 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
118 H'Atira, weri tawitshpa.
h'Atira, weri. See line 83.
tawitshpa, the attainment of an object; the completion of an undertaking; the end reached.
119, 120 See line 118.
121 H'Atira tawitshpa re. See lines 83, 86, and 118.
122 Weri tawitshpa. See lines 83 and 118.
123 See line 118.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 ●776 Mother Corn having reached the blue dome where dwells the great circle of powers, Tira'wahut, and having gained what she went for, tawitshpa, authority to lead in the ceremony, she descends to earth by the four paths.

The blue paint having now been put on the ear of corn, this part of the ceremony is completed.

In all that is to follow h'Atira, Mother Corn breathing forth life, is to lead. She came forth from Mother Earth, who knows all places and all that happens among men, so she knows all places and all men, and can direct us where to go when we carry the sacred articles which give plenty and peace.

571 *796 623 Because of the sacred and binding character of this relationship, and the gifts brought by it to the Son, namely, long life and many children to make his family strong, the selection of a man to be made a Son is regarded as a serious and important act, one in which the chiefs and the leading men of the Father's tribe must have a voice.

[554] The Son should be a chief or a man who has the respect of the leading men of his tribe, and whom the Father's tribe would be glad to have bound to them by the tie of Son.

While the Father has been gathering the materials necessary for this ceremony, which may have taken him a year or more, he has had some particular person in his mind whom he desired to make a Son. When everything is ready he mentions this particular person to the chiefs and leading men, and when we are gathered together to sing this song we think of this chosen man and we ask the assistance of Mother Corn, and if he is the right person she will lead us to him.

*796 [828] ● [776] The selection of the Son takes place soon after the preparation of the sacred objects, frequently on the night of the same day. It must always be in the night time, because the spirits can travel best at night. The spirit of the corn and the spirits of the people present in the lodge at this time are to decide who shall be the Son, and Mother Corn is to lead us to him. The same persons are present at this ceremony that were present at the preparation of the Hako.

In the west of the lodge, facing the east, sit the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the Father. Before them are the sacred objects arranged as at ceremonial rest. A little way in front of the crotched stick stands the ear of corn which has been painted in the sacred manner (see figure 172). It is held in position by one of the sticks to which it is tied being thrust into the ground. This ear of corn is the mother, and upon her everyone present must fix his mind.

The singing of the following stanzas occupies most of the night; they do not follow each other quickly, for we must pause after each one.

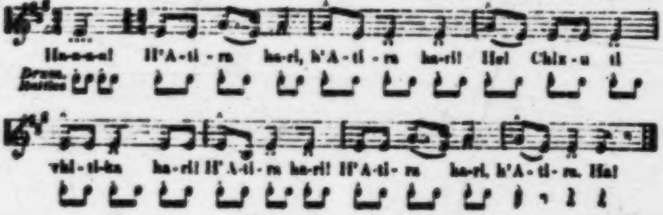
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 132.
· = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*533
*539
*796


Ho-o-o-o! H'A-ti - ra ha-ri, h'A-ti - ra ha-ri! He! Chix-u ti
Drum Rhythm
whi-ti-ka ha-ri! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri, h'A-ti-ra. He!

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 As we sing this stanza everyone bends his mind toward the ear of corn, for our spirits (chixu) and the spirit (chixu) of the corn must converge (whitika), must come together and unite for the purpose of finding the Son. The ear of corn is a part of h'Uraru (see line 19), Mother Earth, the mother of all things, so we call the ear of corn Mother Corn; and because she supports our life through food, we speak of her as h'Atira, mother giving forth life.

*539 *796 ●776 All things live on the earth, Mother Corn knows and can reach all things, can reach all men, so her spirit is to lead our spirits in this search over the earth. When Mother Corn went up to Tira'wahut at the time she was painted (see lines 82 to 123), power was given her to lead the spirits of all things in the air and to command the birds and the animals connected with the Hako. Endowed with power from Tira'wahut above and from h'Uraru (Mother Earth) below, Mother Corn leads and we must follow her, our spirits must follow her spirit. We must fix our minds upon Mother Corn and upon the Son, who is the object of our search. It is a very difficult thing to do. All our spirits must become united as one spirit, and as one spirit we must approach the spirit of Mother Corn. This is a very hard thing to do.

Translation of Second Stanza

*539 129 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
*796 130 H'Atira hari, h'Atira hari.
h'Atira, Mother breathing forth life. See line 125.
hari, part of the word iha'ri, offspring, children.
131 He! Chixu ti uchitika hari.
he! look! behold!
chixu, spirit of a person or thing.
ti, have. See line 126.
uchitika, meditating on; turning over a subject in one's mind and considering it in all its aspects.
hari, part of iha'ri, young; refers to the Son.
132 H'Atira hari! See line 130.
133 H'Atira hari, h'Atira. Ha! See lines 128, 130.

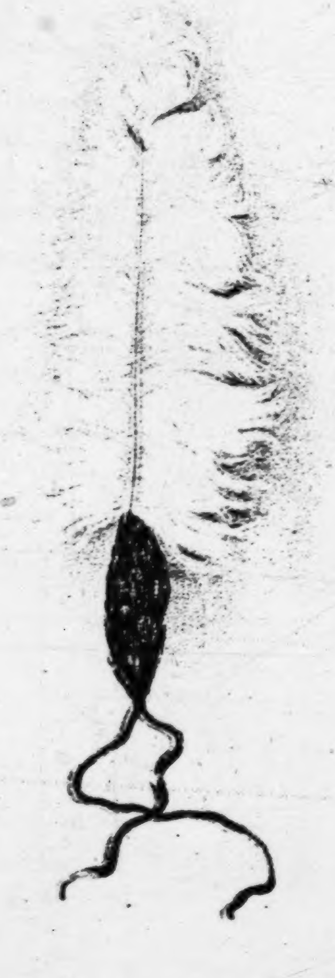
Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When we sing this stanza our spirits and the spirit of Mother Corn have come together. Now we are all to meditate. We sit with bowed heads, and Mother Corn sits with bowed head. We are all to think over and consider (uchitika) who shall be the Son.

We must all agree upon the choice, Mother Corn and all.

It is very difficult for all to unite, but we must do so before we can follow Mother Corn where she determines to lead us. It often takes a long time.

4796
237
776



THE FEATHER SYMBOL OF TIRAWA

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HAKO, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C. FLETCHER)

[FACING p. 58]

796*
[776 ●
821]

We do this that Tira'wa and all the lesser powers—the Winds, the Sun, the Earth, and the four at the west which control the storm—may see that all is complete and ready for the ceremony.

It is all done in silence before the day dawns. No song is sung when we put the objects on the pole and raise it nor when we take it down and remove them. We must let them stay up there for some time in order that all the powers may surely see that everything is correct, so the sun is well up when the Ku'rahus goes out to the pole, lowers it, and removes the sacred objects and carries them into the lodge and puts them on the holy place.

PART II. MOTHER CORN ASSUMES LEADERSHIP

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As I told you before, the Ku'rahus at the beginning of the ceremony anointed himself with the sacred ointment and fastened upon his head

[346]

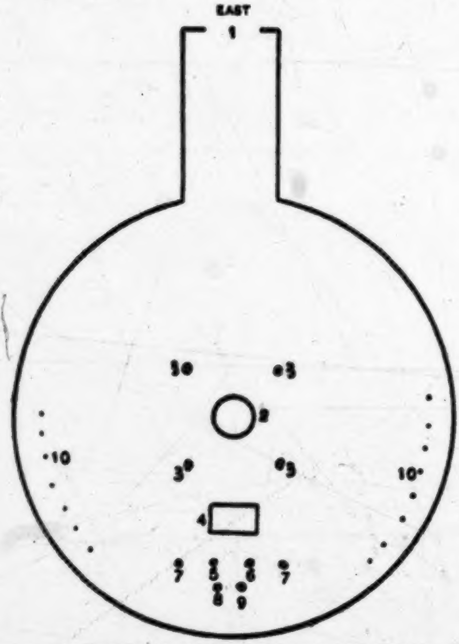


FIG. 173. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the singing of the first stanza of the song of the fourth ritual, part II.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the holy place; 5, the Ku'rahus; 6, his assistant; 7, the bearers of the eagle wings; 8, the Father (a chief); 9, the second chief; 10, members of the Hako party.

*539
*796

184 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa hiri;
185 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa, hiri ra wa, hiri ra wa. He!
186 Hiru ra hi ra wa hiri;
187 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa. He!

Translation

184 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa hiri.
hiru; iru, they yonder; the h is prefixed for euphony and to give ease in singing.
ra, coming.
hiri; iri, they who are far away; the h is prefixed for euphony.
ra, moving, moving this way.
wa, part of the word teware, passing through the air.
hiru, they yonder; the h is for euphony.
ra, coming.
wa, from teware, darting through the air.
hiri, they who are far away; the h is used for euphony.

185 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa, hiri ra wa, hiri ra wa. He!
hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa, hiri ra wa. See line 184.
he! a part of the exclamation i'hare! meaning I think upon and consider the significance of (the act which accompanies the song); the change of the r to h is for euphony.

186 Hiru ra hi ra wa hiri.
hiru ra. See line 184.
hi, part of the word hiri, translated above.
ra wa hiri. See line 184.

187 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa. He! All the words are translated above. See lines 184 and 185.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796
● 776

This song is addressed to Tira'wa atius. He is the father of all and all things come from him. We pray in our hearts as we sing. We ask Tira'wa to watch over the Ku'rahus, to guide his acts and to guard his words so that he may make no mistake and the ceremony may be complete. From the east the flashes of the eyes of Tira'wa come darting through the air upon us and upon the sacred objects.

We sing this song four times and then take sixteen steps to the east; there we turn and face the west, the people all behind us.

As we stand and look toward the west we remember that it is there that the four lesser powers dwell who were permitted by Tira'wa atius to bring life to man. These powers also control the thunder, the lightning, the storm, and death.

We sing the first stanza of the following song to them eight times.

Translation

I

*539 *796 236 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki.
wira; wi, a qualifying word meaning that an object is long or stretched out; ra, at a distance, yonder.
uhaki, something that is in a line; a stretch.

237 Katuharu uhaki, wira uhaki.
katuharu, trees, timber, woods.
uhaki, a long line, a stretch.
wira uhaki. See line 236.

238 Katuharu uhaki. See line 237.

II

239 See line 236.

240 Kichaharu uhaki, wira uhaki.
kichaharu, a stream, a river.
uhaki, a long stretch.
wira uhaki. See line 236.

241 Kichaharu uhaki. See line 240.

III

242 Wira wihaku, wira wihaku.
wira, something that is long seen at a distance.
wihaku, rippling.

243 Kichaharu wihaku; wira wiharu.
kichaharu, a stream, a river.
wihaku, rippling.
wira wihaku. See line 242.

244 Kichaharu wihaku. See line 243.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 ● 776 823 In this ceremony water is not used except for sacred purposes. We mix the paint that we use upon the sacred objects with running water. When on our journey we come to a stream of running water we can not step into it to cross it without asking permission of Kawas. Kawas is the mother; she represents the night and the moon, and she can permit us to enter and wade through the stream. So, whenever we come to a river we call upon Kawas to protect us, that our act of passing through the water may not bring punishment, and may not cause the clouds to come between us and the blue dome, the dwelling place of Tira'wa, or break the continuity of life from one generation to another.

The following song is our appeal to Kawas. When we sing the first stanza we enter the stream, the water touches our feet.

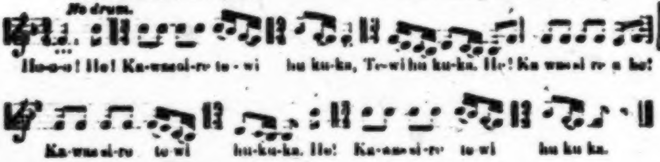
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SONG WHEN CROSSING THE STREAMS

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.
No drum.

539*
796*
[533*]
776
823


Ho-o-o! He! Ka-wasi-re te - wi hu ku-ka, Te-wi hu ku-ka. He! Ka wasi re a he!
Ka-wasi-re te-wi hu-ku-ka. He! Ka-wasi-re te-wi hu ku ka.

I

245 Ho-o-o!
246 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.
247 Tewi hukuka.
248 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.
249 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.

II

250 Ho-o-o!
251 He! Kawas sire tewi hariki.
252 Tewi hariki.
253 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hariki.
254 He! Kawas sire tewi hariki.

III

255 Ho-o-o!
256 He! Kawas sire tewi haiwa.
257 Tewi haiwa.
258 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi haiwa.
259 He! Kawas sire tewi haiwa.

IV

260 Ho-o-o!
261 He! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa.
262 Tewi hawitshpa.
263 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas seri tewi hawitshpa.
264 He! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa.

Translation

I

245 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

246 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.

he! a part of the exclamation hiri! give heed! harken!

Kawas; the brown eagle, which in this ceremony represents the feminine principle, the night, the moon.

sire, its; a possessive pronoun referring to Kawas.

tewi, it has; refers to the water.

hukuka, a composite word; hu, from chaharu, water; kuka, to step into, as to put one's feet in the water, to wade.

247 Tewi hukuka.

tewi, it has; the water has touched the feet.

hukuka, step into the water. The feet have stepped into the water.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796
●776
823

248 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire towi hukuka.

he! give heed! harken!

Kawas, the mother, the brown eagle.

sire, its; refers to the control of the water by Kawas.

a, a vocable used to fill out the measure of the music.

he! Kawas sire towi hukuka. See line 246.

249 See line 246.

II

250 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

251 He! Kawas sire towi hariki.

he! part of the exclamation hiri! harken! give heed!

Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the female principle.

sire, its.

towi, it has.

hariki, a composite word; ha, a part of chaharu, water; riki, standing.

252 Towi hariki.

towi, it has.

hariki, water standing. Our feet are standing in the water.

253 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire towi hariki. See lines 248 and 251.

254 See line 251.

III

255 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

256 He! Kawas sire towi haiwa.

he! part of the word hiri! harken! give heed!

Kawas, the brown eagle; the mother, the female principle.

sire, its; refers to Kawas.

towi, it has.

haiwa, a composite word; ha, part of chaharu, water; iwa, moving in: haiwa, moving in the water.

257 Towi haiwa. See line 256.

258 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire towi haiwa. See lines 248 and 256.

259 See line 256.

IV

260 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

261 He! Kawas sire towi hawitshpa.

he! harken! give heed!

Kawas, the brown eagle; the mother, the female principle.

sire, its; refers to Kawas.

towi, it has; refers to the water.

hawitshpa, a composite word; ha, part of chaharu, water; witshpa, completed, accomplished a purpose, reached an end. The meaning of the word is that the water has covered the feet.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

262 Towi hawitshpa. See line 261. 539*
263 Ho! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire towi hawitshpa. See lines 248 and 261. 796*
776●
264 See line 261. 823

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When we sing the second stanza, our feet are standing in the water. When the third stanza is sung, our feet are moving in the water. At the fourth stanza the water covers our feet. So as we sing this song we enter the stream and, under the protection of Kawas, we pass through to the other side.

Every time we come to a stream across which our path lies we must sing this song.

After we have forded the stream we pause at the bank. We are wet with water through which we have just passed, but we must not touch our bodies where we are wet to dry ourselves, for the running water is sacred.

So, we sing the first stanza of the following song and call on the Wind, Hotoru, to come and touch us that we may become dry.

SONG TO THE WIND

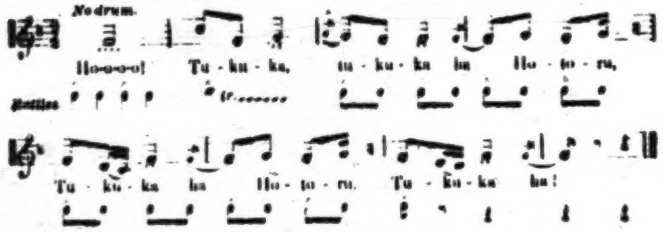
Words and Music

539*
796*
[533*]

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

No drum.



I

265 Ho-o-o-o!
266 Tukuka, tukuka ha Hotoru.
267 Tukuka ha Hotoru.
268 Tukuka ha!

II

269 Ho-o-o-o!
270 Taiwa, taiwa ha Hotoru.
271 Taiwa ha Hotoru.
272 Taiwa ha!

III

273 Ho-o-o-o!
274 Tawawe, tawawe he Hotoru.
275 Tawawe he Hotoru.
276 Tawawe he!

IV

277 Ho-o-o-o!
278 Tawitshpa, tawitshpa ha Hotoru.
279 Tawitshpa ha Hotoru.
280 Tawitshpa ha!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

When as we travel we come to mountains or hills we sing the following song.

●[776
823]

Hills were made by Tira'wa. We ascend hills when we go away alone to pray. From the top of a hill we can look over the country to see if there are enemies in sight or if any danger is near us; we can see if we are to meet friends. The hills help man, so we sing to them.

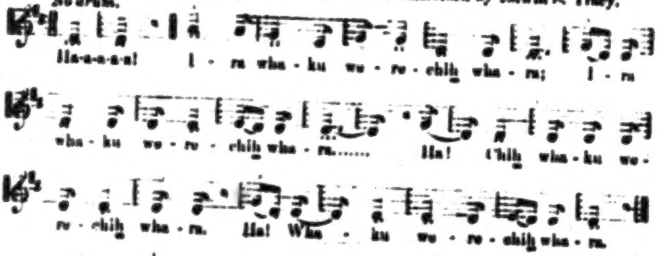
SONG TO THE MOUNTAINS

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 108.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ha-a-a-a!
I - ra wha - ku we - re - chih wha - ra; I - ra
wha - ku we - re - chih wha - ra...... Ha! Chih wha - ku we -
re - chih wha - ra. Ha! Wha - ku we - re - chih wha - ra.

I

299 Ha-a-a-a-a!
300 Ira whaku werechih whara;
301 Ira whaku werechih whara.
302 Ha! Chih whaku werechih whara.
303 Ha! Whaku werechih whara.

II

304 Ha-a-a-a-a!
305 Ira whaku werechih katawara;
306 Ira whaku werechih katawara.
307 Ha! Chih katawara chih wara.
308 Ha! Whaku werechih katawara.

III

309 Ha-a-a-a-a!
310 Ira whaku werechih kitta ira;
311 Ira whaku werechih kitta ira.
312 Ha! Chih e werechih kitta ira.
313 Ha! Whaku werechih kitta ira.

IV

314 Ha-a-a-a-a!
315 Ira whaku werechih kitta witit;
316 Ira whaku werechih kitta witit.
317 Ha! Chih werechih kitta witit.
318 Ha! Whaku werechih kitta witit.

Translation

I

299 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

300 Ira whaku werechih whara.

ira, yonder particular and single object.
whaku, an elevation, a mountain, a hill.
werechih, a party, a number of persons.
whara, walking, traveling on foot.

301 See line 300.

302 Ha! Chih whaku werechih whara.

ha! behold!
chih, the last syllable of the word werechih, a party.
whaku werechih whara. See line 300.

303 Ha! Whaku werechih whara. See lines 300, 302.

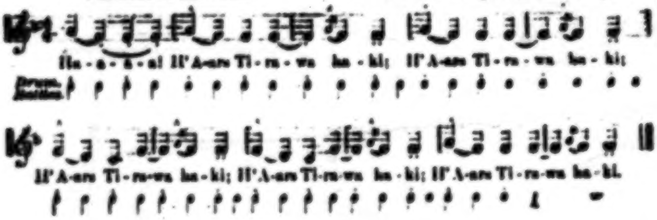
FIRST SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*

M. M. ♩= 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ha - a - a - a! H'A-ars Ti - ra - wa ha - ki; H'A-ars Ti - ra - wa ha - ki;
Drum.
H'A-ars Ti-ra-wa ha-ki; H'A-ars Ti-ra-wa ha-ki; H'A-ars Ti-ra-wa ha-ki.

[533*]

437 Ha-a-a-a!
438 H'Aars Tira'wa haki;
439 H'Aars Tira'wa haki;
440 H'Aars Tira'wa haki;
441 H'Aars Tira'wa haki;
442 H'Aars Tira'wa haki.

Translation

437 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

438 H'Aars Tira'wa haki.

h', a part of the word ha, your.

aars, a contraction of the word atius, father.

Tira'wa, the designation of the great power Tira'wa atius, thought to be above all other powers.

haki, many.

439–442 See line 438.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Ku'rahus begins to sing this song he must think what this ceremony is for and be mindful that all the powers that the heavens contain and all the powers that are felt over the earth are now coming near and bending over the Hako.

539*
796*
776

All the powers that are in the heavens and all those that are upon the earth are derived from the mighty power, Tira'wa atius. He* is the father of all things visible and invisible. He is the father of all the powers represented by the Hako. He is the father of all the lesser powers, those which can approach man. He is the father of all the people, and perpetuates the life of the tribe through the gift of children. So we sing, your father, meaning the father of all people everywhere, the father of all things that we see and hear and feel.

As we sing the words over and over we think about Tira'wa atius being the father of all things. This and all stanzas are sung four times.

539*
796*

When we have gone entirely around the lodge and have returned

---

*The Pawnee pronoun here translated "he" does not in the original indicate sex, nor is it equivalent to "it," as the word relates to a person.

539*
796*

546 Reshuru tiara i.

Reshuru, the Dawn.
tiara, born.
i, a part of riki, now, present time.

547 See line 544.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Mother Earth hears the call; she moves, she awakes, she arises, she feels the breath of the new-born Dawn. The leaves and the grass stir; all things move with the breath of the new day; everywhere life is renewed.

This is very mysterious; we are speaking of something very sacred, although it happens every day.

Translation of Third Stanza

548 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

549 H'Kawas si whata i.

h', the symbol of breath, breathing forth life.
Kawas, the brown eagle, representative of the lesser and beneficent powers above.
si, you; a personal pronoun, singular number.
whata, arise, stir, move about.
i, a part of riki, now, the present time.

550 See line 549.

551 See line 546.

552 See line 549.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We call upon Kawas to awake, to move, to arise. Kawas had been sleeping and resting during the night.

Kawas represents the lesser powers which dwell above, those which are sent by Tira'wa atius to bring us help. All these powers must awake and arise, for the breath of the new life of the Dawn is upon them. 776

The eagle soars where these powers dwell and can communicate with them. The new life of the new day is felt by these powers above as well as by Mother Earth below. 825

Translation of Fourth Stanza

553 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

554 H'Kawas ta wata i.

h', the symbol of breath, life.
Kawas, the brown eagle, representative of the lesser powers above.
ta, a personal pronoun referring to Kawas.
wata, has arisen.
i, a part of the word riki, now, the present time.

555 See line 554.

556 See line 546.

557 See line 554.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*

We sing this song slowly with reverent feeling, for we are singing of very sacred things. 796*

The Morning Star is one of the lesser powers. Life and strength and fruitfulness are with the Morning Star. We are reverent toward it. Our fathers performed sacred ceremonies in its honor. 539* 796*

The Morning Star is like a man; he is painted red all over; that is the color of life. He is clad in leggings and a robe is wrapped about him. On his head is a soft downy eagle's feather, painted red. This feather represents the soft, light cloud that is high in the heavens, and the red is the touch of a ray of the coming sun. The soft, downy feather is the symbol of breath and life. 776 ● 821

The star comes from a great distance, too far away for us to see the place where it starts. At first we can hardly see it; we lose sight of it, it is so far off; then we see it again, for it is coming steadily toward us all the time. We watch it approach; it comes nearer and nearer; its light grows brighter and brighter.

This is the meaning of this stanza, and the star comes as we sing it four times.

Translation of Second Stanza

539*

583 H-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

584 H'Opirit ta ahrisha. 796*

h', the symbol of breath, life.

Opirit, the Morning Star.

ta, approaching.

ahrisha, coming still nearer, but at the same time disappearing. The word conveys the picture of the morning star by its increased brilliancy coming nearer, and then fading, disappearing in the light of day.

585, 586, 587 See line 584.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the Morning Star comes still nearer and now we see him standing there in the heavens, a strong man shining brighter and brighter. The soft plume in his hair moves with the breath of the new day, and the ray of the sun touches it with color. As he stands there so bright, he is bringing us strength and new life. 539* 796* 776 821

As we look upon him he grows less bright, he is receding, going back to his dwelling place whence he came. We watch him vanishing, passing out of our sight. He has left with us the gift of life which Tira'wa atius sent him to bestow.

We sing this stanza four times.

*539 616 Pirao rati hao.
*796 pirao, child, a general term, anybody's child.
rati, a part of the word hirati, my.
hao, my own child.

617 Ti kiri ka. Ha! Wita hesha!
ti kiri ka. See line 614.
ha! behold!
wita, coming.
hesha, a part of the word tahesha, daylight.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While the messengers are going from one lodge to another to awake the people and bid them come to the lodge where the ceremony is being performed, we sing this second stanza.

It tells that the Son, now become as our own offspring, has gone forth to awake the Children, who have heard his call, and now, behold! they come forth to look upon the light of day.

This stanza is sung four times.

ELEVENTH RITUAL (SECOND DAY). THE MALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. CHANT TO THE SUN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 821 On this, the second day of the ceremony, we remember our father the Sun. The sun comes directly from Tira'wa atius, and whoever is touched by the first rays of the sun in the morning receives new life and strength which have been brought straight from the power above. The first rays of the sun are like a young man, they have not yet spent their force or grown old, so, to be touched by them is to receive an accession of strength.

*796 [346] The door of the lodge where the ceremony is performed must face the east, so that the first rays of the sun can enter and reach the Children. I believe that as we sing this song and as the first rays touch the Children they will receive help and strength. I was told by my predecessor that it would be so, and he was taught by those who had received the knowledge from the fathers; therefore I tell the same to the Children. ● [776 782] All the time I am singing this song I remember the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn; all these were made by Tira'wa atius, and I ask them to give us success and plenty; success in hunting and in war; plenty of food, of children, and of health. The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn, are powerful.

The Children, who have been aroused by the messengers of the Son, gather at the lodge before the sun is up. They must be there when the first ray appears if they would gain its blessing.

As soon as we who are standing at the west of the lodge, looking through the doorway, catch sight of the first ray of the sun on the horizon, we take up the Hako and move by the north to make a first circuit of the lodge, and sing the first verse of this chant.

Translation of First Verse

*539 618 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 619 Hira H'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, huru ka ha-a hukawi, huru ka hukawi, hukawi huru ka ha.

hira, will come. The word is ira, the h is added for euphony and greater ease in singing.

h', the symbol of breath, life, breathing forth, giving life.

aars, a contraction of atius, father.

ira, will come.

a, a prolongation of the last syllable of ira.

were, at that time, when, or then.

hukawi, the ray or beam of the sun.

huru, entering.

ka, a part of akaro, lodge. Ka, however, refers to the open space within, around the fireplace, where the people gather, where they sit and pursue their avocations.

ha-a, a prolongation of ka.

hukawi, huru ka hukawi, hukawi huru ka ha. All the words are translated above.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[776 821] We speak of the sun as Father breathing forth life (h'Aars), causing the earth to bring forth, making all things to grow. We think of the sun, which comes direct from Tira'wa atius, the father of life, and his ray (hukawi) as the bearer of this life. (You have seen this ray as it comes through a little hole or crack.) While we sing, this ray enters the door of the lodge to bring strength and power to all within.

We sing this verse four times as we go around the lodge. When we reach the west we pause.

Food, which has been prepared outside the lodge, is now brought in, and the Children are given their morning meal. Then we sing the second verse.

Translation of Second Verse

620 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

621 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta kusi hi-i hukawi, ta kusi hukawi, hukawi ta kusi hi.

hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.

ta, a spot; the word refers to the place where the ray touches and makes a bright spot.

kusi, alights upon, rests upon.

hi, a part of hira, will come. See line 619.

i, a prolongation of the syllable hi.

hukawi, the ray or beam of the sun.

ta kusi hukawi, hukawi ta kusi hi. Translated above.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[821] As the sun rises higher the ray, which is its messenger, alights

Translation of First Stanza

*539 1098 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1099 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitzu we re hre kusi hi!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child, young.
hiri! an exclamation calling to give heed.
kitzu, a modified form of kiitzu, water.
we, now.
re, am.
hre, holding.
kusi, sitting.
hi! part of hiri! give heed! harken!
1100, 1101. See line 1099.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the first stanza the old man takes up the bowl and holds it in both hands.

Water is for sustenance and the maintenance of health; it is one of the great gifts of Tira'wa atius.

[776] The white man speaks of a heavenly Father; we say Tira'wa atius, the Father above, but we do not think of Tira'wa as a person. We think of Tira'wa as in everything, as the power which has arranged and thrown down from above everything that man needs. What the power above, Tira'wa atius, is like, no one knows; no one has been there.

[783] The water is in a bowl shaped like the dome of the sky, because water comes from Tira'wa atius. The little child is to be cleansed and prepared for its future life by the water—sustained and made strong by the water.

Translation of Second Stanza

1102 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1103 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitzu we re ru ata ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part in iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitzu, water.
we, now.
re, am, or is.
ru, it.
ata, flying.
ha! behold!
1104, 1105 See line 1103.

In this song we meet exclamations characteristic of many others of
*533 the ceremony. These exclamations express the emotions evoked in
*796 the progress of the appeal. Few words are used, their iteration making
the memorizing of the song easier than if the emotion had been
fully elaborated in many different words. This apparent poverty of
expression, which may in part be accounted for by the necessity of
oral transmission, has not prevented metrical forms throughout the
ceremony; with one exception, the songs are rhythmic. In the present
instance the repetition of the exclamation I'hare! extended
through the musical phrase by the echoing of its syllables, conveys
*533 even to the eye of a stranger the meaning as given by the Ku'rahus
*539 in his explanation of line 2. "The repetition of the word as we sing
I'hare, 'hare, 'aheo indicates that our minds are dwelling upon the
*796 subject brought to our attention."

This opening song is in two parts. One refers to the powers, the other to the inauguration of rites through which man can turn toward these powers.

Six stanzas belong to the first part, suggesting the six symbolic
motions, indicating the four directions, the above, and the below.
The first stanza is an appeal to Tira'wa; its form is noteworthy when
viewed in connection with the opening stanza of the second part.
Tira'wa is not addressed directly, but the mind is turned to his place
of abode, Awahokshu, as to a definite locality where prayer should
be sent, whence help may come. The fixing of the mind upon a holy
place serves as a precedent for the establishment of a holy place,
●776 Kusharu (stanza VII), where man is to think of Tira'wa, and where
rites in accordance with his thought are to be performed. The
*796 order in which the powers are addressed in these first six stanzas
*539 reveals something of the Pawnee's idea of man's relation to the supernatural.
First, the holy place, the abode of Tira'wa, the father of all,
is addressed; second, Hoturu, the invisible Wind, the bearer or giver
of breath; third, Chakaru, the Sun, the father of strength; fourth,
H'Uraru, the Earth, the mother, the conserver of life; fifth, Toharu,
Vegetation, the giver of food; sixth, Chaharu, Water, the giver of
drink.

*539 Starting from the abode of the central power, Tira'wa, designated
*796 in the first stanza, the lesser powers bring to man first breath, next
vitality or strength, then the ability to conserve and use that strength,
773 and, finally, they give him food and drink to sustain his life. The
776 physical man stands forth in these first six stanzas as the result of
the gifts of the powers.

[*533] The second part of the song is in seven stanzas. The number suggests
the seven symbolic motions, indicating the four directions, the
*796 above, the below, and the center, the ego.

The first stanza of the second part (VII) calls the people to "give
*539 heed" to Kusharu, the place set apart for sacred purposes. Concern-

From the first extra song we learn that the visions had a dwelling place called "Katasha," located just below the abode of the lesser powers. The visions could be summoned by these powers from Katasha and dispatched upon a mission. After its accomplishment, the visions returned to their dwelling place to "lie at rest" until again summoned by the powers. According to the Ku'rahus, visions were not transitory, called into being for some special occasion and then ceasing to exist, but they were of an enduring nature, retaining an identity by which they could be recognized by one whom they had visited. This differentiates the vision from the dream, which would seem to be the memory of a vision which came while one slept. Waking visions are not spoken of as dreams. 539* 787

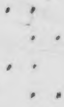
The Pawnees locate more or less definitely the powers which can affect man. In the above, far beyond the light, fleecy clouds, where no man has been or can see, dwells Tira'wa atius, the father of all, the giver of life and breath; in a circle below are the lesser powers, like a great council; beneath them is Katasha, the abode of the visions. The birds, the animals, and plants are intermediaries between man and the powers above and the powers below in the earth; they bring him the life and strength which is drawn by the powers from Tira'wa atius. Such is the outline, but the details are complex, no one power or intermediary being fixed or unchangeable in function or character. 776 772

The second extra song, as explained by the Ku'rahus, seems to point out that disaster is sometimes disciplinary and necessary to the strengthening of a man's purpose. 539* 796*

The third extra song teaches that when one dreams of Mother Corn one should go to a shrine where the sacred corn is kept and there offer smoke to the power which sent the corn to him in his dream. [731]

EXTRA NIGHT SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



533* 796*

Rhythmic Rendition

1

Give heed! We tell of Katasha lody. 539*
Whence the dreams come down, when draweth the night time near: 796*
Near the gods[b] is their dwelling.
They who watch o'er men; all silently come they down.

---

[a] Music on page 151.

[b] Gods, meaning powers, is used on account of the rhythm only.

his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, 668
therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. 782
An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time, 796
the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins
at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would 276
be adopted. 823

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to
Tirawahat^{a} must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; [775]
that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to
be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on
one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased
relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes
on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance,
and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is
thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The [776]
sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his
marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening
Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every
night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon
earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus,
while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the
position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should
be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering 668
for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" 796
is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived
by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the 177
dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream 182
of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

---

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old
cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and [591]
Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

756 The medicine men claimed to have received their power from supernatural sources and were organized into numerous societies. Linton states that "The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight-of-hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers attributed to them."[10]

771 According to Miss Fletcher their "religious ceremonies were con-
nected with the cosmic forces and the heavenly bodies. The domi-
[776 nating power was Tirawa, generally spoken of as 'father.' The
heavenly bodies, the winds, thunder, lightning, and rain were his
821] messengers. . . . The mythology of the Pawnee is remarkably
rich in symbolism and poetic fancy, and their religious system is
elaborate and cogent. The secret societies, of which there were
[575] several in each tribe, were connected with the belief in supernatural
animals. The functions of these societies were to call the game, to
heal diseases, and to give occult powers. Their rites were elaborate
[821] and their ceremonies dramatic."[11] Next in power to Tirawa was
776 Evening Star, regarded as a woman, and below her was Morning
Star, a warrior who drove the other stars before him across the sky.
[773] The child of these two deities was the first human being. In the west,
Evening Star had a beautiful garden with fields of ripening corn and
many buffalo, and from this garden sprang all the streams of life.

[823] Next in rank to Evening Star and Morning Star were the gods
of the four world-quarters who supported the heavens and who
stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, these
being the sacred directions of the Pawnee. Dorsey states that
"next to these gods in rank are the three gods of the north, supreme
among whom is the North-Star, Karariwari (One-who-does-not-
[821] move). Associated with him are Hutukawahar (Wind-ready-to-
give) and Hikus (Breath). The North-Star is . . . symbolic of
the chief . . . while his assistants, equally beneficent, sent the
buffalo and the breath of life."[12] Below these in turn were Sun and
Moon, from whose union sprang the second human being on the
[773] earth. This daughter, marrying the son of Morning Star and
Evening Star, produced the human race.

The lesser gods of the heavens included Star of the South and Big-black-meteoric-star, who was the god of the medicine men. There were also earth gods organized into four lodges, each with its leaders and messengers, these gods being the special patrons of warriors and medicine men.

---

[10] Linton, Ralph. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men. Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 8, Chicago, 1923, pp. 19, 20.

[11] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

[12] Dorsey, op. cit., p. xix.

*533 171 in order that the music of the entire tribe may be represented. All these songs are combined in the analyses and the latter class, to some extent, affects the total numbers.

An important point, made evident in this comparative analysis, is the individuality of Pawnee music. It is distinct, in its entirety, from the songs of other tribes, though bearing a resemblance to one tribe or another in separate characteristics. The study of Indian music by an established system of analysis shows there are characteristics that are common to Indian songs of various tribes and different from the music of the white race, and also characteristics which distinguish the songs of one tribe from those of another. Among the former is the change of measure-lengths found in many Indian songs and the downward trend of the melody. The latter are indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. A characteristic of Pawnee music that evades, to some extent, the tabulated analysis, is its simplicity of both melody and rhythm. This can only be appreciated by a study of the melodies themselves. Pawnee music is the plainest of any thus far recorded in its rhythmic divisions and general content. This characteristic of the group may, however, be due to the absence of songs used in treating the sick, which are usually songs of complicated rhythms.

MORNING STAR CEREMONY

778 796 A sacred bundle of the Skidi Pawnee was associated with Morning Star and its ceremony was held in the early spring, having for its object the securing of good crops in the coming season. It was the writer's privilege to see the Morning Star bundle in the house of the woman who was its keeper, and also to see its contents exposed in the ceremony. The bundle, in accordance with custom, was hung on the [776] west wall of its owner's house, and with it were hung four large gourds, symbolizing the four deities who were the special guardians of Evening Star and also representing the breasts of the two women in the west, Evening Star and Moon.[15]

773 [424 551] The legend from which the Morning Star ceremony arose was related by Coming Sun, whose grandfather was a high priest in the Morning Star village and who received his name by inheritance from this ancestor. With Coming Sun's narrative is combined a limited number of details mentioned by Linton in "Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee."

As already stated, Morning Star ruled in the east and Evening Star in the west. All the stars west of the Milky Way were feminine and those to the east were masculine, but the most powerful were Morning Star and Evening Star. Sun was with the former and Moon was a companion of the latter. One after another the eastern

---

[15] Cf. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 53-56.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE ORGANIZED WAR PARTY.

There was a fixed ritual for the control of a war party, which when 701
organized for a foray was for the time being a kind of wolf society (araris
taka, society of the white wolf). Its mythological basis is quite funda- 721
mental, being that part of the creation myth in which a wolf pursued man 726
and deceived him. In any event, the god of war is a mythical wolf and it
was directed that a wolfskin should always be placed at the top of a bundle [776]
and that the Skidi were to be the wolf people, as the name implies. Hence,
to become a real warrior one must follow the ways of the wolf. One who
does so can go to the keeper of a bundle and borrow the war clothing therein
together with the pipe. The wolfskin remains in the bundle, but the objects
he takes away carry with them the power of the wolf. By their association
with the bundle, these war clothes represent the powers of the west and when
the borrower is so clothed these powers are with him. He can now organize
and lead a war party, but he himself must not imitate the wolf, that is left
to his followers. Thus, they become like the wolf first placed upon the earth
and may have power to steal upon the enemy and get away without being
discovered.

Before setting out upon a foray a ceremony is held in the village in which 726
as in all else the borrower of the regalia from the bundle is the leader. An
altar is made and the bundle from which the regalia are to be borrowed is [778]
brought in and placed before the leader. Upon it is the wolfskin and in the
minds of the warriors the wolf is present and, hence, always with them upon
the way. A buffalo skull rests upon the altar.

The war regalia of the bundle are usually a pipe, a collar, a lariat rope, a hawkskin, an ear of corn (Mother Corn), some red paint, down feathers, and a leader's feathers.

As the bundle is present there must be a north and south side and two
leaders. On the march they go abreast with the others behind in order of
their rank. A four-day ceremony follows, before setting out. On the way,
their organization is for each side, or line: a leader, two scouts, two soldiers,
the warriors, and the inexperienced assistants. The four scouts are really
charged with the responsibility of the movement and may be said to be in
command (see p. 55) though the leaders stand for the highest authority.
They scout about in the early hours of the day and at all times on the [201]
journey. Their signals are made as wolf cries. When a scout has anything
to report, he tells it privately to the leader of his side. At the proper time
the leader announces the import of the report in a formal ritualistic manner.
They never approach or in fact go anywhere in a direct line, but follow an

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand
that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly 776
responsible. 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of conse- 292
crating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were cere- 796
monial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies.

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected 224
to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires.

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the 361
ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed.

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must 622
pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and 756
what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water 782
animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with
these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social inter- [565]
course. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but
otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that [773]
at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.)

authority, settled all difficulties, and preserved order. 622 He was expected to give freely, and was usually surrounded by dependents. His orders were enforced by 624 four men, called Nahikuts, who stood next to him in social position. Below these ranked the Kurahus or priests, who performed the ceremonies. Of still lower rank were the Kurau or medicine-men and the Narawiraris or warriors, while at the bottom of the scale came the remainder of the village.

The villages composing each band were held to- 631 gether by their religious ceremonies, in which each village had its place and share, and by the council, composed of the chiefs of all the villages. The tribe was similarly united, its council being made up of the councils of the bands. In the meetings of these councils rules of precedence and decorum were rigidly observed. No one could speak who was not entitled to a seat, although a few privileged men were permitted to be present as spectators.

The religion of the Pawnee seems, in certain re- 776 ● spects, to have reached a higher development than that of any of the other Plains tribes. In their pantheon Tirawa reigned supreme. To him the lesser gods of heaven and earth, as well as the people themselves, acknowledged authority. Tirawa ruled from his position above the clouds, and both created and governed the universe by means of commands executed by the lesser gods, who were subject to him. He was conceived of as a purely spiritual being, and was not identified with any object or natural phenomenon. Next in rank to Tirawa and his wife, the Vault of Heaven, stood the Evening Star, Tcuperikata. She maintained a garden in the west in which there were fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from which sprang all streams of life. Even the Sun renewed his fire nightly at her lodge. Through her four assistants, Wind, Cloud, Lightning, and Thunder, she

776 transmitted the mandates of Tirawa to the people upon earth. From her union with the god of next rank, the Morning Star, Opirikata, sprang the first being upon earth.

The Morning Star seems to have been a personification of the Male, as the Evening Star was of the female principle. He was conceived of as a warrior who drove the other stars before him from the sky. It was [782] to him that the Skidi band offered a human sacrifice.

Next in rank to the Evening and Morning Stars were the gods of the four world-quarters, who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest, and supported the heavens. To them Tirawa gave the task of dividing up the earth into the divisions which we find at present. Next in rank to these were the three gods of the north,—the North Star, who presided over the council of the stars, and who gave the ceremony for the creation of chiefs to men; the North Wind, who sent men the buffalo, and Hikus, who gave the breath of life. Below these in turn were the Sun and Moon, from whose union had sprung the second being on earth who, mating with the offspring of the Morning and Evening Stars, produced the human race.

There were a number of minor heavenly gods,—the second Morning Star, who assisted the Morning Star, the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who was the special god of medicine-men, the Star of the South, who stood at the southern end of the Milky Way and received the spirits of the dead, Skiritiuhuts ("Fool-Wolf"), who felt slighted in the councils of the gods, and, who, in revenge, introduced death into the world, and several others.

The greater part of the heavenly gods were identified with stars. [778 The sacred bundle of each village 361] was believed to have been given to its ancestor by one of these heavenly beings; and when the villages of the

band assembled for ceremonies, they arranged them- [778
selves according to the positions of their guardian 361]
stars in the heavens. 776

Only less powerful than the gods of the heavens were the gods of the earth. These were for the most part identified with animals in the same way that the heavenly gods were identified with stars. The earthly gods were organized into four lodges each of which had its leaders and its messengers, who served as intermediaries between the earthly gods and men. In these lodges they gathered in council to make or mar the fortunes of men, and to them favored mortals were taken to be instructed in the mysteries of earthcraft. The earthly gods were the special patrons of medicine-men and warriors.

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were 796
numerous and varied. They may be divided into two main classes,—ceremonies, which were in charge of societies whose members had certain secrets in common, and ceremonies which were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe. To the first class belong the ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine-men. To the second class belong those which had to do with the welfare of the people.

Practically all the ceremonies of the second class 796
centered about collections of sacred objects, called by 778
the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were two additional bundles which were the property of the whole tribe. The objects in the bundles varied, but had a general similarity, each bundle containing at least one pipe, tobacco, paints, the skins of certain birds, and the Mother-Corn. The last consisted of two ears of corn, which were the most sacred objects in the bundle. When not in use, the objects were wrapped in a buffalo hide and hung from the wall of the lodge. In connec-

autumn. In winter the gods were thought to have [778]
withdrawn from the earth. The first thunder in the 796
spring was thought to be a notification that they had [821]
once more turned their attention to it, and the people
at once held a ceremony of welcome,—the Thunder
Ceremony. This ceremony ushered in the ceremonial
year, and was followed in regular order by a number
of others. First came the ceremony called Paruxti, 241
by which the deity of that name was supposed to be 796
called to earth, and at which sacred corn was shelled
and given to the people for seed corn. Immediately
after this followed the ceremony, called the Planting
of the Corn. When the first shoots of the new crop
had appeared, a ceremony called Going After the Plant
was performed. In the autumn there was a Harvest
Ceremony, followed by the ceremony known as the
Making of New Mother Corn, at which the Mother-
Corn in all the bundles was renewed. In addition to
these seasonal ceremonies there were a number of
others whose time was not fixed.

The so-called Thunder Ceremony ushered in the 796
ceremonial year. Although neither the most important or the most elaborate of the Pawnee ceremonies, it was, more than any other, at the bottom of their ceremonial life. It paved the way for the ceremonies of agriculture and the rites for the calling of the buffalo. It promoted the well-being of the tribe, and was efficacious in driving back the malignant being of the southwest, the bringer of disease. It instructed the people as to their duties and privileges in their relationship to the deities, and finally it afforded many opportunities for direct communication with the deities themselves in a number of rites of sacrifice which formed an intrinsic part of the ceremony as a whole.

The first thunder in the spring was thought to be 776
the voice of Paruxti, a deity who was the messenger of 796
821

776 Tirawa and combined in himself the essence of the
796 four servants of the Evening Star,—Wind, Cloud,
[821] Lightning, and Thunder. He passed over the land in a storm, and as he spoke, the earth awakened, and life was kindled anew. Returning to his lodge in the west, he kindled new fire and offered smoke to the great heavenly gods, thereby informing them that he had visited the earth, and that all was well. The gods then turned their attention earthward, and prepared to receive the prayers and offerings of men.

796 As soon as the thunder had been heard, the priests of the Four Direction bundles assembled and prepared for the ceremony, which was held even if the tribe were away from their permanent villages on the hunt. Going to the lodge where the Aripahut bundle was kept, they took it down, and, when they were seated, the chief priest opened it and spread out the sacred objects. He then took up the rattles which had been fastened to the bundle, and giving them to the four other priests, said, "Priests, Tirawa has spoken. We must now sing the songs that were given to us with this bundle. It is a long time since we sang them, and we will make some mistakes, but Tirawa will help
533 us with the ceremony." Shaking their rattles as an
[539] accompaniment, they then sang,—
796

First Song.

"They sang this song above, they have spoken.
They have put new life into the earth.
Paruxti speaks through the clouds,
And the power has entered Mother Earth.
The earth has received the powers from above."

This verse was repeated 56 times, a single word being changed at each singing. At the end of the singing the priests made four grunting sounds, symbolizing the noise of the thunder in the four world-quarters, and laid down their rattles. After each of the songs of the ritual this was repeated, and after

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 6

The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee

The religion of the Pawnee was, in some ways, 776 more highly developed than that of any of the other Plains tribes. At the head of their pantheon stood Tirawa, the creator of the universe, who seems to have been conceived of as a purely spiritual being. Below him there were a great number of gods of varying importance who were divided into two great classes, those of the earth and those of the heavens. The former were inferior in rank to the heavenly gods, and were the special guardians of individuals and secret societies. They were, for the most part, identified with animals. The latter were the guardians and helpers of the people as a whole and were, with a few exceptions, identified with stars. The most important of the heavenly gods were the Morning and Evening Stars, who represented respectively the male and female principle. The first being on earth was believed to have sprung from their union. A fuller account of Pawnee mythology will be found in Leaflet 5 "The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee."

The ceremonial side of Pawnee religion showed an 778 equally high development. The worship of the heaven- 796 ly gods centered around collections of sacred objects called by the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were others which were the property of the tribe as a whole. It was believed that each bundle had been given to the people in ancient times by one of the heavenly beings,

[p. 1)

NKK
F451
v.6

hind the altar. The girl, who was constantly attended by a guardian, was brought in and seated on the south side of the lodge. The chief of the village took his place on the southwest, with the leader of the war party on his left, while the man who had actually captured the girl sat on the northeast. 796

The priest built two little fires of sweet grass, one to the east, and the other to the west of the fireplace. The girl was taken to the eastern fire, undressed, and her body bathed in the smoke. Her guardian then painted her whole body red and dressed her in a black skirt and robe which were kept in the sacred bundle between sacrifices. The man who had captured the girl then went to the altar, and was dressed by the priest in another costume, also kept in the bundle. He was given black leggings and moccasins, his face and hair were painted red, and a fan-shaped head-dress of twelve eagle feathers was attached to his hair in such a way that it stood out straight over the back of his head at right angles to his body. This was the costume in which the Morning Star usually appeared in visions, and with its assumption the captor seems to have become a personification of that deity. 727 782 796 [302] [302] [776] [787]

After these ceremonies had been performed, the captor left the lodge and passed through the village, entering every lodge and warning those who were to take part in the ceremony to come to the chief's lodge. Each family gave him a little red and black paint and certain other objects which were needed in the ceremony. When he had completed the circuit, he returned to the chief's lodge, and errand men were sent out to invite the chiefs and priests of all the villages to come to the ceremony. The Pawnee village was a social as well as a geographical unit. Several villages might live together. Each of the priests and chiefs had his prescribed place in the circle, while the space 796 [361] [621]

[751] attached to a bandoleer of beads or seeds. Instead of
756 the bandoleer a gaming ring containing charms was sometimes worn on the arm. Each medicine man had a bag, generally made from the skin of an animal tanned whole, in which he kept his roots, paints, white clay, and other objects used in working his cures. The latter varied with the individual, but usually consisted of deer tails, the leg bones and claws of eagles, human bones, dried fingers, and very often the maw stone of a buffalo. The last was greatly valued, as it was supposed to contain the life or soul of the buffalo. The medicine men's bags with their contents were usually handed down from father to son, or were given to a newly initiated medicine man by his instructor.

755 The methods used to work cures varied with the nature of the disease and the customs of the medicine man. Diseases of unknown origin and those ascribed to witchcraft could only be treated by some one who could work a counter spell. Such diseases were usually eradicated by sucking a feather, small stone, blood, or some other object from the patient, singing and the shaking of a rattle being part of the performance. The object sucked out was always thrown into the fire and consumed so that the seat or cause of the trouble could not enter again into the patient or into
756 any one else. All medicine men knew more or less of
[278] roots and herbs, which they administered as teas or in powdered form. The pay of the medicine man, which was given him when his services were no longer required, varied with the wealth of the patient. It sometimes consisted of buffalo robes and parfleches of dried meat, but was more often a sack of corn or a few strands of dried, braided pumpkins. He was paid even when he failed to work a cure.

756 The supernatural beings from whom the Pawnee
776 medicine men derived their powers were, for the most part, identified with animals. Not all animals were

able or willing to confer power, and there are some 756
indications that all those recognized as guardians were 776
related to one or another of the four supernatural
beings in the west, the messengers of the Evening Star.
It was believed that every man passed at birth under
the influence of some supernatural being. No one
knew who this guardian was, but he would manifest
himself later in the man's career. He was usually
discovered when the man fell sick during childhood.
Medicine men were sent for, and the guardian of the
one who was to be able to make the cure was thereby
shown to be the guardian of the child. If, on reaching
manhood, the boy desired to become a medicine man,
he would seek to acquire powers from his guardian.

The powers conferred by the supernatural beings 756
were of three sorts, power to cure the sick, power to [776]
perform feats of magic, and power of a third sort, [789]
called *pikawiu*, for which there is no equivalent in
English. Of these, the curative power was considered
by far the most important. The ability to perform
feats of magic was simply a tangible evidence that the
medicine man possessed the knowledge which would
enable him to cure the sick. The third sort of power
resembled hypnotism in some of its manifestations.
By it the medicine man was enabled to subjugate the
will of another to his own and to render his patient
passive during ceremonies so that his power could go
to the soul of the patient and remove the evil influence
which was at the root of the disease. The *pikawiu*
power was also likened to an arrow or bullet in its ability
to cut off life. Medicine men could throw this power
into an enemy as one would shoot an arrow, and the
individual attacked in this way was helpless until
some other medicine man, who understood the power,
exercised his magic to draw it out. Among the Pawnee 754
there was a class of men and women, not true medicine
men, who possessed this power and used it for evil

754 purposes. Their guardians were certain animals which
[776] were conceived of as having evil spirits. They were
[565] recruited from the lower classes in the tribe, and were
feared and disliked by the better element. Like the
medicine men, they were organized into a society, but
nothing is known of their ceremonies.

756 The Pawnee medicine men were organized into a
number of societies which were united by certain
secrets which they had in common. In addition to
these secrets, which were known to all medicine men,
but concealed from the rest of the tribe, each society
and even each member had individual secrets. The
oldest of these societies was that of the Pumpkin Vine
village all of whose members were said to have originally
been medicine men. Its members derived their
powers from a number of different guardians. In the
other medicine societies, which were organized at a
later date, all the members derived their powers from
the same guardian. A man might become a medicine
man as the result of a supernatural experience during
which powers were conferred upon him directly by his
[787] guardian. Such experiences were sought through long
continued prayer and fasting. More commonly, when
a man desired to become a medicine man and had determined
his guardian, he applied to some medicine
man who had derived his powers from that being, and
asked for instruction. If the medicine man believed
him to be sincere and was willing to accept the gifts
which he offered in payment, he received him as a pupil
and, at the next meeting of the medicine lodge, took
him into the lodge with him and instructed him. The
lodge sometimes continued in session two months; and
[837] during this time, as part payment, the medicine man
exercised the rights of a husband toward his pupil's
wife. Often a medicine man would have several pupils
whose wives would remain with him in his booth in
the medicine lodge. He might instruct them also if he

honesty. No such meaning attaches to the Indian equivalent of this 721
phrase. They take horses by stratagem or secretly, by the usual, and to
them legitimate, methods of warfare. To speak of their stealing horses,
using that verb in the sense which we commonly give it, would be
like saying that an army stole the cannon which it captured in an engagement
with the enemy. Captured horses were the legitimate spoils [556]
of war. The wealth of the Indians was in their horses. They had no
fortified places, no ships of war, no cannon, no works of art. Their
only valuable possessions were their horses. These were the only
property that could be carried off. Therefore, when an expedition was
made against a hostile tribe, scalps and horses were naturally its object.
Horses, being their only valuable possessions, constituted their 436
medium of exchange, so far as they had any. Did a man wish to 231
purchase an ornament, or an article of dress which took his fancy,
he gave a horse for it. If he bought a wife he paid for her in horses. [583]
The most valuable present that could be made was a good horse; and
horses were often given by the well-to-do to their friends and relations
who had been sick or unfortunate. On the other hand, when, as was
sometimes the case, a conquered tribe was condemned to pay a war [728]
indemnity, they paid it in horses. It is related that when the Skidi
broke their treaty with the other bands, and were afterward conquered
by them, they were obligated to pay such a fine.

This view of Indian warfare being understood, the motive of the 538
hero stories here given, and of many of the folk-tales, becomes plain.

The Pawnees are essentially a religious people. They worship 771
Ti-ra'-wa, who is in and of everything. Unlike many of the Indian 776
tribes of the West, they do not adore any material thing. They regard
certain places as sacred, but these are so only because blessed by the
Divine presence. The Pawnee Deity is not personified. He is intangible,
quite as much so as the God of the Christians. The sacred character of
Ti-ra'-wa extends to animal nature. The fishes which swim in the
rivers, the birds of the air and the beasts which roam over the prairie,
have sometimes intelligence, knowledge and power far beyond those
of man. But they are not gods. Their miraculous attributes are given
them by the Ruler, whose servants they are, and who often makes
them the medium of his communications to man. They are his messengers—his
angels—and their powers are always used for good.

782 Prayers are made to them; sometimes for direct help in time of need,
776 but more often for intercession. Often in the folk-tales it will be seen
● that when the blessing asked for is some small thing, a prayer is made to the animals (*Na-hu'rac*), but if the petitioners are asking for some great thing, something which is very difficult to grant, then the prayer is made to "One Above," to "The Ruler," that is, to the Supreme Being.

782 Nothing of importance was ever undertaken without a prayer for
776 help, for success. All the serious undertakings of the year, whose
796 success would affect the general welfare, were preceded by religious ceremonies, when all the tribe took part, and prayers were made and sacrifices offered to *Ti-ra'-wa;* and in all lesser enterprises, the individuals who were interested humbled themselves and implored the Divine assistance. A party starting off on the warpath prayed for success and made a burnt offering. Prayer and sacrifice always marked the beginning of the feast, and often its end. Success in their undertakings was acknowledged by grateful offerings to the Ruler. The victorious warrior sometimes sacrificed the scalp torn from the head of his enemy, and this was burned with elaborate ceremonies by the High Priest. He who brought back from a foray many horses, gave one to the priest as a thank-offering to the Ruler. One of the well-known Seven Brothers said to me, "It is our aim, after we have been helped, to give thanks."

The feeling of these Indians toward their God is one of humility and reverence. They do not love him, but they look to him for help at all times. The young are exhorted to humble themselves before him, to pray to him, to look to One Above, to ask help from the Ruler. In the stories which are included in this book the allusions constantly made to *Ti-ra'-wa*—the Supreme Power—the prayers offered and the humility and self-abnegation so often expressed, show faith, profound religious feelings, and great elevation of thought.

114 Among tribal names of North American Indians, none is more familiar to us than Pawnee; yet of no tribe is less known. Frequent allusions to them occur in the writings of early travelers in the West; but only one satisfactory attempt has been made to write a connected history of this family. In the *Magazine of American History* for

> would just put these together and it would be a good soup when you 159
> had nothing else to eat. We like to eat however it tastes, but we cer-
> tainly like to eat a well-cooked dish. In the spring my grandmother went 603
> out and collected wild turnips and things to save up for the winter. She never went dancing. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy had a very different personality from my grandmother. She was not at all bashful like my grandmother, who was very good at doing all sorts of things, but didn't do much talking. The reason my grandmother was bashful in this way was because she was humble and sad on account of the death of her sons in the battles with the Poncas.

The little boy Yellow Calf, grandson of Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, 159
was six or seven years old and the constant companion of Otter. His
name *Ari-pahat*, "calf-red," referred not to a red color, but to a tawny 551
yellow. The name had an important sacred reference—the calfskin wrap- 602
ping around the Evening Star bundle, and it must have been given to him in the course of a ceremony to which his family contributed. His father, High Noon, was the middle one of White Woman's three brothers who always came to the house. Otter called High Noon *tiwatciriks*, "uncle," and as the nephew, Otter called Yellow Calf *piirau*, "child." High Noon sent meat to the house on behalf of his son. Otter describes him in the following terms:

> Yellow Calf was a bit livelier than me. We played together. He wanted to fight sometimes but I didn't want to. He wasn't rough though. When we got to Oklahoma we separated, and we never did get together again.
>
> His family was unfortunate for even when they succeeded in getting horses, the horses died. But afterward Yellow Calf had good luck. First he married an old lady who had no relatives of her own and he inherited all her land. Then when he married a younger woman, his wife got some land of her own. They had many daughters, all of whom married and went all over to live. When he died, he left a large family.

The occasion of Yellow Calf's first marriage is an interesting story. 159
When he was about eighteen, Yellow Calf was seized with hysteria. He 756
imagined he saw a kind of Pawnee Lorelei—a little deer called *tatatsiks*,
that turned into a woman. The family did all they could to cure him [158]
but everything they tried was in vain. Then a medicine woman of about [776]
fifty said she could cure him, providing they could get married (Old Lady Tsitawa—see pp. 294-295, 305). They did marry and the cure was successful, and Yellow Calf prospered after that. Otter's mother White Woman remarked at the time that it was a pity Yellow Calf's mother wasn't alive when he was having all that trouble or she could have told

156 the universe, meaning literally the inside land, and that his house was a
776 small model of it. The infinite cosmos was his constant source of strength
829 and his ultimate progenitor, and there was no reason why he should hesitate
to set out alone and explore the wide world, even though years
should pass before he returned. Not only was he not confined within four
156 walls but he was not closed in with a permanent group of people. The
special concern of his mother did not mean that he was so closely embedded
with her emotionally that he was not able to move about.

155 Other people also were clearly concerned with him in a variety of
593 ways. There was no mistaking the constant concern of Old Bull for the
602 boy, Otter, in the earth lodge. And as for his grandmother, this was of
course patently clear. There was no mistaking the affection felt for him
by Horse Rider. Even from the earliest time the Pawnee knew there
were differences in kinds of affection. He knew he should go to his
grandmother for intimate care but he also looked up to his mother as his
provider and protector. His father he regarded in the same way wherever
he might be, and, as we saw (p. 41), his mother had pointed out to
him that he should emulate his father. Otter's Uncle War Cry and his
other uncles came to the house and again showed affectionate concern,
and one winter when he broke his leg his uncle stayed home and nursed
and protected him. He knew very early that he "had a home" in the
house of Eagle Chief which had been literally demonstrated to him in
special feasts and visits. His older half-brother Fox Chief was there for
him even though not in the house. The breakup of the household and
travel on the hunt did not dismay him, even when his grandmother
stayed behind one winter, for his community traveled with him. This
[867] bringing of the community's concern to the child's attention from an
early age was deliberately carried out.

601 The wide application of the kin terms gave the family relationships a
602 much wider reference. It made him realize that there were shades of
closeness with his immediate kin and that many varying factors determined
this just as they did in his outside attachments. The case of his
mother's half-brothers was a graphic example. He found out that, in
the last analysis, one made one's own relationships with people and that
none was absolutely given.

000 The intensified family togetherness of our present society stands in sharp contrast to these arrangements. The very physical plant of our family household fosters this intensity. Within this century, the apartment or family dwelling has become more and more isolated. In the past ten years, the isolation has become absolute and we have become the loneliest people that ever existed. Mechanical elevators, mechanical shopping, mechanical transportation, and other mechanical devices preclude almost all casual social contacts. At the same time, within the apartment or household the sexes are thrown together in an incest-breeding welter of

342 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman, 772 Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself. Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on earth.

342 The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a 772 woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive powers. 353 The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the young- 84 est women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located, the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being "inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe, ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse 776 of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his 342 power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in [823] the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that [782] they would be readily received.

361 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear conscious- 342 ness of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed, the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy. 342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke [354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cook- [252] ing breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the draw- 252 string of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the 262 skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a [251] large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

ble he would kill a buffalo and pronounce it holy. Then he called in the 243
five official Skidi priests, who were the ministers of the four semicar- 787
dinal-direction bundles and that of the evening Star, and entertained them [793]
at a feast of buffalo ribs, telling them of his vision. His wife sliced, dried, and packaged the rest of the consecrated buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit at home until the spring, when the ceremony was to be performed.

The visionary became a principal actor in the ceremony and made a [574]
major contribution of buffalo meat to the ritual feast, while his wife contributed a considerable amount of the boiled dried corn. He considered it a great privilege to participate in the ceremony and to receive instructions
from the priests concerning the cosmic traditions. During the ceremony 243
he would impersonate an important god of the creation, *Paruksti*, the 787
Wonderful, the personified Thunderstorm with its four aspects of cloud,
wind, lightning, and thunder. After the Star Gods had created man in 776
their own image, they combined the powers of the storm into one great 773
person, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, and sent him to earth to inspect their handiwork. In him were embodied all the self-renewing powers of earth. In the course of his travels he acted as scout, found the buffalo, and taught the people how to hunt them. The visionary was to impersonate the god in two roles—one in the symbolic acting-out of the male role in procreation and later as the guardian of their fortunes in the buffalo hunt.

In this ceremony of the young holy corn plant, the keepers of all the 243
twelve sacred bundles had assembled in the lodge of the Southwest (or 793
Southeast) Semicardinal-direction priest. The Evening Star priest and the four semicardinal-directions priests sat at the west and the other bundle ministers were ranged along the sides in positions appropriate to the place of origin of their legendary villages and their cosmic affiliations.

The visionary stood before the Evening Star priest, who arranged the 243
buffalo robe that he wore and tied the buffalo hair rope around his waist 793
so that he was dressed as a priest. The Evening Star priest now instructed 787
the visionary in what he was to do. He gave him a small pipe filled with 788
tobacco from the sacred bundle. The visionary then led the procession that was to go into the field where the sacred corn plant was growing. It was the field of the wife of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle priest. The procession lined up on the north side of the ceremonial earth lodge, the visionary in the lead, the four-directions priests following behind him and an errand man following after to serve them, carrying a lighted brand with which to light the visionary's pipe. The Evening Star priest remained in the lodge at the west and the ministers of the other sacred bundles continued to sit in their places. As the procession emerged from the lodge everyone in the village was standing on the

wool covering and placed it on the ground before him, offering his pipe to it to smoke. 243 [793]

The next steps involved the transformation of a dogwood stick into a "body" for the plant, by an expert arrowshaft maker, for whom tools were ready in the sacred bundle—a new knife, an elkhorn arrowshaft straightener, a grooved sandstone smoother, some sinew, and different-colored paints. After the shaft was made, red and white paints were applied, and it was anointed with milk from the breasts of a young nursing mother who was called in to volunteer this donation. In their proceedings, they were symbolically creating a young mother out of the corn plant which was tied onto the head of the shaft. The shaft was painted with a little red groove near the top to signify the face, and a red line drawn down the length signified the windpipe, breath, and the principle of life. First the priest spoke to the new young mother corn, after which it was passed around among the other bundle ministers in the lodge who spoke of it as "the voice." Then it was passed around a second time and all breathed upon it—the Evening Star priest first, followed by all the others. [322] [793]

Now the errand man went through the village crying out that the new mother needed a robe, a cowskin in the hair, and a buffalo hair belt. The donor brought them to the lodge. The last act of the ceremony consisted in wrapping Mother in her new robe with her face exposed so that she might watch over the people. She was tied to the outside of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle. [624]

Just before this final step, the visionary was dressed up by the priest for his second role that he would carry throughout the summer buffalo hunt until they arrived back at the village. He would now impersonate *Paruksti*, Wonderful Power, the Thunderstorm. He was wrapped in a buffalo skin that he had specially prepared, and wore special moccasins and a buffalo-hair rope belt tied in the back in four loops to represent the rain. His duties would be very trying, for all summer while they were on the march he would have to remain wrapped tightly in his robe, refrain from washing or bathing, handling knives, scratching himself, or participating in any acts of violence. He must think only gentle and noble thoughts. If his feet were allowed to touch water, there would be violent thunderstorms. In his person he held the great force of the creative power of all the universe. When they reached the buffalo herd, as the hunters stood lined up ready to surround it, this holy man would have to kneel facing the herd and pray to the cosmic powers, naming the buffalo and the eagles that he had consecrated to them in the past. Should anyone be injured in the course of the attack on the herd, the people would blame him and feel that he had had evil thoughts and had not been sincere. Throughout the hunt one or the other of the prominent old men would stay with him, talking to him and seeing that he did not transgress 243 787 [776]

15

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY

000

A Summary Ceremony—a Symbolic Washing of All Ceremonial Objects—a History of the Ceremony—Celestial and Doctors' Symbolism Combined—Ceremony Explained—Participation of People in Ceremony

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY that was held before leaving on the 796
hunt was, in effect, a summary of all the Pawnee religious beliefs and 783
practices. In Pawnee ideology, the sky was one realm and the earth and 772
the waters another. The priests were in charge of the cosmic ceremonies, [224]*
and the medicine men, or doctors, were in charge of the animals that [793]
were connected with the earth and the waters. In this last category, the [756]
physical structure of man and his physical health were included. But ultimately, according to Pawnee thought, the sky was the first cause and
the continuing source of power in both realms. The doctors conducted 796
a separate cycle of ceremonies from the priests, and in the fall, at the gala 783
ceremony that was held after the harvest was in, they acknowledged their 756
celestial origin by hanging buffalo-hide cutouts of the Morning Star and the other sky gods from the ceiling of the ceremonial lodge. During the forthcoming summer hunt, a specially selected doctor would kill a buffalo bull and a cow to provide the skins for this purpose and another bull and cow to build up the images of their own special gods.

The central feature of the ceremony they would now conduct was the 796
carrying of all the sacred objects to the stream, there washing them 783
symbolically. Then the people would clean up the whole village and wash 778
themselves in the stream. This great cleansing ritual was under the direction of the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the northeast of the semicardinal-direction bundles. In mythohistory this god was a sort of master [776] •

796 783 778 • 776 of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night, the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

* [224] [772] The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbolisms from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the creation ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theology of the cosmos was given. 756 773 [191] The doctors also had a systematic ideology of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

243
was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the 778
altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo 782
might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could 772
not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of 221
alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic.
The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other
in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers
of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As [823]
these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their [778]
biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for
each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through
the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these
alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation
of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his
political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different 243
aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under 778
the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when
the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four [776]
semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression
of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity,
Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in 796
their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under 628
the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented [778]
the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all
together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Pole Ceremony*—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken [823]
together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony
warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was
safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant 796 778
"ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of 243
its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the 243 778
priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to 793
settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four [533]
[535]

243 priests of the four direction bundles. They were representing the four
778 aspects of the primordial storm given by Heaven to the Evening Star to
793 assist her in the process of creation. The Evening Star priest also invited
a number of noted warriors and old men and had a quantity of green
corn cooked for their feast. The sacred bundle was opened and its pipe
[276] smoked and shared with the Evening Star and the other great western
[782] powers by pointing its mouthpiece toward the west and then in the same
way with the other celestial gods who took part in the ongoing of the
universe. The contents of the sacred bundle were passed through an
incense of burning sweet grass smoke, and an offering of the corn was
[574] made to the gods. Then the invited guests had their feast of green corn.
After the Evening Star bundle had completed its ritual, all other sacred
bundles followed suit, offering green corn to the bundles and having a
corn feast.

243 The main harvest ceremony which centered around the Mature Corn
778 was a continuation of the symbolic theme of the life cycle of Mother
776 Corn carried by the four semicardinal-direction bundles. Its connection
with the progression of the seasons was also part of the ritual pattern.

[793] In the spring, after the Evening Star priest had performed the creation ritual for the renewal of all things, the four direction priests began their ritual cycle in anticipation of the planting time by a ceremonial distribution of the seeds of the sacred corn to the twelve owners of the sacred bundles whose wives planted them in special hills in the fields. Pursuing the theme of seasonal succession, the four sacred bundles of the group took charge of their ritual in turn. For the winter season, a North bundle was in charge. At the ceremony when the sacred seeds were distributed, the North bundle gave over its sacred mission to one of the South bundles of the group. A number of cornstalks symbolized this transfer of power, and these were now handed from the North to the South bundle. After the ground-breaking ceremony which belonged to a different cult (Skull bundle—Evening Star), the second ceremony of the Four Direction series concerning the Mother Corn was carried out. In this case the birth, infancy, and adolescence of Mother Corn were symbolized by uprooting the new little shoots of the sacred corn plants and providing one of them with a shaft on which a mouth and windpipe were painted to represent its life. The Young Mother Corn had carried them through the summer attached to the outside of the sacred bundle. Now the maturing Mother Corn had attained her full power to look after the people. The ceremony of the Mature Corn represented her installation to this office. It was also the occasion when the four-direction-bundle group shifted the ceremonial prerogative from the South bundle to the North bundle for the forthcoming winter. Some of the cornstalks of the sacred corn from the current harvest were given to this bundle to signify its mission. In addition to the principle of the succession of winter and sum-

mer seasons followed by the four-direction-bundle group, another principle of alternation of powers was carried through as a means of assuring complete cosmic protection. This was the alternation of the powers of the western and of the eastern skies in successive years. There was, therefore, a fourfold alternation of bundles in the four-direction-bundle group over a cycle of two years: North*west*-South*west* in one year, and North*east*-South*east* in the subsequent year. The west and east each dominated a year, while north and south moved in half-year seasonal cycles for winter and summer. 243 778 776

As they were returning from the summer buffalo hunt when they had gotten about half way home, the priest of the summer direction bundle had sent a young man to the sacred corn hill to make an offering to it of buffalo tongue and heart meat. He pressed alternately into the corn hill a strip of tongue and a strip of heart in the four semicardinal directions. [793] [782]

Now with the harvest in, the priest asked his wife to clear out their earth lodge so that the ceremony for the Mature Mother Corn could be held. The women removed all the beds and other furniture and swept it out well, and the priest took down the sacred bundle from where it had been hanging at the west and placed it on the altar. Before dawn he sent four men to the sacred corn hill in the fields to bring in four stalks of the holy corn with the ears still on them. In the course of the ceremony, these would replace the old Mother Corn ears in the sacred bundles. In this way the sacred bundles always contained some fertile seeds. 243 778 776 793

The priest now invited a number of other people to participate. He called the other four high priests—his three colleagues of the four-direction-bundle group and the Evening Star priest. He also called in the holy man who had taken office when the sacred seeds were distributed in the spring and who had lived under severe taboos from which he would only now be released. All summer while they were on the march, this holy man had been living under the watchful eye of the priest. Also invited was the young woman who had contributed milk from her breasts at the ceremony of the Young Corn Plant in order to symbolize conception and the other owners of the sacred bundles.

When everyone was assembled, all went down to the camps where the women had piled their mature corn and other crops. The priest announced that Mother Corn was about to be installed and asked them to bring their harvest offerings. They came with their best ears of corn, and as the women entered the ceremonial lodge they put the corn on the north side in piles according to the color. Any of the ears that had the male spike at the tip, a feature that was regularly found in the holy corn, might be included in the sacred bundle in the course of the ceremony that was to follow. The women also brought beans and squash for the 243 778 776 793 782

243 harvest offering. Then the women left the lodge and the ceremony was
778 carried on entirely by the men. Now a man was sent to the sacred corn
• 776 hill to uproot any stalks that remained there with the ears still on them.
793 They were tied to the northwest post of the lodge, which symbolized the Garden of the Gods. When the new winter direction priest was in-
[782] stalled at the end of the proceedings, he would receive these as a sign of his office.

The priest was now ready to conduct the ceremony. He sat at the west with his bundle open before him. He put aside the stick with the Young Mother Corn Plant tied to it that they had made in the spring and the two sacred ears in their respective wrappings. He also had before him the four new sacred ears that were brought in that morning. The new sacred ears had been cut with the first section of the stem left on to symbolize the windpipe and the voice of the Mother Corn which was the
[822] "breath of life." After singing four songs mentioning the different colors, black, red, yellow, and white for the semicardinal directions, he
[533] sang a fifth song and cut off the stem. Then he sang another song welcoming the new Mother Corn. He embraced the new ear, passing it to the other priests who were sitting to the south and to the north of him, and then passed it down the south side and then the north of the lodge, everyone in turn embracing the new Mother Corn. When the ear was returned to the priest, he sang a seventh song stating that the voice of the corn was raised to the heavens.

[782] At the close of the songs, the pipe was filled and the mouthpiece pointed toward Mother Corn as an offering to share in the smoking. Then the ear was passed to the people on each side of the lodge and each person blew his breath on it four times, symbolizing its new life in the world.

The next symbolic act was to concentrate all the power in the world into Mother Corn herself. The priest took a buffalo-hair rope about a yard long from his sacred bundle. It was said to have been made of "hair from beneath the waters." Taking one of the new Mother Corn ears in each hand, he knelt before the altar holding the ends of the rope against the ears. Then moving his hands, he made the rope circle around into a loop to represent the horizon as it had circled out from the gods in the west during the original creation. He now made movements as if he were throwing the rope over objects and drawing them to his breast. This was spoken of as "trapping the powers of the Heavens" for Mother Corn and all the sacred objects.

The ears of sacred corn whose "lives had been ended" were now given over to a distinguished warrior, who would carry them on the warpath to guide him to success, or to the entrepreneur of the Peace Pipe Ceremony, who would carry them on his expedition to give him success in trade and international relations.

756
346

On the South Side	*On the North Side*
A *reindeer cult* in charge of Old Bull	*An eagle cult*
A *black-tailed deer* cult led by Old Lady Tsitawa (see p. 45)	A *fish hawk cult*
A *buffalo lodge* led by Wonderful Old Bull	A *coyote* lodge (including wolves and foxes)
Another *buffalo lodge* led by Leading Buffalo	A *bear* lodge jointly lead by Sitting Hawk and Angry Horse

173 The origin of the Associated Doctor Lodge was said to be in Pump-
756 kin-Vine Village where they would conduct a twenty-day ceremony.
178 When they joined the Skidi Federation, they incorporated the other
[631] doctors and extended the term to thirty days. The formation of the as-
756 sociation was attributed to an original visionary and images were con-
796 structed to commemorate various aspects of his vision. The most elabor-
532 ate was one that represented the serpentlike water monster that led him
to the earth lodge of the animals under the Missouri. The body of the serpent, which was nearly 60 feet long, curved around the outside of the houseposts with its head at the southeast, a forked tail at the northeast, and its body curved toward the west. The body was constructed of a framework of pieces of ashwood tied with sinew, covered over with a layer of grass and plastered with clay, smoothed and painted in different colors. Its mouth, large enough for a man to crawl inside, was built of two rawhide containers, covered over with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with white downy eagle feathers. The open mouth was provided with large wedge-shaped cottonwood teeth and on each side of the mouth long slender willow rods to represent feelers or antennae.

They also had to model the figure of the witch woman who was in the visionary animal lodge under the Missouri. First they built up a willow frame and then covered it with grass and clay. They provided the witch with a realistically modeled face and pumpkin-seed eyes, blackened in the center to represent pupils. On her head they put a buffalo scalp to which they attached two long braids of human hair; for clothing she wore a buffalo-hide dress.

Next they modeled the fireplace into the shape of a turtle, with its head pointing east, its tail west and the four legs in the semicardinal directions. They scooped out the back for the fire pit.

It took twelve of the leading doctors two nights running to build these figures, for which large quantities of clay had to be brought in. They worked at night so that they would not be observed. These were the main figures that represented the vision in the animal lodge.

[776] The next task was to represent the star gods from whom everything

came, including the animals. For these, two consecrated buffalo skins 756
were shot with a special bow and arrow during the preceding summer. 776
The gods were represented as cutouts suspended from the roof of the 796
lodge. Each was hung approximately where it appeared in the heavens. 532
The female gods of the western skies were cut out of the buffalo cowskin. The bull hide was used for a large cutout figure of the Morning Star fastened to a stick and raised above the smokehold outside just before the star rose in the sky.

The tasks of the doctors in preparing the ceremonial lodge were summarized 756
by my informant as: 346
796

> Now that the booths, the drums and gourds (rattles) were done, the pictures hung, the serpent, witch, and turtle modeled, there was one more thing to do—to get the cedar tree.

Each one of these elements of ceremonial furniture represented an in- 756
volved ideological network of religious beliefs. The theology of the 796
celestial gods and the creation has already been sufficiently elaborated 77
on. The ideology of the Doctor Spirits concerned chiefly the waters as the primordial source, followed by the earth, the plants, and the animals —all however, ultimately subject to and derived from Heaven as denoted by the cutout figures of the cosmic gods.

The ideology of the doctors was greatly valued from a humanistic as 756
well as from a practical point of view. Theoretically, chiefs with heredi- 622
tary status should not want to be doctors as to some extent we might not expect a Grand Duke to want to go to medical school and set up an office for general practice. The degree of apprenticeship and subordination to an established practitioner seemed hardly consonant with the dignity of a chief from the point of view of the Pawnee, but nevertheless some of the chiefs did seek out doctor knowledge and participated actively in the apprentice roles. When a chief applied to a doctor to become his pupil, the doctor would try to dissuade him saying, "You're a chief. I don't sleep at night. I am always working. You don't want to be that way. I have to watch the sick at night." But if the chief is determined his wish will finally be granted. The doctor again would test him, saying, "You're good-looking. You don't want to have mud all over your face!" At last after all these probing questions, if the applicant said, "That's what I want," the doctor, convinced of his sincerity, would bless him and receive him under his tutelage. White Eagle, who had led the previous summer hunt, and his brother Charley Box were both chiefs and also deer doctors. Old Bull and Victory Call were both chiefs and practicing doctors; Victory Call's senior brother Sitting Hawk had an important place in the chief's council and was also a leading doctor in the lodge.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 ing" session that lasted late into the night. The successive fighting sessions
789 on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in
787 which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its
"owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally succeeds
in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so
that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner.
[824] The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man
on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them.
In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to
as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semicardinal
"stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a
person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally opposite
semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *Northwest*
possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only
by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally
on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the
Northeast. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only
be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets
to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The
Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross.
The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star,"
the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the
773 pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic
776 significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can
speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god
[821] of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot
to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor
deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the
Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of
the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was
complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the
people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome,
he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a
buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way.
Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti,
and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his
whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat,
gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie.
The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any
buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry
meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the
hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, succeeding,
as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not
please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known 776 •
as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended 773
that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal
on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with
their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in [756]
the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The [782]
actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It [821]
was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the
rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely
begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears,
without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of 796
rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial 825
ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time.
Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be
decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer
because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to
send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been 796
occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and
"fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a
second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging
to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at
the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is 796
completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. 241
Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until 262
the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat
green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a
vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in
a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to
bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The
corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were
all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and
the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the
taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive
"fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought
between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears
in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently [824]
the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild
plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the [534]
wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was
originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated
gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea- 000

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Return from the Hunt

224*

After their travels over the snow and ice, they were glad to return to the 484*
warmth of their homes.

Soon the thunder would sound from the south. Then the priests would 221
call down the gods from the heavens to re-create the earth and Wonder- 772
ful would come down from his home in the western skies and walk the [776]
land that the gods had made—in all his aspects as the lightning, the thunder, the storm—going on the hill, the plain, the prairie—in the bottomlands, across the water, in the village and back to his home in the western skies where he would rest.

The new year would begin—the house, the food pit, the hunt, the harvest and again the winter hunting time. But there came a time when the year would not begin for the Pawnee. For beyond the Pawnee universe was the outer world and from it would come its destruction after six hundred years, and a new world would be born.

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wil- 000
son, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, 462
considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not 251
hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of
the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not
affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife
was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244).
Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civiliza- 462
tions—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern 171
Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men
among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern
Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women.

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and 000
Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9.

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the in- 342
side of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The 772
sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within,
then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand
as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people."

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song 776
sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 552
1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and 787
wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder 821
spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'"
He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when
he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of
the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's
account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of 157
the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones 821
the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit 721
to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old
friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She 114
remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on 821
the contrary they were part of it and went out into it.

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On 172
archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, 251
pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10
feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric ex-
amples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten
walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a
slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present
beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the
Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp.

The smoke offering of the Skiri Ghost-Dance was not altered by 668 this new organization. Only the Seven Eagle Brothers participated 796 directly. The Seven Crows organization was an alternative one, to assist in the singing. After a day of Ghost Dancing, Sam Cover, the leader of the Seven Eagles, might officially turn over to the Seven Crows the singing and leadership of the dancing for the following day. With the Crows leading, the formal positions for beginning and ending the songs and dancing remained the same.

Every day after the dancing, the people gathered outside for the formal food offering and blessing before eating (see above). The chiefs talked. The arrangement outside was the same as that previously described, except that now instead of the Seven Eagle Brothers on the east facing west, the two organizations were seated together, the Seven Eagles south of the mid-point, the Seven Crows just north of it, making a row of fourteen seated side by side.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, the form of Skiri Ghost-Dancing passed through only minor alterations; so far as memory of informants goes, it remained constant—constant at least while the Ghost-Dancing was a serious belief and practise of the Pawnee.

With the alternative organizations of Seven Brothers and Seven 668 Crows for the Ghost-Dance singing, in the event that both groups 796 of singers were tired at the end of a day of dancing, and neither was anxious to take over the leadership the next morning, a custom 525 of playing a hand game to decide who would carry the burden the next day tended to develop. In the central leading tent in the evening, the Ghost Dance leaders and the two organizations ate together, with the Seven Crows on the north side, the Seven Eagles on the south. Here in the talk which accompanied the meal, the members of the two brotherhoods might challenge each other to play a hand game that night. The losers would get up early and begin the dancing; the winners could sleep late.

Each formal occasion of four-days' Ghost-Dancing was in 668 general charge of one man, and was "put up" in the main by one 796 woman. After a woman had offered to put the dance up, the chiefs gathered and selected one man to be in charge. This man's job was to handle all matters which came up during the entire period of dancing, a hard task and a great risk, because whatever happened while the dance was in progress was credited to the one in charge for blame or praise. If there was good luck, people spoke well of [797] him; and if there was bad luck, people agreed it was his fault.[1]

---

[1] Such responsibility of the leader is true for all Pawnee ceremonial venture. The method ~~of having~~ someone, usually a woman "put up" the

668 Mark Evarts led several times, and says that whenever he had
796 the lead he had good luck. One time a baby was born while the
dance was in progress—that was good luck. Tobacco was being
●777 ceremonially prepared to be handed to Mark for making a smoke
offering. While they were praying that good luck might go with
[276 the tobacco, a grandchild of Linford Smith's was born. So all
782] present thanked God, and hoped it would be that way throughout
the dancing.

[184] While these developments were taking place among the Skiri,
the Ghost Dancing of the South Bands continued to follow the
formal arrangements which had been instituted by Frank White.
As members of the organization of seven singers which had been
developed by White died, new members were selected to take their
places. The smoke offering was not altered.

668 Murie, in discussing Pawnee ceremonial Ghost Dance forms,
states[1]:

796 "In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take
[484] instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they
learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies.
[346] According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set
up near the center of the camp as the temple... The modern Ghost
Dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off
center toward the north or south side according to the place of the
host..."

The arrangement of which Murie speaks, in terms of which the leading tent was on the north or south according to the place of the host, refers to Ghost Dance hand games, rather than Ghost Dances proper: for in the hand games, as will be described below, one side (either north or south, viz., either Crow or Eagle) is "host" and in charge.

GHOST DANCE SONGS[2]

796 The songs "dreamed" or secured in visions in the Ghost Dance
533 ranged over all the subjects that could naturally come to mind.
Some emphasized aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine, viz., that
in the other world all was as in former days, that the Christ was

---

affair, viz., supply the bulk of the meat and other food necessary, as well as the method of selecting one man to be in charge, are general Pawnee patterns.

[1] Murie, p. 636.

[2] The song texts of this section have been retranscribed and retranslated from the Densmore versions by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

668 in the supernatural sanction of the game. Many games were
525 probably demonstrated briefly and then forgotten.

The Pawnee developed an interesting check upon the validity
787 of these Ghost Dance hand game revelations. They knew that any one could make up the game with sticks, altar arrangements, smoke offerings, and special complexities. For this reason the people were especially interested in watching the play of a game the *second* time it was demonstrated by the owner. Their contention was that if the game was just made up the owner would not be able to repeat his own arrangements accurately, while if the vision was a true one he would always remember his ways, could in fact never forget them.

The game visions were supposed to give full directions to the visionary as to the details of the game. This included the essentials of the ritual aspects, as offerings, and ceremonial arrangements, the character of the hand game set, the way to play the game. Each composite of these things constituted a set of teachings similar to the ritual lore of a bundle owner in former times, and the paraphernalia used in demonstrating the game constituted a bundle.

The Ghost Dance hand game was a ceremony, not a gambling game, and as such the elements of gambling of the earlier game were
• [777] eliminated. But the concept of luck involved in the play of the game was carried along with a changed meaning; it may have been in fact the use of luck as an omen which stimulated the rapid growth and widespread playing of these games.

525 Gambling for the Pawnee, as doubtless for most primitive peoples,
777 is associated with feeling of the existence of luck as a definite quality of the world. To win in a gambling game is to win not only the stakes: to win is to get a vote of confidence, a promise that the gods are on your side. The immediate benefit of the victory is of course the spoils. But beyond these immediate stakes there are greater stakes which have been won. You cannot know, you cannot guess what ultimate benefits of fortune will accrue. But you have assurance that *luck* is on your side. You must await the outcome of events and see what happens. Something good, something lucky and fortunate, is bound to happen to you. When
668 it does, that is because you won when you gambled. The need for
525 luck is everpresent because of the precariousness of life. This need
777 was acutely felt in Ghost Dance times. It was because luck was
787 against the Indian that the white man was conquering. The Ghost Dance doctrine was a promise that fortune was to be on the other side. Now in addition one needed luck to be with the winning side. To be assured of the ultimate change of the Ghost Dance one needed

668

the luck of visions; and to be assured that one would be saved when 525
the great destruction came, one had to be in touch with the controlling 777
influences of the spirit world, which could be had only through 787
visions.

In the early games, as we saw, the men who played imitated 668
various birds and animals as they played. The belief is that birds
and animals play hand games too, even as men. In the Ghost 525
Dance two birds were preeminently the choice of the dancers, the 825
eagle and the crow, because of the known characteristic traits 777
of these birds—their wide, far-flung flights, on which they saw the world below them and everything that went on in it. When you were influenced to fall into a trance because of either of these birds, or when in your trance either of these birds was your guide and helper to find lost relatives and lost ways of life, you became associated with that bird. When in the hand game you played as a "crow" or an "eagle", you played to find out which was luckier, which held promise of the greater good fortune. In the early Ghost Dance hand game days it is said by all that the losers cried desolately and the winners were jubilant. As there never were material stakes for a Ghost Dance hand game, clearly it was nothing won. Bad luck or good luck had been discovered as one's portion. To lose was an ill omen.

An incident by Mark Evarts illustrates the foregoing: 668

Once at a Ghost Dance game played by Mrs. Washington, Mark 525
held the counter in his left hand. The guesser indicated that hand 777
as his choice, when, as quickly as it was guessed, it seemed to pass to his right hand, and there it was. This, according to Mark, was a sign of good fortune. A while later Mark was given Ridingin's daughter to marry. Goodeagle, the girl's grandfather, told the people at the time Mark was married to the girl, that he had had Mark in mind for a long time. Mark feels that this was what his hand game luck forbode. He considers this connection of the events reinforced by an experience which had occurred to him some time
before he played in this hand game of Mrs. Washington's. One
time when he was near a creek with a large clump of cottonwoods, 825
an eagle came circling, looked at Mark and went off again. "Now Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle represent two eagles," says Mark, "and that may have been the time they thought about me and considered me." Thus the experience with the eagle is reinterpreted in the light of hand game luck and the good fortune which followed it.

An interesting aspect of the above experience is that Mark considered the fact that the counter changed hands miraculous. Not from Mark did I ever learn that in the old game changing the

668 counter from hand to hand in this way was a regular form of
525 deception and part of the game. Other informants told me about
● 777 this old method of play after I had recorded Mark's experience, and
only then did I become aware that in terms of Ghost Dance hand
[577] game ethics Mark had cheated, unconsciously falling into the habits
of play he had been used to in his boyhood.

The concept of luck associated with hand game play was broadened conceptually in the Ghost Dance. Winning was a sign of greater faith, and since the coming change could be attained through faith alone, losing was a bitter dose indeed. It marked one as a disbeliever, a sinner, an unfortunate who could not be saved.

In the chapters^ which follow I have considered the Ghost Dance
121 hand games in two ways. In the first discussion the material
525 facts of the games have been used to define the generic aspects of
668 game rituals and ceremonies, and to bring out the significance of the
various parts in order to consider in a later discussion the contrast
with the old game and the meaning of the changes. In other
chapters the details of the individual games are presented so far
as known, in a form which makes them at once comparable with
the analysis which precedes. In this way repetitions have been
reduced to a minimum.

The order in which the games are presented, especially those of the Skiri, is an attempt at something of a chronology.
128 The exact order is of course impossible to determine at this date.
525 Many were developed well-nigh simultaneously. If the owners of
old games are interviewed each is likely to contend for the priority
668 of his or her own game. But certain games are known to be very
old, certain others to be very recent. In addition special traits of
the individual games place them in one or another of relative
periods of time, before which they could not have used certain
forms, and after which they must have. In short, on the basis
of internal evidence as well as tradition a fairly sure chronology of
the games *as groups* had been obtained. The question of priority
within the groups is problematical.

There are first of all the games of the South Bands. Of these I have heard of only five: Joseph Carrion's, Tom Morgan's, White Elk's, Charley Brown's (this and White Elk's are collaborative), and Annie Eustace's. Tom Morgan's game as we saw was probably a nonceremonial one, which he altered to suit the new fashion, while Carrion's was the game he learned among the Arapaho. These two are then definitely older than the White Elk-Brown game, and that of Annie Eustace, for both of the latter were developed *as* Ghost Dance hand games.

^ [not processed. -Analyst]

783 rite, they seated themselves in their original places,
778 and the priest said, "Priests, the men whom we have sent out to look about have returned. They will tell us what they have seen." The man on the northeast rose and announced, "We went out before daylight. We found the buffalo; so many of them that they have almost drunk the river dry." The others rose in turn and gave the same answer.

The chief priest then called some famous warrior and gave him the sacred pipe which the men had used, and gave the strip of fat to a chief. These passed around the interior of the lodge, first on the north, and then on the south side, offering first the pipe and then the fat to each of the keepers in turn. All reached for the pipe at once, trying to get as many hands on it as possible. They did the same with the fat, clutching it as if starving and trying to tear off pieces. This symbolized
[777] their eagerness to kill buffalo, and the tighter a man grasped the pipe, and the more fat he succeeded in tearing off, the better would be his success on the hunt.

When the pipe and fat had completed their circuit, they were placed on the altar. The priest then called the chief of the whole band to the altar and invested him with the robe, rope, and moccasins which had been provided as gifts to Mother-Corn. The sacred pipe was placed in his hands, and the priest announced, "Priests and men, this man will take us to the river." All the keepers then went to the pit and took from it the Mother-Corn belonging to their respective bundles.

While this was going on, men had entered the lodge and seated themselves in front of the bundles belonging to their respective villages. The star chart was brought in from outside and given to a warrior belonging to the village of the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle. Three other men were given quivers belonging to other sacred bundles. These four seated themselves,

*224 *484 [252] [262] White Woman and Victory Call to eat, one for No Corn and Horse Rider to eat together, and one for herself and her grandson, Otter.

When they got to the top of the hills eight miles west of Genoa they could sight the school house. Everyone called out, "There it is—*kax-karit-pahat*" (house-stone-red). It was red brick. Along the north and south side of the Loup is a deep valley and from the hills on either side of the river, one could see a considerable distance.

[136] No one could camp anywhere near the earth lodge village itself. It was infested with fleas. They camped in the bottomlands within reach of their fields where they stayed for three weeks while they treated the crops and cleaned out the earth lodge so that it became habitable. In the open, they could more readily dispose of the husks, cobs, and other wastes that resulted from processing the crops. The Stay-at-Homes came along to meet them starting out from near Columbus 22 miles away and following northwestward along the Loup River. "Here come the Kakusu, the Stay-at-Homes," everyone would call out as they approached.

792 There was one more item of formal business that they had to attend to before they could get down to the activities of the harvest. To his tent, White Eagle called representatives of each of the four villages and the five old priests. In White Eagle's tent and in his charge at all times had *[224] been *taxpiku*, the holy man, who symbolized the luck of the whole tribe on the hunt. It was during the spring, when they had the ceremony of [777] the Young Corn, *Kurahus*, that he was charged with this holy office. He was a man of exemplary character who was favored by the supernatural powers through the generous offerings he had made to their ceremonies. He had to keep his buffalo robe wrapped around him at all times. There was an absolute taboo against his bathing. He was not allowed to cut his fingernails or comb his hair. The other old men went along, one or the other of them staying alongside all during the hunt. His food was fed to him in a special bowl and he was always served first, for it was recog- [821] nized that he was under a severe strain. Should he take a bath or his feet touch water, there would be severe thunderstorms. It was at this ceremony that he was praised for his courage and diligence and dismissed from his office. Now he was able to laugh and joke. "Oh my, I'm lousy," he said, "and my feet stink!" He tossed off his blanket and ran down to the creek to take a bath as soon as he could. He was no longer an official and no longer needed to be on his dignity.

[777] [243] They still had one more holy man, *taxpiku*, who was holding in the luck of the crops. He had been appointed early in the spring when they distributed the first seeds of the sacred corn. He would not be released until after the harvest. This man had been appointed when the Young Mother Corn was installed, and carried through the summer buffalo hunt and was then dismissed. These were men who had proved themselves devoted to the supernatural powers by their offerings to the sa-

duties throughout the ceremony. Each had a special place in the 796*
lodge, and was the recipient of peculiar benefits supposed to be derived
from the ceremony.

The Father was usually a chief, or a man prominent in the tribe,
who not only had accumulated property, but had a large following of [556
relatives who could contribute to the store of articles required for 554]
these rites. The tribal standing of the Son was always equal to that
of the Father.

The Father selected a man from among those who had been taught the rites and ritual songs to take charge of the ceremony from beginning to end. Such a man was called Ku'rahus, and to him the entire party was required to yield obedience in every particular. The Ku'rahus chose an assistant, and also took with him a third person, a sort of acolyte, to whom he was teaching the rites.

If the Father was a chief, then he had to invite one other chief 796*
to be of his party, to act as substitute whenever he was obliged to be
absent from his post of duty. If, however, the Father was not himself 622
a chief, then it became necessary for him to secure the attendance
of two chiefs, one to act as substitute for the other, as the
constant presence of a chief was required throughout the ceremony.

The priest who had charge of the shrine sacred to rain was also of 796*
the Father's party. It was his duty to furnish the pipe and conduct
the ceremony of offering smoke to Tira'wa. The Father's party also [793]
included two doctors, men who had received a knowledge of healing [791
plants, either directly through visions or by initiation into certain
rites by which this knowledge was communicated. Each was required 237]
to bring an eagle's wing, one the right wing and the other the left.
The wing of the eagle is the official mark of a doctor. The Father
must also secure a number of singers, whose duty it was to carry the [533]*
drum and act as a choir to accompany the Ku'rahus, who always led
the singing. The rest of the party of the Father was made up of his [602]
kindred, with such of his friends as might desire to contribute to the
required food and gifts and thus to become entitled to share in the
return gifts made to the Fathers by the Children.

The preliminary ceremonies (the first three rituals) took place at the lodge of the Father, and from it the party of the Fathers started on its journey.

REQUISITES OF THE CEREMONY AND THEIR SYMBOLISM

The objects peculiar to this ceremony were two feathered stems 796*
about a meter in length, made of ash wood. They were rounded and 192
smoothed, and the pith was burned out to leave an opening for the
breath to pass, as through a pipestem. One of these stems was
named Raha'katittu, from ra, the, this one; ha=hak, a part of the 778
word hakkow, breathing mouth of wood, the k being dropped for
euphony (see translation of hawkowpirus, drum, page 17); katit, dark,

*796 brown, or black; tu=ruru, moving, the change of the *r* to t being for euphony. The translation of the whole word would be, the breath-
192 ing mouth of wood with the dark moving feathers. The other stem
778 was named Rahak'takaru, from ra, the, this one; hak, from hakkow, breathing mouth of wood; taka, white; ru, from ruru, moving or swaying. The translation of the whole word would be, the breathing mouth of wood with the white moving or waving feathers.

*796 Associated with these two feathered stems, and sharing with them the prominent place in the rites, was an ear of white corn. In addi-
778 tion there were required two small, round, straight sticks from the plum tree; a crotched stick, also of the plum tree; feathers from the tail of an owl and from the wings and tail of an eagle; two entire wings of an eagle; the heads of two woodpeckers; the head, neck, and breast of two ducks; a wildcat skin; a shell; two wooden bowls; a braid of buffalo hair; a braid of sweet grass; blue, green, and red clay; fat from a deer or buffalo, the animal having been consecrated; the nest of an oriole.

The clays, the fat, and the oriole's nest were furnished by the Ku'rahus. The nest was kept in secret and not allowed to be seen. All the articles except those furnished by the Ku'rahus were provided by the Father. Besides these he had to secure robes, ornamented garments, and regalia for the ceremonial clothing of the Son, his messenger, and his little child; also gifts to be bestowed on the entire party of the Children. He was assisted by contributions from the relatives and friends who had agreed to share with him the responsibilities and the rewards attending this ceremony. Food for the entertainment of the Children as well as for the maintenance of the Fathers during their absence from home had also to be provided.

It was the duty of the Son, the leader of the group called the Children, to provide a spacious lodge wherein the ceremony could take place, and also a proper camping site for all who accompanied the Fathers. He had also to secure the requisite return gifts to be made to the Fathers.

Each of the articles used in the ceremony had a general symbolism well known to the people, but their special significance was peculiar to these rites.

[822 The feathered stem Raha'katittu (plate LXXXVI, page 38) was painted blue to symbolize the sky, the abode of Tira'wahut, the circle of the
772] lesser powers. A long straight groove running its length was painted red, the symbol of life. The red groove was the path along which the spirits of the various birds traveled on their way to bring help.

Three split feathers from an eagle's wing were fastened to the stem as to an arrow, to give sure flight to the symbol-freighted stem. On it was tied the fan-shaped pendant of ten feathers from the mature brown or golden eagle. This eagle was called Kawas in the Hako ceremony. It represented the mother and led in certain of the rites. It is this feathered stem that was carried by the Ku'rahus. This eagle

is consecrated to the powers; it soars near their abode and is a medium of communication between them and man. 796*

778 The woodpecker's head was fastened near the mouthpiece end of the feathered stem, the upper mandible turned back over the red crest and painted blue. This treatment of the upper mandible had a double significance. The red crest, which rises when the bird is angry, was here held down; it must not rise. 821 The blue paint represented the clear, cloudless sky. 822 The woodpecker has the favor of the storm gods and can avert from man the disaster of tempest and of lightning. 825 The owl feathers were tied near the middle of the feathered stem. This bird has power to help and protect during the night. Soft blue feathers were fastened around the mouthpiece end. These blue feathers symbolized the clear sky, and it is this end which was always upward toward the abode of the powers.

The other end of the stem was thrust through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck. It was by this end that the feathered stem was held. The duck is familiar with the pathless air and water and is also at home on the land, knowing its streams and springs. It is the unerring guide.

822 The red and white streamers represented the sun and the moon, day and night. These were made of red cloth and dyed horsehair and white cotton cord, but it is said that formerly soft deerskin strips painted red and twisted hair from the white rabbit were used.

The other feathered stem, Rahak'takaru (plate LXXXVII, page 40), differed from the first feathered stem already described in two particulars, namely, it was painted green, to symbolize the earth, and 822 the fan-shaped pendant was made of seven tail feathers from the white eagle (the young brown or golden eagle; see page 288). This eagle was not consecrated. It represented the male, the father, the warrior, and the defender. This feathered stem was carried by the Ku'rahus's assistant, and it was never allowed to be next to the Children; its place was always on the outside. There, it was explained, it could do no harm, could rouse no contention, but would serve to protect and defend.

I have many times remarked the reverence felt toward the feathered stems. Their sacred character seemed always to be remembered and they were never handled carelessly. During the entire time that I was engaged with Tahirûssawichi on this ceremony he never allowed the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid on a chair; they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a decorum that was not once abated. I have seen manifested among the tribes not only reverence toward these sacred symbols, but an affection that was not displayed toward any other objects. Few persons ever spoke to me of them without a brightening of the eyes. "They make us happy," was a common saying.

178 778 796*
They were preserved intact and passed from tribe to tribe as long as they held together, and they were sometimes freshened and

[178] repaired. This transfer of the feathered stems from tribe to tribe 778 tended to preserve the model unchanged. Sometimes the Son did not *796 care to part with the feathered stems left with him, so when he inaugurated a party and was to be the Father he had a new set made. It was a matter of pride with some not to use again feathered stems that had once seen service.

The ear of white corn (plate LXXXVIII, page 44), called Atira, Mother,[a] represented the fruitfulness of the earth. The tip end was [772] painted blue to represent the dome of the sky, the dwelling place of the 822 powers, and four blue equidistant lines, running halfway down the ear, were the four paths along which the powers descended to minister to man.

The two straight sticks cut from the plum tree were bound to the ear of corn by a braid of buffalo hair. One stick projected above the tip of the ear about a hand's breadth, and the other extended about the same length below the butt; the lower end of this stick was pointed so that it could be thrust into the ground to hold the ear of corn in an upright position. To the other stick was tied a white, downy eagle feather. This feather had a double significance: It represented the high, white clouds that float near the dome of the sky where the powers dwell, thus indicating their presence with the corn. It also stood for the tassel of the cornstalk. The feather here refers to the male principle, the corn to the female. The plum-tree wood was chosen for the sticks because the tree is prolific of fruit. It symbolized a prayer for abundance.

The braid of buffalo hair represented the animal which supplied food and clothing for the people.

The two gourd rattles (plate LXXXIX, page 46) represented the gift of the squash to man and the breast of the mother. Around the middle of each a blue circle was painted from which depended four equidistant lines of the same color. The circle represented the base of [772] the dome of the sky, and the four lines the four paths descending therefrom to earth.

The crotched stick (plate XC, page 48) used to support one end of the feathered stems when they were laid at ceremonial rest was significant of the fork in the tree where the eagle builds its nest. The use of the plum tree for this crotched stick expressed the desire for many young in the nest.

The sacred ointment with which the plum-tree sticks were anointed [237] was made from the fat of the deer or buffalo mixed with red clay. The fat was taken from an animal that had been consecrated through certain prescribed rites which recognized man's dependence upon the powers for the gift of food. Fat symbolized plenty. Ritual songs speak of paths dropping fatness, referring to the trails made by those who carried the dressed meat from the hunting fields to the camp; such

---

[a] The common term for corn, naksu, was not used in the ceremony.

796*

a path would be strewn with drops of fat. Red is the color typical of 778 ●
life. The ointment signified a prayer for abundance and life.

The wildcat skin (plate XC, page 48) served as a covering for these [822]
objects when they were to be wrapped up and it was always spread
on the ground for them to rest on.

The significance of the wildcat in this ceremony is of peculiar inter- 796*
est. This animal, we are told, never misses his prey, never fails to
attain the object of his pursuit, and accomplishes this end quietly, 778
tactfully, without arousing antagonism. From conversations with the 825
Ku'rahus it became clear that it was these qualities and not the
savageness and stealthly cruelty of the animal that were to be kept
in mind. To be able to accomplish a purpose without offending, without raising opposition, seems to have been regarded as the special
attribute vouchsafed by Tira'wa to the wildcat. It is because of this
attribute that it was chosen to be always with the sacred objects during 796*
this ceremony. The sacred objects symbolized not only an appeal from
man to certain powers, but the presence of the powers themselves, while 778
the nature of the appeal, a desire for children, long life, and plenty, was
such that the enjoyment of the benefits craved must depend largely
on the successful exercise by man of those qualities which were
regarded as characteristic of the wildcat. So the skin of the wildcat
was the cover of the sacred objects when they were wrapped up; it
was spread on the ground as their guard and support when they were
laid at ceremonial rest, and when they were carried about the lodge
during the ceremony it was borne by the chief, who walked between
the Kurahus and his assistant, each of whom held a feathered stem.

Only a chief could carry the wildcat skin and the ear of corn. There- [622
fore, if the Father was not himself a chief he had to secure the service 482]
of one in order that the wildcat could be borne by a man possessing
the authority of a ruler in the tribe. As the wildcat stood for the
ability to accomplish a purpose with tact and without exciting opposition, qualities essential to the successful ruler, it would seem that the
imperative association of the wildcat with a chief was intended to convey the idea that only under the administration of such a man could
the tribe have internal peace and enjoy the abundance and prosperity
represented by Mother Corn.

As every article belonging to the ceremony and the position and
movements of those who conducted the rites had a special significance, the position given to the wildcat, as explained by the Kurahus,
reveals the mind of the native in regard to this animal, which figures
conspicuously in other rites and ceremonies, and which controls one
of the sacred shrines of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

TIME OF THE CEREMONY

There was no stated time for the performance of the Hako ceremony. 796*
It was not connected with planting or harvesting, hunting, or war, or
any tribal festival. The Ku'rahus said, "We take up the Hako in

*539 772 which the lesser powers must travel when they descend to bring help to man.

776 *796 In this stanza, we remember the power given by Tira'wa to the Winds, and we cry to Hotoru to come and give their help to us at this time, to give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako.

I'hare, 'hare 'ahe means, as we sing it this time, that we are reflecting upon Hotoru, we are thinking of all that they bring to man, the breath by which he lives.

The Winds are always near us by night and by day.

Translation of Third Stanza

*539 11, 12, 13 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

14 Heru! Shakuru. He!

*796 heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

[195] Shakuru, the Sun. This word is not used in ordinary speech; it refers to the supernatural power, the Sun, in its relation to man. The common term for sun is ti'rasakariki, sun standing.

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

15 See the first stanza, line 2. The words in this line have special reference to the mind dwelling seriously upon Shakuru.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[776 821] Shakuru, the Sun, is the first of the visible powers to be mentioned. It is very potent; it gives man health, vitality, and strength. Because of its power to make things grow, Shakuru is sometimes spoken of as atius, father. The Sun comes direct from the mighty power above; that gives it its great potency.

As we sing this stanza, we think of all that the Sun can do for us and we cry to it, to come now and give potentiality to the sacred articles about to be made ready for use in this ceremony.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

16, 17, 18 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

19 Heru! H'Uraru. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

h', the sign of breath; "breathing life."

[195 •778] Uraru, the Earth. This term is not used in ordinary speech; the common name for the earth is kahoraru. H'Uraru refers to the supernatural power that belongs to the earth, the power to bring forth.

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

20 See the first stanza, line 2. In the last line of the stanza the word I'hare implies reflection: "We reflect on H'Uraru!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

H'Uraru, the Earth, is the lesser power we cry to next. The Earth is very near to man; we speak of her as Atira, Mother, because she brings forth. From the Earth we get our food; we lie down on her; we live and walk on her; we could not exist without her, as we could not breathe without Hotoru (the Winds) or grow without Shakuru (the Sun). 539* 796* [776]

Mother Earth is very potent to help man and now we cry to her to come near and give potentiality to the sacred articles we are about to prepare.

We reverently reflect upon all that Mother Earth does for us.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

21, 22, 23 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

24 Heru! Toharu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

Toharu, the living covering of the earth, no special form being indicated; a general term for vegetation, but implying the supernatural power manifested therein. Katoha'ru, trees. [778]

he! part of i'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

25 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Toharu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Toharu means all the things that Mother Earth brings forth (all forms of vegetation); these are many. They are very necessary to man and they bring him much help. They too are lesser powers, though not so potent as some of the others. From them we get our food; from them comes the grass upon which the animals feed—the animals which supply clothing and food; from them come the trees which are very necessary to us. They have a part in this ceremony. 539* 796* 824

As we sing we think upon all that Toharu gives us and we cry to this power to come near, for without the help of Toharu some of the sacred articles required for this ceremony could not be obtained.

At this stanza the two men who have been selected to cut the two sticks of ash arise and go out of the lodge to perform this duty. The ash tree has been chosen beforehand, but the two men must cut the sticks when they go out at this time.

We stop between the stanzas of the song that this act may be performed.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The first act of a man must be to set apart a place that can be made sacred and holy, that can be consecrated to Tira'wa; a place where a man can be quiet and think—think about the mighty power and the place where the lesser powers dwell; a place where a man can put his sacred articles, those objects which enable him to approach the powers. Kusharu means such a place. 539* 796*

In this stanza we are taught that before a man can build a dwelling he must select a spot and make it sacred and then, about that consecrated spot, he can erect a dwelling where his family can live peaceably. Kusharu represents the place where a man can seek the powers and where the powers can come near to man. Such a place is necessary for all ceremonies. 342 778

We are now to set aside a place where we shall put the sacred articles we are to prepare and make it holy. We are not only thinking of the holy place where we shall lay the sacred articles, but we think of all that holy place will mean. It will represent the place where new life will be given.

Translation of Eighth Stanza

36, 37, 38 See lines 1, 2, 3.
39 Heru! H' Akaru. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
h', the sign of breath, the giving of life.
Akaru, a modified form of akaro, a dwelling place; the earth lodge with its dome-shaped roof is likened to the stretch of land bounded by the horizon and roofed by the dome of the sky.
he! part of I'hare! give heed! See line 4.
40 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on H' Akaru!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza we are told to think of the dwelling place Tira'wa has given to man. Upon this place man must build a lodge in accordance with the rites given to our fathers. It is by the observance of these rites in the building of a lodge that life is given to the dwelling and it is made a place where the lesser powers can come to those who dwell therein. H' Akaru means the giving of life to the dwelling place.

Translation of Ninth Stanza

41, 42, 43 See lines 1, 2, 3.
44 Heru! Keharu. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
Keharu, an enclosure, as a room, having walls and roof, like an earth lodge. The word does not refer to any enclosure or lodge, but is typical in its meaning.
he! part of I'hare! give heed! See line 4.
45 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Keharu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 As we sing this stanza we think of the lodge erected about the holy place in accordance with the rites given to our fathers upon the earth, which Tirawa made to be our dwelling place.

778 In such a lodge this ceremony must take place, and as we sing we ask that the lodge in which we are assembled to prepare the sacred articles may be kept free from all hurtful influences and that the lesser powers which bring life and strength may come near us as we sit within.

We also think of the lodge to which we will go for the further performance of this ceremony, for we desire that the presence of the lesser powers may be there also.

In this ceremony the lodge represents the nest, the place where the young are enclosed. They are protected ~~by~~ the male; the male eagle guards his nest; within its walls there is safety.

Translation of Tenth Stanza

*539 46, 47, 48 See lines 1, 2, 3.
*796 49 Heru! Kataharu. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
Kataharu, part of the word Itkataharu, fireplace. The dropping of the initial syllable, it, changes the meaning; the word here refers to the place where fire is to be kindled in the sacred manner for the performance of sacred rites.
he! part of I'hare! give heed! See line 4.
50 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Katabaru!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 372 778 As we sing this stanza we think of the place set apart for the kindling of fire after the manner taught our fathers, by rubbing two sticks together. Fire kindled in this way is sacred; it comes direct from the power granted to Toharu (Vegetation), in answer to man's appeal as he rubs the sticks. The sticks used to make this fire are kept in a shrine.

The sacred fire must come in a place set apart for it. All sacred things must have their place. Katabaru is the place set apart for the sacred fire, where it can come and bring good to man; without it he could hardly live. We make the fire in the center of the lodge, where all within can share in its benefits.

*539 *796 As I told you, the lodge in this ceremony represents the nest where the young are cared for and protected. The male eagle protects the nest, the female eagle broods over it, and there she nourishes her young. As we are asking for the gift of children to bind the people together as one family, so we sing about the fireplace, that fire may come as we prepare the sacred articles.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 In this ceremony the brown eagle is called Kawas. This eagle has been made holy by being sacrificed to Tira'wa. Its feathers are tied upon the stem that has been painted blue to represent the sky.

778 782 This stem was the first one painted and decorated, because it is female and the leader. It represents the night, the moon, the north, and stands for kindness and helpfulness. It will take care of the people. It is the mother.

Throughout the ceremony the Ku'rahus carries this feathered stem.

After the Kawas stem is prepared the Ku'rahus hands it back to the man on his left, toward the north, to hold while he prepares a pendant of seven tail feathers from the white eagle. Then he takes from the man on his right, toward the south, the stem which had been painted green and ties on it this white-eagle pendant.

No song is sung while this is being done. The white eagle is not holy; it has not been sacrificed to Tira'wa. It has less power than Kawas; it is inclined to war, to hurt some one. It can not lead; it must follow. So the green stem is painted last, and all the decorations are put upon it after the other stem is completed.

This feathered green stem represents the male, the day, the sun, and the south. During the ceremony it is carried by the assistant of the Ku'rahus, whose place is on the right of the Ku'rahus, toward the south.

When we move about the lodge waving the two feathered stems to the rhythm of the song we are singing, Kawas, the brown eagle, is carried next the people, and the white-eagle stem on the farther side, away from the people, where it can do good by defending them and keeping away all harm. If it were carried next the Children it would bring them war and trouble. It is the brown eagle that is always kept near the people and is waved over their heads to bring them the gifts of plenty and of peace.

The red and white streamers tied upon the two stems represent the sun and the moon.

While the Ku'rahus still has the sacred ointment upon his hands ~~he anoints a~~ crotched stick and two straight sticks, all three of which have been carefully scraped and smoothed. These sticks were cut from a plum tree, because this tree is prolific in bearing fruit.

PART III. PAINTING THE EAR OF CORN AND PREPARING THE OTHER SACRED OBJECTS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The Ku'rahus now mixes in a round wooden bowl blue clay with water taken from a running stream and paints with it an ear of white corn, in the way our fathers were taught to do. During this act the following song is sung.

782 glad Mother Corn is here leading us, and the wildcat goes with the
Hako." But the man who killed it said: "No, this skin will not go
794 with the Hako! I am going to take it to the priest for sacrifice that
I may learn some of the mysteries." But he did wrong and suffered
825 for it, because that wildcat belonged with the Hako, for it was killed
while we were being led by Mother Corn.

*796 The sacred articles having been completed are now laid at ceremonial rest. The wildcat skin is spread upon the earth in the holy place, which is in the west part of the lodge opposite the entrance, a little way back from the fireplace. The head of the skin is placed toward the east; the crotched plum-tree stick is thrust into the ground close to the head; the two feathered stems are laid in the crotch, the brown-eagle stem first, then the white-eagle stem on the top or outside. The eagle builds its nest in the crotch of a tree, so these eagle-feathered stems are laid in the crotch of the plum-tree stick. The ends which are thrust through the duck's head rest upon the wildcat, and under the wing-like pendants the gourd rattles are placed. Directly in front of the crotched stick stands Mother Corn.

PART IV. OFFERING OF SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The time has now come for the offering of smoke to Tira'wa.

The priest of the Rain shrine must be present with the pipe belonging
793 to that shrine and he must conduct the ceremony. After he has
filled the pipe with native tobacco the Ku'rahus tells the people that
782 the time has come to offer smoke to Tira'wa, the father and the giver
of all things. He selects from the company a man to act as pipe bearer during the ceremony of offering smoke. The pipe bearer must be one who has made sacrifices at the sacred tents where the shrines are kept and has been annointed, and who in consequence has been prospered in his undertakings. The prayers of such a man are thought to be more acceptable to the powers than those of a man who has never made sacrifices.

276 In old times men did not smoke for pleasure as they do now, but only in religious ceremonies. The white people have taught the Pawnees to profane the use of tobacco.

Each of the sacred shrines of the tribe has a pipe, and its priest
778 knows the proper order in which the pipe should be offered to Tira'wahut.
793 I am not a priest, so I do not know the order in which the Rain pipe is offered, nor can I tell you the ceremony; the knowledge of that belongs to its priest and not to me.

*796 Up to this point (the conclusion of the ceremony of smoking) all the people present have been obliged to remain quiet in their places; now they are at liberty to move about or to leave the lodge.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

are not moving at random, but in a prescribed manner, which the Ku'rahus has been taught and directed to follow; that they are led by Mother Corn authorized by the powers, and to her they must give unquestioning obedience throughout the ceremony. 539* 796*

After this song the Ku'rahus and the other bearers of the sacred objects turn, and facing the east, pass on in front of the people, who also turn and follow as they go forth on the journey.

The three songs we have just sung are in sequence. Their order can not be changed; they belong to the beginning of the journey, and teach us to obey Mother Corn.

PART II. SONGS AND CEREMONIES OF THE WAY

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The journey we are taking is for a sacred purpose, and as we are led by the supernatural power in Mother Corn we must address with song every object we meet, because Tira'wa is in all things. Everything we come to as we travel can give us help, and send help by us to the Children.

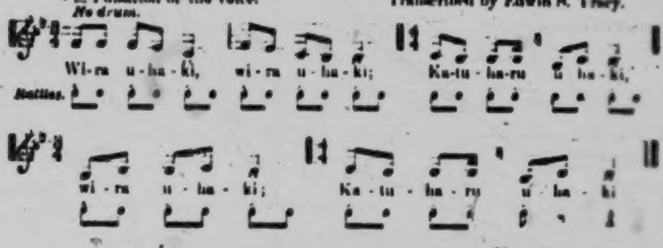
Trees are among the lesser powers, and they are represented on the Hako which we carry, so when we see trees we must sing to them. [824 778]

Trees grow along the banks of the streams; we can see them at a distance, like a long line, and we can see the river glistening in the sunlight in its length. We sing to the river, and when we come nearer and see the water and hear it rippling, then we sing to the water, the water that ripples as it runs.

SONG TO THE TREES AND STREAMS

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 112.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



[533*]

I

236 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki;
237 Katuharu uhaki, wira uhaki;
238 Katuharu uhaki.

II

239 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki;
240 Kichaharu uhaki, wira uhaki;
241 Kichaharu uhaki.

III

242 Wira wihaku, wira wihaku;
243 Kichaharu wihaku, wira wihaku;
244 Kichaharu wihaku.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 419 Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!
*796 hiri! an exclamation meaning give heed! harken!
hi rata-a hao ha! See line 418.
420 See line 418.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The words of this stanza are a command to the Son. They are, "Give heed, my child; you must now send your prayers to the powers which dwell above."

This stanza is sung four times.

Then the Son takes a pinch of tobacco from the bowl of the pipe and passes it along the stem and offers it as the priest directs.

793 778 There is a certain order to be observed in the offering of tobacco and smoke to the powers above peculiar to each of the sacred shrines, and only the priest or keeper of a shrine knows the order in which the powers which preside over his shrine should be approached. The sacred pipe belonging to the Rain shrine is used in this ceremony, and its priest must direct the Son how to make the offering. I do not know this order; it does not belong to me to know it.

When the pinch of tobacco has been presented to the powers above it is placed upon the earth.

After this act the second stanza is sung.

Translation of Second Stanza

421 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
422 Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
ti, he.
wawaka; wako, spoken; the added wa indicates that he has spoken to those who are at a great distance.
wawa, part of tiwari, traveling from one, and towawa, traveling in many ways, to many different places.
hi, that person.
rata, my or mine.
a, vowel prolongation.
hao, child.
ha, a musical vocable.
423 See line 419.
424 See line 422.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

782 As the Son offers tobacco in the directions indicated by the priest, he prays to the powers that dwell in these directions. What he says is not audible to us, for it is not intended for us to hear.

The words of this stanza refer to the prayers of the Son.

We are bidden to take heed that the prayers of the Son, who is as our child, have been spoken and have traveled far, going on and on to the different distant places where the great powers abide which watch over the rain.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 A holy man who lived long ago, no one knows how long, for there
have been many generations since, had a dream. He was taken up to
*796 the place where all the visions dwell, those that belong to Kawas, the
787 brown eagle, and those that belong to the white eagle, the male.
While he was there the day began to dawn and he saw the visions that
773 had been sent down to earth come climbing up, and he recognized among them some of the visions that had visited him in the past. Then he knew of a truth that all visions of every kind dwell above in Kätasha, and that they descend thence to us in the night, and that as the day dawns they ascend, returning to rest in their dwelling place.

The holy man made this song about his dream and told its meaning, and the song and the story have been handed down to us that we might know where visions come from, where they dwell and where they go to when they depart from us.

● 778 Among the Pawnees there are shrines, in the keeping of certain men, which contain articles that are used in the sacred ceremonies of the different bands of the tribe. These shrines are very old, they were given by the lesser powers to our fathers with a knowledge of their contents and how to use them.

An ear of corn belongs to one of these shrines. It is a peculiar ear. It is white, with perfect and straight lines of kernels, and there is a
[243] tassel on its tip. In the fall the priest of the shrine tells the women to look carefully for such ears when they gather their corn, for Tira'wa causes such ears to grow in the fields for the purposes of this shrine and they belong to it. The little tassel on the tip of the
[726] ear of corn represents the feather worn on the head of the warrior. The sacred ear of corn is sometimes borrowed from the priest by the leader of a war party. The ear of corn is born of Mother Earth, she knows all places and the acts of all men who walk the earth, so she is a leader.

Sometimes a young man who proposed going to war would request
726 the following song to be sung. He desired success and wished Mother
778 Corn to lead him. After the Hako ceremony was over he would borrow a sacred ear of corn and put it in a pack which the leader of the war party would sling upon his back. When the party was successful, he would thrust into the ground the stick upon which the ear of corn was tied and as this ear stood before him he would give thanks to it for having led him in safety.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FOURTH DIVISION. PRESENTATION OF THE HAKO

TWENTIETH RITUAL

PART I. BLESSING THE CHILD

At the close of the dance and the reception of gifts by the Fathers, the little child was again taken to the holy place and once more touched with the Hako upon all sides, from the east, the south, the west, and the north. 796*

The song accompanying these movements was "a prayer to call down the breath of Tira'wa" upon the child that had been consecrated. [782]

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time 533* 796*

Rythmic Rendition 539* 796*

Breathe on him!
Breathe on him!
Life thou alone canst give to him.
Long life, we pray, Oh Father, give unto him!

PART II. PRESENTING THE HAKO TO THE SON AND THANKS TO THE CHILDREN

The Father (the chief) then removed the emblems from the face of the child, using for the purpose the fur of the wildcat, and took the covering and the symbols from its head. These with the Hako he rolled together within the wildcat skin and placed the bundle in the arms of the child. 796*

The Hako, which had been the medium of bringing the promises, was carried by the recipient of these promises, the little child, to its father, the Son, who received them from the hands of his offspring.

The tie had now been formed, and the little child was released from its symbolic duties and ran out into the sunlight to join its playmates. Within the lodge the Fathers thanked the Children, and the people departed to their daily avocations.

While the various articles of the Hako were generally scattered at the close of the ceremony, the two feathered stems were preserved intact and frequently passed from tribe to tribe as long as they held together. Sometimes the Son was unwilling to part with those presented him, so, when he inaugurated a party, he had a new set made with the proper ceremony. At all times and under all conditions the feathered stems were never handled carelessly, but were treated with respect and their sacred character was remembered. During the entire time Tahi'rūssawichi was engaged upon this ceremony he never allowed 778 ● 796* [437]

[a] Music on p. 27[illegible].

778 the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid upon a chair;
*796 they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a
decorum that was not once abated.

*796 The Hako ceremony seems to have been peculiarly adapted to
impress the mind of the people and to win their confidence and affection.
182 It was picturesque, varied in movement, and communal in
feeling. Its songs were rhythmic and attractive, and frequently
[*533] choral in form, particularly those belonging to the public ceremony,
where all, young and old, joined in the melody as the feathered stems
were swayed over their heads when the Ku'rahus and his assistants
made the circuits of the lodge.

The teachings of the public ceremony were general in character.
[593 They emphasized, on the one hand, man's dependence on the supernatural
for all the gifts of life, and on the other hand, his dependence
771] on the family tie for the gifts of peace and happiness. The specific
teachings were reserved for the Son. These began in the ritual to
the Dawn (tenth ritual) on the morning of the second and third days,
which prefigured the secret ceremonies of the fifth morning, when the
bond of the family relation was extended beyond blood kinship through
the symbolic rites which recognized the common source of life in
Tira'wa atius.

[178] Looking over the entire ceremony, it is interesting to note how older
rites have had their share in the development of the Hako, and how
the trend of thought among the native seers has borne them toward a
conception of the brotherhood of man, a conception recognized as the
noblest known to the human family.

INCIDENTAL RITUALS

COMFORTING THE CHILD

*539 The incidental rituals could be called for and given during the
public ceremony.

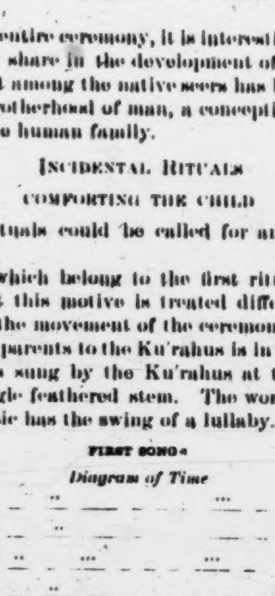
*796 The three songs which belong to the first ritual have a common
[*533] musical motive, but this motive is treated differently in each song
so as to conform to the movement of the ceremony.

The appeal of the parents to the Ku'rahus is in the first song passed
on to Kawas. It is sung by the Ku'rahus at the holy place as he
waves the brown-eagle feathered stem. The words are in the nature
of a prayer, the music has the swing of a lullaby.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

[*533]



---

[a] Music on p. 281.

668 down." Joseph Long had crow feathers. He put them on his head.
796 Then he got up like a crow, and danced around the tipi. Imitating
825 the crow, he danced his way outside and went along the path by
which the woman had gone through the timber, and found the strap. He picked it up and brought it back into the tipi, and the woman took her strap.

The relation of this crow-concept to the Ghost Dancing is direct. The crow feather (as also the eagle) is one of the objects used by leaders, as they dance inside the circle, for hypnotizing subjects. It is moved back and forth directly before the eyes of the subject. It helps the dancer to fall into a trance, and this means that it helps the subject to see or find his lost relatives. In the trance-vision itself the bird may guide the visionary to his dear ones. In the same way the old Indian customs, the dances, the songs, the rituals, are found among the deceased people, or recovered in trance visions which are induced in part through the instrumentality of the birds.

In this early use of eagle and crow, those who learned about one or the other bird wore a feather of that bird. There was no organization or orientation of these except for White's seven crow singers. But there came to be felt an opposition between crow and eagle, analogous to the actions of the birds themselves, and this was carried over into the sides of the hand game arrangements. The opposition involved the question of which was abler or luckier in finding things.

668 For the Ghost Dance, White arranged to have a large cleared
796 dancing ground. West of this was set up a special tipi. Herein
[346] White gathered the people, particularly the leaders. Those who
gathered inside the tent were only men. The old men sat near the
[554] eastern entranceway on both sides, with the chiefs next to them
to the west, and then the braves[1]; while other men present sat
about anywhere. White himself would sit with his seven crow
leaders at the west facing east. The only sacred objects kept on a
● [778] covering at the western altar-place were the feathers and paints
of the leaders, and several pipes (two or four). Two men were
selected by White and the chiefs to act as tarutsius ("fire-tenders")
and at the same time as policemen. They carried long sticks to
whip the dogs with, driving them away from the dance ground
while the dancing went on. They also controlled the dancers.
[276] After all the men had gathered, a smoke offering initiated the
performance. White gave pipes to two or four chiefs and told them
step by step what to do. The performance could begin either in the

---

[1] These are generic Pawnee patterns.

spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes 796
were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the
altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the 668
altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at 782
the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while 823
the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not 276
participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that 184
described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity.
These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke- 276
offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: 782
upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset 823
and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising
sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations
are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory
of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke
offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of
the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the
news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the
western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in
position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what
is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly 184
interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion 771
in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of 778
Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the
religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous
multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity
to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is
probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of
function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the
development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

---

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven [177]
and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette [788]
by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by
flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit
of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

771
778 South Bands there are ancient bundles which each possess a group of functions that among the Skiri are differentiated and associated with separate bundles.

668 After the smoke offering, Sam Cover led the Seven Brothers in
796 singing one or two Ghost Dance songs, without any dancing. Then
the line closed around the clearing to form a circle of dancers,
782 women came to join in, and the regular dancing began. Usually
[533] on a first evening of Ghost Dancing, only ten or twenty songs were
sung. After the closing song, the general public would break up,
each group of people returning to the family tipi. The Seven
Brothers, the four chiefs who smoked, other chiefs, Mrs. Goodeagle,
Mrs. Cover, Mrs. Washington, and some individuals who were
special leaders, gathered in the main tipi of the dance. Here two
old men acted as tarutsius, fire-tenders and servers. Food was
brought in and set out in buckets at the east of the tipi near the
door. Sam Cover then made an offering with corn before the
group ate. It was a simple offering: He took some of the corn in
his hands, stood behind the collected food and made inclusive arm
motions (to indicate that this food was offered on behalf of all the
food being partaken of), then came clockwise to the west of the
fireplace where he raised the corn aloft to heaven and then placed
it on the ground before him. He pressed it into the ground, rubbed
his hands together and made four motions upward to heaven with
both hands, touching his fingers to the corn on the ground before
each motion. Then he made four similar motions towards the
earth; blessed himself, walked through a circuit to his own place on
the south, and sat down. All present said "Nawa" and then the
food was served. The tarutsius must serve the food in a special
[554] order: first the chiefs at the west (the four smokers), then the seven
brothers on the south, then old men who are seated on both sides
of the entrance-way at the east, then all others present, serving
them from west to east down both sides of the tipi.[1]

At this gathering the order and time of the events of the next
668 morning were announced.

796 The next morning dancing began before sunrise. Two or three of the Seven Brothers went out onto the dance grounds, stood at the west facing east, and sang several Ghost Dance songs. As the people awoke and heard these they came out hurriedly to join in. As soon as four or five came, including women, all began to dance around clockwise. Gradually as the people gathered, the circle expanded. An old man walked around crying out to the people

---

[1] There is for every Pawnee ceremony an *order* in which those present are served; see chapter 8, pp. 220—229.

668 787 796 doing in the beyond meant not alone to put aside the alien customs of European culture, but actively to take up again the native ways of the Indian. The Pawnee turned back to the past for values and satisfactions lacking in the present.

178 The revival of Pawnee culture which began to materialize in the years of the Ghost Dance went back for its material primarily to three sources in the old culture: the bundles and bundle rituals, the societies, and the games. The general attempt to resuscitate the aboriginal forms, supplemented and fortified by the inspirations and mandates of the visions, resulted in three types of cultural rebirth. The activities of old ceremony, performance and play were fostered; the paraphernalia were put in order, renewed, and recreated; and concepts from the old context were enshrined in symbols and facsimiles which were carried in the dance and integrated in new cultural forms.

BUNDLES AND BUNDLE RITUALS

778 796 178 [756] [764] The principal bundles of the Pawnee in aboriginal times were the sacred bundles,[1] often spoken of as village or band bundles, and the medicine men's bundles. The former were predominantly concerned with cosmological powers and references; the latter with the animate forms of the earth, the waters and the air (animals and trees, fish and water-creatures, birds). By 1892 sacred bundle ritual demonstrations had practically ceased; of the medicine men's ceremonies, the great doctor performances of the fall had ceased in 1878, but the Doctor Dances of the spring and summer continued at irregular intervals, and such medicine men's ceremonies as the Buffalo Dance were also carried out on occasion, while the Bear Dance had died out. Resuscitation of the old bundle rituals was the most difficult problem of revival and could not be fully met: a good part of the sacred rituals and paraphernalia had been buried in the grave with their final priests. There were two modes or types of occasion on which bundles were opened in aboriginal times: to demonstrate the ritual, and to renew or repair the bundle parts and contents. There is little evidence that the Pawnee succeeded in actively rehabilitating the ceremonies of the sacred bundles, but they did succeed in reconstructing the medicine men's

---

[1] I avoid any attempt to here catalog or describe the many bundles of the four Pawnee bands, which would of necessity be lengthy and for the most part irrelevant. The interested reader may consult Murie, Societies, pp. 549—556.

778

Bear Dance, and a number of sacred bundles were opened and an 796
attempt made to put them in physical order. 178

The bundles and bundle rituals were esoteric possessions and knowledge, controlled by individuals. As such their inheritance and
transmission followed traditional modes, and according to the [424]
orthodox old Pawnee doctrine no revival of extinct forms was possible. The sanction of the Ghost Dance doctrines and visions was in definite conflict with old customs of transmission, and came to predominate.

In the traditional view, the knowledge and learning of an individ- 778
ual had to be handed down by actual instruction of the young. 793
This was somewhat different for the two kinds of bundles, typified
by the sacred bundles (with which the society bundles can be 424
associated, as essentially derivative), and the medicine men's 622
bundles. For the sacred bundle type the offices of ownership and 869
priesthood were independent: A chief owned the bundle physically, and his wife took care of it. He did not necessarily know the ritual lore of the bundle. A priest controlled the ritual, demonstrated it on the proper occasions, and advised the owner of his bundle obligations. The physical bundle was ordinarily inherited directly in the male line. The ritual knowledge, however, was transmitted by the priest to his successor by means of instruction over many years. The priest usually taught a close relative (not necessarily in the male line exclusively) because of the desire to hand on his learning in his own family line. But lacking close kin of suitable temperament, the priest taught whom he pleased. For the medicine men's type of bundle, ownership and priesthood centered in the same individual. The doctor himself was owner of the physical bundle, and of its associated teachings, and officiated as his own demonstrating "priest" on ritual occasions. In the course of his life he taught a man to be his successor, and gradually turned over
the ritual functions to him. The successor was usually a close [602]
relative, such as a "son" or "nephew", etc., but here too the medicine man was at liberty to instruct whom he would, and on occasion chose more distant relatives when near relations proved unwilling to attend seriously to the learning of the traditional material.

Ordinarily a man taught his successor largely by demonstration. 778
That is, the apprentice took part in the actual demonstrations of 793
the ritual (and the curing of the doctor) watching what went on. In the course of the procedure the master explained the detail. As the teacher found his pupil mastering phases of the activity, he turned over to the pupil such parts as were understood. In

778 this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course
793 of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher
lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that
as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that
[828] when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the
old and learned always held back something until they were ready
to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught
his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on
his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told
him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When
upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part
[764 of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by
428] the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased
medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest,
a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance;
the physical bundle survived, though it might be less
and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained
182 as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through
178 cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through
the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of
the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid
increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was
in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals,
which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction
rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there
was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young
men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase
of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their
time; and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an
early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode
of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

424 The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of
private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost
793 through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no
sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who
attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

182 The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance
178 visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would
"see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision
668 then became a command upon himself and others around him to
787 carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life
could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

right to sit near him and watch; that Bear Chief took pity on him 178
and taught him the ceremony and songs without pay. He then 756
told them to go to their homes, that on the morrow when they
entered the lodge each one was to take his seat. They were then 796
dismissed with the exception of Little Warchief. [424]

"When they were alone Big Star questioned Little Warchief about the songs and asked if he knew them. Little Warchief said, 'Yes, I know the songs.' Big Star was glad of this for although he could carry on the ceremony, he was afraid that he would not be able to sing the cedar-tree songs."

(Later at the preliminary feast to set the date of the ceremony), "when all were in, Big Star said, 'You, who are sitting at the altar and those of you at the stations, old men and chiefs. Today we sit in this lodge as men of the Bear Society. We are gathered together here, through Woman Yellow Corn, who had a vision of one of our departed relatives, who asked that we have this ceremony, that Father and Mother might receive our smoke..."

The medicine men's activities which had not ceased, such as the Doctor Dances and the Buffalo Dance, took a new lease on life as a result of the Ghost Dance impetus. The people attended and participated enthusiastically, and young men began again to learn the doctors' ways.

It is probable that reconstructions of sacred bundle ceremonies 178
were attempted, but we have unfortunately no record. The main 778 ●
effort of revival, as regards the sacred bundles, was directed toward 793
bringing to the attention of the people the bundles still in the
possession of the Pawnee, (viz., neither buried nor sold), and to
open these in order to renew the contents. I do not know with
how many bundles this was attempted. The procedure of renewal
was also ritually and physically difficult. In the old days the main
priests took charge, and the necessary materials were made available in advance. In Oklahoma neither priests nor materials were
available. Mark Evarts described for me the events which took
place in 1903 when an attempt was made to renew the tuhutsaku
or Left-handed bundle. I quote a few passages:

Frank Leader was the main priest, assisted by Running Scout, Goodeagle, Knifechief (the elder), and John Box. When the bundle was lying open on the altar, Leader spoke:

"Now what you see here, it's a long time since we opened it. Now this here sweet grass," (picking it up), "it's been here a long time. That's what they used to light pipes many years ago. Now these things before me that I have, God put them before us. What

---

[1] Referring to the Ghost Dance prophecy of a coming change.

178 you see here our old grandfathers had their hands on, but this old
778 woman," — referring to Gillingham's mother —, "when no one's
around she ought to untie it; bugs are spoiling some of these things.
793 It isn't like it used to be a while back. We could untie the bundles every year, sometimes twice a year; now everything has kind of rotted. Now today we've untied it all. God himself looks down on this here. It is his will that things are changing on earth.[1] I don't know. I only have what I see here, but there used to be an old man, a priest, who sat here, and when he opened the bundle he would cry over it. I can't do anything. I have nothing to change these things. Now this bird where the head is coming off, I can't sew it with sinew; it will tear. It must be sewn with thread. The only way I have to do is to grease the things and make smoke. I can't go through it as they used to a long time ago."

Although the reconstruction of extinct ceremony, and the renewal of partially disintegrated bundles, proved extremely difficult, the attempt was made. At the same time the cosmological references and type paraphernalia of old bundles were recalled to serve as source material for conceptions and objects integrated in other cultural forms. Thus we find ideas from the old forms of ceremonialism, from the Evening Star bundle, the human sacrifice of the Morning Star bundle, and the Calumet ritual, interwoven with Ghost Dance thought in such developments as the Ghost Dance ceremonial forms and the Ghost Dance hand games; and replicas of old sacred objects appeared at hand game altars, symbolising the references of visions to the old bundles and ceremonies. (See Chapters II, VIII, IX, X, XI).

REVIVALS OF SOCIETIES

178 The old societies were a major type of revivals during the Ghost
575 Dance period. There is evidence for a revival in one form or another of the raris arusa (Horse Society), hatuxka ("Those coming behind"... Crow Lance Society), raris skirixki (Wolf Society), tirupahe (Fighting Lances), asitsakahuru (Crazy Dog Dancers), raris kaka (Crow Society), pakspahukasas (Roached Heads), asakipiriru (Young Dog Dancers), raris arika (Horn Society or Horn Dance), and pitararis iruska (the old War Dance)[1].

---

[1] I have limited myself in this discussion to the facts of revival; the society forms, ceremonial smoking, performances, etc., will be discussed elsewhere. For some description of the old form of these societies, see Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, pp. 561, 570, 577, 578, 579, 581, 582, 616, 608. (Page references follow the order of the societies as listed above).

These old societies were concerned primarily with war and 178
hunting, and, becoming functionless, had practically ceased their 575
activities by 1892. Each society was controlled by a bundle, from 778
which the powers necessary to the activities of the members were derived, and which in turn derived its powers from greater sources in the major sacred bundles. A full and complete revival of a society would have meant a recreation of the structure of membership, in some cases involving hereditary seating plans, the renewal of the society paraphernalia, the carrying out of the society performances preliminary to regular seasonal activities of its members, and the war path and hunt itself. Some of these societies were entrusted with the policing of the organized hunt. Hence a complete revival could not be accomplished. But a number of societies were reconstructed to a point just short of completion. These were the Horse Society, the Young Dog Dance, the Horn Dance, the Crazy Dog Dance, the Roached Heads, the hatuxka, and possibly the old War Dance. No reconstruction of the membership arrangements was attempted, but led by men who had been connected with a society in former times, leaderships were instituted, singers were taught the old songs, and the dance performances of the society were carried out more or less exactly. Where old paraphernalia was available a renewal ceremony for its physical repair was attempted; while in some cases replicas of the old sacred objects of a society were made. My informants had witnessed regular participations of revival forms of the Horn Dance, Roached Heads, Crazy Dog Dance, Young Dog Dance,[1] Horse Society and old War Dance in the great gathering of bundles for Emmet Pierson's hand game.
(See Chapter X). At this game the altars of these societies were [534]
arranged generically: each had one or more pipes and drums, and lances and other sacred objects were set out before the altar. The dancing to society songs in the game intervals required that the drum of the society be moved to the regular drum position, the hand game drum being moved aside.

My informants recalled witnessing in the Ghost Dance period, 178
four or five performances of the Crazy Dog Dance, performances of 575
the Horse Society, the Wolf Society, the Roached Heads and the 796
Young Dog Dancers. In Nebraska days, since these societies were for men only, and for masculine functions, such performances could only be participated in by men and by men who were members. The Oklahoma revivals in terms of the Ghost Dance, were on behalf of all the people, and all who wished joined in dancing to

---

[1] A song recorded by Densmore reports a Ghost Dance vision in which the Young Dog Dance pipe was given. See Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

178 575 796

feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one Horn Dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat [782] and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman." (1914).

The Horse Society (raris arusa) was revived early, probably by Frank Leader. Murie describes at length a ceremony for renewing the society lances held May 23, 1902.[1] The paraphernalia included [293 778 276] two lances, four rattles, four hand drums, and a red pipestone bowl with tubular dogwood stem, the stem incised with black bands to resemble trachea markings.[2]

Of certain societies we cannot be sure that the revival was extensive. All the societies mentioned were used as sources for the content of Ghost Dance visions, and the visionaries made facsimiles of old society objects which they carried in the dance. When the visions were as well bestowals of special rituals, such as hand games, the society objects became part of the bundle and altar. The Crow Lance Society (hatuxka) was revived in this way by Mark Rudder; a lance was placed at the altar, and a brief dance led by Rudder opened the game occasion (See Chapter X). The Society of Crows (raris kaka), a derivative of the hatuxka of aboriginal times, was independently revived by George Beaver, and it is probable that paraphernalia made by him were integrated with his game set.[3] Fancy Eagle is credited with the making of a hand drum which was associated with the old Fighting Lances (tirupahe[4]) and used in hand games.

In addition to the use of paraphernalia, songs of these revived [533] societies were used in the intervals of the hand game ceremonies. It is also probable that the use of drums in the hand game ceremonies was based on old society forms.

---

[1] Murie, Societies 561ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 567, p. 566 fig. 5. Two hand drums in the Field Museum (F M 79368—1,2) are probably those of Leader; the face bears in red a representation of the raris arusa sheathed lance with its sets of fringed feathers.

[3] F M 73962 is the revival lance; it is not encased in buckskin. F M 79364 and 79365 are hand drums decorated with Ghost Dance symbols, which are said to have been used for the raris kaka by Beaver.

[4] F M 71934. Reference is made by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 68 to a song which apparently concerns the revival of this society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

178 According to Murie's[1] account the modern Skiri iruska was taken
over from the Oglala Sioux, but went back to a form of the Omaha
796 grass dance. It began to appear among the Pawnee in 1897, and
177 was fully organized by Eagle Chief in 1911. An independent
development of the iruska took place among the Kitkahaxki^{x}.
"About 1894 while the Ghost Dance was still intense a man named
Sitting Bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the
iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and led it until his death
in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the
[778 hands of Little-Sun, one of the leading singers. According to this
ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the
534] ritual as in the case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-Sun revived the
ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-Fly-High, also a pupil of
Sitting-Bear." An independent development of the modern iruska
took place among the Tcawi under the leadership of Roaming-Chief,[2] and thence spread to the Pitahawirat^{a}.[3]

Murie has described how the peyote ritual reaching the Pawnee
668 in 1890 was stimulated by the Ghost Dance excitement; and how
796 some forms of the peyote worship were like Ghost Dance forms.[4]
Frank White, the great Pawnee Ghost Dance prophet, was also
276 a peyote devotee (See Chapter 11). Murie adds, "it may be well to
note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the Ghost Dance excitement. One of his individual
[787] doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may
acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown
to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging
to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable
astronomical lore."[5] This indicates the extent to which the effort
to bring back cultural aspects buried and forgotten was a definite
part of the Ghost Dance doctrine.

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 624—625, 628. Cf. for a description of the forms of these rituals, pp. 624—630.

[2] Several shields in the Field Museum, depicting warriors' visions of Ghost Dance times are associated with the development of the modern iruska. F M 71844, and F M 59527 (two shields). One of the latter was identified as probably belonging to Roaming-Chief.

[3] The story of gradual changes in the form of Pawnee visiting party arrangements, associated with the modern iruska development, is a complex tale on its own account, and is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

[4] Murie, Societies, p. 636—637.

[5] ibid. p. 638.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

648 At that time a separate treaty was made with each band of Pawnee, designated as Grand, Noisy, Republic, and Marhar, the treaties being respectively on June 18, 19, 20, and 22. Peace was then concluded with all tribes of the region which had been disturbed by the war of 1812. A treaty with the Pawnee Tribe was made at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs, September 30, 1825, its purpose being "to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension."[3] By the treaty of October 9, 1833, the Pawnee ceded to the United States "all the land lying south of the Platt River."[4] A reservation in Nebraska was provided for the Pawnee who remained in that State until 1876, the sale of their reservation in Nebraska being approved on June 5 of that year. The setting apart of a reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) was approved April 10, 1876. The Pawnee were removed to that reservation and "each head of a family or single person over 21 years of age residing upon said reserve, who shall so elect," was entitled to receive an allotment of 160 acres of land.[5] In a table compiled by the Office of Indian Affairs in 1908 it is stated that "112,859.84 acres were allotted to 821 [Pawnee] Indians, 840 acres reserved for school, agency, and cemetery purposes, and the residue of 169,320 acres was opened to settlement," the agreement being ratified by act of March 3, 1893.[6]

161 [164] [177] The number of Pawnee in 1702 was estimated by Iberville at 2,000 families. In 1838 they numbered about 10,000 persons, but the opening of a principal emigrant trail directly through the country in the forties introduced disease and dissipation and left the people less able to defend themselves against their enemies, the Sioux.[7] They decreased in numbers and in 1928 the Pawnee population was 2,766.[8]

133 [136] The reservation of the Pawnee is beautifully diversified, with many streams and tracts of woods. There are outcroppings of stone in the region south of the town of Pawnee (pl. 3, *a*, *b*) while north of the town are broad, smooth fields. (Pl. 3, *c*.) On a private ranch near Pawnee a picturesque herd of buffalo was seen near a "buffalo wallow." (Pl. 4, *a*, *b*.)

342 [592] [778] The earth lodge of the Pawnee was about 40 feet in diameter and 15 feet high, and was occupied by several related families, each having its appointed space along the wall. "At the west side of the lodge a space was always reserved, which was considered sacred, and was called *wikaru* (place-for-the-wonderful-things), this being the name which is applied to the garden of the Evening Star, where the corn is always ripening and where are stored many parflêches of buffalo

---

[3] Ibid., pp. 258-260.
[4] Ibid., pp. 416-418.
[5] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 159-161.
[6] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 213.
[7] Ibid., p. 216.
[8] Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the year 1928, p. 58.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance 342
of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and [778]
suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and
other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the
altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, [554
the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, 513]
which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two
below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a
"skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending
upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward
to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This
framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow
rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was
protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered
roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when [484]
a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially
anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family
usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer
abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was
made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered
with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four 619
bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary
chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had 621
also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its [778
priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with 793]
those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and
symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a
medium of communication was believed to be opened between the
people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and
prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the 621
head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced 622
by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus 624
or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the
Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were
the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council 623
was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands,
and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of
the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a 611
man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family. 591

---

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. xv. New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band 778
were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" [621]
belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor [614]
by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging
to the several bands there were two bundles which were the [619
property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one 422]
or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most
sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one
was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning
Star, while the other symbolized the female element, or Evening
Star. These ears of corn were shelled and given to the people as
seed corn at the first ceremony in the spring. Next in importance [237]
were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin
symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be
awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet
grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies,
tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained
other articles, and the skins of birds other than those
mentioned. [611]

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary 422
keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the 428
owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped 778
in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on 621
the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always 778
placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning
Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent
paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from
those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey con- [171]
siders the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to
the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine
bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. 778
The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in 796
the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl.
7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by
a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony
the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the
freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances
there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not [793]
fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the
people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization
of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

---

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Simms, Director of the Field Museum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 8).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 some form of offering or sacrifice. In addition to these were the
796 ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine men. The number and elaborateness of the ceremonies show the Pawnee to have
[174] been, in the old times, a ceremonial people among whom symbolism was highly developed.[14] Only a portion of this rich ceremonialism is considered in the present work.

276 Peyote is used extensively among the Pawnee at the present time,
*535 but the subject was not studied nor its songs recorded. The writer listened to several of the songs, which were simple and appeared to be modern melodies.

---

[14] Cf. Fletcher, Alice C., The Hako, a Pawnee Ceremony. Twenty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, Washington, 1903.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 771 in order that the music of the entire tribe may be represented. All these songs are combined in the analyses and the latter class, to some extent, affects the total numbers.

An important point, made evident in this comparative analysis, is the individuality of Pawnee music. It is distinct, in its entirety, from the songs of other tribes, though bearing a resemblance to one tribe or another in separate characteristics. The study of Indian music by an established system of analysis shows there are characteristics that are common to Indian songs of various tribes and different from the music of the white race, and also characteristics which distinguish the songs of one tribe from those of another. Among the former is the change of measure-lengths found in many Indian songs and the downward trend of the melody. The latter are indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. A characteristic of Pawnee music that evades, to some extent, the tabulated analysis, is its simplicity of both melody and rhythm. This can only be appreciated by a study of the melodies themselves. Pawnee music is the plainest of any thus far recorded in its rhythmic divisions and general content. This characteristic of the group may, however, be due to the absence of songs used in treating the sick, which are usually songs of complicated rhythms.

MORNING STAR CEREMONY

• 778 796 A sacred bundle of the Skidi Pawnee was associated with Morning Star and its ceremony was held in the early spring, having for its object the securing of good crops in the coming season. It was the writer's privilege to see the Morning Star bundle in the house of the woman who was its keeper, and also to see its contents exposed in the ceremony. The bundle, in accordance with custom, was hung on the west wall of its owner's house, and with it were hung four large [776] gourds, symbolizing the four deities who were the special guardians of Evening Star and also representing the breasts of the two women in the west, Evening Star and Moon.[15]

773 [424 551] The legend from which the Morning Star ceremony arose was related by Coming Sun, whose grandfather was a high priest in the Morning Star village and who received his name by inheritance from this ancestor. With Coming Sun's narrative is combined a limited number of details mentioned by Linton in "Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee."

As already stated, Morning Star ruled in the east and Evening Star in the west. All the stars west of the Milky Way were feminine and those to the east were masculine, but the most powerful were Morning Star and Evening Star. Sun was with the former and Moon was a companion of the latter. One after another the eastern

---

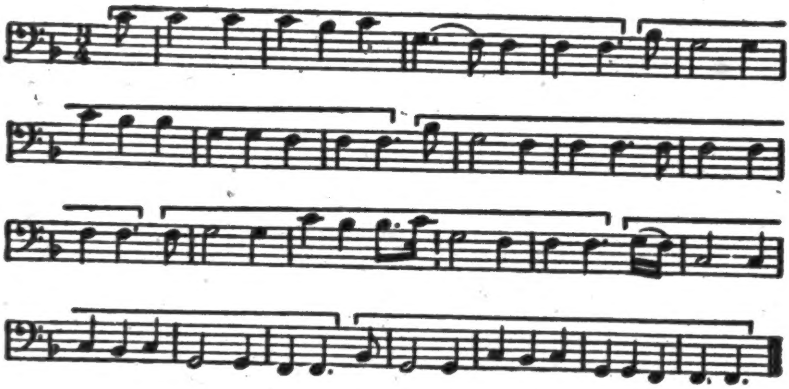
[15] Cf. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 52-55.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

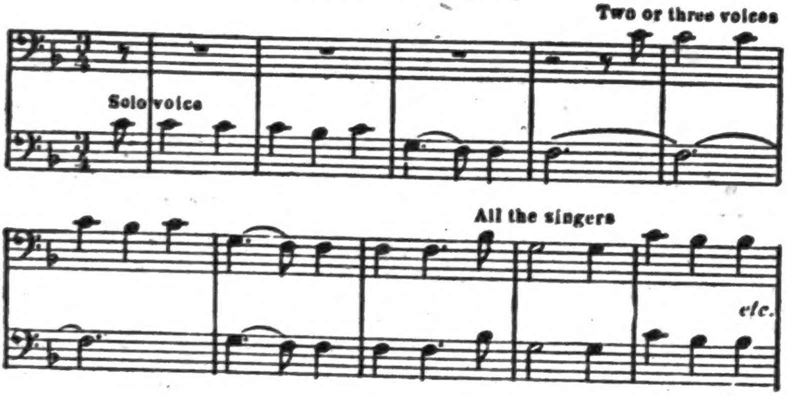
No. 1. Song of Morning Star (Catalogue No. 1162)

Sung by Coming Sun

*533
773



Manner of rendition



FREE TRANSLATION

"This I did when I became angry, in order that in the future the earth might be formed." In later use the words "And I imitate this power" were added, referring to the persons using the song.

*533
[126
•779]

Analysis.—This song was considered too sacred for phonographic recording and was orally taught to the writer by Coming Sun. For this reason the metronome time is not indicated. The manner of singing this and other ceremonial songs is indicated in the transcription, one voice singing the opening phrase, and holding a low tone while two or three voices repeat the opening phrase, after which all the voices proceed in unison. This melody is an example of interval formation. The only tones are F, G, B flat, and C, and the principal progressions

are whole tones between B flat and C, and between F and G. A 533*
similar melodic form occurs in Nos. 5 and 53. This song is transcribed with the signature of the key of F and classified with songs lacking the third above the keynote. The repetitions of the rhythmic unit are six in number and comprise the entire melody. Slight differences in the note values of the rhythmic unit occur in the latter part of the song.

The tenth obstacle was not encountered by Morning Star until after 773
he entered the lodge of Evening Star. The obstacle was a snake, but he overcame it, as he had overcome the others, by means of the ball of fire and the song.

Evening Star saw that his power was greater than hers, but she determined
to hold him aloof as long as possible. Finally she insisted
that he make provision for the child that should be born; she even [854]
required him to provide perfumed water for bathing the child and a
cradle board in which it should be placed. On the hoop, or arch, of [531]
this cradle board was painted a morning star and the lightnings, this
custom being followed by the Pawnee at the present time. Evening Star also required him to plant a tree in front of the lodge so that the mocking birds might nest there and sing to the child. From this union a daughter was born. She came down to earth and wandered about in fear. As she was running hither and thither she met a boy, the child of Sun and Moon, and these two became the ancestors of the human race.

Morning Star made a bundle and placed in it various articles connected 778
with the obstacles he had overcome on his westward journey. 773
He left this bundle with Evening Star and for that reason a woman has always been the keeper of the sacred bundle. Other articles have been added from time to time and will be noted in this paper.

It is said that Evening Star required a human sacrifice as her reward. 796
This sacrifice must be a pure and beautiful maiden and she demanded 773
that the sacrifice be repeated annually. Long ago, Morning Star 782
sometimes appeared to a man in a dream and told him to secure a
maiden for this sacrifice. According to Linton, a man who had this [787]
vision went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received
the warrior's costume and the sacred objects kept for such an expedition. 796
Other warriors joined him and, preliminary to the expedition, 782
they enacted the journey of the Morning Star, and sang the song with which he overcame the obstacles placed in his way. (Cf. Song No. 1.) When the ceremony ended it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise and the leader went outside the lodge and addressed an invocation to him. After dancing furiously around their fire and offering a last prayer to Morning Star the warriors started forth and captured a maiden from the enemy. Returning, they gave

796 her into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village until the
782 time for her sacrifice. She was treated in a ceremonial manner but
kept in ignorance of her fate. At the appointed time her body was
[302 painted, half red and half black, and she was tied to a scaffold and
417] shot through the heart with an arrow. It was said that the braided
thong used to bind the girl to the scaffold is now in the Morning
Star bundle.

Tradition states that on one occasion the intended victim was
173 rescued. On the night preceding her execution she was seated beside
782 some tall sunflowers. A young chief came through the tall weeds and
796 stole her away, putting her on his horse and taking her to Fort Leavenworth, whence she was returned to her own people. She died within three months, having been anointed for death with the sacred ointment of red paint powder and buffalo fat. This occurred about the year 1818. The man who rescued the intended victim was a warrior of distinction and through his influence the custom was discontinued. The ritual of the sacrifice is still rendered but no actual sacrifice has taken place since that date.

796 Coming Sun, who sings the ceremonial songs, said that sometimes,
during the Morning Star ceremony he stops and says "Listen," and
[782] the people hear a woman's voice singing the songs above his head.

The Morning Star ceremony was held by the Skidi Band near Pawnee, Okla., on April 17, 1920. This ceremony formerly lasted four days and nights, ending when the morning star appeared in the east, but at the present time it is concluded in one day. On this occasion the writer had the honor of entering the lodge, through the courtesy of Coming Sun. It is said that only one other white person, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, has entered the lodge during the ceremony and seen the contents of the sacred bundle.

The ceremony was held in a tipi erected for the occasion in a quiet
[346] spot near the house of the keeper of the bundle, north of Pawnee.
This tipi had been used in the Ghost dance and was decorated with Ghost dance symbols. (Pl. 5, *b*.) The adjacent landscape is shown in Plate 3, *c*. The ceremony began at about 9 a. m. and continued until 4 p. m., the writer sitting outside the tipi except for the brief time she was permitted to enter. Thus the entire songs of the ceremony were heard, as well as the prayers and rituals, though only the principal song was obtained. At the proper time Coming Sun, who was in charge of the ceremony, sent a messenger to summon the writer and she entered the lodge, passing to the right and standing
near the bundle, before which she laid gifts of calico, tobacco, and
[534] money. Coming Sun was seated back of the bundle, directly opposite the entrance, and held one of the sacred gourd rattles. Two
796 men at either side of him held similar rattles. In front of the men
778 at Coming Sun's left and next the sacred bundle was a belt decorated

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of 796
"song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The 778
outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread
on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a
pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native
tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of
corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip inclined toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and
the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a
white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws [825
of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal 821]
is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason
the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In [854]
accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her
arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She [201]
then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between
the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial
lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies [302]
were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder
mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire
was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was [372]
intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was 796
served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful
of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung [415]
on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled
in the usual manner. [262]

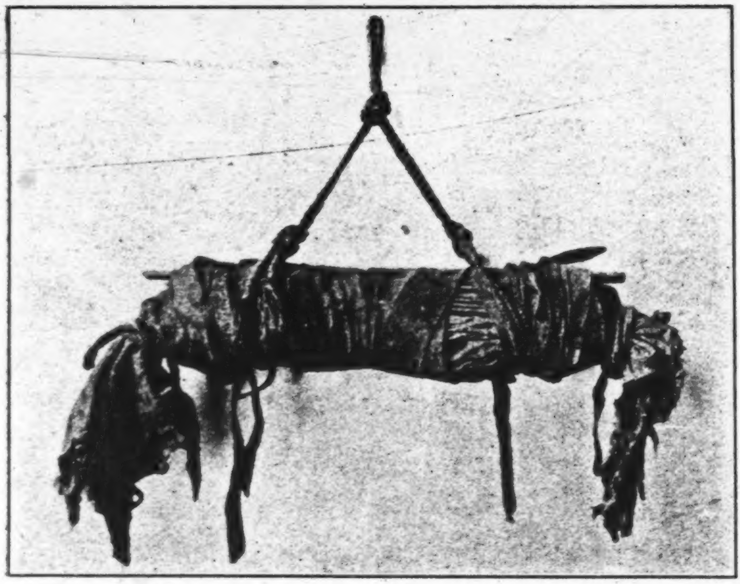
The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning 796
Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and
were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening 778
Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle 173
and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side.
The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge
of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however,
forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close
the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured
four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black.
The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star
and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards
the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe
secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It
is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to
have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow [411]
is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

---

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. V, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

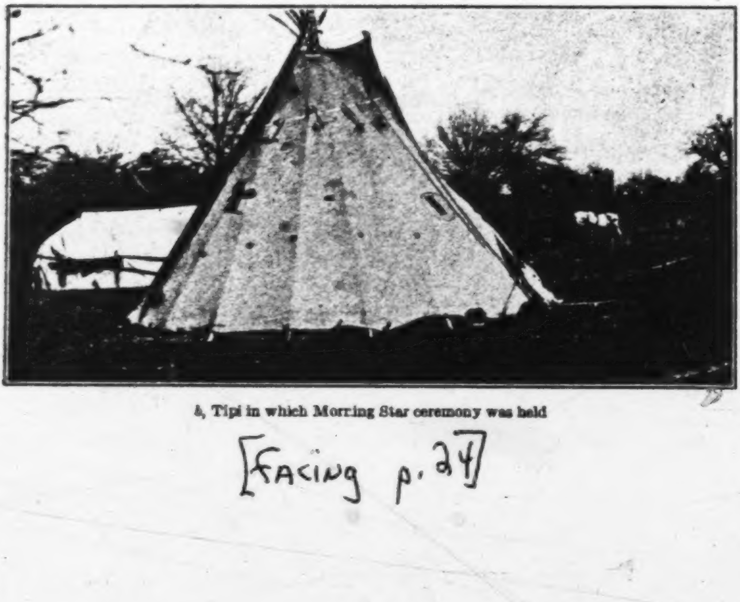
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778
284



a, Sacred bundle

346
532
231



b, Tipi in which Morning Star ceremony was held

[Facing p. 24]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUFFALO DANCE

796 The ceremony of Painting the Buffalo Skull is held every spring by the Chaui Band of Pawnee and is in charge of Mr. Stacy Matlock, a prominent member of that band. The closing events of the ceremony are the Buffalo and Lance dances, which were witnessed by the writer through the courtesy of Mr. Matlock, no other [346] white person being present. The ceremony and dances were held in a large earth lodge, several miles south of the town of Pawnee. (Pl. 6, *a*, *b*, *c*.) The opening of the lodge was toward the east. At some distance was a framework, probably that of a sweat lodge. (Pl. 7, *b*.) Only members of the Buffalo Society were admitted to ● [778] the painting of the skull, but during the Buffalo dance the skull, painted a few days previously, lay on a folded blanket in front of the "altar" which was opposite the entrance. This occasion and the Lance dance held a few days later afforded exceptional opportunities to listen to Pawnee songs, but the semidarkness of the lodge and the solemnity of the occasion precluded the taking of notes upon either the music or the details of the ceremonial dances.

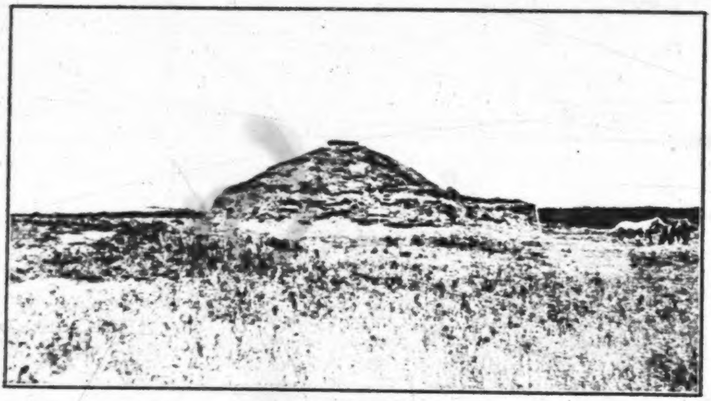
[424] The chief singer at both of these dances was Wicita Blain, a blind man who received the songs by inheritance. He led the songs 796 which were sung at a certain position back of the altar. At a later 115 time he recorded the ceremonial songs here presented, also certain songs of the Bear dance, which is held in equally high esteem by the Pawnee. John Luwak, chief of the Chaui Band, was prominent at the Lance dance and later recorded numerous songs, including those of the Crow Lance Society. (Pl. 2, *a*.)

*533 The following song was led by Mr. Blain at the Buffalo dance attended by the writer and is a very old song concerning Mrs. 173 Blain's uncle, whose name was Naru'dapadi. A great herd of buffalo came to the place where the Indians were encamped and threatened the destruction of the village. Her uncle rode toward them, shouting and firing his gun in an attempt to divert them from their course, but he was caught in the herd. There were buffalo on all sides of him as the herd swept through the camp and across a stream, carrying him with them.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth. These are the tones omitted in the fourth 5-toned scale which is major while the present song is minor in tonality. It is interesting to note that 25 per cent of the intervals are fourths. This interval, in songs of other tribes, has been found to characterize songs associated with motion or connected with animals. The most frequent interval is the whole tone. This song has a compass of 11 tones and contains the fourth below the final tone. Table 4 shows that the final tone is the lowest tone in a majority of the Indian songs under analysis.

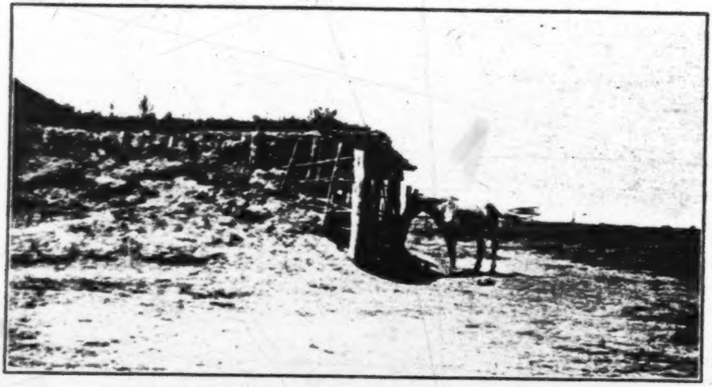
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

346



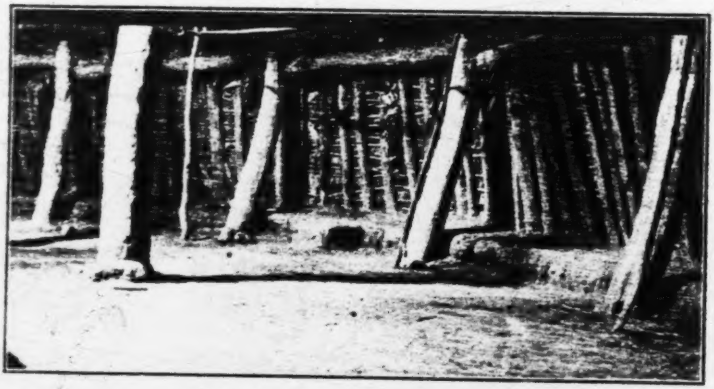
a, Exterior of earth lodge in which Buffalo and Lance dances were held

346
231



b, Entrance to earth lodge in which Buffalo and Lance dances were held

346
●778



c, Interior of ceremonial earth lodge, showing "altar"

[facing p. 25]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

/

Analysis.—Four renditions were recorded. The first and second 533* renditions were interrupted by the shrill cries given by women in a war dance, the interruptions occurring in the eighth measure of the first and the ninth measure of the second rendition. After the second rendition the singer spoke several sentences rapidly and after the third rendition she repeated the shrill cries. The third and fourth renditions were sung without interruption. The foregoing is an interesting example of the performance of this class of songs. The tempo is slow and the melody is marked by a steadily descending trend. The song is harmonic in structure, contains all the tones of the octave, and has a compass of 11 tones.

SONGS OF THE RAVEN LANCE SOCIETY

[171]

The custom of the Pawnee concerning the raven lance (*kakutsaa*) 411 was similar to that of the Mandan.[20] A warrior who carried this lance 726 into battle and planted it in the ground was obliged to defend its 778 ● position with his life. If he were killed, his comrades brought back the lance. By the Pawnee informant the lance was described as a staff wrapped with otter hide and having a crook at the upper end. [237] It was decorated with eagle feathers and bore the body of a raven, commonly designated as a crow.

The dance of the Raven Lance Society was said to be "almost like 533* that in which the dancers painted half their bodies red and half 575 black," referring to the White Lance Society. The original owner of [302] this dance lived to extreme old age and, as he had no children, he 173 gave the dance to a young man who was one of his nearest relatives. 726 One day the people said, "Some Indians are coming to attack us." The young man who had received the dance took his raven lance, [431] mounted his pony, and went to get the old man. They rode together on the pony to a place near the fight and then went forward on foot, but the old man could not go as fast as the warriors. The old man called, "I am still coming," and the young man came back and helped him forward. The aged man was proud to see that the young man to whom he had given his dance was among the leaders in the fight. The enemy shot and killed the young man, and the lance was brought back with his body. Then the old man sang this song. In the manner of recording the song there was a wailing which was said to be "the old man crying because the young man had been killed and he had no more relatives," yet he loved the lance and all that it symbolized. He died soon afterwards and, as he was too old to give the dance to anyone else, the Pawnee do not have the dance at the present time.

---

[20] Cf. Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 48 and 49, including "Song to the Raven"; also Lowie, Societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, pp. 313-314.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

WAR SO[illegible]

Three classes of war songs are here presented and comprise a song concerning a conquered warrior of the Cheyenne Tribe, several songs of Pawnee warriors, and songs which were sung at two gatherings of the tribe attended by the writer, these gatherings being in honor of Pawnee soldiers who had recently returned from the World War. 533*

The first song commemorates a well-known event in Pawnee history. About the year 1852 the Cheyenne and Arapaho returned from Washington, where they had gone to make a treaty with the Government of the United States. Among them was a Cheyenne of great reputation named Touching Cloud, who, because of the incident to be related, was afterwards known among the Pawnee as Iron Shirt. This man had in his employ a Mexican who could cut round disks from the thin frying pans used at that time. Touching Cloud had these disks sewed on a shirt and cap, the pieces overlapping as in old-world armor. Soon after the return of the treaty party, the Cheyenne attacked the Pawnee, who were hunting buffalo. Touching Cloud felt so secure that he rode directly among the Pawnee. His arms were so stiffened by the metal disks on his sleeves that he could use no weapon except a sword but he used this so effectively that he and his party drove the Pawnee back to their village. The Pawnee were unable to explain the fearlessness of this man and talked of it among themselves. In the village was a young man named Carrying-the-shield who had not gone with the hunters. He listened to what they said and remembered something told him by his father, who was keeper of a sacred bundle. His father had four sons and gave them four sacred arrows, each a different color. The arrow received by Carrying-the-shield was red. In giving the arrow his father said, "Use this arrow when you are in great danger and it will save your life." So Carrying-the-shield took the arrow and a bow, went out and met a party of Pawnee retreating with the Cheyenne in pursuit. The retreating party opened and let him through. Touching Cloud made ready to attack him but the youth shot him in the eye with the red arrow and he fell from his horse. The Pawnee "counted coup" on his body and found that he wore, concealed beneath his outer raiment, the metal-covered shirt made for him by the Mexican. Therefore he was known as Iron Shirt among the Pawnee. 175 648 [714 177] [778] [726 554]

Analysis.—An ascending tenth occurs in this song, representing an ascent from the lowest to almost the highest tone of the compass. The rhythmic unit is interesting and of frequent occurrence. The song is major in tonality and the most frequent interval is a major third. 533*

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PAWNEE.

The Pawnee formerly lived along the Platte River in what is now Nebraska. They were composed of four independent tribes, the Skidí, Chauí,[1] Kit'kaháxki, and Pítahauírata. Of these, the Skidí was the largest and in most respects the leading tribe. In language, it differs slightly from the other three tribes which have one and the same dialect. The Skidí were composed of thirteen villages, or bands. The Pítahauírata were in two villages, the Kawarakis and Pítahauirat. The Chauí and Kit'kaháxki were each single villages.

These villages, or bands, were the social units but seemingly placed no rigid restrictions upon marriage. A man got his place in a village through his mother. The women never left the village in which they were born, but if a man married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village. In fact, the villages were in principle endogamous, for a man could not marry outside except with the consent of his village as represented by the governing officials, who usually opposed such unions on the ground that the strength of the village would be depleted.

THE BUNDLE SCHEME.

The basis of the social and political organization of the Skidí is their 778
peculiar sacred bundle scheme, the detailed discussion of which does not fall within the scope of this paper. Hence, we shall but briefly note its general outline. The name for a sacred bundle is chúharipiru (chuhuru, rainstorm; ripiru, wrapped up), but sometimes it is spoken of as atira (mother), referring in this case to two ears of corn kept in each bundle and symbolically spoken of as the mother of the people. The reference to rain [821]
is due to the conception that the important powers of the world reside in the west, the home of the thunderers, from whence the powers of the bundles come.

---

[1] The Chauí were known to the French as the Grand Pawnee and their chief as le grand chef. The Skidí all lived on the north side of the Platte in Nebraska while the other three divisions were to the south. In the Journal of La Vérendrye, 1743, the lodge of the Grand Chief is mentioned, which incidentally enables us to locate the route of this explorer. In aboriginal days the Skidí seem to have been noted as cultivators of corn and have traditions of visits from distant tribes to replenish their stock of seed. Even the Comanche made such visits. According to Murie, the Skidí villages were often called the Awahi (Harahey) and when Coronado reached the Wichita they were naturally referred to as the leading people of the country.— Ed. [175]

[p. 548 is blank]

778 come. While all these bundles had their individualities, they had certain
ceremonies in common: thus at the sound of the first thunder in spring,
[782] the keeper of each bundle must immediately open it with the proper procedure
and make an offering of dried buffalo meat to the powers in the west.[1]
This offering is burned, but after the ceremony the remaining meat is
cooked and served.

As to how far this applied to the other divisions of the Pawnee, cannot
184 be determined for they have not preserved their bundles and rituals to the
778 same extent as have the Skidí. The Chauí are known to have had three
bundles, the Pítahauírata, two; but those of the Kit'kaháxki passed out so
long ago that no definite number can be enumerated. The rituals of all
these bundles were seemingly different from those of the Skidí in that so
far as we know they did not have the regular thunder ceremony, but consecrated
the bundles to certain animals. It is not known for certain if the
sacred ears of corn were kept in these bundles as in those of the Skidí, but
there are some reasons for believing that they were.

103 In the Skidí scheme there were thirteen villages, each of which had a
bundle:—

361 1 Tu^{h}rikaku^{h}, center village; the Evening Star bundle.

631 2 Kitkahapaku^{h}tu, old village; the four leading bundles are kept in
778 this village.

3 Tu^{h}hitspiat, stretching out in the bottom lands.

4 Tu^{h}kitskita, village on branch of a river.

5 Tu^{h}wahukasa, village stretching across a hill; the Morningstar bundle. (This bundle was finally divided into two.)

6 Aríkararikuchu, big antlered elk standing.

7 Arikarariki^{h}, small antlered elk standing.

8 Tu^{h}huchaku, village in a ravine; the left hand bundle, all use left hands in the ceremony.

9 Tu^{h}warakaku, village in thick timber.

10 Akapaxsawa, skull painted on tipi.

11 Skisa rikus, fish hawk.

12 Stixkautit, black ear of corn.

13 Turawi, part of a village.

631 These thirteen villages were organized or federated under this bundle
778 scheme and so had a common government. The supreme, or original

---

[821] [1] The Evening Star (calf bundle) is the chief power in the west. Four other stars in the west represent the clouds, thunders, lightning, and the winds, or the four leading bundles. These four stars are supposedly sitting in the west, acting as priests. They are sitting there with a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat; also, they are sitting with a hill of corn, the stalks always green, and a place in front of them as the altar.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

authority resided in the evening star bundle[1] of the center village, but at 631
the time of the federation of these villages, powers were delegated to four 778
special or main bundles which in turn served as the basis of the governing
power. These were:—

1. The Yellow Tipi, or Yellow Star bundle, pertaining to the powers of the Northwest (akarákata, yellow tipi).
2. The Mother-born-again, or White Star bundle, the powers of the Southwest (atíratatariwáta, mother born again).
3. The Leading Cornstalk, or Red Star bundle, the power of the Southeast (skawáˣha kitáwi, literally, a lucky woman as leader, but refers to a corn symbol).
4. The Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, or the bundle "with a round thing tied on" pertains to the Northeast (riwiruchaku, round thing on).

To this list may be added the Human Skull bundle and the North Star bundle. These bundles may be said to be general in the sense that they are attached to no particular village but minister to the Skidí at large.

There were, however, two independent Skidí villages that refused to enter the federation These were the Squash Vine village (pahukstatu) and Wolf-standing-in-water village (skirirara). Each of these villages had a bundle, but little in common with the ritual scheme of the federated villages.

The federation of the thirteen villages is represented and formalized in a 346
ceremony known as the four-pole ceremony. For this a circular embank-
ment was thrown up with an opening to the east. Out in front of this 631
entrance was a small mound of earth taken from the fire pit and inside at 796
the west a raised altar platform. Around the inside of the ring of earth was a screen of green branches set up in the ground. Arranged around the fireplace were four poles bearing a tuft of branches at the top; a white pole of cottonwood, a red of box elder, a black of elm, and a yellow of willow. In the ceremony the bundles enumerated above and their keepers had fixed positions according to their rank and the geographical relations of the respective villages. As will be noted in the diagram most of the bundles are upon the north side of the enclosure, these lived on the north side of the Loupe River, the others upon the south side. The positions of the priests of the bundles are shown in the diagram and in the ceremony the bundles are opened before them in order (Fig. 1). 631

The leading bundles are associated with the four poles, according to the 778
colors as stated in their enumeration. These bundles, poles, colors, etc., 796

---

[1] The Evening Star, or red calf bundle (arípahat, red calf) may be called upon in time of need to supplement the powers of a leading bundle. Because of this relation to the four leading bundles it is sometimes called rakatira (lay across them).

631 778 796 represent the powers in the four quarters of the world and also stand for spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but in no fixed order, the season a bundle represents being determined by the order of the ceremony.

631 773 A brief abstract of the mythical account of the inauguration of this federation may make the foregoing clearer:—

[778] [796]

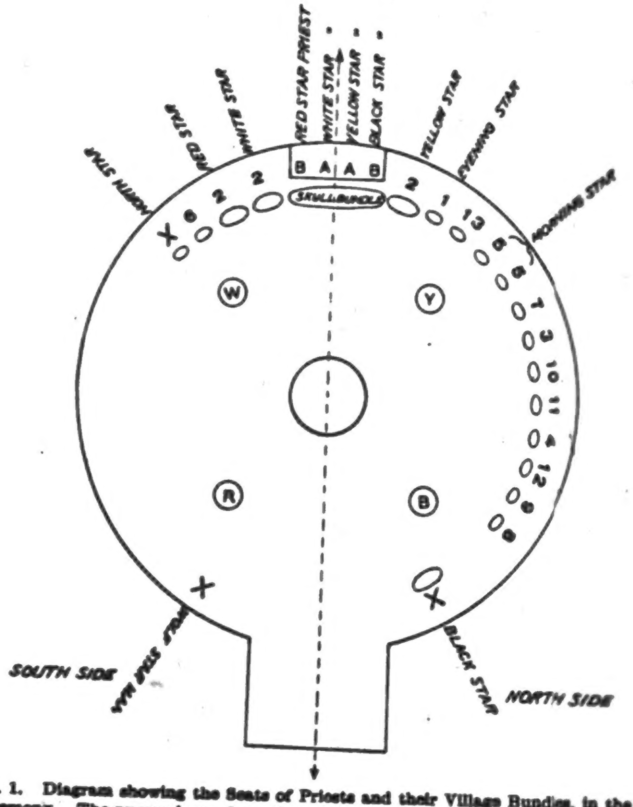

RED STAR PRIEST
WHITE STAR
YELLOW STAR
BLACK STAR
NORTH STAR
RED STAR
WHITE STAR
YELLOW STAR
EVENING STAR
MORNING STAR
B
A
A
B
SKULL BUNDLE
X
6
2
2
2
1
13
5
5
7
3
10
11
4
12
9
8
W
Y
R
B
X
X
SOUTH SIDE
BLACK STAR
NORTH SIDE

Fig. 1. Diagram showing the Seats of Priests and their Village Bundles, in the Four-pole Ceremony. The numerals are from the table of villages in the text. The places of the four main bundles and the special bundles are designated by their respective names.

Evening Star (Venus) is the keeper of the firesticks which she received when she married Morning Star (Mars). He was the ruling spirit to the east of the milky way. Evening Star was a beautiful woman and very powerful. She was opposed to the creation of the earth and man and had overcome all the stars seeking her in marriage. Supporting her were four great powers, or stars, the Bear, Panther, Wildcat, and Wolf. There was also a great serpent group of stars. Morning Star

overcame all of these in turn. Thus, he secured Evening Star. Then follows the familiar vanquishing of vaginal teeth. In course of time, a daughter was born. The earth was then created for the home of this child. The Sun and Moon became parents of a boy and he also was placed upon the earth. 631 773

[346]
[778]
[796]

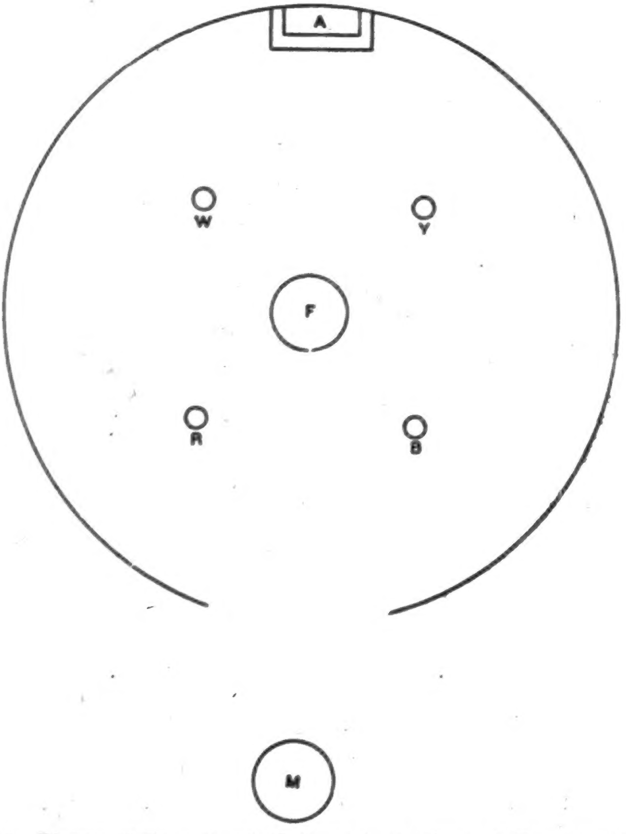


Fig. 2. Diagram of the earthwork Enclosure for the Four-pole Ceremony: A, altar for the buffalo skull; W, white pole (cottonwood); Y, yellow pole (willow); R, red pole (box alder); B, black pole (elm); F, fire pit; M, earth taken from the fire pit. During the ceremony a screen of green branches is set up inside the embankment. The poles are young trees trimmed to a few branches at the top. The seats and positions of bundles were as shown in Fig. 1.

After many years when the people were numerous, Morning Star demanded a human sacrifice as a return for his trials. Evening Star gave one man and woman directions for making the Yellow Calf bundle. Then Evening Star told him that there were many people scattered over the earth and that he should call them to-

631 773 gether. So Errand Man was sent out. From each village came the people with their sacred bundle. Errand Man told the chief that upon Elkhorn River he found a village of earth-lodges covered with squash vines in which a bundle ceremony was going on in consequence of which they refused to come. Also on Looking Glass Creek he came to a village where the people had just performed a ceremony to call the buffalo and as the buffalo were at hand, they could not accept the invitation. Most of the buffalo were killed upon the ice which during the day was covered with water. The wolves stood around the carcasses and many were caught by the feet as the ice formed at night. So these two villages did not take part in the general bundle ceremony and were known as the Squash Vine and Wolf-standing-in-the-water.

Those who had assembled now performed the four-pole ceremony. The keeper of the bundle and his priest occupied their regular seats at the back of the lodge and as the bundles of other villages arrived those from the north took seats on that side and those from the south upon the other. The village of the host was then called Center Village.

The special federation of these Skidi villages necessitated a governing
622 organization different from that of the other divisions. The governing
631 body was a society of chiefs, twelve or more in number. It seems that in principle there was to be one chief for each village bundle, though as such he had nothing to do with the bundle. When the chiefs society met in a lodge they took their seats in the same order as indicated in the diagram of the four-pole ceremony, but the bundles were not brought into the lodge.
[202] Two errand men were members and sat by the door.[1] The chiefs were of equal rank and inherited their office. However, there was some selection, for the elderly men filled vacancies from those directly descended from chiefs. All the chiefs taken together constituted the tribal council of the Skidi.

The chiefs are, however, not the highest authority, that distinction
631 belonging to the priests of the four main bundles. Their office is hereditary;
793 each priest selects an assistant from his near relatives who thus becomes qualified to become priest in turn. In rotation the four leading priests take over the responsibility for the welfare of the people for one year, counting from the first thunder in the spring until fall. This chief priest is the highest authority; he is the source of final appeal and to him all acts of the
224 council of chiefs must be referred. The buffalo hunt in particular must
631 be regulated according to the ritual of the bundle whose priest happens
778 to be in charge. As noted above, the Red Calf bundle is superior to the
793 leading bundles, but its priest cannot exercise authority except he be

---

[1] As noted above, two villages refused to join in the federation. Later, they were taken in and their chiefs were given seats in the vacant place on the south side of the lodge, but they were not permitted to enter the four-pole ceremony.

officially called upon to assume it. As previously noted, there was a curi- 224
ous arrangement in that the keeper of the bundle could be endowed with 631
the power of all four bundles. This we do not fully understand, but 778
in case buffalo should fail, owing to the weak powers of the chief priest, 793
special ceremonies would be performed to pool, or unite, the powers of the four main bundles by temporarily merging their power into the ritual of the Red Calf bundle. This bundle alone contains firesticks; its keeper builds the council fire, and in the old Skidi scheme of villages it belonged to the central village. Its keeper must also be present at the ceremonies of the other four bundles, and in a way he alone can call the whole tribe together. Yet, it is only in times of great trial, that he by special ceremonies becomes the chief priest. It is only when the four leading bundles fail to provide buffalo and the people are starving that the chiefs beg the priest whose bundle is then leader to call upon the calf bundle to lead. The priest gives
his consent. Then he fills the sacred pipe with native tobacco and hands [276]
the pipe to his chief who goes to the tipi of the calf bundle priest. When the chief enters the tipi he walks to the priest who offers the pipe to him and explains why he has done so. The priest, knowing the wants of the people, receives the pipe. The chief thanks him; lights his pipe and waits. When the chief receives the pipe he returns to the other priests' lodge and returns the pipe, telling him that the other priest had received the pipe. The priest and people are glad. Then the ceremony of transferring power is carried out. It is the belief that the buffalo will then come dashing into the village.

The priests of the four leading bundles and the priest of the Red Calf 793
bundle are thus seen to be important personages. While each of the other bundles has its priest, his function is quite secondary; in fact, he is little more than a custodian, providing the meat and corn necessary to the ceremony. The principle of operation is that the ceremony for each bundle is conducted by one of the five leading priests, i. e., the priest of the Red Calf bundle must always be present, and the conductor is either he or one of the four leading priests, as the ritual may require. Normally all five are expected to be present. There is a partial exception in the Morning Star bundle for in this case the conductor of the ceremony was a special official of the village, not its keeper, but even he was under obligation to call in the calf bundle priest who alone knew the creation rituals, and the two leading rituals for all bundles. In short, with the exception just cited, the calf bundle priest was required to know the ritual of each bundle and if need be conduct each ceremony; the four leading priests were to a less degree required to do the same.

In this connection, it may be noted that the custodianship of a bundle is in the hands of the woman. She cares for it at all times and knows some

539 rainbow. The evening star provided a bag. The council discussed what these
575 people should take with them. Morningstar said: "I will supply a sacred bundle and I wish eveningstar to contribute someone to carry it and four men to care for it."

[293]
[411]
[778]

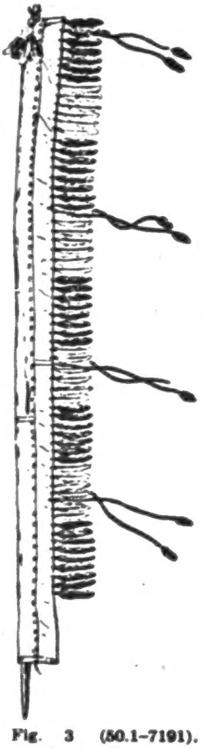


Fig. 3 (50.1-7191). Lance for the Two Lance Society, one of two. The cloth is red, the feathers white (goose) and black (crow). The pendant feathers are crow and the tuft at the top, owl. Length, 2.387 m.

Eveningstar brought an ear of corn which was transformed into a girl, the bearer of the bundle. First the four men were put into the bag, then the girl with the bundle, then people, and finally, the two lance men. The bag was tied so the man could carry it on his back.

It was now time for Paruxti to visit the earth. Eveningstar commanded the four powers in the west, clouds formed, lightning and thunder were placed into the clouds. Paruxti was placed upon the clouds and the wind slowly blew them along towards the earth. Soon the clouds rested on the earth and Paruxti stood upon it. He went towards the east leaving footprints so the gods knew he was on his way.

One time when he was tired and lonesome he remembered what the gods had told him about the bag. He sat down near a stream, placed the bag in front of himself, and opened it. First the two lance bearers, carrying the lances, jumped out. They stopped some distance off, one standing at the south and one at the north side. Soon people sprang out and took their places behind the two lance men. Then came the girl with the sacred bundle on her back. Behind her the four men walked abreast.

The two lance men lead the people to some level ground. They stuck the lances into the ground while the rest of the people put up their tipis. The first one was set up facing east, for the bundle girl and the old men. The bundle was hung up inside the tipi on the west wall. The girl sat beneath it. Two of the old men sat on the north and two on the south side of the tipi. Throughout the village all was bustle and confusion. The boys, young men, and old men were playing with their sticks and rings. For the boys the ring was small and the sticks had two hooks on one end. The sticks used by the older men were hooked at one end and had two cross bars while the ring was smaller than that used by the young boys. The oldest men played with large rings and straight sticks. The women sat in circles and played a game with plum seeds and a basket while others played shafts.

Messengers were sent through the village to call out the men to look for game. The runners notified the people that they had seen many buffalo. The men went out to hunt them and returned with the meat. The first buffalo killed was taken to the holy tipi.

They stayed at this place four days when the holy being told the four old men that it was time to move. Camp was broken and everyone returned to the bag, the two lance bearers last of all.

The lance for the north side was black and for the south, white. There were 575
two rattle bearers who stood and danced as in the preceding. There were
four singers and two water drums. Their war duties were as previously
stated. This society was composed of chiefs and warriors, on different sides. [701]
At stated times, the members demonstrated their deeds, trophies, and war
medicines.

It seems that there were three bundles in the Pítahauírata division at
one time and the three feathers on the lance are supposed to be one for each. [778]
The members were members of the chiefs society, warriors and men who had
consecrated eagles; hence the small eagle feathers are put on the lance.
In the consecrating of eagles the heads are strung through the nose with
sinew, all the members having gone through this ceremony; hence the string
here symbolizes the consecration but it is not known if the hooked part of
the lance is the eagle's head. The pipe of this society is borrowed from the
warrior's bundle.

So far as known, the organizations in the three divisions were identical.

THE WOLF LANCE.

The rarisits skiri^{h}ki^{h} (society of wolves) was peculiar to the Wolf-
standing-in-water village. There were two lances, four flat hand drums
painted white, four singers wearing caps of wolfskin like roaches, four rattles
(two for each side). All members painted white. The pipe bearer who sat [302]
in front of the four singers painted red, however. The lance bearers sat
among the dancers, but the lances rested against the lodge posts. There
was no regular dance evolution, each one going as he pleased. The old men [535]
and one messenger were on each side.

There were two war shields covered with wolfskin for each side. For
each shield there was a bearer. It was a war organization and differed
from the others in that as an organization it could go to war. The lances [701]
were left at home, however. So far as known they never acted as police
of the hunt, but the members seem to have had the right to take the lances
of the hunting society and scout for buffalo.

The lodge of this society had its door toward the west instead of east. [345]

THE BLACK HEADS.

The pakskatit society was peculiar to the Kit'kaháxki division. They [224]
seem to have been important for they could act both as police of the buffalo
hunt and in the line of battle. While there were two sides as before, there [701]

THE ORGANIZED WAR PARTY.

There was a fixed ritual for the control of a war party, which when 701
organized for a foray was for the time being a kind of wolf society (araris
taka, society of the white wolf). Its mythological basis is quite fundamental, 721
being that part of the creation myth in which a wolf pursued man 726
and deceived him. In any event, the god of war is a mythical wolf and it
was directed that a wolfskin should always be placed at the top of a bundle [776]
and that the Skidi were to be the wolf people, as the name implies. Hence,
to become a real warrior one must follow the ways of the wolf. One who
does so can go to the keeper of a bundle and borrow the war clothing therein
together with the pipe. The wolfskin remains in the bundle, but the objects
he takes away carry with them the power of the wolf. By their association
with the bundle, these war clothes represent the powers of the west and when
the borrower is so clothed these powers are with him. He can now organize
and lead a war party, but he himself must not imitate the wolf, that is left
to his followers. Thus, they become like the wolf first placed upon the earth
and may have power to steal upon the enemy and get away without being
discovered.

Before setting out upon a foray a ceremony is held in the village in which 726
as in all else the borrower of the regalia from the bundle is the leader. An
altar is made and the bundle from which the regalia are to be borrowed is [778]
brought in and placed before the leader. Upon it is the wolfskin and in the
minds of the warriors the wolf is present and, hence, always with them upon
the way. A buffalo skull rests upon the altar.

The war regalia of the bundle are usually a pipe, a collar, a lariat rope, a hawkskin, an ear of corn (Mother Corn), some red paint, down feathers, and a leader's feathers.

As the bundle is present there must be a north and south side and two
leaders. On the march they go abreast with the others behind in order of
their rank. A four-day ceremony follows, before setting out. On the way,
their organization is for each side, or line: a leader, two scouts, two soldiers,
the warriors, and the inexperienced assistants. The four scouts are really
charged with the responsibility of the movement and may be said to be in
command (see p. 55) though the leaders stand for the highest authority.
They scout about in the early hours of the day and at all times on the
journey. Their signals are made as wolf cries. When a scout has anything [201]
to report, he tells it privately to the leader of his side. At the proper time
the leader announces the import of the report in a formal ritualistic manner.
They never approach or in fact go anywhere in a direct line, but follow an

756 affair. This is not the time to go into a detailed account of it, but the following general sketch of the procedure seems necessary.

796 The native name for the ceremony is tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand, but we shall for convenience speak of it as the twenty-day ceremony, as in fact it is often called by the Pawnee themselves. It is found among all the divisions, but seems to have originated with the Squash Vine village, to whose medicinemen alone certain parts of the ritual were known. From the originators it passed to the Skidi and then to the other divisions. The twenty-day ceremony proper is given in the early autumn after all the bundle ceremonies have been performed, the corn harvested, etc. At the proper time the lodge is cleared and the altar arranged as before. After certain preliminary ceremonies, it is in order for each medicineman to build a booth [343] of green willows in the lodge. They proceed ceremonially to a thicket where each gathers his willows, with which they march back and then construct their booths.

It may be stated that each medicineman sets up a booth for himself, but if he has attached to him one or more younger men in the capacity of students, these assist. Each booth, therefore, really represents a group of men. Further, all the people of the village to which a given medicineman belongs may at times enter, take seats around the booth, and offer assistance. In this way the whole people may be said to participate.

184 532 756 778 796 Among the Skidi there is a special feature since they are not content with merely dancing to the mythical water monster, but construct his image encircling the fireplace. In this all the medicinemen's groups take shares. The head is begun on the south side of the door. The mouth is open, with teeth of willow. The head is covered with buffalo skin. There are two long "feelers" decorated with bands of bright colors. On the crown of the head is a large erect plume of down feathers. The body of the monster is formed of bowed willows, plastered over with mud. The tail is at the north side of the door and is forked like that of a fish.

The fireplace is cleared out and a large turtle modeled there, his head toward the altar. A new fireplace is then made on his back. While the water monster was peculiar to the Skidi the following were found among all divisions. A tree was cut and brought in with a ceremony almost identical with that found in the sun dances of other tribes. The Skidi plant the tree (a cedar) in the forked tail of the monster, the others put it (a cottonwood) at the altar. A life-sized woman is built up of clay, dressed in regular costume and set up on the south side of the lodge. A large figure of a man is cut from rawhide and placed upon a pole above the lodge. Numerous small human figures are cut from rawhide, strung upon cords and stretched about overhead in the lodge. All these objects are highly symbolic: thus, the fire

is the sun; the mud woman, the moon; the large rawhide image, the morningstar; 184
the many small images, stars. 532

756
All this construction was part of the ritual and so controlled by a definite 778
program. When everything was in place, a general dedication ceremony 796
followed in connection with which is a spectacular march through the village
in two lines, according to their sides. In front, two men carry the sacred 756
animals from the altar, dancing. (For the Skidi, two loons are used, for 796
the other divisions, two beavers.) All medicinemen are supposed to derive
their powers from living creatures and their booths are spoken of as animal
lodges. In this procession each man costumes himself so as to represent
his animal mentor, often in very realistic fashion. There were also a few [522]
clowns dressed like wolves.

After the tour of the village, the procession enters the lodge and holds a secret ceremony upon which we have no data. Those on the outside hear a great uproar and a riot of hideous noises, while clouds of white dust rise from the smoke hole. When all is quiet again, the door is opened. The leader then performs a ceremony in which he sprinkles water about to consecrate the lodge.

It is then in order for the various medicinemen to demonstrate their animal powers. This is the time when remarkable feats of juggling were performed; thus it is told that stalks of corn were made to grow up and mature in a moment, likewise plums and cherries, the bear men tore out a man's liver and ate it, after which he rose unharmed, and so on, in bewildering variety.

Finally, a certain number of days were given to ceremonial visits to the sacred bundles, each in turn, where certain ceremonies were performed.

At the end the animal powers and images are taken down and carried to a stream or lake. Here they are heaped up in the water something like a beaver's house and the mud woman placed on top.[1]

Places or booths in this ceremony were assigned by the leaders. A man having set himself up as a medicineman would apply for a place. He would be assigned one provisionally and at the proper time called upon to demonstrate; if he failed to carry his trick through successfully he was ejected, but otherwise given a permanent seat. As may be anticipated from the foregoing, medicinemen were trained and not made suddenly through dreams or visions. It is true that such experience counted for much, but the usual way to become a medicineman was to succeed one's teacher at his death. Thus, it is clear that the seats in the twenty-day ceremony were practically fixed in form and number.

---

[1] It may be significant that the animal painted tipis of the Blackfoot and Dakota were always disposed of by sinking in water and that many ceremonial objects among the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan were similarly treated.— Ed. [171]

THE BEAR SOCIETY.

756 Among the very highest of shamans and doctors were the bear men. Among their regalia were four bearskins, a grizzly, cinnamon, the large black bear, and the small black bear. There were also four bear-claw neck- [301] laces. Eight rawhide rattles were used. Preparatory to a ceremony two piles of cedar brush were placed in the lodge, one for each side. When the members have assembled a sprig is given to each, set up before his seat, and carried in the dance. The sprig is carried home, the leaves stripped and the [789] wood cast into the fire. The leaves are placed in a bag and used for ceremonial smudges; thus if a thunderstorm threatens, a smudge is made to protect the lodge.

When called to a ceremony, the members enter, take their seats and place [302] their professional bundles in front. Then they paint. One set of men paints red, one white, and another a kind of pink. All make black eye marks, a diagonal line from the inner corner of the eye down across the cheek. If feathers are worn in the hair, they are of the same color as the face.

When all are ready, the leader designates two men from each side, to wear the bearskins. These were worn merely as robes, the head on one side, the tail on the other. Sometimes two small boys are selected to dance with [53] very small bearskins. Four water drums are used; these are passed, or moved around the circle at intervals. While the songs are rendered, the members dance around the fireplace and during the intervals walk around the fire, or mill like bears.

At the feast which follows the kettle of corn is brought in and as in all ceremonies is set upon the median line of the lodge between the door and the fire. (Fig. 4). Eight bowls are placed around it in a circle, those in [264] the north half going to that side in order, etc. After the corn is served, the kettle of meat is brought in and served in a similar manner. Thus each side eats in four groups. No one is permitted to use a knife while eating. After the feast each makes up his bundle and departs.

While all the divisions seem to have had a bear society, its full ritual was in the keeping of the Skidi organization.

BUFFALO DOCTORS.

Another important society found among the Skidi and Chaui is known as [778] kura taraha, buffalo doctors. On their altar is a buffalo skull, one half white, one half red; also a wand with seven eagle feathers, at the top a tiny bag of native tobacco and four strings of blue beads hanging down. The

dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in 756
their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow [534]
mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes. [386]

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws. The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the [293]
lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in [778]
black. There were no feathers or other decorations.

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature [888]
of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times.

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

THE DEER SOCIETY.

The raris ta, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual 276
seems to be in keeping of the Skidi organizations. The fundamental elements 756
of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer (ta), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamental is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls unconscious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed jaw of a gar fish; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once for all.

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the [789]
leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced

622
756 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers
778 and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular impor-
554 tance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have con-
726 secrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup
among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of
these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pitahaufrata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of
756 wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and
837 not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice.
Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicine-man in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies
224 for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping
party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle
[223] trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern
838 Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by
sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

No-flight Idea. A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and
726 taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself
down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

842 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of
532 medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so.
Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint
834 in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized
in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had
276 performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

In case of the Pawnee, we may note the fine example of pattern phe- 575
nomena manifest in the adjustment of all kinds of ceremonies, original or 616
borrowed, to this scheme of two sides and alternate leadership.[1] Based
upon this fundamental pattern are two distinct patterns of organization: the 756
lance-bearing societies and medicinemen's associations. From the preced- 796
ing concrete accounts it is clear that all of the lance organizations must have been constructed or adjusted to the plan of some one parent society. The same may be said of the medicinemen's associations. We have commented upon the apparent dual division of chiefs and medicinemen (p. 639), the bundle scheme being the province of the former and to which the medicinemen were individually subject, but professionally formed a second half for social control. This duality is seen in the organization of all bundles and related societies under the four-pole ceremony and in like manner the organization of the medicinemen under the twenty-day ceremony. Here again is clearly a similarity of pattern in the coordination schemes for two groups of activities.

Another important conception of the Pawnee is the bundle sanction.
Thus, as keeper of the village bundle the chief rules by a kind of "divine 631
right," the highest exponent of which is the priest of the bundle, or the 778
keeper of the ritual. The hunt and the raising of grain were each guarded over and governed by virtue of bundle rituals. A lance society performed no public function except under the sanction of one of the bundles. Furthermore, the federation itself was based upon superior or leading bundles, from which the chiefs and priests derived their authority. One must suspect that the conception of a bundle sanction was so fundamental with the Pawnee, that the first step toward a federation was of necessity the creation of a series of superior bundles.

In keeping with the foregoing conceptions is the hereditary system. 611
Chiefs, priests, members of societies, etc. serve for life and endeavor to qualify some of their brothers and nephews to succeed them. In most organizations there were certain tests applied to the candidate for the ejection of the theoretically unfit, but these first chances were given to those whose brothers or uncles had been admitted to membership; likewise the priests of bundles must be those competent to perform the ritual, but here again the preference was given to maternal relatives. The important position of chief, or official keeper of the village bundle, was regarded as strictly hereditary to the next of kin, though incompetents were encouraged to decline the honor in favor of the next heir.

---

[1] A kind of dual leadership is found in many societies of the Oglala and Blackfoot, as shown in the preceding pages, but without any ceremonial associations or counterparts in other ceremonies, from which we infer that it reached these tribes as an objective part of a borrowed system. [171]

61 mission to have young Murie take his place in the ceremonial circuit in the lodge with the understanding that he be made chief on the death of Skidi-Good-Chief, thus continuing the Pumpkin-Vine village in the circuit.

621 582 591 428 778 A marriage outside the village occurred about sixty years ago [sixty years prior to 1907], and, as the result bears directly on the question of descent, the facts are worth quoting. A man of the Pumpkin-Vine village, having obtained the consent of his uncles, married a young woman of the Morning-Star village. He lived with his wife in the Morning-Star village for several years, during which time he made sacrifices to the Morning-Star bundle and learned its ceremony. Then he returned to his own village and took his children with him, the children being considered members of the Pumpkin-Vine village. But while living in the Morning-Star village he was considered to have obtained certain rights in that bundle, and he demanded recognition of these rights. On his return to his own village, the Morning-Star bundle was divided, and he carried part of it to the Pumpkin-Vine village. Thus, there exist today two Morning-Star bundles. The ultimate fate of his half of the Morning-Star bundle is interesting. His children all died except one daughter, who married Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village [Wolves-Standing-in-Water village?], who claims ownership in the bundle today. She came by it in this manner: On the death of the husband—that is, the member of the Pumpkin-Vine village—his widow lived with her daughter's husband; she, as keeper of this Morning-Star bundle, ultimately turned it over to her daughter, whose husband, Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village, learned its ceremony and sacrificed scalps to it and so claimed it. Thus it happens today that the priests of Coyote-in-Water village and the Pumpkin-Vine village have a right to be present when either of the Morning-Star bundles is opened.

611 421 778 114 [This statement that descent in the village group followed the paternal line is in direct contradiction to a later one by Murie. In his report on Pawnee societies (1914), Murie wrote: "... if a man married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village." The contradiction may be due to confusing the inheritance of sacred bundles, which generally followed the paternal line, and descent in a village group, which may well have been maternal. Also, in cases where the inheritance of a sacred bundle was involved, the pattern of descent might have been modified in favor of patri-

lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may 611
have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, 421
if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of 778
descent in the village group would arise only as the result of infrequent inter-village marriages.] 114

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that 621
one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where 778
it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village 773
it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each 621
village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the 778
ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi 796
villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the 621
villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly 778
had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were 103
extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

62
778
103

agree, nor does Murie's account agree with this manuscript. In his paper on Pawnee Societies, Murie lists a village named Black-Ear-of-Corn. According to the present manuscript this is an alternative term for a bundle called Fools-the-Wolves, belonging to a village of the same name. Also, Murie has a Fish-Hawk village, which according to the manuscript is the bundle of the Village-in-the-Woods (Village-in-Thick-Timber). Finally, he lists one village not mentioned here, its English equivalent being given as Village-on-a-Branch-of-a-River. In place of these last two, this report names the Pumpkin-Vine village and the Wolves-Standing-in-Water village. Murie mentions both of these but states that they were independent and does not include them in his list of the thirteen Skidi villages. His account implies that there were fifteen known Skidi villages in all. Though the present manuscript agrees as to the relative independence of the Pumpkin-Vine and Wolves-Standing-in-Water villages, it lists them as part of the thirteen villages belonging to the Skidi band. It should also be noted that Dorsey (1904, p. xviii) stated that there were nineteen villages; however, he did not give their names and reduced the number to thirteen in a later publication (1907b). There are no other important disagreements between the published statements of Dorsey and Murie and the present notes, except that Murie's Old village is here called the Four-Band village.]

844 the midwife, it was said that the child was afraid of her and so hurried and was born before she came. On the other hand, if the birth were delayed and the confined woman in great pain, it was the duty of her relatives to send for one or two other women to assist the midwife. These helped in trying to hasten the birth. If they [755] failed, the medicine-men were called. The latter came into the lodge with gourd rattles and sang their medicine songs. Then they gave medicine to the woman. If it was time for her to give birth, it was thought that delivery would speedily follow; if it was not time, she would at least be relieved.

In delivery the woman usually rested on her knees, leaning forward on a stick brought for that purpose by the midwife. Those of high rank, belonging to the Four-Band village, were always permitted to use a short round stake from the Northeast, or Big [778] Black Meteoric-Star bundle, on which was fastened a buffalo scalp [821] containing a chart of the constellations, and which was supposed to have the effect of making delivery exceedingly easy.

When the child was born, the midwife cut the umbilical cord, [465] using a new knife given her as part of her pay. She rubbed ashes upon the cord until it shrank, then she twisted it around upon the child's navel, and tied a string around it. Contrary to the custom much in vogue among the Plains Indians, the mother retained the cord, wrapping it in a buckskin in a work-box; it was buried with her and never given to the child.

846 The midwife then washed the infant with warm water and dried [854] it with buffalo wool, wrapped it in a blanket, and placed it on a [553] cradleboard. Next she bestowed a name upon the baby and gave it to the mother's relatives. The afterbirth she disposed of in the following manner: placing it on a bunch of grass, and wrapping it in a piece of tanned buffalo-hide, she carried it outside into the woods. There she put it on a tree, saying: "I place this afterbirth upon you, that the animals may not eat it, nor the birds. You stand here firmly; let this child that I have attended grow up without sickness to be a man (or woman)." Next she said to the afterbirth: "I place you securely upon this tree, so that nothing will touch you, and so that you will turn into dust. If the mother who is sick yonder should give birth to another, make the delivery easy." The midwife then returned to the lodge.

After the dried cord broke off from the child's navel, the baby was washed in the little wooden bowl and turned over to the mother. The old woman who had acted as midwife combed and braided the

772 765 [782] and obtain a scalp. This was carried home to the village on a pole, and scalp dances were inaugurated. The scalp was consecrated to one of the deities of the heavens, and the man who had taken it wrapped a piece of it in a small buckskin sack with tobacco. This was tied to a long stick representing an arrow and thrust into the grave. Another small piece of the scalp was burned upon the grave.

551 765 The name of a dead person could not be mentioned during the mourning period. If anyone mentioned the name of an individual who had been killed in war, it was thought that he would probably suffer the same fate as the person killed.

764 778 821 Reference has been made to the fact that personal belongings were buried with the dead. However, there were certain exceptions to this practice. Personal war bundles containing meteorites or any objects supposed to have had their origin in the heavens were not buried. This was in accordance with the belief that these objects belonged in the heavens and not in the ground. Hence, when an individual possessing such objects died, and if the relatives did not want them, the bundle was unwrapped and the objects were placed on a high hill, whence they returned to the heavens. Such objects were supposed to be the children of stars, watched over by them, and it was believed that when people had no further use for these "children," they would return to their parents in the sky. Also, if a medicine-man died during the time he was giving instruction to his son, his medicine bundle was retained for the boy's use when he became of age.

764 778 A further illustration of the burial of belongings with the dead is contained in the following incident. A Skidi chief's daughter died. The father had received calumet pipe sticks from the Chaui band, and his daughter had participated in the ceremony accompanying the gift. Her death followed shortly after the ceremony and was attributed to the belief that the ceremony had not been properly performed. Consequently, over her grave her father placed the pipe sticks, oriole's nest, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, and tobacco bag that comprised the special objects used in the ceremony. That year drought prevailed, the crops withered, buffalo could not be found, and the Skidi were forced to depend on their cache reserves. The Chaui priest who had originally brought the pipe sticks visited the Skidi, and with the chief to whom he had presented them, went to the grave, removed the ceremonial objects, wrapped them in a bundle, and taking the earth from over the body, placed the bundle next to it. He then re-filled the grave. Shortly after, there

came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it." 764 778

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of 572 friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particu- 888 larly to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally 759 claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age. They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the 562 priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the 834
Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until [291]
well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the [515]
lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no [521]
subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

the desire to take scalps and capture ponies and is no longer fit to be 622
chief. In the words of my informant: "Tirawa, after having created 538
people, gave them their bundles and said to the chief: 'You are to be 565
like me; you are to have many people to look after; you are to be guardian of the people on earth and the beings of the heavens will do your bidding.'" The custom did not prevail among the Skidi of making the chief an offering of food when on the hunt. He was obliged to look after himself, and could not claim more than the share which he himself or those riding his horses had won in the chase.

Like other societies, that of the chiefs had two errand men whose 624
duty it was to look after the fire, prepare and distribute meat, and 565
light the pyre for the smoke offerings. In his own village each chief also had at his command two errand men who performed similar duties.

In addition to the hereditary chief, each village had one or more *nahikuts*, or braves, whose number was usually four but varied according to the size of the village. The duty of these men was that of servants of the chiefs; they followed their directions, preserved order, helped in carrying out the laws of the band, and assisted in the preparation of the ceremonies. Their badge of office was a war-club or tomahawk. They held office for life. They were also considered as servants of the Morning Star, and like the other warriors of each village obtained their power directly from him or from some animal or spirit under the guidance of the Morning Star.

Another high-ranking class were the *narawiraris*, or warriors. These men had reached this position by their own efforts. They had made a certain number of sacrifices and thus won a victory over the powers of the heavens. They were eligible to election as chiefs and
had the right to sit near the priest in ceremonies. When going on 624
the warpath, such men had the privilege of wearing the sacred war- 565
rior's costume of the warrior's bundle. The position of warrior was 778
said to have been created in the beginning, at which time the warrior was given five things—the otter skin, the hawk skin, the leg of an eagle, the eagle feather, and the sacred red paint made from red earth and buffalo fat. In using these objects, he was to attach the eagle leg to his belt, wear the eagle feather, and put the otter skin
over his head, the hawk skin on his right shoulder, and the paint on his [302]
face. In painting his face he was to make three dots above his nose
in the center of his forehead, to represent the claw of the eagle's foot. [531]
He was to use the black otter because it was from the water, was

684 very swift, and symbolized the dangerous cyclone coming from the
565 clouds. The hawk skin was used because the hawk was made to be
778 powerful and killed its prey with its wings, which were symbolic of
a war club. [The hawk kills its prey with its knuckles rather than its wings.]

PRIESTS

793 As the chief gave the people instruction and advice in worldly
565 matters, so the priest, who controlled the ritual attached to the
sacred village bundle, kept the society en rapport with the supernatural. The priestly class among the Skidi comprised the most
learned men of the tribe. They were required to have prodigious
[151] memories and were said to swallow every song. In addition to those sung at ceremonies, the priests recited rituals of instruction for the changing of names, and others having to do with agriculture, the hunt, and the warpath. They served as go-betweens in weddings, and in general played a great part in the social life of the village. Inasmuch as the office of priest required above all an extraordinarily retentive memory and a deeply religious attitude of mind, the priests often encouraged young men possessing these qualifications to become their pupils and ultimately admitted the students to the priestly class. The priest's life was shortened or lengthened in accordance with the sacrifices he made and by his zeal in guarding the esoteric knowledge entrusted to him. For him to speak of the secrets of the altar trivially or on ordinary occasions was to shorten his life.

Associated with the priests were errand men and criers. The latter were old men who had spent a great part of their lives in the performance of sacrifices and who were entitled to announce ceremonies and recite rituals of instruction, particularly those referring to creation, through the village. Their share of the ceremonial feasts was great and in proportion to the honor in which they were held. For a child to mock them or to imitate their intonation or to treat them with disrespect was to incur a severe beating from the parents. The errand men, two in each lodge, stationed on the north and south sides by the entrance, assisted in the ceremonies by building the fire and replenishing it, acting as messengers for the priests in summoning the participants of a ceremony, and so forth. Like the priests and criers, they also received a share of the feast which might be distributed at the conclusion of a ceremony.

MEDICINE-MEN

Like the chief and the priest, the medicine-man held a position 791
of honor among the Skidi. His office was supposed to have been 756
created by Tirawa immediately after he had instituted the office of 565
chief, at which time Tirawa said: "I shall give you (chief) a companion [773]
who will understand certain beings who command all the
spirits of the earth. He shall learn from them the different curative [538]
powers, and shall be your equal, but he will not command, for it
will be his duty to wait on the sick." At this time Tirawa gave the
medicine-man the blue clay he wore over his body during ceremonies,
the wing of a black eagle to be used in his left hand, and a gourd [778]
rattle to be held in his right.

The medicine-men derived their powers from supernatural beings who were usually identified with animals. At birth a child came under the influence of a supernatural being—a particular star shining especially bright—who was supposed to manifest himself later in the child's life. Usually this manifestation occurred when the child fell ill, at which time medicine-men were sent for. When the right one appeared, he could cure the child, for he possessed the power from an animal which in turn had received its power from the star noted above. Thus the child was made aware of the particular animal guardian which was to influence his career. When he grew to be a young man he might become a medicine-man through a supernatural experience during which power was given him directly by his guardian, or, as was more common, he applied for instruction to some medicine-man who had received power from the same guardian. With the latter's consent, the young man became his pupil, paying for the knowledge received. [Further details regarding medicine-men have been published by Linton, 1923b.]

In many ways the medicine-men ingratiated themselves with the people. One of the best examples occurred during the fall performance of the great ceremony of the Skidi medicine-men. On the first night they visited all the village lodges containing sacred altars, and on the following night made a general tour of the village offering their services free of charge.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

This group probably represented less than one-half the members 554
of the band. They were distinguished by the fact that they were 565
without influence or power, their lodges were smaller and not so
completely furnished, they had few or no ponies, and were often the [736]
objects of charity.

105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee
[171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but
they understood the arts of pottery-making and basket-weaving.
291 During the summer the men usually
wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings
and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins,
leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned
on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe
do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The
302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made
301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced
the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings.
342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth
lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine
Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the
sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or
bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi.
The first three of these were closely related, but the
Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and
considered themselves more closely related to the
Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some distance
[361] to the north. In their settlements along the river,
the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi
being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest
downstream, and the other two bands between. Each
621 band was divided into a number of villages which were
social as well as geographical units. All the members
of a village believed themselves to be descended from
a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made
within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female
[778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) containing
[793] sacred objects, and priests who had charge of
the rituals and ceremonies connected with these objects.
622 It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a
council composed of its leading men. If the chief was
a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

776 transmitted the mandates of Tirawa to the people upon earth. From her union with the god of next rank, the Morning Star, Opirikata, sprang the first being upon earth.

The Morning Star seems to have been a personification of the Male, as the Evening Star was of the female principle. He was conceived of as a warrior who drove the other stars before him from the sky. It was [782] to him that the Skidi band offered a human sacrifice.

Next in rank to the Evening and Morning Stars were the gods of the four world-quarters, who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest, and supported the heavens. To them Tirawa gave the task of dividing up the earth into the divisions which we find at present. Next in rank to these were the three gods of the north,—the North Star, who presided over the council of the stars, and who gave the ceremony for the creation of chiefs to men; the North Wind, who sent men the buffalo, and Hikus, who gave the breath of life. Below these in turn were the Sun and Moon, from whose union had sprung the second being on earth who, mating with the offspring of the Morning and Evening Stars, produced the human race.

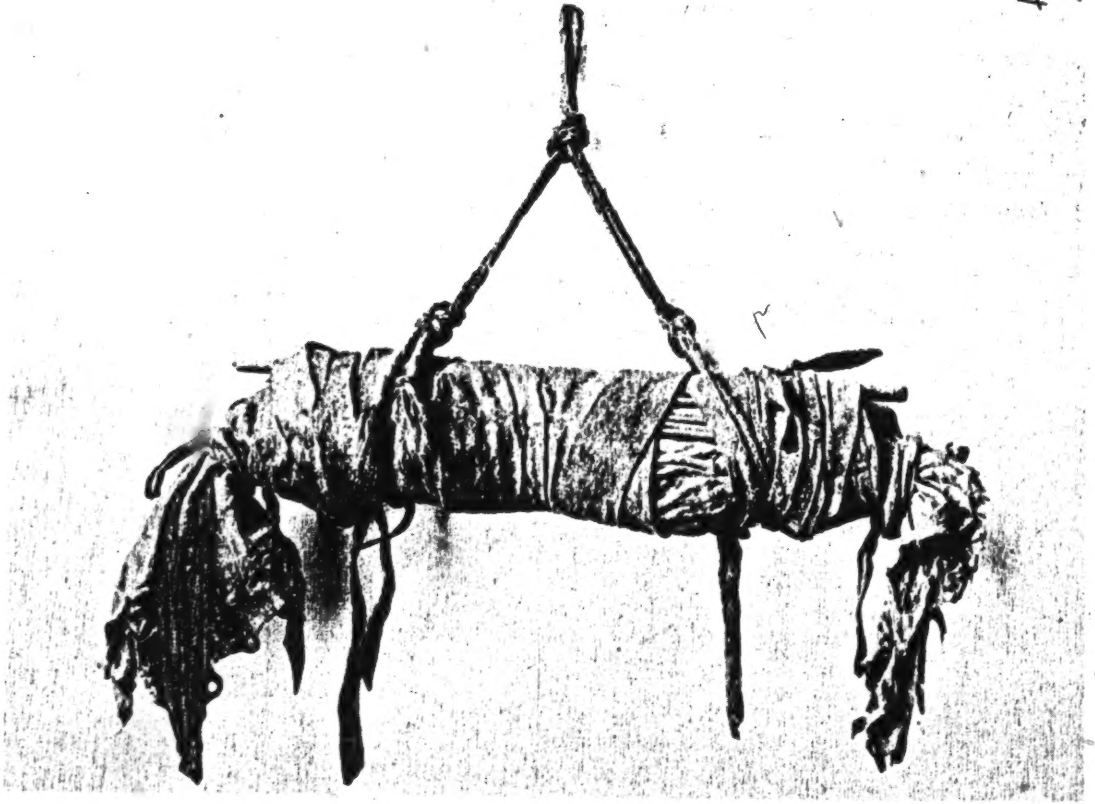
There were a number of minor heavenly gods,—the second Morning Star, who assisted the Morning Star, the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who was the special god of medicine-men, the Star of the South, who stood at the southern end of the Milky Way and received the spirits of the dead, Skiritiuhuts ("Fool-Wolf"), who felt slighted in the councils of the gods, and, who, in revenge, introduced death into the world, and several others.

The greater part of the heavenly gods were identified with stars. The sacred bundle of each village [778 tified with stars.
361] was believed to have been given to its ancestor by one of these heavenly beings; and when the villages of the

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778
284

[Facing p. 7]



A SACRED BUNDLE OF THE PAWNEE.

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

band assembled for ceremonies, they arranged themselves according to the positions of their guardian stars in the heavens. [778 361] 776

Only less powerful than the gods of the heavens were the gods of the earth. These were for the most part identified with animals in the same way that the heavenly gods were identified with stars. The earthly gods were organized into four lodges each of which had its leaders and its messengers, who served as intermediaries between the earthly gods and men. In these lodges they gathered in council to make or mar the fortunes of men, and to them favored mortals were taken to be instructed in the mysteries of earthcraft. The earthly gods were the special patrons of medicine-men and warriors.

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were numerous and varied. They may be divided into two main classes,—ceremonies, which were in charge of societies whose members had certain secrets in common, and ceremonies which were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe. To the first class belong the ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine-men. To the second class belong those which had to do with the welfare of the people. 796

Practically all the ceremonies of the second class centered about collections of sacred objects, called by the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were two additional bundles which were the property of the whole tribe. The objects in the bundles varied, but had a general similarity, each bundle containing at least one pipe, tobacco, paints, the skins of certain birds, and the Mother-Corn. The last consisted of two ears of corn, which were the most sacred objects in the bundle. When not in use, the objects were wrapped in a buffalo hide and hung from the wall of the lodge. In connec- 796 778

796 tion with the bundle there were certain taboos which
778 were rigidly enforced.

The ceremonies connected with the sacred bundles seem to fall into three divisions,—those ceremonies which were the common property of all the bundles and taken together formed the tribal ceremonial year; those ceremonies which were the property of the village bundles, and were open primarily to members of the village, and those ceremonies relating to the two bundles which were the property of the tribe as a whole. The rituals of the bundle-ceremonies were the property of certain priests, but members of the village or tribe who assisted in the performance of the ceremony had a right to know at least part of the meaning of the ritual.

All the ceremonies connected with sacred bundles seem to have had as their underlying idea a repetition, either through ritual or dramatization, of acts performed by supernatural beings during the mythologic age. As a rule, the ritual predominated, the dramatization playing only a minor part. The ritual was a formal method of restating the acts of the supernatural beings, and served the double purpose of redirecting their attention toward the people and of reminding the people of the deeds done for them by the gods. In this way the relationship between men and the supernatural world was renewed; and the gods, pleased with the attention bestowed upon them, continued their protection over the people. Coupled with practically all the ceremonies there was some form of offering or sacrifice, this idea reaching its climax in the Skidi sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning Star.

The bundles and their accompanying ceremonies collectively regulated and made provision for all the necessities of life during the year. All the bundle-ceremonies were held during the spring, summer, or

autumn. In winter the gods were thought to have [778]
withdrawn from the earth. The first thunder in the 796
spring was thought to be a notification that they had [821]
once more turned their attention to it, and the people
at once held a ceremony of welcome,—the Thunder
Ceremony. This ceremony ushered in the ceremonial
year, and was followed in regular order by a number
of others. First came the ceremony called Paruxti, 241
by which the deity of that name was supposed to be 796
called to earth, and at which sacred corn was shelled
and given to the people for seed corn. Immediately
after this followed the ceremony, called the Planting
of the Corn. When the first shoots of the new crop
had appeared, a ceremony called Going After the Plant
was performed. In the autumn there was a Harvest
Ceremony, followed by the ceremony known as the
Making of New Mother Corn, at which the Mother-
Corn in all the bundles was renewed. In addition to
these seasonal ceremonies there were a number of
others whose time was not fixed.

The so-called Thunder Ceremony ushered in the 796
ceremonial year. Although neither the most important or the most elaborate of the Pawnee ceremonies,
it was, more than any other, at the bottom of their
ceremonial life. It paved the way for the ceremonies
of agriculture and the rites for the calling of the buffalo. It promoted the well-being of the tribe, and was
efficacious in driving back the malignant being of the
southwest, the bringer of disease. It instructed the
people as to their duties and privileges in their relationship to the deities, and finally it afforded many opportunities for direct communication with the deities
themselves in a number of rites of sacrifice which
formed an intrinsic part of the ceremony as a whole.

The first thunder in the spring was thought to be 776
the voice of Paruxti, a deity who was the messenger of 796
821

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 6

The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee

The religion of the Pawnee was, in some ways, 776
more highly developed than that of any of the other Plains tribes. At the head of their pantheon stood Tirawa, the creator of the universe, who seems to have been conceived of as a purely spiritual being. Below him there were a great number of gods of varying importance who were divided into two great classes, those of the earth and those of the heavens. The former were inferior in rank to the heavenly gods, and were the special guardians of individuals and secret societies. They were, for the most part, identified with animals. The latter were the guardians and helpers of the people as a whole and were, with a few exceptions, identified with stars. The most important of the heavenly gods were the Morning and Evening Stars, who represented respectively the male and female principle. The first being on earth was believed to have sprung from their union. A fuller account of Pawnee mythology will be found in Leaflet 5 "The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee."

The ceremonial side of Pawnee religion showed an 778
equally high development. The worship of the heaven- 796
ly gods centered around collections of sacred objects called by the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were others which were the property of the tribe as a whole. It was believed that each bundle had been given to the people in ancient times by one of the heavenly beings,

[p. 1)

NKK
F451
v.6

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 796 and therefore constituted a link between the people and its divine giver. In the ceremonies connected with these bundles two ideas were basic,—one the idea of a sacrifice or offering, and the other that of a repetition, either through dramatization or ritual, of the acts performed by the divine giver. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star combined both ideas to an unusual degree.

175 782 796 The Morning Star sacrifice was performed only by the Skidi band of the Pawnee. There seems good evidence that it was carried out somewhat unwillingly, and that the officiating priests always found it a sore trial. Its performance was considered a religious duty, and this ceremony must not be confused with the torturing of captives as practised by several of the eastern tribes. The opposition to the sacrifice within the tribe itself increased until in about 1818 a young man, named Petahlayshahrho, rescued the victim in dramatic fashion, untying her from the scaffold at the moment of sacrifice and riding away with her. When safe, he gave her a horse, and sent her back to her own people. He then returned and declared that human sacrifices must cease. As he was a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which according to the Pawnee system gave him the hereditary rignt to succeed his uncle, many strong men in the tribe supported his action. [178] After this time, the ritual of the sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter, but no actual sacrifices are known to have taken place.

796 The actual time of the performance of the sacrifice is not fully known, but it seems to have been made in the late spring or summer of years when Mars was [787] [821] morning star. It was usually made as the result of a dream or vision in which the Morning Star appeared to some warrior and demanded it, but it might also be

721 tume and sacred objects kept in the bundle for such
796 expeditions. Many warriors usually volunteered to go
with him, for it was thought that the object of the expedition insured its success.

726 When the party had assembled, they set out for the
796 country of the enemy, sending scouts constantly in ad-
[782] vance. If they killed any game on the way, they offered part of it to the Morning Star to remind him
that they were on his business. The leader carried the
[778] sacred objects from the Morning Star bundle on his
back.

When the scouts returned with word that they had found an enemy village, the party retired to some sheltered place and prepared for a ceremony. A circle was cleared, and a fireplace excavated as for a lodge. The leader then opened his pack and put on the sacred warrior's costume, and laid out the other objects to the
west of the fireplace. A fire was kindled, and smoke
[533] offered to the heavenly gods. All then sang a song
symbolizing the overcoming of the Evening Star by the Morning Star and how, from their union, a girl was born. In the course of this song the leader rose and circled the fireplace, acting in pantomime the journey of the Morning Star. At its conclusion he passed
out of the circle, and standing facing the east addressed
[782] the Morning Star as follows: "I am praying to you as
you directed, and we are seeking a sacrifice as you
wished. I ask you to show yourself." In answer to
[821] this prayer the star was thought to shine with brighter
light. The leader then addressed his party thus:—

"Warriors, young men, we are now sitting in a place dedicated to the Morning Star. We are about to sing the song that the Morning Star himself sang when he was in search of a woman, who put obstacles in his way. I want you all to dance with all your might and to be brave. Whoever shall be so lucky as to catch

[p.1]

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1923

LEAFLET NUMBER 7

Purification of the Sacred Bundles, a Ceremony of the Pawnee

The religious beliefs of the Pawnee, which seem, in some ways, to have been on a higher plane than those of the other Plains tribes, have been described in Leaflet 5 of this series, under the title "The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee." At the head of their pantheon stood Tirawa, a purely spiritual being, who was not identified with any animal, object, or natural phenomenon. Below him there were a great number of gods of lesser rank who were divided into two great classes,—the gods of the heavens and the gods of the earth. The former were, for the most part, identified with the stars, the Evening Star holding the highest place, with the Morning Star second. The former was an embodiment of all the female, the latter of all the male, attributes. The gods of the earth were, for the most part, identified with animals, and their rank was less rigidly fixed. Of the two groups the heavenly gods were the more important, and were considered the guardians of the people as a whole, while the earthly gods were more especially the guardians of individuals and secret societies. 796

The ceremonies held in honor of the heavenly gods centered around collections of sacred objects called by the whites sacred bundles or medicine bundles. The Skidi Pawnee called them *chuhraraperu*, meaning 778

NK10
F451

778 "rains-wrapped-up." The tribe was divided into a
621 number of villages all of whose members traced their
[611] descent in the female line from a single ancestor. Each
778 of these villages possessed a sacred bundle, while there were two others which were considered the property of the tribe as a whole. The Four Direction village had four sacred bundles one of which was sacred to each of the cardinal points. These points were, to
[823] the Pawnee, southwest, southeast, northwest, and northeast. The sacred bundle of each village was believed to have been given to its first ancestor by one of the heavenly beings, and constituted a link between
778 its members and the divine donor. From their traditions the "gift" seems to have consisted rather in explicit directions for its making than in an actual presentation of the objects. The bundles were inherited
[422] in the female line so that their owners were always
[428] women. Their keepers, and the priests who performed their ceremonies, were, on the other hand, men.

All the village bundles contained much the same objects. The most important of these were one or two ears of corn, which were called Mother-Corn and were believed to give life to the bundle. They were shelled in the spring and distributed for seed, being replaced at harvest time. When the Mother-Corn consisted of two ears, one of these was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element or Morning Star, while the other symbolized the female element or Evening Star. Next in importance to the Mother-Corn were the
[825] tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls. The hawk symbolized a warrior; the owl, a chief, because it was always awake and watchful. The owl seems to have also symbolized the watchfulness of Tirawa, the supreme being. One or more scalps, taken from slain enemies, were found in every bundle. Pieces cut from them were used in various ceremonies, and they had to be renewed from time to time. Four skins, each of

which contained red, black, and white paint in little 778
buckskin pouches; sweet grass, a pipe and native tobacco,
and the penis bone of a racoon, were also placed in
each bundle, all these objects being used in the ceremonies.
The sweet grass was burned as incense, and the
bone was attached to a stick and used as a fork to remove
meat from the pot. Some bundles contained
additional objects.

When the bundle was not in use, all these articles
were done up in an inner and an outer wrapper of
buffalo hide and tied with a rope of plaited buffalo-hair.
To the outside of the bundle were attached the
stems of one or more pipes whose bowls were in the
bundle, a few arrows captured from the enemy, and
some other objects. The arrows were used as fire
pokers and pipe tampers during the ceremonies. In [276
ceremonial smoking it was forbidden to press down 782]
the tobacco in the pipe with the finger lest the gods
should think that the smoker offered himself to them
with the tobacco. Associated with each bundle, and
often fastened to it, there were four large gourd
rattles of special form. These symbolized the four
dieties who were the special guardians of the Evening
Star, and also represented the breasts of the two divine
women in the west,—the Evening Star and the Moon.

Except at the time of ceremonies, the sacred bundle
was hung up on the west side of its keeper's lodge,
above the buffalo skull which was always placed there.
When so hung, it was likened by the Pawnee to a dead
man in his grave. The spirit lived in it, but slept.
Even when opened, the bundle continued asleep until
the Mother-Corn had been placed in it. It then came
to life, and during the ceremony the corn and the other
objects represented, individually and collectively, supernatural
beings. These beliefs of the Pawnee differ [071]
considerably from those held by most of the other
tribes who used sacred bundles; and Dr. G. A. Dorsey

171 has concluded that the village bundles of the Pawnee
778 are more nearly comparable to the elaborate altars of the Southwestern Indians than to the medicine bundles of the northern Plains tribes and Central Algonkins.

778 It seems probable that there was originally a special
796 ceremony connected with each bundle. There were additional ceremonies, such as that held when the first thunder was heard in the spring, which might be performed with several bundles in turn, and there were a few rites in which all the bundles participated. The
[783] purification of the sacred bundles belonged to the last class.

778 The purification ceremony was held in the spring
783 and again in the autumn, before the tribe left their permanent villages for the buffalo hunt. It has already been said that the Four Direction village had four sacred bundles. These took the lead in successive years. When the chiefs had decided upon the date for departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the bundle which was leader in that year. He sent his errand man to summon the priests of the other three bundles. These came to his lodge, bringing their bundles with them. As they entered, they beat their bundles, then crossed to the west side of the lodge, and seated themselves with their bundles in front of them on the ground. The errand man was then sent to summon the keepers of all the other village bundles, directing them to bring their bundles and also mats, pillows, and food-bowls. When these arrived at the lodge, they took designated places around it, spreading their mats on the ground and hanging their bundles, unopened, on the wall behind them.

783 When all had arrived, one of the four priests went through the village announcing the beginning of the ceremony and calling on the people to bring gifts to
[782] Mother-Corn. These gifts consisted of a robe, moccasins, a hair cord, to be used as a girdle, and dried meat

and fat. The articles of clothing had to be new and 783
unused, and the meat that of buffalo which had been 782
dedicated to the gods at the time they were killed. The gifts could only be presented by men who were in favor with the gods. If the priests accepted them from men who were evil in their lives or negligent in their religious duties, the gods would be offended and
refuse to send the buffalo. Before taking a gift to the [302]
lodge, a man painted himself red, so that all the people might know his errand; and, when the gift had been accepted, two messengers went through the village, thanking him publicly.

The priests and bundle keepers remained in the 783
lodge for three days and nights, sleeping in their designated places. No ceremonies seem to have been performed during this period, and they passed the time in talk and in feasting on the food which was brought to
them. No women were allowed to enter the lodge dur- [562]
ing the whole time of the ceremony.

On the morning of the fourth day the priests of the Four Direction bundles rose very early and dug a rectangular pit to the west of the fire-place, between it and the permanent altar of the lodge. The buffalo skull, which at ordinary times stood on this altar, was removed and placed north of the fire-place. The earth from the excavation was taken outside the lodge and piled in a mound before the door. When the pit was finished, the priests carpeted it with white downy feathers. This pit seems to have corresponded to the pit dug below the scaffold at the time of the human sacrifice to the Morning Star and, like it, represented the Evening Star's garden in the west, the source of all earthly fertility and increase.

When the pit had been completed, the priests di- 778
rected the keepers of the various bundles to open them 783
and take out the Mother-Corn. A sacred stick, kept in the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, was set up

778 just east of the pit. The keeper of that bundle then 783 brought the Mother-Corn from it and placed it in the pit, thrusting the stick to which the male ear was attached into the earth so that it stood upright and leaning the other ear against its base. The keepers of the other bundles then came forward in turn and did the same. A wooden bowl filled with water was then placed to the east of the pit, between it and the fire-place. A clam shell was laid in the bowl, and a turtle, supported by a framework of sticks, was placed upon it. To the northeast and northwest of the bowl [825] were laid the heads and necks of loons, to the southeast the head and neck of a swan, and to the southwest a gar fish. The meaning of these objects is not perfectly understood. The bowl seems to have represented earth and water; the turtle, fire and also one of the important earthly gods. The loons and swan represented earthly gods, guardians of medicine men; and the gar fish, the great sea monster which first gave the medicine men's ceremony to human beings.

After these objects had been arranged, the chief priest selected four men to sit at the northeast, northwest, southeast and southwest corners of the bowl. The sacred stick from the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, and a star chart, kept in a bag attached to that bundle, were taken outside and placed on the mound in front of the doorway. The priest then took four smooth stones from the same bundle and gave one to each of the four men. These stones were extremely sacred, and were believed to have been given to the people at the beginning of the world. They were provided with withe handles so that they could be carried [482] without touching them. When they had been distributed, the priest said, "It is now time for these men to go outside and look at the heavens and over the earth. They will take with them these four stones, which were given to our people when the earth was

created." Turning to the men, he told them to rise 778
and go out of the lodge. When they had risen, he went 783
to the man who stood on the northeast and gave him the sacred pipe from the bundle which was the leader in that year and a strip of dried buffalo fat about one foot long and four inches wide. After this the men passed out of the lodge, while the priests sang a song describing their looking at the heavens and earth.

The four men seated themselves around the mound of earth taken from the pit in the same positions they had occupied around the bowl in the lodge. An errand man then kindled a small fire to the east of the mound, and the man who sat on the northeast placed the dried fat upon it. As soon as the grease began to run out, the other three men caught some of it in their hands and greased their hands and faces. They also greased the sacred stones and passed them through the smoke. When this had been done, the fat was removed from the fire, and all four smoked the sacred pipe, passing it from one to another. At the conclusion of the smoking, the pipe was laid on the mound, and all stood up slowly, looking at the sky in all directions. They then picked up the fat, the pipe, and the sacred stones, and re-entered the lodge.

While the men were outside, the priests had sung a [533]
series of songs, but ceased singing as they entered. The man from the northeast, who was the leader of the four, went to the bowl of water, picked up the bird's head which lay northeast of the bowl, dipped its bill in the water, and drank from it. He then pressed it first to his right and then to his left breast, and replaced it on the ground. He took up the turtle and did the same with it, except that he pressed it against his abdomen instead of his breast. When he had finished, he stood a short distance away on the west, and the other three men came from their respective directions and went through the same performance. After this

783 rite, they seated themselves in their original places,
778 and the priest said, "Priests, the men whom we have sent out to look about have returned. They will tell us what they have seen." The man on the northeast rose and announced, "We went out before daylight. We found the buffalo; so many of them that they have almost drunk the river dry." The others rose in turn and gave the same answer.

The chief priest then called some famous warrior and gave him the sacred pipe which the men had used, and gave the strip of fat to a chief. These passed around the interior of the lodge, first on the north, and then on the south side, offering first the pipe and then the fat to each of the keepers in turn. All reached for the pipe at once, trying to get as many hands on it as possible. They did the same with the fat, clutching it as if starving and trying to tear off pieces. This symbolized their eagerness to kill buffalo, and the tighter a [777] man grasped the pipe, and the more fat he succeeded in tearing off, the better would be his success on the hunt.

When the pipe and fat had completed their circuit, they were placed on the altar. The priest then called the chief of the whole band to the altar and invested him with the robe, rope, and moccasins which had been provided as gifts to Mother-Corn. The sacred pipe was placed in his hands, and the priest announced, "Priests and men, this man will take us to the river." All the keepers then went to the pit and took from it the Mother-Corn belonging to their respective bundles.

While this was going on, men had entered the lodge and seated themselves in front of the bundles belonging to their respective villages. The star chart was brought in from outside and given to a warrior belonging to the village of the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle. Three other men were given quivers belonging to other sacred bundles. These four seated themselves,

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

one behind the other, near the entrance of the lodge, the 778 man with the star chart being in the lead. The various 783 objects in the bundles were then distributed to the men from their villages. The chief of the band, in his ceremonial costume, left the lodge, and began to muster the small boys of the tribe outside. All who were old enough to take part were expected to be present, and in performing this duty the chief was supposed to show his watchfulness over the people.

During the distribution of the sacred objects the [533] priests had been shaking their rattles and singing. Three songs were sung, and when they reached a certain word in the fourth, the man who carried the star chart jumped up and ran toward the river, closely followed by the men with the quivers. All the others followed them, with much crowding and fighting at the doorway. The priests and the keepers of the bundles remained behind. The men raced to the river bank, and there lined up in four ranks. Anyone who overtook the runner with the star chart snatched it from him, the idea being to carry it to the stream in the least possible time. At the river bank it was returned to its original bearer. The man with the star chart, and those with the quivers, stood in the center of the front rank, with the men who carried the Mother-Corn on either side. Behind them stood the men with the owl and hawk skins from the bundles, and behind these in turn the bearers of the less important objects. The last rank was made up of small boys, who carried racoon bones and arrows. When all had taken their places, the ranks opened in the center, and the chief came through, carrying the sacred pipe. He waded down into the water and went through the motions of bathing the pipe four times, although he did not wet it. He then pretended to wash first his right and then his left hand, and finally dipped his right hand in the water and touched it to his mouth,

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 nose, and forehead, and then drew it down his face.
783 These movements were repeated four times, with the right and left hands alternately. When he had done this, he came up out of the water, passed through the ranks, and took his place behind the rearmost, with his face toward the village. The men of the first rank then waded down into the stream and went through the same performance with the sacred objects they carried. They then passed through the other ranks and took their place behind the chief. The other two ranks did the same. When all had finished, the chief led them back to the village. As they entered it, the small boys dispersed, but the men continued on to the ceremonial lodge, where they returned the objects they carried to the keepers of the bundles and put on their robes, which they had left behind during the race. They then returned to their own lodges.

All the women who were bundle owners had ground corn during the preceding night and made mush. [262] This mush had been brought to the lodge and given to the chief priest early in the morning, before the commencement of the ceremonies just described. He now offered a little of it to the gods and distributed the rest to the priests and keepers. They ate, and then tied their sacred bundles, took up their mats, pillows, and bowls, and returned to their own lodges.

783 After they had left the ceremonial lodge, a crier went through the town, telling the people to clean their lodges and the streets of their villages and carry the filth away. When this had been done, the priests who had taken part in the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood outside it, shaking his gourd rattle and singing. All the people assembled and ran a race down to the river. When they reached [515] it, the priests waded in, came out at once, and went to the sweat lodge, where they took a steam bath. The

342 just over the center of the lodge, where an opening about two feet in diameter was left as a smoke-hole. Long willow rods, closely spaced, were laid transversely over the rafters, and these in turn were covered with a thick layer of bunch grass. The sides of the lodge were built of timbers whose lower ends were planted in a trench, while their upper ends leaned against the cross beams of the outer uprights. The whole lodge was then covered with earth and sod.

The entrance was protected by a covered way, built like the lodge, which extended out from it. In all but one of the Skidi villages this entrance faced the [354] east. In the center of the floor there was a circular fire-pit surrounded by a slight embankment. At the west side of the lodge, opposite the entrance, a space ● [778] was always reserved. This space was called *wiharu*, the garden of the Evening Star, and was considered sacred. In it a buffalo skull was placed, facing the entrance, and above it the sacred bundles and other religious paraphernalia of the family were hung. 352 Around the north and south sides of the lodges, sleeping platforms were built. These platforms were made of poles whose inner ends rested on the earth ledge, while their outer ends were supported by forked posts and [513] beams. Over the poles were laid willow mats, coarse rush mats, and lastly tanned buffalo-skins. Each bed was screened off from those adjoining by willow mats. A lodge of ordinary size would have from eight to ten beds on a side. Those next the altar, which were considered most honorable, were occupied by the older children. Next were the beds of the aunts and uncles, then those of the parents, and lastly those of the old [592] people. As many as ten families, all related by blood, sometimes occupied a single house. The sleeping platforms and other furniture were removed when the lodge was to be used for ceremonies, and are not shown in the miniature group.

534 was in session, they would come in and ask the medicine
773 men to help them, and they would give them a place in
the lodge. In this way the society grew. People from
other bands also heard about it and came begging to
learn the mysteries. The medicine men taught them,
and they went back to their own people and started
other medicine lodges."

756 The ceremonies of the historic medicine lodge
796 agreed in a general way with those last described in
the legendary account of its origin, but there were
several features not mentioned in the story just given.
The preparations for the great fall ceremony were
begun while the people were still on the spring buffalo
hunt. At this time the leading medicine men selected
two members of the society to make two bows and four
arrows. When these were completed, they were given
to two other medicine men with instructions for one to
kill a bull and the other a cow. The animals had to be
killed with a single arrow, but it is said that because of
the magic powers of the arrows the hunters never
failed to do this. The bull's hide was to be used to cover
[532] the head of the water-monster image, the cow's hide
[778] to cloth the figure of the witch woman. Two more
buffalo, also a bull and a cow, were then killed in the
same way, the hide of the former being saved to make
an image of the Morning Star, and that of the latter, to
make nine small images which represented the important heavenly gods. When the buffalo had been
[778] killed, the bows and arrows were returned to the leading medicine men who placed them among their sacred
objects.

On the return from the hunt, the four leading
medicine men went to the medicine lodge and ordered
[342] that it be cleared for the ceremony. The same lodge
[346] seems to have been used for the ceremony year after
year, but was occupied as a dwelling between cere-
monies.

monies. All the beds and other furniture were carried 756
out by the women, and the floor swept. When this had 796
been done, the medicine men seated themselves in front of the lodge altar and sent their errand men to notify the other members of the society. After these had arrived and taken their places, the leaders went to each of them in turn and directed them, in a whisper, to [785]
prepare for the ceremony by a four-day fast. Each man, when he received this notification, returned to his own lodge, took his medicine bag, and left the village to spend that time in solitary fasting and prayer. At the expiration of the fast they bathed in the river and returned to the medicine lodge, where each took his appointed place.

The following morning, all the members of the society went to the river bottom to cut willows and cotton woods for the small booths which were to be built inside the large lodge. When they reached the timber, one of the two leading medicine men prayed and offered smoke to the heavenly gods, while the other, after he had finished, paid the same honors to the earthly gods. When this had been done, the timbers were cut and carried back to the main lodge, and the booths built.

The next morning the image of the water monster 756
was made, the leaders assigning to different men the 778 ●
task of getting the things needed and making the 796
different parts. This image was nearly sixty feet in 532
length and encircled the lodge, with its head and tail on either side of the entrance. The framework was made of pieces of ashwood lashed together with sinew. Over these a layer of grass was laid, and the whole covered with mud which was smoothed and painted in different colors. The mouth of the figure was so large that a man could crawl into it, and was provided with pointed teeth, also of ashwood. On each side of the mouth, long, slender willow-rods were stuck to represent

756 feelers. The head was covered with a black-dyed
778 buffalo robe and painted and decorated with downy
796 feathers. The image of the turtle, in the center of
532 which was the fire place, and that of the witch woman,
were made the next day. The woman's image consisted of a willow frame covered with grass and surfaced with clay. The features were modeled, and the eyes were made with pumpkin seeds blackened in the center. A buffalo scalp was placed on the head, and to this were attached long braids of human hair which hung down to the knees. The figure was dressed in a buffalo robe.

756 When the images had been made, a ceremony was
796 held by which each of the medicine men received power
from either the monster or the witch woman. Some chose one, and some the other. On the day following, they went to cut the cedar tree which was to be placed just inside the entrance. When they found a suitable tree, they formed a circle around it, prayed to it, made presents to it of robes and other things, and finally took power from it. When this had been done, they cut it down. As it fell, they began to hypnotize each other and work sleight of hand. They then picked it up and carried it back to the village singing. As they neared the village, a second party of medicine men came out to meet them, and began to hypnotize them and try to drive them back. The party with the tree were more powerful, and gradually drove the others back to the edge of the village. There the tree was laid down, and all the people came and threw offerings on it. These offerings were gathered up, and were finally given to the medicine men. The tree was then taken to the lodge and set up, and its branches were covered with white
[532] downy feathers. That night they made the images of
[778] the Morning Star and the heavenly gods. These were
flat pieces of hide, cut in the outline of a man. The image of the Morning Star was fastened to a long pole

and raised above the smoke-hole just before the star rose. The other images were fastened to the tops of the main posts or on a cord running across the upper part of the lodge. [532] [778] 756 796

It is uncertain at what stage in the ceremony the altar of loon skins was set up, but it seems to have been after the various images had been made. The sticks bearing the skins were thrust in the ground on the west side of the lodge, and the space between them sprinkled with water and then covered with downy feathers. When this had been done, the leader of the medicine men raised his face to the sky and cried, "Father, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, now stand on the altar. Give us plenty of rain this summer." Then dropping his voice to a whisper and bowing down to the ground, he said, "Mother Earth, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, are now upon you. Let our crops grow so that we may be fed." When he had done this, he went outside the lodge and called upon all the gods to give power to the loons so that they, in turn, could give power to the people.

At dawn of the day following that on which the last of the images had been made and set up, the various medicine men dressed themselves to represent their guardian animals and marched, in order of the importance of their guardians, around the outside of the lodge and then around the inside. They did this four times, dancing and imitating the cries and actions of their guardians. They then held a feast in the lodge. That night they once more marched out in procession and visited all the lodges which contained sacred bundles, dancing in each. When they had returned to the medicine lodge, the leaders selected certain medicine men to go through the village once more, visit every lodge, and report if any one was sick. When

136 of their value as food sources. Smaller animals, such as rabbits, opossum, raccoon, and squirrel, were also to be had. Ducks, geese, and other waterfowl were plentiful and fish abounded in most of the streams.

133 All of the major streams carry water the year round, although the Platte during the summer months becomes largely a subterranean river above its junction with the Loup. With the exception of those in the sand hills, the streams flow characteristically in broad, flat alluvial valleys, from 3 to 15 miles wide, and bordered by bluffs up to 250 feet in height. The historic villages were apparently all
[361] located in the large river valleys rather than on the small tributary creeks; only the chase, war forays, or migrations seem to have led village tribes such as the Pawnee out upon the interfluvial areas.

It may be noted here that the "sacred places" of the Pawnee,
● 778 where the *Nahu'rac*, or miraculously endowed animals, met in coun-
823 cil, were all associated with the streams. There were five of these,
825 according to Grinnell.[20] One was "at *Pa-hŭk'*, on the south side of the Platte River, opposite the town of Fremont, in Nebraska. The word *Pa-hŭk'* means 'hill island.' Another animal home is under an island in the Platte River, near the town of Central City. It is called by the Pawnee *La-la-wa-koh-ti-to*, meaning 'dark island.' The third of these sacred places is on the Loup Fork, opposite the mouth of the Cedar River, and under a high white cut bank. It is called *Ah-ka-wit-akol*, 'white bank.' Another is on the Solomon River, *Kitz-a-witz-ŭk*, 'water on a bank'; it is called *Pa'howa* sometimes. This is a mound, shaped like a dirt lodge. At the top of the mound, in the middle, is a round hole, in which, down below,
[782] can be seen water. At certain times the people gather there and throw into this hole their offerings to *Ti-ra'-wa*, blankets and robes, blue beads, tobacco, eagle feathers, and moccasins. Sometimes, when they are gathered there, the water rises to the top of the hole and flows out, running down the side of the mound into the river. Then the mothers take their little children and sprinkle the water over them and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* to bless them. The water running out of the hole often carries with it the offerings, and the ground is covered with the old rotten things that have been thrown in. [This clearly refers to the mineral spring now known as Waconda, or Great Spirit, Springs, situated 2½ miles southeast of Cawker City, Mitchell County, Kans.[21]] The fifth place is a hard, smooth, flinty rock, sticking up out of the ground. They call it *Pa-hŭr'*, 'hill that points the way.' In the side of the hill there is a great hole where the *Nahu'rac* hold councils. This hill is in Kansas and can be

---

[20] 1893, p. 358.

[21] Bailey, 1902, pp. 197–200.

778

seen from the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad. It is known 823
to the whites as Guide Rock."[22] 825

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

TRADITIONS

Pawnee history, as herein discussed, consists of two major periods 175 or divisions: First, the period of legend and tradition, which is concerned primarily with the origin and migrations of the tribe in a dim and distant past; and secondly, the period of recorded history, beginning in 1541, with the first contact between Europeans and Pawnee, and continuing down to 1876, the date of final removal of the tribe from its home on the Loup and its confinement on a reservation in the then Indian Territory. For information on the first period the traditions recorded by Dunbar, Dorsey, and Grinnell are our main source, hence are here briefly reviewed; and for the later period, the accounts of European and American explorers and travelers are drawn up in chronological sequence, particularly as relates to the location of the villages of the different bands.

The ancient habitat of the Pawnee, prior to their occupation of the 173 Platte and Loup Valleys, lay traditionally to the south or southwest. Dunbar,[23] whose authority on this point is generally accepted, states that the traditions of the Grand, Republican, and Tappage bands "coincide in stating that the Pawnee migrated to the Platte River region from the south, and secured possession of it by conquest."[24]

This is partially corroborated by a Wichita legend, according to which the "primitive home" of the two tribes, Pawnee and Wichita, was "upon the Red River, below the mouth of the Washita",[25] in eastern Oklahoma or Arkansas, whence they wandered northward together. The same authority says relative to the Skidi that the "traditions of the other three bands are very positive in affirming that they are the remnant of a once separate tribe that has been subdued and incorporated into the Pawnee family";[26] the Otos, Poncas, and Omahas were conquered at the same time.[27]

Dorsey[28] traces three of the bands back to a single ancestral tribe, called the *Kawarahkis*, which dwelt near the confluence of the Little Nemaha with the Missouri in the southeastern corner of the present

---

[22] According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the "hill that points the way" is actually about 3 miles north of the Kansas-Nebraska line, on the south side of the Republican River, directly south of the town of Guide Rock, Webster County, Nebr.

[23] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, pp. 251 ff.

[24] Ibid., p. 251.

[25] Idem.

[26] Ibid., p. 253.

[27] Ibid., p. 252.

[28] Dorsey, G. A., 1906, p. 8.

172* 417 post had very obviously been omitted. There were no inside postholes, nor was there any fireplace, and the usual debris found in a lodge site was conspicuously absent. The situation was low, unsuited for a dwelling, yet the hard-packed soil had effectively resisted the action of water draining into the hollow in times of heavy rain. There was quite clearly no roof, nor is there anything to suggest a house pit such as occurs as a foundation for every lodge. From all appearances, therefore, it would seem that the structure was a stock corral, with its entrance toward the west. Transverse poles were doubtless lashed from post to post, and the gate closed by means of movable cross poles. This reconstruction is confirmed by the occurrence of charcoal almost exclusively about or between the post holes. Such a corral, though unlike that described by Clayton, would be entirely practicable, and where timber was scarce would also be highly advisable.

Foods: Agriculture

172* 262 The food complex of the Pawnee centered about two staples, viz, maize and the bison. Since the two were very nearly equally stressed, though conducive to wholly dissimilar habits of life, they were directly responsible for many of the varied elements of Pawnee culture. Thus they made the people alternately roving hunters and settled agriculturists, and led, correspondingly, to the use of two entirely distinct house types, of the cache, and of numerous other traits. It was to this combination of hunting with horticultural life that much of the richness of Pawnee culture is due.

172* 243 [778] The Pawnee were essentially a corn-growing people. Corn was their Mother; it figured in their rituals and in their mythology, even more prominently than did the bison. Two ears of corn went into the sacred bundles of the tribe, and were renewed annually.[24] The most important ceremonies, including the sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning Star by the Skidi, were directed as much toward securing a bountiful corn crop as toward success on the bison hunt.

[47] The cornfields were of necessity small, seldom including more than an acre or so. They were usually situated at the mouth of a ravine or in similar spots where the soil was loose and fertile. Owing to the primitive nature of the tools used, the prairie bottomlands with their heavy turf were impractical, consequently, the women were often compelled to go as far as 5 and 8 miles from the village to find a suitable plot of ground.[25] Occasionally the fields were protected by a wicker fence,[26] but as a rule they were left open, the women remaining to guard them during the daytime while

the horses were at large.

---

[24] Dorsey, G. A., 1904, p. 20; Linton, 1923, a, p. 2.

[25] Irving, 1835, vol. ii, p. 27; Oehler and Smith, 1851, p. 29.

[26] Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 447.

172* 324 surfaces have been cut various designs, for the most part of simple geometric character. The lines are deeply incised and give a very sharp, clear-cut cast of the various figures. The work may have been purely decorative in nature but there is a possibility that the incised slabs were used as molds. Heavy lead rings with three or more parallel flutings or ribs are one of the most common of grave finds (pl. 12, *g*); they are nearly identical with the cast obtainable from the mold represented by figure 9, *a*. Similarly, belt buckles could be easily cast by the use of the other molds figured, the shaded lines representing depressions and incisions (fig. 9, *b*, *c*). All of these designs are on specimens from the Hill site but far more elaborate and involved motifs cut into polished red stone occur at the early Linwood village (fig. 10). None of the stones, however, show the effect of heat, as would be expected if they had been subjected to treatment with molten metals, hence they may be merely decorated tablets. They have been found in graves as well as on the surface about village locations. (See Strong, 1935, p. 286.)

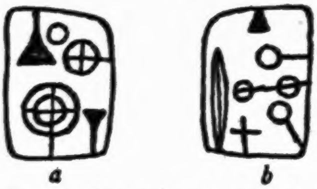


FIGURE 10.—Incised tablets ("molds"), Linwood site.

172* 412 **DRILLS.**—Small T-shaped flint drills occur but rarely on the later Pawnee sites. They are usually less than 1½ inches in length, the transverse portion being slightly concave. A few simple drills of straight elongate form are also found.

PESTLE.—A single pestle has been recovered from the Skidi site near Palmer. It is of black gneissoid material, 12 inches long, 3 inches in greatest diameter and tapering to slightly less than 2 inches at the other extremity. The large end is much abraded and battered but otherwise the specimen is well worn, highly polished, and very nicely shaped. It represents a surface find.

[778] **CRYSTALS.**—Two small quartz crystals, each about 1½ inches long with a yellowish, semitranslucent cast, were recovered at the Hill site. They are natural pebbles, unmodified, but have a smooth, worn appearance as though from long carrying in a pouch or cloth. They presumably represent fetishes.

172* 764 324 "**WHETSTONES.**"—These are always found as grave offerings and have been associated with the left hand of more than 80 percent of the adult male skeletons found at the Hill site. They are from 2 to 6 inches long and up to an inch wide. In cross section they are square, rectangular, and oval. A few are worn on the flat surfaces, as though from use as a whetstone, but the majority are merely shaped and slightly smoothed. They are of various materials, but usually of limestone, schist, or sandstone. It is doubtful whether

Pawnee, Blackfoot and Cheyenne

224 484 With the grey dawn of morning, the camp, as usual, is astir. By the time our little party have turned out of our blankets, some of the Indians have already finished eating, and are catching up their [462] horses and preparing to ride off over the bluffs, leaving the squaws to take down the lodges, pack the ponies, and pursue the designated line of march. Before we are ready to "pull out," most of the ponies have been packed, and a long, irregular line of Indians is creeping across the level valley, and beginning to wind up the face of the bluffs. The procession moves slowly, proceeding at a walk. Most of those who remain with the column are on foot, the squaws leading the ponies, and many of the men, wrapped in their blankets, and with only their bows and arrows on their backs, walking briskly [735] over the prairie, a little to one side. These last are the poorer Indians—those who have but few horses. They travel on foot, letting their horses run without burdens, so that they may be fresh and strong, whenever they shall be needed for running the buffalo.

224 778 484 Side by side, at the head of the column, walk eight men who carry the buffalo staves. These are slender spruce poles, like a short lodgepole, wrapped with blue and red cloth, and elaborately ornamented with bead work, and with the feathers of hawks, and of the war eagle. These sticks are carried by men selected by the chiefs and doctors in private council, and are religiously guarded. Upon the care of these emblems, and the respect paid to them, depends, in a great measure, the success of the hunt. While borne before the moving column, no one is permitted to cross the line of march in front of them.

224 484 [622] Close behind the staff bearers follow a number of the principal men of the tribe; the head chief, old *Pi'ta Le-shar*, and a dozen or fifteen sub-chiefs or head men, all mounted on superb horses. Behind them comes the camp at large, a fantastically mingled multitude, marching without any appearance of order. Here most of the individuals are women, young girls and children, for the men who accompany the camp usually march singly, or by twos and threes, a little apart from the mob. Most of those rich enough in horses to be able to ride at all times, are scattered over the prairie for miles in every direction, picking up the small bands of buffalo, which have been passed by the scouts as not large enough to call for a general surround. The hunters are careful, however, not to follow too close

851 848 convince a man of his physiological paternity, and her child would then be a social outcast. It would be known as *pira-paru*, "hidden child," since the mother would be ashamed and try to hide it when her brothers came to visit. The child would be subject to many insults and humiliations throughout its life. In these terms, whatever the sentiments of the parents for each other, the child always had a legal right to the care of both its parents, clearly identified as its physical progenitors. Children were normally cared for by their grandmothers, and it was quite possible that various fortunes placed the child in one household with its grandmother, its mother in another household, and the father in still another. The obligations for support, however, remained incumbent on both parents.

593 221 The household as a working group of coordinated members was precisely organized, and each household had the same general structure. However, twice a year when the tribe set out on its semiannual buffalo hunts, the household work group fragmented itself into many smaller groupings, which reassorted themselves so that an able hunter became the nucleus of each new composite grouping. When they returned to the village the households did not necessarily reassemble with the same personnel as before. This was entirely optional, and there were many reasons why people might decide to join a different household group than the one they had been with before leaving. However, it was not too hard to establish a working household on this basis even twice a year, since the pattern of operation was the same everywhere. The three duplicate stations on the north and south sides of the lodge with their full complement of the young, mature, and old women was a frame into which any individual woman could fit herself in whatever household she entered with little loss of efficiency, since her duties were so clearly defined once she selected the category to which she belonged. And a child with a grandmother to care for it could fit in anywhere. Young men led a more transient existence. They were likely to congregate at different times in one lodge or another, and a bed would be made for them by putting down a mat between the central pillars and providing it with the necessary skin bedding. Old men also moved about rather freely, staying overnight in various households whenever they were detained late of an evening telling stories or participating in a ceremony. As for the mature man, his married-in household was not considered his "true" home. In his married-in household he was an outsider with formal obligations, which sometimes tended to weigh rather heavily on him. Then he would go where his home really was—that of his sisters and his mother, where they would gladly feed him and take care of him and where he could relax and feel like a child. When this happened, his wife understood, and she knew he would be back after a few days. 621 622

821 778 The only stable and fixed unit of Pawnee life was the village with

three hundred to five hundred people and from ten to twelve households. 621
The village community centered around the chief who had his sanction 622
through a vision from Heaven. Every person within the village was also
under the tutelage of a given star, and the chief held the sacred bundle 821
that represented the supernatural story of its origin and gave the village 778
its continuity. In these terms, all the people in the village were considered as a kindred, but their specific cosmic derivation gave them differing social ranks. According to their star affiliations, some were born as 821
chiefs, some as braves, and some as commoners; their social functions in
the community were thus relatively preordained. When a chiefly infant 554
was born to two high-ranking parents, he was wrapped in a wildcat skin, 565
symbolizing the heavens with its panoply of stars and planets. When he married, the priest and his senior errand man impersonated the Morning Star and the sun respectively. High-ranking chiefly families provided the administrators, whereas the families of braves—the next in rank—provided the executive officers. The commoners, known collectively as *akitaru* "the tribe or people," were often reminded by their officials that only their support made it possible to carry out the responsibilities of
high office. However, one's life was not entirely cast in this mold. A chief 554
or brave might never be considered worthy of the office, or he himself 565
might not feel capable of dedicating himself to its responsibilities, while a commoner could rise high in the social scale and acquire considerable wealth by becoming a successful doctor and earning high fees from his grateful patients. Some people of commoner rank had little use for prestige positions and would say, "I don't care to be a noted person." Another group would prefer a carefree life of adventure. They would go out on long scouting expeditions, roaming about the country and exploring to see what they could find. They were helpful to anyone in the village who needed them, without considering it beneath their dignity to perform any menial task and gave away what they had rather freely. Such men were referred to as "boys" on the grounds that they were like boys, having no care for accumulating anything or for providing for the morrow. They were regarded with affection and sometimes rose to the rank of brave in recognition of their long public service.

screen stood in front of the beds of the mature women to give them pri- 352
vacy. The series of beds was interrupted by an open platform at each side 353
to store current food supplies and household articles.

The long vestibule that gave entrance to the house projected outward 342
from the eastern side of the circular walls. Inside, on both sides of the 353
door to the house, was a working area in each of which a woodpile was
braced against the walls. The rear or western wall of the house was the
sacred area, the beds being ranged along the north and south walls. There
were five platforms along each wall, the middle one for supplies and the
four others fitted out as beds.

The boy, Otter, and his grandmother were sleeping on the north side 513
of the house in the easternmost bed nearest the entranceway. The sec- 353
ond bed next to theirs was occupied by another little boy, Yellow Calf, 592
and his grandmother, Grieves-the-Enemy. Then came the supply plat-
form for the north side and beyond that the bed of Horse Rider and his
wife, No Corn. Horse Rider was an assistant to Otter's father, Victory
Call, a prominent chief and religious leader. Victory Call and White
Woman had the bed that was in the place of honor near the west.

Along the south wall of the house was another family. The head of that family was Old Bull, friend and associate of Victory Call and also a chief and religious leader. He occupied the west bed with his younger wife, Clear Day, and the next bed was occupied by the little girl, New Queen, their daughter. Then came the supply platform for the south side, and beyond that the bed of Queen Woman, Old Bull's senior wife with her little boy of three, and finally the easternmost bed on the south side for the grandmother, Blue Calico, who was the mother of the younger wife, Clear Day, and had the youngest child sleeping with her.

Everyone in the house knew his appointed place and where he could go 353
and where he could not go. In the sacred area at the west was an earthen 778.
platform with a buffalo skull resting on it and above it hung a long, skin-
wrapped bundle containing their most sacred objects, including two spe-
cially bred ears of corn. Between the fireplace and the buffalo altar, there
was a sacred spot that was invisible—the *wi-haru*, "the place where the
wise words of those who have gone before us are resting." Rather than
step over this place in order to pass from one side of the house to the other,
everyone walked around the entire house by way of the east. When the
heads of the household sat down to rest or when they entertained im-
portant guests, it was near the west that they sat and no one would want to
pass in front of them.

The house was a microcosm of the universe and as one was at home in- 342
side, one was also at home in the outside world. For the dome of the sky 772
was the high-arching roof of the universe and the horizon all around was
the circular wall of the cosmic house. Through the roof of the house the
star gods poured down their strength from their appropriate directions in

623
342
35
554

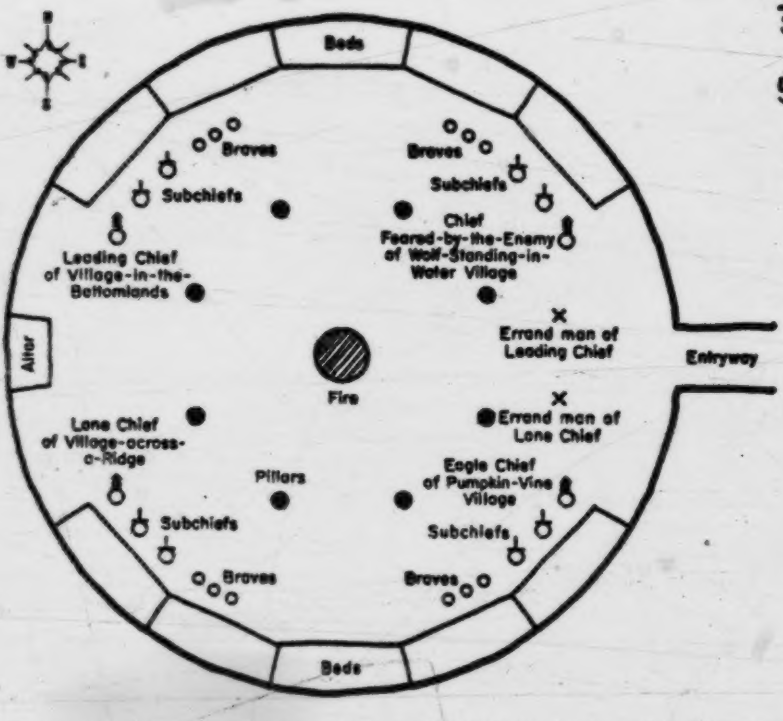

N
W
E
S
Beds
Braves
Braves
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Chief
Feared-by-the-Enemy
of Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village
Leading Chief
of Village-in-the-Bottomlands
Errand man of
Leading Chief
Entryway
Altar
Fire
Errand man of
Lone Chief
Lone Chief
of Village-across-a-Ridge
Pillars
Eagle Chief
of Pumpkin-Vine
Village
Subchiefs
Subchiefs
Braves
Braves
Beds

FIGURE 5-2. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. Mats are placed in the outer circuit against the beds to accommodate larger numbers. [631] Of the supposed twelve villages that formed the Skidi Federation in the past, four villages remained in 1867. Villages must have combined as their numbers were decimated. The original twelve sacred village bundles remained, and [778] some of the subchiefs probably represented these assimilated villages.

This was the time for joking "so that everyone could laugh during the meal." The jokes were of a somewhat slapstick variety as they wanted to be sure that no one's feelings were hurt in any way. Ordinarily, while the social relationship with one's parents was quite formal and restrained, the relationship with the grandparents was in sharp contrast. It was a relationship of lively familiarity. Physical handling was rough-and-tumble, a grandfather sometimes pulling his grandson out of bed of a cold morning and dumping him in the snow to harden him; jokes were often leveled at the grandchild and answered in kind. The mode of kin reckoning often involved an extension of the immediate kin terms to more distant blood relatives, and it worked out so that people of similar ages might address

623
574
522
[593]
[603]
[601]
[602]

796 take a certain position. When these signs were seen, then they must listen
821 for the thunder that is low, deep, and rumbling, starting in the west and rolling around the entire circuit of the heavens. Sheet lightning gave warning that this kind of thunder would soon appear. This thunder was the voice of Heaven, and when it came from the south they knew that it was the signal for the creation ritual to be performed.

796 The ritual was part of the sacred lore of the Evening Star bundle
which at this time was kept in the earth lodge of Old Lady Lucky
• 778 Leader. As soon as the thunder was heard, the five official priests gath-
821 ered there and began their preparations for the ritual. The same ritual
221 would be repeated for each of the twelve major sacred bundles, the Evening Star which they were about to perform, then Morning Star bundle, then Big Black Meteoric Star and nine others. At intervals all during the month of March the priests went in succession to the different households where each of the bundles was kept, performing the ritual to renew their powers. The order for the first three performances was as given above; the other nine, simply as each of the households happened to be ready to pause in its work and to provide the necessary food for the priests.

796 Now the five priests were sitting at the west in the lodge of Old Lady
793 Lucky Leader, the Evening Star bundle lying open before them. The sacred objects were spread out on the skin of a tawny yellow calf rep-
[778] resenting the herds of buffalo. Two sacred ears of corn represented their staple food, two owlskins the watchfulness of the chiefs, hawkskins the ferocity of the warriors, flint for fire and sweet grass for incense; paints symbolized the powers of the different directions of the universe. Each of the priests held a gourd rattle in his right hand, and they sang together of the first creation. Their responsibility lay heavy upon them, for they and they alone must bring the world back to life again. Would they now be able to bring back the abundance of summer—the green grass, the trees, the animals reborn, the waters flowing free, the warmth of a summer day? Loud and insistently they recounted each minute step of the creation and in the trancelike depths of their thinking, the events rolled by before them.

773 In the beginning Heaven sat in the unassorted universe and thought. He sent his thoughts out over space. Then he created the celestial gods to bring his thoughts to fruition. First he made the gods of the cardinal directions—the Evening Star at the west with the moon as her helper, the Morning Star at the east with the sun as his helper, in the north the North Star and in the south, Canopus, the South Star. Then Heaven placed four stars in the semicardinal directions—Black Star in the northeast, Yellow Star in the northwest, White Star in the southwest and Red Star in the southeast. Heaven said to them, "You four shall be known as the ones who uphold the heavens. There you shall stand as long as the

heavens last, and although your place is to hold the heavens up, I also 773 give you power to create people. You shall give them the different bundles which shall be holy bundles. Your powers will be known to the people, for you shall touch the heavens with your hands, and your feet shall touch the earth."

Now Heaven spoke to Evening Star in the west. So that they might do her bidding, he sent her clouds, winds, lightnings, and thunders, and these she was to place between herself and her garden; then they would assume human form, appearing in the dress of priests, each with a gourd rattle in his right hand. With these arrangements in order, Heaven was now ready to create the world:

It was the storms that carried out this mission, one great thunderstorm to create the lifeless structure, and a second to endow it with life. All this took many eons.

Heaven told the Evening Star to tell her gods to rattle and sing. As they sang, the clouds came up, then the winds blew the clouds and the lightnings and thunders entered the clouds. The thick clouds gathered over open space and into them Heaven dropped a pebble—a quartz crystal. The pebble rolled in the clouds and as the storm passed over, the whole world below was water. Now Heaven sent out the four semicardinal-direction gods, each armed with a war club of hemlock, the wood known to the Skidi as *atira*, my mother. As they approached their appropriate stations, they were to strike the waters which would cause them to part and expose the earth. Each of the four semicardinal-direction [778] bundles is said to contain such a war club of hemlock that was actually used in the original creation.

Now the lifeless structure of the earth had been formed. A second great storm was needed to put life into the earth. Heaven instructed Evening Star to have her four gods (impersonated by the priests in the ritual) rattle and sing, and, while they sang, clouds came up, winds, lightnings, and thunders, and, while the gods sang of the formation of the earth, "the storms passed over the earth, and as the winds blew, it rained, the lightnings striking in the ground to put life in the earth. The thunders now shook the earth so that in parts where it was not level, the dirt slid down into the valleys." In these two great storms, the earth, *uraru*, was created and then life put into it.

Next were to be created the timbers and the underbrush *tuharu*, that make the land gray. The gods sang, and with the first great storm, the structure of the timbers was created. There was a second great thunderstorm in which the lightning struck them and the thunders sounded over them to put life into the *tuharu*, the timber.

Fourth in the great creation were the waters, *tsaharu*, and two great eras of storm were needed—one to give it its structure and a second to make it a living reality. The bottoms of the creeks, rivers, ponds, and

visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her 773
four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it [829]
is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled re- [628]
counting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the [631]
past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In
Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and on-
going life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the 796
year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first cer- 619
emony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, 631
a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a cere-
mony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. [778]
(See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual 796
during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved 782

[793]
[221]
[727]

796 the sacrifice to the Morning Star of a young girl that had been cap-
782 tured from the enemy. This was compensation to the Morning Star god
[793] for his struggle during the creation. The last girl to be sacrificed to the
[221] Morning Star was a young Sioux girl named Haxti in 1838, after which
[727] the practice was abandoned. This ceremony symbolized fertility in gen-
[178] eral.

796
221
778

TABLE 7-1. *Chart of Sacred Bundle Ceremonies in the Spring and Fall*

The several ceremonies of the spring planting and fall harvest form a parallel series, the six ceremonies in each showing a recurrent alternation of the powers of the Evening Star and the four semicardinal-direction bundles. The first four pertain to planting, fertility, and war, the latter two to buffalo hunting and migration.

	Spring		*Fall*
I.	Spring Renewal—ceremony of the creation at the first thunder from the south; Evening Star sponsorship.	I.	Green Corn Ceremony. Evening Star sponsorship.
II.	Distributing sacred seed corn of the special breed of corn included in the sacred bundles. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the summer-direction bundles—southwest or southeast.	II.	Harvest of Mature Corn. Mature corn from sacred seeds installed in the sacred bundles, replacing the sacred ears of last year's planting. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the winter-direction bundles—northwest or northeast.
III.	Ground-breaking ceremony, *Awari*, movement, activity. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an affiliate of the Evening Star in charge of the ritual as sponsor.	III.	Four-Pole Ceremony—symbolizing political federation and control of the country through war expeditions so that they could go out into the country on the hunt. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an Evening Star affiliate in charge of the ritual as sponsor.
IV.	Birth and growth of Young Mother Corn through adolescence to young womanhood; known as *Kurahus*, "Priest." Semicardinal-direction bundle in charge of ritual as sponsor.		

BUFFALO HUNTING AND MIGRATION

796
221
778

Spring	*Fall*
V. Ritual Chiefs' Meeting. Chiefs personify Heaven and acknowledge their sole responsibility to lead the people to a successful conclusion of the buffalo hunt. Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person in charge of the ritual.	V. Ritual Chiefs' Meeting. Chiefs acknowledge their sole responsibility to lead the people to a successful conclusion of the buffalo hunt. North Star bundle in charge of the ritual.
VI. Great Cleansing Ceremony of the ceremonial objects. Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast bundle of the four Semicardinal-direction set, in charge. Tribe leaves the village to go off on the migration and summer buffalo hunt.	VI. Great Cleansing Ceremony of the ceremonial objects. Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast bundle of the four Semicardinal-direction set, in charge. Tribe leaves the village to go off on the migration and winter buffalo hunt.

The next ceremony concerned the corn itself. The sacred corn included in all the bundles was of a specially cultivated breed that was ordinarily not eaten. At this ceremony these seeds were distributed to each of the sacred bundle owners so that the sacred ears of corn could be grown for their bundles. The two "north" bundles of the semicardinal directions took charge of this ceremony in alternate years, one year the northeast, the next the northwest, etc. This ceremony was held late in April.

During the first week in May the ceremony that immediately preceded 796
the planting of the common varieties of food corn was performed. Until 221
it was carried out, no planting could be done. It was under the sponsor- 241
ship of the Skull bundle, thus maintaining the principle of alternation 778
of sacred responsibilities, since it was an Evening Star affiliate. The outstanding feature of the ceremony was a pantomime of breaking the ground preparatory to planting. The ground was customarily broken with a hoe made of a buffalo shoulder blade tied to a short wooden stick that served as a handle. During the ceremony, the women went through the motions of breaking the ground with sacred hoes that were kept in the four semicardinal-direction bundles and borrowed for the occasion. The action was very vigorous and the ceremony was appropriately called *Awari*, "Motion." The planting was done the very next day after the ceremony.

The final ceremony of the spring planting cycle was called *Kurahus*,

796 "Priest"; it was performed when the sacred corn plants were about two
221 inches high and had four good leaves. This ceremony was in charge of
241 one of the two "south" bundles of the semicardinal directions—in alternate
years, the southwest and the southeast. The crux of the ceremony
• 778 was the uprooting of one of the young sacred corn plants, in which the
act of birth was symbolized and the young plant carried as an infant on the visionary's back from the field to the ceremonial lodge, where it was attached to a stick fashioned by an arrowshaft maker and painted to represent a person. The plant was now carried through a cycle of childhood and young girlhood and breathed on by the priests to give it life. It was now Young Mother Corn, watching over the tribe. Only when this ceremony had been performed were the women permitted to go out into the fields and weed the corn plants and hill up the earth around them to protect them as they grew. A second weeding and hilling process in the latter part of June was the last attention the corn plants received before being "laid by." The people were then ready to leave for the summer buffalo hunt.

796 Without this ceremonial cycle, the coordination of the people in their
221 orderly round of life could not go on. While it was primarily a religious
frame, it was also of basic practical value since it was based on the seasonal progression. Without it it would have been almost impossible to coordinate people's lives with one another and with external events.

Some of the activities that were necessary during the spring season were fitted into the cycle rather than being part of it. This was particularly true of the manufacturing and maintenance functions, while the ceremonial cycle referred especially to the planting of the crops.

221 All winter while the people had been wandering over the country on
[356] the tribal buffalo hunt the house had stood idle and their clothes and
[296] equipment had taken heavy wear. These had to be put in order and repaired
before planting time.

356 The average life of a house was twelve years, but before the end of
476 that time water might leak through the roof and rot some of the radial
221 roof beams. These would have to be replaced, and in order to do this the
554 whole roof covering of thatch and earth had to be removed and reassembled.
622 This task would require more than the personnel of the household.
Where the men of the house had little social status they would have few social contacts to draw on, but men like Old Bull and Victory Call were in a much better position to get help from the community. Because of their status as chiefs many more people were likely to volunteer to help. The following section shows some of the social mechanisms involved in the process. However, it should be noted that the assistance given was neither on the basis of power authority nor fundamentally for the sake of gaining social status by association, but rather in appreciation

9

THE PLANTING OF THE CROPS

000

Ground-breaking Ceremony—the Women's Role—Explanation of Ritual—Songs of the Ceremony—the Process of Preparing and Planting the Crops Explained—Cooperation in Fields Discussed—Dangers of Attack—the Swim at the End of the Planting Day

THE CORN WAS THE FIRST CROP to be planted and then came the beans, 241 squashes, and melons. But before any planting could be done, the *Awari* or "Ground-breaking Ceremony" had to be performed. The four special [778] ministers of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person kept watch along the creeks for the first leaves to appear on the willows; then they knew the time was right for the ritual. They also had to wait for the dark of the moon that signified darkness and germination. Now the four ministers met together in the lodge where the Skull bundle was kept to make a plan for the ceremony. [787] The actual inception of the ceremony was during the past winter while they were on a buffalo hunt, when a woman had had a vision that she was the one to see that it was performed. She called on the help of her brother, who killed a special buffalo for her, and then she invited the four ministers and told them of her vision. Then she dried [251] and packed the rest of the buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit to be used when the ceremony was performed in the spring.

This was the only Pawnee ceremony in which women played a major 241 role, and the original visionary through whom the ceremony was insti- 562 tuted for the season was also a woman. But the ceremony itself was directed and carried through entirely by the men. Now with the sprouting of the willows it was time.

The woman of the house where the Skull bundle was kept got up 241 574 778

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

241
574
[778]
early in the morning after the ministers had met, took the bundle from the west where it was hanging, and placed it outside on a tripod. She cleared the lodge of all the bedding and swept it with hyssops, while the four ministers each went to his separate house and sent boys out to collect willow sprouts to be delivered to the ceremonial lodge. There they were piled in two piles, one to the north and one to the south, and the woman spread them around the lodge radially with their pointed ends toward the fireplace, their stub ends outward toward the wall. She placed the floor mats on top of them, two on each side of the lodge and one at the west in front of the altar. The ministers seated themselves and sent for the woman visionary after inquiring if she had the bundle of consecrated dried buffalo meat ready. They also invited four prominent women—daughters of chiefs, warriors, or medicine men—who were wealthy enough to furnish a parfleche of dried buffalo meat and a kettle of corn and who would play a major role in the ceremony. The woman visionary was seated at the north, the four guests at the south, and the ministers then announced that they were about to conduct a ceremony so that the women could go into the field and plant their corn and that they had selected them to be leaders of the dance. Their acceptance of the role meant they were ready to make the necessary contribution.

That evening they all rehearsed their part in the forthcoming ceremony. The woman visionary was anointed by the ministers and the significance of the ritual explained to her. The four women who were to assist her were seated two to the south and two to the north. Other women who were attending were seated behind them. The descendants of the original Skull bundle owners were seated on the north side, other men scattered around the lodge.

[534]
[778]
The four ministers sent for the four gourd rattles that were attached to the Evening Star bundle, and when they were brought in they began to rattle and sing while the woman visionary practiced her dance. The spectators went home, and the four ministers, the woman visionary, and Skull bundle owners remained and had a dinner of corn and meat together, talking about past customs and the origin of the Skull bundle. At midnight the brother of the woman visionary came to escort her home while the ministers remained sleeping near the altar, the head minister remaining awake to watch for the dawn when the proceedings would begin.

241
[574]
The ritual was in three parts, one session from dawn to breakfast time, the second from breakfast time to ten in the morning, and the third in which there was major public participation, from ten till six-thirty in the evening. About seven-thirty in the evening there was a meal for everyone including the spectators to close the ceremony.

[778]
The dawn-to-breakfast part of the ceremony celebrated the original coming together of the villages, commemorating the special creative

achievement of the original visionary of the Skull bundle. This was celebrated by decorating the four pillars of the earth lodge that were in the semicardinal directions. To each of them was tied a bundle of willows and some dried buffalo meat and fat—tied on with buffalo-hair ropes. On each pillar under the offering was painted a colored stripe in the color appropriate to its semicardinal direction. The woman visionary was not invited, but was asked to send the consecrated buffalo meat which was set down at the south side of the fireplace. The Skull bundle owners were sent for and four selected to go out and gather the willows. Then they went in procession around the houseposts, one line on the outside, one on the inside, proceeding in a counterclockwise direction, (southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast) tying on the offerings to each post in succession and then painting them. 241 778

The sacred objects were next suffused with incense from burnt sweet grass mixed with fat, and the buffalo skull that usually rested there was removed from the altar and the skull of Wonderful Person put in its place. This was the first object to be "incensed"; then came the other objects in the bundle, then the ministers themselves, and then the errand men. After the incensing, all went home except the ministers and errand men, who had their breakfast there of meat and corn.

After breakfast and for the next four hours the lodge was prepared for the public ceremony. The major feature of the public ceremony would be a pantomime of hoeing to break the ground for planting, and the woman visionary was now called in to take part in the preparations. She came in with her brother, who was dressed in his best because he was to go through the village asking for gifts on behalf of their undertaking. He would walk through the village calling upon their relatives and saying that Wonderful Person needed wood and his sister needed help in her enterprise—would they please cook something? In answer to his request, they would bring gifts to the ceremonial lodge.

Meanwhile the errand men were sent out to borrow four sacred shoulder-blade hoes that were kept in the four direction bundles. When they brought these in they were placed in pairs on the north and south of the altar. From the Skull bundle itself were taken two deer necks placed at the south and two loon necks placed at the north of the altar. [825] These symbolized the fact that loons fly high against the sky and bring us messages from Heaven, which Wonderful Person would now be representing in the ceremony. A pure young man who had shed no blood would be selected to decorate the skull for this role. He first painted the face red and on it a line design in blue, bow-shaped and extending [531] across the forehead and down the cheeks, representing the vault of the heavens, and a blue line down the center and along the nose for the breath of Heaven descending from the zenith, passing down the nose to the heart and giving life to the child (see Figure 9-1). The minister

241 now dressed the skull in a black skin turban with a knot on the forehead.
• 778 Inside the turban were soft down feathers mixed with red paint (to represent the visionary's brains), and on top, a soft feather as a plume.

[531]

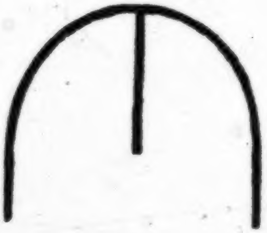


FIGURE 9-1. Representation of face painting symbolizing the vault of the heavens and the breath of Heaven.

[431] [782] Gifts began to come in: kettles of corn and meat were placed at the south, buffalo robes and other offerings between the fireplace and the skull.

[203] [431] [782] The woman's brother and a young man were sent out to all the lodges to invite the people. They dressed in their best and everyone that came brought a gift. Soon they crowded outside the door of the ceremonial lodge, and after the brother had made a smoke offering with the pipe toward the heavens and the skull the people were allowed to come in. They piled their gifts in front of the skull.

The paraphernalia were handed out to the women who were to do the dancing, and a special coiled basket was handed to the woman visionary and one to her assistant. This basket, especially made by a woman under the direction of the minister, symbolized the container ordained by Heaven to carry earth from which the world was created and the germs of life. At the time of the creation, Heaven caused this basket to move of itself through space.

The four ministers of the Skull bundle now took up their rattles and sang, "Now [illegible] are going to start to dance. Everyone wants to dance and shake the earth."

241 535 At the first song the women stood ready to scrape the earth with their hoes, right foot forward, arms extended. They were followed by the woman visionary and her partner, who now got up and danced with the coiled baskets. Next followed women with loon necks and then young women with deer necks. These had to be chaste young women. Now the hoes were taken over by the old women, for they were early risers and good workers in the fields. When these got tired, other women came over and took the hoes, carrying out the motions of hoeing all the time:

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

when he comes, father, I am seeking for you." When he arrived at the 773
priest's house, they embraced and wept together, and then the priest 796
filled a little pipe with tobacco and asked the warrior to tell of his dream. 782

After he had heard his vision, the priest filled the pipe and went out-
side where he lit it and offered it to the Morning Star so that he would [787]
bless the young man. When the pipe was smoked out, the priest returned, emptied the ashes, and sat for a while talking with the warrior. The priest again filled the pipe and handed it to the warrior who lit it in the fireplace and carried it outside offering the first puff to the Morning Star, begging his pity and his guidance. Then the priest told the warrior to go home and to return when he was ready. He thought deeply of his forthcoming task as the priest had instructed him and at last asked the people in his lodge to make him several pairs of moccasins for the journey, filled with balls of pounded up sweet corn and some parched corn for his food. Everyone in the village was watching him, and some experienced warriors who had decided to go with him also asked their families to make similar preparations.

The visionary returned to the priest's lodge where they sat together for four days. When he came on the fourth day, the priest took the
Morning Star bundle down from where it was hanging over the sacred [778]
altar and removed the holy objects that the warrior would need, lighting the pipe from the bundle and offering smoke to each of them in the required fashion. The objects were an otterskin collar, Mother Corn, a hawkskin, an extra pipe from the bundle, some soft down feathers, and the skin of a wildcat, its legs filled with native tobacco and paints. These things the warrior would need for his costuming when he impersonated the Morning Star so that he could set out on his fateful journey. The ceremony took four days, and then the warrior went through the village to call on the men he knew were ready to come with him. He also chose a number of assistants—a younger man, four scouts from among the volunteers, and helpers and errand men. While the priest instructed him, the others went to their lodges and got their things. At midnight the priest went outside waiting for the Morning Star to rise and then went inside and costumed the warrior to impersonate him—a buffalo hair rope around his waist, an otterskin collar around his neck with a hawkskin fastened on and suspended from his right shoulder, the ear of Mother Corn from his left shoulder. He painted his face with the red ointment—two streaks on either side of his face and a bird's foot on his forehead (astronomically unidentified; "right on the Milky Way"). He gave him the pipe to carry in his left hand or in his robe with the stem pointing upward. As the Morning Star was rising the priest said, "Here is your man. He is wearing your clothing. Protect him and make him successful." Then he led the warrior around the fireplace, faced him toward the entrance, his assistant beside him and the others following behind in

drive the horses from the village toward their encampment so that they 773
could leave in a hurry. The enemy would not immediately attempt a 796
pursuit as there was a feeling that this was a kind of cosmic destiny. 782
Retribution would be visited upon the whole tribe later on in a regu-
lar war party. The girl was placed on a pony behind her captor, and 721
they rode all day, sleeping only three hours during the night until they 726
approached the village. As they approached, the leader set the prairie on
fire to let them know that they had been successful. The warriors
smeared their faces with soot. The Morning Star priest came out and
led the captive girl to the village and to his lodge.

Now that the girl had been captured the first stage of the warrior's
mission had been accomplished. The sacrifice would not take place until 773
the following spring. The whole tribe would go off on the winter buf- 796
falo hunt, taking the girl with them. When they got back to the village 782
and the creation ceremony had been performed, the priest of the Morn- 727
ing Star would watch for a sign from the cosmic god that the time for
the ceremony had arrived. Meanwhile, the returned war party settled back
in the village. The visionary warrior went to the lodge of the Morning
Star priest and returned the costume which was replaced in the sacred
bundle. Warriors told how many of the enemy they had touched and
the war counts they should receive because of this and the number killed.
The women danced the victory dance. The keeper of the Wolf bundle 773
was called to the Morning Star lodge to take over the care of the girl
who would remain in his charge until the time of sacrifice, throughout 796
the period of the winter buffalo hunt and the spring that followed. He 782
was to watch over her at all times and was to take her for her meals to
the home of the visionary warrior. According to the creation legend, the
wolf was the first creature to suffer death; he was murdered by the peo-
ple because of his perfidious conduct and as a result from that time
on all living things must die (see below, pp. 328-329). The Wolf bundle [778]
commemorated these incidents and its keeper was thought to be a de-
scendant of the original owners. Sirius, the southeast star, was the Wolf
Star and it was connected with death. The Wolf man now entered the
lodge of the Morning Star priest who bathed both him and the girl in
incense from the smoke of burning sweet grass—first the girl and then
the man. Then the girl's costume was taken from the Morning Star bun-
dle. She was rubbed with red ointment made of pigment and buffalo fat
and dressed in a calfskin skirt tied around the waist by a rope, an over-
blouse, a warm buffalo robe, some black moccasins, and a soft down
feather to wear in her hair. She was given a special wooden bowl and a
buffalo horn spoon for her exclusive use at meals, that was also taken
from the bundle. It was dangerous for others to use her utensils as the
supernatural beings might then consider them part of the sacrifice.

While they were on the winter hunt, the warrior visionary would have

244
192

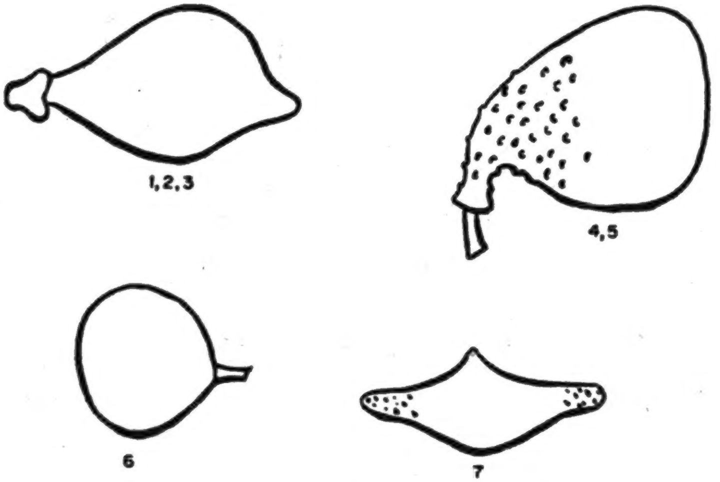


FIGURE 11-1. Seven varieties of squash and pumpkin known to the Pawnees generically as *Pahuks:* (1) *rus-kirius,* "soft-buttock" (as soft as the buttocks); pointed at both ends; a little more than 1 foot in length and 9 inches in diameter; yellowish in color; "as sweet as sugar." (2) *pahuks-tarahi,* squash or pumpkin-grooved; yellow in color; a kind sometimes seen in white men's stores. (3) *pahuks-katit,* squash or pumpkin-black; same size, shape, and taste as (2), the only difference being the black color. (4) *ri-katsu,* "lower half of body, white," *ri'u,* being the lower half of human body from the navel all around to the bottom of the feet. (The rest of the body is called *kisikitu,* upper half of body from *kisikiit,* "alive," and *-katsu,* "dead white." Sometimes the ordinary word for white, *taka,* is used instead.) The shell is as thick as a board and so hard that it needs to be cut up with an ax, but it is very sweet tasting. It has a crooked neck and is knobby or pimply around the neck end and very smooth on the body. (5) *ri-kats-katit,* same as (4), but black (*-katit,* "black") (6) *pahuks-kata,* "pumpkin-dry"; dry near the stem, sometimes a little pointed; somewhat dry inside when cooked; real round and smooth; color, light green. (7) *pahuks-tarahi-kiripaxki,* "squash-grooved-small"; in a variety of colors—green, white, yellow, and dark green, also a rather dark blue and some very blue.

243 The Indian groups of the Missouri River Valley of which the Pawnees were one, raised mainly flint and flour corn, but not dent. They also raised sweet corn. Flint and flour corn apparently both did equally well among the Pawnees. Mark Evarts named ten breeds of corn for the Pawnees, one of them borrowed from the Osage. There were two flints, one yellow, and one varied in color, five or possibly six flour corns in five different colors—blue, speckled, white, yellow, and red; and one sweet corn, reddish-yellow in color. In addition, there was an archaic breed
[778] of corn known as Wonderful or Holy Corn which was never eaten but was raised only for inclusion in the sacred bundles. Two ears were

placed in each bundle, each wrapped up and sewed into a covering—the 243
winter ear in a tanned buffalo skin and the ear dedicated to summer in a 778
buffalo-heart skin. Each individual ear of these holy corns in the bundles
had a different name by which it was addressed. Early in April before
the *Awari* or planting ritual, a ritual was held in which the seeds of the
holy corn were distributed to the keepers of the sacred bundles so
that their wives could plant them in their fields. At harvest time, when
these sacred ears were mature, the old ears were removed from the bundles
and replaced with ears from the new crop. Fine examples of some
of the best ears of the more common varieties were also placed in the sacred
bundles at harvest time, particularly those with a male spike. Compared
with the white flour corn, the holy corn, which was also white, had small
kernels that sometimes covered the cob to the very tip. "Sometimes it
has something like a soft feather at the tip of the ear." This is apparently the
male spike at the point end; archaeologically it appears very early, 4,445 [171]
± 180 B.C., in the tiny ancestral corncobs taken from La Perra Cave in
northeast Mexico. Such an ear is also shown in the headdress and hands
of the Maize God on a prehistoric Zapotec funerary urn from Mexico
(Mangelsdorf, 1958).

244
192

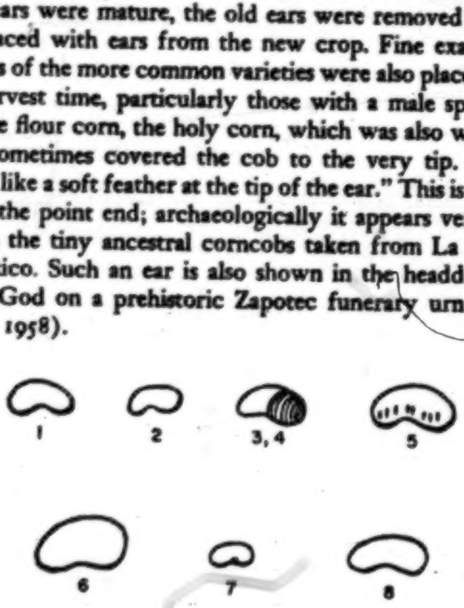


FIGURE 11-2. Eight varieties of beans, generically known to the Pawnees as *atit:* (1) *ati-pahat,* "bean-red"; a large sized bean. (2) *atik-taka,* "bean-white." (3) *ati-paks-katit,* "bean-head-black"; black-head beans. (4) *ait-paks-pahat,* "bean-head-red"; same as (3). (5) *ati-pirari,* "bean-spotted"; color of a spotted horse, spotted all around, some with red, some with black spots; a somewhat large-sized bean. (6) *ati-katus,* "bean-flat"; large, flat bean. (7) *atit-tiwats-katit,* "bean-navel-black"; spotted where it joins the stem; navel, *-riwat,* phonetically altered in the context. (8) *ati-taxkata,* "bean-yellow"; a rather large yellow bean.

Our classification of the species of corn is based on the starch content, 243
but when a Pawnee was asked to name the varieties of corn they had, he 242
or she would enumerate them in terms of color categories—black, [822]
spotted, white, yellow, and red. It is interesting that these represent the
varieties of flour corn that they had. However, in classifying their corn,
they subsumed the flint, sweet, and sacred varieties under these color
categories. When asked to name the varieties of Pawnee corn, Mark Evarts

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

12

CLOSING EPISODE OF PLANTING PERIOD

000

Young Corn Plant Ceremony—Seasonal Orientation—Necessity of a Visionary—Ritual of Ceremony Explained—Second Role of Visionary on Buffalo Hunt—Conclusion of Ceremony and Beginning of Weeding and Cultivating of Corn

243 THE CLOSING EPISODE of the planting period was the carrying through of the young corn plant from a seedling to its "adolescence," when it could be "laid by" for the summer until they returned in the fall from the buffalo hunt and it would be ready for harvest.

The four semicardinal-direction bundle priests kept careful watch, and when the sacred corn seeds had sprouted to about two inches and had four good leaves, they knew that it was time to conduct the ceremony of the young corn plant. In this ceremony the priests prepared the young corn plant for her role as Mother to all the people. The young corn plant was carried through a series of ritual steps symbolizing the birth, infancy, and growth to first motherhood of a young girl. The corn could then mature and become Mother of the people.

The practical steps, as always, were preceded by a ceremonial preparation. The conduct of the ceremony was under one of the south semi- [778] cardinal-direction bundles—either the Southwest or the Southeast in 243 alternate years. As always, although the ceremonies were seasonally ori- 787 ented, they were initiated by a visionary who received a mandate from the cosmic power involved, instructing him to see that the ceremony was performed. In this case the vision always came to a man who was an outstanding buffalo hunter and eagle trapper. The vision would have occurred while they were out on the winter buffalo hunt; as soon as possi-

15

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY

000

A Summary Ceremony—a Symbolic Washing of All Ceremonial Objects—a History of the Ceremony—Celestial and Doctors' Symbolism Combined—Ceremony Explained—Participation of People in Ceremony

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY that was held before leaving on the 796
hunt was, in effect, a summary of all the Pawnee religious beliefs and 783
practices. In Pawnee ideology, the sky was one realm and the earth and 772
the waters another. The priests were in charge of the cosmic ceremonies, [224]*
and the medicine men, or doctors, were in charge of the animals that [793]
were connected with the earth and the waters. In this last category, the [756]
physical structure of man and his physical health were included. But ultimately,
according to Pawnee thought, the sky was the first cause and
the continuing source of power in both realms. The doctors conducted 796
a separate cycle of ceremonies from the priests, and in the fall, at the gala 783
ceremony that was held after the harvest was in, they acknowledged their 756
celestial origin by hanging buffalo-hide cutouts of the Morning Star and
the other sky gods from the ceiling of the ceremonial lodge. During the
forthcoming summer hunt, a specially selected doctor would kill a buffalo
bull and a cow to provide the skins for this purpose and another bull
and cow to build up the images of their own special gods.

The central feature of the ceremony they would now conduct was the 796
carrying of all the sacred objects to the stream, there washing them 783
symbolically. Then the people would clean up the whole village and wash 778
themselves in the stream. This great cleansing ritual was under the direction
of the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the northeast of the semicardinal-direction
bundles. In mythohistory this god was a sort of master [776]

796 of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as
783 indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron
• 778 of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took
776 care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night,
the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

*[224] The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage
[772] twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbolisms
from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the creation ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theology
756 of the cosmos was given. The doctors also had a systematic ideology
773 of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had
much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans
[191] or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

756

months. Thereafter, whenever a man had an animal vision, he applied to 773
the Doctor Association and was given a place in the lodge.

All during the summer hunt and the hard work of getting in the har- 756
vest that followed, the people looked forward with great anticipation to 796
the elaborate performances that the doctors would put on all during the 224*
month of October. It was a Grand Opera with a connected series of episodes, combining animal mimes, displays of sleight of hand, and illusionist performances of different kinds, hypnotic acts, songs, and dances. In that summer the people contributed the dried meat of eighty buffalo to the Doctor Association for the forthcoming ceremony and in former times as many as 140 were given. This was one of the prime motivations for going on the hunt.

In the Great Cleansing Ceremony now to be held before departure, 796
both the celestial and the doctors' symbolism was combined, one con- 783
nected with crops and the other with the wild animals.

As soon as the chiefs had determined the date for the departure on the 796
hunt, they notified the priest of the sacred bundle who was in charge for 783
that season, and he in turn got in touch with the other four priests. They 793
all came to his lodge, beating on their bundles to signify that they were [778]
now going to conduct a national ceremony. They took their appointed places at the west, putting their bundles down in front of them and sending the errand man to summon the other bundle keepers to come with their mats and food bowls. They spread their mats and sat in their traditional places, hanging their bundles on the wall behind them. They remained in the lodge for three days and nights, feasting and talking together. Meanwhile the four main priests went through the village calling on the people to bring gifts to Mother Corn. They were being asked to bring the clothes that would costume the chief who was to lead the pro-
cession when they took the sacred objects to the stream. Only men of [577]
sterling character were privileged to make such a contribution—those who were public spirited enough to initiate public ceremonies, were courageous in defense, volunteered frequently for public service, were generous in helping the less fortunate, did not harbor malice, did not engage in any kind of violence or loud conduct, did not gamble or indulge in sexual adventures in unsanctioned social categories. They were to bring a buffalo robe, moccasins, a buffalo-hair cord as a girdle, and dried buffalo meat and fat that had been consecrated on the previous buffalo hunt. The donors would paint themselves red, carrying their gift through the village for everyone to see as they took it to the ceremonial lodge. After the gift was presented, two messengers went through the village announcing the gift and publicly thanking the donor.

The actual ceremony in the lodge was performed on the fourth day 796
after the bundle keepers had assembled there. Very early that morning

Finally they had the formal procession in which all the sacred objects 796 were carried down to the stream. The chief who was to lead the proces- 783 sion was called by the priest and dressed in the clothes that had just been 778 donated. The sacred pipe from the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle was placed in his hands. The bundle keepers retrieved the sacred ears of corn from the "Garden" and placed them next to their bundles. A prominent warrior who had ownership rights to the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle led the main body of the procession bearing the star chart. Immediately following him were to be three men with quivers from the sacred bundles. These four sat near the entrance, lined up one behind the other, while arrangements were being made for the bearers of the rest of the objects. Meanwhile men from different villages had come in and seated themselves in front of their respective village bundles. Two men from each were selected to carry the "Mothers" or sacred ears of corn, others to carry the hawkskins symbolizing warriors and owlskins symbolizing chiefs that were also contained in the bundles. And last of all, the leading chief who was to head the procession went out and rounded up all the little boys he could find—an act signifying his watchfulness over the people. The little boys were given minor objects from the sacred bundles [857] to carry, particularly the raccoon bones attached to the sticks with which meat was removed from the soup during the ceremonial banquets, or the arrowshafts used as pipe tampers and sticks to tend the fire.

Now there was a race to the river; the priests singing and shaking their gourd rattles while the objects were being given out. When they got to the fourth song, the warrior with the star chart jumped up and began to run toward the river as fast as he could, the quiver bearers close behind him. As they pushed out through the long entryway of the lodge, everyone tried to follow, and anyone who overtook the man with the star chart on the way to the river took it from him and ran on until he came to the bank where it was returned to him.

The crowd standing along the river bank now grouped itself into four symmetrical rows. In the first row, front center, was the warrior with his star chart. He was flanked on both sides by the men with quivers, who were in turn flanked by the men with the sacred ears of corn. In the second row were the men with hawkskins and owlskins. In the third row were people with less important bundle objects such as braids of sweetgrass usually burned as incense, buckskin pouches containing red, black, and white paints, pieces of enemy scalp, and other objects peculiar to the particular sacred bundle. Finally, bringing up the rear in the fourth row were the little boys with their raccoon bone forks, arrowshaft fire pokers, and pipe tampers.

The group now parted ranks. Down the middle came the chief carrying the sacred pipe to the water. He waded in and symbolically washed himself by dipping his right hand and then his left into the water, each

796 783 778 time touching it to his mouth, nose, forehead, and down his face, alternately first with the right and then with the left hand. Then he went back through the group and stood facing the village ready to lead them back. The others followed suit, the men of first rank pretending to wash their objects and their bodies, then walking through the line to stand behind the chief and the others in order. The chief led them back to the village and the objects were replaced in the bundles in the ceremonial lodge. The little boys ran away at once, and the other men retrieved the robes they had left behind in order to race to the water before they went home. The priests and bundle keepers tied their things and had a meal of cornmeal mush that had been donated by one of the women. Then they all took their mats, pillows, bowls, and sacred bundles and went home.

796 783 [203] [515] [343] The town crier went through the town telling all the people to clean their lodges and the streets and to carry all the dirt far away. The next step was for everyone to wash and clean themselves. The priests who had led the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood outside shaking his rattle and singing. All the people assembled there and raced to the river as fast as they could go. They waited there for the priests who waded in and came out at once and went to their sweat lodge to take a steam bath. All the rest of the people—men, women, and children—stayed at the river, swimming and playing in the water.

The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood 276
(*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer [824]
bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for
smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in
winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade [439]
store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared
patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of [249]
Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting 224*
expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their 276
pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so
that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½
feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would 224*
depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle 492
had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A
saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front
and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were
tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide
envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed
to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used
to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the
rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they
were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the
stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling
the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth 224*
for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently 291
on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was 412
an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. 224*
Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on 482
her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage 778•
on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles
had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, 224*
dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, 251
coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concentrated 262
foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes.
The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that [484]
time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would
now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegetable 224*
provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the 251
cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One
batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were 252

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Pipe trade relations. As the east party would have a prior advantage, he was leaving it open for Man Chief to take it for his own group. "All right," said Man Chief, "I'll take a group around east," and Curly Chief of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band said, "I'll go with him." White Eagle then agreed to take a group by way of the west and Many Trophies of the Man-Going-Downstream Band agreed to go with him. 224* 202

Having decided, the different chiefs motioned to their hunters waiting lined up below. In each case the individual hunters were free to join either party as they wished. The various hand motions made by the chiefs graphically indicated their plans. As each chief motioned, his brave went down to the hunters and again told them what the motions were about. The extra pack horses were hobbled right there and the boys taking care of them were nearby.

The next step was a ritual, performed by a holy man known as a "hand-waver," named for the manner in which he made his vow. White Eagle chose He-Sees-the-Sky because he had consecrated five or six buffalo to the sacred bundle ceremonies in the past and in general seemed to be lucky in whatever he did. He had established "credit" with the supernatural powers. Now he knelt down on both knees facing toward the hill with his back to the lineup of hunters. One of the men from the line was selected by White Eagle to keep watch on the holy man and signal them immediately when he was through. The watcher stood about ten feet back, leading his horse while the prophet was kneeling, settling himself comfortably with his open hands resting on his thighs. Now he extended his right arm and as he was moving it outward he said, "This time of year I sacrificed a whole white eagle and that is what is going to lead you (west)." Then he made a similar motion with his left hand and mentioned a wildcat hide and a whole buffalo and the fact that this would lead those going east. Then he repeated each direction with an Otter and Buffalo (west), and a young spotted deer and buffalo (east). The watcher, seeing the holy man's hands back in his lap and his head down, signaled that that was all and as soon as he turned around, the line formed into two parties, the watcher coming down to join them. The holy man started for home, being required to remain as quiet as possible so that nothing should disturb the good fortune of the hunters, for he would be blamed for any accidents that occurred. White Eagle or one of the successful hunters would see that he got half a buffalo for his service. The hunters rode to the chase from both sides of the hill so that the herd was surrounded and all were killed. Then they butchered and distributed the meat according to who had actually killed the animal and who had assisted with the butchering. 224* 788 792 [778] 224* 792 224*

As soon as they were through butchering, they packed their horses and waited until they had a group of two of three so that they could travel together for protection from attack. The horses were lightly 224* 492

east or any want to go west, just go ahead. There are lots of buffalo. 224*
As for me, I'm going right over the hill." Only those with the best horses could go right over the hill. One could see the buffalo in the distance here and there as they were coming up from the water to graze on the other side of the hill. Some of the Man-Going-Downstream Band decided to go eastward across Turkey Creek, even though the creek was muddy to cross, as there were many buffalo there and less hunters to attack them. The holy man, who had to remain still in order not to disturb the effect of his magic, sat at the base of the hill and waited. He could not go back to camp, since it would not be set up until the attack on the herd was over.

As soon as the signal was given, the hunters all rode to the chase. The herds were very scattered and had to be chased by men in small groups. In the past they chased the buffalo on foot and there was still a man, [147]
Charley Buffalo, who was such a fast runner that he could overtake a buffalo on foot and shoot him.

Now each hunter selected his own buffalo to chase, depending on his skill as a hunter and the speed of his horse. There was little value in trying to get more than one buffalo or at most two—though a good hunter could conceivably get more—as there was no help to be gotten with the butchering and he would not be able to haul in the extra meat in any case. A second animal might be consecrated to a sacred bundle, in which [778]
case as the hunter shot it he would say, "It is sacred!" The South Bands designated such a sacred animal by crossing its forelegs and tying them together as the animal lay on its back, then tying the hind legs, but the Skidi did not follow this practice. A man who had the misfortune to fall off his horse and could not get back on in time would be enlisted to help butcher and receive half an animal, although the ribs would not be given him at this time.

The chase was carefully timed to the habits of the buffalo. At this season the buffalo spent most of the time scattered about in the uplands [825]
where the buffalo grass was. (In winter they stayed closer together in the timber.) In the morning, the buffalo went down to the water and between ten-thirty and eleven o'clock they were back in the pasture grazing. At noon they were all sitting down resting and by evening had gone down to the water again before returning to the uplands.

The hunters usually lined up for the attack about ten-thirty in the morning and by eleven rode to the chase. Everywhere a cloud of dust would rise as they rushed forward except after a rain when big clods and mud would hit them in the face. They never hunted when it was [411]
actually raining, as the sinew bowstring stretched and was ineffectual when wet.

It was easy to tell which were the most desirable buffalo. Those with [825]
their bellies still swollen with water had been the last to get down to the

bands were busy restraining the hunters from anticipating the attack of 224*
the group. The herd was very widely scattered over the land and they 484*
were coming up from the river to graze. They could not manage the 625
usual surround, so the hunters dashed ahead over and around the several 628
hills that lay between them and the herd.

Meanwhile the line of march had been holding back, proceeding very slowly so that they would not interfere with the hunt itself. When the men had completed their attack on the herd, the encampment was set up in the angle of the confluence of Cedar Creek and the Solomon.

The hunt having been successful under the leadership of Chief Many 224*
Trophies, an old priest of the Downstream Band came walking through 793
the camps. He represented the tradition of the sacred bundle under 782
whose auspices the hunt had been conducted. He wore a war bonnet 778
with feathers all around his head, possibly symbolizing a comet, and
around his waist a buffalo robe that hung down about his legs. In his 628
right hand he held the sacred pipe and over his left arm he was carrying
some breast meat and some fat. All along the way men and boys from
the four bands were trailing after him.

When he stopped at the west of the encampment, everyone lined up. He placed the pipe against the meat and fat, then raised the latter up toward the west four times in offering. Just as he was about to put the meat and fat on the ground, the whole crowd pounced on it and tried to grab a piece of meat and fat to bless their homes. They grabbed from one another on all sides, with the little boys scampering out of the way for fear of getting hurt. The old man, meanwhile, picked up his pipe and went north around the camp to his own tent. The other two South Bands also had their special band bundles, the Asking-for-Meat Band had a very sacred Ant bundle, and the Little-Earth-Lodge Band, a Raccoon bundle.

from where they were camping. "That's what we want," they said, and 224*
sat down to smoke together. They went close and saw a big lake. When 484*
they got to the Post Hunt Camp 3, about four in the afternoon, they
went directly to the council tent and made their report. They said, "We
went about ten miles from here." "Well, sit down. Have you good news?"
"Yes, we have." "Errand man," said White Eagle, "go through the village
and call grandpa Angry Horse and the other men of the village. Have
them all come in. Three men came in with good news." After due ceremonies
and greetings from the chiefs and important men the leader of
the scouts described the place. He said, "The buffalo can't get away because
the lake is in a valley between two steep hills and they must come
for water." The older people recognize and know of the place. They refer
to it as *ru-ti-wa-tatar-ariks*, "there-it-hill-down-standing." Now White 224*
Eagle, realizing that they were all thinking about the two who were 484*
killed by the Sioux, said, "What happened we must stop thinking of. Remember 726
that we are still living. Here are these men. They have good
news for us, for our tribe and for our women and children. I hope we
will have no more such disasters. When a day comes and something like
that happens we can't help it. Sometimes you may be walking along and
just simply fall over. Remember, that's the way things are. But now we
are still living."

A message was sent to Curly Chief of the Kitkehaxki and the other 224*
Bands and the announcement made through the Skidi encampment. They
decided to attack the herd early in the morning at seven o'clock. Insofar
as they could, they would chase the buffalo toward the camp. Now people
were in a good mood and began to joke. They said that the three
scouts probably had "scared eyes," *ti-kiriki-tiruut*, "it is-eyes-frightened."
Perhaps they had seen *pakuts* grass and thought they were buffalo!

Early next morning they made the mass attack on the herd as planned.
Back at camp, some of them left ribs at the council tent. Among the
South Bands, when they leave ribs, they line up one behind the other
and say bird names. Here and there in the different tents where there
were sacred bundles someone would give consecrated meat and the
priest would be called in to perform the ceremony.

Some people left meat and ribs at the Society of Lucky Children, *Pira-kawaharu*, 575
"child-lucky." They have no sacred bundle. They simply sit [431]
and recount lucky events that have happened to them or to their predecessors [778]
from whom they had inherited their place. The headquarters
of this society was in the tent of Old-Lady-among-Queens, *Ts-tawi-ku*,
"woman-among-sits," signifying that she always associates with queens
or influential women. She had inherited the place from her grandmother.
The Old-Man-That-Chief also belonged, and he conducted the proceedings.
He tells of how the society came to be, though he says he only
surmises—doesn't really know. He says, "One might be thinking, 'Luck,

32

THE CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCE OF THE HARVEST

000

Holy Significance of the Mother Corn—Pawnee Logic of the Universe—Three Harvest Ceremonies—Green Corn Ceremony—Mature Corn Ceremony—Four-Pole Ceremony—Ceremonial Rituals Explained—Symbolic Significance

243 • 778 [126] To THE PAWNEE, the ear of corn was his daily food and also the object of his most profound reverence and worship. In every sacred bundle that represented the cosmic powers there were two ears of corn of an ancient breed, cultivated exclusively for its role as a holy object—their Mother Corn. The leader of a war party that went afoot far out onto the Plains to capture horses and booty wore an ear of sacred corn on his left shoulder so that Mother Corn might guide them to victory. It was an ear that had served in a sacred bundle for one year from harvest to harvest. The calumet expedition for peace and trade with another tribe, besides the two symbolic eagle-feathered pipes, carried an ear of sacred corn representing the universe. It was painted blue around its bottom half with four blue lines leading up toward the point representing the semicardinal-direction pathways of prayer to Heaven, while on the point of the corn stood a single white feather to represent Heaven itself.

Each sacred ear of corn in the sacred bundle was sewn into a skin cover: the ear for winter in a tanned buffalo skin, and that for summer 243 778 782 in a heart skin. At every meal the wife or sister of the chief in whose care the bundle was kept addressed each ear of corn by its own name to give thanks for the food they were about to enjoy. If it were buffalo meat they were having, she would point some of it toward the sacred bundle hanging at the west in order to give Mother Corn the first portion. When they ate corn it was of course not offered to her but the bowl of the spoon

243
was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the 778
altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo 782
might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could 772
not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of 221
alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic.
The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other
in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers
of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As [823]
these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their [778]
biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for
each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through
the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these
alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation
of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his
political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different 243
aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under 778
the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when
the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four [776]
semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression
of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity,
Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in 796
their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under 628
the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented [778]
the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all
together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-* [823]
Pole Ceremony—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken
together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony
warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was
safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial sym- 796
bolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant 778
"ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of 243
its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Eve- 243
ning Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the 778
priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to 793
settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four [533]
[535]

243 priests of the four direction bundles. They were representing the four
778 aspects of the primordial storm given by Heaven to the Evening Star to
793 assist her in the process of creation. The Evening Star priest also invited
a number of noted warriors and old men and had a quantity of green
corn cooked for their feast. The sacred bundle was opened and its pipe
[276] smoked and shared with the Evening Star and the other great western
[782] powers by pointing its mouthpiece toward the west and then in the same
way with the other celestial gods who took part in the ongoing of the
universe. The contents of the sacred bundle were passed through an
incense of burning sweet grass smoke, and an offering of the corn was
[574] made to the gods. Then the invited guests had their feast of green corn.
After the Evening Star bundle had completed its ritual, all other sacred
bundles followed suit, offering green corn to the bundles and having a
corn feast.

243 The main harvest ceremony which centered around the Mature Corn
was a continuation of the symbolic theme of the life cycle of Mother
778 Corn carried by the four semicardinal-direction bundles. Its connection
776 with the progression of the seasons was also part of the ritual pattern.

[793] In the spring, after the Evening Star priest had performed the creation ritual for the renewal of all things, the four direction priests began their ritual cycle in anticipation of the planting time by a ceremonial distribution of the seeds of the sacred corn to the twelve owners of the sacred bundles whose wives planted them in special hills in the fields. Pursuing the theme of seasonal succession, the four sacred bundles of the group took charge of their ritual in turn. For the winter season, a North bundle was in charge. At the ceremony when the sacred seeds were distributed, the North bundle gave over its sacred mission to one of the South bundles of the group. A number of cornstalks symbolized this transfer of power, and these were now handed from the North to the South bundle. After the ground-breaking ceremony which belonged to a different cult (Skull bundle—Evening Star), the second ceremony of the Four Direction series concerning the Mother Corn was carried out. In this case the birth, infancy, and adolescence of Mother Corn were symbolized by uprooting the new little shoots of the sacred corn plants and providing one of them with a shaft on which a mouth and windpipe were painted to represent its life. The Young Mother Corn had carried them through the summer attached to the outside of the sacred bundle. Now the maturing Mother Corn had attained her full power to look after the people. The ceremony of the Mature Corn represented her installation to this office. It was also the occasion when the four-direction-bundle group shifted the ceremonial prerogative from the South bundle to the North bundle for the forthcoming winter. Some of the cornstalks of the sacred corn from the current harvest were given to this bundle to signify its mission. In addition to the principle of the succession of winter and sum-

mer seasons followed by the four-direction-bundle group, another principle of alternation of powers was carried through as a means of assuring complete cosmic protection. This was the alternation of the powers of the western and of the eastern skies in successive years. There was, therefore, a fourfold alternation of bundles in the four-direction-bundle group over a cycle of two years: North*west*-South*west* in one year, and North*east*-South*east* in the subsequent year. The west and east each dominated a year, while north and south moved in half-year seasonal cycles for winter and summer. 243 778 776

As they were returning from the summer buffalo hunt when they had gotten about half way home, the priest of the summer direction bundle had sent a young man to the sacred corn hill to make an offering to it of buffalo tongue and heart meat. He pressed alternately into the corn hill a strip of tongue and a strip of heart in the four semicardinal directions. [793] [782]

Now with the harvest in, the priest asked his wife to clear out their earth lodge so that the ceremony for the Mature Mother Corn could be held. The women removed all the beds and other furniture and swept it out well, and the priest took down the sacred bundle from where it had been hanging at the west and placed it on the altar. Before dawn he sent four men to the sacred corn hill in the fields to bring in four stalks of the holy corn with the ears still on them. In the course of the ceremony, these would replace the old Mother Corn ears in the sacred bundles. In this way the sacred bundles always contained some fertile seeds. 243 778 776 793

The priest now invited a number of other people to participate. He called the other four high priests—his three colleagues of the four-direction-bundle group and the Evening Star priest. He also called in the holy man who had taken office when the sacred seeds were distributed in the spring and who had lived under severe taboos from which he would only now be released. All summer while they were on the march, this holy man had been living under the watchful eye of the priest. Also invited was the young woman who had contributed milk from her breasts at the ceremony of the Young Corn Plant in order to symbolize conception and the other owners of the sacred bundles.

When everyone was assembled, all went down to the camps where the women had piled their mature corn and other crops. The priest announced that Mother Corn was about to be installed and asked them to bring their harvest offerings. They came with their best ears of corn, and as the women entered the ceremonial lodge they put the corn on the north side in piles according to the color. Any of the ears that had the male spike at the tip, a feature that was regularly found in the holy corn, might be included in the sacred bundle in the course of the ceremony that was to follow. The women also brought beans and squash for the 243 778 776 793 782

243 778 776 793 [782] harvest offering. Then the women left the lodge and the ceremony was carried on entirely by the men. Now a man was sent to the sacred corn hill to uproot any stalks that remained there with the ears still on them. They were tied to the northwest post of the lodge, which symbolized the Garden of the Gods. When the new winter direction priest was installed at the end of the proceedings, he would receive these as a sign of his office.

[822] [533] The priest was now ready to conduct the ceremony. He sat at the west with his bundle open before him. He put aside the stick with the Young Mother Corn Plant tied to it that they had made in the spring and the two sacred ears in their respective wrappings. He also had before him the four new sacred ears that were brought in that morning. The new sacred ears had been cut with the first section of the stem left on to symbolize the windpipe and the voice of the Mother Corn which was the "breath of life." After singing four songs mentioning the different colors, black, red, yellow, and white for the semicardinal directions, he sang a fifth song and cut off the stem. Then he sang another song welcoming the new Mother Corn. He embraced the new ear, passing it to the other priests who were sitting to the south and to the north of him, and then passed it down the south side and then the north of the lodge, everyone in turn embracing the new Mother Corn. When the ear was returned to the priest, he sang a seventh song stating that the voice of the corn was raised to the heavens.

[782] At the close of the songs, the pipe was filled and the mouthpiece pointed toward Mother Corn as an offering to share in the smoking. Then the ear was passed to the people on each side of the lodge and each person blew his breath on it four times, symbolizing its new life in the world.

The next symbolic act was to concentrate all the power in the world into Mother Corn herself. The priest took a buffalo-hair rope about a yard long from his sacred bundle. It was said to have been made of "hair from beneath the waters." Taking one of the new Mother Corn ears in each hand, he knelt before the altar holding the ends of the rope against the ears. Then moving his hands, he made the rope circle around into a loop to represent the horizon as it had circled out from the gods in the west during the original creation. He now made movements as if he were throwing the rope over objects and drawing them to his breast. This was spoken of as "trapping the powers of the Heavens" for Mother Corn and all the sacred objects.

The ears of sacred corn whose "lives had been ended" were now given over to a distinguished warrior, who would carry them on the warpath to guide him to success, or to the entrepreneur of the Peace Pipe Ceremony, who would carry them on his expedition to give him success in trade and international relations.

With the installation of the New Mother Corn accomplished, steps 243
were taken to shift the cosmic power to the North Direction bundle for 778
the winter. The priest announced that the change was at hand, went to 793
the northwest house post, and took down the sacred stalks that were tied there, giving them to the chief who was in charge of the newly appointed North Direction bundle. He addressed the chief briefly upon the import of the procedure and formally charged him with the office. The new chief replaced the stalks on the post and then divided the harvest offerings that the women had brought among the chiefs and priests present at the ceremony.

Following this ceremony, all the sacred bundles changed their ears of
Mother Corn for those of the new harvest. This ceremony was conducted [782]
very simply in each case, the usual smoke and meat offerings being made to the appropriate powers and a feast shared. In all the sacred bundles the pipe was turned so that when the bundle hung on the west wall of the house over the altar the mouthpiece of the pipe would be pointing north, so that the winter powers located in that direction could smoke.

The Pawnee year opened in the spring with a ceremony celebrating 796
the creation of the universe and within it the uniting of all the people 619
under one religion and society. Now as the harvest was done, a closing ceremony commemorated their unity and the common defense of their land. The four house posts in the semicardinal positions symbolized the
entire world and its peoples. It was under the aegis of the Skull bundle [778]
of the Wonderful Person and its four special ministers.

The setting for the ceremony was a special circular structure—a low 796
circular embankment opening to the east. First the priests marked out 346
the circle with a compass consisting of two sticks with a long string between; they also marked out the fireplace in the center in the same way. The fireplace was 3 feet in diameter and the excavated earth from it was dumped outside the east entrance to form a small mound. They dug four holes about a foot deep in the semicardinal positions within the circle to receive the posts that would be planted later on. All around the inside of the circular embankment saplings were set up in the ground, forming a screen that shaded the participants as they sat around during the ceremony. The chiefs who were the owners of the sacred bundles sat along the north and along the south side of the circle, each representing one of the villages that was a member of the original federation. Most of them sat on the north side, as the original villages were mainly on the Loup River, only one having come from the Platte to the south. At the west sat the keepers of the four direction bundles as they had originally come from Old Village in the west.

The ceremony itself comprised two major episodes. One was the getting 796
of the four poles, a war party setting out in a different direction for

their way and touched the tree as if it were an enemy, claiming war honors and stating that they were entering the territory of the enemy. Then they brought it inside. 796

While the war parties were out, the priests had prepared the postholes. In each they placed a cake of buffalo fat sprinkled with some tobacco, the fat representing the earth and the tobacco the people. A similar cake of fat sprinkled with tobacco was placed in the center of the fireplace. These cakes were then taken outside and buried under the little mound outside to the east of the enclosure.

As each war party came in with its pole, the priest of that semicardinal-direction bundle offered it the pipe to smoke and sang the song ritual while the warrior danced four times and planted the tree in the posthole. All the branches had been trimmed from the posts except the very top ones. The priests sang songs referring to the appropriate colors connected with the semicardinal directions and each post was painted its proper color. [782] [533]

The next phase of the ceremony was considered its most vital part. The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person now recited certain acts of the creation by Heaven. The skull, fastened to a stick, was costumed to represent Heaven as in the first episode of the ground-breaking (*awari*), ceremony in the spring. The paraphernalia for decorating the skull, including the paints, was kept inside the bundle in a bladder bag when not in use. 796 778

Another symbolic object was a wooden bowl filled with water to represent a primordial pond or the waters in general. In the water was a shell to represent running water and the continuity of life. On the shell was placed the jaw of a gar pike, the head of a (thunder?) bird and the image of a turtle, all symbolizing the denizens of the water and the rains. The skull rested to the west, and to the east of it the bowl of water with the objects connected by a framework of sticks on which the turtle was placed with a clamshell over his middle. There were four smooth stones that were either meteorites or buffalo maw stones which came from the sacred bundle of the former Village Partly-on-a-Hill. The turtle and the shell were from the Southwest Direction bundle. The four smooth stones stood for the four quarters of the world.

The chief who had charge of the Skull bundle now stood up with the skull in his hands and, facing the bowl, recited the acts of the creation that had been performed by Heaven. The main part of the ceremony was now complete.

During the following night there were additional dramatic acts. Certain doctors appeared dressed in the skins of bears, loons, wildcats, and wolves, each connected with one of the four semicardinal directions. During the creation, as the Morning Star went out to conquer the Evening Star, he had to overcome each of these primordial animals who were 796 [756]

C

796 also aspects of the storm and who guarded her domain. They thus symbolized all war and conquest. Dressed in these skins, the doctors charged about the camp, symbolically fighting the people.

[793] [778] The final act of the priests was the "opening of the road to the enemies' country and to the buffalo." The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle danced with the skull and made certain movements with the skull in the four directions in turn as the priests sang the appropriate songs. Then with loud shouting the people joined in the dance. The way was now ceremonially open for war parties to set out and for the chiefs to make plans for the tribal migration and buffalo hunt for the winter season.

Now everyone moved back into their houses, stored their crops and buffalo meat from the summer hunt, and awaited the time they had all been looking forward to for so long—the thirty-day Grand Opera of the Wild Animal Cults that would be put on by the Doctors' Association. But first the crops and meat had to be stored in the food pit and everything connected with the harvest put in good order.

brought. She yelled, "Take that away!" "He's all right," said Fox 756
Chief, "You people are foolish." "But he'll bite someone if you set him free in the village," said his wife. "No, he knows we live here. He'll go straight off to that rocky place over there." Then he released the snake and the snake went directly away without disturbing anyone. And so I lost my chance to learn—by not believing.

This story, told in Oklahoma in 1936, sixty years later, was sincerely believed.

With this confident knowledge of the herbs and roots connected with 756
it, the doctors did cure the sick, combining what must have been some 755
empirical observation of physical efficacy with personal influence and
suggestion. It was this latter aspect that was the subject of their ceremony [796]
at this time and an affirmation of their faith in their calling.

Last of all they had to get the cedar tree that would stand just outside 756
the Bear Booth to the west of its entrance. The bear and the cedar were 796
associated together, and both belonged to the northeast direction. 824
Their celestial affiliation was with the sun and moon. All the trees that
were used in setting up the Doctor Lodge were brought in with a great
deal of ceremony. The six cottonwood trees that had been used to build [778]
the animal booths symbolized the beaver, and the waters and were consecrated
accordingly. To get the cedar, twenty doctors set out before
sunrise for the Loup River where the cedar tree had been located the day
before. The leader of the party carried a bearhide rattle. [534]

On the return journey, they stopped halfway and practiced hypnotism 756
on one another. The doctors who had remained behind in the lodge would 796
try to prevent the incoming party from entering the village. One of the doctors was stationed at the top of the lodge to sight them as they were returning. The incoming party stopped in the timber and painted themselves so that they could rehearse in order to "put on a good show for the people of the village." They were sighted approaching from the southwest by the doctors in the lodge who went south through the village to meet them as they were about to enter and managed hypnotically to drive them back. The leader of the incoming party was sounding his bearhide rattle and the people climbed onto the roofs of their lodges to watch. The approaching party dropped the cedar, and, in their hypnotized condition some began to impersonate wolves, some deer, all imitating the motions of the different animals. As they came, one of the deer tumbled over, and the wolves tumbled on their noses and lay there kicking. Then they got up looked around dazed as they recovered from their trance. People came and threw offerings of calico and black handkerchiefs on the cedar tree as it lay on the ground.

Inside the lodge, Big Doctor stood ready to receive the cedar tree [824]
which was ceremonially treated and set down east of the fireplace while

him around a little bit." "Oh, I got on him like a horse. He's a good runner." 756 796 536

By this time the Bear leader, Angry Horse, was all crumpled up and quieted down. Standing at the west of the fireplace facing east, he warmed his rock over the fire and then went to his seat near the Bear Booth at the northeast of the Doctor Lodge. There he removed his whole costume, including the cedar wreath, leaving only his blackened face. Now the two ex-Bears, Man Chief and Fox Chief, also came out of the booth without their Bear costumes. Man Chief went to the north of the fireplace, extending his right hand over the fire, then putting it on top of his head. Then he did the same with his left hand. He went through the same procedure with his abdomen and also his knees as he stood up. At the south of the fireplace, Fox Chief did the same thing. Now both men returned to their Bear Booth, Man Chief directly from his station at the north and Fox Chief from his south station around the west and north.

This was the closing act of the whole show, and now Big Doctor made his final address to them all. He said, "Now spectators, young men, women, now you have seen, during these several nights, this, 'our playing.' Young men, tribespeople, now I am through with this playing of ours." (He included the audience as well as the doctors in his statement, expressed through the grammatical first person, plural inclusive form, *ti-wi-rikuhuritsa-witsat,* "this-now-it us all-complete." He thus acknowledged the help of the spectators in examining the paraphernalia when offered to them to affirm that they were authentic.) "Now that's all." This was the signal for all spectators to leave.

That night the doctors would take the first step toward dismantling the ceremonial appointments of the lodge. Each of the doctors would bundle up the sacred objects he had used in carrying out his performance and wrap them in a skin cover to form a long-shaped bundle. These must be taken to their respective homes that evening. The four doctors at the west would wrap up everything pertaining to the Doctor Lodge in general—the loons and other birds, etc. That night only the four leading doctors would remain in the lodge, sending home their bundles with the errand men. 756 796 346 778

Very early next morning all the doctors would return so that they could remove and dismantle all the special ceremonial figures and structures they had built. Insofar as possible these would be carried intact to the water where they would be deposited in a certain position, approximating their position in the ceremonial lodge. The serpent figure, the witch woman, and the cedar would be carried out as they were and the sticks of the booths used to make them into a booth in the bottom of the creek. While the Bear ceremony was going on, some men had been delegated to find a suitable place for this. 756 796 778 532

42

DISMANTLING THE CEREMONIAL DOCTOR LODGE

000 *Ceremonial Objects Are Dismantled—All Things Carried to Creek—Serpent Placed in Water within Curved Fence—an Additional Hypnotic Contest—a Banquet Given—the Final Details Settled*

756 THE FINAL PHASE of the Doctor Lodge was the removal of the figures
796 they had built and the animal booths. All these things had to be deposited
• 778 at the bottom of Beaver Creek in an appropriate order and fastened in
532 place. It took about a hundred people, including the sixty doctors, to do
this work. For the final banquet that they would share, they used six or
seven containers of dried buffalo meat and an equal number of buckets of
corn.

The night before, while the Bear ceremonial had been going on, a number of men were sent to choose the place in Beaver Creek where they would set up their things.

756 During the ceremony and as the figures were being carried out, people
796 offered them gifts. These were placed in the water with the figures.
778 Once, while the performance was going on, a woman made up her mind
431 to give a gift to the serpent on behalf of her son. She took a piece of calico
532 and as she entered the lodge, opened up the cloth and dragged it across the
floor, placing it on the inside of the serpent's neck. The errand man
came over and took the calico to one of the four doctors at the west. The
doctor set the material aside and came directly to where the woman was
standing, walking along the outside of the serpent and jumping over it to
where the woman was standing. Now he said, "You have a boy. Maybe
someday he will grow up to be a big man and everybody will notice
him." The woman left and the doctor returned to his seat.

Dismantling the Ceremonial Doctor Lodge

When the doctors got in that morning, they detached the figures so that 756
they could be carried to the water. The serpent went first. It was simply 796
pegged to the ground and was freed by pulling up the pegs. The men 778
ranged themselves along both sides of the 60-foot length—the head being 532
pointed conveniently southeast toward the exit. The men waited, ready to lift it up when the signal was given. The witch woman was lifted up and set down on a spread of tanned hide so that they could carry her out on it. The turtle that had been modeled on the fireplace, was crumbled up and also placed on a skin spread.

It took a lot of men to carry out the cedar gently, as it was loaded with 756
gifts that had been placed on it when it was first brought into the lodge. 796
The birds and cutouts suspended from the rafters were left there, because 778
they did not belong in the water. After everything else had been de- [431]
tached, the sticks of the animal booths had to be uprooted, and any woman that wanted to help would carry these things out.

Now the process got under way with the four main doctors leading. Most of the men were dressed only in their breechcloths, although some doctors were foolish enough to wear their buffalo robes and to carry their eagle-wing fans despite the strenuous work they had to do. They made two stops along the way to rest—one about halfway toward their destination and then another one further along. The four doctors had gone ahead and were already in the water, building, out of sticks from the doctor booths standing upright in the bed of the creek, a kind of curved fence open at the east. This was the beginning of a whole structure that would enclose all the objects.

As the serpent lay along the shore waiting to be deposited in the water, 756
people came up and made offerings to it. One person who hoped for long 796
life said, "I give you this. I hope to see you this way a year from now." 778
A mother, giving a gift on behalf of her son said, "I hope to see my boy 532
grow up and be a great man." A mother hoped her two daughters would
grow up to be married and have many children. Each girl carried a gift of [431]
calico to give and the mother said, "You, serpent, are going to rest here under the water. I want my children to grow up and have many children when they get married." Some people thought the serpent should be identified as a whale and some as an alligator. The latter seems the more likely from the word for it, "dry-tongue." The forked tail somewhat interferes with this latter identification. In this instance the mother was thinking of the fecundity of fish who have many eggs which hatch in large numbers.

Now they placed the serpent in the water, its head resting inside the curved fence the doctors had prepared. The head was pointing upstream (westward) the direction in which all the fish swim. The body extended eastward or downstream. Everyone got into the water and pegged the ser- [431]
pent and its various gifts to the bed of the stream. All the gifts of goods—

756 calico, shawls, and blankets—were also fastened to the bottom. The
796 whole thing was encased in a wicker frame of willows under the water.
[778] The stakes from the doctor booths were stuck all along the sides of the
[532] serpent and bent over across it and interlaced at the top.

[931] Now that the objects were all in the water, the people stepped aside to permit the doctors to engage in one more hypnotic contest. One after the other, as they stood by the water, they caused one another to fall in.

756 Then the whole group of doctors and any others who had given them
796 assistance repaired to the Doctor Lodge for the banquet. The lodge was
574 empty and they could make a big circle sitting close to the outside walls. The groups of doctors were ranged in from the west. Beyond them along the sides were the general public who had helped them. And last of all to the east were the chiefs, two each from the four Skidi villages. Furthest toward the door of the guests, were two old men, That-Chief at the southeast and Good Land at the northeast. Finally there was one errand man stationed at each side of the entrance. As they were assembled there, some of the people expressed regret that the whole thing was over, for they had had such a good time.

It took eight people to prepare and serve the meal including the two regular errand men. Each of these was provided with an assistant to do the cooking and serving. They had to borrow two of the largest brass kettles they could get, and after they got the water they put in the meat and set them to boil, one at the northeast and one at the southeast of the fire. While the meat was cooking, the donated corn was served after the appropriate offerings had been made, then soup and then the meat. Extra large pieces were set aside for the guests of honor and one for "the house" —that is, for Sitting Hawk's wife to whom the lodge belonged.

[521] During the meal the doctors made conversation about the happenings of the morning—about what had occurred at the river, and so forth. Then Big Doctor made his closing speech, addressing them all. He said, "Now young doctors, doctors, and all members of the Doctor Lodge and the animals that we have imitated here, and you chiefs sitting here watching over your people, and Heaven that has taken pity on us so that we could successfully complete our performance, and you head doctors here who have helped carry out our performance, now we have had our feast—now the Doctor Lodge is over."

A number of business details remained to be attended to. The head doctors had to apportion the meat that they had kept for the final arrangements. The owners of the house would have to fill in all the holes and set up the beds and then entertain the members of the families among whom they had been staying while the lodge was in session. They would need a quantity of dried meat for this. What was left would be divided

61

THE COUNCIL TENT

000

Ceremonial Observances of the Hunt—the Meat Is Delivered—a More Informal Procedure Than the Summer Hunt—Police Chosen—Four Official Scouts Chosen Also—the Hunt

*224 • 778 [625] EVERYONE KNEW THAT the council tent would be set up at Turkey Creek while the men were out attacking the herd, and that that evening the special police would be appointed to take charge during the subsequent attacks. During the summer, with White Eagle in the lead, the hunt had been conducted under the religious sponsorship of his left hand bundle, whose tradition was a special form of the creation legend. The present hunt was being carried on under the auspices of the Evening Star and its sacred bundle, which was also known as Yellow Calf. Its tradition was the official creation legend of the Skidi Federation. The "keeper" of this [794] bundle was Old Lady Lucky Leader of Pumpkin-Vine Village and she was assisted by her son, Frank Leader (also known as Dog-at-the-West), and her son-in-law, Roaming Leader. The old lady had built a particu- [344] larly large tent but even then only about thirty could gather in there at a time.

*224 793 As soon as the tent was set up and while the men were still off chasing the herd, the five priests came in and sat down at the west. Due west was Heavy Trophies, the head priest. To his left on the north side were Pipe Offering and Bringing Horses. To his right on the south side were Angry Horse and then Wonderful Old Bull.

*224 793 869 On this occasion, Bringing Horses was sitting as an apprentice priest. From time to time the head priest would say, "If there is anyone in this room who wants to learn, he should come closer and sit with us. It is necessary that someone should do this as we are likely to die at any time. We are old and after we die, the world will go on and on and this is the word of Heaven and should be carried on after we are gone. Anyone

*224 264 They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four sets.

*224 623 628 The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates from the villages.

*224 623 793 [701] [625] • [778] The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening Star bundle.

*224 623 628 793 [625] [574] [264] Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill. Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief. The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief, who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

*224 623 625 574 [293] The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head policeman War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

*224 623 562 [251] Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

*224 [793] [825] The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican. When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of

They had made two killings already and still the buffalo were coming. 224*
Eagle Chief stated that the next day they would not go out, but simply 623
keep an eye on the herd as there was so much meat in the camp that they [251]
had to give it a chance to dry. He also mentioned that the hides should
be treated and thinned down. Some of the old men remarked that this [281]
was a good time to make bone grease by boiling the bones and skimming [252]
off the fat as there were lots of bones about at this time and the grease
would harden easily in the cold weather. Almost all the old women in
camp would busy themselves with this work, storing the grease in a [251]
paunch. Some would make dried intestines and dried and braided strips of
stomach (*pararitskusu*).

They made five killings while they were camped at Many Deer and 224*
along with the killing at Turkey Creek, they felt that this was enough and they should turn toward home. They had made killings almost every other day and stayed about fifteen days. Victory Call killed six in all and Horse Rider five.

Now that they were considering turning back, they must decide what 224*
donations of buffalo meat were to be pledged for the sacred bundle cer- 431
emonies in the spring. Each sacred bundle must have at least one *rara-* 796
buru, a parfleche containing the dried meat of a whole buffalo. The dif- 778
ferent doctor cults also needed pledges of meat for their spring renewal
rites, but they simply needed backbone steaks. For example, the two [756]
leaders of the Bear Cult reserved two steaks for their cult. Victory Call set aside one steak for his Deer or Whistle Dance and one for the Bear Cult.

There were twelve major sacred bundles, each of which had to be pro- 224*
vided for with a parfleche of dried meat. The Evening Star bundle 431
owned by Old Lady Lucky Leader would be provided for by her son 778
Frank Leader in some years, and by her son-in-law Roaming Leader in others, according to the circumstances of the kill on a particular hunt. Lone Chief and Shot Arm alternated in this way for the Morning Star bundle. War Cry and his younger brother Brave Shield alternated in supplying the meat for War Cry's war bundle (*karaxkata karusu*) that had been derived from the Evening Star bundle, etc.

Everyone was interested in the news of how the donations had gone and Eagle Chief sent out his errand man Know-His-Face to find out at the different tipis where the sacred bundles were kept.

Sometimes a man couldn't manage to get a good buffalo for his bundle. He approached a man who had just killed a fat cow and said, "I want you to take pity on me. I have a sacred bundle and I want to make *rara-buru* [a parfleche of meat]." "Go ahead, take it," said the hunter, and went off, leaving the bundle owner to butcher the sacred buffalo himself. When he got home with the meat he told his wife, "*ra-waruksti-ti*" ("one

*224 431 •778 that is-sacred-it is"). Then she would know that it is to be preserved, but not eaten by the family—except possibly only some very inferior part like the leg.

One of the main sacred bundles was owned by Misery—the Elk (*Arikariki*) bundle—and some of his friends were concerned since he had remained on Grand Island and they thought he might not get the necessary buffalo meat to hold the ceremony. There were three of them and Bringing Horses who had a good horse agreed to get the necessary buffalo for the purpose. He and the two other friends, Running Scout and Blue Hawk, made up their minds to ride together back to Grand Island as soon as possible to reassure Misery that his Elk bundle was taken [484] care of. Such a group of three men could arrive at Grand Island in a day from their camp on the Republican while it took the pack train at least seven days to get there. The men would take a diagonal course across the country and avoid stopping at Fort Kearney, but it was still a strenuous journey and took a whole day of hard fast riding until evening. When they came to ride downhill crossing the hills, they had to proceed cautiously as the ground was slippery.

Hearing of their plans, Eagle Chief wanted to send a message to Sitting Hawk, one of the main chiefs who had remained on the island. He delegated Running Scout who was one of the three men, to carry back the news. He especially stated that "with the consecrated meat, it is this way: there are twelve parfleches, one for each sacred bundle." When the three men arrived at Grand Island that night they went straight to Sitting Hawk's tipi. As the three men came in one after another, Misery, Sitting Hawk's son, was surprised. He said, "Kira, what's up?" "Well, we started from this side of Many Deer early this morning and just got here tonight." As soon as he heard this, Advance Scout went through the camp calling out, "The three hunters (*parisu*) are here. There is lots of meat. There are twelve consecrated parfleches for the sacred bundles."

Notes and Comments

5, 79 James R. Murie, 1914, pp. 550-551, lists the names of thirteen villages, each of which he states had a sacred bundle, excepting the thirteenth, *Turawiu*, which was part of a village. The village names are:

361
103
778
/631

1) *Turikaku* (Center Village), Evening Star bundle
2) *Kitkehaxpakuxtu* (Old Village), the four semicardinal direction bundles
3) *Tuhitspiat* (Stretching-Out-in-the-Bottomlands)
4) *Tukitskita* (Village-on-Branch-of-a-River)
5) *Tuwahukasa* (Village-Stretching-across-a-Hill), the Morning Star bundle (This bundle was divided into two.)
6) *Arikararikutsu* (Big-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
7) *Arikarariki* (Small-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
8) *Tuhutsaku* (Village-in-a-Ravine), the left hand bundle (All use left hands in the ceremony.)
9) *Tuwarakaku* (Village-in-Thick-Timber)
10) *Akapaxtsawa* (Buffalo-Skull-Painted-on-Tipi), Black Star bundle
11) *Tskisarikus* (Fish-Hawk) (Bundle buried with White Hawk.)
12) *Tstiks-kaatit* (Black-Ear-of-Corn), meaning corn-black
13) *Turawiu*, part of a village.

These were the known member villages of the Skidi political federation. According to tradition, two villages did not join—Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine) and Tskirirara (Wolf-Standing-in-Water). These two villages survived into the time of our narrative together with only two of the other thirteen, numbers 3 and 5, Tuhitspiat and Tuwahukasa. Tu- is the prefix signifying village or settlement; eight of Murie's thirteen are village names, seven of them beginning with this prefix and indicating a location, the eighth, number 2, meaning Old-Earth-Lodge Village. Four are animal names, and one, a corn name. [193]

5 In the article by Levy and Fallers, 1959, the authors comment on departures from our working model of the "nuclear" or "biological" family, questioning whether it is in fact as basic as we assume. I suggest that our working model of family life stems from the Adam and Eve story and that of the Pawnee from their interpretation of the cosmos and the nature of human life which derives from it. This fundamental difference in our viewpoints does not depend on an ignorance on the part of the Pawnees of the basic fact of physiological paternity. They believed that conception took place as a result of the combination of a male and a female substance similar to egg white in consistency—red in the case of the female and white in that of the male.

114
842

52 The "worm" love song adapted from Dunbar, 1881, p. 745 000

778 126 80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwirutsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

787 80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 24, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of supernatural beings." The Pawnee made a clear distinction between 787 828 hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination. An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

775 534 80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

773 171 83 Compare in Whorf, 1929, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 752, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four 80-81 Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of [821] course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

TENTH RITUAL. THE DAWN

PART I. THE BIRTH OF DAWN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the night draws to a close, the Ku'rahus orders the server to lift the skins which hang at the outer and inner doors of the long passageway of the lodge, and to go outside and watch for the first glimmer of light. 796*

The Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief, sitting behind the Hako, where they lie at rest, look toward the east through the open doorway and watch for the first signs of the dawn.

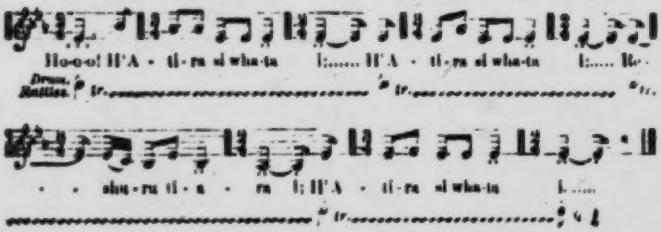
At the first indication of a change, when the air begins to stir, the server comes in with the tidings, and we rise, take up the Hako, and stand at the west, behind the holy place; there, looking toward the east, we sing this song. We sing it slowly and with reverent feeling, for it speaks of the mysterious and powerful act of Tira'wa atius in the birth of Dawn. [781] ●

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

539*
796*
[533*]


Ho-o-o! H'A - ti - ra si wha-ta i;...... H'A - ti - ra si wha-ta i;..... Re -
Drum, Rattles. tr. tr. tr.
- - shu - ru ti - a - ra i; H'A - ti - ra si wha-ta i.....
tr.

I

538 Ho-o-o!
539 H'Atira si whata i;
540 H'Atira si whata i;
541 Reshuru tiara i;
542 H'Atira si whata i.

II

543 Ho-o-o!
544 H'Atira ta wata i;
545 H'Atira ta wata i;
546 Reshuru tiara i;
547 H'Atira ta wata i.

III

548 Ho-o-o!
549 H'Kawas si whata i;
550 H'Kawas si whata i;
551 Reshuru tiara i;
552 H'Kawas si whata i.

IV

553 Ho-o-o!
554 H'Kawas ta wata i;
555 H'Kawas ta wata i;
556 Reshuru tiara i;
557 H'Kawas ta wata i.

V

558 Ho-o-o!
559 Kawas ti waku ka riki;
560 Kawas ti waku ka riki;
561 Reshuru tiara i;
562 Kawas ti waku ka riki;

VI

563 Ho-o-o!
564 We tatichiri wak ka riki;
565 We tatichiri wak ka riki;
566 Reshuru tiara i;
567 We tatichiri wak ka riki.

539*
796*

918 See line 917.
919 Kaksha hosha wiki rira. See line 917.
920 See line 917.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza tells us that the noise made by the people as they gather together on the morning of the fifth day for the presentation of gifts to the Fathers is like the coming of a great flock of birds. The people move like the birds; they do not come in a straight line to the lodge of the Son, but they come from this side and from that just as the birds gather together in a flock.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

921 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
922 Wetu kaksha hosha wiki rira.
  wetu, it has.
  kaksha, a tumultuous noise.
  hosha, flock.
  wiki, manner of approach. See line 897.
  rira, coming.
923 See line 922.
924 Kaksha hosha wiki rira. See line 922.
925 See line 922.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the people approach the lodge they make a great noise. All is bustle; the neighing ponies to be given to the Fathers are brought forward, and the people are calling to one another; there is the singing of songs and the shouts of pleasure; all these sounds mingling make a noise like distant thunder. This stanza refers to this joyous tumult. 152

Just before I came on to Washington I performed this ceremony, and now as I sit here and tell you about the meaning of this song, I can hear the happy shouts of the people as I heard them some weeks ago. Their voices seemed to come from everywhere! Their hearts were joyful. I am glad, as I remember that day. We are always happy when we are with the Hako. 115 781

PART II. THE SIXTEEN CIRCUITS OF THE LODGE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The last act of the last night is the making of four times four circuits of the lodge.

I have told you that the four circuits of the lodge which we have been making are in recognition of the four paths down which the lesser powers descend to man. We have been asking for help from these powers and so we have remembered the paths down which they

Translation

*539 1297 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation to the song.

*796 1298 H'I re ra!

h', the symbol of breath; breathing forth life.

I, a part of the word Tira'wa, the mighty power above.

re, is.

ra, coming. The word as here used conveys the idea of coming from a great distance.

1299 See line 1298.

1300 Pira uta hao!

pira, a part of the word pirao, child, a general term.

uta, a part of the word kuta, possessed by or belonging to some one other than the speaker.

hao, offspring.

1301 Pira uta, uta hao! See line 1300.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 ● 781 When I sing this song I pray to Tira'wa to come down and touch with his breath the symbol of his face and all the other symbols on the little child. I pray with all my spirit that Tira'wa atius will let the child grow up and become strong and find favor in its life.

782 This is a very solemn act, because we believe that Tira'wa atius, although not seen by us, sends down his breath as we pray, calling on him to come.

As I sing this song here with you I can not help shedding tears. I have never sung it before except as I stood looking upon the little child and praying for it in my heart. There is no little child here, but you are here writing all these things down that they may not be lost and that our children may know what their fathers believed and practiced in this ceremony. So, as I sing, I am calling to Tira'wa atius to send down his breath upon you, to give you strength and long life. I am praying for you with all my spirit.

This song is sung eight times.

*539 *796 As we sing it first we bow above the little child, and make a movement as if to touch it with the feathered stems and the ear of corn. The second time we sing it we again bow low over the child and the chief touches it on the forehead with the ear of corn, while the Ku'rahus and his assistant stroke it on each side with the feathered stems. We then pass to the south, to the right side of the child, and sing for the third and the fourth time. The first time we make the motion of touching the child, the second time the chief touches its head with the ear of corn, and the feathered stems are passed down its sides. Then we go west to the back of the child and there sing for the fifth and sixth times, making the same motions and again touching it. Then we go north, to the left of the child, and sing for the

*796 The stars were shining when the Children were again seated in the lodge. The wood was piled upon the fire, and as the flames leaped high, the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief arose from behind the holy place and took up the Hako. Among the Omahas this act was [171] accompanied by a song referring to the eagle rising from its nest, which the movements of the feathered stems vividly pictured. The Pawnees had no such songs, and the Hako were taken up without any symbolic movements.

787 In the song belonging to this first night, the visions that "attend the Hako" were invoked.

*796 According to the explanations of the Ku'rahus, these visions resembled dreams, inasmuch as they often came during sleep, but they also appeared when the dreamer was awake. They might be called revelations, which served either to strengthen a purpose or to suggest means by which a plan could be carried out to insure success to some cherished project. Through such visions, we are told, the manner of procedure of the ceremony had been taught and its details prefigured, details which were afterward carefully followed so as to conform to what was regarded as a supernaturally given model.

*539 787 *796 The birds, the animals, and the products of the earth represented on the Hako communicated with man by visions. In the song of invocation these visions are personified. They hear the summons in their dwelling place above; they descend and pass over the quiet earth, making their way to the door of the lodge, where they pause; they cross the threshold and "walk within"; they move around and fill the space, touching all the people; this accomplished, they "walk away" and ascend to their abode on high.

We note that the visions follow the same sequence of movements that the Hako party followed in entering the lodge; they pause at the door, then enter and "walk within"; they move about and touch the people in prefiguration of the bestowal of gifts promised through the ceremony.

[*533] This song was quite impressive, sung as the writer heard it by a hundred or more voices. The Ku'rahus and his assistants, as they moved around the lodge, were followed by the choir, singers bearing the drum, and the song was taken up by all the people—men, women, and children—until the lodge vibrated with the sonorous melody. At the close of the fourth stanza the Hako were laid at rest with the songs belonging to that act; the eagle had gone to her nest, leaving the space clear for the mystic visitors, the visions, who now walked within the lodge. After a time the Hako were again taken up and the last four stanzas were sung; then the eagle once more alighted upon her nest, the visions had departed, they had "touched" the Children, and, as the Ku'rahus said, "the people could now go home to have pleasant dreams."

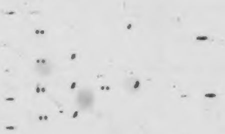
*796 781 The face of the old man was radiant as he explained this song and

dwelt upon the happiness brought to all by the touch of the visions which attend the Hako. This song and all others which belong to the night season he would sing and talk about only in the evening, never during the day. 796* 781

SONG[a]

533*
796*

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

539*
796*

I

Holy visions!
Hither come, we pray you, come unto us,
Bringing with you joy;
Come, Oh come to us, holy visions,
Bringing with you joy.

II

Holy visions!
Near are they approaching, near to us here,
Bringing with them joy;
Nearer still they come—holy visions—
Bringing with them joy.

III

Holy visions!
Lo! Before the doorway pause they, waiting,
Bearing gifts of joy;
Pausing there they wait—holy visions—
Bearing gifts of joy.

IV

Holy visions!
Now they cross the threshold, gliding softly
Toward the space within;
Softly gliding on—holy visions—
Toward the space within.

V

Holy visions!
They the lodge are filling with their presence,
Fraught with hope and peace;
Filling all the lodge—holy visions
Fraught with hope and peace.

VI

Holy visions!
Now they touch the children, gently touch them,
Giving dreams of joy;
Gently touch each one—holy visions—
Giving dreams of joy.

---

[a] Music on page 118.

*539
*796

VII

Holy visions!
Ended now their mission, pass they outward,
Yet they leave us joy;
Pass they all from us—holy visions—
Yet they leave us joy.

VIII

Holy visions!
They, the sky ascending, reach their dwelling;
There they rest above;
They their dwelling reach—holy visions—
There they rest above.

TENTH RITUAL. THE DAWN

PART I. THE BIRTH OF DAWN

*796 The opening ceremonies began after dark and continued until past midnight. At their close the Children and the Fathers retired to their tents, but the Son remained at his post near the inner door of the lodge, while the Ku'rahus and his assistants watched from behind the holy place, where the Hako lay at rest. The fire burned to embers, the noise of the camp died slowly away, and darkness and silence settled down within the lodge.

It was a long watch, but at length the Ku'rahus bade his server lift the skins, hanging at the inner and the outer door of the long passageway, and stand outside to report when the gray hue was seen in the
*539 east. When the voice of the server was heard proclaiming the sign
*796 of dawn, the Ku'rahus and his assistants rose, and as they stood behind the holy place, facing the open door, they sang the first song
[533 in this drama of the mystic birth of Day. It was sung "slowly and
781] with reverent feeling, for it speaks of the mysterious act of Tira'wa atius in the birth of dawn," said the Ku'rahus; "it is something very sacred, although it happens every day."

In the first stanza, the Earth, h'Atira (h', breath; atira, mother), Mother breathing forth life, is called on to awake, that she may receive fresh power of life to be given with the new day. In the second, h'Atira responds, she wakens from the sleep of night.

In the next stanza, h'Kawas (h', breath; Kawas, as the representative of the upper powers), the life-breathing powers above, are called to awake and receive fresh life through the new-born Day. In the fourth stanza, h'Kawas, awakening from sleep, responds. All the forces below and above have now been called, they are awake and ready to receive the gift of the new life.

*539 In the fifth stanza, Kawas, the mother, the leader in this ceremony,
*796 stands up and speaks from her nest. She explains to the Ku'rahus that day is born of night by the power of Tira'wa, that it is the breath
821 of this new-born child, the Dawn, which gives fresh life to all things

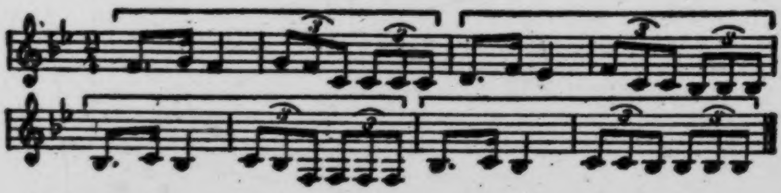
*533 The next song was said to have come down from a time when only men played the hand game.

No. 49. "You Came Near Finding Them"

(Catalogue No. 1095)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—The rhythm of this song is characteristic of the physical movements of persons playing the hand game. It is a rhythm that suggests alternation and the swaying of the players from side to side. There is also an energy in the ascending approach to the first count of each measure. The tones are those of the first 5-toned scale which omits the third and seventh tones of the octave and is always a particularly free melodic form. No change of measure length occurs and the song consists entirely of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. The song contains 11 ascending and 10 descending progressions, two of each being the interval of a fourth.

A song of Roaming Chief (No. 66) was also sung at a hand game.

GHOST DANCE SONGS

668 The Pawnee are deeply religious by nature and received the Ghost
177 dance with sympathy. According to Mooney "The Ghost dance was
brought to the Pawnee . . . by delegates from the Arapaho and
78(Cheyenne in the west. The doctrine made slow progress for some
[181] time, but by February, 1892, the majority of the Pawnee were dancing
in confident expectation of the speedy coming of the Messiah and the
buffalo. Of all these tribes the Pawnee took most interest in the new
[292] doctrine, becoming as much devoted to the Ghost dance as the
Arapaho themselves."[29] A woman's Ghost dance dress is shown in
Plate 8, *c*; also other costumes.

668 Ghost dance songs were recorded but the dance did not form a
177 subject of study by the present writer. As stated, certain Ghost

*533

---

[29] Mooney, James, op. cit., p. 902.

159 591 Lincoln who was the government blacksmith. They invited Shot Arm and the boy to come and live with them. They stayed there for six years and then Shot Arm's sister, Woman White Star, invited them to come and live with her. One winter both Shot Arm and the boy were very ill with a high fever. Fox Chief, his older half brother, came and took the boy to live with him. From there the boy moved from one house to the other, sometimes with Misery, then with War Cry and others. Because of his wandering about, he did not know that his father, Shot Arm, had died. [754] The relatives suspected that his death was due to witchcraft by a member of the family of their old rival, Big Doctor. The feeling was so strong that the agent had an autopsy performed, which showed that Shot Arm had died of an old gunshot wound that had affected his lungs. But the [165] Pawnees were not convinced. And neither was Mark Evarts when he told of it in 1928. During the first five years in Oklahoma, 800 Pawnees died.

159 177 Otter's old playmates, David Gillingham and the Coons brothers, had gone to Carlisle School in Pennsylvania and they induced him to come along. After his schooling he worked at harness making in Harrisburg, Newark, and Philadelphia. He experienced such wonders as climbing into the arm of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor and playing baseball for a period with the Cuban Giants, a colored team. While he was with them in the South, he was questioned by the authorities "about the grandfather clause." His right hand was permanently broken in baseball, for in those days they played without benefit of a catcher's mitt. He was very lonesome and went home. As he says,

> When I got home from Carlisle, I had no home. My older brother, Fox Chief, War Cry, and Misery had all died. It was cold weather and Behaille (the interpreter) met me on the road and took me in his buggy and gave me a swig of whisky. He offered me a home at his house where Brave Chief, Frank Leader, and Peter Wood were living.

159 An older woman in Behaille's house befriended him and established a relationship with him. Finally the agency took a hand in his life. The agent said he had made a good record at school and he should settle down. He was trained as a blacksmith and given a position. At last the Riding-In family gave him their daughter, Hannah, in marriage and they set up a farm together and had a daughter. Then Hannah died of tuberculosis and shortly afterward, at the age of twelve, their daughter followed. The farm was lost to the bank as the result of a crop failure and [115] an unpaid loan. This was in 1924. In 1928 this record of old Pawnee life was made with Mark Evarts' help.

When he returned to Pawnee from the east, Mark Evarts had a severe [781] emotional crisis and finally an important religious experience. He re-000 turned home permanently in 1897–1898. The Pawnee version of the re-

*796 the spring when the birds are mating, or in the summer when the birds are nesting and caring for their young, or in the fall when the birds are flocking, but not in the winter when all things are asleep. [782] With the Hako we are praying for the gift of life, of strength, of plenty, and of peace, so we must pray when life is stirring everywhere."

SCHEME OF THE CEREMONY

According to the Ku'rahus, no change in the order of rites or songs was permitted. The reason for this requirement becomes clear when we study the ceremony itself. Its fundamental ideas and teachings, which are among the most important for the welfare of the people, are steadily unfolded from the initial rite to the final act through a long series of observances which are replete with detail and accompanied by nearly one hundred songs, yet all these different parts are so closely articulated that any variation of relationship or any omission would be disastrous to the structure.

The Hako consists of the Preparation and the Ceremony.

The Preparation

- First division. Initial rites.
  - First ritual. Making the Hako:
    - Part I. Invoking the powers.
    - Part II. Preparing the feathered stems.
    - Part III. Painting the ear of corn and preparing the other sacred objects.
    - Part IV. Offering of smoke.
  - Second ritual. Prefiguring the journey to the Son.
  - Third ritual. Sending the messengers.
  - Fourth ritual:
    - Part I. Vivifying the sacred objects.
    - Part II. Mother Corn assumes leadership.
    - Part III. The Hako party presented to the Powers.
- Second division. The journey.
  - Fifth ritual:
    - Part I. Mother Corn asserts authority.
    - Part II. Songs and ceremonies of the way.
    - Part III. Mother Corn reasserts leadership.
- Third division. Entering the village of the Son and consecrating his lodge.
  - Sixth ritual:
    - Part I. The Son's messenger received.
    - Part II. The Hako party enter the village.
  - Seventh ritual:
    - Part I. Touching and crossing the threshold.
    - Part II. Consecrating the lodge.
    - Part III. Clothing the Son and offering smoke.

The Ceremony

- First division. The public ceremony.
  - Eighth ritual (first day). The Fathers feed the Children.
  - Ninth ritual (first night). Invoking the visions.
  - Tenth ritual. The Dawn:
    - Part I. The birth of Dawn.
    - Part II. The Morning Star and the new-born Dawn.

THE HAKO

THE PREPARATION

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The ceremony of the Hako is a prayer for children, in order that the tribe may increase and be strong; and also that the people may
[782] have long life, enjoy plenty, and be happy and at peace.

The articles that are used in the ceremony can be prepared only under the direction and supervision of a man who has been taught the sacred songs in their sequence and instructed as to their meaning. Such a man is called Ku'rahus, which means a man of years, venerated for his knowledge and experience.

When a man intends to inaugurate a party for the performance of this ceremony, he selects a Ku'rahus to have complete charge of it, and fixes a day when the preliminary rites are to be performed. On
[783] that day the Ku'rahus goes into the sweat lodge and there purifies himself. When he has come out of the sweat bath and has cooled off a little, he places sweet grass on a small pile of coals. Then he sits
[516] down (on his heels) and draws a robe about himself and the coals, so that the smoke of the sweet grass may reach every part of his body. He then takes a bit of fat which has been preserved from a deer or buffalo consecrated to Tira'wa, and mixes it with red paint and anoints himself. Then he puts on his leggings and moccasins, and a buffalo robe, with the hair outside, tying it about the waist with a rope made of buffalo hair. He fastens a white, downy eagle feather in his scalp lock and goes to the lodge of the man who has inaugurated the party.
[793] He takes with him a man as assistant; he is also accompanied by another man, who is learning the songs and the details of the ceremony, preparatory to becoming himself able to conduct this rite, but whose present duty is to minister to the wants of the Ku'rahus.

At the lodge the chiefs and leading men of the village have been assembled, with those who have agreed to be of the party and have contributed the requisite gifts. This lodge has been swept clean and put in order for the occasion. The Ku'rahus takes his seat at the west end of the lodge, facing the east, and before him, spread out on a mat, are the materials for the preparation of the ceremonial articles.

After the Ku'rahus has begun to sing the songs belonging to the act of preparing these articles there must be no coming in or going out of the lodge, and no one can move from his place until this (the first ritual) has been completed. An exception is made in the case of two men who are sent out by the Ku'rahus to cut and bring in two sticks of ash. They go out during the singing of a certain stanza of the first song and must return while another particular stanza of the same song is being sung.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 In this ceremony the brown eagle is called Kawas. This eagle has *796 been made holy by being sacrificed to Tira'wa. Its feathers are tied upon the stem that has been painted blue to represent the sky.

778 782 This stem was the first one painted and decorated, because it is female and the leader. It represents the night, the moon, the north, and stands for kindness and helpfulness. It will take care of the people. It is the mother.

Throughout the ceremony the Ku'rahus carries this feathered stem.

After the Kawas stem is prepared the Ku'rahus hands it back to the man on his left, toward the north, to hold while he prepares a pendant of seven tail feathers from the white eagle. Then he takes from the man on his right, toward the south, the stem which had been painted green and ties on it this white-eagle pendant.

No song is sung while this is being done. The white eagle is not holy; it has not been sacrificed to Tira'wa. It has less power than Kawas; it is inclined to war, to hurt some one. It can not lead; it must follow. So the green stem is painted last, and all the decorations are put upon it after the other stem is completed.

This feathered green stem represents the male, the day, the sun, and the south. During the ceremony it is carried by the assistant of the Ku'rahus, whose place is on the right of the Ku'rahus, toward the south.

When we move about the lodge waving the two feathered stems to the rhythm of the song we are singing, Kawas, the brown eagle, is carried next the people, and the white-eagle stem on the farther side, away from the people, where it can do good by defending them and keeping away all harm. If it were carried next the Children it would bring them war and trouble. It is the brown eagle that is always kept near the people and is waved over their heads to bring them the gifts of plenty and of peace.

The red and white streamers tied upon the two stems represent the sun and the moon.

While the Ku'rahus still has the sacred ointment upon his hands ~~he anoints a~~ crotched stick and two straight sticks, all three of which have been carefully scraped and smoothed. These sticks were cut from a plum tree, because this tree is prolific in bearing fruit.

PART III. PAINTING THE EAR OF CORN AND PREPARING THE OTHER SACRED OBJECTS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The Ku'rahus now mixes in a round wooden bowl blue clay with water taken from a running stream and paints with it an ear of white corn, in the way our fathers were taught to do. During this act the following song is sung.

When we have finished singing this song the Ku'rahus takes one of 796* the plum-tree sticks, which has been anointed with red clay mixed with fat, and ties on it with a thread of sinew a downy eagle feather. [284] This stick is bound to the ear of corn so as to project a hand's breadth above the tip end, letting the downy feather wave above Mother Corn. This feather represents Tira'wa. It is always moving as if breathing.

The Ku'rahus then binds the other plum-tree stick to the corn so that it extends below the butt. When the corn is placed in ceremonial position this end of the stick is thrust in the ground so that the ear will stand upright without touching the earth. Both sticks are bound to the ear of corn by a braided band of hair taken from the head of a buffalo. The braided band signifies the gift of animal food and the provision of skin clothing. (The Skidi band of the Pawnees [184] tie a bit of buffalo wool, such as is shed by the animal in the spring, together with a braid of sweet grass, to the ear of corn.)

The two gourd rattles, which represent the squash given us by Tira'wa, and also the breasts of the mother, are each painted with a blue circle about the middle, with four equidistant lines from the circle to the bottom of the gourd. The circle represents the wall or boundary of the dome of the sky; the four lines are for the four paths at the four directions down which the powers descend. No song is sung while this painting is being done.

All the sacred articles are laid at rest on a wildcat skin when they are not being used ceremonially, and it is a cover for them in which they are all wrapped together at the close of the ceremony. [281] The skin is never tanned, and the ears of the animal, the skin of the head, the feet, and the claws must all be intact.

Tira'wa made the wildcat to live in the forest. He has much skill [773] and ingenuity. The wildcat shows us that we must think, we must [576] use tact, and be shrewd when we set out to do anything. If we wish to approach a person we should not do it bluntly; we should not [825] rush at him; that might offend him so that he would not receive us or the gifts we desired to offer him. The wildcat does not make enemies by rash action. He is observant, quiet, and tactful, and he always gains his end.

In this ceremony we are to carry the sacred articles to one not of our kindred in order to bind him to us by a sacred and strong tie; we are to ask for him many good gifts, long life, health, and children, and we should receive gifts from him in return. If we would succeed we must learn of the wildcat, and be wise as he is wise.

The wildcat is one of the sacred animals. A man who killed a 825 wildcat could sacrifice it to Tira'wahut. The man who brought such 782 an offering had the right to ask the priest to teach him some of the mysteries that belong to the sacred shrine. 794

Many years ago two men took the Hako to the Omaha tribe. On the journey one of them killed a wildcat. I said to the man: "I am

782 glad Mother Corn is here leading us, and the wildcat goes with the
Hako." But the man who killed it said: "No, this skin will not go
794 with the Hako! I am going to take it to the priest for sacrifice that
825 I may learn some of the mysteries." But he did wrong and suffered
for it, because that wildcat belonged with the Hako, for it was killed
while we were being led by Mother Corn.

*796 The sacred articles having been completed are now laid at ceremonial
796 rest. The wildcat skin is spread upon the earth in the holy
place, which is in the west part of the lodge opposite the entrance, a
little way back from the fireplace. The head of the skin is placed
toward the east; the crotched plum-tree stick is thrust into the ground
close to the head; the two feathered stems are laid in the crotch, the
brown-eagle stem first, then the white-eagle stem on the top or outside.
The eagle builds its nest in the crotch of a tree, so these eagle-feathered
stems are laid in the crotch of the plum-tree stick. The ends which
are thrust through the duck's head rest upon the wildcat, and under
the wing-like pendants the gourd rattles are placed. Directly in
front of the crotched stick stands Mother Corn.

PART IV. OFFERING OF SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The time has now come for the offering of smoke to Tira'wa.

The priest of the Rain shrine must be present with the pipe belonging
793 to that shrine and he must conduct the ceremony. After he has
filled the pipe with native tobacco the Ku'rahus tells the people that
782 the time has come to offer smoke to Tira'wa, the father and the giver
of all things. He selects from the company a man to act as pipe
bearer during the ceremony of offering smoke. The pipe bearer must
be one who has made sacrifices at the sacred tents where the shrines
are kept and has been annointed, and who in consequence has been
prospered in his undertakings. The prayers of such a man are
thought to be more acceptable to the powers than those of a man who
has never made sacrifices.

In old times men did not smoke for pleasure as they do now, but
276 only in religious ceremonies. The white people have taught the
Pawnees to profane the use of tobacco.

Each of the sacred shrines of the tribe has a pipe, and its priest
778 knows the proper order in which the pipe should be offered to Tira'-
793 wahut. I am not a priest, so I do not know the order in which the
Rain pipe is offered, nor can I tell you the ceremony; the knowledge
of that belongs to its priest and not to me.

*796 Up to this point (the conclusion of the ceremony of smoking) all
the people present have been obliged to remain quiet in their places;
now they are at liberty to move about or to leave the lodge.

PART III. CLOTHING THE SON AND OFFERING SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The Ku'rahus orders that the pack containing the new garments brought for the Son be opened, and he directs the chief to clothe the Son. The embroidered shirt, leggings, and moccasins are then put upon him and he is wrapped in a fine robe. 796* [431]

The Ku'rahus asks the priest of the shrine which controls the rain to take its sacred pipe and direct the Son how to offer tobacco and smoke to Tira'wa. [782● 793]

The priest fills the sacred pipe and carries it toward the south, where he sits down beside the Son and instructs him what to do.

The Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief, bearing the sacred objects, follow the priest and halt before the Son.

The priest puts the sacred pipe in the hand of the Son, and the first stanza of the following song is sung.

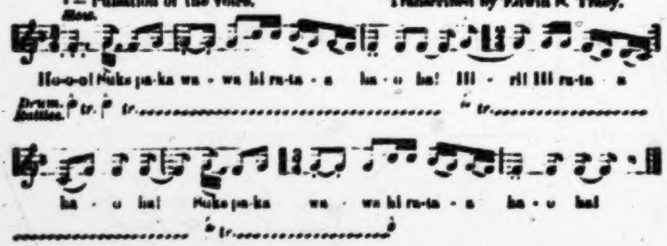
FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 52.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

539* 796* [533*]


Son.
Ho-o-o! Suks pa-ka wa - wa hi ra-ta - a ha - o ha! Hi - ri! Hi ra-ta - a
Drum. Rattles.
tr.
ha - o ha! Suks pa-ka wa - wa hi ra-ta - a ha - o ha!

I

417 Ho-o-o!
418 Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
419 Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!
420 Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!

II

421 Ho-o-o!
422 Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
423 Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!
424 Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!

Translation of First Stanza

417 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

418 Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!

suks, a command; you must.
paka, pako, speak. The change in the last vowel is for euphony.
wawa, part of rawawa, to send something: in this instance, to send the words or thoughts of the prayer.
hi, that person.
rata, my or mine.
a, vowel prolongation.
hao, child; offspring.
ha, a musical vocable used to fill out the measure.

*539 419 Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!

*796 hiri! an exclamation meaning give heed! harken!

hi rata-a hao ha! See line 418.

420 See line 418.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The words of this stanza are a command to the Son. They are, "Give heed, my child; you must now send your prayers to the powers which dwell above."

This stanza is sung four times.

Then the Son takes a pinch of tobacco from the bowl of the pipe and passes it along the stem and offers it as the priest directs.

[793 778] There is a certain order to be observed in the offering of tobacco and smoke to the powers above peculiar to each of the sacred shrines, and only the priest or keeper of a shrine knows the order in which the powers which preside over his shrine should be approached. The sacred pipe belonging to the Rain shrine is used in this ceremony, and its priest must direct the Son how to make the offering. I do not know this order; it does not belong to me to know it.

When the pinch of tobacco has been presented to the powers above it is placed upon the earth.

After this act the second stanza is sung.

Translation of Second Stanza

421 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

422 Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!

ti, he.

wawaka; wako, spoken; the added wa indicates that he has spoken to those who are at a great distance.

wawa, part of tiwari, traveling from one, and towawa, traveling in many ways, to many different places.

hi, that person.

rata, my or mine.

a, vowel prolongation.

hao, child.

ha, a musical vocable.

423 See line 419.

424 See line 422.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

● [782] As the Son offers tobacco in the directions indicated by the priest, he prays to the powers that dwell in these directions. What he says is not audible to us, for it is not intended for us to hear.

The words of this stanza refer to the prayers of the Son.

We are bidden to take heed that the prayers of the Son, who is as our child, have been spoken and have traveled far, going on and on to the different distant places where the great powers abide which watch over the rain.

*539 *796 616 Pirao rati hao.
pirao, child, a general term, anybody's child.
rati, a part of the word hirati, my.
hao, my own child.
617 Ti kiri ka. Ha! Wita hesha!
ti kiri ka. See line 614.
ha! behold!
wita, coming.
hesha, a part of the word tahesha, daylight.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While the messengers are going from one lodge to another to awake the people and bid them come to the lodge where the ceremony is being performed, we sing this second stanza.

It tells that the Son, now become as our own offspring, has gone forth to awake the Children, who have heard his call, and now, behold! they come forth to look upon the light of day.

This stanza is sung four times.

ELEVENTH RITUAL (SECOND DAY). THE MALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. CHANT TO THE SUN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 821 On this, the second day of the ceremony, we remember our father the Sun. The sun comes directly from Tira'wa atius, and whoever is touched by the first rays of the sun in the morning receives new life and strength which have been brought straight from the power above. The first rays of the sun are like a young man, they have not yet spent their force or grown old, so, to be touched by them is to receive an accession of strength.

*796 [346] The door of the lodge where the ceremony is performed must face the east, so that the first rays of the sun can enter and reach the Children. I believe that as we sing this song and as the first rays touch the Children they will receive help and strength. I was told by my predecessor that it would be so, and he was taught by those who had received the knowledge from the fathers; therefore I tell the same to the Children. All the time I am singing this song I remember the [776 782] Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn; all these were made by Tira'wa atius, and I ask them to give us success and plenty; success in hunting and in war; plenty of food, of children, and of health. The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn, are powerful.

The Children, who have been aroused by the messengers of the Son, gather at the lodge before the sun is up. They must be there when the first ray appears if they would gain its blessing.

As soon as we who are standing at the west of the lodge, looking through the doorway, catch sight of the first ray of the sun on the horizon, we take up the Hako and move by the north to make a first circuit of the lodge, and sing the first verse of this chant.

lodge in charge of the Hako go to their tents. Soon all is quiet within 539*
the lodge, the fire burns down to coals and every one sleeps except
the man on guard. He must watch through the night and give warn- 796*
ing of the first sign of a change in the appearance of the east. As soon as this is seen the skins that hang over the doors of the lodge are lifted and the Ku'rahus makes ready to repeat the songs to the Dawn (tenth ritual). We sing these sacred songs at the dawn of the second day, the day when we chant to our father the Sun, and we sing them again at the dawn of the third day, when we sing to our mother the Earth.

THIRTEENTH RITUAL (THIRD DAY). THE FEMALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. THE SACRED FEAST OF CORN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

With the morning sun the Children gather at the lodge to receive 796*
their morning meal given them by the Fathers. Soon afterward the
sacred feast of the Corn takes place. For this feast the Children pre- 252
pare the food in the manner our fathers did. They pound the dried corn in a wooden mortar and boil the coarse meal until it is thoroughly cooked. They do this in their own homes and then carry the food in the kettles in which it has been cooked to the lodge where the
ceremony is being performed, and set them near the fireplace toward [415]
the southeast, where wooden bowls and horn spoons have been provided for the occasion.

When all the company have been seated the Fathers ladle out the 782 ●
food into the bowls. The Ku'rahus takes up a little of the food on
the tip of a spoon, offers it toward the east, flipping a particle toward 796*
the horizon line. He then passes to the north, drops a bit on the rim of the fireplace, and goes to the west, where, facing the east, he lifts the spoon toward the zenith, pauses, waves it to the four quarters and slowly lowers it to the earth and drops a bit on the rim of the fireplace. After this ceremony of offering thanks the filled bowls are placed before the people. Two or more persons take a few spoonfuls from the same bowl, then, hanging the spoons on the edge to prevent their falling into the food, they pass the bowl on to the next group at the left. In this way all the people partake of a common feast.

PART II. SONG TO THE EARTH

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

On the third day of the ceremony it is the duty of the Ku'rahus to 539*
teach the Children concerning h'Uraru, Mother Earth, and of those 796*
773

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

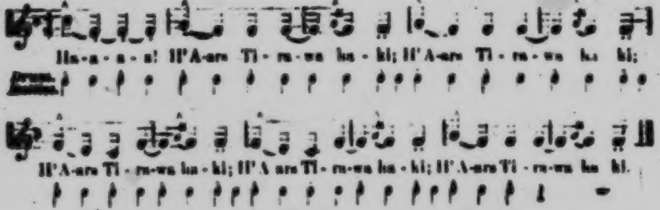
539*
796*
533*

SEVENTH SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ha-a - a - a! H'A-are Ti - ra-wa ha - ki; H'A-are Ti - ra - wa ha - ki;
Drum Rhythm.
H'A-are Ti - ra-wa ha - ki; H'A are Ti - ra-wa ha - ki; H'A-are Ti - ra-wa ha ki.

979 Ha-a-a-a!
980 H'Aars Tira'wa hakl;
981 H'Aars Tira'wa hakl;
982 H'Aars Tira'wa hakl;
983 H'Aars Tira'wa hakl;
984 H'Aars Tira'wa hakl.

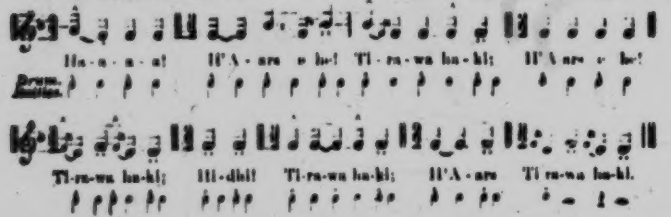
For translation, see eighth ritual, lines 437-442.

EIGHTH SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 126.
• Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ha - a - a - a! H'A - are e he! Ti - ra-wa ha - ki; H'A are e he!
Drum Rhythm.
Ti-ra-wa ha-ki; Hi-dhi! Ti-ra-wa ha-ki; H'A - are Ti ra-wa ha-ki.

985 Ha-a-a-a!
986 H'Aars e he! Tira'wa hakl;
987 H'Aars e he! Tira'wa hakl;
988 Hidhi! Tira'wa hakl;
989 H'Aars Tira'wa hakl.

For translation, see eighth ritual, lines 443-447.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The songs we sing during the last two circuits are the same that we sang when we prepared the Hako (first ritual). The first was when we painted the stem blue, the color of the sky, representing the abode of the powers above. The other was when we painted the stem green, the color of the covering of the fruitful earth. When we sang these songs we called upon the powers to come and give life and potency to the stems, and now we call upon them again asking for the fulfillment of the promises of the Hako.

782

Translation of Fifth Stanza

*539 1138 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1139 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta ware he!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
pichûts, a brush made of grass.
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
ware, spreading over.
he! from hiri!-give heed!
1140, 1141 See line 1139.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza, the old man touches the head of the child and smooths its hair with the brush of grass. In this act the brush prepares the hair for the sacred symbols which are to be put upon it.

In this act we are thinking only of the brush and its usefulness, and not of Toharu, as represented by the grass.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

1142 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1143 Hiri! 'Hari, Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta witshpa ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
pichûts, a brush made of grass.
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
witshpa, accomplished; completed.
ha! behold!
1144, 1145 See line 1143.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza we sing that it is accomplished, the power of Toharu has nourished and prepared the child for the ceremonial acts which are now to take place.

PART II. ANOINTING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

782 The ointment used in this act of anointing the child is red clay mixed with fat from a deer or buffalo which has been consecrated or set apart at the time it was killed as a sacrifice to Tira'wa. The first animal killed on a hunt belongs to Tira'wa.

Translation

*539 1297 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation to the song.

*796 1298 H'I re ra!

h', the symbol of breath; breathing forth life.

I, a part of the word Tira'wa, the mighty power above.

re, is.

ra, coming. The word as here used conveys the idea of coming from a great distance.

1299 See line 1298.

1300 Pira uta hao!

pira, a part of the word pirao, child, a general term.

uta, a part of the word kuta, possessed by or belonging to some one other than the speaker.

hao, offspring.

1301 Pira uta, uta hao! See line 1300.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 781 ● 782 When I sing this song I pray to Tira'wa to come down and touch with his breath the symbol of his face and all the other symbols on the little child. I pray with all my spirit that Tira'wa atius will let the child grow up and become strong and find favor in its life.

This is a very solemn act, because we believe that Tira'wa atius, although not seen by us, sends down his breath as we pray, calling on him to come.

As I sing this song here with you I can not help shedding tears. I have never sung it before except as I stood looking upon the little child and praying for it in my heart. There is no little child here, but you are here writing all these things down that they may not be lost and that our children may know what their fathers believed and practiced in this ceremony. So, as I sing, I am calling to Tira'wa atius to send down his breath upon you, to give you strength and long life. I am praying for you with all my spirit.

This song is sung eight times.

*539 *796 As we sing it first we bow above the little child, and make a movement as if to touch it with the feathered stems and the ear of corn. The second time we sing it we again bow low over the child and the chief touches it on the forehead with the ear of corn, while the Ku'rahus and his assistant stroke it on each side with the feathered stems. We then pass to the south, to the right side of the child, and sing for the third and the fourth time. The first time we make the motion of touching the child, the second time the chief touches its head with the ear of corn, and the feathered stems are passed down its sides. Then we go west to the back of the child and there sing for the fifth and sixth times, making the same motions and again touching it. Then we go north, to the left of the child, and sing for the

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the first stanza we call upon the woodpecker, who is busy making a noise, tapping upon the trees in the thick woods, and we ask him to remind his father of the promise that the storm should not come near his nest. 539* 796* 821

The woodpecker is with us on the stem, and the storm is now threatening our nest, the lodge where we are holding the ceremony, so we call on him, the woodpecker, and ask him to remind his father of the promise given. 782

The second stanza tells us that the four beings at the west speak, for when the thunders sound they all speak. These now answer the woodpecker, who has reminded them of their promise when Tira'wa atius, the father of all things, placed the bird and its nest under their protection.

If, after we have sung these stanzas, the clouds part, we know that our prayers have been heard. We all return to the lodge, and the wildcat skin is spread upon the holy place at the west, the crotched stick is put in position, the eagle stems and all the other articles are laid at ceremonial rest. When this has been done the chief takes the sacred pipe and, accompanied by the priest of the shrine containing the objects sacred to the powers of the rain, goes out and makes an offering of smoke. The priest directs the chief where to point the pipestem. By this act of offering smoke we give thanks to the powers, who have heard our prayers and averted the storm.

PRAYER FOR THE GIFT OF CHILDREN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This ceremony is very old and has now become obsolete. It is a prayer for the power of procreation. It was never performed except at the request of the Son, and was only in the interest of a man to whom children had not been born. It took place either in the early morning or at night, never during the day. 796* [782] 842

When the request for the ceremony had been made, the Ku'rahus selected a man from among the Fathers whose duty it became to carry the Son and to care for him as a father would care for a little child.

A white buffalo robe was kept for this particular ceremony. After the Son had been lifted on the back of the Father, this white robe was thrown over the two and was held together in front by the Father, as a person would hold his robe if he were carrying a child on his back. As the Father, carrying the Son, moved toward the entrance of the lodge, he was followed by the Ku'rahus and his assistant bearing the feathered stems and the chief with the cat skin and the ear of corn, while the following song was sung.

The words are: "Behold! Your father is walking with his child!" [539*]

The unit of time is an eighth note, represented by a short dash, -; a quarter note is represented by a longer dash, two beats, —; a three-eighths note by a still longer dash, three beats, , and so on. The dots indicate the number of voice pulsations given to a tone while it is held. Where there is emphasis it is marked on the diagram by the accent sign ʹ. 796* 533*

A rhythmic rendition, which aims not only to convey the literal meaning but to embody the elucidations of the Ku'rahus as well, has been made. Its words have been so chosen that the lines shall conform to the rhythm of the corresponding phrases of the song. This rendition is for the purpose of presenting to the eye and the ear of the English reader the song as it appeals to the Pawnee who has been instructed in the rite. [128]

The variety of rhythmic forms in the songs of the rituals offers interesting material for the study of the relation of the musical phrase to the development of metrical language. The movements which accompany each song and act of the ceremony give further testimony to the fundamental character of rhythm.

In the following analysis the scheme of the ceremony will be closely observed.

THE PREPARATION

First Division. Initial Rites

FIRST RITUAL. MAKING THE HAKO

Part I. Invoking the Powers

The ceremony of the Hako, we are told by the Ku'rahus, is a prayer for offspring. It opens with a song which recalls the creation of man, the gifts bestowed on him by Tira'wa atius through the powers, and the establishment of rites by which he can appeal to the powers. The content of the song prefigures the fulfilment of man's desire for the reproduction of his life, and the orderly approach by which he should make his desire known. Such a prefiguring seems to be essential at the opening of a ceremony to give it a supernatural warrant. 796* 842 539* 782

The preparation of the Hako constitutes the opening ritual, the first song of which is an appeal to the lesser powers in the order of their coming near to man from the holy place, Awahokshu (first song, line 4). They are said to descend by the four paths at the four cardinal points (line 9), and the ceremonial motions indicating these quarters are an indirect way of mentioning the powers. Each stanza of the appeal, falling into four musical phrases, suggests this fourfold symbol. 782 796* 539* [533*]

The appeal is in the form of a litany, each stanza beginning with a call to "give heed," and closing with the response that heed has been given. The climax in both words and music is reached in the third phrase, which is a direct invocation of one of the powers. [533*]

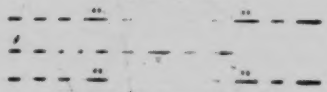
PART III. CLOTHING THE SON AND OFFERING SMOKE

*796 The lodge having been made ready as a nest within which life might be given and made secure, the Father performed his first act of recognition and responsibility. He put upon the Son the garments he had previously prepared for the purpose. When clad in the finely embroidered clothing, the Son was told to make the offering of smoke to Tira'wa atius, as a prayer for the consecration of the new-born relationship. 571 782 276

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533 *796



Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 *796

My son, now heed, attend to the command I give to you:
Oh, speak to the gods list'ning[c] above us!
Oh, let your prayers ascend to the mighty ones on high!

II

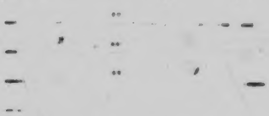
My son obeys. His voice is now trav'ling far, speeding on;
It goes to the list'ning gods above us;
There will his prayer be heard by the mighty ones on high.

*796 The ceremony of offering smoke was conducted by a priest, who instructed the Son as to the order in which the stem of the pipe and the smoke must be offered to the various directions. Meanwhile the Fathers with the Hako stood before the Son singing this song, which voiced their participation in the offering.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

*533 *796



Rhythmic Rendition

*539 *796

See the smoke pass by!
Rising high above, follows where his voice
Sped, intent to reach
Where the gods[c] abide in the deep blue sky.
See the smoke pass by!

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].
[b] Music on page [illegible].
[c] The word gods, meaning powers, is used because of the rhythm.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART III. OFFERING OF SMOKE

*796 This teaching is further accentuated by the offering of smoke which follows the song. The feathered stem, Kawas, the mother, is used as the pipestem for this purpose. The offering of smoke is the closest [276 782] and most sacred form of direct communication with the great unseen power.

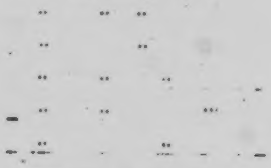
PART IV. SONGS OF THE BIRDS

*539 *796 [593] In the songs of the birds, which close the day, the people are instructed in their parental duties. They must take upon themselves the care of providing for their children, even before they are born; they are to be cheerful and thankful for all they receive; they are to guide and protect their families, to be watchful and faithful in storm and in sunshine, by day and by night. By following these teachings they will receive in full measure, in completeness, the gifts of the Hako.

*533 *796 The diagram of time of each of the six songs of the birds is here given in the order of the text, but no rhythmical rendition has been made, as the story elaborates the meaning of each song.

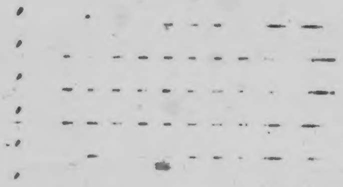
THE SONG OF THE BIRD'S NEST[a]

Diagram of Time



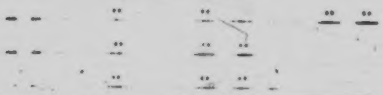
THE SONG OF THE WREN[b]

Diagram of Time



THE SONG OF THE TURKEY AND THE WOODPECKER[c]

Diagram of Time



---

[a] Music on page 169.

[b] Music on page 171.

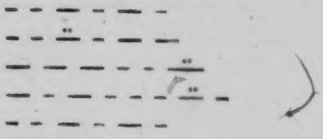
[c] Music on page 173.

*796 oriole's nest represented security. The four circles around the fire as made by the Ku'rahus carrying the brown-feathered stem pictured to the Pawnees the promise of children, the gifts of plenty and of peace from the powers above.

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

Behold where two eagles come forth!
Now they soar high over head;
See where one flies, watching flies, guarding he
His mate who has gone to her nest, dropping there;
'Tis Kawas who brings there new life.

PART II. SYMBOLIC FULFILMENT

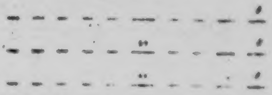
*796 The little child was put within each of these prophetic circles, its feet touching the nest and the promised plenty. Four times it was taken around the fireplace and each time it touched the four circles. The child was covered during the act of putting its feet in the nest. This act symbolized the birth of children, a mystery to man, as "only Tira'wa could know when generation would take place."

This simulated fulfilment of the promise of the Hako completed the sequence of acts in the drama of birth.

SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

Within the nest the child rests its little feet,
Awaiting there the gift sent by gods above;
Descending there to him comes the promised life.

PART III. THANK OFFERING

*796 The offering of sweet smoke followed immediately. As the smoke
*782 ascended all the articles of the Hako were waved through it, the child was touched with it, and all the people passed their hands through it. The sweet smoke offering was given that the powers above might

---

[a] Music on page 312.

[b] Music on page 343.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

know that the ceremony had been carried out in accordance with the teachings given to the fathers in the visions. Its odor reached the abode of Tira'wa, bearing the touch of all faithful participants in the rite. 796* 782

After the offering of smoke all traces of the nests were obliterated, the coals used for the offering of smoke were returned to the fire, and the lodge once more was open to all the people.

THIRD DIVISION. THE DANCE OF THANKS

NINETEENTH RITUAL

PART I. THE CALL TO THE CHILDREN

The purpose of the rite was recognized by the important place given to children in this part of the ceremony. The ponies presented to the Fathers were each lead up by a little child; the acting out of a man's warlike deeds was to honor his child, and the little child with the black covering upon its head and the picture of Tira'wa upon its face received, with the chief, the gifts as they were presented. 796*

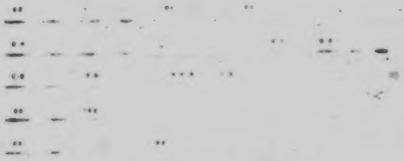
In every instance the child was the tie between the two groups, the Fathers and the Children.

FIRST SONG[a]

533*

796*

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

[539*]

Harken! List! We are calling you. Come! Come! Children, come!
Come! We're ready and waiting, your Father's waiting. Come! Children, come!
Hear us calling, calling you! Children, come!
Children, come! Come hither!
Harken! List as we call you, call to the Children to come.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].

[b] Music on page [illegible].

FOURTH DIVISION. PRESENTATION OF THE HAKO

TWENTIETH RITUAL

PART I. BLESSING THE CHILD

At the close of the dance and the reception of gifts by the Fathers, the little child was again taken to the holy place and once more touched with the Hako upon all sides, from the east, the south, the west, and the north. 796*

The song accompanying these movements was "a prayer to call down the breath of Tira'wa" upon the child that had been consecrated. [782] ●

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time 533* 796*

.. ..

.. ..

Rythmic Rendition 539* 796*

Breathe on him!
Breathe on him!
Life thou alone canst give to him.
Long life, we pray, Oh Father, give unto him!

PART II. PRESENTING THE HAKO TO THE SON AND THANKS TO THE CHILDREN

The Father (the chief) then removed the emblems from the face of the child, using for the purpose the fur of the wildcat, and took the covering and the symbols from its head. These with the Hako he rolled together within the wildcat skin and placed the bundle in the arms of the child. 796*

The Hako, which had been the medium of bringing the promises, was carried by the recipient of these promises, the little child, to its father, the Son, who received them from the hands of his offspring.

The tie had now been formed, and the little child was released from its symbolic duties and ran out into the sunlight to join its playmates. Within the lodge the Fathers thanked the Children, and the people departed to their daily avocations.

While the various articles of the Hako were generally scattered at the close of the ceremony, the two feathered stems were preserved intact and frequently passed from tribe to tribe as long as they held together. Sometimes the Son was unwilling to part with those presented him, so, when he inaugurated a party, he had a new set made with the proper ceremony. At all times and under all conditions the feathered stems were never handled carelessly, but were treated with respect and their sacred character was remembered. During the entire time Tahi'rūssawichi was engaged upon this ceremony he never allowed 778 796* [437] late afternoon or in the morning, and the smoke offering differed according to which time of day it was. 668 776

---

[a] Music on p. 75.

In the arrangement for the time near sundown, the two chiefs carrying the pipes lead the way out of the tipi and all the others follow. Outside, the chiefs stand at the east of the clearing, facing west. Behind them the men form a long flat arc facing west, with White and his seven leaders in the center. The announcer cries out to the people at large that the singing will commence as soon as the smoking is over. 276 [202]

(First Phase[1]) Each of the two chiefs holds the pipe slantwise toward the west, offering it, not by holding it aloft, but by holding it just in front of him. Both proceed simultaneously. After offering the pipe west, each walks clockwise around the clearing, carrying the pipe, and after reaching the same point at the east, stops there, offers a pinch of tobacco upward to heaven, and one westward, placing each on the ground. (Lighting the Pipe) Then each again makes a clockwise circuit, stopping at a point east of northeast, where squatting with the pipe in mouth and its bowl toward the east the pipe is lit by means of a brand which is brought forward by anyone for this purpose. (Second Phase; first mode) Each arises, puffing the pipe, and returns to the east, where facing west, he puffs four times upward to heaven and four times to the west, (Second Phase; third mode) then carries the pipe through a clockwise circuit and takes it to whoever is standing at the extreme northern end of the arc-like row of men. Standing in front of this man the smoker puts the pipe to the man's lips without releasing the bowl. Then the smoker proceeds in turn to allow each man to puff the pipe, moving from north to south down the arc of men. (Third Phase) After all in the line have puffed, the smoker takes the pipe and carries it through a clockwise circuit, coming to the east of the clearing in front of the line of men. Here he faces west, loosens the ashes in the pipe-bowl with a tamper, offering ashes once upward to heaven; then emptying some, and again to the west, emptying the rest of the bowl contents on the ground before him. (Fourth Phase) Holding the empty pipe in his left hand, the smoker touches the right hand to the ashes on the ground, then runs the right hand up the pipe from bowl to mouthpiece while the stem is directed heavenward. He repeats this motion with the left hand, and again with the right and the left, making four motions. Then the smoker makes four similar motions while he directs the pipe toward the west. (Self-Blessing) Holding the pipe, 668 776 782 276

---

[1] Parenthetical divisions into phases, etc. refer to the analysis of the smoke offering in Chapter 8, see especially pp. 180—207.

668 mouthpiece upward and bowl inward toward the body, he takes
782 it in his left hand and runs his right hand up it from bowl to mouth-
796 piece, opening the palm upward and outward toward heaven, then
places the hand on the right side of his head and runs his palm down
276 the head and side and leg to the instep which is pressed against the
ground. This motion is then made with the left hand for the left side etc. while the right hand holds the pipe, and repeated once again with the right and once again with the left, making four motions. Then the smoker turns and returns the pipe to another chief in the line of men, who receives it with an *arm blessing*.[1] When the offerings have been completed, the pipes are taken inside the tipi and replaced on the altar-space at the west.

Now the arc-like line at the west closes around the clearing to
form a circle of dancers, and women who have not up to this point
[533 participated join the circle. They may, however, sing two songs
535] before forming a circle of dancers, and these are special ghost-dance songs which are never danced to. Then the dancing begins from the east, facing west, circling clockwise.

668 Before describing the movements of the dancers, attention must
782 be called to the form of the smoke offering which would be made
if the dance were to begin in the morning.

796 If the dancing is to begin with a smoke-offering in the morning
276 the orientations for the smoke would be reversed. That is, the
823 arc-line of leaders and men would form around White on the west,
facing east; the smoker would begin all his circuits from the west, and the motions with the pipe which he made slantwise to the west, while he stood at the east side of the clearing and faced west, would become motions slantwise to the east which he would make standing at the west of the clearing and facing east. Finally the pipes would be handed along the line of leaders and men from south to north, instead of from north to south.

This shift of direction also changes the position for starting the dance, which is now at the point directly west, facing east. Here White stands and leads, and the circle proceeds clockwise. This is the generic position for beginning Ghost Dancing and singing, and even if the evening orientations are followed, only the first song begins at the east facing west; it then ends at the west, facing east, and all subsequent songs begin at the west.

It will be seen at once that the whole smoking ritual involves two basic orientation concepts: upward and either slantwise to the west or slantwise to the east. The upward offering is to Tirawahat^{a} or the expanse of the heavens; the other is to the sun, according to

---

[1] See chapter 8, p. 209.

his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, 668
therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. 782
An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock ~~by~~ sun time,
the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins 796
at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would 276
be adopted. 823

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to
Tirawahat[a] must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; [775]
that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to
be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on
one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased
relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes
on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance,
and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is
thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The [776]
sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his
marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening
Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every
night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon
earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus,
while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the
position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should
be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering 668
for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" 796
is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived
by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the 177
dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream 182
of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

---

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old [591]
cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and
Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

796 When each house-group had ready its quota of wood, meat and
668 all else necessary, everything was in order and the dance could
782 begin.

A sacred smoke offering opened the dance. If the people wished
276 to begin dancing on an evening, the usual form was to hold the smoke ceremony, then dance a little, perhaps ten songs, and adjourn until morning. At the continuation of the dancing in the morning no smoke offering would be made; but if dancing were begun for the first time in the morning, a preliminary offering was necessary.

Inside the main tipi were the Seven Brothers seated on the south side. Four chiefs were selected to carry pipes and make a smoke
[301] offering. These came out of the tent leading the way, followed by the Seven Brothers, each wearing an eagle feather in his hair. They were directed by Knifechief. This was the first occasion on which the Skiri Ghost Dancers saw the Seven Eagle Brothers as an organization.

Outside, the arrangement in relation to the clearing followed the
796 form already described for White's South Band Ghost-Dancing.
668 The Seven Brothers were in the center of an arc-like line of men
554 which stood at the east of the clearing facing west (for an evening,
smoke-offering). In front of this line stood the four chiefs with
823 pipes, also facing west. While the Seven Brothers were in the center of the line, Sam Cover who was No. 1 Eagle Brother was not in the center of the seven, but at the south end of the seven: the others followed in the order given above, from south to north: this was the order of their selection. The significance of this arrangement is that now there was no main one who must be in the center—all were equal. In the row of men four chiefs took special places: two south of the Seven Brothers and two north.

796 Each of the four smokers had a special function. Their arrangement was from south to north as they faced west: Number 1
668 smoker at the south end of the row of four smoked to heaven;
782 number 2 to the west (Christ): number 3 to the east (position of the rising sun): and number 4 at the north end of the row of four
823 smokers, to the south, the noon sun.

276 The four smokers proceeded with their movements simultaneously. Number 1 took the filled pipe, (phase 1[1]) walked through a half circuit clockwise to the west where he faced east and offered a pinch of tobacco upward, placing it on the ground; (lighting the pipe) then he continued clockwise to the northeast, where he squatted toward the east, holding the pipe in his mouth. Here it was lit from a brand brought forward by another. (Phase 2; first

---

[1] See Chapter 8, pp. 186–207.

mode) He rose puffing the pipe and walked clockwise around the 796
clearing stopping again at the west facing east, where he offered
four puffs upward to heaven, and four downward to the earth. 668
(Phase 2; third mode) Then he walked clockwise until he neared the 782
row of men on the east of the clearing, when he went to the man 823
who was at the extreme northern end of the row and offered him 276
the pipe to smoke. This he did without releasing the pipe, holding the bowl in his right hand, the offered pipestem in his left. The man accepting the pipe to smoke merely puts his two hands around the mouthpiece of the pipe and holds it to his lips, drawing a puff. Then the smoke-offerer moved along southward to the second man in the row to whom he offered the pipe to puff, and so on down the row to the extreme south end of it. (Phase 3) The smoker then made a half-circuit clockwise to the west of the clearing, where he tamped the ashes loose (the pipe was now out) and offered ashes twice upward to heaven, emptying some each time on the ground, and again offered some ashes twice downward to the earth, finally depositing the last of the ashes from the bowl on the ground. (Phase 4) Now as he stood at the west, he held the empty pipe with the mouthpiece pointing upward, touched the ashes on the ground with his right hand, and ran his right hand up the pipe, from bowl to mouthpiece, opening his palm upward and outward toward heaven: he repeated this action with his left hand, holding the pipe in the same position with his right, then repeated it once more with his right hand and once more with his left, making four motions upward to heaven. Then he pointed the mouthpiece of the pipe slightly slantwise downward toward the earth, and made four similar motions toward the earth, each time touching the ashes on the ground before running his hand along the pipestem. He had now finished the smoke offering. (Self-Blessing; return of pipe) He walked with the pipe around the clearing clockwise until he reached a point just in front of the chief at the left (south) of Sam Cover, the Number 1 Brother. He stood in front of this chief, and a little to the south, faced the chief, and made the motions of *self blessing*.[1]

Number 2 smoker (Phase 1) meanwhile made a half-circuit clockwise until he reached the west, where he faced *west*, offered tobacco slantwise to the west, and downward to the ground, placing a pinch from the pipe-bowl each time on the ground. (lighting the pipe) came clockwise to the position at the northeast where the pipe is lit. (phase 2: first mode) continued clockwise until he again reached the west, where facing west he then smoked four puffs slantwise to the west and four downward to the ground. (Phase 2: second

---

[1] See chapter 8, pp. 207—209.

7

796 mode) Then he walked clockwise until he came to the row of men
east of the clearing: he offered the lit pipe to the man at the extreme
668 northern end of the row, and to each man in the row southward
781 until he reached the man at the extreme south end of the row.
(Phase 3) Then he took the pipe, which was out, clockwise to the
823 west of the clearing, where facing west he offered ashes twice
276 slantwise to the west, and twice to the earth. (Phase 4) He then
made four hand-motions to the west and four to the earth. (self-blessing and return of pipe) came clockwise around the clearing until he stood in front of the chief at the right (north) of Harry Sergeant, number seven of the Seven Brothers; here he made the motions of self-blessing, and then returned the empty pipe to this chief, who received it with a blessing.

Number three smoker followed an analogous procedure. The unique character of his smoke appears in the following: the position at which he stopped to make offerings of tobacco (phase 1), offerings of smoke (phase 2: first mode), offerings of ashes (phase 3), and motions of blessing (phase 4), was at the *east* of the clearing, facing *east;* he there held the pipe slantwise to the east, and slantwise downward to the ground, and made offerings to the position of the rising sun and to the earth; he offered his pipe down the row of men from north to south as the others had done. He made the motions of self-blessing in front of the chief to the left (south) of the chief to whom the Number 1 smoker returned the number 1 pipe (that is, the second man to the left or south of Sam Cover, the number 1 Brother) and returned the pipe to this chief.

Number Four smoker proceeded analogously. The place of his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes and motions was at the *south* of the clearing, facing *south*. He returned the pipe to the chief right (north) of the chief to whom the number 2 smoker returned the number 2 pipe (the second man to the right or north of Harry Sergeant, the number seven Brother).

In carrying out these simultaneous offerings there was no collision of the smokers: similar actions, such as offering the pipes to the row of men, were done in the order of the smokers. Before the number one smoker returned to make his self-blessing and give the pipe back to the chief, the number four smoker had completed his offering of the pipe to the men in the line.

After the smokers had all finished, they returned to their places in front of the row of men. Each pipe was now returned to the man who had made a smoke offering with it, and as Sam Cover began to sing a Ghost Dance song, these smokers took the pipes back into the tipi. Inside this main tipi or sacred tent, a covering had been

spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes 796
were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the 668
altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the
altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at 782
the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while 823
the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not 276
participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that 184
described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity. 276
These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke- 782
offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same:
upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset 823
and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising
sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations
are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory
of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke
offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of
the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the
news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the
western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in
position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what
is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly 184
interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion 771
in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of 778
Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the
religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous
multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity
to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is
probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of
function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the
development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

---

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out. [177] [788]

7*

771
778 South Bands there are ancient bundles which each possess a group of functions that among the Skiri are differentiated and associated with separate bundles.

668
796 After the smoke offering, Sam Cover led the Seven Brothers in singing one or two Ghost Dance songs, without any dancing. Then the line closed around the clearing to form a circle of dancers,
782 women came to join in, and the regular dancing began. Usually
[533] on a first evening of Ghost Dancing, only ten or twenty songs were sung. After the closing song, the general public would break up, each group of people returning to the family tipi. The Seven Brothers, the four chiefs who smoked, other chiefs, Mrs. Goodeagle, Mrs. Cover, Mrs. Washington, and some individuals who were special leaders, gathered in the main tipi of the dance. Here two old men acted as tarutsius, fire-tenders and servers. Food was brought in and set out in buckets at the east of the tipi near the door. Sam Cover then made an offering with corn before the group ate. It was a simple offering: He took some of the corn in his hands, stood behind the collected food and made inclusive arm motions (to indicate that this food was offered on behalf of all the food being partaken of), then came clockwise to the west of the fireplace where he raised the corn aloft to heaven and then placed it on the ground before him. He pressed it into the ground, rubbed his hands together and made four motions upward to heaven with both hands, touching his fingers to the corn on the ground before each motion. Then he made four similar motions towards the earth; blessed himself, walked through a circuit to his own place on the south, and sat down. All present said "Nawa" and then the food was served. The tarutsius must serve the food in a special
[554] order: first the chiefs at the west (the four smokers), then the seven brothers on the south, then old men who are seated on both sides of the entrance-way at the east, then all others present, serving them from west to east down both sides of the tipi.[1]

At this gathering the order and time of the events of the next
668 morning were announced.

796 The next morning dancing began before sunrise. Two or three of the Seven Brothers went out onto the dance grounds, stood at the west facing east, and sang several Ghost Dance songs. As the people awoke and heard these they came out hurriedly to join in. As soon as four or five came, including women, all began to dance around clockwise. Gradually as the people gathered, the circle expanded. An old man walked around crying out to the people

---

[1] There is for every Pawnee ceremony an *order* in which those present are served; see chapter 8, pp. 220—229.

to come and join the dancing. Some chiefs walked around the 668
circle of dancers carrying pipes in their folded arms, but no smoke 796
offering was made. Should the singers pause for a rest, pipes (but [276]
not these sacred pipes) were often smoked non-ceremonially.

After ten or twenty songs, the people ended the dancing with
the finishing song, and returned to their tipis for breakfast. When [203]
they stopped the old man crier went through the camp calling out
to the people to be ready to dance about one o'clock.

At one o'clock the dancers reassembled. The Seven Brothers took their places at the west side of the clearing, in order, each with special face-painting and wearing his eagle feather. Sam Cover led the singing, and the dancing began at the west, circling clockwise. Sam Cover and Emmet Pierson, the number 2 Brother, carried leather rattles which they shook in time to the dancing.

The dancing continued until about five in the afternoon, or just before sundown. The evening meal was prepared by women while the dancing went on, so that everything was ready when the finishing song concluded the dancing for the day.

After the dancing, the people gathered in the space between the cleared dance ground and the sacred tipi to the west of it. The Seven Brothers sat down on the east side of this space, facing west (this would of course be west of the cleared ground), while the chiefs sat on the west side facing east. In this way the chiefs and the seven brothers faced each other across this cleared space. The people gathered around the sides forming more or less of a circle. One chief was selected to talk. He said:

"We have all come together today to worship God. Now you [537
must try to think what you are here for. Now the ground is open, 539]
there is nothing in the way (i. e. it is outdoors), God can look straight
down upon us. Here's the sunlight over us, he's the one who
knows all about it, and he knows also what you think about; you
can't ever hide it. Now we are going to eat." 782

The main tarutsius now came forward. This chief gave the 668
tarutsius a horn spoon which he had been holding while he spoke. 796
In the center of the space around which the people had gathered [415]
the food had been set out in buckets. The tarutsius received the
spoon. (Filling the spoon[1]) He walked clockwise around, passing
behind the food and around it, then with the spoon took some corn
from the buckets, made a clockwise circuit and passed outside of the
circle of people between the Seventh Brother (who is at the north
end of the seated row of Seven Brothers) and the people at his
right. (First Phase[1]) Outside the circle the tarutsius walked clock-

---

[1] See Chapter 8; the Food Offering and Service, pp. 220—228.

668
796
782 wise around the sacred dance ground (not the space around which the people are gathered) which was now vacant, and came to the west of it where he stopped facing east. At this point his back was to the back of the Seven seated Brothers. Here he offered corn upward to heaven, then bent down and pushed some off the spoon onto the ground, then turned to the west to which he offered the spoon of corn slantwise, then pushed some more off onto the ground, and finally placed the rest on the ground as an offering to the earth. (Second phase: first mode[1]) He then put the spoon on the ground beside him, and touching and pressing the corn into the earth, made three sets of motions with his hands and arms: four upward to heaven, four westward, and four to the earth. (Self-blessing; return of spoon[1]) Then he picked up the spoon and went through the motions of the final self-blessing with it, pressing his feet firmly to the ground. With the spoon he turned and reentered the circle of people between the First Brother (who is at the south end of the row of seven seated brothers) and those at his left, walked through a half circuit clockwise until he faced the chiefs sitting at the west, and returned the spoon to the chief who had given it to him. All the people say, "Nawa."

668
796
[264
554] The food was then served. A number of men were selected to do the serving, some serving the chiefs, others the Seven Brothers, and still others the people in general. The chiefs must be served first, and then the Seven Brothers, and then the public at large. After all had eaten the dishes were put away. The people might come back and dance on the dance-ground until the sun had fully set. They stopped finally at full sundown. Many of the people did not camp on the grounds and had to go home for the night. Others had to look out for their horses.

In this way the people danced at the encampment for four days, and the last day they continued dancing all night. As individuals had trance visions, they would begin to wear different feathers and paints according to what they saw; and at later Ghost Dances would bring out these Ghost Dance things and use them.

[513] After the entire dance was over, the people generally slept a full day. Later they might decide to hold a hand game. In these early Ghost Dance times among the Skiri, a hand game could only be held after a full Ghost Dance had been carried out. Later hand games were interspersed in the Ghost Dancing.

Such were the ceremonial forms of the first Ghost Dancing among the Skiri proper.

792
668
796
787 Although Mrs. Washington was in this way responsible for the first organization of the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Goodeagle came to

668 Mark Evarts led several times, and says that whenever he had
796 the lead he had good luck. One time a baby was born while the
dance was in progress—that was good luck. Tobacco was being
777 ceremonially prepared to be handed to Mark for making a smoke
offering. While they were praying that good luck might go with
[276 the tobacco, a grandchild of Linford Smith's was born. So all
●782] present thanked God, and hoped it would be that way throughout
the dancing.

While these developments were taking place among the Skiri,
[184] the Ghost Dancing of the South Bands continued to follow the
formal arrangements which had been instituted by Frank White.
As members of the organization of seven singers which had been
developed by White died, new members were selected to take their
places. The smoke offering was not altered.

Muric, in discussing Pawnee ceremonial Ghost Dance forms,
668 states[1]:

796 "In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take
instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they
[484] learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the cere-
[346] monies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set
up near the center of the camp as the temple . . . The modern Ghost
Dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off
center toward the north or south side according to the place of the
host . . ."

The arrangement of which Murie speaks, in terms of which the leading tent was on the north or south according to the place of the host, refers to Ghost Dance hand games, rather than Ghost Dances proper: for in the hand games, as will be described below, one side (either north or south, viz., either Crow or Eagle) is "host" and in charge.

GHOST DANCE SONGS[2]

796 The songs "dreamed" or secured in visions in the Ghost Dance
ranged over all the subjects that could naturally come to mind.
533 Some emphasized aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine, viz., that
in the other world all was as in former days, that the Christ was

---

affair, viz., supply the bulk of the meat and other food necessary, as well as the method of selecting one man to be in charge, are general Pawnee patterns.

[1] Murie, p. 636.

[2] The song texts of this section have been retranscribed and retranslated from the Densmore versions by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one Horn Dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman." (1914). 178 575 796 [782]

The Horse Society (raris arusa) was revived early, probably by Frank Leader. Murie describes at length a ceremony for renewing the society lances held May 23, 1902.[1] The paraphernalia included two lances, four rattles, four hand drums, and a red pipestone bowl with tubular dogwood stem, the stem incised with black bands to resemble trachea markings.[2] [293] [778] [276]

Of certain societies we cannot be sure that the revival was extensive. All the societies mentioned were used as sources for the content of Ghost Dance visions, and the visionaries made facsimiles of old society objects which they carried in the dance. When the visions were as well bestowals of special rituals, such as hand games, the society objects became part of the bundle and altar. The Crow Lance Society (hatuxka) was revived in this way by Mark Rudder; a lance was placed at the altar, and a brief dance led by Rudder opened the game occasion (See Chapter X). The Society of Crows (raris kaka), a derivative of the hatuxka of aboriginal times, was independently revived by George Beaver, and it is probable that paraphernalia made by him were integrated with his game set.[3] Fancy Eagle is credited with the making of a hand drum which was associated with the old Fighting Lances (tirupahe[4]) and used in hand games.

In addition to the use of paraphernalia, songs of these revived societies were used in the intervals of the hand game ceremonies. It is also probable that the use of drums in the hand game ceremonies was based on old society forms. [533]

---

[1] Murie, Societies 561ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 567, p. 566 fig. 5. Two hand drums in the Field Museum (F M 79368—1,2) are probably those of Leader; the face bears in red a representation of the raris arusa sheathed lance with its sets of fringed feathers.

[3] F M 73962 is the revival lance; it is not encased in buckskin. F M 79364 and 79365 are hand drums decorated with Ghost Dance symbols, which are said to have been used for the raris kaka by Beaver.

[4] F M 71934. Reference is made by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 68 to a song which apparently concerns the revival of this society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

525 chiefs, warriors and braves stand around to watch the game; they
619 do not play. An important Skiri chief may come to look on, may sit at a distance and smoke calmly. By his presence he expresses his interest in the welfare and doings of his people. Some Skiri players, perhaps the leader, leave the circle to sit beside him and smoke with him, to show their appreciation of his presence.

The Kitkahaxki^{x} leader has the pipe in his hand. All who are going to play have found their places. Women come and stand
[562] at a little distance to look on. They must not sit down or join the circle. They never play the hand game.

The fire forms a long narrow line between the sides, fifteen feet long from north to south, only two to three feet wide (see Fig. 1) At the south ends of the lines are two men who function as tarutsius, "fire tenders."

Now the players place their bets. Blankets, shirts, vests, horses are waged on the outcome. Each bets against a friendly enemy of the other side, individual against individual. The two articles are tied together, making one bundle. The bundles are thrown down in one heap before the leaders. The winning side will carry off the whole pile of plunder, and each winning player takes from it his individual stake and his winning.

The leader of the Kitkahaxki^{x} party begins to speak.

"Brother, I thought of coming to see you for the hand game.
619 Well, my brother, we are here. I've brought this pipe for you.
525 I want you to accept it to smoke."

276 He rises. He takes the filled pipe to the fire and lights it with
788 a brand. He draws a few puffs himself, then, standing before Knifechief, the Skiri leader in the game, gives him the pipe to smoke without releasing it, then takes it to his left and lets the assistant leader on the Kitkahaxki^{x} side take a few puffs. Then he carries it back to Knifechief, gives it to him, and sits down in his own place.

Knifechief smokes and then passes the pipe to the Skiri at his left, and from him it is passed on down the Skiri side from north to south. Each one smokes and passes it on. By the time it reaches the tarutsius of the Skiri side it is likely to be smoked out. This smoke is a gift of the Kitkahaxki^{x} to the Skiri. Except for the two Kitkahaxki^{x} leaders, no Kitkahaxki^{x} smoke, only the Skiri.

When the pipe has reached the Skiri tarutsius, the Kitkahaxki^{x} leader arises, walks around the east side of the fire and receives the pipe back from him. He carries it with him around west of the fire, and stops north of the fire where facing south, he loosens the
[782] ashes with a pipe tamper, and twice raises the pipe bowl upward.

276
525
619
788

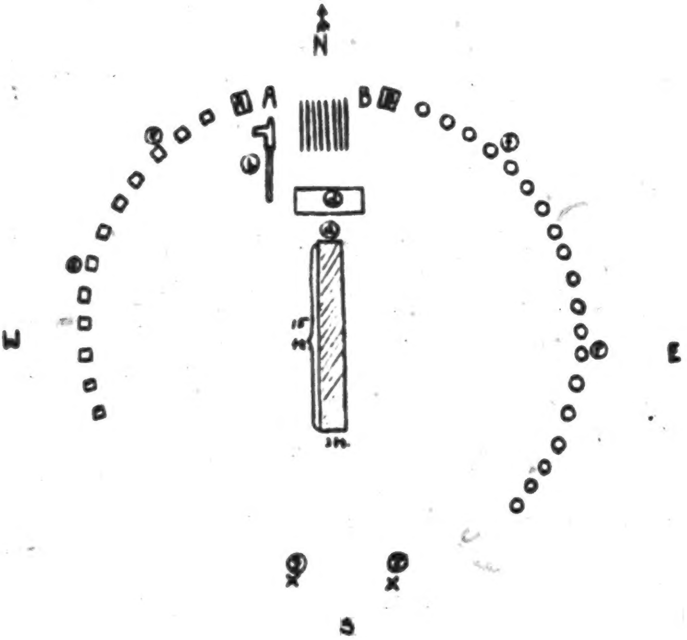


Figure 1. Plan of Game between Kitkahaxki^{x} and Skiri

A - Kitkahaxki^{x} leader, $\boxed{A}$ - Kitkahaxki^{x} assistant
B - Skiri leader $\boxed{B}$ - Skiri assistant
a - long fire
b - Kitkahaxki^{x} pipe in position after smoking
c - tally sticks
d - position of stakes
$\boxed{e}$ - Kitkahaxki^{x} men (guests)
$\boxed{f}$ - Skiri men (hosts)
g x - tarutsius (fire-tenders)

[782]

an offering to heaven, each time emptying some of the ashes on the ground before the fire; then he loosens the ashes a third time and deposits all that remains on the ground, an offering to the earth. Without further motions or gestures he takes the pipe with him to his place and sits down. He now places the pipe on the ground before him, mouthpiece pointing south, bowl turned to the west (see figure 1). He can put the pipe on the ground because now it is empty. Up to the time he began the smoking he had to carry the pipe and hold it in his arms.

The set used by the Skiri consists of eight dogwood sticks and two white bones; these are not decorated in any special way. The Skiri leader Knifechief now announces: 525 619

are whole tones between B flat and C, and between F and G. A 533*
similar melodic form occurs in Nos. 5 and 53. This song is transcribed with the signature of the key of F and classified with songs lacking the third above the keynote. The repetitions of the rhythmic unit are six in number and comprise the entire melody. Slight differences in the note values of the rhythmic unit occur in the latter part of the song.

The tenth obstacle was not encountered by Morning Star until after 773
he entered the lodge of Evening Star. The obstacle was a snake, but he overcame it, as he had overcome the others, by means of the ball of fire and the song.

Evening Star saw that his power was greater than hers, but she determined to hold him aloof as long as possible. Finally she insisted
that he make provision for the child that should be born; she even
required him to provide perfumed water for bathing the child and a [854]
cradle board in which it should be placed. On the hoop, or arch, of
this cradle board was painted a morning star and the lightnings, this [531]
custom being followed by the Pawnee at the present time. Evening
Star also required him to plant a tree in front of the lodge so that the mocking birds might nest there and sing to the child. From this union a daughter was born. She came down to earth and wandered about in fear. As she was running hither and thither she met a boy, the child of Sun and Moon, and these two became the ancestors of the human race.

Morning Star made a bundle and placed in it various articles connected 778
with the obstacles he had overcome on his westward journey. 773
He left this bundle with Evening Star and for that reason a woman has always been the keeper of the sacred bundle. Other articles have been added from time to time and will be noted in this paper.

It is said that Evening Star required a human sacrifice as her reward. 796
This sacrifice must be a pure and beautiful maiden and she demanded 773
that the sacrifice be repeated annually. Long ago, Morning Star 782●
sometimes appeared to a man in a dream and told him to secure a
maiden for this sacrifice. According to Linton, a man who had this [787]
vision went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received
the warrior's costume and the sacred objects kept for such an expedition. 796
Other warriors joined him and, preliminary to the expedition, 782
they enacted the journey of the Morning Star, and sang the song with which he overcame the obstacles placed in his way. (Cf. Song No. 1.) When the ceremony ended it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise and the leader went outside the lodge and addressed an invocation to him. After dancing furiously around their fire and offering a last prayer to Morning Star the warriors started forth and captured a maiden from the enemy. Returning, they gave

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 her into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village until the
●782 time for her sacrifice. She was treated in a ceremonial manner but
kept in ignorance of her fate. At the appointed time her body was
[302 painted, half red and half black, and she was tied to a scaffold and
417] shot through the heart with an arrow. It was said that the braided
thong used to bind the girl to the scaffold is now in the Morning
Star bundle.

Tradition states that on one occasion the intended victim was
173 rescued. On the night preceding her execution she was seated beside
782 some tall sunflowers. A young chief came through the tall weeds and
796 stole her away, putting her on his horse and taking her to Fort Leavenworth, whence she was returned to her own people. She died within three months, having been anointed for death with the sacred ointment of red paint powder and buffalo fat. This occurred about the year 1818. The man who rescued the intended victim was a warrior of distinction and through his influence the custom was discontinued. The ritual of the sacrifice is still rendered but no actual sacrifice has taken place since that date.

796 Coming Sun, who sings the ceremonial songs, said that sometimes,
during the Morning Star ceremony he stops and says "Listen," and
[782] the people hear a woman's voice singing the songs above his head.

The Morning Star ceremony was held by the Skidi Band near Pawnee, Okla., on April 17, 1920. This ceremony formerly lasted four days and nights, ending when the morning star appeared in the east, but at the present time it is concluded in one day. On this occasion the writer had the honor of entering the lodge, through the courtesy of Coming Sun. It is said that only one other white person, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, has entered the lodge during the ceremony and seen the contents of the sacred bundle.

The ceremony was held in a tipi erected for the occasion in a quiet
[346] spot near the house of the keeper of the bundle, north of Pawnee.
This tipi had been used in the Ghost dance and was decorated with
Ghost dance symbols. (Pl. 5, *b*.) The adjacent landscape is shown in
Plate 3, *c*. The ceremony began at about 9 a. m. and continued until
4 p. m., the writer sitting outside the tipi except for the brief time
she was permitted to enter. Thus the entire songs of the ceremony
were heard, as well as the prayers and rituals, though only the principal song was obtained. At the proper time Coming Sun, who
was in charge of the ceremony, sent a messenger to summon the
writer and she entered the lodge, passing to the right and standing
near the bundle, before which she laid gifts of calico, tobacco, and
[534] money. Coming Sun was seated back of the bundle, directly opposite the entrance, and held one of the sacred gourd rattles. Two
796 men at either side of him held similar rattles. In front of the men
778 at Coming Sun's left and next the sacred bundle was a belt decorated

The first gathering was attended by about 200 Indians and the 701 building was closely packed at the second gathering, those unable 727 to gain admission being crowded around the windows and door.

The Pawnee Tribe was represented in the United States Army by 40 young men, all except one of whom returned in full health and vigor. One of the Pawnee soldiers died from disease in France. None were wounded, although many saw hard service at the front. Several were with the Rainbow Division, and on one occasion when there was a call for volunteers for dangerous service four Pawnee stepped forward and were accepted. One of these men brought back a German helmet as a trophy and his mother carried it in the victory dance as a scalp was carried in former times. The helmet was fastened to a pole at the top of which a captured knife was fastened like the point of a lance. A Pawnee said: "While the boys [782] were away we prayed for their safe return. We did this at every public gathering and it looks as though our prayers had been answered."

The dance on June 6 was the rejoicing of the tribe and that on 727 the day following was more formal, being attended by many white 533* persons from the town of Pawnee. At the first dance the soldiers were honored by their families and friends, especially by the women, about 45 of whom were in the circle. It was a time of general rejoicing, sometimes three persons being on their feet at the same time, singing, narrating some incident, or giving a gift. Old war songs were sung with new words appropriate to the occasion. For example, one man had composed words which mentioned airplanes and submarines, these words being sung to an old tune. A woman had composed two similar songs, and, crossing the circle, she stood in front of the chief (James R. Murie) and sang them alone, without the drum. Throughout the entire afternoon there were frequent [201] repetitions of the shrill, quavering cry with which the Indian women express pleasure or approval.

Two of the most interesting songs heard on this occasion had their 533* origin in two dreams by John Luwak. The melody of the two was 787 the same, but the words referred to different dreams. Luwak, 727 who speaks no English, said that his friends translated to him the newspaper accounts of the war and that he "felt badly that our boys must cross the ocean and suffer so much." So he prayed daily [782] to Tirawa, saying, "Help our boys over there, so they will all come back strong and let me live to see them again." One night he fell asleep, after such a prayer, and "in his sleep someone told him that it would not be long before he would see the Pawnee boys again." He dreamed, and in his dream he saw thousands of white people and heard them sing this song. They were very happy and were dancing and waving flags; even the oldest people were dancing.

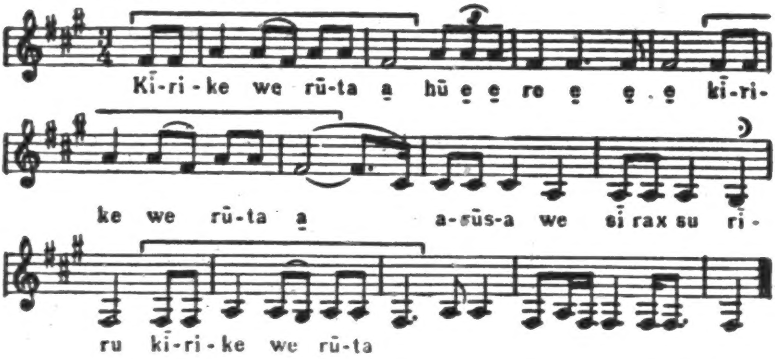
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 78. "You Need Not Fear the Horse"

(Catalogue No. 1079) 533*

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 108
Drum not recorded


Ki-ri-ke we rū-ta a hū e e re e e-e ki-ri-
ke we rū-ta a a-rūs-a we si rax su ri-
ru ki-ri-ke we rū-ta

Kirike	we	rūta	hū	re	kirike
What	now these	coming	yonder	these	what
we	rūta	arūsa	we	si	rax
now these	coming	horse	now these	it	you
su	riru	kirike	we	rūta	
it	afraid	what	now these	coming	

FREE TRANSLATION

What are those that come?
Those yonder, what are those that come?
The horse, you fear it,
What are those that come?

Analysis.—No change of measure length occurs in this song and the count divisions are chiefly quarter and eighth notes. The rhythmic unit is well defined and the six renditions are uniform in every respect. The minor triad and second constitute the tone material, and four-fifths of the intervals are minor thirds.

A man once volunteered to follow a war party and had gone only 533*
about halfway to the place of fighting when he met the warriors 782
returning. He was one of the poorest men in all the four bands of
the Pawnee. Passing through a deserted camp of his people he saw, 556
by the circles of buffalo skulls, that offerings had been made to

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

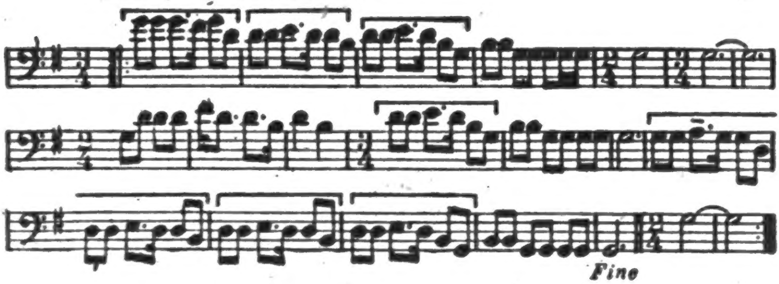
*533 Tirawa. He therefore prayed that Tirawa would help him get
● 782 a horse so that he could kill some buffalo. His prayer was answered,
556 and he became a very rich man. This is the song in which he offered
his prayer.

No. 79. A Poor Man's Prayer

*533 (Catalogue No. 1127)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 58
Drum ♩ = 58
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Analysis.—A compass of two octaves characterizes this song, although only two of its intervals are larger than a major third. The lowest tone was distinctly sung. Two-thirds of the progressions are downward and the rhythmic unit is continued throughout the melody. The rhythm was steadily maintained in the three renditions but there was some variance in the intonation.

*533 Only one song was recorded by Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*), who
was hostess at a hand game attended by the writer. In explanation
787 of the song she said, "I was sick and lay with my face toward the
east. As I lay there I saw a man with his face whitened with clay,
wearing a robe and leggings of buffalo hide. He was walking toward
the west and singing this song. When I heard it I knew that I
would get well."

Analysis.—The ascending octave at the beginning of this song
*533 was given accurately in all the renditions. The octave forms the
boundary of the melody except for the lower tone at the close, and
C is regarded as the keynote, although the third above that tone
does not occur. The sustained tones were the same duration in
all the renditions. It is interesting to note that these tones usually
contain an uneven number of counts. The same has been noted
in prolonged tones occurring in songs of this and other tribes.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

When the little boy was about half-grown he heard that a war 539 party was to start. He told his mother that he wanted to go, and he wanted her and his grandmother to make him some moccasins. He also wanted arrows, a bow and a quiver, and all the equipment of a warrior. When the old man heard this he called the boy and said, "Do you realize what you are doing?" 787

"Yes, I am grown to be a man."

"Do you have dreams at night?" 539

"Yes."

"Can you relate some of them?"

"Yes."

"Tell one to me."

"In my dream I was with a war party. I found myself coming toward home through deep snow."

"That is enough," said the old man. "You can go."

The women had sent the boy to his grandfather, thinking he would keep him at home, and they were greatly surprised to learn that the grandfather had told the boy to go with the warriors. It was fall when the war party started. As winter was coming near it was noised through the camp that all the war party had been killed and the people began to mourn. 765 The women of this family mourned exceedingly and cut their flesh with knives, but the old man sat and laughed at them, or smoked his pipe. 152 This went on for about 10 days. 304 Then his wife said, "You did not care for our grandchild," and his daughter said, "Why do you not mourn?" The old man said to his wife, "You remember that you turned the boy over to me when he wanted to go to war. You made moccasins for him and filled his quiver with arrows. I questioned him and found that he had had a dream in which he was returning alone through deep snow. That dream will come true. He is coming home, so I want you all to stop mourning."

They would not believe him, but one day, after a snow, some people going out from the village met the young man returning. He said, "All the warriors were killed except myself."

The man rode back and cried through the village, "Sarītsaris' grandchild is coming through the deep snow."

Everyone in the lodge was excited, except the old man. He did not rush out to meet his grandson. The women urged him to go, but he said, "He is coming; never mind."

When the young man entered the lodge his grandfather said, "Sit on my knees." 201 The old man passed his hands downward over the young man's head and body in the tribal manner of "blessing," 782 and said, "I believed in your dream and now you are here."

Then he told him to sit yonder and said, "I ask you—when attacked, 539 did you hide in a ravine? When you were a little boy and cooled my

778 [782] come. While all these bundles had their individualities, they had certain ceremonies in common: thus at the sound of the first thunder in spring, the keeper of each bundle must immediately open it with the proper procedure and make an offering of dried buffalo meat to the powers in the west.[1] This offering is burned, but after the ceremony the remaining meat is cooked and served.

184 778 As to how far this applied to the other divisions of the Pawnee, cannot be determined for they have not preserved their bundles and rituals to the same extent as have the Skidi. The Chaui are known to have had three bundles, the Pítahauirata, two; but those of the Kit'kaháxki passed out so long ago that no definite number can be enumerated. The rituals of all these bundles were seemingly different from those of the Skidi in that so far as we know they did not have the regular thunder ceremony, but consecrated the bundles to certain animals. It is not known for certain if the sacred ears of corn were kept in these bundles as in those of the Skidi, but there are some reasons for believing that they were.

103 361 631 778 In the Skidi scheme there were thirteen villages, each of which had a bundle:—

1 Tu^{h}rikaku^{h}, center village; the Evening Star bundle.

2 Kitkahapaku^{h}tu, old village; the four leading bundles are kept in this village.

3 Tu^{h}hitspiat, stretching out in the bottom lands.

4 Tu^{h}kitskita, village on branch of a river.

5 Tu^{h}wahukasa, village stretching across a hill; the Morningstar bundle. (This bundle was finally divided into two.)

6 Arikararikuchu, big antlered elk standing.

7 Arikarariki^{h}, small antlered elk standing.

8 Tu^{h}huchaku, village in a ravine; the left hand bundle, all use left hands in the ceremony.

9 Tu^{h}warakaku, village in thick timber.

10 Akapaxsawa, skull painted on tipi.

11 Skisa rikus, fish hawk.

12 Stixkautit, black ear of corn.

13 Turawi, part of a village.

631 778 These thirteen villages were organized or federated under this bundle scheme and so had a common government. The supreme, or original

---

[821] [1] The Evening Star (calf bundle) is the chief power in the west. Four other stars in the west represent the clouds, thunders, lightning, and the winds, or the four leading bundles. These four stars are supposedly sitting in the west, acting as priests. They are sitting there with a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat; also, they are sitting with a hill of corn, the stalks always green, and a place in front of them as the altar.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand
that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly 776
responsible. 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of conse- 292
crating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were cere- 796
monial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies.

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected 224
to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the
lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his
hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires.

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the 361
ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according
to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme.
Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a
circular or any definite camp form was observed.

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must 622
pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and 756
what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water 782
animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers
through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with
these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social inter- [565]
course. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but
otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that
at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called [773]
on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called
upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at
the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The
chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he
jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through
his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen
never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.)

847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair
842 was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could
831 not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should
753 any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would
become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren
women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names,
if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by
the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the
baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name
was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years.
[727 As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with
● 789] scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing
on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner.
This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if
the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some
meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after
marriage, an individual was given another name by the father.
This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed
after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a
relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved
desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath,
553 our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands
159 of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best
538 horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man
between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off
my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon
my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die.
After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home.
When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and
the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

and thought that I was dead but found afterwards that I was only 726
asleep. In my sleep, I saw a buffalo bull sitting by the water's 553
edge waving his tongue in the water. As I went up to him I saw 159
that he was watching me. He spoke to me and said: 'My son, you 538
are wounded, but you are not going to die; I shall take care of you.' When I regained consciousness, I was feeling sick. I wanted to vomit. I vomited a lump of white stuff. The medicine-men cut it open, and there was a piece of strouding inside it. This was a piece that had been shot into me from my breech cloth. I soon became well. Then I took the name of Buffalo-waving-its-Mouth-in-Water."

"There was a young man who had never been on the warpath, but was always making fun of other young men who came back from the warpath without any ponies or scalps. This young man made up his mind one day that he would go on the warpath. So he sat down in his lodge and invited a few of his friends. He told them that he was thinking about going on the warpath, and if they wanted to go he would like to go with them. The young men all said they would go. The young man kept the others in his lodge all day and all night. Just before sunrise they started out. They travelled far and a little before noon they stopped in a hollow, and the young man selected scouts and sent them out. The scouts came back and reported that there was a war-party close by, that the men were holding some kind of a council, and that their ponies were not very close. The young man gave instructions for every one to get ready. They walked along the ravines until they came to the ponies, which they captured and mounted. Then they attacked the enemy while they were holding council. The boys killed several of the enemy and drove the others away, came back and took scalps, and then returned home. They set the prairies afire, took the charred grass and put it upon their faces and bodies. They were received by the people and the boy told the old men that he had
taken a scalp, which he wanted to offer to the gods, and that he [782] ●
wanted his name changed. So the scalp was offered to the gods,
and his name was changed to Noon, for he said: 'By noon time I [551]
had captured the enemy's ponies, killed several men, and taken their scalps, so I shall be known as Noon-Day Man.'"

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

The usual period of nursing was about three years; if a woman 853
nursed a child for a longer time other women would make fun of
her. Children were told by their mothers to bury their milk teeth, 854
856

721 and obtain a scalp. This was carried home to the village on a pole, and
765 scalp dances were inaugurated. The scalp was consecrated to one
[782] of the deities of the heavens, and the man who had taken it wrapped
a piece of it in a small buckskin sack with tobacco. This was tied to a long stick representing an arrow and thrust into the grave. Another small piece of the scalp was burned upon the grave.

551 The name of a dead person could not be mentioned during the
765 mourning period. If anyone mentioned the name of an individual
who had been killed in war, it was thought that he would probably suffer the same fate as the person killed.

764 Reference has been made to the fact that personal belongings
778 were buried with the dead. However, there were certain exceptions
821 to this practice. Personal war bundles containing meteorites or
any objects supposed to have had their origin in the heavens were not buried. This was in accordance with the belief that these objects belonged in the heavens and not in the ground. Hence, when an individual possessing such objects died, and if the relatives did not want them, the bundle was unwrapped and the objects were placed on a high hill, whence they returned to the heavens. Such objects were supposed to be the children of stars, watched over by them, and it was believed that when people had no further use for these "children," they would return to their parents in the sky. Also, if a medicine-man died during the time he was giving instruction to his son, his medicine bundle was retained for the boy's use when he became of age.

764 A further illustration of the burial of belongings with the dead
778 is contained in the following incident. A Skidi chief's daughter
died. The father had received calumet pipe sticks from the Chaui band, and his daughter had participated in the ceremony accompanying the gift. Her death followed shortly after the ceremony and was attributed to the belief that the ceremony had not been properly performed. Consequently, over her grave her father placed the pipe sticks, oriole's nest, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, and tobacco bag that comprised the special objects used in the ceremony. That year drought prevailed, the crops withered, buffalo could not be found, and the Skidi were forced to depend on their cache reserves. The Chaui priest who had originally brought the pipe sticks visited the Skidi, and with the chief to whom he had presented them, went to the grave, removed the ceremonial objects, wrapped them in a bundle, and taking the earth from over the body, placed the bundle next to it. He then re-filled the grave. Shortly after, there

776 transmitted the mandates of Tirawa to the people upon earth. From her union with the god of next rank, the Morning Star, Opirikata, sprang the first being upon earth.

The Morning Star seems to have been a personification of the Male, as the Evening Star was of the female principle. He was conceived of as a warrior who drove the other stars before him from the sky. It was [782] to him that the Skidi band offered a human sacrifice.

Next in rank to the Evening and Morning Stars were the gods of the four world-quarters, who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest, and supported the heavens. To them Tirawa gave the task of dividing up the earth into the divisions which we find at present. Next in rank to these were the three gods of the north,—the North Star, who presided over the council of the stars, and who gave the ceremony for the creation of chiefs to men; the North Wind, who sent men the buffalo, and Hikus, who gave the breath of life. Below these in turn were the Sun and Moon, from whose union had sprung the second being on earth who, mating with the offspring of the Morning and Evening Stars, produced the human race.

There were a number of minor heavenly gods,—the second Morning Star, who assisted the Morning Star, the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who was the special god of medicine-men, the Star of the South, who stood at the southern end of the Milky Way and received the spirits of the dead, Skiritiuhuts ("Fool-Wolf"), who felt slighted in the councils of the gods, and, who, in revenge, introduced death into the world, and several others.

The greater part of the heavenly gods were iden-
[778 tified with stars. The sacred bundle of each village
361] was believed to have been given to its ancestor by one
of these heavenly beings; and when the villages of the

778 and therefore constituted a link between the people
796 and its divine giver. In the ceremonies connected with these bundles two ideas were basic,—one the idea of a sacrifice or offering, and the other that of a repetition, either through dramatization or ritual, of the acts performed by the divine giver. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star combined both ideas to an unusual degree.

175 The Morning Star sacrifice was performed only
782 by the Skidi band of the Pawnee. There seems good
796 evidence that it was carried out somewhat unwillingly, and that the officiating priests always found it a sore trial. Its performance was considered a religious duty, and this ceremony must not be confused with the torturing of captives as practised by several of the eastern tribes. The opposition to the sacrifice within the tribe itself increased until in about 1818 a young man, named Petahlayshahrho, rescued the victim in dramatic fashion, untying her from the scaffold at the moment of sacrifice and riding away with her. When safe, he gave her a horse, and sent her back to her own people. He then returned and declared that human sacrifices must cease. As he was a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which according to the Pawnee system gave him the hereditary right to succeed his uncle, many strong men in the tribe sup-
[178] ported his action. After this time, the ritual of the sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter, but no actual sacrifices are known to have taken place.

796 The actual time of the performance of the sacrifice is not fully known, but it seems to have been made in the late spring or summer of years when Mars was
[787] morning star. It was usually made as the result of
[821] a dream or vision in which the Morning Star appeared to some warrior and demanded it, but it might also be

721 tume and sacred objects kept in the bundle for such
796 expeditions. Many warriors usually volunteered to go
with him, for it was thought that the object of the expedition insured its success.

726 When the party had assembled, they set out for the
796 country of the enemy, sending scouts constantly in advance.
[782] If they killed any game on the way, they offered part of it to the Morning Star to remind him
that they were on his business. The leader carried the
[778] sacred objects from the Morning Star bundle on his
back.

When the scouts returned with word that they had found an enemy village, the party retired to some sheltered place and prepared for a ceremony. A circle was cleared, and a fireplace excavated as for a lodge. The leader then opened his pack and put on the sacred warrior's costume, and laid out the other objects to the west of the fireplace. A fire was kindled, and smoke
[533] offered to the heavenly gods. All then sang a song
symbolizing the overcoming of the Evening Star by the Morning Star and how, from their union, a girl was born. In the course of this song the leader rose and circled the fireplace, acting in pantomime the journey of the Morning Star. At its conclusion he passed out of the circle, and standing facing the east addressed
[782] the Morning Star as follows: "I am praying to you as
you directed, and we are seeking a sacrifice as you wished. I ask you to show yourself." In answer to
[821] this prayer the star was thought to shine with brighter
light. The leader then addressed his party thus:—

"Warriors, young men, we are now sitting in a place dedicated to the Morning Star. We are about to sing the song that the Morning Star himself sang when he was in search of a woman, who put obstacles in his way. I want you all to dance with all your might and to be brave. Whoever shall be so lucky as to catch

the girl must call her Opirikuts as he touches her. 726 Others must move away and not touch her. The life 796 of anyone who touches her afterward will be in danger. Everyone must now dance toward the center. Let the fire be like the enemy."

All then sang a song symbolizing the obstacles [533] overcome by the Morning Star, the refrain being, "This [539] is the way I did when I became angry." A red-painted stick like those used in the Thunder Ceremony had meanwhile been prepared, and this was now offered to the Morning Star by the leader with the words, "See, [782] I offer you only this stick with tobacco. It is all I have. Help me to obtain a real sacrifice."

By the end of this ceremony it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise, and the leader went outside the circle to the east and addressed a long invocation to him. He then returned, and all put on their war paint and ornaments. A fourth song was then sung in which [533] four of the great heavenly spirits were called upon to [539] give the warriors their powers. As they sang, the [535] warriors danced around the fire, leaping upward and giving their war cries, while the leader ran about encouraging them to dance harder. At the end of the dance the leader made a last prayer to the Morning Star, and all set out for the village.

The war party surrounded the village quietly. The leader, who at this time was considered a personification of the Morning Star, took his post to the east, with his back to the village, while a second man took his place at the southeast, and was directed to howl like a wolf, as soon as the Morning Star rose. As soon as his call was heard, the leader turned toward the village, and the attack began from all sides. The first man to capture a young woman touched her and called out, "I pronounce you Opirikuts." As soon as this was done, the attackers drew off and started toward home.

727 796 782 The word Opirikuts was both a dedication and a curse. As applied to the destined sacrifice, it was the former, and protected her from any mistreatment. From the moment it was pronounced she was sacred to the Morning Star, and any one touching her would die as from an infection. She was turned over by her captor to the leader and the man who had howled like a wolf, who represented respectively the Morning Star and another star called Fools-the-Wolves. These men were responsible for her until the arrival of the party at the home village.

When the party had arrived at the Pawnee camp, the girl was given into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village. Several months sometimes intervened between the time of her capture and that of the sacrifice, and during this time she was well fed and made as happy and comfortable as possible. It was forbidden, however, to give her any new clothing, as the giver would thereby become Opirikuts also and die. She was fed with a bowl and spoon kept in the Morning Star bundle for the purpose, and no one else might use these. If a man deliberately broke one of these taboos and died, he was thought to have taken the girl's place as a sacrifice, and she was released and sent back to her own people. If she escaped, it was thought a sign that the Morning Star had rejected her, and she was not pursued.

796 When the proper season for the sacrifice had arrived, the chief of the Morning Star village had all the furniture removed from the interior of his lodge and sent two errand men to summon the participants in the ceremony. The priest of the village came, bringing his sacred bundle, and spread out its contents on the west of the lodge to form an altar. With him came his assistant, usually a relative, who would succeed to the office on his death. These men seated themselves be-

hind the altar. The girl, who was constantly attended 796
by a guardian, was brought in and seated on the south
side of the lodge. The chief of the village took his
place on the southwest, with the leader of the war
party on his left, while the man who had actually cap-
tured the girl sat on the northeast.

The priest built two little fires of sweet grass, one 727
to the east, and the other to the west of the fireplace. 782
The girl was taken to the eastern fire, undressed, and 796
her body bathed in the smoke. Her guardian then [302]
painted her whole body red and dressed her in a black
skirt and robe which were kept in the sacred bundle be-
tween sacrifices. The man who had captured the girl
then went to the altar, and was dressed by the priest
in another costume, also kept in the bundle. He was [302]
given black leggings and moccasins, his face and hair
were painted red, and a fan-shaped head-dress of
twelve eagle feathers was attached to his hair in such
a way that it stood out straight over the back of his
head at right angles to his body. This was the costume [776]
in which the Morning Star usually appeared in visions, [787]
and with its assumption the captor seems to have be-
come a personification of that deity.

After these ceremonies had been performed, the 796
captor left the lodge and passed through the village,
entering every lodge and warning those who were to
take part in the ceremony to come to the chief's lodge.
Each family gave him a little red and black paint and
certain other objects which were needed in the cere-
mony. When he had completed the circuit, he returned
to the chief's lodge, and errand men were sent out
to invite the chiefs and priests of all the villages to
come to the ceremony. The Pawnee village was a so- [361]
cial as well as a geographical unit. Several villages [621]
might live together. Each of the priests and chiefs
had his prescribed place in the circle, while the space

796 behind them was [illegible] with spectators. So great was the eagerness of [illegible]ple to see the ceremony that many of them tore [illegible]les in the roof and walls of the lodge, leaving it a complete wreck.

793 796 When all the invited guests had taken their places, the chief priest told the priests of the Four Direction bundles to go into the woods and bring back four thick poles about twelve feet long. [824] The priest of the northeast was to bring an elm; he of the northwest, a box elder; he of the southwest, a cottonwood; and he of the southeast, a willow. 796 When they had returned, the four poles were laid on the fireplace with their ends together so that they formed a cross whose arms pointed to the four directions. The poles had to be long enough to last for the entire four days of the ceremony, and as they burned, they were pushed in toward the center, the cross being always maintained.

The ceremonies which followed are not fully known, but they consisted of many songs and dances, with feasting, and continued for three days and nights. [786] During this time, and for the three days after the slaying of the sacrifice, the ordinary rules of conduct were set aside, and the priests announced to the people that if any man approached any woman during this period, she was to go with him willingly, that the tribe might increase.

727 782 796 Toward morning of each night, the representative of the northeast village danced around the fireplace, and taking the pole brought by the priest of that direction, pointed its glowing end toward the girl's body. This was repeated by the representative of the other directions in turn, but the girl's body was never touched with the brand. Indeed, the girl was treated with the greatest respect and consideration throughout the ceremony. She was told that the entire performance was given in her honor, and everything was done to lull

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

her suspicions and keep her in a pleasant frame of 727 782
mind. 796

On the afternoon of the fourth day, the chief priest 417
selected four men from the Four Band village to secure 782
the materials for the scaffold. Under the direction of 796
the leader of the war party which had captured the girl, they went to the nearest thick timber and searched until they found a hackberry tree near the center of the grove. At this tree they made an offering of smoke to
the gods, and then went northeast from it to find an [824]
elm, northwest to find a box elder, southwest to find a cotton wood, and southeast to find a willow. These were to serve for the lower cross-bars of the scaffold. They then went east until they found an elm and a cottonwood large enough to be used as uprights. Finally, they went west and cut a willow to serve as the top cross-bar.

When the men had departed to search for the timber, [533]
the priests sang a song describing their actions. At its conclusion the chief priest sent the two chiefs of the Morning Star village, accompanied by a warrior, to select the site of the scaffold. This had to be some place near the village which had, to the east of it, a depression or ravine large enough to conceal several men. When the chiefs had made their choice, the warrior accompanying them gave his war-cry. An errand man had been stationed outside the lodge to listen for this, and as soon as he heard and reported it, the priest of the Skull bundle ran to the place, bearing the sacred bow and two arrows. The two chiefs had stationed themselves at the points where the uprights of the scaffold were to stand, and the priest shot an arrow into the ground in front of each of them, thus marking the place where the hole was to be dug. Between these arrows four priests then dug away the soil to a depth of about a foot, making a rectangular pit ap-

417 proximately the size of the wrapper of a sacred bundle
782 when fully unfolded. The floor of the excavation was
796 then covered with white, downy feathers. This pit was called *kusaru*, and represented the garden which the Evening Star kept in the west, or, according to another account, the reproductive organs of the Evening Star. The white feathers with which it was lined symbolized the milk of women and animals and the juice of young corn. After the pit had been completed, the holes for the uprights of the scaffold were dug by two young girls.

While the digging was going on, the party sent after the timbers had returned. The two uprights of the scaffold were first erected, then each cross-bar was tied on by a warrior from the village of the direction which it represented. Before tying it, the warrior would recount some deed. One would say, "I made a sacrifice of meat and carried it to the priest on my back. After the ceremony was performed, the priest whispered to me, 'You, young man, have brought meat here by means of the pack string. You will have an opportunity before the summer is over to lasso a pony in the enemy's country. The gods now know you. Do not fear to go on the war path.' I went. We found a village, and others became afraid and ran. I went east by myself and found the enemy's horses. I went among them and found one with an eagle-wing fan tied to its tail. I captured it and rode home. Since then I have made many sacrifices." The top cross-bar was tied by two men each of whom had made a sacrifice, but these did not recount any adventures in war.

It is probable that the scaffold was also painted at this time, although the ceremonies connected with the painting are not remembered. The two uprights were painted red and black, the former symbolizing
[822] day, and the latter, night. The lowest cross-bar was

black, and symbolized the northeast; and its animal 417
guardian, the bear. The second was red, symboliz- 782
ing the southeast and the wolf. The third was yellow, 796
symbolizing the northwest and the mountain lion; and 822
the fourth white, symbolizing the southwest and the
wildcat. The top cross-bar represented the west, and
was painted blue or black and white, symbolizing clouds
and rain.

By the time the scaffold was completed, it was 796
about sunset, and the people dispersed. All spectators 773
were sent out of the lodge, and the door was closed.
The chief priest then drew upon the floor of the
lodge four circles, one for each of the world quarters,
and outlined them with white downy feathers. Each
of these circles represented a region penetrated by the
Morning Star in his search for the Evening Star and
also the magic animal which he had overcome there.
The white feathers symbolized the foam about their
mouths when they attacked him. When the circles had [533]
been made, the spectators were re-admitted, and the [535]
priests sang a song descriptive of the journey of the
Morning Star, while the chief priest danced around
the lodge with a war club, destroying the circles one
by one. When the song was finished, he straightened
up and said, "Chiefs, priests, warriors, old men, I have
destroyed the regions once controlled by the mysterious
woman who wanted darkness forever. These animals
were under her control, when the Morning Star
traveled in darkness looking for her. She placed an
obstacle in the southeast, which was controlled by the
wolf. The Morning Star destroyed this obstacle, but
preserved the mysterious animal. He continued his
journey, traveled to the southwest, and again met an
obstacle which he destroyed, but preserved the animal,
a wildcat. He continued his journey, and when he came
to the northwest, he again met an obstacle. He des-

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 troyed it, but preserved the animal, a mountain lion.
773 He went on to the northeast, and again destroyed an obstacle, but preserved its guardian, the bear. In the center of the earth in darkness he found the woman, conquered her, touched her with his war club, and turned her into the earth. The Morning Star then called the mysterious animals to him and said, "You beings are now under my control. Stand in the places where I found you, and watch over the people who shall be placed upon the earth and guard them. All powers you have you shall keep. You shall exist as long as the earth lasts. You are now placed as upright posts so that you will always hold up the heavens. Priests, chiefs, warriors, old men, I have this night followed the journey of the Morning Star. We will not forget these beings which he placed in the four directions, for he promised that they should partake of all offerings which the people made to the heavens. Let us begin singing the songs given to us by Mother White Star in the west (the Evening Star)."

533
796
● 782
[211]

When the chief priest had finished his speech, all began to sing the prescribed songs, resting and smoking informally after each. Like most ceremonial songs, these were long, with many repetitions, and were often obscure in meaning. As each song was finished, a tally stick, taken from a bunch kept in the sacred bundle, was laid down. The idea underlying this part of the ritual seems to have been that the girl at first belonged to the people and to the world of human affairs, but that, as each song was sung, she became more removed from them until, when the last tally was laid down, she had been won from the people, like a prize in a game, and belonged to the gods.

717
782
796

The singing usually lasted until about two hours before dawn. A priest then climbed on the roof of the lodge and announced to the people that the girl was

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

about to be prepared for the sacrifice, and that it was 727
time for everyone to set out for the scaffold. The chief 782
priest undressed the girl, went through the motions of 796
washing her and combing her hair, and painted the [302]
right half of her body red and the left half black. Her [292]
skirt was then replaced, black moccasins were put on
her feet, and a black robe fastened around her shoulders. Lastly a head-dress of twelve black-tipped eagle feathers, arranged like a fan, was fastened on her head.

When the girl had been dressed, all resumed their [533]
seats and sang another song at the conclusion of which she was told to rise; and two men, chosen to lead her to the scaffold, came forward and placed thongs around her wrists. All then passed out of the lodge, with the girl in the lead and the priests following behind chanting.

The rate at which the procession moved toward the scaffold depended largely upon the disposition of the girl. Everything was done to conceal the truth from her, and force was not used unless absolutely nec-
essary. If she mounted the scaffold of her own free [787]
will, it was considered an especially auspicious omen. The procession was timed to reach the scaffold a few minutes before the Morning Star rose, so that the men who tied her to it could complete their work and leave her alone when the star appeared.

While the girl was being tied to the scaffold, the men chosen for the last rites had assembled in the ravine to the east of it, where they were concealed from her view. A small fire was kindled there, and they prepared their paraphernalia. At the moment the Morning Star appeared, two men came forward bearing firebrands. They were dressed as priests, and had owl skins hung from their necks, showing that they represented the messengers of the Morning Star.

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

727 They took their places on either side of the girl, and
● 782 with their brands touched her lightly in the groin and
796 armpit. They then returned to the ravine, and a third man ran out, carrying the bow from the Skull bundle and a sacred arrow made for the sacrifice. As he came, he gave his war cry, and the people called to him and encouraged him as though he was attacking an enemy. Coming close to the girl, he sent his arrow through her heart, and ran back to the ravine. This part was usually taken by the man who had captured her. A fourth man then came forward with the club from the Morning Star bundle and struck the girl on the head.

A fire had been kindled to the southeast of the scaffold, and as soon as the girl was dead, her guardian came forward with a flint knife, and her captor with the dried heart and tongue of a buffalo. The guardian mounted the scaffold and cut open the body, while the captor held the meat below and caught the blood. The guardian thrust his hand into the thoracic cavity and painted his face with the blood. Sometimes [266] he is said to have removed her liver and given it to the members of the Bear Medicine Society, who cut it into small pieces and ate it to acquire magical powers. The blood-soaked meat was burned on the fire near the scaffold as an offering to all the gods.

When these rites had been performed, the men among the spectators gave their war cries and crowded forward to shoot arrows into the body. It was thought desirable that as many arrows should be shot as there were males in the tribe, and boys too young to draw a bow were helped by their fathers or mothers. When each man had shot his arrow, the spectators dispersed and returned to the villages where feasting and dancing continued for three days.

782
796
The priests, the guardian, and those intimately

connected with the ceremony remained at the scaffold. 782
When the crowd had gone, the guardian removed the 796
arrows from the body one by one and handed them to
an assistant who divided them into four bundles and
laid these bundles northeast, northwest, southeast,
and southwest of the fireplace. The body was then
taken down and carried a short distance to the
east of the scaffold, where it was laid face down. The
sacred arrow was drawn from its heart and laid upon
it. All then returned to the village, and the place was [766]
avoided for some time.

It was believed that the soul of the girl left her 775
body at the moment she was struck with the club and 782
went straight to Tirawa, who sent it to the Morning
Star. The Morning Star clothed it with flint from his
fireplace in the dawn and placed it among the stars in
the heavens. Her body was thought to be not like ordinary
bodies. Even after her death it possessed life.
Things would be born from it, and the earth would be
fertilized by it.

The sacrifice as a whole must be considered as a 773
dramatization of the overcoming of the Evening Star 782
by the Morning Star and their subsequent connection, 796
from which sprang all life on earth. The girl upon
the scaffold seems to have been conceived of as a personification
or embodiment of the Evening Star surrounded
by her powers. When she was overcome, the
life of the earth was renewed, insuring universal fertility
and increase.

Human sacrifices were rare among the North 171
American Indians. The practice is known to have 782
existed among the Natchez, who lived in the present
state of Mississippi, and possibly in Arizona and New
Mexico. In Mexico, on the other hand, the idea was
highly developed, and under the Aztec rule large numbers
of victims were immolated every year. It may be

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

171 significant that several of the practices and concepts
782 connected with the Pawnee sacrifice find Mexican parallels. Early Aztec manuscripts show victims fastened to scaffolds like that used by the Pawnee and shot to death with arrows. In both places the body of the victim was cut open, and the blood offered. The idea that the sacrifice was more acceptable if the victim mounted the scaffold willingly was common to both, together with the still more striking idea that the victim was a personification of a deity. Among the Aztecs this concept reached its highest development, the victim in at least one ceremony being treated as a god for a year before his sacrifice. Finally, in both places there seem to have been astronomical beliefs connected with the sacrifices.

000 This account has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey and from articles by several other authors.

RALPH LINTON

which contained red, black, and white paint in little 778 buckskin pouches; sweet grass, a pipe and native tobacco, and the penis bone of a racoon, were also placed in each bundle, all these objects being used in the ceremonies. The sweet grass was burned as incense, and the bone was attached to a stick and used as a fork to remove meat from the pot. Some bundles contained additional objects.

When the bundle was not in use, all these articles were done up in an inner and an outer wrapper of buffalo hide and tied with a rope of plaited buffalo-hair. To the outside of the bundle were attached the stems of one or more pipes whose bowls were in the bundle, a few arrows captured from the enemy, and some other objects. The arrows were used as fire pokers and pipe tampers during the ceremonies. In [276 ceremonial smoking it was forbidden to press down 782] the tobacco in the pipe with the finger lest the gods should think that the smoker offered himself to them with the tobacco. Associated with each bundle, and often fastened to it, there were four large gourd rattles of special form. These symbolized the four dieties who were the special guardians of the Evening Star, and also represented the breasts of the two divine women in the west,—the Evening Star and the Moon.

Except at the time of ceremonies, the sacred bundle was hung up on the west side of its keeper's lodge, above the buffalo skull which was always placed there. When so hung, it was likened by the Pawnee to a dead man in his grave. The spirit lived in it, but slept. Even when opened, the bundle continued asleep until the Mother-Corn had been placed in it. It then came to life, and during the ceremony the corn and the other objects represented, individually and collectively, supernatural beings. These beliefs of the Pawnee differ [171] considerably from those held by most of the other tribes who used sacred bundles; and Dr. G. A. Dorsey

171 778 has concluded that the village bundles of the Pawnee are more nearly comparable to the elaborate altars of the Southwestern Indians than to the medicine bundles of the northern Plains tribes and Central Algonkins.

778 796 It seems probable that there was originally a special ceremony connected with each bundle. There were additional ceremonies, such as that held when the first thunder was heard in the spring, which might be performed with several bundles in turn, and there were a few rites in which all the bundles participated. The [783] purification of the sacred bundles belonged to the last class.

778 783 The purification ceremony was held in the spring and again in the autumn, before the tribe left their permanent villages for the buffalo hunt. It has already been said that the Four Direction village had four sacred bundles. These took the lead in successive years. When the chiefs had decided upon the date for departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the bundle which was leader in that year. He sent his errand man to summon the priests of the other three bundles. These came to his lodge, bringing their bundles with them. As they entered, they beat their bundles, then crossed to the west side of the lodge, and seated themselves with their bundles in front of them on the ground. The errand man was then sent to summon the keepers of all the other village bundles, directing them to bring their bundles and also mats, pillows, and food-bowls. When these arrived at the lodge, they took designated places around it, spreading their mats on the ground and hanging their bundles, unopened, on the wall behind them.

783 When all had arrived, one of the four priests went through the village announcing the beginning of the ceremony and calling on the people to bring gifts to ● [782] Mother-Corn. These gifts consisted of a robe, moccasins, a hair cord, to be used as a girdle, and dried meat

and fat. The articles of clothing had to be new and 783
unused, and the meat that of buffalo which had been 782
dedicated to the gods at the time they were killed. The
gifts could only be presented by men who were in
favor with the gods. If the priests accepted them
from men who were evil in their lives or negligent in
their religious duties, the gods would be offended and
refuse to send the buffalo. Before taking a gift to the [302]
lodge, a man painted himself red, so that all the
people might know his errand; and, when the gift
had been accepted, two messengers went through the
village, thanking him publicly.

The priests and bundle keepers remained in the 783
lodge for three days and nights, sleeping in their designated
places. No ceremonies seem to have been performed
during this period, and they passed the time in
talk and in feasting on the food which was brought to
them. No women were allowed to enter the lodge during [562]
the whole time of the ceremony.

On the morning of the fourth day the priests of the Four Direction bundles rose very early and dug a rectangular pit to the west of the fire-place, between it and the permanent altar of the lodge. The buffalo skull, which at ordinary times stood on this altar, was removed and placed north of the fire-place. The earth from the excavation was taken outside the lodge and piled in a mound before the door. When the pit was finished, the priests carpeted it with white downy feathers. This pit seems to have corresponded to the pit dug below the scaffold at the time of the human sacrifice to the Morning Star and, like it, represented the Evening Star's garden in the west, the source of all earthly fertility and increase.

When the pit had been completed, the priests directed 778
the keepers of the various bundles to open them 783
and take out the Mother-Corn. A sacred stick, kept
in the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, was set up

136 of their value as food sources. Smaller animals, such as rabbits, opossum, raccoon, and squirrel, were also to be had. Ducks, geese, and other waterfowl were plentiful and fish abounded in most of the streams.

133 All of the major streams carry water the year round, although the Platte during the summer months becomes largely a subterranean river above its junction with the Loup. With the exception of those in the sand hills, the streams flow characteristically in broad, flat alluvial valleys, from 3 to 15 miles wide, and bordered by bluffs up to 250 feet in height. The historic villages were apparently all [361] located in the large river valleys rather than on the small tributary creeks; only the chase, war forays, or migrations seem to have led village tribes such as the Pawnee out upon the interfluvial areas.

778 It may be noted here that the "sacred places" of the Pawnee, where the *Nahu'rac*, or miraculously endowed animals, met in council, 823 were all associated with the streams. There were five of these, 825 according to Grinnell.[20] One was "at *Pa-hŭk'*, on the south side of the Platte River, opposite the town of Fremont, in Nebraska. The word *Pa-hŭk'* means 'hill island.' Another animal home is under an island in the Platte River, near the town of Central City. It is called by the Pawnee *La-la-wa-koh-ti-to*, meaning 'dark island.' The third of these sacred places is on the Loup Fork, opposite the mouth of the Cedar River, and under a high white cut bank. It is called *Ah-ka-wit-akol*, 'white bank.' Another is on the Solomon River, *Kitz-a-witz-ŭk*, 'water on a bank'; it is called *Pa'howa* sometimes. This is a mound, shaped like a dirt lodge. At the top of the mound, in the middle, is a round hole, in which, down below, [782] can be seen water. At certain times the people gather there and throw into this hole their offerings to *Ti-ra'-wa*, blankets and robes, blue beads, tobacco, eagle feathers, and moccasins. Sometimes, when they are gathered there, the water rises to the top of the hole and flows out, running down the side of the mound into the river. Then the mothers take their little children and sprinkle the water over them and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* to bless them. The water running out of the hole often carries with it the offerings, and the ground is covered with the old rotten things that have been thrown in. [This clearly refers to the mineral spring now known as Waconda, or Great Spirit, Springs, situated 2½ miles southeast of Cawker City, Mitchell County, Kans.[21]] The fifth place is a hard, smooth, flinty rock, sticking up out of the ground. They call it *Pa-hŭr'*, 'hill that points the way.' In the side of the hill there is a great hole where the *Nahu'rac* hold councils. This hill is in Kansas and can be

---

[20] 1893, p. 358.

[21] Bailey, 1902, pp. 197–200.

monies, which comprised the consecration of the buffalo staves and 224
the buffalo dance, were about to begin. The great dirt lodge was 796
crowded. I pushed my way through the throng of women and boys, who made up the outer circle of spectators, and soon found myself among the men, who made way for me, until I reached a position from which I could see all that was going on within the circle about which they stood.

For several days the priests and the doctors had been preparing for this solemn religious ceremonial. They had fasted long; earnest
prayers had been made to *Ti-ra'-wa*, and sacrifices had been offered. [782
Now the twelve buffalo skulls had been arranged on the ground in a 785]
half-circle, and near them stood the chiefs and doctors, reverently holding in their hands the buffalo staves and sacred bows and arrows, and other implements of the chase. For a little while they stood silent, with bowed heads, but presently one and then another began to murmur their petitions to *A-ti-us Ti-ra'-wa*, the Spirit Father. At first their voices were low and mumbling, but gradually they became more earnest and lifted their eyes toward heaven. It was impossible to distinguish what each one said, but now and then disjointed sentences reached me. "Father, you are the Ruler—We are poor—Take pity on us—Send us plenty of buffalo, plenty of fat cows—Father, we are your children—help the people—send us plenty of meat so that we may be strong, and our bodies may increase and our flesh grow hard —Father, you see us, listen." As they prayed they moved their hands backward and forward over the implements which they held, and at length reverently deposited them on the ground within the line of buffalo skulls, and then stepped back, still continuing their prayers.

It was a touching sight to witness these men calling upon their God for help. All of them had passed middle life, and some were gray-haired, blind and tottering; but they prayed with a fervor and earnestness that compelled respect. They threw their souls into their prayers, and as a son might entreat his earthly father for some great gift, so they plead with *Ti-ra'-wa*. Their bodies quivered with emotion, and great drops of sweat stood upon their brows. They were thoroughly sincere.

After the last of the articles had been placed upon the ground, their voices grew lower and at length died away. A moment later a

782 Prayers are made to them; sometimes for direct help in time of need,
776 but more often for intercession. Often in the folk-tales it will be seen that when the blessing asked for is some small thing, a prayer is made to the animals (*Na-hu'rac*), but if the petitioners are asking for some great thing, something which is very difficult to grant, then the prayer is made to "One Above," to "The Ruler," that is, to the Supreme Being.

782 Nothing of importance was ever undertaken without a prayer for
776 help, for success. All the serious undertakings of the year, whose
796 success would affect the general welfare, were preceded by religious ceremonies, when all the tribe took part, and prayers were made and sacrifices offered to *Ti-ra'-wa;* and in all lesser enterprises, the individuals who were interested humbled themselves and implored the Divine assistance. A party starting off on the warpath prayed for success and made a burnt offering. Prayer and sacrifice always marked the beginning of the feast, and often its end. Success in their undertakings was acknowledged by grateful offerings to the Ruler. The victorious warrior sometimes sacrificed the scalp torn from the head of his enemy, and this was burned with elaborate ceremonies by the High Priest. He who brought back from a foray many horses, gave one to the priest as a thank-offering to the Ruler. One of the well-known Seven Brothers said to me, "It is our aim, after we have been helped, to give thanks."

The feeling of these Indians toward their God is one of humility and reverence. They do not love him, but they look to him for help at all times. The young are exhorted to humble themselves before him, to pray to him, to look to One Above, to ask help from the Ruler. In the stories which are included in this book the allusions constantly made to *Ti-ra'-wa*—the Supreme Power—the prayers offered and the humility and self-abnegation so often expressed, show faith, profound religious feelings, and great elevation of thought.

114 Among tribal names of North American Indians, none is more familiar to us than Pawnee; yet of no tribe is less known. Frequent allusions to them occur in the writings of early travelers in the West; but only one satisfactory attempt has been made to write a connected history of this family. In the *Magazine of American History* for

anything. I have rubbed my hands down over you, so that you shall 539x
be as tough as I am. Because my mouth has touched your mouth you 773
shall be made wise." Then he left him, and went away.

So this man was the greatest of all warriors, and was brave. He was like a bear. He originated the bear dance which still exists among the tribe of Pawnees. He came to be an old man, and at last died of old age. I suspect the old bear died at the same time.

THE BOY WHO WAS SACRIFICED

THERE was a time, far back, when some people thought that it was 539x
good to sacrifice to *Ti-ra'-wa* whatever they had that was most 773
precious to them. The sacrifice of the animal, the burnt offering, has 782
always been made by all the Pawnees; that is one of the things handed down from the ruler. It is very old. The Skidi have always performed the sacrifice of the captive. Each one of these is sacred and solemn, but it is not like giving up something that belongs to you, and that you love. It is a sacrifice, but it does not cost much.

Many years ago, in the Skidi village on the Loup, there lived a man, who believed that if he sacrificed his son to *Ti-ra'-wa*, it would be a blessing to him. He thought that if he did this thing, perhaps *Ti-ra'-wa* would speak to him face to face, and that he could talk to him just as two people would talk to one another, and that in this way would learn many things that other people did not understand. His child was a nice boy about ten years old, strong, growing up well, and the man loved him. It made him feel badly to think of killing him. He meditated long about this, but the more he thought about it, the more he believed that this sacrifice would please *Ti-ra'-wa*. There were many things that he wanted to understand, and to do; and he thought if he gave up his son, these good things would come to him. So he resolved to make the sacrifice.

One morning he started out from the village, and took the boy with him. They went over to the Platte. When they got to the river,

x539 as they were walking along, the man took his knife from its sheath,
773 and caught the boy by the shoulder, and stabbed him quickly, and
782 cut him open. When the boy was dead, he threw the body into the river, and then went back to the village. When he got there, he went into his lodge and sat down. After a time he said to his wife, "Where is the boy?" The woman said, "He went out with you, when you went over to see the horses." The man answered, "No; I went out to where the horses are feeding, and looked at them, but he did not go with me."

x539 The man went out, and looked for the boy all through the village,
773 but he could not find him. At night when the boy did not come home, they began to get frightened, and for two days they hunted for the boy, and at last they got the old crier to call out for him from the top of the lodge, and ask if any one had seen him, but none of the people knew what had become of the boy. Now the mother was mourning, and the father pretended to feel very badly. They could not find the boy; and soon after this the tribe started on the summer hunt, and the father and mother went with them. The village made a good hunt, killing plenty of buffalo, and made much dried meat.

After the boy had been thrown into the river, he floated down with the current, sometimes turning over and over in the swift water, and sometimes grounding for a little while on a sand bar, and then being floated off again, and being carried further down. At length he came near to the place where the whirlpool is, under the bluff at *Pa-bŭk'*, where is the lodge of the *Nahu'rac*. There were two buzzards sitting on the bluff, just above this place, and as they sat there, one of them stretched out his neck and looked up the river, and after he had looked, he said to the other, "I see a body." Then both the buzzards flew down to where the boy was floating in the water, and got down under him, and raised him on their backs, and lifted him up out of the water, and flew up to the bluff, carrying the boy on their backs, and placed him on the ground on top of the bluff over the big cave, which is the home of the *Nahu'rac*. In this lodge were all kinds of animals, and all kinds of birds. There were bears, and mountain lions, and buffalo, and elk, and beaver, and otter, and deer; all kinds of animals, great and small, and all kinds of birds.

by the Pawnees. The Pawnee custom of sacrificing a captive maiden to 175
their god of war, the Morning Star, captured the attention of the people [782]
of the eastern United States and Washington in 1820 through reports of a young Pawnee hero, Man Chief, who risked his life to rescue a Sioux girl from the sacrificial scaffold in defiance of the Pawnee priesthood and the other participants in the ceremony. Echoes of Aztec customs that appeared in the ceremony and in other phases of their religion made people wonder how the Pawnees had come to make their home in the northern Plains or in what manner they could have received such customs. In the 1840's as main trails going westward cut directly across their territory, the Pawnee name became a feared byword to the settlers going west.

To many people today the word Pawnee suggests Plains Indian life. 121
They were indeed a people of our Plains, but the nature of their life was very different from the common stereotype of a Plains Indian. They were not the horse-riding, settler-hounding people that we think of as the typical Plains Indian. In the following account the Pawnee will appear in very human terms in the context of organized tribal life. We hope this more realistic setting will dispel some of our static preconceptions and open up new possibilities for change in our point of view about these early American settlers.

But beyond this primary goal, this study has a more general value for us. The portrayal of Pawnee life through the most ordinary situations has thrown into sharp contrast the major qualitative differences in their lifeways which fit none of our familiar stereotypes. As a human mode, it is a New World life and a new and unfamiliar dimension in the human spectrum. Cultural contact with the European and adoption of some of his ways did not change its essential character as even now American Indian groups persist in being not European. It is this persistent patterning that makes this account of Pawnee life an important resource as a control case in our search for a science of society. If we make an effort to enter it sincerely so that we see it whole, we can look at our own life with new eyes and be better able to perceive new paths to our own tomorrow to become the New World people that we really are.

I shall first introduce a number of Pawnee individuals who lived more than a hundred years ago in a Nebraska Pawnee village and the various life circumstances in which they were involved. Then I will place them within a household in that village and tell in full detail how they worked, played and worshipped together over the course of an entire year. Finally I will relate what became of them at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, after their village life ended. I will finish my account with a possible life pattern for our own future that my Pawnee studies have helped me to develop.

sirawari i	They two who are traveling, 533
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a	Alone, they two who are traveling, 539
tsapat-i witiwaku	A young woman, it is said that she says:
sikatasiwaktiks-a	I wonder if they two are true (to each other).
tskara, siraawari-i-a-a-a-a-a	

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their 883
parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not uncommonly 572
grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, 554
a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally
from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46-50) 539
of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of 883
wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the
son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys 572
liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy 554
suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally
the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels
they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing
the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too
well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be
taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were
taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until
the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the
boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last
the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all,
while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their
sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their
health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys
a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to induce [829]
boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some historical [867]
basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story
accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe
it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it
is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may
work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the mature 571
Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured 574
within the house even when only two were sitting together. First
there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the [782]
pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversation [276]
or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a [521]
woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for
the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

342 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman,
772 Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself. Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on earth.

342 The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive pow-
772 ers. The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately
353 ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the young-
84 est women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located, the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being "inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe, ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse
776 of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his
342 power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in
[823] the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that
[782] they would be readily received.

361 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear consciousness of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed,
342 the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy.
342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke
[354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cook-
[252] ing breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

252 White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the drawstring of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the
262 skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a
[251] large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

272 After the other foods were ready, the coffee was cooked in a bucket with sugar to be served later in small bowls. This was a task that No Corn was likely to undertake. She would mix a handful of ground coffee with a handful of sugar and boil them together with water in the bucket. The meal would be finished off with sweet coffee served hot and black.

512 While all these preparations were going on, the people began to get up
one by one and sit down in their places around the fire. Now only the
boys were still in bed. Grandma warmed her hands over the fire, went
[522] over to the bed, put them on Otter's warm nose and "took it off" remarking
to Old Bull, "Here's his nose." Then she offered it all around to the
assembled company. Sometimes it was his ears that she offered instead.
With things about done, Victory Call said, "Boys, breakfast is ready,
you can go to bed again later if you want to."

264 White Woman removed the bucket of corn from the fire and put eleven
bowls around it to serve the family. The grandmother–grandchild pairs
[412] each got a bowl together and everyone else got a bowl for himself. With
[415] each bowl there was a buffalo-horn spoon and two spoons in the bowl
for grandma and grandchild. White Woman, who was sitting east
and slightly north of the fireplace, dished out the corn with a large
buffalo-horn spoon 8 inches long with a bowl that was 4½ inches across
and 1½ inches deep. A ladleful or one and a half ladles of corn along
with the liquor was a serving, the grandmother–grandchild bowls receiving
an extra large portion. For feasts, large wooden ladles were used for
serving.

264 The order in which the members of the household sat at their meal was
pretty much in the position of their beds. Old Bull sat at the southwest
554 and Victory Call at the northwest position. Ordinarily a man's senior wife
592 sat next to him, and his junior wives sat beyond. Old Bull and his wives
sat in this order, but White Woman had moved down to the east end of
the north side so that she could do the serving. The grandmothers and
[574] their grandchildren sat at the east end. Old-Man-That-Chief, although a
[888] guest, took up the southeast position of humility, for he was old and
nearly blind. The bowls were passed around to the people from hand to
hand, unless the circle was too large, in which case a young woman
would be asked to do the serving. The men were served first in order of
importance, the "guest side" always being given priority. In this instance
the order was Old Bull, Victory Call, Old-Man-That-Chief, Horse
Rider, Queen Woman, the senior wife, then Clear Day, the junior wife,
Blue Calico, the grandmother, on the south side; then the women on the
north—No Corn, Yellow Calf and his Grandma, Otter and his Grandma,
and finally White Woman herself.

264 Before they began their meal, White Woman made an offering of corn
782 at the west. She took some kernels of corn in a spoon from Victory
Call's bowl and offered them to the nose of the buffalo skull that rested on

the altar there. Out of delicacy, she did not offer corn to the sacred ears in 264
the bundle; if they had had buffalo meat she would have offered it there 782
but not to the buffalo skull.

Now the meal began, and it was proper that they have light conversation while eating. 264 Their conversation turned to getting water for the 521 household and wood for fuel, the care of the horses, and the food pit. White Woman remarked to Clear Day, who was sitting on the other side of the fireplace, "After breakfast, let's take two kettles and get some water." The other women talked about opening up the food pit and sorting out the good corn from the rotten and about exposing dry meat to the wind and sun. Victory Call talked to Horse Rider, who was sitting at his left, about the horses. He said, "Right up near where the horses are you might find some mushrooms and milkweed so that the women can cook the tops." Then the women chimed in, "I wish you could get some milkweed. That's good mixed with corn." Then Victory Call spoke of the horses: "If there's a good runner among them, get on him and give him some exercise so that we can train him as a buffalo horse. You must look around meanwhile and see if you see some deer tracks. We might go hunting. In the evening take the horses to a safe hiding place and hobble them so that the Sioux won't steal them. Look way off in all directions and if you see anyone lurking about bring them right home and put them in the corral. They won't starve for one night. In the morning we'll turn them loose and they can make up for it." "All right, I'll look around," said Horse Rider, "I'll be home late." Victory Call had some further reminders for him. He asked him if he had any parched corn with salt so that the horses would get thirsty and drink. He also reminded him that he should wet the sides of the horses and then they would rub themselves on the grass and shed their old hair. This was a necessary precaution, as they had no curry comb. Horse Rider actually knew all this, but he listened respectfully.

The meal now over, White Woman cleaned up the dishes and started 264
out with Clear Day to get the water. It was a mile to Beaver Creek, and it 512
was necessary to go at least twice a day to get water for the household. 312
Horse Rider usually helped by making at least one of these trips. The 482
two women now set out with two buckets hanging on a seven-foot-long stick which rested on their right shoulders, one woman walking in front and one behind, with the buckets between. The stick, ordinarily used as a digging iron, had one end fire-hardened and sharpened to a point, the other end being forked. At this time after breakfast and especially just before eating supper, many people were walking toward the creek for the same purpose.

Horse Rider left the lodge to take care of the horses, and Old Bull and 512
Victory Call remained seated in their place, smoking their pipe and con- 462
tinuing their conversation. The old ladies who were left behind looked [887]

sharpen up his axe, fix up the ropes, borrow a horse to haul the wood if 623
you need one. If two or three lodges are going afoot together, they must 203
keep in line so that we know where you are." (Those with horses were in 722
less danger and might go in any order.) There was another thing he 313
warned them against—that is, taking young girls along. They were just
the ones the Sioux would be trying to capture, and the old man remarked,
they weren't really strong enough to carry wood anyway! Another danger
was a magical one. The spirits of men who had been scalped by an [775]
enemy were very much feared. They were thought to lurk all around,
trying to capture women or steal whatever else they could get their hands
on. So the old man cautioned, "If a woman hasn't kept up, the line must
wait for her until she arrives. She might be captured by one of the
scalped men. This is the time you have to look out for that."

When the young men heard the crier's announcement, five or six of 722
them would gather together at a favorite rendezvous and say, "Let's go
together with our bows and arrows real early before the others and stay
up there until everyone comes home." According to their plan, on the appointed
morning they would go out before the others and disburse over
the area to see whether the enemy was lurking about. They would leave
the villages about 7:30 in the morning and stay out all day.

The chiefs' meeting had come to an end that afternoon while it was 574
still full daylight. Old Bull had gone off to tend his horses. Victory Call, 521
having nothing in particular to do since he had Horse Rider to help him,
wandered over to the gaming grounds where some of the men were clustered
about making their bets on the outcome of the hoop and spear
game, while others were just watching on the sidelines. Victory Call sat
down at some distance from the game and two of the spectators came to
join him. The man who sat down at his left filled up his pipe and offered [276]
it to Victory Call, lighting it for him. Victory Call offered the mouthpiece
upward for the first puff to the cosmic powers in the heavens saying, [782]
"Greetings, all of you spread out up there." Then he offered the
mouthpiece to the earth and said, "Greetings, my mother." Now he took
two puffs on the pipe and began to share it with the men on each side of
him in the alternation: first to the right, then himself, then to the left, and
so on. When the pipe was smoked out, Victory Call was feeling in a genial
mood. He made a special arrangement of his robe that had up to now
been carelessly draped around his shoulders. He drew it down to his waist
and, crossing his legs with the robe folded in a certain order, showed by
this token that he was ready to tell a story. The men who had sat down
with him were anxious to hear what the chief had to say, and particularly
what had gone on in the meeting he had just attended before the
crier got around to announcing it. Several more men joined the party
with the same idea in mind. Victory Call might begin directly, or one of
the men would suggest it obliquely saying, "I heard you had a feast."

574 521 "Yes, we had a feast. It was about having the whole tribe go out for wood." "Yes," one of the men would say, "springtime is coming now and it's about time we got the wood ready. Womenfolk have to go to the fields." Now they would exchange stories until sundown—about war exploits and the horses they had succeeded in getting from the enemy, in which direction they went when they got them, about scouting in the U.S. Army and other similar topics. After about half an hour, the man [276] [782] on his right filled the pipe, but Victory Call ceded it to him. He made the offering to heaven and to earth, and the pipe was passed between them back and forth until they had smoked the tobacco in it. While the storytelling was going on, one of the men decided that he would entertain the chief at his house for dinner and sent a little boy with a message for his wife to prepare a meal for their honored guest. When he was notified that the meal was ready he said to Victory Call, "I want you to come up to my lodge. We're going to have a little bite." The host would call over one or two more and invite them to join the party, saying "I want you to come up. We're going to have something to eat."

574 [554] Victory Call was seated in the place of honor at the northwest and the host at the southeast. The women of the house dished out the food and passed it around. After they had eaten, Victory Call got up first and left walking out by the north side of the lodge. After he had gone they would say, "He's a good chief. He goes about and sees what's going on."

When Victory Call got home that evening, he found White Woman waiting up for him. "I've already eaten," he said. White Woman retorted by way of banter, "I didn't ask you if you had eaten." Then he sat down by the fire and she brought him his tobacco pouch. Guests were likely to come in soon and join him for the rest of the evening for a smoke and some talk. Before the guests arrived, they divided into very small pieces the meat that Victory Call had brought home from the chiefs' meeting so that everyone could have a taste.

When the first guest arrived, Victory Call offered him his pipe and said to White Woman, "Cook something." The guest had just had his dinner and said, "No, no, I've already eaten." Then a little time passed and another guest wandered in. He happened to be hungry and he remarked, "I'd like something to eat," and then White Woman had to get to work and prepare something. By this time all the others who were sitting around would have worked up an appetite and Victory Call would say, "Maybe those fellows are hungry. Maybe they can eat." And so the cooking started up again.

574 521 They talked about hunting, trapping, the warpath, chasing the buffalo, and some other incidents that they had seen or heard. Sitting Bull would begin by telling a story on himself. He told that once he had killed a deer and his kinsman came along. Ordinarily he would be expected to give him half the kill, but he had diverted his attention saying, "Go fol-

visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her 773
four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned
of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the
people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that
there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just
like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great
council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile
he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location
northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village.
From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one,
each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a
sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They
came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was
a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The
leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of
this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The
Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced
with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and
told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief,
stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest
while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening
Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his
chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers,
he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside
of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although
it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person,
Tsahiks-paruksti, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the
meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When
the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it [829]
is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled re- [628]
counting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the [631]
past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In
Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and ongoing
life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the 796
year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first cer- 619
emony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, 631
a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a cere-
mony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. [778]
(See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was
maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together
in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual 796
during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved 782
[793]
[221]
[727]

796
782
[793]
[221]
[727]
[178]

the sacrifice to the Morning Star of a young girl that had been captured from the enemy. This was compensation to the Morning Star god for his struggle during the creation. The last girl to be sacrificed to the Morning Star was a young Sioux girl named Haxti in 1838, after which the practice was abandoned. This ceremony symbolized fertility in general.

796
221
778

TABLE 7-1. *Chart of Sacred Bundle Ceremonies in the Spring and Fall*

The several ceremonies of the spring planting and fall harvest form a parallel series, the six ceremonies in each showing a recurrent alternation of the powers of the Evening Star and the four semicardinal-direction bundles. The first four pertain to planting, fertility, and war, the latter two to buffalo hunting and migration.

Spring	*Fall*
I. Spring Renewal—ceremony of the creation at the first thunder from the south; Evening Star sponsorship.	I. Green Corn Ceremony. Evening Star sponsorship.
II. Distributing sacred seed corn of the special breed of corn included in the sacred bundles. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the summer-direction bundles —southwest or southeast.	II. Harvest of Mature Corn. Mature corn from sacred seeds installed in the sacred bundles, replacing the sacred ears of last year's planting. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the winter-direction bundles—northwest or northeast.
III. Ground-breaking ceremony, *Awari*, movement, activity. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an affiliate of the Evening Star in charge of the ritual as sponsor.	III. Four-Pole Ceremony—symbolizing political federation and control of the country through war expeditions so that they could go out into the country on the hunt. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an Evening Star affiliate in charge of the ritual as sponsor.
IV. Birth and growth of Young Mother Corn through adolescence to young womanhood; known as *Kurahus*, "Priest." Semicardinal-direction bundle in charge of ritual as sponsor.	

241 778 now dressed the skull in a black skin turban with a knot on the forehead. Inside the turban were soft down feathers mixed with red paint (to represent the visionary's brains), and on top, a soft feather as a plume.

[531]

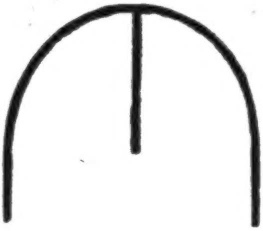


FIGURE 9-1. Representation of face painting symbolizing the vault of the heavens and the breath of Heaven.

[431] [782] Gifts began to come in: kettles of corn and meat were placed at the south, buffalo robes and other offerings between the fireplace and the skull.

[203] [431] [782] The woman's brother and a young man were sent out to all the lodges to invite the people. They dressed in their best and everyone that came brought a gift. Soon they crowded outside the door of the ceremonial lodge, and after the brother had made a smoke offering with the pipe toward the heavens and the skull the people were allowed to come in. They piled their gifts in front of the skull.

The paraphernalia were handed out to the women who were to do the dancing, and a special coiled basket was handed to the woman visionary and one to her assistant. This basket, especially made by a woman under the direction of the minister, symbolized the container ordained by Heaven to carry earth from which the world was created and the germs of life. At the time of the creation, Heaven caused this basket to move of itself through space.

The four ministers of the Skull bundle now took up their rattles and sang, "Now we are going to start to dance. Everyone wants to dance and shake the earth."

241 535 At the first song the women stood ready to scrape the earth with their hoes, right foot forward, arms extended. They were followed by the woman visionary and her partner, who now got up and danced with the coiled baskets. Next followed women with loon necks and then young women with deer necks. These had to be chaste young women. Now the hoes were taken over by the old women, for they were early risers and good workers in the fields. When these got tired, other women came over and took the hoes, carrying out the motions of hoeing all the time:

> The visionary moves her basket back and forth—dishing out. The four ladies with the loon necks swing them as if digging in the earth. The two girls with the deer heads dip them up and down, swinging back and forth. 241 535

As the women danced with the hoes, a few men danced among them with their bows and arrows poised as if aiming at something. If the women seemed to be getting tired, the men rubbed against them like buffalo bulls. After the dance was over, the minister asked if everything was all right, and when they looked around at the ground there were rolls of buffalo hair scattered all over. They knew that everything would be all right then, that they would succeed in the buffalo hunt, and that there would be plenty of corn.

There were eight song episodes in the entire series with three intermissions. 241 In the intermissions, a special type of byplay took place that had nothing to do with the order of the ceremony itself. The special characters comprised four young virgins and four warriors on each side of the ceremonial lodge. As the women were dancing with their hoes, these virgins and warriors stood up and joined them, and at the time for intermission each virgin got a pipe filled with tobacco that was at the altar and gave it to a warrior. The connection between war and fertility is a leitmotif that runs through much of Pawnee sacred ceremonialism as elaborately exemplified in the human sacrifice to the Morning Star. [181] [782] In this byplay between virgins and warriors this theme is also represented. In the kin system, familiar behavior is characteristic of grandparents and grandchildren only; otherwise people must maintain a formal position with each other. Since familiar remarks are going to be made, the virgins address the warriors as grandpa and the warriors address them as granddaughter. [603] [602] Each virgin having handed a pipe to a warrior, the byplay began:

> Holding his pipe in his left hand, he flexes his arm and moves it back and forth in jerky movements as if running and stamping his right foot three times and then his left as if on the run. He might say, "I was east on the warpath and I killed a Sioux," or he might tell how he stole horses on the warpath. Now the warrior makes a smoke offering and addresses his "granddaughter." He is going to give her advice on how to conduct her sex and marital relations. "Don't let your husband kiss you unless he gives you a horse." "All right," the girl answers, "I'll do that." A warrior on the south side says to his girl partner, "Granddaughter, give me the pipe and I'll tell you what I did. On the Republican river I killed a Sioux and I left him there." Then everyone will say, "Well, why didn't you bring him home?" Then he makes a smoke offering with the pipe the virgin has given him and says, "Grand-

10

THE CAPTIVE GIRL SACRIFICE

000

Importance of Sacrifice to Pawnees—Dream of Warrior and Initiation of Sacrificial Ceremony Preparations—Capture of Sioux Maiden—the Ceremony of Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—the Sacrifice in the Nineteenth Century—Its Interruption and End—the Heroism of Man Chief—Aztec Origins

773 796 782 [241] AFTER THE CREATION CEREMONY in times past, the Pawnees had an awesome rite that they believed would ensure the fertility of their soil and the success of their crops. In the creation story, fruitfulness and light had come into the world because Morning Star and his realm of light had conquered and mated with Evening Star in her realm of darkness. Out of that contest, the first human being was conceived—a girl. From time to time the Morning Star demanded a girl in return.

773 796 782 787 He came as a vision to a warrior in his dreams on a night in the fall of the year. In the vision, Morning Star appeared as a man anointed with red paint, wrapped around with a buffalo robe, his leggings decorated with scalps and eagle feathers. There were soft down feathers in his hair and a single eagle feather stood upright in his scalplock. Holding his war club he spoke to the warrior in his dream: "I am the man who has power in the east. I am the Great Star (*Upirikutsu*). You people have forgotten about me. I am watching over your people. Go to the man who knows the ceremony and let him know. He will tell you what to do." When he awoke and went outside before dawn, the warrior saw the Morning Star in the sky and he knew he had been chosen for the heavy burden of making the sacrifice. He ran crying through the village to the house of the Morning Star priest, singing as he went, "When he comes,

when he comes, father, I am seeking for you." When he arrived at the priest's house, they embraced and wept together, and then the priest filled a little pipe with tobacco and asked the warrior to tell of his dream. 773 796 782

After he had heard his vision, the priest filled the pipe and went outside where he lit it and offered it to the Morning Star so that he would bless the young man. [787] When the pipe was smoked out, the priest returned, emptied the ashes, and sat for a while talking with the warrior. The priest again filled the pipe and handed it to the warrior who lit it in the fireplace and carried it outside offering the first puff to the Morning Star, begging his pity and his guidance. Then the priest told the warrior to go home and to return when he was ready. He thought deeply of his forthcoming task as the priest had instructed him and at last asked the people in his lodge to make him several pairs of moccasins for the journey, filled with balls of pounded up sweet corn and some parched corn for his food. Everyone in the village was watching him, and some experienced warriors who had decided to go with him also asked their families to make similar preparations.

The visionary returned to the priest's lodge where they sat together for four days. When he came on the fourth day, the priest took the Morning Star bundle down from where it was hanging over the sacred [778] altar and removed the holy objects that the warrior would need, lighting the pipe from the bundle and offering smoke to each of them in the required fashion. The objects were an otterskin collar, Mother Corn, a hawkskin, an extra pipe from the bundle, some soft down feathers, and the skin of a wildcat, its legs filled with native tobacco and paints. These things the warrior would need for his costuming when he impersonated the Morning Star so that he could set out on his fateful journey. The ceremony took four days, and then the warrior went through the village to call on the men he knew were ready to come with him. He also chose a number of assistants—a younger man, four scouts from among the volunteers, and helpers and errand men. While the priest instructed him, the others went to their lodges and got their things. At midnight the priest went outside waiting for the Morning Star to rise and then went inside and costumed the warrior to impersonate him—a buffalo hair rope around his waist, an otterskin collar around his neck with a hawkskin fastened on and suspended from his right shoulder, the ear of Mother Corn from his left shoulder. He painted his face with the red ointment—two streaks on either side of his face and a bird's foot on his forehead (astronomically unidentified; "right on the Milky Way"). He gave him the pipe to carry in his left hand or in his robe with the stem pointing upward. As the Morning Star was rising the priest said, "Here is your man. He is wearing your clothing. Protect him and make him successful." Then he led the warrior around the fireplace, faced him toward the entrance, his assistant beside him and the others following behind in

773
796 the order of the procession—the four leading scouts, firemakers, cooks,
• 782 and messengers.

After traveling 15 or 20 miles, they lay down to sleep among the thick
773 weeds, resuming their journey through the afternoon to a timbered spot
796 where they made camp. The errand man cleared the ground, made a lit-
782 tle fireplace in the middle, and the leader took off his costume and put it
at the west end of the fireplace where the altar would be in the earth
721 lodge. They all sat around the fireplace in order of their rank and cosmic
726 affiliation, ate a meal, and talked a while; then the leader told them to lie down while he watched the sky and from time to time smoked his pipe. Just before the Morning Star rose, the scouts went out; when the star came up the leader began to recite the ritual, and hearing it everyone awakened and they continued on their journey. At noon they stopped, the scouts joined them and reported what they had seen; in the afternoon, they continued with their journey. Every day they traveled this way until the scouts reported that they had seen signs of the enemy. When the village was sighted, the scouts went all around, counting the tipis and generally taking stock of the situation. They made a final camp in the timber, making a large circle as if for an earth lodge, a fireplace in the middle with the excavated earth from the fireplace in a little mound to the east outside the circle. At the request of the leader, the warriors placed their gifts at the west, and taking some tobacco from the feet of the wildcat skin, he filled the sacred pipe and one of the men was chosen to do the ceremonial smoking to the celestial powers. The scouts made a final check of the enemy camp and when they got back, the leader ordered a large fire built and the ritual dancing began. The leading members of the party sang the songs of the creation: "The power of the *earth* goes through the enemy's country; the power of the *timbers, waters, seeds*. . . ." Others all sang and danced, "This is the way I do when I am imitating him (the Morning Star), when I become angry, when I am imitating him," and as they sang and danced, they attacked the fire as if it were the enemy. At the rise of the Morning Star, the leader also danced, put on some of his regalia, and got his pipe ready, and they set out for the enemy village, the scouts in the lead. In his prayer to the Morning Star he asked that he lose none of his men. At the enemy village, the leader was stationed at the east facing the Morning Star; he sent his assistant to lead a party around by north and another man by south to surround the village. At the southeast the man representing the Fools-the-Wolves Star was to alert them with his first wolf cry, and then at his second wolf signal everyone would attack the village. They were reminded that they were not to kill unless it was necessary, but only to locate a thirteen-year-old girl and pronounce her holy for the Great Star. The one who found her was assisted by the others to bring her to the leader. No one else in the village was to be harmed. The four scouts were to

drive the horses from the village toward their encampment so that they 773
could leave in a hurry. The enemy would not immediately attempt a 796
pursuit as there was a feeling that this was a kind of cosmic destiny. 782
Retribution would be visited upon the whole tribe later on in a regu- 721
lar war party. The girl was placed on a pony behind her captor, and 726
they rode all day, sleeping only three hours during the night until they approached the village. As they approached, the leader set the prairie on fire to let them know that they had been successful. The warriors smeared their faces with soot. The Morning Star priest came out and led the captive girl to the village and to his lodge.

Now that the girl had been captured the first stage of the warrior's 773
mission had been accomplished. The sacrifice would not take place until 796
the following spring. The whole tribe would go off on the winter buf- 782
falo hunt, taking the girl with them. When they got back to the village 727
and the creation ceremony had been performed, the priest of the Morning Star would watch for a sign from the cosmic god that the time for the ceremony had arrived. Meanwhile, the returned war party settled back in the village. The visionary warrior went to the lodge of the Morning Star priest and returned the costume which was replaced in the sacred bundle. Warriors told how many of the enemy they had touched and the war counts they should receive because of this and the number killed.
The women danced the victory dance. The keeper of the Wolf bundle 773
was called to the Morning Star lodge to take over the care of the girl 796
who would remain in his charge until the time of sacrifice, throughout 782
the period of the winter buffalo hunt and the spring that followed. He was to watch over her at all times and was to take her for her meals to the home of the visionary warrior. According to the creation legend, the wolf was the first creature to suffer death; he was murdered by the people because of his perfidious conduct and as a result from that time
on all living things must die (see below, pp. 328-329). The Wolf bundle [778]
commemorated these incidents and its keeper was thought to be a descendant of the original owners. Sirius, the southeast star, was the Wolf Star and it was connected with death. The Wolf man now entered the lodge of the Morning Star priest who bathed both him and the girl in incense from the smoke of burning sweet grass—first the girl and then the man. Then the girl's costume was taken from the Morning Star bundle. She was rubbed with red ointment made of pigment and buffalo fat and dressed in a calfskin skirt tied around the waist by a rope, an overblouse, a warm buffalo robe, some black moccasins, and a soft down feather to wear in her hair. She was given a special wooden bowl and a buffalo horn spoon for her exclusive use at meals, that was also taken from the bundle. It was dangerous for others to use her utensils as the supernatural beings might then consider them part of the sacrifice.

While they were on the winter hunt, the warrior visionary would have

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

773 to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used
796 in the sacrifice ceremony.

• 782 Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning
[821] Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose
[787] ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in
[292] order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin
[825] with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood
[823] appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm,
[824] northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

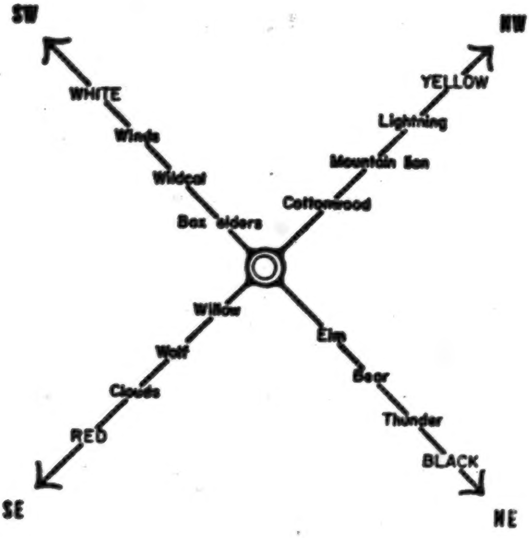
The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Tuwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

with red buffalo-fat ointment. Four circles were made on the ground one 773
in each of the semicardinal directions to symbolize the four quarters of 796
the universe that the Morning Star had to pass as he approached the 782
Evening Star. The circles were made by a man who stood in the middle [823]
and extended his toe as far as possible, drawing his foot on the ground as [772]
he turned. The tracks were filled with soft down feathers from the bundle. The priest smeared himself with red buffalo-fat ointment and suffused himself with sweet grass smoke. The actual ceremony could begin.

The priest of the Evening Star bundle sang the first part of the ritual and after a pause, the Morning Star priest took charge. He sang two songs. Then they had their meal. The Wolf man opened the next phase, bringing the girl to the altar where she was anointed by the priest with red ointment given to him by the war leader. They returned to their seats and the ceremony continued all night. The second day's ceremony was of the same kind. On the third day they continued to sing and dance, the war leader beginning the dance and then being joined by the others. The war leader took up the northeast pole from the fireplace with the fire still burning on its end and pointed it at the girl without touching her, first toward her right side then toward her left. Next he took first the southwest pole following the same procedure, then the northwest pole and then the southeast pole, following the prescribed order. Now, on the third day, the crowd of spectators became heavy and began to push into the lodge and tear holes in the roof so that they could witness the proceedings.

While the ceremony was going on in the lodge the priest gave direc- 773
tions for the preparation of the sacrificial scaffold. He sent men to find a 796
suitable location a mile or two east of the village with a ravine or a 782
series of dips in the ground to the east of it where the attacking war- 417
riors could hide during the ceremony. Wood for each part of the sacrifi- 824
cial frame had to be of special kinds: cottonwood for the two uprights; the four crossbars near the bottom serving as steps, each symbolizing one of the four semicardinal directions, the bottommost elm, then box elder, cottonwood, and willow, each associated with an animal power. Elm represented the bear and the northeast; box elder, the mountain lion and the southwest; cottonwood, the wildcat and the northwest; and willow, the wolf and the southeast. When the men reported back to the priest that they had located the wood, he gave them four strips of animal skin, each one of the appropriate animal with which to tie the crossbars to the frame. Near the top of the two uprights was another crossbar of willow, symbolizing Heaven, which was tied on with otter-
skin to symbolize the renewal of life. They were instructed by the 773
priest to dig a rectangular pit under the scaffold in area about the size 796
of a buffalo robe commonly used to wrap a sacred bundle and 5 inches 782
417

796 deep, the bottom to be covered with soft down feathers. The pit sym-
782 bolized the Garden of the Evening Star from which all life originates.
773 The pit was called *Kusaru*, which in Pawnee simply means bed.
417



[82]

FIGURE 10-1. Association of symbolisms for the four semicardinal directions: colors, natural forces, animals, trees.

796 In the ceremonial lodge, the dancing and singing continued on the
773 fourth day. Whenever they ate during the ceremonies, the girl was
782 served, and once in a while she was taken out to walk around, always accompanied by Wolf man. The main theme of the fourth day was the destruction of the four semicardinal circles in the appropriate order as Morning Star had done in the creation as he warred on the Evening Star. The priest, impersonating the Morning Star wore leggings decorated with scalps. First he arose and sang and danced around the north side, then the south side, then back to the altar. He danced around the lodge again and when he arrived at the east he whirled around suddenly and destroyed the northeast circle scattering the white feathers around the lodge, then the southwest, the northwest, and the southeast circles, making a grunting sound each time as if attacking an enemy. Then all sang the fifth song and the girl was taken to the altar to be costumed for her last role.

[822] Her body was painted, red on the right side, black on the left, the red to symbolize day, the time of the Morning Star, and the black to

represent night, the time of the Evening Star. She wore a skirt and a 773
painted hide robe around her shoulders. Now they sang of the origin of 796
the Morning Star itself that they thought had come from a meteor. They 782
sang to the girl, "You are now wearing the covering of meteorite [822]
grandfather," and in the next song, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite father," and then, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite brother." They completed her costume with a row of feathers standing up erect along the median line of her head. Her costume complete, she sat down in her place next to the Wolf man. They sang until midnight and then they paused, awaiting the time of the Morning Star. Meanwhile they placed a pinch of tobacco before the altar and sang about flint, the meteorite grandfather and other Morning Star symbols. Thereafter they would have to address their songs to the Morning Star in the sky. During the pause, once in a while the visionary took up the four direction poles from the fireplace and pointed them at the girl as he had done before in the prescribed succession: northeast, and so on.

Now the procession to the scaffold would begin. All the men and 773
boys and even male infants were to participate in the sacrifice. During 796
the day, one of the priests had climbed up to the roof of the earth lodge 793
and called out, alerting them to be prepared with their bows and arrows. 782
In the ceremonial lodge, the priest gave the war leader the braided elkhide ropes to tie on the girl's wrists. He took up the gourd rattles. It was almost daylight. The four priests of the four direction bundles had gone out to dress, each being assisted by a specially designated person to adjust their costumes and to get ready. The Northwest man (Yellow Tent) wore two owlskins on his back that he had taken from his bundle; in his hand he held the bow he took from the Skull bundle and a red arrow that he had added to it. The Southeast bundle man (Red Tent) also had two owls and took a stick with coals on the end. The Southwest bundle priest (White-Mother-Born-Again) had two owls also and he took a war club. The fourth priest, representing the Big Black Meteoric Star (black, northeast) who also wore two owlskins on his back, took the flint knife.

Now all sang and started on the procession, the girl and the Wolf 773
man in the lead followed by the visionary-war leader dressed in his ot- 796
ter collar, his otter belt with sixty-five scalps, his pipe, and other regalia 782
and the four direction priests in their costumes.

The dawn was coming and the scaffold was ready. Slowly the procession went toward it. As they went they sang four songs. The girl looked around and wondered. The first song said, "She was looking around for just a little time." Then they sang of Heaven and of the powers of the bear, the mountain lion, the wildcat, and the wolf as the girl approached the scaffold. The Wolf man urged her to mount and as she

773 796 782 climbed each rung, a song was sung about the appropriate animal. Singing they tied her on and then left her there facing east.

The war leader and four direction priests were hiding in the ravine; now the four priests came out one by one. The Southeast bundle man with the burning stick ran out of hiding and barely touched the girl on the arms and loins. The Northwest bundle man came out with his bow and arrow and shot her through the heart. Now the Northeast man of the Big Black Meteoric Star rushed up with the flint knife and made a small cut over her heart. Taking some of the blood, he painted streaks on his face. The southwest man came with the warclub, and he made a gesture at her. The blood of the girl was allowed to drip on the dried tongue and heart meat of the consecrated buffalo, and the priest made a new fire at the southeast, the burnt offering of the sacred meat being made by the priest of the Evening Star bundle. Now all the men and the boys of the Skidi Band, singing war songs, riddled the body with their arrows. Then the priest told them to leave the sacrifice.

The priests now made a final disposition of the body. It was full daylight, and four men who had been chosen to assist, untied the body and took it about a quarter of a mile to the east, placing it on the ground face down. They sang, "The whole earth, she shall turn into. The whole earth shall receive her blood." Then they spoke of nine things in turn: "She will turn into a bunch of grass; the ants will find her, the moths will come and find her, the fox shall come and find her, the coyote, the wildcat, the magpie, the crow; buzzards will come and find her, and last of all will be the bald-headed eagle who will come and eat her."

All the people who participated in the ritual went to the ceremonial earth lodge and there ate a meal of consecrated buffalo meat. The public dispersed.

[786] In the village there was general rejoicing. Men and women danced, and there was a period of ceremonial sexual license to promote fertility. Some women dressed themselves in their husband's war costumes, dancing around and making fun of the men. They mimicked what they did in war and ceremony.

> They carried the Mother Corn. . . . They would go to the secret lodge, and standing outside of it would tell the story of how they came to go on the pretended war party and what they did while they were gone, what enemies they struck—the whole long story. The people stood around laughing as they did these things. Imitating the warriors, the women changed their names also. One of the leading old women once took the name "Mud on Meat" another "Skunk Skin Tobacco Pouch" another, "Sitting Fish Old Man," another "Stepping on the Heart." The old men standing around joked with the old women and they all joked and made fun of each other.
>
> (Grinnell, 1925, p. 368)

The Captive Girl Sacrifice

So the ceremony had ended. The Morning Star had received back the 773
first girl to be placed on earth, and he would again look after the people 796
in peace and in war. In the way of the Morning Star, death and life, 782
war and fruitfulness were one process.

When the news of this dramatic rite first reached the eastern seaboard 796
of the United States in 1820–1821, it created something of a sensation, 782
especially in the light of the obvious Mexican analogies. In 1816 an
Ietan (Comanche?) girl was captured by a Skidi warrior in preparation 175
for sacrifice to the Morning Star in the spring of 1817. The chief of the 648
Skidi at this time was Knife Chief (*Ritsirisaru*) of Pumpkin-Vine Village. In 1811 he had been on a delegation to see William Clark in St. Louis who was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the region and they had had a long and serious talk in which Clark impressed Knife Chief with the fact that the white people were coming in ever-increasing numbers "like the waves of the ocean—in, in, in. . . . It's coming; every year more people come over here," and that the Pawnees must prepare to adapt themselves. Knife Chief was impressed with the validity of his argument and he realized that their ceremonial practice of human sacrifice was a serious barrier to their relations with the whites. He talked to the people in an effort to get them to abandon the custom, but the warriors of the tribe and the priests, always suspicious of the political motives of the chiefs, were hostile and defiant. The ceremonies were continued and on the appointed day the girl was led out and tied to the scaffold.

On the trip to see Clark in St. Louis, Knife Chief had been accom- 796
panied by his son (or possibly paternal nephew) Man Chief (*Pita-risaru*), 782
and, now in his early twenties, he was an outstanding warrior and uni-
versally respected. With the crowd gathered and the warrior ready to 175
shoot the fatal arrow, Man Chief rode before them and told them that his father disapproved of what they were about to do and he had come to rescue the girl or die right there. By Skidi belief, anyone who touched the consecrated girl during her captivity would soon die, for they would be taken by the Morning Star in her stead. From the point of view of those assembled there, Man Chief was thus offering his life as forfeit for hers. The crowd now held off in awe, and Man Chief was able to cut the girl down from the scaffold and place her on a horse and send her south to rejoin her people, which she succeeded in doing.

The next year, 1818, a Spanish boy of ten was captured in Oklahoma and dedicated to the Morning Star. This time Knife Chief managed to call a chiefs' council and he was able to ransom the boy with his own store of goods to which was added that of the trader and interpreter, Papin, and Manuel Lisa. The boy was returned to Lisa's trading post on the Missouri north of Omaha, Nebraska, by the middle of June 1818. Notice of the escape of the boy, along with an account of an additional sacrifice, appeared in the *Missouri Gazette* of St. Louis.

796 782 175 648 By 1820–1821 the story of the conduct of Knife Chief and his son Man Chief had come to the attention of Edwin James and Jedidiah Morse, and through them it became known. In the fall of 1821, when Man Chief went east to Washington with a delegation of chiefs, the detailed story of his bold rescue had been published, and the girls at "Miss White's Select Female Seminary" contributed enough money to have a large silver medal made which they presented to the handsome young Pawnee hero at a public ceremony. The medal bore the inscription "To the Bravest of the Brave." The medal was later excavated in an Indian grave near Fullerton, Nebraska, on the Loup River by Alonzo Thompson. It is illustrated in Hyde's book. The portrait of Man Chief was painted in Washington by Dr. King and later included in the McKenney and Hall volumes on Indian tribes. As Man Chief accepted the silver medal, he said that when he had done this thing he had not known it was brave. But now that they had called him brave and given him this medal, he thanked them and would always think of them. After the delegation left Washington, they continued on to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York and wherever they went they were greeted by large crowds and showered with gifts. Originally the delegation had left the Pawnee village in October 1821 under Major O'Fallon and was undertaken with the purpose of impressing the Pawnees with the power of the whites. A chief from each of the four bands had gone.

But despite these efforts, by May 1833 news of a plan to sacrifice a Cheyenne woman reached the Indian agent, John Dougherty at Bellevue, who took five men with him and rode out to the Skidi village. Chief Big Ax received him and promised to try to help him ransom the captive. The Chief called a council of the other chiefs and leading men and exhorted them to abandon their plan. The crowd in the village was hostile, but nevertheless the woman was brought into the chief's lodge. Big Ax was opposed by all the chiefs but one—Black Chief, of rather swarthy complexion. Finally Dougherty, seconded by a few friendly Pawnees, tried to ride through the angry crowd with the captive woman. The people had gathered in the narrow spaces between the earth lodges to try to block him, and, as he passed the lodge of a prominent brave named Soldier Chief, a priest who was standing in the vestibule drew his bow and shot the woman. The warriors took the dying woman out onto the prairie and carried out the sacrifice.

175 731 782 796 In 1837 an American Fur Company boat came up the Missouri. Some of her crew were down with smallpox and, despite the captain's warning, the Mandan insisted on boarding. Of the 1,600 remaining Mandans, only 31 survived the ensuing epidemic. Meanwhile the Arikara who lived in a neighboring village in the same locality returned there from the summer hunt and they lost half of their population of 4,000. The Dakotas also contracted the disease. Now the Skidi priests insisted that the Morning

175

Star must be placated. An Oglala Sioux girl of about fifteen whose name 731
was Haxti was captured, and on April 22, 1838, she was sacrificed to the 796
Morning Star. 782

This is the last reported case of a Pawnee sacrifice to the Morning Star.
Grinnell and others feel that there must have been further incidents that 175
did not come to attention. However, when our ethnological narrative 648
takes place (1867) it seems pretty certain that no further sacrifices were [782]
being carried out. About two hundred Pawnees, many Skidis among them, [796]
were organized into four companies of regularly registered U.S. Cavalry in Major North's Batallion. As part of their activities, they protected the crews working on the Union Pacific Railroad from attack by the nomadic Indians. After an attack on Plum Creek on the Platte, the Pawnees followed the Cheyenne to their camp and there captured fifteen Cheyenne women and children. In the subsequent negotiations, they exchanged these captives for two white women, the Martin sisters, and three small white boys, captives of the Cheyenne camp on the Medicine Creek branch of the

796
782
171

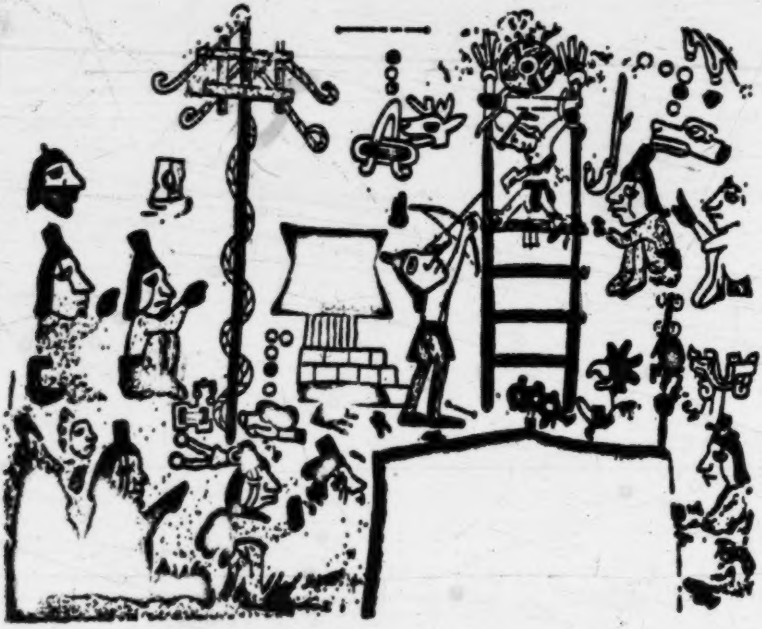


FIGURE 10-1. *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing scaffold sacrifice; in National Museum, Mexico City, accredited to the Cuicatecan tribe of the State of Guerrero. From Clark Wissler and Herbert J. Spinden, "The Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *American Museum Journal*, XVI (1916), No. 1, p. 54. See also illustrations on pages 52, 53, and 49 of the article.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

175

648 Republican River. It seems unlikely that the Pawnees carried on any fur-
● [782] ther sacrifices of captives to the Morning Star after that time.

[796] Aside from the obvious resemblances, there is some documentation
171 of detailed Mexican analogies. Wissler and Spinden would place the time
174 when a direct transfer through the Aztec could have occurred, between
782 1506 and 1519. In an article (1916) on the subject they give clear parallels
796 in illustrations from the codices (see Figure 10-2).

Within the Pawnee system of theology, it certainly had an organic place.
[771]

243 rooftops to see the priests get the young plant of the holy corn. The
793 priests were wrapped in their buffalo robes with the hair side out and
787 were rattling their gourds and singing. They felt it to be a long journey
788 symbolically signifying the eons of the creation, and the song was sung
to recapitulate all its stages—the stages that pertained to women (the land, the vegetation, the waters and the cultivated seeds), and the stages that pertained to men (the moccasin, its string, the robe, the power of the universe, Mother Corn, and the thunder). These stages of the
[792] men symbolized conception and birth—the moccasin, a pocket-like covering into which something is thrust; the moccasin cord, the umbilical cord; the robe, the enveloping membrane of the foetus; the creative power of the universe, the sacred nature of conception and birth; Mother Corn, germination; and the thunder, the fertilizing principle. The little corn plant they uprooted in the field would symbolize all these things.

243 When they arrived at the sacred corn hill, they ranged themselves
793 around it, the visionary to the west, the four semicardinal-directions
787 priests in their appropriate stations. They again sang the steps of the
creation as they sat in their places, and then the priests remained seated while the visionary rose and prepared to smoke his pipe with the powers above. He walked to the north side of the hill, where the errand man
[782] lighted his pipe, then proceeded around it, pausing to offer the mouthpiece to the powers in the order directed by the Evening Star priest before they had left the lodge. He offered it to Heaven, the Evening Star, the Morning Star, the Big Black Meteoric Star in the northeast, the North and Lucky Wind, a great legendary hero *Pahukatawa*, then southeast to the Sun and southwest to the Moon. Next he emptied the ashes on the corn hill and gave the pipe to the ranking priest. Then he sat down at the west and in counterclockwise order beginning at the northeast he pressed into the cornhill a gift of little pellets of buffalo-heart fat and tongue fat wrapped around with some tobacco. He alternated his offerings, beginning with tongue fat at the northeast and heart fat at the northwest, and so on.

Now the most solemn part of the ceremony was to be enacted. They were to uproot the sacred corn sprout in a symbolic act of birth. The visionary stood at the west and instructed the Southwest (or Southeast) priest to ease the plant out of the ground very gently so that he would not disturb any part of the delicate roots. The roots symbolized the moccasin strings and the seeds, the moccasin or covering for power. The priest wrapped the "newborn" plant in buffalo wool and handed it to the visionary, who placed it on his back in his buffalo robe as a woman carries her child. Now they began again to sing the steps of the creation and lined up preparatory to returning to the ceremonial lodge. Everyone in the village was watching and listening as they sang on their way back.

793
243 In the lodge, the Evening Star priest unwrapped the plant from its

Horses
231 were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact.
177 that horses were introduced to this continent by the Spaniards in the
early 1500's, and whatever use was made of them by American Indians
had to develop after that time. Even though it was a considerable length
of time, the Pawnee practices in connection with the use and care of
horses were not as advanced as those of the Spaniards. As regards the
*224 buffalo hunt, at the time of our narrative horses were used in the chase
492 when they were attacking the herd in a group and also to carry their
food and camping equipment. The strategy of the mass attack upon the
herd was to develop a "surround" by the mounted hunters who had
been lined up behind a hill out of sight. No doubt they had previously
492 used a similar technique on foot. As to carrying the food and equipment,
493 a good deal of it was packed on the backs of the women and girls. How-
482 ever, the women had dogs who were trained to drag the tent poles be-
hind them, the heavy ends of the poles tied to a harness on the dog's
back. The tent poles were grouped into two sets, one on each side of
the dog, and connected by two cross sticks toward the lower ends. Upon
these a skin cover was wrapped where other luggage was placed. A dog
492 could drag as much as 70 pounds. The custom of dog traction and ex-
482 tensive carrying on the back by the women was in full operation as late
175 as 1837 when a famous painter, Alfred Jacob Miller, portrayed the
178 Pawnees in this manner. After 1850, however, dogs were no longer used
for this purpose, and it was mostly the men who kept them around so
• [782] that the puppies could be sacrificed and eaten at a special ceremonial.
Some, of course, were kept by the women as pets. By 1867, the horse had
taken over the carrying function almost entirely except for a few poor
single or old people who had to do some packing of their dried buffalo
meat on the way home. The packing of the horse resembled that for-
[493] merly used in connection with the dog; the horse travois or carrying
frame was also the same as that of the dog. All the leather trappings for
keeping the luggage in place had now to be carefully prepared before they
left for the hunt.

231 The Pawnees were relatively poor in horses compared with other
422 Plains tribes at this time. This may have been due to constant attacks by
171 the Sioux and the other nomadic tribes, although this is not certain. At
any rate while among the Blackfoot or the Kiowa twenty-five horses at
least were considered an average number for a family on the move.
Eagle Chief, who was head of the Skidi Band, had only ten, and a reason-
ably comfortable family like that of Victory Call had only four or five.
Some families had only one or two horses and it was with great difficulty
226 that they went on the hunt at all. Even in their war practices, the
*[illegible] Pawnee retained some of their prehorse habits. It was well known that
178 they set out on their war expeditions on foot and they were known to the
Kiowa as "Walkers." The rationale given for this by students of the sub-

Every available hunter would get a horse if he could and leave the line 224*
of march to go to the hunting grounds. Even if the horse were not fast, [492]
there were enough buffalo for everyone to hunt. In order to free as
many horses as possible, the people were to combine and reload all
their baggage, doubling up with their neighbors if necessary for the
balance of the journey into camp. Man Chief and White Eagle, the first
to be ready, rode off a little distance to await the others. The scout now
rode all along the line telling all the hunters to get their horses and go
where Man Chief and White Eagle were waiting to start.

As the scout turned back to rejoin the waiting chiefs, an old doctor 224*
of the Asking-for-Meat Band began to go among the people to perform a 536
pantomime of sympathetic magic. He followed the path that the scout
had taken and, impersonating a buffalo, he went in a trot with his arms
flexed at his sides, chanting:

Now you are going to trot
Buffalo who are killed falling.

As he went among the people of each of the four bands, he sang his song each time. The children would try to trip him and make him fall down. When the boy Otter tried this, the old man asked, "Have you any tobacco to give me?" The boy shamefacedly answered no, but the old man fell down for him anyway.

Man Chief had appointed his prophet or "hand waver" who was to 224*
make the incantation to the powers as the hunters were poised ready to 792
make the attack on the herd. Now this man was holding back, reluctant [782] •
to ride out to the hunting grounds, worrying whether his luck would be
good. Finally he joined the hunters, as they were in a hurry to get 224*
started. Then Man Chief called out, "Now we're going ahead!" and with
White Eagle he started off a little ahead while the others followed in a
bunch. They all galloped their horses as they hurried on. The scout went
on ahead to guide them to the place. As soon as they got in sight, the head [202]
scout signaled with his blanket from the hill where he was stationed. If
he threw his blanket up leisurely and caught it, there was no hurry, but
if he threw it up and pulled it down quickly to his left, they had to hurry
because the buffalo would be close and coming on.

bands were busy restraining the hunters from anticipating the attack of 224*
the group. The herd was very widely scattered over the land and they 484*
were coming up from the river to graze. They could not manage the 625
usual surround, so the hunters dashed ahead over and around the several 628
hills that lay between them and the herd.

Meanwhile the line of march had been holding back, proceeding very slowly so that they would not interfere with the hunt itself. When the men had completed their attack on the herd, the encampment was set up in the angle of the confluence of Cedar Creek and the Solomon.

The hunt having been successful under the leadership of Chief Many 224*
Trophies, an old priest of the Downstream Band came walking through 793
the camps. He represented the tradition of the sacred bundle under 782
whose auspices the hunt had been conducted. He wore a war bonnet 778
with feathers all around his head, possibly symbolizing a comet, and
around his waist a buffalo robe that hung down about his legs. In his 628
right hand he held the sacred pipe and over his left arm he was carrying
some breast meat and some fat. All along the way men and boys from
the four bands were trailing after him.

When he stopped at the west of the encampment, everyone lined up. He placed the pipe against the meat and fat, then raised the latter up toward the west four times in offering. Just as he was about to put the meat and fat on the ground, the whole crowd pounced on it and tried to grab a piece of meat and fat to bless their homes. They grabbed from one another on all sides, with the little boys scampering out of the way for fear of getting hurt. The old man, meanwhile, picked up his pipe and went north around the camp to his own tent. The other two South Bands also had their special band bundles, the Asking-for-Meat Band had a very sacred Ant bundle, and the Little-Earth-Lodge Band, a Raccoon bundle.

32

THE CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCE OF THE HARVEST

000

Holy Significance of the Mother Corn—Pawnee Logic of the Universe—Three Harvest Ceremonies—Green Corn Ceremony—Mature Corn Ceremony—Four-Pole Ceremony—Ceremonial Rituals Explained—Symbolic Significance

243 778 [026] To THE PAWNEE, the ear of corn was his daily food and also the object of his most profound reverence and worship. In every sacred bundle that represented the cosmic powers there were two ears of corn of an ancient breed, cultivated exclusively for its role as a holy object—their Mother Corn. The leader of a war party that went afoot far out onto the Plains to capture horses and booty wore an ear of sacred corn on his left shoulder so that Mother Corn might guide them to victory. It was an ear that had served in a sacred bundle for one year from harvest to harvest. The calumet expedition for peace and trade with another tribe, besides the two symbolic eagle-feathered pipes, carried an ear of sacred corn representing the universe. It was painted blue around its bottom half with four blue lines leading up toward the point representing the semicardinal-direction pathways of prayer to Heaven, while on the point of the corn stood a single white feather to represent Heaven itself.

Each sacred ear of corn in the sacred bundle was sewn into a skin cover: the ear for winter in a tanned buffalo skin, and that for summer 243 778 782 in a heart skin. At every meal the wife or sister of the chief in whose care the bundle was kept addressed each ear of corn by its own name to give thanks for the food they were about to enjoy. If it were buffalo meat they were having, she would point some of it toward the sacred bundle hanging at the west in order to give Mother Corn the first portion. When they ate corn it was of course not offered to her but the bowl of the spoon

243

was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the 778
altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo 782
might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could 772
not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of 221
alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic. The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers
of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As [823]
these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their [778]
biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different 243
aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under 778
the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four
semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression [776]
of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity, Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in 796
their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under 628
the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented [778]
the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-*
Pole Ceremony—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken [823]
together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial sym- 796
bolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant 778
"ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of 243
its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Eve- 243
ning Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the 778
priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to 793
settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four [533]
[535]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

243 priests of the four direction bundles. They were representing the four
778 aspects of the primordial storm given by Heaven to the Evening Star to
793 assist her in the process of creation. The Evening Star priest also invited
a number of noted warriors and old men and had a quantity of green
corn cooked for their feast. The sacred bundle was opened and its pipe
[276] smoked and shared with the Evening Star and the other great western
[782] powers by pointing its mouthpiece toward the west and then in the same
way with the other celestial gods who took part in the ongoing of the
universe. The contents of the sacred bundle were passed through an
incense of burning sweet grass smoke, and an offering of the corn was
[574] made to the gods. Then the invited guests had their feast of green corn.
After the Evening Star bundle had completed its ritual, all other sacred
bundles followed suit, offering green corn to the bundles and having a
corn feast.

243 The main harvest ceremony which centered around the Mature Corn
778 was a continuation of the symbolic theme of the life cycle of Mother
Corn carried by the four semicardinal-direction bundles. Its connection
776 with the progression of the seasons was also part of the ritual pattern.

[793] In the spring, after the Evening Star priest had performed the creation
ritual for the renewal of all things, the four direction priests began their ritual cycle in anticipation of the planting time by a ceremonial distribution of the seeds of the sacred corn to the twelve owners of the sacred bundles whose wives planted them in special hills in the fields. Pursuing the theme of seasonal succession, the four sacred bundles of the group took charge of their ritual in turn. For the winter season, a North bundle was in charge. At the ceremony when the sacred seeds were distributed, the North bundle gave over its sacred mission to one of the South bundles of the group. A number of cornstalks symbolized this transfer of power, and these were now handed from the North to the South bundle. After the ground-breaking ceremony which belonged to a different cult (Skull bundle—Evening Star), the second ceremony of the Four Direction series concerning the Mother Corn was carried out. In this case the birth, infancy, and adolescence of Mother Corn were symbolized by uprooting the new little shoots of the sacred corn plants and providing one of them with a shaft on which a mouth and windpipe were painted to represent its life. The Young Mother Corn had carried them through the summer attached to the outside of the sacred bundle. Now the maturing Mother Corn had attained her full power to look after the people. The ceremony of the Mature Corn represented her installation to this office. It was also the occasion when the four-direction-bundle group shifted the ceremonial prerogative from the South bundle to the North bundle for the forthcoming winter. Some of the cornstalks of the sacred corn from the current harvest were given to this bundle to signify its mission. In addition to the principle of the succession of winter and sum-

mer seasons followed by the four-direction-bundle group, another principle 243
of alternation of powers was carried through as a means of assuring 778
complete cosmic protection. This was the alternation of the powers 776
of the western and of the eastern skies in successive years. There was,
therefore, a fourfold alternation of bundles in the four-direction-bundle
group over a cycle of two years: North*west*-South*west* in one year, and
North*east*-South*east* in the subsequent year. The west and east each
dominated a year, while north and south moved in half-year seasonal
cycles for winter and summer.

As they were returning from the summer buffalo hunt when they
had gotten about half way home, the priest of the summer direction bundle [793]
had sent a young man to the sacred corn hill to make an offering to it [782]
of buffalo tongue and heart meat. He pressed alternately into the corn
hill a strip of tongue and a strip of heart in the four semicardinal directions.

Now with the harvest in, the priest asked his wife to clear out their 243
earth lodge so that the ceremony for the Mature Mother Corn could be 778
held. The women removed all the beds and other furniture and swept it
out well, and the priest took down the sacred bundle from where it had 776
been hanging at the west and placed it on the altar. Before dawn he 793
sent four men to the sacred corn hill in the fields to bring in four stalks
of the holy corn with the ears still on them. In the course of the ceremony,
these would replace the old Mother Corn ears in the sacred bundles.
In this way the sacred bundles always contained some fertile
seeds.

The priest now invited a number of other people to participate. He called the other four high priests—his three colleagues of the four-direction-bundle group and the Evening Star priest. He also called in the holy man who had taken office when the sacred seeds were distributed in the spring and who had lived under severe taboos from which he would only now be released. All summer while they were on the march, this holy man had been living under the watchful eye of the priest. Also invited was the young woman who had contributed milk from her breasts at the ceremony of the Young Corn Plant in order to symbolize conception and the other owners of the sacred bundles.

When everyone was assembled, all went down to the camps where the 243
women had piled their mature corn and other crops. The priest announced 778
that Mother Corn was about to be installed and asked them to 776
bring their harvest offerings. They came with their best ears of corn, and 793
as the women entered the ceremonial lodge they put the corn on the
north side in piles according to the color. Any of the ears that had the 782
male spike at the tip, a feature that was regularly found in the holy corn,
might be included in the sacred bundle in the course of the ceremony
that was to follow. The women also brought beans and squash for the

243 harvest offering. Then the women left the lodge and the ceremony was
778 carried on entirely by the men. Now a man was sent to the sacred corn
776 hill to uproot any stalks that remained there with the ears still on them.
793 They were tied to the northwest post of the lodge, which symbolized
the Garden of the Gods. When the new winter direction priest was in-
[782] stalled at the end of the proceedings, he would receive these as a sign of
his office.

The priest was now ready to conduct the ceremony. He sat at the west with his bundle open before him. He put aside the stick with the Young Mother Corn Plant tied to it that they had made in the spring and the two sacred ears in their respective wrappings. He also had before him the four new sacred ears that were brought in that morning. The new sacred ears had been cut with the first section of the stem left on to symbolize the windpipe and the voice of the Mother Corn which was the
[822] "breath of life." After singing four songs mentioning the different
colors, black, red, yellow, and white for the semicardinal directions, he
[533] sang a fifth song and cut off the stem. Then he sang another song welcoming the new Mother Corn. He embraced the new ear, passing it to the other priests who were sitting to the south and to the north of him, and then passed it down the south side and then the north of the lodge, everyone in turn embracing the new Mother Corn. When the ear was returned to the priest, he sang a seventh song stating that the voice of the corn was raised to the heavens.

[782] At the close of the songs, the pipe was filled and the mouthpiece pointed toward Mother Corn as an offering to share in the smoking. Then the ear was passed to the people on each side of the lodge and each person blew his breath on it four times, symbolizing its new life in the world.

The next symbolic act was to concentrate all the power in the world into Mother Corn herself. The priest took a buffalo-hair rope about a yard long from his sacred bundle. It was said to have been made of "hair from beneath the waters." Taking one of the new Mother Corn ears in each hand, he knelt before the altar holding the ends of the rope against the ears. Then moving his hands, he made the rope circle around into a loop to represent the horizon as it had circled out from the gods in the west during the original creation. He now made movements as if he were throwing the rope over objects and drawing them to his breast. This was spoken of as "trapping the powers of the Heavens" for Mother Corn and all the sacred objects.

The ears of sacred corn whose "lives had been ended" were now given over to a distinguished warrior, who would carry them on the warpath to guide him to success, or to the entrepreneur of the Peace Pipe Ceremony, who would carry them on his expedition to give him success in trade and international relations.

With the installation of the New Mother Corn accomplished, steps 243
were taken to shift the cosmic power to the North Direction bundle for 778
the winter. The priest announced that the change was at hand, went to 793
the northwest house post, and took down the sacred stalks that were tied there, giving them to the chief who was in charge of the newly appointed North Direction bundle. He addressed the chief briefly upon the import of the procedure and formally charged him with the office. The new chief replaced the stalks on the post and then divided the harvest offerings that the women had brought among the chiefs and priests present at the ceremony.

Following this ceremony, all the sacred bundles changed their ears of Mother Corn for those of the new harvest. This ceremony was con- [782]
ducted very simply in each case, the usual smoke and meat offerings being made to the appropriate powers and a feast shared. In all the sacred bundles the pipe was turned so that when the bundle hung on the west wall of the house over the altar the mouthpiece of the pipe would be pointing north, so that the winter powers located in that direction could smoke.

The Pawnee year opened in the spring with a ceremony celebrating 796
the creation of the universe and within it the uniting of all the people 619
under one religion and society. Now as the harvest was done, a closing ceremony commemorated their unity and the common defense of their land. The four house posts in the semicardinal positions symbolized the [778]
entire world and its peoples. It was under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person and its four special ministers.

The setting for the ceremony was a special circular structure—a low 796
circular embankment opening to the east. First the priests marked out 346
the circle with a compass consisting of two sticks with a long string between; they also marked out the fireplace in the center in the same way. The fireplace was 3 feet in diameter and the excavated earth from it was dumped outside the east entrance to form a small mound. They dug four holes about a foot deep in the semicardinal positions within the circle to receive the posts that would be planted later on. All around the inside of the circular embankment saplings were set up in the ground, forming a screen that shaded the participants as they sat around during the ceremony. The chiefs who were the owners of the sacred bundles sat along the north and along the south side of the circle, each representing one of the villages that was a member of the original federation. Most of them sat on the north side, as the original villages were mainly on the Loup River, only one having come from the Platte to the south. At the west sat the keepers of the four direction bundles as they had originally come from Old Village in the west.

The ceremony itself comprised two major episodes. One was the get- 796
ting of the four poles, a war party setting out in a different direction for

796 each one. The second part of the ceremony consisted in the recitation by a chief of certain events in the creation ritual that represented the essential nature of the world.

In the first episode, the four war parties went out for the poles. When everyone was assembled, four warriors took positions at the semicardinal
[292] places. Each was dressed in full regalia. He wore an otter fur collar, a sacred ear of corn on the left shoulder, and a hawkskin on the right shoulder. On the head, each wore a ball of white down feathers and, transversely in the scalplock, an eagle feather. Each element of their costume had a symbolic meaning—the otter collar, awakening of life in the spring; the ear of corn, Mother Corn to guide them over the world; the hawk, to symbolize strength and fierceness; the eagle feather in the scalplock, Heaven during the creation; the white downy feathers, the clouds
[302] on which he rode. Their faces were painted with red streaks along the sides and a bird's-foot mark on their foreheads which was also the name of a constellation in the Milky Way. Each warrior carried a war club and a pipe from one of the leading sacred bundles.

While the warriors were being costumed, four scouts had gone in four different directions to locate the trees for the posts. The White Pole
[824] was located in the southwest direction and was a cottonwood. The Yellow Pole was found in the northwest and was a willow. The Red Pole of the southeast was a box elder, and the Black Pole of the northeast, an elm. The warriors came outside the enclosure and danced in their appropriate positions and a group of people gathered around each of them. The warriors now led their parties in their different directions and were met by their respective scouts who reported that they had located an enemy standing among the timber. Each warrior now led his party as if stealing upon an enemy. When the tree was sighted, they rushed in and the first man to reach the tree acted as if he were touching an enemy in battle, meriting a special war honor.

[782] Standing at the east, the warrior made a smoke offering to the tree. Then he carried the smoked-out pipe to the west where he deposited the ashes. Then another man, in similar fashion, made an offering of buffalo meat. Then a virgin took up her ax and symbolically cut down the tree. She motioned four times in each of the four directions, cutting off a chip in each. The tree was then actually cut down by her uncles and brothers amid the shouts of the people. As the tree fell they made as much noise as possible.

Now the warriors took up the tree and started toward the village, the
[831] crowd following. On the way in they stopped to rest at four different intervals when they were beset by old women who encircled them making suggestive remarks referring to sexual intercourse and speaking of sexual acts as deeds of war. None of these remarks were personal. When the party tried to bring the pole into the enclosure, someone blocked

their way and touched the tree as if it were an enemy, claiming war 796
honors and stating that they were entering the territory of the enemy. Then they brought it inside.

While the war parties were out, the priests had prepared the postholes. In each they placed a cake of buffalo fat sprinkled with some tobacco, the fat representing the earth and the tobacco the people. A similar cake of fat sprinkled with tobacco was placed in the center of the fireplace. These cakes were then taken outside and buried under the little mound outside to the east of the enclosure.

As each war party came in with its pole, the priest of that semicardinal- [782]
direction bundle offered it the pipe to smoke and sang the song ritual [533]
while the warrior danced four times and planted the tree in the posthole. All the branches had been trimmed from the posts except the very top ones. The priests sang songs referring to the appropriate colors connected with the semicardinal directions and each post was painted its proper color.

The next phase of the ceremony was considered its most vital part. 796
The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person 778
now recited certain acts of the creation by Heaven. The skull, fastened to a stick, was costumed to represent Heaven as in the first episode of the ground-breaking (*awari*), ceremony in the spring. The paraphernalia for decorating the skull, including the paints, was kept inside the bundle in a bladder bag when not in use.

Another symbolic object was a wooden bowl filled with water to represent a primordial pond or the waters in general. In the water was a shell to represent running water and the continuity of life. On the shell was placed the jaw of a gar pike, the head of a (thunder?) bird and the image of a turtle, all symbolizing the denizens of the water and the rains. The skull rested to the west, and to the east of it the bowl of water with the objects connected by a framework of sticks on which the turtle was placed with a clamshell over his middle. There were four smooth stones that were either meteorites or buffalo maw stones which came from the sacred bundle of the former Village Partly-on-a-Hill. The turtle and the shell were from the Southwest Direction bundle. The four smooth stones stood for the four quarters of the world.

The chief who had charge of the Skull bundle now stood up with the skull in his hands and, facing the bowl, recited the acts of the creation that had been performed by Heaven. The main part of the ceremony was now complete.

During the following night there were additional dramatic acts. Cer- 796
tain doctors appeared dressed in the skins of bears, loons, wildcats, and [756]
wolves, each connected with one of the four semicardinal directions. During the creation, as the Morning Star went out to conquer the Evening Star, he had to overcome each of these primordial animals who were

756 796 everything on their way south for the coming winter. I have sent men out to see about willows for our booths. They report that there are good trees for us. I wanted you to know that in a few days we are going to start to set up the lodge. Now the leaves are turning yellow and they are falling. This is the way the year goes round and that's why I wanted to tell you so that you can get ready. In two or three days you can come up here and get the wood to build your booths. Meanwhile you must fix up your paraphernalia, your whistles, and anything else you will need. I don't want to take up too much time talking this evening, as we have a great deal to do."

[824] Now he instructed the errand men to go to two of the men who had pledged meat and to bring it to the lodge. They went, carrying a piece of tent skin between them, and when they got to the lodges the meat was removed from the parfleches and placed on the skin, then carried by the errand men to the ceremonial lodge where it was set down near the southeast pillar. Now Sitting Hawk stated how their account stood. He said, "We used half a parfleche of meat cleaning up the lodge the first time, then the rest of the parfleche when we did the second cleaning. Now with these two, three parfleches will be used up."

756 796 533 Now the first song was begun and men, women, and children crowded in around the outside doorway to listen. They would say, "Oh, I like a good song." "Oh, I wish I could sing that song." A woman would remark, "I wonder when they'll put in the booths. I'd like to see the Bear." Inside the singing and dancing continued. The men were not costumed but simply painted, as this was a practice dance.

After the first round of singing, the spectators were told they had to leave. Big Doctor said, "It's all over." This was because they were now
• [782] going to make their ceremonial smoke offerings to the powers and outsiders could not be permitted to witness this. Some doctors refrained from singing in the first round altogether because they wanted to keep their songs from the public.

756 796 At the west were sitting the four leading doctors with their wives sitting directly behind them. On each side, along the north and south, the rest of the doctors were ranged. At the east ends on each side were eight chiefs, two from each of the four villages, viz., at the southeast, two from Village-across-a-Ridge and two from Pumpkin-Vine, and at the northeast, two chiefs from Bottomlands Village and two from Wolf-in-Water. Beyond these at the southeast were the old men, and an errand man at each side.

In the interim between the first and second round of singing, one of the eight chiefs got up and spoke on behalf of all of them. The doctors on their part spoke and said, "The echo of the drum drives back sickness when it comes."

[533] The singing alternated between the sides, first on the north and then

on the south. When they had gone halfway down the line, Big Doctor 756
appointed someone to get up and cut the meat into portions while the 796
errand man put up the water to boil. As the singing continued, the [533]
errand man finally announced that the meat was all cooked and a spread was laid down east of the fireplace and 43 portions were set out for the singers. It was midnight or later when the singing was over and the four drums and a number of gourd rattles were brought back to Big Doctor. He made a brief speech: "Now in three days we are going to get the wood for our booths. We must look to the future and make our plans. Now we are going to eat." Then he appointed two men for each side to do the serving of the meat. One portion was sent to the house where Sitting Hawk's wife was staying, "for the lodge." Before they could eat, [782]
an offering of meat and fat was made to the spirits in the significant directions of the universe. When the offering was completed, all said, "Nawa."

One more matter had to be attended to before the meat could finally be served. The meat was arranged on the spread according to where the people were sitting, and a stick was placed in the middle to act as a divider between the north and south halves. The pieces of meat were of two different sizes, some particularly large and some of ordinary proportions. Big Doctor asked Sitting Hawk to see that the special portions were placed in position so that they would be properly assigned. There were to be special portions for the four doctors at the west and their wives, for the eight chiefs, the two errand men, one each for the person sitting at the north on behalf of the North Star and at the south on behalf of the South Star, and for the four men who had been specially appointed to do the serving. Three or four extra pieces were set aside for possible mistakes in the count; if no mistakes had been made, these extra portions were placed on top of those that had already been set out for the chiefs. The smaller-size pieces were set out for the rest of the people. The meat was passed out in formal order and then the soup, in the same way. The feast this time consisted of meat and soup only.

By now it was extremely late and Big Doctor made some very brief closing remarks. He said, "Now we know what we have to do (viz., come back in three days and get wood for the booths). Now we have eaten. Now we can go." All got up and went home. It would take six or seven days more before the dance preparations were complete.

The next stage in their preparations was the building of the booths [346]
and other structures in the ceremonial lodge. As announced, this would be three days after the practice sing. On the appointed morning before daybreak, Big Doctor told the errand men to go to certain specified lodges and get four parfleches of dried buffalo meat that had been pledged so that they could have their feast that evening. The four donors had already been alerted at the previous meeting.

756 796 [824] The doctors came in very early wearing only their moccasins and a loin cloth and carrying an ax. Before sunrise they were to go into the woods and get six cottonwood trees and a quantity of willow saplings to build up the booths. The cottonwood trees were symbolic of the beaver, and the trees were cut down with an involved ceremonial procedure. When the doctors had all assembled, Big Doctor, dressed in his buffalo robe with the hair side out and carrying an eagle-wing fan and a gourd rattle, said, "Now get ready!" They sang four songs, four rounds each, [533] and then Big Doctor appointed Sitting Hawk to lead the men into the timber. He also wore a buffalo robe with the hair side out and carried an eagle-wing fan, gourd rattle, and a pipe that had been filled with tobacco by Good Pipe so that he could perform the ceremony when they cut down the first cottonwood. Pipe Offering instructed him: "Go by the east agency road. Before you get across Beaver Creek, all along the north side, you will find good willows and cottonwoods and also some very small thin willows. Cut a good many of those. Now go!"

756 796 824 276 782 They all filed out behind Sitting Hawk, and when they got to the timber they found a good cottonwood and sat down around it to perform the ceremony. Sitting Hawk, who was seated at the west, pointed the unlit pipe toward the tree—first toward the top, then the middle, and then the bottom. Now he moved to the north side, again offering the unlit pipe to the top, the middle, and the bottom of the tree and so similarly at the east and at the south. The next step was an offering of the smoke from the lit pipe in the same manner. Squatting at the northeast of the tree he lit the pipe with a flint and proceeded by north to west where he directed puffs of smoke to the top, middle, and bottom of the tree and then at the other stations as before. After the pipe was smoked out, he made the same offering with the ashes, rubbing first his right hand along the stem up toward the top of the tree, then his left hand, then the same to the middle, sitting at each of the four cardinal directions—west, north, east, and south. He now handed the pipe to the man at his right (south) and instructed him to find a cottonwood just like the one before them and to treat it ceremonially in the same way. These two cottonwoods were to stand near the western end of the lodge on both sides (north and south). He now instructed Bringing Horses to take his men and get two more cottonwoods, one to stand in the north position and one to the south as representatives of the beaver. (The ceremony was performed only for the two cottonwoods that would stand at the west.)

756 796 824 Finally, two other men were sent to get two cottonwoods that would stand one on each side of the lodge near the east. These men simply cut down the trees and sharpened them at the stub end so that they could be stood up in their appropriate positions in the lodge. Meanwhile, Sitting Hawk went on with his ceremony for the two trees that were to

Big Doctor prepared to receive them and the tree on behalf of the Doc- 756
tor Lodge. At his signal they came inside carrying the tree, stub end 796
forward, and walked around the fireplace four times through south, 824
west, north, and east where they stopped and placed the tree with its stub end touching the rim of the fireplace and its head end pointing toward the entrance at the east.

Pipe Offering made the offering of tobacco, smoke, and ashes with [782]
the sacred pipe to the three vital parts of the tree—the base, the middle, and the top as they had previously done with the cottonwoods. Meanwhile the errand men were sent outside to start to boil the dried buffalo meat for their feast.

All this time the other doctors had remained inside their respective booths, only the officials of the Doctor Lodge conducting the smoke offering ceremony. These included the four doctors at the west, one doctor each at the north and at the south, one old man (*kurahus*) each, at the northeast and the southeast, and the two errand men, one on each side of the entrance way.

Now that the cedar tree had been brought into the lodge and received, 756
it was time for all of them to eat. The doctors all came out of their 796
booths and sat right down on the serpent as there was no other place to 264
sit between the booths and the fireplace. Three buckets of boiled corn kernels had been donated and these constituted the first course of their banquet. As always, they had to share the food with the supernatural powers before it could be eaten by the people, and the serving followed an order that was determined by the particular powers they had called on for the occasion. After eating, the ceremony to stand the cedar in its place was performed and then anyone who wanted to could go home.

skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known 776
as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended 773
that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal
on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with
their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in [756]
the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The [782]
actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It [821]
was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears, without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of 796
rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celes- 825
tial ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time. Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been 796
occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and "fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is 796
completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. 241
Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until 262
the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive "fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also ap-
pears in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently [824]
the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild
plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the [534]
wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cul-
tivated gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea- 000

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-shaped,
177 bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological circles
[172] as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people
was "Big Knife."

17 Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
412 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
324 continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrowshafts
and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sandstone
buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from southwest
Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
[439] Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal
their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard
electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

796 The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
463 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
322 arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the
essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots
from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when
the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was
referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the
pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic
terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
796 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
171 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

time or not up to technical standards, or if the person failed to remain 531
even-tempered during the work, direct consequences to the health and 782
well-being of the craftswoman and her family would inevitably follow.
The guild was in the charge of a woman who made sure that these conditions
were met. The woman who supervised the fitting of the skins to 463
make the tent—the tent architect—also belonged to a religious guild of a [281]
similar sort. The conventional character of Pawnee technical processes was [342]
just as firmly established as among these other peoples, most of them going
back to very old practices, and their work was as fine and as precisely
done but there were no religious connotations of any kind.

The mature women did most of the craft work that pertained to the 463
domestic economy. The men made most of the things they used in hunting, [462]
war, and ceremonials. The crafts were not taught to the young people
as a normal part of their education. A young man or a young woman
had to be very eager to learn and only if an older person was willing to
sponsor them were they able to do so. The teacher had to receive ample
payment as well as a clear indication of a very real desire to learn. Both
for the manufacture of a craft object and for teaching as well as other [465]
kinds of assistance, "payment" should provide the craftsman with "something
to wear and something with which to feed the family." This consisted
in skin clothing or commercial cloth, blankets or shawls, and the
standard food stuffs, either native or trade.

The following is my informant's account of the circumstances of 463
learning the craft of making a black rope of braided buffalo hair: 283

> If a woman wanted to learn how to make a buffalo hair belt from Old Lady Lucky Leader, for example, one would go to her and put a necklace about her neck, and ask to be taught. She would certainly not consent at once. She might answer, "Some day I will teach you." This signified that if the applicant went quietly away and asked again another day, then repeated her request on subsequent occasions, she might finally give in. If she said, "I'll think about it," this meant she might capitulate if asked again. On the other hand, if she said, "I can't do it," this constituted an absolute refusal.
>
> There were situations in which she would feel impelled to grant the request. This was particularly the case if the woman were a close and respected relative, especially an in-law. On the other hand, she might also feel impelled to teach a woman whose family fortunes were low and who needed to earn something to help out. Such a woman was the wife of Chief's-Road. Giving the old lady a gift she said, "I want you to take pity on me and teach me to make a buffalo hair belt. You know that I am poor and we can't seem to work out anything. What I want is for you to take pity on me so that it may earn something for us. My husband can't make much and my sister can't do anything."

through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, 773
is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who 171
makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his footsteps 821
being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In
81, 127 Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personified 773
First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the
land.

82 Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906, p. 41. See Bogoras, 1902, p. 667, for wider distribution of this theme.

83, 152, 154-155 Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photograph 821
of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He [126]
states (p. 185): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we
do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their
magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constellations.
Astronomical analysis is included in the article.

84, 117 On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 782
1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 209-210; George E. 727
Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*,
Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen, 171
1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month,
"they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were
111 lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western
plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369,
description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden,
117 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz*
representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the
National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan
319 tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must
have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the
Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of
the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the
330 Mexicans . . ." (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account
of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the annotated
footnotes.

84 Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 442-428, claims that after the new 243
corn plant (*kurahus*, priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-fire
ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out
and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to
a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They [114]
state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of
such a ceremony.

97 The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as 243
hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony 825
is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 269, that 171

796
756
272 An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756
273 See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796
[574]
[782]
[184]
[752]
[726]
241 The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

824
825
171
277 On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372
482
280, 290 Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

372

727
305 Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home

THE HAKO

THE PREPARATION

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 [782] The ceremony of the Hako is a prayer for children, in order that the tribe may increase and be strong; and also that the people may have long life, enjoy plenty, and be happy and at peace.

The articles that are used in the ceremony can be prepared only under the direction and supervision of a man who has been taught the sacred songs in their sequence and instructed as to their meaning. Such a man is called Ku'rahus, which means a man of years, venerated for his knowledge and experience.

When a man intends to inaugurate a party for the performance of this ceremony, he selects a Ku'rahus to have complete charge of it, and fixes a day when the preliminary rites are to be performed. ●[783] On that day the Ku'rahus goes into the sweat lodge and there purifies himself. When he has come out of the sweat bath and has cooled off [516] a little, he places sweet grass on a small pile of coals. Then he sits down (on his heels) and draws a robe about himself and the coals, so that the smoke of the sweet grass may reach every part of his body. He then takes a bit of fat which has been preserved from a deer or buffalo consecrated to Tira'wa, and mixes it with red paint and anoints himself. Then he puts on his leggings and moccasins, and a buffalo robe, with the hair outside, tying it about the waist with a rope made of buffalo hair. He fastens a white, downy eagle feather in his scalp lock and goes to the lodge of the man who has inaugurated the party. [793] He takes with him a man as assistant; he is also accompanied by another man, who is learning the songs and the details of the ceremony, preparatory to becoming himself able to conduct this rite, but whose present duty is to minister to the wants of the Ku'rahus.

At the lodge the chiefs and leading men of the village have been assembled, with those who have agreed to be of the party and have contributed the requisite gifts. This lodge has been swept clean and put in order for the occasion. The Ku'rahus takes his seat at the west end of the lodge, facing the east, and before him, spread out on a mat, are the materials for the preparation of the ceremonial articles.

After the Ku'rahus has begun to sing the songs belonging to the act of preparing these articles there must be no coming in or going out of the lodge, and no one can move from his place until this (the first ritual) has been completed An exception is made in the case of two men who are sent out by the Ku'rahus to cut and bring in two sticks of ash. They go out during the singing of a certain stanza of the first song and must return while another particular stanza of the same song is being sung.

Translation of First Stanza

*539 1098 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1099 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitzu we re hre kusi hi!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child, young.
hiri! an exclamation calling to give heed.
kitzu, a modified form of kiitzu, water.
we, now.
re, am.
hre, holding.
kusi, sitting.
hi! part of hiri! give heed! harken!
1100, 1101. See line 1099.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the first stanza the old man takes up the bowl and holds it in both hands.

Water is for sustenance and the maintenance of health; it is one of the great gifts of Tira'wa atius.

[776] The white man speaks of a heavenly Father; we say Tira'wa atius, the Father above, but we do not think of Tira'wa as a person. We think of Tira'wa as in everything, as the power which has arranged and thrown down from above everything that man needs. What the power above, Tira'wa atius, is like, no one knows; no one has been there.

[783] The water is in a bowl shaped like the dome of the sky, because water comes from Tira'wa atius. The little child is to be cleansed and prepared for its future life by the water—sustained and made strong by the water.

Translation of Second Stanza

1102 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1103 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitzu we re ru ata ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part in iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitzu, water.
we, now.
re, am, or is.
ru, it.
ata, flying.
ha! behold!
1104, 1105 See line 1103.

668 This young man was blessed by the people, and they also took
177 a blessing from him. But when they touched him many fell or
794 trembled. "After this four men were selected to smoke to the
796 dead people."[1]

Murie also tells the interesting story of an unbeliever.

"A woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, 'That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth.' Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to
[625] act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit.
[783] The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right."[2]

Dancing was sporadic during the Winter of 1891, but gradually the dances followed each other in rapid succession. With few exceptions by 1892 the Pawnee were under White's influence and control. The situation forced itself upon official attention early in that year. "In February 1892 the Pawnee commenced what is known as a 'Ghost Dance', dancing in a circle, falling down in
[786] a trance, and after some hours they awake and profess to have seen their dead friends. About two-thirds of the tribe seemed at this time to be possessed of the idea of the second coming of Christ, to destroy all the whites and to bring back the buffalo and the wild game."[3]

On account of the coming end of the world, and the uselessness of continuing work in the face of the expected changes which would bring back old times and the deceased relatives of the living, all those who became convinced of the Ghost Dance doctrine stopped work. Many left their plows in the field standing just as they had been in the midst of their work cultivating their corn.

648 As soon as the agent in charge of the Pawnee received word at
668 the agency in Ponca City that the Pawnee were Ghost-Dancing,
he wrote to the clerk in charge at the Pawnee agency to put a stop
794 to the dancing immediately. "But the Indians seemed defiant and aggressive and it seemed at this time that trouble might be anticipated. Knowing that all religious fanatics are persistent and determined, I at once went to Pawnee and visited the camp of the so-called prophet Frank White, and after talking with him

---

[1] Murie op. cit.

[2] Murie, p. 635.

[3] Agent Wood in Annual Reports, 1891—92.

539 set of songs was sung the dancers attacked the fire. Finally, Crow-feather
danced up to the kettle which was full of boiling soup and took a piece of
756 meat out with his bare hands. He gave it to one of the spectators who
burned his hands with it. The rest of the members also did this. At
length the dancers dipped bunches of corn husks into the kettle and whipped
each other with them but did not burn. The dancing ended when the fire
went out.

This was the first ceremony of this kind. After the dance Crow-feather said, "You must now make the headdresses and bustles. Some day we will give a public dance when all must bring spears, bows and arrows, war clubs, and shields so that you can imitate the attack on an enemy in your dance. It shall be known as iruska (fire inside of you). The red headdress represents fire, the black hair fringe represents smoke.[1] This will not be a social dance, neither will the members act as soldiers for the chiefs. We shall be known as medicinemen."

The One Horn Dance.

535
756 The members of the one horn dance (raris arika) were young men eligible
to go to war. For the dance, the regalia of all the societies were gathered:
721 the war clubs from the sacred bundles, spears, war shields, bows and arrows.
During the ceremony they called upon Pahukatawa (Hills along the banks of
a river) to help them kill or count coup on the enemy. Women were not
● [183] admitted for Pahukatawa directed them to bar women for fear some would
be unclean.

The dance was held only when Pahukatawa ordered it and then only
[533] before an attack by the enemy. The songs imitated the bellowing of buffalo.
Each dancer seemed possessed with the spirit of a particular animal which he
imitated. The dancers wore their war regalia. Those who had war-bonnets had to fasten a whole buffalo horn on the right side of the bonnet. Each
dancer was painted according to the dreams of visions he had experienced.
[302] Those representing crows painted with charcoal or soot; jack-rabbits painted
with white earthen clay; buffalo were smeared over the mouth and nose
with buffalo urine mud; those with bear spirits were painted with red or
yellow which represented the sun for the bears sought power from the sun.

---

[1] The headdress is the imitation of fire, the red for the blaze, the black hair for smoke. The feather represents the iruska man who understands the fire. He is standing in the fire or has placed the fire about his whole body. The headdress represents the fireplace, the bone tube the medicine, and the feather, the man himself standing in the center of the fireplace. According to tradition, man came from an ear of corn and corn has life and life is fire. The original word for iruska is iriska (singular), iruska (plural), they are inside fire. The wood used for the iruska fire was cottonwood and willows.

771 778 has concluded that the village bundles of the Pawnee are more nearly comparable to the elaborate altars of the Southwestern Indians than to the medicine bundles of the northern Plains tribes and Central Algonkins.

778 796 It seems probable that there was originally a special ceremony connected with each bundle. There were additional ceremonies, such as that held when the first thunder was heard in the spring, which might be performed with several bundles in turn, and there were a few rites in which all the bundles participated. The [783] purification of the sacred bundles belonged to the last class.

778 783 The purification ceremony was held in the spring and again in the autumn, before the tribe left their permanent villages for the buffalo hunt. It has already been said that the Four Direction village had four sacred bundles. These took the lead in successive years. When the chiefs had decided upon the date for departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the bundle which was leader in that year. He sent his errand man to summon the priests of the other three bundles. These came to his lodge, bringing their bundles with them. As they entered, they beat their bundles, then crossed to the west side of the lodge, and seated themselves with their bundles in front of them on the ground. The errand man was then sent to summon the keepers of all the other village bundles, directing them to bring their bundles and also mats, pillows, and food-bowls. When these arrived at the lodge, they took designated places around it, spreading their mats on the ground and hanging their bundles, unopened, on the wall behind them.

783 When all had arrived, one of the four priests went through the village announcing the beginning of the ceremony and calling on the people to bring gifts to [782] Mother-Corn. These gifts consisted of a robe, moccasins, a hair cord, to be used as a girdle, and dried meat

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

and fat. The articles of clothing had to be new and 783
unused, and the meat that of buffalo which had been 782
dedicated to the gods at the time they were killed. The
gifts could only be presented by men who were in
favor with the gods. If the priests accepted them
from men who were evil in their lives or negligent in
their religious duties, the gods would be offended and
refuse to send the buffalo. Before taking a gift to the [302]
lodge, a man painted himself red, so that all the
people might know his errand; and, when the gift
had been accepted, two messengers went through the
village, thanking him publicly.

The priests and bundle keepers remained in the 783
lodge for three days and nights, sleeping in their designated places. No ceremonies seem to have been performed during this period, and they passed the time in
talk and in feasting on the food which was brought to
them. No women were allowed to enter the lodge dur- [562]
ing the whole time of the ceremony.

On the morning of the fourth day the priests of the Four Direction bundles rose very early and dug a rectangular pit to the west of the fire-place, between it and the permanent altar of the lodge. The buffalo skull, which at ordinary times stood on this altar, was removed and placed north of the fire-place. The earth from the excavation was taken outside the lodge and piled in a mound before the door. When the pit was finished, the priests carpeted it with white downy feathers. This pit seems to have corresponded to the pit dug below the scaffold at the time of the human sacrifice to the Morning Star and, like it, represented the Evening Star's garden in the west, the source of all earthly fertility and increase.

When the pit had been completed, the priests di- 778
rected the keepers of the various bundles to open them 783
and take out the Mother-Corn. A sacred stick, kept
in the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, was set up

778 just east of the pit. The keeper of that bundle then 783 brought the Mother-Corn from it and placed it in the pit, thrusting the stick to which the male ear was attached into the earth so that it stood upright and leaning the other ear against its base. The keepers of the other bundles then came forward in turn and did the same. A wooden bowl filled with water was then placed to the east of the pit, between it and the fire-place. A clam shell was laid in the bowl, and a turtle, supported by a framework of sticks, was placed upon it. To the northeast and northwest of the bowl [825] were laid the heads and necks of loons, to the southeast the head and neck of a swan, and to the southwest a gar fish. The meaning of these objects is not perfectly understood. The bowl seems to have represented earth and water; the turtle, fire and also one of the important earthly gods. The loons and swan represented earthly gods, guardians of medicine men; and the gar fish, the great sea monster which first gave the medicine men's ceremony to human beings.

After these objects had been arranged, the chief priest selected four men to sit at the northeast, northwest, southeast and southwest corners of the bowl. The sacred stick from the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, and a star chart, kept in a bag attached to that bundle, were taken outside and placed on the mound in front of the doorway. The priest then took four smooth stones from the same bundle and gave one to each of the four men. These stones were extremely sacred, and were believed to have been given to the people at the beginning of the world. They were pro- [482] vided with withe handles so that they could be carried without touching them. When they had been distributed, the priest said, "It is now time for these men to go outside and look at the heavens and over the earth. They will take with them these four stones, which were given to our people when the earth was created." Turning to the men, he told them to rise 778 and go out of the lodge. When they had risen, he went 783 to the man who stood on the northeast and gave him the sacred pipe from the bundle which was the leader in that year and a strip of dried buffalo fat about one foot long and four inches wide. After this the men passed out of the lodge, while the priests sang a song describing their looking at the heavens and earth.

The four men seated themselves around the mound of earth taken from the pit in the same positions they had occupied around the bowl in the lodge. An errand man then kindled a small fire to the east of the mound, and the man who sat on the northeast placed the dried fat upon it. As soon as the grease began to run out, the other three men caught some of it in their hands and greased their hands and faces. They also greased the sacred stones and passed them through the smoke. When this had been done, the fat was removed from the fire, and all four smoked the sacred pipe, passing it from one to another. At the conclusion of the smoking, the pipe was laid on the mound, and all stood up slowly, looking at the sky in all directions. They then picked up the fat, the pipe, and the sacred stones, and re-entered the lodge.

While the men were outside, the priests had sung a [533] series of songs, but ceased singing as they entered. The man from the northeast, who was the leader of the four, went to the bowl of water, picked up the bird's head which lay northeast of the bowl, dipped its bill in the water, and drank from it. He then pressed it first to his right and then to his left breast, and replaced it on the ground. He took up the turtle and did the same with it, except that he pressed it against his abdomen instead of his breast. When he had finished, he stood a short distance away on the west, and the other three men came from their respective directions and went through the same performance. After this

783 rite, they seated themselves in their original places,
778 and the priest said, "Priests, the men whom we have sent out to look about have returned. They will tell us what they have seen." The man on the northeast rose and announced, "We went out before daylight. We found the buffalo; so many of them that they have almost drunk the river dry." The others rose in turn and gave the same answer.

The chief priest then called some famous warrior and gave him the sacred pipe which the men had used, and gave the strip of fat to a chief. These passed around the interior of the lodge, first on the north, and then on the south side, offering first the pipe and then the fat to each of the keepers in turn. All reached for the pipe at once, trying to get as many hands on it as possible. They did the same with the fat, clutching it as if starving and trying to tear off pieces. This sym-
[777] bolized their eagerness to kill buffalo, and the tighter a man grasped the pipe, and the more fat he succeeded in tearing off, the better would be his success on the hunt.

When the pipe and fat had completed their circuit, they were placed on the altar. The priest then called the chief of the whole band to the altar and invested him with the robe, rope, and moccasins which had been provided as gifts to Mother-Corn. The sacred pipe was placed in his hands, and the priest announced, "Priests and men, this man will take us to the river." All the keepers then went to the pit and took from it the Mother-Corn belonging to their respective bundles.

While this was going on, men had entered the lodge and seated themselves in front of the bundles belonging to their respective villages. The star chart was brought in from outside and given to a warrior belonging to the village of the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle. Three other men were given quivers belonging to other sacred bundles. These four seated themselves,

one behind the other, near the entrance of the lodge, the 778
man with the star chart being in the lead. The various 783
objects in the bundles were then distributed to the men from their villages. The chief of the band, in his ceremonial costume, left the lodge, and began to muster the small boys of the tribe outside. All who were old enough to take part were expected to be present, and in performing this duty the chief was supposed to show his watchfulness over the people.

During the distribution of the sacred objects the [533] priests had been shaking their rattles and singing. Three songs were sung, and when they reached a certain word in the fourth, the man who carried the star chart jumped up and ran toward the river, closely followed by the men with the quivers. All the others followed them, with much crowding and fighting at the doorway. The priests and the keepers of the bundles remained behind. The men raced to the river bank, and there lined up in four ranks. Anyone who overtook the runner with the star chart snatched it from him, the idea being to carry it to the stream in the least possible time. At the river bank it was returned to its original bearer. The man with the star chart, and those with the quivers, stood in the center of the front rank, with the men who carried the Mother-Corn on either side. Behind them stood the men with the owl and hawk skins from the bundles, and behind these in turn the bearers of the less important objects. The last rank was made up of small boys, who carried racoon bones and arrows. When all had taken their places, the ranks opened in the center, and the chief came through, carrying the sacred pipe. He waded down into the water and went through the motions of bathing the pipe four times, although he did not wet it. He then pretended to wash first his right and then his left hand, and finally dipped his right hand in the water and touched it to his mouth,

778 nose, and forehead, and then drew it down his face.
783 These movements were repeated four times, with the right and left hands alternately. When he had done this, he came up out of the water, passed through the ranks, and took his place behind the rearmost, with his face toward the village. The men of the first rank then waded down into the stream and went through the same performance with the sacred objects they carried. They then passed through the other ranks and took their place behind the chief. The other two ranks did the same. When all had finished, the chief led them back to the village. As they entered it, the small boys dispersed, but the men continued on to the ceremonial lodge, where they returned the objects they carried to the keepers of the bundles and put on their robes, which they had left behind during the race. They then returned to their own lodges.

All the women who were bundle owners had ground corn during the preceding night and made mush. [262] This mush had been brought to the lodge and given to the chief priest early in the morning, before the commencement of the ceremonies just described. He now offered a little of it to the gods and distributed the rest to the priests and keepers. They ate, and then tied their sacred bundles, took up their mats, pillows, and bowls, and returned to their own lodges.

783 After they had left the ceremonial lodge, a crier went through the town, telling the people to clean their lodges and the streets of their villages and carry the filth away. When this had been done, the priests who had taken part in the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood outside it, shaking his gourd rattle and singing. All the people assembled and ran a race down to the river. When they reached [515] it, the priests waded in, came out at once, and went to the sweat lodge, where they took a steam bath. The

rest of the village, men, women and children, remained 783
at the river, swimming and playing in the water.

Ceremonies of general purification were important 171
among the settled agricultural tribes of the southeastern and southwestern United States. Among these tribes they were usually associated with the making of new fire, a feature which seems to have been lacking in the Pawnee ceremony. The account of this ceremony has 000
been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey.

RALPH LINTON

15

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY

000

A Summary Ceremony—a Symbolic Washing of All Ceremonial Objects—a History of the Ceremony—Celestial and Doctors' Symbolism Combined—Ceremony Explained—Participation of People in Ceremony

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY that was held before leaving on the 796
hunt was, in effect, a summary of all the Pawnee religious beliefs and 783
practices. In Pawnee ideology, the sky was one realm and the earth and 772
the waters another. The priests were in charge of the cosmic ceremonies, [224]*
and the medicine men, or doctors, were in charge of the animals that [793]
were connected with the earth and the waters. In this last category, the [756]
physical structure of man and his physical health were included. But ultimately, according to Pawnee thought, the sky was the first cause and
the continuing source of power in both realms. The doctors conducted 796
a separate cycle of ceremonies from the priests, and in the fall, at the gala 783
ceremony that was held after the harvest was in, they acknowledged their 756
celestial origin by hanging buffalo-hide cutouts of the Morning Star and the other sky gods from the ceiling of the ceremonial lodge. During the forthcoming summer hunt, a specially selected doctor would kill a buffalo bull and a cow to provide the skins for this purpose and another bull and cow to build up the images of their own special gods.

The central feature of the ceremony they would now conduct was the 796
carrying of all the sacred objects to the stream, there washing them 783
symbolically. Then the people would clean up the whole village and wash 778
themselves in the stream. This great cleansing ritual was under the direction of the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the northeast of the semi-
cardinal-direction bundles. In mythohistory this god was a sort of master [776]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 • 783 of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron 778 of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took 776 care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night, the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

* [224] The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage [772] twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbolisms from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the creation ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theol- 756 ogy of the cosmos was given. The doctors also had a systematic ideology of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had 773 much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans [171] or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

756

months. Thereafter, whenever a man had an animal vision, he applied to 773
the Doctor Association and was given a place in the lodge.

All during the summer hunt and the hard work of getting in the harvest 756
that followed, the people looked forward with great anticipation to 796
the elaborate performances that the doctors would put on all during the 224*
month of October. It was a Grand Opera with a connected series of episodes, combining animal mimes, displays of sleight of hand, and illusionist performances of different kinds, hypnotic acts, songs, and dances. In that summer the people contributed the dried meat of eighty buffalo to the Doctor Association for the forthcoming ceremony and in former times as many as 140 were given. This was one of the prime motivations for going on the hunt.

In the Great Cleansing Ceremony now to be held before departure, 796
both the celestial and the doctors' symbolism was combined, one con- 783
nected with crops and the other with the wild animals.

As soon as the chiefs had determined the date for the departure on the 796
hunt, they notified the priest of the sacred bundle who was in charge for 783
that season, and he in turn got in touch with the other four priests. They 793
all came to his lodge, beating on their bundles to signify that they were
now going to conduct a national ceremony. They took their appointed [778]
places at the west, putting their bundles down in front of them and sending the errand man to summon the other bundle keepers to come with their mats and food bowls. They spread their mats and sat in their traditional places, hanging their bundles on the wall behind them. They remained in the lodge for three days and nights, feasting and talking together. Meanwhile the four main priests went through the village calling on the people to bring gifts to Mother Corn. They were being asked to bring the clothes that would costume the chief who was to lead the pro-
cession when they took the sacred objects to the stream. Only men of [577]
sterling character were privileged to make such a contribution—those who were public spirited enough to initiate public ceremonies, were courageous in defense, volunteered frequently for public service, were generous in helping the less fortunate, did not harbor malice, did not engage in any kind of violence or loud conduct, did not gamble or indulge in sexual adventures in unsanctioned social categories. They were to bring a buffalo robe, moccasins, a buffalo-hair cord as a girdle, and dried buffalo meat and fat that had been consecrated on the previous buffalo hunt. The donors would paint themselves red, carrying their gift through the village for everyone to see as they took it to the ceremonial lodge. After the gift was presented, two messengers went through the village announcing the gift and publicly thanking the donor.

The actual ceremony in the lodge was performed on the fourth day 796
after the bundle keepers had assembled there. Very early that morning

Finally they had the formal procession in which all the sacred objects were carried down to the stream. The chief who was to lead the procession was called by the priest and dressed in the clothes that had just been donated. The sacred pipe from the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle was placed in his hands. The bundle keepers retrieved the sacred ears of corn from the "Garden" and placed them next to their bundles. A prominent warrior who had ownership rights to the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle led the main body of the procession bearing the star chart. Immediately following him were to be three men with quivers from the sacred bundles. These four sat near the entrance, lined up one behind the other, while arrangements were being made for the bearers of the rest of the objects. Meanwhile men from different villages had come in and seated themselves in front of their respective village bundles. Two men from each were selected to carry the "Mothers" or sacred ears of corn, others to carry the hawkskins symbolizing warriors and owlskins symbolizing chiefs that were also contained in the bundles. And last of all, the leading chief who was to head the procession went out and rounded up all the little boys he could find—an act signifying his watchfulness over the people. The little boys were given minor objects from the sacred bundles to carry, particularly the raccoon bones attached to the sticks with which meat was removed from the soup during the ceremonial banquets, or the arrowshafts used as pipe tampers and sticks to tend the fire. 796 783 778 [857]

Now there was a race to the river; the priests singing and shaking their gourd rattles while the objects were being given out. When they got to the fourth song, the warrior with the star chart jumped up and began to run toward the river as fast as he could, the quiver bearers close behind him. As they pushed out through the long entryway of the lodge, everyone tried to follow, and anyone who overtook the man with the star chart on the way to the river took it from him and ran on until he came to the bank where it was returned to him.

The crowd standing along the river bank now grouped itself into four symmetrical rows. In the first row, front center, was the warrior with his star chart. He was flanked on both sides by the men with quivers, who were in turn flanked by the men with the sacred ears of corn. In the second row were the men with hawkskins and owlskins. In the third row were people with less important bundle objects such as braids of sweetgrass usually burned as incense, buckskin pouches containing red, black, and white paints, pieces of enemy scalp, and other objects peculiar to the particular sacred bundle. Finally, bringing up the rear in the fourth row were the little boys with their raccoon bone forks, arrowshaft fire pokers, and pipe tampers.

The group now parted ranks. Down the middle came the chief carrying the sacred pipe to the water. He waded in and symbolically washed himself by dipping his right hand and then his left into the water, each

796 time touching it to his mouth, nose, forehead, and down his face, alternately
783 first with the right and then with the left hand. Then he went back
778 through the group and stood facing the village ready to lead them back.
The others followed suit, the men of first rank pretending to wash their objects and their bodies, then walking through the line to stand behind the chief and the others in order. The chief led them back to the village and the objects were replaced in the bundles in the ceremonial lodge. The little boys ran away at once, and the other men retrieved the robes they had left behind in order to race to the water before they went home. The priests and bundle keepers tied their things and had a meal of cornmeal mush that had been donated by one of the women. Then they all took their mats, pillows, bowls, and sacred bundles and went home.

796 The town crier went through the town telling all the people to clean
783 their lodges and the streets and to carry all the dirt far away. The next
[203] step was for everyone to wash and clean themselves. The priests who
had led the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood outside
[515] shaking his rattle and singing. All the people assembled there and
[343] raced to the river as fast as they could go. They waited there for the
priests who waded in and came out at once and went to their sweat lodge to take a steam bath. All the rest of the people—men, women, and children—stayed at the river, swimming and playing in the water.

512 to the fields after the early morning swim. They returned to the
lodge at about eleven o'clock for the first meal, the other meal being
around five in the afternoon. Men and women sat apart at meal-
264 times, the former being together in the west of the lodge and the
women sitting east of the fireplace. Any food out of the ordinary,
[562] such as melons in season, was given to the men first. As a rule the
children ate by themselves near the women and had to be content
with what remained after their parents had finished. Where several
[252] families occupied a single lodge, each family in turn cooked for the
others in the lodge. [The separation of the sexes at mealtimes is
not entirely clear. The manuscript also contains the following
statement: "The food was prepared in large quantities and divided
among the families, each receiving a wooden bowl, and each member
[412] of the family eating from this bowl by means of an individual sheep-
horn spoon."]

262 Corn was generally eaten mixed with beans, or sometimes boiled
784 with the tops of milkweed. In the winter, the nests of ground
rats were hunted and robbed of their stores of ground beans. Although most animals were eaten, especially the buffalo and deer, the Pawnee eschewed the meat of the wolf, coyote, otter, wildcat, and mountain lion. Certain other food restrictions also prevailed. Fish was prohibited to chiefs and medicine-men. The tender meat about the buffalo's anus was a prized delicacy of the old people, but tabooed for children, as the violation of this restriction would bring them failure in after years when they attempted raids on enemy villages. Nor were young men and girls supposed to eat the stomach of the buffalo cow. To do so would cause the former to receive many wounds on the warpath, while a girl ran the risk of falling in a hole and injuring her leg, if, in later life, she doubted the faithfulness of her husband and followed him to the lodge of another woman to whom she suspected he was paying improper attention.

224 When any of the men were away on a buffalo hunt, certain
784 restrictions on conduct were imposed on those who remained at
home. The lodge must be kept clean, especially the part about
the altar. Just before mealtimes sacrifices of corn must be made
to the skull on the altar. No menstruating woman could approach
[841] the skull, as it would anger the buffalo spirit that resided in the skull
and cause the buffalo to elude the hunters. The people at home
must always talk as though the hunters were having great success.
Especially they should speak of consecrating buffalo sacrifices to

224 the deities, for a sacrificed buffalo is reborn, and the buffalo, liking
784 this, would approach nearer and nearer. In the absence of the
hunting party dried buffalo meat could not be roasted, as the odor
[825] of the roasting meat would reach the animals and they might be
frightened. However, the meat could be prepared by boiling.

428 In the inheritance of personal property, a woman theoretically
562 had no rights. As a matter of fact, however, she was generally
considered to be the owner of the lodge, the tipi, and her tools
and utensils. Children did not inherit personal property such as
robes, blankets, ponies, and saddle trappings, all of which were
supposed to belong to the brother, though they were usually claimed
by the sons of the deceased's sister.

kill her, and after he had followed her a long distance she changed 843
herself back into a woman. They lived together for several years. 538
In the meantime it was thought that the man had been killed. Finally she accompanied him to his village as his wife, where she gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl. They grew up and took their proper places in the village. At first the deer wife disliked living in the village and often tried to run away, but afterwards she became reconciled and gave birth to other twins. Thereafter her descendants in the female line always gave birth to twins, and from this woman are supposed to be descended all the twins ever born among the Skidi.

Finally, it may be noted that no pregnant woman could come 843
near the ceremonial contests where the medicine-men threw their 784
medicine "arrows" at each other. Ordinarily she might be a very powerful medicine-woman and be able to protect herself from the "arrows" of her opponents, but during this period her thought and mind were on her child and consequently she could not ward off the "arrows," which would fly to her and kill her.

On the first indication of labor the husband left the lodge and 844
did not return to his wife for four days, as his presence during this time was thought to increase the difficulty of birth. The husband continued to observe the restrictions on his conduct, such as abstention from hunting, which were in force during the period of pregnancy.
Also he unbraided his hair and wore it loose, for it was believed [302]
that Tirawa wore his hair in this manner when he was creating [773]
the universe.

With the approach of labor the wife herself selected an old woman, who was usually a medicine-woman or the keeper of a sacred bundle, to be midwife. The latter came, bringing her medicine bag and a wooden bowl in which to wash the child. Sometimes the bowl was covered with representations of a dog, goose, deer, or some other animal, so that when the child grew up it would possess the magic power of the animal depicted. On arriving at the lodge, the midwife brought in some fresh earth and spread it upon the floor. Over this she put a thick covering of soft grass. The flow of blood following delivery could thereby be absorbed by the earth and grass and the whole easily removed. Next several parfleches were piled for a head-rest, and the pregnant woman was laid in the place prepared for her.

With the beginning of labor the mother was given some medicine by the midwife and told that it would relieve her and make for an easy birth. Should the woman give birth before the arrival of

mother's hair, while the husband also braided his. If the midwife's 846
services were no longer required she was given a gift, usually consisting
of a bowl of corn, dried pumpkins, and perhaps a parfleche [431]
of meat.

Should a woman die in childbirth or shortly thereafter, the death 844
was generally ascribed to the violation on the woman's part of one [184]
of the taboos, especially the drinking of water, which was prohibited 847
from the first labor pains until four days after delivery. Children
were never killed in case the mother died in childbirth. Infanticide
seems not to have been practiced by the Skidi, and in fact all inquiries
upon this point elicited astonishment that such a thing could be
imagined possible. If the mother had died while giving birth, the
child was taken care of by its grandmothers, generally the maternal
grandmother.

Stillbirth was also considered to be the result of the mother's 845
infraction of some rule restricting her conduct during pregnancy.
In such cases the child was interred in the burial ground of the [553]
parents' village, though it was never given a name.

In olden times, at the first signs of pregnancy of the wife, the 854
grandmothers notified the wife's relatives to prepare an elm babyboard
and the husband's a board of cottonwood. After the child 846
had been born and was about to be laid on the baby-board for the 852
first time, a wildcat's skin was placed on the board and the child
wrapped in clothing and put upon the skin. The midwife said:
"I place you upon this board; (if a boy) you shall grow up to make
many meat offerings to the gods; (if a girl) you shall grow up to
increase, so that your children will do many things for the gods."
The wildcat's skin was then wrapped around the child. This was
equivalent to saying, "I wrap the child with the heavens," for the
hide represented the sky and stars. At the time of this little ceremony
the lodge was filled with both father's and mother's relatives, who
had brought with them robes, ear-rings, and other presents of all [431]
sorts for the child. Friends were also happy over the birth and came,
bringing additional gifts. The young couple was especially pleased
if the old women took the baby in their arms, for they believed it
would increase the child's chance of reaching old age and being
blessed with offspring. A few days later, the gifts brought by
friends and relatives were given away, usually to poor women who
had had many children and grandchildren. Thus the parents
expressed their own desire for sons and daughters.

Although the Skidi medicine-men claimed to be able to cause 847
abortion by the use of roots, it was not attempted by married

relatives were intimately concerned. The mother's brother paid 855
much attention to the education of his sister's sons and daughters,
in which, indeed, he took perhaps as much interest as their father.
On the paternal side the children had what were known as children's 855
rights in the father's sister's lodge. These were similar to the claims 604
which children had upon parents, but in a sense entailed even deeper
obligations, for though the children might be cast out of their
parents' lodge, they could still claim food and shelter in the lodge
of the father's sister. Next it should be noted that the father's
sister's husband became the teacher and in some degree the guardian
of his wife's brother's daughter, instructing her and looking after
her interests. On the death of his wife, he might marry the girl,
or even her daughters if she already had a husband.

It was not learned that there was any special custom observed 841
when a girl reached her first menses, which usually occurred during [881]
her twelfth or thirteenth year. No recognition of the fact was made
by the family or the tribe other than her mother or grandmother,
unless she happened to be the daughter of the keeper of a sacred
bundle. In this case the girl was removed to a little house, known
as "place-sitting-with-blood," where she remained during her
menstrual period with her grandmother. The girl neither bathed
nor combed her hair and was not allowed to eat fresh meat, her food
consisting chiefly of corn and pemmican brought by her mother.
At the end of the period the grandmother took the girl to a creek,
where they both bathed; the latter was then clothed with a new
dress and was further purified by wrapping a blanket about herself
and standing in the smoke rising from smoldering cedar leaves.
Thereafter the grandmother took care of her in the same manner
at each period of menstruation. When the girl married, she continued
the custom but no one assisted her. The observance of this period
was so far as possible always kept secret.

A menstruating woman was considered unclean, and the chief 784
restriction placed against her was that she should in no way come 841
in contact with the sacred bundles nor approach the objects contained
in them. This restriction prohibited her from appearing at
sacred bundle ceremonies. The reason seems to be based on the
theory that the bundles and all objects of a religious nature carried
with them their own odor, which was that of sweet grass. This
odor was not only acceptable and pleasing, but it was essentially
a non-human odor. The odor of the menstrual flow was considered
a distinctly human odor and the presence of such a human charac-

784 teristic at a bundle ceremony would distract the attention of the
841 supernatural beings. If a menstruating woman were near a bundle
spread out as an altar, the supernatural power supposed to reside
in the objects on the altar would disappear; the corn mother would
be corn mother no longer but simply an ear of corn, the bird messenger
between the deities and man would become simply a bird skin, and
so on. The odor of blood was pleasing to the gods, but not this
kind of blood, which was associated with human passion. If a
menstruating woman should go into a ceremony of the medicinemen,
the strong human odor would cause the power of the medicinemen
to leave them, and they would fail in their sleight of hand.
The lodge where the ceremony was being held was for the time being
an animal's lodge; it was full of animal power, over which each
medicine-man was striving to make himself master. In this attempt
he would fail should a menstruating woman be present, for she
would cause him to become essentially human. What animal
power he had would quickly desert him.

881 The custom in vogue when a girl reached puberty has been noted.
882 When a boy reached this stage, there was no formal ceremony to
607 mark the event. He was, however, taken in charge by his mother's
836 brother's wife. From this time until his marriage, he maintained
sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately
after having had intercourse with this woman. When her real
husband was off hunting or on the warpath, the youth continued
marital relations with her. Thus it might happen that for four or
[595] five years a woman would have an additional "husband," or possibly
three or four, with a temporary state of polyandry thereby prevailing.
[834] No such custom as this existed for girls, as they were supposed to
remain virgins until marriage.

882 Up to this time the boy went naked, except for a blanket or robe
291 in cold weather. From then on he wore leggings, and otherwise
dressed as a man.

857 A further word should be said as to the relationship of the sexes.
Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they
neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small
grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents.
836 Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship
might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept
at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the
girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or
he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this

40

BREACHES OF THE DOCTORS' RULES

The Young Doctor Decides to Eat Food at Altar—the Hypnotizing That Follows—the Younger Men Hypnotize Big Bear—This Power of Pawnees Discussed 000

After the third Big Dance, everyone was getting tired, especially the 756
errand men. The individual doctors had various matters to attend to at 784
home, and even the main doctors had to leave the lodge at some time during the day. One day the main doctors were all off resting and had left one of the younger doctors sitting in Big Doctor's place so that he could watch the things at the altar. While he was sitting there, a donation of corn and soup was brought in. Some of the other doctors in the lodge decided they would like to eat some of it right away. The young doctor at the west decided that, after all, since they were hungry, they should eat some of it. He asked three of the others to join him at the west and ordered the errand man to serve them and also the other doctors that were in their booths. They made a small offering of the corn to the powers and then proceeded to eat.

Finally, when some of the other doctors came in and found they had 756
eaten some of the food that was donated for all of them, they became in- 784
dignant. They went about the fireplace, quivering and waving their 787
eagle-wing fans and hypnotized the offenders. Brave Shield who was the first to come in, hypnotized the man who had been left in charge of the things at the altar. He caused him to come around the north side of the fireplace and made him fall so that he hit his head against the pillar of the lodge. Then he made the offender get up and come outside and fall down, where he was left on the ground with blood coming out of his mouth. The other two doctors who had come in at the same time as Brave Shield,

756 • 784 787 spirited out the others who had been eating the corn and also the errand man who had served them. They fell down outside in the same way as the first man. When the first recovered from his trance, he came inside and sat down in Big Doctor's place at the west. The other three also came out of their trance and resumed their places next to him. The others who had eaten the corn also began to recover and to run into their booths. Those at the west had not yet been dismissed by the angry doctors.

Brave Shield and the other doctors went back to their booths, but the young doctor at the west was angry in his turn and decided to take out those who had hypnotized him. He picked up the eagle-wing fan from among the sacred objects at the west and, going about the fireplace, spirited Brave Shield outside. He did the same to the other two. He then went back into the lodge and again sat down at the west, telling his three companions they could go back to their booths if they wanted to. The three he had spirited out now went back to their booths and the whole affair was ended. When Big Doctor heard about it on his return, he simply laughed at the whole affair.

756 784 Big Bear who was the errand man on the south side was absent from the lodge for about three days. Three of the younger men decided to get him to come back. The enterprise was initiated by Might-Be-Chief, son of Old-Man-That-Chief. He was about fifteen or sixteen years old at the time, and he was sent around on so many errands in Big Bear's absence that he began to resent it. "Big Bear ought to be doing this," he thought, "I'll get him back." Big Bear, on his part, was pretty tired by this time and wanted a rest. Might-Be-Chief tried to enlist help from two young men, Fox Chief and Man Chief, but Fox Chief demurred, saying, "He's our uncle. We can't do that to him." But they were finally persuaded by Might-Be-Chief's argument that he ought to be there, and they all went to Big Bear's lodge.

756 Big Bear was sitting on top of his lodge when they got there and they said, "Look at him—the way he sits there as if he had nothing to do!" Then all of them walked back and forth before his eyes and then all three waved fans in front of him until he rolled off the earth lodge. When he got up they made him follow them as they ran, pushing and twisting him around any way they wanted to. Finally when they got to the water they caused him to roll in and wet his buffalo robe and all his clothes. When he got home, he gave his clothes to his wife and dressed in whatever dry clothes he had and went back to the Doctor Lodge. He was furious and went straight to the Elk Booth spiriting Might-Be-Chief outside. Then he went to the Bear Booth and first took out Fox Chief, then coming back again for Man Chief. The three young doctors didn't mind, as they had succeeded in getting Big Bear back to his post in the Doctor Lodge.

Sometimes when a doctor went home at night he went to asleep with

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-shaped,
177 bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological circles
[172] as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people
was "Big Knife."

Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
17 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
412 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
324 continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrowshafts
and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sandstone
buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from southwest
[439] Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal
their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard
electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
796 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
463 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
322 arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the
essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots
from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when
the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was
referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the
pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic
terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
796 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
171 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

about the dance." Carrion, along with John Moses, Jim Keys, 668
Brigham Young and Henry Minthorn went to see Sitting Bull the 177
Arapaho. This was late in 1892, and they stayed there two months.

Carrion told Sitting Bull his story. Sitting Bull got a permit from his agent to Ghost Dance for two days. The Arapaho painted the Pawnee visitors with a rainbow around the forehead, a crow [302
on the right cheek (because, says Carrion, "a crow finds everything 2
he looks for, and when one is under the crow influence one can 825]
almost read minds"), and an eagle on the left cheek (which also represents a bird that flies high above everything, sees all and finds things).

That night in the Ghost Dancing among the Arapaho Joe Carrion was overcome and fell unconscious on his back. "I saw a big circle of people above." He awoke about two o'clock at night after lying there for five hours. When he woke up, he found there was a drum beside his head; an old man came over and asked him what he had seen. "Nothing," he said; he didn't want to tell. The old man told him, "you must tell." "I got up and said, 'I don't believe it.' Then he hit a gourd against the ground, and I fell over again. I got up and still said, 'I don't believe it,' so he hit the gourd on the ground and again I fell over. The way he could do this to me convinced me, and when I got up I believed it all. Then I told him what I had seen. He said it was true. The next day the Arapaho were told they would have to stop the Ghost Dancing. 796

"Two days afterward a boy came with hand game sticks, bringing 668
one round to each tent. He told everybody that there was to be 177
a big hand game at a certain place. It was to last four days, with [185]
a Squaw dance afterwards." 524

The man in charge of the hand game told Carrion to get certain [302]
things for himself. He told him that he must fast four days and nights. Carrion wore only a g-string, and painted his body yellow. He neither ate nor drank.

During the playing of the game, he often got thirsty and would be about to take a drink, when someone would remind him that he must not. He was chosen to serve the food, but he was not supposed to partake of it. He also would pass the bucket of water around. The smell of the food helped him, seemed to satisfy his hunger a little. The first night he felt weak and wanted to cry. "They told me to go ahead and cry, that this was the same as going to church."

At sunrise he stood outside the tent and prayed. 796

"The fourth day I went onto a hill. Behind me there was 668
someone sitting in the grass. I looked at the sun and saw things 787
177

monies. All the beds and other furniture were carried 756
out by the women, and the floor swept. When this had 796
been done, the medicine men seated themselves in front of the lodge altar and sent their errand men to notify the other members of the society. After these had arrived and taken their places, the leaders went to each of them in turn and directed them, in a whisper, to [785]
prepare for the ceremony by a four-day fast. Each man, when he received this notification, returned to his own lodge, took his medicine bag, and left the village to spend that time in solitary fasting and prayer. At the expiration of the fast they bathed in the river and returned to the medicine lodge, where each took his appointed place.

The following morning, all the members of the society went to the river bottom to cut willows and cotton woods for the small booths which were to be built inside the large lodge. When they reached the timber, one of the two leading medicine men prayed and offered smoke to the heavenly gods, while the other, after he had finished, paid the same honors to the earthly gods. When this had been done, the timbers were cut and carried back to the main lodge, and the booths built.

The next morning the image of the water monster 756
was made, the leaders assigning to different men the 778
task of getting the things needed and making the 796
different parts. This image was nearly sixty feet in 532
length and encircled the lodge, with its head and tail on either side of the entrance. The framework was made of pieces of ashwood lashed together with sinew. Over these a layer of grass was laid, and the whole covered with mud which was smoothed and painted in different colors. The mouth of the figure was so large that a man could crawl into it, and was provided with pointed teeth, also of ashwood. On each side of the mouth, long, slender willow-rods were stuck to represent

monies, which comprised the consecration of the buffalo staves and 224
the buffalo dance, were about to begin. The great dirt lodge was 796
crowded. I pushed my way through the throng of women and boys, who made up the outer circle of spectators, and soon found myself among the men, who made way for me, until I reached a position from which I could see all that was going on within the circle about which they stood.

For several days the priests and the doctors had been preparing for this solemn religious ceremonial. They had fasted long; earnest prayers had been made to *Ti-ra′-wa*, and sacrifices had been offered. [782
Now the twelve buffalo skulls had been arranged on the ground in a 785]
half-circle, and near them stood the chiefs and doctors, reverently holding in their hands the buffalo staves and sacred bows and arrows, and other implements of the chase. For a little while they stood silent, with bowed heads, but presently one and then another began to murmur their petitions to *A-ti-us Ti-ra′-wa*, the Spirit Father. At first their voices were low and mumbling, but gradually they became more earnest and lifted their eyes toward heaven. It was impossible to distinguish what each one said, but now and then disjointed sentences reached me. "Father, you are the Ruler—We are poor—Take pity on us—Send us plenty of buffalo, plenty of fat cows—Father, we are your children—help the people—send us plenty of meat so that we may be strong, and our bodies may increase and our flesh grow hard—Father, you see us, listen." As they prayed they moved their hands backward and forward over the implements which they held, and at length reverently deposited them on the ground within the line of buffalo skulls, and then stepped back, still continuing their prayers.

It was a touching sight to witness these men calling upon their God for help. All of them had passed middle life, and some were gray-haired, blind and tottering; but they prayed with a fervor and earnestness that compelled respect. They threw their souls into their prayers, and as a son might entreat his earthly father for some great gift, so they plead with *Ti-ra′-wa*. Their bodies quivered with emotion, and great drops of sweat stood upon their brows. They were thoroughly sincere.

After the last of the articles had been placed upon the ground, their voices grew lower and at length died away. A moment later a

668

we *rịhi* *irasị·ra* 177
a *tsiksu* *wétatŭ·ta* *hi i* [533
and {mind / spirit} now I do 539]

The place whence you come.
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come.
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxki×. When he returned home to the 668
Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs
to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom 177
is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have 792
is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the 794
kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along.
That's not ours."

When Frank White instituted regular dances, these were among
the South Bands; the Skiri would come over and join in under his
leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and
the few songs that White had already developed for himself.
White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading
the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore
crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi
in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds [152
which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits
took possession of them and fell. White had great power over 786]
them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the
spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences
and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the
dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change.

Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. 668
Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to
dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements 177
gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers [792]
had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the 796
people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who 794
wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one [302]
gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna-

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

668 This young man was blessed by the people, and they also took
177 a blessing from him. But when they touched him many fell or
794 trembled. "After this four men were selected to smoke to the
796 dead people."[1]

Murie also tells the interesting story of an unbeliever.

"A woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said. 'That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth.' Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to
[625] act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit.
[783] The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right."[2]

Dancing was sporadic during the Winter of 1891, but gradually the dances followed each other in rapid succession. With few exceptions by 1892 the Pawnee were under White's influence and control. The situation forced itself upon official attention early in that year. "In February 1892 the Pawnee commenced what is known as a 'Ghost Dance', dancing in a circle, falling down in
[786] a trance, and after some hours they awake and profess to have seen their dead friends. About two-thirds of the tribe seemed at this time to be possessed of the idea of the second coming of Christ, to destroy all the whites and to bring back the buffalo and the wild game."[3]

On account of the coming end of the world, and the uselessness of continuing work in the face of the expected changes which would bring back old times and the deceased relatives of the living, all those who became convinced of the Ghost Dance doctrine stopped work. Many left their plows in the field standing just as they had been in the midst of their work cultivating their corn.

648 As soon as the agent in charge of the Pawnee received word at
668 the agency in Ponca City that the Pawnee were Ghost-Dancing,
794 he wrote to the clerk in charge at the Pawnee agency to put a stop
to the dancing immediately. "But the Indians seemed defiant and aggressive and it seemed at this time that trouble might be anticipated. Knowing that all religious fanatics are persistent and determined, I at once went to Pawnee and visited the camp of the so-called prophet Frank White, and after talking with him

---

[1] Murie op. cit.

[2] Murie, p. 635.

[3] Agent Wood in Annual Reports, 1891—92.

668 of Pawnee forms, or whether the Wichita taught the Pawnee
177 directly, the four-day ceremony was the formal Ghost Dance
114 among the Pawnee by 1895.

This regular Ghost Dance of the Pawnee was arranged to last
four days. It began the evening of one day, or the late afternoon.
668 Among the South Bands, all arose early in the morning, and faced
184 the sun for a brief period, (during which the smoke offering would
796 be made if the dance was to begin that day); but they did not dance.
Then in the afternoon the people danced from three to midnight.
786 The Skiri say that in their band there was a brief period of dancing
each morning, as well as a longer period of dancing through the
afternoon and evening. Both bands continued the fourth night until
the dawn of the fifth day, bathed and dispersed.

As each song was sung, the circle of dancers, holding hands, moved clockwise through one complete circuit, returning to the original starting point. This is determined by the main singer's position: he begins at the west and finishes at the west (except for the first afternoon song, as above). During the dancing period of the day, the dancers could carry out as many songs as they wished; there was no special number. The singing was initiated and led by the seven crow-feathered singers, and the others joined in. While the dancing went on, some "hypnotizers" would dance inside the circle directly in front of individuals they wished to throw into a trance, using feathers or other objects to focus and fix the eyesight of the subject, thus transfixing them. Usually the subject fell when he or she was touched with the object used. When individuals fell into a trance, they were laid down and the others continued to dance.

668 In these trances, the visionaries followed a general pattern. In
787 one way or another the subject was guided to the other world,
where all the deceased Pawnee were living together in the old way.
796 There some special phase of the life would imprint itself upon the
subject's mind, the playing of games, the hunting of buffalo, war
societies and dances, and the like. When the subject awoke, such
aspects of the trance vision, along with the bird or messenger who
had guided the individual to the beyond, would become the subjects of songs, costuming, and paraphernalia.

The closing song was carried out in a special way. It is the
668 special closing song of all Ghost Dances. As sung to conclude the
796 occasion, it is repeated six times as follows:

1. The leader remains stationary at the west facing east, and
533 leads the singing of the song once: all the dancers keep their places.

2. The leader dances from west to north, singing the song, and

796 782 her into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village until the time for her sacrifice. She was treated in a ceremonial manner but kept in ignorance of her fate. At the appointed time her body was [302 417] painted, half red and half black, and she was tied to a scaffold and shot through the heart with an arrow. It was said that the braided thong used to bind the girl to the scaffold is now in the Morning Star bundle.

173 782 796 Tradition states that on one occasion the intended victim was rescued. On the night preceding her execution she was seated beside some tall sunflowers. A young chief came through the tall weeds and stole her away, putting her on his horse and taking her to Fort Leavenworth, whence she was returned to her own people. She died within three months, having been anointed for death with the sacred ointment of red paint powder and buffalo fat. This occurred about the year 1818. The man who rescued the intended victim was a warrior of distinction and through his influence the custom was discontinued. The ritual of the sacrifice is still rendered but no actual sacrifice has taken place since that date.

796 [786] Coming Sun, who sings the ceremonial songs, said that sometimes, during the Morning Star ceremony he stops and says "Listen," and the people hear a woman's voice singing the songs above his head.

The Morning Star ceremony was held by the Skidi Band near Pawnee, Okla., on April 17, 1920. This ceremony formerly lasted four days and nights, ending when the morning star appeared in the east, but at the present time it is concluded in one day. On this occasion the writer had the honor of entering the lodge, through the courtesy of Coming Sun. It is said that only one other white person, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, has entered the lodge during the ceremony and seen the contents of the sacred bundle.

[346] The ceremony was held in a tipi erected for the occasion in a quiet spot near the house of the keeper of the bundle, north of Pawnee. This tipi had been used in the Ghost dance and was decorated with Ghost dance symbols. (Pl. 5, *b*.) The adjacent landscape is shown in Plate 3, *c*. The ceremony began at about 9 a. m. and continued until 4 p. m., the writer sitting outside the tipi except for the brief time she was permitted to enter. Thus the entire songs of the ceremony were heard, as well as the prayers and rituals, though only the principal song was obtained. At the proper time Coming Sun, who was in charge of the ceremony, sent a messenger to summon the writer and she entered the lodge, passing to the right and standing near the bundle, before which she laid gifts of calico, tobacco, and [534] money. Coming Sun was seated back of the bundle, directly opposite the entrance, and held one of the sacred gourd rattles. Two 796 men at either side of him held similar rattles. In front of the men 778 at Coming Sun's left and next the sacred bundle was a belt decorated

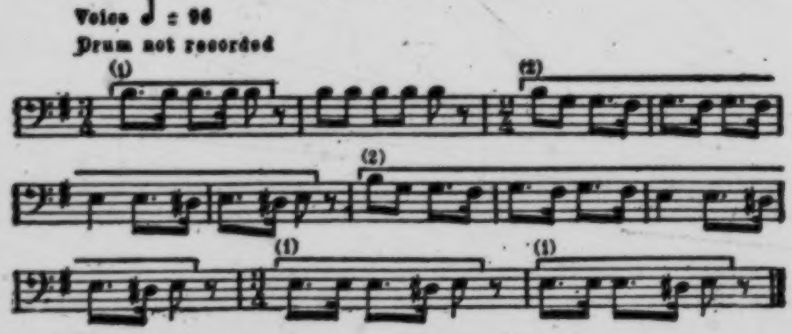
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Analysis.—The only accented tones in this song are the keynote and 533*
fifth. The song comprises three periods, the first and last having the same rhythmic unit and the second period having a longer unit with a change of time. The interest and force of the song lie in the second rhythmic unit which contains a triple measure. The first rhythmic unit begins on an unaccented tone and the second begins on an accented tone. This peculiarity occurs also in two songs of the hand game (Nos. 43 and 47). The song contains eight descending and only three ascending intervals.

No. 56. Ghost Dance Song (d)

(Catalogue No. 1148)

Recorded by Horse Chief



Analysis.—In this song we feel the pathos of the Ghost dance. More than four-fifths of the intervals are semitones which occur only between F sharp and G, and D sharp and E. Rests occur with some frequency and were given uniformly in all the renditions. It is interesting to compare the close of the first rhythmic unit with that of the second which contains the same count division with a different accent.

This and the succeeding song were not used in the hand game. 787
The singer said that he composed this song when waking from a 533*
trance in the Ghost dance. He dreamed of a yellow star which came
to him and said, "I am the star which you see in the sky at night." [524]
The star was in the form of a woman holding in her hand an eagle feather painted yellow. She gave him the feather, saying, "All the stars in the sky are people." A dream of the yellow star was induced by watching the star when in a Ghost dance trance. The favor of "yellow star" was greatly desired as she does not appear to many
dancers, but she gives to her favored friends the right to wear a yellow [786]
eagle feather upright in their hair and to use it in hypnotizing other dancers. If such a feather is used under a false pretense no results can be obtained.

signals for the members to dance. All the songs are those of the founder 575 and so entirely unlike those of others. In the last four songs there is great 796 excitement.

The food offering with bowl and spoon is as before stated. The regalia are here the same as before.[1]

General Discussion. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Omaha hethu'- 114 shka certain statements as to origin are made which are inconsistent with 174 the writer's data. In the first place, the Pawnee have always said that the Omaha originally got their society from them, they having been guests at several iruska performances, adopted such of it as they comprehended and later elaborated the procedure into the present form, though some features are certainly Osage contributions. The Dakota first learned the dance from the Omaha, as they state (p. 48), but testify to its Pawnee origin. About fifty years ago Pawnee-Tom visited the Arikara and assisted Enemy-heart to inaugurate the ceremony. Later, Enemy-heart sold the dance to the Crow Indians and then to other tribes. The writer has studied the songs of the dance and finds that everywhere many of them are undoubtedly those of the Pawnee iruska and what is more to the point, bear the general characteristics of all Pawnee songs. The Dakota and Omaha, however, have many original songs of their own, some of which the Pawnee have borrowed. In general, from the data at hand, the writer considers it clear that the origin of the modern form of this dance lies between the Omaha and the Osage, but that it was derived from an older ceremony which the Omaha, and possibly the Osage, borrowed of the Pawnee.

It should be noted that in the Skidi iruska dog flesh is served. Four men 262 wearing the feather belts scout for and capture the kettle. Then they take 796 sticks and take out the dog's head for a leading man to count coup on. A kettle of corn is then brought in and handled in the same manner, except

---

[1] Author's note. While in a trance he saw the dead people dancing the iruska dance [787] but in a different way from that of the old iruska dance. There were six drummers. The drum was painted black, the stick had coverings at the ends. There were six stations about the room, three on the north side and three on the south side. The station men had a forked [786] stick stuck in the ground in front of them. There were feathers at the end of each fork and the sticks were wrapped with beads. The northeast stick was covered with black beads; the north stick with light blue beads; the northwest stick with dark blue beads; the southwest stick with yellow beads; the south stick, red; the southeast stick, white. Also he found out or was told there were that many minor gods in the heavens. When these station men get up to dance, all have to rise and dance. There are five sets of songs, ten songs in each set. The tunes are nearly the same as for the old iruska songs. The last ten are ghost dance songs. The last songs are exciting, and the dancers are given to excitement and tremble, falling down as in the ghost dance. The closing speech after the feast differs from the older form. It is as follows: Father is thankful for eating our smoke; father, his child, and the gods are thankful for eating our smoke; sun and moon are both made thankful for eating our smoke; our mother earth is thankful for eating our smoke; our dead relations are thankful for eating our smoke; now we have all smoked and eaten. After this speech, everyone leaves the lodge.

668
786
796
After they had eaten they danced again until ten o'clock. Men and women returned to their tipis, mourning and crying and having shaking fits. About five o'clock they began to dance again. This time there were about four men and three women who seemed to be trembling badly. They ran around the camp crying, "I do not want you, go away from me." About the third day, one of the women fell and lay on the ground about five minutes and then sat up. She began to cry and finally her crying turned into a song. One man went to her and she told what she had seen while she lay on the ground. The fourth day a young man fell and lay upon the ground all night. When he came to, he ran to the prophet's tipi and told what he had seen. The prophet ordered that all the people go upon a hill and hear the young man tell his story. This was about eight o'clock in the evening. When all the people were on the hill, standing in a line facing west, the young man was told to sit down in front of them, the village crier went and sat beside him. The young man told the following story:

668
786
787
796
When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I felt a queer sensation passing through my body. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, "My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people." I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me, and said, "My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing." So we went on and there in the center of the village, our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying upon the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw.

668
786
796
The people went to him and as each person took hold of his hand, he either fell or began to tremble. After this four men were selected to smoke to the dead people. After the smoke everyone began to cry. Then the prophet and the new prophet ran around among the people throwing them

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

down upon the ground. After the excitement they all went back to camp 668
and danced until ten o'clock that night. The next morning all joined the
dance again. This time a woman entered the ring and began to act as if 786
crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and 796
strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, "That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth." Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit. The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right.

While the Wichita had been indifferent to the teachings of White, the 668
Pawnee soon became enthusiasts. White went first to the Pitahauirata 796
village and began his ceremonies, where at once a few had the trances. As the news spread, the chiefs of all the Pawnee villages met to see demonstrations and discuss the movement. Two days were given over to dancing. The first camp was broken up by a fire, a tipi catching fire ignited the grass and destroyed much property; but undismayed a new camp was formed. Many persons went into trances, while many were alarmed at the intensity of the phenomenon. White then demonstrated his power by putting bystanders into trances by touching them. Finally he closed the demonstration by a spectacular race. Taking his position in the center, the converts around in a circle, he caused them to fall at will.

After this, practically the whole of the Pawnee were under White's influence. Dances were almost continuous during the winter and the following summer. Infatuated with the belief in the immediate destruction
of the world, they planted no crops and threw away their property. Naturally, [648]
they became sullen and disobedient to their Agent, resulting in the arrest of White by United States marshals.

This excited the Indians greatly and almost caused hostilities. In the meantime the Oto had taken up the Pawnee dance and also threatened to go on the warpath. Owing to the skill of their Agent, the Pawnee were quieted and White released. He himself did what he could to develop the movement into a less militant religion. To do this he magnified the Christian
elements. There was opposition for a time for all the old Pawnee [756]
medicinemen took the trances as forms of the powers formerly exercised by the animal lodges (p. 602) and began a vigorous revival, each setting himself up as a prophet and seeking to outdo the others. White died in 1893, after which the strength and unity of the religion quickly disappeared among the many rival prophets.

This Pawnee ceremony seems to have been largely original with White

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 behind them was packed with spectators. So great was the eagerness of the people to see the ceremony that many of them tore holes in the roof and walls of the lodge, leaving it a complete wreck.

793 796 When all the invited guests had taken their places, the chief priest told the priests of the Four Direction bundles to go into the woods and bring back four thick [824] poles about twelve feet long. The priest of the northeast was to bring an elm; he of the northwest, a box elder; he of the southwest, a cottonwood; and he of the 796 southeast, a willow. When they had returned, the four poles were laid on the fireplace with their ends together so that they formed a cross whose arms pointed to the four directions. The poles had to be long enough to last for the entire four days of the ceremony, and as they burned, they were pushed in toward the center, the cross being always maintained.

The ceremonies which followed are not fully known, but they consisted of many songs and dances, with feasting, and continued for three days and nights. [786] During this time, and for the three days after the slaying of the sacrifice, the ordinary rules of conduct were set aside, and the priests announced to the people that if any man approached any woman during this period, she was to go with him willingly, that the tribe might increase.

727 782 796 Toward morning of each night, the representative of the northeast village danced around the fireplace, and taking the pole brought by the priest of that direction, pointed its glowing end toward the girl's body. This was repeated by the representative of the other directions in turn, but the girl's body was never touched with the brand. Indeed, the girl was treated with the greatest respect and consideration throughout the ceremony. She was told that the entire performance was given in her honor, and everything was done to lull

773 796 782 climbed each rung, a song was sung about the appropriate animal. Singing they tied her on and then left her there facing east.

The war leader and four direction priests were hiding in the ravine; now the four priests came out one by one. The Southeast bundle man with the burning stick ran out of hiding and barely touched the girl on the arms and loins. The Northwest bundle man came out with his bow and arrow and shot her through the heart. Now the Northeast man of the Big Black Meteoric Star rushed up with the flint knife and made a small cut over her heart. Taking some of the blood, he painted streaks on his face. The southwest man came with the warclub, and he made a gesture at her. The blood of the girl was allowed to drip on the dried tongue and heart meat of the consecrated buffalo, and the priest made a new fire at the southeast, the burnt offering of the sacred meat being made by the priest of the Evening Star bundle. Now all the men and the boys of the Skidi Band, singing war songs, riddled the body with their arrows. Then the priest told them to leave the sacrifice.

The priests now made a final disposition of the body. It was full daylight, and four men who had been chosen to assist, untied the body and took it about a quarter of a mile to the east, placing it on the ground face down. They sang, "The whole earth, she shall turn into. The whole earth shall receive her blood." Then they spoke of nine things in turn: "She will turn into a bunch of grass; the ants will find her, the moths will come and find her, the fox shall come and find her, the coyote, the wildcat, the magpie, the crow; buzzards will come and find her, and last of all will be the bald-headed eagle who will come and eat her."

All the people who participated in the ritual went to the ceremonial earth lodge and there ate a meal of consecrated buffalo meat. The public dispersed.

[786] In the village there was general rejoicing. Men and women danced, and there was a period of ceremonial sexual license to promote fertility. Some women dressed themselves in their husband's war costumes, dancing around and making fun of the men. They mimicked what they did in war and ceremony.

> They carried the Mother Corn. . . . They would go to the secret lodge, and standing outside of it would tell the story of how they came to go on the pretended war party and what they did while they were gone, what enemies they struck—the whole long story. The people stood around laughing as they did these things. Imitating the warriors, the women changed their names also. One of the leading old women once took the name "Mud on Meat" another "Skunk Skin Tobacco Pouch" another, "Sitting Fish Old Man," another "Stepping on the Heart." The old men standing around joked with the old women and they all joked and made fun of each other.
>
> (Grinnell, 1925, p. 368)

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation

539*
796*

I

289 He-e-e-e! An introductory exclamation.

290 Were ruwawa, were ruwawa.
were, they; a number of persons or animals.
ruwawa, running from, as from the place where one is standing or where one is walking.

291 Sira ritka ruwawa.
sira, their.
ritka, dust; the soil raised by the feet in running.
ruwawa, running away from.

292 Were ruwawa. See line 290.

293 Sira ritka ruwawa-a ra.
sira ritka ruwawa. See lines 290, 291.
a ra, vocables used to fill out the rhythm of the music.

II

294 He-e-e-e! An introductory exclamation.

295 Wera hara-a, wera hara-a.
wera, one coming; we, one, it, singular number; ra, coming.
hara-a, a composite word made up of the syllable ha, from the word iha're, the young of animals (the word is also used for offspring, children) and ra, coming. The final a is a vowel prolongation to fill the rhythm of the music.

296 Taraha-a rahara.
taraha, the female buffalo.
a, vowel prolongation because of the rhythm of the music.
rahara, a composite word; ra, from wera, one coming; ha, from iha're, young; ra, coming. The line "Taraha-a rahara" means that the female buffalo and her calf are coming.

297 Wera hara-a. See line 295.

298 Taraha-a rahara-a ra. See lines 293, 296.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we were traveling we sometimes saw a great cloud of dust rising in the distance. When we saw this cloud rolling up from the earth we knew it was caused by a herd of buffalo running away from us toward the land of the Children.

Sometimes a cow and her calf would separate from the herd and come nearer us. We were taught to be mindful of all that we saw upon the journey, for these sights meant the promise of plenty of food for the Children. [787]

We do not sing this song any more as we travel, for now there are no buffalo herds to be seen sending the dust up to the sky as they run. We sing the song in the lodge of the Son, that we may remember the buffalo, and that our children may hear of them. [177]

492 Ruhurihi hitkasharu! 539* 796*
ruhurihi, a command, a call; "let it be so!"
hitkasharu. See line 491.

493 Ruhurihi! See line 492.

494 See line 492.

495 See line 493.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We sing about the visions which the birds on the feathered stems are to bring to the Children. 539* 796*

Visions come from above, they are sent by Tira'wa atius. The lesser powers come to us in visions. We receive help through the visions. All the promises which attend the Hako will be made good to us in this way. 787

Visions can come most readily at night; spirits travel better at that time. Now when we are met together we, the Fathers, call upon the visions to come to the Children.

The spirits of the birds upon the feathered stems join our spirits in this call to the visions. That is what the words of this stanza mean. We sing it four times as we make the first circuit of the lodge.

When we reach the west we pause.

539* 796*

Translation of Second Stanza

496 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

497 Hitkasharu! The visions that attend the Hako. See line 491.

498 Weri rawha hitkasharu!
weri, they.
rawha, are coming.
hitkasharu, the visions which attend the Hako.

499 Weri rawha! See line 498.

500 See line 498.

501 See line 499.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we go around the lodge the second time we sing this stanza.

The visions have heard the call of the spirits of the birds upon the feathered stems, joined to the call of our spirits, and they are descending by the east from their dwelling place above, and are coming toward the lodge.

We sing "They are coming," and the Children join in the song, as we pass around and wave the feathered stems.

When we reach the west we pause.

Translation of First Stanza

*539 672 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 673 Whitit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi.

whitit, it is believed, it is supposed. The word implies a question with the desire to know the truth of the belief.

kasharu, a composite word; ka, from rotkaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions.

ha! behold!

kira, accomplished or brought to pass.

rehra, I hold standing; present tense.

wi, from wirit, an article swinging. The word tells that the article which the person stands holding is swinging in his hand; this refers to the rhythmic swaying of the feathered stems during the singing of the songs of the ceremony.

674 See line 673.

675 Ta hao!

ta, a part of kutati, my.

hao, offspring; my own child. The term refers to the Son.

676 Hiri! Hako-o!

hiri! give heed; harken.

Hako-o; Hako, the sacred articles of the ceremony; o, vowel prolongation.

677 See line 673.

678 See line 675.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 This stanza asks about the origin of the Hako, about the account
which has come down to us that the Hako and its ceremonies were
*796 sent by the powers above to our fathers through a vision.

773 We have been taught that in a vision our fathers were told how to
make the feathered stems, how to use them, how to sway them to the
● 787 songs, so that they should move like the wings of a bird in its flight.
It was in a vision that our fathers were told how they could cause a
man who was not their bodily offspring to become a Son, to be bound
to them by a tie as strong as the natural tie between father and son.

For this knowledge our fathers gave thanks and we give thanks, for by this ceremony peace and plenty, strength, and all good things come to the people.

Translation of Second Stanza

*539 679 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 680 Kutit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi.

kutit, it is; an assertion. The word gives a definite answer to the implied question in the first word of the first stanza, whitit. The belief, the supposition, is declared to be the truth.

kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi. See line 673.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

681 See line 680. 539*
682 See line 675. 796*
683 Hiri! Hako-o! See line 676.
684 See line 680.
685 See line 675.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza tells the Children that it is true that the knowledge of this ceremony was given to our fathers by the powers above through a vision. We speak of the vision as kasharu, because visions are apt to come in the night when all is still; they then descend, pass over the earth, and come to man. 539* 796* 773

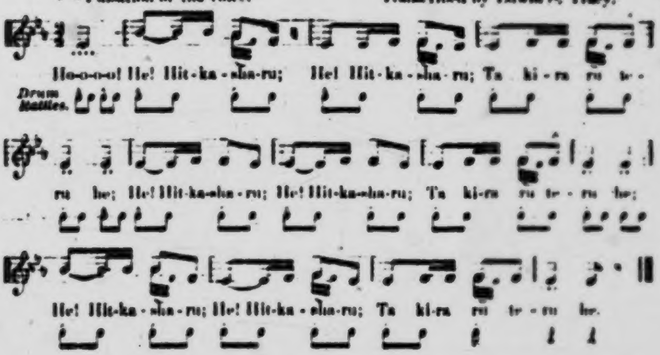
This stanza also tells that the man to whom we have brought the Hako is to be made a Son in the way our fathers were directed in the vision. 787

None of the songs of this ceremony can be changed; they must be sung accurately, just as they have been handed down to us, for the words speak of the powers above and their gifts to us, and we must be careful of such words.

SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. 539* 796* [553⁴]


Ho-o-o-o! He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; Ta ki-ra ru te-
Drum Rattles.
ru he; He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; Ta ki-ra ru te-ru he;
He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; He! Hit-ka-sha-ru; Ta ki-ra ru te-ru he.

I

686 Ho-o-o-o!
687 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
688 Ta kira ru teru he;
689 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
690 Ta kira ru teru he;
691 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
692 Ta kira ru teru he.

*539
*796

II

693 Ho-o-o-o!
694 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
695 Ta kira te ra-a he;
696 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
697 Ta kira te ra-a he;
698 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
699 Ta kira te ra-a he.

Translation

I

686 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

687 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu.

he, an exclamation calling attention to a subject or a teaching.

hitkasharu; hit, from hittu, feather, referring to the birds that attend the Hako; ka, part of rakaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions. This composite word refers to the visions or dreams brought by the birds that are associated with the Hako.

688 Ta kira ru teru he.

ta, verily.

kira, brought to pass.

ru, it, the rite, or ceremony.

teru, is; the entire ceremony with its promises

he, vocable.

689 See line 687.

690 See line 688.

691 See line 687.

692 See line 688.

II

693 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

694 See the first stanza, line 687.

695 Ta kira te ra-a he.

ta, verily.

kira, brought to pass.

te, it; the good promised through the ceremony.

ra-a, is coming.

he, vocable.

696 See line 687.

697 See line 695.

698 See line 687.

699 See line 695.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796
787
823

In this song we are told that verily it is a truth that everything pertaining to this ceremony came through a vision. All the good, all the happiness that comes to those who take part in these rites have been promised in a dream, and the dreams which brought this ceremony and its promises came from the east; they always descend from above by that path.

539*
796*
787 ●

Were it not true that these dreams come to us and bring us all the good things promised our fathers, we should long ago have abandoned the Hako and its ceremony.

This song says to the Children: "As you listen you will have dreams brought you by the birds represented with the Hako. The visions will bring you help; they will bring you happiness. They are coming to you from the east."

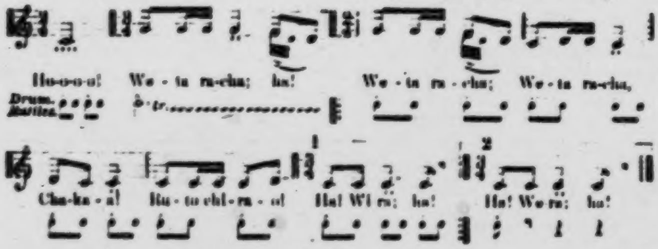
SONG TO THE PLEIADES

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

539*
796*
[533*]



700 Weta racha; ha!
701 Weta racha; weta racha;
702 Chaka-a!
703 Ruto chirao! Ha! Wira; ha!
704 Weta racha; weta racha;
705 Chaka-a!
706 Ruto chirao! Ha! Wera; ha!

Translation

700 Weta racha, ha!
weta, coming, advancing.
racha, rising, moving upward.
ha! look! behold!

701 Weta racha; weta racha;
weta racha. See line 700.

702 Chaka-a! The name of the Pleiades.

703 Ruto chirao! Ha! Wira, ha!
ruto, it is. "It" refers to the coming of the constellation.
chirao, good, well.
ha! behold!
wira, wera, them coming.
ha! behold!

704 Weta racha; weta racha; See line 700.

705 Chaka-a! See line 702.

706 Ha! Wera; ha! See line 703.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

V

539*
796*

727 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

728 He! Hitshkasharu kitta sha-a; ha!

he! an exclamation calling attention to a teaching.

hitshkasharu; hit, from hittu, feather; sh, feminine prefix; ka from rakaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions. The composite word refers to the visions which pertain to the promises of the Hako ceremony.

kitta, the top; refers to the locality of Katasha, the dwelling place of the visions.

sha, lying down, as to rest.

a, vowel prolongation.

ha! behold!

729 See line 728.

730 Hari! Kitta sha-a; ha!

hari, truly; plural number.

kitta sha-a; ha! See line 728.

731 See line 728.

VI

732 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

733 He! Hitkasharu shkitta sha-a; ha!

he! an exclamation calling attention to a teaching.

hitkasharu, feather night dreams. See line 713.

shkitta, sh, feminine prefix; kitta, the top.

sha, lying down, reposing.

a, vowel prolongation.

ha! behold!

734 See line 733.

735 Hari! Shkitta sha-a; ha! See lines 730, 733.

736 See line 733.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Visions come in the night, for spirits can travel better by night than by day. Visions come from Katasha, the place where they dwell. This place is up in the sky, just below where Tira'wa atius appointed the dwelling place of the lesser powers (eighth ritual, part I, second song). Katasha, the place where the visions dwell, is near the dwelling place of the lesser powers, so they can summon any vision they wish to send to us. When a vision is sent by the powers, it descends and goes to the person designated, who sees the vision and hears what it has to say; then, as day approaches, the vision ascends to its dwelling place, Katasha, and there it lies at rest until it is called again.

539*
796*
787●
772

This song tells about Katasha, where the visions dwell. This is its story:

*539 A holy man who lived long ago, no one knows how long, for there
have been many generations since, had a dream. He was taken up to
*796 the place where all the visions dwell, those that belong to Kawas, the
● 787 brown eagle, and those that belong to the white eagle, the male.
While he was there the day began to dawn and he saw the visions that
773 had been sent down to earth come climbing up, and he recognized
among them some of the visions that had visited him in the past.
Then he knew of a truth that all visions of every kind dwell above
in Katasha, and that they descend thence to us in the night, and that
as the day dawns they ascend, returning to rest in their dwelling place.

The holy man made this song about his dream and told its meaning, and the song and the story have been handed down to us, that we might know where visions come from, where they dwell and where they go to when they depart from us.

778 Among the Pawnees there are shrines, in the keeping of certain men, which contain articles that are used in the sacred ceremonies of the different bands of the tribe. These shrines are very old, they were given by the lesser powers to our fathers with a knowledge of their contents and how to use them.

An ear of corn belongs to one of these shrines. It is a peculiar ear.
It is white, with perfect and straight lines of kernels, and there is a
[243] tassel on its tip. In the fall the priest of the shrine tells the women
to look carefully for such ears when they gather their corn, for
Tira'wa causes such ears to grow in the fields for the purposes of
this shrine and they belong to it. The little tassel on the tip of the
[726] ear of corn represents the feather worn on the head of the warrior.
The sacred ear of corn is sometimes borrowed from the priest by the
leader of a war party. The ear of corn is born of Mother Earth, she
knows all places and the acts of all men who walk the earth, so she is
a leader.

726 Sometimes a young man who proposed going to war would request
the following song to be sung. He desired success and wished Mother
778 Corn to lead him. After the Hako ceremony was over he would
borrow a sacred ear of corn and put it in a pack which the leader of
the war party would sling upon his back. When the party was successful, he would thrust into the ground the stick upon which the ear
of corn was tied and as this ear stood before him he would give thanks
to it for having led him in safety.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796 Hako travels—the red path. The woodpecker is wise and careful, 773 and, that it may not get angry and be warlike on the Hako, its upper mandible is turned back over its red crest.

● [787] The Hako ceremony was given in a vision, and all these things, such as the dispute between the turkey and the woodpecker, were made known to our fathers in a vision.

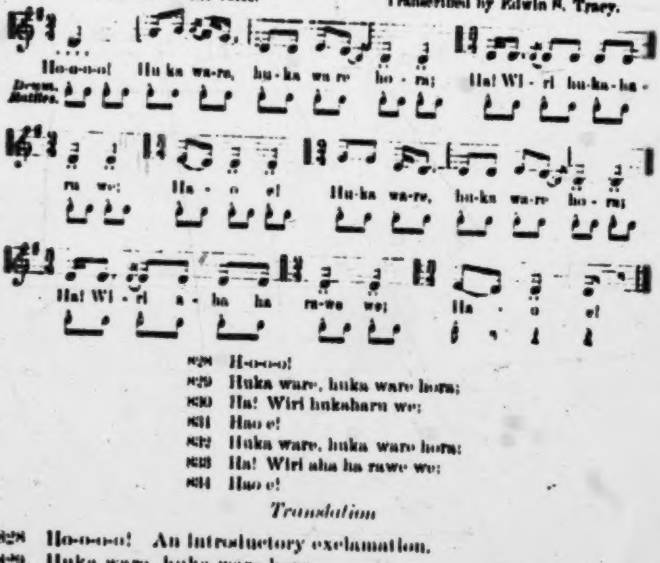
THE SONG OF THE DUCK

Words and Music

*539
*796
[*533]

M. M. ♩= 104.
• • : Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o!
Hu-ka wa-re, hu-ka wa-re ho-ra;
Ha! Wi-ri hu-ka-ha-ru we;
Ha-o e!
Hu-ka wa-re, hu-ka wa-re ho-ra;
Ha! Wi-ri a-ha ha ra-we we;
Ha-o e!
Drum. Rattles.

828 Ho-o-o-o!
829 Huka ware, huka ware hora;
830 Ha! Wiri hukaharu we;
831 Hao e!
832 Huka ware, huka ware hora;
833 Ha! Wiri aha ha rawe we;
834 Hao e!

Translation

828 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

829 Huka ware, huka ware hora.

huka, a part of the word hukaharu, valley, a valley through which a stream is flowing.

ware, a part of teware, flying.

hora, a part of the word horaru, the earth, the land

830 Ha! Wiri hukaharu we.

ha! behold!

wiri, it is.

hukaharu, a valley through which a stream flows.

we, they; refers to the young of the duck.

831 Hao e!

hao, offspring.

e, vocable.

832 See line 829.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796

In this stanza the Children reply: "It is well for us that you are here with the complete Hako!"

The Fathers sing these words, but they are really from the Children.

FOURTEENTH RITUAL (THIRD NIGHT). INVOKING THE VISIONS OF THE ANCIENTS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[787]

This ceremony was given to our fathers in a vision, and to our fathers the promise was made that dreams bringing happiness would be brought to the Children by the birds that are with the Hako. This promise given to our fathers is always fulfilled; happiness always comes with the Hako, and the Children have visions.

When the ceremony is near the end (the third night) we sing this song, for we remember the visions of our fathers, the holy men to whom was taught this ceremony. We ask that the visions which came to them may come again to us.

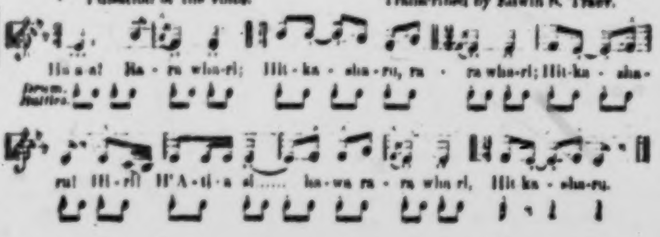
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
˙˙ Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ha-a-a! Ra - ra wha-ri; Hit - ka - sha-ru, ra - ra wha-ri; Hit-ka - sha-ru! Hi - ri! H'A - ti - a si...... ha-wa ra - ra wha ri, Hit ka - sha-ru.
Drum. Rattles.

I

848 Ha-a-a!
849 Rara whari;
850 Hitkasharu, rara whari;
851 Hitkasharu!
852 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara whari,
853 Hitkasharu.

II

854 Ha-a-a!
855 Rara wha-a;
856 Hitkasharu, rara wha-a;
857 Hitkasharu!
858 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara wha-a.
859 Hitkasharu.

III

860 Ha-a-a!
861 Rara whicha;
862 Hitkasharu, rara whicha;
863 Hitkasharu!
864 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara whicha.
865 Hitkasharu.

IV

866 Ha-a-a!
867 Rara ruka;
868 Hitkasharu, rara ruka;
869 Hitkasharu!
870 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara ruka.
871 Hitkasharu.

to the Ku'rahus who taught me. Besides I had to promise him that I would not give the teachings away, but would hold them as they had been held, teaching them only to those who would pay me. I give these (incidental rituals) to you, so that they may be preserved and kept with all the other songs that belong to the Hako. 424 796*

Long ago there lived a holy man who knew all the songs and the rites of this ceremony, and to him came a vision wherein he was taught how to bring comfort to a little child when, during the ceremony, it cried and could not be pacified. In this vision he was shown what he must do to bring comfort to the little child, and he heard the songs that he must sing. The songs which he heard have been handed down through many generations. 796* 773 787 861

When during the ceremony a child cries and can not be comforted, the mother, or some one sent by her, can approach the Ku'rahus who carries the brown-eagle stem and ask him to come and quiet the child. The Ku'rahus must comply with this request, so he rises and stands before the holy place, takes up the feathered stem and sings this song, which tells the brown eagle, Kawas, that its baby is crying. 796* 861

All the people hear the song and know that help for the child is being asked.

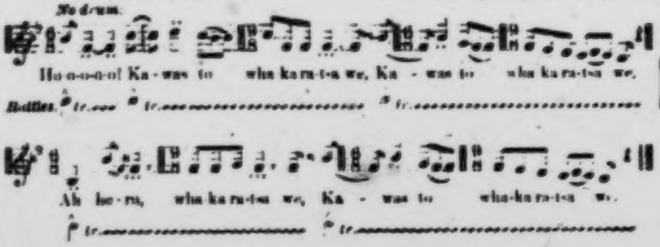
FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 60. 539*

• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. 796*

No drum. 861


Ho-o-o-o-o! Ka - was to wha ka ra-t-a we, Ka - was to wha ka ra-t-a we,
Rattles. tr. tr. tr.
Ah he-ra, wha ka ra-tsa we, Ka - was to wha-ka ra-t-a we.
tr. tr.

[533*]

1302 Ho-o-o-o-o!
1303 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.
1304 Kawas to whaka ratsa we,
1305 Ah hera, whaka ratsa we.
1306 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.

Translation

1302 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation:
1303 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.

Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the feminine principle.
to, its, denoting ownership of the child that is crying.
whaka, voice, noise from the mouth.
ratsa, a high pitch, screaming.
we, personal pronoun; refers to the child.

SECOND RITUAL. PREFIGURING THE JOURNEY TO THE SON

*796 622 ●787 The ceremony of offering the Hako was believed to bring great benefits. As the tie to be formed was a close one and likely to have a bearing on the welfare of two tribes, the selection of the man who was to be the Son was not left exclusively to the Father. His choice had to be submitted to the chiefs of his tribe for their approval. Nor did the matter end here, for the chiefs, seemingly unwilling to assume the entire responsibility of a final decision, threw the confirmation of the selection of the Son upon the supernatural, represented by the ear of corn.

[771] To be able to follow the Pawnee's thought one should keep well in mind the native belief in the reality of an invisible world accessible to man. The Ku'rahus explained that in this rite the spirit of the corn and the spirits of the assembled company must meditate together upon the proposed candidate for the Son, must consider his qualifications and his ability to meet the requirements for a successful issue of the ceremony. He said: "As we meditate we sit with bowed heads, and Mother Corn sits with bowed head." When the decision is reached "Mother Corn lifts her head and stands erect, then she moves through the air on her journey to the Son, and we follow."

In this mystical journey Mother Corn "opens the way" between the land of the Fathers and that of the Children. She does more. She enters the village and passes around among the lodges of the people to that of the selected man. She goes in and touches him while he sleeps. It is the spirit of Mother Corn that touches the spirit of the man in a dream. He does not see her who has touched him, but he sees one of the birds which belong to the feathered stem, the eagle, the owl, the duck, or the woodpecker, for the spirits of these birds are there with the spirit of Mother Corn in the lodge of the sleeping man. If, when he awakes, he is able to recall his dream, it is because Mother Corn has "opened his mind." Therefore when the messengers of the Father's party arrive with the tidings, "Your Father is coming," the dreamer is not taken by surprise, but is ready to respond without unnecessary delay.

*796 622 The old man narrated this symbolic procedure of the ear of corn and its attendant spirits without consciousness that he was saying anything unusual or contrary to ordinary experience. His only comment was, that it was very difficult for the men of the party of the Father so to fix their minds upon the desired end as to secure its accomplishment. He referred to this difficulty several times while explaining the words and meaning of the song. When questioned as to whether the attempt was always successful, he said that when it failed the failure was always due to a lack of earnestness or sincerity on the part of the persons so fixing their minds. By this he did not mean that the men failed because they did not try hard enough to

*796 The stars were shining when the Children were again seated in the lodge. The wood was piled upon the fire, and as the flames leaped high, the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief arose from behind the holy place and took up the Hako. Among the Omahas this act was [171] accompanied by a song referring to the eagle rising from its nest, which the movements of the feathered stems vividly pictured. The Pawnees had no such songs, and the Hako were taken up without any symbolic movements.

●787 In the song belonging to this first night, the visions that "attend the Hako" were invoked.

*796 According to the explanations of the Ku'rahus, these visions resembled dreams, inasmuch as they often came during sleep, but they also appeared when the dreamer was awake. They might be called revelations, which served either to strengthen a purpose or to suggest means by which a plan could be carried out to insure success to some cherished project. Through such visions, we are told, the manner of procedure of the ceremony had been taught and its details prefigured, details which were afterward carefully followed so as to conform to what was regarded as a supernaturally given model.

The birds, the animals, and the products of the earth represented *539 on the Hako communicated with man by visions. In the song of 787 invocation these visions are personified. They hear the summons in their dwelling place above; they descend and pass over the quiet *796 earth, making their way to the door of the lodge, where they pause; they cross the threshold and "walk within"; they move around and fill the space, touching all the people; this accomplished, they "walk away" and ascend to their abode on high.

We note that the visions follow the same sequence of movements that the Hako party followed in entering the lodge; they pause at the door, then enter and "walk within"; they move about and touch the people in prefiguration of the bestowal of gifts promised through the ceremony.

This song was quite impressive, sung as the writer heard it by a [*533] hundred or more voices. The Ku'rahus and his assistants, as they moved around the lodge, were followed by the choir, singers bearing the drum, and the song was taken up by all the people—men, women, and children—until the lodge vibrated with the sonorous melody. At the close of the fourth stanza the Hako were laid at rest with the songs belonging to that act; the eagle had gone to her nest, leaving the space clear for the mystic visitors, the visions, who now walked within the lodge. After a time the Hako were again taken up and the last four stanzas were sung; then the eagle once more alighted upon her nest, the visions had departed, they had "touched" the Children, and, as the Ku'rahus said, "the people could now go home to have pleasant dreams."

*796 781 The face of the old man was radiant as he explained this song and

From the first extra song we learn that the visions had a dwelling place called "Katasha," located just below the abode of the lesser powers. The visions could be summoned by these powers from Katasha and dispatched upon a mission. After its accomplishment, the visions returned to their dwelling place to "lie at rest" until again summoned by the powers. According to the Ku'rahus, visions were not transitory, called into being for some special occasion and then ceasing to exist, but they were of an enduring nature, retaining an identity by which they could be recognized by one whom they had visited. This differentiates the vision from the dream, which would seem to be the memory of a vision which came while one slept. Waking visions are not spoken of as dreams. 539* 787

The Pawnees locate more or less definitely the powers which can affect man. In the above, far beyond the light, fleecy clouds, where no man has been or can see, dwells Tira'wa atius, the father of all, the giver of life and breath; in a circle below are the lesser powers, like a great council; beneath them is Katasha, the abode of the visions. The birds, the animals, and plants are intermediaries between man and the powers above and the powers below in the earth; they bring him the life and strength which is drawn by the powers from Tira'wa atius. Such is the outline, but the details are complex, no one power or intermediary being fixed or unchangeable in function or character. 776 772

The second extra song, as explained by the Ku'rahus, seems to point out that disaster is sometimes disciplinary and necessary to the strengthening of a man's purpose. 539* 796* [731]

The third extra song teaches that when one dreams of Mother Corn one should go to a shrine where the sacred corn is kept and there offer smoke to the power which sent the corn to him in his dream.

EXTRA NIGHT SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

533*
796*

Rhythmic Rendition

I

Give heed! We tell of Katasha holy.
Whence the dreams come down, when draweth the night time near: 539*
Near the gods[b] is their dwelling. 796*
They who watch o'er men; all silently come they down.

---

[a] Music on page 132. [b] Gods, meaning powers, is used on account of the rhythm only

668 177 seen them dancing in a circle.[1] Nothing authentic and substantiated reached the tribe, however, until the fall of 1891[2] when Frank White came home to the Pawnee after his stay with the Wichita.

The Pawnee tell of White's learning the Ghost Dance among the southern tribes in the following way:

"One time Frank White went over to the Comanche, who were 669 177 796 dancing the Ghost Dance. He went inside and sat down on the north side. He ate peyote, a great deal, until he was nearly overcome. He bent his head and covered his eyes. He was a good-looking man who used to wear decorative red twine over his brow. [276 301] The Comanche did not know him, and the next morning they asked him who he was, and he said he was a Pawnee. Then he left them and went to the Wichita. He ate peyote there, and watched them dance the Ghost Dance and learned it. Then he came home and brought it to the South Bands. He told them what he had learned."

The period during which Frank White studied the Ghost Dance 668 177 among the Comanche and the Wichita was in the year following the great Ghost Dance of the fall of 1890, led by Sitting-Bull. The forms of leadership and organization he learned were those preached by Sitting-Bull, and initiated by him personally among the Caddo and Wichita.

Muric has spoken of White's experiences in the south. "Frank White . . . joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream, ● [787] the tree, the Messiah and then the village of people.[3] He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in [533 539] Pawnee. The first song was as follows[4]:

we	*rịhi*	*írasi·ra*
now	place where	yonder you come

wetikuwatu	*rawahe*
now I long for	the {village region

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 630—632 recounts a long narrative of the story which was supposed to have reached the Pawnee in 1890.

[114] [2] Murie, Societies, p. 633, says "in the fall of 1892." This is a misprint or a slip on Murie's part. In the account which follows Murie describes events of a winter and summer which intervene between White's return to the Pawnee and his arrest; White was arrested in 1892. Furthermore, we can date the time White left the Wichita by the fact that he left before the Arapaho delegation arrived in the fall of 1891 with the message from Wovoka, which, in spite of the objections of Sitting-Bull, necessitated a change in the form of the Ghost Dancing.

[3] Murie is doubtless referring here to the narrative of Wovoka's vision as known to the Pawnee which he gives, pp. 630—632.

[4] The form I quote here is a retranscription and retranslation of Murie's printed version, written by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

668 ment. When all were dressed and painted for the dance, White and
177 his singers came out onto the open space east of the sacred tipi,
and formed the gathering into a circle. All joined hands, and with
794 White and his singers leading in the songs, they danced round and
796 round. Others rushed over to the dance ground to join in. Many
shook and fell. White and his leaders put others into trances, and
great excitement prevailed.

In the evening they stopped to eat, and then continued dancing
[787] until late at night. From time to time those who fell would get
up and tell what they had seen. Each had a message from the
other world, and had learned songs. These visions became sanctions not only for special developments of the Ghost Dance, and of the hand games, but also for important revivals of old aspects of Pawnee life, which before this had ceased to function.

One evening all the Pawnee were gathered together where the South Band people lived. White was conducting the ceremonies. It was a fine clear evening, near sunset, with clouds across the sky in the west. The clouds in the sky across the west were like people sitting in a row. White told the people, "Now if you all come out here in the open where there is no timber, you can plainly see the people in the west. Those are the dead people. They are all waiting there. Now you see them. Pretty soon now the high wind will come and all the white people on earth will be blown away. Those (here he referred to Behaile, Dorf Carian, Harry Coons, James Murie, Rice, Pepan—all half breeds), such as they are the wind will pick up too, even if they are half breeds, because they don't believe in this dance. These believe in the white man's church. The wind will throw them against the heavy trees and crush them. The people who believe will be saved, because when the wind blows the white people away, they will all be left standing here. Those who believe will be shaken and fall down, and after they arise and open their eyes there will be no white people here. The buffalo will be here; everything will be just as it was before the white people came, and all our deceased folk, our fathers, our mothers, our grandfathers and our grandmothers, will be here with us."

All the people stood and watched these clouds in the west. All the people believed it, except a few. When the clouds were gone they all went home.

One young man lay in a trance all night. White wanted all
[787] the people to hear his story, so in the evening of the next day, he
ordered all the people onto a hill. There they stood in line facing

668
west,[1] and the young man sat down facing them with the crier 177
by his side. He said,

"When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a 794
spirit. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who 796
wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away 787
from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, 'My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people.' I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me and said, 'My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing.' So we went on and there in the center of the village our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return, and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying on the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw."[2]

---

[1] This is the ceremonial arrangement followed later in smoking and opening the dance; see below.

[2] Murie, p. 634. This is the tradition of the way in which the smoke offering was introduced into Pawnee Ghost Dance arrangements.

In the vision two minor points are worth calling attention to. The dead blessed the young man in the Pawnee way when they blew their breath upon him. The closing statement, "this is the end," etc. follows the Pawnee literary form of myths and stories.

More significant is the suggestion of Christ as "leading the people," an identification of Christ with chieftainship, which concept determined [622] important ritual aspects of the Pawnee Ghost Dance and Ghost Dance hand games.

contemporary Pawnee informants as to who the originals singers 668
were. According to Joseph Carrion, they were, in the order of their 796
selection and importance, Whitehorse (Pitahawirat^{a}), Sam Cover 177
(Skiri), Ezra Tilden (Skiri), Tom Yellowhorse (Skiri), Henry
Shooter (Kitkahaxki^{x}), Brigham Young (Tcawi), and Jim Keys
(Skiri). In addition, however, Carrion corrects himself by agreeing
with other informants that Joseph Long was the first of these
"crows" selected. Mark Evarts believes that all the original singers
belonged to the South Bands, and claims that the first four, after
White himself, were Joseph Long, Rubin Wilson, Lester Pratt and
White Elk, none of whom are Skiri. The presence of Skiri men in
the group of main singers should however be anticipated because all
the bands joined in the Ghost Dance under White's leadership.
Also, when the Skiri later organized and led their own Ghost
Dancing, the singers who were selected by the Skiri to take charge
were men who knew the songs because of their earlier participation
in the South Band Ghost Dancing, hence some Skiris must have
belonged to the original group of singers. The men actually selected
to form the organizations of the Seven Eagles and Seven Crows
(see below) included several who are mentioned in this list of
Carrion's. Those whom Knifechief and Mrs. Washington selected
were chosen because they knew the songs.

In addition to face paintings, the early Ghost Dance forms [302
included the use of feathers as hair ornaments. Two types were 301]
prominent, eagle feathers and crow feathers. These birds were used
because of a definite symbolism which attached to them. Both [825]
birds were conceived to fly high and far, and to see and know many
things. The Pawnee have always thought of the crow as a bird
which finds what it seeks. Hence the crow can help people find
what is lost lost beliefs, lost ways of life

In trance visions of the Ghost Dance, the visionary usually found 668
himself associated either with the eagle or the crow, and thereafter 787 ●
wore the feather of one or the other. White wore eagle feathers,
and when he constituted the seven men as the official singers, he 796
gave them special crow feathers to wear. White did not himself
lead the singing after this, but acted as general director, dancing in
the center of the circle and putting subjects into trances.

A story is told of how White and Joseph Long were put to a 668
test in early Ghost Dance days. There was a woman who went to 796
Camp Creek. On the way she lost a strap with which she was going 825
to bind up a load of wood. She wanted to find out if it was true that
crows could find things, so she went to the tipi of the leaders and
told them about her lost strap. Frank White said, "All right, sit

about the dance." Carrion, along with John Moses, Jim Keys, 668
Brigham Young and Henry Minthorn went to see Sitting Bull the 177
Arapaho. This was late in 1892, and they stayed there two months.

Carrion told Sitting Bull his story. Sitting Bull got a permit from his agent to Ghost Dance for two days. The Arapaho painted the Pawnee visitors with a rainbow around the forehead, a crow [302
on the right cheek (because, says Carrion, "a crow finds everything
he looks for, and when one is under the crow influence one can 825]
almost read minds"), and an eagle on the left cheek (which also represents a bird that flies high above everything, sees all and finds things).

That night in the Ghost Dancing among the Arapaho Joe Carrion was overcome and fell unconscious on his back. "I saw a big circle of people above." He awoke about two o'clock at night after lying there for five hours. When he woke up, he found there was a drum beside his head; an old man came over and asked him what he had seen. "Nothing," he said; he didn't want to tell. The old man told him, "you must tell." "I got up and said, 'I don't believe it.' Then he hit a gourd against the ground, and I fell over again. I got up and still said, 'I don't believe it,' so he hit the gourd on the ground and again I fell over. The way he could do this to me convinced me, and when I got up I believed it all. Then I told him what I had seen. He said it was true. The next day
the Arapaho were told they would have to stop the Ghost Dancing. 796

"Two days afterward a boy came with hand game sticks, bringing 668
one round to each tent. He told everybody that there was to be 177
a big hand game at a certain place. It was to last four days, with [785]
a Squaw dance afterwards." 524

The man in charge of the hand game told Carrion to get certain [502]
things for himself. He told him that he must fast four days and nights. Carrion wore only a g-string, and painted his body yellow. He neither ate nor drank.

During the playing of the game, he often got thirsty and would be about to take a drink, when someone would remind him that he must not. He was chosen to serve the food, but he was not supposed to partake of it. He also would pass the bucket of water around. The smell of the food helped him, seemed to satisfy his hunger a little. The first night he felt weak and wanted to cry. "They told me to go ahead and cry, that this was the same as going to church."

At sunrise he stood outside the tent and prayed. 796

"The fourth day I went onto a hill. Behind me there was 668
someone sitting in the grass. I looked at the sun and saw things 787
177

796 in it. I saw the sun whirling round, and I saw crows flying around
668 the sun, and flying over me. I saw an eagle feather in the whirling
●787 sun. Then I saw a black sun streaked with white inside coming
177 towards me, and as it came I fell over. I stood up and saw a buffalo bull stick his head out of the sun. Just before sundown I saw Jesus standing in the west in the sun with one hand extended toward me.

"Someone came and told me I was wanted in the tent. There Sitting-Bull's nephew[1] spoke to me and told me I had made good.
[788] He dropped water into my mouth four times with an eagle feather to cool my thick, dry tongue. Then he told me to take three swallows of water. He gave me sweet corn gruel to eat, and told me not to eat any more that night, but to eat a hearty breakfast in the morning."

At this time the old man questioned Carrion in detail about what he had seen, and Carrion told him about the circle of people, the birds and the man standing with his hand extended as if he were handing Carrion something. This, according to Carrion, the Arapaho interpreted as a gift of the hand game. The circle of people were the players, the man held in his hand the hand game sticks. The crow and eagle feathers belonged to the players, the clusters of feathers to the guessers.

Shortly after this the Pawnee came home. None of the others had visions among the Arapaho, says Carrion, because none of the others went through a four-day fast.

When Joe got home, crowds gathered around and wanted to know what he had found out, and if the Ghost Dance was true. Joe told the Pawnee that Frank White had taken something which did not belong to him and brought it over, and that White couldn't give them blessings and things to use, but that they had to get everything for themselves.

According to Carrion, this message which he brought home from the Arapaho introduced a different perspective into Pawnee Ghost Dancing. Before this people danced, but their experiences in the dancing did not give them sanction to carry out the dancing as leaders on their own account. White taught that only he could sanction them to do anything, and that they must pay him for the right. Now the people tried to find out things for themselves in trance-visions, and they did. It was after this that an extreme

---

[1] Sitting-Bull's nephew was the leader of this four day hand game among the Arapaho. Apparently he had derived it in trance visions experienced in the Arapaho Ghost-Dancing under the leadership of Sitting-Bull, and his visions had been sanctioned by the interpretations of Sitting-Bull.

development of visions in which hand games and many similar 796
sanctions were bestowed took place among the Pawnee. Carrion 668
claims to have brought the inspiration for the hand game ceremonies 787
from the Arapaho. With the liberation of the Pawnee Ghost Dance 177
hand games began a rapid development (see part II).

While Carrion and others contend, as is usual in such cases among American Indian groups, that this difference of doctrine between White and the Arapaho indicated a conscious deception on the part of White, it is clear that no explanation of this kind need be invoked. Actually White's doctrine is much closer to generic Pawnee ideology, according to which the independent free vision of the individual is subordinated to a process of learning from one who knows a ritual, ceremony or performance. That is to say, in the older ancient Pawnee activities, the accepted method of obtaining participation was to receive the right or sanction to do so from those who were in charge of that activity; rather than directly from supernatural powers. In contrast to this, Carrion's doctrine looks a great deal like Plains patterns in general, which would be correct for Arapaho Ghost Dancing. It should be remembered in this connection, first, that White did not learn from Arapaho or other Plains tribes directly, but indirectly through the Wichita, whose ideas on these fundamental points are very close to Pawnee ideas, and second, that Carrion was not a Pawnee, although he lived most of his life among them and spoke a fluent Pawnee.

In a general way, also, the pattern of immediately telling the 668
vision to the leaders and securing their interpretation is a non-
Pawnee pattern. In older forms, among both Wichita and Pawnee, 177
visions were kept a secret for long, and only in the course of one's 114
life because of one's behavior did the general public of the tribe
become aware that one had supernatural experience. In the Ghost
Dance doctrine, the visions had to be told at once to show appreciation for receiving them, and one who didn't tell was not supposed to live long thereafter.

It is not possible to date accurately the time of the reorganization of the Pawnee Ghost Dance to accord with the regular four-day dance forms of the southern tribes. I believe Murie has dated it far too late. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri, which initiated the freeing of the Skiri Ghost Dancing from White's control, took place before White's death in 1893. The first forms of Skiri dancing followed White's forms. On his visit to the Arapaho Carrion had observed both Ghost Dances and hand games as four-day ceremonies. Whether this was responsible for a correction

668 of Pawnee forms, or whether the Wichita taught the Pawnee
177 directly, the four-day ceremony was the formal Ghost Dance
114 among the Pawnee by 1895.

This regular Ghost Dance of the Pawnee was arranged to last
668 four days. It began the evening of one day, or the late afternoon.
Among the South Bands, all arose early in the morning, and faced
184 the sun for a brief period, (during which the smoke offering would
796 be made if the dance was to begin that day); but they did not dance.
Then in the afternoon the people danced from three to midnight.
786 The Skiri say that in their band there was a brief period of dancing
each morning, as well as a longer period of dancing through the
afternoon and evening. Both bands continued the fourth night until
the dawn of the fifth day, bathed and dispersed.

As each song was sung, the circle of dancers, holding hands, moved clockwise through one complete circuit, returning to the original starting point. This is determined by the main singer's position: he begins at the west and finishes at the west (except for the first afternoon song, as above). During the dancing period of the day, the dancers could carry out as many songs as they wished; there was no special number. The singing was initiated and led by the seven crow-feathered singers, and the others joined in. While the dancing went on, some "hypnotizers" would dance inside the circle directly in front of individuals they wished to throw into a trance, using feathers or other objects to focus and fix the eyesight of the subject, thus transfixing them. Usually the subject fell when he or she was touched with the object used. When individuals fell into a trance, they were laid down and the others continued to dance.

668 In these trances, the visionaries followed a general pattern. In
787 one way or another the subject was guided to the other world,
where all the deceased Pawnee were living together in the old way.
796 There some special phase of the life would imprint itself upon the
subject's mind, the playing of games, the hunting of buffalo, war
societies and dances, and the like. When the subject awoke, such
aspects of the trance vision, along with the bird or messenger who
had guided the individual to the beyond, would become the subjects of songs, costuming, and paraphernalia.

The closing song was carried out in a special way. It is the
668 special closing song of all Ghost Dances. As sung to conclude the
796 occasion, it is repeated six times as follows:

1. The leader remains stationary at the west facing east, and
533 leads the singing of the song once; all the dancers keep their places.
2. The leader dances from west to north, singing the song, and

792
668
177
reputation and esteem in which he or she was held by the tribespeople, the abilities of the prophet as a leader, hypnotizer, organizer; and the experiences which were undergone by the layman under the leadership and influence of the prophet.

Those who are remembered as the chief visionaries of the period in which the Ghost-Dance was taken up by the Skiri are Mrs. Washington, Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle, and Mrs. Cover. There were others, of course. Chiefly, Mrs. Washington was responsible for the inauguration of independent Skiri Ghost-Dances. She had many trance-visions, and often told very complex stories of the images and events which took place in them, so complex in fact that there were Pawnee who doubted her, partly [787] because of their own vision experiences, which seemed to them different in kind (psychologically); partly because of jealousy of the constantly increasing part she was playing in the tribal developments.

668
792
787
Carrion speaks of Mrs. Washington as a fraud. He says that she made up a lot of stuff, and was a false prophet trying to win the people's worship. His reasons for the attitude are interesting. He claims that in a vision (as he has experienced such) you see merely one simple image or thing, not a complex array; and that if you add to what you see, that is wrong. He contends that Mrs. Washington had trance-vision after trance-vision, and kept on learning details of performances in her visions, like a serial story. This is impossible, he says, because going back to those who give you things in visions and asking for more, is imposing on them; and it is for such conduct that people lose their lives.

In truth, Carrion's attitude indicates a temperamental difference between him and Mrs. Washington, as well as difference in the quality of his imagination. Carrion was not subject to trances often, Mrs. Washington was; his mind did not experience much detail in the few cases in which he had visions, while Mrs. Washington did. Obviously, the quality of the individual's mind will appear in the content and character of his visions as well as in his waking life, which is well illustrated by the vision experience of Mark Evarts in relation to the Ghost Dance, given below; Mark Evarts is a man whose mind is rich in content. But the native concept of the vision is more or less fixed and absolute, not one which accepts the relativity of the vision to the subject; hence, in terms of one visionary's experiences, those of another may often seem fraudulent.

184
668
796
The early independent Ghost Dances of the Skiri were carried out in terms of the usual forms and patterns of White's South Band Ghost Dancing. There was the same form of the circle, the same orientation of the official or sacred tent, and the same pattern of

668 that a suggestion of the Wichita was in part responsible for Mrs.
796 Washington's determination to organize the Ghost-Dancing with
regular singers while the Wichita were present.

533 Frank White died in 1893, and he is known to have been alive at the time Mrs. Washington inaugurated these developments, which places the time of the first Seven Eagle Brothers as sometime in late 1892 or early 1893.

As one informant describes Mrs. Washington's activities: "When
668 they used to dance among the South Bands, all would go there,
792 and while the dancing went on, old Mrs. Washington fell in a trance.
796 She found out something about the Seven Brothers, but not
everything right away. Afterwards, every time she fell she would
787 see something about the Seven Brothers.[1] The spirit told her to go ahead and put up the Seven Brothers. She used to have her own cattle. Once when they came home from the dancing, she was told that when she got home she should put up the Seven Brothers at a dance. So she killed her own beef, and put up the dance, and they told her how to go, everything, the smoke and all."

Mrs. Washington put up a special feast. She asked the chiefs and these seven men to be present, as well as others. Each of the seven sat on the south side with the eagle feather given him by Knifechief stuck into the ground before him. Along the north side were congregated the "crow" people, including those who played as "crows" in the hand games, as well as the men who later were organized into the Seven Crows; while along the south side the "eagle" people sat. As yet, however, there was no "crow" organization: the "crows" were merely an amorphous group who played the hand game together, and who had this affiliation because of Ghost Dance experiences.

Mrs. Washington stood at the doorway of the tipi. Up to this time she had been learning. Now she spoke. "Now, I want to tell you what I have in mind. We are going to have a Ghost Dance. A spirit told me to do it. I am going to do it today. These Seven Brothers are going to take the lead for us, and we're going to call them Fathers. Now I want you chiefs to decide when we should begin the dance."

Then the chiefs talked together and decided and one announced,
527 "Let us move the camp and all come together on the third day."
574 This inaugural feast was not a ceremonial affair. After the
decision of the chiefs was announced all those present partook of
the feast provided by Mrs. Washington; this concluded the occasion

---

[114]

[1] This "serial story" form of learning in visions is the sort of thing about Mrs. Washington's claims that Carrion resented; see above.

668 wise around the sacred dance ground (not the space around which
796 the people are gathered) which was now vacant, and came to the
782 west of it where he stopped facing east. At this point his back was to the back of the Seven seated Brothers. Here he offered corn upward to heaven, then bent down and pushed some off the spoon onto the ground, then turned to the west to which he offered the spoon of corn slantwise, then pushed some more off onto the ground, and finally placed the rest on the ground as an offering to the earth. (Second phase; first mode[1]) He then put the spoon on the ground beside him, and touching and pressing the corn into the earth, made three sets of motions with his hands and arms: four upward to heaven, four westward, and four to the earth. (Self-blessing; return of spoon[1]) Then he picked up the spoon and went through the motions of the final self-blessing with it, pressing his feet firmly to the ground. With the spoon he turned and reentered the circle of people between the First Brother (who is at the south end of the row of seven seated brothers) and those at his left, walked through a half circuit clockwise until he faced the chiefs sitting at the west, and returned the spoon to the chief who had given it to him. All the people say, "Nawa."

668 The food was then served. A number of men were selected to do
796 the serving, some serving the chiefs, others the Seven Brothers,
[264 and still others the people in general. The chiefs must be served
554] first, and then the Seven Brothers, and then the public at large. After all had eaten the dishes were put away. The people might come back and dance on the dance-ground until the sun had fully set. They stopped finally at full sundown. Many of the people did not camp on the grounds and had to go home for the night. Others had to look out for their horses.

In this way the people danced at the encampment for four days, and the last day they continued dancing all night. As individuals had trance visions, they would begin to wear different feathers and paints according to what they saw; and at later Ghost Dances would bring out these Ghost Dance things and use them.

[513] After the entire dance was over, the people generally slept a full day. Later they might decide to hold a hand game. In these early Ghost Dance times among the Skiri, a hand game could only be held after a full Ghost Dance had been carried out. Later hand games were interspersed in the Ghost Dancing.

Such were the ceremonial forms of the first Ghost Dancing among the Skiri proper.

792 Although Mrs. Washington was in this way responsible for the
668 first organization of the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Goodeagle came to
796
787

be known as the Mother of the Seven Brothers. This was because 792 668
she clothed them according to directions which she received in a 796
Ghost Dance vision. 787

Mrs. Goodeagle saw two eagles in her vision, a white one and a black one. The black eagle did not speak to her. The white eagle told her to put up a feast and dress the Seven Brothers. She did so. She gave each of the seven a special shirt, and a white [292]
sheet to wear. At the back of the head on the sheet two black ribbons were stitched, so that they hung down for about two feet in the back. All the seven were dressed alike.

Then later someone else fell into a trance and told afterward that Mrs. Goodeagle was the Mother of the Seven Brothers, and that the people must call her that. So all the Skiri considered her the Mother of the Seven Brothers.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF MARK EVARTS

In 1897 or 1898, Mark Evarts came home.[1] He had been away 159
a number of years, first at the Carlisle school, and then working as a harness maker in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. When he got to Oklahoma, the ghost dancing had been flourishing both among the South Bands and among the Skiri. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri was already existent. Mark was not unacquainted with the Ghost Dance. He had heard about it at the time it began to spread among the tribes. He had made a brief visit home at the height of the excitement. But the rest of his story after his arrival in Oklahoma is best told in Mark's own words:

"I told them I did not believe it. I said, 'You can't make me believe it.' Because I was educated and because the white man taught me that the Indians were superstitious. But the white man didn't look at himself and see how superstitious he was.

"One day the Pawnee were all going up to the Oto. After a lot of them had gone, a fellow named Sam Thomson said to me, 'Mark, let's go up to where the Oto are camped now.' We went north to a place about seven miles south of Red Rock. We got there in the evening. We looked into the timber, and there on the other side of the creek we saw the smoke from the encampment. We didn't know where to eat and spend the night, but we found two old ladies in one tipi and we went in there. We asked them if we could sleep there, and stay around during the camping. While I was there I heard someone say, 'this tipi is a special hand

[1] Mark had been home on a visit in 1893.

159 game tipi'. Of course at that time I didn't care about that, but they talked about it.

"One morning I took my horse out and tied him where there was good grass. I looked about me, and looked up at the sky, and all at once felt as if I had swallowed something. I felt sorry for myself. I said, 'Here I am. I have no father, no mother, no home,' and then all at once something struck me. I thought that there was nothing good in this world. I let the horse go and didn't bother with him. On the north side there was a big hill. I climbed it and facing west I began to cry. I was sorry for myself. I was alone. Sorrow came all over me. All day I stayed there, until sundown, with nothing to eat or drink. About at nightfall I fell asleep there.

"The next morning I started to cry again, fasting there. I stayed there about three days and nights with nothing to eat and drink, but at the same time I never felt hungry. On the fourth day, in the morning, I felt like sleeping. Everyone in the camp knew I was up there. I went to lie down with my head on my hands.

"Just after I went to sleep I heard someone call me. He said,
159 'Now look at the south,' and not very far off I saw a badger. He
●787 said, 'Now if you want to do that, take the citizen's clothes off.
You have to have different clothes.' While I looked at him, it was as if I took my clothes off and put them in a hole in the ground. And someone said, 'now put your Indian clothes on and then you do that.' Just as I heard that I awoke, and again I began to cry. About noon I felt as if I must sleep again. I could hardly stand up. I went to lie down on my back, with my head towards the east. All at once I fell asleep. I saw someone standing way up above me in the sky, and I was with him. He faced the north, and I stood at his left side. He said, 'now look way down there. Here you are, and there you are lying, down there.' I looked down and saw myself lying there with my mouth open. Near my head there was some bird. The bird walked around close to my head, bobbing its tail up and down. It had a white feather at each side of its tail. Finally I saw it go right into my mouth. I lay there like a log. I could see it go down inside, and could tell when it got down to the stomach. This one told me, 'go down and kick your feet'. I kicked my feet, and I woke up. Then I began to cry again. As the sun went down, I found my eyes were very tired. When the sun was pretty near down I was looking west. I could see the sun whirl around and around,[1] and once in a while white spots came off it as it whirled, and then green. Then it seemed to be coming toward me, then it seemed to be going away again. At half sunset, over the grass you

---

[1] Mark's gesture at this point indicated a clockwise motion.

could see the shadows coming. Some one said to me, 'now right there, you see the sun there. Right there, that's what's going to hurt you, the shadow of the grass.' The shadows began to twist over like fishhooks, and were sharp. 'That's the people's talk. They'll use bad words on you, and tell you you're crazy and call you names. Let them talk all they want to, don't mind them. It isn't yours, it's mine. When they curse you, they curse me.' 159 787

"Just before it got dark, as I was standing and crying, I looked east, and right there in the bottom I saw an owl fly up along the grass, with white on each side of the tail. He flew around and around as it got dark, and finally into a hollow a short distance off. As he disappeared into the darkness of the hollow, I heard three doctors singing. Each one had a gourd rattle. They were coming up toward me. There was no one there I could see, but still I heard them coming toward me as it grew darker. I was looking in the other direction, but my mind was behind me: I knew they were coming. When they were about halfway, they changed the song into a humming, saying, 'I'll kill you. H-hm, h-hm, h-hm, I'll kill you.' They had something to hit the ground with. I made up my mind that I didn't care if they killed me. Let them. I wasn't afraid. I was a man.

"I used to think I was a brave man at that time, but I wasn't either. I found out that time. All at once it came into my mind that it was the scalped man coming. I looked out of the corner of my eye and could see him coming close. I looked around and could see he had a club he was raising over my head to strike me and kill me. I thought, 'let him go ahead'. I was looking upward, and it felt as if something was taken out of my mouth, and another thing put in. The brave one was taken out, and the coward put in. Then I ran off.

"That night these men were after me all night. They chased me around. They chased me pretty near to Ponca City. I couldn't get back to the camp, because they would turn and bar my way. Just about at the time the moon came up, they changed into the night crow. It came close to me calling 'ka, ka, ka,' and I had to run again. When I came to one place, there were seven horses, all white. He said, 'When you chase them round, the last one, if you get it, it's yours.' But I was tired. It was near morning, and I was very tired. I wanted to sleep. Just as I would be about to fall asleep, these horses would come up. It was the seven of the dipper that go around the North Star. Then morning came. I woke, and there was nothing wrong with me. I came home. When I went back to the place on the hill where I had been standing, my aunt was there, waiting to take me home.

159 [302] "After that I had to join the Ghost Dance. I used to paint my face with yellow and two blue streaks across each cheek.

● [787] "The reason this made me feel the Ghost Dance was true, was because it all began with my father and my mother, and they were both dead. That's why—because they were ghosts—that we call it the Ghost Dance, and that I had to go and join it. After this I believed it was all true."

After his vision, Mark Evarts was sick for some time, and did not begin to dance with the Ghost Dancers at once. He lived some time alone at Osage City.

Once he was on his way back to Pawnee when he met the Pawnee camped at Skeedee. Mark Rudder and others were there. They told him it was a good thing he had come, because they were going to make feathers for the Crows.

159 524 Mark Rudder organized and led a brief hand game that night. People from the town heard about the game and came out, swelling the crowd. Rudder avoided the ceremonial complications of the game; it was played for enjoyment, and people who joined in sat as they pleased.

159 787 It was a full moonlit night. The game was played in a tent, and after each game they went outside to dance. The moon was in the southeast. "Louis Behaile was touched, he got shaky, all at once he cried. He stood crying with his hands up toward the moon. After we came back inside the tent, he told it. 'I felt something in my mind, when we went out. It seemed I was going to see something. It's coming. We went out. When we were dancing around, all at once I looked up at the moon, and the moon looked down and saw me and laughed at me. That's why I cried.'"

159 At the hand game Rudder told all the men to come the next morning. "We've got something to do here. We've got the crow feathers and the cedar. We're going to make feathers for the Crows, for each one of you. And those who are outsiders, if you want me to make them for you, you come and I can do it. We're going to take a whole week to camp here. We're going to make these feathers."

The place at which they were meeting belonged to Jonathan Eustace. Jonathan told Mark Evarts to stay right at the camp, and unsaddle his horse. So Mark stayed there. At that time Mark Evarts had nothing to do, and usually lived at Rush Roberts' farm.

159 301 The next morning, the men came about ten o'clock to Rudder's tent. His tent faced east. Inside, Rudder sat at the west, with a wooden cross set up behind him, and a small pile of crow feathers

159 301 in front of him on a spread. Rudder set one man to work preparing cedar sticks, another to work preparing the horn ends of the feathers so they could be attached to the sticks with sinew. Still another was called and told to get sinew ready for use as thong. While the work proceeded the other men present told stories. One man said that he heard the crows calling "ka-ka-ka," and understood what they meant, so he came to the camp and there sure enough he found them all working on the crow feathers. The others laughed. The men preparing the things took their time. They were working at it all day. When dinner came in the evening, Mark Rudder had all the things wrapped up and put aside. The work was finished the next day.

[237] [283] Only wing and tail feathers of the crow were used. Four feathers, either from the wing or tail, were attached to the stick. Each man present was asked which kind of feathers he wanted put on his. The sinew was soaked in a bowl of water to soften it for use. The head end of the cedar stick was spread or thickened so that when the feathers were tied on they spread outward. Across the top of the sticks indentations were made in the form of a cross and when these crow sticks are used ceremonially and set in the ground, the ends of this cross must point in the cardinal directions. Red paint was put in the grooves of the cross. The feathers were bound onto the sticks while the sinew was wet, after which the sticks with the feathers attached were hung out in the wind to dry. The sinew tightened in drying. Each man who wanted a crow stick came forward and took one.

THE SEVEN CROWS AND AFTER

668 796 Mark Rudder was thus instrumental in developing the decoration and recognition of Crows. As yet, however, there was no official organization among the Crows, similar to the Seven Brothers of the Eagles.

668 796 787 Once when they were Ghost Dancing near the north round house, a young woman "got the shakes" and fell. When she recovered, she sat there crying. The old man crier went to her and blessed her. Then he asked her if she had something to say. She said, "Yes. When I fell, I went down a road leading west and saw a big hill across my way, and the road went up the hill. I went up that hill. When I got on top of the hill I looked down below on the other side. There was a big camp there. As I went down the hill I saw a man coming out of that camp. He met me before I got to the camp, and told me to stop, not to come any further. I

668 stopped. He stood right there in the road. He said, 'Now my girl,
786 I came to meet you here. I'm the one who told you to come. We
are dancing over here. We know you folks are dancing over there
787 and I want you to tell them to have Seven Brothers of the Crows
just as well as the Eagles. Now when you go back you can tell them. Sometimes when the Seven Eagles are tired singing, you have to turn over the singing to the Crows to help out. That's why I say you should have Seven Crows. One more thing: When you have the Seven Eagles sing, you must put one woman between each two Eagle brothers, because when they sing the women must sing too. And you must do the same way with the Seven Crows.' I wanted to turn my head to look around, and as I did that, I woke up, and got up."

668 In accordance with this vision, Mark Rudder as the main Crow
selected six to join with him as the Seven Crows. Five of the Skiri
786 selected were: John Moses, Jonathan Eustace, George Beaver, Yellowcalf, White Fox. Mark Evarts himself became one of the Seven Crows later, succeeding one man who died.[1]

After that when they held the Ghost Dancing, the Seven Eagles were put on one side (the south), the Seven Crows on the other side (the north). Still later, someone had a trance vision and saw that it should be done the same way in the hand games.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, Mrs. Cover was made the Mother of the Seven Crows by analogy with the Mother of the Seven Brothers organization. Mark Rudder selected her. She was not chosen as the result of a vision, or because she clothed the Crows.[2]

Thus the ground plan arrangements finally became among the
Skiri: A central clearing for the dancing; a special Ghost Dance
[346] tipi due west of it; a sacred tipi south of the cleared ground for the
Seven Eagle Brothers; and a sacred tipi north of the clearing for
the Seven Crow Brothers. Certain alignments of the games were later determined by these orientations (see for example, Boy Chief's game).

---

[1] John Moses and Mark Evarts are the only ones still living.

[2] A dream of Mrs. Cover's of this general period illustrates certain con-
[787] cepts of the Pawnee Ghost Dance:

"She dreamed she saw Christ standing at the west, facing east. Before him were many little children. At the extreme south was Emmet Pierson and other chiefs, at the extreme north were Mark Evarts, Eaglechief and others. A voice spoke, saying, 'As you see these standing, these are the ones to take care of Christ's children, his people.'"

[622 The Pawnee speak of a chief as a "father" to all his tribespeople, and here
177] this idea has been interwoven with Christian beliefs.

coming, that there would be a reunion with the departed, that a great change was coming. Others embodied the memory of societies of former days, the gift of paraphernalia, or of hand games. No attempt has been made to transcribe songs for this study; a few representative songs are available from Densmore and Murie. 796 533

Frank White's first Ghost Dance song has already been given. The free rendering: 796 533 539

"The place whence you come
Now I am longing for.

"The place whence you come
Now I am ever-mindful of."

refers to the land of the departed from which a messenger came in White's vision. [787]

A song of Roaming Chief recorded by Densmore from the version of Effie Blane, reports a Ghost Dance trance vision of Roaming Chief.[1] The reference is to the coming of Christ, and the feeling among the people that all was to be well. [177]

ra a (hi i i a) he i ra a (hi i i a)
he comes yonder he comes!

he ra (i hi i a) he ra (a e ee)
he comes! he comes!

heru (u u) kitu tixwakiā·hu
then all they are saying

rihi weturahe
here now it is good!

ra a (hi i) i ra a (hi i i a)
he comes yonder he comes

hera (i) hera hera
he comes! he comes! he comes!

He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming!
And so all the people say
All is well here now.
He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming! He is coming!

---

[1] Densmore, Pawnee Music, song no. 66, p. 92. "A Ghost Dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he cried as he sang this

The song embodies the relationship of the crow to the Moon 746 from which the bird's power comes, and indicates also that the 533 Moon is the night overseer of things on earth, reporting them in 539 the beyond. The crow is telling the people on earth of the activities in the land of the departed.

The song was based on a Ghost Dance vision of Effie Blane herself. Used at a hand game it was probably not sung to the play of the game.

Several songs reflect the vision of old societies, and their subsequent revival (See Chapter III—Revivals of Societies).

A song recorded by Wichita Blane[1] reports a vision in which [177 Christ gave the Young Dog Dance society pipe (probably) to the 787] visionary:

we ra a (i ya)
now he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (hi a)
See! yonder he comes See! yonder he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (ho hi a)

he tiwerihaktsa
(Emphasis) here now it stick lies!

atias pirau kura (u)
father child his

kuraha·ku· tikuha·ku'
his own stick he to me stick gives

i ra a
Yonder he comes.

Now he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming.
This stick that is lying here,
The son of the father
His own stick he gave to me.
Yonder he is coming.

A song recorded by Effie Blane belonged to Running Scout and referred (probably) to the revival of the Wolf Society. Of this song, Densmore writes: Running Scout "was very religious and [787] remained in a Ghost Dance trance for several days. His friends

---

[1] Densmore, no. 59, p. 86.

796
533 thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that
539 he had been to the Messiah who told him to 'go to the village.' Following this instruction, he saw many men dancing. Some had
● [787] fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypnotizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always
[237] wore a fox skin in the Ghost Dance. The skin was not made into
[293] a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder.
[198] He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing."[1]

1— *ṭrihe we ʦạrit*
so here now stop!
1— ..
1— ..

2— *kiwaku rirạraxra*
fox (es) they have them

1— *ṭrihe we ʦạrat*
so here now stop!
1— ..

Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
They are holding fox skins
Here now you must stop!
Here non you must stop!

Densmore in one case records a free translation of a song without text[2]:

"The yellow star has noticed me,
Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather.
That yellow star."

[787] The reference is apparently to one of the old star powers and reflects the gift of an ornament of "power" in a Ghost Dance vision.

[720] A song without texts used at victory dances was "'in the style of the Lance dance songs'... The words mean, 'They are coming yonder, the men who belong to the Lance Society (Tirupa)[3].'" The reference here is to the resurrection of the membership of the old Fighting Lance Society (tirupahe), and to the revival which took place in the Ghost Dance years.[4]

---

[1] Densmore, pp. 84—85, no. 58.
[2] Densmore, p. 84, no. 57.
[3] Densmore, p. 68.
[4] See Chapter III, Revivals of Societies, pp. 112—115.

III.

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GHOST DANCE

In 1892, as we saw in Chapter I, the United States government 668
program of assimilation had reduced the Pawnee to a cultural
impasse. Their old life was gone, and nothing adequate had been
given them in its place. The Ghost Dance doctrine which reached
the tribe in 1892 brought hope into Pawnee life. It promised the
coming of a new and restored Indian earth, on which the white man
would be no more, on which the buffalo would roam again, and
the Indian peoples live in peace and plenty. According to the
prophecy of the doctrine the change was destined, and did not
depend on the voluntary intervention of the Indian. Faith in the
doctrine and message of the new religion was, however, an essential
condition to participation in the benefits of the new order. The
activities of the Ghost Dance were modes of converting the unbe-
liever, and of reinforcing the conviction of the faithful. The first 668
tenet was to dance. The feet of the dancers pounding the earth 796
was symptomatic of the rumblings of the earth which presaged
the change. In the beyond, the message declared, they too were
dancing, and to dance here in the same way was an augury of the
coming reunion. A second tenet prescribed the casting aside of the
white man's ways as an expression of faith. To put aside white
clothing, white labor, and white customs, was in still another way
to participate with the people dancing in the beyond, and to dem-
onstrate concretely one's conviction that these things of the
white man's were of the passing present, soon to be swept away. 668
A third tenet concerned the visions and the seeking of them. These 787
visions were moments of intercommunication between those here 796
on earth and their deceased kinsmen in the beyond. To secure them
was to prove one's strength of faith. In attaining them one saw
the people in the other world alive and well and happy; one saw
and foresaw the new earth that was to be. These visions reinforced
the tenet which prescribed a casting aside of the white man's ways,
for in the land of the departed the old ways of life went on still
as they had in former years on earth. To do as one's kinsmen were

[p 105]

668 787 796 doing in the beyond meant not alone to put aside the alien customs of European culture, but actively to take up again the native ways of the Indian. The Pawnee turned back to the past for values and satisfactions lacking in the present.

178 The revival of Pawnee culture which began to materialize in the years of the Ghost Dance went back for its material primarily to three sources in the old culture: the bundles and bundle rituals, the societies, and the games. The general attempt to resuscitate the aboriginal forms, supplemented and fortified by the inspirations and mandates of the visions, resulted in three types of cultural rebirth. The activities of old ceremony, performance and play were fostered; the paraphernalia were put in order, renewed, and recreated; and concepts from the old context were enshrined in symbols and facsimiles which were carried in the dance and integrated in new cultural forms.

BUNDLES AND BUNDLE RITUALS

778 796 178 The principal bundles of the Pawnee in aboriginal times were the sacred bundles,[1] often spoken of as village or band bundles, and the medicine men's bundles. The former were predominantly concerned with cosmological powers and references; the latter with the animate forms of the earth, the waters and the air (animals and trees, fish and water-creatures, birds). By 1892 sacred bundle ritual demonstrations had practically ceased; of the medicine [756] men's ceremonies, the great doctor performances of the fall had ceased in 1878, but the Doctor Dances of the spring and summer continued at irregular intervals, and such medicine men's ceremonies as the Buffalo Dance were also carried out on occasion, while the Bear Dance had died out. Resuscitation of the old bundle [764] rituals was the most difficult problem of revival and could not be fully met: a good part of the sacred rituals and paraphernalia had been buried in the grave with their final priests. There were two modes or types of occasion on which bundles were opened in aboriginal times: to demonstrate the ritual, and to renew or repair the bundle parts and contents. There is little evidence that the Pawnee succeeded in actively rehabilitating the ceremonies of the sacred bundles, but they did succeed in reconstructing the medicine men's

---

[1] I avoid any attempt to here catalog or describe the many bundles of the four Pawnee bands, which would of necessity be lengthy and for the most part irrelevant. The interested reader may consult Murie, Societies, pp. 549—556.

778 this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course
793 of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher
lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that
as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that
[828] when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the
old and learned always held back something until they were ready
to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught
his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on
his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told
him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When
upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part
[764 of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by
428] the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased
medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest,
a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance:
the physical bundle survived, though it might be less
and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained
182 as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through
178 cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through
the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals, which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their time: and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of
424 private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost
793 through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no
sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who
attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance
182 visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would
178 "see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision
668 then became a command upon himself and others around him to
787 carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life
could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost 668
Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult 787
to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the 178
way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed 182
in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or
ceremony was no longer officially in existence: those who had
known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who
knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their
memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine 796
men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear 756
Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this 178
century, it was the revived form which was studied and recorded.
The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirat[2], the main [764]
bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were 796
buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any 756
one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society was lost. At a 787
meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a 178
woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said, "I had

---

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. [114]
Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which
gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable
weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based
on work with present-day informants.

The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation: in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

178
796 a vision. I saw Bear Chief wearing the bear robe over his shoulders
756 and the bear claw neckpiece around his neck. He was painted with
yellow earthen clay, and had black streaks from each eye down the
787 face. He said, 'My sister, Father (bear) and Mother (cedar-tree) have not had any smoke for many years. We (dead people) are watching for our people to have the ceremony. The people think the ceremony is lost. It is not, for one of the Bear men who knows the ceremony is still with you. I ask that you tell the people so that they can have the ceremony, for it is time.' I woke up and the last few days have been crying to think that I should be the one to tell you. I have a cow which you can have so you can have the ceremony."[1]

178 "The leaders of the Bear ceremony each in their turn arose, went
to the woman and blessed her... They said, 'My sister, this is
756 very hard. None of us know the ceremony, but Father (bear) and
796 Mother (cedar-tree) will plan a way themselves so we can have the ceremony...

"Some days later the members of the Bear society met and compared their knowledge of the ceremony. When all had spoken a man named Big Star... questioned the others as to their knowledge of the ceremony. He found that none in the meeting knew the ceremony. So he said, 'Brothers, this is hard. You see I am paralyzed, and I could not sit and carry the ceremony out. If you will all agree I will try it. Before we do anything we must select men to be the leaders. You and I know that there are some men here who are descendants of deceased men who were leaders in the Bear Society...' So he selected... Little Warchief... Little Sun..., Good Buffalo..., and Roaming Chief..."

(These men were then ceremonially inducted into office. Big Star then seated himself with these leaders at the altar, and made arrangements to collect among the people the ceremonial utensils, etc. for a set of things needed to carry out the ceremony).

"When all the others had gone out, Big Star told the four men to watch as he carried on the ceremony, that he would carry on the ceremony for them. He also told that Tirawahatⁿ had planned through the woman for them to have the ceremony, so he was
178 willing to carry the ceremony on for them without pay; that in
756 olden times men paid to learn the secrets of the Bear ceremony,
796 especially in going after Mother Cedar-tree; that he himself did not
424 purchase the right to carry the ceremony on, but that Bear Chief
who was the last man to know the ceremony had given him the

---

[1] Indicating that the one whose vision caused the revival felt obligated at the same time to put up the ceremony.

178 575 796 the songs, whether specially costumed or not. I am told that on occasion even women were known to join the dancing.

The Crazy Dog Dancers was revived before 1895 by Skiri Tom, one of the survivors of the old organization. The original membership had been practically annihilated in Nebraska days while on the warpath against the Sioux; the misfortune was so great that a few members who survived hesitated to reorganize. Skiri Tom made Charley Box his main singer, with George Beaver to assist him; White Fox was also a singer. Skiri Tom reconstructed objects closely like the old paraphernalia, a crow-feathered dogwood lance, a pipe, drums and rattles. In the revival dance performances, the [292] dancers were not naked, as in former times, although Skiri Tom himself is said to have worn only a loose jock which exposed the genitals from the rear and caused laughter among the women. [577] Nudity in the old days was a sign of recklessness; those who courted death in war could be bold and foolhardy in the dance. Skiri Tom died about 1906 or 1907; his paraphernalia were buried with him, and the performance of the Crazy Dog Dancers ceased with his death. The songs, however, are still used.

The Roached Heads, originally a Skiri society, was revived on behalf of the tribe under the leadership of George Washington; a performance witnessed was held inside Washington's lodge; the north side was in control.

A performance of the Skiri Wolf Society,[1] witnessed by men and women about 1900, was a departure from its original forms. In aboriginal times this society never danced in the villages either before or after the hunt: on the war path itself, the war party leader organized the performance. As a result, and contrary to the forms of the other societies, no women participated as singers at Wolf Society performances, while in 1900 women singers were employed.

Murie has described the revival of the Horn Dance (raris arika).[2] The society was revived in a modernized form in 1893. "It took [787] its form from the dreams of a woman..." In consecutive dreams she was told how to get an eagle skin, to make the crook crow-feathered lance, and the drum. "The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle

---

[1] The revival may have been led by Running Scout. A song recorded by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 85, reports a vision of Running Scout which probably refers to the Wolf Society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

[2] Murie, Societies, pp. 623, 638.

REVIVALS OF GAMES

524 The games[1] most important in the old social life of the Pawnee
526 were for men the large hoop and pole game, the hand game,[2] and the moccasin game[3]: for the women, the stick dice game, the plum seed dice game, shinny and double-ball. Boys played at the hand game of the men among themselves[2], and played a boys' form of the hoop and pole game; girls played the womens' games.

668 All three revival phases took place with the games, paralleling
178 the ritual revivals. The activities were renewed, viz., the games were again played, and played with renewed enthusiasm; the
524 paraphernalia were renewed and reconstructed in that game sets began to be made again in the old way: such were essential for the hoop and pole games, the plum seed and stick dice games, shinny and doubleball: and lastly the games becoming vision sources, sets of paraphernalia were ceremonialized: On the one hand such
[796 developments as the ritual hand games took place, and on the other game objects like shinny balls, hoops, etc. were used as
•787] vision embodiments and symbols, carried in the dance and employed to induce visions in others. (See Chapter II)

In these revivals of old forms, we see that those forms were stressed which were most overt and apparent in the old culture: games basically, the non-esoteric activities of the societies (songs and performances) next, and the bundle activities least of all. This weighting follows the probabilities, in terms of the degree to which the old activities were shared by all the people in aboriginal life: those which were common and familiar possessions of the people were readily remembered and revived, while those calling for special traditional learning were difficult to recapture.

221 When individuals in Ghost Dance trances were transported to the other world they came there upon villages of Pawnee living
796 as they had of old. The whole concept of the doctrine being an
668 awakening or renewal, the type of life most often visualized in the
178 trances was the tribal life of the early spring and early summer. In aboriginal days the spring was a season of reawakening. With the first thunder came the opening of the great bundles and the chanting of the creation ritual. This ushered in the spring activities of the people. With the passing of winter, and the renewal

---

[1] For descriptions of these games consult Culin, Games, pp. 274, 409, 463, 625, 657.

[2] See Chapters V, VI.

[3] The moccasin game was played by the Pawnee, instead of the hand game, with Central Algonquian tribes.

of life in the waters and upon earth, the villages were plunged into a round of activities. The young men got ready to go on the warpath, and all their moccasins, garments and weapons had to be put in order. The women made the moccasins, and helped them in other ways to prepare. Meanwhile the games had begun among children and adults. As the time neared for the departure of the war parties, the great war society dances and performances were held. A visitor to the villages at this season would have been directly impressed with three phases of the outdoor scene: the work of individuals, in view here and there; the games; and the spectacular and colorful dances of the warriors before their departure. These aspects of Pawnee life, being old and familiar, dominated the imagery of the Ghost Dance visions. 221 796 668 178

NEW CULTURAL FORMS

The Ghost Dance proved not only a force for cultural revival, but with a return to the past as an inspirational source and guide, and vision sanctions as immediate drives, the doctrine was an impetus to cultural development. Several noteworthy forms are on record. The Ghost Dance ceremonial forms themselves have already been described. The rapid development of the many Ghost Dance hand game ceremonies were the most striking development and reintegration of the old and new; these form the subject of the entire second part of this study and need not concern us here. In addition the development of the modern iruska, or new war dance, among all four bands, a form of social gathering for feasting and gift-giving; and the spread of the peyote ritual, began at this period.[1] 178 796 276 431

---

[1] An anecdote told by Murie (Ceremonies of the Pawnee, in press, Bureau of Ethnology) indicates in a lighter vein, the freedom to make ritual changes which came with the Ghost Dance doctrine, and the occasional results: "It is said that in 1893, the husband of the Skull bundle keeper, a rather young man, took a notion he would shell the corn for the people and distribute it in a new way. He gathered some men, shelled the ear of corn from the bundle, and distributed it himself. The people remonstrated, but he told them he had had a vision and was going to do just as he was told. In June he started to Wichita Mountains. When he got about 35 miles south of Pawnee (it was very hot and dry; the dust was about five inches thick) his wagon broke down and he had to stay there several days, but at last got his wheels repaired and started out again. Travelling was very hard. The old woman who was keeper of the Skull Bundle, struck him on the back and said, 'You will shell corn, will you. See what you have done.' That year the crops burned up, it was so hot." 787 688

178 According to Murie's[1] account the modern Skiri iruska was taken
over from the Oglala Sioux, but went back to a form of the Omaha
796 grass dance. It began to appear among the Pawnee in 1897, and
177 was fully organized by Eagle Chief in 1911. An independent
development of the iruska took place among the Kitkahaxki^{x}.
"About 1894 while the Ghost Dance was still intense a man named
Sitting Bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the
iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and led it until his death
in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the
[778 hands of Little-Sun, one of the leading singers. According to this
ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the
534] ritual as in the case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-Sun revived the
ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-Fly-High, also a pupil of
Sitting-Bear." An independent development of the modern iruska
took place among the Tcawi under the leadership of Roaming-Chief,[2] and thence spread to the Pitahawirat^{a}.[3]

Murie has described how the peyote ritual reaching the Pawnee
668 in 1890 was stimulated by the Ghost Dance excitement; and how
796 some forms of the peyote worship were like Ghost Dance forms.[4]
Frank White, the great Pawnee Ghost Dance prophet, was also
276 a peyote devotee (See Chapter 11). Murie adds, "it may be well to
note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the Ghost Dance excitement. One of his individual
● [787] doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may
acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown
to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging
to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable
astronomical lore."[5] This indicates the extent to which the effort
to bring back cultural aspects buried and forgotten was a definite
part of the Ghost Dance doctrine.

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 624—625, 628. Cf. for a description of the forms of these rituals, pp. 624—630.

[2] Several shields in the Field Museum, depicting warriors' visions of Ghost Dance times are associated with the development of the modern iruska. F M 71844, and F M 59527 (two shields). One of the latter was identified as probably belonging to Roaming-Chief.

[3] The story of gradual changes in the form of Pawnee visiting party arrangements, associated with the modern iruska development, is a complex tale on its own account, and is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

[4] Murie, Societies, p. 636—637.

[5] ibid. p. 638.

VII.

THE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME

The old gambling hand game of the Pawnee, along with other 525 games, dances and social affairs, had gone the way of the rest of 178 Pawnee aboriginal culture by 1892. Occasionally games were 668 played, but the old life which began with early spring and included one round of work and play that ended with the winter, was no more. The Ghost Dance, with its doctrine of a return of the old Indian life, and its mandate to stimulate that return by actively reviving whatever could be recalled, amounted to a partial renaissance of Pawnee culture. We can judge what was lacking most in Pawnee life before the Ghost Dance by considering some of the revivals. Memories of the societies and brotherhoods with their dances and songs were recaptured in reconstructions of the old paraphernalia, and the singing again of the old songs. But games [171] were preeminent, as they were also among the Arapaho. The joy of play had gone from Pawnee life before this. All was somber and hopeless, full of death, disease and constant frustration. Of these game revivals the most notable was the hand game.

The game was revived first as a game. This is apparently the 668 significance of the constant iteration by informants that Tom 525 Morgan's game was not a ceremonial one originally, was the first 177 of them all, and did not come in response to a vision. The Arapaho suggestion of a ceremonialized game combining Ghost Dance ideas of the deceased playing in the beyond, with the game play, reached the Pawnee.

Once the games were begun, whether it was by Morgan or by 668 Carrion, by direct inspiration or through borrowing from the 525 Arapaho, the idea of learning Ghost Dance hand games in visions spread like wildfire and the games sprang up like mushrooms. This radical development by individuals only came after the movement to dethrone Frank White as the sole prophet of the Pawnee Ghost Dance. As late as 1930 I was able to list twenty-two individual game developments of the Pawnee. No doubt, if all the facts were known, there were many more. For a game to persist after it was 668 once created, the owner had to be well thought of by his people, 525 so that someone would "put it up"; and the public had to believe 787

[p. 155]

668 in the supernatural sanction of the game. Many games were
525 probably demonstrated briefly and then forgotten.

The Pawnee developed an interesting check upon the validity
787 of these Ghost Dance hand game revelations. They knew that any one could make up the game with sticks, altar arrangements, smoke offerings, and special complexities. For this reason the people were especially interested in watching the play of a game the *second* time it was demonstrated by the owner. Their contention was that if the game was just made up the owner would not be able to repeat his own arrangements accurately, while if the vision was a true one he would always remember his ways, could in fact never forget them.

The game visions were supposed to give full directions to the visionary as to the details of the game. This included the essentials of the ritual aspects, as offerings, and ceremonial arrangements, the character of the hand game set, the way to play the game. Each composite of these things constituted a set of teachings similar to the ritual lore of a bundle owner in former times, and the paraphernalia used in demonstrating the game constituted a bundle.

The Ghost Dance hand game was a ceremony, not a gambling game, and as such the elements of gambling of the earlier game were
[777] eliminated. But the concept of luck involved in the play of the game was carried along with a changed meaning: it may have been in fact the use of luck as an omen which stimulated the rapid growth and widespread playing of these games.

525 Gambling for the Pawnee, as doubtless for most primitive peoples,
777 is associated with feeling of the existence of luck as a definite quality of the world. To win in a gambling game is to win not only the stakes: to win is to get a vote of confidence, a promise that the gods are on your side. The immediate benefit of the victory is of course the spoils. But beyond these immediate stakes there are greater stakes which have been won. You cannot know, you cannot guess what ultimate benefits of fortune will accrue. But you have assurance that *luck* is on your side. You must await the outcome of events and see what happens. Something good, something lucky and fortunate, is bound to happen to you. When
668 it does, that is because you won when you gambled. The need for
525 luck is everpresent because of the precariousness of life. This need
777 was acutely felt in Ghost Dance times. It was because luck was
787 against the Indian that the white man was conquering. The Ghost Dance doctrine was a promise that fortune was to be on the other side. Now in addition one needed luck to be with the winning side. To be assured of the ultimate change of the Ghost Dance one needed

668

the luck of visions; and to be assured that one would be saved when 525
the great destruction came, one had to be in touch with the control- 777
ling influences of the spirit world, which could be had only through 787
visions.

In the early games, as we saw, the men who played imitated 668
various birds and animals as they played. The belief is that birds
and animals play hand games too, even as men. In the Ghost 525
Dance two birds were preeminently the choice of the dancers, the 825
eagle and the crow, because of the known characteristic traits 777
of these birds—their wide, far-flung flights, on which they saw the world below them and everything that went on in it. When you were influenced to fall into a trance because of either of these birds, or when in your trance either of these birds was your guide and helper to find lost relatives and lost ways of life, you became associated with that bird. When in the hand game you played as a "crow" or an "eagle", you played to find out which was luckier, which held promise of the greater good fortune. In the early Ghost Dance hand game days it is said by all that the losers cried desolately and the winners were jubilant. As there never were material stakes for a Ghost Dance hand game, clearly it was nothing won. Bad luck or good luck had been discovered as one's portion. To lose was an ill omen.

An incident by Mark Evarts illustrates the foregoing: 668

Once at a Ghost Dance game played by Mrs. Washington, Mark 525
held the counter in his left hand. The guesser indicated that hand 777
as his choice, when, as quickly as it was guessed, it seemed to pass to his right hand, and there it was. This, according to Mark, was a sign of good fortune. A while later Mark was given Ridingin's daughter to marry. Goodeagle, the girl's grandfather, told the people at the time Mark was married to the girl, that he had had Mark in mind for a long time. Mark feels that this was what his hand game luck forbode. He considers this connection of the events reinforced by an experience which had occurred to him some time before he played in this hand game of Mrs. Washington's. One
time when he was near a creek with a large clump of cottonwoods, [825]
an eagle came circling, looked at Mark and went off again. "Now Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle represent two eagles," says Mark, "and that may have been the time they thought about me and considered me." Thus the experience with the eagle is reinterpreted in the light of hand game luck and the good fortune which followed it.

An interesting aspect of the above experience is that Mark considered the fact that the counter changed hands miraculous. Not from Mark did I ever learn that in the old game changing the

are whole tones between B flat and C, and between F and G. A 533
similar melodic form occurs in Nos. 5 and 53. This song is transcribed
with the signature of the key of F and classified with songs lacking the
third above the keynote. The repetitions of the rhythmic unit are
six in number and comprise the entire melody. Slight differences
in the note values of the rhythmic unit occur in the latter part of
the song.

The tenth obstacle was not encountered by Morning Star until after 773
he entered the lodge of Evening Star. The obstacle was a snake, but
he overcame it, as he had overcome the others, by means of the ball of
fire and the song.

Evening Star saw that his power was greater than hers, but she determined to hold him aloof as long as possible. Finally she insisted
that he make provision for the child that should be born; she even [854]
required him to provide perfumed water for bathing the child and a
cradle board in which it should be placed. On the hoop, or arch, of [531]
this cradle board was painted a morning star and the lightnings, this
custom being followed by the Pawnee at the present time. Evening
Star also required him to plant a tree in front of the lodge so that the
mocking birds might nest there and sing to the child. From this union
a daughter was born. She came down to earth and wandered about
in fear. As she was running hither and thither she met a boy, the
child of Sun and Moon, and these two became the ancestors of the
human race.

Morning Star made a bundle and placed in it various articles con- 778
nected with the obstacles he had overcome on his westward journey. 773
He left this bundle with Evening Star and for that reason a woman has
always been the keeper of the sacred bundle. Other articles have
been added from time to time and will be noted in this paper.

It is said that Evening Star required a human sacrifice as her reward. 796
This sacrifice must be a pure and beautiful maiden and she demanded 773
that the sacrifice be repeated annually. Long ago, Morning Star 782
sometimes appeared to a man in a dream and told him to secure a
maiden for this sacrifice. According to Linton, a man who had this [787]
vision went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received
the warrior's costume and the sacred objects kept for such an ex- 796
pedition. Other warriors joined him and, preliminary to the expedi- 782
tion, they enacted the journey of the Morning Star, and sang the
song with which he overcame the obstacles placed in his way.
(Cf. Song No. 1.) When the ceremony ended it was almost time for
the Morning Star to rise and the leader went outside the lodge and
addressed an invocation to him. After dancing furiously around their
fire and offering a last prayer to Morning Star the warriors started
forth and captured a maiden from the enemy. Returning, they gave

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533
[773
787]

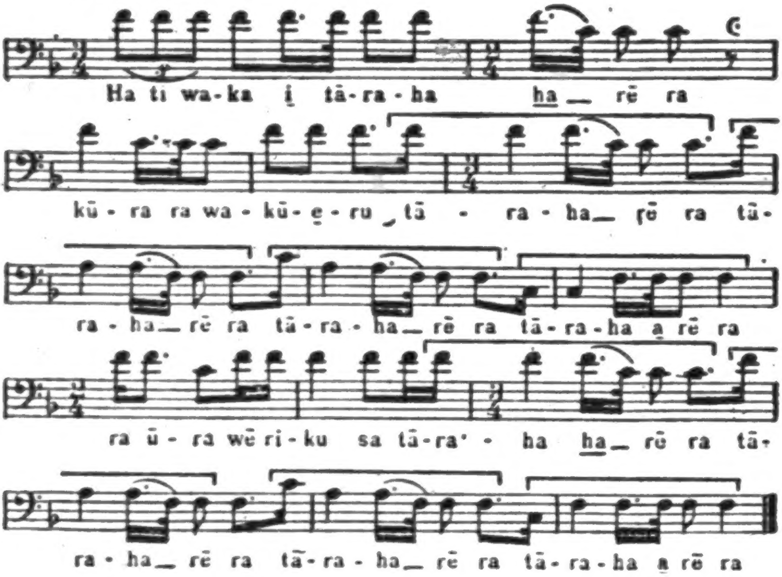
The next song is concerning a dream of buffalo by the singer's grandfather. He was in his lodge when he saw an animal approaching. In the distance he thought it was a horse, but when it came nearer he saw that it was a buffalo. That night he dreamed of a horse that turned into a buffalo and told him of many good things that would happen to him.

No. 7. "The Buffalo Are Coming"

(Catalogue No. 1115)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice 𝅗𝅥 = 96
Drum 𝅗𝅥 = 138 Changing to 𝅗𝅥 = 98
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Ha ti wa-ka i tā-ra-ha ha— rē ra
kū-ra ra wa-kū-e-ru tā - ra-ha— rē ra tā-
ra-ha— rē ra tā-ra-ha— rē ra tā-ra-ha a rē ra
ra ū-ra wē ri-ku sa tā-ra'- ha ha— rē ra tā-
ra-ha— rē ra tā-ra-ha— rē ra tā-ra-ha a rē ra

Ha	ti	waka	tūraha	rē	ra	kūra
Listen	he	said	buffalo	yonder	coming	his
ra	wakūru	ra	ūra	wē	riku	sa
have	sayings	walking	have	do	stand	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said, yonder the buffalo are coming,
These are his sayings, yonder the buffalo are coming,
They walk, they stand, they are coming,
Yonder the buffalo are coming.

Analysis.—This song is harmonic in structure and has a compass of 11 tones. The intervals are unusually large, only six being smaller than a fourth. It has been noted that the interval of a fourth appears

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

to characterize songs associated with animals and with motion. 533* This interval comprises 14 of the 25 progressions in this song. The final tone is preceded by a fourth lower, as in No. 2. A rhythmic unit occurs several times and the characteristic count division of the unit occurs in the opening portion of the song.

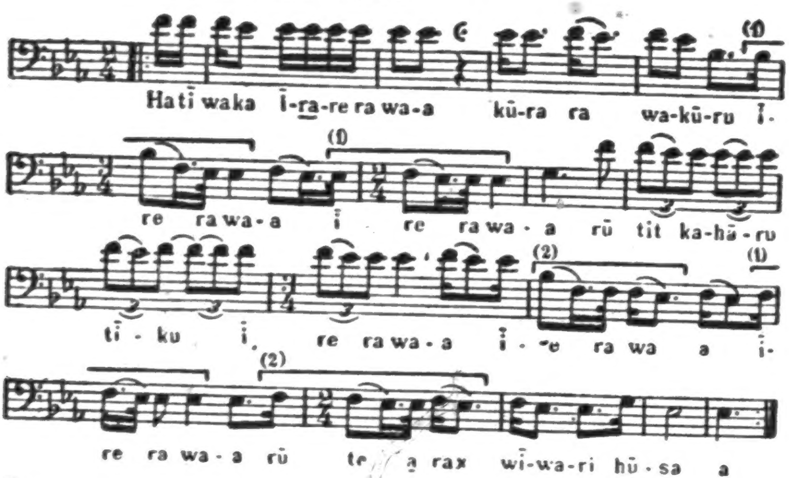
Long ago an old man named Nara'dudesa'ru had a dream and in his [787 dream he saw a cloud of dust rolling along the ground. He sat and looked at the dust a long time until late in the afternoon. Then it 773] looked like a crowd of people, but after the dust storm had passed he saw a great herd of buffalo.

No. 8. "The Waves of Dust"

(Catalogue No. 1113)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum ♩ = 120
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


(1)
Hatī waka ī-ra-re ra wa-a kū-ra ra wa-kū-ru ī.
(1)
re ra wa-a ī re ra wa-a rū tit ka-hā-ru
(2)
(1)
tī - ku ī re ra wa-a ī - re ra wa a ī-
(2)
re ra wa-a rū te - a rax wī-wa-ri hū-sa a

Ha	Listen
ti	he
waka	said
ire	there
ra	have do
waa[10]	coming
kūra	his
ra	have
wakūru	sayings
ire	there
ra	have
waa	coming
rū	did
tit	dust
kahāru	earth
tiku	wave downward
ire	there
ra	have
waa	coming
rūte	do
rax	them
wiwari	wallow
hūsa	marked place

---

[10] This word signifies a great mass in motion.

[192]

*533

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
These are his sayings,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
The waves of dust roll downward,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
They mark the place of the buffalo wallow.

Analysis.—This melody contains only the tones E flat, F and B flat, except G which occurs as next to the last note. This occurrence of G, however, makes possible the classification of the song as major in tonality. The song has a compass of 9 tones and its progressions consist of 28 whole tones and 7 larger intervals. The opening portion of the song suggests a chant and is followed by a rest. This is succeeded by a 3-measure phrase with a clear-cut rhythm and a descending trend of 9 tones. After a repetition of the rhythmic unit the song returns to the whole tone progressions on the highest tones of the compass. This phrase is followed by a second rhythmic unit. In several renditions the portions of the song resembling a chant were sung softly, the singer changing to a loud tone at the beginning of the rhythmic phrases. The drumbeat was in the same tempo throughout this song, differing from other ceremonial songs in which the drumbeat was rapid in the opening measures.

*537
● 787
773

The next song is also concerning a dream of buffalo. The herd was scattered and a man was watching them. One of the buffalo lay down. The man wondered why the buffalo had lain down. That night he dreamed about the buffalo, who said that he had "taken pity" on the man. The buffalo promised the man that he would live to old age and be able to foretell events a long time before they came to pass.

*533

Analysis.—This song is unusual in containing no interval of a whole tone. It contains 30 progressions, 12 of which are semitones and 11 are minor thirds. The transcription is from the first rendition, the tempo of the drum changing abruptly on the fourth measure as in certain other songs of this group. The tempo of the voice increased during the latter portion of the rendition and in the subsequent renditions. Such hastening of the tempo is not customary among Indians and was probably due to agitation on the part of the singer, who was totally blind. The rhythmic unit is not distinctive but occurred several times.

song was sung twice. The connective phrase occurred between the second and third, and the fourth and fifth renditions. The song has a compass of nine tones, and progresses by whole tones except for three other intervals which occur only in downward progression. 533*

BEAR DANCE

There was no opportunity to witness this dance, and its details were not made a subject of inquiry. Ten songs of the dance were recorded, the first five by a member of the Chaui Band and the last five by a member of the Skidi Band. These two groups of songs are strikingly different in musical character. [123 126]

The next song was sung when all the participants in the Bear dance were seated. "Mother" was said to refer to the moon, and there was said to be a similar song containing the word "Father." A young man received this song in a dream, while mourning for his parents who had died. He saw a woman coming toward him, and said, "Mother is coming." The woman said, "You have seen me, now you must learn this song." The young man learned the song, lived a long time afterwards, and took part in the Bear dance. When the song is used ceremonially there are six "stops" or verses, the general meaning of which is as follows: 533* 773 787● 533*

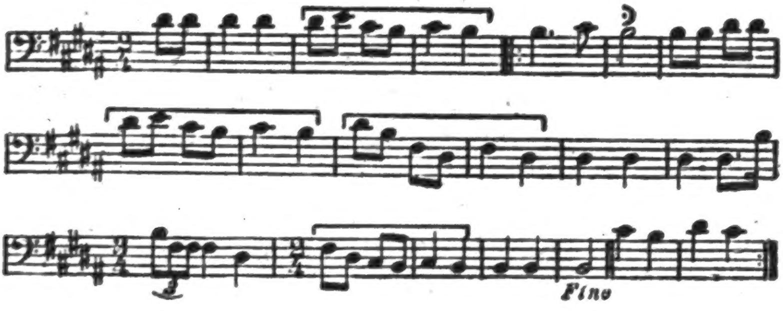
1. "Mother is coming."
2. The young man, devotional by nature, imagines that he is still mourning for his parents.
3. "Mother stands yonder."
4. The young man says, "Mother, standing in the sky, I want you to take pity on me."
5. "Mother now ends" (stands still).
6. "I will now say, I mean the mother who alone stands forever in the sky" (the moon).

No. 11. "Mother is Coming"

(Catalogue No. 1117)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 126
Drum ♩ = 138, changing to ♩ = 126
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Ha	ti	waka	ra	riki	ra	itawi	ra	riki	533*
Listen	he	said	have	stand	have	telling	have	stand	

kūruks	hūru	te	riki	we	ra
bear	yonder	it	stands	now	have

sakū	ra
sun	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said; he (the bear) stands,
I am telling this, yonder the bear stands,
It faces the east just before the sun appears,
Yonder the bear stands,
Now the sun is coming.

Analysis.—In this song we note the simplicity of rhythm which characterizes this entire group. A variety of progression occurs, though the major second comprises almost half the entire number of intervals. The song is minor in tonality, has a compass of six tones, and contains all the tones of the octave except the seventh. Two rhythmic units occur, the second reversing the count divisions of the first in its opening measure. The repetition of the first unit is not exact, as a third count is added to the first measure. The rhythm is particularly clear throughout the renditions. More than half the intervals are whole tones.

For a long time the Pawnee have called the cedar tree "mother," 824
a custom which had its origin in the dream of a man who saw a cedar 787 ●
tree and thought it was "like a woman." He said, "This tree is made 533*
to look the same in winter and summer, and to stand up so nicely. The leaves of other trees fall but this tree is always green." This strange woman-tree made a noise like a bear and the song is used in the Bear dance.

Analysis.—This melody contains the tones of the second 5-toned 533*
scale and is characterized by a descending trend. The tempo of the drum begins to decrease in the fourth and fifth measures but the drum and voice do not fully coincide until the last part of the song. Minor thirds and major seconds comprise 23 of the 30 progressions, 5 of the remaining intervals being fourths. The song is melodic in structure and has a compass of 11 tones.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 *Analysis.*—This song has a compass of only five tones and contains the tones of the minor triad and fourth. In structure it is melodic. The form of the melody is peculiar, the first seven measures containing the descent from E to A and the next two measures being framed on the descent from D to A. This structure is repeated and the song closes with three measures on the descent from C to A. Only four intervals larger than a minor third occur in the song. The gradual decrease in the tempo of the drum is similar to that in the song next preceding.

887
481
●787
*533
[424]

The singer said that when he was a young man living in Nebraska he saw a very old man who used a cane. Even with this aid he could scarcely walk. This old man had a dream in which he ascended a high hill and sat down. The clouds were below him and he saw rain falling from the clouds; he also saw about 40 white horses and drove them; the white horses were probably the shapes assumed by the clouds in his dream. The following song belonged to this old man but was not related to the foregoing dream. It was sung in the Bear dance.

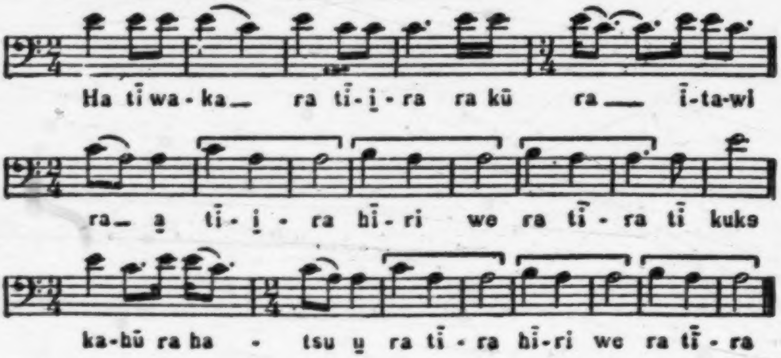
No. 15. "I Was Lost in the Timber"

(Catalogue No. 1121)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

*533

Voice ♩ = 138
Drum ♩ = 144, changing to ♩ = 138
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Ha ti wa-ka— ra ti-i-ra ra kū ra— i-ta-wi
ra— a ti-i-ra hi-ri we ra ti-ra ti kuks
ka-hū ra ha - tsu u ra ti-ra hi-ri we ra ti-ra

Ha	ti	waka	ra	tira	ra	kū	ra
Listen	he	said	do	I come	do	did	have

itawi	hiri	we	ra	tira	ti	kuks
mentioning	place	now	do	I come	I	was

kahū	ra	hatsu
timber	have	lost

FREE TRANSLATION

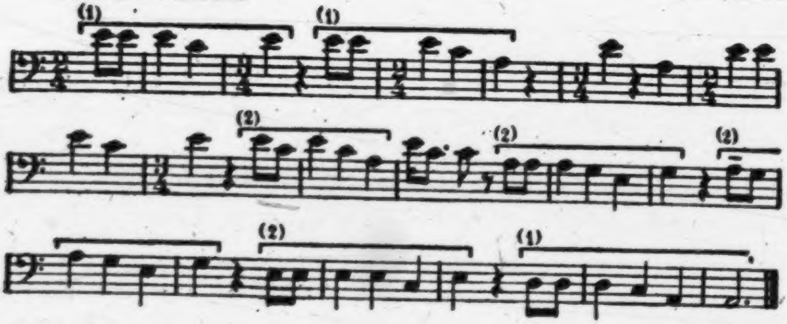
Listen, he said, I come,
He told this to me,
I came to a place where I was lost in the timber,
I came to the place,
Now I come.

No. 20. Bear Dance Song (d)

(Catalogue No. 1151) 533*

Recorded by DOG CHIEF

Voice ♩ = 168
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This song is clearly harmonic in feeling, though three measures in the latter part of the song begin with nonharmonic tones. It has a compass of 12 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is chiefly by major and minor thirds. Two rhythmic units occur, and a comparison of these units forms the principal interest of the rhythm. Rests occur at the end of each phrase and after a detached tone in the fifth measure. These rests were clearly given in both renditions of the song.

SONGS OF THE DEER SOCIETY

533*

The Wichita Indians are said to have originated this society, which 575
has been discontinued for many years. The dance of the society was [787] ●
held in the autumn when the corn was ripe, and its purpose was "to find out whether a man would be killed when going on the warpath." The dances took place in an earth lodge. A custom of the society, described by James R. Murie, appears to have been a testing of the powers of its members. Mr. Murie said, "These men drank mescal, putting about half a bean in a kettle of water. After drinking it they [276]
fell unconscious. An attendant then ran the jaw of a garfish along the man's spine and if he recovered consciousness he was not considered fitted to belong to the society. Members of this society had power [825]
over snakes and their dance was allied to that of the Mokis.[a] Each [171]
dancer carried a fox skin and held in his mouth a plain bone or reed whistle on which he blew as he danced." There were four singers, [534]
each carrying a bow in one hand and a gourd rattle in the other.

[a] [i.e., Hopi. - Analyst]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

173

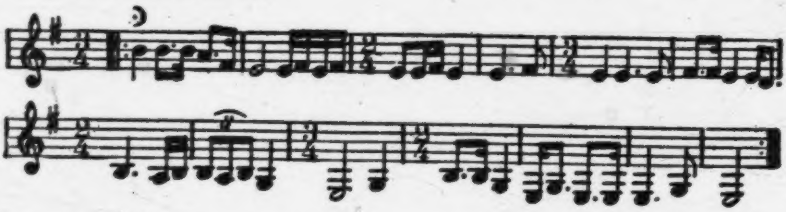
An informant said that the song next following was sung "when men made up their minds that it was no matter if they were killed." The tradition concerning this song was related by the singer as follows: The Pawnee were on the buffalo hunt and were climbing a hill in search of the herd. One family had a little boy with them and while they were climbing the hill another tribe overtook them and killed the little boy's father. When the Pawnee had run away from the other tribe they began to kill buffalo. The little boy was very happy about the hunt, not realizing that his father was dead. The child's mother wept and said, "Little boy, you are glad because they are killing buffalo but your father is dead and there is no one to bring us meat as he used to do." She sang this song, the words being those that she had spoken to the little boy. 533* [761]

No. 27. Lance Dance Song (a)

(Catalogue No. 1081) 533*

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 56
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This song, like No. 23, was interrupted by shrill cries. In the second rendition these cries were given at the beginning of the fifth measure. Afterwards the singer resumed the tempo and rhythm of the song. Such cries were also given between the third and fourth renditions. The song has a compass of 12 tones and progresses only by whole tones and major and minor thirds.

The next song was composed by a man who dreamed that he "heard some one crying and singing at the same time." [787]

Analysis.—This melody is minor in tonality and is characterized by an effect of deep sadness. The two rhythmic units differ only in the division of the last count. Attention is directed to the change of accent in the seventh measure, the final tone of the rhythmic unit falling on an accented instead of an unaccented count. This change represents the break in rhythm which frequently occurs just after the middle of an Indian song. The signature of the key of B is used in the transcription of this melody, although the third above that tone does not occur. The song is classified as lacking the third.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

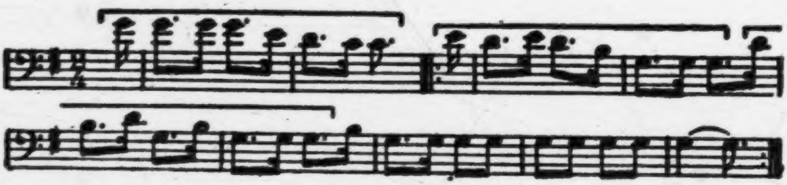
Drum and voice are in the same tempo and coincide on the first of each count. Three renditions were recorded and show no points of difference. 533*

No. 32. Eagle Chief's War Song

(Catalogue No. 1128)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 66
Drum ♩ = 66
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



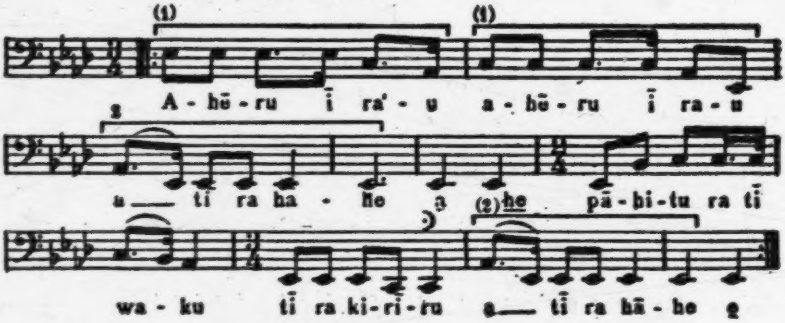
A certain young man was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke to him slowly and said, "Do not be afraid, your father is coming." He heard the thunder sing the following song, learned it, and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. 821 787● 533*

No. 33. "The Thunder Spoke Quietly"

(Catalogue No. 1080) 533*

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 63
Drum not recorded


(1)
(1)
A - hē - ru ī ra' - u a - hē - ru ī ra - u
2
a — tī ra ha - he a (2)he pā - hi - tu ra tī
wa - ku tī ra ki - ri - ru a — tī ra hā - he e

Ahēru	I	rau	a	ti	ra	harāhe [a]	pāhitu
Dear	it	that is	and	this	have	good	quietly
ra	ti	waku	ti	ra	kirīru	a	ti
have	him	saying	this	have	thundering	and	this
ra	hārahe						
have	good						

---

[a] The second syllable of this word was omitted by the singer.

The first gathering was attended by about 200 Indians and the 701 building was closely packed at the second gathering, those unable 727 to gain admission being crowded around the windows and door.

The Pawnee Tribe was represented in the United States Army by 40 young men, all except one of whom returned in full health and vigor. One of the Pawnee soldiers died from disease in France. None were wounded, although many saw hard service at the front. Several were with the Rainbow Division, and on one occasion when there was a call for volunteers for dangerous service four Pawnee stepped forward and were accepted. One of these men brought back a German helmet as a trophy and his mother carried it in the victory dance as a scalp was carried in former times. The helmet was fastened to a pole at the top of which a captured knife was fastened like the point of a lance. A Pawnee said: "While the boys [782] were away we prayed for their safe return. We did this at every public gathering and it looks as though our prayers had been answered."

The dance on June 6 was the rejoicing of the tribe and that on 727 the day following was more formal, being attended by many white 533* persons from the town of Pawnee. At the first dance the soldiers were honored by their families and friends, especially by the women, about 45 of whom were in the circle. It was a time of general rejoicing, sometimes three persons being on their feet at the same time, singing, narrating some incident, or giving a gift. Old war songs were sung with new words appropriate to the occasion. For example, one man had composed words which mentioned airplanes and submarines, these words being sung to an old tune. A woman had composed two similar songs, and, crossing the circle, she stood in front of the chief (James R. Murie) and sang them alone, without the drum. Throughout the entire afternoon there were frequent [201] repetitions of the shrill, quavering cry with which the Indian women express pleasure or approval.

Two of the most interesting songs heard on this occasion had their 533* origin in two dreams by John Luwak. The melody of the two was 787● the same, but the words referred to different dreams. Luwak, 727 who speaks no English, said that his friends translated to him the newspaper accounts of the war and that he "felt badly that our boys must cross the ocean and suffer so much." So he prayed daily [782] to Tirawa, saying, "Help our boys over there, so they will all come back strong and let me live to see them again." One night he fell asleep, after such a prayer, and "in his sleep someone told him that it would not be long before he would see the Pawnee boys again." He dreamed, and in his dream he saw thousands of white people and heard them sing this song. They were very happy and were dancing and waving flags; even the oldest people were dancing.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 ● 787 727 He had never seen white people behave in this manner, and it surprised him greatly. A few days later he heard of the signing of the armistice and the scenes of its celebration. The next night he dreamed again, and in his dream he saw a circle of Indians dancing and heard them sing the same melody. In the middle of the dance circle was a tall pole, and on top of it was a skull. Two white women stood near him watching the dance, and one of them pointed to the skull, saying, "Look, I wonder what that can be." When he awoke he thought perhaps the skull indicated that many of the enemy had been killed but later he interpreted the skull as representing a helmet. As already mentioned, a helmet was carried in the victory dance.

Soon after these dreams there was a gathering of the Pawnee at the earth lodge and Luwak rose, told his dreams, and sang the song, which was readily learned by the people and sung at subsequent gatherings prior to the return of the soldiers. The words heard in his first dream are those presented with the transcription. The words with his second dream were addressed to the skull: "At this, whoever you may have belonged to, you are now hung on a pole." The words of the song when sung at the victory dance were connected with events of the recent war.

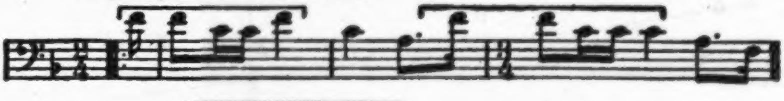
*533
727

No. 36. Song for Returned Pawnee Soldiers

(Catalogue No. 1134)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum ♩ = 76
Drum rhythm similar to No. 2



FREE TRANSLATION

You are coming.
You are the ones for whom I am looking

Analysis.—The frequency of the fourth characterizes this song, which contains only the tones of the major triad and fourth. It is a vigorous melody, progressing freely within its compass of an octave.

727 [276] [431] The dance on the second day (June 7) was opened ceremonially, a pipe being lighted with a coal from the central fire and smoked by the chief and the men seated near him. Many gifts were bestowed upon the returned soldiers, among these gifts being two white horses led into the dance lodge by women.

524 those who should lead the two opposing sides. These in turn selected *533 those who should [illegible]e balls. It was customary to give the balls to persons sitting [illegible]h other, the guesser indicating by a gesture 796 whether he (or sh[illegible]eved the balls to be in the two outer hands, the two inner, or one outer and one inner hand. The writer was invited to sit beside a member of the tribe and join in the game, attempting to hide the balls in the manner of the Indians.

An unfortunate though not unusual circumstance took place in [152] the dances which occurred during this game. The woman who gave the hand game was afflicted with what was termed a "Ghost dance fit."[27] She staggered and moaned in a pitiful manner but did not fall to the ground. Several persons went to her aid and restored her in the manner peculiar to the Ghost dance.[28]

The second hand game attended by the writer took place on April 16, 1921, and was given by Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*), who recorded Song No. 80. This was said to be her hand game, not only because she gave the invitations and provided the feast, but because ● [787] certain features of the game, as played that day, had been revealed to her in a dream. The symbolism of certain articles used in that game was not made known to the singers and perhaps is known only to herself. The game was held in the same 6-sided lodge as the former hand game and the victory dances. (Pl. 7, *c*.) As on the former occasion, Mr. Murie opened the game in a ceremonial manner. The doors were closed and a filled pipe was offered to the earth and the sky. Mrs. Good Eagle was a dignified hostess, standing in the center of the lodge and appointing those who should lead the two sides of players. After the game the doors were again closed and a tiny portion of each sort of food was ceremonially offered and then laid beside the fire space, opposite the door. A bountiful [264] feast was then served. According to Indian custom, each person provided his own utensils and the food was served in large containers. The writer shared in the feast.

*533 Eight of the songs used at this game, during the hiding of the balls, were later recorded by Horse Chief, a prominent singer at the drum. In some of these songs there were no words and in others the words are obsolete, the singer repeating them but having no knowledge of their meaning.

---

[27] The woman undoubtedly suffered from the early stages of what, in the Ghost dance, would have been a trance. Mooney states that he "was able to note all the stages of the phenomenon . . . through the staggering, the rigidity, the unconsciousness, and back again to wakefulness. On two occasions my partner in the dance, each time a woman, came under the influence and I was thus enabled to note the very first nervous tremor of her hand and mark it as it increased in violence until she broke away and staggered toward the medicine man within the circle. Young women are usually the first to be affected, then older women, and lastly men." (Mooney, James, The Ghost Dance Religion, Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 923, Washington, 1896.)

[28] The "Shaker religion" has been introduced among the Indians at Neah Bay, Wash., and at a gathering in that village the writer saw a woman afflicted in a manner similar to the "Ghost dance fit." A slave woman went to her, stroked her arms and head, and gradually quieted her.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dance songs were sung in the dances at hand games while others were not used in that manner. 668 177

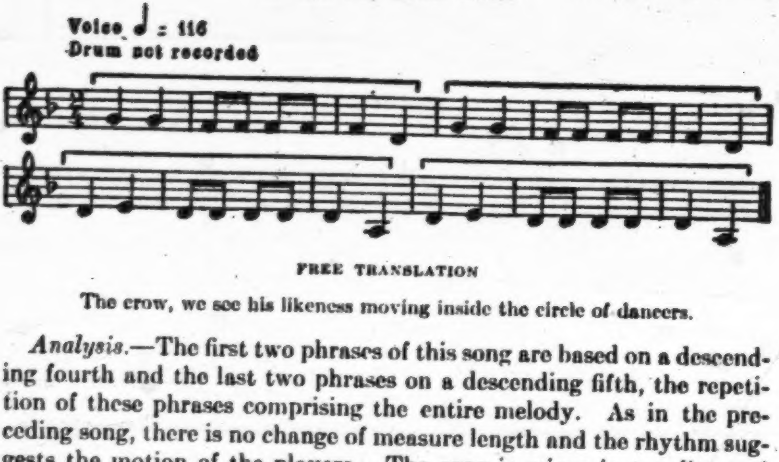
The hypnotic phase which the hand game has in common with the Ghost dance is indicated in the following song which was sung at the Ghost dance and also at the hand game. In old times the game and its accompanying dances were held on the prairie instead of inside a lodge. A portion of the people were called "crows," and the woman who recorded this song said that she "belonged on the crow side of the circle." At intervals these people gave the caw of the crow and imitated that bird in their dancing. (This was done in the dance connected with the hand game attended by the writer.) It is said that under the hypnotic influence of the occasion, the dancers sometimes saw a crow inside the dance circle, no one except themselves being able to see it. The singer said that she "dreamed" this song when she was a young girl. 533* [201] [787]

533*

No. 58. "The Crow"

(Catalogue No. 1087)

Recorded by Effie Blain



FREE TRANSLATION

The crow, we see his likeness moving inside the circle of dancers.

Analysis.—The first two phrases of this song are based on a descending fourth and the last two phrases on a descending fifth, the repetition of these phrases comprising the entire melody. As in the preceding song, there is no change of measure length and the rhythm suggests the motion of the players. The song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the sixth and seventh.

The crow which sometimes appeared in the Ghost dance might speak of taking the dancer to Mother Moon or to the Ghost dance messiah. The following song was "dreamed" by the woman recording it, who said she might sing it either at a hand game or a Ghost dance. 668 787 533*

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

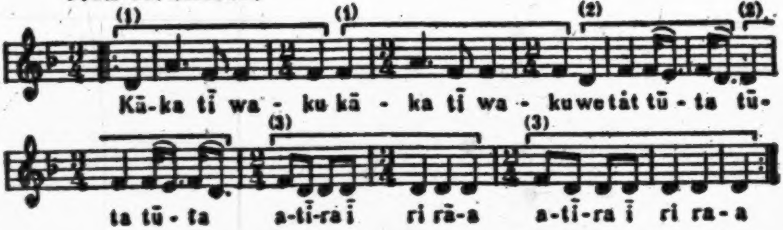
No. 51. Song Concerning Mother Moon

(Catalogue No. 1084)

*533

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 108
Drum not recorded


(1)
(1)
(2)
(2)
Kā-ka tī wa - ku kā - ka tī wa - kuwe tāt tū - ta tū-
(3)
(3)
ta tū - ta a-tī-ra ī ri rā-a a-tī-ra ī ri ra - a

Kāka	tī	waku	we	tāt	tūta
Crow	it	spoke	now	I	do

atira	ī	ri	rāa
mother	there	place	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

The crow spoke and said, "Now I am coming to where my mother is."

Analysis.—Although this song contains three rhythmic divisions the rhythm should be studied as a whole. This song does not afford an example of thematic treatment but of carrying a rhythmic feeling from the beginning to the end of a melody. The first and second units begin with an ascending progression to an accentuated tone. It is an emphatic melody, in accordance with its words. Attention is directed to the entrance of the third rhythmic unit and the count which precedes it. The first occurrence of the second rhythmic unit shows this as an accented tone, but in this occurrence it is unaccented and leads to the strong phrases that close the song. The melodic material consists of the minor triad and second, and the song is harmonic in structure.

787
*533
[158]

The next was said to be a "true song" of a boy who is now dead. He once dreamed that he was in a grave and seemed unable to free himself from this impression. Whenever this song was sung it "threw the boy into a Ghost dance fit." The words are translated, "Here is the hole, right here." The song was sung at a hand game or a Ghost dance.

*533

Analysis.—This is a peculiar melody, not only in its use of rests but in its melodic form. Each of the two rhythmic units begins with a descent and ends with an ascending progression of a whole tone, giving rather a plaintive effect. The tone material is that of the second 5-toned scale and the song is harmonic in structure.

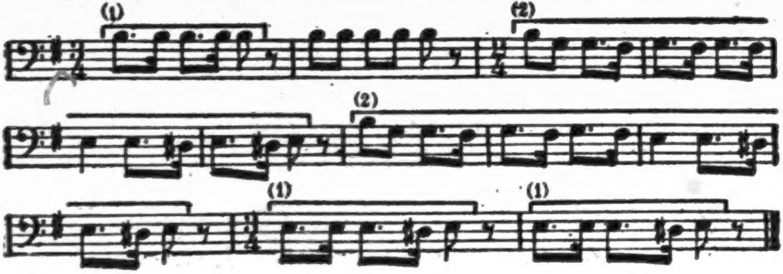
Analysis.—The only accented tones in this song are the keynote and fifth. The song comprises three periods, the first and last having the same rhythmic unit and the second period having a longer unit with a change of time. The interest and force of the song lie in the second rhythmic unit which contains a triple measure. The first rhythmic unit begins on an unaccented tone and the second begins on an accented tone. This peculiarity occurs also in two songs of the hand game (Nos. 43 and 47). The song contains eight descending and only three ascending intervals. 533*

No. 56. Ghost Dance Song (d)

(Catalogue No. 1148)

Recorded by Horse Chief

Voice ♩ = 96
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—In this song we feel the pathos of the Ghost dance. More than four-fifths of the intervals are semitones which occur only between F sharp and G, and D sharp and E. Rests occur with some frequency and were given uniformly in all the renditions. It is interesting to compare the close of the first rhythmic unit with that of the second which contains the same count division with a different accent.

This and the succeeding song were not used in the hand game. 787
The singer said that he composed this song when waking from a 533*
trance in the Ghost dance. He dreamed of a yellow star which came
to him and said, "I am the star which you see in the sky at night." 524
The star was in the form of a woman holding in her hand an eagle feather painted yellow. She gave him the feather, saying, "All the stars in the sky are people." A dream of the yellow star was induced by watching the star when in a Ghost dance trance. The favor of "yellow star" was greatly desired as she does not appear to many 786
dancers, but she gives to her favored friends the right to wear a yellow eagle feather upright in their hair and to use it in hypnotizing other dancers. If such a feather is used under a false pretense no results can be obtained.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

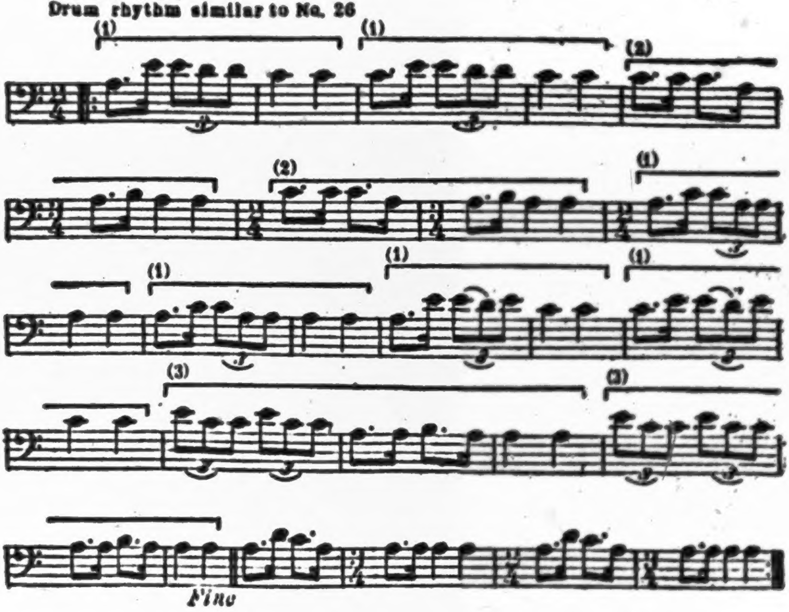
*533

No. 57. "The Yellow Star"

(Catalogue No. 1107)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum ♩ = 84
Drum rhythm similar to No. 26



FREE TRANSLATION

The yellow star has noticed me,
Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather,
That yellow star.

Analysis.—Although the compass of this melody is only five tones it contains three rhythmic units. On comparing these we note that the second unit extends the use of the dotted eighth, which occurs in the first unit, and that the third unit contains the dotted eighth and also the triplet which occurs in the first unit. This thematic development is interesting and somewhat unusual. The rhythm did not vary in the four renditions. The connecting phrase did not occur between the second and third renditions. Progression is chiefly by whole tones and the song is harmonic in structure.

787 *533 [115] The man to whom the next song belonged was Running Scout, a man who was very religious and remained in a Ghost dance trance for several days. His friends thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that he had been to the Messiah who told him to "go to the village." Following this instruction, he saw many men

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used 787 ● fox skins in hypnotizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running 533* Scout always wore a fox skin in the Ghost dance. The skin was not [292] made into a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder. He also gave the call of the fox while he was [201] dancing.

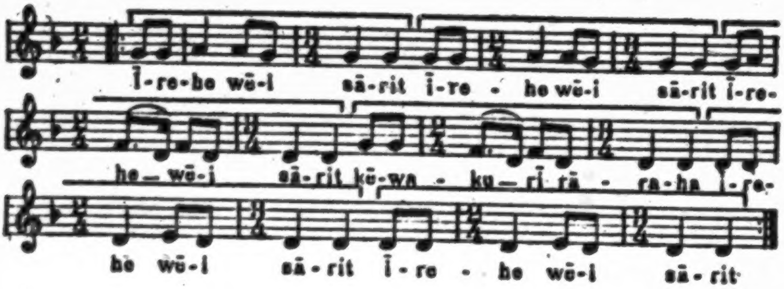
No. 58. Running Scout's Ghost Dance Song

(Catalogue No. 1088)

Recorded by Effie Blain

533*

Voice ♩ = 96
Drum not recorded


Ī-re-he wū-i sā-rit Ī-re - he wū-i sā-rit Ī-re-
he—wū-i sā-rit kū-wa - ku—rī tā - ra-ha Ī-re-
he wū-i sā - rit Ī - re - he wū-i sā - rit

Irehe	wūi	sārit	kōwaku	rī	rāraha
Now there	they	are	fox	they	have

Analysis.—This song, like others of the hand game and Ghost dance, consists of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. In this instance there are two units, the second occurring only in the middle part of the song. It is interesting to compare the third measure from the beginning with the second measure from the close, the ascent to the accented tone in the first instance expressing a certain restlessness while the second phrase is more restful. This song contains the minor triad and fourth and progresses chiefly by whole tones.

The final song of this group is concerning the Ghost dance and, [575 according to Mr. Murie, was sung in the Young Dog Society. The 668 words "the father's child" refer to the messiah whose coming was 796] expected in the Ghost dance.

Analysis.—The three renditions of this song are alike in every respect except that the intonation on D in the upper octave is variable, occasionally being sung almost as D sharp. The time was maintained steadily and the renditions were separated by

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

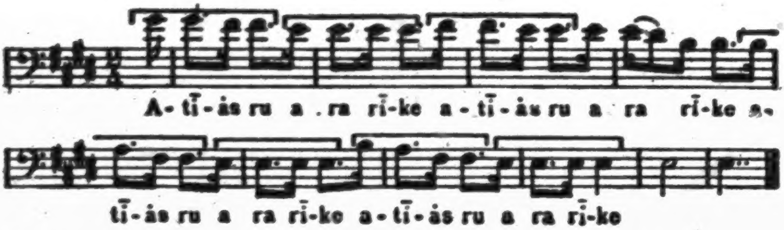
The words with the repetition of the melody were: "My father himself, through him I am exalted (made prominent) among the people." 533*

No. 60. "I am Exalted Among the People"

(Catalogue No. 1123)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 60
Drum not recorded


A-tī-às ru a ra rī-ke a-tī-às ru a ra rī-ke a-
tī-às ru a ra rī-ke a-tī-às ru a ra rī-ke

Atiàs	ru	a	ra	rike
Father	yonder	is said	to have	stood

Analysis.—This song is unique in containing only two ascending progressions. It has a compass of 10 tones and contains all the tones of the octave except the sixth. Attention is directed to the fourth measure, which is the only one not containing the rhythmic unit. This measure, by its slight difference from the rhythmic unit, swings the rhythm of the entire song and avoids the monotony that would follow if the rhythmic unit were continuously repeated. Progression is chiefly by whole tones.

Man Chief received numerous songs in dreams. The first song is a war dance of the Iruska, it being said that the "spirits told him about this dance, which is different from an ordinary war dance." This society corresponds to the Hethushka of the Omaha, a society of distinguished warriors. Before recording this song Luwak recorded the following sentences: "The song which I am about to sing belonged to Man Chief. When he became a chief he used to go out into the storm and stand first in one place and then in another. He heard Tirawa speak through the clouds. He knew the heavens were the ruling power and prayed for his people." While speaking, he beat the drum in the same tempo as in the song which followed. 787● 533*

Analysis.—The man who recorded this song had recently taken part in a ceremony which lasted several days and was hoarse from singing on that occasion. To this may be attributed a lack of accuracy in the repetitions of his song. Transcription is from the last renditions, in which the intonation was clearest. The song has a 533*

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

introduces the interval of a semitone, and was sung with distinctness. 533* The song contains no change of measure lengths and has a compass of 13 tones, beginning on the highest and ending on the lowest tone of this compass.

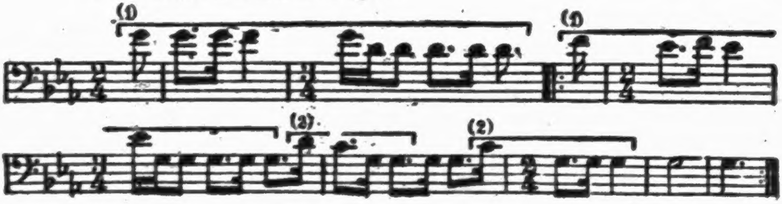
The final song belonging to Man Chief is similar to those already presented, though the words are not translated. [424]

No. 65. Man Chief's Song

(Catalogue No. 1131)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 63.
Drum ♩ = 63
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Analysis.—The rhythmic form of this song is interesting and complete. The song contains two rhythmic units, the second being the opening phrase of the first unit and occurring at the close of the song. In structure the song is harmonic. It is minor in tonality, has a compass of an octave, and progresses by a variety of intervals, those occurring most frequently being the fourth and the major second.

ROAMING CHIEF'S SONGS

787
622
533*

The two songs next following belonged to a comparatively recent chief of the Chaui Band. The grief of his wife at the death of a daughter is mentioned in connection with her song (No. 83). Roaming Chief was hereditary chief of this band and was a nephew of the famous Pitalesaru, who was appointed chief of the confederated bands of the Pawnee by the Government of the United States. [643 648]

It was said that "Tirawa had pity on Roaming Chief" and that, during a Ghost dance, he fell in a trance. Visions appeared to him in this trance, the present song referring to such an experience. A Ghost dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he "cried as he sang this song." It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game.

Analysis.—This song is in a form already noted, the third period being in rhythm different from that of the first, second, and fourth. 533* The compass is 13 tones and more than half the progressions are

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

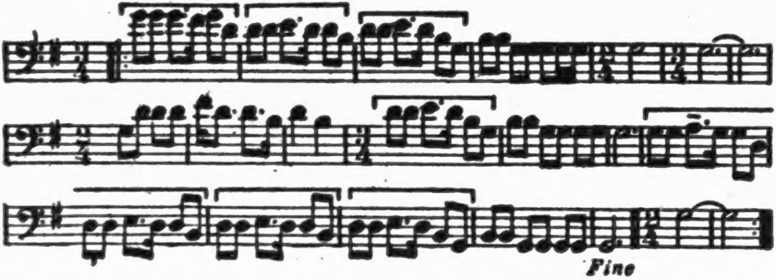
*533 782 556 Tirawa. He therefore prayed that Tirawa would help him get a horse so that he could kill some buffalo. His prayer was answered, and he became a very rich man. This is the song in which he offered his prayer.

No. 79. A Poor Man's Prayer

*533 (Catalogue No. 1127)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 58
Drum ♩ = 58
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Analysis.—A compass of two octaves characterizes this song, although only two of its intervals are larger than a major third. The lowest tone was distinctly sung. Two-thirds of the progressions are downward and the rhythmic unit is continued throughout the melody. The rhythm was steadily maintained in the three renditions but there was some variance in the intonation.

*533 787 Only one song was recorded by Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*), who was hostess at a hand game attended by the writer. In explanation of the song she said, "I was sick and lay with my face toward the east. As I lay there I saw a man with his face whitened with clay, wearing a robe and leggings of buffalo hide. He was walking toward the west and singing this song. When I heard it I knew that I would get well."

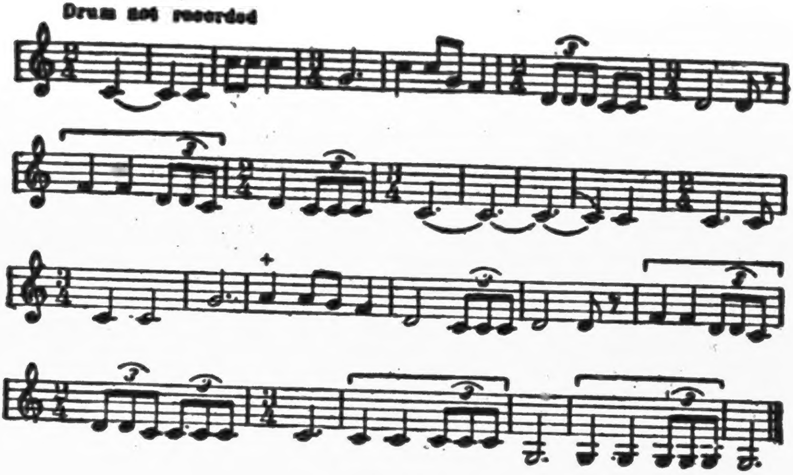
*533 *Analysis.*—The ascending octave at the beginning of this song was given accurately in all the renditions. The octave forms the boundary of the melody except for the lower tone at the close, and C is regarded as the keynote, although the third above that tone does not occur. The sustained tones were the same duration in all the renditions. It is interesting to note that these tones usually contain an uneven number of counts. The same has been noted in prolonged tones occurring in songs of this and other tribes.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 89. "Everything Will Be Right"

Recorded by MRS. GOOD EAGLE (Catalogue No. 1161) 533*

Voice ♩ = 100
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

I was thinking, and I knew that everything would be right.

In explanation of the following song the singer said, "What I am going to tell you is not a dream, for I saw it in broad daylight. A star spoke to me and said, "Look at me; I am the one who takes pity on you and gives you good health. Tonight, when you go home, look toward the west. You will see two bright stars. I am the one to the north. I am the one who helps you. When you sing this song you must think of me." Then the star said, "You are not praying enough but I am helping you. I gave you everything you needed, why do you neglect your prayers?" The singer said that ever since that time he had prayed morning and night. 533* 787

Analysis.—The first seven measures of this song begin on the same tone, the melody descending a fourth or a third during the measure and returning to the initial tone. The remainder of the song contains only the tones of the major triad. Three different phrases are repeated but can scarcely be considered units of rhythm. The upward and downward progressions are almost equal in number. This is the more interesting as the general trend of the melody is downward. 533*

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 wail in which the tones transcribed E–D–B are clearly discernible but are connected by a *glissando*. The melody tones are those of the fourth five-toned scale and the repeated portion, as in many Indian songs, begins with the second phrase.

*533 787 A certain man had a dream and in that dream one of his dead relatives appeared and said, "I have come back into this world. You see me." At the same time he heard and learned the following song. When the man awoke he remembered the song and understood what it meant. He dreamed a second time, and the same dead relative appeared, saying, "Remember when we pass from the old earth we pass to a new earth where we are now." The two songs were recorded and the melodies found to be the same. The words of the first were translated, "I am coming," and the words of the second were, "Yonder, whence I came, our relatives are walking."

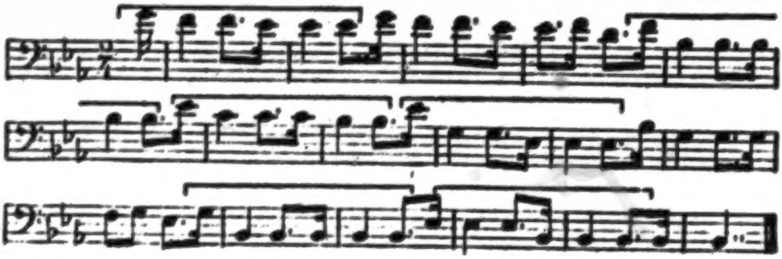
*533

No. 84. Song Received from a Dead Relative

(Catalogue No. 1132)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 116
Drum ♩ = 116
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 26



Analysis.—The chief interest of this song lies in the two phrases which do not contain the rhythmic unit. The first of these phrases is the more energetic, and both bear a resemblance to the unit. The song has a compass of 10 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is by an unusually large variety of intervals but the whole tone is the interval of most frequent occurrence.

[424
[622]
535] The next song belongs to a very old woman named Ciíha'rureĕs whose father was a chief. The singers at the drum sometimes start this song so that she can dance. It was formerly used in a "dance of the chiefs" in which the daughters of chiefs took part.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

When the little boy was about half-grown he heard that a war party was to start. He told his mother that he wanted to go, and he wanted her and his grandmother to make him some moccasins. He also wanted arrows, a bow and a quiver, and all the equipment of a warrior. When the old man heard this he called the boy and said, "Do you realize what you are doing?" 539

"Yes, I am grown to be a man." 787

"Do you have dreams at night?" 539

"Yes."

"Can you relate some of them?"

"Yes."

"Tell one to me."

"In my dream I was with a war party. I found myself coming toward home through deep snow."

"That is enough," said the old man. "You can go."

The women had sent the boy to his grandfather, thinking he would keep him at home, and they were greatly surprised to learn that the grandfather had told the boy to go with the warriors. It was fall when the war party started. As winter was coming near it was noised through the camp that all the war party had been killed and the people began to mourn. The women of this family mourned exceedingly and cut their flesh with knives, but the old man sat and laughed at them, or smoked his pipe. This went on for about 10 days. Then his wife said, "You did not care for our grandchild," and his daughter said, "Why do you not mourn?" The old man said to his wife, "You remember that you turned the boy over to me when he wanted to go to war. You made moccasins for him and filled his quiver with arrows. I questioned him and found that he had had a dream in which he was returning alone through deep snow. That dream will come true. He is coming home, so I want you all to stop mourning." 765 152 304

They would not believe him, but one day, after a snow, some people going out from the village met the young man returning. He said, "All the warriors were killed except myself."

The man rode back and cried through the village, "Sarītsaris' grandchild is coming through the deep snow."

Everyone in the lodge was excited, except the old man. He did not rush out to meet his grandson. The women urged him to go, but he said, "He is coming; never mind."

When the young man entered the lodge his grandfather said, "Sit on my knees." The old man passed his hands downward over the young man's head and body in the tribal manner of "blessing," and said, "I believed in your dream and now you are here." 201 782

Then he told him to sit yonder and said, "I ask you—when attacked, did you hide in a ravine? When you were a little boy and cooled my 539

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE TWO LANCE SOCIETY.

The following is an account of the ceremonies accompanying the renewal of the lances as observed by the writer, for the raris arusa, literally horse society, but which we shall call the two lance. 575

On May 23, 1902, the Skidi men were called to the tipi of Known-the-leader where the new lances were to be made to replace the old ones which were to pass away with the winter. This was the time for lances to be made because Tirawahat had sent rains upon the earth. The two lances were to be given new life so they might watch over and care for the people. In olden times two brave men were selected by the chief to carry these lances. These were the soldiers who were always obeyed by everyone, for the priest had sanctified and the gods breathed upon them.

The men entered the lodge which faced the east and seated themselves in a circle. Four priests who were drummers sat in the west. Known-the-leader, who acted as high priest, sat at the north. The two chiefs sat one to the north and one to the south of the drummers. Young-hawk whose father had formerly been a lance bearer was at the left of the chief while at his right sat Big-crow whose father had also been a lance carrier. The two men seated on either side of the priests were the lance bearers. Lone-chief, who owned the chief's pipe, sat on the south side and led the dance. Two errand men sat opposite each other at the north and south of the entrance, Skidi-man at the north and Good-eagle at the south.

Known-the-leader addressed the two assistants: "You two go to my lodge and bring the old lances, the four hand drums, and the four buffalo hoof rattles." They brought these and placed them before the singers. Then Skidi-man was sent for the sacred pipe which he placed crosswise in front of the drummers. The old lance staves were brought and set up near a pole that had been staked in the ground and tied, one on the north and one on the south side of the staked pole. Everything being in readiness, Known-the-leader said, "Drummers, chiefs, young and old men, we are about to renew the lances. You may wonder why we change. We have had the old ones many years, but I have dreamed that we must again replace them." [787]

Formerly, it was customary that the lances be kept until the priest dreamed that they be changed. This is the myth given for the lances:— 539

Before the creation, the stars were human beings. Certain of them were given great powers. Tirawahat gave stars the power to create all things. When the earth was created, the stars agreed to send Paruxti (the wonder being) to the earth, to see if it were ready to be peopled. The stars held a council, but forgot to invite Fools-wolves (star). (Whenever this star comes up, the wolves howl because they think it is the morningstar.) 575

Paruxti was sent to the earth in the form of a long-haired giant. He was daubed all over with the sacred red paint. He wore large moccasins with the hair inside and big flaps. Over his shoulders he wore a buffalo robe which covered him completely. Around his waist was tied a buffalo hair rope with several pendant loops at the back which represented rain.

The council caused a thunderstorm which was followed by a rainbow. This they broke in two, placing one half in front and the other behind the giant as a companion. The north star and the south star each furnished a man to carry the

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dipped a horn spoon into the corn and placed the food near the lance. He made four passes with his hands towards the lance, then he placed the corn upon the rim of the fireplace, on the west side. He then took a piece of fat to the pile of corn, placed the fat on the corn, greased his hands and then made four passes over the lance with his hands. Then he handed the horn spoon to one of the men, who said, "Nawa." They ate and were dismissed. 575

During the buffalo hunt it was customary for this society to follow at the rear of the procession. These men were once overtaken by the enemy. Their first act was to string the buffalo rope through their belts and thus they fought. When one of their number was killed, he was dragged around as the others fought. Eventually they were all killed. The society was never again reorganized. [726]

Once a man had a lance made as he wished to start the society again. A young man took it and went to hunt buffalo. He was attacked by the enemy, killed, and the lance taken away from him. Since then, the lance was never made and was considered an evil omen. [787]

THE BRAVE RAVEN SOCIETY.

This is the important society among the Chauí and seems to have had a double function in that its emblem could lead the hunt as well as the line of battle. Among the Skidi it was a minor organization. The origin of this society is an integral part of the ritual for the leading Chauí bundle of which the head chief is the keeper but not the priest. This bundle is in two parts, or two bundles. The main bundle contained the ceremonial objects and was directly associated with the ritual; the secondary bundle contained the skins and feathers of birds. When a boy kills his first bird with an arrow, he naturally runs with it to his father. The father may then take his boy by the hand and lead him to the priest of the bundle, to whom the dead bird is presented. The priest thanks the boy and blesses him, after which the father and son go home. [224] [852]

After formally notifying the chief, or keeper of the bundle, the priest prepares the skin of the bird and puts it up to dry for four days. Then he takes it in and ceremoniously places it in the bundle, taking care to be able to identify it later.

During the autumn hunt the leader of the brave society notifies the members that the time has come for the gathering of sinew and the reserving of dried meat for the lance-renewing ceremony in the spring. Twelve volunteers are secured for this service. Each kills a buffalo and removes the sinew from the shoulders and back which is then dried and carefully packed away.

They did not go into a fight until they were told not to; then they simply 575 shot their arrows toward the enemy without taking much aim and then went to get them; or in other words, an idiotic performance. At all times of their lives they did things in reverse order. They never married or had anything to do with women. Whenever strange or mysterious animals were reported which were feared by other people, they would try to kill them. It is said that the society became extinct by all being killed in a battle except one, who afterwards disappeared. There are, however, several different stories as to how they were destroyed.

The Wonderful Ravens.

This society of the kaka waruxti, or wonderful ravens, had two undressed lances except for a crowskin hanging near the point. All members, except the pipe-bearer, had the skins of crows upon their backs. All painted [302] black. The founder got the ritual and powers from a raven. There were four singers but no rattle bearers. Their chief function was to be ready [825] for war; they wore the crow because this bird is known to be wary and hence it was believed that the society could foretell attacks. When attacks were [787] predicted the society placed their lances outside against a pole. This was a public warning that precautions should be taken.

The society had a brief existence, as most of them were once killed in battle, the remnants failing to reorganize.

The Big Horse Society.

Among the Chauí there was once an organization known as raris aruskutchu, big horse society. Many of the members bore plain long sticks and all wore caps of foxskin and painted themselves white. There were no [302] drums, but eight singers who beat upon a piece of rawhide with sticks instead of drums. The society was for war, but took the warpath for private forays and never acted as soldiers in any capacity. They became extinct by the loss of most of their members in an engagement.

Society of Crows.

The raris kaka, society of crows, was a lance society. They had two lances with war points and at four places on the shaft a string bearing crow feathers was tied. The members painted black but only on the joints of [302] the body.

signals for the members to dance. All the songs are those of the founder 575
and so entirely unlike those of others. In the last four songs there is great 796
excitement.

The food offering with bowl and spoon is as before stated. The regalia are here the same as before.[1]

General Discussion. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Omaha hethu'- 114
shka certain statements as to origin are made which are inconsistent with 174
the writer's data. In the first place, the Pawnee have always said that the Omaha originally got their society from them, they having been guests at several iruska performances, adopted such of it as they comprehended and later elaborated the procedure into the present form, though some features are certainly Osage contributions. The Dakota first learned the dance from the Omaha, as they state (p. 48), but testify to its Pawnee origin. About fifty years ago Pawnee-Tom visited the Arikara and assisted Enemy-heart to inaugurate the ceremony. Later, Enemy-heart sold the dance to the Crow Indians and then to other tribes. The writer has studied the songs of the dance and finds that everywhere many of them are undoubtedly those of the Pawnee iruska and what is more to the point, bear the general characteristics of all Pawnee songs. The Dakota and Omaha, however, have many original songs of their own, some of which the Pawnee have borrowed. In general, from the data at hand, the writer considers it clear that the origin of the modern form of this dance lies between the Omaha and the Osage, but that it was derived from an older ceremony which the Omaha, and possibly the Osage, borrowed of the Pawnee.

It should be noted that in the Skidi iruska dog flesh is served. Four men 262
wearing the feather belts scout for and capture the kettle. Then they take 796
sticks and take out the dog's head for a leading man to count coup on. A kettle of corn is then brought in and handled in the same manner, except

---

[1] Author's note. While in a trance he saw the dead people dancing the iruska dance [787]
but in a different way from that of the old iruska dance. There were six drummers. The drum was painted black, the stick had coverings at the ends. There were six stations about [786]
the room, three on the north side and three on the south side. The station men had a forked stick stuck in the ground in front of them. There were feathers at the end of each fork and the sticks were wrapped with beads. The northeast stick was covered with black beads; the north stick with light blue beads; the northwest stick with dark blue beads; the southwest stick with yellow beads; the south stick, red; the southeast stick, white. Also he found out or was told there were that many minor gods in the heavens. When these station men get up to dance, all have to rise and dance. There are five sets of songs, ten songs in each set. The tunes are nearly the same as for the old iruska songs. The last ten are ghost dance songs. The last songs are exciting, and the dancers are given to excitement and tremble, falling down as in the ghost dance. The closing speech after the feast differs from the older form. It is as follows: Father is thankful for eating our smoke; father, his child, and the gods are thankful for eating our smoke; sun and moon are both made thankful for eating our smoke; our mother earth is thankful for eating our smoke; our dead relations are thankful for eating our smoke; now we have all smoked and eaten. After this speech, everyone leaves the lodge.

262 that spoons are carried instead of sticks. Among the other divisions of
796 the Pawnee, buffalo meat was used with a less formal procedure. The
Skidi form of feast is now found among many tribes.

The whip bearers are probably of Omaha or Osage origin for in that tribe
174 they are the police officers of a ceremony. The bearing of a sword is probably
177 due to Pawnee influence, at least it was original with them. Once when at
648 Washington, D. C., each Pawnee chief was presented with a sword for his
796 aid (p. 557) which thenceforth became the badge of office. Some of the aids
carried their swords to battle and counted coup with them. Later, the Pawnee scouts in the United States service carried swords and when discharged those who had struck enemies retained them. Now in the iruska all having struck enemies with tomahawks could demonstrate in the dance; so the bearers of swords came to have the same privileges.

THE GHOST DANCE.

According to the Pawnee, the ghost dance religion first came to the
668 Arapaho, thence to the Cheyenne, the Kiowa and Comanche and finally
796 to the Wichita.

In 1890 it was rumored among the Pawnee that a Messiah had appeared
● 787 to an Indian somewhere in the mountains and that all the dead Indian people would return to the earth. The story was that a Paiute Indian had died and was taken up to the top of a high mountain and laid out. After he had lain there four days, he revived and came down from the mountain. He told his people that while he was on the mountain his spirit had traveled in a strange and beautiful country; that on his journey he crossed a small stream of clear water and came to a cedar tree where he saw handkerchiefs of every color and all sorts of feathers. At the base of the tree he saw several pipes and different kinds of paint. He took a white cotton handkerchief and some of the red earth. He went on and as he neared a mound he saw someone standing there, clad in white and purple robes. This person had long hair, parted in the middle. He held out his hands to show the cuts in them, but did not look up. The man saw that he was the Messiah, the white man's Jesus, the son of the Father in the Heavens. The man noted by his manner that he wanted him to pass by for he did not speak, so he passed on his left and went on. Presently he saw in a valley an Indian village, extending along the whole bottom.

As he neared the village of tipis he noticed a man approaching. When they met he found the man was his father who embraced him and took him into the village. On the outskirts of the village he saw men playing javelin

games. The old men were playing with the big hoops and sticks; the boys 668
with rings and sticks. He also saw some women playing with baskets and 796
plum seeds and others playing with staves. He could not understand the
speech of these people. When the two came to a tipi they entered and there 787
the dead man saw his dead relatives, mothers, aunts, uncles, brothers, and sisters. The old people sitting near the entrance, he was told, were his grandparents. He was given food and after eating he was told to watch the people who were dancing.

His father took him to the dancing ground. When they arrived, he saw the people dancing in a circle. The dancers were all painted and each wore feathers. Finally, he joined in the dance and learned some of their songs. While dancing he saw people acting queerly and seemingly possessed with a spirit. There were seven singers and two men with long poles acted as soldiers, but took no part in the dancing. Some men inside the ring ran from one person to another finally downing some of the people. These were mesmerizing one another. One man came to him, blew his breath upon his breast, embraced him, and finally blew his breath into his mouth, at which the newcomer fell into a trance. He arose quickly, however, and joined in the dance. He danced a long time until the man who had hypnotized him took him to one side and said, "Brother, you are now possessed with our power. You must return to your people and start this dance among them. Tell them you have seen the Messiah, the Son of the Father in the Heavens. He is leading us to your people. They must dance so they will also receive the power you now possess. We know you are living. Whatever you saw at the tree is yours. Give the red earth you find in the mountains to your people, let them paint their faces before they dance. Tell them of the Messiah and let them mourn as you now see these people do. We mourn for you and your people must mourn also. When you have started this dance among your people you will be able to come to us any time and we will teach you more about our ways. People will come to you from all over the country and you must tell them what you now see. This religion is for Indian people. The spirit will be sent to you. You must now return to your people."

The man then revived and went down from the mountain to his people. Night overtook him as he reached a valley. As he was going through some bulrushes trying to find a bed, he saw someone coming towards him on a mule. He saw that it was the same Messiah he had seen while in a trance. This time the one on the mule said, "My son, what you saw is all true. Tell your people, that I sent you, that my spirit will be with them." Then he disappeared. The man then made a bed of rushes and lay down. The next morning he arose and went on to his home.

668 786 796 After they had eaten they danced again until ten o'clock. Men and women returned to their tipis, mourning and crying and having shaking fits. About five o'clock they began to dance again. This time there were about four men and three women who seemed to be trembling badly. They ran around the camp crying, "I do not want you, go away from me." About the third day, one of the women fell and lay on the ground about five minutes and then sat up. She began to cry and finally her crying turned into a song. One man went to her and she told what she had seen while she lay on the ground. The fourth day a young man fell and lay upon the ground all night. When he came to, he ran to the prophet's tipi and told what he had seen. The prophet ordered that all the people go upon a hill and hear the young man tell his story. This was about eight o'clock in the evening. When all the people were on the hill, standing in a line facing west, the young man was told to sit down in front of them, the village crier went and sat beside him. The young man told the following story:

> 668 786 787 796 When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I felt a queer sensation passing through my body. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, "My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people." I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me, and said, "My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing." So we went on and there in the center of the village, our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying upon the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw.

668 786 796 The people went to him and as each person took hold of his hand, he either fell or began to tremble. After this four men were selected to smoke to the dead people. After the smoke everyone began to cry. Then the prophet and the new prophet ran around among the people throwing them

668 796 and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. [177] According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days. There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. [346] According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple. [361] Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise, the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical [787] belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog [524] dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the iruska. Some time after 1904 the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated. The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their hereditary sides of north and south.

THE PEYOTE.

About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned 276 794 something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to [177] him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked with Christ.

778 and therefore constituted a link between the people
796 and its divine giver. In the ceremonies connected with
these bundles two ideas were basic,—one the idea of a
sacrifice or offering, and the other that of a repetition,
either through dramatization or ritual, of the acts performed by the divine giver. The human sacrifice to
the Morning Star combined both ideas to an unusual
degree.

175 The Morning Star sacrifice was performed only
782 by the Skidi band of the Pawnee. There seems good
796 evidence that it was carried out somewhat unwillingly,
and that the officiating priests always found it a sore
trial. Its performance was considered a religious duty,
and this ceremony must not be confused with the torturing of captives as practised by several of the eastern tribes. The opposition to the sacrifice within the
tribe itself increased until in about 1818 a young man,
named Petahlayshahrho, rescued the victim in dramatic fashion, untying her from the scaffold at the moment of sacrifice and riding away with her. When
safe, he gave her a horse, and sent her back to her own
people. He then returned and declared that human
sacrifices must cease. As he was a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which according
to the Pawnee system gave him the hereditary right
to succeed his uncle, many strong men in the tribe sup-
[178] ported his action. After this time, the ritual of the
sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter, but no actual sacrifices are known to have taken
place.

796 The actual time of the performance of the sacrifice is not fully known, but it seems to have been made
in the late spring or summer of years when Mars was
[787] morning star. It was usually made as the result of
[821] a dream or vision in which the Morning Star appeared
to some warrior and demanded it, but it might also be

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

made as a result of some sign in the star itself, as when 796
it appeared especially bright, or in years when there 787
was a comet in the sky. It might also be performed 821
without any direct intervention of the Morning Star, if some warrior had captured a suitable victim.

In this ceremony there was, coupled with the idea 796
of sacrifice, an attempt to repeat the acts performed by the Morning Star in ancient times. These acts are recorded in a number of myths, not always consistent, of which the following is a good example:—

LEGEND

A long time ago Tirawa made the stars and gave 539
them great power. He gave most of his power to the 773
Morning star, who had a younger brother, the Sun. The Morning Star helped the Sun to have light. When Tirawa placed the stars in the heavens, they were just like human beings. In the east he placed those stars which were like men and gave the Morning Star and the Sun rule over them. In the west he placed those which were like women, with the Evening Star and the Moon as their rulers. Each had their village in the heavens, and the eastern stars knew that the western stars were women. After awhile some of the eastern stars sought the western stars in marriage. When the women stars saw a man star coming, they would tell the Moon, and she would go out to meet him. She would ask him why he came, and he would say, "I come to marry one of the women." She would answer, "That is what we want, come with me." They would walk together till they came in sight of the village. Then the Moon would stop and make a motion, and the ground would open so that the man star fell through and was killed. At last the Morning Star decided to go. He took with him his younger brother, the Sun, who carried upon his back a sacred bundle with a war club. As they traveled, the Morning Star went before

came to magic animals which attacked them, first 539
snakes, then water animals, then buffalo, and last 773
bears. Each of these in turn the Morning Star killed with his club. Then the Moon had no more powers left, and the Morning Star and the Sun entered the village of the women stars. The Morning Star married the Evening Star, and the Sun married the Moon. They took them back to their own village. After a time a child was born to each couple, and these children were placed on earth. They married, and from them sprang the human race.

The Moon put all these obstacles in the way of the Morning Star, because she did not want the people on earth, in after times, to live forever. All these obstacles were sicknesses and troubles which would be brought down upon the people. But the Morning Star and the Sun can give power to men to destroy these ills just as they themselves destroyed the obstacles.

It has already been said that the sacrifice was most 787
commonly made as a result of a dream or vision in 796
which the Morning Star demanded it. Immediately on waking in the morning, the man who had had the dream went outside his lodge and began crying and mourning, his cries gradually becoming a song. He [533]
sang:— [539]

"When he comes.
When he comes.
Father, I am seeking for you."

By this song he let the people know that he had seen the Morning Star in a vision.

It is said that the man who had had the vision 721
sometimes did not obey the Morning Star, but more 796
often he could neither sleep nor rest until he had captured a maiden for sacrifices. As soon as possible after the vision he went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received from him the warrior's cos-

hind the altar. The girl, who was constantly attended 796
by a guardian, was brought in and seated on the south
side of the lodge. The chief of the village took his
place on the southwest, with the leader of the war
party on his left, while the man who had actually captured
the girl sat on the northeast.

The priest built two little fires of sweet grass, one 727
to the east, and the other to the west of the fireplace. 782
The girl was taken to the eastern fire, undressed, and 796
her body bathed in the smoke. Her guardian then [302]
painted her whole body red and dressed her in a black
skirt and robe which were kept in the sacred bundle between
sacrifices. The man who had captured the girl
then went to the altar, and was dressed by the priest
in another costume, also kept in the bundle. He was [302]
given black leggings and moccasins, his face and hair
were painted red, and a fan-shaped head-dress of
twelve eagle feathers was attached to his hair in such
a way that it stood out straight over the back of his
head at right angles to his body. This was the costume [776]
in which the Morning Star usually appeared in visions, [787]
and with its assumption the captor seems to have become
a personification of that deity.

After these ceremonies had been performed, the 796
captor left the lodge and passed through the village,
entering every lodge and warning those who were to
take part in the ceremony to come to the chief's lodge.
Each family gave him a little red and black paint and
certain other objects which were needed in the ceremony.
When he had completed the circuit, he returned
to the chief's lodge, and errand men were sent out
to invite the chiefs and priests of all the villages to
come to the ceremony. The Pawnee village was a social (361)
as well as a geographical unit. Several villages (621)
might live together. Each of the priests and chiefs
had his prescribed place in the circle, while the space

about to be prepared for the sacrifice, and that it was 727
time for everyone to set out for the scaffold. The chief 782
priest undressed the girl, went through the motions of 796
washing her and combing her hair, and painted the [302]
right half of her body red and the left half black. Her [292]
skirt was then replaced, black moccasins were put on her feet, and a black robe fastened around her shoulders. Lastly a head-dress of twelve black-tipped eagle feathers, arranged like a fan, was fastened on her head.

When the girl had been dressed, all resumed their [533]
seats and sang another song at the conclusion of which she was told to rise; and two men, chosen to lead her to the scaffold, came forward and placed thongs around her wrists. All then passed out of the lodge, with the girl in the lead and the priests following behind chanting.

The rate at which the procession moved toward the scaffold depended largely upon the disposition of the girl. Everything was done to conceal the truth from her, and force was not used unless absolutely necessary. If she mounted the scaffold of her own free [787]
will, it was considered an especially auspicious omen. The procession was timed to reach the scaffold a few minutes before the Morning Star rose, so that the men who tied her to it could complete their work and leave her alone when the star appeared.

While the girl was being tied to the scaffold, the men chosen for the last rites had assembled in the ravine to the east of it, where they were concealed from her view. A small fire was kindled there, and they prepared their paraphernalia. At the moment the Morning Star appeared, two men came forward bearing firebrands. They were dressed as priests, and had owl skins hung from their necks, showing that they represented the messengers of the Morning Star.

754 purposes. Their guardians were certain animals which
[776] were conceived of as having evil spirits. They were
[565] recruited from the lower classes in the tribe, and were
feared and disliked by the better element. Like the
medicine men, they were organized into a society, but
nothing is known of their ceremonies.

756 The Pawnee medicine men were organized into a
number of societies which were united by certain
secrets which they had in common. In addition to
these secrets, which were known to all medicine men,
but concealed from the rest of the tribe, each society
and even each member had individual secrets. The
oldest of these societies was that of the Pumpkin Vine
village all of whose members were said to have originally
been medicine men. Its members derived their
powers from a number of different guardians. In the
other medicine societies, which were organized at a
later date, all the members derived their powers from
the same guardian. A man might become a medicine
man as the result of a supernatural experience during
which powers were conferred upon him directly by his
[787] guardian. Such experiences were sought through long
continued prayer and fasting. More commonly, when
a man desired to become a medicine man and had determined
his guardian, he applied to some medicine
man who had derived his powers from that being, and
asked for instruction. If the medicine man believed
him to be sincere and was willing to accept the gifts
which he offered in payment, he received him as a pupil
and, at the next meeting of the medicine lodge, took
him into the lodge with him and instructed him. The
lodge sometimes continued in session two months; and
[837] during this time, as part payment, the medicine man
exercised the rights of a husband toward his pupil's
wife. Often a medicine man would have several pupils
whose wives would remain with him in his booth in
the medicine lodge. He might instruct them also if he

x539 538 chief of the Ski'-di band, and a progressive man of modern times. He sent his children East to school at Carlisle, Pa.

Comanche Chief died September 9th, 1888.

THE PRISONERS OF COURT HOUSE ROCK

x539 538 133 COURT HOUSE ROCK is a high, square-shaped bluff, or butte, on the North Platte River. It is composed of a hard, yellowish clay, which is but slowly eroded by the weather, though soft enough to be cut readily with a knife. On all sides except one, this rock or butte is nearly or quite vertical, and its sides, smoothed and polished by the wind and the rain, offer no projecting points, to serve as foot or hand holds for one who might wish to climb up or down. On one side there is a way by which an active man may reach the summit, where he finds a flat tableland of moderate extent.

x539 538 A number of years ago a war party of Skidi, who were camped near Court House Rock, were surprised by a party of Sioux. There were many of them, and they drove the Skidi back, and at length these were obliged to climb the steep side of Court House Rock. The Sioux dared not follow them up on to the rock, but guarded the only place where it was possible to come down, and camped all around the rock below to starve the Skidi out. The Skidi had nothing to eat nor to drink, and suffered terribly from hunger and still more from thirst. The leader of the party suffered most of any, for he thought that he would surely lose all his men. He felt that this was the worst of all. He must not only die, but must also be disgraced, because under his leadership the young men of his party had been lost. He used to go off at night, apart from the others, and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* for help; for some way to save his party.

● [787] One night while he was praying, something spoke to him, and said, "Look hard for a place where you may get down from this rock, and so save both your men and yourself." He kept on praying that night,

9

THE PLANTING OF THE CROPS

000

Ground-breaking Ceremony—the Women's Role—Explanation of Ritual—Songs of the Ceremony—the Process of Preparing and Planting the Crops Explained—Cooperation in Fields Discussed—Dangers of Attack—the Swim at the End of the Planting Day

THE CORN WAS THE FIRST CROP to be planted and then came the beans, 241
squashes, and melons. But before any planting could be done, the *Awari* or "Ground-breaking Ceremony" had to be performed. The four special [778]
ministers of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person kept watch along the creeks for the first leaves to appear on the willows; then they knew the time was right for the ritual. They also had to wait for the dark of the moon that signified darkness and germination. Now the four ministers met together in the lodge where the Skull bundle was kept to make a plan for the ceremony. The actual inception of the ceremony was during [787]
the past winter while they were on a buffalo hunt, when a woman had had a vision that she was the one to see that it was performed. She called on the help of her brother, who killed a special buffalo for her, and then she invited the four ministers and told them of her vision. Then she dried [251]
and packed the rest of the buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit to be used when the ceremony was performed in the spring.

This was the only Pawnee ceremony in which women played a major 241
role, and the original visionary through whom the ceremony was instituted 562
for the season was also a woman. But the ceremony itself was directed and carried through entirely by the men. Now with the sprouting of the willows it was time.

The woman of the house where the Skull bundle was kept got up 241
574
778

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

10

THE CAPTIVE GIRL SACRIFICE

000

Importance of Sacrifice to Pawnees—Dream of Warrior and Initiation of Sacrificial Ceremony Preparations—Capture of Sioux Maiden—the Ceremony of Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—the Sacrifice in the Nineteenth Century—Its Interruption and End—the Heroism of Man Chief—Aztec Origins

773
796
782
[241] AFTER THE CREATION CEREMONY in times past, the Pawnees had an awesome rite that they believed would ensure the fertility of their soil and the success of their crops. In the creation story, fruitfulness and light had come into the world because Morning Star and his realm of light had conquered and mated with Evening Star in her realm of darkness. Out of that contest, the first human being was conceived—a girl. From time to time the Morning Star demanded a girl in return.

773
796
782
787 He came as a vision to a warrior in his dreams on a night in the fall of the year. In the vision, Morning Star appeared as a man anointed with red paint, wrapped around with a buffalo robe, his leggings decorated with scalps and eagle feathers. There were soft down feathers in his hair and a single eagle feather stood upright in his scalplock. Holding his war club he spoke to the warrior in his dream: "I am the man who has power in the east. I am the Great Star (*Upirikutsu*). You people have forgotten about me. I am watching over your people. Go to the man who knows the ceremony and let him know. He will tell you what to do." When he awoke and went outside before dawn, the warrior saw the Morning Star in the sky and he knew he had been chosen for the heavy burden of making the sacrifice. He ran crying through the village to the house of the Morning Star priest, singing as he went, "When he comes,

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

when he comes, father, I am seeking for you." When he arrived at the 773
priest's house, they embraced and wept together, and then the priest 796
filled a little pipe with tobacco and asked the warrior to tell of his dream. 782

After he had heard his vision, the priest filled the pipe and went outside where he lit it and offered it to the Morning Star so that he would [787] bless the young man. When the pipe was smoked out, the priest returned, emptied the ashes, and sat for a while talking with the warrior. The priest again filled the pipe and handed it to the warrior who lit it in the fireplace and carried it outside offering the first puff to the Morning Star, begging his pity and his guidance. Then the priest told the warrior to go home and to return when he was ready. He thought deeply of his forthcoming task as the priest had instructed him and at last asked the people in his lodge to make him several pairs of moccasins for the journey, filled with balls of pounded up sweet corn and some parched corn for his food. Everyone in the village was watching him, and some experienced warriors who had decided to go with him also asked their families to make similar preparations.

The visionary returned to the priest's lodge where they sat together for four days. When he came on the fourth day, the priest took the Morning Star bundle down from where it was hanging over the sacred [778] altar and removed the holy objects that the warrior would need, lighting the pipe from the bundle and offering smoke to each of them in the required fashion. The objects were an otterskin collar, Mother Corn, a hawkskin, an extra pipe from the bundle, some soft down feathers, and the skin of a wildcat, its legs filled with native tobacco and paints. These things the warrior would need for his costuming when he impersonated the Morning Star so that he could set out on his fateful journey. The ceremony took four days, and then the warrior went through the village to call on the men he knew were ready to come with him. He also chose a number of assistants—a younger man, four scouts from among the volunteers, and helpers and errand men. While the priest instructed him, the others went to their lodges and got their things. At midnight the priest went outside waiting for the Morning Star to rise and then went inside and costumed the warrior to impersonate him—a buffalo hair rope around his waist, an otterskin collar around his neck with a hawkskin fastened on and suspended from his right shoulder, the ear of Mother Corn from his left shoulder. He painted his face with the red ointment—two streaks on either side of his face and a bird's foot on his forehead (astronomically unidentified; "right on the Milky Way"). He gave him the pipe to carry in his left hand or in his robe with the stem pointing upward. As the Morning Star was rising the priest said, "Here is your man. He is wearing your clothing. Protect him and make him successful." Then he led the warrior around the fireplace, faced him toward the entrance, his assistant beside him and the others following behind in

773 to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used
796 in the sacrifice ceremony.

782 Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning
[821] Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose
ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior
• [787] visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in
[292] order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin
[825] with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood
[823] appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm,
[824] northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Tuwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

12

CLOSING EPISODE OF PLANTING PERIOD

000

Young Corn Plant Ceremony—Seasonal Orientation—Necessity of a Visionary—Ritual of Ceremony Explained—Second Role of Visionary on Buffalo Hunt—Conclusion of Ceremony and Beginning of Weeding and Cultivating of Corn

243 THE CLOSING EPISODE of the planting period was the carrying through of the young corn plant from a seedling to its "adolescence," when it could be "laid by" for the summer until they returned in the fall from the buffalo hunt and it would be ready for harvest.

The four semicardinal-direction bundle priests kept careful watch, and when the sacred corn seeds had sprouted to about two inches and had four good leaves, they knew that it was time to conduct the ceremony of the young corn plant. In this ceremony the priests prepared the young corn plant for her role as Mother to all the people. The young corn plant was carried through a series of ritual steps symbolizing the birth, infancy, and growth to first motherhood of a young girl. The corn could then mature and become Mother of the people.

The practical steps, as always, were preceded by a ceremonial preparation. The conduct of the ceremony was under one of the south semicardinal-direction bundles—either the Southwest or the Southeast in alternate years. As always, although the ceremonies were seasonally oriented, they were initiated by a visionary who received a mandate from the cosmic power involved, instructing him to see that the ceremony was performed. In this case the vision always came to a man who was an outstanding buffalo hunter and eagle trapper. The vision would have occurred while they were out on the winter buffalo hunt; as soon as posi-

[778]
243
787

ble he would kill a buffalo and pronounce it holy. Then he called in the 243
five official Skidi priests, who were the ministers of the four semicardinal- 787
dinal-direction bundles and that of the evening Star, and entertained them [793]
at a feast of buffalo ribs, telling them of his vision. His wife sliced, dried,
and packaged the rest of the consecrated buffalo meat and kept it in her
storage pit at home until the spring, when the ceremony was to be performed.

The visionary became a principal actor in the ceremony and made a [574]
major contribution of buffalo meat to the ritual feast, while his wife contributed
a considerable amount of the boiled dried corn. He considered it
a great privilege to participate in the ceremony and to receive instructions
from the priests concerning the cosmic traditions. During the ceremony 243
he would impersonate an important god of the creation, *Paruksti*, the 787
Wonderful, the personified Thunderstorm with its four aspects of cloud,
wind, lightning, and thunder. After the Star Gods had created man in 776
their own image, they combined the powers of the storm into one great 773
person, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, and sent him to earth to inspect their
handiwork. In him were embodied all the self-renewing powers of earth.
In the course of his travels he acted as scout, found the buffalo, and
taught the people how to hunt them. The visionary was to impersonate
the god in two roles—one in the symbolic acting-out of the male role in
procreation and later as the guardian of their fortunes in the buffalo hunt.

In this ceremony of the young holy corn plant, the keepers of all the 243
twelve sacred bundles had assembled in the lodge of the Southwest (or 793
Southeast) Semicardinal-direction priest. The Evening Star priest and
the four semicardinal-directions priests sat at the west and the other
bundle ministers were ranged along the sides in positions appropriate to
the place of origin of their legendary villages and their cosmic affiliations.

The visionary stood before the Evening Star priest, who arranged the 243
buffalo robe that he wore and tied the buffalo hair rope around his waist 793
so that he was dressed as a priest. The Evening Star priest now instructed 787
the visionary in what he was to do. He gave him a small pipe filled with 788
tobacco from the sacred bundle. The visionary then led the procession
that was to go into the field where the sacred corn plant was growing. It
was the field of the wife of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle priest.
The procession lined up on the north side of the ceremonial earth
lodge, the visionary in the lead, the four-directions priests following
behind him and an errand man following after to serve them, carrying a
lighted brand with which to light the visionary's pipe. The Evening
Star priest remained in the lodge at the west and the ministers of the
other sacred bundles continued to sit in their places. As the procession
emerged from the lodge everyone in the village was standing on the

243 793 787 788 rooftops to see the priests get the young plant of the holy corn. The priests were wrapped in their buffalo robes with the hair side out and were rattling their gourds and singing. They felt it to be a long journey symbolically signifying the eons of the creation, and the song was sung to recapitulate all its stages—the stages that pertained to women (the land, the vegetation, the waters and the cultivated seeds), and the stages that pertained to men (the moccasin, its string, the robe, the power of the universe, Mother Corn, and the thunder). These stages of the [792] men symbolized conception and birth—the moccasin, a pocket-like covering into which something is thrust; the moccasin cord, the umbilical cord; the robe, the enveloping membrane of the foetus; the creative power of the universe, the sacred nature of conception and birth; Mother Corn, germination; and the thunder, the fertilizing principle. The little corn plant they uprooted in the field would symbolize all these things.

243 793 787 When they arrived at the sacred corn hill, they ranged themselves around it, the visionary to the west, the four semicardinal-directions priests in their appropriate stations. They again sang the steps of the creation as they sat in their places, and then the priests remained seated while the visionary rose and prepared to smoke his pipe with the powers above. He walked to the north side of the hill, where the errand man [782] lighted his pipe, then proceeded around it, pausing to offer the mouthpiece to the powers in the order directed by the Evening Star priest before they had left the lodge. He offered it to Heaven, the Evening Star, the Morning Star, the Big Black Meteoric Star in the northeast, the North and Lucky Wind, a great legendary hero *Pahukatawa*, then southeast to the Sun and southwest to the Moon. Next he emptied the ashes on the corn hill and gave the pipe to the ranking priest. Then he sat down at the west and in counterclockwise order beginning at the northeast he pressed into the cornhill a gift of little pellets of buffalo-heart fat and tongue fat wrapped around with some tobacco. He alternated his offerings, beginning with tongue fat at the northeast and heart fat at the northwest, and so on.

Now the most solemn part of the ceremony was to be enacted. They were to uproot the sacred corn sprout in a symbolic act of birth. The visionary stood at the west and instructed the Southwest (or Southeast) priest to ease the plant out of the ground very gently so that he would not disturb any part of the delicate roots. The roots symbolized the moccasin strings and the seeds, the moccasin or covering for power. The priest wrapped the "newborn" plant in buffalo wool and handed it to the visionary, who placed it on his back in his buffalo robe as a woman carries her child. Now they began again to sing the steps of the creation and lined up preparatory to returning to the ceremonial lodge. Everyone in the village was watching and listening as they sang on their way back.

793 243 In the lodge, the Evening Star priest unwrapped the plant from its

wool covering and placed it on the ground before him, offering his pipe 243
to it to smoke. [793]

The next steps involved the transformation of a dogwood stick into a [322]
"body" for the plant, by an expert arrowshaft maker, for whom tools
were ready in the sacred bundle—a new knife, an elkhorn arrowshaft
straightener, a grooved sandstone smoother, some sinew, and different-colored
paints. After the shaft was made, red and white paints were applied,
and it was anointed with milk from the breasts of a young nursing
mother who was called in to volunteer this donation. In their proceedings,
they were symbolically creating a young mother out of the corn
plant which was tied onto the head of the shaft. The shaft was painted
with a little red groove near the top to signify the face, and a red line
drawn down the length signified the windpipe, breath, and the principle
of life. First the priest spoke to the new young mother corn, after which
it was passed around among the other bundle ministers in the lodge who [793]
spoke of it as "the voice." Then it was passed around a second time and
all breathed upon it—the Evening Star priest first, followed by all the
others.

Now the errand man went through the village crying out that the new [624]
mother needed a robe, a cowskin in the hair, and a buffalo hair belt. The
donor brought them to the lodge. The last act of the ceremony consisted
in wrapping Mother in her new robe with her face exposed so that she
might watch over the people. She was tied to the outside of the Southwest
(or Southeast) bundle.

Just before this final step, the visionary was dressed up by the priest 243
for his second role that he would carry throughout the summer buffalo 787
hunt until they arrived back at the village. He would now impersonate
Paruksti, Wonderful Power, the Thunderstorm. He was wrapped in a [776]
buffalo skin that he had specially prepared, and wore special moccasins
and a buffalo-hair rope belt tied in the back in four loops to represent the
rain. His duties would be very trying, for all summer while they were on
the march he would have to remain wrapped tightly in his robe, refrain
from washing or bathing, handling knives, scratching himself, or participating
in any acts of violence. He must think only gentle and noble
thoughts. If his feet were allowed to touch water, there would be violent
thunderstorms. In his person he held the great force of the creative
power of all the universe. When they reached the buffalo herd, as the
hunters stood lined up ready to surround it, this holy man would have to
kneel facing the herd and pray to the cosmic powers, naming the buffalo
and the eagles that he had consecrated to them in the past. Should anyone
be injured in the course of the attack on the herd, the people would
blame him and feel that he had had evil thoughts and had not been sincere.
Throughout the hunt one or the other of the prominent old men
would stay with him, talking to him and seeing that he did not transgress

243 any taboos. He was always fed first before the others at every meal so
• 787 that his mood would remain pleasant. He lived and moved in the encampment of the chief who was leading the hunt during that season.

In the previous ceremony, when the seeds of the sacred corn had
[792] been distributed to the ministers of the various bundles for planting, the visionary of that ceremony had been constituted a holy man for the well-being of the corn crop. He also had to remain wrapped in his buffalo robe all summer and to observe similar taboos until the harvest was in. Presumably, as he remained wrapped in his robe, he was impersonating the ear of corn itself in its husk.

In the final stages of the young corn ceremony, the priest went through the village, praising the donor of the cowskin and buffalo-hair belt in which they dressed the young Mother Corn, referring to the robe as the symbolic wrapper into which a germ of life could be thrust and the buffalo-hair rope as the string.

The ceremony of the Young Mother Corn was concluded with a feast in which all who had participated shared in the meat of the buffalo that the visionary had consecrated on the previous winter hunt. His wife usually added a donation of boiled corn to round out the banquet.

243 Until this ceremony was completed, no woman could go into her field and begin to weed and cultivate it. Now the women all went into their fields carrying their hoes. First they would pull out the weeds one by one from the corn hills by hand and then pile up the earth around the young growing plants. The corn was hilled up so high around the plant that the leaves barely stuck out at the top; they were compared with an earth lodge with the smoke issuing out of the smokehole in the roof.

It was early morning and the dew had fallen, and as the women worked around and around the corn hills their bodies would get soaking wet. After they had hilled up the earth around the plants, the women would kneel close to the hill and pat it all around with their hands to make it smooth and even. The woman's left side, as well as her face and hands, would become covered with mud. To mention this fact to a woman on her way home from the fields would be the height of pre-
[515] sumption. On the way home everyone took a swim in Beaver Creek and washed off their hoes. Again the young women splashed with their feet on the surface of the water and tried to make as loud a report as possible by slapping the surface of the water with their hands. The old man again sat up on his earth lodge and addressed the community at large. He reminded everyone that the women were now "disfiguring themselves" for him, getting all muddy, and that while their hoes were still full of mud, all of them would be eating the food that the women
[606] had raised. Some of the women went in groups to cultivate the previously planted fields of their new daughters-in-law, singing while they worked

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 156 Some men stayed behind in the village because they wanted to be alone for a while to think and make peace with themselves. They would plan to catch up with the party in five, six, or even ten days, living on limited rations of dry meat as they were accustomed to doing when they went scouting over the country for days and even weeks.

*224 156 •787 [154] Such a man would sit quietly on the roof of his lodge and sometimes go inside and lie down. Not uncommonly he would have a vision. The vision is the Pawnee's introspective device for organizing his wishes, goals, and purposes. Mark Evarts expressed the mood in the following terms:

> One man was left there alone. He just wanted to stay. He thought he could go any time—in five or ten days. He might even not go at all. He just felt like staying. He didn't think of any danger. Early in the morning before sunrise, he sat on the roof of the earth lodge looking about, way off. He goes into the lodge and lies down; he doesn't even make a fire. He has a little dried buffalo meat to eat. He has gone three or four times on the war path and has experience in how to be hungry. He is thinking about how far they may have gone in the ten or fifteen days that have passed. He can't quite make up his mind to go and join the people on the march.
>
> One evening while he was sitting on the roof and it was getting dark, he heard a woman crying in east village (Village-in-the-Bottomlands). As he listened to the crying he decided to go where it was coming from. When he arrived he found a woman sitting wrapped in a buffalo robe and crying. "Where do you come from?" he asked. "Right here," she said. "I am crying because they have all gone hunting and I had my children (litter of mice) in that sacred bundle. In five or six days they will be getting buffalo and sacrificing the meat. A priest will untie the bundle and when they open it, there will be a nest where my children are. Maybe the priest will have to give up my children to them. That's why I am crying. I am poor. I wish you could go and get my children before they open the bundle. Get my children and come back with them." "I'll go right now," the man said. The woman thanked him and he got up and went directly to get his quiver, bow, and arrows and left that night.
>
> He knew how to catch up with the line of march through a short cut and starting out in the morning he traveled all day. He stopped a little while and smoked and then trotted on his way, hurrying to reach the group. In the camps everyone had been wondering why he had not come along. They thought perhaps he had been killed. He arrived about nine o'clock in the morning, just as the priest was taking down the bundle.
>
> The people in the camps called to him as they saw him approach,

but he walked right through until he stood before the priest as he was 224*
untying the bundle. The five priests were ranged at the west and he 156
went to the one in the middle and rubbed his hands on him in blessing 787.
and then the others in turn and then whispered to the leading priest, "Untie it gently because in the north side of the bundle there is something." The priest understood and after all the bundles had been unwrapped, the four little mice were found alive in a nest inside one of them. "These are the ones I came for. I must go back now. She said they might be starving." He returned at once by the way he had come and on the evening of the fifth day, got to the village where the woman was sitting. "Here they are now," he said, and after she had fed them she said to him, "I am a woman and can take care of my children. I can get any food I want. Now I am going to predict for you, for I had my children in that bundle and it was only you who saw them, and because of that I have something to tell you. I am a woman and I don't have much power, but now everything you do will be successful. We mice are all over the world and we can talk to you anywhere." Her prediction came true and he became an important man. Sometimes two or three men might stay behind in the village after everyone had left on the hunt and catch up later. They would sit alone, scattered out in widely separated lodges. Sometimes they would have a vision.

By 1867 there was a class of Stay-at-Homes who were able to remain 224*
behind in comparative safety from attack because of the proximity of the 571
white town of Columbus, about 22 miles from the village. They would [648]
set out from the villages with the others, traveling to the first stop on the Platte River and then part company and go toward the town. They were mainly men and women who were unmarried and unattached, though more rarely a couple or a whole family would have to remain because they did not have horses or because their arrangements for joining a tent had fallen through. In the past all of them that were able-bodied would have gone along, but now many more remained behind. For people who had no tent or no horses, going along would have meant attaching themselves to a family and receiving board and lodging in return for performing minor services. They felt they might be open to humiliation if someone seemed to be giving them orders or telling them to hurry with what they were doing. When plans were being made for leaving, a group of women in this position would get together and talk among themselves; "If I go I have to work for someone else. I'll have to haul wood and help the other women and they might not give me enough dry meat in return." Another would say, "That's what I think. It might be hot. And they might not get many buffalo." Some single men would congregate in a similar way and say, "I don't feel like going." "Look how far they have to go. I think what you say is right. We have legs and can get plenty of

484*

Star. If during the night one had dreamed a bad dream, one might swallow 512 a great deal of water and regurgitate it before eating. [787]

White Woman was making the grease bread and No Corn was making the coffee. During these preparations, Victory Call sat by smoking his pipe.

By the time Horse Rider was through bringing in the horses, breakfast was ready. After they had all eaten, the women cleaned the dishes, using [264] the plant known as water string or "false indigo" (*Amorpha fruticosa*, [824] Gilmore, p. 93) to rub on the dishes and buckets to sweeten them while washing. This plant grew close to the creeks with its roots in the water; the leaves and stems were used and the roots discarded. In winter, strips of the bark were taken from the dry stalks. False indigo was invaluable, particularly on the march; you might find nothing but boggy water in a depression and the plant would freshen it. It could also be used [263] to make palatable meat that had a gamey flavor like wildcat, by boiling it in two waters with the plant and pouring off the water each time, after which it could be cooked in the ordinary way and tasted good. The plant was spread on the ground while butchering to keep the pieces of meat clean.

The dishes having been cleaned, they were ready to dismantle the camp and load the horses. Two or three old ladies were waiting nearby for Grandma to join them. They would set out at once to get an early start, [262] carrying a little ration of pounded up sweet corn and sugar to sustain them on the way.

As soon as they had eaten, the two men saddled up the horses while 484* White Woman prepared to dismantle the tent. She shook the tent pegs 512 loose and pulled them out, then began to fold over the tent cover while it 342 was still on the frame, first pulling one side around to the back and 492 folding it over and then the other side; pulling down the "backbone" pole with folded cover on it, she untied the stick where it was attached at the top and bottom and put it aside. The tent skin was then folded down the middle lengthwise and evenly rolled from the bottom end toward the top, then tied around the middle with the string that was there for the purpose (see Figure 19-1). Additional ropes were used to tie the roll securely across the ends. Now White Woman dismantled the wooden frame, and the poles were divided evenly so that they could be tied to the horse's back in two even bunches.

484*

Only the oblong rawhide containers were now left standing, as they had been placed next to the back wall of the tent. Meanwhile No Corn 512 had been rolling up the bulrush mats that were on the ground and tying them in the middle with the strings that were provided there. She was also rolling up the blankets.

Now that everything had been dismantled in the camp, the next job 484* was loading up. The horse was brought around close to where the containers 512 were. Horse Rider and No Corn stood on one side and Victory Call 492

They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," 224 *
they had to pack and go on. They arrived at the river about five in the 484 *
evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north
bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or
less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming
in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but
they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As
soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often [226]
done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. Some men
used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took
buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and [225]
brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were [252]
they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn
husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were
unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went
out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were
officially headed for home. The night before, the military police had [625]
officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from [622]
his leadership of the hunt. He thanked them all and reviewed the
events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge
proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead
them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was
appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given
White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and
helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buffalo [787]
leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Republican
they would have to make before they could start north for the
Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sacred 796
bundles and the cults, but of special interest to everybody was the 431
Grand Opera that the associated doctors would give after the harvest, 756
lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the 624
association, called for his two errand men to go to all members, apprentices, 211
and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the
forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand
man would pick a dry weed, *hawastatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil,
and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute,
the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand
to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent,
dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and proceeded
to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. At 796
an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and 431
756

34

PREPARATION FOR THE GRAND OPERA

000

The Doctors' Profound Connection with the Animal World—Hypnotic Powers—Organization of the Doctor Lodge—Animal Cults—Construction of Images—Ideology of the Doctors—the Ceremonial Mode: Fighting and Sleight of Hand—Gaining Animal Knowledge—Getting the Cedar Tree for Ceremony

796 THE DOCTORS' OPERA had to do neither with the ordered cosmos nor with
756 the well-regulated world of the cultivated plants, but with the mysterious
realm of the wild animals and their wild plant environment. The
[622] chief and the priest to whom the cosmic powers spoke in visions, were
[793] men of reason who spoke out clearly on what they thought, while the
doctor who communed with the animal world had a slow, deliberate,
• [787] introspective mein, seldom if ever making clear pronouncements. The
756 animal cults all had their origin in the experience of an individual
man who in despair had reached out to the universe at large and received
a vision from an animal who was ready to intercede for him and
help him work out his problems. He had received special knowledge
that would help him cure the sick through the properties of the plants
and other curative procedures. In addition to this kind of knowledge,
the animal also transmitted to his protegé the power of hypnotism and
suggestion that gave him control over animals and other people and, if he
756 was skillful enough, over the enemies of the tribe. The Pawnee animal
173 cults were the result of traditions that had been handed down from
one person to another and elaborated in the course of time. People who

756 The kind of experience involved had a profound personal value. The way in which this knowledge was conceived is perhaps indicated by the personality attributed to the doctor—slow, deliberate, thoughtful and, to a considerable degree, introspective. As a more practical measure of social
[796] esteem perhaps was the fact that during the previous summer buffalo
[431] hunt, 60 parfleches of dried buffalo meat had been pledged in support
[178] of the performance, and in former times, before the population had been so heavily reduced, 140 parfleches were donated in one season.

756 The mode in which the doctors operated during their ceremony was of
796 two kinds. One was the inducing of a trance state in the other doctors:
789 utilizing the motions of the animal that was their special cult mentor. This was called *patsaku*, "shooting," and was also metaphorically referred to as "fighting." The second kind of activity of the doctors was a highly skilled sleight-of-hand performance, *tawaruku*, so expertly carried out that the illusion was completely convincing to the spectators. The metaphor for this kind of performance was "playing" or "romping," as of a child. The skill of the illusion in both cases has been attested to by the most hard-headed outside observers and this required extensive preparation and a long process of learning. The props were carefully designed to achieve the desired illusory effect and the strategy was planned with great precision, involving accomplices in the audience and special lighting effects developed by regulating the fire in the fireplace.

In view of these deliberate and extensive preparations for illusion, the question has often been raised of how these ceremonies could be regarded as religious in character. From my long experience with my informant, who retained a good deal of his old belief, it was the success in creating the illusion that was the mark of favor of the supernatural mentor, and therefore the performance was sincerely believed to be a religious experience. He would say, "If one does not have faith, he will fail." He cited examples where people of insufficient faith caused injury to themselves and to others while trying to perform. The success of the illusion depended upon the dexterity and agility of the performer and his ability to deflect the attention of the spectator just long enough for
[787] him to make the necessary shifts. There may possibly have been some measure of self-induced trance such as occurred to the priests incidentally in the course of the creation ceremony. (Our own knowledge of the subject is too elementary to identify the situation psychologically.)

A major difference between our experience and theirs should be es-
787 pecially noted. The Pawnees as well as many peoples who practiced
825 these arts were in constant association with wild animals in their natural habitat, an experience which is entirely absent in our own world. They lived within a world of wild animals in their hunting and even in defense of their settlements, they had to have an intimate knowledge of the emo-

tional as well as the physical structure of these animals. The device of 787
animal impersonation by dressing up in animal skins and imitating their 825
sounds and motions is universally reported for hunting peoples and must
go back to the very dawn of man's history. It may be that some degree
of self-induced trance or control of the prey in these terms may have
been involved in these operations. In any case, an intense rapport with
the animals was involved.

Each doctor developed his own "animal repertoire." We may be able 756
to gain some insight into the relation between the doctor and his animal
mentor from an actual case of a transfer of animal powers between two
brothers who decided to make a fair exchange of their different
knowledge.

Victory Call was anxious to get Bear knowledge from his older brother,
Sitting Hawk, who was a leader of the Bear Lodge in the Doctor
Association. One day when they were alone together he broached the
subject. Sitting Hawk, however, was not willing to part with what he
knew for nothing. He said, "I want something there on your side. We're
going to trade." "You're my own brother," said Victory Call, "and you
won't teach me for nothing?" "You're my own brother, too, and I know
you won't teach me for nothing either," said Sitting Hawk. We should
explain that Victory Call was the leader of a private doctor cult the
Raris-ta, Dance-Deer or Whistle Dance involving the mescal bean that
had become so prominent among the Pawnees that it was developing
into a feared rival of the Doctor Association itself. Two generations before, [177]
this cult had been borrowed from the Wichita, the Caddoan-speaking
kinsmen of the Pawnees to the south. Among other kinds of 756
knowledge, rattlesnake power was involved in the teachings. It is hard to 824
know what plants were involved in connection with the curing of snakebite 825
or the control of the snakes. Members of the *Raris-ta* could handle
a weed that was thought to be poisonous to other people, though there is
no proof that this was the case. It was undulating in form like the snake
itself. People were warned not to touch the plant unless they were
members of the society. It was said of them that they had "snake-shot" or
power, ***rut-patsat-kuriraru***, "snake-shot-to-possess-or-own." Weeds
associated with rattlesnakes have variously been identified from other
tribes—a Mexican mentioned Dodder or Love Vine (*Cuscuta paradoxa*
Raf.), saying that snakes took it into their dens for food; from the Dakota
Indians there is a report that Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens* L.) was
known as snake food. The botanical identity of the Pawnee plant, however, 756
is not known. In the cosmic mythology it was said that the jealous 773
Fools-the-Wolves Star (Sirius) who had felt himself excluded from the 824
original Council of the Gods, was angered when people told irreverent 825
stores about Wolf or Coyote. Although in winter he couldn't control
the situation, in summer he could enlist the aid of the Snake Star (Scor-

40

BREACHES OF THE DOCTORS' RULES

000

The Young Doctor Decides to Eat Food at Altar—the Hypnotizing That Follows—the Younger Men Hypnotize Big Bear—This Power of Pawnees Discussed

AFTER THE THIRD Big Dance, everyone was getting tired, especially the 756
errand men. The individual doctors had various matters to attend to at 784
home, and even the main doctors had to leave the lodge at some time during the day. One day the main doctors were all off resting and had left one of the younger doctors sitting in Big Doctor's place so that he could watch the things at the altar. While he was sitting there, a donation of corn and soup was brought in. Some of the other doctors in the lodge decided they would like to eat some of it right away. The young doctor at the west decided that, after all, since they were hungry, they should eat some of it. He asked three of the others to join him at the west and ordered the errand man to serve them and also the other doctors that were in their booths. They made a small offering of the corn to the powers and then proceeded to eat.

Finally, when some of the other doctors came in and found they had 756
eaten some of the food that was donated for all of them, they became in- 784
dignant. They went about the fireplace, quivering and waving their 787
eagle-wing fans and hypnotized the offenders. Brave Shield who was the first to come in, hypnotized the man who had been left in charge of the things at the altar. He caused him to come around the north side of the fireplace and made him fall so that he hit his head against the pillar of the lodge. Then he made the offender get up and come outside and fall down, where he was left on the ground with blood coming out of his mouth. The other two doctors who had come in at the same time as Brave Shield,

756 784 •787 spirited out the others who had been eating the corn and also the errand man who had served them. They fell down outside in the same way as the first man. When the first recovered from his trance, he came inside and sat down in Big Doctor's place at the west. The other three also came out of their trance and resumed their places next to him. The others who had eaten the corn also began to recover and to run into their booths. Those at the west had not yet been dismissed by the angry doctors.

Brave Shield and the other doctors went back to their booths, but the young doctor at the west was angry in his turn and decided to take out those who had hypnotized him. He picked up the eagle-wing fan from among the sacred objects at the west and, going about the fireplace, spirited Brave Shield outside. He did the same to the other two. He then went back into the lodge and again sat down at the west, telling his three companions they could go back to their booths if they wanted to. The three he had spirited out now went back to their booths and the whole affair was ended. When Big Doctor heard about it on his return, he simply laughed at the whole affair.

756 784 Big Bear who was the errand man on the south side was absent from the lodge for about three days. Three of the younger men decided to get him to come back. The enterprise was initiated by Might-Be-Chief, son of Old-Man-That-Chief. He was about fifteen or sixteen years old at the time, and he was sent around on so many errands in Big Bear's absence that he began to resent it. "Big Bear ought to be doing this," he thought, "I'll get him back." Big Bear, on his part, was pretty tired by this time and wanted a rest. Might-Be-Chief tried to enlist help from two young men, Fox Chief and Man Chief, but Fox Chief demurred, saying, "He's our uncle. We can't do that to him." But they were finally persuaded by Might-Be-Chief's argument that he ought to be there, and they all went to Big Bear's lodge.

756 Big Bear was sitting on top of his lodge when they got there and they said, "Look at him—the way he sits there as if he had nothing to do!" Then all of them walked back and forth before his eyes and then all three waved fans in front of him until he rolled off the earth lodge. When he got up they made him follow them as they ran, pushing and twisting him around any way they wanted to. Finally when they got to the water they caused him to roll in and wet his buffalo robe and all his clothes. When he got home, he gave his clothes to his wife and dressed in whatever dry clothes he had and went back to the Doctor Lodge. He was furious and went straight to the Elk Booth spiriting Might-Be-Chief outside. Then he went to the Bear Booth and first took out Fox Chief, then coming back again for Man Chief. The three young doctors didn't mind, as they had succeeded in getting Big Bear back to his post in the Doctor Lodge.

Sometimes when a doctor went home at night he went to asleep with

his wife and then the doctors might go after him in this way. They 756
would spirit him out onto the dance grounds outside the Doctor Lodge; then he would go home, get his buffalo robe, and return.

From these instances it should be clear that the Pawnee preoccupation 756
with illusionism, hypnotism, and suggestion was neither mere theater 787
nor pure ritual. The power of trance induction was regarded as a threat
and a means of control. Possibly the hunter found in it a method of com- [626]
munication with the wild animals and control over them. It is very evident that it was considered a way of immobilizing the enemy. Trance induction was called "fighting" or "shooting at the image or shadow," and illusionism by sleight of hand as a milder form of psychological control was called "playing" or "romping" as of children. Our present preoccupation with psychology and psychosomatic problems should point the way to its connection with healing. The cultivation of these psychological states in the Doctor Lodge was obviously something more than pure supernaturalism.

The final episode in the Opera was a contest between the Buffaloes and 756
the Bears in which the Buffaloes reduced the Bears psychologically to mere 796
puppies, and in this way the Buffaloes are no longer afraid. 536

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796
533
[539]

1. hiwiri Wiwitawia
Now it comes flying
2. " "
3. " "
4. " "
5. " "
6. " hita
feather-coming

The two men continued to talk together that night in the lodge and New Young Dog told Warrior about the rabbit learning that he wanted to know. Should anyone come in and see the sparks from their pipe and hear the whispering, they would know that the two men were to be left alone and would go straight to their beds as they were talking of something important. The next time the dance was held, Warrior followed after New Young Dog. After he had carried out his performance, New Young Dog addressed the assembled company saying, "What you have seen me do here today, I am giving to this fellow here, Warrior. This is my teaching." From this time on Warrior was able to do the rabbit dance and could make a rabbit skin come alive and be a rabbit.

796
721
[178]
[177]

In this way, the original Wichita Deer Dance took on its Pawnee form. By 1867 it had become a typically elaborate Pawnee ceremony. Sleight-of-hand performances and trance induction were both modes in which they operated as they did in the Doctor Lodge. But unlike the Doctor Lodge where animal costumes and animal impersonations celebrated their communion with the animals, in the Deer Dance, war was the predominant theme and each of the members at the stations bore the name of a tribe, the opposing north and south sides representing attack and counterattack. The ceremony was carried through ten consecutive sessions, nine in the night and a tenth in the daytime with a number of rest days between. Technically, they conceived that the all-day tenth and final episode was the actual ceremony and the nine night sessions simply preliminary to it. The nine night sessions comprised several different phases. In the first five, there was a program of four or more sleight-of-hand performances, chiefly in sequence. As in the Doctor Dance, sleight of hand was referred to as "playing." Following these "playing" sessions, going on very late into the night was a series of "fighting" or hypnotic episodes. But these differed from the Doctor Lodge "fighting" which was simple trance induction; in the Deer Dance, the fighting consisted of hypnotic interference with a sleight-of-hand performance while it was in progress, confusing the performer and making it impossible for him to complete his feat. The difference between the two kinds of "fighting" was recognized in the names they were called—the "fighting" of the Doctor Lodge was "I shoot at him," ***wi-tatix-tsaaku,*** "now-I at him-shoot" (abbreviated as *patsaaku*) while

[789]
[787]

for the Deer Dance they said, "They shoot at his *image*," wi-tit-ir-*awi*-tsaku, "now-they at him-*image*-shoot." This distinction is significant as it reflects the difference in emphasis between the two ceremonies. The emphasis of the Doctor Lodge is on the alliance of man with the animals so that they give him confidence, enabling him to cure the sick or carry out whatever his purposes may be including war expeditions. In the Deer Dance, power over the enemy is a major leitmotif. The use of shamanism as a kind of psychological warfare against the enemy is a known device among other tribes. That the Pawnees were quite successful in this regard is attested by an account collected by a French visitor, Tixier, from their enemies, the Osage, in 1839–1840. He states: 796 721 721 723 [756] [175]

> The Maha (Skidi Pawnee) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five and six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe. [181] [848]
>
> Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. . . . One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave, whose horses he steals away afterwards.

When they were living at Pahaku, near Fremont in 1850 and the Ponca attacked and were about to burn up the Pawnees caught inside their earth lodges, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy dressed up like a medicine man, came out and succeeded in thoroughly frightening the enemy so that they were repulsed; she was also able to kill one of them near the lodge, armed simply with a stout stick. There seems some likelihood that there was some actual functional value in the hypnotic powers of the medicine men, even in war. If this is the case, the preoccupation with this type of performance in the Deer Dance ceremony can better be appreciated. 796 721 756

The long series of illusionist feats and hypnotic exercises, however, was carried on within a characteristically complex Pawnee ceremonial structure. 796 789

In the first five nights of performance, during each night there was an earlier session of sleight-of-hand performances, followed by a "fight- 796 789 787

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 ing" session that lasted late into the night. The successive fighting sessions
789 on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in
• 787 which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its
"owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally succeeds
in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so
that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner.
[824] The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them. In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semicardinal "stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally opposite semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *Northwest* possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the *Northeast*. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross. The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star," the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the
773 pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic
776 significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can
speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god
[821] of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome, he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way. Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti, and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat, gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie. The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, succeeding, as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

44

SORCERY

000 *The Vision of a Poor Boy, Small—His Fate—Rivalry between Old Bull and Behaille—Male and Female "Witched" Members of the Community—Suspicions of Witchcraft in Sexual Affairs—Connection to "Fighting" in Doctor Performances—Fee-Splitting Ventures—Causes of Disease Regarded as Anxiety and Hostility—Interpersonal Hostility in the Community—Deadly Witch Missiles—the Treatment*

787
773
Rivalry and hatred as well as love and community were as much a part of Pawnee life as of our own, and the animal lore of a doctor could be turned to ill as well as to good. In many cases the original dream vision of the future doctor consisted of being taken to an animal lodge under the water where the animals sat in council and judged the visionary. Others were terrestrial or cosmic, but the lodge under water was a common one. Such a vision came to a poor boy named Small (*Patsaa*) when he was about twelve years old. The Pawnee were living near Fremont, Nebraska, in the village they occupied just before going onto the reservation. It must have been around 1850. The Pawnee name of the animal lodge settlement was Pa-ha-ku, "hill-in water-sitting"; it was located near the edge of a rather sheer bluff on the south side of the Platte River. The animal lodge was thought to be located somewhere under water in the side of the cliff and it was reliably attested that lights were seen and noises heard in this location. It was also said that the wind was sometimes so strong there, that attempts to examine the spot closely were always foiled: [131] [175]

Right on the sheer bluff of the high bank was a cedar tree. This is the doorway to the animal lodge of Pahaku. Sitting on the tree are

all sorts of birds—particularly eagles—black, bald, spotted and also the chicken hawk. White people say it is that way yet. They say the wind is too strong there so that when you want to look, it pushes you back. At this bank, right under water is a big fish, the *tawakiiks*. In the night, one can hear drumming and sparks fly right on top of the water. This fish opens its mouth and one can see fire come out. This is Pahaku, the animal lodge. 787 773

Small was a poor boy who served in the household of an influential man, hauling water, helping with the household tasks, and tending the horses in return for his keep. One day he was lying at the edge of the bluff under a tree with his bow and arrows, hoping to catch some birds to eat. His friend, Old Bull, who was the son and heir of an influential chief, came along and joined Small and since there was a cool, pleasant breeze blowing, they fell asleep. When he woke up Small was gone and so Old Bull went home, thinking that Small had awakened before him and gone to his lodge. 787

But Small was on quite a different mission. While they were lying there, he had had a vision and had gone to the animal lodge. The animals had taken him in. When he awoke he was sitting east of the fireplace with his bow and arrows. There were different kinds of animals all around. Near the door was a big snake. Near the altar at the west was a Scalped Man, Kitsahuruksu, who was the boss of them all. He addressed Small saying, "Nawa, greetings, now I leave you to the animals. Now you fellows sitting around here—you brought him in. What are you going to do with him?" At the northeast near the cedar tree was the bear who said, "Let's eat him up." The rest of the animals laughed, but the weasel chimed in, from his seat at the northwest. "That's right. We'd better eat him up right away." Then the big snake at the southeast side of the door said, "He's right. We'd better try to eat him up."

But the elk (moose, *pax*) at the southwest said, "Now you wait. Since you folks could eat him and I can't, I have something to say. I'm the one that supports him and helps him to live." Just as he got through talking, someone about halfway south, the Beaver, spoke up. "He's right. I can't eat him either. I also support him and help him live." Near the southeast the reindeer said the same thing. He also added, "You folks don't try to do anything to help him stay alive. You just want to eat him up. Right now I'm going to allow Scalped-Man to decide what should be done since we disagree." They all said, "Nawa!" Several on each side had spoken up. Now reindeer said, "Who brought him in?" But everyone was silent for no one was willing to admit to having done it. So the Scalped-Man was given the problem of deciding.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

• 787 He said, "All the animals know how we have to depend on our two errand men. We send them long distances traveling on our errands and they get tired because of it. They work so hard for us that it is only right that we give them the right to decide. Now you two errand men, you can go outside and make a decision." The two went out. They were duck (*kiwakski*) and a bluish bird with a wide stripe around its neck (*kis-katararaxka*, "neck-stripe around-upon"). Meanwhile everyone inside the lodge was getting impatient. Snake mumbled, "I want to eat him up."

Outside the lodge the two errand men were discussing what the boy's fate should be. One said, "He just went out hunting birds to get something for himself to eat and now they brought him in here and want to kill him. I don't think that's right. Now that they brought him in, let's take pity on him and teach him something. Let's reveal the nature of the animals to him." Said duck, "I guess I do have to take care of him. He kills me when he is hungry, but when I want him to starve I can very well fly off, for I know when he is coming. I think I must do something for him."

With this decision, they went back into the lodge and Striped-Neck spoke up first. He pointed out that the boy had gone out intending to kills birds in order to get something to eat. At this point Small was frightened as he thought they would surely kill him for it was Striped-Neck he originally intended to hunt for. But the bird pointed out that as he was a bird that was always along the edge of the creek, he could go into the water and escape so that the boy would be unable to kill him if he himself were unwilling. "Now I'm going to leave it to this fellow, Duck, to decide."

Now duck got up and addressed the group. "Now Boss, bears, weasels, snake, elk, beaver, and reindeer, I have decided this about this fellow here: Today when you brought him, he had no thought about the fact that we also like to live. But still this fellow was hunting up the creek because he was hungry. Right now, he's starving. He has nothing to eat. Let's take pity on him instead of eating him up. After he gets out of here, if we help him, he can tell people that we treated him kindly and they might have respect for us. So now let's do something for him. When you send me way off on your errands, I get tired sometimes. Now in return, I am asking you to do as I suggest. Let's bless him."

For four nights the animals put on a sleight-of-hand performance, and each animal taught the boy a different way. After all had performed, the mole told of his power: "If a man is sitting there, I could come up through the ground and hit him from underneath so that all his insides bounce up and kill him right there." The weasel said, "While he's looking at me, I can eat up a man's liver and other entrails so that he falls over." In this way Small came to know that these two were bad animals and because of what he had learned about them, he was also able to practice sorcery, as well as to cure sickness. 787

Being friends and small boys together, Small gave freely whatever knowledge he had to Old Bull. Small never lived to carry out the mandate of his vision, but Old Bull did. One day while Small was out tending the horses of the man he served, the Sioux came and took all the horses, shooting Small in the abdomen. He begged his sponsor to throw him in the water so that he could be healed through the animal lodge, but his sponsor, who was very angry because of the loss of all his property, refused to do as Small requested. He cared nothing for the poor boy who was his servant, and having disregarded the boy's request, Small died of his wounds. People felt that the man had been short-sighted as well as cruel. If he had allowed the boy to avail himself of his supernatural powers, he would have been cured of his wounds and grown up to go on the warpath and gotten horses for his sponsor. By being mean, people said, the sponsor had lost everything.

Old Bull grew up and became a prominent man with his teachings. He 754 was the son of a chief, as well, and readily got a place in the chiefs' council. There came a time when the chiefs decided to include in their council the official interpreter of the United States Agency, Behaille, who was of Spanish, French, and Pawnee descent. No doubt this was a politic move, but Old Bull was not satisfied. In the council he referred scornfully to Behaille as "the Mexican." Behaille was not unaware of his hostility and opposition. When they went out on the buffalo hunt and arrived near Grand Island, Behaille stopped off at a small town and drank some whisky, which he immediately vomited up. He thought that he recognized what he had brought up, viz., a witch pellet of a bundle of buffalo hair painted red and containing the sole skin of a corpse's foot. He said, "I know who the sorcerer is. It is Old Bull. Throw the pellet in the fire and burn it up so that it can do no further harm." Then Behaille decided on a further course of action:

Next day he asked his wife to make grease bread and coffee and invited several of the chiefs to his house for an informal feast, including Old Bull. When they had all come in, Behaille said, "Now I want you to eat this food. Old Bull, I don't want you to do that again! You tried to witch me and you nearly killed me." Old Bull was ashamed and he just hung his head. As they went out after the feast, people said, "This feast was given because Old Bull witched Behaille. Some fellow would remark, "Well, so Old Bull wanted to witch the Mexican!"

Of course, we don't know how many people he had witched before this, or whether there were any, but now that he was exposed, he

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.) 000

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, 462
considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not
hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of 251
the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not
affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife
was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244).
Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civiliza- 462
tions—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern
Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men 171
among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern
Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women.

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and 006
Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9.

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the in- 342
side of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The
sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within, 772
then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand
as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people."

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song 796
sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 533
1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and 787
wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder
spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'" 821
He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when
he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of
the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's
account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of 157
the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones 821
the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit 721
to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old
friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She 114
remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on 821
the contrary they were part of it and went out into it.

68, 138, 168-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On 172
archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, 251
pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10
feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric examples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp.

778 126 80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwiru-tsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

787 80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 24, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of supernatural beings." 787 828 The Pawnee made a clear distinction between hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination. An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

775 534 80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

773 171 83 Compare in Whorf, 1929, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 752, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four 80-81 Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of [821] course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

796 in it. I saw the sun whirling round, and I saw crows flying around
668 the sun, and flying over me. I saw an eagle feather in the whirling
787 sun. Then I saw a black sun streaked with white inside coming
177 towards me, and as it came I fell over. I stood up and saw a buffalo bull stick his head out of the sun. Just before sundown I saw Jesus standing in the west in the sun with one hand extended toward me.

"Someone came and told me I was wanted in the tent. There Sitting-Bull's nephew[1] spoke to me and told me I had made good.
[788] He dropped water into my mouth four times with an eagle feather to cool my thick, dry tongue. Then he told me to take three swallows of water. He gave me sweet corn gruel to eat, and told me not to eat any more that night, but to eat a hearty breakfast in the morning."

At this time the old man questioned Carrion in detail about what he had seen, and Carrion told him about the circle of people, the birds and the man standing with his hand extended as if he were handing Carrion something. This, according to Carrion, the Arapaho interpreted as a gift of the hand game. The circle of people were the players, the man held in his hand the hand game sticks. The crow and eagle feathers belonged to the players, the clusters of feathers to the guessers.

Shortly after this the Pawnee came home. None of the others had visions among the Arapaho, says Carrion, because none of the others went through a four-day fast.

When Joe got home, crowds gathered around and wanted to know what he had found out, and if the Ghost Dance was true. Joe told the Pawnee that Frank White had taken something which did not belong to him and brought it over, and that White couldn't give them blessings and things to use, but that they had to get everything for themselves.

According to Carrion, this message which he brought home from the Arapaho introduced a different perspective into Pawnee Ghost Dancing. Before this people danced, but their experiences in the dancing did not give them sanction to carry out the dancing as leaders on their own account. White taught that only he could sanction them to do anything, and that they must pay him for the right. Now the people tried to find out things for themselves in trance-visions, and they did. It was after this that an extreme

---

[1] Sitting-Bull's nephew was the leader of this four day hand game among the Arapaho. Apparently he had derived it in trance visions experienced in the Arapaho Ghost-Dancing under the leadership of Sitting-Bull, and his visions had been sanctioned by the interpretations of Sitting-Bull.

spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes 796
were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the
altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the 668
altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at 782
the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while 823
the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not 276
participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that 184
described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity.
These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke- 276
offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: 782
upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset 823
and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly 184
interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion 771
in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of 778
Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

---

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven [177]
and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette
by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by [788]
flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

525 chiefs, warriors and braves stand around to watch the game; they
619 do not play. An important Skiri chief may come to look on, may
sit at a distance and smoke calmly. By his presence he expresses his interest in the welfare and doings of his people. Some Skiri players, perhaps the leader, leave the circle to sit beside him and smoke with him, to show their appreciation of his presence.

The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader has the pipe in his hand. All who are going to play have found their places. Women come and stand
[562] at a little distance to look on. They must not sit down or join
the circle. They never play the hand game.

The fire forms a long narrow line between the sides, fifteen feet long from north to south, only two to three feet wide (see Fig. 1) At the south ends of the lines are two men who function as tarutsius, "fire tenders."

Now the players place their bets. Blankets, shirts, vests, horses are waged on the outcome. Each bets against a friendly enemy of the other side, individual against individual. The two articles are tied together, making one bundle. The bundles are thrown down in one heap before the leaders. The winning side will carry off the whole pile of plunder, and each winning player takes from it his individual stake and his winning.

The leader of the Kitkahaxkiˣ party begins to speak.

"Brother, I thought of coming to see you for the hand game.
619 Well, my brother, we are here. I've brought this pipe for you.
525 I want you to accept it to smoke."

276 He rises. He takes the filled pipe to the fire and lights it with
●788 a brand. He draws a few puffs himself, then, standing before
Knifechief, the Skiri leader in the game, gives him the pipe to smoke without releasing it, then takes it to his left and lets the assistant leader on the Kitkahaxkiˣ side take a few puffs. Then he carries it back to Knifechief, gives it to him, and sits down in his own place.

Knifechief smokes and then passes the pipe to the Skiri at his left, and from him it is passed on down the Skiri side from north to south. Each one smokes and passes it on. By the time it reaches the tarutsius of the Skiri side it is likely to be smoked out. This smoke is a gift of the Kitkahaxkiˣ to the Skiri. Except for the two Kitkahaxkiˣ leaders, no Kitkahaxkiˣ smoke, only the Skiri.

When the pipe has reached the Skiri tarutsius, the Kitkahaxkiˣ leader arises, walks around the east side of the fire and receives the pipe back from him. He carries it with him around west of the fire, and stops north of the fire where facing south, he loosens the
[782] ashes with a pipe tamper, and twice raises the pipe bowl upward.

276
525
619
788

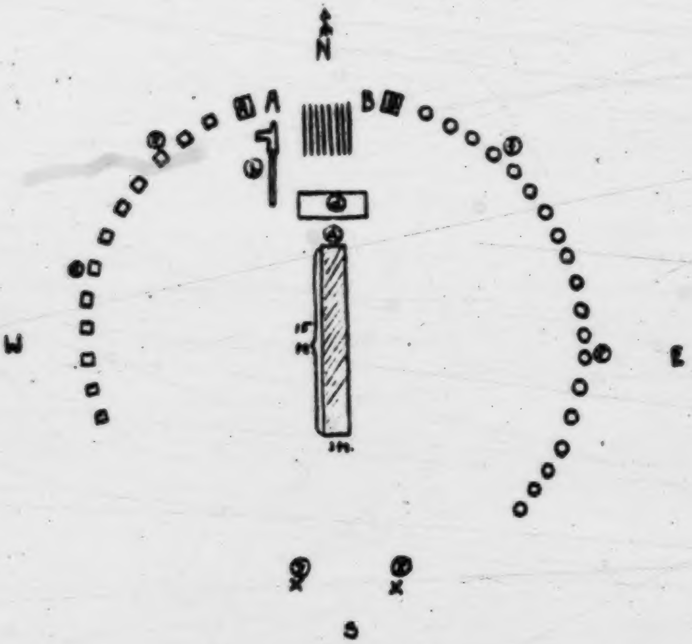


Figure 1. Plan of Game between Kitkahaxkiˣ and Skiri

A - Kitkahaxkiˣ leader, $\boxed{A}$ - Kitkahaxkiˣ assistant
B - Skiri leader $\boxed{B}$ - Skiri assistant
a - long fire
b - Kitkahaxkiˣ pipe in position after smoking
c - tally sticks
d - position of stakes
$\boxed{e}$ - Kitkahaxkiˣ men (guests)
$\boxed{f}$ - Skiri men (hosts)
g x - čarutaius (fire-tenders)

[782]

an offering to heaven, each time emptying some of the ashes on the ground before the fire; then he loosens the ashes a third time and deposits all that remains on the ground, an offering to the earth. Without further motions or gestures he takes the pipe with him to his place and sits down. He now places the pipe on the ground before him, mouthpiece pointing south, bowl turned to the west (see figure 1). He can put the pipe on the ground because now it is empty. Up to the time he began the smoking he had to carry the pipe and hold it in his arms.

The set used by the Skiri consists of eight dogwood sticks and two white bones; these are not decorated in any special way. The Skiri leader Knifechief now announces: 525 619

525 While the Kiowa were visiting the Pawnee, some Skiri youths
574 thought of visiting the Kiowa to play a hand game against them.
648 They decided to go over to challenge the Kiowa the day after the
Kiowa went home. Mark was with them and became exited about
the anticipated hand game. His father was sick, but he paid very
little attention because his head was full of the hand game and
he wanted to go.

The Kiowa were then camping about two miles from the Pawnee. Late in the afternoon, the day after the Kiowa had gone, Mark saw men gathering at the edge of camp. They were ready to go; they had bundles of things with them to bet. When Mark stepped out
[593] of the lodge, these youths motioned to him to come on. So he forgot all about how sick his father was inside, and went. He persuaded himself that his father wasn't very sick anyhow.

The whole party went on foot, carrying their stakes. There were twenty-five or thirty in the group. They took no horses to ride because all who were going wanted to play, which would leave no one to take care of the horses. Some mean fellows among the Kiowa might steal some. And if they had horses with them they might be tempted to wager them and lose the horses.[1]

After dark they reached the Kiowa camp. They were directed to the chief's tent. Knifechief, leading the Skiri party, carried a pipe, already filled with tobacco. Knifechief and a few others went into the chief's tipi. From outside Mark heard a Kiowa in the tipi call, "hɑkahí"—"all right, that's good."

This was in December. It was very cold, and outside the men waiting wanted to get into tents to warm up. David Gillingham, Mark's chum, went with Mark into one tent. A Kiowa man sitting at the west called out a welcome, hɑkahí. From the south side, where she had been sitting, his wife rose and spread a blanket for the two visitors on the north side of the tipi close up to the west
[276 where the Kiowa was sitting. She put two pillows on it. David and Mark sat down there. The Kiowa filled a black pipe and gave
● 788] it to David to smoke. Mark nudged David and whispered to him that he should not make any gestures with the pipe. Both knew that the Kiowa had special ways and motions in using their pipes; Mark was afraid David would try them and make a mistake. He knew David was a great show-off. The Kiowa pipe-smoking was very complicated. David nudged Mark back and told him to keep quiet. David wanted to show off, so he made some motions
[481] with the pipe, imitating Kiowa motions he had seen somewhere.

---

[726] [1] Incidentally, the Pawnee warparty always travelled on foot, with the object of returning riding captured horses.

ble he would kill a buffalo and pronounce it holy. Then he called in the 243
five official Skidi priests, who were the ministers of the four semicardinal-direction 787
bundles and that of the evening Star, and entertained them [793]
at a feast of buffalo ribs, telling them of his vision. His wife sliced, dried, and packaged the rest of the consecrated buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit at home until the spring, when the ceremony was to be performed.

The visionary became a principal actor in the ceremony and made a [574]
major contribution of buffalo meat to the ritual feast, while his wife contributed a considerable amount of the boiled dried corn. He considered it a great privilege to participate in the ceremony and to receive instructions
from the priests concerning the cosmic traditions. During the ceremony 243
he would impersonate an important god of the creation, *Paruksti*, the 787
Wonderful, the personified Thunderstorm with its four aspects of cloud,
wind, lightning, and thunder. After the Star Gods had created man in 776
their own image, they combined the powers of the storm into one great 773
person, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, and sent him to earth to inspect their handiwork. In him were embodied all the self-renewing powers of earth. In the course of his travels he acted as scout, found the buffalo, and taught the people how to hunt them. The visionary was to impersonate the god in two roles—one in the symbolic acting-out of the male role in procreation and later as the guardian of their fortunes in the buffalo hunt.

In this ceremony of the young holy corn plant, the keepers of all the 243
twelve sacred bundles had assembled in the lodge of the Southwest (or 793
Southeast) Semicardinal-direction priest. The Evening Star priest and the four semicardinal-directions priests sat at the west and the other bundle ministers were ranged along the sides in positions appropriate to the place of origin of their legendary villages and their cosmic affiliations.

The visionary stood before the Evening Star priest, who arranged the 243
buffalo robe that he wore and tied the buffalo hair rope around his waist 793
so that he was dressed as a priest. The Evening Star priest now instructed 787
the visionary in what he was to do. He gave him a small pipe filled with 788
tobacco from the sacred bundle. The visionary then led the procession that was to go into the field where the sacred corn plant was growing. It was the field of the wife of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle priest. The procession lined up on the north side of the ceremonial earth lodge, the visionary in the lead, the four-directions priests following behind him and an errand man following after to serve them, carrying a lighted brand with which to light the visionary's pipe. The Evening Star priest remained in the lodge at the west and the ministers of the other sacred bundles continued to sit in their places. As the procession emerged from the lodge everyone in the village was standing on the

243 793 787 788 rooftops to see the priests get the young plant of the holy corn. The priests were wrapped in their buffalo robes with the hair side out and were rattling their gourds and singing. They felt it to be a long journey symbolically signifying the eons of the creation, and the song was sung to recapitulate all its stages—the stages that pertained to women (the land, the vegetation, the waters and the cultivated seeds), and the stages that pertained to men (the moccasin, its string, the robe, the power of the universe, Mother Corn, and the thunder). These stages of the [772] men symbolized conception and birth—the moccasin, a pocket-like covering into which something is thrust; the moccasin cord, the umbilical cord; the robe, the enveloping membrane of the foetus; the creative power of the universe, the sacred nature of conception and birth; Mother Corn, germination; and the thunder, the fertilizing principle. The little corn plant they uprooted in the field would symbolize all these things.

243 793 787 When they arrived at the sacred corn hill, they ranged themselves around it, the visionary to the west, the four semicardinal-directions priests in their appropriate stations. They again sang the steps of the creation as they sat in their places, and then the priests remained seated while the visionary rose and prepared to smoke his pipe with the powers above. He walked to the north side of the hill, where the errand man [782] lighted his pipe, then proceeded around it, pausing to offer the mouthpiece to the powers in the order directed by the Evening Star priest before they had left the lodge. He offered it to Heaven, the Evening Star, the Morning Star, the Big Black Meteoric Star in the northeast, the North and Lucky Wind, a great legendary hero *Pahukatawa*, then southeast to the Sun and southwest to the Moon. Next he emptied the ashes on the corn hill and gave the pipe to the ranking priest. Then he sat down at the west and in counterclockwise order beginning at the northeast he pressed into the cornhill a gift of little pellets of buffalo-heart fat and tongue fat wrapped around with some tobacco. He alternated his offerings, beginning with tongue fat at the northeast and heart fat at the northwest, and so on.

Now the most solemn part of the ceremony was to be enacted. They were to uproot the sacred corn sprout in a symbolic act of birth. The visionary stood at the west and instructed the Southwest (or Southeast) priest to ease the plant out of the ground very gently so that he would not disturb any part of the delicate roots. The roots symbolized the moccasin strings and the seeds, the moccasin or covering for power. The priest wrapped the "newborn" plant in buffalo wool and handed it to the visionary, who placed it on his back in his buffalo robe as a woman carries her child. Now they began again to sing the steps of the creation and lined up preparatory to returning to the ceremonial lodge. Everyone in the village was watching and listening as they sang on their way back.

793 243 In the lodge, the Evening Star priest unwrapped the plant from its

Pipe trade relations. As the east party would have a prior advantage, he 224*
was leaving it open for Man Chief to take it for his own group. "All 202
right," said Man Chief, "I'll take a group around east," and Curly Chief
of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band said, "I'll go with him." White Eagle then
agreed to take a group by way of the west and Many Trophies of the
Man-Going-Downstream Band agreed to go with him.

Having decided, the different chiefs motioned to their hunters waiting
lined up below. In each case the individual hunters were free to join
either party as they wished. The various hand motions made by the
chiefs graphically indicated their plans. As each chief motioned, his
brave went down to the hunters and again told them what the motions
were about. The extra pack horses were hobbled right there and the boys
taking care of them were nearby.

The next step was a ritual, performed by a holy man known as a 224*
"hand-waver," named for the manner in which he made his vow. White 788•
Eagle chose He-Sees-the-Sky because he had consecrated five or six 792
buffalo to the sacred bundle ceremonies in the past and in general seemed [778]
to be lucky in whatever he did. He had established "credit" with the
supernatural powers. Now he knelt down on both knees facing toward
the hill with his back to the lineup of hunters. One of the men from the
line was selected by White Eagle to keep watch on the holy man and
signal them immediately when he was through. The watcher stood about
ten feet back, leading his horse while the prophet was kneeling, settling
himself comfortably with his open hands resting on his thighs. Now he
extended his right arm and as he was moving it outward he said, "This
time of year I sacrificed a whole white eagle and that is what is going
to lead you (west)." Then he made a similar motion with his left hand
and mentioned a wildcat hide and a whole buffalo and the fact that this
would lead those going east. Then he repeated each direction with an
Otter and Buffalo (west), and a young spotted deer and buffalo (east).
The watcher, seeing the holy man's hands back in his lap and his head 224*
down, signaled that that was all and as soon as he turned around, the line 792
formed into two parties, the watcher coming down to join them. The
holy man started for home, being required to remain as quiet as
possible so that nothing should disturb the good fortune of the hunters, for
he would be blamed for any accidents that occurred. White Eagle or one
of the successful hunters would see that he got half a buffalo for his
service. The hunters rode to the chase from both sides of the hill so that 224*
the herd was surrounded and all were killed. Then they butchered and
distributed the meat according to who had actually killed the animal
and who had assisted with the butchering.

As soon as they were through butchering, they packed their horses 224*
and waited until they had a group of two of three so that they could 492
travel together for protection from attack. The horses were lightly

from whom they could well steal horses, and some young men thought 726
they would like to go to the Osage country. The women of their household 726
would outfit them with three or four pairs of new moccasins, tanning 705
some hides especially for the purpose. Each pair would be filled with supplies—pulverized dried meat, parched corn, and dried meat. The young man would have a large flat package, especially wide to carry on his back with straps across the chest to carry his baggage. Under his belt [276]
he carried his tobacco and his pipe, and every time he sat down while he was on the warpath he must smoke. When he went off to steal horses he hung his flat-package on a tree and sometimes did not get a chance to retrieve it at all.

In Victory Call's household, they had gotten eight hides. A small one 281
would be tanned by White Woman to get supplies at Fort Kearney. One 439
was reserved for Mr. Bishop, the trader near home, to whom a good one had been promised before they left in payment for supplies Victory Call had obtained at his store for their journey.

While they were going east along the Platte River after their arrival 224*
two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), the village scouts came back 484*
with their report of how things were back home. They came in directly 203
to the tent of Leading Chief who now had charge of their return journey and reported:

> We went down to the village. We couldn't go in, it was full of fleas. Toward evening we went to the different corn fields. The corn is pretty ripe in some places. The pumpkins are hard yet. There are lots of beans of all different kinds. One fellow got on a freight and went to Columbus to see how the Stay-at-Homes were. Everything looks good. From there we went to the school. We gave the children some pulverized dried meat and some plain. We told them you folks were coming home. We stopped in Bishop and Matlock's store for the night and said it would be about eight or ten days before we got to the village. Everyone looks all right.

Now Know-His-Face went through the encampment, announcing this message to all. In one of the other bands a rougish old lady called out [824]
"And how about the sunflowers? How are they doing?" The boy said, [522]
"The sunflowers are way high!" The byplay is that the sunflowers were the place where clandestine affairs were carried on. These grew as weeds in the boundaries between the fields.

One of the scouts brought five or six ears of corn that were ripe from 224*
different fields, and gave them to the ones to whom they belonged. One 484*
ear had come from the field of Otter's grandmother, and before she took [788]
off the husks she blessed him with it four times. Then she removed the [252]
husks, roasted the ear in the coals, and broke it into three pieces, one for [262]

525 "All right now, let's go ahead." Knifechief gets up and gives
619 one bone to a Skiri man; the Kitkahaxkiˣ leader rises and gives
one to a Kitkahaxkiˣ man. In this way the two are selected as
guessers for their respective sides.

Now all the players begin to sing and yell. The two guessers are on their feet facing each other. The Skiri hides the bone first, the Kitkahaxkiˣ must guess first. The one who wins them gives them out to hide to any two players on his side regardless of where they sit. He picks them because they are clever at hiding the bones, at deceiving the guessers, at confusing them by shifting the bone almost invisibly from one hand to another. The guesser watches closely. He notes the gestures with the hands and arms, the body movements; he watches eyes for a hint.

As soon as one guesser has won the two bones he takes them to
his side of the fire to two players. His opponent crosses into enemy
territory to follow the trail and find them. His side is quiet now,
[516 while the players of the side hiding the bones are all singing and
825] clapping hands. Some are yelling to frighten the guesser. Others
make gestures to confuse him. The hiders imitate some animal in
their body movements and the positions of their clenched hands.

[201 He wins them back. At once his side begins to yell with their
hands over their mouths, he-e-e-e- in a high loud voice. Then they
533] begin to sing. Old hand game songs, songs caricaturing things
and people, funny songs, coarse songs.

To follow the trail of the bones when they are won and carried
across to the other side is to trail the enemy. The guesser searches
for tracks. A player on the hiding side goes to the fire for handfuls
of cold ashes from the fire's edge. He sprinkles it like falling snow.
● [789] He calls aloud. "The snow covers up the tracks now, you cannot
see them."

Thus after an enemy raid in late fall when men started after the retreating warparty to regain captured horses the falling snow obliterated the trail. To the Pawnee the little dramatic act has similar power to obliterate the unseen trail of the bones from hand to hand, to blind the guesser. The guesser shields his eyes with his hand and peers through the falling ashes to see the tracks.

In time to the clapping of hands and the rhythm of singing, the
hiders and all the players of that side move their arms and bodies
[825] back and forth, back and forth. When they hide some imitate
crows, some deer, some buffalo, some turkeys.

The Skiri win the first game. Their side carries off the stakes.
525 Now the Skiri begin to sing Crazy Dog dance songs, songs of
533 reckless bravery, self-abandonment on the warpath. Men careless
619

525 619 points: only two sticks are left in the center. The Kitkahaxki^x guesser calls out to the leader of his side, "I want him to guess now." He shows them Mark. He says, "You're a good boy; everything you do is lucky. Go ahead."

The Skiri begin to yell. The Kitkahaxki^x pat Mark on the back and wish him luck.

● [789] Mark arises. He goes to the fire and leans forward over it. He touches the ashes and rubs his hands together. He touches fire to his eyes to warm them and make him see clearly. He watches the guessers. He chooses quickly. He finds the bones.

Now the Skiri are trying to confuse him. They yell. They want him to put up the shawl he has with him. He tells them he doesn't have to now. He goes on guessing against the Skiri man who has won two games. The Kitkahaxki^x players begin to come to life. They win the game.

[533] Now the Kitkahaxki^x sing the Crazy Dog Dance songs. The Skiri are slient. The Kitkahaxki^x leader gets up to dance. He tells how he went on a warpath and captured many horses. This time the Kitkahaxki^x have carried off the spoils.

There is a fourth game. The bets are laid again. The Skiri choose a new guesser. Mark is against him now and wins again.

The games are even. The Kitkahaxki^x have won back their losings. They decide to stop now. It is late. The Kitkahaxki^x go home.

Later the Skiri set upon Mark because he played with the Kitkahaxki^x and won for them. For a long time he couldn't go [578] near the Skiri camp. They would get hold of him and scold him angrily. Mark says he joined the Kitkahaxki^x side because the man who asked him was a friend of his, and because the Skiri did not give him a place and ask him to join in.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OLD GAME

525 533 Competitions like the above between the bands of the Pawnee were played in this way in the old days. Women never played. The games were always outdoors. The songs sung were old type hand game songs. They were coarse but not about women. One ran:

> "They're bathing in the water now...
> They're bathing in the water now..."

All would laugh because of the reference to washing, bringing up a picture of one scrubbing himself all over and around the loins.

525 825 536 Those who hid, many of them, imitated animals. Some of these imitations:

575 and select men to make the lance and the rope. Soon other young men joined them and they too had to go through all the preliminaries before they could be strung along the rope. When a new member was initiated, he was strung with the old ones, each member wearing his quiver, bow and arrows over his right shoulder. At first there were but few members and consequently few feathers on the lance. These were attached only to the hook.

They all sang their songs and during a certain time when they were taking young men into their society they imitated an attack upon the enemy. Those who were cowardly usually stood still during these maneuvers because of the chafing rope. Then the proceedings were halted and the cowardly one sent out of the lodge. During their meetings, one day was set aside on which the society paraded through the village.

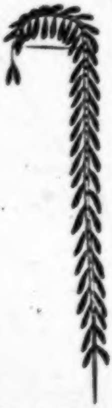


Fig. 9. The Crow Lance. The shaft is wrapped with buffalo skin to which crow feathers are fastened.

The lance was tied to a tent pole and set outside of the lodge until the day of the parade through the village. The night before, all the members gathered in the lodge and sang their songs. Then the leader gave each member a portion of the medicine root telling him that it would make him brave. [789] He taught them to chew the medicine root and mix it with the soot and daub it over their bodies, particularly their faces. This medicine was to protect them from bullets and arrows.

Now, everything was in readiness. Early the next morning the members mixed the medicine root and soot, daubing it first on their faces and then their bodies. Then each man placed his quiver over his right shoulder. They stood abreast and the buffalo skin rope was passed through each man's belt. The rope was fastened around the waists of the men at either end of the line. When all their preparations had been completed, they commenced their songs, meanwhile performing various evolutions during which the rope tightened and wound itself around the singers.

Any member who gave signs of discomfort or pain was dismissed, but those who disregarded their suffering remained. After this, they stood in line facing east. Then they marched out of the lodge, the leader stopping at the south side followed by the others all facing east. The lance bearer was about a yard in advance of the others. After singing four songs while standing in this position, they proceeded. They gave no heed to any obstacles in their path. If they happened to come to a mud-lodge they halted and sang until the relatives (aunts) of the men singing would come out and spread buffalo robes under the feet of their kin. They did not move until one of the women came forward and said: "Men move to one side; I will give you dried meat and a pot of corn." Then they would turn aside and continue through the village, stopping only at the lodges of chiefs.

On their return to their own lodge the rope was taken off and they all took their respective places. The leader filled a pipe, lighted it with a live coal and blew smoke four times towards the lance which was staked in front of the singers. Twice he blew smoke downward and twice upward. Then he placed the ashes near the lance and passed his hands up and down over it twice and sat down.

Two assistants then brought in kettles of food and placed them between the entrance and the fireplace. The leader now gave them permission to eat. He rose,

when one ties his feather to the cord, he is binding up his future, for each 575 must tie his own, if it is poorly done and drops off, so will be his career. In addition this lecture is usually a general sermon upon the ethical ideals of [867] the society. Each man should add one feather for each time he helped dress the lance, or for each year of his membership. Each feather symbolically represented a part of the owner's life which he tied, or joined, to the fortunes of the lance.

In tying a feather, each member is permitted to use but three knots. [284] The leader ties first and then each member in succession on the two sides. The two errand men are last, holding the ends; these they return to the leader and then take up the ends once more, thus making a four-strand cord. This is placed outside upon a pole and food is brought in for a feast.

On the third day the cord is taken down and the ceremonial dressing of the new lance performed. The new staff is brought in and set up before the leader, who at the proper time ties one end of the cord to the tip of the staff and winds it on spirally, covering almost the entire length. All this time the old lance has been standing before the leader, but now it is dismantled and disposed of as before stated. The new one is then set up in its place and properly installed. The day's proceedings are again closed by a feast.

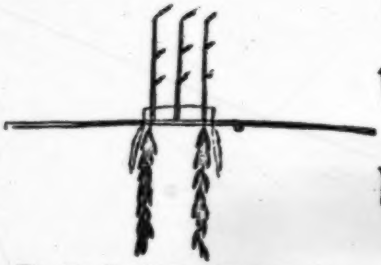


Fig. 11. Bustle for the Raven Braves. The uprights are sticks wrapped with porcupine quills and tufted with horse hair. The belt is of buffalo hide and bears a few sleigh bells. The pendants are wolf tails and strings of crow feathers.

The most spectacular part of the ceremony occurs on the fourth day. During the night the lance is supported upon a pole as before. Early in the morning the members assemble. [302] The leader paints his entire body with soot and marks down with the fingers. [292] He then takes up the feather bustle, or belt, stating that this thing is to be shown to the powers in the heavens and that no enemy may enter, he must circle the [789] village with it; also that his running through the village will drive away sickness, improve the corn crop, and increase the buffalo. After this lecture, two men begin to sing and beat upon the water drums, the leader dances circling the fire four times, then passes out at the door. Once outside he runs north until outside the village, then runs around until by a spiral course he is again brought back to the door, thus traversing all parts of the village. As he enters, he gives three crow calls, two men spring up, catch him, take the lance and put him in his seat.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Bear Society.

756 Among the very highest of shamans and doctors were the bear men.
Among their regalia were four bearskins, a grizzly, cinnamon, the large
[301] black bear, and the small black bear. There were also four bear-claw necklaces.
Eight rawhide rattles were used. Preparatory to a ceremony two
piles of cedar brush were placed in the lodge, one for each side. When the
members have assembled a sprig is given to each, set up before his seat, and
carried in the dance. The sprig is carried home, the leaves stripped and the
[789] wood cast into the fire. The leaves are placed in a bag and used for ceremonial
smudges; thus if a thunderstorm threatens, a smudge is made to
protect the lodge.

When called to a ceremony, the members enter, take their seats and place
[302] their professional bundles in front. Then they paint. One set of men
paints red, one white, and another a kind of pink. All make black eye marks,
a diagonal line from the inner corner of the eye down across the cheek. If
feathers are worn in the hair, they are of the same color as the face.

When all are ready, the leader designates two men from each side, to
wear the bearskins. These were worn merely as robes, the head on one side,
the tail on the other. Sometimes two small boys are selected to dance with
[53] very small bearskins. Four water drums are used; these are passed, or
moved around the circle at intervals. While the songs are rendered, the
members dance around the fireplace and during the intervals walk around
the fire, or mill like bears.

At the feast which follows the kettle of corn is brought in and as in all
ceremonies is set upon the median line of the lodge between the door and
the fire. (Fig. 4). Eight bowls are placed around it in a circle, those in
[264] the north half going to that side in order, etc. After the corn is served, the
kettle of meat is brought in and served in a similar manner. Thus each side
eats in four groups. No one is permitted to use a knife while eating. After
the feast each makes up his bundle and departs.

While all the divisions seem to have had a bear society, its full ritual was in the keeping of the Skidi organization.

Buffalo Doctors.

Another important society found among the Skidi and Chaui is known as
[778] kura taraha, buffalo doctors. On their altar is a buffalo skull, one half
white, one half red; also a wand with seven eagle feathers, at the top a tiny
bag of native tobacco and four strings of blue beads hanging down. The

dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in 756
their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry
rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow [534]
mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes. [386]

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws.
The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the [293]
lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in [778]
black. There were no feathers or other decorations.

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished
old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature [888]
of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the
diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each
side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders
open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the
north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite
on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times.

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

THE DEER SOCIETY.

The raris ta, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual 276
seems to be in keeping of the Skidi organizations. The fundamental ele- 756
ments of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society
teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal
bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer
(ta), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a
general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamen-
tal is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal
beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls uncon-
scious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed
jaw of a gar fish; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once
for all.

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may
be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the [789]
leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise
and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other
unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up
beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced

756 snake doctors, though demonstrations are seldom made in the regular ceremonies.
The members claim absolute immunity from rattlesnake bites and
[825] complete power over the reptile himself. They will seize any snake they meet and handle it without fear. No wands or instruments are used, nothing but the hands. The writer has frequently observed snakes handled in this way. According to reports they are able to cure all suffering from snake bites.

BLOOD DOCTORS.

There was formerly a group of medicinemen known as kura patu (blood doctors). They were, however, considered as otter men, or an otter society. They seem to have been composed of five groups of dancers, each marching through the camp separately. Women accompanied them, bearing wooden bowls and spoons on their backs. In this manner the five groups proceeded independently to the lodge of the two leaders of the ceremonies where an altar had been prepared. When a group reached the lodge they paused and sang; the leaders on the inside then sang and danced, bearing otterskins in their right hands. After the dance the two leaders came out to receive the guests in their arms.

● [789] The chief feature of a ceremony was the shamanistic vomiting of a red liquid like blood. This was collected in bowls and used to paint the bodies and otterskins of those present.

THE IRUSKA.

There was a very powerful medicine society among the Chauí known as the pitararis iruska. However, the Pítahauírata division was also repre-
[184] sented in this society, they having the south side and the Chauí the north. The Skidí had the same ceremony except that they used dog meat in the kettle instead of buffalo. Also, the Skidí did not have the two forms of painting, only one, painted black at the joints. The purpose of the dance was to show the power of the members to extinguish the life in the fire, hence the name. Among the Skidí at least, the term iruska has a symbolic or double meaning. The idea is literally "the fire is in me" and the symbolic meaning is that "I can extinguish the life in the fire," or can overcome the
[752] powers of other medicines. The members of the society were doctors for they treated burns.

Originally, the society consisted of leaders of various animal medicine
539 societies. Among the members was one who was not a medicineman until
756 he had a curious experience. The story follows:—

276 [562] were so qualified. Women were not permitted to smoke at all, though our informant remembers seeing two or three old women smoke, they being doctors.

796 *Sun Dance.* According to the Pawnee belief the sun dance was given to the Plains tribes by the Arikara. In ancient times the Gros Ventre intermarried with them and so first got the ceremony. It may be noted that in the four-pole ceremony (p. 551) and again in the twenty-day ceremony, the bringing in of the tree is in the main identical with the regular sun dance form. The torture feature reached the Pawnee through the Arikara. A member of the young dog society once exchanged rituals with an Arikara sun dancer and for a time this was a part of the dog society ritual (p. 587). There is a report, however, of a very old dance in which they gazed at the sun, but without the torture.

789 *Tiny Bags of Medicine.* All regalia of a serious nature and especially objects carried to war were made powerful by the presence of tiny bags of medicine. The contents were vegetable, chiefly roots. Roots were chewed and spit over men to make them brave, virtuous, healthy, etc. In fact, most all powers come through knowledge of the uses of plants.

249 *Tobacco Planting.* There was no special ceremony for planting or gathering tobacco. There is a saying that this was unnecessary for since tirawahat gave it to the Pawnee direct, he himself watches over it, so all that is needed is to plant the seed; but that other tribes got it from them or other Indians and so must use the powers of ceremonies to make it grow.

754 *Witches.* There may have been a witch society for there is a tale as to how a chief destroyed such an organization. In brief, he watched at his son's grave and first heard cries of owls, then people approaching. As they were uncovering the corpse, he seized one man, the others fled. The prisoner he threatened with death unless he explained all the secrets of the medicine so that he himself could become a member. This was done. The young man had been killed by them partly through jealousy but chiefly to secure fat from his heart to put in their witch bundles. Their chief powers were owls and yellow-hammers. They had killed the young man by magically shooting an owl's claw and a yellow-hammer's feather into his heart. When the chief had learned all the rites and the names of the members, he killed his informant. He cut him open, took the fat and part of the ribs home. The meat he cooked. While it was boiling, he sent for his soldiers and a few trusted men and gave them instructions. Then he sent for the members of the witch society (five or more including a woman) whom he feasted upon the flesh of their associate, but at a signal they were struck down by the soldiers. Their bodies and bundles were burned to put an end to witches.

able or willing to confer power, and there are some 756
indications that all those recognized as guardians were 776
related to one or another of the four supernatural
beings in the west, the messengers of the Evening Star.
It was believed that every man passed at birth under
the influence of some supernatural being. No one
knew who this guardian was, but he would manifest
himself later in the man's career. He was usually
discovered when the man fell sick during childhood.
Medicine men were sent for, and the guardian of the
one who was to be able to make the cure was thereby
shown to be the guardian of the child. If, on reaching
manhood, the boy desired to become a medicine man,
he would seek to acquire powers from his guardian.

The powers conferred by the supernatural beings 756
were of three sorts, power to cure the sick, power to [776]
perform feats of magic, and power of a third sort, [789]
called *pikawiu*, for which there is no equivalent in
English. Of these, the curative power was considered
by far the most important. The ability to perform
feats of magic was simply a tangible evidence that the
medicine man possessed the knowledge which would
enable him to cure the sick. The third sort of power
resembled hypnotism in some of its manifestations.
By it the medicine man was enabled to subjugate the
will of another to his own and to render his patient
passive during ceremonies so that his power could go
to the soul of the patient and remove the evil influence
which was at the root of the disease. The *pikawiu*
power was also likened to an arrow or bullet in its ability
to cut off life. Medicine men could throw this power
into an enemy as one would shoot an arrow, and the
individual attacked in this way was helpless until
some other medicine man, who understood the power,
exercised his magic to draw it out. Among the Pawnee 754
there was a class of men and women, not true medicine
men, who possessed this power and used it for evil

756
796 the report had been made, other men were sent to cure them.

The next morning, a number of women were summoned to the medicine lodge and told to go into the timber and get loads of wood. When they returned with their burdens, they were brought into the lodge, fed, and instructed in some of the mysteries. Then they returned to their homes. In the afternoon the medicine men once more dressed to imitate their guardians and came out of the lodge, dancing and performing various sleight of hand tricks. [789] The favorite trick seems to have been to thrust long rods down their throats. They repeated the outside performance four times. That evening they built a great fire inside the lodge and invited all the people to an exhibition of sleight of hand. These performances were repeated every night for a month or more, and it was during this time that new medicine men were initiated.

756 When a man desired to join the medicine lodge, he told his relatives and friends, and they helped him to gather property of all sorts. When he had enough, he went to the lodge, taking the gifts with him, and approached the man from whom he wanted to learn the mysteries. He passed his hands over the man's head and arms and said, "Medicine man, I am poor. I stand before you a poor man wanting to learn the mysteries you possess. Look upon these gifts which I have brought you." When he had done this, he presented the medicine man with a filled pipe. If the latter was willing to teach him, he accepted the pipe and took the young man into his booth with him.

756
796 At the conclusion of the ceremonies, the booths and images were removed from the lodge, carried down into the bed of the river and placed in the shallow water in the same relative positions they had

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 the four priests dug a rectangular pit west of the fireplace to represent the Garden of the Evening Star. The bottom of the pit was covered with soft downy feathers and was referred to as *Kusaru*, "bed." All the bundles were now opened and the two sacred ears of corn, one attached to a stick (representing the male), were placed in the "Garden," with the other ear (representing the female) leaning against it.

[773] Now another model was made representing the waters and the animal life that pertained to them—the waterfowl, swan, and loon, and a garfish to represent the Great Sea Monster that had guided the original visionary of the doctors and a turtle. These were placed around a wooden bowl containing some water with a clamshell in it to represent the running waters.

Next came some ceremonial procedures that pertained to the specific tradition of the Big Black Meteoric Star. The principal objects involved were the star chart which was attached to the bundle. This was placed on a stick, carried outside, and fastened on top of a little mound of earth in front of the door. Then four smooth stones, thought to represent both meteorites and buffalo maw stones, and to have come down to them from the beginning of the world, were each attached to a stick; four men were assigned to carry them to the mound outside. The "northeast" man of the group was given the sacred pipe and a long strip of buffalo fat. When they got outside, he placed the strip of dried buffalo fat on a little fire, built to the east of the little mound of earth for the purpose. As the procession filed out of the lodge, the priests were singing a song about the men scanning the heavens and the earth all around. They continued to sing as the steps of the ceremony were performed outside. The melting buffalo fat was rubbed on their hands and faces by the four men who were outside; these men also greased the four sacred stones. As they smoked the sacred pipe they slowly surveyed the sky in all directions.

When they got inside, the priests stopped singing and the men performed their devotions around the bowl of water with the skins of the waterfowl and the turtle.

796
• 789
*224
The next two episodes were acts of sympathetic magic for success in the buffalo hunt. The leading priest said, "Priests, the men whom we have sent to look around have returned. They will tell us what they have seen." The man on the northeast arose and said, "We went out before daylight. We found the buffalo—so many of them that they have almost drunk the river dry." The other three men each replied in the same way. A famous warrior was then selected by the priest to carry the sacred pipe and a chief to carry the strip of the buffalo fat. As they went around the room, first along the north and then the south, everyone reached out to try to put his hands on the pipe and to seize a piece of the buffalo fat, tearing off as much as he could to symbolize that he was starving and was desperate to kill the buffalo.

628
623
203
*224
Just as the meeting was drawing to a close, as in all chiefs' meetings, an old man would climb up onto the roof of the lodge and cry out to the village what had been decided. In this case he did so early next morning. His wording was in a precise telegraphic style so that it could be clearly understood by everyone. He said:

> This was what was decided in the chiefs' meeting. White Eagle decided we are going to hunt in four days. Anything you have to do, get finished in that time. On the fifth day, we'll go out of the village. We'll camp on the other (south) side of the Loup River (*its-kari*, "potatoes-many").
>
> We'll camp there a whole day so that any of you that aren't quite through can join us any time that day and up to the evening of the sixth day. On the seventh day we are going to be moving upstream (westward).

The old man, having completed his announcement, went back into his lodge.

*224
887
537
• [789]
Toward evening any old man who felt impelled might get up onto the roof of his house and talk to the people. He would say whatever was on his mind—about events in the past and their lessons for the future, or any other matters that seemed pertinent. Reviewing past events that were successful was considered a kind of sympathetic magic as well as of practical value. At this time the old man might talk about the fields and of how they were in the past. "All that," he would conclude "is in the past. But today we may have the same luck." Then he would continue in a different vein: "Try to help one another and take care of the children. The little ones like to swim and one must watch that they don't drown. I hope we come home well and find everything in good order."

*224
525
Such an old man was likely to speak gently and phrase his thoughts diplomatically and people listened carefully and thought about what he said. However, at the gambling grounds the gamblers had other matters on their minds. They were thinking about the good places they would come to along the way that were nice and smooth, with good buffalo grass growing on them—such a fine playing field for the hoop and pole game. They would discuss the different sites they were going to camp at where these would be found and agree between them that one would take along one stick and one the other so that they would have the equipment they needed for playing. For the inveterate gambler, this subject was always uppermost in his mind.

*224
276
756
Other men were thinking about how to get enough smoking tobacco to fill their needs, and the doctors were occupied with the herbs and medicines they would need to take along that were available only in this area. The tobacco was needed for ritual as well as for social purposes.

Toward evening, Horse Rider made a fire in the fireplace and went to 512
get water. Then No Corn cooked some dry meat for the family and 252
began to prepare the "grease bread" when White Woman said, "Give it
to me. I'll make it. You get the coffee ready." The South Side family
had not yet moved back in, and White Woman sat in the southeast position
to do the cooking and serving, passing the food around to the north.
When they returned, she would take her place northeast of the fireplace
for this purpose. After they had finished with supper, Horse Rider went
out to get some water for the morning and then everyone went to bed,
as they were all tired.

It took about a week to get the earth lodge warm and lived-in. When 356
they first moved in, it was cool like a dugout. During the first week, in [824]
the evening about every other day, they made a small fire near the doorway
and burned sage weed (*kiwaut*) so that the draft would carry in the
fragrant odor and sweeten the air in the lodge. It was also a protection [789]
against evil spirits that might have entered while they were away on the
hunt.

The day after they had moved in, Uncle War Cry had moved his 356
family up from the camp. He came in and joined them for supper while 462
his house was being set up by the women. He sat down next to Victory
Call near the west and while White Woman sat down at the southeast
doing the cooking, he said, "When we started out, we didn't have much.
But now we've accumulated a lot of stuff—old moccasins and whatnot—
old pots and pans. They're still trying to arrange things at home. A man
just picks up his bow and arrows, but a woman always has all sorts of
stuff she gathers up, like old horns. She says she'll make spoons of them."
"Same thing here," said Victory Call. White Woman did not let these remarks
remain unanswered. She said, "Of course you men don't know
how to load things up. That's why you're always complaining of the
amount of stuff we accumulate. If you could pack right, you wouldn't
talk that way." War Cry, undeterred, went right on talking. "A woman
picks up everything she sees. The women are working in my home. I
don't want to get mixed up in it. Now I'm going, nephew (*tiwat*)." "All
right," said Victory Call, and just after he had gone, he added, "He always
has something to say to make a man laugh." The women comment,
"Tomorrow we must pick out those beans we pulled up in the [244]
pods with our fingers. If we use sticks to thresh them, it'll make dirt outside
the lodge. We ought to pick them by hand."

In the next day or so, Old Bull met Victory Call and said they wanted
to move back into the lodge next morning. "That's good," said Victory
Call, "you ought to be in by now. There'll be something going on
soon." (He is referring to the Doctor Dance Ceremonies.) Victory Call
tells his folks at supper that Old Bull is moving in next day.

The following morning the South Side family rode up to the lodge, 356

756 The kind of experience involved had a profound personal value. The way in which this knowledge was conceived is perhaps indicated by the personality attributed to the doctor—slow, deliberate, thoughtful and, to a considerable degree, introspective. As a more practical measure of social
[796] esteem perhaps was the fact that during the previous summer buffalo
[431] hunt, 60 parfleches of dried buffalo meat had been pledged in support
[178] of the performance, and in former times, before the population had been so heavily reduced, 140 parfleches were donated in one season.

756 796 789 The mode in which the doctors operated during their ceremony was of two kinds. One was the inducing of a trance state in the other doctors: utilizing the motions of the animal that was their special cult mentor. This was called *patsaku*, "shooting," and was also metaphorically referred to as "fighting." The second kind of activity of the doctors was a highly skilled sleight-of-hand performance, *tawaruku*, so expertly carried out that the illusion was completely convincing to the spectators. The metaphor for this kind of performance was "playing" or "romping," as of a child. The skill of the illusion in both cases has been attested to by the most hard-headed outside observers and this required extensive preparation and a long process of learning. The props were carefully designed to achieve the desired illusory effect and the strategy was planned with great precision, involving accomplices in the audience and special lighting effects developed by regulating the fire in the fireplace.

In view of these deliberate and extensive preparations for illusion, the question has often been raised of how these ceremonies could be regarded as religious in character. From my long experience with my informant, who retained a good deal of his old belief, it was the success in creating the illusion that was the mark of favor of the supernatural mentor, and therefore the performance was sincerely believed to be a religious experience. He would say, "If one does not have faith, he will fail." He cited examples where people of insufficient faith caused injury to themselves and to others while trying to perform. The success of the illusion depended upon the dexterity and agility of the performer and his ability to deflect the attention of the spectator just long enough for
[787] him to make the necessary shifts. There may possibly have been some measure of self-induced trance such as occurred to the priests incidentally in the course of the creation ceremony. (Our own knowledge of the subject is too elementary to identify the situation psychologically.)

787 825 A major difference between our experience and theirs should be especially noted. The Pawnees as well as many peoples who practiced these arts were in constant association with wild animals in their natural habitat, an experience which is entirely absent in our own world. They lived within a world of wild animals in their hunting and even in defense of their settlements, they had to have an intimate knowledge of the emo-

One of the principal actors in this mime was Old Lady Tsitawa, who was the leader of the black-tailed deer cult and the only woman leader in the lodge. She appeared wearing a short black skirt of tanned hide and a tanned hide shawl. Sometimes one and sometimes two of these "Scalped Ones" outdoor performances would be given in the interval between the second and third Big Dance, an indoor performance (A) intervening between the two Scalped Dances, so that at least four days would pass between the two Big Dance episodes. 756 796 536

The night before each indoor performance (A), the doctors who were to perform on the next evening paraded through the village in costume, stopping in as many earth lodges as they could and singing their songs. The general sequence of the sessions was as follows:

A. Introductory performance indoors, to open the proceedings.
I. B. Outdoor Big Dance the following day in the late afternoon.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
II. B. Outdoor Big Dance, late afternoon (second big dance).
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, *Kitsahuruksu*—outdoors.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, outdoors.
III. B. Outdoor Big Dance (third big dance).
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
IV. B. Outdoor Big Dance, the fourth and final one.
A. Indoor performance at night, to close. Grand Finale with the Buffalo Clown warriors attacking the Bears and conquering them.

After the women who had gotten their advance fuel supply had gone home, Big Doctor announced to the other doctors, "Good Pipe and I are going to put on a regular performance the day after tomorrow in the evening. Tomorrow evening, we doctors are all going to parade through the village." He also reminded them that any doctors who were going to join the two head doctors in giving a performance would have to make their plans for the parade and for the performance the following evening.

As usual, there would be four acts. Big Doctor planned to demonstrate how he swallowed a deer head whole. Pipe Offering was going to make a mud duck come alive. The third on the program would be Brave Horse, whose son would succeed in locating a horse's tail that would be carried away during the performance by one of the audience and hidden 756 796 789 536

756 in an earth lodge in a place known only to himself. The fourth act was
796 to be by Brave Shield or High Noon, who was a buffalo doctor. He
536 would shoot an arrow into the chest of his young son, Yellow Calf,
• 789 who would be impersonating a young buffalo.

The Pawnee doctor, wearing nothing but his loin cloth, was apparently
756 a highly successful illusionist, as attested by the number of hard-headed
796 white spectators who were thoroughly mystified. Among them was
Major Frank North who early became a clerk in the trade store on the
536 Pawnee reservation and later rose to be the leader of the U.S. Battalion
789 of Pawnee Scouts that were regularly inducted into the U.S. Army.
North, having a good grasp of the language and being familiar with the
177 personalities involved, on witnessing the act where "the Bear" rips open
[648] the abdomen of a boy and eats part of the liver, could only conclude
either that a dummy had been used or that the boy had actually been
murdered on the spot. George Bird Brinnell of Yale, who had been
among the Pawnee in Nebraska, after their removal visited a medicine
man in Oklahoma and he too was at a loss to explain what he had seen in
broad daylight. Luther North, young brother of Frank, who was with
him on this occasion said that while he was on duty with the Pawnee
scouts in Nebraska some of his scouts would practice their illusionist
feats while they were out on campaigns with him. "One man hid among
the tall grass and appeared as a deer, then the next moment as a man," he
reported. Another would simply take up a handful of mud and, rubbing
his hands together, produce a live turtle, reconverting it into mud again.
North asked him what would happen if he released the turtle and let him
go. The man said he would die. North returned to the spot after such
an episode and found the dead turtle there. There are also eyewitness
accounts of such feats as cutting off a foot during the course of a performance,
reattaching it backward and then restoring it to normal.

756 My informant who had participated in some of these feats from the
796 operational side was by no means mystified. The illusions were carefully
planned, with assistants planted in the audience and all the practical
789 details organized with great precision. The methods for convincing the
audience that are familiar to us, such as allowing the spectators to examine
some of the objects involved, were freely used. Various lighting
effects produced by lowering or brightening the fire were also employed.
Knowing all this, Evarts continued to believe in the divine intervention
in the process, while a friend of similar age, David Gillingham, remained
an unbeliever from his boyhood on into later life.

756 Now on the first evening before their performance, the doctors got
796 ready for their parade through the village, *wi-ti-kibar-rar-itsax-ka-wu*,
"now-it-dance-they-through-the-village-among-going." The first contingent
comprised the four leading doctors at the west. They made an extensive
tour of the village, going into each earth lodge as far as they could

manage it and stopping east of the fireplace where they stood and sang. 756
Then they went around the fireplace from east, by south, west, north 796
and then out of the lodge and into the next one, where they again sang and walked around the fireplace, continuing until they had visited a considerable number. The next contingent was the Horse Doctors who would perform next evening, led by Brave Horse, making a similar tour, followed by their wives or any other women that wanted to join them in their songs.

Finally the Buffalo Doctors went through led by Leading Buffalo (*Taraha-rakitawiu*, "buffalo-outstanding"). As one of their number [789]
Brave Shield was going to demonstrate how he would shoot an arrow at his son Yellow Calf's chest and leave the boy unharmed. Brave Shield was also in the procession followed by Yellow Calf's grandmother Grieves-the-Enemy, who had given his father a gift so that he would teach the boy. All over the village there were abandoned cache pits, and, although the women tried to throw their old sweepings into them in order to fill them up, they never quite succeeded and from time to time someone that was not very familiar with the particular part of the village fell in. On this occasion as Brave Shield's group was going along they came to an old cache pit and the group separated, walking around it. But Grieves-the-Enemy was so preoccupied with her singing that she fell straight in. She yelled as loud as she could, but everyone was singing so loud that no one could hear her. Finally when the next party came passing that way and the men began to walk around the pit, they heard the old lady yelling and got a ladder so that she could climb out. "I was singing for Brave Shield when I fell in and they never heard me," she said. The men asked her, "Are you hurt?" "No, I just hit my knees," she said. "That's good!"

Now those doctors who were not performing the next evening were free to go home. The others remained in the Doctor Lodge all night and the next day, fasting until the following morning after the performance. That night in the ceremonial lodge, each leader talked over their strategy with his assistants. Brave Horse said to his son, "They're going to hide the white horse's tail and I'll tell you where (so that you will be able to find it when the time comes during the performance). It will be in the house of Leading Chief, right in his bed, where his wife sleeps—the bed over which his small bundle, *tsatki*, hangs. During the performance at the appointed time, you go in there and whistle around and put your hand right there and get it." In this manner, Brave Horse briefed his young son. The plan was that the man in the audience who offered to hide the tail would be in league with them.

The two leading doctors simply talked over the specific feats they would perform without discussing any of the mechanisms involved in their performance. Big Doctor said, "I have a whole deer head with antlers on.

and back, arriving at the west, where they stopped. The drums stopped 756
beating and meanwhile Sitting Hawk and Wonderful Old Bull had risen 796
and all four leaders remained standing at the west.

Big Doctor now moved forward from among the leadership and began 756
his act. He was to swallow a whole deer head with the antlers on. He was 796
assisted by his son, He-Kills-a-Person (*Tsahiks-ti-ki*, "person-he-kills"), 789
who now handed his father the head. With Big Doctor in the lead, his son following and three other doctors behind them, they moved around the fireplace at a half trot by north, east and south and stoppped at the west. Before placing the deer's nose into his mouth as a first step, Big Doctor allowed the spectators to examine the head to show them that it was real. Then he put the deer's nose into his mouth and when the head was about halfway in, the procession again started around the fireplace, by north, east, and south; when they had nearly arrived back at the west, Big Doctor swallowed the entire head—the men behind him motioning with their eagle-wing fans down along the back of his body in order to help him swallow it. After he had swallowed it, he stopped at the west of the fireplace and gave thanks, first by putting his hand on the rim, then on his mouth and then on his abdomen where the deer head should now be contained since he had swallowed it. Then he made a very brief statement to the doctors, declaring, "Now doctors, I am going to keep it (viz., the deer head he had swallowed). That's all." Then he went back to his place.

Next on the program was Pipe Offering, the leading doctor of the south side of the Doctor Lodge. He would convert a mud duck into a real live one and then back again to mud. He had no special assistants as the other three main doctors helped him. He had a duck modeled out of mud and a large wooden bowl of water. All four doctors began to sing and he put the bowl of water west of the fireplace. The errand man was told to make the fire bright. Then Pipe Offering stood at the west and he raised his mud duck, and as he brought his hands down, all four doctors were singing. Just as the mud duck touched the water, it said, "Quack, quack, quack," and ran all around. Now the three other doctors raised their voices and sang as loud as they could, and when Pipe Offering picked the duck up from the water, it was a mud duck again.

The other doctors removed the bowl of water while Pipe Offering addressed the assembled company. He said: "Now spectators and doctors, now you have seen me." From among the spectators, Roaming Leader walked up to Pipe Offering and, taking his new blanket from his own shoulders, placed it on Pipe Offering in gratitude for his performance. As he received the blanket, Pipe Offering said to Roaming Leader, "You will have good luck wherever you go. This is what I depend on and also on my Mother Earth." Now Roaming Leader rejoined the crowd of spectators and Pipe Offering said, "You spectators and doctors have

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756 witnessed what I have done. It was with great difficulty that I performed
796 this feat." Then he went back to his place at the west and rejoined the other three doctors ~~there~~.

• 789 The third act of the evening was that of Brave Horse, whose son would find a horse's tail after it had been hidden by a spectator in one of the earth lodges in the village. As soon as Pipe Offering sat down, whistling was heard. This was Brave Horse's son, blowing on his whistle. Now Brave Horse said to the spectators, "I want one of you to volunteer to take the horse's tail off the boy and hide it in an unknown place. No matter how obscure the place is, as you will see, the boy will find it easily." Leading Horse soon volunteered from among the spectators, but in fact it had all been prearranged—"the volunteer" going straight to the place agreed upon beforehand. Returning to the Doctor Lodge he said, "It's hidden." The boy was sent on his way, blowing his whistle, and his father went around and around in the lodge also blowing his whistle, in order that his boy would succeed. The boy made straight for the lodge of Leading Chief where his father had told him it would be the night before. As he entered, the occupants asked him what he had come for and he said, "My father told me the tail would be in here where the bundle is," thus giving away the whole subterfuge to the people in the lodge. When he got back to the ceremony, his father was still whistling triumphantly for his boy's accomplishment in finding the tail. He addressed the assembled company, saying, "You see what my boy did!" Long afterward the story came out. The boy in his defense said that he
[601] could not deceive Leading Chief for he called him by the kin term, brother, *irari*, and it would be unethical not to be truthful with him.

The fourth and final act for the evening was that of Brave Shield, a buffalo doctor. He was to shoot four arrows at the chest of his son, Yellow Calf, at close range, but the boy would remain uninjured. The four doctors at the west were singing and rattling with their gourds. Brave Shield was holding four arrows. He brought the boy from the booth. On his ribs Yellow Calf had a round disk of soft white feathers where he was to be shot. He was imitating a buffalo calf and he went around the lodge four times, by west, north, east and south, with his father Brave Shield following after him. As they went, Brave Shield shot with his arrows into the ground around the fireplace, once at the north, once at the east, once at the south, and once at the west. On the final round Brave Shield pulled up the arrows one by one, and stopping at the east where the spectators were, gave them the arrows to examine so that they could see what sharp points they had. The arrows passed from one end of the line to the other and were then returned to Brave Shield. Yellow Calf was standing at the south side of the fireplace facing west, with his arms extended so that his ribs were exposed. Brave Shield went to the north side opposite him and with the four doctors at the west rattling

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

and singing with all their might, he made a running jump over the fire, landing right in front of Yellow Calf on the south side where he released his arrow. The arrow jumped back over the lodge with its head mashed and bent. Now the boy proceeded through the west to the north side, facing eastward with his arms extended, while his father remained on the south. Again Brave Shield jumped over the fire close to the boy and shot his arrow and again it glanced off and flew across the room—the point all bent and broken. The buffalo dancers now instructed the boy to stand at the west facing north, while his father was at the east, and the same performance was repeated. Finally the boy stood at the east with his father at the west—the father jumping over the fireplace and making his final shot. The shooting being over, the father led the boy to the south position and, warming his hands over the fireplace, placed them on the boy's chest where he had been shot, repeating this four times. Then he shook the boy out of his daze a bit and sent him off to the Buffalo Booth. Brave Shield moved around the fireplace by west, north, and then east where the spectators were and showed them all how the heads of the arrows were broken and macerated. On inquiring of my informant how this was done, he said he thought that someone had been planted among the spectators to help change the arrows before they were passed around, or they might have been changed when they glanced off the boy's side and flew all the way across the room, either before they began their journey through the air or when they were picked up. 756 796 789

By this time it was midnight or one o'clock in the morning and the doctors all sang: 756 796

Tatix-kusisari, I am-playing (like a child)
Witi-ratku-tawaki, myself-for-me-to enjoy [533] [539]

Big Doctor made a final announcement to the crowd: "There'll be no performance tomorrow night. After that we'll have one again. Well now that's all!" Everyone left. Late the next afternoon they would have a big dance on the plaza outside the ceremonial lodge.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

brother Victory Call, who was Otter's father. The two bears blocked 756
the entrance so that the other animals would not be able to get back in. 796
Finally they moved aside just long enough for the doctors to get in and 536
then closed ranks again. As the doctors went inside, one could see smoke, dust, and ashes coming out of the smokehole of the ceremonial lodge, and one could hear noise inside. This was because the doctors were in there.

Now all the animals tried to get in too, but the bears blocked their way. The deer stood by pretending to be grazing casually, while the bear sat around looking equally casual. When the deer got close, he again had to jump away. The deer, horses, and wolves all wanted to get in but the bear stayed close to the door. The horses blew their whistles to get in, but the bear remained stationary. He tried to catch the colt, but the colt jumped back. Finally the bear looked the other way for a minute and some of the animals managed to run in. The deer got in but the white wolf had a hard time. The bears tried their best to catch him and they both blocked the way, but finally he squeezed in and only the other wolf was left. If the bears managed to catch him, they would rip open his abdomen and eat some of his liver. He huffed and puffed and tried his hardest to get into the lodge. White smoke (viz., clay) came out of his mouth with the effort. This got the bears angry and one could see the bristles of their hair standing up on the backs of their necks. Finally the wolf jumped right over the bear and got into the lodge, and this made everyone laugh.

At one of the later Big Dance episodes Sitting Hawk had instructed 756
"the two bears" to try their best to catch a deer, a horse, or a wolf. Misery 796
had all his implements ready inside his bear robe. Misery sat at the north
side of the entranceway to the lodge looking toward the inside, and 789
Victory Call at the south side somewhat away from the door looking 536
around outside. The animals circled around the dance grounds four times, then tried to get back into the lodge but were prevented by the bears. The horses had buffalo-hair ropes that they were dragging along the ground. The deer managed to skip in, but the white horse, blowing his whistle, was blocked by Misery, who looked very angry with the hairs on his bear neck bristling. Twice the horse approached and managed to escape, with Misery just missing catching the rope. He began to puff and blow. Everyone was yelling to the horse, "He might catch you yet!" Finally the horse made a quick turn and Misery grabbed him too. Everyone on the housetops yelled, "There old man, I told you they'd get you." Both bears laid him down on his back and held him with his arms and legs spread out. Then Misery stuck in his bear claw and made a slit downward, laying open the whole stomach. He pulled out a piece of liver and Victory Call came up and got a piece. Everyone was shouting, "Just look at that old man there. Now old man you can never get

756 enough to eat to fill you up any more!" (They meant that now that his
796 liver was gone his stomach had lots of room to expand.) After the two
536 bears got through, they jumped on their victim and healed him up. They
789 had medicine in their mouths for this purpose which they rubbed on the
victim's stomach to heal him up. When they got off, the people could see that he was all right again. Then they shook him a bit and as he came out of his daze, he got up and thought there was nothing wrong with him. He just blew on his whistle and ran into the lodge. But the people knew better. They said, "He can whistle away all right, but he won't ever be able to get enough to eat to fill himself up now!"

756 This was the first time that Victory Call had participated in this act
796 and he went over to his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and caressed him
in blessing. "This is what I wanted to know," he said. From now on, Vic-
536 tory Call could don his bear suit and go through this performance on his own. In return, he had taught Sitting Hawk how to handle rattlesnakes.

After all the animals had gone into the lodge, the public show was over. Inside the errand men would be busy cooking the meal. All sixty doctors would be there and they would use up three parfleches of meat to feed them all.

796
533
[539]

1.	hiwiri	Wiwitawia Now it comes flying
2.	"	"
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	hita feather-coming

The two men continued to talk together that night in the lodge and New Young Dog told Warrior about the rabbit learning that he wanted to know. Should anyone come in and see the sparks from their pipe and hear the whispering, they would know that the two men were to be left alone and would go straight to their beds as they were talking of something important. The next time the dance was held, Warrior followed after New Young Dog. After he had carried out his performance, New Young Dog addressed the assembled company saying, "What you have seen me do here today, I am giving to this fellow here, Warrior. This is my teaching." From this time on Warrior was able to do the rabbit dance and could make a rabbit skin come alive and be a rabbit.

796
721
[178]
[177]

In this way, the original Wichita Deer Dance took on its Pawnee form. By 1867 it had become a typically elaborate Pawnee ceremony. Sleight-of-hand performances and trance induction were both modes in which they operated as they did in the Doctor Lodge. But unlike the Doctor Lodge where animal costumes and animal impersonations celebrated their communion with the animals, in the Deer Dance, war was the predominant theme and each of the members at the stations bore the name of a tribe, the opposing north and south sides representing attack and counterattack. The ceremony was carried through ten consecutive sessions, nine in the night and a tenth in the daytime with a number of rest days between. Technically, they conceived that the all-day tenth and final episode was the actual ceremony and the nine night sessions simply preliminary to it. The nine night sessions comprised several different phases. In the first five, there was a program of four or more sleight-of-hand performances, chiefly in sequence. As in the Doctor Dance, sleight of hand was referred to as "playing." [789] [787] Following these "playing" sessions, going on very late into the night was a series of "fighting" or hypnotic episodes. But these differed from the Doctor Lodge "fighting" which was simple trance induction; in the Deer Dance, the fighting consisted of hypnotic interference with a sleight-of-hand performance while it was in progress, confusing the performer and making it impossible for him to complete his feat. The difference between the two kinds of "fighting" was recognized in the names they were called—the "fighting" of the Doctor Lodge was "I shoot at him," *wi-tatix-tsaaku*, "now-I at him-shoot" (abbreviated as *patsaaku*) while

for the Deer Dance they said, "They shoot at his *image*," wi-tit-ir-*awi*- 796
tsaku, "now-they at him-*image*-shoot." This distinction is significant 721
as it reflects the difference in emphasis between the two ceremonies.
The emphasis of the Doctor Lodge is on the alliance of man with the
animals so that they give him confidence, enabling him to cure the sick
or carry out whatever his purposes may be including war expeditions.
In the Deer Dance, power over the enemy is a major leitmotif. The use 721
of shamanism as a kind of psychological warfare against the enemy is 723
a known device among other tribes. That the Pawnees were quite [756]
successful in this regard is attested by an account collected by a [175]
French visitor, Tixier, from their enemies, the Osage, in 1839–1840.
He states:

> The Maha (Skidi Pawnee) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so [181]
> great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five and six [648]
> hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe.
>
> Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. . . . One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave whose horses he steals away afterwards.

When they were living at Pahaku, near Fremont in 1850 and the Ponca 796
attacked and were about to burn up the Pawnees caught inside their 721
earth lodges, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy dressed up like a medicine 756
man, came out and succeeded in thoroughly frightening the enemy
so that they were repulsed; she was also able to kill one of them near
the lodge, armed simply with a stout stick. There seems some likelihood
that there was some actual functional value in the hypnotic powers of
the medicine men, even in war. If this is the case, the preoccupation
with this type of performance in the Deer Dance ceremony can better
be appreciated.

The long series of illusionist feats and hypnotic exercises, however, 796
was carried on within a characteristically complex Pawnee ceremonial 789
structure.

In the first five nights of performance, during each night there was 796
an earlier session of sleight-of-hand performances, followed by a "fight- 789
787

796 ing" session that lasted late into the night. The successive fighting ses- 789 sions on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in 787 which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its "owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally succeeds in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner. [824] The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them. In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semicardinal "stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally opposite semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *Northwest* possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the *Northeast*. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross. The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star," the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the 773 pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic 776 significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can [821] speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome, he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way. Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti, and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat, gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie. The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, succeeding, as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

~~14~~: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 824 825 The wild sage plant continued to be a major feature of the Pawnee Deer Dance ceremonial in the performances, and the entire floor was carpeted with the plant placed radially all around with the stub ends outward and the head ends pointing inward. The symbolism of the deer was maintained in the course of the performances when the performer would jump over the fireplace, from north to south and back again, and from west to east and back again, impersonating the deer in this way. Also in his closing speech, the leader told them that their Deer Lodge was now over and they were to follow their tracks home to the timber. They left, blowing their whistles all the way home, and the blowing could be heard all over the village so that the dance was sometimes referred to as the Whistle Dance.

796 • 789 536 After the sixth session, the "fighting" was entirely ended and the seventh, eighth, and ninth evenings were given over to illusionist sleight-of-hand feats of considerable intricacy, and the calendar eventually became so crowded that several performers might be performing simultaneously or with their performances overlapping. The rattling and singing would be begun at the southeast station, and sometimes no one would be inspired to get up and perform until the gourds and bows had reached a subsequent station in the clockwise round. In any case, if the spectators had not yet accumulated to a sufficient degree, some of the performers felt they wanted to wait "until they got a good crowd." The ceremony of the tenth day is entirely composed of a considerable series of sleight-of-hand performances.

796 756 578 At the time when Kind Warrior was its leader, the membership of the Deer Dance was becoming so considerable and the interest so great that the leaders of Doctor Lodge felt that it might develop into a rival organization to theirs. Sometimes when members were absent from the Doctor Lodge, others would go after them and finding them in the Deer Dance, would spirit them out, causing them to bleed at the mouth and desecrating the ground of the Deer Dance Lodge which had to be spotlessly clean and fresh. This almost developed into an open contest of power, which was finally averted when the doctors sent their apologies to the Deer Dance leaders admitting they had been wrong. At that period, the two ceremonies overlapped somewhat. Kind Warrior had taken a group of his members down to the pond where he summoned up a turtle, stating that if it came to an open fight he would go into the Doctor Lodge and, locking the entryway, make their turtle fireplace come alive. A report of this threat, finally brought the apology from the doctors.

The conflict was resolved at a later time, when Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, took over after Victory Call's death as leader of the Deer Dance and entered into an agreement with the leaders of the Doctor Lodge to hold his ceremony early, right after they arrived back from the summer hunt and before the Doctor Lodge should begin.

C

305 from the fields, June 1, 1861. The woman was found alive, buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left to die. North further states, that having been rescued and nursed back to health by the school teacher, Mrs. Platt, on her return to the tribe, she may have been dispatched with a tomahawk and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. There is no way to verify this incident, but the manner in which the young woman was found by the school teacher indicates the horror the Pawnees felt for a scalped person. 727

176-178 Luther North describes (Pauline Bilon, *Nebraska Farmer*, Lincoln, March 21, 1931) the experience he and Grinnell had trying to learn to perform magic. An old medicine man was contacted by his nephew, an educated Indian, on their behalf and he stated that, "Tomorrow morning you get together the young men and I will teach them." The next morning six young men ranging in age from 20-25 were brought to him by the investigators. He picked up a small ax and cut off a little tree. . . . Next he found a large flat stone which he placed in front of him. He took the small sapling and placed the end which he had cut next to the stone. Holding it firmly in place he began reciting in the Indian language, "Father the Great Spirit, you are the ruler; you see me; my mind is poor; I can do nothing without your help, etc. etc. . . . He requested them to hold the sapling. They did so, expecting to pick it right off the stone, but the sapling was firmly rooted into the stone. They pulled but it was no use. Then the medicine man turned to his young Indian pupils. He told them to do exactly what he had done. This they did, following out his previous actions to the letter. Before they knelt to begin their chants, he said to them, "Make your mind strong. Believe what you say." After the young man had finished the ceremony, they released their hold on the small trees. Over fell the trees. The results were the same for all the young men. They all looked at the old man. "I can't teach you anything" he said and walked away. And so once more Grinnell shook his head and said, "It simply cannot be explained." Luther North reports that some of his scouts would practice their illusionist feats while they were out on campaigns with him. One man hid among the tall grass and appeared as a deer, then the next moment was a man. Another would simply take up a handful of mud and rubbing his hands together produce a live turtle, reconverting it into mud again. North asked him what would happen if he released the turtle and let him go. The man said he would die. North returned to the spot after such an episode and found the dead turtle there. 789

293, 296, 302-304 See Frank North's (1959) description of the Big Dance, Chapter 4. 000

duties throughout the ceremony. Each had a special place in the lodge, and was the recipient of peculiar benefits supposed to be derived from the ceremony. 796*

The Father was usually a chief, or a man prominent in the tribe, who not only had accumulated property, but had a large following of relatives who could contribute to the store of articles required for these rites. The tribal standing of the Son was always equal to that of the Father. [556 554]

The Father selected a man from among those who had been taught the rites and ritual songs to take charge of the ceremony from beginning to end. Such a man was called Ku'rahus, and to him the entire party was required to yield obedience in every particular. The Ku'rahus chose an assistant, and also took with him a third person, a sort of acolyte, to whom he was teaching the rites.

If the Father was a chief, then he had to invite one other chief to be of his party, to act as substitute whenever he was obliged to be absent from his post of duty. If, however, the Father was not himself a chief, then it became necessary for him to secure the attendance of two chiefs, one to act as substitute for the other, as the constant presence of a chief was required throughout the ceremony. 796* 622

The priest who had charge of the shrine sacred to rain was also of the Father's party. It was his duty to furnish the pipe and conduct the ceremony of offering smoke to Tira'wa. The Father's party also included two doctors, men who had received a knowledge of healing plants, either directly through visions or by initiation into certain rites by which this knowledge was communicated. Each was required to bring an eagle's wing, one the right wing and the other the left. The wing of the eagle is the official mark of a doctor. The Father must also secure a number of singers, whose duty it was to carry the drum and act as a choir to accompany the Ku'rahus, who always led the singing. The rest of the party of the Father was made up of his kindred, with such of his friends as might desire to contribute to the required food and gifts and thus to become entitled to share in the return gifts made to the Fathers by the Children. 796* [793] [791 ● 237] [533]* [602]

The preliminary ceremonies (the first three rituals) took place at the lodge of the Father, and from it the party of the Fathers started on its journey.

REQUISITES OF THE CEREMONY AND THEIR SYMBOLISM

The objects peculiar to this ceremony were two feathered stems about a meter in length, made of ash wood. They were rounded and smoothed, and the pith was burned out to leave an opening for the breath to pass, as through a pipestem. One of these stems was named Raha'katittu, from ra, the, this one; ha=hak, a part of the word hakkow, breathing mouth of wood, the k being dropped for euphony (see translation of hawkowpirus, drum, page 17); katit, dark, 796* 192 778

MEDICINE-MEN

Like the chief and the priest, the medicine-man held a position 791
of honor among the Skidi. His office was supposed to have been 756
created by Tirawa immediately after he had instituted the office of 565
chief, at which time Tirawa said: "I shall give you (chief) a com- [773]
panion who will understand certain beings who command all the
spirits of the earth. He shall learn from them the different curative [538]
powers, and shall be your equal, but he will not command, for it
will be his duty to wait on the sick." At this time Tirawa gave the
medicine-man the blue clay he wore over his body during ceremonies,
the wing of a black eagle to be used in his left hand, and a gourd [778].
rattle to be held in his right.

The medicine-men derived their powers from supernatural beings who were usually identified with animals. At birth a child came under the influence of a supernatural being—a particular star shining especially bright—who was supposed to manifest himself later in the child's life. Usually this manifestation occurred when the child fell ill, at which time medicine-men were sent for. When the right one appeared, he could cure the child, for he possessed the power from an animal which in turn had received its power from the star noted above. Thus the child was made aware of the particular animal guardian which was to influence his career. When he grew to be a young man he might become a medicine-man through a supernatural experience during which power was given him directly by his guardian, or, as was more common, he applied for instruction to some medicine-man who had received power from the same guardian. With the latter's consent, the young man became his pupil, paying for the knowledge received. [Further details regarding medicine-men have been published by Linton, 1923b.]

In many ways the medicine-men ingratiated themselves with the people. One of the best examples occurred during the fall performance of the great ceremony of the Skidi medicine-men. On the first night they visited all the village lodges containing sacred altars, and on the following night made a general tour of the village offering their services free of charge.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

This group probably represented less than one-half the members 554
of the band. They were distinguished by the fact that they were 565
without influence or power, their lodges were smaller and not so
completely furnished, they had few or no ponies, and were often the [736]
objects of charity.

668

177

[533

539]

we	*rįhi*	*irasi·ra*	
a	*tsiksu*	*wétatŭ·tu*	*hi i*
and	mind spirit	now I do	

The place whence you come.
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come.
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxkiˣ. When he returned home to the Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours." 668 177 792 794

When Frank White instituted regular dances, these were among the South Bands; the Şkiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits took possession of them and fell. White had great power over them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change. [152 786]

Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna- 668 177 [792] 796 794 [302]

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

that tribe were present among the Pawnee when the Skiri Brother- 668
hoods were conceived; the Wichita seem to have brought to the 796
Pawnee the change to a Ghost Dance every six weeks for four
nights, continuing the last night until the dawn of the fifth day. 177
This they had adopted in accordance with the change among the 182
Cheyenne, Arapaho, Caddo and Wichita, after the message from
the Messiah was received. At the same time, a conflict of doctrine
over the teachings of White, which culminated in a new conception
of the significance of the Ghost Dance brought directly from the
major Arapaho prophets by Pawnee delegations, seems to have
contributed to the release of the Pawnee Ghost Dance from White's
exclusive control. This doctrinal change occurred before Frank
White's death in 1893.

In the early days after the dancing for the day was over, the people as a whole broke apart and went home, or went to their own tipis. But White, his seven co-leaders, and some of the chiefs would reenter the leading tipi. There they were served food. Before eating, a simple corn offering was made; corn was offered to Tirawahat^{a} and placed on the ground; then motions of blessing were made with the horn spoon over the altar objects.

After this feast, someone would begin to talk about his trance
experiences. He would tell what he saw, and then sing songs which
he had learned in his trance. In this way songs were added to the [533]
repertoire, and gradually the Wichita and Arapaho songs became
only a minor phase (save for the closing song) of the Pawnee
Ghost Dance songs.

CONFLICT OF DOCTRINE; REORGANIZATION OF CEREMONY

According to the conception of the Ghost Dance which Frank 668
White brought among the Pawnee, Frank White himself was the 796
sole authentic prophet of the dance and doctrine, and it was 792
necessary for all sanctions to come through Frank White as inter-
mediary. Those who had visions in trances reported the content
and character to White, and in terms of his interpretation and
permission made use of the vision. Feathers to wear in the hair,
paints for the face, special symbolisms of dress, and the like, were
possible only with White's approval. If a dancer wished to use
a face painting, in accordance with his trance experiences, he had [431]
first to go to White and pay him for the privilege, or in any case,
to offer him gifts. Individuals who had learned about the Ghost
Dance in visions, and felt authorized to put on a dance, could do so
only after conferring with White. He would teach the visionary

668 what to do, and received compensation for his instruction. Ordi-
796 narily his instruction seems to have amounted to interpretation, to
a suggestion that the visionary do as all had seen White himself do,
792 with some explanation of the details. White would also counsel the visionary to tell the people in general what he had seen and learned. But even in such a case, according to reports, when a dance was put on by another, White's seven crow singers had to be invited to lead the singing and dancing, whether it was held among the Skiri or South Bands.

Gifts and money were lavished upon White: a small face painting often earned him five dollars: feathers and sanctions of various kinds brought him other money. Many people were jealous, or resented White's attitude, called him a liar and began to disbelieve him and say he was deceiving the people.

At the same time, White's conduct was not exemplary. It must be remembered that priests, chiefs, medicine men, and in fact all individuals who had claims to sacred office or inspiration in connection with old Pawnee ways of life, lived up to accepted Pawnee ethical standards of conduct.

As one informant describes White's behavior: "All this time
[276] White drank peyote, which made him wise. At the same time he used to drink whiskey. Whiskey and peyote do not mix, they cannot go together. That's what killed him.

"One time they were going to have a doctor dance north of town and when they were ready to begin, someone said, 'we can't start until the Messiah comes'—they considered White a great prophet, and called him Father and Messiah. Finally they saw him coming, hardly able to walk, supported on each side by a man holding his arm. Someone said, 'why, he's drunk,' but they whispered around, 'we can't say anything about it anyhow, because he's the Messiah.' They used to lavish gifts upon him, and finally they gave him the prettiest girl in the tribe to marry."

It was not long before revolt against White and his tactics took definite form. This reaction is in part to be explained by White's misbehavior, in part by jealousy of the way in which he was getting rich, and in part also by a sincere desire on the part of some to get more out of the dancing in a religious sense.

According to Joseph Carrion, White and he had been friends for
668 a long time; in fact Frank White at one time married Joe's sister-
177 in-law, which in terms of Pawnee kinship put them on strong
[607] grounds of familiarity. Joe Carrion danced along with Frank White for almost a year. In Joe's own words, "Frank White told me that I was going where I could find out something for myself

stops at the north facing south; the rest of the circle dance through an equivalent part of the circuit. 668 796

3. The leader repeats the song, while the whole circle of dancers moves through another quadrant, the leader finishing at the east, facing west. 533

4. A third quadrant is similarly completed with the leader at the south facing north.

5. The fourth quadrant is completed when the leader is once more in his original position at the west facing east.

6. All now step back a few paces, widening the circle, and as they sing the circle closes in again. Throughout this singing the leader maintains his orientation at the west, and each dancer his or her relative position in the circle. Now, as the song finishes with the circle narrowed to its original dimensions, all break their handclasps, and shake off the blankets they wear, and the dance is over. The closing in of the circle during this last song signifies the coming together of the people, and the shaking out of the blankets expresses their desire to shake off them the bad ways, the new ways, the white man's ways.

The closing song is the Arapaho song as given by Mooney[1]. [177]

FIRST FORMS OF THE SKIRI GHOST DANCE

792 668 177 [424]

As we have seen, Frank White brought the Ghost Dance to the South Bands primarily, being himself a Kitkahaxki^{x}. When a Skiri wished to hold a dance among the Skiri proper, he was in the same position as any individual among the South Bands who felt he had the right to do so. The Skiri had to get sanction from White, and to invite White and his leaders to come over to initiate and lead the dancing.

After the visit of the five Pawnee to Sitting-Bull, the Arapaho, a change came over the Pawnee attitude toward the general Ghost Dance doctrine. The whole religious movement was liberated from the domination of White. An individual's own conscience and experience was the individual's guide to what he could and could not do, to what sanctions he had obtained supernaturally. It became unnecessary to pay White for rights, and the only checks upon the number of prophets who began to appear among the Pawnee with messages from the deceased were the natural ones: the force of character and the temperament of the claimant: the

---

[1] Mooney, pp. 1011—1012, no. 73. Note that this song was used as the closing song after the return of the delegation of Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne in the fall of 1891.

792

668
177
reputation and esteem in which he or she was held by the tribespeople, the abilities of the prophet as a leader, hypnotizer, organizer; and the experiences which were undergone by the layman under the leadership and influence of the prophet.

Those who are remembered as the chief visionaries of the period in which the Ghost-Dance was taken up by the Skiri are Mrs. Washington, Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle, and Mrs. Cover. There were others, of course. Chiefly, Mrs. Washington was responsible for the inauguration of independent Skiri Ghost-Dances. She had many trance-visions, and often told very complex stories of the images and events which took place in them, so complex in fact that there were Pawnee who doubted her, partly because of their own vision experiences, which seemed to them different in kind (psychologically); partly because of jealousy of the constantly increasing part she was playing in the tribal developments. [787]

668
792
787
Carrion speaks of Mrs. Washington as a fraud. He says that she made up a lot of stuff, and was a false prophet trying to win the people's worship. His reasons for the attitude are interesting. He claims that in a vision (as he has experienced such) you see merely one simple image or thing, not a complex array; and that if you add to what you see, that is wrong. He contends that Mrs. Washington had trance-vision after trance-vision, and kept on learning details of performances in her visions, like a serial story. This is impossible, he says, because going back to those who give you things in visions and asking for more, is imposing on them; and it is for such conduct that people lose their lives.

In truth, Carrion's attitude indicates a temperamental difference between him and Mrs. Washington, as well as difference in the quality of his imagination. Carrion was not subject to trances often, Mrs. Washington was; his mind did not experience much detail in the few cases in which he had visions, while Mrs. Washington did. Obviously, the quality of the individual's mind will appear in the content and character of his visions as well as in his waking life, which is well illustrated by the vision experience of Mark Evarts in relation to the Ghost Dance, given below; Mark Evarts is a man whose mind is rich in content. But the native concept of the vision is more or less fixed and absolute, not one which accepts the relativity of the vision to the subject; hence, in terms of one visionary's experiences, those of another may often seem fraudulent.

184
668
796
The early independent Ghost Dances of the Skiri were carried out in terms of the usual forms and patterns of White's South Band Ghost Dancing. There was the same form of the circle, the same orientation of the official or sacred tent, and the same pattern of

668 that a suggestion of the Wichita was in part responsible for Mrs.
796 Washington's determination to organize the Ghost-Dancing with
533 regular singers while the Wichita were present.

Frank White died in 1893, and he is known to have been alive at the time Mrs. Washington inaugurated these developments, which places the time of the first Seven Eagle Brothers as sometime in late 1892 or early 1893.

As one informant describes Mrs. Washington's activities: "When
668 they used to dance among the South Bands, all would go there,
● 792 and while the dancing went on, old Mrs. Washington fell in a trance.
796 She found out something about the Seven Brothers, but not
everything right away. Afterwards, every time she fell she would
787 see something about the Seven Brothers.[1] The spirit told her to go
ahead and put up the Seven Brothers. She used to have her own
cattle. Once when they came home from the dancing, she was
told that when she got home she should put up the Seven Brothers
at a dance. So she killed her own beef, and put up the dance, and
they told her how to go, everything, the smoke and all."

Mrs. Washington put up a special feast. She asked the chiefs and these seven men to be present, as well as others. Each of the seven sat on the south side with the eagle feather given him by Knifechief stuck into the ground before him. Along the north side were congregated the "crow" people, including those who played as "crows" in the hand games, as well as the men who later were organized into the Seven Crows; while along the south side the "eagle" people sat. As yet, however, there was no "crow" organization: the "crows" were merely an amorphous group who played the hand game together, and who had this affiliation because of Ghost Dance experiences.

Mrs. Washington stood at the doorway of the tipi. Up to this time she had been learning. Now she spoke. "Now, I want to tell you what I have in mind. We are going to have a Ghost Dance. A spirit told me to do it. I am going to do it today. These Seven Brothers are going to take the lead for us, and we're going to call them Fathers. Now I want you chiefs to decide when we should begin the dance."

Then the chiefs talked together and decided and one announced,
527 "Let us move the camp and all come together on the third day."
574 This inaugural feast was not a ceremonial affair. After the
decision of the chiefs was announced all those present partook of
the feast provided by Mrs. Washington; this concluded the occasion

---

[114]

[1] This "serial story" form of learning in visions is the sort of thing about Mrs. Washington's claims that Carrion resented; see above.

668 wise around the sacred dance ground (not the space around which
796 the people are gathered) which was now vacant, and came to the
782 west of it where he stopped facing east. At this point his back was to the back of the Seven seated Brothers. Here he offered corn upward to heaven, then bent down and pushed some off the spoon onto the ground, then turned to the west to which he offered the spoon of corn slantwise, then pushed some more off onto the ground, and finally placed the rest on the ground as an offering to the earth. (Second phase; first mode[1]) He then put the spoon on the ground beside him, and touching and pressing the corn into the earth, made three sets of motions with his hands and arms: four upward to heaven, four westward, and four to the earth. (Self-blessing; return of spoon[1]) Then he picked up the spoon and went through the motions of the final self-blessing with it, pressing his feet firmly to the ground. With the spoon he turned and reentered the circle of people between the First Brother (who is at the south end of the row of seven seated brothers) and those at his left, walked through a half circuit clockwise until he faced the chiefs sitting at the west, and returned the spoon to the chief who had given it to him. All the people say, "Nawa."

668 The food was then served. A number of men were selected to do
796 the serving, some serving the chiefs, others the Seven Brothers,
[264 and still others the people in general. The chiefs must be served
554] first, and then the Seven Brothers, and then the public at large.

After all had eaten the dishes were put away. The people might come back and dance on the dance-ground until the sun had fully set. They stopped finally at full sundown. Many of the people did not camp on the grounds and had to go home for the night. Others had to look out for their horses.

In this way the people danced at the encampment for four days, and the last day they continued dancing all night. As individuals had trance visions, they would begin to wear different feathers and paints according to what they saw; and at later Ghost Dances would bring out these Ghost Dance things and use them.

[513] After the entire dance was over, the people generally slept a full day. Later they might decide to hold a hand game. In these early Ghost Dance times among the Skiri, a hand game could only be held after a full Ghost Dance had been carried out. Later hand games were interspersed in the Ghost Dancing.

Such were the ceremonial forms of the first Ghost Dancing among the Skiri proper.

792 Although Mrs. Washington was in this way responsible for the
668 first organization of the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Goodeagle came to
796
787

792

be known as the Mother of the Seven Brothers. This was because 668
she clothed them according to directions which she received in a 796
Ghost Dance vision. 787

Mrs. Goodeagle saw two eagles in her vision, a white one and a black one. The black eagle did not speak to her. The white eagle told her to put up a feast and dress the Seven Brothers. She did so. She gave each of the seven a special shirt, and a white [292] sheet to wear. At the back of the head on the sheet two black ribbons were stitched, so that they hung down for about two feet in the back. All the seven were dressed alike.

Then later someone else fell into a trance and told afterward that Mrs. Goodeagle was the Mother of the Seven Brothers, and that the people must call her that. So all the Skiri considered her the Mother of the Seven Brothers.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF MARK EVARTS

In 1897 or 1898, Mark Evarts came home.[1] He had been away 159 a number of years, first at the Carlisle school, and then working as a harness maker in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. When he got to Oklahoma, the ghost dancing had been flourishing both among the South Bands and among the Skiri. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri was already existent. Mark was not unacquainted with the Ghost Dance. He had heard about it at the time it began to spread among the tribes. He had made a brief visit home at the height of the excitement. But the rest of his story after his arrival in Oklahoma is best told in Mark's own words:

"I told them I did not believe it. I said, 'You can't make me believe it.' Because I was educated and because the white man taught me that the Indians were superstitious. But the white man didn't look at himself and see how superstitious he was.

"One day the Pawnee were all going up to the Oto. After a lot of them had gone, a fellow named Sam Thomson said to me, 'Mark, let's go up to where the Oto are camped now.' We went north to a place about seven miles south of Red Rock. We got there in the evening. We looked into the timber, and there on the other side of the creek we saw the smoke from the encampment. We didn't know where to eat and spend the night, but we found two old ladies in one tipi and we went in there. We asked them if we could sleep there, and stay around during the camping. While I was there I heard someone say, 'this tipi is a special hand

---

[1] Mark had been home on a visit in 1893.

243 787 any taboos. He was always fed first before the others at every meal so that his mood would remain pleasant. He lived and moved in the encampment of the chief who was leading the hunt during that season.

[092] In the previous ceremony, when the seeds of the sacred corn had been distributed to the ministers of the various bundles for planting, the visionary of that ceremony had been constituted a holy man for the well-being of the corn crop. He also had to remain wrapped in his buffalo robe all summer and to observe similar taboos until the harvest was in. Presumably, as he remained wrapped in his robe, he was impersonating the ear of corn itself in its husk.

In the final stages of the young corn ceremony, the priest went through the village, praising the donor of the cowskin and buffalo-hair belt in which they dressed the young Mother Corn, referring to the robe as the symbolic wrapper into which a germ of life could be thrust and the buffalo-hair rope as the string.

The ceremony of the Young Mother Corn was concluded with a feast in which all who had participated shared in the meat of the buffalo that the visionary had consecrated on the previous winter hunt. His wife usually added a donation of boiled corn to round out the banquet.

243 Until this ceremony was completed, no woman could go into her field and begin to weed and cultivate it. Now the women all went into their fields carrying their hoes. First they would pull out the weeds one by one from the corn hills by hand and then pile up the earth around the young growing plants. The corn was hilled up so high around the plant that the leaves barely stuck out at the top; they were compared with an earth lodge with the smoke issuing out of the smokehole in the roof.

It was early morning and the dew had fallen, and as the women worked around and around the corn hills their bodies would get soaking wet. After they had hilled up the earth around the plants, the women would kneel close to the hill and pat it all around with their hands to make it smooth and even. The woman's left side, as well as her face and hands, would become covered with mud. To mention this fact to a woman on her way home from the fields would be the height of presumption. [515] On the way home everyone took a swim in Beaver Creek and washed off their hoes. Again the young women splashed with their feet on the surface of the water and tried to make as loud a report as possible by slapping the surface of the water with their hands. The old man again sat up on his earth lodge and addressed the community at large. He reminded everyone that the women were now "disfiguring themselves" for him, getting all muddy, and that while their hoes were still full of mud, all of them would be eating the food that the women had raised. [606] Some of the women went in groups to cultivate the previously planted fields of their new daughters-in-law, singing while they worked

Pipe trade relations. As the east party would have a prior advantage, he 224*
was leaving it open for Man Chief to take it for his own group. "All 202
right," said Man Chief, "I'll take a group around east," and Curly Chief of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band said, "I'll go with him." White Eagle then agreed to take a group by way of the west and Many Trophies of the Man-Going-Downstream Band agreed to go with him.

Having decided, the different chiefs motioned to their hunters waiting lined up below. In each case the individual hunters were free to join either party as they wished. The various hand motions made by the chiefs graphically indicated their plans. As each chief motioned, his brave went down to the hunters and again told them what the motions were about. The extra pack horses were hobbled right there and the boys taking care of them were nearby.

The next step was a ritual, performed by a holy man known as a 224*
"hand-waver," named for the manner in which he made his vow. White 788
Eagle chose He-Sees-the-Sky because he had consecrated five or six 792 •
buffalo to the sacred bundle ceremonies in the past and in general seemed [778]
to be lucky in whatever he did. He had established "credit" with the supernatural powers. Now he knelt down on both knees facing toward the hill with his back to the lineup of hunters. One of the men from the line was selected by White Eagle to keep watch on the holy man and signal them immediately when he was through. The watcher stood about ten feet back, leading his horse while the prophet was kneeling, settling himself comfortably with his open hands resting on his thighs. Now he extended his right arm and as he was moving it outward he said, "This time of year I sacrificed a whole white eagle and that is what is going to lead you (west)." Then he made a similar motion with his left hand and mentioned a wildcat hide and a whole buffalo and the fact that this would lead those going east. Then he repeated each direction with an Otter and Buffalo (west), and a young spotted deer and buffalo (east).
The watcher, seeing the holy man's hands back in his lap and his head 224*
down, signaled that that was all and as soon as he turned around, the line 792
formed into two parties, the watcher coming down to join them. The holy man started for home, being required to remain as quiet as possible so that nothing should disturb the good fortune of the hunters, for he would be blamed for any accidents that occurred. White Eagle or one of the successful hunters would see that he got half a buffalo for his
service. The hunters rode to the chase from both sides of the hill so that 224*
the herd was surrounded and all were killed. Then they butchered and distributed the meat according to who had actually killed the animal and who had assisted with the butchering.

As soon as they were through butchering, they packed their horses 224*
and waited until they had a group of two of three so that they could 492
travel together for protection from attack. The horses were lightly

Every available hunter would get a horse if he could and leave the line 224*
of march to go to the hunting grounds. Even if the horse were not fast, [492]
there were enough buffalo for everyone to hunt. In order to free as many horses as possible, the people were to combine and reload all their baggage, doubling up with their neighbors if necessary for the balance of the journey into camp. Man Chief and White Eagle, the first to be ready, rode off a little distance to await the others. The scout now rode all along the line telling all the hunters to get their horses and go where Man Chief and White Eagle were waiting to start.

As the scout turned back to rejoin the waiting chiefs, an old doctor 224*
of the Asking-for-Meat Band began to go among the people to perform a 536
pantomime of sympathetic magic. He followed the path that the scout had taken and, impersonating a buffalo, he went in a trot with his arms flexed at his sides, chanting:

Now you are going to trot
Buffalo who are killed falling.

As he went among the people of each of the four bands, he sang his song each time. The children would try to trip him and make him fall down. When the boy Otter tried this, the old man asked, "Have you any tobacco to give me?" The boy shamefacedly answered no, but the old man fell down for him anyway.

Man Chief had appointed his prophet or "hand waver" who was to 224*
make the incantation to the powers as the hunters were poised ready to 792 •
make the attack on the herd. Now this man was holding back, reluctant [782]
to ride out to the hunting grounds, worrying whether his luck would be good. Finally he joined the hunters, as they were in a hurry to get 224*
started. Then Man Chief called out, "Now we're going ahead!" and with White Eagle he started off a little ahead while the others followed in a bunch. They all galloped their horses as they hurried on. The scout went on ahead to guide them to the place. As soon as they got in sight, the head [202]
scout signaled with his blanket from the hill where he was stationed. If he threw his blanket up leisurely and caught it, there was no hurry, but if he threw it up and pulled it down quickly to his left, they had to hurry because the buffalo would be close and coming on.

25

THE FIRST MAIN HUNT EPISODE

000

Beginning the Attack—the Intricacies of the Hunting Process—the Butchering and Return of Meat to Camp—Recounting of Stories

*224 THE SERIES OF STEPS before the charge on the herd was always the same as that described above for the "Chiefs' Herd." The head scout, coming a little way below the top of the hill, signaled with his blanket how the herd was disposed on the other side. The scout continued down the hill about half way, while the main chiefs rode up to meet him and hold a further consultation about the matter. He first spoke directly to the chief in charge of the hunt episode—in this case Man Chief. The other chiefs stood by, holding their horses, impatiently resting their heads in their hands, until they would be told the message. The crowd of hunters lined up below was also impatient and everyone was saying, "Softly, softly."

Man Chief told the other chiefs their plan and each motioned to his band in the line below. They went back to their line as soon as possible, as the buffalo in this instance were very close and they had to try to keep their hunters in order. The hand-waver or prophet had not yet
• [792] arrived; he was coming on slowly, having been held back by worry over his responsibility. The Skidi hunters were saying, "Why do we have to wait for him? We could all be hand wavers!" But finally the old man arrived and knelt down facing the hill, making his prayers, calling upon the powers and saying that they should try to get the whole herd, although in this instance it was clearly not possible. The head scout stood holding his horse in readiness to join the attack as soon as he was able to notify Man Chief that the incantation was over.

Man Chief now signaled the waiting hunters below, motioning how they would attack. In effect his motions stated: "Any of you want to go

*224 *484 [252] White Woman and Victory Call to eat, one for No Corn and Horse Rider to eat together, and one for herself and her grandson, Otter.

[262] When they got to the top of the hills eight miles west of Genoa they could sight the school house. Everyone called out, "There it is—*kax-karit-pahat*" (house-stone-red). It was red brick. Along the north and south side of the Loup is a deep valley and from the hills on either side of the river, one could see a considerable distance.

[136] No one could camp anywhere near the earth lodge village itself. It was infested with fleas. They camped in the bottomlands within reach of their fields where they stayed for three weeks while they treated the crops and cleaned out the earth lodge so that it became habitable. In the open, they could more readily dispose of the husks, cobs, and other wastes that resulted from processing the crops. The Stay-at-Homes came along to meet them starting out from near Columbus 22 miles away and following northwestward along the Loup River. "Here come the Kakusu, the Stay-at-Homes," everyone would call out as they approached.

• 792 *[224] [777] [821] There was one more item of formal business that they had to attend to before they could get down to the activities of the harvest. To his tent, White Eagle called representatives of each of the four villages and the five old priests. In White Eagle's tent and in his charge at all times had been *taxpiku*, the holy man, who symbolized the luck of the whole tribe on the hunt. It was during the spring, when they had the ceremony of the Young Corn, *Kurahus*, that he was charged with this holy office. He was a man of exemplary character who was favored by the supernatural powers through the generous offerings he had made to their ceremonies. He had to keep his buffalo robe wrapped around him at all times. There was an absolute taboo against his bathing. He was not allowed to cut his fingernails or comb his hair. The other old men went along, one or the other of them staying alongside all during the hunt. His food was fed to him in a special bowl and he was always served first, for it was recognized that he was under a severe strain. Should he take a bath or his feet touch water, there would be severe thunderstorms. It was at this ceremony that he was praised for his courage and diligence and dismissed from his office. Now he was able to laugh and joke. "Oh my, I'm lousy," he said, "and my feet stink!" He tossed off his blanket and ran down to the creek to take a bath as soon as he could. He was no longer an official and no longer needed to be on his dignity.

[777] [243] They still had one more holy man, *taxpiku*, who was holding in the luck of the crops. He had been appointed early in the spring when they distributed the first seeds of the sacred corn. He would not be released until after the harvest. This man had been appointed when the Young Mother Corn was installed, and carried through the summer buffalo hunt and was then dismissed. These were men who had proved themselves devoted to the supernatural powers by their offerings to the sa-

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

cred bundle ceremonies, and for them the success of the venture was a token of the favor they enjoyed with the powers above. 792

In his closing speech in the council tent, White Eagle had thanked his chiefs, braves and young men of the tribe who had helped him in every way to get all the dry meat that they now all had. For, he said, the horses were all heavily laden and every old man and old woman had some meat too. He spoke of the fact that they should now look to the future tasks that were ahead—their crops of corn beans and squash that they had left growing in their gardens and would harvest and preserve. There was no delay when they got to the village in getting to work on the drying and processing of the crop for storage. The star Canopus had risen in the southern sky and the harvest month of September was upon them. The Pawnee felt himself fortunate that by his work he could ensure himself so many of the good things of life. 622 537 221 [821]

115 My collaborator in the present work has been Mr James R Murie, an educated Pawnee whom I have known since he was a schoolboy, twenty years ago. Mr Murie has taken up the task of preserving the ancient lore of his people, and he has not spared himself in his labor. How difficult his undertaking has been, and still is, can only be appreciated by those who have attempted to accomplish a similar work. His patience, tact, and unfailing courtesy and kindness have soothed the prejudice and allayed the fears of the old men who hold fast to the faith of their fathers and are the repositories of all that remains of the ancient rites of the tribe.

Tahirŭssawichi, a full-blood Pawnee, who is the authority for the text and explanation of the ceremony which forms the subject of this paper, officially accompanied the Hako when it was carried by his people to the Omahas. He thus became acquainted with the leading men of that tribe, who were my friends, and this circumstance has favored the successful prosecution of this work. During the fall of 1898 and again in 1900 he and Mr Murie were my guests in Washington; then, and also during my visits to the Pawnees in 1899 and 1901, we were engaged upon the rituals of this ceremony. A final review of the manuscript was made with Mr Murie in the spring of 1902.

Tahirŭssawichi is a member of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe and about 70 years of age. He is tall and well made, and preserves much of the vigor of his earlier days. He is mentally alert, quick to observe, possessed of a tenacious memory, and gifted with a genial nature. He enjoys a joke and is always ready with good-fellowship, but he never forgets the dignity of his calling, or fails to observe the conduct befitting his position as the guardian of sacred rites. Although he is childlike and trusting, he has a keen discernment of character and a shrewd common-sense way of looking at men and things. While he is not indifferent to the great changes which have overtaken his people, new conditions have failed to disturb in any way the convictions of his early religious training.

He has struggled to avoid living in a house, and has held to an earth lodge until it has dropped to pieces about him. He said:[a] "I can not [793] live in a white man's house of any kind. The sacred articles committed to my care must be kept in an earth lodge, and in order that I may fulfill my duties toward them and my people, I must live there also, so that as I sit I can stretch out my hand and lay it on Mother Earth." Last fall (1901) I saw how he had propped up a part of the ruins of his lodge so that he might still keep the sacred objects in a primitive dwelling.

When he was in Washington in 1898 he was taken to the Capitol and the Library of Congress. While the vastness and beauty of these structures gave him pleasure, they did not appeal to him, for such

---

[a] See A Pawnee Ritual Used When Changing a Man's Name, American Anthropologist, n. s., v. 1, January, 1899.

duties throughout the ceremony. Each had a special place in the 796*
lodge, and was the recipient of peculiar benefits supposed to be derived
from the ceremony.

The Father was usually a chief, or a man prominent in the tribe,
who not only had accumulated property, but had a large following of [556
relatives who could contribute to the store of articles required for 554]
these rites. The tribal standing of the Son was always equal to that
of the Father.

The Father selected a man from among those who had been taught the rites and ritual songs to take charge of the ceremony from beginning to end. Such a man was called Ku'rahus, and to him the entire party was required to yield obedience in every particular. The Ku'rahus chose an assistant, and also took with him a third person, a sort of acolyte, to whom he was teaching the rites.

If the Father was a chief, then he had to invite one other chief 796*
to be of his party, to act as substitute whenever he was obliged to be
absent from his post of duty. If, however, the Father was not him- 622
self a chief, then it became necessary for him to secure the attendance of two chiefs, one to act as substitute for the other, as the constant presence of a chief was required throughout the ceremony.

The priest who had charge of the shrine sacred to rain was also of 796*
the Father's party. It was his duty to furnish the pipe and conduct
the ceremony of offering smoke to Tira'wa. The Father's party also [793]
included two doctors, men who had received a knowledge of healing [791
plants, either directly through visions or by initiation into certain
rites by which this knowledge was communicated. Each was required 237]
to bring an eagle's wing, one the right wing and the other the left.
The wing of the eagle is the official mark of a doctor. The Father
must also secure a number of singers, whose duty it was to carry the [533]*
drum and act as a choir to accompany the Ku'rahus, who always led
the singing. The rest of the party of the Father was made up of his [602]
kindred, with such of his friends as might desire to contribute to the required food and gifts and thus to become entitled to share in the return gifts made to the Fathers by the Children.

The preliminary ceremonies (the first three rituals) took place at the lodge of the Father, and from it the party of the Fathers started on its journey.

REQUISITES OF THE CEREMONY AND THEIR SYMBOLISM

The objects peculiar to this ceremony were two feathered stems 796*
about a meter in length, made of ash wood. They were rounded and 192
smoothed, and the pith was burned out to leave an opening for the 778
breath to pass, as through a pipestem. One of these stems was named Raha'katittu, from ra, the, this one; ha=hak, a part of the word hakkow, breathing mouth of wood, the k being dropped for euphony (see translation of hawkowpirus, drum, page 17); katit, dark,

THE HAKO

THE PREPARATION

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The ceremony of the Hako is a prayer for children, in order that
the tribe may increase and be strong; and also that the people may
[782] have long life, enjoy plenty, and be happy and at peace.

The articles that are used in the ceremony can be prepared only under the direction and supervision of a man who has been taught the sacred songs in their sequence and instructed as to their meaning. Such a man is called Ku'rahus, which means a man of years, venerated for his knowledge and experience.

When a man intends to inaugurate a party for the performance of
this ceremony, he selects a Ku'rahus to have complete charge of it,
and fixes a day when the preliminary rites are to be performed. On
[783] that day the Ku'rahus goes into the sweat lodge and there purifies
himself. When he has come out of the sweat bath and has cooled off
a little, he places sweet grass on a small pile of coals. Then he sits
[516] down (on his heels) and draws a robe about himself and the coals, so
that the smoke of the sweet grass may reach every part of his body.
He then takes a bit of fat which has been preserved from a deer or
buffalo consecrated to Tira'wa, and mixes it with red paint and anoints
himself. Then he puts on his leggings and moccasins, and a buffalo
robe, with the hair outside, tying it about the waist with a rope made
of buffalo hair. He fastens a white, downy eagle feather in his scalp
lock and goes to the lodge of the man who has inaugurated the party.
[793] He takes with him a man as assistant; he is also accompanied by
another man, who is learning the songs and the details of the ceremony, preparatory to becoming himself able to conduct this rite, but
whose present duty is to minister to the wants of the Ku'rahus.

At the lodge the chiefs and leading men of the village have been assembled, with those who have agreed to be of the party and have contributed the requisite gifts. This lodge has been swept clean and put in order for the occasion. The Ku'rahus takes his seat at the west end of the lodge, facing the east, and before him, spread out on a mat, are the materials for the preparation of the ceremonial articles.

After the Ku'rahus has begun to sing the songs belonging to the act of preparing these articles there must be no coming in or going out of the lodge, and no one can move from his place until this (the first ritual) has been completed. An exception is made in the case of two men who are sent out by the Ku'rahus to cut and bring in two sticks of ash. They go out during the singing of a certain stanza of the first song and must return while another particular stanza of the same song is being sung.

782 glad Mother Corn is here leading us, and the wildcat goes with the
Hako." But the man who killed it said: "No, this skin will not go
794 with the Hako! I am going to take it to the priest for sacrifice that
825 I may learn some of the mysteries." But he did wrong and suffered
for it, because that wildcat belonged with the Hako, for it was killed
while we were being led by Mother Corn.

*796 The sacred articles having been completed are now laid at ceremonial rest. The wildcat skin is spread upon the earth in the holy place, which is in the west part of the lodge opposite the entrance, a little way back from the fireplace. The head of the skin is placed toward the east; the crotched plum-tree stick is thrust into the ground close to the head; the two feathered stems are laid in the crotch, the brown-eagle stem first, then the white-eagle stem on the top or outside. The eagle builds its nest in the crotch of a tree, so these eagle-feathered stems are laid in the crotch of the plum-tree stick. The ends which are thrust through the duck's head rest upon the wildcat, and under the wing-like pendants the gourd rattles are placed. Directly in front of the crotched stick stands Mother Corn.

PART IV. OFFERING OF SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The time has now come for the offering of smoke to Tira'wa.

The priest of the Rain shrine must be present with the pipe belong-
●793 ing to that shrine and he must conduct the ceremony. After he has
782 filled the pipe with native tobacco the Ku'rahus tells the people that
the time has come to offer smoke to Tira'wa, the father and the giver
of all things. He selects from the company a man to act as pipe bearer during the ceremony of offering smoke. The pipe bearer must be one who has made sacrifices at the sacred tents where the shrines are kept and has been annointed, and who in consequence has been prospered in his undertakings. The prayers of such a man are thought to be more acceptable to the powers than those of a man who has never made sacrifices.

276 In old times men did not smoke for pleasure as they do now, but only in religious ceremonies. The white people have taught the Pawnees to profane the use of tobacco.

778 Each of the sacred shrines of the tribe has a pipe, and its priest
knows the proper order in which the pipe should be offered to Tira'-
793 wahut. I am not a priest, so I do not know the order in which the
Rain pipe is offered, nor can I tell you the ceremony; the knowledge
of that belongs to its priest and not to me.

*796 Up to this point (the conclusion of the ceremony of smoking) all the people present have been obliged to remain quiet in their places; now they are at liberty to move about or to leave the lodge.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART III. CLOTHING THE SON AND OFFERING SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The Ku'rahus orders that the pack containing the new garments brought for the Son be opened, and he directs the chief to clothe the Son. The embroidered shirt, leggings, and moccasins are then put upon him and he is wrapped in a fine robe. 79* [431]

The Ku'rahus asks the priest of the shrine which controls the rain to take its sacred pipe and direct the Son how to offer tobacco and smoke to Tira'wa. [782 793]

The priest fills the sacred pipe and carries it toward the south, where he sits down beside the Son and instructs him what to do.

The Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief, bearing the sacred objects, follow the priest and halt before the Son.

The priest puts the sacred pipe in the hand of the Son, and the first stanza of the following song is sung.

FIRST SONG

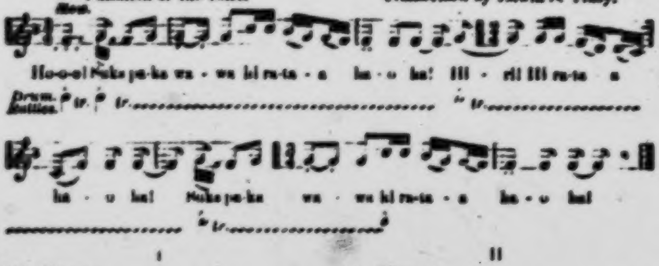
Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 82.

• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

539* 796* [533*]


Men.
Ho-o-o! Suks pa-ka wa - wa hi ra-ta - a ha - o ha! Hi - ri! Hi ra-ta - a
Drum. Rattles.
tr.
ha - o ha! Suks pa-ka wa - wa hi ra-ta - a ha - o ha!
tr.

I	II
417 Ho-o-o!	421 Ho-o-o!
418 Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!	422 Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
419 Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!	423 Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!
420 Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!	424 Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!

Translation of First Stanza

417 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

418 Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!

suks, a command; you must.

paka, pako, speak. The change in the last vowel is for euphony.

wawa, part of rawawa, to send something; in this instance, to send the words or thoughts of the prayer.

hi, that person.

rata, my or mine.

a, vowel prolongation.

hao, child; offspring.

ha, a musical vocable used to fill out the measure.

*539 419 Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!
*796
hiri! an exclamation meaning give heed! harken!
hi rata-a hao ha! See line 418.

420 See line 418.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The words of this stanza are a command to the Son. They are, "Give heed, my child; you must now send your prayers to the powers which dwell above."

This stanza is sung four times.

Then the Son takes a pinch of tobacco from the bowl of the pipe and passes it along the stem and offers it as the priest directs.

[793 [778] There is a certain order to be observed in the offering of tobacco and smoke to the powers above peculiar to each of the sacred shrines, and only the priest or keeper of a shrine knows the order in which the powers which preside over his shrine should be approached. The sacred pipe belonging to the Rain shrine is used in this ceremony, and its priest must direct the Son how to make the offering. I do not know this order; it does not belong to me to know it.

When the pinch of tobacco has been presented to the powers above it is placed upon the earth.

After this act the second stanza is sung.

Translation of Second Stanza

421 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

422 Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
ti, he.
wawaka; wako, spoken; the added wa indicates that he has spoken to those who are at a great distance.
wawa, part of tiwari, traveling from one, and towawa, traveling in many ways, to many different places.
hi, that person.
rata, my or mine.
a, vowel prolongation.
hao, child.
ha, a musical vocable.

423 See line 419.

424 See line 422.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[782] As the Son offers tobacco in the directions indicated by the priest, he prays to the powers that dwell in these directions. What he says is not audible to us, for it is not intended for us to hear.

The words of this stanza refer to the prayers of the Son.

We are bidden to take heed that the prayers of the Son, who is as our child, have been spoken and have traveled far, going on and on to the different distant places where the great powers abide which watch over the rain.

778

Bear Dance, and a number of sacred bundles were opened and an 796
attempt made to put them in physical order. 178

The bundles and bundle rituals were esoteric possessions and knowledge, controlled by individuals. As such their inheritance and transmission followed traditional modes, and according to the orthodox old Pawnee doctrine no revival of extinct forms was possible. The sanction of the Ghost Dance doctrines and visions was in definite conflict with old customs of transmission, and came to predominate. [424]

In the traditional view, the knowledge and learning of an individual had to be handed down by actual instruction of the young. This was somewhat different for the two kinds of bundles, typified by the sacred bundles (with which the society bundles can be associated, as essentially derivative), and the medicine men's bundles. For the sacred bundle type the offices of ownership and priesthood were independent: A chief owned the bundle physically, and his wife took care of it. He did not necessarily know the ritual lore of the bundle. A priest controlled the ritual, demonstrated it on the proper occasions, and advised the owner of his bundle obligations. The physical bundle was ordinarily inherited directly in the male line. The ritual knowledge, however, was transmitted by the priest to his successor by means of instruction over many years. The priest usually taught a close relative (not necessarily in the male line exclusively) because of the desire to hand on his learning in his own family line. But lacking close kin of suitable temperament, the priest taught whom he pleased. For the medicine men's type of bundle, ownership and priesthood centered in the same individual. The doctor himself was owner of the physical bundle, and of its associated teachings, and officiated as his own demonstrating "priest" on ritual occasions. In the course of his life he taught a man to be his successor, and gradually turned over the ritual functions to him. The successor was usually a close relative, such as a "son" or "nephew", etc., but here too the medicine man was at liberty to instruct whom he would, and on occasion chose more distant relatives when near relations proved unwilling to attend seriously to the learning of the traditional material. 778 793 424 622 869 [602]

Ordinarily a man taught his successor largely by demonstration. That is, the apprentice took part in the actual demonstrations of the ritual (and the curing of the doctor) watching what went on. In the course of the procedure the master explained the detail. As the teacher found his pupil mastering phases of the activity, he turned over to the pupil such parts as were understood. In 778 793

778 this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course
of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher
793 lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that
as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that
[828] when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the
old and learned always held back something until they were ready
to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught
his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on
his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told
him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When
upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part
[764 of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by
428] the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased
medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest,
a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance:
the physical bundle survived, though it might be less
and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained
182 as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through
178 cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through
the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of
the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid
increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was
in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals,
which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction
rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there
was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young
men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase
of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their
time: and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an
early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode
of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of
424 private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost
793 through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no
sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who
attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

182 The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance
visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would
178 "see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision
668 then became a command upon himself and others around him to
787 carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life
could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

right to sit near him and watch; that Bear Chief took pity on him 178
and taught him the ceremony and songs without pay. He then 756
told them to go to their homes, that on the morrow when they
entered the lodge each one was to take his seat. They were then 796
dismissed with the exception of Little Warchief. [424]

"When they were alone Big Star questioned Little Warchief about the songs and asked if he knew them. Little Warchief said, 'Yes, I know the songs.' Big Star was glad of this for although he could carry on the ceremony, he was afraid that he would not be able to sing the cedar-tree songs."

(Later at the preliminary feast to set the date of the ceremony). "when all were in, Big Star said, 'You, who are sitting at the altar and those of you at the stations, old men and chiefs. Today we sit in this lodge as men of the Bear Society. We are gathered together here, through Woman Yellow Corn, who had a vision of one of our departed relatives, who asked that we have this ceremony, that Father and Mother might receive our smoke..."

The medicine men's activities which had not ceased, such as the Doctor Dances and the Buffalo Dance, took a new lease on life as a result of the Ghost Dance impetus. The people attended and participated enthusiastically, and young men began again to learn the doctors' ways.

It is probable that reconstructions of sacred bundle ceremonies 178
were attempted, but we have unfortunately no record. The main 778
effort of revival, as regards the sacred bundles, was directed toward 793
bringing to the attention of the people the bundles still in the
possession of the Pawnee, (viz., neither buried nor sold), and to open these in order to renew the contents. I do not know with how many bundles this was attempted. The procedure of renewal was also ritually and physically difficult. In the old days the main priests took charge, and the necessary materials were made available in advance. In Oklahoma neither priests nor materials were available. Mark Evarts described for me the events which took place in 1903 when an attempt was made to renew the tuhutsaku or Left-handed bundle. I quote a few passages:

Frank Leader was the main priest, assisted by Running Scout, Goodeagle, Knifechief (the elder), and John Box. When the bundle was lying open on the altar, Leader spoke:

"Now what you see here, it's a long time since we opened it. Now this here sweet grass," (picking it up), "it's been here a long time. That's what they used to light pipes many years ago. Now these things before me that I have, God put them before us. What

---

[1] Referring to the Ghost Dance prophecy of a coming change.

178 you see here our old grandfathers had their hands on, but this old woman," — referring to Gillingham's mother —, "when no one's 778 around she ought to untie it; bugs are spoiling some of these things. 793 It isn't like it used to be a while back. We could untie the bundles every year, sometimes twice a year; now everything has kind of rotted. Now today we've untied it all. God himself looks down on this here. It is his will that things are changing on earth.[1] I don't know. I only have what I see here, but there used to be an old man, a priest, who sat here, and when he opened the bundle he would cry over it. I can't do anything. I have nothing to change these things. Now this bird where the head is coming off, I can't sew it with sinew; it will tear. It must be sewn with thread. The only way I have to do is to grease the things and make smoke. I can't go through it as they used to a long time ago."

Although the reconstruction of extinct ceremony, and the renewal of partially disintegrated bundles, proved extremely difficult, the attempt was made. At the same time the cosmological references and type paraphernalia of old bundles were recalled to serve as source material for conceptions and objects integrated in other cultural forms. Thus we find ideas from the old forms of ceremonialism, from the Evening Star bundle, the human sacrifice of the Morning Star bundle, and the Calumet ritual, interwoven with Ghost Dance thought in such developments as the Ghost Dance ceremonial forms and the Ghost Dance hand games; and replicas of old sacred objects appeared at hand game altars, symbolising the references of visions to the old bundles and ceremonies. (See Chapters II, VIII, IX, X, XI).

REVIVALS OF SOCIETIES

178 The old societies were a major type of revivals during the Ghost Dance period. There is evidence for a revival in one form or 575 another of the raris arusa (Horse Society), hatuxka ("Those coming behind" . . . Crow Lance Society), raris skirixki (Wolf Society), tirupahe (Fighting lances), asitsakaharu (Crazy Dog Dancers), raris kaka (Crow Society), pakspahukasas (Roached Heads), asakipiriru (Young Dog Dancers), raris arika (Horn Society or Horn Dance), and pitararis iruska (the old War Dance)[1].

[1] I have limited myself in this discussion to the facts of revival; the society forms, ceremonial smoking, performances, etc., will be discussed elsewhere. For some description of the old form of these societies, see Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, pp. 561, 570, 577, 578, 579, 581, 582, 616, 608. (Page references follow the order of the societies as listed above).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance 342
of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and [778]
suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and
other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the
altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, [554
the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, 513]
which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two
below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a
"skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending
upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward
to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This
framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow
rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was
protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered
roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when [484]
a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially
anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family
usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer
abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was
made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered
with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four 619
bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary
chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had 621
also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its [778
priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with 793]
those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and
symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a
medium of communication was believed to be opened between the
people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and
prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the 621
head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced 622
by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus 624
or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the
Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were
the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council 623
was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands,
and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of
the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a 611
man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family. 591

---

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. xv, New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band 778
were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" [621]
belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor [614]
by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging
to the several bands there were two bundles which were the [619
property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one 422]
or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most
sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one
was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning
Star, while the other symbolized the female element, or Evening
Star. These ears of corn were shelled and given to the people as
seed corn at the first ceremony in the spring. Next in importance [237]
were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin
symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be
awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet
grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies,
tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained
other articles, and the skins of birds other than those
mentioned. [611]

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary 422
keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the 428
owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped 778
in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on 621
the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always 778
placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning
Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent
paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from
those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey considers
the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to [171]
the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine
bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. 778
The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in 796
the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl.
7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by
a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony
the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the
freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances
there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not
fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the [793]
people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization
of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

---

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Simms, Director of the Field Meusum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 8).

631 gether. So Errand Man was sent out. From each village came the people with
their sacred bundle. Errand Man told the chief that upon Elkhorn River he found
773 a village of earth-lodges covered with squash vines in which a bundle ceremony was going on in consequence of which they refused to come. Also on Looking Glass Creek he came to a village where the people had just performed a ceremony to call the buffalo and as the buffalo were at hand, they could not accept the invitation. Most of the buffalo were killed upon the ice which during the day was covered with water. The wolves stood around the carcasses and many were caught by the feet as the ice formed at night. So these two villages did not take part in the general bundle ceremony and were known as the Squash Vine and Wolf-standing-in-the-water.

Those who had assembled now performed the four-pole ceremony. The keeper of the bundle and his priest occupied their regular seats at the back of the lodge and as the bundles of other villages arrived those from the north took seats on that side and those from the south upon the other. The village of the host was then called Center Village.

622 The special federation of these Skidi villages necessitated a governing
organization different from that of the other divisions. The governing
631 body was a society of chiefs, twelve or more in number. It seems that in principle there was to be one chief for each village bundle, though as such he had nothing to do with the bundle. When the chiefs society met in a lodge they took their seats in the same order as indicated in the diagram of the four-pole ceremony, but the bundles were not brought into the lodge.
[202] Two errand men were members and sat by the door.[1] The chiefs were of equal rank and inherited their office. However, there was some selection, for the elderly men filled vacancies from those directly descended from chiefs. All the chiefs taken together constituted the tribal council of the Skidi.

The chiefs are, however, not the highest authority, that distinction
631 belonging to the priests of the four main bundles. Their office is hereditary;
793 each priest selects an assistant from his near relatives who thus becomes qualified to become priest in turn. In rotation the four leading priests take over the responsibility for the welfare of the people for one year, counting from the first thunder in the spring until fall. This chief priest is the highest authority; he is the source of final appeal and to him all acts of the
224 council of chiefs must be referred. The buffalo hunt in particular must
631 be regulated according to the ritual of the bundle whose priest happens
778 to be in charge. As noted above, the Red Calf bundle is superior to the
793 leading bundles, but its priest cannot exercise authority except he be

---

[1] As noted above, two villages refused to join in the federation. Later, they were taken in and their chiefs were given seats in the vacant place on the south side of the lodge, but they were not permitted to enter the four-pole ceremony.

officially called upon to assume it. As previously noted, there was a curi- 224
ous arrangement in that the keeper of the bundle could be endowed with 631
the power of all four bundles. This we do not fully understand, but 778
in case buffalo should fail, owing to the weak powers of the chief priest, 793
special ceremonies would be performed to pool, or unite, the powers of the four main bundles by temporarily merging their power into the ritual of the Red Calf bundle. This bundle alone contains firesticks; its keeper builds the council fire, and in the old Skidi scheme of villages it belonged to the central village. Its keeper must also be present at the ceremonies of the other four bundles, and in a way he alone can call the whole tribe together. Yet, it is only in times of great trial, that he by special ceremonies becomes the chief priest. It is only when the four leading bundles fail to provide buffalo and the people are starving that the chiefs beg the priest whose bundle is then leader to call upon the calf bundle to lead. The priest gives his consent. Then he fills the sacred pipe with native tobacco and hands [276]
the pipe to his chief who goes to the tipi of the calf bundle priest. When the chief enters the tipi he walks to the priest who offers the pipe to him and explains why he has done so. The priest, knowing the wants of the people, receives the pipe. The chief thanks him; lights his pipe and waits. When the chief receives the pipe he returns to the other priests' lodge and returns the pipe, telling him that the other priest had received the pipe. The priest and people are glad. Then the ceremony of transferring power is carried out. It is the belief that the buffalo will then come dashing into the village.

The priests of the four leading bundles and the priest of the Red Calf 793
bundle are thus seen to be important personages. While each of the other bundles has its priest, his function is quite secondary; in fact, he is little more than a custodian, providing the meat and corn necessary to the ceremony. The principle of operation is that the ceremony for each bundle is conducted by one of the five leading priests, i. e., the priest of the Red Calf bundle must always be present, and the conductor is either he or one of the four leading priests, as the ritual may require. Normally all five are expected to be present. There is a partial exception in the Morning Star bundle for in this case the conductor of the ceremony was a special official of the village, not its keeper, but even he was under obligation to call in the calf bundle priest who alone knew the creation rituals, and the two leading rituals for all bundles. In short, with the exception just cited, the calf bundle priest was required to know the ritual of each bundle and if need be conduct each ceremony; the four leading priests were to a less degree required to do the same.

In this connection, it may be noted that the custodianship of a bundle is in the hands of the woman. She cares for it at all times and knows some

793 of the important features of the ritual; yet in all ceremonies except that of
the four-pole, she is barred from so much as looking inside while the bundle
is open. All the men and boys are at liberty to come in and sit with the
bundles at their respective villages.[1]

Finally, it may be noted that there is a chief for each village bundle
622 (counting the four leading bundles as one) and he is theoretically at least
793 the custodian, but there is another man in his village who is the keeper of
the ritual, or the priest. He conducts the ceremonies. In last resort, he is
superior to the chief, especially the priests of the calf bundle and the four
leading bundles. Hence, a chief is chief by virtue of his being the custodian
of a bundle. This is why the society of chiefs has its seats in the same
order as the priests in the four-pole ceremony. It also makes clear the
significance of the initial statement that the bundle scheme of the Skidi is
the basis of their political and social organization. Likewise, while it is
true that the chiefs are all of equal rank, the chief of the four-bundle village
who by the way, is attached to the yellow-tipi bundle, sits at the head as
may be seen from the diagram for the four-pole ceremony, and so is the leading,
or, head chief. He is master of ceremonies, but the chief occupying the
seat of Big Black Meteoric Star is the one to conduct all the ritualistic parts
of the ceremony.

THE SOCIETY OF CHIEFS.

Among the Pitahauirata there was a special organization of chiefs,
622 which had its less formal counterparts among the other divisions. The first
575 part of the society's ceremony is held privately by the members, or chiefs;
i. e., those now holding office and men who have descended from deceased
chiefs. The membership is strictly hereditary. In the ceremony the leader,
[292] or head chief, must wear an old style beaver hat with a red plume. The hat
is covered with a dark neck cloth such as was formerly worn by sailors. The
meetings are secret and we have no data; but after these ceremonies the
women descended from chiefs were called into the lodge. Each woman has
to part her hair and tie it back, painting the part red. Woven sashes are
[301] worn over the shoulders and wound around for a belt. Many strands of
beads are worn around the neck. The men all have the roached hair and
wear feathers through the roach, but the young men wear down feathers
[237] only. Some wear leggings bordered with scalplocks and eagle feathers, and
black moccasins. Each man and woman carries the skin of an eagle. In
arranging the places for the women, a line of two abreast is formed: first
[602] the two leading men, behind them their sisters or nearest female relatives;

---

[184] [1] Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, the regulations are the same, except that men must pay a fee to the priests for witnessing a bundle ceremony.

VII. CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Although Pawnee mythology abounds in tales of the poor boy 554
who achieved success, it appears that the rank of an individual was 565
determined to a large extent by the social position of his immediate ancestors. At any rate, certain classes of society were recognized and membership in these was to a certain degree hereditary. [In the manuscript the terms "caste" and "class" are both used indiscriminately. I have used "class" throughout.] This was especially true of the highest in rank, though they might be deposed for cause, and though a child born of poor parents of low rank might through his own efforts become a tribal chief. Before enumerating the specific classes in Skidi society, one should note that all positions and all rank were conceived as having supernatural origin. In fact, the higher of these were divinely instituted and instructions given the first holders as to their duties and prerogatives. Theoretically, Skidi society was divided into two great divisions: those who made war and protected the village from human enemies; and those who by sacred and supernatural means protected the village from disease, famine, and pestilence. To these two general divisions might be added a third class consisting of poor people who did not possess rank, power, influence, or any considerable amount of property. The real distinction as made by the Skidi, however, was that of the nobility as contrasted with the common people, one's position in one or the other divisions being, as already noted, largely a matter of ancestry. But it may be repeated that there was no tribal law that would prohibit the son of a poor man from becoming a chief, and, on the other hand, it was possible for the son of a chief to become an outcast, for the individual was judged by his own actions.

In the nobility were to be found the leaders in the material 554
affairs of the band—the chiefs, braves, and warriors; those who 565
looked out for the larger religious interests—the priests; and those 793
who kept the band free from sickness and drove out disease—the 622
medicine-men. The duties of these three groups were quite separate 759
and distinct. Occasionally, however, one individual might at the 756
same time be chief, priest, and medicine-man.

CHIEFS

The chiefs of the Skidi were thirty-one in number. Of these 622
thirty-one the representative of each village, who was the owner of 565
the sacred bundle of that village, was chief by heredity, and trans-

684 very swift, and symbolized the dangerous cyclone coming from the
565 clouds. The hawk skin was used because the hawk was made to be
778 powerful and killed its prey with its wings, which were symbolic of
a war club. [The hawk kills its prey with its knuckles rather than its wings.]

PRIESTS

793 As the chief gave the people instruction and advice in worldly
565 matters, so the priest, who controlled the ritual attached to the sacred village bundle, kept the society en rapport with the supernatural. The priestly class among the Skidi comprised the most learned men of the tribe. They were required to have prodigious
[151] memories and were said to swallow every song. In addition to those sung at ceremonies, the priests recited rituals of instruction for the changing of names, and others having to do with agriculture, the hunt, and the warpath. They served as go-betweens in weddings, and in general played a great part in the social life of the village. Inasmuch as the office of priest required above all an extraordinarily retentive memory and a deeply religious attitude of mind, the priests often encouraged young men possessing these qualifications to become their pupils and ultimately admitted the students to the priestly class. The priest's life was shortened or lengthened in accordance with the sacrifices he made and by his zeal in guarding the esoteric knowledge entrusted to him. For him to speak of the secrets of the altar trivially or on ordinary occasions was to shorten his life.

Associated with the priests were errand men and criers. The latter were old men who had spent a great part of their lives in the performance of sacrifices and who were entitled to announce ceremonies and recite rituals of instruction, particularly those referring to creation, through the village. Their share of the ceremonial feasts was great and in proportion to the honor in which they were held. For a child to mock them or to imitate their intonation or to treat them with disrespect was to incur a severe beating from the parents. The errand men, two in each lodge, stationed on the north and south sides by the entrance, assisted in the ceremonies by building the fire and replenishing it, acting as messengers for the priests in summoning the participants of a ceremony, and so forth. Like the priests and criers, they also received a share of the feast which might be distributed at the conclusion of a ceremony.

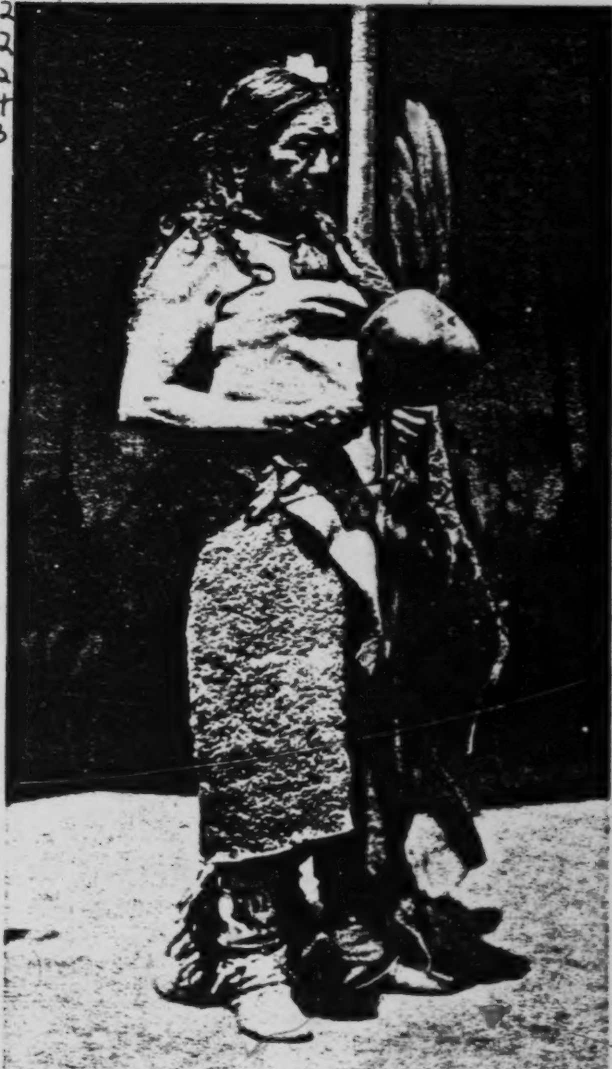
105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee
[171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but
they understood the arts of pottery-making and bas-
291 ket-weaving. During the summer the men usually
wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings
and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins,
leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned
on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe
do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The
302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made
301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced
the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings.
342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth
lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine
Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the
sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or
bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi.
The first three of these were closely related, but the
Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and
considered themselves more closely related to the
Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some dis-
tance to the north. In their settlements along the river,
[361] the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi
being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest
downstream, and the other two bands between. Each
621 band was divided into a number of villages which were
social as well as geographical units. All the members
of a village believed themselves to be descended from
a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made
within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female
[778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) con-
[793] taining sacred objects, and priests who had charge of
the rituals and ceremonies connected with these ob-
622 jects. It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a
council composed of its leading men. If the chief was
a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

142
292
302
534
793



A PAWNEE PRIEST IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME.

[facing p. 14]

796 behind them was packed with spectators. So great was the eagerness of the people to see the ceremony that many of them tore holes in the roof and walls of the lodge, leaving it a complete wreck.

793 When all the invited guests had taken their places, 796 the chief priest told the priests of the Four Direction bundles to go into the woods and bring back four thick [824] poles about twelve feet long. The priest of the northeast was to bring an elm; he of the northwest, a box elder; he of the southwest, a cottonwood; and he of the 796 southeast, a willow. When they had returned, the four poles were laid on the fireplace with their ends together so that they formed a cross whose arms pointed to the four directions. The poles had to be long enough to last for the entire four days of the ceremony, and as they burned, they were pushed in toward the center, the cross being always maintained.

The ceremonies which followed are not fully known, but they consisted of many songs and dances, with feasting, and continued for three days and nights. [786] During this time, and for the three days after the slaying of the sacrifice, the ordinary rules of conduct were set aside, and the priests announced to the people that if any man approached any woman during this period, she was to go with him willingly, that the tribe might increase.

727 Toward morning of each night, the representative 782 of the northeast village danced around the fireplace, 796 and taking the pole brought by the priest of that direction, pointed its glowing end toward the girl's body. This was repeated by the representative of the other directions in turn, but the girl's body was never touched with the brand. Indeed, the girl was treated with the greatest respect and consideration throughout the ceremony. She was told that the entire performance was given in her honor, and everything was done to lull

796 821 take a certain position. When these signs were seen, then they must listen for the thunder that is low, deep, and rumbling, starting in the west and rolling around the entire circuit of the heavens. Sheet lightning gave warning that this kind of thunder would soon appear. This thunder was the voice of Heaven, and when it came from the south they knew that it was the signal for the creation ritual to be performed.

796 778 821 221 The ritual was part of the sacred lore of the Evening Star bundle which at this time was kept in the earth lodge of Old Lady Lucky Leader. As soon as the thunder was heard, the five official priests gathered there and began their preparations for the ritual. The same ritual would be repeated for each of the twelve major sacred bundles, the Evening Star which they were about to perform, then Morning Star bundle, then Big Black Meteoric Star and nine others. At intervals all during the month of March the priests went in succession to the different households where each of the bundles was kept, performing the ritual to renew their powers. The order for the first three performances was as given above; the other nine, simply as each of the households happened to be ready to pause in its work and to provide the necessary food for the priests.

796 793 [778] Now the five priests were sitting at the west in the lodge of Old Lady Lucky Leader, the Evening Star bundle lying open before them. The sacred objects were spread out on the skin of a tawny yellow calf representing the herds of buffalo. Two sacred ears of corn represented their staple food, two owlskins the watchfulness of the chiefs, hawkskins the ferocity of the warriors, flint for fire and sweet grass for incense; paints symbolized the powers of the different directions of the universe. Each of the priests held a gourd rattle in his right hand, and they sang together of the first creation. Their responsibility lay heavy upon them, for they and they alone must bring the world back to life again. Would they now be able to bring back the abundance of summer—the green grass, the trees, the animals reborn, the waters flowing free, the warmth of a summer day? Loud and insistently they recounted each minute step of the creation and in the trancelike depths of their thinking, the events rolled by before them.

773 In the beginning Heaven sat in the unassorted universe and thought. He sent his thoughts out over space. Then he created the celestial gods to bring his thoughts to fruition. First he made the gods of the cardinal directions—the Evening Star at the west with the moon as her helper, the Morning Star at the east with the sun as his helper, in the north the North Star and in the south, Canopus, the South Star. Then Heaven placed four stars in the semicardinal directions—Black Star in the northeast, Yellow Star in the northwest, White Star in the southwest and Red Star in the southeast. Heaven said to them, "You four shall be known as the ones who uphold the heavens. There you shall stand as long as the

visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her 773 four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it [829] is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled recounting, [628] in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the [631] past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and ongoing life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the 796 year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first cer- 619 emony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, 631 a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a ceremony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. [778] (See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual 796 during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved 782

[793]
[221]
[720]

796 782 [793] [221] [727] [178] the sacrifice to the Morning Star of a young girl that had been captured from the enemy. This was compensation to the Morning Star god for his struggle during the creation. The last girl to be sacrificed to the Morning Star was a young Sioux girl named Haxti in 1838, after which the practice was abandoned. This ceremony symbolized fertility in general.

796 221 778

TABLE 7-1. *Chart of Sacred Bundle Ceremonies in the Spring and Fall*

The several ceremonies of the spring planting and fall harvest form a parallel series, the six ceremonies in each showing a recurrent alternation of the powers of the Evening Star and the four semicardinal-direction bundles. The first four pertain to planting, fertility, and war, the latter two to buffalo hunting and migration.

	Spring		*Fall*
I.	Spring Renewal—ceremony of the creation at the first thunder from the south; Evening Star sponsorship.	I.	Green Corn Ceremony. Evening Star sponsorship.
II.	Distributing sacred seed corn of the special breed of corn included in the sacred bundles. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the summer-direction bundles—southwest or southeast.	II.	Harvest of Mature Corn. Mature corn from sacred seeds installed in the sacred bundles, replacing the sacred ears of last year's planting. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the winter-direction bundles—northwest or northeast.
III.	Ground-breaking ceremony, *Awari*, movement, activity. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an affiliate of the Evening Star in charge of the ritual as sponsor.	III.	Four-Pole Ceremony—symbolizing political federation and control of the country through war expeditions so that they could go out into the country on the hunt. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an Evening Star affiliate in charge of the ritual as sponsor.
IV.	Birth and growth of Young Mother Corn through adolescence to young womanhood; known as *Kurahus*, "Priest." Semicardinal-direction bundle in charge of ritual as sponsor.		

represent night, the time of the Evening Star. She wore a skirt and a 773
painted hide robe around her shoulders. Now they sang of the origin of 796
the Morning Star itself that they thought had come from a meteor. They 782
sang to the girl, "You are now wearing the covering of meteorite [822]
grandfather," and in the next song, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite father," and then, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite brother." They completed her costume with a row of feathers standing up erect along the median line of her head. Her costume complete, she sat down in her place next to the Wolf man. They sang until midnight and then they paused, awaiting the time of the Morning Star. Meanwhile they placed a pinch of tobacco before the altar and sang about flint, the meteorite grandfather and other Morning Star symbols. Thereafter they would have to address their songs to the Morning Star in the sky. During the pause, once in a while the visionary took up the four direction poles from the fireplace and pointed them at the girl as he had done before in the prescribed succession: northeast, and so on.

Now the procession to the scaffold would begin. All the men and 773
boys and even male infants were to participate in the sacrifice. During 796
the day, one of the priests had climbed up to the roof of the earth lodge 796
and called out, alerting them to be prepared with their bows and arrows. 793 •
In the ceremonial lodge, the priest gave the war leader the braided elk- 782
hide ropes to tie on the girl's wrists. He took up the gourd rattles. It was almost daylight. The four priests of the four direction bundles had gone out to dress, each being assisted by a specially designated person to adjust their costumes and to get ready. The Northwest man (Yellow Tent) wore two owlskins on his back that he had taken from his bundle; in his hand he held the bow he took from the Skull bundle and a red arrow that he had added to it. The Southeast bundle man (Red Tent) also had two owls and took a stick with coals on the end. The Southwest bundle priest (White-Mother-Born-Again) had two owls also and he took a war club. The fourth priest, representing the Big Black Meteoric Star (black, northeast) who also wore two owlskins on his back, took the flint knife.

Now all sang and started on the procession, the girl and the Wolf 773
man in the lead followed by the visionary-war leader dressed in his ot- 796
ter collar, his otter belt with sixty-five scalps, his pipe, and other regalia 782
and the four direction priests in their costumes.

The dawn was coming and the scaffold was ready. Slowly the procession went toward it. As they went they sang four songs. The girl looked around and wondered. The first song said, "She was looking around for just a little time." Then they sang of Heaven and of the powers of the bear, the mountain lion, the wildcat, and the wolf as the girl approached the scaffold. The Wolf man urged her to mount and as she

ble he would kill a buffalo and pronounce it holy. Then he called in the 243
five official Skidi priests, who were the ministers of the four semicar- 787
dinal-direction bundles and that of the evening Star, and entertained them [793]
at a feast of buffalo ribs, telling them of his vision. His wife sliced, dried, and packaged the rest of the consecrated buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit at home until the spring, when the ceremony was to be performed.

The visionary became a principal actor in the ceremony and made a [574]
major contribution of buffalo meat to the ritual feast, while his wife contributed a considerable amount of the boiled dried corn. He considered it a great privilege to participate in the ceremony and to receive instructions
from the priests concerning the cosmic traditions. During the ceremony 243
he would impersonate an important god of the creation, *Paruksti*, the 787
Wonderful, the personified Thunderstorm with its four aspects of cloud,
wind, lightning, and thunder. After the Star Gods had created man in 776
their own image, they combined the powers of the storm into one great 773
person, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, and sent him to earth to inspect their handiwork. In him were embodied all the self-renewing powers of earth. In the course of his travels he acted as scout, found the buffalo, and taught the people how to hunt them. The visionary was to impersonate the god in two roles—one in the symbolic acting-out of the male role in procreation and later as the guardian of their fortunes in the buffalo hunt.

In this ceremony of the young holy corn plant, the keepers of all the 243
twelve sacred bundles had assembled in the lodge of the Southwest (or 793
Southeast) Semicardinal-direction priest. The Evening Star priest and the four semicardinal-directions priests sat at the west and the other bundle ministers were ranged along the sides in positions appropriate to the place of origin of their legendary villages and their cosmic affiliations.

The visionary stood before the Evening Star priest, who arranged the 243
buffalo robe that he wore and tied the buffalo hair rope around his waist 793
so that he was dressed as a priest. The Evening Star priest now instructed 787
the visionary in what he was to do. He gave him a small pipe filled with
tobacco from the sacred bundle. The visionary then led the procession 788
that was to go into the field where the sacred corn plant was growing. It was the field of the wife of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle priest. The procession lined up on the north side of the ceremonial earth lodge, the visionary in the lead, the four-directions priests following behind him and an errand man following after to serve them, carrying a lighted brand with which to light the visionary's pipe. The Evening Star priest remained in the lodge at the west and the ministers of the other sacred bundles continued to sit in their places. As the procession emerged from the lodge everyone in the village was standing on the

243 793 787 788 rooftops to see the priests get the young plant of the holy corn. The priests were wrapped in their buffalo robes with the hair side out and were rattling their gourds and singing. They felt it to be a long journey symbolically signifying the eons of the creation, and the song was sung to recapitulate all its stages—the stages that pertained to women (the land, the vegetation, the waters and the cultivated seeds), and the stages that pertained to men (the moccasin, its string, the robe, the power of the universe, Mother Corn, and the thunder). These stages of the [772] men symbolized conception and birth—the moccasin, a pocket-like covering into which something is thrust; the moccasin cord, the umbilical cord; the robe, the enveloping membrane of the foetus; the creative power of the universe, the sacred nature of conception and birth; Mother Corn, germination; and the thunder, the fertilizing principle. The little corn plant they uprooted in the field would symbolize all these things.

243 793 787 When they arrived at the sacred corn hill, they ranged themselves around it, the visionary to the west, the four semicardinal-directions priests in their appropriate stations. They again sang the steps of the creation as they sat in their places, and then the priests remained seated while the visionary rose and prepared to smoke his pipe with the powers above. He walked to the north side of the hill, where the errand man [782] lighted his pipe, then proceeded around it, pausing to offer the mouthpiece to the powers in the order directed by the Evening Star priest before they had left the lodge. He offered it to Heaven, the Evening Star, the Morning Star, the Big Black Meteoric Star in the northeast, the North and Lucky Wind, a great legendary hero *Pahukatawa*, then southeast to the Sun and southwest to the Moon. Next he emptied the ashes on the corn hill and gave the pipe to the ranking priest. Then he sat down at the west and in counterclockwise order beginning at the northeast he pressed into the cornhill a gift of little pellets of buffalo-heart fat and tongue fat wrapped around with some tobacco. He alternated his offerings, beginning with tongue fat at the northeast and heart fat at the northwest, and so on.

Now the most solemn part of the ceremony was to be enacted. They were to uproot the sacred corn sprout in a symbolic act of birth. The visionary stood at the west and instructed the Southwest (or Southeast) priest to ease the plant out of the ground very gently so that he would not disturb any part of the delicate roots. The roots symbolized the moccasin strings and the seeds, the moccasin or covering for power. The priest wrapped the "newborn" plant in buffalo wool and handed it to the visionary, who placed it on his back in his buffalo robe as a woman carries her child. Now they began again to sing the steps of the creation and lined up preparatory to returning to the ceremonial lodge. Everyone in the village was watching and listening as they sang on their way back.

793 243 In the lodge, the Evening Star priest unwrapped the plant from its

wool covering and placed it on the ground before him, offering his pipe 243
to it to smoke. [793]

The next steps involved the transformation of a dogwood stick into a "body" for the plant, [322] by an expert arrowshaft maker, for whom tools were ready in the sacred bundle—a new knife, an elkhorn arrowshaft straightener, a grooved sandstone smoother, some sinew, and different-colored paints. After the shaft was made, red and white paints were applied, and it was anointed with milk from the breasts of a young nursing mother who was called in to volunteer this donation. In their proceedings, they were symbolically creating a young mother out of the corn plant which was tied onto the head of the shaft. The shaft was painted with a little red groove near the top to signify the face, and a red line drawn down the length signified the windpipe, breath, and the principle of life. First the priest spoke to the new young mother corn, after which it was passed around among the other bundle ministers in the lodge who [793] spoke of it as "the voice." Then it was passed around a second time and all breathed upon it—the Evening Star priest first, followed by all the others.

Now the errand man went through the village crying out that the new [624] mother needed a robe, a cowskin in the hair, and a buffalo hair belt. The donor brought them to the lodge. The last act of the ceremony consisted in wrapping Mother in her new robe with her face exposed so that she might watch over the people. She was tied to the outside of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle.

Just before this final step, the visionary was dressed up by the priest 243
for his second role that he would carry throughout the summer buffalo 787
hunt until they arrived back at the village. He would now impersonate *Paruksti*, Wonderful Power, the Thunderstorm. [776] He was wrapped in a buffalo skin that he had specially prepared, and wore special moccasins and a buffalo-hair rope belt tied in the back in four loops to represent the rain. His duties would be very trying, for all summer while they were on the march he would have to remain wrapped tightly in his robe, refrain from washing or bathing, handling knives, scratching himself, or participating in any acts of violence. He must think only gentle and noble thoughts. If his feet were allowed to touch water, there would be violent thunderstorms. In his person he held the great force of the creative power of all the universe. When they reached the buffalo herd, as the hunters stood lined up ready to surround it, this holy man would have to kneel facing the herd and pray to the cosmic powers, naming the buffalo and the eagles that he had consecrated to them in the past. Should anyone be injured in the course of the attack on the herd, the people would blame him and feel that he had had evil thoughts and had not been sincere. Throughout the hunt one or the other of the prominent old men would stay with him, talking to him and seeing that he did not transgress

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

together and again enjoying a festive meal at their daughter-in-law's house 243
afterward. [606]

Now at the beginning of June everyone's mind was turned to complet- [221]
ing the preparations for leaving on the summer hunt. They would weed and cultivate the corn plants and hill up the earth once more just before leaving, when the plants were about 3½ feet high. The present Nebraska farmer says, "Knee high by the fourth of July" and the Pawnee said, "Tall enough to tickle the horse's belly."

The corn and the buffalo that sustained the Pawnee placed heavy de- 22
mands upon him. Only by carrying out his year's round with great pre- 476
cision and by careful coordination of his activities with other people of 243
the tribe could he combine these two major food resources. The adminis-
trative activities of the priests and the chiefs were as vital to his enterprise 622
as the physical resources themselves. Few administrative structures have 182
commended themselves so directly to the people as that of the Pawnees. [793]
Respect for the chief was a cardinal tenet of every Pawnee's life, in re- [183]
turn for which the chief demonstrated a dedicated concern for his people.

13

CEREMONIAL PREPARATIONS FOR SUMMER BUFFALO HUNT

000 *Ritual Meeting of the Chiefs—New Responsibilities of Chiefs—Mythohistorical Significance of Skull Bundle—Development of Original Village Federations—Ceremony Described—Chief of Hunt Is Chosen—Banquet Follows—People of Village Informed*

221 WHEN THE CORN WAS LAID by in the beginning of June, a new phase in
*224 the Pawnee year's round began. Everyone turned their thoughts to the
long migration out onto the prairie. The mass hunt of the buffalo herd
that was the next phase in the Pawnee year's round would last all sum-
mer until time for the harvest in the beginning of September. Would
[162] they find the herd, would they get a plentiful supply of meat for their
ceremonial banquets, would they be attacked by the enemy, would they
live in health and at peace with one another—three thousand people in four
Skidi villages and four Pawnee bands—each with its own ways and in-
terests on a journey of 900 miles over the land and across the rivers?

622 As was their practice, it was the chiefs, priests, and medicine men that
221 took the first formal steps toward initiating each new round of activities
[793] through the year so that the people were taught and reminded of what
• lay ahead. In the village, priest and chief shared almost equally in keep-
[756] ing life on an ordered course, but on the march it was the constant
vigilance of the chief that determined the achievement of this goal.
And so this season opened with a ritual meeting of the chiefs, validating
their cosmic sanction and soliciting the confidence of the people.

622 The whole meaning of this ceremony was that the chiefs alone were
796 taking responsibility for the welfare of the people on the hunt and that
*224 the sacred meat they were about to get was a great and Heaven-sent

blessing for all the people. These thoughts and feelings were expressed 622
in a characteristically Pawnee idiom: the chiefs were costumed as Heaven 796
itself and were told by their old leader, That-Chief, that they could not 224*
look to Heaven for their decisions as *they* were now Heaven and were
carrying all its responsibilities for the well-being of the people. In this
role they walked from house to house and received a gift of firewood
from each.

As no ceremonial could be conducted unless there were a donation of dried buffalo meat, the buffalo hunt signified the entire ceremonial life as well. Lying on the ground in the ritual lodge there was the long buffalo steak that was the customary donation, and upon it the chiefs all blessed themselves. After the ceremony the chiefs blessed their children with what was left of the donated meat as Heaven had blessed their people.

Amid these ceremonial significances, they also took the practical step of choosing one of their number to assume leadership for the forthcoming hunt season.

The chiefs met twice a year just before the tribe planned to leave for 622
the buffalo hunt. The summer meeting was under the direction of the 619
Skull bundle, the winter meeting under that of the North Star whence 224*
the buffalo came at that time, driven southward by the cold. In view of 623
the historical events, priests were excluded from this ritual, only chiefs [793] •
being present, and there could therefore be no ceremonial procedure.
It was said that like their cosmic counterpart, the Corona Borealis, the
chiefs simply sat around in a circle and talked.

We do not know how many villages joined the first federation, but at 619
the time of our account (c. 1867) there were sixteen chiefs' places in the 62
council, four for each of the Skidi villages. At the northeast was a place [631]
for Old-Man-That-Chief whose voice was final in all matters relating to
chieftainship. Closest to the exit, one on the north and one on the south
side, were the chiefs' errand men, *tarutsuhus*. The chief's errand man
had a very important role to play, as he was the chief's envoy at all times.
Like the chiefs, he held his position by heredity. He carried messages
back and forth between the villages and to the other bands, and while
the council was in session he kept carrying its decisions to the other
bands, returning with their reactions to them. Both of the chief's errand
men were mature, experienced men; the one, Heavy-Trophies, was also
head sacred priest of the Skidi, while the other, Know-His-Face, was also
a man of some social consequence. Old-Man-That-Chief carried the main
direction of the ritual.

The ritual was held in rotation through the years in the lodges of the 796
different chiefs who were members of the council. On this occasion, 224*
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village was the host. On the morning of 622
the council he had sent the errand man, Know-His-Face, to issue the in- 623
vitations to the other chiefs and had the lodge prepared for their ar-

15

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY

000

A Summary Ceremony—a Symbolic Washing of All Ceremonial Objects—a History of the Ceremony—Celestial and Doctors' Symbolism Combined—Ceremony Explained—Participation of People in Ceremony

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY that was held before leaving on the 796
hunt was, in effect, a summary of all the Pawnee religious beliefs and 783
practices. In Pawnee ideology, the sky was one realm and the earth and 772
the waters another. The priests were in charge of the cosmic ceremonies, [224]*
and the medicine men, or doctors, were in charge of the animals that [793]
were connected with the earth and the waters. In this last category, the [756]
physical structure of man and his physical health were included. But ultimately, according to Pawnee thought, the sky was the first cause and
the continuing source of power in both realms. The doctors conducted 796
a separate cycle of ceremonies from the priests, and in the fall, at the gala 783
ceremony that was held after the harvest was in, they acknowledged their 756
celestial origin by hanging buffalo-hide cutouts of the Morning Star and
the other sky gods from the ceiling of the ceremonial lodge. During the
forthcoming summer hunt, a specially selected doctor would kill a buffalo bull and a cow to provide the skins for this purpose and another bull
and cow to build up the images of their own special gods.

The central feature of the ceremony they would now conduct was the 796
carrying of all the sacred objects to the stream, there washing them 783
symbolically. Then the people would clean up the whole village and wash 778
themselves in the stream. This great cleansing ritual was under the direction of the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the northeast of the semicardinal-direction bundles. In mythohistory this god was a sort of master [776]

756

months. Thereafter, whenever a man had an animal vision, he applied to 773
the Doctor Association and was given a place in the lodge.

All during the summer hunt and the hard work of getting in the har- 756
vest that followed, the people looked forward with great anticipation to 796
the elaborate performances that the doctors would put on all during the 224*
month of October. It was a Grand Opera with a connected series of episodes, combining animal mimes, displays of sleight of hand, and illusionist performances of different kinds, hypnotic acts, songs, and dances. In that summer the people contributed the dried meat of eighty buffalo to the Doctor Association for the forthcoming ceremony and in former times as many as 140 were given. This was one of the prime motivations for going on the hunt.

In the Great Cleansing Ceremony now to be held before departure, 796
both the celestial and the doctors' symbolism was combined, one con- 783
nected with crops and the other with the wild animals.

As soon as the chiefs had determined the date for the departure on the 796
hunt, they notified the priest of the sacred bundle who was in charge for 783
that season, and he in turn got in touch with the other four priests. They 793
all came to his lodge, beating on their bundles to signify that they were
now going to conduct a national ceremony. They took their appointed [778]
places at the west, putting their bundles down in front of them and sending the errand man to summon the other bundle keepers to come with their mats and food bowls. They spread their mats and sat in their traditional places, hanging their bundles on the wall behind them. They remained in the lodge for three days and nights, feasting and talking together. Meanwhile the four main priests went through the village calling on the people to bring gifts to Mother Corn. They were being asked to bring the clothes that would costume the chief who was to lead the pro-
cession when they took the sacred objects to the stream. Only men of [577]
sterling character were privileged to make such a contribution—those who were public spirited enough to initiate public ceremonies, were courageous in defense, volunteered frequently for public service, were generous in helping the less fortunate, did not harbor malice, did not engage in any kind of violence or loud conduct, did not gamble or indulge in sexual adventures in unsanctioned social categories. They were to bring a buffalo robe, moccasins, a buffalo-hair cord as a girdle, and dried buffalo meat and fat that had been consecrated on the previous buffalo hunt. The donors would paint themselves red, carrying their gift through the village for everyone to see as they took it to the ceremonial lodge. After the gift was presented, two messengers went through the village announcing the gift and publicly thanking the donor.

The actual ceremony in the lodge was performed on the fourth day 796
after the bundle keepers had assembled there. Very early that morning

bands were busy restraining the hunters from anticipating the attack of 224*
the group. The herd was very widely scattered over the land and they 484*
were coming up from the river to graze. They could not manage the 625
usual surround, so the hunters dashed ahead over and around the several 628
hills that lay between them and the herd.

Meanwhile the line of march had been holding back, proceeding very slowly so that they would not interfere with the hunt itself. When the men had completed their attack on the herd, the encampment was set up in the angle of the confluence of Cedar Creek and the Solomon.

The hunt having been successful under the leadership of Chief Many 224*
Trophies, an old priest of the Downstream Band came walking through 793
the camps. He represented the tradition of the sacred bundle under 782
whose auspices the hunt had been conducted. He wore a war bonnet 778
with feathers all around his head, possibly symbolizing a comet, and
around his waist a buffalo robe that hung down about his legs. In his 628
right hand he held the sacred pipe and over his left arm he was carrying
some breast meat and some fat. All along the way men and boys from
the four bands were trailing after him.

When he stopped at the west of the encampment, everyone lined up. He placed the pipe against the meat and fat, then raised the latter up toward the west four times in offering. Just as he was about to put the meat and fat on the ground, the whole crowd pounced on it and tried to grab a piece of meat and fat to bless their homes. They grabbed from one another on all sides, with the little boys scampering out of the way for fear of getting hurt. The old man, meanwhile, picked up his pipe and went north around the camp to his own tent. The other two South Bands also had their special band bundles, the Asking-for-Meat Band had a very sacred Ant bundle, and the Little-Earth-Lodge Band, a Raccoon bundle.

was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the 243
altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo 778
might eat. 782

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could 772
not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of 221
alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic.
The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other
in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers
of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As [823]
these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their [778]
biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for
each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through
the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household,
the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these
alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation
of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his
political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different 243
aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under 778
the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation
of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when
the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four [776]
semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression
of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity,
Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in 796
their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under 628
the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented [778]
the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all
together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Pole*
Ceremony—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken [823]
together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony
warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was
safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, 796
and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant 778
"ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of 243
its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening 243
Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the 778
priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to 793
settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four [533]
[535]

243 priests of the four direction bundles. They were representing the four
778 aspects of the primordial storm given by Heaven to the Evening Star to
793 assist her in the process of creation. The Evening Star priest also invited a number of noted warriors and old men and had a quantity of green corn cooked for their feast. The sacred bundle was opened and its pipe
[276] smoked and shared with the Evening Star and the other great western
[782] powers by pointing its mouthpiece toward the west and then in the same way with the other celestial gods who took part in the ongoing of the universe. The contents of the sacred bundle were passed through an incense of burning sweet grass smoke, and an offering of the corn was
[574] made to the gods. Then the invited guests had their feast of green corn. After the Evening Star bundle had completed its ritual, all other sacred bundles followed suit, offering green corn to the bundles and having a corn feast.

243 The main harvest ceremony which centered around the Mature Corn
778 was a continuation of the symbolic theme of the life cycle of Mother Corn carried by the four semicardinal-direction bundles. Its connection
776 with the progression of the seasons was also part of the ritual pattern.

[793] In the spring, after the Evening Star priest had performed the creation ritual for the renewal of all things, the four direction priests began their ritual cycle in anticipation of the planting time by a ceremonial distribution of the seeds of the sacred corn to the twelve owners of the sacred bundles whose wives planted them in special hills in the fields. Pursuing the theme of seasonal succession, the four sacred bundles of the group took charge of their ritual in turn. For the winter season, a North bundle was in charge. At the ceremony when the sacred seeds were distributed, the North bundle gave over its sacred mission to one of the South bundles of the group. A number of cornstalks symbolized this transfer of power, and these were now handed from the North to the South bundle. After the ground-breaking ceremony which belonged to a different cult (Skull bundle—Evening Star), the second ceremony of the Four Direction series concerning the Mother Corn was carried out. In this case the birth, infancy, and adolescence of Mother Corn were symbolized by uprooting the new little shoots of the sacred corn plants and providing one of them with a shaft on which a mouth and windpipe were painted to represent its life. The Young Mother Corn had carried them through the summer attached to the outside of the sacred bundle. Now the maturing Mother Corn had attained her full power to look after the people. The ceremony of the Mature Corn represented her installation to this office. It was also the occasion when the four-direction-bundle group shifted the ceremonial prerogative from the South bundle to the North bundle for the forthcoming winter. Some of the cornstalks of the sacred corn from the current harvest were given to this bundle to signify its mission. In addition to the principle of the succession of winter and sum-

mer seasons followed by the four-direction-bundle group, another prin- 243
ciple of alternation of powers was carried through as a means of assur- 778
ing complete cosmic protection. This was the alternation of the powers 776
of the western and of the eastern skies in successive years. There was, therefore, a fourfold alternation of bundles in the four-direction-bundle group over a cycle of two years: North*west*-South*west* in one year, and North*east*-South*east* in the subsequent year. The west and east each dominated a year, while north and south moved in half-year seasonal cycles for winter and summer.

As they were returning from the summer buffalo hunt when they
had gotten about half way home, the priest of the summer direction bun- [793]
dle had sent a young man to the sacred corn hill to make an offering to it [782]
of buffalo tongue and heart meat. He pressed alternately into the corn hill a strip of tongue and a strip of heart in the four semicardinal directions.

Now with the harvest in, the priest asked his wife to clear out their 243
earth lodge so that the ceremony for the Mature Mother Corn could be 778
held. The women removed all the beds and other furniture and swept it 776
out well, and the priest took down the sacred bundle from where it had
been hanging at the west and placed it on the altar. Before dawn he 793
sent four men to the sacred corn hill in the fields to bring in four stalks of the holy corn with the ears still on them. In the course of the ceremony, these would replace the old Mother Corn ears in the sacred bundles. In this way the sacred bundles always contained some fertile seeds.

The priest now invited a number of other people to participate. He called the other four high priests—his three colleagues of the four-direction-bundle group and the Evening Star priest. He also called in the holy man who had taken office when the sacred seeds were distributed in the spring and who had lived under severe taboos from which he would only now be released. All summer while they were on the march, this holy man had been living under the watchful eye of the priest. Also invited was the young woman who had contributed milk from her breasts at the ceremony of the Young Corn Plant in order to symbolize conception and the other owners of the sacred bundles.

When everyone was assembled, all went down to the camps where the 243
women had piled their mature corn and other crops. The priest an- 778
nounced that Mother Corn was about to be installed and asked them to 776
bring their harvest offerings. They came with their best ears of corn, and
as the women entered the ceremonial lodge they put the corn on the 793
north side in piles according to the color. Any of the ears that had the 782
male spike at the tip, a feature that was regularly found in the holy corn, might be included in the sacred bundle in the course of the ceremony that was to follow. The women also brought beans and squash for the

243 harvest offering. Then the women left the lodge and the ceremony was
778 carried on entirely by the men. Now a man was sent to the sacred corn
776 hill to uproot any stalks that remained there with the ears still on them.
793 They were tied to the northwest post of the lodge, which symbolized
[782] the Garden of the Gods. When the new winter direction priest was installed at the end of the proceedings, he would receive these as a sign of his office.

The priest was now ready to conduct the ceremony. He sat at the west with his bundle open before him. He put aside the stick with the Young Mother Corn Plant tied to it that they had made in the spring and the two sacred ears in their respective wrappings. He also had before him the four new sacred ears that were brought in that morning. The new sacred ears had been cut with the first section of the stem left on to symbolize the windpipe and the voice of the Mother Corn which was the
[822] "breath of life." After singing four songs mentioning the different colors, black, red, yellow, and white for the semicardinal directions, he
[533] sang a fifth song and cut off the stem. Then he sang another song welcoming the new Mother Corn. He embraced the new ear, passing it to the other priests who were sitting to the south and to the north of him, and then passed it down the south side and then the north of the lodge, everyone in turn embracing the new Mother Corn. When the ear was returned to the priest, he sang a seventh song stating that the voice of the corn was raised to the heavens.

[782] At the close of the songs, the pipe was filled and the mouthpiece pointed toward Mother Corn as an offering to share in the smoking. Then the ear was passed to the people on each side of the lodge and each person blew his breath on it four times, symbolizing its new life in the world.

The next symbolic act was to concentrate all the power in the world into Mother Corn herself. The priest took a buffalo-hair rope about a yard long from his sacred bundle. It was said to have been made of "hair from beneath the waters." Taking one of the new Mother Corn ears in each hand, he knelt before the altar holding the ends of the rope against the ears. Then moving his hands, he made the rope circle around into a loop to represent the horizon as it had circled out from the gods in the west during the original creation. He now made movements as if he were throwing the rope over objects and drawing them to his breast. This was spoken of as "trapping the powers of the Heavens" for Mother Corn and all the sacred objects.

The ears of sacred corn whose "lives had been ended" were now given over to a distinguished warrior, who would carry them on the warpath to guide him to success, or to the entrepreneur of the Peace Pipe Ceremony, who would carry them on his expedition to give him success in trade and international relations.

243 778 793 With the installation of the New Mother Corn accomplished, steps were taken to shift the cosmic power to the North Direction bundle for the winter. The priest announced that the change was at hand, went to the northwest house post, and took down the sacred stalks that were tied there, giving them to the chief who was in charge of the newly appointed North Direction bundle. He addressed the chief briefly upon the import of the procedure and formally charged him with the office. The new chief replaced the stalks on the post and then divided the harvest offerings that the women had brought among the chiefs and priests present at the ceremony.

[782] Following this ceremony, all the sacred bundles changed their ears of Mother Corn for those of the new harvest. This ceremony was conducted very simply in each case, the usual smoke and meat offerings being made to the appropriate powers and a feast shared. In all the sacred bundles the pipe was turned so that when the bundle hung on the west wall of the house over the altar the mouthpiece of the pipe would be pointing north, so that the winter powers located in that direction could smoke.

796 619 [778] The Pawnee year opened in the spring with a ceremony celebrating the creation of the universe and within it the uniting of all the people under one religion and society. Now as the harvest was done, a closing ceremony commemorated their unity and the common defense of their land. The four house posts in the semicardinal positions symbolized the entire world and its peoples. It was under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person and its four special ministers.

796 346 The setting for the ceremony was a special circular structure—a low circular embankment opening to the east. First the priests marked out the circle with a compass consisting of two sticks with a long string between; they also marked out the fireplace in the center in the same way. The fireplace was 3 feet in diameter and the excavated earth from it was dumped outside the east entrance to form a small mound. They dug four holes about a foot deep in the semicardinal positions within the circle to receive the posts that would be planted later on. All around the inside of the circular embankment saplings were set up in the ground, forming a screen that shaded the participants as they sat around during the ceremony. The chiefs who were the owners of the sacred bundles sat along the north and along the south side of the circle, each representing one of the villages that was a member of the original federation. Most of them sat on the north side, as the original villages were mainly on the Loup River, only one having come from the Platte to the south. At the west sat the keepers of the four direction bundles as they had originally come from Old Village in the west.

796 The ceremony itself comprised two major episodes. One was the getting of the four poles, a war party setting out in a different direction for

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 also aspects of the storm and who guarded her domain. They thus symbolized all war and conquest. Dressed in these skins, the doctors charged about the camp, symbolically fighting the people.

• [793] [778] The final act of the priests was the "opening of the road to the enemies' country and to the buffalo." The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle danced with the skull and made certain movements with the skull in the four directions in turn as the priests sang the appropriate songs. Then with loud shouting the people joined in the dance. The way was now ceremonially open for war parties to set out and for the chiefs to make plans for the tribal migration and buffalo hunt for the winter season.

Now everyone moved back into their houses, stored their crops and buffalo meat from the summer hunt, and awaited the time they had all been looking forward to for so long—the thirty-day Grand Opera of the Wild Animal Cults that would be put on by the Doctors' Association. But first the crops and meat had to be stored in the food pit and everything connected with the harvest put in good order.

34

PREPARATION FOR THE GRAND OPERA

000 *The Doctors' Profound Connection with the Animal World—Hypnotic Powers—Organization of the Doctor Lodge—Animal Cults—Construction of Images—Ideology of the Doctors—the Ceremonial Mode: Fighting and Sleight of Hand—Gaining Animal Knowledge—Getting the Cedar Tree for Ceremony*

796 THE DOCTORS' OPERA had to do neither with the ordered cosmos nor with
756 the well-regulated world of the cultivated plants, but with the mysteri-
ious realm of the wild animals and their wild plant environment. The
[622] chief and the priest to whom the cosmic powers spoke in visions, were
[793] men of reason who spoke out clearly on what they thought, while the
[787] doctor who communed with the animal world had a slow, deliberate,
introspective mein, seldom if ever making clear pronouncements. The
756 animal cults all had their origin in the experience of an individual
man who in despair had reached out to the universe at large and re-
ceived a vision from an animal who was ready to intercede for him and
help him work out his problems. He had received special knowledge
that would help him cure the sick through the properties of the plants
and other curative procedures. In addition to this kind of knowledge,
the animal also transmitted to his protegé the power of hypnotism and
suggestion that gave him control over animals and other people and, if he
756 was skillful enough, over the enemies of the tribe. The Pawnee animal
173 cults were the result of traditions that had been handed down from
one person to another and elaborated in the course of time. People who

61

THE COUNCIL TENT

000

Ceremonial Observances of the Hunt—the Meat Is Delivered—a More Informal Procedure Than the Summer Hunt—Police Chosen—Four Official Scouts Chosen Also—the Hunt

*224 778 [625] EVERYONE KNEW THAT the council tent would be set up at Turkey Creek while the men were out attacking the herd, and that that evening the special police would be appointed to take charge during the subsequent attacks. During the summer, with White Eagle in the lead, the hunt had been conducted under the religious sponsorship of his left hand bundle, whose tradition was a special form of the creation legend. The present hunt was being carried on under the auspices of the Evening Star and its sacred bundle, which was also known as Yellow Calf. Its tradition was the official creation legend of the Skidi Federation. The "keeper" of this
[794] bundle was Old Lady Lucky Leader of Pumpkin-Vine Village and she was assisted by her son, Frank Leader (also known as Dog-at-the-West), and her son-in-law, Roaming Leader. The old lady had built a particu-
[344] larly large tent but even then only about thirty could gather in there at a time.

*224 793 As soon as the tent was set up and while the men were still off chasing the herd, the five priests came in and sat down at the west. Due west was Heavy Trophies, the head priest. To his left on the north side were Pipe Offering and Bringing Horses. To his right on the south side were Angry Horse and then Wonderful Old Bull.

*224 793 869 On this occasion, Bringing Horses was sitting as an apprentice priest. From time to time the head priest would say, "If there is anyone in this room who wants to learn, he should come closer and sit with us. It is necessary that someone should do this as we are likely to die at any time. We are old and after we die, the world will go on and on and this is the word of Heaven and should be carried on after we are gone. Anyone

who is willing should come and sit closer and observe and listen to the 224*
way these things should be done." This was considered a major public 793 •
service and no payment was involved nor considerations of kin relation- 869
ship. Bringing Horses was a brave and apparently had had a call to
carry out this mission.

The five priests sat smoking and talking together informally. They were 224*
old men and had traveled over this same ground many times. They knew 793
just how far apart the rivers were and which were the quickest routes to
follow. Now they were reminiscing about the past. One would say, "One [521]
summertime we camped way down there in this and this direction from
here and so and so happened," for example a warpath came or some other
notable event. Meanwhile Old Lady Lucky Leader was taking care of 224*
the practical affairs since the menfolks of her family were still out on the 794
hunt. She was a vigorous old woman and a good manager. One of the 574
men coming in early from the hunt reined in his horse outside her tent
and called out, "Lady Lucky Leader, here are ribs!" throwing down the
ribs as his contribution to the forthcoming council meeting and riding
off home to his own tent. The old lady went out and got them at once and
put them inside the tent on the north side near the entrance so that they
wouldn't freeze. Now she decided to get the meal under way for the
council. The boy Might-Be-Chief was passing by and she called him in [624]
and asked him to get the chief's errand man Know-His-Face, who came
in and, after exchanging greetings with the priests, began to roast the ribs [252]
to the northeast of the fireplace as directed by the old lady. She asked
her daughter to sit down to the south and fry some bread so that the
men would have something to eat as soon as they got in before the coun-
cil began.

Now the men could be heard coming and the meat creaking a little as 224*
it was packed on the horse since it was a bit frozen. The two men of the [492]
family knew they had better get in early and Frank Leader called out to
his mother, "Atira [my mother], spread something out here for the meat."
The old lady came out and put a skin spread on the snow in front of the
tent and her son tethered his horse to a stake nearby. She covered the
horse and put down another spread with cottonwood tops and bark on it
for the horse to eat. She saved some of the cottonwood for her son-in-
law's horse and he arrived soon after. As soon as the two men entered the [515]
tent they asked their mother for some water to wash their hands with,
and Frank tied his quiver and bow to the southwest post while Roaming
Leader tied his at the northwest. Then they sat down on either side of
the entrance. The men talked about how they had killed the buffalo that
day and how there had been good herds north of the river. The family [264]
had its meal of bread and ribs and then the boy Might-Be-Chief was sent
around to call in the other members of the council. He also called in
Horse Rider to help the errand man Know-His-Face to cook for the feast.

*224 They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The
264 contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four
sets.

*224 The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four
623 Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each
628 and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat
in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves
ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates from the villages.

*224 The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning
623 each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this
• 793 tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in
[701] summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during
[825] the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose
the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was
[778] under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening Star bundle.

*224 Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was
623 going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War
628 Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the
793 other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill. Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now
[625] officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief.
[574] The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was
[264] carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief, who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

*224 The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south
623 pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head police-
625 man War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh
574 bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could
[293] make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people
to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family
of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and
so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we
have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

*224 Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the
623 old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was
562 in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and
Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they
[25] could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

*224 The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very
[793] early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican.
[825] When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of

When we have finished singing this song the Ku'rahus takes one of the plum-tree sticks, which has been anointed with red clay mixed with fat, and ties on it with a thread of sinew a downy eagle feather. This stick is bound to the ear of corn so as to project a hand's breadth above the tip end, letting the downy feather wave above Mother Corn. This feather represents Tira'wa. It is always moving as if breathing. 796* [284]

The Ku'rahus then binds the other plum-tree stick to the corn so that it extends below the butt. When the corn is placed in ceremonial position this end of the stick is thrust in the ground so that the ear will stand upright without touching the earth. Both sticks are bound to the ear of corn by a braided band of hair taken from the head of a buffalo. The braided band signifies the gift of animal food and the provision of skin clothing. (The Skidi band of the Pawnees tie a bit of buffalo wool, such as is shed by the animal in the spring, together with a braid of sweet grass, to the ear of corn.) [184]

The two gourd rattles, which represent the squash given us by Tira'wa, and also the breasts of the mother, are each painted with a blue circle about the middle, with four equidistant lines from the circle to the bottom of the gourd. The circle represents the wall or boundary of the dome of the sky; the four lines are for the four paths at the four directions down which the powers descend. No song is sung while this painting is being done.

All the sacred articles are laid at rest on a wildcat skin when they are not being used ceremonially, and it is a cover for them in which they are all wrapped together at the close of the ceremony. The skin is never tanned, and the ears of the animal, the skin of the head, the feet, and the claws must all be intact. [281]

Tira'wa made the wildcat to live in the forest. He has much skill and ingenuity. The wildcat shows us that we must think, we must use tact, and be shrewd when we set out to do anything. If we wish to approach a person we should not do it bluntly; we should not rush at him; that might offend him so that he would not receive us or the gifts we desired to offer him. The wildcat does not make enemies by rash action. He is observant, quiet, and tactful, and he always gains his end. [773 576 825]

In this ceremony we are to carry the sacred articles to one not of our kindred in order to bind him to us by a sacred and strong tie; we are to ask for him many good gifts, long life, health, and children, and we should receive gifts from him in return. If we would succeed we must learn of the wildcat, and be wise as he is wise.

The wildcat is one of the sacred animals. A man who killed a wildcat could sacrifice it to Tira'wahut. The man who brought such an offering had the right to ask the priest to teach him some of the mysteries that belong to the sacred shrine. 825 782 794

Many years ago two men took the Hako to the Omaha tribe. On the journey one of them killed a wildcat. I said to the man: "I am

782 glad Mother Corn is here leading us, and the wildcat goes with the
Hako." But the man who killed it said: "No, this skin will not go
● 794 with the Hako! I am going to take it to the priest for sacrifice that
825 I may learn some of the mysteries." But he did wrong and suffered
for it, because that wildcat belonged with the Hako, for it was killed
while we were being led by Mother Corn.

*796 The sacred articles having been completed are now laid at cere-
796 monial rest. The wildcat skin is spread upon the earth in the holy place, which is in the west part of the lodge opposite the entrance, a little way back from the fireplace. The head of the skin is placed toward the east; the crotched plum-tree stick is thrust into the ground close to the head; the two feathered stems are laid in the crotch, the brown-eagle stem first, then the white-eagle stem on the top or outside. The eagle builds its nest in the crotch of a tree, so these eagle-feathered stems are laid in the crotch of the plum-tree stick. The ends which are thrust through the duck's head rest upon the wildcat, and under the wing-like pendants the gourd rattles are placed. Directly in front of the crotched stick stands Mother Corn.

PART IV. OFFERING OF SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The time has now come for the offering of smoke to Tira'wa.

The priest of the Rain shrine must be present with the pipe belong-
793 ing to that shrine and he must conduct the ceremony. After he has
782 filled the pipe with native tobacco the Ku'rahus tells the people that
the time has come to offer smoke to Tira'wa, the father and the giver of all things. He selects from the company a man to act as pipe bearer during the ceremony of offering smoke. The pipe bearer must be one who has made sacrifices at the sacred tents where the shrines are kept and has been annointed, and who in consequence has been prospered in his undertakings. The prayers of such a man are thought to be more acceptable to the powers than those of a man who has never made sacrifices.

In old times men did not smoke for pleasure as they do now, but
276 only in religious ceremonies. The white people have taught the
Pawnees to profane the use of tobacco.

778 Each of the sacred shrines of the tribe has a pipe, and its priest
knows the proper order in which the pipe should be offered to Tira'-
793 wahut. I am not a priest, so I do not know the order in which the
Rain pipe is offered, nor can I tell you the ceremony; the knowledge of that belongs to its priest and not to me.

*796 Up to this point (the conclusion of the ceremony of smoking) all the people present have been obliged to remain quiet in their places; now they are at liberty to move about or to leave the lodge.

668

we	*rįhi*	*irasi·ra*		177
a	*tsiksu*	*wêtatì·ta*	*hi i*	[533
and	mind spirit	now I do		539]

The place whence you come.
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come.
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxkiˣ. When he returned home to the Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people: "The kingdom is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours." 668 177 792 794

When Frank White instituted regular dances, these were among the South Bands; the Skiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits took possession of them and fell. White had great power over them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change. [152 786]

Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna- 668 177 [792] 796 794 [302]

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

668 ment. When all were dressed and painted for the dance, White and
177 his singers came out onto the open space east of the sacred tipi,
and formed the gathering into a circle. All joined hands, and with
●794 White and his singers leading in the songs, they danced round and
796 round. Others rushed over to the dance ground to join in. Many
shook and fell. White and his leaders put others into trances, and
great excitement prevailed.

In the evening they stopped to eat, and then continued dancing
[787] until late at night. From time to time those who fell would get
up and tell what they had seen. Each had a message from the
other world, and had learned songs. These visions became sanctions not only for special developments of the Ghost Dance, and of the hand games, but also for important revivals of old aspects of Pawnee life, which before this had ceased to function.

One evening all the Pawnee were gathered together where the South Band people lived. White was conducting the ceremonies. It was a fine clear evening, near sunset, with clouds across the sky in the west. The clouds in the sky across the west were like people sitting in a row. White told the people, "Now if you all come out here in the open where there is no timber, you can plainly see the people in the west. Those are the dead people. They are all waiting there. Now you see them. Pretty soon now the high wind will come and all the white people on earth will be blown away. Those (here he referred to Behaile, Dorf Carian, Harry Coons, James Murie, Rice, Pepan—all half breeds), such as they are the wind will pick up too, even if they are half breeds, because they don't believe in this dance. These believe in the white man's church. The wind will throw them against the heavy trees and crush them. The people who believe will be saved, because when the wind blows the white people away, they will all be left standing here. Those who believe will be shaken and fall down, and after they arise and open their eyes there will be no white people here. The buffalo will be here; everything will be just as it was before the white people came, and all our deceased folk, our fathers, our mothers, our grandfathers and our grandmothers, will be here with us."

All the people stood and watched these clouds in the west. All the people believed it, except a few. When the clouds were gone they all went home.

One young man lay in a trance all night. White wanted all
[787] the people to hear his story, so in the evening of the next day, he
ordered all the people onto a hill. There they stood in line facing

668
west,[1] and the young man sat down facing them with the crier 177
by his side. He said,

"When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a 794
spirit. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who 796
wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away 787
from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, 'My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people.' I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me and said, 'My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing.' So we went on and there in the center of the village our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return, and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying on the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw."[2]

---

[1] This is the ceremonial arrangement followed later in smoking and opening the dance; see below.

[2] Murie, p. 634. This is the tradition of the way in which the smoke offering was introduced into Pawnee Ghost Dance arrangements.

In the vision two minor points are worth calling attention to. The dead blessed the young man in the Pawnee way when they blew their breath upon him. The closing statement, "this is the end," etc. follows the Pawnee literary form of myths and stories.

More significant is the suggestion of Christ as "leading the people," 622
an identification of Christ with chieftainship, which concept determined important ritual aspects of the Pawnee Ghost Dance and Ghost Dance hand games.

668
177
794
796
This young man was blessed by the people, and they also took a blessing from him. But when they touched him many fell or trembled. "After this four men were selected to smoke to the dead people."[1]

Murie also tells the interesting story of an unbeliever.

"A woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, 'That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth.' Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to [625] act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit. [783] The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right."[2]

Dancing was sporadic during the Winter of 1891, but gradually the dances followed each other in rapid succession. With few exceptions by 1892 the Pawnee were under White's influence and control. The situation forced itself upon official attention early in that year. "In February 1892 the Pawnee commenced what is known as a 'Ghost Dance', dancing in a circle, falling down in [786] a trance, and after some hours they awake and profess to have seen their dead friends. About two-thirds of the tribe seemed at this time to be possessed of the idea of the second coming of Christ, to destroy all the whites and to bring back the buffalo and the wild game."[3]

On account of the coming end of the world, and the uselessness of continuing work in the face of the expected changes which would bring back old times and the deceased relatives of the living, all those who became convinced of the Ghost Dance doctrine stopped work. Many left their plows in the field standing just as they had been in the midst of their work cultivating their corn.

648
668
794
As soon as the agent in charge of the Pawnee received word at the agency in Ponca City that the Pawnee were Ghost-Dancing, he wrote to the clerk in charge at the Pawnee agency to put a stop to the dancing immediately. "But the Indians seemed defiant and aggressive and it seemed at this time that trouble might be anticipated. Knowing that all religious fanatics are persistent and determined, I at once went to Pawnee and visited the camp of the so-called prophet Frank White, and after talking with him

---

[1] Murie op. cit.

[2] Murie, p. 635.

[3] Agent Wood in Annual Reports, 1891—92.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

and ascertaining his views, I told him he was an impostor and I 668
wanted him at once to leave the reservation never to return. The 648
next morning 200 Indians came to the agency and demanded a 794
council. They were painted in high colors and seemed aggressive and defiant. After the arrival of an interpreter I opened the council in a two hours' talk on the coming of Christ and the true Messiah and the false Messiah as professed by them, and I plainly told them that the dance could not be tolerated and would not be; that this government would last and assert her power, and that they should be obedient to the law and be good Indians, return to their homes and cultivate their farms and raise something to eat. After they had spoken professing loyalty to the government and obedience to the law, they broke the council and returned to their homes."[1]

Although the effort to put a stop to Ghost Dancing continued, and officials would seek out meetings and try to break them up, the Pawnee were nevertheless gathering in secret to dance.

"At one camp about five miles east of the agency they decided one night to Ghost Dance. Word spread among the Indian folk and they gathered in numbers at the camp. There was one old man, George Esau, who had a great loud voice. The people were dancing in the moonlight. At night the echo goes a long way. When he cried out it could be heard clear over at the agency. One Indian who lived a mile north of town came on horseback to tell them. He said Esau's voice could be heard away over toward the west. 'The police may come; they can hear him.' Whenever they tried to quiet Esau he became worse, and his voice louder, and the people became afraid of him. Then they let him alone and stopped dancing, because they didn't want the agents to find out."[2]

It was in the midst of this year of excitement in the life of the 657
Pawnee that the government had elected to carry out a further
step in its program of civilizing the Pawnee and turning them into 668
citizens. The plan was to complete the allotment of tracts in severalty among the Pawnee. Those who had already chosen plots and were living on them and cultivating the land were to be confirmed in their possession. All others must take them out. The Pawnee who had not as yet chosen to farm individual tracts were of course those who were most strongly opposed to the program. Furthermore the plan laid before the tribe involved the sale of their surplus lands after the Pawnee were provided with allotments per capita, and the opening of these lands to settlement by

---

[1] Agent D. J. M. Wood, in Annual Report, 1891—1892.

[2] Informant's narrative.

2: Lesser
●794
796
668
177

Pawnee NQ18

[For information on the origin, development and spread of the Ghost Dance ceremony to the various tribes of Western United States, see category 116, pp. 53-59. --Analyst]

668 and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring tribes. 796 It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. [177] According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days. There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now [346] regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple. [361] Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise, the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical [787] belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog [524] dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the iruska. Some time after 1904 the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated. The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their hereditary sides of north and south.

THE PEYOTE.

About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned 276 something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the 794 buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to [177] him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked with Christ.

with Christ. Under this new leadership the membership increased. The 276
Oto carried the ceremony to the Omaha. Among the Pawnee the cult is 794
found chiefly among the Pītahauīrata where this new form originated;
later, it found a following among the Chauī and then among the Kit'kaháxki
with a few scattering adherents among the Skidī.

Naturally, this new leader introduced some original features. A special 276
form of painted tipi was used, somewhat like that for the ghost dance. 794
Certain changes were made in the rattle and the form of the drum. There
is also an elaborate altar and the circle is divided into the usual north and 796
south sides.

Among the special ceremonies is one for the water bearer. At midnight one is sent to get water from the stream. As he is under the influence of the drug he may fall into the water and drown, so special songs are sung during his absence to guard him. When he enters with the pail, it is purified in a cedar smudge, an offering made and then passed for drinking.

At dawn as the sun appears, the ritual is interrupted long enough to sing a special set of songs. While this is going on, the door curtain is raised so that the first rays of the sun may strike the altar. At the close of this special ceremony the ritual is resumed where left off.

The last songs of the ritual refer to Christ. The final song is repeated five times after which each member in turn prays to God.

A woman then enters with water, parched corn, and candy. She and the food are purified in a cedar smudge, then she retires. First the water is passed, then the corn, and finally the candy, circulating in this order until all is consumed.

The members now sit in their places and talk over their experiences. The objects used in the ceremony are gathered up and put away. The leader closes the meeting at noon with a lecture, or sermon, on ethical matters, speaking especially against the use of alcohol. Some Pawnee leaders refuse membership to all using alcoholic drinks.

At noon the members are invited out to dine by some leading man. When seated the leader takes up a pitcher of water and prays to God. Then he fills a glass and taking a sip passes it around the circle in true church fashion. Then they eat without ceremony.

After the meal the members again assemble in the peyote tipi, but this is an informal gathering where they discuss freely their faith and practise singing such songs as desired.

In the evening they depart. As each one leaves, he stands by the fireplace, holds aloft his hand and prays aloud. Then he shakes hands around the circle, pauses at the door to hold up his hand and perform certain other symbolic gestures, then passes out. So with all in turn, the leader being the last to go.

276 The peyote tipi is dismantled the next day and the camp broken.

It may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to
● 794 have his revelations during the ghost dance excitement. One of his indi-
796 vidual doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore.

THE ONE HORN DANCE.

Among the Skidi there is a modernized form of the one horn dance (p.
178 623) organized about 1893. It took its form from the dreams of a woman.
796 The man who spoke to her in the dream ran away as a buffalo. She went out at sunrise and saw a ring come down from the sun. Little by little she dreamed the songs and taught her husband. Finally, an eagle came to her in a dream and she was ordered to get an eagle. This she did. Again she dreamed of a crooked crow-feathered stick, this was made. Then a drum was made.

The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one horn dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman.

14: Weltfish

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

● 794

[For information on animal cults in association with the various Pawnee "doctor's associations," see category 756.]

551 The personal name was an act of self-recognition for a goal one had set oneself and achieved. One sponsored a special ceremony by making a donation of food to the priests, and in the course of the ceremony one's new name was publicly announced. But the substance of the name was strictly private and reserved to oneself. The name was cited only on the most formal occasions and from the name itself it was not possible to deduce its private significance. A person who had achieved such a name could lovingly bestow it on a son or a daughter in a ritual, or a son might give his name to his mother and then set out to earn a new and still more important one. Each of the people in the household of Old Bull and Victory Call had such a name, and while we cannot reconstruct the esoteric circumstances, a few facts about their lives gives a sense of their significance.

551 622 159 Victory Call was known for short as *Riwahut*, but his full name was *Siti-riwahut*, meaning "they are making the high trilling sound for victory." This sound was made by the women as the victorious warrior returned to the village. Publicly and socially Victory Call had made an important place for himself in the tribe. He was a younger son of a prominent Skidi chief of Old Village, Chief Big Eagle. His older brother Sitting Hawk (*Pia-tiwitit*, "hawk-he-sits-down") held the senior position in the family and occupied the family seat in the chiefs' council. As a cadet member of the family, Victory Call had to earn his social position in the community, and he had succeeded very well. People in the community said of him that he had almost surpassed his older brother by his achievements. Through his prowess in war and hunting, he had been able to entertain the chiefs and influential men at a number of formal banquets, and he had given them gifts of horses. In recognition of his deeds he was accorded one of the vacant seats in the chiefs' council, where he now sat regularly and had a voice in all administrative decisions for the band and tribe. He played the role of chief very well. He was considerate of people and concerned for their welfare. He was known to have entertained old people from time to time and to treat them with consideration and generosity. At one time when he had had a successful deer hunt, he sent Horse Rider to invite a number of old people, and when they were seated around the lodge he personally served them the deer meat and made sure that each had a generous portion. After the meal, as was customary, the guests began to talk and one old man expressed the sentiments of all when he said, "We thank you for having us here for dinner today. It is my wish to you that you will live to see your grandchildren grow up and do you honor, and that your great grandchildren will play about your feet." This was not to be, but perhaps he has gained a different kind of immortality through his son Otter and through the stories he told of their life. 159

575 794 The most creative and socially significant achievement of Victory Call

was in the field of religion. It was he who built up the cult of the Deer 159
Dance (*Raris-ta*, "dance-deer"). Taking it over from his predecessor who 575
had obtained it by studying among the Wichita to the south, Victory 794
Call was largely responsible for its reorganization into the Pawnee religious style and for the wide popularity it enjoyed at that time. He had built it up to such a degree that it posed a serious challenge to the monopoly of the long-established Doctor Association, where heretofore all the medicine cults had been organized. The association was under the leadership of Big Doctor and Sitting Hawk; Victory Call's older brother had a prominent place in it as leader of the Bear Cult. The rivalry between Big Doctor and Victory Call was bitter as some young men began to move over from the association to join the Deer Dance. In his dying moments in the 1860's, Victory Call saw a vision of Big Doctor upon whose sorcery he blamed his sickness and his death. The cult lasted under new leadership for a while, but after the tribe got to Oklahoma in 1876, its popularity continued to decline, while the Doctor Association maintained its vigor some time longer. Victory Call was also a skilled rattle- [424]
snake doctor and he was able to make a trade with his brother Sitting Hawk for knowledge of the Bear Cult in return for Rattlesnake knowledge. Victory Call's retainer, Horse Rider, had come to serve him in his household in the hope that Victory Call might give him a place in the Deer Dance and perhaps share other cult knowledge with him.

Victory Call had a friend, Chief's Road (*raru-hatur-risaru*, "the one that 159
is-road-chief"), whose name implied that he was going on the road 557
which he hoped would lead to chieftainship. Chief's Road had no heredi- 572
tary social status, but he was ambitious for administrative advancement. He hoped that if Victory Call gained first place in the chiefs' council, he would appoint him his official brave. This was possible as when a chief retired or died, the new chief did not carry over the former incumbent, but appointed his own brave to assist him. Chief's Road was an excellent arrowshaft maker and supplied Victory Call with all his needs. On the other hand, he was not too good at acquiring horses, and Victory Call often helped him out by giving him some of their wood and other household needs that were more easily acquired when one had horses for transportation. He had built his house immediately adjoining Victory Call's lodge, and there were generally friendly relations between the two households; their children played together.

As a provider for his family, Victory Call was an accomplished hunter, 159
both of individual big game and as a leading member of the tribal buffalo 622
hunt. He also managed to make some extra cash by trapping beaver. He had some income from gifts he received for his religious activities and he maintained a modest herd of four or five horses. He was a good and able husband and father, inclined at times to be somewhat solemn and a little pompous, though not overbearing. He was about sixty years old at the

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 forty parfleches had been pledged. After the pledges were counted, the
431 word went from tent to tent and everyone was full of anticipation of the
756 color and excitement of the ceremony. In addition to this big medical
● 794 association there were a number of private cults that the people generally took an interest in.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

61

THE COUNCIL TENT

000

Ceremonial Observances of the Hunt—the Meat Is Delivered—a More Informal Procedure Than the Summer Hunt—Police Chosen—Four Official Scouts Chosen Also—the Hunt

*224 778 [625] EVERYONE KNEW THAT the council tent would be set up at Turkey Creek while the men were out attacking the herd, and that that evening the special police would be appointed to take charge during the subsequent attacks. During the summer, with White Eagle in the lead, the hunt had been conducted under the religious sponsorship of his left hand bundle, whose tradition was a special form of the creation legend. The present hunt was being carried on under the auspices of the Evening Star and its sacred bundle, which was also known as Yellow Calf. Its tradition was the official creation legend of the Skidi Federation. The "keeper" of this ● [794] bundle was Old Lady Lucky Leader of Pumpkin-Vine Village and she was assisted by her son, Frank Leader (also known as Dog-at-the-West), and her son-in-law, Roaming Leader. The old lady had built a particu- [344] larly large tent but even then only about thirty could gather in there at a time.

*224 793 As soon as the tent was set up and while the men were still off chasing the herd, the five priests came in and sat down at the west. Due west was Heavy Trophies, the head priest. To his left on the north side were Pipe Offering and Bringing Horses. To his right on the south side were Angry Horse and then Wonderful Old Bull.

*224 793 869 On this occasion, Bringing Horses was sitting as an apprentice priest. From time to time the head priest would say, "If there is anyone in this room who wants to learn, he should come closer and sit with us. It is necessary that someone should do this as we are likely to die at any time. We are old and after we die, the world will go on and on and this is the word of Heaven and should be carried on after we are gone. Anyone

who is willing should come and sit closer and observe and listen to the 224*
way these things should be done." This was considered a major public 793
service and no payment was involved nor considerations of kin relationship. 869
Bringing Horses was a brave and apparently had had a call to
carry out this mission.

The five priests sat smoking and talking together informally. They were 224*
old men and had traveled over this same ground many times. They knew 793
just how far apart the rivers were and which were the quickest routes to
follow. Now they were reminiscing about the past. One would say, "One [521]
summertime we camped way down there in this and this direction from
here and so and so happened," for example a warpath came or some other
notable event. Meanwhile Old Lady Lucky Leader was taking care of 224*
the practical affairs since the menfolks of her family were still out on the 794 •
hunt. She was a vigorous old woman and a good manager. One of the 574
men coming in early from the hunt reined in his horse outside her tent
and called out, "Lady Lucky Leader, here are ribs!" throwing down the
ribs as his contribution to the forthcoming council meeting and riding
off home to his own tent. The old lady went out and got them at once and
put them inside the tent on the north side near the entrance so that they
wouldn't freeze. Now she decided to get the meal under way for the
council. The boy Might-Be-Chief was passing by and she called him in [624]
and asked him to get the chief's errand man Know-His-Face, who came
in and, after exchanging greetings with the priests, began to roast the ribs [252]
to the northeast of the fireplace as directed by the old lady. She asked
her daughter to sit down to the south and fry some bread so that the
men would have something to eat as soon as they got in before the council
began.

Now the men could be heard coming and the meat creaking a little as 224*
it was packed on the horse since it was a bit frozen. The two men of the [492]
family knew they had better get in early and Frank Leader called out to
his mother, "Atira [my mother], spread something out here for the meat."
The old lady came out and put a skin spread on the snow in front of the
tent and her son tethered his horse to a stake nearby. She covered the
horse and put down another spread with cottonwood tops and bark on it
for the horse to eat. She saved some of the cottonwood for her son-in-law's
horse and he arrived soon after. As soon as the two men entered the [515]
tent they asked their mother for some water to wash their hands with,
and Frank tied his quiver and bow to the southwest post while Roaming
Leader tied his at the northwest. Then they sat down on either side of
the entrance. The men talked about how they had killed the buffalo that
day and how there had been good herds north of the river. The family [264]
had its meal of bread and ribs and then the boy Might-Be-Chief was sent
around to call in the other members of the council. He also called in
Horse Rider to help the errand man Know-His-Face to cook for the feast.

1:Fletcher
●796

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[For information on the Hako ceremony, see category 116, pp. 12-277, 279-368. --Analyst]

2: Lesser Pawnee NQ18

794
●796
668
177

[For information on the origin, development and spread of the Ghost Dance ceremony to the various tribes of Western United States, see category 116, pp. 53-59. --Analyst]

Marriage customs were attacked in two ways: legally and ethically. 175*
Toward the close of this period the government program called 648*
for an attempt on the part of officials of the Indian service to insist 657
upon civil marriage under the laws of the United States, to oppose 581
wife-purchase and the marriage of the young girls, to register civilly the marriages of those living together in accordance with old customs, and to oppose easy separation and divorce. Since the individual men and women were becoming possessors of private property in the form of land, houses, stock and implements, by controlling the inheritance of estates in terms of the white man's law, and refusing to recognize "wives" not legally married, the program
began to have an effect. After 1883 missionaries of the Home [797]
Missionary Society and the Methodist Episcopal Church worked
in the tribe, and developed a small congregation of church members. The missionary influence was brought to bear against the Pawnee marriage usages from a moral angle. The agent cooperated with the missionaries in persuading the Pawnee to go through a Christian marriage ceremony as well as to secure a legal certificate. By 1890 officials claimed in their reports that the Pawnee were regularly seeking the missionary to perform the marriage ceremony for them: that by prompt action they had prevented all cases which came to their attention of "selling girls for ponies": and that while polygyny had not been stamped out, there were no new cases of a wife being taken where the man already had a wife. A final claim was that divorces were unknown, or rare, which is to be doubted.

The dancing, gambling and feasting to which the tribe was 175*
addicted were marked out as dissipations contributing to indolence. 648*
and the agent by the most active measures at his command attempted 657
to prevent social gatherings for such purposes as much as possible. 796
In June 1891 the agent was surprised that the tribe assembled for a dance (probably a ceremony): he ordered it stopped at once and told the people to go to their homes and attend to their work. He could not however enforce his commands, and while some did go, most remained and carried out the dance. Such social affairs kept the people away from their farms for long periods, and the crops
were neglected. In the old days the Pawnee methods of cultivation [805
were adjusted to their calendric rituals, and by June, when the 227]
time for the hunt and summer ceremonies came, the crops were "laid by"; the tribe was not yet adjusted to intensive cultivation, involving constant care.

The conflict with the Pawnee medicine men was long and diffi- 175*
cult. The government was determined to destroy their power 648*
over the people, and to persuade the Pawnee to depend on the 657
756

*175 agency physician. Unfortunately, except in a small part of the
*648 cases, the physician was notoriously unsuccessful in combating the
diseases which were decimating the tribe; certainly he seemed no
657 more successful than the native medicine man. The physician's
756 services, paid for by government salary, were free to the people
who sought his aid, while the native medicine man was paid in property by the patients he cured. Considering the medicine men charlatans and fakers, who deceived and befuddled the people, the officials regarded the customary compensation as extortion. But in spite of official antagonism the tribe was not drawn altogether
[796] away from their doctors: the Doctor Dances continued to be demonstrated, constituting practically the only major religious ceremonies which were demonstrated; and as late as 1888 an agent reported that the Pawnee "still have more confidence in their medicine men than the Queen of England has in McKenzie."

*175 From a material standpoint, the close of this period found the
*648 Pawnee in a condition of partial adjustment to the new order, and
relative prosperity. Most of the people were scattered on their
657 farms, and doing well; they were accumulating stock around them. Between their government funds and their produce the tribe was practically self-sustaining.

In 1890 Grinnell described conditions upon the reservation: "As we came in sight of Black Bear Creek, I was surprised to see what looked like good farm houses dotting the distant bottom. ...Most well-to-do...Pawnees live in houses as good as those of many a New England land owner, and...better than those inhabited by new settlers in the farther West. Many...have considerable farms under fence, a barn, a garden in which vegetables are raised, and a peach orchard... By far the greater number wear civilized clothing, ride in wagons, and send their children to the agency school...[1]"

If their material life was at last approaching peace and security for the handful of Pawnee (759 in 1892) who had survived the long history of disasters, plagues and abuse, to what are we to attribute the revulsion against conditions which expressed itself in 1892 in the Ghost Dance? Before considering this aspect of the history of Pawnee acculturation, which will concern us in the next chapter, let us turn briefly to a recapitulation of the status of Pawnee culture in 1892.

---

[1] Grinnell, Pawnee Hero-Stories and Folk-Tales, pp. 400—401.

668 seen them dancing in a circle.[1] Nothing authentic and substantiated
177 reached the tribe, however, until the fall of 1891[2] when Frank
White came home to the Pawnee after his stay with the Wichita.

The Pawnee tell of White's learning the Ghost Dance among the southern tribes in the following way:

"One time Frank White went over to the Comanche, who were
668 dancing the Ghost Dance. He went inside and sat down on the
177 north side. He ate peyote, a great deal, until he was nearly over-
●796 come. He bent his head and covered his eyes. He was a good-
looking man who used to wear decorative red twine over his brow.
[276 The Comanche did not know him, and the next morning they asked
him who he was, and he said he was a Pawnee. Then he left them
301] and went to the Wichita. He ate peyote there, and watched them
dance the Ghost Dance and learned it. Then he came home and
brought it to the South Bands. He told them what he had learned."

The period during which Frank White studied the Ghost Dance
668 among the Comanche and the Wichita was in the year following
177 the great Ghost Dance of the fall of 1890, led by Sitting-Bull.
The forms of leadership and organization he learned were those
preached by Sitting-Bull, and initiated by him personally among
the Caddo and Wichita.

Murie has spoken of White's experiences in the south. "Frank
White... joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream,
[787] the tree, the Messiah and then the village of people.[3] He also saw
them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in
[533 Pawnee. The first song was as follows[4]:
539]

we	*rịhi*	*irasĭ·ra*
now	place where	yonder you come
	wetịkuwätu	*rawahe*
	now I long for	the {village region}

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 630—632 recounts a long narrative of the story which was supposed to have reached the Pawnee in 1890.

[114] [2] Murie, Societies, p. 633, says "in the fall of 1892." This is a misprint or a slip on Murie's part. In the account which follows Murie describes events of a winter and summer which intervene between White's return to the Pawnee and his arrest; White was arrested in 1892. Furthermore, we can date the time White left the Wichita by the fact that he left before the Arapaho delegation arrived in the fall of 1891 with the message from Wovoka, which, in spite of the objections of Sitting-Bull, necessitated a change in the form of the Ghost Dancing.

[3] Murie is doubtless referring here to the narrative of Wovoka's vision as known to the Pawnee which he gives, pp. 630—632.

[4] The form I quote here is a retranscription and retranslation of Murie's printed version, written by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

668

we	*rɨhi*	*iraxì·ra*		177
a	*tsiksu*	*wétatù·tu*	*hi i*	[533
and	mind spirit	now I do		539]

The place whence you come.
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come.
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxkiˣ. When he returned home to the Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours." 668 177 792 794

When Frank White instituted regular dances, these were among the South Bands; the Skiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits took possession of them and fell. White had great power over them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change. [152 786]

Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna- 668 177 [792] 796 794 [302]

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

668 ment. When all were dressed and painted for the dance, White and
177 his singers came out onto the open space east of the sacred tipi,
and formed the gathering into a circle. All joined hands, and with
794 White and his singers leading in the songs, they danced round and
796 round. Others rushed over to the dance ground to join in. Many
shook and fell. White and his leaders put others into trances, and
great excitement prevailed.

In the evening they stopped to eat, and then continued dancing
[787] until late at night. From time to time those who fell would get
up and tell what they had seen. Each had a message from the
other world, and had learned songs. These visions became sanctions not only for special developments of the Ghost Dance, and of the hand games, but also for important revivals of old aspects of Pawnee life, which before this had ceased to function.

One evening all the Pawnee were gathered together where the South Band people lived. White was conducting the ceremonies. It was a fine clear evening, near sunset, with clouds across the sky in the west. The clouds in the sky across the west were like people sitting in a row. White told the people, "Now if you all come out here in the open where there is no timber, you can plainly see the people in the west. Those are the dead people. They are all waiting there. Now you see them. Pretty soon now the high wind will come and all the white people on earth will be blown away. Those (here he referred to Behaile, Dorf Carian, Harry Coons, James Murie, Rice, Pepan—all half breeds), such as they are the wind will pick up too, even if they are half breeds, because they don't believe in this dance. These believe in the white man's church. The wind will throw them against the heavy trees and crush them. The people who believe will be saved, because when the wind blows the white people away, they will all be left standing here. Those who believe will be shaken and fall down, and after they arise and open their eyes there will be no white people here. The buffalo will be here; everything will be just as it was before the white people came, and all our deceased folk, our fathers, our mothers, our grandfathers and our grandmothers, will be here with us."

All the people stood and watched these clouds in the west. All the people believed it, except a few. When the clouds were gone they all went home.

One young man lay in a trance all night. White wanted all
[787] the people to hear his story, so in the evening of the next day, he
ordered all the people onto a hill. There they stood in line facing

668

west,[1] and the young man sat down facing them with the crier 177
by his side. He said,

"When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a 794
spirit. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who 796
wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away 787
from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, 'My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people.' I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me and said, 'My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing.' So we went on and there in the center of the village our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return, and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying on the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw."[2]

---

[1] This is the ceremonial arrangement followed later in smoking and opening the dance; see below.

[2] Murie, p. 634. This is the tradition of the way in which the smoke offering was introduced into Pawnee Ghost Dance arrangements.

In the vision two minor points are worth calling attention to. The dead blessed the young man in the Pawnee way when they blew their breath upon him. The closing statement, "this is the end," etc. follows the Pawnee literary form of myths and stories.

More significant is the suggestion of Christ as "leading the people," 622
an identification of Christ with chieftainship, which concept determined important ritual aspects of the Pawnee Ghost Dance and Ghost Dance hand games.

668 This young man was blessed by the people, and they also took
177 a blessing from him. But when they touched him many fell or
794 trembled. "After this four men were selected to smoke to the
796 dead people."[1]

Murie also tells the interesting story of an unbeliever.

"A woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, 'That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth.' Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to
[625] act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit.
[783] The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right."[2]

Dancing was sporadic during the Winter of 1891, but gradually the dances followed each other in rapid succession. With few exceptions by 1892 the Pawnee were under White's influence and control. The situation forced itself upon official attention early in that year. "In February 1892 the Pawnee commenced what is known as a 'Ghost Dance', dancing in a circle, falling down in
[786] a trance, and after some hours they awake and profess to have seen their dead friends. About two-thirds of the tribe seemed at this time to be possessed of the idea of the second coming of Christ, to destroy all the whites and to bring back the buffalo and the wild game."[3]

On account of the coming end of the world, and the uselessness of continuing work in the face of the expected changes which would bring back old times and the deceased relatives of the living, all those who became convinced of the Ghost Dance doctrine stopped work. Many left their plows in the field standing just as they had been in the midst of their work cultivating their corn.

648 As soon as the agent in charge of the Pawnee received word at
668 the agency in Ponca City that the Pawnee were Ghost-Dancing,
he wrote to the clerk in charge at the Pawnee agency to put a stop
794 to the dancing immediately. "But the Indians seemed defiant and aggressive and it seemed at this time that trouble might be anticipated. Knowing that all religious fanatics are persistent and determined, I at once went to Pawnee and visited the camp of the so-called prophet Frank White, and after talking with him

---

[1] Murie op. cit.

[2] Murie, p. 635.

[3] Agent Wood in Annual Reports, 1891—92.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

648 white settlers in among them and on all sides of them. Almost at
657 once a town sprang up near the agency, the present Pawnee.

The Pawnee soon found that their legal status had changed; the
641 agent no longer had executive power to control their acts and
648 behavior. The people were now free citizens of the United States. The white people who settled among them and were anxious to do business with a tribe whose income, between their down payment, annuity, and interests, was $ 177,000 in 1893, were quick to tell them so. Then came the lease system for the Indian farm lands. But that is another story. What concerns us here is the effect of this change of status upon the Ghost Dance among the Pawnee.

At first, in 1893, the agent believed that by his prompt measures
648 with Frank White the year before, he had stamped out the Ghost
668 Dance. He wrote in his report, July 15, 1893: "This dance has
177 almost disappeared... There is some religious enthusiasm in which they indulge and makes them more tractable and easy to manage, as they say they must do right under all circumstances." The agent felt that the tribe was well satisfied with their allotments, and was prosperous and united.

We, however, can note that this religious enthusiasm was none other than the Ghost Dance, in view of the ethical maxims quoted by the agent, but that from the official standpoint the movement had lost its militancy. By the following year, however, the agent himself was aware that Ghost Dances were being held regularly; that the Indians flouted his loss of authority, which they were now fully cognizant of. From this time forth until the turn of the century, the reports indicate that the agents were doing all in their power by moral suasion to keep the Indians from Ghost Dancing; but the religion continued none the less. At the turn of the century the form in which it flourished was the four-day Ghost Dance hand game ceremony, rather than the Ghost Dance proper.

FORMS OF WHITE'S SOUTH BAND GHOST DANCE

668 When White first brought the Ghost Dance to the Pawnee he
organized the dancing simply. He taught some of the songs to a
796 few singers, gathered the people together in a large conical tipi
177 for face-painting, and led the dancing outside this tipi, aided by
his singers.

Soon he had organized the dancing more ritually. He selected seven singers, after the pattern initiated by Sitting-Bull among the Caddo and Wichita, and these became a fixed organization for South Band Ghost Dancing. There is some disagreement among

contemporary Pawnee informants as to who the originals singers 668
were. According to Joseph Carrion, they were, in the order of their 796
selection and importance, Whitehorse (Pitahawirat^{a}), Sam Cover 177
(Skiri), Ezra Tilden (Skiri), Tom Yellowhorse (Skiri), Henry
Shooter (Kitkahaxki^{x}), Brigham Young (Tcawi), and Jim Keys
(Skiri). In addition, however, Carrion corrects himself by agreeing
with other informants that Joseph Long was the first of these
"crows" selected. Mark Evarts believes that all the original singers
belonged to the South Bands, and claims that the first four, after
White himself, were Joseph Long, Rubin Wilson, Lester Pratt and
White Elk, none of whom are Skiri. The presence of Skiri men in
the group of main singers should however be anticipated because all
the bands joined in the Ghost Dance under White's leadership.
Also, when the Skiri later organized and led their own Ghost
Dancing, the singers who were selected by the Skiri to take charge
were men who knew the songs because of their earlier participation
in the South Band Ghost Dancing, hence some Skiris must have
belonged to the original group of singers. The men actually selected
to form the organizations of the Seven Eagles and Seven Crows
(see below) included several who are mentioned in this list of
Carrion's. Those whom Knifechief and Mrs. Washington selected
were chosen because they knew the songs.

In addition to face paintings, the early Ghost Dance forms [302
included the use of feathers as hair ornaments. Two types were 301]
prominent, eagle feathers and crow feathers. These birds were used
because of a definite symbolism which attached to them. Both [825]
birds were conceived to fly high and far, and to see and know many
things. The Pawnee have always thought of the crow as a bird
which finds what it seeks. Hence the crow can help people find
what is lost lost beliefs, lost ways of life

In trance visions of the Ghost Dance, the visionary usually found 668
himself associated either with the eagle or the crow, and thereafter 787
wore the feather of one or the other. White wore eagle feathers,
and when he constituted the seven men as the official singers, he 796
gave them special crow feathers to wear. White did not himself
lead the singing after this, but acted as general director, dancing in
the center of the circle and putting subjects into trances.

A story is told of how White and Joseph Long were put to a 668
test in early Ghost Dance days. There was a woman who went to 796
Camp Creek. On the way she lost a strap with which she was going 825
to bind up a load of wood. She wanted to find out if it was true that
crows could find things, so she went to the tipi of the leaders and
told them about her lost strap. Frank White said, "All right, sit

668 down." Joseph Long had crow feathers. He put them on his head.
796 Then he got up like a crow, and danced around the tipi. Imitating
825 the crow, he danced his way outside and went along the path by
which the woman had gone through the timber, and found the
strap. He picked it up and brought it back into the tipi, and the
woman took her strap.

The relation of this crow-concept to the Ghost Dancing is direct. The crow feather (as also the eagle) is one of the objects used by leaders, as they dance inside the circle, for hypnotizing subjects. It is moved back and forth directly before the eyes of the subject. It helps the dancer to fall into a trance, and this means that it helps the subject to see or find his lost relatives. In the trance-vision itself the bird may guide the visionary to his dear ones. In the same way the old Indian customs, the dances, the songs, the rituals, are found among the deceased people, or recovered in trance visions which are induced in part through the instrumentality of the birds.

In this early use of eagle and crow, those who learned about one or the other bird wore a feather of that bird. There was no organization or orientation of these except for White's seven crow singers. But there came to be felt an opposition between crow and eagle, analogous to the actions of the birds themselves, and this was carried over into the sides of the hand game arrangements. The opposition involved the question of which was abler or luckier in finding things.

668 For the Ghost Dance, White arranged to have a large cleared
796 dancing ground. West of this was set up a special tipi. Herein
[346] White gathered the people, particularly the leaders. Those who
gathered inside the tent were only men. The old men sat near the
[554] eastern entranceway on both sides, with the chiefs next to them
to the west, and then the braves[1]; while other men present sat
about anywhere. White himself would sit with his seven crow
leaders at the west facing east. The only sacred objects kept on a
[778] covering at the western altar-place were the feathers and paints
of the leaders, and several pipes (two or four). Two men were
selected by White and the chiefs to act as tarutsius ("fire-tenders")
and at the same time as policemen. They carried long sticks to
whip the dogs with, driving them away from the dance ground
while the dancing went on. They also controlled the dancers.
[276] After all the men had gathered, a smoke offering initiated the
performance. White gave pipes to two or four chiefs and told them
step by step what to do. The performance could begin either in the

---

[1] These are generic Pawnee patterns.

late afternoon or in the morning, and the smoke offering differed 668
according to which time of day it was. 776

In the arrangement for the time near sundown, the two chiefs 276
carrying the pipes lead the way out of the tipi and all the others
follow. Outside, the chiefs stand at the east of the clearing, facing
west. Behind them the men form a long flat arc facing west, with
White and his seven leaders in the center. The announcer cries [202]
out to the people at large that the singing will commence as soon
as the smoking is over.

(First Phase[1]) Each of the two chiefs holds the pipe slantwise 668
toward the west, offering it, not by holding it aloft, but by holding 776
it just in front of him. Both proceed simultaneously. After offering 782
the pipe west, each walks clockwise around the clearing, carrying 276
the pipe, and after reaching the same point at the east, stops there, offers a pinch of tobacco upward to heaven, and one westward, placing each on the ground. (Lighting the Pipe) Then each again makes a clockwise circuit, stopping at a point east of northeast, where squatting with the pipe in mouth and its bowl toward the east the pipe is lit by means of a brand which is brought forward by anyone for this purpose. (Second Phase; first mode) Each arises, puffing the pipe, and returns to the east, where facing west, he puffs four times upward to heaven and four times to the west. (Second Phase; third mode) then carries the pipe through a clockwise circuit and takes it to whoever is standing at the extreme northern end of the arc-like row of men. Standing in front of this man the smoker puts the pipe to the man's lips without releasing the bowl. Then the smoker proceeds in turn to allow each man to puff the pipe, moving from north to south down the arc of men. (Third Phase) After all in the line have puffed, the smoker takes the pipe and carries it through a clockwise circuit, coming to the east of the clearing in front of the line of men. Here he faces west, loosens the ashes in the pipe-bowl with a tamper, offering ashes once upward to heaven, then emptying some, and again to the west, emptying the rest of the bowl contents on the ground before him. (Fourth Phase) Holding the empty pipe in his left hand, the smoker touches the right hand to the ashes on the ground, then runs the right hand up the pipe from bowl to mouthpiece while the stem is directed heavenward. He repeats this motion with the left hand, and again with the right and the left, making four motions. Then the smoker makes four similar motions while he directs the pipe toward the west. (Self-Blessing) Holding the pipe,

---

[1] Parenthetical divisions into phases, etc. refer to the analysis of the smoke offering in Chapter 8, see especially pp. 180—207.

668 mouthpiece upward and bowl inward toward the body, he takes
782 it in his left hand and runs his right hand up it from bowl to mouth-
796 piece, opening the palm upward and outward toward heaven, then
276 places the hand on the right side of his head and runs his palm down
the head and side and leg to the instep which is pressed against the ground. This motion is then made with the left hand for the left side etc. while the right hand holds the pipe, and repeated once again with the right and once again with the left, making four motions. Then the smoker turns and returns the pipe to another chief in the line of men, who receives it with an *arm blessing*.[1] When the offerings have been completed, the pipes are taken inside the tipi and replaced on the altar-space at the west.

Now the arc-like line at the west closes around the clearing to
form a circle of dancers, and women who have not up to this point
[533 participated join the circle. They may, however, sing two songs
535] before forming a circle of dancers, and these are special ghost-dance songs which are never danced to. Then the dancing begins from the east, facing west, circling clockwise.

668 Before describing the movements of the dancers, attention must
782 be called to the form of the smoke offering which would be made
796 if the dance were to begin in the morning.

If the dancing is to begin with a smoke-offering in the morning
276 the orientations for the smoke would be reversed. That is, the
823 arc-line of leaders and men would form around White on the west, facing east; the smoker would begin all his circuits from the west, and the motions with the pipe which he made slantwise to the west, while he stood at the east side of the clearing and faced west, would become motions slantwise to the east which he would make standing at the west of the clearing and facing east. Finally the pipes would be handed along the line of leaders and men from south to north, instead of from north to south.

This shift of direction also changes the position for starting the dance, which is now at the point directly west, facing east. Here White stands and leads, and the circle proceeds clockwise. This is the generic position for beginning Ghost Dancing and singing, and even if the evening orientations are followed, only the first song begins at the east facing west; it then ends at the west, facing east, and all subsequent songs begin at the west.

It will be seen at once that the whole smoking ritual involves two basic orientation concepts: upward and either slantwise to the west or slantwise to the east. The upward offering is to Tirawahat^{a} or the expanse of the heavens; the other is to the sun, according to

---

[1] See chapter 8, p. 209.

his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, 668
therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. 782
An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time, 796
the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins
at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would 276
be adopted. 823

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to Tirawahat^a must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; [775] that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance, and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The [776] sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus, while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering 668
for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" 796
is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived 177
by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the
dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream 182
of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

---

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old [591] cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man, 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

668 identified with this background. The cross has always been used
796 by the Pawnee as a star symbol. On the ancient star-map of the
177 Pawnee, which was part of the Black Star bundle,[1] all the stars
are indicated by small crosses, rather than by dots or five-pointed
182 figures. Hence to a Pawnee it is natural to conceive the cross-scaffold as involving a star-reference. To this scaffold Christ as a holy untainted man who has been honored (the maiden must be virginal and while she lives among the Pawnee is honored) is nailed, with his arms outstretched, as a sacrifice (from the Pawnee viewpoint). With both Christ's crucifixion and the Morning Star Sacrifice Ceremony oriented from the west, there comes about a broadening of the western orientation to include not only the Evening Star ideas of earlier times, but as well the conception of Christ as the Father and Shepherd of the people in the other world, the Chief in the beyond.

The meaning of the final self-blessing is simple and direct. One had offered tobacco and smoke to specific powers, and one concludes by reaffirming one's desire and hope of continued and long contact with the earth, Mother Earth. Thus one presses the body to the ground firmly as a request for long life.

Murie has pointed out that the Pawnee Ghost Dance ceremony as first organized by White, "seems to have been largely original with White and far from identical with the Ghost Dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true Ghost Dance."[2] This reference is to the fact that in the vision pattern suggested by White there were seen by the visionary in order a stream, a tree (usually cedar), the Messiah or Christ himself, then a village of people, and upon approaching the village the people were seen to be dancing, playing games, etc. In addition White brought the undeveloped forms of the Wichita Ghost Dance; there were one day dances, or dances from early afternoon through to the next dawn. White had borrowed the concept of seven leaders for the dance from the Wichita organization as instituted by Sitting-Bull. Murie remarks further, "Some years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct."[2]

The information I have is that Wichita were in part responsible for the changed conception of the dance, inasmuch as visitors from

---

[1] See Buckstaff, R. N., 279ff., which includes a reproduction of the map. The original is in the Field Museum of Natural History.

[2] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

that tribe were present among the Pawnee when the Skiri Brotherhoods 668
were conceived; the Wichita seem to have brought to the 796
Pawnee the change to a Ghost Dance every six weeks for four
nights, continuing the last night until the dawn of the fifth day. 177
This they had adopted in accordance with the change among the 182
Cheyenne, Arapaho, Caddo and Wichita, after the message from the Messiah was received. At the same time, a conflict of doctrine over the teachings of White, which culminated in a new conception of the significance of the Ghost Dance brought directly from the major Arapaho prophets by Pawnee delegations, seems to have contributed to the release of the Pawnee Ghost Dance from White's exclusive control. This doctrinal change occurred before Frank White's death in 1893.

In the early days after the dancing for the day was over, the people as a whole broke apart and went home, or went to their own tipis. But White, his seven co-leaders, and some of the chiefs would reenter the leading tipi. There they were served food. Before eating, a simple corn offering was made; corn was offered to Tirawahat[a] and placed on the ground; then motions of blessing were made with the horn spoon over the altar objects.

After this feast, someone would begin to talk about his trance experiences. He would tell what he saw, and then sing songs which
he had learned in his trance. In this way songs were added to the [533]
repertoire, and gradually the Wichita and Arapaho songs became only a minor phase (save for the closing song) of the Pawnee Ghost Dance songs.

CONFLICT OF DOCTRINE; REORGANIZATION OF CEREMONY

According to the conception of the Ghost Dance which Frank 668
White brought among the Pawnee, Frank White himself was the 796
sole authentic prophet of the dance and doctrine, and it was 792
necessary for all sanctions to come through Frank White as intermediary. Those who had visions in trances reported the content and character to White, and in terms of his interpretation and permission made use of the vision. Feathers to wear in the hair, paints for the face, special symbolisms of dress, and the like, were possible only with White's approval. If a dancer wished to use
a face painting, in accordance with his trance experiences, he had [431]
first to go to White and pay him for the privilege, or in any case, to offer him gifts. Individuals who had learned about the Ghost Dance in visions, and felt authorized to put on a dance, could do so only after conferring with White. He would teach the visionary

668 what to do, and received compensation for his instruction. Ordi-
796 narily his instruction seems to have amounted to interpretation, to
a suggestion that the visionary do as all had seen White himself do,
792 with some explanation of the details. White would also counsel
the visionary to tell the people in general what he had seen and learned. But even in such a case, according to reports, when a dance was put on by another, White's seven crow singers had to be invited to lead the singing and dancing, whether it was held among the Skiri or South Bands.

Gifts and money were lavished upon White: a small face painting often earned him five dollars; feathers and sanctions of various kinds brought him other money. Many people were jealous, or resented White's attitude, called him a liar and began to disbelieve him and say he was deceiving the people.

At the same time, White's conduct was not exemplary. It must be remembered that priests, chiefs, medicine men, and in fact all individuals who had claims to sacred office or inspiration in connection with old Pawnee ways of life, lived up to accepted Pawnee ethical standards of conduct.

As one informant describes White's behavior: "All this time
[276] White drank peyote, which made him wise. At the same time he
used to drink whiskey. Whiskey and peyote do not mix, they cannot go together. That's what killed him.

"One time they were going to have a doctor dance north of town and when they were ready to begin, someone said, 'we can't start until the Messiah comes'—they considered White a great prophet, and called him Father and Messiah. Finally they saw him coming, hardly able to walk, supported on each side by a man holding his arm. Someone said, 'why, he's drunk,' but they whispered around, 'we can't say anything about it anyhow, because he's the Messiah.' They used to lavish gifts upon him, and finally they gave him the prettiest girl in the tribe to marry."

It was not long before revolt against White and his tactics took definite form. This reaction is in part to be explained by White's misbehavior, in part by jealousy of the way in which he was getting rich, and in part also by a sincere desire on the part of some to get more out of the dancing in a religious sense.

According to Joseph Carrion, White and he had been friends for
668 a long time; in fact Frank White at one time married Joe's sister-
177 in-law, which in terms of Pawnee kinship put them on strong
[607] grounds of familiarity. Joe Carrion danced along with Frank
White for almost a year. In Joe's own words, "Frank White told me that I was going where I could find out something for myself

about the dance." Carrion, along with John Moses, Jim Keys, 668 Brigham Young and Henry Minthorn went to see Sitting Bull the 177 Arapaho. This was late in 1892, and they stayed there two months.

Carrion told Sitting Bull his story. Sitting Bull got a permit from his agent to Ghost Dance for two days. The Arapaho painted the Pawnee visitors with a rainbow around the forehead, a crow [302 on the right cheek (because, says Carrion, "a crow finds everything he looks for, and when one is under the crow influence one can 825] almost read minds"), and an eagle on the left cheek (which also represents a bird that flies high above everything, sees all and finds things).

That night in the Ghost Dancing among the Arapaho Joe Carrion was overcome and fell unconscious on his back. "I saw a big circle of people above." He awoke about two o'clock at night after lying there for five hours. When he woke up, he found there was a drum beside his head; an old man came over and asked him what he had seen. "Nothing," he said; he didn't want to tell. The old man told him, "you must tell." "I got up and said, 'I don't believe it.' Then he hit a gourd against the ground, and I fell over again. I got up and still said, 'I don't believe it,' so he hit the gourd on the ground and again I fell over. The way he could do this to me convinced me, and when I got up I believed it all. Then I told him what I had seen. He said it was true. The next day the Arapaho were told they would have to stop the Ghost Dancing. 796

"Two days afterward a boy came with hand game sticks, bringing 668 one round to each tent. He told everybody that there was to be 177 a big hand game at a certain place. It was to last four days, with [785] a Squaw dance afterwards." 524

The man in charge of the hand game told Carrion to get certain [302] things for himself. He told him that he must fast four days and nights. Carrion wore only a g-string, and painted his body yellow. He neither ate nor drank.

During the playing of the game, he often got thirsty and would be about to take a drink, when someone would remind him that he must not. He was chosen to serve the food, but he was not supposed to partake of it. He also would pass the bucket of water around. The smell of the food helped him, seemed to satisfy his hunger a little. The first night he felt weak and wanted to cry. "They told me to go ahead and cry, that this was the same as going to church."

At sunrise he stood outside the tent and prayed. 796

"The fourth day I went onto a hill. Behind me there was 668 someone sitting in the grass. I looked at the sun and saw things 787
177

796 in it. I saw the sun whirling round, and I saw crows flying around
668 the sun, and flying over me. I saw an eagle feather in the whirling
787 sun. Then I saw a black sun streaked with white inside coming
177 towards me, and as it came I fell over. I stood up and saw a
buffalo bull stick his head out of the sun. Just before sundown
I saw Jesus standing in the west in the sun with one hand extended
toward me.

"Someone came and told me I was wanted in the tent. There
Sitting-Bull's nephew[1] spoke to me and told me I had made good.
[788] He dropped water into my mouth four times with an eagle feather
to cool my thick, dry tongue. Then he told me to take three
swallows of water. He gave me sweet corn gruel to eat, and told
me not to eat any more that night, but to eat a hearty breakfast
in the morning."

At this time the old man questioned Carrion in detail about what he had seen, and Carrion told him about the circle of people, the birds and the man standing with his hand extended as if he were handing Carrion something. This, according to Carrion, the Arapaho interpreted as a gift of the hand game. The circle of people were the players, the man held in his hand the hand game sticks. The crow and eagle feathers belonged to the players, the clusters of feathers to the guessers.

Shortly after this the Pawnee came home. None of the others had visions among the Arapaho, says Carrion, because none of the others went through a four-day fast.

When Joe got home, crowds gathered around and wanted to know what he had found out, and if the Ghost Dance was true. Joe told the Pawnee that Frank White had taken something which did not belong to him and brought it over, and that White couldn't give them blessings and things to use, but that they had to get everything for themselves.

According to Carrion, this message which he brought home from the Arapaho introduced a different perspective into Pawnee Ghost Dancing. Before this people danced, but their experiences in the dancing did not give them sanction to carry out the dancing as leaders on their own account. White taught that only he could sanction them to do anything, and that they must pay him for the right. Now the people tried to find out things for themselves in trance-visions, and they did. It was after this that an extreme

---

[1] Sitting-Bull's nephew was the leader of this four day hand game among the Arapaho. Apparently he had derived it in trance visions experienced in the Arapaho Ghost-Dancing under the leadership of Sitting-Bull, and his visions had been sanctioned by the interpretations of Sitting-Bull.

development of visions in which hand games and many similar 796
sanctions were bestowed took place among the Pawnee. Carrion 668
claims to have brought the inspiration for the hand game ceremonies 787
from the Arapaho. With the liberation of the Pawnee Ghost Dance 177
hand games began a rapid development (see part II).

While Carrion and others contend, as is usual in such cases among American Indian groups, that this difference of doctrine between White and the Arapaho indicated a conscious deception on the part of White, it is clear that no explanation of this kind need be invoked. Actually White's doctrine is much closer to generic Pawnee ideology, according to which the independent free vision of the individual is subordinated to a process of learning from one who knows a ritual, ceremony or performance. That is to say, in the older ancient Pawnee activities, the accepted method of obtaining participation was to receive the right or sanction to do so from those who were in charge of that activity, rather than directly from supernatural powers. In contrast to this, Carrion's doctrine looks a great deal like Plains patterns in general, which would be correct for Arapaho Ghost Dancing. It should be remembered in this connection, first, that White did not learn from Arapaho or other Plains tribes directly, but indirectly through the Wichita, whose ideas on these fundamental points are very close to Pawnee ideas, and second, that Carrion was not a Pawnee, although he lived most of his life among them and spoke a fluent Pawnee.

In a general way, also, the pattern of immediately telling the 668
vision to the leaders and securing their interpretation is a non-
Pawnee pattern. In older forms, among both Wichita and Pawnee, 177
visions were kept a secret for long, and only in the course of one's 114
life because of one's behavior did the general public of the tribe become aware that one had supernatural experience. In the Ghost Dance doctrine, the visions had to be told at once to show appreciation for receiving them, and one who didn't tell was not supposed to live long thereafter.

It is not possible to date accurately the time of the reorganization of the Pawnee Ghost Dance to accord with the regular four-day dance forms of the southern tribes. I believe Murie has dated it far too late. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri, which initiated the freeing of the Skiri Ghost Dancing from White's control, took place before White's death in 1893. The first forms of Skiri dancing followed White's forms. On his visit to the Arapaho Carrion had observed both Ghost Dances and hand games as four-day ceremonies. Whether this was responsible for a correction

668 of Pawnee forms, or whether the Wichita taught the Pawnee
177 directly, the four-day ceremony was the formal Ghost Dance
114 among the Pawnee by 1895.

This regular Ghost Dance of the Pawnee was arranged to last
668 four days. It began the evening of one day, or the late afternoon.
Among the South Bands, all arose early in the morning, and faced
184 the sun for a brief period, (during which the smoke offering would
796 be made if the dance was to begin that day); but they did not dance.
Then in the afternoon the people danced from three to midnight.
786 The Skiri say that in their band there was a brief period of dancing each morning, as well as a longer period of dancing through the afternoon and evening. Both bands continued the fourth night until the dawn of the fifth day, bathed and dispersed.

As each song was sung, the circle of dancers, holding hands, moved clockwise through one complete circuit, returning to the original starting point. This is determined by the main singer's position: he begins at the west and finishes at the west (except for the first afternoon song, as above). During the dancing period of the day, the dancers could carry out as many songs as they wished; there was no special number. The singing was initiated and led by the seven crow-feathered singers, and the others joined in. While the dancing went on, some "hypnotizers" would dance inside the circle directly in front of individuals they wished to throw into a trance, using feathers or other objects to focus and fix the eyesight of the subject, thus transfixing them. Usually the subject fell when he or she was touched with the object used. When individuals fell into a trance, they were laid down and the others continued to dance.

668 In these trances, the visionaries followed a general pattern. In
787 one way or another the subject was guided to the other world,
where all the deceased Pawnee were living together in the old way.
796 There some special phase of the life would imprint itself upon the subject's mind, the playing of games, the hunting of buffalo, war societies and dances, and the like. When the subject awoke, such aspects of the trance vision, along with the bird or messenger who had guided the individual to the beyond, would become the subjects of songs, costuming, and paraphernalia.

The closing song was carried out in a special way. It is the
668 special closing song of all Ghost Dances. As sung to conclude the
796 occasion, it is repeated six times as follows:

1. The leader remains stationary at the west facing east, and
533 leads the singing of the song once; all the dancers keep their places.

2. The leader dances from west to north, singing the song, and

stops at the north facing south; the rest of the circle dance through an equivalent part of the circuit. 668 796● 533

3. The leader repeats the song, while the whole circle of dancers moves through another quadrant, the leader finishing at the east, facing west.

4. A third quadrant is similarly completed with the leader at the south facing north.

5. The fourth quadrant is completed when the leader is once more in his original position at the west facing east.

6. All now step back a few paces, widening the circle, and as they sing the circle closes in again. Throughout this singing the leader maintains his orientation at the west, and each dancer his or her relative position in the circle. Now, as the song finishes with the circle narrowed to its original dimensions, all break their handclasps, and shake off the blankets they wear, and the dance is over. The closing in of the circle during this last song signifies the coming together of the people, and the shaking out of the blankets expresses their desire to shake off them the bad ways, the new ways, the white man's ways.

The closing song is the Arapaho song as given by Mooney[1]. [177]

FIRST FORMS OF THE SKIRI GHOST DANCE

792 668 177 [424]

As we have seen, Frank White brought the Ghost Dance to the South Bands primarily, being himself a Kitkahaxkiˣ. When a Skiri wished to hold a dance among the Skiri proper, he was in the same position as any individual among the South Bands who felt he had the right to do so. The Skiri had to get sanction from White, and to invite White and his leaders to come over to initiate and lead the dancing.

After the visit of the five Pawnee to Sitting-Bull, the Arapaho, a change came over the Pawnee attitude toward the general Ghost Dance doctrine. The whole religious movement was liberated from the domination of White. An individual's own conscience and experience was the individual's guide to what he could and could not do, to what sanctions he had obtained supernaturally. It became unnecessary to pay White for rights, and the only checks upon the number of prophets who began to appear among the Pawnee with messages from the deceased were the natural ones: the force of character and the temperament of the claimant: the

---

[1] Mooney, pp. 1011—1012, no. 73. Note that this song was used as the closing song after the return of the delegation of Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne in the fall of 1891.

792
668 reputation and esteem in which he or she was held by the tribespeople, the abilities of the prophet as a leader, hypnotizer, organizer;
177 and the experiences which were undergone by the layman under the leadership and influence of the prophet.

Those who are remembered as the chief visionaries of the period in which the Ghost-Dance was taken up by the Skiri are Mrs. Washington, Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle, and Mrs. Cover. There were others, of course. Chiefly, Mrs. Washington was responsible for the inauguration of independent Skiri Ghost-Dances. She had many trance-visions, and often told very complex stories of the images and events which took place in them, so
[787] complex in fact that there were Pawnee who doubted her, partly because of their own vision experiences, which seemed to them different in kind (psychologically); partly because of jealousy of the constantly increasing part she was playing in the tribal developments.

668 Carrion speaks of Mrs. Washington as a fraud. He says that she made up a lot of stuff, and was a false prophet trying to win
792 the people's worship. His reasons for the attitude are interesting.
787 He claims that in a vision (as he has experienced such) you see merely one simple image or thing, not a complex array; and that if you add to what you see, that is wrong. He contends that Mrs. Washington had trance-vision after trance-vision, and kept on learning details of performances in her visions, like a serial story. This is impossible, he says, because going back to those who give you things in visions and asking for more, is imposing on them; and it is for such conduct that people lose their lives.

In truth, Carrion's attitude indicates a temperamental difference between him and Mrs. Washington, as well as difference in the quality of his imagination. Carrion was not subject to trances often, Mrs. Washington was; his mind did not experience much detail in the few cases in which he had visions, while Mrs. Washington did. Obviously, the quality of the individual's mind will appear in the content and character of his visions as well as in his waking life, which is well illustrated by the vision experience of Mark Evarts in relation to the Ghost Dance, given below; Mark Evarts is a man whose mind is rich in content. But the native concept of the vision is more or less fixed and absolute, not one which accepts the relativity of the vision to the subject; hence, in terms of one visionary's experiences, those of another may often seem fraudulent.

184 The early independent Ghost Dances of the Skiri were carried out
668 in terms of the usual forms and patterns of White's South Band
796 Ghost Dancing. There was the same form of the circle, the same orientation of the official or sacred tent, and the same pattern of

the smoke offering. Those who had crow or eagle feathers from 184
the Ghost Dance wore them, and usually a group of seven singers 668
led the singing. These were men who knew the Ghost Dance songs. 796
But at first there was no official organization of singers, policemen and the like. Each occasion was organized in the usual patterns, according to immediate needs. The first phase of the organization of Skiri Ghost Dances concerns the official constitution of a fixed group of singers, the Seven Eagle Brothers.

THE SEVEN EAGLE BROTHERS

As with many cultural formalizations, the Seven Eagle Brothers 668
were not institutionalized by revolutionary act or decree, but by 796
gradual changes. There were first of all a great many people who 533
considered themselves "eagles" and a great many who considered themselves "crows". Among the Skiri there were in each of these classes men who were gifted as singers and leaders, whose knowledge of the ways of the Ghost Dance had grown through continuous and regular experience and participation. Seven singers were the number usually employed, following White's pattern, and by habitual practice there was general acceptance of certain men as naturally more proficient for the function. In other words the men who were chosen as the official Seven Eagle Brothers were probably seven main singers for the Skiri by custom and practice before the group was institutionalized as a brotherhood.

Knifechief is recalled as the man who first expressed the general attitude toward these seven men. At a hand game he selected them formally to be the main singers. Knifechief went to the place each one occupied in the hand game circle and told him to rise and follow him. Then he led the selected man around a circuit of the fireplace, and seated him in his new position in a row on the south side toward the west. The seven in their order were, according to Ezra Tilden[1]: Sam Cover, Emmett Pierson, Walter Keys (the senior), Tom Yellowhorse, Ezra Tilden, Leadingfox, and Harry Sergeant. These seven, when they were seated in a row on the south side, led the singing for the hand game.

Mrs. Washington was officially responsible for the organization of these seven as the Seven Eagle Brothers of the Skiri Ghost Dance. The first occasion on which Mrs. Washington managed a large Ghost Dance among the Skiri was one which occurred when many Wichita had come to visit the Pawnee: and it said by some

[1] Ezra Tilden and Tom Yellowhorse are the only ones of the seven still living.

668 that a suggestion of the Wichita was in part responsible for Mrs.
796 Washington's determination to organize the Ghost-Dancing with
regular singers while the Wichita were present.

533 Frank White died in 1893, and he is known to have been alive
at the time Mrs. Washington inaugurated these developments,
which places the time of the first Seven Eagle Brothers as some-
time in late 1892 or early 1893.

As one informant describes Mrs. Washington's activities: "When
668 they used to dance among the South Bands, all would go there,
792 and while the dancing went on, old Mrs. Washington fell in a trance.
796 She found out something about the Seven Brothers, but not
everything right away. Afterwards, every time she fell she would
787 see something about the Seven Brothers.[1] The spirit told her to go
ahead and put up the Seven Brothers. She used to have her own
cattle. Once when they came home from the dancing, she was
told that when she got home she should put up the Seven Brothers
at a dance. So she killed her own beef, and put up the dance, and
they told her how to go, everything, the smoke and all."

Mrs. Washington put up a special feast. She asked the chiefs and these seven men to be present, as well as others. Each of the seven sat on the south side with the eagle feather given him by Knifechief stuck into the ground before him. Along the north side were congregated the "crow" people, including those who played as "crows" in the hand games, as well as the men who later were organized into the Seven Crows; while along the south side the "eagle" people sat. As yet, however, there was no "crow" organization: the "crows" were merely an amorphous group who played the hand game together, and who had this affiliation because of Ghost Dance experiences.

Mrs. Washington stood at the doorway of the tipi. Up to this time she had been learning. Now she spoke, "Now, I want to tell you what I have in mind. We are going to have a Ghost Dance. A spirit told me to do it. I am going to do it today. These Seven Brothers are going to take the lead for us, and we're going to call them Fathers. Now I want you chiefs to decide when we should begin the dance."

Then the chiefs talked together and decided and one announced,
527 "Let us move the camp and all come together on the third day."

574 This inaugural feast was not a ceremonial affair. After the
decision of the chiefs was announced all those present partook of
the feast provided by Mrs. Washington; this concluded the occasion

---

[114] [1] This "serial story" form of learning in visions is the sort of thing about Mrs. Washington's claims that Carrion resented; see above.

for most. Some sat about a while longer, however, and sang Ghost Dance songs. 527 574

This introductory or inaugural feast at which a decision is made as to the time for a regular ceremony, is a fundamental Pawnee pattern. Such feasts precede the actual performance of doctor dances and ceremonies, society gatherings and performances, and many other ritual activities. In all such cases the pattern is the same. An individual man or woman "puts up" the feast for the gathering, and obtains as a result certain definite rights of proprietorship over the actual ceremonial occasion which is to follow[1]: [424] This "host" invites leading men such as chiefs to be present, and requests selected ones to come to a decision as to the time for the performance itself.

After this feast-gathering had broken up, the people got ready for the actual dance. Three days were allowed for moving into camp because the people lived scattered over a large area, and had to come in wagons and on horseback. They needed time to arrange things at home so they could be absent for more than a week, to pack, and to come. After all had gathered, at least three more days intervened before the dance proper began, so that the preparation of food, wood, and all other necessary things could be finished. Once it is begun, the dance must not be interrupted by such labors.

Mrs. Washington must be the first to move officially into camp. The chief who finally set the date for the gathering inquired if she was ready, and after she had said yes, and moved her tent, others would begin to follow her into the camping place.

For the dance the tipis and tents were set up in a half circle from south to north around the west. There was no special order of tipis. In the center a space thirty to forty feet in diameter was cleared of grass. Here the dancing began, but as more and more people joined in and the circle of dancers expanded, it would be pushed back beyond the edge of the cleared space onto the grass. The cleared space alone, however, was considered the sacred dancing ground. 361 796 668

One large tipi was set up west of the cleared ground at a distance of thirty feet, its doorway facing east. This was the tent used by the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Washington and other leaders. [346]

---

[1] Neither vision nor vow is essential in all cases to give an individual the right to "put up" a ritual affair. It is sufficient in most cases among the Pawnee that an individual wants to do so, either because he or she wants to secure thereby whatever benefits in health, luck and prosperity accrue from the performance (and particularly to the one who has "put it up") or because he or she wants to see the ritual demonstrated and learn something about it, or both.

● 796 When each house-group had ready its quota of wood, meat and
668 all else necessary, everything was in order and the dance could
782 begin.

A sacred smoke offering opened the dance. If the people wished
276 to begin dancing on an evening, the usual form was to hold the smoke ceremony, then dance a little, perhaps ten songs, and adjourn until morning. At the continuation of the dancing in the morning no smoke offering would be made; but if dancing were begun for the first time in the morning, a preliminary offering was necessary.

Inside the main tipi were the Seven Brothers seated on the south side. Four chiefs were selected to carry pipes and make a smoke
[301] offering. These came out of the tent leading the way, followed by the Seven Brothers, each wearing an eagle feather in his hair. They were directed by Knifechief. This was the first occasion on which the Skiri Ghost Dancers saw the Seven Eagle Brothers as an organization.

796 Outside, the arrangement in relation to the clearing followed the form already described for White's South Band Ghost-Dancing.
668 The Seven Brothers were in the center of an arc-like line of men
554 which stood at the east of the clearing facing west (for an evening
823 smoke-offering). In front of this line stood the four chiefs with pipes, also facing west. While the Seven Brothers were in the center of the line, Sam Cover who was No. 1 Eagle Brother was not in the center of the seven, but at the south end of the seven; the others followed in the order given above, from south to north; this was the order of their selection. The significance of this arrangement is that now there was no main one who must be in the center—all were equal. In the row of men four chiefs took special places; two south of the Seven Brothers and two north.

796 Each of the four smokers had a special function. Their arrangement was from south to north as they faced west: Number 1
668 smoker at the south end of the row of four smoked to heaven;
782 number 2 to the west (Christ); number 3 to the east (position of the rising sun); and number 4 at the north end of the row of four
823 smokers, to the south, the noon sun.

276 The four smokers proceeded with their movements simultaneously. Number 1 took the filled pipe, (phase 1[1]) walked through a half circuit clockwise to the west where he faced east and offered a pinch of tobacco upward, placing it on the ground; (lighting the pipe) then he continued clockwise to the northeast, where he squatted toward the east, holding the pipe in his mouth. Here it was lit from a brand brought forward by another. (Phase 2; first

---

[1] See Chapter 8, pp. 186–207.

mode) He rose puffing the pipe and walked clockwise around the 796
clearing stopping again at the west facing east, where he offered
four puffs upward to heaven, and four downward to the earth. 668
(Phase 2; third mode) Then he walked clockwise until he neared the 782
row of men on the east of the clearing, when he went to the man 823
who was at the extreme northern end of the row and offered him
the pipe to smoke. This he did without releasing the pipe, holding 276
the bowl in his right hand, the offered pipestem in his left. The man accepting the pipe to smoke merely puts his two hands around the mouthpiece of the pipe and holds it to his lips, drawing a puff. Then the smoke-offerer moved along southward to the second man in the row to whom he offered the pipe to puff, and so on down the row to the extreme south end of it. (Phase 3) The smoker then made a half-circuit clockwise to the west of the clearing, where he tamped the ashes loose (the pipe was now out) and offered ashes twice upward to heaven, emptying some each time on the ground, and again offered some ashes twice downward to the earth, finally depositing the last of the ashes from the bowl on the ground. (Phase 4) Now as he stood at the west, he held the empty pipe with the mouthpiece pointing upward, touched the ashes on the ground with his right hand, and ran his right hand up the pipe, from bowl to mouthpiece, opening his palm upward and outward toward heaven; he repeated this action with his left hand, holding the pipe in the same position with his right, then repeated it once more with his right hand and once more with his left, making four motions upward to heaven. Then he pointed the mouthpiece of the pipe slightly slantwise downward toward the earth, and made four similar motions toward the earth, each time touching the ashes on the ground before running his hand along the pipestem. He had now finished the smoke offering. (Self-Blessing; return of pipe) He walked with the pipe around the clearing clockwise until he reached a point just in front of the chief at the left (south) of Sam Cover, the Number 1 Brother. He stood in front of this chief, and a little to the south, faced the chief, and made the motions of *self blessing*.[1]

Number 2 smoker (Phase 1) meanwhile made a half-circuit clockwise until he reached the west, where he faced *west*, offered tobacco slantwise to the west, and downward to the ground, placing a pinch from the pipe-bowl each time on the ground. (lighting the pipe) came clockwise to the position at the northeast where the pipe is lit. (phase 2; first mode) continued clockwise until he again reached the west, where facing west he then smoked four puffs slantwise to the west and four downward to the ground. (Phase 2; second

---

[1] See chapter 8, pp. 207—209.

896 mode) Then he walked clockwise until he came to the row of men
east of the clearing; he offered the lit pipe to the man at the extreme
668 northern end of the row, and to each man in the row southward
781 until he reached the man at the extreme south end of the row.
(Phase 3) Then he took the pipe, which was out, clockwise to the
823 west of the clearing, where facing west he offered ashes twice
276 slantwise to the west, and twice to the earth. (Phase 4) He then
made four hand-motions to the west and four to the earth, (self-blessing and return of pipe) came clockwise around the clearing until he stood in front of the chief at the right (north) of Harry Sergeant, number seven of the Seven Brothers; here he made the motions of self-blessing, and then returned the empty pipe to this chief, who received it with a blessing.

Number three smoker followed an analogous procedure. The unique character of his smoke appears in the following: the position at which he stopped to make offerings of tobacco (phase 1), offerings of smoke (phase 2; first mode), offerings of ashes (phase 3), and motions of blessing (phase 4), was at the *east* of the clearing, facing *east;* he there held the pipe slantwise to the east, and slantwise downward to the ground, and made offerings to the position of the rising sun and to the earth; he offered his pipe down the row of men from north to south as the others had done. He made the motions of self-blessing in front of the chief to the left (south) of the chief to whom the Number 1 smoker returned the number 1 pipe (that is, the second man to the left or south of Sam Cover, the number 1 Brother) and returned the pipe to this chief.

Number Four smoker proceeded analogously. The place of his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes and motions was at the *south* of the clearing, facing *south.* He returned the pipe to the chief right (north) of the chief to whom the number 2 smoker returned the number 2 pipe (the second man to the right or north of Harry Sergeant, the number seven Brother).

In carrying out these simultaneous offerings there was no collision of the smokers; similar actions, such as offering the pipes to the row of men, were done in the order of the smokers. Before the number one smoker returned to make his self-blessing and give the pipe back to the chief, the number four smoker had completed his offering of the pipe to the men in the line.

After the smokers had all finished, they returned to their places in front of the row of men. Each pipe was now returned to the man who had made a smoke offering with it, and as Sam Cover began to sing a Ghost Dance song, these smokers took the pipes back into the tipi. Inside this main tipi or sacred tent, a covering had been

spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes 796
were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the
altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the 668
altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at 782
the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while 823
the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not 276
participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that 184
described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity. 276
These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke- 782
offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same:
upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset 823
and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly 184
interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion 771
in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of 778
Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

---

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven [177]
and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette
by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by [788]
flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

771
778 South Bands there are ancient bundles which each possess a group of functions that among the Skiri are differentiated and associated with separate bundles.

668 After the smoke offering, Sam Cover led the Seven Brothers in
● 796 singing one or two Ghost Dance songs, without any dancing. Then the line closed around the clearing to form a circle of dancers,
782 women came to join in, and the regular dancing began. Usually
[533] on a first evening of Ghost Dancing, only ten or twenty songs were sung. After the closing song, the general public would break up, each group of people returning to the family tipi. The Seven Brothers, the four chiefs who smoked, other chiefs, Mrs. Goodeagle, Mrs. Cover, Mrs. Washington, and some individuals who were special leaders, gathered in the main tipi of the dance. Here two old men acted as tarutsius, fire-tenders and servers. Food was brought in and set out in buckets at the east of the tipi near the door. Sam Cover then made an offering with corn before the group ate. It was a simple offering: He took some of the corn in his hands, stood behind the collected food and made inclusive arm motions (to indicate that this food was offered on behalf of all the food being partaken of), then came clockwise to the west of the fireplace where he raised the corn aloft to heaven and then placed it on the ground before him. He pressed it into the ground, rubbed his hands together and made four motions upward to heaven with both hands, touching his fingers to the corn on the ground before each motion. Then he made four similar motions towards the earth; blessed himself, walked through a circuit to his own place on the south, and sat down. All present said "Nawa" and then the food was served. The tarutsius must serve the food in a special
[554] order: first the chiefs at the west (the four smokers), then the seven brothers on the south, then old men who are seated on both sides of the entrance-way at the east, then all others present, serving them from west to east down both sides of the tipi.[1]

At this gathering the order and time of the events of the next
668 morning were announced.

796 The next morning dancing began before sunrise. Two or three of the Seven Brothers went out onto the dance grounds, stood at the west facing east, and sang several Ghost Dance songs. As the people awoke and heard these they came out hurriedly to join in. As soon as four or five came, including women, all began to dance around clockwise. Gradually as the people gathered, the circle expanded. An old man walked around crying out to the people

---

[1] There is for every Pawnee ceremony an *order* in which those present are served; see chapter 8, pp. 220—229.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

to come and join the dancing. Some chiefs walked around the 668
circle of dancers carrying pipes in their folded arms, but no smoke 796
offering was made. Should the singers pause for a rest, pipes (but [276]
not these sacred pipes) were often smoked non-ceremonially.

After ten or twenty songs, the people ended the dancing with
the finishing song, and returned to their tipis for breakfast. When [203]
they stopped the old man crier went through the camp calling out
to the people to be ready to dance about one o'clock.

At one o'clock the dancers reassembled. The Seven Brothers took their places at the west side of the clearing, in order, each with special face-painting and wearing his eagle feather. Sam Cover led the singing, and the dancing began at the west, circling clockwise. Sam Cover and Emmet Pierson, the number 2 Brother, carried leather rattles which they shook in time to the dancing.

The dancing continued until about five in the afternoon, or just before sundown. The evening meal was prepared by women while the dancing went on, so that everything was ready when the finishing song concluded the dancing for the day.

After the dancing, the people gathered in the space between the cleared dance ground and the sacred tipi to the west of it. The Seven Brothers sat down on the east side of this space, facing west (this would of course be west of the cleared ground), while the chiefs sat on the west side facing east. In this way the chiefs and the seven brothers faced each other across this cleared space. The people gathered around the sides forming more or less of a circle. One chief was selected to talk. He said:

"We have all come together today to worship God. Now you [537
must try to think what you are here for. Now the ground is open, 539]
there is nothing in the way (i. e. it is outdoors), God can look straight
down upon us. Here's the sunlight over us, he's the one who
knows all about it, and he knows also what you think about; you
can't ever hide it. Now we are going to eat." 782

The main tarutsius now came forward. This chief gave the 668
tarutsius a horn spoon which he had been holding while he spoke. 796
In the center of the space around which the people had gathered, [415]
the food had been set out in buckets. The tarutsius received the
spoon. (Filling the spoon[1]) He walked clockwise around, passing
behind the food and around it, then with the spoon took some corn
from the buckets, made a clockwise circuit and passed outside of the
circle of people between the Seventh Brother (who is at the north
end of the seated row of Seven Brothers) and the people at his
right. (First Phase[1]) Outside the circle the tarutsius walked clock-

---

[1] See Chapter 8; the Food Offering and Service, pp. 220—228.

668 wise around the sacred dance ground (not the space around which
796 the people are gathered) which was now vacant, and came to the
782 west of it where he stopped facing east. At this point his back was to the back of the Seven seated Brothers. Here he offered corn upward to heaven, then bent down and pushed some off the spoon onto the ground, then turned to the west to which he offered the spoon of corn slantwise, then pushed some more off onto the ground, and finally placed the rest on the ground as an offering to the earth. (Second phase: first mode[1]) He then put the spoon on the ground beside him, and touching and pressing the corn into the earth, made three sets of motions with his hands and arms: four upward to heaven, four westward, and four to the earth. (Self-blessing; return of spoon[1]) Then he picked up the spoon and went through the motions of the final self-blessing with it, pressing his feet firmly to the ground. With the spoon he turned and reentered the circle of people between the First Brother (who is at the south end of the row of seven seated brothers) and those at his left, walked through a half circuit clockwise until he faced the chiefs sitting at the west, and returned the spoon to the chief who had given it to him. All the people say, "Nawa."

668 The food was then served. A number of men were selected to do
796 the serving, some serving the chiefs, others the Seven Brothers,
[264 and still others the people in general. The chiefs must be served
554] first, and then the Seven Brothers, and then the public at large.
After all had eaten the dishes were put away. The people might come back and dance on the dance-ground until the sun had fully set. They stopped finally at full sundown. Many of the people did not camp on the grounds and had to go home for the night. Others had to look out for their horses.

In this way the people danced at the encampment for four days, and the last day they continued dancing all night. As individuals had trance visions, they would begin to wear different feathers and paints according to what they saw; and at later Ghost Dances would bring out these Ghost Dance things and use them.

[513] After the entire dance was over, the people generally slept a full day. Later they might decide to hold a hand game. In these early Ghost Dance times among the Skiri, a hand game could only be held after a full Ghost Dance had been carried out. Later hand games were interspersed in the Ghost Dancing.

Such were the ceremonial forms of the first Ghost Dancing among the Skiri proper.

792 Although Mrs. Washington was in this way responsible for the
668 first organization of the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Goodeagle came to
796
787

792

be known as the Mother of the Seven Brothers. This was because 668
she clothed them according to directions which she received in a 796
Ghost Dance vision. 787

Mrs. Goodeagle saw two eagles in her vision, a white one and
a black one. The black eagle did not speak to her. The white
eagle told her to put up a feast and dress the Seven Brothers.
She did so. She gave each of the seven a special shirt, and a white 292
sheet to wear. At the back of the head on the sheet two black
ribbons were stitched, so that they hung down for about two feet
in the back. All the seven were dressed alike.

Then later someone else fell into a trance and told afterward that Mrs. Goodeagle was the Mother of the Seven Brothers, and that the people must call her that. So all the Skiri considered her the Mother of the Seven Brothers.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF MARK EVARTS

In 1897 or 1898, Mark Evarts came home.[1] He had been away 159
a number of years, first at the Carlisle school, and then working as a harness maker in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. When he got to Oklahoma, the ghost dancing had been flourishing both among the South Bands and among the Skiri. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri was already existent. Mark was not unacquainted with the Ghost Dance. He had heard about it at the time it began to spread among the tribes. He had made a brief visit home at the height of the excitement. But the rest of his story after his arrival in Oklahoma is best told in Mark's own words:

"I told them I did not believe it. I said, 'You can't make me believe it.' Because I was educated and because the white man taught me that the Indians were superstitious. But the white man didn't look at himself and see how superstitious he was.

"One day the Pawnee were all going up to the Oto. After a lot of them had gone, a fellow named Sam Thomson said to me, 'Mark, let's go up to where the Oto are camped now.' We went north to a place about seven miles south of Red Rock. We got there in the evening. We looked into the timber, and there on the other side of the creek we saw the smoke from the encampment. We didn't know where to eat and spend the night, but we found two old ladies in one tipi and we went in there. We asked them if we could sleep there, and stay around during the camping. While I was there I heard someone say, 'this tipi is a special hand

---

[1] Mark had been home on a visit in 1893.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

in front of him on a spread. Rudder set one man to work preparing 159
cedar sticks, another to work preparing the horn ends of the 301
feathers so they could be attached to the sticks with sinew. Still
another was called and told to get sinew ready for use as thong.
While the work proceeded the other men present told stories. One
man said that he heard the crows calling "ka-ka-ka," and understood
what they meant, so he came to the camp and there sure enough
he found them all working on the crow feathers. The others
laughed. The men preparing the things took their time. They were
working at it all day. When dinner came in the evening, Mark
Rudder had all the things wrapped up and put aside. The work
was finished the next day.

Only wing and tail feathers of the crow were used. Four feathers,
either from the wing or tail, were attached to the stick. Each man [237]
present was asked which kind of feathers he wanted put on his. The
sinew was soaked in a bowl of water to soften it for use. The head [283]
end of the cedar stick was spread or thickened so that when the
feathers were tied on they spread outward. Across the top of the
sticks indentations were made in the form of a cross and when
these crow sticks are used ceremonially and set in the ground, the
ends of this cross must point in the cardinal directions. Red paint
was put in the grooves of the cross. The feathers were bound onto
the sticks while the sinew was wet, after which the sticks with the
feathers attached were hung out in the wind to dry. The sinew
tightened in drying. Each man who wanted a crow stick came
forward and took one.

THE SEVEN CROWS AND AFTER

Mark Rudder was thus instrumental in developing the decoration 668
and recognition of Crows. As yet, however, there was no official 796
organization among the Crows, similar to the Seven Brothers of
the Eagles.

Once when they were Ghost Dancing near the north round house, 668
a young woman "got the shakes" and fell. When she recovered, 796
she sat there crying. The old man crier went to her and blessed her. 787
Then he asked her if she had something to say. She said, "Yes.
When I fell, I went down a road leading west and saw a big
hill across my way, and the road went up the hill. I went up that
hill. When I got on top of the hill I looked down below on the
other side. There was a big camp there. As I went down the hill
I saw a man coming out of that camp. He met me before I got
to the camp, and told me to stop, not to come any further. I

668 stopped. He stood right there in the road. He said, 'Now my girl,
796 I came to meet you here. I'm the one who told you to come. We
787 are dancing over here. We know you folks are dancing over there
and I want you to tell them to have Seven Brothers of the Crows just as well as the Eagles. Now when you go back you can tell them. Sometimes when the Seven Eagles are tired singing, you have to turn over the singing to the Crows to help out. That's why I say you should have Seven Crows. One more thing: When you have the Seven Eagles sing, you must put one woman between each two Eagle brothers, because when they sing the women must sing too. And you must do the same way with the Seven Crows.' I wanted to turn my head to look around, and as I did that, I woke up, and got up."

668 In accordance with this vision, Mark Rudder as the main Crow
796 selected six to join with him as the Seven Crows. Five of the Skiri
selected were: John Moses, Jonathan Eustace, George Beaver, Yellowcalf, White Fox. Mark Evarts himself became one of the Seven Crows later, succeeding one man who died.[1]

After that when they held the Ghost Dancing, the Seven Eagles were put on one side (the south), the Seven Crows on the other side (the north). Still later, someone had a trance vision and saw that it should be done the same way in the hand games.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, Mrs. Cover was made the Mother of the Seven Crows by analogy with the Mother of the Seven Brothers organization. Mark Rudder selected her. She was not chosen as the result of a vision, or because she clothed the Crows.[2]

Thus the ground plan arrangements finally became among the
Skiri: A central clearing for the dancing; a special Ghost Dance
[346] tipi due west of it; a sacred tipi south of the cleared ground for the
Seven Eagle Brothers; and a sacred tipi north of the clearing for the Seven Crow Brothers. Certain alignments of the games were later determined by these orientations (see for example, Boy Chief's game).

---

[1] John Moses and Mark Evarts are the only ones still living.

[2] A dream of Mrs. Cover's of this general period illustrates certain con-
[787] cepts of the Pawnee Ghost Dance:

"She dreamed she saw Christ standing at the west, facing east. Before him were many little children. At the extreme south was Emmet Pierson and other chiefs, at the extreme north were Mark Evarts, Eaglechief and others. A voice spoke, saying, 'As you see those standing, these are the ones to take care of Christ's children, his people.'"

[622 The Pawnee speak of a chief as a "father" to all his tribespeople, and here
177] this idea has been interwoven with Christian beliefs.

668 796 The smoke offering of the Skiri Ghost-Dance was not altered by this new organization. Only the Seven Eagle Brothers participated directly. The Seven Crows organization was an alternative one, to assist in the singing. After a day of Ghost Dancing, Sam Cover, the leader of the Seven Eagles, might officially turn over to the Seven Crows the singing and leadership of the dancing for the following day. With the Crows leading, the formal positions for beginning and ending the songs and dancing remained the same.

Every day after the dancing, the people gathered outside for the formal food offering and blessing before eating (see above). The chiefs talked. The arrangement outside was the same as that previously described, except that now instead of the Seven Eagle Brothers on the east facing west, the two organizations were seated together, the Seven Eagles south of the mid-point, the Seven Crows just north of it, making a row of fourteen seated side by side.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, the form of Skiri Ghost-Dancing passed through only minor alterations; so far as memory of informants goes, it remained constant—constant at least while the Ghost-Dancing was a serious belief and practise of the Pawnee.

668 796 525 With the alternative organizations of Seven Brothers and Seven Crows for the Ghost-Dance singing, in the event that both groups of singers were tired at the end of a day of dancing, and neither was anxious to take over the leadership the next morning, a custom of playing a hand game to decide who would carry the burden the next day tended to develop. In the central leading tent in the evening, the Ghost Dance leaders and the two organizations ate together, with the Seven Crows on the north side, the Seven Eagles on the south. Here in the talk which accompanied the meal, the members of the two brotherhoods might challenge each other to play a hand game that night. The losers would get up early and begin the dancing; the winners could sleep late.

668 796 Each formal occasion of four-days' Ghost-Dancing was in general charge of one man, and was "put up" in the main by one woman. After a woman had offered to put the dance up, the chiefs gathered and selected one man to be in charge. This man's job was to handle all matters which came up during the entire period of dancing, a hard task and a great risk, because whatever happened while the dance was in progress was credited to the one in charge for blame or praise. If there was good luck, people spoke well of him; and if there was bad luck, people agreed it was his fault.[1] [777]

---

[1] Such responsibility of the leader is true for all Pawnee ceremonial venture. The method of having someone, usually a woman "put up" the

668 Mark Evarts led several times, and says that whenever he had
● 796 the lead he had good luck. One time a baby was born while the
dance was in progress—that was good luck. Tobacco was being
777 ceremonially prepared to be handed to Mark for making a smoke
offering. While they were praying that good luck might go with
[276 the tobacco, a grandchild of Linford Smith's was born. So all
782] present thanked God, and hoped it would be that way throughout
the dancing.

While these developments were taking place among the Skiri,
[184] the Ghost Dancing of the South Bands continued to follow the
formal arrangements which had been instituted by Frank White.
As members of the organization of seven singers which had been
developed by White died, new members were selected to take their
places. The smoke offering was not altered.

668 Murie, in discussing Pawnee ceremonial Ghost Dance, forms,
states[1]:

796 "In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take
instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they
[484] learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the cere-
[346] monies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set
up near the center of the camp as the temple... The modern Ghost
Dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off
center toward the north or south side according to the place of the
host..."

The arrangement of which Murie speaks, in terms of which the leading tent was on the north or south according to the place of the host, refers to Ghost Dance hand games, rather than Ghost Dances proper: for in the hand games, as will be described below, one side (either north or south, viz., either Crow or Eagle) is "host" and in charge.

GHOST DANCE SONGS[2]

796 The songs "dreamed" or secured in visions in the Ghost Dance
ranged over all the subjects that could naturally come to mind.
533 Some emphasized aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine, viz., that
in the other world all was as in former days, that the Christ was

---

affair, viz., supply the bulk of the meat and other food necessary, as well as the method of selecting one man to be in charge, are general Pawnee patterns.

[1] Murie, p. 636.

[2] The song texts of this section have been retranscribed and retranslated from the Densmore versions by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

coming, that there would be a reunion with the departed, that a great change was coming. Others embodied the memory of societies of former days, the gift of paraphernalia, or of hand games. No attempt has been made to transcribe songs for this study; a few representative songs are available from Densmore and Murie. 796 533

Frank White's first Ghost Dance song has already been given. The free rendering: 796 533 539

"The place whence you come
Now I am longing for.

"The place whence you come
Now I am ever-mindful of."

refers to the land of the departed from which a messenger came in White's vision. [787]

A song of Roaming Chief recorded by Densmore from the version of Effie Blane, reports a Ghost Dance trance vision of Roaming Chief.[1] The reference is to the coming of Christ, and the feeling among the people that all was to be well. [177]

ra a (hi i i a) he i ra a (hi i i a)
he comes yonder he comes!

he ra (i hi i a) he ra (a e ee)
he comes! he comes!

heru (u u) kitu tixwakiá·hu
then all they are saying

ṛihi weturahe
here now it is good!

ra a (hi i) i ra a (hi i i a)
he comes yonder he comes

hera (i) hera hera
he comes! he comes! he comes!

He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming!
And so all the people say
All is well here now.
He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming! He is coming!

---

[1] Densmore, Pawnee Music, song no. 66, p. 92. "A Ghost Dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he cried as he sang this

796 533 539 A song recorded by Effie Blane[1] reports a vision of a boy crying for his mother, and asking from the depths of his sorrow, if his mother is really to return to him:

piraski *rawakakawitiku*
boy crying sits down
piraski *rawakakawitiku*
atira *kawe 'rą́à·hu*[2] *atira kawe rą́à·hu*
mother is she coming now, mother is she coming now ?
tiratpą́ri *tiratpą́rį*
here I roam here I roam.

A little boy is sitting crying,
A little boy is sitting crying,
"Is mother coming now ?
Is mother coming now ?
Here I wander about, here I wander about."

Two songs recorded by Effie Blane[3] refer to the Crow as the messenger from the beyond. One, without Pawnee text, is given in free translation by Densmore as:

"The crow, we see his likeness moving inside the circle of dancers."

The other song is given in full:

ka·ka *tį́wa·ku* *ka·ka* *tį́wa·ku*
Crow he says crow he says,
wétatù·ta *(tu)* *tátù·ta*
now I do I do
atira *įrira·a* *atira* *įrįra·a*
Mother whence she comes Mother whence she comes
(Moon) (Moon)

The crow is calling, the crow is calling,
"Now I am active, I am active
In the place whence Mother Moon comes, in the place whence Mother Moon comes."

---

song.' It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game." (p. 91). The song would not be sung to hand game play, but in the Ghost Dance intervals.

[114]

[1] Densmore, p. 76, no. 47. The explanation which precedes this song in Densmore's account is misconceived, and may refer to another song; a piraski is a boy up to the age of puberty.

[2] This is not the interrogative used in ordinary speech or in text material. I am thus unable to control the form of the question grammatically, but since the substance of the song calls for an interrogative I leave it as it stands and have translated it in that way. The complex *we rą́à·hu* would be the declarative form, "now she is coming." G. Weltfish.

[3] Densmore, nos. 50, 51; pp. 79—80.

The song embodies the relationship of the crow to the Moon from which the bird's power comes, and indicates also that the Moon is the night overseer of things on earth, reporting them in the beyond. The crow is telling the people on earth of the activities in the land of the departed. 796 533 539

The song was based on a Ghost Dance vision of Effie Blane herself. Used at a hand game it was probably not sung to the play of the game.

Several songs reflect the vision of old societies, and their subsequent revival (See Chapter III—Revivals of Societies).

A song recorded by Wichita Blane[1] reports a vision in which Christ gave the Young Dog Dance society pipe (probably) to the visionary: [177 787]

we ra a (i ya)
now he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (hi a)
See! yonder he comes See! yonder he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (ho hi a)

he tiwerịhaktsa
(Emphasis) here now it stick lies!

atias pirạu kura (u)
father child his

kurạha·ku^{x} tikuha·ku'
his own stick he to me stick gives

i ra a
Yonder he comes.

Now he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming.
This stick that is lying here,
The son of the father
His own stick he gave to me.
Yonder he is coming.

A song recorded by Effie Blane belonged to Running Scout and referred (probably) to the revival of the Wolf Society. Of this song, Densmore writes: Running Scout "was very religious and remained in a Ghost Dance trance for several days. His friends [787]

---

[1] Densmore, no. 59, p. 86.

796
533 thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that
539 he had been to the Messiah who told him to 'go to the village.'
[787] Following this instruction, he saw many men dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypno-
[237] tizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always wore a fox skin in the Ghost Dance. The skin was not made into
[293] a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder.
[198] He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing."[1]

1— *ṭrịhe we ṭsụrut*
so here now stop!
1— ''
1— ''

2— *kiwa̮k·u rirạraxra*
fox (es) they have them

1— *ṭrịhe we ṭsụrat*
so here now stop!
1— ''

Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
They are holding fox skins
Here now you must stop!
Here non you must stop!

Densmore in one case records a free translation of a song without text[2]:

"The yellow star has noticed me,
Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather.
That yellow star."

[787] The reference is apparently to one of the old star powers and reflects the gift of an ornament of "power" in a Ghost Dance vision.

[727] A song without texts used at victory dances was "'in the style of the Lance dance songs'... The words mean, 'They are coming yonder, the men who belong to the Lance Society (Tirupa)[3].'" The reference here is to the resurrection of the membership of the old Fighting Lance Society (tirupahe), and to the revival which took place in the Ghost Dance years.[4]

---

[1] Densmore, pp. 84—85, no. 58.
[2] Densmore, p. 84, no. 57.
[3] Densmore, p. 68.
[4] See Chapter III, Revivals of Societies, pp. 112—115.

III.

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GHOST DANCE

In 1892, as we saw in Chapter I, the United States government 668
program of assimilation had reduced the Pawnee to a cultural
impasse. Their old life was gone, and nothing adequate had been
given them in its place. The Ghost Dance doctrine which reached
the tribe in 1892 brought hope into Pawnee life. It promised the
coming of a new and restored Indian earth, on which the white man
would be no more, on which the buffalo would roam again, and
the Indian peoples live in peace and plenty. According to the
prophecy of the doctrine the change was destined, and did not
depend on the voluntary intervention of the Indian. Faith in the
doctrine and message of the new religion was, however, an essential
condition to participation in the benefits of the new order. The
activities of the Ghost Dance were modes of converting the
unbeliever, and of reinforcing the conviction of the faithful. The first 668
tenet was to dance. The feet of the dancers pounding the earth 796
was symptomatic of the rumblings of the earth which presaged
the change. In the beyond, the message declared, they too were
dancing, and to dance here in the same way was an augury of the
coming reunion. A second tenet prescribed the casting aside of the
white man's ways as an expression of faith. To put aside white
clothing, white labor, and white customs, was in still another way
to participate with the people dancing in the beyond, and to
demonstrate concretely one's conviction that these things of the
white man's were of the passing present, soon to be swept away. 668
A third tenet concerned the visions and the seeking of them. These 787
visions were moments of intercommunication between those here 796
on earth and their deceased kinsmen in the beyond. To secure them
was to prove one's strength of faith. In attaining them one saw
the people in the other world alive and well and happy; one saw
and foresaw the new earth that was to be. These visions reinforced
the tenet which prescribed a casting aside of the white man's ways,
for in the land of the departed the old ways of life went on still
as they had in former years on earth. To do as one's kinsmen were

[p105]

668
787 ●796 doing in the beyond meant not alone to put aside the alien customs of Eŭropean culture, but actively to take up again the native ways of the Indian. The Pawnee turned back to the past for values and satisfactions lacking in the present.

178 The revival of Pawnee culture which began to materialize in the years of the Ghost Dance went back for its material primarily to three sources in the old culture: the bundles and bundle rituals, the societies, and the games. The general attempt to resuscitate the aboriginal forms, supplemented and fortified by the inspirations and mandates of the visions, resulted in three types of cultural rebirth. The activities of old ceremony, performance and play were fostered; the paraphernalia were put in order, renewed, and recreated; and concepts from the old context were enshrined in symbols and facsimiles which were carried in the dance and integrated in new cultural forms.

BUNDLES AND BUNDLE RITUALS

778 796 178 The principal bundles of the Pawnee in aboriginal times were the sacred bundles,[1] often spoken of as village or band bundles, and the medicine men's bundles. The former were predominantly concerned with cosmological powers and references; the latter with the animate forms of the earth, the waters and the air (animals and trees, fish and water-creatures, birds). By 1892 sacred bundle [756] ritual demonstrations had practically ceased; of the medicine men's ceremonies, the great doctor performances of the fall had ceased in 1878, but the Doctor Dances of the spring and summer continued at irregular intervals, and such medicine men's ceremonies as the Buffalo Dance were also carried out on occasion, while the Bear Dance had died out. Resuscitation of the old bundle [764] rituals was the most difficult problem of revival and could not be fully met: a good part of the sacred rituals and paraphernalia had been buried in the grave with their final priests. There were two modes or types of occasion on which bundles were opened in aboriginal times: to demonstrate the ritual, and to renew or repair the bundle parts and contents. There is little evidence that the Pawnee succeeded in actively rehabilitating the ceremonies of the sacred bundles, but they did succeed in reconstructing the medicine men's

---

[1] I avoid any attempt to here catalog or describe the many bundles of the four Pawnee bands, which would of necessity be lengthy and for the most part irrelevant. The interested reader may consult Murie, Societies, pp. 549—556.

778

Bear Dance, and a number of sacred bundles were opened and an 796
attempt made to put them in physical order. 178

The bundles and bundle rituals were esoteric possessions and
knowledge, controlled by individuals. As such their inheritance and
transmission followed traditional modes, and according to the [424]
orthodox old Pawnee doctrine no revival of extinct forms was possible. The sanction of the Ghost Dance doctrines and visions was in definite conflict with old customs of transmission, and came to predominate.

In the traditional view, the knowledge and learning of an individ- 778
ual had to be handed down by actual instruction of the young. 793
This was somewhat different for the two kinds of bundles, typified 424
by the sacred bundles (with which the society bundles can be 622
associated, as essentially derivative), and the medicine men's 869
bundles. For the sacred bundle type the offices of ownership and priesthood were independent: A chief owned the bundle physically, and his wife took care of it. He did not necessarily know the ritual lore of the bundle. A priest controlled the ritual, demonstrated it on the proper occasions, and advised the owner of his bundle obligations. The physical bundle was ordinarily inherited directly in the male line. The ritual knowledge, however, was transmitted by the priest to his successor by means of instruction over many years. The priest usually taught a close relative (not necessarily in the male line exclusively) because of the desire to hand on his learning in his own family line. But lacking close kin of suitable temperament, the priest taught whom he pleased. For the medicine men's type of bundle, ownership and priesthood centered in the same individual. The doctor himself was owner of the physical bundle, and of its associated teachings, and officiated as his own demonstrating "priest" on ritual occasions. In the course of his life he taught a man to be his successor, and gradually turned over
the ritual functions to him. The successor was usually a close [602]
relative, such as a "son" or "nephew", etc., but here too the medicine man was at liberty to instruct whom he would, and on occasion chose more distant relatives when near relations proved unwilling to attend seriously to the learning of the traditional material.

Ordinarily a man taught his successor largely by demonstration. 778
That is, the apprentice took part in the actual demonstrations of 793
the ritual (and the curing of the doctor) watching what went on. In the course of the procedure the master explained the detail. As the teacher found his pupil mastering phases of the activity, he turned over to the pupil such parts as were understood. In

of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost 668
Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult 787
to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the 178
way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed 182
in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or ceremony was no longer officially in existence: those who had known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine 796
men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear 756
Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this 178
century, it was the revived form which was studied and recorded. The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirat[2], the main [764]
bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were 796
buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any 756
one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society was lost. At a 787
meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a 178
woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said, "I had

---

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. [114]
Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based on work with present-day informants.

[2] The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat" band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation: in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

178
796 a vision. I saw Bear Chief wearing the bear robe over his shoulders
756 and the bear claw neckpiece around his neck. He was painted with
yellow earthen clay, and had black streaks from each eye down the
787 face. He said, 'My sister, Father (bear) and Mother (cedar-tree) have not had any smoke for many years. We (dead people) are watching for our people to have the ceremony. The people think the ceremony is lost. It is not, for one of the Bear men who knows the ceremony is still with you. I ask that you tell the people so that they can have the ceremony, for it is time.' I woke up and the last few days have been crying to think that I should be the one to tell you. I have a cow which you can have so you can have the ceremony."[1]

178 "The leaders of the Bear ceremony each in their turn arose, went
to the woman and blessed her... They said, 'My sister, this is
756 very hard. None of us know the ceremony, but Father (bear) and
796 Mother (cedar-tree) will plan a way themselves so we can have the
ceremony...

"Some days later the members of the Bear society met and compared their knowledge of the ceremony. When all had spoken a man named Big Star... questioned the others as to their knowledge of the ceremony. He found that none in the meeting knew the ceremony. So he said, 'Brothers, this is hard. You see I am paralyzed, and I could not sit and carry the ceremony out. If you will all agree I will try it. Before we do anything we must select men to be the leaders. You and I know that there are some men here who are descendants of deceased men who were leaders in the Bear Society...' So he selected... Little Warchief... Little Sun..., Good Buffalo..., and Roaming Chief..."

(These men were then ceremonially inducted into office. Big Star then seated himself with these leaders at the altar, and made arrangements to collect among the people the ceremonial utensils, etc. for a set of things needed to carry out the ceremony).

"When all the others had gone out, Big Star told the four men to watch as he carried on the ceremony, that he would carry on the ceremony for them. He also told that Tirawahat^n had planned through the woman for them to have the ceremony, so he was
178 willing to carry the ceremony on for them without pay; that in
756 olden times men paid to learn the secrets of the Bear ceremony,
796 especially in going after Mother Cedar-tree; that he himself did not
424 purchase the right to carry the ceremony on, but that Bear Chief
who was the last man to know the ceremony had given him the

---

[1] Indicating that the one whose vision caused the revival felt obligated at the same time to put up the ceremony.

right to sit near him and watch; that Bear Chief took pity on him 178
and taught him the ceremony and songs without pay. He then 756
told them to go to their homes, that on the morrow when they
entered the lodge each one was to take his seat. They were then 796 ●
dismissed with the exception of Little Warchief. [V24]

"When they were alone Big Star questioned Little Warchief about the songs and asked if he knew them. Little Warchief said, 'Yes, I know the songs.' Big Star was glad of this for although he could carry on the ceremony, he was afraid that he would not be able to sing the cedar-tree songs."

(Later at the preliminary feast to set the date of the ceremony). "when all were in, Big Star said, 'You, who are sitting at the altar and those of you at the stations, old men and chiefs. Today we sit in this lodge as men of the Bear Society. We are gathered together here, through Woman Yellow Corn, who had a vision of one of our departed relatives, who asked that we have this ceremony, that Father and Mother might receive our smoke..."

The medicine men's activities which had not ceased, such as the Doctor Dances and the Buffalo Dance, took a new lease on life as a result of the Ghost Dance impetus. The people attended and participated enthusiastically, and young men began again to learn the doctors' ways.

It is probable that reconstructions of sacred bundle ceremonies 178
were attempted, but we have unfortunately no record. The main 778
effort of revival, as regards the sacred bundles, was directed toward 793
bringing to the attention of the people the bundles still in the possession of the Pawnee, (viz., neither buried nor sold), and to open these in order to renew the contents. I do not know with how many bundles this was attempted. The procedure of renewal was also ritually and physically difficult. In the old days the main priests took charge, and the necessary materials were made available in advance. In Oklahoma neither priests nor materials were available. Mark Evarts described for me the events which took place in 1903 when an attempt was made to renew the tuhutsaku or Left-handed bundle. I quote a few passages:

Frank Leader was the main priest, assisted by Running Scout, Goodeagle, Knifechief (the elder), and John Box. When the bundle was lying open on the altar, Leader spoke:

"Now what you see here, it's a long time since we opened it. Now this here sweet grass," (picking it up), "it's been here a long time. That's what they used to light pipes many years ago. Now these things before me that I have, God put them before us. What

---

[1] Referring to the Ghost Dance prophecy of a coming change.

These old societies were concerned primarily with war and 178
hunting, and, becoming functionless, had practically ceased their 575
activities by 1892. Each society was controlled by a bundle, from 778
which the powers necessary to the activities of the members were derived, and which in turn derived its powers from greater sources in the major sacred bundles. A full and complete revival of a society would have meant a recreation of the structure of membership, in some cases involving hereditary seating plans, the renewal of the society paraphernalia, the carrying out of the society performances preliminary to regular seasonal activities of its members, and the war path and hunt itself. Some of these societies were entrusted with the policing of the organized hunt. Hence a complete revival could not be accomplished. But a number of societies were reconstructed to a point just short of completion. These were the Horse Society, the Young Dog Dance, the Horn Dance, the Crazy Dog Dance, the Roached Heads, the hatuxka, and possibly the old War Dance. No reconstruction of the membership arrangements was attempted, but led by men who had been connected with a society in former times, leaderships were instituted, singers were taught the old songs, and the dance performances of the society were carried out more or less exactly. Where old paraphernalia was available a renewal ceremony for its physical repair was attempted; while in some cases replicas of the old sacred objects of a society were made. My informants had witnessed regular participations of revival forms of the Horn Dance, Roached Heads, Crazy Dog Dance, Young Dog Dance,[1] Horse Society and old War Dance in the great gathering of bundles for Emmet Pierson's hand game.
(See Chapter X). At this game the altars of these societies were [534]
arranged generically: each had one or more pipes and drums, and lances and other sacred objects were set out before the altar. The dancing to society songs in the game intervals required that the drum of the society be moved to the regular drum position, the hand game drum being moved aside.

My informants recalled witnessing in the Ghost Dance period, 178
four or five performances of the Crazy Dog Dance, performances of 575
the Horse Society, the Wolf Society, the Roached Heads and the 796
Young Dog Dancers. In Nebraska days, since these societies were for men only, and for masculine functions, such performances could only be participated in by men and by men who were members. The Oklahoma revivals in terms of the Ghost Dance, were on behalf of all the people, and all who wished joined in dancing to

---

[1] A song recorded by Densmore reports a Ghost Dance vision in which the Young Dog Dance pipe was given. See Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

178 the songs, whether specially costumed or not. I am told that on
575 occasion even women were known to join the dancing.

The Crazy Dog Dancers was revived before 1895 by Skiri Tom,
796 one of the survivors of the old organization. The original membership had been practically annihilated in Nebraska days while on the warpath against the Sioux; the misfortune was so great that a few members who survived hesitated to reorganize. Skiri Tom made Charley Box his main singer, with George Beaver to assist him; White Fox was also a singer. Skiri Tom reconstructed objects closely like the old paraphernalia, a crow-feathered dogwood lance, a pipe, drums and rattles. In the revival dance performances, the
[292] dancers were not naked, as in former times, although Skiri Tom himself is said to have worn only a loose jock which exposed the genitals from the rear and caused laughter among the women.
[577] Nudity in the old days was a sign of recklessness; those who courted death in war could be bold and foolhardy in the dance. Skiri Tom died about 1906 or 1907; his paraphernalia were buried with him, and the performance of the Crazy Dog Dancers ceased with his death. The songs, however, are still used.

The Roached Heads, originally a Skiri society, was revived on behalf of the tribe under the leadership of George Washington; a performance witnessed was held inside Washington's lodge; the north side was in control.

A performance of the Skiri Wolf Society,[1] witnessed by men and women about 1900, was a departure from its original forms. In aboriginal times this society never danced in the villages either before or after the hunt; on the war path itself, the war party leader organized the performance. As a result, and contrary to the forms of the other societies, no women participated as singers at Wolf Society performances, while in 1900 women singers were employed.

Murie has described the revival of the Horn Dance (raris arika).[2] The society was revived in a modernized form in 1893. "It took
[787] its form from the dreams of a woman..." In consecutive dreams she was told how to get an eagle skin, to make the crook crow-feathered lance, and the drum. "The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle

---

[1] The revival may have been led by Running Scout. A song recorded by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 85, reports a vision of Running Scout which probably refers to the Wolf Society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

[2] Murie, Societies, pp. 623, 638.

feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her 178
face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff 575
who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one Horn 796
Dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals.
The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat 782
and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this
woman." (1914).

The Horse Society (raris arusa) was revived early, probably by
Frank Leader. Murie describes at length a ceremony for renewing
the society lances held May 23, 1902.[1] The paraphernalia included 293
two lances, four rattles, four hand drums, and a red pipestone bowl 778
with tubular dogwood stem, the stem incised with black bands to 276
resemble trachea markings.[2]

Of certain societies we cannot be sure that the revival was extensive. All the societies mentioned were used as sources for the content of Ghost Dance visions, and the visionaries made facsimiles of old society objects which they carried in the dance. When the visions were as well bestowals of special rituals, such as hand games, the society objects became part of the bundle and altar. The Crow Lance Society (hatuxka) was revived in this way by Mark Rudder; a lance was placed at the altar, and a brief dance led by Rudder opened the game occasion (See Chapter X). The Society of Crows (raris kaka), a derivative of the hatuxka of aboriginal times, was independently revived by George Beaver, and it is probable that paraphernalia made by him were integrated with his game set.[3] Fancy Eagle is credited with the making of a hand drum which was associated with the old Fighting Lances (tirupahe[4]) and used in hand games.

In addition to the use of paraphernalia, songs of these revived 533
societies were used in the intervals of the hand game ceremonies. It
is also probable that the use of drums in the hand game ceremonies
was based on old society forms.

---

[1] Murie, Societies 561ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 567, p. 566 fig. 5. Two hand drums in the Field Museum (F M 79368—1,2) are probably those of Leader; the face bears in red a representation of the raris arusa sheathed lance with its sets of fringed feathers.

[3] F M 73962 is the revival lance; it is not encased in buckskin. F M 79364 and 79365 are hand drums decorated with Ghost Dance symbols, which are said to have been used for the raris kaka by Beaver.

[4] F M 71934. Reference is made by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 68 to a song which apparently concerns the revival of this society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

REVIVALS OF GAMES

524 526 The games[1] most important in the old social life of the Pawnee were for men the large hoop and pole game, the hand game,[2] and the moccasin game[3]; for the women, the stick dice game, the plum seed dice game, shinny and double-ball. Boys played at the hand game of the men among themselves[2], and played a boys' form of the hoop and pole game; girls played the womens' games.

668 178 524 All three revival phases took place with the games, paralleling the ritual revivals. The activities were renewed, viz., the games were again played, and played with renewed enthusiasm; the paraphernalia were renewed and reconstructed in that game sets began to be made again in the old way; such were essential for the hoop and pole games, the plum seed and stick dice games, shinny and doubleball: and lastly the games becoming vision sources, sets of paraphernalia were ceremonialized: [796 787] On the one hand such developments as the ritual hand games took place, and on the other game objects like shinny balls, hoops, etc. were used as vision embodiments and symbols, carried in the dance and employed to induce visions in others. (See Chapter II)

In these revivals of old forms, we see that those forms were stressed which were most overt and apparent in the old culture: games basically, the non-esoteric activities of the societies (songs and performances) next, and the bundle activities least of all. This weighting follows the probabilities, in terms of the degree to which the old activities were shared by all the people in aboriginal life: those which were common and familiar possessions of the people were readily remembered and revived, while those calling for special traditional learning were difficult to recapture.

221 796 668 178 When individuals in Ghost Dance trances were transported to the other world they came there upon villages of Pawnee living as they had of old. The whole concept of the doctrine being an awakening or renewal, the type of life most often visualized in the trances was the tribal life of the early spring and early summer. In aboriginal days the spring was a season of reawakening. With the first thunder came the opening of the great bundles and the chanting of the creation ritual. This ushered in the spring activities of the people. With the passing of winter, and the renewal

---

[1] For descriptions of these games consult Culin, Games, pp. 274, 409, 463, 625, 657.

[2] See Chapters V, VI.

[3] The moccasin game was played by the Pawnee, instead of the hand game, with Central Algonquian tribes.

of life in the waters and upon earth, the villages were plunged into 221
a round of activities. The young men got ready to go on the warpath, 796
and all their moccasins, garments and weapons had to be put in 668
order. The women made the moccasins, and helped them in other
ways to prepare. Meanwhile the games had begun among children 178
and adults. As the time neared for the departure of the war parties, the great war society dances and performances were held. A visitor to the villages at this season would have been directly impressed with three phases of the outdoor scene: the work of individuals, in view here and there; the games; and the spectacular and colorful dances of the warriors before their departure. These aspects of Pawnee life, being old and familiar, dominated the imagery of the Ghost Dance visions.

NEW CULTURAL FORMS

The Ghost Dance proved not only a force for cultural revival, 178
but with a return to the past as an inspirational source and guide, 796
and vision sanctions as immediate drives, the doctrine was an impetus to cultural development. Several noteworthy forms are on record. The Ghost Dance ceremonial forms themselves have already been described. The rapid development of the many Ghost Dance hand game ceremonies were the most striking development and reintegration of the old and new; these form the subject of the entire second part of this study and need not concern us here. In 276
addition the development of the modern iruska, or new war dance, 431
among all four bands, a form of social gathering for feasting and gift-giving; and the spread of the peyote ritual, began at this period.[1]

---

[1] An anecdote told by Murie (Ceremonies of the Pawnee, in press, Bureau of Ethnology) indicates in a lighter vein, the freedom to make ritual changes which came with the Ghost Dance doctrine, and the occasional results: "It is said that in 1893, the husband of the Skull bundle keeper, a rather young man, took a notion he would shell the corn for the people and distrib- 787
ute it in a new way. He gathered some men, shelled the ear of corn from 688
the bundle, and distributed it himself. The people remonstrated, but he told them he had had a vision and was going to do just as he was told. In June he started to Wichita Mountains. When he got about 35 miles south of Pawnee (it was very hot and dry; the dust was about five inches thick) his wagon broke down and he had to stay there several days, but at last got his wheels repaired and started out again. Travelling was very hard. The old woman who was keeper of the Skull Bundle, struck him on the back and said, 'You will shell corn, will you. See what you have done.' That year the crops burned up, it was so hot."

178 According to Murie's[1] account the modern Skiri iruska was taken
over from the Oglala Sioux, but went back to a form of the Omaha
●796 grass dance. It began to appear among the Pawnee in 1897, and
177 was fully organized by Eagle Chief in 1911. An independent
development of the iruska took place among the Kitkahaxki*.
"About 1894 while the Ghost Dance was still intense a man named
Sitting Bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the
iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and led it until his death
in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the
[778 hands of Little-Sun, one of the leading singers. According to this
ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the
534] ritual as in the case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-Sun revived the
ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-Fly-High, also a pupil of
Sitting-Bear." An independent development of the modern iruska
took place among the Tcawi under the leadership of Roaming-
Chief,[2] and thence spread to the Pitahawirat*.[3]

Murie has described how the peyote ritual reaching the Pawnee
668 in 1890 was stimulated by the Ghost Dance excitement; and how
796 some forms of the peyote worship were like Ghost Dance forms.[4]
Frank White, the great Pawnee Ghost Dance prophet, was also
276 a peyote devotee (See Chapter II). Murie adds, "it may be well to
note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations
during the Ghost Dance excitement. One of his individual
[787] doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may
acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown
to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging
to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable
astronomical lore."[5] This indicates the extent to which the effort
to bring back cultural aspects buried and forgotten was a definite
part of the Ghost Dance doctrine.

---

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 624—625, 628. Cf. for a description of the forms of th[illegible] rituals, pp. 624—630.

[2] Several shields in the Field Museum, depicting warriors' visions of Ghost Dance [illegible]nes are associated with the development of the modern iruska. F M 7[illegible]44, and F M 59527 (two shields). One of the latter was identified as probably belonging to Roaming-Chief.

[3] The story of gradual changes in the form of Pawnee visiting party arrangements, associated with the modern iruska development, is a complex tale on its own account, and is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

[4] Murie, Societies, p. 636—637.

[5] ibid. p. 638.

V.

PLAY OF THE PAWNEE HAND GAME

To understand the changes which make up the history of the 525
Pawnee hand game, as considered in this study, it is essential that the skeleton of the game play itself be clearly understood. Only in this way can the ritualization which occurred in ghost dance times be visualized against the old game background. The game itself is interesting on its own account. In actual play it has its own excitements and exhilarations, and the pleasure of winning and annoyance of losing can be readily shared by an outsider who participates for a short time.

The Game Sets: Culin catalogs hand game sets in various
museums.[1] The Pawnee and Wichita sets pictured and described [668
by him are all Ghost Dance hand game sets, not sets used for the 796]
early gambling game. Pawnee sets always consist of eight sticks used as *tally sticks* with which to keep score, and two special bones or dic, used as *counters* in hiding.

Sides and Officials: In the playing of the game, two sides oppose 525
each other; any number of players may be joined to either side, 668
even numbers being immaterial. They are definitely immaterial in the Ghost Dance hand games where the affiliation of the individual in the Ghost Dance determines on which side that individual plays. In the old men's gambling game even numbers as regards the players were also immaterial, the visitors or guests always being considerably outnumbered by their hosts; but since in placing wagers individuals bet with individuals, the numbers of those who wagered was the same for both sides. When the boys played and chose sides, the sides were usually more or less even in numbers. The two sides form two halves of a circle, the head end being either at the west or at the north. In all Ghost Dance hand games but one it is at the west; in that one it is at the north. In the old hand game the orientation of the sides was determined by the direction from which the guests or visitors came, with the head end always either west or north. At this head end sit two tallyers, who are the leaders of their respective sides, usually with two

---

[1] Culin, p. 276ff.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band 778
were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" [621]
belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor [614]
by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging
to the several bands there were two bundles which were the [619
property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one 422]
or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most
sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one
was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning
Star, while the other symbolized the female element, or Evening
Star. These ears of corn were shelled and given to the people as
seed corn at the first ceremony in the spring. Next in importance [237]
were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin
symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be
awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet
grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies,
tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained
other articles, and the skins of birds other than those
mentioned. [611]

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary 422
keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the 428
owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped 778
in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on 621
the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always 778
placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning
Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent
paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from
those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey considers [171]
the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to
the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine
bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. 778
The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in 796 ●
the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl.
7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by
a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony
the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the
freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances
there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not [793]
fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the
people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization
of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

---

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Simms, Director of the Field Museum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 8).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 some form of offering or sacrifice. In addition to these were the
●796 ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine men. The number and elaborateness of the ceremonies show the Pawnee to have
[174] been, in the old times, a ceremonial people among whom symbolism was highly developed.[14] Only a portion of this rich ceremonialism is considered in the present work.

276
*533 Peyote is used extensively among the Pawnee at the present time, but the subject was not studied nor its songs recorded. The writer listened to several of the songs, which were simple and appeared to be modern melodies.

---

[14] Cf. Fletcher, Alice C., The Hako, a Pawnee Ceremony. Twenty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, Washington, 1903.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 in order that the music of the entire tribe may be represented. All 171 these songs are combined in the analyses and the latter class, to some extent, affects the total numbers.

An important point, made evident in this comparative analysis, is the individuality of Pawnee music. It is distinct, in its entirety, from the songs of other tribes, though bearing a resemblance to one tribe or another in separate characteristics. The study of Indian music by an established system of analysis shows there are characteristics that are common to Indian songs of various tribes and different from the music of the white race, and also characteristics which distinguish the songs of one tribe from those of another. Among the former is the change of measure-lengths found in many Indian songs and the downward trend of the melody. The latter are indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. A characteristic of Pawnee music that evades, to some extent, the tabulated analysis, is its simplicity of both melody and rhythm. This can only be appreciated by a study of the melodies themselves. Pawnee music is the plainest of any thus far recorded in its rhythmic divisions and general content. This characteristic of the group may, however, be due to the absence of songs used in treating the sick, which are usually songs of complicated rhythms.

MORNING STAR CEREMONY

778 A sacred bundle of the Skidi Pawnee was associated with Morning Star and its ceremony was held in the early spring, having for its ● 796 object the securing of good crops in the coming season. It was the writer's privilege to see the Morning Star bundle in the house of the woman who was its keeper, and also to see its contents exposed in the ceremony. The bundle, in accordance with custom, was hung on the [776] west wall of its owner's house, and with it were hung four large gourds, symbolizing the four deities who were the special guardians of Evening Star and also representing the breasts of the two women in the west, Evening Star and Moon.[15]

773 The legend from which the Morning Star ceremony arose was related by Coming Sun, whose grandfather was a high priest in the [424 551] Morning Star village and who received his name by inheritance from this ancestor. With Coming Sun's narrative is combined a limited number of details mentioned by Linton in "Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee."

As already stated, Morning Star ruled in the east and Evening Star in the west. All the stars west of the Milky Way were feminine and those to the east were masculine, but the most powerful were Morning Star and Evening Star. Sun was with the former and Moon was a companion of the latter. One after another the eastern

---

[15] Cf. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 52-55.

are whole tones between B flat and C, and between F and G. A 533
similar melodic form occurs in Nos. 5 and 53. This song is transcribed with the signature of the key of F and classified with songs lacking the third above the keynote. The repetitions of the rhythmic unit are six in number and comprise the entire melody. Slight differences in the note values of the rhythmic unit occur in the latter part of the song.

The tenth obstacle was not encountered by Morning Star until after 773
he entered the lodge of Evening Star. The obstacle was a snake, but he overcame it, as he had overcome the others, by means of the ball of fire and the song.

Evening Star saw that his power was greater than hers, but she determined to hold him aloof as long as possible. Finally she insisted
that he make provision for the child that should be born; she even [854]
required him to provide perfumed water for bathing the child and a
cradle board in which it should be placed. On the hoop, or arch, of [531]
this cradle board was painted a morning star and the lightnings, this
custom being followed by the Pawnee at the present time. Evening Star also required him to plant a tree in front of the lodge so that the mocking birds might nest there and sing to the child. From this union a daughter was born. She came down to earth and wandered about in fear. As she was running hither and thither she met a boy, the child of Sun and Moon, and these two became the ancestors of the human race.

Morning Star made a bundle and placed in it various articles con- 778
nected with the obstacles he had overcome on his westward journey. 773
He left this bundle with Evening Star and for that reason a woman has always been the keeper of the sacred bundle. Other articles have been added from time to time and will be noted in this paper.

It is said that Evening Star required a human sacrifice as her reward. 796
This sacrifice must be a pure and beautiful maiden and she demanded 773
that the sacrifice be repeated annually. Long ago, Morning Star 782
sometimes appeared to a man in a dream and told him to secure a
maiden for this sacrifice. According to Linton, a man who had this [787]
vision went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received
the warrior's costume and the sacred objects kept for such an ex- 796
pedition. Other warriors joined him and, preliminary to the expedi- 782
tion, they enacted the journey of the Morning Star, and sang the song with which he overcame the obstacles placed in his way. (Cf. Song No. 1.) When the ceremony ended it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise and the leader went outside the lodge and addressed an invocation to him. After dancing furiously around their fire and offering a last prayer to Morning Star the warriors started forth and captured a maiden from the enemy. Returning, they gave

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 her into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village until the
782 time for her sacrifice. She was treated in a ceremonial manner but
kept in ignorance of her fate. At the appointed time her body was
[302 painted, half red and half black, and she was tied to a scaffold and
417] shot through the heart with an arrow. It was said that the braided
thong used to bind the girl to the scaffold is now in the Morning
Star bundle.

173 Tradition states that on one occasion the intended victim was
rescued. On the night preceding her execution she was seated beside
782 some tall sunflowers. A young chief came through the tall weeds and
796 stole her away, putting her on his horse and taking her to Fort Leavenworth, whence she was returned to her own people. She died within three months, having been anointed for death with the sacred ointment of red paint powder and buffalo fat. This occurred about the year 1818. The man who rescued the intended victim was a warrior of distinction and through his influence the custom was discontinued. The ritual of the sacrifice is still rendered but no actual sacrifice has taken place since that date.

796 Coming Sun, who sings the ceremonial songs, said that sometimes,
[786] during the Morning Star ceremony he stops and says "Listen," and
the people hear a woman's voice singing the songs above his head.

The Morning Star ceremony was held by the Skidi Band near Pawnee, Okla., on April 17, 1920. This ceremony formerly lasted four days and nights, ending when the morning star appeared in the east, but at the present time it is concluded in one day. On this occasion the writer had the honor of entering the lodge, through the courtesy of Coming Sun. It is said that only one other white person, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, has entered the lodge during the ceremony and seen the contents of the sacred bundle.

[346] The ceremony was held in a tipi erected for the occasion in a quiet
spot near the house of the keeper of the bundle, north of Pawnee.
This tipi had been used in the Ghost dance and was decorated with
Ghost dance symbols. (Pl. 5, *b*.) The adjacent landscape is shown in
Plate 3, *c*. The ceremony began at about 9 a. m. and continued until
4 p. m., the writer sitting outside the tipi except for the brief time
she was permitted to enter. Thus the entire songs of the ceremony
were heard, as well as the prayers and rituals, though only the principal song was obtained. At the proper time Coming Sun, who
was in charge of the ceremony, sent a messenger to summon the
writer and she entered the lodge, passing to the right and standing
near the bundle, before which she laid gifts of calico, tobacco, and
[534] money. Coming Sun was seated back of the bundle, directly opposite the entrance, and held one of the sacred gourd rattles. Two
796 men at either side of him held similar rattles. In front of the men
778 at Coming Sun's left and next the sacred bundle was a belt decorated

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of 796
"song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The 778
outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip inclined toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws [825
of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal 821]
is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In [854]
accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She [201]
then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies [302]
were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was [372]
intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was 796
served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung [415]
on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled [262]
in the usual manner.

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning 796
Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and 778
were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening 173
Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side. The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however, forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black. The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow [411]
is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

---

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUFFALO DANCE

796 The ceremony of Painting the Buffalo Skull is held every spring
by the Chaui Band of Pawnee and is in charge of Mr. Stacy Matlock, a prominent member of that band. The closing events of
the ceremony are the Buffalo and Lance dances, which were witnessed by the writer through the courtesy of Mr. Matlock, no other
[246] white person being present. The ceremony and dances were held in
a large earth lodge, several miles south of the town of Pawnee.
(Pl. 6, *a*, *b*, *c*.) The opening of the lodge was toward the east.
At some distance was a framework, probably that of a sweat lodge.
(Pl. 7, *b*.) Only members of the Buffalo Society were admitted to
[778] the painting of the skull, but during the Buffalo dance the skull,
painted a few days previously, lay on a folded blanket in front of
the "altar" which was opposite the entrance. This occasion and
the Lance dance held a few days later afforded exceptional opportunities to listen to Pawnee songs, but the semidarkness of the lodge
and the solemnity of the occasion precluded the taking of notes
upon either the music or the details of the ceremonial dances.

The chief singer at both of these dances was Wicita Blain, a
[424] blind man who received the songs by inheritance. He led the songs
796 which were sung at a certain position back of the altar. At a later
115 time he recorded the ceremonial songs here presented, also certain
songs of the Bear dance, which is held in equally high esteem by
the Pawnee. John Luwak, chief of the Chaui Band, was prominent
at the Lance dance and later recorded numerous songs, including
those of the Crow Lance Society. (Pl. 2, *a*.)

*533 The following song was led by Mr. Blain at the Buffalo dance
attended by the writer and is a very old song concerning Mrs.
173 Blain's uncle, whose name was Naru'dapadi. A great herd of
buffalo came to the place where the Indians were encamped and
threatened the destruction of the village. Her uncle rode toward
them, shouting and firing his gun in an attempt to divert them from
their course, but he was caught in the herd. There were buffalo on
all sides of him as the herd swept through the camp and across a
stream, carrying him with them.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth. These are the tones omitted in the fourth 5-toned scale which is major while the present song is minor in tonality. It is interesting to note that 25 per cent of the intervals are fourths. This interval, in songs of other tribes, has been found to characterize songs associated with motion or connected with animals. The most frequent interval is the whole tone. This song has a compass of 11 tones and contains the fourth below the final tone. Table 4 shows that the final tone is the lowest tone in a majority of the Indian songs under analysis.

3:'Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533

FREE TRANSLATION

He said, unreal the buffalo is standing,
These are his sayings,
Unreal the buffalo is standing,
Unreal he stands in the open space,
Unreal he is standing.

LANCE DANCE

796 *533 [424] At a certain point in the Lance dance witnessed by the writer the decorated lances were carried around the lodge and the following song was sung. This constituted one of the most impressive portions of the ceremony. The song is very old and belonged to a woman who had two sons, the song being sung whenever they danced. The woman lived to be so old that she could not stand erect but she "was always singing this song while she was cooking or working." The words mean "Father, the band of the dead is coming." The woman who recorded the song was blind.

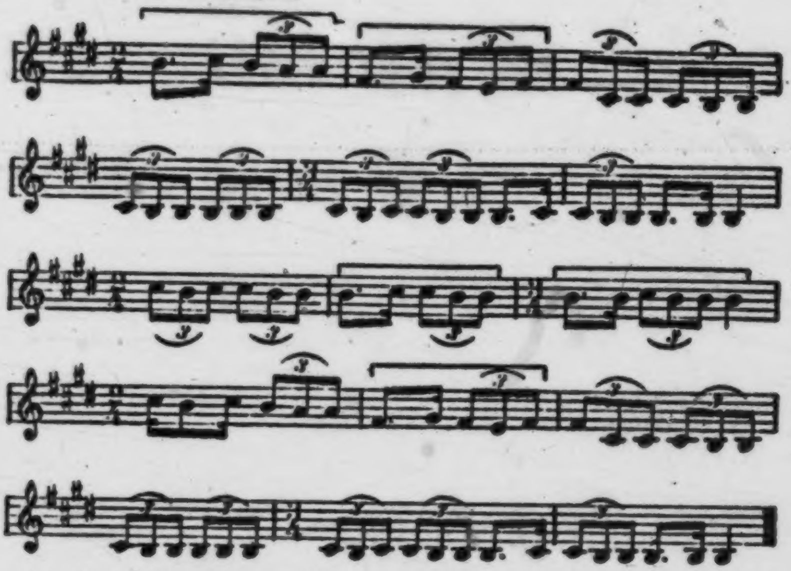
No. 10. "The Band of the Dead Is Coming"

(Catalogue No. 1001)

Recorded by Effie Blain

*533

Voice ♩= 63
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—Exactness in the repetition of an Indian song is shown in the renditions of this melody. Eight renditions were recorded without a break in the time except that the final tone was sometimes prolonged to the value of three quarter notes. In each rendition the

Analysis.—Four renditions of this song were recorded without a break in the time. This is interesting because of the 7–8 measures which were always sung in correct time. The transcription is from the first rendition. The only differences were that in the later renditions the seventh measure was omitted and the first tone in the next to the last measure was sung as C instead of E. Such differences are slight but are important to observe in a study of Indian music. The keynote is more prominent in this song than in a majority of the songs under analysis, this tone occurring in every measure except the first. Nine of the 32 intervals are fourths, which is an unusually large proportion of this interval. The melody tones are those of the second 5-toned scale. A downward sliding of the voice, impossible to transcribe, occurred at the end of the first and third measures. 533*

HAND GAME SONGS

On two occasions the writer had the privilege of attending a hand game of the Pawnee held in the same lodge where the victory dances for returned soldiers had been held. (Pl. 7, *c*.) The first of these games was in 1919 and the second in the following year. The number of Indians in attendance was more than 200. In former times this game was played only by men and the objects hidden were short sticks, but at the present time both men and women take part in the game, hiding small balls, slightly larger than bullets. The man holding the balls moves his hands above his head, puts them behind his back, and does everything possible to mystify and confuse his opponent, while the songs grow more excited as the moment for making the guess approaches. Ghost dance songs are sung in the dancing which takes place at intervals during the game. The balls are hidden by players of one side until the opponents have made five correct guesses in succession. 524 533* 796

The games are often of long duration, the first game attended by the writer continuing about six hours. This game was opened in a ceremonial manner by James R. Murie, chief of the Skidi Band, who also recorded the guesses by means of decorated sticks. Seven feathered sticks were placed upright in the ground before him,[25] and this was said to be "as in the Ghost dance."[26] The woman who "gave the dance" stood in the center of the lodge and appointed

---

[25] Two sets of such sticks are illustrated by Culin, each set consisting of eight sticks. In one set these are 17 inches long, four painted yellow and four painted blue, and all feathered like arrows. In the other set each stick bears a little hoop at its end, decorated with feathers. The same authority illustrates a set of four hiding sticks, 1¾ inches long, marked in pairs alike, one pair with six notches on one side and one notch on the other side, and the other pair with an incised cross on each side of the sticks. (Culin, Stewart, Games of the North American Indians, Twenty-fourth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 274, 275, Washington, 1907.)

[26] The number seven is particularly sacred in the Ghost dance. Thus there were seven Ghost dance leaders, wearing sacred crow feathers as emblems of their leadership. [801]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

524 those who should lead the two opposing sides. These in turn selected
*533 those who should hide the balls. It was customary to give the balls
to persons sitting next each other, the guesser indicating by a gesture
796 whether he (or she) believed the balls to be in the two outer hands,
the two inner, or one outer and one inner hand. The writer was
invited to sit beside a member of the tribe and join in the game, attempting to hide the balls in the manner of the Indians.

An unfortunate though not unusual circumstance took place in
[152] the dances which occurred during this game. The woman who
gave the hand game was afflicted with what was termed a "Ghost
dance fit."[27] She staggered and moaned in a pitiful manner but
did not fall to the ground. Several persons went to her aid and
restored her in the manner peculiar to the Ghost dance.[28]

The second hand game attended by the writer took place on
April 16, 1921, and was given by Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*), who
recorded Song No. 80. This was said to be her hand game, not only
[787] because she gave the invitations and provided the feast, but because
certain features of the game, as played that day, had been revealed
to her in a dream. The symbolism of certain articles used in that
game was not made known to the singers and perhaps is known only
to herself. The game was held in the same 6-sided lodge as the former
hand game and the victory dances. (Pl. 7, *c*.) As on the former
occasion, Mr. Murie opened the game in a ceremonial manner.
The doors were closed and a filled pipe was offered to the earth and
the sky. Mrs. Good Eagle was a dignified hostess, standing in
the center of the lodge and appointing those who should lead the
two sides of players. After the game the doors were again closed
and a tiny portion of each sort of food was ceremonially offered and
then laid beside the fire space, opposite the door. A bountiful
[264] feast was then served. According to Indian custom, each person
provided his own utensils and the food was served in large containers.
The writer shared in the feast.

*533 Eight of the songs used at this game, during the hiding of the balls,
were later recorded by Horse Chief, a prominent singer at the drum.
In some of these songs there were no words and in others the words
are obsolete, the singer repeating them but having no knowledge of
their meaning.

---

[27] The woman undoubtedly suffered from the early stages of what, in the Ghost dance, would have been a trance. Mooney states that he "was able to note all the stages of the phenomenon . . . through the staggering, the rigidity, the unconsciousness, and back again to wakefulness. On two occasions my partner in the dance, each time a woman, came under the influence and I was thus enabled to note the very first nervous tremor of her hand and mark it as it increased in violence until she broke away and staggered toward the medicine man within the circle. Young women are usually the first to be affected, then older women, and lastly men." (Mooney, James, The Ghost Dance Religion, Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 923, Washington, 1896.)

[28] The "Shaker religion" has been introduced among the Indians at Neah Bay, Wash., and at a gathering in that village the writer saw a woman afflicted in a manner similar to the "Ghost dance fit." A slave woman went to her, stroked her arms and head, and gradually quieted her.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypnotizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always wore a fox skin in the Ghost dance. The skin was not made into a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder. He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing. 787 533* [292] [201]

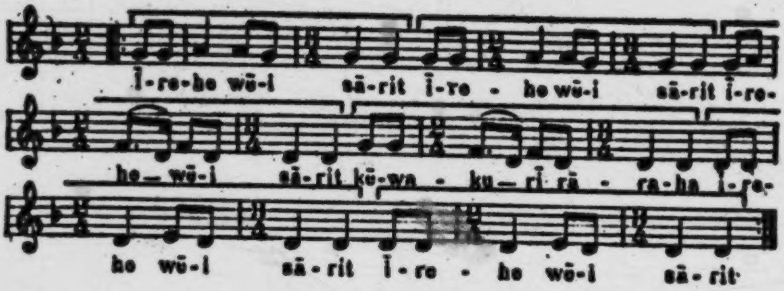
No. 58. Running Scout's Ghost Dance Song

(Catalogue No. 1068)

Recorded by Effie Blain

533*

Voice ♩ = 96
Drum not recorded


Ī-re-he wē-i sā-rit Ī-re - he wē-i sā-rit Ī-re-
he - wē-i sā-rit kē-wa - ku - rī rā - ra-ha Ī-re-
he wē-i sā-rit Ī-re - he wē-i sā-rit

Ireho	wēl	sārit	kōwaku	rī	rāraha
Now there	they	are	fox	they	have

Analysis.—This song, like others of the hand game and Ghost dance, consists of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. In this instance there are two units, the second occurring only in the middle part of the song. It is interesting to compare the third measure from the beginning with the second measure from the close, the ascent to the accented tone in the first instance expressing a certain restlessness while the second phrase is more restful. This song contains the minor triad and fourth and progresses chiefly by whole tones.

The final song of this group is concerning the Ghost dance and, according to Mr. Murie, was sung in the Young Dog Society. The words "the father's child" refer to the messiah whose coming was expected in the Ghost dance. [575 668 796]

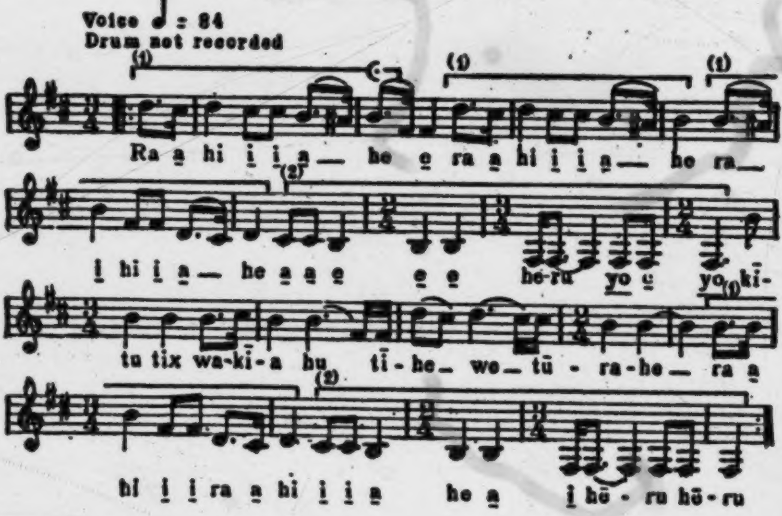
Analysis.—The three renditions of this song are alike in every respect except that the intonation on D in the upper octave is variable, occasionally being sung almost as D sharp. The time was maintained steadily and the renditions were separated by

*533 whole tones and semitones. The seventh is sharped in every occurrence, this accidental being of particular interest in a song with minor tonality. The song contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth.

No. 66. "It Is Good Where We Are Now"

(Catalogue No. 1090)

Recorded by Effie Blain


Voice ♩ = 84
Drum not recorded
(1)
(2)
Ra a hi i i a — he e ra a hi i i a — he ra —
i hi i a — he a a e e e he-ru yo e yo ki-
tu tix wa-ki-a hu tī-he — we — tū - ra-he — ra a
hi i i ra a hi i i a he a i hē - ru hē-ru

Ra	hi	he	hēru	kitu	tix	wakia
Yonder	there	they	come	are	they	saying
ahu	tīhe	we	tūrahe	hi	he	hēru
	over here	now	good	there	they	come

FREE TRANSLATION

There they come yonder,
They are saying "It is good over here
where we are now."
There they come.

535
796
727
Roaming Chief sang the following song at the Pipe dance and it was sung at the Victory dance attended by the writer. It was said that "Mother Corn was carried on the warpath to give victory and was also used in the Pipe dance." The words are freely translated, "My whole trust is in Mother Corn."

Analysis.—The tempo of this song was slow and somewhat *rubato*, a slight prolonging of certain tones being indicated in the transcription. In some of the renditions the time values in the third

3: Densmore
668, 796

Pawnee NQ18

[For songs associated with the Ghost Dance ceremony, see category 116, pp. 78-86. --Analyst]

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

authority resided in the evening star bundle [1] of the center village, but at 631
the time of the federation of these villages, powers were delegated to four 778
special or main bundles which in turn served as the basis of the governing
power. These were:—

1. The Yellow Tipi, or Yellow Star bundle, pertaining to the powers of the Northwest (akarákata, yellow tipi).
2. The Mother-born-again, or White Star bundle, the powers of the Southwest (atíratatariwáta, mother born again).
3. The Leading Cornstalk, or Red Star bundle, the power of the Southeast (skawá'ha kitáwi, literally, a lucky woman as leader, but refers to a corn symbol).
4. The Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, or the bundle "with a round thing tied on" pertains to the Northeast (riwiruchaku, round thing on).

To this list may be added the Human Skull bundle and the North Star bundle. These bundles may be said to be general in the sense that they are attached to no particular village but minister to the Skidí at large.

There were, however, two independent Skidí villages that refused to enter the federation. These were the Squash Vine village (pahukstatu) and Wolf-standing-in-water-village (skirirara). Each of these villages had a bundle, but little in common with the ritual scheme of the federated villages.

The federation of the thirteen villages is represented and formalized in a 346
ceremony known as the four-pole ceremony. For this a circular embank-
ment was thrown up with an opening to the east. Out in front of this 631
entrance was a small mound of earth taken from the fire pit and inside at 796
the west a raised altar platform. Around the inside of the ring of earth was a screen of green branches set up in the ground. Arranged around the fireplace were four poles bearing a tuft of branches at the top; a white pole of cottonwood, a red of box elder, a black of elm, and a yellow of willow. In the ceremony the bundles enumerated above and their keepers had fixed positions according to their rank and the geographical relations of the respective villages. As will be noted in the diagram most of the bundles are upon the north side of the enclosure, these lived on the north side of the Loupe River, the others upon the south side. The positions of the priests of the bundles are shown in the diagram and in the ceremony the bundles are opened before them in order (Fig. 1). 631

The leading bundles are associated with the four poles, according to the 778
colors as stated in their enumeration. These bundles, poles, colors, etc., 796

---

[1] The Evening Star, or red calf bundle (aripahat, red calf) may be called upon in time of need to supplement the powers of a leading bundle. Because of this relation to the four leading bundles it is sometimes called rakatira (lay across them).

631 778 796 represent the powers in the four quarters of the world and also stand for spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but in no fixed order, the season a bundle represents being determined by the order of the ceremony.

631 773 A brief abstract of the mythical account of the inauguration of this federation may make the foregoing clearer:—

[778] [796]

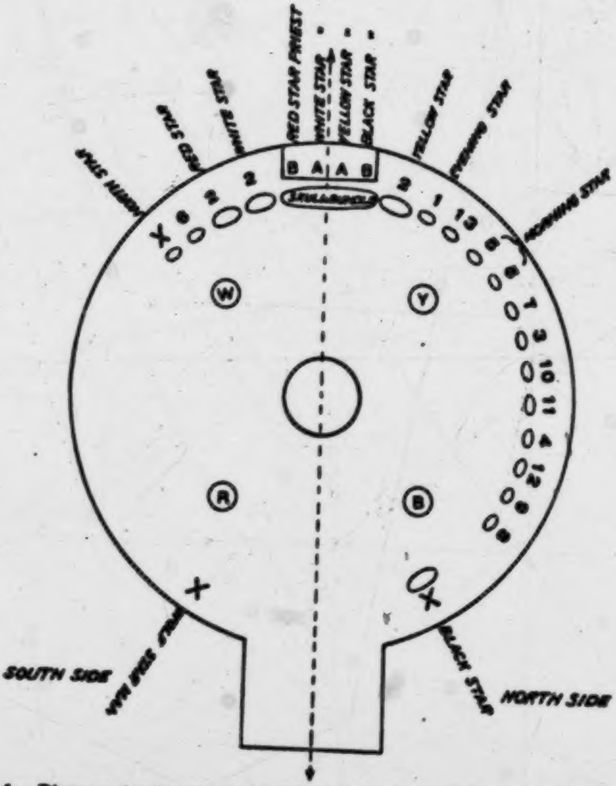

RED STAR PRIEST
WHITE STAR
YELLOW STAR
BLACK STAR
WHITE STAR
RED STAR
YELLOW STAR
EVENING STAR
MORNING STAR
BLACK STAR
B A A B
W
Y
R
B
SOUTH SIDE
NORTH SIDE

Fig. 1. Diagram showing the Seats of Priests and their Village Bundles, in the Four-pole Ceremony. The numerals are from the table of villages in the text. The places of the four main bundles and the special bundles are designated by their respective names.

Evening Star (Venus) is the keeper of the firesticks which she received when she married Morning Star (Mars). He was the ruling spirit to the east of the milky way. Evening Star was a beautiful woman and very powerful. She was opposed to the creation of the earth and man and had overcome all the stars seeking her in marriage. Supporting her were four great powers, or stars, the Bear, Panther, Wildcat, and Wolf. There was also a great serpent group of stars. Morning Star

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

overcame all of these in turn. Thus, he secured Evening Star. Then follows the familiar vanquishing of vaginal teeth. In course of time, a daughter was born. The earth was then created for the home of this child. The Sun and Moon became parents of a boy and he also was placed upon the earth. 631 773

[346] [778] [796]

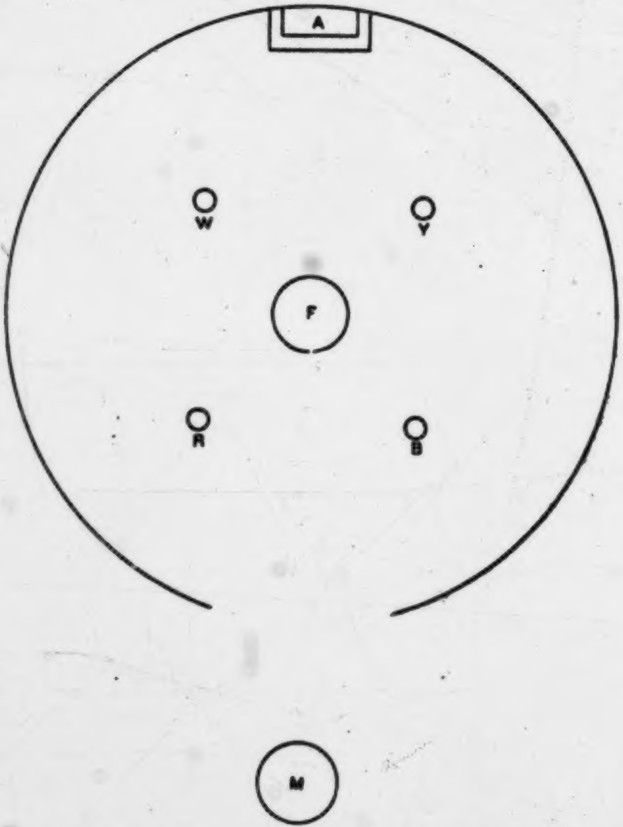


Fig. 2. Diagram of the earthwork Enclosure for the Four-pole Ceremony: A, altar for the buffalo skull; W, white pole (cottonwood); Y, yellow pole (willow); R, red pole (box alder); B, black pole (elm); F, fire pit; M, earth taken from the fire pit. During the ceremony a screen of green branches is set up inside the embankment. The poles are young trees trimmed to a few branches at the top. The seats and positions of bundles were as shown in Fig. 1.

After many years when the people were numerous, Morning Star demanded a human sacrifice as a return for his trials. Evening Star gave one man and woman directions for making the Yellow Calf bundle. Then Evening Star told him that there were many people scattered over the earth and that he should call them to-

575 These were highly decorative and spectacular affairs, but seem to lack ceremonial elements.

The society appointed as soldiers dress up their lances and prepare a horse to bear them. The keepers of the lances always led in the journeys of the camp on the hunt and set up the lances at the places where the soldier lodge was to be. Here they are kept and any person in the camp can take them up when going out to look for buffalo. When going out to take the buffalo, the lance bearers lead and hold the line by the lances, no one being supposed to go in advance. When buffalo are surrounded the lance bearers act as the chief police, see that a fair division of the meat is made, settle disputes, etc. Then while butchering is going on the lance bearers go up to a hill and watch for enemies and are the last to come into camp.

The lances of the bundle societies were the leading ones and of them the
crow lances were the last to be renewed and were in a way the highest in
[726] rank. When going into battle, bearers of this special lance, must be the
very last to retreat. The same is true in counting coup, they must wait
until all are through. All the lance bearers must be at the front and may
plant their lances in the ground far out in advance; this is a signal for all
the members to rally around the standard and stand fast.

[721] The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids but
only used to repel or meet a general attack. The seats of members were
[616] fixed and arranged around the lodge in two halves, the north and south sides.
This corresponds in a way to the bundle scheme as demonstrated in Fig. 1.
New members were given seats according to the side of their village bundle.
This, of course, applies to the Skidi; the other divisions assigned new members to a side according to the places of their respective ancestors.

[616] The north side conducts, or leads, in the winter ceremonies; the south, the summer. The organization of each side is: a leader or chief, two drummers and singers, one lance bearer, and one errand man, or doorkeeper. There is also a herald who in outdoor ceremonies is mounted. Thus, for a society as a whole the number of officers is double the above.

575 When winter approaches, the societies hold a special ceremony by which
the lances are stripped and the dressings wrapped up to remain until the
796 renewing ceremony of the following spring. At the renewing ceremony the
old lances are first reassembled but permanently retired when the new ones
have been installed. They are not destroyed but kept to place in the
graves of great warriors.

575 When the lance is planted before the enemy, the bearer knows that he
must stand fast, he cannot take it up except to advance it toward the enemy.
726 Hence, the planting of the lance is really the "no flight" obligation. If,
however, the lance is in danger, another member may take it up and carry
it out. The bearer may then retire.

MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

The medicinemen of the Pawnee were members of several permanent 756 organizations. Once a year, late in the summer, each tribal division held a 796 grand medicine ceremony lasting twenty days or more which though in many respects a tribal affair had a permanent organization. Its leaders were assumed to be the grand masters of shamanism and to know the secrets of all other societies. At another time during the season the doctor's dance is held, a general one-day ceremony for which there is also an organization. Independent of these ceremonies were a number of societies composed of one or two great medicinemen, a few students and a considerable number of attached members who took part in the dancing, but were not otherwise acquainted with the secrets. These organizations usually held ceremonies twice a year, early in the spring and late in the autumn. These were ritualistic ceremonies, the underlying conception of which seems to be the purification and the renewing of the powers resident in the sacred objects belonging to their craft. The Skidi maintained two large earth-lodges, one in the east and one in the west for these ceremonies and it is these lodges that were popularly known as the grand medicine lodges. The one in the west seems to have been the original lodge and the one most often used.

At the sound of the first thunder in spring, the members of the medicine societies like the keepers of bundles, take out all their regalia and implements, purify them in a smudge of sweetgrass and perform a prescribed ceremony. The next day the regular ceremony begins. The altar in the medicine lodge is prepared and in front of it are set up the two sacred loons, facing east. Two wooden bowls are filled with blue earth and soot, with which the members paint. As in other ceremonies, the seats are in two sides, with the leaders and all other officers paired. Each side has a buffalo rawhide to beat upon and about a dozen gourd rattles are at hand for the use of the dancers. There are also two water drums.

The first ceremonies are dances to the mythical water monster. The leader for the north side opens, then the leader for the south, and so on in turn around the circle. As this proceeds, people may enter and make offerings of property to the loons at the altar and also make presents to individual dancers.

Then the regular Pawnee smoke offering is made. Each medicineman then in turn brings a filled pipe to the altar and makes the offering. A herald then goes out and invites all who had given presents (only men who

have consecrated buffalo or performed certain deeds can smoke at any time) to come with their pipes. All who wish, enter in turn and offer their pipes. As these offering ceremonies are in reality prayers, this is regarded as the best time to plead for success in all things and this is also the motive in bringing in property and presents.

756
796

Another period of singing and dancing closes the ceremony, after which the medicinemen divide the presents. Kettles of corn are brought in and the bowls for the feast. The leaders fill the bowls for their sides and make a special offering before the bowls are passed. Meat is then brought in and handled in a similar manner.

A somewhat similar ceremony is held in the autumn but this time in a circular shelter of green boughs suggesting the sun dance enclosure of the Dakota.

While the medicinemen's societies were not recognized as such in the twenty-day ceremony, they were sure to have among their members famous medicinemen who would set up their booths in the lodge. Usually one of these was the leader of a society and around him the members would gather and assist in staging his tricks. The members of a society were really students from whose ranks the leading places were filled in times of need.

MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

[184]

	Skidi	Chaui	Pitahauirata	Kit'kahahki	Squash Vine
Twenty-day Ceremony (tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand)	×	×	×	×	×
Doctor Dance (kurau)	×	×	×	×	—
Bear Society (pitararis kuruks)	×	×	×	×	—
Buffalo Doctors (kura taraha)	×	×	—	—	—
Deer Society (raris ta)	×	×	×	×	—
Blood Doctors (kura patu)	×	—	—	—	—
Iruska Society (pitararis iruska)	×	—	×	—	—
One Horn Dance (raris arika)	×	×	×	×	×

THE TWENTY-DAY CEREMONY.

Once a year, late in the summer, each division had a grand medicine ceremony. This lasted from twenty to thirty days and was an intense

2

756 affair. This is not the time to go into a detailed account of it, but the following general sketch of the procedure seems necessary.

796 The native name for the ceremony is tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand, but we shall for convenience speak of it as the twenty-day ceremony, as in fact it is often called by the Pawnee themselves. It is found among all the divisions, but seems to have originated with the Squash Vine village, to whose medicinemen alone certain parts of the ritual were known. From the originators it passed to the Skidi and then to the other divisions. The twenty-day ceremony proper is given in the early autumn after all the bundle ceremonies have been performed, the corn harvested, etc. At the proper time the lodge is cleared and the altar arranged as before. After certain preliminary ceremonies, it is in order for each medicineman to build a booth
[343] of green willows in the lodge. They proceed ceremonially to a thicket where each gathers his willows, with which they march back and then construct their booths.

It may be stated that each medicineman sets up a booth for himself, but if he has attached to him one or more younger men in the capacity of students, these assist. Each booth, therefore, really represents a group of men. Further, all the people of the village to which a given medicineman belongs may at times enter, take seats around the booth, and offer assistance. In this way the whole people may be said to participate.

184 Among the Skidi there is a special feature since they are not content with merely dancing to the mythical water monster, but construct his image
532 encircling the fireplace. In this all the medicinemen's groups take shares.
756 The head is begun on the south side of the door. The mouth is open, with
778 teeth of willow. The head is covered with buffalo skin. There are two
796 long "feelers" decorated with bands of bright colors. On the crown of the head is a large erect plume of down feathers. The body of the monster is formed of bowed willows, plastered over with mud. The tail is at the north side of the door and is forked like that of a fish.

The fireplace is cleared out and a large turtle modeled there, his head toward the altar. A new fireplace is then made on his back. While the water monster was peculiar to the Skidi the following were found among all divisions. A tree was cut and brought in with a ceremony almost identical with that found in the sun dances of other tribes. The Skidi plant the tree (a cedar) in the forked tail of the monster, the others put it (a cottonwood) at the altar. A life-sized woman is built up of clay, dressed in regular costume and set up on the south side of the lodge. A large figure of a man is cut from rawhide and placed upon a pole above the lodge. Numerous small human figures are cut from rawhide, strung upon cords and stretched about overhead in the lodge. All these objects are highly symbolic: thus, the fire

C

is the sun; the mud woman, the moon; the large rawhide image, the morn- 184
ingstar; the many small images, stars. 532

All this construction was part of the ritual and so controlled by a definite 756 778
program. When everything was in place, a general dedication ceremony 796
followed in connection with which is a spectacular march through the village
in two lines, according to their sides. In front, two men carry the sacred 756
animals from the altar, dancing. (For the Skidi, two loons are used, for 796
the other divisions, two beavers.) All medicinemen are supposed to derive
their powers from living creatures and their booths are spoken of as animal
lodges. In this procession each man costumes himself so as to represent
his animal mentor, often in very realistic fashion. There were also a few [522]
clowns dressed like wolves.

After the tour of the village, the procession enters the lodge and holds a secret ceremony upon which we have no data. Those on the outside hear a great uproar and a riot of hideous noises, while clouds of white dust rise from the smoke hole. When all is quiet again, the door is opened. The leader then performs a ceremony in which he sprinkles water about to consecrate the lodge.

It is then in order for the various medicinemen to demonstrate their animal powers. This is the time when remarkable feats of juggling were performed; thus it is told that stalks of corn were made to grow up and mature in a moment, likewise plums and cherries, the bear men tore out a man's liver and ate it, after which he rose unharmed, and so on, in bewildering variety.

Finally, a certain number of days were given to ceremonial visits to the sacred bundles, each in turn, where certain ceremonies were performed.

At the end the animal powers and images are taken down and carried to a stream or lake. Here they are heaped up in the water something like a beaver's house and the mud woman placed on top.[1]

Places or booths in this ceremony were assigned by the leaders. A man having set himself up as a medicineman would apply for a place. He would be assigned one provisionally and at the proper time called upon to demonstrate; if he failed to carry his trick through successfully he was ejected, but otherwise given a permanent seat. As may be anticipated from the foregoing, medicinemen were trained and not made suddenly through dreams or visions. It is true that such experience counted for much, but the usual way to become a medicineman was to succeed one's teacher at his death. Thus, it is cleat that the seats in the twenty-day ceremony were practically fixed in form and number.

---

[1] It may be significant that the animal painted tipis of the Blackfoot and Dakota were always disposed of by sinking in water and that many ceremonial objects among the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan were similarly treated.— Ed. [171]

MODERN CEREMONIES.

527 796 Among the northern Plains tribes there are a number of associations for social dancing and entertainment. Such seem to be wanting among the Pawnee, as the following pages will show, but certain more or less serious ceremonies are now made the occasion for considerable social enjoyment. The widely diffused Omaha, or grass dance, forms of the ghost dance, and of the peyote almost exhaust the list of modern ceremonies. We heard of no women's guilds or clubs and no dances of any kind save those mentioned above.

THE MODERN IRUSKA.

175 177 648 The well-known Omaha, or grass dance, is generally known among the Pawnee as a variation of their own iruska (p. 608), though in its present form it was introduced through Oglala influence.

796 *The Skidi Iruska.* In 1887 three Pawnee Skidi men went to visit the Oglala Indians. Arriving there, they were entertained by Young-man-afraid-of-his-horses and were feasted throughout the village for several days. On the last day an iruska dance was held for their benefit. The Sioux gathered in a large round house built for dancing. The drum was carried in and the dancers filed in. The Sioux began to sing and the Pawnee noted that the songs were different from their own. However, they danced with the Sioux and received many presents, moccasins, pipes, and beaded objects. The Sioux singers asked the Pawnee to sing some of their songs which the Pawnee did. The Sioux were pleased with the Pawnee singing and gave them more presents.

When the three Pawnee men returned to their home they began to teach other young men the Sioux songs they had learned. One day some Skidi young men came together and Knife-chief told them about the Sioux dance. The old Pawnee iruska dancers never used sleigh bells upon their bodies; but did use them around the drum. The Sioux dancers also wore ornamental clothes while the Pawnee did not. All the Pawnee dancers wore was the headgear and the bustles. The Sioux bustle was also different.

175 575 796 Knife-chief had a bass drum brought in and began to teach the Sioux songs. Those who were not singing, danced, but they did not know how to keep time. After the singing, the dance society was organized. Knife-chief was the drum keeper and leader of the singers. Then two chiefs were

selected to be leaders on the south side and two for the north side. On each 175
side of these two men the dancers were to be seated. At each end of the 575
row of dancers was to sit a whip man. The rules adopted for the dance were 796
those of the Sioux.

This dance became popular, for every time they had it men and women gave presents to one another. It was kept up until Knife-chief died when his widow took charge of the drum. When her son was old enough he took over the drum and for several years was its keeper. On one occasion a dance was promised on New Year's day, but the boy refused to let the people have the drum. They borrowed another drum and had the dance anyhow. After the dance they discovered that the boy had given the drum to a man who belongs to another village.

In the spring of 1911 Eagle-chief called some young men together and 575
told them he wanted to organize a new iruska dance. This was agreed to 796
by all. Money was collected to buy a new bass drum and sleigh bells. Four chiefs were selected as leaders in the dance: Coming-sun and Sun-chief for the north side, and Struck-enemy and Lone-chief for the south side. Coming-sun now became the leader in the ceremony preceding the dance. He selected six singers: Yellow-horse, Dog-chief, Only-a-chief, Young-cedar-tree, Little-sun, and Young-good-chief. Next he selected the two whip men who were to have charge of all things. Then he selected two chiefs for the dancers on each side: the south side one to wear the bonnet, the north side one to carry the tomahawk. He next selected a man to carry the whistle and then four women to assist in singing: Food-giver, Woman-young-chief, Woman-yellow-corn, and Woman-cedar-tree.

Coming-sun then told the people they would hold a dance the next day and asked each woman to cook something for the feast. The next day people gathered in the round house. The chiefs and dancers sat in their proper places, the whip men sitting at each end. The drum was placed north of the entrance, the singers taking their places around it, the women singers behind the male singers. The visitors sat behind the dancers, the women behind them. The four old men sat at the ends of the visitors' rows. Coming-sun selected one of the dancers to sit outside to keep back spectators.

Coming-sun asked the south side whip man to take some live coals and place them east of the fireplace. Then the whip man was told to go to Coming-sun who gave him a handful of dried cedar leaves. He was then told to place the cedar upon the live coals. Coming-sun then gave the whip man the pipes and passed them through the smoke four times and then handed them back to Coming-sun. Then the whip man was told to take the drum and pass it through the smoke four times and return it to its place.

Next the chiefs one by one went to the smoke and passed through it; then

575 the dancers, first one from the north side, then the south side, and so on.
796 Then the women went to the smoke. When all had gone through the smoke, Coming-sun told the south whip man to return the coals to the fireplace.

276 When this was done, Coming-sun spoke as follows: "Singers, chiefs, old
575 men, and iruska, notice my speech and actions for hereafter we shall say
796

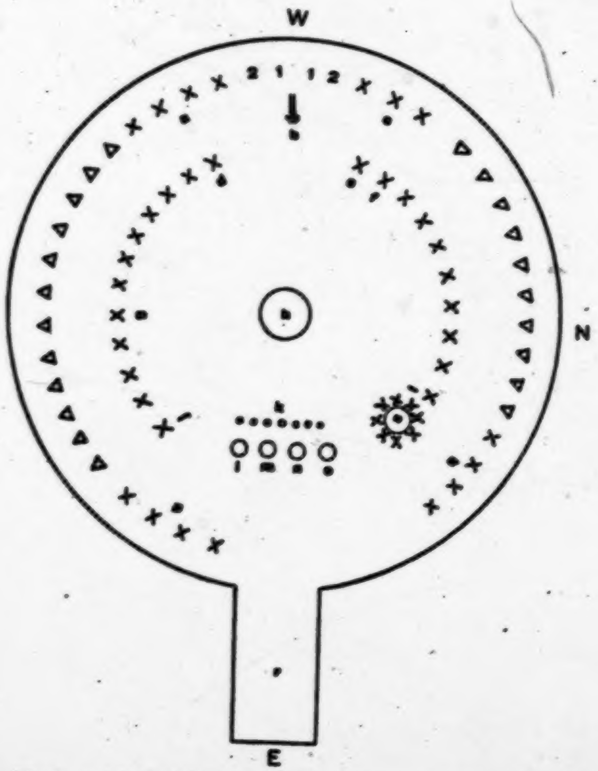


Fig. 18. Diagram of the Skidi Iruska Society. The crosses represent the seats of men, triangles those of women. a and c, visitors of note; b, the pipe; d, the bonnet wearer; e, sword bearer; f, tomahawk bearer; g, whistle bearer; h, fireplace; i, j, whip bearers; k, bowls of cooked maize; l, o, platters of bread; m, kettle of meat; n, coffee urn; p, q, old men; r, entrance way to the lodge; s, drum and drummers. 1–2, 1–2 are the leaders for the two sides,

and do as I am about to do. Above all things, Tirawahat gave the pipe to our people that he might receive smoke from them. We have the pipes here at the altar. They are filled with native tobacco. It is now time for Tirawahat to receive our smoke. As you see the men I select go through

the smoke ceremony, so will it be done in all our iruska dances, for I have 276
whispered to the men who shall offer the smoke. I now select Sun-chief 575
to offer the smoke. He will now rise and take the pipe."

Sun-chief arose and took the pipe from Coming-sun. Then he went 796
around the fireplace and stood to the west. He took a pinch of tobacco from the pipe, raised up his hand and gradually lowered it to the rim of the fireplace where he placed the tobacco. Next he went northeast by the south and east of the fireplace and squatted down. The south side whip man went to the fireplace, took a live coal and placed it upon the bowl of the pipe. When the pipe was lit, Sun-chief arose and went west of the fireplace, here he stood facing east and gave four whiffs of smoke to the skies; then four whiffs to mother earth. Then he dumped the ashes from the bowl of the pipe and passed his hands over the pipestem toward the skies, twice with his right hand and twice with his left hand. He passed his hands upon the pipestem to the rim of the fireplace, twice with his right and twice with his left hand. Then he turned towards the west and walked to Coming-sun and handed him the pipe. Coming-sun said, "Rawa"; all repeated "Rawa." The second pipe was given to Lone-chief of the south side and the same ceremony gone through.

When the smoke ceremony was over the outside man came in and per- 575
mitted those outside to come in. Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old 796
men, and iruska, we are about to dance. You dancers must be careful with the things you are wearing for if you drop anything, one of those old men will have to take it up and tell of his deeds. Then you must pay. Each man who has a song must dance when his song is sung and must give a small present to some old man or woman. We will have five sets of songs, ten in [533]
each set. Everyone must dance. Anyone receiving a present must say, 'rawa iruska.' After each ten songs we will smoke and rest."

So the singers began their songs. Every time the whip men rose everyone had to dance.

After the dance, Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, this is now our iruska dance. Visiting parties, if they wish, may tie tobacco upon the drum, then the keeper of the drum must notify the leaders, who [535]
will plan a dance to give presents to visitors. This is now a popular dance
among the Pawnee for at these dances people give presents to one another [431]
and there is a general good time for all.[1]

---

[1] This form of the iruska was originated by the writer who may be said to be entirely [177]
responsible for the organization. He knew very little of the procedure among the Dakota but was fairly familiar with the form of the Osage. From the latter he took his main ideas and the various officers with their respective duties. Also like the Osage he adopted strict rules for conducting the dance. Yet the manoeuvers and serious parts of the ceremony were all taken from bundle rituals of the Pawnee.— Ed.

175 *The Kit'kaháxki Iruska.* About 1894 while the ghost dance was still
575 intense a man named Sitting-bear began to have dreams of songs and the
forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and lead it until
796 his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the
hands of Little-sun, one of the leading singers. According to this ritual,
the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in case
of the bundles. In 1912 Little-sun revived the ceremony with the assistance
of Eagle-fly-high, also a pupil of Sitting-bear.

575 In the Kit'kaháxki society there were four chiefs, as among the Skidi.
796 The dancers are on both sides, north and south. At the south side entrance
there are four chiefs and four pipes. Next to the chiefs on the north side
are two old men. The director of the ceremony sits near the pipes and his
assistant, or the whip man, by his side. The singers sit around the drum.
[533] Unlike the Skidi when they have sung a set of songs, all smoke receiving no
smoke from the chiefs. The songs go in sets of ten.

At a certain point in the ceremony all rise and stand in a circle with the chiefs holding pipes in the center. Then with songs the smoke offerings are made. This is similar to the preceding. After the offering the pipes are delivered to the pipe keepers. In the two last dances everybody takes part and makes them as violent as possible. The ending is as in the preceding. The food is brought in as before. A man and woman are now selected to make the corn offering. The woman receives a small wooden bowl with a horn spoon, she is the donor of the food. The movement to the kettle is different, the man dips out the food into the bowl held by the women. A little from every kettle is taken. Then they go to the west side of the fireplace. The man and woman here offer the food as before. The bowl and spoon are returned to the keeper, while the whip man selects men to hand out the food as before. The head chief at the south side recites part of the ritual and announces the close of the ceremony.

The regalia are the same as for the preceding. The songs and procedures are, however, quite original.

The Chaui Iruska. During the ghost dance excitement Roaming-chief
began to dream songs and a form of the modern iruska ritual. Later, he
started the organization which spread to the Pitahauirata. Unlike the
other iruska societies the drum is set at the west end, or head of the lodge,
the old original Pawnee form. The drumsticks are beaded and bear feath-
ers on the end. One chief on each side, some of them have short sticks
[293] covered with beads and decked with feathers. The sticks for the two sides
are of different colors. There are four of these sticks, and hooked at the
end, on the north side; three on the south. No whip man. The smoke
ceremony here is before the singing. The staff men rise and hold them as

signals for the members to dance. All the songs are those of the founder 575
and so entirely unlike those of others. In the last four songs there is great 796
excitement.

The food offering with bowl and spoon is as before stated. The regalia are here the same as before.[1]

General Discussion. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Omaha hethu'- 114
shka certain statements as to origin are made which are inconsistent with 174
the writer's data. In the first place, the Pawnee have always said that the Omaha originally got their society from them, they having been guests at several iruska performances, adopted such of it as they comprehended and later elaborated the procedure into the present form, though some features are certainly Osage contributions. The Dakota first learned the dance from the Omaha, as they state (p. 48), but testify to its Pawnee origin. About fifty years ago Pawnee-Tom visited the Arikara and assisted Enemy-heart to inaugurate the ceremony. Later, Enemy-heart sold the dance to the Crow Indians and then to other tribes. The writer has studied the songs of the dance and finds that everywhere many of them are undoubtedly those of the Pawnee iruska and what is more to the point, bear the general characteristics of all Pawnee songs. The Dakota and Omaha, however, have many original songs of their own, some of which the Pawnee have borrowed. In general, from the data at hand, the writer considers it clear that the origin of the modern form of this dance lies between the Omaha and the Osage, but that it was derived from an older ceremony which the Omaha, and possibly the Osage, borrowed of the Pawnee.

It should be noted that in the Skidi iruska dog flesh is served. Four men 262
wearing the feather belts scout for and capture the kettle. Then they take 796
sticks and take out the dog's head for a leading man to count coup on. A kettle of corn is then brought in and handled in the same manner, except

---

[1] Author's note. While in a trance he saw the dead people dancing the iruska dance [787]
but in a different way from that of the old iruska dance. There were six drummers. The drum was painted black, the stick had coverings at the ends. There were six stations about [786]
the room, three on the north side and three on the south side. The station men had a forked stick stuck in the ground in front of them. There were feathers at the end of each fork and the sticks were wrapped with beads. The northeast stick was covered with black beads; the north stick with light blue beads; the northwest stick with dark blue beads; the southwest stick with yellow beads; the south stick, red; the southeast stick, white. Also he found out or was told there were that many minor gods in the heavens. When these station men get up to dance, all have to rise and dance. There are five sets of songs, ten songs in each set. The tunes are nearly the same as for the old iruska songs. The last ten are ghost dance songs. The last songs are exciting, and the dancers are given to excitement and tremble, falling down as in the ghost dance. The closing speech after the feast differs from the older form. It is as follows: Father is thankful for eating our smoke; father, his child, and the gods are thankful for eating our smoke; sun and moon are both made thankful for eating our smoke; our mother earth is thankful for eating our smoke; our dead relations are thankful for eating our smoke; now we have all smoked and eaten. After this speech, everyone leaves the lodge.

262 that spoons are carried instead of sticks. Among the other divisions of
796 the Pawnee, buffalo meat was used with a less formal procedure. The
Skidi form of feast is now found among many tribes.

The whip bearers are probably of Omaha or Osage origin for in that tribe
174 they are the police officers of a ceremony. The bearing of a sword is probably
177 due to Pawnee influence, at least it was original with them. Once when at
648 Washington, D. C., each Pawnee chief was presented with a sword for his
796 aid (p. 557) which thenceforth became the badge of office. Some of the aids
carried their swords to battle and counted coup with them. Later, the
Pawnee scouts in the United States service carried swords and when discharged
those who had struck enemies retained them. Now in the iruska
all having struck enemies with tomahawks could demonstrate in the dance;
so the bearers of swords came to have the same privileges.

THE GHOST DANCE.

According to the Pawnee, the ghost dance religion first came to the
668 Arapaho, thence to the Cheyenne, the Kiowa and Comanche and finally
796 to the Wichita.

787 In 1890 it was rumored among the Pawnee that a Messiah had appeared to an Indian somewhere in the mountains and that all the dead Indian people would return to the earth. The story was that a Paiute Indian had died and was taken up to the top of a high mountain and laid out. After he had lain there four days, he revived and came down from the mountain. He told his people that while he was on the mountain his spirit had traveled in a strange and beautiful country; that on his journey he crossed a small stream of clear water and came to a cedar tree where he saw handkerchiefs of every color and all sorts of feathers. At the base of the tree he saw several pipes and different kinds of paint. He took a white cotton handkerchief and some of the red earth. He went on and as he neared a mound he saw someone standing there, clad in white and purple robes. This person had long hair, parted in the middle. He held out his hands to show the cuts in them, but did not look up. The man saw that he was the Messiah, the white man's Jesus, the son of the Father in the Heavens. The man noted by his manner that he wanted him to pass by for he did not speak, so he passed on his left and went on. Presently he saw in a valley an Indian village, extending along the whole bottom.

As he neared the village of tipis he noticed a man approaching. When they met he found the man was his father who embraced him and took him into the village. On the outskirts of the village he saw men playing javelin

games. The old men were playing with the big hoops and sticks; the boys 668
with rings and sticks. He also saw some women playing with baskets and 796
plum seeds and others playing with staves. He could not understand the
speech of these people. When the two came to a tipi they entered and there 787
the dead man saw his dead relatives, mothers, aunts, uncles, brothers, and sisters. The old people sitting near the entrance, he was told, were his grandparents. He was given food and after eating he was told to watch the people who were dancing.

His father took him to the dancing ground. When they arrived, he saw the people dancing in a circle. The dancers were all painted and each wore feathers. Finally, he joined in the dance and learned some of their songs. While dancing he saw people acting queerly and seemingly possessed with a spirit. There were seven singers and two men with long poles acted as soldiers, but took no part in the dancing. Some men inside the ring ran from one person to another finally downing some of the people. These were mesmerizing one another. One man came to him, blew his breath upon his breast, embraced him, and finally blew his breath into his mouth, at which the newcomer fell into a trance. He arose quickly, however, and joined in the dance. He danced a long time until the man who had hypnotized him took him to one side and said, "Brother, you are now possessed with our power. You must return to your people and start this dance among them. Tell them you have seen the Messiah, the Son of the Father in the Heavens. He is leading us to your people. They must dance so they will also receive the power you now possess. We know you are living. Whatever you saw at the tree is yours. Give the red earth you find in the mountains to your people, let them paint their faces before they dance. Tell them of the Messiah and let them mourn as you now see these people do. We mourn for you and your people must mourn also. When you have started this dance among your people you will be able to come to us any time and we will teach you more about our ways. People will come to you from all over the country and you must tell them what you now see. This religion is for Indian people. The spirit will be sent to you. You must now return to your people."

The man then revived and went down from the mountain to his people. Night overtook him as he reached a valley. As he was going through some bulrushes trying to find a bed, he saw someone coming towards him on a mule. He saw that it was the same Messiah he had seen while in a trance. This time the one on the mule said, "My son, what you saw is all true. Tell your people, that I sent you, that my spirit will be with them." Then he disappeared. The man then made a bed of rushes and lay down. The next morning he arose and went on to his home.

668 796 The people were frightened by his return, but when he told his story they rejoiced. Four days after he told them to prepare for a dance. When they were all standing around in a circle, with hands joined, he told his story. Then he began to sing and all moved around in a circle and began to have queer feelings, shivering all through their bodies. When the prophet shouted, some of the weaker ones fell into a trance. Sometimes when he waved the cotton handkerchief at some of them they would go down while others danced on. Some who began to mourn, cried out, holding their hands towards the skies and cried and cried; seemingly they could not stop crying.

This dance was carried on by the Paiute in Nevada until a northern Indian came to visit them. The story is told that this northern Indian had lost his child and was wandering over the country when he finally came to the dance and there was able to see his lost child through the prophet, Jack Wilson. He also saw their strange doings and got the story from Jack Wilson, who claimed that he knew beforehand that he was coming. This northern Indian returned to his people and told them about the new religion. He claimed that he himself had seen the Messiah in the mountains, that he also had seen his own dead relatives, that the Messiah had talked to him and that through the Messiah he had seen the dead people. So a party of four men, Badger, a Sioux, Sitting-bull, a Northern Arapaho, and two others went to Nevada to visit the prophet.

When these men arrived at Walker Lake, they found Jack Wilson and his Indians dancing. They made him some presents and asked to see the Messiah and their dead relatives to which Wilson replied, "Go and dance with my people and you will see all you want to see." These men joined in the dance. In a few days they too fell into a trance and saw the Messiah and their dead relatives.

These four men then went north to their homes; Badger, the Sioux went to the Standing Rock Agency and started the dance. Sitting-bull, instead of going to his own people, the Northern Arapaho, came into Oklahoma. This was about 1890. Here he started the ghost dance among the Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne. Soon the news spread among the Wichita, Kiowa, and Comanche. At this time a young Pawnee Indian, Frank White, living among the Wichita, joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream, the tree, the Messiah, and then the village of people. He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in Pawnee. The first song was as follows: —

539 668 796

Wey rey hey iri si ra.
Now you are coming.

Weyti ku wa tura wa hey.
I am longing for the village (kingdom).

Wey ri hey iri si ra. 539
Now you are coming. 668
796

A sicks u wey ta tu ta hi i.
And now I place my spirit upon you.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, 668
he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-bull. 796

In the fall of 1892, Frank White came among the Pawnee and told his story to a few of his friends. He selected a few young men to whom he taught some of his own songs and also some Arapaho songs. As soon as they could sing a few songs they went to a camp to dance. There were about five singers, four women, and three boys. They selected a space east of the camp and started to dance. Whenever the prophet shouted, the dancers dropped to the ground in a trance. Some of the dancers began to mourn and others shook all over, for a mysterious spirit took possession of them. Then they danced a short time. The prophet told them of his experiences. He told the people that if they made up their minds to dance and see the Messiah, and their dead relatives, they would fall and see them; that the principal thing in the dance was to mourn and be humble in spirit. He then sent them home.

The next day, the people told of the dance they had and how they trembled and fell. The chiefs of the different bands took it up and set a day for the people to make their camp circle on Camp Creek. When the people had made camp, the chiefs met in council and invited the prophet. They asked that he start a dance and tell the people about the new religion. The prophet consented. A special tipi was set up for the prophet where he was to stay with the singers. The next day the prophet sent two of the singers through the camp to get some paint of all colors from each tipi. This paint was taken to the prophet who gave orders that all who wanted to dance must come into the tipi and have their faces painted. Each Indian now took presents to the tipi and was then painted. The singers painted their faces. Everybody was ready. The prophet went out of the lodge, the others following. They came to an open space where the prophet and singers joined hands and stood in a circle and sang. The people in the village came out of their tipis and ran to the circle. Some did not get into the ring for the unknown spirit took possession of them and stopped them. They raised their hands to the skies and began to cry. In the ring the dancers began to tremble; some seemed crazy. When the prophet went to them, they fell to the ground. Late in the evening they quit dancing, and then feasted.

668 786 796 After they had eaten they danced again until ten o'clock. Men and women returned to their tipis, mourning and crying and having shaking fits. About five o'clock they began to dance again. This time there were about four men and three women who seemed to be trembling badly. They ran around the camp crying, "I do not want you, go away from me." About the third day, one of the women fell and lay on the ground about five minutes and then sat up. She began to cry and finally her crying turned into a song. One man went to her and she told what she had seen while she lay on the ground. The fourth day a young man fell and lay upon the ground all night. When he came to, he ran to the prophet's tipi and told what he had seen. The prophet ordered that all the people go upon a hill and hear the young man tell his story. This was about eight o'clock in the evening. When all the people were on the hill, standing in a line facing west, the young man was told to sit down in front of them, the village crier went and sat beside him. The young man told the following story:

> 668 786 787 796 When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I felt a queer sensation passing through my body. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, "My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people." I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me, and said, "My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing." So we went on and there in the center of the village, our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying upon the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw.

668 786 796 The people went to him and as each person took hold of his hand, he either fell or began to tremble. After this four men were selected to smoke to the dead people. After the smoke everyone began to cry. Then the prophet and the new prophet ran around among the people throwing them

down upon the ground. After the excitement they all went back to camp 668
and danced until ten o'clock that night. The next morning all joined the
dance again. This time a woman entered the ring and began to act as if 786
crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and 796
strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, "That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth." Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit. The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right.

While the Wichita had been indifferent to the teachings of White, the 668
Pawnee soon became enthusiasts. White went first to the Pitahauirata 796
village and began his ceremonies, where at once a few had the trances. As the news spread, the chiefs of all the Pawnee villages met to see demonstrations and discuss the movement. Two days were given over to dancing. The first camp was broken up by a fire, a tipi catching fire ignited the grass and destroyed much property; but undismayed a new camp was formed. Many persons went into trances, while many were alarmed at the intensity of the phenomenon. White then demonstrated his power by putting bystanders into trances by touching them. Finally he closed the demonstration by a spectacular race. Taking his position in the center, the converts around in a circle, he caused them to fall at will.

After this, practically the whole of the Pawnee were under White's influence. Dances were almost continuous during the winter and the following summer. Infatuated with the belief in the immediate destruction
of the world, they planted no crops and threw away their property. Natur- [648]
ally, they became sullen and disobedient to their Agent, resulting in the arrest of White by United States marshals.

This excited the Indians greatly and almost caused hostilities. In the meantime the Oto had taken up the Pawnee dance and also threatened to go on the warpath. Owing to the skill of their Agent, the Pawnee were quieted and White released. He himself did what he could to develop the movement into a less militant religion. To do this he magnified the Chris-
tian elements. There was opposition for a time for all the old Pawnee [756]
medicinemen took the trances as forms of the powers formerly exercised by the animal lodges (p. 602) and began a vigorous revival, each setting himself up as a prophet and seeking to outdo the others. White died in 1893, after which the strength and unity of the religion quickly disappeared among the many rival prophets.

This Pawnee ceremony seems to have been largely original with White

668 and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring
tribes. It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the
796 fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after
White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony.
[177] According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances
could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days.
There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair
and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions
of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now
[346] regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula,
a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple.
[361] Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost
dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center
toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise, the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical
[787] belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed
out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost
dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog
[524] dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the iruska. Some time after 1904
the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a
devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated. The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their hereditary sides of north and south.

THE PEYOTE.

About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned
276 something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the
794 buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they
practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho
taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued
a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to
[177] him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and
gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian
conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked
with Christ.

with Christ. Under this new leadership the membership increased. The 276
Oto carried the ceremony to the Omaha. Among the Pawnee the cult is 794
found chiefly among the Pítahauírata where this new form originated;
later, it found a following among the Chauí and then among the Kit'kahăxki
with a few scattering adherents among the Skidí.

Naturally, this new leader introduced some original features. A special 276
form of painted tipi was used, somewhat like that for the ghost dance. 794
Certain changes were made in the rattle and the form of the drum. There
is also an elaborate altar and the circle is divided into the usual north and 796
south sides.

Among the special ceremonies is one for the water bearer. At midnight one is sent to get water from the stream. As he is under the influence of the drug he may fall into the water and drown, so special songs are sung during his absence to guard him. When he enters with the pail, it is purified in a cedar smudge, an offering made and then passed for drinking.

At dawn as the sun appears, the ritual is interrupted long enough to sing a special set of songs. While this is going on, the door curtain is raised so that the first rays of the sun may strike the altar. At the close of this special ceremony the ritual is resumed where left off.

The last songs of the ritual refer to Christ. The final song is repeated five times after which each member in turn prays to God.

A woman then enters with water, parched corn, and candy. She and the food are purified in a cedar smudge, then she retires. First the water is passed, then the corn, and finally the candy, circulating in this order until all is consumed.

The members now sit in their places and talk over their experiences. The objects used in the ceremony are gathered up and put away. The leader closes the meeting at noon with a lecture, or sermon, on ethical matters, speaking especially against the use of alcohol. Some Pawnee leaders refuse membership to all using alcoholic drinks.

At noon the members are invited out to dine by some leading man. When seated the leader takes up a pitcher of water and prays to God. Then he fills a glass and taking a sip passes it around the circle in true church fashion. Then they eat without ceremony.

After the meal the members again assemble in the peyote tipi, but this is an informal gathering where they discuss freely their faith and practise singing such songs as desired.

In the evening they depart. As each one leaves, he stands by the fireplace, holds aloft his hand and prays aloud. Then he shakes hands around the circle, pauses at the door to hold up his hand and perform certain other symbolic gestures, then passes out. So with all in turn, the leader being the last to go.

276 The peyote tipi is dismantled the next day and the camp broken.

794 It may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the ghost dance excitement. One of his individual doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore. 796

THE ONE HORN DANCE.

178 Among the Skidi there is a modernized form of the one horn dance (p. 623) organized about 1893. It took its form from the dreams of a woman. 796 The man who spoke to her in the dream ran away as a buffalo. She went out at sunrise and saw a ring come down from the sun. Little by little she dreamed the songs and taught her husband. Finally, an eagle came to her in a dream and she was ordered to get an eagle. This she did. Again she dreamed of a crooked crow-feathered stick, this was made. Then a drum was made.

The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one horn dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly responsible. 776 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of consecrating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were ceremonial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies. 292 796

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires. 224

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed. 361

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social intercourse. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.) 622 756 782 [565] [773]

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

were so qualified. Women were not permitted to smoke at all, though our informant remembers seeing two or three old women smoke, they being doctors. 276 [562]

Sun Dance. According to the Pawnee belief the sun dance was given to the Plains tribes by the Arikara. In ancient times the Gros Ventre intermarried with them and so first got the ceremony. It may be noted that in the four-pole ceremony (p. 551) and again in the twenty-day ceremony, the bringing in of the tree is in the main identical with the regular sun dance form. The torture feature reached the Pawnee through the Arikara. A member of the young dog society once exchanged rituals with an Arikara sun dancer and for a time this was a part of the dog society ritual (p. 587). There is a report, however, of a very old dance in which they gazed at the sun, but without the torture. 796

Tiny Bags of Medicine. All regalia of a serious nature and especially objects carried to war were made powerful by the presence of tiny bags of medicine. The contents were vegetable, chiefly roots. Roots were chewed and spit over men to make them brave, virtuous, healthy, etc. In fact, most all powers come through knowledge of the uses of plants. 789

Tobacco Planting. There was no special ceremony for planting or gathering tobacco. There is a saying that this was unnecessary for since tirawahat gave it to the Pawnee direct, he himself watches over it, so all that is needed is to plant the seed; but that other tribes got it from them or other Indians and so must use the powers of ceremonies to make it grow. 249

Witches. There may have been a witch society for there is a tale as to how a chief destroyed such an organization. In brief, he watched at his son's grave and first heard cries of owls, then people approaching. As they were uncovering the corpse, he seized one man, the others fled. The prisoner he threatened with death unless he explained all the secrets of the medicine so that he himself could become a member. This was done. The young man had been killed by them partly through jealousy but chiefly to secure fat from his heart to put in their witch bundles. Their chief powers were owls and yellow-hammers. They had killed the young man by magically shooting an owl's claw and a yellow-hammer's feather into his heart. When the chief had learned all the rites and the names of the members, he killed his informant. He cut him open, took the fat and part of the ribs home. The meat he cooked. While it was boiling, he sent for his soldiers and a few trusted men and gave them instructions. Then he sent for the members of the witch society (five or more including a woman) whom he feasted upon the flesh of their associate, but at a signal they were struck down by the soldiers. Their bodies and bundles were burned to put an end to witches. 754

In case of the Pawnee, we may note the fine example of pattern phe- 575
nomena manifest in the adjustment of all kinds of ceremonies, original or 616
borrowed, to this scheme of two sides and alternate leadership.[1] Based
upon this fundamental pattern are two distinct patterns of organization: the 756
lance-bearing societies and medicinemen's associations. From the preced- 796
ing concrete accounts it is clear that all of the lance organizations must have been constructed or adjusted to the plan of some one parent society. The same may be said of the medicinemen's associations. We have commented upon the apparent dual division of chiefs and medicinemen (p. 639), the bundle scheme being the province of the former and to which the medicinemen were individually subject, but professionally formed a second half for social control. This duality is seen in the organization of all bundles and related societies under the four-pole ceremony and in like manner the organization of the medicinemen under the twenty-day ceremony. Here again is clearly a similarity of pattern in the coordination schemes for two groups of activities.

Another important conception of the Pawnee is the bundle sanction.
Thus, as keeper of the village bundle the chief rules by a kind of "divine 631
right," the highest exponent of which is the priest of the bundle, or the 778
keeper of the ritual. The hunt and the raising of grain were each guarded over and governed by virtue of bundle rituals. A lance society performed no public function except under the sanction of one of the bundles. Furthermore, the federation itself was based upon superior or leading bundles, from which the chiefs and priests derived their authority. One must suspect that the conception of a bundle sanction was so fundamental with the Pawnee, that the first step toward a federation was of necessity the creation of a series of superior bundles.

In keeping with the foregoing conceptions is the hereditary system. 611
Chiefs, priests, members of societies, etc. serve for life and endeavor to qualify some of their brothers and nephews to succeed them. In most organizations there were certain tests applied to the candidate for the ejection of the theoretically unfit, but these first chances were given to those whose brothers or uncles had been admitted to membership; likewise the priests of bundles must be those competent to perform the ritual, but here again the preference was given to maternal relatives. The important position of chief, or official keeper of the village bundle, was regarded as strictly hereditary to the next of kin, though incompetents were encouraged to decline the honor in favor of the next heir.

---

[1] A kind of dual leadership is found in many societies of the Oglala and Blackfoot, as shown in the preceding pages, but without any ceremonial associations or counterparts in other ceremonies, from which we infer that it reached these tribes as an objective part of a borrowed system. [171]

If one considers the conceptions that underlie the preceding ceremonials, 796 it seems that the leading categories are the consecration of animals, especially the buffalo, the buffalo hunting rituals, the various procedures with corn, the ceremonies of the warpath and shamanistic feats. The most distinctive are the last, their variety and complexity probably exceeding those of any other tribe, features which must have made a deep impression upon their neighbors and given the Pawnee great cultural prestige.

lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may 611
have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, 421
if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of 778
descent in the village group would arise only as the result of in- 114
frequent inter-village marriages.]

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that 621
one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where 778
it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village 773
it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each 621
village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the 778
ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi 796
villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the 621
villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly 778
had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were 103
extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

band assembled for ceremonies, they arranged them- [778
selves according to the positions of their guardian 361]
stars in the heavens. 776

Only less powerful than the gods of the heavens were the gods of the earth. These were for the most part identified with animals in the same way that the heavenly gods were identified with stars. The earthly gods were organized into four lodges each of which had its leaders and its messengers, who served as intermediaries between the earthly gods and men. In these lodges they gathered in council to make or mar the fortunes of men, and to them favored mortals were taken to be instructed in the mysteries of earthcraft. The earthly gods were the special patrons of medicine-men and warriors.

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were 796
numerous and varied. They may be divided into two main classes,—ceremonies, which were in charge of societies whose members had certain secrets in common, and ceremonies which were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe. To the first class belong the ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine-men. To the second class belong those which had to do with the welfare of the people.

Practically all the ceremonies of the second class 796
centered about collections of sacred objects, called by 778
the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were two additional bundles which were the property of the whole tribe. The objects in the bundles varied, but had a general similarity, each bundle containing at least one pipe, tobacco, paints, the skins of certain birds, and the Mother-Corn. The last consisted of two ears of corn, which were the most sacred objects in the bundle. When not in use, the objects were wrapped in a buffalo hide and hung from the wall of the lodge. In connec-

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 tion with the bundle there were certain taboos which
778 were rigidly enforced.

The ceremonies connected with the sacred bundles seem to fall into three divisions,—those ceremonies which were the common property of all the bundles and taken together formed the tribal ceremonial year; those ceremonies which were the property of the village bundles, and were open primarily to members of the village, and those ceremonies relating to the two bundles which were the property of the tribe as a whole. The rituals of the bundle-ceremonies were the property of certain priests, but members of the village or tribe who assisted in the performance of the ceremony had a right to know at least part of the meaning of the ritual.

All the ceremonies connected with sacred bundles seem to have had as their underlying idea a repetition, either through ritual or dramatization, of acts performed by supernatural beings during the mythologic age. As a rule, the ritual predominated, the dramatization playing only a minor part. The ritual was a formal method of restating the acts of the supernatural beings, and served the double purpose of redirecting their attention toward the people and of reminding the people of the deeds done for them by the gods. In this way the relationship between men and the supernatural world was renewed; and the gods, pleased with the attention bestowed upon them, continued their protection over the people. Coupled with practically all the ceremonies there was some form of offering or sacrifice, this idea reaching its climax in the Skidi sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning Star.

The bundles and their accompanying ceremonies collectively regulated and made provision for all the necessities of life during the year. All the bundle-ceremonies were held during the spring, summer, or

autumn. In winter the gods were thought to have [778] withdrawn from the earth. The first thunder in the 796 spring was thought to be a notification that they had [821] once more turned their attention to it, and the people at once held a ceremony of welcome,—the Thunder Ceremony. This ceremony ushered in the ceremonial year, and was followed in regular order by a number of others. First came the ceremony called Paruxti, 241 by which the deity of that name was supposed to be 796 called to earth, and at which sacred corn was shelled and given to the people for seed corn. Immediately after this followed the ceremony, called the Planting of the Corn. When the first shoots of the new crop had appeared, a ceremony called Going After the Plant was performed. In the autumn there was a Harvest Ceremony, followed by the ceremony known as the Making of New Mother Corn, at which the Mother-Corn in all the bundles was renewed. In addition to these seasonal ceremonies there were a number of others whose time was not fixed.

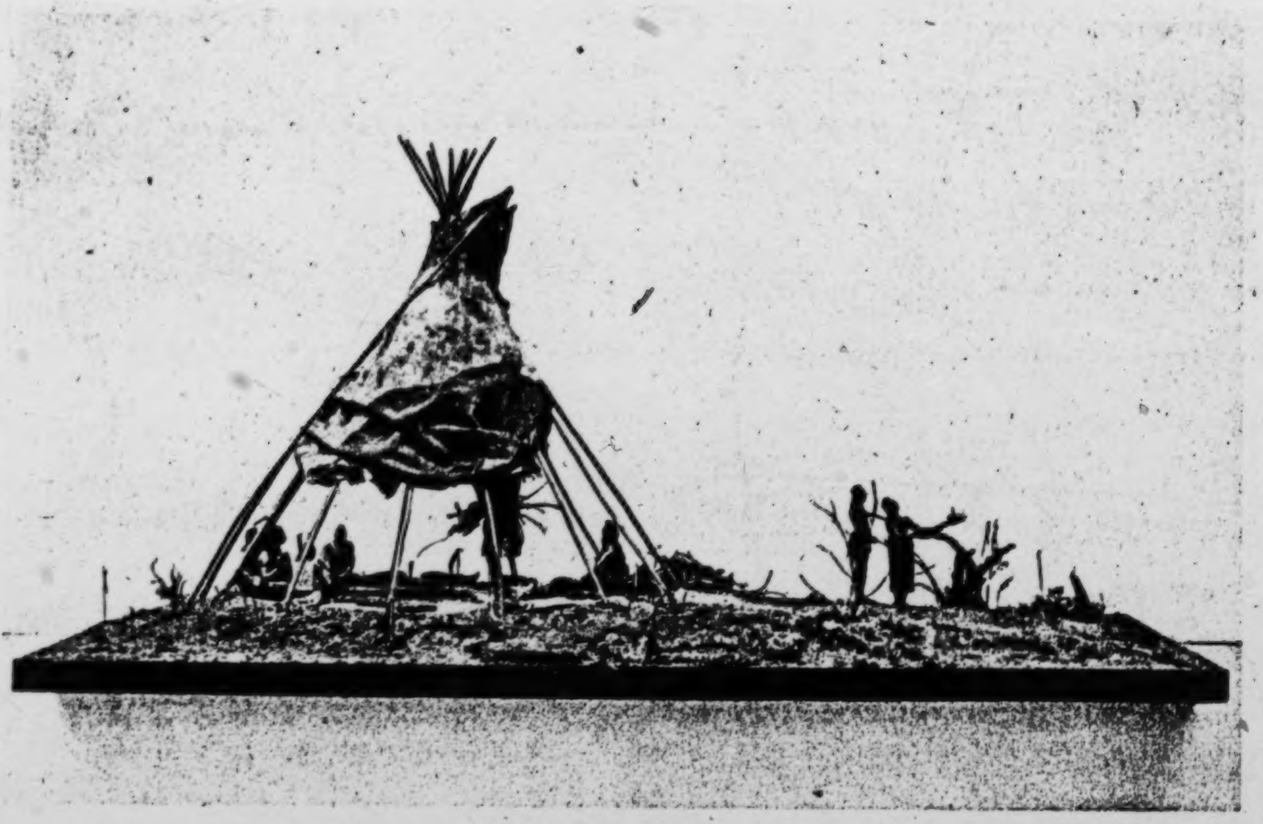
The so-called Thunder Ceremony ushered in the 796 ceremonial year. Although neither the most important or the most elaborate of the Pawnee ceremonies, it was, more than any other, at the bottom of their ceremonial life. It paved the way for the ceremonies of agriculture and the rites for the calling of the buffalo. It promoted the well-being of the tribe, and was efficacious in driving back the malignant being of the southwest, the bringer of disease. It instructed the people as to their duties and privileges in their relationship to the deities, and finally it afforded many opportunities for direct communication with the deities themselves in a number of rites of sacrifice which formed an intrinsic part of the ceremony as a whole.

The first thunder in the spring was thought to be 776 the voice of Paruxti, a deity who was the messenger of 796
821

796

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[facing p. 10]



MINIATURE GROUP IN FIELD MUSEUM, SHOWING THE THUNDER CEREMONY.

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

776 Tirawa and combined in himself the essence of the
● 796 four servants of the Evening Star,—Wind, Cloud,
[82] Lightning, and Thunder. He passed over the land in a storm, and as he spoke, the earth awakened, and life was kindled anew. Returning to his lodge in the west, he kindled new fire and offered smoke to the great heavenly gods, thereby informing them that he had visited the earth, and that all was well. The gods then turned their attention earthward, and prepared to receive the prayers and offerings of men.

796 As soon as the thunder had been heard, the priests of the Four Direction bundles assembled and prepared for the ceremony, which was held even if the tribe were away from their permanent villages on the hunt. Going to the lodge where the Aripahut bundle was kept, they took it down, and, when they were seated, the chief priest opened it and spread out the sacred objects. He then took up the rattles which had been fastened to the bundle, and giving them to the four other priests, said, "Priests, Tirawa has spoken. We must now sing the songs that were given to us with this bundle. It is a long time since we sang them, and we will make some mistakes, but Tirawa will help
533 us with the ceremony." Shaking their rattles as an
[539] accompaniment, they then sang,—
796

First Song

"They sang this song above, they have spoken.
They have put new life into the earth.
Paruxti speaks through the clouds,
And the power has entered Mother Earth.
The earth has received the powers from above."

This verse was repeated 56 times, a single word being changed at each singing. At the end of the singing the priests made four grunting sounds, symbolizing the noise of the thunder in the four world-quarters, and laid down their rattles. After each of the songs of the ritual this was repeated, and after

each song they smoked, and rested for a time before beginning the next. 533 796

After finishing the first song, they sang the following songs in order, repeating each ten times with the change of a single word each time,—

Second Song. 533 539 796

"It is you who speak, you who stand in the west.
Let them now take possession of the earth.
Let them now have the sacred bundle containing the wonderful things."

Third Song.

"The clouds looking like many tipis are coming from the west.
The clouds shall touch the earth and the earth shall receive power from Paruxti."

Fourth Song.

"The earth shook.
It was Paruxti's power that made the earth shake.
It is the earth that is shaken by the wonderful power of Paruxti."

Fifth Song.

"The power is now hidden in the earth.
The power is now hidden in the earth.
The earth now possesses the power.
Paruxti's power is the power in the earth."

At the completion of the songs there was a pause, and then the chief priest said, "It is now time for us to make a sacrifice of a heart and a tongue to Tirawa."

During the singing one of the priest's assistants had gone into the timber, and cut a number of slender willow wands. He gave these to one of the men participating in the ceremony, who stripped them of their bark, cut them into arrow lengths, and passed them to a second man who painted them red. The second man passed them to a third, who attached a little sack of tobacco to each and passed them to a fourth, who attached two strings of blue beads. The fourth man passed them to a fifth, who tied on pieces cut from scalps, kept in the bundle for that purpose. When the wands had been prepared, the man who had 796

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 painted them went to a buffalo skull, placed north of the fireplace, and painted it with designs symbolizing the garden of the Evening Star. While this was going on, one of the priests took a dried buffalo heart and tongue, and cut each in nine pieces, arranging the pieces in nine little piles, in a row.

When these preparations were finished, the chief priest said,—"Chiefs sitting around in a circle, this offering is to be made to Tirawa, our father in the heavens, who made all things for himself. He it was who gave us the sacred things here before us. He is listening to us. We are sitting, as he told us to sit. We are doing, as he told us to do. Now we shall make the first offering to Tirawa." The priest of the Yellow Calf bundle then went to the chief priest, and was dressed by him in the buffalo robe which had been around the bundle. The sacred pipe from the bundle had previously been decorated and filled, and this was now given to the priest of the Yellow Calf bundle, together with one of the piles of dry meat and one of the decorated wands. With these he passed out of the lodge followed by an assistant (errand man), who bore a live coal from the fireplace in a bunch of grass. The earth taken from the fireplace of the lodge had been piled up in a small mound outside the entrance, which faced the east. Beyond this mound the two kindled a small fire, the fuel for which had been laid ready. On this fire they placed the dried meat, and thrust the wand into the ground between it and the mound. As they did this, they, and the priests within the lodge, sang,—

533
796
[539]

"Smoke for the Above is wavering.
The wonderful smoke is wavering.
Smoke for the Above is being eaten.
The wonderful smoke is being eaten."

The meaning of this song is that when the offering is first placed on the fire, the smoke hesitates and

wavers, but soon it begins to ascend straight upward, a sign that it is being drawn into the mouth of Paruxti and eaten.

796
[533]

The errand man then made a circuit of the fire, and standing on the northeast blew puffs of smoke from the sacred pipe to the four world-quarters. Then he lifted the pipe slowly toward the sky, and lowering it, poured the tobacco from it upon the fire. This completed the first sacrifice, and both re-entered the lodge, and resumed their seats in the circle.

The chief priest then said, "Priests, this offering is now to be made to the god who presided over the other gods, when the council was held, deciding what the people should have, and what they should not have. This offering of meat and a wonderful stick are to be made to the god in the east, who will bless us, and who rules us aright, so that our people will be under the special care of this god." This god was the Morning Star. The same priest, who had made the first sacrifice, then took the offering out of the lodge, and placed the meat upon the fire where the offering to Tirawa had been made, thrusting the wand into the ground to the east of it.

When this priest and his errand man had returned, the materials for the third offering were prepared, and the chief priest said, "This offering is to be made to the Evening Star, the mother who has made all things. She has a garden in the west, where corn is green, and where the ear of corn is the leader of all men, where there is a bundle of dried meat, and where all good things of life exist. The errand man and this priest will make the offering, and the gods will look down upon the errand men. These gods will help the errand men. They will make our fields green. They will loosen some bundles of meat and cover the land with buffalo." The priest and his er-

796 rand man then left the lodge, and kindling a fire to the west of the lodge, made the sacrifice.

The fourth sacrifice was then prepared, and the chief priest said, "Now, priests, young men, and you chiefs who watch over your people, this offering is to be made to the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who stands behind the other stars, and who is gladdened by the offerings which we now make to him. He will send the lesser gods to drive away disease which may approach our camp." This offering was placed to the east of the lodge, with those to Tirawa and the Morning Star.

For the fifth sacrifice the priest said, "Chiefs, young men and priests, you who preside over the people, we are to make this offering to the northeast god (North Star), who watches over the people in the north. He is especially gladdened by this offering, and he will look down upon us. Especially will he look down upon us leaders, come to us, and give us knowledge to rule over the people, and we will be happy. Take the offering. Carry it to the north, and place it in the north."

For the sixth sacrifice the priest said, "Now, chiefs, priests, and young men, you who are to receive this bundle upon your breasts, take this bundle into your arms. Through you this bundle was made leader. When the errand men called upon certain gods, and especially the North Wind, to send buffalo, he received our gifts and prayers, and came to us, bringing the buffalo with him. Through his kindness we killed many buffalo, and from them we are making offerings to the gods in the heavens, so in our offerings we must not forget the North Wind."

The speech for the seventh sacrifice was as follows: "Now priests, young men, and chiefs, this offering is to be made to Ready-to-Give. The son of Ready-to-Give stands there. He it was who, when on earth,

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

taught us to keep our villages clean so that disease would not enter them. It was he who came to warn our people of the approach of the enemy. He assists his father in sending buffalo. [Ready-to-Give was one of the titles of the North Wind.] He assists the warriors to capture ponies. When we are near the village of the enemy, ponies come out on account of his power. He is called Pahokatawa." 796

The speech for the eighth sacrifice was, "Priests, we are about to make an offering to him who was made by Tirawa, and who stands and gives us light. We are to make this offering to the Sun, Sakura, to make him glad. In return for this gladness he will take care of our people so that we shall be happy." This sacrifice was placed on the south side of the lodge.

The speech for the ninth sacrifice was, "Priests, chiefs, young men, this offering is to be made to the one that stands in the night. When she sees this offering, she will be made glad. In return she will look down upon us, and the people will increase. She will look down upon the land, and everything will be green. Through her all things shall multiply. The fruits along the streams and everything put into the ground will grow, so that our people will have plenty to eat. This offering is to be made to the Moon." This offering was also placed on the south of the lodge, just east of that for the Sun. At its completion the priest and errand man re-entered the lodge, and were given the tenth sacrifice, which consisted of an unpainted wand to which were tied a bag of tobacco, beads, and a scalp. The chief priest said, "This last offering will now be made to the Buffalo Father who stays in the tipi with his wonderful spear, who dwells in the skull sitting there. The spirit of the buffalo skull shall whisper to the buffalo in the west so that they will start eastward toward our village, and we shall have plenty of buffalo.

796 The women and children shall have plenty to eat, and we shall all be happy." The priest who had made the last sacrifice then placed the wand by the buffalo skull. This completed the sacrifice portion of the ceremony.

When the sacrifices had all been made, the chief priest took up a pipe filled with tobacco and, holding it in his left hand, said, "Priests, chiefs, young men and old men, we have been singing of what the gods did when they first created all things. We are now about to sing about the only being who visits the earth and brings his power to us from the gods in heaven. This power is Paruxti's. It is a long time since we sang the songs about Paruxti, but we shall do the best
533 we can." He told the priests to take up their rattles,
539 and then all sang the last ritual of the ceremony. This
796 ritual was in three parts. The first part symbolized Paruxti's visit to earth; the second, his hunting of the buffalo; and the third, his return from the hunt. The first part was repeated seventy times; the second, thirty-four times; and the third, seventy-four times. At each repetition there was a change in a single word or phrase, the change being of a sort to indicate progression. The first part runs thus:—

> "Getting ready to come, yonder he sits down,
> The Wonderful Being, my dear father,
> Yonder." (Grunting in imitation of thunder.)

At the first repetition, the phrase "yonder he sits down," in the first line, was changed to "He is now sitting down;" at the second repetition, to "He is now seated;" at the third, to "He moves," and so forth. As the song went on, he was said to rise, to look around, to walk, to leave his lodge, to think of coming to the earth, to begin his journey, to travel over hills and bottom lands, to cross rivers, to reach the village, to walk through it, to cross the country, and finally to seat himself in his lodge once more.

The second part of the ritual was identical with 533
the first part, except that a new series of changes were 539
substituted for the phrase, "Yonder he sits down." 796
The third part was like the first and second parts, except that the first line of the first verse was changed to, "Now he is returning." In the succeeding verses, this was changed to indicate his passage over the country, his return to his lodge, his lighting of his pipe, and his offering of smoke to the heavenly gods.

When the whole of this long ritual had been sung, 796
the priests laid their rattles down gently, and all were silent for a time. Then the chief priest said, "We have sung about Paruxti with his power, who has touched the earth, the timber, and the streams of water. He has gone through our fields, and has walked through our villages, and has returned to his lodge in the heavens above. We will now offer the smoke, offering to the different gods in the ceremonies." A man then rose, and taking the sacred pipe used in the sacrifices, made an offering of smoke to the gods. The errand man then made a small fire of sweet grass in the lodge, to the southwest, kindling it with coals from the fireplace. Another man then took the objects from the sacred bundle one by one, and passed them through the fragrant smoke, returning them to their proper places. After this the participants in the ceremony came one at a time and bathed their bodies in the smoke, the chief priest coming last. When he had incensed himself, the chief priest left the lodge and stood in front of it, facing the east. The errand man thereupon extinguished the fire, and obliterated all traces of where it had been.

During the latter part of the ritual, women had 533
brought in kettles of corn and other food for the par- 796
ticipants. As soon as the chief priest knew that the fire of sweet grass had been extinguished, he sang a

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

533 ritual to inform the gods that these good people were
796 providing for those who had made offerings to them,
and were therefore entitled to their help. He sang,—

[539] "I come! Now we raise our voices for Mother-Corn.
Mother-Born-Again.
Mother-Corn-who-carries-them-through-obstacles.
It is our father who sits in the pathway to receive prayers.
Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.
Yonder the Wonderful Being dwells in the heavens.
Yonder their father dwells in the heavens, where the thunders are to be heard.
Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.
Yonder in the heavens stands Ready-to-Give.
Mother-Corn's kettles are filled with corn brought by a child.
Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.
Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.
It is through him that I walk around the circle of the village and call upon the gods to look down upon this boy.
I come!"

As he sang, he made the circuit of the village, repeating the song over and over, and finally returned
796 to the lodge where the ceremony had been held. He entered and sat down, and then said, "Let us, priests, chiefs, young and old men, know that this ceremony is now ended. It is now the time to tell stories and to
[264] eat." The corn, which had been brought in cooked, was dished out in a prescribed way, and the meat was cooked over the fire by one of the errand men. When it was done, it was divided among the priests, who ate a little, but saved the greater part to take away with them. Small portions of the corn, and of the meat and fat, were offered to the gods.

When all had eaten, the chief priest said, "Priests, we have now gone through the ceremony that was given to us by Paruxti. A young boy wished to see this ceremony. It is for that reason that you, priests, entered this lodge, and sit upright in a circle in the lodge, sitting in the places of the gods; that you sit upright, as they do, sitting close together. You sit in their places, and we offer stories and rituals that they

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

recited in the ancient times of the former priests, who long ago sat in the places where you now sit. Now, priests, the time is approaching, as we sit in this lodge, for us to move; but before we move, I rise to say that by all the offerings we have made while sitting in this lodge the gods have been made glad, the gods who stand in the heavens. The offerings were made to them, and they received those offerings. Well then, we shall see which one of these gods will send good gifts to the people, and because of this ceremony will take pity on us. It is time for us to hasten and rise. Priests, we must now hasten to rise......Now, priests, we are going to rise. We are going to walk toward the entrance belonging to Mother-Corn, Mother-of-the-Dawn, Mother-Sunset-Yellow. Now, priests, we rise! We walk toward the entrance, belonging to Mother-Corn. Rise! Priests!" 796

At the last word all rose simultaneously and passed out of the lodge, and the ceremony was completed.

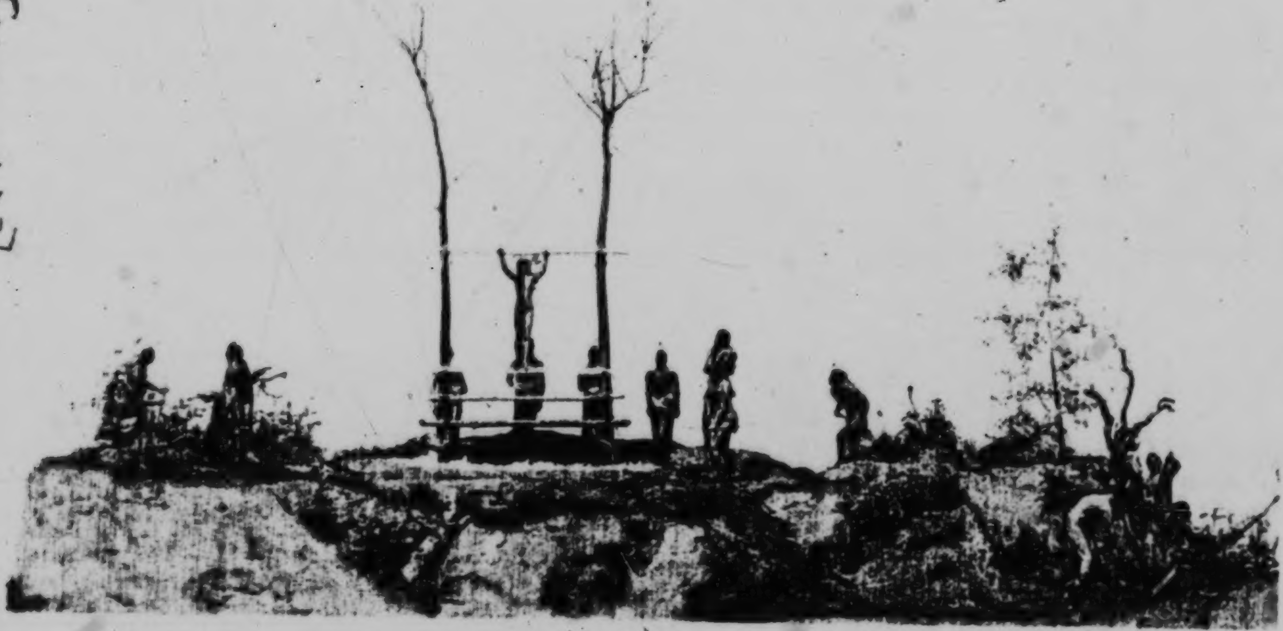
The description of this ceremony has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, formerly curator of the Department of Anthropology in this Museum.

RALPH LINTON

796

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[Facing p. 1 [a]]



MINIATURE GROUP SHOWING THE MORNING STAR SACRIFICE.

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 6

The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee

The religion of the Pawnee was, in some ways, 776
more highly developed than that of any of the other Plains tribes. At the head of their pantheon stood Tirawa, the creator of the universe, who seems to have been conceived of as a purely spiritual being. Below him there were a great number of gods of varying importance who were divided into two great classes, those of the earth and those of the heavens. The former were inferior in rank to the heavenly gods, and were the special guardians of individuals and secret societies. They were, for the most part, identified with animals. The latter were the guardians and helpers of the people as a whole and were, with a few exceptions, identified with stars. The most important of the heavenly gods were the Morning and Evening Stars, who represented respectively the male and female principle. The first being on earth was believed to have sprung from their union. A fuller account of Pawnee mythology will be found in Leaflet 5 "The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee."

The ceremonial side of Pawnee religion showed an 778
equally high development. The worship of the heaven- 796
ly gods centered around collections of sacred objects called by the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were others which were the property of the tribe as a whole. It was believed that each bundle had been given to the people in ancient times by one of the heavenly beings,

[p.1)

N.k.i
F451
v.6

778 and therefore constituted a link between the people
796 and its divine giver. In the ceremonies connected with these bundles two ideas were basic,—one the idea of a sacrifice or offering, and the other that of a repetition, either through dramatization or ritual, of the acts performed by the divine giver. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star combined both ideas to an unusual degree.

175 The Morning Star sacrifice was performed only
782 by the Skidi band of the Pawnee. There seems good
796 evidence that it was carried out somewhat unwillingly, and that the officiating priests always found it a sore trial. Its performance was considered a religious duty, and this ceremony must not be confused with the torturing of captives as practised by several of the eastern tribes. The opposition to the sacrifice within the tribe itself increased until in about 1818 a young man, named Petahlayshahrho, rescued the victim in dramatic fashion, untying her from the scaffold at the moment of sacrifice and riding away with her. When safe, he gave her a horse, and sent her back to her own people. He then returned and declared that human sacrifices must cease. As he was a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which according to the Pawnee system gave him the hereditary right to succeed his uncle, many strong men in the tribe supported his action.
[178] After this time, the ritual of the sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter, but no actual sacrifices are known to have taken place.

796 The actual time of the performance of the sacrifice is not fully known, but it seems to have been made in the late spring or summer of years when Mars was
[787] morning star. It was usually made as the result of
[821] a dream or vision in which the Morning Star appeared to some warrior and demanded it, but it might also be

made as a result of some sign in the star itself, as when 796
it appeared especially bright, or in years when there 787
was a comet in the sky. It might also be performed 821
without any direct intervention of the Morning Star,
if some warrior had captured a suitable victim.

In this ceremony there was, coupled with the idea 796
of sacrifice, an attempt to repeat the acts performed
by the Morning Star in ancient times. These acts are
recorded in a number of myths, not always consistent,
of which the following is a good example:—

LEGEND

A long time ago Tirawa made the stars and gave 539
them great power. He gave most of his power to the 773
Morning star, who had a younger brother, the Sun.
The Morning Star helped the Sun to have light. When Tirawa placed the stars in the heavens, they were just like human beings. In the east he placed those stars which were like men and gave the Morning Star and the Sun rule over them. In the west he placed those which were like women, with the Evening Star and the Moon as their rulers. Each had their village in the heavens, and the eastern stars knew that the western stars were women. After awhile some of the eastern stars sought the western stars in marriage. When the women stars saw a man star coming, they would tell the Moon, and she would go out to meet him. She would ask him why he came, and he would say, "I come to marry one of the women." She would answer, "That is what we want, come with me." They would walk together till they came in sight of the village. Then the Moon would stop and make a motion, and the ground would open so that the man star fell through and was killed. At last the Morning Star decided to go. He took with him his younger brother, the Sun, who carried upon his back a sacred bundle with a war club. As they traveled, the Morning Star went before

came to magic animals which attacked them, first 539
snakes, then water animals, then buffalo, and last 773
bears. Each of these in turn the Morning Star killed with his club. Then the Moon had no more powers left, and the Morning Star and the Sun entered the village of the women stars. The Morning Star married the Evening Star, and the Sun married the Moon. They took them back to their own village. After a time a child was born to each couple, and these children were placed on earth. They married, and from them sprang the human race.

The Moon put all these obstacles in the way of the Morning Star, because she did not want the people on earth, in after times, to live forever. All these obstacles were sicknesses and troubles which would be brought down upon the people. But the Morning Star and the Sun can give power to men to destroy these ills just as they themselves destroyed the obstacles.

It has already been said that the sacrifice was most 787
commonly made as a result of a dream or vision in 796
which the Morning Star demanded it. Immediately on waking in the morning, the man who had had the dream went outside his lodge and began crying and mourning, his cries gradually becoming a song. He [533]
sang:— [539]

"When he comes.
When he comes.
Father, I am seeking for you."

By this song he let the people know that he had seen the Morning Star in a vision.

It is said that the man who had had the vision 721
sometimes did not obey the Morning Star, but more 796
often he could neither sleep nor rest until he had captured a maiden for sacrifices. As soon as possible after the vision he went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received from him the warrior's cos-

721 796 tume and sacred objects kept in the bundle for such expeditions. Many warriors usually volunteered to go with him, for it was thought that the object of the expedition insured its success.

726 796 [782] [778] When the party had assembled, they set out for the country of the enemy, sending scouts constantly in advance. If they killed any game on the way, they offered part of it to the Morning Star to remind him that they were on his business. The leader carried the sacred objects from the Morning Star bundle on his back.

[533] [782] [821] When the scouts returned with word that they had found an enemy village, the party retired to some sheltered place and prepared for a ceremony. A circle was cleared, and a fireplace excavated as for a lodge. The leader then opened his pack and put on the sacred warrior's costume, and laid out the other objects to the west of the fireplace. A fire was kindled, and smoke offered to the heavenly gods. All then sang a song symbolizing the overcoming of the Evening Star by the Morning Star and how, from their union, a girl was born. In the course of this song the leader rose and circled the fireplace, acting in pantomime the journey of the Morning Star. At its conclusion he passed out of the circle, and standing facing the east addressed the Morning Star as follows: "I am praying to you as you directed, and we are seeking a sacrifice as you wished. I ask you to show yourself." In answer to this prayer the star was thought to shine with brighter light. The leader then addressed his party thus:—

"Warriors, young men, we are now sitting in a place dedicated to the Morning Star. We are about to sing the song that the Morning Star himself sang when he was in search of a woman, who put obstacles in his way. I want you all to dance with all your might and to be brave. Whoever shall be so lucky as to catch

the girl must call her Opirikuts as he touches her. 726
Others must move away and not touch her. The life 776
of anyone who touches her afterward will be in danger. Everyone must now dance toward the center. Let the fire be like the enemy."

All then sang a song symbolizing the obstacles [533]
overcome by the Morning Star, the refrain being, "This [539]
is the way I did when I became angry." A red-painted stick like those used in the Thunder Ceremony had meanwhile been prepared, and this was now offered to
the Morning Star by the leader with the words, "See, [782]
I offer you only this stick with tobacco. It is all I have. Help me to obtain a real sacrifice."

By the end of this ceremony it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise, and the leader went outside the circle to the east and addressed a long invocation to him. He then returned, and all put on their war paint
and ornaments. A fourth song was then sung in which [533]
four of the great heavenly spirits were called upon to [539]
give the warriors their powers. As they sang, the [535]
warriors danced around the fire, leaping upward and giving their war cries, while the leader ran about encouraging them to dance harder. At the end of the dance the leader made a last prayer to the Morning Star, and all set out for the village.

The war party surrounded the village quietly. The leader, who at this time was considered a personification of the Morning Star, took his post to the east, with his back to the village, while a second man took his place at the southeast, and was directed to howl like a wolf, as soon as the Morning Star rose. As soon as his call was heard, the leader turned toward the village, and the attack began from all sides. The first man to capture a young woman touched her and called out, "I pronounce you Opirikuts." As soon as this was done, the attackers drew off and started toward home.

727 The word Opirikuts was both a dedication and a
796 curse. As applied to the destined sacrifice, it was the
782 former, and protected her from any mistreatment. From the moment it was pronounced she was sacred to the Morning Star, and any one touching her would die as from an infection. She was turned over by her captor to the leader and the man who had howled like a wolf, who represented respectively the Morning Star and another star called Fools-the-Wolves. These men were responsible for her until the arrival of the party at the home village.

When the party had arrived at the Pawnee camp, the girl was given into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village. Several months sometimes intervened between the time of her capture and that of the sacrifice, and during this time she was well fed and made as happy and comfortable as possible. It was forbidden, however, to give her any new clothing, as the giver would thereby become Opirikuts also and die. She was fed with a bowl and spoon kept in the Morning Star bundle for the purpose, and no one else might use these. If a man deliberately broke one of these taboos and died, he was thought to have taken the girl's place as a sacrifice, and she was released and sent back to her own people. If she escaped, it was thought a sign that the Morning Star had rejected her, and she was not pursued.

796 When the proper season for the sacrifice had arrived, the chief of the Morning Star village had all the furniture removed from the interior of his lodge and sent two errand men to summon the participants in the ceremony. The priest of the village came, bringing his sacred bundle, and spread out its contents on the west of the lodge to form an altar. With him came his assistant, usually a relative, who would succeed to the office on his death. These men seated themselves be-

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

hind the altar. The girl, who was constantly attended 796
by a guardian, was brought in and seated on the south
side of the lodge. The chief of the village took his
place on the southwest, with the leader of the war
party on his left, while the man who had actually cap-
tured the girl sat on the northeast.

The priest built two little fires of sweet grass, one 727
to the east, and the other to the west of the fireplace. 782
The girl was taken to the eastern fire, undressed, and 796
her body bathed in the smoke. Her guardian then [302]
painted her whole body red and dressed her in a black
skirt and robe which were kept in the sacred bundle be-
tween sacrifices. The man who had captured the girl
then went to the altar, and was dressed by the priest
in another costume, also kept in the bundle. He was [302]
given black leggings and moccasins, his face and hair
were painted red, and a fan-shaped head-dress of
twelve eagle feathers was attached to his hair in such
a way that it stood out straight over the back of his
head at right angles to his body. This was the costume [776]
in which the Morning Star usually appeared in visions, [787]
and with its assumption the captor seems to have be-
come a personification of that deity.

After these ceremonies had been performed, the 796
captor left the lodge and passed through the village,
entering every lodge and warning those who were to
take part in the ceremony to come to the chief's lodge.
Each family gave him a little red and black paint and
certain other objects which were needed in the cere-
mony. When he had completed the circuit, he returned
to the chief's lodge, and errand men were sent out
to invite the chiefs and priests of all the villages to
come to the ceremony. The Pawnee village was a so-
cial as well as a geographical unit. Several villages [361]
might live together. Each of the priests and chiefs [621]
had his prescribed place in the circle, while the space

796 behind them was packed with spectators. So great was the eagerness of the people to see the ceremony that many of them tore holes in the roof and walls of the lodge, leaving it a complete wreck.

793
796 When all the invited guests had taken their places, the chief priest told the priests of the Four Direction bundles to go into the woods and bring back four thick [824] poles about twelve feet long. The priest of the northeast was to bring an elm; he of the northwest, a box elder; he of the southwest, a cottonwood; and he of the 796 southeast, a willow. When they had returned, the four poles were laid on the fireplace with their ends together so that they formed a cross whose arms pointed to the four directions. The poles had to be long enough to last for the entire four days of the ceremony, and as they burned, they were pushed in toward the center, the cross being always maintained.

The ceremonies which followed are not fully known, but they consisted of many songs and dances, with feasting, and continued for three days and nights. [786] During this time, and for the three days after the slaying of the sacrifice, the ordinary rules of conduct were set aside, and the priests announced to the people that if any man approached any woman during this period, she was to go with him willingly, that the tribe might increase.

727
782
796 Toward morning of each night, the representative of the northeast village danced around the fireplace, and taking the pole brought by the priest of that direction, pointed its glowing end toward the girl's body. This was repeated by the representative of the other directions in turn, but the girl's body was never touched with the brand. Indeed, the girl was treated with the greatest respect and consideration throughout the ceremony. She was told that the entire performance was given in her honor, and everything was done to lull

727
her suspicions and keep her in a pleasant frame of mind. 782 796

On the afternoon of the fourth day, the chief priest selected four men from the Four Band village to secure the materials for the scaffold. Under the direction of the leader of the war party which had captured the girl, they went to the nearest thick timber and searched until they found a hackberry tree near the center of the grove. At this tree they made an offering of smoke to the gods, and then went northeast from it to find an elm, northwest to find a box elder, southwest to find a cotton wood, and southeast to find a willow. These were to serve for the lower cross-bars of the scaffold. They then went east until they found an elm and a cottonwood large enough to be used as uprights. Finally, they went west and cut a willow to serve as the top cross-bar. +17 782 796 [824]

When the men had departed to search for the timber, the priests sang a song describing their actions. At its conclusion the chief priest sent the two chiefs of the Morning Star village, accompanied by a warrior, to select the site of the scaffold. This had to be some place near the village which had, to the east of it, a depression or ravine large enough to conceal several men. When the chiefs had made their choice, the warrior accompanying them gave his war-cry. An errand man had been stationed outside the lodge to listen for this, and as soon as he heard and reported it, the priest of the Skull bundle ran to the place, bearing the sacred bow and two arrows. The two chiefs had stationed themselves at the points where the uprights of the scaffold were to stand, and the priest shot an arrow into the ground in front of each of them, thus marking the place where the hole was to be dug. Between these arrows four priests then dug away the soil to a depth of about a foot, making a rectangular pit ap- [533]

417 proximately the size of the wrapper of a sacred bundle
782 when fully unfolded. The floor of the excavation was
796 then covered with white, downy feathers. This pit was called *kusaru*, and represented the garden which the Evening Star kept in the west, or, according to another account, the reproductive organs of the Evening Star. The white feathers with which it was lined symbolized the milk of women and animals and the juice of young corn. After the pit had been completed, the holes for the uprights of the scaffold were dug by two young girls.

While the digging was going on, the party sent after the timbers had returned. The two uprights of the scaffold were first erected, then each cross-bar was tied on by a warrior from the village of the direction which it represented. Before tying it, the warrior would recount some deed. One would say, "I made a sacrifice of meat and carried it to the priest on my back. After the ceremony was performed, the priest whispered to me, 'You, young man, have brought meat here by means of the pack string. You will have an opportunity before the summer is over to lasso a pony in the enemy's country. The gods now know you. Do not fear to go on the war path.' I went. We found a village, and others became afraid and ran. I went east by myself and found the enemy's horses. I went among them and found one with an eagle-wing fan tied to its tail. I captured it and rode home. Since then I have made many sacrifices." The top cross-bar was tied by two men each of whom had made a sacrifice, but these did not recount any adventures in war.

It is probable that the scaffold was also painted at this time, although the ceremonies connected with the painting are not remembered. The two uprights were painted red and black, the former symbolizing
[822] day, and the latter, night. The lowest cross-bar was

black, and symbolized the northeast; and its animal 417
guardian, the bear. The second was red, symboliz- 782
ing the southeast and the wolf. The third was yellow, 796
symbolizing the northwest and the mountain lion; and 822
the fourth white, symbolizing the southwest and the wildcat. The top cross-bar represented the west, and was painted blue or black and white, symbolizing clouds and rain.

By the time the scaffold was completed, it was 796
about sunset, and the people dispersed. All spectators 773
were sent out of the lodge, and the door was closed. The chief priest then drew upon the floor of the lodge four circles, one for each of the world quarters, and outlined them with white downy feathers. Each of these circles represented a region penetrated by the Morning Star in his search for the Evening Star and also the magic animal which he had overcome there. The white feathers symbolized the foam about their
mouths when they attacked him. When the circles had [533]
been made, the spectators were re-admitted, and the [535]
priests sang a song descriptive of the journey of the Morning Star, while the chief priest danced around the lodge with a war club, destroying the circles one by one. When the song was finished, he straightened up and said, "Chiefs, priests, warriors, old men, I have destroyed the regions once controlled by the mysterious woman who wanted darkness forever. These animals were under her control, when the Morning Star traveled in darkness looking for her. She placed an obstacle in the southeast, which was controlled by the wolf. The Morning Star destroyed this obstacle, but preserved the mysterious animal. He continued his journey, traveled to the southwest, and again met an obstacle which he destroyed, but preserved the animal, a wildcat. He continued his journey, and when he came to the northwest, he again met an obstacle. He des-

796 troyed it, but preserved the animal, a mountain lion.
773 He went on to the northeast, and again destroyed an obstacle, but preserved its guardian, the bear. In the center of the earth in darkness he found the woman, conquered her, touched her with his war club, and turned her into the earth. The Morning Star then called the mysterious animals to him and said, "You beings are now under my control. Stand in the places where I found you, and watch over the people who shall be placed upon the earth and guard them. All powers you have you shall keep. You shall exist as long as the earth lasts. You are now placed as upright posts so that you will always hold up the heavens. Priests, chiefs, warriors, old men, I have this night followed the journey of the Morning Star. We will not forget these beings which he placed in the four directions, for he promised that they should partake of all offerings which the people made to the heavens. Let us begin singing the songs given to us by Mother White Star in the west (the Evening Star)."

533 When the chief priest had finished his speech, all
796 began to sing the prescribed songs, resting and smoking
782 informally after each. Like most ceremonial songs, these were long, with many repetitions, and were often
[211] obscure in meaning. As each song was finished, a tally stick, taken from a bunch kept in the sacred bundle, was laid down. The idea underlying this part of the ritual seems to have been that the girl at first belonged to the people and to the world of human affairs, but that, as each song was sung, she became more removed from them until, when the last tally was laid down, she had been won from the people, like a prize in a game, and belonged to the gods.

The singing usually lasted until about two hours
717 before dawn. A priest then climbed on the roof of the
782 lodge and announced to the people that the girl was
796

about ~~to be pre~~pared for the sacrifice, and that it was 727
time for everyone to set out for the scaffold. The chief 782
priest undressed the girl, went through the motions of 796
washing her and combing her hair, and painted the [302]
right half of her body red and the left half black. Her [292]
skirt was then replaced, black moccasins were put on her feet, and a black robe fastened around her shoulders. Lastly a head-dress of twelve black-tipped eagle feathers, arranged like a fan, was fastened on her head.

When the girl had been dressed, all resumed their [533] seats and sang another song at the conclusion of which she was told to rise; and two men, chosen to lead her to the scaffold, came forward and placed thongs around her wrists. All then passed out of the lodge, with the girl in the lead and the priests following behind chanting.

The rate at which the procession moved toward the scaffold depended largely upon the disposition of the girl. Everything was done to conceal the truth from her, and force was not used unless absolutely necessary. If she mounted the scaffold of her own free [787] will, it was considered an especially auspicious omen. The procession was timed to reach the scaffold a few minutes before the Morning Star rose, so that the men who tied her to it could complete their work and leave her alone when the star appeared.

While the girl was being tied to the scaffold, the men chosen for the last rites had assembled in the ravine to the east of it, where they were concealed from her view. A small fire was kindled there, and they prepared their paraphernalia. At the moment the Morning Star appeared, two men came forward bearing firebrands. They were dressed as priests, and had owl skins hung from their necks, showing that they represented the messengers of the Morning Star.

727 782 796 They took their places on either side of the girl, and with their brands touched her lightly in the groin and armpit. They then returned to the ravine, and a third man ran out, carrying the bow from the Skull bundle and a sacred arrow made for the sacrifice. As he came, he gave his war cry, and the people called to him and encouraged him as though he was attacking an enemy. Coming close to the girl, he sent his arrow through her heart, and ran back to the ravine. This part was usually taken by the man who had captured her. A fourth man then came forward with the club from the Morning Star bundle and struck the girl on the head.

A fire had been kindled to the southeast of the scaffold, and as soon as the girl was dead, her guardian came forward with a flint knife, and her captor with the dried heart and tongue of a buffalo. The guardian mounted the scaffold and cut open the body, while the captor held the meat below and caught the blood. The guardian thrust his hand into the thoracic cavity and painted his face with the blood. Sometimes [266] he is said to have removed her liver and given it to the members of the Bear Medicine Society, who cut it into small pieces and ate it to acquire magical powers. The blood-soaked meat was burned on the fire near the scaffold as an offering to all the gods.

When these rites had been performed, the men among the spectators gave their war cries and crowded forward to shoot arrows into the body. It was thought desirable that as many arrows should be shot as there were males in the tribe, and boys too young to draw a bow were helped by their fathers or mothers. When each man had shot his arrow, the spectators dispersed and returned to the villages where feasting and dancing continued for three days.

782 796 The priests, the guardian, and those intimately

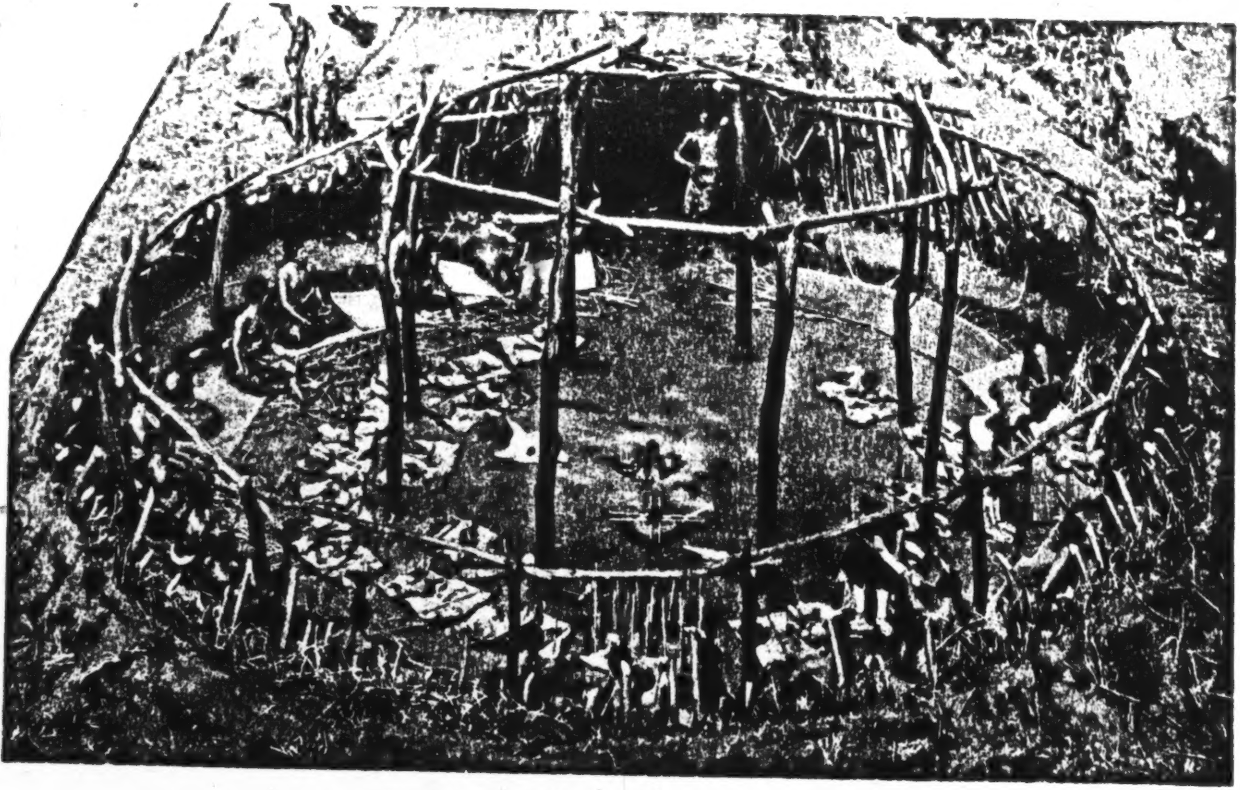
connected with the ceremony remained at the scaffold. 782
When the crowd had gone, the guardian removed the 796
arrows from the body one by one and handed them to
an assistant who divided them into four bundles and
laid these bundles northeast, northwest, southeast,
and southwest of the fireplace. The body was then
taken down and carried a short distance to the
east of the scaffold, where it was laid face down. The
sacred arrow was drawn from its heart and laid upon
it. All then returned to the village, and the place was [766]
avoided for some time.

It was believed that the soul of the girl left her 775
body at the moment she was struck with the club and 782
went straight to Tirawa, who sent it to the Morning
Star. The Morning Star clothed it with flint from his
fireplace in the dawn and placed it among the stars in
the heavens. Her body was thought to be not like ordinary
bodies. Even after her death it possessed life.
Things would be born from it, and the earth would be
fertilized by it.

The sacrifice as a whole must be considered as a 773
dramatization of the overcoming of the Evening Star 782
by the Morning Star and their subsequent connection, 796
from which sprang all life on earth. The girl upon
the scaffold seems to have been conceived of as a personification
or embodiment of the Evening Star surrounded
by her powers. When she was overcome, the
life of the earth was renewed, insuring universal fertility
and increase.

Human sacrifices were rare among the North 171
American Indians. The practice is known to have 782
existed among the Natchez, who lived in the present
state of Mississippi, and possibly in Arizona and New
Mexico. In Mexico, on the other hand, the idea was
highly developed, and under the Aztec rule large numbers
of victims were immolated every year. It may be

[Facing p. 1(41)]



PURIFICATION OF THE SACRED BUNDLES, PAWNEE.

MINIATURE GROUP IN CASE 50, HALL 5.

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[p. 1]

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1923

LEAFLET NUMBER 7

Purification of the Sacred Bundles, a Ceremony of the Pawnee

The religious beliefs of the Pawnee, which seem, in 796
some ways, to have been on a higher plane than those of the other Plains tribes, have been described in Leaflet 5 of this series, under the title "The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee." At the head of their pantheon stood Tirawa, a purely spiritual being, who was not identified with any animal, object, or natural phenomenon. Below him there were a great number of gods of lesser rank who were divided into two great classes,—the gods of the heavens and the gods of the earth. The former were, for the most part, identified with the stars, the Evening Star holding the highest place, with the Morning Star second. The former was an embodiment of all the female, the latter of all the male, attributes. The gods of the earth were, for the most part, identified with animals, and their rank was less rigidly fixed. Of the two groups the heavenly gods were the more important, and were considered the guardians of the people as a whole, while the earthly gods were more especially the guardians of individuals and secret societies.

The ceremonies held in honor of the heavenly gods 778
centered around collections of sacred objects called by the whites sacred bundles or medicine bundles. The Skidi Pawnee called them *chuhraraperu*, meaning

Nki)
F451

171 has concluded that the village bundles of the Pawnee
778 are more nearly comparable to the elaborate altars of the Southwestern Indians than to the medicine bundles of the northern Plains tribes and Central Algonkins.

778 It seems probable that there was originally a special
796 ceremony connected with each bundle. There were additional ceremonies, such as that held when the first thunder was heard in the spring, which might be performed with several bundles in turn, and there were a few rites in which all the bundles participated. The
[783] purification of the sacred bundles belonged to the last class.

778 The purification ceremony was held in the spring
783 and again in the autumn, before the tribe left their permanent villages for the buffalo hunt. It has already been said that the Four Direction village had four sacred bundles. These took the lead in successive years. When the chiefs had decided upon the date for departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the bundle which was leader in that year. He sent his errand man to summon the priests of the other three bundles. These came to his lodge, bringing their bundles with them. As they entered, they beat their bundles, then crossed to the west side of the lodge, and seated themselves with their bundles in front of them on the ground. The errand man was then sent to summon the keepers of all the other village bundles, directing them to bring their bundles and also mats, pillows, and food-bowls. When these arrived at the lodge, they took designated places around it, spreading their mats on the ground and hanging their bundles, unopened, on the wall behind them.

783 When all had arrived, one of the four priests went through the village announcing the beginning of the ceremony and calling on the people to bring gifts to
[782] Mother-Corn. These gifts consisted of a robe, moccasins, a hair cord, to be used as a girdle, and dried meat

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were of 796
two sorts, ceremonies which centered around the sacred 756
bundles and were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe, and ceremonies which were performed by societies whose members had some secret in common. In the ceremonies of the first class, the most important of which have been described in Leaflets 5-7, an appeal was made primarily to the great heavenly deities. In the ceremonies of the second class, the appeal was made to the less powerful, but more intimate earthly gods who were believed to have bestowed power upon the performers. Among the ceremonies of the second class, those of the medicine men were the most important.

In every Indian tribe there were a number of persons, 756
called medicine men by the whites, who were regarded as the possessors of supernatural powers which enabled them to recognize and cure disease. They were believed to have received their powers from some supernatural being either as a direct gift or as the result of instruction by some person who had received such powers. Although they frequently employed sleight of hand and other trickery to impress the uninitiated, many of them believed that they really possessed the powers attributed to them, and performed their ceremonies in good faith. In some cases they combined the functions of a shaman or priest with that of a healer, and thus exercised great influence over the people. In most of the populous tribes they were organized into guilds or societies.

Among the Pawnee, the medicine men ranked [554]
socially next to the chiefs and priests. They usually
wore a distinctive costume consisting of a buffalo robe [292]
with the hair out, a bear's-claw necklace, and a cap of beaver skin. They also wore charms or amulets con- 751
sisting of the tail and claws of the wild cat, badger, or 756
bear, bear's ears, miniature pipes, and downy feathers,

534 was in session, they would come in and ask the medicine
773 men to help them, and they would give them a place in
the lodge. In this way the society grew. People from
other bands also heard about it and came begging to
learn the mysteries. The medicine men taught them,
and they went back to their own people and started
other medicine lodges."

756 The ceremonies of the historic medicine lodge
796 agreed in a general way with those last described in
the legendary account of its origin, but there were
several features not mentioned in the story just given.
The preparations for the great fall ceremony were
begun while the people were still on the spring buffalo
hunt. At this time the leading medicine men selected
two members of the society to make two bows and four
arrows. When these were completed, they were given
to two other medicine men with instructions for one to
kill a bull and the other a cow. The animals had to be
killed with a single arrow, but it is said that because of
the magic powers of the arrows the hunters never
failed to do this. The bull's hide was to be used to cover
[532 the head of the water-monster image, the cow's hide
778] to cloth the figure of the witch woman. Two more
buffalo, also a bull and a cow, were then killed in the
same way, the hide of the former being saved to make
an image of the Morning Star, and that of the latter, to
make nine small images which represented the important heavenly gods. When the buffalo had been
[778] killed, the bows and arrows were returned to the leading medicine men who placed them among their sacred
objects.

On the return from the hunt, the four leading
medicine men went to the medicine lodge and ordered
[342 that it be cleared for the ceremony. The same lodge
346] seems to have been used for the ceremony year after
year, but was occupied as a dwelling between ceremonies.

monies. All the beds and other furniture were carried out by the women, and the floor swept. When this had been done, the medicine men seated themselves in front of the lodge altar and sent their errand men to notify the other members of the society. After these had arrived and taken their places, the leaders went to each of them in turn and directed them, in a whisper, to prepare for the ceremony by a four-day fast. Each man, when he received this notification, returned to his own lodge, took his medicine bag, and left the village to spend that time in solitary fasting and prayer. At the expiration of the fast they bathed in the river and returned to the medicine lodge, where each took his appointed place. 756 796 [785]

The following morning, all the members of the society went to the river bottom to cut willows and cotton woods for the small booths which were to be built inside the large lodge. When they reached the timber, one of the two leading medicine men prayed and offered smoke to the heavenly gods, while the other, after he had finished, paid the same honors to the earthly gods. When this had been done, the timbers were cut and carried back to the main lodge, and the booths built.

The next morning the image of the water monster was made, the leaders assigning to different men the task of getting the things needed and making the different parts. This image was nearly sixty feet in length and encircled the lodge, with its head and tail on either side of the entrance. The framework was made of pieces of ashwood lashed together with sinew. Over these a layer of grass was laid, and the whole covered with mud which was smoothed and painted in different colors. The mouth of the figure was so large that a man could crawl into it, and was provided with pointed teeth, also of ashwood. On each side of the mouth, long, slender willow-rods were stuck to represent 756 778 796 532

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756 778 796 532 feelers. The head was covered with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with downy feathers. The image of the turtle, in the center of which was the fire place, and that of the witch woman, were made the next day. The woman's image consisted of a willow frame covered with grass and surfaced with clay. The features were modeled, and the eyes were made with pumpkin seeds blackened in the center. A buffalo scalp was placed on the head, and to this were attached long braids of human hair which hung down to the knees. The figure was dressed in a buffalo robe.

756 796 When the images had been made, a ceremony was held by which each of the medicine men received power from either the monster or the witch woman. Some chose one, and some the other. On the day following, they went to cut the cedar tree which was to be placed just inside the entrance. When they found a suitable tree, they formed a circle around it, prayed to it, made presents to it of robes and other things, and finally took power from it. When this had been done, they cut it down. As it fell, they began to hypnotize each other and work sleight of hand. They then picked it up and carried it back to the village singing. As they neared the village, a second party of medicine men came out to meet them, and began to hypnotize them and try to drive them back. The party with the tree were more powerful, and gradually drove the others back to the edge of the village. There the tree was laid down, and all the people came and threw offerings on it. These offerings were gathered up, and were finally given to the medicine men. The tree was then taken to the lodge and set up, and its branches were covered with white [532] [778] downy feathers. That night they made the images of the Morning Star and the heavenly gods. These were flat pieces of hide, cut in the outline of a man. The image of the Morning Star was fastened to a long pole

and raised above the smoke-hole just before the star rose. The other images were fastened to the tops of the main posts or on a cord running across the upper part of the lodge.

[532]
[778]
756
796

It is uncertain at what stage in the ceremony the altar of loon skins was set up, but it seems to have been after the various images had been made. The sticks bearing the skins were thrust in the ground on the west side of the lodge, and the space between them sprinkled with water and then covered with downy feathers. When this had been done, the leader of the medicine men raised his face to the sky and cried, "Father, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, now stand on the altar. Give us plenty of rain this summer." Then dropping his voice to a whisper and bowing down to the ground, he said, "Mother Earth, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, are now upon you. Let our crops grow so that we may be fed." When he had done this, he went outside the lodge and called upon all the gods to give power to the loons so that they, in turn, could give power to the people.

At dawn of the day following that on which the last of the images had been made and set up, the various medicine men dressed themselves to represent their guardian animals and marched, in order of the importance of their guardians, around the outside of the lodge and then around the inside. They did this four times, dancing and imitating the cries and actions of their guardians. They then held a feast in the lodge. That night they once more marched out in procession and visited all the lodges which contained sacred bundles, dancing in each. When they had returned to the medicine lodge, the leaders selected certain medicine men to go through the village once more, visit every lodge, and report if any one was sick. When

756 796 the report had been made, other men were sent to cure them.

The next morning, a number of women were summoned to the medicine lodge and told to go into the timber and get loads of wood. When they returned with their burdens, they were brought into the lodge, fed, and instructed in some of the mysteries. Then they returned to their homes. In the afternoon the medicine men once more dressed to imitate their guardians and came out of the lodge, dancing and performing various sleight of hand tricks. [789] The favorite trick seems to have been to thrust long rods down their throats. They repeated the outside performance four times. That evening they built a great fire inside the lodge and invited all the people to an exhibition of sleight of hand. These performances were repeated every night for a month or more, and it was during this time that new medicine men were initiated.

756 When a man desired to join the medicine lodge, he told his relatives and friends, and they helped him to gather property of all sorts. When he had enough, he went to the lodge, taking the gifts with him, and approached the man from whom he wanted to learn the mysteries. He passed his hands over the man's head and arms and said, "Medicine man, I am poor. I stand before you a poor man wanting to learn the mysteries you possess. Look upon these gifts which I have brought you." When he had done this, he presented the medicine man with a filled pipe. If the latter was willing to teach him, he accepted the pipe and took the young man into his booth with him.

756 796 At the conclusion of the ceremonies, the booths and images were removed from the lodge, carried down into the bed of the river and placed in the shallow water in the same relative positions they had

occupied in the lodge. As the procession went down to the river, the medicine men mesmerized one another, and performed sleight of hand. It was customary, before the witch woman's image was placed in the water, for some woman among the bystanders to remove all her clothing and ornaments and place them upon it. When this ceremony was finished, they returned to the medicine lodge, offered smoke to the animal gods, and sprinkled the floor of the lodge with water to cleanse it and free it from the powers that had been summoned there during the ceremony. After the lodge had been purified in this way, the medicine men held a feast and returned to their homes. The two medicine men to whom the altar belonged remained behind to take it down and roll the various objects up in the bundle in which they were kept between ceremonies. This completed the ceremony, and the owners of the lodge were free to live in it as before. 756 796

In addition to the serious performers in the medicine men's ceremonies there were certain men, called *kitscoa*, who acted as clowns. They wore masks made from corn husks, rawhide, wood, and feathers, dressed grotesquely, and daubed their bodies with mud. It seems to have been their duty to perform strange antics during the ceremonies to amuse the people, and particularly to imitate in a mocking spirit the serious acts of the others. They were said to represent hairy dwarfs or supernatural beings who had mysterious ways and of whom the people were afraid. Similar clowns play an important part in the ceremonies of some of the Pueblo tribes. 522 796 [171]

The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight of hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers at- 756 796

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756 tributed to them. The ceremonies also possessed certain
● 796 social functions, for the spectators included women and children as well as men.

000 This account has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey.

RALPH LINTON

A SUMMER HUNT

NOTES ON THE PAWNEES

224 796 [221] IT WAS in the month of July, 1872. The Pawnees were preparing to start on their semi-annual buffalo hunt, and only the last religious rites remained to be performed before the nation should leave the village for the buffalo range.

"*Eh, idadi, whoop,*" came from without the lodge; and as I replied, "*Ehya, whoop,*" the sturdy figure of *Le-ta-kats-ta'-ka* appeared in the doorway.

"*Lau, idad, tūt-tū-ta-rik ti-rah-rēk*—Come, brother, they are going to dance," he said, and then he turned and went out.

I rose from the pile of robes on which I had been dozing, and, after rolling them up, strolled out after him. The village seemed deserted, but off toward the medicine lodge, which stood upon its outskirts, I could see a throng of Indians; and a low murmur of voices and of footsteps, the hum which always accompanies any large assemblage, was borne to my ears on the evening breeze. The cere-

[PP. 1-11 NOT PROCESSED]

monies, which comprised the consecration of the buffalo staves and 224
the buffalo dance, were about to begin. The great dirt lodge was 796
crowded. I pushed my way through the throng of women and boys,
who made up the outer circle of spectators, and soon found myself
among the men, who made way for me, until I reached a position
from which I could see all that was going on within the circle about
which they stood.

For several days the priests and the doctors had been preparing for
this solemn religious ceremonial. They had fasted long; earnest
prayers had been made to *Ti-ra'-wa*, and sacrifices had been offered. [782
Now the twelve buffalo skulls had been arranged on the ground in a 785]
half-circle, and near them stood the chiefs and doctors, reverently holding in their hands the buffalo staves and sacred bows and arrows, and other implements of the chase. For a little while they stood silent, with bowed heads, but presently one and then another began to murmur their petitions to *A-ti-us Ti-ra'-wa*, the Spirit Father. At first their voices were low and mumbling, but gradually they became more earnest and lifted their eyes toward heaven. It was impossible to distinguish what each one said, but now and then disjointed sentences reached me. "Father, you are the Ruler—We are poor—Take pity on us—Send us plenty of buffalo, plenty of fat cows—Father, we are your children—help the people—send us plenty of meat so that we may be strong, and our bodies may increase and our flesh grow hard —Father, you see us, listen." As they prayed they moved their hands backward and forward over the implements which they held, and at length reverently deposited them on the ground within the line of buffalo skulls, and then stepped back, still continuing their prayers.

It was a touching sight to witness these men calling upon their God for help. All of them had passed middle life, and some were gray-haired, blind and tottering; but they prayed with a fervor and earnestness that compelled respect. They threw their souls into their prayers, and as a son might entreat his earthly father for some great gift, so they plead with *Ti-ra'-wa*. Their bodies quivered with emotion, and great drops of sweat stood upon their brows. They were thoroughly sincere.

After the last of the articles had been placed upon the ground, their voices grew lower and at length died away. A moment later a

224 drum sounded, and a dozen or twenty young warriors sprang into the
796 circle and began the buffalo dance. This was kept up without intermission for three days, and as soon as it was over, the tribe moved out of the village on the hunt.

224 From the village on the Loup, we traveled southward; for in those days the region between the Platte and the Smoky rivers swarmed with buffalo. With the Pawnees were a few Poncas, Omahas and Otoes, so that there were about four thousand Indians in the camp.
[221] It was the summer hunt of the tribe. Twice each year the agent permitted them to visit the buffalo range. The meat which they killed
[251 and dried on these hunts, the corn and squashes which they grew
511] on their farms, and the small annuities received from the Government, were all they had to subsist on from season to season. Thus the occasion was one of importance to the Indians. Perhaps only the older heads among them fully appreciated its economic interest; but for all it was a holiday time; a temporary escape from confinement.
[512 Life on the reservation was monotonous. There was nothing to do
521] except to sit in the sun and smoke, and tell stories of the former glories of the nation; of successful fights with the Sioux and Cheyennes, and of horse stealing expeditions, from which the heroes had returned with great herds of ponies and much glory. Now, for a little while, they returned to the old free life of earlier years, when the land had been all their own, and they had wandered at will over the broad expanse of the rolling prairie. Now, for a time, it was as it had been before the cornfields of the white man had begun to dot their river bottoms, before the sound of his rifle had made wild their game, before the locomotive's whistle had shrieked through the still, hot summer air. Half a year's provision was now to be secured. The comfort—almost the existence—of the tribe for the next six months depended on the accumulation of an abundant supply of dried buffalo meat, and no precaution was omitted to make the hunt successful. It would not do to permit each individual to hunt independently. Indiscriminate buffalo running by six or eight hundred men scattered over the prairie, each one working for himself alone, would result in the killing of some few buffalo, but would terrify and drive away all the others in the neighborhood. This matter was too important to be trusted to chance. The hunting was systematized.

782 Prayers are made to them; sometimes for direct help in time of need,
776 but more often for intercession. Often in the folk-tales it will be seen that when the blessing asked for is some small thing, a prayer is made to the animals (*Na-hu'rac*), but if the petitioners are asking for some great thing, something which is very difficult to grant, then the prayer is made to "One Above," to "The Ruler," that is, to the Supreme Being.

782 Nothing of importance was ever undertaken without a prayer for
776 help, for success. All the serious undertakings of the year, whose
786 success would affect the general welfare, were preceded by religious ceremonies, when all the tribe took part, and prayers were made and sacrifices offered to *Ti-ra'-wa;* and in all lesser enterprises, the individuals who were interested humbled themselves and implored the Divine assistance. A party starting off on the warpath prayed for success and made a burnt offering. Prayer and sacrifice always marked the beginning of the feast, and often its end. Success in their undertakings was acknowledged by grateful offerings to the Ruler. The victorious warrior sometimes sacrificed the scalp torn from the head of his enemy, and this was burned with elaborate ceremonies by the High Priest. He who brought back from a foray many horses, gave one to the priest as a thank-offering to the Ruler. One of the well-known Seven Brothers said to me, "It is our aim, after we have been helped, to give thanks."

The feeling of these Indians toward their God is one of humility and reverence. They do not love him, but they look to him for help at all times. The young are exhorted to humble themselves before him, to pray to him, to look to One Above, to ask help from the Ruler. In the stories which are included in this book the allusions constantly made to *Ti-ra'-wa*—the Supreme Power—the prayers offered and the humility and self-abnegation so often expressed, show faith, profound religious feelings, and great elevation of thought.

114 Among tribal names of North American Indians, none is more familiar to us than Pawnee; yet of no tribe is less known. Frequent allusions to them occur in the writings of early travelers in the West; but only one satisfactory attempt has been made to write a connected history of this family. In the *Magazine of American History* for

14: Weltfish

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796

[For general information on ceremonies associated with agriculture, see category 241; for specific information on ceremonies related to the growing of corn, see category 243.]

Preface

The bands were still
somewhat socially [illegible] the mainstay of the diet was largely the tra- 621
ditional corn, beans, [illegible]ash grown on their own farm plots and dried 262
and stored as of old. Beef had taken the place of buffalo meat and was 252
prepared by thin slicing and drying for storage or boiled on feast days. 241
Relationships in kin groups continued, and some of the religious ideology 771
survived. A Doctor Dance Ceremony was performed by the last survivors 796
who possessed the arts and the knowledge involved and brought us some 178
welcome rain after a long dry spell. The question was, "How to give these 114
fragments life and place them in their integral context?" We evolved the
plan of utilizing one year of Pawnee life in as much detail as possible, covering the round of the year through the four seasons as reconstructed with the help of the surviving Pawnees. Our plan proved to be an effective means of developing vivid recall in Evarts and the other old Pawnees. For a number of reasons we would think of our year hypothetically as 1867; in that year the Pawnee settlement and round of life was sufficiently integral to serve as a base line for our reconstruction. Some of the other surviving Pawnees were in their late teens and twenties in that year. Evarts supplied a normal thread of events in answer to my prodding questions for the details that seemed to a Pawnee all too obvious and we supplemented and checked this with whomever we thought had relevant knowledge concerning one point or another. Most of the old people had worked with me on linguistics before that time.

It was not possible to reproduce the material in the exact order in which 128
I collected it. I have had to reassort the material somewhat so that it falls into some of our own functional categories and at the same time so that it fits within the seasonal round of the year. Under the pressure of time when my notes were recorded I rendered the Pawnee or Pawnee-English in which it was given into the closest normal English equivalent I could muster. Also, this book was compiled a quarter of a century or more after it was recorded. I have avoided altering the original simple declarative language too radically. In some cases I have retained the original language with very little variation, particularly where it is an incident that had often been recounted among the Pawnees, a very familiar situation, a technical account, a speech, a personality sketch. Such passages are indented from the left margin.

In addition to the informant record, I have checked my account in de- 127
tail with most of the existing material on the Pawnees and in some cases supplemented it from these sources. This is detailed in the Notes and Comments with references correlated with my text. Recently excavated archaeological materials together with eyewitness accounts by contemporary observers of the 1830's and 1840's have overwhelmingly vindicated the accuracy of my Pawnee informants. The most substantial help in this recent phase of the work has been given me by Prof. John L. Champe, author of an important stratigraphic treatment of Nebraska archaeology, *Ash Hol-*

ized were concentrated along the banks of Beaver Creek, a northern 101
tributary of the Loup River near the present town of Genoa, Nebraska.
They had moved to this place in 1859 as a result of their treaty
with the United States Government. Each of the bands had its separate
location, the Skidi villages in the westernmost position and the three
South Bands ranged along the stream to the east about half a mile away.
From west to east they were: Kitkehaxki (Little-Earth-Lodge), Tsawi
(Asking-for-Meat), and Pitahawirata (Man-Going-Downstream, or East).
Each of the bands is said to have comprised a number of villages;
for the three South Bands this cannot be documented. From 1700 on,
when our historical records are clear, the Skidi were the largest of the
four bands and were composed of a number of distinct villages, estimated
between twelve and nineteen. In 1867 the Skidi had four distinct villages, 361
Tuwahukasa (Village-across-a-Ridge), Tuhitspiat (Village-in-the-Bottomlands),
Tskirirara (Wolf-in-Water), and Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine). [103]
The villages were made up of ten to twelve earth lodges, each a high
spacious dome-shaped building housing thirty to fifty people. Besides
containing thirty to fifty people under one roof, the personnel was likely
to change from season to season after each migration to the buffalo hunting
grounds. The basic Pawnee household was as different from ours as 592
it is possible for a human arrangement to be. And yet it gave personal
satisfaction to its members and within itself produced the whole material
and social base for an ongoing community. In fact, this is what we
wish our family life would do. Sibling rivalries, partial or total rejection
of child by parent or smothering attention, demands on the child for the
unfulfilled ambitions of the parents, or overprotection because of resented
parental hardships, heavy-handed control of parent over child in a
severely restricted social environment—these are ills that are intimately
linked with the very physical arrangements of our present family living.
There are things about Pawnee life that suggest that an enlarged home
environment for our children would improve our lives—a matter to be
considered in the concluding chapter.

Even more startling to me than the contrast in home life was the question 626
of political control among the Pawnees. They were a well-disciplined
people, maintaining public order under many trying circumstances. 182
And yet they had none of the power mechanisms that we consider essential
to a well-ordered life. No orders were ever issued. No assignments for
work were ever made nor were over-all plans discussed. There was no
code of rules of conduct nor punishment for infraction. There were no
commandments nor moralizing proverbs. The only instigator of action 796
was the consenting person. In religion, the regular round of ceremonies 182
that followed the seasons was in charge of a priesthood, but no one of
these ceremonies was ever instigated by them. Only when a single 626
person had the call through visions and invited the priesthood to discuss

796 it with him, pledging his support in food and goods, would the ceremony ever be performed. In all his work, both public and private, the Pawnee 182 moved on a totally voluntary basis. Whatever social forms existed were 626 carried within the consciousness of the people, not by others who were in a position to make demands. As I talked to the old men and women I realized that this is what we wish for but do not have. As they described the coordination of their households, I repeatedly asked when they got together and laid the plan they were apparently carrying through and in what exact terms they discussed it. The answer was always, "They didn't discuss it at all. They don't talk about it. It goes along just as it happens to work out."

626 For example, sentinels were always needed to man the outposts and keep watch for the enemy who might be lurking nearby ready to attack 701 the villages, or in the process of sneaking up on them. Sentinels were neither assigned nor called for by anyone. A number of young men who were friends would be talking together and one would mention that this was about the time the enemy would be attacking. Then one of them would remark, "I think I'll go up to the sentry post early tomorrow morning." Another would say, "I think I'll do that too." Then several others would chime in and word would get around, and other young men would also turn up long before dawn at the different sentry posts. The 592 household coordinated itself in precisely the same way. A remark by one 626 person brought a complementary remark from another, and the plans seemed to shape themselves.

626 Time after time I tried to find a case of orders given, and there was none. Gradually I began to realize that democracy is a very personal thing which, like charity, begins at home. Basically it means not being coerced and having no need to coerce anyone else. The Pawnee learned this way of living in the earliest beginnings of his life. In the detailed events of everyday living as a child, he began his development as a disciplined and free man or as a woman who felt her dignity and her independence to be inviolate. I was often confronted with the feeling that they expected of me a kind of independence and decisiveness that was not considered becoming to a woman in our society. Men and women expected the same clear and well-defined reaction from me, and among themselves it was evident that it was their accustomed mode of interacting.

622 The Pawnees had chiefs, but these were the focus of consensus, not the wielders of power. There was no over-all chief of all the Pawnees. 619 The two major political groupings among the Pawnees were the Skidi and the South Bands, distinguished by a slight difference in the pronunciation of the Pawnee language. The main subdivisions within these groupings were villages and households. The village numbered from three 621 hundred to five hundred people in ten to fifteen households. The real

221 were ranged along the bank of Beaver Creek. During the summer and again in winter, the whole tribe left their villages behind and set out on a long expedition to the southwestern part of the state where large herds of buffalo followed their accustomed paths of migration. Several thousand men, women, and children with their horses and dogs were lined up for miles as they followed the river courses on their journey south and west, carrying tents, utensils, and other paraphernalia and a quantity of dried vegetables for their food. They killed some thousands of buffalo on each of these expeditions, drying the meat and packaging it to take home to their villages. While they were in the villages, they manufactured everything they needed both for household life and for their life on the march.

796 But the thing that made life most worthwhile to the Pawnees was their
elaborate round of ceremonies. This was based on a complex philosophy
of the creation of the universe and of man and of their ongoing nature.
The ceremonies were considered as the means for keeping the cosmic
order in its course and the continuance of the earth and its life processes.
796 No ceremony could be conducted without a feast of boiled buffalo meat,
and a large part of the meat that was gotten on the tribal buffalo hunts
262 was used for this purpose. Rehearsals for the ceremonies, the preparation
of costumes and ceremonial objects, and the performance of the ceremonies themselves occupied a large part of the time, attention, and skill of the men, and from the household itself the women contributed not only the dried meat that they had prepared, but also boiled corn, corn bread, and other vegetable dishes for entertaining during rehearsals and for the feasts.

796 The ceremonies were more than religious observances. They were the whole focus of Pawnee aesthetic life, particularly in the performing arts. The pageantry and the costuming, the dances and the miming were developed for beauty as well as for religious significance. They were opera and ballet, and the songs were appreciated for their technical and aesthetic value and were sung on many occasions throughout the year just for the pleasure of singing or hearing them. Laughter and enjoyment as well as religious fervor were common experiences of the spectators during the performances, and the performers tried to get a good audience and to please them.

172 The same Plains region that brought terrible hardships to our settlers,
provided a rich life for the Pawnees. Their way of life on the Plains goes
back to a very old tradition. Archaeologically we have reason to believe
175 they were in the same area from about A.D. 1250. They appear in written
history in 1540 when Coronado and his Spaniards were trying to expand
their territory northward from the Southwest. Marquette, exploring the
Mississippi for the French in 1672, carried the calumet down the river as
a pipe of peace, a custom attested by other tribes to have been originated

7

THE SPRING AWAKENING

000

Creation Ceremony—Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—Ceremony of Sacred Corn Seeds—Ground-breaking Ceremony—Pawnee Ceremonial Acts Discussed—Planting Cycle Ceremonies Discussed—Significance with Seasonal Progression Noted

THE PAWNEES HAD MANY TASKS to accomplish in the early spring before 796 the time of planting. Some of them were practical and some ceremonial, but to the Pawnees who believed that nothing on earth could move without the heavens, no practical task could be undertaken unless the appropriate ceremony had preceded it.

The first ceremonial act of the year was to awaken the whole earth from its winter sleep. After their long and arduous travels over the plains on their winter buffalo hunt, the Pawnees returned to their villages at the end of February or the beginning of March. The year began about the time of the spring equinox with the ritual recitation of the creation by the five priests, repeated for each of the twelve sacred bundles of the original villages that formed the Skidi federation. The position of [821] the stars was an important guide to the time when this ceremony should be held. The earth lodge served as an astronomical observatory and as [349] the priests sat inside at the west, they could observe the stars in certain positions through the smokehole and through the long east-oriented entranceway. They also kept careful watch of the horizon right after sunset and just before dawn to note the order and position of the stars.

The round of spring renewal ceremonies was heralded by the appearance of two small twinkling stars known as the Swimming Ducks in 796 821 the northeastern horizon near the Milky Way. They notified the animals [221] that they must awaken from their winter sleep, break through the ice, and come out into the world again. At this time the Pleiades began to

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

• 796 take a certain position. When these signs were seen, then they must listen
821 for the thunder that is low, deep, and rumbling, starting in the west and rolling around the entire circuit of the heavens. Sheet lightning gave warning that this kind of thunder would soon appear. This thunder was the voice of Heaven, and when it came from the south they knew that it was the signal for the creation ritual to be performed.

796 The ritual was part of the sacred lore of the Evening Star bundle
which at this time was kept in the earth lodge of Old Lady Lucky
778 Leader. As soon as the thunder was heard, the five official priests gath-
821 ered there and began their preparations for the ritual. The same ritual
221 would be repeated for each of the twelve major sacred bundles, the Evening Star which they were about to perform, then Morning Star bundle, then Big Black Meteoric Star and nine others. At intervals all during the month of March the priests went in succession to the different households where each of the bundles was kept, performing the ritual to renew their powers. The order for the first three performances was as given above; the other nine, simply as each of the households happened to be ready to pause in its work and to provide the necessary food for the priests.

796 Now the five priests were sitting at the west in the lodge of Old Lady
793 Lucky Leader, the Evening Star bundle lying open before them. The
sacred objects were spread out on the skin of a tawny yellow calf rep-
[778] resenting the herds of buffalo. Two sacred ears of corn represented their staple food, two owlskins the watchfulness of the chiefs, hawkskins the ferocity of the warriors, flint for fire and sweet grass for incense; paints symbolized the powers of the different directions of the universe. Each of the priests held a gourd rattle in his right hand, and they sang together of the first creation. Their responsibility lay heavy upon them, for they and they alone must bring the world back to life again. Would they now be able to bring back the abundance of summer—the green grass, the trees, the animals reborn, the waters flowing free, the warmth of a summer day? Loud and insistently they recounted each minute step of the creation and in the trancelike depths of their thinking, the events rolled by before them.

773 In the beginning Heaven sat in the unassorted universe and thought. He sent his thoughts out over space. Then he created the celestial gods to bring his thoughts to fruition. First he made the gods of the cardinal directions—the Evening Star at the west with the moon as her helper, the Morning Star at the east with the sun as his helper, in the north the North Star and in the south, Canopus, the South Star. Then Heaven placed four stars in the semicardinal directions—Black Star in the northeast, Yellow Star in the northwest, White Star in the southwest and Red Star in the southeast. Heaven said to them, "You four shall be known as the ones who uphold the heavens. There you shall stand as long as the

visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her 773
four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it [829]
is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled recounting, [628]
in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the [631]
past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In
Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and ongoing
life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the 796
year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first ceremony
being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, 619
a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a ceremony 631
under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. [778]
(See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual 796
during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved 782
[793]
[221]
[727]

• 796
782
[793]
[221]
[727]
[178]

the sacrifice to the Morning Star of a young girl that had been captured from the enemy. This was compensation to the Morning Star god for his struggle during the creation. The last girl to be sacrificed to the Morning Star was a young Sioux girl named Haxti in 1838, after which the practice was abandoned. This ceremony symbolized fertility in general.

796
221
778

TABLE 7-1. *Chart of Sacred Bundle Ceremonies in the Spring and Fall*

The several ceremonies of the spring planting and fall harvest form a parallel series, the six ceremonies in each showing a recurrent alternation of the powers of the Evening Star and the four semicardinal-direction bundles. The first four pertain to planting, fertility, and war, the latter two to buffalo hunting and migration.

	Spring		*Fall*
I.	Spring Renewal—ceremony of the creation at the first thunder from the south; Evening Star sponsorship.	I.	Green Corn Ceremony. Evening Star sponsorship.
II.	Distributing sacred seed corn of the special breed of corn included in the sacred bundles. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the summer-direction bundles —southwest or southeast.	II.	Harvest of Mature Corn. Mature corn from sacred seeds installed in the sacred bundles, replacing the sacred ears of last year's planting. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the winter-direction bundles—northwest or northeast.
III.	Ground-breaking ceremony, *Awari*, movement, activity. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an affiliate of the Evening Star in charge of the ritual as sponsor.	III.	Four-Pole Ceremony—symbolizing political federation and control of the country through war expeditions so that they could go out into the country on the hunt. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an Evening Star affiliate in charge of the ritual as sponsor.
IV.	Birth and growth of Young Mother Corn through adolescence to young womanhood; known as *Kurahus*, "Priest." Semicardinal-direction bundle in charge of ritual as sponsor.		

BUFFALO HUNTING AND MIGRATION

796
221
778

Spring	*Fall*
V. Ritual Chiefs' Meeting. Chiefs personify Heaven and acknowledge their sole responsibility to lead the people to a successful conclusion of the buffalo hunt. Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person in charge of the ritual.	V. Ritual Chiefs' Meeting. Chiefs acknowledge their sole responsibility to lead the people to a successful conclusion of the buffalo hunt. North Star bundle in charge of the ritual.
VI. Great Cleansing Ceremony of the ceremonial objects. Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast bundle of the four Semicardinal-direction set, in charge. Tribe leaves the village to go off on the migration and summer buffalo hunt.	VI. Great Cleansing Ceremony of the ceremonial objects. Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast bundle of the four Semicardinal-direction set, in charge. Tribe leaves the village to go off on the migration and winter buffalo hunt.

The next ceremony concerned the corn itself. The sacred corn included in all the bundles was of a specially cultivated breed that was ordinarily not eaten. At this ceremony these seeds were distributed to each of the sacred bundle owners so that the sacred ears of corn could be grown for their bundles. The two "north" bundles of the semicardinal directions took charge of this ceremony in alternate years, one year the northeast, the next the northwest, etc. This ceremony was held late in April.

796
221
241
778

During the first week in May the ceremony that immediately preceded the planting of the common varieties of food corn was performed. Until it was carried out, no planting could be done. It was under the sponsorship of the Skull bundle, thus maintaining the principle of alternation of sacred responsibilities, since it was an Evening Star affiliate. The outstanding feature of the ceremony was a pantomime of breaking the ground preparatory to planting. The ground was customarily broken with a hoe made of a buffalo shoulder blade tied to a short wooden stick that served as a handle. During the ceremony, the women went through the motions of breaking the ground with sacred hoes that were kept in the four semicardinal-direction bundles and borrowed for the occasion. The action was very vigorous and the ceremony was appropriately called *Awari*, "Motion." The planting was done the very next day after the ceremony.

The final ceremony of the spring planting cycle was called *Kurahus*,

• 796 "Priest"; it was performed when the sacred corn plants were about two
221 inches high and had four good leaves. This ceremony was in charge of
241 one of the two "south" bundles of the semicardinal directions—in alternate years, the southwest and the southeast. The crux of the ceremony
778 was the uprooting of one of the young sacred corn plants, in which the act of birth was symbolized and the young plant carried as an infant on the visionary's back from the field to the ceremonial lodge, where it was attached to a stick fashioned by an arrowshaft maker and painted to represent a person. The plant was now carried through a cycle of childhood and young girlhood and breathed on by the priests to give it life. It was now Young Mother Corn, watching over the tribe. Only when this ceremony had been performed were the women permitted to go out into the fields and weed the corn plants and hill up the earth around them to protect them as they grew. A second weeding and hilling process in the latter part of June was the last attention the corn plants received before being "laid by." The people were then ready to leave for the summer buffalo hunt.

796 Without this ceremonial cycle, the coordination of the people in their
221 orderly round of life could not go on. While it was primarily a religious frame, it was also of basic practical value since it was based on the seasonal progression. Without it it would have been almost impossible to coordinate people's lives with one another and with external events.

Some of the activities that were necessary during the spring season were fitted into the cycle rather than being part of it. This was particularly true of the manufacturing and maintenance functions, while the ceremonial cycle referred especially to the planting of the crops.

221 All winter while the people had been wandering over the country on
(356) the tribal buffalo hunt the house had stood idle and their clothes and
equipment had taken heavy wear. These had to be put in order and re-
[296] paired before planting time.

356 The average life of a house was twelve years, but before the end of
that time water might leak through the roof and rot some of the radial
476 roof beams. These would have to be replaced, and in order to do this the
221 whole roof covering of thatch and earth had to be removed and reas-
554 sembled. This task would require more than the personnel of the house-
622 hold. Where the men of the house had little social status they would have few social contacts to draw on, but men like Old Bull and Victory Call were in a much better position to get help from the community. Because of their status as chiefs many more people were likely to volunteer to help. The following section shows some of the social mechanisms involved in the process. However, it should be noted that the assistance given was neither on the basis of power authority nor fundamentally for the sake of gaining social status by association, but rather in appreciation

10

THE CAPTIVE GIRL SACRIFICE

000

Importance of Sacrifice to Pawnees—Dream of Warrior and Initiation of Sacrificial Ceremony Preparations—Capture of Sioux Maiden—the Ceremony of Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—the Sacrifice in the Nineteenth Century—Its Interruption and End—the Heroism of Man Chief—Aztec Origins

773 After the creation ceremony in times past, the Pawnees had an awe-
796 some rite that they believed would ensure the fertility of their soil and
782 the success of their crops. In the creation story, fruitfulness and light
[241] had come into the world because Morning Star and his realm of light had
conquered and mated with Evening Star in her realm of darkness. Out of that contest, the first human being was conceived—a girl. From time to time the Morning Star demanded a girl in return.

773 He came as a vision to a warrior in his dreams on a night in the fall of
796 the year. In the vision, Morning Star appeared as a man anointed with red
paint, wrapped around with a buffalo robe, his leggings decorated with
782 scalps and eagle feathers. There were soft down feathers in his hair and
787 a single eagle feather stood upright in his scalplock. Holding his war club he spoke to the warrior in his dream: "I am the man who has power in the east. I am the Great Star (*Upirikutsu*). You people have forgotten about me. I am watching over your people. Go to the man who knows the ceremony and let him know. He will tell you what to do." When he awoke and went outside before dawn, the warrior saw the Morning Star in the sky and he knew he had been chosen for the heavy burden of making the sacrifice. He ran crying through the village to the house of the Morning Star priest, singing as he went, "When he comes,

when he comes, father, I am seeking for you." When he arrived at the 773
priest's house, they embraced and wept together, and then the priest 796
filled a little pipe with tobacco and asked the warrior to tell of his dream. 782

After he had heard his vision, the priest filled the pipe and went out- [787]
side where he lit it and offered it to the Morning Star so that he would bless the young man. When the pipe was smoked out, the priest returned, emptied the ashes, and sat for a while talking with the warrior. The priest again filled the pipe and handed it to the warrior who lit it in the fireplace and carried it outside offering the first puff to the Morning Star, begging his pity and his guidance. Then the priest told the warrior to go home and to return when he was ready. He thought deeply of his forthcoming task as the priest had instructed him and at last asked the people in his lodge to make him several pairs of moccasins for the journey, filled with balls of pounded up sweet corn and some parched corn for his food. Everyone in the village was watching him, and some experienced warriors who had decided to go with him also asked their families to make similar preparations.

The visionary returned to the priest's lodge where they sat together for four days. When he came on the fourth day, the priest took the [778]
Morning Star bundle down from where it was hanging over the sacred altar and removed the holy objects that the warrior would need, lighting the pipe from the bundle and offering smoke to each of them in the required fashion. The objects were an otterskin collar, Mother Corn, a hawkskin, an extra pipe from the bundle, some soft down feathers, and the skin of a wildcat, its legs filled with native tobacco and paints. These things the warrior would need for his costuming when he impersonated the Morning Star so that he could set out on his fateful journey. The ceremony took four days, and then the warrior went through the village to call on the men he knew were ready to come with him. He also chose a number of assistants—a younger man, four scouts from among the volunteers, and helpers and errand men. While the priest instructed him, the others went to their lodges and got their things. At midnight the priest went outside waiting for the Morning Star to rise and then went inside and costumed the warrior to impersonate him—a buffalo hair rope around his waist, an otterskin collar around his neck with a hawkskin fastened on and suspended from his right shoulder, the ear of Mother Corn from his left shoulder. He painted his face with the red ointment—two streaks on either side of his face and a bird's foot on his forehead (astronomically unidentified; "right on the Milky Way"). He gave him the pipe to carry in his left hand or in his robe with the stem pointing upward. As the Morning Star was rising the priest said, "Here is your man. He is wearing your clothing. Protect him and make him successful." Then he led the warrior around the fireplace, faced him toward the entrance, his assistant beside him and the others following behind in

773
• 796 the order of the procession—the four leading scouts, firemakers, cooks,
782 and messengers.

After traveling 15 or 20 miles, they lay down to sleep among the thick
773 weeds, resuming their journey through the afternoon to a timbered spot
796 where they made camp. The errand man cleared the ground, made a lit-
782 tle fireplace in the middle, and the leader took off his costume and put it
at the west end of the fireplace where the altar would be in the earth
721 lodge. They all sat around the fireplace in order of their rank and cosmic
726 affiliation, ate a meal, and talked a while; then the leader told them to lie down while he watched the sky and from time to time smoked his pipe. Just before the Morning Star rose, the scouts went out; when the star came up the leader began to recite the ritual, and hearing it everyone awakened and they continued on their journey. At noon they stopped, the scouts joined them and reported what they had seen; in the afternoon, they continued with their journey. Every day they traveled this way until the scouts reported that they had seen signs of the enemy. When the village was sighted, the scouts went all around, counting the tipis and generally taking stock of the situation. They made a final camp in the timber, making a large circle as if for an earth lodge, a fireplace in the middle with the excavated earth from the fireplace in a little mound to the east outside the circle. At the request of the leader, the warriors placed their gifts at the west, and taking some tobacco from the feet of the wildcat skin, he filled the sacred pipe and one of the men was chosen to do the ceremonial smoking to the celestial powers. The scouts made a final check of the enemy camp and when they got back, the leader ordered a large fire built and the ritual dancing began. The leading members of the party sang the songs of the creation: "The power of the *earth* goes through the enemy's country; the power of the *timbers*, *waters*, *seeds*. . . ." Others all sang and danced, "This is the way I do when I am imitating him (the Morning Star), when I become angry, when I am imitating him," and as they sang and danced, they attacked the fire as if it were the enemy. At the rise of the Morning Star, the leader also danced, put on some of his regalia, and got his pipe ready, and they set out for the enemy village, the scouts in the lead. In his prayer to the Morning Star he asked that he lose none of his men. At the enemy village, the leader was stationed at the east facing the Morning Star; he sent his assistant to lead a party around by north and another man by south to surround the village. At the southeast the man representing the Fools-the-Wolves Star was to alert them with his first wolf cry, and then at his second wolf signal everyone would attack the village. They were reminded that they were not to kill unless it was necessary, but only to locate a thirteen-year-old girl and pronounce her holy for the Great Star. The one who found her was assisted by the others to bring her to the leader. No one else in the village was to be harmed. The four scouts were to

drive the horses from the village toward their encampment so that they 773
could leave in a hurry. The enemy would not immediately attempt a 796
pursuit as there was a feeling that this was a kind of cosmic destiny. 782
Retribution would be visited upon the whole tribe later on in a regular 721
war party. The girl was placed on a pony behind her captor, and
they rode all day, sleeping only three hours during the night until they 726
approached the village. As they approached, the leader set the prairie on
fire to let them know that they had been successful. The warriors
smeared their faces with soot. The Morning Star priest came out and
led the captive girl to the village and to his lodge.

Now that the girl had been captured the first stage of the warrior's 773
mission had been accomplished. The sacrifice would not take place until 796
the following spring. The whole tribe would go off on the winter buffalo
hunt, taking the girl with them. When they got back to the village 782
and the creation ceremony had been performed, the priest of the Morning 727
Star would watch for a sign from the cosmic god that the time for
the ceremony had arrived. Meanwhile, the returned war party settled back
in the village. The visionary warrior went to the lodge of the Morning
Star priest and returned the costume which was replaced in the sacred
bundle. Warriors told how many of the enemy they had touched and
the war counts they should receive because of this and the number killed.
The women danced the victory dance. The keeper of the Wolf bundle 773
was called to the Morning Star lodge to take over the care of the girl 796
who would remain in his charge until the time of sacrifice, throughout
the period of the winter buffalo hunt and the spring that followed. He 782
was to watch over her at all times and was to take her for her meals to
the home of the visionary warrior. According to the creation legend, the
wolf was the first creature to suffer death; he was murdered by the people
because of his perfidious conduct and as a result from that time
on all living things must die (see below, pp. 328-329). The Wolf bundle [778]
commemorated these incidents and its keeper was thought to be a descendant
of the original owners. Sirius, the southeast star, was the Wolf
Star and it was connected with death. The Wolf man now entered the
lodge of the Morning Star priest who bathed both him and the girl in
incense from the smoke of burning sweet grass—first the girl and then
the man. Then the girl's costume was taken from the Morning Star bundle.
She was rubbed with red ointment made of pigment and buffalo fat
and dressed in a calfskin skirt tied around the waist by a rope, an overblouse,
a warm buffalo robe, some black moccasins, and a soft down
feather to wear in her hair. She was given a special wooden bowl and a
buffalo horn spoon for her exclusive use at meals, that was also taken
from the bundle. It was dangerous for others to use her utensils as the
supernatural beings might then consider them part of the sacrifice.

While they were on the winter hunt, the warrior visionary would have

773 to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used
• 796 in the sacrifice ceremony.

782 Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning
[821] Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose
[787] ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of
[292] cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin
[825] with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood
[823] appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm,
[824] northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Tuwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

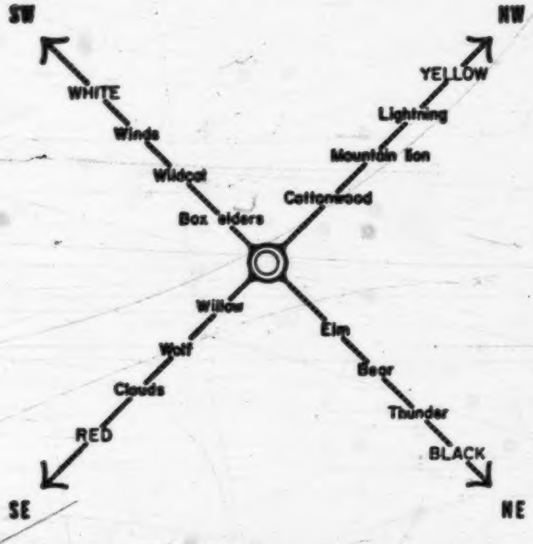
14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

with red buffalo-fat ointment. Four circles were made on the ground one 773
in each of the semicardinal directions to symbolize the four quarters of 796
the universe that the Morning Star had to pass as he approached the 782
Evening Star. The circles were made by a man who stood in the middle [823]
and extended his toe as far as possible, drawing his foot on the ground as [772]
he turned. The tracks were filled with soft down feathers from the bundle. The priest smeared himself with red buffalo-fat ointment and suffused himself with sweet grass smoke. The actual ceremony could begin.

The priest of the Evening Star bundle sang the first part of the ritual and after a pause, the Morning Star priest took charge. He sang two songs. Then they had their meal. The Wolf man opened the next phase, bringing the girl to the altar where she was anointed by the priest with red ointment given to him by the war leader. They returned to their seats and the ceremony continued all night. The second day's ceremony was of the same kind. On the third day they continued to sing and dance, the war leader beginning the dance and then being joined by the others. The war leader took up the northeast pole from the fireplace with the fire still burning on its end and pointed it at the girl without touching her, first toward her right side then toward her left. Next he took first the southwest pole following the same procedure, then the northwest pole and then the southeast pole, following the prescribed order. Now, on the third day, the crowd of spectators became heavy and began to push into the lodge and tear holes in the roof so that they could witness the proceedings.

While the ceremony was going on in the lodge the priest gave direc- 773
tions for the preparation of the sacrificial scaffold. He sent men to find a 796
suitable location a mile or two east of the village with a ravine or a 782
series of dips in the ground to the east of it where the attacking war- 417
riors could hide during the ceremony. Wood for each part of the sacrifi- 824
cial frame had to be of special kinds: cottonwood for the two uprights; the four crossbars near the bottom serving as steps, each symbolizing one of the four semicardinal directions, the bottommost elm, then box elder, cottonwood, and willow, each associated with an animal power. Elm represented the bear and the northeast; box elder, the mountain lion and the southwest; cottonwood, the wildcat and the northwest; and willow, the wolf and the southeast. When the men reported back to the priest that they had located the wood, he gave them four strips of animal skin, each one of the appropriate animal with which to tie the crossbars to the frame. Near the top of the two uprights was another crossbar of willow, symbolizing Heaven, which was tied on with otter-
skin to symbolize the renewal of life. They were instructed by the 773
priest to dig a rectangular pit under the scaffold in area about the size 796
of a buffalo robe commonly used to wrap a sacred bundle and 5 inches 782
417

796 deep, the bottom to be covered with soft down feathers. The pit sym-
782 bolized the Garden of the Evening Star from which all life originates.
773 The pit was called *Kusaru*, which in Pawnee simply means bed.
417



[82] Figure 10-1. Association of symbolisms for the four semicardinal directions: colors, natural forces, animals, trees.

796 In the ceremonial lodge, the dancing and singing continued on the
773 fourth day. Whenever they ate during the ceremonies, the girl was
782 served, and once in a while she was taken out to walk around, always accompanied by Wolf man. The main theme of the fourth day was the destruction of the four semicardinal circles in the appropriate order as Morning Star had done in the creation as he warred on the Evening Star. The priest, impersonating the Morning Star wore leggings decorated with scalps. First he arose and sang and danced around the north side, then the south side, then back to the altar. He danced around the lodge again and when he arrived at the east he whirled around suddenly and destroyed the northeast circle scattering the white feathers around the lodge, then the southwest, the northwest, and the southeast circles, making a grunting sound each time as if attacking an enemy. Then all sang the fifth song and the girl was taken to the altar to be costumed for her last role.

[822] Her body was painted, red on the right side, black on the left, the red to symbolize day, the time of the Morning Star, and the black to

represent night, the time of the Evening Star. She wore a skirt and a 773
painted hide robe around her shoulders. Now they sang of the origin of 796
the Morning Star itself that they thought had come from a meteor. They 782
sang to the girl, "You are now wearing the covering of meteorite [822]
grandfather," and in the next song, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite father," and then, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite brother." They completed her costume with a row of feathers standing up erect along the median line of her head. Her costume complete, she sat down in her place next to the Wolf man. They sang until midnight and then they paused, awaiting the time of the Morning Star. Meanwhile they placed a pinch of tobacco before the altar and sang about flint, the meteorite grandfather and other Morning Star-symbols. Thereafter they would have to address their songs to the Morning Star in the sky. During the pause, once in a while the visionary took up the four direction poles from the fireplace and pointed them at the girl as he had done before in the prescribed succession: northeast, and so on.

Now the procession to the scaffold would begin. All the men and 773
boys and even male infants were to participate in the sacrifice. During 796
the day, one of the priests had climbed up to the roof of the earth lodge 793
and called out, alerting them to be prepared with their bows and arrows. 782
In the ceremonial lodge, the priest gave the war leader the braided elkhide ropes to tie on the girl's wrists. He took up the gourd rattles. It was almost daylight. The four priests of the four direction bundles had gone out to dress, each being assisted by a specially designated person to adjust their costumes and to get ready. The Northwest man (Yellow Tent) wore two owlskins on his back that he had taken from his bundle; in his hand he held the bow he took from the Skull bundle and a red arrow that he had added to it. The Southeast bundle man (Red Tent) also had two owls and took a stick with coals on the end. The Southwest bundle priest (White-Mother-Born-Again) had two owls also and he took a war club. The fourth priest, representing the Big Black Meteoric Star (black, northeast) who also wore two owlskins on his back, took the flint knife.

Now all sang and started on the procession, the girl and the Wolf 773
man in the lead followed by the visionary-war leader dressed in his ot- 796
ter collar, his otter belt with sixty-five scalps, his pipe, and other regalia 782
and the four direction priests in their costumes.

The dawn was coming and the scaffold was ready. Slowly the procession went toward it. As they went they sang four songs. The girl looked around and wondered. The first song said, "She was looking around for just a little time." Then they sang of Heaven and of the powers of the bear, the mountain lion, the wildcat, and the wolf as the girl approached the scaffold. The Wolf man urged her to mount and as she

773 796 782 climbed each rung, a song was sung about the appropriate animal. Singing they tied her on and then left her there facing east.

The war leader and four direction priests were hiding in the ravine; now the four priests came out one by one. The Southeast bundle man with the burning stick ran out of hiding and barely touched the girl on the arms and loins. The Northwest bundle man came out with his bow and arrow and shot her through the heart. Now the Northeast man of the Big Black Meteoric Star rushed up with the flint knife and made a small cut over her heart. Taking some of the blood, he painted streaks on his face. The southwest man came with the warclub, and he made a gesture at her. The blood of the girl was allowed to drip on the dried tongue and heart meat of the consecrated buffalo, and the priest made a new fire at the southeast, the burnt offering of the sacred meat being made by the priest of the Evening Star bundle. Now all the men and the boys of the Skidi Band, singing war songs, riddled the body with their arrows. Then the priest told them to leave the sacrifice.

The priests now made a final disposition of the body. It was full daylight, and four men who had been chosen to assist, untied the body and took it about a quarter of a mile to the east, placing it on the ground face down. They sang, "The whole earth, she shall turn into. The whole earth shall receive her blood." Then they spoke of nine things in turn: "She will turn into a bunch of grass; the ants will find her, the moths will come and find her, the fox shall come and find her, the coyote, the wildcat, the magpie, the crow; buzzards will come and find her, and last of all will be the bald-headed eagle who will come and eat her."

All the people who participated in the ritual went to the ceremonial earth lodge and there ate a meal of consecrated buffalo meat. The public dispersed.

[786] In the village there was general rejoicing. Men and women danced, and there was a period of ceremonial sexual license to promote fertility. Some women dressed themselves in their husband's war costumes, dancing around and making fun of the men. They mimicked what they did in war and ceremony.

> They carried the Mother Corn. . . . They would go to the secret lodge, and standing outside of it would tell the story of how they came to go on the pretended war party and what they did while they were gone, what enemies they struck—the whole long story. The people stood around laughing as they did these things. Imitating the warriors, the women changed their names also. One of the leading old women once took the name "Mud on Meat" another "Skunk Skin Tobacco Pouch" another, "Sitting Fish Old Man," another "Stepping on the Heart." The old men standing around joked with the old women and they all joked and made fun of each other.
>
> (Grinnell, 1925, p. 368)

So the ceremony had ended. The Morning Star had received back the 773
first girl to be placed on earth, and he would again look after the people 796
in peace and in war. In the way of the Morning Star, death and life, 782
war and fruitfulness were one process.

When the news of this dramatic rite first reached the eastern seaboard 796
of the United States in 1820–1821, it created something of a sensation, 782
especially in the light of the obvious Mexican analogies. In 1816 an 175
Ietan (Comanche?) girl was captured by a Skidi warrior in preparation
for sacrifice to the Morning Star in the spring of 1817. The chief of the 648
Skidi at this time was Knife Chief (*Ritsirisaru*) of Pumpkin-Vine Village. In 1811 he had been on a delegation to see William Clark in St. Louis who was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the region and they had had a long and serious talk in which Clark impressed Knife Chief with the fact that the white people were coming in ever-increasing numbers "like the waves of the ocean—in, in, in. . . . It's coming; every year more people come over here," and that the Pawnees must prepare to adapt themselves. Knife Chief was impressed with the validity of his argument and he realized that their ceremonial practice of human sacrifice was a serious barrier to their relations with the whites. He talked to the people in an effort to get them to abandon the custom, but the warriors of the tribe and the priests, always suspicious of the political motives of the chiefs, were hostile and defiant. The ceremonies were continued and on the appointed day the girl was led out and tied to the scaffold.

On the trip to see Clark in St. Louis, Knife Chief had been accompanied 796
by his son (or possibly paternal nephew) Man Chief (*Pita-risaru*), 782
and, now in his early twenties, he was an outstanding warrior and universally
respected. With the crowd gathered and the warrior ready to 175
shoot the fatal arrow, Man Chief rode before them and told them that his father disapproved of what they were about to do and he had come to rescue the girl or die right there. By Skidi belief, anyone who touched the consecrated girl during her captivity would soon die, for they would be taken by the Morning Star in her stead. From the point of view of those assembled there, Man Chief was thus offering his life as forfeit for hers. The crowd now held off in awe, and Man Chief was able to cut the girl down from the scaffold and place her on a horse and send her south to rejoin her people, which she succeeded in doing.

The next year, 1818, a Spanish boy of ten was captured in Oklahoma and dedicated to the Morning Star. This time Knife Chief managed to call a chiefs' council and he was able to ransom the boy with his own store of goods to which was added that of the trader and interpreter, Papin, and Manuel Lisa. The boy was returned to Lisa's trading post on the Missouri north of Omaha, Nebraska, by the middle of June 1818. Notice of the escape of the boy, along with an account of an additional sacrifice, appeared in the *Missouri Gazette* of St. Louis.

• 796 By 1820–1821 the story of the conduct of Knife Chief and his son Man
782 Chief had come to the attention of Edwin James and Jedidiah Morse, and
175 through them it became known. In the fall of 1821, when Man Chief
went east to Washington with a delegation of chiefs, the detailed story
648 of his bold rescue had been published, and the girls at "Miss White's Select Female Seminary" contributed enough money to have a large silver medal made which they presented to the handsome young Pawnee hero at a public ceremony. The medal bore the inscription "To the Bravest of the Brave." The medal was later excavated in an Indian grave near Fullerton, Nebraska, on the Loup River by Alonzo Thompson. It is illustrated in Hyde's book. The portrait of Man Chief was painted in Washington by Dr. King and later included in the McKenney and Hall volumes on Indian tribes. As Man Chief accepted the silver medal, he said that when he had done this thing he had not known it was brave. But now that they had called him brave and given him this medal, he thanked them and would always think of them. After the delegation left Washington, they continued on to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York and wherever they went they were greeted by large crowds and showered with gifts. Originally the delegation had left the Pawnee village in October 1821 under Major O'Fallon and was undertaken with the purpose of impressing the Pawnees with the power of the whites. A chief from each of the four bands had gone.

But despite these efforts, by May 1833 news of a plan to sacrifice a Cheyenne woman reached the Indian agent, John Dougherty at Bellevue, who took five men with him and rode out to the Skidi village. Chief Big Ax received him and promised to try to help him ransom the captive. The Chief called a council of the other chiefs and leading men and exhorted them to abandon their plan. The crowd in the village was hostile, but nevertheless the woman was brought into the chief's lodge. Big Ax was opposed by all the chiefs but one—Black Chief, of rather swarthy complexion. Finally Dougherty, seconded by a few friendly Pawnees, tried to ride through the angry crowd with the captive woman. The people had gathered in the narrow spaces between the earth lodges to try to block him, and, as he passed the lodge of a prominent brave named Soldier Chief, a priest who was standing in the vestibule drew his bow and shot the woman. The warriors took the dying woman out onto the prairie and carried out the sacrifice.

175 In 1837 an American Fur Company boat came up the Missouri. Some
731 of her crew were down with smallpox and, despite the captain's warning,
782 the Mandan insisted on boarding. Of the 1,600 remaining Mandans, only
31 survived the ensuing epidemic. Meanwhile the Arikara who lived in a
796 neighboring village in the same locality returned there from the summer hunt and they lost half of their population of 4,000. The Dakotas also contracted the disease. Now the Skidi priests insisted that the Morning

175

Star must be placated. An Oglala Sioux girl of about fifteen whose name 731
was Haxti was captured, and on April 22, 1838, she was sacrificed to the 796
Morning Star. 782

This is the last reported case of a Pawnee sacrifice to the Morning Star. 175
Grinnell and others feel that there must have been further incidents that 648
did not come to attention. However, when our ethnological narrative
takes place (1867) it seems pretty certain that no further sacrifices were [782]
being carried out. About two hundred Pawnees, many Skidis among them, [796]
were organized into four companies of regularly registered U.S. Cavalry in Major North's Batallion. As part of their activities, they protected the crews working on the Union Pacific Railroad from attack by the nomadic Indians. After an attack on Plum Creek on the Platte, the Pawnees followed the Cheyenne to their camp and there captured fifteen Cheyenne women and children. In the subsequent negotiations, they exchanged these captives for two white women, the Martin sisters, and three small white boys, captives of the Cheyenne camp on the Medicine Creek branch of the

796
782
171

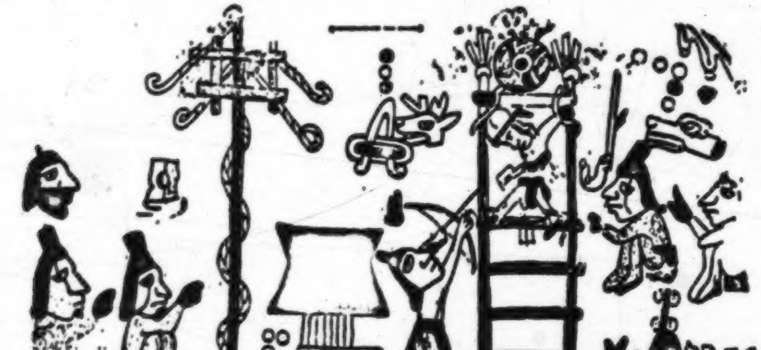


FIGURE 10-1. *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing scaffold sacrifice; in National Museum, Mexico City, accredited to the Cuicatecan tribe of the State of Guerrero. From Clark Wissler and Herbert J. Spinden, "The Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *American Museum Journal*, XVI (1916), No. 1, p. 54. See also illustrations on pages 52, 53, and 49 of the article.

648 Republican River. It seems unlikely that the Pawnees carried on any fur-
[782] ther sacrifices of captives to the Morning Star after that time.

• [796] Aside from the obvious resemblances, there is some documentation
of detailed Mexican analogies. Wissler and Spinden would place the time
171 when a direct transfer through the Aztec could have occurred, between
174 1506 and 1519. In an article (1916) on the subject they give clear parallels
782 in illustrations from the codices (see Figure 10-2).

796 Within the Pawnee system of theology, it certainly had an organic place.
[771]

13

CEREMONIAL PREPARATIONS FOR SUMMER BUFFALO HUNT

000

Ritual Meeting of the Chiefs—New Responsibilities of Chiefs—Mythohistorical Significance of Skull Bundle—Development of Original Village Federations—Ceremony Described—Chief of Hunt Is Chosen—Banquet Follows—People of Village Informed

221 WHEN THE CORN WAS LAID by in the beginning of June, a new phase in
*224 the Pawnee year's round began. Everyone turned their thoughts to the
long migration out onto the prairie. The mass hunt of the buffalo herd
that was the next phase in the Pawnee year's round would last all summer until time for the harvest in the beginning of September. Would
[162] they find the herd, would they get a plentiful supply of meat for their
ceremonial banquets, would they be attacked by the enemy, would they
live in health and at peace with one another—three thousand people in four
Skidi villages and four Pawnee bands—each with its own ways and interests on a journey of 900 miles over the land and across the rivers?

622 As was their practice, it was the chiefs, priests, and medicine men that
221 took the first formal steps toward initiating each new round of activities
through the year so that the people were taught and reminded of what
[793] lay ahead. In the village, priest and chief shared almost equally in keep-
[756] ing life on an ordered course, but on the march it was the constant
vigilance of the chief that determined the achievement of this goal.
And so this season opened with a ritual meeting of the chiefs, validating
their cosmic sanction and soliciting the confidence of the people.

622 The whole meaning of this ceremony was that the chiefs alone were
taking responsibility for the welfare of the people on the hunt and that
• 796 the sacred meat they were about to get was a great and Heaven-sent
*224

blessing for all the people. These thoughts and feelings were expressed 622
in a characteristically Pawnee idiom: the chiefs were costumed as Heaven 796
itself and were told by their old leader, That-Chief, that they could not 224*
look to Heaven for their decisions as *they* were now Heaven and were carrying all its responsibilities for the well-being of the people. In this role they walked from house to house and received a gift of firewood from each.

As no ceremonial could be conducted unless there were a donation of dried buffalo meat, the buffalo hunt signified the entire ceremonial life as well. Lying on the ground in the ritual lodge there was the long buffalo steak that was the customary donation, and upon it the chiefs all blessed themselves. After the ceremony the chiefs blessed their children with what was left of the donated meat as Heaven had blessed their people.

Amid these ceremonial significances, they also took the practical step of choosing one of their number to assume leadership for the forthcoming hunt season.

The chiefs met twice a year just before the tribe planned to leave for 622
the buffalo hunt. The summer meeting was under the direction of the 619
Skull bundle, the winter meeting under that of the North Star whence 224*
the buffalo came at that time, driven southward by the cold. In view of 623
the historical events, priests were excluded from this ritual, only chiefs [793]
being present, and there could therefore be no ceremonial procedure. It was said that like their cosmic counterpart, the Corona Borealis, the chiefs simply sat around in a circle and talked.

We do not know how many villages joined the first federation, but at 619
the time of our account (c. 1867) there were sixteen chiefs' places in the 62
council, four for each of the Skidi villages. At the northeast was a place [631]
for Old-Man-That-Chief whose voice was final in all matters relating to chieftainship. Closest to the exit, one on the north and one on the south side, were the chiefs' errand men, *tarutsuhus*. The chief's errand man had a very important role to play, as he was the chief's envoy at all times. Like the chiefs, he held his position by heredity. He carried messages back and forth between the villages and to the other bands, and while the council was in session he kept carrying its decisions to the other bands, returning with their reactions to them. Both of the chief's errand men were mature, experienced men; the one, Heavy-Trophies, was also head sacred priest of the Skidi, while the other, Know-His-Face, was also a man of some social consequence. Old-Man-That-Chief carried the main direction of the ritual.

The ritual was held in rotation through the years in the lodges of the 796
different chiefs who were members of the council. On this occasion, 224*
Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village was the host. On the morning of 622
the council he had sent the errand man, Know-His-Face, to issue the in- 623
vitations to the other chiefs and had the lodge prepared for their ar-

•796
*224
622
623

rival. The sacred buffalo meat lay to the south of the fireplace about three feet away. Eagle Chief sat at the southeast with three other chiefs ranged along the side to his left. They each had different materials needed to help the chiefs costume themselves in their role as Heaven. Each chief would bring his own eagle feather that he would wear on top of his head to represent Heaven itself during the creation. Eagle Chief had a quantity of soft white feathers, *kiskuskawiu* (not down), placed on the head at the base of the eagle feather to represent the clouds on which Heaven traveled while the creation was in process. The chief who sat at the left of Eagle Chief had a knife and a supply of sticks to which the chiefs could fasten their eagle feather in order to put it through their scalplock. The chief who sat next on the left had some elk sinew to tie on the feather. The fourth chief had a supply of paints for painting the faces with the bow-shaped vault-of-the-heavens design. Each chief was expected to wear his best clothes so as to be worthy of his role.

Each chief entered with his tobacco pouch in his right hand and went directly over to where the sacred meat lay on the south side of the fireplace. The meat was the long muscle steak that lay along the backbone of the buffalo, dried and processed for preservation. It was called *kis-atsu*, "bone-lying along." It now rested on the south side of the fireplace, lying at a slant with the "head" or neck end pointing northwestward. Facing in this direction, the chief straddled the meat at this end and placed his tobacco pouch down near his right toe. He rubbed the end of the meat and then rubbed himself in blessing and, retrieving his tobacco pouch, went to his traditional place. As soon as two or three chiefs had entered, they filled their pipes which errand men lit up for them. When they were all in their places, Old-Man-That-Chief began to talk.

He explained to them that in their ritual smoking of the pipe they were to remember that they were now impersonating Heaven itself and therefore they were not to offer the mouthpiece upward, but only down to the powers of the earth, for they were occupying Heaven already. He also mentioned the donor of the buffalo meat that had made the ceremony possible, Lone Chief. He stated that they were to costume themselves properly so that they could go among the populace, *akitaru*, and receive from each household two well-dried sticks of firewood that the people had been saving for the purpose so that they could denote their allegiance to the chiefs.

The ritual pipe from the Skull bundle was then filled and brought to him at the northeast where he was sitting and lit up by the errand man. Then Old-Man-That-Chief smoked and pointed the mouthpiece twice downward and passed it to his neighbor to his right, who in turn did the same thing and passed it to his neighbor until it had gone around the lodge in a counterclockwise circuit. After the pipe had been returned to the owner, That-Chief spoke again. He reminded them that they were to

undertake their task of chieftainship with humility, for all they had was 796
their own human frailty. He said: "People think we are big men, but we're 224*
no bigger than poor men. Look at yourself and see this. Look down at 622
the earth. Power is there." 623

The chiefs now lined up for the procession that was to go through the villages. Eagle Chief was in the lead, carrying the main pipe, with Lone Chief about two feet behind him, also carrying a pipe. All the other chiefs that were to take part in the procession were lined up behind them. They would carry the sticks as they received them—about six or eight each, carried in their arms. As the procession moved along, they would complain jokingly about the weight. Newly inducted chiefs followed behind, as this was a good time for them to be seen by the people. Before they left, they all had to pass the inspection of Old-Man-That-Chief, who gave them instructions as to their procedure: "Now you're to go out through the village and although they already know when you enter anyone's lodge you must say, '*Rakis* (wood), *tatibaa*' (I came to get), *tatitska* (I want), *rakis*(wood).'"

They had to visit all the lodges in turn. As Eagle Chief led them in, the women would be sitting on the beds along the sides. When he made his request, a woman in the lodge who was chaste would get up and give him the sticks. If it was the lodge of an important man, before the donation was made, he would have lit his pipe and offered it first to Eagle Chief and then to all the others, and each would thank him. In other less important lodges, the wood would simply be given. Sometimes in the lodge of an old chief, the old man would reminisce about his own experiences when he was in such a procession and how some important men had "smoked" him when he went the rounds, and how a woman had given four sticks so that she might have a good word from the chiefs and be doubly lucky. The chiefs in the procession would ask for cottonwood sticks because they were light, complaining that their arms ached and bantering with Eagle Chief about lingering too long over the smoking. "How far must we go yet?" they would ask. "I don't know how many houses!" Eagle Chief would say.

When they arrived back at the ceremonial lodge, they dumped the sticks at the southeast and went back to their places complaining about the fact that they were hungry. "My stomach's way in—I'm hungry! That fellow Eagle Chief is too slow." That-Chief would have directed [574] the errand men to take a little dried meat and cook up a soup in a hurry so that they could refresh themselves. This was just an impromptu meal. The official banquet would come at the end, after all the ritual and business had been transacted. That-Chief would again remind them that in offering some buffalo fat to the powers they were not to raise it upward to the Heavens but only to the earth, and that they were to eat directly without waiting for anyone else.

• 796 After they had finished, the most sacred part of the ceremony was
*224 held. They would smoke the pipe and talk of the creation. The old man
622 instructed them and pointed out that they were not to be too eager, but
to be measured in their devotions for they might otherwise tempt fate
623 and use up their luck. He said: "This is the time for you to smoke, and anyone can talk on whatever serious subject he wants to—the creation or any other matter. Don't talk too long. Just say what you want to say if you have a notion. Just say a few words. You can talk again. Don't talk too fast. If it's Heaven's will, you will live long. If you talk out your words too fast, you wont live long; that is what we all believe. When we go visiting the Wichitas for example, if they don't give you a gift, that's all right. If they give you too much too often, you might not live long. If you get horses on the warpath, don't go again too soon. You might get killed. Conserve what you have. Do everything in a measured way. Heaven wanted us to live on this earth and here we are. These are the things that Heaven gave us—the corn and other things—and we must take care of them. We can't throw away or waste anything. We can't know what is going to happen in the future. *Raru* (merely, just), *kakirarakurararat* (don't waste anything)!"

796 The serious part of the ritual was now over and the old man instructed
*224 the errand men to begin to cook the main banquet which would be
622 served about four in the afternoon. During this time they would con-
verse on more practical matters, finally leading to the choice of the
574 chief who was to lead the hunt during the forthcoming season, after
623 which the banquet would be served. The old man led off: "This is your time to talk. We're not in a hurry. We have nothing else to do but talk. If you have a story to tell, tell it. We come here twice a year, as chiefs—once in spring and once in the fall. If you want to say anything, say it. I would like someone to volunteer to help the errand man cut the meat into portions." The talk by the others now concerned their leaving on the hunt. One would say, "This time of year the buffalo are not quite fat enough. How many days will it be after we leave the village before we see them? Perhaps so and so many. What do you think?" "Corn isn't big enough yet. Maybe it will be ready the latter part of the month." "Perhaps when we get out on the move, we can travel eight or ten miles a day."

Now after each one had made some remark on these matters, Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge who was sitting at the west and who had donated the meat, proposed that Eagle Chief be made administrative chief of the forthcoming hunt. Eagle Chief replied that he had only recently performed this role, and proposed that White Eagle be chosen in his stead. White Eagle, after due expressions of humility, addressed them. He stood up and said, "Now you have selected me. I'm going to call a

meeting in a few days to decide when to go buffalo hunting. When we 796
(Skidis) have decided this, the other three bands will be looking to us to 224*
find out when, and we must send them word." 622

The main banquet was now ready to be served and Old-Man-That- 574
Chief said, "This is what Heaven gave us. We must take care of it. Now 623
we're going to eat." The food was passed out in formal order and ordinary conversation went the rounds. One said, "Let the horses race now. Whoever has a good horse will get a good buffalo. This fellow has a horse that never gets fat because he races it. He feeds it all the time and it never gets fat." Someone else would remark about the state of the corn and the pumpkins. Then again, someone would say, "When we get to the Platte River, we will see big grapes and plums and chokecherries. There will be good plums where we're going." Another one would remark, "How are you fixed for the equipment for your horses? I guess you have to fix your saddle so that you can pack things on it." Then again, "I have to get some arrows. I have to get someone to make the shafts. I still have time yet." "I have to get an iron barrel hoop at the store to make the points, and a file to trim them down. First I have to get the blacksmith to rough them out for me. I have to get a lot of them." In this way they reminded one another of some of the practical things they had to do before leaving on the hunt.

It was now early in the evening and Old-Man-That-Chief made the closing speech and summarized some of their findings: He reminded them that they had been occupying the seats that the older chiefs had occupied before them; they had talked over whatever they wanted to say and what they knew of the past, and now they must look toward the future. That they had heard White Eagle who had been selected as leader of the forthcoming hunt upon his selection by Eagle Chief, and that they as chiefs could only reply upon their own judgment, for representing Heaven itself, there was no supernatural power to depend upon. He thanked Lone Chief for donating the meat for the banquet and then instructed them to get up and go. Before his final dismissal, That-Chief reminded them that the meat which they were carrying away from the feast was to be entirely eaten up as soon as they got home, and that it was not to be left overnight, as it might become infected with sickness or bad luck and endanger the well-being of the tribe. They were to bless their children with the meat and then see that it was eaten up directly. When the meat was handed to the wife, as she blessed her children she said, "I want you to grow up to be worthy of this chief's meat. Your father has come home with this meat for us to eat. This is the food that Heaven has promised to provide for us. Now we're going to eat it and Heaven is going to bless all of us. I'm going to bless you; we're going to eat this food from the chief's lodge there. Now we're going to eat it and I hope it brings good

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

• 796
*224
622
574
623

luck to our house and that you grow up to be better children through Mother Earth." Then she blessed the children and she blessed herself by rubbing her hands upon them and herself.

As was customary, as the meeting was drawing to a close, an old man had climbed on top of the earth lodge, and facing east addressed the people, informing them of what matters had been discussed and what decisions had been reached in the council. He said: "Now the chiefs have had a meeting. Now their business is nearly over. Everyone must go into the fields and try to get things ready. Get the corn laid by as soon as you can. If you have not already gotten your tent fixed up as I have reminded you before, get it fixed up now. From now on, try to get everything done in a hurry." With this exhortation, everyone in the village accelerated their pace in preparing to leave the village and migrate out onto the plains.

15

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY

000

A Summary Ceremony—a Symbolic Washing of All Ceremonial Objects—a History of the Ceremony—Celestial and Doctors' Symbolism Combined—Ceremony Explained—Participation of People in Ceremony

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY that was held before leaving on the 796
hunt was, in effect, a summary of all the Pawnee religious beliefs and 783
practices. In Pawnee ideology, the sky was one realm and the earth and 772
the waters another. The priests were in charge of the cosmic ceremonies, [224]*
and the medicine men, or doctors, were in charge of the animals that [793]
were connected with the earth and the waters. In this last category, the [756]
physical structure of man and his physical health were included. But ultimately, according to Pawnee thought, the sky was the first cause and
the continuing source of power in both realms. The doctors conducted 796
a separate cycle of ceremonies from the priests, and in the fall, at the gala 783
ceremony that was held after the harvest was in, they acknowledged their 756
celestial origin by hanging buffalo-hide cutouts of the Morning Star and the other sky gods from the ceiling of the ceremonial lodge. During the forthcoming summer hunt, a specially selected doctor would kill a buffalo bull and a cow to provide the skins for this purpose and another bull and cow to build up the images of their own special gods.

The central feature of the ceremony they would now conduct was the 796
carrying of all the sacred objects to the stream, there washing them 783
symbolically. Then the people would clean up the whole village and wash 778
themselves in the stream. This great cleansing ritual was under the direction of the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the northeast of the semicardinal-direction bundles. In mythohistory this god was a sort of master [776]

796 of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as
783 indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron
778 of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took
776 care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night,
the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

*[224] The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage
[772] twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbolisms from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the creation ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theol-
756 ogy of the cosmos was given. The doctors also had a systematic ideology
773 of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had
[171] much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans
or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

756

months. Thereafter, whenever a man had an animal vision, he applied to 773
the Doctor Association and was given a place in the lodge.

All during the summer hunt and the hard work of getting in the har- 756
vest that followed, the people looked forward with great anticipation to 796•
the elaborate performances that the doctors would put on all during the 224*
month of October. It was a Grand Opera with a connected series of episodes, combining animal mimes, displays of sleight of hand, and illusionist performances of different kinds, hypnotic acts, songs, and dances. In that summer the people contributed the dried meat of eighty buffalo to the Doctor Association for the forthcoming ceremony and in former times as many as 140 were given. This was one of the prime motivations for going on the hunt.

In the Great Cleansing Ceremony now to be held before departure, 796
both the celestial and the doctors' symbolism was combined, one con- 783
nected with crops and the other with the wild animals.

As soon as the chiefs had determined the date for the departure on the 796
hunt, they notified the priest of the sacred bundle who was in charge for 783
that season, and he in turn got in touch with the other four priests. They 793
all came to his lodge, beating on their bundles to signify that they were
now going to conduct a national ceremony. They took their appointed [778]
places at the west, putting their bundles down in front of them and sending the errand man to summon the other bundle keepers to come with their mats and food bowls. They spread their mats and sat in their traditional places, hanging their bundles on the wall behind them. They remained in the lodge for three days and nights, feasting and talking together. Meanwhile the four main priests went through the village calling on the people to bring gifts to Mother Corn. They were being asked to bring the clothes that would costume the chief who was to lead the pro-
cession when they took the sacred objects to the stream. Only men of [577]
sterling character were privileged to make such a contribution—those who were public spirited enough to initiate public ceremonies, were courageous in defense, volunteered frequently for public service, were generous in helping the less fortunate, did not harbor malice, did not engage in any kind of violence or loud conduct, did not gamble or indulge in sexual adventures in unsanctioned social categories. They were to bring a buffalo robe, moccasins, a buffalo-hair cord as a girdle, and dried buffalo meat and fat that had been consecrated on the previous buffalo hunt. The donors would paint themselves red, carrying their gift through the village for everyone to see as they took it to the ceremonial lodge. After the gift was presented, two messengers went through the village announcing the gift and publicly thanking the donor.

The actual ceremony in the lodge was performed on the fourth day 796
after the bundle keepers had assembled there. Very early that morning

796 the four priests dug a rectangular pit west of the fireplace to represent the Garden of the Evening Star. The bottom of the pit was covered with soft downy feathers and was referred to as *Kusaru*, "bed." All the bundles were now opened and the two sacred ears of corn, one attached to a stick (representing the male), were placed in the "Garden," with the other ear (representing the female) leaning against it.

[773] Now another model was made representing the waters and the animal life that pertained to them—the waterfowl, swan, and loon, and a garfish to represent the Great Sea Monster that had guided the original visionary of the doctors and a turtle. These were placed around a wooden bowl containing some water with a clamshell in it to represent the running waters.

Next came some ceremonial procedures that pertained to the specific tradition of the Big Black Meteoric Star. The principal objects involved were the star chart which was attached to the bundle. This was placed on a stick, carried outside, and fastened on top of a little mound of earth in front of the door. Then four smooth stones, thought to represent both meteorites and buffalo maw stones, and to have come down to them from the beginning of the world, were each attached to a stick; four men were assigned to carry them to the mound outside. The "northeast" man of the group was given the sacred pipe and a long strip of buffalo fat. When they got outside, he placed the strip of dried buffalo fat on a little fire, built to the east of the little mound of earth for the purpose. As the procession filed out of the lodge, the priests were singing a song about the men scanning the heavens and the earth all around. They continued to sing as the steps of the ceremony were performed outside. The melting buffalo fat was rubbed on their hands and faces by the four men who were outside; these men also greased the four sacred stones. As they smoked the sacred pipe they slowly surveyed the sky in all directions.

When they got inside, the priests stopped singing and the men performed their devotions around the bowl of water with the skins of the waterfowl and the turtle.

796
789
*224
The next two episodes were acts of sympathetic magic for success in the buffalo hunt. The leading priest said, "Priests, the men whom we have sent to look around have returned. They will tell us what they have seen." The man on the northeast arose and said, "We went out before daylight. We found the buffalo—so many of them that they have almost drunk the river dry." The other three men each replied in the same way. A famous warrior was then selected by the priest to carry the sacred pipe and a chief to carry the strip of the buffalo fat. As they went around the room, first along the north and then the south, everyone reached out to try to put his hands on the pipe and to seize a piece of the buffalo fat, tearing off as much as he could to symbolize that he was starving and was desperate to kill the buffalo.

Finally they had the formal procession in which all the sacred objects 796
were carried down to the stream. The chief who was to lead the procession 783
was called by the priest and dressed in the clothes that had just been 778
donated. The sacred pipe from the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle was placed in his hands. The bundle keepers retrieved the sacred ears of corn from the "Garden" and placed them next to their bundles. A prominent warrior who had ownership rights to the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle led the main body of the procession bearing the star chart. Immediately following him were to be three men with quivers from the sacred bundles. These four sat near the entrance, lined up one behind the other, while arrangements were being made for the bearers of the rest of the objects. Meanwhile men from different villages had come in and seated themselves in front of their respective village bundles. Two men from each were selected to carry the "Mothers" or sacred ears of corn, others to carry the hawkskins symbolizing warriors and owlskins symbolizing chiefs that were also contained in the bundles. And last of all, the leading chief who was to head the procession went out and rounded up all the little boys he could find—an act signifying his watchfulness over the
people. The little boys were given minor objects from the sacred bundles [857]
to carry, particularly the raccoon bones attached to the sticks with which meat was removed from the soup during the ceremonial banquets, or the arrowshafts used as pipe tampers and sticks to tend the fire.

Now there was a race to the river; the priests singing and shaking their gourd rattles while the objects were being given out. When they got to the fourth song, the warrior with the star chart jumped up and began to run toward the river as fast as he could, the quiver bearers close behind him. As they pushed out through the long entryway of the lodge, everyone tried to follow, and anyone who overtook the man with the star chart on the way to the river took it from him and ran on until he came to the bank where it was returned to him.

The crowd standing along the river bank now grouped itself into four symmetrical rows. In the first row, front center, was the warrior with his star chart. He was flanked on both sides by the men with quivers, who were in turn flanked by the men with the sacred ears of corn. In the second row were the men with hawkskins and owlskins. In the third row were people with less important bundle objects such as braids of sweetgrass usually burned as incense, buckskin pouches containing red, black, and white paints, pieces of enemy scalp, and other objects peculiar to the particular sacred bundle. Finally, bringing up the rear in the fourth row were the little boys with their raccoon bone forks, arrowshaft fire pokers, and pipe tampers.

The group now parted ranks. Down the middle came the chief carrying the sacred pipe to the water. He waded in and symbolically washed himself by dipping his right hand and then his left into the water, each

796 783 778 time touching it to his mouth, nose, forehead, and down his face, alternately first with the right and then with the left hand. Then he went back through the group and stood facing the village ready to lead them back. The others followed suit, the men of first rank pretending to wash their objects and their bodies, then walking through the line to stand behind the chief and the others in order. The chief led them back to the village and the objects were replaced in the bundles in the ceremonial lodge. The little boys ran away at once, and the other men retrieved the robes they had left behind in order to race to the water before they went home. The priests and bundle keepers tied their things and had a meal of cornmeal mush that had been donated by one of the women. Then they all took their mats, pillows, bowls, and sacred bundles and went home.

796 783 [203] [515] [343] The town crier went through the town telling all the people to clean their lodges and the streets and to carry all the dirt far away. The next step was for everyone to wash and clean themselves. The priests who had led the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood outside shaking his rattle and singing. All the people assembled there and raced to the river as fast as they could go. They waited there for the priests who waded in and came out at once and went to their sweat lodge to take a steam bath. All the rest of the people—men, women, and children—stayed at the river, swimming and playing in the water.

24

CAMP 11—AT THE BUFFALO HUNTING GROUNDS

Camp Established—Formal Precision Necessary for Hunt—Religious Considerations—the Council Tent—Plan of Attack—Sympathetic Magic 000

AT THIS TIME OF YEAR the main buffalo herd was moving eastward down 224*
the Republican River. When they had set up camp at the confluence of
Turkey Creek and the Republican, they would be within two miles of
the north bank and often within sight of the herd itself. The whole operation 224*
now took on a much more formal turn involving the whole encampment. 626
At the council tent of each of the bands that night, a special
group of military police was set up to make sure that no hunter went [625]
out individually and disturbed the herd, and that absolute quiet was maintained
in the camp itself among the women and children as well as the
men. Children must be soothed and prevented from crying, dogs muzzled
and wood chopping done only when the herd was not within hearing
distance. The individual hunter who violated these rules and went [689]
among the herd was beaten over the head with a heavy club and sometimes
severely injured. The attack upon the herd was their main objective
and it had to be accomplished with precision, for they had to be
back at the villages by September first when the south star Canopus was
in the sky—the signal for the beginning of their harvest.

In addition to these practical considerations, there were religious factors 224*
that gave form to their operations. A large part of the preserved 574
meat, particularly the long steaks along the backbone of the buffalo, 796
would be pledged to the performance of their sacred ceremonies. Feasting
on the meat was an essential phase of every important ceremony.
This was the food that Heaven had sent, and it was fitting that sharing it
in a feast should be part of their devotions. The creation story that was 000

*224 The creation story that was
773 often reviewed in these ceremonies told them how this had come about.
•796 The number four had a sacred significance in connection with the four
801 semicardinal directions, and the combined hunt of all the bands together was conducted in four major episodes.

*224 At the council tent in Camp 10, during their last evening on the Platte, White Eagle and the other Skidi chiefs planned out the strategy of this major phase of the hunt. The chiefs of the other three bands were also meeting in council. White Eagle as the leader of the hunt was to take the initiative. For diplomatic reasons he had decided to give over the management of the first hunt episode to Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band, who were currently "Fathers" to the Skidi in the Peace Pipe trading relationship. Man Chief was formally notified and he appointed the necessary religious and technical personnel, including three scouts who would go out long before dawn to survey the country and locate the herd. Long before the camp broke up that morning they had gone out, and when they found the hill beyond which the herd was located the chief scout crawled up cautiously on his belly, imitating the motions of a wolf so that he would not be detected by the herd. As long ago as
[175] 1540 the account of Coronado's expedition reported that white wolves
[136] ranged all over the plains, living peaceably in the presence of the buffalo cows, so that the bulls as well as the herd as a whole were obviously well accustomed to having wolves nearby. They would not detect humans unless the scouts stood in the direction of the wind so that they could be scented. After the head scout had surveyed the situation to his satisfaction, he invited his fellow scouts to come up, each in turn crawling up like a wolf and taking a look around. In a war party one wrapped oneself in a whole wolfskin with bow and arrows concealed under the arms and tail, but a blanket was sufficient to fool the buffalo.

*224 Meanwhile the people in camp had awakened, broken up camp, loaded
*484 up and set out across the country for Camp 11. Following along Plum Creek almost to its source, the line of march continued overland in a southeast direction until it reached the head of Turkey Creek, continuing southward along its west bank. When the people were about midway along, one of the scouts came riding up to inform them of conditions in
[202] connection with the herd. As he approached, he signaled with his blanket, throwing it up twice to show that there were many buffalo. When he reached the line he told them that the herd was coming up from the river and wasn't very far, but that nevertheless the line of march should continue slowly along the west bank of Turkey Creek rather than crossing to the east side in an attempt to avoid disturbing the herd, and then crossing back again to make their camp. He told them that Turkey Creek was muddy near its confluence with the Republican, as some of the herd had already crossed over and were moving eastward.

*224 Taking account of these factors, the plan of action was as follows.

They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," 224 * they had to pack and go on. 484* They arrived at the river about five in the evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. [226] Some men used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and [225] brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn [252] husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were officially headed for home. [625] The night before, the military police had officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from his leadership of the hunt. [622] He thanked them all and reviewed the events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buffalo leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Re- [787] publican they would have to make before they could start north for the Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sa- 796 cred bundles and the cults, 431 but of special interest to everybody was the Grand Opera that the associated doctors would give after the harvest, 756 lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the association, 624 called for his two errand men to go to all members, apprentices, 211 and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand man would pick a dry weed, *hawastatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil, and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute, the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent, dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and proceeded to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. 796 At an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and 431
756

796 431 756 794 forty parfleches had been pledged. After the pledges were counted, the word went from tent to tent and everyone was full of anticipation of the color and excitement of the ceremony. In addition to this big medical association there were a number of private cults that the people generally took an interest in.

752 afterward. One Sioux was killed and one Pawnee killed or scalped.
726 This is why Mad Bear was known as a brave man, heedless of any
danger to himself, like a boy, a *piraski.*

244 All the time that this struggle was going on, Victory Call, White Woman,
512 and No Corn were in No Corn's field picking beans. Horse Rider had
had to go quite a way to find the horses and when he got back to camp
to saddle them, they had left him a bite of breakfast and then he joined
them in the field. First he inspected the pumpkins and then they all
went around picking up the vines, and when a vine wrapped around a
cornstalk, they had to look all around for the ripe pods. This took until
noon and on the way home they took a swim in the creek. Arriving at
244 camp, they prepared a modest lunch of bread, coffee, and bits of ready-
cooked meat saved in a sack for such purposes—pieces of dried heart,
512 leg muscle, pieces of paunch, fat, etc. They called this *tsuspakahu.* They
262 opened the sack and dumped the pieces of meat on a spread and simply
264 picked up one and ate it with the bread and coffee. Sometimes they
had pulverized dried meat, *tapaharus,* with some bone grease instead of
the meat. They decided to have the same kind of meal in the evening, as
their backs ached from picking the beans. After the meal, the newly
244 picked beans were spread out to dry, and about three in the afternoon
512 White Woman decided that her beans were dry enough to thresh with
251 the long willow stick to get the beans out of the pods. Victory Call wandered
up to the store and Horse Rider either went to the gambling
grounds or just sat on a bluff smoking and looking around. The women
kept working with the beans.

512 That evening, Victory Call came in with supplies from the store for
439 supper: prunes, dry apples and some candy sticks for Otter—a gift of
the trader. People had seen Victory Call coming in while they were at
the gambling grounds watching the game, and they decided to come
over and have some dinner there. War Cry's younger brother, Brave
Shield, and Wants-the-Enemy dropped in for a visit. Some decided to
visit with Misery (*Akapakis*) instead, and White Woman felt slighted because
the youngest brother of War Cry, Leading Fox, had decided to go
there as also had Sun Chief, Victory Call's older son. She scolded Leading
Fox saying, "Why don't you come in. People will think I don't
take care of you." "Well," he said, "the boys wanted me to come with
them." She remarked about Sun Chief to Victory Call who reassured
her saying, "That's nothing. You have to watch girls, but you can't
keep boys home like that."

512 At dinner, Brave Shield mentioned that some of the Kitkehaxki
796 doctors were preparing to go back into the earth lodges to prepare for
the forthcoming doctor dances. Victory Call said that it was a bit too
756 early. It was better to finish the work so that they didn't have all this rub-

bish in their yards at home and then go up to the village. He said the 512
leading doctors would wait until people got all through before beginning 796
as "They liked to have a good crowd to attend the dances." At the 756
gambling grounds the talk was about the same subject. Presently two or three men came in from the South Bands and joined them at supper and talked about how things were going with them. "What are your folks doing over there?" they were asked. "We are working hard making roasted corn. The village is full of fleas. You have to clean it out two or three times before you can get in," said the South Bands men. "Same with us," the Skidis said.

Next morning Victory Call went to the field to see if there was much 244
of a load of green corn left to be gathered and roasted. The following 243
day they went to the two fields and brought them in. 251

After that a second bean crop was picked from each field on successive 252
days—the vines being almost entirely cleared with this picking. Then 512
the pumpkins were hauled in by all four of them and roasted: one day from White Woman's field, the next from No Corn's. They were all roasted and cut into rings.

About the *eleventh day* they got the mature corn from White Woman's field in two double horse loads—one in the morning and one in the afternoon. They got home about two o'clock in the afternoon, and being very tired dumped the load of dry ears and rested till supper
time. Then Old-Man-That-Chief joined them for supper and talked of 512
the old days in Old Village. He said: 173

> In the old days, an old lady like grandma would see an ear of corn 243
> or a single bean lying on the ground and she would be half-crying to see it lying there. Nowadays it's different. They leave things to waste on the ground. If they were roasting corn and they scraped an ear and left the kernels on one side, they would pick it up from the discarded pile again and clear it off. For if you didn't, the corn would talk about you. It was like a person. But nowadays they don't care.

Horse Rider and Victory Call listened with respectful attention to what the old man said. He continued, "You Horse Rider, are two steps behind me, but Victory Call—he is nearly on top (in the middle of life). He will be able to look around in all directions to see how he has come up there.

"A story is like a little seed. From it all sorts of other stories branch off for you. A story gives you life. Now that I am old, people invite me to come and eat good things with them and then they ask me to tell stories. So these stories keep me alive."

Now he told another story of the past. He said: "I heard that once way back when corn first came to our village, a good ear of corn had been thrown out with the rubbish and swept aside. The

was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the 243 778
altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo 782
might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could 772
not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of 221
alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic.
The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other
in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers
of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As [823]
these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their [778]
biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for
each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through
the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household,
the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these
alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation
of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his
political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different 243
aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under 778
the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation
of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when
the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four [776]
semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression
of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity,
Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in 796
their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under 628
the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented [778]
the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all
together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-* [823]
Pole Ceremony—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken
together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony
warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was
safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, 796
and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant 778
"ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of 243
its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening 243
Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the 778
priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to 793
settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four [533]
[535]

With the installation of the New Mother Corn accomplished, steps 243
were taken to shift the cosmic power to the North Direction bundle for 778
the winter. The priest announced that the change was at hand, went to 793
the northwest house post, and took down the sacred stalks that were tied
there, giving them to the chief who was in charge of the newly appointed
North Direction bundle. He addressed the chief briefly upon the import
of the procedure and formally charged him with the office. The new
chief replaced the stalks on the post and then divided the harvest offerings
that the women had brought among the chiefs and priests present at
the ceremony.

Following this ceremony, all the sacred bundles changed their ears of
Mother Corn for those of the new harvest. This ceremony was con- [782]
ducted very simply in each case, the usual smoke and meat offerings being
made to the appropriate powers and a feast shared. In all the sacred
bundles the pipe was turned so that when the bundle hung on the west
wall of the house over the altar the mouthpiece of the pipe would be
pointing north, so that the winter powers located in that direction could
smoke.

The Pawnee year opened in the spring with a ceremony celebrating 796
the creation of the universe and within it the uniting of all the people 619
under one religion and society. Now as the harvest was done, a closing
ceremony commemorated their unity and the common defense of their
land. The four house posts in the semicardinal positions symbolized the
entire world and its peoples. It was under the aegis of the Skull bundle [778]
of the Wonderful Person and its four special ministers.

The setting for the ceremony was a special circular structure—a low 796
circular embankment opening to the east. First the priests marked out 346
the circle with a compass consisting of two sticks with a long string between;
they also marked out the fireplace in the center in the same way.
The fireplace was 3 feet in diameter and the excavated earth from it was
dumped outside the east entrance to form a small mound. They dug
four holes about a foot deep in the semicardinal positions within the circle
to receive the posts that would be planted later on. All around the
inside of the circular embankment saplings were set up in the ground,
forming a screen that shaded the participants as they sat around during
the ceremony. The chiefs who were the owners of the sacred bundles
sat along the north and along the south side of the circle, each representing
one of the villages that was a member of the original federation.
Most of them sat on the north side, as the original villages were
mainly on the Loup River, only one having come from the Platte to
the south. At the west sat the keepers of the four direction bundles as
they had originally come from Old Village in the west.

The ceremony itself comprised two major episodes. One was the get- 796
ting of the four poles, a war party setting out in a different direction for

796 each one. The second part of the ceremony consisted in the recitation by a chief of certain events in the creation ritual that represented the essential nature of the world.

In the first episode, the four war parties went out for the poles. When everyone was assembled, four warriors took positions at the semicardinal [292] places. Each was dressed in full regalia. He wore an otter fur collar, a sacred ear of corn on the left shoulder, and a hawkskin on the right shoulder. On the head, each wore a ball of white down feathers and, transversely in the scalplock, an eagle feather. Each element of their costume had a symbolic meaning—the otter collar, awakening of life in the spring; the ear of corn, Mother Corn to guide them over the world; the hawk, to symbolize strength and fierceness; the eagle feather in the scalplock, Heaven during the creation; the white downy feathers, the clouds [302] on which he rode. Their faces were painted with red streaks along the sides and a bird's-foot mark on their foreheads which was also the name of a constellation in the Milky Way. Each warrior carried a war club and a pipe from one of the leading sacred bundles.

While the warriors were being costumed, four scouts had gone in four different directions to locate the trees for the posts. The White Pole [824] was located in the southwest direction and was a cottonwood. The Yellow Pole was found in the northwest and was a willow. The Red Pole of the southeast was a box elder, and the Black Pole of the northeast, an elm. The warriors came outside the enclosure and danced in their appropriate positions and a group of people gathered around each of them. The warriors now led their parties in their different directions and were met by their respective scouts who reported that they had located an enemy standing among the timber. Each warrior now led his party as if stealing upon an enemy. When the tree was sighted, they rushed in and the first man to reach the tree acted as if he were touching an enemy in battle, meriting a special war honor.

[782] Standing at the east, the warrior made a smoke offering to the tree. Then he carried the smoked-out pipe to the west where he deposited the ashes. Then another man, in similar fashion, made an offering of buffalo meat. Then a virgin took up her ax and symbolically cut down the tree. She motioned four times in each of the four directions, cutting off a chip in each. The tree was then actually cut down by her uncles and brothers amid the shouts of the people. As the tree fell they made as much noise as possible.

Now the warriors took up the tree and started toward the village, the [831] crowd following. On the way in they stopped to rest at four different intervals when they were beset by old women who encircled them making suggestive remarks referring to sexual intercourse and speaking of sexual acts as deeds of war. None of these remarks were personal. When the party tried to bring the pole into the enclosure, someone blocked

their way and touched the tree as if it were an enemy, claiming war honors and stating that they were entering the territory of the enemy. Then they brought it inside. 796

While the war parties were out, the priests had prepared the postholes. In each they placed a cake of buffalo fat sprinkled with some tobacco, the fat representing the earth and the tobacco the people. A similar cake of fat sprinkled with tobacco was placed in the center of the fireplace. These cakes were then taken outside and buried under the little mound outside to the east of the enclosure.

As each war party came in with its pole, the priest of that semicardinal-direction bundle offered it the pipe to smoke and sang the song ritual while the warrior danced four times and planted the tree in the posthole. All the branches had been trimmed from the posts except the very top ones. The priests sang songs referring to the appropriate colors connected with the semicardinal directions and each post was painted its proper color. [782] [533]

The next phase of the ceremony was considered its most vital part. The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person now recited certain acts of the creation by Heaven. The skull, fastened to a stick, was costumed to represent Heaven as in the first episode of the ground-breaking (*awari*), ceremony in the spring. The paraphernalia for decorating the skull, including the paints, was kept inside the bundle in a bladder bag when not in use. 796 778

Another symbolic object was a wooden bowl filled with water to represent a primordial pond or the waters in general. In the water was a shell to represent running water and the continuity of life. On the shell was placed the jaw of a gar pike, the head of a (thunder?) bird and the image of a turtle, all symbolizing the denizens of the water and the rains. The skull rested to the west, and to the east of it the bowl of water with the objects connected by a framework of sticks on which the turtle was placed with a clamshell over his middle. There were four smooth stones that were either meteorites or buffalo maw stones which came from the sacred bundle of the former Village Partly-on-a-Hill. The turtle and the shell were from the Southwest Direction bundle. The four smooth stones stood for the four quarters of the world.

The chief who had charge of the Skull bundle now stood up with the skull in his hands and, facing the bowl, recited the acts of the creation that had been performed by Heaven. The main part of the ceremony was now complete.

During the following night there were additional dramatic acts. Certain doctors appeared dressed in the skins of bears, loons, wildcats, and wolves, each connected with one of the four semicardinal directions. During the creation, as the Morning Star went out to conquer the Evening Star, he had to overcome each of these primordial animals who were 796 [756]

• 796 also aspects of the storm and who guarded her domain. They thus symbolized all war and conquest. Dressed in these skins, the doctors charged about the camp, symbolically fighting the people.

[793] The final act of the priests was the "opening of the road to the enemies' country and to the buffalo." The chief who was keeper of the Skull
[778] bundle danced with the skull and made certain movements with the skull in the four directions in turn as the priests sang the appropriate songs. Then with loud shouting the people joined in the dance. The way was now ceremonially open for war parties to set out and for the chiefs to make plans for the tribal migration and buffalo hunt for the winter season.

Now everyone moved back into their houses, stored their crops and buffalo meat from the summer hunt, and awaited the time they had all been looking forward to for so long—the thirty-day Grand Opera of the Wild Animal Cults that would be put on by the Doctors' Association. But first the crops and meat had to be stored in the food pit and everything connected with the harvest put in good order.

some dried meat that wouldn't fit into the rawhide containers, some 251
dried intestines folded up, and perhaps some clothing they wanted to
store.

The work of arranging the pit took a group of women in a household 251
from about ten in the morning until about three in the afternoon, with a 592
brief recess for lunch. There was no time in the household when the [461]
women were not fully aware of their capital in provisions and goods and
the rate at which they were using them. Practically every meal was a [264]
large-scale operation and portions were carefully calculated. The men [571]
had to be aware of this too as it was their major resource for public and
social relations. Except for horses, or perhaps even more important, the
main current capital they had was the preserved food. In the forthcoming round of ceremonies, the doctors calculated with great care their donations of meat and how they were going to apportion them.

It was in the light of a knowledge of the amounts they had produced 796
and accumulated, that the men now planned their forthcoming extensive ceremony—the Grand Opera of the Doctors that would last for thirty days and involve the feeding and the giving of gifts to a large corps of performers and participants. For these ceremonies, the cooking and apportioning was done by the errand men, *tarutsubus*, who were regularly constituted officers of the societies, and the chiefs, priests, or doctors had to keep exact account of the amount of food pledged and make their plans according to what they could afford. The food was their most important current capital for the support of their program.

While the implications of this great annual festival were certainly religious, deliberate showmanship was not neglected and the production was well planned and highly organized as such. It was remarked by the informant that they waited until the harvest was entirely complete "as they liked to have a good crowd."

34

PREPARATION FOR THE GRAND OPERA

000 *The Doctors' Profound Connection with the Animal World—Hypnotic Powers—Organization of the Doctor Lodge—Animal Cults—Construction of Images—Ideology of the Doctors—the Ceremonial Mode: Fighting and Sleight of Hand—Gaining Animal Knowledge—Getting the Cedar Tree for Ceremony*

796
756 THE DOCTORS' OPERA had to do neither with the ordered cosmos nor with the well-regulated world of the cultivated plants, but with the mysterious realm of the wild animals and their wild plant environment. The
[622
[793
[787 chief and the priest to whom the cosmic powers spoke in visions, were men of reason who spoke out clearly on what they thought, while the doctor who communed with the animal world had a slow, deliberate, introspective mein, seldom if ever making clear pronouncements. The
756 animal cults all had their origin in the experience of an individual man who in despair had reached out to the universe at large and received a vision from an animal who was ready to intercede for him and help him work out his problems. He had received special knowledge that would help him cure the sick through the properties of the plants and other curative procedures. In addition to this kind of knowledge, the animal also transmitted to his protegé the power of hypnotism and suggestion that gave him control over animals and other people and, if he
756 was skillful enough, over the enemies of the tribe. The Pawnee animal
173 cults were the result of traditions that had been handed down from one person to another and elaborated in the course of time. People who

wished to share in the cult knowledge apprenticed themselves to a doctor 756
and gradually learned his lore, adding their own variations in the course [173]
of time. Each of the different cults held their own special ceremonies at
least twice a year—in the spring before going out on the summer buffalo [796]
hunt and in the fall before leaving for the winter hunt. In addition, all
these cults were organized into one big "Doctor Lodge." It is said that in
the past there were two separate doctor lodges within the Skidi Band [173]
that would stage big hypnotic contests between them. They were called
"East Doctors" and "West Doctors."

At the time of this narrative in 1867 there was one combined Doctor Lodge with two major leaders, one for the south side, Pipe Offering of Pumpkin-Vine Village, and one for the north side, Big Doctor of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. Despite their location in the lodge, they were still referred to as West and East Doctors respectively, coinciding with the relative location of their villages in the settlement. Big Doctor was considered the more authoritative of the two, which may have been due to personal factors rather than formal or ceremonial ones. Each of these leaders had an assistant from his village to help him manage his side. Sitting Hawk of Pumpkin-Vine assisted Good Pipe and Wonderful Old Bull of Bottomlands Village assisted Big Doctor. These men were both prominent in their own right—Sitting Hawk, for example, being a prominent member of the Bear Cult and a senior member of his family in the chiefs' council. The apprentices to these prominent doctors acted as errand men and cooked and served the meals. They were stationed on each side of the entrance at the east. Theoretically the head men should be willing to give them any information they wanted in return for their services, and eventually they would move up to a position in one of the animal cults in which the doctor had a vested interest. Several subapprentices sat
next to them waiting to assume the position of errand man when they
should move. Venerable old men who were not currently members of the [888]
cults sat in the northeast and southeast positions, further in the lodge [622]
than the apprentices. Chiefs who were invited to witness a performance [554]
were seated next to the old men still further in.

The bed platforms had all been uprooted and put outside on the roof of 756
the entry way and along the sides a series of booths had been built for 346
the animal cults. The booths were constructed with partition walls of willow saplings and main outer posts of cottonwood logs. Each booth was completely screened in, with a tiny entranceway cut near the bottom of the front wall so that the doctors could crawl in and out. Each cult was directed by a leader who had a series of apprentices and subapprentices with different degrees of knowledge of the cult tradition.

At this time eight cults were represented in the different booths, four on each side.

756
346

On the South Side	*On the North Side*
A *reindeer cult* in charge of Old Bull	*An eagle cult*
A *black-tailed deer* cult led by Old Lady Tsitawa (see p. 45)	A *fish hawk cult*
A *buffalo lodge* led by Wonderful Old Bull	A *coyote* lodge (including wolves and foxes)
Another *buffalo lodge* led by Leading Buffalo	A *bear* lodge jointly lead by Sitting Hawk and Angry Horse

173 The origin of the Associated Doctor Lodge was said to be in Pumpkin-Vine
756 Village where they would conduct a twenty-day ceremony.
178 When they joined the Skidi Federation, they incorporated the other
[631] doctors and extended the term to thirty days. The formation of the as-
756 sociation was attributed to an original visionary and images were con-
•796 structed to commemorate various aspects of his vision. The most elabor-
532 ate was one that represented the serpentlike water monster that led him to the earth lodge of the animals under the Missouri. The body of the serpent, which was nearly 60 feet long, curved around the outside of the houseposts with its head at the southeast, a forked tail at the northeast, and its body curved toward the west. The body was constructed of a framework of pieces of ashwood tied with sinew, covered over with a layer of grass and plastered with clay, smoothed and painted in different colors. Its mouth, large enough for a man to crawl inside, was built of two rawhide containers, covered over with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with white downy eagle feathers. The open mouth was provided with large wedge-shaped cottonwood teeth and on each side of the mouth long slender willow rods to represent feelers or antennae.

They also had to model the figure of the witch woman who was in the visionary animal lodge under the Missouri. First they built up a willow frame and then covered it with grass and clay. They provided the witch with a realistically modeled face and pumpkin-seed eyes, blackened in the center to represent pupils. On her head they put a buffalo scalp to which they attached two long braids of human hair; for clothing she wore a buffalo-hide dress.

Next they modeled the fireplace into the shape of a turtle, with its head pointing east, its tail west and the four legs in the semicardinal directions. They scooped out the back for the fire pit.

It took twelve of the leading doctors two nights running to build these figures, for which large quantities of clay had to be brought in. They worked at night so that they would not be observed. These were the main figures that represented the vision in the animal lodge.

[776] The next task was to represent the star gods from whom everything

came, including the animals. For these, two consecrated buffalo skins 756
were shot with a special bow and arrow during the preceding summer. 776
The gods were represented as cutouts suspended from the roof of the 796
lodge. Each was hung approximately where it appeared in the heavens. 532
The female gods of the western skies were cut out of the buffalo cowskin. The bull hide was used for a large cutout figure of the Morning Star fastened to a stick and raised above the smokehold outside just before the star rose in the sky.

The tasks of the doctors in preparing the ceremonial lodge were sum- 756
marized by my informant as: 346
796

> Now that the booths, the drums and gourds (rattles) were done, the pictures hung, the serpent, witch, and turtle modeled, there was one more thing to do—to get the cedar tree.

Each one of these elements of ceremonial furniture represented an in- 756
volved ideological network of religious beliefs. The theology of the 796
celestial gods and the creation has already been sufficiently elaborated 77
on. The ideology of the Doctor Spirits concerned chiefly the waters as the primordial source, followed by the earth, the plants, and the animals—all however, ultimately subject to and derived from Heaven as denoted by the cutout figures of the cosmic gods.

The ideology of the doctors was greatly valued from a humanistic as 756
well as from a practical point of view. Theoretically, chiefs with heredi- 622
tary status should not want to be doctors as to some extent we might not expect a Grand Duke to want to go to medical school and set up an office for general practice. The degree of apprenticeship and subordination to an established practitioner seemed hardly consonant with the dignity of a chief from the point of view of the Pawnee, but nevertheless some of the chiefs did seek out doctor knowledge and participated actively in the apprentice roles. When a chief applied to a doctor to become his pupil, the doctor would try to dissuade him saying, "You're a chief. I don't sleep at night. I am always working. You don't want to be that way. I have to watch the sick at night." But if the chief is determined his wish will finally be granted. The doctor again would test him, saying, "You're good-looking. You don't want to have mud all over your face!" At last after all these probing questions, if the applicant said, "That's what I want," the doctor, convinced of his sincerity, would bless him and receive him under his tutelage. White Eagle, who had led the previous summer hunt, and his brother Charley Box were both chiefs and also deer doctors. Old Bull and Victory Call were both chiefs and practicing doctors; Victory Call's senior brother Sitting Hawk had an important place in the chief's council and was also a leading doctor in the lodge.

756 The kind of experience involved had a profound personal value. The way in which this knowledge was conceived is perhaps indicated by the personality attributed to the doctor—slow, deliberate, thoughtful and, to a considerable degree, introspective. As a more practical measure of social
[796] esteem perhaps was the fact that during the previous summer buffalo
[431] hunt, 60 parfleches of dried buffalo meat had been pledged in support
[178] of the performance, and in former times, before the population had been so heavily reduced, 140 parfleches were donated in one season.

756 796 789 The mode in which the doctors operated during their ceremony was of two kinds. One was the inducing of a trance state in the other doctors: utilizing the motions of the animal that was their special cult mentor. This was called *patsaku*, "shooting," and was also metaphorically referred to as "fighting." The second kind of activity of the doctors was a highly skilled sleight-of-hand performance, *tawaruku*, so expertly carried out that the illusion was completely convincing to the spectators. The metaphor for this kind of performance was "playing" or "romping," as of a child. The skill of the illusion in both cases has been attested to by the most hard-headed outside observers and this required extensive preparation and a long process of learning. The props were carefully designed to achieve the desired illusory effect and the strategy was planned with great precision, involving accomplices in the audience and special lighting effects developed by regulating the fire in the fireplace.

In view of these deliberate and extensive preparations for illusion, the question has often been raised of how these ceremonies could be regarded as religious in character. From my long experience with my informant, who retained a good deal of his old belief, it was the success in creating the illusion that was the mark of favor of the supernatural mentor, and therefore the performance was sincerely believed to be a religious experience. He would say, "If one does not have faith, he will fail." He cited examples where people of insufficient faith caused injury to themselves and to others while trying to perform. The success of the illusion depended upon the dexterity and agility of the performer and his ability to deflect the attention of the spectator just long enough for
[787] him to make the necessary shifts. There may possibly have been some measure of self-induced trance such as occurred to the priests incidentally in the course of the creation ceremony. (Our own knowledge of the subject is too elementary to identify the situation psychologically.)

787 825 A major difference between our experience and theirs should be especially noted. The Pawnees as well as many peoples who practiced these arts were in constant association with wild animals in their natural habitat, an experience which is entirely absent in our own world. They lived within a world of wild animals in their hunting and even in defense of their settlements, they had to have an intimate knowledge of the emo-

brought. She yelled, "Take that away!" "He's all right," said Fox 756
Chief, "You people are foolish." "But he'll bite someone if you set him
free in the village," said his wife. "No, he knows we live here. He'll
go straight off to that rocky place over there." Then he released the
snake and the snake went directly away without disturbing anyone.
And so I lost my chance to learn—by not believing.

This story, told in Oklahoma in 1936, sixty years later, was sincerely believed.

With this confident knowledge of the herbs and roots connected with 756
it, the doctors did cure the sick, combining what must have been some 755
empirical observation of physical efficacy with personal influence and
suggestion. It was this latter aspect that was the subject of their cere- [796]
mony at this time and an affirmation of their faith in their calling.

Last of all they had to get the cedar tree that would stand just outside 756
the Bear Booth to the west of its entrance. The bear and the cedar were 796
associated together, and both belonged to the northeast direction. 824
Their celestial affiliation was with the sun and moon. All the trees that
were used in setting up the Doctor Lodge were brought in with a great
deal of ceremony. The six cottonwood trees that had been used to build [778]
the animal booths symbolized the beaver, and the waters and were con-
secrated accordingly. To get the cedar, twenty doctors set out before
sunrise for the Loup River where the cedar tree had been located the day
before. The leader of the party carried a bearhide rattle. [534]

On the return journey, they stopped halfway and practiced hypnotism 756
on one another. The doctors who had remained behind in the lodge would 796
try to prevent the incoming party from entering the village. One of the doctors was stationed at the top of the lodge to sight them as they were returning. The incoming party stopped in the timber and painted themselves so that they could rehearse in order to "put on a good show for the people of the village." They were sighted approaching from the southwest by the doctors in the lodge who went south through the village to meet them as they were about to enter and managed hypnotically to drive them back. The leader of the incoming party was sounding his bearhide rattle and the people climbed onto the roofs of their lodges to watch. The approaching party dropped the cedar, and, in their hypnotized condition some began to impersonate wolves, some deer, all imitating the motions of the different animals. As they came, one of the deer tumbled over, and the wolves tumbled on their noses and lay there kicking. Then they got up looked around dazed as they recovered from their trance. People came and threw offerings of calico and black handkerchiefs on the cedar tree as it lay on the ground.

Inside the lodge, Big Doctor stood ready to receive the cedar tree [824]
which was ceremonially treated and set down east of the fireplace while

756 •796 [824] they ate a feast together. That evening, with a special ritual, it was stood in the ground next to the Bear Booth.

At the feast that afternoon, Big Doctor had given an accounting of how their meat supplies were holding up. Sixty rawhide containers of dried buffalo meat had been donated and these had to last for the whole proceedings. Including the present meal, they had used up fifteen. The doctors had been working for nine days. Two more were used cleaning the lodge of fleas, and, for the two days used in building the serpent, the turtle, and the witch woman, they had used up four containers.

796 756 313 [462] The question of wood for fuel also came up at this time. As the meal was coming to a close, the north errand man whispered into Big Doctor's ear that he should mention this matter in his closing speech, particularly as a number of chiefs were present at the session. Getting wood was normally the function of the women and now they would have to enlist the help of a considerable party of women to lay in a supply. The two chiefs present would tell the various members of their families asking the women to get wood for the doctors and then word would readily get around. Old Man High Water was also instructed to go from house to house soliciting volunteers, saying, "The doctors want you to go for wood for them." He was cautioned not to mention any particular amount lest the women feel they were being pressured into going. The chiefs would arrange to have scouts go out with the women to protect them. Other young men would go voluntarily and picket on the hills.

35

ORGANIZING THE EARTH LODGE FOR THE CEREMONIAL PERFORMANCE–REHEARSALS AND CONSTRUCTION WORK

000

Work Corps to Prepare Earth Lodge for Ceremony—Fleas Burnt—Drums Repaired—Practice Sing—Meat Served the Singers—Building of Booths in Lodge—Building the Images

OF THE FOUR LEADERS of the Doctor Lodge, Sitting Hawk had the largest 756
and most conveniently located earth lodge, and it was in his lodge that 796
they decided to conduct the ceremony. The following are the details of 346
the way in which they managed to get the work done and the ceremonial procedures connected with it. 356

As soon as they got back from the hunt and set up camp, the three other doctors called on Sitting Hawk and discussed the matter; two weeks later he made arrangements to begin to get the lodge ready. Like all the others in the village, his lodge was infested with fleas that had to be smoked out. He organized his work corps, first calling in the two doctors' errand men and then sending each of them in turn to bring in another young man to assist. The five had dinner at Sitting Hawk's camp, then met next morning at the lodge and got to work. They pulled up the beds and piled them outside on the roof of the long entrance passageway. Sitting Hawk supervising, two of them got to work with burning torches to smoke out the fleas on each side. The floor was carefully swept and the dust carried far from the lodge to be dumped. Dusty and tired, their legs red with flea bites, about five o'clock they

756
• 796
346
356

took a swim in Beaver Creek and set out for Sitting Hawk's tent where they would be served dinner. Meanwhile, since word had gone all around the camp of what they were doing, other doctors decided to join them for supper. From this point on, all activities connected with the Doctor Lodge would be charged to the "Doctor Fund" of sixty parfleches of buffalo meat that had been pledged for the purpose. At each event the leader stated how much was being used for the current proceedings and how much of the total. At this meal, half a parfleche of buffalo meat was used up and it was so stated by Sitting Hawk.

The fleas would have to be burnt out one more time, and Sitting Hawk had told them that they would allow a day to pass in between and then do it on the subsequent day. As they were leaving the dinner that night, two other young doctors decided to join the work corps. The other two assistants, Man Chief and Fox Chief, decided to relax and do some gambling in the interim, before resuming their work next day.

When people in camp heard about what the doctors were doing, they all talked about speeding up their harvest. Someone would say, "Oh I'd like to see Bear!" Old ladies would say, "Oh, so they're cleaning the Doctor Lodge. Well it's high time. There ought to be a session in there already. When I was younger I used to be a good singer. When they went through the village, I used to sing." Other old ladies would reminisce about old times and about how many doctors there used to be in Old Village, Kitkehax-pakuxtu.

Now the men gathered at the lodge for the second bout with the fleas. Again Sitting Hawk supervised and two smoked them out on each side. The two additional young men cleared off the spider webs near the roof, for they were going to hang the cutouts up there; since they would have a large fire all during the sessions, the sparks might ignite the webs. Sitting Hawk wanted to keep them all busy so that during that day they didn't go off and gamble. They proceeded at a leisurely pace, sitting down for a smoke and telling stories every now and then. He sent his son Misery down to the Loup River to check the condition of the cedars and to locate a straight one about 4 inches in diameter. By late afternoon they took a long bath in Beaver Creek and then went to Sitting Hawk's tent for supper. On this occasion, the second half of the parfleche of meat from the Doctor's Fund was used up.

When everyone moved back into their earth lodges, Sitting Hawk's family had to divide up and move in with others. The women and children moved in with Chief's Road whose house was immediately to the west of theirs, and the boys went to the earth lodge of Comanche Chief into which Sitting Hawk's oldest son, Misery, was married.

While the others were cleaning the ceremonial lodge, the three other leading doctors had been working on the drums and other things. This had been mentioned among the guests at the dinner. Sitting Hawk had

said, "Now while we're cleaning, it's only right that Big Doctor, Won- 756
derful Old Bull, Pipe Offering, and Old Bull should be fixing their 796
drums and other things so that the boys can go into the lodge and prac- 346
tice as soon as it is fixed up. We'd like the drums to sound good when 356
we get in there." "That's right," some one else would say, "I've been wanting to sing even now, but the drum isn't fixed yet. It doesn't sound good."

At last everything was in order and the four leading doctors moved 756
into the ceremonial lodge for the duration of the ceremony with the two 796
errand men to do the cooking. That night they would have a practice 624
sing with all the doctors who wanted to participate. The two leading doctors sent the two errand men out to invite them. They saw that the two men were appropriately clothed to go through the village, providing each with a buffalo robe which they wrapped around themselves with the hair side out, and an eagle-wing fan to carry. They filed out of the lodge one behind the other at a trot, and as they entered a lodge where a doctor lived they sat down one behind the other at the east with their eagle-wing fans in front of their faces. The appropriate response was for someone in the lodge to whisper into their right ear the question as to what they wished. They would answer also in a whisper that the doctor was to come right away. Then the two errand men would get up and trot out again, moving on to the next lodge where a doctor lived. Their mission did not always proceed with dispatch. Sometimes the two errand men got to a lodge where everyone was sleeping and the occupants would say, "Oh, I hate to get up," but they had to get up anyway and whisper their question and receive the whispered reply. In some lodges there were just young girls about and they said to each other, "You go and do it." "No, you go." Finally one would sit down next to the errand man and ask the question. He would whisper his reply, but not knowing the proper decorum, the girl would call right out loud, "Oh, I'll tell him." All these incidents were recounted in detail when the two men returned to the Doctor Lodge. In some places the people were eating and they made the errand men take a few bits of food before they would let them go. If the doctor happened to be home and was smoking, he would make them smoke with him a while before whispering his question and receiving his reply. Should the errand men meet a man outside the lodge on his way somewhere or toward the house, they would not discuss their business with him but would proceed to his lodge and notify the people there. As soon as the doctor was notified, he went straight to the Doctor Lodge. Everyone knew that on that night they were going to start by singing the doctor songs.

Twenty-six doctors came to the ceremonial lodge and Big Doctor 796
opened the evening with a speech. He said, "Tonight we are going to 756
practice our first songs so that we can send the birds, the winds, and

756 • 796 everything on their way south for the coming winter. I have sent men out to see about willows for our booths. They report that there are good trees for us. I wanted you to know that in a few days we are going to start to set up the lodge. Now the leaves are turning yellow and they are falling. This is the way the year goes round and that's why I wanted to tell you so that you can get ready. In two or three days you can come up here and get the wood to build your booths. Meanwhile you must fix up your paraphernalia, your whistles, and anything else you will need. I don't want to take up too much time talking this evening, as we have a great deal to do."

[824] Now he instructed the errand men to go to two of the men who had pledged meat and to bring it to the lodge. They went, carrying a piece of tent skin between them, and when they got to the lodges the meat was removed from the parfleches and placed on the skin, then carried by the errand men to the ceremonial lodge where it was set down near the southeast pillar. Now Sitting Hawk stated how their account stood. He said, "We used half a parfleche of meat cleaning up the lodge the first time, then the rest of the parfleche when we did the second cleaning. Now with these two, three parfleches will be used up."

756 796 533 Now the first song was begun and men, women, and children crowded in around the outside doorway to listen. They would say, "Oh, I like a good song." "Oh, I wish I could sing that song." A woman would remark, "I wonder when they'll put in the booths. I'd like to see the Bear." Inside the singing and dancing continued. The men were not costumed but simply painted, as this was a practice dance.

[782] After the first round of singing, the spectators were told they had to leave. Big Doctor said, "It's all over." This was because they were now going to make their ceremonial smoke offerings to the powers and outsiders could not be permitted to witness this. Some doctors refrained from singing in the first round altogether because they wanted to keep their songs from the public.

756 796 At the west were sitting the four leading doctors with their wives sitting directly behind them. On each side, along the north and south, the rest of the doctors were ranged. At the east ends on each side were eight chiefs, two from each of the four villages, viz., at the southeast, two from Village-across-a-Ridge and two from Pumpkin-Vine, and at the northeast, two chiefs from Bottomlands Village and two from Wolf-in-Water. Beyond these at the southeast were the old men, and an errand man at each side.

In the interim between the first and second round of singing, one of the eight chiefs got up and spoke on behalf of all of them. The doctors on their part spoke and said, "The echo of the drum drives back sickness when it comes."

[533] The singing alternated between the sides, first on the north and then

on the south. When they had gone halfway down the line, Big Doctor 756
appointed someone to get up and cut the meat into portions while the 796
errand man put up the water to boil. As the singing continued, the [533]
errand man finally announced that the meat was all cooked and a spread
was laid down east of the fireplace and 43 portions were set out for the
singers. It was midnight or later when the singing was over and the four
drums and a number of gourd rattles were brought back to Big Doctor.
He made a brief speech: "Now in three days we are going to get the
wood for our booths. We must look to the future and make our plans.
Now we are going to eat." Then he appointed two men for each side to
do the serving of the meat. One portion was sent to the house where
Sitting Hawk's wife was staying, "for the lodge." Before they could eat, [782]
an offering of meat and fat was made to the spirits in the significant
directions of the universe. When the offering was completed, all said,
"Nawa."

One more matter had to be attended to before the meat could finally be served. The meat was arranged on the spread according to where the people were sitting, and a stick was placed in the middle to act as a divider between the north and south halves. The pieces of meat were of two different sizes, some particularly large and some of ordinary proportions. Big Doctor asked Sitting Hawk to see that the special portions were placed in position so that they would be properly assigned. There were to be special portions for the four doctors at the west and their wives, for the eight chiefs, the two errand men, one each for the person sitting at the north on behalf of the North Star and at the south on behalf of the South Star, and for the four men who had been specially appointed to do the serving. Three or four extra pieces were set aside for possible mistakes in the count; if no mistakes had been made, these extra portions were placed on top of those that had already been set out for the chiefs. The smaller-size pieces were set out for the rest of the people. The meat was passed out in formal order and then the soup, in the same way. The feast this time consisted of meat and soup only.

By now it was extremely late and Big Doctor made some very brief closing remarks. He said, "Now we know what we have to do (viz., come back in three days and get wood for the booths). Now we have eaten. Now we can go." All got up and went home. It would take six or seven days more before the dance preparations were complete.

The next stage in their preparations was the building of the booths [346]
and other structures in the ceremonial lodge. As announced, this would
be three days after the practice sing. On the appointed morning before
daybreak, Big Doctor told the errand men to go to certain specified
lodges and get four parfleches of dried buffalo meat that had been
pledged so that they could have their feast that evening. The four donors
had already been alerted at the previous meeting.

756 • 796 [824] The doctors came in very early wearing only their moccasins and a loin cloth and carrying an ax. Before sunrise they were to go into the woods and get six cottonwood trees and a quantity of willow saplings to build up the booths. The cottonwood trees were symbolic of the beaver, and the trees were cut down with an involved ceremonial procedure. When the doctors had all assembled, Big Doctor, dressed in his buffalo robe with the hair side out and carrying an eagle-wing fan and a gourd rattle, said, "Now get ready!" They sang four songs, four rounds each, [533] and then Big Doctor appointed Sitting Hawk to lead the men into the timber. He also wore a buffalo robe with the hair side out and carried an eagle-wing fan, gourd rattle, and a pipe that had been filled with tobacco by Good Pipe so that he could perform the ceremony when they cut down the first cottonwood. Pipe Offering instructed him: "Go by the east agency road. Before you get across Beaver Creek, all along the north side, you will find good willows and cottonwoods and also some very small thin willows. Cut a good many of those. Now go!"

756 796 824 276 782 They all filed out behind Sitting Hawk, and when they got to the timber they found a good cottonwood and sat down around it to perform the ceremony. Sitting Hawk, who was seated at the west, pointed the unlit pipe toward the tree—first toward the top, then the middle, and then the bottom. Now he moved to the north side, again offering the unlit pipe to the top, the middle, and the bottom of the tree and so similarly at the east and at the south. The next step was an offering of the smoke from the lit pipe in the same manner. Squatting at the northeast of the tree he lit the pipe with a flint and proceeded by north to west where he directed puffs of smoke to the top, middle, and bottom of the tree and then at the other stations as before. After the pipe was smoked out, he made the same offering with the ashes, rubbing first his right hand along the stem up toward the top of the tree, then his left hand, then the same to the middle, sitting at each of the four cardinal directions—west, north, east, and south. He now handed the pipe to the man at his right (south) and instructed him to find a cottonwood just like the one before them and to treat it ceremonially in the same way. These two cottonwoods were to stand near the western end of the lodge on both sides (north and south). He now instructed Bringing Horses to take his men and get two more cottonwoods, one to stand in the north position and one to the south as representatives of the beaver. (The ceremony was performed only for the two cottonwoods that would stand at the west.)

756 796 824 Finally, two other men were sent to get two cottonwoods that would stand one on each side of the lodge near the east. These men simply cut down the trees and sharpened them at the stub end so that they could be stood up in their appropriate positions in the lodge. Meanwhile, Sitting Hawk went on with his ceremony for the two trees that were to

stand at the west. After the smoke offerings, he made a series of cuts in 756
the tree at the four cardinal points in the standard order—first at the west, 796
then north, then east and then south, cutting it so that it would fall 824
gently to the east where two men were standing to catch it so that the limbs would not break. They sharpened it at the stub end so that it would stand up in the lodge. All chips were gathered and either thrown into the creek or carried home and burned in the fire. After gathering as many willow saplings as they could carry, the procession for the Doctor Lodge set out with Sitting Hawk in the lead and two men each carrying the six cottonwoods, one at each end of the tree.

Halfway home, they stopped. They began to make animal motions and to try to hypnotize one another (*patsaku*, "shoot one another"). Some of them had their buffalo robes on, some did not. They made peculiar motions with their eagle-wing fans, touching the ground. Then some were knocked down and got up growling and grunting. One of them "hypnotized" another by trying to put a corn cob in his throat, making his mouth all bloody. Another attempted to put fish bones in someone's throat, with the same result. The victims vomited up these things without too much damage being done and continued to move along with the cottonwoods. When the little boys saw this they got excited and said, "Look at those fellows! Look at that big bear over there!" As they arrived at the village, they made a second stop and again hypnotized each other. Then they took up the trees once more and went toward the ceremonial lodge. As they were arriving, Big Doctor took up his gourd rattle and began to sing. They came in and when the singing was over, Sitting Hawk gave the pipe back to Pipe Offering at the west. The cottonwood that had been ceremonially gathered was carefully placed to the east of the fireplace with its stub end pointing west and the head end eastward toward the exit. The second "west" tree was placed in the same position beside it and the others in any order on the ground, nearer the entrance. Now Big Doctor, getting the pipe from Pipe Offering, smoked all the trees ceremonially, treating each one in turn as in the woods.

They could now proceed to build the booths. Meanwhile, the errand 756
men did the cooking. First the six cottonwoods were erected, three on 796
each side. Then the willow partitions and fronts were added. Everyone 346
was arguing—"This is our lot; move over a bit." "Well, we have a lot of buffalo!" "Well, we have a lot of deer too!" The leaders stood on the inside directing the apprentices who were doing their work. The willows were all piled up on the north side of the entrance while they proceed
with the job. At the southeast the errand men were preparing the ket- [624]
tle so that they could cook their meat. They had had nothing to eat all [252]
day. The wives of the four leading doctors had brought in four buckets of boiled dried corn kernels and set them down on either side of

756 the southeast lodge pole. Sometimes a woman would come in and give
796 the "boss" of one of the animal booths a gift of corn bread so that later
[346] on during the performance they would be permitted to sit near the booth and get a better view instead of crowding in at the entryway.

When the food was ready, Big Doctor spoke and told them they were going to interrupt their activity and eat now, and that they could resume their work later. He said that he himself would make the offering to the powers with the corn and save time. The errand men were instructed to distribute the food.

The meal over, Big Doctor said, "Now we have eaten. Now you can go and tend to anything you want to. But after that, return here and get back to work!" They went off home to take their extra dry meat to their families, to tend their horses, and to take a little rest before going on with the work in the evening. The four main doctors did not linger long away from the ceremonial lodge. They had to fix up the gourd rattles, drums, and other things. Old-Man-That-Chief who has elk (*pax*) power was too old to wander about. If he should want to go home, someone must lead him. Most of the time he remained in the lodge throughout the ceremonial period.

756 That night and the next they built the serpent, the witch, and the
796 turtle. They worked at night when they would not be observed. The
532 serpent would take a whole night, the witch and the turtle perhaps
[317] another night. They had to bring in quantities of clay from the river bottom to do all this modeling. Twelve of them did the modeling—the four doctors at the west, and Old Bull and also the son of the subleader at the north, Wonderful Old Bison; the son of Sitting Hawk, Misery; also Angry Horse of the Bear Lodge. Bringing Horses was called in by Pipe Offering to assist him. On the next night, after the serpent was done they divided up, six working on the witch woman and six on the turtle-fireplace. Then the skin cutouts of the celestial powers were hung in place and the two loon skins put before the altar. Finally they were to set out for the cedar tree. They followed the same kind of procedure as for the cottonwoods, except that only one tree was obtained on this occasion.

756 A suitable cedar had been spotted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy
796 on the Loup River, and before sunrise the next day a party of twenty
[824] doctors led by Strikes-the-Enemy set out to cut it down and bring it back to the lodge. Symbolically the cedar represented the Bear whose celestial affiliation was with the sun and the moon. The cottonwood symbolized the Beaver and the waters of the earth. Strikes-the-Enemy led the party, carrying a bear-hide rattle. On the return journey, they stopped half way and had a hypnotic contest as described in Chapter 34.

[824] When the party reached within four feet of the lodge, they halted and

Big Doctor prepared to receive them and the tree on behalf of the Doctor Lodge. At his signal they came inside carrying the tree, stub end forward, and walked around the fireplace four times through south, west, north, and east where they stopped and placed the tree with its stub end touching the rim of the fireplace and its head end pointing toward the entrance at the east. 756 796 824

Pipe Offering made the offering of tobacco, smoke, and ashes with the sacred pipe to the three vital parts of the tree—the base, the middle, and the top as they had previously done with the cottonwoods. Meanwhile the errand men were sent outside to start to boil the dried buffalo meat for their feast. [782]

All this time the other doctors had remained inside their respective booths, only the officials of the Doctor Lodge conducting the smoke offering ceremony. These included the four doctors at the west, one doctor each at the north and at the south, one old man (*kurahus*) each, at the northeast and the southeast, and the two errand men, one on each side of the entrance way.

Now that the cedar tree had been brought into the lodge and received, it was time for all of them to eat. The doctors all came out of their booths and sat right down on the serpent as there was no other place to sit between the booths and the fireplace. Three buckets of boiled corn kernels had been donated and these constituted the first course of their banquet. As always, they had to share the food with the supernatural powers before it could be eaten by the people, and the serving followed an order that was determined by the particular powers they had called on for the occasion. After eating, the ceremony to stand the cedar in its place was performed and then anyone who wanted to could go home. 756 796 264

36

THE WOMEN GET WOOD FOR THE DOCTORS

000 *Women Volunteer to Get Wood—Women Invited to Entertainment and Feast at Doctor Lodge—Quartz Crystal Sleight of Hand*

756 WHEN OLD-MAN-HIGH-WATER went around the village notifying the
=796 women, he told them to meet outside the village and that two men would
313 go along to protect them. Meanwhile Eagle Chief had sent one of his
462 wives to ask Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy to take
over this task. They knew they would be asked and they were all ready to go. They were given instructions to lead the women south of the creek rather than to the west where the enemy was likely to be lurking. As the women started for the appointed meeting place, other men set out for the surrounding hills to picket.

[482] Twenty women had volunteered. There was a standard backload of wood that the women usually carried (¼ cord or 2 cubic feet—2 armloads; eight armloads = 1 cord or 4 backloads). For each night that the doctors performed, they would need four backloads. Besides their preparations during the current week, the doctors were likely to give five performances, so that the women have to go on three more such expeditions to keep them supplied.

While the women were in the timber cutting the wood, the two scouts were standing on a hill watching them closely. Some women were saying, "Don't take too much. Take a light load. There are a lot of us." As one woman would get loaded up, she would stand aside and wait for the others. Finally when most of them had gathered, the men called out, "All of you here yet?"

One was found to be missing and when she finally emerged they all

lined up one behind the other and set out for the village. As they approached, people were watching from the housetops, saying, "They're coming with wood." A ridge ran east and west above the village and the women sat down there to rest before coming in. They were wishing they could take a bath in the lake beside the road. "Have you rested enough?" asked Roaming Scout. "Yes." "Come on, then." When they had gone halfway into the village, their scouts left them and went home and the women proceeded to the Doctor Lodge where they dumped the wood, some of it inside and some outside to the north of the door. Big Doctor said, "Now you ladies go home and change your clothes. Dress up in your best. Paint your cheeks and then come back because you are going to have a feast. Tell those two men who went with you to dress up and come. Who were they?" "Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy?" "All right." 756 796 313 462

By about three or four in the afternoon, the children who were waiting around to see everything sighted the line of women with the two men in the lead going to the Doctor Lodge. The women were carrying their wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons. They were seated along the north side of the lodge, the two men at the western end of the line. Wonderful Old Bull of the north side was doing the honors for the four main doctors. The wives of the doctors had contributed four buckets of boiled corn which were now brought in and the meat was given by one of the designated donors. An offering of corn was made to all the objects in the lodge, and it was served to the guests. After the second helping some of the women were patting their stomachs and saying, "My, I ate too much!" Those with more foresight had brought a bucket along to take the extra food home. 756 796 574

All the doctors except the four at the west remained in their booths. In anticipation of the forthcoming entertainment, some were calling out, "I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of that good-looking woman over there!" The women, who were apt to be shy on such occasions, were whispering among themselves instead of speaking out as the men usually did. The three big doctors at the west supplied the talk. "That one—I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of her!" "No you won't. That's the one I want." While they were eating the corn, twenty-two pieces of the cooked meat were spread out on a tent skin ready to be served, and as the women finished their corn they were served soup in their bowls. Wonderful Old Bull, representing all the head doctors, served them with the meat. Finally the dishes and pots were cleared away, the women put their bowls behind their backs, and the entertainment began.

At the west, Wonderful Old Bull and Sitting Hawk began to drum and sing doctor songs, while the doctors in different booths made all sorts of animal sounds. The little boys ran in to see what was going on. They were saying, "Now they're taking their quartz crystals." At this juncture,

756 the two head doctors got up and danced facing the booths—Big Doctor
• 796 down the north side and Pipe Offering down the south side. Each doc-
574 tor carried a gourd rattle in his left hand, an eagle-wing fan in the right
and as they went along the side they said, "Hu', hu', hu'," to signify that they were bent on hypnotizing. They passed along their booths from west to east and then back again.

Now the two doctors set out from the west again, Big Doctor in the lead and Pipe Offering behind him. They moved very carefully inside the serpent, making sure their feet did not touch it. When they arrived in front of the women sitting along the north side, they made odd motions and Big Doctor fell over. When he came out of his daze he patted his hand on his stomach, passing it up toward his throat and the quartz crystal came out of his mouth. Then Pipe Offering did the same and the two doctors went back to their place at the west. Now the other doctors all came out of their booths in a bunch, rolling and writhing, and they took the crystals out of the women. Old-Man-That-Chief who was blind asked to be led in front of an old woman and he took a crystal out of her.

By this time it was five-thirty and Big Doctor made his closing speech, stating that they had seen their "romping and playing" and now the show was over. They had shared a feast together and now all got up and left, including the spectators. On the way out everyone was laughing at Old-Man-That-Chief taking a crystal out of an old lady.

The doctors put away their "quartz crystal" paraphernalia and discussed plans for the forthcoming performance. Big Doctor said, "The day after tomorrow, in the evening, Good Pipe and I are going to put on a regular performance. Tomorrow evening we doctors are all going to parade through the village. Anyone who wants to take part in the performance to be given the day after tomorrow, ought to get everything ready!" The big public performances were now about to begin.

37

THE BIG DOCTOR PERFORMANCE

000

A Combination of Theater and Ceremony—the Form of the Performance—the "Scalped Ones" Mime—Swallowing a Deer Head—the Mud Duck—the Parade through the Village—the Round of Ceremonial Activities—the Sleight-of-Hand Performances

It must be remembered that the doctor performance was both ceremony and theater and so regarded by the doctors themselves. The whole organization of the acts, the costuming, and the stage effects were designed to impress and entertain the people while at the same time supporting the confidence of the doctors. While for us in analogous situations, a trilogy or three-act play is considered most satisfying, with a five-act performance secondarily acceptable, for the Pawnees the four-act or fourfold organization is fundamental and based on their cosmic ideology. For more complex organizational forms he would develop four units with a final unit added, an introduction with four basic units less often, or two double-fours, one four following the other with an interim unit between them. During the twenty-day period in which the actual performance would take place, the sequence of acts on subsequent days had a "double-four" character with an interim unit of a different kind, and an introductory unit to the whole series and one in closing. The sequence of the kinds of acts presented might be summarized as A-B A A B—C A C—B A A B-A conceived by the doctors as four B's with at least four-day intervals between each of them filled in either with A's or blank days, with the interim C A C being a special elaboration of the four-day interim theme between the second and third B. The B unit was a large-scale animal mime performed in the late afternoon in the outdoor 756 796 536 [801]

756 796 536 plaza before the Doctor Lodge with the crowd watching from the roofs of the surrounding earth lodges. It was called Big Dance, *Kibaxkutsu*, dance-big, and the doctors were in a greater or lesser degree of trance while they carried out their performance.

The A's, the secondary acts between the Big Dances, were indoor performances comprising a series of sleight-of-hand feats including trance induction in one doctor by another. They were held in the night from about eight o'clock until midnight and included a sequence of acts by four different doctors with drumming, rattling, singing, and dancing in the intervals. All during the day the doctors who were to perform in the evening prepared themselves and their paraphernalia and refrained from eating until the following morning. The performances were interspersed with blank days during which they all rested and made other preparations for the Big Dance as well as for their subsequent performances. The entire series of performances was introduced by an initial indoor performance and ended with a finale that featured a lively battle between the Bears and the Buffalo Clowns, whose theme was, "Who's afraid of the great big bears? They're only little puppies after all!"

756 796 536 727 156 626 The C units were a special type of mime also given outdoors, featuring the "Scalped Ones," the *Kitsahuruksu*, who were thickly plastered with mud "so that they looked like mud banks approaching" and acted in weird and fearsome ways. It was a Pawnee belief that should a person who had been scalped survive, he could never return to his people. It was reasoned that if anyone did survive the process of being scalped by the enemy, he would become so malevolent that he could not live in society. Such a man would make himself a dugout in an embankment and live by attacking people and stealing what he needed. Frank North in his autobiography tells of a young woman who had been scalped by the Sioux in one of their raids in June 1861 while she was returning from her cornfield. Found to be alive, she was apparently buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left there to die. She was rescued and nursed back to health by the schoolmistress, Mrs. Platt. There is of course, no proof that this was the work of the Pawnees themselves, nor can anyone substantiate the subsequent report that she was dispatched with a tomahawk after her return to the tribe and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. It does indicate, however, that a person could survive scalping. A tribal belief was universally maintained that a scalped person could never return to the tribe. [775] Children were constantly warned about these mischievous spirits and alive or dead they were considered a threat to adults also. They lived by stealing whatever they could get and sometimes seized women and young people. Because of them people were afraid to go about in the dark, especially near the banks of streams.

One of the principal actors in this mime was Old Lady Tsitawa, who was the leader of the black-tailed deer cult and the only woman leader in the lodge. She appeared wearing a short black skirt of tanned hide and a tanned hide shawl. Sometimes one and sometimes two of these "Scalped Ones" outdoor performances would be given in the interval between the second and third Big Dance, an indoor performance (A) intervening between the two Scalped Dances, so that at least four days would pass between the two Big Dance episodes. 756 796 636

The night before each indoor performance (A), the doctors who were to perform on the next evening paraded through the village in costume, stopping in as many earth lodges as they could and singing their songs. The general sequence of the sessions was as follows:

A. Introductory performance indoors, to open the proceedings.
I. B. Outdoor Big Dance the following day in the late afternoon.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
II. B. Outdoor Big Dance, late afternoon (second big dance).
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, *Kitsahuruksu*—outdoors.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, outdoors.
III. B. Outdoor Big Dance (third big dance).
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
IV. B. Outdoor Big Dance, the fourth and final one.
A. Indoor performance at night, to close. Grand Finale with the Buffalo Clown warriors attacking the Bears and conquering them.

After the women who had gotten their advance fuel supply had gone home, Big Doctor announced to the other doctors, "Good Pipe and I are going to put on a regular performance the day after tomorrow in the evening. Tomorrow evening, we doctors are all going to parade through the village." He also reminded them that any doctors who were going to join the two head doctors in giving a performance would have to make their plans for the parade and for the performance the following evening.

As usual, there would be four acts. Big Doctor planned to demonstrate how he swallowed a deer head whole. Pipe Offering was going to make a mud duck come alive. The third on the program would be Brave Horse, whose son would succeed in locating a horse's tail that would be carried away during the performance by one of the audience and hidden 756 796 789 636

756 in an earth lodge in a place known only to himself. The fourth act was
• 796 to be by Brave Shield or High Noon, who was a buffalo doctor. He
536 would shoot an arrow into the chest of his young son, Yellow Calf,
789 who would be impersonating a young buffalo.

The Pawnee doctor, wearing nothing but his loin cloth, was apparently
756 a highly successful illusionist, as attested by the number of hard-headed
796 white spectators who were thoroughly mystified. Among them was
Major Frank North who early became a clerk in the trade store on the
536 Pawnee reservation and later rose to be the leader of the U.S. Battalion
789 of Pawnee Scouts that were regularly inducted into the U.S. Army.
177 North, having a good grasp of the language and being familiar with the
personalities involved, on witnessing the act where "the Bear" rips open
[648] the abdomen of a boy and eats part of the liver, could only conclude either that a dummy had been used or that the boy had actually been murdered on the spot. George Bird Brinnell of Yale, who had been among the Pawnee in Nebraska, after their removal visited a medicine man in Oklahoma and he too was at a loss to explain what he had seen in broad daylight. Luther North, young brother of Frank, who was with him on this occasion said that while he was on duty with the Pawnee scouts in Nebraska some of his scouts would practice their illusionist feats while they were out on campaigns with him. "One man hid among the tall grass and appeared as a deer, then the next moment as a man," he reported. Another would simply take up a handful of mud and, rubbing his hands together, produce a live turtle, reconverting it into mud again. North asked him what would happen if he released the turtle and let him go. The man said he would die. North returned to the spot after such an episode and found the dead turtle there. There are also eyewitness accounts of such feats as cutting off a foot during the course of a performance, reattaching it backward and then restoring it to normal.

756 My informant who had participated in some of these feats from the
796 operational side was by no means mystified. The illusions were carefully
789 planned, with assistants planted in the audience and all the practical details organized with great precision. The methods for convincing the audience that are familiar to us, such as allowing the spectators to examine some of the objects involved, were freely used. Various lighting effects produced by lowering or brightening the fire were also employed. Knowing all this, Evarts continued to believe in the divine intervention in the process, while a friend of similar age, David Gillingham, remained an unbeliever from his boyhood on into later life.

756 Now on the first evening before their performance, the doctors got
796 ready for their parade through the village, *wi-ti-kihar-rar-itsax-ka-wu*, "now-it-dance-they-through-the-village-among-going." The first contingent comprised the four leading doctors at the west. They made an extensive tour of the village, going into each earth lodge as far as they could

manage it and stopping east of the fireplace where they stood and sang. 756 Then they went around the fireplace from east, by south, west, north 796 and then out of the lodge and into the next one, where they again sang and walked around the fireplace, continuing until they had visited a considerable number. The next contingent was the Horse Doctors who would perform next evening, led by Brave Horse, making a similar tour, followed by their wives or any other women that wanted to join them in their songs.

Finally the Buffalo Doctors went through led by Leading Buffalo (*Taraha-rakitawiu,* "buffalo-outstanding"). As one of their number [789] Brave Shield was going to demonstrate how he would shoot an arrow at his son Yellow Calf's chest and leave the boy unharmed. Brave Shield was also in the procession followed by Yellow Calf's grandmother Grieves-the-Enemy, who had given his father a gift so that he would teach the boy. All over the village there were abandoned cache pits, and, although the women tried to throw their old sweepings into them in order to fill them up, they never quite succeeded and from time to time someone that was not very familiar with the particular part of the village fell in. On this occasion as Brave Shield's group was going along they came to an old cache pit and the group separated, walking around it. But Grieves-the-Enemy was so preoccupied with her singing that she fell straight in. She yelled as loud as she could, but everyone was singing so loud that no one could hear her. Finally when the next party came passing that way and the men began to walk around the pit, they heard the old lady yelling and got a ladder so that she could climb out. "I was singing for Brave Shield when I fell in and they never heard me," she said. The men asked her, "Are you hurt?" "No, I just hit my knees," she said. "That's good!"

Now those doctors who were not performing the next evening were free to go home. The others remained in the Doctor Lodge all night and the next day, fasting until the following morning after the performance. That night in the ceremonial lodge, each leader talked over their strategy with his assistants. Brave Horse said to his son, "They're going to hide the white horse's tail and I'll tell you where (so that you will be able to find it when the time comes during the performance). It will be in the house of Leading Chief, right in his bed, where his wife sleeps—the bed over which his small bundle, *tsatki,* hangs. During the performance at the appointed time, you go in there and whistle around and put your hand right there and get it." In this manner, Brave Horse briefed his young son. The plan was that the man in the audience who offered to hide the tail would be in league with them.

The two leading doctors simply talked over the specific feats they would perform without discussing any of the mechanisms involved in their performance. Big Doctor said, "I have a whole deer head with antlers on.

756 I'm going to swallow it." Pipe Offering told them that he would bring a
•796 mud duck to life in some water.

Yellow Calf was to have four sharp arrows shot at him. When everyone had arranged what they would do and all their paraphernalia was in order, they all went to bed. Some of the doctors who were not performing that next evening decided not to remain at home, but to sleep in the ceremonial lodge anyway.

The next morning they all had corn for breakfast that had been supplied by Big Doctor's wife. At all times, there had to be at least two doctors in each booth, regardless of whether they were going to perform or not. Now they all concentrated into one booth on each side and the serving man placed one large bowl of corn in each while they all sat around and ate from it. One bowl was given to the two errand men which they took aside and ate together. This had all been directed and arranged by Big Doctor. About three in the afternoon, the other doctors began to wander in and each was in turn served a bowl of corn that had been donated for the purpose. Only those who were going to perform that evening did not eat at this time.

Just before dark, all the doctors came out of the ceremonial lodge dressed in their costumes and stood outside and sang and then went in again. After the last group, everyone crowded into the vestibule to watch. In the procession were Brave Shield followed by the boy, Yellow Calf, dressed in a buffalo-calf robe. The side of his body was marked with white feathers where he was going to be shot that evening; his grandmother followed behind singing.

There were four or five bird doctors. One of them was dressed in feathers with a whistle in his mouth. All imitated birds and then went back into the lodge. They circled around and the crowd stood around them at a little distance; some people were on the top of the earth lodge.

On each side of the door, a brave was stationed to keep order and keep the crowd out while the final preparations were being made inside the lodge. As soon as the errand man signaled that things were ready, the people rushed in and packed the entranceway. The boy Otter pushed his way to the front of the crowd and the brave tried to persuade him to go home, saying, "You ought to be home, little boy. Nothing but big men in here." But the boy persisted and was finally allowed to stand next to him.

Finally the braves went inside and sat down, one next to the northeast booth and the other next to the southeast, the little boy following after.

Now the drums began to sound and the two leaders started off. Big Doctor went down past the booths on the north side facing them and Pipe Offering down the south, and after each had retraced his steps they arrived at the west where the two doctors crossed paths—Big Doctor going down the south side and back and Pipe Offering down the north side

and back, arriving at the west, where they stopped. The drums stopped beating and meanwhile Sitting Hawk and Wonderful Old Bull had risen and all four leaders remained standing at the west. 756 796

Big Doctor now moved forward from among the leadership and began his act. He was to swallow a whole deer head with the antlers on. He was assisted by his son, He-Kills-a-Person (*Tsabiks-ti-ki*, "person-he-kills"), who now handed his father the head. With Big Doctor in the lead, his son following and three other doctors behind them, they moved around the fireplace at a half trot by north, east and south and stoppped at the west. Before placing the deer's nose into his mouth as a first step, Big Doctor allowed the spectators to examine the head to show them that it was real. Then he put the deer's nose into his mouth and when the head was about halfway in, the procession again started around the fireplace, by north, east, and south; when they had nearly arrived back at the west, Big Doctor swallowed the entire head—the men behind him motioning with their eagle-wing fans down along the back of his body in order to help him swallow it. After he had swallowed it, he stopped at the west of the fireplace and gave thanks, first by putting his hand on the rim, then on his mouth and then on his abdomen where the deer head should now be contained since he had swallowed it. Then he made a very brief statement to the doctors, declaring, "Now doctors, I am going to keep it (viz., the deer head he had swallowed). That's all." Then he went back to his place. 756 796 789

Next on the program was Pipe Offering, the leading doctor of the south side of the Doctor Lodge. He would convert a mud duck into a real live one and then back again to mud. He had no special assistants as the other three main doctors helped him. He had a duck modeled out of mud and a large wooden bowl of water. All four doctors began to sing and he put the bowl of water west of the fireplace. The errand man was told to make the fire bright. Then Pipe Offering stood at the west and he raised his mud duck, and as he brought his hands down, all four doctors were singing. Just as the mud duck touched the water, it said, "Quack, quack, quack," and ran all around. Now the three other doctors raised their voices and sang as loud as they could, and when Pipe Offering picked the duck up from the water, it was a mud duck again.

The other doctors removed the bowl of water while Pipe Offering addressed the assembled company. He said: "Now spectators and doctors, now you have seen me." From among the spectators, Roaming Leader walked up to Pipe Offering and, taking his new blanket from his own shoulders, placed it on Pipe Offering in gratitude for his performance. As he received the blanket, Pipe Offering said to Roaming Leader, "You will have good luck wherever you go. This is what I depend on and also on my Mother Earth." Now Roaming Leader rejoined the crowd of spectators and Pipe Offering said, "You spectators and doctors have

756 witnessed what I have done. It was with great difficulty that I performed
• 796 this feat." Then he went back to his place at the west and rejoined the
789 other three doctors there.

The third act of the evening was that of Brave Horse, whose son would find a horse's tail after it had been hidden by a spectator in one of the earth lodges in the village. As soon as Pipe Offering sat down, whistling was heard. This was Brave Horse's son, blowing on his whistle. Now Brave Horse said to the spectators, "I want one of you to volunteer to take the horse's tail off the boy and hide it in an unknown place. No matter how obscure the place is, as you will see, the boy will find it easily." Leading Horse soon volunteered from among the spectators, but in fact it had all been prearranged—"the volunteer" going straight to the place agreed upon beforehand. Returning to the Doctor Lodge he said, "It's hidden." The boy was sent on his way, blowing his whistle, and his father went around and around in the lodge also blowing his whistle, in order that his boy would succeed. The boy made straight for the lodge of Leading Chief where his father had told him it would be the night before. As he entered, the occupants asked him what he had come for and he said, "My father told me the tail would be in here where the bundle is," thus giving away the whole subterfuge to the people in the lodge. When he got back to the ceremony, his father was still whistling triumphantly for his boy's accomplishment in finding the tail. He addressed the assembled company, saying, "You see what my boy did!" Long afterward the story came out. The boy in his defense said that he [601] could not deceive Leading Chief for he called him by the kin term, brother, *irari*, and it would be unethical not to be truthful with him.

The fourth and final act for the evening was that of Brave Shield, a buffalo doctor. He was to shoot four arrows at the chest of his son, Yellow Calf, at close range, but the boy would remain uninjured. The four doctors at the west were singing and rattling with their gourds. Brave Shield was holding four arrows. He brought the boy from the booth. On his ribs Yellow Calf had a round disk of soft white feathers where he was to be shot. He was imitating a buffalo calf and he went around the lodge four times, by west, north, east and south, with his father Brave Shield following after him. As they went, Brave Shield shot with his arrows into the ground around the fireplace, once at the north, once at the east, once at the south, and once at the west. On the final round Brave Shield pulled up the arrows one by one, and stopping at the east where the spectators were, gave them the arrows to examine so that they could see what sharp points they had. The arrows passed from one end of the line to the other and were then returned to Brave Shield. Yellow Calf was standing at the south side of the fireplace facing west, with his arms extended so that his ribs were exposed. Brave Shield went to the north side opposite him and with the four doctors at the west rattling

and singing with all their might, he made a running jump over the fire, 756
landing right in front of Yellow Calf on the south side where he re- 796
leased his arrow. The arrow jumped back over the lodge with its head 789
mashed and bent. Now the boy proceeded through the west to the north side, facing eastward with his arms extended, while his father remained on the south. Again Brave Shield jumped over the fire close to the boy and shot his arrow and again it glanced off and flew across the room—the point all bent and broken. The buffalo dancers now instructed the boy to stand at the west facing north, while his father was at the east, and the same performance was repeated. Finally the boy stood at the east with his father at the west—the father jumping over the fireplace and making his final shot. The shooting being over, the father led the boy to the south position and, warming his hands over the fireplace, placed them on the boy's chest where he had been shot, repeating this four times. Then he shook the boy out of his daze a bit and sent him off to the Buffalo Booth. Brave Shield moved around the fireplace by west, north, and then east where the spectators were and showed them all how the heads of the arrows were broken and macerated. On inquiring of my informant how this was done, he said he thought that someone had been planted among the spectators to help change the arrows before they were passed around, or they might have been changed when they glanced off the boy's side and flew all the way across the room, either before they began their journey through the air or when they were picked up.

By this time it was midnight or one o'clock in the morning and the 756
doctors all sang: 796

Tatix-kusisari, I am-playing (like a child) [533]
Witi-ratku-tawaki, myself-for-me-to enjoy [539]

Big Doctor made a final announcement to the crowd: "There'll be no performance tomorrow night. After that we'll have one again. Well now that's all!" Everyone left. Late the next afternoon they would have a big dance on the plaza outside the ceremonial lodge.

38

THE FIRST BIG DANCE

000

Procession of Doctors Impersonating Animals—the Bears Fight the Rest of the Animals—Victory Call's Participation—the Doctors' Meal

756 796 536 EVERYONE MADE SURE TO COME home early that evening so that they would be in time to see the show. By five o'clock there was a large crowd gathered around the space in front of the Doctor Lodge, including many little boys and people visiting from the South Bands.

One could hear the drums inside the lodge and then the doctors came out. In the lead were the two errand men, Good Eagle on the right and Big Bear at the left, each one holding a loon (*kuhut*). Right behind them came the four leading doctors, two by two—Big Doctor and Pipe Offering and then Wonderful Old Buffalo Bull and Sitting Hawk. Behind these came the drummers and then the other doctors two by two. As they circled the dance grounds, the two drummers sang, while the men ahead of them kept step to a dance, the two errand men swinging the loons forward.

Now as one looked in the doorway of the ceremonial lodge, one could see a "deer" jumping up inside. Different kinds of deer came out now; a black-tailed deer (played by Brave Bow), a reindeer (played by Fox Scarf), behind him an elk (played by Might-Be-a-Chief, son of That-Chief and trained by him). Each of these deer blew on a different kind of whistle. The next contingent to emerge were the horses led by Brave Horse with his boys following after him. They were running around here and there blowing their whistles when the black horse came. Next there were two wolves, one played by the son of Big Doctor, He-Kills-a-Person, and the other, *Hatuxka*, Won't-Flee-from-the-Enemy, who played the white wolf.

The procession was completed with the two men dressed in bearskins, one of them Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, and the other, Sitting Hawk's

brother Victory Call, who was Otter's father. The two bears blocked 756
the entrance so that the other animals would not be able to get back in. 796
Finally they moved aside just long enough for the doctors to get in and 536
then closed ranks again. As the doctors went inside, one could see smoke, dust, and ashes coming out of the smokehole of the ceremonial lodge, and one could hear noise inside. This was because the doctors were in there.

Now all the animals tried to get in too, but the bears blocked their way. The deer stood by pretending to be grazing casually, while the bear sat around looking equally casual. When the deer got close, he again had to jump away. The deer, horses, and wolves all wanted to get in but the bear stayed close to the door. The horses blew their whistles to get in, but the bear remained stationary. He tried to catch the colt, but the colt jumped back. Finally the bear looked the other way for a minute and some of the animals managed to run in. The deer got in but the white wolf had a hard time. The bears tried their best to catch him and they both blocked the way, but finally he squeezed in and only the other wolf was left. If the bears managed to catch him, they would rip open his abdomen and eat some of his liver. He huffed and puffed and tried his hardest to get into the lodge. White smoke (viz., clay) came out of his mouth with the effort. This got the bears angry and one could see the bristles of their hair standing up on the backs of their necks. Finally the wolf jumped right over the bear and got into the lodge, and this made everyone laugh.

At one of the later Big Dance episodes Sitting Hawk had instructed 756
"the two bears" to try their best to catch a deer, a horse, or a wolf. Misery 796
had all his implements ready inside his bear robe. Misery sat at the north 796
side of the entranceway to the lodge looking toward the inside, and 789
Victory Call at the south side somewhat away from the door looking 536
around outside. The animals circled around the dance grounds four times, then tried to get back into the lodge but were prevented by the bears. The horses had buffalo-hair ropes that they were dragging along the ground. The deer managed to skip in, but the white horse, blowing his whistle, was blocked by Misery, who looked very angry with the hairs on his bear neck bristling. Twice the horse approached and managed to escape, with Misery just missing catching the rope. He began to puff and blow. Everyone was yelling to the horse, "He might catch you yet!" Finally the horse made a quick turn and Misery grabbed him too. Everyone on the housetops yelled, "There old man, I told you they'd get you." Both bears laid him down on his back and held him with his arms and legs spread out. Then Misery stuck in his bear claw and made a slit downward, laying open the whole stomach. He pulled out a piece of liver and Victory Call came up and got a piece. Everyone was shouting, "Just look at that old man there. Now old man you can never get

756 enough to eat to fill you up any more!" (They meant that now that his
• 796 liver was gone his stomach had lots of room to expand.) After the two
536 bears got through, they jumped on their victim and healed him up. They
789 had medicine in their mouths for this purpose which they rubbed on the
victim's stomach to heal him up. When they got off, the people could see that he was all right again. Then they shook him a bit and as he came out of his daze, he got up and thought there was nothing wrong with him. He just blew on his whistle and ran into the lodge. But the people knew better. They said, "He can whistle away all right, but he won't ever be able to get enough to eat to fill himself up now!"

756 This was the first time that Victory Call had participated in this act
796 and he went over to his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and caressed him
in blessing. "This is what I wanted to know," he said. From now on, Vic-
536 tory Call could don his bear suit and go through this performance on his
own. In return, he had taught Sitting Hawk how to handle rattlesnakes.

After all the animals had gone into the lodge, the public show was over. Inside the errand men would be busy cooking the meal. All sixty doctors would be there and they would use up three parfleches of meat to feed them all.

39

THE DANCE OF THE SCALPED ONES

000

Impersonate Scalped Warriors Instead of Animals in This Dance—the Song That Is Sung—the Dance Explained

THE DAY AFTER the first Big Dance there was to be an indoor performance in the evening like the first one but with four different acts. The men who were to participate would start to prepare themselves in the morning after they had finished their breakfast, refraining from eating till the next morning. Just before dark they circled about before the lodge and sang as an announcement of what the performance was to be. A granddaughter of one of the performers, meeting him the night before his way home, inquired where his booth was located as she and her mother wanted to have the privilege of watching the performance sitting comfortably inside his booth. That evening before the performance she came to the lodge with corn bread, coffee, and dry meat. The errand man directed her, going past the first, second, and third booths on the north side and entering the fourth. (He made careful note of what food she would bring to see if he wanted to claim a share after the dance.) Now the girl and her mother were seated inside the booth as the crowd packed in to the rest of the lodge. After this performance the doctors would have a free day, then another performance and still another free day and then a second Big Dance outdoors. After this second Big Dance, instead of just the nighttime performances and free intervals, another kind of outdoor performance was introduced—the Dance of the Scalped Ones. 756 796 536 535

Instead of animals, the actors in the Dance of the Scalped Ones were the spirits of those who had been scalped by the enemy. Everything was done to develop a mood of weirdness. Old Lady Tsitawa, head of the black-tailed deer lodge, wore a short skirt of black tanned hide and a

756 tanned-hide shawl. The other actors impersonating the *kitsaburuksu*, the
• 796 scalped ones, were plastered all over with mud, including a thick plaster-
536 ing of mud on their heads and all over their faces. As they approached
535 they looked like a veritable mud bank.

A big crowd had gathered outside the lodge in anticipation of the performance. The two drummers ran out first and putting their drums between their knees, sat facing each other. As they began to beat the drum, a crowd of scalped ones ran out of the Doctor Lodge. The drumming
[533] was in all sorts of irregular beats and the little boys were frightened when they first saw the scalped ones approaching. They motioned erratically and jumped every which way in scary ways. The drummers were
[539] singing "Scalped-Ones-Speech":

Hiru-ribi	here-is
Hiru-ribi	here-is, *wakarawi* (speech)
Hiru-ribi, hiru-ribi, wakarawi	
Kitsaburuks-pakarawi	scalped one-speech
Kitsaburuks-pakarawi	

The song was sung to an irregular tune and as soon as the drummers had finished the song, they all ran suddenly into the lodge and just as suddenly out again, the drummers again coming out and sitting facing each other, singing the Scalped-Ones-Speech with the crowd of actors running out after them. This running in and out was repeated four times and on the fourth round the actors all came out dancing backward,
[534] making peculiar motions and finally falling down. Even the drummers fell and kicked over their drums (water drums made of a hollow log.) At last they looked up dazed and as soon as they became aware of the people around, they jumped up and ran back into the lodge.

No one would provide a meal for "Scalped-Ones." As everyone knew, "They were the biggest thieves and stole anything they could get a chance to!" They ate in their booths whatever donations of corn had been made. "As for dry meat, they would provide it for themselves if they could steal some."

Between the second and third Outdoor Big Dance, there were one or two of these special outdoor Scalped-Ones dances with a performance in the night indoors intervening. Afterward the third Big Dance was given, and then after that the two nighttime performances with free days intervening.

his wife and then the doctors might go after him in this way. They would spirit him out onto the dance grounds outside the Doctor Lodge; then he would go home, get his buffalo robe, and return. 756

From these instances it should be clear that the Pawnee preoccupation with illusionism, hypnotism, and suggestion was neither mere theater nor pure ritual. The power of trance induction was regarded as a threat and a means of control. Possibly the hunter found in it a method of communication with the wild animals and control over them. It is very evident that it was considered a way of immobilizing the enemy. Trance induction was called "fighting" or "shooting at the image or shadow," and illusionism by sleight of hand as a milder form of psychological control was called "playing" or "romping" as of children. Our present preoccupation with psychology and psychosomatic problems should point the way to its connection with healing. The cultivation of these psychological states in the Doctor Lodge was obviously something more than pure supernaturalism. 756 787 [626]

The final episode in the Opera was a contest between the Buffaloes and the Bears in which the Buffaloes reduced the Bears psychologically to mere puppies, and in this way the Buffaloes are no longer afraid. 756 796 536

41

THE CLOSING EPISODE OF THE DOCTORS' GRAND OPERA

000

Contest between Bears and Buffalo Clown Warriors—Description of the Ceremony—the Closing Speech by Big Doctor—the Dismantling Begins

756
796
536
THE MONTH-LONG GRAND OPERA of the doctors ended with a closing performance inside the ceremonial lodge after the fourth Big Dance. Its main feature was a contest between the Bears and the attacking Buffalo Clown Warriors, dressed in mock war costume and led by members of the Buffalo Cult, with John Buffalo, Heavy Trophies, and others playing the several parts. They wore war bonnets made of corn husks and carried spears made of sticks decorated with corn husks to represent feathers. Their shields were also of corn husks, and they made a "chief's medal" for their chief Clown out of the round cover of a tin can. Everyone knew that on that evening the Clowns were going to stab the Bear with their sticks and "make a man of him." The young Bears were released from trance by their leader, Angry Horse, who had also "to awaken" himself. This was the final act.

On the last night the crowd surged into the entryway to see the performance. At the southeast near the wall stood a crowd of Clown-warriors wearing their corn-husk war bonnets with their chief standing proudly at the head of them with his spear. On the north side stood the party of the Bears. Angry Horse was the leading figure of the Bear Party. His face was blackened and he wore a wreath of cedars around his head. In his hand he carried a big rock tied to a string. (My informant did not know what he represented, but people said that his blackened face indicated that he knew everything.) Next to the leader were the two Bear Doctors of the second grade—Strikes-the-Enemy, lieutenant to Angry Horse, and Misery, Son of Sitting Hawk. These men had no other costume than a long

pole in the left hand of each and a cedar branch "fan" in the right. The 756
two junior members of the Bear Lodge, Fox Chief and Man Chief, were to 796
be the direct object of the attack and they remained inside the Bear Booth 536
dressed in their bearskin costumes.

The show began with the Clowns. John Buffalo addressed the Clown chief who stood there proudly oblivious of anyone or anything that was going on around him:

> "Say Chief, I heard that other tribe say the Bear is going to come around. Over there, there's a bluff, and a Bear is coming there." "I know that but they're nothing but raccoons," said the chief. Then another fellow addressed him saying, "The other tribe is excited there because they say the Bears are coming." "Bear—talk about Bear—I could ride right on ~~it any~~ time I want to!" Next one of the Clown-warriors went and sat down next to the witch woman. He told her what was going to happen "over there" and he made everyone laugh. He said to her, "I heard the people over there say the Bear is going to come. Do you believe it? But the chief says he was up there and there is nothing but a raccoon in there—not a Bear. Are you afraid of Bears? Well, I guess if they come, I'm going to get one."

After this byplay with the witch, the Clown-warrior rejoined his group. Now the action moved to the Bears. All the other doctors came out of their booths. The Bear subleaders, Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, pushed their long poles into the Bear Booth to tease out the two Bears who are still inside. When they started to come out of their booth, the Wolf (played by He-Kills-a-Person) came around and got between the two Bears so that their way was blocked. They tried to catch him, but he jumped away with a quick motion and this made them all the more furious. In their anger, they came out of the booth, one at a time. First one came backing out and then the other one emerged head forward. All the doctors began to move about to blockade their escape. The Bears were very angry and they blew and puffed and the bristles on their necks rose straight up.

The Clowns way over on the other side said, "I got hold of his foot now!" John Buffalo said, "I'm holding their legs. They're nothing but raccoons!" Another clown chimed in with, "Oh, they're puppies—nothing but puppies!"

The Bears tried to escape and the crowd tried to blockade their way. The Clowns got caught between two groups of them. Then the doctors, Clowns, and everyone ran out of the lodge except one Clown that got stuck between the two Bears. He didn't know where to go so he looked around and saw that the serpent's mouth was big enough to get in. So he crawled in there, breaking all the teeth. Then he stuck out

756 his head, looking all around. When the two Bears finally left the
• 796 lodge, he got out of the serpent's mouth.

536 Outside the Clown-warriors were all yelling, "They're over here. There're nothing but little bits of puppies." Soon Angry Horse, the chief Bear Doctor, came staggering into the lodge, circling the fireplace as if he were drunk. He was carrying a rock tied to a string, and every now and then he would hit one of the house posts with it as he went around the fireplace. Next his lieutenants, Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, entered singing and holding their long sticks and cedar-branch fans. Next came the four main doctors who went to their place in the west and stood there holding their eagle-wing fans. In front of them at the west of the fireplace facing toward the east, stood Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, making sweeping and jerky movements with their cedar-branch fans. They were calling in the members of their own Bear Lodge who were still outside, with the assistance of the two main doctors who were standing behind them to reinforce their efforts with their eagle-wing fans.

Now one Bear comes backing in and the other comes in head foremost, one going around the north side of the fireplace, the other around the south side. The doctors, including those at the west, all try to get out of the way of the Bears, while Big Doctor reminds Pipe Offering to fill his pipe to get ready for the smoke offering.

Angry Horse, the Bear leader, was still staggering back and forth around the fireplace carrying a big stone on a string. When the Bear that was approaching from the south arrived at the west, Angry Horse was waiting for him there. The Bear fell down and he jumped over him and smashed him on the forehead with the big rock he was carrying. As soon as the prone Bear had been hit, Big Doctor told Pipe Offering to light up his pipe and offer the mouthpiece to the forehead of the prostrate Bear twice, then once to his chest (windpipe), then to his right palm, his left palm, and one to each of the soles of his feet. The whole procedure was repeated with the Bear that was approaching from the north side and the two Bears lay facing each other at the west. As soon as he fell, Pipe Offering had also "smoked" the second Bear in the same way as he had the first. Angry Horse was signing, "This is the way I do when I get angry!"

As the two Bears lay limp and lifeless at the west, the two main doctors assisted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy carried first one and then the other into the Bear Booth.

During this special act of the leader upon the two junior Bears, the rest of the doctors and spectators had remained outside. Now first the doctors, followed by the spectators and the Clowns in the rear, filed back into the lodge. The Clowns talked about what they did out there. They were saying, "Oh, I got hold of him by the leg and just shook

him around a little bit." "Oh, I got on him like a horse. He's a good run- 756
ner." 796

By this time the Bear leader, Angry Horse, was all crumpled up and 536
quieted down. Standing at the west of the fireplace facing east, he warmed his rock over the fire and then went to his seat near the Bear Booth at the northeast of the Doctor Lodge. There he removed his whole costume, including the cedar wreath, leaving only his blackened face. Now the two ex-Bears, Man Chief and Fox Chief, also came out of the booth without their Bear costumes. Man Chief went to the north of the fireplace, extending his right hand over the fire, then putting it on top of his head. Then he did the same with his left hand. He went through the same procedure with his abdomen and also his knees as he stood up. At the south of the fireplace, Fox Chief did the same thing. Now both men returned to their Bear Booth, Man Chief directly from his station at the north and Fox Chief from his south station around the west and north.

This was the closing act of the whole show, and now Big Doctor made his final address to them all. He said, "Now spectators, young men, women, now you have seen, during these several nights, this, 'our playing.' Young men, tribespeople, now I am through with this playing of. ours." (He included the audience as well as the doctors in his statement, expressed through the grammatical first person, plural inclusive form, *ti-wi-rikuhuritsa-witsat*, "this-now-it us all-complete." He thus acknowledged the help of the spectators in examining the paraphernalia when offered to them to affirm that they were authentic.) "Now that's all." This was the signal for all spectators to leave.

That night the doctors would take the first step toward dismantling the 756
ceremonial appointments of the lodge. Each of the doctors would bundle 796
up the sacred objects he had used in carrying out his performance and 346
wrap them in a skin cover to form a long-shaped bundle. These must be 778
taken to their respective homes that evening. The four doctors at the west would wrap up everything pertaining to the Doctor Lodge in general—the loons and other birds, etc. That night only the four leading doctors would remain in the lodge, sending home their bundles with the errand men.

Very early next morning all the doctors would return so that they could 756
remove and dismantle all the special ceremonial figures and structures 796
they had built. Insofar as possible these would be carried intact to the wa- 778
ter where they would be deposited in a certain position, approximating 532
their position in the ceremonial lodge. The serpent figure, the witch woman, and the cedar would be carried out as they were and the sticks of the booths used to make them into a booth in the bottom of the creek. While the Bear ceremony was going on, some men had been delegated to find a suitable place for this.

42

DISMANTLING THE CEREMONIAL DOCTOR LODGE

000

Ceremonial Objects Are Dismantled—All Things Carried to Creek—Serpent Placed in Water within Curved Fence—an Additional Hypnotic Contest—a Banquet Given—the Final Details Settled

756 796 778 532 THE FINAL PHASE of the Doctor Lodge was the removal of the figures they had built and the animal booths. All these things had to be deposited at the bottom of Beaver Creek in an appropriate order and fastened in place. It took about a hundred people, including the sixty doctors, to do this work. For the final banquet that they would share, they used six or seven containers of dried buffalo meat and an equal number of buckets of corn.

The night before, while the Bear ceremonial had been going on, a number of men were sent to choose the place in Beaver Creek where they would set up their things.

756 796 778 431 532 During the ceremony and as the figures were being carried out, people offered them gifts. These were placed in the water with the figures. Once, while the performance was going on, a woman made up her mind to give a gift to the serpent on behalf of her son. She took a piece of calico and as she entered the lodge, opened up the cloth and dragged it across the floor, placing it on the inside of the serpent's neck. The errand man came over and took the calico to one of the four doctors at the west. The doctor set the material aside and came directly to where the woman was standing, walking along the outside of the serpent and jumping over it to where the woman was standing. Now he said, "You have a boy. Maybe someday he will grow up to be a big man and everybody will notice him." The woman left and the doctor returned to his seat.

When the doctors got in that morning, they detached the figures so that 756
they could be carried to the water. The serpent went first. It was simply 796
pegged to the ground and was freed by pulling up the pegs. The men 778
ranged themselves along both sides of the 60-foot length—the head being 532
pointed conveniently southeast toward the exit. The men waited, ready to lift it up when the signal was given. The witch woman was lifted up and set down on a spread of tanned hide so that they could carry her out on it. The turtle that had been modeled on the fireplace, was crumbled up and also placed on a skin spread.

It took a lot of men to carry out the cedar gently, as it was loaded with 756
gifts that had been placed on it when it was first brought into the lodge. 796
The birds and cutouts suspended from the rafters were left there, because 778
they did not belong in the water. After everything else had been de- [431]
tached, the sticks of the animal booths had to be uprooted, and any woman that wanted to help would carry these things out.

Now the process got under way with the four main doctors leading. Most of the men were dressed only in their breechcloths, although some doctors were foolish enough to wear their buffalo robes and to carry their eagle-wing fans despite the strenuous work they had to do. They made two stops along the way to rest—one about halfway toward their destination and then another one further along. The four doctors had gone ahead and were already in the water, building, out of sticks from the doctor booths standing upright in the bed of the creek, a kind of curved fence open at the east. This was the beginning of a whole structure that would enclose all the objects.

As the serpent lay along the shore waiting to be deposited in the water, 756
people came up and made offerings to it. One person who hoped for long 796
life said, "I give you this. I hope to see you this way a year from now." 778
A mother, giving a gift on behalf of her son said, "I hope to see my boy 532
grow up and be a great man." A mother hoped her two daughters would
grow up to be married and have many children. Each girl carried a gift of [431]
calico to give and the mother said, "You, serpent, are going to rest here under the water. I want my children to grow up and have many children when they get married." Some people thought the serpent should be identified as a whale and some as an alligator. The latter seems the more likely from the word for it, "dry-tongue." The forked tail somewhat interferes with this latter identification. In this instance the mother was thinking of the fecundity of fish who have many eggs which hatch in large numbers.

Now they placed the serpent in the water, its head resting inside the curved fence the doctors had prepared. The head was pointing upstream (westward) the direction in which all the fish swim. The body extended
eastward or downstream. Everyone got into the water and pegged the ser- [431]
pent and its various gifts to the bed of the stream. All the gifts of goods—

756 calico, shawls, and blankets—were also fastened to the bottom. The
796 whole thing was encased in a wicker frame of willows under the water.
[778] The stakes from the doctor booths were stuck all along the sides of the
[532] serpent and bent over across it and interlaced at the top.

[431] Now that the objects were all in the water, the people stepped aside
to permit the doctors to engage in one more hypnotic contest. One
after the other, as they stood by the water, they caused one another to
fall in.

756 Then the whole group of doctors and any others who had given them
assistance repaired to the Doctor Lodge for the banquet. The lodge was
796 empty and they could make a big circle sitting close to the outside walls.
574 The groups of doctors were ranged in from the west. Beyond them
along the sides were the general public who had helped them. And last of all to the east were the chiefs, two each from the four Skidi villages. Furthest toward the door of the guests, were two old men, That-Chief at the southeast and Good Land at the northeast. Finally there was one errand man stationed at each side of the entrance. As they were assembled there, some of the people expressed regret that the whole thing was over, for they had had such a good time.

It took eight people to prepare and serve the meal including the two regular errand men. Each of these was provided with an assistant to do the cooking and serving. They had to borrow two of the largest brass kettles they could get, and after they got the water they put in the meat and set them to boil, one at the northeast and one at the southeast of the fire. While the meat was cooking, the donated corn was served after the appropriate offerings had been made, then soup and then the meat. Extra large pieces were set aside for the guests of honor and one for "the house"—that is, for Sitting Hawk's wife to whom the lodge belonged.

[521] During the meal the doctors made conversation about the happenings of the morning—about what had occurred at the river, and so forth. Then Big Doctor made his closing speech, addressing them all. He said, "Now young doctors, doctors, and all members of the Doctor Lodge and the animals that we have imitated here, and you chiefs sitting here watching over your people, and Heaven that has taken pity on us so that we could successfully complete our performance, and you head doctors here who have helped carry out our performance, now we have had our feast—now the Doctor Lodge is over."

A number of business details remained to be attended to. The head doctors had to apportion the meat that they had kept for the final arrangements. The owners of the house would have to fill in all the holes and set up the beds and then entertain the members of the families among whom they had been staying while the lodge was in session. They would need a quantity of dried meat for this. What was left would be divided

among the doctors. The errand men and their assistants received gifts of 756 796
calico. [574]

The Doctor Lodge was one of the most intensive group ceremonies of
the year, extending to all the people. In the three South Bands at this time, 756
each had a similar twenty-day Doctor Ceremony that they referred to 796
as Big-Sleight-of-Hand. Apparently they only lacked the serpent or wa- 184
ter monster of the Skidi, which was the special feature of the federation of the Skidi villages.

After the Doctor Lodge, the separate animal cults that had been rep- 756
resented there should each have a three-day ceremony of its own—the 796
general one constituting a mandate for this. The ceremonial calendar was so crowded that it was extremely difficult to find three days when all the members would be free of other ceremonial involvements. The Bear and Buffalo cults were large organizations with thirty to forty members, and there were many overlappings in the personnel.

There was one private cult, however—the Deer Dance—that was en- 796
tirely outside the association. It had been imported a generation before 177
from the kindred Caddoan-speaking Wichita to the south and adapted to
the Pawnee ceremonial pattern. It had no obligation to the Doctor As- 535
sociation and was fast presenting a challenge to it for membership. Its 578
ceremony was held at a time that overlapped the Doctor Lodge, and sometimes members were spirited away from one to the other, causing considerable bitterness between the leaders. The Deer Dance, also known as Whistle Dance from the whistles the dancers blew at frequent intervals, celebrated the maturing of the wild sage and the mescal bean. Rattlesnake power was also part of the cult. The over-all pattern was of a Deer Lodge in the timber. In some ways it represented a quite different system of thought from the Doctor Association, and through it new and important developments might have occurred in Pawnee ceremonial thinking. But before this could be realized, its life was ended by the holocaust that overtook the Pawnee people and their culture and their wild animal world as white contact intensified (see p. 3).

Victory Call was the director of this cult and he was largely responsible
for its growth and success among the people. On his deathbed he [954]
accused his arch rival, Big Doctor, of causing his death through sorcery.

43

THE DEER DANCE

000

The Deer Dance a New Addition to Pawnee Ritual—Kind Warrior Visits the Wichita—He Learns the Deer Dance from Them—the Learning of the Dance Explained—He Returns to the Pawnees and They Learn from Him—the Form of the Dance Undergoes Changes—the Songs They Sing—Differences with Other Animal Lodge Ceremonies—Mythology of Deer Dance—Popularity of Deer Dance

796 536 INVESTIGATORS HAVE LONG REALIZED that the Pawnees had a culture that was unusually rich in ceremony and metaphor. It was particularly in the theater arts connected with their ceremonies that their aesthetic culture had its main expression. In the ceremonies, the sustained patterning of the episodes, the costuming, and the underlying ideology and symbolism represented an aesthetic composite of great richness, which was assiduously cultivated and appreciated by the people for its beauty.

796 177 [484] The Deer Dance was a comparatively new addition to the Pawnee ceremonial repertoire. For more than a century certainly, and no doubt considerably longer, Pawnee men had gone south on extended visits to the several tribes of their Caddoan-speaking kinsmen. While they were there they commonly participated in the ceremonies as well as in other [167] activities. Some remained there permanently such as the brother of Eagle Chief, Noted-Tent (*Iseru-rikariku*), who became a distinguished Wichita chief. A man of the Kitkehaxki Band, *Tiraritaka'as*, became a chief of the Kitsai. For a rich source of new ideological and aesthetic material the Pawnees were conscious that they must go south to the Wichita, the Wichita probably looking south to the Caddo and the Caddo in turn to Mexico. It is probable that in this manner, passing from group to

group, Aztec and other Mexican type cultural forms filtered northward to the Pawnees. 796 177

Sometime before 1842, while they were living at Old Village (Kitkehaxpakuxtu), Kind Warrior (*Tirarira*) who was still a young man then, used to go visiting the Wichita quite often and on one of these occasions, when his host was going to a Deer Dance he requested that he be taken along. When they arrived at the ceremonial house, he was asked whether he would like to participate and he said he would, as he liked to dance. He was then costumed like the others, painted all over with white clay, a feather worn crosswise at the back of his head, in his right hand a whistle and in his left a bunch of wild sage which had white seeds. A bowl contained white clay with some of the white seeds so that the dancers could paint themselves.

His friend told him to follow him around during the dancing so that the other Wichitas could see him and when the members had gone, the chiefs sitting at the head of the room called over Kind Warrior and asked him whether his friend had told him anything about the dance. When he answered that he had just painted him up, the chiefs said, "When you get home, say to your friend, 'Now my friend, I don't want people just to see me painted up. I want to know what I am painted for.' "

The next evening, when Kind Warrior and his Wichita friend were in the grass house together, he caressed his friend in blessing and said, "I don't want to simply be painted up. I want you to take pity on me and tell me what it means. I will stay with you as long as you want me to. I will take care of your horses, haul water for you, and hunt the buffalo. You don't have to get the buffalo. I'm the one that will get them for you." The Wichita said, "All right my friend. What you want I can tell you." Then Kind Warrior went over to the Wichita's wife and placed his hands upon her in blessing too. "From now on," said the Wichita, "whenever the dance comes, we'll go in together." Kind Warrior stayed two or three years in order to learn. The dance was held almost any time of year and lasted for four days.

The next time the dance was held, the Wichita taught Kind Warrior as he had promised. He said to him, "You must know something more than just the singing. The Wichitas are watching us now. Now I'm going to get up and you get up and follow me around." They were ready to perform their sleight-of-hand feat. Kind Warrior was told to hold the whistle in his left hand and the sage plant in his right. Now they began to encircle the fireplace. At the northwest corner, the Wichita struck the ashes with the sage and the dust arose. Then they went on to the other three semicardinal "corners" in counterclockwise succession (northeast, southeast, southwest) and at the west facing east, burned the ends of the sage in the fire. Then they made another counterclock-

C

796 177 wise circuit and at the west about a foot from the fireplace, hit the ground with the sage. Kind Warrior did the same and out of each of their sage plants, four beans rolled down. The Wichita now addressed the different "animal stations" where the members were seated and said, "Now you see what I did with my brother. I told him to do whatever I do. And now I'm going to give him what I do so that he can perform it at home." The Wichitas were all glad to see him do this. He continued to address them: "Now if he goes home and you hear that the Pawnees have started to do the Deer Dance, you can all know that I told him to do it. I also told him to listen to how the singing goes and what the singing is about. I told him that the singing was not just done for its own sake but to study how the animals go and what they do. And I told him that some of the songs are about smoking and that smoking is the main thing. And since he was not willing merely to be painted up for the dance, but wanted to learn what it means, I have taught him. And I'll be more than glad if you at the other places will help me with your performance so that he can learn." The Wichitas said, "That's good. We will try to help this man." "Kind Warrior," said his friend, "you ought to be glad that these different people are going to teach you for nothing."

As the doctors went through their performances, one of them would call him over and whisper to him the meaning of his performance. He would turn around and embrace the man, clasping him about the neck and rubbing his hands upon him from the head and down the arms in blessing, for he had taken pity on him and given him what he most wanted. As the dancing continued, another would call him over, and then another, and so he learned many of their different ways. One of the members had a black bean. He said to Kind Warrior, "You see this?" "Yes, I see it." Then the performer went around the fireplace four times and at the four semicardinal "corners," put ashes on the bean at each corner. After he had done this and gone around the fireplace four times, he stopped at the west and threw the bean down and a black spider was seen running around on the ground. "Now," said the Wichita doctor, "when you go home and have a Deer Dance, you can do this." And then Kind Warrior turned around and blessed him and so he learned many ways among the Wichita.

221 224 When he got home, it was the fall of the year and the Doctor Dance was just over and they were preparing to leave the village and go on the winter hunt. Some of the men while they were out, had noticed that the wood had been bitten by beaver and they thought this would be a good time to set a few beaver traps and make a little money by selling the skins. Two or three traps would yield a man a good profit. He would mention to a few friends, "Why stay around the village? Why not set out to trap beaver? And those who had guns could chase deer, moose, or elk." Some of their families would want to go along and

The Deer Dance

Some of their families would want to go along and some old women to collect wild potatoes and the wild beans that 221
were stored by the wood rat. The women could help with hauling 224
wood and cooking and boys could make themselves useful hauling 484
water and tending the horses. Eventually ten to fifteen tipis in two or [222]
three bunches would set out in this way, traveling five or six miles a day and staying two or three days in one place. Individual men would join tents with families, going out during the day with their horses and joining the camp at night at the appointed place. Every evening an old man would walk among them announcing the next day's plans. They camped on the north side of the Loup where they could get wood as it might snow at any time. Those who trapped beaver would clean their traps in the evening and set them from the north side of the river, while the deer hunters went either north or south. Whenever anyone caught anything, they would have a big feast all through the camp. [574]
Eagle Chief and War Cry who excelled in buffalo hunting did not care for shooting with guns and trapping, but Victory Call, and his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and also Old Bull were good hunters and trappers. They did not believe in exposing their families to enemy attack in this way and so they would come along by themselves. After they had made five or six camps, someone would come from the village and tell them that they would soon be setting out for the winter buffalo hunt and then they would all return and prepare.

It was such an informal hunting and trapping group that Kind Warrior joined when he returned from the Wichita. In his tipi he was singing 796
177
his Deer Dance songs in Wichita, and when Victory Call, who was feeling lonesome, heard him, he went into the tipi where Kind Warrior was lying on his back and singing as he beat time on his thigh. Kind Warrior got up and welcomed Victory Call and after he said he was attracted by the singing, invited him to lie down and join him. Lying to the left of Kind Warrior he sang along with him and whenever he had nothing to do, he would just go in and sing. Others came in too and sang with them. Back at the village these men would sing together in the lodge and as others heard them, they also came in. These were men who had also been among the Wichita and had learned only individual songs but not the whole ritual. Some had learned polecat teaching, others buzzard, etc., and as they sang together, they taught one another. While Kind Warrior knew the most, he also learned new things from them. When there were about ten members, Kind Warrior could set them out in a formal arrangement (see Figure 43-1). He assigned two to each of the four semicardinal positions, two at the west as *rixkita*, leaders, and one errand man for the north, one for the south. More people came in and filled in the places. They made four rattles of wild squash with green and white wavy stripes to imitate the Wichita version. They also got four bows in accordance with the original version. Kind

796
177 Warrior had Victory Call's help in all this and the two men liked each other. Victory Call gave Kind Warrior a horse, a beaver when he trapped it and other gifts to show his appreciation for what Kind Warrior had done for him. Kind Warrior told the members that Victory Call was to lead them when he died.

796
346

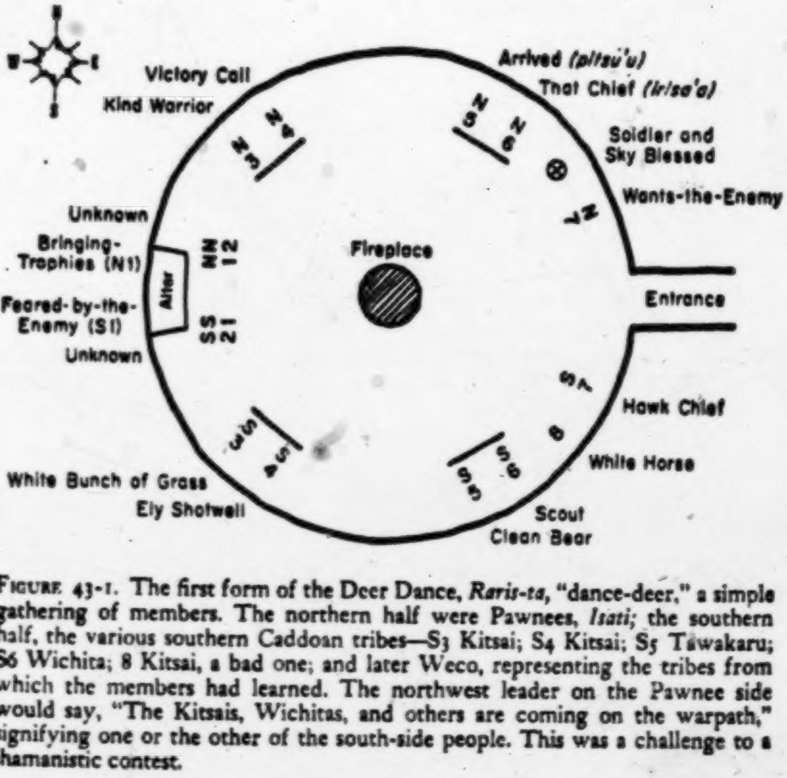

N
W
E
S
Victory Call
Kind Warrior
Arrived (pitsu'u)
That Chief (kisa'a)
Soldier and
Sky Blessed
Wants-the-Enemy
Unknown
Bringing-
Trophies (N1)
Altar
Feared-by-the-
Enemy (S1)
Unknown
Fireplace
Entrance
N3
N4
N5
N6
N7
N2
N1
S1
S2
S3
S4
S5
S6
S7
8
Hawk Chief
White Horse
Scout
Clean Bear
White Bunch of Grass
Ely Shotwell

FIGURE 43-1. The first form of the Deer Dance, *Raris-ta*, "dance-deer," a simple gathering of members. The northern half were Pawnees, *Isati;* the southern half, the various southern Caddoan tribes—S3 Kitsai; S4 Kitsai; S5 Tawakaru; S6 Wichita; 8 Kitsai, a bad one; and later Weco, representing the tribes from which the members had learned. The northwest leader on the Pawnee side would say, "The Kitsais, Wichitas, and others are coming on the warpath," signifying one or the other of the south-side people. This was a challenge to a shamanistic contest.

796 The singing was carried out in four sets. There were four men at each of the semicardinal stations. There were four gourd rattles and four bows. These were carried first to the four at the southeast who would rattle and sing a set of songs and then the paraphernalia was passed to the next station at the southwest, then to the northwest and then to the northeast, each group rattling and singing a set of songs. The four successive semicardinal stations represented the course of a man's life—southeast, youth; southwest, maturity; northwest, getting old; and northeast, old man. As the singing proceeded, whichever of the members felt moved, would get up and give a sleight-of-hand performance. Spec-

tators (*rariwaatuksa*) crowded in, and seeing what they were doing be- 796
came interested, and began to fill up the membership ranks. Others [177]
now went to the southern Caddoan-speaking tribes—the Wichitas, Kitsais, Tawakaru, and Weco—learned their sleight-of-hand tricks, and returned to join the Deer Dance. The ranks thus became full.

In the south half of the lodge, at the west and in the semicardinal positions, each of the men had a tribal name according to where he had acquired his teachings. The north side that represented the Pawnee was called as a whole, *isati* (a noted one, or northerner in the Wichita language). The leader from the Pawnee side at the northwest station would say (mentioning one or the other of the southern Caddoan tribes), "The Kitsais [or the Wichitas, etc.] are coming on the warpath!" This would be a challenge to a shamanistic contest.

The year after the Pawnee moved from Fremont (*Pahaku*) to the reser- 796
vation near Genoa, Kind Warrior died (1861). Victory Call survived 178
him by seven years and during this time he controlled the Deer Dance and it had many members with performances going full force. Many new features were added to the ceremony, particularly two—the contest between members on the north and those on the south and the addition of two women members, one near the north entrance and one near the south. (See Figure 43-2.) This latter feature came about after someone reported that the Wichita included women, who took part and also gave performances. Then someone dreamed that they had been right in admitting the women and that they should have special duties of taking care of any corn that was donated and sweep the floor of the lodge every morning during the ceremony. Every morning during the ceremonial period, the old ladies would get up very early and tell the boys to get up. Then they gave the room a good sweeping. There were songs that told of this aspect of the ceremonial life in the Deer Lodge.

As Kind Warrior brought the Deer Dance to the Pawnee, most of the 796
songs had Wichita words and reflected Wichita experiences. But in time 533
the Pawnee dancers made new songs that were based on their own expe- 177
riences and sung in the Pawnee language.

One war experience was of a war party of the Pitahawirata Band to Fort 796
Scott, Kansas, led by Tikarahisat. They stayed on a high tableland for 533
more than a year, hunting the buffalo and making a buffalo robe for their 825
leader. They saw the ducks flying south in winter and then in spring when they flew north again, they flew in triangular formation with their leader at the apex and at the ends of the arms, the two errand men. Children used to ask these ducks, as they flew over the village, to give them moccasins or red bows and arrows. These experiences became the basis for a Pawnee song in the Deer Dance. Another song they sang was about two eagles that they saw, first one with a large log in his claws, then another with another log; they were building a nest. As they built, the eagles would whistle.

796
346

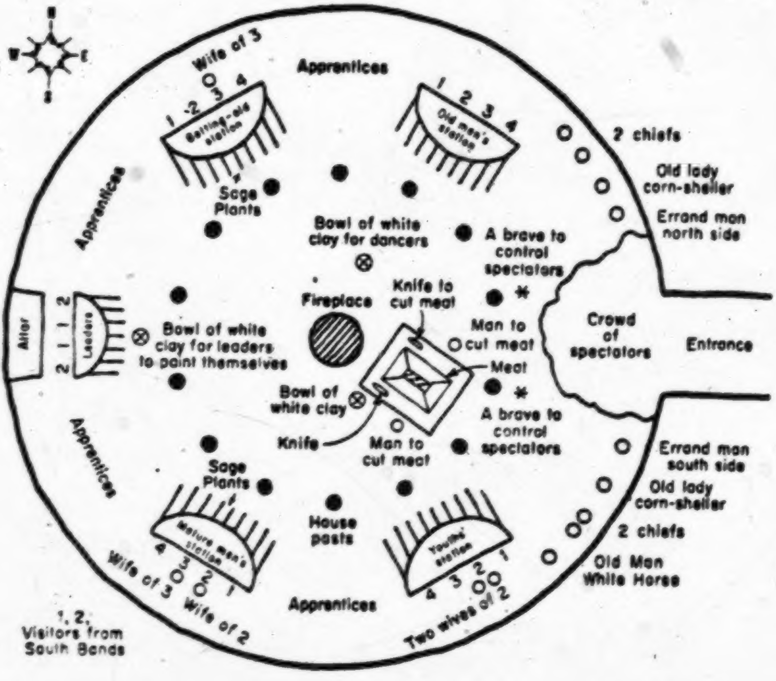

N
W
E
S
Wife of 3
Apprentices
1 2 3 4
Getting-old station
Old men's station
2 chiefs
Old lady corn-sheller
Errand man north side
Sage Plants
Apprentices
Bowl of white clay for dancers
A brave to control spectators
Knife to cut meat
Fireplace
Crowd of spectators
Entrance
Altar
Leaders
2 1 1 2
Bowl of white clay for leaders to paint themselves
Man to cut meat
Meat
Bowl of white clay
A brave to control spectators
Knife
Man to cut meat
Apprentices
Errand man south side
Sage Plants
Old lady corn-sheller
House posts
2 chiefs
Mature men's station
Youths' station
Old Man White Horse
Wife of 3
Wife of 2
Apprentices
Two wives of 2
1, 2, Visitors from South Bands

FIGURE 43-2. The developed form of the Deer Dance. It took place in a large ten-post earth lodge. There were sage plants all around to sit on with root ends pointing outward; the thickest bunches were at the stations and the thinner layers between. The circuit of singing is clockwise—southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast, as the circuit of the stars around the North Star. Note the development of specialized personnel.

796
533
825

Then one of the eagles sat on the eggs while the other flew around. The deer dancers of the several Pawnee bands would invite one another to their dances and in this way, the Skidi acquired some of the songs about the Fort Scott expedition, while Skidi experiences found their way into the repertoire of the other bands. One Skidi song concerned a time when the Comanche came to attack. They could see them coming a long way off, and they came down and hid and stole many horses.

Another song was composed by Warrior. He was an old man who had been highly successful in his war expeditions. Most people wondered why such a man would join the Deer Dance, since one of its major interests was success in war. But Warrior had another purpose. He was particularly interested in learning the sleight-of-hand feat in which a wonderful rabbit could turn into a human being. The story was that

once when they were moving camp, a rabbit came in and out among 796
the tents, threading his way here and there. However close the people 533
were when they aimed at him, no one could hit him, even when the 825
dogs joined in the chase. So a song was made about this wonderful rabbit who eluded all human pursuers. This was what Warrior wanted to learn.

The author of the original song was an old man, Arrived, who had a 796
place at the northeast station. But instead of approaching him directly, 533
Warrior went to his old friend, That-Chief for his advice as to how to go about it. He was told to come in next day when they had a practice meeting and address his request for membership in the lodge to all the members assembled and particularly to New Young Dog at the northwest. When Warrior entered the ceremonial lodge where the members were assembled for their practice sing, he stood at the east of the fireplace about halfway out to the door and facing west said, "All you Deer dancers, and New Young Dog at the west, I want to learn your Deer Dance. I will give a horse, some blankets, and some meat." New Young Dog, as was the usual practice, tried to deter him. He mentioned that, as Warrior was a successful warrior, everyone would laugh at him smearing himself with clay and participating in their ceremonies when he had no need for further luck either in war or in the hunt. But he remained determined, and finally New Young Dog led him to the old man's place at the northeast station where he took his place.

That evening Warrior went in quest of the rabbit learning that he wanted. New Young Dog had learned it from the original author, Arrived, and it was to him that Warrior went. When he got to the lodge, the people knew the two men wanted to be alone together so they all went to bed. The two men sat and smoked and talked and in the course of their conversation Warrior told New Young Dog about an experience he had had that impressed him deeply. Warrior always wore a white feather and once when the village was under attack as the war party struck, he felt like a feather floating in the wind so that no one could hurt him while he was aloft in the air. New Young Dog advised him that he could make a song about that when they were at the meeting. At the practice meeting, Warrior began slowly and then the next day he sang the song he had composed:

1.	hiwiri	witikuuwia	[539]
	———	Now I feel as if I were flying	
2.	"	"	
3.	"	"	
4.	"	"	
5.	"	"	
6.	"	hia feather flying	

• 796
533
[539]

1.	hiwiri	Wiwitawia Now it comes flying
2.	"	"
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	hita feather-coming

The two men continued to talk together that night in the lodge and New Young Dog told Warrior about the rabbit learning that he wanted to know. Should anyone come in and see the sparks from their pipe and hear the whispering, they would know that the two men were to be left alone and would go straight to their beds as they were talking of something important. The next time the dance was held, Warrior followed after New Young Dog. After he had carried out his performance, New Young Dog addressed the assembled company saying, "What you have seen me do here today, I am giving to this fellow here, Warrior. This is my teaching." From this time on Warrior was able to do the rabbit dance and could make a rabbit skin come alive and be a rabbit.

796 721 [178] [177] In this way, the original Wichita Deer Dance took on its Pawnee form. By 1867 it had become a typically elaborate Pawnee ceremony. Sleight-of-hand performances and trance induction were both modes in which they operated as they did in the Doctor Lodge. But unlike the Doctor Lodge where animal costumes and animal impersonations celebrated their communion with the animals, in the Deer Dance, war was the predominant theme and each of the members at the stations bore the name of a tribe, the opposing north and south sides representing attack and counterattack. The ceremony was carried through ten consecutive sessions, nine in the night and a tenth in the daytime with a number of rest days between. Technically, they conceived that the all-day tenth and final episode was the actual ceremony and the nine night sessions simply preliminary to it. The nine night sessions comprised several different phases. In the first five, there was a program of four or more sleight-of-hand performances, chiefly in sequence. As in the [789] [787] Doctor Dance, sleight of hand was referred to as "playing." Following these "playing" sessions, going on very late into the night was a series of "fighting" or hypnotic episodes. But these differed from the Doctor Lodge "fighting" which was simple trance induction; in the Deer Dance, the fighting consisted of hypnotic interference with a sleight-of-hand performance while it was in progress, confusing the performer and making it impossible for him to complete his feat. The difference between the two kinds of "fighting" was recognized in the names they were called—the "fighting" of the Doctor Lodge was "I shoot at him," ***wi-tatix-tsaaku***, "now-I at him-shoot" (abbreviated as ***patsaaku***) while

for the Deer Dance they said, "They shoot at his *image*," wi-tit-ir-*awi*-tsaku, "now-they at him-*image*-shoot." This distinction is significant as it reflects the difference in emphasis between the two ceremonies. The emphasis of the Doctor Lodge is on the alliance of man with the animals so that they give him confidence, enabling him to cure the sick or carry out whatever his purposes may be including war expeditions. In the Deer Dance, power over the enemy is a major leitmotif. The use of shamanism as a kind of psychological warfare against the enemy is a known device among other tribes. That the Pawnees were quite successful in this regard is attested by an account collected by a French visitor, Tixier, from their enemies, the Osage, in 1839–1840. He states: 796 721 721 723 [756] [175]

> The Mahs (Skidi Pawnee) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five and six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe. [181] [648]
>
> Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. . . . One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave, whose horses he steals away afterwards.

When they were living at Pahaku, near Fremont in 1850 and the Ponca attacked and were about to burn up the Pawnees caught inside their earth lodges, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy dressed up like a medicine man, came out and succeeded in thoroughly frightening the enemy so that they were repulsed; she was also able to kill one of them near the lodge, armed simply with a stout stick. There seems some likelihood that there was some actual functional value in the hypnotic powers of the medicine men, even in war. If this is the case, the preoccupation with this type of performance in the Deer Dance ceremony can better be appreciated. 796 721 756

The long series of illusionist feats and hypnotic exercises, however, was carried on within a characteristically complex Pawnee ceremonial structure. 796 789

In the first five nights of performance, during each night there was an earlier session of sleight-of-hand performances, followed by a "fight- 796 789 787

796 ing" session that lasted late into the night. 789 The successive fighting sessions on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in 787 which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its "owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally succeeds in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner. [824] The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them. In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semicardinal "stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally opposite semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *Northwest* possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the *Northeast*. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross. The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star," the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the 773 pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic 776 significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god [821] of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome, he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way. Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti, and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat, gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie. The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, succeeding, as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known 776
as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended 773
that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal
on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with
their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in [756]
the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The [782]
actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It [821]
was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the
rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears,
without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of 796
rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time. 825
Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be
decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer
because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to
send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been 796
occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and
"fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a
second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at
the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is 796
completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. 241
Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until 262
the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat
green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a
vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in
a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to
bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The
corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were
all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and
the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the
taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive "fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought
between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently [824]
the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild
plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the [534]
wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was
originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea- 000

796 824 825 The wild sage plant continued to be a major feature of the Pawnee Deer Dance ceremonial in the performances, and the entire floor was carpeted with the plant placed radially all around with the stub ends outward and the head ends pointing inward. The symbolism of the deer was maintained in the course of the performances when the performer would jump over the fireplace, from north to south and back again, and from west to east and back again, impersonating the deer in this way. Also in his closing speech, the leader told them that their Deer Lodge was now over and they were to follow their tracks home to the timber. They left, blowing their whistles all the way home, and the blowing could be heard all over the village so that the dance was sometimes referred to as the Whistle Dance.

796 789 536 After the sixth session, the "fighting" was entirely ended and the seventh, eighth, and ninth evenings were given over to illusionist sleight-of-hand feats of considerable intricacy, and the calendar eventually became so crowded that several performers might be performing simultaneously or with their performances overlapping. The rattling and singing would be begun at the southeast station, and sometimes no one would be inspired to get up and perform until the gourds and bows had reached a subsequent station in the clockwise round. In any case, if the spectators had not yet accumulated to a sufficient degree, some of the performers felt they wanted to wait "until they got a good crowd." The ceremony of the tenth day is entirely composed of a considerable series of sleight-of-hand performances.

796 756 578 At the time when Kind Warrior was its leader, the membership of the Deer Dance was becoming so considerable and the interest so great that the leaders of Doctor Lodge felt that it might develop into a rival organization to theirs. Sometimes when members were absent from the Doctor Lodge, others would go after them and finding them in the Deer Dance, would spirit them out, causing them to bleed at the mouth and desecrating the ground of the Deer Dance Lodge which had to be spotlessly clean and fresh. This almost developed into an open contest of power, which was finally averted when the doctors sent their apologies to the Deer Dance leaders admitting they had been wrong. At that period, the two ceremonies overlapped somewhat. Kind Warrior had taken a group of his members down to the pond where he summoned up a turtle, stating that if it came to an open fight he would go into the Doctor Lodge and, locking the entryway, make their turtle fireplace come alive. A report of this threat, finally brought the apology from the doctors.

The conflict was resolved at a later time, when Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, took over after Victory Call's death as leader of the Deer Dance and entered into an agreement with the leaders of the Doctor Lodge to hold his ceremony early, right after they arrived back from the summer hunt and before the Doctor Lodge should begin.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Deer Dance

331

As to the public at that time, when the conflict was imminent, some felt a test of power would be welcome between the two organizations, while others felt strongly that it should be avoided. 796 756 578

How much of the ceremony was basically a Wichita plan and how much Pawnee innovation cannot be entirely resolved, as a number of Wichitas came among the Pawnees and stayed for some time, one of them, Atskiri, remaining for three years and coaching Misery for his role as future leader of the organization. Whatever the details, by 1867, the Deer Dance had become an intricate Pawnee ceremony, following the characteristic pattern with complicated histrionic as well as conceptual features. 796 177 178

754 mouth and chest were covered with blood by the time he got it all out.
578 Mainly old men were present at this particular session of the Deer Dance.

796 578 As can be seen from this account, the "fighting" in the Deer Dance was not mere formal ceremonial procedure but an expression of real hostilities between the performers. As the people watched, they understood all these interpersonal nuances and the effect of the "fighting" was something more to them than a mere show of sleight of hand, spectacular as this might be in itself at times.

75 Apparently despite their rivalry, the two old doctors, That-Chief and Horse Finder, were not above combining in a fee-splitting venture at the expense of a wealthy patient. Horse Finder would advise That-Chief that he intended to bewitch a Mr. A and that in a few days he would be sick. Mr. A got sick as expected and first his family would call in the most eminent physician they had, Big Doctor, for A was an important man. The messenger sent to get him would promise him horses, clothing, and food in payment if he would cure the patient. The doctor came in and, after hearing the symptoms, pronounced it a serious illness and very difficult to treat. He agreed to try it for two days and if there were no results he would have to leave the case to someone else. Possibly he thinks the fee offered is not generous enough. Another doctor is asked to come in, the family offering one horse, a chief's medal, blankets, and leggings. But apparently the fee is too small for this new man who feels he should get more if he is to treat an important man like Mr. A. Finally someone in the family says, "Why only one horse? After all if he dies we won't have anything!" Thus the fee is raised. The second man comes, but gives up in two days. Meanwhile the two schemers have been sitting there and stay all night with the sick man ostensibly as a friendly gesture. When the second man gives up, in desperation, the sick man's family looks about for help and their attention happens to fall on That-Chief who is right there, and they offer him three horses and a quantity of goods. After considerable maneuvers with the coaching of Horse Finder who has been the original witch, he gives the patient an emetic and there emerges one of the terrible poison pellets, the heelskin of a human corpse wrapped in buffalo wool, painted red, and tied around with horsehair. By this time, however, the parts have separated and the human skin has softened so that it has caused a lot of trouble to the victim. When this successful conclusion has been reached, That-Chief calls in four other doctors to sing and celebrate the cure. They all have a feast at midnight and go to their homes. The next night That-Chief sends his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, to call Horse Finder to his home and they discuss the final stages of the treatment, Horse Finder telling That-Chief that he should instruct the patient to have nothing but blue corn meal mush for a few

411 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the
17 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken
iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the
1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's
in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they
412 had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-
177 shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological cir-
[172] cles as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal
[101] knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people
was "Big Knife."

Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls,
17 axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological
412 sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects
324 continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrow-
shafts and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sand-
stone buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each
with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was
[316] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from south-
west Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of
[439] Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge
was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to re-
veal their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard
electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of
• 796 ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when
463 the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert
322 arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize
her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the
essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots
from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when
the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was
referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the
pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic
terms.

463 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious
784 taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of
796 the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional
171 technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the
Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the
Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds
connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins
531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older
782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

spartea) known to the Pawnee as *pitsuts*. It grew like oats about 3 feet high near the village, above the cemetary where the Skidi buried their dead. White Woman would ask Victory Call to go and gather it for her in the fall. It had long stiff branches and at the tip of each branch there was a sharp point fastened at a joint and surrounded with wooly fluff. The point was broken off at the joint and discarded and the fluff cleared off. The remaining bristle was very stiff and formed the working end of the brush. The stems were grouped into four little bunches, each bunch bent over at the top end and fastened down with a wrapping of buckskin. The four bunches were put together with the bent-over ends inward, and the whole bound around with buckskin to complete the brush. In addition to keeping the hair in order, doctors would rub the brush on top of the head to relieve headache or sleepiness. As generally with the Pawnee crafts, there was no ceremony involved in gathering the material or in the manufacture, but the grass appears metaphorically in the Peace Pipe ceremony as symbolic of vegetation in general and of grasses in particular. 412 [824] [796] [824]

Everyone went to a good deal of trouble to keep the hair in order and to dress it attractively. The women's hair styles were relatively uniform. It was parted in the middle and made into two braids hanging down over the shoulders in front. The end of the braid was wound around with buckskin. A relatively recent style was tying the braids together and flinging them to the back. The men's hair styles were more elaborate and varied. A great many of the men wore roaches, a ridge of hair standing up along the middle of the head with the hair removed on both sides and a braid hanging down at the back. Most writers refer to this hair style as characteristically Pawnee, but the Pawnees themselves speak of it as "like Osages." In the old days, each hair had to be pulled out one by one. Later they used scissors. In former times, face hairs were also pulled out one by one with the fingers, while more recently they used a close coil of brass with a stick through it so that it would be tied to the belt. The oldest son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Sun Chief, had long curly hair that he wore in two braids, one over each shoulder. He was known as Long Hair or "Head-Hanging-Down-From." Victory Call also wore two braids, but on the right side, in addition to the braid, he had his hair cut in terraces. He was called "like Arikara" on account of it. War Cry never seemed to comb his hair; he wore it loose and was always brushing it back off his forehead. His younger brother, Brave Shield, pushed his hair up so that it stood up stiff in back. People who were shabby or ill-groomed were regarded with considerable contempt by the Pawnees. 302 [178] [171] [178] [554]

The industrial knowledge of the Pawnee transformed the meager materials of the plains environment into a setting that was worthy of their religious and conceptual achievements. They worked hard but were se- 433 182

They had made two killings already and still the buffalo were coming. 224*
Eagle Chief stated that the next day they would not go out, but simply 623
keep an eye on the herd as there was so much meat in the camp that they [251]
had to give it a chance to dry. He also mentioned that the hides should [281]
be treated and thinned down. Some of the old men remarked that this
was a good time to make bone grease by boiling the bones and skimming [252]
off the fat as there were lots of bones about at this time and the grease
would harden easily in the cold weather. Almost all the old women in [251]
camp would busy themselves with this work, storing the grease in a
paunch. Some would make dried intestines and dried and braided strips of
stomach (*pararitskusu*).

They made five killings while they were camped at Many Deer and 224*
along with the killing at Turkey Creek, they felt that this was enough
and they should turn toward home. They had made killings almost every
other day and stayed about fifteen days. Victory Call killed six in all
and Horse Rider five.

Now that they were considering turning back, they must decide what 224*
donations of buffalo meat were to be pledged for the sacred bundle cer- 431
emonies in the spring. Each sacred bundle must have at least one *rara-* 796
buru, a parfleche containing the dried meat of a whole buffalo. The dif- 778
ferent doctor cults also needed pledges of meat for their spring renewal
rites, but they simply needed backbone steaks. For example, the two [75[illegible]]
leaders of the Bear Cult reserved two steaks for their cult. Victory Call
set aside one steak for his Deer or Whistle Dance and one for the Bear
Cult.

There were twelve major sacred bundles, each of which had to be pro- 224*
vided for with a parfleche of dried meat. The Evening Star bundle 431
owned by Old Lady Lucky Leader would be provided for by her son 778
Frank Leader in some years, and by her son-in-law Roaming Leader in
others, according to the circumstances of the kill on a particular hunt.
Lone Chief and Shot Arm alternated in this way for the Morning Star
bundle. War Cry and his younger brother Brave Shield alternated in sup-
plying the meat for War Cry's war bundle (*karaxkata karusu*) that had
been derived from the Evening Star bundle, etc.

Everyone was interested in the news of how the donations had gone and Eagle Chief sent out his errand man Know-His-Face to find out at the different tipis where the sacred bundles were kept.

Sometimes a man couldn't manage to get a good buffalo for his bundle. He approached a man who had just killed a fat cow and said, "I want you to take pity on me. I have a sacred bundle and I want to make *rara-buru* [a parfleche of meat]." "Go ahead, take it," said the hunter, and went off, leaving the bundle owner to butcher the sacred buffalo himself. When he got home with the meat he told his wife, "*ra-waruksti-ti*" ("one

The Pawnee version of the revivalist Ghost Dance religion was in full force. Through it the people 668
hoped that the new would be swept away and old conditions return. It 796
was invested with many of the old and rich Pawnee ceremonial constructs that were vividly recalled in memory and in visions. As one of their fond remembrances, they thought of the old Hand Game, and this became the framework for a new and elaborate ceremonial synthesis of old religious patterns. With the beginning of the twentieth century, the religious [[778]]
elements diminished in importance.

In World War I and again in World War II, the Pawnees for whom defense 648
of country had always been a leitmotif enlisted generously, and 177
their war veterans became an important element of modern Pawnee life. Following World War II and their extensive contacts abroad, a considerable number of Pawnees availed themselves of the educational benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights, acquiring college degrees and specialized professional training.

The Pawnee powwow held in the beginning of July, when the Pawnees 527
used to leave on their summer buffalo hunt, takes place at Pawnee, 177
Oklahoma. It is a colorful combination of traditional and adapted Indian dances and music under the auspices of the Pawnee war veterans. The Pawnees, from wherever their lives have taken them, come by car, train, or plane to this their homecoming, where there is a brief period of camping in tents and cooking over an open fire or a charcoal grill, renewing social contacts and kin reminiscences. The rest of the year's round is in another place and in the present, just as the old people had envisioned their future.

P 224

141 The surround on foot was called *tut-kawi-pitahaku*," it-to-them-inside-moving-round-and-round." In summer the buffalo tended to be scattered in smaller bunches. In winter the buffalo traveled in closer formation. They also would try to drive them over the ice during the winter: *situks-ukita-hai-iwarit*, "they-used-to-upon-water-or-ice-aim-or-direct." In winter, in the deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow and could readily be killed. The north wind was called Lucky Wind because it chased the buffalo to them. When the second party was going to Oklahoma (1876), old man Frost, *Huriru'us*, held a doctor dance. Then Lucky Wind began to blow and a lot of buffalo came close to the camp. At one time, east of the Missouri River, a bit east of Omaha, Nebraska, there were villages of Pumpkin-Vine people and further eastward the village of Bones-Sticking-Up, *Kis-karaxwa*, of the Tsawi Band. Buffalo came into these villages.

P
[821]
[796]
[361]

P 482

Even in Oklahoma in the 1920's women continued to pack heavy loads on their backs. In 1928 I met an old Pawnee grandmother of delicate build trudging along the road out of the town of Pawnee one Saturday afternoon with a huge load of groceries—a sack of flour, a lard pail full, and other sundries—done up in a blanket, the ends tied across her forehead and the weight of the bundle resting on her protruded buttocks and backbone. She refused an offer of a lift in a Ford Car, preferring to continue with her moccasined walk for the two miles to the house.

P 172 325

145, 363 In Lower Loup archaeological villages sheet metal was found for the first time (about 1600), possibly for arrow points (Dunlevy, 1936, p. 201).

P 162

138 Dunbar, 1918, p. 632, gives an estimate of the number of males and females among the Skidi (1840): total 1906; males over 10 years, 469; females over 10 years, 598; children, males under 10 years, 367, females under 10 years, 472.

P 439

D
[726]
[727]

P
[726]

145, 363-364 Although pottery was still in use in Old Village (Allis, 1887, p. 140) the Pawnees had for some time been carrying on a trade in brass buckets with other tribes. Mooney, 1898, pp. 257-259, describes a gruesome incident when the Osage attacked the unprotected Kiowa camp, cutting off the heads of their dead victims and placing them one each in a brass kettle, "which had been obtained by the Kiowa from the Pawnee, who procured them on the Missouri and traded them to the southern tribes." This was the year 1833 "Summer They Cut Off Their Heads." During the attack "A party of women was saved by a brave Pawnee living in the camp, who succeeded in fighting off the pursuers long enough to enable the women to reach a place of safety" (p. 258).

NOTES AND COMMENTS

796 756 272 An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756 273 See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796 [574] [782] [184] [752] [726] 241 The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

824 825 171 277 On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372 482 372 280, 290 Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

727 305 Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home

*175 epidemic, in view of the census figure reached by Dunbar and Allis
731 in the summer of 1840 of 6,787, exclusive of some detachments of
165 the tribe then absent, who could at most bring the total to 7,500.

With the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs
*175 by act of Congress in 1834, an agency was established for dealings
*648 with the Oto and Missouri, Ponca, Omaha, and Pawnee tribes,
located for many years at Council Bluffs. An agent does not seem
to have taken active charge of the affairs of these tribes until 1836.

*175 Missionaries had worked among the Pawnee for about two years
*648 just prior to the removal of the South Bands. Dunbar was among
the Tcawi. Allis with the Skiri, and Satterlee with the Kitkahaxki[x].
797 Satterlee was murdered in 1837 by a white trader, but Dunbar and
Allis helped the bands locate their settlements, and accompanied
them in the removal. At the time of the removal a location was
chosen on Plum Creek for the site of the government establishment
and a mission: but on account of the disturbances caused by
Sioux raids, execution of the plan was delayed until 1844.

With the removal north of the Platte, resident farmers settled
[657] with the Pawnee, and Samuel Allis was appointed government
teacher and opened a school. Nevertheless, the period from 1841
to 1847 was one of breakdown and chaos in Pawnee life, rather
than progress.

*175 Once on the north side of the Platte, the Pawnee were exposed
*648 more than ever before to remorseless attacks of the Dakota who
had been increasing in numbers and boldness for some time. This
constant threat hung over every month of the year.

*175 The intention of the government in sending farmers among the
Pawnee was to teach them plough agriculture. Their old methods
*648 of digging-stick cultivation while they had yielded relatively
177 large crops had never been sufficiently productive to permit the
241 Pawnee to rely completely on their fields. In the summer, observers
reported, they succeeded in raising but little more corn, beans and
squash than they consumed by the time the cold weather set in.
Occasionally their crops were more plentiful but any drought
threatened to leave them without a subsistence minimum.

The farmers were indefatigable in breaking up virgin soil for cultivation. The school teacher, finding it impossible to carry out any genuine instruction the first years, joined in, and helped with the agriculture. All reports indicate that the Pawnee themselves showed commendable zeal in their efforts to learn and gave promise of becoming successful farmers more rapidly than other tribes. Nevertheless the farming operations; in the long run, were a failure. The Pawnee did not take to productive farming. The

north, and the Sioux restrained from coming south of the Platte, 175*
it was hoped that a wide and safe passage could be opened for the 648*
Oregon emigrants.

In how far even the theory of civilizing the Indians through agriculture dominated government policy may be judged from the statements of the Commissioner in his annual report for 1848. The Superintendent of the Central Superintendency, located at St. Louis, had recommended the necessity of providing the Indian tribes of the prairie with suitable land for agricultural purposes, where these tribes had none of their own. This was Superintendent T. H. Harvey, who, judging from his reports, was sincere in his efforts to carry out the professed governmental Indian policy. He contended that the buffalo were approaching extinction, and that plans should be made in advance of that event for settling the tribes as farmers on lands suitable for farming. This policy according to the Commissioner, was contrary to his own recommendations "of procuring and keeping open these lands [viz. good agricultural lands] for the egress and expansion of our own population." He was of the opinion that the Indian tribes would gradually move westward after the disappearing buffalo, and so keep out of the white man's way.

The annuities of the treaty of 1833 had run out their term by 1845; and the aid to Pawnee agriculture by supplying implements, farmers and mills was subject to the Pawnee locating north of the Platte. As a result, in the period from 1847 to 1857 the tribe was practically without government aid. In 1848 at Fort Childs, the United States government purchased Grand Island from the Pawnee for $ 2000 in merchandise, which was of incidental aid to a tribe numbering over 4,000. The acquisition of Grand Island was part of the program for the establishment of military posts on the route to Oregon.

While the school was maintained at Bellevue as a nucleus for [657]
future operations, all other civilizing activities in the tribe were [797]
practically suspended. Even the missionaries gave up, because of the hazard. South of the Platte the Pawnee claimed the land was unproductive with their methods of planting corn, and there was no available timber for building lodges. The three bands who had been north of the Platte professed in the fall of 1848 their willingness to return there, if the Teawi who had been living alone south of the Platte were made to accompany them so as to increase their military strength for defense against Sioux assaults.

The government purchased some corn for the Pawnee in the [657]
summer of 1848, but that fall they were in a miserable condition. [731]
their crops having failed because of drought.

Marriage customs were attacked in two ways: legally and ethically. 175*
Toward the close of this period the government program called 648*
for an attempt on the part of officials of the Indian service to insist 657
upon civil marriage under the laws of the United States, to oppose 581
wife-purchase and the marriage of the young girls, to register civilly the marriages of those living together in accordance with old customs, and to oppose easy separation and divorce. Since the individual men and women were becoming possessors of private property in the form of land, houses, stock and implements, by controlling the inheritance of estates in terms of the white man's law, and refusing to recognize "wives" not legally married, the program
began to have an effect. After 1883 missionaries of the Home [797]
Missionary Society and the Methodist Episcopal Church worked
in the tribe, and developed a small congregation of church members. The missionary influence was brought to bear against the Pawnee marriage usages from a moral angle. The agent cooperated with the missionaries in persuading the Pawnee to go through a Christian marriage ceremony as well as to secure a legal certificate. By 1890 officials claimed in their reports that the Pawnee were regularly seeking the missionary to perform the marriage ceremony for them: that by prompt action they had prevented all cases which came to their attention of "selling girls for ponies"; and that while polygyny had not been stamped out, there were no new cases of a wife being taken where the man already had a wife. A final claim was that divorces were unknown, or rare, which is to be doubted.

The dancing, gambling and feasting to which the tribe was 175*
addicted were marked out as dissipations contributing to indolence, 648*
and the agent by the most active measures at his command attempted 657
to prevent social gatherings for such purposes as much as possible. 796
In June 1891 the agent was surprised that the tribe assembled for a dance (probably a ceremony); he ordered it stopped at once and told the people to go to their homes and attend to their work. He could not however enforce his commands, and while some did go, most remained and carried out the dance. Such social affairs kept the people away from their farms for long periods, and the crops
were neglected. In the old days the Pawnee methods of cultivation [805
were adjusted to their calendric rituals, and by June, when the 221]
time for the hunt and summer ceremonies came, the crops were "laid by"; the tribe was not yet adjusted to intensive cultivation, involving constant care.

The conflict with the Pawnee medicine men was long and diffi- 175*
cult. The government was determined to destroy their power 648*
over the people, and to persuade the Pawnee to depend on the 657
756

The medicine men of the tribe carried on. The Doctor Dances 175 *
were given year after year; although after 1878 the great Doctor 648 *
Performances through which the medicine men renewed their 177
powers were no longer demonstrated. The function of the doctors
did not disappear; health became a possession more difficult to 105
secure as the years passed. But against the white man's diseases 657
the folk medicine of the Pawnee doctors proved essentially futile; as did the white man's medicine itself.

With the passing of the greater part of the old ritualism and ceremony, the arts of ceremonial decoration, of making ritual costumes, bear-claw necklaces, otter-skin collars, of painting the body, went with them. The Doctor Dances kept something of the ritual decorative arts alive.

If we turn from this catalog of the decline of aboriginal Pawnee culture what can we see that had come to take its place? Needing the Indian's land for the expansion of the white man, the government was compelled to give the Indian an economy which would be self-sustaining while it confined the tribe in narrower boundaries. It gave the Indian farming. This being seasonal, and subject to the vicissitudes of the elements, it did not mean independence. For a meat supply the Indian did not use his own resources; the government gave him meat. When his crops failed, the government rationed him.

What occupations took the place of the old? The boys learned some manual arts. They could help to build their own houses, to repair their implements; the girls meanwhile learned some sewing, how to wash clothing, how to keep house. All these were essentially mechanical operations; their aesthetic returns are for the most part small. What creative satisfaction was to be had in manual arts, the boys did achieve in harness-making, carpentering, wagon-making, and the like, where they had opportunity to put into practise what they had learned.

The small measure of self-government which the Indians were offered through the Court of Indian Offenses was subject to the paternal control of the Agent and the government: it was concerned after all with the minor legal problems of their life. It helped to revive something of self-determination.

If we turn finally to the intellectual side of Pawnee life we find that practically nothing came to take the place of the old rituals and ceremonies, the old dances and social gatherings, the old traditions and songs. Missionaries had been among the Pawnee [797]
from 1835 to 1837, and again there were missionaries after 1883

*175
*648
177
105
657
797

With what results? In 1891 even the optimistic reports of the missionaries claimed only thirty-five church members, and twenty or more years later not over a seventh of the tribe even professed Christianity according to official reports.

In 1892, after the best efforts of the Pawnee for over three generations to adjust themselves to living alongside the white man, the tribe had come to a cultural impasse, with nothing to look forward to and nothing to live by.

every man under his vine and fig-tree; and *none* shall make them 000 afraid." Mic. 4. 3, 4.

As hinted in a note in a previous communication, (see February 131 Miscellany, p. 62.) the Pawnee villages are not located on their 648 own land. Formerly the land on both sides of the Platte river belonged to them. But about the year 1835 they concluded a treaty with the United States, in which they ceded to the latter all their territory on the South side of the river. Their villages were then situated about 150 miles further up the Platte on the North side. The missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. were then resid- 797 ing with them, their mission stations being situated in the vicinity of these villages. When the Pawnees were at their homes, which is only four or five months of the year, (the remaining months [221] being consumed on their summer and fall hunts) the missionaries were engaged in teaching such of their children as could be induced to attend school, and in instructing the people in the truths of religion, as well as they could according to their limited knowledge of the language. About six years ago, the powerful Sioux made 648 repeated incursions into the Pawnee country, and the strength of the latter being very much weakened by their frequent wars with 797 their enemies, they were obliged to succomb, and at length forced to leave their former location on the North side of the Platte, and to remove to the South side, nearer to the white settlements on the Missouri river. The missionaries too found it unsafe to remain, and it was thought advisable to suspend their missionary operations among them. Mr. and Mrs. Allis (See August Misc. 1851, pp. 221, 222, and also February Misc. 1852, p. 64.) are remnants of this noble band of missionaries, and, still cherishing the desire, that these benighted but very interesting people might be enlightened by the gospel, have, while their fellow-laborers have long ago left for other fields of usefulness, still lingered behind,—and toiled on, amidst many self-denials, privations, and discouragements, in doing whatever lay in their power for the good of these Indians. Lately the government has established Fort Kearney, not far distant from their former villages, which, it is hoped, will be a security against future incursions, and prove a safeguard, when our mission will once be established among them.

LANGUAGE.—The Pawnee language is said to be altogether dif- 197 ferent from the languages of the surrounding prairie tribes. The Otoes, the Ioways, the Osages, the Kanzas or Caws, the Omahaws, the Puncaws, etc., seem all to speak dialects of the same language, the Dakota; while the Pawnee language seems, by its great difference, to point back to the earliest periods of the residence of the Indians in this country, when a disruption may have taken place, that formed them into a distinct nation.

POPULATION, LODGES, etc.—The lower village consists of about 361 161

*172 lodges. The burial grounds have been looted to only a limited extent. However, the lateness of occupancy makes it seem improbable that 361 the site would repay detailed investigation as it falls entirely within the historic period and presents few of the true native traits of the Pawnee.

PLUM CREEK SITE.—Approximately coincident with the establishment of the Skidi village at the mouth of the Cedar, as previously noted, the greater portion of the Grands, with the Republican and Tappage bands, jointly took up their residence 8 miles farther down the Loup, also on the north bank of the stream, and within a mile [797] of the Presbyterian mission station on Plum Creek.[61] The spot where the mission formerly stood has been recently located on the west bank of the present Council Creek, perhaps 200 yards below the point where the latter leaves the bluffs. The Pawnee site has not been definitely determined, but since it was visible from the mission, and only a mile distant,[62] it would appear that the site is to be sought just north of the Union Pacific Railroad about 8 miles southwest of Genoa. There is here a slight bench, all under cultivation, on which the village was probably located. Since the site was occupied for but a few years it is doubtful whether there remains much village detritus. This, together with the very limited search that has been made, probably accounts for the uncertainty regarding its location, and also renders it unlikely that the site possesses much of real archeological value.

REPUBLICAN PAWNEE SITES

175 The Republican Pawnee, an offshoot of the Grands, first appear in literature in 1777 as one of the tribes receiving presents at the Spanish post of St. Louis.[63] Their habitat even at that early date was the Republican Valley, which they abandoned during the first decade of the nineteenth century for a more secure location with the Grands on the Platte and Loup Rivers.[64] It is extremely doubtful [648] whether this band, as such, ever resided much farther south than the valley of the Republican, as its history is one of continual warfare with the hostile Kansa on the Kansas and lower Republican Rivers. After 1812 they were nearly always intimately associated with the parent band of Grand Pawnee, and during much of the time they *172 occupied the same village. At least two and possibly three sites 361 may be regarded as predominantly Republican Pawnee, although others were used from time to time in conjunction with other bands.

---

[61] Now known as "Council Creek," the names of the two streams having been reversed since that time. "The next stream west of the Beaver is Plum Creek, on which was the mission station."—Platt, E. G., 1892, p. 131.

[62] Dunbar, 1918, pp. 648, 656.

[63] Houck, 1909, vol. I, p. 143.

[64] Lewis and Clark, 1832, p. 709; Long, 1823, vol. I, p. 440.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Pawnee NQ18
Winnebago NP12

N

W 171 and Kiowa. Mooney was present at a palaver at which a Kiowa reported upon his visit to Wovoka. The Kiowa was told by the Paiute prophet to stop dancing; consequently, he branded the Plains Ghost Dance leaders as frauds. "Sitting Bull insisted on the truth of his own representations, and when accused by A'peatan of deceiving the Indians in order to obtain their property, he replied that he had never asked them for ponies which they had given him. . . ." (p. 914). Another Arapaho leader, Black Coyote, appeared to Mooney to be a man who "wishes to be a great priest and medicine man. At the same time he keeps a sharp lookout for his temporal affairs and has managed to accumulate considerable property" and three wives. He was leader of the Ghost Dance and other Indian ceremonies, tribal delegate to Washington, captain of Indian police and county deputy sheriff. He repeatedly asked Mooney "to get him a permanent license . . . to enable him to visit the various reservations at will as a general evangel of Indian medicine and ceremony" (pp. 897–898).

P 668 ● 797 P [276] [431] [578] Lesser's (pp. 60–76) data on the Pawnee Ghost Dance leave no doubt that Frank White, its introducer, used the dance for personal aggrandizement. Some of his special doctrines and practices were the following: he was sole authentic prophet; he demanded payment for use of designs seen in visions; he sold all paraphernalia; he was paid for the privilege of holding dances; a small face painting by him cost $5.00. In spite of his eating peyote and drinking whiskey, the Ghost Dancers lavished gifts, money, and pretty girls on him. The revolt against him seemed to result partly from jealousy of his wealth.

N W 171 The leader of the Caddo Ghost Dance was John Wilson, who was also a shaman and a peyotist.[illegible] The fact that Wilson later modified the peyote cult in order to collect hundreds of dollars certainly places him in the class of proselyters for gain par excellence. La Barre (p. 158) tells of the wealth he received and makes a classic understatement: "The economic motive seems evident in much of Wilson's behavior."

Except for the case of John Wilson, missionary to the Shawnee, Quapaw, Caddo, Delaware, Osage, Potawatomi, and others, the literature contains but few direct statements suggesting that financial gain motivated agents to spread the peyote cult.[illegible] However, the very fact that peyote is universally considered to be a cure and that leaders are often looked upon similarly to shamans suggests that carriers of the cult could have been paid for their services. A great many other Indians are known to have proselyted beyond their own tribes.

Wi [795] [797] The Winnebago, John Rave, went to South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to preach the new religion after establishing the cult among his own people in Nebraska. A Kiowa, Jim Aton, a famous peyote doctor, held meetings for the Creek, Yuchi, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Mescalero-Apache, and Quapaw; also whites and Mexicans.[illegible] Have these men and other famous proselyters spread the gospel of peyote solely out of love for their fellow men? No doctrine of the peyote cult commands members to go forth and convert other tribes.

That believers have gone out to spread the cult because of possible economic gain is established in the case of Ben Lancaster. It is almost impossible to conclude that Leo Okio and Lone Bear had no other ideas than religion when they held meetings in Nevada. My Uintah Ute informants accused the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, of spreading peyotism for money, and when the members were broke, he did not

---

[illegible] Mooney, 1896*b*, 914–915; La Barre, 1938, 65, 151; Petrullo, 1934, 158.

[illegible] La Barre; Schultes, 1938.

[illegible] La Barre, 52, fn. 114.

3.	*arisit kustiwuu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you) 539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tihi raruz kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572 as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562 fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857 groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868 to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the household routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512 would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile away. This was an opportunity for meeting. [521] Little girls when going for water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [584] were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462 no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 885 occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582] for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571 in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 525 ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to develop "cronies." [887] John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571 the following words: 521 [797]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

ples—and the boy Otter. Of the dried and cultivated foods from White Woman's stores they took: 224* 484* 262

Roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*)	2 small sacks (50-lb flour size)
Dried blue flour corn (*uraax-katit*)	1 small sack (50-lb flour size)
Dried spotted corn (*rikis-tipiku*)	1 sack
Beans	1 sack
Pumpkin mats	2 mats
Dried buffalo meat (*takaski*)	½ parfleche
Trade store goods	Flour (50-lb sack); coffee, sugar, baking powder; dried peaches and dried prunes

As on the previous occasion, Grandma contributed her specialty, [252] pounded up sweet corn mixed with sugar, *rikis-karus-tapaxtu*, "corn-sweet-pounded-up," that she had pounded in the mortar before they left. She pounded as much of it as she could so that the family could carry it along. This was a valuable ready-to-eat food and there would be no time to prepare it while they were on the march without her, since she would remain on Grand Island. Particularly in winter, there would be little time to cook.

No Corn, wife of Horse Rider, took a similar array of foods to White Woman, but less in quantity. She took:

Roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*)	1 sack
Dried blue flour corn (*uraax-katit*)	½ sack
Dried spotted corn (*rikis-tipiku*)	1 sack
Beans	1 sack
Pumpkin mats	1 mat
Dried buffalo meat (*takaski*)	½ parfleche
Trade store goods	Flour (50-lb sack); coffee, sugar, dried peaches and dried prunes

The roasted (*rawaritu*) corn was the quickest-cooking, while the dried [252] blue flour corn (*uraax-katit*) had to soak and took much longer to cook. The spotted corn was parched in a pan with coals. For this winter expedition the main difference in the supplies was that they took half or less of the longer-cooking dried blue flour corn. Otherwise the supplies were substantially similar. However, they were out on their winter expedition about 3½ months rather than the summer period of only two.

While there is no way of getting a reliable estimate of how much these [177] supplies amounted to in our terms, Samuel Allis who was missionary to [175] the Skidi and traveled with them on their hunts in 1835–1836, stated that

*224 *484 262 each parfleche that they carried with them contained four bushels of corn or eighty pounds of dried buffalo meat. The proportions of the dry meat he describes as 3 feet long and 2 feet wide per sheet.

• [797] [175] [252] It should be noted that some of the trade store supplies had their analogies in the native foods. Flour was analogous to finely pounded-up corn made into corn bread that was baked in the ashes, and the dried fruits with traditional dried wild plums and sand cherries, while sugar was obtained from the box elder.

*224 *484 492 The cache pit being in order and the provisions packed for travel, the horse gear was all gotten in order, the saddles and straps mended so that the goods could be securely packed on the horse. Finally the long-awaited announcement for leaving would come. The specific directions were from Man Chief of the Tsawi Band who was leading the hunt.

The night before it would be stated that rainy conditions would have to be taken account of. If they had a hard rain early in the morning, then they would have to delay their departure until the next day, but "If it rains only a little in the morning, as soon as the rain stops, we can go on." On the other hand, should it rain during the night, they would certainly go on next morning. If they had already started and it began to rain they would cover up the loaded horses with an old tent skin they carried along for the purpose and say, "It's on the way," and continue, unless it kept on raining hard all through the day, when they would have to unload the horses, cover up the baggage with a tent skin, and all crawl under it until the rain was over. Then they would reload and go on.

[721] Another cause for delay in their departure would be an enemy attack when they could do nothing else but stay and defend themselves. This would delay them for a day or two.

Meanwhile everyone was anxious to be on their way. On the appointed morning or the night before, Horse Rider tethered the horses right outside the door of the lodge. They would be loaded as for the summer hunt, a place being arranged for No Corn to ride because of her arthritis.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P
252
262

65 Pawnee text version of making "beans-inside" bread, Weltfish, 1937, pp. 37-38.

P
342

P
[756]

21, 62 In the settlement near Fremont, Nebraska (Pahaku), the oldest brother of the three, Rotten House, and Sitting Hawk, the second oldest, and Victory Call, the youngest, established a huge earth lodge, 90 feet in diameter with two sets of central pillars, concentrically arranged. In it he assembled a large group of "brothers," most of them doctors.

P
114
• 797

P
595

14-15 The integrity of the account of Pawnee life obtained from informants by the field ethnologist is clearly validated by the account of an eyewitness, the missionary Samuel Allis, 1887, who lived with the Skidi in Old Village more than a hundred years before this record was made. He comments on the efficiency with which the domestic arrangements operate:

> [H]e lives with her in her father's lodge. It is customary for a young man to marry in a family, and if there is more than one daughter, he takes the oldest and so on as fast as they mature and gives a horse for each additional wife. In this way one sometimes gets as many as six or seven wives. They are like the Mormons in some ways. The oldest wife is "Sister Young" or "Sister Kimball" and so on and is mistress of the lodge. Each woman, however, has her own bundle of meat, corn, etc. and takes her turn in cooking; and the lord sleeps by turns in different parts of the lodge to avoid jealousy. Some of them have their women in different lodges and own a share in each lodge. In this way they fare better. *They have so much system in cooking, dressing robes, cornfields and other work that they get along better than one would suppose.**

H
462
593

This outlook on the fluidity of the division of labor was not confined to the Pawnees. Wolf Chief, an old man of the Hidatsa tribe, a Siouan group of North Dakota, stated in 1910, "In my tribe in old times, some men helped their wives in their gardens. Others did not. Those who did not help their wives talked against those who did saying, 'That man's wife makes him her servant!' And others retorted, 'Look, that man puts all the hard work on his wife!' " "Men were not all alike; some did not like to work in the garden at all, and cared for nothing but to go around visiting or to be off on a hunt. My father Small Ankle liked to garden and often helped his wives. He told me that was the best way to do. 'Whatever you do,' he said, 'help your wife in all things.' He taught me to clean the garden, to help gather the corn, to hoe and to rake. My father said that that man lived best and had plenty to eat who helped his wife. One who did not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

---

* Italics mine.

539*
796*

996 H'areri, h'areri;
997 H'areri, 'hare! I'hare re!
998 H'areri, 'hare! I'hare re! H'areri;
999 Hure-e!
1000 H'areri, 'hare, I hare re! H'areri;
1001 Hure-e!

For translation, see the first ritual, lines 72-77.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We have now made four times four circuits of the lodge. In the first four we remembered Mother Earth through the corn. In the second four we sang of the eagles, which are the messengers of the powers above. In the third four we spoke of the prayers we send to Tira'wa through this ceremony. In the last four we lifted our voices to the powers themselves, the mighty power above and all those which are with the Hako.

[801]

Four times four means completeness. Now all the forces above and below, male and female, have been remembered and called upon to be with us in the sacred ceremonies which will take place at the dawn.

The night is nearly over when the last circuit is completed; then the Children rise and go home.

SIXTEENTH RITUAL (FIFTH DAY, DAWN)

PART I. SEEKING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

796*

After the Children have gone, the Fathers lie down and wait for the first sign of dawn. They have eaten nothing since they last fed the Children shortly after noon, and they must fast until the close of the ceremony.

At the first sign of dawn the Fathers rise and, preceded by the Ku'rahus with the feathered stems, the chief with the corn and wildcat skin, the doctors with their eagle wings, and the singers with the drum, go forth to the lodge where the family of the Son is living. As they march they sing the following song; the words mean that the Father is now seeking his child.

539*
796*

The child referred to is usually a little son or daughter of the Son, the man who has received the Hako party. Upon this little child we are to put the signs of the promises which Mother Corn and Kawas bring, the promise of children, of increase, of long life, of plenty. The signs of these promises are put upon this little child, but they are not merely for that particular child but for its generation, that the children already born may live, grow in strength, and in their turn increase so that the family and the tribe may continue.

In the absence of a little child of the Son an older person or a mother and her baby may be substituted.

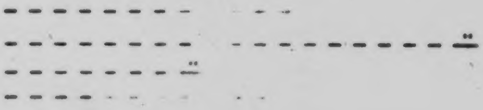
*533 the other powers are addressed, those at the four directions, the above, and the below, a six-phrase rhythm is used.

*796 The number of the repeats and phrases of the songs seems also to be connected with the ceremonial steps, which are in groups of four, eight, and sixteen. [801] The number sixteen is said by the Ku'rahus to represent completeness.

[826 According to native measurement, the height of a man is equal to the stretch of his arms. 804] Looking at the diagram of the figure stepped upon the ground, we note that sixteen steps give the spread of the arms and the same number of steps marks the length of the man. This bears out the statement of the Ku'rahus that sixteen, or four times four, represents completeness.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



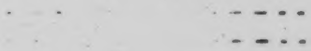
Rhythmic Rendition

*539 Look on us as here we are standing, raising our voices!
*796 Look on us as here we, presenting, lift now these emblems that are so holy up to thy gaze!
Swift, a flash from out of the heavens
Falls on us as here we are standing, looking at thee.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 Look down, West gods,[c] look upon us! We gaze afar on your dwelling.
*796 Look down while here we are standing, look down upon us, ye mighty!
Ye thunder gods, now behold us!
Ye lightning gods, now behold us!
Ye that bring life, now behold us!
Ye that bring death, now behold us!

---

[a] Music on page 63.
[b] Music on page 65.
[c] Gods, meaning powers, is used solely on account of the rhythm.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Analysis.—Four renditions of this song were recorded without a break in the time. This is interesting because of the 7–8 measures which were always sung in correct time. The transcription is from the first rendition. The only differences were that in the later renditions the seventh measure was omitted and the first tone in the next to the last measure was sung as C instead of E. Such differences are slight but are important to observe in a study of Indian music. The keynote is more prominent in this song than in a majority of the songs under analysis, this tone occurring in every measure except the first. Nine of the 32 intervals are fourths, which is an unusually large proportion of this interval. The melody tones are those of the second 5-toned scale. A downward sliding of the voice, impossible to transcribe, occurred at the end of the first and third measures. 533*

HAND GAME SONGS

On two occasions the writer had the privilege of attending a hand game of the Pawnee held in the same lodge where the victory dances for returned soldiers had been held. (Pl. 7, *c.*) The first of these games was in 1919 and the second in the following year. The number of Indians in attendance was more than 200. In former times this game was played only by men and the objects hidden were short sticks, but at the present time both men and women take part in the game, hiding small balls, slightly larger than bullets. The man holding the balls moves his hands above his head, puts them behind his back, and does everything possible to mystify and confuse his opponent, while the songs grow more excited as the moment for making the guess approaches. Ghost dance songs are sung in the dancing which takes place at intervals during the game. The balls are hidden by players of one side until the opponents have made five correct guesses in succession. 524 533* 796

The games are often of long duration, the first game attended by the writer continuing about six hours. This game was opened in a ceremonial manner by James R. Murie, chief of the Skidi Band, who also recorded the guesses by means of decorated sticks. Seven feathered sticks were placed upright in the ground before him,[25] and this was said to be "as in the Ghost dance."[26] The woman who "gave the dance" stood in the center of the lodge and appointed

---

[25] Two sets of such sticks are illustrated by Culin, each set consisting of eight sticks. In one set these are 17 inches long, four painted yellow and four painted blue, and all feathered like arrows. In the other set each stick bears a little hoop at its end, decorated with feathers. The same authority illustrates a set of four hiding sticks, 1¾ inches long, marked in pairs alike, one pair with six notches on one side and one notch on the other side, and the other pair with an incised cross on each side of the sticks. (Culin, Stewart, Games of the North American Indians, Twenty-fourth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 274, 275, Washington, 1907.)

[26] The number seven is particularly sacred in the Ghost dance. Thus there were seven Ghost dance leaders, wearing sacred crow feathers as emblems of their leadership. [801]

*224 The creation story that was
773 often reviewed in these ceremonies told them how this had come about.
796 The number four had a sacred significance in connection with the four
• 801 semicardinal directions, and the combined hunt of all the bands together
was conducted in four major episodes.

*224 At the council tent in Camp 10, during their last evening on the Platte, White Eagle and the other Skidi chiefs planned out the strategy of this major phase of the hunt. The chiefs of the other three bands were also meeting in council. White Eagle as the leader of the hunt was to take the initiative. For diplomatic reasons he had decided to give over the management of the first hunt episode to Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band, who were currently "Fathers" to the Skidi in the Peace Pipe trading relationship. Man Chief was formally notified and he appointed the necessary religious and technical personnel, including three scouts who would go out long before dawn to survey the country and locate the herd. Long before the camp broke up that morning they had gone out, and when they found the hill beyond which the herd was located the chief scout crawled up cautiously on his belly, imitating the motions of a wolf so that he would not be detected by the herd. As long ago as
[175] 1540 the account of Coronado's expedition reported that white wolves
[136] ranged all over the plains, living peaceably in the presence of the buffalo
cows, so that the bulls as well as the herd as a whole were obviously well accustomed to having wolves nearby. They would not detect humans unless the scouts stood in the direction of the wind so that they could be scented. After the head scout had surveyed the situation to his satisfaction, he invited his fellow scouts to come up, each in turn crawling up like a wolf and taking a look around. In a war party one wrapped oneself in a whole wolfskin with bow and arrows concealed under the arms and tail, but a blanket was sufficient to fool the buffalo.

*224 Meanwhile the people in camp had awakened, broken up camp, loaded
*484 up and set out across the country for Camp 11. Following along Plum
Creek almost to its source, the line of march continued overland in a southeast direction until it reached the head of Turkey Creek, continuing southward along its west bank. When the people were about midway along, one of the scouts came riding up to inform them of conditions in
[202] connection with the herd. As he approached, he signaled with his blanket,
throwing it up twice to show that there were many buffalo. When he reached the line he told them that the herd was coming up from the river and wasn't very far, but that nevertheless the line of march should continue slowly along the west bank of Turkey Creek rather than crossing to the east side in an attempt to avoid disturbing the herd, and then crossing back again to make their camp. He told them that Turkey Creek was muddy near its confluence with the Republican, as some of the herd had already crossed over and were moving eastward.

*224 Taking account of these factors, the plan of action was as follows.

37

THE BIG DOCTOR PERFORMANCE

000

A Combination of Theater and Ceremony—the Form of the Performance—the "Scalped Ones" Mime—Swallowing a Deer Head—the Mud Duck—the Parade through the Village—the Round of Ceremonial Activities—the Sleight-of-Hand Performances

It must be remembered that the doctor performance was both ceremony and theater and so regarded by the doctors themselves. The whole organization of the acts, the costuming, and the stage effects were designed to impress and entertain the people while at the same time supporting the confidence of the doctors. While for us in analogous situations, a trilogy or three-act play is considered most satisfying, with a five-act performance secondarily acceptable, for the Pawnees the four-act or fourfold organization is fundamental and based on their cosmic ideology. For more complex organizational forms he would develop four units with a final unit added, an introduction with four basic units less often, or two double-fours, one four following the other with an interim unit between them. During the twenty-day period in which the actual performance would take place, the sequence of acts on subsequent days had a "double-four" character with an interim unit of a different kind, and an introductory unit to the whole series and one in closing. The sequence of the kinds of acts presented might be summarized as A-B A A B—C A C—B A A B-A conceived by the doctors as four B's with at least four-day intervals between each of them filled in either with A's or blank days, with the interim C A C being a special elaboration of the four-day interim theme between the second and third B. The B unit was a large-scale animal mime performed in the late afternoon in the outdoor

756
796
536
[801]

buildings he said were unfitted to contain the sacred symbols of the religion of his ancestors, in the service of which he had spent his long life. 115 He admired at a distance the Washington Monument, and when he visited it he measured the base, pacing and counting his steps. [804] Then he stood close to the white shaft and looked up, noting its great height. After going inside, he was asked which he would take, the elevator or the stairs, and replied: "I will not go up. The white man likes to pile up stones, and he may go to the top of them; I will not. I have ascended the mountains made by Tira′wa." Equally characteristic was his interview with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. When introduced, he said: "I am glad to see you and to take you by the hand. Many chiefs of my tribe have done so. I never expected to do it. I came here to talk of the religion of my fathers, which I follow. You can ask my sister (referring to me) what I have said."

Tahirûssawichi had never been east of the Mississippi river until he came to Washington to engage in the preservation of this rite. Of the genuineness of his statements there can be no doubt. His position in the Pawnee tribe is that of a man worthy of respect—one versed in a knowledge of serious things, whose life has been devoted to the acquisition and maintenance of certain sacred rites. He is esteemed as a man of truth—one who has the favor of Tira′wa. He possesses a knowledge of curative roots, and often attends the sick, using herbs as medicine. He is the keeper of certain old and sacred objects, and leads in their attendant ceremonies. His great care in observing all the details of the intricate ceremony of the Hako is well known in the tribe, and much good fortune is believed to follow his leadership in this ceremony. [554] His title is Ku′rahus. This term is applied to a man of years who has been instructed in the meaning and use of sacred objects as well as their ceremonies. The word is sometimes employed as a synonym for a venerable man, one who commands respect, but throughout this paper it is used in its official sense—the leader of the ceremony.

It has taken *four years* of close friendly relations with my kind old friend to obtain this ceremony in its entirety. [123] Many of its rituals deal with very sacred subjects, and it has required much patience in the presentation of reasons why they should be explained to overcome the scruples born of the early training of the Ku′rahus. That he has finally made this record complete, so that the ceremony as known among his people can be preserved, is worthy of commendation. His work as it now stands shows Tahirûssawichi to be broad-minded as well as thoughtful, reverent, and sincere.

126 Graphophone records were taken of all the songs belonging to this ceremony. The music as here printed has been transcribed from the cylinders by Mr Edwin S. Tracy and each transcription has been verified by him from the singing of the Ku′rahus. It is to be regretted

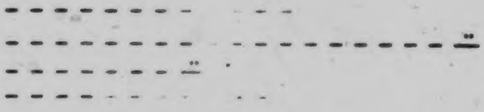
*533 the other powers are addressed, those at the four directions, the above, and the below, a six-phrase rhythm is used.

*796 The number of the repeats and phrases of the songs seems also to be connected with the ceremonial steps, which are in groups of four, eight, and sixteen. [801] The number sixteen is said by the Ku'rahus to represent completeness.

[826 According to native measurement, the height of a man is equal to the stretch of his arms. 804] Looking at the diagram of the figure stepped upon the ground, we note that sixteen steps give the spread of the arms and the same number of steps marks the length of the man. This bears out the statement of the Ku'rahus that sixteen, or four times four, represents completeness.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



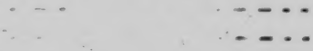
Rhythmic Rendition

*539 Look on us as here we are standing, raising our voices!
*796 Look on us as here we, presenting, lift now these emblems that are so holy up to thy gaze!
Swift, a flash from out of the heavens
Falls on us as here we are standing, looking at thee.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 Look down, West gods,[c] look upon us! We gaze afar on your dwelling.
*796 Look down while here we are standing, look down upon us, ye mighty!
Ye thunder gods, now behold us!
Ye lightning gods, now behold us!
Ye that bring life, now behold us!
Ye that bring death, now behold us!

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].
[b] Music on page [illegible].
[c] Gods, meaning powers, is used solely on account of the rhythm.

Marriage customs were attacked in two ways: legally and ethically. 175*
Toward the close of this period the government program called 648*
for an attempt on the part of officials of the Indian service to insist 657
upon civil marriage under the laws of the United States, to oppose 581
wife-purchase and the marriage of the young girls, to register civilly the marriages of those living together in accordance with old customs, and to oppose easy separation and divorce. Since the individual men and women were becoming possessors of private property in the form of land, houses, stock and implements, by controlling the inheritance of estates in terms of the white man's law, and refusing to recognize "wives" not legally married, the program
began to have an effect. After 1883 missionaries of the Home [797]
Missionary Society and the Methodist Episcopal Church worked
in the tribe, and developed a small congregation of church members. The missionary influence was brought to bear against the Pawnee marriage usages from a moral angle. The agent cooperated with the missionaries in persuading the Pawnee to go through a Christian marriage ceremony as well as to secure a legal certificate. By 1890 officials claimed in their reports that the Pawnee were regularly seeking the missionary to perform the marriage ceremony for them: that by prompt action they had prevented all cases which came to their attention of "selling girls for ponies": and that while polygyny had not been stamped out, there were no new cases of a wife being taken where the man already had a wife. A final claim was that divorces were unknown, or rare, which is to be doubted.

The dancing, gambling and feasting to which the tribe was 175*
addicted were marked out as dissipations contributing to indolence, 648*
and the agent by the most active measures at his command attempted 657
to prevent social gatherings for such purposes as much as possible. 796
In June 1891 the agent was surprised that the tribe assembled for a dance (probably a ceremony): he ordered it stopped at once and told the people to go to their homes and attend to their work. He could not however enforce his commands, and while some did go, most remained and carried out the dance. Such social affairs kept the people away from their farms for long periods, and the crops
were neglected. In the old days the Pawnee methods of cultivation [805
were adjusted to their calendric rituals, and by June, when the 227]
time for the hunt and summer ceremonies came, the crops were "laid by"; the tribe was not yet adjusted to intensive cultivation, involving constant care.

The conflict with the Pawnee medicine men was long and difficult. 175*
The government was determined to destroy their power 648*
over the people, and to persuade the Pawnee to depend on the 657
756

braced Lone Chief as he got off the horse and directed him to sit 539
down on the buffalo robe. Then the braves got hold of the buffalo 727
robe and carried him into the lodge, setting him down in his place near the door. Now all the Tsawis were singing—the old men and the old women, and when the rest of us seven arrived in a crowd, they gave us everything they were wearing—their blankets, leggings, and finally the Tsawis had almost nothing on.

"Now three old Skidi women came led by Grieves-the-Enemy. She was dressed to commemorate her war deed, when she had saved the village from the attacking Poncas by impersonating a medicine man. She had her hair all tied up in a knot at the front of her head to one side. She had black soot across her eyes. She was saying to the other two old women, 'Here's his lodge. I want you two old women to sing.' As soon as they sang and danced with their sticks, the Tsawis gave the three old ladies calico and other gifts."

This was the end of the story that War Cry had started and Shot Arm 538
continued. The Pipe of Peace, beloved of Heaven, had brought them victory as they defended their village.

Now the real session that they had all been waiting for would begin and continue all night. First Old-Man-That-Chief and then the others told real old time stories. For the most part they described their experiences as they moved from place to place abroad in the land in times past. With vivid imagery and detail they described each location and its events. It was in just such a meeting right after they returned from the [805]
winter hunt, after the warriors and chiefs had told their stories that the old men would take up the question of the calendar and whether they needed to introduce the thirteenth intercalary month that year. Warrior would tell an old war story and also That-Chief and then Good-Land would begin to speak of what year it is. He would talk of the stars 538
—of how when people are lost, they must find their way back by 821
following them. Then he would say of the moon that when it is low, we 484
must put on something warm for it might rain or snow at any time. If you are far off you will need something warm to weather the storm. And after the storm is over you look at the stars and find your way back. Now the conversation turned to specific stars—which ones are appearing now, and how one star that shines brightly in spring brings a big wind when it gets to a certain place. Also, that there are sometimes two or three stars that act together. Good-Land continued with some experiences that had taught him about these things. He told of how a man who went south to Oklahoma with a big party strayed off on the way back. In the day he was able to follow the sun and calculate the east and north, going by north and a little eastward. At night he walked right under

538 the north star, and going a little to the east, even though it was night, he
821 was able to overtake his companions. "This happened many times," he
484 said.

Another old man would take up where he left off and tell more stories
538 in the same vein. "Because the stars and the planets appear to be moving,
821 the Indians believe the earth is still." Then they began to argue about
805 the question of "the thirteenth month." Some said, "Not now," others
thought this was the time. They spoke of the position of the constellations, "first one snake, then two ducks and then the real rattlesnakes (Scorpio). That marks the beginning of the year—the spring. The
months should coincide with these constellations." Of the regular twelve
538 months, nine were named for familiar activities—clearing, planting, cul-
821 tivating, hunting, and harvest—while the tenth and eleventh were paired
805 and named after the constellations—little duck (*kiwakski*) and big duck
192 (*kiwaks-kutsu*). The twelfth month was called *kaata*, darkness. It was through the observation of the position of the constellations that the regular month names had to be set in their proper course for the various activities for which they were named. In the year when the intercalary month was introduced, the two duck months were thought of as being paired, and then *kaata*, darkness, paired with the introduced month; the rest of the months of the year being paired accordingly, with the fifth month, viz., the June 19–July 18 month "standing alone." This was the month when one went off on the summer hunt. The thirteenth or intercalary month, had a variety of names, the most usual being Entrance Passageway to the earth lodge, *Puhuweturukut*, or the Skidi version, *Puhuwaturukat*, the long 10- or 15-foot entranceway. Alternative names had various references: If it had thundered from the north (rather than the south) when they got back, they thought the cold weather would last late into the spring and they called the month, *Paruks-ti-taka*, Thunder or Storm-It-Is-White, for the snow they expected to have. Another name for this month was Hidden Child, *pira-paru*, "child-hidden," the Pawnee equivalent of our "illegitimate child." The reference was to abortion for it was said that the abandoned foetus was more conspicuous on the snow during that season than on the bare ground. A further name, *atatpiiwa*, is of unknown significance. From this example, it should be
538 clear that the story-telling session was not a mere leisure pastime. Through
517 it was transmitted history, climatology, theology, the logistics of war,
topography, and many other important facets of Pawnee knowledge.
[224] Such a session was an invaluable preamble to setting out on the winter
hunt.

526
[773] ers played the field once toward the north and once toward the south and then two other players got up and played their round.

The paraphernalia *of the mature men* differed from that of the youths in the size of the ring and in the complexity of the spear. The ring of the youths was about 8 inches in diameter, probably built on a wooden hoop wrapped in buckskin, while the mature men used a very small hoop, 4 inches in diameter, with strips of rawhide as a base, wrapped around with the buckskin string. The mature men's wheel was called, *ks-tats-awi-katus*, "hand-down-hanging-flat." The spear was about 5½ feet long. The pole was completely wound around with a strip of buckskin and at the hand end there was a large hook completely wrapped around with the same material. The shaft was slightly tapered from the hand end to the point. About three-eighths of the length in from the point the shaft was somewhat flattened and a cross piece was lashed onto it with a small hook fastened on top in the lashings. A similar cross piece with hook was fastened about one-eighth way in from the point end. It was with these small hooks that they aimed to catch onto the hoop or else with the ends of the cross pieces. The shaft used by the youths was plain wood with a knob on the end to represent the bison penis. At the hand end were fastened two hooks wrapped around with buckskin.

526
887 There was a game *played by old men* with a very large hoop (possibly 25 inches in diameter) with no spear. The hoop itself was rolled and aimed at one of the players of the opposing side as a kind of tag. The players lined up along both sides of the grounds and when the player had rolled the wheel and it struck one of the men standing on the opposing side to his, the man who was hit would spread his blanket and begin to run, while the other man pursued him. If he stumbled and tripped on his blanket, he would be caught and would then have to roll the hoop and try to tag a man of the other side. If the pursuer stumbled, he would have to roll the hoop again. The special play of the game was called *kiskiru'*.

526
821 The wheel itself was called *ka-huraru*, literally, inside-land or "land of inside" which in Pawnee referred to the universe. The circumference of the wheel represented the horizon and it was marked off into twelve sections with bunches of feathers that were fastened on at equal intervals.

[805] Each section represented a thirty-day lunar month of the twelve-month year. The four seasons of the year were marked off on the hoop by different colors for each quarter-arc. The winter quarter was white, the spring quarter light green, the summer quarter darker green, and the autumn, reddish-yellow. The universe was conceived as having a flat base and rotating around the motionless earth, the progression of the seasons resulting from this rotation. This had been inferred from the fact that the stars and the planets appear to have changed their positions with the seasons. Across the diameter was stretched a string of buckskin or sinew

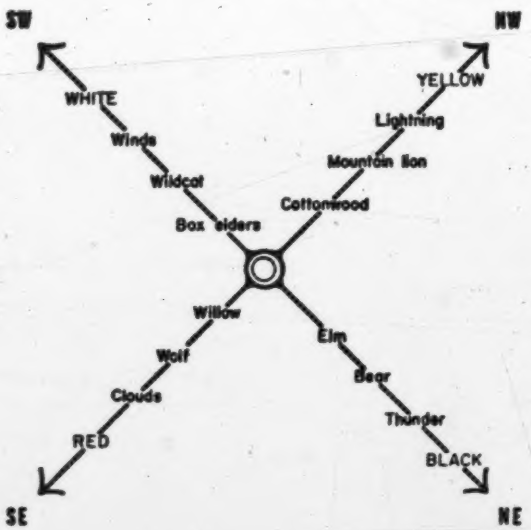
000 automation (*Life*, July 19, 1963). Referred to as "sudden" in the magazine article, it should surely not be sudden to most of us. With the advantage of a clear consciousness of a long past and its major changes, we must accept change and move intelligently into the future. We must prepare for our new needs in a new society by opening to the light of questioning even our most basic institutions—the family, the home, modes and institutions of work, the character of administration, and our whole evaluation of everyday human experience. The Pawnee way is one of thousands of ways of life that mankind has developed. As a springboard for a reexamination of our own way of life it has the advantage of being so different from our own, and in fact from the whole patterning of Eurasiatic civilization, that a study of its ways and social interactions helps us to throw into sharp relief our most widely accepted hypotheses on the nature of "the basic human character" and to test whether some of these assumptions are in reality universal human nature or rather limited modes of learned behavior that we have developed for needs that are now becoming obsolete.

In its very essence, the Pawnee outlook on reality differs from our
• 812 own. For us the material aspect is primary. On a second level of dis-
772 course, we place observed events; on a third level, which we count still less sure, is the "human factor"; and finally furthest removed from solid reality is the realm of ideas. In the Pawnee estimate of the world around him, the primary level of reality is thought. In our own story of creation, the deity shaped man out of clay, but the Pawnee deity—Vault-of-the-Heavens—began the process of creation with thoughts and so created the universe and the stars, and they in turn were to create man in their own image. When a Pawnee individual wanted to organize his life goals, he looked within himself in his thinking and was blessed by Heaven with
[829] a vision. In the Pawnee context, the *thinking* man was the essential human being. The universe continued its seasonal round only when man willed it through his thought of Heaven and its creative power. In creating man, Heaven had also created the moving force of the universe. In this order of things, events were an adjunct of *human* ongoing, and all the nonliving things were a fluid manifestation of the universal life process. A thing manufactured was a manifestation of a very personal skill, and a thing used was equally personal. The skill of the priest who kept the universe in motion and that of the arrowshaft maker had an analogous quality which was inherent in the person himself, and both were considered as dedicated public professions. For both living and nonliving things in the time of the creation, there were always two storms—one to build the empty structure and one for its continuity. This estimate of the nature of reality is almost the complete reverse of our own and is one of the many
577 ways in which the Pawnee outlook contrasts rather sharply with ours.

539 As another contrast in values between the Pawnee and ourselves I

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 782 773 417 deep, the bottom to be covered with soft down feathers. The pit symbolized the Garden of the Evening Star from which all life originates. The pit was called *Kusaru*, which in Pawnee simply means bed.



[82] FIGURE 10-1. Association of symbolisms for the four semicardinal directions: colors, natural forces, animals, trees.

796 773 782 In the ceremonial lodge, the dancing and singing continued on the fourth day. Whenever they ate during the ceremonies, the girl was served, and once in a while she was taken out to walk around, always accompanied by Wolf man. The main theme of the fourth day was the destruction of the four semicardinal circles in the appropriate order as Morning Star had done in the creation as he warred on the Evening Star. The priest, impersonating the Morning Star wore leggings decorated with scalps. First he arose and sang and danced around the north side, then the south side, then back to the altar. He danced around the lodge again and when he arrived at the east he whirled around suddenly and destroyed the northeast circle scattering the white feathers around the lodge, then the southwest, the northwest, and the southeast circles, making a grunting sound each time as if attacking an enemy. Then all sang the fifth song and the girl was taken to the altar to be costumed for her last role.

[822] Her body was painted, red on the right side, black on the left, the red to symbolize day, the time of the Morning Star, and the black to

243 named ten, one being Osage. George F. Will, nurseryman and anthropolo-
242 gist of North Dakota, experimented with planting Indian corn from various tribes of the Missouri River region and managed to isolate nine pure strains of Pawnee corn. These correspond with considerable accuracy to those named by Mark Evarts. I have placed his classification as it appeared in his publication (Will and Hyde, 1919) in a parallel column alongside that of Mark Evarts. (See Table 11-1.)

TABLE 11-1. *Classifications of Varieties of Pawnee Corn.*

	As Named by Mark Evarts	As Named by Will and Hyde, 1919
1.	*Blue* corn—*uraax-katit*, earth-black, referring to very dark blue	Blue *flour* corn, No. 40
2.	*Spotted* corn, *rikis-tipiku*, corn-spotted (*ripiku*, egg)	Black-eyed and red-speckled corn, p. 308
3.	*White* corn, big kernels, *rikis-taka*, corn-white	White *flour* corn, No. 36
4.	White with small kernels, *rikis-paruksti*, corn-holy	Not identified by authors
5.	*Yellow* corn, harder variety, *rikis-taxkata*, corn-yellow	Yellow *flint*, No. 38
6.	A yellow corn, softer than No. 5, called *parus-arut*, rabbit-soft	Yellow *flour* corn, No. 37
7.	Hard corn, *kitsirit*, flinty, hard, translucent; real smooth, with different colored kernels on the same cob—white, spotted, yellow	Red *flint*, No. 89, flinty mixed colors with red predominating
8.	*Red* corn—*rikis-pahat*, corn-red	Red *flour* corn, No. 45
9.	Sweet corn—*rikis-karus*, corn-sweet, somewhat reddish yellow and sticky	Sweet corn, yellow sugar corn, No. 41
10.	Osage corn—*rikis-pasasi*, corn-Osage, gotten from Osage, grows 9-10 feet high and can have 8 or 9 ears on one stalk	

243 From the experiments of George Will, it is evident that the Pawnees
242 were quite capable of producing pure strains of corn and maintaining the
772 breeds. And yet when asked to list the classes of corn that they had, they
82 did so in terms of a certain order of colors rather than by a horticultural classification. Consistent with the Pawnee belief that the Heavens are the first cause of all things, this is a cosmic rather than a botanical classification. In Pawnee theology, the four semicardinal directions are associated with the four color designations—northeast–black; southeast–white; northwest–yellow; and southeast–red. In the creation legend it is stated that in the western part of the ancient territory there were four villages,

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

each representing one of the semicardinal directions; each had a different- 243
colored ear of corn in its sacred bundle, as cited above. The order of the 242
colors of corn followed by Mark Evarts in his classification if translated 772
into directions are northeast, southwest, northwest, southeast. This di- 82
agonal succession forms a simple cross, the Pawnee symbol for a star. What star is implied is not known. Typically of Pawnee thought, there must be deeper theological meanings and references than are apparent. The order of naming the varieties of corn is clearly connected with these religious implications.

For the Pawnee, there is very little that does not have some direct con- 243
nection with the cosmos. But in sharp contrast to the corn, the other two 244
crops, squash and beans, have no religious connotations whatever. This [772]
lack of ideological involvement seems strange, as we know archaeologically that first squash and then beans were the earliest domesticated crops in the New World, followed after a considerable time interval by the domestication of corn. Among the Pawnees the whole horticultural cycle was conducted in terms of the corn. In the spring the corn was the first of the three crops to sprout, and in the fall it was the first to mature. There were seven common varieties of squash and pumpkins current among the Pawnees at that time and eight of beans. (See figures 11-1 and 11-2.)

is consecrated to the powers; it soars near their abode and is a medium 796*
of communication between them and man.

The woodpecker's head was fastened near the mouthpiece end of the 778
feathered stem, the upper mandible turned back over the red crest and painted blue. This treatment of the upper mandible had a double significance. The red crest, which rises when the bird is angry, was
here held down; it must not rise. The blue paint represented the 821
clear, cloudless sky. The woodpecker has the favor of the storm gods 822
and can avert from man the disaster of tempest and of lightning.
The owl feathers were tied near the middle of the feathered stem. 825
This bird has power to help and protect during the night. Soft blue feathers were fastened around the mouthpiece end. These blue feathers symbolized the clear sky, and it is this end which was always upward toward the abode of the powers.

The other end of the stem was thrust through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck. It was by this end that the feathered stem was held. The duck is familiar with the pathless air and water and is also at home on the land, knowing its streams and springs. It is the unerring guide.

The red and white streamers represented the sun and the moon, [822]
day and night. These were made of red cloth and dyed horsehair and white cotton cord, but it is said that formerly soft deerskin strips painted red and twisted hair from the white rabbit were used.

The other feathered stem, Rahak'takaru (plate LXXXVII, page 40), differed from the first feathered stem already described in two par-
ticulars, namely, it was painted green, to symbolize the earth, and [822]
the fan-shaped pendant was made of seven tail feathers from the white eagle (the young brown or golden eagle; see page 288). This eagle was not consecrated. It represented the male, the father, the warrior, and the defender. This feathered stem was carried by the Ku'rahus's assistant, and it was never allowed to be next to the Children; its place was always on the outside. There, it was explained, it could do no harm, could rouse no contention, but would serve to protect and defend.

I have many times remarked the reverence felt toward the feathered stems. Their sacred character seemed always to be remembered and they were never handled carelessly. During the entire time that I was engaged with Tahirûssawichi on this ceremony he never allowed the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid on a chair; they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a decorum that was not once abated. I have seen manifested among the tribes not only reverence toward these sacred symbols, but an affection that was not displayed toward any other objects. Few persons ever spoke to me of them without a brightening of the eyes. "They make us happy," was a common saying. 178

They were preserved intact and passed from tribe to tribe as long 778
as they held together, and they were sometimes freshened and 796*

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 which the lesser powers must travel when they descend to bring help 772 to man.

776 In this stanza, we remember the power given by Tira'wa to the Winds, and we cry to Hotoru to come and give their help to us at this *796 time, to give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako.

I'hare, 'hare 'ahe means, as we sing it this time, that we are reflecting upon Hotoru, we are thinking of all that they bring to man, the breath by which he lives.

The Winds are always near us by night and by day.

Translation of Third Stanza

*539 11, 12, 13 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

*796 14 Heru! Shakuru. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

[195] Shakuru, the Sun. This word is not used in ordinary speech; it refers to the supernatural power, the Sun, in its relation to man. The common term for sun is ti'rasakariki, sun standing.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

15 See the first stanza, line 2. The words in this line have special reference to the mind dwelling seriously upon Shakuru.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Shakuru, the Sun, is the first of the visible powers to be mentioned. [776 821] It is very potent; it gives man health, vitality, and strength. Because of its power to make things grow, Shakuru is sometimes spoken of as atius, father. The Sun comes direct from the mighty power above; that gives it its great potency.

As we sing this stanza, we think of all that the Sun can do for [illegible] and we cry to it, to come now and give potentiality to the sacred articles about to be made ready for use in this ceremony.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

16, 17, 18 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

19 Heru! H'Uraru. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

h', the sign of breath; "breathing life."

[195 778] Uraru, the Earth. This term is not used in ordinary speech; the common name for the earth is kahoraru. H'Uraru refers to the supernatural power that belongs to the earth, the power to bring forth.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

20 See the first stanza, line 2. In the last line of the stanza the word I'hare implies reflection: "We reflect on H'Uraru!"

Translation of Sixth Stanza

*539 26, 27, 28 See lines 1, 2, 3.
*796 29 Heru! Chaharu. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
[192] Chaharu, Water. This term applies to the supernatural power of the water; it is not used in ordinary speech; the common word for water is kii'tsu.
he! part of i'hare! give heed! See line 4.
30 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Chaharu."

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 823 Chaharu, Water, is one of the lesser powers. Water is very necessary to the life of man and all living things. The Winds, the Sun, the Earth, the Vegetation, and the Water are the five lesser powers through which the life of our bodies is maintained. We cry to Chaharu to come near and give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared.

I told you that these stanzas are in the order of creation. The powers are mentioned in the order in which they come near to man and enable him to live and to keep alive. As we sing we reflect upon our dependence on these lesser powers.

Water is employed only for sacred purposes in this ceremony. It can not be used in any ordinary way from the time we begin the singing of these songs to the end of the entire ceremony. A man can drink water to sustain his life, but he can not touch it for any other purpose. He can not go swimming, nor can he step into water without first performing certain rites. It is difficult to abstain so long from the use of water, but it must be done or we shall suffer punish- [821] ment for our profanation. We shall have storms, the sky will be filled with clouds, there will be obstructions between us and the place where the powers above dwell—those whom we invoke in this ceremony.

I have known of instances where some of the men of the party sneaked out of the camp during this ceremony, went to a stream and washed, or jumped in and took a swim, and the result was a storm that brought great distress upon the people.

Translation of Seventh Stanza

*539 31, 32, 33 See lines 1, 2, 3.
*796 34 Heru! Kusharu. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
Kusharu, a place set apart for sacred purposes and made holy.
he! part of i'hare! give heed! See line 4.
35 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Kusharu!"

*539
*796

66 Ho-o-o-o!
67 H'areri, h'areri. He!
68 H'areri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!
69 H'areri, h'areri. He!
70 'Reri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!
71 H'areri, h'areri. He!

Translation

66 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

67 H'areri, h'areri. He!

h', an aspiration, symbolic of a breathing forth, as the giving of breath so that a thing may live.

areri, a part of the word irari, a particular place. The change of the h in the final syllable of the word to r when the abbreviation areri is sung is for ease of utterance and euphony.

h'areri. Translated above.

he! a part of the exclamation i'hare! meaning I think upon, I give heed to the significance of the act which accompanies this song. The change of the initial r in the last syllable of the word to an h, making it he, is for euphony.

68 H'areri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!

H'areri, h'areri, h'areri. See line 67.

'reri, a part of the abbreviation areri, translated above.

h'areri. He! See line 67.

69 See line 67.

70 'Reri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He! See lines 67 and 68.

71 See line 67.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Blue is the color of the sky, the dwelling place of Tira'wahut, that great circle of the powers which watch over man. As the man paints the stick blue we sing. We ask as we sing that life be given to this symbol of the dwelling place of Tira'wa.

When the man has completed the painting of the stick he hands it to the Ku'rahus, who has already mixed red clay with water from a running stream in a shell, and he paints the straight groove red. This groove is the path along which the spirits of all the things that are to be put upon this stick of ash may travel as they go forth to give their help during this ceremony. "H'areri" is a prayer that the symbol may have life.

821
822
826

We paint the groove red because the passageway is red through which man's breath comes and goes to give him life. The sun, too, is red, and the groove represents the straight path whereon the sun shines, the path which man must travel if he would live in peace and prosper. The teachings of this ceremony make a straight path along which if a man walks he will receive help from the powers.

We do this that Tira'wa and all the lesser powers—the Winds, the Sun, the Earth, and the four at the west which control the storm—may see that all is complete and ready for the ceremony.

796*

[776
821]

It is all done in silence before the day dawns. No song is sung when we put the objects on the pole and raise it nor when we take it down and remove them. We must let them stay up there for some time in order that all the powers may surely see that everything is correct, so the sun is well up when the Ku'rahus goes out to the pole, lowers it, and removes the sacred objects and carries them into the lodge and puts them on the holy place.

PART II. MOTHER CORN ASSUMES LEADERSHIP

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As I told you before, the Ku'rahus at the beginning of the ceremony anointed himself with the sacred ointment and fastened upon his head

[346]

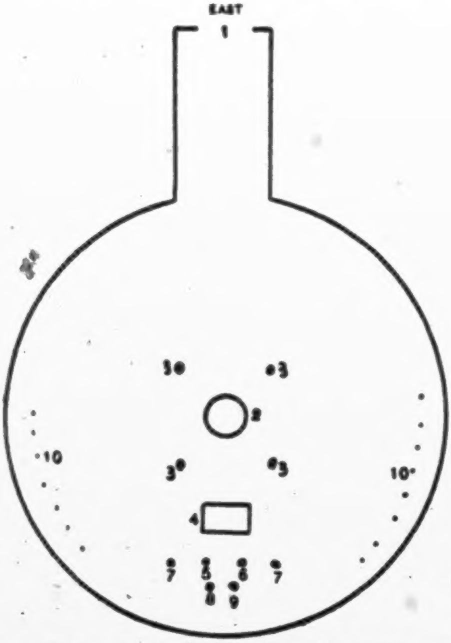


FIG. 173. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the singing of the first stanza of the song of the fourth ritual, part II.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the holy place; 5, the Ku'rahus; 6, his assistant; 7, the bearers of the eagle wings; 8, the Father (a chief); 9, the second chief; 10, members of the Hako party.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796

H'Kawas hears the call and awakes. Now all the powers above wake and stir, and all things below wake and stir; the breath of new life is everywhere. With the signs in the east has come this new life.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

558 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

559 Kawas ti waku ka riki.

Kawas, the brown eagle, the intermediary as well as the representative of the lesser and beneficent powers above.

ti, a personal pronoun referring to Kawas, singular number, spoken of.

waku, speaks.

ka, a part of the word akaro, lodge; refers to the space within the lodge about the fire. In this instance ka indicated the holy place set apart for the sacred objects.

riki, standing; the word implies the present time.

560 See line 559.

561 Reshuru tiara i. See line 546.

562 See line 559.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[825] Kawas, the brown eagle, the messenger of the powers above, now stands within the lodge and speaks. The Ku'rahus hears her voice as she tells him what the signs in the east mean.

● [821] She tells him that Tira'wa atius there moves upon Darkness, the Night, and causes her to bring forth the Dawn. It is the breath of the new-born Dawn, the child of Night and Tira'wa atius, which is felt by all the powers and all things above and below and which gives them new life for the new day.

This is the meaning of this stanza. The words of the song do not tell all that the song means; the meaning has been handed down from our fathers and taught to the Ku'rahus, who may teach it to anyone who is serious-minded and sincerely desires to learn these sacred things.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

563 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

564 We tatichiri wak ka riki.

we, I.

tatichiri, understand, have knowledge of the meaning.

wak, a part of the word waku, speech, to speak.

ka, a part of akaro, lodge; within the lodge. See line 559.

riki, standing.

565 See line 564.

566 Reshuru tiara i. See line 546.

567 See line 564.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*
[821]

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza the Ku'rahus answers Kawas. He tells her that he understands the words she spoke to him when standing there in the lodge, that now he knows the meaning of the signs in the east; that night is the mother of the day, that it is by the power of Tira'wa atius moving on Darkness that she gives birth to the Dawn.

The Dawn is the child of Tira'wa atius. It gives the blessing of life; it comes to awaken man, to awake Mother Earth and all living things that they may receive the life, the breath of the Dawn which is born of the Night by the power of Tira'wa atius.

Our fathers were taught by Kawas and understood what she told them, and what they then learned has been handed down to us.

Translation of Seventh Stanza

568 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
569 Pirau si whata i.
  pirau, my son. The term refers to the Son, the person to whom the Father has brought the Hako to establish a bond between the two by means of this ceremony. The Son has remained in the lodge through the night.
  si, you.
  whata, arise. See line 539.
  i, a part of riki; now, present time.
570 See line 569.
571 See line 546.
572 See line 569.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We now call upon the Son, who has been asleep and resting in the lodge, to awake, to move, and to arise, for the east gives signs of the birth of the dawn, whose breath is on all things.

Translation of Eighth Stanza

573 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
574 Pirau ta wata i.
  pirau, my son; the term refers to the Son.
  ta, a personal pronoun referring to the Son.
  wata, has arisen.
  i, a part of riki; now.
575 See line 574.
576 See line 546.
577 See line 574.

Explanation of the Ku'rahus

The Son hears the call. He wakes, he moves, he rises, he looks to the east and sees the signs of the dawn.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We sing this song slowly with reverent feeling, for we are singing of very sacred things. 539* 796*

The Morning Star is one of the lesser powers. Life and strength and fruitfulness are with the Morning Star. We are reverent toward it. Our fathers performed sacred ceremonies in its honor. 539* 796*

The Morning Star is like a man; he is painted red all over; that is the color of life. He is clad in leggings and a robe is wrapped about him. On his head is a soft downy eagle's feather, painted red. This feather represents the soft, light cloud that is high in the heavens, and the red is the touch of a ray of the coming sun. The soft, downy feather is the symbol of breath and life. 776 821

The star comes from a great distance, too far away for us to see the place where it starts. At first we can hardly see it; we lose sight of it, it is so far off; then we see it again, for it is coming steadily toward us all the time. We watch it approach; it comes nearer and nearer; its light grows brighter and brighter.

This is the meaning of this stanza, and the star comes as we sing it four times.

Translation of Second Stanza

583 H-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation. 539*
584 H'Opirit ta ahrisha. 796*
h', the symbol of breath, life.
Opirit, the Morning Star.
ta, approaching.
ahrisha, coming still nearer, but at the same time disappearing. The word conveys the picture of the morning star by its increased brilliancy coming nearer, and then fading, disappearing in the light of day.
585, 586, 587 See line 584.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the Morning Star comes still nearer and now we see him standing there in the heavens, a strong man shining brighter and brighter. The soft plume in his hair moves with the breath of the new day, and the ray of the sun touches it with color. As he stands there so bright, he is bringing us strength and new life. 539* 796* 776 821

As we look upon him he grows less bright, he is receding, going back to his dwelling place whence he came. We watch him vanishing, passing out of our sight. He has left with us the gift of life which Tira'wa atius sent him to bestow.

We sing this stanza four times.

Translation of Third Stanza

*539 588 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 589 Reshuru rira risha.

Reshuru, the Dawn.

rira, coming toward one.

risha, something scarcely to be seen because of its distance; it eludes, seems to appear and then to disappear.

590, 591, 592 See line 589.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza we are still standing at the west of the lodge, looking through the long passageway toward the east. Now in the distance we see the Dawn approaching; it is coming, coming along the path of the Morning Star. It is a long path and as the Dawn advances along this path sometimes we catch sight of it and then again we lose it, but all the time it is coming nearer.

[821] The Dawn is new born, its breath has sent new life everywhere, all things stir with the life Tira'wa atius has given this child, his child, whose mother is the Night.

We sing this stanza four times.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

593 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

594 Reshuru ta ahrisha.

Reshuru, the Dawn.

ta, approaching, coming.

ahrisha, coming nearer but only to disappear. The Dawn comes nearer, grows brighter, but disappears in the brighter light of day.

595, 596, 597 See line 594.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we stand, looking through the long passageway of the lodge, watching and singing, we see the Dawn come nearer and nearer; its brightness fills the sky, the shadowy forms on the earth are becoming visible. As we watch, the Dawn, like the Morning Star, recedes. It is following the star, going back to the place whence it came, to its birthplace.

The day is close behind, advancing along the path of the Morning Star and the Dawn, and, as we watch, the Dawn vanishes from our sight.

We sing this song four times.

*539 *796
616 **Pirao rati hao.**
pirao, child, a general term, anybody's child.
rati, a part of the word hirati, my.
hao, my own child.
617 **Ti kiri ka. Ha! Wita hesha!**
ti kiri ka. See line 614.
ha! behold!
wita, coming.
hesha, a part of the word tahesha, daylight.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While the messengers are going from one lodge to another to awake the people and bid them come to the lodge where the ceremony is being performed, we sing this second stanza.

It tells that the Son, now become as our own offspring, has gone forth to awake the Children, who have heard his call, and now, behold! they come forth to look upon the light of day.

This stanza is sung four times.

ELEVENTH RITUAL (SECOND DAY). THE MALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. CHANT TO THE SUN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 ● 821 On this, the second day of the ceremony, we remember our father the Sun. The sun comes directly from Tira'wa atius, and whoever is touched by the first rays of the sun in the morning receives new life and strength which have been brought straight from the power above. The first rays of the sun are like a young man, they have not yet spent their force or grown old, so, to be touched by them is to receive an accession of strength.

*796 [346] The door of the lodge where the ceremony is performed must face the east, so that the first rays of the sun can enter and reach the Children. I believe that as we sing this song and as the first rays touch the Children they will receive help and strength. I was told by my predecessor that it would be so, and he was taught by those who had received the knowledge from the fathers; therefore I tell the same to the Children. All the time I am singing this song I remember the [776 782] Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn; all these were made by Tira'wa atius, and I ask them to give us success and plenty; success in hunting and in war; plenty of food, of children, and of health. The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn, are powerful.

The Children, who have been aroused by the messengers of the Sun, gather at the lodge before the sun is up. They must be there when the first ray appears if they would gain its blessing.

As soon as we who are standing at the west of the lodge, looking through the doorway, catch sight of the first ray of the sun on the horizon, we take up the Hako and move by the north to make a first circuit of the lodge, and sing the first verse of this chant.

Translation of First Verse

*539 618 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

*796 619 Hira H'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, huru ka ha-a hukawi, huru ka hukawi, hukawi huru ka ha.

hira, will come. The word is ira, the h is added for euphony and greater ease in singing.

h', the symbol of breath, life, breathing forth, giving life.

aars, a contraction of atius, father.

ira, will come.

a, a prolongation of the last syllable of ira.

were, at that time, when, or then.

hukawi, the ray or beam of the sun.

huru, entering.

ka, a part of akaro, lodge. Ka, however, refers to the open space within, around the fireplace, where the people gather, where they sit and pursue their avocations.

ha-a, a prolongation of ka.

hukawi, huru ka hukawi, hukawi huru ka ha. All the words are translated above.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[776 ● 821] We speak of the sun as Father breathing forth life (h'Aars), causing the earth to bring forth, making all things to grow. We think of the sun, which comes direct from Tira'wa atius, the father of life, and his ray (hukawi) as the bearer of this life. (You have seen this ray as it comes through a little hole or crack.) While we sing, this ray enters the door of the lodge to bring strength and power to all within.

We sing this verse four times as we go around the lodge. When we reach the west we pause.

Food, which has been prepared outside the lodge, is now brought in, and the Children are given their morning meal. Then we sing the second verse.

Translation of Second Verse

620 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

621 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta kusi hi-i hukawi, ta kusi hukawi, hukawi ta kusi hi.

hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.

ta, a spot; the word refers to the place where the ray touches and makes a bright spot.

kusi, alights upon, rests upon.

hi, a part of hira, will come. See line 619.

i, a prolongation of the syllable hi.

hukawi, the ray or beam of the sun.

ta kusi hukawi, hukawi ta kusi hi. Translated above.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[821] As the sun rises higher the ray, which is its messenger, alights

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

upon the edge of the central opening in the roof of the lodge, right over the fireplace. We see the spot (ta), the sign of its touch, and we know that the ray is there. 539* 796*

The fire holds an important place in the lodge; you remember we sang about it when we were preparing the sacred objects (first ritual, first song, line 49). Father Sun is sending life by his messenger to this central place in the lodge. [821] [372]

As we sing we look at the bright spot where the ray has alighted, and we know that life from our father the Sun will come to us by the ray.

We sing this verse four times, and when we have completed the second circuit of the lodge and have reached the west we pause.

Translation of Third Verse

622 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

623 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta wira ka-a hukawi, ta wira hukawi, hukawi ta wira ha.

hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.
ta, the spot, the place that is touched by the ray
wira, climbing down, descending into.
ka, a part of the word akaro, lodge.
a, a vowel prolongation.
hukawi, the ray or beam.
ta wira hukawi, hukawi ta wira. Translated above.
ha, a vocable to fill out the measure.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the sun rises higher we turn toward the north and begin the third circuit of the lodge. The ray is now climbing down into the lodge. We watch the spot where it has alighted. It moves over the edge of the opening above the fireplace and descends into the lodge, and we sing that life from our father the Sun will come to us by his messenger, the ray, which is now climbing down into the space within the lodge where we are gathered together.

We sing this verse four times, and after the third circuit we pause at the west.

Translation of Fourth Verse

624 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

625 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ka hakidhihi hukawi, ka hakidhiki hukawi, hukawi ka hakidhihi.

hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.
ka, a part of the word akaro, lodge, particularly the space within the lodge, about the fire.
hakidhiki, walking, moving about the room, the open space within the lodge.
hukawi, the ray.
ka hakidhiki hukawi, hukawi ka hakidhiki. Translated above.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 ● 821 773

When, during the ceremony of the Hako, the Pleiades appear above the horizon, this song must be sung. If, when the coming of these stars is reported, we should be singing, we must break off at the third stanza and sing this song for the fourth circuit of the lodge.

This song to the Pleiades is to remind the people that Tira'wa has appointed the stars to guide their steps. It is very old and belongs to the time when this ceremony was being made. This is the story to explain its meaning which has been handed down from our fathers:

A man set out upon a journey; he traveled far; then he thought he would return to his own country, so he turned about. He traveled long, yet at night he was always in the same place. He lay down and slept and a vision came. A man spoke to him; he was the leader of the seven stars. He said: "Tira'wa made these seven stars to remain together, and he fixed a path from east to west for them to travel over. He named the seven stars Chaka. If the people will look at these stars they will be guided aright."

When the man awoke he saw the Pleiades rising; he was glad, and he watched the stars travel. Then he turned to the north and reached his own country.

The stars have many things to teach us, and the Pleiades can guide us and teach us how to keep together.

*539 *796

We sing this song four times as we make the circuit of the lodge; then we lay the Hako down to rest upon the holy place and sing the songs which belong to that action.

The following songs can be sung at night after the regular song has been completed, if the Children should call for them:

EXTRA NIGHT SONG

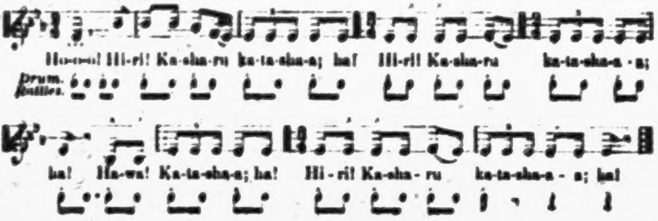
Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 132.

• Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ho-o-o! Hi-ri! Ka-sha-ru ka-ta-sha-a; ha! Hi-ri! Ka-sha-ru ka-ta-sha-a - a;
Drum. Rattles.
ha! Ha-wa! Ka-ta-sha-a; ha! Hi - ri! Ka-sha - ru ka-ta-sha-a - a; ha!

I

707 Ho-o-o!
708 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a; ha!
709 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a-a; ha!
710 Hawa! Katasha-a; ha!
711 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a-a; ha!

*796 The picture of the face of Tira'wa atius is put upon the face of the consecrated child.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

*539 1210 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1211 Hi-ri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta wawe he!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hari! harken!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
wawe, to spread.
he! from hiri! give heed!
1212, 1213 See line 1211.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the fifth stanza the old man touches the lines here and there to make them clear; he can not spread the paint, for he is making a picture.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

1214 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation
1215 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots weri ta witshpa ha!
hiri! harken! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hari! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
witshpa, accomplished; completed.
ha! behold!
1216, 1217 See line 1215.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 In the sixth stanza we sing that it is done, that the face of Tira'wa atius is upon the face of the consecrated child.

●821 There is a group of stars overhead which forms a circle (Corona Borealis). This is a circle of chiefs. Tira'wa atius placed them there and directed them to paint their faces with the same lines we have put upon the child, and all who are to be leaders must be so painted.

*539 *796 575 627 From this circle of stars came a society called Raristesharu. All dances (societies) given by Tira'wa atius are called raris tesharu

PRAYER TO AVERT STORMS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We like to have the sky clear during the time this ceremony is 796* taking place. We do not like to have clouds come between us and the abode of Tira'wa atius, particularly storm clouds. We feel this 821 way because we do not want anything to intercept the prayers of the Fathers or to hinder the descent of the help that we ask for the Children. If, however, clouds arise and a storm threatens, the Children may request this song to be sung, but the Fathers may not volunteer to sing it.

After the request for the song has been made, the following ceremony takes place: The Ku'rahus, with the Kawas feathered stem, his assistant with the white-eagle feathered stem, and the chief with the wildcat skin, in which are the crotched stick, the ear of corn, and the sacred pipe, rise from their seats at the west and pass out of the lodge. When they are outside under the open sky, they face the gathering clouds and sing the first stanza four times. While they sing the song and wave the eagle stems to the rhythm of the music, the chief holds the cat skin up toward the storm clouds. He holds it the same way while we sing the second stanza four times.

The words of these stanzas are few, but their meaning has come down to us with the story of the song.

Long, long ago the woodpecker was told by Tira'wa that the light- 796*
ning would never strike the tree upon which it had built its nest. 821
The four beings at the west who have control of the thunder and 825
lightning would protect the bird, so that it need never fear the storm.

The woodpecker which came to the man to whom this ceremony 539*
was revealed taught him this song and told him when to sing it. He was to sing it only when the storm threatened; if he sang it at any other time he would bring rain and storm upon the people.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

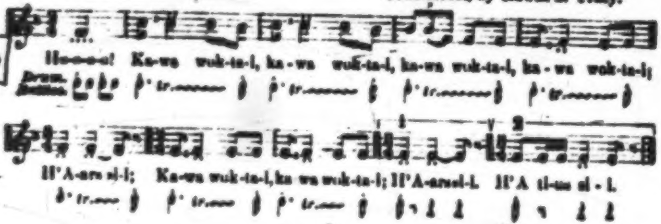
#539
#796
●821
[#533]

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 63.
. = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! Ka-wa wuk-ta-i, ka-wa wuk-ta-i, ka-wa wuk-ta-i, ka-wa wuk-ta-i;
Drum. Rattles.
tr.
H'A-ars si-i; Ka-wa wuk-ta-i, ka wa wuk-ta-i; H'A-arssi-i. H'A ti-us si-i.
1
2

I

1322 Ho-o-o-o!
1323 Kawa woktal, kawa woktal, kawa woktal, kawa woktal;
1324 H'A-ars si-i;
1325 Kawa woktal, kawa woktal;
1326 H'A-ars si-i.

II

1327 Ho-o-o-o!
1328 Ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i;
1329 H'A-ars si-i;
1330 Ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i;
1331 H'Atius si-i.

Translation

I

1322 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1323 Kawa woktal, kawa woktal, kawa woktal, kawa woktal.
kawa; ka, part of katuharu, trees; wa, plural sign; kawa means thick or heavy timber.
woktal; wok, sound or noise; tal, on trees. Woktal, a sound made on the trees. The word refers to the tapping of the woodpecker upon the trees.
1324 H'Aars si-i.
h', contraction of ha, behold.
aars, a modified form of atius, father.
si-i; si, your; i, vowel prolongation.
1325 Kawa woktal, kawa woktal. See line 1323.
1326 See line 1324.

II

1327 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1328 Ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i.
ti, they; refers to the powers.
wawaki-i; waki, speak; wa, plural sign; final i, vowel prolongation. Wawaki-i, many are speaking.
1329 See line 1324.
1330 Ti wawkai-i, ti wawaki-i. See line 1328.
1331 H'Atius si-i. See line 1324.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the first stanza we call upon the woodpecker, who is busy making a noise, tapping upon the trees in the thick woods, and we ask him to remind his father of the promise that the storm should not come near his nest. 539* 796* 826

The woodpecker is with us on the stem, and the storm is now threatening our nest, the lodge where we are holding the ceremony, so we call on him, the woodpecker, and ask him to remind his father of the promise given. 782

The second stanza tells us that the four beings at the west speak, for when the thunders sound they all speak. These now answer the woodpecker, who has reminded them of their promise when Tira'wa atius, the father of all things, placed the bird and its nest under their protection.

If, after we have sung these stanzas, the clouds part, we know that our prayers have been heard. We all return to the lodge, and the wildcat skin is spread upon the holy place at the west, the crotched stick is put in position, the eagle stems and all the other articles are laid at ceremonial rest. When this has been done the chief takes the sacred pipe and, accompanied by the priest of the shrine containing the objects sacred to the powers of the rain, goes out and makes an offering of smoke. The priest directs the chief where to point the pipestem. By this act of offering smoke we give thanks to the powers, who have heard our prayers and averted the storm.

PRAYER FOR THE GIFT OF CHILDREN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This ceremony is very old and has now become obsolete. It is a prayer for the power of procreation. It was never performed except at the request of the Son, and was only in the interest of a man to whom children had not been born. It took place either in the early morning or at night, never during the day. 796* [782] 842

When the request for the ceremony had been made, the Ku'rahus selected a man from among the Fathers whose duty it became to carry the Son and to care for him as a father would care for a little child.

A white buffalo robe was kept for this particular ceremony. After the Son had been lifted on the back of the Father, this white robe was thrown over the two and was held together in front by the Father, as a person would hold his robe if he were carrying a child on his back. As the Father, carrying the Son, moved toward the entrance of the lodge, he was followed by the Ku'rahus and his assistant bearing the feathered stems and the chief with the cat skin and the ear of corn, while the following song was sung.

The words are: "Behold! Your father is walking with his child!" [539*]

tiri, above, up there, as if the locality were designated by pointing upward. 539*

1302 hiri! harken! 796*

riru'tziraru, by reason of, because of.

raa, the man stood. 553

rûxsa, did.

pakara'ra, send voice to a distance.

witz, reached.

pari, traveling.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'ruta, the abodes of the lesser powers.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

Tira'wa, Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

ha! an exclamation of awe.

tiri, above all; refers to Tira'wa atius being above all the powers.

1303 hiri! harken!

riru'tziraru, by reason of.

sira, they took.

waku, they said.

ri'kata, received.

iwa'hut, from iwa, to hand over or pass on to the one next, and tira'wahut, the circle above where the lesser powers are. Iwa'hut means handed or passed around the circle.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'ruta, abodes of the lesser powers.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'rakûse, sitting.

tirarawa'hut, the circle above of the lesser powers.

tiri, up above.

1304 hiri! harken!

riru'tziraru, because of, by reason of.

sira, they took.

waku, they said.

rari'sut, gave consent, granted.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'ruta, abodes of the lesser powers.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

Tira'wa, Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

ha! an exclamation of awe.

tiri, above all.

1305 hiri! harken!

riru'tziraru, by reason of, in consequence of.

Rarari'tu, an old term for Winds. It also means heavy storm clouds. Rari'tu, a cyclone. The word in the text has a double significance. It stands for the Winds, the lesser power, and for the summoning by this lesser power, the Winds, of the storm clouds, their messengers in the west. [821]

484

*796 men and women of the party with the ponies laden with gifts and
needed supplies of food.

Over the wide prairie for miles and miles this order was preserved
day after day until the journey came to an end. If from some dis-
[726] tant vantage point a war party should descry the procession, the
leader would silently turn his men that they might not meet the Hako
party, for the feathered stems are mightier than the warrior; before
them he must lay down his weapon, forget his anger, and be at peace.

771 No object met on the journey to the Son presented its ordinary
aspect to the Hako party. Everything seen was regarded as a mani-
*796 festation of the supernatural powers under whose favor this ceremony
484 was to take place; hence the trees, the streams, the mountains, the
buffalo were each addressed in song. This attitude toward nature is
strikingly brought out in the two songs, which are in sequence, sung
at the crossing of a stream.

484 Throughout this ceremony water is treated as one of the lesser
powers. It is employed only for sacred purposes, and is never used in
771 the ordinary way. To profane water would bring punishment upon
*796 the whole party (see the first ritual, line 29), and consequently when
a stream ran across a line of travel no person could step into it as he
823 commonly would do. A halt was called and the Ku'rahus led in the
singing of the song in which Kawas is asked to grant the party permis-
[773] sion to ford the stream. According to Pawnee rituals, water at the
creation was given to the woman, so Kawas, representing the mother,
could grant permission. The request is embodied in four stanzas.
*[539] In the first the water touches the feet; in the second the feet stand in
the water; in the third the feet move in the water; in the fourth the
water covers the feet (note the resemblance of entering the stream to
entering the lodge, seventh ritual, part 1).

771 After the stream was crossed the people halted on the bank to sing
*539 the song to the wind, led by the Ku'rahus. It also is in four stanzas.
*796 The wind is called upon to come and dry the water which the people
may not irreverently touch. In the first stanza the wind touches the
● 821 people; in the second it lightly brushes their bodies; in the third it
484 circles about them; in the fourth it envelops them. Thus the wind,
one of the lesser powers, comes between the people and the penalty
incurred by profanely touching water.

*539 In these ceremonies the people were constantly reminded that they
771 were in the presence of the unseen powers manifested to them in the
natural objects met upon the journey. To those initiated into the
*796 inner meaning of the rite, the appeal at the crossing of the stream to
Kawas (the feminine element) and to the wind (typical of the breath
of life) was connected with the symbolism of running water, explained
in the seventh ritual as representing the giving of life from genera-
tion to generation.

*539 The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth songs originally belonged to
*796 the journey, but we are told the buffalo are no longer seen; neither

VII

*539 Holy visions!
*796 Ended now their mission, pass they outward,
Yet they leave us joy;
Pass they all from us—holy visions—
Yet they leave us joy.

VIII

Holy visions!
They, the sky ascending, reach their dwelling;
There they rest above;
They their dwelling reach—holy visions—
There they rest above.

TENTH RITUAL. THE DAWN

PART I. THE BIRTH OF DAWN

*796 The opening ceremonies began after dark and continued until past midnight. At their close the Children and the Fathers retired to their tents, but the Son remained at his post near the inner door of the lodge, while the Ku'rahus and his assistants watched from behind the holy place, where the Hako lay at rest. The fire burned to embers, the noise of the camp died slowly away, and darkness and silence settled down within the lodge.

It was a long watch, but at length the Ku'rahus bade his server lift
the skins, hanging at the inner and the outer door of the long passage-
way, and stand outside to report when the gray hue was seen in the
*539 east. When the voice of the server was heard proclaiming the sign
*796 of dawn, the Ku'rahus and his assistants rose, and as they stood
behind the holy place, facing the open door, they sang the first song
[533 in this drama of the mystic birth of Day. It was sung "slowly and
with reverent feeling, for it speaks of the mysterious act of Tira'wa
781] atius in the birth of dawn," said the Ku'rahus; "it is something very
sacred, although it happens every day."

In the first stanza, the Earth, h'Atira (h', breath; atira, mother), Mother breathing forth life, is called on to awake, that she may receive fresh power of life to be given with the new day. In the second, h'Atira responds, she wakens from the sleep of night.

In the next stanza, h'Kawas (h', breath; Kawas, as the representative of the upper powers), the life-breathing powers above, are called to awake and receive fresh life through the new-born Day. In the fourth stanza, h'Kawas, awakening from sleep, responds. All the forces below and above have now been called, they are awake and ready to receive the gift of the new life.

*539 In the fifth stanza, Kawas, the mother, the leader in this ceremony,
*796 stands up and speaks from her nest. She explains to the Ku'rahus
that day is born of night by the power of Tira'wa, that it is the breath
● 821 of this new-born child, the Dawn, which gives fresh life to all things

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

below and to all things above. The Ku'rahus replies, in the sixth 539*
stanza, that now he understands the meaning of the signs of the 796*
east, where Tira'wa, moving on Darkness, causes her to bring forth 821
the Day, whose breath, awakening man and all things, gives them new life.

In the seventh stanza the Ku'rahus turns to the Son, bidding him awake to receive the breath of the new day. In the eighth the Son awakes, and with the Ku'rahus watches the coming of Dawn.

This opening song of eight stanzas is in two parts: the first relates 539*
to the male and female forces, the above and below, awaking to
receive a fresh influx of power from the breath of the new-born Day. 796*
In the second, the meaning of the signs in the east is revealed to the Ku'rahus by the mother, Kawas. With the assurance that new life is to be given, he awakes the Son, that he may receive the promise from the new-born child of Night.

The second song is in two parts. In the first the Morning Star, representative of Tira'wa atius, the father, is discerned slowly advancing from the far distance, the birthplace of Dawn. The light is dim, and as the people look it is gone; then they catch sight of it again, steadily approaching, growing brighter and brighter until, in the second stanza, it stands resplendent as a man girded with the strength of youth, the breath of life stirring the downy feather upon his head, symbol of Tira'wa atius, already rosy with the touch of the advancing sun. As they gaze, he slowly recedes and vanishes from their sight.

In the third stanza, along the path opened by the Morning Star, the representative of the Father, comes the new-born Dawn, dim at first and difficult to discern, but ever advancing, coming nearer and nearer, its breath stirring all things with life newly given from Tira'wa atius, the father of all. In the fourth stanza the sky is filled with the brightness of dawn; then the Dawn recedes and vanishes in the light of day.

The third song opens with the shout, "Day is here!" The light is everywhere and all things are clearly seen. The Son is called to lift his head and behold the light.

In the second stanza, the glad shout, "Day is here!" calls from their coverts the animals, led by the deer, bringing her young into the light of day. All creatures are now alert and moving about; the new Day has given new life.

In the fourth song the Ku'rahus bids the Son awaken the Children. In the second stanza the Children arise, and, as they step out under the glowing sky, they, too, are touched by the breath of the new-born Day.

The four songs represent four movements or parts of this ritual: (1) The awakening of the forces; (2) the approach of the new-born Dawn; (3) the stir of life among the creatures; (4) the touch of the breath of Dawn upon the Children. The sixteen stanzas make the symbol of completeness.

ELEVENTH RITUAL (SECOND DAY). THE MALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. CHANT TO THE SUN

539*
796*
[821]

The chant to the Sun, the recognition of the male principle, took place the second day. It was in two parts, the first sung during the morning hours, and the second in the late afternoon and at sunset.

The first ray of the morning sun comes, we are told, "direct from Tira'wa" and is "like a man" untouched by weakness or age. It is particularly powerful, and can impart strength to whomsoever it reaches, therefore the advent of the first ray of the sun was watched with eagerness.

In the chant the ray is spoken of as if it were a bird; it alights and climbs in and out of the lodge (akaro). This term is used with double significance, for the earthly abode, the wide stretch from horizon to horizon, and for the lodge, erected for the protection of the family—the nest.

In the first verse of the chant, the ray enters the door and goes through the long passageway into the lodge. The passageway typifies the individual life, the career of a man (first ritual, part I, stanza XIII). In the seventh ritual the Hako touches the threshold, crosses it, and takes within the passageway the four steps symbolic of length of days. In the ninth ritual, the Visions halt at the door and then go through the passageway to reach and touch the Children; and now the ray, coming directly from above, enters as did the Hako and the Visions, bringing vitality and strength to the Son.

The ray comes from h'Ars (h', breath; ars, a contraction of atius, father), the father of breath; it is the bearer of breath from the Sun, the intermediary which received this gift of vitality and strength from Tira'wa atius (first ritual, part I, stanzas I and II).

After the Son had been touched by the ray, which entered through the long passageway, the Fathers gave the Children their morning meal, which had been prepared outside the lodge and brought within during the first verse.

At the conclusion of the meal the chant was resumed. The second verse speaks of the ray alighting on the edge of the central opening in the roof of the lodge, over the fireplace. The fireplace was feminine, and represented the protected center where life was conserved (first ritual, stanza X). The alighting of the ray over that center refers to the coming of the father bird to its nest.

In the third verse the ray climbs down, and in the fourth verse reaches the floor of the lodge and walks within the open space to touch the Children, bringing them the gift of vitality.

At the close of this verse the Hako were laid at rest with ceremonial movements and song.

The last four verses of the chant were sung late in the afternoon. In the fifth verse the ray has walked around the lodge and touched

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 This is the teaching, this is the word sent
*796 Down to us from our fathers:
All of the wise words, all of the good gifts,
Now brought to you as my Son,
Verily, as of old, all of these things,
All, by the east descended.

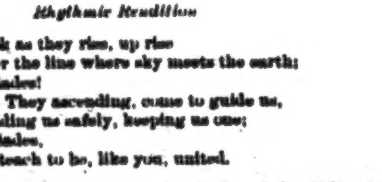
*539 The song addressed to the Pleiades held a peculiar place in the
*796 ceremony. It had to be substituted for the last stanza of any song
●821 which was being sung when the constellation was reported as rising
above the horizon. This right to set aside the stanza of a regular song preceding the act of laying down the Hako seems to bear out the explanation of the Ku'rahus, that the song to the Pleiades belonged "to the time when the ceremony was being made," and would imply that it was part of a ceremony from which the Hako drew authority.

"Tira'wa," the Ku'rahus said, "appointed the stars to guide their steps." The Pleiades not only guided but taught the people, as by an object lesson, "to remain together." The song would seem to have
[174] been received in some locality to the south of the dwelling place of the Pawnees, since the man who obtained it "turned to the north and reached his country." This song is one among many indications that earlier forms of the Hako ceremony will probably be found among the people of the Mexican plateau.

SONG TO THE PLEIADES[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Rendition

*539 Look as they rise, up rise
*796 Over the line where sky meets the earth;
Pleiades!
Lo! They ascending, come to guide us,
Leading us safely, keeping us one;
Pleiades,
Us teach to be, like you, united.

431 The songs which belong to the rituals of the night did not fill up
*533 the entire time, and extra songs could therefore be requested by the
*796 Children, provided a gift was made when the song was called for. A
man would step up to the holy place, lay there a small stick, representing the gift of a horse, and say, "Father, sing for us!"

---

[a] Music on page 151.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here,
Behold, my child! waiting here to bring the gift of life to you.
*796 Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint waits, the vigor of life to bring.

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here,
Behold, my child! flying here to bring the gift of life to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint flies, the vigor of life to bring.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here,
Behold, my child! touching here your head to bring the gift of life.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint touches, the vigor of life to bring.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who now follows here,
Behold, my child! Now the path it follows, paths where gods descend.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint follows, vigor of life to bring.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is spreading here,
Behold, my child! over you is spread the glowing gift of life.
Give heed, my child. See! Red paint brings the vigor of life to you.

VI

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has brought you life,
Behold, my child! Life you have received and finished is the task.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint leaves the vigor of life with you.

*796 The next act was the painting of the child's face with blue, the color of the sky, the abode of Tira'wa atius.

302 531 The design outlined by the water, the grass, the ointment, and the red paint was now clearly seen—an arch, crossing the forehead and resting on the cheeks, from the middle of which a line was drawn downward on the nose. This design was said to "picture the face of Tira'wa." The arch was the dome of the sky, his abode; the line, falling from the zenith, was the breath of Tira'wa descending on the child, meeting its breath.

[622 ● 821] We are told that this design came from the constellation Corona Borealis and was the insignia of a chief, as he who leads does so by the authority of Tira'wa and must bear his sign on the face. In this ceremony this design, taken in connection with the symbols next placed on the child, seems to represent the presence of the power, "the father of all things."

756 The medicine men claimed to have received their power from
supernatural sources and were organized into numerous societies.
Linton states that "The function of the medicine men's ceremonies
was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease
from the village, and, by means of their sleight-of-hand performances,
convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural
powers attributed to them."[10]

771 According to Miss Fletcher their "religious ceremonies were con-
nected with the cosmic forces and the heavenly bodies. The domi-
[776 nating power was Tirawa, generally spoken of as 'father.' The
heavenly bodies, the winds, thunder, lightning, and rain were his
821] messengers. . . . The mythology of the Pawnee is remarkably
rich in symbolism and poetic fancy, and their religious system is
elaborate and cogent. The secret societies, of which there were
[575] several in each tribe, were connected with the belief in supernatural
animals. The functions of these societies were to call the game, to
heal diseases, and to give occult powers. Their rites were elaborate
[821] and their ceremonies dramatic."[11] Next in power to Tirawa was
776 Evening Star, regarded as a woman, and below her was Morning
Star, a warrior who drove the other stars before him across the sky.
[773] The child of these two deities was the first human being. In the west,
Evening Star had a beautiful garden with fields of ripening corn and
many buffalo, and from this garden sprang all the streams of life.

[823] Next in rank to Evening Star and Morning Star were the gods
of the four world-quarters who supported the heavens and who
stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, these
being the sacred directions of the Pawnee. Dorsey states that
"next to these gods in rank are the three gods of the north, supreme
among whom is the North-Star, Karariwari (One-who-does-not-
[821] move). Associated with him are Hutukawahar (Wind-ready-to-
give) and Hikus (Breath). The North-Star is . . . symbolic of
the chief . . . while his assistants, equally beneficent, sent the
buffalo and the breath of life."[12] Below these in turn were Sun and
Moon, from whose union sprang the second human being on the
[773] earth. This daughter, marrying the son of Morning Star and
Evening Star, produced the human race.

The lesser gods of the heavens included Star of the South and
Big-black-meteoric-star, who was the god of the medicine men.
There were also earth gods organized into four lodges, each with
its leaders and messengers, these gods being the special patrons of
warriors and medicine men.

---

[10] Linton, Ralph. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men, Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 8, Chicago, 1923, pp. 19, 20.

[11] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

[12] Dorsey, op. cit., p. xii.

with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of 796
"song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The 778
outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread
on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a
pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native
tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of
corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip inclined
toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and
the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a
white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws [825
of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal 821]
is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason
the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In [854]
accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her
arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She [201]
then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between
the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial
lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies [302]
were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder
mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire
was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was [372]
intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was 796
served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful
of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung [415]
on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled
in the usual manner. [262]

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning 796
Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and 778
were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening
Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle 173
and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side.
The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge
of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however,
forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close
the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured
four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black.
The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star
and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards
the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe
secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It
is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to
have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow
is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16] [411]

---

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

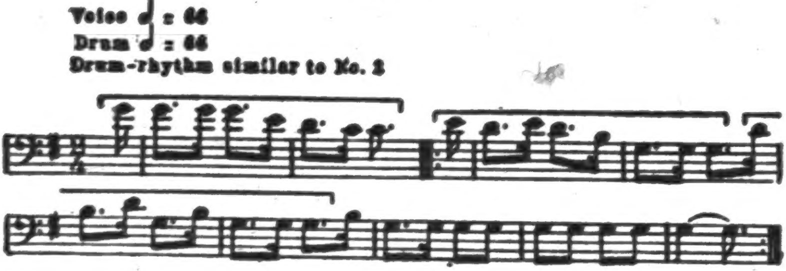
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Drum and voice are in the same tempo and coincide on the first of each count. Three renditions were recorded and show no points of difference. 533*

No. 32. Eagle Chief's War Song

(Catalogue No. 1128)

Recorded by John Luwak

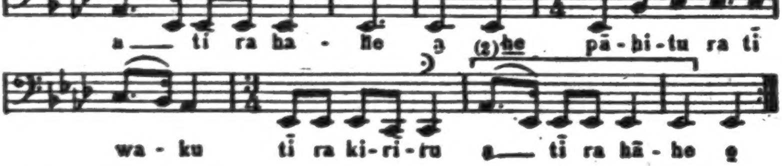

Voice ♩ = 66
Drum ♩ = 66
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2

A certain young man was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke to him slowly and said, "Do not be afraid, your father is coming." He heard the thunder sing the following song, learned it, and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. 821 ● 787 533*

No. 33. "The Thunder Spoke Quietly"

(Catalogue No. 1080) 533*

Recorded by Effie Blain


Voice ♩ = 63
Drum not recorded
(1)
(1)
A - hē - ru ī ra' - u a - hē - ru ī ra - u
3
a — tī ra ha - he a
(2) he pā - hi - tu ra tī
wa - ku tī ra ki - ri - ru a — tī ra hā - he e

Ahēru	ī	raû	a	tī	ra	harāhe[22]	pāhitu
Dear	it	that is	and	this	have	good	quietly
ra	tī	waku	tī	ra	kirīru	a	tī
have	him	saying	this	have	thundering	and	this
ra	hārahe						
have	good						

---

[22] The second syllable of this word was omitted by the singer.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PAWNEE.

The Pawnee formerly lived along the Platte River in what is now Nebraska. They were composed of four independent tribes, the Skidí, Chauí,[1] Kit'kaháxki, and Pítahauírata. Of these, the Skidí was the largest and in most respects the leading tribe. In language, it differs slightly from the other three tribes which have one and the same dialect. The Skidí were composed of thirteen villages, or bands. The Pítahauírata were in two villages, the Kawarakis and Pitahauirat. The Chauí and Kit'kaháxki were each single villages.

These villages, or bands, were the social units but seemingly placed no rigid restrictions upon marriage. A man got his place in a village through his mother. The women never left the village in which they were born, but if a man married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village. In fact, the villages were in principle endogamous, for a man could not marry outside except with the consent of his village as represented by the governing officials, who usually opposed such unions on the ground that the strength of the village would be depleted.

THE BUNDLE SCHEME.

The basis of the social and political organization of the Skidí is their 778
peculiar sacred bundle scheme, the detailed discussion of which does not fall within the scope of this paper. Hence, we shall but briefly note its general outline. The name for a sacred bundle is chúharipiru (chuhuru, rainstorm; ripiru, wrapped up), but sometimes it is spoken of as atira (mother), referring in this case to two ears of corn kept in each bundle and symbolically spoken of as the mother of the people. The reference to rain is due to the conception that the important powers of the world reside in [821]
the west, the home of the thunderers, from whence the powers of the bundles come.

---

[1] The Chaui were known to the French as the Grand Pawnee and their chief as le grand chef. [175] The Skidi all lived on the north side of the Platte in Nebraska while the other three divisions were to the south. In the Journal of La Vérendrye, 1743, the lodge of the Grand Chief is mentioned, which incidentally enables us to locate the route of this explorer. In aboriginal days the Skidi seem to have been noted as cultivators of corn and have traditions of visits from distant tribes to replenish their stock of seed. Even the Comanche made such visits. According to Murie, the Skidi villages were often called the Awahi (Harahey) and when Coronado reached the Wichita they were naturally referred to as the leading people of the country.— Ed.

[p. 548 is blank]

778 come. While all these bundles had their individualities, they had certain
ceremonies in common: thus at the sound of the first thunder in spring,
[782] the keeper of each bundle must immediately open it with the proper procedure and make an offering of dried buffalo meat to the powers in the west.[1]
This offering is burned, but after the ceremony the remaining meat is cooked and served.

As to how far this applied to the other divisions of the Pawnee, cannot
184 be determined for they have not preserved their bundles and rituals to the
778 same extent as have the Skidí. The Chauí are known to have had three
bundles, the Pítahauírata, two; but those of the Kit'kaháxki passed out so long ago that no definite number can be enumerated. The rituals of all these bundles were seemingly different from those of the Skidí in that so far as we know they did not have the regular thunder ceremony, but consecrated the bundles to certain animals. It is not known for certain if the sacred ears of corn were kept in these bundles as in those of the Skidí, but there are some reasons for believing that they were.

103 In the Skidí scheme there were thirteen villages, each of which had a
bundle:—

361 1 Tu^{h}rikaku^h, center village; the Evening Star bundle.

631 2 Kitkahapaku^{h}tu, old village; the four leading bundles are kept in
778 this village.

3 Tu^{h}hitspiat, stretching out in the bottom lands.

4 Tu^{h}kitskita, village on branch of a river.

5 Tu^{h}wahukasa, village stretching across a hill; the Morningstar bundle. (This bundle was finally divided into two.)

6 Aríkararikuchu, big antlered elk standing.

7 Arikarariki^h, small antlered elk standing.

8 Tu^{h}huchaku, village in a ravine; the left hand bundle, all use left hands in the ceremony.

9 Tu^{h}warakaku, village in thick timber.

10 Akapaxsawa, skull painted on tipi.

11 Skisa rikus, fish hawk.

12 Stixkautit, black ear of corn.

13 Turawi, part of a village.

631 These thirteen villages were organized or federated under this bundle
778 scheme and so had a common government. The supreme, or original

---

[821] [1] The Evening Star (calf bundle) is the chief power in the west. Four other stars in the west represent the clouds, thunders, lightning, and the winds, or the four leading bundles. Those four stars are supposedly sitting in the west, acting as priests. They are sitting there with a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat; also, they are sitting with a hill of corn, the stalks always green, and a place in front of them as the altar.

575 One end was lapped over enough to allow the poles to be passed through. In the middle, the cloth was slashed enough to allow for the bearer's hand. Feathers were also placed before the men who were sewing. They took five crow feathers that were equal in length and cut the quills at the ends. When these were ready one of the men made perforations in the cloth with a sharp stick beginning at the top. Then [237] he placed the quill ends of the feathers in the perforations and tied them with sinew. Five swan feathers were attached in the same way. This was done for the full length of the strip, five crow feathers alternating with five swan feathers.

The men on the north side must complete their cloth first, for the north star [821] watches and cares for them, giving them life and feeding them. The people on the south side worked slowly for the south star is the home of the dead. The owl feathers are bunched together and tied at the top of the cloth because they represent the north star who watches over all at night. Owls care for people while they sleep. In olden [825] times, the owls used to warn the people when the enemy was prowling around the camp. The crow feathers were attached first because crows are always the first to find food and they used to help the people to find buffalo. The swan feathers represent those of the thunderbird which is near Tirawahat, the heavens. If an enemy [821] were on the point of attacking the people, thunderstorms would come up and save them. The red cloth signified bloodshed during war. During battle, if the lance bearer stuck the lance into the ground, it was incumbent upon the people to defend the emblem.

After the cloth was ready, the poles were passed through the flaps, tied to a pole, and stuck in the ground, one at the north and the other at the south side, in front of the drummers.

Now, Known-the-leader said: "Knife-chief, Brave-chief, Running-fox, Young-hawk, old men, and young men, our fathers (the lances) are now complete. Our father, the owl is sitting at the top of the pole. The crow and swan feathers are attached. The lances are complete and have taken life. Let us hasten to notify the gods in the heavens that we have completed these emblems that were given to our people long ago to be carried on the buffalo hunt that there should be order. These insignia were to be carried in battle; in peace they were hung on a pole. The buffalo have disappeared, we no longer fight our enemies, peace rules. The gods know this. They will bless us and give us long life. They will bless our fields so that we may have an abundance of food. It is now time to offer smoke to the gods to show that we remember them. I select Knife-chief to offer smoke to the gods in the heavens. Knife-chief will now rise and take the pipe I have filled."

Knife-chief rose and took the pipe which belongs in a sacred bundle. It is very 276 old; the bowl is large; the stem smooth and round and represents the windpipe 575 through which the prayers of the people pass. Knife-chief walked around the fireplace with the pipe, beginning at the south. At the northeast he stopped and the south assistant lighted the pipe with a burning coal. He then walked around the fireplace by the west and then south with the lighted pipe and stopped successively at the south and north entrances and blew smoke in those directions. He next halted at the fireplace and blew smoke on its rim towards the northeast and the northwest. West of the fireplace he stopped and blew smoke southwest and southeast. Then he passed north and stopped at the west facing east. He blew smoke east, west, and then east again. Then he directed smoke towards the heavens; three times to the north, once to the south, faced about and blew smoke west. He turned again and blew towards the ground and the drums.

575 for war. In fact, this is the society that is called upon to police the buffalo hunt and in this capacity the members conduct themselves as described above. As an organization it is the counterpart of the Skidi two lance society.

The Thunderbird Lance.

The raris kuhat, or thunderbird lance society is found among the Skidi and the Squash Vine people. The following account is from data supplied by the Skidi.

[825] In winter the members procure the thunderbird (in this case the swan, though outsiders are led to believe it to be the eagle) which is skinned by the leader as in the case of the preceding society. The feathers are plucked, leaving the down upon the skin, and with this the lance is wrapped at the renewing ceremony in the spring. This society is never called upon to act [721] as police in the buffalo hunt, but for leadership and defense in war; in this respect whatever was said of the preceding society, applies equally well here. [821] The point of the lance is of flint stone because this stone is believed to be related to the thunders since it is said that such will be found wherever the lightning strikes [823] Thus, this stone lance head symbolizes the power to strike down a person before he is aware of danger.

As stated before, the trophies of victory may be turned over to this society that they may inaugurate the victory dance and as it progresses, the whole is turned over to the women. In former times, it was the custom for the sexes to mingle freely without restraint and during the dance.

In the Squash Vine village the lances were wrapped with loonskin instead of swan and loon heads were placed on the end of the curved top; also some loon feathers. On the sinew string were soft down feathers. Four old men were taken in to recount the deeds of the members.

The Crow Lance.

The hatu^{h}ka society was found among each of the four divisions but not in the independent villages. It was everywhere the same, except that the [184] peculiar feature of tying the members together was practised by the Skidi alone. In all cases this society was the last to renew in the spring, disband in the winter, to leave the line of battle, to follow the camp, etc.

The following account applies particularly to the Skidi: —

575
773
The name usually given this society is hatu^{h}ka (those coming behind), so named because of their peculiar custom of marching at the extreme rear of the tribal procession. The society is said to have been handed down by the crows but in reality

844 the midwife, it was said that the child was afraid of her and so hurried and was born before she came. On the other hand, if the birth were delayed and the confined woman in great pain, it was the duty of her relatives to send for one or two other women to assist the midwife. These helped in trying to hasten the birth. If they [755] failed, the medicine-men were called. The latter came into the lodge with gourd rattles and sang their medicine songs. Then they gave medicine to the woman. If it was time for her to give birth, it was thought that delivery would speedily follow; if it was not time, she would at least be relieved.

In delivery the woman usually rested on her knees, leaning forward on a stick brought for that purpose by the midwife. Those of high rank, belonging to the Four-Band village, were always permitted to use a short round stake from the Northeast, or Big [778] Black Meteoric-Star bundle, on which was fastened a buffalo scalp [821] containing a chart of the constellations, and which was supposed to have the effect of making delivery exceedingly easy.

[465] When the child was born, the midwife cut the umbilical cord, using a new knife given her as part of her pay. She rubbed ashes upon the cord until it shrank, then she twisted it around upon the child's navel, and tied a string around it. Contrary to the custom much in vogue among the Plains Indians, the mother retained the cord, wrapping it in a buckskin in a work-box; it was buried with her and never given to the child.

846 [854] [553] The midwife then washed the infant with warm water and dried it with buffalo wool, wrapped it in a blanket, and placed it on a cradleboard. Next she bestowed a name upon the baby and gave it to the mother's relatives. The afterbirth she disposed of in the following manner: placing it on a bunch of grass, and wrapping it in a piece of tanned buffalo-hide, she carried it outside into the woods. There she put it on a tree, saying: "I place this afterbirth upon you, that the animals may not eat it, nor the birds. You stand here firmly; let this child that I have attended grow up without sickness to be a man (or woman)." Next she said to the afterbirth: "I place you securely upon this tree, so that nothing will touch you, and so that you will turn into dust. If the mother who is sick yonder should give birth to another, make the delivery easy." The midwife then returned to the lodge.

After the dried cord broke off from the child's navel, the baby was washed in the little wooden bowl and turned over to the mother. The old woman who had acted as midwife combed and braided the

772 765 [782] and obtain a scalp. This was carried home to the village on a pole, and scalp dances were inaugurated. The scalp was consecrated to one of the deities of the heavens, and the man who had taken it wrapped a piece of it in a small buckskin sack with tobacco. This was tied to a long stick representing an arrow and thrust into the grave. Another small piece of the scalp was burned upon the grave.

551 765 The name of a dead person could not be mentioned during the mourning period. If anyone mentioned the name of an individual who had been killed in war, it was thought that he would probably suffer the same fate as the person killed.

764 778 821 Reference has been made to the fact that personal belongings were buried with the dead. However, there were certain exceptions to this practice. Personal war bundles containing meteorites or any objects supposed to have had their origin in the heavens were not buried. This was in accordance with the belief that these objects belonged in the heavens and not in the ground. Hence, when an individual possessing such objects died, and if the relatives did not want them, the bundle was unwrapped and the objects were placed on a high hill, whence they returned to the heavens. Such objects were supposed to be the children of stars, watched over by them, and it was believed that when people had no further use for these "children," they would return to their parents in the sky. Also, if a medicine-man died during the time he was giving instruction to his son, his medicine bundle was retained for the boy's use when he became of age.

764 778 A further illustration of the burial of belongings with the dead is contained in the following incident. A Skidi chief's daughter died. The father had received calumet pipe sticks from the Chaui band, and his daughter had participated in the ceremony accompanying the gift. Her death followed shortly after the ceremony and was attributed to the belief that the ceremony had not been properly performed. Consequently, over her grave her father placed the pipe sticks, oriole's nest, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, and tobacco bag that comprised the special objects used in the ceremony. That year drought prevailed, the crops withered, buffalo could not be found, and the Skidi were forced to depend on their cache reserves. The Chaui priest who had originally brought the pipe sticks visited the Skidi, and with the chief to whom he had presented them, went to the grave, removed the ceremonial objects, wrapped them in a bundle, and taking the earth from over the body, placed the bundle next to it. He then re-filled the grave. Shortly after, there

autumn. In winter the gods were thought to have [778]
withdrawn from the earth. The first thunder in the 796
spring was thought to be a notification that they had [821]
once more turned their attention to it, and the people
at once held a ceremony of welcome,—the Thunder
Ceremony. This ceremony ushered in the ceremonial
year, and was followed in regular order by a number
of others. First came the ceremony called Paruxti, 241
by which the deity of that name was supposed to be 796
called to earth, and at which sacred corn was shelled
and given to the people for seed corn. Immediately
after this followed the ceremony, called the Planting
of the Corn. When the first shoots of the new crop
had appeared, a ceremony called Going After the Plant
was performed. In the autumn there was a Harvest
Ceremony, followed by the ceremony known as the
Making of New Mother Corn, at which the Mother-
Corn in all the bundles was renewed. In addition to
these seasonal ceremonies there were a number of
others whose time was not fixed.

The so-called Thunder Ceremony ushered in the 796
ceremonial year. Although neither the most important
or the most elaborate of the Pawnee ceremonies,
it was, more than any other, at the bottom of their
ceremonial life. It paved the way for the ceremonies
of agriculture and the rites for the calling of the buffalo.
It promoted the well-being of the tribe, and was
efficacious in driving back the malignant being of the
southwest, the bringer of disease. It instructed the
people as to their duties and privileges in their relationship
to the deities, and finally it afforded many opportunities
for direct communication with the deities
themselves in a number of rites of sacrifice which
formed an intrinsic part of the ceremony as a whole.

The first thunder in the spring was thought to be 776
the voice of Paruxti, a deity who was the messenger of 796
821

776 Tirawa and combined in himself the essence of the
796 four servants of the Evening Star,—Wind, Cloud,
[821] Lightning, and Thunder. He passed over the land in a
storm, and as he spoke, the earth awakened, and life was kindled anew. Returning to his lodge in the west, he kindled new fire and offered smoke to the great heavenly gods, thereby informing them that he had visited the earth, and that all was well. The gods then turned their attention earthward, and prepared to receive the prayers and offerings of men.

796 As soon as the thunder had been heard, the priests of the Four Direction bundles assembled and prepared for the ceremony, which was held even if the tribe were away from their permanent villages on the hunt. Going to the lodge where the Aripahut bundle was kept, they took it down, and, when they were seated, the chief priest opened it and spread out the sacred objects. He then took up the rattles which had been fastened to the bundle, and giving them to the four other priests, said, "Priests, Tirawa has spoken. We must now sing the songs that were given to us with this bundle. It is a long time since we sang them, and we will make some mistakes, but Tirawa will help
533 us with the ceremony." Shaking their rattles as an
[539] accompaniment, they then sang,—
796

First Song.

"They sang this song above, they have spoken.
They have put new life into the earth.
Paruxti speaks through the clouds,
And the power has entered Mother Earth.
The earth has received the powers from above."

This verse was repeated 56 times, a single word being changed at each singing. At the end of the singing the priests made four grunting sounds, symbolizing the noise of the thunder in the four world-quarters, and laid down their rattles. After each of the songs of the ritual this was repeated, and after

778 and therefore constituted a link between the people
796 and its divine giver. In the ceremonies connected with these bundles two ideas were basic,—one the idea of a sacrifice or offering, and the other that of a repetition, either through dramatization or ritual, of the acts performed by the divine giver. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star combined both ideas to an unusual degree.

175 The Morning Star sacrifice was performed only
782 by the Skidi band of the Pawnee. There seems good
796 evidence that it was carried out somewhat unwillingly, and that the officiating priests always found it a sore trial. Its performance was considered a religious duty, and this ceremony must not be confused with the torturing of captives as practised by several of the eastern tribes. The opposition to the sacrifice within the tribe itself increased until in about 1818 a young man, named Petahlayshahrho, rescued the victim in dramatic fashion, untying her from the scaffold at the moment of sacrifice and riding away with her. When safe, he gave her a horse, and sent her back to her own people. He then returned and declared that human sacrifices must cease. As he was a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which according to the Pawnee system gave him the hereditary rignt to succeed his uncle, many strong men in the tribe sup-
[178] ported his action. After this time, the ritual of the sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter, but no actual sacrifices are known to have taken place.

796 The actual time of the performance of the sacrifice is not fully known, but it seems to have been made in the late spring or summer of years when Mars was
[787] morning star. It was usually made as the result of
[821] a dream or vision in which the Morning Star appeared to some warrior and demanded it, but it might also be

made as a result of some sign in the star itself, as when it appeared especially bright, or in years when there was a comet in the sky. It might also be performed without any direct intervention of the Morning Star, if some warrior had captured a suitable victim. 796 787 821

In this ceremony there was, coupled with the idea of sacrifice, an attempt to repeat the acts performed by the Morning Star in ancient times. These acts are recorded in a number of myths, not always consistent, of which the following is a good example:— 796

LEGEND

A long time ago Tirawa made the stars and gave them great power. He gave most of his power to the Morning star, who had a younger brother, the Sun. The Morning Star helped the Sun to have light. When Tirawa placed the stars in the heavens, they were just like human beings. In the east he placed those stars which were like men and gave the Morning Star and the Sun rule over them. In the west he placed those which were like women, with the Evening Star and the Moon as their rulers. Each had their village in the heavens, and the eastern stars knew that the western stars were women. After awhile some of the eastern stars sought the western stars in marriage. When the women stars saw a man star coming, they would tell the Moon, and she would go out to meet him. She would ask him why he came, and he would say, "I come to marry one of the women." She would answer, "That is what we want, come with me." They would walk together till they came in sight of the village. Then the Moon would stop and make a motion, and the ground would open so that the man star fell through and was killed. At last the Morning Star decided to go. He took with him his younger brother, the Sun, who carried upon his back a sacred bundle with a war club. As they traveled, the Morning Star went before 539 773

721 tume and sacred objects kept in the bundle for such
796 expeditions. Many warriors usually volunteered to go
with him, for it was thought that the object of the expedition
insured its success.

726 When the party had assembled, they set out for the
796 country of the enemy, sending scouts constantly in advance.
[782] If they killed any game on the way, they offered
part of it to the Morning Star to remind him
that they were on his business. The leader carried the
[778] sacred objects from the Morning Star bundle on his
back.

When the scouts returned with word that they had
found an enemy village, the party retired to some
sheltered place and prepared for a ceremony. A circle
was cleared, and a fireplace excavated as for a lodge.
The leader then opened his pack and put on the sacred
warrior's costume, and laid out the other objects to the
west of the fireplace. A fire was kindled, and smoke
[533] offered to the heavenly gods. All then sang a song
symbolizing the overcoming of the Evening Star by
the Morning Star and how, from their union, a girl
was born. In the course of this song the leader rose
and circled the fireplace, acting in pantomime the journey
of the Morning Star. At its conclusion he passed
out of the circle, and standing facing the east addressed
[782] the Morning Star as follows: "I am praying to you as
you directed, and we are seeking a sacrifice as you
wished. I ask you to show yourself." In answer to
[821] this prayer the star was thought to shine with brighter
light. The leader then addressed his party thus:—

"Warriors, young men, we are now sitting in a place dedicated to the Morning Star. We are about to sing the song that the Morning Star himself sang when he was in search of a woman, who put obstacles in his way. I want you all to dance with all your might and to be brave. Whoever shall be so lucky as to catch

851 848 convince a man of his physiological paternity, and her child would then be a social outcast. It would be known as *pira-paru,* "hidden child," since the mother would be ashamed and try to hide it when her brothers came to visit. The child would be subject to many insults and humiliations throughout its life. In these terms, whatever the sentiments of the parents for each other, the child always had a legal right to the care of both its parents, clearly identified as its physical progenitors. Children were normally cared for by their grandmothers, and it was quite possible that various fortunes placed the child in one household with its grandmother, its mother in another household, and the father in still another. The obligations for support, however, remained incumbent on both parents.

593 221 The household as a working group of coordinated members was precisely organized, and each household had the same general structure. However, twice a year when the tribe set out on its semiannual buffalo hunts, the household work group fragmented itself into many smaller groupings, which reassorted themselves so that an able hunter became the nucleus of each new composite grouping. When they returned to the village the households did not necessarily reassemble with the same personnel as before. This was entirely optional, and there were many reasons why people might decide to join a different household group than the one they had been with before leaving. However, it was not too hard to establish a working household on this basis even twice a year, since the pattern of operation was the same everywhere. The three duplicate stations on the north and south sides of the lodge with their full complement of the young, mature, and old women was a frame into which any individual woman could fit herself in whatever household she entered with little loss of efficiency, since her duties were so clearly defined once she selected the category to which she belonged. And a child with a grandmother to care for it could fit in anywhere. Young men led a more transient existence. They were likely to congregate at different times in one lodge or another, and a bed would be made for them by putting down a mat between the central pillars and providing it with the necessary skin bedding. Old men also moved about rather freely, staying overnight in various households whenever they were detained late of an evening telling stories or participating in a ceremony. As for the mature man, his married-in household was not considered his "true" home. In his married-in household he was an outsider with formal obligations, which sometimes tended to weigh rather heavily on him. Then he would go where his home really was—that of his sisters and his mother, where they would gladly feed him and take care of him and where he could relax 621 and feel like a child. When this happened, his wife understood, and she 622 knew he would be back after a few days.

821 778 The only stable and fixed unit of Pawnee life was the village with

three hundred to five hundred people and from ten to twelve households. 621
The village community centered around the chief who had his sanction 622
through a vision from Heaven. Every person within the village was also
under the tutelage of a given star, and the chief held the sacred bundle 821
that represented the supernatural story of its origin and gave the village 778
its continuity. In these terms, all the people in the village were considered
as a kindred, but their specific cosmic derivation gave them differing
social ranks. According to their star affiliations, some were born as 821
chiefs, some as braves, and some as commoners; their social functions in
the community were thus relatively preordained. When a chiefly infant 554
was born to two high-ranking parents, he was wrapped in a wildcat skin, 565
symbolizing the heavens with its panoply of stars and planets. When he married, the priest and his senior errand man impersonated the Morning Star and the sun respectively. High-ranking chiefly families provided the administrators, whereas the families of braves—the next in rank—provided the executive officers. The commoners, known collectively as *akitaru* "the tribe or people," were often reminded by their officials that only their support made it possible to carry out the responsibilities of
high office. However, one's life was not entirely cast in this mold. A chief 554
or brave might never be considered worthy of the office, or he himself 565
might not feel capable of dedicating himself to its responsibilities, while a commoner could rise high in the social scale and acquire considerable wealth by becoming a successful doctor and earning high fees from his grateful patients. Some people of commoner rank had little use for prestige positions and would say, "I don't care to be a noted person." Another group would prefer a carefree life of adventure. They would go out on long scouting expeditions, roaming about the country and exploring to see what they could find. They were helpful to anyone in the village who needed them, without considering it beneath their dignity to perform any menial task and gave away what they had rather freely. Such men were referred to as "boys" on the grounds that they were like boys, having no care for accumulating anything or for providing for the morrow. They were regarded with affection and sometimes rose to the rank of brave in recognition of their long public service.

7

THE SPRING AWAKENING

000

Creation Ceremony—Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—Ceremony of Sacred Corn Seeds—Ground-breaking Ceremony—Pawnee Ceremonial Acts Discussed—Planting Cycle Ceremonies Discussed—Significance with Seasonal Progression Noted

THE PAWNEES HAD MANY TASKS to accomplish in the early spring before 796
the time of planting. Some of them were practical and some ceremonial, but to the Pawnees who believed that nothing on earth could move without the heavens, no practical task could be undertaken unless the appropriate ceremony had preceded it.

The first ceremonial act of the year was to awaken the whole earth from its winter sleep. After their long and arduous travels over the plains on their winter buffalo hunt, the Pawnees returned to their villages at the end of February or the beginning of March. The year began about the time of the spring equinox with the ritual recitation of the creation by the five priests, repeated for each of the twelve sacred bundles
of the original villages that formed the Skidi federation. The position of [821]
the stars was an important guide to the time when this ceremony should
be held. The earth lodge served as an astronomical observatory and as [349]
the priests sat inside at the west, they could observe the stars in certain positions through the smokehole and through the long east-oriented entranceway. They also kept careful watch of the horizon right after sunset and just before dawn to note the order and position of the stars.

The round of spring renewal ceremonies was heralded by the appearance 796
of two small twinkling stars known as the Swimming Ducks in 821
the northeastern horizon near the Milky Way. They notified the animals [221]
that they must awaken from their winter sleep, break through the ice, and come out into the world again. At this time the Pleiades began to

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 take a certain position. When these signs were seen, then they must listen
821 for the thunder that is low, deep, and rumbling, starting in the west and rolling around the entire circuit of the heavens. Sheet lightning gave warning that this kind of thunder would soon appear. This thunder was the voice of Heaven, and when it came from the south they knew that it was the signal for the creation ritual to be performed.

796 The ritual was part of the sacred lore of the Evening Star bundle
778 which at this time was kept in the earth lodge of Old Lady Lucky
821 Leader. As soon as the thunder was heard, the five official priests gath-
221 ered there and began their preparations for the ritual. The same ritual would be repeated for each of the twelve major sacred bundles, the Evening Star which they were about to perform, then Morning Star bundle, then Big Black Meteoric Star and nine others. At intervals all during the month of March the priests went in succession to the different households where each of the bundles was kept, performing the ritual to renew their powers. The order for the first three performances was as given above; the other nine, simply as each of the households happened to be ready to pause in its work and to provide the necessary food for the priests.

796 Now the five priests were sitting at the west in the lodge of Old Lady
793 Lucky Leader, the Evening Star bundle lying open before them. The
[778] sacred objects were spread out on the skin of a tawny yellow calf rep-
resenting the herds of buffalo. Two sacred ears of corn represented their staple food, two owlskins the watchfulness of the chiefs, hawkskins the ferocity of the warriors, flint for fire and sweet grass for incense; paints symbolized the powers of the different directions of the universe. Each of the priests held a gourd rattle in his right hand, and they sang together of the first creation. Their responsibility lay heavy upon them, for they and they alone must bring the world back to life again. Would they now be able to bring back the abundance of summer—the green grass, the trees, the animals reborn, the waters flowing free, the warmth of a summer day? Loud and insistently they recounted each minute step of the creation and in the trancelike depths of their thinking, the events rolled by before them.

773 In the beginning Heaven sat in the unassorted universe and thought. He sent his thoughts out over space. Then he created the celestial gods to bring his thoughts to fruition. First he made the gods of the cardinal directions—the Evening Star at the west with the moon as her helper, the Morning Star at the east with the sun as his helper, in the north the North Star and in the south, Canopus, the South Star. Then Heaven placed four stars in the semicardinal directions—Black Star in the northeast, Yellow Star in the northwest, White Star in the southwest and Red Star in the southeast. Heaven said to them, "You four shall be known as the ones who uphold the heavens. There you shall stand as long as the

773 to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used
796 in the sacrifice ceremony.

782 Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning
• [821] Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose
[787] ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in
[292] order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin
[825] with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood
[823] appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm,
[824] northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Tuwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

ject has often been that they kept themselves free to take the horses of 726
the enemy and ride them home. They did gain in stealth of approach, 484*
but this is no doubt a secondary explanation of what was probably a 178
survival of older custom. The fact that the men looked for booty or 721
various kinds of valuables in the places they attacked and carried them 727
home on their backs is indicated in some of the well-known names that
were current, such as He-Comes-Carrying-Sitting-Down-from-Time-to- 551
Time-Coming—implying that the things brought home as war trophies
were so heavy that the bearer had to sit down from time to time and rest.
Another such name is He-Brings-Many-Trophies-from-Over-the-Wide-World, or again, He-Comes-Bringing-Them-Down-a-Hill, or still another, He-Comes-Carrying-His-Trophies-Today.

It is clear that the actual pattern of cooperation on the migration and 175
hunt was established long before they had horses and present practices 224*
were adapted but not substantially changed. In 1540 Coronado's expedi- 492
tion met a party of buffalo-hunting Indians on the Plàins who were using
the dog travois and carrying dried buffalo meat. Mark Evarts describes 224*
some of the traditions remembered by the Pawnees at the time of our narrative, when they had no horses:

> Near Old Village there was a hill called Calf-Against-Upon-Standing. [103] The calf referred to was a certain kind of yellow calf with a long body and the people knew that when they saw him standing on the hill, the herd would be right beyond him. The people would line up on each side and surround the herd and make the buffalo circle about inside. They would kill them and butcher, and carry the meat home on their backs. They had no horses. There was no trade store.
>
> The North Wind was called Lucky Wind because when it blew it [821] sent the buffalo. In winter in deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep, and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow, and could readily be killed. This was particularly the case before we hunted with horses.
>
> In summer the buffalo went scattered in small bunches and this was difficult, but in winter they traveled in closer formation when we could also drive them onto the ice.

The Pawnee surround is described by George Bird Grinnell (1925, pp. 249-250):

> Choosing a still day, they would surround a small bunch of buffalo, stretching out in a long line whose extremities would gradually draw together, as the hunters, disguised as wolves, stole from hill to hill around the unconscious prey. When the circle was complete some man would shout and startle the buffalo.

19

COMMON CAMPING ROUTINES

000

Description of Camping Routines—Starting the Day—Breakfast—Loading the Horses—Striking the Tent—the Camp Crier—Entertainment

*484 512 [887] The routine of camping and decamping followed the same pattern throughout the summer. Advance scouts left the encampment about four in the morning to survey the route and to protect the old women who preceded the line of march in order to be sure to keep up with the group. As dawn was breaking, everyone had had breakfast and was under way. The families of the chiefs got up earliest in order to lead the line of march.

In Victory Call's camp, Grandma got up before anyone else—she made a low fire and put the bucket of corn to warm up on the glowing embers. Then she brought in an armful of wood and put it down next to the fireplace and went to the creek to get a bucket of water.

Now Horse Rider would begin to grunt and growl and say, "It's morning now," so that everyone would get up. The horses were hobbled and picketed around the encampment; he got into his moccasins, picked up his lariat, and went off to tend to them. He watered them since he wouldn't have a chance after breakfast, bringing them close to the tent and hobbling them there so that they would be ready for loading.

By the time the old lady was coming with the bucket of water, White Woman had gotten up, washed her hands and face, and begun to prepare breakfast.

[821] [515] Now Victory Call arose, went out, and looked at the sky to see if there were clouds far out over the hills. He came in and took a little basin of water and washed his hands and face, drying them on the hairy part of a buffalo robe—the leg and arm parts, and then shaking off the water. Some men went to the creek to wash, gargled with some water, and blew it out. While doing this, one had to face west toward the Evening

*224 *484 [252] [262] White Woman and Victory Call to eat, one for No Corn and Horse Rider to eat together, and one for herself and her grandson, Otter.

When they got to the top of the hills eight miles west of Genoa they could sight the school house. Everyone called out, "There it is—*kaxkarit-pahat*" (house-stone-red). It was red brick. Along the north and south side of the Loup is a deep valley and from the hills on either side of the river, one could see a considerable distance.

[136] No one could camp anywhere near the earth lodge village itself. It was infested with fleas. They camped in the bottomlands within reach of their fields where they stayed for three weeks while they treated the crops and cleaned out the earth lodge so that it became habitable. In the open, they could more readily dispose of the husks, cobs, and other wastes that resulted from processing the crops. The Stay-at-Homes came along to meet them starting out from near Columbus 22 miles away and following northwestward along the Loup River. "Here come the Kakusu, the Stay-at-Homes," everyone would call out as they approached.

792 There was one more item of formal business that they had to attend to before they could get down to the activities of the harvest. To his tent, White Eagle called representatives of each of the four villages and the five old priests. In White Eagle's tent and in his charge at all times had
*[224] [777] been *taxpiku*, the holy man, who symbolized the luck of the whole tribe on the hunt. It was during the spring, when they had the ceremony of the Young Corn, *Kurahus*, that he was charged with this holy office. He was a man of exemplary character who was favored by the supernatural powers through the generous offerings he had made to their ceremonies. He had to keep his buffalo robe wrapped around him at all times. There was an absolute taboo against his bathing. He was not allowed to cut his fingernails or comb his hair. The other old men went along, one or the other of them staying alongside all during the hunt. His food was fed to him in a special bowl and he was always served first, for it was recog-
• [821] nized that he was under a severe strain. Should he take a bath or his feet touch water, there would be severe thunderstorms. It was at this ceremony that he was praised for his courage and diligence and dismissed from his office. Now he was able to laugh and joke. "Oh my, I'm lousy," he said, "and my feet stink!" He tossed off his blanket and ran down to the creek to take a bath as soon as he could. He was no longer an official and no longer needed to be on his dignity.

[777] [243] They still had one more holy man, *taxpiku*, who was holding in the luck of the crops. He had been appointed early in the spring when they distributed the first seeds of the sacred corn. He would not be released until after the harvest. This man had been appointed when the Young Mother Corn was installed, and carried through the summer buffalo hunt and was then dismissed. These were men who had proved themselves devoted to the supernatural powers by their offerings to the sa-

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

cred bundle ceremonies, and for them the success of the venture was a token of the favor they enjoyed with the powers above. 792

In his closing speech in the council tent, White Eagle had thanked his chiefs, braves and young men of the tribe who had helped him in every way to get all the dry meat that they now all had. For, he said, the horses were all heavily laden and every old man and old woman had some meat too. He spoke of the fact that they should now look to the future tasks that were ahead—their crops of corn beans and squash that they had left growing in their gardens and would harvest and preserve. There was no delay when they got to the village in getting to work on the drying and processing of the crop for storage. The star Canopus had risen in the southern sky and the harvest month of September was upon them. The Pawnee felt himself fortunate that by his work he could ensure himself so many of the good things of life. 622 537 221 [821]

31

HARVEST TIME IN THE VILLAGE

000

Encampment in the Bottomlands—Grandma Opens the Cache Pit—Fall Harvest—Grandma Builds a Work Enclosure in the Field—Roasting the Corn and Pumpkin—Her Round of Activities —Treatment of Corn, Beans, Pumpkin—Sioux Attack—Earth Lodges Prepared for Reentering—Stories

243 EVERYONE'S THOUGHTS were now upon their gardens and their corn. In
[821] the sky, the South Star, Canopus, had appeared and they knew it was time
for harvest. By our calendar it was about the first of September. The time
[221] of the hunt was over; the time of the harvest begun.

Before they left the village at the end of June, the corn had grown about knee high and the earth was hilled up around the young plants so that they looked like little earth lodges with smoke issuing from their smokeholes. Now the stalks were ten feet tall and the ears were not quite mature but "in the milk." The corn harvest was in two stages: some of
243 the corn was treated at once in this early stage by roasting and drying,
252 and some left to mature completely on the stalk before being dried and
251 processed. Between the first and second corn drying, they harvested and
244 dried the beans and then the pumpkins.

When they camped in the bottomlands near the fields, they set up a
342 commodious tent as they knew they wouldn't have to move it for at least
251 three weeks, and they needed room to keep their meat and dried crops
under cover. Their earth lodges were infested with fleas and they
couldn't spare the time to clear them up until they had gotten on with
251 the work of the harvest. However, they did go up to the villages and
open up and inspect and clean their storage pits that they had left with

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 ing" session that lasted late into the night. The successive fighting ses-
789 sions on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in
787 which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its "owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally succeeds in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner.
[824] The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them. In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semicardinal "stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally opposite semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *Northwest* possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the *Northeast*. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross. The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star," the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the
773 pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic
776 significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god
• [821] of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome, he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way. Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti, and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat, gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie. The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, succeeding, as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known 776
as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended 773
that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal
on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with
their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in [756]
the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The [782]
actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It [821]
was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears, without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of 796
rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celes- 825
tial ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time. Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been 796
occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and "fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is 796
completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. 241
Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until 262
the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive "fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently [824]
the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild
plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the [534]
wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea- 000

braced Lone Chief as he got off the horse and directed him to sit 539
down on the buffalo robe. Then the braves got hold of the buffalo 727
robe and carried him into the lodge, setting him down in his place near the door. Now all the Tsawis were singing—the old men and the old women, and when the rest of us seven arrived in a crowd, they gave us everything they were wearing—their blankets, leggings, and finally the Tsawis had almost nothing on.

"Now three old Skidi women came led by Grieves-the-Enemy. She was dressed to commemorate her war deed, when she had saved the village from the attacking Poncas by impersonating a medicine man. She had her hair all tied up in a knot at the front of her head to one side. She had black soot across her eyes. She was saying to the other two old women, 'Here's his lodge. I want you two old women to sing.' As soon as they sang and danced with their sticks, the Tsawis gave the three old ladies calico and other gifts."

This was the end of the story that War Cry had started and Shot Arm 538
continued. The Pipe of Peace, beloved of Heaven, had brought them victory as they defended their village.

Now the real session that they had all been waiting for would begin and continue all night. First Old-Man-That-Chief and then the others told real old time stories. For the most part they described their experiences as they moved from place to place abroad in the land in times past. With vivid imagery and detail they described each location and its
events. It was in just such a meeting right after they returned from the
winter hunt, after the warriors and chiefs had told their stories that the [805]
old men would take up the question of the calendar and whether they needed to introduce the thirteenth intercalary month that year. Warrior would tell an old war story and also That-Chief and then Good-Land
would begin to speak of what year it is. He would talk of the stars 538
—of how when people are lost, they must find their way back by 821
following them. Then he would say of the moon that when it is low, we 484
must put on something warm for it might rain or snow at any time. If you are far off you will need something warm to weather the storm. And after the storm is over you look at the stars and find your way back. Now the conversation turned to specific stars—which ones are appearing now, and how one star that shines brightly in spring brings a big wind when it gets to a certain place. Also, that there are sometimes two or three stars that act together. Good-Land continued with some experiences that had taught him about these things. He told of how a man who went south to Oklahoma with a big party strayed off on the way back. In the day he was able to follow the sun and calculate the east and north, going by north and a little eastward. At night he walked right under

538 the north star, and going a little to the east, even though it was night, he
821 was able to overtake his companions. "This happened many times," he
484 said.

538 Another old man would take up where he left off and tell more stories
in the same vein. "Because the stars and the planets appear to be moving,
821 the Indians believe the earth is still." Then they began to argue about
805 the question of "the thirteenth month." Some said, "Not now," others
thought this was the time. They spoke of the position of the constellations,
"first one snake, then two ducks and then the real rattlesnakes
(Scorpio). That marks the beginning of the year—the spring. The
538 months should coincide with these constellations." Of the regular twelve
months, nine were named for familiar activities—clearing, planting, cultivating,
821 hunting, and harvest—while the tenth and eleventh were paired
805 and named after the constellations—little duck (*kiwakski*) and big duck
192 (*kiwaks-kutsu*). The twelfth month was called *kaata*, darkness. It was
through the observation of the position of the constellations that the
regular month names had to be set in their proper course for the various
activities for which they were named. In the year when the intercalary
month was introduced, the two duck months were thought of as being
paired, and then *kaata*, darkness, paired with the introduced month; the
rest of the months of the year being paired accordingly, with the fifth
month, viz., the June 19–July 18 month "standing alone." This was the
month when one went off on the summer hunt. The thirteenth or intercalary
month, had a variety of names, the most usual being Entrance
Passageway to the earth lodge, *Puhuwweturukut*, or the Skidi version,
Puhuwaturukat, the long 10- or 15-foot entranceway. Alternative names
had various references: If it had thundered from the north (rather than
the south) when they got back, they thought the cold weather would
last late into the spring and they called the month, *Paruks-ti-taka*, Thunder
or Storm-It-Is-White, for the snow they expected to have. Another
name for this month was Hidden Child, *pira-paru*, "child-hidden," the
Pawnee equivalent of our "illegitimate child." The reference was to abortion
for it was said that the abandoned foetus was more conspicuous on
the snow during that season than on the bare ground. A further name,
atatpiiwa, is of unknown significance. From this example, it should be
538 clear that the storytelling session was not a mere leisure pastime. Through
517 it was transmitted history, climatology, theology, the logistics of war,
topography, and many other important facets of Pawnee knowledge.
[224] Such a session was an invaluable preamble to setting out on the winter
hunt.

526 [773] ers played the field once toward the north and once toward the south and then two other players got up and played their round.

The paraphernalia of *the mature men* differed from that of the youths in the size of the ring and in the complexity of the spear. The ring of the youths was about 8 inches in diameter, probably built on a wooden hoop wrapped in buckskin, while the mature men used a very small hoop, 4 inches in diameter, with strips of rawhide as a base, wrapped around with the buckskin string. The mature men's wheel was called, *ks-tats-awi-katus*, "hand-down-hanging-flat." The spear was about 5½ feet long. The pole was completely wound around with a strip of buckskin and at the hand end there was a large hook completely wrapped around with the same material. The shaft was slightly tapered from the hand end to the point. About three-eighths of the length in from the point the shaft was somewhat flattened and a cross piece was lashed onto it with a small hook fastened on top in the lashings. A similar cross piece with hook was fastened about one-eighth way in from the point end. It was with these small hooks that they aimed to catch onto the hoop or else with the ends of the cross pieces. The shaft used by the youths was plain wood with a knob on the end to represent the bison penis. At the hand end were fastened two hooks wrapped around with buckskin.

526 887 There was a game *played by old men* with a very large hoop (possibly 25 inches in diameter) with no spear. The hoop itself was rolled and aimed at one of the players of the opposing side as a kind of tag. The players lined up along both sides of the grounds and when the player had rolled the wheel and it struck one of the men standing on the opposing side to his, the man who was hit would spread his blanket and begin to run, while the other man pursued him. If he stumbled and tripped on his blanket, he would be caught and would then have to roll the hoop and try to tag a man of the other side. If the pursuer stumbled, he would have to roll the hoop again. The special play of the game was called *kiskiru'*.

526 821 [805] The wheel itself was called ***ka-huraru***, literally, inside-land or "land of inside" which in Pawnee referred to the universe. The circumference of the wheel represented the horizon and it was marked off into twelve sections with bunches of feathers that were fastened on at equal intervals. Each section represented a thirty-day lunar month of the twelve-month year. The four seasons of the year were marked off on the hoop by different colors for each quarter-arc. The winter quarter was white, the spring quarter light green, the summer quarter darker green, and the autumn, reddish-yellow. The universe was conceived as having a flat base and rotating around the motionless earth, the progression of the seasons resulting from this rotation. This had been inferred from the fact that the stars and the planets appear to have changed their positions with the seasons. Across the diameter was stretched a string of buckskin or sinew

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-four feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidistant intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled bas- 773
ket made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous movement" or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learn- [887]
ing to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling. There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525
285

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.) 000

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, 462
considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not 251
hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244). Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civiliza- 462
tions—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern 171
Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women.

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9. 006

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the in- 342
side of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 315-316, "The 772
sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within, then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people."

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song 796
sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 533
1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and 787
wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder 821
spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'" He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of 157
the Pawnee warrior (p. 123): "Dark stormy nights are the ones 821
the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit 721
to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She 114
remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on 821
the contrary they were part of it and went out into it.

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On 172
archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, 251
pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10 feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric examples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill sites." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp.

778
126
80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwirutsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

787
80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 24, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of supernatural beings." The Pawnee made a clear distinction between hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination.
787
828
An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

775
534
80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

773
171
83 Compare in Whorf, 1929, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 752, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four
80-81 Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In
[821] Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, 773
is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who 171
makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his foot- 821
steps being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In
81, 127 Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personi- 773
fied First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the
land.

82 Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906,
p. 41. See Bogoras, 1902, p. 667, for wider distribution of this
theme.

83, 152, 154-155 Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photo- 821
graph of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He [126]
states (p. 285): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we
do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their
magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constella-
tions. Astronomical analysis is included in the article.

84, 117 On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 782
1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 109-110; George E. 727
Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*,
Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen, 171
1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month,
"they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were
111 lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western
plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369,
description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden,
117 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz*
representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the
National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan
319 tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must
have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the
Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of
the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the
330 Mexicans . . ." (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account
of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the an-
notated footnotes.

84 Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 442-428, claims that after the new 243
corn plant (*kurahus*, priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-
fire ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out
and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to
a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They [114]
state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of
such a ceremony.

97 The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as 243
hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony 825
is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 169, that 171

243 825 171 [244] 97 Maximillian reports that in the spring corn ceremony among the Mandan, wild goose signified maize, swans represented the gourds and the duck, the beans. It may well be that the deer and the loon represented the squash and beans respectively among the Pawnees at some time. There was no known symbolism connected with these essential food plants at the time of my report, the concentration being entirely on the maize.

533 126 100 The *Awari* songs are from the Murie-Wissler manuscript, in my retranscription and translation as it appears there.

512 243 102 Oehler and Smith, 1914. On May 8th, 1851: "Early in the morning we were awakened by the shrill voices of the Pawnee women, who were engaged in cleaning up the lodge and collecting their hoes, previous to going out to the fields to prepare the ground for planting corn."

243 105 Weltfish, 1937. From the Pawnee texts; old man speaks to the
women (pp. 29-30); a little girl goes into the fields with her
mother (p. 30); Pawnee women as horticulturists (pp. 27-28).
106 Adapted from Murie-Wissler, pp. 308-325, as well as from other
• 821 302 107 sources. The foot painted on the warrior's forehead represented
the Pawnee astronomical constellation known as bird, *rikutski*,
which was said to be on the Milky Way itself, but is otherwise
unidentified. The Tsawi Band calls Cassiopeia, turkey foot, but
the Skidi Band calls it rabbit, *parus*. See Dunbar, 1881, p. 744.

000 113-114 Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98.

106 See Drucker, Heizer, and Squier, 1959, for the time depth of elaborate formal religion in Mexico at La Venta, Tabasco, southeastern Mexico near the Gulf. The structures have been radiocarbon dated at 800-400 B.C. and show a high degree of religious organization and complex symbolism that can be clearly inferred from the archaeological remains.

172 243 112 It took milennia to evolve the current uses of maize among the
Pawnees. At La Perra cave where some of the earliest examples
of North American domesticated corn have been found (radio-
121 carbon dated 4445 ± 180 B.C.) some steps in patterns of utilization indicated in the finds are: (a) chewing young ears husks and all shortly after pollination—wasteful, but quick and simple way of getting a little sugar; (b) roasting the ears of green corn; (c) making parched corn; (d) removing kernels from cob, shown with glumes battered and broken as though the ears were forced across a rough surface or beaten with a stick; (e) maize apparently pounded, inferred from the finding of stone mortars. (Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, Galinat, 1956, pp. 145-146).

000 121 Mangelsdorf, 1958; Mangelsdorf, 1964.

122 Walster, 1956.

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, 773
p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explain- 551
ing that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of 821
a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water.
Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation
(1915, pp. 142-161).

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee 000
texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making.

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not gen- 231
uinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descrip- 552
tive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. [556]
Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-
waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof,
Askats; Spotted on Side, *Karazkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-
katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red
Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never 231
buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who 764
had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes 428
kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would [766]
often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the
horse.

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They 231
were: Wide Feet, *As-katarihu'*; White Spotted, *Paras-taka*; Bear 552
Head, *Kuruks-paksu*; Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat*; Hate-His-Tail,
Pits-tatur-ritku; Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats*; Wooly,
Pararus; Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku*; Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.*
Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked
when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were 231
never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the
time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, [262]
the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog
Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for
hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they
tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very
vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross,
1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march
pulling the travois in 1834–1836. The Pawnees were able to iden- [825]
tify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for
them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties.

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through 231
trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. 726
I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accom- 177
panied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced
a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Dhegiha NQ12

P 224 141 The surround on foot was called *tut-kawi-pitahaku*," it-to-them-inside-moving-round-and-round." In summer the buffalo tended to be scattered in smaller bunches. In winter the buffalo traveled in closer formation. They also would try to drive them over the ice during the winter: *situks-ukita-hai-iwarit*, "they-used-to-upon-water-or-ice-aim-or-direct." In winter, in the deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow and could readily be killed. The north wind was called Lucky Wind because it chased the buffalo to them. When the second party was going to Oklahoma (1876), old man Frost, *Huriru'us*, held a doctor dance. Then Lucky Wind began to blow and a lot of buffalo came close to the camp. At one time, east of the Missouri River, a bit east of Omaha, Nebraska, there were villages of Pumpkin-Vine people and further eastward the village of Bones-Sticking-Up, *Kis-kararwa*, of the Tsawi Band. Buffalo came into these villages.

P [821] [796] [361]

P 482 Even in Oklahoma in the 1920's women continued to pack heavy loads on their backs. In 1928 I met an old Pawnee grandmother of delicate build trudging along the road out of the town of Pawnee one Saturday afternoon with a huge load of groceries—a sack of flour, a lard pail full, and other sundries—done up in a blanket, the ends tied across her forehead and the weight of the bundle resting on her protruded buttocks and backbone. She refused an offer of a lift in a Ford Car, preferring to continue with her moccasined walk for the two miles to the house.

P 172 325 145, 363 In Lower Loup archaeological villages sheet metal was found for the first time (about 1600), possibly for arrow points (Dunlevy, 1936, p. 201).

P 162 138 Dunbar, 1918, p. 632, gives an estimate of the number of males and females among the Skidi (1840): total 1906; males over 10 years, 469; females over 10 years, 598; children, males under 10 years, 367, females under 10 years, 472.

P 439 145, 363-364 Although pottery was still in use in Old Village (Allis, 1887, p. 140) the Pawnees had for some time been carrying on a trade in brass buckets with other tribes. Mooney, 1898, pp. 257-259, describes a gruesome incident when the Osage attacked the unprotected Kiowa camp, cutting off the heads of their dead victims and placing them one each in a brass kettle, "which had been obtained by the Kiowa from the Pawnee, who procured them on the Missouri and traded them to the southern tribes." This was the year 1833 "Summer They Cut Off Their Heads." During the attack "A party of women was saved by a brave Pawnee living in the camp, who succeeded in fighting off the pursuers long enough to enable the women to reach a place of safety" (p. 258).

D [726] [727]

P [726]

554 727 357-358 Like other Plains tribes, the Pawnee had the tradition of honoring a warrior for touching a fallen enemy. In anthropological literature, this has come to be known as "counting coup." The first one to touch the fallen enemy among the Pawnees as among the other Plains tribes, got the greatest honor. It was said of him, *wi-ti-ki*, "now-he-strikes." The second to touch the fallen enemy got a secondary honor and the third was the final strike that could count. Taking the scalp could count as a "strike." As the strike is being made, the warrior must call out "I strike" at the scene of battle itself if possible with witnesses to the deed. Otherwise, only if there were some concrete evidence, could the deed be counted. For example, if one struck a dead Sioux, one would put him in a sheltered place until you could bring witnesses or people who came to see tracks of horses in the place where the exploit occurred and some blood to show there had been a skirmish. However, even if such proof could not be made, later when peace was made and the erstwhile enemies were sitting together at peace, they might recount their former war exploits and the deeds of the brave would be confirmed by the enemy so that the warrior's own people would know.

172 412 363 On polished stone axes, celts, etc. see Wedel, 1936, pp. 77-78: In the archaeological Pawnee and proto-Pawnee sites, polished stone axes and celts are rare, and there seems to be a preponderance of crude stone mauls. Also see Strong, 1935, pp. 59-60, 66-67.

292 • 821 375-376 The comet of 1882, *upirik-kiskuxka*, "feather headdress," was so named to indicate the identification of the traditional Plains war bonnet with a comet.

000 403-406 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of a bulrush mat, pp. 151-152.

382, 385 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of wooden bowls, pp. 47-51, and the mortar and pestle.

As this book went to press, there appeared in *Science* (July 10, 1964, 145, No. 3628, 117-136) a definitive article, "Economics and the Quality of Life" by the outstanding economist, John Kenneth Galbraith, that so closely parallels the general viewpoint that I have tried to express here that I feel it should be especially mentioned.

In the *New York Times* (July 12, 1964), an article appeared which was entitled "Landlord to Hire Social Worker to Help His Tenants Live Better." The realtor referred to is Mr. Howard Offit, one of Baltimore's largest landlords, who owns about 1,000 red-brick-row or attached houses. The social worker hired by Mr. Offit will work in a West Baltimore neighborhood. Harold C. Edelston, executive director of Baltimore's Health and Welfare Council, who is one of the program's advisers, states its purpose: "to have the social worker provide brief counseling service for tenants with personal family

*796 brown, or black; tu=ruru, moving, the change of the r to t being for euphony. The translation of the whole word would be, the breath-
192 ing mouth of wood with the dark moving feathers. The other stem
778 was named Hahak'takaru, from ra, the, this one; hak, from hakkow, breathing mouth of wood; taka, white; ru, from ruru, moving or swaying. The translation of the whole word would be, the breathing mouth of wood with the white moving or waving feathers.

*796 Associated with these two feathered stems, and sharing with them the prominent place in the rites, was an ear of white corn. In addi-
778 tion there were required two small, round, straight sticks from the plum tree; a crotched stick, also of the plum tree; feathers from the tail of an owl and from the wings and tail of an eagle; two entire wings of an eagle; the heads of two woodpeckers; the head, neck, and breast of two ducks; a wildcat skin; a shell; two wooden bowls; a braid of buffalo hair; a braid of sweet grass; blue, green, and red clay; fat from a deer or buffalo, the animal having been consecrated; the nest of an oriole.

The clays, the fat, and the oriole's nest were furnished by the Ku'rahus. The nest was kept in secret and not allowed to be seen. All the articles except those furnished by the Ku'rahus were provided by the Father. Besides these he had to secure robes, ornamented garments, and regalia for the ceremonial clothing of the Son, his messenger, and his little child; also gifts to be bestowed on the entire party of the Children. He was assisted by contributions from the relatives and friends who had agreed to share with him the responsibilities and the rewards attending this ceremony. Food for the entertainment of the Children as well as for the maintenance of the Fathers during their absence from home had also to be provided.

It was the duty of the Son, the leader of the group called the Children, to provide a spacious lodge wherein the ceremony could take place, and also a proper camping site for all who accompanied the Fathers. He had also to secure the requisite return gifts to be made to the Fathers.

Each of the articles used in the ceremony had a general symbolism well known to the people, but their special significance was peculiar to these rites.

[820 The feathered stem Haha'katittu (plate LXXXVI, page 38) was painted blue to symbolize the sky, the abode of Tira'wahut, the circle of the
772] lesser powers. A long straight groove running its length was painted red, the symbol of life. The red groove was the path along which the spirits of the various birds traveled on their way to bring help.

Three split feathers from an eagle's wing were fastened to the stem as to an arrow, to give sure flight to the symbol-freighted stem. On it was tied the fan-shaped pendant of ten feathers from the mature brown or golden eagle. This eagle was called Kawas in the Hako ceremony. It represented the mother and led in certain of the rites. It is this feathered stem that was carried by the Ku'rahus. This eagle

is consecrated to the powers; it soars near their abode and is a medium 796*
of communication between them and man.

The woodpecker's head was fastened near the mouthpiece end of the 778
feathered stem, the upper mandible turned back over the red crest
and painted blue. This treatment of the upper mandible had a double
significance. The red crest, which rises when the bird is angry, was
here held down; it must not rise. The blue paint represented the [821
clear, cloudless sky. The woodpecker has the favor of the storm gods 822
and can avert from man the disaster of tempest and of lightning.
The owl feathers were tied near the middle of the feathered stem. 825]
This bird has power to help and protect during the night. Soft blue
feathers were fastened around the mouthpiece end. These blue
feathers symbolized the clear sky, and it is this end which was always
upward toward the abode of the powers.

The other end of the stem was thrust through the breast, neck, and
mandibles of the duck. It was by this end that the feathered stem
was held. The duck is familiar with the pathless air and water and
is also at home on the land, knowing its streams and springs. It is
the unerring guide.

The red and white streamers represented the sun and the moon, [822]
day and night. These were made of red cloth and dyed horsehair and
white cotton cord, but it is said that formerly soft deerskin strips
painted red and twisted hair from the white rabbit were used.

The other feathered stem, Rahak'takaru (plate LXXXVII, page 40),
differed from the first feathered stem already described in two par-
ticulars, namely, it was painted green, to symbolize the earth, and [822]
the fan-shaped pendant was made of seven tail feathers from the
white eagle (the young brown or golden eagle; see page 288). This
eagle was not consecrated. It represented the male, the father, the
warrior, and the defender. This feathered stem was carried by the
Ku'rahus's assistant, and it was never allowed to be next to the Chil-
dren; its place was always on the outside. There, it was explained,
it could do no harm, could rouse no contention, but would serve to
protect and defend.

I have many times remarked the reverence felt toward the feathered
stems. Their sacred character seemed always to be remembered and
they were never handled carelessly. During the entire time that I
was engaged with Tahirussawichi on this ceremony he never allowed
the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid on a chair; they
were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a decorum
that was not once abated. I have seen manifested among the tribes
not only reverence toward these sacred symbols, but an affection that
was not displayed toward any other objects. Few persons ever spoke
to me of them without a brightening of the eyes. "They make us
happy," was a common saying.

They were preserved intact and passed from tribe to tribe as long 178
as they held together, and they were sometimes freshened and 778
796*

[178] 778 *796 repaired. This transfer of the feathered stems from tribe to tribe tended to preserve the model unchanged. Sometimes the Son did not care to part with the feathered stems left with him, so when he inaugurated a party and was to be the Father he had a new set made. It was a matter of pride with some not to use again feathered stems that had once seen service.

[772 822] The ear of white corn (plate LXXXVIII, page 44), called Atira, Mother,[a] represented the fruitfulness of the earth. The tip end was painted blue to represent the dome of the sky, the dwelling place of the powers, and four blue equidistant lines, running halfway down the ear, were the four paths along which the powers descended to minister to man.

The two straight sticks cut from the plum tree were bound to the ear of corn by a braid of buffalo hair. One stick projected above the tip of the ear about a hand's breadth, and the other extended about the same length below the butt; the lower end of this stick was pointed so that it could be thrust into the ground to hold the ear of corn in an upright position. To the other stick was tied a white, downy eagle feather. This feather had a double significance: It represented the high, white clouds that float near the dome of the sky where the powers dwell, thus indicating their presence with the corn. It also stood for the tassel of the cornstalk. The feather here refers to the male principle, the corn to the female. The plum-tree wood was chosen for the sticks because the tree is prolific of fruit. It symbolized a prayer for abundance.

The braid of buffalo hair represented the animal which supplied food and clothing for the people.

[772] The two gourd rattles (plate LXXXIX, page 46) represented the gift of the squash to man and the breast of the mother. Around the middle of each a blue circle was painted from which depended four equidistant lines of the same color. The circle represented the base of the dome of the sky, and the four lines the four paths descending therefrom to earth.

The crotched stick (plate XC, page 48) used to support one end of the feathered stems when they were laid at ceremonial rest was significant of the fork in the tree where the eagle builds its nest. The use of the plum tree for this crotched stick expressed the desire for many young in the nest.

[237] The sacred ointment with which the plum-tree sticks were anointed was made from the fat of the deer or buffalo mixed with red clay. The fat was taken from an animal that had been consecrated through certain prescribed rites which recognized man's dependence upon the powers for the gift of food. Fat symbolized plenty. Ritual songs speak of paths dropping fatness, referring to the trails made by those who carried the dressed meat from the hunting fields to the camp; such

---

[a] The common term for corn, rikis, was not used in the ceremony.

796*

a path would be strewn with drops of fat. Red is the color typical of 778
life. The ointment signified a prayer for abundance and life.

The wildcat skin (plate XC, page 48) served as a covering for these [822] ●
objects when they were to be wrapped up and it was always spread
on the ground for them to rest on.

The significance of the wildcat in this ceremony is of peculiar inter- 796*
est. This animal, we are told, never misses his prey, never fails to
attain the object of his pursuit, and accomplishes this end quietly, 778
tactfully, without arousing antagonism. From conversations with the 825
Ku'rahus it became clear that it was these qualities and not the
savageness and stealthy cruelty of the animal that were to be kept
in mind. To be able to accomplish a purpose without offending, with-
out raising opposition, seems to have been regarded as the special
attribute vouchsafed by Tira'wa to the wildcat. It is because of this
attribute that it was chosen to be always with the sacred objects during 796*
this ceremony. The sacred objects symbolized not only an appeal from 778
man to certain powers, but the presence of the powers themselves, while
the nature of the appeal, a desire for children, long life, and plenty, was
such that the enjoyment of the benefits craved must depend largely
on the successful exercise by man of those qualities which were
regarded as characteristic of the wildcat. So the skin of the wildcat
was the cover of the sacred objects when they were wrapped up; it
was spread on the ground as their guard and support when they were
laid at ceremonial rest, and when they were carried about the lodge
during the ceremony it was borne by the chief, who walked between
the Kurahus and his assistant, each of whom held a feathered stem.

Only a chief could carry the wildcat skin and the ear of corn. There- [622
fore, if the Father was not himself a chief he had to secure the service 482]
of one in order that the wildcat could be borne by a man possessing
the authority of a ruler in the tribe. As the wildcat stood for the
ability to accomplish a purpose with tact and without exciting opposi-
tion, qualities essential to the successful ruler, it would seem that the
imperative association of the wildcat with a chief was intended to con-
vey the idea that only under the administration of such a man could
the tribe have internal peace and enjoy the abundance and prosperity
represented by Mother Corn.

As every article belonging to the ceremony and the position and movements of those who conducted the rites had a special significance, the position given to the wildcat, as explained by the Kurahus, reveals the mind of the native in regard to this animal, which figures conspicuously in other rites and ceremonies, and which controls one of the sacred shrines of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

TIME OF THE CEREMONY

There was no stated time for the performance of the Hako ceremony. 796*
It was not connected with planting or harvesting, hunting, or war, or
any tribal festival. The Ku'rahus said, "We take up the Hako in

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

66 Ho-o-o-o!
67 H'areri, h'areri. He!
68 H'areri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!
69 H'areri, h'areri. He!
70 'Reri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!
71 H'areri, h'areri. He!

Translation

66 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

67 H'areri, h'areri. He!

h', an aspiration, symbolic of a breathing forth, as the giving of breath so that a thing may live.

areri, a part of the word irariri, a particular place. The change of the h in the final syllable of the word to *r* when the abbreviation areri is sung is for ease of utterance and euphony.

h'areri. Translated above.

he! a part of the exclamation i'hare! meaning I think upon, I give heed to the significance of the act which accompanies this song. The change of the initial *r* in the last syllable of the word to an h, making it he, is for euphony.

68 H'areri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!

H'areri, h'areri, h'areri. See line 67.

'reri, a part of the abbreviation areri, translated above.

h'areri. He! See line 67.

69 See line 67.

70 'Reri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He! See lines 67 and 68.

71 See line 67.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Blue is the color of the sky, the dwelling place of Tira'wahut, that great circle of the powers which watch over man. As the man paints the stick blue we sing. We ask as we sing that life be given to this symbol of the dwelling place of Tira'wa.

When the man has completed the painting of the stick he hands it to the Ku'rahus, who has already mixed red clay with water from a running stream in a shell, and he paints the straight groove red. This groove is the path along which the spirits of all the things that are to be put upon this stick of ash may travel as they go forth to give their help during this ceremony. "H'areri" is a prayer that the symbol may have life.

821
822
826

We paint the groove red because the passageway is red through which man's breath comes and goes to give him life. The sun, too, is red, and the groove represents the straight path whereon the sun shines, the path which man must travel if he would live in peace and prosper. The teachings of this ceremony make a straight path along which if a man walks he will receive help from the powers.

*539 74 H'arori, 'haro! I'haro ro! H'arori. All the words are translated above. See lines 72 and 73.

*796 75 Huro-e! An abbreviation of the word haurae, coming from above. The vowel changes and prolongation are for greater ease in singing and also for euphony.

76, 77 See lines 74, 75.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[822] The color green represents Toharu (Vegetation), the covering of H'Uraru, Mother Earth. As we sing, we ask that life be breathed into the symbol, that it may have power as we use these sacred articles. "H'arori" is a prayer that living power may be where we place this symbol of the covering of Mother Earth. We remember as we sing that the power of Mother Earth to bring forth comes from above, "Huro-e."

The Ku'rahus paints the groove red in the same way, for the same reason as on the other ash stick, and when he has finished he hands the green stem back to the man on his right, toward the south, who holds it.

The Ku'rahus rubs upon his hands the sacred ointment which has been made by mixing red clay with fat from a deer or buffalo that has been consecrated to Tira'wa. He is now ready to tie the symbolic articles upon the two painted stems.

[381 824 825] He splits long feathers, taken from the wings of an eagle, and glues them to each stem as feathers are glued upon the shaft of an arrow. He uses for this purpose pitch from the pine tree. These wing feathers are to remind us that the eagle flies near to Tira'wa.

About one end of the stem (the mouthpiece) he fastens soft blue feathers, in color like the sky where the powers dwell. He ties a woodpecker's head on the stem near the mouthpiece and turns the upper mandible back upon the red crest. The mandible covers the red crest and keeps it from rising. This shows that the bird may not be angry. The inner side of the mandible, which is exposed by being turned back upon the crest, is painted blue, to show that Tirawa is looking down upon the open bill as the spirit of the bird travels along the red groove to reach the people.

About the middle of the stem the Ku'rahus binds feathers from the owl. The other end of the stem he thrusts through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck, the breast reaching to the owl feathers. The end of the stem protrudes a very little through the bill of the duck, so that the bowl of a pipe could be fitted to it. The duck's head, therefore, is always downward, looking toward the earth and the water.

[825] All the birds on the stems are leaders: the eagle is chief of the day; the owl is chief of the night; the woodpecker is chief of the trees; the duck is chief of the water.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

VI

1166 Ho-o-o!
1167 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri ta witshpa ha!
1168 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri ta witshpa ha!
1169 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat ri ta witshpa ha.

Translation of First Stanza

1170 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1171 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat we re kusi hi!

hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitspahat; kits, from kitsu, water; pahat, red. The term means red paint.
we, now.
re, am.
kusi, sitting.
hi! from hiri! give heed!

1172, 1173 See line 1171.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[386] The Ku'rahus had prepared the paint by mixing red clay with running water. He mixes it rather dry so that what is left can remain in the shell. Only the right half of a shell can be used to hold the paint. You remember what I told you of the shell and why we use it (first ritual, part II). The red clay we use for paint was made by Tira'wa for this purpose.

[82a] The paint symbolizes the red clo[illegible] the dawn, the coming of the new day, the rising sun, the vigor [illegible]. The power of the new day, the new life, is now standing before [illegible].

Translation of Second Stanza

1174 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1175 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitspahat re ru ata ha!

hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitspahat, red paint.
re, is.
ru, it.
ata, flying.
ha! behold!

1176, 1177 See line 1175.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of First Stanza

*539 1194 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1195 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we re hre kusi hi!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! harken!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, a part of rekots, whitish; as a thin cloud through which one can see a tinge of the blue sky beyond. Light blue.
we, now.
re, am.
hre, holding.
kusi, sitting.
hi! from hiri! give heed!
1196, 1197 See line 1195.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

822 Blue represents the sky, the place where Tira'wa atius dwells, and with this blue paint we are to make upon the child a picture of the face of Tira'wa atius. It is a mark of Tira'wa atius' acceptance of the consecrated child and a sign of his presence. The symbol of the dwelling place of Tira'wa atius stands before the child.

Translation of Second Stanza

~~1198 Ho-o-o!~~ An introductory exclamation.
1199 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we re ru ata ha!
hiri! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
re, is.
ru, it.
ata, flying.
ha! behold!
1200, 1201 See line 1199.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While we sing the second stanza the old man moves the shell containing the blue paint toward the child. The blue of the sky where Tira'wa atius dwells is coming near, descending through the air.

417 proximately the size of the wrapper of a sacred bundle
782 when fully unfolded. The floor of the excavation was
796 then covered with white, downy feathers. This pit was called *kusaru*, and represented the garden which the Evening Star kept in the west, or, according to another account, the reproductive organs of the Evening Star. The white feathers with which it was lined symbolized the milk of women and animals and the juice of young corn. After the pit had been completed, the holes for the uprights of the scaffold were dug by two young girls.

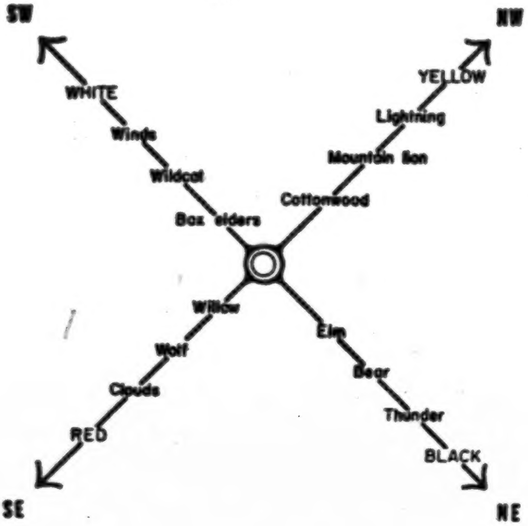
While the digging was going on, the party sent after the timbers had returned. The two uprights of the scaffold were first erected, then each cross-bar was tied on by a warrior from the village of the direction which it represented. Before tying it, the warrior would recount some deed. One would say, "I made a sacrifice of meat and carried it to the priest on my back. After the ceremony was performed, the priest whispered to me, 'You, young man, have brought meat here by means of the pack string. You will have an opportunity before the summer is over to lasso a pony in the enemy's country. The gods now know you. Do not fear to go on the war path.' I went. We found a village, and others became afraid and ran. I went east by myself and found the enemy's horses. I went among them and found one with an eagle-wing fan tied to its tail. I captured it and rode home. Since then I have made many sacrifices." The top cross-bar was tied by two men each of whom had made a sacrifice, but these did not recount any adventures in war.

It is probable that the scaffold was also painted at this time, although the ceremonies connected with the painting are not remembered. The two uprights were painted red and black, the former symbolizing
[822] day, and the latter, night. The lowest cross-bar was

black, and symbolized the northeast; and its animal 417
guardian, the bear. The second was red, symbolizing 782
the southeast and the wolf. The third was yellow, 796
symbolizing the northwest and the mountain lion; and 822
the fourth white, symbolizing the southwest and the
wildcat. The top cross-bar represented the west, and
was painted blue or black and white, symbolizing clouds
and rain.

By the time the scaffold was completed, it was 796
about sunset, and the people dispersed. All spectators 773
were sent out of the lodge, and the door was closed.
The chief priest then drew upon the floor of the
lodge four circles, one for each of the world quarters,
and outlined them with white downy feathers. Each
of these circles represented a region penetrated by the
Morning Star in his search for the Evening Star and
also the magic animal which he had overcome there.
The white feathers symbolized the foam about their
mouths when they attacked him. When the circles had [533]
been made, the spectators were re-admitted, and the [535]
priests sang a song descriptive of the journey of the
Morning Star, while the chief priest danced around
the lodge with a war club, destroying the circles one
by one. When the song was finished, he straightened
up and said, "Chiefs, priests, warriors, old men, I have
destroyed the regions once controlled by the mysterious
woman who wanted darkness forever. These animals
were under her control, when the Morning Star
traveled in darkness looking for her. She placed an
obstacle in the southeast, which was controlled by the
wolf. The Morning Star destroyed this obstacle, but
preserved the mysterious animal. He continued his
journey, traveled to the southwest, and again met an
obstacle which he destroyed, but preserved the animal,
a wildcat. He continued his journey, and when he came
to the northwest, he again met an obstacle. He des-

796 deep, the bottom to be covered with soft down feathers. The pit sym-
782 bolized the Garden of the Evening Star from which all life originates.
773 The pit was called *Kusaru*, which in Pawnee simply means bed.
417



[82]

FIGURE 10-1. Association of symbolisms for the four semicardinal directions: colors, natural forces, animals, trees.

796
773
782 In the ceremonial lodge, the dancing and singing continued on the fourth day. Whenever they ate during the ceremonies, the girl was served, and once in a while she was taken out to walk around, always accompanied by Wolf man. The main theme of the fourth day was the destruction of the four semicardinal circles in the appropriate order as Morning Star had done in the creation as he warred on the Evening Star. The priest, impersonating the Morning Star wore leggings decorated with scalps. First he arose and sang and danced around the north side, then the south side, then back to the altar. He danced around the lodge again and when he arrived at the east he whirled around suddenly and destroyed the northeast circle scattering the white feathers around the lodge, then the southwest, the northwest, and the southeast circles, making a grunting sound each time as if attacking an enemy. Then all sang the fifth song and the girl was taken to the altar to be costumed for her last role.

[822] Her body was painted, red on the right side, black on the left, the red to symbolize day, the time of the Morning Star, and the black to

represent night, the time of the Evening Star. She wore a skirt and a 773
painted hide robe around her shoulders. Now they sang of the origin of 796
the Morning Star itself that they thought had come from a meteor. They 782
sang to the girl, "You are now wearing the covering of meteorite [822]
grandfather," and in the next song, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite father," and then, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite brother." They completed her costume with a row of feathers standing up erect along the median line of her head. Her costume complete, she sat down in her place next to the Wolf man. They sang until midnight and then they paused, awaiting the time of the Morning Star. Meanwhile they placed a pinch of tobacco before the altar and sang about flint, the meteorite grandfather and other Morning Star symbols. Thereafter they would have to address their songs to the Morning Star in the sky. During the pause, once in a while the visionary took up the four direction poles from the fireplace and pointed them at the girl as he had done before in the prescribed succession: northeast, and so on.

Now the procession to the scaffold would begin. All the men and 773
boys and even male infants were to participate in the sacrifice. During 796
the day, one of the priests had climbed up to the roof of the earth lodge 793
and called out, alerting them to be prepared with their bows and arrows. 782
In the ceremonial lodge, the priest gave the war leader the braided elkhide ropes to tie on the girl's wrists. He took up the gourd rattles. It was almost daylight. The four priests of the four direction bundles had gone out to dress, each being assisted by a specially designated person to adjust their costumes and to get ready. The Northwest man (Yellow Tent) wore two owlskins on his back that he had taken from his bundle; in his hand he held the bow he took from the Skull bundle and a red arrow that he had added to it. The Southeast bundle man (Red Tent) also had two owls and took a stick with coals on the end. The Southwest bundle priest (White-Mother-Born-Again) had two owls also and he took a war club. The fourth priest, representing the Big Black Meteoric Star (black, northeast) who also wore two owlskins on his back, took the flint knife.

Now all sang and started on the procession, the girl and the Wolf 773
man in the lead followed by the visionary-war leader dressed in his ot- 796
ter collar, his otter belt with sixty-five scalps, his pipe, and other regalia 782
and the four direction priests in their costumes.

The dawn was coming and the scaffold was ready. Slowly the procession went toward it. As they went they sang four songs. The girl looked around and wondered. The first song said, "She was looking around for just a little time." Then they sang of Heaven and of the powers of the bear, the mountain lion, the wildcat, and the wolf as the girl approached the scaffold. The Wolf man urged her to mount and as she

placed in each bundle, each wrapped up and sewed into a covering—the winter ear in a tanned buffalo skin and the ear dedicated to summer in a buffalo-heart skin. Each individual ear of these holy corns in the bundles had a different name by which it was addressed. Early in April before the *Awari* or planting ritual, a ritual was held in which the seeds of the holy corn were distributed to the keepers of the sacred bundles so that their wives could plant them in their fields. At harvest time, when these sacred ears were mature, the old ears were removed from the bundles and replaced with ears from the new crop. Fine examples of some of the best ears of the more common varieties were also placed in the sacred bundles at harvest time, particularly those with a male spike. Compared with the white flour corn, the holy corn, which was also white, had small kernels that sometimes covered the cob to the very tip. "Sometimes it has something like a soft feather at the tip of the ear." This is apparently the male spike at the point end; archaeologically it appears very early, 4,445 ± 180 B.C., in the tiny ancestral corncobs taken from La Perra Cave in northeast Mexico. Such an ear is also shown in the headdress and hands of the Maize God on a prehistoric Zapotec funerary urn from Mexico (Mangelsdorf, 1958).

243
778
[171]

244
192

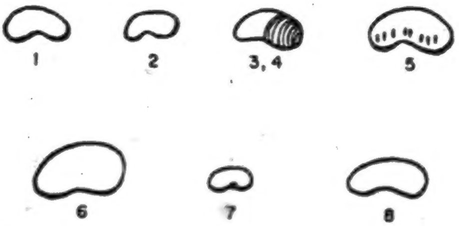


FIGURE 11-2. Eight varieties of beans, generically known to the Pawnees as *atit:* (1) *ati-pahat,* "bean-red"; a large sized bean. (2) *atik-taka,* "bean-white." (3) *ati-paks-katit,* "bean-head-black": black-head beans. (4) *ait-paks-pahat,* "bean-head-red"; same as (3). (5) *ati-pirari,* "bean-spotted"; color of a spotted horse, spotted all around, some with red, some with black spots; a somewhat large-sized bean. (6) *ati-katus,* "bean-flat"; large, flat bean. (7) *atit-tiwats-katit,* "bean-navel-black"; spotted where it joins the stem; navel, *-riwat,* phonetically altered in the context. (8) *ati-taxkata,* "bean-yellow"; a rather large yellow bean.

Our classification of the species of corn is based on the starch content, but when a Pawnee was asked to name the varieties of corn they had, he or she would enumerate them in terms of color categories—black, spotted, white, yellow, and red. It is interesting that these represent the varieties of flour corn that they had. However, in classifying their corn, they subsumed the flint, sweet, and sacred varieties under these color categories. When asked to name the varieties of Pawnee corn, Mark Evarts

243
242
[822]

243 harvest offering. Then the women left the lodge and the ceremony was
778 carried on entirely by the men. Now a man was sent to the sacred corn
776 hill to uproot any stalks that remained there with the ears still on them.
793 They were tied to the northwest post of the lodge, which symbolized
the Garden of the Gods. When the new winter direction priest was in-
[782] stalled at the end of the proceedings, he would receive these as a sign of
his office.

The priest was now ready to conduct the ceremony. He sat at the west with his bundle open before him. He put aside the stick with the Young Mother Corn Plant tied to it that they had made in the spring and the two sacred ears in their respective wrappings. He also had before him the four new sacred ears that were brought in that morning. The new sacred ears had been cut with the first section of the stem left on to symbolize the windpipe and the voice of the Mother Corn which was the
• [822] "breath of life." After singing four songs mentioning the different
colors, black, red, yellow, and white for the semicardinal directions, he
[533] sang a fifth song and cut off the stem. Then he sang another song welcoming the new Mother Corn. He embraced the new ear, passing it to the other priests who were sitting to the south and to the north of him, and then passed it down the south side and then the north of the lodge, everyone in turn embracing the new Mother Corn. When the ear was returned to the priest, he sang a seventh song stating that the voice of the corn was raised to the heavens.

[782] At the close of the songs, the pipe was filled and the mouthpiece pointed toward Mother Corn as an offering to share in the smoking. Then the ear was passed to the people on each side of the lodge and each person blew his breath on it four times, symbolizing its new life in the world.

The next symbolic act was to concentrate all the power in the world into Mother Corn herself. The priest took a buffalo-hair rope about a yard long from his sacred bundle. It was said to have been made of "hair from beneath the waters." Taking one of the new Mother Corn ears in each hand, he knelt before the altar holding the ends of the rope against the ears. Then moving his hands, he made the rope circle around into a loop to represent the horizon as it had circled out from the gods in the west during the original creation. He now made movements as if he were throwing the rope over objects and drawing them to his breast. This was spoken of as "trapping the powers of the Heavens" for Mother Corn and all the sacred objects.

The ears of sacred corn whose "lives had been ended" were now given over to a distinguished warrior, who would carry them on the warpath to guide him to success, or to the entrepreneur of the Peace Pipe Ceremony, who would carry them on his expedition to give him success in trade and international relations.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

*539 26, 27, 28 See lines 1, 2, 3.
*796 29 Heru! Chaharu. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
[192] Chaharu, Water. This term applies to the supernatural power of the water; it is not used in ordinary speech; the common word for water is kii'tsu.
he! part of i'hare! give heed! See line 4.
30 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Chaharu."

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 ● 623 Chaharu, Water, is one of the lesser powers. Water is very necessary to the life of man and all living things. The Winds, the Sun, the Earth, the Vegetation, and the Water are the five lesser powers through which the life of our bodies is maintained. We cry to Chaharu to come near and give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared.

I told you that these stanzas are in the order of creation. The powers are mentioned in the order in which they come near to man and enable him to live and to keep alive. As we sing we reflect upon our dependence on these lesser powers.

Water is employed only for sacred purposes in this ceremony. It can not be used in any ordinary way from the time we begin the singing of these songs to the end of the entire ceremony. A man can drink water to sustain his life, but he can not touch it for any other purpose. He can not go swimming, nor can he step into water without first performing certain rites. It is difficult to abstain so long [821] from the use of water, but it must be done or we shall suffer punishment for our profanation. We shall have storms, the sky will be filled with clouds, there will be obstructions between us and the place where the powers above dwell—those whom we invoke in this ceremony.

I have known of instances where some of the men of the party sneaked out of the camp during this ceremony, went to a stream and washed, or jumped in and took a swim, and the result was a storm that brought great distress upon the people.

Translation of Seventh Stanza

*539 31, 32, 33 See lines 1, 2, 3.
*796 34 Heru! Kusharu. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
Kusharu, a place set apart for sacred purposes and made holy.
he! part of i'hare! give heed! See line 4.
35 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Kusharu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We sing of the entranceway of the lodge because it is through this way that man goes to and fro. It is the place made for all to enter into the lodge; through it come those powers which are represented on the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako. Through it come the promises of the Hako, and through it the visions come. 539* 796*

The long passageway represents the days of man's life.

PART II. PREPARING THE FEATHERED STEMS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Before the next song is sung the Ku'rahus prepares the blue paint which is to be put on one of the sticks of ash. The water with which the blue clay is mixed must be taken from a running stream. Water from a spring or well can not be used. Running water represents the continuity of life from one generation to another. [386] [823] ●

The paint is mixed in a white shell. The shell must be white; it is used because it was once a living thing. It lived in the water; it had no disease or sickness. As we use the shell we ask that disease and sickness may be kept from us and that our life may be long.

Before the people knew anything about vessels they used shells as spoons and to put their food in. Tira'wa gave us the shells and gave them long life and the power to keep away disease and sickness. [173]

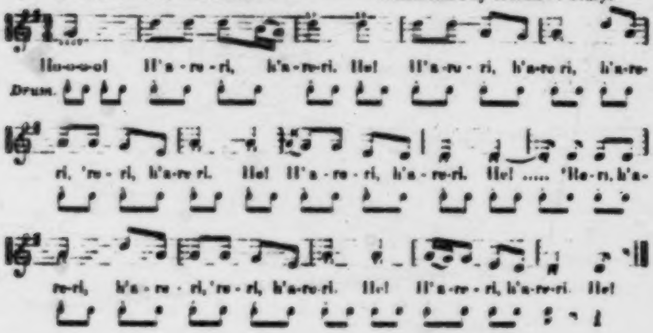
When the Ku'rahus has mixed the blue paint in the shell, he hands it to the man at his left, who is sitting toward the north. This man applies the mixture with his finger to the stick of ash, spreading the paint over its entire length, but being very particular not to let any of it get into the straight groove that runs from one end of the stick to the other, while the following song is sung.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. [533*]


Ho-o-o-o! H'a - re - ri, h'a-re-ri. He! H'a-re - ri, h'a-re ri, h'a-re-
Drum.
ri, 're - ri, h'a-re ri. He! H'a - re - ri, h'a - re-ri. He! ..... 'Re-ri, h'a-
re-ri, h'a - re - ri, 're - ri, h'a-re-ri. He! H'a-re - ri, h'a-re-ri. He!

539*
796*

91, 92 See line 90.
93 H'Atira ruata re. All the words have been translated. See lines 83, 86, and 90.
94 Weri ruata. See lines 83 and 90.
95 See line 90.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the Ku'rahus, holding the ear of corn in his hand by the butt, moves it slowly toward the bowl containing the blue paint.

The bowl and the blue paint represent the blue sky, where the powers above dwell, so we sing that the mother is flying (ruata) toward the heavens to reach these powers.

The spirit of the corn and the spirit of the Ku'rahus are now flying together (see line 86 for translation of the plural sign, re, and its significance).

Translation of Third Stanza

96 See line 82.
97 H'Atira, weri tukuka.
 h'Atira, weri. See line 83.
 tukuka, now touches, or touching.
98, 99 See line 97.
100 H'Atira, tukuka re. See lines 83, 86, and 97.
101 Weri tukuka. See lines 83 and 97.
102 See line 97.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As this stanza is sung the Ku'rahus dips his finger in the blue paint and touches (tukuka) the ear of corn with it.

This act means that Mother Corn in her flight toward the sky now touches the place where the sky begins.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

103 See line 82.
104 H'Atira, weri taiwa.
 h'Atira, weri. See line 83.
 taiwa, to rub downward or mark.
105, 106 See line 104.
107 H'Atira taiwa re. See lines 83, 86, and 104.
108 Weri taiwa. See lines 83 and 104.
109 See line 104.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the Ku'rahus marks with his finger four equidistant lines of blue paint on the ear of corn. He begins at the tip of the ear and rubs his finger down (taiwa) about halfway to the butt on the four sides of the ear.

823

*539 *796 The four blue lines represent the four paths at the four directions (cardinal points), near which the winds stand as guards. Down these paths the powers descend to bring help to man.

623 The blue paint came down one of these paths, but I was not taught which one.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

110 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
111 H'Atira, weri tawawe.
    h'Atira, weri. See line 83.
    tawawe, to spread.
112, 113 See line 111.
114 H'Atira tawawe re. See lines 83, 86, and 111.
115 Weri tawawe. See lines 83 and 111.
116 See line 111.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the Ku'rahus spreads (tawawe) with his finger the blue paint over the tip of the ear of corn, to represent the blue dome of the sky, where the powers dwell, above whom is the mighty Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

This act signifies that Mother Corn has reached the abode of Tira'wahut, where she will receive authority to lead in this ceremony.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

117 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
118 H'Atira, weri tawitshpa.
    h'Atira, weri. See line 83.
    tawitshpa, the attainment of an object; the completion of an undertaking; the end reached.
119, 120 See line 118.
121 H'Atira tawitshpa re. See lines 83, 86, and 118.
122 Weri tawitshpa. See lines 83 and 118.
123 See line 118.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 776 Mother Corn having reached the blue dome where dwells the great circle of powers, Tira'wahut, and having gained what she went for, tawitshpa, authority to lead in the ceremony, she descends to earth by the four paths.

The blue paint having now been put on the ear of corn, this part of the ceremony is completed.

In all that is to follow h'Atira, Mother Corn breathing forth life, is to lead. She came forth from Mother Earth, who knows all places and all that happens among men, so she knows all places and all men, and can direct us where to go when we carry the sacred articles which give plenty and peace.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 When we have finished singing the six men take sixteen steps back to the place where the first song was sung as we faced the east. Then they take eight steps toward the south, where they stand facing the south and sing the following stanza, the people being all behind them.

Translation of Second Stanza

*539 194 H'Uraru ha! Hiri re! H'Uraru ha! Hiri re!
*796 H'Uraru, the earth.
ha! behold!
● 823 hiri, they far away; an address to the powers of the south.
re, are, in the sense of being, living.
195–199 See line 194.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When we sing this stanza we are standing and looking toward the south. That is the place where the sun travels, where the light comes, and the brightness of day.

As we look we ask the powers of the south to give life and increase to us, as well as to the seeds within Mother Earth.

After we have sung this stanza eight times to the powers of the south, we turn and take eight steps toward the entrance of the lodge, to a place just back of where we sang the first song to the east; then eight steps toward the north, all the people following. Here, facing the north, we sing the next stanza.

Translation of Third Stanza

200 H'Uraru riri wari! H'Uraru riri wari!
H'Uraru, the earth.
riri, on.
wari, walking.
201–205 See line 200.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The people are now looking toward the north, the moon, the night, the mother of the day.

We ask the powers of the north, they who can see the path of life, to lead us and make us able to walk, us and our children.

We sing this song eight times to the powers of the north.

Then the six men turn south and take eight steps toward the entrance of the lodge, to a point before the place where we sang the first song to the east; there they turn and face east and walk to the place where they sang to the powers of the west, and there they halt.

To all the powers of the east, west, south, and north we have sung and have presented ourselves. As we walked, we have traced upon

[text continues on p. 68]

*539 *796 ●823 the earth the figure of a man. This image that we have traced is from Tira'wa. It has gone around with us, and its feet are where we now stand; its feet are with our feet and will move with them as we now take four steps, bearing the sacred objects, in the presence of all the powers and begin our journey to the land of the Son (see figure 175).

SECOND DIVISION. THE JOURNEY

FIFTH RITUAL

PART I. MOTHER CORN ASSERTS AUTHORITY

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *726 After we have taken the four steps in the presence of all the powers we are ready to begin our journey, but before we start, and while we stand facing the east, we sing the following song:

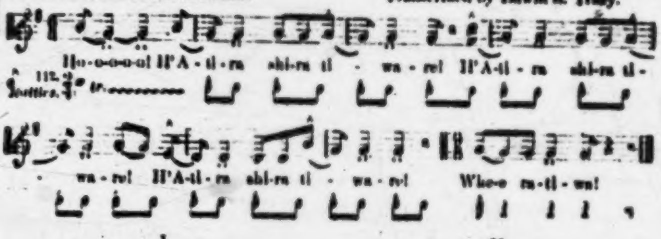
FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 56.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ho-o-o-o-o! H'A - ti - ra shi-ra ti - wa - re! H'A-ti - ra shi-ra ti -
M. M. 112. Rattles.
wa - re! H'A-ti - ra shi-ra ti - wa - re! Whe-e ra-ti - wa!

I

206 Ho-o-o-o-o!
207 H'Atira shira tiware!
208 H'Atira shira tiware!
209 H'Atira shira tiware!
210 Whe-e ratiwa!

II

211 Ho-o-o-o-o!
212 H'Atira shira tiwara!
213 H'Atira shira tiwara!
214 H'Atira shira tiwara!
215 Weru tihiwa!

Translation of First Stanza

206 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

207 H'Atira shira tiware!

h', an aspiration, symbolic of a breathing forth, as the giving of breath so that a thing may live.

atira, mother. The term is here applied to the ear of corn.

shira, it and me; it refers to the ear of corn, Mother Corn; me refers to the Father's party spoken of or speaking in the singular, as one person.

tiware, walking in a devious or a winding course.

208-209 See line 207.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation

I

*539 *796 236 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki.
wira; wi, a qualifying word meaning that an object is long or stretched out; ra, at a distance, yonder.
uhaki, something that is in a line; a stretch.

237 Katuharu uhaki, wira uhaki.
katuharu, trees, timber, woods.
uhaki, a long line; a stretch.
wira uhaki. See line 236.

238 Katuharu uhaki. See line 237.

II

239 See line 236.

240 Kichaharu uhaki, wira uhaki.
kichaharu, a stream, a river.
uhaki, a long stretch.
wira uhaki. See line 236.

241 Kichaharu uhaki. See line 240.

III

242 Wira wihaku, wira wihaku.
wira, something that is long seen at a distance.
wihaku, rippling.

243 Kichaharu wihaku; wira wiharu.
kichaharu, a stream, a river.
wihaku, rippling.
wira wihaku. See line 242.

244 Kichaharu wihaku. See line 243.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 776 ● 823 In this ceremony water is not used except for sacred purposes. We mix the paint that we use upon the sacred objects with running water. When on our journey we come to a stream of running water we can not step into it to cross it without asking permission of Kawas. Kawas is the mother; she represents the night and the moon, and she can permit us to enter and wade through the stream. So, whenever we come to a river we call upon Kawas to protect us, that our act of passing through the water may not bring punishment, and may not cause the clouds to come between us and the blue dome, the dwelling place of Tira'wa, or break the continuity of life from one generation to another.

The following song is our appeal to Kawas. When we sing the first stanza we enter the stream, the water touches our feet.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

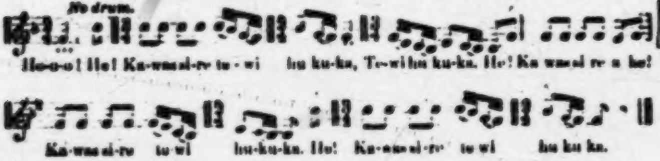
SONG WHEN CROSSING THE STREAMS

Words and Music

539*
796*

M. M. ♪ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o! He! Ka-wasi-re te - wi hu ku-ka, Te-wi hu ku-ka. He! Ka wasi re a he!
Ka-wasi-re te wi hu-ku-ka. He! Ka-wasi-re te wi hu ku ka.

[533*]
776
823

I

245 Ho-o-o!
246 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.
247 Tewi hukuka.
248 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.
249 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.

II

250 Ho-o-o!
251 He! Kawas sire tewi hariki.
252 Tewi hariki.
253 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hariki.
254 He! Kawas sire tewi hariki.

III

255 Ho-o-o!
256 He! Kawas sire tewi haiwa.
257 Tewi haiwa.
258 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi haiwa.
259 He! Kawas sire tewi haiwa.

IV

260 Ho-o-o!
261 He! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa.
262 Tewi hawitshpa.
263 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas seri tewi hawitshpa.
264 He! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa.

Translation

I

245 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

246 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.

he! a part of the exclamation hi! give heed! harken!

Kawas; the brown eagle, which in this ceremony represents the feminine principle, the night, the moon.

sire, its; a possessive pronoun referring to Kawas.

tewi, it has; refers to the water.

hukuka, a composite word; hu, from chaharu, water; kuka, to step into, as to put one's feet in the water, to wade.

247 Tewi hukuka.

tewi, it has; the water has touched the feet.

hukuka, step into the water. The feet have stepped into the water.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796
776
● 823

248 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.
he! give heed! harken!
Kawas, the mother, the brown eagle.
sire, its; refers to the control of the water by Kawas.
a, a vocable used to fill out the measure of the music.
he! Kawas sire tewi hukuka. See line 246.

249 See line 246.

II

250 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

251 He! Kawas sire tewi hariki.
he! part of the exclamation hiri! harken! give heed!
Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the female principle.
sire, its.
tewi, it has.
hariki, a composite word; ha, a part of chaharu, water; riki, standing.

252 Tewi hariki.
tewi, it has.
hariki, water standing. Our feet are standing in the water.

253 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hariki. See lines 248 and 251.

254 See line 251.

III

255 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

256 He! Kawas sire tewi halwa.
he! part of the word hiri! harken! give heed!
Kawas, the brown eagle; the mother, the female principle.
sire, its; refers to Kawas.
tewi, it has.
halwa, a composite word; ha, part of chaharu, water; iwa, moving in: halwa, moving in the water.

257 Tewi halwa. See line 256.

258 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi halwa. See lines 248 and 256.

259 See line 256.

IV.

260 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

261 He! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa.
he! harken! give heed!
Kawas, the brown eagle; the mother, the female principle.
sire, its; refers to Kawas.
tewi, it has; refers to the water.
hawitshpa, a composite word; ha, part of chaharu, water; witshpa, completed, accomplished a purpose, reached an end. The meaning of the word is that the water has covered the feet.

262 Towi hawitshpa. See line 261.
263 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire towi hawitshpa. See lines 248 and 261.
264 See line 261.

539*
796*
776
823

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When we sing the second stanza, our feet are standing in the water. When the third stanza is sung, our feet are moving in the water. At the fourth stanza the water covers our feet. So as we sing this song we enter the stream and, under the protection of Kawas, we pass through to the other side.

Every time we come to a stream across which our path lies we must sing this song.

After we have forded the stream we pause at the bank. We are wet with water through which we have just passed, but we must not touch our bodies where we are wet to dry ourselves, for the running water is sacred.

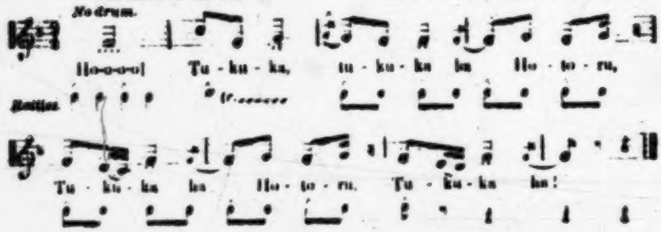
So, we sing the first stanza of the following song and call on the Wind, Hotoru, to come and touch us that we may become dry.

SONG TO THE WIND

Words and Music

539*
796*
[533*]

M. M. ♪ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


No drum.
Ho-o-o-o! Tu - ku - ka, tu - ku - ka ha Ho - to - ru,
Rattles
Tu - ku - ka ha Ho - to - ru. Tu - ku - ka ha!

I

265 Hooooo!
266 Tukuka, tukuka ha Hotoru.
267 Tukuka ha Hotoru.
268 Tukuka ha!

II

269 Hooooo!
270 Taiwa, taiwa ha Hotoru.
271 Taiwa ha Hotoru.
272 Taiwa ha!

III

273 Hooooo!
274 Tawawe, tawawe he Hotoru.
275 Tawawe he Hotoru.
276 Tawawe he!

IV

277 Hooooo!
278 Tawitshpa, tawitshpa ha Hotoru.
279 Tawitshpa ha Hotoru.
280 Tawitshpa ha!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796
[776
●823]

When as we travel we come to mountains or hills we sing the following song.

Hills were made by Tira'wa. We ascend hills when we go away alone to pray. From the top of a hill we can look over the country to see if there are enemies in sight or if any danger is near us; we can see if we are to meet friends. The hills help man, so we sing to them.

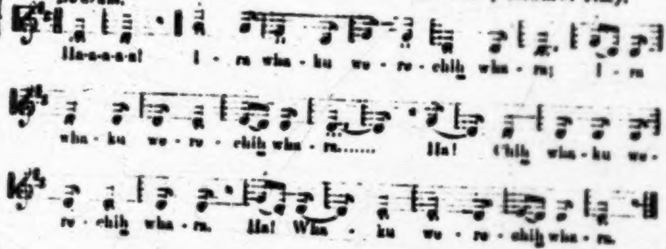
SONG TO THE MOUNTAINS

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 108.
• – Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


Ha-a-a-a! I - ra wha - ku we - re - chih wha - ra; I - ra
wha - ku we - re - chih wha - ra...... Ha! Chih wha - ku we -
re - chih wha - ra. Ha! Wha - ku we - re - chih wha - ra.

I

299 Ha-a-a-a-a!
300 Ira whaku werechih whara;
301 Ira whaku werechih whara.
302 Ha! Chih whaku werechih whara.
303 Ha! Whaku werechih whara.

II

304 Ha-a-a-a-a!
305 Ira whaku werechih katawara;
306 Ira whaku werechih katawara.
307 Ha! Chih katawara chih wara.
308 Ha! Whaku werechih katawara.

III

309 Ha-a-a-a-a!
310 Ira whaku werechih kitta hra;
311 Ira whaku werechih kitta hra.
312 Ha! Chih e werechih kitta hra.
313 Ha! Whaku werechih kitta hra.

IV

314 Ha-a-a-a-a!
315 Ira whaku werechih kitta witit;
316 Ira whaku werechih kitta witit.
317 Ha! Chih werechih kitta witit.
318 Ha! Whaku werechih kitta witit.

Translation

I

299 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

300 Ira whaku werechih whara.

ira, yonder particular and single object.
whaku, an elevation, a mountain, a hill.
werechih, a party, a number of persons.
whara, walking, traveling on foot.

301 See line 300.

302 Ha! Chih whaku werechih whara.

ha! behold!
chih, the last syllable of the word werechih, a party.
whaku werechih whara. See line 300.

303 Ha! Whaku werechih whara. See lines 300, 302.

*539
*796

II

693 Ho-o-o-o!
694 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
695 Ta kira te ra-a he;
696 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
697 Ta kira te ra-a he;
698 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
699 Ta kira te ra-a he.

Translation

I

686 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

687 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu.

he, an exclamation calling attention to a subject or a teaching.

hitkasharu; hit, from hittu, feather, referring to the birds that attend the Hako; ka, part of rutkaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions. This composite word refers to the visions or dreams brought by the birds that are associated with the Hako.

688 Ta kira ru teru he.

ta, verily.
kira, brought to pass.
ru, it, the rite, or ceremony.
teru, is; the entire ceremony with its promises
he, vocable.

689 See line 687.
690 See line 688.
691 See line 687.
692 See line 688.

II

693 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

694 See the first stanza, line 687.

695 Ta kira te ra-a he.

ta, verily.
kira, brought to pass.
te, it; the good promised through the ceremony.
ra-a, is coming.
he, vocable.

696 See line 687.
697 See line 695.
698 See line 687.
699 See line 695.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 In this song we are told that verily it is a truth that everything per-
taining to this ceremony came through a vision. All the good, all the
*796 happiness that comes to those who take part in these rites have been
787 promised in a dream, and the dreams which brought this ceremony
and its promises came from the east; they always descend from above
● 623 by that path.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 on them and knows all that they mean. We do not look on them, for they are holy.[a]

*796 The Ku'rahus, handing the bowl of water to the young man who brought it into the lodge, tells him what to do before he throws it away.

The young man with the bowl passes through the circle of warriors and goes by the south to the east, then to the northeast, where he lifts a few drops to that direction and lets them fall on the rim of the fireplace. Then he passes to the northwest and repeats his action. At the west he lifts a few drops to the zenith and lets them fall on the rim of the fireplace. Then he passes on to the southwest, offering the water as before, and then to the southeast, where he repeats his offering. Thence he goes to the inner door of the lodge, where he pauses, then passes through the entrance way, and when he is out under the early morning sky he throws the water toward the east.

● [823] This is done because all the rivers flow toward the east.

EIGHTEENTH RITUAL. FULFILMENT PREFIGURED

PART I. MAKING THE NEST

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The old man who has been preparing the child now rises from his position and, stepping to one side, leaves the Ku'rahus and his assistant standing directly in front of the little child.

[534] These two lift the feathered stems and the rattles and wave their arms like the wings of a bird as the following song is sung three times. No drum is used, but the rattles and the whistle accompany the song.

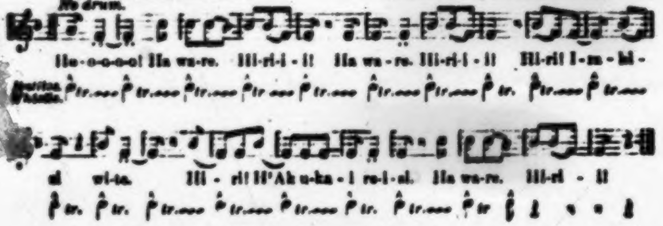
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 102.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*523]


Ho-o-o-o-o! Ha wa-re. Hi-ri-i - i! Ha wa - re. Hi-ri-i - i! Hi-ri! I-ra - hi -
Rattles. Whistle.
tr.
i wi-te. Hi - ri! H'Ak u-ka - i re-i - si. Ha wa-re. Hi-ri - i!

1258 Ho-o-o-o-o!
1259 Ha ware. Hiri-i-i!
1260 Ha ware. Hiri-i-i!
1261 Hiri! Irahisi wite.
1262 Hiri! H'Ak ukai reisi.
1263 Ha ware. Hiri-i!

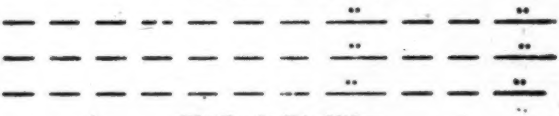
---

[177] [a] The Ku'rahus did not remember what was formerly used as a covering for the head of the child; latterly it has been a black silk handkerchief.

which do not directly appeal to the supernatural. The first stanza is 533*
addressed to the messengers; the second to the Father's party within 539*
the lodge. 796*

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

I

I bid you travel o'er the land to the Son, 539*
And with you take these words of mine unto him: 796*
"Behold! Your Father comes to you speedily."

II

We wait their journey o'er the land to the Son,
When they will give these words of mine unto him:
'Behold! Your Father comes to you speedily."

FOURTH RITUAL

PART I. VIVIFYING THE SACRED OBJECTS

These first four rituals are in sequence and deal with the peculiar preparations required for the ceremony. In the first ritual the sacred articles are prepared; in the second ritual the Son is selected; in the third ritual the Father notifies the Son, who responds; and in the fourth ritual the sacred articles are vivified and assume leadership. In these preparations the supernatural powers bear a leading part. At the very beginning, in the first song of the first ritual, their presence is invoked, and in the fourth ritual, after man's preparations for the ceremony are completed, they accept his work. 796*

The first, second, and third rituals took place in the lodge of the Father, where the sacred objects were guarded day and night by the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief, or by persons appointed to act as their substitutes. In the fourth ritual the objects were for the first time taken outside the lodge, under the open sky, where the final act of their preparation took place. They were tied upon a pole and elevated in the early dawn, that they might be vivified by the powers and acknowledged as their representatives.

The order in which these sacred objects were tied upon the pole indicates their relative significance in this ceremony. The two feathered stems were placed near the top, because they typify the powers of the upper world. But they also represent the male and female elements, therefore the male stem was placed toward the south—the light, the day, the sun; and the female stem toward the north—the darkness, the night, the moon. Beneath the feathered stems were the rattles and the ear of corn, representing the living covering of 796* 823 ●

---

[a] Music on page 56.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796 the earth, and below these was the wildcat skin. These typify the powers of the lower world.

•823 All these articles were tied on the pole so as to face the east. We are told in the song of the ninth ritual that down the path at the east came the powers that are potent in this rite.

Behind these objects, toward the west, where dwell the powers which influence the life of man and control disaster and death, were bound the right and left wing of an eagle. These wings were spread *796 as though supporting the sacred objects, as the wings sustain the body of a bird in the air. Throughout the ceremony the position of the two eagle wings, both when on the pole and when borne at each end of the line of men, serves to unify the different sacred objects into the similitude of a winged body. This unification does not, however, interfere with the separate functions of each article or with the character of its symbols.

The dawn ritual throws light on the significance of the elevation of the sacred objects under the open sky before the break of day. Before this act, these objects had lain at rest; but after it, when they had been vivified by the wind and the sun, they at once became active and thenceforth they led the people throughout the ceremony.

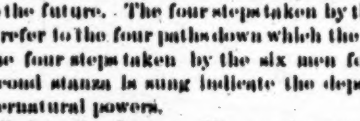
PART II. MOTHER CORN ASSUMES LEADERSHIP

This activity is manifest in the song of part II, where the ear of corn passes to the front and assumes the position of leader. The ceremonial steps taken by the chief, as he carries this representative of Mother Earth with her life-sustaining force, dramatically represent the corn as advancing out of the past (from behind the Ku'rahus with his symbolic feathered stem), coming into the present (beside him), and then going on before, moving along the unbroken path that stretches out of the past into the future. The four steps taken by the chief bearing the ear of corn refer to the four paths down which the powers descend to man, and the four steps taken by the six men following Mother Corn as the second stanza is sung indicate the dependence of man upon these supernatural powers.

*533
*539
*796
This song falls into six phrases. The number suggests the recognition of all the powers which come near to man, which are represented by the four directions, the above, and the below, thus bearing out the full significance of the symbolic steppings.

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



---

[a] Music on page 83.

Rhythmic Rendition

I 537*

Mother with the life-giving power now comes, 796*
Stepping out of far distant days she comes,
Days wherein to our fathers gave she food;
As to them, so now unto us she gives,
Thus she will to our children faithful be.
Mother with the life-giving power now comes!

II

Mother with the life-giving power is here,
Stepping out of far distant days she comes.
Now she forward moves, leading as we walk
Toward the future, where blessings she will give,
Gifts for which we have prayed granting to us.
Mother with the life-giving power is here!

PART III. THE HAKO PARTY PRESENTED TO THE POWERS

The recognition of man's dependence on the supernatural is still 796*
further emphasized by the peculiar dramatic movements which accompany the songs after the Hako party for the first time as a body passes outside of the lodge, within which all the preceding ceremonies have taken place.

The sacred objects, which under the open sky had been vivified and 796*
acknowledged by the supernatural powers, now lead the party along
certain lines defined by their symbolically numbered steps to face the 823 ●
localities where these powers were believed to dwell. First the east was faced and the powers there were addressed; then the west; next the south; and then the north. At each of these points the sacred objects were elevated, while the people invoked the powers to "behold" (to recognize and accept) those who were about to perform the ceremony.
When each of the four cardinal points had been addressed and the 796*
leader had completed the ceremonial steps, the outline of a man had been traced upon the ground. Concerning this outline the Ku'rahus explained that it "is the image from Tira'wa." "Its feet are where we now stand, its feet are with our feet."

This figure would seem to represent a visible answer to the ceremonial appeal of the people and to indicate a willingness of the supernatural powers to grant their presence throughout the coming ceremony. This interpretation of the tracing is borne out by the words of the Ku'rahus when he says that "it will move with our feet as we now, bearing the sacred objects, take four steps in the presence of all the powers, and begin our journey to the land of the Son."

The song addressed to the east is in four musical phrases while 533*
the songs to the west, south, and north are in six musical phrases. The 796*
four-phrase song is sung to Tira'wa atius, the father of all things and it is noticeable that all the songs throughout the ceremony which specially address this power are in a four-phrase rhythm. When ..

*796 men and women of the party with the ponies laden with gifts and
needed supplies of food.

Over the wide prairie for miles and miles this order was preserved
day after day until the journey came to an end. If from some distant
[726] vantage point a war party should descry the procession, the
leader would silently turn his men that they might not meet the Hako
party, for the feathered stems are mightier than the warrior; before
them he must lay down his weapon, forget his anger, and be at peace.

771 No object met on the journey to the Son presented its ordinary
aspect to the Hako party. Everything seen was regarded as a manifestation
*796 of the supernatural powers under whose favor this ceremony
484 was to take place; hence the trees, the streams, the mountains, the
buffalo were each addressed in song. This attitude toward nature is
strikingly brought out in the two songs, which are in sequence, sung
at the crossing of a stream.

484 Throughout this ceremony water is treated as one of the lesser
powers. It is employed only for sacred purposes, and is never used in
771 the ordinary way. To profane water would bring punishment upon
*796 the whole party (see the first ritual, line 29), and consequently when
a stream ran across a line of travel no person could step into it as he
● 823 commonly would do. A halt was called and the Ku'rahus led in the
singing of the song in which Kawas is asked to grant the party permission
to ford the stream. According to Pawnee rituals, water at the
[773] creation was given to the woman, so Kawas, representing the mother,
could grant permission. The request is embodied in four stanzas.
*[539] In the first the water touches the feet; in the second the feet stand in
the water; in the third the feet move in the water; in the fourth the
water covers the feet (note the resemblance of entering the stream to
entering the lodge, seventh ritual, part 1).

771 After the stream was crossed the people halted on the bank to sing
*539 the song to the wind, led by the Ku'rahus. It also is in four stanzas.
The wind is called upon to come and dry the water which the people
*796 may not irreverently touch. In the first stanza the wind touches the
821 people; in the second it lightly brushes their bodies; in the third it
484 circles about them; in the fourth it envelops them. Thus the wind,
one of the lesser powers, comes between the people and the penalty
incurred by profanely touching water.

*539 In these ceremonies the people were constantly reminded that they
771 were in the presence of the unseen powers manifested to them in the
natural objects met upon the journey. To those initiated into the
*796 inner meaning of the rite, the appeal at the crossing of the stream to
Kawas (the feminine element) and to the wind (typical of the breath
of life) was connected with the symbolism of running water, explained
in the seventh ritual as representing the giving of life from generation
to generation.

*539 The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth songs originally belonged to
*796 the journey, but we are told the buffalo are no longer seen; neither

The purpose of the ceremony, in the carrying out of which the male and female elements were so fully symbolized, was kept continually before the people. 796*

The lodge was divided, the north half was female, the south was male; the north was night and the south was day. The brown-eagle feathered stem, Kawas, when at rest in the holy place, lay toward the north, and the white-eagle feathered stem, the male, was toward the south. 796* 823 ●

When the feathered stems were waved over the heads of the people to the rhythm of the songs, as they moved from the west by the north, east, and south, to the west again, Kawas, the mother, was carried next to the Children, and the white-eagle feathered stem was borne on the outside, as the defender.

Each time the sacred objects were taken up four circuits were made. 796* These, we are told, were in recognition of the four paths; they also signified the four powers which were active at the creation of man; and they represented the two eagles, the ear of corn, and the wildcat. This multiplication of symbols is not uncommon. In this instance they all refer to the gift of life, the birth of children. Down the four paths came the lesser powers; four of these were instrumental in placing man upon the earth; and the four ceremonial articles are the bearers of the promise of unfailing generations.

During each circuit a stanza was sung four times. At the end of [533*] the fourth circuit "the symbol of completion," four times four, had been given in song.

While the lodge in general referred to the nest, the holy place at the west, back of the fire, was its special representative. There the Hako were laid at ceremonial rest after each four circuits of the lodge. From the beginning of the public ceremony this act was always accompanied by songs and movements expressive of its meaning.

The songs are in groups of two. The first in each group relates to 539* the eagle flying toward her nest, the young birds crying out at her approach. Their welcoming cry is signified by the song, and the flying 796* of the eagle by the movements of the feathered stems. The second song refers to the alighting of the bird upon its nest. At the close of the second stanza the stems were leaned upon the crotched stick, their feather pendants resting upon the cat skin, thus symbolizing the mother bird settled down upon her nest.

The songs of these two groups are repeated a great many times 533* during the progress of the ceremony, for after every fourth circuit of 796* the lodge the feathered stems must be laid at rest and the act accompanied by one group of these songs, according to the choice of the Ku'rahus.

668 mouthpiece upward and bowl inward toward the body, he takes
782 it in his left hand and runs his right hand up it from bowl to mouth-
796 piece, opening the palm upward and outward toward heaven, then
places the hand on the right side of his head and runs his palm down
276 the head and side and leg to the instep which is pressed against the
ground. This motion is then made with the left hand for the left side etc. while the right hand holds the pipe, and repeated once again with the right and once again with the left, making four motions. Then the smoker turns and returns the pipe to another chief in the line of men, who receives it with an *arm blessing*.[1] When the offerings have been completed, the pipes are taken inside the tipi and replaced on the altar-space at the west.

Now the arc-like line at the west closes around the clearing to
form a circle of dancers, and women who have not up to this point
[533 participated join the circle. They may, however, sing two songs
535] before forming a circle of dancers, and these are special ghost-
dance songs which are never danced to. Then the dancing begins from the east, facing west, circling clockwise.

668 Before describing the movements of the dancers, attention must
782 be called to the form of the smoke offering which would be made
796 if the dance were to begin in the morning.

If the dancing is to begin with a smoke-offering in the morning
276 the orientations for the smoke would be reversed. That is, the
823 arc-line of leaders and men would form around White on the west,
facing east; the smoker would begin all his circuits from the west, and the motions with the pipe which he made slantwise to the west, while he stood at the east side of the clearing and faced west, would become motions slantwise to the east which he would make standing at the west of the clearing and facing east. Finally the pipes would be handed along the line of leaders and men from south to north, instead of from north to south.

This shift of direction also changes the position for starting the dance, which is now at the point directly west, facing east. Here White stands and leads, and the circle proceeds clockwise. This is the generic position for beginning Ghost Dancing and singing, and even if the evening orientations are followed, only the first song begins at the east facing west; it then ends at the west, facing east, and all subsequent songs begin at the west.

It will be seen at once that the whole smoking ritual involves two basic orientation concepts: upward and either slantwise to the west or slantwise to the east. The upward offering is to Tirawahat^{a} or the expanse of the heavens; the other is to the sun, according to

---

[1] See chapter 8, p. 209.

his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, 668
therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. 782
An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time,
the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins 796
at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would 276
be adopted. 823

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to
Tirawahat^{a} must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering;
that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to [775]
be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on
one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased
relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes
on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance,
and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is
thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The
sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his [776]
marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening
Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every
night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon
earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus,
while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the
position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should
be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering 668
for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" 796
is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived
by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the 177
dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream 182
of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

---

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old
cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and [591]
Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

796 668 782 When each house-group had ready its quota of wood, meat and all else necessary, everything was in order and the dance could begin.

276 A sacred smoke offering opened the dance. If the people wished to begin dancing on an evening, the usual form was to hold the smoke ceremony, then dance a little, perhaps ten songs, and adjourn until morning. At the continuation of the dancing in the morning no smoke offering would be made; but if dancing were begun for the first time in the morning, a preliminary offering was necessary.

[301] Inside the main tipi were the Seven Brothers seated on the south side. Four chiefs were selected to carry pipes and make a smoke offering. These came out of the tent leading the way, followed by the Seven Brothers, each wearing an eagle feather in his hair. They were directed by Knifechief. This was the first occasion on which the Skiri Ghost Dancers saw the Seven Eagle Brothers as an organization.

796 668 554 823 Outside, the arrangement in relation to the clearing followed the form already described for White's South Band Ghost-Dancing. The Seven Brothers were in the center of an arc-like line of men which stood at the east of the clearing facing west (for an evening smoke-offering). In front of this line stood the four chiefs with pipes, also facing west. While the Seven Brothers were in the center of the line, Sam Cover who was No. 1 Eagle Brother was not in the center of the seven, but at the south end of the seven; the others followed in the order given above, from south to north; this was the order of their selection. The significance of this arrangement is that now there was no main one who must be in the center—all were equal. In the row of men four chiefs took special places: two south of the Seven Brothers and two north.

796 668 782 823 Each of the four smokers had a special function. Their arrangement was from south to north as they faced west: Number 1 smoker at the south end of the row of four smoked to heaven; number 2 to the west (Christ); number 3 to the east (position of the rising sun); and number 4 at the north end of the row of four smokers, to the south, the noon sun.

276 The four smokers proceeded with their movements simultaneously. Number 1 took the filled pipe, (phase 1[1]) walked through a half circuit clockwise to the west where he faced east and offered a pinch of tobacco upward, placing it on the ground; (lighting the pipe) then he continued clockwise to the northeast, where he squatted toward the east, holding the pipe in his mouth. Here it was lit from a brand brought forward by another. (Phase 2; first

---

[1] See Chapter 8, pp. 186–207.

mode) He rose puffing the pipe and walked clockwise around the 796
clearing stopping again at the west facing east, where he offered 668
four puffs upward to heaven, and four downward to the earth.
(Phase 2; third mode) Then he walked clockwise until he neared the 782
row of men on the east of the clearing, when he went to the man 823
who was at the extreme northern end of the row and offered him 276
the pipe to smoke. This he did without releasing the pipe, holding the bowl in his right hand, the offered pipestem in his left. The man accepting the pipe to smoke merely puts his two hands around the mouthpiece of the pipe and holds it to his lips, drawing a puff. Then the smoke-offerer moved along southward to the second man in the row to whom he offered the pipe to puff, and so on down the row to the extreme south end of it. (Phase 3) The smoker then made a half-circuit clockwise to the west of the clearing, where he tamped the ashes loose (the pipe was now out) and offered ashes twice upward to heaven, emptying some each time on the ground, and again offered some ashes twice downward to the earth, finally depositing the last of the ashes from the bowl on the ground. (Phase 4) Now as he stood at the west, he held the empty pipe with the mouthpiece pointing upward, touched the ashes on the ground with his right hand, and ran his right hand up the pipe, from bowl to mouthpiece, opening his palm upward and outward toward heaven: he repeated this action with his left hand, holding the pipe in the same position with his right, then repeated it once more with his right hand and once more with his left, making four motions upward to heaven. Then he pointed the mouthpiece of the pipe slightly slantwise downward toward the earth, and made four similar motions toward the earth, each time touching the ashes on the ground before running his hand along the pipestem. He had now finished the smoke offering. (Self-Blessing; return of pipe) He walked with the pipe around the clearing clockwise until he reached a point just in front of the chief at the left (south) of Sam Cover, the Number 1 Brother. He stood in front of this chief, and a little to the south, faced the chief, and made the motions of *self blessing*.[1]

Number 2 smoker (Phase 1) meanwhile made a half-circuit clockwise until he reached the west, where he faced *west*, offered tobacco slantwise to the west, and downward to the ground, placing a pinch from the pipe-bowl each time on the ground. (lighting the pipe) came clockwise to the position at the northeast where the pipe is lit, (phase 2; first mode) continued clockwise until he again reached the west, where facing west he then smoked four puffs slantwise to the west and four downward to the ground. (Phase 2; second

---

[1] See chapter 8, pp. 207—209.

796 mode) Then he walked clockwise until he came to the row of men
east of the clearing: he offered the lit pipe to the man at the extreme
668 northern end of the row, and to each man in the row southward
782 until he reached the man at the extreme south end of the row.
(Phase 3) Then he took the pipe, which was out, clockwise to the
823 west of the clearing, where facing west he offered ashes twice
276 slantwise to the west, and twice to the earth. (Phase 4) He then
made four hand-motions to the west and four to the earth, (self-blessing and return of pipe) came clockwise around the clearing until he stood in front of the chief at the right (north) of Harry Sergeant, number seven of the Seven Brothers; here he made the motions of self-blessing, and then returned the empty pipe to this chief, who received it with a blessing.

Number three smoker followed an analogous procedure. The unique character of his smoke appears in the following: the position at which he stopped to make offerings of tobacco (phase 1), offerings of smoke (phase 2: first mode), offerings of ashes (phase 3), and motions of blessing (phase 4), was at the *east* of the clearing, facing *east;* he there held the pipe slantwise to the east, and slantwise downward to the ground, and made offerings to the position of the rising sun and to the earth; he offered his pipe down the row of men from north to south as the others had done. He made the motions of self-blessing in front of the chief to the left (south) of the chief to whom the Number 1 smoker returned the number 1 pipe (that is, the second man to the left or south of Sam Cover, the number 1 Brother) and returned the pipe to this chief.

Number Four smoker proceeded analogously. The place of his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes and motions was at the *south* of the clearing, facing *south*. He returned the pipe to the chief right (north) of the chief to whom the number 2 smoker returned the number 2 pipe (the second man to the right or north of Harry Sergeant, the number seven Brother).

In carrying out these simultaneous offerings there was no collision of the smokers: similar actions, such as offering the pipes to the row of men, were done in the order of the smokers. Before the number one smoker returned to make his self-blessing and give the pipe back to the chief, the number four smoker had completed his offering of the pipe to the men in the line.

After the smokers had all finished, they returned to their places in front of the row of men. Each pipe was now returned to the man who had made a smoke offering with it, and as Sam Cover began to sing a Ghost Dance song, these smokers took the pipes back into the tipi. Inside this main tipi or sacred tent, a covering had been

spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes 796
were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the
altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the 668
altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at 782
the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while 823
the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not 276
participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that 184
described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity. 276
These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke-
offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: 782
upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset 823
and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly 184
interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion 771
in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of 778
Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

---

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out. [177] [788]

525 The host side starting the play, the guest side initiating the guessing.

The visitors bringing a pipe smoked only by the hosts.

As to the alignment of the sides:

There is no such thing in these games as hereditary or traditional
525 sides.[1] The Kitkahaxki^{x} came from the west and occupied the west
621 half of the circle, the head end being at the north. Original geo-
619 graphical band arrangements in Oklahoma may be indicated as
● 823 follows:

N

Skiri

W Tcawi E

Kitkahaxki^{x}

Pitahawirat^{a}

S

These geographical positions would determine the arrangement of the hand game play. A division into east and west sides meant the head end was the north; a division into north and south sides meant the head end was the west. Pitahawirat^{a} against Kitkahaxki^{x} would put the Kitkahaxki^{x} on the north, the Pitahawirat^{a} on the south, with the leaders and tally sticks at the west. The other bands would have divisions into east and west sides with the leaders and sticks at the north.

In Nebraska the arrangement also follows geographical locations, but these were different:

N

W Skiri Kitkahaxki^{x} Tcawi Pitahawirat^{a} E

S

In Nebraska all games would have an east-west division of sides with the head end at the north. A game played in Nebraska between the same two bands as above, the Kitkahaxki^{x} visiting the Skiri would put the Skiri on the west, the Kitkahaxki^{x} on the east (the exact opposite of what was played in Oklahoma) with the tally sticks and leaders at the north.

Such were the arrangements and characteristics of games played by one Pawnee band against another.

THE INTER-TRIBAL HAND GAME

525 In earlier days, before the Pawnee were removed to Oklahoma,
648 and for some time thereafter, the hand game was a contest, not only
574 between the bands ofthe Pawnee, but a contest played by any

---

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

525 574 648 told the boys in sign language that the man outside, the crier, had announced that the Pawnee were here and had come on the warpath for the hand game; that they had come bringing a pipe. The crier had said too that as it was getting late, the people had better come at once, women and all, for the hand game. It was to be played inside the big tent of the Kiowa chief.

[431] When they had eaten enough, the Kiowa told the boys to take with them the meat that was left. By signs he said that if they felt hungry later, they would have it to eat. He gave them a pointed stick, and showed them how to stick it into the meat and so carry [482] it. He said, "I'm in a hurry now, I want to get a place there to sit." All three went over to the chief's tipi. The tent was big, but the crowd was so large that there was not room enough inside for all, so the bottom of the tent cover was rolled up all around, and those who couldn't get in settled themselves around outside. Many had to sit outside this way in the cold. If such a large crowd had been anticipated, the hand game would have been played in the open around a huge fire, but it was too late to gather enough wood to build such a big fire.

The Pawnee were sitting around the north side of the tipi, inside and out, Knifechief, as the leader, sitting at the west. The Kiowa sat around the south side, with the Kiowa chief at the west next to Knifechief. In the middle was a large round fire. The Skiri [823] Pawnee were on the north because the tribe was camped north of the Kiowa and had come south to play.

The game began at once. There was no pipe smoking. The Kiowa chief had received the pipe when Knifechief had entered his tent upon arriving.

Between the leaders at the west are the tally sticks. Alongside them lies the Pawnee pipe, now empty, pointing to the north.

The betting begins, of vests, shirts, blankets, anything of value. Each man bets against one of the other side; the two things are tied together; the bundles are heaped at the west before the leaders. In the excitement of the game, the cold is forgotten, even by those who must squat outside. The first guessers are chosen and play begins.

When they hide the bones, the Kiowa sing old hand game songs, accompanied by the beating of one hand drum. When the Pawnee have the bones, they sing their old hand game songs. They clap their hands; they do not beat a drum.

The Pawnee won the first game and took the stakes. Then they sang one Crazy Dog Dance song. Two Pawnee danced. One told of a war exploit, "Once when I was in the army,[1] we charged the

---

[1] Referring to an episode while a Pawnee scout with the U. S. army.

525 The essentials of this game follow those of the inter-band Pawnee
648 hand games. Interesting is the fact of the arrangements on sides
574 according to geographical locations. In playing Osage, Arapaho,
Ponca and Omaha, as well as Kiowa, the games were usually held
●423 in tipis, though they could be held outdoors if the crowd was large. They were played around a round fire. Instruments were not used by the Pawnee for game-singing, but tribes opposing them followed their own custom. When the Skiri played the Osage, the Skiri were on the south, the Osage on the north; when the Skiri played the Arapaho, the Skiri were on the north, the Arapaho on the south; when the Skiri played the Ponca, the Skiri were on the north, the Ponca on the south. The Osage in the game in question came from the north to the Skiri. The Skiri went to the Arapaho going north – the Skiri camp was south of the Arapaho camp, hence my informant feels the alignment was in error, and that there must have been a special reason for it. Once the Skiri, on their way north to Arkansas City, met the Ponca for a hand game. They had stopped to camp south of Ponca City. The Ponca were all around them, but the particular party which came to play gathered to the southwest of the Pawnee camp, and came from that direction; hence they were placed on the south side.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756 The medicine men claimed to have received their power from supernatural sources and were organized into numerous societies. Linton states that "The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight-of-hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers attributed to them."[10]

771 According to Miss Fletcher their "religious ceremonies were connected with the cosmic forces and the heavenly bodies. The dominating power was Tirawa, generally spoken of as 'father.' The [776 821] heavenly bodies, the winds, thunder, lightning, and rain were his messengers. . . . The mythology of the Pawnee is remarkably rich in symbolism and poetic fancy, and their religious system is elaborate and cogent. The secret societies, of which there were [575] several in each tribe, were connected with the belief in supernatural animals. The functions of these societies were to call the game, to heal diseases, and to give occult powers. Their rites were elaborate [821] and their ceremonies dramatic."[11] Next in power to Tirawa was 776 Evening Star, regarded as a woman, and below her was Morning Star, a warrior who drove the other stars before him across the sky. [773] The child of these two deities was the first human being. In the west, Evening Star had a beautiful garden with fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from this garden sprang all the streams of life.

● [823] Next in rank to Evening Star and Morning Star were the gods of the four world-quarters who supported the heavens and who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, these being the sacred directions of the Pawnee. Dorsey states that "next to these gods in rank are the three gods of the north, supreme among whom is the North-Star, Karariwari (One-who-does-not-[821] move). Associated with him are Hutukawahar (Wind-ready-to-give) and Hikus (Breath). The North-Star is . . . symbolic of the chief . . . while his assistants, equally beneficent, sent the buffalo and the breath of life."[12] Below these in turn were Sun and Moon, from whose union sprang the second human being on the [773] earth. This daughter, marrying the son of Morning Star and Evening Star, produced the human race.

The lesser gods of the heavens included Star of the South and Big-black-meteoric-star, who was the god of the medicine men. There were also earth gods organized into four lodges, each with its leaders and messengers, these gods being the special patrons of warriors and medicine men.

---

[10] Linton, Ralph. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men, Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 8, Chicago, 1923, pp. 19, 20.

[11] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

[12] Dorsey, op. cit., p. 312.

575 for war. In fact, this is the society that is called upon to police the buffalo hunt and in this capacity the members conduct themselves as described above. As an organization it is the counterpart of the Skidí two lance society.

THE THUNDERBIRD LANCE.

The raris kuhat, or thunderbird lance society is found among the Skidí and the Squash Vine people. The following account is from data supplied by the Skidí.

[825] In winter the members procure the thunderbird (in this case the swan,
though outsiders are led to believe it to be the eagle) which is skinned by
the leader as in the case of the preceding society. The feathers are plucked,
leaving the down upon the skin, and with this the lance is wrapped at the
renewing ceremony in the spring. This society is never called upon to act
[721] as police in the buffalo hunt, but for leadership and defense in war; in this
respect whatever was said of the preceding society, applies equally well
[821] here. The point of the lance is of flint stone because this stone is believed
to be related to the thunders since it is said that such will be found where-
[823] ever the lightning strikes. Thus, this stone lance head symbolizes the power
to strike down a person before he is aware of danger.

As stated before, the trophies of victory may be turned over to this society that they may inaugurate the victory dance and as it progresses, the whole is turned over to the women. In former times, it was the custom for the sexes to mingle freely without restraint and during the dance.

In the Squash Vine village the lances were wrapped with loonskin instead of swan and loon heads were placed on the end of the curved top; also some loon feathers. On the sinew string were soft down feathers. Four old men were taken in to recount the deeds of the members.

THE CROW LANCE.

The hatu^{h}ka society was found among each of the four divisions but not
in the independent villages. It was everywhere the same, except that the
[184] peculiar feature of tying the members together was practised by the Skidí
alone. In all cases this society was the last to renew in the spring, disband
in the winter, to leave the line of battle, to follow the camp, etc.

The following account applies particularly to the Skidí: —

575 The name usually given this society is hatu^{h}ka (those coming behind), so named
773 because of their peculiar custom of marching at the extreme rear of the tribal pro-
cession. The society is said to have been handed down by the crows but in reality

778 "rains-wrapped-up." The tribe was divided into a
621 number of villages all of whose members traced their
(611) descent in the female line from a single ancestor. Each
778 of these villages possessed a sacred bundle, while
there were two others which were considered the
property of the tribe as a whole. The Four Direction
village had four sacred bundles one of which was sacred
to each of the cardinal points. These points were, to
[823] the Pawnee, southwest, southeast, northwest, and
northeast. The sacred bundle of each village was believed
to have been given to its first ancestor by one
of the heavenly beings, and constituted a link between
778 its members and the divine donor. From their traditions
the "gift" seems to have consisted rather in explicit
directions for its making than in an actual presentation
[422] of the objects. The bundles were inherited
[428] in the female line so that their owners were always
women. Their keepers, and the priests who performed
their ceremonies, were, on the other hand, men.

All the village bundles contained much the same
objects. The most important of these were one or two
ears of corn, which were called Mother-Corn and were
believed to give life to the bundle. They were shelled
in the spring and distributed for seed, being replaced
at harvest time. When the Mother-Corn consisted of
two ears, one of these was attached to a stick and symbolized
the male element or Morning Star, while the
other symbolized the female element or Evening Star.
Next in importance to the Mother-Corn were the tobacco-filled
[825] skins of hawks and owls. The hawk symbolized
a warrior; the owl, a chief, because it was
always awake and watchful. The owl seems to have
also symbolized the watchfulness of Tirawa, the supreme
being. One or more scalps, taken from slain enemies,
were found in every bundle. Pieces cut from
them were used in various ceremonies, and they had to
be renewed from time to time. Four skins, each of

136 of their value as food sources. Smaller animals, such as rabbits,
opossum, raccoon, and squirrel, were also to be had. Ducks, geese,
and other waterfowl were plentiful and fish abounded in most of
the streams.

133 All of the major streams carry water the year round, although
the Platte during the summer months becomes largely a subterranean
river above its junction with the Loup. With the exception of
those in the sand hills, the streams flow characteristically in broad,
flat alluvial valleys, from 3 to 15 miles wide, and bordered by bluffs
up to 250 feet in height. The historic villages were apparently all
[361] located in the large river valleys rather than on the small tributary
creeks; only the chase, war forays, or migrations seem to have led
village tribes such as the Pawnee out upon the interfluvial areas.

778 It may be noted here that the "sacred places" of the Pawnee,
where the *Nahu'rac*, or miraculously endowed animals, met in council,
●823 were all associated with the streams. There were five of these,
825 according to Grinnell.[20] One was "at *Pa-hŭk'*, on the south side
of the Platte River, opposite the town of Fremont, in Nebraska.
The word *Pa-hŭk'* means 'hill island.' Another animal home is
under an island in the Platte River, near the town of Central City.
It is called by the Pawnee *La-la-wa-koh-ti-to*, meaning 'dark island.'
The third of these sacred places is on the Loup Fork, opposite the
mouth of the Cedar River, and under a high white cut bank. It
is called *Ah-ka-wit-akol*, 'white bank.' Another is on the Solomon
River, *Kitz-a-witz-ŭk*, 'water on a bank'; it is called *Pa'howa* sometimes.
This is a mound, shaped like a dirt lodge. At the top of
the mound, in the middle, is a round hole, in which, down below,
[782] can be seen water. At certain times the people gather there and
throw into this hole their offerings to *Ti-ra'-wa*, blankets and robes,
blue beads, tobacco, eagle feathers, and moccasins. Sometimes, when
they are gathered there, the water rises to the top of the hole and
flows out, running down the side of the mound into the river. Then
the mothers take their little children and sprinkle the water over
them and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* to bless them. The water running out
of the hole often carries with it the offerings, and the ground is
covered with the old rotten things that have been thrown in. [This
clearly refers to the mineral spring now known as Waconda, or
Great Spirit, Springs, situated 2½ miles southeast of Cawker City,
Mitchell County, Kans.[21]] The fifth place is a hard, smooth, flinty
rock, sticking up out of the ground. They call it *Pa-hŭr'*, 'hill that
points the way.' In the side of the hill there is a great hole where
the *Nahu'rac* hold councils. This hill is in Kansas and can be

---

[20] 1893, p. 358.

[21] Bailey, 1902, pp. 197-200.

778
seen from the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad. It is known to the whites as Guide Rock."[22] 823 825

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

TRADITIONS

175 Pawnee history, as herein discussed, consists of two major periods or divisions: First, the period of legend and tradition, which is concerned primarily with the origin and migrations of the tribe in a dim and distant past; and secondly, the period of recorded history, beginning in 1541, with the first contact between Europeans and Pawnee, and continuing down to 1876, the date of final removal of the tribe from its home on the Loup and its confinement on a reservation in the then Indian Territory. For information on the first period the traditions recorded by Dunbar, Dorsey, and Grinnell are our main source, hence are here briefly reviewed; and for the later period, the accounts of European and American explorers and travelers are drawn up in chronological sequence, particularly as relates to the location of the villages of the different bands.

173 The ancient habitat of the Pawnee, prior to their occupation of the Platte and Loup Valleys, lay traditionally to the south or southwest. Dunbar,[23] whose authority on this point is generally accepted, states that the traditions of the Grand, Republican, and Tappage bands "coincide in stating that the Pawnee migrated to the Platte River region from the south, and secured possession of it by conquest."[24]

This is partially corroborated by a Wichita legend, according to which the "primitive home" of the two tribes, Pawnee and Wichita, was "upon the Red River, below the mouth of the Washita",[25] in eastern Oklahoma or Arkansas, whence they wandered northward together. The same authority says relative to the Skidi that the "traditions of the other three bands are very positive in affirming that they are the remnant of a once separate tribe that has been subdued and incorporated into the Pawnee family";[26] the Otos, Poncas, and Omahas were conquered at the same time.[27]

Dorsey[28] traces three of the bands back to a single ancestral tribe, called the *Kawarahkis*, which dwelt near the confluence of the Little Nemaha with the Missouri in the southeastern corner of the present

---

[22] According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the "hill that points the way" is actually about 3 miles north of the Kansas-Nebraska line, on the south side of the Republican River, directly south of the town of Guide Rock, Webster County, Nebr.

[23] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, pp. 251 ff.

[24] Ibid., p. 251.

[25] Idem.

[26] Ibid., p. 253.

[27] Ibid., p. 252.

[28] Dorsey, G. A., 1906, p. 8.

342 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman,
772 Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself. Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on earth.

342 The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a
woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive powers.
772 The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately
353 ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the young-
84 est women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located, the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being "inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*, the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe, ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse
776 of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his
342 power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in
[823] the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and
southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that
[782] they would be readily received.

361 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear conscious-
342 ness of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed, the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy.
342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke
[354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cook-
[252] ing breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the draw-
252 string of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the
262 skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a
[251] large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

773 to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used
796 in the sacrifice ceremony.

782 Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning
[821] Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior
[787] visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in
[292] order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin
[825] with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood
[823] appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm,
[824] northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Tuwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

with red buffalo-fat ointment. Four circles were made on the ground one 773
in each of the semicardinal directions to symbolize the four quarters of 796
the universe that the Morning Star had to pass as he approached the 782
Evening Star. The circles were made by a man who stood in the middle [823]
and extended his toe as far as possible, drawing his foot on the ground as [772]
he turned. The tracks were filled with soft down feathers from the bundle. The priest smeared himself with red buffalo-fat ointment and suffused himself with sweet grass smoke. The actual ceremony could begin.

The priest of the Evening Star bundle sang the first part of the ritual and after a pause, the Morning Star priest took charge. He sang two songs. Then they had their meal. The Wolf man opened the next phase, bringing the girl to the altar where she was anointed by the priest with red ointment given to him by the war leader. They returned to their seats and the ceremony continued all night. The second day's ceremony was of the same kind. On the third day they continued to sing and dance, the war leader beginning the dance and then being joined by the others. The war leader took up the northeast pole from the fireplace with the fire still burning on its end and pointed it at the girl without touching her, first toward her right side then toward her left. Next he took first the southwest pole following the same procedure, then the northwest pole and then the southeast pole, following the prescribed order. Now, on the third day, the crowd of spectators became heavy and began to push into the lodge and tear holes in the roof so that they could witness the proceedings.

While the ceremony was going on in the lodge the priest gave directions 773
for the preparation of the sacrificial scaffold. He sent men to find a 796
suitable location a mile or two east of the village with a ravine or a 782
series of dips in the ground to the east of it where the attacking warriors 417
could hide during the ceremony. Wood for each part of the sacrificial 824
frame had to be of special kinds: cottonwood for the two uprights; the four crossbars near the bottom serving as steps, each symbolizing one of the four semicardinal directions, the bottommost elm, then box elder, cottonwood, and willow, each associated with an animal power. Elm represented the bear and the northeast; box elder, the mountain lion and the southwest; cottonwood, the wildcat and the northwest; and willow, the wolf and the southeast. When the men reported back to the priest that they had located the wood, he gave them four strips of animal skin, each one of the appropriate animal with which to tie the crossbars to the frame. Near the top of the two uprights was another crossbar of willow, symbolizing Heaven, which was tied on with otter-
skin to symbolize the renewal of life. They were instructed by the 773
priest to dig a rectangular pit under the scaffold in area about the size 796
of a buffalo robe commonly used to wrap a sacred bundle and 5 inches 782
417

133 covered with a deep, compacted layer of sand. Both rivers have changed their courses numbers of times in the past and the marks of their winding fossil beds are deeply carved into the sandy layer, forming a series of shallow but sharply defined canyons and troughs. Reaching north and south between the two rivers, the curves and canyons of the two fossil beds almost meet, cutting up the whole land surface so that there is no level land and the trip across has to be made over a few narrow land bridges. The later pioneers who tried to cross this area going southward aptly named one of the best of these land bridges "Devil's Gap" (southwestern Nebraska between Lexington and Arapahoe).

*224 *484 • 823 [888] The Pawnees had a detailed knowledge of every aspect of the land they would traverse. Its topography was in their minds like a series of vivid pictorial images, each a configuration where this or that event had happened in the past to make it memorable. This was especially true of the old men who had the richest store of knowledge in this respect. Their journey out was about ten miles a day and eight on the way back when they were more heavily laden with the dried meat. Anticipating these distances, they had to plan on stopping places where there was enough level land, wood for fuel, and available water for their whole large encampment of several thousand people and many more animals. They estimated the journey out as twenty days and the return journey twenty-seven days.

*224 *484 184 Each of the four bands had different routes that they preferred. From their rendezvous camp south of the Loup, the Skidi preferred to go several camps westward along the south bank, before turning south to the Platte. The South Bands preferred to leave the settlements and go directly south to the north bank of the Platte River where they made their rendezvous camp. When they were ready to go west, they would cross over the Platte and proceed along the south bank all the way west until they came to the place where they turned and crossed the country south-

---

*224 *484 361 FIGURE 18-1. Approximate campsites of the Pawnee summer hunt in Nebraska. Starting from Genoa on Beaver Creek, X is the first rendezvous camp south of the Loup. Camps 2, 3, and 4 proceed west from Camp 1 along the south bank of the Loup. Camp 5 turns southward toward the head of Grand Island in the Platte River. They camped overnight between the Loup and the Platte because the sandhills between the rivers make the journey hard. Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte after crossing Grand Island and Fort Kearney. Between camps 5 and 6 a small reconnoitering party went south of the Republican to sight buffalo; they brought meat to Camp 6. Camps 7, 8, 9, 10—four camps west of Fort Kearney along south bank of the Platte, arriving at Plum Creek near Lexington, Nebraska. At camps 7, 8, and 9 individual hunters went after deer, elk, and antelope. Setting out from Camp 9, the chiefs and braves hunted a small herd in order to "feed the people." They brought meat to Camp 10. They went along Plum Creek and then southeast overland to find Turkey Creek. Camp 11—the hunting camp, where the main herd was attacked by all the hunters of the tribe. The people moved south along the west bank of Turkey Creek and encamped at its confluence with the Republican River. X near Trenton is Massacre Canyon.

*224 *484 ages tied to the sides of the horses would get wet. Then the question was, "Was the water on the rise, or was it going down?" People said if it were warm on Pike's Peak in the Rockies, the water level would soon be low. In order to find out whether the river was rising or subsiding, the women would set up a stick in it; if the river was rising, it • [823] would soon be covered over, or vice versa if falling. They also knew that if the river was muddy soon after getting a bucket of clear water, it was rising. The men, on the other hand, were inclined to be more impulsive and didn't bother with such observations; they simply forded the river. If the river was rising, they would have to change their plan and continue west along the north bank of the Platte until it subsided. This time they were able to cross directly. The crossing was over the western end of Grand Island, the largest of the "sand-bar islands" in the Platte. In winter it was a good place to camp, but in summer it was full of mosquitoes. Grandma would have arrived long ago and gone onto the island to pick plums and grapes. The channel is wider and shallower on the north side of the island and deeper and narrower on the south side. The island itself is five or six miles wide.

*224 *484 883 [237] [412] When they were ready to cross, some young men volunteers who were from eighteen to twenty years old would go ahead and stake out the path with willow sticks to show where the deep holes were. If there was a steep sand bank on either side, they would chop at it with a buffalo shoulder blade and kick it down so that there would be a sloping path for the horses. Sometimes on the return journey in August the river bed would be dry, and in this way they came to know the best way to ford the river. A group of young men of this sort would volunteer for all sorts of services, including picket duty. They always carried their bows and arrows and were constantly on the alert to see if the enemy [571] were coming on the warpath. Sometimes as the years passed, they would continue in this way, remaining as a group even after they had become mature men. Such a group was that of Roaming Leader and his friends who had gone out on the buffalo-scouting expedition that day.

*224 *484 When the line of march finally got across the river, they climbed ashore and up the first bank which was relatively steep and then the second bank that had a more gentle slope. They continued west along the high bank for about two miles until they came to the place where they planned to camp.

*224 By about four or four-thirty in the afternoon they were all encamped. A man was out taking care of his horses, and as he looked onto the horizon he happened to sight Roaming Leader and his party, silhouetted against the sky, coming over some sand hills about two miles off. From their outline against the sky, he could see that the horses were all bulging out with meat and the legs of the riders were sticking far out as they sat on top of the packs. As they rode he could also see the hides swing-

was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the 243
altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo 778
might eat. 782

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could 772
not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of 221
alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic.
The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other
in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers
of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As [823]
these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their
biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for [778]
each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through
the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household,
the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these
alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation
of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his
political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different 243
aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under 778
the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation
of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when
the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four
semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression [776]
of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity,
Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in 796
their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under 628
the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented
the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all [778]
together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Role
Ceremony*—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken [823]
together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony
warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was
safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, 796
and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant 778
"ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of 243
its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening 243
Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the 778
priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to 793
settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four [533]
[535]

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

H'Uraru, the Earth, is the lesser power we cry to next. The Earth is very near to man; we speak of her as Atira, Mother, because she brings forth. From the Earth we get our food; we lie down on her; we live and walk on her; we could not exist without her, as we could not breathe without Hotoru (the Winds) or grow without Shakuru (the Sun). 539* 796* [776]

Mother Earth is very potent to help man and now we cry to her to come near and give potentiality to the sacred articles we are about to prepare.

We reverently reflect upon all that Mother Earth does for us.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

21, 22, 23 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

24 Heru! Toharu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

Toharu, the living covering of the earth, no special form being indicated; a general term for vegetation, but implying the supernatural power manifested therein. Katoha'ru, trees. [778]

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

25 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Toharu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Toharu means all the things that Mother Earth brings forth (all forms of vegetation); these are many. They are very necessary to man and they bring him much help. They too are lesser powers, though not so potent as some of the others. From them we get our food; from them comes the grass upon which the animals feed—the animals which supply clothing and food; from them come the trees which are very necessary to us. They have a part in this ceremony. 539* 796* 824●

As we sing we think upon all that Toharu gives us and we cry to this power to come near, for without the help of Toharu some of the sacred articles required for this ceremony could not be obtained.

At this stanza the two men who have been selected to cut the two sticks of ash arise and go out of the lodge to perform this duty. The ash tree has been chosen beforehand, but the two men must cut the sticks when they go out at this time.

We stop between the stanzas of the song that this act may be performed.

*539 74 H'arori, 'haro! I'haro re! H'arori. All the words are translated above. See lines 72 and 73.

*796 75 Hure-e! An abbreviation of the word haurae, coming from above. The vowel changes and prolongation are for greater ease in singing and also for euphony.

76, 77 See lines 74, 75.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[822] The color green represents Toharu (Vegetation), the covering of H'Uraru, Mother Earth. As we sing, we ask that life be breathed into the symbol, that it may have power as we use these sacred articles. "H'arori" is a prayer that living power may be where we place this symbol of the covering of Mother Earth. We remember as we sing that the power of Mother Earth to bring forth comes from above, "Hure-e."

The Ku'rahus paints the groove red in the same way, for the same reason as on the other ash stick, and when he has finished he hands the green stem back to the man on his right, toward the south, who holds it.

The Ku'rahus rubs upon his hands the sacred ointment which has been made by mixing red clay with fat from a deer or buffalo that has been consecrated to Tira'wa. He is now ready to tie the symbolic articles upon the two painted stems.

[381 824 825] He splits long feathers, taken from the wings of an eagle, and glues them to each stem as feathers are glued upon the shaft of an arrow. He uses for this purpose pitch from the pine tree. These wing feathers are to remind us that the eagle flies near to Tira'wa.

About one end of the stem (the mouthpiece) he fastens soft blue feathers, in color like the sky where the powers dwell. He ties a woodpecker's head on the stem near the mouthpiece and turns the upper mandible back upon the red crest. The mandible covers the red crest and keeps it from rising. This shows that the bird may not be angry. The inner side of the mandible, which is exposed by being turned back upon the crest, is painted blue, to show that Tirawa is looking down upon the open bill as the spirit of the bird travels along the red groove to reach the people.

About the middle of the stem the Ku'rahus binds feathers from the owl. The other end of the stem he thrusts through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck, the breast reaching to the owl feathers. The end of the stem protrudes a very little through the bill of the duck, so that the bowl of a pipe could be fitted to it. The duck's head, therefore, is always downward, looking toward the earth and the water.

[825] All the birds on the stems are leaders: the eagle is chief of the day; the owl is chief of the night; the woodpecker is chief of the trees; the duck is chief of the water.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

are not moving at random, but in a prescribed manner, which the Ku'rahus has been taught and directed to follow; that they are led by Mother Corn authorized by the powers, and to her they must give unquestioning obedience throughout the ceremony. 539* 796*

After this song the Ku'rahus and the other bearers of the sacred objects turn, and facing the east, pass on in front of the people, who also turn and follow as they go forth on the journey.

The three songs we have just sung are in sequence. Their order can not be changed; they belong to the beginning of the journey, and teach us to obey Mother Corn.

PART II. SONGS AND CEREMONIES OF THE WAY

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The journey we are taking is for a sacred purpose, and as we are led by the supernatural power in Mother Corn we must address with song every object we meet, because Tira'wa is in all things. Everything we come to as we travel can give us help, and send help by us to the Children.

Trees are among the lesser powers, and they are represented on the Hako which we carry, so when we see trees we must sing to them. [824 ● 778]

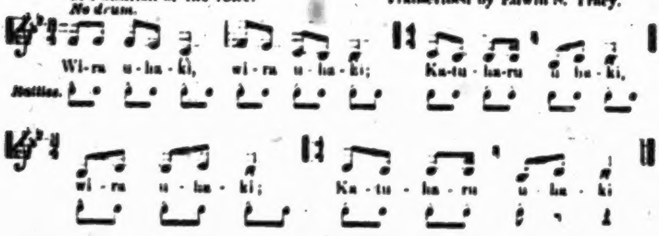
Trees grow along the banks of the streams; we can see them at a distance, like a long line, and we can see the river glistening in the sunlight in its length. We sing to the river, and when we come nearer and see the water and hear it rippling, then we sing to the water, the water that ripples as it runs.

SONG TO THE TREES AND STREAMS

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 112.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



[533*]

I

236 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki;
237 Katuharu uhaki, wira uhaki;
238 Katuharu uhaki.

II

239 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki;
240 Kichaharu uhaki, wira uhaki;
241 Kichaharu uhaki.

III

242 Wira wihaku, wira wihaku;
243 Kichaharu wihaku, wira wihaku;
244 Kichaharu wihaku.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Ha	ti	waka	ra	riki	ra	itawi	ra	riki	533*
Listen	he	said	have	stand	have	telling	have	stand	

kūruks	hēru	te	riki	we	ra
bear	yonder	it	stands	now	have

sakū	ra
sun	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said; he (the bear) stands,
I am telling this, yonder the bear stands,
It faces the east just before the sun appears,
Yonder the bear stands,
Now the sun is coming.

Analysis.—In this song we note the simplicity of rhythm which characterizes this entire group. A variety of progression occurs, though the major second comprises almost half the entire number of intervals. The song is minor in tonality, has a compass of six tones, and contains all the tones of the octave except the seventh. Two rhythmic units occur, the second reversing the count divisions of the first in its opening measure. The repetition of the first unit is not exact, as a third count is added to the first measure. The rhythm is particularly clear throughout the renditions. More than half the intervals are whole tones.

For a long time the Pawnee have called the cedar tree "mother," 824
a custom which had its origin in the dream of a man who saw a cedar 787
tree and thought it was "like a woman." He said, "This tree is made 533*
to look the same in winter and summer, and to stand up so nicely. The leaves of other trees fall but this tree is always green." This strange woman-tree made a noise like a bear and the song is used in the Bear dance.

Analysis.—This melody contains the tones of the second 5-toned scale and is characterized by a descending trend. The tempo of the drum begins to decrease in the fourth and fifth measures but the drum and voice do not fully coincide until the last part of the song. Minor thirds and major seconds comprise 23 of the 30 progressions, 5 of the remaining intervals being fourths. The song is melodic in structure and has a compass of 11 tones. 533*

Again Paruxti went on his way. Several times he opened the bag, camp was 539 pitched. He rested only when the bag was opened. He had traveled far to the east and had returned by the north. 575

Fools-wolves, the wolf star, had seen Paruxti on his journey and said, "I will undo what the others wish to do. I will send a being to the earth who will ruin what the others have accomplished." He put a wolf on the earth who became hungry and ran hither and thither until he discovered the tracks of Paruxti which he followed. The wonderful being who had become tired and sleepy, lay down. As he lay there, the wolf came up to him and noticed the bag. He thought, "There must be something to eat in the bag. I will take it away and open it and find something to eat." He dragged it to some prairie where there was neither water nor timber and untied it.

The two lance men jumped out first. Wolf was frightened and jumped sidewise. Soon people came out of the bag and he heard them say that they were going to camp and get something to eat. The two lance men selected a camping place and as usual stuck their lances into the ground. The people played their games, but found no buffalo. The men shouted: "Something is wrong. Our wonderful being must be in an ill humor. Take him something to eat."

Some men carried dried meat to the wolf which he ate. The people marveled at this and did not know what to make of it. The wolf was brought to camp and given a place in the tipi where the wonderful man sat. Just as they were about to burn incense in his honor someone shouted, "Our wonderful being is coming over the hills, crying. Watch the being in our tipi, for he is not our wonderful being." The wolf tried to get away, but the people surrounded the tipi and killed him.

The four men then burned some incense before the wonderful being and anointed him with red ointment, buffalo fat mixed with red earth. All the people were gathered around the tipi and the wonderful being asked what had become of the wolf. They replied, "We killed it." Then Paruxti said, "Bring it and skin it. When the skin is dry, put it on the bundle where it must remain. You will always be known as the skiri (Skidi) or wolf people. Because you killed the first animal on earth you will die too. The gods in the heavens intended that you live forever. You will always have the lances. Those who carry them will be soldiers."

Known-the-leader sent the assistant on the north side to the morningstar bundle 575 tipi for owl feathers which are kept in this bundle and to the left hand bundle tipi for the crow feathers kept in that bundle. When these were brought, the assistant [237] called for one crow feather and one white goose feather from each of the other tipis. These were brought in and piled up in front of the singers by young boys. Near the feathers were placed two strips of red cloth about sixteen inches wide together with buckskin, sinew, and an awl. Two men were selected to procure cedar poles for the [824] lances. Cedar was used because the cedar tree "has life all the time."

When the men arose, Known-the-leader took up one of the drums. The other [533] drummers each took up the drum in front. They sang a song relating to the search for timber. After they sang four times, the drums were set down. Then the men went out with axes to cut the trees. Before actually cutting the poles four cutting motions were made. When the poles were brought in they were placed one at each [313] side of the tipi where the young men sat. They started to cut down the pole, one man on each side, and when these were tired, others took their places. When the poles were cut and smoothed down they were placed crosswise in front of the drums.

The cloth was given to the men on either side who sewed it with buckskin string.

south side. The seats west of the door are occupied by chiefs who are paired 756 according to the two sides of the lodge. In front of the permanent leaders are laid four bows and four gourd rattles, the latter painted white. These bows and rattles are shifted at intervals to the alternating groups of leaders as previously described.

The regular ceremony is held once a year when the wild sage plant reaches a certain stage of maturity. This plant is spread thickly around the lodge [824] and used in the incense offerings.

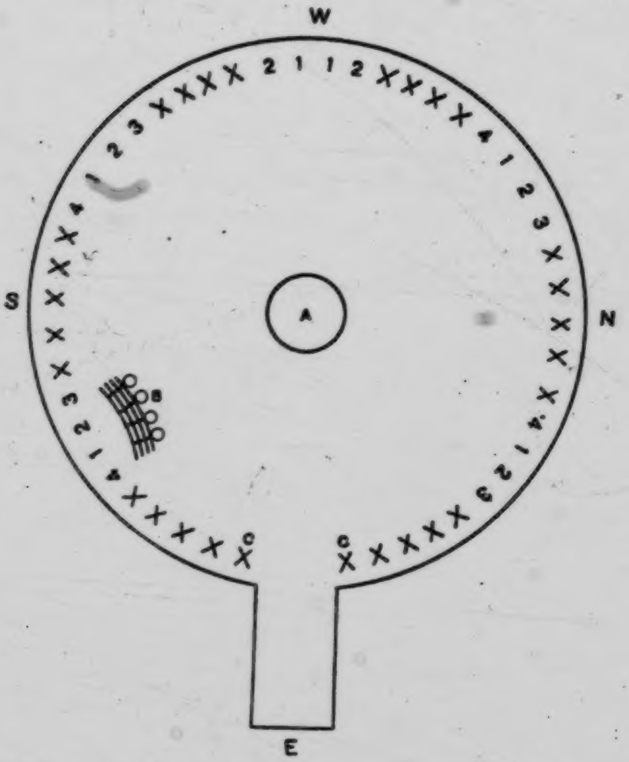


Fig. 17. Diagram of the Deer Society Ceremony: A, fireplace; B, four bows upon which rest four rattles for the leaders; C, errand men. The unusual feature of this ceremony is the place of the leaders and their order of rank; as the ritual proceeds B is shifted to the other four numbered places on the south side, then across and down the north side. At the west 1-2, 1-2 are hereditary chiefs from villages of the respective sides.

It is of interest to note that the members of this society are renowned

796 behind them was packed with spectators. So great was
the eagerness of the people to see the ceremony that
many of them tore holes in the roof and walls of the
lodge, leaving it a complete wreck.

793 When all the invited guests had taken their places,
796 the chief priest told the priests of the Four Direction
bundles to go into the woods and bring back four thick
●[824] poles about twelve feet long. The priest of the northeast was to bring an elm; he of the northwest, a box
elder; he of the southwest, a cottonwood; and he of the
796 southeast, a willow. When they had returned, the four
poles were laid on the fireplace with their ends together so that they formed a cross whose arms pointed
to the four directions. The poles had to be long enough
to last for the entire four days of the ceremony, and as
they burned, they were pushed in toward the center,
the cross being always maintained.

The ceremonies which followed are not fully
known, but they consisted of many songs and dances,
with feasting, and continued for three days and nights.
[786] During this time, and for the three days after the slaying of the sacrifice, the ordinary rules of conduct were
set aside, and the priests announced to the people that
if any man approached any woman during this period,
she was to go with him willingly, that the tribe might
increase.

727 Toward morning of each night, the representative
782 of the northeast village danced around the fireplace,
796 and taking the pole brought by the priest of that direction, pointed its glowing end toward the girl's body.
This was repeated by the representative of the other
directions in turn, but the girl's body was never touched
with the brand. Indeed, the girl was treated with
the greatest respect and consideration throughout the
ceremony. She was told that the entire performance
was given in her honor, and everything was done to lull

her suspicions and keep her in a pleasant frame of mind. 727 782 796

On the afternoon of the fourth day, the chief priest selected four men from the Four Band village to secure the materials for the scaffold. Under the direction of the leader of the war party which had captured the girl, they went to the nearest thick timber and searched until they found a hackberry tree near the center of the grove. At this tree they made an offering of smoke to the gods, and then went northeast from it to find an elm, northwest to find a box elder, southwest to find a cotton wood, and southeast to find a willow. These were to serve for the lower cross-bars of the scaffold. They then went east until they found an elm and a cottonwood large enough to be used as uprights. Finally, they went west and cut a willow to serve as the top cross-bar. 417 782 796 [824]

When the men had departed to search for the timber, the priests sang a song describing their actions. At its conclusion the chief priest sent the two chiefs of the Morning Star village, accompanied by a warrior, to select the site of the scaffold. This had to be some place near the village which had, to the east of it, a depression or ravine large enough to conceal several men. When the chiefs had made their choice, the warrior accompanying them gave his war-cry. An errand man had been stationed outside the lodge to listen for this, and as soon as he heard and reported it, the priest of the Skull bundle ran to the place, bearing the sacred bow and two arrows. The two chiefs had stationed themselves at the points where the uprights of the scaffold were to stand, and the priest shot an arrow into the ground in front of each of them, thus marking the place where the hole was to be dug. Between these arrows four priests then dug away the soil to a depth of about a foot, making a rectangular pit ap- [533]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Other important plant foods were the turkey pea, wild plum, wild 172*
cherry, Jerusalem artichoke, and the chokecherry. Of these all save 222
the first have been found in the Hill site and have been definitely 262
identified as to species. Others were probably used from time to time, but no record of them has survived, either archeological or documentary.

Eight species of plants have been found represented at the Hill 172*
site.[63] 824 ●

Brauneria angustifolia or *Echinacea angustifolia*.
Wild plum (*Prunus americana*).
Flint corn (*Zea mays*).
Hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*).
Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*).
Wild potato (*Apios tuberosa*).
Bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*).
Chenopodium sp. (apparently *Chenopodium nutalliae*).

To these we may add 10 species as given by Dunbar.[64]

Wild potato (*Ipomoea pandurata*).
Wild turnip (*Arisaema triphyllum*).
Pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*).
Ground bean (*Apios tuberosa*).
Cucumber root (*Medeola virginica*).
Artichoke (*Helianthus doronicoides*).
Ground plum (*Astragalus caryocarpus*).
Umbels of milkweed (*Asclepias cornuti*).
Mushroom (sp. unidentified).
Sand cherry (sp. not given).

The complete report on botanical specimens from the Hill site, as identified by Dr. Gilmore, is as follows:

No. 1. Five small pieces of the root of *Brauneria angustifolia* (*Echinacea angustifolia*). The root of this was very highly esteemed by the Pawnee and 752
other tribes within its range, for numerous medicinal uses, especially as a remedy for the bite of rattlesnakes.

No. 2. Four pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*). The wild plum was highly valued for food use, and was eaten in considerable quantities fresh and 251
uncooked, and was cooked for sauce. It was also preserved for winter use by drying.

No. 3. Six charred grains of flint corn.

No. 4. A number of pits of hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*). The sugary fruits of hackberry were eaten from hand with pleasure by all, and especially 263
by children. They were also reduced to pulp with a stone hammer, and the resulting paste was used as a flavoring in cooking meat.

No. 5. One pit of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), and four small, spherical insect galls, apparently the galls which were common on the prairie rose (*Rosa pratincola*).

---

[63] From the Hill collection, Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. The specimens were identified by Dr. M. R. Gilmore of the University of Michigan. Letter of Apr. 10, 1931 (see also pl. 2, a-c).

[64] 1880, b, pp. 323–324.

*172 ● 824 [251] The chokecherry was greatly esteemed for food. It was cooked as a sauce while fresh, and also reduced to pulp with a stone hammer, and this paste was shaped into cakes and dried to preserve for winter use, somewhat in the manner of the dried prune paste of Bulgaria and Serbia.

The insect galls of the wild rose were supposed to possess medicinal value.

No. 6. Two tubers of *Apios tuberosa*. Apios tubers were highly valued as a food vegetable by tribes throughout the extensive range of this plant over all eastern North America. It was mentioned by Beverly and other writers of the English colony of Virginia, under the name "Openauk", which is a corruption of the name of the tubers in the language of one of the tribes of Algonkian stock in that region. Later, after the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) had been introduced into North America, readers of these early writings erroneously construed them to refer to the potato. Hence arose the myth of potatoes having been grown by Indians of Virginia.

Peter Kalm, a Swedish botanist, in his visit to North America, mentions the common use of these tubers by the colonists of New Sweden (New Jersey) as they had learned from their Indian neighbors.

When the French Jesuit missionaries saw the Indians in New France (Quebec) harvesting these wild tubers they noticed their characteristic growth in long strings like a string of beads, hence they called them *les racines des chapelets*, "rosary roots."

When the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) was first introduced to the people of the Dakota Nation, they compared them to the tubers of Apios, which was one of their important native food plants. The Dakota name of Apios, which is *blo*, was applied to the potato, and finally was completely transferred to it, so that now in common Dakota use the word *blo* signifies potato.

No. 7. A number of seeds of the Bush Summer Squash (*Cucurbita pepo* of the *melopepo* type). This type of cucurbit was of coextensive distribution with corn in the aboriginal agriculture of North America. In later prehistoric and historic cultures, many tribes possessed *Cucurbita maxima* (Winter Squash), *Cucurbita pepo* (Pumpkin) and *Cucurbita pepo melopepo* (Summer Squash), but in earlier prehistoric cultures *Cucurbita maxima* and *C. pepo* might be lacking, [while] it appears that *C. pepo melopepo* was not lacking in any cultures which possessed corn and beans.

No. 8. A small quantity of seeds of a chenopodiaceous plant, apparently *Chenopodium* sp. But these seeds are much larger than the seeds of any native Chenopodium of that region. The seeds of most species of chenopodiaceous plants indigenous in the region are 1 mm or less in diameter, but these are 3 mm in diameter. In the Journal of the Washington Academy of Science, volume VIII, no. 15, September 1918, W. E. Safford describes under the title "Chenopodium nuttallae, a Food Plant of the Aztecs", a chenopodium which is cultivated in Mexico as a food grain. The seeds of our specimen more nearly agree with this description and illustrations of *Chenopodium nuttallae* Safford, sp. nov., than with the seeds of any chenopodiaceous plant now growing in the region where these specimens were found. The puzzling and interesting question arises: How came these seeds here? Were they cultivated by the Pawnees at that time? Were they of direct importation from Mexico? [484] It is well known that the Pawnee made expeditions into Mexico in historic time, well on into the nineteenth century. Did they bring seeds of cultivated plants thence, and was this Aztec crop plant introduced by Pawnee farmers into their farming operations in Nebraska?

White men who traveled among the Pawnee have mentioned their cultivated crops, but only corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins, those already familiar to these white men in their own homes. It may well be that here was another

> crop unknown to these white men and unnoticed by them. Even cultivated 172*
> sunflowers, common as they were to Pawnee agriculture, were scarcely men- 224
> tioned or not mentioned at all in accounts by these white men. Another crop,
> still less known to white men, might easily have escaped notice entirely. If
> they saw fields of it growing, they probably, not being acquainted with it, con-
> sidered them to be old neglected fields "gone to weeds."

While maize and other vegetable products provided the bulk of 172*
the diet, animal food was also very generally used. Of particular
importance was the bison, hunted not for its flesh alone, but also 262
for the hide, hair, sinew, horns, and even the hoofs. Archeologi- 237
cally, the bones of this animal are by far the commonest in Pawnee
sites, and byproducts, such as horn spoons and haircloth, are by no
means unknown. Further, the dire straits into which the tribe was
thrown by failure to find the herds shows very clearly how heavily
the Pawnee leaned upon the bison economically, even with their
fields of maize.

Two great tribal hunts were staged each year by the Pawnee, a 172*
practice followed also by the Oto, Omaha, Kansa, Osage, and other 224
neighboring tribes of similar cultural status. Immediately after 221
the second hoeing of the corn, which took place about the middle
of June, the entire tribe departed on the summer hunt, returning
in September to harvest the corn and other crops. Toward the end
of October, after the corn had been cached, they set out on the winter
hunt, the Skidi moving westward to the forks of the Platte, while
the other bands proceeded southward to the Arkansas.[35] Early in
April they returned to the permanent villages in time for the corn
planting. The favorite hunting grounds lay in what is now western
Kansas, between the Republican and Arkansas Rivers, necessitating
a trek of from 400 to 900 miles on each hunt.[36] An additional
incentive for the long winter hunt appears to have been the need of
finding sufficient forage for the horses.[37]

The meat was eaten fresh whenever possible, every hunt being a 172*
period of heavy feasting. Great quantities of meat were cut into 262
strips and dried in the sun to form "jerky." This was later eaten [224]
raw or else was cooked with corn and beans into a sort of stew or [252]
thick soup. The tongue and heart of the bison were usually sacrificed
to the spirits. Long says that the tallow was also used, particularly
in cookery. According to Allis,[38] "The most delicious dish with
them is the young taken from the buffalo they kill."

Among the other animals commonly used as food, Allis[39] names
elk, deer, bear, beaver, otter, raccoon, and badger. The jaws and

---

[35] Ashley and Smith, 1918, pp. 119-121.
[36] Dunbar, 1880, b, pp. 327-328.
[37] Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 447.
[38] 1887, p. 140.
[39] Ibid.

356 roof of their house. He noted that seven of the radial timbers were rotting,
and he remarked that they needed replacement. Old Bull made no
comment, but he knew that they would carry on this enterprise together.
[283] During the winter buffalo hunt, each of them killed a buffalo bull so that
[237] they could keep the hides to make rawhide strips for use when the roof
was rebuilt the following spring. Around the smokehole, fastening the
radial roof rafters together, were two stout willow hoops, one on the inside
and one on the outside. These were tied in place on the radial rafters
with the rawhide strips. It was this mechanism that gave the symmetrical
form and strength to the whole cone of the roof, and the tying was therefore
important. At the same time as the hides were obtained, the women
[251] made sure to dry plenty of buffalo intestine so that they would have
[262] enough to make soup for the volunteers. While the bison hide was still
[281] fresh, the women removed the hair.

Now during the spring Victory Call and Old Bull kept an eye out for
356 elm trees from which they could strip the bark to use in tying on the willow
314 circuits around the roof frame. A cut was made near the bottom of
283 the elm tree so that the bark could be loosened; a strip about two inches
wide was ripped upward from the bottom. Five or six strips were taken
from each elm. The strips were dried and stored until the actual time of
building, when they were soaked in water and used wet so that they
would make a tight bind when they dried in place. It took a large number
of these elm strips to fasten the circuits in place around the roof.

356 Now Victory Call went into the timber to locate seven suitable willow
trees. The next day he returned with his wife, White Woman, and
313 his retainer, Horse Rider. The trip to the Loup River was five or six miles.
Victory Call cut down the trees with his axe, and Horse Rider and White
Woman proceeded to lop off all the branches with a hatchet. After the
trees were cut and the branches removed, they went home. Next day
White Woman and Horse Rider returned and began to remove the bark,
hacking it off from stub end to point; the man worked with an axe, the
woman with a hatchet. Two trees were debarked, and they returned until
they had finished the seven. After debarking, the poles were left in the
timber to season for three days.

356 Meanwhile, without further discussion, Old Bull had gone off to look
313 for willow withes to make the circuits. When he got home he remarked
to his younger wife, Clear Day, "There are some nice willows down at
• 824 Beaver Creek. Tomorrow we can go out and cut them." In the evening
when Victory Call and the others got home from the Loup where they
were fixing the radials, Old Bull remarked that he had been looking
around and had seen some willows and that the next day they were going
to cut them. Queen Woman and Old Lady Blue Calico of the South
Side decided that since the women of the North Side were working so
hard on the construction work, they would take over all the cooking for
the family.

the family. Hauling in the materials was a considerable task. The two 000
families were fortunate in having enough horses so that two could be 492
used to transport the seven radials over the six-mile journey in one day. 356
These radials were leaned outside the house against the roof until needed. It required a wagonload or four large double armfuls of the willow saplings to make the circuits. These had to be hauled in from Beaver Creek about a mile away, a task carried out by Old Bull and his wives.

With these materials in place, Victory Call went out prospecting for 356
thatch grass. He had to travel five miles southwest of the village near the 824
Loup River where the grass grew near the edge of the timber in a little hollow place with some sand hills. Nearer the villages, the horses had eaten it up. That night the women on the North Side, White Woman and the two grandmothers, sharpened up the edges of their buffalo shoulder-blade hoes so that they could cut the thatch grass next day. No Corn, Horse Rider's older wife, was crippled with arthritis and was unable to do that type of work. She remained at home and did necessary household chores. Meanwhile, the women on the South Side continued to provide the meals for all of them. Next morning the two men and three women went with their two horses to the grass patch. The women cut the grass and the men saw that it was properly piled up. The grass was gathered into five bunches, each 3 feet high, the layers being laid down, one layer with stub ends one way, the next layer with pointed ends in the same direction so that the bundle would be even in thickness. The grass was tied into tight bundles and loaded one on each side of the horse. The two horses were loaded, White Woman packing one of the bundles, and when they arrived home the grass bundles were placed next to the bundles of willow withes and weighted down with sticks so that they didn't scatter in the wind. The materials were now ready and they could arrange for the actual construction.

Arrangements were now made to move in with other families until the 356
roof was fixed. Old Bull spoke to their neighbor, Coming-Downhill- 574
Bringing-Trophies, whose house was located just across from theirs, and 476
Victory Call made arrangements with Chief's Road whose lodge was 571
right next door. There was a friendly relationship between the households of Victory Call and Chief's Road. Chief's Road had the social rank of commoner, but he was a very successful warrior and hoped that someday his ambition to be an administrative officer would be realized through his friendship with Victory Call. He hoped that should Victory Call become head chief of their village, he would select him as his official brave. He was the most skillful arrowmaker in the Skidi Band, and he often made arrows for Victory Call and rendered him many other services. Victory Call returned the courtesy with gifts of wood for fuel and portions of meat from his hunting. The children of the two lodges also played together. Chief's Road had the lodge with his brother, and

773 to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used
796 in the sacrifice ceremony.

782 Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning
[821] Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose
[787] ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in
[292] order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin
[825] with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood
[823] appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm,
• [824] northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Tuwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

with red buffalo-fat ointment. Four circles were made on the ground one 773
in each of the semicardinal directions to symbolize the four quarters of 796
the universe that the Morning Star had to pass as he approached the 782
Evening Star. The circles were made by a man who stood in the middle [823]
and extended his toe as far as possible, drawing his foot on the ground as [772]
he turned. The tracks were filled with soft down feathers from the bundle. The priest smeared himself with red buffalo-fat ointment and suffused himself with sweet grass smoke. The actual ceremony could begin.

The priest of the Evening Star bundle sang the first part of the ritual and after a pause, the Morning Star priest took charge. He sang two songs. Then they had their meal. The Wolf man opened the next phase, bringing the girl to the altar where she was anointed by the priest with red ointment given to him by the war leader. They returned to their seats and the ceremony continued all night. The second day's ceremony was of the same kind. On the third day they continued to sing and dance, the war leader beginning the dance and then being joined by the others. The war leader took up the northeast pole from the fireplace with the fire still burning on its end and pointed it at the girl without touching her, first toward her right side then toward her left. Next he took first the southwest pole following the same procedure, then the northwest pole and then the southeast pole, following the prescribed order. Now, on the third day, the crowd of spectators became heavy and began to push into the lodge and tear holes in the roof so that they could witness the proceedings.

While the ceremony was going on in the lodge the priest gave direc- 773
tions for the preparation of the sacrificial scaffold. He sent men to find a 796
suitable location a mile or two east of the village with a ravine or a 782
series of dips in the ground to the east of it where the attacking war- 417
riors could hide during the ceremony. Wood for each part of the sacrifi- 824
cial frame had to be of special kinds: cottonwood for the two uprights; the four crossbars near the bottom serving as steps, each symbolizing one of the four semicardinal directions, the bottommost elm, then box elder, cottonwood, and willow, each associated with an animal power. Elm represented the bear and the northeast; box elder, the mountain lion and the southwest; cottonwood, the wildcat and the northwest; and willow, the wolf and the southeast. When the men reported back to the priest that they had located the wood, he gave them four strips of animal skin, each one of the appropriate animal with which to tie the crossbars to the frame. Near the top of the two uprights was another crossbar of willow, symbolizing Heaven, which was tied on with otter-
skin to symbolize the renewal of life. They were instructed by the 773
priest to dig a rectangular pit under the scaffold in area about the size 796
of a buffalo robe commonly used to wrap a sacred bundle and 5 inches 782
417

The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood 276
(*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer [224]
bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for
smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in
winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade [439]
store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared
patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of [249]
Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting 224*
expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their 276
pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so
that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½
feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would 224*
depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle 492
had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A
saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front
and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were
tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed
to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used
to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the
rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they
were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the
stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling
the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth 224*
for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently 291
on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was 412
an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. 224*
Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on 482
her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage 778
on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, 224*
dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, 251
coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concen- 262
trated foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes.
The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that [484]
time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would
now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegeta- 224*
ble provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the 251
cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One 252
batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were

Star. If during the night one had dreamed a bad dream, one might swallow 484*
a great deal of water and regurgitate it before eating. 512 [787]

White Woman was making the grease bread and No Corn was making the coffee. During these preparations, Victory Call sat by smoking his pipe.

By the time Horse Rider was through bringing in the horses, breakfast
was ready. After they had all eaten, the women cleaned the dishes, using [264]
the plant known as water string or "false indigo" (*Amorpha fruticosa*, [824]
Gilmore, p. 93) to rub on the dishes and buckets to sweeten them while washing. This plant grew close to the creeks with its roots in the water; the leaves and stems were used and the roots discarded. In winter, strips of the bark were taken from the dry stalks. False indigo was invaluable, particularly on the march; you might find nothing but boggy
water in a depression and the plant would freshen it. It could also be used [263]
to make palatable meat that had a gamey flavor like wildcat, by boiling it in two waters with the plant and pouring off the water each time, after which it could be cooked in the ordinary way and tasted good. The plant was spread on the ground while butchering to keep the pieces of meat clean.

The dishes having been cleaned, they were ready to dismantle the camp and load the horses. Two or three old ladies were waiting nearby for
Grandma to join them. They would set out at once to get an early start, [262]
carrying a little ration of pounded up sweet corn and sugar to sustain them on the way.

As soon as they had eaten, the two men saddled up the horses while 484*
White Woman prepared to dismantle the tent. She shook the tent pegs 512
loose and pulled them out, then began to fold over the tent cover while it 342
was still on the frame, first pulling one side around to the back and 492
folding it over and then the other side; pulling down the "backbone" pole with folded cover on it, she untied the stick where it was attached at the top and bottom and put it aside. The tent skin was then folded down the middle lengthwise and evenly rolled from the bottom end toward the top, then tied around the middle with the string that was there for the purpose (see Figure 19-1). Additional ropes were used to tie the roll securely across the ends. Now White Woman dismantled the wooden frame, and the poles were divided evenly so that they could be tied to the horse's back in two even bunches.

Only the oblong rawhide containers were now left standing, as they 484*
had been placed next to the back wall of the tent. Meanwhile No Corn 512
had been rolling up the bulrush mats that were on the ground and tying them in the middle with the strings that were provided there. She was also rolling up the blankets.

Now that everything had been dismantled in the camp, the next job 484*
was loading up. The horse was brought around close to where the con- 512
tainers were. Horse Rider and No Corn stood on one side and Victory Call 492

kats-taraha, "medicine-buffalo," because it is found only in areas where 222 the buffalo are. It is like quinine. It is also called *kats-taxkata,* "medicine- 484* yellow," because of the color of the long root. Even on a hot day it has [824] a cooling effect when chewed. It makes one salivate and relieves thirst when there is no water available. The men tied their horses to the grass and collected what they needed. Cicely was hard to get except in this area. They also collected quite a lot of sand cherries. They started home when it was nearly sundown and when he had taken the saddle off his horse at his own tent, Roaming Leader went to report at the council 224* tent. There he told the Chief of Police, Strikes-the-Enemy, what they had seen and that there were no buffalo anywhere. The scouts of the 484* South Bands had gone east and north over the land the people had traversed to see if the enemy were tracking them from the rear. From the report that no buffalo were to be seen, White Eagle decided that they had best move anyway. They all started out very early in the morning. By about sunrise all the horses were loaded up and the old ladies were already on their way. The advance scouts had gone ahead to protect them. Others had gone out to locate the herd. The place of encampment was on sort of an embankment with the water at the foot of it. The timber was a little distance away. Of the Skidi villages, Bottomlands and Wolf-in-Water were near the edge and the children could jump right into the water; the other two villages were located a little to the south.

The young men who had been out scouting all day came directly to the council tent. They had a bad report to make. They said, "You want buffalo. Well they must have gone east. We're getting to Sioux country. As far as we could go, we saw no buffalo." White Eagle decided to enlist supernatural help. He called in the four official scouts of the sacred bundle, the *periksu,* and he called in the priest, old man Angry Horse, to come very early next morning while it was still dark, to smoke the ceremonial pipe with them and give them instructions. Meanwhile White Eagle also decided that the camp had better move still further west to a place about nine or ten miles away on the other side of where the stream, *Kitsa-waku,* "Stream-Noisy," empties into the Republican (Post Hunt Camp 2).

"This is a fine place to swim with clear water," said White Eagle. "It is a wide, rocky stream, the water making noise on the rocks." They followed a buffalo path, the line of march crossing over where the buffalo had made a path leading down to the stream and up on the other side. The South Bands camped as soon as they got across; the Skidis had to go further west.

Very early that morning the old priest Angry Horse had gone through the camp and assembled the four official scouts in the council tent and sent them off on their mission. There were three other men who decided to do some scouting on their own and possibly locate a lone

from whom they could well steal horses, and some young men thought 726
they would like to go to the Osage country. The women of their house- 726
hold would outfit them with three or four pairs of new moccasins, tan- 705
ning some hides especially for the purpose. Each pair would be filled
with supplies—pulverized dried meat, parched corn, and dried meat. The
young man would have a large flat package, especially wide to carry on
his back with straps across the chest to carry his baggage. Under his belt [276]
he carried his tobacco and his pipe, and every time he sat down while he
was on the warpath he must smoke. When he went off to steal horses
he hung his flat-package on a tree and sometimes did not get a chance to
retrieve it at all.

In Victory Call's household, they had gotten eight hides. A small one 281
would be tanned by White Woman to get supplies at Fort Kearney. One 439
was reserved for Mr. Bishop, the trader near home, to whom a good
one had been promised before they left in payment for supplies Victory
Call had obtained at his store for their journey.

While they were going east along the Platte River after their arrival 224*
two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), the village scouts came back 484*
with their report of how things were back home. They came in directly 203
to the tent of Leading Chief who now had charge of their return journey and reported:

> We went down to the village. We couldn't go in, it was full of fleas. Toward evening we went to the different corn fields. The corn is pretty ripe in some places. The pumpkins are hard yet. There are lots of beans of all different kinds. One fellow got on a freight and went to Columbus to see how the Stay-at-Homes were. Everything looks good. From there we went to the school. We gave the children some pulverized dried meat and some plain. We told them you folks were coming home. We stopped in Bishop and Matlock's store for the night and said it would be about eight or ten days before we got to the village. Everyone looks all right.

Now Know-His-Face went through the encampment, announcing this
message to all. In one of the other bands a rougish old lady called out [824]
"And how about the sunflowers? How are they doing?" The boy said, [522]
"The sunflowers are way high!" The byplay is that the sunflowers were
the place where clandestine affairs were carried on. These grew as weeds
in the boundaries between the fields.

One of the scouts brought five or six ears of corn that were ripe from 224*
different fields, and gave them to the ones to whom they belonged. One 484*
ear had come from the field of Otter's grandmother, and before she took [788]
off the husks she blessed him with it four times. Then she removed the [252]
husks, roasted the ear in the coals, and broke it into three pieces, one for [262]

512 173 243 people went on the hunt and still the corn lay there. A man going through the village heard someone talking. He thought there must be another man in the village. But he followed along to where the voice was coming from and got to the sweepings. There lay the good ear of corn. He stopped and picked it up and began to talk to it. He asked it to bless him and send him good luck for this corn is our Mother. He kept that ear of corn. That's how it was in the old days. Now since you've been wasting, the corn will become scarce."

512 243 251 252 That evening they husked the dry corn and continued next day until about two in the afternoon. Then it was left spread out to dry on the cob until evening and pried off after supper with a stick. Some men joined them and helped and after the women had gone to bed they continued to pry off the kernels, telling stories while they worked until late in the evening. The next day the shelling of the dry corn continued and that afternoon the men just wandered about the camp for a little recreation. Horse Rider had gone down to the grounds to watch the gambling. The women were tired and lay down to rest; their hands felt cramped from prying off the kernels.

[285] After they had collected the dry corn from No Corn's field, the women alternated work on it with making pumpkin mats as the strips were now dry enough. Then they proceeded to get the small nubbin ears for fattening the horses and collecting the sweet corn and braiding it to finish off the work.

356 887 While they were doing the pumpkins, the old ladies had already made a plan to go up and begin the process of clearing the earth lodge in anticipation of the time when the harvest was done. They had to go up at intervals of four days successively and burn out the fleas with torches. "These fleas bite worse than bedbugs!"

The three old ladies met at the lodge in the morning as planned. They removed the brush that had been placed across the door to seal it before they left on the hunt. They took off their clothes and put on an old petticoat. They made a brush or short broom of dry *pakuts* (thatch) grass and tied it to a stick. Then each woman took her brush inside the lodge and lit the grass, each one going around one side of the room and being careful to stay near the floor as the dry grass in the roof thatch might catch fire. When the grass was burned up on their broom, they put some more grass on it and repeated the process throughout the day. They repeated this four days later, and then on subsequent days. [824] They built a little fire in the fireplace and burnt some wild sage, kiwaut, (*Artemisia gnaphalodes* Nutt.) as incense to clear the air and make the room smell good. They would also burn some of the sage on their brooms along with the other grass. After the final smoking, they left the lodge empty for a day and on the following evening the lodge was quite habitable.

796 each one. The second part of the ceremony consisted in the recitation by a chief of certain events in the creation ritual that represented the essential nature of the world.

In the first episode, the four war parties went out for the poles. When everyone was assembled, four warriors took positions at the semicardinal places. [292] Each was dressed in full regalia. He wore an otter fur collar, a sacred ear of corn on the left shoulder, and a hawkskin on the right shoulder. On the head, each wore a ball of white down feathers and, transversely in the scalplock, an eagle feather. Each element of their costume had a symbolic meaning—the otter collar, awakening of life in the spring; the ear of corn, Mother Corn to guide them over the world; the hawk, to symbolize strength and fierceness; the eagle feather in the scalplock, Heaven during the creation; the white downy feathers, the clouds [302] on which he rode. Their faces were painted with red streaks along the sides and a bird's-foot mark on their foreheads which was also the name of a constellation in the Milky Way. Each warrior carried a war club and a pipe from one of the leading sacred bundles.

While the warriors were being costumed, four scouts had gone in four different directions to locate the trees for the posts. The White Pole [824] was located in the southwest direction and was a cottonwood. The Yellow Pole was found in the northwest and was a willow. The Red Pole of the southeast was a box elder, and the Black Pole of the northeast, an elm. The warriors came outside the enclosure and danced in their appropriate positions and a group of people gathered around each of them. The warriors now led their parties in their different directions and were met by their respective scouts who reported that they had located an enemy standing among the timber. Each warrior now led his party as if stealing upon an enemy. When the tree was sighted, they rushed in and the first man to reach the tree acted as if he were touching an enemy in battle, meriting a special war honor.

[782] Standing at the east, the warrior made a smoke offering to the tree. Then he carried the smoked-out pipe to the west where he deposited the ashes. Then another man, in similar fashion, made an offering of buffalo meat. Then a virgin took up her ax and symbolically cut down the tree. She motioned four times in each of the four directions, cutting off a chip in each. The tree was then actually cut down by her uncles and brothers amid the shouts of the people. As the tree fell they made as much noise as possible.

Now the warriors took up the tree and started toward the village, the [831] crowd following. On the ~~way in they~~ stopped to rest at four different intervals when they were beset by old women who encircled them making suggestive remarks referring to sexual intercourse and speaking of sexual acts as deeds of war. None of these remarks were personal. When the party tried to bring the pole into the enclosure, someone blocked

513 disarranging the bedding. In the warmer weather, a mat might be placed
352 on top of the skin as a "sheet." In addition to these appointments, some of
322 the beds had an additional screen of willows built in front of them to
• 824 make them especially private. Some married women preferred these—in this household for example, White Woman and Old Bull's older wife, Queen Woman. These screens, *kawiriwisisu*, were a permanent part of the bed structure. Six tall uprights were fixed in the ground, reaching from floor to ceiling, and across them close together were tied on with willow bark, 6-foot-long horizontal willow saplings. The horizontals were laid in alternate order, one with the stub end to the left and its point end to the right, and the one above it in the opposite position to ensure evenness. These were gathered in spring, peeled, and the irregular stems or knots cut off. Before they could be fastened to the uprights, they had to be briefly seasoned for a few days so that they would be neither too green when they would shrink too much and leave the fastenings loose, nor too dry, when they could not be properly straightened out
[531] in place. For decorative effect, six black were alternated with six natural
horizontals, the peeled saplings being passed through a decoction of
[386] sumach that had been boiled to make a black dye. After all the horizontals were tied in place, they were trimmed off on both edges to make the screen even. The entrance through the screen was made by cutting a low narrow opening in it at bed level, the vertical for this portion being hung from the roof.

353 As for the rest of the furnishings of the house, the buffalo skull had been left resting on the altar at the west and above it they now hung whatever sacred bundles they had. To the east of the fireplace they set up the bracket from which the pot was hung over the fire to boil. This was a forked stick stuck in the ground at a slant or having a natural curve; to one arm of the fork a wooden hook was suspended by a rawhide strap that could be raised and lowered by winding, depending on how close to the fire they wanted the pot to hang.

Against each side, on the east wall, was a woodpile supported by two tall forked sticks stuck in the ground. A little farther along the wall, leaning against it was a tree trunk with lopped off branches from which strings of braided corn were hung.

512 Now as the women were through with their cleaning, examining the
353 beds and generally getting things in order, they brought in the parfleches of meat and the bags and placed the twined-woven rush mats on the floor. Two mats were put down on their "side"; the better one near the west end and the more worn-out one near the east. Some pumpkins were stored on the intervening platforms between the beds, some were placed under the beds and others on the floor near the doorway. One of the parfleches had been placed in a handy position and left open as it contained current supplies. The rest were all closed up.

Toward evening, Horse Rider made a fire in the fireplace and went to 512 get water. Then No Corn cooked some dry meat for the family and 252 began to prepare the "grease bread" when White Woman said, "Give it to me. I'll make it. You get the coffee ready." The South Side family had not yet moved back in, and White Woman sat in the southeast position to do the cooking and serving, passing the food around to the north. When they returned, she would take her place northeast of the fireplace for this purpose. After they had finished with supper, Horse Rider went out to get some water for the morning and then everyone went to bed, as they were all tired.

It took about a week to get the earth lodge warm and lived-in. When 356 they first moved in, it was cool like a dugout. During the first week, in [824] the evening about every other day, they made a small fire near the doorway and burned sage weed (*kiwaut*) so that the draft would carry in the fragrant odor and sweeten the air in the lodge. It was also a protection [789] against evil spirits that might have entered while they were away on the hunt.

The day after they had moved in, Uncle War Cry had moved his 356 family up from the camp. He came in and joined them for supper while 462 his house was being set up by the women. He sat down next to Victory Call near the west and while White Woman sat down at the southeast doing the cooking, he said, "When we started out, we didn't have much. But now we've accumulated a lot of stuff—old moccasins and whatnot—old pots and pans. They're still trying to arrange things at home. A man just picks up his bow and arrows, but a woman always has all sorts of stuff she gathers up, like old horns. She says she'll make spoons of them." "Same thing here," said Victory Call. White Woman did not let these remarks remain unanswered. She said, "Of course you men don't know how to load things up. That's why you're always complaining of the amount of stuff we accumulate. If you could pack right, you wouldn't talk that way." War Cry, undeterred, went right on talking. "A woman picks up everything she sees. The women are working in my home. I don't want to get mixed up in it. Now I'm going, nephew (*tiwat*)." "All right," said Victory Call, and just after he had gone, he added, "He always has something to say to make a man laugh." The women comment, "Tomorrow we must pick out those beans we pulled up in the [244] pods with our fingers. If we use sticks to thresh them, it'll make dirt outside the lodge. We ought to pick them by hand."

In the next day or so, Old Bull met Victory Call and said they wanted to move back into the lodge next morning. "That's good," said Victory Call, "you ought to be in by now. There'll be something going on soon." (He is referring to the Doctor Dance Ceremonies.) Victory Call tells his folks at supper that Old Bull is moving in next day.

The following morning the South Side family rode up to the lodge, 356

tional as well as the physical structure of these animals. The device of 787
animal impersonation by dressing up in animal skins and imitating their 825
sounds and motions is universally reported for hunting peoples and must
go back to the very dawn of man's history. It may be that some degree
of self-induced trance or control of the prey in these terms may have
been involved in these operations. In any case, an intense rapport with
the animals was involved.

Each doctor developed his own "animal repertoire." We may be able 756
to gain some insight into the relation between the doctor and his animal
mentor from an actual case of a transfer of animal powers between two
brothers who decided to make a fair exchange of their different knowledge.

Victory Call was anxious to get Bear knowledge from his older brother,
Sitting Hawk, who was a leader of the Bear Lodge in the Doctor Association.
One day when they were alone together he broached the
subject. Sitting Hawk, however, was not willing to part with what he
knew for nothing. He said, "I want something there on your side. We're
going to trade." "You're my own brother," said Victory Call, "and you
won't teach me for nothing?" "You're my own brother, too, and I know
you won't teach me for nothing either," said Sitting Hawk. We should
explain that Victory Call was the leader of a private doctor cult the
Raris-ta, Dance-Deer or Whistle Dance involving the mescal bean that
had become so prominent among the Pawnees that it was developing
into a feared rival of the Doctor Association itself. Two generations before, [177]
this cult had been borrowed from the Wichita, the Caddoan-
speaking kinsmen of the Pawnees to the south. Among other kinds of 756
knowledge, rattlesnake power was involved in the teachings. It is hard to 824
know what plants were involved in connection with the curing of snakebite 825
or the control of the snakes. Members of the *Raris-ta* could handle
a weed that was thought to be poisonous to other people, though there is
no proof that this was the case. It was undulating in form like the snake
itself. People were warned not to touch the plant unless they were members
of the society. It was said of them that they had "snake-shot" or
power, ***rut-patsat-kuriraru***, "snake-shot-to-possess-or-own." Weeds associated
with rattlesnakes have variously been identified from other
tribes—a Mexican mentioned Dodder or Love Vine (*Cuscuta paradoxa*
Raf.), saying that snakes took it into their dens for food; from the Dakota
Indians there is a report that Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens* L.) was
known as snake food. The botanical identity of the Pawnee plant, however, 756
is not known. In the cosmic mythology it was said that the jealous 773
Fools-the-Wolves Star (Sirius) who had felt himself excluded from the 824
original Council of the Gods; was angered when people told irreverent 825
stores about Wolf or Coyote. Although in winter he couldn't control
the situation, in summer he could enlist the aid of the Snake Star (Scor-

756 [773] [824] [825]

pio), who would send the snakes on earth to bite the teller. There are many other indications in Pawnee mythology of the fear and respect the Pawnees held for the power of the rattlesnake.

Later in the course of our account of the doctor performances, we shall see that Victory Call did receive Bear knowledge from his brother, but first he taught him rattlesnake knowledge.

> One day Victory Call said to Sitting Hawk, "Well, let's go." If luck were with them they would find a rattlesnake right away. Sure enough, there sat a snake curled up with his head sticking up in the middle. Victory Call said, "Go ahead and catch it." Sitting Hawk thought, "It's going to bite me." The snake knew that Sitting Hawk was afraid of him. His fangs were sticking up and he was getting ready to bite. Sitting Hawk grabbed him by the neck. The snake felt cold on his arm. Sitting Hawk put the snake down and began to talk to him. He said, "That's what I wanted to know. That's what I wanted to find out." The snake said to Sitting Hawk, "I'm just like you. But you whip me and kill me for nothing. That's why, when you come in my path, I rattle to you to let you know I'm here. If you get out of my way then, I don't have to poison you. But when you come and abuse us, we must do something about it."
>
> Sitting Hawk now caressed Victory Call in blessing. The two men sat down and smoked a pipe together, offering puffs of smoke to the snake and talking to him. Then they went home and Victory Call gave Sitting Hawk some medicine to cure snakebite and showed him the weed it was prepared from.

Long after this time, when Sitting Hawk and Victory Call were dead and the tribe had moved to Oklahoma, Otter's older brother Fox Chief tried to transfer some rattlesnake power to him. But Otter failed from fear and hesitation:

> We two were walking along and we saw a big rattlesnake. Fox Chief told me to get hold of it, but I was afraid. Because of this, I would never have another chance. Fox Chief always had a little bundle of medicine in his buttonhole with fringes that hung down about four inches. He took a twig and chewed the end of it, dipping it in the medicine and then putting it near the end of the snake's nose. The snake relaxed and lay stretched out. He picked it up and put it in the crook of his arm so that it rested against the sheet that Fox Chief was wearing as a blanket. In this way he carried the snake home.
>
> When we arrived at his earth lodge, his wife was sitting in front on a mat making a pair of moccasins. He said to her, "I've brought you something to eat." She was very pleased until she saw what he had

brought. She yelled, "Take that away!" "He's all right," said Fox 756
Chief, "You people are foolish." "But he'll bite someone if you set him
free in the village," said his wife. "No, he knows we live here. He'll
go straight off to that rocky place over there." Then he released the
snake and the snake went directly away without disturbing anyone.
And so I lost my chance to learn—by not believing.

This story, told in Oklahoma in 1936, sixty years later, was sincerely believed.

With this confident knowledge of the herbs and roots connected with 756
it, the doctors did cure the sick, combining what must have been some 755
empirical observation of physical efficacy with personal influence and
suggestion. It was this latter aspect that was the subject of their cere- [796]
mony at this time and an affirmation of their faith in their calling.

Last of all they had to get the cedar tree that would stand just outside 756
the Bear Booth to the west of its entrance. The bear and the cedar were 796
associated together, and both belonged to the northeast direction. 824
Their celestial affiliation was with the sun and moon. All the trees that
were used in setting up the Doctor Lodge were brought in with a great
deal of ceremony. The six cottonwood trees that had been used to build [778]
the animal booths symbolized the beaver, and the waters and were consecrated accordingly. To get the cedar, twenty doctors set out before
sunrise for the Loup River where the cedar tree had been located the day
before. The leader of the party carried a bearhide rattle. [534]

On the return journey, they stopped halfway and practiced hypnotism 756
on one another. The doctors who had remained behind in the lodge would 796
try to prevent the incoming party from entering the village. One of the doctors was stationed at the top of the lodge to sight them as they were returning. The incoming party stopped in the timber and painted themselves so that they could rehearse in order to "put on a good show for the people of the village." They were sighted approaching from the southwest by the doctors in the lodge who went south through the village to meet them as they were about to enter and managed hypnotically to drive them back. The leader of the incoming party was sounding his bearhide rattle and the people climbed onto the roofs of their lodges to watch. The approaching party dropped the cedar, and, in their hypnotized condition some began to impersonate wolves, some deer, all imitating the motions of the different animals. As they came, one of the deer tumbled over, and the wolves tumbled on their noses and lay there kicking. Then they got up looked around dazed as they recovered from their trance. People came and threw offerings of calico and black handkerchiefs on the cedar tree as it lay on the ground.

Inside the lodge, Big Doctor stood ready to receive the cedar tree [824]
which was ceremonially treated and set down east of the fireplace while

756
796
[824]

they ate a feast together. That evening, with a special ritual, it was stood in the ground next to the Bear Booth.

At the feast that afternoon, Big Doctor had given an accounting of how their meat supplies were holding up. Sixty rawhide containers of dried buffalo meat had been donated and these had to last for the whole proceedings. Including the present meal, they had used up fifteen. The doctors had been working for nine days. Two more were used cleaning the lodge of fleas, and, for the two days used in building the serpent, the turtle, and the witch woman, they had used up four containers.

796
756
313
[462]

The question of wood for fuel also came up at this time. As the meal was coming to a close, the north errand man whispered into Big Doctor's ear that he should mention this matter in his closing speech, particularly as a number of chiefs were present at the session. Getting wood was normally the function of the women and now they would have to enlist the help of a considerable party of women to lay in a supply. The two chiefs present would tell the various members of their families asking the women to get wood for the doctors and then word would readily get around. Old Man High Water was also instructed to go from house to house soliciting volunteers, saying, "The doctors want you to go for wood for them." He was cautioned not to mention any particular amount lest the women feel they were being pressured into going. The chiefs would arrange to have scouts go out with the women to protect them. Other young men would go voluntarily and picket on the hills.

756 796 • [824] The doctors came in very early wearing only their moccasins and a loin cloth and carrying an ax. Before sunrise they were to go into the woods and get six cottonwood trees and a quantity of willow saplings to build up the booths. The cottonwood trees were symbolic of the beaver, and the trees were cut down with an involved ceremonial procedure. When the doctors had all assembled, Big Doctor, dressed in his buffalo robe with the hair side out and carrying an eagle-wing fan and a gourd rattle, said, "Now get ready!" They sang four songs, four rounds each, [533] and then Big Doctor appointed Sitting Hawk to lead the men into the timber. He also wore a buffalo robe with the hair side out and carried an eagle-wing fan, gourd rattle, and a pipe that had been filled with tobacco by Good Pipe so that he could perform the ceremony when they cut down the first cottonwood. Pipe Offering instructed him: "Go by the east agency road. Before you get across Beaver Creek, all along the north side, you will find good willows and cottonwoods and also some very small thin willows. Cut a good many of those. Now go!"

756 796 824 276 782 They all filed out behind Sitting Hawk, and when they got to the timber they found a good cottonwood and sat down around it to perform the ceremony. Sitting Hawk, who was seated at the west, pointed the unlit pipe toward the tree—first toward the top, then the middle, and then the bottom. Now he moved to the north side, again offering the unlit pipe to the top, the middle, and the bottom of the tree and so similarly at the east and at the south. The next step was an offering of the smoke from the lit pipe in the same manner. Squatting at the northeast of the tree he lit the pipe with a flint and proceeded by north to west where he directed puffs of smoke to the top, middle, and bottom of the tree and then at the other stations as before. After the pipe was smoked out, he made the same offering with the ashes, rubbing first his right hand along the stem up toward the top of the tree, then his left hand, then the same to the middle, sitting at each of the four cardinal directions—west, north, east, and south. He now handed the pipe to the man at his right (south) and instructed him to find a cottonwood just like the one before them and to treat it ceremonially in the same way. These two cottonwoods were to stand near the western end of the lodge on both sides (north and south). He now instructed Bringing Horses to take his men and get two more cottonwoods, one to stand in the north position and one to the south as representatives of the beaver. (The ceremony was performed only for the two cottonwoods that would stand at the west.)

756 796 824 Finally, two other men were sent to get two cottonwoods that would stand one on each side of the lodge near the east. These men simply cut down the trees and sharpened them at the stub end so that they could be stood up in their appropriate positions in the lodge. Meanwhile, Sitting Hawk went on with his ceremony for the two trees that were to

stand at the west. After the smoke offerings, he made a series of cuts in 756
the tree at the four cardinal points in the standard order—first at the west, 796
then north, then east and then south, cutting it so that it would fall 824
gently to the east where two men were standing to catch it so that the limbs would not break. They sharpened it at the stub end so that it would stand up in the lodge. All chips were gathered and either thrown into the creek or carried home and burned in the fire. After gathering as many willow saplings as they could carry, the procession for the Doctor Lodge set out with Sitting Hawk in the lead and two men each carrying the six cottonwoods, one at each end of the tree.

Halfway home, they stopped. They began to make animal motions and to try to hypnotize one another (*patsaku*, "shoot one another"). Some of them had their buffalo robes on, some did not. They made peculiar motions with their eagle-wing fans, touching the ground. Then some were knocked down and got up growling and grunting. One of them "hypnotized" another by trying to put a corn cob in his throat, making his mouth all bloody. Another attempted to put fish bones in someone's throat, with the same result. The victims vomited up these things without too much damage being done and continued to move along with the cottonwoods. When the little boys saw this they got excited and said, "Look at those fellows! Look at that big bear over there!" As they arrived at the village, they made a second stop and again hypnotized each other. Then they took up the trees once more and went toward the ceremonial lodge. As they were arriving, Big Doctor took up his gourd rattle and began to sing. They came in and when the singing was over, Sitting Hawk gave the pipe back to Pipe Offering at the west. The cottonwood that had been ceremonially gathered was carefully placed to the east of the fireplace with its stub end pointing west and the head end eastward toward the exit. The second "west" tree was placed in the same position beside it and the others in any order on the ground, nearer the entrance. Now Big Doctor, getting the pipe from Pipe Offering, smoked all the trees ceremonially, treating each one in turn as in the woods.

They could now proceed to build the booths. Meanwhile, the errand 756
men did the cooking. First the six cottonwoods were erected, three on 796
each side. Then the willow partitions and fronts were added. Everyone 346
was arguing—"This is our lot; move over a bit." "Well, we have a lot of buffalo!" "Well, we have a lot of deer too!" The leaders stood on the inside directing the apprentices who were doing their work. The willows were all piled up on the north side of the entrance while they proceed with the job. At the southeast the errand men were preparing the kettle 824
so that they could cook their meat. They had had nothing to eat all 252
day. The wives of the four leading doctors had brought in four buckets of boiled dried corn kernels and set them down on either side of

756
796
[346]
the southeast lodge pole. Sometimes a woman would come in and give the "boss" of one of the animal booths a gift of corn bread so that later on during the performance they would be permitted to sit near the booth and get a better view instead of crowding in at the entryway.

When the food was ready, Big Doctor spoke and told them they were going to interrupt their activity and eat now, and that they could resume their work later. He said that he himself would make the offering to the powers with the corn and save time. The errand men were instructed to distribute the food.

The meal over, Big Doctor said, "Now we have eaten. Now you can go and tend to anything you want to. But after that, return here and get back to work!" They went off home to take their extra dry meat to their families, to tend their horses, and to take a little rest before going on with the work in the evening. The four main doctors did not linger long away from the ceremonial lodge. They had to fix up the gourd rattles, drums, and other things. Old-Man-That-Chief who has elk (*pax*) power was too old to wander about. If he should want to go home, someone must lead him. Most of the time he remained in the lodge throughout the ceremonial period.

756
796
532
[317]
That night and the next they built the serpent, the witch, and the turtle. They worked at night when they would not be observed. The serpent would take a whole night, the witch and the turtle perhaps another night. They had to bring in quantities of clay from the river bottom to do all this modeling. Twelve of them did the modeling—the four doctors at the west, and Old Bull and also the son of the subleader at the north, Wonderful Old Bison; the son of Sitting Hawk, Misery; also Angry Horse of the Bear Lodge. Bringing Horses was called in by Pipe Offering to assist him. On the next night, after the serpent was done they divided up, six working on the witch woman and six on the turtle-fireplace. Then the skin cutouts of the celestial powers were hung in place and the two loon skins put before the altar. Finally they were to set out for the cedar tree. They followed the same kind of procedure as for the cottonwoods, except that only one tree was obtained on this occasion.

756
796
[824]
A suitable cedar had been spotted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy on the Loup River, and before sunrise the next day a party of twenty doctors led by Strikes-the-Enemy set out to cut it down and bring it back to the lodge. Symbolically the cedar represented the Bear whose celestial affiliation was with the sun and the moon. The cottonwood symbolized the Beaver and the waters of the earth. Strikes-the-Enemy led the party, carrying a bear-hide rattle. On the return journey, they stopped half way and had a hypnotic contest as described in Chapter 34

[824]
When the party reached within four feet of the lodge, they halted and

Big Doctor prepared to receive them and the tree on behalf of the Doctor Lodge. At his signal they came inside carrying the tree, stub end forward, and walked around the fireplace four times through south, west, north, and east where they stopped and placed the tree with its stub end touching the rim of the fireplace and its head end pointing toward the entrance at the east. 756 796 824

Pipe Offering made the offering of tobacco, smoke, and ashes with the sacred pipe to the three vital parts of the tree—the base, the middle, and the top as they had previously done with the cottonwoods. Meanwhile the errand men were sent outside to start to boil the dried buffalo meat for their feast. [782]

All this time the other doctors had remained inside their respective booths, only the officials of the Doctor Lodge conducting the smoke offering ceremony. These included the four doctors at the west, one doctor each at the north and at the south, one old man (*kurahus*) each, at the northeast and the southeast, and the two errand men, one on each side of the entrance way.

Now that the cedar tree had been brought into the lodge and received, it was time for all of them to eat. The doctors all came out of their booths and sat right down on the serpent as there was no other place to sit between the booths and the fireplace. Three buckets of boiled corn kernels had been donated and these constituted the first course of their banquet. As always, they had to share the food with the supernatural powers before it could be eaten by the people, and the serving followed an order that was determined by the particular powers they had called on for the occasion. After eating, the ceremony to stand the cedar in its place was performed and then anyone who wanted to could go home. 756 796 264

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 ing" session that lasted late into the night. The successive fighting ses-
789 sions on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in
787 which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its
"owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally suc-
ceeds in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so
that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner.
[824] The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man
on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them.
In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to
as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semi-
cardinal "stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a
person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally op-
posite semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *North-
west* possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only
by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally
on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the
Northeast. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only
be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets
to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The
Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross.
The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star,"
the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the
773 pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic
776 significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can
speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god
[821] of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot
to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor
deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the
Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of
the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was
complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the
people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome,
he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a
buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way.
Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti,
and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his
whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat,
gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie.
The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any
buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry
meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the
hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, suc-
ceeding, as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not
please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known 776
as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended 773
that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in [756]
the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The [782]
actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It [821]
was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears, without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of 796
rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celes- 825
tial ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time. Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been 796
occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and "fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is 796
completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. 241
Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until 262
the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive "fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently [824]
the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the [534]
wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea- 000

The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea-
796 ture of the Pawnee Deer Dance ceremonial in the performances, and the
824 entire floor was carpeted with the plant placed radially all around with
825 the stub ends outward and the head ends pointing inward. The symbolism of the deer was maintained in the course of the performances when the performer would jump over the fireplace, from north to south and back again, and from west to east and back again, impersonating the deer in this way. Also in his closing speech, the leader told them that their Deer Lodge was now over and they were to follow their tracks home to the timber. They left, blowing their whistles all the way home, and the blowing could be heard all over the village so that the dance was sometimes referred to as the Whistle Dance.

796 After the sixth session, the "fighting" was entirely ended and the
789 seventh, eighth, and ninth evenings were given over to illusionist sleight-
536 of-hand feats of considerable intricacy, and the calendar eventually became so crowded that several performers might be performing simultaneously or with their performances overlapping. The rattling and singing would be begun at the southeast station, and sometimes no one would be inspired to get up and perform until the gourds and bows had reached a subsequent station in the clockwise round. In any case, if the spectators had not yet accumulated to a sufficient degree, some of the performers felt they wanted to wait "until they got a good crowd." The ceremony of the tenth day is entirely composed of a considerable series of sleight-of-hand performances.

At the time when Kind Warrior was its leader, the membership of
796 the Deer Dance was becoming so considerable and the interest so
756 great that the leaders of Doctor Lodge felt that it might develop into a
578 rival organization to theirs. Sometimes when members were absent from the Doctor Lodge, others would go after them and finding them in the Deer Dance, would spirit them out, causing them to bleed at the mouth and desecrating the ground of the Deer Dance Lodge which had to be spotlessly clean and fresh. This almost developed into an open contest of power, which was finally averted when the doctors sent their apologies to the Deer Dance leaders admitting they had been wrong. At that period, the two ceremonies overlapped somewhat. Kind Warrior had taken a group of his members down to the pond where he summoned up a turtle, stating that if it came to an open fight he would go into the Doctor Lodge and, locking the entryway, make their turtle fireplace come alive. A report of this threat, finally brought the apology from the doctors.

The conflict was resolved at a later time, when Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, took over after Victory Call's death as leader of the Deer Dance and entered into an agreement with the leaders of the Doctor Lodge to hold his ceremony early, right after they arrived back from the summer hunt and before the Doctor Lodge should begin.

000 and materials. European goods were first spread by itinerant traders who
439 carried their wares to the different villages and centers and finally set
443 up their own trade stores. Bishop and Matlock's was the favorite trade
[436] store for the Pawnees at this time, and the buffalo robe was the chief
medium of exchange. The trade value of a well-tanned robe of ordinary
[435] quality was ten to fifteen dollars. For one of prime quality, expertly
tanned, they might get thirty dollars worth of exchange goods. The national
market of the trader justified him in paying these prices. In 1848,
175 100,000 robes were shipped out of St. Louis, and the American Civil War
439 gave a special impetus to the buffalo leather trade for army needs. By
1874 even England was making use of the leather for its army. When
supplies were running low in a Pawnee household, the man would point to an unworked buffalo hide and say to his wife, "Make up that buffalo robe so that we can get something at the store." In the past the same expedient probably served for trade with other tribes or villages.

237 The hair of the buffalo was intricately braided into a long rope known as Black Rope, which was used by the men to hold the buffalo robe in place as well as for other purposes. The horns provided the common eating and serving spoons and the bones were made into a number of important tools, notably the buffalo shoulder blade, which was the main spade or earth-digging tool as well as the hoe and the scythe. These bones also provided tools for skin working and for sizing and straightening the arrowshaft, as well as slivers for scraping and cutting. The sinews of the buffalo were used for sewing together the skins and for making bowstrings.

313 Second in importance as an industrial material was wood. In the open
prairie plains, trees grew only along the streams. The supply was heavily
drawn upon for fuel as well as for industry. Wood was used industrially
for building and for equipment and utensils. Cottonwood and willow
313 were the mainstay of the construction industries—the cottonwood because
824 it was light for its strength and bulk and the willow for its flexibility.
Elm was used for making the mortar and post oak for the pestle. They also used the post oak to make their common eating bowls. Dogwood was the material of the arrowshafts and ashwood for the bow as well as the gaming hoop and the pipestem. Wood was best gotten in the fall when the sap was running low.

824 Reeds and grasses were their third industrial resource. Grasses grew
along the streams and reeds in the limited number of ponds to be found
in the area. Since they matured about the same time as the cultivated
crops, they had to be processed as soon as the harvest was over. The
[285] most important product they made from these materials was the large
twined woven mat that they felt had to be spread on the dusty ground
[352] both in the earth lodge and in the tent while they were on the hunt. Next

824

Next
in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes 412
to keep the hair in order. 302

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two es- 316
sential materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and 317
stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have 439
been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or
by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their
area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made 175
up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking 439
and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees 415
were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one 177
could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grin- [323]
nell got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery
in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it
well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows: 323

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron." This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they [252]
> boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They 172
have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular 415
body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick
"collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad
collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was 415
the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part 252
the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim
and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots
were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must 411
also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was 17
entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the
arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops
roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to
the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

diameter, and the round excavated fireplace in the center and the shape 342
and insulation of the walls made it warm in winter. The life of a set of
tipi poles was five to seven years, and within that interval three or four
of them were likely to bend or weaken and have to be replaced. They [824]
used cottonwood, which was light and easy to carry, and as an alternative, [313]
cedar, which was also rather light. The best supply was on Grand Island
in the Platte and the best time to gather these was on the return journey
from the winter hunt.

The first task was to select the trees which should be 6 to 7 inches in 313
diameter as they stood with the bark on. From their encampment on the 342
island, Victory Call, White Woman, and Horse Rider would go into the
timber, and when Victory Call had selected his first tree he would start
to cut it down with the ax. When Horse Rider would come up, he would
say, "Let me do that," and take the ax and cut it down in his place. Victory
Call now went further to select the other trees and Horse Rider followed
cutting each one down in turn. Now White Woman got to work on the
felled trees, cutting off the boughs and branches with her hatchet so that
the bare trunk was left with the bark on.

Now Horse Rider began to drag in the bare trunks to camp, while Victory [483]
Call cut down the fourth tree that they needed and White Woman
got to work lopping off the branches. Victory Call now pulled in the
fourth trunk, returning to camp with White Woman. With a good sharp
ax this operation had taken them a total of half an hour for all four trunks.

Back at camp, they removed the bark and this took a good deal longer. 322
If one person worked at it alone, it took two to three hours to remove the 342
bark from one trunk of this kind. Two people working together on one
tree could do it in about an hour and a half. While White Woman worked
from the bottom upward with the hatchet, the other person could work
near the top end using a knife, because the bark is softer near the top. It
sometimes happened that White Woman was able to make a convenient
flap near the bottom, ripping off a strip of bark up the whole length.
Horse Rider or Grandma might be free to give White Woman a hand at
this work. After the bark was off, the whole stick had to be roasted. All
four were first debarked and then all four roasted at the same time. A
little fire was made outdoors and each stick turned around in it until the
whole length was roasted. To roast the four sticks in this way took about
an hour and a half. Now they were left to cool and the ashes and burnt
places rubbed over with a stick to remove loose cinders. The next step
was to even their length. The stub ends had been sharpened to points,
and these were placed together and the heads all cut off to the same
length to make them even.

The new tipi poles were now tied together and transported back to the 342
earth lodge where, tied together tight, they were fastened to the ceiling

51

THINGS OF WOOD MADE BY MAN

000

The Bow—the Bowstring—the Arrow—the Pipestems—the Stone Bowl—the Individual Styles of Bowls

THE MEN MADE THE BOWS, arrowshafts, pipestems, and cottonwood water drums. 462 322

The Bow. In the past the Osage Orange (*Toxylon pomiferum*) was the most highly valued wood for bows. At this time they used ash (*Fraxinus pennsylvanica*) known as *kirik-taka*, "eye-white." Every man made his own bow, though some were more and some less skilled. Little boys also made bows of ashwood to shoot birds. Ashwood was best gathered in the fall, generally in October before they left on the winter hunt. The ashwood saplings were left sticking among the willows in the ceiling to season, until they got back in the spring. 411 824 [857]

It took two days to make a bow. By splitting it in two down the length, two bows could be made from one sapling, unless it were not quite straight, when only one could be made. In each case, the outer surface of the tree became the outer surface of the bow. 411 322 [461]

The shaping was done by heating the stick in the coals until it was warm throughout and pliable. Putting the foot on the middle of the outside surface, the two ends were drawn very gently upward, and then each end was recurved with the foot so that the bow had a wide shallow dent in its back. The sinew bowstring was fastened to one end permanently, and at the other there was a series of notches in the bow so that the string could be tightened when in use and loosened at other times. (See Figure 51-1.) [283]

Once, after Victory Call had died, Otter's adoptive father caught a panther and decided to honor the boy by making him a quiver of it. Not 411

276 pipe bowls to be made with five ridges to denote that they had sacri-
463 ficed five buffalo, others three. A man who had a horse head carved on
531 his pipe might do this to indicate that he gives away a lot of horses. On
324 the other hand some people just had things put on their pipes "to be
fancy."

276 To hollow out the wooden stem they burned out the pith with the
• 824 same stiff weed used in making brooms, *kibax-piriwus*, "room-brusher,"
322 *Artemisia dracunculoides* Pursh., or fuzzy weed. The plant had a pleasant
odor like sage which is also a variety of *Artemisia.* The weed was sharp
and after the pith had been burned all the way through down the length,

276
324

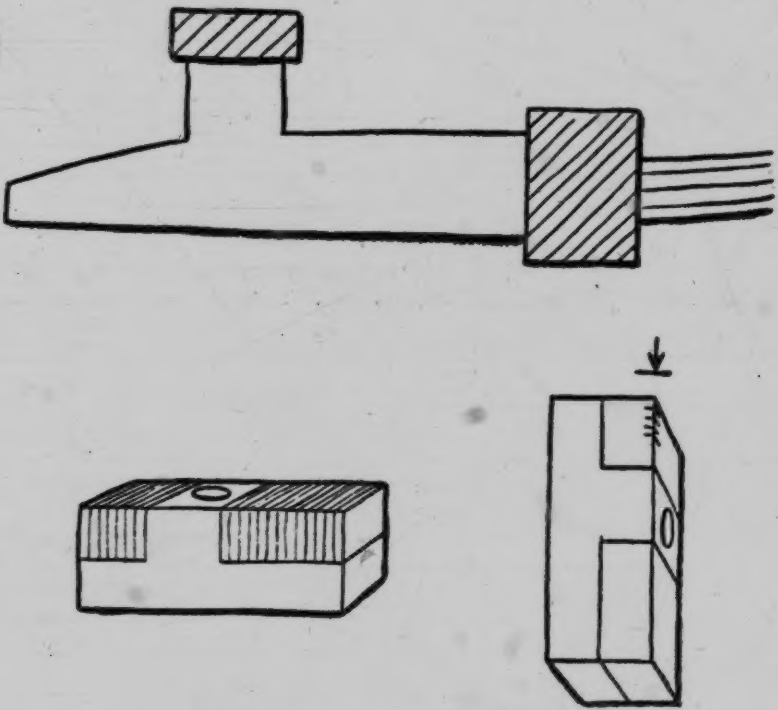


FIGURE 51-2. A pipe made by Brave Horse, *Asa-rabikutsu*, the bowl of red Catlinite or pipestone and the stem of ashwood. The first step of the pipe-maker in fashioning the bowl was the marking off of the block with charcoal so that he could sculpt the bowl in the rough. Next the two blocks, one in front and one behind the bowl, were removed (hatched areas). In the old days this was a laborious task. There were no metal drills, files, or rasps; the two blocks of stone were chipped off from the outer edges inward piece by piece by sawing back and forth with a flint knife.

the same weed was used to scrape out the inside. Then the man blew through the stem to remove the small pieces from the inside. 276 324 322

Making the Stone Bowl of Catlinite or Red Pipestone. (See Figure 51-2.) A block of stone of the appropriate size was marked off with charcoal so that the bowl could be sculptured out in the rough. Two blocks of stone had to be removed, one in front and one behind the upward projecting bowl. The removal of these two blocks was a laborious task. When no metal drills, files, or rasps were available, each step took a long time and required a great deal of patience. In the old days to remove the two blocks of stone, the "pipe" was set up on end and a flint knife was sawed back and forth across the corner, making a shallow cut. Then a second cut was made underneath it until a series of three or four shallow cuts had been made one beneath the other. These "corners" were then chipped off from the top edge down. This operation of chiseling off small pieces was continued until the whole block had been removed. Then the second block on the other side of the bowl was removed. All red powder resulting from the sawing process was saved to be used as red paint. 276 324 [386]

The bore for the stem as well as for the bowl was begun by using a well-dried, fire-hardened stick. The stick was held stable pressed onto the surface where the hole was to be and the stone turned back and forth until a hole had been dug into it. The bowl was widened and deepened by using a sharp sliver of a buffalo femur in the same way, pressing it into the stone and twisting the stone itself until the bowl was the shape and size desired. The outer surfaces were shaped by rubbing with a rough stone.

After the bowl was shaped, the pipe was passed through the smoke of a small grass fire and the surface rubbed with grease. This data on making the stone bowl is condensed from a demonstration by Charles Allen at Pawnee, Oklahoma, in 1935. It took almost eight days, working the usual day of nine to five o'clock with an hour for lunch. [461]

Each pipe maker introduced special features of his own. Rarawikita, Charles Allen's father, made them so that there was a hump on the bowl near where the stem was inserted and the pointed end of the bowl was five-sided. Chief's Road made pipes with three raised ridges around the head end of the bowl where the stem was to be inserted. Sometimes the pointed end was cut down at a downward slant, sometimes it was cut straight off. Good Bear made a pipe that was thick where the bowl was and tapered markedly at the point end and again at the end where the stem fitted. Brave Horse (*Asa-rahikuts*, "horse-brave") would make a wide ridge or collar around the mouth of the bowl and another one at the opening where the stem fitted in; on these "collars" he engraved diagonals trending upward toward the left. He was a left-handed man. [531]

For the work of manufacturing the pipe, pay was expected though never stipulated. This might be tobacco or calico and a little food. For 276 465 437

53

PRODUCTS OF REEDS AND GRASS

000

The Twined Woven Mats, Their Use and Manufacture—the Grass Brush for the Care of Hair

THE REEDS AND GRASSES matured about the same time as the cultivated 824 crops, and everyone knew that as soon as possible after completing the harvest they would have to get to work gathering these materials before they passed their prime.

The twined woven mat of reeds was one of the most important items 285 of Pawnee house furnishing. It was considered indispensable to cleanliness, 352 and only the poorest people or the most slovenly would use skins on the ground instead. They were used both in the lodge and on the march, and old mats were offered to people who had none. Every morning [356] they were taken up and shaken to get the dust out; in the lodge the house was well swept and the sweepings carried out on a skin to be dumped at the base of the embankment before the mats would be replaced on the floor. When on the march, they were rolled up and tied in the middle with a string fastened there for the purpose by the women. When camp was set up, they were laid out to sit on; at night the beds were made on them. In the lodge they were placed inside the central pillars to sit on. Impromptu beds were made by putting them between [513] the pillars at night as a base for the bedding. Each mat was 5 feet wide and 8 to 9 feet long. Ordinarily, there were two mats around the fireplace on each side; if there were special guests, an additional one was placed at the west. At a large feast, the mats were laid outside the house pillars against the beds to enlarge the circle. Mats for gala occasions had special [531] decorations made by weaving in black or dark red-dyed wefts. These were kept rolled up until guests came. For everyday use the family sat on whatever mats happened to be around—the better ones being placed

285
352 nearer the west and those that were more worn, east toward the exit.

When a couple was newly married, they were always given a set of
285 mats—two for each side of the house and one for the west. They were
585 likely to get two from the girl's grandmother and two from the boy's.
431 Except in such intimate circumstances, the mats were not ordinarily considered
352 suitable gift items. They were regarded more as we look upon
linens—particularly bedsheets and towels. Suitable gift items on the
other hand were, from man to a man, a horse, and from a woman to a
man, leggings, moccasins, material for moccasins, or dried buffalo meat.

285 The mats received the heaviest wear during the winter hunt, when
352 they got all battered and broken up. In the fall, after the materials were
gathered they were placed in the roof of the lodge to season all winter.
In the spring, between planting and cultivating, they would feel they
had to make some new mats to take along on the summer hunt. Old mats
were left behind in the earth lodge.

285 The warp strands of the mat were of a three-sided prismatic grass
283 that grew in ponds (not cattail?). The long blades were made into a
double-twisted continuous rope of four strands.

[137] The wefts were of bulrush (*Scirpus validus* Vahl.), a round tubular
grass, spongy inside, 5 to 6 feet long. An alternative material was cattail
285 (*Typha latifolia* L.). Both these reeds grew in the bottomlands of the
824 streams, particularly along the Loup, but there were also a few patches
along Beaver Creek. On the way home from the summer hunt, some people
would gather the reeds on the Republican or the Loup and load the
horses and bring them home. Or, noting good locations on the way home,
they would return later.

Sometimes two old ladies would go out together and gather whatever
small patches they could find on Beaver Creek, pulling up the reeds and
piling them into two bundles about a foot in diameter. They would tie
them up with ropes and each bring one in and go out again for more, obtaining
about four bundles each in this way. The reeds were very heavy
[482] when green and a woman could not carry very much at a time. For
larger supplies, the family would make up a combined expedition, since
they had to go three to five miles from the village. A large party of men
and women would ride out on their horses to the sources of supply
they had spotted when returning from the hunt. The men went out to give
the women protection. On the way back the horses were loaded with
reeds. When one party went out, others would hear about it and be inspired
to follow their example.

285 The weft or (crosswise) threads needed very little preparation to be
283 ready for use. They had simply to be soaked in water overnight and then
taken out and left to dry for about half an hour before weaving.

The long continuous lengthwise warp required considerably more
preparation than the weft. The three-sided prismatic grass was soaked

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

285 476 ticated adaptation for weaving a wide twined fabric, as the normal direction for the progress of twined weaving is from left to right, the woman on the left using a motor pattern equivalent in feeling to dancing the waltz in reverse, with a view to getting a visual effect in the texture.

When the mat had been woven about one third of the way, the women, who had been kneeling in front of the lower cloth beam, now moved up and knelt on the already finished fabric to work on the rest. As the work progressed, they continued to move up on the fabric so that the working edge would be within reach.

[461] Two women could finish a mat in one day if they did nothing else. Beginning after breakfast, the weaving would be half done by noon. By a little after five in the evening, the work was complete.

285 868 Mat weaving was a household craft and the work would not ordinarily be contracted for outside, unless a woman were learning for the first time. Then she would call in an old woman and pay her to demonstrate the technique. During the demonstration, the young woman would try her hand at it from time to time. The finished mat would be hers. The
[465] teacher would receive four or five yards of calico and a layer of dried buffalo meat, or a sack of corn (about a foot high) and half a braided intestine mat.

285 592 In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each side took care of its own needs for mats. White Woman and Grandma would start one together, and when White Woman had to interrupt her work to prepare a meal, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy would take her place for a while, helping Grandma with the weaving. Any mats that Grandma made by herself were given to White Woman for the family. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy felt she should make at least one mat for herself and her grandson to use when they went on the hunt. No Corn also made one to take along, and, if Horse Rider was busy in the Doctor Lodge, the two old ladies would each contribute half the necessary materials, as she was too crippled to gather them for herself and under the circumstances Horse Rider was unable to get away. There was no question of compensation for this, as the old ladies felt that Horse Rider was helpful to the household at all times and No Corn also did what she could.

482 285 Carrying these mats on the march was very difficult for people with no horses. This was the case with poor people. When people noticed that they had no mats, someone would give them an old one and a man would carry it on his back with a baby perched on top and his wife would do
[431] the same. The occasional woman who was too lazy to make one, was also
[554] given an old mat. People who didn't have mats to put on the ground were considered poor indeed.

412 824 A brush made of stiff grass was indispensable to personal grooming. The brush was made out of Porcupine Grass or Spanish Needles (*Stipa*

spartea) known to the Pawnee as *pitsuts.* It grew like oats about 3 feet 412 high near the village, above the cemetary where the Skidi buried their [824] dead. White Woman would ask Victory Call to go and gather it for her in the fall. It had long stiff branches and at the tip of each branch there was a sharp point fastened at a joint and surrounded with wooly fluff. The point was broken off at the joint and discarded and the fluff cleared off. The remaining bristle was very stiff and formed the working end of the brush. The stems were grouped into four little bunches, each bunch bent over at the top end and fastened down with a wrapping of buckskin. The four bunches were put together with the bent-over ends inward, and the whole bound around with buckskin to complete the brush. In addition to keeping the hair in order, doctors would rub the brush on top of the head to relieve headache or sleepiness. As generally with the [796] Pawnee crafts, there was no ceremony involved in gathering the material or in the manufacture, but the grass appears metaphorically in the Peace [824] Pipe ceremony as symbolic of vegetation in general and of grasses in particular.

Everyone went to a good deal of trouble to keep the hair in order and 302 to dress it attractively. The women's hair styles were relatively uniform. It was parted in the middle and made into two braids hanging down over the shoulders in front. The end of the braid was wound around with buckskin. A relatively recent style was tying the braids together and [178] flinging them to the back. The men's hair styles were more elaborate and varied. A great many of the men wore roaches, a ridge of hair standing up along the middle of the head with the hair removed on both sides and a braid hanging down at the back. Most writers refer to this hair style as characteristically Pawnee, but the Pawnees themselves speak of it as "like [171] Osages." In the old days, each hair had to be pulled out one by one. Later [178] they used scissors. In former times, face hairs were also pulled out one by one with the fingers, while more recently they used a close coil of brass with a stick through it so that it would be tied to the belt. The oldest son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Sun Chief, had long curly hair that he wore in two braids, one over each shoulder. He was known as Long Hair or "Head-Hanging-Down-From." Victory Call also wore two braids, but on the right side, in addition to the braid, he had his hair cut in terraces. He was called "like Arikara" on account of it. War Cry never seemed to comb his hair; he wore it loose and was always brushing it back off his forehead. His younger brother, Brave Shield, pushed his hair up so that it stood up stiff in back. People who were shabby or ill- [554] groomed were regarded with considerable contempt by the Pawnees.

The industrial knowledge of the Pawnee transformed the meager ma- 433 terials of the plains environment into a setting that was worthy of their 182 religious and conceptual achievements. They worked hard but were se-

NOTES AND COMMENTS

796 756 272 An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756 273 See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796 [574] [782] [184] [752] [726] 241 The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

• 824 825 171 277 On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372 482 280, 290 Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads
372 would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

727 305 Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home

is consecrated to the powers; it soars near their abode and is a medium 796*
of communication between them and man.

The woodpecker's head was fastened near the mouthpiece end of the 778
feathered stem, the upper mandible turned back over the red crest
and painted blue. This treatment of the upper mandible had a double
significance. The red crest, which rises when the bird is angry, was
here held down; it must not rise. The blue paint represented the 821
clear, cloudless sky. The woodpecker has the favor of the storm gods 822
and can avert from man the disaster of tempest and of lightning.
The owl feathers were tied near the middle of the feathered stem. 825
This bird has power to help and protect during the night. Soft blue
feathers were fastened around the mouthpiece end. These blue
feathers symbolized the clear sky, and it is this end which was always
upward toward the abode of the powers.

The other end of the stem was thrust through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck. It was by this end that the feathered stem was held. The duck is familiar with the pathless air and water and is also at home on the land, knowing its streams and springs. It is the unerring guide.

The red and white streamers represented the sun and the moon, 822
day and night. These were made of red cloth and dyed horsehair and white cotton cord, but it is said that formerly soft deerskin strips painted red and twisted hair from the white rabbit were used.

The other feathered stem, Rahak'takaru (plate LXXXVII, page 40),
differed from the first feathered stem already described in two
particulars, namely, it was painted green, to symbolize the earth, and 822
the fan-shaped pendant was made of seven tail feathers from the white eagle (the young brown or golden eagle; see page 288). This eagle was not consecrated. It represented the male, the father, the warrior, and the defender. This feathered stem was carried by the Ku'rahus's assistant, and it was never allowed to be next to the Children; its place was always on the outside. There, it was explained, it could do no harm, could rouse no contention, but would serve to protect and defend.

I have many times remarked the reverence felt toward the feathered stems. Their sacred character seemed always to be remembered and they were never handled carelessly. During the entire time that I was engaged with Tahirŭssawichi on this ceremony he never allowed the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid on a chair; they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a decorum that was not once abated. I have seen manifested among the tribes not only reverence toward these sacred symbols, but an affection that was not displayed toward any other objects. Few persons ever spoke to me of them without a brightening of the eyes. "They make us
happy," was a common saying. 178

They were preserved intact and passed from tribe to tribe as long
as they held together, and they were sometimes freshened and 778
796*

796*

a path would be strewn with drops of fat. Red is the color typical of 778
life. The ointment signified a prayer for abundance and life.

The wildcat skin (plate XC, page 48) served as a covering for these [822]
objects when they were to be wrapped up and it was always spread on the ground for them to rest on.

The significance of the wildcat in this ceremony is of peculiar interest. 796*
This animal, we are told, never misses his prey, never fails to attain the object of his pursuit, and accomplishes this end quietly, 778
tactfully, without arousing antagonism. From conversations with the 825
Ku'rahus it became clear that it was these qualities and not the savageness and stealthly cruelty of the animal that were to be kept in mind. To be able to accomplish a purpose without offending, without raising opposition, seems to have been regarded as the special attribute vouchsafed by Tira'wa to the wildcat. It is because of this attribute that it was chosen to be always with the sacred objects during 796*
this ceremony. The sacred objects symbolized not only an appeal from 778
man to certain powers, but the presence of the powers themselves, while the nature of the appeal, a desire for children, long life, and plenty, was such that the enjoyment of the benefits craved must depend largely on the successful exercise by man of those qualities which were regarded as characteristic of the wildcat. So the skin of the wildcat was the cover of the sacred objects when they were wrapped up; it was spread on the ground as their guard and support when they were laid at ceremonial rest, and when they were carried about the lodge during the ceremony it was borne by the chief, who walked between the Kurahus and his assistant, each of whom held a feathered stem.

Only a chief could carry the wildcat skin and the ear of corn. Therefore, [622
if the Father was not himself a chief he had to secure the service 482]
of one in order that the wildcat could be borne by a man possessing the authority of a ruler in the tribe. As the wildcat stood for the ability to accomplish a purpose with tact and without exciting opposition, qualities essential to the successful ruler, it would seem that the imperative association of the wildcat with a chief was intended to convey the idea that only under the administration of such a man could the tribe have internal peace and enjoy the abundance and prosperity represented by Mother Corn.

As every article belonging to the ceremony and the position and movements of those who conducted the rites had a special significance, the position given to the wildcat, as explained by the Kurahus, reveals the mind of the native in regard to this animal, which figures conspicuously in other rites and ceremonies, and which controls one of the sacred shrines of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

TIME OF THE CEREMONY

There was no stated time for the performance of the Hako ceremony. 796*
It was not connected with planting or harvesting, hunting, or war, or any tribal festival. The Ku'rahus said, "We take up the Hako in

*539 74 H'arori, 'hare! I'hare re! H'arori. All the words are translated above. See lines 72 and 73.

*796 75 Hure-e! An abbreviation of the word haurae, coming from above. The vowel changes and prolongation are for greater ease in singing and also for euphony.

76, 77 See lines 74, 75.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

822 The color green represents Toharu (Vegetation), the covering of H'Uraru, Mother Earth. As we sing, we ask that life be breathed into the symbol, that it may have power as we use these sacred articles. "H'arori" is a prayer that living power may be where we place this symbol of the covering of Mother Earth. We remember as we sing that the power of Mother Earth to bring forth comes from above, "Hure-e."

The Ku'rahus paints the groove red in the same way, for the same reason as on the other ash stick, and when he has finished he hands the green stem back to the man on his right, toward the south, who holds it.

The Ku'rahus rubs upon his hands the sacred ointment which has been made by mixing red clay with fat from a deer or buffalo that has been consecrated to Tira'wa. He is now ready to tie the symbolic articles upon the two painted stems.

381 824 825 He splits long feathers taken from the wings of an eagle, and glues them to each stem as feathers are glued upon the shaft of an arrow. He uses for this purpose pitch from the pine tree. These wing feathers are to remind us that the eagle flies near to Tira'wa.

About one end of the stem (the mouthpiece) he fastens soft blue feathers, in color like the sky where the powers dwell. He ties a woodpecker's head on the stem near the mouthpiece and turns the upper mandible back upon the red crest. The mandible covers the red crest and keeps it from rising. This shows that the bird may not be angry. The inner side of the mandible, which is exposed by being turned back upon the crest, is painted blue, to show that Tirawa is looking down upon the open bill as the spirit of the bird travels along the red groove to reach the people.

About the middle of the stem the Ku'rahus binds feathers from the owl. The other end of the stem he thrusts through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck, the breast reaching to the owl feathers. The end of the stem protrudes a very little through the bill of the duck, so that the bowl of a pipe could be fitted to it. The duck's head, therefore, is always downward, looking toward the earth and the water.

825 All the birds on the stems are leaders: the eagle is chief of the day; the owl is chief of the night; the woodpecker is chief of the trees; the duck is chief of the water.

When we have finished singing this song the Ku'rahus takes one of 796* the plum-tree sticks, which has been anointed with red clay mixed with fat, and ties on it with a thread of sinew a downy eagle feather. [284] This stick is bound to the ear of corn so as to project a hand's breadth above the tip end, letting the downy feather wave above Mother Corn. This feather represents Tira'wa. It is always moving as if breathing.

The Ku'rahus then binds the other plum-tree stick to the corn so that it extends below the butt. When the corn is placed in ceremonial position this end of the stick is thrust in the ground so that the ear will stand upright without touching the earth. Both sticks are bound to the ear of corn by a braided band of hair taken from the head of a buffalo. The braided band signifies the gift of animal food and the provision of skin clothing. (The Skidi band of the Pawnees [184] ties a bit of buffalo wool, such as is shed by the animal in the spring, together with a braid of sweet grass, to the ear of corn.)

The two gourd rattles, which represent the squash given us by Tira'wa, and also the breasts of the mother, are each painted with a blue circle about the middle, with four equidistant lines from the circle to the bottom of the gourd. The circle represents the wall or boundary of the dome of the sky; the four lines are for the four paths at the four directions down which the powers descend. No song is sung while this painting is being done.

All the sacred articles are laid at rest on a wildcat skin when they are not being used ceremonially, and it is a cover for them in which they are all wrapped together at the close of the ceremony. The skin [281] is never tanned, and the ears of the animal, the skin of the head, the feet, and the claws must all be intact.

Tira'wa made the wildcat to live in the forest. He has much skill 773 and ingenuity. The wildcat shows us that we must think, we must use tact, and be shrewd when we set out to do anything. If we 576 wish to approach a person we should not do it bluntly; we should not 825 rush at him; that might offend him so that he would not receive us or the gifts we desired to offer him. The wildcat does not make enemies by rash action. He is observant, quiet, and tactful, and he always gains his end.

In this ceremony we are to carry the sacred articles to one not of our kindred in order to bind him to us by a sacred and strong tie; we are to ask for him many good gifts, long life, health, and children, and we should receive gifts from him in return. If we would succeed we must learn of the wildcat, and be wise as he is wise.

The wildcat is one of the sacred animals. A man who killed a 825 wildcat could sacrifice it to Tira'wahut. The man who brought such 782 an offering had the right to ask the priest to teach him some of the 794 mysteries that belong to the sacred shrine.

Many years ago two men took the Hako to the Omaha tribe. On the journey one of them killed a wildcat. I said to the man: "I am

782 glad Mother Corn is here leading us, and the wildcat goes with the
Hako." But the man who killed it said: "No, this skin will not go
794 with the Hako! I am going to take it to the priest for sacrifice that
I may learn some of the mysteries." But he did wrong and suffered
● 825 for it, because that wildcat belonged with the Hako, for it was killed
while we were being led by Mother Corn.

*796 The sacred articles having been completed are now laid at ceremonial rest. The wildcat skin is spread upon the earth in the holy place, which is in the west part of the lodge opposite the entrance, a little way back from the fireplace. The head of the skin is placed toward the east; the crotched plum-tree stick is thrust into the ground close to the head; the two feathered stems are laid in the crotch, the brown-eagle stem first, then the white-eagle stem on the top or outside. The eagle builds its nest in the crotch of a tree, so these eagle-feathered stems are laid in the crotch of the plum-tree stick. The ends which are thrust through the duck's head rest upon the wildcat, and under the wing-like pendants the gourd rattles are placed. Directly in front of the crotched stick stands Mother Corn.

PART IV. OFFERING OF SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The time has now come for the offering of smoke to Tira'wa.

The priest of the Rain shrine must be present with the pipe belong-
793 ing to that shrine and he must conduct the ceremony. After he has
filled the pipe with native tobacco the Ku'rahus tells the people that
782 the time has come to offer smoke to Tira'wa, the father and the giver
of all things. He selects from the company a man to act as pipe
bearer during the ceremony of offering smoke. The pipe bearer must
be one who has made sacrifices at the sacred tents where the shrines
are kept and has been anointed, and who in consequence has been
prospered in his undertakings. The prayers of such a man are
thought to be more acceptable to the powers than those of a man who
has never made sacrifices.

In old times men did not smoke for pleasure as they do now, but
276 only in religious ceremonies. The white people have taught the
Pawnees to profane the use of tobacco.

Each of the sacred shrines of the tribe has a pipe, and its priest
778 knows the proper order in which the pipe should be offered to Tira'-
793 wahut. I am not a priest, so I do not know the order in which the
Rain pipe is offered, nor can I tell you the ceremony; the knowledge
of that belongs to its priest and not to me.

*796 Up to this point (the conclusion of the ceremony of smoking) all the people present have been obliged to remain quiet in their places; now they are at liberty to move about or to leave the lodge.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus 539*

The words of the first stanza tell us that Kawas is now hovering overhead in the lodge. 796*

The eagle soars in the skies and can communicate with the powers that are above; so the eagle represents these powers. [825] As we stand facing the east the white-eagle feathered stem, on the right, toward the south, represents brightness, the light, the day, the sun, and it is the male. It is for defense and is carried on the side farthest from the people. The brown-eagle feathered stem, Kawas, is to the left, toward the north; it represents darkness, the night, the moon, and is the female. Kawas is carried nearest the people. Kawas has the right to make the nest and to seek help from Tira'wa for the Children.

Kawas leads in this ceremony, which is to ask for the gift of children, [842] not only that children may be born to us, but that the tie of parent and child may be established between us and those to whom we are bringing these sacred objects, that peace may be between the tribes, and plenty and long life and prosperity. So we sing that Kawas is hovering in the lodge, as an eagle hovers over her nest.

This stanza is sung slowly, for the eagle as it hovers is slow in its movements.

Translation of Second Stanza

413 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
414 Kawas tewi kire hera ti rao.
    Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the beneficent powers.
    tewi, hovering, moving with a slow, circling movement.
    kire, starting to fly.
    hera, my.
    ti, possessive pronoun.
    rao, part of the word pirao, child.
415, 416 See line 414.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We sing the second stanza faster, for now Kawas has stretched her mighty wings and is flying within the lodge, driving away all harmful influences and making the place ready for all the good that is promised to us through this ceremony. 796*

When, on the fourth circuit, the west is reached, we pause and face the east, but we continue to sing until we have repeated this second stanza four times.

As soon as we have reached the west the two doctors with the eagle wings move away, the one with the left wing going by the north and the one with the right wing going toward the south. They raise and lower the wings to simulate the eagle cleaning its nest, flapping and blowing out all impurities. When the doctors meet at the east they

539*
796*

546 Reshuru tiara i.
Reshuru, the Dawn.
tiara, born.
i, a part of riki, now, present time.
547 See line 544.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Mother Earth hears the call; she moves, she awakes, she arises, she feels the breath of the new-born Dawn. The leaves and the grass stir; all things move with the breath of the new day; everywhere life is renewed.

This is very mysterious; we are speaking of something very sacred, although it happens every day.

Translation of Third Stanza

548 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
549 H'Kawas si whata i.
h', the symbol of breath, breathing forth life.
Kawas, the brown eagle, representative of the lesser and beneficient powers above.
si, you; a personal pronoun, singular number.
whata, arise, stir, move about.
i, a part of riki, now, the present time.
550 See line 549.
551 See line 546.
552 See line 549.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We call upon Kawas to awake, to move, to arise. Kawas had been sleeping and resting during the night.

Kawas represents the lesser powers which dwell above, those which are sent by Tira'wa atius to bring us help. All these powers must awake and arise, for the breath of the new life of the Dawn is upon them. 776

The eagle soars where these powers dwell and can communicate with them. The new life of the new day is felt by these powers above as well as by Mother Earth below. 825

Translation of Fourth Stanza

553 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
554 H'Kawas ta wata i.
h', the symbol of breath, life.
Kawas, the brown eagle, representative of the lesser powers above.
ta, a personal pronoun referring to Kawas.
wata, has arisen.
i, a part of the word riki, now, the present time.
555 See line 554.
556 See line 546.
557 See line 554.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796
H'Kawas hears the call and awakes. Now all the powers above wake and stir, and all things below wake and stir; the breath of new life is everywhere. With the signs in the east has come this new life.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

558 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
559 Kawas ti waku ka riki.
 Kawas, the brown eagle, the intermediary as well as the representative of the lesser and beneficent powers above.
 ti, a personal pronoun referring to Kawas, singular number, spoken of.
 waku, speaks.
 ka, a part of the word akaro, lodge; refers to the space within the lodge about the fire. In this instance ka indicated the holy place set apart for the sacred objects.
 riki, standing; the word implies the present time.
560 See line 559.
561 Reshuru tiara i. See line 546.
562 See line 559.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

● 825 Kawas, the brown eagle, the messenger of the powers above, now stands within the lodge and speaks. The Ku'rahus hears her voice as she tells him what the signs in the east mean.

821 She tells him that Tira'wa atius there moves upon Darkness, the Night, and causes her to bring forth the Dawn. It is the breath of the new-born Dawn, the child of Night and Tira'wa atius, which is felt by all the powers and all things above and below and which gives them new life for the new day.

This is the meaning of this stanza. The words of the song do not tell all that the song means; the meaning has been handed down from our fathers and taught to the Ku'rahus, who may teach it to anyone who is serious-minded and sincerely desires to learn these sacred things.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

563 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
564 We tatichiri wak ka riki.
 we, I.
 tatichiri, understand, have knowledge of the meaning.
 wak, a part of the word waku, speech, to speak.
 ka, a part of akaro, lodge; within the lodge. See line 559.
 riki, standing.
565 See line 564.
566 Reshuru tiara i. See line 546.
567 See line 564.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

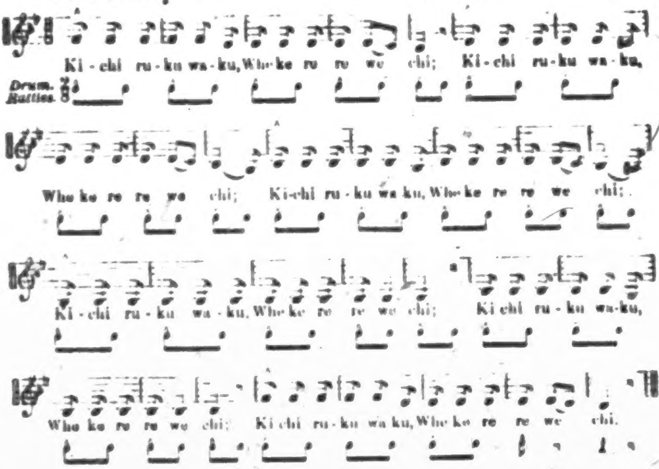
THE SONG OF THE WREN

Words and Music

539*
796*

M. M. Melody. ♩ = 54.
M. M. Drum. ♪ = 108.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]


Ki - chi ru - ku wa - ku, Whe ke re re we chi; Ki - chi ru - ku wa - ku,
Drum. Rattles.
Whe ke re re we chi; Ki-chi ru - ku wa ku, Whe ke re re we chi;
Ki - chi ru - ku wa - ku, Whe ke re re we chi; Ki chi ru - ku wa-ku,
Whe ke re re we chi; Ki chi ru - ku wa ku, Whe ke re re we chi.

818 Kichi ruku waku. Whe ke re re we chi;
819 Kichi ruku waku. Whe ke re re we chi.
820 Kichi ruku waku. Whe ke re re we chi;
821 Kichi ruku waku. Whe ke re re we chi.
822 Kichi ruku waku. Whe ke re re we chi.
823 Kichi ruku waku. Whe ke re re we chi.

Translation

818 Kichi ruku waku. Whe ke re re we chi.
kichi, so it; but this one.
ruku, sang.
waku, sound from the mouth, speech.
whe ke re re we chi, syllables imitative of the sound of the bird.

819–823 See line 818.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[825]
539*
796*
773

The wren is always spoken of as the laughing bird. It is a very happy little bird, and we have stories about it. Every one likes to hear the wren sing. This song is very old; I do not know how old, how many generations old. There are very few words in the song, but there is a story which has come down with it and which tells its meaning.

A priest went forth in the early dawn. The sky was clear. The grass and wild flowers waved in the breeze that rose as the sun threw

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*
796*
825

In the early spring the birds lay their eggs in their nests, in the summer they rear their young, in the fall all the young ones are grown, the nests are deserted and the birds fly in flocks over the country. One can hear the fluttering of a startled flock, the birds suddenly rise and their wings make a noise like distant thunder. Everywhere the flocks are flying. In the fall it seems as though new life were put into the people as well as into the birds; there is much activity in coming and going.

534

This song tells of the flocking of birds. We do not use the drum as we sing it, but we blow the whistle. The whistle is made from the wing bone of an eagle. In this song we are singing of the eagle and the other birds, so we use the whistle.

When the eggs are hatched and the young are grown, the birds flock; the promise of young has been fulfilled. In this song, which we sing toward the close of the ceremony, we are thinking of the fulfilling of the promise given by the Hako, that children will be granted to the people, so that they may be many and strong, and we sing that the great flocks are coming.

Translation of Second Stanza

901 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

902 Wera kosha hoshta wiki rira.

   wera, they yonder; ra gives the idea that the flock is at a distance.
   kosha, flock.
   hoshta, the noise made by the birds in flying and in alighting; hosh, the noise; ta, to alight.
   wiki, descriptive of the manner of flight. See translation of the word in the first stanza, line 897.
   rira, coming.

903 See line 902.

904 Kosha hoshta wiki rira. See line 902.

905 See line 902.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the second stanza we are thinking of the great flocks of birds. The noise of their wings is a mighty noise. As they fly from one tree to another they shake the branches as they alight, and the tree quivers as they rise. The flocks are many and powerful; so, through the promises of the Hako, the people will become many and powerful.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

IV

1230 Ho-o-o!
1231 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri kittawe he!
1232 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri kittawe he!
1233 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri kittawe he!

V

1234 Ho-o-o!
1235 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri ta witahpa ha!
1236 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri ta witahpa ha!
1237 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri ta witahpa ha!

Translation of First Stanza

1218 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1219 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re hre kusi hi!
hiri! harken.
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kaokto, down from the eagle.
we, now.
re, am.
hre, holding.
kusi, sitting.
hi! from hiri! give heed!
1220, 1221 See line 1219.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[237] The down represents the high, light clouds (cirrus) in the blue of the sky; they are near the abode of Tira'wa atius.

● [825] The down is taken from under the wings of the white eagle. The white eagle is the mate of the brown eagle, and the child is the child of Kawas, the brown eagle. The down grew close to the heart of the eagle and moved as the eagle breathed. It represents the breath and life of the white eagle, the father of the child.

Translation of Second Stanza

1222 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1223 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re ru ata ha!
hiri! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kaokto, eagle's down.
we, now.
re, is.
ru, it.
ata, flying.
ha! behold!
1224, 1225 See line 1223.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation

539*
796*

1258 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

1259 Ha ware. Hiri-i-i!

ha, yonder.
ware, a part of toware, flying, circling about.
hiri! give heed! harken!
i-i, vowel prolongations.

1260 See line 1259.

1261 Hiri! Irahisi wite.

hiri! give heed! harken!
irahisi, irasi, it is you. The syllable hi is introduced to modify the word so as to conform to the music.
wite, conjecture, surmise.

1262 Hiri! H'Ak ukai reisi.

hiri! give heed! harken!
h'Ak; h', the sign of breath, life; ak, a part of akaro, a dwelling; h'Ak, the stretch of the earth under the dome of the heavens.
ukai, to put in.
reisi, a modification of irasi, it is you.

1263 See line 1259.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

796+

After the third repeat, the Ku'rahus calls out, "Open a way!" and the warriors who form the line separate at the north and at the south, and the brown-eagle feathered stem is carried through the north opening and the white-eagle feathered stem through the south opening. The white eagle then flies back and forth before the line of warriors guarding the brown eagle as she circles the fireplace.

When the Ku'rahus, carrying the brown-eagle feathered stem, reaches the west he pauses, and then goes to the northwest, near the rim of the fireplace, where he makes a circle with the big toe of his left foot and covers the outline with down. Then he passes to the northeast and makes another circle, marking it also with down; then to the southeast, where he makes a third circle, then to the southwest, where he makes the fourth circle. Meanwhile the song is being sung for the fourth time, and the white eagle is still flying back and forth in front of the line of warriors.

[825]

The circle represents a nest, and is drawn by the toe because the eagle builds its nest with its claws. Although we are imitating the bird making its nest, there is another meaning to the action; we are thinking of Tira'wa making the world for the people to live in. If you go on a high hill and look around, you will see the sky touching the earth on every side, and within this circular inclosure the people live. So the circles we have made are not only nests, but they also

*796 represent the circle Tira'wa atius has made for the dwelling place of all the people. The circles also stand for the kinship group, the clan, and the tribe.

The down represents the light clouds near the dwelling place of Tira'wa—the dome of the sky over the dwelling place of the people—and it stands for the protection of Tira'wa. When there is no down to be had, white ashes can be used. I do not know what the ashes mean, but I think they are to make the outline distinct and to represent the white down.

The nests are four, because at the four directions are the paths down which the powers from above descend. The four winds guard these paths and protect the life of man.

After the four nests are made, the feathered stems are laid at rest.

The Ku'rahus then takes bits of fat which have been preserved from an animal consecrated to Tira'wa and puts them with some native tobacco into an oriole's nest and hands the nest to the chief, who conceals it in his hands.

237 The bits of fat represent the droppings that mark the trail made by the hunters as they carry the meat home from the field. This trail is called the path dropping fatness, and means plenty. Fat, therefore, stands for the promise of abundant food.

773 The oriole's nest is used because Tira'wa made this bird build its nest so that no harm could come to it. It hangs high, is skillfully made, and is secure. An eagle's nest may be torn away by a storm, but the oriole's nest sways in the wind and is not hurt. ●825

PART II. SYMBOLIC FULFILMENT

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

482 Now a robe is spread on the ground and the child is placed on it with his feet and legs projecting beyond the edge. Four men are appointed to carry the child. One goes on each side and takes hold of the robe and lifts it; a man at the back of the child steadies it as it is raised and carried, while the fourth man holds another robe over its feet and legs.

The chief and the Ku'rahus precede the child to the circle at the northwest, where it is held over the nest so that its feet rest within the circle. The chief puts his hands under the robe held over the child's legs and drops the oriole's nest within the circle so that the child's feet rest on it. No one but the chief and the Ku'rahus know what is being done beneath the robe. The chief takes up the nest, concealing it from view, and goes to the circle at the northeast, to which the child has also been carried, and in the same way places its feet on it. The same act is repeated at the circles in the southeast and the southwest.

The child represents the young generation, the continuation of life,

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PRAYER TO AVERT STORMS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We like to have the sky clear during the time this ceremony is taking place. We do not like to have clouds come between us and the abode of Tira'wa atius, particularly storm clouds. We feel this way because we do not want anything to intercept the prayers of the Fathers or to hinder the descent of the help that we ask for the Children. If, however, clouds arise and a storm threatens, the Children may request this song to be sung, but the Fathers may not volunteer to sing it. 796* 821

After the request for the song has been made, the following ceremony takes place: The Ku'rahus, with the Kawas feathered stem, his assistant with the white-eagle feathered stem, and the chief with the wildcat skin, in which are the crotched stick, the ear of corn, and the sacred pipe, rise from their seats at the west and pass out of the lodge. When they are outside under the open sky, they face the gathering clouds and sing the first stanza four times. While they sing the song and wave the eagle stems to the rhythm of the music, the chief holds the cat skin up toward the storm clouds. He holds it the same way while we sing the second stanza four times.

The words of these stanzas are few, but their meaning has come down to us with the story of the song.

Long, long ago the woodpecker was told by Tira'wa that the lightning would never strike the tree upon which it had built its nest. The four beings at the west who have control of the thunder and lightning would protect the bird, so that it need never fear the storm. 796* 821 825 ●

The woodpecker which came to the man to whom this ceremony was revealed taught him this song and told him when to sing it. He was to sing it only when the storm threatened; if he sang it at any other time he would bring rain and storm upon the people. 539*

539*
796*

Rhythmic Rendition

Take we now the green paint,
Touch with it the stem, the mated stem,
Putting on the emblem, the sacred and living symbol,
Mother earth.
From above descending, bountiful blessings on thee,
Mother earth.

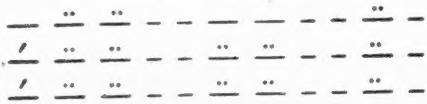
The fan-like appendage of ten brown mottled feathers from the mature brown eagle are here tied upon the blue stem. This eagle is called Kawas; it represents the mother. She is the bearer of life from above and shares with the corn the leadership throughout the ceremony. 796* 815●

It is noticeable that the eagle receives the gifts it bears to man through the lesser powers and not directly from Tira'wa atius. Birds are not powers, but messengers, intermediaries between the lesser powers and man. A glimpse is here obtained of the order which natural forces and objects take in the mind of the Pawnee.

The song of this act is in three phrases. The number three is not symbolized by ceremonial motions; throughout the ceremony songs accompanying acts which do not imply a direct appeal to the powers above fall into three musical phrases. 533* 796*

THIRD SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

Oh, Kawas, come, with wings outspread in sunny skies!
Oh, Kawas, come, and bring us peace, thy gentle peace!
Oh, Kawas, come, and give new life to us who pray!

[539*]

PART III. PAINTING THE EAR OF CORN AND PREPARING THE OTHER SACRED OBJECTS.

The putting of a peculiar design in blue paint on the ear of corn is replete with symbolism. The ear of corn not only represents a life-sustaining product of the earth, but the omniscience which the earth is believed to possess. This omniscience, predicated of the ear of corn, constituted one of its qualifications to act as leader. The Ku'rahus says (line 118): "Mother Earth knows all places and all that happens among men; therefore the corn which comes from her must lead, must direct us where to go." 796*

The painting of the ear of corn represents the securing of its credentials as leader. The blue paint used on this occasion is not put into a shell, as it was when the stems were colored, but into a wooden bowl. The shape of the bowl, an inverted dome, typifies the arching sky, the blue paint its color (see the explanation of line 83). The design put on the ear of corn signifies its journey to the abode of the powers and its return, with their sanction, as leader.

---

[a] Music on page 41.

contemporary Pawnee informants as to who the originals singers 668
were. According to Joseph Carrion, they were, in the order of their 796
selection and importance, Whitehorse (Pitahawirat^a), Sam Cover 177
(Skiri), Ezra Tilden (Skiri), Tom Yellowhorse (Skiri), Henry Shooter (Kitkahaxki^x), Brigham Young (Tcawi), and Jim Keys (Skiri). In addition, however, Carrion corrects himself by agreeing with other informants that Joseph Long was the first of these "crows" selected. Mark Evarts believes that all the original singers belonged to the South Bands, and claims that the first four, after White himself, were Joseph Long, Rubin Wilson, Lester Pratt and White Elk, none of whom are Skiri. The presence of Skiri men in the group of main singers should however be anticipated because all the bands joined in the Ghost Dance under White's leadership. Also, when the Skiri later organized and led their own Ghost Dancing, the singers who were selected by the Skiri to take charge were men who knew the songs because of their earlier participation in the South Band Ghost Dancing, hence some Skiris must have belonged to the original group of singers. The men actually selected to form the organizations of the Seven Eagles and Seven Crows (see below) included several who are mentioned in this list of Carrion's. Those whom Knifechief and Mrs. Washington selected were chosen because they knew the songs.

In addition to face paintings, the early Ghost Dance forms [302
included the use of feathers as hair ornaments. Two types were 307]
prominent, eagle feathers and crow feathers. These birds were used
because of a definite symbolism which attached to them. Both [825]
birds were conceived to fly high and far, and to see and know many things. The Pawnee have always thought of the crow as a bird which finds what it seeks. Hence the crow can help people find what is lost lost beliefs, lost ways of life

In trance visions of the Ghost Dance, the visionary usually found 668
himself associated either with the eagle or the crow, and thereafter 787
wore the feather of one or the other. White wore eagle feathers,
and when he constituted the seven men as the official singers, he 796
gave them special crow feathers to wear. White did not himself lead the singing after this, but acted as general director, dancing in the center of the circle and putting subjects into trances.

A story is told of how White and Joseph Long were put to a 668
test in early Ghost Dance days. There was a woman who went to
Camp Creek. On the way she lost a strap with which she was going 796
to bind up a load of wood. She wanted to find out if it was true that 825
crows could find things, so she went to the tipi of the leaders and told them about her lost strap. Frank White said, "All right, sit

668 down." Joseph Long had crow feathers. He put them on his head.
796 Then he got up like a crow, and danced around the tipi. Imitating
825 the crow, he danced his way outside and went along the path by
which the woman had gone through the timber, and found the
strap. He picked it up and brought it back into the tipi, and the
woman took her strap.

The relation of this crow-concept to the Ghost Dancing is direct. The crow feather (as also the eagle) is one of the objects used by leaders, as they dance inside the circle, for hypnotizing subjects. It is moved back and forth directly before the eyes of the subject. It helps the dancer to fall into a trance, and this means that it helps the subject to see or find his lost relatives. In the trance-vision itself the bird may guide the visionary to his dear ones. In the same way the old Indian customs, the dances, the songs, the rituals, are found among the deceased people, or recovered in trance visions which are induced in part through the instrumentality of the birds.

In this early use of eagle and crow, those who learned about one or the other bird wore a feather of that bird. There was no organization or orientation of these except for White's seven crow singers. But there came to be felt an opposition between crow and eagle, analogous to the actions of the birds themselves, and this was carried over into the sides of the hand game arrangements. The opposition involved the question of which was abler or luckier in finding things.

668 For the Ghost Dance, White arranged to have a large cleared
796 dancing ground. West of this was set up a special tipi. Herein
[346] White gathered the people, particularly the leaders. Those who
gathered inside the tent were only men. The old men sat near the
[554] eastern entranceway on both sides, with the chiefs next to them
to the west, and then the braves[1]; while other men present sat
about anywhere. White himself would sit with his seven crow
leaders at the west facing east. The only sacred objects kept on a
[778] covering at the western altar-place were the feathers and paints
of the leaders, and several pipes (two or four). Two men were
selected by White and the chiefs to act as tarutsius ("fire-tenders")
and at the same time as policemen. They carried long sticks to
whip the dogs with, driving them away from the dance ground
while the dancing went on. They also controlled the dancers.
After all the men had gathered, a smoke offering initiated the
[276] performance. White gave pipes to two or four chiefs and told them
step by step what to do. The performance could begin either in the

---

[1] These are generic Pawnee patterns.

about the dance." Carrion, along with John Moses, Jim Keys, 668
Brigham Young and Henry Minthorn went to see Sitting Bull the 177
Arapaho. This was late in 1892, and they stayed there two months.

Carrion told Sitting Bull his story. Sitting Bull got a permit from his agent to Ghost Dance for two days. The Arapaho painted the Pawnee visitors with a rainbow around the forehead, a crow [302]
on the right cheek (because, says Carrion, "a crow finds everything
he looks for, and when one is under the crow influence one can 825]
almost read minds"), and an eagle on the left cheek (which also represents a bird that flies high above everything, sees all and finds things).

That night in the Ghost Dancing among the Arapaho Joe Carrion was overcome and fell unconscious on his back. "I saw a big circle of people above." He awoke about two o'clock at night after lying there for five hours. When he woke up, he found there was a drum beside his head; an old man came over and asked him what he had seen. "Nothing," he said; he didn't want to tell. The old man told him, "you must tell." "I got up and said, 'I don't believe it.' Then he hit a gourd against the ground, and I fell over again. I got up and still said, 'I don't believe it,' so he hit the gourd on the ground and again I fell over. The way he could do this to me convinced me, and when I got up I believed it all. Then I told him what I had seen. He said it was true. The next day the Arapaho were told they would have to stop the Ghost Dancing. 796

"Two days afterward a boy came with hand game sticks, bringing 668
one round to each tent. He told everybody that there was to be 177
a big hand game at a certain place. It was to last four days, with [785]
a Squaw dance afterwards." 524

The man in charge of the hand game told Carrion to get certain [302]
things for himself. He told him that he must fast four days and nights. Carrion wore only a g-string, and painted his body yellow. He neither ate nor drank.

During the playing of the game, he often got thirsty and would be about to take a drink, when someone would remind him that he must not. He was chosen to serve the food, but he was not supposed to partake of it. He also would pass the bucket of water around. The smell of the food helped him, seemed to satisfy his hunger a little. The first night he felt weak and wanted to cry. "They told me to go ahead and cry, that this was the same as going to church."

At sunrise he stood outside the tent and prayed. 796

"The fourth day I went onto a hill. Behind me there was 668
someone sitting in the grass. I looked at the sun and saw things 787
177

525 619 "All right now, let's go ahead." Knifechief gets up and gives one bone to a Skiri man; the Kitkahaxki^x leader rises and gives one to a Kitkahaxki^x man. In this way the two are selected as guessers for their respective sides.

Now all the players begin to sing and yell. The two guessers are on their feet facing each other. The Skiri hides the bone first, the Kitkahaxki^x must guess first. The one who wins them gives them out to hide to any two players on his side regardless of where they sit. He picks them because they are clever at hiding the bones, at deceiving the guessers, at confusing them by shifting the bone almost invisibly from one hand to another. The guesser watches closely. He notes the gestures with the hands and arms, the body movements; he watches eyes for a hint.

As soon as one guesser has won the two bones he takes them to his side of the fire to two players. His opponent crosses into enemy territory to follow the trail and find them. His side is quiet now,
[516 825] while the players of the side hiding the bones are all singing and clapping hands. Some are yelling to frighten the guesser. Others make gestures to confuse him. The hiders imitate some animal in their body movements and the positions of their clenched hands.

He wins them back. At once his side begins to yell with their
[201 533] hands over their mouths, he-e-e-e- in a high loud voice. Then they begin to sing. Old hand game songs, songs caricaturing things and people, funny songs, coarse songs.

To follow the trail of the bones when they are won and carried across to the other side is to trail the enemy. The guesser searches for tracks. A player on the hiding side goes to the fire for handfuls
[789] of cold ashes from the fire's edge. He sprinkles it like falling snow. He calls aloud. "The snow covers up the tracks now, you cannot see them."

Thus after an enemy raid in late fall when men started after the retreating warparty to regain captured horses the falling snow obliterated the trail. To the Pawnee the little dramatic act has similar power to obliterate the unseen trail of the bones from hand to hand, to blind the guesser. The guesser shields his eyes with his hand and peers through the falling ashes to see the tracks.

In time to the clapping of hands and the rhythm of singing, the
[825] hiders and all the players of that side move their arms and bodies back and forth, back and forth. When they hide some imitate crows, some deer, some buffalo, some turkeys.

The Skiri win the first game. Their side carries off the stakes.
525 533 619 Now the Skiri begin to sing Crazy Dog dance songs, songs of reckless bravery, self-abandonment on the warpath. Men careless

525 619 points: only two sticks are left in the center. The Kitkahaxkiˣ guesser calls out to the leader of his side, "I want him to guess now." He shows them Mark. He says, "You're a good boy; everything you do is lucky. Go ahead."

The Skiri begin to yell. The Kitkahaxkiˣ pat Mark on the back and wish him luck.

[789] Mark arises. He goes to the fire and leans forward over it. He touches the ashes and rubs his hands together. He touches fire to his eyes to warm them and make him see clearly. He watches the guessers. He chooses quickly. He finds the bones.

Now the Skiri are trying to confuse him. They yell. They want him to put up the shawl he has with him. He tells them he doesn't have to now. He goes on guessing against the Skiri man who has won two games. The Kitkahaxkiˣ players begin to come to life. They win the game.

[533] Now the Kitkahaxkiˣ sing the Crazy Dog Dance songs. The Skiri are silent. The Kitkahaxkiˣ leader gets up to dance. He tells how he went on a warpath and captured many horses. This time the Kitkahaxkiˣ have carried off the spoils.

There is a fourth game. The bets are laid again. The Skiri choose a new guesser. Mark is against him now and wins again.

The games are even. The Kitkahaxkiˣ have won back their losings. They decide to stop now. It is late. The Kitkahaxkiˣ go home.

Later the Skiri set upon Mark because he played with the Kitkahaxkiˣ and won for them. For a long time he couldn't go [578] near the Skiri camp. They would get hold of him and scold him angrily. Mark says he joined the Kitkahaxkiˣ side because the man who asked him was a friend of his, and because the Skiri did not give him a place and ask him to join in.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OLD GAME

525 533 Competitions like the above between the bands of the Pawnee were played in this way in the old days. Women never played. The games were always outdoors. The songs sung were old type hand game songs. They were coarse but not about women. One ran:

> "They're bathing in the water now...
> They're bathing in the water now..."

All would laugh because of the reference to washing, bringing up a picture of one scrubbing himself all over and around the loins.

525 825 536 Those who hid, many of them, imitated animals. Some of these imitations:

Crow: Each hand clasped with index finger erect. The arms are 525
bent so that the hands are held out about shoulder high like wings. 825
The player calls ka-ka-ka like the crow while he motions with his 536
hands back and forth like flapping wings.

Turkey: Right hand clasped, index finger extended, is brought to forehead to imitate the beak; left hand with index finger out is placed behind like tail. The player calls tut-tut-tut like a turkey.

Deer: The hands clasped palm side down, held bent at wrists about waist high, imitating the forefeet; the index fingers are curled down; the arms are moved alternately, gracefully and slowly, forward and back. No sound.

Buffalo calf: Two hands tight shut in fists with thumbs erect: the bottoms of the fists are set to the sides of the head above the ears, the head bent forward, the thumbs moved like little horns, slight motions. The calf makes no noise unless caught, then "br-r-r-rrr."

Buffalo: The two hands clenched at the sides of the head as for calf, but the index fingers erect for larger horns: the head is moved slowly around to one side and another as the animal peers this way and that.

These animal imitations are by some wholly in fun. But those who use a certain imitation usually retain it throughout the play of hand games, and are known as such and such an animal player. And there are some among the players who have the right to characterizations because of their knowledge and power. In the hand game above described, one man who imitated the deer was a deer performer in the Doctor Dance.

The structure of the old hand game comes out clearly in the above narration. The play of the game has been detailed heretofore. Points of significance: 525

The games were always played outdoors. [562]

Women never participated.

The long fire outdoors with each side in a semi-circle.

The leaders as tallyers at the head end.

The tally sticks in one heap between them.

The betting.

The selection of hiders in any orders.

The attempts to trick and deceive.

The singing of old hand game songs for the play accompanied only by handclapping, without instruments. [533]

The Crazy Dog Dance between the games, danced by the winning side, the winning leader counting a coup. [535]

The animal imitations. [536]

668

the luck of visions; and to be assured that one would be saved when 525
the great destruction came, one had to be in touch with the control- 777
ling influences of the spirit world, which could be had only through 787
visions.

In the early games, as we saw, the men who played imitated 668
various birds and animals as they played. The belief is that birds
and animals play hand games too, even as men. In the Ghost 525
Dance two birds were preeminently the choice of the dancers, the 825 ●
eagle and the crow, because of the known characteristic traits 777
of these birds—their wide, far-flung flights, on which they saw the world below them and everything that went on in it. When you were influenced to fall into a trance because of either of these birds, or when in your trance either of these birds was your guide and helper to find lost relatives and lost ways of life, you became associated with that bird. When in the hand game you played as a "crow" or an "eagle", you played to find out which was luckier, which held promise of the greater good fortune. In the early Ghost Dance hand game days it is said by all that the losers cried desolately and the winners were jubilant. As there never were material stakes for a Ghost Dance hand game, clearly it was nothing won. Bad luck or good luck had been discovered as one's portion. To lose was an ill omen.

An incident by Mark Evarts illustrates the foregoing: 668

Once at a Ghost Dance game played by Mrs. Washington, Mark 525
held the counter in his left hand. The guesser indicated that hand 777
as his choice, when, as quickly as it was guessed, it seemed to pass to his right hand, and there it was. This, according to Mark, was a sign of good fortune. A while later Mark was given Ridingin's daughter to marry. Goodeagle, the girl's grandfather, told the people at the time Mark was married to the girl, that he had had Mark in mind for a long time. Mark feels that this was what his hand game luck forbode. He considers this connection of the events reinforced by an experience which had occurred to him some time before he played in this hand game of Mrs. Washington's. One
time when he was near a creek with a large clump of cottonwoods, [825]
an eagle came circling, looked at Mark and went off again. "Now Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle represent two eagles," says Mark, "and that may have been the time they thought about me and considered me." Thus the experience with the eagle is reinterpreted in the light of hand game luck and the good fortune which followed it.

An interesting aspect of the above experience is that Mark considered the fact that the counter changed hands miraculous. Not from Mark did I ever learn that in the old game changing the

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

with human scalps, a coiled thon[illegible]ided hide and a bundle of 796
"song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The 778
outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread
on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a
pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native
tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of
corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip inclined
toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and
the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a
white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws [825]
of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal [821]
is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason
the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In [854]
accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her
arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She [201]
then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between
the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial
lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies [302]
were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder
mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire
was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was [372]
intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was 796
served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful
of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung [415]
on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled [262]
in the usual manner.

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning 796
Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and 778
were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening
Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle 173
and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side.
The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge
of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however,
forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close
the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured
four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black.
The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star
and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards
the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe
secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It
is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to
have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow [411]
is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

---

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 *Analysis.*—All the tones of the octave except the sixth and seventh occur in this song, which has a compass of 11 tones and is melodic in structure. It begins on next to the highest tone of the compass and ends on the lowest, which is the keynote. The rhythm is energetic and the phrases with continuously descending trend are somewhat unusual. The change in the tempo of the drum has been described in connection with other songs of this group.

773
● 825
*533

In the next song we have an expression of the belief that a bear derives his "medicine power" from the sun and that the center of that power is in his palms. He stands facing the dawn in order that the first rays of the sun may strike his paws, upheld for the purpose. In this manner he renews his power from the sun. (Cf. Song 16.)

An old man named Lata'piū, long ago, fell asleep, and when he awoke he saw a strange sight. The sun was rising and a bear was pointing at the sunrise. The old man made this song about his vision and whenever he saw the sunrise he sang the song. Ever since that time the song has been used in the Bear dance.

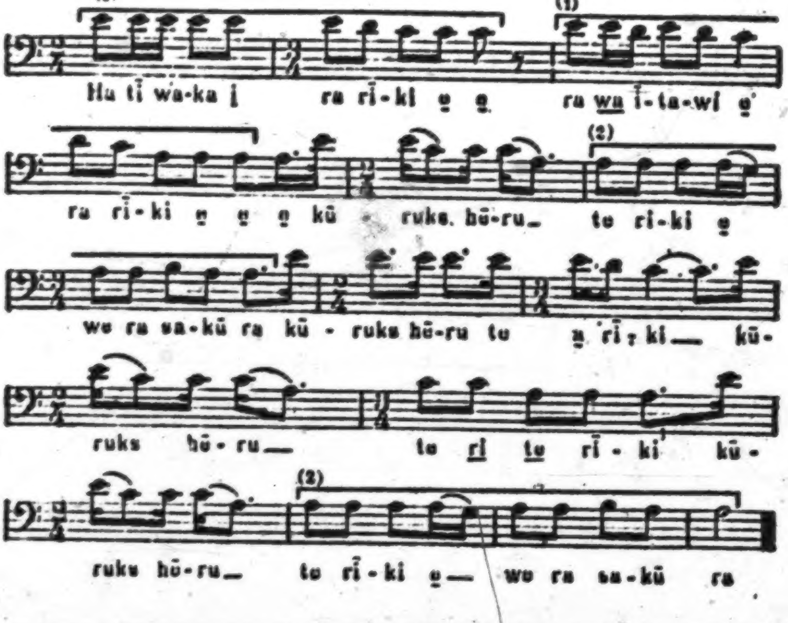
*533

No. 12. "The Bear is Pointing at the Sun"

(Catalogue No. 1119)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum ♩ = 132 Changing to ♩ = 76
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


(1)
(1)
(2)
(2)
Ha ti wa-ka i ra ri-ki e e. ra wa i-ta-wi e
ra ri-ki e e e kū - ruks. hū-ru_ te ri-ki e
we ra sa-kū ra kū - ruks hū-ru te e ri r ki_ kū-
ruks hū - ru_ te ri te ri - ki kū -
ruks hū-ru_ te ri - ki e_ we ra sa-kū ra

"3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

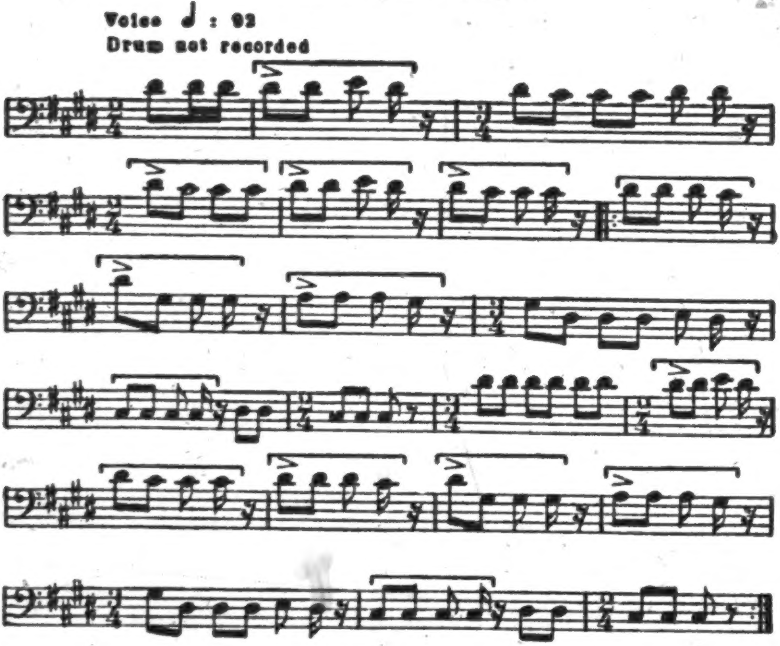
The words of the following song (not translated) state that Dog Chief took horns like those of a buffalo and put them on the horse he had captured.

533*
554
825

No. 18. Bear Dance Song (b)

(Catalogue No. 1150)

Recorded by Dog Chief



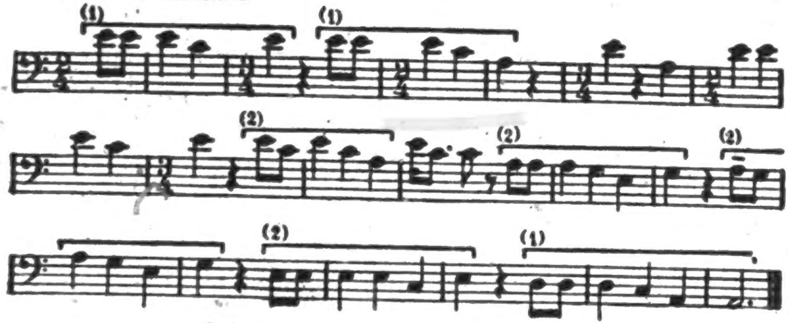
Analysis.—With the exception of two descending fifths and two descending fourths all the progressions in this song are whole tones and semitones. The first seven measures begin with the same tone, which is also the initial tone in five consecutive measures later in the song. This is next to the highest in the compass. A majority of the melody is on the tones C sharp, D sharp, and E, a few measures being on the tones G sharp and A. Thus the formation of the melody is seen to be based on intervals rather than on a scale or key. The rhythm is accurately repeated in the three renditions. The rhythmic unit is short and the rhythm of the song as a whole is "swung" by the triple measures occurring as measures 2, 9, 12, 18, and 19. It is interesting to note the irregular time spaces at which these triple measures occur. This shows that the rhythm of the entire song is an entity and offers a contrast to songs that consist of three or more distinct periods, each containing the same number of measures.

No. 20. Bear Dance Song (d)

(Catalogue No. 1151) 533*

Recorded by Dog Chief

Voice ♩ = 168
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This song is clearly harmonic in feeling, though three measures in the latter part of the song begin with nonharmonic tones. It has a compass of 12 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is chiefly by major and minor thirds. Two rhythmic units occur, and a comparison of these units forms the principal interest of the rhythm. Rests occur at the end of each phrase and after a detached tone in the fifth measure. These rests were clearly given in both renditions of the song.

SONGS OF THE DEER SOCIETY 533*

The Wichita Indians are said to have originated this society, which 575 has been discontinued for many years. The dance of the society was [787] held in the autumn when the corn was ripe, and its purpose was "to find out whether a man would be killed when going on the warpath." The dances took place in an earth lodge. A custom of the society, described by James R. Murie, appears to have been a testing of the powers of its members. Mr. Murie said, "These men drank mescal, putting about half a bean in a kettle of water. After drinking it they [276] fell unconscious. An attendant then ran the jaw of a garfish along the man's spine and if he recovered consciousness he was not considered fitted to belong to the society. Members of this society had power [815] over snakes and their dance was allied to that of the Mokis.[a] Each [171] dancer carried a fox skin and held in his mouth a plain bone or reed whistle on which he blew as he danced." There were four singers, each carrying a bow in one hand and a gourd rattle in the other, [534]

[a] [i.e., Hopi. - Analyst]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 rattles all the time. The Pawnee will hear him and kill us all. Make him stop." But the little snake kept on. He even went beside the road and rattled his rattle very loud.

One day a girl came along the road and the little snake thought she was a chief's daughter. He bit her foot and she turned quickly and crushed his head. The other snakes found him and the brother said, "Father, didn't I tell you that one of us would be killed? There is my little brother with his head smashed." That is the end of the story.

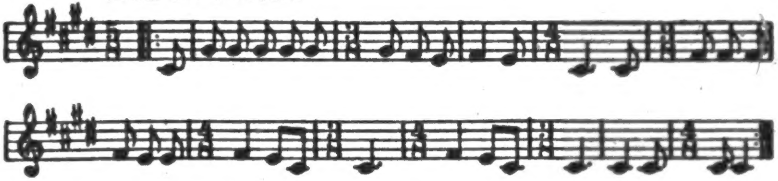
No. 77. The Little Rattlesnake

(Catalogue No. 1077)

Recorded by Effie Blain

*533
539

Voice ♪ : 152
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—Six renditions of this song were recorded and the time values in all were as indicated in the transcription. The principal progression in the song is F sharp–E, followed by C sharp. Thus the tone material is practically the minor third and fourth, although the fifth occurs in the opening measure. The song begins and ends on the same tone, which is somewhat unusual in Indian songs.

UNCLASSIFIED SONGS

773 When the Pawnee first saw a horse they were frightened. Some ran away and others said, "I wonder what he is dragging behind
231 him" (referring to his tail). A great crowd of people was looking
825 at the horse. At last someone said, "Why are you afraid of this animal. He is very useful. He can carry you and your packs. You can get on him and he will take you from place to place so that you can kill game." Ever since that time the Pawnee have owned horses, and found that horses could work for them.

575 One end was lapped over enough to allow the poles to be passed through. In the
middle, the cloth was slashed enough to allow for the bearer's hand. Feathers were
also placed before the men who were sewing. They took five crow feathers that were
equal in length and cut the quills at the ends. When these were ready one of the
men made perforations in the cloth with a sharp stick beginning at the top. Then
[237] he placed the quill ends of the feathers in the perforations and tied them with sinew.
Five swan feathers were attached in the same way. This was done for the full length
of the strip, five crow feathers alternating with five swan feathers.

The men on the north side must complete their cloth first, for the north star
[821] watches and cares for them, giving them life and feeding them. The people on the
south side worked slowly for the south star is the home of the dead. The owl feathers
are bunched together and tied at the top of the cloth because they represent the north
star who watches over all at night. Owls care for people while they sleep. In olden
[825] times, the owls used to warn the people when the enemy was prowling around the
camp. The crow feathers were attached first because crows are always the first to
find food and they used to help the people to find buffalo. The swan feathers represent
those of the thunderbird which is near Tirawahat, the heavens. If an enemy
[821] were on the point of attacking the people, thunderstorms would come up and save
them. The red cloth signified bloodshed during war. During battle, if the lance
bearer stuck the lance into the ground, it was incumbent upon the people to defend
the emblem.

After the cloth was ready, the poles were passed through the flaps, tied to a pole, and stuck in the ground, one at the north and the other at the south side, in front of the drummers.

Now, Known-the-leader said: "Knife-chief, Brave-chief, Running-fox, Young-hawk, old men, and young men, our fathers (the lances) are now complete. Our father, the owl is sitting at the top of the pole. The crow and swan feathers are attached. The lances are complete and have taken life. Let us hasten to notify the gods in the heavens that we have completed these emblems that were given to our people long ago to be carried on the buffalo hunt that there should be order. These insignia were to be carried in battle; in peace they were hung on a pole. The buffalo have disappeared, we no longer fight our enemies, peace rules. The gods know this. They will bless us and give us long life. They will bless our fields so that we may have an abundance of food. It is now time to offer smoke to the gods to show that we remember them. I select Knife-chief to offer smoke to the gods in the heavens. Knife-chief will now rise and take the pipe I have filled."

Knife-chief rose and took the pipe which belongs in a sacred bundle. It is very
276 old; the bowl is large; the stem smooth and round and represents the windpipe
575 through which the prayers of the people pass. Knife-chief walked around the fireplace
with the pipe, beginning at the south. At the northeast he stopped and the
south assistant lighted the pipe with a burning coal. He then walked around the
fireplace by the west and then south with the lighted pipe and stopped successively
at the south and north entrances and blew smoke in those directions. He next halted
at the fireplace and blew smoke on its rim towards the northeast and the northwest.
West of the fireplace he stopped and blew smoke southwest and southeast. Then
he passed north and stopped at the west facing east. He blew smoke east, west, and
then east again. Then he directed smoke towards the heavens; three times to the
north, once to the south, faced about and blew smoke west. He turned again and
blew towards the ground and the drums.

575 for war. In fact, this is the society that is called upon to police the buffalo hunt and in this capacity the members conduct themselves as described above. As an organization it is the counterpart of the Skidi two lance society.

The Thunderbird Lance.

The raris kuhat, or thunderbird lance society is found among the Skidi and the Squash Vine people. The following account is from data supplied by the Skidi.

[825] In winter the members procure the thunderbird (in this case the swan,
though outsiders are led to believe it to be the eagle) which is skinned by
the leader as in the case of the preceding society. The feathers are plucked,
leaving the down upon the skin, and with this the lance is wrapped at the
renewing ceremony in the spring. This society is never called upon to act
[721] as police in the buffalo hunt, but for leadership and defense in war; in this
respect whatever was said of the preceding society, applies equally well
[821] here. The point of the lance is of flint stone because this stone is believed
to be related to the thunders since it is said that such will be found where-
[823] ever the lightning strikes. Thus, this stone lance head symbolizes the power
to strike down a person before he is aware of danger.

As stated before, the trophies of victory may be turned over to this society that they may inaugurate the victory dance and as it progresses, the whole is turned over to the women. In former times, it was the custom for the sexes to mingle freely without restraint and during the dance.

In the Squash Vine village the lances were wrapped with loonskin instead of swan and loon heads were placed on the end of the curved top; also some loon feathers. On the sinew string were soft down feathers. Four old men were taken in to recount the deeds of the members.

The Crow Lance.

The hatu^{h}ka society was found among each of the four divisions but not
in the independent villages. It was everywhere the same, except that the
[184] peculiar feature of tying the members together was practised by the Skidi
alone. In all cases this society was the last to renew in the spring, disband
in the winter, to leave the line of battle, to follow the camp, etc.

The following account applies particularly to the Skidi: —

575 The name usually given this society is hatu^{h}ka (those coming behind), so named
773 because of their peculiar custom of marching at the extreme rear of the tribal procession. The society is said to have been handed down by the crows but in reality

They did not go into a fight until they were told not to; then they simply 575 shot their arrows toward the enemy without taking much aim and then went to get them; or in other words, an idiotic performance. At all times of their lives they did things in reverse order. They never married or had anything to do with women. Whenever strange or mysterious animals were reported which were feared by other people, they would try to kill them. It is said that the society became extinct by all being killed in a battle except one, who afterwards disappeared. There are, however, several different stories as to how they were destroyed.

THE WONDERFUL RAVENS.

This society of the kaka waruxti, or wonderful ravens, had two undressed lances except for a crowskin hanging near the point. All members, except the pipe-bearer, had the skins of crows upon their backs. All painted [302] black. The founder got the ritual and powers from a raven. There were four singers but no rattle bearers. Their chief function was to be ready for war; they wore the crow because this bird is known to be wary and hence [825] it was believed that the society could foretell attacks. When attacks were [787] predicted the society placed their lances outside against a pole. This was a public warning that precautions should be taken.

The society had a brief existence, as most of them were once killed in battle, the remnants failing to reorganize.

THE BIG HORSE SOCIETY.

Among the Chauí there was once an organization known as raris aruskutchu, big horse society. Many of the members bore plain long sticks and all wore caps of foxskin and painted themselves white. There were no [302] drums, but eight singers who beat upon a piece of rawhide with sticks instead of drums. The society was for war, but took the warpath for private forays and never acted as soldiers in any capacity. They became extinct by the loss of most of their members in an engagement.

SOCIETY OF CROWS.

The raris kaka, society of crows, was a lance society. They had two lances with war points and at four places on the shaft a string bearing crow feathers was tied. The members painted black but only on the joints of [302] the body.

756 snake doctors, though demonstrations are seldom made in the regular ceremonies. The members claim absolute immunity from rattlesnake bites and ● [825] complete power over the reptile himself. They will seize any snake they meet and handle it without fear. No wands or instruments are used, nothing but the hands. The writer has frequently observed snakes handled in this way. According to reports they are able to cure all suffering from snake bites.

BLOOD DOCTORS.

There was formerly a group of medicinemen known as kura patu (blood doctors). They were, however, considered as otter men, or an otter society. They seem to have been composed of five groups of dancers, each marching through the camp separately. Women accompanied them, bearing wooden bowls and spoons on their backs. In this manner the five groups proceeded independently to the lodge of the two leaders of the ceremonies where an altar had been prepared. When a group reached the lodge they paused and sang; the leaders on the inside then sang and danced, bearing otterskins in their right hands. After the dance the two leaders came out to receive the guests in their arms.

[789] The chief feature of a ceremony was the shamanistic vomiting of a red liquid like blood. This was collected in bowls and used to paint the bodies and otterskins of those present.

THE IRUSKA.

There was a very powerful medicine society among the Chauí known as the pitararis iruska. However, the Pítahaufrata division was also repre- [184] sented in this society, they having the south side and the Chauí the north. The Skidí had the same ceremony except that they used dog meat in the kettle instead of buffalo. Also, the Skidí did not have the two forms of painting, only one, painted black at the joints. The purpose of the dance was to show the power of the members to extinguish the life in the fire, hence the name. Among the Skidí at least, the term iruska has a symbolic or double meaning. The idea is literally "the fire is in me" and the symbolic meaning is that "I can extinguish the life in the fire," or can overcome the [752] powers of other medicines. The members of the society were doctors for they treated burns.

Originally, the society consisted of leaders of various animal medicine 539 societies. Among the members was one who was not a medicineman until 756 he had a curious experience. The story follows:—

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand
that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly 776
responsible. 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of conse- 292
crating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were cere- 796
monial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies.

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected 224
to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires.

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the 361
ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed.

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must 622
pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and 756
what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water 782
animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers
through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with
these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social inter- [565]
course. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but
otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that [773]
at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.)

224 the deities, for a sacrificed buffalo is reborn, and the buffalo, liking
784 this, would approach nearer and nearer. In the absence of the
hunting party dried buffalo meat could not be roasted, as the odor
[825] of the roasting meat would reach the animals and they might be
frightened. However, the meat could be prepared by boiling.

428 In the inheritance of personal property, a woman theoretically
562 had no rights. As a matter of fact, however, she was generally
considered to be the owner of the lodge, the tipi, and her tools
and utensils. Children did not inherit personal property such as
robes, blankets, ponies, and saddle trappings, all of which were
supposed to belong to the brother, though they were usually claimed
by the sons of the deceased's sister.

BIRTH

843 The first signs of pregnancy were received with rejoicing by the
married couple and their families, who at once began preparing
suitable presents for the child. During this period certain restrictions
were placed upon the expectant mother and her husband. One of
the most important of these prohibited the husband from killing
or looking at animals other than the red deer, the flesh of which
●[825] only his wife was permitted to eat. If the man killed a deer, he
jumped over it twice from right to left and twice from left to right,
and then scattered a handful of dust over the animal; otherwise
the child would be influenced by the deer. If he killed or looked
at other animals, they would cause the child's appearance to be like
that of an animal.

843 This restriction is illustrated by the following two tales. Once,
538 the husband of a pregnant woman was trapping beaver and otter.
One day the man killed an otter, took it home, and skinned it in
825 the presence of his wife, so that the woman saw all that he did.
When she gave birth, the child was part otter and part human,
and died soon after. At another time a man went hunting during
his wife's pregnancy. He found a badger, shot it through the eye,
and took the skin home, showing it to his wife and relating the
circumstances of how he got it. Though she tried to prevent his
telling about it and tried not to see the skin, her child was born blind.

843 During pregnancy the wife was forbidden the use of any form
of knife in the preparation and cutting of food, for to do so would
sever the umbilical cord and cause the child to bleed to death.
The husband was also careful in the care of his ponies and kept
away from those that were lariated. Should he become entangled
[825] in the lariat the child would be strangled or injured in the delivery.
A pregnant woman refrained from drinking with a horn spoon or
[415] from a small earthenware vessel which was used as a dipper, as she
would drink in the sound supposed to reside in the utensil. The
noise would enter the embryo's ears and the child would be born
[826] deaf. In other words, practically all forms of congenital deformity
843 were ascribed to the violation of restrictions imposed during preg-
538 nancy. Even twins were supposed to owe their origin to the fact
[845] that in ancient mythological times a woman seduced a man, he
believing her to be a woman of whom he was very fond. When
they had lain together in the timber beyond the village, she jumped
up and laughed at him. In her shadow he saw her ears move and
looking closer saw a deer running away. The man in vain tried to

778 "rains-wrapped-up." The tribe was divided into a
621 number of villages all of whose members traced their
(611) descent in the female line from a single ancestor. Each
778 of these villages possessed a sacred bundle, while
there were two others which were considered the
property of the tribe as a whole. The Four Direction
village had four sacred bundles one of which was sacred
to each of the cardinal points. These points were, to
[823] the Pawnee, southwest, southeast, northwest, and
northeast. The sacred bundle of each village was believed
to have been given to its first ancestor by one
of the heavenly beings, and constituted a link between
778 its members and the divine donor. From their traditions
the "gift" seems to have consisted rather in explicit
directions for its making than in an actual presentation
of the objects. The bundles were inherited
[422] in the female line so that their owners were always
[428] women. Their keepers, and the priests who performed
their ceremonies, were, on the other hand, men.

All the village bundles contained much the same objects. The most important of these were one or two ears of corn, which were called Mother-Corn and were believed to give life to the bundle. They were shelled in the spring and distributed for seed, being replaced at harvest time. When the Mother-Corn consisted of two ears, one of these was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element or Morning Star, while the other symbolized the female element or Evening Star. Next in importance to the Mother-Corn were the to-
[825] bacco-filled skins of hawks and owls. The hawk symbolized
a warrior; the owl, a chief, because it was always awake and watchful. The owl seems to have also symbolized the watchfulness of Tirawa, the supreme being. One or more scalps, taken from slain enemies, were found in every bundle. Pieces cut from them were used in various ceremonies, and they had to be renewed from time to time. Four skins, each of

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 just east of the pit. The keeper of that bundle then 783 brought the Mother-Corn from it and placed it in the pit, thrusting the stick to which the male ear was attached into the earth so that it stood upright and leaning the other ear against its base. The keepers of the other bundles then came forward in turn and did the same. A wooden bowl filled with water was then placed to the east of the pit, between it and the fire-place. A clam shell was laid in the bowl, and a turtle, supported by a framework of sticks, was placed upon it. [825] To the northeast and northwest of the bowl were laid the heads and necks of loons, to the southeast the head and neck of a swan, and to the southwest a gar fish. The meaning of these objects is not perfectly understood. The bowl seems to have represented earth and water; the turtle, fire and also one of the important earthly gods. The loons and swan represented earthly gods, guardians of medicine men; and the gar fish, the great sea monster which first gave the medicine men's ceremony to human beings.

After these objects had been arranged, the chief priest selected four men to sit at the northeast, northwest, southeast and southwest corners of the bowl. The sacred stick from the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, and a star chart, kept in a bag attached to that bundle, were taken outside and placed on the mound in front of the doorway. The priest then took four smooth stones from the same bundle and gave one to each of the four men. These stones were extremely sacred, and were believed to have been given to the people at the beginning of the world. They were provided [482] with withe handles so that they could be carried without touching them. When they had been distributed, the priest said, "It is now time for these men to go outside and look at the heavens and over the earth. They will take with them these four stones, which were given to our people when the earth was

In the intermediate space between the recesses and the fireplace, mats, about 352
three by five feet, made of rushes, are laid, at convenient distances, 285
for seats; while an extra supply of them, rolled up, and set aside at different places in the lodge, are reserved for extraordinary occasions, as for instance councils or feasts.

Subsistence.—What the *seal* is to the Greenlander, the *buffalo* 262
is to the Pawnees and other Prairie Indians; and many of
their songs, in which reference is made to the buffalo, show that 825
this animal is held in high estimation among them. It will no doubt be a difficult undertaking to wean them from an occupation, which is at the same time a gratifying and exciting sport to them, and which imparts to an individual who distinguishes himself in its pursuit, a character of high standing among his tribe. The great scarcity of the buffalo, however, of late years, since the immense emigration to the far west, has pinched them with want and hunger, and it is evident that they cannot subsist much longer by depending mainly upon this animal as heretofore. This circumstance, though calling forth our warmest sympathies in behalf of their wretched condition, may perhaps be the means, in the hands of an Allwise Providence, of shaking that tenacity and attachment so strongly developed in the Indian character, for long cherished customs, and making them more pliable in adopting the arts of civilization. Their attention must soon be directed to agriculture and the raising of stock, or they must starve.—

While on the hunt, in the buffalo country, the Pawnees generally 251
have a good supply of fresh meat to subsist on. That portion
of their meat which is intended to be jerked, in order to take home [262]
with them, they cut into narrow slips, and dry it over the fire, without any salt, where, by the action of the smoke and sun, it soon dries. Several slips are then plaited together, when it is put away into a skin, and reserved for future use. The reason why no salt is added, is probably, first, because it is a scarce article, and secondly, because anything that is salted and dried, imbibes moisture in damp weather, and sooner becomes rancid, than meat dried without salt.

Besides the buffalo, as their main subsistence, they raise some 241
corn, beans, and pumpkins. As they use no other agricultural
implements than hoes, their fields are not very extensive. For 262
suitable spots of cultivation they generally select the mouth of a ravine or any spot where, by the washing of the rains, the ground has become loose and mellow, and consequently the sod may more easily be extirpated than in the prairies generally, where the gronnd can only be prepared by turning the thick sod by means of a large prairie plough, and three or four yoke of oxen.—

Their fields are not enclosed by fences, or any other kind of 241
protection. Having no other stock but horses, which are con- 231

136 of their value as food sources. Smaller animals, such as rabbits, opossum, raccoon, and squirrel, were also to be had. Ducks, geese, and other waterfowl were plentiful and fish abounded in most of the streams.

133 All of the major streams carry water the year round, although the Platte during the summer months becomes largely a subterranean river above its junction with the Loup. With the exception of those in the sand hills, the streams flow characteristically in broad, flat alluvial valleys, from 8 to 15 miles wide, and bordered by bluffs up to 250 feet in height. The historic villages were apparently all [361] located in the large river valleys rather than on the small tributary creeks; only the chase, war forays, or migrations seem to have led village tribes such as the Pawnee out upon the interfluvial areas.

778 It may be noted here that the "sacred places" of the Pawnee, where the *Nahu'rac*, or miraculously endowed animals, met in council, 823 were all associated with the streams. There were five of these, 825 according to Grinnell.[20] One was "at *Pa-hŭk'*, on the south side of the Platte River, opposite the town of Fremont, in Nebraska. The word *Pa-hŭk'* means 'hill island.' Another animal home is under an island in the Platte River, near the town of Central City. It is called by the Pawnee *La-la-wa-koh-ti-to*, meaning 'dark island.' The third of these sacred places is on the Loup Fork, opposite the mouth of the Cedar River, and under a high white cut bank. It is called *Ah-ka-wit-akol*, 'white bank.' Another is on the Solomon River, *Kitz-a-witz-ŭk*, 'water on a bank'; it is called *Pa'howa* sometimes. This is a mound, shaped like a dirt lodge. At the top of the mound, in the middle, is a round hole, in which, down below, [782] can be seen water. At certain times the people gather there and throw into this hole their offerings to *Ti-ra'-wa*, blankets and robes, blue beads, tobacco, eagle feathers, and moccasins. Sometimes, when they are gathered there, the water rises to the top of the hole and flows out, running down the side of the mound into the river. Then the mothers take their little children and sprinkle the water over them and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* to bless them. The water running out of the hole often carries with it the offerings, and the ground is covered with the old rotten things that have been thrown in. [This clearly refers to the mineral spring now known as Waconda, or Great Spirit, Springs, situated 2½ miles southeast of Cawker City, Mitchell County, Kans.[21]] The fifth place is a hard, smooth, flinty rock, sticking up out of the ground. They call it *Pa-hŭr'*, 'hill that points the way.' In the side of the hill there is a great hole where the *Nahu'rac* hold councils. This hill is in Kansas and can be

---

[20] 1893, p. 358.

[21] Bailey, 1902, pp. 197-200.

778

seen from the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad. It is known 823 to the whites as Guide Rock."[22] 825

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

TRADITIONS

Pawnee history, as herein discussed, consists of two major periods 175 or divisions: First, the period of legend and tradition, which is concerned primarily with the origin and migrations of the tribe in a dim and distant past; and secondly, the period of recorded history, beginning in 1541, with the first contact between Europeans and Pawnee, and continuing down to 1876, the date of final removal of the tribe from its home on the Loup and its confinement on a reservation in the then Indian Territory. For information on the first period the traditions recorded by Dunbar, Dorsey, and Grinnell are our main source, hence are here briefly reviewed; and for the later period, the accounts of European and American explorers and travelers are drawn up in chronological sequence, particularly as relates to the location of the villages of the different bands.

The ancient habitat of the Pawnee, prior to their occupation of the 173 Platte and Loup Valleys, lay traditionally to the south or southwest. Dunbar,[23] whose authority on this point is generally accepted, states that the traditions of the Grand, Republican, and Tappage bands "coincide in stating that the Pawnee migrated to the Platte River region from the south, and secured possession of it by conquest."[24]

This is partially corroborated by a Wichita legend, according to which the "primitive home" of the two tribes, Pawnee and Wichita, was "upon the Red River, below the mouth of the Washita",[25] in eastern Oklahoma or Arkansas, whence they wandered northward together. The same authority says relative to the Skidi that the "traditions of the other three bands are very positive in affirming that they are the remnant of a once separate tribe that has been subdued and incorporated into the Pawnee family";[26] the Otos, Poncas, and Omahas were conquered at the same time.[27]

Dorsey[28] traces three of the bands back to a single ancestral tribe, called the *Kawarahkis*, which dwelt near the confluence of the Little Nemaha with the Missouri in the southeastern corner of the present

---

[22] According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the "hill that points the way" is actually about 3 miles north of the Kansas-Nebraska line, on the south side of the Republican River, directly south of the town of Guide Rock, Webster County, Nebr.

[23] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, pp. 251 ff.

[24] Ibid., p. 251.

[25] Idem.

[26] Ibid., p. 253.

[27] Ibid., p. 252.

[28] Dorsey, G. A., 1906, p. 8.

*172 262 teeth of both elk and deer occur rather commonly in caches, as do those of beaver and badger. Dogs were sometimes eaten, though some of the canine teeth and maxillae found in excavation may be those of wolves or coyotes. Remains of small mammals, such as rabbit and squirrel, are fairly common. Fish appear to have been used but little, as their bones are seldom present in the refuse-filled caches.

The excavations of the Nebraska Archeological Survey at the Hill site yielded bones of the following animals, most of which were doubtless used for food:[40]

[825]

Dog (*Canis familiaris*).
Wildcat (*Lynx rufus*.)
Bison (*Bison bison*).
Pronghorn antelope (*Antilocapra americana*).
White-tail deer (*Odocoileus virginianus macrourus*).
Horse (*Equus caballus*).
Rodentia (sp. unidentified).

CERAMICS

*172 323 Singularly enough, in spite of the considerable amount of literature pertaining to the Pawnee, there is very little extant in regard to their pottery making. Dunbar[41] states that the women "made rude pottery of sand and a certain kind of clay, which after being burned was quite serviceable." According to information gathered by Comfort[42] from the old men, the Sisseton and Wahpeton Dakota secured their pottery from the Pawnee and Omaha. Yet none of the early explorers or missionaries, some of whom spent months and even years with the tribe and must have had ample opportunity to observe the trait, have left any detailed description of either the processes or the appearances of the completed wares.

Fortunately we have the account given by Grinnell which runs as follows:

> Years ago, on the sites of abandoned Pawnee villages, on the Loup Fork and on the Platte, fragments of pottery used to be found among the debris of the fallen lodges. The manufacture of this pottery was no doubt abandoned long ago, and has probably not been practiced to any considerable extent since they met the whites. A man about 50 years of age stated to me that he had never seen these pots in use, but that his grandmother had told him that in her days they made and used them. He said that they were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mold. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone they mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of the proper consistency they smeared it over the rounded mold, which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and

---

[40] For the identification of skeletal material the writer is indebted to Mr. Paul O. McGrew, of the Department of Paleontology, University of Nebraska.

[41] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, p. 279.

[42] 1873, p. 401.

There is a little bird, smaller than a pigeon. Its back is blue; and its breast white, and its head is spotted. It flies swiftly over the water, and when it sees a fish, it dives down into the water to catch it. This bird is a servant or a messenger for the *Nahu'rac*. Such a bird came flying by just as the buzzards put the body on the ground, and he stopped and looked at it. When he saw how it was—for he knew all that had happened—he flew down into the lodge and told the *Nahu'rac* about the boy. The bird said, "There is a boy up here on the hill. He is dead, and he is poor, and I want to have him brought to life again." Then he told the *Nahu'rac* all the things that had happened. When the messenger bird had done speaking, the *Nahu'rac* earnestly counselled together for a long time to decide what should be done, and each one made a speech, giving his opinion about the matter, but they could not make up their minds what ought to be done. 539x 773 [825]

The little bird was coaxing the *Nahu'rac*, and saying, "Come, now, we want to save his life." But the *Nahu'rac* could not decide. At last the chief of the *Nahu'rac* said, "No, messenger, we cannot decide this here. You will have to go to the other council lodges, and see what they say about it." The bird said, "I am going," and flew swiftly out of the lodge and up the river, till he came to the *Nahu'rac* lodge near the Lone Tree. When he got there, he told them all about the boy, and said that the council at *Pa-hūk'* could not decide what should be done. The *Nahu'rac* here talked, and at last they said, "We cannot decide. The council at *Pa-hūk'* must decide." Then the bird went to the lodge on the Loup, and the *Nahu'rac* there said that they could not decide. Then he went to *Kitz-a-witz-ūk*, and to *Pa-hūr'*; and at each place the *Nahu'rac* considered and talked about it, and then said, "We cannot decide what shall be done. The council at *Pa-hūk'* must decide for themselves."

At last, after he had visited all the council lodges of the *Nahu'rac*, the bird flew swiftly back to the lodge at *Pa-hūk'*, and told them there what the animals at the other lodges had said. In the council of the *Nahu'rac* at *Pa-hūk'*, there were four chiefs, who sat there as judges to determine such matters as this, after they had all been talked over, and to decide what should be done. When the messenger bird came back, and told the *Nahu'rac* what the other councils had said, these judges considered for a time, and then spoke together, and at length

14: Weltfish

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

● 825

[For information on various animals as visionary spirit helpers to the Pawnee doctors, see category 756.]

achievement of the original visionary of the Skull bundle. This was celebrated by decorating the four pillars of the earth lodge that were in the semicardinal directions. To each of them was tied a bundle of willows and some dried buffalo meat and fat—tied on with buffalo-hair ropes. On each pillar under the offering was painted a colored stripe in the color appropriate to its semicardinal direction. The woman visionary was not invited, but was asked to send the consecrated buffalo meat which was set down at the south side of the fireplace. The Skull bundle owners were sent for and four selected to go out and gather the willows. Then they went in procession around the houseposts, one line on the outside, one on the inside, proceeding in a counterclockwise direction, (southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast) tying on the offerings to each post in succession and then painting them. 241 778

The sacred objects were next suffused with incense from burnt sweet grass mixed with fat, and the buffalo skull that usually rested there was removed from the altar and the skull of Wonderful Person put in its place. This was the first object to be "incensed"; then came the other objects in the bundle, then the ministers themselves, and then the errand men. After the incensing, all went home except the ministers and errand men, who had their breakfast there of meat and corn.

After breakfast and for the next four hours the lodge was prepared for the public ceremony. The major feature of the public ceremony would be a pantomime of hoeing to break the ground for planting, and the woman visionary was now called in to take part in the preparations. She came in with her brother, who was dressed in his best because he was to go through the village asking for gifts on behalf of their undertaking. He would walk through the village calling upon their relatives and saying that Wonderful Person needed wood and his sister needed help in her enterprise—would they please cook something? In answer to his request, they would bring gifts to the ceremonial lodge.

Meanwhile the errand men were sent out to borrow four sacred shoulder-blade hoes that were kept in the four direction bundles. When they brought these in they were placed in pairs on the north and south of the altar. From the Skull bundle itself were taken two deer necks placed at the south and two loon necks placed at the north of the altar. [825] These symbolized the fact that loons fly high against the sky and bring us messages from Heaven, which Wonderful Person would now be representing in the ceremony. A pure young man who had shed no blood would be selected to decorate the skull for this role. He first painted the face red and on it a line design in blue, bow-shaped and extending across the forehead and down the cheeks, representing the vault of the heavens, and a blue line down the center and along the nose for the breath of Heaven descending from the zenith, passing down the nose to the heart and giving life to the child (see Figure 9-1). The minister [531]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

773 to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used
796 in the sacrifice ceremony.

782 Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning
[821] Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose
[787] ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior
visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be
held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special
costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role.
Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings
occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of
cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in
[292] order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin
• [825] with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the
renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water
after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a
feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So
dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions
of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came
bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four
long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace
extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the
middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being
pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood
[823] appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm,
[824] northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast.
The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time
the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and
otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Tuwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

When Roaming Leader rejoined his friends in his tent, they continued their planning in the light of what White Eagle had said. Their assignment was to go toward the southwest. New Young Dog said, "That's a good place to go. It's hilly there. Last year about this time we saw three or four buffalo over there." Roaming Leader reminded them to hobble their horses next to the tent so that they could get an early start; he told them to meet at his place so that they could leave together. He also said they should plan to leave very early so that no one would try to follow along and join the party. 224* 484*

Roaming Leader was the first to awaken next morning, then New Young Dog, who was so anxious to get off that he had hardly slept. After that Mad Bear came, half running, and then the other two, who were a bit slower.

It was still somewhat dark when they left, but they had a long way to go—five or six miles to the Platte, and then the crossing. When they got to the crossing place, the scouts from the other bands were also there. They greeted one another, and after they had crossed over, each scout announced the direction his band was traveling. [576]

If any of the parties saw the buffalo massed together, this was a sign that the Cheyenne and Arapaho must be lurking around somewhere near the Platte. They would keep right on until they saw two or three bison or buffalo standing alone, with no others to be seen anywhere around as far as the eye could see. Then they knew it was safe to hunt them. [825]

There were five scouts in Roaming Leader's party and three buffalo to be attacked. All five could not chase the three buffalo at once, so they split up into two groups of three and two respectively. The three bison stood next to a pond. The men were on a little hill and they approached cautiously, going down into a trough where they would be concealed. Then they removed their saddles and rode out bareback. The party of three would chase two of the bison and the party of two, the third one. The man on the fastest horse headed off the two bison and led them to the place where they had left their saddles. "Hurry up, hurry up and try to shoot," he called to the other two men. The other party of two would head off the third bison and try to kill it.

Now they were in a hurry to butcher. It was a hard trip back over the sand hills, especially with the horses loaded, and they wanted to reach the encampment before dark. For the butchering, the five men divided into three parties—two each for two of the buffalo, and one man to butcher the third buffalo by himself. 224*

The procedure in butchering a bison was different from that of butchering a cow in the way the hide was removed. The cow was placed on her back and the whole skin removed from the belly out. The bison hide was heavy and they placed him on his belly and removed the hide in two sections, dividing it along the backbone and making two skins out

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

east or any want to go west, just go ahead. There are lots of buffalo. 224* As for me, I'm going right over the hill." Only those with the best horses could go right over the hill. One could see the buffalo in the distance here and there as they were coming up from the water to graze on the other side of the hill. Some of the Man-Going-Downstream Band decided to go eastward across Turkey Creek, even though the creek was muddy to cross, as there were many buffalo there and less hunters to attack them. The holy man, who had to remain still in order not to disturb the effect of his magic, sat at the base of the hill and waited. He could not go back to camp, since it would not be set up until the attack on the herd was over.

As soon as the signal was given, the hunters all rode to the chase. The herds were very scattered and had to be chased by men in small groups. In the past they chased the buffalo on foot and there was still a man, [147] Charley Buffalo, who was such a fast runner that he could overtake a buffalo on foot and shoot him.

Now each hunter selected his own buffalo to chase, depending on his skill as a hunter and the speed of his horse. There was little value in trying to get more than one buffalo or at most two—though a good hunter could conceivably get more—as there was no help to be gotten with the butchering and he would not be able to haul in the extra meat in any case. A second animal might be consecrated to a sacred bundle, in which [778] case as the hunter shot it he would say, "It is sacred!" The South Bands designated such a sacred animal by crossing its forelegs and tying them together as the animal lay on its back, then tying the hind legs, but the Skidi did not follow this practice. A man who had the misfortune to fall off his horse and could not get back on in time would be enlisted to help butcher and receive half an animal, although the ribs would not be given him at this time.

The chase was carefully timed to the habits of the buffalo. At this season the buffalo spent most of the time scattered about in the uplands [825] • where the buffalo grass was. (In winter they stayed closer together in the timber.) In the morning, the buffalo went down to the water and between ten-thirty and eleven o'clock they were back in the pasture grazing. At noon they were all sitting down resting and by evening had gone down to the water again before returning to the uplands.

The hunters usually lined up for the attack about ten-thirty in the morning and by eleven rode to the chase. Everywhere a cloud of dust would rise as they rushed forward except after a rain when big clods and mud would hit them in the face. They never hunted when it was [411] actually raining, as the sinew bowstring stretched and was ineffectual when wet.

It was easy to tell which were the most desirable buffalo. Those with their bellies still swollen with water had been the last to get down to the [825]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 water and get a drink and were therefore the older and slower animals.
• [825] The fatter and faster animals had been down and returned to the pasture to graze by the time these animals had gotten there.

The better the horse, the faster the animal one could try to chase. As two men sighted a good buffalo, one would remark, "That's mine," and his neighbor would observe, "When your horse gets there it will be yours!" The fat buffalo knew he was going to be chased and a contest began between the hunter and his prey. The hunter would test the metal of his horse by baiting the buffalo with "hae, hae, hae!" a sound that made the buffalo angry so that his tail stuck up and he shook it. Only a fast horse could get an angry buffalo. When the shot found its mark the hunter would say, "ex' hau!" or "uhe'e, ahe'e!" As soon as he saw blood coming out of the buffalo's mouth, he knew that the animal could not go far and he would go get his horse nearby to be convenient for loading and begin at once to butcher. If they were at any distance from camp and two were close together, they would save much needed time by butchering cooperatively, first the animal of one, then of the other.

If they were far from camp it would be best to drive the animal toward the water before killing it for convenience while butchering. Most desirable, however, was to drive the animal close to camp where they wouldn't have far to haul the meat. When they chased an animal close to camp, the women came out asking for intestine or kidneys. They would yell, "Here comes one over here!" Another advantage of killing the buffalo close to camp was that they could bring in the bones which would be too heavy to carry otherwise, especially the backbone. Then they
[262] could make marrow fat by boiling the bones and skimming off the
[251] grease. The fat was stored in a paunch and used to eat with pounded-up dried meat.

Some of the hunters of the Man-Going-Downstream Band had gone over east across Turkey Creek. After the camp was set up, two bison, apparently having escaped the hunters, had come across the creek and trotted right through the encampment. As the bison came through, there was great excitement in the camp. Women grabbed their babies and put them onto their backs, old people tried to get out of the way, and the dogs were barking as the bison tried to hook them. The men that remained in camp lined up two deep along both sides in their path saying, "Hah!'e, hah!'e" to bait and anger the bison, but no one would do them any harm as it was felt that they had been brave and had some supernatural purpose in coming through the camp. When the hunters got home for their dinner, this incident would be recounted in great detail and similar incidents in the past recalled. One of the more "slapstick"
[538] types of story was told of an old man named Crazy who once decided he would be brave and would shoot one of these buffalo with his rifle. He only succeeded in being hooked by the buffalo and tossed up in the air

field, and then next day by Horse Rider and No Corn in her field, the two 243
teams staying alternately at home and watching as well as processing the 251
crops. Sweet corn was mainly made into double braids. Quantity production 476
depended on team work, of course, but the women had to sort [244]
out the eight varieties of beans after everything was done, as the men [462]
would not bother with such a detail and would pay no attention to the
selection of the best ears for braiding. When all the corn was in, the [825]
blackbirds began to fly over the fields, presaging the cold weather.

The following are some of the processes used in preserving the crops, 243
together with a breakdown of how these were coordinated with the activities 244
of gathering. 251

The green corn was gathered from the stalk "in the milk" and roasted 243
in a long roasting pit in which a fire was built. It was allowed to cool 251
off and the husks removed. The kernels were cut off the cob row by row [237]
with a fresh-water clamshell and spread on a tanned hide to dry. At night [412]
the kernels were first winnowed to remove any chaff, gathered up and
put in a flour sack, and then taken into the tent. They were put in a
wooden bowl and spilled out from a height so that the wind would
blow the chaff away. Next morning they were again spread out on
the tanned hide. After several days, as they were being spilled for winnowing
in the evening, they would make a tapping noise when they
hit the hide, showing that the kernels were completely dry.

When the beans were picked off the vines and brought into camp, 244
they were dumped onto the spread and allowed to dry in the sun. As 251
they dried, one could hear the popping of the pods. At night they
were left outdoors, covered only with a spread of tanned hide, and in
the morning uncovered and allowed to dry again. Then they were [412]
flailed with a peeled willow rod about 4 feet long and 1 inch thick to
remove the pods as much as possible. Some of the beans had to be
picked out by hand—a small pile of beans was always picked this way.
If there was a large pile the woman would strike them with the stick,
then stop and pick out the loose pods and pile them to one side, push the
beans together again and further beat them with the stick. The beans
were winnowed by spilling from a height from a wooden bowl, in
this way loose pieces of dry pod blew away and the pods still containing
some beans fell to the ground and were opened by hand—an operation
in which someone usually gave her help if they were available.
After winnowing, the beans were spread out to dry thoroughly. When
all the other work had been done, the beans were sorted into their
eight varieties.

After the beans, they brought in the pumpkin harvest. The women 244
spent most of one day hauling them from the field. First they brought 489
the largest, then the next largest, and so on. One parfleche in which 492
they were transported carried five large pumpkins, or seven to eight

756 The kind of experience involved had a profound personal value. The way in which this knowledge was conceived is perhaps indicated by the personality attributed to the doctor—slow, deliberate, thoughtful and, to a considerable degree, introspective. As a more practical measure of social [796] [431] [178] esteem perhaps was the fact that during the previous summer buffalo hunt, 60 parfleches of dried buffalo meat had been pledged in support of the performance, and in former times, before the population had been so heavily reduced, 140 parfleches were donated in one season.

756 796 789 The mode in which the doctors operated during their ceremony was of two kinds. One was the inducing of a trance state in the other doctors: utilizing the motions of the animal that was their special cult mentor. This was called *patsaku*, "shooting," and was also metaphorically referred to as "fighting." The second kind of activity of the doctors was a highly skilled sleight-of-hand performance, *tawaruku*, so expertly carried out that the illusion was completely convincing to the spectators. The metaphor for this kind of performance was "playing" or "romping," as of a child. The skill of the illusion in both cases has been attested to by the most hard-headed outside observers and this required extensive preparation and a long process of learning. The props were carefully designed to achieve the desired illusory effect and the strategy was planned with great precision, involving accomplices in the audience and special lighting effects developed by regulating the fire in the fireplace.

In view of these deliberate and extensive preparations for illusion, the question has often been raised of how these ceremonies could be regarded as religious in character. From my long experience with my informant, who retained a good deal of his old belief, it was the success in creating the illusion that was the mark of favor of the supernatural mentor, and therefore the performance was sincerely believed to be a religious experience. He would say, "If one does not have faith, he will fail." He cited examples where people of insufficient faith caused injury to themselves and to others while trying to perform. The success of the illusion depended upon the dexterity and agility of the performer and his ability to deflect the attention of the spectator just long enough for [787] him to make the necessary shifts. There may possibly have been some measure of self-induced trance such as occurred to the priests incidentally in the course of the creation ceremony. (Our own knowledge of the subject is too elementary to identify the situation psychologically.)

787 825 A major difference between our experience and theirs should be especially noted. The Pawnees as well as many peoples who practiced these arts were in constant association with wild animals in their natural habitat, an experience which is entirely absent in our own world. They lived within a world of wild animals in their hunting and even in defense of their settlements, they had to have an intimate knowledge of the emo-

tional as well as the physical structure of these animals. The device of 787
animal impersonation by dressing up in animal skins and imitating their 825
sounds and motions is universally reported for hunting peoples and must
go back to the very dawn of man's history. It may be that some degree
of self-induced trance or control of the prey in these terms may have
been involved in these operations. In any case, an intense rapport with
the animals was involved.

Each doctor developed his own "animal repertoire." We may be able 756
to gain some insight into the relation between the doctor and his animal
mentor from an actual case of a transfer of animal powers between two
brothers who decided to make a fair exchange of their different knowledge.

Victory Call was anxious to get Bear knowledge from his older brother,
Sitting Hawk, who was a leader of the Bear Lodge in the Doctor Association.
One day when they were alone together he broached the
subject. Sitting Hawk, however, was not willing to part with what he
knew for nothing. He said, "I want something there on your side. We're
going to trade." "You're my own brother," said Victory Call, "and you
won't teach me for nothing?" "You're my own brother, too, and I know
you won't teach me for nothing either," said Sitting Hawk. We should
explain that Victory Call was the leader of a private doctor cult the
Raris-ta, Dance-Deer or Whistle Dance involving the mescal bean that
had become so prominent among the Pawnees that it was developing
into a feared rival of the Doctor Association itself. Two generations be- [177]
fore, this cult had been borrowed from the Wichita, the Caddoan-speaking
kinsmen of the Pawnees to the south. Among other kinds of 756
knowledge, rattlesnake power was involved in the teachings. It is hard to 824
know what plants were involved in connection with the curing of snake- 825
bite or the control of the snakes. Members of the *Raris-ta* could handle
a weed that was thought to be poisonous to other people, though there is
no proof that this was the case. It was undulating in form like the snake
itself. People were warned not to touch the plant unless they were members
of the society. It was said of them that they had "snake-shot" or
power, *rut-patsat-kuriraru,* "snake-shot-to-possess-or-own." Weeds associated
with rattlesnakes have variously been identified from other
tribes—a Mexican mentioned Dodder or Love Vine (*Cuscuta paradoxa*
Raf.), saying that snakes took it into their dens for food; from the Dakota
Indians there is a report that Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens* L.) was
known as snake food. The botanical identity of the Pawnee plant, how- 756
ever, is not known. In the cosmic mythology it was said that the jealous 773
Fools-the-Wolves Star (Sirius) who had felt himself excluded from the 824
original Council of the Gods, was angered when people told irreverent 825
stores about Wolf or Coyote. Although in winter he couldn't control
the situation, in summer he could enlist the aid of the Snake Star (Scor-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756 pio), who would send the snakes on earth to bite the teller. There are
[773] many other indications in Pawnee mythology of the fear and respect the
[824] Pawnees held for the power of the rattlesnake.
[825] Later in the course of our account of the doctor performances, we shall see that Victory Call did receive Bear knowledge from his brother, but first he taught him rattlesnake knowledge.

> One day Victory Call said to Sitting Hawk, "Well, let's go." If luck were with them they would find a rattlesnake right away. Sure enough, there sat a snake curled up with his head sticking up in the middle. Victory Call said, "Go ahead and catch it." Sitting Hawk thought, "It's going to bite me." The snake knew that Sitting Hawk was afraid of him. His fangs were sticking up and he was getting ready to bite. Sitting Hawk grabbed him by the neck. The snake felt cold on his arm. Sitting Hawk put the snake down and began to talk to him. He said, "That's what I wanted to know. That's what I wanted to find out." The snake said to Sitting Hawk, "I'm just like you. But you whip me and kill me for nothing. That's why, when you come in my path, I rattle to you to let you know I'm here. If you get out of my way then, I don't have to poison you. But when you come and abuse us, we must do something about it."
>
> Sitting Hawk now caressed Victory Call in blessing. The two men sat down and smoked a pipe together, offering puffs of smoke to the snake and talking to him. Then they went home and Victory Call gave Sitting Hawk some medicine to cure snakebite and showed him the weed it was prepared from.

Long after this time, when Sitting Hawk and Victory Call were dead and the tribe had moved to Oklahoma, Otter's older brother Fox Chief tried to transfer some rattlesnake power to him. But Otter failed from fear and hesitation:

> We two were walking along and we saw a big rattlesnake. Fox Chief told me to get hold of it, but I was afraid. Because of this, I would never have another chance. Fox Chief always had a little bundle of medicine in his buttonhole with fringes that hung down about four inches. He took a twig and chewed the end of it, dipping it in the medicine and then putting it near the end of the snake's nose. The snake relaxed and lay stretched out. He picked it up and put it in the crook of his arm so that it rested against the sheet that Fox Chief was wearing as a blanket. In this way he carried the snake home.
>
> When we arrived at his earth lodge, his wife was sitting in front on a mat making a pair of moccasins. He said to her, "I've brought you something to eat." She was very pleased until she saw what he had

796 [177] tators (*rariwaatuksa*) crowded in, and seeing what they were doing became interested, and began to fill up the membership ranks. Others now went to the southern Caddoan-speaking tribes—the Wichitas, Kitsais, Tawakaru, and Weco—learned their sleight-of-hand tricks, and returned to join the Deer Dance. The ranks thus became full.

In the south half of the lodge, at the west and in the semicardinal positions, each of the men had a tribal name according to where he had acquired his teachings. The north side that represented the Pawnee was called as a whole, *isati* (a noted one, or northerner in the Wichita language). The leader from the Pawnee side at the northwest station would say (mentioning one or the other of the southern Caddoan tribes), "The Kitsais [or the Wichitas, etc.] are coming on the warpath!" This would be a challenge to a shamanistic contest.

796 178 The year after the Pawnee moved from Fremont (*Pahaku*) to the reservation near Genoa, Kind Warrior died (1861). Victory Call survived him by seven years and during this time he controlled the Deer Dance and it had many members with performances going full force. Many new features were added to the ceremony, particularly two—the contest between members on the north and those on the south and the addition of two women members, one near the north entrance and one near the south. (See Figure 43-2.) This latter feature came about after someone reported that the Wichita included women, who took part and also gave performances. Then someone dreamed that they had been right in admitting the women and that they should have special duties of taking care of any corn that was donated and sweep the floor of the lodge every morning during the ceremony. Every morning during the ceremonial period, the old ladies would get up very early and tell the boys to get up. Then they gave the room a good sweeping. There were songs that told of this aspect of the ceremonial life in the Deer Lodge.

796 533 177 As Kind Warrior brought the Deer Dance to the Pawnee, most of the songs had Wichita words and reflected Wichita experiences. But in time the Pawnee dancers made new songs that were based on their own experiences and sung in the Pawnee language.

796 533 825 One war experience was of a war party of the Pitahawirata Band to Fort Scott, Kansas, led by Tikarahisat. They stayed on a high tableland for more than a year, hunting the buffalo and making a buffalo robe for their leader. They saw the ducks flying south in winter and then in spring when they flew north again, they flew in triangular formation with their leader at the apex and at the ends of the arms, the two errand men. Children used to ask these ducks, as they flew over the village, to give them moccasins or red bows and arrows. These experiences became the basis for a Pawnee song in the Deer Dance. Another song they sang was about two eagles that they saw, first one with a large log in his claws, then another with another log; they were building a nest. As they built, the eagles would whistle.

796
346

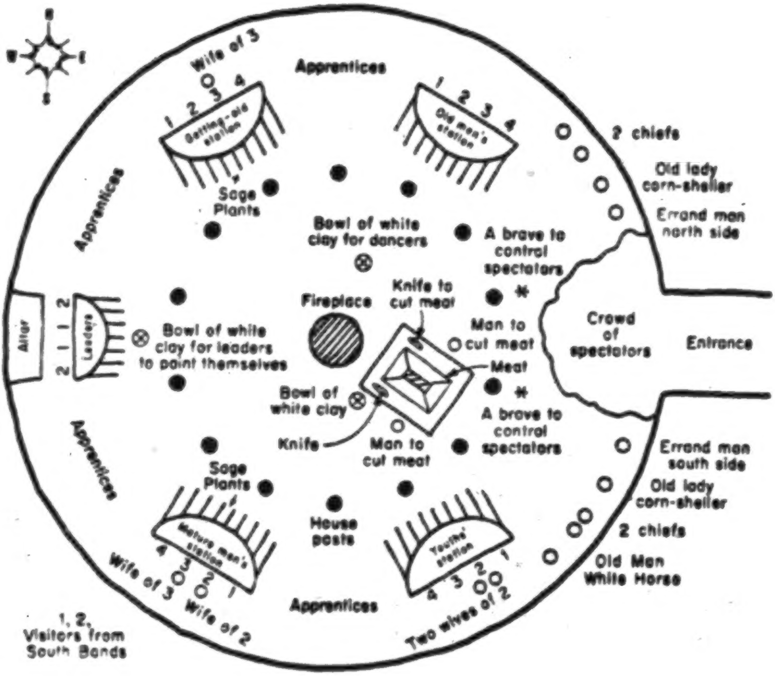

N
W
E
S
Wife of 3
1 2 3 4
Getting-old station
Apprentices
1 2 3 4
Old men's station
2 chiefs
Old lady corn-sheller
Errand man north side
Sage Plants
Bowl of white clay for dancers
A brave to control spectators
Apprentices
Knife to cut meat
Fireplace
Altar
2 1 1 2
Leaders
Bowl of white clay for leaders to paint themselves
Man to cut meat
Meat
Crowd of spectators
Entrance
Bowl of white clay
A brave to control spectators
Knife
Man to cut meat
Apprentices
Sage Plants
House posts
Errand man south side
Old lady corn-sheller
2 chiefs
Mature men's station
4 3 2 1
Youths' station
1 2 3 4
Old Man White Horse
Wife of 3
Wife of 2
Apprentices
Two wives of 2
1, 2, Visitors from South Bands

FIGURE 43-2. The developed form of the Deer Dance. It took place in a large ten-post earth lodge. There were sage plants all around to sit on with root ends pointing outward; the thickest bunches were at the stations and the thinner layers between. The circuit of singing is clockwise—southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast, as the circuit of the stars around the North Star. Note the development of specialized personnel.

796
533
825

Then one of the eagles sat on the eggs while the other flew around. The deer dancers of the several Pawnee bands would invite one another to their dances and in this way, the Skidi acquired some of the songs about the Fort Scott expedition, while Skidi experiences found their way into the repertoire of the other bands. One Skidi song concerned a time when the Comanche came to attack. They could see them coming a long way off, and they came down and hid and stole many horses.

Another song was composed by Warrior. He was an old man who had been highly successful in his war expeditions. Most people wondered why such a man would join the Deer Dance, since one of its major interests was success in war. But Warrior had another purpose. He was particularly interested in learning the sleight-of-hand feat in which a wonderful rabbit could turn into a human being. The story was that

once when they were moving camp, a rabbit came in and out among the tents, threading his way here and there. However close the people were when they aimed at him, no one could hit him, even when the dogs joined in the chase. So a song was made about this wonderful rabbit who eluded all human pursuers. This was what Warrior wanted to learn. 796 533 825

The author of the original song was an old man, Arrived, who had a place at the northeast station. But instead of approaching him directly, Warrior went to his old friend, That-Chief for his advice as to how to go about it. He was told to come in next day when they had a practice meeting and address his request for membership in the lodge to all the members assembled and particularly to New Young Dog at the northwest. When Warrior entered the ceremonial lodge where the members were assembled for their practice sing, he stood at the east of the fireplace about halfway out to the door and facing west said, "All you Deer dancers, and New Young Dog at the west, I want to learn your Deer Dance. I will give a horse, some blankets, and some meat." New Young Dog, as was the usual practice, tried to deter him. He mentioned that, as Warrior was a successful warrior, everyone would laugh at him smearing himself with clay and participating in their ceremonies when he had no need for further luck either in war or in the hunt. But he remained determined, and finally New Young Dog led him to the old man's place at the northeast station where he took his place. 796 533

That evening Warrior went in quest of the rabbit learning that he wanted. New Young Dog had learned it from the original author, Arrived, and it was to him that Warrior went. When he got to the lodge, the people knew the two men wanted to be alone together so they all went to bed. The two men sat and smoked and talked and in the course of their conversation Warrior told New Young Dog about an experience he had had that impressed him deeply. Warrior always wore a white feather and once when the village was under attack as the war party struck, he felt like a feather floating in the wind so that no one could hurt him while he was aloft in the air. New Young Dog advised him that he could make a song about that when they were at the meeting. At the practice meeting, Warrior began slowly and then the next day he sang the song he had composed:

[539]

1.	hiwiri	witikuuwis
	―――	Now I feel as if I were flying
2.	"	"
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	his feather flying

skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known 776
as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended 773
that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal
on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with
their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in [756]
the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The [782]
actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It [821]
was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the
rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely
begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears,
without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of 796
rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial 825
ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time.
Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be
decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer
because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to
send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been 796
occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and
"fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a
second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging
to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at
the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is 796
completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. 241
Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until 262
the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat
green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a
vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in
a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to
bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The
corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were
all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and
the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the
taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive
"fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought
between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears
in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently [824]
the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild
plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the [534]
wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was
originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated
gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea- 000

The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea-
796 ture of the Pawnee Deer Dance ceremonial in the performances, and the
824 entire floor was carpeted with the plant placed radially all around with
•825 the stub ends outward and the head ends pointing inward. The symbolism of the deer was maintained in the course of the performances when the performer would jump over the fireplace, from north to south and back again, and from west to east and back again, impersonating the deer in this way. Also in his closing speech, the leader told them that their Deer Lodge was now over and they were to follow their tracks home to the timber. They left, blowing their whistles all the way home, and the blowing could be heard all over the village so that the dance was sometimes referred to as the Whistle Dance.

796 After the sixth session, the "fighting" was entirely ended and the
789 seventh, eighth, and ninth evenings were given over to illusionist sleight-
536 of-hand feats of considerable intricacy, and the calendar eventually became so crowded that several performers might be performing simultaneously or with their performances overlapping. The rattling and singing would be begun at the southeast station, and sometimes no one would be inspired to get up and perform until the gourds and bows had reached a subsequent station in the clockwise round. In any case, if the spectators had not yet accumulated to a sufficient degree, some of the performers felt they wanted to wait "until they got a good crowd." The ceremony of the tenth day is entirely composed of a considerable series of sleight-of-hand performances.

796 At the time when Kind Warrior was its leader, the membership of
756 the Deer Dance was becoming so considerable and the interest so
578 great that the leaders of Doctor Lodge felt that it might develop into a rival organization to theirs. Sometimes when members were absent from the Doctor Lodge, others would go after them and finding them in the Deer Dance, would spirit them out, causing them to bleed at the mouth and desecrating the ground of the Deer Dance Lodge which had to be spotlessly clean and fresh. This almost developed into an open contest of power, which was finally averted when the doctors sent their apologies to the Deer Dance leaders admitting they had been wrong. At that period, the two ceremonies overlapped somewhat. Kind Warrior had taken a group of his members down to the pond where he summoned up a turtle, stating that if it came to an open fight he would go into the Doctor Lodge and, locking the entryway, make their turtle fireplace come alive. A report of this threat, finally brought the apology from the doctors.

The conflict was resolved at a later time, when Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, took over after Victory Call's death as leader of the Deer Dance and entered into an agreement with the leaders of the Doctor Lodge to hold his ceremony early, right after they arrived back from the summer hunt and before the Doctor Lodge should begin.

47

EQUIPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL MANUFACTURES

The Fall of the Year a Time for Manufacture—Buffalo a Chief Source—History of Their Trading—Wood of Second Importance—Reeds and Grasses Third in Importance—Clay and Stone Scarce—History of Transition from Stone to Metal—Crafts Highly Regarded but No Religious Taboos—Learning to Make a Black Rope 000

THE FALL OF THE YEAR was the time when the Pawnees made most of the things they used. There was a plentiful supply of food and in the protected environment of the earth lodge, they could manufacture the various items of furnishings, clothing, and equipment they needed. Moreover, with the winter hunt and migration in prospect, they had to make sure that everything was in order, as there would be little time in the short daylight hours for more than setting up camp and processing the meat and skins. 221

There were very few materials in the Pawnee environment that they could use to make the things they needed. Their top resource for industry as well as for food was the buffalo. Hides, hair, horns, and bones each found a number of essential uses. Hides made their all-important tent cover, their blankets, curtains, containers, moccasin soles, and other clothing. And even beyond their domestic needs, it gave them their major item of external trade, the buffalo robe. 433 237 825

There is clear evidence that this was a leading trade item before the Spaniards moved up into the Plains in 1540. Long before the advent of the European on the continent, the settled villages were centers of trade for the more nomadic peoples and there were seasonal trade fairs in recognized locations where peoples came to exchange their special products and materials. 174 438 439 443

292 work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done
554 by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such
[531] a shirt.

[461] The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237 The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign
554 of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest
•825 men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught.
[411] Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one, the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281 Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their
756 special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered inedible and was left in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would
262 soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237 Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-
293 wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage
[223] to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237 Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a
554 shield.
714

411 boiled hide and the feathers bent onto the stick and pasted down and
[237] tied in place with some more wet sinew at their lower end.

411 After the feathers were in place, the shafts were buffed by passing
them between the two grooved sandstone buffers that were pressed to-
412 gether—the arrow being turned back and forth so that it was well
rounded.

The next process was the use of the bone arrowshaft straightener
[172] that was a little bit like a fork. [Archaeological specimens from the
Hill site of 1806 are pieces of bison rib with holes of different sizes
[178] drilled through them. In recent times, a tin can punched with holes
was sometimes substituted.]

411 After straightening, downy feathers were fastened on at the lower
[237] end of the feathers that had already been attached.

The final step was to split the end for inserting the point. After the
[284] point was inserted, the end was bound with sinew to make it fast. Different kinds of shafts were called "black-lying-on," "red-lying-on," referring to the colors of the feathers.

276 *The Pipestem.* Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most
significant things the man used. The pipe was smoked both for relaxation
and in every ceremony. The stem was symbolic of the human windpipe
[192] and the breath was considered the essence of life itself. *Tsiksu*, the word
for "throat," was also the verb stem for "to think, to feel," *-atsiks-*. In the
ceremony of the Peace Pipe, the main emblems were the two pipestems,
a bowl from a sacred bundle being attached to one of them and smoked
in the course of the ceremony. The pipestems were decorated with
[237] eagle feathers and other ceremonial insignia—one with the feathers of the
[325] brown eagle, signifying "night," "female," "fruitfulness" and known as
ra-hak-katitu, "one-mouth-black"; and the other with feathers of the
white eagle, signifying "day," "male," "defense," "war" and called
ra-hak-takaru, "one-mouth-white." At various stages in the ceremony
these were waved about so that they symbolized the flight of the eagles.
276 The pipestems were ceremonially fashioned after instructions from the
322 priests. He sent two men to bring in two sticks of ash, and as they sat
east of the fireplace they prepared the sticks, warming them over the fire
so that they could be straightened and cut to length, viz., four spans
from thumb to third finger. The stems were peeled, scraped, and the
pith removed by boring them from end to end with a reed so that the
breath could pass through unobstructed. The pith was then burned out
with a wire. The men cut a straight groove the entire length of each
stick to represent the lifeline. Finally all scrapings and every particle of
ashwood was placed carefully on the fire, and as the flame rose the two
sticks were passed through the blaze so that the word of the fire might
enter and be with them.

525 Then if you're both gambling, who will cook for you? Who will take care of you?

"If you want to, go ahead. But at first you'll be lucky and then the sticks will try to draw you in. Then when they have you, you'll lose.

"If you want to, go ahead. But if you are lucky, just play for a month. Then leave it because your luck must change.

"If you have lost and want to retrieve your losses, do it and when you have won back what you lost, stop gambling."

524
525 The hand game was played by young men ranged along both sides of a trenchlike fireplace with a smoldering log in it. Facing each other on the opposite sides of the fire were "two opposing war parties." The crux of the game was the hiding of a white bead in the hands of a member of one party with the guesser from the other side trying to determine in which hand it was hidden. War songs were sung and in the motioning of the hands of the line in which the bead was hidden, the bead might be transferred by sleight of hand during the guessing. That-Chief also mentioned the hand game, addressing his remarks especially to Otter. Evarts observed that:

> "At hand game you might bet your shirt and when the other fellow wins, you might not want to give up your shirt. Then he would get angry and tear at your shirt and he might even take a stick from the fire and burn your head. That would be the worst thing. Once I was in a game and I was the loser to Jim Murie. There I learned the real meaning of That-Chief's advice. Osborne was on the winning side and he began to brag saying, 'Look at those fellows. They can't do much.' Then he made disparaging remarks about my cousin, Sam Townsend, that I call child, *piirau*. Then I really got angry. I felt particularly sensitive as I had lost my leggings, my moccasins and many other things. I said, 'I can't stand all that talk,' and I took a stick from the fire and hit him. The coals flopped all over his head and I was about to hit him again, when they stopped me. To avoid further trouble, they sent Osborne home saying to him, 'You're the cause of the trouble. You talked too much.' "

526
224
825 However, there was quite a different aspect to these games that was implicit in their religious symbolism, with the gambling an extraneous feature. The rolling of the hoop along the long game grounds and aiming at it with the stick or "spear" was an act of sympathetic magic both for the increase of the buffalo and for the successful outcome of the buffalo hunt. Originally the game was played for the direct purpose of calling the buffalo, and when they were out on the summer buffalo hunt, wherever
000 they could find a smooth patch of grass, they would set up a game. In

*224 They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The
264 contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four
sets.

*224 The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four
623 Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each
628 and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat
in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves
ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates
from the villages.

*224 The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning
623 each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this
793 tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in
summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during
[701] the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose
[625] the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic
lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was
[778] under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening
Star bundle.

*224 Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was
623 going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War
Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the
628 other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill.
793 Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now
[625] officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief.
[574] The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was
[264] carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief,
who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

*224 The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south
623 pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head policeman
625 War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh
574 bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could
make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people
[293] to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family
of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and
so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we
have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

*224 Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the
623 old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was
562 in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and
Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they
[251] could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

*224 The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very
early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican.
[793] When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of
[825]

calf with a long body that they called "Calf-That-Has-a-Rope" signifying that it was a calf around whom the herd gathers like a circular rope. 224* 825
They believed that when this calf was killed, all the buffalo were impelled to come seeking it. On the other hand, if they did not succeed in killing it, the herd would turn back when attacked. It took an exceptionally fast horse to kill this calf and Jim Bear (also known as In-the-Front-Line) managed to overtake it and kill it because, as he said with characteristic modesty, "the calf got tired running in the deep snow." Now the buffalo were running eastward in a vast herd along the south side of the river. They knew they wouldn't have to go any further for this hunting expedition, but could set up a permanent encampment at a place called Many Deer to the west of Turkey Creek, for the herd were sure to continue coming in this direction. When they set up camp at Many Deer they could hear the roar of the herd. The skin of the special calf who had been herd leader was donated to Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village as a wrap for its sacred bundle. 224* [361]

Meanwhile, at Turkey Creek, after the Skidi scouts had gone out, Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band announced his plan to go to a place to the south that the South Bands preferred. Eagle Chief sent back a message that they were unable to join him as his scouts had already killed some buffalo to the west. It was then understood that the four bands would part, and no rancor whatever was involved. The Man-Going-Downstream Band joined Man Chief, while the Little-Earth-Lodge Band had a place they liked to camp they called, "Where-the-Cane-Plants-Are-Sitting-up-Against." This was located on the south side of the Republican just about opposite the Skidi camp of Many Deer that was on the north bank of the river. They all stayed at Turkey Creek for an extra day to give the women a chance to cure the meat and prepare the hides, and then the bands went to their several destinations. 224* 628

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, 773
is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who 171
makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his foot- 821
steps being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In
81, 127 Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personi- 773
fied First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the
land.

82 Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906,
p. 41. See Bogoras, 1901, p. 667, for wider distribution of this
theme.

83, 152, 154-155 Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photo- 821
graph of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He [126]
states (p. 285): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we
do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their
magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constella-
tions. Astronomical analysis is included in the article.

84, 117 On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 782
1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 209-210; George E. 727
Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*,
Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen, 171
1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month,
"they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were
111 lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western
plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369,
description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden,
117 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz*
representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the
National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan
319 tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must
have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the
Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of
the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the
330 Mexicans . . ." (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account
of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the an-
notated footnotes.

84 Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 442-428, claims that after the new 243
corn plant (*kurahus*, priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-
fire ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out
and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to
a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They [114]
state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of
such a ceremony.

97 The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as 243
hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony 825
is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 269, that 171

243
•825
171
[244]
97 Maximillian reports that in the spring corn ceremony among the Mandan, wild goose signified maize, swans represented the gourds and the duck, the beans. It may well be that the deer and the loon represented the squash and beans respectively among the Pawnees at some time. There was no known symbolism connected with these essential food plants at the time of my report, the concentration being entirely on the maize.

533
126
100 The *Awari* songs are from the Murie-Wissler manuscript, in my retranscription and translation as it appears there.

512
243
102 Oehler and Smith, 1914. On May 8th, 1851: "Early in the morning we were awakened by the shrill voices of the Pawnee women, who were engaged in cleaning up the lodge and collecting their hoes, previous to going out to the fields to prepare the ground for planting corn."

243
105 Weltfish, 1937. From the Pawnee texts; old man speaks to the women (pp. 29-30); a little girl goes into the fields with her mother (p. 30); Pawnee women as horticulturists (pp. 27-28).

106 Adapted from Murie-Wissler, pp. 308-325, as well as from other

821
302
107 sources. The foot painted on the warrior's forehead represented the Pawnee astronomical constellation known as bird, *rikutski*, which was said to be on the Milky Way itself, but is otherwise unidentified. The Tsawi Band calls Cassiopeia, turkey foot, but the Skidi Band calls it rabbit, *parus*. See Dunbar, 1881, p. 744.

000 113-114 Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98.

106 See Drucker, Heizer, and Squier, 1959, for the time depth of elaborate formal religion in Mexico at La Venta, Tabasco, southeastern Mexico near the Gulf. The structures have been radiocarbon dated at 800–400 B.C. and show a high degree of religious organization and complex symbolism that can be clearly inferred from the archaeological remains.

172
243
122 It took milennia to evolve the current uses of maize among the Pawnees. At La Perra cave where some of the earliest examples of North American domesticated corn have been found (radio-

121 carbon dated 4445 ± 180 B.C.) some steps in patterns of utilization indicated in the finds are: (a) chewing young ears husks and all shortly after pollination—wasteful, but quick and simple way of getting a little sugar; (b) roasting the ears of green corn; (c) making parched corn; (d) removing kernels from cob, shown with glumes battered and broken as though the ears were forced across a rough surface or beaten with a stick; (e) maize apparently pounded, inferred from the finding of stone mortars (Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, Galinat, 1956, pp. 145-146).

000 121 Mangelsdorf, 1958; Mangelsdorf, 1964.

122 Walster, 1956.

Notes and Comments

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water. Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation (1925, pp. 142-161). 773 551 821

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making. 000

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof, *Askats;* Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the horse. 231 552 [556] 231 764 428 [766]

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They were: Wide Feet, *As-katariha';* White Spotted, *Parat-taka;* Bear Head, *Kuruks-paksu;* Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat;* Hate-His-Tail, *Pits-tatur-ritku;* Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats;* Wooly, *Pararut;* Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku;* Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.* Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross, 1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march pulling the travois in 1834-1836. The Pawnees were able to identify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties. 231 552 231 [262] [825]

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee 231 726 177

796 756 272 An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756 273 See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796 [574] [782] [184] [752] [726] 241 The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

824 825 171 277 On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372 482 280, 290 Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads 372 would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

727 305 Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home

1

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

7

*539
*796

66 Ho-o-o-o!
67 H'areri, h'areri. He!
68 H'areri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!
69 H'areri, h'areri. He!
70 'Reri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!
71 H'areri, h'areri. He!

Translation

66 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

67 H'areri, h'areri. He!

h', an aspiration, symbolic of a breathing forth, as the giving of breath so that a thing may live.

areri, a part of the word irari', a particular place. The change of the h in the final syllable of the word to *r* when the abbreviation areri is sung is for ease of utterance and euphony.

h'areri. Translated above.

he! a part of the exclamation i'hare! meaning I think upon, I give heed to the significance of the act which accompanies this song. The change of the initial r in the last syllable of the word to an h, making it he, is for euphony.

68 H'areri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!

H'areri, h'areri, h'areri. See line 67.

'reri, a part of the abbreviation areri, translated above.

h'areri. He! See line 67.

69 See line 67.

70 'Reri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He! See lines 67 and 68.

71 See line 67.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Blue is the color of the sky, the dwelling place of Tira'wahut, that great circle of the powers which watch over man. As the man paints the stick blue we sing. We ask as we sing that life be given to this symbol of the dwelling place of Tira'wa.

When the man has completed the painting of the stick he hands it to the Ku'rahus, who has already mixed red clay with water from a running stream in a shell, and he paints the straight groove red. This groove is the path along which the spirits of all the things that are to be put upon this stick of ash may travel as they go forth to give their help during this ceremony. "H'areri" is a prayer that the symbol may have life.

821
822
826

We paint the groove red because the passageway is red through which man's breath comes and goes to give him life. The sun, too, is red, and the groove represents the straight path whereon the sun shines, the path which man must travel if he would live in peace and prosper. The teachings of this ceremony make a straight path along which if a man walks he will receive help from the powers.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

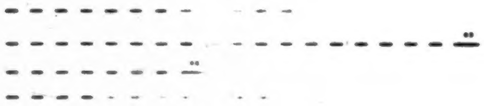
*533 the other powers are addressed, those at the four directions, the above, and the below, a six-phrase rhythm is used.

*796 The number of the repeats and phrases of the songs seems also to be connected with the ceremonial steps, which are in groups of four, eight, and sixteen. The number sixteen is said by the Ku'rahus to represent completeness. [801]

According to native measurement, the height of a man is equal to the stretch of his arms. [826] [804] Looking at the diagram of the figure stepped upon the ground, we note that sixteen steps give the spread of the arms and the same number of steps marks the length of the man. This bears out the statement of the Ku'rahus that sixteen, or four times four, represents completeness.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

*539 Look on us as here we are standing, raising our voices!
*796 Look on us as here we, presenting, lift now these emblems that are so holy up to thy gaze!
Swift, a flash from out of the heavens
Falls on us as here we are standing, looking at thee.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796

Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 Look down, West gods,[c] look upon us! We gaze afar on your dwelling.
*796 Look down while here we are standing, look down upon us, ye mighty!
Ye thunder gods, now behold us!
Ye lightning gods, now behold us!
Ye that bring life, now behold us!
Ye that bring death, now behold us!

---

[a] Music on page [illegible].
[b] Music on page [illegible].
[c] Gods, meaning powers, is used solely on account of the rhythm.

BIRTH

843 The first signs of pregnancy were received with rejoicing by the married couple and their families, who at once began preparing suitable presents for the child. During this period certain restrictions were placed upon the expectant mother and her husband. One of the most important of these prohibited the husband from killing or looking at animals other than the red deer, the flesh of which
[825] only his wife was permitted to eat. If the man killed a deer, he jumped over it twice from right to left and twice from left to right, and then scattered a handful of dust over the animal; otherwise the child would be influenced by the deer. If he killed or looked at other animals, they would cause the child's appearance to be like that of an animal.

843
538
825 This restriction is illustrated by the following two tales. Once, the husband of a pregnant woman was trapping beaver and otter. One day the man killed an otter, took it home, and skinned it in the presence of his wife, so that the woman saw all that he did. When she gave birth, the child was part otter and part human, and died soon after. At another time a man went hunting during his wife's pregnancy. He found a badger, shot it through the eye, and took the skin home, showing it to his wife and relating the circumstances of how he got it. Though she tried to prevent his telling about it and tried not to see the skin, her child was born blind.

843 During pregnancy the wife was forbidden the use of any form of knife in the preparation and cutting of food, for to do so would sever the umbilical cord and cause the child to bleed to death. The husband was also careful in the care of his ponies and kept away from those that were lariated. Should he become entangled
[825] in the lariat the child would be strangled or injured in the delivery. A pregnant woman refrained from drinking with a horn spoon or
[415] from a small earthenware vessel which was used as a dipper, as she would drink in the sound supposed to reside in the utensil. The noise would enter the embryo's ears and the child would be born
[827] deaf. In other words, practically all forms of congenital deformity
843 were ascribed to the violation of restrictions imposed during preg-
538 nancy. Even twins were supposed to owe their origin to the fact
[845] that in ancient mythological times a woman seduced a man, he believing her to be a woman of whom he was very fond. When they had lain together in the timber beyond the village, she jumped up and laughed at him. In her shadow he saw her ears move and looking closer saw a deer running away. The man in vain tried to

224* 252 be used for water or dried as a tobacco container when they went on a Peace Pipe expedition.

224* 521 While the cooking of the meal was in process, the brother returned from tending the horse and Roaming Leader motioned him to sit down at his left. The place at his right was reserved for his wife. Roaming Leader was sitting on the north side. He told his brother how far they had had to go in order to get the bison, how fast the horse was, and other details of the chase—of how three of them had chased two of the bison and the other two, the third animal—of how they butchered and divided up the meat and who got which pieces.

264 Before he had quite finished with his account, his wife announced that she was through with the cooking. He had to interrupt his story, as they must eat at once because the buffalo meat was still lying outside on the spread. His wife's mother, Lady Lucky Leader, had come in meanwhile and her son, Dog-Sitting-at-the-West (also known as Frank Leader), and they joined the family for dinner. The tongue would have been adequate to feed the three of them, but with five they also needed to use the heart. Each one received a small piece of each kind of meat. The Pawnees believed that the first meat of the season should be cooked rare so that the [827] digestive system could become accustomed to it. Roaming Leader remarked this to his wife, "Cook it a little rare. Don't overcook it—it's [252] easier to digest that way." The meat was cut into long thin strips at this time so that it would boil quickly.

224* 252 431 As soon as they were through eating, Lady Lucky Leader went outside to tend to the meat. She gave some to the Meat-Askers and at Roaming Leader's instruction, prepared half of the backbone steak as a gift for White Eagle. First she removed the sinews and cut the steak in two. Since her daughter was busy with the dishes, she carried it to White Eagle's tent herself. As she approached, an old lady from White Eagle's tent noticed her coming and came out to meet her. She said, "I'm bringing meat," and the old lady replied, "Oh, thank you, thank you." As she handed over the meat she said, "Oh, they got three of them—three bison." As White Eagle's mother-in-law entered the tent she told him the news. "They found three bison so and so far." "That's all right!" he said. Some of the meat was cut into long strips and boiled right away, White Eagle making the usual remark about cooking it rare, and the rest of the steak was sliced up by the old lady preparatory to making it into dried meat for storage.

574 After the families of each of the hunters had eaten their meal, they would prepare for their several banquets. Each of the five invited friends and prominent people from his own village—Mad Bear from Pumpkin-Vine, Running Scout from Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge, and Roaming Leader from his own Village-in-the-Bottomlands. New Young

571 Because of the sacred and binding character of this relationship, *796 and the gifts brought by it to the Son, namely, long life and many children to make his family strong, the selection of a man to be made 623 a Son is regarded as a serious and important act, one in which the chiefs and the leading men of the Father's tribe must have a voice.

[554] The Son should be a chief or a man who has the respect of the leading men of his tribe, and whom the Father's tribe would be glad to have bound to them by the tie of Son.

While the Father has been gathering the materials necessary for this ceremony, which may have taken him a year or more, he has had some particular person in his mind whom he desired to make a Son. When everything is ready he mentions this particular person to the chiefs and leading men, and when we are gathered together to sing this song we think of this chosen man and we ask the assistance of Mother Corn, and if he is the right person she will lead us to him.

*796 The selection of the Son takes place soon after the preparation of the sacred objects, frequently on the night of the same day. It must ● [828] always be in the night time, because the spirits can travel best at night. The spirit of the corn and the spirits of the people present in the [776] lodge at this time are to decide who shall be the Son, and Mother Corn is to lead us to him. The same persons are present at this ceremony that were present at the preparation of the Hako.

In the west of the lodge, facing the east, sit the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the Father. Before them are the sacred objects arranged as at ceremonial rest. A little way in front of the crotched stick stands the ear of corn which has been painted in the sacred manner (see figure 172). It is held in position by one of the sticks to which it is tied being thrust into the ground. This ear of corn is the mother, and upon her everyone present must fix his mind.

The singing of the following stanzas occupies most of the night; they do not follow each other quickly, for we must pause after each one.

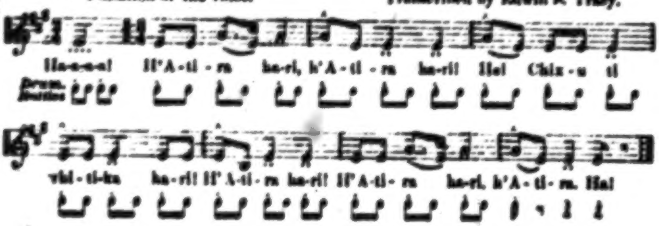
SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 132.
◦ = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*533
*539
*796


Ha-a-a-a! H'A-ti - ra ha-ri, h'A-ti - ra ha-ri! Ha! Chix-u ti
Drum. Rattles.
whi-ti-ka ha-ri! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri! H'A-ti-ra ha-ri, h'A-ti-ra. Ha!

778 this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course
793 of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher
lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that
as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that
●[828] when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the
old and learned always held back something until they were ready
to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught
his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on
his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told
him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When
[764 upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part
of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by
428] the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased
medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest,
a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance:
the physical bundle survived, though it might be less
and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained
182 as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through
178 cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through
the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of
the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid
increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was
in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals,
which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction
rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there
was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young
men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase
of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their
time: and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an
early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode
of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of
424 private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost
793 through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no
sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who
attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

182 The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance
178 visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would
"see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision
668 then became a command upon himself and others around him to
787 carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life
could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

834 freedom. [I doubt that this was so between all persons of opposite sex—especially not brothers and sisters.] This does not imply that there was no sense of morality or convention. One of the greatest reproaches that could be heaped upon a man was to speak of him as *tihakakits*, which meant that the saliva ran down his face and implied that he lacked decency and did not treat women with respect.

836
548 Chastity, particularly among unmarried women, was held in high esteem. At the outskirts of every village were widows or girls who had been driven from home on account of immorality and who lived as prostitutes.

838 So far as was determined, but a single berdache has been known among the Pawnee for many years. Such an individual was said to have the ways of a woman and was supposed to have been influenced by the moon.

828
156 The lazy man was the slow one, the man who, as a boy, never carried water, packed corn, took the ponies to water, gathered wood for the fire, or ran away with a war party. Such a one was despised.

The coward was the one afraid to go on the warpath. He was always hanging around camp and never went out on the high hills at night for power because he was afraid of ghosts, as the burying grounds were generally on hills.

The stingy man was the sort who, when it was his wife's turn to provide food for the occupants of the lodge, put on the fire a tiny pot of meat only sufficient for himself.

The liar was one who always deceived people. He constantly came in with false news of having seen buffalo near-by. He gave false alarms when sent out as a scout. He was generally a coward as well, for he never, if he could help it, went out in front when in the presence of the enemy; yet he was always the first to return home and boast of his deeds in the fight. Should he lie four times about having seen buffalo his word was forever after doubted and he was despised and no attention paid to him. His joints got large and he became a cripple. When the Skidi saw a man whose joints were swollen with arthritis they said that it was the penalty he paid for having been a liar.

158 Insane and crazy persons in old times were not known as such; at any rate it is not remembered that they existed. A woman was said to be "mixed up," "her spirit is not straight," when she was under the influence of love medicine and powerless to control herself.

52

OBJECTS MADE FOR RECREATION

Gambling among the Pawnees—the Hand Game—the Religious Symbolism in the Games—the Basic Equipment for the Game—the Game as Played by Different Ages—the Plum Seed Game of the Women

000

525
[828]

GAMBLING WAS A MAIN RECREATION for some Pawnees and an occasional one for others. It was recognized that habitual gambling was a compulsion that should be avoided as a psychologically destructive trait, and Old-Man-That-Chief could often be heard to give advice on how to regulate one's conduct to keep this impulse under control. He especially exhorted the chiefs to set a good example to the rest of the people. He would talk to the chiefs in the following way:

> "You men are chiefs. It is a chief's place to talk to his people. You shouldn't gamble. You should set the people a good example. Having told the people that gambling is bad, if you gamble yourself, a boy of rough temperament will say to himself, 'There is my chief and he is gambling. There is no reason why I shouldn't gamble too.' Moreover, a gambling place is a fighting place and you might get involved in a fight and a man of low class might strike you. It would be a shame if some outsider were to hit you in the head and there would be blood all over your face. Then someone would say, 'Look at the chief with blood all over his face!' That would look bad.
>
> "If you gamble you'll lose everything you have, perhaps even your wife's clothes. Then you'll have nothing. And another thing, if your wife sees you gambling she'll think, 'I can bet my clothes too,' and she'll go to the place where the women are playing the plum seed game.

778
126
80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwirutsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

787 80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 24, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of supernatural beings." The Pawnee made a clear distinction between
787
828
hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination. An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

775
534
80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

773
171
83 Compare in Whorf, 1929, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 751, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four
80-81 Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In
[821]
Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

Mr Murie spent three days in the translation and study of the 124
ritual, assisted by the Ku'rahus, who explained many points that
were somewhat obscure, owing to elisions, the employment of a single 195
word as a mnemonic to call up the picture of a complicated action, 196
and the forcing of words to a different application from that of ordinary speech—a not uncommon occurrence in rituals. The latter carefully watched the work lest mistakes should be made, remarking that the ritual "speaks of the powers above, of whom man should be careful what he says."

There is one aspect of the ritual, essential to its understanding, that 181
was carefully explained by the Ku'rahus, and the substance of many
conversations on the subject follows. A man's life is an onward movement. 555
If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the 553
help of the powers his life will "climb up." Here the Ku'rahus made
a gesture indicating a line slanting upward; then he arrested the 761
movement and, still holding his hand where he had stopped, went on
to say that as a man is climbing up he does something that marks a 829
place in his life where the powers have given him the opportunity to express in acts his peculiar endowments, so this place, this act, forms a stage in his career, and he takes a new name to indicate that he is on a level different from that which he occupied previously. Some men, he said, can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level, and he illustrated his words by moving his hands horizontally. Men having power to advance, climb step by step, and here again he made his idea plain by a gesture picturing a slant, then a level, a slant, and a level. In this connection he called attention to the words, in line 1359, "rutu'rahwitz pari," "to overtake walking," saying that the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life an upper level, such a one as these ancient men spoken of in the ritual had reached, where they threw away the names by which they had been known before. "Rutu'rahwitz pari," is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by the doing of like deeds.

Three facts connected with the Pawnee custom of taking a new 553
name should be stated:

First. A man was permitted to take a name only after the performance 555
of an act indicative of ability or strength of character. 796*

Second. The name had to be assumed openly before the people to whom the act it commemorated was known.

Third. It was necessary that it should be announced in connection with such a ritual as that here given.

These facts indicate (1) that a man's name stood for what he had shown himself to be in the light of his actions; (2) that this was recognized by his tribesmen; and (3) that it was proclaimed by one having in charge the mediatory rites through which man could be approached by the supernatural.

000 automation (*Life*, July 19, 1963). Referred to as "sudden" in the magazine article, it should surely not be sudden to most of us. With the advantage of a clear consciousness of a long past and its major changes, we must accept change and move intelligently into the future. We must prepare for our new needs in a new society by opening to the light of questioning even our most basic institutions—the family, the home, modes and institutions of work, the character of administration, and our whole evaluation of everyday human experience. The Pawnee way is one of thousands of ways of life that mankind has developed. As a springboard for a reexamination of our own way of life it has the advantage of being so different from our own, and in fact from the whole patterning of Eurasiatic civilization, that a study of its ways and social interactions helps us to throw into sharp relief our most widely accepted hypotheses on the nature of "the basic human character" and to test whether some of these assumptions are in reality universal human nature or rather limited modes of learned behavior that we have developed for needs that are now becoming obsolete.

In its very essence, the Pawnee outlook on reality differs from our 812 own. For us the material aspect is primary. On a second level of 772 discourse, we place observed events; on a third level, which we count still less sure, is the "human factor"; and finally furthest removed from solid reality is the realm of ideas. In the Pawnee estimate of the world around him, the primary level of reality is thought. In our own story of creation, the deity shaped man out of clay, but the Pawnee deity—Vault-of-the-Heavens—began the process of creation with thoughts and so created the universe and the stars, and they in turn were to create man in their own image. When a Pawnee individual wanted to organize his life goals, he looked within himself in his thinking and was blessed by Heaven with 829 a vision. In the Pawnee context, the *thinking* man was the essential human being. The universe continued its seasonal round only when man willed it through his thought of Heaven and its creative power. In creating man, Heaven had also created the moving force of the universe. In this order of things, events were an adjunct of *human* ongoing, and all the nonliving things were a fluid manifestation of the universal life process. A thing manufactured was a manifestation of a very personal skill, and a thing used was equally personal. The skill of the priest who kept the universe in motion and that of the arrowshaft maker had an analogous quality which was inherent in the person himself, and both were considered as dedicated public professions. For both living and nonliving things in the time of the creation, there were always two storms—one to build the empty structure and one for its continuity. This estimate of the nature of reality is almost the complete reverse of our own and is one of the many 577 ways in which the Pawnee outlook contrasts rather sharply with ours.

534 As another contrast in values between the Pawnee and ourselves I

sirawari i	They two who are traveling,	533
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a	Alone, they two who are traveling,	539
tsapat-i witiwaku	A young woman, it is said that she says:	
sikatasiwaktiks-a	I wonder if they two are true (to each other).	
tskara, siraawari-i-a-a-a-a		

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their 883
parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not un- 572
commonly grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, 554
a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally
from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46- 539
50) of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of 883
wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the 572
son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys 554
liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all, while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys
a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to in- [829]
duce boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some his- [867]
torical basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the ma- 571
ture Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured 574
within the house even when only two were sitting together. First
there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the [782]
pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversa- [276]
tion or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a [521]
woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

> of the Skidi villages of Village-across-a-Ridge and Pumpkin-Vine 609
> would join the Wolf-in-Water and Bottomland Village, and they 621
> would play rough and kick one another. 539

The location of the four bands was along the west side of Beaver 621
Creek and the Skidi were in the westernmost position, the other three 361
bands about half a mile away to the east. While according to past tradition, they always lived south of the Skidi and were referred to generally as "South Bands," they were now actually located to the east:

> "The Skidi chief would sit on a high bluff and the Eastward (*tu-* 621
> *hawit*, "Settlement-east" chiefs sat on a bluff near their home and they 524
> would watch the boys. They said, "When we were boys we used to play like that and kick."
>
> It would begin in the evening when the boys would call out, *hu-hu-hu*. Then the boys would hear and come outside. Folks would say to the small boys, "Don't go there, you'll get hurt," but some would steal out and join the fight anyway. When one side would be chased back, the older people would laugh and say, "Go back again. . . ."
>
> When it got darker the little boys were told to go back and run home because the big boys were going to fight now—the sixteen-to-eighteen-year-olds. Then in the moonlight sometimes, the men of about thirty years old would fight, and then afterward the old men forty and over. The men would take blankets from one another and kick one another, but afterward they had to return the blankets.
>
> This game was never played with the Skidi villages alone opposing one another, only between the Skidi Band as one party and the South Bands as the other. They never kicked hard—just for fun. If the South Band boys met the Skidi boys, there was always a kicking contest."

A similar game is reported between different divisions of the Co- [171]
manches.

The Pawnee Person

There is no simple formula for describing the intricate logic of the 156
Pawnee people's lives. One thing is clear—that no one is caught within the social code. Against the backdrop of his natural environment, each individual stands as his own person. The Old World design for the hu-
man personality does not apply to this New World Man. The Pawnee 156
child was born into a community from the beginning, and he never ac- 772
quired the notion that he was closed in "within four walls." He was lit- 829
erally trained to feel that the world around him was his home—*kahuraru*,

156 the universe, meaning literally the inside land, and that his house was a
776 small model of it. The infinite cosmos was his constant source of strength
829 and his ultimate progenitor, and there was no reason why he should hesitate to set out alone and explore the wide world, even though years should pass before he returned. Not only was he not confined within four
156 walls but he was not closed in with a permanent group of people. The special concern of his mother did not mean that he was so closely embedded with her emotionally that he was not able to move about.

155 Other people also were clearly concerned with him in a variety of ways. There was no mistaking the constant concern of Old Bull for the
593 boy, Otter, in the earth lodge. And as for his grandmother, this was of
602 course patently clear. There was no mistaking the affection felt for him by Horse Rider. Even from the earliest time the Pawnee knew there were differences in kinds of affection. He knew he should go to his grandmother for intimate care but he also looked up to his mother as his provider and protector. His father he regarded in the same way wherever he might be, and, as we saw (p. 41), his mother had pointed out to him that he should emulate his father. Otter's Uncle War Cry and his other uncles came to the house and again showed affectionate concern, and one winter when he broke his leg his uncle stayed home and nursed and protected him. He knew very early that he "had a home" in the house of Eagle Chief which had been literally demonstrated to him in special feasts and visits. His older half-brother Fox Chief was there for him even though not in the house. The breakup of the household and travel on the hunt did not dismay him, even when his grandmother stayed behind one winter, for his community traveled with him. This
[867] bringing of the community's concern to the child's attention from an early age was deliberately carried out.

601 The wide application of the kin terms gave the family relationships a
602 much wider reference. It made him realize that there were shades of closeness with his immediate kin and that many varying factors determined this just as they did in his outside attachments. The case of his mother's half-brothers was a graphic example. He found out that, in the last analysis, one made one's own relationships with people and that none was absolutely given.

000 The intensified family togetherness of our present society stands in sharp contrast to these arrangements. The very physical plant of our family household fosters this intensity. Within this century, the apartment or family dwelling has become more and more isolated. In the past ten years, the isolation has become absolute and we have become the loneliest people that ever existed. Mechanical elevators, mechanical shopping, mechanical transportation, and other mechanical devices preclude almost all casual social contacts. At the same time, within the apartment or household the sexes are thrown together in an incest-breeding welter of

visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her 773 four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it 829 is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled re- 628 counting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the 631 past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and ongoing life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the 796 year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first cer- 619 emony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, 631 a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a ceremony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. 778 (See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual 796 during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved 782

793
221
727

753 some interpersonal hostility in the community whose source he would in-
754 variably find if he searched around for it.

578 The doctor on his part, helped restore a man's confidence while he was
756 sick, by bringing him the friendship of the animals who were entirely
outside the human community and to whom he could turn in his distress. This motivation can be seen in the vision of the poor boy, Small, whose position in the human community was threatening and insecure. It was in a council of the animals that he found justice for himself and understanding of his need. He also found, however, that some of his newfound animal friends had temperaments that were prevailingly vicious like the mole and the weasel, and this was a power from outside that he could turn against the human community at his desire. The doctor, therefore, in his knowledge of animals, had a kind of power for evil as well as
756 for good that no one else possessed. "The doctors are all witches. Each
754 one has a different way to witch as well as their other practices." Whether
he used this evil power depended upon the temperament of the doctor. As cited in connection with old doctor Angry Horse, "He never got sufficiently angry for that!" and so would never be using this part of his power, but the people suspected that the majority of the doctors gave way to temptation at times, particularly the most ambitious ones. The old doctors were especially suspect, of course.

578 Interpersonal hostility represented a serious threat to the Pawnee
626 community, particularly in its influential members. As there were no
554 formally organized codes of behavior or courts of justice among the
Pawnees, a person had no recourse in the face of personal threat except the expression of public opinion which was by no means readily forthcoming and also it was effective only within the existing social power structure. If possible, self-help was the wisest course. Behaille, in the face of the hostility of Old Bull toward his admission to the chiefs' council, used the method both of exposure and at the same time of mollification at a feast.

571 It was far more vital for the people of the Pawnee community to have
578 a clear estimate of the range of personalities with which they had to deal
• 829 in their daily lives than it is for those of us who live in larger polities. The
pressures between individuals were far more potent than they are in
626 groups where there is a larger and more complete political structure, for
beyond the known range of personalities among the Pawnees, there was only the enemy. Interpersonal difficulties might or might not get some public reaction and beyond that there was no organized social machinery to which to appeal. In the social order, therefore, the attitudes, moods and inclinations of the individuals that composed it, were far more significant for the group well-being than in a larger polity, and people kept a closer watch on these personality factors than we are accustomed to doing. They knew where "the trouble spots" were likely to be in

571

terms of interpersonal hostilities and the specific temper of the people 578
involved. Only in these terms can we understand their sensitivity to 829
these hostilities and the prevalent fear of their personal social conse- 626
quences. The "witchcraft" atmosphere was a function of this situation.
The doctors brought to bear the idea that a person could have unfailing 756
personal allies in the animal community. Thus Old-Man-That-Chief in 626
practicing his performance for the next day's session of the Deer Dance, 829
addressed the bundle of chicken-hawk feathers that he was to make come alive in the ceremony. The bunch of feathers were lying tied up at the ends which pointed toward the fireplace, with the tips toward That-Chief. As he smoked he asked the feathers for their help, saying, "I want you to help me in every way. This is my son and my grandson," who were to assist him. By him sat his son, Herd-of-Horses, and his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, and he passed the pipe to them in turn and pointed the mouthpiece toward the feathers so that they might all smoke together.

Despite these psychological causes, the physical symptoms of illness 753
were correlated by the Pawnees directly with physical objects that had 754
been projected by sleight of hand into the body of the person. It was presumed that the doctor would hover about at night outside the dwelling of his intended victim and act as he did in the Doctor Lodge to send the
object into the person. "In the old days people slept with the covers [513]
drawn up over their heads so that should they open their mouths, no witch could put anything down into them this way."

The different deadly witch-missiles were thought to produce varying
physical symptoms. Uncomfortable and painful "movement" of the [755]
stomach was one important effect, and coughing up or vomiting was necessary for their cure.

The procedure for preparing such pellets was attested to by Roaming 754
Leader who said that he had inadvertently been an eyewitness to such a process.

> It was after sundown when one could barely see well and there stood That-Chief with his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, along with White Horse near a grave. They had dug it up and That-Chief was showing White Horse that one gets the tough skin of the heel of the corpse, lets it dry out flat, and then greases it with buffalo fat so that it can slide right in. Then it is wrapped up in buffalo wool and painted all over with red paint and tied up real tight and small with horse hair so that it approximates the size of a large capsule. "Then grease it well once more," he said. Now any time White Horse wanted to kill someone by witching, he knew what to do. He put the capsule in among the feathers of his eagle-wing fan, and while he was moving back and forth at the door after midnight doing his witching, he shook his fan so that the capsule flew through the air and into the victim's mouth.

525 they would go off somewhat from the village and choose sides.
857 Someone of them would find sticks and break up eight sticks to
make a tally set, and would make two little rings of willow to use as the counters to hide. Some of the boys would steal wood from the woodpiles in the lodges or around the tipis, and build a fire where the boys had decided to play.

When they had the place ready and the fire going, each boy would make up his own mind which side he would be on, so long as the division came out evenly; and each side selected its own leader. To the boys it made no difference what the orientation of their arrangements were: if the sides were north of the fire and south of the fire, or east of the fire and west of it, made little difference to them. Usually they had the scorekeepers at the west, in imitation of their elders. The boys would bet anything they had, such as things they wore, betting on the outcome of the individual games, and would go on playing games as long as a losing side had anything they could put up against the winnings of their opponents. They picked their guessers and decided for themselves which side should guess first. In the play of the game, they followed out the game as given above, playing it and scoring it the usual way. They kept no order in giving the willow rings to players to hide, giving them as much as possible to boys who were known to be good hiders and quick and adept at deception. Their principal object was to win the game, on the outcome of which they had wagered shirts, rings and other things that could not well be spared.

The boys sang songs to the play of the game, and accompanied
525 the singing with hand-clapping. The side which held the willow-
533 rings did the singing and hand-clapping, using it to confuse the
857 guesser. The songs were boys' songs essentially, that they had
made up at one time or another, or that they had learned from other boys, although when possible they learned and used adult songs. They were often coarse and always more or less funny. Such refrains as the following are typical:

"My grandmother's out of joint" etc. (referring to her knee).
"My grandmother fell—she raised a cloud of dust", etc.
[831] "Hurry up grandma and come, come quick we want to win."
"The balls swing round, swing round," etc. (referring to the
[603] testicles).

The songs indicate the license in speech and action between boys and their grandmothers, which accurately reflects the family conditions.

525 The boys who held the willow-rings to hide would motion with
857 their hands back and forth; they made efforts to deceive as well

539 575 At night the boys came into the lodge with things they needed. When all were in, the leader told each boy to take a bunch of grass and place it in his belt. When this was done he told them all to paint their faces with burnt grass. Then the leader said, "Brothers, we are seated here as warriors. We are about to go on the warpath. Tonight after all is quiet, we will go through the village. We will enter every lodge and sing our songs. When we stop singing them one of the boys must light the grass, then all must take their breech cloths off and dance in the light, naked. We will do this so that when we go on the warpath if we are not successful we will not return. In case the enemy attack us, we will fight until everyone is killed. As soon as we have marched through the village, all must come to this lodge for we are to start from here. If anyone returns to his lodge he cannot go with us. We will now march through the village."

The two leaders led the young men and as they entered the lodge, they stood in a circle around the fireplace and sang. When they stopped singing, one of the boys went to the fireplace where there were coals and lit the grass. The boys all took their coverings off and the women jeered at them. When the fire died out they went to another lodge. After they had visited every lodge they returned to their own. When all were seated, the leader told the boys that he was pleased for now the tribe knew that all the boys were circumcised.

● [831] The leader filled his pipe and offered four whiffs to the two large phallic poles and four whiffs to the two small ones which he was to take with him. As he offered smoke to the two large poles he said, "Fathers, we are about to go upon the warpath, we are to leave you in this lodge, but make us brave that we may conquer our enemy and make it easy for us to capture his ponies." Then he dumped the ashes at the ends of the poles. He wrapped the two small poles and the pipe in a coonskin, for he had dreamed that he was like a coon and had to get a coonskin to protect them. He tied the bundle on his back. Then he told the other leader to rise. Both stood at the altar. Then they told the other boys to take up their bundles and rise. They left the lodge and marched around the village by the north and west until they stood directly south of the village. Here they sang their songs, shouted, and ran towards the south. When they were some distance from the village, they squatted down and waited until daylight. The leader did not miss any of the boys and was glad. Now they marched on again.

One night the leader selected four boys to act as scouts. It was to be the duty of these boys to go out before daylight and see what was in the country. They were to report again before daylight. In the night they were also to look over the country and report to the leaders. One day the scouts came in and reported seeing fourteen or more tipis and many ponies.

847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 842 831 753 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names, if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years. [729] [789] As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner. This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after marriage, an individual was given another name by the father. This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726 553 159 538 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath, our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die. After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home. When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

4

PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: III

000

Personal Relationships beyond Kin Ties—Love between Men and Women—Friendships of Girls to Girls, Women to Women, Boys to Boys, and Men to Men—Friendly Interband Kicking Match—the Pawnee Personality Compared with Our Own—Our Loneliness

Love and Friendship

831 572 [602] THE EMOTIONAL LIFE of the Pawnee was not channeled exclusively through kinship categories, but the concepts of love and friendship for their own sake were well recognized. They had a song that stated: "If even worms are inclined to be in love with one another, how can we expect people not to do so?" The statement was starkly simple and left the 539 831 implication to be understood. It said:

tsasiri pirus	Even worms
he	(Pause indicating a comma)
witi-tirak-tap-piriburu	each other-they them-love.

Their love songs were also in a similar vein, nakedly literal and entirely free of metaphor.

A man sings:

1. *tsapat tiwakubu*	Woman she is saying,
2. *wetatatsiksta*	Now I love you.

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you) 539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tihi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely confined 562
to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the household
routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [584]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so preoccupied 885
with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friendship 525
as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to develop [887]
"cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521
[797]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

796 each one. The second part of the ceremony consisted in the recitation by a chief of certain events in the creation ritual that represented the essential nature of the world.

In the first episode, the four war parties went out for the poles. When everyone was assembled, four warriors took positions at the semicardinal [292] places. Each was dressed in full regalia. He wore an otter fur collar, a sacred ear of corn on the left shoulder, and a hawkskin on the right shoulder. On the head, each wore a ball of white down feathers and, transversely in the scalplock, an eagle feather. Each element of their costume had a symbolic meaning—the otter collar, awakening of life in the spring; the ear of corn, Mother Corn to guide them over the world; the hawk, to symbolize strength and fierceness; the eagle feather in the scalplock, Heaven during the creation; the white downy feathers, the clouds [302] on which he rode. Their faces were painted with red streaks along the sides and a bird's-foot mark on their foreheads which was also the name of a constellation in the Milky Way. Each warrior carried a war club and a pipe from one of the leading sacred bundles.

While the warriors were being costumed, four scouts had gone in four different directions to locate the trees for the posts. The White Pole [824] was located in the southwest direction and was a cottonwood. The Yellow Pole was found in the northwest and was a willow. The Red Pole of the southeast was a box elder, and the Black Pole of the northeast, an elm. The warriors came outside the enclosure and danced in their appropriate positions and a group of people gathered around each of them. The warriors now led their parties in their different directions and were met by their respective scouts who reported that they had located an enemy standing among the timber. Each warrior now led his party as if stealing upon an enemy. When the tree was sighted, they rushed in and the first man to reach the tree acted as if he were touching an enemy in battle, meriting a special war honor.

[782] Standing at the east, the warrior made a smoke offering to the tree. Then he carried the smoked-out pipe to the west where he deposited the ashes. Then another man, in similar fashion, made an offering of buffalo meat. Then a virgin took up her ax and symbolically cut down the tree. She motioned four times in each of the four directions, cutting off a chip in each. The tree was then actually cut down by her uncles and brothers amid the shouts of the people. As the tree fell they made as much noise as possible.

Now the warriors took up the tree and started toward the village, the [831] crowd following. On the way in they stopped to rest at four different intervals when they were beset by old women who encircled them making suggestive remarks referring to sexual intercourse and speaking of sexual acts as deeds of war. None of these remarks were personal. When the party tried to bring the pole into the enclosure, someone blocked

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

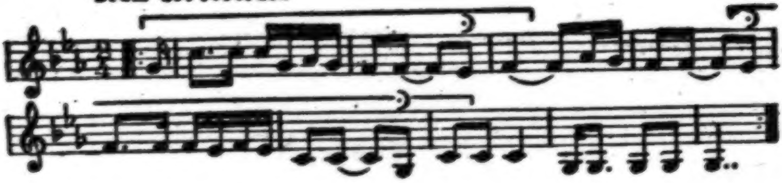
measure were changed to conform to different words but the duration of the measure remained the same. The song contains 19 intervals, 10 of which are whole tones and 5 are fourths. 533*

No. 67. "My Trust is in Mother Corn"

(Catalogue No. 1089)

Recorded by John Luwak

Voice ♩ = 52
Drum not recorded



SONGS OF AFFECTION

533*

Songs rising from deep affection and respect were occasionally sung by Indians in the old times, and might be concerning persons who had been married for many years. The distinction between these and the modern "love song" is clearly drawn by the Indians and is evident from the words of the songs. The Sioux said that in old times they had a few songs concerning a man's qualification to wed, this being determined by his success in war or on the buffalo hunt.[31] Otter Woman, an aged widow of the Mandan Tribe, recorded songs of loneliness for her husband, and two very old songs expressing a gentle longing. These were sung by young girls when at work in the gardens and are as delicate as the little plants which they tended so carefully.[32] The cause of the change from these songs of respectful affection to the modern "love song" is found in the general change from primitive customs. 554 593 [581]

In former times the marriages of young people were either arranged by the parents or subject to parental approval. A period of transition began when the young people refused to recognize parental authority in the matter of their affections. This led to clandestine meetings. A few songs of this period were recorded among the Sioux, one containing the words "If you are truthful, come. Walks Visibly (woman's name) has said this."[33] The words of modern Indian love songs usually express a lack of respect for women, and often boast of fascinations and conquests. They are connected with intoxication and are sung by young men of no standing among their own people. Many 584 533* 533* 832 ● [273]

---

[31] Teton Sioux Music, p. 370.

[32] Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 54-57.

[33] Teton Sioux Music, p. 510.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

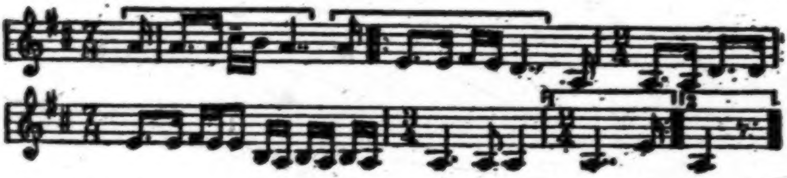
No. 76. Song of a Warrior's Wife

*533
593

(Catalogue No. 1100)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♪ = 144 (♩ = 72)
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

I wonder where he is sitting.
That person who comes and sits in my tipi.

Analysis.—In all renditions of this song the 7-8 and 3-4 measures were sung in exact time. Except for one minor third the melody progresses entirely by fourths and major seconds. It has a compass of 10 tones and contains the entire octave except the fourth.

*533 Mr. James R. Murie and other old members of the tribe said that
love songs, in the white man's use of that term, were unknown
●832 among the better class of Pawnee in the early days. According to
565 Mr. Murie, there were four classes of Pawnee, the lowest being
considered outcasts by the remainder of the tribe. These people
177 camped near towns and worked for white people, from whom they
562 obtained whisky. This class of Pawnee sang what were termed
[124] "crazy people's songs," which were associated with "love charms"
and evil influences. No effort was made to secure examples of these
songs. A change from the former attitude toward women, however, is shown in the following song which was said to be very old.
It is not of so low a character as the "crazy people's songs," neither
does it represent the high standard of life indicated in the former
[837] songs of this group. A girl married a man for whom she did not care
and it would appear that, instead of adapting himself to the situation,
he sought consolation elsewhere.

*533 *Analysis.*—This melody consists of two parts, the first of which contains the rhythmic unit. The second part begins with a succession of eighth notes, followed by a measure which preserves the count divisions of the rhythmic unit. The count divisions throughout the song were sung with special clearness. The song is transcribed as having B flat for its keynote but the third above that tone does not occur. Except for an ascending octave the only in-

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

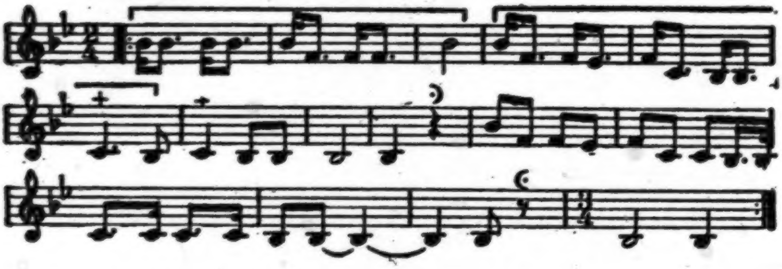
tervals are fourths and major seconds. Drum and voice are different in tempo, each being maintained with regularity. 533*

No. 71. "Other Girls Are as Pretty as She"

(Catalogue No. 1101)

Recorded by Effie Blaine

Voice ♩ = 112
Drum ♩ = 120
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



A modern love song (not transcribed) was translated as follows: "That lady loves me. I bet she is thinking of me." It was said to be the song of a man already married who wanted the person mentioned in the song to elope with him. 533* 837 ●

Songs of this class were preceded by the syllable *ee–ee* on a low tone in imitation of a flute. The informant said "the flute was courting medicine of a bad kind." [534]

MYTHS AND FOLK TALES

The Pawnee possessed many stories pertaining to the origin of sacred bundles and the doings of mythological persons. Concerning such stories Doctor Dorsey states: "These tales, as a rule, are told only during ceremonies, especially during the intermissions or pauses in the ceremony which occur from time to time between rites, or during resting periods in the chanting of a long ritual. During such intermissions anyone of those present may ask the priests for such a tale. Especially is it the privilege of the one who has made the ceremony possible, by providing the food for the sacrifice and feast, to ask that such a tale be related. These tales may also, under certain circumstances, be told outside the ceremonial lodge . . . and the chief object in relating them is to furnish instruction."[34] Such stories gradually passed into current knowledge and were told as folk tales by any member of the tribe without mention of their religious significance. 773 538

---

[34] Dorsey, The Pawnee: Mythology (Pt. 1), Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publ. No. 59, Washington, 1906.

622
756 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers
778 and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular impor-
554 tance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have con-
726 secrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup
among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of
these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pítahau-
írata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of
756 wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and
837 not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice.
Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicine-
man in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the
woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that
she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue
of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred
bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies
224 for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping
party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was
cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must
be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown
into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle
[223] trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

● 832 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern
838 Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by
sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

No-flight Idea. A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and
726 taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself
down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

842 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of
532 medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so.
Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint
834 in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized
in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicine-
men. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern
iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had
276 performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

He went to the altar and took from the wall the headdress and the bustle. The 539 belt consisted of a strip of deerskin to the middle of which were fastened three sticks about two feet long and decorated with deer hair. At each end of the opposite side 756 hung two sets of crow feathers with wolf tails between each two feathers.

He gave these to Crow-feather with instructions to take them home and return the next day with his pipe and tobacco. When he returned to his lodge the people asked where he had been, but he did not reply. When his mother offered him food, he asked for a piece of tanned hide in which he placed the bustle and headdress and tied the bundle to the lodge wall.

Early the next morning, he returned to the cave where the man awaited him and said, "Fill the pipe and let us smoke." After they had smoked and the ashes were thrown away, the stranger said, "During your wanderings and peculiar behavior I was with you. I caused you to wander; I like your ways. The men in your village are attentive to women. You are not and for that reason I liked you. Those who wish to learn this dance must avoid women. If married men are to take part in a dance where fire is attacked, they must have no intercourse with their wives for thirty [834] days. They must bathe every morning and evening. Now, I will show you the herbs and roots you must rub on your body when you dance; also the kind of wood you are to use in your fire. The wood and roots are brothers, that is, the roots rubbed on the body make anyone impervious to fire."

They walked on the prairie and finally the man said, "Place four pinches of tobacco on the plant before digging the root." After this he had the privilege of digging as many plants as he wished for they had received tobacco. They returned to the cave and cut up the roots. In the meantime, the stranger instructed him in the performance of the dance. After the roots were dried, they were pounded up, mixed, and placed in a buckskin bag. He said, "This is the way you must prepare the medicine." Before the root is rubbed on the body, it should be put in a wooden bowl filled with water in which four live coals have been placed. Dip some of this up with a small buffalo horn spoon and put it in a wooden bowl and it is ready for use. If an enemy should attack your village do not mix the medicine in a bowl, chew some of the root, take it in your hands, and rub them on a kettle that is covered with soot and then rub the soot on your joints. You will have no fear of the enemy's fire. If anyone is burned by fire or scalded, chew some of the root and place it upon the affected part and the cure will be immediate. After a time the medicine may be mixed in a bowl and the burnt part bathed with the concoction. After the wound has dried, you must kill a dog, mix the grease from the dog's body with the medicine and apply it to the wound. This will hasten the cure. If a man be wounded in battle, he must chew the root and bathe the wound with a mixture of roots and charcoal. After this the mixture of root and grease should be applied. This is all I can do for you now, but come to me once in a while. I will always be with you. You may now take what I have given you and return to your people."

Crow-feather went home. The next day he returned to the cave and found the man sitting near the fire. He thanked him for what he had done. He gave him presents and said "Brother, I brought these things for you have done a great thing for me." The mysterious man thanked him.

Crow-feather went home. Several days later he determined to see whether the medicinemen understood the fire. He built a sweat lodge of eighteen willow poles. From the hill he brought back limestone which he

622 756 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers 778 and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular importance. 554 They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have consecrated 726 buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pítahauirata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of 756 wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and 837 not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice. Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicineman in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies 224 for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle [223] trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern 838 Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

726 *No-flight Idea.* A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

342 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of 532 medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint ● 834 in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had 776 performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

784 teristic at a bundle ceremony would distract the attention of the
841 supernatural beings. If a menstruating woman were near a bundle
spread out as an altar, the supernatural power supposed to reside in the objects on the altar would disappear; the corn mother would be corn mother no longer but simply an ear of corn, the bird messenger between the deities and man would become simply a bird skin, and so on. The odor of blood was pleasing to the gods, but not this kind of blood, which was associated with human passion. If a menstruating woman should go into a ceremony of the medicine-men, the strong human odor would cause the power of the medicine-men to leave them, and they would fail in their sleight of hand. The lodge where the ceremony was being held was for the time being an animal's lodge; it was full of animal power, over which each medicine-man was striving to make himself master. In this attempt he would fail should a menstruating woman be present, for she would cause him to become essentially human. What animal power he had would quickly desert him.

881 The custom in vogue when a girl reached puberty has been noted.
882 When a boy reached this stage, there was no formal ceremony to
607 mark the event. He was, however, taken in charge by his mother's
836 brother's wife. From this time until his marriage, he maintained
sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately after having had intercourse with this woman. When her real husband was off hunting or on the warpath, the youth continued marital relations with her. Thus it might happen that for four or
[595] five years a woman would have an additional "husband," or possibly
three or four, with a temporary state of polyandry thereby prevailing.
● [834] No such custom as this existed for girls, as they were supposed to
remain virgins until marriage.

882 Up to this time the boy went naked, except for a blanket or robe
291 in cold weather. From then on he wore leggings, and otherwise
dressed as a man.

857 A further word should be said as to the relationship of the sexes.
Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents.
836 Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship
might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this

of each mourner, asking that he cease crying. The chief gave each 765 one a little food to break the fast. The remainder of the food was next divided, though nothing was distributed among the spectators; however, at the end of the feast they thanked the chief for his services.

Certain observances were obligatory for widows and widowers. 765 A woman who had lost her husband was supposed to observe carefully 768 a mourning period of at least a year, and in case he had been a man of prominence she might prolong this to two years. During this time she lived with her own people or she might stay in the lodge of her husband's parents. In the latter case it was understood that at the termination of the mourning period she would become the wife [587] of her deceased husband's younger brother or the wife of his sister's son. Until that time she was supposed to remain chaste. A childless [834] widow invariably returned to her parents' lodge, but following the 768 mourning period she could remarry in the manner just noted or 587 she could marry an outsider. However, in the latter instance she would not be considered as desirable as at the time she first married and the gifts to her relatives would be less. Thus if ten ponies were presented at her first marriage only one or two would be paid when she married again.

Widowers were supposed to mourn for their wives at least two 765 years, and sometimes mourned three. Many never remarried. 768 Very often when a widower did not seek another spouse he was 587 urged by his relatives to remarry, and they expressed their desire by offering to furnish the presents necessary to secure a second wife. As a rule, although a widower mourned for the usual period, he did not consider marrying again until he had gone on the warpath, taken scalps, and captured ponies. This was a somewhat formal way of terminating mourning and making himself eligible for remarriage.

It remains to record certain other observances connected with 765 burial and mourning customs. As a rule, the close friends of the deceased performed some act of bodily mutilation immediately after or just before the burial, the men slashing their arms, breasts, or legs with knives and the women cutting their hair. Hair thus cut was at once burned, for fear that the Morning Star would see it upon the grave and claim the victim as his own sacrifice. For the same reason horse's hair cut off during burial services was also burned.

On the burial of a warrior killed in battle his close friends and 721 relatives seized the first opportunity to visit enemy country 765

came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui 764
priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was 778
very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of 572
friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particu- 888
larly to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally 159
claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age. They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the 562
priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the 834
Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until [291]
well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the [515]
lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no [521]
subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

834 freedom. [I doubt that this was so between all persons of opposite sex—especially not brothers and sisters.] This does not imply that there was no sense of morality or convention. One of the greatest reproaches that could be heaped upon a man was to speak of him as *tihakakits*, which meant that the saliva ran down his face and implied that he lacked decency and did not treat women with respect.

836 548 Chastity, particularly among unmarried women, was held in high esteem. At the outskirts of every village were widows or girls who had been driven from home on account of immorality and who lived as prostitutes.

838 So far as was determined, but a single berdache has been known among the Pawnee for many years. Such an individual was said to have the ways of a woman and was supposed to have been influenced by the moon.

828 156 The lazy man was the slow one, the man who, as a boy, never carried water, packed corn, took the ponies to water, gathered wood for the fire, or ran away with a war party. Such a one was despised.

The coward was the one afraid to go on the warpath. He was always hanging around camp and never went out on the high hills at night for power because he was afraid of ghosts, as the burying grounds were generally on hills.

The stingy man was the sort who, when it was his wife's turn to provide food for the occupants of the lodge, put on the fire a tiny pot of meat only sufficient for himself.

The liar was one who always deceived people. He constantly came in with false news of having seen buffalo near-by. He gave false alarms when sent out as a scout. He was generally a coward as well, for he never, if he could help it, went out in front when in the presence of the enemy; yet he was always the first to return home and boast of his deeds in the fight. Should he lie four times about having seen buffalo his word was forever after doubted and he was despised and no attention paid to him. His joints got large and he became a cripple. When the Skidi saw a man whose joints were swollen with arthritis they said that it was the penalty he paid for having been a liar.

158 Insane and crazy persons in old times were not known as such; at any rate it is not remembered that they existed. A woman was said to be "mixed up," "her spirit is not straight," when she was under the influence of love medicine and powerless to control herself.

58 girl who was in no position to carry the responsibilities of a mature woman would normally marry a mature man. The situation finally reversed itself when, after a marriage to an older man, the woman attains maturity and the competence to maintain a household. She is now in a position to choose a handsome young man as a second husband. The young man on his part finally gains maturity at the age of forty and can sue for the hand of a young girl of fifteen and join a household where his capabilities will be appreciated. The father and father's brothers of the girl will look around for such a person for their daughter and will be glad to entertain his suit. In fact, as a young girl gained her maturity, numbers of such men would sue for her hand. The "fathers" might have some scruples about the suitors that already had a wife, chiefly because of the ill feeling it might generate between the households involved. But a man was not compelled to limit his marital relations to one woman or to one household so long as he could fulfill his obligations, i.e., provide meat for all through his exceptional talents as a hunter and horses and other luxury goods through his special ability as a warrior that could bring home booty. There was thus a certain fluidity about the marriage situation, although some marriages did last for many years.

583 A proper marriage was arranged with considerable formality, with special acts and mutual gift-giving on the part of both families. The element that determined the most binding unions was a substantial gift of horses to the girl's family by the suitor. The amount of the gift was a mark of the esteem in which the bride was held, and, even in the 1920's, one old woman mentioned with pride from time to time that six horses were given for her. As a woman got older, a marriage involved less and less property consideration, although a man suing for the hand of a woman in her prime would be likely to give a horse to her brother or a relative who stood in an analogous relationship as a mark of his respect for her and an earnest of good faith with her family. Everyone felt that an informal liaison without some family arrangements was bound to be a passing thing.

851 848 [834] A man's obligations to his children were to some extent independent of these considerations. The Pawnees were very literal about fatherhood. For a child to be accepted in the community with any decent status, its physiological father must be known. In any given month from one menstrual period to the next, a woman had to confine her sexual activities to one man only, and when she was aware through the cessation of menstruation that she had conceived, she was required to notify the man and point out on what occasion of intercourse together the child was conceived. The man was then obligated, until the child reached full maturity of eighteen or more, to provide it with fresh meat in whatever household it might be residing and in other ways to be concerned with its well-being. A woman who departed from this iron-clad rule was unable to

784 teristic at a bundle ceremony would distract the attention of the
841 supernatural beings. If a menstruating woman were near a bundle
spread out as an altar, the supernatural power supposed to reside
in the objects on the altar would disappear; the corn mother would
be corn mother no longer but simply an ear of corn, the bird messenger
between the deities and man would become simply a bird skin, and
so on. The odor of blood was pleasing to the gods, but not this
kind of blood, which was associated with human passion. If a
menstruating woman should go into a ceremony of the medicine-men,
the strong human odor would cause the power of the medicine-men
to leave them, and they would fail in their sleight of hand.
The lodge where the ceremony was being held was for the time being
an animal's lodge; it was full of animal power, over which each
medicine-man was striving to make himself master. In this attempt
he would fail should a menstruating woman be present, for she
would cause him to become essentially human. What animal
power he had would quickly desert him.

881 The custom in vogue when a girl reached puberty has been noted.
882 When a boy reached this stage, there was no formal ceremony to
607 mark the event. He was, however, taken in charge by his mother's
836 brother's wife. From this time until his marriage, he maintained
sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately
after having had intercourse with this woman. When her real
husband was off hunting or on the warpath, the youth continued
marital relations with her. Thus it might happen that for four or
[595] five years a woman would have an additional "husband," or possibly
three or four, with a temporary state of polyandry thereby prevailing.
[834] No such custom as this existed for girls, as they were supposed to
remain virgins until marriage.

882 Up to this time the boy went naked, except for a blanket or robe
291 in cold weather. From then on he wore leggings, and otherwise
dressed as a man.

857 A further word should be said as to the relationship of the sexes.
Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they
neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small
grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents.
836 Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship
might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept
at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the
girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or
he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this

early intimacy would ultimately end in a marriage according to the 836
rites of the tribe, but the girl was not allowed to exercise much choice [582]
in the selection of a husband.

Occasionally it happened that a boy and girl eluded the vigilance
of the parents and lay together. If detected, this was at once
checked. Should the girl become pregnant as a result of their union,
and should the girl's relatives be predisposed to the boy and think
him likely to become a good husband, he was asked to marry her.
The relatives of the young man gathered together and sent presents [584]
of ponies, robes, blankets, and other things to the girl's parents, and
the two young people were married. If the boy was not considered 836
suitable, however, two men were sent to his lodge and he was severely 684
beaten, and on rare occasions died as a result of the punishment. 578
During the beating, tribal custom decreed that the boy's relatives
must not defend him. The young man's parents sometimes tried
to heal the breach between the two families by offering presents
to the parents of the injured girl. If the girl's relatives refused to
accept the boy for a son-in-law, they attempted to secure a husband
for her, which was often a matter of great difficulty. Sometimes the
girl refused to tell the name of the boy who had seduced her and was
driven from her own lodge, in which case she generally went to the [548]
boy's lodge and tried to live there; if they drove her out, she might
be forced to live on the outskirts of the village as a prostitute. Often
if a boy knew that he was about to be held responsible for betraying a [721]
girl he would run away, especially to follow a war party. Occasionally
a couple, realizing their union would displease their relatives,
eloped to some other village. The illicit sexual relations of young
people often resulted in family disputes and conflicts involving most
of the relatives on both sides.

MARRIAGE

Marriage among the Skidi was not entered into lightly or at an 581
early age. The marriage tie was said to be enduring and faithfulness
was expected and demanded. Skidi villages tended to be endogamous 582
and a man married a woman of his own village, to whom he was
not related by close ties of blood. Marriage with a first cousin was
forbidden and marriage with a second cousin, though tolerated,
was not considered proper.

Courtship as we understand it did not play a very important 584
part in marriages among the higher class of Skidi. In fact, no friendship
that might have been formed between a young couple ever
resulted in legal marriage unless the proper relatives of both sides

834 freedom. [I doubt that this was so between all persons of opposite sex—especially not brothers and sisters.] This does not imply that there was no sense of morality or convention. One of the greatest reproaches that could be heaped upon a man was to speak of him as *tihakakits*, which meant that the saliva ran down his face and implied that he lacked decency and did not treat women with respect.

● 836 548 Chastity, particularly among unmarried women, was held in high esteem. At the outskirts of every village were widows or girls who had been driven from home on account of immorality and who lived as prostitutes.

838 So far as was determined, but a single berdache has been known among the Pawnee for many years. Such an individual was said to have the ways of a woman and was supposed to have been influenced by the moon.

828 156 The lazy man was the slow one, the man who, as a boy, never carried water, packed corn, took the ponies to water, gathered wood for the fire, or ran away with a war party. Such a one was despised.

The coward was the one afraid to go on the warpath. He was always hanging around camp and never went out on the high hills at night for power because he was afraid of ghosts, as the burying grounds were generally on hills.

The stingy man was the sort who, when it was his wife's turn to provide food for the occupants of the lodge, put on the fire a tiny pot of meat only sufficient for himself.

The liar was one who always deceived people. He constantly came in with false news of having seen buffalo near-by. He gave false alarms when sent out as a scout. He was generally a coward as well, for he never, if he could help it, went out in front when in the presence of the enemy; yet he was always the first to return home and boast of his deeds in the fight. Should he lie four times about having seen buffalo his word was forever after doubted and he was despised and no attention paid to him. His joints got large and he became a cripple. When the Skidi saw a man whose joints were swollen with arthritis they said that it was the penalty he paid for having been a liar.

158 Insane and crazy persons in old times were not known as such; at any rate it is not remembered that they existed. A woman was said to be "mixed up," "her spirit is not straight," when she was under the influence of love medicine and powerless to control herself.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

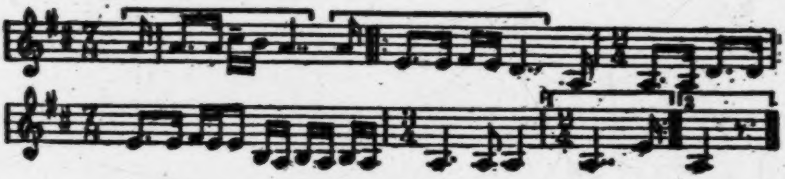
No. 76. Song of a Warrior's Wife

*533
593

(Catalogue No. 1100)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♪ = 144 (♩ = 72)
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

I wonder where he is sitting.
That person who comes and sits in my tipi.

Analysis.—In all renditions of this song the 7–8 and 3–4 measures were sung in exact time. Except for one minor third the melody progresses entirely by fourths and major seconds. It has a compass of 10 tones and contains the entire octave except the fourth.

*533 Mr. James R. Murie and other old members of the tribe said that
love songs, in the white man's use of that term, were unknown
832 among the better class of Pawnee in the early days. According to
565 Mr. Murie, there were four classes of Pawnee, the lowest being
177 considered outcasts by the remainder of the tribe. These people
camped near towns and worked for white people, from whom they
562 obtained whisky. This class of Pawnee sang what were termed
[124] "crazy people's songs," which were associated with "love charms"
and evil influences. No effort was made to secure examples of these
songs. A change from the former attitude toward women, however, is shown in the following song which was said to be very old.
It is not of so low a character as the "crazy people's songs," neither
does it represent the high standard of life indicated in the former
[837] songs of this group. A girl married a man for whom she did not care
and it would appear that, instead of adapting himself to the situation,
he sought consolation elsewhere.

*533 *Analysis*.—This melody consists of two parts, the first of which contains the rhythmic unit. The second part begins with a succession of eighth notes, followed by a measure which preserves the count divisions of the rhythmic unit. The count divisions throughout the song were sung with special clearness. The song is transcribed as having B flat for its keynote but the third above that tone does not occur. Except for an ascending octave the only in-

622
756 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers
778 and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular impor-
554 tance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have con-
726 secrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup
among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of
these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pítahaurata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of
756 wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and
837 not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice.
Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicineman in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies
224 for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping
party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle
[223] trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern
838 Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by
sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

No-flight Idea. A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and
726 taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself
down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

342 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of
532 medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so.
Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint
834 in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized
in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had
276 performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

754 purposes. Their guardians were certain animals which
[776] were conceived of as having evil spirits. They were
[565] recruited from the lower classes in the tribe, and were
feared and disliked by the better element. Like the
medicine men, they were organized into a society, but
nothing is known of their ceremonies.

756 The Pawnee medicine men were organized into a
number of societies which were united by certain
secrets which they had in common. In addition to
these secrets, which were known to all medicine men,
but concealed from the rest of the tribe, each society
and even each member had individual secrets. The
oldest of these societies was that of the Pumpkin Vine
village all of whose members were said to have originally
been medicine men. Its members derived their
powers from a number of different guardians. In the
other medicine societies, which were organized at a
later date, all the members derived their powers from
the same guardian. A man might become a medicine
man as the result of a supernatural experience during
which powers were conferred upon him directly by his
[787] guardian. Such experiences were sought through long
continued prayer and fasting. More commonly, when
a man desired to become a medicine man and had determined
his guardian, he applied to some medicine
man who had derived his powers from that being, and
asked for instruction. If the medicine man believed
him to be sincere and was willing to accept the gifts
which he offered in payment, he received him as a pupil
and, at the next meeting of the medicine lodge, took
him into the lodge with him and instructed him. The
lodge sometimes continued in session two months; and
[837] during this time, as part payment, the medicine man
exercised the rights of a husband toward his pupil's
wife. Often a medicine man would have several pupils
whose wives would remain with him in his booth in
the medicine lodge. He might instruct them also if he

754 837 Sexual affairs were a common cause of suspected witchcraft activity in both men and women. As witchcraft-prone situations, the following were cited:

Bringing Trophies was an old man married to a very young girl and he was very jealous of her. Joe E was an interpreter and had plenty of money and the girl made advances to him, inducing him to buy her some calico. As she sewed her dress, her husband became suspicious after she was unable to tell him how much the material had cost her. He investigated and finally confronted Joe E who told the old man that it was his business to watch his wife. Finally the young woman and Joe E went off together and although the old man came after them with his bow and arrows, they managed to stay hidden in the timber so that he was unable to get them. Finally the girl left her old husband and, after running around a bit, married a solid citizen of the community and had two children and settled down. If he were so inclined, the old man would be expected to direct an attack of witchcraft against Joe E.

Last-Man-in-the-Road (*Hatuxka*) was inclined to go after Pipe Offering's wife. They were all quite old, but Pipe Offering was the oldest. One day while he was sitting on top of the earth lodge he saw his wife coming home with a bucket of water. It was an accepted sign of consent in [584] courtship when a man contrived to meet a woman on her way home from the creek carrying a bucket of water and requested a drink and was given one. The woman was in a position to signify her disinterest by not responding to his request and simply continue on her way. In this case when Last-Man-in-the-Road stopped Pipe Offering's wife and asked her for a drink, she gave it to him. When she got back to her lodge, Pipe Offering who had been watching, asked, "Who were you talking to?" "That was Last-Man-in-the-Road," she said. "What were you saying?" asked the old man. "He wanted a drink and I gave it to him. Nothing wrong. He said it was too hot." "But," said the suspicious husband, "he was on his way to the creek where he could get his own drink." "Oh, that's nothing," answered the wife. Under these circumstances, Pipe Offering might at some time feel impelled to bewitch Last-Man-in-the-Road and cause him to be sick or do him to death through witchcraft.

754 Old-Man-That-Chief was apparently a man who felt he had sufficient power to do whatever he wanted and he brooked no interference with his wishes. It was said of him, "He was a big witch!"

> Once there was an old woman that he wanted. She refused him. So one night at midnight when everyone was asleep, he took his stick, as he was blind, and felt his way over to her lodge. He had his eaglewing fan and some harmful material that he would "shoot" into her. He stood in front of her lodge waving his buffalo robe back and forth

622
756 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers
778 and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular importance.
554 They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have consecrated
726 buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup
among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of
these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pitahauirata
division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of
756 wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and
837 not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice.
Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicineman
in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the
woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that
she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue
of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred
bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies
224 for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping
party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was
cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must
be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown
into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle
[223] trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern
● 838 Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by
sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

726 *No-flight Idea.* A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and
taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself
down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

342 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of
532 medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so.
Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint
834 in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized
in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen.
Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern
iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had
276 performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

834 freedom. [I doubt that this was so between all persons of opposite sex—especially not brothers and sisters.] This does not imply that there was no sense of morality or convention. One of the greatest reproaches that could be heaped upon a man was to speak of him as *tihakakits*, which meant that the saliva ran down his face and implied that he lacked decency and did not treat women with respect.

836
548 Chastity, particularly among unmarried women, was held in high esteem. At the outskirts of every village were widows or girls who had been driven from home on account of immorality and who lived as prostitutes.

838 So far as was determined, but a single berdache has been known among the Pawnee for many years. Such an individual was said to have the ways of a woman and was supposed to have been influenced by the moon.

828
156 The lazy man was the slow one, the man who, as a boy, never carried water, packed corn, took the ponies to water, gathered wood for the fire, or ran away with a war party. Such a one was despised.

The coward was the one afraid to go on the warpath. He was always hanging around camp and never went out on the high hills at night for power because he was afraid of ghosts, as the burying grounds were generally on hills.

The stingy man was the sort who, when it was his wife's turn to provide food for the occupants of the lodge, put on the fire a tiny pot of meat only sufficient for himself.

The liar was one who always deceived people. He constantly came in with false news of having seen buffalo near-by. He gave false alarms when sent out as a scout. He was generally a coward as well, for he never, if he could help it, went out in front when in the presence of the enemy; yet he was always the first to return home and boast of his deeds in the fight. Should he lie four times about having seen buffalo his word was forever after doubted and he was despised and no attention paid to him. His joints got large and he became a cripple. When the Skidi saw a man whose joints were swollen with arthritis they said that it was the penalty he paid for having been a liar.

158 Insane and crazy persons in old times were not known as such; at any rate it is not remembered that they existed. A woman was said to be "mixed up," "her spirit is not straight," when she was under the influence of love medicine and powerless to control herself.

Pawnees might have improved their horticulture to such a degree that 562
they would have made important advances in industry and thus developed
a much more widespread pattern of trade. What the division of labor 611
would have been and the status of different occupational groups in the light of their implicit attitudes can only be conjectured. There is no assurance at all that they would have developed one group as dominant over the others or a permanent power structure of the Old World type. As much as 20,000 years may separate the bulk of New World population from the Old, and the Old World social formulas need not have appeared among them at all. Athough the buffalo have been domesticated in individual instances, suggesting that they may be domesticable, there is no certainty that the North American Indians would have domesticated them. And even had that been the case, it does not mean that the men would have developed the kind of dominant position over women that characterizes most of Old World culture, nor even that empires of the Ghengis Khan type would have appeared. In the light of the development of urban concentrations in Peru, Mexico, and Central America, as the economy became more complex and as a consequence the population more concentrated, urbanlike centers were very likely to occur. Both Mexican and Peruvian native political administrations as we know them from the period of contact were conquest organizations. Conquest need not have been the path of the Pawnee. In fact, intergroup alliance that has gained fame in connection with the League of the Iroquois was characteristic not only of the Pawnee but of the other Caddoan peoples extending all the way south to Texas and the Gulf and north to Dakota.

In the major division of labor between men and women, a man did not 562
feel threatened because he acquired skills possessed by women. On the contrary, it was considered incumbent on the Pawnee man to be a "good Pawnee cook," and men were perfectly adept at slicing and drying meat, shelling corn, and other skills. In the 1930's during the period of my fieldwork in Oklahoma, the men offered to demonstrate for me and, when I looked dubious, they reassured me saying that, after all, they often had to do these things when they were far away on the warpath or on exploring expeditions. While I was in Oklahoma I observed that the men often lent a hand to the women, without the slightest self-consciousness, and if the woman didn't happen to be home when they came in they tended to get right on with the necessary mealtime preparations and attention to the children. Neither the man nor the woman felt threatened or in a position of blurring the sex lines by this procedure.
From their point of view it was a matter of acquired skills, not sex. Although [838]
homosexuals or lesbians were rare, these relationships were not regarded as a serious social anomaly but as a personal inclination which the Pawnees thought people had a right to have. With their reaction to their primary division of labor, there is no certainty that as greater

342 772 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman, Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself. Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on earth.

342 772 353 84 The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive powers. The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the youngest women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located, the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being "inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe, ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

776 342 [823] [182] The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that they would be readily received.

361 342 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear consciousness of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed, the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy. 342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch and then with tamped-down earth. [354] [252] As the fires began to be lit, smoke rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cooking breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

252 262 [251] White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the drawstring of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

512 to the fields after the early morning swim. They returned to the
lodge at about eleven o'clock for the first meal, the other meal being
around five in the afternoon. Men and women sat apart at mealtimes,
264 the former being together in the west of the lodge and the
women sitting east of the fireplace. Any food out of the ordinary,
[562] such as melons in season, was given to the men first. As a rule the
children ate by themselves near the women and had to be content
with what remained after their parents had finished. Where several
[252] families occupied a single lodge, each family in turn cooked for the
others in the lodge. [The separation of the sexes at mealtimes is
not entirely clear. The manuscript also contains the following
statement: "The food was prepared in large quantities and divided
among the families, each receiving a wooden bowl, and each member
[412] of the family eating from this bowl by means of an individual sheephorn
spoon."]

262 Corn was generally eaten mixed with beans, or sometimes boiled
784 with the tops of milkweed. In the winter, the nests of ground
rats were hunted and robbed of their stores of ground beans. Although
most animals were eaten, especially the buffalo and deer,
the Pawnee eschewed the meat of the wolf, coyote, otter, wildcat,
and mountain lion. Certain other food restrictions also prevailed.
Fish was prohibited to chiefs and medicine-men. The tender meat
about the buffalo's anus was a prized delicacy of the old people,
but tabooed for children, as the violation of this restriction would
bring them failure in after years when they attempted raids on
enemy villages. Nor were young men and girls supposed to eat
the stomach of the buffalo cow. To do so would cause the former
to receive many wounds on the warpath, while a girl ran the risk
of falling in a hole and injuring her leg, if, in later life, she doubted
the faithfulness of her husband and followed him to the lodge of
another woman to whom she suspected he was paying improper
attention.

224 When any of the men were away on a buffalo hunt, certain
784 restrictions on conduct were imposed on those who remained at
home. The lodge must be kept clean, especially the part about
the altar. Just before mealtimes sacrifices of corn must be made
to the skull on the altar. No menstruating woman could approach
[841] the skull, as it would anger the buffalo spirit that resided in the skull
and cause the buffalo to elude the hunters. The people at home
must always talk as though the hunters were having great success.
Especially they should speak of consecrating buffalo sacrifices to

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

relatives were intimately concerned. The mother's brother paid 855
much attention to the education of his sister's sons and daughters, in which, indeed, he took perhaps as much interest as their father.
On the paternal side the children had what were known as children's 855
rights in the father's sister's lodge. These were similar to the claims 604
which children had upon parents, but in a sense entailed even deeper obligations, for though the children might be cast out of their parents' lodge, they could still claim food and shelter in the lodge of the father's sister. Next it should be noted that the father's sister's husband became the teacher and in some degree the guardian of his wife's brother's daughter, instructing her and looking after her interests. On the death of his wife, he might marry the girl, or even her daughters if she already had a husband.

It was not learned that there was any special custom observed 841
when a girl reached her first menses, which usually occurred during [881]
her twelfth or thirteenth year. No recognition of the fact was made by the family or the tribe other than her mother or grandmother, unless she happened to be the daughter of the keeper of a sacred bundle. In this case the girl was removed to a little house, known as "place-sitting-with-blood," where she remained during her menstrual period with her grandmother. The girl neither bathed nor combed her hair and was not allowed to eat fresh meat, her food consisting chiefly of corn and pemmican brought by her mother. At the end of the period the grandmother took the girl to a creek, where they both bathed; the latter was then clothed with a new dress and was further purified by wrapping a blanket about herself and standing in the smoke rising from smoldering cedar leaves. Thereafter the grandmother took care of her in the same manner at each period of menstruation. When the girl married, she continued the custom but no one assisted her. The observance of this period was so far as possible always kept secret.

A menstruating woman was considered unclean, and the chief 784
restriction placed against her was that she should in no way come 841
in contact with the sacred bundles nor approach the objects contained in them. This restriction prohibited her from appearing at sacred bundle ceremonies. The reason seems to be based on the theory that the bundles and all objects of a religious nature carried with them their own odor, which was that of sweet grass. This odor was not only acceptable and pleasing, but it was essentially a non-human odor. The odor of the menstrual flow was considered a distinctly human odor and the presence of such a human charac-

784 teristic at a bundle ceremony would distract the attention of the
841 supernatural beings. If a menstruating woman were near a bundle
spread out as an altar, the supernatural power supposed to reside
in the objects on the altar would disappear; the corn mother would
be corn mother no longer but simply an ear of corn, the bird messenger
between the deities and man would become simply a bird skin, and
so on. The odor of blood was pleasing to the gods, but not this
kind of blood, which was associated with human passion. If a
menstruating woman should go into a ceremony of the medicine-
men, the strong human odor would cause the power of the medicine-
men to leave them, and they would fail in their sleight of hand.
The lodge where the ceremony was being held was for the time being
an animal's lodge; it was full of animal power, over which each
medicine-man was striving to make himself master. In this attempt
he would fail should a menstruating woman be present, for she
would cause him to become essentially human. What animal
power he had would quickly desert him.

881 The custom in vogue when a girl reached puberty has been noted.
882 When a boy reached this stage, there was no formal ceremony to
607 mark the event. He was, however, taken in charge by his mother's
836 brother's wife. From this time until his marriage, he maintained
sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately
after having had intercourse with this woman. When her real
husband was off hunting or on the warpath, the youth continued
marital relations with her. Thus it might happen that for four or
[595] five years a woman would have an additional "husband," or possibly
three or four, with a temporary state of polyandry thereby prevailing.
[834] No such custom as this existed for girls, as they were supposed to
remain virgins until marriage.

882 Up to this time the boy went naked, except for a blanket or robe
291 in cold weather. From then on he wore leggings, and otherwise
dressed as a man.

857 A further word should be said as to the relationship of the sexes.
Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they
neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small
grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents.
836 Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship
might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept
at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the
girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or
he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

539*

The words of the first stanza tell us that Kawas is now hovering overhead in the lodge. 796*

The eagle soars in the skies and can communicate with the powers that are above; so the eagle represents these powers. As we stand facing the east the white-eagle feathered stem, on the right, toward the south, represents brightness, the light, the day, the sun, and it is the male. It is for defense and is carried on the side farthest from the people. The brown-eagle feathered stem, Kawas, is to the left, toward the north; it represents darkness, the night, the moon, and is the female. Kawas is carried nearest the people. Kawas has the right to make the nest and to seek help from Tira'wa for the Children. 825

Kawas leads in this ceremony, which is to ask for the gift of children, not only that children may be born to us, but that the tie of parent and child may be established between us and those to whom we are bringing these sacred objects, that peace may be between the tribes, and plenty and long life and prosperity. So we sing that Kawas is hovering in the lodge as an eagle hovers over her nest. 842

This stanza is sung slowly, for the eagle as it hovers is slow in its movements.

Translation of Second Stanza

413 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
414 Kawas tewi kire hera ti rao.
  Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the beneficent powers.
  tewi, hovering, moving with a slow, circling movement.
  kire, starting to fly.
  hera, my.
  ti, possessive pronoun.
  rao, part of the word pirao, child.
415, 416 See line 414.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We sing the second stanza faster, for now Kawas has stretched her mighty wings and is flying within the lodge, driving away all harmful influences and making the place ready for all the good that is promised to us through this ceremony. 796*

When, on the fourth circuit, the west is reached, we pause and face the east, but we continue to sing until we have repeated this second stanza four times.

As soon as we have reached the west the two doctors with the eagle wings move away, the one with the left wing going by the north and the one with the right wing going toward the south. They raise and lower the wings to simulate the eagle cleaning its nest, flapping and blowing out all impurities. When the doctors meet at the east they

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the first stanza we call upon the woodpecker, who is busy making a noise, tapping upon the trees in the thick woods, and we ask him to remind his father of the promise that the storm should not come near his nest. 539* 796* 821

The woodpecker is with us on the stem, and the storm is now threatening our nest, the lodge where we are holding the ceremony, so we call on him, the woodpecker, and ask him to remind his father of the promise given. 782

The second stanza tells us that the four beings at the west speak, for when the thunders sound they all speak. These now answer the woodpecker, who has reminded them of their promise when Tira'wa atius, the father of all things, placed the bird and its nest under their protection.

If, after we have sung these stanzas, the clouds part, we know that our prayers have been heard. We all return to the lodge, and the wildcat skin is spread upon the holy place at the west, the crotched stick is put in position, the eagle stems and all the other articles are laid at ceremonial rest. When this has been done the chief takes the sacred pipe and, accompanied by the priest of the shrine containing the objects sacred to the powers of the rain, goes out and makes an offering of smoke. The priest directs the chief where to point the pipestem. By this act of offering smoke we give thanks to the powers, who have heard our prayers and averted the storm.

PRAYER FOR THE GIFT OF CHILDREN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This ceremony is very old and has now become obsolete. It is a prayer for the power of procreation. It was never performed except at the request of the Son, and was only in the interest of a man to whom children had not been born. It took place either in the early morning or at night, never during the day. 796* [782] 842

When the request for the ceremony had been made, the Ku'rahus selected a man from among the Fathers whose duty it became to carry the Son and to care for him as a father would care for a little child.

A white buffalo robe was kept for this particular ceremony. After the Son had been lifted on the back of the Father, this white robe was thrown over the two and was held together in front by the Father, as a person would hold his robe if he were carrying a child on his back. As the Father, carrying the Son, moved toward the entrance of the lodge, he was followed by the Ku'rahus and his assistant bearing the feathered stems and the chief with the cat skin and the ear of corn, while the following song was sung.

The words are: "Behold! Your father is walking with his child!" [539*]

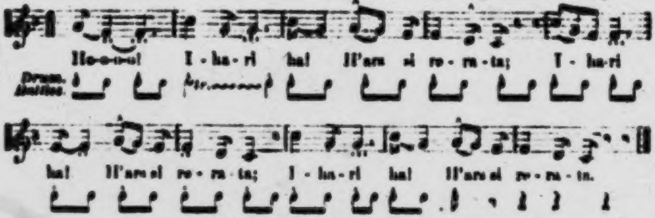
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796
● 842
[*533]

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 56.
• — Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! I - ha - ri ha! H'ars si re - ra - ta; I - ha-ri
Drum. Rattles
ha! H'ars si re - ra - ta; I - ha - ri ha! H'ars si re - ra - ta.

1332 Ho-o-o-o!
1333 Iha'ri ha! H'ars si rerata;
1334 Iha'ri ha! H'ars si rerata;
1335 Iha'ri ha! H'ars si rerata.

Translation

1332 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1333 Iha'ri ha! H'ars si rerata.
Iha'ri, a term for offspring or young; refers here to the Son.
ha! behold!
h', an abbreviation of ha, your.
ars, an abbreviation of atius, father.
si, refers to Iha'ri, in this instance the Son.
rerata, walking with.
1334, 1335 See line 1333.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Father, with the Son on his back, and the Ku'rahus and his associates had reached the open air and had gone a little distance from the lodge, the Son was taken from the back of the Father. All were now standing under the sky where they could be seen by the powers. The Son represented a little helpless child—the child that he desired the powers to give to him.

As the following song was sung the Father undressed the Son as he would a little child, and while he did so the Son prayed for the gift of children.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

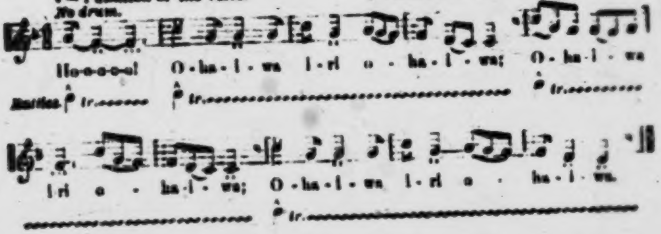
SECOND SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*
842●
[533*]

M. M. ♩= 88.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



I

1336 Ho-o-o-o-o!
1337 Ohaiwa iri ohaiwa;
1338 Ohaiwa iri ohaiwa;
1339 Ohaiwa iri ohaiwa.

II

1340 Ho-o-o-o-o!
1341 Okariwa iri okariwa;
1342 Okariwa iri okariwa;
1343 Okariwa iri okariwa

Translation

I

1336 Ho-o-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

1337 Ohaiwa iri ohaiwa.

ohaiwa, a composite word; the o is taken from okiwaaun, foam; hai is from haiwa, floating; wa is a part of nawa, now.

iri, an expression of thankfulness.

ohaiwa, translated above.

1338, 1339 See line 1337.

II

1340 Ho-o-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

1341 Okariwa iri okariwa.

okariwa, a composite word; oka, breechcloth; kari, male organ (the syllable ka is common to the first and second word); wa, from rakura, to take off.

iri, an expression of thankfulness.

okariwa, translated above.

1342, 1343 See line 1341.

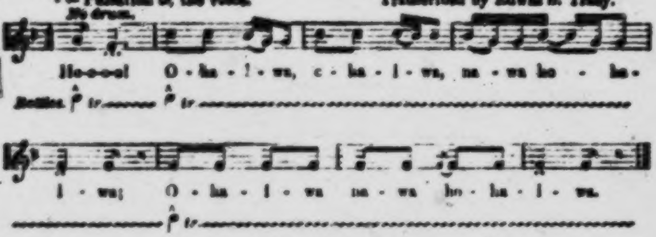
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THIRD SONG

Words and Music

*539
*796
● 842
[*533]

M. M. ♩ = 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


No drum.
Ho-o-o-o! O - ha - i - wa, o - ha - i - wa, na - wa ho - ha -
Rattles. tr tr
i - wa; O - ha - i - wa na - wa ho - ha - i - wa.
tr

I

1344 Ho-o-o-o!
1345 Ohaiwa, ohaiwa, nawa hohaiwa;
1346 Ohaiwa nawa hohaiwa.

II

1347 Ho-o-o-o!
1348 Okariwa iri okariwa okariwa;
1349 Okariwa iri okariwa.

Translation

I

1344 Ho-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.
1345 Ohaiwa, ohaiwa, nawa hohaiwa.
ohaiwa, floating foam. See line 1337.
nawa, now.
hohaiwa, to urinate.
1346 Ohaiwa nawa hohaiwa. See line 1345.

II

1347 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation
1348 Okariwa iri okariwa okariwa.
okariwa, a composite word, translated in line 1341.
iri, an expression of thankfulness.
okariwa. See line 1341.
1349 Okariwa iri okariwa. See line 1341.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

During the singing of the first stanza (third song) the Son obeyed, as a child would do, the directions given him by the Father.

As the second stanza was sung the Father reclothed the Son as he would a little child. The Son was then taken again on the back of the Father to be carried to the lodge.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

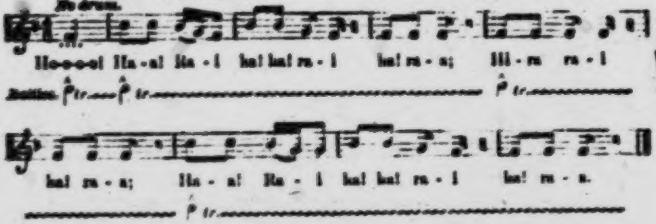
FOURTH SONG

Words and Music

539x
796x
842 ●
[533x]

M. M. ♪=132.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.


Ho-o-o-o! Ha - a! Ra - i ha! ha! ra - i ha! ra - a; Hi - ra ra - i
Rattle. tr. tr. tr.
ha! ra - a; Ha - a! Ra - i ha! ha! ra - i ha! ra - a.
tr.

I		II	
1350	Ho-o-o-o!	1354	Ho-o-o-o!
1351	Ha-a! Rai ha! ha! rai ha! ra-a;	1355	Ho-okai ha! hokai ha. ka-a;
1352	Hira rai ha! ra-a;	1356	Werawane ha! ka-a;
1353	Ha-a! Rai ha! ha! rai ha! ra-a.	1357	Ho-okai ha! hokai ha! ka-a.

Translation

I

1350 Ho-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

1351 Ha-a! Rai ha! ha! rai ha! ra-a.

ha-a! ha! behold! a, a vowel prolongation to carry the voice.
rai, coming.
ha! ha! behold!
rai, coming.
ha! behold!
ra-a; ra, a part of the word rai, coming; a, vowel prolongation.

1352 Hira rai ha! ra-a;

hira, he coming.
rai, coming.
ha! behold!
ra-a, a part of the word meaning coming.

1353 See line 1351.

II

1354 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

1355 Ho-okai ha! hokai ha! ka-a.

ho-okai; hokai, to enter; the vowel o is prolonged to carry the voice while singing.
ha! behold!
hokai, to enter, or entering.
ha! behold!
ka-a, a part of the word hokai, entering.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 1356 Werawane ha! ka-a.
werawane, spreading out the arms.
*796 ha! behold!
ka-a, part of the word hokaf, entering.
●842 1357 See line 1355.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the Father and the Son, wrapped in the white robe, turned toward the lodge, the Ku'rahus and his associates followed, and as they walked they sang the first stanza.

The words are, "Behold! He is coming! The Son is coming!"

At the door of the lodge they sang (second stanza), "Behold! He is entering!" With the word "werawane," the Father spread out his arms, loosening the white robe, but still holding it by the edges, while the Son slipped to the ground and returned to his place in the lodge, the place he had left at the beginning of the ceremony.

CHANGING A MAN'S NAME

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539
*796
563

If any man of the Son's party had achieved success in war, and his achievements had been acknowledged by the people, he could request the Son to have the ceremony of changing his name performed.

This act could take place in the afternoon of the fourth day. The Son would make the request known to the Father, the chief, who passed it on to the Ku'rahus.

If the Hako ceremony was held in an earth lodge, the Ku'rahus, accompanied by the Father and the Son, went outside and ascended the roof; there, standing before the people gathered below, the Ku'rahus recited in a loud voice the ritual used when changing a man's name.

If the Hako ceremony had been held in a tent, a semicircular inclosure was made with saplings and there, under the open sky, in the presence of all the people, the ritual was given and the name was changed.

Pawnee Text

1358 Hiri! Waku raruta sharu witi rarawa-a kiru sharu reru ki tawi rahwi-rahriso tira kahho ri wiri.
1359 Hiri! Raru ki tawi rahwi rahriso raso ti shira rutu rahwits pari usu ru i re.
1360 Hiri! Ra ru ki tawi rahwi rahriso raso ti shira ru ki tawa usu ru.
1361 Hiri! Riru tsirarn: raso rūsaq pakara ra wits pari; hiri! ti ruta; hiri! ti rakhre tararawa hut; tiri.
1362 Hiri! Riru tsirarn: raso rūsaq pakara ra wits pari; hiri! ti ruta; hiri! Tira wa. ha! tiri.
1363 Hiri! Riru tsirarn: sira waku ri kata iwa hut; hiri! ti ruta; hiri! ti'ra few tararawa hut. tiri.

174 *796 The leadership accorded to the corn indicates that an earlier form of the ceremony is to be sought among a people dependent upon agriculture, and the peculiar treatment of water would seem to have arisen in a semi-arid region. Again, the development in the purpose of the ceremony from the simple longing for offspring to the larger desire of establishing intertribal relationships was most likely to have taken place among peoples whose settled mode of life had fostered an appreciation of the benefits to be derived from peace and security.

Efforts to spread this ceremony among tribes less sedentary than those of the Mexican plateau and the Southwest may, on the one hand, have been prompted by prudential reasons, while on the other hand its adoption and promulgation over the wide territory occupied by the so-called hunting tribes marks the growth of political ideas and gives a higher place to these tribes in the line of social development than has usually been accorded them.

PURPOSE OF THE CEREMONY

*796 ● 842 571 The purpose of this ceremony was twofold: first, to benefit certain individuals by bringing to them the promise of children, long life, and plenty; second, to affect the social relations of those who took part in it, by establishing a bond between two distinct groups of persons, belonging to different clans, gentes, or tribes, which was to insure between them friendship and peace.

In every tribe where the ceremony was known this twofold purpose was recognized, and by no tribal variation in the details of the rite was it lost sight of or obscured.

[174] From a study of this ceremony it seems probable that its original instigation was a desire for offspring, that the clan or kinship group might increase in number and strength and be perpetuated through the continuous birth of children.

The ceremonial forms here used to express this desire were undoubtedly borrowed from earlier ceremonies through which the people had been familiarized with certain symbols and rites representing the creative powers. Thus, the male and female cosmic forces, symbolized in greater or less detail by day and night, sun and moon, the heavens and the earth, are found in the Hako ceremony. [772]

772 *796 The eagle and the ear of corn also represent in general the male and female forces, but each is specialized in a manner peculiar to these rites. There are two eagles; the white, representing the male, the father, the defender; and the brown, representing the female, the mother, the nestmaker (see pages 288, 289). In the treatment of these eagles the dual forces are still further represented. The feathers of the white or male eagle are hung upon a stem painted green to symbolize the earth, the female principle; while those of the brown or female eagle are hung upon the stem painted blue to symbolize the heavens, the

The unit of time is an eighth note, represented by a short dash, -; 796*
a quarter note is represented by a longer dash, two beats, —; a three- 533*
eighths note by a still longer dash, three beats, , and so on. The dots indicate the number of voice pulsations given to a tone while it is held. Where there is emphasis it is marked on the diagram by the accent sign ´.

A rhythmic rendition, which aims not only to convey the literal meaning but to embody the elucidations of the Ku'rahus as well, has [128] been made. Its words have been so chosen that the lines shall conform to the rhythm of the corresponding phrases of the songs. This rendition is for the purpose of presenting to the eye and the ear of the English reader the song as it appeals to the Pawnee who has been instructed in the rite.

The variety of rhythmic forms in the songs of the rituals offers interesting material for the study of the relation of the musical phrase to the development of metrical language. The movements which accompany each song and act of the ceremony give further testimony to the fundamental character of rhythm.

In the following analysis the scheme of the ceremony will be closely observed.

THE PREPARATION

FIRST DIVISION. INITIAL RITES

FIRST RITUAL. MAKING THE HAKO

PART I. INVOKING THE POWERS

The ceremony of the Hako, we are told by the Ku'rahus, is a prayer 796*
for offspring. It opens with a song which recalls the creation of man, 842 ●
the gifts bestowed on him by Tira'wa atius through the powers, and 539*
the establishment of rites by which he can appeal to the powers. 782
The content of the song prefigures the fulfilment of man's desire for the reproduction of his life, and the orderly approach by which he should make his desire known. Such a prefiguring seems to be essential at the opening of a ceremony to give it a supernatural warrant.

The preparation of the Hako constitutes the opening ritual, the 782
first song of which is an appeal to the lesser powers in the order of 796*
their coming near to man from the holy place, Awahokshu (first song,
line 4). They are said to descend by the four paths at the four car- 539*
dinal points (line 9), and the ceremonial motions indicating these quarters are an indirect way of mentioning the powers. Each stanza [533*]
of the appeal, falling into four musical phrases, suggests this fourfold symbol.

The appeal is in the form of a litany, each stanza beginning with a [533*]
call to "give heed," and closing with the response that heed has been given. The climax in both words and music is reached in the third phrase, which is a direct invocation of one of the powers.

847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair
842 was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could
831 not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should
753 any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names, if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years.
720 As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with
789 scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner. This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after marriage, an individual was given another name by the father. This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath,
553 our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands
159 of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best
538 horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die. After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home. When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

5, 79 James R. Murie, 1914, pp. 550-551, lists the names of thirteen villages, each of which he states had a sacred bundle, excepting the thirteenth, *Turawiu*, which was part of a village. The village names are: 361 103 778 631

1) *Turikaku* (Center Village), Evening Star bundle
2) *Kitkehaxpakuxtu* (Old Village), the four semicardinal direction bundles
3) *Tuhitspiat* (Stretching-Out-in-the-Bottomlands)
4) *Tukitskita* (Village-on-Branch-of-a-River)
5) *Tuwahukasa* (Village-Stretching-across-a-Hill), the Morning Star bundle (This bundle was divided into two.)
6) *Arikararikutsu* (Big-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
7) *Arikarariki* (Small-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
8) *Tuhutsaku* (Village-in-a-Ravine), the left hand bundle (All use left hands in the ceremony.)
9) *Tuwarakaku* (Village-in-Thick-Timber)
10) *Akapaxtsawa* (Buffalo-Skull-Painted-on-Tipi), Black Star bundle
11) *Tskisarikus* (Fish-Hawk) (Bundle buried with White Hawk.)
12) *Tstiks-kaatit* (Black-Ear-of-Corn), meaning corn-black
13) *Turawiu*, part of a village.

These were the known member villages of the Skidi political federation. According to tradition, two villages did not join—Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine) and Tskirirara (Wolf-Standing-in-Water). These two villages survived into the time of our narrative together with only two of the other thirteen, numbers 3 and 5, Tuhitspiat and Tuwahukasa. Tu- is the prefix signifying village or settlement; eight of Murie's thirteen are village names, seven of them beginning with this prefix and indicating a location, the eighth, number 2, meaning Old-Earth-Lodge Village. Four are animal names, and one, a corn name. [193]

5 In the article by Levy and Fallers, 1959, the authors comment on departures from our working model of the "nuclear" or "biological" family, questioning whether it is in fact as basic as we assume. I suggest that our working model of family life stems from the Adam and Eve story and that of the Pawnee from their interpretation of the cosmos and the nature of human life which derives from it. This fundamental difference in our viewpoints does not depend on an ignorance on the part of the Pawnees of the basic fact of physiological paternity. They believed that conception took place as a result of the combination of a male and a female substance similar to egg white in consistency—red in the case of the female and white in that of the male. 114 842

52 The "worm" love song adapted from Dunbar, 1881, p. 745 000

BIRTH

843 The first signs of pregnancy were received with rejoicing by the
married couple and their families, who at once began preparing
suitable presents for the child. During this period certain restrictions
were placed upon the expectant mother and her husband. One of
the most important of these prohibited the husband from killing
or looking at animals other than the red deer, the flesh of which
[825] only his wife was permitted to eat. If the man killed a deer, he
jumped over it twice from right to left and twice from left to right,
and then scattered a handful of dust over the animal; otherwise
the child would be influenced by the deer. If he killed or looked
at other animals, they would cause the child's appearance to be like
that of an animal.

843 This restriction is illustrated by the following two tales. Once,
538 the husband of a pregnant woman was trapping beaver and otter.
One day the man killed an otter, took it home, and skinned it in
825 the presence of his wife, so that the woman saw all that he did.
When she gave birth, the child was part otter and part human,
and died soon after. At another time a man went hunting during
his wife's pregnancy. He found a badger, shot it through the eye,
and took the skin home, showing it to his wife and relating the
circumstances of how he got it. Though she tried to prevent his
telling about it and tried not to see the skin, her child was born blind.

843 During pregnancy the wife was forbidden the use of any form
of knife in the preparation and cutting of food, for to do so would
sever the umbilical cord and cause the child to bleed to death.
The husband was also careful in the care of his ponies and kept
away from those that were lariated. Should he become entangled
[825] in the lariat the child would be strangled or injured in the delivery.
A pregnant woman refrained from drinking with a horn spoon or
[415] from a small earthenware vessel which was used as a dipper, as she
would drink in the sound supposed to reside in the utensil. The
noise would enter the embryo's ears and the child would be born
[826] deaf. In other words, practically all forms of congenital deformity
843 were ascribed to the violation of restrictions imposed during preg-
538 nancy. Even twins were supposed to owe their origin to the fact
[845] that in ancient mythological times a woman seduced a man, he
believing her to be a woman of whom he was very fond. When
they had lain together in the timber beyond the village, she jumped
up and laughed at him. In her shadow he saw her ears move and
looking closer saw a deer running away. The man in vain tried to

843 538 kill her, and after he had followed her a long distance she changed herself back into a woman. They lived together for several years. In the meantime it was thought that the man had been killed. Finally she accompanied him to his village as his wife, where she gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl. They grew up and took their proper places in the village. At first the deer wife disliked living in the village and often tried to run away, but afterwards she became reconciled and gave birth to other twins. Thereafter her descendants in the female line always gave birth to twins, and from this woman are supposed to be descended all the twins ever born among the Skidi.

843 784 Finally, it may be noted that no pregnant woman could come near the ceremonial contests where the medicine-men threw their medicine "arrows" at each other. Ordinarily she might be a very powerful medicine-woman and be able to protect herself from the "arrows" of her opponents, but during this period her thought and mind were on her child and consequently she could not ward off the "arrows," which would fly to her and kill her.

844 On the first indication of labor the husband left the lodge and did not return to his wife for four days, as his presence during this time was thought to increase the difficulty of birth. The husband continued to observe the restrictions on his conduct, such as abstention from hunting, which were in force during the period of pregnancy. [302] [773] Also he unbraided his hair and wore it loose, for it was believed that Tirawa wore his hair in this manner when he was creating the universe.

With the approach of labor the wife herself selected an old woman, who was usually a medicine-woman or the keeper of a sacred bundle, to be midwife. The latter came, bringing her medicine bag and a wooden bowl in which to wash the child. Sometimes the bowl was covered with representations of a dog, goose, deer, or some other animal, so that when the child grew up it would possess the magic power of the animal depicted. On arriving at the lodge, the midwife brought in some fresh earth and spread it upon the floor. Over this she put a thick covering of soft grass. The flow of blood following delivery could thereby be absorbed by the earth and grass and the whole easily removed. Next several parfleches were piled for a head-rest, and the pregnant woman was laid in the place prepared for her.

With the beginning of labor the mother was given some medicine by the midwife and told that it would relieve her and make for an easy birth. Should the woman give birth before the arrival of

x539 *Ti-ra'-wa* made you, and takes care of you. He will look after you,
773 but I put these things about your neck to show that I have good feelings toward you. I hope that when my child is born, the *Nahu'rac* will take care of him, and see that he grows up a good man, and I hope that *Ti-ra'-wa* will take care of you and of mine." He looked at the little bear for quite a long time, and talked to it, and then he went on his way.

When he returned to the village from his warpath, he told his wife about the little bear, and how he had looked at it and talked to it.

x539 When his child was born it had all the ways of a bear. So it is
773 among the Pawnees. A woman, before her child is born, must not
843 look hard at any animal, for the child may be like it. There was a woman in the Kit-ke-hahk'-i band, who caught a rabbit, and, because it was gentle and soft, she took it up in her hands and held it before her face and petted it, and when her child was born it had a split nose, like a rabbit. This man is still alive.

x539 This boy, who was like a bear, as he grew up, had still more the
773 ways of a bear. Often he would go off by himself, and try to pray to the bear, because he felt like a bear. He used to say, in a joking way, to the other young men, that he could make himself a bear.

After he had come to be a man, he started out once on the warpath with a party of about thirty-five others. He was the leader of the party. They went away up on the Running Water, and before they had come to any village, they were discovered by Sioux. The enemy pursued them, and surrounded them, and fought with them. The Pawnees were overpowered, their enemies were so many, and all were killed.

The country where this took place is rocky, and much cedar grows there. Many bears lived there. The battle was fought in the morning; and the Pawnees were all killed in a hollow. Right after the fight, in the afternoon, two bears came traveling along by this place. When they came to the spot where the Pawnees had been killed, they found one of the bodies, and the she bear recognized it as that of the boy who was like a bear. She called to the he bear, and said, "Here is the man that was very good to us. He often sacrificed smokes to us, and every time he ate he used always to take a piece of food and give it to us, saying, 'Here is something for you to eat. Eat this.'

kill her, and after he had followed her a long distance she changed 843
herself back into a woman. They lived together for several years. 538
In the meantime it was thought that the man had been killed. Finally she accompanied him to his village as his wife, where she gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl. They grew up and took their proper places in the village. At first the deer wife disliked living in the village and often tried to run away, but afterwards she became reconciled and gave birth to other twins. Thereafter her descendants in the female line always gave birth to twins, and from this woman are supposed to be descended all the twins ever born among the Skidi.

Finally, it may be noted that no pregnant woman could come 843
near the ceremonial contests where the medicine-men threw their 784
medicine "arrows" at each other. Ordinarily she might be a very powerful medicine-woman and be able to protect herself from the "arrows" of her opponents, but during this period her thought and mind were on her child and consequently she could not ward off the "arrows," which would fly to her and kill her.

On the first indication of labor the husband left the lodge and 844
did not return to his wife for four days, as his presence during this time was thought to increase the difficulty of birth. The husband continued to observe the restrictions on his conduct, such as abstention from hunting, which were in force during the period of pregnancy.
Also he unbraided his hair and wore it loose, for it was believed [302]
that Tirawa wore his hair in this manner when he was creating [773]
the universe.

With the approach of labor the wife herself selected an old woman, who was usually a medicine-woman or the keeper of a sacred bundle, to be midwife. The latter came, bringing her medicine bag and a wooden bowl in which to wash the child. Sometimes the bowl was covered with representations of a dog, goose, deer, or some other animal, so that when the child grew up it would possess the magic power of the animal depicted. On arriving at the lodge, the midwife brought in some fresh earth and spread it upon the floor. Over this she put a thick covering of soft grass. The flow of blood following delivery could thereby be absorbed by the earth and grass and the whole easily removed. Next several parfleches were piled for a head-rest, and the pregnant woman was laid in the place prepared for her.

With the beginning of labor the mother was given some medicine by the midwife and told that it would relieve her and make for an easy birth. Should the woman give birth before the arrival of

844 the midwife, it was said that the child was afraid of her and so
hurried and was born before she came. On the other hand, if the
birth were delayed and the confined woman in great pain, it was the
duty of her relatives to send for one or two other women to assist
the midwife. These helped in trying to hasten the birth. If they
failed, the medicine-men were called. The latter came into the lodge
755 with gourd rattles and sang their medicine songs. Then they gave
medicine to the woman. If it was time for her to give birth, it was
thought that delivery would speedily follow; if it was not time,
she would at least be relieved.

In delivery the woman usually rested on her knees, leaning
forward on a stick brought for that purpose by the midwife. Those
of high rank, belonging to the Four-Band village, were always
permitted to use a short round stake from the Northeast, or Big
778 Black Meteoric-Star bundle, on which was fastened a buffalo scalp
821 containing a chart of the constellations, and which was supposed
to have the effect of making delivery exceedingly easy.

When the child was born, the midwife cut the umbilical cord,
465 using a new knife given her as part of her pay. She rubbed ashes
upon the cord until it shrank, then she twisted it around upon the
child's navel, and tied a string around it. Contrary to the custom
much in vogue among the Plains Indians, the mother retained the
cord, wrapping it in a buckskin in a work-box; it was buried with
her and never given to the child.

846 The midwife then washed the infant with warm water and dried
854 it with buffalo wool, wrapped it in a blanket, and placed it on a
553 cradleboard. Next she bestowed a name upon the baby and gave
it to the mother's relatives. The afterbirth she disposed of in the following manner: placing it on a bunch of grass, and wrapping it in a piece of tanned buffalo-hide, she carried it outside into the woods. There she put it on a tree, saying: "I place this afterbirth upon you, that the animals may not eat it, nor the birds. You stand here firmly; let this child that I have attended grow up without sickness to be a man (or woman)." Next she said to the afterbirth: "I place you securely upon this tree, so that nothing will touch you, and so that you will turn into dust. If the mother who is sick yonder should give birth to another, make the delivery easy." The midwife then returned to the lodge.

After the dried cord broke off from the child's navel, the baby was washed in the little wooden bowl and turned over to the mother. The old woman who had acted as midwife combed and braided the

mother's hair, while the husband also braided his. If the midwife's 846
services were no longer required she was given a gift, usually con-
sisting of a bowl of corn, dried pumpkins, and perhaps a parfleche [431]
of meat.

Should a woman die in childbirth or shortly thereafter, the death 844
was generally ascribed to the violation on the woman's part of one [784]
of the taboos, especially the drinking of water, which was prohibited 847
from the first labor pains until four days after delivery. Children were never killed in case the mother died in childbirth. Infanticide seems not to have been practiced by the Skidi, and in fact all inquiries upon this point elicited astonishment that such a thing could be imagined possible. If the mother had died while giving birth, the child was taken care of by its grandmothers, generally the maternal grandmother.

Stillbirth was also considered to be the result of the mother's 845
infraction of some rule restricting her conduct during pregnancy.
In such cases the child was interred in the burial ground of the [553]
parents' village, though it was never given a name.

In olden times, at the first signs of pregnancy of the wife, the 854
grandmothers notified the wife's relatives to prepare an elm baby-
board and the husband's a board of cottonwood. After the child 846
had been born and was about to be laid on the baby-board for the 852
first time, a wildcat's skin was placed on the board and the child wrapped in clothing and put upon the skin. The midwife said: "I place you upon this board; (if a boy) you shall grow up to make many meat offerings to the gods; (if a girl) you shall grow up to increase, so that your children will do many things for the gods." The wildcat's skin was then wrapped around the child. This was equivalent to saying, "I wrap the child with the heavens," for the hide represented the sky and stars. At the time of this little ceremony the lodge was filled with both father's and mother's relatives, who
had brought with them robes, ear-rings, and other presents of all [431]
sorts for the child. Friends were also happy over the birth and came, bringing additional gifts. The young couple was especially pleased if the old women took the baby in their arms, for they believed it would increase the child's chance of reaching old age and being blessed with offspring. A few days later, the gifts brought by friends and relatives were given away, usually to poor women who had had many children and grandchildren. Thus the parents expressed their own desire for sons and daughters.

Although the Skidi medicine-men claimed to be able to cause 847
abortion by the use of roots, it was not attempted by married

rubbing after it gets wet. If the tent cover was folded when wet it would 224*
get moldy. The sinew bowstring also would be ineffective when wet. 484*
Rain had very serious consequences when they had sliced a quantity of 132
buffalo meat and were drying it on the rack. If it should be wet by a sud- [281]
den storm, the meat throughout the encampment would be spoiled. [251]
There was nothing that could be done with this meat. If one tried to eat
it, it tasted like dead wood. It fell to pieces in one's hands. Even if one
tried to cure it over a fire, it simply rotted. Meat once exposed to rain,
even after it had been cooked, became moldy next day. A rack of meat
that had been rained on was called *kariks-kutu*, "rack-dead, spoiled." The
meat had to be thrown away.

Accommodation and adjustment to rainy weather was therefore very [182]
important and a nice distinction had to be made between the problem of
delay and the risks involved.

One day word was sent to White Eagle that an important man of the 224*
Man-Going-Downstream Band was so ill that he could not go on. White 484*
Eagle had to consider very carefully whether they would go ahead and 758
leave him or delay the entire group. A day's delay might mean the 554
difference between reaching the full herd on time or finding only strag- 619
glers left after the herd had passed. Considering, however, that the Man- 622
Going-Downstream Band was in a "Child" relation in the Peace Pipe
ritual to the Skidi and was in the process of giving them a return gift of
horses, White Eagle diplomatically decided to delay the march so that
the sick man could be treated by a doctor. It was also felt that if inter-
band relationships were not solidified from time to time, one or the other
of the South Bands might conceivably be induced to collaborate with the
Sioux on some occasion. Then everyone would consider that White
Eagle had failed in his administrative functions and in his diplomacy.
The death of an influential man in another band would also be the occa- 224*
sion for delay until after the funeral. If the wife of a prominent man 484*
were about to give birth, the whole family of this tent and a doctor 554
would stay behind and wait, and White Eagle would assign one of his 764
principle braves to see that things were all right with "their Child" (in 844
terms of the calumet), while the rest of the camp moved on. In the case
of an expected birth to one of the wives of White Eagle himself, he
would request Eagle Chief to lead on and say, "My wife is going to be
sick." But Eagle Chief would refuse to go ahead saying, "I might spoil
your luck. We can go on when she's well again." Ordinarily a woman
would have to go aside while traveling and have her child in the open
aside from the line of march. Also, in the case of death, the own family
would usually stay behind and bury the person, then come on and join
the rest. After a day's delay, everyone would be glad to be moving along.

BIRTH

843 The first signs of pregnancy were received with rejoicing by the married couple and their families, who at once began preparing suitable presents for the child. During this period certain restrictions were placed upon the expectant mother and her husband. One of the most important of these prohibited the husband from killing or looking at animals other than the red deer, the flesh of which [825] only his wife was permitted to eat. If the man killed a deer, he jumped over it twice from right to left and twice from left to right, and then scattered a handful of dust over the animal; otherwise the child would be influenced by the deer. If he killed or looked at other animals, they would cause the child's appearance to be like that of an animal.

843 This restriction is illustrated by the following two tales. Once, 538 the husband of a pregnant woman was trapping beaver and otter. 825 One day the man killed an otter, took it home, and skinned it in the presence of his wife, so that the woman saw all that he did. When she gave birth, the child was part otter and part human, and died soon after. At another time a man went hunting during his wife's pregnancy. He found a badger, shot it through the eye, and took the skin home, showing it to his wife and relating the circumstances of how he got it. Though she tried to prevent his telling about it and tried not to see the skin, her child was born blind.

843 During pregnancy the wife was forbidden the use of any form of knife in the preparation and cutting of food, for to do so would sever the umbilical cord and cause the child to bleed to death. The husband was also careful in the care of his ponies and kept away from those that were lariated. Should he become entangled [825] in the lariat the child would be strangled or injured in the delivery. A pregnant woman refrained from drinking with a horn spoon or [416] from a small earthenware vessel which was used as a dipper, as she would drink in the sound supposed to reside in the utensil. The noise would enter the embryo's ears and the child would be born [826] deaf. In other words, practically all forms of congenital deformity 843 were ascribed to the violation of restrictions imposed during preg- 538 nancy. Even twins were supposed to owe their origin to the fact [845] that in ancient mythological times a woman seduced a man, he believing her to be a woman of whom he was very fond. When they had lain together in the timber beyond the village, she jumped up and laughed at him. In her shadow he saw her ears move and looking closer saw a deer running away. The man in vain tried to

mother's hair, while the husband also braided his. If the midwife's 846
services were no longer required she was given a gift, usually consisting
of a bowl of corn, dried pumpkins, and perhaps a parfleche [431]
of meat.

Should a woman die in childbirth or shortly thereafter, the death 844
was generally ascribed to the violation on the woman's part of one [184]
of the taboos, especially the drinking of water, which was prohibited 847
from the first labor pains until four days after delivery. Children
were never killed in case the mother died in childbirth. Infanticide
seems not to have been practiced by the Skidi, and in fact all inquiries
upon this point elicited astonishment that such a thing could be
imagined possible. If the mother had died while giving birth, the
child was taken care of by its grandmothers, generally the maternal
grandmother.

Stillbirth was also considered to be the result of the mother's 845
infraction of some rule restricting her conduct during pregnancy.
In such cases the child was interred in the burial ground of the [553]
parents' village, though it was never given a name.

In olden times, at the first signs of pregnancy of the wife, the 854
grandmothers notified the wife's relatives to prepare an elm babyboard
and the husband's a board of cottonwood. After the child 846
had been born and was about to be laid on the baby-board for the 852
first time, a wildcat's skin was placed on the board and the child
wrapped in clothing and put upon the skin. The midwife said:
"I place you upon this board; (if a boy) you shall grow up to make
many meat offerings to the gods; (if a girl) you shall grow up to
increase, so that your children will do many things for the gods."
The wildcat's skin was then wrapped around the child. This was
equivalent to saying, "I wrap the child with the heavens," for the
hide represented the sky and stars. At the time of this little ceremony
the lodge was filled with both father's and mother's relatives, who
had brought with them robes, ear-rings, and other presents of all [431]
sorts for the child. Friends were also happy over the birth and came,
bringing additional gifts. The young couple was especially pleased
if the old women took the baby in their arms, for they believed it
would increase the child's chance of reaching old age and being
blessed with offspring. A few days later, the gifts brought by
friends and relatives were given away, usually to poor women who
had had many children and grandchildren. Thus the parents
expressed their own desire for sons and daughters.

Although the Skidi medicine-men claimed to be able to cause 847
abortion by the use of roots, it was not attempted by married

844 the midwife, it was said that the child was afraid of her and so hurried and was born before she came. On the other hand, if the birth were delayed and the confined woman in great pain, it was the duty of her relatives to send for one or two other women to assist the midwife. These helped in trying to hasten the birth. If they failed, the medicine-men were called. The latter came into the lodge [755] with gourd rattles and sang their medicine songs. Then they gave medicine to the woman. If it was time for her to give birth, it was thought that delivery would speedily follow; if it was not time, she would at least be relieved.

In delivery the woman usually rested on her knees, leaning forward on a stick brought for that purpose by the midwife. Those of high rank, belonging to the Four-Band village, were always permitted to use a short round stake from the Northeast, or Big [778] Black Meteoric-Star bundle, on which was fastened a buffalo scalp [821] containing a chart of the constellations, and which was supposed to have the effect of making delivery exceedingly easy.

When the child was born, the midwife cut the umbilical cord, [465] using a new knife given her as part of her pay. She rubbed ashes upon the cord until it shrank, then she twisted it around upon the child's navel, and tied a string around it. Contrary to the custom much in vogue among the Plains Indians, the mother retained the cord, wrapping it in a buckskin in a work-box; it was buried with her and never given to the child.

846 The midwife then washed the infant with warm water and dried [854] it with buffalo wool, wrapped it in a blanket, and placed it on a [553] cradleboard. Next she bestowed a name upon the baby and gave it to the mother's relatives. The afterbirth she disposed of in the following manner: placing it on a bunch of grass, and wrapping it in a piece of tanned buffalo-hide, she carried it outside into the woods. There she put it on a tree, saying: "I place this afterbirth upon you, that the animals may not eat it, nor the birds. You stand here firmly; let this child that I have attended grow up without sickness to be a man (or woman)." Next she said to the afterbirth: "I place you securely upon this tree, so that nothing will touch you, and so that you will turn into dust. If the mother who is sick yonder should give birth to another, make the delivery easy." The midwife then returned to the lodge.

After the dried cord broke off from the child's navel, the baby was washed in the little wooden bowl and turned over to the mother. The old woman who had acted as midwife combed and braided the

mother's hair, while the husband also braided his. If the midwife's 846
services were no longer required she was given a gift, usually con-
sisting of a bowl of corn, dried pumpkins, and perhaps a parfleche [431]
of meat.

Should a woman die in childbirth or shortly thereafter, the death 844
was generally ascribed to the violation on the woman's part of one [184]
of the taboos, especially the drinking of water, which was prohibited 847
from the first labor pains until four days after delivery. Children were never killed in case the mother died in childbirth. Infanticide seems not to have been practiced by the Skidi, and in fact all inquiries upon this point elicited astonishment that such a thing could be imagined possible. If the mother had died while giving birth, the child was taken care of by its grandmothers, generally the maternal grandmother.

Stillbirth was also considered to be the result of the mother's 845
infraction of some rule restricting her conduct during pregnancy.
In such cases the child was interred in the burial ground of the [553]
parents' village, though it was never given a name.

In olden times, at the first signs of pregnancy of the wife, the 854
grandmothers notified the wife's relatives to prepare an elm baby-
board and the husband's a board of cottonwood. After the child 846
had been born and was about to be laid on the baby-board for the 852
first time, a wildcat's skin was placed on the board and the child wrapped in clothing and put upon the skin. The midwife said: "I place you upon this board; (if a boy) you shall grow up to make many meat offerings to the gods; (if a girl) you shall grow up to increase, so that your children will do many things for the gods." The wildcat's skin was then wrapped around the child. This was equivalent to saying, "I wrap the child with the heavens," for the hide represented the sky and stars. At the time of this little ceremony the lodge was filled with both father's and mother's relatives, who
had brought with them robes, ear-rings, and other presents of all [431]
sorts for the child. Friends were also happy over the birth and came, bringing additional gifts. The young couple was especially pleased if the old women took the baby in their arms, for they believed it would increase the child's chance of reaching old age and being blessed with offspring. A few days later, the gifts brought by friends and relatives were given away, usually to poor women who had had many children and grandchildren. Thus the parents expressed their own desire for sons and daughters.

Although the Skidi medicine-men claimed to be able to cause 847
abortion by the use of roots, it was not attempted by married

mother's hair, while the husband also braided his. If the midwife's 846
services were no longer required she was given a gift, usually consisting of a bowl of corn, dried pumpkins, and perhaps a parfleche [431]
of meat.

Should a woman die in childbirth or shortly thereafter, the death 844
was generally ascribed to the violation on the woman's part of one [784]
of the taboos, especially the drinking of water, which was prohibited 847
from the first labor pains until four days after delivery. Children were never killed in case the mother died in childbirth. Infanticide seems not to have been practiced by the Skidi, and in fact all inquiries upon this point elicited astonishment that such a thing could be imagined possible. If the mother had died while giving birth, the child was taken care of by its grandmothers, generally the maternal grandmother.

Stillbirth was also considered to be the result of the mother's 845
infraction of some rule restricting her conduct during pregnancy. In such cases the child was interred in the burial ground of the [553]
parents' village, though it was never given a name.

In olden times, at the first signs of pregnancy of the wife, the 854
grandmothers notified the wife's relatives to prepare an elm baby- 846
board and the husband's a board of cottonwood. After the child had been born and was about to be laid on the baby-board for the 852
first time, a wildcat's skin was placed on the board and the child wrapped in clothing and put upon the skin. The midwife said: "I place you upon this board; (if a boy) you shall grow up to make many meat offerings to the gods; (if a girl) you shall grow up to increase, so that your children will do many things for the gods." The wildcat's skin was then wrapped around the child. This was equivalent to saying, "I wrap the child with the heavens," for the hide represented the sky and stars. At the time of this little ceremony the lodge was filled with both father's and mother's relatives, who had brought with them robes, ear-rings, and other presents of all [431]
sorts for the child. Friends were also happy over the birth and came, bringing additional gifts. The young couple was especially pleased if the old women took the baby in their arms, for they believed it would increase the child's chance of reaching old age and being blessed with offspring. A few days later, the gifts brought by friends and relatives were given away, usually to poor women who had had many children and grandchildren. Thus the parents expressed their own desire for sons and daughters.

Although the Skidi medicine-men claimed to be able to cause 847
abortion by the use of roots, it was not attempted by married

847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair
849 was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could
831 not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should
any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would
753 become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren
women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names, if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years.
[725] As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with
782 scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing
on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner. This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after marriage, an individual was given another name by the father. This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath,
553 our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands
159 of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best
horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man
538 between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off
my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die. After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home. When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

girl who was in no position to carry the responsibilities of a mature woman would normally marry a mature man. The situation finally reversed itself when, after a marriage to an older man, the woman attains maturity and the competence to maintain a household. She is now in a position to choose a handsome young man as a second husband. The young man on his part finally gains maturity at the age of forty and can sue for the hand of a young girl of fifteen and join a household where his capabilities will be appreciated. The father and father's brothers of the girl will look around for such a person for their daughter and will be glad to entertain his suit. In fact, as a young girl gained her maturity, numbers of such men would sue for her hand. The "fathers" might have some scruples about the suitors that already had a wife, chiefly because of the ill feeling it might generate between the households involved. But a man was not compelled to limit his marital relations to one woman or to one household so long as he could fulfill his obligations, i.e., provide meat for all through his exceptional talents as a hunter and horses and other luxury goods through his special ability as a warrior that could bring home booty. There was thus a certain fluidity about the marriage situation, although some marriages did last for many years. 58

A proper marriage was arranged with considerable formality, with special acts and mutual gift-giving on the part of both families. The element that determined the most binding unions was a substantial gift of horses to the girl's family by the suitor. The amount of the gift was a mark of the esteem in which the bride was held, and, even in the 1920's, one old woman mentioned with pride from time to time that six horses were given for her. As a woman got older, a marriage involved less and less property consideration, although a man suing for the hand of a woman in her prime would be likely to give a horse to her brother or a relative who stood in an analogous relationship as a mark of his respect for her and an earnest of good faith with her family. Everyone felt that an informal liaison without some family arrangements was bound to be a passing thing. 583

A man's obligations to his children were to some extent independent of these considerations. The Pawnees were very literal about fatherhood. For a child to be accepted in the community with any decent status, its physiological father must be known. In any given month from one menstrual period to the next, a woman had to confine her sexual activities to one man only, and when she was aware through the cessation of menstruation that she had conceived, she was required to notify the man and point out on what occasion of intercourse together the child was conceived. The man was then obligated, until the child reached full maturity of eighteen or more, to provide it with fresh meat in whatever household it might be residing and in other ways to be concerned with its well-being. A woman who departed from this iron-clad rule was unable to 851 848 [834]

851 convince a man of his physiological paternity, and her child would then
be a social outcast. It would be known as *pira-paru*, "hidden child,"
848 since the mother would be ashamed and try to hide it when her brothers
came to visit. The child would be subject to many insults and humiliations throughout its life. In these terms, whatever the sentiments of the parents for each other, the child always had a legal right to the care of both its parents, clearly identified as its physical progenitors. Children were normally cared for by their grandmothers, and it was quite possible that various fortunes placed the child in one household with its grandmother, its mother in another household, and the father in still another. The obligations for support, however, remained incumbent on both parents.

593 The household as a working group of coordinated members was pre-
cisely organized, and each household had the same general structure.
221 However, twice a year when the tribe set out on its semiannual buffalo
hunts, the household work group fragmented itself into many smaller groupings, which reassorted themselves so that an able hunter became the nucleus of each new composite grouping. When they returned to the village the households did not necessarily reassemble with the same personnel as before. This was entirely optional, and there were many reasons why people might decide to join a different household group than the one they had been with before leaving. However, it was not too hard to establish a working household on this basis even twice a year, since the pattern of operation was the same everywhere. The three duplicate stations on the north and south sides of the lodge with their full complement of the young, mature, and old women was a frame into which any individual woman could fit herself in whatever household she entered with little loss of efficiency, since her duties were so clearly defined once she selected the category to which she belonged. And a child with a grandmother to care for it could fit in anywhere. Young men led a more transient existence. They were likely to congregate at different times in one lodge or another, and a bed would be made for them by putting down a mat between the central pillars and providing it with the necessary skin bedding. Old men also moved about rather freely, staying overnight in various households whenever they were detained late of an evening telling stories or participating in a ceremony. As for the mature man, his married-in household was not considered his "true" home. In his married-in household he was an outsider with formal obligations, which sometimes tended to weigh rather heavily on him. Then he would go where his home really was—that of his sisters and his mother, where they would gladly feed him and take care of him and where he could relax
621 and feel like a child. When this happened, his wife understood, and she
622 knew he would be back after a few days.

821 The only stable and fixed unit of Pawnee life was the village with
778

girl who was in no position to carry the responsibilities of a mature 58
woman would normally marry a mature man. The situation finally reversed itself when, after a marriage to an older man, the woman attains maturity and the competence to maintain a household. She is now in a position to choose a handsome young man as a second husband. The young man on his part finally gains maturity at the age of forty and can sue for the hand of a young girl of fifteen and join a household where his capabilities will be appreciated. The father and father's brothers of the girl will look around for such a person for their daughter and will be glad to entertain his suit. In fact, as a young girl gained her maturity, numbers of such men would sue for her hand. The "fathers" might have some scruples about the suitors that already had a wife, chiefly because of the ill feeling it might generate between the households involved. But a man was not compelled to limit his marital relations to one woman or to one household so long as he could fulfill his obligations, i.e., provide meat for all through his exceptional talents as a hunter and horses and other luxury goods through his special ability as a warrior that could bring home booty. There was thus a certain fluidity about the marriage situation, although some marriages did last for many years.

A proper marriage was arranged with considerable formality, with spe- 583
cial acts and mutual gift-giving on the part of both families. The element that determined the most binding unions was a substantial gift of horses to the girl's family by the suitor. The amount of the gift was a mark of the esteem in which the bride was held, and, even in the 1920's, one old woman mentioned with pride from time to time that six horses were given for her. As a woman got older, a marriage involved less and less property consideration, although a man suing for the hand of a woman in her prime would be likely to give a horse to her brother or a relative who stood in an analogous relationship as a mark of his respect for her and an earnest of good faith with her family. Everyone felt that an informal liaison without some family arrangements was bound to be a passing thing.

A man's obligations to his children were to some extent independent 851
of these considerations. The Pawnees were very literal about fatherhood. 848
For a child to be accepted in the community with any decent status, its
physiological father must be known. In any given month from one men- [834]
strual period to the next, a woman had to confine her sexual activities to one man only, and when she was aware through the cessation of menstruation that she had conceived, she was required to notify the man and point out on what occasion of intercourse together the child was conceived. The man was then obligated, until the child reached full maturity of eighteen or more, to provide it with fresh meat in whatever household it might be residing and in other ways to be concerned with its well-being. A woman who departed from this iron-clad rule was unable to

851 convince a man of his physiological paternity, and her child would then be a social outcast. It would be known as *pira-paru*, "hidden child," 848 since the mother would be ashamed and try to hide it when her brothers came to visit. The child would be subject to many insults and humiliations throughout its life. In these terms, whatever the sentiments of the parents for each other, the child always had a legal right to the care of both its parents, clearly identified as its physical progenitors. Children were normally cared for by their grandmothers, and it was quite possible that various fortunes placed the child in one household with its grandmother, its mother in another household, and the father in still another. The obligations for support, however, remained incumbent on both parents.

593 The household as a working group of coordinated members was precisely organized, and each household had the same general structure. 221 However, twice a year when the tribe set out on its semiannual buffalo hunts, the household work group fragmented itself into many smaller groupings, which reassorted themselves so that an able hunter became the nucleus of each new composite grouping. When they returned to the village the households did not necessarily reassemble with the same personnel as before. This was entirely optional, and there were many reasons why people might decide to join a different household group than the one they had been with before leaving. However, it was not too hard to establish a working household on this basis even twice a year, since the pattern of operation was the same everywhere. The three duplicate stations on the north and south sides of the lodge with their full complement of the young, mature, and old women was a frame into which any individual woman could fit herself in whatever household she entered with little loss of efficiency, since her duties were so clearly defined once she selected the category to which she belonged. And a child with a grandmother to care for it could fit in anywhere. Young men led a more transient existence. They were likely to congregate at different times in one lodge or another, and a bed would be made for them by putting down a mat between the central pillars and providing it with the necessary skin bedding. Old men also moved about rather freely, staying overnight in various households whenever they were detained late of an evening telling stories or participating in a ceremony. As for the mature man, his married-in household was not considered his "true" home. In his married-in household he was an outsider with formal obligations, which sometimes tended to weigh rather heavily on him. Then he would go where his home really was—that of his sisters and his mother, wh[illegible] they would gladly feed him and take care of him and where he could relax 621 and feel like a child. When this happened, his wife understood, and she 622 knew he would be back after a few days.

821 The only stable and fixed unit of Pawnee life was the village with
778

dipped a horn spoon into the corn and placed the food near the lance. He made four passes with his hands towards the lance, 575 then he placed the corn upon the rim of the fireplace, on the west side. He then took a piece of fat to the pile of corn, placed the fat on the corn, greased his hands and then made four passes over the lance with his hands. Then he handed the horn spoon to one of the men, who said, "Nawa." They ate and were dismissed.

During the buffalo hunt it was customary for this society to follow at the rear of the procession. These men were once overtaken by the enemy. [726] Their first act was to string the buffalo rope through their belts and thus they fought. When one of their number was killed, he was dragged around as the others fought. Eventually they were all killed. The society was never again reorganized.

Once a man had a lance made as he wished to start the society again. A young man took it and went to hunt buffalo. He was attacked by the enemy, killed, and the lance taken away from him. Since then, the lance [787] was never made and was considered an evil omen.

THE BRAVE RAVEN SOCIETY.

This is the important society among the Chaui and seems to have had a double function in that its emblem could lead the hunt as well as the line of battle. Among the Skidi it was a minor organization. The origin of this society is an integral part of the ritual for the leading Chaui bundle of which the head chief is the keeper but not the priest. This bundle is in two parts, or two bundles. The main bundle contained the ceremonial objects and was directly associated with the ritual; the secondary bundle contained the skins and feathers of birds. When a boy kills his first bird [224] with an arrow, he naturally runs with it to his father. The father may [852] then take his boy by the hand and lead him to the priest of the bundle, to whom the dead bird is presented. The priest thanks the boy and blesses him, after which the father and son go home.

After formally notifying the chief, or keeper of the bundle, the priest prepares the skin of the bird and puts it up to dry for four days. Then he takes it in and ceremoniously places it in the bundle, taking care to be able to identify it later.

During the autumn hunt the leader of the brave society notifies the members that the time has come for the gathering of sinew and the reserving of dried meat for the lance-renewing ceremony in the spring. Twelve volunteers are secured for this service. Each kills a buffalo and removes the sinew from the shoulders and back which is then dried and carefully packed away.

mother's hair, while the husband also braided his. If the midwife's 846
services were no longer required she was given a gift, usually con-
sisting of a bowl of corn, dried pumpkins, and perhaps a parfleche [431]
of meat.

Should a woman die in childbirth or shortly thereafter, the death 844
was generally ascribed to the violation on the woman's part of one [784]
of the taboos, especially the drinking of water, which was prohibited 847
from the first labor pains until four days after delivery. Children were never killed in case the mother died in childbirth. Infanticide seems not to have been practiced by the Skidi, and in fact all inquiries upon this point elicited astonishment that such a thing could be imagined possible. If the mother had died while giving birth, the child was taken care of by its grandmothers, generally the maternal grandmother.

Stillbirth was also considered to be the result of the mother's 845
infraction of some rule restricting her conduct during pregnancy.
In such cases the child was interred in the burial ground of the [553]
parents' village, though it was never given a name.

In olden times, at the first signs of pregnancy of the wife, the 854
grandmothers notified the wife's relatives to prepare an elm baby-
board and the husband's a board of cottonwood. After the child 846
had been born and was about to be laid on the baby-board for the 852
first time, a wildcat's skin was placed on the board and the child wrapped in clothing and put upon the skin. The midwife said: "I place you upon this board; (if a boy) you shall grow up to make many meat offerings to the gods; (if a girl) you shall grow up to increase, so that your children will do many things for the gods." The wildcat's skin was then wrapped around the child. This was equivalent to saying, "I wrap the child with the heavens," for the hide represented the sky and stars. At the time of this little ceremony the lodge was filled with both father's and mother's relatives, who
had brought with them robes, ear-rings, and other presents of all [431]
sorts for the child. Friends were also happy over the birth and came, bringing additional gifts. The young couple was especially pleased if the old women took the baby in their arms, for they believed it would increase the child's chance of reaching old age and being blessed with offspring. A few days later, the gifts brought by friends and relatives were given away, usually to poor women who had had many children and grandchildren. Thus the parents expressed their own desire for sons and daughters.

Although the Skidi medicine-men claimed to be able to cause 847
abortion by the use of roots, it was not attempted by married

and thought that I was dead but found afterwards that I was only 726
asleep. In my sleep, I saw a buffalo bull sitting by the water's 553
edge waving his tongue in the water. As I went up to him I saw 159
that he was watching me. He spoke to me and said: 'My son, you 538
are wounded, but you are not going to die; I shall take care of you.' When I regained consciousness, I was feeling sick. I wanted to vomit. I vomited a lump of white stuff. The medicine-men cut it open, and there was a piece of strouding inside it. This was a piece that had been shot into me from my breech cloth. I soon became well. Then I took the name of Buffalo-waving-its-Mouth-in-Water."

"There was a young man who had never been on the warpath, but was always making fun of other young men who came back from the warpath without any ponies or scalps. This young man made up his mind one day that he would go on the warpath. So he sat down in his lodge and invited a few of his friends. He told them that he was thinking about going on the warpath, and if they wanted to go he would like to go with them. The young men all said they would go. The young man kept the others in his lodge all day and all night. Just before sunrise they started out. They travelled far and a little before noon they stopped in a hollow, and the young man selected scouts and sent them out. The scouts came back and reported that there was a war-party close by, that the men were holding some kind of a council, and that their ponies were not very close. The young man gave instructions for every one to get ready. They walked along the ravines until they came to the ponies, which they captured and mounted. Then they attacked the enemy while they were holding council. The boys killed several of the enemy and drove the others away, came back and took scalps, and then returned home. They set the prairies afire, took the charred grass and put it upon their faces and bodies. They were received by the people and the boy told the old men that he had
taken a scalp, which he wanted to offer to the gods, and that he [782]
wanted his name changed. So the scalp was offered to the gods,
and his name was changed to Noon, for he said: 'By noon time I
had captured the enemy's ponies, killed several men, and taken [551]
their scalps, so I shall be known as Noon-Day Man.'"

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

The usual period of nursing was about three years; if a woman 853 ●
nursed a child for a longer time other women would make fun of
her. Children were told by their mothers to bury their milk teeth, 854
856

are whole tones between B flat and C, and between F and G. A 533*
similar melodic form occurs in Nos. 5 and 53. This song is transcribed
with the signature of the key of F and classified with songs lacking the
third above the keynote. The repetitions of the rhythmic unit are
six in number and comprise the entire melody. Slight differences
in the note values of the rhythmic unit occur in the latter part of
the song.

The tenth obstacle was not encountered by Morning Star until after 773
he entered the lodge of Evening Star. The obstacle was a snake, but
he overcame it, as he had overcome the others, by means of the ball of
fire and the song.

Evening Star saw that his power was greater than hers, but she determined to hold him aloof as long as possible. Finally she insisted
that he make provision for the child that should be born; she even
required him to provide perfumed water for bathing the child and a [854]
cradle board in which it should be placed. On the hoop, or arch, of
this cradle board was painted a morning star and the lightnings, this [531]
custom being followed by the Pawnee at the present time. Evening
Star also required him to plant a tree in front of the lodge so that the
mocking birds might nest there and sing to the child. From this union
a daughter was born. She came down to earth and wandered about
in fear. As she was running hither and thither she met a boy, the
child of Sun and Moon, and these two became the ancestors of the
human race.

Morning Star made a bundle and placed in it various articles con- 778
nected with the obstacles he had overcome on his westward journey. 773
He left this bundle with Evening Star and for that reason a woman has
always been the keeper of the sacred bundle. Other articles have
been added from time to time and will be noted in this paper.

It is said that Evening Star required a human sacrifice as her reward. 796
This sacrifice must be a pure and beautiful maiden and she demanded 773
that the sacrifice be repeated annually. Long ago, Morning Star 782
sometimes appeared to a man in a dream and told him to secure a
maiden for this sacrifice. According to Linton, a man who had this [787]
vision went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received
the warrior's costume and the sacred objects kept for such an ex- 796
pedition. Other warriors joined him and, preliminary to the expedi- 782
tion, they enacted the journey of the Morning Star, and sang the
song with which he overcame the obstacles placed in his way.
(Cf. Song No. 1.) When the ceremony ended it was almost time for
the Morning Star to rise and the leader went outside the lodge and
addressed an invocation to him. After dancing furiously around their
fire and offering a last prayer to Morning Star the warriors started
forth and captured a maiden from the enemy. Returning, they gave

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of 796
"song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The 778
outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread
on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a
pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native
tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of
corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip inclined
toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and
the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a
white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws [825
of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal 821]
is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason
the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In [854]
accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her
arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She [201]
then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between
the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial
lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies [302]
were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder
mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire
was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was [372]
intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was 796
served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful
of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung [415]
on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled [262]
in the usual manner.

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning 796
Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and 778
were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening
Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle 173
and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side.
The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge
of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however,
forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close
the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured
four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black.
The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star
and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards
the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe
secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It
is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to
have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow [411]
is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

---

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

844 the midwife, it was said that the child was afraid of her and so hurried and was born before she came. On the other hand, if the birth were delayed and the confined woman in great pain, it was the duty of her relatives to send for one or two other women to assist the midwife. These helped in trying to hasten the birth. If they failed, the medicine-men were called. 755 The latter came into the lodge with gourd rattles and sang their medicine songs. Then they gave medicine to the woman. If it was time for her to give birth, it was thought that delivery would speedily follow; if it was not time, she would at least be relieved.

In delivery the woman usually rested on her knees, leaning forward on a stick brought for that purpose by the midwife. Those of high rank, belonging to the Four-Band village, were always permitted to use a short round stake from the Northeast, or Big 778 Black Meteoric-Star bundle, on which was fastened a buffalo scalp 821 containing a chart of the constellations, and which was supposed to have the effect of making delivery exceedingly easy.

When the child was born, the midwife cut the umbilical cord, 465 using a new knife given her as part of her pay. She rubbed ashes upon the cord until it shrank, then she twisted it around upon the child's navel, and tied a string around it. Contrary to the custom much in vogue among the Plains Indians, the mother retained the cord, wrapping it in a buckskin in a work-box; it was buried with her and never given to the child.

846 The midwife then washed the infant with warm water and dried 854 it with buffalo wool, wrapped it in a blanket, and placed it on a 553 cradleboard. Next she bestowed a name upon the baby and gave it to the mother's relatives. The afterbirth she disposed of in the following manner: placing it on a bunch of grass, and wrapping it in a piece of tanned buffalo-hide, she carried it outside into the woods. There she put it on a tree, saying: "I place this afterbirth upon you, that the animals may not eat it, nor the birds. You stand here firmly; let this child that I have attended grow up without sickness to be a man (or woman)." Next she said to the afterbirth: "I place you securely upon this tree, so that nothing will touch you, and so that you will turn into dust. If the mother who is sick yonder should give birth to another, make the delivery easy." The midwife then returned to the lodge.

After the dried cord broke off from the child's navel, the baby was washed in the little wooden bowl and turned over to the mother. The old woman who had acted as midwife combed and braided the

mother's hair, while the husband also braided his. If the midwife's 846
services were no longer required she was given a gift, usually consisting
of a bowl of corn, dried pumpkins, and perhaps a parfleche [431]
of meat.

Should a woman die in childbirth or shortly thereafter, the death 844
was generally ascribed to the violation on the woman's part of one [784]
of the taboos, especially the drinking of water, which was prohibited 847
from the first labor pains until four days after delivery. Children
were never killed in case the mother died in childbirth. Infanticide
seems not to have been practiced by the Skidi, and in fact all inquiries
upon this point elicited astonishment that such a thing could be
imagined possible. If the mother had died while giving birth, the
child was taken care of by its grandmothers, generally the maternal
grandmother.

Stillbirth was also considered to be the result of the mother's 845
infraction of some rule restricting her conduct during pregnancy.
In such cases the child was interred in the burial ground of the [553]
parents' village, though it was never given a name.

In olden times, at the first signs of pregnancy of the wife, the 854 ●
grandmothers notified the wife's relatives to prepare an elm babyboard
and the husband's a board of cottonwood. After the child 846
had been born and was about to be laid on the baby-board for the 852
first time, a wildcat's skin was placed on the board and the child
wrapped in clothing and put upon the skin. The midwife said:
"I place you upon this board; (if a boy) you shall grow up to make
many meat offerings to the gods; (if a girl) you shall grow up to
increase, so that your children will do many things for the gods."
The wildcat's skin was then wrapped around the child. This was
equivalent to saying, "I wrap the child with the heavens," for the
hide represented the sky and stars. At the time of this little ceremony
the lodge was filled with both father's and mother's relatives, who
had brought with them robes, ear-rings, and other presents of all [431]
sorts for the child. Friends were also happy over the birth and came,
bringing additional gifts. The young couple was especially pleased
if the old women took the baby in their arms, for they believed it
would increase the child's chance of reaching old age and being
blessed with offspring. A few days later, the gifts brought by
friends and relatives were given away, usually to poor women who
had had many children and grandchildren. Thus the parents
expressed their own desire for sons and daughters.

Although the Skidi medicine-men claimed to be able to cause 847
abortion by the use of roots, it was not attempted by married

and thought that I was dead but found afterwards that I was only 736
asleep. In my sleep, I saw a buffalo bull sitting by the water's 553
edge waving his tongue in the water. As I went up to him I saw 159
that he was watching me. He spoke to me and said: 'My son, you 538
are wounded, but you are not going to die; I shall take care of you.' When I regained consciousness, I was feeling sick. I wanted to vomit. I vomited a lump of white stuff. The medicine-men cut it open, and there was a piece of strouding inside it. This was a piece that had been shot into me from my breech cloth. I soon became well. Then I took the name of Buffalo-waving-its-Mouth-in-Water."

"There was a young man who had never been on the warpath, but was always making fun of other young men who came back from the warpath without any ponies or scalps. This young man made up his mind one day that he would go on the warpath. So he sat down in his lodge and invited a few of his friends. He told them that he was thinking about going on the warpath, and if they wanted to go he would like to go with them. The young men all said they would go. The young man kept the others in his lodge all day and all night. Just before sunrise they started out. They travelled far and a little before noon they stopped in a hollow, and the young man selected scouts and sent them out. The scouts came back and reported that there was a war-party close by, that the men were holding some kind of a council, and that their ponies were not very close. The young man gave instructions for every one to get ready. They walked along the ravines until they came to the ponies, which they captured and mounted. Then they attacked the enemy while they were holding council. The boys killed several of the enemy and drove the others away, came back and took scalps, and then returned home. They set the prairies afire, took the charred grass and put it upon their faces and bodies. They were received by the people and the boy told the old men that he had
taken a scalp, which he wanted to offer to the gods, and that he [982]
wanted his name changed. So the scalp was offered to the gods,
and his name was changed to Noon, for he said: 'By noon time I [551]
had captured the enemy's ponies, killed several men, and taken
their scalps, so I shall be known as Noon-Day Man.' "

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

The usual period of nursing was about three years; if a woman 853
nursed a child for a longer time other women would make fun of
her. Children were told by their mothers to bury their milk teeth, 854
856

854 as rapidly as they were shed, just underneath the ground within the 856 lodge on the south side, and to say to a tooth as they buried it: "Make my other teeth grow quickly."

861 855 The early training of the child was largely in the hands of the [603] grandmothers, who took it upon themselves to give instruction in [867] tribal and family ethics. They assumed the right to enforce their injunctions and commands by blows or by the use of the whip, and it is claimed that in former times, before the Skidi had been modified through contact with white men, the rearing of children was very strict and they were often scolded and severely punished by the father, mother, or grandparents. Aside from the deference young children were supposed to pay adults, they were taught to show respect for their parents by not molesting them, to remain silent when older people were talking, to refrain from approaching too closely the altar in the earth lodge, and carefully to avoid making a disturbance about the scenes of ceremonies. During this period 867 an older sister might assist in correcting the child. As a boy grew 868 older he was given technical instruction by his grandfathers in the making of bows and arrows, in the playing of games, etc. Girls [603] were taught by their grandmothers to prepare food, to dress hides, and to do the work which fell to the lot of women. This early training was often supplemented by the telling of myths containing some moral precept. For example, the child was told not to steal, the point being especially illustrated by the tale of the boy who stole his sister's seed corn, and, because he grew angry for being scolded, turned into an eagle. This particular story also has reference to the respect and affection with which siblings were taught to regard one another. Brotherly love was specially emphasized. Boys were told that in later years they should love their brothers even more than their wives, for there is a well-known saying among the Skidi [765] that at a man's death his brother will mutilate himself with grief and his sister cut her hair and mourn sincerely, but his wife will simulate tears by spitting in her hands, while she peeps through her fingers looking for another husband. [Also stated elsewhere as: "Brother and sister will mutilate themselves, but your wife will never throw a piece of her vulva in your grave."] Love and respect of parents were also emphasized as something to be maintained throughout life and never neglected, for the duties of parents to children and children to parents never ended.

855 Although the training of children was primarily under the immediate direction of the parents and grandparents, certain other

Their dress consists of leggings, generally made of scarlet cloth; 291
over which a piece of blue or brown woollen cloth is tied around
the waist, the ends lapping over each other, and extending a little
below the knees. The upper dress consists of a shirt or short
gown, made of calico, reaching to the middle. Over the whole a
blanket or robe is slung, above which, on the back, may frequent- 854
ly be discovered the black sparkling eyes of a little "papoose"
peering forth.

INTOXICATING DRINK.—It is somewhat remarkable, that the 273
Pawnees are not so fond of "fire water," as other tribes, who are
fast dwindling away from the demoralizing and debasing effects of
intoxicating drink. Nothing, perhaps, has aided more in dimin-
ishing the population of different Indian tribes, than spirituous
liquors. To the missionary, it is always gratifying and encoura-
ging to observe, when a tribe takes a bold stand against the intro-
duction of this destructive poison. The Pawnees allow none to
be brought into their villages.

BURYING THEIR DEAD.—On the highest mounds in the prairie, 764
we often observed little hillocks of earth, which we were inform-
ed, were the places of sepulture of their chiefs and others of their
tribe. A tall bush was frequently stuck in the ground, to desig-
nate the spot. We were also informed, that among the Pawnees,
and other wild tribes, the cruel practice prevails, when they are 888
on their hunt, and their old people get so feeble, that they can no
longer accompany them, of leaving them behind, and even bury-
ing them alive.—In allusion to this fact, Mr. Allis, pointing to
their old and feeble chief, addressed the other chiefs as follows:
"I have learned, that you intend to put aside your old chief, be-
cause he is now feeble and sickly, and perhaps you will even think
of burying him, when he can no longer follow you; but I want
you to take care of him. He has been like a father to you. When
he was yet strong, you know his kettle was always over the fire
with plenty. He has always been a friend of the whites, and you
ought to esteem him for the services he has rendered your nation,
and not to bury him before he is dead."

More might be added, to show the wretchedness of their pres- 000
ent state, but we should fear to become too tedious. Sufficient,
however, has been said, to prove, that these poor people need the
assistance of missionaries to better them in their outward condition.
But, when we consider their spiritual destitution,—their ignorance,
darkness, and superstition,—

Shall WE whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall WE to men benighted
The lamp of life deny?"

*172 in a somewhat fragmentary condition when found, it has been quite
322 accurately restored by Mr. Hill, and all of the features, such as the
412 legs and the cavity, were reconstructed on the basis of pieces that
clearly showed the original shape.

Though scarce in an archeological way, these mortars were apparently in common use in historic times. According to Irving,[80] they were hollowed out "by kindling a fire upon the top of a block of wood, into which it gradually sinks itself, until it forms a sort of bowl." They were usually of about the size above described or slightly larger, and were used for grinding corn, "by using a billet of wood as a pestle".[81] From this report it would appear that the wooden mortar was used in place of the stone metate, which is further indicated by the almost total absence of the latter; the perishable nature of the wood accounts for the rarity of mortars of that material.

*172 BOWLS.—Three of these have been recovered from graves at the
Hill site and are almost complete. One specimen is 8 inches in dia-
322 meter, 2½ inches deep, and a half inch in thickness, with a sharp
415 lip; one side is continued up an inch or so higher and prolonged
into a sort of unperforated lug or tab. Another vessel is 5½ inches across, 2½ inches deep, and three-eighths inch thick, with a rounded lip. The third is deeper and more like a mug; it measures 4 inches in diameter, 3 inches in minimum and 5 inches in maximum depth, with a flat bottom. On the highest side is an ear; the walls are quite thin and the lip flares outward somewhat. None of the pieces shows the concentric growth rings, thus suggesting that they were made by steaming and bending into shape slabs from the side rather than from the cross section of the tree.

Fragments of small, thin-walled wooden vessels were recovered from burial 3 at the Hill site by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, but were inadequate for a proper reconstruction.

PLATTERS.—The one example so far found is 11 inches in diameter, less than an inch deep, and has a thickness of a half inch or thereabouts. The edge is round and shows much wear, as in fact does the vessel in general. It tends to crack in a somewhat parallel fashion entirely across the width, rather than radially from the center, suggesting that it is made of a slab from the side of a tree. It was found in a grave at the Hill site.

*172 CRADLE BOARD (?).—Few whole or even nearly complete cradle
322 boards have been recovered. The finest specimen, which may or may
•854 not be correctly designated, was found in a grave at the Hill site. It
measures 30 inches long by 11 inches wide, with a 1¼-inch border.

---

[80] 1835, vol. ii, p. 85.

[81] Ibid.

The border is carved with zigzag lightning symbols. The emblem 172* of the sun, 5 inches in diameter, with 4 long and 12 short rays, 322 is neatly cut into the upper part of the piece, which is further embellished 854 with brass-headed tacks (Nebr. Hist. Mag., x, 3, 1927, p. 192). It is a most unusual and attractive piece of work and was very likely made by Indian craftsmen. Fragments of other nicely decorated boards have been recovered, but none is sufficiently large to permit a good reconstruction.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Wooden boxes and chests, bound with leather or 172* metal and studded with large-headed nails, are not uncommon, 322 though always in fragmentary condition. Wooden-backed mirrors, sheaths, and numerous other odds and ends are frequently found, nearly always with rows of nails as ornamental features. The clumsy workmanship probably indicates that most of them were made by the Indians themselves, in imitation of the white man's articles. Occasionally a better piece is recovered, perhaps with a lock or hinge, these being probably imported and trade articles. Pipestems [276] of light carved wood have been found in a few cases but were too fragmentary for accurate restoration.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

GLASS BEADS.—These were in very extensive use by the Pawnee 172* after the arrival among them of white traders. Small white, blue, 301 and red beads, of transparent glass, are by far the commonest, especially 439 in graves, while black appears relatively infrequently. Tubular porcelain beads, less than one-half inch long, are also found, though not very plentiful. Large, irregularly shaped blue, red, and colorless beads, mostly translucent, have been regarded as of Indian manufacture because of their crudity (pl. 8, *n*). Samples of these were submitted to M. W. Stirling, of the Smithsonian Institution, for examination and were pronounced by him to be trade material from the Hudson Bay Co., probably via the Missouri.[33] All of these were from the Hill site, abandoned about 1810. There is thus no positive evidence that the Pawnee ever manufactured their own glass beads, though the custom was followed by the Arikara, Mandan, and other upper Missouri River tribes in historic times.[34]

METAL WORK.—Iron and copper become increasingly common with 172* recency. Iron "squaw" hoes, gun parts, axes, chisels, bridles, stir- 439 rups, knives, and innumerable other odds and ends abound on the 177

---

[33] Letter of Oct. 13, 1930.

[34] Lewis and Clark, 1922, vol. I, p. 233. However, excavation at the Burkett site in April 1931 yielded a number of turquoise-blue, glass beads of rough manufacture and imperfect glass. According to Dr. W. D. Strong, these are closely similar to a native-made specimen of glass work secured by Dr. Mathew among the Arikara in 1870, now in the National Museum. [114]

854 as rapidly as they were shed, just underneath the ground within the
856 lodge on the south side, and to say to a tooth as they buried it:
"Make my other teeth grow quickly."

861 ● 855 The early training of the child was largely in the hands of the
[603] grandmothers, who took it upon themselves to give instruction in
[867] tribal and family ethics. They assumed the right to enforce their
injunctions and commands by blows or by the use of the whip, and
it is claimed that in former times, before the Skidi had been modified
through contact with white men, the rearing of children was very
strict and they were often scolded and severely punished by the
father, mother, or grandparents. Aside from the deference young
children were supposed to pay adults, they were taught to show
respect for their parents by not molesting them, to remain silent
when older people were talking, to refrain from approaching too
closely the altar in the earth lodge, and carefully to avoid making
a disturbance about the scenes of ceremonies. During this period
867 an older sister might assist in correcting the child. As a boy grew
868 older he was given technical instruction by his grandfathers in the
making of bows and arrows, in the playing of games, etc. Girls
[603] were taught by their grandmothers to prepare food, to dress hides,
and to do the work which fell to the lot of women. This early training
was often supplemented by the telling of myths containing some
moral precept. For example, the child was told not to steal, the
point being especially illustrated by the tale of the boy who stole
his sister's seed corn, and, because he grew angry for being scolded,
turned into an eagle. This particular story also has reference to
the respect and affection with which siblings were taught to regard
one another. Brotherly love was specially emphasized. Boys were
told that in later years they should love their brothers even more
than their wives, for there is a well-known saying among the Skidi
[765] that at a man's death his brother will mutilate himself with grief
and his sister cut her hair and mourn sincerely, but his wife will simulate tears by spitting in her hands, while she peeps through her fingers looking for another husband. [Also stated elsewhere as: "Brother and sister will mutilate themselves, but your wife will never throw a piece of her vulva in your grave."] Love and respect of parents were also emphasized as something to be maintained throughout life and never neglected, for the duties of parents to children and children to parents never ended.

855 Although the training of children was primarily under the immediate direction of the parents and grandparents, certain other

relatives were intimately concerned. The mother's brother paid 855
much attention to the education of his sister's sons and daughters,
in which, indeed, he took perhaps as much interest as their father.
On the paternal side the children had what were known as children's 855
rights in the father's sister's lodge. These were similar to the claims 604
which children had upon parents, but in a sense entailed even deeper
obligations, for though the children might be cast out of their
parents' lodge, they could still claim food and shelter in the lodge
of the father's sister. Next it should be noted that the father's
sister's husband became the teacher and in some degree the guardian
of his wife's brother's daughter, instructing her and looking after
her interests. On the death of his wife, he might marry the girl,
or even her daughters if she already had a husband.

It was not learned that there was any special custom observed 841
when a girl reached her first menses, which usually occurred during [881]
her twelfth or thirteenth year. No recognition of the fact was made
by the family or the tribe other than her mother or grandmother,
unless she happened to be the daughter of the keeper of a sacred
bundle. In this case the girl was removed to a little house, known
as "place-sitting-with-blood," where she remained during her
menstrual period with her grandmother. The girl neither bathed
nor combed her hair and was not allowed to eat fresh meat, her food
consisting chiefly of corn and pemmican brought by her mother.
At the end of the period the grandmother took the girl to a creek,
where they both bathed; the latter was then clothed with a new
dress and was further purified by wrapping a blanket about herself
and standing in the smoke rising from smoldering cedar leaves.
Thereafter the grandmother took care of her in the same manner
at each period of menstruation. When the girl married, she continued
the custom but no one assisted her. The observance of this period
was so far as possible always kept secret.

A menstruating woman was considered unclean, and the chief 784
restriction placed against her was that she should in no way come 841
in contact with the sacred bundles nor approach the objects contained
in them. This restriction prohibited her from appearing at
sacred bundle ceremonies. The reason seems to be based on the
theory that the bundles and all objects of a religious nature carried
with them their own odor, which was that of sweet grass. This
odor was not only acceptable and pleasing, but it was essentially
a non-human odor. The odor of the menstrual flow was considered
a distinctly human odor and the presence of such a human charac-

vidual embraced responsibility; he had no inclination to shirk it. In a 264
sense, the rhythm of Pawnee work life was like a ballet, whereas ours is 571
like a prison lockstep: "You must, you must, you must get to work!"

The day's routine in our Pawnee household began when either Vic- 512
tory Call or Old Bull happened to awaken; this depended on which one 592
decided to get out of bed first. Or else White Woman or Queen Woman
might be the first to awaken, and then she would remind her husband
that it was morning. From the time one or the other of the two men got
out of bed, the day's program was set; the others simply followed the
initial cue. When the man had gotten out of his bed he went outside and
inspected the horizon and the stars, came in and kindled the fire, and
said, "Fire's made." His senior wife then got up and started the breakfast.
As observed by one of the contemporary missionaries in 1837, the rest fol-
lowed with precision. The minor cycles of household operation were also
conducted in a similar mode. Someone felt impelled to take care of a
needed task and mentioned it and volunteers were forthcoming without
further ado. Pressure and compulsion are implicit in our attitude toward
work; voluntarism was the Pawnee way.

The functions of the women in the earth lodge were subdivided 462
roughly according to age. The north and south quarters of the circum- 562
ference of the house were each subdivided into three "stations." The
central one of these (due north and due south) was the core position 592
and it was occupied by the mature women of the lodge. They furnished 561
the main provisions and directed the necessary work. At the inner or
western station on each side was the place of the immature girls and
newly married young women. The outer or eastern station on each side
was for the old women, symbolically on the way out and physically near-
est to the exit (or entryway) of the lodge. Most commonly each of
these stations was occupied by several women who carried out its special
functions jointly.

The details of the function of the central station have been mentioned 855
above in connection with general household operations. The other two 603
stations supplemented it in very different ways. At the east stations for
the old women, the children past the age of infancy were cared for, the 887
old women being referred to by the children as "grandmothers," regard- 592
less of the actual biological kinship. The children slept in the beds with
their "grandmothers" and shared a bowl of food with them at meals.
Grandma saw that they were warm and well fed and tried to help them in
every way. She was a permissive, familiar, kind person to whom the child
could always appeal. Between grandma and grandchild there was neither
formality nor constraint. Jokes were made about a boy saying, "Look
how close he sticks to his grandma; he wants to marry her!" or "There
he goes always running to his grandma." Besides child care, the grand- 887
mother would give a good deal of assistance to "the senior women of the 592

the edges through a series of little holes. The beaver skins that they 281
trapped for sale to the traders, were treated in the same way.

The men made their own saddles and horse trappings, some of deer 282
and some of buffalo hide. All men made these for themselves and dressed 492
the deer hides, even Eagle Chief himself. But buffalo hide was gotten 462
from the women. They made saddles, bridles, stirrups, and saddle bags. For saddle bags, discarded buffalo robes were obtained from the women. The saddles were made either of deer and deer horns or wood and buffalo hide. The horn saddle took four or five days; the buffalo hide ten to fifteen. The men worked hard on their saddles and decorated them elabo- [531]
rately.

The basic clothing was cut out and sewn with an awl and sinew by the 291
women. The women wore a wrap-around skirt, an overblouse, leggings [294]
fastened at the knee, and moccasins. The skirt, of tanned deer hide, reached just below the knee with the closing at the right side. It was fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. If no deer hide was available, they used a very soft buffalo hide.

The blouse was a simple sleeveless pullover extending down over the waist so that it covered the top of the skirt and the belt that held it in place. It was made of an oblong piece of skin folded in two and cut out for the neck and armholes so that it would not rub against the underarm. (See Figure 48-1.) It was sewn along the sides with sinew, the seams extending just a little below the waist. The bottom section that reached toward the hips was left unsewn on the two sides. Around the neck was a scarf about 4 inches wide sewn across the back and reaching over the shoulders so that it could be turned up in cold weather for protection. The neck was provided with a drawstring whose ends hung down in front unless they wanted to draw the blouse close together around the throat.

Until the age of five or six, the little girls ran around naked, but then 855 •
they had to have a little wraparound skirt of buckskin with a drawstring 291
at the top. They would always complain that it was too loose, for it was usually made to allow for growth; when the little girl complained her mother would say, "Oh, go on, you'll grow soon," or "After all, it might shrink."

Leggings of tanned deer or elk hide were worn by all the women, and 291
these were tied around under the knee and turned down over the tie string at the top. For both men and women, they made two-piece moccasins with hard soles and softer uppers. Those of the Skidi were below [84]
the ankle and those of the South Bands a little above.

The clothing of the men, besides the basic garments, included a num- [292]
ber of ceremonial trappings or some that signified special rank or achievement. The main clothes were a loincloth, leggings, and moccasins.

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they 291
sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair
turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moccasin
to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the
padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of [294)
buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-soled
moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one
section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a
time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary
pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good
pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole [296]
was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced.
On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en
route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in [855]
winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring
were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to protect
them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accommodate
the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a 294
pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare 476
time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have [461]
to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My
husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins.
Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were [602]
likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other [465]
women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of
calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's 291
Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would 721
need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would
be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men 292
to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstanding 554
symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them.
Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while
such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory
Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family,
while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative
of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could
wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a [463]
specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the [465]
maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the [727]
sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill [237]
work down the length of the shirt itself. [531]

and thought that I was dead but found afterwards that I was only 736
asleep. In my sleep, I saw a buffalo bull sitting by the water's 553
edge waving his tongue in the water. As I went up to him I saw 159
that he was watching me. He spoke to me and said: 'My son, you 538
are wounded, but you are not going to die; I shall take care of you.' When I regained consciousness, I was feeling sick. I wanted to vomit. I vomited a lump of white stuff. The medicine-men cut it open, and there was a piece of strouding inside it. This was a piece that had been shot into me from my breech cloth. I soon became well. Then I took the name of Buffalo-waving-its-Mouth-in-Water."

"There was a young man who had never been on the warpath, but was always making fun of other young men who came back from the warpath without any ponies or scalps. This young man made up his mind one day that he would go on the warpath. So he sat down in his lodge and invited a few of his friends. He told them that he was thinking about going on the warpath, and if they wanted to go he would like to go with them. The young men all said they would go. The young man kept the others in his lodge all day and all night. Just before sunrise they started out. They travelled far and a little before noon they stopped in a hollow, and the young man selected scouts and sent them out. The scouts came back and reported that there was a war-party close by, that the men were holding some kind of a council, and that their ponies were not very close. The young man gave instructions for every one to get ready. They walked along the ravines until they came to the ponies, which they captured and mounted. Then they attacked the enemy while they were holding council. The boys killed several of the enemy and drove the others away, came back and took scalps, and then returned home. They set the prairies afire, took the charred grass and put it upon their faces and bodies. They were received by the people and the boy told the old men that he had
taken a scalp, which he wanted to offer to the gods, and that he [782]
wanted his name changed. So the scalp was offered to the gods,
and his name was changed to Noon, for he said: 'By noon time I [551]
had captured the enemy's ponies, killed several men, and taken
their scalps, so I shall be known as Noon-Day Man.' "

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

The usual period of nursing was about three years; if a woman 853
nursed a child for a longer time other women would make fun of
her. Children were told by their mothers to bury their milk teeth, 854
856

854 as rapidly as they were shed, just underneath the ground within the
● 856 lodge on the south side, and to say to a tooth as they buried it:
"Make my other teeth grow quickly."

861 855 The early training of the child was largely in the hands of the
[603] grandmothers, who took it upon themselves to give instruction in
[867] tribal and family ethics. They assumed the right to enforce their
injunctions and commands by blows or by the use of the whip, and
it is claimed that in former times, before the Skidi had been modified
through contact with white men, the rearing of children was very
strict and they were often scolded and severely punished by the
father, mother, or grandparents. Aside from the deference young
children were supposed to pay adults, they were taught to show
respect for their parents by not molesting them, to remain silent
when older people were talking, to refrain from approaching too
closely the altar in the earth lodge, and carefully to avoid making
a disturbance about the scenes of ceremonies. During this period
867 an older sister might assist in correcting the child. As a boy grew
868 older he was given technical instruction by his grandfathers in the
making of bows and arrows, in the playing of games, etc. Girls
[603] were taught by their grandmothers to prepare food, to dress hides,
and to do the work which fell to the lot of women. This early training
was often supplemented by the telling of myths containing some
moral precept. For example, the child was told not to steal, the
point being especially illustrated by the tale of the boy who stole
his sister's seed corn, and, because he grew angry for being scolded,
turned into an eagle. This particular story also has reference to
the respect and affection with which siblings were taught to regard
one another. Brotherly love was specially emphasized. Boys were
told that in later years they should love their brothers even more
than their wives, for there is a well-known saying among the Skidi
[765] that at a man's death his brother will mutilate himself with grief
and his sister cut her hair and mourn sincerely, but his wife will simulate
tears by spitting in her hands, while she peeps through her fingers
looking for another husband. [Also stated elsewhere as: "Brother
and sister will mutilate themselves, but your wife will never throw
a piece of her vulva in your grave."] Love and respect of parents
were also emphasized as something to be maintained throughout
life and never neglected, for the duties of parents to children and
children to parents never ended.

855 Although the training of children was primarily under the
immediate direction of the parents and grandparents, certain other

VI.

THE OLD PAWNEE HAND GAME[1]

When the Pawnee lived in Nebraska, and for some time after 525
they removed to Oklahoma, the hand game kept its traditional
place in Pawnee life as a gambling game. It was a game for men
only, and primarily an adults' game; the women did not participate [562]
and were not supposed to come near where the men were playing.
The game was conceived as a warpath, and so dramatized: and
warpaths for the Pawnee were activities excluding the participation
of women. The men's game was usually a contest between two [574]
Pawnee bands, in which one would visit the other for the express
purpose of playing a hand game and gambling on the result.
Small boys, in imitation of their elders, would play hand games and
gamble. And in the same way that one Pawnee band visited
another to challenge them to play the hand game, men of one
Pawnee band would visit a tribe with whom they were on friendly
terms for a hand-game contest. For the most part, it was a game
for the younger men; maturer men, like chiefs and braves, usually [885]
did not gamble.

The three old types of play will be more lucid from short narratives[2]:

THE BOYS' HAND GAME

When small boys played a hand game, it came about as part of 525
their play around the village. Some group of boys would decide to 857
play the way their elders did, and as many or as few as there were,

---

[1] The old Pawnee gambling hand game has not heretofore been described. Culin, in his monographic treatment of Games of the North American Indians, quotes, p. 276, on Pawnee a passage from G. B. Grinnell, Story of the Indian, p. 27. The description of the method of play in the passage differs fundamentally from that herein reported. Examination shows that [114]
the quoted passage is a generalized description by Grinnell of the hand game among Indian tribes of the Plains. No reference suggests that he intended it as a description of play among the Pawnee. Culin was no doubt misled by the fact that, following the passage quoted, Grinnell tells the story of a game between Pawnee and Cheyenne scouts in the army, in which a Cheyenne was caught cheating; but in recounting this episode Grinnell does not describe the form of play. Grinnell was familiar with the game among more than eight tribes, and was probably not overconcerned in a popular treatment with the local tribal variations in play.

[2] As told by Mark Evarts; somewhat edited.

525 they would go off somewhat from the village and choose sides.
857 Someone of them would find sticks and break up eight sticks to
make a tally set, and would make two little rings of willow to use as the counters to hide. Some of the boys would steal wood from the woodpiles in the lodges or around the tipis, and build a fire where the boys had decided to play.

When they had the place ready and the fire going, each boy would make up his own mind which side he would be on, so long as the division came out evenly; and each side selected its own leader. To the boys it made no difference what the orientation of their arrangements were: if the sides were north of the fire and south of the fire, or east of the fire and west of it, made little difference to them. Usually they had the scorekeepers at the west, in imitation of their elders. The boys would bet anything they had, such as things they wore, betting on the outcome of the individual games, and would go on playing games as long as a losing side had anything they could put up against the winnings of their opponents. They picked their guessers and decided for themselves which side should guess first. In the play of the game, they followed out the game as given above, playing it and scoring it the usual way. They kept no order in giving the willow rings to players to hide, giving them as much as possible to boys who were known to be good hiders and quick and adept at deception. Their principal object was to win the game, on the outcome of which they had wagered shirts, rings and other things that could not well be spared.

525 The boys sang songs to the play of the game, and accompanied
the singing with hand-clapping. The side which held the willow-
533 rings did the singing and hand-clapping, using it to confuse the
857 guesser. The songs were boys' songs essentially, that they had
made up at one time or another, or that they had learned from other boys, although when possible they learned and used adult songs. They were often coarse and always more or less funny. Such refrains as the following are typical:

"My grandmother's out of joint" etc. (referring to her knee).

"My grandmother fell—she raised a cloud of dust", etc.

[831] "Hurry up grandma and come, come quick we want to win."

"The balls swing round, swing round," etc. (referring to the
[603] testicles).

The songs indicate the license in speech and action between boys and their grandmothers, which accurately reflects the family conditions.

525 The boys who held the willow-rings to hide would motion with
857 their hands back and forth; they made efforts to deceive as well

as confuse, and it seems likely, that, as in the adults' game, the 525 hidden rings were shifted back and forth from hand to hand as 857 adeptly as possible. Often the boys would fight over the play of the game. The guesser particularly had to be bold and fearless because even when he won the willow-rings, those who held them 156 would often refuse to give them up. Then he had to fight for them.

THE INTER-BAND GAME

The men's game as played by Pawnee bands against each other 525 is illustrated by the following narrative of a game played in Okla- 619 homa in early days by the Kitkahaxki^{x} against the Skiri.

A Kitkahaxki^{x} man who wanted to go to play the Skiri, asked a friend to join him as assistant leader, and got together a party of Kitkahaxki^{x} youths. Mark Evarts, a Skiri, was then a boy at school, and a friend of the Kitkahaxki^{x} organizer. This man asked Mark to join the party so Mark started off with the Kitkahaxki^{x}. As he passed under the windows of the girls' dormitory building, a girl leaned out and called, "Where are you going, Mark?" He answered, "We're going to play a hand game, give me something to take along," whereat she threw down a shawl of hers for him to take along to bet with. Each member of the party carried a supply of articles to wager. The leader carried a pipe.

The leader spoke of their going saying, "Well, we're going on the warpath to play the Skiri a hand game."

When they got to the Skiri village, the village crier came out and asked, "What is it?" The Kithahaxki^{x} leader, carrying the pipe, replied, "We've come on the warpath for the hand game." At that the old crier ran back and began calling out through the encampment, "there's a party from the west have come to our Skiri camp on the warpath for the hand game. Now boys get the wood and pile it up right here." Boys began to haul wood and heap it up in one place outdoors. A crowd of Skiri gathered around the visiting party. Knifechief, as the Skiri leader, took the Kitkahaxki^{x} leader and two or three others home to supper. Other members of the party were taken into other lodges to eat. While they were eating, a large fire was started outside on the game ground. Soon the announcer could be heard outside calling, "Come on everybody."

They form two halves of a circle. The Kitkahaxki^{x} sit in a semi-circle on the west side of the fire, from north to south, the Skiri on the east side from north to south. The two leaders of their sides sit at the north with the eight tally sticks in one bunch between them. All the Skiri players are seated. (Fig. 1) They are the home players. They outnumber the visiting challengers. Skiri

784 teristic at a bundle ceremony would distract the attention of the
841 supernatural beings. If a menstruating woman were near a bundle spread out as an altar, the supernatural power supposed to reside in the objects on the altar would disappear; the corn mother would be corn mother no longer but simply an ear of corn, the bird messenger between the deities and man would become simply a bird skin, and so on. The odor of blood was pleasing to the gods, but not this kind of blood, which was associated with human passion. If a menstruating woman should go into a ceremony of the medicine-men, the strong human odor would cause the power of the medicine-men to leave them, and they would fail in their sleight of hand. The lodge where the ceremony was being held was for the time being an animal's lodge; it was full of animal power, over which each medicine-man was striving to make himself master. In this attempt he would fail should a menstruating woman be present, for she would cause him to become essentially human. What animal power he had would quickly desert him.

881 The custom in vogue when a girl reached puberty has been noted.
882 When a boy reached this stage, there was no formal ceremony to
607 mark the event. He was, however, taken in charge by his mother's
836 brother's wife. From this time until his marriage, he maintained sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately after having had intercourse with this woman. When her real husband was off hunting or on the warpath, the youth continued marital relations with her. Thus it might happen that for four or
[595] five years a woman would have an additional "husband," or possibly three or four, with a temporary state of polyandry thereby prevailing.
[834] No such custom as this existed for girls, as they were supposed to remain virgins until marriage.

882 Up to this time the boy went naked, except for a blanket or robe
291 in cold weather. From then on he wore leggings, and otherwise dressed as a man.

● 857 A further word should be said as to the relationship of the sexes. Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents.
836 Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this

472 then they charge backward and forward in wild affright, neighing
484 shrilly, until they have again found their proper place in the line of
224 march. Many of the yearling colts have very small and light packs
tied on their backs, while the two-year-olds are often ridden by the
tiniest of Indian boys, who are now giving them their first lesson in
weight-carrying. Loose horses of all ages roam about at will, and
their continual cries mingle with the barking of dogs, the calls of
women and the yells of boys, and make an unceasing noise.

484 The boys are boiling over with animal spirits, and, like their civil-
224 ized brothers of the same age, are continually running about, chas-
● [857] ing each other, wrestling, shooting arrows and playing games, of
which the familiar stick game seems the favorite.

Whenever the column draws near any cover, which may shelter game, such as a few bushes in a ravine, or the fringe of low willows along some little watercourse, the younger men and boys scatter out and surround it. They beat it in the most thorough manner, and any game which it contains is driven out on the prairie, surrounded and killed. The appearance even of a jackass rabbit throws the boys into a fever of excitement, and causes them to shriek and yell as if in a frenzy.

All the morning I rode with the Indians, either at the head of the
column, chatting as best I could with *Pi'ta Le-shar* and other chiefs,
or falling back and riding among the women and children, whom
224 I never tired of watching. Frequently during the day I saw at a dis-
tance, on the prairie, small bunches of buffalo in full flight, hotly
pursued by dark-skinned riders, and occasionally two or three men
would ride up to the marching columns with heavy loads of freshly-
killed meat. The quick-heaving, wet flanks of the ponies told a story
of sharp, rapid chases, and their tossing heads and eager, excited looks
showed how much interest they took in the hunt.

224 The report of firearms was seldom heard. Most of the Indians
411 hunted with the primitive weapon of their forefathers—the bow and
arrow. For buffalo running an arrow is nearly as effective as lead.
The power of the bow in expert hands is tremendous. Riding within
half a dozen yards of the victim's side, the practiced bowman
will drive the dart so far through the body of the buffalo that its
shaft may project a foot or more from the opposite side—some-

224 Often it was impossible to determine whether these figures were horsemen or buffalo, but sometimes, far away, I could see a mimic chase in which pursuer and pursued appeared no larger than ants.

● 857 223 454 As I came up with the Indians, they were just descending into the stream bottom, where camp was to be made. The small boys had, as usual, dispersed themselves over the valley and among the underbrush. Many of the squaws, leaving the ponies and packs to their sister-wives or children, were hurrying up or down the stream to gather wood. Already the leading ponies were being relieved of their loads. Suddenly, from the mouth of a little ravine coming down into the stream bottom, rose a chorus of shrill yelps and shrieks from childish throats, and a gang of wild turkeys were seen, running rapidly through the high grass toward the hills. A moment later, with a loud *quit-quit* of alarm, they took wing, but not before several of their number had fallen before the missiles of the boys. Most of them went up or down the creek, but one inexperienced bird took its course directly over our heads.

223 [152] [609] Those who have seen the Indian only on dress parade, talk of his stolidity, impassiveness, and his marvelous control over his countenance and his emotions. This demeanor he can and does assume, and when he is with white men, or among strangers, he is usually all that he has been pictured; but take him by himself, and he expresses his feelings with as little restraint as a child. So it was now. No grave chief, nor battle-scarred warrior, nor mighty worker of *ti-war'-uks-ti* (magic) was too dignified to express his interest at the appearance of this great bird sailing laboriously along, thirty or forty feet above him. It was as if the turkey had flown over a great company of schoolboys, and the utter abandonment of the excited multitude, the entire absence of restraint, the perfect naturalness of the expression of feeling, had in them something very delightful and infectious. Every Indian, who held in his hand anything that was light enough to throw, hurled it at the bird, and a cloud of whips, sticks, hatchets, fleshers, and arrows, rose to meet it as it passed along. One missile knocked from its tail a few long feathers, which drifted slowly down on the heads of the people. It kept on, but before it had passed beyond the long line of Indians extending back over the

The boy was also taught that his paternal aunt whom he called *atira,* 604
"my mother," would also give him a home. If the relationship were good he would come to her house and say, "*Tatiriraka,* I have a home here," and he could request a permanent or a temporary home with these relatives. He might remark, "*Atira,* I'm hungry," or "mother, I'm tired. I want a place to sleep here." The brothers of these women were called *atias,* "my father," but no fatherly conduct was expected of them as they were married into different households. Formal behavior such as characterized the relation between father and son was the only thing expected of them. The husbands of these kindly paternal aunts were called *atipat,* "grandpa," possibly to denote their unfailing benevolence toward the "child" to match that of their wives. Periodically, while the individuals [574]
in this relationship were still children, they would be invited to the house and "grandpa" would feast them on some delicacies that he had bought at the trade store, joking with them all the while.

The boy Otter enjoyed such a place in the home of Eagle Chief. The 602
three wives of Eagle Chief were sisters to Victory Call, who often went 574
there to relax and to enjoy their hospitality. Otter called these women, *atira* and he called Eagle Chief *atipat.* Eagle Chief would decide upon occasion to entertain four or five children who were in this relation to him as a courtesy to his wives and incidentally as a good public relations gesture for himself, for a chief had to maintain the good will of his constituency. He would go to the trade store and get some favorite foods [439]
such as dried prunes, flour, sugar, and coffee and then would send his wives to invite the children. The children sat lined up in a row and Eagle Chief began to tease them. He said, "Look at that fellow. He has two heads. See how he's looking all around the room to see what he can find." Then he would speak to the girls, "Look at that girl painting her face. Is that my paint?" Or he would say to his wives, "Don't give this fellow too many prunes. I think I'll eat them myself this evening." The women would answer with mock hostility, "Well, it's *theirs.* You bought it for *them* to eat." "Say," Eagle Chief would continue, "this fellow eats too fast." "Let them eat!" said the women. "The way you go on, the children might choke. Say, let them eat. Now children don't listen to [857]
him!" If they had a piece of fried bread left from the feast the children would try to carry it home to their mothers, but most of the time the older children would grab it as they went through the village.

The joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild was an 603
important social resource. At a family meal where they should have light and cheerful conversation, they would prod a small boy into teas- 602
ing his "grandpa." If no grandfather were available, they would indicate to the boy that he ought to pay more attention to his brother's wife—the "brother" usually being a quite distant blood relative and an older man. Otter was in such a relationship with Old Bull and they called

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you) 539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tihi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562
fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the house-
hold routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [684]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 885
occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 525
ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de-
velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi [887]
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521
[797]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

571 and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and
521 often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque grouping
and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for
[551] a tall, slender person, ***asu-katu-has-tawiu*** ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of
a shoe string), or ***karastiat*** ("I will not go out"); ***kusatsua*** ("it will rain").
In reply, ***A*** ("well"), ***uksawatsatsua*** ("even if it were to rain"), ***kaiit***
("salt"); ***karas*** ("are you?").

857 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and
858 types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous
867 than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in
early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their
boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them
with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was
said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the
trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom
retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not
[601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small
group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term
[551] of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would
use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey,
etc.

883 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out
572 to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more
lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen
or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the
[726] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside
for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions
into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various
Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these
contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous
occasions.

533 Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the
song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the
[726] night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through
the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching.
Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs
that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do
not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns
the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two
young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting,
and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true
to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar,
[539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Finally they had the formal procession in which all the sacred objects 796
were carried down to the stream. The chief who was to lead the procession 783
was called by the priest and dressed in the clothes that had just been 778
donated. The sacred pipe from the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle was placed in his hands. The bundle keepers retrieved the sacred ears of corn from the "Garden" and placed them next to their bundles. A prominent warrior who had ownership rights to the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle led the main body of the procession bearing the star chart. Immediately following him were to be three men with quivers from the sacred bundles. These four sat near the entrance, lined up one behind the other, while arrangements were being made for the bearers of the rest of the objects. Meanwhile men from different villages had come in and seated themselves in front of their respective village bundles. Two men from each were selected to carry the "Mothers" or sacred ears of corn, others to carry the hawkskins symbolizing warriors and owlskins symbolizing chiefs that were also contained in the bundles. And last of all, the leading chief who was to head the procession went out and rounded up all the little boys he could find—an act signifying his watchfulness over the people. The little boys were given minor objects from the sacred bundles to carry, particularly the raccoon bones attached to the sticks with [857] which meat was removed from the soup during the ceremonial banquets, or the arrowshafts used as pipe tampers and sticks to tend the fire.

Now there was a race to the river; the priests singing and shaking their gourd rattles while the objects were being given out. When they got to the fourth song, the warrior with the star chart jumped up and began to run toward the river as fast as he could, the quiver bearers close behind him. As they pushed out through the long entryway of the lodge, everyone tried to follow, and anyone who overtook the man with the star chart on the way to the river took it from him and ran on until he came to the bank where it was returned to him.

The crowd standing along the river bank now grouped itself into four symmetrical rows. In the first row, front center, was the warrior with his star chart. He was flanked on both sides by the men with quivers, who were in turn flanked by the men with the sacred ears of corn. In the second row were the men with hawkskins and owlskins. In the third row were people with less important bundle objects such as braids of sweetgrass usually burned as incense, buckskin pouches containing red, black, and white paints, pieces of enemy scalp, and other objects peculiar to the particular sacred bundle. Finally, bringing up the rear in the fourth row were the little boys with their raccoon bone forks, arrowshaft fire pokers, and pipe tampers.

The group now parted ranks. Down the middle came the chief carrying the sacred pipe to the water. He waded in and symbolically washed himself by dipping his right hand and then his left into the water, each

224*

was made in oblong form about three feet long and a foot and a half wide, 484*
with its long axis running north–south. 342

The next step was to get everything in order for cooking. They had 359
enough water, and now they needed wood for fuel. As she was peg- 313
ging down the tent, No Corn remarked to her husband, Horse Rider, 224*
"We're pretty nearly finished now and we have no wood." Then he 484*
would go off carrying a long rope. He used the rope as a kind of lasso: attaching a stick about a foot long to the end, he would throw it up around a dry cottonwood limb and the cord would wind itself around the limb so that it could be pulled down. It would take considerable skill to pull it down without having it fall on your head, which sometimes happened despite the best of care. Horse Rider tried to get enough wood to last them for that evening and the next day while they stayed at the rendezvous camp. Some of the wood he gathered from the ground, tied it up
with his cord, and came into camp carrying it on his back. As soon as he 224*
got in, he made the fire and White Woman began to cook. They had a 484*
simple meal of bread and coffee and some sand cherries for dessert. No 252
Corn volunteered to make the coffee. While the cooking was going on, [272]
the old ladies were stretched out resting, and Victory Call was doing the
same. Everyone was very tired. It was proper to joke a bit while the [522]
food was being prepared and during the meal. Horse Rider began to tease No Corn about how she had fallen in the water.

Immediately after supper the women cleared up the dishes and sat 224*
down to rest—tired from all their work. Horse Rider went off to see 484*
how the horses were getting along and Victory Call went up and sat on top of one of the sand hills to have a smoke and to look around and at the encampment below. Presently five or six men joined him for a smoke and some conversation.

The boy Otter ran off at once to the river to go swimming with the rest 224*
of the children. On the way he saw some other little boys leaning over a 484*
pond. "See the sunfish. Let's 'choke' them!" They tied some bread to the 857 •
end of a string and let it down into the pond and as the fish bit, they pulled
them up and 'choked' them. Then the boys went off and gave the fish to 224*
an old woman who was living alone in a shelter she had built for herself. 484*
Her relatives gave her something, but would not take care of her and she 888
had no other place to go. "Here, grandma," they said, "Here's some fish." "That's fine," said the old lady. Later that summer while they were setting up camp one day, the boys came to give her fish and she was dead.
They dug a hole in the embankment against which she had been leaning [764]
and buried her there. Man Chief, who was Eagle Chief's son, and a generous young man, gave a red blanket to wrap her in. There were only one or two old women alone like this. Sometimes while they were on the hunt, such old people would say, "Just give me enough to eat and go on."

51

THINGS OF WOOD MADE BY MAN

000

The Bow—the Bowstring—the Arrow—the Pipestems—the Stone Bowl—the Individual Styles of Bowls

THE MEN MADE THE BOWS, arrowshafts, pipestems, and cottonwood water 462
drums. 322

The Bow. In the past the Osage Orange (*Toxylon pomiferum*) was 411
the most highly valued wood for bows. At this time they used ash 824
(*Fraxinus pennsylvanica*) known as *kirik-taka*, "eye-white." Every man
made his own bow, though some were more and some less skilled. Little [857]
boys also made bows of ashwood to shoot birds. Ashwood was best gathered in the fall, generally in October before they left on the winter hunt. The ashwood saplings were left sticking among the willows in the ceiling to season, until they got back in the spring.

It took two days to make a bow. By splitting it in two down the length, 411
two bows could be made from one sapling, unless it were not quite 322
straight, when only one could be made. In each case, the outer surface of [461]
the tree became the outer surface of the bow.

The shaping was done by heating the stick in the coals until it was warm throughout and pliable. Putting the foot on the middle of the outside surface, the two ends were drawn very gently upward, and then each end was recurved with the foot so that the bow had a wide shallow
dent in its back. The sinew bowstring was fastened to one end perma- [283]
nently, and at the other there was a series of notches in the bow so that the string could be tightened when in use and loosened at other times. (See Figure 51-1.)

Once, after Victory Call had died, Otter's adoptive father caught a 411
panther and decided to honor the boy by making him a quiver of it. Not

231 The problem of the horses was especially acute and of major concern. 177 From archaeology and written history we know that the Pawnees had acquired horses nearly two hundred years before this time. But apparently there were many essential techniques of horse care that they had not adopted from the European. For example, Lone Chief had only recently found out that they should store hay for their horses in the winter. There were no shoes for the horses. When a horse broke his hoof they tied on a "shoe" of hide.

231 If it snowed before they left the village or after they got back, the horses had to have special care. The young boys who took care of them ● [857] in summer could not be utilized at this season for the purpose. Anyway, they were more interested in sliding on the ice. The women had to go a mile south to get whatever hay they could, and in the evening the horses [417] were put in a corral near the lodge—a round structure of upright sticks with a gate that was closed across with five sticks. Inside there was a manger that was filled with hay when the horses were settled in for the night. They tried to economize on feed by taking them to graze at intervals during the day. In the morning, after being fed some more hay, they were taken from the corral to the bend of Beaver Creek where there was good grass. By noon they were brought back to the village and hobbled close by. Then toward evening, if snow were expected, they were again taken to Beaver Creek to graze in order to save the hay in the corral where they would have to be kept while it was snowing. If it got too cold, they would have to take the horses into the earth lodge and settle them near the wood pile. The long entrance passageway was quite large enough to accommodate them. While they were on the hunt, the horses had to be covered with an old tent skin during the night.

Some families tried to anticipate these problems by putting their horses in the best possible condition during the fall. Toward the end of September or the beginning of October, they would send them out to Grand Island for about six weeks under the care of a group of men and boys. On the island the horses could wander more or less freely, graze, rest, and water at will. Near the villages the grass was dry at this time, but here it was green and fresh and the horses would fatten. Allowed to run [232] loose, they mated freely. No selective breeding was practiced. Some people had their horses gelded by one of the men who knew how. He tied up the horse and used certain medicines, tying up the wound with sticks [465] which would fall off by themselves later. A buffalo robe and dry meat were paid for the operation. When he was about twelve, Otter was sent 231 on such an expedition. He was told to take the mare, a colt, and a gray 857 horse and join the others. They said to him, "If the Sioux overtake you, you must get on the gray horse and you will get away unless you are thrown off. Then, since you have no weapons, you will be killed." With this cheerful admonition, Otter set out about ten in the morning, 231 857 taking half a sack of flour, some sugar, coffee, and baking powder as provisions. He went to the place on the Union Pacific Railroad known as Windmill and then across the sandhills on the north edge of the island, meeting the others at about two in the afternoon.

[342] [[illegible]3] [262] The men and boys had a good time of it on these expeditions. They built themselves dome-shaped grass houses, *kaharuut*, of big willow twigs. Their saddles served as pillows and the saddle blankets as bedding. If they wanted an especially soft bed, they put hay and willows underneath. The older men got up very early and looked around on the sandhills. Some of them cooked the bread and coffee that comprised their main diet. Otter had a cup and he shared a plate with another boy who had brought one along. Sometimes a white man, having killed a beef, would give them a chunk of it. They had great times!

231 552 Considering their dependence on the horses, the Pawnees were remarkably unsentimental about them. They never called them by name, only referring to them in conversation by such names as Spotted Horse, Spotted Black Horse, Spotted Red Horse, Black Face Horse, White Hoof, Spotted on the Side, Black Nose, White Horse, Yellow Horse, Roan Horse, Red Head, High Forehead. There was no personal identification with them.

V. THE INDIVIDUAL

According to Pawnee standards, a successful life depended not 181
only on the inheritance of an elevated social position, but also on 554
individual initiative. From the beginning, a man looked upon his 461
life's career as a contest whose outcome depended upon his own efforts. Success was a matter of industry, of honesty in dealing with other members of his society, of zeal in the hunt and upon the warpath, and of maintaining satisfactory relations with the deities. He had to work and fight constantly in this life for whatever he obtained.

Likewise, a woman must keep her lodge clean, and be honest, industrious in the fields, successful in the rearing of a family, and careful to observe the restrictions imposed on her conduct. In return for this, her days would be comfortable, the birth of her children would be without pain, and a definite place would await her in the life after death.

PERIODS OF LIFE

The Skidi recognized five distinct periods or epochs in the life 888
history of an individual of either sex. For the male these periods 884
were as follows: (1) *Pirau*. This means "child," or more properly, 858
"baby," carried no distinction of sex, and was applicable only to a child during the nursing period. (2) *Piruski*, "boy." This term covered the period from the termination of childhood to the age of puberty. The word *pisiks*, "covered up" (closed-foreskin), was also used as a nickname for a boy of this period, referring to the fact that he had not yet had connection with women. (3) *Pitisutki*. This term was applied to a boy after he had reached the age of puberty but had not yet married, and means "grown or straight up." (4) *Pita*. This referred to the period after marriage until old age, and is the general term for "man." (5) *Kurahus*, meaning "old man," was applicable to that period of a man's life when he no longer took active part in the hunt or went out with the warriors.

The corresponding names for the female were: (1) *Pirau*. (2) *Tcoraki*, "girl." (3) *Tcoras*. This corresponded to the third period of the man; that is, the period after reaching puberty and extending up to marriage. (4) *Tcapat*, "woman" (blood-from-delivery), especially referred to the fact that she had given birth. (5) *Tcostit* applied to all women after the menopause.

571 and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and
521 often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque grouping
and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for
[551] a tall, slender person, *asu-katu-has-tawiu* ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of
a shoe string), or *karastiat* ("I will not go out"); *kusatsua* ("it will rain").
In reply, *A* ("well"), *uksawatsatsua* ("even if it were to rain"), *kaiit*
("salt"); *karas* ("are you?").

857 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and
858 types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous
than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in
867 early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their
boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them
with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was
said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the
trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom
retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not
[601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small
group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term
[551] of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would
use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey,
etc.

883 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out
572 to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more
lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen
or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the
[726] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside
for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions
into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various
Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these
contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous
occasions.

533 Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the
song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the
[726] night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through
the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching.
Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs
that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do
not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns
the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two
young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting,
and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true
to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar,
[539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

to the Ku'rahus who taught me. Besides I had to promise him that I 424
would not give the teachings away, but would hold them as they had 796*
been held, teaching them only to those who would pay me. I give these (incidental rituals) to you, so that they may be preserved and kept with all the other songs that belong to the Hako.

Long ago there lived a holy man who knew all the songs and the 796*
rites of this ceremony, and to him came a vision wherein he was taught 773
how to bring comfort to a little child when, during the ceremony, it
cried and could not be pacified. In this vision he was shown what he 787
must do to bring comfort to the little child, and he heard the songs 861
that he must sing. The songs which he heard have been handed down through many generations.

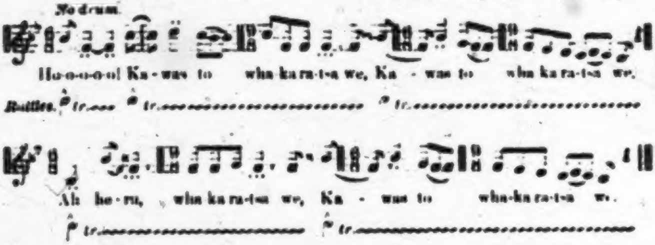
When during the ceremony a child cries and can not be comforted, 796*
the mother, or some one sent by her, can approach the Ku'rahus who 861
carries the brown-eagle stem and ask him to come and quiet the child. The Ku'rahus must comply with this request, so he rises and stands before the holy place, takes up the feathered stem and sings this song, which tells the brown eagle, Kawas, that its baby is crying.

All the people hear the song and know that help for the child is being asked.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music 539*

M. M. ♩= 60. 796*
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.
No drum.



Ho-o-o-o-o! Ka - was to wha ka ra-t-sa we, Ka - was to wha ka ra-t-sa we.
Rattles.
tr.
tr.
tr.
Ah he - ru, wha ka ra-t-sa we, Ka - was to wha-ka ra-t-sa we.
tr.
tr.

861
[533*]

1302 Ho-o-o-o-o!
1303 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.
1304 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.
1305 Ah heru, whaka ratsa we.
1306 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.

Translation

1302 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1303 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.

Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the feminine principle.
to, its, denoting ownership of the child that is crying.
whaka, voice, noise from the mouth.
ratsa, a high pitch, screaming.
we, personal pronoun; refers to the child.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 1304 See line 1303.
*776 1305 Ah heru, whaka ratsa we.
●861 ah, yes.
heru, truly, verily.
whaka, voice.
ratsa, screaming.
we, refers to child.
1306 See line 1303.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The assistant takes up the white-eagle feathered stem, and then he and the Ku'rahus move toward the child, singing this song and waving the feathered stems. They are speaking to the child; they are bidding it cry no more, for its father is coming.

[869] The father is Tira'wa atius, the father of all, the father of all the powers represented with the Hako, of all living things, of all the people. And now this mighty power, the Father, is coming to the little child to bring it comfort. That is why the child is told not to cry, since its father is coming.

These songs are very wonderful.

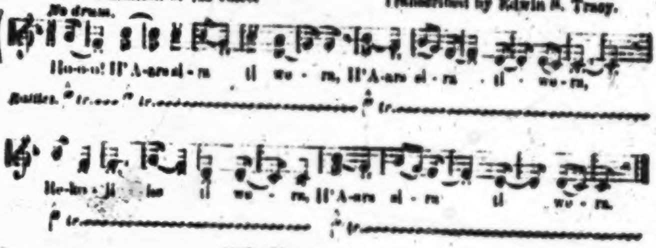
SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 60.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


No drum.
Ho-o-o! H'A-ars si - ra ti we - ra, H'A-ars si - ra ti we - ra,
Rattles. tr. tr. tr.
He-ko-ji he ti we - ra, H'A-ars si - ra ti we - ra.
tr. tr.

1307 Ho-o-o!
1308 H'A-ars sira ti wera,
1309 H'A-ars sira ti wera,
1310 Hekoji he ti wera,
1311 H'A-ars sira ti wera.

Translation

1307 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1308 H'Aars sira ti wera.
h'A-ars; h', an aspiration, the sign of breath; aars, from atius, father: h'Aars, Father breathing forth (life).
sira, is coming.
ti, here.
wera, now coming.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*
861

1309 See line 1308.
1310 Rekuji he ti wera.
rekuji, stop crying.
he, part of the word h'Aars, Father breathing forth (life).
ti, here.
wera, now coming.
1311 See line 1308.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

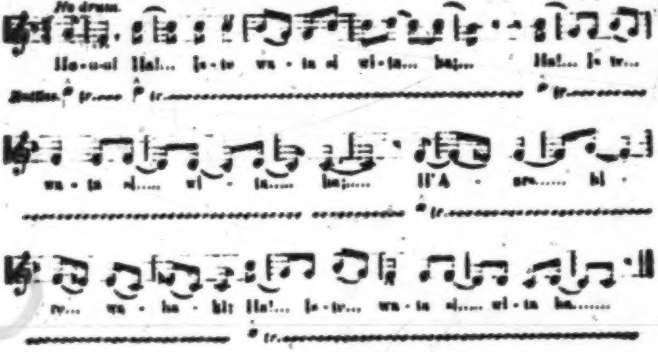
When the Ku'rahus and his assistant have reached the child they stand before it and sing the first stanza. The white-eagle feathered stem is on the outside; there it is waved to guard the child from all harm. The brown-eagle stem is waved over the little one, and the mother, or whoever is holding it, must place it so that it can see the feathered stem, for the song bids the child look up and see that the mighty power Tira'wa has come, has acknowledged it as the child of the permanent heavens, that place far above even the light fleecy clouds, which is always the same.

THIRD SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 88.
♩ = Pulsation of the voice.
Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.
No drum.

533*


Rattles.
Ho-o-o! Ha!... Is-te wa-ta si wi-ta... ha;... Ha!... Is-te...
wa-ta si..... wi-ta..... ha;..... H'A-ars..... hi-
re... wa-ha-ki; Ha!... Is-te... wa-ta si..... wi-ta ha......
tr.

I

1312 Ho-o-o!
1313 Ha! Iste wata si wita ha;
1314 Ha! Iste wata si wita ha;
1315 H'A-ars hire wahaki;
1316 Ha! Iste wata si wita ha.

II

1317 Ho-o-o!
1318 We tire wata si wita ha;
1319 We tire wata si wita ha;
1320 He arste he ti waha;
1321 We tire wata si wita ha.

Translation

I

*539 1312 Ho-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.
*796 1313 Ha! Iste wata si wita ha.
ha! an exclamation; behold!
●861 iste, you (referring to the child).
wata, look upward.
si, they, refers to the powers above.
wita, owner, refers to the child belonging to the power above.
ha, part of the word meaning young, or child.
1314 See line 1313.
1315 H'A-ars, hire wahaki.
h'A-ars, Father breathing forth life.
hire, there, above, meaning Tira'wa.
wahaki, heavens; "the heavens that are always there above the reach of the clouds."
1316 See line 1313.

II

1317 Ho-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.
1318 We tire wata si wite ha.
we, he or she, meaning the child.
tire, has, an action performed.
wata, looked.
si, they, refers to the powers above.
wite, the true owner; refers to Tira'wa as the true owner of the child.
ha, part of the word meaning young, child.
1319 See line 1318.
1320 He arste he ti waha.
he, his or her, refers to the child.
arste, a modified form of atius, father.
he, his; refers to Tira'wa.
ti, here, at the present time.
waha, part of the word wahaki, the permanent heavens.
1221 See line 1318.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the second stanza is sung the little child always stops crying and looks up. It responds to the presence of the mighty power. The song tells the child that it belongs to Tira'wa atius, the father of all, the giver of life, whose dwelling place is far above the clouds in the permanent heavens that never change. [869]

The child smiles and is comforted.

854 856 as rapidly as they were shed, just underneath the ground within the lodge on the south side, and to say to a tooth as they buried it: "Make my other teeth grow quickly."

● 861 855 [603] [869] The early training of the child was largely in the hands of the grandmothers, who took it upon themselves to give instruction in tribal and family ethics. They assumed the right to enforce their injunctions and commands by blows or by the use of the whip, and it is claimed that in former times, before the Skidi had been modified through contact with white men, the rearing of children was very strict and they were often scolded and severely punished by the father, mother, or grandparents. Aside from the deference young children were supposed to pay adults, they were taught to show respect for their parents by not molesting them, to remain silent when older people were talking, to refrain from approaching too closely the altar in the earth lodge, and carefully to avoid making a disturbance about the scenes of ceremonies. During this period 867 an older sister might assist in correcting the child. As a boy grew 868 older he was given technical instruction by his grandfathers in the making of bows and arrows, in the playing of games, etc. Girls [603] were taught by their grandmothers to prepare food, to dress hides, and to do the work which fell to the lot of women. This early training was often supplemented by the telling of myths containing some moral precept. For example, the child was told not to steal, the point being especially illustrated by the tale of the boy who stole his sister's seed corn, and, because he grew angry for being scolded, turned into an eagle. This particular story also has reference to the respect and affection with which siblings were taught to regard one another. Brotherly love was specially emphasized. Boys were told that in later years they should love their brothers even more than their wives, for there is a well-known saying among the Skidi [765] that at a man's death his brother will mutilate himself with grief and his sister cut her hair and mourn sincerely, but his wife will simulate tears by spitting in her hands, while she peeps through her fingers looking for another husband. [Also stated elsewhere as: "Brother and sister will mutilate themselves, but your wife will never throw a piece of her vulva in your grave."] Love and respect of parents were also emphasized as something to be maintained throughout life and never neglected, for the duties of parents to children and children to parents never ended.

855 Although the training of children was primarily under the immediate direction of the parents and grandparents, certain other

*224 571 [648] fresh meat by hunting deer and antelope right nearby. Let's go to Columbus."

Near Columbus they were reasonably secure from Sioux attack and they would build a big lodge of tin or sheet iron, and a man and his wife who happened to stay would take over the direction of the party, while the others would assist, running it like a village household. They would run a common commissary and the men would go out hunting for antelope and deer while the women would supply the dry vegetables and cook the meals, alternating on the north and the south sides.

*224 883 [866] Once the seventeen-year-old son of White Eagle decided he didn't feel like coming along. "He might decide that it was a good thing for him to get used to being by himself. This was an idea that their grandfathers would inculcate into them saying, 'Now you're old enough to go on the warpath, be a horse thief, and be independent.' White Eagle tried to talk to him saying, 'Now we're going hunting. You come along.' 'No,' the boy said, 'I'm going over there to my uncle.' 'All right, if you want to, but now they're going to talk about me and say that White Eagle didn't take his boy.' 'Well, I'm going to stay with my uncle anyway.' So White Eagle would take a poor orphan boy who had been staying in his earth lodge along with him on the hunt instead of his recalcitrant son." It seems that adolescent protest was not unknown to the Pawnees. On the other [593] hand, his father was in no position either to force him or to exert pressure for him to go. He was considered entirely within his rights to make his own decision.

584 relatives together, the mother's relatives being seated on the south
539 and the father's on the north side of the lodge. The father's relatives
left the decision with the mother's relatives, who decided that the girl
should be allowed to marry the young man. Many presents were
[431] distributed. The young man's relatives gave presents, and the young
man gave a fine horse to the father and mother of the girl. The next
day the old man gave the horse to his wife. There were buffalo robes
and many valuable articles among the presents.

539 All went well for a time, and then the young man began to beat his
593 wife and abuse her. The girl's mother begged her father to interfere,
but he refused to do so. She said, "You claim to be a brave man; why
do you not make our son-in-law stop beating his wife?"

He said, "Do you remember one beautiful morning when you said the young man was handsome, that he came of good family, had many horses, and his arms were strong?"

"Yes."

"Do you remember that my relatives sat on the north and yours on the south side of the lodge, and that my relatives left the decision to yours?"

"Yes."

"So your people sold our daughter to that man. We have no right to interfere with his property. He gave the ponies. He gave a fine pony to us. Didn't I give you that pony?"

"Yes."

"Get a kettle. Put it on the fire and put water in it." She did so.

[415 "Now take your parflêche bag and put the finest of your dried meat
in the pot. When the soup is done you must bring me some in a
251] wooden bowl."

When she brought the soup he told her to sit beside him and eat. As they ate he said, "What nice fat! What fine meat this is! Who got it for you?"

"Our son-in-law."

"You like the meat that our son-in-law brings us? He punishes our daughter for her own good. He does not want her to run around the camp foolishly. He wants her to be a good cook and to look after things in the lodge."

Then the woman stopped finding fault with her son-in-law.

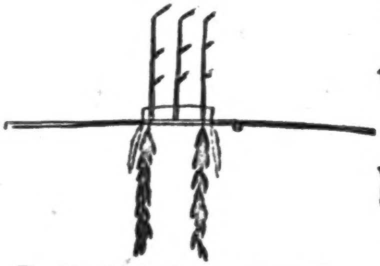
The young man was well liked by the chiefs. They asked him to
join their societies and later he became a chief. He and his wife
had one child, a boy. This little boy liked to stay with his grand-
father, who told him stories. His grandfather was Sarītsaris (Mad
Chief), a brave man of the Chaui Band. The little boy cooled his
[264 grandfather's mush or soup by swinging the dish back and forth,
867] then he set it before the old man.

when one ties his feather to the cord, he is binding up his future, for each 575 must tie his own, if it is poorly done and drops off, so will be his career. In addition this lecture is usually a general sermon upon the ethical ideals of [867] the society. Each man should add one feather for each time he helped dress the lance, or for each year of his membership. Each feather symbolically represented a part of the owner's life which he tied, or joined, to the fortunes of the lance.

In tying a feather, each member is permitted to use but three knots. The leader ties first and then each member in succession on the two sides. [284] The two errand men are last, holding the ends; these they return to the leader and then take up the ends once more, thus making a four-strand cord. This is placed outside upon a pole and food is brought in for a feast.

On the third day the cord is taken down and the ceremonial dressing of the new lance performed. The new staff is brought in and set up before the leader, who at the proper time ties one end of the cord to the tip of the staff and winds it on spirally, covering almost the entire length. All this time the old lance has been standing before the leader, but now it is dismantled and disposed of as before stated. The new one is then set up in its place and properly installed. The day's proceedings are again closed by a feast.

The most spectacular part of the ceremony occurs on the fourth day. During the night the lance is supported upon a pole as before. Early in the morning the members assemble. [302] The leader paints his entire body with soot and marks down with the fingers. He then takes up the feather bustle, or belt, stating that this thing is to be shown to the powers in the heavens and that no enemy may enter, he must circle the village with it; also that his running through the village will drive away sickness, improve the corn crop, and increase the buffalo. After this lecture, two men begin to sing and beat upon the water drums, the leader dances circling the fire four times, then passes out at the door. Once outside he runs north until outside the village, then runs around until by a spiral course he is again brought back to the door, thus traversing all parts of the village. As he enters, he gives three crow calls, two men spring up, catch him, take the lance and put him in his seat.



[292]

[289]

Fig. 11. Bustle for the Raven Braves. The uprights are sticks wrapped with porcupine quills and tufted with horse hair. The belt is of buffalo hide and bears a few sleigh bells. The pendants are wolf tails and strings of crow feathers.

854 as rapidly as they were shed, just underneath the ground within the
856 lodge on the south side, and to say to a tooth as they buried it:
"Make my other teeth grow quickly."

861
855 The early training of the child was largely in the hands of the
[603] grandmothers, who took it upon themselves to give instruction in
● [869] tribal and family ethics. They assumed the right to enforce their
injunctions and commands by blows or by the use of the whip, and
it is claimed that in former times, before the Skidi had been modified
through contact with white men, the rearing of children was very
strict and they were often scolded and severely punished by the
father, mother, or grandparents. Aside from the deference young
children were supposed to pay adults, they were taught to show
respect for their parents by not molesting them, to remain silent
when older people were talking, to refrain from approaching too
closely the altar in the earth lodge, and carefully to avoid making
a disturbance about the scenes of ceremonies. During this period
867 an older sister might assist in correcting the child. As a boy grew
868 older he was given technical instruction by his grandfathers in the
making of bows and arrows, in the playing of games, etc. Girls
[603] were taught by their grandmothers to prepare food, to dress hides,
and to do the work which fell to the lot of women. This early training
was often supplemented by the telling of myths containing some
moral precept. For example, the child was told not to steal, the
point being especially illustrated by the tale of the boy who stole
his sister's seed corn, and, because he grew angry for being scolded,
turned into an eagle. This particular story also has reference to
the respect and affection with which siblings were taught to regard
one another. Brotherly love was specially emphasized. Boys were
told that in later years they should love their brothers even more
than their wives, for there is a well-known saying among the Skidi
[765] that at a man's death his brother will mutilate himself with grief
and his sister cut her hair and mourn sincerely, but his wife will simulate
tears by spitting in her hands, while she peeps through her fingers
looking for another husband. [Also stated elsewhere as: "Brother
and sister will mutilate themselves, but your wife will never throw
a piece of her vulva in your grave."] Love and respect of parents
were also emphasized as something to be maintained throughout
life and never neglected, for the duties of parents to children and
children to parents never ended.

855 Although the training of children was primarily under the
immediate direction of the parents and grandparents, certain other

household, even though his marriage might lead him to take up residence 593
elsewhere. For this reason, according to Pawnee ideas, the brother owed
his sister a special lifelong debt. In recognition of his indebtedness, when 604
the sister had a son, she might send him to live in her brother's married-in
household when he was about ten years old. There his maternal uncle
would teach him whatever he needed to know in life, and as he reached
adolescence he would receive his first sex instruction from one of his
uncle's wives. If his uncle had several wives, the boy might extend his
attentions to the others from time to time. The term for maternal nephew [601]
was *tiwat* and maternal uncle, *tiwatciriks*, super- or real-*tiwat*.

Another basic Pawnee family pattern concerning the man, was the 593
identification of a whole group of brothers. Through the rule of primogeniture [428]
the oldest brother inherited all the family property and as senior
member of the group was responsible for the well-being of all his
younger brothers. A younger brother who availed himself of the sexual
favors of his older brother's wife upon occasion was not considered out
of order, and theoretically the older brother should act like a gentleman,
paying no attention and making no mention of it. This ideal, however, 596
was not always realized. It was fairly usual form for two or more brothers
to set up a joint household, sharing their wives and their property. 601
The children addressed them all as fathers and mothers and they in turn
addressed all the children as their own. A similar but not identical condition
might exist among a group of sisters married to the same man, the
children addressing all the sisters as mother. A group of brothers would
address each other as *irari*, and the same term was used among a group of
sisters. But across the line of sex different terms that were more precise
were used: a man's sister was referred to as *itahi* and a woman's brother,
as *iratsti*. Under the difficult conditions of Pawnee life, a child gained
considerable security from this multiple parenthood. As the Pawnees
phrased it: "We think a child should not be too closely bound to its own
mother, for should she have to be away or should she die, it would
break the child's heart."

As each person was introduced into a child's life, the child was given 867
an idea of how to act toward that person. One of the ways in which this
was conveyed was through the kin term by which the child was instructed
to address the newcomer. Along with the term of address, a
style of conduct was indicated so that the child received a code of manners
as he came in contact with one after another of his normal associates.

As the depth of the relationship merits, the Pawnee child was taught to 593
treat his mother with profound respect. The term *atira*, "my mother," [601]
carried with it a high degree of reverence among the Pawnees. However,
the mode of acting toward a mother was far more formal than it is ordinarily
in our society. The mother was concerned at all times for her
child. She provided for him and instructed him in how to act in his own

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24]

571 and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and
521 often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque grouping and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for
[551] a tall, slender person, *asu-katu-has-tawiu* ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of a shoe string), or *karastiat* ("I will not go out"); *kusatsua* ("it will rain"). In reply, *A* ("well"), *uksawatsatsua* ("even if it were to rain"), *kaiit* ("salt"); *karas* ("are you?").

857 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and
858 types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in
867 early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not
[601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term
[551] of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey, etc.

883 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out
572 to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the
[726] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous occasions.

533 Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the
[726] night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching. Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting, and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar,
[539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

sirawari i	They two who are traveling,	533
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a	Alone, they two who are traveling,	539
tsapat-i witiwaku	A young woman, it is said that she says:	
sikatasiwaktiks-a	I wonder if they two are true (to each other).	
tskara, siraawari-i-a-a-a-a-a		

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their 883
parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not uncommonly 572
grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, 554
a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally
from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46-50) 539
of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of 883
wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the 572
son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys 554
liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy
suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally
the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels
they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing
the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too
well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be
taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were
taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until
the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the
boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last
the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all,
while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their
sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their
health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys
a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to induce [829]
boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some historical [867]
basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story
accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe
it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it
is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may
work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the mature 571
Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured 574
within the house even when only two were sitting together. First [782]
there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the [276]
pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversation [521]
or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a
woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for
the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

156 the universe, meaning literally the inside land, and that his house was a
776 small model of it. The infinite cosmos was his constant source of strength
829 and his ultimate progenitor, and there was no reason why he should hesitate to set out alone and explore the wide world, even though years should pass before he returned. Not only was he not confined within four
156 walls but he was not closed in with a permanent group of people. The special concern of his mother did not mean that he was so closely embedded with her emotionally that he was not able to move about.

155 Other people also were clearly concerned with him in a variety of
593 ways. There was no mistaking the constant concern of Old Bull for the
602 boy, Otter, in the earth lodge. And as for his grandmother, this was of course patently clear. There was no mistaking the affection felt for him by Horse Rider. Even from the earliest time the Pawnee knew there were differences in kinds of affection. He knew he should go to his grandmother for intimate care but he also looked up to his mother as his provider and protector. His father he regarded in the same way wherever he might be, and, as we saw (p. 41), his mother had pointed out to him that he should emulate his father. Otter's Uncle War Cry and his other uncles came to the house and again showed affectionate concern, and one winter when he broke his leg his uncle stayed home and nursed and protected him. He knew very early that he "had a home" in the house of Eagle Chief which had been literally demonstrated to him in special feasts and visits. His older half-brother Fox Chief was there for him even though not in the house. The breakup of the household and travel on the hunt did not dismay him, even when his grandmother stayed behind one winter, for his community traveled with him. This
[867] bringing of the community's concern to the child's attention from an early age was deliberately carried out.

601 The wide application of the kin terms gave the family relationships a
602 much wider reference. It made him realize that there were shades of closeness with his immediate kin and that many varying factors determined this just as they did in his outside attachments. The case of his mother's half-brothers was a graphic example. He found out that, in the last analysis, one made one's own relationships with people and that none was absolutely given.

000 The intensified family togetherness of our present society stands in sharp contrast to these arrangements. The very physical plant of our family household fosters this intensity. Within this century, the apartment or family dwelling has become more and more isolated. In the past ten years, the isolation has become absolute and we have become the loneliest people that ever existed. Mechanical elevators, mechanical shopping, mechanical transportation, and other mechanical devices preclude almost all casual social contacts. At the same time, within the apartment or household the sexes are thrown together in an incest-breeding welter of

854 as rapidly as they were shed, just underneath the ground within the
856 lodge on the south side, and to say to a tooth as they buried it:
"Make my other teeth grow quickly."

861 The early training of the child was largely in the hands of the
855 grandmothers, who took it upon themselves to give instruction in
[603] tribal and family ethics. They assumed the right to enforce their
[867] injunctions and commands by blows or by the use of the whip, and
it is claimed that in former times, before the Skidi had been modified
through contact with white men, the rearing of children was very
strict and they were often scolded and severely punished by the
father, mother, or grandparents. Aside from the deference young
children were supposed to pay adults, they were taught to show
respect for their parents by not molesting them, to remain silent
when older people were talking, to refrain from approaching too
closely the altar in the earth lodge, and carefully to avoid making
a disturbance about the scenes of ceremonies. During this period
867 an older sister might assist in correcting the child. As a boy grew
868 older he was given technical instruction by his grandfathers in the
making of bows and arrows, in the playing of games, etc. Girls
[603] were taught by their grandmothers to prepare food, to dress hides,
and to do the work which fell to the lot of women. This early training
was often supplemented by the telling of myths containing some
moral precept. For example, the child was told not to steal, the
point being especially illustrated by the tale of the boy who stole
his sister's seed corn, and, because he grew angry for being scolded,
turned into an eagle. This particular story also has reference to
the respect and affection with which siblings were taught to regard
one another. Brotherly love was specially emphasized. Boys were
told that in later years they should love their brothers even more
than their wives, for there is a well-known saying among the Skidi
[765] that at a man's death his brother will mutilate himself with grief
and his sister cut her hair and mourn sincerely, but his wife will simulate tears by spitting in her hands, while she peeps through her fingers
looking for another husband. [Also stated elsewhere as: "Brother
and sister will mutilate themselves, but your wife will never throw
a piece of her vulva in your grave."] Love and respect of parents
were also emphasized as something to be maintained throughout
life and never neglected, for the duties of parents to children and
children to parents never ended.

855 Although the training of children was primarily under the immediate direction of the parents and grandparents, certain other

462 pare the fields for cultivation with their hoes, plant the corn, weed
562 it, and finally, when ripe, gather it in ; and take care of the horses of their lords, when not used by them.

The most difficult labor, however, that falls to their lot, is the
462 erecting of their lodges. As the upper village had been burnt by
562 their enemies during their absence, the labor of rebuilding of
342 course devolved upon the poor women, and in the course of about two months, when we visited them, they had completed nearly 150 lodges. When we observed, that the nearest timber to the site of the village was two or three miles off, and that they have
[482] no beasts of burden, but that all the building material, much of which is very heavy, was carried so great a distance on the shoulders of the women, it seemed almost incredible to us. We noticed even girls of 12 or 14 years bearing baskets on their backs, filled with wet turf, to cover or repair their lodges, which must have been very heavy. Thus early the females are trained to
[868] carry burdens, (either at home, or while travelling,) which inures them to hardships, but at the same time deforms them, rendering them low and bent in stature, and pitiable objects to the beholder. While the men, trained to no work whatever, are erect, tall, and
[142] well-proportioned in their form, and almost feminine in their features, the women are short and low, with stooping gait, downcast looks, harsh features, and hair dishevelled ; and dirty, ragged, and
000 filthy in their appearance. Such is a picture of heathenism! Have we not cause to be grateful for the benign influence of the gospel upon our land, so that we are elevated far above such a miserable state of heathenism? Unto the Lord be all the praise!

Though it is generally a feature among heathen nations, that it
462 is considered a shame for the men to labor, while all the work de-
562 volves upon the females, still the Pawnees seem not altogether indisposed to be instructed. Mr. Sharpee, who has been acquainted with them and other Indians in these parts for nearly 20 years, told us, that the Pawnee men were unlike those of other tribes, since they were willing to lay hold of a plough, or any other farming utensil, and only the instruction was wanting to make them industrious. Mr. Allis too, who has been acquainted with them for the last 20 years, and has lived among them a great portion of this period, informed us, that when the missionaries were formerly living among them, several of the Pawnees had already commenced the use of the plough. The good beginning was, however, interrupted by their missionaries having to leave them.

DRESS.—The dress of the men consists in nothing but a small
291 piece of cloth, fastened around their middle. This, we observed, was generally the only covering they had on, when in their lodges. When abroad, they had a buffalo robe or blanket wrapped around them. The females are more decently clothed than the men

3.	*aristit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you) 539 831
4.	*wirakukuruwatu*	when I am lonesome.
5.	*biru bira bai ira'*	(Sung syllables)

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku biru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa biru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tibi rarux kuusaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562
fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the house-
hold routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [584]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 885
occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 525
ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de- [887]
velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521
[797]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

285 476 ticated adaptation for weaving a wide twined fabric, as the normal direction for the progress of twined weaving is from left to right, the woman on the left using a motor pattern equivalent in feeling to dancing the waltz in reverse, with a view to getting a visual effect in the texture.

When the mat had been woven about one third of the way, the women, who had been kneeling in front of the lower cloth beam, now moved up and knelt on the already finished fabric to work on the rest. As the work progressed, they continued to move up on the fabric so that the working edge would be within reach.

[461] Two women could finish a mat in one day if they did nothing else. Beginning after breakfast, the weaving would be half done by noon. By a little after five in the evening, the work was complete.

285 868 Mat weaving was a household craft and the work would not ordinarily be contracted for outside, unless a woman were learning for the first time. Then she would call in an old woman and pay her to demonstrate the technique. During the demonstration, the young woman would try her hand at it from time to time. The finished mat would be hers. The [465] teacher would receive four or five yards of calico and a layer of dried buffalo meat, or a sack of corn (about a foot high) and half a braided intestine mat.

285 592 In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each side took care of its own needs for mats. White Woman and Grandma would start one together, and when White Woman had to interrupt her work to prepare a meal, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy would take her place for a while, helping Grandma with the weaving. Any mats that Grandma made by herself were given to White Woman for the family. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy felt she should make at least one mat for herself and her grandson to use when they went on the hunt. No Corn also made one to take along, and, if Horse Rider was busy in the Doctor Lodge, the two old ladies would each contribute half the necessary materials, as she was too crippled to gather them for herself and under the circumstances Horse Rider was unable to get away. There was no question of compensation for this, as the old ladies felt that Horse Rider was helpful to the household at all times and No Corn also did what she could.

482 285 Carrying these mats on the march was very difficult for people with no horses. This was the case with poor people. When people noticed that they had no mats, someone would give them an old one and a man would carry it on his back with a baby perched on top and his wife would do [431] the same. The occasional woman who was too lazy to make one, was also [554] given an old mat. People who didn't have mats to put on the ground were considered poor indeed.

412 824 A brush made of stiff grass was indispensable to personal grooming. The brush was made out of Porcupine Grass or Spanish Needles (*Stipa*

*539 1304 See line 1303.
*796 1305 Ah heru, whaka ratsa we.
861
ah, yes.
heru, truly, verily.
whaka, voice.
ratsa, screaming.
we, refers to child.
1306 See line 1303.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The assistant takes up the white-eagle feathered stem, and then he and the Ku'rahus move toward the child, singing this song and waving the feathered stems. They are speaking to the child; they are bidding it cry no more, for its father is coming.

[869] The father is Tira'wa atius, the father of all, the father of all the powers represented with the Hako, of all living things, of all the people. And now this mighty power, the Father, is coming to the little child to bring it comfort. That is why the child is told not to cry, since its father is coming.

These songs are very wonderful.

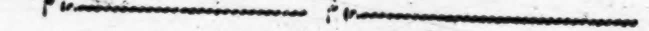
SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 80.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]


No drum.
Ho-o-o! H'A-are si - ra ti we - ra, H'A-are si - ra ti we - ra,
Rattles. tr. tr. tr.
Re-hoo-ji he ti we - ra, H'A-are si - ra ti we - ra.
tr. tr.

1307 Ho-o-o!
1308 H'A-are sira ti wera.
1309 H'A-are sira ti wera.
1310 Rehoji he ti wera.
1311 H'A-are sira ti wera.

Translation

1307 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1308 H'Aare sira ti wera.
h'A-are; h', an aspiration, the sign of breath; aare, from atius, father: h'Aare, Father breathing forth (life).
sira, is coming.
ti, here.
wera, now coming.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation

I

*539 1312 Ho-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.
*796 1313 Ha! Iste wata si wita ha.
ha! an exclamation; behold!
861 iste, you (referring to the child).
wata, look upward.
si, they, refers to the powers above.
wita, owner, refers to the child belonging to the power above.
ha, part of the word meaning young, or child.
1314 See line 1313.
1315 H'A-ars, hire wahaki.
h'A-ars, Father breathing forth life.
hire, there, above, meaning Tira'wa.
wahaki, heavens; "the heavens that are always there above the reach of the clouds."
1316 See line 1313.

II

1317 Ho-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.
1318 We tire wata si wite ha.
we, he or she, meaning the child.
tire, has, an action performed.
wata, looked.
si, they, refers to the powers above.
wite, the true owner; refers to Tira'wa as the true owner of the child.
ha, part of the word meaning young, child.
1319 See line 1318.
1320 He arste he ti waha.
he, his or her, refers to the child.
arste, a modified form of atius, father.
he, his; refers to Tira'wa.
ti, here, at the present time.
waha, part of the word wahaki, the permanent heavens.
1321 See line 1318.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the second stanza is sung the little child always stops crying and looks up. It responds to the presence of the mighty power. The song tells the child that it belongs to Tira'wa atius, the father of all, the giver of life, whose dwelling place is far above the clouds in the permanent heavens that never change. 869

The child smiles and is comforted.

778

Bear Dance, and a number of sacred bundles were opened and an 796
attempt made to put them in physical order. 178

The bundles and bundle rituals were esoteric possessions and
knowledge, controlled by individuals. As such their inheritance and [424]
transmission followed traditional modes, and according to the
orthodox old Pawnee doctrine no revival of extinct forms was possible. The sanction of the Ghost Dance doctrines and visions was in definite conflict with old customs of transmission, and came to predominate.

In the traditional view, the knowledge and learning of an individual 778
had to be handed down by actual instruction of the young. 793
This was somewhat different for the two kinds of bundles, typified
by the sacred bundles (with which the society bundles can be 424
associated, as essentially derivative), and the medicine men's 622
bundles. For the sacred bundle type the offices of ownership and 869
priesthood were independent: A chief owned the bundle physically, and his wife took care of it. He did not necessarily know the ritual lore of the bundle. A priest controlled the ritual, demonstrated it on the proper occasions, and advised the owner of his bundle obligations. The physical bundle was ordinarily inherited directly in the male line. The ritual knowledge, however, was transmitted by the priest to his successor by means of instruction over many years. The priest usually taught a close relative (not necessarily in the male line exclusively) because of the desire to hand on his learning in his own family line. But lacking close kin of suitable temperament, the priest taught whom he pleased. For the medicine men's type of bundle, ownership and priesthood centered in the same individual. The doctor himself was owner of the physical bundle, and of its associated teachings, and officiated as his own demonstrating "priest" on ritual occasions. In the course of his life he taught a man to be his successor, and gradually turned over
the ritual functions to him. The successor was usually a close [602]
relative, such as a "son" or "nephew", etc., but here too the medicine man was at liberty to instruct whom he would, and on occasion chose more distant relatives when near relations proved unwilling to attend seriously to the learning of the traditional material.

Ordinarily a man taught his successor largely by demonstration. 778
That is, the apprentice took part in the actual demonstrations of 793
the ritual (and the curing of the doctor) watching what went on. In the course of the procedure the master explained the detail. As the teacher found his pupil mastering phases of the activity, he turned over to the pupil such parts as were understood. In

61

THE COUNCIL TENT

000

Ceremonial Observances of the Hunt—the Meat Is Delivered—a More Informal Procedure Than the Summer Hunt—Police Chosen—Four Official Scouts Chosen Also—the Hunt

*224
778
[625]
Everyone knew that the council tent would be set up at Turkey Creek while the men were out attacking the herd, and that that evening the special police would be appointed to take charge during the subsequent attacks. During the summer, with White Eagle in the lead, the hunt had been conducted under the religious sponsorship of his left hand bundle, whose tradition was a special form of the creation legend. The present hunt was being carried on under the auspices of the Evening Star and its sacred bundle, which was also known as Yellow Calf. Its tradition was the official creation legend of the Skidi Federation. The "keeper" of this [794] bundle was Old Lady Lucky Leader of Pumpkin-Vine Village and she was assisted by her son, Frank Leader (also known as Dog-at-the-West), and her son-in-law, Roaming Leader. The old lady had built a particularly [344] large tent but even then only about thirty could gather in there at a time.

*224
793
As soon as the tent was set up and while the men were still off chasing the herd, the five priests came in and sat down at the west. Due west was Heavy Trophies, the head priest. To his left on the north side were Pipe Offering and Bringing Horses. To his right on the south side were Angry Horse and then Wonderful Old Bull.

*224
793
869
On this occasion, Bringing Horses was sitting as an apprentice priest. From time to time the head priest would say, "If there is anyone in this room who wants to learn, he should come closer and sit with us. It is necessary that someone should do this as we are likely to die at any time. We are old and after we die, the world will go on and on and this is the word of Heaven and should be carried on after we are gone. Anyone

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

who is willing should come and sit closer and observe and listen to the 224*
way these things should be done." This was considered a major public 793
service and no payment was involved nor considerations of kin relation- 869
ship. Bringing Horses was a brave and apparently had had a call to
carry out this mission.

The five priests sat smoking and talking together informally. They were 224*
old men and had traveled over this same ground many times. They knew 793
just how far apart the rivers were and which were the quickest routes to
follow. Now they were reminiscing about the past. One would say, "One [521]
summertime we camped way down there in this and this direction from
here and so and so happened," for example a warpath came or some other
notable event. Meanwhile Old Lady Lucky Leader was taking care of 224*
the practical affairs since the menfolks of her family were still out on the 794
hunt. She was a vigorous old woman and a good manager. One of the 574
men coming in early from the hunt reined in his horse outside her tent
and called out, "Lady Lucky Leader, here are ribs!" throwing down the
ribs as his contribution to the forthcoming council meeting and riding
off home to his own tent. The old lady went out and got them at once and
put them inside the tent on the north side near the entrance so that they
wouldn't freeze. Now she decided to get the meal under way for the
council. The boy Might-Be-Chief was passing by and she called him in [624]
and asked him to get the chief's errand man Know-His-Face, who came
in and, after exchanging greetings with the priests, began to roast the ribs [252]
to the northeast of the fireplace as directed by the old lady. She asked
her daughter to sit down to the south and fry ~~some~~ bread so that the
men would have something to eat as soon as they got in before the coun-
cil began.

Now the men could be heard coming and the meat creaking a little as 224*
it was packed on the horse since it was a bit frozen. The two men of the [492]
family knew they had better get in early and Frank Leader called out to
his mother, "Atira [my mother], spread something out here for the meat."
The old lady came out and put a skin spread on the snow in front of the
tent and her son tethered his horse to a stake nearby. She covered the
horse and put down another spread with cottonwood tops and bark on it
for the horse to eat. She saved some of the cottonwood for her son-in-
law's horse and he arrived soon after. As soon as the two men entered the [515]
tent they asked their mother for some water to wash their hands with,
and Frank tied his quiver and bow to the southwest post while Roaming
Leader tied his at the northwest. Then they sat down on either side of
the entrance. The men talked about how they had killed the buffalo that
day and how there had been good herds north of the river. The family [264]
had its meal of bread and ribs and then the boy Might-Be-Chief was sent
around to call in the other members of the council. He also called in
Horse Rider to help the errand man Know-His-Face to cook for the feast.

*175 Pawnee medicine men did effect relief and cures in many cases, and
*648 that the sure way to bring the tribe to faith in white man's medicine
657 was to prove its superiority. We may judge from this the
efficiency of much of the treatment afforded the Pawnee for years.

164 In 1890 Dr. Phillips ascribed some part of Pawnee ailments to the
fact that at feasts many gorged themselves and then lay dormant
for two or three days, tending to derange the proper functioning
of the digestive system. The Pawnee habits of eating went back
to a time when an active, roving life made heavy eating a necessity.
Without the hunt, without warfare, the men were confined, inactive
[462] and indolent. Farming was not yet an adequate substitute.
Without skinworking, and the activities of camp life and the
march, the women were limited to housework and household duties.
The change of daily routine was severe and called for a difficult
constitutional adjustment.

The question of inbreeding deserves brief comment. Pawnee
582 marriage customs did involve the mating of kin at a certain
621 distance removed. In their old life, families who were the proud
possessers of sacred and esoteric lore attempted to retain control
of these things by regulating intermarriage. The bands had been
for the most part endogamous, and intermarriage with other tribes
[162] was infrequent. On the average a band numbered no more than
2,500. The inbreeding, however, seems not to have had ill effects
until inheritable weaknesses of a major sort were among the tribe.

*175 As the years passed, the Pawnee came to look to the government
*648 physicians more and more for help when sick. Their medicine men
were unable to cope with the illnesses which afflicted them. In a
657 few outstanding cases, such as the use of quinine for malarial
fevers, the white man's medicine had "power."

*175 The educational program was neither more efficient nor more
successful for many years than the development of farms and homes.
*648 The Pawnee Industrial Boarding School on the Pawnee Reser-
657 vation in Nebraska suspended operations at the time of removal. The
● 871 funds saved were applied to the erection of a new brick school
building on the Oklahoma reservation. This was not in operation
until several years after the tribe located in Indian Territory. Its
facilities were severely inadequate. Not more than one-fourth of
the Pawnee children of school age could be accomodated. As
a result, officials were not able to enforce treaty provisions; they
could not compel continuous attendance even of those registered
for schooling, since they could not provide facilities. There was
a move to organize a day school, which would not only make
provision for fifty additional pupils, but would obviate the objection

and antagonisms of parents who did not want their children con- 175*
tinually away from the family hearth. Sanitary conditions in the 648*
school buildings were not the best. Bathrooms and adequate 657
dormitory facilities to avoid crowding were not available until the 871
summer of 1889. Dr. Phillips in his report of that year stated that
he expected these changes to reduce sickness at the school.

The aim of instruction in the reservation school was to give the
children a background which would bring them closer to the
conditions of life in white communities. The boys were taught
manual arts and farming, the girls housekeeping and sewing; both
groups learned to read. The instruction in industrial arts was for
some time not very efficient, an agent commenting in 1881 that
the school was only nominally "industrial." The schooling of the 581
girls was impeded by the tribal practice of marrying them off young,
at which time they would be withdrawn from school.

The general educational program of the Department of Indian Affairs began to be broadened in 1879 with the establishment of the Carlisle School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. This was the first non-reservation school for Indians. Lieut. R. H. Pratt of the United States Army, when in charge of Indian prisoners of war exiled in Florida, conceived that education was a better method of handling them than imprisonment. At the same time, it would not do to return them to their reservations. As an experiment a number were sent to Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia, a school originally established for Negro education. The trial was so successful that Pratt was able to persuade the government to establish under his charge a school for Indians exclusively. The objective in organizing non-reservation schools was to divorce Indian children completely for a term of years from the ways of life of the parental generation; it was hoped that many could in this way be persuaded to take up life in white communities altogether, and that those who did return to the reservations would become leaders in the movement to civilize their peoples. The course at Carlisle ran from three to four years. It gave practical training in the manual arts, and common schooling as far as the high school grade. In addition, the "outing" system was adopted early, by which for one term of each school year a boy or girl boarded with and worked for a white family in the east. Many became self-supporting while at school, with small bank accounts of savings. Following the example of Carlisle, other non-reservation Indian schools were soon established, Chilocco and Haskell.

Thirteen Pawnee were enrolled at Carlisle the year it was opened; a few years later the number had increased to nineteen, including

*175 thirteen boys and six girls. Pawnee boys took work in carpentering,
*648 wagon-making, harness-making, tailoring, shoemaking, printing
657 and farming. The girls learned sewing, laundry-work and house-
871 work. In addition boys and girls had classes in regular school sub-
● jects. Thirteen Pawnee went to Chilocco when that institution opened in 1884; and later Pawnee were entered at Haskell. By 1880 between the non-reservation schools and the schools on the Pawnee reservation, most of the Pawnee of school age were in attendance at some government institution.

*175 The schools were successful in teaching the Pawnee to read and
*648 use English, and Carlisle and Chilocco were particularly successful
159 in teaching vocational trades and every-day manners. The outlet
657 for a Pawnee to practice a trade was however, not apparent. Pratt,
871 in charge of Carlisle, did all he could to induce Carlisle graduates to
remain in the East and live and work among white people. A few Indians did so, including several Pawnee. The case of Mark Evarts is typical. Successfully trained as a harness-maker, and without close relatives at home, he worked some years at his trade in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. A man gifted in adjusting himself to alien ways, he lived successfully in the East. But in the end it was apparent to him that his life with white people was at best a makeshift, an apology for being an Indian. He returned home to his people, and the consciousness of his past and his fate overcame him. All the promises he [illegible] sincerely given to Pratt, a great friend of his, failed to stem the tide of fellow-feeling which surged over him back on the reservation. A Ghost Dance vision reconverted him, he immersed himself in Indian ways, recalled the teachings of his childhood, and became again a Pawnee. Those who returned to the reservation immediately upon graduation from Carlisle were even more rapidly drawn back into the mood of Indian life. Man does not live by bread alone, and the best that the government could claim it had given the Indian by education, was a means of making a living.

*175 The government did not fail to apprehend that in the change
*648 of life from old Indian ways to the white man's civilization, the
657 activities which of old had made the Indian men and women
self-reliant and resolute were taken from them. The people no longer depended on the chiefs and leaders, and these on themselves: both looked to the agent for guidance and direction. The Indians neither made their own way of life, nor managed their own affairs. From cultural maturity as Pawnee they were reduced to cultural infancy as civilized men.

To counteract this tendency, however, there was only the weight

relatives were intimately concerned. The mother's brother paid 855
much attention to the education of his sister's sons and daughters,
in which, indeed, he took perhaps as much interest as their father.
On the paternal side the children had what were known as children's 855
rights in the father's sister's lodge. These were similar to the claims 604
which children had upon parents, but in a sense entailed even deeper
obligations, for though the children might be cast out of their
parents' lodge, they could still claim food and shelter in the lodge
of the father's sister. Next it should be noted that the father's
sister's husband became the teacher and in some degree the guardian
of his wife's brother's daughter, instructing her and looking after
her interests. On the death of his wife, he might marry the girl,
or even her daughters if she already had a husband.

It was not learned that there was any special custom observed 841
when a girl reached her first menses, which usually occurred during [881]
her twelfth or thirteenth year. No recognition of the fact was made by the family or the tribe other than her mother or grandmother, unless she happened to be the daughter of the keeper of a sacred bundle. In this case the girl was removed to a little house, known as "place-sitting-with-blood," where she remained during her menstrual period with her grandmother. The girl neither bathed nor combed her hair and was not allowed to eat fresh meat, her food consisting chiefly of corn and pemmican brought by her mother. At the end of the period the grandmother took the girl to a creek, where they both bathed; the latter was then clothed with a new dress and was further purified by wrapping a blanket about herself and standing in the smoke rising from smoldering cedar leaves. Thereafter the grandmother took care of her in the same manner at each period of menstruation. When the girl married, she continued the custom but no one assisted her. The observance of this period was so far as possible always kept secret.

A menstruating woman was considered unclean, and the chief 784
restriction placed against her was that she should in no way come 841
in contact with the sacred bundles nor approach the objects contained in them. This restriction prohibited her from appearing at sacred bundle ceremonies. The reason seems to be based on the theory that the bundles and all objects of a religious nature carried with them their own odor, which was that of sweet grass. This odor was not only acceptable and pleasing, but it was essentially a non-human odor. The odor of the menstrual flow was considered a distinctly human odor and the presence of such a human charac-

784 teristic at a bundle ceremony would distract the attention of the
841 supernatural beings. If a menstruating woman were near a bundle
spread out as an altar, the supernatural power supposed to reside
in the objects on the altar would disappear; the corn mother would
be corn mother no longer but simply an ear of corn, the bird messenger
between the deities and man would become simply a bird skin, and
so on. The odor of blood was pleasing to the gods, but not this
kind of blood, which was associated with human passion. If a
menstruating woman should go into a ceremony of the medicine-men,
the strong human odor would cause the power of the medicine-men
to leave them, and they would fail in their sleight of hand.
The lodge where the ceremony was being held was for the time being
an animal's lodge; it was full of animal power, over which each
medicine-man was striving to make himself master. In this attempt
he would fail should a menstruating woman be present, for she
would cause him to become essentially human. What animal
power he had would quickly desert him.

881 The custom in vogue when a girl reached puberty has been noted.
882 When a boy reached this stage, there was no formal ceremony to
607 mark the event. He was, however, taken in charge by his mother's
836 brother's wife. From this time until his marriage, he maintained
sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately
after having had intercourse with this woman. When her real
husband was off hunting or on the warpath, the youth continued
marital relations with her. Thus it might happen that for four or
[595] five years a woman would have an additional "husband," or possibly
three or four, with a temporary state of polyandry thereby prevailing.
[834] No such custom as this existed for girls, as they were supposed to
remain virgins until marriage.

882 Up to this time the boy went naked, except for a blanket or robe
291 in cold weather. From then on he wore leggings, and otherwise
dressed as a man.

857 A further word should be said as to the relationship of the sexes.
Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they
neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small
grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents.
836 Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship
might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept
at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the
girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or
he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this

784 teristic at a bundle ceremony would distract the attention of the
841 supernatural beings. If a menstruating woman were near a bundle
spread out as an altar, the supernatural power supposed to reside
in the objects on the altar would disappear; the corn mother would
be corn mother no longer but simply an ear of corn, the bird messenger
between the deities and man would become simply a bird skin, and
so on. The odor of blood was pleasing to the gods, but not this
kind of blood, which was associated with human passion. If a
menstruating woman should go into a ceremony of the medicine-men, the strong human odor would cause the power of the medicine-men to leave them, and they would fail in their sleight of hand.
The lodge where the ceremony was being held was for the time being
an animal's lodge; it was full of animal power, over which each
medicine-man was striving to make himself master. In this attempt
he would fail should a menstruating woman be present, for she
would cause him to become essentially human. What animal
power he had would quickly desert him.

881 The custom in vogue when a girl reached puberty has been noted.
882 When a boy reached this stage, there was no formal ceremony to
607 mark the event. He was, however, taken in charge by his mother's
836 brother's wife. From this time until his marriage, he maintained
sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately
after having had intercourse with this woman. When her real
husband was off hunting or on the warpath, the youth continued
marital relations with her. Thus it might happen that for four or
[595] five years a woman would have an additional "husband," or possibly
three or four, with a temporary state of polyandry thereby prevailing.
[834] No such custom as this existed for girls, as they were supposed to
remain virgins until marriage.

882 Up to this time the boy went naked, except for a blanket or robe
291 in cold weather. From then on he wore leggings, and otherwise
dressed as a man.

857 A further word should be said as to the relationship of the sexes.
Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they
neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small
grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents.
836 Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship
might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept
at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the
girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or
he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this

887 house." She supplemented their supplies of vegetables from her own garden
592 from time to time, saying, "Daughter, cook this for our supper."
She would also have a small private stock of dried meat that she had gotten
by helping with its preparation during the hunt season, and she would
also offer this at various times when it seemed a good idea. Again there
was no regular schedule for this, nor any amount that was standard.
Grandma already rendered considerable services to the house and was
considered entitled to her "keep." She also gave substantive help with
skin working, sewing, getting firewood, special manufacturing, and so on.

The young women and girls at the west stations did minor household
462 tasks, but had a far more significant contribution to make to its ongoing.
592 They were there to please and care for a capable man who would protect
883 the people in the lodge, provide them with fresh meat by his almost daily
hunting expeditions for deer, elk, or antelope, participate in the tribal
buffalo hunts in the summer and winter each year so that they would all
have dried buffalo meat, and carry on the official interrelationships with
the community outside the household, including those with the village
officials.

582 An influential and capable man might be given one of these girls in
marriage with the understanding that her younger sisters would also be
given to him when they came of age. If he were adjudged too old, the
family was unlikely to agree to these further marriages. In the case of Old
Bull, the family of his junior wife, Clear Day, was unwilling to give him
her younger sister on this account. Fifteen years was considered a suitable
age for marriage in a girl, and eighteen for a boy. However, the probability
is remote that the couple would be of these ages respectively. First
marriages for both a boy and a girl were almost always of a "May–September"
type. A boy of eighteen was considered altogether incapable of
playing a suitable married role in a household. A man contracted a marriage
583 in terms of services he could render to the family of the girl that he
591 married. Normally he was expected to come to live in her household and
"take care of them," i.e., render them major services.

601 The son-in-law, i.e., the man married into a household, was known as
kustawixtsu," the one that is sitting among [us]." The man on his part
606 referred to his in-laws as *tatutkaku*, "I sit inside for you," that is, "I am in
the house for your benefit." The reward he receives is his wife whom he
calls *tatiraktaku*, "I own her," and she in turn refers to her husband as
tikuktaku, "he owns me." These terms are not normally used under informal
circumstances, the couple addressing each other by the common
term for spouse, *raku*, or if they are on particularly pleasant terms, the
man calls his wife *tsustit*, "old lady," and she refers to her husband as
kurahus, "old man."

58 Because of the services required on both sides, a young man would
have little alternative but to marry a capable older woman, and a young

571 and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and
521 often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque grouping and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for
[551] a tall, slender person, *asu-katu-has-tawiu* ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of
a shoe string), or *karastiat* ("I will not go out"); *kusatsua* ("it will rain").
In reply, *A* ("well"), *uksawatsatsua* ("even if it were to rain"), *kaiit* ("salt"); *karas* ("are you?").

857 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and
858 types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous
867 than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in
early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not
[601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small
group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term
[551] of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would
use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey, etc.

883 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out
572 to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more
lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen
or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the
[726] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous occasions.

533 Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the
song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the
[726] night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through
the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching. Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting, and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar,
[539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

sirawari i	They two who are traveling, 533
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a	Alone, they two who are traveling, 539
tsapat-i witiwaku	A young woman, it is said that she says:
sikatasiwaktiks-a	I wonder if they two are true (to each other).
tskara, sirawari-i-a-a-a-a	

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their 883
parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not un- 572
commonly grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, 554
a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally
from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46- 539
50) of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of 883
wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the 572
son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys 554
liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy
suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally
the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels
they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing
the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too
well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be
taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were
taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until
the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the
boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last
the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all,
while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their
sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their
health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys
a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to in- [829]
duce boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some his- [867]
torical basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story
accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe
it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it
is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may
work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the ma- 571
ture Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured 574
within the house even when only two were sitting together. First
there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the [782]
pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversa- [276]
tion or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a [521]
woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for
the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

*224 571 fresh meat by hunting deer and antelope right nearby. Let's go to Columbus."

[648] Near Columbus they were reasonably secure from Sioux attack and they would build a big lodge of tin or sheet iron, and a man and his wife who happened to stay would take over the direction of the party, while the others would assist, running it like a village household. They would run a common commissary and the men would go out hunting for antelope and deer while the women would supply the dry vegetables and cook the meals, alternating on the north and the south sides.

*224 • 883 [866] Once the seventeen-year-old son of White Eagle decided he didn't feel like coming along. "He might decide that it was a good thing for him to get used to being by himself. This was an idea that their grandfathers would inculcate into them saying, 'Now you're old enough to go on the warpath, be a horse thief, and be independent.' White Eagle tried to talk to him saying, 'Now we're going hunting. You come along.' 'No,' the boy said, 'I'm going over there to my uncle.' 'All right, if you want to, but now they're going to talk about me and say that White Eagle didn't take his boy.' 'Well, I'm going to stay with my uncle anyway.' So White Eagle would take a poor orphan boy who had been staying in his earth lodge along with him on the hunt instead of his recalcitrant son." It seems that adolescent protest was not unknown to the Pawnees. [593] On the other hand, his father was in no position either to force him or to exert pressure for him to go. He was considered entirely within his rights to make his own decision.

*224 *484 ages tied to the sides of the horses would get wet. Then the question was, "Was the water on the rise, or was it going down?" People said if it were warm on Pike's Peak in the Rockies, the water level would soon be low. In order to find out whether the river was rising or subsiding, [823] the women would set up a stick in it; if the river was rising, it would soon be covered over, or vice versa if falling. They also knew that if the river was muddy soon after getting a bucket of clear water, it was rising. The men, on the other hand, were inclined to be more impulsive and didn't bother with such observations; they simply forded the river. If the river was rising, they would have to change their plan and continue west along the north bank of the Platte until it subsided. This time they were able to cross directly. The crossing was over the western end of Grand Island, the largest of the "sand-bar islands" in the Platte. In winter it was a good place to camp, but in summer it was full of mosquitoes. Grandma would have arrived long ago and gone onto the island to pick plums and grapes. The channel is wider and shallower on the north side of the island and deeper and narrower on the south side. The island itself is five or six miles wide.

*224 *484 •883 When they were ready to cross, some young men volunteers who were from eighteen to twenty years old would go ahead and stake out the path with willow sticks to show where the deep holes were. If there was a steep sand bank on either side, they would chop at it with a buffalo [237] [412] shoulder blade and kick it down so that there would be a sloping path for the horses. Sometimes on the return journey in August the river bed would be dry, and in this way they came to know the best way to ford the river. A group of young men of this sort would volunteer for all sorts of services, including picket duty. They always carried their bows and arrows and were constantly on the alert to see if the enemy [571] were coming on the warpath. Sometimes as the years passed, they would continue in this way, remaining as a group even after they had become mature men. Such a group was that of Roaming Leader and his friends who had gone out on the buffalo-scouting expedition that day.

*224 *484 When the line of march finally got across the river, they climbed ashore and up the first bank which was relatively steep and then the second bank that had a more gentle slope. They continued west along the high bank for about two miles until they came to the place where they planned to camp.

*224 By about four or four-thirty in the afternoon they were all encamped. A man was out taking care of his horses, and as he looked onto the horizon he happened to sight Roaming Leader and his party, silhouetted against the sky, coming over some sand hills about two miles off. From their outline against the sky, he could see that the horses were all bulging out with meat and the legs of the riders were sticking far out as they sat on top of the packs. As they rode he could also see the hides swing-

V. THE INDIVIDUAL

According to Pawnee standards, a successful life depended not 181
only on the inheritance of an elevated social position, but also on 554
individual initiative. From the beginning, a man looked upon his 461
life's career as a contest whose outcome depended upon his own efforts. Success was a matter of industry, of honesty in dealing with other members of his society, of zeal in the hunt and upon the warpath, and of maintaining satisfactory relations with the deities. He had to work and fight constantly in this life for whatever he obtained.

Likewise, a woman must keep her lodge clean, and be honest, industrious in the fields, successful in the rearing of a family, and careful to observe the restrictions imposed on her conduct. In return for this, her days would be comfortable, the birth of her children would be without pain, and a definite place would await her in the life after death.

PERIODS OF LIFE

The Skidi recognized five distinct periods or epochs in the life 888
history of an individual of either sex. For the male these periods 884
were as follows: (1) *Pirau.* This means "child," or more properly, 858
"baby," carried no distinction of sex, and was applicable only to a child during the nursing period. (2) *Piruski*, "boy." This term covered the period from the termination of childhood to the age of puberty. The word *pisiks*, "covered up" (closed-foreskin), was also used as a nickname for a boy of this period, referring to the fact that he had not yet had connection with women. (3) *Pitisutki.* This term was applied to a boy after he had reached the age of puberty but had not yet married, and means "grown or straight up." (4) *Pita.* This referred to the period after marriage until old age, and is the general term for "man." (5) *Kurahus*, meaning "old man," was applicable to that period of a man's life when he no longer took active part in the hunt or went out with the warriors.

The corresponding names for the female were: (1) *Pirau.* (2) *Tcoraki*, "girl." (3) *Tcoras.* This corresponded to the third period of the man; that is, the period after reaching puberty and extending up to marriage. (4) *Tcapat*, "woman" (blood-from-delivery), especially referred to the fact that she had given birth. (5) *Tcostit* applied to all women after the menopause.

VI.

THE OLD PAWNEE HAND GAME[1]

When the Pawnee lived in Nebraska, and for some time after 525 they removed to Oklahoma, the hand game kept its traditional place in Pawnee life as a gambling game. It was a game for men only, and primarily an adults' game; the women did not participate [562] and were not supposed to come near where the men were playing. The game was conceived as a warpath, and so dramatized: and warpaths for the Pawnee were activities excluding the participation of women. The men's game was usually a contest between two [574] Pawnee bands, in which one would visit the other for the express purpose of playing a hand game and gambling on the result. Small boys, in imitation of their elders, would play hand games and gamble. And in the same way that one Pawnee band visited another to challenge them to play the hand game, men of one Pawnee band would visit a tribe with whom they were on friendly terms for a hand-game contest. For the most part, it was a game for the younger men; maturer men, like chiefs and braves, usually [885] did not gamble.

The three old types of play will be more lucid from short narratives[2]:

THE BOYS' HAND GAME

When small boys played a hand game, it came about as part of 525 their play around the village. Some group of boys would decide to 857 play the way their elders did, and as many or as few as there were,

---

[1] The old Pawnee gambling hand game has not heretofore been described. Culin, in his monographic treatment of Games of the North American Indians, quotes, p. 276, on Pawnee a passage from G. B. Grinnell, Story of the Indian, p. 27. The description of the method of play in the passage differs fundamentally from that herein reported. Examination shows that the quoted passage is a generalized description by Grinnell of the hand [114] game among Indian tribes of the Plains. No reference suggests that he intended it as a description of play among the Pawnee. Culin was no doubt misled by the fact that, following the passage quoted, Grinnell tells the story of a game between Pawnee and Cheyenne scouts in the army, in which a Cheyenne was caught cheating; but in recounting this episode Grinnell does not describe the form of play. Grinnell was familiar with the game among more than eight tribes, and was probably not overconcerned in a popular treatment with the local tribal variations in play.

[2] As told by Mark Evarts; somewhat edited.

[p. 139]

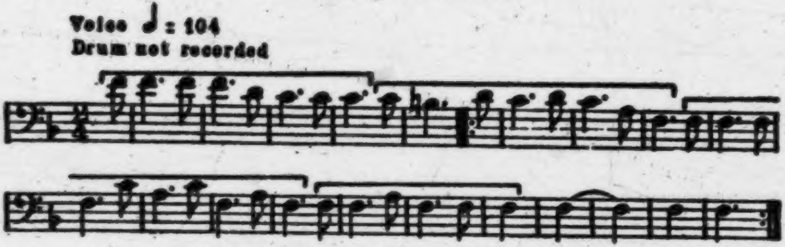
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The next song contains the same idea of the "ruling power in the heavens." 533*

No. 62. "O Expanse of the Heavens"

(Catalogue No. 1129)

Recorded by John Luwak



Iri	hawa	wi	tas	ta	kitawi	ras
There	almost always	are	you	have	powers (or leaders)	you
ta	kāwaha	ki	wē	tas	ta	kitawi
have	heavens	expand	are	you	have	powers

FREE TRANSLATION

I believe that in you, O heavens, dwell the ruling powers.

Analysis.—This song is major in tonality and contains one accidental, the fourth raised a semitone. The rhythm presents an unusual monotony as the only count-divisions, except in the final measures, are dotted quarter notes followed by eighth notes. The song has a compass of an octave and progresses by a variety of intervals.

The song next following was used as an old war dance. 885

It was the custom of the young men, in former times, to make known that they had arrived at an age of realization and had "put their trust in the heavens." James R. Murie said that he, as a young man, went around the village singing this song with other young men, so that all the people might hear and know they had assumed the attitude of men toward life. It is an Iruska but not a dancing song and belonged to Man Chief. 533* [424]

Analysis.—With a range of 10 tones this song contains the tone material of the second 5-toned scale. As in several other songs with large compass, it begins on the highest tone of its compass and ends on the lowest. The song consists of four periods, the third differing slightly from the others in rhythm, a form which occurs frequently in the simpler songs of the Indians. 533*

On his marriage the husband lived with his wife in her parents' 591
lodge until such time as he had proved himself capable of protecting and 885
providing for his own family. At that time the parents of the two
united in making him a tipi. The man then took the first opportunity of
going on the warpath, during which time he placed his wife and children,
if any, under the care of his own parents. Thereafter he and his
family lived in their lodge, except when upon the hunt, when he used
his own tipi. As soon as the man became a good warrior, medicine- 342
man, or priest, or as soon as his father's lodge became crowded, the
two families of the couple came together to build them a lodge, one
family constructing the north half and the other the south half. On
the completion of the lodge the husband himself fashioned the altar,
while he and his wife together constructed the fireplace.

DIVORCE

It was said that divorce was formerly rare among the Skidi. If 586
on the wedding night the husband found his bride was not a virgin,
he could leave her at once. Also, should a wife prove unfaithful, the
husband effected a divorce merely by leaving the lodge. The wife's
relatives, however, might prepare a feast and invite him to partake
of it. If he accepted, it was equivalent to remarriage. Barrenness
on the part of the woman ("her spring has gone dry") was not considered grounds for divorce.

If the husband committed adultery, his mother-in-law or the wife's grandmother could order him out of the lodge, in which case he was obliged to depart. The man who was lazy or an incompetent provider could also be driven out. In both cases the children remained with the wife.

DEATH

We may first consider the Skidi conception of the soul. All 775
living beings have souls, which are closely associated with the wind. [774]
After death those of some people ascend to the heavens and become
stars. The souls of others, including those who die of disease or die cowardly in battle, travel the dusty Milky-Way to the village of the spirits in the south. The souls of warriors who die bravely on the battlefield and of those who die in sacrifice travel a bloody trail to the village of the warriors. Anyone who tries to make the human sacrifice and fails, or does not perform the rite correctly, becomes burning flint under the feet of the Morning Star. The souls of chiefs and priests travel a road of flowers until they come to the guardian spirit who influenced them upon earth. On this road

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you) 539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tihi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562
fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the house-
hold routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [621]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [684]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 885
occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 525
ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de-
velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi [887]
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521
[797]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 *Analysis.*—This song has a compass of only five tones and contains the tones of the minor triad and fourth. In structure it is melodic. The form of the melody is peculiar, the first seven measures containing the descent from E to A and the next two measures being framed on the descent from D to A. This structure is repeated and the song closes with three measures on the descent from C to A. Only four intervals larger than a minor third occur in the song. The gradual decrease in the tempo of the drum is similar to that in the song next preceding.

887 481 787 *533 [424] The singer said that when he was a young man living in Nebraska he saw a very old man who used a cane. Even with this aid he could scarcely walk. This old man had a dream in which he ascended a high hill and sat down. The clouds were below him and he saw rain falling from the clouds; he also saw about 40 white horses and drove them; the white horses were probably the shapes assumed by the clouds in his dream. The following song belonged to this old man but was not related to the foregoing dream. It was sung in the Bear dance.

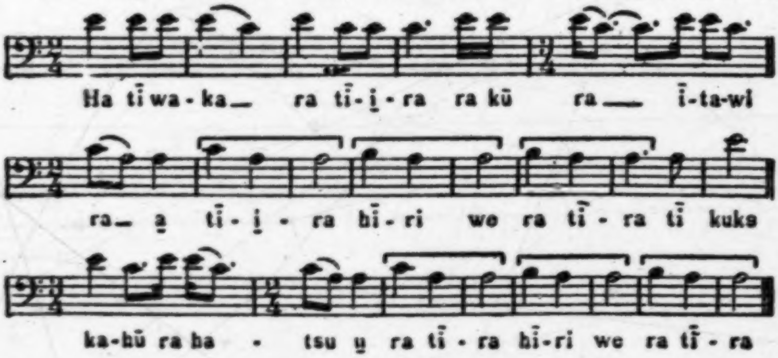
No. 15. "I Was Lost in the Timber"

(Catalogue No. 1121)

Recorded by Wicita Blain

*533

Voice ♩ = 138
Drum ♩ = 144, changing to ♩ = 138
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2


Ha tī wa-ka— ra tī-i-ra ra kū ra— ī-ta-wi
ra— a tī-i-ra hi-ri we ra tī-ra tī kuks
ka-hū ra ha-tsu u ra tī-ra hi-ri we ra tī-ra

Ha	tī	waka	ra	tīra	ra	kū	ra
Listen	he	said	do	I come	do	did	have
Itawi	hiri	we	ra	tīra	tī	kuks	
mentioning	place	now	do	I come	I	was	
kahū	ra	hatsu					
timber	have	lost					

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said, I come,
He told this to me,
I came to a place where I was lost in the timber,
I came to the place,
Now I come.

vidual embraced responsibility; he had no inclination to shirk it. In a 264
sense, the rhythm of Pawnee work life was like a ballet, whereas ours is 571
like a prison lockstep: "You must, you must, you must get to work!"

The day's routine in our Pawnee household began when either Victory 512
Call or Old Bull happened to awaken; this depended on which one
decided to get out of bed first. Or else White Woman or Queen Woman 592
might be the first to awaken, and then she would remind her husband
that it was morning. From the time one or the other of the two men got
out of bed, the day's program was set; the others simply followed the
initial cue. When the man had gotten out of his bed he went outside and
inspected the horizon and the stars, came in and kindled the fire, and
said, "Fire's made." His senior wife then got up and started the breakfast.
As observed by one of the contemporary missionaries in 1837, the rest followed
with precision. The minor cycles of household operation were also
conducted in a similar mode. Someone felt impelled to take care of a
needed task and mentioned it and volunteers were forthcoming without
further ado. Pressure and compulsion are implicit in our attitude toward
work; voluntarism was the Pawnee way.

The functions of the women in the earth lodge were subdivided 462
roughly according to age. The north and south quarters of the circumference
of the house were each subdivided into three "stations." The 562
central one of these (due north and due south) was the core position 592
and it was occupied by the mature women of the lodge. They furnished
the main provisions and directed the necessary work. At the inner or 561
western station on each side was the place of the immature girls and
newly married young women. The outer or eastern station on each side
was for the old women, symbolically on the way out and physically nearest
to the exit (or entryway) of the lodge. Most commonly each of
these stations was occupied by several women who carried out its special
functions jointly.

The details of the function of the central station have been mentioned 855
above in connection with general household operations. The other two 603
stations supplemented it in very different ways. At the east stations for
the old women, the children past the age of infancy were cared for, the 887
old women being referred to by the children as "grandmothers," regardless 592
of the actual biological kinship. The children slept in the beds with
their "grandmothers" and shared a bowl of food with them at meals.
Grandma saw that they were warm and well fed and tried to help them in
every way. She was a permissive, familiar, kind person to whom the child
could always appeal. Between grandma and grandchild there was neither
formality nor constraint. Jokes were made about a boy saying, "Look
how close he sticks to his grandma; he wants to marry her!" or "There
he goes always running to his grandma." Besides child care, the grandmother 887
would give a good deal of assistance to "the senior women of the 592

887 house." She supplemented their supplies of vegetables from her own garden
592 from time to time, saying, "Daughter, cook this for our supper."
She would also have a small private stock of dried meat that she had gotten by helping with its preparation during the hunt season, and she would also offer this at various times when it seemed a good idea. Again there was no regular schedule for this, nor any amount that was standard. Grandma already rendered considerable services to the house and was considered entitled to her "keep." She also gave substantive help with skin working, sewing, getting firewood, special manufacturing, and so on.

462 The young women and girls at the west stations did minor household
tasks, but had a far more significant contribution to make to its ongoing.
592 They were there to please and care for a capable man who would protect
883 the people in the lodge, provide them with fresh meat by his almost daily
hunting expeditions for deer, elk, or antelope, participate in the tribal buffalo hunts in the summer and winter each year so that they would all have dried buffalo meat, and carry on the official interrelationships with the community outside the household, including those with the village officials.

582 An influential and capable man might be given one of these girls in marriage with the understanding that her younger sisters would also be given to him when they came of age. If he were adjudged too old, the family was unlikely to agree to these further marriages. In the case of Old Bull, the family of his junior wife, Clear Day, was unwilling to give him her younger sister on this account. Fifteen years was considered a suitable age for marriage in a girl, and eighteen for a boy. However, the probability is remote that the couple would be of these ages respectively. First marriages for both a boy and a girl were almost always of a "May-September" type. A boy of eighteen was considered altogether incapable of playing a suitable married role in a household. A man contracted a mar-
583 riage in terms of services he could render to the family of the girl that he
591 married. Normally he was expected to come to live in her household and
"take care of them," i.e., render them major services.

601 The son-in-law, i.e., the man married into a household, was known as
kustawixtsu," the one that is sitting among [us]." The man on his part
656 referred to his in-laws as *tatutkaku*, "I sit inside for you," that is, "I am in
the house for your benefit." The reward he receives is his wife whom he calls *tatiraktaku*, "I own her," and she in turn refers to her husband as *tikuktaku*, "he owns me." These terms are not normally used under informal circumstances, the couple addressing each other by the common term for spouse, *raku*, or if they are on particularly pleasant terms, the man calls his wife *tsustit*, "old lady," and she refers to her husband as *kurahus*, "old man."

58 Because of the services required on both sides, a young man would have little alternative but to marry a capable older woman, and a young

159 574 592 go off and gather wild turnips, she went with some other old lady from Bottomlands Village. Only if it were necessary once in a while, would the three old ladies of the lodge go together to get a little wood for fuel.

[887] Old ladies were great ones for visiting one another and talking over old times—about when they were young and when they got married, prepared buffalo robes and many other such reminiscences. Whenever Blue Calico came back from a visit to her own village, she would come in with stories of what was going on there. "That man went hunting and didn't bring home anything," she would say, or, "He brought some game—a deer."

156 571 602 Contrary to a common conception of tribal life, the personal interrelationships of the Pawnee were not fixed within a kin mold. For example, there was a marked difference in temperament between the two wives of Old Bull, Queen Woman, the senior one, and Clear Day, the younger of the two. Two factors combined to make the approach to Otter of these two women different. Through a relatively distant kin line, the older wife Queen Woman counted as a sister, *itahi*, to Otter and accordingly their relationship was formal. As noted above (page 36), Queen Woman's two little boys regarded Otter as a mother's brother, *tiwatciriks*, and he treated them as nephew, *tiwat*. Under these conditions, the kind of joking Otter was encouraged to carry on with Clear Day was not in order. On the other hand, Queen Woman had another role as wife of Old Bull and consequently "wife" to Otter. Two conflicting roles presented themselves and the sister role was chosen. The likelihood is that this was an adjustment to Queen Woman's conservative temperament which tipped the balance in favor of the more formal of the two possible kinship categories. When people used to marry almost exclusively within the village, the wife of an uncle or of a brother was bound to be some sort of relative to the younger boy. This was apparently conveniently forgotten or raised as the circumstances happened to warrant.

Neither personal relations nor the personnel of the household were cramped within a fixed kin structure. The individual personality was not trimmed down to fit the kin structure, but the structure was used to realize the individual personality. The Pawnee social structure was written into no statute book, nor did it have the status of doctrine, and there was no chain of command to enforce it. Therefore it was not frozen and clamped onto the people, but carried implicitly by them to serve them as they saw fit. No built-in guilt, acting as a surrogate for dominant power, forced them to narrow the scope of their personal lives. They were socially creative in every personal interrelationship they had. The
602 world was raw and their life was hard, but it was also freer than ours.
626 No religious or supernatural sanction enforced the social forms. The only

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you) 539 831
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.
5.	*biru bira bai ira'*	(Sung syllables)

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku abaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku biru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku bawa biru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tibi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572
as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562
fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their
life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857
groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868
to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who
were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking
the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the house-
hold routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512
would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile
away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521]
water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [584]
were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462
no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 885
occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582]
for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571
in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 525
ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de-
velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi [887]
Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 571
the following words: 521

[797]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

the altar there. Out of delicacy, she did not offer corn to the sacred ears in 264
the bundle; if they had had buffalo meat she would have offered it there 782
but not to the buffalo skull.

Now the meal began, and it was proper that they have light conversa- 264
tion while eating. Their conversation turned to getting water for the 521
household and wood for fuel, the care of the horses, and the food pit. White Woman remarked to Clear Day, who was sitting on the other side of the fireplace, "After breakfast, let's take two kettles and get some water." The other women talked about opening up the food pit and sorting out the good corn from the rotten and about exposing dry meat to the wind and sun. Victory Call talked to Horse Rider, who was sitting at his left, about the horses. He said, "Right up near where the horses are you might find some mushrooms and milkweed so that the women can cook the tops." Then the women chimed in, "I wish you could get some milkweed. That's good mixed with corn." Then Victory Call spoke of the horses: "If there's a good runner among them, get on him and give him some exercise so that we can train him as a buffalo horse. You must look around meanwhile and see if you see some deer tracks. We might go hunting. In the evening take the horses to a safe hiding place and hobble them so that the Sioux won't steal them. Look way off in all directions and if you see anyone lurking about bring them right home and put them in the corral. They won't starve for one night. In the morning we'll turn them loose and they can make up for it." "All right, I'll look around," said Horse Rider, "I'll be home late." Victory Call had some further reminders for him. He asked him if he had any parched corn with salt so that the horses would get thirsty and drink. He also reminded him that he should wet the sides of the horses and then they would rub themselves on the grass and shed their old hair. This was a necessary precaution, as they had no curry comb. Horse Rider actually knew all this, but he listened respectfully.

The meal now over, White Woman cleaned up the dishes and started 264
out with Clear Day to get the water. It was a mile to Beaver Creek, and it 512
was necessary to go at least twice a day to get water for the household. 312
Horse Rider usually helped by making at least one of these trips. The 482
two women now set out with two buckets hanging on a seven-foot-long stick which rested on their right shoulders, one woman walking in front and one behind, with the buckets between. The stick, ordinarily used as a digging iron, had one end fire-hardened and sharpened to a point, the other end being forked. At this time after breakfast and especially just before eating supper, many people were walking toward the creek for the same purpose.

Horse Rider left the lodge to take care of the horses, and Old Bull and 512
Victory Call remained seated in their place, smoking their pipe and con- 462
tinuing their conversation. The old ladies who were left behind looked [887]

512 around their stores to see what they might contribute to the family larder.
462 When the women got back with the water they would say, "Daughter,
887 I want you to cook this." If they were going to have mush for their next
meal, the old lady might busy herself pounding the corn in the mortar.
Or the old women would go out and look for a little kindling wood.

313 Now a messenger arrived from Eagle Chief, asking Old Bull and Victory
484 Call to come to a chiefs' council at Eagle Chief's house. They were
623 to plan a mass expedition to get wood in order to store up a plentiful supply
of fuel. With the heavy demand upon the wood supply in the immediate
[726] neighborhood of the villages, they had to go five miles or more
to get any appreciable quantities; for this they had to plan their itinerary
and provide military protection against the constantly lurking enemy.
The messenger stated: "I've come for the two of you to invite
you to to Eagle Chief's house. Take your bowl and spoon with you
when you go" (indicating that there would be a feast). Both men got up
and set out at once for Eagle Chief's house. By eleven o'clock all the
chiefs had gathered there.

512 The men would be gone until evening, and the women began the
252 household routines at home. When the two women got back from Beaver
262 Creek with the water, they cooked a casual lunch of scraps of dried buffalo
[232] meat that they kept in a buffalo paunch bag for the purpose. They
[415] made some soup with parched corn and a little salt.

The main business of the women of the household that day was to give
512 the food pit a good cleaning—to remove the large skin bags containing
251 the dried corn and other supplies, examine all the seeds for bad ones and
356 for worms, sweep the thatch-covered walls of the pit, clear off the mold,
and take out three weeks' supply of dried foods so that they could keep
the pit closed for a while to reduce the danger of rain water leaking in;
besides, they liked to let the ground settle down so that the location of
the pit would be concealed from lurking enemies. The Pawnee name for
[192] food pit, *tahaksu*, means hidden, concealed, or covered up. The women
all knew that they were pressed for time as the entire job had to be completed
between lunchtime and sundown, since the pit could not be left
open for the night. While lunch preparations were under way, one of the
old women remarked to the other, "Since it is such a nice day, let's make
a start by opening up the pit and letting out the moldy, musty air. Then
we can go on after lunch."

Having eaten their meal, the two old women came out again directly
and spread a skin on the ground, dipping the dried corn out of the large
skin sacks with a pan or bowl and spreading it out to dry. All the corn had
to be removed and examined and the walls cleaned thoroughly—moldy
spots in the grass lining being rubbed off and thrown away. Sometimes
they were lucky enough to find that none of the corn had spoiled at all.
[776] After the lunch dishes were cleaned, the other women joined the old la-

The following is a simplified translation of an old Pawnee woman's 887
statement of her experience of planting when she was a little girl in Ne- 521
braska, and a more exact statement of the old man's speech: 539

> An old man sitting on top of the earth lodge would be talking to the women at the time when they were going into the fields. He would say, "Now dear ladies, now you are disfiguring your bodies (getting them all muddy). Heaven has placed the wonderful bow and arrows in your hands. Heaven made it for you to be wonderful. You are wonderful! You repeatedly keep 'swelling me up.' When you put the corn in and it comes peeping out, that's what you fatten me with, my dear ladies."
>
> Then we women began to cut the grass, that is, clear the field. And when [241]
> I was not yet mature, they would get me up early in the morning while it was still dark, and we two, my mother and I, would be in her field. She would have some porridge there for me. When mother was planting, oh, the corn mound would be big! Then she would dig a hole in the top and place inside the mound, seven seeds—not bunched together, but separately spaced. Then she covered it over with earth and the mound would be smooth.

One of the only common instances of group planting was "planting for 241
the daughter-in-law." The women relatives of the newly married groom 476
would plant, cultivate, and harvest the bride's first crop. As many as 602
twenty-five women would be gathered in her field and they would go to her house and get her seeds and line up in the field ready to plant. The field, about "half a block" long was hoed and planted by the women
more or less in unison while two old women sat at the far end singing a [533]
song from one of the sacred bundle ceremonies: [539]

You are just hoeing around,
Big ground, lucky ground.

They were ranged in rows and while the women sang they made the
mounds. Then they put in the seeds and then they all went to the home [574]
of the daughter-in-law where they were entertained at a feast of corn and dried buffalo meat. They repeated this performance when the corn sprouted, when they cultivated the field, and again at harvest.

628 623 203 *224 Just as the meeting was drawing to a close, as in all chiefs' meetings, an old man would climb up onto the roof of the lodge and cry out to the village what had been decided. In this case he did so early next morning. His wording was in a precise telegraphic style so that it could be clearly understood by everyone. He said:

> This was what was decided in the chiefs' meeting. White Eagle decided we are going to hunt in four days. Anything you have to do, get finished in that time. On the fifth day, we'll go out of the village. We'll camp on the other (south) side of the Loup River (*its-kari*, "potatoes-many").
>
> We'll camp there a whole day so that any of you that aren't quite through can join us any time that day and up to the evening of the sixth day. On the seventh day we are going to be moving upstream (westward).

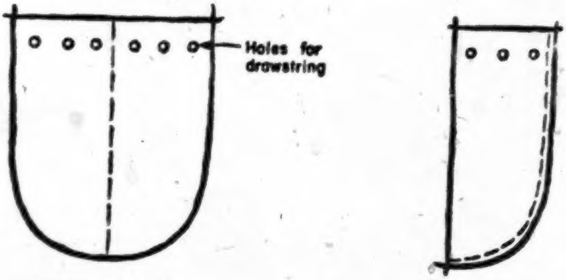
The old man, having completed his announcement, went back into his lodge.

*224 •887 537 [789] Toward evening any old man who felt impelled might get up onto the roof of his house and talk to the people. He would say whatever was on his mind—about events in the past and their lessons for the future, or any other matters that seemed pertinent. Reviewing past events that were successful was considered a kind of sympathetic magic as well as of practical value. At this time the old man might talk about the fields and of how they were in the past. "All that," he would conclude "is in the past. But today we may have the same luck." Then he would continue in a different vein: "Try to help one another and take care of the children. The little ones like to swim and one must watch that they don't drown. I hope we come home well and find everything in good order."

*224 525 Such an old man was likely to speak gently and phrase his thoughts diplomatically and people listened carefully and thought about what he said. However, at the gambling grounds the gamblers had other matters on their minds. They were thinking about the good places they would come to along the way that were nice and smooth, with good buffalo grass growing on them—such a fine playing field for the hoop and pole game. They would discuss the different sites they were going to camp at where these would be found and agree between them that one would take along one stick and one the other so that they would have the equipment they needed for playing. For the inveterate gambler, this subject was always uppermost in his mind.

*224 276 756 Other men were thinking about how to get enough smoking tobacco to fill their needs, and the doctors were occupied with the herbs and medicines they would need to take along that were available only in this area. The tobacco was needed for ritual as well as for social purposes.

*224 roasted in the husks. The kernels were then cut from the cob with a clam-
251 shell and dried. Corn prepared in this way, known as *rawaritu*, "roasted,"
252 required little soaking and could be boiled in an hour. When the camp
was moving along quickly, this was the corn they depended on for the
[243] basic staple. While some of the corn crop was thus gathered early when it
was "in the milk," the rest of the crop was allowed to mature and dry
on the stalk, *rikis-tahis*, "corn-dry." After the cobs were snapped off the
stalk and carried in, the kernels were pried off with a pointed stick. Any
of the nine varieties might be treated in either way, but the blue flour
corn was particularly favored for maturing on the stalk to be processed
as dry corn. Dry corn took considerably longer to prepare than roasted. It
had to be soaked for some time before it could be boiled, and they used
it when they stayed over at a place, arrived early, or stayed at camp late
one morning. Although it took longer to prepare, this kind of corn was
heavier and more satisfying. The sticky, yellow sweet corn pounded
with sugar was taken along as a kind of sweet meat or served when they
• [887] had no time at all to cook a meal. This was most commonly prepared by
the old ladies who had more time to pound things in the mortar. Thin
sheets of dry buffalo meat were also pounded in the mortar with a little
fat and served as an alternative uncooked meal. Old women who some-
times started very early and went ahead of the line carried these foods in
a skin bag as rations. Dried spotted corn was particularly preferred for
parching, to be eaten like popcorn or with soup. In addition, they took
along several varieties of dried beans to be boiled with the corn and some
dried pumpkin and buffalo intestine for the same purpose, in order to add
a variety of flavors. Dried buffalo meat from the previous winter hunt
*224 was also included. Each of these foods was separately packed in a
25 tanned skin bag with a piece of skin on top to cover the opening and
415



Folded along mid-line and sewn.

A circular piece of hide was put inside when full before the draw-string was pulled.

FIGURE 16-1. The small sack, *asa-karusu*, "dog-sack." Slightly larger than our 50-pound flour sack, it is used for carrying pounded-up sweet corn, dried pieces of meat, scraps, and so forth.

19

COMMON CAMPING ROUTINES

000

Description of Camping Routines—Starting the Day—Breakfast—Loading the Horses—Striking the Tent—the Camp Crier—Entertainment

*484 512 [887] THE ROUTINE OF CAMPING and decamping followed the same pattern throughout the summer. Advance scouts left the encampment about four in the morning to survey the route and to protect the old women who preceded the line of march in order to be sure to keep up with the group. As dawn was breaking, everyone had had breakfast and was under way. The families of the chiefs got up earliest in order to lead the line of march.

In Victory Call's camp, Grandma got up before anyone else—she made a low fire and put the bucket of corn to warm up on the glowing embers. Then she brought in an armful of wood and put it down next to the fireplace and went to the creek to get a bucket of water.

Now Horse Rider would begin to grunt and growl and say, "It's morning now," so that everyone would get up. The horses were hobbled and picketed around the encampment; he got into his moccasins, picked up his lariat, and went off to tend to them. He watered them since he wouldn't have a chance after breakfast, bringing them close to the tent and hobbling them there so that they would be ready for loading.

By the time the old lady was coming with the bucket of water, White Woman had gotten up, washed her hands and face, and begun to prepare breakfast.

[821] [515] Now Victory Call arose, went out, and looked at the sky to see if there were clouds far out over the hills. He came in and took a little basin of water and washed his hands and face, drying them on the hairy part of a buffalo robe—the leg and arm parts, and then shaking off the water. Some men went to the creek to wash, gargled with some water, and blew it out. While doing this, one had to face west toward the Evening

*224 this area now, north of the Republican, they were in Pawnee territory
*484 and were less concerned about danger of attack. As the South Bands had
their villages to the east of the Skidi on Beaver Creek, they moved ahead
while the Skidi lagged behind. They ate mainly dried buffalo meat at
[262] this time and a little parched corn in soup. If anyone happened to have
[252] any roasted corn kernels on hand, they boiled them and ate them, but
most people had used up their supply by now. The old women were always
*224 busy when they stopped, pulverizing dried buffalo meat in the
*484 mortar with a pestle. They made a flat package, *tsat-katus*, "package-flat,"
251 of tanned hide (see Figure 30-1) and filled it up with the pounded-
• 887 up dried meat. The package could be carried on the back with a strap
[482] that ran across the chest. It was 2 feet long by 1½ feet wide, and was
[439] often carried on their backs by the old women. It was a good trade
item. Sometimes they also included some dried meat. Both kinds could
[262] be eaten without cooking as they were already thoroughly cured. One
could simply break off a piece of the dried meat and eat it.

237
251
482

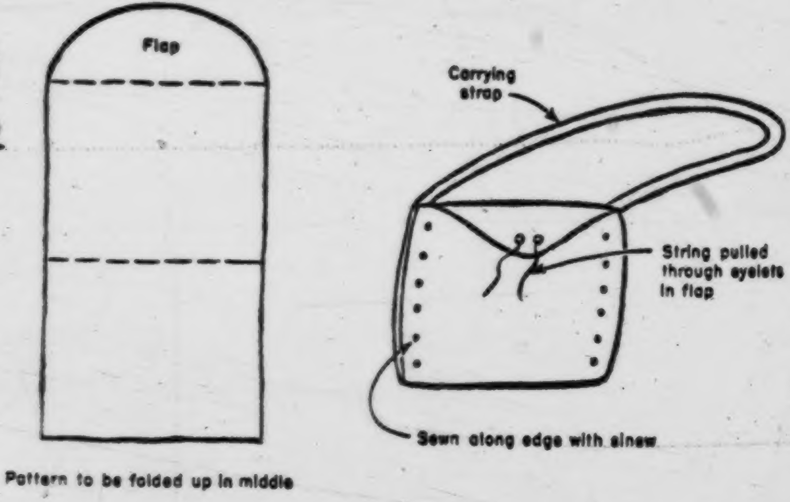

Flap
Carrying strap
String pulled through eyelets in flap
Sewn along edge with sinew
Pattern to be folded up in middle

FIGURE 30-1. The pattern of a skin knapsack, *tsat-katus*, "package-flat."

*224 Some old women made a *hu-tsaku*, "water-package," of half a buffalo
*484 bull hide made into rawhide, with sticks fastened underneath and the
[237] baggage wrapped inside envelope-fashion, to be floated across a swollen
[281] stream. Most of the women were busy tanning buffalo robes and scraping
hides all the way home.

726 Some young men were saying that when they got to the Platte River
they would set out on the warpath. There were plenty of Sioux around

considerable quantities of dried corn, vegetables, meat, and some skins 251 and clothing, and they took out some of the dried corn and beans for current use, until the green corn would be ready.

As soon as the encampment was set up, Grandma had a visit from Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy who was camping way over east with the Village-in-the-Bottomlands group where she had been all summer with her son. She came to talk to Grandma about going up to the cache pit the next morning, cleaning it up and getting out a few supplies. Old-Lady-Blue-Calico who was the grandmother in Old Bull's family that occupied the south side of the earth lodge, also came with a similar proposal and early next morning the three old ladies went up there and got to work. White Woman and No Corn said they would join them later after they had finished the household chores in order to get a few supplies of dried corn and pumpkin.

When they first opened the pit, the air smelled moldy and they had to let it air a bit before anyone could enter. Then they put down a tree ladder, and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, who was the tallest, went into the pit to look things over. The ladder was a tree trunk with stubs of [417] branches left on for a foothold and two extra notches at the bottom. The pit was 10 feet deep. The moldy smell might have come from the thatch grass that lined the pit or from the actual supplies. When she got down inside, the old lady discovered a moldy place in the grass which she proceeded to rub off with a broom and throw out of the pit. The women had each brought along a small sack, *ritsakusu*, in which to carry home their supplies. This was about 8 inches high and a foot in diameter when full (compare with sack carried on the hunt, *asakarusu*, 3 feet high and 1½ feet diameter when full). In the pit each woman had a very large sack of tanned hide in which her provisions were stored, and each one asked Grieves-the-Enemy to dip out some from her store into the small sack. No Corn who had arrived with White Woman by this time, asked for some green roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*) and a half a checker-plaited pumpkin mat. White Woman asked for the same. Grandma reminded them that they shouldn't take too much at this time, as they would very soon have fresh roasted green corn from their current crop. Since the other women in the household had taken roasted corn, Grandma asked for a different kind—mature dried blue flour corn, [252] *uraaxkatit*, that she could pound up and make into mush with buffalo soup, *u-taraha* "mush-buffalo." She also asked for dried sweet corn, the rather sticky yellow variety, *rikis-karus*, "corn-sweet," that she intended to pound up in the mortar with sugar which could then be eaten without further preparation.

The younger women carried their supplies back to camp and the three older women lingered a while to close up the pit securely and to talk over their plans. They had decided that each of the old women would stay in her own field and completely process her crop there.

243
387
252

000 stay in her own field and completely process her crop there. The
243 younger women whose husbands had horses for transportation would
476 often go out together with another couple and bring the crop back to
252 camp, where they would do the processing in a coordinated group. Victory
Call and White Woman along with Horse Rider and No Corn
formed such a work group, first in White Woman's fields and then in
those of No Corn, carrying the crops into camp on their horses. The old
[887] lady sat in her field all day and brought the finished product back to
camp when it was completely prepared for storage. Families with only
[492] one horse or with no horses also processed the entire crop in the field
before packing it into camp.

313 While the women were at the food pit, the men had been out piling
462 wood in the fields and in camp so that it would be ready for roasting the
green corn. They preferred to get dead willows and driftwood; Horse
Rider was at the creek piling up the driftwood while Victory Call was
bringing the willows into the camp. Some men would say, "I don't care
—that's women's work," but a good man would help his wife.

222 At this time of year they gathered a plant, *parus-asu*, "rabbit-foot,"
272 used for making a brown tea that they drank if they didn't happen to
have coffee (*Lespedeza Capitata* Michx.) At the top in a cluster are some
fruits looking like tiny rabbit feet. The plant grew on a bush about 3
feet high. They brewed the tea by breaking up the dry twig with the
leaves on and steeping it in a coffee pot. Now everything was ready for
harvesting and roasting the green corn.

243 Very early next morning Grandma went out to her field and there prepared
342 a place for her work She built herself an ample shade, *kipasiu*, of
willows—a circular enclosure, open at the top with an entrance at the
252 east. The leaves were a bit interlaced to make the fencing solid, the side
branches beginning about a foot from the ground. When she left for the
night, she put a willow sapling with leaves at the top in the doorway so
that the shelter was closed in and well protected from horses. People
who did not work in the field sometimes built themselves a more temporary
shelter by arranging four or five willows in an arc. In her enclosure
Grandma roasted all her corn and would leave it overnight in bags to
be husked there next day and the kernels removed before bringing it to
camp. During the harvest she cooked all her meals there. She left before
breakfast and ate whenever it was convenient. She had a kettle along
and a small mortar and pestle for preparing her meals. She would pound
some of the fresh corn kernels from the roasted cobs and wrap them in
corn husks, putting them in the boiling water to make dumplings. After
she removed the dumplings she would add some dried meat scraps that
had been scraped from the hide at the hunting grounds, *kstasi'u*, to make
a good soup. Sometimes she took her grandson, Otter, into the field and
shared her meals with him.

512 people went on the hunt and still the corn lay there. A man going
173 through the village heard someone talking. He thought there must be
243 another man in the village. But he followed along to where the
voice was coming from and got to the sweepings. There lay the good ear of corn. He stopped and picked it up and began to talk to it. He asked it to bless him and send him good luck for this corn is our Mother. He kept that ear of corn. That's how it was in the old days. Now since you've been wasting, the corn will become scarce."

512 That evening they husked the dry corn and continued next day until
243 about two in the afternoon. Then it was left spread out to dry on the
cob until evening and pried off after supper with a stick. Some men
251 joined them and helped and after the women had gone to bed they
252 continued to pry off the kernels, telling stories while they worked until
late in the evening. The next day the shelling of the dry corn continued and that afternoon the men just wandered about the camp for a little recreation. Horse Rider had gone down to the grounds to watch the gambling. The women were tired and lay down to rest; their hands felt cramped from prying off the kernels.

[285] After they had collected the dry corn from No Corn's field, the women alternated work on it with making pumpkin mats as the strips were now dry enough. Then they proceeded to get the small nubbin ears for fattening the horses and collecting the sweet corn and braiding it to finish off the work.

356 While they were doing the pumpkins, the old ladies had already
887 made a plan to go up and begin the process of clearing the earth
lodge in anticipation of the time when the harvest was done. They had to go up at intervals of four days successively and burn out the fleas with torches. "These fleas bite worse than bedbugs!"

The three old ladies met at the lodge in the morning as planned. They removed the brush that had been placed across the door to seal it before they left on the hunt. They took off their clothes and put on an old petticoat. They made a brush or short broom of dry *pakuts* (thatch) grass and tied it to a stick. Then each woman took her brush inside the lodge and lit the grass, each one going around one side of the room and being careful to stay near the floor as the dry grass in the roof thatch might catch fire. When the grass was burned up on their broom, they put some more grass on it and repeated the process throughout the day. They repeated this four days later, and then on subsequent days.
[824] They built a little fire in the fireplace and burnt some wild sage, kiwaut,
(*Artemisia gnaphalodes* Nutt.) as incense to clear the air and make the room smell good. They would also burn some of the sage on their brooms along with the other grass. After the final smoking, they left the lodge empty for a day and on the following evening the lodge was quite habitable.

quite habitable. Each of the old ladies brought in her dried corn and 000
put it on her side of the lodge. They slept over and talked that night 521
about the events of the past summer. They had a good deal to tell one 887
another.

Grandma began: "The first time we got buffalo, we had two, and 521
my, I was slicing away to make the dry meat and White Woman was 887
busy at the drying rack. Then we made bone grease. We had a hard 222
time getting the flesh we scraped off the hides to dry." Grieves-the- 224*
Enemy commented: "I went out and got lots of intestines from the men after the kill." Grandma said, "I never got a chance to get out there, but Horse Rider brought in plenty of entrails. When we were south across the Republican, three of us old ladies found some wonderful turnips. Oh, I wish we had them now! We were shouting to each other, 'Here are some!' and everyone said the officers should have punished us for yelling like that (the buffalo might have been frightened), but they finally decided to let us alone to have our good time." They talked about how they would get Indian potatoes after they were well settled and what else they might do then. Old-Lady-Blue
Calico then talked of her hunt experiences: "Oh my, we didn't get 521
a chance to eat ribs very much. My very public-spirited son-in-law, 224*
Old Bull thought he should give White Eagle his support so that 251
nearly every day that they got buffalo, he would leave the ribs at the council tent and sometimes the backbone steak too. Once in a while Old Bull brought home two or three ribs from the feast for the family to eat. My daughter Clear Day and I made dry meat. Queen Woman, who isn't too strong, we gave the job of hanging up the slices to dry and turning them over. Clear Day had to wash the paunch after she sliced the meat. I tried to make bone grease, but I barely got it made. It was too hot." Grandma now chimed in with, "I have mine all right. I made it the first night we got to the Republican River. Horse Rider brought in the bones." "My, that woman knows how to do everything," Blue-Calico remarked. They might sit up most of the night talking until they got too sleepy. In the morning they came down to the camp and joined the family for breakfast. Even before the family finally moved in, they took the corn and beans up there to protect them from rain. They were not worried about stealing as everyone had plenty of the same kind of supplies at this time.

46

A TIME FOR STORYTELLING AND FOR LEISURE

000 *Old Men Invited to Talk of Old Times—the Storytelling Sessions—after Eating, the Stories—Eagle Chief Begins—War Cry Tells of a Fight with the Sioux—Storytelling Continues through the Night*

517 THE SERIOUS BUSINESS of the season being over, the men would get together in one or another of the earth lodges to tell stories of the old times and to review past events. They had worked hard hunting the buffalo, making the harvest and performing their dances, and now it would be pleasant to sit around the fire and enjoy a little leisure before they set out again for the buffalo hunting grounds.

517
887
574
538 Old men especially are invited for they are going to talk of the Old Village, Kitahaxpakuxtu, and how things used to be and came to be. In the fall was the good time of year to be telling these stories when it's not too cold and not too hot, but just nice to have a fire—after the harvest. When people hear who is invited—old men, chiefs, warriors—they know there is going to be storytelling. These sessions would begin after supper about eight o'clock in the evening and continue on throughout the night. Refreshments would be served from time to time consisting of fried bread, cooked dried apples and coffee. The smell of the bread cooking would be wafted over the village if there was a wind blowing and someone would just follow his nose and come in. Or else he could see the smoke of the fire and would come in. As soon as he got inside they would all say, "Nawa, sit down on any side." The chiefs were ranged at the west, and on the east along both sides

sat the old men. Casual guests sat in the spaces in between. People from 517
the other villages would also hear about it and wander in. Sometimes 887
quite a large group would be gathered there. 574
538

Once Victory Call served as temporary Agency policeman and when [625]
he got an extra sack of flour for his services, he decided to have a storytelling session in his lodge. He sent Horse Rider especially to invite a number of old men: Pipe Offering, That-Chief, Heavy Trophies, Arrived, Warrior (also known as Big Knife, a name also used to refer to white people—a lively raconteur), Know-His-Face, Good-Land, Wonderful Old Buffalo Bull, and Buffalo Ghost—nine in all. Then he was sent to call in some chiefs—Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge and Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine as well as Sitting Hawk and Good Pipe—and braves—War Cry and Bringing Horses. From Bottomlands and Wolf-in-Water villages they would wander in without being invited, knowing what sort of group it was to be. While White Woman was doing the cooking, the old men were telling each other how many different places were calling them in to tell stories. The women would say, "We're through cooking," and put the bread and coffee near Victory Call a little off to his right. Now all the women retired to their beds, and as they lay there they would hear the stories.

Victory Call addressed his guests by name and kin term and said, "We have a little something here for you to eat. I thought I'd invite you here tonight so that I could see you here. Now this meeting is called simply because I want you folks to tell some old-time stories." All said, "Nawa," and Victory Call then turned over the meeting to Lone Chief and Eagle Chief who directed the proceedings from then on. They directed the two errand men to serve the food and by the time they had finished eating it was ten o'clock.

Now Eagle Chief spoke, urging Old Man Warrior to begin. But Old Man Warrior parried his suggestion with, "We old men here know how things should be done and the custom is that the leader has to tell the first story. Isn't that right, That-Chief?" "That's right," said That-Chief, "the leader has to tell the story first." "Well," said Eagle Chief laughing, "I thought I could get you to do it, but I guess I'll have to." "You start it out and we'll follow," said the old men.

When Eagle Chief began, he opened with a discussion of what sort of a story it ought to be, a long or a short one. "I have stories, but if I tell a war story, it will be a pretty long one. If I tell a story of the Sioux coming on the warpath to attack the village, it will be sort of a short one. If I tell of my trip to Washington, it will be of medium length." The old men were thinking they would rather have old-time stories so that they could reminisce about the past, but someone finally spoke up in favor

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

517 887 574 538 of a short story and said, "Let's hear stories about 'at home' [the Sioux attacking the village]. After a while we'll get away from the village and on the warpath." It was now understood that he would tell a story of attack on the village and that he would be followed by a story on the same theme by his brave, War Cry, after which the old men would begin. In both stories, the enemy was repulsed, not by main force alone, but by the power of the Peace Pipe, which is "beloved of Heaven."

539 721 (648) "Now I'll tell a story," said Eagle Chief. "Now you all know when you first took me as a chief and when I was going to Washington, on the morning of the day that was set for us to go, I was all dressed up. I was wearing my government coat, and of course, my leggings and moccasins. I was wearing my government medal. Finally the delegation left the village and when we got about five miles east, all at once one of the men in the back said, 'Look back at the village. There must be a warpath coming!' We could see everyone standing on top of the earth lodges. 'Well boys,' I said, 'let's go back.' The Kitkehaxkis, Tsawis, Pitahawiratas and us Skidis all went back to our villages." As he told the story the old men sat smoking and they said, "That's the time. That's it."

"Well when I came to my earth lodge, I looked at my wives there and said, 'Dear wives, maybe Heaven doesn't want me to see the great government.' At the same time my horse was way out there and I had to get to it to go on the warpath. All I took was my bow and arrows. I walked over to the sacred bundle and there on top were the Pipe Dance sticks. I took the one with the black eagle feathers (the male pipestem). That was all I took with me. I said to my wives, 'Now if it's the will of Heaven, I'll come back. If not, I won't. I may not come back.' It was because I had heard old people say that Heaven loves these pipes, that I took it with me.

"I got on the horse and went to where the fighting was going on. 'Well, this is my last day,' I thought to myself. Because the pipestem has two soft feathers on it and I didn't want them to touch my horse, I raised it up out of the way. I rode right through where the Sioux were and to the fighting line. I arrived at the front line with a Sioux close on one side of me, one on the other side and one directly in front. When I arrived at the front line, the Sioux turned back their horses and started to flee. There I was facing the whole line of Sioux, holding my pipe up like this. As the retreating line was going, you could see the dust. But I still had my original Sioux escorts. Wedged in between them, they didn't dare to try and shoot me with their bow and arrow as they were likely to shoot each other in the attempt. I raised this pipe and hit the one that was riding in front of me right on the back of his head. I reined in my horse and they rode ahead. We had ridden way

526 [773] ers played the field once toward the north and once toward the south and then two other players got up and played their round.

The paraphernalia of *the mature men* differed from that of the youths in the size of the ring and in the complexity of the spear. The ring of the youths was about 8 inches in diameter, probably built on a wooden hoop wrapped in buckskin, while the mature men used a very small hoop, 4 inches in diameter, with strips of rawhide as a base, wrapped around with the buckskin string. The mature men's wheel was called, *ks-tats-awi-katus*, "hand-down-hanging-flat." The spear was about 5½ feet long. The pole was completely wound around with a strip of buckskin and at the hand end there was a large hook completely wrapped around with the same material. The shaft was slightly tapered from the hand end to the point. About three-eighths of the length in from the point the shaft was somewhat flattened and a cross piece was lashed onto it with a small hook fastened on top in the lashings. A similar cross piece with hook was fastened about one-eighth way in from the point end. It was with these small hooks that they aimed to catch onto the hoop or else with the ends of the cross pieces. The shaft used by the youths was plain wood with a knob on the end to represent the bison penis. At the hand end were fastened two hooks wrapped around with buckskin.

526 887 There was a game *played by old men* with a very large hoop (possibly 25 inches in diameter) with no spear. The hoop itself was rolled and aimed at one of the players of the opposing side as a kind of tag. The players lined up along both sides of the grounds and when the player had rolled the wheel and it struck one of the men standing on the opposing side to his, the man who was hit would spread his blanket and begin to run, while the other man pursued him. If he stumbled and tripped on his blanket, he would be caught and would then have to roll the hoop and try to tag a man of the other side. If the pursuer stumbled, he would have to roll the hoop again. The special play of the game was called *kiskiru'*.

526 821 The wheel itself was called ***ka-huraru***, literally, inside-land or "land of inside" which in Pawnee referred to the universe. The circumference of the wheel represented the horizon and it was marked off into twelve sections with bunches of feathers that were fastened on at equal intervals. [805] Each section represented a thirty-day lunar month of the twelve-month year. The four seasons of the year were marked off on the hoop by different colors for each quarter-arc. The winter quarter was white, the spring quarter light green, the summer quarter darker green, and the autumn, reddish-yellow. The universe was conceived as having a flat base and rotating around the motionless earth, the progression of the seasons resulting from this rotation. This had been inferred from the fact that the stars and the planets appear to have changed their positions with the seasons. Across the diameter was stretched a string of buckskin or sinew

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way 526
and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they 821
came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No [525]
gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of 526
a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where 237
they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the [322]
opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the
white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was
wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and
also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-four
feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidistant
intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector
carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a [534]
water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of 524
marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled basket 773
made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket 415
represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to
carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the
germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony
immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous movement"
or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially
made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The
women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the
course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to
move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who 525
knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of 285
willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the 463
craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and
such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or [461]
three days and the woman received the usual combination of something [465]
to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and
some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn
into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the 525
ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learning [887]
to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling.
There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the
betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual
pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make
the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked
to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the 525
285

*175 their crops having failed because of drought. Apparently the tribe
*648 was not successful in their winter hunt, since we find that in June
of 1849, agent John Barrow found two hundred aged and infirm
●[888] Pawnee, left behind when the tribe went on the summer hunt,
starving around the agency. Cholera had broken out among them
*175 and before it subsided, eighty-four were dead. When the bands
*648 returned from the hunt, he found that the rest of the tribe had also
731 been decimated by cholera while away, a condition brought on by
their lack of proper nourishment. His estimate, after talking the
165 matter over with the chiefs of the tribe, was that no less than 250 men
and 900 women and children had fallen victims of cholera while the
tribe had been away; making a total of 1234 deaths that summer from
the epidemic. Barrow seems to have been astoundingly callous.
He reports the Pawnee deaths and their condition quite objectively,
and treats as incidental that in the midst of their other misfortunes,
the Oto, spurred by white traders who gave them
guns, had attacked the Pawnee and killed eleven. The Oto shrewdly
claimed that their Great White Father had told them to protect
and assist the whites, and Barrow reports that he assured the Oto
that if their story was true — to the effect that the white traders
*175 had been robbed by the Pawnee — their Great Father would
*648 forgive them.

In spite of this disastrous season which wiped out a fourth of
[735] the tribe, the Pawnee had made a successful hunt, but without a
harvest upon their return to the village, they would soon again be
destitute.

The Pawnee school was disbanded in 1851 when the treaty
[657] arrangements for a term of schooling ran out. Samuel Allis,
making his final report, admits his failure, but remarks, "I still
consider the Pawnee an interesting tribe, capable of great improvement
could they be protected from their enemies and brought
under proper subjection themselves."

*175 Pawnee conditions of life gradually became worse. The tide
*648 of emigration increased, and between 1847 and 1850, was literally
"pouring through and into the very midst of their corn fields, their
735 villages and their hunting grounds," referring to the tribes of
the Council Bluff Agency, the Oto, the Omaha and the Pawnee.
The Pawnee along with these other tribes were forced into a position
where they became more and more anxious to make some further
trade of land with the white man in return for a guaranteed sustenance.
This was reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
year after year. The advisability of carrying out the third step in
the government program for dealing with Indian tribes, the pur-

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 575 was required that they keep hold of each other's hands during the entire dance. "Thus if they came to a tree as they danced they could not loose their hands but must stand there and dance."

*533 888 [761] 726 The general idea of the next song is that it is better to die bravely when young than to live to an enfeebled old age. In this, as in other Pawnee war songs, we see a light estimate upon the value of life as compared to success in war. The song belonged originally to a brave man who lived to an advanced age. When this was sung in a dance he rose and told the young men that it was a painful thing to live to be so old. The song was also sung by men in a battle, this being the last song they sang "when they were all tired out and so nearly beaten that even their hair was disheveled." It was further stated that "sometimes when men were having this dance an enemy attacked the village. This was the song they sang as they drove the enemy [727] away." The song was also used in the scalp dances that followed the return of a successful war party.

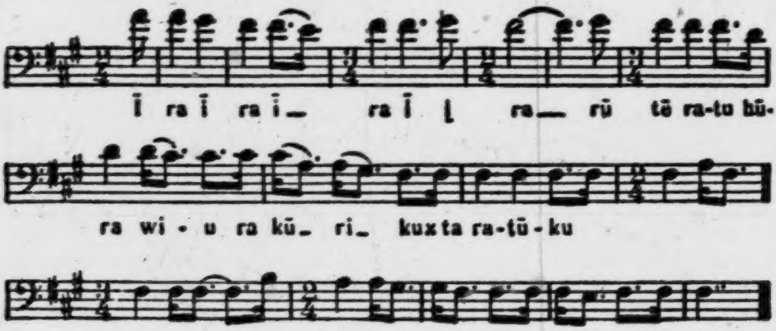
*533

No. 23. "Old Age is Painful"

(Catalogue No. 1078)

Recorded by Effie Blain

Voice ♩ = 66
Drum not recorded


Ī ra ī ra i— ra ī i ra— rū tē ra-tu hū-
ra wi - u ra kū— ri— kux ta ra-tū - ku

I	ra	rū	tē	ratu	hūra	wiu
He	comes	it	does	hurt	earth	stick
ra	kū	ri	kux	ta	ratūku	
have	do	it	pick up	it	becomes painful	

FREE TRANSLATION

He comes.
It hurts to use a cane.
It becomes painful to pick it up.

575 two for each side. The pipe-man is the chief, but there is another man who
is charged with directing the ritual. All members carry ring-shaped rattles,
and certain members carry short lances bearing feathers. As to the number
of these lances, we have no data. The members danced nude and tied
[292] a string to the foreskin to the end of which feathers were attached. (See
Catlin's drawings of the Okipa.) On this account they were sometimes
called the "tied-penis society." It is said that in battle some of the members
would take a stake and a rope, plant the stake before the enemy and
[726] tie the penis string to the rope. They were forbidden to release themselves
and must then stand fast until released.

As to adornment and body painting each man did as he chose. Four hand drums were used.

There were no renewal ceremonies but this society would usually dance
[535] in public after the bundle societies had made their appearance. In dancing
they formed in front of their lodge in a circle. There were two mounted
men to call out their own deeds and encourage others to do likewise. In
one part of the dance the horsemen ride among the dancers back and forth
(p. 387). Also, there were two whip men, carrying green switches with which
to whip up the dancers. If a member enters the ceremony wearing clothes
[292] he is set upon by these whip bearers and his clothes torn to pieces. Only
the members who captured a blanket or cut the covering from a captured
bundle, could take a hand in this. However, if a member has been in a
battle and saved his robe, he may carry it folded under his arm.

● [888] In the dance a dancer may remove his moccasins and put them on an old
needy bystander.

CHILDREN OF THE IRUSKA.

In this organization there were but six or seven members. They carried quivers full of arrows which were very highly prized, so when an arrow was shot they went to hunt it. They were known as saaro, youths.

They did things by contraries. If a woman said, "Do not get water,"
[524] they went after it. They were given to playing the wheel game and because
of their peculiarities no one played with them. If an enemy attacked the
village, the members would continue to play the wheel game and pay no
attention to the fighting. If a person came up and said, "Do not go out to
[302] fight," they rushed out at once. They were always painted black as if
ready to fight. On the head each wore the skin of a blackbird. The
society is said to have been handed down by this bird. The leader so
appointed by the bird went through the camp and selected boys who seemed
queer, or even insane. These he organized into a society.

dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in 756
their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow [534]
mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes. [386]

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws. The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the [293]
lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in [778]
black. There were no feathers or other decorations.

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature [888]
of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times.

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

THE DEER SOCIETY.

The raris ta, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual 276
seems to be in keeping of the Skidi organizations. The fundamental elements of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society 756
teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer (ta), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamental is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls unconscious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed jaw of a gar fish; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once for all.

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the [789]
leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced

V. THE INDIVIDUAL

According to Pawnee standards, a successful life depended not 181
only on the inheritance of an elevated social position, but also on 554
individual initiative. From the beginning, a man looked upon his 461
life's career as a contest whose outcome depended upon his own efforts. Success was a matter of industry, of honesty in dealing with other members of his society, of zeal in the hunt and upon the warpath, and of maintaining satisfactory relations with the deities. He had to work and fight constantly in this life for whatever he obtained.

Likewise, a woman must keep her lodge clean, and be honest, industrious in the fields, successful in the rearing of a family, and careful to observe the restrictions imposed on her conduct. In return for this, her days would be comfortable, the birth of her children would be without pain, and a definite place would await her in the life after death.

Periods of Life

The Skidi recognized five distinct periods or epochs in the life 888
history of an individual of either sex. For the male these periods 884
were as follows: (1) *Pirau.* This means "child," or more properly, 858
"baby," carried no distinction of sex, and was applicable only to a child during the nursing period. (2) *Piruski*, "boy." This term covered the period from the termination of childhood to the age of puberty. The word *pisiks*, "covered up" (closed-foreskin), was also used as a nickname for a boy of this period, referring to the fact that he had not yet had connection with women. (3) *Pitisutki.* This term was applied to a boy after he had reached the age of puberty but had not yet married, and means "grown or straight up." (4) *Pita.* This referred to the period after marriage until old age, and is the general term for "man." (5) *Kurahus*, meaning "old man," was applicable to that period of a man's life when he no longer took active part in the hunt or went out with the warriors.

The corresponding names for the female were: (1) *Pirau.* (2) *Tcoraki*, "girl." (3) *Tcoras.* This corresponded to the third period of the man; that is, the period after reaching puberty and extending up to marriage. (4) *Tcapat*, "woman" (blood-from-delivery), especially referred to the fact that she had given birth. (5) *Tcostit* applied to all women after the menopause.

775 they also encounter a golden eagle seated upon a mound, its eyes giving off sparks of fire. By some this eagle is thought to be Tirawa. The eagle directs the soul along the proper road, and as it approaches the spirit-village that is its destination, if it is time for it to enter, it is not stopped. If its possessor did not lead a good life, however, it may be directed back to earth and given another chance. The souls of medicine-men wander over the land visiting the lodges of animals and eventually reach the spirit-village of the medicine-men. Before entering, they must undergo a sweat bath and be sprinkled with fine dust.

774 775 According to one informant, souls are like small stars. At death, the soul goes off the way a cloud comes up and disappears, or the way a wind blows up and dies down. The souls of people who have been seen by the Star of Disease and who have as a result died of illness are taken by the South Star to his home in the south. The disposition of all other souls is determined by the Morning Star, who decides whether they shall be restored to life, taken with him to the east, or sent to the south. And it is the Morning Star's importance in this matter that caused the Skidi to bury their dead with the head toward the east.

764 As a rule, the preparation of the body for burial began immediately after death, and the burial followed within two or three hours.

The preparation of the body varied according to the rank and position of the deceased. When a man of importance was about [766] to die he was carefully dressed in his best costume. Immediately after death, the body was painted with sacred red ointment by a priest engaged specially for the purpose. By this paint the man's friends in the spirit land would know that he had been well taken care of on this earth. The red ointment gave the rough and emaciated skin a smooth and healthy appearance. The body was now considered holy, for a corpse without the red paint was looked upon as dust and could not enter the land of the spirits. (Relative to this belief see Dorsey, 1904, pp. 69 ff.) The dead man was next wrapped in his buffalo robe. Should he have been a member of a society possessing ceremonial paraphernalia, as, for example, the Dog Soldiers, his feathers, whistles, rattles, etc., would be placed with him, and his face painted according to the style employed by his society. In the case of other societies the body would be prepared in a similarly appropriate manner.

[888] The preparation of the bodies of those who died in extremely old age was similar to the method given above.

The recognition of the death of friends or relatives was marked 765
among the Skidi by certain mourning customs, more or less formal
in their nature.

In case a man or woman died of old age there was no mourning 766
feast, and the formal period of mourning lasted only during the day 765
of the burial. At this time all the members of the band assembled 888
and each placed his hands upon the body of the deceased, thus
expressing the hope that he too might reach an old age.

Should a man of middle age die a natural death, it was considered 766
a disgrace. There was no feast or formal mourning on the part 765
of the tribe or the relatives. Such a natural death was thought to
be caused by the Black Wind from the south and was an indication
that the man's life was useless.

If a chief of any prominence died, the whole band mourned for several months. However, if his death occurred early in the spring, just before the great ceremonies were to begin, the mourning could be concluded at the end of four days. This was brought about by a priest, who formally asked one of the chiefs when they might have the mourning feast; the latter set it at the fifth day after death, in order that spring ceremonies of such great importance should not be delayed and thus to prevent hardship and possibly famine from visiting the band. On the fifth day the chiefs visited the lodge of the deceased, the first man to enter acting as spokesman. He told the widow to sweep the lodge; then he spread mats and pillows, and asked the family to leave. The latter made the lodge ready, placing the deceased's medals, clothing, and other personal effects northeast of the entrance, whereupon they left and sat outside. When the chiefs had all arrived and had arranged themselves in a circle, the son of the dead chief entered and said: "Chiefs, it is now time that we cease to mourn for my father. We have placed his belongings for you and tied his ponies outside." The son then retired from the lodge. The spokesman addressed the chiefs, reminding them of the good qualities of the deceased. Other chiefs followed with eulogistic speeches. When these were concluded, the spokesman lit a pipe and selected one of those present to offer smoke to the earth in honor of the dead man. The chief selected took the pipe, and standing northeast of the fireplace, blew four puffs to the earth. Addressing the earth, he said: "Chief, you have gone from us; you have returned to mother earth; you have travelled on the road leading to the village of our people. On your journey turn back. Speak to us who are yet living, and say: 'May all good gifts which

came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui 764
priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was 778
very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of 572
friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particu- 888 ●
larly to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally 159
claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age. They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the 562
priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the 834
Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until [291]
well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the [515]
lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no [521]
subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

Description of the Manners

Their dress consists of leggings, generally made of scarlet cloth; 291
over which a piece of blue or brown woollen cloth is tied around
the waist, the ends lapping over each other, and extending a little
below the knees. The upper dress consists of a shirt or short
gown, made of calico, reaching to the middle. Over the whole a
blanket or robe is slung, above which, on the back, may frequently [854]
be discovered the black sparkling eyes of a little "papoose"
peering forth.

Intoxicating drink.—It is somewhat remarkable, that the 273
Pawnees are not so fond of "fire water," as other tribes, who are
fast dwindling away from the demoralizing and debasing effects of
intoxicating drink. Nothing, perhaps, has aided more in diminishing
the population of different Indian tribes, than spirituous
liquors. To the missionary, it is always gratifying and encouraging
to observe, when a tribe takes a bold stand against the introduction
of this destructive poison. The Pawnees allow none to
be brought into their villages.

Burying their dead.—On the highest mounds in the prairie, 764
we often observed little hillocks of earth, which we were informed,
were the places of sepulture of their chiefs and others of their
tribe. A tall bush was frequently stuck in the ground, to designate
the spot. We were also informed, that among the Pawnees,
and other wild tribes, the cruel practice prevails, when they are 888
on their hunt, and their old people get so feeble, that they can no
longer accompany them, of leaving them behind, and even burying
them alive.—In allusion to this fact, Mr. Allis, pointing to
their old and feeble chief, addressed the other chiefs as follows:
"I have learned, that you intend to put aside your old chief, because
he is now feeble and sickly, and perhaps you will even think
of burying him, when he can no longer follow you; but I want
you to take care of him. He has been like a father to you. When
he was yet strong, you know his kettle was always over the fire
with plenty. He has always been a friend of the whites, and you
ought to esteem him for the services he has rendered your nation,
and not to bury him before he is dead."

More might be added, to show the wretchedness of their present 000
state, but we should fear to become too tedious. Sufficient,
however, has been said, to prove, that these poor people need the
assistance of missionaries to better them in their outward condition.
But, when we consider their spiritual destitution,—their ignorance,
darkness, and superstition,—

Shall WE whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall WE to men benighted
The lamp of life deny!"

272 After the other foods were ready, the coffee was cooked in a bucket with sugar to be served later in small bowls. This was a task that No Corn was likely to undertake. She would mix a handful of ground coffee with a handful of sugar and boil them together with water in the bucket. The meal would be finished off with sweet coffee served hot and black.

512 While all these preparations were going on, the people began to get up
one by one and sit down in their places around the fire. Now only the
boys were still in bed. Grandma warmed her hands over the fire, went
[522] over to the bed, put them on Otter's warm nose and "took it off" remarking to Old Bull, "Here's his nose." Then she offered it all around to the assembled company. Sometimes it was his ears that she offered instead. With things about done, Victory Call said, "Boys, breakfast is ready, you can go to bed again later if you want to."

264 White Woman removed the bucket of corn from the fire and put eleven
bowls around it to serve the family. The grandmother-grandchild pairs
[412] each got a bowl together and everyone else got a bowl for himself. With
[415] each bowl there was a buffalo-horn spoon and two spoons in the bowl for grandma and grandchild. White Woman, who was sitting east and slightly north of the fireplace, dished out the corn with a large buffalo-horn spoon 8 inches long with a bowl that was 4½ inches across and 1½ inches deep. A ladleful or one and a half ladles of corn along with the liquor was a serving, the grandmother-grandchild bowls receiving an extra large portion. For feasts, large wooden ladles were used for serving.

264 The order in which the members of the household sat at their meal was
pretty much in the position of their beds. Old Bull sat at the southwest
554 and Victory Call at the northwest position. Ordinarily a man's senior wife
592 sat next to him, and his junior wives sat beyond. Old Bull and his wives
sat in this order, but White Woman had moved down to the east end of
the north side so that she could do the serving. The grandmothers and
[574] their grandchildren sat at the east end. Old-Man-That-Chief, although a
[888] guest, took up the southeast position of humility, for he was old and nearly blind. The bowls were passed around to the people from hand to hand, unless the circle was too large, in which case a young woman would be asked to do the serving. The men were served first in order of importance, the "guest side" always being given priority. In this instance the order was Old Bull, Victory Call, Old-Man-That-Chief, Horse Rider, Queen Woman, the senior wife, then Clear Day, the junior wife, Blue Calico, the grandmother, on the south side; then the women on the north—No Corn, Yellow Calf and his Grandma, Otter and his Grandma, and finally White Woman herself.

264 Before they began their meal, White Woman made an offering of corn
782 at the west. She took some kernels of corn in a spoon from Victory Call's bowl and offered them to the nose of the buffalo skull that rested on

592 Clear Day and Blue Calico, "I can take care of the housework myself.
You two go plant your field." On the North Side, White Woman had a
double role to play and was hard pressed for time. She had "to take care
of her husband" and was also the main provisioner of the North Side of
[437] the household. She was responsible for repairing her husband's moccasins
when they wore out; when he went to the trade store to trade in a buffalo
robe for supplies of flour, coffee, sugar, prunes, or dried apples she
would accompany him to do most of the carrying. Whether he went on
horseback or on foot, he would carry only small items, being poised for
any threatened attack. When she became overburdened with work in this
way at the crucial time of planting, the two old women on her side,
Grandma Chase-the-Enemy and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, would
come to her aid. "Let's get through with our 'daughter's' field first. She
has to do the cooking for the whole family and take care of her husband."
The three of them would then go out together and finish up White
Woman's field and then the two old women would work each other's
fields in turn cooperatively.

517 On the way home from the fields they all washed their hoes and took
a swim in Beaver Creek. Heads would be bobbing up and down all over
526 as they swam back and forth. When they finished their swim and cleaned
313 their hoes, they would pick up whatever driftwood they could find and
515 take it home. High water sometimes left good sticks at the bend of the
creek. This moist wood was piled way at the back of the woodpile, since
unless it was left to dry out it would smoke and hurt the eyes. The
young women sat on the banks of the creek and slapped the surface
with their feet to see who could make the loudest noise. This was considered
quite a trick, and sometimes they tried it with their hands. It was
like the sound of the dried corn kernels when they were threshed at the
time of harvest, and expressed the hope that the corn might ripen.

343 Sometimes a sweat bath was preferred to a swim in the creek. When
515 they got home tired and dirty they would then build a sweat lodge inside
the earth lodge on the north side. All during planting time an old man
888 would sit on the roof of his earth lodge in the evening and call out various
521 items of advice. He would particularly recommend a sweat bath. He
[757] would say, "If you're tired it's best to sweat. Then you will feel better
next day. If you should have a headache, you must sweat. When you get
[515] in from the fields, take a sweat bath. It cleans you up better than the
creek." There were many other things the old man had to say, particularly
complimentary remarks to the women to bolster their morale. After
some general praises, he would cite some particular women specifically,
saying how industrious they were and what fine crops they raised. Presently
a little boy or girl would come and invite the old man to a little treat
in the home of the woman he had mentioned, usually some bread and
coffee.

if he wandered over to his parents' tent and asked his mother to fix a 606
bed for him it was accepted as a normal thing. His wife would understand 593
that "he felt like being childish for a while" and that next morning
he would be back with them. Sometimes the sounds of fighting would
be heard inside a tent—a father-in-law and a son-in-law in conflict.

Although he might live elsewhere in the village, an unmarried 593
younger brother was likely to join his older brother for the hunt. This 224*
was his obligation. When he married, however, he would be impelled to
go with his wife's family. Sometimes two brothers and their families [592]
lived in an earth lodge jointly and they might very well also go jointly
on the hunt.

The household of Old Bull and Victory Call broke up into three 592
groupings. Each of the four villages of the Skidi Band had a separate 621
section of the encampment. Old Bull and Victory Call both camped in
the Pumpkin-Vine Village section in the west, but each had a separate
encampment and ran their households entirely independently. The camp
of Old Bull included his two wives and the grandmother and their
young children. In Victory Call's camp were his wife White Woman, his
assistant Horse Rider, his wife No Corn, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy,
and the boy Otter. The old lady Grieves-the-Enemy and the boy Yellow
Calf went far over to the east section where her son was encamped in
Village-in-the-Bottomlands with his father-in-law, Path-of-the-Enemy.
The two little boys did not see each other all summer, as there were hundreds
of tents between them. When they returned to the village in the
fall, it was optional whether they rejoined the household or not.

In the past, the people who were left behind in the village were in 224*
great danger and they all cried bitterly as the expedition departed. The
Stay-at-Homes were usually the sick and the old. Some men would stay 888•
longer to give a little more protection to an old grandmother or someone 734
of whom they were fond. The Stay-at-Homes would congregate in a few
earth lodges in the village, knowing where to find food in the storage
pits. Leaving the slow and the sick at home was a necessary step, as the
line of march had to move with precision because other tribes were also
pressing in on the buffalo herds. They might move entirely out of reach,
whereupon the tribe would be faced with the danger of losing all of
the effort they had invested in the expedition. Nevertheless, sometimes
a soft-hearted chief would say, "Let's all go, even if we have to camp
every five miles!" Others would demur, saying that was too slow; finally
the old people themselves would say, "No, we can't go along. We're old
anyhow," and having made this concession of their own accord, they
would be permitted to return to the village. Sometimes noticing that a 224*
perfectly able-bodied family he liked was not coming along, Eagle Chief 622
would inquire and, finding they were staying behind because they had 426
no horses, would lend them two of his own.

224*

was made in oblong form about three feet long and a foot and a half wide, 484*
with its long axis running north–south. 342

The next step was to get everything in order for cooking. They had 359
enough water, and now they needed wood for fuel. As she was pegging 313
down the tent, No Corn remarked to her husband, Horse Rider, 224*
"We're pretty nearly finished now and we have no wood." Then he 484*
would go off carrying a long rope. He used the rope as a kind of lasso:
attaching a stick about a foot long to the end, he would throw it up
around a dry cottonwood limb and the cord would wind itself around
the limb so that it could be pulled down. It would take considerable skill
to pull it down without having it fall on your head, which sometimes happened
despite the best of care. Horse Rider tried to get enough wood to
last them for that evening and the next day while they stayed at the rendezvous
camp. Some of the wood he gathered from the ground, tied it up
with his cord, and came into camp carrying it on his back. As soon as he 224*
got in, he made the fire and White Woman began to cook. They had a 484*
simple meal of bread and coffee and some sand cherries for dessert. No 252
Corn volunteered to make the coffee. While the cooking was going on, [272]
the old ladies were stretched out resting, and Victory Call was doing the
same. Everyone was very tired. It was proper to joke a bit while the [522]
food was being prepared and during the meal. Horse Rider began to
tease No Corn about how she had fallen in the water.

Immediately after supper the women cleared up the dishes and sat 224*
down to rest—tired from all their work. Horse Rider went off to see 484*
how the horses were getting along and Victory Call went up and sat on
top of one of the sand hills to have a smoke and to look around and at the
encampment below. Presently five or six men joined him for a smoke and
some conversation.

The boy Otter ran off at once to the river to go swimming with the rest 224*
of the children. On the way he saw some other little boys leaning over a 484*
pond. "See the sunfish. Let's 'choke' them!" They tied some bread to the 857
end of a string and let it down into the pond and as the fish bit, they pulled
them up and 'choked' them. Then the boys went off and gave the fish to 224*
an old woman who was living alone in a shelter she had built for herself. 484*
Her relatives gave her something, but would not take care of her and she 888•
had no other place to go. "Here, grandma," they said, "Here's some
fish." "That's fine," said the old lady. Later that summer while they were
setting up camp one day, the boys came to give her fish and she was dead.
They dug a hole in the embankment against which she had been leaning [764]
and buried her there. Man Chief, who was Eagle Chief's son, and a generous
young man, gave a red blanket to wrap her in. There were only
one or two old women alone like this. Sometimes while they were on the
hunt, such old people would say, "Just give me enough to eat and go on."

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*224 *484 • 888 Some old people just walked off because they were tired of living. "I'm old. I don't care what becomes of me," they would say. In this case, people thought it was a shame for the old lady's relatives to leave her all by herself like that.

*224 *484 512 515 Most of the women and children were swimming in the river. By sundown they began to wander back toward their encampment. When little Otter came in after his sun-fishing adventures they all said, "Minwu, you smell of fish. You'd better go wash your hands." There was no soap so he had to rub his hands with sand and then wash them with water. Horse Rider had been looking after the horses, and again he passed through the sand hills and gathered in some sand cherries. Victory Call was still sitting and smoking on top of the sand hills with his friends and they looked down contentedly upon the women and children swimming in the river. By sundown all had gone home; the men would go swimming late in the evening by themselves.

*224 203 *484 Now at evening the crier went through the encampment and made his announcement. He said, "We'll be here all day tomorrow. If you have any business at the store, attend to it, because day after tomorrow, we'll be moving on." It had been a long day and everyone went to sleep.

*224 *484 512 Next morning Grandma got up earlier than anyone else, before dawn, saying everyone must practice getting up early. They passed the day pleasantly, swimming in the river or doing whatever they liked. For breakfast they had a modest meal of fried bread and coffee and for lunch a good soup of roasted corn mixed with braided intestine. At supper, they had boiled dried buffalo meat with bread and coffee.

[203] When evening came, the crier went through the encampment calling out, "They have decided to move tomorrow. We're going about ten miles from here."

*224 *484 The next morning their travels would begin in earnest. They would travel and encamp this way for the next twenty days before they reached the main herd of buffalo.

133 covered with a deep, compacted layer of sand. Both rivers have changed their courses numbers of times in the past and the marks of their winding fossil beds are deeply carved into the sandy layer, forming a series of shallow but sharply defined canyons and troughs. Reaching north and south between the two rivers, the curves and canyons of the two fossil beds almost meet, cutting up the whole land surface so that there is no level land and the trip across has to be made over a few narrow land bridges. The later pioneers who tried to cross this area going southward aptly named one of the best of these land bridges "Devil's Gap" (southwestern Nebraska between Lexington and Arapahoe).

*224 *484 823 • [888] The Pawnees had a detailed knowledge of every aspect of the land they would traverse. Its topography was in their minds like a series of vivid pictorial images, each a configuration where this or that event had happened in the past to make it memorable. This was especially true of the old men who had the richest store of knowledge in this respect. Their journey out was about ten miles a day and eight on the way back when they were more heavily laden with the dried meat. Anticipating these distances, they had to plan on stopping places where there was enough level land, wood for fuel, and available water for their whole large encampment of several thousand people and many more animals. They estimated the journey out as twenty days and the return journey twenty-seven days.

*224 *484 184 Each of the four bands had different routes that they preferred. From their rendezvous camp south of the Loup, the Skidi preferred to go several camps westward along the south bank, before turning south to the Platte. The South Bands preferred to leave the settlements and go directly south to the north bank of the Platte River where they made their rendezvous camp. When they were ready to go west, they would cross over the Platte and proceed along the south bank all the way west until they came to the place where they turned and crossed the country south-

*224 *484 361 FIGURE 18-1. Approximate campsites of the Pawnee summer hunt in Nebraska. Starting from Genoa on Beaver Creek, X is the first rendezvous camp south of the Loup. Camps 2, 3, and 4 proceed west from Camp 1 along the south bank of the Loup. Camp 5 turns southward toward the head of Grand Island in the Platte River. They camped overnight between the Loup and the Platte because the sandhills between the rivers make the journey hard. Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte after crossing Grand Island and Fort Kearney. Between camps 5 and 6 a small reconnoitering party went south of the Republican to sight buffalo; they brought meat to Camp 6. Camps 7, 8, 9, 10—four camps west of Fort Kearney along south bank of the Platte, arriving at Plum Creek near Lexington, Nebraska. At camps 7, 8, and 9 individual hunters went after deer, elk, and antelope. Setting out from Camp 9, the chiefs and braves hunted a small herd in order to "feed the people." They brought meat to Camp 10. They went along Plum Creek and then southeast overland to find Turkey Creek. Camp 11—the hunting camp, where the main herd was attacked by all the hunters of the tribe. The people moved south along the west bank of Turkey Creek and encamped at its confluence with the Republican River. X near Trenton is Massacre Canyon.

wished to share in the cult knowledge apprenticed themselves to a doctor 756
and gradually learned his lore, adding their own variations in the course [173]
of time. Each of the different cults held their own special ceremonies at
least twice a year—in the spring before going out on the summer buffalo [796]
hunt and in the fall before leaving for the winter hunt. In addition, all
these cults were organized into one big "Doctor Lodge." It is said that in [173]
the past there were two separate doctor lodges within the Skidi Band
that would stage big hypnotic contests between them. They were called
"East Doctors" and "West Doctors."

At the time of this narrative in 1867 there was one combined Doctor Lodge with two major leaders, one for the south side, Pipe Offering of Pumpkin-Vine Village, and one for the north side, Big Doctor of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. Despite their location in the lodge, they were still referred to as West and East Doctors respectively, coinciding with the relative location of their villages in the settlement. Big Doctor was considered the more authoritative of the two, which may have been due to personal factors rather than formal or ceremonial ones. Each of these leaders had an assistant from his village to help him manage his side. Sitting Hawk of Pumpkin-Vine assisted Good Pipe and Wonderful Old Bull of Bottomlands Village assisted Big Doctor. These men were both prominent in their own right—Sitting Hawk, for example, being a prominent member of the Bear Cult and a senior member of his family in the chiefs' council. The apprentices to these prominent doctors acted as errand men and cooked and served the meals. They were stationed on each side of the entrance at the east. Theoretically the head men should be willing to give them any information they wanted in return for their services, and eventually they would move up to a position in one of the animal cults in which the doctor had a vested interest. Several subapprentices sat
next to them waiting to assume the position of errand man when they
should move. Venerable old men who were not currently members of the [888]
cults sat in the northeast and southeast positions, further in the lodge [622]
than the apprentices. Chiefs who were invited to witness a performance [554]
were seated next to the old men still further in.

The bed platforms had all been uprooted and put outside on the roof of 756
the entry way and along the sides a series of booths had been built for 346
the animal cults. The booths were constructed with partition walls of willow saplings and main outer posts of cottonwood logs. Each booth was completely screened in, with a tiny entranceway cut near the bottom of the front wall so that the doctors could crawl in and out. Each cult was directed by a leader who had a series of apprentices and subapprentices with different degrees of knowledge of the cult tradition.

At this time eight cults were represented in the different booths, four on each side.